THE WORKS OF AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by:
REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

in 15 Volumes (1871-1876)
INDEX

Vol. I. The City of God (Vol. 1 of 2)
       Translated by Marcus Dods, 1871.

Vol. II. The City of God (Vol. 2 of 2)
        Translated by Marcus Dods, 1871.

Vol. III. Writings in connection with the Donatist controversy,
         Translated by J.R. King. 1872.--

Vol. IV. The anti-Pelagian works (Vol. 1 of 3)
        Translated by Peter Holmes.

Vol. V. Writings in connection with the Manichæan heresy,
        Translated by Richard Stothert. 1872.--

Vol. VI. Letters (Vol. 1 of 2),
         Translated by J.G. Cunningham. 1872.--

Vol. VII. On the Trinity,
         Translated by A.W. Haddan. 1873.--

Vol. VIII. The Sermon on the Mount expounded,
           Translated by William Findlay. 1873.--
           The Harmony of the Evangelists,
           Translated by S.D.F. Salmond. 1873.--

Vol. IX. On Christian doctrine;
         The Enchiridion;
         On catechising, and
         On faith and the Creed. 1873.--

Vol. X. On the Gospel according to St. John (Vol. 1 of 2),
        Translated by John Gibb. 1873;

Vol. XI. On the Gospel according to St. John (Vol. 2 of 2),
        Translated by James Innes. [n.d.]--

Vol. XII. The anti-Pelagian works (Vol. 2 of 3),
         Translated by Peter Holmes. --

Vol. XIII. Letters (Vol. 2 of 2),
        Translated by J.G. Cunningham. 1875.--
Vol. XIV. The Confessions,
   Translated and annotated by J.G. Pilkington. 1876--

Vol. XV. The anti-Pelagian works (Vol. 3 of 3).
   Translated by Peter Holmes and R.E. Wallis. 1876
THE WORKS OF AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. I.

THE CITY OF GOD,

VOLUME I.

[*Books I-XIII*]

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXI.

------------------------
Volume Source Info:
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
www.archive.org/details/worksofaurelius01augu

------------------------
Of the following Work,

Books IV, XVII. and XVIII. have been translated by the Rev. George Wilson, Glenluce;

Books V. VI. VII. and VIII.
by the Rev. J. J. Smith.
CONTENTS

BOOK I.
Augustine censures the pagans, who attributed the calamities of the world, and especially the sack of Rome by the Goths, to the Christian religion and its prohibition of the worship of the gods, .

BOOK II.
A review of the calamities suffered by the Romans before the time of Christ, showing that their gods had plunged them into corruption and vice, 48

BOOK III.
The external calamities of Rome, 91

BOOK IV.
That empire was given to Rome not by the gods, but by the One True God, 135

BOOK V.
Of fate, freewill, and God's prescience, and of the source of the virtues of the ancient Romans, 177

BOOK VI.
Of Varro's threefold division of theology, and of the inability of the gods to contribute anything to the happiness of the future life, . 228

BOOK VII.
Of the "select gods" of the civil theology, and that eternal life is not obtained by worshipping them, 258
VI CONTEXTS.

BOOK VIII.
Some account of the Socratic and Platonic philosophy, and a refutation of the doctrine of Apuleius that the demons should be worshipped as mediators between gods and men, .... 305

BOOK IX.
Of those who allege a distinction among demons, some being good and others evil, 353

BOOK X.
Porphyry's doctrine of redemption, ....... 382

BOOK XI.
Augustine passes to the second part of the work, in which the origin, progress, and destinies of the earthly and heavenly cities are discussed. Speculations regarding the creation of the world, . . 436

BOOK XII.
Of the creation of angels and men, and of the origin of evil, . . 481

BOOK XIII.
That death is penal, and had its origin in Adam's sin, . . 521
EDITOR'S PREFACE.

ROME having been stormed and sacked by the Goths under Alaric their king, the worshippers of false gods, or pagans, as we commonly call them, made an attempt to attribute this calamity to the Christian religion, and began to blaspheme the true God with even more than their wonted bitterness and acerbity. It was this which kindled my zeal for the house of God, and prompted me to undertake the defence of the city of God against the charges and misrepresentations of its assailants. This work was in my hands for several years, owing to the interruptions occasioned by many other affairs which had a prior claim on my attention, and which I could not defer. However, this great undertaking was at last completed in twenty-two books. Of these, the first five refute those who fancy that the polytheistic worship is necessary in order to secure worldly prosperity, and that all these overwhelming calamities have befallen us in consequence of its prohibition. In the following five books I address myself to those who admit that such calamities have at all times attended, and will at all times attend, the human race, and that they constantly recur in forms more or less disastrous, varying only in the scenes, occasions, and persons on whom they light, but, while admitting this, maintain that the worship of the gods is advantageous for the life to come. In these ten books, then, I refute these two opinions, which are as groundless as they are antagonistic to the Christian religion.

"But that no one might have occasion to say, that though I had refuted the tenets of other men, I had omitted to establish my own, I devote to this object the second part of

1 A.D. 410.

/871

VIII EDITORS PREFACE.

this work, which comprises twelve books, although I have not scrupled, as occasion offered, either to advance my own opinions in the first ten books, or to demolish the arguments of my opponents in the last twelve. Of these twelve books, the first four contain an account of the origin of these two cities â€” the city of God, and the city of the world. The second four treat of their history or progress; the third and last four, of their deserved destinies. And so, though all these twenty-two books refer to both cities, yet I have named them after the better city, and called them The City of God."
Such is the account given by Augustine himself 1 of the occasion and plan of this his
greatest work. But in addition to this explicit information, we learn from the
correspondence* of Augustine, that it was due to the importunity of his friend Marcel"! in us that this
defense of Christianity extended beyond the limits of a few letters. Shortly before the fall
of Rome, Marcel 1 in us had been sent to Africa by the Emperor Honorius to arrange a
settlement of the differences between the Donatists and the Catholics. This brought him
into contact not only with Augustine, but with Volusian, the proconsul of Africa, and a
man of rare intelligence and candour. Finding that Volusian, though as yet a pagan, took
an interest in the Christian religion, Marcellinus set his heart on converting him to the
true faith. The details of the subsequent significant intercourse between the learned and
courtly bishop and the two imperial statesmen, are unfortunately almost entirely lost to
us; but the impression conveyed by the extant correspondence is, that Marcel! in us was
the means of bringing his two friends into communication with one another. The first
overture was on Augustine's part, in the shape of a simple and manly request that
Volusian would carefully peruse the Scriptures, accompanied by a frank offer to do his
best to solve any difficulties that might arise in such a course of inquiry. Volusian
accordingly enters into correspondence with Augustine; and in order to illustrate the kind
of difficulties experienced by men in his position, he gives some graphic notes of a
conversation in which he had recently

1 Retractations, ii. 43. â– Letters 132-8.

taken part at a gathering of some of his friends. The difficulty to which most weight is
attached in this letter, is the apparent impossibility of believing in the Incarnation. But a
letter which Marcellinus immediately despatched to Augustine, urging him to reply to
Volusian at large, brought the intelligence that the difficulties and objections to
Christianity were thus limited merely out of a courteous regard to the preciousness of the
bishop's time, and the vast number of his engagements. This letter, in short, brought out
the important fact, that a removal of speculative doubts would not suffice for the
conversion of such men as Volusian, whose life was one with the life of the empire. Their
difficulties were rather political, historical, and social. They could not see how the
reception of the Christian rule of life was compatible with the interests of Rome as the
mistress of the world. 1 And thus Augustine was led to take a more distinct and wider
view of the whole relation which Christianity bore to the old state of things, â€” moral,
political, philosophical, and religious,
â€” and was gradually drawn on to undertake the elaborate work now presented to the
English reader, and which may more appropriately than any other of his writings be
called his masterpiece 2 or life-work. It was begun the very year of Marcellinus' death,
a.d. 413, and was issued in detached portions from time to time, until its completion in the year 426. It thus occupied the maturest years of Augustine's life â€” from his fifty-ninth to his seventy-second year. 3

From this brief sketch, it will be seen that though the accompanying work is essentially an Apology, the Apologetic of Augustine can be no mere rehabilitation of the somewhat threadbare, if not effete, arguments of Justin and Tertullian. 4 In fact, as Augustine considered what was required of him, â€” to expound the Christian faith, and justify it to enlightened men; to distinguish it from, and show its superiority to, all those forms of truth, philosophical or popular, which were then striving for the mastery, or at least for standing-room; to set before the world's eye a vision of glory that might win the regard even of men who were dazzled by the fascinating splendour of a world-wide empire, â€” he recognised that a task was laid before him to which even his powers might prove unequal, â€” a task certainly which would afford ample scope for his learning, dialectic, philosophical grasp and acumen, eloquence, and faculty of exposition.

But it is the occasion of this great Apology which invests it at once with grandeur* and vitality. After more than eleven hundred years of steady and triumphant progress, Rome had been taken and sacked. It is difficult for us to appreciate, impossible to overestimate, the shock which was thus communicated from centre to circumference of the whole known world. It was generally believed, not only by the heathen, but also by many of the most liberal-minded of the Christians, that the destruction of Rome would be the prelude to the destruction of the world. 1 Even Jerome, who might have been supposed to be embittered against the proud mistress of the world by her inhospitality to himself, cannot conceal his profound emotion on hearing of her fall "A terrible rumour," he says, "

---

1 See some admirable remarks on this subject in the useful work of Beugnot, Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme, ii. 83 et sqq.

2 As Waterland (iv. 760) does call it, adding that it is "his most learned, most correct, and most elaborate work."

3 For proof, see the Benedictine Preface.

4 "Hitherto the Apologies had been framed to meet particular exigencies: they were either brief and pregnant statements of the Christian doctrines; refutations of prevalent calumnies; invectives against the follies and crimes of
reaches me from the West, telling of Eome besieged, bought for gold, besieged again, life and property perishing together. My voice falters, sobs stifle the words I dictate; for she is a captive, that city which enthralled the world." 2 Augustine is never so theatrical as Jerome in the expression of his feeling, but he is equally explicit in lamenting the fall of Eome as a great calamity; and while he does not scruple to ascribe her recent disgrace to the profligate Paganism; or confutations of anti-Christian works like those of Celsus, Porphyry, or Julian, closely following their course of argument, and rarely expanding into general and comprehensive views of the great conflict." â€” Milman, History of Christianity, iii. c. 10. "We are not acquainted with any more complete preface to the City of God than is contained in the two or three pages which Milman has devoted to this subject.

1 See the interesting remarks of Lactantius, Instit. vfi. 25.

2 "Haeret vox et singultus intercipiunt verba dictantis. Capitur urbs quae totum cepit orbem." â€” Jerome, iv. 783.

EDITOR S PREFACE. XI

manner, the effeminacy, and the pride of her citizens, he is not without hope that, by a return to the simple, hardy, and honourable mode of life which characterized the early Romans, she may still be restored to much of her former prosperity. 1 But as Augustine contemplates the ruins of Rome's greatness, and feels, in common with all the world at this crisis, the instability of the strongest governments, the insufficiency of the most authoritative statesmanship, there hovers over these ruins the splendid vision of the city of God "coming down out of heaven, adorned as a bride for her husband." The old social system is crumbling away on all sides, but in its place he seems to see a pure Christendom arising. He sees that human history and human destiny are not wholly identified with the history of any earthly power â€” not though it be as cosmopolitan as the empire of Rome. 2 He directs the attention of men to the fact that there is another kingdom on earth, â€” a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. He teaches men to take profounder views of history, and shows them how from the first the city of God, or community of God's people, has lived alongside of the kingdoms of this world and their glory, and has been silently increasing, * crescit occulto velut arbor sevo." He demonstrates that the superior morality, the true doctrine, the heavenly origin of this city, ensure its success; and over against this, he depicts the silly or contradictory theorizings of the pagan philosophers, and the unhinged morals of the people, and puts it to all candid men to say, whether in the presence of so manifestly sufficient a cause for Rome's downfall, there is room for imputing it to the spread of Christianity. He traces the antagonism of these two grand communities of rational creatures back to their first divergence in the fall of the angels, and down to the consummation of all things in the
last judgment and eternal destination of the good and evil. In other words, the city of God is "the first real effort to produce a philosophy of history," 3 to exhibit historical

1 See below, iv. 7.

2 This is well brought out by Merivale, Conversion of the Roman Empire, p. 145, etc.

3 Ozanam, History of Civilisation in the Fifth Century (Eng. trans.), ii. 160.

XII EDITOR'S PREFACE.

events in connection with their true causes, and in their real sequence. This plan of the work is not only a great conception, but it is accompanied with many practical advantages; the chief of which is, that it admits, and even requires, a full treatment of those doctrines of our faith that are more directly historical, Æ” the doctrines of creation, the fall, the incarnation, the connection between the Old and New Testaments, and the doctrine of " the last things." *

The effect produced by this great work it is impossible to determine with accuracy. Beugnot, with an absoluteness which we should condemn as presumption in any less competent authority, declares that its effect can only have been very slight. 2 Probably its effect would be silent and slow; telling first upon cultivated minds, and only indirectly upon the people. Certainly its effect must have been weakened by the interrupted manner of its publication. It is an easier task to estimate its intrinsic value. But on this also patristic and literary authorities widely differ. Dupin admits that it is very pleasant reading, owing to the surprising variety of matters which are introduced to illustrate and forward the argument, but censures the author for discussing very useless questions, and for adducing reasons which could satisfy no one who was not already convinced. 3 Huet also speaks of the book as " un amas confus d'excellents materiaux; c'est de Tor en barre et en lingots." 4 L'Abbe Flottes censures these opinions as unjust, and cites with approbation the unqualified eulogy of Pressense. 5 But probably the popularity of the book is its best justification. This popularity may be measured by the circumstance that, between the year 1467 and the end of the fifteenth century, no fewer than twenty

1 Abstracts of the work at greater or less length are given by Dupin, Bindemann, Bohringer, POUJOULAT, Ozanam, and others.
His words are: "Plus on examine la Cite de Dieu, plus on reste convaincu que cet ouvrage dut exercea tres-peu d'influence sur l'esprit des paiens" (ii. 122); and this though he thinks one cannot but be struck with the grandeur of the ideas it contains.

History of Ecclesiastical Writers, i. 406.

Huetiana, p. 24.

Flottes, Etudes sur S. Augustin (Paris, 1861), pp. 154-6, one of the most accurate and interesting even of French monographs on theological writers.

EDITOR S PREFACE. XIII

editions were called for, that is to say, a fresh edition every eighteen months. 1 And in the interesting series of letters that passed between Ludovicus Vives and Erasmus, who had engaged him to write a commentary on the City of God for his edition of Augustine's works, we find Vives pleading for a separate edition of this work, on the plea that, of all the writings of Augustine, it was almost the only one read by patristic students, and might therefore naturally be expected to have a much wider circulation. 2

If it were asked to what this popularity is due, we should be disposed to attribute it mainly to the great variety of ideas, opinions, and facts that are here brought before the reader's mind. Its importance as a contribution to the history of opinion cannot be overrated. We find in it not only indications or explicit enouncement of the author's own views upon almost every important topic which occupied his thoughts, but also a compendious exhibition of the ideas which most powerfully influenced the life of that age. It thus becomes, as Poujoulat says, "comme l'encyclopedie du cinquieme siecle." All that is valuable, together with much indeed that is not so, in the religion and philosophy of the classical nations of antiquity, is reviewed. And on some branches of these subjects it has, in the judgment of one well qualified to judge, "preserved more than the whole surviving Latin literature."

It is true we are sometimes wearied by the too elaborate refutation of opinions which to a modern mind seem self-evident absurdities; but if these opinions were actually prevalent in the fifth century, the historical inquirer will not quarrel with the form in which his information is conveyed, nor will commit the absurdity of attributing to Augustine the foolishness of these opinions, but rather the credit of exploding them. That Augustine is a well-informed and impartial

1 These editions will be found detailed in the second volume of Sehoenemann's Bibliotheca Pat.
2 His words (in Ep. vi.) are quite worth quoting: "Cura rogo te, ut excudantur aliquot centena exemplarium istius operis a reliquo Augustini corpore separata; nam multi erunt studiosi qui Augustinum totum emere vel nollent, vel non poterunt, quia non egebunt, seu quia tantum pecuniae non habebunt. Scio enim fere a deditis studiis istis elegantioribus prseter hoc Augustini opus nullum fere alium legi ejusdem autoris.

xiv editor's preface.

critic, is evinced by the courteousness and candour which he uniformly displays to his opponents, by the respect he won from the heathen themselves, and by his own early life. The most rigorous criticism has found him at fault re^ardinomatters of fact only in some very rare instances, which can be easily accounted for. His learning would not indeed stand comparison with what is accounted such in our day: his life was too busy, and too devoted to the poor and to the spiritually necessitous, to admit of any extraordinary acquisition. He had access to no literature but the Latin; or at least he had only sufficient Greek to enable him to refer to Greek authors on points of importance, and not enough to enable him to read their writings with ease and pleasure. 1 But he had a profound knowledge of his own time, and a familiar acquaintance not only with the Latin poets, but with many other authors, some of whose writings are now lost to us, save the fragments preserved through his quotations.

But the interest attaching to the City of God is not merely historical. It is the earnestness and ability with which he develops his own philosophical and theological views which gradually fascinate the reader, and make him see why the world has set this among the few greatest books of all time.

The fundamental lines of the Augustinian theology are here laid down in a comprehensive and interesting form. Never was thought so abstract expressed in language so popular.

He handles metaphysical problems with the unembarrassed ease of Plato, with all Cicero's accuracy and acuteness, and more than Cicero's profundity. He is never more at home than when exposing the incompetency of Neoplatonism, or demonstrating the harmony of Christian doctrine and true philosophy. And though there are in the City of God, as in all ancient books, things that seem to us childish and barren, there are also the most surprising anticipations of modern speculation. There is an earnest grappling with those problems which are continually re-opened because they underlie man's relation to God and the spiritual world, â€” the

1 The fullest and fairest discussion of the very simple yet never settled question of Augustine's learning will be found in Nourrisson's Philosophic de S. Augustin, ii. 92-100.
problems which are not peculiar to any one century. As we read these animated discussions,

11 The fourteen centuries fall away

Between us and the Afric saint, And at his side we urge, to-day, The immemorial quest and old complaint.

No outward sign to us is given,

From sea or earth comes no reply; Hushed as the warm Numidian heaven He vainly questioned bends our frozen sky."

It is true, the style of the hook is not all that could be desired: there are passages which can possess an interest only to the antiquarian; there are others with nothing to redeem them but the glow of their eloquence; there are many repetitions; there is an occasional use of arguments 
" plus ingenieux que solides," as M. Saisset says. Augustine's great admirer, Erasmus, does not scruple to call him a writer 
" obscureae subtilitatis et parum amcense prolixitatis;" * but il the toil of penetrating the apparent obscurities will be rewarded by finding a real wealth of insight and enlightenment.

Some who have read the opening chapters of the City of God, may have considered it would be a waste of time to proceed; but no one, we are persuaded, ever regretted reading it all.

The book has its faults; but it effectually introduces us to the most influential of theologians, and the greatest popular teacher; to a genius that cannot nod for many lines together; to a reasoner whose dialectic is more formidable, more keen and sifting, than that of Socrates or Aquinas; to a saint whose ardent and genuine devotional feeling bursts up through the severest argumentation; to a man whose kindliness and wit, universal sympathies and breadth of intelligence, lend piquancy and vitality to the most abstract dissertation.

The propriety of publishing a translation of so choice a specimen of ancient literature needs no defence. As Poujoulat very sensibly remarks, there are not a great many men now-a-days who will read a work in Latin of twenty-two books. Perhaps there are fewer still who ought to do so.

With our busy neighbours in Prance, this work has been a

1 Erasmi Epistolce xx. 2.
prime favourite for 400 years. There may be said to be eight independent translations of it into the French tongue, though some of these are in part merely revisions. One of these translations has gone through as many as four editions. The most recent is that which forms part of the Xisard series; but the best, so far as we have seen, is that of the accomplished Professor of Philosophy in the College of France, Emile Saisset. This translation is indeed all that can be desired: here and there an omission occurs, and about one or two renderings a difference of opinion may exist; but the exceeding felicity and spirit of the whole show it to have been a labour of love, the fond homage of a disciple proud of his master. The preface of M. Saisset is one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the understanding of Augustine's philosophy. 1

Of English translations there has been an unaccountable poverty. Only one exists, 2 and this so exceptionally bad, so unlike the racy translations of the seventeenth century in general, so inaccurate, and so frequently unintelligible, that it is not impossible it may have done something towards giving the English public a distaste for the book itself. That the present translation also might be improved, we know; that many men were fitter for the task, on the score of scholarship, we are very sensible; but that any one would have executed it with intenser affection and veneration for the author, we are not prepared to admit. A few notes have been added where it appeared to be necessary. Some are original, some from the Benedictine Augustine, and the rest from the elaborate commentary of Vives. 3

The Editor.

Glasgow, 1871.

1 A large part of it has been translated in Saisset's Pantheism (Clark, Edin.).

2 By J. H., published in 1610, and again in 1620, with Vives' commentary.

3 As the letters of Vives are not in every library, we give his comico-pathetic account of the result of his Augustinian labours on his health: "Ex quo Augustinum perfeci, nunquam valui ex sententia; proxima vero hebdomade et hac, fracto corpore cuncto, et nervis lassitudine quadam Â³.t debilitate dejectis, in caput decern turres incumbere mihi videntur inciendo pondere, ac mole intolerabili; isti sunt fructus studiorum, et merces pulcherrimi laboris; quid labor et benefacta juvant ? "
THE CITY OF GOD

BOOK FIRST.

ARGUMENT.


PREFACE, EXPLAINING HIS DESIGN IN UNDERTAKING THIS WORK.

THE glorious city of God is my theme in this work, which you, my dearest son Marcellinus, I suggested, and which is due to you by my promise. I have undertaken its defence against those who prefer their own gods to the Founder of this city, â€” a city surpassingly glorious, whether we view it as it still lives by faith in this fleeting course of time, and sojourns as a stranger in the midst of the ungodly, or as it shall dwell in the fixed stability of its eternal seat, which it now with patience waits for, expecting until "righteousness shall return unto judgment," 2 and it obtain, by virtue of its excellence, final victory and perfect peace. A great work this, and an arduous; but God is my helper. For I am aware what ability is requisite to persuade the proud how great is the virtue of humility, which raises us, not by a quite human arrogance, but by a divine grace, above all earthly dignities that totter on this shifting scene. For the King and Founder

1 See the Editor's Preface.

2 Ps. xciv. 15, rendered otherwise in Eng. ver.

VOL. I.

THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

of this city of which we speak, has in Scripture uttered to His people a dictum of the divine law in these words: "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble." 1
But this, which is God's prerogative, the inflated ambition of a proud spirit also affects, and dearly loves that this be numbered among its attributes, to

"Show pity to the humbled soul, And crush the sons of pride." 2

And therefore, as the plan of this work we have undertaken requires, and as occasion offers, we must speak also of the earthly city, which, though it be mistress of the nations, is itself ruled by its lust of rule.

1. Of the adversaries of the name of Christ, whom the barbarians for Christ's sake spared when they stormed the city.

For to this earthly city belong the enemies against whom I have to defend the city of God. Many of them, indeed, being reclaimed from their ungodly error, have become sufficiently creditable citizens of this city; but many are so inflamed with hatred against it, and are so ungrateful to its Redeemer for His signal benefits, as to forget that they would now be unable to utter a single word to its prejudice, had they not found in its sacred places, as they fled from the enemy's steel, that life in which they now boast themselves. Are not those very Eomans, who were spared by the barbarians through their respect for Christ, become enemies to the name of Christ? The reliquaries of the martyrs and the churches of the apostles bear witness to this; for in the sack of the city they were open sanctuary for all who fled to them, whether Christian or Pagan. To their very threshold the bloodthirsty enemy raged; there his murderous fury owned a limit. Thither did such of the enemy as had any pity convey those to whom they had given quarter, lest any less mercifully disposed might fall upon them. And, indeed, when even those murderers who everywhere else showed themselves pitiless came to these spots where that was forbidden which the licence of war permitted in every other place, their furious rage for slaughter was bridled, and their eagerness to take prisoners was quenched. Thus escaped multitudes who now reproach

1 Jas. iv. 6 and 1 Pet v. 5. 2 Virgil, sEnid, vi. 854.
the Christian religion, and impute to Christ the ills that have befallen their city; but the preservation of their own life—"a boon which they owe to the respect entertained for Christ by the barbarians"—they attribute not to our Christ, but to their own good luck. They ought rather, had they any right perceptions, to attribute the severities and hardships inflicted by their enemies, to that divine providence which is wont to reform the depraved manners of men by chastisement, and which exercises with similar afflictions the righteous and praiseworthy,—"either translating them, when they have passed through the trial, to a better world, or detaining them still on earth for ulterior purposes. And they ought to attribute it to the spirit of these Christian times, that, contrary to the custom of war, these bloodthirsty barbarians spared them, and spared them for Christ's sake, whether this mercy was actually shown in promiscuous places, or in those places specially dedicated to Christ's name, and of which the very largest were selected as sanctuaries, that full scope might thus be given to the expansive compassion which desired that a large multitude might find shelter there. Therefore ought they to give God thanks, and with sincere confession flee for refuge to His name, that so they may escape the punishment of eternal fire—"they who with lying lips took upon them this name, that they might escape the punishment of present destruction. For of those whom you see insolently and shamelessly insulting the servants of Christ, there are numbers who would not have escaped that destruction and slaughter had they not pretended that they themselves were Christ's servants. Yet now, in ungrateful pride and most impious madness, and at the risk of being punished in everlasting darkness, they perversely oppose that name under which they fraudulently protected themselves for the sake of enjoying the light of this brief life.

2. That it is quite contrary to the usage of war, that the victors should spare the vanquished for the sake of their gods.

There are histories of numberless wars, both before the building of Rome and since its rise and the extension of its dominion: let these be read, and let one instance be cited in which, when a city had been taken by foreigners, the victors spared those who were found to have fled for sanctuary to the temples of their gods—"Dying Priam at the shrine, Staining the hearth he made divine?"
Did not Diomede and Ulysses

w Drag with red hands, the sentry slain, Her fateful image from your fane, Her chaste
locks touch, and stain with gore The virgin coronal she wore? " 3

Neither is that true which follows, that

" Thenceforth the tide of fortune changed, And Greece grew weak." 4

For after this they conquered and destroyed Troy with fire and sword; after this they
beheaded Priam as he fled to the altars.
Neither did Troy perish because it lost Minerva. For what had Minerva herself first lost,
that she should perish? Her guards perhaps? No doubt; just her guards. For as soon as
they were slain, she could be stolen. It was not, in fact, the men who were preserved by
the image, but the image by the men. How, then, was she invoked to defend the city and
the citizens, she who could not defend her own defenders?

' 3. That the Romans did not show their usual sagacity when they trusted that they would
be benefited by the gods who liad been unable to defend Troy.

And these be the gods to whose protecting care the Romans were delighted to entrust
their city! too, too piteous mistake! And they are enraged at us when we speak thus
about their gods, though, so far from being enraged at their own writers, they part with
money to learn what they say; and, indeed, the very teachers of these authors are
reckoned worthy of a salary from the public purse, and of other honours. There is Virgil,
who is read by boys, in order that this great poet, this most famous and approved of all

1 The Benedictines remind us that Alexander and Xenophon, at least on some occasions,
did so. â™

2 Virgil, ^Eneid, ii. 501-2. The renderings of Virgil are from Conington.

3 Ibid. ii. 166. 4 Ibid.
poets, may impregnate their virgin minds, and may not readily be forgotten by them, according to that saying of Horace,

11 The fresh cask long keeps its first tang." x

Well, in this Virgil, I say, Juno is introduced as hostile to the Trojans, and stirring up Eolus, the king of the winds, against them in the words,

'A race I hate now ploughs the sea, Transporting Troy to Italy, And home-gods conquered" 2 . . .

And ought prudent men to have entrusted the defence of Rome to these conquered gods? But it will be said, this was only the saying of Juno, who, like an angry woman, did not know what she was saying. What, then, says Eneas himself, "Eneas who is so often designated "pious?" Does he not say,

"Lo! Panthus, 'scape from death by flight, Priest of Apollo on the height, His conquered gods with trembling hands He bears, and shelter swift demands?" 3

Is it not clear that the gods (whom he does not scruple to call "conquered") were rather entrusted to Eneas than he to them, when it is said to him,

11 The gods of her domestic shrines Your country to your care consigns?" 4

If, then, Virgil says that the gods were such as these, and were conquered, and that when conquered they could not escape except under the protection of a man, what madness is it to suppose that Rome had been wisely entrusted to these guardians, and could not have been taken unless it had lost them! Indeed, to worship conquered gods as protectors and champions, what is this but to worship, not good divinities, but evil omens? 5 Would it not be wiser to believe, not that Rome would never have fallen into so great a calamity had not they first perished, but rather that they would have perished long since had not Rome preserved them as long as she could? For who does not see, when he thinks of it, what a foolish assumption it is that they could not be vanquished under vanquished defenders, and that they only perished

1 Horace, Ep. I. ii. 69. 2 JEneid, i. 71. 3 Ibid. ii. 319. 4 Ibid. 293. 6 Non minima bona, sed omina mala.

THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]
because they had lost their guardian gods, when, indeed, the only cause of their perishing was that they chose for their protectors gods condemned to perish? The poets, therefore, when they composed and sang these things about the conquered gods, had no intention to invent falsehoods, but uttered, as honest men, what the truth extorted from them. This, however, will be carefully and copiously discussed in another and more fitting place. Meanwhile I will briefly, and to the best of my ability, explain what I meant to say about these ungrateful men who blasphemously impute to Christ the calamities which they deservedly suffer in consequence of their own wicked ways, while that which is for Christ's sake spared them in spite of their wickedness they do not even take the trouble to notice; and in their mad and blasphemous insolence, they use against His name those very lips wherewith they falsely claimed that same name that their lives might be spared. In the places consecrated to Christ, where for His sake no enemy would injure them, they restrained their tongues that they might be safe and protected; but no sooner do they emerge from these sanctuaries, than they unbridle these tongues to hurl against Him curses full of hate.

4. Of the asylum of Juno in Troy, which saved no one from the Greeks; and of the churches of the apostles, which protected from the barbarians all who fed to them.

Troy itself, the mother of the Roman people, was not able, as I have said, to protect its own citizens in the sacred places of their gods from the fire and sword of the Greeks, though the Greeks worshipped the same gods. Not only so, but

"Phoenix and Ulysses fell In the void courts by Juno's cell

"Were set the spoil to keep; Snatched from the burning shrines away, There Ilium's mighty treasure lay, Rich altars, bowls of massy gold, And captive raiment, rudely rolled In one promiscuous heap; While boys and matrons, wild with fear, In long array were standing near." *

ft

In other words, the place consecrated to so great a goddess

1 Virgil, uEneid, ii. 761.
was chosen, not that from it none might be led out a captive, but that in it all the captives
might be immured. Compare now this " asylum " * " asylum not of an ordinary god,
not of one of the rank and file of gods, but of Jove's own sister and wife, the queen of all
the gods * " with the churches built in memory of the apostles. Into it were collected the
spoils rescued from the blazing temples and snatched from the gods, not that they might
be restored to the vanquished, but divided among the victors;
while into these was carried
back, with the most religious observance and respect, everything which belonged to
them, even though found elsewhere. There liberty was lost; here preserved. There
bondage was strict; here strictly excluded. Into that temple men were driven to become
the chattels of their enemies, now lording it over them; into these churches men were led
by their relenting foes, that they might be at liberty. In fine, the gentle * Greeks
appropriated that temple of Juno to the purposes of their own avarice and pride; while
these churches of Christ were chosen even by the savage barbarians as the fit scenes for
humility and mercy. But perhaps, after all, the Greeks did in that victory of theirs spare
the temples of those gods whom they worshipped in common with the Trojans, and did
not dare to put to the sword or make captive the wretched and vanquished Trojans
who fled thither; and perhaps Virgil, in the manner of poets, has depicted what never really
happened? But there is no question that he depicted the usual custom of an enemy when
sacking a city.

5. Ccesar's statement regarding the universal custom of an enemy when
sacking a city.

Even Caesar himself gives us positive testimony regarding this custom; for, in his
deliverance in the senate about the conspirators, he says (as Sallust, a historian of
distinguished veracity, writes) * " that virgins and boys are violated, children torn from
the embrace of their parents, matrons subjected to

1 Though " levis " was the word usually employed to signify the inconstancy of the
Greeks, it is evidently here used, in opposition to " immanis " of the following clause, to
indicate that the Greeks were more civilised than the barbarians, and not relentless, but,
as we say, easily moved.

2 De Conj. Cat. c. 51.

8 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

whatever should be the pleasure of the conquerors, temples and houses plundered,
slaughter and burning rife; in fine, all things filled with arms, corpses, blood, and
wailing." If he had not mentioned temples here, we might suppose that enemies were in the habit of sparing the dwellings of the gods.

And the Eoman temples were in danger of these disasters, not from foreign foes, but from Catiline and his associates, the most noble senators and citizens of Eome. But these, it may be said, were abandoned men, and the parricides of their fatherland.

6. That not even the Romans, when they took cities, spared the conquered in their temples.

"Why, then, need our argument take note of the many nations who have waged wars with one another, and have nowhere spared the conquered in the temples of their gods? Let us look at the practice of the Eoraans themselves: let us, I say, recall and review the Eomans, whose chief praise it has been " to spare the vanquished and subdue the proud," and that they preferred " rather to forgive than to revenge an injury;" 1 and among so many and great cities which they have stormed, taken, and overthrown for the extension of their dominion, let us be told what temples they were accustomed to exempt, so that whoever took refuge in them was free. Or have they really done this, and has the fact been suppressed by the historians of these events? Is it to be believed, that men who sought out with the greatest eagerness points they could praise, would omit those which, in their own estimation, are the most signal proofs of piety? Marcus Marcellus, a distinguished Eoman, who took Syracuse, a most splendidly adorned city, is reported to have bewailed its coming ruin, and to have shed his own tears over it before he spilt its blood. He took steps also to preserve the chastity even of his enemy. For before he gave orders for the storming of the city, he issued an edict forbidding the violation of any free person. Yet the city was sacked according to the custom of war; nor do we anywhere read, that even by so chaste and gentle a commander orders were given that no one should be injured who had fled to this or that temple.

1 Sallust, Cat. Conj. ix.
And this certainly would by no means have been omitted, when neither his weeping nor his edict preservative of chastity could be passed in silence. Fabius, the conqueror of the city of Tarentum, is praised for abstaining from making booty of the images. For when his secretary proposed the question to him, what he wished done with the statues of the gods, which had been taken in large numbers, he veiled his moderation under a joke. For he asked of what sort they were; and when they reported to him that there were not only many large images, but some of them armed, "Oh," says he, "let us leave with the Tarentines their angry gods." Seeing, then, that the writers of Eoman history could not pass in silence, neither the weeping of the one general nor the laughing of the other, neither the chaste pity of the one nor the facetious moderation of the other, on what occasion would it be omitted, if, for the honour of any of their enemy's gods, they had shown this particular form of leniency, that in any temple slaughter or captivity was prohibited?

7. That the cruelties which occurred in the sack of Rome were in accordance with the custom of war, whereas the acts of clemency resulted from the influence of Christ's name.

All the spoiling, then, which Rome was exposed to in the recent calamity "all the slaughter, plundering, burning, and misery" was the result of the custom of war. But what was novel, was that savage barbarians showed themselves in so gentle a guise, that the largest churches were chosen and set apart for the purpose of being filled with the people to whom quarter was given, and that in them none were slain, from them none forcibly dragged; that into them many were led by their relenting enemies to be set at liberty, and that from them none were led into slavery by merciless foes. Whoever does not see that this is to be attributed to the name of Christ, and to the Christian temper, is blind; whoever sees this, and gives no praise, is ungrateful; whoever hinders any one from praising it, is mad. Far be it from any prudent man to impute this clemency to the barbarians. Their fierce and bloody minds were awed, and bridled, and marvellously tempered by Him who so long before said by His prophet, "I will visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquities with stripes; nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from them." *

8. Of the advantages and disadvantages which often indiscriminately accrue to good and wicked men.
"Will some one say, Why, then, was this divine compassion extended even to the ungodly and ungrateful ? "Why, but because it was the mercy of Him who daily " maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." 2 For though some of these men, taking thought of this, repent of their wickedness and reform, some, as the apostle says, " despising the riches of His goodness and long-suffering, after their hardness and impenitent heart, treasure up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his deeds:" 3 nevertheless does the patience of God still invite the wicked to repentance, even as the scourge of God educates the good to patience. And so, too, does the mercy of God embrace the good that it may cherish them, as the severity of God arrests the wicked to punish them. To the divine providence it has seemed good to prepare in the world to come for the righteous good things, which the unrighteous shall not enjoy; and for the wicked evil things, by which the good shall not be tormented. But as for the good things of this life, and its ills, God has willed that these should be common to both; that we might not too eagerly covet the things which wicked men are seen equally to enjoy, nor shrink with an unseemly fear from the ills which even good men often suffer.

There is, too, a very great difference in the purpose served both by those events which we call adverse and those called prosperous. For the good man is neither uplifted with the good things of time, nor broken by its ills; but the wicked man, because he is corrupted by this world's happiness, feels himself punished by its unhappiness. 4 Yet often, even in the

1 Ps. lxxxix. 32. 2 Matt. v. 45. 3 Rom. ii. 4.

4 So Cyprian (Contra Demetrianum) says, "Pcvnam de adversis mundi ille sentit, cui et laetitia et gloria omnis in mundo est."
present distribution of temporal things, does God plainly evince His own interference. For if every sin were now visited with manifest punishment, nothing would seem to be reserved for the final judgment; on the other hand, if no sin received now a plainly divine punishment, it would be concluded that there is no divine providence at all. And so of the good things of this life: if God did not by a very visible liberality confer these on some of those persons who ask for them, we should say that these good things were not at His disposal; and if He gave them to all who sought them, we should suppose that such were the only rewards of His service; and such a service would make us not godly, but greedy rather, and covetous. Wherefore, though good and bad men suffer alike, we must not suppose that there is no difference between the men themselves, because there is no difference in what they both suffer. For even in the likeness of the sufferings, there remains an unlikeness in the sufferers; and though exposed to the same anguish, virtue and vice are not the same thing. For, as the same fire causes gold to glow brightly, and chaff to smoke; and under the same flail the straw is beaten small, while the grain is cleansed; and as the lees are not mixed with the oil, though squeezed out of the vat by the same pressure, so the same violence of affliction proves, purges, clarifies the good, but damns, ruins, exterminates the wicked. And thus it is that in the same affliction the wicked detest God and blaspheme, while the good pray and praise. So material a difference does it make, not what ills are suffered, but what kind of man suffers them. For, stirred up with the same movement, mud exhales a horrible stench, and ointment emits a fragrant odour.

9. Of the reasons for administering correction to bad and good together.

What, then, have the Christians suffered in that calamitous period, which would not profit every one who duly and faithfully considered the following circumstances? First of all, they must humbly consider those very sins which have provoked God to fill the world with such terrible disasters; for although they be far from the excesses of wicked, immoral, and ungodly men, yet they do not judge themselves so clean removed from all faults as to be too good to suffer for these even temporal ills. For every man, however laudably he lives, yet yields in some points to the lust of the flesh. Though he do not fall into gross enormity of wickedness, and abandoned viciousness, and abominable profanity, yet he slips into some sins, either rarely or so much the more frequently as the sins seem of less account. But not to mention this, where can we readily find a man who holds in fit and just estimation those persons on account of whose revolting pride, luxury, and avarice, and cursed iniquities and impiety, God now smites the earth as His predictions threatened?
"Where is the man who lives with them in the style in which it becomes us to live with them? For often we wickedly blind ourselves to the occasions of teaching and admonishing them, sometimes even of reprimanding and chiding them, either because we shrink from the labour or are ashamed to offend them, or because we fear to lose good friendships, lest this should stand in the way of our advancement, or injure us in some worldly matter, which either our covetous disposition desires to obtain, or our weakness shrinks from losing. So that, although the conduct of wicked men is distasteful to the good, and therefore they do not fall with them into that damnation which in the next life awaits such persons, yet, because they spare their damnable sins through fear, therefore, even though their own sins be slight and venial, they are justly scourged with the wicked in this world, though in eternity they quite escape punishment. Justly, when God afflicts them in common with the wicked, do they find this life bitter, through love of whose sweetness they declined to be bitter to these sinners.

If any one forbears to reprove and find fault with those who are doing wrong, because he seeks a more seasonable opportunity, or because he fears they may be made worse by his rebuke, or that other weak persons may be disheartened from endeavouring to lead a good and pious life, and may be driven from the faith; this man's omission seems to be occasioned not by covetousness, but by a charitable consideration. But what is blameworthy is, that they who themselves revolt from the conduct of the wicked, and live in quite another fashion, yet spare those faults in other men which they ought to reprehend and wean them from; and spare them because
they fear to give offence, lest they should injure their interests in those things which good men may innocently and legitimately use; though they use them more greedily than becomes persons who are strangers in this world, and profess the hope of a heavenly country. For not only the weaker brethren, who enjoy married life, and have children (or desire to have them), and own houses and establishments, whom the apostle addresses in the churches, warning and instructing them how they should live, both the wives with their husbands, and the husbands with their wives, the children with their parents, and parents with their children, and servants with their masters, and masters with their servants, not only do these weaker brethren gladly obtain and grudgingly lose many earthly and temporal things on account of which they dare not offend men whose polluted and wicked life greatly displeases them; but those also who live at a higher level, who are not entangled in the meshes of married life, but use meagre food and raiment, do often take thought of their own safety and good name, and abstain from finding fault with the wicked, because they fear their wiles and violence. And although they do not fear them to such an extent as to be drawn to the commission of like iniquities, nay, not by any threats or violence soever; yet those very deeds which they refuse to share in the commission of, they often decline to find fault with, when possibly they might by finding fault prevent their commission. They abstain from interference, because they fear that, if it fail of good effect, their own safety or reputation may be damaged or destroyed; not because they see that their preservation and good name are needful, that they may be able to influence those who need their instruction, but rather because they weakly relish the flattery and respect of men, and fear the judgments of the people, and the pain or death of the body; that is to say, their non-intervention is the result of selfishness, and not of love.

Accordingly, this seems to me to be one principal reason why the good are chastised along with the wicked, when God is pleased to visit with temporal punishments the profligate manners of a community. They are punished together, not because they have spent an equally corrupt life, but because
the good as well as the wicked, though not equally with them, love this present life; while they ought to hold it cheap, that the wicked, being admonished and reformed by their example, might lay hold of life eternal. And if they will not be the companions of the good in seeking life everlasting, they should be loved as enemies, and be dealt with patiently. For so long as they live, it remains uncertain whether they may not come to a better mind. These selfish persons have more cause to fear than those to whom it was said through the prophet, "He is taken away in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand." 1 For watchmen or overseers of the people are appointed in churches, that they may unspARINGLY rebuke sin. Xor is that man guiltless of the sin we speak of, who, though he be not a watchman, yet sees in the conduct of those with whom the relationships of this life bring him into contact, many things that should be blamed, and yet overlooks them, fearing to give offence, and lose such worldly blessings as may legitimately be desired, but which he too eagerly grasps. Then, lastly, there is another reason why the good are afflicted with temporal calamities — the reason which Job's case exemplifies: that the human spirit may be proved, and that it may be manifested with what fortitude of pious trust, and with how unmercenary a love, it cleaves to God. 2

10. That the saints lose nothing in losing temporal goods.

These are the considerations which one must keep in view, that he may answer the question whether any evil happens to the faithful and godly which cannot be turned to profit. Or shall we say that the question is needless, and that the apostle is vapouring when he says, "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God?" 3

They lost all they had. Their faith? Their godliness?
The possessions of the hidden man of the heart, which in the sight of God are of great price? 4 Did they lose these? For these are the wealth of Christians, to whom the wealthy apostle

1 Ezek. xxxiii. 6.

2 Compare with this chapter the first homily of ChVysostom to the people of Antioch.

3 Rom. viii. 28. * 1 Pet. iii. i.
said, "Godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which, while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." *

They, then, who lost their worldly all in the sack of Borne, if they owned their possessions as they had been taught by the apostle, who himself was poor without, but rich within, â€” that is to say, if they used the world as not using it, â€” could say in the words of Job, heavily tried, but not overcome:
"Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so has it come to pass: blessed be the name of the Lord." 2 Like a good servant, Job counted the will of his Lord his great possession, by obedience to which his soul was enriched; nor did it grieve him to lose, while yet living, those goods which he must shortly leave at his death. But as to those feebler spirits who, though they cannot be said to prefer earthly possessions to Christ, do yet cleave to them with a somewhat immoderate attachment, they have discovered by the pain of losing these things how much they were sinning in loving them. For their grief is of their own making; in the words of the apostle quoted above, "they have pierced themselves through with many sorrows."

For it was well that they who had so long despised these verbal admonitions should receive the teaching of experience.

For when the apostle says, "They that will be rich fall into temptation," and so on, what he blames in riches is not the possession of them, but the desire of them. For elsewhere he says, "Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for them-1 1 Tim. vi. 6-10. * Job i. 21.

16 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

selves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life." 1 They who were making such a use of their property have been consoled for light losses
by great gains, and have had more pleasure in those possessions which they have securely laid past, by freely giving them away, than grief in those which they entirely lost by an anxious and selfish hoarding of them. For nothing could perish on earth save what they would be ashamed to carry away from earth. Our Lord's injunction runs, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." 2 And they who have listened to this injunction have proved in the time of tribulation how well they were advised in not despising this most trustworthy teacher, and most faithful and mighty guardian of their treasure. For if many were glad that their treasure was stored in places which the enemy chanced not to light upon, how much better founded was the joy of those who, by the counsel of their God, had fled with their treasure to a citadel which no enemy can possibly reach! Thus our Paulinus, bishop of Nola, 3 who voluntarily abandoned vast wealth and became quite poor, though abundantly rich in holiness, when the barbarians sacked Xola, and took him prisoner, used silently to pray, as he afterwards told me, "Lord, let me not be troubled for gold and silver, for where all my treasure is Thou knowest." For all his treasure was where he had been taught to hide and store it by Him who had also foretold that these calamities would happen in the world. Consequently those persons who obeyed their Lord when He warned them where and how to lay up treasure, did not lose even their earthly possessions in the invasion of the barbarians; while those who are now repenting  


3 Paulinus was a native of Bordeaux, and both by inheritance and marriage acquired great wealth, which, after his conversion at his thirty-sixth year, he distributed to the poor. He became bishop of Nola in A.D. 409, being then in his fifty-sixth year. Xola was taken by Alaric shortly after the sack of Rome.
that they did not obey Him have learnt the right use of earthly goods, if not by the wisdom which would have prevented their loss, at least by the experience which follows it.

But some good and Christian men have been put to the torture, that they might be forced to deliver up their goods to the enemy. They could indeed neither deliver nor lose that good which made themselves good. If, however, they preferred torture to the surrender of the mammon of iniquity, then I say they were not good men. Either they should have been reminded that, if they suffered so severely for the sake of money, they should endure all torment, if need be, for Christ's sake; that they might be taught to love Him rather who enriches with eternal felicity all who suffer for Him, and not silver and gold, for which it was pitiable to suffer, whether they preserved it by telling a lie, or lost it by telling the truth.

For under these tortures no one lost Christ by confessing Him, no one preserved wealth save by denying its existence. So that possibly the torture which taught them that they should set their affections on a possession they could not lose, was more useful than those possessions which, without any useful fruit at all, disquieted and tormented their anxious owners.

But then we are reminded that some were tortured who had no wealth to surrender, but who were not believed when they said so. These too, however, had perhaps some craving for wealth, and were not willingly poor with a holy resignation; and to such it had to be made plain, that not the actual possession alone, but also the desire of wealth, deserved such excruciating pains. And even if they were destitute of any hidden stores of gold and silver, because they were living in hopes of a better life, I know not indeed if any such person was tortured on the supposition that he had wealth; but if so, then certainly in confessing, when put to the question, a holy poverty, he confessed Christ. And though it was scarcely to be expected that the barbarians should believe him, yet no confessor of a holy poverty could be tortured without receiving a heavenly reward.

Again, they say that the long famine laid many a Christian low. But this, too, the faithful turned to good uses by a pious endurance of it. For those whom famine killed outright it
rescued from the ills of this life, as a kindly disease would have done; and those who were only hunger-bitten were taught to live more sparingly, and inured to longer fasts.

11. Of the end of this life, whether it is material that it be long delayed.

But, it is added, many Christians were slaughtered, and were put to death in a hideous variety of cruel ways. Well, if this be hard to bear, it is assuredly the common lot of all who are born into this life. Of this at least I am certain, that no one has ever died who was not destined to die some time. Xow the end of life puts the longest life on a par with the shortest. For of two things which have alike ceased to be, the one is not better, the other worse â€” the one greater, the other less. 1 And of what consequence is it what kind of death puts an end to life, since he who has died once is not forced to go through the same ordeal a second time? And as in the daily casualties of life every man is, as it were, threatened with numberless deaths, so long as it remains uncertain which of them is his fate, I would ask whether it is not better to suffer one and die, than to live in fear of all? I am not unaware of the poor-spirited fear which prompts us to choose rather to live long in fear of so many deaths, than to die once and so escape them all; but the weak and cowardly shrinking of the flesh is one thing, and the well-considered and reasonable persuasion of the soul quite another. That death is not to be judged an evil which is the end of a good life; for death becomes evil only by the retribution which follows it. They, then, who are destined to die, need not be careful to inquire what death they are to die, but into what place death will usher them. And since Christians are well aware-that the death of the godly pauper whose sores the dogs licked was far better than of the wicked rich man who lay in purple and fine linen, what harm could these terrific deaths do to the dead who had lived well?

1 Much of a kindred nature might be gathered from the Stoics. Antoninus says (ii. 14): "Though thou shouldest be going to live 3000 years, and as many times 10,000 years, still remember that no man loses any other life than this which he now lives, nor liveth any other than this which he now loses. The longest and the shortest are thus brought to the same."
12. Of the burial of the dead: that the denial of it to Christians does them no injury. 1

Further still, we are reminded that in such a carnage as then occurred, the bodies could not even be buried. But godly confidence is not appalled by so ill-omened a circumstance; for the faithful bear in mind that assurance has been given that not a hair of their head shall perish, and that, therefore, though they even be devoured by beasts, their blessed resurrection will not hereby be hindered. The Truth would nowise have said, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul," 2 if anything whatever that an enemy could do to the body of the slain could be detrimental to the future life. Or will some one perhaps take so absurd a position as to contend that those who kill the body are not to be feared before death, and lest they kill the body, but after death, lest they deprive it of burial? If this be so, then that is false which Christ says, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; " 3 for it seems they can do great injury to the dead body. Far be it from us to suppose that the Truth can be thus false. They who kill the body are said "to do something," because the death-blow is felt, the body still having sensation; but after that, they have no more that they can do, for in the slain body there is no sensation. And so there are indeed many bodies of Christians lying unburied; but no one has separated them from heaven, nor from that earth which is all filled with the presence of Him who knows whence He will raise again what He created. It is said, indeed, in the Psalm:
"The dead bodies of Thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of Thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them." 4
But this was said rather to exhibit the cruelty of those who did these things, than the misery of those who suffered them.
To the eyes of men this appears a harsh and doleful lot, yet "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." 5

1 Augustine expresses himself more fully on this subject in his tract, De cura pro mortuis gerenda.

2 Matt. x. 28. * 3 Luke xii. 4. 4 Ps. lxxix. 2, 3. 6 Ps. cxvi. 15.

20 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

Wherefore all these last offices and ceremonies that concern the dead, the careful funeral arrangements, and the equipment of the tomb, and the pomp of obsequies, are rather the solace of the living than the comfort of the dead. If a costly burial does any good to a
wicked man, a squalid burial, or none at all, may harm the godly. His crowd of domestics furnished the purple-clad Dives with a funeral gorgeous in the eye of man; but in the sight of God that was a more sumptuous funeral which the ulcerous pauper received at the hands of the angels, who did not carry him out to a marble tomb, but bore him aloft to Abraham's bosom.

The men against whom I have undertaken to defend the city of God laugh at all this. But even their own philosophers 1 have despised a careful burial; and often whole armies have fought and fallen for their earthly country without caring to inquire whether they would be left exposed on the field of battle, or become the food of wild beasts. Of this noble disregard of sepulture poetry has well said: "He who has no tomb has the sky for his vault." 2 How much less ought they to insult over the unburied bodies of Christians, to whom it has been promised that the flesh itself shall be restored, and the body formed anew, all the members of it being gathered not only from the earth, but from the most secret recesses of any other of the elements in which the dead bodies of men have lain hid !

13. Reasons for burying the bodies of the saints.

Nevertheless the bodies of the dead are not on this account to be despised and left unburied; least of all the bodies of the righteous and faithful, which have been used by the Holy Ghost as His organs and instruments for all good works. For if the dress of a lather, or his ring, or anything he wore, be precious to his children, in proportion to the love they bore him, with how much more reason ought we to care for...

1 Diogenes especially, and his followers. See also Seneca, De Tranq. c. 14, and Epist. 92; and in Cicero's Ticsc. Disp. i. 43, the answer of Theodorus, the Cyrenian philosopher, to Lysimachus, who threatened him with the cross: "Threaten that to your courtiers; it is of no consequence to Theodorus whether he rot in the earth or in the air."

2 Lucan, PJiaarsalia, vii. 819, of those whom Caesar forbade to be buried after the battle of Pharsalia,
the bodies of those we love, which they wore far more closely and intimately than any clothing! For the body is not an extraneous ornament or aid, but a part of man's very nature.

And therefore to the righteous of ancient times the last offices were piously rendered, and sepulchres provided for them, and obsequies celebrated j 1 and they themselves, while yet alive, gave commandment to their sons about the burial, and, on occasion, even about the removal of their bodies to some favourite place. 2 And Tobit, according to the angel's testimony, is commended, and is said to have pleased God by burying the dead. 3 Our Lord Himself, too, though He was to rise again the third day, applauds, and commends to our applause, the good work of the religious woman who poured precious ointment over His limbs, and did it against His burial. 4

And the Gospel speaks with commendation of those who were careful to take down His body from the cross, and wrap it lovingly in costly cerements, and see to its burial. 5

These instances certainly do not prove that corpses have any feeling; but they show that God's providence extends even to the bodies of the dead, and that such pious offices are pleasing to Him, as cherishing faith in the resurrection. And we may also draw from them this wholesome lesson, that if God does not forget even any kind office which loving care pays to the unconscious dead, much more does He reward the charity we exercise towards the living. Other things, indeed, which the holy patriarchs said of the burial and removal of their bodies, they meant to be taken in a prophetic sense; but of these we need not here speak at large, what we have already said being sufficient.

But if the want of those things which are necessary for the support of the living, as food and clothing, though painful and trying, does not break down the fortitude and virtuous endurance of good men, nor eradicate piety from their souls, but rather renders it more fruitful, how much less can the absence of the funeral, and of the other customary attentions paid to the dead, render those wretched who are already reposing in the hidden abodes of the blessed! Consequently, though in the sack of Eome and of other towns the dead

1 Gen. xxv. 9, xxxv. 29, etc. 2 Gen. xlvi. 29, 1. 24.
3 Tob. xii. 12. 4 Matt. xxvi. 10-13. 5 John xix. 38.

22 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]
bodies of the Christians were deprived of these last offices, this is neither the fault of the living, for they could not render them; nor an infliction to the dead, for they cannot feel the loss.

14. Of the captivity of the saints, and that divine consolation never failed them therein.

But, say they, many Christians were even led away captive. This indeed were a most pitiable fate, if they could be led away to any place where they could not find their God. But for this calamity also sacred Scripture affords great consolation. The three youths 1 were captives; Daniel was a captive; so were other prophets: and God, the comforter, did not fail them. And in like manner He has not failed His own people in the power of a nation which, though barbarous, is yet human, âHe who did not abandon the prophet 2 in the belly of a monster. These things, indeed, are turned to ridicule rather than credited by those with whom we are debating; though they believe what they read in their own books, that Arion of Methymna, the famous lyrist, 3 when he was thrown overboard, was received on a dolphin's back and carried to land. But that story of ours about the prophet Jonah is far more incredible, âmore incredible because more marvellous, and more marvellous because a greater exhibition of power.

15. Of Fegidus, in whom we have an example of the voluntary endurance of captivity for the sake of religion; which yet did not profit him, though he was a worshipper of the gods.

But among their own famous men they have a very noble example of the voluntary endurance of captivity in obedience to a religious scruple. Marcus Attilius Begulus, a Roman general, was a prisoner in the hands of the Carthaginians. But they, being more anxious to exchange their prisoners with the Romans than to keep them, sent Begulus as a special envoy with their own ambassadors to negotiate this exchange, but bound him first with an oath, that if he failed to accomplish their wish, he would return to Carthage. He went, and persuaded the senate to the opposite course, because he

1 Dan. iii. * 2 Jonah.

3 "Second to none," as he is called by Herodotus, who first of all tells his well-known story {Clio. 23, 24}. 
believed it was not for the advantage of the Eoman republic to make an exchange of prisoners. After he had thus exerted his influence, the Eomans did not compel him to return to the enemy; but what he had sworn he voluntarily performed. But the Carthaginians put him to death with refined, elaborate, and horrible tortures. They shut him up in a narrow box, in which he was compelled to stand, and in which finely sharpened nails were fixed all round about him, so that he could not lean upon any part of it without intense pain; and so they killed him by depriving him of sleep. 1 "With justice, indeed, do they applaud the virtue which rose superior to so frightful' a fate. However, the gods he swore by were those who are now supposed to avenge the prohibition of their worship, by inflicting these present calamities on the human race. But if these gods, who were worshipped specially in this behalf, that they might confer happiness in this life, either willed or permitted these punishments to be inflicted on one who kept his oath to them, what more cruel punishment could they in their anger have inflicted on a perjured person ?

But why may I not draw from my reasoning a double inference ? Begulus certainly had such reverence for the gods, that for his oath's sake he would neither remain in his own land, nor go elsewhere, but without hesitation returned to his bitterest enemies. If he thought that this course would be advantageous with respect to this present life, he was certainly much deceived, for it brought his life to a frightful termination. By his own example, in fact, he taught that the gods do not secure the temporal happiness of their worshippers; since he himself, who was devoted to their worship, was both conquered in battle and taken prisoner, and then, because he refused to act in violation of the oath he had sworn by them, was tortured and put to death by a new, and hitherto unheard of, and all too horrible kind of punishment. And on the supposition that the worshippers of the gods are rewarded by felicity in the life to come, why, then, do they calumniate the influence of Christianity ? why do they assert that this

1 Augustine here uses the words of Cicero ("vigilando peremerunt "), who refers to Kegulus, in Pisonem, c. 19. Aulus Gellius, quoting Tubero and Tuditianus (vi. 4), adds some further particulars regarding these tortures.

disaster has overtaken the city because it has ceased to worship its gods, since, worship them as assiduously as it may, it may yet be as unfortunate as Begums was ? Or will some one carry so wonderful a blindness to the extent of wildly attempting, in the face of the evident truth, to contend that though one man might be unfortunate, though a worshipper of the gods, yet a whole city could not be so ? That is to say, the power of
But if they say that M. Eegulus, even while a prisoner and enduring these bodily torments, might yet enjoy the blessedness of a virtuous soul, I then let them recognise that true virtue by which a city also may be blessed. For the blessedness of a community and of an individual flow from the same source; for a community is nothing else than a harmonious collection of individuals. So that I am not concerned meantime to discuss what kind of virtue Eegulus possessed: enough, that by his very noble example they are forced to own that the gods are to be worshipped not for the sake of bodily comforts or external advantages; for he preferred to lose all such things rather than offend the gods by whom he had sworn. But what can we make of men who glory in having such a citizen, but dread having a city like him? If they do not dread this, then let them acknowledge that some such calamity as befell Ptegulus may also befall a community, though they be worshipping their gods as diligently as he; and let them no longer throw the blame of their misfortunes on Christianity. But as our present concern is with those Christians who were taken prisoners, -let those who take occasion from this calamity to revile our most wholesome religion in a fashion not less imprudent than impudent, consider this and hold their peace; for if it was no reproach to their gods that a most punctilious worshipper of theirs should, for the sake of keeping his oath to them, be deprived of his native land without hope of finding another, and fall into the hands of his enemies, and be put to death by a long-drawn and exquisite torture, much less ought the

1 As the Stoics generally would affirm.
Christian name to be charged with the captivity of those who believe in its power, since they, in confident expectation of a heavenly country, know that they are pilgrims even in their own homes.

16. Of the violation of the consecrated and other Christian virgins to which they were subjected in captivity, and to which their own will gave no consent; and whether this contaminated their souls.

But they fancy they bring a conclusive charge against Christianity, when they aggravate the horror of captivity by adding that not only wives and unmarried maidens, but even consecrated virgins, were violated. But truly, with respect to this, it is not Christian faith, nor piety, nor even the virtue of chastity, which is hemmed into any difficulty: the only difficulty is so to treat the subject as to satisfy at once modesty and reason. And in discussing it we shall not be so careful to reply to our accusers as to comfort our friends. Let this, therefore, in the first place, be laid down as an unassailable position, that the virtue which makes the life good has its throne in the soul, and thence rules the members of the body, which becomes holy in virtue of the holiness of the will; and that while the will remains firm and unshaken, nothing that another person does with the body, or upon the body, is any fault of the person who suffers it, so long as he cannot escape it without sin. But as not only pain may be inflicted, but lust gratified on the body of another, whenever anything of this latter kind takes place, shame invades even a thoroughly pure spirit from which modesty has not departed, â€” shame, lest that act which could not be suffered without some sensual pleasure, should be believed to have been committed also with some assent of the will.

17. Of suicide committed through fear of punishment or dishonour.

And consequently, even if some of these virgins killed themselves to avoid such disgrace, who that has any human feeling would refuse to forgive them? And as for those who would not put an end to their lives, lest they might seem to escape the crime of another by a sin of their own, he who lays this to their charge as a great wickedness is himself not guiltless of the fault of folly. For if it is not lawful to take the law into our own hands, and slay even a guilty person, whose death no public sentence has warranted, then certainly he who kills himself is a homicide, and so much the guiltier of his own death, as he was more innocent of that offence for which he doomed himself to die. Do we justly execrate the deed of Judas, and does truth itself pronounce that by hanging himself he rather aggravated than expiated the guilt of that most iniquitous betrayal, since, by despairing of God's mercy in his sorrow that wrought death, he left to
himself no place for a healing penitence? How much more ought he to abstain from laying violent hands on himself who has done nothing worthy of such a punishment! For Judas, when he killed himself, killed a wicked man; but he passed from this life chargeable not only with the death of Christ, but with his own: for though he killed himself on account of his crime, his killing himself was another crime. "Why, then, should a man who has done no ill do ill to himself, and by killing himself kill the innocent to escape another's guilty act, and perpetrate upon himself a sin of his own, that the sin of another may not be perpetrated on him?

18. Of the violence which may be done to the body by another's lust, while the mind remains inviolate.

But is there a fear that even another's lust may pollute the violated? It will not pollute, if it be another's: if it pollute, it is not another's, but is shared also by the polluted. But since purity is a virtue of the soul, and has for its companion virtue the fortitude which will rather endure all ills than consent to evil; and since no one, however magnanimous and pure, has always the disposal of his own body, but can control only the consent and refusal of his will, what sane man can suppose that, if his body be seized and forcibly made use of to satisfy the lust of another, he thereby loses his purity? For if purity can be thus destroyed, then assuredly purity is no virtue of the soul; nor can it be numbered among those good things by which the life is made good, but among the good things of the body, in the same category as strength, beauty, sound and unbroken health, and, in short, all such good things as may be diminished without at all diminishing the goodness and rectitude of our life. But if purity
be nothing better than these, why should the body be perilled that it may be preserved? If, on the other hand, it belongs to the soul, then not even when the body is violated is it lost. Nay more, the virtue of holy continence, when it resists the uncleanness of carnal lust, sanctifies even the body, and therefore when this continence remains unsubdued, even the sanctity of the body is preserved, because the will to use it holily remains, and, so far as lies in the body itself, the power also.

For the sanctity of the body does not consist in the integrity of its members, nor in their exemption from all touch; for they are exposed to various accidents which do violence to and wound them, and the surgeons who administer relief often perform operations that sicken the spectator. A midwife, suppose, has (whether maliciously or accidentally, or through unskilfulness) destroyed the virginity of some girl, while endeavouring to ascertain it: I suppose no One is so foolish as to believe that, by this destruction of the integrity of one organ, the virgin has lost anything even of her bodily sanctity. And thus, so long as the soul keeps this firmness of purpose which sanctifies even the body, the violence done by another's lust makes no impression on this bodily sanctity, which is preserved intact by one's own persistent continence. Suppose a virgin violates the oath she has sworn to God, and goes to meet her seducer with the intention of yielding to him, shall we say that as she goes she is possessed even of bodily sanctity, when already she has lost and destroyed that sanctity of soul which sanctifies the body? Far be it from us to so misapply words. Let us rather draw this conclusion, that while the sanctity of the soul remains even when the body is violated, the sanctity of the body is not lost; and that, in like manner, the sanctity of the body is lost when the sanctity of the soul is violated, though the body itself remain intact.

And therefore a woman who has been violated by the sin of another, and without any consent of her own, has no cause to put herself to death; much less has she cause to commit suicide in order to avoid such violation, for in that case she commits certain homicide to prevent a crime which is uncertain as yet, and not her own.

28 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

19. Of Lucretia, who put an end to her life because of the outrage done her.

This, then, is our position, and it seems sufficiently lucid. "We maintain that when a woman is violated while her soul admits no consent to the iniquity, but remains inviolably chaste, the sin is not hers, but his who violates her. But do they against whom we have to defend not only the souls, but the sacred bodies too of these outraged Christian captives, â€” do they, perhaps, dare to dispute our position? But all know how loudly they extol the purity of Lucretia, that noble matron of ancient Rome. When King Tarquin's son had violated her body, she made known the wickedness of this young profligate to her husband Collatinus, and to Brutus her kinsman, men of high rank
and full of courage, and bound them by an oath to avenge it. Then, heart-sick, and unable to bear the shame, she put an end to her life. "What shall we call her ? An adulteress, or chaste ? There is no question which she was. ISTot more happily than truly did a declaimer say of this sad occurrence: " Here was a marvel: there were two, and only one committed adultery." Most forcibly and truly spoken. For this declaimer, seeing in the union of the two bodies the foul lust of the one, and the chaste will of the other, and giving heed not to the contact of the bodily members, but to the wide diversity of their souls, says: " There were two, but the adultery was committed only by one."

But how is it, that she who was no partner to the crime bears the heavier punishment of the two ? For the adulterer was only banished along with his father; she suffered the extreme penalty. If that was not impurity by which she was unwillingly ravished, then this is not justice by which she, being chaste, is punished. To you I appeal, ye laws and judges of Borne. Even after the perpetration of great enormities, you do not suffer the criminal to be slain untried.

If, then, one were to bring to your bar this case, and were to prove to you that a woman not only untried, but chaste and innocent, had been killed, would you not visit the murderer with punishment proportionally severe ? This crime was committed by Lucretia; that Lucretia ,so celebrated and lauded slew the innocent, chaste, outraged Lucretia. Pronounce sentence. But if you cannot, because there does not
compair any one whom you can punish, why do you extol with such unmeasured laudation her who slew an innocent and chaste woman? Assuredly you will find it impossible to defend her before the judges of the realms below, if they be such as your poets are fond of representing them; for she is among those

"Who guiltless sent themselves to doom, And all for loathing of the day, In madness threw their lives away."

And if she with the others wishes to return,

4 'Fate bars the way: around their keep The slow unlovely waters creep, And bind with ninefold chain." 1

Or perhaps she is not there, because she slew herself conscious of guilt, not of innocence? She herself alone knows her reason; but what if she was betrayed by the pleasure of the act, and gave some consent to Sextus, though so violently abusing her, and then was so affected with remorse, that she thought death alone could expiate her sin? Even though this were the case, she ought still to have held her hand from suicide, if she could with her false gods have accomplished a fruitful repentance. However, if such were the state of the case, and if it were false that there were two, but one only committed adultery; if the truth were that both were involved in it, one by open assault, the other by secret consent, then she did not kill an innocent woman; and therefore her erudite defenders may maintain that she is not among that class of the dwellers below "who guiltless sent themselves to doom." But this case of Lucretia is in such a dilemma, that if you extenuate the homicide, you confirm the adultery: if you acquit her of adultery, you make the charge of homicide heavier; and there is no way out of the dilemma, when one asks, If she was adulterous, why praise her? if chaste, why slay her?

Nevertheless, for our purpose of refuting those who are unable to comprehend what true sanctity is, and who therefore insult over our outraged Christian women, it is enough that in the instance of this noble Eoman matron it was said in her

1 Virgil, JZneid, vi. 434. V

30 TEE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

praise, "There were two, but the adultery was the crime of only one." For Lucretia was confidently believed to be superior to the contamination of any consenting thought to the adultery. And accordingly, since she killed herself for being subjected to an outrage in which she had no guilty part, it is obvious that this act of hers was prompted not by the love of purity, but by the overwhelming burden of her shame. She was ashamed that so
foul a crime had been perpetrated upon her, though without her abetting; and this matron, with the Eoman love of glory in her veins, was seized with a proud dread that, if she continued to live, it would be supposed she willingly did not resent the wrong that had been done her. She could not exhibit to men her conscience, but she judged that her self-inflicted punishment would testify her state of mind; and she burned with shame at the thought that her patient endurance of the foul affront that another had done her, should be construed into complicity with him. Not such was the decision of the Christian women who suffered as she did, and yet survive. They declined to avenge upon themselves the guilt of others, and so add crimes of their own to those crimes in which they had no share. For this they would have done had their shame driven them to homicide, as the lust of their enemies had driven them to adultery. "Within their own souls, in the witness of their own conscience, they enjoy the glory of chastity. In the sight of God, too, they are esteemed pure, and this contents them; they ask no more: it suffices them to have opportunity of doing good, and they decline to evade the distress of human suspicion, lest they thereby deviate from the divine law.

20. That Christians have no authority far committing suicide in any circumstances whatever.

It is not without significance, that in no passage of the holy canonical books there can be found either divine precept or permission to take away our own life, whether for the sake of entering on the enjoyment of immortality, or of shunning, or ridding ourselves of anything whatever. Nay, the law, rightly interpreted, even prohibits suicide, where it says, “Thou shalt not kill.” This is proved specially by the
omission of the words "thy neighbour/" which are inserted when false witness is forbidden: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." ISTor yet should any one on this account suppose he has not broken this commandment if he has borne false witness only against himself. For the love of our neighbour is regulated by the love of ourselves, as it is written, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." If, then, he who makes false statements about himself is not less guilty of bearing false witness than if he had made them to the injury of his neighbour; although in the commandment prohibiting false witness only his neighbour is mentioned, and persons taking no pains to understand it might suppose that a man was allowed to be a false witness to his own hurt; how much greater reason have we to understand that a man may not kill himself, since in the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," there is no limitation added nor any exception made in favour of any one, and least of all in favour of him on whom the command is laid! And so some attempt to extend this command even to beasts and cattle, as if it forbade us to take life from any creature. But if so, why not extend it also to the plants, and all that is rooted in and nourished by the earth? For though this class of creatures have no sensation, yet they also are said to live, and consequently they can die; and therefore, if violence be done them, can be killed. So, too, the apostle, when speaking of the seeds of such things as these, says, "That which thou sOWest is not quickened except it die;" and in the Psalm it is said, "He killed their vines with hail." Must we therefore reckon it a breaking of this commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," to pull a flower? Are we thus insanely to countenance the foolish error of the Manicheans? Putting aside, then, these ravings, if, when we say, Thou shalt not kill, we do not understand this of the plants, since they have no sensation, nor of the irrational animals that fly, swim, walk, or creep, since they are dissociated from us by their want of reason, and are therefore by the just appointment of the Creator subjected to us to kill or keep alive for our own uses; if so, then it remains that we understand that commandment simply of man. The commandment is, "Thou shalt not kill man;" therefore neither another nor yourself, for he who kills himself still kills nothing else than man.

21. Of the cases in which we may put men to death without incurring the guilt of murder.

However, there are some exceptions made by the divine authority to its own law, that men may not be put to death.
These exceptions are of two kinds, being justified either by a general law, or by a special
commission granted for a time to some individual. And in this latter case, he to whom
authority is delegated, and who is but the sword in the hand of him who uses it, is not
himself responsible for the death he deals.
And, accordingly, they who have waged war in obedience to the divine command, or in
conformity with His laws have represented in their persons the public justice or the
wisdom of government, and in this capacity have put to death wicked men; such persons
have by no means violated the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." Abraham indeed
was not merely deemed guiltless of cruelty, but was even applauded for his piety, because
he was ready to slay his son in obedience to God, not to his own passion. And it is
reasonably enough made a question, whether we are to esteem it to have been in
compliance with a command of God that Jephthah killed his daughter, because she met
him when he had vowed that he would sacrifice to God whatever first met him as he
returned victorious from battle. Samson, too, who drew down the house on himself and
his foes together, is justified only on this ground, that the Spirit who wrought wonders by
him had given him secret instructions to do this. With the exception, then, of these two
classes of cases, which are justified either by a just law that applies generally, or by a
special intimation from God Himself, the fountain of all justice, whoever kills a man,
either himself or another, is implicated in the guilt of murder.

22. That suicide can never be prompted by magnanimity.

But they who have laid violent hands on themselves are perhaps to be admired for their
greatness of soul, though they cannot be applauded for the soundness, of their judgment.
However, if you look at the matter more closely, you will scarcely call it greatness of
soul, which prompts a man to kill
himself rather than bear up against some hardships of fortune, or sins in which he is not implicated. Is it not rather proof of a feeble mind, to be unable to bear either the pains of bodily servitude or the foolish opinion of the vulgar? And is it not that to be pronounced the greater mind, which rather faces than flees the ills of life, and which, in comparison of the light and purity of conscience, holds in small esteem the judgment of men, and specially of the vulgar, which is frequently involved in a mist of error? And, therefore, if suicide is to be esteemed a magnanimous act, none can take higher rank for magnanimity than that Cleombrotus, who (as the story goes), when he had read Plato's book in which he treats of the immortality of the soul, threw himself from a wall, and so passed from this life to that which he believed to be better. For he was not hard pressed by calamity, nor by any accusation, false or true, which he could not very well have lived down: there was, in short, no motive but only magnanimity urging him to seek death, and break away from the sweet detention of this life. And yet that this was a magnanimous rather than a justifiable action, Plato himself, whom he had read, would have told him; for he would certainly have been forward to commit, or at least to recommend suicide, had not the same bright intellect which saw that the soul was immortal, discerned also that to seek immortality by suicide was to be prohibited rather than encouraged.

Again, it is said many have killed themselves to prevent an enemy doing so. But we are not inquiring whether it has been done, but whether it ought to have been done. Sound judgment is to be preferred even to examples, and indeed examples harmonize with the voice of reason; but not all examples, but those only which are distinguished by their piety, and are proportionately worthy of imitation. For suicide we cannot cite the example of patriarchs, prophets, or apostles; though our Lord Jesus Christ, when He admonished them to flee from city to city if they were persecuted, might very well have taken that occasion to advise them to lay violent hands on themselves, and so escape their persecutors. But seeing He did not do this, nor proposed this mode of departing this life, though He were addressing His own
friends for whom He had promised to prepare everlasting mansions, it is obvious that such examples as are produced from the " nations that forget God/" give no warrant of imitation to the worshippers of the one true God.

23. What we are to think of the example of Cato, who slew himself because unable to endure Cossar's victory.

Besides Lucretia, of whom enough has already been said, our advocates of suicide have some difficulty in finding any other prescriptive example, unless it be that of Cato, who killed himself at Utica. His example is appealed to, not because he was the only man who did so, but because he was so esteemed as a learned and excellent man, that it could plausibly be maintained that what he did was and is a good thing to do. But of this action of his, what can I say but that his own friends, enlightened men as he, prudently dissuaded him, and therefore judged his act to be that of a feeble rather than a strong spirit, and dictated not by honourable feeling forestalling shame, but by weakness shrinking from hardships ? Indeed, Cato condemns himself by the advice he gave to his dearly loved son. For if it was a disgrace to live under Caesar's rule, why did the father urge the son to this disgrace, by encouraging him to trust absolutely to Caesar's generosity ? Why did he not persuade him to die along with himself ? If Torquatus was applauded for putting his son to death, when contrary to orders he had engaged, and engaged successfully, with the enemy, why did conquered Cato spare his conquered son, though he did not spare himself ? Was it more disgraceful to be a victor contrary to orders, than to submit to a victor contrary to the received ideas of honour ? Cato, then, cannot have deemed it to "be shameful to live under Caesar's rule; for had he done so, the father's sword would have delivered his son from this disgrace. The truth is, that his son, whom he both hoped and desired would be spared by Caesar, was not more loved by him than Caesar was envied the glory of pardoning him (as indeed Caesar himself is reported to have said 1 ); or if envy is too strong a word, let us say he was ashamed that this glory should be his.

1 Plutarch's Life of Cato, 72.
24. That in that virtue in which Regulus excels Cato, Christians are "pre-eminently distinguished.

Our opponents are offended at our preferring to Cato the saintly Job, who endured dreadful evils in his body rather than deliver himself from all torment by self-inflicted death; or other saints, of whom it is recorded in our authoritative and trustworthy books that they bore captivity and the oppression of their enemies rather than commit suicide. But their own books authorize us to prefer to Marcus Cato, Marcus Eegulus. For Cato hid never conquered Caesar; and when conquered by him, disdained to submit himself to him, and that he might escape this submission put himself to death. Eegulus, on the contrary, had formerly conquered the Carthaginians, and in command of the army of Rome had won for the Roman republic a victory which no citizen could bewail, and which the enemy himself was constrained to admire; yet afterwards, when he in his turn was defeated by them, he preferred to be their captive rather than to put himself beyond their reach by suicide. Patient under the domination of the Carthaginians, and constant in his love of the Romans, he neither deprived the one of his conquered body, nor the other of his unconquered spirit. Neither was it love of life that prevented him from killing himself. This was plainly enough indicated by his unhesitatingly returning, on account of his promise and oath, to the same enemies whom he had more grievously provoked by his words in the senate than even by his arms in battle. Having such a contempt of life, and preferring to end it by whatever torments excited enemies might contrive, rather than terminate it by his own hand, he could not more distinctly have declared how great a crime he judged suicide to be. Among all their famous and remarkable citizens, the Romans have no better man to boast of than this, who was neither corrupted by prosperity, for he remained a very poor man after winning such victories; nor broken by adversity, for he returned intrepidly to the most miserable end. But if the bravest and most renowned heroes, who had but an earthly country to defend, and who, though they had but false gods, yet rendered them a true worship, and carefully kept their oath to them; if these men, who by the custom

36 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]
the enemy who has sinned, or may yet sin against him, who is so infatuated as to maintain that he may kill himself because an enemy has sinned, or is going to sin, against him?

25. That we should not endeavour by sin to obviate sin.

But, we are told, there is ground to fear that, when the body is subjected to the enemy's lust, the insidious pleasure of sense may entice the soul to consent to the sin, and steps must be taken to prevent so disastrous a result. And is not suicide the proper mode of preventing not only the enemy's sin, but the sin of the Christian so allured? EToW, in the first place, the soul which is led by God and His wisdom, rather than by bodily concupiscence, will certainly never consent to the desire aroused in its own flesh by another's lust.

And, at all events, if it be true, as the truth plainly declares, that suicide is a detestable and damnable wickedness, who is such a fool as to say, Let us sin now, that we may obviate a possible future sin; let us now commit murder, lest we perhaps afterwards should commit adultery? If we are so controlled by iniquity that innocence is out of the question, and we can at best but make a choice of sins, is not a future and uncertain adultery preferable to a present and certain murder?

Is it not better to commit a wickedness which penitence may heal, than a crime which leaves no place for healing contrition? I say this for the sake of those men or women who fear they may be enticed into consenting to their violator's
lust, and think they should lay violent hands on themselves, and so prevent, not another's sin, but their own. But far be it from the mind of a Christian confiding in God, and resting in the hope of His aid; far be it, I say, from such a mind to yield a shameful consent to pleasures of the flesh, howsoever presented. And if that lustful disobedience, which still dwells in our mortal members, follows its own law irrespective of our will, surely its motions in the body of one who rebels against them are as blameless as its motions in the body of one who sleeps.

26. That in certain peculiar cases the examples of the saints are not to be followed.

But, they say, in the time of persecution some holy women escaped those who menaced them with outrage, by casting themselves into rivers which they knew would drown them; and having died in this manner, they are venerated in the church catholic as martyrs. Of such persons I do not presume to speak rashly. I cannot tell whether there may not have been vouchsafed to the church some divine authority, proved by trustworthy evidences, for so honouring their memory: it may be that it is so. It may be they were not deceived by human judgment, but prompted by divine wisdom, to their act of self-destruction. We know that this was the case with Samson. And when God enjoins any act, and intimates by plain evidence that He has enjoined it, who will call obedience criminal? Who will accuse so religious a submission? But then every man is not justified in sacrificing his son to God, because Abraham was commendable in so doing. The soldier who has slain a man in obedience to the authority under which he is lawfully commissioned, is not accused of murder by any law of his state; nay, if he has not slain him, it is then he is accused of treason to the state, and of despising the law. But if he has been acting on his own authority, and at his own impulse, he has in this case incurred the crime of shedding human blood. And thus he is punished for doing without orders the very thing he is punished for neglecting to do when he has been ordered. If the commands of a general make so great a difference, shall the commands of God make none? He, then, who knows it

38 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]
death, for this is to escape the ills of time by plunging into those of eternity; that no man ought to do so on account of another man's sins, for this were to escape a guilt which could not pollute him, by incurring great guilt of his own; that no man ought to do so on account of his own past sins, for he has all the more need of this life that these sins may be healed by repentance; that no man should put an end to this life to obtain that better life we look for after death, for those who die by their own hand have no better life after death.

27. Whether voluntary death should be sought in order to avoid sin.

There remains one reason for suicide which I mentioned before, and which is thought a sound one, "namely, to prevent one's falling into sin either through the blandishments of pleasure or the violence of pain. If this reason were a good one, then we should be impelled to exhort men at once to destroy themselves, as soon as they have been washed in the laver of regeneration, and have received the forgiveness of all sin. Then is the time to escape all future sin, when all past sin is blotted out. And if this escape be lawfully secured by suicide, why not then specially? "Why does any baptized person hold his hand from taking, his own life? Why does any person who is freed from the hazards of this life again expose himself to them, when he has power so easily to rid himself of them all, and when it is written, "He who loveth danger shall fall into it?" 2 "Why does he love, or at least face, so many serious dangers, by remaining in this life from which he may legitimately depart? But is anyone so blinded and twisted in his moral nature, and so far astray from the truth,

1 1 Cor. ii. 11. 2 Ecclus. iii. 27. .
as to think that, though a man ought to make away with himself for fear of being led into sin by the oppression of one man, his master, he ought yet to live, and so expose himself to the hourly temptations of this world, both to all those evils which the oppression of one master involves, and to numberless other miseries in which this life inevitably implicates us? What reason, then, is there for our consuming time in those exhortations by which we seek to animate the baptized, either to virginal chastity, or vidual continence, or matrimonial fidelity, when we have so much more simple and compendious a method of deliverance from sin, by persuading those who are fresh from baptism to put an end to their lives, and so pass to their Lord pure and well-conditioned?

If any one thinks that such persuasion should be attempted, I say not he is foolish, but mad. With what face, then, can he (say to any man, "Kill yourself, lest to your small sins you add a heinous sin, while you live under an unchaste master, whose conduct is that of a barbarian?" How can he say this, if he cannot without wickedness say, "Kill yourself, now that you are washed from all your sins, lest you fall again into similar or even aggravated sins, while you live in a world which has such power to allure by its unclean pleasures, to torment by its horrible cruelties, to overcome by its errors and terrors?" It is wicked to say this; it is therefore wicked to kill oneself. For if there could be any just cause of suicide, this were so. And since not even this is so, there is none.

28. By what judgment of God the enemy was permitted to indulge his lust on the bodies of continent Christians.

Let not your life, then, be a burden to you, ye faithful servants of Christ, though your chastity was made the sport of your enemies. You have a grand and true consolation, if you maintain a good conscience, and know that you did not consent to the sins of those who were permitted to commit sinful outrage upon you. And if you should ask why this permission was granted, indeed it is a deep providence of the Creator and Governor of the world; and "unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out." I

Nevertheless,

1 Rom. xi. 33.

faithfully interrogate your own souls, whether ye have not been unduly puffed up by your integrity, and continence, and chastity; and whether ye have not been so desirous of the human praise that is accorded to these virtues, that ye have envied some who possessed them. I, for my part, do not know your hearts, and therefore I make no accusation; I do not even hear what your hearts answer when you question them. And yet, if they answer
that it is as I have supposed it might be, do not marvel that you have lost that by which you can win men's praise, and retain that which cannot be exhibited to men. If you did not consent to sin, it was because God added His aid to His grace that it might not be lost, and because shame before men succeeded to human glory that it might not be loved. But in both respects even the fainthearted among you have a consolation, approved by the one experience, chastened by the other; justified by the one, corrected by the other. As to those whose hearts, when interrogated, reply that they have never been proud of the virtue of virginity, widowhood, or matrimonial chastity, but, condescending to those of low estate, rejoiced with trembling in these gifts of God, and that, they have never envied any one the like excellences of sanctity and purity, but rose superior to human applause, which is wont to be abundant in proportion to the rarity of the virtue applauded, and rather desired that their own number be increased, than that by the smallness of their numbers each of them should be conspicuous; â€” even such faithful women, I say, must not complain that permission was given to the barbarians so grossly to outrage them; nor must they allow themselves to believe that God overlooked their character when He permitted acts which no one with impunity commits. For some most flagrant and wicked desires are allowed free play at present by the secret judgment of God, and are reserved to the public and final judgment. Moreover, it is possible that those Christian women, who are unconscious of any undue pride on account of their virtuous chastity, whereby they sinlessly suffered the violence of their captors, had yet some lurking infirmity which might have betrayed them into a proud and contemptuous bearing, had they not been subjected to the humiliation that
[BOOK I.] CONSOLATION OF VIOLATED VIRGINS. 41

befell them in the taking of the city. As, therefore, some men were removed by death, that no wickedness might change their disposition, so these women were outraged lest prosperity should corrupt their modesty. Neither those women, then, who were already puffed up by the circumstance that they were still virgins, nor those who might have been so puffed up had they not been exposed to the violence of the enemy, lost their chastity, but rather gained humility: the former were saved from pride already cherished, the latter from pride that would shortly have grown upon them.

We must further notice that some of those sufferers may have conceived that continence is a bodily good, and abides so long as the body is inviolate, and did not understand that the purity both of the body and the soul rests on the stedfastness of the will strengthened by God's grace, and cannot be forcibly taken from an unwilling person. From this error they are probably now delivered. For when they reflect how conscientiously they served God, and when they settle again to the firm persuasion that He can in nowise desert those who so serve Him, and so invoke His aid; and when they consider, what they cannot doubt, how pleasing to Him is chastity, they are shut up to the conclusion that He could never have permitted these disasters to befall His saints, if by them that saintliness could be destroyed which He Himself had bestowed upon them, and delights to see in them.

29. What the servants of Christ should say in reply to the unbelievers who cast in their teeth that Christ did not rescue them from the Jury of their enemies.

The whole family of God, most high and most true, has therefore a consolation of its own, a consolation which cannot deceive, and which has in it a surer hope than the tottering and falling affairs of earth can afford. They will not refuse the discipline of this temporal life, in which they are schooled for life eternal; nor will they lament their experience of it, for the good things of earth they use as pilgrims who are not detained by them, and its ills either prove or improve them.

As for those who insult over them in their trials, and when ills befall them say, "Where is thy God?" 1 we may ask them where their gods are when they suffer the very calamities for

1 Ps. xlii. 10.

42 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

the sake of avoiding which they worship their gods, or maintain they ought to be worshipped; for the family of Christ is furnished with its reply: our God is everywhere present, wholly everywhere; not confined to any place. He can be present unperceived, and be absent without moving; when He exposes us to adversities, it is either to prove our perfections or correct our imperfections; and in return for our patient endurance of the
sufferings of time, He reserves for us an everlasting reward. But who are you, that we should deign to speak with you even about your own gods, much less about our God, who is " to be feared above all gods ? For all the gods of the nations are idols; but the Lord made the heavens. " 1

30. That those who complain of Christianity really desire to live without restraint in shameful luxury.

If the famous Scipio Nasica were now alive, who was once your pontiff, and was unanimously chosen by the senate, when, in the panic created by the Punic war, they sought for the best citizen to entertain the Phrygian goddess, he would curb this shamelessness of yours, though you would perhaps scarcely dare to look upon the countenance of such a man.

For why in your calamities do you complain of Christianity, unless because you desire to enjoy your luxurious licence unrestrained, and to lead an abandoned and profligate life without the interruption of any uneasiness or disaster? For certainly your desire for peace, and prosperity, and plenty is not prompted by any purpose of using these blessings honestly, that is to say, with moderation, sobriety, temperance, and piety; for your purpose rather is to run riot in an endless variety of sottish pleasures, and thus to generate from your prosperity a moral pestilence which will prove a thousandfold more disastrous than the fiercest enemies. It was such a calamity as this that Scipio, your chief pontiff, your best man in the judgment of the whole senate, feared when he refused to agree to the destruction of Carthage, Eome's rival; and opposed Cato, who advised its destruction. He feared security, that enemy of weak minds, and he perceived that a wholesome fear would be a fit guardian for the citizens. And

1 Fs. xcvi. 4, 5.
he was not mistaken: the event proved how wisely he had spoken. For when Carthage was destroyed, and the Eoman republic delivered from its great cause of anxiety, a crowd of disastrous evils forthwith resulted from the prosperous condition of things. First concord was weakened, and destroyed by fierce and bloody seditions; then followed, by a concatenation of baleful causes, civil wars, which brought in their train such massacres, such bloodshed, such lawless and cruel proscription and plunder, that those Komans who, in the days of their virtue, had expected injury only at the hands of their enemies, now that their virtue was lost, suffered greater cruelties at the hands of their fellow-citizens. The lust of rule, which with other vices existed among the Eomans in 'more unmitigated intensity than among any other people, after it had taken possession of the more powerful few, subdued under its yoke the rest, worn and wearied.

31. By what steps the passion for governing increased among the Romans.

For at what stage would that passion rest when once it has lodged in a proud spirit, until by a succession of advances it has reached even the throne? And to obtain such advances nothing avails but unscrupulous ambition. But unscrupulous ambition has nothing to work upon, save in a nation corrupted by avarice and luxury. Moreover, a people becomes avaricious and luxurious by prosperity; and it was this which that very prudent man Nasica was endeavouring to avoid when he opposed the destruction of the greatest, strongest, wealthiest city of Eome's enemy. He thought that thus fear would act as a curb on lust, and that lust being curbed would not run riot in luxury, and that luxury being prevented avarice would be at an end; and that these vices being banished, virtue would flourish and increase, to the great profit of the state; and liberty, the fit companion of virtue, would abide unfettered.

For similar reasons, and animated by the same considerate patriotism, that same chief pontiff of yoursâ€”I still refer to him who was adjudged Eome's best man without one dissentient voiceâ€”threw cold water on the proposal of the senate to build a circle of seats round the theatre, and in a very weighty speech warned them against allowing the luxurious manners of Greece to sap the Eoman manliness, and persuaded them not to yield to the enervating and emasculating influence of foreign licentiousness. So authoritative and
forcible were his words, that the senate was moved to prohibit the use even of those benches which hitherto had been customarily brought to the theatre for the temporary use of the citizens. * How eagerly would such a man as this have banished from Rome the scenic exhibitions themselves, had he dared to oppose the authority of those whom he supposed to be gods! For he did not know that they were malicious devils; or if he did, he supposed they should rather be propitiated than despised. For there had not yet been revealed to the Gentiles the heavenly doctrine which should purify their hearts by faith, and transform their natural disposition by humble godliness, and turn them from the service of proud devils to seek the things that are in heaven, or even above the heavens.

32. Of the establishment of scenic entertainments.

Know then, ye who are ignorant of this, and ye who feign ignorance be reminded, while you murmur against Him who has freed you from such rulers, that the scenic games, exhibitions of shameless folly and licence, were established at Rome, not by men's vicious cravings, but by the appointment of your gods. Much more pardonably might you have rendered divine honours to Scipio than to such gods as these. The gods were not so moral as their pontiff. But give me now your attention, if your mind, inebriated by its deep potations of error, can take in any sober truth. The gods enjoined that games be exhibited in their honour to stay a physical pestilence; their pontiff prohibited the theatre from being constructed, to prevent a moral pestilence. If, then, there remains in you sufficient mental enlightenment to prefer the soul to the body, choose whom you will worship. Besides, though the pestilence was stayed, this was not because the voluptuous madness of stage-plays had taken possession of a warlike people hitherto accustomed only to the games of the circus; but these astute and wicked spirits, foreseeing that in due

1 Originally the spectators had to stand, and now (according to Livy, Ep. xlviii.) the old custom was restored.
course the pestilence would shortly cease, took occasion to infect, not the bodies, but the
morals of their worshippers, with a far more serious disease. And in this pestilence these
gods find great enjoyment, because it benighted the minds of men with so gross a
darkness, and dishonoured them with so foul a deformity, that even quite recently (will
posterity be able to credit it ?) some of those who fled from the sack of Eome and found
refuge in Carthage, were so infected with this disease, that day after day they seemed to
contend with one another who should most madly run after the actors in the theatres.

33. That the overthrow of Rome has not corrected the vices of the Romans.

Oh infatuated men, what is this blindness, or rather madness, which possesses you ? How
is it that while, as we hear, even the eastern nations are bewailing your ruin, and while
powerful states in the most remote parts of the earth are mourning your fall as a public
calamity, ye yourselves should be crowding to the theatres, should be pouring into them
and filling them; and, in short, be playing a madder part now than ever before ? This was
the foul plague-spot, this the wreck of virtue and honour that Scipio sought to preserve
you from when he prohibited the construction of theatres; this was his reason for desiring
that you might still have an enemy to fear, seeing as he did how easily prosperity would
corrupt and destroy you. He did not consider that republic flourishing whose walls stand,
but whose morals are in ruins. But the seductions of evil-minded devils had more
influence with you than the precautions of prudent men. Hence the injuries you do, you
will not permit to be imputed to you; but the injuries you suffer, you impute to
Christianity. Depraved by good fortune, and not chastened by adversity, what you desire
in the restoration of a peaceful and secure state, is not the tranquillity of the
commonwealth, but the impunity of your own vicious luxury. Scipio wished you to be
hard pressed by an enemy, that you might not abandon yourselves to luxurious manners;
but so abandoned are you, that not even when crushed by the enemy is your luxury
repressed. You have missed the profit of your calamity; you have been made most
wretched, and have remained most profligate.

46 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK I.]

34. Of God's clemency in moderating the ruin of the city.

And that you are yet alive is due to God, who spares you that you may be admonished to
repent and reform your lives.
It is He who has permitted you, ungrateful as you are, to escape the sword of the enemy,
by calling yourselves His servants, or by finding asylum in the sacred places of the
martyrs.
It is said that Eomulus and Eemus, in order to increase the population of the city they founded, opened a sanctuary in which every man might find asylum and absolution of all crime, “a remarkable foreshadowing of what has recently occurred in honour of Christ. The destroyers of Eome followed the example of its founders. But it was not greatly to their credit that the latter, for the sake of increasing the number of their citizens, did that which the former have done, lest the number of their enemies should be diminished.

35. Of the sons of the church who are hidden among the wicked, and of false Christians within the church.

Let these and similar answers (if any fuller and fitter answers can be found) be given to their enemies by the redeemed family of the Lord Christ, and by the pilgrim city of King Christ.

But let this city bear in mind, that among her enemies lie hid those who are destined to be fellow-citizens, that she may not think it a fruitless labour to bear what they inflict as enemies until they become confessors of the faith. So, too, as long as she is a stranger in the world, the city of God has in her communion, and bound to her by the sacraments, some who shall not eternally dwell in the lot of the saints. Of these, some are not now recognised; others declare themselves, and do not hesitate to make common cause with our enemies in murmuring against God, whose sacramental badge they wear. These men you may to-day see thronging the churches with us, to-morrow crowding the theatres with the godless. But we have the less reason to despair of the reclamation even of such persons, if among our most declared enemies there are now some, unknown to themselves, who are destined to become our friends. In truth, these two cities are entangled together in this world, and intermixed until the last judgment effect their separation. I now proceed to speak, as God shall help me, of the rise, progress, and end
of these two cities; and what I write, I write for the glory of the city of God, that, being placed in comparison with the other, it may shine with a brighter lustre.

36. What subjects are to be handled in the following discourse.

But I have still some things to say in confutation of those who refer the disasters of the Koman republic to our religion, because it prohibits the offering of sacrifices to the gods. For this end I must recount all, or as many as may seem sufficient, of the disasters which befell that city and its subject provinces, before these sacrifices were prohibited; for all these disasters they would doubtless have attributed to us, if at that time our religion had shed its light upon them, and had prohibited their sacrifices. I must then go on to show what social well-being the true God, in whose hand are all kingdoms, vouchsafed to grant to them that their empire might increase. I must show why He did so, and how their false gods, instead of at all aiding them, greatly injured them by guile and deceit. And, lastly, I must meet those who, when on this point convinced and confuted by irrefragable proofs, endeavour to maintain that they worship the gods, not hoping for the present advantages of this life, but for those which are to be enjoyed after death. And this, if I am not mistaken, will be the most difficult part of my task, and will be worthy of the loftiest argument; for we must then enter the lists with the philosophers, not the mere common herd of philosophers, but the most renowned, who in many points agree with ourselves, as regarding the immortality of the soul, and that the true God created the world, and by His providence rules all He has created. But as they differ from us on other points, we must not shrink from the task of exposing their errors, that, having refuted the gainsaying of the wicked with such ability as God may vouchsafe, we may assert the city of God, and true piety, and the worship of God, to which alone the promise of true and everlasting felicity is attached.

Here, then, let us conclude, that we may enter on these subjects in a fresh book.

48 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]

BOOK SECOND.

ARGUMENT.

IN THIS BOOK AUGUSTINE REVIEWS THOSE CALAMITIES WHICH THE ROMANS SUFFERED BEFORE THE TIME OF CHRIST, AND WHILE THE WORSHIP OF THE FALSE GODS WAS UNIVERSALLY PRACTISED; AND
DEMONSTRATES THAT, FAR FROM BEING PRESERVED FROM MISFORTUNE BY THE GODS, THE ROMANS HAVE BEEN BY THEM OVERWHELMED WITH THE ONLY, OR AT LEAST THE GREATEST, OF ALL CALAMITIES â€” THE CORRUPTION OF MANNERS, AND THE VICES OF THE SOUL.

1. Of the limits which must be put to the necessity of replying to an adversary.

IF the feeble mind of man did not presume to resist the clear evidence of truth, but yielded its infirmity to wholesome doctrines, as to a health-giving medicine, until it obtained from God, by its faith and piety, the grace needed to heal it, they who have just ideas, and express them in suitable language, would need to use no orn? discourse to refute the errors of empty conjecture. But this mental infirmity is now more prevalent and hurtful than ever, to such an extent that even after the truth has been as fully demonstrated as man can prove it to man, they hold for the very truth their own unreasonable fancies, either on account of their great blindness, which prevents them from seeing what is plainly set before them, or on account of their opinionative obstinacy, which prevents them from acknowledging the force of what they do see. Therefore frequently arises a necessity of speaking more fully on those points which are already clear, that we may, as it were, present them not to the eye, but even to the touch, so that they may be felt even by those who close their eyes against them. And yet to what end shall we ever bring our discussions, or what bounds can be set to our discourse, if we proceed on the principle that we must always reply to those who reply to us? For those who are either unable to understand our arguments, or are so hardened by the habit of con-
tradition, that though they understand they cannot yield to them, reply to us, and, as it is written, "speak hard things," 1 and are incorrigibly vain. Now, if we were to propose to confute their objections as often as they with brazen face chose to disregard our arguments, and as often as they could by any means contradict our statements, you see how endless, and fruitless, and painful a task we should be undertaking. And therefore I do not wish my writings to be judged even by you, my son Marcellinus, nor by any of those others at whose service this work of mine is freely and in all Christian charity put, if at least you intend always to require a reply to every exception which you hear taken to what you read in it; for so you would become like those silly women of whom the apostle says that they are "always learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." 2

2. Recapitulation of the contents of the first hook.

In the foregoing book, having begun to speak of the city of God, to which I have resolved, Heaven helping me, to consecrate the whole of this work, it was my first endeavour to reply to those who attribute the wars by which the world is being devastated, and specially the recent sack of Rome by the barbarians, to the religion of Christ, which prohibits the offering of abominable sacrifices to devils. I have shown that they ought rather to attribute it to Christ, that for His name's sake the barbarians, in contravention of all custom and law of war, threw open as sanctuaries the largest churches, and in many instances showed such reverence to Christ, that not only His genuine servants, but even those who in their terror feigned themselves to be so, were exempted from all those hardships which by the custom of war may lawfully be inflicted. Then out of this there arose the question, why wicked and ungrateful men were permitted to share in these benefits; and why, too, the hardships and calamities of war were inflicted on the godly as well as on the ungodly. And in giving a suitably full answer to this large question, I occupied some considerable space, partly that I might relieve the anxieties which disturb many when they observe that the blessings of God, and the common and daily human casualties,

1 Ps. xciv. 4. 2 2 Tim. iii. 7.

VOL. I. D
fall to the lot of bad men and good without distinction; but mainly that I might minister some consolation to those holy and chaste women who were outraged by the enemy, in such a way as to shock their modesty, though not to sully their purity, and that I might preserve them from being ashamed of life, though they have no guilt to be ashamed of. And then I briefly spoke against those who with a most shameless wantonness insult over those poor Christians who were subjected to those calamities, and especially over those brokenhearted and humiliated, though chaste and holy women; these fellows themselves being most depraved and unmanly profligates, quite degenerate from the genuine Eomans, whose famous deeds are abundantly recorded in history, and everywhere celebrated, but who have found in their descendants the greatest enemies of their glory. In truth, Eome, which was founded and increased by the labours of these ancient heroes, was more shamefully ruined by their descendants, while its walls were still standing, than it is now by the razing of them.

For in this ruin there fell stones and timbers; but in the ruin those profligates effected, there fell, not the mural, but the moral bulwarks and ornaments of the city, and their hearts burned with passions more destructive than the flames which consumed their houses. Thus I brought my first book to a close. And now I go on to speak of those calamities which that city itself, or its subject provinces, have suffered since its foundation; all of which they would equally have attributed to the Christian religion, if at that early period the doctrine of the gospel against their false and deceiving gods had been as largely and freely proclaimed as now.

3. That we need only to read history in order to see what calamities the Rorftans sufered before tJte religion o/ Christ began to compete with t/ce worship of the gods.

But remember that, in recounting these things, I have still to address myself to ignorant men; so ignorant, indeed, as to give birth to the common saying, " Drought and Christianity
20 hand in hand." 1 There are indeed some amon^ them who

1 " Pluvia defit, causa Christiani. " Similar accusations and similar replies may be seen in the celebrated passage of Tertullian's Apol. c. 40, and in the eloquent exordium of Arnobius, C. Gentes.
are thoroughly well educated men, and have a taste for history, in which the things I speak of are open to their observation; but in order to irritate the uneducated masses against us, they feign ignorance of these events, and do what they can to make the vulgar believe that those disasters, which in certain places and at certain times uniformly befall mankind, are the result of Christianity, which is being everywhere diffused, and is possessed of a renown and brilliancy which quite eclipse their own gods. 1 Let them then, along with us, call to mind with what various and repeated disasters the prosperity of Rome was blighted, before ever Christ had come in the flesh, and before His name had been blazoned among the nations with that glory which they vainly grudge. Let them, if they can, defend their gods in this article, since they maintain that they worship them in order to be preserved from these disasters, which they now impute to us if they suffer in the least degree. For why did these gods permit the disasters I am to speak of to fall on their worshippers before the preaching of Christ's name offended them, and put an end to their sacrifices?

4. That the worshippers of the gods never received from them any healthy moral precepts, and that in celebrating their worship all sorts of impurities were practised.

First of all, we would ask why their gods took no steps to improve the morals of their worshippers. That the true God should neglect those who did not seek His help, that was but justice; but why did those gods, from whose worship ungrateful men are now complaining that they are prohibited, issue no laws which might have guided their devotees to a virtuous life? Surely it was but just, that such care as men showed to the worship of the gods, the gods on their part should have to the conduct of men. But, it is replied, it is by his own will a man goes astray. "Who denies it? But none the less was it incumbent on these gods, who were men's guardians, to publish in plain terms the laws of a good life, and not to conceal them from their worshippers. It was their part to send prophets to reach and convict such as broke these laws, and publicly to proclaim the punishments which await evildoers, and the rewards which may be looked for by those that do well. Did ever the walls of any of their temples echo to any such warning voice? I myself, when I was a young man, used sometimes to go to the sacrilegious entertainments and spectacles; I saw the priests raving in religious excitement, and heard the choristers; I took pleasure in the shameful games which were celebrated in honour of gods and goddesses, of the virgin

1 Augustine is supposed to refer to Symmachus, who similarly accused the Christians in his address to the Emperor Valentinianus in the year 384. At Augustine's request, Paulus Orosius wrote his history in confutation of Symmachus' charges.
Ccelestis, 1 and Berecynthia, 2 the mother of all the gods. And on the holy day consecrated to her purification, there were sung before her couch productions so obscene and filthy for the ear â€” I do not say of the mother of the gods, but of the mother of any senator or honest man â€” nay, so impure, that not even the mother of the foul-mouthed players themselves could have formed one of the audience. For natural reverence for parents is a bond which the most abandoned cannot ignore. And, accordingly, the lewd actions and filthy words with which these players honoured the mother of the gods, in presence of a vast assemblage and audience of both sexes, they could not for very shame have rehearsed at home in presence of their own mothers. And the crowds that were gathered from all quarters by curiosity, offended modesty must, I should suppose, have scattered in the confusion of shame. If these are sacred rites, what is sacrilege? If this is purification, what is pollution? This festivity was called the Tables, 3 as if a banquet were being given at which unclean devils might find suitable refreshment. For it is not difficult

1 Tertullian (Apol. c. 24) mentions Ccelestis as specially worshipped in Africa. Augustine mentions her again in the 26th chapter of this book, and in other parts of his works.

2 Berecynthia is one of the many names of Rhea or Cybele. Livy (xxix. 11) relates that the image of Cybele was brought to Rome the day before the ides of April, which was accordingly dedicated as her feast-day. The image, it seems, had to be washed in the stream Almon, a tributary of the Tiber, before being placed in the temple of Victory; and each year, as the festival returned, the washing was repeated with much pomp at the same spot. Hence Lucan's line (i. 600), 'Et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybelen,' and the elegant verses of Ovid, Fast. iv. 337 et seq.

3 "Fercula," dishes, or courses.
to see what kind of spirits they must be who are delighted with such obscenities, unless, indeed, a man be blinded by these evil spirits passing themselves off under the name of gods, and either disbelieves in their existence, or leads such a life as prompts him rather to propitiate and fear them than the true God.

5. Of the obscenities practised in honour of the mother of the gods.

In this matter I would prefer to have as my assessors in judgment, not those men who rather take pleasure in these infamous customs than take pains to put an end to them, but that same Scipio Nasica who was chosen by the senate as the citizen most worthy to receive in his hands the image of that demon Cybele, and convey it into the city. He would tell us whether he would be proud to see his own mother so highly esteemed by the state as to have divine honours adjudged to her; as the Greeks and Eomans and other nations have decreed divine honours to men who had been of material service to them, and have believed that their mortal benefactors were thus made immortal, and enrolled among the gods. 1 Surely he would desire that his mother should enjoy such felicity were it possible. But if we proceeded to ask him whether, among the honours paid to her, he would wish such shameful rites as these to be celebrated, would he not at once exclaim that he would rather his mother lay stone-dead, than survive as a goddess to lend her ear to these obscenities?

Is it possible that he who was of so severe a morality, that he used his influence as a Eoman senator to prevent the building of a theatre in that city dedicated to the manly virtues, would wish his mother to be propitiated as a goddess with words which would have brought the blush to her cheek when a Eoman matron? Could he possibly believe that the modesty of an estimable woman would be so transformed by her promotion to divinity, that she would suffer herself to be invoked and celebrated in terms so gross and immodest, that if she had heard the like while alive upon earth, and had listened without stopping her ears and hurrying from the spot, her relatives, her husband, and her children would have blushed for her?

Therefore, the mother of the gods being such a character as the most profligate man would be ashamed to have for his mother, and meaning to enthrall the minds of the Eomans, demanded for her service their best citizen, not to ripen him still more in virtue by her helpful counsel, but to entangle him by her deceit, like her of whom it is written, "The adulteress will hunt for the precious soul." * Her intent was to puff up this high-souled man by an apparently divine testimony to his excellence, in order that he might

1 See Cicero, Be Nat. Deor. ii. 24.
rely upon his own eminence in virtue, and make no further efforts after true piety and religion, without which natural genius, however brilliant, vapours into pride and comes to nothing. For what but a guileful purpose could that goddess demand the best man, seeing that in her own sacred festivals she requires such obscenities as the best men would be covered with shame to hear at their own tables?

6. That the gods of the pagans never inculcated holiness of life.

This is the reason why those divinities quite neglected the lives and morals of the cities and nations who worshipped them, and threw no dreadful prohibition in their way to hinder them from becoming utterly corrupt, and to preserve them from those terrible and detestable evils which visit not harvests and vintages, not house and possessions, not the body which is subject to the soul, but the soul itself, the spirit that rules the whole man. If there was any such prohibition, let it be produced, let it be proved. They will tell us that purity and probity were inculcated upon those who were initiated in the mysteries of religion, and that secret incitements to virtue were whispered in the ear of the elite; but this is an "idle boast. Let them show or name to us the places which were at any time consecrated to assemblages in which, instead of the obscene songs and licentious acting of players, instead of the celebration of those most filthy and shameless Fugalia 2

1 Prov. vi. 26.

2 Fugalia. Vives is uncertain to what feast Augustine refers. Censcrirms understands him to refer to a feast celebrating the expulsion of the kings from Rome. This feast, however (celebrated on the 24th February), was commonly called " Iiesnfugium. "
(well called Fugalia, since they banish modesty and right feeling), the people were commanded in the name of the gods to restrain avarice, bridle impurity, and conquer ambition; where, in short, they might learn in that school which Persius vehemently lashes them to, when he says: "Be taught, ye abandoned creatures, and ascertain the causes of things; what we are, and for what end we are born; what is the law of our success in life, and by what art we may turn the goal without making shipwreck; what limit we should put to our wealth, what we may lawfully desire, and what uses filthy lucre serves; how much we should bestow upon our country and our family; learn, in short, what God meant thee to be, and what place He has ordered you to fill." 1 Let them name to us the places where such instructions were wont to be communicated from the gods, and where the people who worshipped them were accustomed to resort to hear them, as we can point to our churches built for this purpose in every land where the Christian religion is received.

7. That the suggestions of philosophers are precluded from having any moral effect, because they have not the authority which belongs to divine instruction, and because man's natural bias to evil induces him rather to follow the examples of the gods than to obey the precepts of men.

But will they perhaps remind us of the schools of the philosophers, and their disputations? In the first place, these belong not to Eome, but to Greece; and even if we yield to them that they are now Boman, because Greece itself has become a Boman province, still the teachings of the philosophers are not the commandments of the gods, but the discoveries of men, who, at the prompting of their own speculative ability, made efforts to discover the hidden laws of nature, and the right and wrong in ethics, and in dialectic what was consequent according to the rules of logic, and what was inconsequent and erroneous. And some of them, by God's help, made great discoveries; but when left to themselves they were betrayed by human infirmity, and fell into mistakes. And this was ordered by divine providence, that their pride might be restrained, and that by their example it might be pointed out "that it is humility which has access to the highest regions.

1 Persius, Sat. iii. 66-72.

56 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK H.

But of this we shall have more to say, if the Lord God of truth permit, in its own place. 1 However, if the philosophers have made any discoveries which are sufficient to guide men to virtue and blessedness, would it not have been greater justice to vote divine honours to them? Were it not more accordant with every virtuous sentiment to read Plato's writings in a "Temple of Plato," than to be present in the temples of devils to witness the priests of Cybele 2 mutilating themselves, the effeminate being consecrated,
the raving fanatics cutting themselves, and whatever other cruel or shameful, or
shamefully cruel or cruelly shameful, ceremony is enjoined by the ritual of such gods as
these? "Were it not a more suitable education, and more likely to prompt the youth to
virtue, if they heard public recitals of the laws of the gods, instead of the vain laudation
of the customs and laws of their ancestors?
Certainly all the worshippers of the Roman gods, when once they are possessed by what
Persius calls "the burning poison of lust," 3 prefer to witness the deeds of Jupiter rather
than to hear what Plato taught or Cato censured. Hence the young profligate in Terence,
when he sees on the wall a fresco representing the fabled descent of Jupiter into the lap of
Danae in the form of a golden shower, accepts tins as authoritative precedent for his own
licentiousness, and boasts that he is an imitator of God. " And what God? " he says. " He
who with His thunder shakes the loftiest temples. And was I, a poor creature compared to
Him, to make bones of it? No; I did it, and with all my heart." 4

1 See below, books viii.-xii.

2 "Galli," tLe castrated priests of Cybele, who were named after the river Gallus, in
Phrygia, the water of which was supposed to intoxicate or madden those who drank it.
According to Vitruvius (viiL 3), there was a similar fountain in Paphlagonia. Apuleius
(Golden Ass, viii.) gives a graphic and humorous description of the dress, dancing, and
imposture of these priests; mentioning, among other things, that they lashed themselves
with whips and cut themselves with knives till the ground was wet with blood.

3 Persius, Sat. iii. 37.

4 Ter. Eun. iii. 5. 36; and cf. the similar allusion in Aristoph. Clouds,
1033-4. It may be added that the argument of this chapter was largely used by the wiser
of the heathen themselves. Dionysius, Hal. (ii. 20) and Seneca
(De Brev. Vit. c. xvi.) make the very same complaint; and it will be remembered that his
adoption of this reasoning was one of the grounds on which Euripides was suspected of
atheism.
8. That the theatrical exhibitions publishing the shameful actions of the gods, propitiated rather than offended them.

But, some one will interpose, these are the fables of poets, not the deliverances of the gods themselves. Well, I have no mind to arbitrate between the lewdness of theatrical entertainments and of mystic rites; only this I say, and history bears me out in making the assertion, that those same entertainments, in which the fictions of poets are the main attraction, were not introduced in the festivals of the gods by the ignorant devotion of the Eomans, but that the gods themselves gave the most urgent commands to this effect, and indeed extorted from the Eomans these solemnities and celebrations in their honour. I touched on this in the preceding book, and mentioned that dramatic entertainments were first inaugurated at Eome on occasion of a pestilence, and by authority of the pontiff. And what man is there who is not more likely to adopt, for the regulation of his own life, the examples that are represented in plays which have a divine sanction, rather than the precepts written and promulgated with no more than human authority? If the poets gave a false representation of Jove in describing him as adulterous, then it were to be expected that the chaste gods should in anger avenge so wicked a fiction, in place of encouraging the games which circulated it. Of these plays, the most inoffensive are comedies and tragedies, that is to say, the dramas which poets write for the stage, and which, though they often handle impure subjects, yet do so without the filthiness of language which characterizes many other performances; and it is these dramas which boys are obliged by their seniors to read and learn as a part of what is called a liberal and gentlemanly education.

9. That the poetical licence which the Greeks, in obedience to their gods, allowed, was restrained by the ancient Romans.

The opinion of the ancient Eomans on this matter is attested by Cicero in his work Be Hepublica, in which Scipio, one of the interlocutors, says, "The lewdness of comedy could never have been suffered by audiences, unless the customs of society had previously sanctioned the same lewdness." And

1 This sentence recalls Augustine's own experience as a boy, which he bewails in his Confessions.

in the earlier days the Greeks preserved a certain reasonableness in their licence, and made it a law, that whatever comedy wished to say of any one, it must say it of him by name.
And so in the same work of Cicero's, Scipio says, "Whom has it not aspersed? Nay, whom has it not worried? "Whom has it spared? Allow that it may assail demagogues and factions, men injurious to the commonwealth â€” a Cleon, a Cleophon, a Hyperbolus. That is tolerable, though it had been more seemly for the public censor to brand such men, than for a poet to lampoon them; but to blacken the fame of Pericles with scurrilous verse, after he had with the utmost dignity presided over their state alike in war and in peace, was as unworthy of a poet, as if our own Plautus or Naevius were to bring Publius and Cneius Scipio on the comic stage, or as if Csecilius were to caricature Cato." And then a little after he goes on: "Though our Twelve Tables attached the penalty of death only to a very few offences, yet among these few this was one: if any man should have sung a pasquinade, or have composed a satire calculated to bring infamy or disgrace on another person. Wisely decreed. For it is by the decisions of magistrates, and by a well-informed justice, that our lives ought to be judged, and not by the nighty fancies of poets; neither ought we to be exposed to hear calumnies, save where we have the liberty of replying, and defending ourselves before an adequate tribunal." This much I have judged it advisable to quote from the fourth book of Cicero's De Republica; and I have made the quotation word for word, with the exception of some words omitted, and some slightly transposed, for the sake of giving the sense more readily. And certainly the extract is pertinent to the matter I am endeavouring to explain. Cicero makes some further remarks, and concludes the passage by showing that the ancient Romans did not permit any living man to be either praised or blamed on the stage. But the Greeks, as I said, though not so moral, were more logical in allowing this licence which the Romans forbade: for they saw that their gods approved and enjoyed the scurrilous language of low comedy when directed not only against men, but even against themselves; and this, whether the infamous actions imputed to them were the fictions of
poets, or were their actual iniquities commemorated and acted in the theatres. And would that the spectators had judged them worthy only of laughter, and not of imitation! Manifestly it had been a stretch of pride to spare the good name of the leading men and the common citizens, when the very deities did not grudge that their own reputation should be blemished.

10. That the devils, in suffering either false or true crimes to be laid to their charge, meant to do men a mischief.

It is alleged, in excuse of this practice, that the stories told of the gods are not true, but false, and mere inventions; but this only makes matters worse, if we form our estimate by the morality our religion teaches; and if we consider the malice of the devils, what more wily and astute artifice could they practise upon men? When a slander is uttered against a leading statesman of upright and useful life, is it not reprehensible in proportion to its untruth and groundlessness? What punishment, then, shall be sufficient when the gods are the objects of so wicked and outrageous an injustice? But the devils, whom these men repute gods, are content that even iniquities they are guiltless of should be ascribed to them, so long as they may entangle men’s minds in the meshes of these opinions, and draw them on along with themselves to their predestinated punishment: whether such things were actually committed by the men whom these devils, delighting in human infatuation, cause to be worshipped as gods, and in whose stead they, by a thousand malign and deceitful artifices, substitute themselves, and so receive worship; or whether, though they were really the crimes of men, these wicked spirits gladly allowed them to be attributed to higher beings, that there might seem to be conveyed from heaven itself a sufficient sanction for the perpetration of shameful wickedness.

The Greeks, therefore, seeing the character of the gods they served, thought that the poets should certainly not refrain from showing up human vices on the stage, either because they desired to be like their gods in this, or because they were afraid that, if they required for themselves a more unblemished reputation than they asserted for the gods, they might provoke them to anger.

Â»â, ¬efÂ»

60 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]
11. That the Greeks admitted players to offices of state, on the ground that men who pleased the gods should not be contemptuously treated by their fellows.

It was a part of this same reasonableness of the Greeks which induced them to bestow upon the actors of these same plays no inconsiderable civic honours. In the above-mentioned book of the De Bepublica, it is mentioned that iEschines, a very eloquent Athenian, who had been a tragic actor in his youth, became a statesman, and that the Athenians again and again sent another tragedian, Aristodemus, as their plenipotentiary to Philip. For they judged it unbecoming to condemn and treat as infamous persons those who were the chief actors in the scenic entertainments which they saw to be so pleasing to the gods. !No doubt this wasimmoral of the Greeks, but there can be as little doubt they acted in conformity with the character of their gods: for how could they have presumed to protect the conduct of the citizens from being cut to pieces by the tongues of poets and players, who were allowed, and even enjoined by the gods, to tear their divine reputation to tatters ? And how could they hold in contempt the men who acted in the theatres those dramas which, as they had ascertained, gave pleasure to the gods whom they worshipped ? Xay, how could they but grant to them the highest civic honours ? On what plea could they honour the priests who offered for them acceptable sacrifices to the gods, if they branded with infamy the actors who in behalf of the people gave to the gods that pleasure or honour which they demanded, and which, according to the account of the priests, they were angry at not receiving ? Labeo, 1 whose learning makes him an authority on such points, is of opinion that the distinction between good and evil deities should "find expression in a difference of worship; that the evil should be propitiated by bloody sacrifices and doleful rites, but the good with a joyful and pleasant observance, as, e.g. (as he says himself), with plays, festivals, and banquets. 2 All this we shall,

1 Labeo, a jurist of the time of Augustus, learned in law and antiquities, and the author of several works much prized by his own and some succeeding ages. The two articles in Smith's Dictionary on Antistius and Cornelias Labeo should be read.

2 " Lectisternia, " feasts in which the images of the gods were laid on pillows in the streets, and all kinds of food set before them.
with God's help, hereafter discuss. At present, and speaking to the subject on hand, whether all lands of offerings are made indiscriminately to all the gods, as if all were good (and it is an unseemly thing to conceive that there are evil gods; but these gods of the pagans are all evil, because they are not gods, but evil spirits), or whether, as Labeo thinks, a distinction is made between the offerings presented to the different gods, the Greeks are equally justified in honouring alike the priests by whom the sacrifices are offered, and the players by whom the dramas are acted, that they may not be open to the charge of doing an injury to all their gods, if the plays are pleasing to all of them, or (which were still worse) to their good gods, if the plays are relished only by them.

12. That the Romans, by refusing to the poets the same licence in respect of men which they allowed them, in the case of the gods, showed a more delicate sensitiveness regarding themselves than regarding the gods.

The Romans, however, as Scipio boasts in that same discussion, declined having their conduct and good name subjected to the assaults and slanders of the poets, and went so far as to make it a capital crime if any one should dare to compose such verses. This was a very honourable course to pursue, so far as they themselves were concerned, but in respect of the gods it was proud and irreligious: for they knew that the gods not only tolerated, but relished, being lashed by the injurious expressions of the poets, and yet they themselves would not suffer this same handling; and what their ritual prescribed as acceptable to the gods, their law prohibited as injurious to themselves. How then, Scipio, do you praise the Romans for refusing this licence to the poets, so that no citizen could be calumniated, while you know that the gods were not included under this protection? Do you count your senate-house worthy of so much higher a regard than the Capitol? Is the one city of Rome more valuable in your eyes than the whole heaven of gods, that you prohibit your poets from uttering any injurious words against a citizen, though they may with impunity cast what imputations they please upon the gods, without the interference of senator, censor, prince, or pontiff? It was, forsooth, intolerable that Plautus or Terence should attack Publius and Cneius Scipio, insufferable that Csecilius

62 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]

should lampoon Cato; but quite proper that your Terence should encourage youthful lust by the wicked example of supreme Jove.

13. That the Romans should have understood that gods who desired to be worshipped in licentious entertainments were unworthy of divine honour.
But Scipio, were he alive, would possibly reply: "How could we attach a penalty to that which the gods themselves have consecrated? For the theatrical entertainments in which such tilings are said, and acted, and performed, were introduced into Boman society by the gods, who ordered that they should be dedicated and exhibited in their honour." But was not this, then, the plainest proof that they were no true gods, nor in any respect worthy of receiving divine honours from the republic? Suppose they had required that in their honour the citizens of Borne should be held up to ridicule, every Boman would have resented the hateful proposal. How then, I would ask, can they be esteemed worthy of worship, when they propose that their own crimes be used as material for celebrating their praises? Does not this artifice expose them, and prove that they are detestable devils? Thus the Bomans, though they were superstitious enough to serve as gods those who made no secret of their desire to be worshipped in licentious plays, yet had sufficient regard to their hereditary dignity and virtue, to prompt them to refuse to players any such rewards as the Greeks accorded them. On this point we have this testimony of Scipio, recorded in Cicero: "They [the Bomans] considered comedy and all theatrical performances as disgraceful, and therefore not only debarred players from offices and honours open to ordinary citizens, but also decreed that their names should be branded by the censor," and erased from the roll of their tribe." An excellent decree, and another testimony to the sagacity of Borne; but I could wish their prudence had been more thoroughgoing and consistent. For when I hear that if any Boman citizen chose the stage as his profession, he not only closed to himself every laudable career, but even became an outcast from his own tribe, I cannot but exclaim: This is the true Boman spirit, this is worthy of a state jealous of its reputation. But then some one interrupts my rapture, by inquiring with what consistency players are
debarred from all honours, while plays are counted among the honours due to the gods? For a long while the virtue of Rome was uncontaminated by theatrical exhibitions \(^1\) and if they had been adopted for the sake of gratifying the taste of the citizens, they would have been introduced hand in hand with the relaxation of manners. But the fact is, that it was the gods who demanded that they should be exhibited to gratify them. With what justice, then, is the player excommunicated by whom God is worshipped? On what pretext can you at once adore him who exacts, and brand him who acts these plays? This, then, is the controversy in which the Greeks and Romans are engaged. The Greeks think they justly honour players, because they worship the gods who demand plays: the Romans, on the other hand, do not suffer an actor to disgrace by his name his own plebeian tribe, far less the senatorial order. And the whole of this discussion may be summed up in the following syllogism. The Greeks give us the major premiss: If such gods are to be worshipped, then certainly such men may be honoured. The Romans add the minor: But such men must by no means be honoured. The Christians draw the conclusion: Therefore such gods must by no means be worshipped.

14. That Plato, who excluded poets from a well-ordered city, was better than these gods who desire to be honoured by theatrical plays.

"We have still to inquire why the poets who write the plays, and who by the law of the twelve tables are prohibited from injuring the good name of the citizens, are reckoned more estimable than the actors, though they so shamefully asperse the character of the gods? Is it right that the actors of these poetical and God-dishonouring effusions be branded, while their authors are honoured? Must we not here award the palm to a Greek, Plato, who, in framing his ideal republic, \(^2\) conceived that poets should be banished from the city as enemies of the state? He could not brook that the gods be

1 According to Livy (vii. 2), theatrical exhibitions were introduced in the year 392 a.u.c. Before that time, he says, there had only been the games of the circus. The Romans sent to Etruria for players, who were called "histriones," "hister" being the Tuscan word for a player. Other particulars are added by Livy.

2 See the Republic, book iii.
brought into disrepute, nor that the minds of the citizens be depraved and besotted, by the fictions of the poets. Compare now human nature as you see it in Plato, expelling poets from the city that the citizens be uninjured, with the divine nature as you see it in these gods exacting plays in their own honour. Plato strove, though unsuccess fully, to persuade the light-minded and lascivious Greeks to abstain from so much as writing such plays; the gods used their authority to extort the acting of the same from the dignified and soberminded Eomans. And not content with having them acted, they had them dedicated to themselves, consecrated to themselves, solemnly celebrated in their own honour. To which, then, would it be more becoming in a state to decree divine honours, â€” to Plato, who prohibited these wicked and licentious plays, or to the demons who delighted in blinding men to the truth of what Plato unsuccessfully sought to inculcate?

This philosopher, Plato, has been elevated by Labeo to the rank of a demigod, and set thus upon a level with such as Hercules and Eomulus. Labeo ranks demigods higher than heroes, but both he counts among the deities. But I have no doubt that he thinks this man whom he reckons a demigod worthy of greater respect not only than the heroes, but also than the gods themselves. The laws of the Eomans and the speculations of Plato have this resemblance, that the latter pronounces a wholesale condemnation of poetical fictions, while the former restrain the licence of satire, at least so far as men are the objects of it. Plato will not suffer poets even to dwell in his city: the laws of Eome prohibit actors from being enrolled as citizens; and if they had not feared to offend the gods who had asked the services of the players, they would in all likelihood have banished them altogether. It is obvious, therefore, that the Eomans could not receive, nor reasonably expect to receive, laws for the regulation of their conduct from their gods, since the laws they themselves enacted far surpassed and put to shame the morality of the gods. The gods demand stage-plays in their own honour; the Eomans exclude the players from all civic honours: I the former commanded that they should be celebrated by the scenic repre-

1 Comp. Tertullian, De Spectac. c. 22.
sentation of their own disgrace; the latter commanded that no poet should dare to blemish the reputation of any citizen.

But that demigod Plato resisted the lust of such gods as these, and showed the Eomans what their genius had left incomplete; for he absolutely excluded poets from his ideal state, whether they composed fictions with no regard to truth, or set the worst possible examples before wretched men under the guise of divine actions. We for our part, indeed, reckon Plato neither a god nor a demigod; we would not even compare him to any of God's holy angels, nor to the truth-speaking prophets, nor to any of the apostles or martyrs of Christ, nay, not to any faithful Christian man. The reason of this opinion of ours we will, God prospering us, render in its own place. Nevertheless, since they wish him to be considered a demigod, we think he certainly is more entitled to that rank, and is every way superior, if not to Hercules and Eomulus (though no historian could ever narrate nor any poet sing of him that he had killed his brother, or committed any crime), yet certainly to Priapus, or a Cynocephalus, 1 or the Fever, 2 â€” divinities whom the Eomans have partly received from foreigners, and partly consecrated by home-grown rites.

How, then, could gods such as these be expected to promulgate good and wholesome laws, either for the prevention of moral and social evils, or for their eradication where they had already sprung up? â€” gods who used their influence even to sow and cherish profligacy, by appointing that deeds truly or falsely ascribed to them should be published to the people by means of theatrical exhibitions, and by thus gratuitously fanning the flame of human lust with the breath of a seemingly divine approbation. In vain does Cicero, speaking of poets, exclaim against this state of things in these words: " When the plaudits and acclamation of the people, who sit as infallible judges, are won by the poets, what darkness benights the mind, what fears invade, what passions inflame it! " 3

1 The Egyptian gods represented with dogs' heads, called by Lucan (viii. 832) semicanes deos.

2 The Fever had, according to Vives, three altars in Rome. See Cicero, De Nat. Deor. iii. 25, and ^Elian, Var. Hist. xii. 11.

3 Cicero, Be Republka, v. Compare the third Tusculan Qucest. c. ii.

VOL. I. E

6Q THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]

15. That it was vanity, not reason, which created some of the Roman gods.
But is it not manifest that vanity rather than reason regulated the choice of some of their false gods? This Plato, whom they reckon a demigod, and who used all his eloquence to preserve men from the most dangerous spiritual calamities, has yet not been counted worthy even of a little shrine; but Eomulus, because they can call him their own, they have esteemed more highly than many gods, though their secret doctrine can allow him the rank only of a demigod. To him they allotted a flamen, that is to say, a priest of a class so highly esteemed in their religion (distinguished, too, by their conical mitres), that for only three of their gods were flamens appointed, â€” the Flamen Dialis for Jupiter, Martialis for Mars, and Quirinalis for Eomulus (for when the ardour of his fellow-citizens had given Eomulus a seat among the gods, they gave him this new name Quirinus). And thus by this honour Eomulus has been preferred to Neptune and Pluto, Jupiter's brothers, and to Saturn himself, their father. They have assigned the same priesthood to serve him as to serve Jove; and in giving Mais (the reputed father of Eomulus) the same honour, is this not rather for Eomulus' sake than to honour Mars?

16. That if the gods had really possessed any regard for righteousness, the Romans should have received good laws from them, instead of having to borrow them from other nations.

Moreover, if the Eomans had been able to receive a rule of life from their gods, they would not have borrowed Solon's laws from the Athenians, as they did some years after Rome was founded; and yet they did not keep them as they received them, but endeavoured to improve and amend them. 1 Although Lycurgus pretended that he was authorized* by Apollo to give laws to the Lacedemonians, the sensible Eomans did not choose to believe this, and were not induced to borrow laws from Sparta. JSTuma Pompilius, who succeeded

1 In the year A. v. 299, three ambassadors were sent from Rome to Athens to copy Solon's laws, and acquire information about the institutions of Greece. On their return the Decemviri were appointed to draw up a code; and finally, after some tragic interruptions, the celebrated Twelve Tables were accepted as the fundamental statutes of Roman law (fons universi publici privatique juris). These were graven on brass, and hung up for public information. Livy, iii. 31-34.
Eomulus in the kingdom, is said to have framed some laws, which, however, were not sufficient for the regulation of civic affairs. Among these regulations were many pertaining to religious observances, and yet he is not reported to have received even these from the gods. With respect, then, to moral evils, evils of life and conduct, evils which are so mighty, that, according to the wisest pagans, by them states are ruined while their cities stand uninjured, their gods made not the smallest provision for preserving their worshippers from these evils, but, on the contrary, took special pains to increase them, as we have previously endeavoured to prove.

17. Of the rape of the Sabine women, and other iniquities perpetrated in Rome's palmiest days.

But possibly we are to find the reason for this neglect of the Eomans by their gods, in the saying of Sallust, that "equity and virtue prevailed among the Eomans not more by force of laws than of nature." I presume it is to this inborn equity and goodness of disposition we are to ascribe the rape of the Sabine women. What, indeed, could be more equitable and virtuous, than to carry off by force, as each man was fit, and without their parents' consent, girls who were strangers and guests, and who had been decoyed and entrapped by the pretence of a spectacle! If the Sabines were wrong to deny their daughters when the Eomans asked for them, was it not a greater wrong in the Eomans to carry them off after that denial? The Eomans might more justly have waged war against the neighbouring nation for having refused their daughters in marriage when they first sought them, than for having demanded them back when they had stolen them. War should have been proclaimed at first: it was then that Mars should have helped his warlike son, that he might by force of arms avenge the injury done him by the refusal of marriage, and might also thus win the women he desired. There might have been some appearance of "right of war" in a victor carrying off, in virtue of this right, the virgins who

1 Possibly he refers to Plautus' Persa, iv. 4. 11-14.

2 Sallust, Cat. Con. ix. Compare the similar saying of Tacitus regarding the chastity of the Germans: "Plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonse leges" (Germ. xix.).
had been without any show of right denied him; whereas there was no "right of peace" enticing him to carry off those who were not given to him, and to wage an unjust war with their justly enraged parents. One happy circumstance was indeed connected with this act of violence, viz., that though it was commemorated by the games of the circus, yet even this did not constitute it a precedent in the city or realm of Rome. If one would find fault with the results of this act, it must rather be on the ground that the Romans made Eomulus a god in spite of his perpetrating this iniquity; for one cannot reproach them with making this deed any kind of precedent for the rape of women.

Again, I presume it was due to this natural equity and virtue, that after the expulsion of King Tarquin, whose son had violated Lucretia, Junius Brutus the consul forced Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, Lucretia's husband and his own colleague, a good and innocent man, to resign his office and go into banishment, on the one sole charge that he was of the name and blood of the Tarquins. This injustice was perpetrated with the approval, or at least connivance, of the people, who had themselves raised to the consular office both Collatinus and Brutus. Another instance of this equity and virtue is found in their treatment of Marcus Camillus. This eminent man, after he had rapidly conquered the Veians, at that time the most formidable of Rome's enemies, and who had maintained a ten years' war, in which the Roman army had suffered the usual calamities attendant on bad generalship, after he had restored security to Rome, which had begun to tremble for its safety, and after he had taken the wealthiest city of the enemy, had charges brought against him by -the malice of those that envied his success, and by the insolence of the tribunes of the people; and seeing that the city bore him no gratitude for preserving it, and that he would certainly be condemned, he went into exile, and even in his absence was fined 10,000 asses. Shortly after, however, his ungrateful country had again to seek his protection from the Gauls. But I cannot now mention all} the shameful and iniquitous acts with which Rome was agitated, when the aristocracy attempted to subject the people, and the people resented their encroachments, and the advocates of either party

BOOK IT.] TESTIMONY OF SALLUST. G9

were actuated rather by the love of victory than by any equitable or virtuous consideration.

18. What the history of Sallust reveals regarding the life of the Romans, either when straitened by anxiety or relaxed in security.

I will therefore pause, and adduce the testimony of Sallust himself, whose words in praise of the Romans (that "equity and virtue prevailed among them not more by force of laws than of nature") have given occasion to this discussion. He was referring to that period immediately after the expulsion of the kings, in which the city became great in an incredibly short space of time. And yet this same writer acknowledges in the first book of his history, in the very exordium of his work, that even at that time, when a very brief interval had elapsed after the government had passed from kings to consuls, the more
powerful men began to act unjustly, and occasioned the defection of the people from the patricians, and other disorders in the city. For after Sallust had stated that the Romans enjoyed greater harmony and a purer state of society between the second and third Punic wars than at any other time, and that the cause of this was not their love of good order, but their fear lest the peace they had with Carthage might be broken (this also, as we mentioned, Nasica contemplated when he opposed the destruction of Carthage, for he supposed that fear would tend to repress wickedness, and to preserve wholesome ways of living), he then goes on to say: "Yet, after the destruction of Carthage, discord, avarice, ambition, and the other vices which are commonly generated by prosperity, more than ever increased." If they "increased," and that "more than ever," then already they had appeared, and had been increasing. And so Sallust adds this reason for what he said. "For," he says, "the oppressive measures of the powerful, and the consequent secessions of the plebs from the patricians, and other civil dissensions, had existed from the first, and affairs were administered with equity and well tempered justice for no longer a period than the short time after the expulsion of the kings, while the city was occupied with the serious Tuscan war and Tarquin's vengeance." You see how, even in that brief period after the expulsion of the kings, fear, he acknowledges, was the cause of the interval of

70 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]

equity and good order. They were afraid, in fact, of the war which Tarquin waged against them, after he had been driven from the throne and the city, and had allied himself with the Tuscanians. But observe what he adds: "After that, the patricians treated the people as their slaves, ordering them to be scourged or beheaded just as the kings had done, driving them from their holdings, and harshly tyrannizing over those who had no property to lose. The people, overwhelmed by these oppressive measures, and most of all by exorbitant usury, and obliged to contribute both money and personal service to the constant wars, at length took arms, and seceded to Mount Aventine and Mount Sacer, and thus obtained for themselves tribunes and protective laws. But it was only the second Punic war that put an end on both sides to discord and strife." You see what kind of men the Romans were, even so early as a few years after the expulsion of the kings; and it is of these men he says, that "equity and virtue prevailed among them not more by force of law than of nature."

Now, if these were the days in which the Roman republic shows fairest and best, what are we to say or think of the succeeding age, when, to use the words of the same historian, "changing little by little from the fair and virtuous city it was, it became utterly wicked and dissolute?" This was, as he mentions, after the destruction of Carthage. Sallust's brief sum and sketch of this period may be read in his own history, in which he shows how the profligate manners which were propagated by prosperity resulted at last even in civil wars.

He says: "And from this time the primitive manners, instead of undergoing an insensible alteration as hitherto they had done, were swept away as by a torrent: the young men
were so depraved by luxury and avarice, that it may justly be said that no father had a son
who could either preserve his own patrimony, or keep his hands off other men's." Sallust
adds a number of particulars about the vices of Sylla, and the debased condition of the
republic in general; and other writers make similar observations, though in much less
striking language. >

However, I suppose you now see, or at least any one who gives his attention has the
means of seeing, in what a sink
of iniquity that city was plunged before the advent of our heavenly King. For these things happened not only before Christ had begun to teach, but before He was even born of the Virgin. If, then, they dare not impute to their gods the grievous evils of those former times, more tolerable before the destruction of Carthage, but intolerable and dreadful after it, although it was the gods who by their malign craft instilled into the minds of men the conceptions from which such dreadful vices branched out on all sides, why do they impute these present calamities to Christ, who teaches life-giving truth, and forbids us to worship false and deceitful gods, and who, abominating and condemning with His divine authority those wicked and hurtful lusts of men, gradually withdraws His own people from a world that is corrupted by these vices, and is falling into ruins, to make of them an eternal city, whose glory rests not on the acclamations of vanity, but on the judgment of truth?

19. Of the corruption which had grown upon the Roman republic before Christ abolished the worship of the gods.

Here, then, is this Eoman republic, "which has changed little by little from the fair and virtuous city it was, and has become utterly wicked and dissolute." It is not I who am the first to say this, but their own authors, from whom we learned it for a fee, and who wrote it long before the coming of Christ. You see how, before the coming of Christ, and after the destruction of Carthage, "the primitive manners, instead of undergoing insensible alteration, as hitherto they had done, were swept away as by a torrent; and how depraved by luxury and avarice the youth were." Let them now, on their part, read to us any laws given by their gods to the Eoman people, and directed against luxury and avarice. And would that they had only been silent on the subjects of chastity and modesty, and had not demanded from the people indecent and shameful practices, to which they lent a pernicious patronage by their so-called divinity. Let them read our commandments in the Prophets, Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, or Epistles; let them peruse the large number of precepts against avarice and luxury which are everywhere read to the congregations that meet for this purpose, and which strike the ear, not with the uncertain sound of a philosophical discussion, but with the thunder of God's own oracle pealing from the clouds. And yet they do not impute to their gods the luxury and avarice, the cruel and dissolute manners, that had rendered the republic utterly wicked and corrupt, even before the coming of Christ; but whatever affliction their pride and effeminacy have exposed them to in these latter days, they furiously impute to our religion. If the kings of the earth and all their subjects, if all princes and judges of the earth, if young men and maidens, old and young, every age, and both sexes; if they whom the Baptist addressed, the publicans and the soldiers, were all
together to hearken to and observe the precepts of the Christian religion regarding a just and virtuous life, then should the republic adorn the whole earth with its own felicity, and attain in life everlasting to the pinnacle of kingly glory.

But because this man listens, and that man scoffs, and most are enamoured of the blandishments of vice rather than the wholesome severity of virtue, the people of Christ, whatever be their condition "whether they be kings, princes, judges, soldiers, or provincials, rich or poor, bond or free, male or female," are enjoined to endure this earthly republic, wicked and dissolute as it is, that so they may by this endurance win for themselves an eminent place in that most holy and august assembly of angels and republic of heaven, in which the will of God is the law.

20. Of the kind of happiness and life truly delighted in by those who inveigh against the Christian religion.

But the worshippers and admirers of these gods delight in imitating their scandalous iniquities, and are nowise concerned that the republic be less depraved and licentious. Only let it remain undefeated, they say, only let it nourish and abound in resources; let it be glorious by its victories, or still better, secure in peace; and what matters it to us? This is our concern, that every man be able to increase his wealth so as to supply his daily prodigalities, and so that the powerful may subject the weak for their own purposes. Let the poor court the rich for a living, and that under their protection they may enjoy a sluggish tranquility; and let the
rich abuse the poor as their dependants, to minister to their pride. Let the people applaud not those who protect their interests, but those who provide them with pleasure. Let no severe duty be commanded, no impurity forbidden. Let kings estimate their prosperity, not by the righteousness, but by the servility of their subjects. Let the provinces stand loyal to the kings, not as moral guides, but as lords of their possessions and purveyors of their pleasures; not with a hearty reverence, but a crooked and servile fear. Let the laws take cognizance rather of the injury done to another man's property, than of that done to one's own person. If a man be a nuisance to his neighbour, or injure his property, family, or person, let him be actionable; but in his own affairs let every one with impunity do what he will in company with his own family, and with those who willingly join him. Let there be a plentiful supply of public prostitutes for every one who wishes to use them, but specially for those who are too poor to keep one for their private use. Let there be erected houses of the largest and most ornate description: in these let there be provided the most sumptuous banquets, where every one who pleases may, by day or night, play, drink, vomit, 1 dissipate. Let there be everywhere heard the rustling of dancers, the loud, immodest laughter of the theatre; let a succession of the most cruel and the most voluptuous pleasures maintain a perpetual excitement. If such happiness is distasteful to any, let him be branded as a public enemy; and if any attempt to modify or put an end to it, let him be silenced, banished, put an end to. Let these be reckoned the true gods, who procure for the people this condition of things, and preserve it when once possessed. Let them be worshipped as they wish; let them demand whatever games they please, from or with their own worshippers; only let them secure that such felicity be not imperilled by foe, plague, or disaster of any kind. What sane man would compare a republic such as this, I will not say to the Eoman empire, but to the palace of Sardanapalus, the ancient king who was so abandoned to pleasures, that he caused it to be inscribed on his tomb, that now that he was

1 The same collocation of words is used by Cicero with reference to the wellknown mode of renewing the appetite in use among the Romans.

74 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IT.

dead, he possessed only those things which he had swallowed and consumed by his appetites while alive? If these men had such a king as this, who, while self-indulgent, should lay no severe restraint on them, they would more enthusiastically consecrate to him a temple and a flamen than the ancient Romans did to Eomulus.

But if our adversaries do not care how fouly and disgracefully the Eoman republic be stained by corrupt practices, so long only as it holds together and continues in being, and if they therefore pooh-pooh the testimony of Sallust to its "utterly wicked and profligate" condition, what will they make of Cicero's statement, that even in his time it had become entirely extinct, and that there remained extant no Eoman republic at all? He introduces Scipio (the Scipio who had destroyed Carthage) discussing the republic, at a time when already there were presentiments of its speedy ruin by that corruption which Sallust describes. In fact, at the time when the discussion took place, one of the Gracchi, who, according to Sallust, was the first great instigator of seditions, had already been put to death. His death, indeed, is mentioned in the same book. ISTow Scipio, in the end of the second book, says: "As, among the different sounds which proceed from lyres, flutes, and the human voice, there must be maintained a certain harmony which a cultivated ear cannot endure to hear disturbed or jarring, but which may be elicited in full and absolute concord by the modulation even of voices very unlike one another; so, where reason is allowed to modulate the diverse elements of the state, there is obtained a perfect concord from the upper, lower, and middle classes as from various sounds; and what musicians call harmony in singing, is concord in matters of state, which is the strictest bond and best security of any republic, and which by no ingenuity can be retained where justice has become extinct."

Then, when he had expatiated somewhat more fully, and had more copiously illustrated the benefits of its presence and the ruinous effects of its absence upon a state, Pilus, one of the company present at the discussion, struck in and demanded that the question should be more thoroughly sifted, and that Pilus himself undertook to defend the position that the republic cannot be governed without injustice, at the same time being at special pains to clear himself of any real participation in that opinion. He advocated with great keenness the cause of injustice against justice, and endeavoured by plausible reasons and examples to demonstrate that the former is beneficial, the latter useless, to the republic. Then, at the request of the company, Lselius attempted to defend justice, and strained every nerve to prove that nothing is so hurtful to a state as injustice; and that without justice a republic can neither be governed, nor even continue to exist.
When this question has been handled to the satisfaction of the company, Scipio reverts to the original thread of discourse, and repeats with commendation his own brief definition of a republic, that it is the weal of the people. "The people" he defines as being not every assemblage or mob, but an assemblage associated by a common acknowledgment of law, and by a community of interests. Then he shows the use of definition in debate; and from these definitions of his own he gathers that a republic, or "weal of the people," then exists only when it is well and justly governed, whether by a monarch, or an aristocracy, or by the whole people. But when the monarch is unjust, or, as the Greeks say, a tyrant; or the aristocrats are unjust, and form a faction; or the people themselves are unjust, and become, as Scipio for want of a better name calls them, themselves the tyrant, then the republic is not only blemished (as had been proved the day before), but by legitimate deduction from those definitions, it altogether ceases to be. For it could not be the people's weal when a tyrant factiously lorded it over the state; neither would the people be any longer a people if it were unjust, since it would no longer answer the definition of a people "an assemblage associated by a common acknowledgment of law, and by a community of interests."

When, therefore, the Eoman republic was such as Sallust described it, it was not "utterly wicked and profligate," as he says, but had altogether ceased to exist, if we are to admit the reasoning of that debate maintained on the subject of the republic by its best representatives. Tully himself, too, speaking not in the person of Scipio or any one else, but uttering his own sentiments, uses the following language in the beginning of the fifth book, after quoting a line from the poet Ennius, in which he said, "Eome's severe morality and her citizens are her safeguard." "This verse," says Cicero, "seems to me to have all the sententious truthfulness of an oracle. For neither would the citizens have availed without the morality of the community, nor would the morality of the commons without outstanding men have availed either to establish or so long to maintain in vigour so grand a republic with so wide and just an empire. Accordingly, before our day, the hereditary usages formed our foremost men, and they on their part retained the usages and institutions of their fathers. But our age, receiving the republic as a chcf-d 'ceuvre of another age which has already begun to grow old, has not merely neglected to restore the colours of the original, but has not even been at the pains to preserve so much as the general outline and most outstanding features. For what survives of that primitive morality which the poet called Piome's safeguard? It is so obsolete and forgotten, that, far from practising it, one does not even know it. And of the citizens what shall I say? Morality has perished through poverty of great men; a poverty for which we must not only assign a reason, but for the guilt of which we must answer as criminals charged with a capital crime. For it is through our vices, and not by any mishap, that we retain only the name of a republic, and have long since lost the reality."
This is the confession of Cicero, long indeed after the death of Africanus, whom he introduced as an interlocutor in his work De republica, but still before the coming of Christ. Yet, if the disasters he bewails had been lamented after the Christian religion had been diffused, and had begun to prevail, is there a man of our adversaries who would not have thought that they were to be imputed to the Christians? Why, then, did their gods not take steps then to prevent the decay and extinction of that republic, over the loss of which Cicero, long before Christ had come in the flesh, sings so lugubrious a dirge? Its admirers have need to inquire whether, even in the days of primitive men and morals, true justice flourished in it; or was it not perhaps even then, to use the casual expression of Cicero, rather a coloured painting than the living reality? But, if God will, we shall consider this elsewhere.

For I mean in its own place to show that according to the definitions in which Cicero himself, using Scipio as his mouthpiece, briefly propounded what a republic is, and what a people is, and according to many testimonies, both of his own lips and of those who took part in that same debate Eome never was a republic, because true justice had never a place in it. But accepting the more feasible definitions of a republic, I grant there was a republic of a certain kind, and certainly much better administered by the more ancient Romans than by their modern representatives. But the fact is, true justice has no existence save in that republic whose founder and ruler is Christ, if at least any choose to call this a republic; and indeed we cannot deny that it is the people's weal. But if perchance this name, which has become familiar in other connections, be considered alien to our common parlance, we may at all events say that in this city is true justice; the city of which Holy Scripture says, "Glorious things are said of thee, city of God."

22. That the Roman gods never took any steps to prevent the republic from being ruined by immorality.

But what is relevant to the present question is this, that however admirable our adversaries say the republic was or is, it is certain that by the testimony of their own most learned

writers it had become, long before the coming of Christ, utterly wicked and dissolute, and indeed had no existence, but had been destroyed by profligacy. To prevent this, surely these guardian gods ought to have given precepts of morals and a rule of life to the people by whom they were worshipped in so many temples, with so great a variety of priests and sacrifices, with such numberless and diverse rites, so many festal solemnities,
so many celebrations of magnificent games. But in all this the demons only looked after
their own interest, and cared not at all how their worshippers lived, or rather were at pains
to induce them to lead an abandoned life, so long as they paid these tributes to their
honour, and regarded them with fear. If any one denies this, let him produce, let him
point to, let him read the laws which the gods had given against sedition, and which the
Gracchi transgressed when they threw everything into confusion; or those Marius, and
Cinna, and Carbo broke when they involved their country in civil wars, most iniquitous
and unjustifiable in their causes, cruelly conducted, and yet more cruelly terminated; or
those which Sylla scorned, whose life, character, and deeds, as described by Sallust and
other historians, are the abhorrence of all mankind. Who will deny that at that time the
republic had become extinct?

Possibly they will be bold enough to suggest in defence of the gods, that they abandoned
the city on account of the profligacy of the citizens, according to the lines of Virgil:

"Gone from each fane, each sacred shrine, Are those who made this realm divine." 1

But, firstly, if it be so, then they cannot complain against the Christian religion, as if it
were that which gave offence to the gods and caused them to abandon Borne, since the
Boman immorality had long ago driven from the altars of the city a cloud of little gods,
like as many flies. And yet where was this host of divinities, when, long before the
corruption of the primitive morality, Borne was taken and burnt by the Gauls? Perhaps they were present, but asleep? For at that time the whole city fell into the hands
of the enemy, with the single exception of the Capitoline hill; and this too would have been

1 jEneid, ii. 351-2.
taken, had not "the watchful geese aroused the sleeping gods!
And this gave occasion to the festival of the goose, in which Borne sank nearly to the
superstition of the Egyptians, who worship beasts and birds. But of these adventitious
evils which are inflicted by hostile armies or by some disaster, and which attach rather to
the body than the soul, I am not meanwhile disputing. At present I speak of the decay of
morality, which at first almost imperceptibly lost its brilliant hue, but afterwards was
wholly obliterated, was swept away as by a torrent, and involved the republic in such
disastrous ruin, that though the houses and walls remained standing, the leading writers
do not scruple to say that the republic was destroyed. Now, the departure of the gods "
from each fane, each sacred shrine," and their abandonment of the city to destruction, was
an act of justice, if their laws inculcating justice and a moral life had been held in
contempt by that city. But what kind of gods were these, pray, who declined to live with a
people who worshipped them, and whose corrupt life they had done nothing to reform?

23. That the vicissitudes of this life are dependent not on the favour or hostility of
demons, but on the will of the true God.

But, further, is it not obvious that the gods have abetted the fulfilment of men's desires,
instead of authoritatively bridling them? For Marius, a low-born and self-made man,
who ruthlessly provoked and conducted civil wars, was so effectually aided by them, that
he was seven times consul, and died full of years in his seventh consulship, escaping the
hands of Sylla, who immediately afterwards came into power. Why, then, did they not
also aid him, so as to restrain him from so many enormities? For if it is said that the gods
had no hand in his success, this is no trivial admission, that a man can attain the dearly
coveted felicity of this life even though his own gods be not propitious; that men can be
loaded with the gifts of fortune as Marius was, can enjoy health, power, wealth, honours,
dignity, length of days, though the gods be hostile to him; and that, on the other hand,
men can be tormented as Begulus was, with captivity, bondage, destitution, watchings,
pain, and cruel death, though the gods be his friends.

80 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]

To concede this is to make a compendious confession that the gods are useless, and their
worship superfluous. If the gods have taught the people rather what goes clean counter to
the virtues of the soul, and that integrity of life which meets a reward after death; if even
in respect of temporal and transitory blessings they neither hurt those whom they hate nor
profit whom they love, why are they worshipped, why are they invoked with such eager
homage? "Why do men murmur in difficult and sad emergencies, as if the gods had
retired in anger? and why, on their account, is the Christian religion injured by the most
unworthy calumnies? If in temporal matters they have power either for good or for evil, why did they stand by Marius, the worst of Rome's citizens, and abandon Regulus, the best?
Does this not prove themselves to be most unjust and wicked?
And even if it be supposed that for this very reason they are the rather to be feared and worshipped, this is a mistake; for we do not read that Regulus worshipped them less assiduously than Marius. Neither is it apparent that a wicked life is to be chosen, on the ground that the gods are supposed to have favoured Marius more than Regulus. For Metellus, the most highly esteemed of all the Romans, who had five sons in the consulship, was prosperous even in this life; and Catiline, the worst of men, reduced to poverty and defeated in the war his own guilt had aroused, lived and perished miserably. Real and secure felicity is the peculiar possession of those who worship that God by whom alone it can be conferred.

It is thus apparent, that when the republic was being destroyed by profligate manners, its gods did nothing to hinder its destruction by the direction or correction of its manners, but rather accelerated its destruction by increasing the demoralization and corruption that already existed. They need not pretend that their goodness was shocked by the iniquity of the city, and that they withdrew in anger. For they were there, sure enough; they are detected, convicted: they were equally unable to break silence so as to guide others, and to keep silence so as to conceal themselves. I do not dwell on the fact that the inhabitants of Minturnae took pity on Marius, and commended him to the goddess.
Marica in her grove, that she might give him success in all things, and that from the abyss of despair in which he then lay he forthwith returned unhurt to Rome, and entered the city the ruthless leader of a ruthless army; and they who wish to know how bloody was his victory, how unlike a citizen, and how much more relentlessly than any foreign foe he acted, let them read the histories. But this, as I said, I do not dwell upon; nor do I attribute the bloody bliss of Marius to, I know not what Minturnian goddess [Marica], but rather to the secret providence of God, that the mouths of our adversaries might be shut, and that they who are not led by passion, but by prudent consideration of events, might be delivered from error. And even if the demons have any power in these matters, they have only that power which the secret decree of the Almighty allots to them, in order that we may not set too great store by earthly prosperity, seeing it is oftentimes vouchsafed even to wicked men like Marius; and that we may not, on the other hand, regard it as an evil, since we see that many good and pious worshippers of the one true God are, in spite of the demons, pre-eminently successful; and, finally, that we may not suppose that these unclean spirits are either to be propitiated or feared for the sake of earthly blessings or calamities: for as wicked men on earth cannot do all they would, so neither can these demons, but only in so far as they are permitted by the decree of Him whose judgments are fully comprehensible, justly reprehensible by none.

24. Of the deeds of Sylla, in which the demons boasted that he had their help.

It is certain that Sylla”, whose rule was so cruel, that, in comparison with it, the preceding state of things which he came to avenge was regretted”, when first he advanced towards Rome to give battle to Marius, found the auspices so favourable when he sacrificed, that, according to Livy's account, the augur Postumius expressed his willingness to lose his head if Sylla did not, with the help of the gods, accomplish what he designed. The gods, you see, had not departed from " every fane and sacred shrine,” since they were still predicting the issue of these affairs, and yet were taking no steps to correct Sylla himself. Their presages promised him great prosperity, but

no threatenings of theirs subdued his evil passions. And then, when he was in Asia conducting the war against Mithridates, a message from Jupiter was delivered to him by Lucius Titius, to the effect that he would conquer Mithridates; and so it came to pass. And afterwards, when he was meditating a return to Borne for the purpose of avenging in the blood of the citizens injuries done to himself and his friends, a second message from Jupiter was delivered to him by a soldier of the sixth legion, to the effect that it was he
who had predicted the victory over Mithridates, and that now he promised to give him power to recover the republic from his enemies, though with great bloodshed. Sylla at once inquired of the soldier what form had appeared to him; and, on his reply, recognised that it was the same as Jupiter had formerly employed to convey to him the assurance regarding the victory over Mithridates. How, then, can the gods be justified in this matter for the care they took to predict these shadowy successes, and for their negligence in correcting Sylla, and restraining him from stirring up a civil war so lamentable and atrocious, that it not merely disfigured, but extinguished, the republic? The truth is, as I have often said, and as Scripture informs us, and as the facts themselves sufficiently indicate, the demons are found to look after their own ends only, that they may be regarded and worshipped as gods, and that men may be induced to offer to them a worship which associates them with their crimes, and involves them in one common wickedness and judgment of God.

Afterwards, when Sylla had come to Tarentum, and had sacrificed there, he saw on the head of the victim's liver the likeness of a golden crown. Thereupon the same soothsayer Postumius interpreted this to signify a signal victory, and ordered that he only should eat of the entrails. A little afterwards, the slave of a certain Lucius Pontius cried out, "I am Bellona's messenger; the victory is yours, Sylla!" Then he added that the Capitol should be burned. As soon as he had uttered this prediction he left the camp, but returned the following day more excited than ever, and shouted, "The Capitol is fired!" And fired indeed it was. This it was easy for a demon both to foresee and quickly to announce. But observe,
as relevant to our subject, what land of gods they are under whom these men desire to live, who blaspheme the Saviour that delivers the wills of the faithful from the dominion of devils. The man cried out in prophetic rapture, "The victory is yours, Sylla!" And to certify that he spoke by a divine spirit, he predicted also an event which was shortly to happen, and which indeed did fall out, in a place from which he in whom this spirit was speaking was far distant. But he never cried, Forbear thy villanies, Sylla! "The villanies which were committed at Rome by that victor to whom a golden crown on the calf's liver had been shown as the divine evidence of his victory. If such signs as this were customarily sent by just gods, and not by wicked demons, then certainly the entrails he consulted should rather have given Sylla intimation of the cruel disasters that were to befall the city and himself.

For that victory was not so conducive to his exaltation to power, as it was fatal to his ambition; for by it he became so insatiable in his desires, and was rendered so arrogant and reckless by prosperity, that he may be said rather to have inflicted a moral destruction on himself than corporal destruction on his enemies. But these truly woful and deplorable calamities the gods gave him no previous hint of, neither by entrails, augury, dream, nor prediction. For they feared his amendment more than his defeat. Yea, they took good care that this glorious conqueror of his own fellow-citizens should be conquered and led captive by his own infamous vices, and should thus be the more submissive slave of the demons themselves.

25. How powerfully the evil spirits incite men to wicked actions, by giving them the quasi-divine authority of their example.

Now, who does not hereby comprehend, "unless he has preferred to imitate such gods rather than by divine grace to withdraw himself from their fellowship, "who does not see how eagerly these evil spirits strive by their example to lend, as it were, divine authority to crime? Is not this proved by the fact that they were seen in a wide plain in Campania rehearsing among themselves the battle which shortly after took place there with great bloodshed between the armies of Borne? For at first there were heard loud crashing noises, and after-

wards many reported that they had seen for some days together two armies engaged. And when this battle ceased, they found the ground all indented with just such footprints of men and horses as a great conflict would leave. If, then, the deities were veritably fighting with one another, the civil wars of men are sufficiently justified; yet, by the way, let it be observed that such pugnacious gods must be very wicked or very wretched. If, however, it was but a sham-fight, what did they intend by this, but that the civil wars of the Romans should seem no wickedness, but an imitation of the gods?
For already the civil wars had begun; and before this, some lamentable battles and execrable massacres had occurred. Already many had been moved by the story of the soldier, who, on stripping the spoils of his slain foe, recognised in the stripped corpse his own brother, and, with deep curses on civil wars, slew himself there and then on his brother's body. To disguise the bitterness of such tragedies, and kindle increasing ardour in this monstrous warfare, these malign demons, who were reputed and worshipped as gods, fell upon this plan of revealing themselves in a state of civil war, that no compunction for fellow-citizens might cause the Eomans to shrink from such battles, but that the human criminality might be justified by the divine example. By a like craft, too, did these evil spirits command that scenic entertainments, of which I have already spoken, should be instituted and dedicated to them. And in these entertainments the poetical compositions and actions of the drama ascribed such iniquities to the gods, that every one might safely imitate them, whether he believed the gods had actually done such things, or, not believing this, yet perceived that they most eagerly desired to .be represented as having done them. And that no one might suppose, that in representing the gods as fighting with one another, the poets had slandered them, and imputed to them unworthy actions, the gods themselves, to complete the deception, confirmed the compositions of the poets by exhibiting their own battles to the eyes of men, not only through actions in the theatres, but in their own persons on the actual field.

We have been forced to bring forward 'these facts, because their authors have not scrupled to say and to write that the
Roman republic had already been ruined by the depraved moral habits of the citizens, and had ceased to exist before the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now this ruin they do not impute to their own gods, though they impute to our Christ the evils of this life, which cannot ruin good men, be they alive or dead. And this they do, though our Christ has issued so many precepts inculcating virtue and restraining vice; while their own gods have done nothing whatever to preserve that republic that served them, and to restrain it from ruin by such precepts, but have rather hastened its destruction, by corrupting its morality through their pestilent example. No one, I fancy, will now be bold enough to say that the republic was then ruined because of the departure of the gods " from each fane, each sacred shrine," as if they were the friends of virtue, and were offended by the vices of men. No, there are too many presages from entrails, auguries, soothsayings, whereby they boastingly proclaimed themselves prescient of future events and controllers of the fortune of war, â€” all which prove them to have been present. And had they been indeed absent, the Eomans would never in these civil wars have been so far transported by their own passions as they were by the instigations of these gods.

26. That the demons gave in secret certain obscure instructions in morals, while in public their own solemnities inculcated all wickedness.

Seeing that this is so, â€” seeing that the filthy and cruel deeds, the disgraceful and criminal actions of the gods, whether real or feigned, were at their own request published, and were consecrated, and dedicated in their honour as sacred and stated solemnities; seeing they vowed vengeance on those who refused to exhibit them to the eyes of all, that they might be proposed as deeds worthy of imitation, why is it that these same demons, who, by taking pleasure in such obscenities, acknowledge themselves to be unclean spirits, and by delighting in their own villanies and iniquities, real or imaginary, and by requesting from the immodest, and extorting from the modest, the celebration of these licentious acts, proclaim themselves instigators to a criminal and lewd life; â€” why, I ask, are they represented as giving some good moral precepts to a few of their own elect, initiated in the secrecy of their shrines? If it be so, this very thing only serves further to demonstrate the malicious craft of these pestilent spirits. For so great is the influence of probity and chastity, that all men, or almost all men, are moved by the praise of these virtues; nor is any man so depraved by vice, but he hath some feeling of honour left in him. So that, unless the devil sometimes transformed himself, as Scripture says, into an angel of light, I he could not compass his deceitful purpose. Accordingly, in public, a bold impurity fills the ear of the people with noisy clamour; in private, a feigned chastity speaks in scarce audible whispers to a few:
an open stage is provided for shameful things, but on the praiseworthy the curtain falls:

grace hides, disgrace flaunts:
a wicked deed draws an overflowing house, a virtuous speech finds scarce a hearer, as
though purity were to be blushed at, impurity boasted of. Where else can such confusion
reign, but in devils' temples? Where, but in the haunts of deceit?

For the secret precepts are given as a sop to the virtuous, who are few in number; the
wicked examples are exhibited to encourage the vicious, who are countless.

Where and when those initiated in the mysteries of Ccelestis received any good
instructions, we know not. What we do know is, that before her shrine, in which her
image is set, and amidst a vast crowd gathering from all quarters, and standing closely
packed together, we were intensely interested spectators of the games which were going
on, and saw, as we pleased to turn the eye, on this side a grand display of harlots, on the
other the virgin goddess: we saw this virgin worshipped with prayer and with obscene
rites. There we saw no shamefaced mimes, no actress overburdened with modesty: all
that the obscene rites demanded was fully complied with. We were plainly shown what
was pleasing to the virgin deity, and the matron who witnessed the spectacle returned
home from the temple a wiser woman. Some, indeed, of the more prudent women turned
their faces from the immodest movements of the players, and learned the art of
wickedness by a furtive regard. For they were restrained, by the* modest demeanour due
to men, from looking boldly at the immodest gestures; but much more were they
restrained from condemning with chaste

1 2 Cor. xi. U.
heart the sacred rites of her whom they adored. And yet this licentiousness which, if practised in one's home, could only be done there in secret, was practised as a public lesson in the temple; and if any modesty remained in men, it was occupied in marvelling that wickedness which men could not unrestrainedly commit should be part of the religious teaching of the gods, and that to omit its exhibition should incur the anger of the gods. What spirit can that be, which by a hidden inspiration stirs men's corruption, and goads them to adultery, and feeds on the full-fledged iniquity, unless it be the same that finds pleasure in such religious ceremonies, sets in the temples images of devils, and loves to see in play the images of vices; that whispers in secret some righteous sayings to deceive the few who are good, and scatters in public invitations to profligacy, to gain possession of the millions who are wicked?

27. That the obscenities of those plays which the Romans consecrated in order to propitiate their gods, contributed largely to the overthrow of public order.

Cicero, a weighty man, and a philosopher in his way, when about to be made edile, wished the citizens to understand that, among the other duties of his magistracy, he must propitiate Flora by the celebration of games. And these games are reckoned devout in proportion to their lewdness. In another place, and when he was now consul, and the state in great peril, he says that games had been celebrated for ten days together, and that nothing had been omitted which could pacify the gods: as if it had not been more satisfactory to irritate the gods by temperance, than to pacify them by debauchery; and to provoke their hate by honest living, than soothe it by such unseemly grossness. For no matter how cruel was the ferocity of those men who were threatening the state, and on whose account the gods were being propitiated: it could not have been more hurtful than the alliance of gods who were won with the foulest vices. To avert the danger which threatened men's bodies, the gods were conciliated in a fashion that drove virtue from their spirits; and the gods did not enrol themselves as defenders of the battlements against the besiegers, until they had first stormed and sacked the morality

1 Cicero, C. Verrem, vi. 8. 2 Cicero, C. Catilinam, iii. 8.

88 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]

of the citizens. This propitiation of such divinities, a propitiation so wanton, so impure, so immodest, so wicked, so filthy, whose actors the innate and praiseworthy virtue of the Eomans disabled from civic honours, erased from their tribe, recognised as polluted and made infamous; this propitiation, I say, so foul, so detestable, and alien from every religious feeling, these fabulous and ensnaring accounts of the criminal actions of the gods, these scandalous actions which they either shamefully and wickedly committed, or more shamefully and wickedly feigned, all this the whole city learned in
public both by the words and gestures of the actors. They saw that the gods delighted in the commission of these tilings, and therefore believed that they wished them not only to be exhibited to them, but to be imitated by themselves. But as for that good and honest instruction which they speak of, it was given in such secrecy, and to so few (if indeed given at all), that they seemed rather to fear it might be divulged, than that it might not be practised.

28. That the Christian religion is health-giving.

They, then, are but abandoned and ungrateful wretches, in deep and fast bondage to that malign spirit, who complain and murmur that men are rescued by the name of Christ from the hellish thraldom of these unclean spirits, and from a participation in their punishment, and are brought out of the night of pestilential ungodliness into the light of most healthful piety. Only such men could murmur that the masses flock to the churches and their chaste acts of worship, where a seemly separation of the sexes is observed; where they learn how they may so spend this earthly life, as to merit a blessed eternity hereafter; where Holy Scripture and instruction in righteousness are proclaimed from a raised platform in presence of all, that both they who do the word may hear to their salvation, and they who do it not may hear to judgment. And though some enter who scoff at such precepts, all their petulance is either quenched by a sudden change, or is restrained through fear or shame. For no filthy and wicked action is there set forth to be gazed at or to be imitated; but either the precepts of the true God are recommended, His miracles narrated, His gifts praised, or His benefits implored.
29. An exhortation to the Romans to renounce paganism.

This, rather, is the religion worthy of your desires, admirable Roman race, the progeny of your Scasvolas and Scipios, of Eegulus, and of Fabricius. This rather covet, this distinguish from that foul vanity and crafty malice of the devils. If there is in your nature any eminent virtue, only by true piety is it purged and perfected, while by impiety it is wrecked and punished. Choose now what you will pursue, that your praise may be not in yourself, but in the true God, in whom is no error. For of popular glory you have had your share; but by the secret providence of God, the true religion was not offered to your choice. Awake, it is now day; as you have already awaked in the persons of some in whose perfect virtue and sufferings for the true faith we glory: for they, contending on all sides with hostile powers, and conquering them all by bravely dying, have purchased for us this country of ours with their blood; to which country we invite you, and exhort you to add yourselves to the number of the citizens of this city, which also has a sanctuary of its own in the true remission of sins. Do not listen to those degenerate sons of thine who slander Christ and Christians, and impute to them these disastrous times, though they desire times in which they may enjoy rather impunity for their wickedness than a peaceful life.

Such has never been Rome's ambition even in regard to her earthly country. Lay hold now on the celestial country, which is easily won, and in which you will reign truly and for ever. For there shalt thou find no vestal fire, no Capitoline stone, but the one true God

"No date, no goal will here ordain: But grant an endless, boundless reign." 2

No longer, then, follow after false and deceitful gods; abjure them rather, and despise them, bursting forth into true liberty. Gods they are not, but malignant spirits, to whom your eternal happiness will be a sore punishment. Juno, from whom you deduce your origin according to the flesh, did not so bitterly grudge Rome's citadels to the Trojans, as these devils whom yet ye repute gods, grudge an everlasting seat to the race of mankind. And thou thyself hast in no wavering voice passed

1 Alluding to the sanctuary given to all who fled to Rome in its early days.

2 Virgil, JEneid, i. 278.

90 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK II.]
against the unclean spirits who had imposed on thy neck the yoke of celebrating their own shame and filthiness. The actors of these divine crimes thou hast removed from offices of honour; supplicate the true God, that He may remove from thee those gods who delight in their crimes, a most disgraceful thing if the crimes are really theirs, and a most malicious invention if the crimes are feigned. "Well done, in that thou hast spontaneously banished from the number of your citizens all actors and players. Awake more fully: the majesty of God cannot be propitiated by that which defiles the dignity of man. How, then, can you believe that gods who take pleasure in such lewd plays, belong to the number of the holy powers of heaven, when the men by whom these plays are acted are by yourselves refused admission into the number of Eoman citizens even of the lowest grade? Incomparably more glorious than Rome, is that heavenly city in which for victory you have truth; for dignity, holiness; for peace, felicity; for life, eternity. Much less does it admit into its society such gods, if thou dost blush to admit into thine such men. Wherefore, if thou wouldst attain to the blessed city, shun the society of devils. They who are propitiated by deeds of shame, are unworthy of the worship of right-hearted men. Let these, then, be obliterated from your worship by the cleansing of the Christian religion, as those men were blotted from your citizenship by the censor's mark.

But, so far as regards carnal benefits, which are the only blessings the wicked desire to enjoy, and carnal miseries, which alone they shrink from enduring, we will show in the following book that the demons have not the power they are supposed to have; and although they had it, we ought rather on that account to despise these blessings, than for the sake of them to worship those gods, and by worshipping them to miss the attainment of these blessings they grudge us. But that they have not even this power which is ascribed to them by those who worship them for the sake of temporal advantages, this, I say, I will prove in the following book; so let us here close the present argument.

BOOK III.] GREAT CALAMITIES BEFORE CHRIST'S ADVENT. 91

BOOK THIRD.

ARGUMENT.

AS IN THE FOREGOING BOOK ALGUSTINE HAS PROVED REGARDING MORAL AND SPIRITUAL CALAMITIES, SO IN THIS BOOK HE PROVES REGARDING EXTERNAL AND BODILY DISASTERS, THAT SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY THE ROMANS HAVE BEEN CONTINUALLY SUBJECT TO THEM; AND THAT EVEN WHEN THE FALSE GODS WERE WORSHIPPED WITHOUT A RIVAL, BEFORE THE ADVENT OF CHRIST, THEY AFFORDED NO RELIEF FROM SUCH CALAMITIES.
1. Of the ills which alone the wicked fear, and which the world continually suffered, even when the gods were worshipped.

OF moral and spiritual evils, which are above all others to be deprecated, I think enough has already been said to show that the false gods took no steps to prevent the people who worshipped them from being overwhelmed by such calamities, but rather aggravated the ruin. I see I must now speak of those evils which alone are dreaded by the heathen — famine, pestilence, war, pillage, captivity, massacre, and the like calamities, already enumerated in the first book. For evil men account those things alone evil which do not make men evil; neither do they blush to praise good things, and yet to remain evil among the good things they praise. It grieves them more to own a bad house than a bad life, as if it were man's greatest good to have everything good but himself. But not even such evils as were alone dreaded by the heathen were warded off by their gods, even when they were most unrestrictedly worshipped. For in various times and places before the advent of our Redeemer, the human race was crushed with numberless and sometimes incredible calamities; and at that time what gods but those did the world worship, if you except the one nation of the Hebrews, and, beyond them, such individuals as the most secret and most just judgment of God counted worthy of divine grace? But that I may not be prolix, I will be silent regarding the heavy calamities that have been suffered by any other nations, and will speak only of what happened to Rome and the Roman empire, by which I mean Rome properly so called, and those lands which already, before the coming of Christ, had by alliance or conquest become, as it were, members of the body of the state.

2. Whether the gods, whom the Greeks and Romans worshipped in common, were justified in permitting the destruction of Ilium.

First, then, why was Troy or Ilium, the cradle of the Eoman people (for I must not overlook nor disguise what I touched upon in the first book), conquered, taken, and destroyed by the Greeks, though it esteemed and worshipped the same gods as they? Priam, some answer, paid the penalty of the perjury of his father Laomedon. Then it is true that Laomedon hired Apollo and Neptune as his workmen. For the story goes that he promised them wages, and then broke his bargain. I wonder that famous diviner Apollo toiled at so huge a work, and never suspected Laomedon was going to cheat him of his pay. And Neptune too, his uncle, brother of Jupiter, king of the sea, it really was not seemly that he should be ignorant of what was to happen. For he is introduced by Homer (who lived and wrote before the building of Eome) as predicting something great of the posterity of Eneas,
who in fact founded Eome. And as Homer says, Neptune also rescued iEneas in a cloud from the wrath of Achilles, though (according to Virgil 4)

"All his will was to destroy His own creation, perjured Troy."

Gods, then, so great as Apollo and Neptune, in ignorance of the cheat that was to defraud them of their wages, built the walls of Troy for nothing but thanks and thankless people.

There may be some doubt whether it is not a worse crime to believe such persons to be gods, than to cheat such gods. Even Homer himself did not give full credence to the story; for while he represents Neptune, indeed, as hostile to the Trojans, he introduces Apollo as their champion, though the story implies that both were offended by that fraud. If, there-

1 Ch. iv. 2 Virg. Georg. i. 502, 'Laomedontete luimus perjuria Trojan'

3 Iliad, xx. 293 et seq. 4 JUneid, v. 810, 811. 6 Gratis et ingratis.
fore, they believe their fables, let them blush to worship such gods; if they discredit the fables, let no more be said of the "Trojan perjury; " or let them explain how the gods hated Trojan, but loved Eoman perjury. For how did the conspiracy of Catiline, even in so large and corrupt a city, find so abundant a supply of men whose hands and tongues found them a living by perjury and civic broils? What else but perjury corrupted the judgments pronounced by so many of the senators? What else corrupted the people's votes and decisions of all causes tried before them? For it seems that the ancient practice of taking oaths has been preserved even in the midst of the greatest corruption, not for the sake of restraining wickedness by religious fear, but to complete the tale of crimes by adding that of perjury.

3. That the gods could not be offended by the adultery of Paris, this crime being so common among themselves.

There is no ground, then, for representing the gods (by whom, as they say, that empire stood, though they are proved to have been conquered by the Greeks) as being enraged at the Trojan perjury. Neither, as others again plead in their defence, was it indignation at the adultery of Paris that caused them to withdraw their protection from Troy. For their habit is to be instigators and instructors in vice, not its avengers. "The city of Borne," says Sallust, "was first built and inhabited, as I have heard, by the Trojans, who, flying their country, under the conduct of iEneas, wandered about without making any settlement." * If, then, the gods were of opinion that the adultery of Paris should be punished, it was chiefly the Eomans, or at least the Eomans also, who should have suffered; for the adultery was brought about by iEneas' mother. But how could they hate in Paris a crime which they made no objection to in their own sister Venus, who (not to mention any other instance) committed adultery with Anchises, and so became the mother of iEneas? Is it because in the one case Menelaus 2 was aggrieved, while in the other Vulcan 3 connived at the crime? For the gods, I fancy, are so little jealous of their wives, that they make no scruple of sharing them with men. But perhaps I may be

1 De Conj. Cat. vi. 2 Helen's husband. 3 Venus' husband.

suspected of turning the myths into ridicule, and not handling so weighty a subject with sufficient gravity. "Well, then, let us say that iEneas is not the son of Venus. I am willing to admit it; but is Eomulus any more the son of Mars? For why not the one as well as the other? Or is it lawful for gods to have intercourse with women, unlawful for men to have intercourse with goddesses? A hard, or rather an incredible condition, that what was
allowed to Mars by the law of Venus, should not be allowed to Yenus herself by her own law. However, both cases have the authority of Eome; for Caesar in modern times believed no less that he was descended from Yenus, 1 than the ancient Eomulus believed himself the son of Mars.

4. Of Varro's opinion, that it is useful for men to feign themselves the offspring of the gods.

Some one will say, But do you believe all this ? Eot I indeed. For even Varro, a very learned heathen, all but admits that these stories are false, though he does not boldly and confidently say so. But he maintains it is useful for states that brave men believe, though falsely, that they are descended from the gods; for that thus the human spirit, cherishing the belief of its divine descent, will both more boldly venture into great enterprises, and will carry them out more energetically, and will therefore by its very confidence secure more abundant success. You see how wide a field is opened to falsehood by this opinion of Varro's, which I have expressed as well as I could in my own words; and how comprehensible it is, that many of the religions and sacred legends should be feigned in a community in which it was judged profitable for the citizens that lies should be told even about the gods themselves.

5. That it is not credible that the gods sliould have punished the adultery of Paris, seeing they showed no indignation at the adultery of (lie, mother of Romulus.

But whether Yenus could bear iEneas to a human father Anchises, or Mars beget Eomulus of the daughter of Numitor,

1 Suetonius, in his Life of Julius Cozsar (c. 6), relates that, in pronouncing a funeral oration in praise of his aunt Julia, Cesar claimed for the Julian gens to which his family belonged a descent from Venus, through lulus, son of Eneas.
we leave as unsettled questions. For our own Scriptures suggest the very similar question, whether the fallen angels had sexual intercourse with the daughters of men, by which the earth was at that time filled with giants, that is, with enormously large and strong men. At present, then, I will limit my discussion to this dilemma: If that which their books relate about the mother of iEneas and the father of Eomulus be true, how can the gods be displeased with men for adulteries which, when committed by themselves, excite no displeasure?

If it is false, not even in this case can the gods be angry that men should really commit adulteries, which, even when falsely attributed to the gods, they delight in. Moreover, if the adultery of Mars be discredited, that Venus also may be freed from the imputation, then the mother of Eomulus is left unshielded by the pretext of a divine seduction. For Sylvia was a vestal priestess, and the gods ought to avenge this sacrilege on the Eomans with greater severity than Paris' adultery on the Trojans. For even the Eomans themselves in primitive times used to go so far as to bury alive any vestal who was detected in adultery, while women unconsecrated, though they were punished, were never punished with death for that crime; and thus they more earnestly vindicated the purity of shrines they esteemed divine, than of the human bed.

6. That the gods exacted no penalty for the fratricidal act of Romulus.

I acid another instance: If the sins of men so greatly incensed those divinities, that they abandoned Troy to fire and sword to punish the crime of Paris, the murder of Eomulus' brother ought to have incensed them more against the Eomans than the cajoling of a Greek husband moved them against the Trojans: fratricide in a newly-born city should have provoked them more than adultery in a city already flourishing. It makes no difference to the question we now discuss, whether Eomulus ordered his brother to be slain, or slew him with his own hand; a crime this latter which many shamelessly deny, many through shame doubt, many in grief disguise. And we shall not pause to examine and weigh the testimonies of historical writers on the subject. All agree that the brother of Eomulus was slain, not by enemies, not by strangers. If it was Eoraulus who either commanded or perpetrated this crime; Romulus was more truly the head of the Romans than Paris of the Trojans; why then did he who carried off another man's wife bring down the anger of the gods on the Trojans, while he who took his brother's life obtained the guardianship of those same gods? If, on the other hand, that crime was not wrought either by the hand or will of Romulus, then the whole city is chargeable with it, because it did not see to its punishment, and thus committed, not fratricide, but parricide, which is worse.
For both brothers were the founders of that city, of which the one was by villany prevented from being a rider. So far as I see, then, no evil can be ascribed to Troy which warranted the gods in abandoning it to destruction, nor any good to Rome which accounts for the gods visiting it with prosperity; unless the truth be, that they fled from Troy because they were vanquished, and betook themselves to Rome to practise their characteristic deceptions there. Nevertheless they kept a footing for themselves in Troy, that they might deceive future inhabitants who repeopled these lands; while at Rome, by a wider exercise of their malignant arts, they exulted in more abundant honours.

7. Of the destruction of Ilium by Fimbria, a lieutenant of Mar i us.

And surely we may ask what wrong poor Ilium had done, that, in the first heat of the civil wars of Rome, it should suffer at the hand of Fimbria, the veriest villain among Marias’ partisans, a more fierce and cruel destruction than the Grecian sack 1 For when the Greeks took it many escaped, and many who did not escape were suffered to live, though in captivity. But Fimbria from the first gave orders that not a life should be spared, and burnt up together the city and all its inhabitants. Thus was Ilium requited, not by the Greeks, whom she had provoked by wrong-doing; but by the Romans, who had been built out of her ruins; while the gods, adored alike of both sides, did simply nothing, or, to speak more correctly, could do nothing. Is it then true, that at this time also, after Troy had repaired the damage done by the Grecian fire, all the gods by whose help the kingdom stood, "forsook each fane, each sacred shrine ?"

1 Livy, 83, one of the lost books; and Appian, in Mithridat.
But if so, I ask the reason; for in my judgment, the conduct of the gods was as much to be reprobed as that of the townsmen to be applauded. For these closed their gates against Fimbria, that they might preserve the city for Sylla, and were therefore burnt and consumed by the enraged general. Now, up to this time, Sylla's cause was the more worthy of the two; for till now he used arms to restore the republic, and as yet his good intentions had met with no reverses. What better thing, then, could the Trojans have done? What more honourable, what more faithful to Eome, or more worthy of her relationship, than to preserve their city for the better part of the Eomans, and to shut their gates against a parricide of his country? It is for the defenders of the gods to consider the ruin which this conduct brought on Troy.

The gods deserted an adulterous people, and abandoned Troy to the fires of the Greeks, that out of her ashes a chaster Eome might arise. But why did they a second time abandon this same town, allied now to Eome, and not making war upon her noble daughter, but preserving a most stedfast and pious fidelity to Eome's most justifiable faction? Why did they give her up to be destroyed, not by the Greek heroes, but by the basest of the Eomans? Or, if the gods did not favour Sylla's cause, for which the unhappy Trojans maintained their city, why did they themselves predict and promise Sylla such successes? Must we call them flatterers of the fortunate, rather than helpers of the wretched? Troy was not destroyed, then, because the gods deserted it. For the demons, always watchful to deceive, did what they could.

For, when all the statues were overthrown and burnt together with the town, Livy tells us that only the image of Minerva is said to have been found standing uninjured amidst the ruins of her temple; not that it might be said in their praise, "The gods who made this realm divine," but that it might not be said in their defence, they are "gone from each fane, each sacred shrine:" for that marvel was permitted to them, not that they might be proved to be powerful, but that they might be convicted of being present.

8. Whether Rome ought to have been entrusted to the Trojan gods?

Where, then, was the wisdom of entrusting Eome to the vol/ L G

98 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]

Trojan gods, who had demonstrated their weakness in the loss of Troy? "Will some one say that, when Fimbria stormed Troy, the gods were already resident in Eome? How, then, did the image of Minerva remain standing? Besides, if they were at Eome when Fimbria destroyed Troy, perhaps they were at Troy when Eome itself was taken and set on fire by the Gauls. But as they are very acute in hearing, and very swift in their movements, they came quickly at the cackling of the
goose to defend at least the Capitol, though to defend the rest of the city they were too long in being warned.

9. Whether it is credible that the peace during the reign of Numa was brought about by the gods.

It is also believed that it was by the help of the gods that the successor of Eomulus, Xuma Pompilius, enjoyed peace during his entire reign, and shut the gates of Janus, which are customarily kept open 1 during war. And it is supposed he was thus requited for appointing many religious observances among the Eomans. Certainly that king would have commanded our congratulations for so rare a leisure, had he been wise enough to spend it on wholesome pursuits, and, subduing a pernicious curiosity, had sought out the true God with true piety. But as it was, the gods were not the authors of his leisure; but possibly they would have deceived him less had they found him busier. For the more disengaged they found him, the more they themselves occupied his attention. Varro informs us of all his efforts, and of the arts he employed to associate these gods with himself and the city; and in its own place, if God will, I shall discuss these matters. Meanwhile, as we are speaking of the benefits conferred by the gods, I readily admit that peace is a great benefit; but it is a benefit of the true God, which, like the sun, the rain, and other supports of life, is frequently conferred on the ungrateful and wicked. But if this great boon was conferred on Eome and Pompilius by their gods, why did they never afterwards grant it to the Eoman empire during even more meritorious periods? Where the sacred rites more efficient at

1 The gates of Janus were not the gates of a temple, but the gates of a passage called Janus, which was used only for military purposes; shut therefore in peace, open in war.
their first institution than during their subsequent celebration? But they had no existence in Numa's time, until he added them to the ritual; whereas afterwards they had already been celebrated and preserved, that benefit might arise from them. How, then, is it that those forty-three, or as others prefer it, thirty-nine years of Numa's reign, were passed in unbroken peace, and yet that afterwards, when the worship was established, and the gods themselves, who were invoked by it, were the recognised guardians and patrons of the city, we can with difficulty find during the whole period, from the building of the city to the reign of Augustus, one year “that, viz., which followed the close of the first Punic war” in which, for a marvel, the Romans were able to shut the gates of war? 1

10. Whether it was desirable that the Roman empire should be increased by such ajurious succession of wars, when it might have been quiet and safe by following in the peaceful ways of Numa.

Do they reply that the Roman empire could never have been so widely extended, nor so glorious, save by constant and unintermitting wars? A fit argument, truly! "Why must a kingdom be distracted in order to be great? In this little world of man's body, is it not better to have a moderate stature, and health with it, than to attain the huge dimensions of a giant by unnatural torments, and when you attain it to find no rest, but to be pained the more in proportion to the size of your members? What evil would have resulted, or rather what good would not have resulted, had those times continued which Sallust sketched, when he says, "At first the kings (for that was the first title of empire in the world) were divided in their sentiments: part cultivated the mind, others the body: at that time the life of men was led without covetousness; every one was sufficiently satisfied with his own!": Was it requisite, then, for Rome's prosperity, that the state of things which Virgil reprobates should succeed:

"At length stole on a baser age, And war's indomitable rage, And greedy lust of gain?" 3

1 The year of the Consuls T. Manlius and C. Atilius, a.u.c. 519.


100 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK ITJ.

But obviously the Romans have a plausible defence for undertaking and carrying on such disastrous wars, “to wit, that the pressure of their enemies forced them to resist, so that they were compelled to fight, not by any greed of human applause, but by the necessity of protecting life and liberty.
Well, let that pass. Here is Sallust's account of the matter:
"For when their state, enriched with laws, institutions, territory, seemed abundantly prosperous and sufficiently powerful, according to the ordinary law of human nature, opulence gave birth to envy. Accordingly, the neighbouring kings and states took arms and assaulted them. A few allies lent assistance; the rest, struck with fear, kept aloof from dangers. But the Bomans, watchful at home and in war, were active, made preparations, encouraged one another, marched to meet their enemies, "protected by arms their liberty, country, parents. Afterwards, when they had repelled the dangers by their bravery, they carried help to their allies and friends, and procured alliances more by conferring than by receiving favours."

This was to build up Rome's greatness by honourable means. But, in Xuma's reign, I would know whether the long peace was maintained in spite of the incursions of wicked neighbours, or if these incursions were discontinued that the peace might be maintained? For if even then Borne was harassed by wars, and yet did not meet force with force, the same means she then used to quiet her enemies without conquering them in war, or terrifying them with the onset of battle, she might have used always, and have reigned in peace with the gates of Janus shut. And if this was not in her power, then Borne enjoyed peace not at the will of her gods, but at the will of her neighbours round about, and only so long as they cared to provoke her with no war, unless perhaps these pitiful gods will dare to sell to one man as their favour what lies not in their power to bestow, but in the will of another man.

These demons, indeed, in so far as they are permitted, can terrify or incite the minds of wicked men by their own peculiar wickedness. But if they always had this power, and if no action were taken against their efforts by a more secret and higher power, they would be supreme to give peace or

1 Sail. Cat. Conj. vi
the victories of war, which almost always fall out through some human emotion, and frequently in opposition to the will of the gods, as is proved not only by lying legends, which scarcely hint or signify any grain of truth, but even by Eoman history itself.

11. Of the statue of Apollo at Cumce, whose tears are supposed to have portended disaster to the Greeks, whom the god was unable to succour.

And it is still this weakness of the gods which is confessed in the story of the Cuman Apollo, who is said to have wept for four days during the war with the Achseans and King Aristonicus. And when the augurs were alarmed at the portent, and had determined to cast the statue into the sea, the old men of Cumse interposed, and related that a similar prodigy had occurred to the same image during the wars against Antiochus and against Perseus, and that by a decree of the senate gifts had been presented to Apollo, because the event had proved favourable to the Eomans. Then soothsayers were summoned who were supposed to have greater professional skill, and they pronounced that the weeping of Apollo's image was propitious to the Eomans, because Cumse was a Greek colony, and that Apollo was bewailing (and thereby presaging) the grief and calamity that was about to light upon his own land of Greece, from which he had been brought. Shortly afterwards it was reported that King Aristonicus was defeated and made prisoner, a defeat certainly opposed to the will of Apollo; and this he indicated by even shedding tears from his marble image. And this shows us that, though the verses of the poets are mythical, they are not altogether devoid of truth, but describe the manners of the demons in a sufficiently fit style. For in Virgil Diana mourned for Camilla, and Hercules wept for Pallas doomed to die. This is perhaps the reason why Numa Pompilius, too, when, enjoying prolonged peace, but without knowing or inquiring from whom he received it, he began in his leisure to consider to what gods he should entrust the safe keeping and conduct of Eome, and not dreaming that the true, almighty, and most high God cares for earthly affairs, but recollecting only that the Trojan gods which iEneas had

1 jEneid, xi. 532. 2 Ibid. x. 464.

102 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]

brought to Italy had been able to preserve neither the Trojan nor Lavinian kingdom founded by iEneas himself, concluded that he must provide other gods as guardians of fugitives and helpers of the weak, and add them to those earlier divinities who had either come over to Borne with Bomulus, or when Alba was destroyed.

12. That the Romans added a vast number of gods to those introduced by Numa, and that their numbers helped them not at all.
But though Bompilius introduced so ample a ritual, yet did not Borne see fit to be content with it. For as yet Jupiter himself had not his chief temple, â€” it being King Tarquin who built the Capitol. And ïEschulapius left Epidaurus for Borne, that in this foremost city he might have a finer field for the exercise of his great medical skill. 1 The mother of the gods, too, came I know not whence from Pessinuns; it being unseemly that, while her son presided on the Capitoline hill, she herself should lie hid in obscurity. But if she is the mother of all the gods, she not only followed some of her children to Borne, but left others to follow her. I wonder, indeed, if she were the mother of Cynocephalus, who a long while afterwards came from Egypt. Whether also the goddess Fever was her offspring, is a matter for her grandson ïEschulapius 2 to decide. But of whatever breed she be, the foreign gods will not presume, I trust, to call a goddess base-born who is a Boman citizen. Who can number the deities to whom the guardianship of Borne was entrusted? Indigenous and imported, both of heaven, earth, hell, seas, fountains, rivers; and, as Varro says, gods certain and uncertain, male and female: for, as among animals, so among all kinds of gods are there these distinctions. Borne, then, enjoying the protection of such a cloud of deities, might surely have been preserved from some of those great and horrible calamities, of which I can mention but a few. For by the great smoke of her altars she summoned to her protection, as by a beaconfire, a host of gods, for whom she appointed and maintained temples, altars, sacrifices, priests, and thus offended the true and most high God, to whom alone all this ceremonial is lawfully due. And, indeed, she was more prosperous when she

1 Livy, x. 47. 2 Being son of Apollo.
had fewer gods; but the greater she became, the more gods she thought she should have, as the larger ship needs to be manned by a larger crew. I suppose she despaired of the smaller number, under whose protection she had spent comparatively happy days, being able to defend her greatness.

For even under the kings (with the exception of ISTuma Pompilius, of whom I have already spoken), how wicked a contentiousness must have existed to occasion the death of Eomulus' brother!

13. By what right or agreement the Romans obtained their first wives.

How is it that neither Juno, who with her husband Jupiter even then cherished "Rome's sons, the nation of the gown," x

nor Venus herself, could assist the children of the loved iEneas to find wives by some right and equitable means?

For the lack of this entailed upon the Eomans the lamentable necessity of stealing their wives, and then waging war with their fathers-in-law; so that the wretched women, before they had recovered from the wrong done them by their husbands, were dowried with the blood of their fathers. "But -the Eomans conquered their neighbours." Yes; but with what wounds on both sides, and with what sad slaughter of relatives and neighbours! The war of Csesar and Pompey was the contest of only one father-in-law with one son-in-law; and before it began, the daughter of Csesar, Pompey's wife, was already dead. But with how keen and just an accent of grief does Lucan 2 exclaim: "I sing that worse than civil war waged in the plains of Emathia, and in which the crime was justified by the victory I"

The Eomans, then, conquered that they might, with hands stained in the blood of their fathers-in-law, wrench the miserable girls from their embrace, â€” girls who dared not weep for their slain parents, for fear of offending their victorious husbands; and while yet the battle was raging, stood with their prayers on their lips, and knew not for whom to utter them. Such nuptials were certainly prepared for the Eoman people not by Venus, but Bellona; or possibly that

1 Virgil, JEn. i. 286. 2 Pharsal. v. 1.

infernal fury Alecto had more liberty to injure them now that Juno was aiding them, than when the prayers of that goddess had excited her against iEneas. Andromache in captivity was happier than these Eoman brides. For though she was a slave, yet, after she had become the wife of Pyrrhus, no more Trojans fell by his hand; but the Eomans slew in
battle the very fathers of the brides they fondled. Andromache, the victor's captive, could only mourn, not fear, the death of her people. The Sabine women, related to men still combatants, feared the death of their fathers when their husbands went out to battle, and mourned their death as they returned, while neither their grief nor their fear could be freely expressed.

For the victories of their husbands, involving the destruction of fellow-townsmen, relatives, brothers, fathers, caused either pious agony or cruel exultation. Moreover, as the fortune of war is capricious, some of them lost their husbands by the sword of their parents, while others lost husband and father together in mutual destruction. For the Eomans by no means escaped with impunity, but they were driven back within their walls, and defended themselves behind closed gates; and when the gates were opened by guile, and the enemy admitted into the town, the Forum itself was the field of a hateful and fierce engagement of fathers-in-law and sons-in-law. The ravishers were indeed quite defeated, and, flying on all sides to their houses, sullied with new shame their original shameful and lamentable triumph. It was at this juncture that Romulus, hoping no more from the valour of his citizens, prayed Jupiter that they might stand their ground; and from this occasion the god gained the name of Stator. But "hot even thus would the mischief have been finished, had not the ravished women themselves flashed "out with dishevelled hair, and cast themselves before their parents, and thus disarmed their just rage, not with the arms of victory, but with the supplications of filial affection. Then Eomulus, who could not brook his own brother as a colleague, was compelled to accept Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, as his partner on the throne. But how long would he who disliked the fellowship of his own twin-brother endure a stranger? So, Tatius being slain, Eomulus remained sole king, that he might be the
greater god. See what rights of marriage these were that fomented unnatural wars. These were the Eoman leagues of kindred, relationship, alliance, religion. This was the life of the city so abundantly protected by the gods. You see how many severe things might be said on this theme; but our purpose carries us past them, and requires our discourse for other matters.

14. Of the wickedness of the war waged by the Romans against the Albans, and of the victories won by the lust of power.

But what happened after Numa's reign, and under the other kings, when the Albans were provoked into war, with sad results not to themselves alone, but also to the Romans? The long peace of Numa had become tedious; and with what endless slaughter and detriment of both states did the Eoman and Alban armies bring it to an end! For Alba, which had been founded by Ascanius, son of Æneas, and which was more properly the mother of Eome than Troy herself, was provoked to battle by Tullus Hostilius, king of Eome, and in the conflict both inflicted and received such damage, that at length both parties wearied of the struggle. It was then devised that the war should be decided by the combat of three twin-brothers from each army: from the Eomans the three Horatii stood forward, from the Albans the three Curiatii. Two of the Horatii were overcome and disposed of by the Curiatii; but by the remaining Horatius the three Curiatii were slain. Thus Eome remained victorious, but with such a sacrifice that only one survivor returned to his home. Whose was the loss on both sides? Whose the grief, but of the offspring of Æneas, the descendants of Ascanius, the progeny of Venus, the grandsons of Jupiter? For this, too, was a "worse than civil" war, in which the belligerent states were mother and daughter. And to this combat of the three twin-brothers there was added another atrocious and horrible catastrophe. For as the two nations had formerly been friendly (being related and neighbours), the sister of the Horatii had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii; and she, when she saw her brother wearing the spoils of her betrothed, burst into tears, and was slain by her own brother in his anger. To me, this one girl seems to have been more humane than the whole Eoman people. I cannot think her to blame for lamenting the man to whom already she had plighted her troth, or, as perhaps she was doing, for grieving that her brother should have slain him to whom he had promised his sister. For why do we praise the grief of Æneas (in Virgil x) over the enemy cut down even by his own hand? "Why did Marcellus shed tears over the city of Syracuse, when he recollected, just before he destroyed, its magnificence and meridian glory, and thought upon the common lot of all things? I demand, in the name of humanity, that if men are praised for tears shed over enemies conquered by themselves, a weak girl should not be counted criminal for bewailing her lover slaughtered by the hand of her brother. While,
then, that maiden was weeping for the death of her betrothed inflicted by her brother's hand, Eome was rejoicing that such devastation had been wrought on her mother state, and that she had purchased a victory with such an expenditure of the common blood of herself and the Albans.

Why allege to me the mere names and words of "glory" and "victory?" Tear off the disguise of wild delusion, and look at the naked deeds: weigh them naked, judge them naked. Let the charge be brought against Alba, as Troy was charged with adultery. There is no such charge, none like it found: the war was kindled only in order that there

" Might sound in languid ears the cry Of Tullus and of victory." 2

This vice of restless ambition was the sole motive to that social and parricidal war, "a vice which Sallust brands in passing; for when he has spoken with brief but hearty commendation of those primitive times in which life was spent without covetousness, and every one was sufficiently satisfied with what he had, he goes on: " But after Cyrus in Asia, and the Lacedemonians and Athenians in Greece, began to subdue cities and nations, and to account the lust of sovereignty a sufficient ground for war, and to reckon that the greatest glory

1 JZneid, x. 821, of Lausus:

"But when Anchises' son surveyed The fair, fair face so ghastly made, He groaned, by tenderness unmanned, And stretched the sympathizing hand," etc,

2 Virgil, JSneid, vi. 813.
consisted in the greatest empire;" 1 and so on, as I need not now quote. This lust of
sovereignty disturbs and consumes the human race with frightful ills. By this lust Eome
was overcome when she triumphed over Alba, and praising her own crime, called it
glory. For, as our Scriptures say, " the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth
the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth." 2 Away, then, with these deceitful masks, these
deluding whitewashes, that things may be truthfully seen and scrutinized. Let no man tell
me that this and the other was a " great " man, because he fought and conquered so and
so. Gladiators fight and conquer, and this barbarism has its meed of praise; but I think it
were better to take the consequences of any sloth, than to seek the glory won by such
arms. And if two gladiators entered the arena to fight, one being father, the other his son,
who would endure such a spectacle ? who would not be revolted by it ? How, then, could
that be a glorious war which a daughter-state waged against its mother ? Or did it
constitute a difference, that the battlefield was not an arena, and that the wide plains were
filled with the carcases not of two gladiators, but of many of the flower of two nations;
and that those contests were viewed not by the amphitheatre, but by the whole world, and
furnished a profane spectacle both to those alive at the time, and to their posterity, so long
as the fame of it is handed down ?

Yet those gods, guardians of the Eoman empire, and, as it were, theatric spectators of
such contests as these, were not satisfied until the sister of the Horatii was added by her
brother's sword as a third victim from the Eoman side, so that Eome herself, though she
won the day, should have as many deaths to mourn. Afterwards, as a fruit of the victory,
Alba was destroyed, though it was there the Trojan gods had formed a third asylum after
Ilium had been sacked by the Greeks, and after they had left Lavinium, where iEneas had
founded a kingdom in a land of banishment. But probably Alba was destroyed because
from it too the gods had migrated, in their usual fashion, as Virgil says:

"Gone from each fane, each sacred shrine, Are those who made this realm divine." 3

1 Sallust, Cat. Conj. ii. 2 Ps. x. 3. 3 JEneid, ii. 351-2.

108 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK in.

Gone, indeed, and from now their third asylum, that Eome might seem all the wiser in
committing herself to them after they had deserted three other cities. Alba, whose king
Amulius had banished his brother, displeased them; Eome, whose king Eomulus had slain
his brother, pleased them. But before Alba was destroyed, its population, they say, was
amalgamated with the inhabitants of Eome, so that the two cities were one. Well,
admitting it was so, yet the fact remains that the city of Ascanius, the third retreat of the Trojan gods, was destroyed by the daughter-city. Besides, to effect this pitiful conglomerate of the war's leavings, much blood was spilt on both sides. And how shall I speak in detail of the same wars, so often renewed in subsequent reigns, though they seemed to have been finished by great victories; and of wars that time after time were brought to an end by great slaughters, and which yet time after time were renewed by the posterity of those who had made peace and struck treaties? Of this calamitous history we have no small proof, in the fact that no subsequent king closed the gates of war; and therefore, with all their tutelar gods, no one of them reigned in peace.

15. What manner of life and death the Roman kings had.

And what was the end of the kings themselves? Of Eomulus, a flattering Wend tells us that he was assumed into heaven. But certain Eoman historians relate that he was torn in pieces by the senate for his ferocity, and that a man, Julius Proculus, was suborned to give out that Eomulus had appeared to him, and through him commanded the Eoman people to worship him as a god; and that in this way the people, who were beginning to resent the action of the senate, were quieted and pacified. For an eclipse of the sun had also happened; and this was attributed to the divine power of Eomulus by the ignorant multitude, who did not know that it was brought about by the fixed laws of the sun's course: though this grief of the sun might rather have been considered proof that Eomulus had been slain, and that the crime was indicated by this deprivation of the sun's light; as, in truth, was the case when the Lord was crucified through the
cruelty and impiety of the Jews. For it is sufficiently demonstrated that this latter obscuration of the sun did not occur by the natural laws of the heavenly bodies, because it was then the Jewish passover, which is held only at full moon, whereas natural eclipses of the sun happen only at the last quarter of the moon. Cicero, too, shows plainly enough that the apotheosis of Eomulus was imaginary rather than real, when, even while he is praising him in one of Scipio's remarks in the De Republica, he says: "Such a reputation had he acquired, that when he suddenly disappeared during an eclipse of the sun, he was supposed to have been assumed into the number of the gods, which could be supposed of no mortal who had not the highest reputation for virtue." * By these words, "he suddenly disappeared," we are to understand that he was mysteriously made away with by the violence either of the tempest or of a murderous assault. For their other writers speak not only of an eclipse, but of a sudden storm also, which certainly either afforded opportunity for the crime, or itself made an end of Eomulus. And of Tullus Hostilius, who was the third king of Eome, and who was himself destroyed by lightning, Cicero in the same book says, that "he was not supposed to have been deified by this death, possibly because the Eomans were unwilling to vulgarize the promotion they were assured or persuaded of in the case of Eomulus, lest they should bring it into contempt by gratuitously assigning it to all and sundry."

In one of his invectives, 2 too, he says, in round terms, "The founder of this city, Eomulus, we have raised to immortality and divinity by kindly celebrating his services;" implying that his deification was not real, but reputed, and called so by courtesy on account of his virtues. In the dialogue Horrensisius, too, while speaking of the regular eclipses of the sun, he says that they "produce the same darkness as covered the death of Eomulus, which happened during an eclipse of the sun." Here you see he does not at all shrink from speaking of his "death," for Cicero was more of a reasoner than an eulogist.

The other kings of Eome, too, with the exception of IStuma Pompilius and Ancus Marcius, who died natural deaths, what

1 Cicero, De Rep. ii. 10. 2 Contra Cat. iii. 2.

110 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK in.

horrible ends they had! Tullus Hostilius, the conqueror and destroyer of Alba, was, as I said, himself and all his house consumed by lightning. Priscus Tarquinius was slain by his predecessor's sons. Servius Tullius was foully murdered by his son-in-law Tarquinius Superbus, who succeeded him on the throne. Xor did so flagrant a parricide committed against Eome's best king drive from their altars and shrines those gods who were said to have been moved by Paris' adultery to treat poor Troy in this style, and abandon it to the fire and sword of the Greeks. Xay, the very Tarquin who had murdered, was allowed to succeed his father-in-law. And this infamous parricide, during the reign he had secured
by murder, was allowed to triumph in many victorious wars, and to build the Capitol from their spoils; the gods meanwhile not departing, but abiding, and abetting, and suffering then king Jupiter to preside and reign over them in that very splendid Capitol, the work of a parricide. For he did not build the Capitol in the days of his innocence, and then suffer banishment for subsequent crimes; but to that reign during which he built the Capitol, he won his way by unnatural crime. And when he was afterwards banished by the Eomans, and forbidden the city, it was not for his own but his son's wickedness in the affair of Lucretia, â€” a crime perpetrated not only without his cognizance, but in his absence. For at that time he was besieging Ardea, and fighting Pome's battles; and we cannot say what he would have done had he been aware of his son's crime. Notwithstanding, though his opinion was neither inquired into nor ascertained, the people stripped him of royalty; and when he returned to Pome with his army, it was admitted, but he was excluded, abandoned by his troops, and the gates shut in his face. And yet, after he had appealed to the neighbouring states, and tormented the Eomans with calamitous but unsuccessful wars, and when he was deserted by the ally on whom he most depended, despairing of regaining the kingdom, he lived a retired and quiet life for fourteen years, as it is reported, in Tusculum, a Eoman townâ» where he grew old in his wife's company, and at last terminated his days in a much more desirable fashion than his father-in-law, who had perished by the hand of his son-in-law; his own daughter
abetting, if report be true. And this Tarquin the Eomans called, not the Cruel, nor the
Infamous, but the Proud; their own pride perhaps resenting his tyrannical airs. So little
did they make of his murdering their best king, his own father-in-law, that they elected
him their own king. I wonder if it was not even more criminal in them to reward so
bountifully so great a criminal. And yet there was no word of the gods abandoning the
altars; unless, perhaps, some one will say in defence of the gods, that they remained at
Borne for the purpose of punishing the Eomans, rather than of aiding and profiting them,
seeding them by empty victories, and wearing them out by severe wars. Such was the
life of the Eomans under the kings during the much-praised epoch of the state which
extends to the expulsion of Tarquininus Superbus in the 243d year, during which all those
victories, which were bought with so much blood and such disasters, hardly pushed
Eome's dominion twenty miles from the city; a territory which would by no means bear
comparison with that of any petty Gsetulian state.

16. Of the first Roman consuls, the one of whom drove the other from the country, and
shortly after perished at Rome by the hand of a wounded enemy, and so ended a career of
unnatural murders.

To this epoch let us add also that of which Sallust says, that it was ordered with justice
and moderation, while the fear of Tarquin and of a war with Etruria was impending. For
so long as the Etrurians aided the efforts of Tarquin to regain the throne, Eome was
convulsed with distressing war. And therefore he says that the state was ordered with
justice and moderation, through the pressure of fear, not through the influence of equity.
And in this very brief period, how calamitous a year was that in which consuls were first
created, when the kingly power was abolished! They did not fulfil their term of office.
For Junius Brutus deprived his colleague Lucius Tarquinius Collatinius, and banished him
from the city; and shortly after he himself fell in battle, at once slaying and slain, having
formerly put to death his own sons and his brothers-in-law, because he had discovered
that they were conspiring to restore Tarquin. It is this deed that

Virgil shudders to record, even while he seems to praise it; for when he says,

I ' And call his own rebellious seed For menaced liberty to bleed,

he immediately exclaims,

" Unhappy father! howsoe'er The deed be judged by after days; "

112 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]
that is to say, let posterity judge the deed as they please, let them praise and extol the father who slew his sons, he is unhappy. And then he adds, as if to console so unhappy a man:

"His country's love shall all o'erbear,
And unextinguished thirst of praise."

In the tragic end of Brutus, who slew his own sons, and though he slew his enemy, Tarquin's son, yet could not survive him, but was survived by Tarquin the elder, does not the innocence of his colleague Collatinus seem to be vindicated, who, though a good citizen, suffered the same punishment as Tarquin himself, when that tyrant was banished?

For Brutus himself is said to have been a relative of Tarquin. But Collatinus had the misfortune to bear not only the blood, but the name of Tarquin. To change his name, then, not his country, would have been his fit penalty: to abridge his name by this word, and be called simply L. Collatinus. But he was not compelled to lose what he could lose without detriment, but was stripped of the honour of the first consulship, and was banished from the land he loved. Is this, then, the glory of Brutus â€” this injustice, alike detestable and profitless to the republic? "Was it to this he was driven by * his country's love, and unextinguished thirst of praise?"

"When Tarquin the tyrant was expelled, L. Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was created consul along with Brutus. How justly the people acted, in looking more to the character than the name of a citizen! How unjustly Brutus acted, in depriving of honour and country his colleague in that new office, whom he might have deprived of his name, if it were so offensive to him! Such were the ills, such the disasters, which fell out when the government was " ordered

1 uEneid, vi 820, etc. 2 His nephew.
with justice and moderation." Lucretius, too, who succeeded Brutus, was carried off by disease before the end of that same year. So P. Valerius, who succeeded Collatinus, and M. Horatius, who filled the vacancy occasioned by the death of Lucretius, completed that disastrous and funereal year, which had five consuls. Such was the year in which the Eoman republic inaugurated the new honour and office of the consulship.

17. Of the disasters which vexed the Roman republic after the inauguration of the consulship, and of the non-intervention of the gods of Rome.

After this, when their fears were gradually diminished, "not because the wars ceased, but because they were not so furious, " that period in which things were * ordered with justice and moderation" drew to an end, and there followed that state of matters which Sallust thus briefly sketches:
"Then began the patricians to oppress the people as slaves, to condemn them to death or scourging, as the kings had done, to drive them from their holdings, and to tyrannize over those who had no property to lose. The people, overwhelmed by these oppressive measures, and most of all by usury, and obliged to contribute both money and personal service to the constant wars, at length took arms and seceded to Mount Aventine and Mount Sacer, and thus secured for themselves tribunes and protective laws. But it was only the second Punic war that put an end on both sides to discord and strife." 1 But why should I spend time in writing such things, or make others spend it in reading them? Let the terse summary of Sallust suffice to intimate the misery of the republic through all that long period till the second Punic war, "how it was distracted from without by unceasing wars, and torn with civil broils and dissensions. So that those victories they boast were not the substantial joys of the happy, but the empty comforts of wretched men, and seductive incitements to turbulent men to concoct disasters upon disasters. And let not the good and prudent Eomans be angry at our saying this; and indeed we need neither depreciate nor denounce their anger, for we know they will harbour none. For we speak no more severely than their own authors, and much less elaborately and strikingly; yet they diligently

1 Hist, i

VOL. I. H

114 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]

read these authors, and compel their children to learn them. But they who are angry, what would they do to me were I to say what Sallust says? "Frequent mobs, seditious, and at last civil wars, became common, while a few leading men on whom the masses were dependent, affected
supreme power under the seemly pretence of seeking the good of senate and people; citizens were judged good or bad, without reference to their loyalty to the republic (for all were equally corrupt); but the wealthy and dangerously powerful were esteemed good citizens, because they maintained the existing state of things."
Now, if those historians judged that an honourable freedom of speech required that they should not be silent regarding the blemishes of their own state, which they have in many places loudly applauded in their ignorance of that other and true city in which citizenship is an everlasting dignity; what does it become us to do, whose liberty ought to be so much greater, as our hope in God is better and more assured, when they impute to our Christ the calamities of this age, in order that men of the less instructed and weaker sort may be alienated from that city in which alone eternal and blessed life can be enjoyed? Nor do we utter against their gods anything more horrible than their own authors do, whom they read and circulate. For, indeed, all that we have said we have derived from them, and there is much more to say of a worse kind which we are unable to say.

Where, then, were those gods who are supposed to be justly worshipped for the slender and delusive prosperity of this world, when the Eomans, who were seduced to their service by lying wiles, were harassed by such calamities? Where were they when Valerius the consul was killed while defending the Capitol, that had been fired by exiles and slaves? He was himself better able to defend the temple of Jupiter, than that crowd of divinities with their most high and mighty king, whose temple he came to the rescue of, were able to defend him. Where were they when the city, worn out with unceasing seditions, was waiting in some kind of calm for the return of the ambassadors who had been sent to Athens to borrow laws, and was desolated by dreadful famine and pestilence?

Where were they when the people, again distressed with
famine, created for the first time a prefect of the market; and when Spurius Melius, who, as the famine increased, distributed corn to the famishing masses, was accused of aspiring to royalty, and at the instance of this same prefect, and on the authority of the superannuated dictator L. Quintius, was put to death by Quintus Servilius, master of the horse, an event which occasioned a serious and dangerous riot? Where were they when that very severe pestilence visited Eome, on account of which the people, after long and wearisome and useless supplications of the helpless gods, conceived the idea of celebrating Lectisternia, which had never been done before; that is to say, they set couches in honour of the gods, which accounts for the name of this sacred rite, or rather sacrilege. Where were they when, during ten successive years of reverses, the Eoman army suffered frequent and great losses among the Veians, and would have been destroyed but for the succour of Furius Camillus, who was afterwards banished by an ungrateful country? Where were they when the Gauls took, sacked, burned, and desolated Eome? Where were they when that memorable pestilence wrought such destruction, in which Furius Camillus too perished, who first defended the ungrateful republic from the Veians, and afterwards saved it from the Gauls? Nay, during this plague they introduced a new pestilence of scenic entertainments, which spread its more fatal contagion, not to the bodies, but the morals of the Eomans? Where were they when another frightful pestilence visited the city? I mean the poisonings imputed to an incredible number of noble Eoman matrons, whose characters were infected with a disease more fatal than any plague? Or when both consuls at the head of the army were beset by the Samnites in the Caudine Forks, and forced to strike a shameful treaty, 600 Eoman knights being kept as hostages; while the troops, having laid down their arms, and being stripped of everything, were made to pass under the yoke with one garment each? Or when, in the midst of a serious pestilence, lightning struck the Eoman camp and killed many? Or when Eome was driven, by the violence of another intolerable plague, to send to Epidaurus for Esculapius as a god of medicine; since the

1 Lectisternia, from lectus, a couch, and sterno, I spread.

116 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.

frequent adulteries of Jupiter in his youth had not perhaps left this Mng of all who so long reigned in the Capitol, any leisure for the study of medicine? Or when, at one time, the Lucanians, Brutians, Samnites, Tuscans, and Senonian Gauls conspired against Rome, and first slew her ambassadors, then overthrew an army under the praetor, putting to the sword 13,000 men, besides the commander and seven tribunes? Or when the people, after the serious and long-continued disturbances at Eome, at last plundered the city and withdrew
to Janiculus; a danger so grave, that Hortensius was created dictator, an office which they had recourse to only in extreme emergencies; and he, having brought back the people, died while yet he retained his office, an event without precedent in the case of any dictator, and which was a shame to those gods who had now Esculapius among them?

At that time, indeed, so many wars were everywhere engaged in, that through scarcity of soldiers they enrolled for military service the proletarii, who received this name, because, being too poor to equip for military service, they had leisure to beget offspring. 1 Pyrrhus, king of Greece, and at that time of wide-spread renown, was invited by the Tarentines to enlist himself against Eome. It was to him that Apollo, when consulted regarding the issue of his enterprise, uttered with some pleasantry so ambiguous an oracle, that whichever alternative happened, the god himself should be counted divine. For he so worded the oracle, 2 that whether Pyrrhus was conquered by the Eomans, or the Eomans by Pyrrhus, the soothsaying god would securely await the issue. And then what frightful massacres of both armies ensued! Yet Pyrrhus remained conqueror, and would have been able now to proclaim Apollo a true diviner, as he understood the oracle, had not the Eomans been the conquerors in the next engagement. And while such disastrous wars were being waged, a terrible disease broke out among the women. For the pregnant women died before delivery. And Esculapius, I fancy, excused himself in this matter on the ground that he professed to be arch-physician, not midwife. Cattle, too, similarly perished;

1 Proletarius, from proles, offspring.

2 The oracle ran: "Dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Ronianos."
so that it was believed that the whole race of animals was destined to become extinct. Then what shall I say of that memorable winter in which the weather was so incredibly severe, that in the Forum frightfully deep snow lay for forty days together, and the Tiber was frozen? Had such things happened in our time, what accusations we should have heard from our enemies! And that other great pestilence, which raged so long and carried off so many; what shall I say of it? Spite of all the drugs of Æsculapius, it only grew worse in its second year, till at last recourse was had to the Sibylline books, an a kind of oracle which, as Cicero says in his Be Divinatione, owes significance to its interpreters, who make doubtful conjectures as they can or as they wish. In this instance, the cause of the plague was said to be that so many temples had been used as private residences. And thus Æsculapius for the present escaped the charge of either ignominious negligence or want of skill. But why were so many allowed to occupy sacred tenements without interference, unless because supplication had long been addressed in vain to such a crowd of gods, and so by degrees the sacred places were deserted of worshippers, and being thus vacant, could without offence be put at least to some human uses? And the temples, which were at that time laboriously recognised and restored that the plague might be stayed, fell afterwards into disuse, and were again devoted to the same human uses. Had they not thus lapsed into obscurity, it could not have been pointed to as proof of Varro's great erudition, that in his work on sacred places he cites so many that were unknown. Meanwhile, the restoration of the temples procured no cure of the plague, but only a fine excuse for the gods.

18. The disasters suffered by the Romans in the Punic wars, which were not mitigated by the protection of the gods.

In the Punic wars, again, when victory hung so long in the balance between the two kingdoms, when two powerful nations were straining every nerve and using all their resources against one another, how many smaller kingdoms were crushed, how many large and flourishing cities were demolished, how many states were overwhelmed and ruined, how many districts and lands far and near were desolated! How often were the victors on either side vanquished! What multitudes of men, both of those actually in arms and of others, were destroyed! "What huge navies, too, were crippled in engagements, or were sunk by every kind of marine disaster! Were we to attempt to recount or mention these calamities, we should become writers of history. At that period Rome was mightily perturbed, and resorted to vain and ludicrous expedients. On the authority of the Sibylline books, the secular games were re-appointed, which had been inaugurated a century before, but had faded into oblivion in happier times. The games consecrated to the infernal gods were also renewed by the pontiffs; for they, too, had
sunk into disuse in the better times. And no wonder; for when they were renewed, the
great abundance of dying men made all hell rejoice at its riches, and give itself up to
sport: for certainly the ferocious wars, and disastrous quarrels, and bloody victories â€”
now on one side, and now on the other
â€” though most calamitous to men, afforded great sport and a rich banquet to the devils.
But in the first Punic war there was no more disastrous event than the Eoman defeat in
which Eegulus was taken. We made mention of him in the two former books as an
incontestably great man, who had before conquered and subdued the Carthaginians, and
who would have put an end to the first Punic war, had not an inordinate appetite for
praise and glory prompted him to impose on the worn-out Carthaginians harder
conditions than they could bear. If the unlooked-for captivity and unseemly bondage of
this man, his fidelity to his oath, and his surpassingly cruel death, do not bring a blush to
the face of the gods, it is true that they are brazen and bloodless.

Nor were there wanting at that time very heavy disasters within the city itself. For the
Tiber was extraordinarily flooded, and destroyed almost all the lower parts of the city;
some buildings being carried away by the violence of the torrent, while others were
soaked to rottenness by the water that stood round them even after the flood was gone.
This visitation was followed by a fire which was still more destructive, for it consumed
some of the loftier buildings round the Forum, and spared not even its own proper
temple, that of
Vesta, in which virgins chosen for this honour, or rather for this punishment, had been employed in conferring, as it were, everlasting life on fire, by ceaselessly feeding it with fresh fuel. But at the time we speak of, the fire in the temple was not content with being kept alive: it raged. And when the virgins, scared by its vehemence, were unable to save those fatal images which had already brought destruction on three cities in which they had been received, Metellus the priest, forgetful of his own safety, rushed in and rescued the sacred things, though he was half roasted in doing so. For either the fire did not recognise even him, or else the goddess of fire was there, a goddess who would not have fled from the fire supposing she had been there. But here you see how a man could be of greater service to Vesta than she could be to him.

Now if these gods could not avert the fire from themselves, what help against flames or flood could they bring to the state of which they were the reputed guardians? Facts have shown that they were useless. These objections of ours would be idle if our adversaries maintained that their idols are consecrated rather as symbols of things eternal, than to secure the blessings of time; and that thus, though the symbols, like all material and visible things, might perish, no damage thereby resulted to the things for the sake of which they had been consecrated, while, as for the images themselves, they could be renewed again for the same purposes they had formerly served.

But with lamentable blindness, they suppose that, through the intervention of perishable gods, the earthly well-being and temporal prosperity of the state can be preserved from perishing.

And so, when they are reminded that even when the gods remained among them this well-being and prosperity were blighted, they blush to change the opinion they are unable to defend.

19. Of the calamity of the second Punic war, which consumed the strength of both parties.

As to the second Punic war, it were tedious to recount the disasters it brought on both the nations engaged in so protracted and shifting a war, that (by the acknowledgment even of those writers who have made it their object not so much to narrate the wars as to eulogize the dominion of Rome) the

1 Troy, Lavinia, Alba.

people who remained victorious were less like conquerors than conquered. For, when Hannibal poured out of Spain over the Pyrenees, and overran Gaul, and burst through the Alps, and during his whole course gathered strength by plundering and subduing as he
went, and inundated Italy like a torrent, how bloody were the wars, and how continuous the engagements, that were fought! How often were the Eomans vanquished!

How many towns went over to the enemy, and how many were taken and subdued! What fearful battles there were, and how often did the defeat of the Eomans shed lustre on the arms of Hannibal! And what shall I say of the wonderfully crushing defeat at Cannae, where even Hannibal, cruel as he was, was yet sated with the blood of his bitterest enemies, and gave orders that they be spared? From this field of battle he sent to Carthage three bushels of gold rings, signifying that so much of the rank of Eome had that day fallen, that it was easier to give an idea of it by measure than by numbers; and that the frightful slaughter of the common rank and file whose bodies lay undistinguished by the ring, and who were numerous in proportion to their meanness, was rather to be conjectured than accurately reported. In fact, such was the scarcity of soldiers after this, that the Eomans impressed their criminals on the promise of impunity, and their slaves by the bribe of liberty, and out of these infamous classes did not so much recruit as create an army. But these slaves, or, to give them all their titles, these freedmen who were enlisted to do battle for the republic of Eome, lacked arms. And so they took arms from the temples, as if the Eomans were saying to their gods: Lay down those arms you have held so long in vain, if by chance our slaves may be able to use to purpose what you, our gods, have been impotent to use. At that time, too, the public treasury was too low to pay the soldiers, and private resources were used for public purposes; and so generously did individuals contribute of their property, that, saving the gold ring and bulla which each wore, the pitiful mark of his rank, no senator, and much less any of the other orders and tribes, reserved any gold for his own use. But if in our day they were reduced to this poverty, who would be able to endure their reproaches, barely endurable as they are now,
when more money is spent on actors for the sake of a superfluous gratification, than was then disbursed to the legions?

20. Of the destruction of the Saguntines, who received no help from the Roman gods, though perishing on account of their fidelity to Rome.

But among all the disasters of the second Punic war, there occurred none more lamentable, or calculated to excite deeper complaint, than the fate of the Saguntines. This city of Spain, eminently friendly to Rome, was destroyed by its fidelity to the Roman people. For when Hannibal had broken treaty with the Romans, he sought occasion for provoking them to war, and accordingly made a fierce assault upon Saguntum. When this was reported at Rome, ambassadors were sent to Hannibal, urging him to raise the siege; and when this remonstrance was neglected, they proceeded to Carthage, lodged complaint against the breaking of the treaty, and returned to Rome without accomplishing their object. Meanwhile the siege went on; and in the eighth or ninth month, this opulent but ill-fated city, dear as it was to its own state and to Rome, was taken, and subjected to treatment which one cannot read, much less narrate, without horror. And yet, because it bears directly on the matter in hand, I will briefly touch upon it. First, then, famine wasted the Saguntines, so that even human corpses were eaten by some: so at least it is recorded. Subsequently, when thoroughly worn out, that they might at least escape the ignominy of falling into the hands of Hannibal, they publicly erected a huge funeral pile, and cast themselves into its flames, while at the same time they slew their children and themselves with the sword. Could these gods, these debauchees and gourmands, whose mouths water for fat sacrifices, and whose lips utter lying divinations, ã€’ could they not do anything in a case like this? Could they not interfere for the preservation of a city closely allied to the Roman people, or prevent it perishing for its fidelity to that alliance of which they themselves had been the mediators? Saguntum, faithfully keeping the treaty it had entered into before these gods, and to which it had firmly bound itself by an oath, was besieged, taken, and destroyed by a perjured person. If afterwards, when Hannibal was close to the walls of Rome, it was the gods who terrified him with lightning and tempest, and drove him to a distance,
is to believe that Rome was preserved from destruction at the hands of Hannibal by the guardian care of those gods who were unable to rescue the city of Saguntum from perishing through its fidelity to the alliance of Rome. If the population of Saguntum had been Christian, and had suffered as it did for the Christian faith (though, of course, Christians would not have used fire and sword against their own persons), they would have suffered with that hope which springs from faith in Christ â€” the hope not of a brief temporal reward, but of unending and eternal bliss. What, then, will the advocates and apologists of these gods say in their defence, when charged with the blood of these Saguntines; for they are professedly worshipped and invoked for this very purpose of securing prosperity in this fleeting and transitory life? Can anything be said but what was alleged in the case of Regulus' death? For though there is a difference between the two cases, the one being an individual, the other a whole community, yet the cause of destruction was in both cases the keeping of their plighted troth. For it was this which made Regulus willing to return to his enemies, and this which made the Saguntines unwilling to revolt to their enemies. Does, then, the keeping of faith provoke the gods to anger? Or is it possible that not only individuals, but even entire communities, perish while the gods are propitious to them? Let our adversaries choose which alternative they will. If, on the one hand, those gods are enraged at the keeping of faith, let them enlist perjured persons as their worshippers. If, on the other hand, men and states can suffer great and terrible calamities, and at last perish while favoured by the gods, then does their worship not pro-
duce happiness as its fruit. Let those, therefore, who suppose that they have fallen into distress because their religious worship has been abolished, lay aside their anger; for it were quite possible that did the gods not only remain with them, but regard them with favour, they might yet be left to mourn an unhappy lot, or might, even like Kegulus and the Saguntines, be horribly tormented, and at last perish miserably.

21. Of the ingratitude of Rome to Scipio, its deliverer, and of its manners during the period which Sallust describes as the best.

Omitting many things, that I may not exceed the limits of the work I have proposed to myself, I come to the epoch between the second and last Punic wars, during which, according to Sallust, the Eomans lived with the greatest virtue and concord. Now, in this period of virtue and harmony, the great Scipio, the liberator of Eome and Italy, who had with surprising ability brought to a close the second Punic war â€“ that horrible, destructive, dangerous contest â€“ who had defeated Hannibal and subdued Carthage, and whose whole life is said to have been dedicated to the gods, and cherished in their temples, â€“ this Scipio, after such a triumph, was obliged to yield to the accusations of his enemies, and to leave his country, which his valour had saved and liberated, to spend the remainder of his days in the town of Liternum, so indifferent to a recall from exile, that he is said to have given orders that not even his remains should lie in his ungrateful country. It was at that time also that the proconsul Cn. Manlius, after subduing the Galatians, introduced into Eome the luxury of Asia, more destructive than all hostile armies. It was then that iron bedsteads and expensive carpets were first used; then, too, that female singers were admitted at banquets, and other licentious abominations were introduced. But at present I meant to speak, not of the evils men voluntarily practise, but of those they suffer in spite of themselves. So that the case of Scipio, who succumbed to his enemies, and died in exile from the country he had rescued, was mentioned by me as being pertinent to the present discussion; for this was the reward he received from those Eoman gods whose temples he saved from Hannibal, and who are worshipped only for the sake of securing temporal happiness. But since Sallust, as we have seen, declares that the manners of Eome were never better than at that time, I therefore judged it right to mention the Asiatic luxury then introduced, that it might be seen that what he says is true, only when that period is compared with the others, during which the morals were certainly worse, and the factions more violent. For at that time â€“ I mean between the second and third Punic war â€“ that notorious Lex Yoconia was passed, which prohibited a man from making a woman, even an only daughter, his heir; than which law I am at a loss to conceive what could be more unjust. It
is true that in the interval between these two Punic wars the misery of Eome was somewhat less. Abroad, indeed, their forces were consumed by wars, yet also consoled by victories; while at home there were not such disturbances as at other times. But when the last Punic war had terminated in the utter destruction of Borne's rival, which quickly succumbed to the other Scipio, who thus earned for himself the surname of Africanus, then the Eoman republic was overwhelmed with such a host of ills, which sprang from the corrupt manners induced by prosperity and security, that the sudden overthrow of Carthage is seen to have injured Eome more seriously than her long-continued hostility. During the whole subsequent period down to the time of Caesar Augustus, who seems to have entirely deprived the Eomans of liberty, a liberty, indeed, which in their own judgment was no longer glorious, but full of broils and dangers, and which now was quite enervated and languishing, and who submitted all things again to the will of a monarch, and infused as it were a new life into the sickly old age of the republic, and inaugurated a fresh régime; during this whole period, I say, many military disasters were sustained on a variety of occasions, all of which I here pass by. There was specially the treaty of Numantia, blotted as it was with extreme disgrace; for the sacred chickens, they say, flew out of the coop, and thus augured disaster to Mancinus the consul; just as if, during all these years in which that little city of Xumantia had withstood the besieging army of Eome, and had become a terror to the republic, the other generals had all marched against it under unfavourable auspices.
[BOOK III.] MASSACRE OF ROMAN CITIZENS. 125

22. Of the edict of Mithridates, commanding that all Roman citizens found in
Asia should be slain.

These things, I say, I pass in silence; but I can by no means be silent regarding the order
given by Mithridates, king of Asia, that on one day all Eoman citizens residing anywhere
in Asia (where great numbers of them were following their private business) should be
put to death: and this order was executed. How miserable a spectacle was then presented,
when each man was suddenly and treacherously murdered wherever he happened to be,
in the field or on the road, in the town, in his own home, or in the street, in market or
temple, in bed or at table! Think of the groans of the dying, the tears of the spectators,
and even of the executioners themselves. For how cruel a necessity was it that compelled
the hosts of these victims, not only to see these abominable butcheries in their own
houses, but even to perpetrate them:
to change their countenance suddenly from the bland kindliness of friendship, and in the
midst of peace set about the business of war; and, shall I say, give and receive wounds,
the slain being pierced in body, the slayer in spirit? Had all these murdered persons, then,
despised auguries? Had they neither public nor household gods to consult when they left
their homes and set out on that fatal journey? If they had not, our adversaries have no
reason to complain of these Christian times in this particular, since long ago the Eomans
despised auguries as idle. If, on the other hand, they did consult omens, let them tell us
what good they got thereby, even when such things were not prohibited, but authorized,
by human, if not by divine law.

23. Of the internal disasters which vexed the Roman republic, and followed a portentous
madness which seized all the domestic animals.

But let us now mention, as succinctly as possible, those disasters which were still more
vexing, because nearer home; I mean those discords which are erroneously called civil,
since they destroy civil interests. The seditions had now become urban wars, in which
blood was freely shed, and in which parties raged against one another, not with wrangling
and verbal contention, but with physical force and arms. What a sea of Eoman blood was
shed, what desolations and devastations were

126 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]

occasioned in Italy by wars social, wars servile, wars civil!
Before trie Latins began the social war against Home, all the animals used in the service
of man â€” dogs, horses, asses, oxen, and all the rest that are subject to man â€” suddenly
grew wild, and forgot their domesticated tameness, forsook their stalls and wandered at
large, and could not be closely approached either by strangers or their own masters
without danger. If this was a portent, how serious a calamity must have been portended by a plague which, whether portent or no, was in itself a serious calamity! Had it happened in our day, the heathen would have been more rabid against us than their animals were against them.

24. Of the civil dissension occasioned by the sedition of the Gracchi.

The civil wars originated in the seditions which the Gracchi excited regarding the agrarian laws; for they were minded to divide among the people the lands which were wrongfully possessed by the nobility. But to reform an abuse of so long standing was an enterprise full of peril, or rather, as the event proved, of destruction. For what disasters accompanied the death of the elder Gracchus! what slaughter ensued when, shortly after, the younger brother met the same fate! For noble and ignoble were indiscriminately massacred; and this not by legal authority and procedure, but by mobs and armed rioters. After the death of the younger Gracchus, the consul Lucius Opimius, who had given battle to him within the city, and had defeated and put to the sword both himself and his confederates, and had massacred many of the citizens, instituted a judicial examination of others, and* is reported to have put to death as many as 3000 men. From this it may be gathered how many fell in the riotous encounters, when the result even of a judicial investigation was so bloody. The assassin of Gracchus himself sold his head to the consul for its weight in gold, such being the previous agreement. In this massacre, too, Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, with all his children, was put to death.

25. Of the temple of Concord, which was erected by a decree of the senate on the scene of these seditions and massacres.

A pretty decree of the senate it was, truly, by which the temple of Concord was built on the spot where that disastrous
rising had taken place, and where so many citizens of every rank had fallen. I suppose it was that the monument of the Gracchi's punishment might strike the eye and affect the memory of the pleaders. But what was this but to deride the gods, by building a temple to that goddess who, had she been in the city, would not have suffered herself to be torn by such dissensions? Or was it that Concord was chargeable with that bloodshed because she had deserted the minds of the citizens, and was therefore incarcerated in that temple? For if they had any regard to consistency, why did they not rather erect on that site a temple of Discord? Or is there a reason for Concord being a goddess while Discord is none? Does the distinction of Labeo hold here, who would have made the one a good, the other an evil deity? A distinction which seems to have been suggested to him by the mere fact of his observing at Eome a temple to Fever as well as one to Health. But, on the same ground, Discord as well as Concord ought to be deified. A hazardous venture the Bomans made in provoking so wicked a goddess, and in forgetting that the destruction of Troy had been occasioned by her taking offence. For, being indignant that she was not invited with the other gods [to the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis], she created dissension among the three goddesses by sending in the golden apple, which occasioned strife in heaven, victory to Venus, the rape of Helen, and the destruction of Troy. Wherefore, if she was perhaps offended that the Bomans had not thought her worthy of a temple among the other gods in their city, and therefore disturbed the state with such tumults, to how much fiercer passion would she be roused when she saw the temple of her adversary erected on the scene of that massacre, or, in other words, on the scene of her own handiwork.

1 Under the inscription on the temple some person wrote the line, "Vecordise opus sedem facit Concordise" The work of discord makes the temple of Concord.

128 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]

them, and after all Concord has abandoned them, and Discord has tempestuously hurled them into civil wars.

26. Of the various kinds of wars which followed the building of the temple of Concord.
But they supposed that, in erecting the temple of Concord within the view of the orators, as a memorial of the punishment and death of the Gracchi, they were raising an effectual obstacle to sedition. How much effect it had, is indicated by the still more deplorable wars that followed. For after this the orators endeavoured not to avoid the example of the Gracchi, but to surpass their projects; as did Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and Caius Servilius the praetor, and some time after Marcus Drusus, all of whom stirred seditions which first of all occasioned bloodshed, and then the social wars by which Italy was grievously injured, and reduced to a piteously desolate and wasted condition Then followed the senile war and the civil wars; and in them what battles were fought, and what blood was shed, so that almost all the peoples of Italy, which formed the main strength of the Roman empire, were conquered as if they were barbarians! Then even historians themselves find it difficult to explain how the servile war was begun by a very few, certainly less than seventy gladiators, what numbers of fierce and cruel men attached themselves to these, how many of the Roman generals this band defeated, and how it laid waste many districts and cities. And that was not the only servile war: the province of Macedonia, and subsequently Sicily and the sea-coast, were also depopulated by bands of slaves. And who can adequately describe either the horrible atrocities which the pirates first committed, or the wars they afterwards maintained against Rome?

27. Of the civil war between Marius and Sylla.

But when Marius, stained with the blood of his fellowcitizens, whom the rage of party had sacrificed, was in his turn vanquished and driven from the city, it had scarcely time to breathe freely, when, to use the words of Cicero, "Cinna and Marius together returned and took possession of it. Then, indeed, the foremost men in the state were put to death, its lights quenched. Sylla afterwards avenged this cruel victory;
but we need not say with what loss of life, and with what ruin to the republic." 1 For of this vengeance, which was more destructive than if the crimes which it punished had been committed with impunity, Lucan says: "The cure was excessive, and too closely resembled the disease. The guilty perished, but when none but the guilty survived: and then private hatred and anger, unbridled by law, were allowed free indulgence." 2 In that war between Marius and Sylla, besides those who fell in the field of battle, the city, too, was filled with corpses in its streets, squares, markets, theatres, and temples: so that it is not easy to reckon whether the victors slew more before or after victory, that they might be, or because they were, victors. As soon as Marius triumphed, and returned from exile, besides the butcheries everywhere perpetrated, the head of the consul Octavius was exposed on the rostrum; Caesar and Fimbria were assassinated in their own houses; the two Crassi, father and son, were murdered in one another's sight; Bebius and Numitorius were disembowelled by being dragged with hooks; Catulus escaped the hands of his enemies by drinking poison; Merula, the flamen of Jupiter, cut his veins and made a libation of his own blood to his god. Moreover, every one whose salutation Marius did not answer by giving his hand, was at once cut down before his face.

28. Of the victory of Sylla, the, avenger of the cruelties of Marius.

Then followed the victory of Sylla, the so-called avenger of the cruelties of Marius. But not only was his victory purchased with great bloodshed; but when hostilities were finished, hostility survived, and the subsequent peace was bloody as the war. To the former and still recent massacres of the elder Marius, the younger Marius and Carbo, who belonged to the same party, added greater atrocities. For when Sylla approached, and they despaired not only of victory, but of life itself, they made a promiscuous massacre of friends and foes. And, not satisfied with staining every corner of Eome with blood, they besieged the senate, and led forth the senators to death from the curia as from a prison. Mucius Scsevola the pontiff was slain at the altar of Vesta, which he had clung to

1 Cicero, in Catilin. iii. sub. fin. 2 Lucan, Pharsal. ii. 142-146.

VOL. I. I

130 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]
was the rage of peace itself, even after the rage of war was extinct. Moreover, throughout the whole city every partisan of Sylla slew whom he pleased, so that the number of deaths went beyond computation, till it was suggested to Sylla that he should allow some to survive, that the victors might not be destitute of subjects. Then this furious and promiscuous licence to murder was checked, and much relief was expressed at the publication of the proscription list, containing though it did the deathwarrant of two thousand men of the highest ranks, the senatorial and equestrian. The large number was indeed saddening, but it was consolatory that a limit was fixed; nor was the grief at the numbers slain so great as the joy that the rest were secure. But this very security, hard-hearted as it was, could not but bemoan the exquisite torture applied to some of those who had been doomed to die. For one was torn to pieces by the unarmed hands of the executioners; men treating a living man more savagely than wild beasts are used to tear an abandoned corpse. Another had his eyes dug out, and his limbs cut away bit by bit, and was forced to live a long while, or rather to die a long while, in such torture. Some celebrated cities were put up to auction, like farms; and one was collectively condemned to slaughter, just as an individual criminal would be condemned to death. These things were done in peace when the war was over, not that victory might be more speedily obtained, but that, after being obtained, it might not be thought lightly of. Peace vied with war in cruelty, and surpassed it: for while war overthrew armed hosts, peace slew the defenceless. War gave liberty to him who was attacked, to strike if he could; peace granted to the survivors not life, but an unresisting death. ->

29. A comparison of the disasters which Rome experienced during the Gothic and Gallic invasions, with those occasioned by the authors of the civil wars.

"What fury of foreign nations, what barbarian ferocity, can
compare with this victory of citizens over citizens? Which was more disastrous, more hideous, more bitter to Rome: the recent Gothic and the old Gallic invasion, or the cruelty displayed by Marius and Sylla and their partisans against men who were members of the same body as themselves? The Gauls, indeed, massacred all the senators they found in any part of the city except the Capitol, which alone was defended; but they at least sold life to those who were in the Capitol, though they might have starved them out if they could not have stormed it. The Goths, again, spared so many senators, that it is the more surprising that they killed any. But Sylla, while Marius was still living, established himself as conqueror in the Capitol, which the Gauls had not violated, and thence issued his death-warrants; and when Marius had escaped by flight, though destined to return more fierce and bloodthirsty than ever, Sylla issued from the Capitol even decrees of the senate for the slaughter and confiscation of the property of many citizens. Then, when Sylla left, what did the Marian faction hold sacred or spare, when they gave no quarter even to Mucius, a citizen, a senator, a pontiff, and though clasping in piteous embrace the very altar in which, they say, reside the destinies of Rome? And that final proscription list of Sylla's, not to mention countless other massacres, despatched more senators than the Goths could even plunder.

30. Of the connection of the wars which with great severity and frequency followed one another before the advent of Christ.

With what effrontery, then, with what assurance, with what impudence, with what folly, or rather insanity, do they refuse to impute these disasters to their own gods, and impute the present to our Christ! These bloody civil wars, more distressing, by the avowal of their own historians, than any foreign wars, and which were pronounced to be not merely calamitous, but absolutely ruinous to the republic, began long before the coming of Christ, and gave birth to one another; so that a concatenation of unjustifiable causes led from the wars of Marius and Sylla to those of Sertorius and Catiline, of whom the one was proscribed, the other brought up by Sylla; from this to the war of Lepidus and Catulus, of whom the one wished to rescind, the other to defend the acts of Sylla; from this to the war of

132 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK III.]

Pompey and Caesar, of whom Pompey had been a partisan of Sylla, whose power he equalled or even surpassed, while Caesar condemned Pompey's power because it was not his own, and yet exceeded it when Pompey was defeated and slain. From him the chain of civil wars extended to the second Caesar, afterwards called Augustus, and in whose reign Christ was born. For even Augustus himself waged many civil wars; and in these wars many of the foremost men perished, among them that skilful manipulator of the republic, Cicero. Caius
[Julius] Caesar, when he had conquered Pompey, though he used his victory with clemency, and granted to men of the opposite faction both life and honours, was suspected of aiming at royalty, and was assassinated in the curia by a party of noble senators, who had conspired to defend the liberty of the republic. His power was then coveted by Antony, a man of very different character, polluted and debased by every kind of vice, who was strenuously resisted by Cicero on the same plea of defending the liberty of the republic. At this juncture that other Caesar, the adopted son of Caius, and afterwards, as I said, known by the name of Augustus, had made his debut as a young man of remarkable genius. This youthful Caesar was favoured by Cicero, in order that his influence might counteract that of Antony; for he hoped that Caesar would overthrow and blast the power of Antony, and establish a free state, â€” so blind and unaware of the future was he: for that very young man, whose advancement and influence he was fostering, allowed Cicero to be killed as the seal of an alliance with Antony, and subjected to his own rule the very liberty of the republic in defence of which he had made so many orations.

31. That it is effrontery to impute the present troubles to Christ and the prohibition of polytheistic worship, since even when the gods were worshipped such calamities befell the people.

Let those who have no gratitude to Christ for His great benefits, blame their own gods for these heavy disasters. For certainly when these occurred the altars of the gods were kept blazing, and there rose the mingled fragrance of " Sabaean incense and fresh garlands; " and the priests were clothed with honour, the shrines were maintained in splendour; sacrifices,

1 Virgil, Æneid, i. 417.
games, sacred ecstasies, were common in the temples; while the blood of the citizens was being so freely shed, not only in remote places, but among the very altars of the gods. Cicero did not choose to seek sanctuary in a temple, because Mucius had sought it there in vain. But they who most unpardonably calumniate this Christian era, are the very men who either themselves fled for asylum to the places specially dedicated to Christ, or were led there by the barbarians that they might be safe. In short, not to recapitulate the many instances I have cited, and not to add to their number others which it were tedious to enumerate, this one thing I am persuaded of, and this every impartial judgment will readily acknowledge, that if the human race had received Christianity before the Punic wars, and if the same desolating calamities which these wars brought upon Europe and Africa had followed the introduction of Christianity, there is no one of those who now accuse us who would not have attributed them to our religion. How intolerable would their accusations have been, at least so far as the Eomans are concerned, if the Christian religion had been received and diffused prior to the invasion of the Gauls, or to the ruinous floods and fires which desolated Rome, or to those most calamitous of all events, the civil wars! And those other disasters, which were of so strange a nature that they were reckoned prodigies, had they happened since the Christian era, to whom but to the Christians would they have imputed these as crimes? I do not speak of those things which were rather surprising than hurtful, oxen speaking, unborn infants articulating some words in their mothers' wombs, serpents flying, hens and women being changed into the other sex; and other similar prodigies which, whether true or false, are recorded not in their imaginative, but in their historical works, and which do not injure, but only astonish men. But when it rained earth, when it rained chalk, when it rained stones not hailstones, but real stones this certainly was calculated to do serious damage. We have read in their books that the fires of Etna, pouring down from the top of the mountain to the neighbouring shore, caused the sea to boil, so that rocks were burnt up, and the pitch of ships began to run, a phenomenon incredibly surprising, but at the same time no less hurtful. By the same violent heat, they relate that on another occasion Sicily was filled with cinders, so that the houses of the city Catina were destroyed and buried under them, a calamity which moved the Eomans to pity them, and remit their tribute for that year. One may also read that Africa, which had by that time become a province of Eome, was visited by a prodigious multitude of locusts, which, after consuming the fruit and foliage of the trees, were driven into the sea in one vast and measureless cloud; so that when they were drowned and cast upon the shore the air was polluted, and so serious a pestilence produced that in the kingdom of Masinissa alone they say there perished 800,000 persons, besides a much greater number in the neighbouring districts.
At Utica they assure us that, of 30,000 soldiers then garrisoning it, there survived only ten. Yet which of these disasters, suppose they happened now, would not be attributed to the Christian religion by those who thus thoughtlessly accuse us, and whom we are compelled to answer? And yet to their own gods they attribute none of these things, though they worship them for the sake of escaping lesser calamities of the same kind, and do not reflect that they who formerly worshipped them were not preserved from these serious disasters.
BOOK FOURTH. 1
ARGUMENT.

IN THIS BOOK IT IS PROVED THAT THE EXTENT AND LONG DURATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IS TO BE ASCRIBED, NOT TO JOVE OR THE GODS OF THE HEATHEN, TO WHOM INDIVIDUALLY SCARCE EVEN SINGLE THINGS AND THE VERY BASEST FUNCTIONS WERE BELIEVED TO BE ENTRUSTED, BUT TO THE ONE TRUE GOD, THE AUTHOR OF FELICITY, BY WHOSE POWER AND JUDGMENT EARTHLY KINGDOMS ARE FOUNDED AND MAINTAINED.

1. Of the things which have been discussed in the first book.

HAVING begun to speak of the city of God, I have thought it necessary first of all to reply to its enemies, who, eagerly pursuing earthly joys, and gaping after transitory things, throw the blame of all the sorrow they suffer in them â€” rather through the compassion of God in admonishing, than His severity in punishing â€” on the Christian religion, which is the one salutary and true religion. And since there is among them also an unlearned rabble, they are stirred up as by the authority of the learned to hate us more bitterly, thinking in their inexperience that things which have happened unwontedly in their days were not wont to happen in other times gone by; and whereas this opinion of theirs is confirmed even by those who know that it is false, and yet dissemble their knowledge in order that they may seem to have just cause for murmuring against us, it was necessary, from books in which their authors recorded and published the history of bygone times that it might be known, to demonstrate that it is far otherwise than they think; and at the same time to teach that the false gods, whom they openly worshipped, or still worship in secret, are most unclean spirits, and most malignant and deceitful demons, even to such a pitch that they take delight in crimes which, whether real or only fictitious, are yet their own, which it has been their will to have celebrated in honour of them at their own festivals; so that human infirmity cannot be called back from the perpetration of damnable deeds, so long as authority is furnished for imitating them that seems even divine. These things we have proved, not from our own conjectures, but partly from recent memory, because we ourselves have seen such things celebrated, and
to such deities, partly from the writings of those who have left these things on record to posterity, not as if in reproach, but as in honour of their own gods. Thus Varro, a most learned man among them, and of the weightiest authority, when he made separate books concerning things human and things divine, distributing some among the human, others among the divine, according to the special dignity of each, placed the scenic plays not at all among things human, but among things divine; though, certainly, if only there were good and honest men in the state, the scenic plays ought not to be allowed even among things human. And this he did not on his own authority, but because, being born and educated at Eome, he found them among the divine things.

Now as we briefly stated in the end of the first book what we intended afterwards to discuss, and as we have disposed of a part of this in the next two books, we see what our readers will expect us now to take up.

2. Of those things which are contained in Books Second and Third.

We had promised, then, that we would say something against those who attribute the calamities of the Roman republic to our religion, and that we would recount the evils, as many and great as we could remember or might deem sufficient, which that city, or the provinces belonging to its empire, had suffered before their sacrifices were prohibited, all of which would beyond doubt have been attributed to us, if our religion had either already shone on them, or had thus prohibited their sacrilegious rites. These things we have, as we think, fully disposed of in the second and third books, treating in the second of evils in morals, which alone or chiefly are to be accounted evils; and in the third, of those which only fools dread to undergo—namely, those of the body.
or of outward things â€” which for the most part the good also suffer. But those evils by which they themselves become evil, they take, I do not say patiently, but with pleasure. And how few evils have I related concerning that one city and its empire! Not even all down to the time of Cesar Augustus.

What if I had chosen to recount and enlarge on those evils, not which men have inflicted on each other, such as the devastations and destructions of war, but which happen in earthly things, from the elements of the world itself? Of such evils Apuleius speaks briefly in one passage of that book which he wrote, Be Mundo, saying that all earthly things are subject to change, overthrow, and destruction. I For, to use his own words, by excessive earthquakes the ground has burst asunder, and cities with their inhabitants have been clean destroyed:

by sudden rains whole regions have been washed away; those also which formerly had been continents, have been insolated by strange and new-come waves, and others, by the subsiding of the sea, have been made passable by the foot of man: by winds and storms cities have been overthrown; fires have flashed forth from the clouds, by which regions in the East being burnt up have perished; and on the western coasts the like destructions have been caused by the bursting forth of waters and floods. So, formerly, from the lofty craters of Etna, rivers of fire kindled by God have flowed like a torrent down the steeps.

If I had wished to collect from history wherever I could, these and similar instances, where should I have finished what happened even in those times before the name of Christ had put down those of their idols, so vain and hurtful to true salvation? I promised that I should also point out which of their customs, and for what cause, the true God, in whose power all kingdoms are, had deigned to favour to the enlargement of their empire; and how those whom they think gods can have profited them nothing, but much rather hurt them by deceiving and beguiling them; so that it seems to me I must now speak of these things, and chiefly of the increase of the Roman empire. For I have already said not a little, especially in the second book, about the many evils introduced into their manners by the hurtful deceits of the 1

1 Comp. Bacon's Essay on the Vicissitudes of Tilings.

3. Whether the great extent of the empire, which has been acquired only by wars, is to be reckoned among the good things either of the wise or the happy.
Now, therefore, let us see how it is that they dare to ascribe the very great extent and duration of the Eoinan empire to those gods whom they contend that they worship honourably, even by the obsequies of vile games and the ministry of vile men: although I should like first to inquire for a little what reason, what prudence, there is in wishing to glory in the greatness and extent of the empire, when you cannot point out the happiness of men who are always rolling, with dark fear and cruel lust, in warlike slaughters and in blood, which, whether shed in civil or foreign war, is still human blood; so that their joy may be compared to glass in its fragile splendour, of which one is horribly afraid lest it should be suddenly broken in pieces. That this may be more easily discerned, let us not come to nought by being carried away with empty boasting, or blunt the edge of our attention by loud-sounding names of things, when we hear of peoples, kingdoms, provinces. But let us suppose a case of two men; for each individual man, like one letter in a language, is as it were the element of a city or kingdom, however far-spreading in its occupation of the earth. Of these two men let us suppose that one is poor, or rather of middling circumstances; the other very rich. But the rich man is anxious with fears, pining with discontent, burning with covetousness, never secure, always uneasy, panting from the perpetual strife of his enemies, adding to his patrimony indeed by these miseries to an immense degree, and by these additions also heaping up most bitter cares. But that other man of moderate wealth is contented with a small and compact estate, most dear to

1 Matt. v. 45.
his own family, enjoying the sweetest peace with his kindred neighbours and friends, in piety religious, benignant in mind, healthy in body, in life frugal, in manners chaste, in conscience secure. I know not whether any one can be such a fool, that he dare hesitate which to prefer. As, therefore, in the case of these two men, so in two families, in two nations, in two kingdoms, this test of tranquillity holds good; and if we apply it vigilantly and without prejudice, we shall quite easily see where the mere show of happiness dwells, and where real felicity. Wherefore if the true God is worshipped, and if He is served with genuine rites and true virtue, it is advantageous that good men should long reign both far and wide. Nor is this advantageous so much to themselves, as to those over whom they reign. For, so far as concerns themselves, their piety and probity, which are great gifts of God, suffice to give them true felicity, enabling them to live well the life that now is, and afterwards to receive that which is eternal. In this world, therefore, the dominion of good men is profitable, not so much for themselves as for human affairs. But the dominion of bad men is hurtful chiefly to themselves who rule, for they destroy their own souls by greater licence in wickedness; while those who are put under them in service are not hurt except by their own iniquity. For to the just all the evils imposed on them by unjust rulers are not the punishment of crime, but the test of virtue. Therefore the good man, although he is a slave, is free; but the bad man, even if he reigns, is a slave, and that not of one man, but, what is far more grievous, of as many masters as he has vices; of which vices when the divine Scripture treats, it says, "For of whom any man is overcome, to the same he is also the bondslave." 1

4. How like kingdoms without justice are to robberies.

Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves, but little kingdoms? The band itself is made up of men; it is ruled by the authority of a prince, it is knit together by the pact of the confederacy; the booty is divided by the law agreed on.
If, by the admittance of abandoned men, this evil increases

1 2 Pet. ii. 19.

140 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

to such a degree that it holds places, fixes abodes, takes possession of cities, and subdues peoples, it assumes the more plainly the name of a kingdom, because the reality is now manifestly conferred on it, not by the removal of covetousness, but by the addition of impunity. Indeed, that was an apt and true reply which was given to Alexander the Great by a pirate who had been seized. For when that king had asked the man what he meant by keeping hostile possession of the sea, he answered with bold pride, " What thou meanest
by seizing the whole earth; but because I do it with a petty ship, I am called a robber, whilst thou who dost it with a great fleet art styled emperor." 1

5. Of the runaway gladiators whose power became like that of royal dignity.

I shall not therefore stay to inquire what sort of men Romulus gathered together, seeing he deliberated much about them, "how, being assumed out of that life they led into the fellowship of his city, they might cease to think of the punishment they deserved, the fear of which had driven them to greater villanies; so that henceforth they might be made more peaceable members of society. But this I say, that the Eoman empire, which by subduing many nations had already grown great and an object of universal dread, was itself greatly alarmed, and only with much difficulty avoided a disastrous overthrow, because a mere handful of gladiators in Campania, escaping from the games, had recruited a great army, appointed three generals, and most widely and cruelly devastated Italy.

Let them say what god aided these men, so that from a small and contemptible band of robbers they attained to a kingdom, feared even by the Romans, who had such great forces and fortresses. Or will they deny that they were divinely aided because they did not last long? 2 As if, indeed, the life of any man whatever lasted long. In that case, too, the gods aid no one to reign, since all individuals quickly die; nor is sovereign power to be reckoned a benefit, because in a little time in every man, and thus in all of them one by one, it vanishes like a vapour. For what does it matter to those

1 Nonius Marcell. borrows this anecdote from Cicero, De Rcpub. iii.

2 It was extinguished by Crassus in its third year.
who worshipped the gods under Romulus, and are long since dead, that after their death
the Roman empire has grown so great, while they plead their causes before the powers
beneath?
Whether those causes are good or bad, it matters not to the question before us. And this is
to be understood of all those who carry with them the heavy burden of their actions,
having in the few days of their life swiftly and hurriedly passed over the stage of the
imperial office, although the office itself has lasted through long spaces of time, being
filled by a constant succession of dying men. If, however, even those benefits which last
only for the shortest time are to be ascribed to the aid of the gods, these gladiators were
not a little aided, who broke the bonds of their servile condition, fled, escaped, raised a
great and most powerful army, obedient to the will and orders of their chiefs and much
feared by the Roman majesty, and remaining unsubdued by several Roman generals,
seized many places, and, having won very many victories, enjoyed whatever pleasures
they wished, and did what their lust suggested, and, until at last they were conquered,
which was done with the utmost difficulty, lived sublime and dominant. But let us come
to greater matters.

6. Concerning the covetousness of Ninus, who was the first who made war on his
neighbours, that he might rule more widely.

Justinus, who wrote Greek or rather foreign history in Latin, and briefly, like Trogus
Pompeius whom he followed, begins his work thus: "In the beginning of the affairs of
peoples and nations the government was in the hands of kings, who were raised to the
height of this majesty not by courting the people, but by the knowledge good men had of
their moderation. The people were held bound by no laws; the decisions of the princes
were instead of laws. It was the custom to guard rather than to extend the boundaries of
the empire; and kingdoms were kept within the bounds of each ruler's native land. Mnus
king of the Assyrians first of all, through new lust of empire, changed the old and, as it
were, ancestral custom of nations. He first made war on his neighbours, and wholly
subdued as far as to the frontiers of Libya the nations as yet untrained to resist." And a
little after he says:
"Ninus established by constant possession the greatness of the

authority he had gained. Having mastered his nearest neighbours, he went on to others,
strengthened by the accession of forces, and by making each fresh victory the instrument
of that which followed, subdued the nations of the whole East." Now, with whatever fidelity to fact either he or Trogus may in general have written â€” for that they sometimes told lies is shown by other more trustworthy writers â€” yet it is agreed among other authors, that the kingdom of the Assyrians was extended far and
wide by King Xinus. And it lasted so long, that the Eoman empire has not yet attained the same age; for, as those write who have treated of chronological history, this kingdom endured for twelve hundred and forty years from the first year in which ISTinus began to reign, until it was transferred to the Medes. But to make war on your neighbours, and thence to proceed to others, and through mere lust of dominion to crush and subdue people who do you no harm, what else is this to be called than great robbery?

7. Whether earthly kingdoms in their rise and fall have been either aided or deserted by the help of the gods.

If this kingdom was so great and lasting without the aid of the gods, why is the ample territory and long duration of the Eoman empire to be ascribed to the Eoman gods? For whatever is the cause in it, the same is in the other also. But if they contend that the prosperity of the other also is to be attributed to the aid of the gods, I ask of which? For the other nations whom Ninus overcame, did not then worship other gods. Or if the Assyrians had gods of their own, who, so to speak, were more skilful workmen in the construction and preservation of the empire, whether are they dead, since they themselves have also lost the empire; or, having been defrauded of their pay, or promised a greater, have they chosen rather to go over to the Medes, and from them again to the Persians, because Cyrus invited them," and promised them something still more advantageous? This nation, indeed, since the time of the kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian, which was as brief in duration as it was 'great in extent, has preserved its own empire, and at this day occupies no small territories in the East. If this is so, then either the gods are unfaithful, who desert their own and go over to their enemies,
which Camillus, who was but a man, did not do, when, being victor and subduer of a
most hostile state, although he had felt that Eome, for whom he had done so much, was
ungrateful, yet afterwards, forgetting the injury and remembering his native land, he freed
her again from the Gauls; or they are not so strong as gods ought to be, since they can be
overcome by human skill or strength. Or if, when they carry on war among themselves,
the gods are not overcome by men, but some gods who are peculiar to certain cities are
perchance overcome by other gods, it follows that they have quarrels among themselves
which they uphold, each for his own part.
Therefore a city ought not to worship its own gods, but rather others who aid their own
worshippers. Finally, whatever may have been the case as to this change of sides, or
flight, or migration, or failure in battle on the part of the gods, the name of Christ had not
yet been proclaimed in those parts of the earth when these kingdoms were lost and
transferred through great destructions in war. For if, after more than twelve hundred
years, when the kingdom was taken away from the Assyrians, the Christian religion had
there already preached another eternal kingdom, and put a stop to the sacrilegious
worship of false gods, what else would the foolish men of that nation have said, but that
the kingdom which had been so long preserved, could be lost for no other cause than the
desertion of their own religions and the reception of Christianity? In which foolish
speech that might have been uttered, let those we speak of observe their own likeness,
and blush, if there is any sense of shame in them, because they have uttered similar
complaints; although the Eoman empire is afflicted rather than changed, â€” a thing
which has befallen it in other times also, before the name of Christ was heard, and it has
been restored after such affliction, â€” a thing which even in these times is not to be
despaired of. For who knows the will of God concerning this matter?

8. Which of the gods can the Romans suppose presided over the increase and
preservation of their empire, when they have believed that even the care of single things
could scarcely be committed to single gods?

Xext let us ask, if they please, out of so great a crowd of gods which the Eomans
worship, whom in especial, or what

gods they believe to have extended and preserved that empire.
Now, surely of this work, which is so excellent and so very full of the highest dignity,
they dare not ascribe any part to the goddess Cloacina; ! or to Volupia, who has her
appellation from voluptuousness; or to Libenbina, who has her name from lust; or to
Yaticanus, who presides over the screaming of infants; or to Cunina, who rules over their
cradles. But how is it possible to recount in one part of this book all the names of gods or
goddesses, which they could scarcely comprise in great volumes, distributing among
these divinities their peculiar offices about single things? They have not even thought that the charge of their lands should be committed to any one god: but they have entrusted their farms to Eusina; the ridges of the mountains to Jugatinus; over the downs they have set the goddess Collatina; over the valleys, Vallonia. Nor could they even find one Segetia so competent, that they could commend to her care all their corn crops at once; but so long as their seed-corn was still under the ground, they would have the goddess Seia set over it; then, whenever it was above ground and formed straw, they set over it the goddess Segetia; and when the grain was collected and stored, they set over it the goddess Tutilina, that it might be kept safe. Who would not have thought that goddess Segetia sufficient to take care of the standing corn until it had passed from the first green blades to the dry ears?

Yet she was not enough for men, who loved a multitude of gods, that the miserable soul, despising the chaste embrace of the one true God, should be prostituted to a crowd of demons. Therefore they set Proserpina over the germinating seeds; over the joints and knots of the stems, the god Nbdotus; over the sheaths enfolding the ears, the goddess Yolutina; when the sheaths opened that the spike might shoot forth, it was ascribed to the goddess Patelana; when the stems stood all equal with new ears, because the ancients described this

1 Cloacina, supposed by Lactantius (De falsa rellg*. i. 20), Cyprian (De Idol, vanit.), and Augustine (infra, c. 23) to be the goddess of the "cloaca," or sewage of Rome. Others, however, suppose it to be equivalent to Cluacina, a title given to Venus, because the Romans after the end of the Sabine war purified themselves (cluere) in the vicinity of her statue.
equalizing by the term Jwstire, it was ascribed to the goddess Hostilina; when the grain
was in flower, it was dedicated to the goddess Flora; when full of milk, to the god
Lacturnus; when maturing, to the goddess Matuta; when the crop was runcated, â€” that
is, removed from the soil, â€” to the goddess Euncina. Nor do I yet recount them all, for I
am sick of all this, though it gives them no shame. Only, I have said these very few
things, in order that it may be understood they dare by no means say that the Eoman
empire has been established, increased, and preserved by their deities, who had all their
own functions assigned to them in such a way, that no general oversight was entrusted to
any one of them.
When, therefore, could Segetia take care of the empire, who was not allowed to take care
of the corn and the trees?
When could Cunina take thought about war, whose oversight was not allowed to go
beyond the cradles of the babies?
When could ISTodotus give help in battle, who had nothing to do even with the sheath of
the ear, but only with the knots of the joints? Every one sets a porter at the door of his
house, and because he is a man, he is quite sufficient; but these people have set three
gods, Forculus to the doors, Cardea to the hinge, Limentinus to the threshold. 1 Thus
Forculus could not at the same time take care also of the hinge and the threshold.

9. Whether the great extent and long duration of the Roman empire should he ascribed to
Jove, whom his ivorshippers believe to be the chief god.

Therefore omitting, or passing by for a little, that crowd of petty gods, we ought to
inquire into the part performed by the great gods, whereby Eome has been made so great
as to reign so long over so many nations. Doubtless, therefore, this is the work of Jove.
For they will have it that he is the king of all the gods and goddesses, as is shown by his
sceptre and by the Capitol on the lofty hill. Concerning that god they publish a saying
which, although that of a poet, is most apt, "All things are full of Jove." 2 Varro believes
that this god is worshipped, although called by another name, even by those who worship
one God alone without any image. But

1 Forculum foribus, Cardeam cardini, Limentinum limim.
- Virgil, Eclog. iii. 60.

VOL. I. K

146 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.
if this is so, why has he been so badly used at Home (and indeed by other nations too),
that an image of him should be made? â€“ a thing which was so displeasing to Varro
himself, that although he was overborne by the perverse custom of so great a city, he had
not the least hesitation in both saying and writing, that those who have appointed images
for the people have both taken away fear and added error.

10. What opinions those have followed who have set divers gods over divers
parts of the world.

Why, also, is Juno united to him as his wife, who is called at Â©nee "sister and
yokefellow V' 1 Because, say they, we have Jove in the ether, Juno in the air; and these
two elements are united, the one being superior, the other inferior. It is not he, then, of
whom it is said, "All things are full of Jove," if Juno also fills some part. Does each fill
either, and are both of this couple in both of these elements, and in each of them at the
same time? Why, then, is the ether given to Jove, the air to Juno? Besides, these two
should have been enough.

"Why is it that the sea is assigned to Neptune, the earth to Pluto? And that these also
might not be left without mates, Salacia is joined to Neptune, Proserpine to Phuo. For
they say that, as Juno possesses the lower part of the heavens, â€“ that is, the air,â€“ so
Salacia possesses the lower part of the sea, and Proserpine the lower part of the earth.
They seek how they may patch up these fables, but they find no way. For if these things
were so, their ancient sages would have maintained that there are three chief elements of
the world, not four, in order that each of the elements might have a pair of gods. Now,
they have positively affirmed that the ether is one thing, the air another. But water,
whether higher or lower, is surely water. Suppose it ever so unlike, can it ever be so much
so as no longer to be water? And the lower earth, by whatever divinity it may be
distinguished, what else can it be than earth? Lo, then, since the whole physical world is
complete in these four or three elements, where shall Minerva be? "What should she
possess, what should she fill? For she is placed in the Capitol along with these two, although she is not the offspring of
their marriage. Or if they say that

1 Virgil, Æneid, i. 47.
she possesses the higher part of the ether, â€” and on that account the poets have feigned that she sprang from the head of Jove, â€” why then is she not rather reckoned queen of the gods, because she is superior to Jove? Is it because it would be improper to set the daughter before the father? Why, then, is not that rule of justice observed concerning Jove himself toward Saturn? Is it because he was conquered? Have they fought then? By no means, say they; that is an old wife's fable. Lo, we are not to believe fables, and must hold more worthy opinions concerning the gods! Why, then, do they not assign to the father of Jove a seat, if not of higher, at least of equal honour? Because Saturn, say they, is length of time. 1 Therefore they who worship Saturn worship Time; and it is insinuated that Jupiter, the king of the gods, was born of Time. For is anything unworthy said when Jupiter and Juno are said to have been sprung from Time, if he is the heaven and she is the earth, since both heaven and earth have been made, and are therefore not eternal? For their learned and wise men have this also in their books. Nor is that saying taken by Virgil out of poetic figments, but out of the books of philosophers,

"Then Ether, the Father Almighty, in copious showers descended Into his spouse's glad bosom, making it fertile," 2

â€” that is, into the bosom of Tellus, or the earth. Although here, also, they will have it that there are some differences, and think that in the earth herself Terra is one thing, Tellus another, and Tellumo another. And they have all these as gods, called by their own names, distinguished by their own offices, and venerated with their own altars and rites. This same earth also they call the mother of the gods, so that even the fictions of the poets are more tolerable, if, according, not to their poetical but sacred books, Juno is not only the sister and wife, but also the mother of Jove. The same earth they worship as Ceres, and also as Vesta; while yet they more frequently affirm that Vesta is nothing else than fire, pertaining to the hearths, without which the city cannot exist; and therefore virgins are wont to serve her, because as nothing is born of a virgin, so nothing is born of fire; â€” but all this

1 Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 25. 2 Virgil, Gcorg. ii. 325, 326.

nonsense ought to be completely abolished and extinguished by Him who is born of a virgin. For who can bear that, while they ascribe to the fire so much honour, and, as it were, chastity, they do not blush sometimes even to call Yesta Yenus, so that honoured virginity may vanish in her handmaids? For it Yesta is Yenus, how can virgins rightly serve her by abstaining from venery? Are there two Yenuses, the one a virgin, the other not a maid? Or rather, are there three, one the goddess of virgins, who is also called Yesta, another the goddess of wives, and another of harlots? To her also the Phenicians
offered a gift by prostituting their daughters before they united them to husbands. 1
Which of these is the wife of Yulcan? Certainly not the virgin, since she has a husband.
Far be it from us to say it is the harlot, lest we should seem to wrong the son of Juno and
fellowworker of Minerva. Therefore it is to be understood that she belongs to the married
people; but we would not wish them to imitate her in what she did with Mars. "Again,"
say they, "you return to fables." What sort of justice is that, to be angry with us because
we say such things of their gods, and not to be angry with themselves, who in their
theatres most willingly behold the crimes of their gods? And, â€” a thing incredible, if it were not thoroughly well proved, â€” these very theatric
representations of the crimes of their gods have been instituted in honour of these same
gods.

11. Concerning the many gods whom the pagan doctors defend as being one and the same Jove. â€ž

Let them therefore assert as many things as ever they please in physical reasonings and
disputations. One while let Jupiter be the soul of this corporeal world, who fills and
moves that whole mass, constructed and compacted out of four, or as many elements as
they please; another while, let him yield to his sister and brothers their parts of it: now let
him be the ether, that from above he may embrace Juno, the air spread out beneath; again,
let him be the whole heaven along with the air, and impregnate with fertilizing showers
and seeds the earth, as his wife, and, at the same time, his

1 Eusebius, De Pr&p. Evang. i. 10.
mother (for this is not vile in divine beings); and yet again
(that it may not be necessary to run through them all), let him, the one god, of whom many think it has been said by a most noble poet,

" For God pervadeth all things, All lands, and the tracts of the sea, and the depth of the heavens," 1 â€“

let it be him who in the ether is Jupiter; in the air, Juno in the sea, Neptune; in the lower parts of the sea, Salacia in the earth, Pluto; in the lower part of the earth, Proserpine on the domestic hearths, Vesta; in the furnace of the workmen, Vulcan; among the stars, Sol, and Luna, and the Stars; in divination, Apollo; in merchandise, Mercury; in Janus, the initiator; in Terminus, the terminator; Saturn, in time; Mars and Bellona, in war; Liber, in vineyards; Ceres, in corn-fields; Diana, in forests; Minerva, in learning. Finally, let it be him who is in that crowd, as it were, of plebeian gods: let him preside under the name of Liber over the seed of men, and under that of Libera over that of women: let him be Diespiter, who brings forth the birth to the light of day: let him be the goddess Mena, whom they set over the menstruation of women: let him be Lucina, who is invoked by women in childbirth: let him bring help to those who are being born, by taking them up from the bosom of the earth, and let him be called Opis: let him open the mouth in the crying babe, and be called the god Vaticanus: let him lift it from the earth, and be called the goddess Levana: let him watch over cradles, and be called the goddess Cunina: let it be no other than he who is in those goddesses, who sing the fates of the new born, and are called Carmentes: let him preside over fortuitous events, and be called Fortuna: in the goddess Rumina, let him milk out the breast to the little one, because the ancients termed the breast ruma: in the goddess Potina, let him administer drink: in the goddess Educa, let him supply food: from the terror of infants, let him be styled Paventia: from the hope which comes, Venilia; from voluptuousness, Volupia; from action, Agenor: from the stimulants by which man is spurred on to much action, let him be named the goddess Stimula: let him be the goddess Strenia, for making

1 Virgil, Georg. iv. 221, 222.

150 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

strenuous; ISTumeria, who teaches to number; Camoena, who teaches to sing: let him be both the god Consus for granting counsel, and the goddess Sentia for inspiring sentences: let him be the goddess Juventas, who, after the robe of boyhood is laid aside, takes charge of the beginning of the youthful age: let him be Fortuna Barbata, who endues adults with a beard, whom they have not chosen to honour; so that this divinity, whatever it may be, should at least be a male god, named either Barbatus, from barba, like Xodotus, from nodus; or, certainly, not Fortuna, but because he has beards, Fortunius: let him, in the god
Jugatinus, yoke couples in marriage; and when the girdle of the virgin wife is loosed, let him be invoked as the goddess Virginiensis: let him be Mutunus or Tuternus, who, among the Greeks, is called Priapus. If they are not ashamed of it, let all these which I have named, and whatever others I have not named (for I have not thought fit to name all), let all these gods and goddesses be that one Jupiter, whether, as some will have it, all these are parts of him, or are his powers, as those think who are pleased to consider him the soul of the world, which is the opinion of most of their doctors, and these the greatest.

If these things are so (how evil they may be I do not yet meanwhile inquire), what would they lose, if they, by a more prudent abridgment, should worship one god? For what part of him could be contemned if he himself should be worshipped?

But if they are afraid lest parts of him should be angry at being passed by or neglected, then it is not the case, as they will have it, that this whole is as the life of one living being, which contains all the gods together, as if they were its virtues, or members, or parts; but each part has its own life separate from the rest, if it is so that one can be angered, appeased, or stirred up more than another. But if it is said that all together, â€” that is, the whole Jove himself, â€” would be offended if his parts were not also worshipped singly and minutely, it is foolishly spoken. Surely none of them could be passed by if he who singly possesses them all should be worshipped. For, to omit other things which are innumerable, when they say that all the stars are parts of Jove, and are all alive, and have rational souls, and therefore
without controversy are gods, can they not see how many they do not worship, to how many they do not build temples or set up altars, and to how very few, in fact, of the stars they have thought of setting them up and offering sacrifice? If, therefore, those are displeased who are not severally worshipped, do they not fear to live with only a few appeased, while all heaven is displeased? But if they worship all the stars because they are part of Jove whom they worship, by the same compendious method they could supplicate them all in him alone. For in this way no one would be displeased, since in him alone all would be supplicated. ISTo one would be contemned, instead of there being just cause of displeasure given to the much greater number who are passed by in the worship offered to some; especially when Priapus, stretched out in vile nakedness, is preferred to those who shine from their supernal abode.

12. Concerning the opinion of those who have thought that God is the soul of the world, and the world is the body of God.

Ought not men of intelligence, and indeed men of every kind, to be stirred up to examine the nature of this opinion? For there is no need of excellent capacity for this task, that putting away the desire of contention, they may observe that if God is the soul of the world, and the world is as a body to Him, who is the soul, He must be one living being consisting of soul and body, and that this same God is a kind of womb of nature containing all things in Himself, so that the lives and souls of all living things are taken, according to the manner of each one's birth, out of His soul which vivifies that whole mass, and therefore nothing at all remains which is not a part of God. And if this is so, who cannot see what impious and irreligious consequences follow, such as that whatever one may trample, he must trample a part of God, and in slaying any living creature, a part of God must be slaughtered? But I am unwilling to utter all that may occur to those who think of it, yet cannot be spoken without irreverence.

13. Concerning those who assert that only rational animals are parts of the one God.

But if they contend that only rational animals, such as men, are parts of God, I do not really see how, if the whole world is God, they can separate beasts from being parts of Him. But what need is there of striving about that? Concerning the rational animal himself, â€” that is, man, â€” what more unhappy belief can be entertained than that a part of God
is whipped when a boy is whipped? And who, unless he is quite mad, could bear the thought that parts of God can become lascivious, iniquitous, impious, and altogether damnable? In brief, why is God angry at those who do not worship Him, since these offenders are parts of Himself? It remains, therefore, that they must say that all the gods have their own lives; that each one lives for himself, and none of them is a part of any one; but that all are to be worshipped, â€” at least as many as can be known and worshipped; for they are so many it is impossible that all can be so. And of all these, I believe that Jupiter, because he presides as king, is thought by them to have both established and extended the Roman empire. For if he has not done it, what other god do they believe could have attempted so great a work, when they must all be occupied with their own offices and works, nor can one intrude on that of another? Could the kingdom of men then be propagated and increased by the king of the gods?

14. The enlargement of kingdoms is unsuitably ascribed to Jove; for if, as they will have it, Victory is a goddess, she alone would suffice for this business.

Here, first of all, I ask, why even the kingdom itself is not some god? For why should not it also be so, if Victory is a goddess? Or what need is there of Jove himself in this affair, if Victory favours and is propitious, and always goes to those whom she wishes to be victorious? With this goddess favourable and propitious, even if Jove was idle and did nothing, what nations could remain unsubdued, what kingdom would not yield? But perhaps it is displeasing to good men to fight with most wicked unrighteousness, and provoke with voluntary war neighbours who are peaceable and do no wrong, in order to enlarge a kingdom? If they feel thus, I entirely approve and praise them.

15. Whether it is suitable for good men to wish to rule more widely.

Let them ask, then, whether it is quite fitting for good men to rejoice in extended empire. For the iniquity of
those with whom just wars are carried on favours the growth
of a kingdom, which would certainly have been small if the
peace and justice of neighbours had not by any wrong pro-
foked the carrying on of war against them; and human affairs U being thus more
happy, all kingdoms would have been small, rejoicing in neighbourly concord; and thus
there would have been very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are very
many houses of citizens in a city. Therefore, to carry on war and extend a kingdom over
wholly subdued ations seems to bad men to be felicity, to good men necessity. But
because it would be worse that the injurious should rule over those who are more
righteous, therefore even that is not unsuitably called felicity. But beyond doubt it is
greater felicity to have a good neighbour at peace, than to conquer a bad one by making
war. Your wishes are bad, when you desire that one whom you hate or fear should be in
such a condition that you can conquer him. If, therefore, by carrying on wars that were
just, not impious or unrighteous, the Eomans could have acquired so great an empire,
ought they not to worship as a goddess even the injustice of foreigners ? For we see that
this has co-operated much in extending the empire, by making foreigners so unjust that
they became people with whom just wars might be carried on, and the empire increased.
And why may not injustice, at least that of foreign nations, also be a goddess, if Fear and
Dread, and Ague have deserved to be Eoman gods ? By these two, therefore, â€” that is,
by foreign injustice, and the goddess Victoria, for injustice stirs up causes of wars, and
Victoria brings these same wars to a happy termination, â€” the empire has increased,
even although Jove has been idle. For what part could Jove have here, when those things
which might be thought to be his benefits are held to be gods, called gods, worshipped as
gods, and are themselves invoked for their own parts ? He also might have some part
here, if he himself might be called Empire, just as she is called Victory. Or if empire is
the gift of Jove, why may not victory also be held to be his gift ? And it certainly would
have been held to be so, had he been recognised and worshipped, not as a stone in the
Capitol, but as the true King of kings and Lord of lords.

154 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK P7.

16. IVJiat was the reason why the Romans, in detailing separate gods for all things and
all movements of the mind, chose to have the temple of Quiet outside the gates.

But I wonder very much, that while they assigned to separate gods single things, and
(well nigh) all movements of the mind; that while they invoked the goddess Agenoria,
who should excite to action; the goddess Stimula, who should stimulate to unusual action;
the goddess Murcia, who should not move men beyond measure, but make them, as
Pomponius says, murcid â€” that is, too slothful and inactive; the goddess Strenua, who
should make them strenuous; and that while they offered to all these gods and goddesses
solemn and public worship, they should yet have been unwilling to give public
acknowledgment to her whom they name Quies because she makes men quiet, but built
her temple outside the Colline gate. Whether was this a symptom of an unquiet mind, or
rather was it thus intimated that he who should persevere in worshipping that crowd, not,
to be sure, of gods, but of demons, could not dwell with quiet; to which the true Physician
calls, saying, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto
your souls?"

17. Whether, if the highest power belongs to Jove, Victoria also ought to be
worshipped.

Or do they say, perhaps, that Jupiter sends the goddess Victoria, and that she, as it were,
acting in obedience to the king of the gods, comes to those to whom he may have
despatched her, and takes up her quarters on their side? This is truly said, not of Jove,
whom they, according to their own imagination, feign to be king of the gods, but of Him
who is the true eternal King, because he sends, not Victory, who is no person, but His
angel, and causes whom He pleases to conquer; whose counsel may be hidden, but cannot
be unjust.
For if Victory is a goddess, why is not Triumph also a god, and joined to Victory either as
husband, or brother, or son?
Indeed, they have imagined such things concerning the gods, that if the poets had feigned
the like, arid they should have been discussed by us, they would have replied that they
were laughable figments of the poets not to be attributed to true deities. And yet they
themselves did not laugh when they
were, not reading in the poets, but worshipping in the temples such doating lollies. Therefore they should entreat Jove alone for all things, and supplicate him only. For if Victory is a goddess, and is under him as her king, wherever he might have sent her, she could not dare to resist and do her own will rather than his.

18. With what reason they who think Felicity and Fortune goddesses have distinguished them.

What shall we say, besides, of the idea that Felicity also is a goddess? She has received a temple; she has merited an altar; suitable rites of worship are paid to her. She alone, then, should be worshipped. For where she is present, what good thing can be absent? But what does a man wish, that he thinks Fortune also a goddess and worships her? Is felicity one thing, fortune another? Fortune, indeed, may be bad as well as good; but felicity, if it could be bad, would not be felicity. Certainly we ought to think all the gods of either sex (if they also have sex) are only good. This says Plato; this say other philosophers; this say all estimable rulers of the republic and the nations. How is it, then, that the goddess Fortune is sometimes good, sometimes bad? Is it perhaps the case that when she is bad she is not a goddess, but is suddenly changed into a malignant demon? How many Fortunes are there then? Just as many as there are men who are fortunate, that is, of good fortune. But since there must also be very many others who at the very same time are men of bad fortune, could she, being one and the same Fortune, be at the same time both bad and good â€” the one to these, the other to those? She who is the goddess, is she always good? Then she herself is felicity. Why, then, are two names given her? Yet this is tolerable; for it is customary that one thing should be called by two names. But why different temples, different altars, different rituals? There is a reason, say they, because Felicity is she whom the good have by previous merit; but fortune, which is termed good without any trial of merit, befalls both good and bad men fortuitously, whence also she is named Fortune. How, therefore, is she good, who without any discernment comes both to the good and to the bad? Why is she worshipped,
too, whither he pleases? Then let him alone be worshipped; because Fortune is not able to resist him when he commands her, and sends her where he pleases. Or, at least, let the bad worship her, who do not choose to have merit by which the goddess Felicity might be invited.

19. Concerning Fort una Muliebris

To this supposed deity, whom they call Fortuna, they ascribe so much, indeed, that they have a tradition that the image of her, which was dedicated by the Eoman matrons, and called Fortuna Muliebris, has spoken, and has said, once and again, that the matrons pleased her by their homage; which, indeed, if it is true, ought not to excite our wonder. For it is not so difficult for malignant demons to deceive, and they ought the rather to advert to their wits and wiles, because it is that goddess who comes by haphazard who has spoken, and not she who comes to reward merit. For Fortuna was loquacious, and Felicitas mute; and for what other reason but that men might not care to live rightly, having made Fortuna their friend, who could make them fortunate without any good desert? And truly, if Fortuna speaks, she should at least speak, not with a womanly, but with a manly voice; lest they themselves who have dedicated the image should think so great a miracle has been wrought by feminine loquacity.

20. Concerning Virtue and Faith, which the pagans have honoured with temples and sacred rites, passing by other good qualities, which ought likewise to have been worshipped, if deity was rightly attributed to these.

They have made Virtue also a goddess, which, indeed, if it

1 The feminine Fortune.
could be a goddess, had been preferable to many. And now, because it is not a goddess, but a gift of God, let it be obtained by prayer from Him, by whom alone it can be given, and the whole crowd of false gods vanishes. But why is Faith believed to be a goddess, and why does she herself receive temple and altar? For whoever prudently acknowledges her makes his own self an abode for her. But how do they know what faith is, of which it is the prime and greatest function that the true God may be believed in? But why had not virtue sufficed? Does it not include faith also? Forasmuch as they have thought proper to distribute virtue into four divisions—prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance—and as each of these divisions has its own virtues, faith is among the parts of justice, and has the chief place with as many of us as

But if Faith is a goddess, I wonder why these keen lovers of a multitude of gods have wronged so many other goddesses, by passing them by, when they could have dedicated temples and altars to them likewise. Why has temperance not deserved to be a goddess, when some Roman princes have obtained no small glory on account of her? Why, in fine, is fortitude not a goddess, who aided Mucius when he thrust his right hand into the flames; who aided Curtius, when for the sake of his country he threw himself headlong into the yawning earth; who aided Decius the sire, and Decius the son, when they devoted themselves for the army? though we might question whether these men had true fortitude, if this concerned our present discussion. Why have prudence and wisdom merit no place among the gods? Is it because they are all worshipped under the general name of Virtue itself?

Then they could thus worship the true God also, of whom all the other gods are thought to be parts. But in that one name of virtue is comprehended both faith and chastity, which yet have obtained separate altars in temples of their own.

21. That although not understanding them to be the gifts of God, they ought at least to have been content with Virtue and Felicity.

These, not verity but vanity has made goddesses. For these are gifts of the true God, not themselves goddesses.

1 Hab. ii. 4.

158 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

However, where virtue and felicity are, what else is sought for? "What can suffice the man whom virtue and felicity do not suffice?" For surely virtue comprehends all things we need do, felicity all things we need wish for. If Jupiter, then, was worshipped in order that he might give these two things, because, if extent and duration of empire is something good, it pertains to this same felicity, why is it not understood that they are
not goddesses, but the gifts of God? But if they are judged to be goddesses, then at least
that other great crowd of gods should not be sought after. For, having considered all the
offices which their fancy has distributed among the various gods and goddesses, let them
find out, if they can, anything which could be bestowed by any god whatever on a man
possessing virtue, possessing felicity. What instruction could be sought either from
Mercury or Minerva, when Virtue already possessed all in herself? Virtue, indeed, is
defined by the ancients as itself the art of living well and rightly. Hence, because virtue is
called in Greek aperirj, it has been thought the Latins have derived from it the term art But
if Virtue cannot come except to the clever, what need was there of the god Father Catius,
who should make men cautious, that is, acute, when Felicity could confer this?
Because, to be born clever belongs to felicity. "Whence, although goddess Felicity could
not be worshipped by one not yet born, in order that, being made his friend, she might
bestow this on him, yet she might confer this favour on parents who were her
worshippers, that clever children should be born to them. What need had women in
childbirth to invoke Lucina, when, if Felicity should be present, they would have, not
only a good delivery, but good children too?
What need was there to commend the children to the goddess Ops when they were being
born; to the god Vaticanus in their birth-cry; to the goddess Cunina when lying cradled;
to the goddess Eumina when sucking; to the god Statilinus when standing; to the goddess
Adeona when coming; to Abeona when going away; to the goddess Mens that they might
have a good mind; to the god Volumnus, and the goddess Volumna, that they might wish
for good things; to the nuptial gods, that they might make good matches; to the
rural gods, and chiefly to the goddess Fructesca herself, that they might receive the most abundant fruits; to Mars and Bellona, that they might carry on war well; to the goddess Victoria, that they might be victorious; to the god Honor, that they might be honoured; to the goddess Pecunia, that they might have plenty money; to the god Aesculanus, and his son Argentinus, that they might have brass and silver coin? For they set down Aesculanus as the father of Argentinus for this reason, that brass coin began to be used before silver. But I wonder Argentinus has not begotten Aurinus, since gold coin also has followed. Could they have him for a god, they would prefer Aurinus both to his father Argentinus and his grandfather Aesculanus, just as they set Jove before Saturn. Therefore, what necessity was there on account of these gifts, either of soul, or body, or outward estate, to worship and invoke so great a crowd of gods, all of whom I have not mentioned, nor have they themselves been able to provide for all human benefits, minutely and singly methodized, minute and single gods, when the one goddess Felicity was able, with the greatest ease, compendiously to bestow the whole of them? nor should any other be sought after, either for the bestowing of good things, or for the averting of evil. For why should they invoke the goddess Fessonia for the weary; for driving away enemies, the goddess Pellonia; for the sick, as a physician, either Apollo or iEsculapius, or both together if there should be great danger? Neither should the god Spiniensis be entreated that he might root out the thorns from the fields; nor the goddess Eubigo that the mildew might not come, â€” Felicitas alone being present and guarding, either no evils would have arisen, or they would have been quite easily driven away. Finally, since we treat of these two goddesses, Virtue and Felicity, if felicity is the reward of virtue, she is not a goddess, but a gift of God. But if she is a goddess, why may she not be said to confer virtue itself, inasmuch as it is a great felicity to attain virtue?

22. Concerning the knowledge of the worship due to the gods, which Varro glories in having himself conferred on the Romans.

What is it, then, that Varro boasts he has bestowed as a very great benefit on his fellow-citizens, because he not only

recounts the gods who ought to be worshipped by the Eomans, but also tells what pertains to each of them? ". Just as it is of no advantage," he says, ", to know the name and appearance of any man who is a physician, and not know that he is a physician, so," he says, ", it is of no advantage to know well that iEsculapius is a god, if you are not aware that he can bestow the gift of health, and consequently do not know why you ought to supplicate him." He also affirms this by another comparison, saying, ", jSo one is able, not only to live well, but even to live at all, if he does not know who is a smith, who a baker, who a weaver, from whom he can seek any utensil, whom he may take for a helper,
whom for a leader, whom for a teacher;" asserting, " that in this way it can be doubtful to no one, that thus the knowledge of the gods is useful, if one can know what force, and faculty, or power any god may have in anything. For from this we may be able," he says, " to know what god we ought to call to, and invoke for any cause; lest we should do as too many are wont to do, and desire water from Liber, and wine from Lymphs." Very useful, forsooth!

Who would not give this man thanks if he could show true things, and if he could teach that the one true God, from whom all good things are, is to be worshipped by men?

23. Concerning Felicity, whom the Romans, who venerate many gods, for a long time did not worship with divine honour, though she alone would have sufficed instead of all.

But how does it happen, if their books and rituals are true—
and Felicity is a goddess, that she herself is not appointed as the only one to be worshipped, since she could confer all things, and all at once make men happy? For who wishes anything for any other reason than that he may become happy? Why was it left to Lucullus to dedicate a temple to so great a goddess at so late a date, and after so many Eoman rulers? Why did Eomulus himself, ambitious as he was of founding a fortunate city, not erect a temple to this goddess before all others? Why did he supplicate the other gods for anything, since he would have lacked nothing had she been with him? For even he himself would neither have been first a king, then afterwards, as they think, a god, if this goddess had not been propitious to him. Why, therefore, did
he appoint as gods for the Romans, Janus, Jove, Mars, Picns, Faunus, Tiberinus, Hercules, and others, if there were more of them? Why did Titus Tatius add Saturn, Ops, Sun, Moon, Vulcan, Light, and whatever others he added, among whom was even the goddess Cloacina, while Felicity was neglected? Why did ISTuma appoint so many gods and so many goddesses without this one? Was it perhaps because he could not see her among so great a crowd? Certainly king Hostilius would not have introduced the new gods Fear and Dread to be propitiated, if he could have known or might have worshipped this goddess. For, in presence of Felicity, Fear and Dread would have disappeared, â€” I do not say propitiated, but put to flight.

Next, I ask, how is it that the Roman empire had already immensely increased before any one worshipped Felicity? Was the empire, therefore, more great than happy? For how could true felicity be there, where there was not true piety? For piety is the genuine worship of the true God, and not the worship of as many demons as there are false gods. Yet even afterwards, when Felicity had already been taken into the number of the gods, the great infelicity of the civil wars ensued. Was Felicity perhaps justly indignant, both because she was invited so late, and was invited not to honour, but rather to reproach, because along with her were worshipped Priapus, and Cloacina, and Fear and Dread, and Ague, and others which were not gods to be worshipped, but the crimes of the worshippers? Last of all, if it seemed good to worship so great a goddess along with a most unworthy crowd, why at least was she not worshipped in a more honourable way than the rest? For is it not intolerable that Felicity is placed neither among the gods Consentes) whom they allege to be admitted into the council of Jupiter, nor among the gods whom they term Select? Some temple might be made for her which might be pre-eminent, both in loftiness of site and dignity of style. Why, indeed, not something better than is made for Jupiter himself? For who gave the kingdom even to Jupiter but Felicity? I am supposing that when he reigned he was happy. Felicity, however, is certainly more valuable than a

1 So called from the consent or harmony of the celestial movements of these gods.

VOL. L L

I

162 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

ing kingdom. For no one doubts that a man might easily be found who may fear to be made a king; but no one is found who is unwilling to be happy. Therefore, if it is thought they can be consulted by augury, or in any other way, the gods themselves should be consulted
about this thing, whether they may wish to give place to Felicity. If, perchance, the place
should already be occupied by the temples and altars of others, where a greater and more
lofty temple might be built to Felicity, even Jupiter himself might give way, so that
Felicity might rather obtain the very pinnacle of the Capitoline hill. For there is not any
one who would resist Felicity, except, which is impossible, one who might wish to be
unhappy. Certainly, if he should be consulted, Jupiter would in no case do what those
three gods, Mars, Terminus, and Juventas, did, who positively refused to give place to
their superior and king. For, as their books record, when king Tarquin wished to construct
the Capitol, and perceived that the place which seemed to him to be the most worthy and
suitable was preoccupied by other gods, not daring to do anything contrary to their
pleasure, and believing that they would willingly give place to a god who was so great,
and was their own master, because there were many of them there when the Capitol was
founded, he inquired by augury whether they chose to give place to Jupiter, and they
were all willing to remove thence except those whom I
have named, Mars, Terminus, and Juventas; and therefore the Capitol was built in such a
way that these three also might be within it, yet with such obscure signs that even the
most learned men could scarcely know this. Surely, then, Jupiter himself would by no
means despise Felicity as he was himself despised by Terminus, Mars, and Juventas. â–
But even they themselves who had not given place to Jupiter, would certainly give place
to Felicity, who had made Jupiter king over them. Or if they should not give place, they
would act thus not out of contempt of her, but because they chose rather to be obscure in
the house of Felicity, than to be eminent without her in their own places.
Thus the goddess Felicity being established in the largest and loftiest place, the citizens
should learn whence the furtherance of every good desire should be sought. And so, by
the persuasion of nature herself, the superfluous multitude of other
god being abandoned, Felicity alone would be worshipped, prayer would be made to her alone, her temple alone would be frequented by the citizens who wished to be happy, which no one of them would not wish; and thus felicity, who was sought for from all the gods, would be sought for only from her own self. For who wishes to receive from any god anything else than felicity, or what he supposes to tend to felicity? Wherefore, if Felicity has it in her power to be with what man she pleases (and she has it if she is a goddess), what folly is it, after all, to seek from any other god her whom you can obtain by request from her own self! Therefore they ought to honour this goddess above other gods, even by dignity of place.

For, as we read in their own authors, the ancient Romans paid greater honours to I know not what Summanus, to whom they attributed nocturnal thunderbolts, than to Jupiter, to whom diurnal thunderbolts were held to pertain. But, after a famous and conspicuous temple had been built to Jupiter, owing to the dignity of the building, the multitude resorted to him in so great numbers, that scarce one can be found who remembers even to have read the name of Summanus, which now he cannot once hear named. But if Felicity is not a goddess, because, as is true, it is a gift of God, that god must be sought who has power to give it, and that hurtful multitude of false gods must be abandoned which the vain multitude of foolish men follows after, making gods to itself of the gifts of God, and offending Himself whose gifts they are by the stubbornness of a proud will. For he cannot be free from infelicity who worships Felicity as a goddess, and forsakes God, the giver of felicity; just as he cannot be free from hunger who licks a painted loaf of bread, and does not buy it of the man who has a real one.

24. The reasons by which the pagans attempt to defend their worshipping among the gods the divine gifts themselves.

We may, however, consider their reasons. Is it to be believed, say they, that our forefathers were besotted even to such a degree as not to know that these things are divine gifts, and not gods? But as they knew that such things are granted to no one, except by some god freely bestowing them, j’ they called the gods whose names they did not find out by the ^ names of those things which they deemed to be given by them;

sometimes slightly altering the name for that purpose, as, for example, from war they have named Bellona, not helium; from cradles, Cunina, not cimce; from standing corn, Segetia, not seges; from apples, Pomona, not jptomam; from oxen, Bubona, not bos. Sometimes, again, with no alteration of the word, just as the things themselves are named, so that the goddess who gives money is called Pecunia, and money is not thought to be itself a goddess: so of Virtus, who gives virtue; Honor, who gives honour;
Concordia, who gives concord; Victoria, who gives victory. So, they say, when Felicitas is called a goddess, what is meant is not the thing itself which is given, but that deity by whom felicity is given.

25. Concerning the one God only to be worshipped, who, although His name is unknown, is yet deemed to be the giver of felicity.

Having had that reason rendered to us, we shall perhaps much more easily persuade, as we wish, those whose heart has not become too much hardened. For if now human infirmity has perceived that felicity cannot be given except by some god; if this was perceived by those who worshipped so many gods, at whose head they set Jupiter himself; if, in their ignorance of the name of Him by whom felicity was given, they agreed to call Him by the name of that very thing which they believed He gave; â€” then it follows that they thought that felicity could not be given even by Jupiter himself, whom they already worshipped, but certainly by him whom they thought fit to worship under the name of Felicity itself. I thoroughly affirm the statement that they believed felicity to be given by a certain God whom they knew not: let Him therefore be sought after, let Him be worshipped, and it is enough. Let the train of innumerable demons be repudiated, and let this God suffice every man whom his gift suffices. For him, I say, God the giver of felicity will not be enough to worship, for whom felicity itself is not enough to receive. But let him for whom it suffices (and man has nothing more he ought to wish for) serve the one God, the giver of felicity. This God is not he whom they call Jupiter. For if they acknowledged him to be the giver of felicity, they would not seek, under the name of Felicity itself, for another god or goddess by whom felicity might be given; nor could they tolerate that
Jupiter himself should be worshipped with such infamous attributes. For he is said to be the debaucher of the wives of others; he is the shameless lover and ravisher of a beautiful boy.

26. Of the scenic plays, the celebration of which the gods have exacted from their worshippers.

"But," says Cicero, "Homer invented these things, and transferred things human to the gods: I would rather transfer things divine to us." I The poet, by ascribing such crimes to the gods, has justly displeased the grave man. Why, then, are the scenic plays, where these crimes are habitually spoken of, acted, exhibited, in honour of the gods, reckoned among things divine by the most learned men? Cicero should exclaim, not against the inventions of the poets, but against the customs of the ancients. Would not they have exclaimed in reply, What have we done? The gods themselves have loudly demanded that these plays should be exhibited in their honour, have fiercely exacted them, have menaced destruction unless this was performed, have avenged its neglect with great severity, and have manifested pleasure at the reparation of such neglect.

Among their virtuous and wonderful deeds the following is related. It was announced in a dream to Titus Latinius, a Roman rustic, that he should go to the senate and tell them to recommence the games of Eome, because on the first day of their celebration a condemned criminal had been led to punishment in sight of the people, an incident so sad as to disturb the gods who were seeking amusement from the games. And when the peasant who had received this intimation was afraid on the following day to deliver it to the senate, it was renewed next night in a severer form: he lost his son, because of his neglect. On the third night he was warned that a yet graver punishment was impending, if he should still refuse obedience. When even thus he did not dare to obey, he fell into a virulent and horrible disease. But then, on the advice of his friends, he gave information to the magistrates, and was carried in a litter into the senate, and having, on declaring his dream, immediately recovered strength, went away on his own feet whole. 2

The senate, amazed at so great a miracle, decreed that the games should be renewed at fourfold cost. What sensible man does not see that men, being put upon by malignant demons, from whose domination nothing save the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord sets free, have been compelled by force to exhibit to such gods as these, plays which, if well advised, they should condemn as shameful? Certain it is that in these plays the poetic crimes of the gods are celebrated, yet they are

1 Tusc. Qucest. i. 26. 2 Livy, ii. 36; Cicero, Be Divin. 26.
plays which were re-established by decree of the senate, under compulsion of the gods. In these plays the most shameless actors celebrated Jupiter as the corrupter of chastity, and thus gave him pleasure. If that was a fiction, he would have been moved to anger; but if he was delighted with the representation of his crimes, even although fabulous, then, when he happened to be worshipped, who but the devil could be served? Is it so that he could found, extend, and preserve the Eoman empire, who was more vile than any Eoman man whatever, to whom such things were displeasing? Could he give felicity who was so infelicitably worshipped, and who, unless he should be thus worshipped, was yet more infelicitably provoked to anger?

27. Concerning the three kinds of gods about which the pontiff Scevola has discoursed.

It is recorded that the very learned pontiff Scaevola 1 had distinguished about three kinds of gods— one introduced by the poets, another by the philosophers, another by the statesmen. The first kind he declares to be trifling, because many unworthy things have been invented by the poets concerning the gods; the second does not suit states, because it contains some things that are superfluous, and some, too, which it would be prejudicial for the people to know. It is no great matter about the superfluous things, for it is a common saying of skilful lawyers, "Superfluous things do no harm." 2 But what are those things which do harm when brought before the multitude? "These," he says, "that Hercules, iEsculapius, Castor and Pollux, are not gods; for it is declared by learned men that these were but men, and yielded to the common

1 Called by Cicero (De Oraiore, i. 39) the most eloquent of lawyers, and the best skilled lawyer among eloquent men.

2 Superflua non nocent.
lot of mortals." What else ? * That states have not the true images of the gods; because the true God has neither sex, nor age, nor definite corporeal members." The pontiff is not willing that the people should know these things; for he does not think they are false. He thinks it expedient, therefore, that states should be deceived in matters of religion; which Varro himself does not hesitate even to say in his books about things divine. Excellent religion ! to winch the weak, who requires to be delivered, may flee for succour; and when he seeks for the truth by which he may be delivered, it is believed to be expedient for him that he be deceived. And, truly, in these same books, Scsevola is not silent as to his reason for rejecting the poetic sort of gods, â€” to wit, " because they so disfigure the gods that they could not bear comparison even with good men, when they make one to commit theft, another adultery; or, again, to say or do something else basely and foolishly; as that three goddesses contested (with each other) the prize of beauty, and the two vanquished by Venus destroyed Troy; that Jupiter turned himself into a bull or swan that he might copulate with some one; that a goddess married a man, and Saturn devoured his children; that, in fine, there is nothing that could be imagined, either of the miraculous or vicious, which may not be found there, and yet is far removed from the nature of the gods." chief pontiff Scsevola, take away the plays if thou art able; instruct the people that they may not offer such honours to the immortals, in which, if they like, they may admire the crimes of the gods, and, so far as it is possible, may, if they please, imitate them. But if the people shall have answered thee, You, pontiff, have brought these things in among us, then ask the gods themselves at whose instigation you have ordered these things, that they may not order such things to be offered to them. For if they are bad, and therefore in no way to be believed concerning the majority of the gods, the greater is the wrong done the gods about whom they are feigned with impunity. But they do not hear thee, they are demons, they teach wicked things, they rejoice in vile things; not only do they not count it a wrong if these things are feigned about them, but it is a wrong they are quite unable to bear if they

168 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

are not acted at their stated festivals. But now, if thou wouldst call on Jupiter against them, chiefly for that reason that more of his crimes are wont to be acted in the scenic plays, is it not the case that, although you call him god Jupiter, by whom this whole world is ruled and administered, it is he to whom the greatest wrong is done by you, because you have thought he ought to be worshipped along with them, and have styled him their king ?

28. Whether the worship of the gods has been of service to the Romans in obtaining and extending the empire.
Therefore such gods, who are propitiated by such honours, or rather are impeached by
them (for it is a greater crime to delight in having such things said of them falsely, than
even if they could be said truly), could never by any means have been able to increase
and preserve the Eoman empire. For if they could have done it, they would rather have
bestowed so grand a gift on the Greeks, who, in this kind of divine things, â€” that is, in
scenic plays, â€” have worshipped them more honourably and worthily, although they
have not exempted themselves from those slanders of the poets, by whom they saw the
gods torn in pieces, giving them licence to ill-use any man they pleased, and have not
deemed the scenic players themselves to be base, but have held them worthy even of
distinguished honour. But just as the Eomans were able to have gold money, although
they did not worship a god Aurinus, so also they could have silver and brass coin, and yet
worship neither Argentinus nor his father Æsculanus; and so of all the rest, which it
would be irksome for rue to detail. It follows, therefore, both that they could not by any
means attain such dominion if the" true God was unwilling; and that if these gods, false
and many, were unknown or contemned, and He alone was known and worshipped with
sincere faith and virtue, they would both have a better kingdom here, whatever might be
its extent, and whether they might have one here or not, would afterwards receive an
eternal kingdom.

29. Of the falsity of tlie augury by which the strength and stability oj the
Roman empire was considered to be indicated.

For what kind of augury is that which they have declared to be most beautiful, and to
which I referred a little ago, that
Mars, and Terminus, and Juventas would not give place even to Jove the king of the gods? For thus, they say, it was signified that the nation dedicated to Mars, â€” that is, the Eoman, â€” should yield to none the place it once occupied; likewise, that on account of the god Terminus, no one would be able to disturb the Eoman frontiers; and also, that the Koman youth, because of the goddess Juventas, should yield to no one. Let them see, therefore, how they can hold him to be the king of their gods, and the giver of their own kingdom, if these auguries set him down for an adversary, to whom it would have been honourable not to yield. However, if these things are true, they need not be at all afraid. For they are not going to confess that the gods who would not yield to Jove have yielded to Christ. For, without altering the boundaries of the empire, Jesus Christ has proved Himself able to drive them, not only from their temples, but from the hearts of their worshippers. But, before Christ came in the flesh, and, indeed, before these things which we have quoted from their books could have been written, but yet after that auspice was made under king Tarquin, the Eoman army has been divers times scattered or put to flight, and has shown the falseness of the auspice, which they derived from the fact that the goddess Juventas had not given place to Jove; and the nation dedicated to Mars was trodden down in the city itself by the invading and triumphant Gauls; and the boundaries of the empire, through the falling away of many cities to Hannibal, had been hemmed into a narrow space. Thus the beauty of the auspices is made void, and there has remained only the contumacy against Jove, not of gods, but of demons. For it is one thing not to have yielded, and another to have returned whither you have yielded. Besides, even afterwards, in the oriental regions, the boundaries of the Eoman empire were changed by the will of Hadrian; for he yielded up to the Persian empire those three noble provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Thus that god Terminus, who according to these books was the guardian of the Eoman frontiers, and by that most beautiful auspice had not given place to Jove, would seem to have been more afraid of Hadrian, a king of men, than of the king of the gods. The aforesaid

provinces having also been taken back again, almost within our own recollection the frontier fell back, when Julian, given up to the oracles of their gods, with immoderate daring ordered the victualling ships to be set on fire. The army being thus left destitute of provisions, and he himself also being presently killed by the enemy, and the legions being hard pressed, while dismayed by the loss of their commander, they were reduced to such extremities that no one could have escaped, unless by articles of peace the boundaries of the empire had then been established where they still remain; not, indeed, with so great a loss as was suffered by the concession of Hadrian, but still at a considerable sacrifice. It was a vain augury, then, that the god Terminus did not yield to Jove, since he yielded to the will of Hadrian, and yielded also to the rashness of Julian, and the necessity of
Jovinian. The more intelligent and grave Eomans have seen these things, but have had little power against the custom of the state, which was bound to observe the rites of the demons; because even they themselves, although they perceived that these things were vain, yet thought that the religious worship which is due to God should be paid to the nature of things which is established under the rule and government of the one true God, "serving," as saith the apostle, "the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore." 1 The help of this true God was necessary to send holy and truly pious men, who would die for the true religion that they might remove the false from among the living.

30. What kind of things even their icorshippers have owned they have thought about the gods of the nations.

Cicero the augur laughs at auguries, and reproves men for regulating the purposes of life by the cries of crows and jackdaws. 2 But it will be said that an academic philosopher, who argues that all things are uncertain, is unworthy to have any authority in these matters. In the second book of his De Natura Deorum, 3 he introduces Lucilius Balbus, who, after showing that superstitions have their origin in physical and philosophical truths, expresses his indignation at the setting up

1 Rom. i. 25. 2 De Divin. ii. 37.
3 Cic. De Nat. Deorum, lib. ii. c. 28.
of images and fabulous notions, speaking thus: "Do you not therefore see that from true and useful physical discoveries the reason may be drawn away to fabulous and imaginary gods? This gives birth to false opinions and turbulent errors, and superstitions well-nigh old-wifeish. For both the forms of the gods, and their ages, and clothing, and ornaments, are made familiar to us; their genealogies, too, their marriages, kinships, and all things about them, are debased to the likeness of human weakness. They are even introduced as having perturbed minds; for we have accounts of the lusts, cares, and angers of the gods. Nor, indeed, as the fables go, have the gods been without their wars and battles. And that not only when, as in Homer, some gods on either side have defended two opposing armies, but they have even carried on wars on their own account, as with the Titans or with the Giants. Such things it is quite absurd either to say or to believe: they are utterly frivolous and groundless! Behold, now, what is confessed by those who defend the gods of the nations. Afterwards he goes on to say that some things belong to superstition, but others to religion, which he thinks good to teach according to the Stoics. "For not only the philosophers," he says, "but also our forefathers, have made a distinction between superstition and religion. For those," he says, "who spent whole days in prayer, and offered sacrifice, that their children might outlive them, are called superstitious." 1 Who does not see that he is trying, while he fears the public prejudice, to praise the religion of the ancients, and that he wishes to disjoin it from superstition, but cannot find out how to do so? For if those who prayed and sacrificed all day were called superstitious by the ancients, were those also called so who instituted (what he blames) the images of the gods of diverse age and distinct clothing, and invented the genealogies of gods, their marriages, and kinships? "When, therefore, these things are found fault with as superstitious, he implicates in that fault the ancients who instituted and worshipped such images. Nay, he implicates himself, who, with whatever eloquence he may strive to extricate himself

1 Superstition, from superstes. Against this etymology of Cicero, see Lact. hist. Dlv. iv. 28.

172 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

and be free, was yet under the necessity of venerating these images; nor dared he so much as whisper in a discourse to the people what in this disputation he plainly sounds forth. Let us Christians, therefore, give thanks to the Lord our God, â€” not to heaven and earth, as that author argues, but to Him who has made heaven and earth; because these superstitions, which that Balbus, like a babbler, 1 scarcely reprehends, He, by the most deep lowliness of Christ, by the preaching of the apostles, by the faith of the martyrs
dying for the truth and living with the truth, has overthrown, not only in the hearts of the religious, but even in the temples of the superstitious, by their own free service.

31. Concerning the opinions of Varro, who, while reprobating the popular belief, thought that their worship should be confined to one god, though he was unable to discover the true God.

What says Varro himself, whom we grieve to have found, although not by his own judgment, placing the scenic plays among things divine? When in many passages he is exhorting, like a religious man, to the worship of the gods, does he not in doing so admit that he does not in his own judgment believe those things which he relates that the Roman state has instituted; so that he does not hesitate to affirm that if he were founding a new state, he could enumerate the gods and their names better by the rule of nature? But being born into a nation already ancient, he says that he finds himself bound to accept the traditional names and surnames of the gods, and the histories connected with them, and that his purpose in investigating and publishing these details is to incline the people to worship the gods, and not to despise them. By which words this most acute-man sufficiently indicates that he does not publish all things, because they would not only have been contemptible to himself, but would have seemed despicable even to the rabble, unless they had been passed over in silence. I should be thought to conjecture these things, unless he himself, in another passage, had openly said, in speaking of religious rites, that many things are true which it is not only not useful for the common people to know, but that it is expedient that the people should think

1 Balbus, from balbutiens, stammering, babbling.
otherwise, even though falsely, and therefore the Greeks have shut up the religious
 ceremonies and mysteries in silence, and within walls. In this he no doubt expresses the
 policy of the so-called wise men by whom states and peoples are ruled. Yet by this crafty
device the malign demons are wonderfully delighted, who possess alike the deceivers and
the deceived, and from whose tyranny nothing sets free save the grace of God through
Jesus Christ our Lord.

The same most acute and learned author also says, that those alone seem to him to have
perceived what God is, who have believed Him to be the soul of the world, governing it
by design and reason. 1 And by this, it appears, that although he did not attain to the
truth, â€” for the true God is not a soul, but the maker and author of the soul, â€” yet if he
could have been free to go against the prejudices of custom, he could have confessed and
counseled others that the one God ought to be worshipped, who governs the world by
design and reason; so that on this subject only this point would remain to be debated with
him, that he had called Him a soul, and not rather the creator of the soul. He says, also,
that the ancient Romans, for more than a hundred and seventy years, worshipped the gods
without an image. 2 "And if this custom," he says, "could have remained till now, the
gods would have been more purely worshipped." In favour of this opinion, he cites as a
witness among others the Jewish nation; nor does he hesitate to conclude that passage by
saying of those who first consecrated images for the people, that they have both taken
away religious fear from their fellow-citizens, and increased error, wisely thinking that
the gods easily fall into contempt when exhibited under the stolidity of images. But as he
does not say they have transmitted error, but that they have increased it, he therefore
wishes it to be understood that there was error already when there were no images.
Wherefore, when he says they alone have perceived what God is who have believed Him
to be the governing soul of the world, and thinks that the rites of religion would have
been more purely observed without images, who fails to see how near he has come to the
truth?

1 See Cicero, De Nat. Deor. i. 2. 2 Plutarch's Numa, c. 8.

174 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IV.]

For if he had been able to do anything against so inveterate an error, he would certainly
have given it as his opinion both that the one God should be worshipped, and that He
should be worshipped without an image; and having so nearly discovered the truth,
perhaps he might easily have been put in mind of the mutability of the soul, and might
thus have perceived that the true God is that immutable nature which made the soul itself.
Since these things are so, whatever ridicule such men have poured in their writings
against the plurality of the gods, they have done so rather as compelled by the secret will
of God to confess them, than as trying to persuade others. If, therefore, any testimonies
are adduced by us from these writings, they are adduced for the confutation of those who are unwilling to consider from how great and malignant a power of the demons the singular sacrifice of the shedding of the most holy blood, and the gift of the imparted Spirit, can set us free.

32. In what interest the princes of the nations wished false religions to continue among the people subject to them.

Varro says also, concerning the generations of the gods, that the people have inclined to the poets rather than to the natural philosophers; and that therefore their forefathers, that is, the ancient Eomans, believed both in the sex and the generations of the gods, and settled their marriages; which certainly seems to have been done for no other cause except that it was the business of such men as were prudent and wise to deceive the people in matters of religion, and in that very thing not only to worship, but also to imitate the demons, whose greatest lust is to deceive. For just as the demons cannot possess any but those whom they have deceived with guile, so also men in princely office, not indeed being just, but like demons, have persuaded the people in the name of religion to receive as true those things which they themselves knew to be false; in this way, as it were, binding them up more firmly in civil society, so that they might in like manner possess them as subjects. But who that was weak and unlearned could escape the deceits of both the princes of the state and the demons?
33. That the times of all kings and kingdoms are ordained by the judgment and power of the true God.

Therefore that God, the author and giver of felicity, because He alone is the true God, Himself gives earthly kingdoms both to good and bad. Neither does He do this rashly, and, as it were, fortuitously, ã€” because He is God, not fortune, ã€” but according to the order of things and times, which is hidden from us, but thoroughly known to Himself; which same order of times, however, He does not serve as subject to it, but Himself rules as lord and appoints as governor. Felicity He gives only to the good. Whether a man be a subject or a king makes no difference: he may equally either possess or not possess it. And it shall be full in that life where kings and subjects exist no longer. And therefore earthly kingdoms are given *by Him both to the good and the bad; lest His worshippers, still under the conduct of a very weak mind, should covet these gifts from Him as some great things. And this is the mystery of the Old Testament, in which the New was hidden, that there even earthly gifts are promised: those who were spiritual understanding even then, although not yet openly declaring, both the eternity which was symbolized by these earthly things, and in what gifts of God true felicity could be found.

34. Concerning the kingdom of the Jews, which was founded by the one and true God, and preserved by Him as long as they remained in the true religion.

Therefore, that it might be known that these earthly good things, after which those pant who cannot imagine better things, remain in the power of the one God Himself, not of the many false gods whom the Eomans have formerly believed worthy of worship, He multiplied His people in Egypt from being very few, and delivered them out of it by wonderful signs. Nor did their women invoke Lucina when their offspring was being incredibly multiplied; and that nation having increased incredibly, He Himself delivered, He Himself saved them from the hands of the Egyptians, who persecuted them, and wished to kill all their infants. Without the goddess Eumina they sucked; without Cunina they were cradled; without Educa and Potina they took food and drink; without all those puerile gods they were educated; without the nuptial gods they were married; without the worship of Priapus they had conjugal intercourse; without invocation of Xeptune the divided sea opened up a way for them to pass over, and overwhelmed with its returning waves their enemies who pursued them. aSTeither did they consecrate any goddess Mannia when they received manna from heaven; nor, when the smitten rock poured forth water to them when they thirsted, did they worship Nymphs and Lymphs. "Without the mad rites of Mara and Bellona they carried on war;
and while, indeed, they did not conquer without victory, yet they did not hold it to be a goddess, but the gift of their God. Without Segetia they had harvests; without Bubona, oxen; honey without Mellona; apples without Pomona: and, in a word, everything for which the Pomans thought they must supplicate so great a crowd of false gods, they received much more happily from the one true God. And if they had not sinned against Him with impious curiosity, which seduced them like magic arts, and drew them to strange gods and idols, and at last led them to kill Christ, their kingdom would have remained to them, and would have been, if not more spacious, yet more happy, than that of Pome. And now that they are dispersed through almost all lands and nations, it is through the providence of that one true God; that whereas the images, altars, groves, and temples of the false gods are everywhere overthrown, and their sacrifices prohibited, it may be shown from their books how this has been foretold by their prophets so long before; lest, perhaps, when they should be read in ours, they might seem to be invented by us. But now, reserving what is* to follow for the following book, we must here set a bound to the prolixity of this one.
BOOK FIFTH. 1

ARGUMENT.

AUGUSTINE FIRST DISCUSSES THE DOCTRINE OF FATE, FOR THE SAKE OF CON-
FUTING THOSE WHO ARE DISPOSED TO REFER TO FATE THE POWER AND
INCREASE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, WHICH COULD NOT BE ATTRIBUTED TO
FALSE GODS, AS HAS BEEN SHOWN IN THE PRECEDING BOOK. AFTER THAT, HE TROVES THAT THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN GOD'S PRESCIENCE
AND OUR FREE WILL. HE THEN SPEAKS OF THE MANNERS OF THE ANCIENT
ROMANS, AND SHOWS IN WHAT SENSE IT WAS DUE TO THE VIRTUE OF THE
ROMANS THEMSELVES, AND IN HOW FAR TO THE COUNSEL OF GOD, THAT HE
INCREASED THEIR DOMINION, THOUGH THEY DID NOT WORSHIP HIM.
FINALLY, HE EXPLAINS WHAT IS TO BE ACCOUNTED THE TRUE HAPPINESS
OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

PREFACE.

SINCE, then, it is established that the complete attainment of all we desire is that which
constitutes felicity, which is no goddess, but a gift of God, and that therefore men can
worship no god save Him who is able to make them happy, â€” and were Felicity herself
a goddess, she would with reason be the only object of worship, â€” since, I say, this is
established, let us now go on to consider why God, who is able to give with all other
things those good gifts which can be possessed by men who are not good, and
consequently not happy, has seen fit to grant such extended and long-continued dominion
to the Eoman empire; for that this was not effected by that multitude of false gods which
they worshipped, we have both already adduced, and shall, as occasion offers, yet adduce
considerable proof.

1. That the cause of the Roman empire, and of all kingdoms, is neither fortuitous nor
consists in the position of the stars. 2

The cause, then, of the greatness of the Eoman empire is neither fortuitous nor fatal,
according to the judgment or
opinion of those who call those things fortuitous which either have no causes, or such
causes as do not proceed from some intelligible order, and those things fatal which
happen independently of the will of God and man, by the necessity of a certain order. In a
word, human kingdoms are established by divine providence. And if any one attributes
their existence to fate, because he calls the will or the power of God itself by the name of
fate, let him keep his opinion, but correct his language.
For why does he not say at first what he will say afterwards, when some one shall put the
question to him, What he means by fate? For when men hear that word, according to the
ordinary use of the language, they simply understand by it the virtue of that particular
position of the stars which may exist at the time when any one is born or conceived,
which some separate altogether from the will of God, whilst others affirm that this also is
dependent on that will. But those who are of opinion that, apart from the will of God, the
stars determine what we shall do, or what good things we shall possess, or what evils we
shall suffer, must be refused a hearing by all, not only by those who hold the true
religion, but by those who wish to be the worshippers of any god whatsoever, even false
gods. For what does this opinion really amount to but this, that no god whatever is to be
worshipped or prayed to?
Against these, however, our present disputation is not intended to be directed, but against
those who, in defence of those whom they think to be gods, oppose the Christian religion.
They, however, who make the position of the stars depend on the divine will, and in a
manner decree what character each man shall have, and what good or evil shall happen to
him, if they think that these same stars have that power conferred, upon them by the
supreme power of God, in order that they may determine these things according to their
will, do a great injury to the celestial sphere, in whose most brilliant senate, and most
splendid senate-house, as it were, they suppose that wicked deeds are decreed to be done,
â€” such deeds as that if any terrestrial state should decree them, it would be condemned to overthrow by the decree of
the whole human race. What judgment, then, is left to God concerning the deeds of men,
who is Lord both of the stars and of men, when to these deeds
a celestial necessity is attributed? Or, if they do not say that the stars, though they have
indeed received a certain power from God, who is supreme, determine those things
according to their own discretion, but simply that His commands are fulfilled by them
instrumentally in the application and enforcing of such necessities, are we thus to think
concerning God even what it seemed unworthy that we should think concerning the will
of the stars? But, if the stars are said rather to signify these things than to effect them, so
that that 'position of the stars is, as it were, a kind of speech predicting, not causing future
things,
â€” for this has been the opinion of men of no ordinary learning,
â€” certainly the mathematicians are not wont so to speak, saying, for example, Mars in
such or such a position signifies a homicide, but makes a homicide. But, nevertheless,
though we grant that they do not speak as they ought, and that we ought to accept as the
proper form of speech that employed by the philosophers in predicting those things which
they think they discover in the position of the stars, how comes it that they have never
been able to assign any cause why, in the life of twins, in their actions, in the events
which befall them, in their professions, arts, honours, and other things pertaining to
human life, also in their very death, there is often so great a difference, that, as far as
these things are concerned, many entire strangers are more like them than they are like
each other, though separated at birth by the smallest interval of time, but at conception
generated by the same act of copulation, and at the same moment?

2. On the difference in the health of twins.

Cicero says that the famous physician Hippocrates has left in writing that he had
suspected that a certain pair of brothers were twins, from the fact that they both took ill at
once, and their disease advanced to its crisis and subsided in the same time in each of
them. 1 Posidonius the Stoic, who was much given to astrology, used to explain the fact
by supposing that they had been born and conceived under the same constellation. In this
question the conjecture of the physician is by

1 This fact is not recorded in any of the extant works of Hippocrates or Cicero.
Vives supposes it may have found place in Cicero's book, De Fato.

180 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

far more worthy to be accepted, and approaches much nearer to credibility, since,
according as the parents were affected in body at the time of copulation, so might the first
elements of the foetuses have been affected, so that all that was necessary for their
growth and development up till birth having been supplied from the body of the same
mother, they might be born with like constitutions. Thereafter, nourished in the same
house, on the same kinds of food, where they would have also the same kinds of air, the
same locality, the same quality of water, â€” which, according to the testimony of medical science, have a very great influence, good or bad, on the condition of bodily health, â€” and where they would also be accustomed to the same kinds of exercise, they would have bodily constitutions so similar that they would be similarly affected with sickness at the same time and by the same causes. But, to wish to adduce that particular position of the stars which existed at the time when they were born or conceived as the cause of their being simultaneously affected with sickness, manifests the greatest arrogance, when so many beings of most diverse kinds, in the most diverse conditions, and subject to the most diverse events, may have been conceived and born at the same time, and in the same district, lying under the same sky. But we know that twins do not only act differently, and travel to very different places, but that they also suffer from different kinds of sickness; for which Hippocrates would give what is in my opinion the simplest reason, namely, that, through diversity of food and exercise, which arises not from the constitution of the body, but from the inclination of the mind, they may have come to be different from each other in respect of health. Moreover, Posidonius, or any other asserter of the fatal influence of the stars, will have enough to do to find anything to say to this, if he be unwilling to impose upon the minds of the uninstructed in things of which they are ignorant. But, as to what they attempt to make out from that very small interval of time elapsing between the births of twins, on account of that point in the heavens where the mark of the natal hour is placed, and which they call the "horoscope," it is either disproportionately small to the diversity which is found in the dispositions, actions, habits, and fortunes of twins,
or it is disproportionately great when compared with the estate of twins, whether low or high, which is the same for both of them, the cause for whose greatest difference they place, in every case, in the hour on which one is born; and, for this reason, if the one is born so immediately after the other that there is no change in the horoscope, I demand an entire similarity in all that respects them both, which can never be found in the case of any twins. But if the slowness of the birth of the second give time for a change in the horoscope, I demand different parents, which twins can never have.

3. Concerning the arguments which Nigidius the mathematician drew from the potter's wheel, in the question about the birth of twins.

It is to no purpose, therefore, that that famous fiction about the potter's wheel is brought forward, which tells of the answer which Nigidius is said to have given when he was perplexed with this question, and on account of which he was called Figulus. For, having whirled round the potter's wheel with all his strength, he marked it with ink, striking it twice with the utmost rapidity, so that the strokes seemed to fall on the very same part of it. Then, when the rotation had ceased, the marks which he had made were found upon the rim of the wheel at no small distance apart. Thus, said he, considering the great rapidity with which the celestial sphere revolves, even though twins were born with as short an interval between their births as there was between the strokes which I gave this wheel, that brief interval of time is equivalent to a very great distance in the celestial sphere. Hence, said he, come whatever dissimilitudes may be remarked in the habits and fortunes of twins. This argument is more fragile than the vessels which are fashioned by the rotation of that wheel. For if there is so much significance in the heavens which cannot be comprehended by observation of the constellations, that, in the case of twins, an inheritance may fall to the one and not to the other, why, in the case of others who are not twins, do they dare, having examined their constellations, to declare such things as pertain to that secret which no one can comprehend, and to attribute them to the precise moment of the birth of each individual? Now, if such predictions in connection with the

1 i.e. the potter.

182 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

natal hours of others who are not twins are to be vindicated on the ground that they are founded on the observation of more extended spaces in the heavens, whilst those very small moments of time which separated the births of twins, and correspond to minute portions of celestial space, are to be connected with trifling things about which the mathematicians are not wont
to be consulted, â€” for who would consult them as to when he is to sit, when to walk abroad, when and on what he is to dine?
â€” how can we be justified in so speaking, when we can point out such manifold diversity both in the habits, doings, and destinies of twins?

4. Concerning the twins Esau and Jacob, who were very unlike each other both in their character and actions.

In the time of the ancient fathers, to speak concerning illustrious persons, there were born two twin brothers, the one so immediately after the other, that the first took hold of the heel of the second. So great a difference existed in their lives and manners, so great a dissimilarity in their actions, so great a difference in their parents' love for them respectively, that the very contrast between them produced even a mutual hostile antipathy. Do we mean, when we say that they were so unlike each other, that when the one was walking the other was sitting, when the one was sleeping the other was waking, â€” which differences are such as are attributed to those minute portions of space which cannot be appreciated by those who note down the position of the stars which exists at the moment of one's birth, in order that the mathematicians may be consulted concerning it? One of these twins was for a long time a hired servant; the other never served. One of them was beloved by his mother; the other waT as not so. One of them lost that honour which was so much valued among their people; the other obtained it. And what shall we say of their wives, their children, and their possessions? How different they were in respect to all these! If, therefore, such things as these are connected with those minute intervals of time which elapse between the births of twins, and are not to be attributed to the constellations, wherefore are they predicted in the case of others from the examination of their constellations? And if, on the other hand, these tilings are said to be

TOOK V.] ASTROLOGY INCONSISTENT. 183

predicted, because they are connected, not with minute and inappreciable moments, but with intervals of time which can be observed and noted down, what purpose is that potter's wheel to serve in this matter, except it be to whirl round men who have hearts of clay, in order that they may be prevented from detecting the emptiness of the talk of the mathematicians?

5. In what manner the mathematicians are convicted of professing a vain science.

Do not those very persons whom the medical sagacity of Hippocrates led him to suspect to be twins, because their disease was observed by him to develope to its crisis and to subside again in the same time in each of them, â€” do not these, I say, serve as a sufficient refutation of those who wish to attribute to the influence of the stars that which was owing to a similarity of bodily constitution? For wherefore were they both sick of the same disease, and at the same time, and not the one after the other in the order of their
birth? (for certainly they could not both be born at the same time.) Or, if the fact of their
having been born at different times by no means necessarily implies that they must be
sick at different times, why do they contend that the difference in the time of their births
was the cause of their difference in other things?

Why could they travel in foreign parts at different times, marry at different times, beget
children at different times, and do many other things at different times, by reason of their
having been born at different times, and yet could not, for the same reason, also be sick at
different times? For if a difference in the moment of birth changed the horoscope, and
occasioned dissimilarity in all other things, why has that simultaneousness which
belonged to their conception remained in their attacks of sickness? Or, if the destinies of
health are involved in the time of conception, but those of other things be said to be
attached to the time of birth, they ought not to predict anything concerning health from
examination of the constellations of birth, when the hour of conception is not also given,
that its constellations may be inspected. But if they say that they predict attacks of
sickness without examining the horoscope of conception, because these are indicated by
the moments of birth, how could they inform either

of these twins when he would be sick, from the horoscope of his birth, when the other
also, who had not the same horoscope of birth, must of necessity fall sick at the same
time? Again, I ask, if the distance of time between the births of twins is so great as to
occasion a difference of their constellations on account of the difference of their
horoscopes, and therefore of all the cardinal points to which so much influence is
attributed, that even from such change there comes a difference of destiny, how is it possible
that this should be so, since they cannot have been conceived at different times?

Or, if two conceived at the same moment of time could have different destinies with
respect to their births, why may not also two born at the same moment of time have
different destinies for life and for death? For if the one moment in which both were
conceived did not hinder that the one should be born before the other, why, if two are
born at the same moment, should anything hinder them from dying at the same moment?
If a simultaneous conception allows of twins being differently affected in the womb, why
should not simultaneousness of birth allow of any two individuals having different
fortunes in the world? and thus would all the fictions of this art, or rather delusion, be
swept away. "What strange circumstance is this, that two children conceived at the same
time, nay, at the same moment, under the same position of the stars, have different fates
which bring them to different hours of birth, whilst two children, born of two different
mothers, at the same moment of time, under one and the same position of the stars,
cannot have different fates which shall conduct them by necessity to diverse manners of
life and of death? Are they at conception as yet without destinies, because they can only
have them if they be born? What, therefore, do they mean when they say that, if the hour
of the conception be found, many things can be predicted by these astrologers? from
which also arose that story which is reiterated by some, that a certain sage chose an hour
in which to lie with his wife, in order to secure his begetting an illustrious son. From this

184 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]
opinion also came that answer of Posidonius, the great astrologer and also philosopher, concerning those twins who were attacked with sickness at the same time, namely, "That this
had happened to them because they were conceived at the same time, and born at the same time.” For certainly he added “conception,” lest it should be said to him that they could not both be born at the same time, knowing that at any rate they must both have been conceived at the same time; wishing thus to show that he did not attribute the fact of their being similarly and simultaneously affected with sickness to the similarity of their bodily constitutions as its proximate cause, but that he held that even in respect of the similarity of their health, they were bound together by a sidereal connection. If, therefore, the time of conception has so much to do with the similarity of destinies, these same destinies ought not to be changed by the circumstances of birth; or, if the destinies of twins be said to be changed because they are born at different times, why should we not rather understand that they had been already changed in order that they might be born at different times? Does not, then, the will of men living in the world change the destinies of birth, when the order of birth can change the destinies they had at conception?

6. Concerning twins of different sexes.

But even in the very conception of twins, which certainly occurs at the same moment in the case of both, it often happens that the one is conceived a male, and the other a female. I know two of different sexes who are twins. Both of them are alive, and in the flower of their age; and though they resemble each other in body, as far as difference of sex will permit, still they are very different in the whole scope and purpose of their lives (consideration being had of those differences which necessarily exist between the lives of males and females), the one holding the office of a count, and being almost constantly away from home with the army in foreign service, the other never leaving her country's soil, or her native district. Still more, and this is more incredible, if the destinies of the stars are to be believed in, though it is not wonderful if we consider the wills of men, and the free gifts of God, he is married; she is a sacred virgin: he has begotten a numerous offspring; she has never even married. But is not the virtue of the horoscope very great? I think I have said enough to show the absurdity of that. But, say those astrologers, whatever be the virtue of the horoscope in other respects, it is certainly of significance with respect to birth. But why not also with respect to conception, which takes place undoubtedy with one act of copulation? And, indeed, so great is the force of nature, that after a woman has once conceived, she ceases to be liable to conception or were they, perhaps, changed at birth, either he into a male, or she into a female, because of the difference in their horoscopes? But, whilst it is not altogether absurd to say that certain sidereal influences have some power to cause differences in bodies alone, as, for instance, we see that the seasons of
the year come round by the approaching and receding of the sun, and that certain kinds of things are increased in size or diminished by the waxings and wanings of the moon, such as sea-urchins, oysters, and the wonderful tides of the ocean, â€” it does not follow that the wills of men are to be made subject to the position of the stars. The astrologers, however, when they wish to bind our actions also to the constellations, only set us on investigating whether, even in these bodies, the changes may not be attributable to some other than a sidereal cause. For what is there which more intimately concerns a body than its sex? And yet, under the same position of the stars, twins of different sexes may be conceived. Wherefore, what greater absurdity can be affirmed or believed than that the position of the stars, which was the same for both of them at the time of conception, could not cause that the one child should not have been of a different sex from her brother, with whom she had a common constellation, whilst the position of the stars which existed at the hour of their birth could cause that she should be separated from him by the great distance between marriage and holy virginity?

7. Concerning the choosing of a day for marriage, or for planting, or soicing.

Now, will any one bring forward this, that in choosing certain particular days for particular actions, men bring about certain new destinies for their actions? That man, for instance, according to this doctrine, was not born to have an illustrious son, but rather a contemptible one, and therefore, being a man of learning, he chose an hour in which to lie with his wife.
He made, therefore, a destiny which he did not have before, and from that destiny of his own making something began to be fatal which was not contained in the destiny of his natal hour. Oh, singular stupidity! A day is chosen on which to marry; and for this reason, I believe, that unless a day be chosen, the marriage may fall on an unlucky day, and turn out an unhappy one. What then becomes of what the stars have already decreed at the hour of birth? Can a man be said to change by an act of choice that which has already been determined for him, whilst that which he himself has determined in the choosing of a day cannot be changed by another power? Thus, if men alone, and not all things under heaven, are subject to the influence of the stars, why do they choose some days as suitable for planting vines or trees, or for sowing grain, other days as suitable for taming beasts on, or for putting the males to the females, that the cows and mares may be impregnated, and for such-like things? If it be said that certain chosen days have an influence on these things, because the constellations rule over all terrestrial bodies, animate and inanimate, according to differences in moments of time, let it be considered what innumerable multitudes of beings are born or arise, or take their origin at the very same instant of time, which come to ends so different, that they may persuade any little boy that these observations about days are ridiculous. For who is so mad as to dare affirm that all trees, all herbs, all beasts, serpents, birds, fishes, worms, have each separately their own moments of birth or commencement? Nevertheless, men are wont, in order to try the skill of the mathematicians, to bring before them the constellations of dumb animals, the constellations of whose birth they diligently observe at home with a view to this discovery; and they prefer those mathematicians to all others, who say from the inspection of the constellations that they indicate the birth of a beast and not of a man. They also dare tell what kind of beast it is, whether it is a wool-bearing beast, or a beast suited for carrying burdens, or one fit for the plough, or for watching a house; for the astrologers are also tried with respect to the fates of dogs, and their answers concerning these are followed by shouts of admiration on the part of those who consult them. They so deceive men as to make them think that during the birth of a man the births of all other beings are suspended, so that not even a fly comes to life at the same time that he is being born, under the same region of the heavens. And if this be admitted with respect to the fly, the reasoning cannot stop there, but must ascend from flies till it lead them up to camels and elephants. Nor are they willing to attend to this, that when a day has been chosen whereon to sow a field, so many grains fall into the ground simultaneously, germinate simultaneously, spring up, come to perfection, and ripen simultaneously; and yet, of all the ears which are coeval, and, so to speak, congerminal, some are destroyed by mildew, some are devoured by the birds, and some are pulled by men. How can they say that all these had their different constellations, which they see coming to so different ends? Will they confess that it is folly to choose
days for such things, and to affirm that they do not come within the sphere of the celestial decree, whilst they subject men alone to the stars, on whom alone in the world God has bestowed free wills? All these things being considered, we have good reason to believe that, when the astrologers give very many wonderful answers, it is to be attributed to the occult inspiration of spirits not of the best kind, whose care it is to insinuate into the minds of men, and to confirm in them, those false and noxious opinions concerning the fatal influence of the stars, and not to their marking and inspecting of horoscopes, according to some kind of art which in reality has no existence.

8. Concerning those who call by the name of fate, not the position of the stars, but the connection of causes which depends on the will of God.

But, as to those who call by the name of fate, not the disposition of the stars as it may exist when any creature is conceived, or born, or commences its existence, but the whole connection and train of causes which makes everything become what it does become, there is no need that I should labour and strive with them in a merely verbal controversy, since they attribute the so-called order and connection of causes to the will and power of God most high, who is most rightly and most truly believed to know all things before they come.
to pass, and to leave nothing unordained; from whom are all powers, although the wills of all are not from Him. Now, that it is chiefly the will of God most high, whose power extends itself irresistibly through all things which they call fate, is proved by the following verses, of which, if I mistake not, Anncaus Seneca is the author: â€”

"Father supreme, Thou ruler of the lofty heavens, Lead me where'er it is Thy pleasure; I will give A prompt obedience, making no delay,

Lo! here I am. Promptly I come to do Thy sovereign will; If Thy command shall thwart my inclination, I will still Follow Thee groaning, and the work assigned, With all the suffering of a mind repugnant, Will perform, being evil; which, had I been good, I should have undertaken and performed, though hard, With virtuous cheerfulness.
The Fates do lead the man that follows willing; But the man that is unwilling, him they drag." 1

Most evidently, in this last verse, he calls that "fate" which he had before called "the will of the Father supreme," whom, he says, he is ready to obey that he may be led, being willing, not dragged, being unwilling, since "the Fates do lead the man that follows willing, but the man that is unwilling, him they drag."

The following Homeric lines, which Cicero translates into Latin, also favour this opinion: â€”

"Such are the minds of men, as is the light Which Father Jove himself doth pour Illustrious o'er the fruitful earth," 2

Not that Cicero wishes that a poetical sentiment should have any weight in a question like this; for when he says that the Stoics, when asserting the power of fate, were in the habit of using these verses from Homer, he is not treating concerning the opinion of that poet, but concerning that of those philosophers, since by these verses, which they quote in connection with the controversy which they hold about fate, is most distinctly manifested what it is which they reckon fate, since they call by the name of Jupiter him whom they reckon the supreme god, from whom, they say, hangs the whole chain of fates.

9. Concerning the foreknowledge of God and the free will of man, in opposition to the definition of Cicero.

The manner in which Cicero addresses himself to the task of refuting the Stoics, shows that he did not think he could effect anything against them in argument unless he had first demolished divination. 1 And this he attempts to accomplish by denying that there is any knowledge of future things, and maintains with all his might that there is no such knowledge either in God or man, and that there is no prediction of events. Thus he both denies the foreknowledge of God, and attempts by vain arguments, and by opposing to himself certain oracles very easy to be refuted, to overthrow all prophecy, even such as is clearer than the light (though even these oracles are not refuted by him).

But, in refuting these conjectures of the mathematicians, his argument is triumphant, because truly these are such as destroy and refute themselves. 2 Nevertheless, they are far more tolerable who assert the fatal influence of the stars than they who deny the foreknowledge of future events. For, to confess that God exists, and at the same time to deny that He has foreknowledge of future things, is the most manifest folly. This Cicero himself saw, and therefore attempted to assert the doctrine embodied in the words of Scripture, " The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God." 2 That, however, he did not do in his own person, for he saw how odious and offensive such an opinion would be; and, therefore in his book on the nature of the gods, 3 he makes Cotta dispute concerning this against the Stoics, and preferred to give his own opinion- in favour of Lucilius Balbus, to whom he assigned the defence of the Stoical position, rather than in favour of Cotta, who maintained that no divinity exists. However, in his book on divination, he in his own person most openly opposes the doctrine of the prescience of future things. But all this he seems to do in order that he may not grant the doctrine of fate, and by so doing destroy free will. For he thinks that, the knowledge of future things being once conceded, fate follows as so necessary a consequence that it cannot be denied.

But, let these perplexing debatings and disputations of the

1 De Divinat. ii. 2 Ps. xiv. 1. 3 Book iii.
philosophers go on as they may, we, in order that we may confess the most high and true God Himself, do confess His will, supreme power, and prescience. Neither let us be afraid lest, after all, we do not do by will that which we do by will, because He, whose foreknowledge is infallible, foreknew that we would do it. It was this which Cicero was afraid of, and therefore opposed foreknowledge. The Stoics also maintained that all things do not come to pass by necessity, although they contended that all things happen according to destiny.

What is it, then, that Cicero feared in the prescience of future things? Doubtless it was this, â€” that if all future things have been foreknown, they will happen in the order in which they have been foreknown; and if they come to pass in this order, there is a certain order of things foreknown by God; and if a certain order of things, then a certain order of causes, for nothing can happen which is not preceded by some efficient cause. But if there is a certain order of causes according to which everything happens which does happen, then by fate, says he, all things happen which do happen. â€” But if this be so, then is there nothing in our own power, and there is no such thing as freedom of will; and if we grant that, says he, the whole economy of human life is subverted. In vain are laws enacted. In vain are reproaches, praises, chidings, exhortations had recourse to; and there is no justice whatever in the appointment of rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked. And that consequences so disgraceful, and absurd, and pernicious to humanity may not follow, Cicero chooses to reject the foreknowledge of future things, and shuts up the religious mind to this alternative, to make choice between two things, either that something is in our own power, or that there is foreknowledge, â€” both of which cannot be true but if the one is affirmed, the other is thereby denied. He therefore, like a truly great and wise man, and one who consulted very much and very skilfully for the good of humanity, of those two chose the freedom of the will, to confirm which he denied the foreknowledge of future things; and thus, wishing to make men free, he makes them sacrilegious. But the religious mind chooses both, confesses both, and maintains both by the faith of piety. But how so? says Cicero; for the

knowledge of future things being granted, there follows a chain of consequences which ends in this, that there can be nothing depending on our own free wills. And further, if there is anything depending on our wills, we must go backwards by the same steps of reasoning till we arrive at the conclusion that there is no foreknowledge of future things. For we go backwards through all the steps in the following order: â€”

If there is free will, all things do not happen according to fate; if all things do not happen according to fate, there is not a certain order of causes; and if there is not a certain order of causes, neither is there a certain order of things foreknown by God, â€” for things cannot come to pass except they are preceded by efficient causes, â€” but, if there is no
fixed and certain order of causes foreknown by God, all things cannot be said to happen according as He foreknew that they would happen. And further, if it is not true that all things happen just as they have been foreknown by Him, there is not, says he, in God any foreknowledge of future events.

Now, against the sacrilegious and impious darings of reason, we assert both that God knows all things before they come to pass, and that we do by our free will whatsoever we know and feel to be done by us only because we will it. But that all things come to pass by fate, we do not say; nay we affirm that nothing comes to pass by fate; for we demonstrate that the name of fate, as it is wont to be used by those who speak of fate, meaning thereby the position of the stars at the time of each one's conception or birth, is an unmeaning word, for astrology itself is a delusion. But an order of causes in which the highest efficiency is attributed to the will of God, we neither deny nor do we designate it by the name of fate, unless, perhaps, we may understand fate to mean that which is spoken, deriving it from fari, to speak; for we cannot deny that it is "written in the sacred Scriptures, " God hath spoken once; these two things have I heard, that power belongeth unto God. Also unto Thee, God, belongeth mercy: for Thou wilt render unto every man according to his works." 1 Now the expression, " Once hath He spoken," is to be understood as meaning " im-

1 Ps. lxii. 11, 12.
movably" that is, unchangeably hath He spoken, inasmuch as He knows unchangeably all things which shall be, and all things which He will do. We might, then, use the word fate in the sense it bears when derived from /art, to speak, had it not already come to be understood in another sense, into which I am unwilling that the hearts of men should unconsciously slide. But it does not follow that, though there is for God a certain order of all causes, there must therefore be nothing depending on the free exercise of our own wills, for our wills themselves are included in that order of causes which is certain to God, and is embraced by His foreknowledge, for human wills are also causes of human actions; and He who foreknew all the causes of things would certainly among those causes not have been ignorant of our wills. For even that very concession which Cicero himself makes is enough to refute him in this argument. For what does it help him to say that nothing takes place without a cause, but that every cause is not fatal, there being a fortuitous cause, a natural cause, and a voluntary cause? It is sufficient that he confesses that whatever happens must be preceded by a cause. For we say that those causes which are called fortuitous are not a mere name for the absence of causes, but are only latent, and we attribute them either to the will of the true God, or to that of spirits of some kind or other. And as to natural causes, we by no means separate them from the will of Him who is the author and framer of all nature. But now as to voluntary cause They are refferable either to God, or to angels, or to men, or to animals of whatever description, if indeed those instinctive movements of animals devoid of reason, by which, in accordance with their own nature, they seek or shun various things, are to be called wills. And when I speak of the wills of angels, I mean either the wills of good angels, whom we call the angels of God, or of the wicked angels, whom we call the angels of the devil, or demons. Also by the wills of men I mean the wills either of the good or of the wicked. And from this we conclude that there are no efficient causes of all things which come to pass unless voluntary causes, that is, such as belong to that nature which is the spirit of life. For the air or wind is called spirit, but, inasmuch as it is a body, it is not

VOL. I. 2J"
For, as He is the creator of all natures, so also is He the bestower of all powers, not of all wills; for wicked wills are not from Him, being contrary to nature, which is from Him. As to bodies, they are more subject to wills: some to our wills, by which I mean the wills of all living mortal creatures, but more to the wills of men than of beasts. But all of them are most of all subject to the will of God, to whom all wills also are subject, since they have no power except what He has bestowed upon them. X^The cause of things, therefore, which makes but is not made, is God; but all other causes both make and are made. Such are all created spirits, and especially the rational/Later causes, therefore, which may rather be said to be made than to make, are not to be reckoned among efficient causes, Wjoisp. thp. y can only do what the, w ills of spirits do by them. , How, then, does an order of causes which is certain to the foreknowledge of God necessitate that there should be nothing which is dependent on our wills, when our wills themselves have a very important place in the order of causes ? Cicero, then, contends with those who call this order of causes fatal, or rather designate this order itself by the name of fate; to which we have an abhorrence, especially on account of the word, which men have become accustomed to understand as meaning what is not true. But, whereas he denies that the order of all causes is most certain, and perfectly clear to the prescience of God, we detest his opinion more than the Stoics do. For he either denies that God exists, â€” which, indeed, in an assumed personage, he has laboured to do, in his book Be Natura Deorum, â€” or if he confesses that He exists, but denies that He is prescient of future things, what is that but just " the fool saying in his heart there is no God ?" For one who is not prescient of all future things is not God. Wherefore our wills also have just so much power as God willed and foreknew that they should
have; and therefore whatever power they have, they have it within most certain limits; and whatever they are to do, they are most assuredly to do, for He whose foreknowledge is infallible foreknew that they would have the power to do it, and would do it. Wherefore, if I should choose to apply the name of fate to anything at all, I should rather say that fate belongs to the weaker of two parties, will to the stronger/who has the other in his power, than that the freedom of our will is excluded by that order of causes, which, by an unusual application of the word peculiar to themselves, the Stoics call Fate.

10. Whether our wills are ruled by necessity.

Wherefore, neither is that necessity to be feared, for dread of which the Stoics laboured to make such distinctions among the causes of things as should enable them to rescue certain things from the dominion of necessity, and to subject others to it. Among those things which they wished not to be subject to necessity they placed our wills, knowing that they would not be free if subjected to necessity. For if that is to be called our necessity which is not in our power, but even though we be unwilling effects what it can effect, â€” as, for instance, the necessity of death, â€” it is manifest that our wills by which we live uprightly or wickedly are not under such a necessity; for we do many things which, if we were not willing, we should certainly not do. This is primarily true of the act of willing itself, â€” for if we will, it is; if we will not, it is not, â€” for we should not will if we were unwilling. But if we define necessity to be that according to which we say that it is necessary that anything be of such or such a nature, or be done in such and such a manner, I know not why we should have any dread of that necessity taking away the freedom of our will For we do not put the life of God or the foreknowledge of God under necessity if we should say that it is necessary that God should live for ever, and foreknow all things; as neither is His power diminished when we say that He cannot die or fall into error, â€” for this is in such a way impossible to Him, that if it were possible for Him, He would be of less power. But assuredly He is rightly called omnipotent, though He can neither die nor fall into error. For He is called omnipotent on account

of His doing what He wills, not on account of His suffering what He wills not; for if that should befall Him, He would by no means be omnipotent. Wherefore, He cannot do some things for the very reason that He is omnipotent. So also, when we say that it is necessary that, when we will, we will by free choice, in so saying we both affirm what is true beyond doubt, and do not still subject our wills thereby to a necessity which destroys liberty. Our wills, therefore, exist as wills, and do themselves whatever we do by willing, and which would not be done if we were unwilling. But when any one suffers anything, being unwilling, by the will of another, even in that case will retains its essential validity,
â€” we do not mean the will of the party who inflicts the suffering, for we resolve it into the power of God. For if a will should simply exist, but not be able to do what it wills, it would be overborne by a more powerful will. Nor would this be the case unless there had existed will, and that not the will of the other party, but the will of him who willed, but was not able to accomplish what he willed. Therefore, whatsoever a man suffers contrary to his own will, he ought not to attribute to the will of men, or of angels, or of any created spirit, but rather to His will who gives power to wills. It is not the case, therefore, that because God foreknew what would be in the power of our wills, there is for that reason nothing in the power of our wills. For he who foreknew this did not foreknow nothing. Moreover, if He who foreknew what would be in the power of our wills did not foreknow nothing, but something, assuredly, even though He did foreknow, there is something in the power of our wills. Therefore we are by no means compelled, either, retaining the prescience of God, to take away the freedom of the will, or, retaining the freedom of the will, to deny that He is prescient of future things, which is impious. But we embrace both. We faithfully and sincerely confess both. The former, that we may believe well; the latter, that we may live well. For he lives ill who does not believe well concerning God. Wherefore, be it far from us, in order to maintain our freedom, to deny the prescience of Him by whose help we are or shall be free. Consequently, it is not in vain that laws are enacted, and that reproaches, exhortations, praises, and vitu-
[BOOK V.] UNIVERSAL PROVIDENCE OF GOD. 197

operations are had recourse to; for these also He foreknew, and they are of great avail, even as great as He foreknew that they would be of. Prayers, also, are of avail to procure those things which He foreknew that He would grant to those who offered them; and with justice have rewards been appointed for good deeds, and punishments for sins. For a man does not therefore sin because God foreknew that he would sin. Nay, it cannot be doubted but that it is the man himself who sins when he does sin, because He, whose foreknowledge is infallible, foreknew not that fate, or fortune, or something else would sin, but that the man himself would sin, who, if he wills not, sins not. But if he shall not will to sin, even this did God foreknow.

11. Concerning the universal providence of God in the laws of which all things are comprehended.

Therefore God supreme and true, with His Word and Holy Spirit (which three are one), one God omnipotent, creator and maker of every soul and of every body; by whose gift all are happy who are happy through verity and not through vanity; who made man a rational animal consisting of soul and body, who, when he sinned, neither permitted him to go unpunished, nor left him without mercy; who has given to the good and to the evil, being in common with stones, vegetable life in common with trees, sensuous life in common with brutes, intellectual life in common with angels alone; from whom is every race, every species, every order; from whom are measure, number, weight; from whom is everything which has an existence in nature, of whatever kind it be, and of whatever value; from whom are the seeds of forms and the forms of seeds, and the motion of seeds and of forms; who
gave also to flesh its origin, beauty, health, reproductive
fecundity, disposition of members, and the salutary concord of
its parts; who also to the irrational soul has given memory,
sense, appetite, but to the rational soul, in addition to these,
has given intelligence and will; who has not left, not to speak
of heaven and earth, angels and men, but not even the entrails
of the smallest and most contemptible animal, or the feather
of a bird, or the little flower of a plant, or the leaf of a tree,
without an harmony, and, as it were, a mutual peace among

198 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

all its parts; â€” that God can never be believed to have left the kingdoms of men, their
dominations and servitudes, outside of the laws of His providence.

12. By what virtues the ancient Romans merited that the true God, although they did not
worship Him, should enlarge their empire.

Wherefore let us go on to consider what virtues of the Romans they were which the true
God, in whose power are also the kingdoms of the earth, condescended to help in order to
raise the empire, and also for what reason He did so.
And, in order to discuss this question on clearer ground, we have written the former
books, to show that the power of those gods, who, they thought, were to be worshipped
with such trifling and silly rites, had nothing to do in this matter; and also what we have
already accomplished of the present volume, to refute the doctrine of fate, lest any one
who might have been already persuaded that the Roman empire was not extended and
preserved by the worship of these gods, might still be attributing its extension and
preservation to some kind of fate, rather than to the most powerful will of God most high.
The ancient and primitive Eomans, therefore, though their history shows us that, like all
the other nations, with the sole exception of the Hebrews, they worshipped false gods,
and sacrificed victims, not to God, but to demons, have nevertheless this commendation
bestowed on them by their historian, that they were "greedy of praise, prodigal of wealth, desirous of great glory, and content with a moderate fortune." 1 Glory they most ardently loved: for it they wished to live, for it they did not hesitate to die. Every other desire was repressed by the strength of their passion for that one thing. At length their country itself, because it seemed inglorious to serve, but glorious to rule and to command, they first earnestly desired to be free, and then to be mistress. Hence it was that, not enduring the domination of kings, they put the government into the hands of two chiefs, holding office for a year, who were called consuls, not kings or lords.* But royal pomp

1 Sallust, Cat. vii.

2 Augustine notes that the name consul is derived from consedere, and thus signifies a more benign rule than that of a rex (from regere), or dominus (from dominari).
seemed inconsistent with the administration of a ruler (regentis), or the benevolence of one who consults (that is, for the public good) (consulentis), but rather with the haughtiness of a lord (dominantis). King Tarquin, therefore, having been banished, and the consular government having been instituted, it followed, as the same author already alluded to says in his praises of the Romans, that "the state grew with amazing rapidity after it had obtained liberty, so great a desire of glory had taken possession of it." That eagerness for praise and desire of glory, then, was that which accomplished those many wonderful things, laudable, doubtless, and glorious according to human judgment. The same Sallust praises the great men of his own time, Marcus Cato, and Caius Cæsar, saying that for a long time the republic had no one great in virtue, but that within his memory there had been these two men of eminent virtue, and very different pursuits. Now, among the praises which he pronounces on Cæsar he put this, that he wished for a great empire, an army, and a new war, that he might have a sphere where his genius and virtue might shine forth. Thus it was ever the prayer of men of heroic character that Bellona would excite miserable nations to war, and lash them into agitation with her bloody scourge, so that there might be occasion for the display of their valour. This, forsooth, is what that desire of praise and thirst for glory did. Wherefore, by the love of liberty in the first place, afterwards also by that of domination and through the desire of praise and glory, they achieved many great things; and their most eminent poet testifies to their having been prompted by all these motives:

"Porsenna there, with pride elate, Bids Rome to Tarquin ope her gate; With arms he hems the city in, iEneas' sons stand firm to win." 1

At that time it was their greatest ambition either to die bravely or to live free; but when liberty was obtained, so great a desire of glory took possession of them, that liberty alone was not enough unless domination also should be sought,

1 jEneid, viii. 646.

200 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

their great ambition being that which the same poet puts into the mouth of Jupiter:

"Kay, Juno's self, whose wild alarms Set ocean, earth, and heaven in arms, Shall change for smiles her moody frown, And vie with me in zeal to crown Rome's sons, the nation of the gown. So stands my will. There comes a day, "While Rome's great ages hold their way, Wlien old Assaracus's sons Shall quit them on the myrmidons, O'er Phthia and Mycenae reign, And humble Argos to their chain." 1
Which things, indeed, Virgil makes Jupiter predict as future, whilst, in reality, he was only himself passing in review in his own mind things which were already done, and which were beheld by him as present realities. But I have mentioned them with the intention of showing that, next to liberty, the Eomans so highly esteemed domination, that it received a place among those things on which they bestowed the greatest praise. Hence also it is that that poet, preferring to the arts of other nations those arts which peculiarly belong to the Eomans, namely, the arts of ruling and commanding, and of subjugating and vanquishing nations, says,

"Others, belike, with happier grace, From bronze or stone shall call the face, Plead doubtful causes, map the skies, And tell when planets set or rise; But Roman thou, do thou control

The nations far and wide; Be this thy genius, to impose The rule of peace on vanquished foes, Show pity to the humbled soul,

And crush the sons of pride." 2

These arts they exercised with the more skill the less they gave themselves up to pleasures, and to enervation of body and mind in coveting and amassing riches, and through these corrupting morals, by extorting them from the miserable citizens and lavishing them on base stage-players. Hence these men of base character, who abounded when Sallust wrote and Virgil sang these things, did not seek after honours

1 JEnet i. 279. 2 Ibid. vi. 847.
and glory by these arts, but by treachery and deceit. Wherefore the same says, " But at first it was rather ambition than avarice that stirred the minds of men, which vice, however, is nearer to virtue. For glory, honour, and power are desired alike by the good man and by the ignoble; but the former,"
he says, " strives onward to them by the true way, whilst the other, knowing nothing of the good arts, seeks them by fraud and deceit." 1 And what is meant by seeking the attainment of glory, honour, and power by good arts, is to seek them by virtue, and not by deceitful intrigue; for the good and the ignoble man alike desire these things, but the good man strives to overtake them by the true way. The way is virtue, along which he presses as to the goal of possession â€“ namely, to glory, honour, and power. Now that this was a sentiment engrained in the Roman mind, is indicated even by the temples of their gods; for they built in very close proximity the temples of Virtue and Honour, worshipping as gods the gifts of God. Hence we can understand what they who were good thought to be the end of virtue, and to what they ultimately referred it, namely, to honour; for, as to the bad, they had no virtue though they desired honour, and strove to possess it by fraud and deceit. Praise of a higher kind is bestowed upon Cato, for he says of him, "The less he sought glory, the more it followed him." 2 We say praise of a higher kind; for the glory with the desire of which the Eomans burned is the judgment of men thinking well of men. And therefore virtue is better, which is content with no human judgment save that of one's own conscience. Whence the apostle says, " For this is our glory, the testimony of our conscience." 3 And in another place he says, " But let every one prove his own work, and then he shall have glory in himself, and not in another." 4 That glory, honour, and power, therefore, which they desired for themselves, and to which the good sought to attain by good arts, should not be sought after by virtue, but virtue by them. For there is no true virtue except that which is directed towards that end in which is the highest and ultimate good

1 Sallust, in Cat. c. xi. 2 Sallust, in Cat. c. 54.
3 2 Cor. i. 12. 4 Gal# vi . L

202 , THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK Y.

of man. "Wherefore even the honours which Cato sought he ought not to have sought, but the state ought to have conferred them on him unsolicited, on account of his virtues.

But, of the two great Romans of that time, Cato was he whose virtue was by far the nearest to the true idea of virtue.
Wherefore, let us refer to the opinion of Cato himself, to discover what was the judgment he had formed concerning the condition of the state both then and in former times. " I do
not think," he says, "that it was by arms that our ancestors made the republic great from being small. Had that been the case, the republic of our day would have been by far more flourishing than that of their times, for the number of our allies and citizens is far greater; and, besides, we possess a far greater abundance of armour and of horses than they did. But it was other things than these that made them great, and we have none of them: industry at home, just government without, a mind free in deliberation, addicted neither to crime nor to lust. Instead of these, we have luxury and avarice, poverty in the state, opulence among citizens; we laud riches, we follow laziness; there is no difference made between the good and the bad; all the rewards of virtue are got possession of by intrigue. And no wonder, when every individual consults only for his own good, when ye are the slaves of pleasure at home, and, in public affairs, of money and favour, no wonder that an onslaught is made upon the unprotected republic." 1

He who hears these words of Cato or of Sallust probably thinks that such praise bestowed on the ancient Romans was applicable to all of them, or, at least, to very many of them. It is not so; otherwise the things which Cato himself writes, and which I have quoted in the second book of this work, would not be true. In that passage he says, that even from the very beginning of the state wrongs were committed by the more powerful, which led to the separation of the people from the fathers, besides which there were other internal dissensions; and the only time at which there existed a just and moderate administration was after the banishment of the kings, and that no longer than whilst they had cause to be afraid of Tarquin, and were carrying on the grievous war which had

1 Sallust, in Cat. c. 52.

COOK V.] CAUSES OF THE ROMAN POWER. 203

been undertaken on his account against Etruria; but afterwards the fathers oppressed the people as slaves, flogged them as the kings had done, drove them from their land, and, to the exclusion of all others, held the government in their own hands alone. And to these discord, whilst the fathers were wishing to rule, and the people were unwilling to serve, the second Punic war put an end; for again great fear began to press upon their disquieted minds, holding them back from those distractions by another and greater anxiety, and bringing them back to civil concord. But the great things which were then achieved were accomplished through the administration of a few men, who were good in their own way. And by the wisdom and forethought of these few good men, which first enabled the republic to endure these evils and mitigated them, it waxed greater and greater. And this the same historian affirms, when he says that, reading and hearing of the many illustrious achievements of the Roman people in peace and in war, by land and by sea, he wished to understand what it was by which these great things were specially sustained. For he knew that very often the Romans had with a small company contended with great legions of the enemy; and he knew also that with small resources they had carried on wars with opulent kings. And he says that, after having given the matter much consideration, it seemed evident to him that the pre-eminent virtue of a few citizens had
achieved the whole, and that that explained how poverty overcame wealth, and small numbers great multitudes. But, he adds, after that the state had been corrupted by luxury and indolence, again the republic, by its own greatness, was able to bear the vices of its magistrates and generals. Wherefore even the praises of Cato are only applicable to a few; for only a few were possessed of that virtue which leads men to pursue after glory, honour, and power by the true way, â€” that is, by virtue itself. This industry at home, of which Cato speaks, was the consequence of a desire to enrich the public treasury, even though the result should be poverty at home; and therefore, when he speaks of the evil arising out of the corruption of morals, he reverses the expression, and says, "Poverty in the state, riches at home."

204 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

13. Concerning the love of praise, which, though it is a vice, is reckoned a virtue, because by it greater vice is restrained.

Wherefore, when the kingdoms of the East had been illustrious for a long time, it pleased God that there should also arise a Western empire, which, though later in time, should be more illustrious in extent and greatness. And, in order that it might overcome the grievous evils which existed among other nations, He purposely granted it to such men as, for the sake of honour, and praise, and glory, consulted well for their country, in whose glory they sought their own, and whose safety they did not hesitate to prefer to their own, suppressing the desire of wealth and many other vices for this one vice, namely, the love of praise. For he has the soundest perception who recognises that even the love of praise is a vice; nor has this escaped the perception of the poet Horace, who says,

"You're bloated by ambition? take advice:
You book will ease you if you read it thrice." 1

And the same poet, in a lyric song, hath thus spoken with the desire of repressing the passion for domination:

"Rule an ambitious spirit, and thou hast A wider kingdom than if thou shouldst join To distant Gades Lybia, and thus Shouldst hold in service either Carthaginian." 2

Nevertheless, they who restrain baser lusts, not by the I power of the Holy Spirit obtained by the faith of piety,
(or by the love of intelligible beauty, but by desire of human praise, or, at all events, restrain them better by the love -of such praise, are not indeed yet holy, but only less base.
Even Tully was not able to conceal this fact; for, in the same books which he wrote, De Republica, when speaking concerning the education of a chief of the state, who ought, he says, to be nourished on glory, goes on to say that their ancestors did many wonderful
and illustrious things through desire of glory. So far, therefore, from resisting this vice, they even thought that it ought to be excited and kindled up, supposing that that would be beneficial to the republic. But not even in his books on philosophy does Tully dissimulate tins.

1 Horace, Epist. i. 1. 36, 37. 2 Hor. Carm. ii. 2.
poisonous opinion, for he there avows it more clearly than day. For when he is speaking of those studies which are to be pursued with a view to the true good, and not with the vainglorious desire of human praise, he introduces the following universal and general statement:

"Honour nourishes the arts, and all are stimulated to the prosecution of studies by glory; and those pursuits are always neglected which are generally discredited." 1

14. Concerning the eradication of the love of human praise, because all the glory of the righteous is in God.

It is, therefore, doubtless far better to resist this desire than to yield to it, for the purer one is from this defilement, the liker is he to God; and, though this vice be not thoroughly eradicated from his heart, " for it does not cease to tempt even the minds of those who are making good progress in virtue, â€” at any rate, let the desire of glory be surpassed by the love of righteousness, so that, if there be seen anywhere " lying neglected things which are generally discredited," if they are good, if they are right, even the love of human praise may blush and yield to the love of truth. For so hostile is this vice to pious faith, if the love of glory be greater in the heart than the fear or love of God, that the Lord said, " How can ye believe, who look for glory from one another, and do not seek the glory which is from God alone ?" 2

Also, concerning some who had believed on Him, but were afraid to confess Him openly, the evangelist says, " They loved the praise of men more than the praise of God;" 3 which did not the holy apostles, who, when they proclaimed the name of Christ in those places where it was not only discredited, and therefore neglected, â€” according as Cicero says, " Those things are always neglected which are generally discredited," â€” but was even held in the utmost detestation, holding to what they had heard from the Good Master, who was also the physician of minds, " If any one shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven, and before the angels of God," 4 amidst maledictions and reproaches, and most grievous persecutions and cruel punish-

1 Tusc. Quaist. i. 2. 2 John v. 44.
3 John xii. 43. 4 Malt. x. 33.
conquering, as it were, hard hearts, and introducing into them the peace of righteousness, great glory followed them in the church of Christ, they did not rest in that as in the end of their virtue, but, referring that glory itself to the glory of God, by whose grace they were what they were, they sought to kindle, also by that same flame, the minds of those for whose good they consulted, to the love of Him, by whom they could be made to be what they themselves were. For their Master had taught them not to seek to be good for the sake of human glory, saying, "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men to be seen of them, or otherwise ye shall not have a reward from your Father who is in heaven." But again, lest, understanding this wrongly, they should, through fear of pleasing men, be less useful through concealing their goodness, showing for what end they ought to make it known, He says, "Let your works shine before men, that they may see your good deeds, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." 2 Not, observe, "that ye may be seen by them, that is, in order that their eyes may be directed upon you," â€” for of yourselves ye are nothing, â€” but * that they may glorify your Father who is in heaven," by fixing their regards on whom they may become such as ye are. These the martyrs followed, who surpassed the Scaevolas, and the Curtiuses, and the Deciuses, both in true virtue, because in true piety, and also in the greatness of their number. But since those Eomans were in an earthly city, and had before them, as the end of all the offices undertaken' in its behalf, its safety, and a kingdom, not in heaven, but in earth, â€” not in the sphere of eternal life, but in the sphere of demise and succession, where the dead are succeeded by the dying, â€” what else but glory should they love, by which they wished even after death to live in the mouths of their admirers?

15. Concerning the temporal reward which God granted to the virtues of tJic Romans.

Now, therefore, with regard to those to whom God did not

1 Matt. vi. 1. 2 Matt. v. 16.
purpose to give eternal life with His holy angels in His own celestial city, to the society of which that true piety which does not render the service of religion, which the Greeks call ἀρπα, “La, to any save the true God conducts, if He had also withheld from them the terrestrial glory of that most excellent empire, a reward would not have been rendered to their good arts, ᾧ” that is, their virtues, ᾧ” by which they sought to attain so great glory. For as to those who seem to do some good that they may receive glory from men, the Lord also says, "Verily I say unto you, they have received their reward." 1 So also these despised their own private affairs for the sake of the republic, and for its treasury resisted avarice, consulted for the good of their country with a spirit of freedom, addicted neither to what their laws pronounced to be crime nor to lust. By all these acts, as by the true way, they pressed forward to honours, power, and glory; they were honoured among almost all nations; they imposed the laws of their empire upon many nations; and at this day, both in literature and history, they are glorious among almost all nations. There is no reason why they should complain against the justice of the supreme and true God, ᾧ” "they have received their reward."

16. Concerning the reward of the holy citizens of the celestial city, to whom the example of the virtues of the Roman are useful.

But the reward of the saints is far different, who even here endured reproaches for that city of God which is hateful to the lovers of this world. That city is eternal. There none are born, for none die. There is true and full felicity, ᾧ” not a goddess, but a gift of God. Thence we receive the pledge of faith, whilst on our pilgrimage we sigh for its beauty. There rises not the sun on the good and the evil, but the Sun of Righteousness protects the good alone. There no great industry shall be expended to enrich the public treasury by suffering privations at home, for there is the common treasury of truth. And, therefore, it was not only for the sake of recompensing the citizens of Rome that her empire and glory had been so signally extended, but also that the citizens of that eternal city, during their pilgrimage here, might diligently and soberly contemplate these examples, and

1 Matt. vi. 2.

208 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

see what a love they owe to the supernal country on account of life eternal, if the terrestrial country was so much beloved by its citizens on account of human glory.
17. To what profit the Romans carried on wars, and how much they contributed to the well-being of those whom they conquered.

For, as far as this life of mortals is concerned, which is spent and ended in a few days, what does it matter under whose government a dying man lives, if they who govern do not force him to impiety and iniquity? Did the Romans at all harm those nations, on whom, when subjugated, they imposed their laws, except in so far as that was accomplished with great slaughter in war? Now, had it been done with consent of the nations, it would have been done with greater success, but there would have been no glory of conquest, for neither did the Romans themselves live exempt from those laws which they imposed on others. Had this been done without Mars and Bellona, so that there should have been no place for victory, no one conquering where no one had fought, would not the condition of the Romans and of the other nations have been one and the same, especially if that had been done at once which afterwards was done most humanely and most acceptably, namely, the admission of all to the rights of Roman citizens who belonged to the Roman empire, and if that had been made the privilege of all which was formerly the privilege of a few, with this one condition, that the humbler class who had no lands of their own should live at the public expense an alimentary impost, which would have been paid with a much better grace by them into the hands of good administrators of the republic, of which they were members, by their own hearty consent, than it would have been paid with had it to be extorted from them as conquered men? For I do not see what it makes for the safety, good morals, and certainly not for the dignity, of men, that some have conquered and others have been conquered, except that it yields them that most insane pomp of human glory, in which "they have received their reward," who burned with excessive desire of it, and carried on most eager wars. For do not their lands pay tribute? Have they any privilege of learning what the others are not privileged to learn? Are
there not many senators in the other countries who do not even know Rome by sight? Take away outward show, and what are all men after all but men? But even though the perversity of the age should permit that all the better men should be more highly honoured than others, neither thus should human honour be held at a great price, for it is smoke which has no weight. But let us avail ourselves even in these things of the kindness of God. Let us consider how great things they despised, how great things they endured, what lusts they subdued for the sake of human glory, who merited that glory, as it were, in reward for such virtues; and let this be useful to us even in suppressing pride, so that, as that city in which it has been promised us to reign as far surpasses this one as heaven is distant from the earth, as eternal life surpasses temporal joy, solid glory empty praise, or the society of angels the society of mortals, or the glory of Him who made the sun and moon the light of the sun and moon, the citizens of so great a country may not seem to themselves to have done anything very great, if, in order to obtain it, they have done some good works or endured some evils, when those men for this terrestrial country already obtained, did such great things, suffered such great things. And especially are all these things to be considered, because the remission of sins which collects citizens to the celestial country has something in it to which a shadowy resemblance is found in that asylum of Eomulus, whither escape from the punishment of all manner of crimes congregated that multitude with which the state was to be founded.

18. How far Christians ought to be from boasting, if they have done anything for the love of the eternal country, when the Romans did such great things for human glory and a terrestrial city.

What great thing, therefore, is it for that eternal and celestial city to despise all the charms of this world, however pleasant, if for the sake of this terrestrial city Brutus could even put to death his son, â€” a sacrifice which the heavenly city compels no one to make? But certainly it is more difficult to put to death one's sons, than to do what is required to be done for the heavenly country, even to distribute to the poor those things which were looked upon as things to be amassed and laid up for one's children, or to let them go, if there arise any temptation which compels us to do so, for the sake of faith and righteousness. For it is not earthly riches which make us or our sons happy; for they must either be lost by us in our lifetime, or be possessed when we are dead, by whom we know not, or perhaps by whom we would not. But it is God who makes us happy, who is the true riches of minds. But of Brutus, even the poet who celebrates his
praises testifies that it was the occasion of unhappiness to him that he slew his son, for he says,

" And call his own rebellious seed For menaced liberty to bleed.
Unhappy father! howsoe'er The deed be judged by after days.". 1

But in the following verse he consoles him in his unhappiness, saying,

1 ' His country's love shall all o'erbear. "

There are those two things, namely, liberty and the desire of human praise, which compelled the Eomans to admirable deeds. If, therefore, for the liberty of dying men, and for the desire of human praise which is sought after by mortals, sons could be put to death by a father, what great thing is it, if, for the true liberty which has made us free from the dominion of sin, and death, and the devil, â€” not through the desire of human praise, but through the earnest desire of freeing men, not from King Tarquin, but from demons and the prince of the demons, â€” we should, I do not say put to death our sons, but reckon among our sons Christ's poor ones? If, also, another Roman chief, surnamed Torquatus, slew his son, not because he fought against his country, but because, being challenged by an enemy, he through youthful impetuosity fought, though for his country, yet contrary to orders which he his father had given as general; and this he did, notwithstanding that his son was victorious, lest there should be more evil in the example of authority despised, than good in the glory of slaying an enemy; â€” if, I say, Torquatus acted thus, wherefore should they boast themselves, who, for the laws of a celestial country, despise all earthly good things, which are

1 *Eneid, vi. 820.
loved far less than sons? If Furius Camillus, who was condemned by those who envied him, notwithstanding that he had thrown off from the necks of his countrymen the yoke of their most bitter enemies, the Veientes, again delivered his ungrateful country from the Gauls, because he had no other in which he could have better opportunities for living a life of glory; if Camillus did thus, why should he be extolled as having done some great thing, who, having, it may be, suffered in the church at the hands of carnal enemies most grievous and dishonouring injury, has not betaken himself to heretical enemies, or himself raised some heresy against her, but has rather defended her, as far as he was able, from the most pernicious perversity of heretics, since there is not another church, I say not in which one can live a life of glory, but in which eternal life can be obtained? If Mucius, in order that peace might be made with King Porsenna, who was pressing the Komans with a most grievous war, when he did not succeed in slaying Porsenna, but slew another by mistake for him, reached forth his right hand and laid it on a red-hot altar, saying that many such as he saw him to be had conspired for his destruction, so that Porsenna, terrified at his daring, and at the thought of a conspiracy of such as he, without any delay recalled all his warlike purposes, and made peace; if, I say, Mucius did this, who shall speak of his meritorious claims to the kingdom of heaven, if for it he may have given to the flames not one hand, but even his whole body, and that not by his own spontaneous act, but because he was persecuted by another? If Curtius, spurring on his steed, threw himself all armed into a precipitous gulf, obeying the oracles of their gods, which had commanded that the Eomans should throw into that gulf the best thing which they possessed, and they could only understand thereby that, since they excelled in men and arms, the gods had commanded that an armed man should be cast headlong into that destruction; if he did this, shall we say that that man has done a great thing for the eternal city who may have died by a like death, not, however, precipitating himself spontaneously into a gulf, but having suffered this death at the hands of some enemy of his faith, more especially when he has received from his Lord, who is also King of

212 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

his country, a more certain oracle, "Fear not them who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul" 1 If the Decii dedicated themselves to death, consecrating themselves in a form of words, as it were, that falling, and pacifying by their blood the wrath of the gods, they might be the means of delivering the Eoman army; if they did this, let not the holy martyrs carry themselves proudly, as though they had done some meritorious thing for a share in that country where are eternal life and felicity, if even to the shedding of their blood, loving not only the brethren for whom it was shed, but, according as had been commanded them, even their enemies by whom it was being shed, they have vied with one another in faith of love and love of faith. If Marcus Pulvillus, when engaged in dedicating a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, received with such indifference the
false intelligence which was brought to him of the death of his son, with the intention of
so agitating him that he should go away, and thus the glory of dedicating the temple
should fall to his colleague; “if he received that intelligence with such indifference that
he even ordered that his son should be cast out unburied, the love of glory having
overcome in his heart the grief of bereavement, how shall any one affirm that he has done
a great thing for the preaching of the gospel, by which the citizens of the heavenly city
are delivered from divers errors, and gathered together from divers wanderings, to whom
his Lord has said, when anxious about the burial of his father, * Follow me, and let the
dead bury their dead ?” 2 Eegulus, in order not to break his oath, even with his most cruel
enemies, returned to them from Rome itself, because (as he is said to have replied to the
Romans when they wished to retain' him) he could not have the dignity of an honourable
citizen at Rome after having been a slave to the Africans, and the Carthaginians put him
to death with the utmost tortures, because he had spoken against them in the senate. If
Eegulus acted thus, what tortures are not to be despised for the sake of good faith toward
that country to whose beatitude faith itself leads ? Or what will a man have rendered to
the Lord for all He has bestowed upon him, if, for the faithfulness he owes to Him, he
shall have

1 Matt. x. 28. 2 Matt. viii. 22.
suffered such things as Kegulus suffered at the hands of his most ruthless enemies for the
good faith which he owed to them? And how shall a Christian dare vaunt himself of his
voluntary poverty, which he has chosen in order that during the pilgrimage of this life he
may walk the more disencumbered on the way which leads to the country where the true
riches are, even God Himself; â€” how, I say, shall he vaunt himself for this, when he
hears or reads that Lucius Valerius, who died when he was holding the office of consul,
was so poor that his funeral expenses were paid with money collected by the people? â€” or
when he hears that Quintius Cincinnatus, who, possessing only four acres of land, and
cultivating them with his own hands, was taken from the plough to be made dictator, â€” an
office more honourable even than that of consul, â€” and that, after having won great glory by conquering the enemy, he preferred
notwithstanding to continue in his poverty?
Or how shall he boast of having done a great thing, who has not been prevailed upon by
the offer of any reward of this world to renounce his connection with that heavenly and
eternal country, when he hears that Fabricius could not be prevailed on to forsake the
Eoman city by the great gifts offered to him by Pyrrhus king of the Epirots, who
promised him the fourth part of his kingdom, but preferred to abide there in his poverty
as a private individual? For if, when their republic,
â€” that is, the interest of the people, the interest of the country, the common interest, â€”
was most prosperous and wealthy, they themselves were so poor in their own houses, that
one of them, who had already been twice a consul, was expelled from that senate of poor
men by the censor, because he was discovered to possess ten pounds weight of silver-
plate, â€” since, I say, those very men by whose triumphs the public treasury was
enriched were so poor, ought not all Christians, who make common property of their
riches with a far nobler purpose, even that (according to what is written in the Acts of the
Apostles) they may distribute to each one according to his need, and that no one may say
that anything is his own, but that all things may be their common possession, â€” ought
they not to understand that they should not vaunt themselves, be-

1 Acts ii. 45.

214 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

cause they do that to obtain the society of angels, when those men did well-nigh the same
thing to preserve the glory of the Eomans?

How could these, and whatever like things are found in the Eoman history, have become
so widely known, and have been proclaimed by so great a fame, had not the Eoman
empire, extending far and wide, been raised to its greatness by magnificent successes?
"Wherefore, through that empire, so extensive and of so long continuance, so illustrious
and glorious also through the virtues of such great men, the reward which they sought
was rendered to their earnest aspirations, and also examples are set before us, containing necessary admonition, in order that we may be stung with shame if we shall see that we have not held fast those virtues for the sake of the most glorious city of God, which are, in whatever way, resembled by those virtues which they held fast for the sake of the glory of a terrestrial city, and that, too, if we shall feel conscious that we have held them fast, we may not be lifted up with pride, because, as the apostle says, "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us." 1 But so far as regards human and temporal glory, the lives of these ancient Romans were reckoned sufficiently worthy. Therefore, also, we see, in the light of that truth which, veiled in the Old Testament, is revealed in the New, namely, that it is not in view of terrestrial and temporal benefits, which divine providence grants promiscuously to good and evil, that God is to be worshipped, but in view of eternal life, everlasting gifts, and of the society of the heavenly city itself; â€” in the light of this truth we see that the Jews were most righteously given as a trophy to the glory of the Romans; for we see that these Romans, who rested on earthly glory, and sought to obtain it by virtues, such as they were, conquered those who, in their great depravity, slew and rejected the giver of true glory, and of the eternal city.

19. Concerning the difference between true glory and the desire of domination.

There is assuredly a difference between the desire of human glory and the desire of domination; for, though he who has

1 Rom. viii. 18.

EOOK V.] LOVE OF PRAISE. 215

an overweening delight in human glory will be also very prone to aspire earnestly after domination, nevertheless they who desire the true glory even of human praise strive not to displease those who judge well of them. For there are many good moral qualities, of which many are competent judges, although they are not possessed by many; and by those good moral qualities those men press on to glory, honour, and domination, of whom Sallust says, "But they press on by the true way."

But whosoever, without possessing that desire of glory which makes one fear to displease those who judge his conduct, desires domination and power, very often seeks to obtain what he loves by most open crimes. Therefore he who desires glory presses on to obtain it either by the true way, or certainly by deceit and artifice, wishing to appear good when he is not. Therefore to him who possesses virtues it is a great virtue to despise glory; for contempt of it is seen by God, but is not manifest to human judgment. For whatever any one does before the eyes of men in order to show himself to be a despiser of glory, if they suspect that he is doing it in order to get greater praise, â€” that is, greater glory, â€” he has no means of demonstrating to the perceptions of those who suspect him that the case is really otherwise than they suspect it to be. But he who despises the judgment of
praisers, despises also the rashness of suspectors. Their salvation, indeed, he does not despise, if he is truly good; for so great is the righteousness of that man who receives his virtues from the Spirit of God, that he loves his very enemies, and so loves them that he desires that his haters and detractors may be turned to righteousness, and become his associates, and that not in an earthly but in a heavenly country. But with respect to his praisers, though he sets little value on their praise, he does not set little value on their love; neither does he elude their praise, lest he should forfeit their love. And, therefore, he strives earnestly to have their praises directed to Him from whom every one receives whatever in him is truly praiseworthy. But he who is a despiser of glory, but is greedy of domination, exceeds the beasts in the vices of cruelty and luxuriousness. Such, indeed, were certain of the Romans,

216 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

who, wanting the love of esteem, wanted not the thirst for domination; and that there were many such, history testifies.
But it was Nero Caesar who was the first to reach the summit, and, as it were, the citadel, of this vice; for so great was his luxuriousness, that one would have thought there was nothing manly to be dreaded in him, and such his cruelty, that, had not the contrary been known, no one would have thought there was anything effeminate in his character. Nevertheless power and domination are not given even to such men save by the providence of the most high God, when He judges that the state of human affairs is worthy of such lords. The divine utterance is clear on this matter; for the Wisdom of God thus speaks: "By me kings reign, and tyrants possess the land." 1 But, that it may not be thought that by "tyrants" is meant, not wicked and impious kings, but brave men, in accordance with the ancient use of the word, as when Virgil says,

"For know that treaty may not stand Where king greets king and joins not hand," 2

in another place it is most unambiguously said of God, that He "maketh the man who is an hypocrite to reign on account of the perversity of the people." 3 Wherefore, though I have, according to my ability, shown for what reason God, who alone is true and just, helped forward the Romans, who were good according to a certain standard of an earthly state, to the acquirement of the glory of so great an empire, there may be, nevertheless, a more hidden cause, known better to God than to us, depending on the diversity of the merits of the human race. Among all who are truly pious, it is at -all events agreed that no one without true piety â€” that is, true worship of the true God â€” can have true virtue; and that it is not true virtue which is the slave of human praise. Though, nevertheless, they who are not citizens of the eternal city, which is called the city of God in the sacred Scriptures, are more useful to the earthly city when they possess even that virtue than if they had not even that. Put there could be nothing more fortunate for human affairs than that, by the mercy of God, they who are endowed with true piety of life, if they have the skill for ruling people, should also have the
1 Piov. viii. 15. ã–neid, vii. 2G6. 3 Job xxxiv. 30.
power. But such men, however great virtues they may possess in this life, attribute it solely to the grace of God that He has bestowed it on them â€” willing, believing, seeking. And, at the same time, they understand how far they are short of that perfection of righteousness which exists in the society of those holy angels for which they are striving to fit themselves. But however much that virtue may be praised and cried up, which without true piety is the slave of human glory, it is not at all to be compared even to the feeble beginnings of the virtue of the saints, whose hope is placed in the grace and mercy of the true God.

20. That it is as shameful for the virtues to serve human glory as bodily pleasure.

Philosophers, â€” who place the end of human good in virtue itself, in order to put to shame certain other philosophers, who indeed approve of the virtues, but measure them all with reference to the end of bodily pleasure, and think that this pleasure is to be sought for its own sake, but the virtues on account of pleasure, â€” are wont to paint a kind of word-picture, in which Pleasure sits like a luxurious queen on a royal seat, and all the virtues are subjected to her as slaves, watching her nod, that they may do whatever she shall command. She commands Prudence to be ever on the watch to discover how Pleasure may rule, and be safe. Justice she orders to grant what benefits she can, in order to secure those friendships which are necessary for bodily pleasure; to do wrong to no one, lest, on account of the breaking of the laws, Pleasure be not able to live in security. Fortitude she orders to keep her mistress, that is, Pleasure, bravely in her mind, if any affliction befall her body which does not occasion death, in order that by remembrance of former delights she may mitigate the poignancy of present pain. Temperance she commands to take only a certain quantity even of the most favourite food, lest, through immoderate use, anything prove hurtful by disturbing the health of the body, and thus Pleasure, which the Epicureans make to consist chiefly in the health of the body, be grievously offended. Thus the virtues, with the whole dignity of their glory, will be the slaves of Pleasure, as of some imperious and disreputable woman.

There is nothing, say our philosophers, more disgraceful and monstrous than this picture, and which the eyes of good men can less endure. And they say the truth. But I do not think that the picture would be sufficiently becoming, even if it were made so that the virtues should be represented as the slaves of human glory; for, though that glory be not a luxurious woman, it is nevertheless puffed up, and has much vanity in it. "Wherefore it is unworthy of the solidity and firmness of the virtues to represent them as serving this glory, so that Prudence shall provide nothing, Justice distribute nothing, Temperance moderate nothing, except to the end that men may
be pleased and vainglory served. Xor will they be able to defend themselves from the charge of such baseness, whilst they, by way of being despisers of glory, disregard the judgment of other men, seem to themselves wise, and please themselves. For their virtue, if, indeed, it is virtue at all, is only in another way subjected to human praise; for he who seeks to please himself seeks still to please man. But he who, with true piety towards God, whom he loves, believes, and hopes in, fixes his attention more on those things in which he displeases himself, than on those things, if there are any such, which please himself, or rather, not himself, but the truth, does not attribute that by which he can now please the truth to anything but to the mercy of Him whom he has feared to displease, giving thanks for what in him is healed, and pouring out prayers for the healing of that which is yet unhealed.

21. That the Roman dominion was granted by Him from whom is all power, and by whose providence all things are ruled. *

These things being so, we do not attribute the power of giving kingdoms and empires to any save to the true God, who gives happiness in the kingdom of heaven to the pious alone, but gives kingly power on earth both to the pious and the impious, as it may please Him, whose good pleasure is always just. For though we have said something about the principles which guide His administration, in so far as it has seemed good to Him to explain it, nevertheless it is too much for us, and far surpasses our strength, to discuss the hidden things of men's hearts, and by a clear examination to determine the merits of various kingdoms. He, therefore, who is
the one true God, who never leaves the human race without just judgment and help, gave
a kingdom to the Eomans when He would, and as great as He would, as He did also to the
Assyrians, and even the Persians, by whom, as their own books testify, only two gods are
worshipped, the one good and the other evil, â€” to say nothing concerning the Hebrew
people, of whom I have already spoken as much as seemed necessary, who, as long as
they were a kingdom, worshipped none save the true God. The same, therefore, who gave
to the Persians harvests, though they did not worship the goddess Segetia, who gave the
other blessings of the earth, though they did not worship the many gods which the
Eomans supposed to preside, each one over some particular thing, or even many of them
over each several thing, â€” He, I say, gave the Persians dominion, though they
worshipped none of those gods to whom the Eomans believed themselves indebted for
the empire. And the same is true in respect of men as well as nations. He who gave power
to Marius gave it also to Caius Csesar; He who gave it to Augustus gave it also to Nero;
He also who gave it to the most benignant emperors, the Vespasians, father and son, gave
it also to the cruel Domitian; and, finally, to avoid the necessity of going over them all,
He who gave it to the Christian Constantine gave it also to the apostate Julian, whose
gifted mind was deceived by a sacrilegious and detestable curiosity, stimulated by the
love of power. And it was because he was addicted through curiosity to vain oracles, that,
confident of victory, he burned the ships which were laden with the provisions necessary
for his army, and therefore, engaging with hot zeal in rashly audacious enterprises, he
was soon slain, as the just consequence of his recklessness, and left his army
unprovisioned in an enemy’s country, and in such a predicament that it never could have
escaped, save by altering the boundaries of the Eoman empire, in violation of that omen
of the god Terminus of which I spoke in the preceding book; for the god Terminus
yielded to necessity, though he had not yielded to Jupiter. Manifestly these things are
ruled and governed by the one God according as He pleases; and if His motives are hid,
are they therefore unjust?

220 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

22. The durations and issues of war depend on the will of God.

Thus also the durations of wars are determined by Him as He may see meet, according to
His righteous will, and pleasure, and mercy, to afflict or to console the human race, so
that they are sometimes of longer, sometimes of shorter duration. The war of the Pirates
and the third Punic war were terminated with incredible celerity. Also the war of the
fugitive gladiators, though in it many Eoman generals and the consuls were defeated, and
Italy was terribly wasted and ravaged, was nevertheless ended in the third year, having
itself been, during its continuance, the end of much. The Picentes, the Marsi, and the
Peligni, not distant but Italian nations, after a long and most loyal servitude under the
Eoman yoke, attempted to raise their heads into liberty, though many nations had now
been subjected to the Roman power, and Carthage had been overthrown. In this Italian war the Eomans were very often defeated, and two consuls perished, besides other noble senators; nevertheless this calamity was not protracted over a long space of time, for the fifth year put an end to it. But the second Punic war, lasting for the space of eighteen years, and occasioning the greatest disasters and calamities to the republic, wore out and wellnigh consumed the strength of the Eomans; for in two battles about seventy thousand Eomans fell 1 The first Punic war was terminated after having been waged for three-and-twenty years. The Mithriclatic war was waged for forty years. And that no one may think that in the early and much belauded times of the Eomans they were far braver and more able to bring wars to a speedy termination, the Samnite war was protracted for nearly fifty years; and in this war the Eomans were so beaten that they were even put under the yoke. But because they did not love glory for the sake of justice, but seemed rather to have loved justice for the sake of glory, they broke the peace and the treaty which had been concluded.

These things I mention, because many, ignorant of past things, and some also dissimulating what they know, if in Christian times they see any war protracted a little longer than they expected, straightway make a fierce and insolent attack on

1 Of the Thrasymerene Lake and Cannae.
our religion, exclaiming that, but for it, the deities would have been supplicated still, according to ancient rites; and then, by that bravery of the Romans, which, with the help of Mars and Bellona, speedily brought to an end such great wars, this war also would be speedily terminated. Let them, therefore, who have read history recollect what long-continued wars, having various issues and entailing woful slaughter, were waged by the ancient Romans, in accordance with the general truth that the earth, like the tempestuous deep, is subject to agitations from tempests â€” tempests of such evils, in various degrees, â€” and let them sometimes confess what they do not like to own, and not, by madly speaking against God, destroy themselves and deceive the ignorant.

23. Concerning the war in which Radagaisus, king of the Goths, a worshipper of demons, was conquered in one day, with all his mighty forces.

Nevertheless they do not mention with thanksgiving what God has very recently, and within our own memory, wonderfully and mercifully done, but as far as in them lies they attempt, if possible, to bury it in universal oblivion. But should we be silent about these things, we should be in like manner ungrateful. When Kadagaisus, king of the Goths, having taken up his position very near to the city, with a vast and savage army, was already close upon the Romans, he was in one day so speedily and so thoroughly beaten, that, whilst not even one Roman was wounded, much less slain, far more than a hundred thousand of his army were prostrated, and he himself and his sons, having been captured, were forthwith put to death, suffering the punishment they deserved. For had so impious a man, with so great and so impious a host, entered the city, whom would he have spared? what tombs of the martyrs would he have respected? in his treatment of what person would he have manifested the fear of God? whose blood would he have refrained from shedding? whose chastity would he have wished to preserve inviolate? But how loud would they not have been in the praises of their gods! How insultingly they would have boasted, saying that Radagaisus had conquered, that he had been able to achieve such great things, because he propitiated and won over the gods by daily sacrifices, â€” a thing which the Christian religion did not allow the Romans to do! For when he was approaching to those places where he was overwhelmed at the nod of the Supreme Majesty, as his fame was everywhere increasing, it was being told us at Carthage that the pagans were believing, publishing, and boasting, that he, on account of the help and protection of the gods friendly to him, because of the sacrifices which he was said to be daily offering to them, would certainly not be conquered by those who were not performing such sacrifices to the Eoman gods, and did not even permit that they should be offered by any one. And now these wretched men do not give thanks to God for His great mercy, who, having determined to chastise
the corruption of men, which was worthy of far heavier chastisement than the corruption of the barbarians, tempered His indignation with such mildness as, in the first instance, to cause that the king of the Goths should be conquered in a wonderful manner, lest glory should accrue to demons, whom he was known to be supplicating, and thus the minds of the weak should be overthrown; and then, afterwards, to cause that, when Rome was to be taken, it should be taken by those barbarians who, contrary to any custom of all former wars, protected, through reverence for the Christian religion, those who fled for refuge to the sacred places, and who so opposed the demons themselves, and the rites of impious sacrifices, that they seemed to be carrying on a far more terrible war with them than with men. Thus did the true Lord and Governor of things both scourge the Romans mercifully, and, by the marvellous defeat of the worshippers of demons, show that those sacrifices were not necessary even for the safety of present things; so that, by those who do not obstinately hold out, but prudently consider the matter, true religion may not be deserted on account of the urgencies of the present time, but may be more clung to in most confident expectation of eternal life.

24. What teases the happiness of the Christian emperors, and how far it was true happiness.

For neither do we say that certain Christian emperors were therefore happy because they ruled a long time, or, dying a peaceful death, left their sons to succeed them in the empire,
or subdued the enemies of the republic, or were able both to guard against and to suppress the attempt of hostile citizens rising against them. These and other gifts or comforts of this sorrowful life even certain worshippers of demons have merited to receive, who do not belong to the kingdom of God to which these belong; and this is to be traced to the mercy of God, who would not have those who believe in Him desire such things as the highest good. But we say that they are happy if they rule justly; if they are not lifted up amid the praises of those who pay them sublime honours, and the obsequiousness of those who salute them with an excessive humility, but remember that they are men; if they make their power the handmaid of His majesty by using it for the greatest possible extension of His worship; if they fear, love, worship God; if more than their own they love that kingdom in which they are not afraid to have partners; if they are slow to punish, ready to pardon; if they apply that punishment as necessary to government and defence of the republic, and not in order to gratify their own enmity; if they grant pardon, not that iniquity may go unpunished, but with the hope that the transgressor may amend his ways; if they compensate with the lenity of mercy and the liberalty of benevolence for whatever severity they may be compelled to decree; if their luxury is as much restrained as it might have been unrestrained; if they prefer to govern depraved desires rather than any nation whatever; and if they do all these things, not through ardent desire of/ empty glory, but through love of eternal felicity, not neglecting to offer to the true God, who is their God, for their sins, the sacrifices of humility, contrition, and prayer. Such Christian emperors, we say, are happy in the present time by hope, and are destined to be so in the enjoyment of the reality itself, when that which we wait for shall have arrived.

25. Concerning the prosperity which God granted to the Christian emperor Constantine.

For the good God, lest men, who believe that He is to be worshipped with a view to eternal life, should think that no one could attain to all this high estate, and to this terrestrial dominion, unless he should be a worshipper of the demons, â€”

supposing that these spirits have great power with respect to such things, â€” for this reason He gave to the Emperor Constantine, who was not a worshipper of demons, but of the true God Himself, such fulness of earthly gifts as no one would even dare wish for. To him also He granted the honour of founding a city, 1 a companion to the Eoman empire, the daughter, as it were, of Borne itself, but without any temple or image of the demons. He reigned for a long period as sole emperor, and unaided held and defended the
whole Eoman world. In conducting and carrying on wars he was most victorious; in overthrowing tyrants he was most successful. He died at a great age, of sickness and old age, and left his sons to succeed him in the empire. 2 But again, lest any emperor should become a Christian in order to merit the happiness of Constantine, when every one should be a Christian for the sake of eternal life, God took away Jovian far sooner than Julian, and permitted that Gratian should be slain by the sword of a tyrant. But in his case there was far more mitigation of the calamity than in the case of the great Pompey, for he could not be avenged by Cato, whom he had left, as it were, heir to the civil war. But Gratian, though pious minds require not such consolations, was avenged by Theodosius, whom he had associated with himself in the empire, though he had a little brother of his own, being more desirous of a faithful alliance than of extensive power.

2G. On the faith and piety of Theodosius Augustus.

And on this account, Theodosius not only preserved during the lifetime of Gratian that fidelity which was due to him, but also, after his death, he, like a true Christian, took his little brother Valentinian under his protection, as joint emperor, after he had been expelled by Maximus, the murderer of his father. He guarded him with paternal affection, though he might without any difficulty have got rid of him, being entirely destitute of all resources, had he been animated with the desire of extensive empire, and not with the ambition of being a benefactor. It was therefore a far greater pleasure to him, when he had adopted the boy, and preserved to him his

1 Constantinople. 2 Constantius, Constantine, and Constans.
imperial dignity, to console him by his very humanity and kindness. Afterwards, when that success was rendering Maximus terrible, Theodosius, in the midst of his perplexing anxieties, was not drawn away to follow the suggestions of a sacrilegious and unlawful curiosity, but sent to John, whose abode was in the desert of Egypt, for he had learned that this servant of God (whose fame was spreading abroad) was endowed with the gift of prophecy, and from him he received assurance of victory. Immediately the slayer of the tyrant Maximus, with the deepest feelings of compassion and respect, restored the boy Valentinianus to his share in the empire from which he had been driven. Valentinianus being soon after slain by secret assassination, or by some other plot or accident, Theodosius, having again received a response from the prophet, and placing entire confidence in it, marched against the tyrant Eugenius, who had been unlawfully elected to succeed that emperor, and defeated his very powerful army, more by prayer than by the sword. Some soldiers who were at the battle reported to me, that all the missiles they were throwing were snatched from their hands by a vehement wind, which blew from the direction of Theodosius' army upon the enemy; nor did it only drive with greater velocity the darts which were hurled against them, but also turned back upon their own bodies the darts which they themselves were throwing. And therefore the poet Claudian, although an alien from the name of Christ, nevertheless says in his praises of him, " prince, too much beloved by God, for thee Eolus pours armed tempests from their caves; for thee the air fights, and the winds with one accord obey thy bugles." But the victor, as he had believed and predicted, overthrew the statues of Jupiter, which had been, as it were, consecrated by I know not what kind of rites against him, and set up in the Alps. And the thunderbolts of these statues, which were made of gold, he mirthfully and graciously presented to his couriers, who (as the joy of the occasion permitted) were jocularity saying that they would be most happy to be struck by such thunderbolts. The sons of his own enemies, whose fathers had been slain not so much by his orders as by the vehemence of war, having

1 Panegyr. de tertio Honorii consulatu.

226 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK V.]

fled for refuge to a church, though they were not yet Christians, he was anxious, taking advantage of the occasion, to bring over to Christianity, and treated them with Christian love. Nor did he deprive them of their property, but, besides allowing them to retain it, bestowed on them additional honours. He did not permit private animosities to affect the treatment of any man after the war. He was not like Cinna, and Marius, and Sylla, and other such men, who wished not to finish civil wars even when they were finished, but rather grieved that they had arisen at all,
than wished that when they were finished they should harm any one. Amid all these events, from the very commencement of his reign, he did not cease to help the troubled church against the impious by most just and merciful laws, which the heretical Yalens, favouring the Arians, had vehemently afflicted. Indeed, he rejoiced more to be a member of this church than he did to be a king upon the earth. The idols of the Gentiles he everywhere ordered to be overthrown, understanding well that not even terrestrial gifts are placed in the power of demons, but in that of the true God. And what could be more admirable than his religious humility, when, compelled by the urgency of certain of his intimates, he avenged the grievous crime of the Thessalonians, which at the prayer of the bishops he had promised to pardon, and, being laid hold of by the discipline of the church, did penance in such a way that the sight of his imperial loftiness prostrated made the people who were interceding for him weep more than the consciousness of offence had made them fear it when enraged? These and other similar good works, which it would be long to tell, he carried with him from this world of time, where the greatest human nobility and loftiness are but vapour. Of these works the reward is eternal happiness, of which God is the giver, though only to those who are sincerely pious. But all other blessings and privileges of this life, as the world itself, light, air, earth, water, fruits, and the soul of man himself, Ins body, senses, mind, life, He lavishes on good and bad alike. And among these blessings is also to be reckoned the possession of an empire, whose extent He regulates according to the requirements of His providential government at various times.

Whence, I see, we must now answer those who, being con-
futed and convicted by the most manifest proofs, by which it is shown that for obtaining these terrestrial things, which are all the foolish desire to have, that multitude of false gods is of no use, attempt to assert that the gods are to be worshipped with a view to the interest, not of the present life, but of that which is to come after death. For as to those who, for the sake of the friendship of this world, are willing to worship vanities, and do not grieve that they are left to their puerile understandings, I think they have been sufficiently answered in these five books; of which books, when I had published the first three, and they had begun to come into the hands of many, I heard that certain persons were preparing against them an answer of some kind or other in writing. Then it was told me that they had already written their answer, but were waiting a time when they could publish it without danger. Such persons I would advise not to desire what cannot be of any advantage to them; for it is very easy for a man to seem to himself to have answered arguments, when he has only been unwilling to be silent. For what is more loquacious than vanity? And though it be able, if it like, to shout more loudly than the truth, it is not, for all that, more powerful than the truth. But let men consider diligently all the things that we have said, and if, perchance, judging without party spirit, they shall clearly perceive that they are such things as may rather be shaken than torn up by their most impudent garrulity, and, as it were, satirical and mimic levity, let them restrain their absurdities, and let them choose rather to be corrected by the wise than to be lauded by the foolish.

For if they are waiting an opportunity, not for liberty to speak the truth, but for licence to revile, may not that befall them which Tully says concerning some one, "Oh, wretched man!

who was at liberty to sin?" 1 Wherefore, whoever he be who deems himself happy because of licence to revile, he would be far happier if that were not allowed him at all; for he might all the while, laying aside empty boast, be contradicting those to whose views he is opposed by way of free consultation with them, and be listening, as it becomes him, honourably, gravely, candidly, to all that can be adduced by those whom he consults by friendly disputation.

1 Tusc. Quaest. v. 19.

228 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.]

BOOK SIXTH.

ARGUMENT.
HITHERTO THE ARGUMENT HAS BEEN CONDUCTED AGAINST THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THE GODS ARE TO BE WORSHIPPED FOR THE SAKE OF TEMPORAL ADVANTAGES, NOW IT IS DIRECTED AGAINST THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE TO BE WORSHIPPED FOR THE SAKE OF ETERNAL LIFE. AUGUSTINE DEVOTES THE FIVE FOLLOWING BOOKS TO THE CONFUTATION OF THIS LATTER BELIEF, AND FIRST OF ALL SHOWS HOW MEAN AN OPINION OF THE GODS WAS HELD BY VARRO HIMSELF, THE MOST ESTEEMED WRITER ON HEATHEN THEOLOGY. OF THIS THEOLOGY AUGUSTINE ADOPTS VARRO'S DIVISION INTO THREE KINDS, MYTHICAL, NATURAL, AND CIVIL; AND AT ONCE DEMONSTRATES THAT NEITHER THE MYTHICAL NOR THE CIVIL CAN CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING TO THE HAPPINESS OF THE FUTURE LIFE.

I

PREFACE.

X the five former books, I think I have sufficiently disputed against those who believe that the many false gods, which the Christian truth shows to be useless images, or unclean spirits and pernicious demons, or certainly creatures, not the Creator, are to be worshipped for the advantage of this mortal life, and of terrestrial affairs, with that rite and service which the Greeks call Xarpela, and which is due to the one true God. And who does not know that, in the face of excessive stupidity and obstinacy, neither these five nor any other number of books whatsoever could be enough, when it is esteemed the glory of vanity to yield to no amount of strength on the side of truth, â€” certainly to his destruction over whom so heinous a vice tyrannizes? For, notwithstanding all the assiduity of the physician who attempts to effect a cure, the disease remains unconquered, not through any fault of his, but because of the incurableness of the sick man. But those who thoroughly weigh the things which they read, having understood and considered them, without any, or with no great and excessive degree of that obstinacy which belongs to a longcherished error, will more readily judge that, in the five books already finished, we have done more than the neces-
sity of the question demanded, than that we have given it less discussion than it required. 
And they cannot have doubted but that all the hatred which the ignorant attempt to bring 
on upon the Christian religion on account of the disasters of this life, and the destruction and 
change which befall terrestrial things, whilst the learned do not merely dissimulate, but 
en courage that hatred, contrary to their own consciences, being possessed by a mad 
impety; â€” they cannot have doubted, I say, but that this hatred is devoid of right 
reflection and reason, and full of most light temerity, and most pernicious animosity.

1. Of those who maintain that they worship the gods not for the sake of temporal, but 
eternal advantages.

Now, as, in the next place (as the promised order demands), those are to be refuted and 
taught who contend that the gods of the nations, which the Christian truth destroys, are to 
be worshipped not on account of this life, but on account of that which is to be after 
death, I shall do well to commence my disputation with the truthful oracle of the holy 
psalm, " Blessed is the man whose hope is the Lord God, and who respecteth not vanities 
and lying follies." 1 Nevertheless, in all vanities and lying follies the philosophers are to 
be listened to with far more toleration, who have repudiated those opinions and errors of 
the people; for the people set up images to the deities, and either feigned concerning 
those whom they call immortal gods many false and unworthy things, or believed them, 
already feigned, and, when believed, mixed them up with their worship and sacred rites.

With those men who, though not by free avowal of their convictions, do still testify that 
they disapprove of those things by their muttering disapprobation during disputations on 
the subject, it may not be very far amiss to discuss the following question: Whether, for 
the sake of the life which is to be after death, we ought to worship, not 
the one God, who 
made all creatures spiritual and corporeal, but those many gods who, as some of these 
philosophers hold, were made by that one God, and placed by Him in their respective 
sublime spheres, and are therefore considered more excellent and more noble than all the 
others? 2 But who will assert that it must be affirmed and

1 Ps. xl. 4. 2 pi ato> in t j ie Timceus.

230 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.]

contended that those gods, certain of whom I have mentioned in the fourth book/ to 
whom are distributed, each to each, the charges of minute things, do bestow eternal life? 
But will those most skilled and most acute men, who glory in having written for the great 
benefit of men, to teach on what account each god is to be worshipped, and what is to be 
sought from each, lest with most disgraceful absurdity, such as a mimic is wont for the 
sake of merriment to exhibit, water should be sought from Liber, wine from the Lymphs,
will those men indeed affirm to any man suppling the immortal gods, that when he shall have asked wine from the Lymphs, and they shall have answered him, " We have water, seek wine from Liber," he may rightly say, " If ye have not wine, at least give me eternal life ? " What more monstrous than this absurdity ?

Will not these Lymphs, " for they are wont to be very easily made laugh, 2 " laughing loudly (if they do not attempt to deceive like demons), answer the suppliant, " man, dost thou think that we have life (yitam) in our power, who thou hearest have not even the vine (vitem) ? " It is therefore most impudent folly to seek and hope for eternal life from such gods as are asserted so to preside over the separate minute concerns of this most sorrowful and short life, and whatever is useful for supporting and propping it, as that if anything which is under the care and power of one be sought from another, it is so incongruous and absurd that it appears very like to mimic drollery, " which, when it is done by mimics knowing what they are doing, is deservedly laughed at in the theatre, but when it is done by foolish persons, who do not know better, is more deservedly ridiculed in the world.

Wherefore, as concerns those gods " which the states have established, it has been cleverly invented and handed down to memory by learned men, what god or goddess is to be supplicated in relation to every particular thing, " what, for instance, is to be sought from Liber, what from the Lymphs, what from Vulcan, and so of all the rest, some of whom I have mentioned in the fourth book, and some I have thought right to omit. Further, if it is an error to seek wine from Ceres, bread from Liber, water from Vulcan, fire from the

1 Ch. xi. and xxi. * See Virgil, Ec. iii. 9.
LYMPHS, how much greater absurdity ought it to be thought, if supplication be made to any one of these for eternal life?

Wherefore, if, when we were inquiring what gods or goddesses are to be believed to be able to confer earthly kingdoms upon men, all things having been discussed, it was shown to be very far from the truth to think that even terrestrial kingdoms are established by any of those many false deities, is it not most insane impiety to believe that eternal life, which is, without any doubt or comparison, to be preferred to all terrestrial kingdoms, can be given to any one by any of these gods? For the reason why such gods seemed to us not to be able to give even an earthly kingdom, was not because they are very great and exalted, whilst that is something small and abject, which they, in their so great sublimity, would not condescend to care for, but because, however deservedly any one may, in consideration of human frailty, despise the falling pinnacles of an earthly kingdom, these gods have presented such an appearance as to seem most unworthy to have the granting and preserving of even those entrusted to them; and consequently, if (as we have taught in the two last books of our work, where this matter is treated of) no god out of all that crowd, either belonging to, as it were, the plebeian or to the noble gods, is fit to give mortal kingdoms to mortals, how much less is he able to make immortals of mortals?

And more than this, if, according to the opinion of those with whom we are now arguing, the gods are to be worshipped, not on account of the present life, but of that which is to be after death, then, certainly, they are not to be worshipped on account of those particular things which are distributed and portioned out (not by any law of rational truth, but by mere vain conjecture) to the power of such gods, as they believe they ought to be worshipped, who contend that their worship is necessary for all the desirable things of this mortal life, against whom I have disputed sufficiently, as far as I was able, in the five preceding books. These things being so, if the age itself of those who worshipped the goddess Juventas should be characterized by remarkable vigour, whilst her despisers should either die within the years of youth, or should, during that period, grow cold as with the torpor of old age; if bearded Fortuna should cover the cheeks of her worshippers more handsomely and more gracefully than all others, whilst we should see those by whom she was despised either altogether beardless or ill-bearded; even then we should most rightly say, that thus far these several gods had power, limited in some way by their functions, and that, consequently, neither ought eternal life to be sought from Juventas, who could not give a beard, nor ought any good thing after this life to be expected from Fortuna Barbata, who has no power even in this life to give the age itself at which the beard grows. But now, when their worship is
necessary not even on account of those very things which they think are subjected to their power, "for many worshippers of the goddess Juventas have not been at all vigorous at that age, and many who do not worship her rejoice in youthful strength; and also many suppliants of Fortuna Barbata have either not been able to attain to any beard at all, not even an ugly one, although they who adore her in order to obtain a beard are ridiculed by her bearded despisers, "is the human heart really so foolish as to believe that that worship of the gods, which it acknowledges to be vain and ridiculous with respect to those very temporal and swiftly passing gifts, over each of which one of these gods is said to preside, is fruitful in results with respect to eternal life ? And that they are able to give eternal life has not been affirmed even by those who, that they might be worshipped by the silly populace, distributed in minute division among them these temporal occupations, that none of them might sit idle; for they had supposed the existence of an exceedingly great number.

2. What we are to believe that Varro thought concerning the gods of the nations, whose various kinds and sacred rites he has shown to be such that he would have acted more reverently towards them had he been altogether silent concerning them.

Who has investigated those things more carefully than Marcus Varro ? Who has discovered them more learnedly ? Who has considered them more attentively ? Who has distinguished them more acutely ? Who has written about them more diligently and more fully ? "who, though he is less pleasing in his eloquence, is nevertheless so full of instruction and wisdom, that in all the erudition which we call
secular, but they liberal, he will teach the student of things as much as Cicero delights the student of words. And even Tully himself renders him such testimony, as to say in his Academic books that he had held that disputation which is there carried on with Marcus Varro, "a man/ he adds, "unquestionably the acutest of all men, and, without any doubt, the most learned." 1 He does not say the most eloquent or the most fluent, for in reality he was very deficient in this faculty, but he says, "of all men the most acute." And in those books, â€” that is, the Academic, â€” where he contends that all things are to be doubted, he adds of him,
"without any doubt the most learned." In truth, he was so certain concerning this thing, that he laid aside that doubt which he is wont to have recourse to in all things, as if, when about to dispute in favour of the doubt of the Academics, he had, with respect to this one thing, forgotten that he was an Academic. But in the first book, when he extols the literary works of the same Varro, he says, "Us straying and wandering in our own city like strangers, thy books, as it were, brought home, that at length we might come to know of who we were and where we were. Thou hast opened up to us the age of the country, the distribution of seasons, the laws of sacred things, and of the priests; thou hast opened up to us domestic and public discipline; thou hast pointed out to us the proper places for religious ceremonies, and hast informed us concerning sacred places. Thou hast shown us the names, kinds, offices, causes of all divine and human things." 2

This man, then, of so distinguished and excellent acquirements, and, as Terentian briefly says of him in a most elegant verse,

"Yarro, a man universally informed," 3

who read so much that we wonder when he had time to write, wrote so much that we can scarcely believe any one could have read it all, â€” this man, I say, so great in talent, so great in

1 Of the four books De Acad., dedicated to Varro, only a part of the first is extant.

2 Cicero, De Qucest. Acad. i. 3.

3 In his book De Meiris, chapter on phaloeian verses.

234 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.]

learning, had lie been an opposer and destroyer of the so-called divine things of which he wrote, and had he said that they pertained to superstition rather than to religion, might perhaps, even in that case, not have written so many things which are ridiculous, contemptible, detestable. But when he so worshipped these same gods, and so vindicated
their worship, as to say, in that same literary work of his, that he was afraid lest they should perish, not by an assault by enemies, but by the negligence of the citizens, and that from this ignominy they are being delivered by him, and are being laid up and preserved in the memory of the good by means of such books, with a zeal far more beneficial than that through which Metellus is declared to have rescued the sacred things of Vesta from the flames, and Íneas to have rescued the Penates from the burning of Troy; and when he, nevertheless, gives forth such things to be read by succeeding ages as are deservedly judged by wise and unwise to be unfit to be read, and to be most hostile to the truth of religion; what ought we to think but that a most acute and learned man, not, however, made free by the Holy Spirit, was overpowered by the custom and laws of his state, and, not being able to be silent about those things by which he was influenced, spoke of them under pretence of commending religion?

3. Varro's distribution of his book which he composed concerning the antiquities of human and divine things.

He wrote forty-one books of antiquities. These he divided into human and divine things. Twenty-five he devoted to human things, sixteen to divine things; following this plan in that division, namely, to give six books to each of the four divisions of human things. For he directs his attention to these considerations: who perform, where they perform, when they perform, what they perform. Therefore in the first six books he wrote concerning men; in the second six, concerning places; in the third six, concerning times; in the fourth and last six, concerning things. Four times six, however, make only twenty-four. But he placed at the head of them one separate work, which spoke of all these things conjointly.

In divine things, the same order he preserved throughout, as far as concerns those things which are performed to the
gods. For sacred things are performed by men in places and times. These four things I have mentioned he embraced in twelve books, allotting three to each. For he wrote the first three concerning men, the following three concerning places, the third three concerning times, and the fourth three concerning sacred rites, showing who should perform, where they should perform, when they should perform, what they should perform, with most subtle distinction. But because it was necessary to say to whom they should perform sacred rites, he wrote concerning the gods themselves the last three books; and these five times three made fifteen. But they are in all, as we have said, sixteen.

For he put also at the beginning of these one distinct book, speaking by way of introduction of all which follows; which being finished, he proceeded to subdivide the first three in that fivefold distribution which pertain to men, making the first concerning high priests, the second concerning augurs, the third concerning the fifteen men presiding over the sacred ceremonies. The second three he made concerning places, speaking in one of them concerning their chapels, in the second concerning their temples, and in the third concerning religious places. The next three which follow these, pertaining to times,—that is, to festival days,—he distributed so as to make one concerning holidays, the other concerning the circus games, and the third concerning scenic plays. Of the fourth three, pertaining to sacred things, he devoted one to consecrations, another to private, the last to public, sacred rites. In the three which remain, the gods themselves follow this pompous train, as it were, for whom all this culture has been expended. In the first book are the certain gods, in the second the uncertain, in the third, and last of all, the chief and select gods.

4. That from the disputation of Varro, it follows that the worshippers of the gods regard human things as more ancient than divine things.

In this whole series of most beautiful and most subtle dis-

1 Tarquin the Proud, having bought the books of the sibyl, appointed two men to preserve and interpret them (Dionys. Halic. Antiq. iv. 62). These were afterwards increased to ten, while the plebeians were contending for larger privileges; and subsequently five more were added.

236 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI]
not of those whom they call good demons, but, to speak more plainly, of unclean, and, without controversy, malign spirits, who with wonderful slyness and secretness suggest to the thoughts of the impious, and sometimes openly present to their understandings, noxious opinions, by which the human mind grows more and more foolish, and becomes unable to adapt itself to and abide in the immutable and eternal truth, and seek to confirm these opinions by every kind of fallacious attestation in their power. This very same Varro testifies that he wrote first concerning human things, but afterwards concerning divine things, because the states existed first, and afterward these things were instituted by them. But the true religion was not instituted by any earthly state, but plainly it established the celestial city. It, however, is inspired and taught by the true God, the giver of eternal life to His true worshippers.

The following is the reason Yarro gives when he confesses that he had written first concerning human things, and afterwards concerning divine things, because these divine things were instituted by men: "As the painter is before the painted tablet, the mason before the edifice, so states are before those things which are instituted by states." But he says that he would have written first concerning the gods, afterwards concerning men, if he had been writing concerning the whole nature of the gods, as if he were really writing concerning some portion of, and not all, the nature of the gods; or as if, indeed, some portion of, though not all, the nature of the gods ought not to be put before that of men. How, then, comes it that in those three last books, when he is diligently explaining the certain, uncertain, and select gods, he seems to pass over no portion of the nature of the gods? Why, then, does he say, "If we had been writing on the whole nature of the gods, we would first have finished the divine things before we
touched the human " For he either writes concerning the whole nature of the gods, or concerning some portion of it, or concerning no part of it at all. If concerning it all, it is certainly to be put before human things; if concerning some part of it, why should it not, from the very nature of the case, precede human things? Is not even some part of the gods to be preferred to the whole of humanity? But if it is too much to prefer a part of the divine to all human things, that part is certainly worthy to be preferred to the Romans at least. For he writes the books concerning human things, not with reference to the whole world, but only to Rome; which books he says he had properly placed, in the order of writing, before the books on divine things, like a painter before the painted tablet, or a mason before the building, most openly confessing that, as a picture or a structure, even these divine things were instituted by men. There remains only the third supposition, that he is to be understood to have written concerning no divine nature, but that he did not wish to say this openly, but left it to the intelligent to infer; for when one says " not all," usage understands that to mean " some," but it may be understood as meaning none, because that which is none is neither all nor some. In fact, as he himself says, if he had been writing concerning all the nature of the gods, its due place would have been before human things in the order of writing. But, as the truth declares, even though Varro is silent, the divine nature should have taken precedence of Roman things, though it were not all, but only some. But it is properly put after, therefore it is none. His arrangement, therefore, was due, not to a desire to give human things priority to divine things, but to his unwillingness to prefer false things to true. For in what he wrote on human things, he followed the history of affairs; but in what he wrote concerning those things which they call divine, what else did he follow but mere conjectures about vain things? This, doubtless, is what, in a subtle manner, he wished to signify; not only writing concerning divine things after the human, but even giving a reason why he did so; for if he had suppressed this, some, perchance, would have defended his doing so in one way, and some in another. But in that very reason he has rendered,

238 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.]

he has left nothing for men to conjecture at will, and has sufficiently proved that he preferred men to the institutions of men, not the nature of men to the nature of the gods. Thus he confessed that, in writing the books concerning divine things, he did not write concerning the truth which belongs to nature, but the falseness which belongs to error; which he has elsewhere expressed more openly (as I have mentioned in the fourth book 1), saying that, had he been founding a new city himself, he would have written according to the order of nature; but as he had only found an old one, he could not but follow its custom.
5. Concerning the three hinds of theology according to Varro, namely, one fabulous, the other natural, the third civil.

Now what are we to say of this proposition of his, namely, that there are three kinds of theology, that is, of the account which is given of the gods; and of these, the one is called mythical, the other physical, and the third civil? Did the Latin usage permit, we should call the kind which he has placed first in order fabular, but let us call it fabulous, for mythical is derived from the Greek fAv6o<;, a fable; but that the second should be called natural, the usage of speech now admits; the third he himself has designated in Latin, calling it civil. Then he says, "they call that kind mythical which the poets chiefly use; physical, that which the philosophers use; civil, that which the people use. As to the first I have mentioned," says he, "in it are many fictions, which are contrary to the dignity and nature of the immortals. For we find in it that one god has been born from the head, another from the thigh, another from drops of blood; also, in this we find that gods have stolen, committed adultery, served men; in a word, in this all manner of things are attributed to the gods, such as may befall, not merely any man, but even the most contemptible man." He certainly, where he could, where he dared, where he thought he could do it with impunity, has manifested, without any of the haziness of ambiguity, how great injury was done to the nature of the gods by lying fables; for he was speaking, not concerning natural theology, not concerning civil, but concerning

1 Ch. 31. 2 Fabulare. 3 Fabulosum. 4 Civile,
Let us see, now, what he says concerning the second kind.
"The second kind which I have explained," he says, "is that concerning which philosophers have left many hooks, in which they treat such questions as these: what gods there are, where they are, of what kind and character they are, since what time they have existed, or if they have existed from eternity; whether they are of fire, as Heraclitus believes; or of number, as Pythagoras; or of atoms, as Epicurus says; and other such things, which men's ears can more easily hear inside the walls of a school than outside in the Forum." He finds fault with nothing in this kind of theology which they call physical, and which belongs to philosophers, except that he has related their controversies among themselves, through which there has arisen a multitude of dissentient sects. Nevertheless he has removed this kind from the Forum, that is, from the populace, but he has shut it up in schools. But that first kind, most false and most base, he has not removed from the citizens. Oh, the religious ears of the people, and among them even those of the Romans, that are not able to bear what the philosophers dispute concerning the gods! But when the poets sing and stageplayers act such things as are derogatory to the dignity and the nature of the immortals, such as may befall not a man merely, but the most contemptible man, they not only bear, but willingly listen to. Nor is this all, but they even consider that these things please the gods, and that they are propitiated by them.

But some one may say, Let us distinguish these two kinds of theology, the mythical and the physical, "that is, the fabulous and the natural," from this civil kind about which we are now speaking. Anticipating this, he himself has distinguished them. Let us see now how he explains the civil theology itself. I see, indeed, why it should be distinguished as fabulous, even because it is false, because it is base, because it is unworthy. But to wish to distinguish the natural from the civil, what else is that but to confess that the civil itself is false? For if that be natural, what fault has it that it should be excluded? And it this which is called civil be not natural, what merit has it that it should be admitted? This, in truth, is the cause why he wrote first concerning human things, and afterwards concerning divine things; since in divine things he did not follow nature, but the institution of men. Let us look at this civil theology of his. "The third kind," says he, "is that which citizens in cities, and especially the priests, ought to know and to administer. From it is to be known what god each one may suitably worship, what sacred rites and sacrifices each one may suitably perform." Let us still attend to what follows. "The first theology," he says, "is especially adapted to the theatre, the second to the world, the third to the city." Who does not see to which he gives the palm? Certainly to the second, which he said above is that of the philosophers.
For he testifies that this pertains to the world, than which they think there is nothing better. But those two theologies, the first and the third, â€” to wit, those of the theatre and of the city, â€” has he distinguished them or united them? For although we see that the city is in the world, we do not see that it follows that any things belonging to the city pertain to the world. For it is possible that such things may be worshipped and believed in the city, according to false opinions, as have no existence either in the world or out of it. But where is the theatre but in the city? Who instituted the theatre but the state? For what purpose did it constitute it but for scenic plays? And to what class of things do scenic plays belong but to those divine things concerning which these books of Varro's are written with so much ability?

6. Concerning the mythic, that is, the fabulous, theology, and the clcil,

against Varro. â€¢

Marcus Varro! thou art the most acute, and without doubt the most learned, but still a man, not God, â€” now lifted up by the Spirit of God to see and to announce divine things, thou seest, indeed, that divine things are to be separated from human trifles and lies, but thou fearest to offend those most corrupt opinions of the populace, and their customs in public superstitions, which thou thyself, when thou considerest them on all sides, perceivest, and all your literature loudly pronounces to be abhorrent from the nature of the gods, even
of such gods as the frailty of the human mind supposes to exist in the elements of this world. What can the most excellent human talent do here? What can human learning, though manifold, avail thee in this perplexity? Thou desirest to worship the natural gods; thou art compelled to worship the civil. Thou hast found some of the gods to be fabulous, on whom thou vomitest forth very freely what thou thinkest, and, whether thou wiliest or not, thou wettest therewith even the civil gods. Thou sayest, forsooth, that the fabulous are adapted to the theatre, the natural to the world, and the civil to the city; though the world is a divine work, but cities and theatres are the works of men, and though the gods who are laughed at in the theatre are not other than those who are adored in the temples; and ye do not exhibit games in honour of other gods than those to whom ye immolate victims. How much more freely and more subtly wouldst thou have decided these hadst thou said that some gods are natural, others established by men; and concerning those who have been so established, the literature of the poets gives one account, and that of the priests another, â€“ both of which are, nevertheless, so friendly the one to the other, through fellowship in falsehood, that they are both pleasing to the demons, to whom the doctrine of the truth is hostile.

That theology, therefore, which they call natural, being put aside for a moment, as it is afterwards to be discussed, we ask if any one is really content to seek a hope for eternal life from poetical, theatrical, scenic gods? Perish the thought! The true God avert so wild and sacrilegious a madness! What, is eternal life to be asked from those gods whom these things pleased, and whom these things propitiate, in which their own crimes are represented? No one, as I think, has arrived at such a pitch of headlong and furious impiety. So then, neither by the fabulous nor by the civil theology does any one obtain eternal life. For the one sows base things concerning the gods by feigning them, the other reaps by cherishing them; the one scatters lies, the other gathers them together; the one pursues divine things with false crimes, the other incorporates among divine things the plays which are made up of these crimes; the one sounds abroad in human songs impious fictions concerning the gods, the other consecrates these for the festivities of the gods themselves; the one sings the misdeeds and crimes of the gods, the other loves them; the one gives forth or feigns, the other either attests the true or delights in the false. Both are base; both are damnable. But the one which is theatrical teaches public abomination, and that one which is of the city adorns itself with that abomination. Shall eternal life be hoped for from these, by which this short and temporal life is polluted? Does the society of wicked men pollute our life if they insinuate themselves into our affections, and win our assent? and does not the society of demons
pollute the life, who are worshipped with their own crimes? â€” if with true crimes, how wicked the demons! if with false, how wicked J:he worship!

When we say these things, it may perchance seem to some one who is very ignorant of these matters that only those things concerning the gods which are sung in the songs of the poets and acted on the stage are unworthy of the divine majesty, and ridiculous, and too detestable to be celebrated, whilst those sacred things which not stage-players but priests perform are pure and free from all unseemliness. Had this been so, never would any one have thought that these theatrical abominations should be celebrated in their honour, never would the gods themselves have ordered them to be performed to them. But men are in nowise ashamed to perform these things in the theatres, because similar things are carried on in the temples. In short, when the fore-mentioned author attempted to distinguish the civil theology from the fabulous and natural, as a sort of third and distinct kind, he wished it to be understood to be rather tempered by both than separated from either. For he says that those things which the poets write are less than the people ought to follow, whilst what the philosophers say is more than it is expedient for the people to pry into. "Which," says he, "differ in such a way, that nevertheless not a few things from both of them have been taken to the account of the civil theology; wherefore we will indicate what the civil theology has in common with that of the poet, though it ought to be more closely connected with
the theology of philosophers." Civil theology is therefore not quite disconnected from that of the poets. Nevertheless, in another place, concerning the generations of the gods, he says that the people are more inclined toward the poets than toward the physical theologians. For in this place he said what ought to be done; in that other place, what was really done. He said that the latter had written for the sake of utility, but the poets for the sake of amusement. And hence the things from the poets' writings, which the people ought not to follow, are the crimes of the gods; which, nevertheless, amuse both the people and the gods. For, for amusement's sake, he says, the poets write, and not for that of utility; nevertheless they write such things as the gods will desire, and the people perform.

7. Concerning the likeness and agreement of the fabulous and civil theologies.

That theology, therefore, which is fabulous, theatrical, scenic, and full of all baseness and unseemliness, is taken up into the civil theology; and part of that theology, which in its totality is deservedly judged to be worthy of reprobation and rejection, is pronounced worthy to be cultivated and observed; not at all an incongruous part, as I have undertaken to show, and one which, being alien to the whole body, was unsuitably attached to and suspended from it, but a part entirely congruous with, and most harmoniously fitted to the rest, as a member of the same body. For what else do those images, forms, ages, sexes, characteristics of the gods show? If the poets have Jupiter with a beard, and Mercury beardless, have not the priests the same? Is the Priapus of the priests less obscene than the Priapus of the players? Does he receive the adoration of worshippers in a different form from that in which he moves about the stage for the amusement of spectators? Is not Saturn old and Apollo young in the shrines where their images stand, as well as when represented by actors' masks? Why are Forculus, who presides over doors, and Limentinus, who presides over thresholds and lintels, male gods, and Cardea between them feminine, who presides over hinges? Are those things found in books on divine things, which grave poets have deemed unworthy of their verses? Does the Diana of the theatre carry arms, whilst the Diana of the city is simply a virgin? Is the stage Apollo a lyrist, but the Delphic Apollo ignorant of this art? But these things are decent compared with the more shameful things. What was thought of Jupiter himself by those who placed his wet nurse in the Capitol?

Did they not bear witness to Euhemerus, who, not with the garrulity of a fable-teller, but with the gravity of an historian who had diligently investigated the matter, wrote that all such gods had been men and mortals? And they who appointed the Epulones as parasites at the table of Jupiter, what else did they wish for but mimic sacred rites? For if any
mimic had said that parasites of Jupiter were made use of at his table, he would assuredly have appeared to be seeking to call forth laughter. Varro said it, “not when he was mocking, but when he was commending the gods did he say it. His books on divine, not on human, things testify that he wrote this,” not where he set forth the scenic games, but where he explained the Capitoline laws. In a word, he is conquered, and confesses that, as they made the gods with a human form, so they believed that they are delighted with human pleasures.

For also malign spirits were not so wanting to their own business as not to confirm noxious opinions in the minds of men by converting them into sport. Whence also is that story about the sacristan of Hercules, which says that, having nothing to do, he took to playing at dice as a pastime, throwing them alternately with the one hand for Hercules, with the other for himself, with this understanding, that if he should win, he should from the funds of the temple prepare himself a supper, and hire a mistress; but if Hercules should win the game, he himself should, at his own expense, provide the same for the pleasure of Hercules. Then, when he had been beaten by himself, as though by Hercules, he gave to the god Hercules the supper he owed him, and also the most noble harlot Larentina. But she, having fallen asleep in the temple, dreamed that Hercules had had intercourse with her, and had said to her that she would find her payment with the youth whom she should first meet on leaving the temple, and that she was to believe this to be paid to her by Hercules. And so the first youth that met her on going out was the wealthy
Tarutius, who kept her a long time, and when he died left her his heir. She, having obtained a most ample fortune, that she should not seem ungrateful for the divine hire, in her turn made the Eoman people her heir, which she thought to be most acceptable to the deities; and, having disappeared, the will was found. By which meritorious conduct they say that she gained divine honours.

Now had these things been feigned by the poets and acted by the mimics, they would without any doubt have been said to pertain to the fabulous theology, and would have been judged worthy to be separated from the dignity of the civil theology. But when these shameful things, not of the poets, but of the people; not of the mimics, but of the sacred things; not of the theatres, but of the temples, that is, not of the fabulous, but of the civil theology, are reported by so great an author, not in vain do the actors represent with theatrical art the baseness of the gods, which is so great; but surely in vain do the priests attempt, by rites called sacred, to represent their nobleness of character, which has no existence. There are sacred rites of Juno; and these are celebrated in her beloved island, Samos, where she was given in marriage to Jupiter. There are sacred rites of Ceres, in which Proserpine is sought for, having been carried off by Pluto. There are sacred rites of Venus, in which, her beloved Adonis being slain by a boar's tooth, the lovely youth is lamented. There are sacred rites of the mother of the gods, in which the beautiful youth Atys, loved by her, and castrated by her through a woman's jealousy, is deplored by men who have suffered the like calamity, whom they call Galli. Since, then, these things are more unseemly than all scenic abomination, why is it that they strive to separate, as it were, the fabulous fictions of the poet concerning the gods, as, forsooth, pertaining to the theatre, from the civil theology which they wish to belong to the city, as though they were separating from noble and worthy things, things unworthy and base? Wherefore there is more reason to thank the stage-actors, who have spared the eyes of men, and have not laid bare by theatrical exhibition all the things which are hid by the walls of the temples. What good is to be thought of their sacred rites which are concealed in darkness, when those which are brought forth into the light are so detestable?

And certainly they themselves have seen what they transact in secret through the agency of mutilated and effeminate men. Yet they have not been able to conceal those same men miserably and vilely enervated and corrupted. Let them persuade whom they can that they transact anything holy through such men, who, they cannot deny, are numbered, and live among their sacred things. We know not what they transact, but we know through whom they transact; for we know what things are transacted on the stage, where never, even in a chorus of harlots, hath one who is mutilated or an effeminate appeared. And, nevertheless, even these things are
acted by vile and infamous characters; for, indeed, they ought not to be acted by men of good character. "What, then, are those sacred rites, for the performance of which holiness has chosen such men as not even the obscenity of the stage has admitted?

8. Concerning the interpretations, consisting of natural explanations, which the pagan teachers attempt to show for their gods.

But all these things, they say, have certain physical, that is, natural interpretations, showing their natural meaning; as though in this disputation we were seeking physics and not theology, which is the account, not of nature, but of God. For although He who is the true God is God, not by opinion, but by nature, nevertheless all nature is not God; for there is certainly a nature of man, of a beast, of a tree, of a stone, none of which is God. For if, when the question is concerning the mother of the gods, that from which the whole system of interpretation starts certainly is, that the mother of the gods is the earth, why do we make further inquiry? why do we carry our investigation through all the rest of it? What can more manifestly favour them who say that all those gods were men? For they are earth-born in the sense that the earth is their mother. But in the true theology the earth is the work, not the mother, of God. But in whatever way their sacred rites may be interpreted, and, whatever reference they may have to the nature of things, it is not according to nature, but contrary to nature, that men should be effeminate. This disease, this crime, this abomination, has a recognised place among those sacred things, though even depraved men
will scarcely be compelled by torments to confess they are guilty of it. Again, if these sacred rites, which are proved to be fouler than scenic abominations, are excused and justified on the ground that they have their own interpretations, by which they are shown to symbolize the nature of things, why are not the poetical things in like manner excused and justified?

For many have interpreted even these in like fashion, to such a degree that even that which they say is the most monstrous and most horrible, â€” namely, that Saturn devoured his own children, â€” has been interpreted by some of them to mean that length of time, which is signified by the name of Saturn, consumes whatever it begets; or that, as the same Varro thinks, Saturn belongs to seeds which fall back again into the earth from whence they spring. And so one interprets it in one way, and one in another. And the same is to be said of all the rest of this theology.

And, nevertheless, it is called the fabulous theology, and is censured, cast off, rejected, together with all such interpretations belonging to it. And not only by the natural theology, which is that of the philosophers, but also by this civil theology, concerning which we are speaking, which is asserted to pertain to cities and peoples, it is judged worthy of repudiation, because it has invented unworthy things concerning the gods. Of which, I wot, this is the secret: that those most acute and learned men, by whom those things were written, understood that both theologies ought to be rejected, â€” to wit, both that fabulous and this civil one, â€” but the former they dared to reject, the latter they dared not; the former they set forth to be censured, the latter they showed to be very like it; not that it might be chosen to be held in preference to the other, but that it might be understood to be worthy of being rejected together with it. And thus, without danger to those who feared to censure the civil theology, both of them being brought into contempt, that theology which they call natural might find a place in better disposed minds; for the civil and the fabulous are both fabulous and both civil. He who shall wisely inspect the vanities and obscenities of both will find that they are both fabulous; and he who shall direct his attention to the scenic plays pertaining to the fabulous theo-

248 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.]

...logy in the festivals of the civil gods, and in the divine rites of the cities, will find they are both civil. How, then, can the power of giving eternal life be attributed to any of those gods whose own images and sacred rites convict them of being most like to the fabulous gods, which are most openly reprobated, in forms, ages, sex, characteristics, marriages, generations, rites; in all which things they are understood either to have been men, and to have had their sacred rites and solemnities instituted in their honour according to the life or death of each of them, the demons su^o-estin^ and confirming: this error, or certainly most foul spirits, who, taking advantage of some occasion or other, have stolen into the minds of men to deceive them?
9. Concerning the special offices of the gods.

And as to those very offices of the gods, so meanly and so minutely portioned out, so that they say that they ought to be supplicated, each one according to his special function, â€“ about which we have spoken much already, though not all that is to be said concerning it, â€“ are they not more consistent with mimic buffoonery than divine majesty? If any one should use two nurses for his infant, one of whom should give nothing but food, the other nothing but drink, as these make use of two goddesses for this purpose, Educa and Potina, he should certainly seem to be foolish, and to do in his house a thing worthy of a mimic. They would have Liber to have been named from "liberation," because through him males at the time of copulation are liberated by the emission of the seed. They also say that Libera (the same in their opinion as Venus) exercises the same function in the case of women, because they say that they also emit seed; and they also say that on this account the same part of the male and of the female is placed in the temple, that of the male to Liber, and that of the female to Libera. To these things they add the women assigned to Liber, and the wine for exciting lust. Thus the Bacchanalia are celebrated with the utmost insanity, with respect to which Varro himself confesses that such things would not be done by the Bacchanals except their minds were highly excited. These things, however, afterwards displeased a saner senate, and it ordered them to be discontinued. Here, at length, they
perhaps perceived how much power -unclean spirits, when held to be gods, exercise over
the minds of men. These things, certainly, were not to be done in the theatres; for there
they play, not rave, although to have gods who are delighted with such plays is very like
raving.

But what kind of distinction is this which he makes between the religious and the
superstitious man, saying that the gods are feared 1 by the superstitious man, but are
reverenced 2 as parents by the religious man, not feared as enemies; and that they are all
so good that they will more readily spare those who are impious than hurt one who is
innocent ? And yet he tells us that three gods are assigned as guardians to a woman after
she has been delivered, lest the god Silvanus come in and molest her; and that in order to
signify the presence of these protectors, three men go round the house during the night,
and first strike the threshold with a hatchet, next with a pestle, and the third time sweep it
with a brush, in order that these symbols of agriculture having been exhibited, the god
Silvanus might be hindered from entering, because neither are trees cut down or pruned
without a hatchet, neither is grain ground without a pestle, nor corn heaped up without a
besom. Now from these three things three gods have been named: Intercidona, from the
cut 3 made by the hatchet; Pilumnus, from the pestle; Diverra, from the besom; â€” by
which guardian gods the woman who has been delivered is preserved against the power
of the god Silvanus. Thus the guardianship of kindly-disposed gods would not avail
against the malice of a mischievous god, unless they were three to one, and fought
against him, as it were, with the opposing emblems of cultivation, who, being an
inhabitant of the woods, is rough, horrible, and uncultivated.

Is this the innocence of the gods ? Is this their concord ?
Are these the health-giving deities of the cities, more ridiculous than the things which are
laughed at in the theatres ?

When a male and a female are united, the god Jugatinus presides. Well, let this be borne
with. But the married woman must be brought home: the god Domiducus also is invoked.
That she may be in the house, the god Domittius is introduced.
That she may remain with her husband, the goddess Man-
1 Timeri. a Vereri. 3 Intercido, I cut or cleave.

250 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.]

turnae is used. What more is required ? Let human modesty be spared. Let the lust of
flesh and blood go on with the rest, the secret of shame being respected. Why is the
bedchamber filled with a crowd of deites, when even the groomsmin 1 have departed ?
And, moreover, it is so filled, not that in consideration of their presence more regard may
be paid to chastity, but that by their help the woman, naturally of the weaker sex, and
trembling with the novelty of her situation, may the more readily yield her virginity. For
there are the goddess Virginiensis, and the god-father Subigus, and the goddess-mother Prema, and the goddess Pertunda, and Venus, and Priapus. 2 What is this? If it was absolutely necessary that a man, labouring at this work, should be helped by the gods, might not some one god or goddess have been sufficient? Was Venus not sufficient alone, who is even said to be named from this, that without her power a woman does not cease to be a virgin? If there is any shame in men, which is not in the deities, is it not the case that, when the married couple believe that so many gods of either sex are present, and busy at this work, they are so much affected with shame, that the man is less moved, and the woman more reluctant? And certainly, if the goddess Virginiensis is present to loose the virgin's zone, if the god Subigus is present that the virgin may be got under the man, if the goddess Prema is present that, having been got under him, she may be kept down, and may not move herself, what has the goddess Pertunda to do there? Let her blush; let her go forth. Let the husband himself do something. It is disgraceful that any one but himself should do that from which she gets her name. But perhaps she is tolerated because she is said to be a goddess, and not a god. For if she were believed to be a male, and were called Pertundus, the husband would demand more help against him for the chastity of his wife than the newly-delivered woman against Silvanus. But why am I saying this, when Priapus, too, is there, a male to excess, upon whose immense and most unsightly member the newly-married bride is coin-

1 Paranymplii.

2 Comp. Tertullian, Adv. Xat. ii. 11; Amobius, Contra Gent. iv.; Lactantius, Inst. i. 20.
manded to sit, according to the most honourable and most V religious custom of matrons?

Let them go on, and let them attempt with all the subtlety they can to distinguish the civil theology from the fabulous, the cities from the theatres, the temples from the stages, the sacred things of the priests from the songs of the poets, as honourable things from base things, truthful things from fallacious, grave from light, serious from ludicrous, desirable things from things to be rejected, we understand what they do. They are aware that that theatrical and fabulous theology hangs by the civil, and is reflected back upon it from the songs of the poets as from a mirror; and thus, that theology having been exposed to view which they do not dare to condemn, they more freely assail and censure that picture of it, in order that those who perceive what they mean may detest this very face itself of which that is the picture, â€” which, however, the gods themselves, as though seeing themselves in the same mirror, love so much, that it is better seen in both of them who and what they are. Whence, also, they have compelled their worshippers, with terrible commands, to dedicate to them the uncleanness of the fabulous theology, to put them among their solemnities, and reckon them among divine things; and thus they have both shown themselves more manifestly to be most impure spirits, and have made that rejected and reprobated theatrical theology a member and a part of this, as it were, chosen and approved theology of the city, so that, though the whole is disgraceful and false, and contains in it fictitious gods, one part of it is in the literature of the priests, the other in the songs of the poets. Whether it may have other parts is another question. At present, I think, I have sufficiently shown, on account of the division of Yarro, that the theology of the city and that of the theatre belong to one civil theology. Wherefore, because they are both equally disgraceful, absurd, shameful, false, far be it from religious men to hope for eternal life from either the one or the other.

In fine, even Varro himself, in his account and enumeration of the gods, starts from the moment of a man's conception. He commences the series of those gods who take charge of man with Janus, carries it on to the death of the man de-
Christians. "Who, then, is so stupid as not to perceive that this man, by setting forth and opening up so diligently the civil theology, and by exhibiting its likeness to that fabulous, shameful, and disgraceful theology, and also by teaching that that fabulous sort is also a part of this other, was labouring to obtain a place in the minds of men for none but that natural theology which he says pertains to philosophers, with such subtlety that he censures the fabulous, and, not daring openly to censure the civil, shows its censurable character by simply exhibiting it; and thus, both being reprobated by the judgment of men of right understanding, the natural alone remains to be chosen? But concerning this in its own place, by the help of the true God, we have to discuss more diligently.

10. Concerning the liberty of Seneca, who more vehemently censured the civil theology than Varro did the fabulous.

That liberty, in truth, which this man wanted, so that he did not dare to censure that theology of the city, which is very similar to the theatrical, so openly as he did the* theatrical itself, was, though not fully, yet in part possessed by AnnsEus Seneca, whom we have some evidence to show to have flourished in the times of our apostles. It was in part possessed by him, I say, for he possessed it in writing, but not in living. For in that book which he wrote against superstition, 1 he more copiously and vehemently censured that civil and urban theology than Varro the theatrical and fabulous. For, when speaking concerning images, he says, "They dedicate images of the sacred and inviolable immortals in most worthless and motionless matter. They give them

1 Mentioned also by Tertullian, Apol. 12, but not extant.
the appearance of man, beasts, and fishes, and some make them of mixed sex, and heterogeneous bodies. They call them deities, when they are such that if they should get breath and should suddenly meet them, they would be held to be monsters." Then, a while afterwards, when extolling the natural theology, he had expounded the sentiments of certain philosophers, he opposes to himself a question, and says, " Here some one says, Shall I believe that the heavens and the earth are gods, and that some are above the moon and some below it? Shall I bring forward either Plato or the peripatetic Strato, one of whom made God to be without a body, the other without a mind?" In answer to which he says, "And, really, what truer do the dreams of Titus Tatius, or Romulus, or Tullus Hostilius appear to thee? Tatius declared the divinity of the goddess Cloacina; Romulus that of Picus and Tiberinus; Tullus Hostilius that of Pavor and Pallor, the most disagreeable affections of men, the one of which is the agitation of the mind under fright, the other that of the body, not a disease, indeed, but a change of colour." Wilt thou rather believe that these are deities, and receive them into heaven? But with what freedom he has written concerning the rites themselves, cruel and shameful! " One," he says, "castrates himself, another cuts his arms. Where will they find room for the fear of these gods when angry, who use such means of gaining their favour when propitious? But gods who wish to be worshipped in this fashion should be worshipped in none. So great is the frenzy of the mind when perturbed and driven from its seat, that the gods are propitiated by men in a manner in which not even men of the greatest ferocity and fable-renowned cruelty vent their rage. Tyrants have lacerated the limbs of some; they never ordered any one to lacerate his own. For the gratification of royal lust, some have been castrated; but no one ever, by the command of his lord, laid violent hands on himself to emasculate himself. They kill themselves in the temples. They supplicate with their wounds and with their blood. If any one has time to see the things they do and the things they suffer, he will find so many things unseemly for men of respectability, so unworthy of freemen, so unlike the doings

254 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VI.] of sane men, that no one would doubt that they are mad, had they been mad with the minority; but now the multitude of the insane is the defence of their sanity."

He next relates those things which are wont to be done in the Capitol, and with the utmost intrepidity insists that they are such things as one could only believe to be done by men making sport, or by madmen. For, having spoken with derision of this, that in the Egyptian sacred rites Osiris, being lost, is lamented for, but straightway, when found, is the occasion of great joy by his reappearance, because both the losing and the finding of him are feigned; and yet that grief and that joy which are elicited thereby from those who have lost nothing and found nothing are real; â€” having, I say, so spoken of this, he says, " Still there is a fixed time for this frenzy. It is tolerable to go mad once in the year. Go
into the Capitol. One is suggesting divine commands 1 to a god; another is telling the hours to Jupiter; one is a lictor; another is an anointer, who with the mere movement of his arms imitates one anointing. There are women who arrange the hair of Juno and Minerva, standing far away not only from her image, but even from her temple. These move their fingers in the manner of hair-dressers. There are some women who hold a mirror. There are some who are calling the gods to assist them in court. There are some who are holding up documents to them, and are explaining to them their cases. A learned and distinguished comedian, now old and decrepit, was daily playing the mimic in the Capitol, as though the gods would gladly be spectators of that which men had ceased to care about. Every kind of artificers working for the immortal gods is dwelling there in idleness." And a little after he says, "Nevertheless these, though they give themselves up to the gods for purposes superfluous enough, do not do so for any abominable or infamous purpose. There sit certain women in the Capitol who think they are beloved by Jupiter; nor are they frightened even by the look of the, if you will believe the poets, most wrathful Juno."

1 Numina. Another reading is nomina; and with either reading another translation is admissible: 'One is announcing to a god the names (or gods) who salute him."
This liberty Varro did not enjoy. It was only the poetical theology he seemed to censure. The civil, which this man cuts to pieces, he was not bold enough to impugn. But if we attend to the truth, the temples where these things are performed are far worse than the theatres where they are represented. Whence, with respect to these sacred rites of the civil theology, Seneca preferred, as the best course to be followed by a wise man, to feign respect for them in act, but to have no real regard for them at heart. u All which things," he says, "a wise man will observe as being commanded by the laws, but not as being pleasing to the gods." And a little after he says, "And what of this, that we unite the gods in marriage, and that not even naturally, for we join brothers and sisters? We marry Bellona to Mars, Venus to Vulcan, Salacia to Neptune. Some of them we leave unmarried, as though there were no match for them, which is surely needless, especially when there are certain unmarried goddesses, as Populonia, or Fulgora, or the goddess Rumina, for whom I am not astonished that suitors have been wanting. All this ignoble crowd of gods, which the superstition of ages has amassed, we ought," he says, "to adore in such a way as to remember all the while that its worship belongs rather to custom than to reality." Wherefore, neither those laws nor customs instituted in the civil theology that which was pleasing to the gods, or which pertained to reality. But this man, whom philosophy had made, as it were, free, nevertheless, because he was an illustrious senator of the Eoman people, worshipped what he censured, did what he condemned, adored what he reproached, because, forsooth, philosophy had taught him something great, â€” namely, not to be superstitious in the world, but, on account of the laws of cities and the customs of men, to be an actor, not on the stage, but in the temples, â€” conduct the more to be condemned, that those things which he was deceitfully acting he so acted that the people thought he was acting sincerely. But a stage-actor would rather delight people by acting plays than take them in by false pretences.


Seneca, among the other superstitions of civil theology,

also found fault with the sacred things of the Jews, and especially the sabbaths, affirming that they act uselessly in keeping those seventh days, whereby they lose through idleness about the seventh part of their life, and also many things which demand immediate attention are damaged. The Christians, however, who were already most hostile to the Jews, he did not dare to mention, either for praise or blame, lest, if he praised them, he should do so against the ancient custom of his country, or, perhaps, if he should blame them, he should do so against his own will.

"When he was speaking concerning those Jews, he said,
"When, meanwhile, the customs of that most accursed nation have gained such strength that they have been now received in all lands, the conquered have given laws to the conquerors."

By these words he expresses his astonishment; and, not knowing what the providence of God was leading him to say, subjoins in plain words an opinion by which he showed what he thought about the meaning of those sacred institutions:

"For," he says, "those, however, know the cause of their rites, whilst the greater part of the people know not why they perform theirs." But concerning the solemnities of the Jews, either why or how far they were instituted by divine authority, and afterwards, in due time, by the same authority taken away from the people of God, to whom the mystery of eternal life was revealed, we have both spoken elsewhere, especially when we were treating against the Manichseans, and also intend to speak in this work in a more suitable place.

12. That when once the vanity of the gods of the nations has been exposed, it cannot be doubted that they are unable to bestow eternal life on any one, when they cannot afford help even with respect to the things of this temporal life.

Now, since there are three theologies, which the Greeks call respectively mythical, physical, and political, and which may be called in Latin fabulous, natural, and civil; and since neither from the fabulous, which even the worshippers of many and false gods have themselves most freely censured, nor from the civil, of which that is convicted of being a part, or even worse than it, can eternal life be hoped for from any of these theologies, if any one thinks that what has been
said in this book is not enough for him, let him also add to it the many and various dissertations concerning God as the giver of felicity, contained in the former books, especially the fourth one.

For to what but to felicity should men consecrate themselves, were felicity a goddess? However, as it is not a goddess, but a gift of God, to what God but the giver of happiness ought we to consecrate ourselves, who piously love eternal life, in which there is true and full felicity? But I think, from what has been said, no one ought to doubt that none of those gods is the giver of happiness, who are worshipped with such shame, and who, if they are not so worshipped, are more shamefully enraged, and thus confess that they are most foul spirits. Moreover, how can he give eternal life who cannot give happiness? For we mean by eternal life that life where there is endless happiness. For if the soul live in eternal punishments, by which also those unclean spirits shall be tormented, that is rather eternal death than eternal life. For there is no greater or worse death than when death never dies. But because the soul from its very nature, being created immortal, cannot be without some kind of life, its utmost death is alienation from the life of God in an eternity of punishment. So, then, He only who gives true happiness gives eternal life, that is, an endlessly happy life.

And since those gods whom this civil theology worships have been proved to be unable to give this happiness, they ought not to be worshipped on account of those temporal and terrestrial things, as we showed in the five former books, much less on account of eternal life, which is to be after death, as we have sought to show in this one book especially, whilst the other books also lend it their co-operation. But since the strength of inveterate habit has its roots very deep, if any one thinks that I have not disputed sufficiently to show that this civil theology ought to be rejected and shunned, let him attend to another book which, with God's help, is to be joined to this one.
WORSHIP OF JANUS, JUPITER, SATURN, AND THE OTHER "SELECT GODS " OF THE CIVIL THEOLOGY.

PREFACE.

IT will be the duty of those who are endowed with quicker and better understandings, in whose case the former books are sufficient, and more than sufficient, to effect their intended object, to bear with me with patience and equanimity whilst I attempt with more than ordinary diligence to tear up and eradicate depraved and ancient opinions hostile to the truth of piety, which the long-continued error of the human race has fixed very deeply in unenlightened minds; co-operating also in this, according to my little measure, with the grace of Him who, being the true God, is able to accomplish it, and on whose help I depend in my work; and, for the sake of others, such should not deem superfluous what they feel to be no longer necessary for themselves. A very great matter is at stake when the true and truly holy divinity is commended to men as that which they ought to seek after and to worship; not, however, on account of the transitory vapour of mortal life, but on account of life eternal, which alone is blessed, although the help necessary for this frail life we are now living is also afforded us by it,

1. Whether, since it is evident that Deity is not to be found in the civil theology, we are to believe that it is to be found in the select gods.

If there is any one whom the sixth book, which I have last finished, has not persuaded that this divinity, or, so to speak, deity ì for this word also our authors do not hesitate to use, in order to translate more accurately that which the Greeks call OeøTTjs; ì it there is any one, I say, whom the sixth book has not persuaded that this divinity or deity is not to be
found in that theology which they call civil, and which Marcus Varro has explained in
sixteen books, "that is, that the happiness of eternal life is not attainable through the
worship of gods such as states have established to be worshipped, and that in such a form,
perhaps, when he has read this book, he will not have anything further to desire in
order to the clearing up of this question. For it is possible that some one may think that at
least the select and chief gods, whom Varro comprised in his last book, and of whom we
have not spoken sufficiently, are to be worshipped on account of the blessed life, which is
none other than eternal. In respect to which matter I do not say what Tertullian said,
perhaps more wittily than truly. "If gods are selected like onions, certainly the rest are
rejected as bad." 1 I do not say this, for I see that even from among the select, some are
selected for some greater and more excellent office: as in warfare, when recruits have
been elected, there are some again elected from among those for the performance of some
greater military service; and in the church, when persons are elected to be overseers,
certainly the rest are not rejected, since all good Christians are deservedly called elect;
in the erection of a building corner stones are elected, though the other stones, which are
destined for other parts of the structure, are not rejected; grapes are elected for eating,
whilst the others, which we leave for drinking, are not rejected. There is no need of
adding many illustrations, since the thing is evident. Wherefore the selection of certain
gods from among many affords no proper reason why either he who wrote on this
subject, or the worshippers of the gods, or the gods themselves, should be spurned.
"We ought rather to seek to know what gods these are, and for what purpose they may
appear to have been selected.

2. Who are the select gods, and whether they are held to be exempt from the offices of the
commoner gods.

The following gods, certainly, Varro signalizes as select, devoting one book to this
subject: Janus, Jupiter, Saturn, Genius, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, Sol,
Orcus, father Liber, Tellus, Ceres, Juno, Luna, Diana, Minerva, Venus,

1 Tert. Apol. 13, "Nee electio sine reprobatione; " and Ad Nationes, ii. 9,
" Si dei ut bulbi seliguntur, qui non seliguntur, reprobi pronuntiantur. "

260 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

Vesta; of which twenty gods, twelve are males, and eight females. Whether are these
deities called select, because of their higher spheres of administration in the world, or
because they have become better known to the people, and more worship has been
expended on them? If it be on account of the greater works which are performed by them
in the world, we ought not to have found them among that, as it were, plebeian crowd of
deities, which has assigned to it the charge of minute and trifling things. For, first of all,
at the conception of a foetus, from which point all the works commence which have been
distributed in minute detail to many deities, Janus himself opens the way for the reception
of the seed; there also is Saturn, on account of the seed itself; there is Liber, 1 who
liberates the male by the effusion of the seed; there is 'Libera, whom they also would
have to be Venus, who confers this same benefit on the woman, namely, that she also be
liberated by the emission of the seed; â€” all these are of the number of those who are
called select. But there is also the goddess Mena, who presides over the menses; though
the daughter of Jupiter, ignoble nevertheless. And this province of the menses the same
author, in his book on the select gods, assigns to Juno herself, who is even queen among
the select gods; and here, as Juno Lucina, along with the same Mena, her stepdaughter,
she presides over the same blood. There also are two gods, exceedingly obscure,
Vitumnus and Sentinus â€” the one of whom imparts life to the foetus, and the other
sensation; and, of a truth, they bestow, most ignoble though they be, far more than all
those noble and select gods bestow. For, surely, without life and sensation, what is the
whole foetus which a woman carries in her womb, but a most vile and worthless thing, no
better than slime and dust?

3. How there is no reason which can be shown for the selection of certain god<, when the
administration of more exalted offices is assigned to many inferior gods.

What is the cause, therefore, which Jias driven so many select gods to these very small
works, in which they are excelled by Vitumnus and Sentinus, though little known and

1 Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii., distinguishes this Liber from Liber Bacchus, son of Jupiter
and Semele.
sunk in obscurity, inasmuch as they confer the munificent gifts of life and sensation? For
the select Janus bestows an entrance, and, as it were, a door 1 for the seed; the select
Saturn bestows the seed itself; the select Liber bestows on men the emission of the same
seed j Libera, who is Ceres or Venus, confers the same on women; the select Juno confers
(not alone, but together with Mena, the daughter of Jupiter)
the menses, for the growth of that which has been conceived; and the obscure and ignoble
Vitumnus confers life, whilst the obscure and ignoble Sentinus confers sensation; â€”
which two last things are as much more excellent than the others, as they themselves are
excelled by reason and intellect. For as those things which reason and understand are
preferable to those which, without intellect and reason, as in the case of cattle, live and
feel; so also those things which have been endowed with life and sensation are deservedly
preferred to those things which neither live nor feel. Therefore Vitumnus the life-giver, 2
and Sentinus the sense-giver, 3 ought to have been reckoned among the select gods,
rather than Janus the admitter of seed, and Saturn the giver or sower of seed, and Liber
and Libera the movers and liberators of seed; which seed is not worth a thought, unless it
attain to life and sensation. Yet these select gifts are not given by select gods, but by
certain unknown, and, considering their dignity, neglected gods. But if it be replied that
Janus has dominion over all beginnings, and therefore the opening of the way for
conception is not without reason assigned to him; and that Saturn has dominion over all
seeds, and therefore the sowing of the seed whereby a human being is generated cannot
be excluded from his operation; that Liber and Libera have power over the emission of all
seeds, and therefore preside over those seeds which pertain to the procreation of men;
that Juno presides over all purgations and births, and therefore she has also charge of the
purgations of women and the births of human beings; â€” if they give this reply, let them
find an answer to the question concerning Vitumnus and Sentinus, whether they are
willing that these likewise should have dominion over all things which live and feel. If
they grant this, let them
1 Januam. 2 Vivificator. 3 Sensijicator.

observe in how sublime a position they are about to place them. For to spring from seeds
is in the earth and of the earth, but to live and feel are supposed to be properties even of
the sidereal gods. But if they say that only such things as come to life in flesh, and are
supported by senses, are assigned to Sentinus, why does not that God who made all
things live and feel, bestow on flesh also life and sensation, in the universality of His
operation conferring also on foetuses this gift? And what, then, is the use of Vitumnus
and Sentinus? But if these, as it were, extreme and lowest things have been committed
by Him who presides universally over life and sense to these gods as to servants, are
these select gods then so destitute of servants, that they could not find any to whom even
they might commit those things, but with all their dignity, for which they are, it seems,
deemed worthy to be selected, were compelled to perform their work along with ignoble ones? Juno is select queen of the gods, and the sister and wife of Jupiter; nevertheless she is Iterduca, the conductor, to boys, and performs this work along with a most ignoble pair â€” the goddesses Abeona and Adeona. There they have also placed the goddess Mena, who gives to boys a good mind, and she is not placed among the select gods; as if anything greater could be bestowed on a man than a good mind.

But Juno is placed among the select because she is Iterduca and Domiduca (she who conducts one on a journey, and who conducts him home again); as if it is of any advantage for one to make a journey, and to be conducted home again, if his mind is not good. And yet the goddess who bestows that gift has not been placed by the selectors among the select gods, though she ought indeed to have been preferred even to Minerva, to whom, in this minute distribution of work, they have allotted the memory of boys. For who will doubt that it is a far better thing to have a good mind, than ever so great a memory? For no one is bad who has a good mind but some who are very bad are possessed of an admirable memory, and are so much the worse, the less they are able to forget the bad things which they think. And yet Minerva is among the select gods, whilst the goddess Mena is hidden by a worth-

1 As we say, "right-minded."
less crowd. What shall I say concerning Virtus? What concerning Felicitas? â€”
concerning whom I have already spoken much in the fourth book; x to whom, though
they held them to be goddesses, they have not thought fit to assign a place among the
select gods, among whom they have given a place to Mars and Orcus, the one the causer
of death, the other the receiver of the dead.

Since, therefore, we see that even the select gods themselves w T ork together with the
others, like a senate with the people, in all those minute works which have been minutely
portioned out among many gods; and since we find that far greater and better things are
administered by certain gods who have not been reckoned worthy to be selected than by
those who are called select, it remains that we suppose that they were called select and
chief, not on account of their holding more exalted offices in the world, but because it
happened to them to become better known to the people. And even Varro himself says,
that in that way obscurity had fallen to the lot of some father gods and mother goddesses,
2 as it falls to the lot of men. If, tlftherefore, Felicity ought not perhaps to have been put
among the select gods, because they did not attain to that noble position by merit, but by
chance, Fortune at least should have been placed among them, or rather before them; for
they say that that goddess distributes to every one the gifts she receives, not according to
any rational arrangement, but according as chance may determine. She ought to have held
the uppermost place among the select gods, for among them chiefly it is that she shows
what power she has. For we see that they have been selected not on account of some
eminent virtue or rational happiness, but by that random power of Fortune which the
worshippers of these gods think that she exerts. For that most eloquent man Sallust also
may perhaps have the gods themselves in view when he says: "But, in truth, fortune rules
in everything; it renders all things famous or obscure, according to caprice rather than
according to truth." 3 For they cannot

1 Ch. 21, 23.

2 The father Saturn, and the mother Ops, e.g., being more obscure than their son Jupiter
and daughter Juno.

3 Sallust, Cat. Conj. ch. 8.

264 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

discover a reason why Venus should have been made famous, whilst Virtus has been
made obscure, when the divinity of both of them has been solemnly recognised by them,
and their merits are not to be compared. Again, if she has deserved a noble position on
account of the fact that she is much sought after â€”
for there are more who seek after Venus than after Virtus â€”
why has Minerva been celebrated whilst Pecunia has been left in obscurity, although throughout the whole human race avarice allures a far greater number than skill? And even among those who are skilled in the arts, you will rarely find a man who does not practise his own art for the purpose of pecuniary gain; and that for the sake of which anything is made, is always valued more than that which is made for the sake of something else. If, then, this selection of gods has been made by the judgment of the foolish multitude, why has not the goddess Pecunia been preferred to Minerva, since there are many artificers for the sake of money? But if this distinction has been made by the few wise, why has Virtus been preferred to Venus, when reason by far prefers the former?

At all events, as I have already said, Fortune herself, who, according to those who attribute most influence to her, renders all things famous or obscure according to caprice rather than according to the truth, since she has been able to exercise so much power even over the gods, as, according to her capricious judgment, to render those of them famous whom she would, and those obscure whom she would; Fortune herself ought to occupy the place of pre-eminence among the select gods, since over them also she has such pre-eminent power. Or must we suppose that the reason why she is not among the select is simply this, that even Fortune herself has had an adverse fortune? She was adverse, then, to herself, since, whilst ennobling others, she herself has remained obscure.

4. The inferior gods, whose names are not associated with infamy, have been better dealt with than the select gods, whose infamies are celebrated.

However, any one who eagerly seeks for, celebrity and renown, might congratulate those select gods, and call them fortunate, were it not that he saw that they have been selected more to their injury than to their honour. For that low crowd of gods have been protected by their very meanness.
and obscurity from being overwhelmed with infamy. We laugh, indeed, when we see them distributed by the mere fiction of human opinions, according to the special works assigned to them, like those who farm small portions of the public revenue, or like workmen in the street of the silversmiths, 1 where one vessel, in order that it may go out perfect, passes through the hands of many, when it might have been finished by one perfect workman. But the only reason why the combined skill of many workmen was thought necessary, was, that it is better that each part of an art should be learned by a special workman, which can be done speedily and easily, than that they should all be compelled to be perfect in one art throughout all its parts, which they could only attain slowly and with difficulty. Nevertheless there is scarcely to be found one of the non-select gods who has brought infamy on himself by any crime, whilst there is scarce any one of the select gods who has not received upon himself the brand of notable infamy. These latter have descended to the humble works of the others, whilst the others have not come up to their sublime crimes. Concerning Janus, there does not readily occur to my recollection anything infamous; and perhaps he was such an one as lived more innocently than the rest, and further removed from misdeeds and crimes. He kindly received and entertained Saturn when he was fleeing; he divided his kingdom with his guest, so that each of them had a city for himself, 2 â€™ the one Janiculum, and the other Saturnia. But those seekers after every kind of unseemliness in the worship of the gods have disgraced him, whose life they found to be less disgraceful than that of the other gods, with an image of monstrous deformity, making it sometimes with two faces, and sometimes, as it were, double, with four faces. 3 Did they wish that, as the most of the select gods had lost shame 4 through the perpetration of shameful crimes, his greater innocence should be marked by a greater number of faces ? 5

1 Vicus argentarius. 2 Virgil, JZneid, viii. 357, 358.
3 Quadrirfrons. 4 Frons.
5 "Quanto iste innocentior esset, tanto frontosior appareret;" being used for the shamelessness of innocence, as we use "face" for the shamelessness of impudence.

266 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.

5. Concerning the more secret doctrine of the pagans, and concerning the physical interpretations.

But let us hear their own physical interpretations by which they attempt to colour, as with the appearance of profounder doctrine, the baseness of most miserable error. Yarro, in the first place, commends these interpretations so strongly as to say, that the ancients
invented the images, badges, and adornments of the gods, in order that when those who went to the mysteries should see them with their bodily eyes, they might with the eyes of their mind see the soul of the world, and its parts, that is, the true gods; and also that the meaning which was intended by those who made their images with the human form, seemed to be this, namely, that the mind of mortals, which is in a human body, is very like to the immortal mind, just as vessels might be placed to represent the gods, as, for instance, a winevessel might be placed in the temple of Liber, to signify wine, that which is contained being signified by that which contains.

Thus by an image which had the human form the rational soul was signified, because the human form is the vessel, as it were, in which that nature is wont to be contained which they attribute to God, or to the gods. These are the mysteries of doctrine to which that most learned man penetrated in order that he might bring them forth to the light. But, thou most acute man, hast thou lost among those mysteries that prudence which led thee to form the sober opinion, that those who first established those images for the people took away fear from the citizens and added error, and that the ancient Romans honoured the gods more chastely without images?

For it was through consideration of them that thou wast emboldened to speak these things against the later Romans. For if those most ancient Romans also had worshipped images, perhaps thou wouldst have suppressed by the silence -of fear all those sentiments (true sentiments, nevertheless) concerning the folly of setting up images, and wouldst have extolled more loftily, and more loquaciously, those mysterious doctrines consisting of these vain and pernicious fictions. Thy soul, so learned and so clever (and for this I grieve much for thee), could never through these mysteries have reached its God; that

1 Cicero, Tusc. Qucest. v. 13.
is, the God by whom, not with whom, it was made, of whom it is not a part, but a work, â€” that God who is not the soul of all things, but who made every soul, and in whose light alone every soul is blessed, if it be not ungrateful for His grace.

But the things which follow in this book will show what is the nature of these mysteries, and what value is to be set upon them. Meanwhile, this most learned man confesses as his opinion that the soul of the world and its parts are the true gods, from which we perceive that his theology (to wit, that same natural theology to which he pays great regard) has been able, in its completeness, to extend itself even to the nature of the rational soul. For in this book (concerning the select gods) he says a very few things by anticipation concerning the natural theology; and we shall see whether he has been able in that book, by means of physical interpretations, to refer to this natural theology that civil theology, concerning which he wrote last when treating of the select gods. Now, if he has been able to do this, the whole is natural; and in that case, what need was there for distinguishing so carefully the civil from the natural? But if it has been distinguished by a veritable distinction, then, since not even this natural theology with which he is so much pleased is true (for though it has reached as far as the soul, it has not reached to the true God who made the soul), how much more contemptible and false is that civil theology which is chiefly occupied about what is corporeal, as will be shown by its very interpretations, which they have with such diligence sought out and enucleated, some of which I must necessarily mention!

6. Concerning the opinion of Varro, that God is the soul of the world, which nevertheless, in its various parts, has many souls whose nature is divine.

The same Varro, then, still speaking by anticipation, says that he thinks that God is the soul of the world (which the Greeks call Koajixo^), and that this world itself is God; but as a wise man, though he consists of body and mind, is nevertheless called wise on account of his mind, so the world is called God on account of mind, although it consists of mind and body. Here he seems, in some fashion at least, to acknowledge one God; but that he may introduce more, he adds that the world is divided into two parts, heaven and earth, which are

268 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

again divided each, into two parts, heaven into ether and air, earth into water and land, of all which the ether is the highest, the air second, the water third, and the earth the lowest. All these four parts, he says, are full of souls; those which are in the ether and air being immortal, and those which are in the water and on the earth mortal. From the highest part of the heavens to the orbit of the moon there are souls, namely, the stars and planets; and these are not only understood to be gods, but are seen to be such. And between the orbit
of the moon and the commencement of the region of clouds and winds there are aerial souls; but these are seen with the mind, not with the eyes, and are called Heroes, and Lares, and Genii.

This is the natural theology which is briefly set forth in these anticipatory statements, and which satisfied not Varro only, but many philosophers besides. This I must discuss more carefully, when, with the help of God, I shall have completed what I have yet to say concerning the civil theology, as far as it concerns the select gods.

7. Whether it is reasonable to separate Janus and Terminus as two distinct deities.

Who, then, is Janus, with whom Varro commences? He is the world. Certainly a very brief and unambiguous reply.

"Why, then, do they say that the beginnings of things pertain to him, but the ends to another whom they call Terminus?"

For they say that two months have been dedicated to these two gods, with reference to beginnings and ends—January to Janus, and February to Terminus—over and above those ten months which commence with March and end with December.

And they say that that is the reason why the Terminalia are celebrated in the month of February, the same month in which the sacred purification is made which they call Februum, and from which the month derives its name. 1

Do the beginnings of things, therefore, pertain to the world, which is Janus, and not also the ends, since another god

Â»

1 An interesting account of the changes made in the Roman year by Xuma is given in Plutarch's life of that king. Ovid also (Fasti, ii.) explains the derivation of February, telling us that it was the last month of the old year, and took its name from the lustrations performed then: "Februa Romani dixere piamina patres."
has been placed over them? Do they not own that all things which they say begin in this world also come to an end in this world? What folly it is, to give him only half power in work, when in his image they give him two faces! Would it not be a far more elegant way of interpreting the two-faced image, to say that Janus and Terminus are the same, and that the one face has reference to beginnings, the other to ends?

For one who works ought to have respect to both. For he who in every forthputting of activity does not look back on the beginning, does not look forward to the end.

Wherefore it is necessary that prospective intention be connected with retrospective memory. For how shall one find how to finish anything, if he has forgotten what it was which he had begun?

But if they thought that the blessed life is begun in this world, and perfected beyond the world, and for that reason attributed to Janus, that is, to the world, only the power of beginnings, they should certainly have preferred Terminus to him, and should not have shut him out from the number of the select gods. Yet even now, when the beginnings and ends of temporal things are represented by these two gods, more honour ought to have been given to Terminus. For the greater joy is that which is felt when anything is finished; but things begun are always cause of much anxiety until they are brought to an end, which end he who begins anything very greatly longs for, fixes his mind on, expects, desires; nor does any one ever rejoice over anything he has begun, unless it be brought to an end.

8. For what reason the worshippers of Janus have made his image with two faces, when they would sometimes have it be seen with four.

But now let the interpretation of the two-faced image be produced. For they say that it has two faces, one before and one behind, because our gaping mouths seem to resemble the world: whence the Greeks call the palate ovpavos, and some Latin poets, 1 he says, have called the heavens palatum [the palate]; and from the gaping mouth, they say, there is a way out in the direction of the teeth, and a way in in the direction of the gullet. See what the world has been brought to on account of a Greek or a poetical word for our palate! Let

1 Ennius, in Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 18.

270 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

this god be worshipped only on account of saliva, which has two open doorways under the heavens of the palate, â€” one through which part of it may be spitten out, the other through which part of it may be swallowed down. Besides, what is more absurd than not to find in the world itself two doorways opposite to each other, through which it may either receive anything into itself, or cast it out from itself; and to seek of our throat and
gullet, to which the world has no resemblance, to make up an image of the world in Janus, because the world is said to resemble the palate, to which Janus bears no likeness? But when they make him four-faced, and call him double Janus, they interpret this as having reference to the four quarters of the world, as though the world looked out on anything, like Janus through his four faces. Again, if Janus is the world, and the world consists of four quarters, then the image of the two-faced Janus is false. Or if it is true, because the whole world is sometimes understood by the expression east and west, will any one call the world double when north and south also are mentioned, as they call Janus double when he has four faces? They have no way at all of interpreting, in relation to the world, four doorways by which to go in and to come out as they did in the case of the two-faced Janus, where they found, at any rate in the human mouth, something which answered to what they said about him; unless perhaps Neptune come to their aid, and hand them a fish, which, besides the mouth and gullet, has also the openings of the gills, one on each side. Nevertheless, with all the doors, no soul escapes this vanity but that one which hears the truth v. saying, "I am the door." 1

9. Concerning the power of Jupiter, and a comparison of Jupiter with Janus.

But they also show whom they would have Jove (who is also called Jupiter) understood to be. He is the god, say they, who has the power of the causes by which anything comes to be in the world. And how great a thing this is, that most noble verse of Virgil testifies:

"Happy is he who has learned the causes of things." 2
1 John x. 9. 2 Georgic, ii. 470.
But why is Janus preferred to him? Let that most acute and most learned man answer us this question. "Because," says he, "Janus has dominion over first things, Jupiter over highest things. Therefore Jupiter is deservedly held to be the king of all things; for highest things are better than first things: for although first things precede in time, highest things excel by dignity."

Now this would have been rightly said had the first parts of things which are done been distinguished from the highest parts; as, for instance, it is the beginning of a thing done to set out, the highest part to arrive. The commencing to learn is the first part of a thing begun, the acquirement of knowledge is the highest part. And so of all things: the beginnings are first, the ends highest. This matter, however, has been already discussed in connection with Janus and Terminus.

But the causes which are attributed to Jupiter are things effecting, not things effected; and it is impossible for them to be prevented in time by things which are made or done, or by the beginnings of such things; for the thing which makes is always prior to the thing which is made. Therefore, though the beginnings of things which are made or done pertain to Janus, they are nevertheless not prior to the efficient causes which they attribute to Jupiter. For as nothing takes place without being preceded by an efficient cause, so without an efficient cause nothing begins to take place. Verily, if the people call this god Jupiter, in whose power are all the causes of all natures which have been made, and of all natural things, and worship him with such insults and infamous criminations, they are guilty of more shocking sacrilege than if they should totally deny the existence of any god. It would therefore be better for them to call some other god by the name of Jupiter—some one worthy of base and criminal honours; substituting instead of Jupiter some vain fiction (as Saturn is said to have had a stone given to him to devour instead of his son), which they might make the subject of their blasphemies, rather than speak of that god as both thundering and committing adultery, ruling the whole world, and laying himself out for the commission of so many licentious acts, having in his

1 Summa, which also includes the meaning "last."

power nature and the highest causes of all natural things, but not having his own causes good.

Next, I ask what place they find any longer for this Jupiter among the gods, if Janus is the world; for Yarro defined the true gods to be the soul of the world, and the parts of it. And therefore whatever falls not within this definition, is certainly not a true god, according to them. Will they then say that Jupiter is the soul of the world, and Janus the body—that
is, this visible world? If they say this, it will not be possible for them to affirm that Janus
is a god. For even, according to them, the body of the world is not a god, but the soul of
the world and its parts. Wherefore Varro, seeing this, says that he thinks God is the soul
of the world, and that this world itself is God; but that as a wise man, though he consists
of soul and body, is nevertheless called wise from the soul, so the world is called God
from the soul, though it consists of soul and body. Therefore the body of the world alone
is not God, but either the soul of it alone, or the soul and the body together, yet so as that
it is God not by virtue of the body, but by virtue of the soul. If, therefore, Janus is the
world, and Janus is a god, will they say, in order that Jupiter may be a god, that he is
some part of Janus? For they are wont rather to attribute universal existence to Jupiter;
whence the saying, "All things are full of Jupiter." 1
Therefore they must think Jupiter also, in order that he may be a god, and especially king
of the gods, to be the world, that he may rule over the other gods â€“ according to them,
his parts.
To this effect, also, the same Varro expounds certain verses of Valerius Soranus 2 in that
book which he wrote apart from the others concerning the worship of the gods. These are
the verses:
"Almighty Jove, progenitor of kings, and things, and gods, And eke the mother of the
gods, god one and all."

But in the same book he expounds these verses by saying that as the male emits seed, and
the female receives it, so Jupiter whom they believed to be the world, both emits all seeds from

1 Virgil, Eclog. iii. 60, who borrows the expression from the Phenomena of Aratus.

2 Soranus lived about B.C. 100. See Smith's Diet.
himself and receives them into himself. For which reason, he says, Soranus wrote, "Jove, progenitor and mother;" and with no less reason said that one and all were the same. For the world is one, and in that one are all things.

10. Whether the distinction between Janus and Jupiter is a proper one.

Since, therefore, Janus is the world, and Jupiter is the world, wherefore are Janus and Jupiter two gods, while the world is but one? Why do they have separate temples, separate altars, different rites, dissimilar images? If it be because the nature of beginnings is one, and the nature of causes another, and the one has received the name of Janus, the other of Jupiter; is it then the case, that if one man has two distinct offices of authority, or two arts, two judges or two artificers are spoken of, because the nature of the offices or the arts is different?

So also with respect to one god: if he have the power of beginnings and of causes, must he therefore be thought to be two gods, because beginnings and causes are two things? But if they think that this is right, let them also affirm that Jupiter is as many gods as they have given him surnames, on account of many powers; for the things from which these surnames are applied to him are many and diverse. I shall mention a few of them.

11. Concerning the surnames of Jupiter, which are referred not to many gods, but to one and the same god.

They have called him Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Impulsor, Stator, Centumpeda, Supinalis, Tigillus, Almus, Euminus, and other names which it were long to enumerate. But these surnames they have given to one god on account of diverse causes and powers, but yet have not compelled him to be, on account of so many things, as many gods. They gave him these surnames because he conquered all things; because he was conquered by none; because he brought help to the needy; because he had the power of impelling, stopping, establishing, throwing on the back; because as a beam he held together and sustained the world: because he nourished all things; because, like the pap, he nourished animals. Here, we perceive, are some great things and some small things; and yet

1 Tigillus. 2 Ruma>

VOL. I. S

274 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

it is one who is said to perform them all. I think that the causes and the beginnings of things, on account of which they have thought that the one world is two gods, Jupiter and Janus, are nearer to each other than the holding together of the world, and the giving of
the pap to animals; and yet, on account of these two works so far apart from each other, both in nature and dignity, there has not been any necessity for the existence of two gods; but one Jupiter has been called, on account of the one Tigillus, on account of the other Euminus. I am unwilling to say that the giving of the pap to sucking animals might have become Juno rather than Jupiter, especially when there was the goddess Eumina to help and to serve her in this work; for I think it may be replied that Juno herself is nothing else than Jupiter, according to those verses of Valerius Soranus, where it has been said:

"Almighty Jove, progenitor of kings, and things, and gods, And eke the mother of the gods," etc.

Why, then, was he called Euminus, when they who may perchance inquire more diligently may find that he is also that goddess Eumina?

If, then, it was rightly thought unworthy of the majesty of the gods, that in one ear of corn one god should have the care of the joint, another that of the husk, how much more unworthy of that majesty is it, that one thing, and that of the lowest kind, even the giving of the pap to animals that they may be nourished, should be under the care of two gods, one of whom is Jupiter himself, the very king of all things, who does this not along with his own wife, but with some ignoble Eumina (unless perhaps he himself is Eumina, being Euminus for males and Eumina for females)! I should certainly have said that they had been unwilling to apply to Jupiter a feminine name, had he not been styled in these verses "progenitor and mother," and had I not read among other surnames of his that of Pecunia [money], which we found as a goddess among those petty deities, as I have already mentioned in the fourth book. But since both males and females have money \joccuniam\ why has he not been called both Pecunius and Pecunia? That is their concern.
12. That Jupiter is also called Pecunia.

How elegantly they have accounted for this name! "He is also called Pecunia," say they, "because all things belong to him." Oh how grand an explanation of the name of a deity! Yes; he to whom all things belong is most meanly and most contumeliously called Pecunia. In comparison of all things which are contained by heaven and earth, what are all things together which are possessed by men under the name of money? And this name, forsooth, hath avarice given to Jupiter, that whoever was a lover of money might seem to himself to love not an ordinary god, but the very king of all things himself. But it would be a far different thing if he had been called Eiches. For riches are one thing, money another.

For we call rich the wise, the just, the good, who have either no money or very little. For they are more truly rich in possessing virtue, since by it, even as respects things necessary for the body, they are content with what they have. But we call the greedy poor, who are always craving and always wanting. For they may possess ever so great an amount of money; but whatever be the abundance of that, they are not able but to want. And we properly call God Himself rich; not, however, in money, but in omnipotence. Therefore they who have abundance of money are called rich, but inwardly needy if they are greedy. So also, those who have no money are called poor, but inwardly rich if they are wise.

What, then, ought the wise man to think of this theology, in which the king of the gods receives the name of that thing "which no wise man has desired?" 2 For had there been anything wholesomely taught by this philosophy concerning eternal life, how much more appropriately would that god who is the ruler of the world have been called by them, not money, but wisdom, the love of which purges from the filth of avarice, that is, of the love of money!

13. That when it is expounded what Saturn is, what Genkis is, it comes to this, that both of them are shown to be Jupiter.

But why speak more of this Jupiter, with whom perchance

1 "Pecunia," that is, property; the original meaning of "pecunia" being property in cattle, then property or wealth of any kind. Comp. Augustine, De discipl. Christ. 6. 2 Sallust, Catil. c. 11.
referred to him, if his various parts and powers are thought of as so many gods, or if the
principle of mind which they think to be diffused through all things has received the
names of many gods from the various parts which the mass of this visible world
combines in itself, and from the manifold administration of nature. For what is Saturn
also? "One of the principal gods," he says, "who has dominion over all sowings."
Does not the exposition of the verses of Valerius Soranus teach that Jupiter is the world,
and that he emits all seeds from himself, and receives them into himself?

It is he, then, with whom is the dominion of all sowings.
What is Genius? "He is the god who is set over, and has the power of begetting, all
things." Who else than the world do they believe to have this power, to which it has been
said:

"Almighty Jove, progenitor and mother?"

And when in another place he says that Genius is the rational soul of every one, and
therefore exists separately in each individual, but that the corresponding soul of the world
is God, he just comes back to this same thing, â€” namely, that the soul of the world itself
is to be held to be, as it were, the universal genius. This, therefore, is what he calls
Jupiter.
For if every genius is a god, and the soul of every man a genius, it follows that the soul of
every man is a god. But if very absurdity compels even these theologians themselves— to
shrink from this, it remains that they call that genius god by special and pre-eminent
distinction/whom they call the soul of the world, and therefore Jupiter.

14. Concerning the offices of Mercury and Mars.

But they have not found how to refer Mercury and Mars to any parts of the world, and to
the works of God which are in the elements; and therefore they have set them at least
over human works, making them assistants in speaking and in carrying on wars. Now
Mercury, if he has also the power of the speech of the gods, rules also over the king of
the gods him-
self, if Jupiter, as he receives from him the faculty of speech, also speaks according as it is his pleasure to permit him â€” which surely is absurd; but if it is only the power over human speech which is held to be attributed to him, then we say it is incredible that Jupiter should have condescended to give the pap not only to children, but also to beasts â€” from which he has been surnamed Euminus â€” and yet should have been unwilling that the care of our speech, by which we excel the beasts, should pertain to him. And thus speech itself both belongs to Jupiter, and is Mercury. But if speech itself is said to be Mercury, as those things which are said concerning him by way of interpretation show it to be; â€” for he is said to have been called Mercury, that is, he who runs between, 1 because speech runs between men: they say also that the Greeks call him f -E/?//%, because speech, or interpretation, which certainly belongs to speech, is called by them epifir)ve[a: also he is said to preside over payments, because speech passes between sellers and buyers: the wings, too, which he has on his head and on his feet, they say, mean that speech passes wined through the air: he is also said to have been called the messenger, 2 because by means of speech all our thoughts are expressed; 3 â€” if, therefore, speech itself is Mercury, then, even by their own confession, he is not a god. But when they make to themselves gods of such as are not even demons, by praying to unclean spirits, they are possessed by such as are not gods, but demons. In like manner, because they have not been able to find for Mars any element or part of the world in which he might perform some works of nature of whatever kind, they have said that he is the god of war, which is a work of men, and that not one which is considered desirable by them. If, therefore, Felicitas should give perpetual peace, Mars would have nothing to do. But if war itself is Mars, as speech is Mercury, I wish it were as true that there were no war to be falsely called a god, as it is true that it is not a god.

15. Concerning certain stars which the pagans have called by the names of their gods.

But possibly these stars which have been called by their names are these gods. For they call a certain star Mercury, and likewise a certain other star Mars. But among those stars which are called by the names of gods, is that one which they call Jupiter, and yet with them Jupiter is the world.

1 Quasi medius currens. 2 Nuncius. 3 Enunciantur.
There also is that one they call Saturn, and yet they give to him no small property besides, “namely, all seeds. There also is that brightest of them all which is called by them Venus, and yet they will have this same Venus to be also the moon: — not to mention how Venus and Juno are said by them to contend about that most brilliant star, as though about another golden apple. For some say that Lucifer belongs to Venus, and some to Juno. But, as usual, Venus conquers. For by far the greatest number assign that star to Venus, so much so that there is scarcely found one of them who thinks otherwise.

But since they call Jupiter the king of all, who will not laugh to see his star so far surpassed in brilliancy by the star of Venus?

For it ought to have been as much more brilliant than the rest, as he himself is more powerful. They answer that it only appears so because it is higher up, and very much farther away from the earth. If, therefore, its greater dignity has deserved a higher place, why is Saturn higher in the heavens than Jupiter? Was the vanity of the fable which made Jupiter king not able to reach the stars? And has Saturn been permitted to obtain at least in the heavens, what he could not obtain in his own kingdom nor in the Capitol?

But why has Janus received no star? If it is because he is the world, and they are all in him, the world is also Jupiter’s, and yet he has one. Did Janus compromise his Case as best he could, and instead of the one star which he does not have among the heavenly bodies, accept so many faces on earth? Again, if they think that on account of the stars alone Mercury and Mars are parts of the world, in order that they may be able to have them for gods, since speech and war are not parts of the world, but acts of men, how is it that they have made no altars, established no rites, built no temples for Aries, and Taurus, and Cancer, and Scorpio, and the rest which they number as the celestial signs, and which consist not of single stars, but each of them of many stars, which also they say are situated above those already?
[BOOK VII.] JUPITER AND APOLLO. 279

mentioned in the highest part of the heavens, where a more constant motion causes the stars to follow an unceasing course? And why have they not reckoned them as gods, I do not say among those select gods, but not even among those, as it were, plebeian gods?

16. Concerning Apollo and Diana, and the other select gods whom they would have to be parts of the world.

Although they world have Apollo to be a diviner and physician, they have nevertheless given him a place as some part of the world. They have said that he is also the sun; and likewise they have said that Diana, his sister, is the moon, and the guardian of roads. Whence also they will have her be a virgin, because a road brings forth nothing. They also make both of them have arrows, because those two planets send their rays from the heavens to the earth. They make Vulcan to be the fire of the world; Neptune the waters of the world; Father Dis, that is, Orcus, the earthy and lowest part of the world. Liber and Ceres they set over seeds, â€” the former over the seeds of males, the latter over the seeds of females; or the one over the fluid part of seed, but the other over the dry part. And all this together is referred to the world, that is, to Jupiter, who is called "progenitor and mother," because he emitted all seeds from himself, and received them into himself. For they also make this same Ceres to be the Great Mother, who they say is none other than the earth, and call her also Juno. And therefore they assign to her the second causes of things, notwithstanding that it has been said to Jupiter, "progenitor and mother of the gods;" because, according to them, the whole world itself is Jupiter's. Minerva, also, because they set her over human arts, and did not find even a star in which to place her, has been said by them to be either the highest sether, or even the moon. Also Vesta herself they have thought to be the highest of the goddesses, because she is the earth; although they have thought that the milder fire of the world, which is used for the ordinary purposes of human life, not the more violent fire, such as belongs to Vulcan, is to be assigned to her. And thus they will have all those select gods to be the world and its parts, â€” some of

280 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

them the whole world, others of them its parts; the whole of it Jupiter, â€” its parts, Genius, Mater Magna, Sol and Luna, or rather Apollo and Diana, and so on. And sometimes they make one god many things; sometimes one thing many gods. Many things are one god in the case of Jupiter; for both the whole world is Jupiter, and the sky alone is Jupiter, and the star alone is said and held to be Jupiter. Juno also is mistress of second causes, â€” Juno is the air, Juno is the earth; and had she won it over Venus, Juno would have been the star. Likewise Minerva is the highest aether, and Minerva is likewise the moon, which they suppose to be in the lowest limit of the aether.
And also they make one thing many gods in this way. The world is both Janus and Jupiter; also the earth is Juno, and Mater Magna, and Ceres.

17. That even Varro himself pronounced his own opinions regarding the gods ambiguous.

And the same is true with respect to all the rest, as is true with respect to those things which I have mentioned for the sake of example. They do not explain them, but rather involve them. They rush hither and thither, to this side or to that, according as they are driven by the impulse of erratic opinion; so that even Varro himself has chosen rather to doubt concerning all things, than to affirm anything. For, having written the first of the three last books concerning the certain gods, and having commenced in the second of these to speak of the uncertain gods, he says: "I ought not to be censured for having stated in this book the doubtful opinions concerning the gods. For he who, when he has read them, shall think that they both ought to be, and can be, conclusively judged of, will do so himself. For my own part, I can be more easily led to doubt the things which I have written in the first book, than to attempt to reduce all the things I shall write in this one to any orderly system." Thus he makes uncertain not only that book concerning the uncertain gods, but also that other concerning the certain gods. Moreover, in that third book concerning the select gods, after having exhibited by anticipation as much of the natural theology as he deemed necessary, and when about to commence
to speak of the vanities and lying insanities of the civil theology, where he was not only
without the guidance of the truth of things, but was also pressed by the authority of
tradition, he says: "I will write in this book concerning the public gods of the Roman
people, to whom they have dedicated temples, and whom they have conspicuously
distinguished by many adornments; but, as Xenophon of Colophon writes, I will state
what I think, not what I am prepared to maintain: it is for man to think those things, for
God to know them." #

It is not, then, an account of things comprehended and most certainly believed which he
promised, when about to write those things which were instituted by men. He only
timidly promises an account of things which are but the subject of doubtful opinion. Nor,
indeed, was it possible for him to affirm with the same certainty that Janus was the world,
and such like things; or to discover with the same certainty such things as how Jupiter
was the son of Saturn, while Saturn was made subject to him as king: â€” he could, I say,
neither affirm nor discover such things with the same certainty with which he knew such
things as that the world existed, that the heavens and earth existed, the heavens bright
with stars, and the earth fertile through seeds; or with the same perfect conviction with
which he believed that this universal mass of nature is governed and administered by a
certain invisible and mighty force.

18.-4 more credible cause of the rise of pagan error.

A far more credible account of these gods is given, when it ife said that they were men,
and that to each one of them sacred rites and solemnities were instituted, according to his
particular genius, manners, actions, circumstances; which rites and solemnities, by
gradually creeping through the souls of men, which are like demons, and eager for things
which yield them sport, were spread far and wide; the poets adorning them with lies, and
false spirits seducing men to receive them. For it is far more likely that some youth, either
impious himself, or afraid of being slain by an impious father, being desirous to reign,
dethroned his father, than that (ac-

282 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

cording to Varro’s interpretation) Saturn was overthrown by his son Jupiter; for cause,
which belongs to Jupiter, is before seed, which belongs to Saturn. For had this been so,
Saturn would never have been before Jupiter, nor would he have been the father of
Jupiter. For cause always precedes seed, and is never generated from seed. But when they
seek to honour by natural interpretation most vain fables or deeds of men, even the
acutest men are so perplexed that we are compelled to grieve for their folly also.

19. Concerning the interpretations which compose the reason of the ivorship
of Saturn.

They said, says Yarro, that Saturn was wont to devour all that sprang from him, because seeds returned to the earth from whence they sprang. And when it is said that a lump of earth was put before Saturn to be devoured instead of Jupiter, it is signified, he says, that before the art of ploughing was discovered, seeds were buried in the earth by the hands of men. The earth itself, then, and not seeds, should have been called Saturn, because it in a manner devours what it has brought forth, when the seeds which have sprung from it return again into it. And what has Saturn's receiving of a lump of earth instead of Jupiter to do with this, that the seeds were covered in the soil by the hands of men? Was the seed kept from being devoured, like other things, by being covered with the soil? For what they say would imply that he who put on the soil took away the seed, as Jupiter is said to have been taken away when the lump of soil was offered to Saturn instead of him, and not rather that the soil by covering the seed, only caused it to be devoured the more eagerly. Then, in that way, Jupiter is the seed, and not the cause of the seed, as was said a little before.

But what shall men do who cannot find anything wise to say, because they are interpreting foolish things? Saturn has a pruning-knife. That, says Yarro, is on account of agriculture. Certainly in Saturn's reign there as yet existed no agriculture, and therefore the former times of Saturn are spoken of, because, as the same Yarro interprets the fables, the primeval men lived on those seeds which the earth produced spontaneously. Perhaps he received a pruning-knife
when he had lost his sceptre; that he who had been a king, and lived at ease during the first part of his time, should become a laborious workman whilst his son occupied the throne. Then he says that boys were wont to be immolated to him by certain peoples, the Carthaginians for instance; and also that adults were immolated by some nations, for example the Gauls â€” because, of all seeds, the human race is the best. What need we say more concerning this most cruel vanity? Let us rather attend to and hold by this, that these interpretations are not carried up to the true God, â€” a living, incorporeal, unchangeable nature, from whom a blessed life enduring for ever may be obtained, â€” but that they end in things which are corporeal, temporal, mutable, and mortal.

And whereas it is said in the fables that Saturn castrated his father Ccelus, this signifies, says Varro, that the divine seed belongs to Saturn, and not to Ccelus; for this reason, as far as a reason can be discovered, namely, that in heaven nothing is born from seed. But, lo! Saturn, if he is the son of Ccelus, is the son of Jupiter. For they affirm times without number, and that emphatically, that the heavens are Jupiter. Thus those things which come not of the truth, do very often, without being impelled by any one, themselves overthrow one another. He says that Saturn was called K povos, which in the Greek tongue signifies a space of time, because, without that, seed cannot be productive. These and many other things are said concerning Saturn, and they are all referred to seed. But Saturn surely, with all that great power, might have sufficed for seed. Why are other gods demanded for it, especially Liber and Libera, that is, Ceres?

â€” concerning whom again, as far as seed is concerned, he says as many things as if he had said nothing concerning Saturn.

20. Concerning the rites of Eleusinian Ceres.

Now among the rites of Ceres, those Eleusinian rites are much famed which were in the highest repute among the Athenians, of which Varro offers no interpretation except with respect to corn, which Ceres discovered, and with respect to Proserpine, whom Ceres lost, Orcus having carried her

1 Ccelo. 2 Coelum. 3 Sc. Xfar.
thus these rites were instituted. Then Varro adds, that many things are taught in the mysteries of Ceres which only refer to the discovery of fruits.

21. Concerning the shamefulness of the rites which are celebrated in honour of Liber.

Now as to the rites of Liber, whom they have set over liquid seeds, and therefore not only over the liquors of fruits, among which wine holds, so to speak, the primacy, but also over the seeds of animals: as to these rites, I am unwilling to undertake to show to what excess of turpitude they had reached, because that would entail a lengthened discourse, though I am not unwilling to do so as a demonstration of the proud stupidity of those who practise them. Among other rites which I am compelled from the greatness of their number to omit, Varro says that in Italy, at the places where roads crossed each other, the rites of Liber were celebrated with such unrestrained turpitude, that the private parts of a man were worshipped in his honour. Nor was this abomination transacted in secret, that some regard at least might be paid to modesty, but was openly and wantonly displayed. For during the festival of Liber, this obscene member, placed on a car, was carried with great honour, first over the cross-roads in the country, and then into the city. But in the town of Lavinium a whole month was devoted to. Liber alone, during the days of which all the people gave themselves up to the
most dissolute conversation, until that member had been
carried through the forum and brought to rest in its own
place; on winch unseemly member it was necessary that
the most honourable matron should place a wreath in the presence of all the people. Thus, forsooth, was the god Liber to be appeased in order to the growth of seeds. Thus was enchantment to be driven away from fields, even by a matron's being compelled to do in public what not even a harlot ought to be permitted to do in a theatre, if there were matrons among the spectators. For these reasons, then, Saturn alone was not believed to be sufficient for seeds, namely, that the impure mind might find occasions for multiplying the gods; and that, being righteously abandoned to uncleanness by the one true God, and being prostituted to the worship of many false gods, through an avidity for ever greater and greater uncleanness, it should call these sacrilegious rites sacred things, and should abandon itself to be violated and polluted by crowds of foul demons.


Now Neptune had Salacia to wife, who they say is the nether waters of the sea. Wherefore was Venilia also joined to him? Was it not simply through the lust of the soul desiring a greater number of demons to whom to prostitute itself, and not because this goddess was necessary to the perfection of their sacred rites? But let the interpretation of this illustrious theology be brought forward to restrain us from this censuring by rendering a satisfactory reason. Venilia, says this theology, is the wave which comes to the shore, Salacia the wave which returns into the sea. Why, then, are there two goddesses, when it is one wave which comes and returns? Certainly it is mad lust itself, which in its eagerness for many deities resembles the waves which break on the shore. For though the water which goes is not different from that which returns, still the soul which goes and returns not is defiled by two demons, whom it has taken occasion by this false pretext to invite. I ask thee, Varro, and you who have read such works of learned men, and think ye have learned something great, — I ask you to interpret this, I do not say in a manner consistent with the eternal and unchangeable nature which alone is God, but only in a manner consistent with the doctrine concerning the soul of the world and its parts, which ye think to be the true gods. It is a somewhat more tolerable thing that ye have made that part of the soul of the world which pervades the sea your god Neptune. Is the wave, then, which comes to the shore and returns to the main, two parts of the world, or two parts of the soul of the world? Who of you is so silly as to think so? Why, then, have they made to you two goddesses? The only reason seems to be, that your wise ancestors have provided, not that many gods should rule you, but that many of such demons as are delighted with those vanities and falsehoods should possess you. But why has that Salacia, according to this interpretation, lost the lower part of the sea, seeing that she was represented as subject to her husband? For in saying that she is the receding
wave, ye have put her on the surface. Was she enraged at her husband for taking Venilia as a concubine, and thus drove him from the upper part of the sea?

23. Concerning the earth, which Varro affirms to be a goddess, because that soul of the world which he thinks to be God pervades also this lowest part of his body, and imparts to it a divine force.

Surely the earth, which we see full of its own living creatures, is one; but for all that, it is but a mighty mass among the elements, and the lowest part of the world. Why, then, would they have it to be a goddess? Is it because it is fruitful? Why, then, are not men rather held to be gods, who render it fruitful by cultivating it; but though they plough it, do not adore it? But, say they, the part of the soul of the world which pervades it makes it a goddess. As if it were not a far more evident thing, nay, a thing which is not called in question, that there is a soul in man. And yet men are not held to be gods, but (a thing to be sadly lamented), with wonderful and pitiful delusion, are subjected to those who are not gods, and than whom they themselves are better, as the objects of deserved worship and adoration. And certainly the same Varro, in the book concerning the select gods, affirms that there are three grades of soul in universal nature. One which pervades all the living parts of the body, and has not sensation, but only the power of life, that principle which penetrates into the bones, nails, and hair. By this principle in the world trees are nourished, and grow without being pos-
possessed of sensation, and live in a manner peculiar to themselves. The second grade of soul is that in which there is sensation. This principle penetrates into the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and the organs of sensation. The third grade of soul is the highest, and is called mind, where intelligence has its throne. This grade of soul no mortal creatures except man are possessed of. Now this part of the soul of the world, Varro says, is called God, and in us is called Genius. And the stones and earth in the world, which we see, and which are not pervaded by the power of sensation, are, as it were, the bones and nails of God. Again, the sun, moon, and stars, which we perceive, and by which He perceives, are His organs of perception. Moreover, the ether is His mind; and by the virtue which is iri
it, which penetrates into the stars, it also makes them gods; and because it penetrates through them into the earth, it makes it the goddess Tellus, whence again it enters and permeates the sea and ocean, making them the god Neptune.

Let him return from this, which he thinks to be natural theology, back to that from which he went cut, in order to rest from the fatigue occasioned by the many turnings and windings of his path. Let him return, I say, let him return to the civil theology. I wish to detain him there a while. I have somewhat to say which has to do with that theology. I am not yet saying, that if the earth and stones are similar to our bones and nails, they are in like manner devoid of intelligence, as they are devoid of sensation. Nor am I saying that, if our bones and nails are said to have intelligence, because they are in a man who has intelligence, he who says that the things analogous to these in the world are gods, is as stupid as he is who says that our bones and nails are men. We shall perhaps have occasion to dispute these things with the philosophers. At present, however, I wish to deal with Varro as a political theologian. For it is possible that, though he may seem to have wished to lift up his head, as it were, into the liberty of natural theology, the consciousness that the book with which he was occupied was one concerning a subject belonging to civil theology, may have caused him to relapse into the point of view of that theology, and to

288 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

say this in order that the ancestors of his nation, and other states, might not be believed to have bestowed on Xeptune an irrational worship. What I am to say is this: Since the earth is one, why has not that part of the soul of the world which permeates the earth made it that one goddess which he calls Tellus ? But had it done so, what then had become of Orcus, the brother of Jupiter and Xeptune, whom they call Father Dis ? 1 And where, in that case, had been his wife Proserpine, who, according to another opinion given in the same book, is â€œ
called, not the fecundity of the earth, but its lower part ? 2
But if they say that part of the soul of the world, when it permeates the upper part of the earth, makes the god Father Dis, but when it pervades the nether part of the same the goddess Proserpine; what, in that case, will that Tellus be?
For all that which she was has been divided into these two parts, and these two gods; so that it is impossible to find what to make or where to place her as a third goddess, except it be said that those divinities Orcus and Proserpine are the one goddess Tellus, and that they are not three gods, but one or two, whilst notwithstanding they are called three, held to be three, worshipped as three, having their own several altars, their own shrines, rites, images, priests, whilst their own false demons also through these things defile the prostituted soul.
Let this further question be answered: "What part of the earth does a part of the soul of the world permeate in order to make the god Tellumo? Xo, says he; but the earth being one and the same, has a double life, â€” the masculine, which produces seed, and the feminine, which receives and nourishes the seed.
Hence it has been called Tellus from the feminine principle, and Tellumo from the masculine. Why, then, do the priests, as he indicates, perform divine service to four gods, two others being added, â€” namely, to Tellus, Tellumo, Altor, and Busor?
We have already spoken concerning Tellus and Tellumo. But why do they worship Altor? 3 Because, says he, all that springs of the earth is nourished by the earth. Wherefore do they worship Busor? 4 Because all things return back again to the place whence they proceeded.

1 See c. 16. 2 Varro, De Ling. Lat. v. 68.

3 Nourisher. 4 Returner.
24. Concerning the surnames of Tellus and their significations, which, although they indicate many properties, ought not to have established the opinion that there is a corresponding number of gods.

The one earth, then, on account of this fourfold virtue, ought to have had four surnames, but not to have been considered as four gods, Æœ” as Jupiter and Juno, though they have so many surnames, are for all that only single deities, Æœ” for by all these surnames it is signified that a manifold virtue belongs to one god or to one goddess; but the multitude of surnames does not imply a multitude of gods. But as sometimes even the vilest women themselves grow tired of those crowds which they have sought after under the impulse of wicked passion, so also the soul, become vile, and prostituted to impure spirits, sometimes begins to loathe to multiply to itself gods to whom to surrender itself to be polluted by them, as much as it once delighted in so doing. For Yarro himself, as if ashamed of that crowd of gods, would make Tellus to be one goddess. " They say," says he, " that whereas the one great mother has a tympanum, it is signified that she is the orb of the earth; whereas she has towers on her head, towns are signified; and whereas seats are fixed round about her, it is signified that whilst all things move, she moves not. And their having made the Galli to serve this goddess, signifies that they who are in need of seed ought to follow the earth, for in it all seeds are found. By their throwing themselves down before her, it is taught," he says, " that they who cultivate the earth should not sit idle, for there is always something for them to do. The sound of the cymbals signifies the noise made by the throwing of iron utensils, and by men's hands, and all other noises connected with agricultural operations; and these cymbals are of brass, because the ancients used brazen utensils in their agriculture before iron was discovered. They place beside the goddess an unbound and tame lion, to show that there is no kind of land so wild and so excessively barren as that it would be profitless to attempt to bring it in and cultivate it." Then he adds that, because they gave many names and surnames to mother Tellus, it came to be thought that these signified many gods. " They think," says he, " that Tellus is Ops, because the earth is im-

proved by labour; Mother, because it brings forth much; Great, because it brings forth seed; Proserpine, because fruits creep forth from it; Vesta, because it is invested with herbs.

And thus," says he, " they not at all absurdly identify other goddesses with the earth." If, then, it is one goddess (though, if the truth were consulted, it is not even that), why do they nevertheless separate it into many ? Let there be many names of one goddess, and let there not be as many goddesses as there are names.
But the authority of the erring ancients weighs heavily on Varro, and compels him, after having expressed this opinion, to show signs of uneasiness; for he immediately adds, "With which things the opinion of the ancients, who thought that there were really many goddesses, does not conflict."

How does it not conflict, when it is entirely a different thing to say that one goddess has many names, and to say that there are many goddesses? But it is possible, he says, that the same thing may both be one, and yet have in it a plurality of things. I grant that there are many things in one man; are there therefore in him many men? In like manner, in one goddess there are many things; are there therefore also many goddesses? But let them divide, unite, multiply, reduplicate, and implicate as they like.

These are the famous mysteries of Tellus and the Great Mother, all of which are shown to have reference to mortal seeds and to agriculture. Do these things, then, namely, the tympanum, the towers, the Galli, the tossing to and fro of limbs, the noise of cymbals, the images of lions, do these things, having this reference and this end, promise eternal life? Do the mutilated Galli, then, serve this Great Mother in order to signify that they who are in need of seed should follow the earth, as though it were not rather the case that this very service caused them to want seed? For whether do they, by following this goddess, acquire seed, being in want of it, or, by following her, lose seed when they have it? Is this to interpret or to deprecate? Nor is it considered to what a degree malign demons have gained the upper hand, inasmuch as they have been able to exact such cruel rites without having dared to promise any great things in return for them. Had
the earth not been a goddess, men would have, by labouring, laid their hands on it in order to obtain seed through it, and would not have laid violent hands on themselves in order to lose seed on account of it. Had it not been a goddess, it would have become so fertile by the hands of others, that it would not have compelled a man to be rendered barren by his own hands; nor that in the festival of Liber an honourable matron put a wreath on the private parts of a man in the sight of the multitude, where perhaps her husband was standing by blushing and perspiring, if there is any shame left in men; and that in the celebration of marriages the newlymarried bride was ordered to sit upon Priapus. These things are bad enough, but they are small and contemptible in comparison with that most cruel abomination, or most abominable cruelty, by which either set is so deluded that neither perishes of its wound. There the enchantment of fields is feared; here the amputation of members is not feared. There the modesty of the bride is outraged, but in such a manner as that neither her fruitfulness nor even her virginity is taken away; here a man is so mutilated that he is neither changed into a woman nor remains a man.

25. The interpretation of the mutilation of Atys which the doctrine of the Greek sages set forth.

Varro has not spoken of that Atys, nor sought out any interpretation for him, in memory of whose being loved by Ceres the Gallus is mutilated. But the learned and wise Greeks have by no means been silent about an interpretation so holy and so illustrious. The celebrated philosopher Porphyry has said that Atys signifies the flowers of spring, which is the most beautiful season, and therefore was mutilated because the flower falls before the fruit appears. 1 They have not, then, compared the man himself, or rather that semblance of a man they called Atys, to the flower, but his male organs, â€” these, indeed, fell whilst he was living. Did I say fell ? nay, truly they did not fall, nor were they plucked off, but torn away. Nor when that flower was lost did any fruit follow, but rather sterility. What, then, do they say is signified by the castrated Atys himself, and whatever remained to him after his castration ? To what do they refer that ? What interpretation does that give rise to ? Do they, after vain endeavours to discover an interpretation, seek to persuade men that that is rather to be believed which report has made public, and which has also been written concerning his having been a mutilated man ? Our Yarro has very properly opposed this, and has been unwilling to state it; for it certainly was not unknown to that most learned man.

1 In the book De Ratione Naturali Deorum.
Concerning the abomination of the sacred rites of the Great Mother.

Concerning the effeminates consecrated to the same Great Mother, in defiance of all the modesty which belongs to men and women, Yarro has not wished to say anything, nor do I remember to have read anywhere aught concerning them. These effeminates, no later than yesterday, were going through the streets and places of Carthage with anointed hair, whitened faces, relaxed bodies, and feminine gait, exacting from the people the means of maintaining their ignominious lives. Nothing has been said concerning them. Interpretation failed, reason blushed, speech was silent. The Great Mother has surpassed all her sons, not in greatness of deity, but of crime. To this monster not even the monstrosity of Janus is to be compared. His deformity was only in his image; hers was the deformity of cruelty in her sacred rites. He has a redundancy of members in stone images; she inflicts the loss of members on men. This abomination is not surpassed by the licentious deeds of Jupiter, so many and so great. He, with all his seductions of women, only disgraced heaven with one Ganymede; she, with so many avowed and public effeminates, has both defiled the earth and outraged heaven. Perhaps we may either compare Saturn to this Magna Mater, or even set him before her in this land of abominable cruelty, for he mutilated his father. But at the festivals of Saturn men could rather be slain by the hands of others than mutilated by their own. He devoured his sons, as the poets say, and the natural theologists interpret this as they list. History says he slew them. But the Boraans never received, like the Carthaginians, the custom of sacrificing their sons to him. This Great Mother of the gods, however, has brought
mutilated men into Eoman temples, and has preserved that cruel custom, being believed to promote the strength of the Romans by emasculating their men. Compared with this evil, what are the thefts of Mercury, the wantonness of Venus, and the base and flagitious deeds of the rest of them, which we might bring forward from books, were it not that they are daily sung and danced in the theatres? But what are these things to so great an evil, â€” an evil whose magnitude was only proportioned to the greatness of the Great Mother, â€” especially as these are said to have been invented by the poets? as if the poets had also invented this, that they are acceptable to the gods. Let it be imputed, then, to the audacity and impudence of the poets that these things have been sung and written of. But that they have been incorporated into the body of divine rites and honours, the deities themselves demanding and extorting that incorporation, what is that but the crime of the gods? nay more, the confession of demons and the deception of wretched men? But as to this, that the Great Mother is considered to be worshipped in the appropriate form when she is worshipped by the consecration of mutilated men, this is not an invention of the poets, nay, they have rather shrunk from it with horror than sung of it.

Ought any one, then, to be consecrated to these select gods, that he may live blissfully after death, consecrated to whom he could not live decently before death, being subjected to such foul superstitions, and bound over to unclean demons? But all these things, says Varro, are to be referred to the world. 1 Let him consider if it be not rather to the unclean. 2 But why not refer that to the world which is demonstrated to be in the world? We, however, seek for a mind which, trusting to true religion, does not adore the world as its god, but for the sake of God praises the world as a work of God, and, purified from mundane defilements, comes pure 3 to God Himself who founded the world. 4

27. Concerning the figments of the physical theologists, who neither worship the true divinity, nor perform the worship wherewith the true divinity should be served.

We see that these select gods have, indeed, become more

1 illuudum. 2 Immuiidum. 3 Mundus. 4 Mundum.

294 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

famous than the rest; not, however, that their merits may be brought to light, but that their opprobrious deeds may not be hid. Whence it is more credible that they were men, as not only poetic but also historical literature has handed down. For this which Virgil says,
"Then from Olympus' heights came down Good Saturn, exiled from his throne By Jove, his mightier heir;”

and what follows with reference to this affair, is fully related by the historian Euhemerus, and has been translated into Latin by Ennius. And as they who have written before us in the Greek or in the Latin tongue against such errors as these have said much concerning this matter, I have thought it unnecessary to dwell upon it. When I consider those physical reasons, then, by which learned and acute men attempt to turn human things into divine things, all I see is that they have been able to refer these things only to temporal works and to that which has a corporeal nature, and even though invisible still mutable; and this is by no means the true God.

But if this worship had been performed as the symbolism of ideas at least congruous with religion, though it would indeed have been cause of grief that the true God was not announced and proclaimed by its symbolism, nevertheless it could have been in some degree borne with, when it did not occasion and command the performance of such foul and abominable things. But since it is impiety to worship the body or the soul for the true God, by whose indwelling alone the soul is happy, how much more impious is it to worship those things through which neither soul nor body can obtain either salvation or human honour? Wherefore - if with temple, priest, and sacrifice, which are due to the true God, any element of the world be worshipped, or any created spirit, even though not impure and evil, that worship is still evil, not because the things are evil by which the worship is performed, but because those things ought only to be used in the worship of Him to whom alone such worship and service are due. But if any one insist that he worships the one true God, â€” that is, the Creator of every soul and of every body, â€” with stupid and

1 Virgil, MaeXd, viii. 319-20.
monstrous idols, with human victims, with putting a wreath on the male organ, with the wages of unchastity, with the cutting of limbs, with emasculation, with the consecration of effeminate, with impure and obscene plays, such a one does not sin because he worships One who ought not to be worshipped, but because he worships Him who ought to be worshipped in a way in which He ought not to be worshipped. But he who worships with such things, â€“ that is, foul and obscene things, â€“ and that not the true God, namely, the maker of soul and body, but a creature, even though not a wicked creature, whether it be soul or body, or soul and body together, twice sins against God, because he both worships for God what is not God, and also worships with such things as neither God nor what is not God ought to be worshipped with. It is, indeed, manifest how these pagans worship, â€“ that is, how shamefully and criminally they worship; but what or whom they worship would have been left in obscurity, had not their history testified that those same confessedly base and foul rites were rendered in obedience to the demands of the gods, who exacted them with terrible severity. Wherefore it is evident beyond doubt that this whole civil theology is occupied in inventing means for attracting wicked and most impure spirits, inviting them to visit senseless images, and through these to take possession of stupid hearts.

28. That the doctrine of Varro concerning theology is in no part consistent with itself.

To what purpose, then, is it that this most learned and most acute man Varro attempts, as it were, with subtle disputation, to reduce and refer all these gods to heaven and earth? He cannot do it. They go out of his hands like water; they shrink back; they slip down and fall. For when about to speak of the females, that is, the goddesses, he says, "Since, as I observed in the first book concerning places, heaven and earth are the two origins of the gods, on which account they are called celestials and terrestrials, and as I began in the former books with heaven, speaking of Janus, whom some have said to be heaven, and others the earth, so I now commence with Tellus in speaking concerning the goddesses." I can understand what embarrassment so great a mind was experiencing.

296 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII]

For lie is influenced by the perception of a certain plausible resemblance, when he says that the heaven is that which does, and the earth that which sutlers, and therefore attributes the masculine principle to the one, and the feminine to the other, â€“
not considering that it is rather He who made both heaven and earth who is the maker of both activity and passivity.

On this principle he interprets the celebrated mysteries of the Samothracians, and promises, with an air of great devoutness, that he will by writing expound these mysteries, which have not been so much as known to his countrymen, and will send them his exposition. Then he says that he had from many proofs gathered that, in those mysteries, among the images one signifies heaven, another the earth, another the patterns of things, which Plato calls ideas. He makes Jupiter to signify heaven, Juno the earth, Minerva the ideas. Heaven, by which anything is made; the earth, from which it is made; and the pattern, according to which it is made. But, with respect to the last, I am forgetting to say that Plato attributed so great an importance to these ideas as to say, not that anything was made by heaven according to them, but that according to them heaven itself was made. 1 To return, however, â€” it is to be observed that Varro has, in the book on the select gods, lost that theory of these gods, in whom he has, as it were, embraced all things. For he assigns the male gods to heaven, the females to earth; among which latter he has placed Minerva, whom he had before placed above heaven itself. Then the male god Neptune is in the sea, which pertains rather to earth than to heaven. Last of all, father Dis, who is called in Greek TIXovtwv, another male god, brother of both (Jupiter and Neptune), is also held to be a god of the earth, holding the upper region of the earth himself, and allotting the nether region to his wife Proserpine.

How, then, do they attempt to refer the gods to heaven, and the goddesses to earth? What solidity, what consistency, what sobriety has this disputation? But that Tellus is the origin of the goddesses, â€” the great mother, to wit, beside whom there is continually the noise of the mad and abominable revelry of effeminates and mutilated men, and men who cue

1 In the Timaeus.
themselves, and indulge in frantic gesticulations, "how is it, then, that Janus is called the head of the gods, and Tellus the head of the goddesses? In the one case error does not make one head, and in the other frenzy does not make a sane one. Why do they vainly attempt to refer these to the world? Even if they could do so, no pious person worships the world for the true God. Nevertheless, plain truth makes it evident that they are not able even to do this. Let them rather identify them with dead men and most wicked demons, and no further question will remain.

29. That all things which the physical theologians have referred to the world and its parts, they ought to have referred to the one true God.

For all those things which, according to the account given of those gods, are referred to the world by so-called physical interpretation, may, without any religious scruple, be rather assigned to the true God, who made heaven and earth, and created every soul and every body; and the following is the manner in which we see that this may be done. We worship God, "not heaven and earth, of which two parts this world consists, nor the soul or souls diffused through all living things, "but God who made heaven and earth, and all things which are in them; who made every soul, whatever be the nature of its life, whether it have life without sensation and reason, or life with sensation, or life with both sensation and reason.

SO. How piety distinguishes the Creator from the creatures, so that, instead of one God, there are not worshipped as many gods as there are works of the one author.

And now, to begin to go over those works of the one true God, on account of which these have made to themselves many and false gods, whilst they attempt to give an honourable interpretation to their many most abominable and most infamous mysteries, "we worship that God who has appointed to the natures created by Him both the beginnings and the end of their existing and moving; who holds, knows, and disposes the causes of things; who hath created the virtue of seeds; who hath given to what creatures He would a rational soul, which is called mind; who hath bestowed the faculty and use of speech; who hath imparted the gift of foretelling future things to whate
er spirits it seemed to Him good; who also Himself predicts future things, through whom He pleases, and through whom He will removes diseases; who, when the human race is to be corrected and chastised by wars, regulates also the beginnings, progress, and ends of these wars; who hath created and governs the most vehement and most violent fire of this world, in due relation and proportion to the other
elements of immense nature; who is the governor of all the waters; who hath made the sun brightest of all material lights, and hath given him suitable power and motion; who hath not withdrawn, even from the inhabitants of the nether world, His dominion and power; who hath appointed to mortal natures their suitable seed and nourishment, dry or liquid; who establishes and makes fruitful the earth; who bountifully bestows its fruits on animals and on men; who knows and ordains, not only principal causes, but also subsequent causes; who hath determined for the moon her motion; who affords ways in heaven and on earth for passage from one place to another; who hath granted also to human minds, which He hath created, the knowledge of the various arts for the help of life and nature; who hath appointed the union of male and female for the propagation of offspring; who hath favoured the societies of men with the gift of terrestrial fire for the simplest and most familiar purposes, to burn on the hearth and to give light. These are, then, the things which that most acute and most learned man Varro has laboured to distribute among the select gods, by I know not what physical interpretation, which he has got from other sources, and also conjectured for himself. But these things the one true God makes and does, but as the same God, "that is, as He who is wholly everywhere, included in no space, bound by no chains, mutable in no part of His being, filling heaven and earth with omnipresent power, not with a needy nature. Therefore He governs all tilings in such a manner as to allow them to perform and exercise their own proper movements. For although they can be nothing without Him, they are not what He is. He does also many things through angels; but only from Himself does He beatify angels. So also, though He send angels to men for certain purposes,
He does not for all that beatify men by the good inherent in the angels, but by Himself, as He does the angels themselves.

31. What benefits God gives to the followers of the truth to enjoy over and above His general bounty.

For, besides such benefits as, according to this administration of nature of which we have made some mention, He lavishes on good and bad alike, we have from Him a great manifestation of great love, which belongs only to the good. For although we can never sufficiently give thanks to Him, that we are, that we live, that we behold heaven and earth, that we have mind and reason by which to seek after Him who made all these things, nevertheless, what hearts, what number of tongues, shall affirm that they are sufficient to render thanks to Him for this, that He hath not wholly departed from us, laden and overwhelmed with sins, averse to the contemplation of His light, and blinded by the love of darkness, that is, of iniquity, but hath sent to us His own Word, who is His only Son, that by His birth and suffering for us in the flesh, which He assumed, we might know how much God valued man, and that by that unique sacrifice we might be purified from all our sins, and that, love being shed abroad in our hearts by His Spirit, we might, having surmounted all difficulties, come into eternal rest, and the ineffable sweetness of the contemplation of Himself?

32. That at no time in the past was the mystery of Christ's redemption awanting, but was at all times declared, though in various forms.

This mystery of eternal life, even from the beginning of the human race, was, by certain signs and sacraments suitable to the times, announced through angels to those to whom it was meet. Then the Hebrew people was congregated into one republic, as it were, to perform this mystery; and in that republic was foretold, sometimes through men who understood what they spake, and sometimes through men who understood not, all that had transpired since the advent of Christ until now, and all that will transpire. This same nation, too, was afterwards dispersed through the nations, in order to testify to the scriptures in which eternal salvation in Christ had been declared. For not only the prophecies which are contained in words, nor only the precepts for the right conduct of life, which teach

300 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

morals and piety, and are contained in the sacred writings, â€” not only these, but also the rites, priesthood, tabernacle or temple, altars, sacrifices, ceremonies, and whatever else belongs to that service which is due to God, and which in Greek is properly called
arpeta, â€” all these signified and fore-announced those things which we who believe in Jesus Christ unto eternal life believe to have been fulfilled, or behold in process of fulfilment, or confidently believe shall yet be fulfilled.

33. That only through the Christian religion could the deceit of malign spirits, who rejoice in the errors of men, have been manifested.

This, the only true religion, has alone been able to manifest that the gods of the nations are most impure demons, who desire to be thought gods, availing themselves of the names of certain defunct souls, or the appearance of mundane creatures, and with proud impurity rejoicing in things most base and infamous, as though in divine honours, and envying human souls their conversion to the true God. From whose most cruel and most impious dominion a man is liberated when he believes on Him who has afforded an example of humility, following which men may rise as great as was that pride by which they fell. Hence are not only those gods, concerning whom we have already spoken much, and many others belonging to different nations and lands, but also those of whom we are now treating, who have been selected as it were into the senate of the gods, â€” selected, however, on account of the notoriousness of their crimes, not on account of the dignity of their virtues, â€” whose sacred things Yarro attempts to refer to certain natural reasons, seeking to make base things honourable, but cannot find how to square and agree with these reasons, because these are not the causes of those rites, which he thinks, or rather wishes to be thought to be so. For had not only these, but also all others of this kind, been real causes, even though they had nothing to do with the true God and eternal life, which is to be sought in religion, they would, by affording some sort of reason drawn from the nature of things, have mitigated in some degree that offence which was occasioned by some turpitude or absurdity in the sacred rites, which was not understood. This he attempted to do in respect to certain fables of the theatres, or mysteries of the
shrines; but he did not acquit the theatres of likeness to the shrines, but rather condemned the shrines for likeness to the theatres. However, he in some way made the attempt to soothe the feelings shocked by horrible things, by rendering what he would have to be natural interpretations.

34. Concerning the books of Numa Pompilius, which the senate ordered to be burned, in order that the causes of sacred rites therein assigned should not become known. But, on the other hand, we find, as the same most learned man has related, that the causes of the sacred rites which were given from the books of Numa Pompilius could by no means be tolerated, and were considered unworthy, not only to become known to the religious by being read, but even to lie written in the darkness in which they had been concealed. For now let me say what I promised in the third book of this work to say in its proper place. For, as we read in the same Varro's book on the worship of the gods, "A certain one Terentius had a field at the Janiculum, and once, when his ploughman was passing the plough near to the tomb of Numa Pompilius, he turned up from the ground the books of Numa, in which were written the causes of the sacred institutions; which books he carried to the praetor, who, having read the beginnings of them, referred to the senate what seemed to be a matter of so much importance. And when the chief senators had read certain of the causes why this or that rite was instituted, the senate assented to the dead Numa, and the conscript fathers, as though concerned for the interests of religion, ordered the praetor to burn the books." 1 Let each one believe what he thinks; nay, let every champion of such impiety say whatever mad contention may suggest. For my part, let it suffice to suggest that the causes of those sacred things which were written down by King Numa Pompilius, the institutor of the Roman rites, ought never to have become known to people or senate, or even to the priests themselves; and also that Numa himself attained to these secrets of demons by an illicit curiosity, in order that he might write them down, so as to be able, by reading, to be reminded of them. However, though he was king, and had no cause to

1 Plutarch's Numa; Livy, xl. 29.

302 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VII.]

be afraid of any one, he neither dared to teach them to any one, nor to destroy them by obliteration, or any other form of destruction. Therefore, because he was unwilling that any one should know them, lest men should be taught infamous things, and because he was afraid to violate them, lest he should enrage the demons against himself, he buried them in what he thought a safe place, believing that a plough could not approach his sepulchre. But the senate, fearing to condemn the religious solemnities of their ancestors,
and therefore compelled to assent to Xuma, were nevertheless so convinced that those books were pernicious, that they did not order them to be buried again, knowing that human curiosity would thereby be excited to seek with far greater eagerness after the matter already divulged, but ordered the scandalous relics to be destroyed with fire; because, as they thought it was now a necessity to perform those sacred rites, they judged that the error arising from ignorance of their causes was more tolerable than the disturbance which the knowledge of them would occasion the state.

35. Concerning the hydromancy through ichich Xuma was befooled by certain images of demons seen in the water.

For Xuma himself also, to whom no prophet of God, no holy angel was sent, was driven to have recourse to hydromancy, that he might see the images of the gods in the water (or, rather, appearances whereby the demons made sport of him), and might learn from them what he ought to ordain and observe in the sacred rites. This kind of divination, says Yarro, was introduced from the Persians, and was used by Xuma himself, and at an after time by the philosopher Pythagoras. In this divination, he says, they also inquire at the inhabitants of the nether world, and make use of blood; and this the Greeks call veKpo/iavrevav. But whether it be called necromancy or hydromancy it is the same thing, for in either case the dead are supposed to foretell future things. But by what artifices these things are done, let themselves consider; for I am unwilling to say that these artifices were wont to be prohibited by the laws, and to be very severely punished even in the Gentile states, before the advent of our Saviour. I am unwilling, I say, to affirm this, for perhaps
even such things were then allowed. However, it was by these arts that Pompilius learned those sacred rites which he gave forth as facts, whilst he concealed their causes; for even he himself was afraid of that which he had learned. The senate also caused the books in which those causes were recorded to be burned. What is it, then, to me, that Varro attempts to adduce all sorts of fanciful physical interpretations, which if these books had contained, they would certainly not have been burned? For otherwise the conscript fathers would also have burned those books which Varro published and dedicated to the high priest Caesar. 1 Now Numa is said to have married the nymph Egeria, because (as Varro explains it in the forementioned book) he carried forth 2 water wherewith to perform his hydromancy. Thus facts are wont to be converted into fables through false colourings. It was by that hydromancy, then, that that over-curious Eoman king learned both the sacred rites which were to be written in the books of the priests, and also the causes of those rites, â€” which latter, however, he was unwilling that any one besides himself should know. Wherefore he made these causes, as it were, to die along with himself, taking care to have them written by themselves, and removed from the knowledge of men by being buried in the earth. Wherefore the things which are written in those books were either abominations of demons, so foul and noxious as to render that whole civil theology execrable even in the eyes of such men as those senators, who had accepted so many shameful things in the sacred rites themselves, or they were nothing else than the accounts of dead men, whom, through the lapse of ages, almost all the Gentile nations had come to believe to be immortal gods; whilst those same demons were delighted even with such rites, having presented themselves to receive worship under pretence of being those very dead men whom they had caused to be thought immortal gods by certain fallacious miracles, performed in order to establish that belief. But, by the hidden providence of the true God, these demons were permitted to confess these things to their friend Numa, having been gained by those arts through which necromancy could be performed, and yet

1 Comp. Lactantius, Instit. i. 6. 2 Egesserit.

were not constrained to admonish him rather at his death to burn than to bury the books in which they were written. But, in order that these books might be unknown, the demons could not resist the plough by which they were thrown up, or the pen of Yarro, through which the things which were done in reference to this matter have come down even to our knowledge. For they are not able to effect anything which they are not allowed; but they are permitted to influence those whom God, in His deep and just judgment, according to their deserts, gives over either to be simply afflicted by them, or to be also subdued and deceived. But how pernicious these writings were judged to be, or how alien from the worship of the true
Divinity, may be understood from the fact that the senate preferred to burn what Pompilius had hid, rather than to fear what he feared, so that he could not dare to do that. Therefore let him who does not desire to live a pious life even now, seek eternal life by means of such rites. But let him who does not wish to have fellowship with malign demons have no fear for the noxious superstition wherewith they are worshipped, but let him recognise the true religion by which they are unmasked and vanquished.
BOOK EIGHTH.

ARGUMENT.

AUGUSTINE COMES NOW TO THE THIRD KIND OF THEOLOGY, THAT IS, THE NATURAL, AND TAKES UP THE QUESTION, WHETHER THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS OF THE NATURAL THEOLOGY IS OF ANY AVAIL TOWARDS SECURING BLESSEDNESS IN THE LIFE TO COME. THIS QUESTION HE REFERS TO DISCUSS WITH THE PLATONISTS, BECAUSE THE PLATONIC SYSTEM IS "FACILE PRINCEPS" AMONG PHILOSOPHIES, AND MAKES THE NEAREST APPROXIMATION TO CHRISTIAN TRUTH. IN PURSUING THIS ARGUMENT, HE FIRST REFUTES APULEIUS, AND ALL WHO MAINTAIN THAT THE DEMONS SHOULD BE WORSHIPPED AS MESSENGERS AND MEDIATORS BETWEEN GODS AND MEN; DEMONSTRATING THAT BY NO POSSIBILITY CAN MEN BE RECONCILED TO GOOD GODS BY DEMONS, WHO ARE THE SLAVES OF VICE, AND WHO DELIGHT IN AND PATRONIZE WHAT GOOD AND WISE MEN ABHOR AND CONDEMN, "THE BLASPHEMOUS FICTIONS OF POETS, THEATRICAL EXHIBITIONS, AND MAGICAL ARTS.

1. That the question of natural theology is to be discussed with those philosophers who sought a more excellent wisdom.

WE shall require to apply our mind with far greater intensity to the present question than was requisite in the solution and unfolding of the questions handled in the preceding books; for it is not with ordinary men, but with philosophers that we must confer concerning the theology which they call natural. For it is not like the fabulous, that is, the theatrical; nor the civil, that is, the urban theology: the one of which displays the crimes of the gods, whilst the other manifests their criminal desires, which demonstrate them to be rather malign demons than gods. It is, we say, with philosophers we have to confer with respect to this theology, "men whose very name, if rendered into Latin, signifies those who profess the love of wisdom. Now, if wisdom is God, who made all things, as is attested by the divine authority and truth, 1 then the philosopher is a lover of God. But since the thing itself, which is called by this name, exists not in all who glory in the name, "for it does not follow, of course, that

1 Wisdom vii. 24-27.
VOL. L U
all who are called philosophers are lovers of true wisdom, â€”
we must needs select from the number of those with whose opinions we have been able to
acquaint ourselves by reading, some with whom we may not unworthily engage in the
treatment of this question. For I have not in this work undertaken to refute all the vain
opinions of the philosophers, but only such as pertain to theology, which Greek word we
understand to mean an account or explanation of the divine nature. Xor, again, have I
undertaken to refute all the vain theological opinions of all the philosophers, but only of
such of them as, agreeing in the belief that there is a divine nature, and that this divine
nature is concerned about human affairs, do nevertheless deny that the worship of the one
unchangeable God is sufficient for the obtaining of a blessed life after death, as well as at
the present time; and hold that, in order to obtain that life, many gods, created, indeed,
and appointed to their several spheres by that one God, are to be worshipped.
These approach nearer to the truth than even Yarro; for, whilst he saw no difficulty in
extending natural theology in its entirety even to the world and the soul of the world,
these acknowledge God as existing above all that is of the nature of soul, and as the
Creator not only of this visible world, which is often called heaven and earth, but also of
ev ery soul whatsoever, and as Him who gives blessedness to the rational soul,
â€” of which kind is the human soul, â€” by participation in His own unchangeable and
incorporeal light. There is no one, who has even a slender knowledge of these things,
who does not know of the Platonic philosophers, who derive their name from their
master Plato. Concerning this Plato, then, I will briefly state such things as I deem
necessary to the present question, mentioning beforehand those who preceded him in
time in the same department of literature.

2. Concerning the two schools of philosophers, that is, the Italic and Ionic, and
their founders.

As far as concerns the literature of the Greeks, whose language Holds a more illustrious
place than any of the languages of the other nations, history mentions two schools of
philosophers, the one called the Italic school, originating in that part of Italy which was
formerly called Magna Graecia;
the other called the Ionic school, having its origin in those regions which are still called by the name of Greece. The Italic school had for its founder Pythagoras of Samos, to whom also the term "philosophy" is said to owe its origin. For whereas formerly those who seemed to excel others by the laudable manner in which they regulated their lives were called sages, Pythagoras, on being asked what he professed, replied that he was a philosopher, that is, a student or lover of wisdom; for it seemed to him to be the height of arrogance to profess oneself a sage. 1 The founder of the Ionic school, again, was Thales of Miletus, one of those seven who were styled the "seven sages," of whom six were distinguished by the kind of life they lived, and by certain maxims which they gave forth for the proper conduct of life. Thales was distinguished as an investigator into the nature of things; and, in order that he might have successors in his school, he committed his dissertations to writing. That, however, which especially rendered him eminent was his ability, by means of astronomical calculations, even to predict eclipses of the sun and moon. He thought, however, that water was the first principle of things, and that of all the elements of the world, the world itself, and all things which are generated in it, ultimately consist. Over all this work, however, which, when we consider the world, appears so admirable, he set nothing of the nature of divine mind. To him succeeded Anaximander, his pupil, who held a different opinion concerning the nature of things; for he did not hold that all things spring from one principle, as Thales did, who held that principle to be water, but thought that each thing springs from its own proper principle. These principles of things he believed to be infinite in number, and thought that they generated innumerable worlds, and all the things which arise in them. He thought, also, that these worlds are subject to a perpetual process of alternate dissolution and regeneration, each one continuing for a longer or shorter period of time, according to the nature of the case; nor did he, any more than Thales, attribute anything to a divine mind in the production of all this activity of things. Anaximander left as his successor his

1 "Sapiens," that is, a wise man, one who had attained to wisdom.

308 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

disciple Anaximenes, who attributed all the causes of things to an infinite air. He neither denied nor ignored the existence of gods, but, so far from believing that the air was made by them, he held, on the contrary, that they sprang from the air. Anaxagoras, however, who was his pupil, perceived that a divine mind was the productive cause of all things which we see, and said that all the various kinds of things, according to their several modes and species, were produced out of an infinite matter consisting of homogeneous particles, but by the efficiency of a divine mind. Diogenes, also, another pupil of Anaximenes, said that a certain air was the original substance of things out of which all things were produced, but that it was possessed of a divine reason,
without which nothing could be produced from it. Anaxagoras was succeeded by his
disciple Archelaus, who also thought that all things consisted of homogeneous particles,
of which each particular thing was made, but that those particles were pervaded by a
divine mind, which perpetually energized all the eternal bodies, namely, those particles,
so that they are alternately united and separated. Socrates, the master of Plato, is said to
have been the disciple of Archelaus; and on Plato's account it is that I have given this
brief historical sketch of the whole history of these schools.

3. Of the Socratic philosophy.

Socrates is said to have been the first who directed the entire effort of philosophy to the
correction and regulation of manners, all who went before him having expended their
greatest efforts in the investigation of physical, that is, natural phenomena. However, it
seems to me that it cannot be certainly discovered whether Socrates did this because he
was wearied of obscure and uncertain things, and so wished to direct his mind to the
discovery of something manifest and certain, which was necessary in order to the
obtaining of a blessed life, "that one great object toward which the labour, vigilance,
and industry of all philosophers seem to have been directed, "or whether (as some yet
more favourable to him suppose) he did it because he was unwilling that minds defiled
with earthly desires should essay to raise themselves upward to divine things. For he saw
that the causes of
things were sought for by them, â€” which causes he believed to be ultimately reducible to nothing else than the will of the one true and supreme God, â€” and on this account he thought they could only be comprehended by a purified mind; and therefore that all diligence ought to be given to the purification of the life by good morals, in order that the mind, delivered from the depressing weight of lusts, might raise itself upward by its native vigour to eternal things, and might, with purified understanding, contemplate that nature which is incorporeal and unchangeable light, where live the causes of all created natures. It is evident, however, that he hunted out and pursued, with a wonderful pleasantness of style and argument, and with a most pointed and insinuating urbanity, the foolishness of ignorant men, who thought that they knew this or that, â€” sometimes confessing his own ignorance, and sometimes dissimulating his knowledge, even in those very moral questions to which he seems to have directed the whole force of his mind. And hence there arose hostility against him, which ended in his being calumniously impeached, and condemned to death. Afterwards, however, that very city of the Athenians, which had publicly condemned him, did publicly bewail him, â€” the popular indignation having turned with such vehemence on his accusers, that one of them perished by the violence of the multitude, whilst the other only escaped a like punishment by voluntary and perpetual exile.

Illustrious, therefore, both in his life and in his death, Socrates left very many disciples of his philosophy, who vied with one another in desire for proficiency in handling those moral questions which concern the chief good (summum honum), the possession of which can make a man blessed; and because, in the disputations of Socrates, where he raises all manner of questions, makes assertions, and then demolishes them, it did not evidently appear what he held to be the chief good, every one took from these disputations what pleased him best, and every one placed the final good in whatever it appeared to himself to consist.

Now, that which is called the final good is that at which, 1

1 Finem boni.

310 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.

when one has arrived, he is blessed. But so diverse were the opinions held by those followers of Socrates concerning this final good, that (a thing scarcely to be credited with respect to the followers of one master) some placed the chief good in pleasure, as Aristippus, others in virtue, as Antisthenes. Indeed, it were tedious to recount the various opinions of various disciples.

4. Concerning Plato, the chief among the disciples of Socrates, and his threefold division of philosophy.
But, among the disciples of Socrates, Plato was the one who shone with a glory which far excelled that of the others, and who not unjustly eclipsed them all. By birth an Athenian of honourable parentage, he far surpassed his fellow-disciples in natural endowments, of which he was possessed in a wonderful degree. Yet, deeming himself and the Socratic discipline far from sufficient for bringing philosophy to perfection, he travelled as extensively as he was able, going to every place famed for the cultivation of any science of which he could make himself master. Thus he learned from the Egyptians whatever they held and taught as important; and from Egypt, passing into those parts of Italy which were filled with the fame of the Pythagoreans, he mastered, with the greatest facility, and under the most eminent teachers, all the Italic philosophy which was then in vogue. And, as he had a peculiar love for his master Socrates, he made him the speaker in all his dialogues, putting into his mouth whatever he had learned, either from others, or from the efforts of his own powerful intellect, tempering even his moral disputations with the grace and politeness of the Socratic style. And, as the study of wisdom consists in action and contemplation, so that one part of it may be called active, and the other contemplative, â€” the active part having reference to the conduct of life, that is, to the regulation of morals, and the contemplative part to the investigation into the causes of nature and into pure truth, â€” Socrates is said to have excelled in the active part of that study, while Pythagoras gave more attention to its contemplative part, on which he brought to bear all the force of his great intellect. To Plato is given the praise of having perfected philosophy by combining both parts into one. He
then divides it into three parts, “the first moral, which is chiefly occupied with action; the second natural, of which the object is contemplation; and the third rational, which discriminates between the true and the false. And though this last is necessary both to action and contemplation, it is contemplation, nevertheless, which lays peculiar claim to the office of investigating the nature of truth. Thus this tripartite division is not contrary to that which made the study of wisdom to consist in action and contemplation. Now, as to what Plato thought with respect to each of these parts, “that is, what he believed to be the end of all actions, the cause of all natures, and the light of all intelligences, “it would be a question too long to discuss, and about which we ought not to make any rash affirmation. For, as Plato liked and constantly affected the well-known method of his master Socrates, namely, that of dissimulating his knowledge or his opinions, it is not easy to discover clearly what he himself thought on various matters, any more than it is to discover what were the real opinions of Socrates. We must, nevertheless, insert into our work certain of those opinions which he expresses in his writings, whether he himself uttered them, or narrates them as expressed by others, and seems himself to approve of, “opinions sometimes favourable to the true religion, which our faith takes up and defends, and sometimes contrary to it, as, for example, in the questions concerning the existence of one God or of many, as it relates to the truly blessed life which is to be after death. For those who are praised as having most closely followed Plato, who is justly preferred to all the other philosophers of the Gentiles, and who are said to have manifested the greatest acuteness in understanding him, do perhaps entertain such an idea of God as to admit that in Him are to be found the cause of existence, the ultimate reason for the understanding, and the end in reference to which the whole life is to be regulated. Of which three things, the first is understood to pertain to the natural, the second to the rational, and the third to the moral part of philosophy. For if man has been so created as to attain, through that which is most excellent in him, to that which excels all tilings, “that is, to the one true and absolutely good

312 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

God, without whom no nature exists, no doctrine instructs, no exercise profits, “let Him be sought in whom all things are secure to us, let Him be discovered in whom all truth becomes certain to us, let Him be loved in whom all becomes right to us.

5. That it is especially with the Platonists that we must carry on our disputations on matters of theology, their opinions being preferable to those of all other philosophers.

If, then, Plato defined the wise man as one who imitates, knows, loves this God, and who is rendered blessed through fellowship with Him in His own blessedness, why discuss with the other philosophers? It is evident that none come i nearer to us than the Platonists. To them, therefore, let that fabulous theology give place which delights the
minds of men with the crimes of the gods; and that civil theology also, in which impure demons, under the name of gods, have seduced the peoples of the earth given up to earthly pleasures, desiring to be honoured by the errors of men, and, by filling the minds of their worshippers with impure desires, exciting them to make the representation of their crimes one of the rites of their worship, whilst they themselves found in the spectators of these exhibitions a most pleasing spectacle, â€” a theology in which, whatever was honourable in the temple, was defiled by its mixture with the obscenity of the theatre, and whatever was base in the theatre was vindicated by the abominations of the temples. To these philosophers also the interpretations of Varro must give place, in which he explains the sacred rites as having reference to heaven and earth, and to the seeds and operations of perishable things; for, in the first place, those rites have not the signification which he would have men believe is attached to them, and therefore truth does not follow him in his attempt so to interpret them; and even if they had this signification, still those things ought not to be worshipped by the rational soul as its god which are placed below it in the scale of nature, nor ought the soul to prefer to itself as gods things to which the true God has given it the preference. The same must be said of those writings pertaining to the sacred rites, which Xuma Pompilius took care to conceal by causing them to be buried along with himself, and which,
when they were afterwards turned up by the plough, were burned by order of the senate. And, to treat Numa with all honour, let us mention as belonging to the same rank as these writings that which Alexander of Macedon wrote to his mother as communicated to him by Leo, an Egyptian high priest. In this letter not only Picus and Faunus, and Æneas and Eomulus, or even Hercules and Æsculapius and Liber, born of Semele, and the twin sons of Tyndareus, or any other mortals who have been deified, but even the principal gods themselves, 1 to whom Cicero, in his Tusculan questions, 2 alludes without mentioning their names, Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, Vesta, and many others whom Varro attempts to identify with the parts or the elements of the world, are shown to have been men. There is, as we have said, a similarity between this case and that of ISTuma; for, the priest being afraid because he had revealed a mystery, earnestly becked of Alexander to command his mother to burn the letter which conveyed these communications to her. Let these two theologies, then, the fabulous and the civil, give place to the Platonic philosophers, who have recognised the true God as the author of all things, the source of the light of truth, and the bountiful bestower of all blessedness. And not these only, but to these great acknowledgers of so great a God, those philosophers must yield who, having their mind enslaved to their body, supposed the principles of all things to be material; as Thales, who held that the first principle of all things was water; Anaximenes, that it was air; the Stoics, that it was fire; Epicurus, who affirmed that it consisted of atoms, that is to say, of minute corpuscles; and many others whom it is needless to enumerate, but who believed that bodies, simple or compound, animate or inanimate, but nevertheless bodies, were the cause and principle of all things. For some of them  

1 Dii majorum gentium. 2 Book i. 13.

314 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK Yin.

world is composed, was both living and intelligent, the maker of the world and of all things contained in it, ã€” that it was in fact God. These and others like them have only been able to suppose that which their hearts enslaved to sense have vainly suggested to them. And yet they have within themselves something which they could not see: they represented to themselves inwardly things which they had seen without, even when they
were not seeing them, but only thinking of them. But this representation in thought is no longer a body, but only the similitude of a body; and that faculty of the mind by which this similitude of a body is seen is neither a body nor the similitude of a body; and the faculty which judges whether the representation is beautiful or ugly is without doubt superior to the object judged of. This principle is the understanding of man, the rational soul; and it is certainly not a body, since that similitude of a body which it beholds and judges of is itself not a body. The soul is neither earth, nor water, nor air, nor fire, of which four bodies, called the four elements, we see that this world is composed. And if the soul is not a body, how should God, its Creator, be a body? Let all those philosophers, then, give place, as we have said, to the Platonists, and those also who have been ashamed to say that God is a body, but yet have thought that our souls are of the same nature as God. They have not been staggered by the great changeableness of the soul, an attribute which it would be impious to ascribe to the divine nature, but they say it is the body which changes the soul, for in itself it is unchangeable. As well might they say, "Flesh is wounded by some body, for in itself it is invulnerable." In a word, that which is unchangeable can be changed by nothing, so that that which can be changed by the body cannot properly be said to be immutable.

6. Concerning the meaning of the Platonists in that part of philosophy called physical.

These philosophers, then, whom we see not undeservedly exalted above the rest in fame and glory, have seen that no material body is God, and therefore they have transcended all bodies in seeking for God. They have seen that whatever is changeable is not the most high God, and therefore they
have transcended every soul and all changeable spirits in seeking the supreme. They have
seen also that, in every changeable thing, the form which makes it that which it is,
whatever be its mode or nature, can only be through Him who truly is, because He is
unchangeable. And therefore, whether we consider the whole body of the world, its
figure, qualities, and orderly movement, and also all the bodies which are in it; or
whether we consider all life, either that which nourishes and maintains, as the life of
trees, or that which, besides this, has also sensation, as the life of beasts; or that which
adds to all these intelligence, as the life of man; or that which does not need the support
of nutriment, but only maintains, feels, understands, as the life of angels, â€”
all can only be through Him who absolutely is. For to Him it is not one thing to be, and
another to live, as though He could be, not living; nor is it to Him one thing to live, and
another thing to understand, as though He could live, not understanding; nor is it to Him
one thing to understand, another thing to be blessed, as though He could understand and
not be blessed. But to Him to live, to understand, to be blessed, are to be. They have
understood, from this unchangeableness and this simplicity, that all things must have
been made by Him, and that He could Himself have been made by none. For they have
considered that whatever is is either body or life, and that life is something better than
body, and that the nature of body is sensible, and that of life intelligible. Therefore they
have preferred the intelligible nature to the sensible. We mean by sensible things such
things as can be perceived by the sight and touch of the body; by intelligible things, such
as can be understood by the sight of the mind. For there is no corporeal beauty, whether
in the condition of a body, as figure, or in its movement, as in music, of which it is not
the mind that judges. But this could never have been, had there not existed in the mind
itself a superior form of these things, without bulk, without noise of voice, without space
and time. But even in respect of these things, had the mind not been mutable, it would not
have been possible for one to judge better than another with regard to sensible forms. He
who is clever judges better

316 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

than he who is slow, he who is skilled than he who is unskilful, he who is practised than
he who is unpractised; and the same person judges better after he has gained experience
than he did before. But that which is capable of more and less is mutable; whence able
men, who have thought deeply

Ion these things, have gathered that the first form is not to be found in those things whose
form is changeable. r Since, therefore, they saw that body and mind might be more or less
beautiful in form, and that, if they wanted form, they could have no existence, they saw
that there is some existence in which is the first form, unchangeable, and therefore not
admitting of degrees of comparison, and in that they most rightly believed w T as the first
principle of things, which was not made, and by which all things were made. Therefore
that which is known of God He manifested to them when His invisible things were seen by them, being understood by those things which have been made; also His eternal power and Godhead by whom all visible and temporal things have been created. 1 We have said enough upon that part of theology which they call physical, that is, natural.

7. How much the Platonists are to be held as excelling other philosophers in logic, i.e. rational philosophy.

Then, a^ain, as far as regards the doctrine which treats of that which they call logic, that is, rational philosophy, far be it from us to compare them with those who attributed to the bodily senses the faculty of discriminating truth, and thought that all we learn is to be measured by their untrustworthy and fallacious rules. Such were the Epicureans, and all of the same school. Such also were the Stoics, who ascribed to the bodily senses that expertness in disputation which they so ardently love, called by them dialectic, asserting that from the senses the mind conceives the notions

{o (evvoiа) of those things which they explicate by definition. And hence is developed the whole plan and connection of their learning and teaching. I often wonder, with respect to this, how they can say that none are beautiful but the wise; for by what bodily sense have they perceived that beauty, by what eyes of the flesh have they seen wisdom's comeli-

1 Rom. i. 19, 20.
ness of form? Those, however, whom we justly rank before all others, have distinguished those things which are conceived by the mind from those which are perceived by the senses, neither taking away from the senses anything to which they are competent, nor attributing to them anything beyond their competency. And the light of our understandings, by which all things are learned by us, they have affirmed to be that selfsame God by whom all things were made.

8. That the Platonists hold the first rank in moral philosophy also.

The remaining part of philosophy is morals, or what is called by the Greeks ἀδικία, in which is discussed the question concerning the chief good, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον, which will leave us nothing further to seek in order to be blessed, if only we make all our actions refer to it, and seek it not for the sake of something else, but for its own sake. Therefore it is called the end, because we wish other things on account of it, but itself only for its own sake.

This beatific good, therefore, according to some, comes to a man from the body, according to others, from the mind, and, according to others, from both together.

For they saw that man himself consists of soul and body; and therefore they believed that from either of these two, or from both together, their well-being must proceed, consisting in a certain final good, which could render them blessed, and to which they might refer all their actions, not requiring anything ulterior to which to refer that good itself. This is why those who have added a third kind of good things, which they call extrinsic, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον as honour, glory, wealth, and the like, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον have not regarded them as part of the final good, that is, to be sought after for their own sake, but as things which are to be sought for the sake of something else, affirming that this kind of good is good to the good, and evil to the evil. Wherefore, whether they have sought the good of man from the mind or from the body, or from both together, it is still only from man they have supposed that it must be sought. But they who have sought it from the body have sought it from the inferior part of man; they who have sought it from the mind, from the superior part; and they who have sought it from both, from the whole man. Whether, therefore, they

318 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

have sought it from any part, or from the whole man, still they have only sought it from man; nor have these differences, being three, given rise only to three dissentient sects of philosophers, but to many. For diverse philosophers have held diverse opinions, both concerning the good of the body, and the good of the mind, and the good of both together.

Let, therefore, all these give place to those philosophers who have not affirmed that a man is blessed by the enjoyment of the body, or by the enjoyment of the mind, but by the enjoyment of God, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον enjoying Him, however, not as the mind does the body or itself, or
as one friend enjoys another, but as the eye enjoys light, if, indeed, we may draw any comparison between these things. But what the nature of this comparison is, will, if God help me, be shown in another place, to the best of my ability, ?] At present, it is sufficient to mention that Plato determined the final good to be to live according to virtue, and affirmed that he only can attain to virtue who knows and imitates God, â€” which knowledge and imitation are the only cause of blessedness. Therefore he did not doubt that to philosophize is to love God, whose nature is incorporeal. Whence it certainly follows that the student of wisdom, that is, the philosopher, will then become blessed when he shall have begun to enjoy God. For though he is not necessarily blessed who enjoys that which he loves (for many are miserable by loving that which ought not to be loved, and still more miserable when they enjoy it), nevertheless no one is blessed who does not enjoy that which he loves. For even they who love things which ought not to be loved do not count themselves blessed by loving merely, but by enjoying them. Who, then, but the most miserable will deny that he is blessed, who enjoys that which he loves, and loves the true and highest good ? But the true and highest good, according to Plato, is God, and therefore he would call him a philosopher who loves God; for philosophy is directed to the obtaining of the blessed life, and he who loves God is blessed in the enjoyment of God.

9. Concerning that philosophy which has come nearest to the Christian faith.

Whatever philosophers, therefore, thought concerning the supreme God, that He is both the maker of all created things,
the light by which things are known, and the good in reference to which things are to be done; that we have in Him the first principle of nature, the truth of doctrine, and the happiness of life, â€” whether these philosophers may be more suitably called Platonists, or whether they may give some other name to their sect; whether, we say, that only the chief men of the Ionic school, such as Plato himself, and they who have well understood him, have thought thus; or whether we also include the Italic school, on account of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, and all who may have held like opinions; and, lastly, whether also we include all who have been held wise men and philosophers among all nations who are discovered to have seen and taught this, be they Atlantics, Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Gauls, Spaniards, or of other nations, â€” we prefer these to all other philosophers, and confess that they approach nearest to us.

10. That the excellency of the Christian religion is above all the science of philosophers.

For although a Christian man instructed only in ecclesiastical literature may perhaps be ignorant of the very name of Platonists, and may not even know that there have existed two schools of philosophers speaking the Greek tongue, to wit, the Ionic and Italic, he is nevertheless not so deaf with respect to human affairs, as not to know that philosophers profess the study, and even the possession, of wisdom. He is on his guard, however, with respect to those who philosophize according to the elements of this world, not according to God, by whom the world itself was made; for he is warned by the precept of the apostle, and faithfully hears what has been said, "Beware that no one deceive you through philosophy and vain deceit, according to the elements of the world." 1 Then, that he may not suppose that all philosophers are such as do this, he hears the same apostle say concerning certain of them, "Because that which is known of God is manifest among them, for God has manifested it to them. For His invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made, also

1 Col. ii. 8.

320 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

His eternal power and Godhead." 1 And, when speaking to the Athenians, after having spoken a mighty thing concerning God, which few are able to understand, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," 2 he goes on to say, "As certain also of your own have said." He knows well, too, to be on his guard against even these philosophers in their errors. For where it has been said by him, "that God has manifested to them by those things which are made His invisible things, that they might be seen by the
understanding," there it has also been said that they did not rightly worship God Himself, because they paid divine honours, which are due to Him alone, to other things also to which they ought not to have paid them, â€” because, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God; neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things;" 3 â€” where the apostle would have us understand him as meaning the Romans, and Greeks, and Egyptians, who gloried in the name of wisdom; but concerning this we will dispute with them afterwards. With respect, however, to that wherein they agree with us we prefer them to all others, namely, concerning the one God, the author of this universe, who is not only above every body, being incorporeal, but also above all souls, being incorruptible â€” our principle, our light, our good. And though the Christian man, being ignorant of their writings, does not use in disputation words which he has not learned, â€” not calling that part of philosophy natural (which is the Latin term), or physical (which is the Greek one), which treats of the investigation of nature; or that part rational, or logical, which deals with the question how truth may be discovered; or that part moral, or ethical, which concerns morals, and shows how good is to be sought, and evil to be shunned, â€” he is not, therefore, ignorant that it is from the one true and supremely good God that we have that nature in which we are made in the image of God, and that doctrine by which we know Him and our-

1 Rom. i. 19, 20. 2 Acts xvii. 28. 3 Rom. i. 21-23.
selves, and that grace through which, by cleaving to Him, we are blessed. This, therefore, is the cause why we prefer these to all the others, because, whilst other philosophers have worn out their minds and powers in seeking the causes of things, and endeavouring to discover the right mode of learning and of living, these, by knowing God, have found where resides the cause by which the universe has been constituted, and the light by which truth is to be discovered, and the fountain at which felicity is to be drunk. All philosophers, then, who have had these thoughts concerning God, whether Platonists or others, agree with us. But we have thought it better to plead our cause with the Platonists, because their writings are better known. For the Greeks, whose tongue holds the highest place among the languages of the Gentiles, are loud in their praises of these writings; and the Latins, taken with their excellence, or their renown, have studied them more heartily than other writings, and, by translating them into our tongue, have given them greater celebrity and notoriety.

11. How Plato has been able to approach so nearly to Christian knowledge.

Certain partakers with us in the grace of Christ, wonder when they hear and read that Plato had conceptions concerning God, in which they recognise considerable agreement with the truth of our religion. Some have concluded from this, that when he went to Egypt he had heard the prophet Jeremiah, or, whilst travelling in the same country, had read the prophetic scriptures, which opinion I myself have expressed in certain of my writings. 1 But a careful calculation of dates, contained in chronological history, shows that Plato was born about a hundred years after the time in which Jeremiah prophesied, and, as he lived eighty-one years, there are found to have been about seventy years from his death to that time when Ptolemy, king of Egypt, requested the prophetic scriptures of the Hebrew people to be sent to him from Judea, and committed them to seventy Hebrews, who also knew the Greek tongue, to be translated and kept. Therefore, on that voyage of his, Plato could neither have seen Jeremiah, who was dead so long before, nor have read those same scriptures.

1 De Doctrina Christiana, ii. 43. Comp. Retract, ii. 4, 2.

VOL. L, X

322 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII]

which had not yet been translated into the Greek language, of which he was a master, unless, indeed, we say that, as he was most earnest in the pursuit of knowledge, he also studied those writings through an interpreter, as he did those of the Egyptians, â€” not, indeed, writing a translation of them (the facilities for doing which were only gained even by Ptolemy in return for munificent acts of kindness, I though fear of his kingly authority might have seemed a sufficient motive), but learning as much as he possibly could.
concerning their contents by means of conversation. What warrants this supposition is the opening verses of Genesis: "In the beginning God made the heaven and earth. And the earth was invisible, and without order; and darkness was over the abyss: and the Spirit of God moved over the waters." 2 For in the Timaeus, when writing on the formation of the world, he says that God first united earth and fire; from which it is evident that he assigns to fire a place in heaven. This opinion bears a certain resemblance to the statement, "In the beginning God made heaven and earth." Plato next speaks of those two intermediary elements, water and air, by which the other two extremes, namely, earth and fire, were mutually united; from which circumstance he is thought to have so understood the words, "The Spirit of God moved over the waters." For, not paying sufficient attention to the designations given by those scriptures to the Spirit of God, he may have thought that the four elements are spoken of in that place, because the air also is called spirit. 3 Then, as to Plato's saying that the philosopher is a lover of God, nothing shines more conspicuously in those sacred writings. But the most striking thing in this connection, and that which most of all inclines me almost to assent to the opinion that Plato was not ignorant of those writings, is the answer which was given to the question elicited from the holy Moses when the words of God were conveyed to him by the angel; for, when he asked what was the name of that God who was commanding him to go and deliver the Hebrew people out of Egypt, this answer was

1 Liberating Jewish slaves, and sending gifts to the temple. See Josephus, Ant. xii. 2.

2 Gen. i. 1, a * Spiritus.
given: "I am who am; and thou shalt say to the children of Israel, He who is sent me unto you;" I as though compared with Him that truly is, because He is unchangeable, those things which have been created mutable are not, â€” a truth which Plato vehemently held, and most diligently commended. And I know not whether this sentiment is anywhere to be found in the books of those who were before Plato, unless in that book where it is said, "I am who am; and thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Who is sent me unto you."

12. That even the Platonists, though they say these things concerning the one true God, nevertheless thought that sacred rites were to be performed in honour of many gods.

But we need not determine from what source he learned these things, â€” whether it was from the books of the ancients who preceded him, or, as is more likely, from the words of the apostle: "Because that which is known of God has been manifested among them, for God hath manifested it to them. For His invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by those things which have been made, also His eternal power and Godhead." 2 From whatever source he may have derived this knowledge, then, I think I have made it sufficiently plain that I have not chosen the Platonic philosophers undeservedly as the parties with whom to discuss; because the question we have just taken up concerns the natural theology, â€” the question, namely, whether sacred rites are to be performed to one God, or to many, for the sake of the happiness which is to be after death, I have specially chosen them because their juster thoughts concerning the one God who made heaven and earth, have made them illustrious among philosophers. This has given them such superiority to all others in the judgment of posterity, that, though Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, a man of eminent abilities, inferior in eloquence to Plato, yet far superior to many in that respect, had founded the Peripatetic sect, â€” so called because they were in the habit of walking about during their disputations, â€” and though he had, through the greatness of his fame, gathered very many disciples into his school, even during the life of his master; and though Plato at his death

1 Ex. iii 14. 2 Rom. i. 20.

324 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

was succeeded in his school, which was called the Academy, by Speusippus, his sister's son, and Xenocrates, his beloved disciple, who, together with their successors, were called from this name of the school, Academics; nevertheless the most illustrious recent philosophers, who have chosen to follow Plato, have been unwilling to be called Peripatetics, or Academics, but have preferred the name of Platonists. Among these were
the renowned Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Porphyry, who were Greeks, and the African Apuleius, who was learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues. All these, however, and the rest who were of the same school, and also Plato himself, thought that sacred rites ought to be performed in honour of many gods.

13. Concerning the opinion of Plato, according to which he defined the gods as beings entirely good and the friends of virtue.

Therefore, although in many other important respects they differ from us, nevertheless with respect to this particular point of difference, which I have just stated, as it is one of great moment, and the question on hand concerns it, I will first ask them to what gods they think that sacred rites are to be performed, â€” to the good or to the bad, or to both the good and the bad? But we have the opinion of Plato affirming that all the gods are good, and that there is not one of the gods bad. It follows, therefore, that these are to be performed to the good, for then they are performed to gods; for if they are not good, neither are they gods. Now, if this be the case (for what else ought we to believe concerning the gods?), certainly it explodes the opinion that the bad gods are to be propitiated by sacred rites in order that they may not harm us, but the good gods are to be "invoked in order that they may assist us. For there are no bad gods, and it is to the good that, as they say, the due honour of such rites is to be paid. Of what character, then, are those gods who love scenic displays, even demanding that a place be given them among divine things, and that they be exhibited in their honour? The power of these gods proves that they exist, but their liking such things proves that they are bad. For it is well known what Plato's opinion was concerning scenic plays. He thinks that the poets themselves, because they
have composed songs so unworthy of the majesty and goodness of the gods, ought to be banished from the state. Of what character, therefore, are those gods who contend with Plato himself about those scenic plays? He does not suffer the gods to be defamed by false crimes; the gods command those same crimes to be celebrated in their own honour.

In fine, when they ordered these plays to be inaugurated, they not only demanded base things, but also did cruel things, taking from Titus Latmius his son, and sending a disease upon him because he had refused to obey them, which they removed when he had fulfilled their commands. Plato, however, bad though they were, did not think they were to be feared; but, holding to his opinion with the utmost firmness and constancy, does not hesitate to remove from a wellordered state all the sacrilegious follies of the poets, with which these gods are delighted because they themselves are impure. But Labeo places this same Plato (as I have mentioned already in the second book 1) among the demi-gods.

Now Labeo thinks that the bad deities are to be propitiated with bloody victims, and by fasts accompanied with the same, but the good deities with plays, and all other things which are associated with joy fulness. How comes it, then, that the demi-god Plato so persistently dares to take away those pleasures, because he deems them base, not from the demi-gods but from the gods, and these the good gods? And, moreover, those very gods themselves do certainly refute the opinion of Labeo, for they showed themselves in the case of Latinius to be not only wanton and sportive, but also cruel and terrible.

Let the Platonists, therefore, explain these things to us, since, following the opinion of their master, they think that all the gods are good and honourable, and friendly to the virtues of the wise, holding it unlawful to think otherwise concerning any of the gods. We will explain it, say they. Let us then attentively listen to them.

14. Of the opinion of those who have said that rational souls are of three kinds, to wit, those of the celestial gods, those of the aerial demons, and those of terrestrial men.

There is, say they, a threefold division of all animals en-
As the dignity of their regions is diverse, so also is that of their natures; therefore the
gods are better than men and demons. Men have been placed below the gods and demons,
both in respect of the order of the regions they inhabit, and the difference of their merits.
The demons, therefore, who hold the middle place, as they are inferior to the gods, than
whom they inhabit a lower region, so they are superior to men, than whom they inhabit a
loftier one. For they have immortality of body in common with the gods, but passions of
the mind in common with men. On which account, say they, it is not wonderful that they
are delighted with the obscenities of the theatre, and the fictions of the poets, since they
are also subject to human passions, from which the gods are far removed, and to which
they are altogether strangers. "Whence we conclude that it was not the gods, who are all
good and highly exalted, that Plato deprived of the pleasure of theatric plays, by
reproving and prohibiting the fictions of the poets, but the demons.

Of these things many have written: among others Apuleius, the Platonist of Madaura,
who composed a whole work on the subject, entitled, Concerning the God of Socrates.
He there discusses and explains of what kind that deity was who attended on Socrates, a
sort of familiar, by whom it is said he was admonished to desist from any action which
would not turn out to his advantage. He asserts most distinctly, and proves at great
length, that it was not a god but a demon; and he discusses with great diligence the
opinion of Plato concerning the lofty estate of the gods, the lowly estate of men, and the
middle estate of demons. These things being so, how did Plato dare to take away, if not
from the gods, whom he removed from all human contagion, certainly from the demons,
all the pleasures of the theatre, by expelling the poets from the state? Evidently in this
way he wished to admonish the human soul, although still confined in these moribund
members, to despise the shameful commands of the demons,
and to detest their impurity, and to choose rather the splendour of virtue. But if Plato showed himself virtuous in answering and prohibiting these things, then certainly it was shameful of the demons to command them. Therefore either Apuleius is wrong, and Socrates' familiar did not belong to this class of deities, or Plato held contradictory opinions, now honouring the demons, now removing from the well-regulated state the things in which they delighted, or Socrates is not to be congratulated on the friendship of the demon, of which Apuleius was so ashamed that he entitled his book On the God of Socrates, whilst according to the tenor of his discussion, wherein he so diligently and at such length distinguishes gods from demons, he ought not to have entitled it, Concerning the God, but Concerning the Demon of Socrates. But he preferred to put this into the discussion itself rather than into the title of his book. For, through the sound doctrine which has illuminated human society, all, or almost all men have such a horror at the name of demons, that every one who, before reading the dissertation of Apuleius, which sets forth the dignity of demons, should have read the title of the book, On the Demon of Socrates, would certainly have thought that the author was not a sane man. But what did even Apuleius find to praise in the demons, except subtlety and strength of body and a higher place of habitation? For when he spoke generally concerning their manners, he said nothing that was good, but very much that was bad. Finally, no one, when he has read that book, wonders that they desired to have even the obscenity of the stage among divine things, or that, wishing to be thought gods, they should be delighted with the crimes of the gods, or that all those sacred solemnities, whose obscenity occasions laughter, and whose shameful cruelty causes horror, should be in agreement with their passions.

15. That the demons are not better than men because of their aerial bodies, or on account of their superior place of abode.

Wherefore let not the mind truly religious, and submitted to the true God, suppose that demons are better than men, because they have better bodies. Otherwise it must put many beasts before itself which are superior to us both in acuteness of the senses, in ease and quickness of movement,

323 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

in strength and in long-continued vigour of body. What man can equal the eagle or the vulture in strength of vision? Who can equal the dog in acuteness of smell? Who can equal the hare, the stag, and all the birds in swiftness? Who can equal in strength the lion or the elephant? Who can equal in length of life the serpents, which are affirmed to put off old age along with their skin, and to return to youth again? But as we are better than all these by the possession of reason and understanding, so we ought also to be better than the demons by living good
and virtuous lives. For divine providence gave to them bodies of a better quality than ours, that that in which we excel them might in this way be commended to us as deserving to be far more cared for than the body, and that we should learn to despise the bodily excellence of the demons compared with goodness of life, in respect of which we are better than they, knowing that we too shall have immortality of body, â€” not an immortality tortured by eternal punishment, but that which is consequent on purity of soul.

But now, as regards loftiness of place, it is altogether ridiculous to be so influenced by the fact that the demons inhabit the air, and we the earth, as to think that on that account they are to be put before us; for in this way we put all the birds before ourselves. But the birds, when they are weary with flying, or require to repair their bodies with food, come back to the earth to rest or to feed, which the demons, they say, do not. Are they, therefore, inclined to say that the birds are superior to us, and the demons superior to the birds?
But if it be madness to think so, there is no reason why we should think that, on account of their inhabiting a loftier element, the demons have a claim to our religious submission. But as it is really the case that the birds of the air are not only not put before us who dwell on the earth, but are even subjected to us on account of the dignity of the rational soul which is in us, so also it is the case that the demons, though they are aerial, are not better than we who are terrestrial because the air is higher than the earth, but, on the contrary, men are to be put before demons because their despair is not to be compared to the hope of pious men. Even that law of
Plato's, according to which he mutually orders and arranges the four elements, inserting between the two extreme elements—namely, fire, which is in the highest degree mobile, and the immoveable earth— the two middle ones, air and water, that by how much the air is higher up than the water, and the fire than the air, by so much also are the waters higher than the earth. This law, I say, sufficiently admonishes us not to estimate the merits of animated creatures according to the grades of the elements. And Apuleius himself says that man is a terrestrial animal in common with the rest, who is nevertheless to be put far before aquatic animals, though Plato puts the waters themselves before the land. By this he would have us understand that the same order is not to be observed when the question concerns the merits of animals, though it seems to be the true one in the gradation of bodies; for it appears to be possible that a soul of a higher order may inhabit a body of a lower, and a soul of a lower order a body of a higher.

16. What Apuleius the Platonist thought concerning the manners and actions of demons.

The same Apuleius, when speaking concerning the manners of demons, said that they are agitated with the same perturbations of mind as men; that they are provoked by injuries, propitiated by services and by gifts, rejoice in honours, are delighted with a variety of sacred rites, and are annoyed if any of them be neglected. Among other things, he also says that on them depend the divinations of augurs, soothsayers, and prophets, and the revelations of dreams; and that from them also are the miracles of the magicians. But, when giving a brief definition of them, he says, "Demons are of an animal nature, passive in soul, rational in mind, aerial in body, eternal in time." Of which five things, the three first are common to them and us, the fourth peculiar to themselves, and the fifth common to them with the gods." But I see that they have in common with the gods two of the first things, which they have in common with us. For he says that the gods also are animals; and when he is assigning to every order of beings its own element, he places us among the other terrestrial animals which live and feel upon the earth. Wherefore, if the demons are animals as to genus, this is common to them, not only with men, but also with the gods and with beasts; if they are rational as to their mind, this is common to them with the gods and with men; if they are eternal in time, this is common to them with the gods only; if they are passive as to their soul, this is common to them with men only; if they
are aerial in body, in this they are alone. Therefore it is no great thing for them to be of an animal nature, for so also are the beasts; in being rational as to mind, they are not above ourselves, for so are we also; and as to their being eternal as to time, what is the advantage of that if they are not blessed? for better is temporal happiness than eternal misery. Again, as to their being passive in soul, ~~Tiw are they in this respect above us, since we also are so, but would not have been so had we not been miserable? Also, as to their being aerial in body, how much value is to be set on that, since a soul of any kind whatsoever is to be set above every body? and therefore religious worship, which ought to be rendered from the soul, is by no means due to that thing which is inferior to the soul. Moreover, if he had, among those things which he says belong to demons, enumerated virtue, wisdom, happiness, and affirmed that they have those things in common with the gods, and, like them, eternally, he would assuredly have attributed to them something greatly to be desired, and much to be prized. And even in that case it would not have been our duty to worship them like God on account of these things, but rather to worship Him from whom we know they had received them. But how much less are they really worthy of divine honour, â€” those aerial animals who are only rational that they may be capable of misery, passive that they may be actually miserable, and eternal that it may be impossible for them to end their misery!

17. Whether it is proper that men should worship those spirits from whose vices it is necessary that they be freed.

"Wherefore, to omit other things, and confine our attention to that which he says is common to the demons with us, let us ask this question: If all the four elements are full of their own animals, the fire and the air of immortal, and the water and the
earth of mortal ones, why are the souls of demons agitated by the whirlwinds and tempests of passions? "And" for the Greek word ἡραώος means perturbation, whence he chose to call the demons "passive in soul," because the word passion, which is derived from ἡράω, signified a commotion of the mind contrary to reason. Why, then, are these things in the minds of demons which are not in beasts? For if anything of this kind appears in beasts, it is not perturbation, because it is not contrary to reason, of which they are devoid. Now it is foolishness or misery which is the cause of these perturbations in the case of men, for we are not yet blessed in the possession of that perfection of wisdom which is promised to us at last, when we shall be set free from our present mortality. But the gods, they say, are free from these perturbations, because they are not only eternal, but also blessed; for they also have the same kind of rational souls, but most pure from all spot and plague. Wherefore, if the gods are free from perturbation because they are blessed, not miserable animals, and the beasts are free from them because they are animals which are capable neither of blessedness nor misery, it remains that the demons, like men, are subject to perturbations because they are not blessed but miserable animals. What folly, therefore, or rather what madness, to submit ourselves through any sentiment of religion to demons, when it belongs to the true religion to deliver us from that depravity which makes us like to them! For Apuleius himself, although he is very sparing toward them, and thinks they are worthy of divine honours, is nevertheless compelled to confess that they are subject to anger; and the true religion commands us not to be moved with anger, but rather to resist it. The demons are won over by gifts; and the true religion commands us to favour no one on account of gifts received. The demons are flattered by honours; but the true religion commands us by no means to be moved by such things. The demons are haters of some men and lovers of others, not in consequence of a prudent and calm judgment, but because of what he calls their "passive soul;" whereas the true religion commands us to love even our enemies. Lastly, the true religion commands us to put away all disquietude of heart, and agitation of mind, and also all commotions and

332 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

tempests of the soul, which Apuleius asserts to be continually swelling and surging in the souls of demons. Why, therefore, except through foolishness and miserable error, shouldst thou humble thyself to worship a being to whom thou desirest to be unlike in thy life? And why shouldst thou pay religious homage to him whom thou art unwilling to imitate, when it is the highest duty of religion to imitate Him whom thou worshippest?

18. What kind of religion that is which teaches that men ought to employ the advocacy of demons in order to be recommended to the favour of the good gods.
In vain, therefore, have Apuleius, and they who think with him, conferred on the demons the honour of placing them in the air, between the ethereal heavens and the earth, that they may carry to the gods the prayers of men, to men the answers of the gods; for Plato held, they say, that no god has intercourse with man. They who believe these things have thought it unbecoming that men should have intercourse with the gods, and the gods with men, but a befitting thing that the demons should have intercourse with both gods and men, presenting to the gods the petitions of men, and conveying to men what the gods have granted; so that a chaste man, and one who is a stranger to the crimes of the magic arts, must use as patrons, through whom the gods may be induced to hear him, demons who love these crimes, although the very tact of his not loving them ought to have recommended him to them as one who deserved to be listened to with greater readiness and willingness on their part. They love the abominations of the stage, which chastity does not love. They love, in the sorceries of the magicians, "a thousand arts of inflicting harm" which innocence does not love. Yet both chastity and innocence, if they wish to obtain anything from the gods, will not be able to do so by their own merits, except their enemies act as mediators on their behalf. Apuleius need not attempt to justify the fictions of the poets, and the mockeries of the stage. If human modesty can act so faithlessly towards itself as not only to love shameful things, but even to think that they are

1 Virgil, JEn. 7. 338.
pleasing to the divinity, we can cite on the other side their own highest authority and teacher, Plato.

19. Of the impiety of the magic art, which is dependent on the assistance of malign spirits.

Moreover, against those magic arts, concerning which some men, exceedingly wretched and exceedingly impious, delight to boast, may not public opinion itself be brought forward as a witness? For why are those arts so severely punished by the laws, if they are the works of deities who ought to be worshipped? Shall it be said that the Christians have ordained those laws by which magic arts are punished? With what other meaning, except that these sorceries are without doubt pernicious to the human race, did the most illustrious poet say,

"By heaven, I swear, and your dear life, Unwillingly these arms I wield, And take, to meet the coming strife, Enchantment's sword and shield." 1

And that also which he says in another place concerning magic arts,

"I've seen him to another place transport the standing corn," 2

has reference to the fact that the fruits of one field are said to be transferred to another by these arts which this pestiferous and accursed doctrine teaches. Does not Cicero inform us that, among the laws of the Twelve Tables, that is, the most ancient laws of the Romans, there was a law written which appointed a punishment to be inflicted on him who should do this? 3

Lastly, was it before Christian judges that Apuleius himself was accused of magic arts? 4 Had he known these arts to be divine and pious, and congruous with the works of divine power, he ought not only to have confessed, but also to have professed them, rather blaming the laws by which these things were prohibited and pronounced worthy of condemnation, while they ought to have been held worthy of admiration and respect.

1 Virgil, JEn. 4. 492, 493. 2 Virgil, Ec. 8. 99.

8 Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxviii. 2) and others quote the law as running: "Qui fruges incantasit, qui malum carmen incantasit. . . . neu alienam segetem pelexeris."

4 Before Claudius, the prefect of Africa, a heathen.
For by so doing, either he would have persuaded the judges to adopt his own opinion, or, if they had shown their partiality for unjust laws, and condemned him to death notwithstanding his praising and commending such things, the demons would have bestowed on his soul such rewards as he deserved, who, in order to proclaim and set forth their divine works, had not feared the loss of his human life. As our martyrs, when that religion was charged on them as a crime, by which they knew they were made safe and most glorious throughout eternity, did not choose, by denying it, to escape temporal punishments, but rather by confessing, professing, and proclaiming it, by enduring all things for it with fidelity and fortitude, and by dying for it with pious calmness, put to shame the law by which that religion was prohibited, and caused its revocation. But there is extant a most copious and eloquent oration of this Platonic philosopher, in which he defends himself against the charge of practising these arts, affirming that he is wholly a stranger to them, and only wishing to show his innocence by denying such things as cannot be innocently committed. But all the miracles of the magicians, who he thinks are justly deserving of condemnation, are performed according to the teaching and by the power of demons. Why, then, does he think that they ought to be honoured? For he asserts that they are necessary, in order to present our prayers to the gods, and yet their works are such as we must shun if we wish our prayers to reach the true God. Again, I ask, what kind of prayers of men does he suppose are presented to the good gods by the demons? If magical prayers, they will have rume such; if lawful prayers, they will not receive them through such beings. But if a sinner who is penitent pour out prayers, especially if he has committed any crime of sorcery, does he receive pardon through the intercession of those demons by whose instigation and help he has fallen into the sin he mourns? or do the demons themselves, in order that they may merit pardon for the penitent, first become penitents because they have deceived them? This no one ever said concerning the demons; for had this been the case, they would never have dared to seek for themselves divine honours. For how should they do so who desired by penitence to obtain the grace of
pardon, seeing that such detestable pride could not exist along with a humility worthy of pardon?

20. Whether we are to believe that the good gods are more willing to have intercourse with demons than with men.

But does any urgent and most pressing cause compel the demons to mediate between the gods and men, that they may offer the prayers of men, and bring back the answers from the gods? and if so, what, pray, is that cause, what is that so great necessity? Because, say they, no god has intercourse with man. Most admirable holiness of God, which has no intercourse with a suppliant man, and yet has intercourse with an arrogant demon! which has no intercourse with a penitent man, and yet has intercourse with a deceiving demon! which has no intercourse with a man fleeing for refuge to the divine nature, and yet has intercourse with a demon feigning divinity! which has no intercourse with a man seeking pardon, and yet has intercourse with a demon persuading to wickedness! which has no intercourse with a man expelling the poets by means of philosophical writings from a well-regulated state, and yet has intercourse with a demon requesting from the princes and priests of a state the theatrical performance of the mockery of the poets! which has no intercourse with the man who prohibits the ascribing of crime to the gods, and yet has intercourse with a demon taking delight in the fictitious representation of their crimes! which has no intercourse with a man punishing the crimes of the magicians by just laws, and yet has intercourse with a demon teaching and practising magical arts! which has no intercourse with a man shunning the imitation of a demon, and yet has intercourse with a demon lying in wait for the deception of a man!

21. Whether the gods use the demons as messengers and interpreters, and whether they are deceived by them willingly, or without their own knowledge.

But herein, no doubt, lies the great necessity for this absurdity, so unworthy of the gods, that the ethereal gods, who are concerned about human affairs, would not know what terrestrial men were doing unless the aerial demons should bring them intelligence, because the ether is suspended far away from the earth and far above it, but the air is contigu-
they are ignorant of terrestrial things? It is on this account that they have supposed the
demons to be necessary as agents, through whom the gods may inform themselves with
respect to human affairs, and through whom, when necessary, they may succour men; and
it is on account of this office that the demons themselves have been held as deserving of
worship. If this be the case, then a demon is better known by these good gods through
nearness of body, than a man is by goodness of mind.
mournful necessity! or shall I not rather say detestable and vain error, that I may not
impute vanity to the divine nature!
For if the gods can, with their minds free from the hindrance of bodies, see our mind,
they do not need the demons as messengers from our mind to them; but if the ethereal
gods, by means of their bodies, perceive the corporeal indices of minds, as the
countenance, speech, motion, and thence understand what the demons tell them, then it is
also possible that they may be deceived by the falsehoods of demons. Moreover, it" the
divinity of the gods cannot be deceived by the demons, neither can it be ignorant of our
actions. But I would they would tell me whether the demons have informed the gods that
the fictions of the poets concerning the crimes of the gods displease Plato, concealing the
pleasure which they themselves take in them; or whether they have concealed both, and
have preferred that the gods should be ignorant with respect to this whole matter, or have
told both, as well the pious prudence of Plato with respect to the gods as their own lust,
which is injurious to the gods; or whether they have concealed Plato's opinion, according
to which he was unwilling that the gods should be defamed with falsely alleged crimes
through the impious licence of the poets, whilst they have not been ashamed nor afraid to
make known their own wickedness, which make them love theatrical plays, in which the
infamous deeds of the gods are celebrated. Let them choose which
they will of these four alternatives, and let them consider how much evil any one of them would require them to think of the gods. For if they choose the first, they must then confess that it was not possible for the good gods to dwell with the good Plato, though he sought to prohibit things injurious to them, whilst they dwelt with evil demons, who exulted in their injuries; and this because they suppose that the good gods can only know a good man, placed at so great a distance from them, through the mediation of evil demons, whom they could know on account of their nearness to themselves. 1 If they shall choose the second, and shall say that both these things are concealed by the demons, so that the gods are wholly ignorant both of Plato's most religious law and the sacrilegious pleasure of the demons, what, in that case, can the gods know to any profit with respect to human affairs through these mediating demons, when they do not know those things which are decreed, through the piety of good men, for the honour of the good gods against the lust of evil demons?

But if they shall choose the third, and reply that these intermediary demons have communicated, not only the opinion of Plato, which prohibited wrongs to be done to the gods, but also their own delight in these wrongs, I would ask if such a communication is not rather an insult? Now the gods, hearing both and knowing both, not only permit the approach of those malign demons, who desire and do things contrary to the dignity of the gods and the religion of Plato, but also, through these wicked demons, who are near to them, send good things to the good Plato, who is far away from them; for they inhabit such a place in the concatenated series of the elements, that they can come into contact with those by whom they are accused, but not with him by whom they are defended, â€” knowing the truth on both sides, but not being able to change the weight of the air and the earth.

There remains the fourth supposition; but it is worse than the rest. For who will suffer it to be said that the demons have made known the calumnious fictions of the poets concerning the immortal gods, and also the disgraceful mockeries of the theatres, and their own most ardent lust after, and most sweet

1 Another reading, "whom they could not know, though near to themselves."

338 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII]

pleasure in these things, whilst they have concealed from them that Plato, with the gravity of a philosopher, gave it as his opinion that all these things ought to be removed from a well-regulated republic; so that the good gods are now compelled, through such messengers, to know the evil doings of the most wicked beings, that is to say, of the messengers themselves, and are not allowed to know the good deeds of the philosophers, though the former are for the injury, but these latter for the honour of the gods themselves?
22. That we must, notwithstanding the opinion of Apuleius, reject the worship
of demons.

None of these four alternatives, then, is to be chosen; for we dare not suppose such
unbecoming things concerning the gods as the adoption of any one of them would lead us
to think. It remains, therefore, that no credence whatever is to be given to the opinion of
Apuleius and the other philosophers of the same school, namely, that the demons act as
messengers and interpreters between the gods and men to carry our petitions from us to
the gods, and to bring back to us the help of the gods. On the contrary, we must believe
them to be spirits most eager to inflict harm, utterly alien from righteousness, swollen
with pride, pale with envy, subtle in deceit; who dwell indeed in this air as in a prison, in
keeping with their own character, because, cast down from the height of the higher
heaven, they have been condemned to dwell in this element as the just reward of
irretrievable transgression. But, though the air is situated above the earth and the waters,
they are not on that account superior in merit to men, who, though they do not surpass
them as far as their earthly bodies are concerned, do nevertheless far excel them through
piety of mind, â€” they having made choice of the true God as their helper. Over many,
however, who are manifestly unworthy of participation in the true religion, they tyrannize
as over captives whom they have subdued, â€” the greatest part of whom they have
persuaded of their divinity by wonderful and lying signs, consisting either of deeds or of
predictions. Some, nevertheless, who have more attentively and diligently considered
their vices, they have not been able to persuade that they are gods, and so have feigned
themselves to be messengers
between the gods and men. Some, indeed, have thought that not even this latter honour ought to be acknowledged as belonging to them, not believing that they were gods, because they saw that they were wicked, whereas the gods, according to their view, are all good. Nevertheless they dared not say that they were wholly unworthy of all divine honour, for fear of offending the multitude, by whom, through inveterate superstition, the demons were served by the performance of many rites, and the erection of many temples.

23. What Hermes Trismegistus thought concerning idolatry, and from what source he knew that the superstitions of Egypt were to be abolished.

The Egyptian Hermes, whom they call Trismegistus, had a different opinion concerning those demons. Apuleius, indeed, denies that they are gods; but when he says that they hold a middle place between the gods and men, so that they seem to be necessary for men as mediators between them and the gods, he does not distinguish between the worship due to them and the religious homage due to the supernal gods. This Egyptian, however, says that there are some gods made by the supreme God, and some made by men. Any one who hears this, as I have stated it, no doubt supposes that it has reference to images, because they are the works of the hands of men; but he asserts that visible and tangible images are, as it were, only the bodies of the gods, and that there dwell in them certain spirits, which have been invited to come into them, and which have power to inflict harm, or to fulfil the desires of those by whom divine honours and services are rendered to them. To unite, therefore, by a certain art, those invisible spirits to visible and material things, so as to make, as it were, animated bodies, dedicated and given up to those spirits who inhabit them, â€” this, he says, is to make gods, adding that men have received this great and wonderful power. I will give the words of this Egyptian as they have been translated into our tongue: "And, since we have undertaken to discourse concerning the relationship and fellowship between men and the gods, know, Esculapius, the power and strength of man. As the Lord and Father, or that which is highest, even God, is the maker of the celestial gods, so man is the maker of the gods who are in the temples, content to dwell near to men." * And a little after he says, " Thus humanity, always mindful of its nature and origin, perseveres in the imitation of divinity; and as the Lord and Father made eternal gods, that they should be like Himself, so humanity fashioned its own gods according to the likeness of its own countenance." "When this Esculapius, to whom especially he was speaking, had answered him, and had said, " Dost thou mean the statues, Trismegistus? " â€” " Yes, the statues," replied he, " however unbelieving thou art, Esculapius, â€” the statues, animated, and full of sensation and spirit, and who do such great and wonderful things,
â€” the statues, prescient of future things, and foretelling them by lot, by prophet, by
dreams, and many other things, who bring diseases on men and cure them again, giving
them joy or sorrow according to their merits. Dost thou not know, ^Esulapius, that
Egypt is an image of heaven, or, more truly, a translation and descent of all things which
are ordered and transacted there, â€” that it is, in truth, if we may say so, to be the temple
of the whole world?
And yet, as it becomes the prudent man to know all things beforehand, ye ought not to be
ignorant of this, that there is a time coming when it shall appear that the Egyptians have
all in vain, with pious mind, and with most scrupulous diligence, waited on the divinity,
and when all their holy worship shall come to nought, and be found to be in vain."

Hermes then follows out at great length the statements of this passage, in which he seems
to predict the present time, in which the Christian religion is overthrowing all lying
figments with a vehemence and liberty proportioned to its superior truth and holiness, in
order that the grace of the true Saviour may deliver men from those gods which man has
made, and subject them to that God by whom man was made. But when Hermes predicts
these things, he speaks as one who is a friend to these same mockeries of demons, and
does not clearly express the name of Christ. ^On the contrary, he deplores, as if it had
already taken place, the future abolition of those things by the observance of which there
was main-

1 These quotations are from a dialogue between Hermes and iEsulapius, which is said to
have been translated into Latin by Apuleius.
tained in Egypt a resemblance of heaven, â€” he bears witness to Christianity by a kind of mournful prophecy. Now it was with reference to such that the apostle said, that " knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man," 1 and so on, for the whole passage is too long to quote. For Hermes makes many such statements agreeable to the truth concerning the one true God who fashioned this world. And I know not how he has become so bewildered by that " darkening of the heart" as to stumble into the expression of a desire that men should always continue in subjection to those gods which he confesses to be made by men, and to bewail their future removal; as if there could be anything more wretched than mankind tyrannized over by the work of his own hands, since man, by worshipping the works of his own hands, may more easily cease to be man, than the works of his hands can, through his worship of them, become gods. For it can sooner happen that man, who has received an honourable position, may, through lack of understanding, become comparable to the beasts, than that the works of man may become preferable to the work of God, made in His own image, that is, to man himself. Wherefore deservedly is man left to fall away from Him who made him, when he prefers to himself that which he himself has made.

For these vain, deceitful, pernicious, sacrilegious things did the Egyptian Hermes sorrow, because he knew that the time was coming when they should be removed. But his sorrow was as impudently expressed as his knowledge was imprudently obtained; for it was not the Holy Spirit who revealed these things to him, as He had done to the holy prophets, who, foreseeing these things, said with exultation, " If a man shall make gods, lo, they are no gods;" 2 and in another place, " And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered." 3 But the holy Isaiah prophesies expressly

1 Rom. i. 21. 2 Jer. xvi. 20. 3 Zech. xiii. 2.

342 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

concerning Egypt in reference to this matter, saying, " And the idols of Egypt shall he moved at His presence, and their heart shall be overcome in them," x and other things to the same effect And with the prophet are to be classed those who rejoiced that that which they knew was to come had actually come, â€” as Simeon, or Anna, who immediately recognised Jesus when He was born, or Elisabeth, who in the Spirit recognised Him when He was conceived, or Peter, who said by the revelation of the Father, " Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." 2 But to this Egyptian those spirits indicated the time of their own destruction, who also, when the Lord was present in the flesh, said with trembling, " Art Thou come hither to
destroy us before the time?" 3 meaning by destruction before the time, either that very destruction which they expected to come, but which they did not think would come so suddenly as it appeared to have done, or only that destruction which consisted in their being brought into contempt by being made known. And, indeed, this was a destruction before the time, that is, before the time of judgment, when they are to be punished with eternal damnation, together with all men who are implicated in their wickedness, as the true religion declares, which neither errs nor leads into error; for it is not like him who, blown hither and thither by every wind of doctrine, and mixing true things with things which are false, bewails as about to perish a religion which he afterwards confesses to be error.

24. How Hermes openly confessed the error of Ids fore fathers, the coming destruction of which he nevertheless bewailed.

After a long interval, Hermes again comes back to the subject of the gods which men have made, saying as follows:
"But enough on this subject. Let us return to man and to reason, that divine gift on account of which man has been called a rational animal. For the things which have been said concerning man, wonderful though they are, are less wonderful than those which have been said concerning reason. For man to discover the divine nature, 'and to make it, surpasses the wonder of all other wonderful things. Because, therefore, our forefathers erred very far with respect to the

1 Isa. xix. 1. 2 Matt. xvi. 16. 3 Matt. viii. 29.
knowledge of the gods, through incredulity and through want of attention to their worship and service, they invented this art of making gods; and this art once invented, they associated with it a suitable virtue borrowed from universal nature, and, being incapable of making souls, they evoked those of demons or of angels, and united them with these holy images and divine mysteries, in order that through these souls the images might have power to do good or harm to men." I know not whether the demons themselves could have been made, even by adjuration, to confess as he has confessed in these words: "Because our forefathers erred very far with respect to the knowledge of the gods, through incredulity and through want of attention to their worship and service, they invented the art of making gods." Does he say that it was a moderate degree of error which resulted in their discovery of the art of making gods, or was he content to say "they erred"? No; he must needs add "very far," and say, "They erred very far."

It was this great error and incredulity, then, of their forefathers who did not attend to the worship and service of the gods, which was the origin of the art of making gods. And yet this wise man grieves over the ruin of this art at some future time, as if it were a divine religion. Is he not verily compelled by divine influence, on the one hand, to reveal the past error of his forefathers, and by a diabolical influence, on the other hand, to bewail the future punishment of demons?

For if their forefathers, by erring very far with respect to the knowledge of the gods, through incredulity and aversion of mind from their worship and service, invented the art of making gods, what wonder is it that all that is done by this detestable art, which is opposed to the divine religion, should be taken away by that religion, when truth corrects error, faith refutes incredulity, and conversion rectifies aversion?

For if he had only said, without mentioning the cause, that his forefathers had discovered the art of making gods, it would have been our duty, if we paid any regard to what is right and pious, to consider and to see that they could never have attained to this art if they had not erred from the truth, if they had believed those things which are worthy of God, if they had attended to divine worship and service. However,
â€” what ought we to say, or rather to do, but to give to the Lord our God all the thanks we are able, because He has taken away those things by causes the contrary of those which led to their institution? For that which the prevalence of error instituted, the way of truth took away; that which incredulity instituted, faith took away; that which aversion from divine worship and service instituted, conversion to the one true and holy God took away. Nor was this the case only in Egypt, for which country alone the spirit of the demons lamented in Hermes, but in all the earth, which sings to the Lord a new song, 1 as the truly holy and truly prophetic Scriptures have predicted, in which it is written, "Sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth." For the title of this psalm is, "When the house was built after the captivity." For a house is being built to the Lord in all the earth, even the city of God, which is the holy Church, after that captivity in which demons held captive those men who, through faith in God, became living stones in the house. For although man made gods, it did not follow that he who made them was not held captive by them, when, by worshipping them, he was drawn into fellowship with them, â€” into the fellowship not of stolid idols, but of cunning demons; for what are *idols but what they are represented to be in the same Scriptures, "They have eyes, but they do not see," 2 and, though artistically fashioned, are

1 Ps. xcvi. 1. 2 Ps. cxv. 5, etc.
still without life and sensation? But unclean spirits, associated through that wicked art
with these same idols, have miserably taken captive the souls of their worshippers, by
bringing them down into fellowship with themselves. Whence the apostle says, " We
know that an idol is nothing, but those things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice
to demons, and not to God; and I would not ye should have fellowship with demons." 1
After this captivity, therefore, in which men were held by malign demons, the house of
God is being built in all the earth; whence the title of that psalm in which it is said, " Sing
unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth. Sing unto the Lord, bless His
name; declare well His salvation from day to day. Declare His glory among the nations,
among all people His wonderful things. For great is the Lord, and much to be praised: He
is terrible above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are demons: but the Lord made
the heavens." 2

Wherefore he who sorrowed because a time was coming when the worship of idols
should be abolished, and the domination of the demons over those who worshipped them,
wished, under the influence of a demon, that that captivity should always continue, at the
cessation of which that psalm celebrates the building of the house of the Lord in all the
earth. Hermes foretold these things with grief, the prophet with joyfulness; and because
the Spirit is victorious who sang these things through the ancient prophets, even Hermes
himself was compelled in a wonderful manner to confess, that those very things which he
wished not to be removed, and at the prospect of whose removal he was sorrowful, had
been instituted, not by prudent, faithful, and religious, but by erring and unbelieving men,
averse to the worship and service of the gods. And although he calls them gods,
nevertheless, when he says that they were made by such men as we certainly ought not to
be, he shows, whether he will or not, that they are not to be worshipped by those who do
not resemble these image-makers, that is, by prudent, faithful, and religious men, at the
same time also making it manifest that the very men who made them involved themselves
in the worship of those as gods who were not gods.

1 1 Cor. x. 19, 20. 2 p 3# xcv j # i_5.

346 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII.]

For true is the saying of the prophet, " If a man make gods, lo, they are no gods." 1 Such
gods, therefore, acknowledged by such worshippers and made by such men, did Hermes
call
" gods made by men," that is to say, demons, through some art of I know not what
description, bound by the chains of their own lusts to images. But, nevertheless, he did
not agree with that opinion of the Platonic Apuleius, of which we have already shown the
incongruity and absurdity, namely, that they were interpreters and intercessors between
the gods whom God made, and men whom the same God made, bringing to God the
prayers of men, and from God the gifts given in answer to these prayers. For it is exceedingly stupid to believe that gods whom men have made have more influence with gods whom God has made than men themselves have, whom the very same God has made. And consider, too, that it is a demon which, bound by a man to an image by means of an impious art, has been made a god, but a god to such a man only, not to every man. What kind of god, therefore, is that which no man would make but one erring, incredulous, and averse to the true God? Moreover, if the demons which are worshipped in the temples, being introduced by some kind of strange art into images, that is, into visible representations of themselves, by those men who by this art made gods when they were straying away from, and were averse to the worship and service of the gods, â€” if, I say, those demons are neither mediators nor interpreters between men and the gods, both on account of their own most wicked and base manners, and because men, though erring, incredulous, and averse from the worship and service of the gods, are nevertheless beyond doubt better than the demons whom they themselves have evoked, then it remains to be affirmed that what power they possess they possess as demons, doing harm by bestowing pretended benefits, â€” harm all the greater for the deception, â€” or else openly and undisguisedly doing evil to men. They cannot, however, do anything of this kind unless where they are permitted by the deep and secret providence of God, and then only so far as they are permitted. When, however, they are permitted, it is not because they, being midway between

1 Jer. xvi. 20.
men and the gods, have through the friendship of the gods great power over men; for these demons cannot possibly be friends to the good gods who dwell in the holy and heavenly habitation, by whom we mean holy angels and rational creatures, whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers, from whom they are as far separated in disposition and character as vice is distant from virtue, wickedness from goodness.

25. Concerning those things which may be common to the holy angels and to men.

Wherefore we must by no means seek, through the supposed mediation of demons, to avail ourselves of the benevolence or beneficence of the gods, or rather of the good angels, but through resembling them in the possession of a good will, through which we are with them, and live with them, and worship with them the same God, although we cannot see them with the eyes of our flesh. But it is not in locality we are distant from them, but in merit of life, caused by our miserable unlikeness to them in will, and by the weakness of our character; for the mere fact of our dwelling on earth under the conditions of life in the flesh does not prevent our fellowship with them. It is only prevented when we, in the impurity of our hearts, mind earthly things. But in this present time, while we are being healed that we may eventually be as they are, we are brought near to them by faith, if by their assistance we believe that He who is their blessedness is also ours.

26. That all the religion of the pagans has reference to dead men.

It is certainly a remarkable thing how this Egyptian, when expressing his grief that a time was coming when those things would be taken away from Egypt, which he confesses to have been invented by men erring, incredulous, and averse to the service of divine religion, says, among other things, “Then shall that land, the most holy place of shrines and temples, be full of sepulchres and dead men,” as if, in sooth, if these things were not taken away, men would not die! as if dead bodies could be buried elsewhere than in the ground! as if, as time advanced, the number of sepulchres must not necessarily increase in proportion to the increase of the number of

the dead! But they who are of a perverse mind, and opposed to us, suppose that what he grieves for is that the memorials of our martyrs were to succeed to their temples and shrines, in order, forsooth, that they may have grounds for thinking that gods were worshipped by the pagans in temples, but that dead men are worshipped by us in sepulchres. For with such blindness do impious men, as it were, stumble over mountains, and will not see the things which strike their own eyes, that they do not attend to the fact
that in all the literature of the pagans there are not found any, or scarcely any gods, who have not been men, to whom, when dead, divine honours have been paid. I will not enlarge on the fact that Yarro says that all dead men are thought by them to be gods Manes, and proves it by those sacred rites which are performed in honour of almost all the dead, among which he mentions funeral games, considering this the very highest proof of divinity, because games are only wont to be celebrated in honour of divinities. Hermes himself, of whom we are now treating, in that same book in which, as if foretelling future things, he says with sorrow, " Then shall that land, the most holy place of shrines and temples, be full of sepulchres and dead men," testifies that the gods of Egypt were dead men. For, having said that their forefathers, erring very far with respect to the knowledge of the gods, incredulous and inattentive to the divine worship and service, invented the art of making gods, with which art, when invented, they associated the appropriate virtue which is inherent in universal nature, and by mixing up that virtue with this art, they called forth the souls of demons or of angels (for they could not make souls), and caused them to take possession of, or associate themselves with holy images and divine mysteries, in order that through these souls the images might have power to do good or harm to men; having said this, he goes on, as it were, to prove it by illustrations, saying, " Thy grandsire, iEsculapius, the first discoverer of medicine, to whom a temple was consecrated in a mountain of Libya, near to the shore of the crocodiles, in which temple lies his earthly man, that is, his body, for the better part of him, or rather the whole of him, if the whole man is in the intelligent life, went back to heaven, affords
even now by his divinity all those helps to infirm men, which formerly he was wont to
afford to them by the art of medicine." He says, therefore, that a dead man was
worshipped as a god in that place where he had his sepulchre. He deceives men by a
falsehood, for the man "went back to heaven." Then he adds, "Does not Hermes, who was
my grandsire, and whose name I bear, abiding in the country which is called by his name,
help and preserve all mortals who come to him from every quarter?" For this elder
Hermes, that is, Mercury, who, he says, was his grandsire, is said to be buried in
Hermopolis, that is, in the city called by his name; so here are two gods whom he affirms
to have been men, iEscaulapius and Mercury. Now concerning iEscaulapius, both the
Greeks and the Latins think the same thing; but as to Mercury, there are many who do not
think that he was formerly a mortal, though Hermes testifies that he was his grandsire.
But are these two different individuals who were called by the same name? I will not
dispute much whether they are different individuals or not. It is sufficient to know that
this Mercury of whom Hermes speaks is, as well as iEscaulapius, a god who once was a
man, according to the testimony of this same Trismegistus, esteemed so great by his
countrymen, and also the grandson of Mercury himself.

Hermes goes on to say, "But do we know how many good things Isis, the wife of Osiris,
bestows when she is propitious, and what great opposition she can offer when enraged?"
Then, in order to show that there were gods made by men through this art, he goes on to
say, "For it is easy for earthly and mundane gods to be angry, being made and composed
by men out of either nature;" thus giving us to understand that he believed that demons
were formerly the souls of dead men, which, as he says, by means of a certain art
invented by men very far in error, incredulous, and irreligious, were caused to take
possession of images, because they who made such gods were not able to make souls.
"When, therefore, he says "either nature," he means soul and body, â€” the demon being
the soul, and the image the body. What, then, becomes of that mournful complaint, that
the land of Egypt, the most holy place of shrines and temples, was to be full of sepulchres and

350 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK Yin.

dead men? Verily, the fallacious spirit, by whose inspiration Hermes spoke these things,
was compelled to confess through him that even already that land was full of sepulchres
and of dead men, whom they were worshipping as gods. But it was the grief of the
demons which was expressing itself through his mouth, who were sorrowing on account
of the punishments which were about to fall upon them at the tombs of the martyrs. For in
many such places they are tortured and compelled to confess, and are cast out of the
bodies of men, of which they had taken possession.

27. Concerning the nature of the honour which the Christians pay to
their martyrs.

But, nevertheless, we do not build temples, and ordain priests, rites, and sacrifices for these same martyrs; for they are not our gods, but their God is our God. Certainly we honour their reliquaries, as the memorials of holy men of God who strove for the truth even to the death of their bodies, that the true religion might be made known, and false and fictitious religions exposed. For if there were some before them who thought that these religions were really false and fictitious, they were afraid to give expression to their convictions. But who ever heard a priest of the faithful, standing at an altar built for the honour and worship of God over the holy body of some martyr, say in the prayers, I offer to thee a sacrifice, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian? for it is to God that sacrifices are offered at their tombs, the God who made them both men and martyrs, and associated them with holy angels in celestial honour; and the reason why we pay such honours to their memory is, that by so doing we may both give thanks to the true God for their victories, and, by recalling them afresh to remembrance, may stir ourselves up to imitate them by seeking to obtain like crowns and palms, calling to our help that same God on whom they called.

Therefore, whatever honours the religious may pay in the places of the martyrs, they are but honours rendered to their memory, not sacred rites or sacrifices offered to dead men as to gods. And even such as bring thither food, which, indeed, is not done by the better Christians, and in most places of

1 Ornamenta memorianim.
the world is not done at all, â€” do so in order that it may be sanctified to them through the merits of the martyrs, in the name of the Lord of the martyrs, first presenting the food and offering prayer, and thereafter taking it away to be eaten, or to be in part bestowed upon the needy. 1 But he who knows the one sacrifice of Christians, which is the sacrifice offered in those places, also knows that these are not sacrifices offered to the martyrs. It is, then, neither with divine honours nor with human crimes, by which they worship their gods, that we honour our martyrs; neither do we offer sacrifices to them, or convert the crimes of the gods into their sacred rites.

For let those who will and can read the letter of Alexander to his mother Olympias, in which he tells the things which were revealed to him by the priest Leon, and let those who have read it recall to memory what it contains, that they may see what great abominations have been handed down to memory, not by poets, but by the mystic writings of the Egyptians, concerning the goddess Isis, the wife of Osiris, and the parents of both, all of whom, according to these writings, were royal personages. Isis, when sacrificing to her parents, is said to have discovered a crop of barley, of which she brought some ears to the king her husband, and his councillor Mercurius, and hence they identify her with Ceres. Those who read the letter may there see what was the character of those people to whom when dead sacred rites were instituted as to gods, and what those deeds of theirs were which furnished the occasion for these rites. Let them not once dare to compare in any respect those people, though they hold them to be gods, to our holy martyrs, though we do not hold them to be gods. For we do not ordain priests and offer sacrifices to our martyrs, as they do to their dead men, for that would be incongruous, undue, and unlawful, such being due only to God; and thus we do not delight them with their own crimes, or with such shameful plays as those in which the crimes of the gods are celebrated, which are either real crimes committed by them at a time when they were men, or else, if they never were men, fictitious crimes invented for the pleasure of noxious demons. The god of Socrates, if he had a

1 Comp. The Confessions, vi. 2.

352 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK VIII

god, cannot have belonged to this class of demons. But perhaps they who wished to excel in this art of making gods, imposed a god of this sort on a man who was a stranger to, and innocent of any connection with that art. What need we say more? No one who is even moderately wise imagines that demons are to be worshipped on account of the blessed life which is to be after death. But perhaps they will say that all the gods are good, but that of the demons some are bad and some good, and that it is the good who are to be worshipped, in order that through them we may attain to the eternally blessed life. To the examination of this opinion we will devote the following book.
BOOK NINTH.

ARGUMENT.

HAVING IN THE PRECEDING BOOK SHOWN THAT THE WORSHIP OF DEMONS MUST BE ABJURED, SINCE THEY IN A THOUSAND WAYS PROCLAIM THEMSELVES TO BE WICKED SPIRITS, AUGUSTINE IN THIS BOOK MEETS THOSE WHO ALLEGE A DISTINCTION AMONG DEMONS, SOME BEING EVIL, WHILE OTHERS ARE GOOD; AND, HAVING EXPLODED THIS DISTINCTION, HE PROVES THAT TO NO DEMON, BUT TO CHRIST ALONE, BELONGS THE OFFICE OF PROVIDING MEN WITH ETERNAL BLESSEDNESS.

1. The point at which the discussion has arrived, and what remains to be handled.

SOME have advanced the opinion that there are both good and bad gods; but some, thinking more respectfully of the gods, have attributed to them so much honour and praise as to preclude the supposition of any god being wicked. But those who have maintained that there are wicked gods as well as good ones have included the demons under the name “gods” and sometimes, though more rarely, have called the gods demons; so that they admit that Jupiter, whom they make the king and head of all the rest, is called a demon by Homer. 1 Those, on the other hand, who maintain that the gods are all good, and far more excellent than the men who are justly called good, are moved by the actions of the demons, which they can neither deny nor impute to the gods whose goodness they affirm, to distinguish between gods and demons; so that, whenever they find anything offensive in the deeds or sentiments by which unseen spirits manifest their power, they believe this to proceed not from the gods, but from the demons.

At the same time they believe that, as no god can hold direct intercourse with men, these demons hold the position of mediators, ascending with prayers, and returning with gifts. This is the opinion of the Platonists, the ablest and most esteemed of their philosophers, with whom we therefore chose to debate this question, â€” whether the worship of a number of gods is of

1 See Plutarch, on the Cessation of Oracles.

354 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

any service towards obtaining blessedness in the future life.

And this is the reason why, in the preceding book, we have inquired how the demons, who take pleasure in such things as good and wise men loathe and execrate, in the
sacrilegious and immoral fictions which the poets have written, not of men, but of the
gods themselves, and in the wicked and criminal violence of magical arts, can be
regarded as more nearly related and more friendly to the gods than men are, and can
mediate between good men and the good gods; and it has been demonstrated that this is
absolutely impossible.

2. Whether among the demons, inferior to the gods, there are any good spirits under
whose guardianship the human soul might reach true blessedness.

This book, then, ought, according to the promise made in the end of the preceding one, to
contain a discussion, not of the difference which exists among the gods, who, according
to the Platonists, are all good, nor of the difference between gods and demons, the former
of whom they separate by a wide interval from men, while the latter are placed
intermediately between the gods and men, but of the difference, since they make one,
among the demons themselves. This we shall discuss so far as it bears on our theme. It
has been the common and usual belief that some of the demons are bad, others good; and
this opinion, whether it be that of the Platonists or any other sect, must by no means be
passed over in silence, lest some one suppose he ought to cultivate the good demons in
order that by their mediation he may be accepted by the gods, all of whom he believes to
be good, and that he may live with them after death; whereas he would thus be ensnared
in the toils of wicked spirits, and would wander far from the true God, with whom alone,
and in whom alone, the human soul, that is to say, the soul that is rational and
intellectual, is blessed.

3. What Apuleius attributes to the demons, to whom, though he does not deny them
reason, he does not ascribe virtue.

What, then, is the difference between good and evil demons?
For the Platonist Apuleius, in a treatise on this whole subject, 1

1 The De Deo Socratis.
while he says a great deal about their aerial bodies, has not a word to say of the spiritual virtues with which, if they were good, they must have been endowed. Not a word has he said, then, of that which could give them happiness; but proof of their misery he has given, acknowledging that their mind, by which they rank as reasonable beings, is not only not imbued and fortified with virtue so as to resist all unreasonable passions, but that it is somehow agitated with tempestuous emotions, and is thus on a level with the mind of foolish men. His own words are: "It is this class of demons the poets refer to, when, without serious error, they feign that the gods hate and love individuals among men, prospering and ennobling some, and opposing and distressing others. Therefore pity, indignation, grief, joy, every human emotion is experienced by the demons, with the same mental disturbance, and the same tide of feeling and thought. These turmoils and tempests banish them far from the tranquillity of the celestial gods." Can there be any doubt that in these words it is not some inferior part of their spiritual nature, but the very mind by which the demons hold their rank as rational beings, which he says is tossed with passion like a stormy sea?

They cannot, then, be compared even to wise men, who with undisturbed mind resist these perturbations to which they are exposed in this life, and from which human infirmity is never exempt, and who do not yield themselves to approve of or perpetrate anything which might deflect them from the path of wisdom and law of rectitude. They resemble in character, though not in bodily appearance, wicked and foolish men. I might indeed say they are worse, inasmuch as they have grown old in iniquity, and incorrigible by punishment. Their mind, as Apuleius says, is a sea tossed with tempest, having no rallying point of truth or virtue in their soul from which they can resist their turbulent and depraved emotions.

4. The opinion of the Peripatetics and Stoics about mental emotions.

Among the philosophers there are two opinions about these mental emotions, which the Greeks call irddrj, while some of our own writers, as Cicero, call them perturbations, some

1 De Fin. iii. 20; Tusc. Disp. iii. 4.

affections, and some, to render the Greek word more accurately, passions. Some say that even the wise man is subject to these perturbations, though moderated and controlled by reason, which imposes laws upon them, and so restrains them within necessary bounds. This is the opinion of the Platonists and Aristotelians; for Aristotle was Plato's disciple, and the founder of the Peripatetic school. But others, as the Stoics, are of opinion that the wise man is not subject to these perturbations. But Cicero, in his book De Finibus, shows
that the Stoics are here at variance with the Platonists and Peripatetics rather in words than in reality; for the Stoics decline to apply the term "goods" to external and bodily advantages, because they reckon that the only good is virtue, the art of living well, and this exists only in the mind. The other philosophers, again, use the simple and customary phraseology, and do not scruple to call these things goods, though in comparison of virtue, which guides our life, they are little and of small esteem. And thus it is obvious that, whether these outward things are called goods or advantages, they are held in the same estimation by both parties, and that in this matter the Stoics are pleasing themselves merely with a novel phraseology. It seems, then, to me that in this question, whether the wise man is subject to mental passions, or wholly free from them, the controversy is one of words rather than of things; for I think that, if the reality and not the mere sound of the words is considered, the Stoics hold precisely the same opinion as the Platonists and Peripatetics. For, omitting for brevity's sake other proofs which I might adduce in support of this opinion, I will state but one which I consider conclusive. Aulus Gellius, a man of extensive erudition, and gifted with an eloquent and graceful style, relates, in his work entitled Nodes Atticce, 2 that he once made a voyage with an eminent Stoic philosopher; and he goes on to relate fully and with gusto what I shall barely state, that when the ship was tossed and in danger from a violent storm, the philosopher

1 The distinction between hona and commoda is thus given by Seneca (Ep. 87, ad Jin.): "Commodum est quod plus usus est quam molestiae; bonum sincerum debet esse et ab omni parte innoxium. "

2 Book xix. ch. 1.
grew pale with terror. Tliis was noticed by those on board, who, though themselves threatened with death, were curious to see whether a philosopher would be agitated like other men. When the tempest had passed over, and as soon as their security gave them freedom to resume their talk, one of the passengers, a rich and luxurious Asiatic, begins to banter the philosopher, and rally him because he had even become pale with fear, while he himself had been unmoved by the impending destruction. But the philosopher availed himself of the reply of Aristippus the Socratic, who, on finding himself similarly bantered by a man of the same character, answered, "You had no cause for anxiety for the soul of a profligate debauchee, but I had reason to be alarmed for the soul of Aristippus." The rich man being thus disposed of, Aulus Gellius asked the philosopher, in the interests of science and not to annoy him, what was the reason of his fear? And he, willing to instruct a man so zealous in the pursuit of knowledge, at once took from his wallet a book of Epictetus the Stoic, in which doctrines were advanced which precisely harmonized with those of Zeno and Chrysippus, the founders of the Stoical school. Aulus Gellius says that he read in this book that the Stoics maintain that there are certain impressions made on the soul by external objects which they call phantasie, and that it is not in the power of the soul to determine whether or when it shall be invaded by these. When these impressions are made by alarming and formidable objects, it must needs be that they move the soul even of the wise man, so that for a little he trembles with fear, or is depressed by sadness, these impressions anticipating the work of reason and self-control; but this does not imply that the mind accepts these evil impressions, or approves or consents to them. For this consent is, they think, in a man's power; there being this difference between the mind of the wise man and that of the fool, that the fool's mind yields to these passions and consents to them, while that of the wise man, though it cannot help being invaded by them, yet retains with unshaken firmness a true and steady persuasion of those things which it ought rationally to desire or avoid. This account of what

1 See Dior/. Laert. ii. 71.

358 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

Aulus Gellius relates that he read in the book of Epictetus about the sentiments and doctrines of the Stoics I have given as well as I could, not, perhaps, with his choice language, but with greater brevity, and, I think, with greater clearness. And if this be true, then there is no difference, or next to none, between the opinion of the Stoics and that of the other philosophers regarding mental passions and perturbations, for both parties agree in maintaining that the mind and reason of the wise man are not subject to these. And perhaps what the Stoics mean by asserting this, is that the wisdom which characterizes the wise man is clouded by no error and sullied by no taint, but, with this reservation that his wisdom remains undisturbed, he is exposed to the impressions which
the goods and ills of this life (or, as they prefer to call them, the advantages or disadvantages) make upon them. For we need not say that if that philosopher had thought nothing of those things which he thought he was forthwith to lose, life and bodily safety, he would not have been so terrified by his danger as to betray his fear by the pallor of his cheek.

Nevertheless, he might suffer this mental disturbance, and yet maintain the fixed persuasion that life and bodily safety, which the violence of the tempest threatened to destroy, are not those good things which make their possessors good, as the possession of righteousness does. But in so far as they persist that we must call them not goods but advantages, they quarrel about words and neglect things. For what difference does it make whether goods or advantages be the better name, while the Stoic no less than the Peripatetic is alarmed at the prospect of losing them, and while, though they name them differently, they hold them in like esteem? Both parties assure us that, if urged to the commission of some immorality or crime by the threatened loss of these goods or advantages, they would prefer to lose such things as preserve bodily comfort and security rather than commit such things as violate righteousness. And thus the mind in which this resolution is well grounded suffers no perturbations to prevail with it in opposition to reason, even though they assail the weaker parts of the soul; and not only so, but it rules over them, and, while it refuses its consent and resists them, ad-
ministers a reign of virtue. Such a character is ascribed to iEneas by Virgil when he says,

"He stands immovable by tears, Nor tenderest words with pity hears." 1

5. That the passions which assail the souls of CJiristians do not seduce them to vice, but exercise their virtue.

We need not at present give a careful and copious exposition of the doctrine of Scripture, the sum of Christian knowledge, regarding these passions. It subjects the mind itself to God, that He may rule and aid it, and the passions, again, to the mind, to moderate and bridle them, and turn them to righteous uses.

In our ethics, we do not so much inquire whether a pious soul is angry, as why he is angry; not whether he is sad, but what is the cause of his sadness; not whether he fears, but what he fears. For I am not aware that any right thinking person would find fault with anger at a wrongdoer which seeks his amendment, or with sadness which intends relief to the suffering, or with fear lest one in danger be destroyed. The Stoics, indeed, are accustomed to condemn compassion. 2 But how much more honourable had it been in that Stoic we have been telling of, had he been disturbed by compassion prompting him to relieve a fellow-creature, than to be disturbed by the fear of shipwreck ! Far better, and more humane, and more consonant with pious sentiments, are the words of Cicero in praise of Caesar, when he says, "Among your virtues none is more admirable and agreeable than your compassion." 3

And what is compassion but a fellow-feeling for another's misery, which prompts us to help him if we can? And this emotion is obedient to reason, when compassion is shown without violating right, as when the poor are relieved, or the penitent forgiven. Cicero, who knew how to use language, did not hesitate to call this a virtue, which the Stoics are not ashamed to reckon among the vices, although, as the book of that eminent Stoic, Epictetus, quoting the opinions of Zeno and Chrysippus, the founders of the school, has taught us, they admit that passions of this kind invade the soul of the wise man, whom they would have to be free from all vice.

1 Virgil, jEneid, iv. 449. 2 Seneca, De Clem. ii. 4 and 5.
3 Pro. Lig. c. 12.

360 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

Whence it follows that these very passions are not judged by them to be vices, since they assail the wise man without forcing him to act against reason and virtue; and that, therefore, the opinion of the Peripatetics or Platonists and of the Stoics is one and the same. But, as Cicero says, 1 mere logomachy is the bane of these pitiful Greeks, who
thirst for contention rather than for truth. However, it may justly be asked, whether our
subjection to these affections, even while we follow virtue, is a part of the infirmity of
this life? For the holy angels feel no anger while they punish those whom the eternal law
of God consigns to punishment, no fellowfeeling with misery while they relieve the
miserable, no fear while they aid those who are in danger; and yet ordinary language
ascribes to them also these mental emotions, because, though they have none of our
weakness, their acts resemble the actions to which these emotions move us; and thus even
God Himself is said in Scripture to be angry, and yet without any perturbation. For this
word is used of the effect of His vengeance, not of the disturbing mental affection.

6. Of the passions which, according to Apuleius, agitate the demons who are supposed by
him to mediate between gods and men.

Deferring for the present the question about the holy angels, let us examine the opinion of
the Platonists, that the demons who mediate between gods and men are agitated by
passions.
For if their mind, though exposed to their incursion, still remained free and superior to
them, Apuleius could not have said that their hearts are tossed with passions as the sea by
stormy winds. Their mind, then, â€” that superior part of their soul whereby they are
rational beings, and which, if it actually exists in them, should rule and bridle the
turbulent passions of the inferior parts of the soul, â€” this mind of theirs, I say, is,
according to the Platonist referred to, tossed with a hurricane of passions. The mind of
the demons, therefore, is subject to the emotions of fear, anger, lust, and all similar
affections.
What part of them, then, is free, and endued with wisdom, so that they are pleasing to the
gods, and the fit guides of men into purity of life, since their very highest part, being the
slave of passion and subject to vice, only makes them more

1 De Oratore, i. 11, 47. 8 De Deo Soc
intent on deceiving and seducing, in proportion to the mental force and energy of desire they possess?

7. That the Platonists maintain that the poets wrong the gods by representing them as distracted by party feeling, to which the demons, and not the gods, are subject.

But if any one says that it is not of all the demons, but only of the wicked, that the poets, not without truth, say that they violently love or hate certain men, â€” for it was of them Apuleius said that they were driven about by strong currents of emotion, â€” how can we accept this interpretation, when Apuleius, in the very same connection, represents all the demons, and not only the wicked, as intermediate between gods and men by their aerial bodies? The fiction of the poets, according to him, consists in their making gods of demons, and giving them the names of gods, and assigning them as allies or enemies to individual men, using this poetical licence, though they profess that the gods are very different in character from the demons, and far exalted above them by their celestial abode and wealth of beatitude. This, I say, is the poets’ fiction, to say that these are gods who are not gods, and that, under the names of gods, they fight among themselves about the men whom they love or hate with keen partisan feeling. Apuleius says that this is not far from the truth, since, though they are wrongfully called by the names of the gods, they are described in their own proper character as demons.

To this category, he says, belongs the Minerva of Homer, "who interposed in the ranks of the Greeks to restrain Achilles." For that this was Minerva he supposes to be poetical fiction; for he thinks that Minerva is a goddess, and he places her among the gods whom he believes to be all good and blessed in the sublime ethereal region, remote from intercourse with men. But that there was a demon favourable to the Greeks and adverse to the Trojans, as another, whom the same poet mentions under the name of Venus or Mars (gods exalted above earthly affairs in their heavenly habitations), was the Trojans' ally and the foe of the Greeks, and that these demons fought for those they loved against those they hated, â€” in all this he owned that the poets stated some-

1 De Deo Soc.

thing very like the truth. For they made these statements about beings to whom he ascribes the same violent and tempestuous passions as disturb men, and who are therefore capable of loves and hatreds not justly formed, but formed in a party spirit, as the spectators in races or hunts take fancies and prejudices. It seems to have been the great fear of this Platonist that the poetical fictions should be believed of the gods, and not of the demons who bore their names.
8. How Apuleius defines the gods who dwell in heaven, the demons who occupy the air, and men who inhabit earth.

The definition which Apuleius gives of demons, and in which he of course includes all demons, is that they are in nature animals, in soul subject to passion, in mind reasonable, in body aerial, in duration eternal. Now in these five qualities he has named absolutely nothing which is proper to good men and not also to bad. For when Apuleius had spoken of the celestials first, and had then extended his description so as to include an account of those who dwell far below on the earth, that, after describing the two extremes of rational being, he might proceed to speak of the intermediate demons, he says,

"Men, therefore, who are endowed with the faculty of reason and speech, whose soul is immortal and their members mortal, who have weak and anxious spirits, dull and corruptible bodies, dissimilar characters, similar ignorance, who are obstinate in their audacity, and persistent in their hope, whose labour is vain, and whose fortune is ever on the wane, their race immortal, themselves perishing, each generation replenished with creatures whose life is swift and their wisdom slow, their death sudden and their life a wail, â€” these are the men who dwell on the earth." 1 In recounting so many qualities which belong to the large proportion of men, did he forget that which is the property of the few when he speaks of their wisdom being slow? If this had been omitted, this his description of the human race, so carefully elaborated, would have been defective. And when he commended the excellence of the gods, he affirmed that they excelled in that very blessedness to which he thinks men must attain by wisdom. And therefore, if he had wished us to believe that some of the demons

1 De Deo Soc.
[BOOK IX.] ARE THE DEMONS MEDIATORS? 363

are good, he should have inserted in his description something by which we might see that they have, in common with the gods, some share of blessedness, or, in common with men, some wisdom. But, as it is, he has mentioned no good quality by which the good may be distinguished from the bad. For although he refrained from giving a full account of their wickedness, through fear of offending, not themselves but their worshippers, for whom he was writing, yet he sufficiently indicated to discerning readers what opinion he had of them; for only in the one article of the eternity of their bodies does he assimilate them to the gods, all of whom, he asserts, are good and blessed, and absolutely free from what he himself calls the stormy passions of the demons; and as to the soul, he quite plainly affirms that they resemble men and not the gods, and that this resemblance lies not in the possession of wisdom, which even men can attain to, but in the perturbation of passions which sway the foolish and wicked, but is so ruled by the good and wise that they prefer not to admit rather than to conquer it. For if he had wished it to be understood that the demons resembled the gods in the eternity not of their bodies but of their souls, he would certainly have admitted men to share in this privilege, because, as a Platonist, he of course must hold that the human soul is eternal. Accordingly, when describing this race of living beings, he said that their souls were immortal, their members mortal. And, consequently, if men have not eternity in common with the gods because they have mortal bodies, demons have eternity in common with the gods because their bodies are immortal.

9. Whether the intercession of the demons can secure for men the friendship of the celestial gods.

How, then, can men hope for a favourable introduction to the friendship of the gods by such mediators as these, who are, like men, defective in that which is the better part of every living creature, viz. the soul, and who resemble the gods only in the body, which is the inferior part? For a living creature or animal consists of soul and body, and of these two parts the soul is undoubtedly the better; even though vicious and weak, it is obviously better than even the soundest and strongest body, for the greater excellence of its nature is not reduced to the level of the body even by the pollution of vice, as gold, even when tarnished, is more precious than the purest silver or lead. And yet these mediators, by whose interposition things human and divine are to be harmonized, have an eternal body in common with the gods, and a vicious soul in common with men, æ” as if the religion by which these demons are to unite gods and men were a bodily, and not a spiritual matter. What wickedness, then, or punishment has suspended these false and deceitful
mediators, as it were head downwards, so that their inferior part, their body, is linked to the
gods above, and their superior part, the soul, bound to men beneath; united to the
celestial gods by the part that serves, and miserable, together with the inhabitants of
earth, by the part that rules? For the body is the servant, as Sallust says: "We use the
soul to rule, the body to obey;" * adding, "the one we have in common with the gods, the
other with the brutes."
For he was here speaking of men; and they have, like the brutes, a mortal body. These
demons, whom our philosophic friends have provided for us as mediators with the gods,
may indeed say of the soul and body, the one we have in common with the gods, the
other with men; but, as I said, they are as it were suspended and bound head downwards,
having the slave, the body, in common with the gods, the master, the soul, in common
with miserable men, â€” their inferior part exalted, their superior part depressed. And
therefore, if any one supposes that, because they are not subject, like terrestrial animals,
to the separation of soul and body by death, they therefore resemble the gods in their
eternity, their body must not be considered a chariot of an eternal triumph, but rather the
chain of an eternal punishment.

10. That, according to Plotinus, men, whose body is mortal, are less wretched than
demons, whose body is eternal.

Plotinus, whose memory is quite recent, 2 enjoys the reputation of having understood
Plato better than any other of his disciples. In speaking of human souls, he says, "The
Father in compassion made their bonds mortal;" 3 that is to say, he

1 Cat. Conj. i.

2 Plotinus died in 270 A.D. For his relation to Plato, see Augustine's Contra Acad. iii. 41.
3 Ennead. iv. 3. 12.
considered it due to the Father's mercy that men, having a mortal body, should not be for ever confined in the misery of this life. But of this mercy the demons have been judged unworthy, and they have received, in conjunction with a soul subject to passions, a body not mortal like man's, but eternal.

For they should have been happier than men if they had, like men, had a mortal body, and, like the gods, a blessed soul.

And they should have been equal to men, if in conjunction with a miserable soul they had at least received, like men, a mortal body, so that death might have freed them from trouble, if, at least, they should have attained some degree of piety. But, as it is, they are not only no happier than men, having, like them, a miserable soul, they are also more wretched, being eternally bound to the body; for he does not leave us to infer that by some progress in wisdom and piety they can become gods, but expressly says that they are demons for ever.

11. Of the opinion of the Platonists, that the souls of men become demons when disembodied.

He 1 says, indeed, that the souls of men are demons, and that men become Lares if they are good, Zemures or Larvae if they are bad, and Manes if it is uncertain whether they deserve well or ill. Who does not see at a glance that this is a mere whirlpool sucking men to moral destruction? For, however wicked men have been, if they suppose they shall become Larvee or divine Manes, they will become the worse the more love they have for inflicting injury; for, as the Larvae are hurtful demons made out of wicked men, these men must suppose that after death they will be invoked with sacrifices and divine honours that they may inflict injuries.

But this question we must not pursue. He also states that the blessed are called in Greek evhalnoves, because they are good souls, that is to say, good demons, confirming his opinion that the souls of men are demons.

12. Of the three opposite qualities by which the Platonists distinguish between the nature of men and that of demons.

But at present we are speaking of those beings whom he described as being properly intermediate between gods and men, in nature animals, in mind rational, in soul subject to passion, in body aerial, in duration eternal. When he had distinguished the gods, whom he placed in the highest heaven, from men, whom he placed on earth, not only by position...
but also by the unequal dignity of their natures, he concluded in these words: "You have here two kinds of animals: the gods, widely distinguished from men by sublimity of abode, perpetuity of life, perfection of nature; for their habitations are separated by so wide an interval that there can be no intimate communication between them, and while the vitality of the one is eternal and indefeasible, that of the others is fading and precarious, and while the spirits of the gods are exalted in bliss, those of men are sunk in miseries." 1 Here I find three opposite qualities ascribed to the extremes of being, the highest and lowest. For, after mentioning the three qualities for which we are to admire the gods, he repeated, though in other words, the same three as a foil to the defects of man. The three qualities are, "sublimity of abode, perpetuity of life, perfection of nature." These he again mentioned so as to bring out their contrasts in man's condition. As he had mentioned "sublimity of abode," he says, "Their habitations are separated by so wide an interval;" as he had mentioned "perpetuity of life," he says, that "while divine life is eternal and indefeasible, human life is fading and precarious;" and as he had mentioned "perfection of nature," he says, that "while the spirits of the gods are exalted in bliss, those of men are sunk in miseries." These three things, then, he predicates of the gods, exaltation, eternity, blessedness; and of man he predicates the opposite, littleness of habitation, mortality, misery.

13. How the demons can mediate between gods and men if they have nothing in common with both, being neither blessed like the gods, nor miserable like men.

If, now, we endeavour to find between these opposites the mean occupied by the demons, there can be no question as to their local position; for, between the highest and lowest place, there is a place which is rightly considered and called the middle place. The other two qualities remain, and to them we must give greater care, that we may see whether they are

1 De Deo Socratis.
altogether foreign to the demons, or how they are so bestowed upon them without
infringing upon their mediate position.
We may dismiss the idea that they are foreign to them. For we cannot say that the
demons, being rational animals, are neither blessed nor wretched, as we say of the beasts
and plants, which are void of feeling and reason, or as we say of the middle place, that it
is neither the highest nor the lowest.
The demons, being rational, must be either miserable or blessed.
And, in like manner, we cannot say that they are neither mortal nor immortal; for all
living things either live eternally or end life in death. Our author, besides, stated that the
demons are eternal. What remains for us to suppose, then, but that these mediate beings
are assimilated to the gods in one of the two remaining qualities, and to men in the other?
For if they received both from above, or both from beneath, they should no longer be
mediate, but either rise to the gods above, or sink to men beneath. Therefore, as it has
been demonstrated that they must possess these two qualities, they will hold their middle
place if they receive one from each party. Consequently, as they cannot receive their
eternity from beneath, because it is not there to receive, they must get it from above; and
accordingly they have no choice but to complete their mediate position by accepting
misery from men.
According to the Platonists, then, the gods, who occupy the highest place, enjoy eternal
blessedness, or blessed eternity; men, who occupy the lowest, a mortal misery, or a
miserable mortality; and the demons, who occupy the mean, a miserable eternity, or an
eternal misery. As to those five things which Apuleius included in his definition of
demons, he did not show, as he promised, that the demons are mediate. For three of them,
that their nature is animal, their mind rational, their soul subject to passions, he said that
they have in common with men; one thing, their eternity, in common with the gods; and
one proper to themselves, their aerial body. How, then, are they intermediate, when they
have three things in common with the lowest, and only one in common with the highest?
Who does not see that the intermediate position is abandoned in proportion as they tend
to, and are depressed towards, the lowest extreme? But perhaps we are to accept them as

368 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

intermediate because of their one property of an aerial body, as the two extremes have
each their proper body, the gods an ethereal, men a terrestrial body, and because two of
the qualities they possess in common with man they possess also in common with the
gods, namely, their animal nature and rational mind. For Apuleius himself, in speaking of
gods and men, said, "You have two animal natures." And Platonists are wont to ascribe a
rational mind to the gods.
Two qualities remain, their liability to passion, and their eternity, â€” the first of which
they have in common with men, the second with the gods; so that they are neither wafted
to the highest nor depressed to the lowest extreme, but perfectly poised in their
intermediate position. But then, this is the very circumstance which constitutes the eternal
misery, or miserable eternity, of the demons. For he who says that their soul is subject to
passions would also have said that they are miserable, had he not blushed for their
worshippers.
Moreover, as the world is governed, not by fortuitous haphazard, but, as the Platonists
themselves avow, by the providence of the supreme God, the misery of the demons
would not be eternal unless their wickedness were great.

If, then, the blessed are rightly styled eudemons, the demons intermediate between gods
and men are not eudemons. What, then, is the local position of those good demons, who,
above men but beneath the gods, afford assistance to the former, minister to the latter?
For if they are good and eternal, they are doubtless blessed. But eternal blessedness
destroys their intermediate character, giving them a close resemblance to the gods, and
widely separating them from men.* And therefore the Platonists will in vain strive to
show how the good demons, if they are both immortal and blessed, can justly be said to
hold a middle place between the gods, who are immortal and blessed, and men, who are
mortal and miserable.
For if they have both immortality and blessedness in common with the gods, and neither
of these in common with men, who are both miserable and mortal, are they not rather
remote from men and united with the gods, than intermediate between them? They
would be intermediate if they held one of their qualities in common with the one party,
and the other with
14. Whether men, though mortal, can enjoy true blessedness.

It is a great question among men, whether man can be mortal and blessed. Some, taking the humbler view of his condition, have denied that he is capable of blessedness so long as he continues in this mortal life; others, again, have spurned this idea, and have been bold enough to maintain that, even though mortal, men may be blessed by attaining wisdom. But if this be the case, why are not these wise men constituted mediators between miserable mortals and the blessed immortals, since they have blessedness in common with the latter, and mortality in common with the former? Certainly, if they are blessed, they envy no one (for what more miserable than envy?), but seek with all their might to help miserable mortals on to blessedness, so that after death they may become immortal, and be associated with the blessed and immortal angels.

15. Of the man Christ Jesus, the Mediator between God and men.

But if, as is much more probable and credible, it must needs be that all men, so long as they are mortal, are also miserable, we must seek an intermediate who is not only man, but also God, that, by the interposition of His blessed mortality, He may bring men out of their mortal misery to a blessed immortality. In this intermediate two things are requisite, that He become mortal, and that He do not continue mortal. He did become mortal, not rendering the divinity of the Word infirm, but assuming the infirmity of flesh. Neither did He continue mortal in the flesh, but raised it from the dead; for it is the very fruit of His mediation that those, for the sake of whose redemption He became the Mediator, should not abide eternally in bodily death. Wherefore it became the Mediator between us and God to have both a transient mortality and a permanent blessedness, that by that which is transient He might be assimilated to mortals, and might translate them from mortality to that which is permanent. Good angels, therefore, cannot mediate between
miserable mortals and blessed immortals, for they themselves also are both blessed and immortal; but evil angels can mediate, because they are immortal like the one party, miserable like the other. To these is opposed the good Mediator, who, in opposition to their immortality and misery, has chosen to be mortal for a time, and has been able to continue blessed in eternity. It is thus He has destroyed, by the humility of His death and the benignity of His blessedness, those proud immortals and hurtful wretches, and has prevented them from seducing to misery by their boast of immortality those men whose hearts He has cleansed by faith, and whom He has thus freed from their impure dominion.

Man, then, mortal and miserable, and far removed from the immortal and the blessed, what medium shall he choose by which he may be united to immortality and blessedness?

The immortality of the demons, which might have some charm for man, is miserable; the mortality of Christ, which might offend man, exists no longer. In the one there is the fear of an eternal misery; in the other, death, which could not be eternal, can no longer be feared, and blessedness, which is eternal, must be loved. For the immortal and miserable mediator interposes himself to prevent us from passing to a blessed immortality, because that which hinders such a passage, namely, misery, continues in him; but the mortal and blessed Mediator interposed Himself, in order that, having passed through mortality, He might of mortals make immortals (showing His power to do this in His own resurrection), and from being miserable to raise them to the blessed company from the number of whom He had Himself never departed. There is, then, a wicked mediator, who separates friends, and a good Mediator, who reconciles enemies. And those who separate are numerous, because the multitude of the blessed are blessed only by their participation in the one God; of which
participation the evil angels being deprived, they are wretched, and interpose to hinder rather than to help to this blessedness, and by their very number prevent us from reaching that one beatific good, to obtain which we need not many but one Mediator, the uncreated Word of God, by whom all things were made, and in partaking of whom we are blessed. I do not say that He is Mediator because He is the Word, for as the Word He is supremely blessed and supremely immortal, and therefore far from miserable mortals; but He is Mediator as He is man, for by His humanity He shows us that, in order to obtain that blessed and beatific good, we need not seek other mediators to lead us through the successive steps of this attainment, but that the blessed and beatific God, having Himself become a partaker of our humanity, has afforded us ready access to the participation of His divinity.

For in delivering us from our mortality and misery, He does not lead us to the immortal and blessed angels, so that we should become immortal and blessed by participating in their nature, but He leads us straight to that Trinity, by participating in which the angels themselves are blessed. Therefore, when He chose to be in the form of a servant, and lower than the angels, that He might be our Mediator, He remained higher than the angels, in the form of God, â€” Himself at once the way of life on earth and life itself in heaven.

16. Whether it is reasonable in the Platonists to determine that the celestial gods decline contact with earthly things and intercourse with men, who therefore require the intercession of the demons.

That opinion, which the same Platonist avers that Plato uttered, is not true, " that no god holds intercourse with men." 1 And this, he says, is the chief evidence of their exaltation, that they are never contaminated by contact with men. He admits, therefore, that the demons are contaminated; and it follows that they cannot cleanse those by whom they are themselves contaminated, and thus all alike become impure, the demons by associating with men, and men by worshipping the demons.

Or, if they say that the demons are not contaminated by associating and dealing with men, then they are better than the gods, for the gods, were they to do so, would be contaminated.

1 Apuleius, ibid.

372 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

For this, we are told, is the glory of the gods, that they are so highly exalted that no human intercourse can sully them.
He affirms, indeed, that the supreme God, the Creator of all things, whom we call the true God, is spoken of by Plato as the only God whom the poverty of human speech fails even passably to describe; and that even the wise, when their mental energy is as far as possible delivered from the trammels of connection with the body, have only such gleams of insight into His nature as may be compared to a flash of lightning illuminating the darkness. If, then, this supreme God, who is truly exalted above all things, does nevertheless visit the minds of the wise, when emancipated from the body, with an intelligible and ineffable presence, though this be only occasional, and as it were a swift flash of light athwart the darkness, why are the other gods so sublimely removed from all contact with men, as if they would be polluted by it? as if it were not a sufficient refutation of this to lift up our eyes to those heavenly bodies which give the earth its needful light. If the stars, though they, by his account, are visible Sfods, are not contaminated when we look at them, neither are the demons contaminated when men see them quite closely. But perhaps it is the human voice, and not the eye, which pollutes the gods; and therefore the demons are appointed to mediate and carry men's utterances to the gods, who keep themselves remote through fear of pollution? What am I to say of the other senses? For by smell neither the demons, who are present, nor the gods, though they were present and inhaling the exhalations of living men, would be polluted if they are not contaminated with the effluvia of the carcases offered in sacrifice. As for taste, they are pressed by no necessity of repairing bodily decay, so as to be reduced to ask food from men. And touch is in their own power. For while it may seem that contact is so called, because the sense of touch is specially concerned in it, yet the gods, if so minded, might mingle with men, so as to see and be seen, hear and be heard; and where is the need of touching? For men would not dare to desire this, if they were favoured with the sight or conversation of gods or good demons; and if through excessive curiosity they should desire it, how could they accomplish their wish with-
out the consent of the god or demon, when they cannot touch so much as a sparrow unless it be caged?

There is, then, nothing to hinder the gods from mingling in a bodily form with men, from seeing and being seen, from speaking and hearing. And if the demons do thus mix with men, as I said, and are not polluted, while the gods, were they to do so, should be polluted, then the demons are less liable to pollution than the gods. And if even the demons are contaminated, how can the help men to attain blessedness after death, if, so far from being able to cleanse them, and present them clean to the unpolluted gods, these mediators are themselves polluted? And if they cannot confer this benefit on men, what good can their friendly mediation do? Or shall its result be, not that men find entrance to the gods, but that men and demons abide together in a state of pollution, and consequently of exclusion from blessedness? Unless, perhaps, one may say that, like sponges or things of that sort, the demons themselves, in the process of cleansing their friends, become themselves the filthier in proportion as the others become clean. But if this is the solution, then the gods, who shun contact or intercourse with men for fear of pollution, mix with demons who are far more polluted. Or perhaps the gods, who cannot cleanse men without polluting themselves, can without pollution cleanse the demons who have been contaminated by human contact? Who can believe such follies, unless the demons have practised their deceit upon him? If seeing and being seen is contamination, and if the gods, whom Apuleius himself calls visible, "the brilliant lights of the world," and the other stars, are seen by men, are we to believe that the demons, who cannot be seen unless they please, are safer from contamination? Or if it is only the seeing and not the being seen which contaminates, then they must deny that these gods of theirs, these brilliant lights of the world, see men when their rays beam upon the earth. Their rays are not contaminated by lighting on all manner of pollution, and are we to suppose that the gods would be contaminated if they mixed with men, and even if contact were needed in order to assist them? For there is contact between the earth

1 Virgil, Georj. i. 5.

and the sun's or moon's rays, and yet this does not pollute the light.

17. That to obtain the blessed life, which consists in partaking of the supreme good, man-needs such mediation as is furnished not by a demon, but by

Christ alone.
I am considerably surprised that such learned men, men who pronounce all material and sensible things to be altogether inferior to those that are spiritual and intelligible, should mention bodily contact in connection with the blessed life. Is that sentiment of Plotinus forgotten? "We must fly to our beloved fatherland. There is the Father, there our all.

What fleet or flight shall convey us thither? Our way is, to become like God." 1 If, then, one is nearer to God the liker he is to Him, there is no other distance from God than unlikeness to Him. And the soul of man is unlike that incorporeal and unchangeable and eternal essence, in proportion as it craves things temporal and mutable. And as the things beneath, which are mortal and impure, cannot hold intercourse with the immortal purity which is above, a mediator is indeed needed to remove this difficulty; but not a mediator who resembles the highest order of being by possessing an immortal body, and the lowest by having a diseased soul, which makes him rather grudge that we be healed than help our cure. We need a Mediator who, being united to us here below by the mortality of His body, should at the same time be able to afford us truly divine help in cleansing and liberating us by means of the immortal righteousness of His spirit, whereby He remained heavenly even while here upon earth. Far be it from the incontaminable God to fear pollution from the man 2 He assumed, or from the men among whom He lived in the form of a man. For, though His incarnation showed us nothing else, these two wholesome facts were enough, that true divinity cannot be polluted by flesh, and that demons are not to be considered better than ourselves because they have not flesh. 3 This, then, as Scripture says, is the "Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," 4 of whose divinity,

1 Augustine apparently quotes from memory from two passages of the Enncades, I. vi. 8, and ii. 3.

2 Or, humanity. 3 Comp. Be Trin. 13. 22. 4 1 Tim. ii. 5.
whereby He is equal to the Father, and humanity, whereby He has become like us, this is not the place to speak as fully as I could.

18. That the deceitful demons, while promising to conduct men to God by their intercession, mean to turn them from the path of truth.

As to the demons, these false and deceitful mediators, who, though their uncleanness of spirit frequently reveals their misery and malignity, yet, by virtue of the levity of their aerial bodies and the nature of the places they inhabit, do contrive to turn us aside and hinder our spiritual progress; they do not help us towards God, but rather prevent us from reaching Him. Since even in the bodily way, which is erroneous and misleading, and in which righteousness does not walk, they for we must rise to God not by bodily ascent, but by incorporeal or spiritual conformity to Him, I say, which the friends of the demons arrange according to the weight of the various elements, the aerial demons being set between the ethereal gods and earthy men, they imagine the gods to have this privilege, that by this local interval they are preserved from the pollution of human contact. Thus they believe that the demons are contaminated by men rather than men cleansed by the demons, and that the gods themselves should be polluted unless their local superiority preserved them. Who is so wretched a creature as to expect purification by a way in which men are contaminating, demons contaminated, and gods contaminable? Who would not rather choose that way whereby we escape the contamination of the demons, and are cleansed from pollution by the uncontaminable God, so as to be associated with the uncontaminated angels?

19. That even among their own worshippers the name demon has never a good signification.

But as some of these demonolators, as I may call them, and among them Labeo, allege that those whom they call demons are by others called angels, I must, if I would not seem to dispute merely about words, say something about the good angels. The Platonists do not deny their existence, but prefer to call them good demons. But we, following Scripture, according to which we are Christians, have learned that some of the angels are good, some bad, but never have we read in

376 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

Scripture of good demons; but wherever this or any cognate term occurs, it is applied only to wicked spirits. And this usage has become so universal, that, even among those who are called pagans, and who maintain that demons as well as gods should be
worshipped, there is scarcely a man, no matter how well read and learned, who would
dare to say by way of praise to his slave, You have a demon, or who could doubt that the
man to whom he said this would consider it a curse?
Why, then, are we to subject ourselves to the necessity of explaining away what we have
said when we have given offence by using the word demon, with which every one, or
almost every one, connects a bad meaning, while we can so easily evade this necessity by
using the word angel?

20. Of the kind of knowledge which puffs up the demons.

However, the very origin of the name suggests something worthy of consideration, if we
compare it with the divine books. They are called demons from a Greek word meaning
knowledge. 1 Now the apostle, speaking with the Holy Spirit, says, "Knowledge puffeth
up, but charity buildeth up." 2
And this can only be understood as meaning that without charity knowledge does no
good, but inflates a man or magnifies him with an empty windiness. The demons, then,
have knowledge without charity, and are thereby so inflated or proud, that they crave
those divine honours and religious services which they know to be due to the true God,
and still, as far as they can, exact these from all over whom they have influence. Against
this pride of the demons, under which the human race was held subject as its merited
punishment, there was exerted the mighty influence of the humility of God, who
appeared in the form of a servant; but men, resembling the demons in pride, but not in
knowledge, and being puffed up with uncleanness, failed to recognise Him.

21. To what extent the Lord was pleased to make Himself known to the demons.

The devils themselves knew this manifestation of God so well, that they said to the Lord,
though clothed with the

1 SxIuu* = ^c&jfiu*, knowing; so Plato, Cratylus, 398. B.
2 1 Cor. viii. 1.
infirmity of flesh, " What have we to do with Thee, Jesus of Nazareth ? Art Thou come to destroy us before the time V’ 1
From these words, it is clear that they had great knowledge, and no charity. They feared His power to punish, and did not love His righteousness. He made known to them so much as He pleased, and He was pleased to make known so much as was needful. But He made Himself known, not as to the holy angels, who know Him as the Word of God, and rejoice in His eternity, which they partake, but as was requisite to strike with terror the beings from whose tyranny He was going to free those who were predestined to His kingdom and the glory of it, eternally true and truly eternal. He made Himself known, therefore, to the demons, not by that which is life eternal, and the unchangeable light which illumines the pious, whose souls are cleansed by the faith that is in Him, but by some temporal effects of His power, and evidences of His mysterious presence, which were more easily discerned by the angelic senses even of wicked spirits than by human infirmity.
But when He judged it advisable gradually to suppress these signs, and to retire into deeper obscurity, the prince of the demons doubted whether He were the Christ, and endeavoured to ascertain this by tempting Him, in so far as He permitted Himself to be tempted, that He might adapt the manhood He wore to be an example for our imitation.
But after that temptation, when, as Scripture says, He was ministered to 2 by the angels who are good and holy, and therefore objects of terror to the impure spirits, He revealed more and more distinctly to the demons how great He was, so that, even though the infirmity of His flesh might seem contemptible, none dared to resist His authority.

22. The difference between the knowledge of the holy angels and that of the demons.

The good angels, therefore, hold cheap all that knowledge of material and transitory things which the demons are so proud of possessing, â€” not that they are ignorant of these things, but because the love of God, whereby they are sanctified, is very dear to them, and because, in comparison of that not merely immaterial but also unchangeable and ineffable beauty,
1 Mark i. 24. 2 Matt iv< 3 _ n#
good which is the source of their goodness. And therefore they have a more certain knowledge even of those temporal and mutable things, because they contemplate their principles and causes in the word of God, by which the world was made, "those causes by which one thing is approved, another rejected, and all arranged. But the demons do not behold in the wisdom of God these eternal, and, as it were, cardinal causes of things temporal, but only foresee a larger part of the future than men do, by reason of their greater acquaintance with the signs which are hidden from us. Sometimes, too, it is their own intentions they predict. And, finally, the demons are frequently, the angels never, deceived. For it is one thing, by the aid of things temporal and changeable, to conjecture the changes that may occur in time, and to modify such things by one's own will and faculty, "and this is to a certain extent permitted to the demons, "it is another thing to foresee the changes of times in the eternal and immutable laws of God, which live in His wisdom, and to know the will of God, the most infallible and powerful of all causes, by participating in His spirit; and this is granted to the holy angels by a just discretion. And thus they are not only eternal, but blessed. And the good wherein they are blessed is God, by whom they were created. For without end they enjoy the contemplation and participation of Him.

23. That the name of gods is falsely given to the gods of the Gentiles, though Scripture applies it both to the holy angels and just men.

II the Platonists prefer to call these angels gods rather than demons, and to reckon them with those whom Plato, their founder and master, maintains were created by the supreme God, 1 they are welcome to do so, for I will not spend strength in fighting about words. For if they say that these beings are immortal, and yet created by the supreme God, blessed but by cleaving to their Creator and not by their own power, they say what we say, whatever name they call these beings by. And that this is the opinion either of all or the best of

1 Tlhtaus.
the Platonists can be ascertained by their writings. And regarding the name itself, if they see fit to call such blessed and immortal creatures gods, this need not give rise to any serious discussion between us, since in our own Scriptures we read, "The God of gods, the Lord hath spoken" 1 and again, "Confess to the God of gods;" 2 and again, "He is a great King above all gods." 3 And where it is said, "He is to be feared above all gods," the reason is forthwith added, for it follows, "for all the gods of the nations are idols, but the Lord made the heavens." 4 He said, "above all gods," but added, "of the nations;" that is to say, above all those whom the nations count gods, in other words, demons. By them He is to be feared with that terror in which they cried to the Lord, "Hast Thou come to destroy us?" But where it is said, "the God of gods," it cannot be understood as the god of the demons; and far be it from us to say that "great King above all gods" means "great King above all demons." But the same Scripture also calls men who belong to God's people "gods:" "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you children of the Most High." 5 Accordingly, when God is styled God of gods, this may be understood of these gods; and so, too, when He is styled a great King above all gods.

Nevertheless, some one may say, if men are called gods because they belong to God's people, whom He addresses by means of men and angels, are not the immortals, who already enjoy that felicity which men seek to attain by worshipping-God, much more worthy of the title? And what shall we reply to this, if not that it is not without reason that in holy Scripture men are more expressly styled gods than those immortal and blessed spirits to whom we hope to be equal in the resurrection, because there was a fear that the weakness of unbelief, being overcome with the excellence of these beings, might presume to constitute some of them a god? In the case of men this was a result that need not be guarded against. Besides, it was right that the men belonging to God's people should be more expressly called gods, to assure and certify them that He who is called God of gods is their God; be-

1 Ps. 1.1. a Ps. cxxxvi. 2. 3 Ts. xcv. 3.
4 Ps. xcvi. 5, G. 5 Ps. lxxxii. 6.

380 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK IX.]

cause, although those immortal and blessed spirits who dwell in the heavens are called gods, yet they are not called gods of gods, that is to say, gods of the men who constitute God's people, and to whom it is said, "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you the children of the Most High." Hence the saying of the apostle, "Though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be gods many and lords many, but to
us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." 1

We need not, therefore, laboriously contend about the name, since the reality is so obvious as to admit of no shadow of doubt. That which we say, that the angels who are sent to announce the will of God to men belong to the order of blessed immortals, does not satisfy the Platonists, because they believe that this ministry is discharged, not by those whom they call gods, in other words, not by blessed immortals, but by demons, whom they dare not affirm to be blessed, but only immortal, or if they do rank them among the blessed immortals, yet only as good demons, and not as gods who dwell in the heaven of heavens remote from all human contact. But, though it may seem mere wrangling about a name, yet the name of demon is so detestable that we cannot bear in any sense to apply it to the holy angels. Now, therefore, let us close this book in the assurance that, whatever we call these immortal and blessed spirits, who yet are only creatures, they do not act as mediators to introduce to everlasting felicity miserable mortals, from whom they are severed by a twofold distinction. And those others who are mediators, in so far as they have immortality in common with their superiors, and misery in common with their inferiors (for they are justly miserable in punishment of their wickedness), cannot bestow upon us, but rather grudge that we should possess, the blessedness from which they themselves are excluded. And so the friends of the demons have nothing considerable to allege why we should rather worship them as our helpers than avoid them as traitors to our interests. As for those spirits who are good, and who are therefore not only immortal but also blessed, and to whom

1 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.
they suppose we should give the title of gods, and offer worship and sacrifices for the sake of inheriting a future life, we shall, by God's help, endeavour in the following book to show that these spirits, call them by what name, and ascribe to them what nature you will, desire that religious worship be paid to God alone, by whom they were created, and by whose communications of Himself to them they are blessed.

382 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

BOOK TENTH.

ARGUMENT.

IN THIS BOOK AUGUSTINE TEACHES THAT THE GOOD ANGELS WISH GOD ALONE, WHOM THEY THEMSELVES SERVE, TO RECEIVE THAT DIVINE HONOUR WHICH IS RENDERED BY SACRIFICE, AND WHICH IS CALLED "LATREIA." HE THEN GOES ON TO DISPUTE AGAINST PORPHYRY ABOUT THE PRINCIPLE AND WAY OF THE SOUL'S CLEANSING AND DELIVERANCE.

1. That the Platonists themselves have determined that God alone can confer happiness either on angels or men, but that it yet remains a question whether those spirits whom they direct us to worship, that we may obtain happiness, wish sacrifice to be offered to themselves, or to the one God only.

IT is the decided opinion of all who use their brains, that all men desire to be happy. But who are happy, or how they become so, these are questions about which the weakness of human understanding stirs endless and amnw controversies, in which philosophers have wasted their strength and expended their leisure. To adduce and discuss their various opinions would be tedious, and is unnecessary. The reader may remember what we said in the eighth book, while making a selection of the philosophers with whom we might discuss the question regarding the future life of happiness, whether we can reach it by paying divine honours to the one true God, the Creator of all gods, or by worshipping Hiany gods, and he will not expect us to repeat here the same argument, especially as, even if he has forgotten it, he may refresh his memory by reperusal. For we made selection of the Platonists, justly esteemed the noblest of the philosophers, because they had the wit to perceive that the human soul, immortal and rational, or intellectual, as it is,
cannot be happy except by partaking of the light of that God by whom both itself and the world were made; and also that the happy life which all men desire cannot be reached by any who does not cleave with a pure and holy love to that one supreme good,
the unchangeable God. But as even these philosophers, whether accommodating to the folly and ignorance of the people, or, as the apostle says, "becoming vain in their imaginations," 1 supposed or allowed others to suppose that many gods should be worshipped, so that some of them considered that divine honour by worship and sacrifice should be rendered even to the demons (an error I have already exploded), we must now, by God's help, ascertain what is thought about our religious worship and piety by those immortal and blessed spirits, who dwell in the heavenly places among dominations, principalities, powers, whom the Platonists call gods, and some either good demons, or, like us, angels, â€” that is to say, to put it more plainly, whether the angels desire us to offer sacrifice and worship, and to consecrate our possessions and ourselves, to them, or only to God, theirs and ours.

For this is the worship which is due to the Divinity, or, to speak more accurately, to the Deity; and, to express this worship in a single word, as there does not occur to me any Latin term sufficiently exact, I shall avail myself, whenever necessary, of a Greek word. Aarpela, whenever it occurs in Scripture, is rendered by the word service. But that service which is due to men, and in reference to which the apostle writes that servants must be subject to their own masters, 2 is usually designated by another word in Greek, 3 whereas the service which is paid to God alone by worship, is always, or almost always, called aarpela in the usage of those who wrote from the divine oracles. This cannot so well be called simply "cultus," for in that case it would not seem to be due exclusively to God; for the same word is applied to the respect we pay either to the memory or the living presence of men. From it, too, we derive the words agriculture, colonist, and others. 4 And the heathen call their gods "ccelicolse," not because they worship heaven, but because they dwell in it, and as it were colonize it, â€” not in the sense in which we call those colonists who are attached to their native soil to cultivate it.

1 Rom. i. 21. 2 Eph. v i. 5.

3 Namely, tovXsIx: comp. Qucest. in Exod. 94; Qucest. in Gen. 21; Contra Faustum, 15. 9, etc.

4 Agricolse, coloni, incoloe.

384 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

under the rule of the owners, but in the sense in which the great master of the Latin language says, "There was an ancient city inhabited by Tyrian colonists." 1 He called them colonists, not because they cultivated the soil, but because they inhabited the city. So, too, cities that have hived off from larger cities are called colonies. Consequently,
while it is quite true that, using the word in a special sense, "cult" can be rendered to
none but God, yet, as the word is applied to other things besides, the cult due to God
cannot in Latin be expressed by this word alone.

The word "religion" might seem to express more definitely the worship due to God
alone, and therefore Latin translators have used this word to represent Optīcçctā; yet, as
not only the uneducated, but also the best instructed, use the word religion to express
human ties, and relationships, and affinities, it would inevitably introduce ambiguity to
use this word in discussing the worship of God, unable as we are to say that religion is
nothing else than the worship of God, without contradicting the common usage which
applies this word to the observance of social relationships. "Piety," again, or, as the
Greeks say, evaefieca, is commonly understood as the proper designation of the worship
of God. Yet this word also is used of dutifulness to parents. The common people, too, use
it of works of charity, which, I suppose, arises from the circumstance that God enjoins the
performance of such works, and declares that He is pleased with them instead of, or in
preference to sacrifices. From this usage it has also come to pass that God Himself is
called pious, 2 in which sense the Greeks never use eiaelSeiv, though eiae^eca is applied
to works of charity by their common people also. In some passages of Scripture,
therefore, they have sought to preserve the distinction by using not e-uaefteta, the more
general word, but
6eoae(3eia, which literally denotes the worship of God. We, on the other hand, cannot
express either of these ideas by one word. This worship, then, which in Greek is called
Xarpela, and in Latin "servitus" [service], but the service due to God only; this worship,
which in Greek is called Op-qaKela, and in

1 Virgil, Enekl, i. 12.

2 2 Chron. xxx. 9 j Eccl. xi. 13; Judith vil 20.
Latin "religio," but the religion by which we are bound to God only; this worship, which they call Oeoaefieia, but which we cannot express in one word, but call it the worship of God, â€” this, we say, belongs only to that God who is the true God, and who makes His worshippers gods. 1 And therefore, whoever these immortal and blessed inhabitants of heaven be, if they do not love us, and wish us to be blessed, then we ought not to worship them; and if they do love us and desire our happiness, they cannot wish us to be made happy by any other means than they themselves have enjoyed, â€” for how could they wish our blessedness to flow from one source, theirs from another? 2

2. The opinion of Plotinus the Platonist regarding enlightenment from above.

But with these more estimable philosophers we have no dispute in this matter. For they perceived, and in various forms abundantly expressed in their writings, that these spirits have the same source of happiness as ourselves, â€” a certain intelligible light, which is their God, and is different from themselves, and illumines them that they may be penetrated with light, and enjoy perfect happiness in the participation of God. Plotinus, commenting on Plato, repeatedly and strongly asserts that not even the soul which they believe to be the soul of the world, derives its blessedness from any other source than we do, viz. from that Light which is distinct from it and created it, and by whose intelligible illumination it enjoys light in things intelligible. He also compares those spiritual things to the vast and conspicuous heavenly bodies, as if God were the sun, and the soul the moon; for they suppose that the moon derives its light from the sun. That great Platonist, therefore, says that the rational soul, or rather the intellectual soul, â€” in which class he comprehends the souls of the blessed immortals who inhabit heaven, â€” has no nature superior to it save God, the Creator of the world and the soul itself, and that these heavenly spirits derive their blessed life, and the light of truth, from the same source as ourselves, agreeing with the gospel where we read, " There was a man sent from God whose name was John; the same came for a witness to bear witness of that Light, that through Him

1 Ps. Ixxxii. 6.
This John himself avows when he delivers his witness: "We have all received of His fulness." 2

3. That the Platonists, though knowing something of the Creator of the universe, have misunderstood the true worship of God, by giving divine honour to angels, good or bad. This being so, if the Platonists, or those who think with them, knowing God, glorified Him as God and gave thanks, if they did not become vain in their own thoughts, if they did not originate or yield to the popular errors, they would certainly acknowledge that neither could the blessed immortals retain, nor we miserable mortals reach, a happy condition without worshipping the one God of gods, who is both theirs and ours. To Him we owe the service which is called in Greek Xarpela, whether we render it outwardly or inwardly; for we are all His temple, each of us severally and all of us together, because He condescends to inhabit each individually and the whole harmonious body, being no greater in all than in each, since He is neither expanded nor divided. Our heart when it rises to Him is His altar; the priest who intercedes for us is His Only-begotten; we sacrifice to Him bleeding victims when we contend for His truth even unto blood; to Him we offer the sweetest incense when we come before Him burning with holy and pious love; to Him we devote and surrender ourselves and His gifts in us; to Him, by solemn feasts and on appointed days, we consecrate the memory of His benefits, lest through the lapse of time ungrateful oblivion should steal upon us; to Him we offer on the altar of our heart the sacrifice of humility and praise, kindled by the fire of burning love. It is that we may see Him, so far as He can be seen; it is that we may cleave to Him, that we are cleansed from all stain of sins and evil passions, and are consecrated in His name. For He is the fountain of our happi-

1 Johni. 6-9. 2 Ibid. 16.
ness, He the end of all our desires. Being attached to Him, or rather let me say, re-attached, â€” for we had detached ourselves and lost hold of Him, â€” being, I say, re-attached to Him, we tend towards Him by love, that we may rest in Him, and find our blessedness by attaining that end. For our good, about which philosophers have so keenly contended, is nothing else than to be united to God. It is, if I may say so, by spiritually embracing Him that the intellectual soul is filled and impregnated with true virtues. We are enjoined to love this good with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength. To this good we ought to be led by those who love us, and to lead those we love. Thus are fulfilled those two commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul;" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." For, that man might be intelligent in his self-love, there was appointed for him an end to which he might refer all his actions, that he might be blessed. For he who loves himself wishes nothing else than this. And the end set before him is "to draw near to God." And so, when one who has this intelligent self-love is commanded to love his neighbour as himself, what else is enjoined than that he shall do all in his power to commend to him the love of God? This is the worship of God, this is true religion, this the service due to God only. If any immortal power, then, no matter with what virtue endowed, loves us as himself, he must desire that we find our happiness by submitting ourselves to Him, in submission to whom he himself finds happiness. If he does not worship God, he is wretched, because deprived of God; if he worships God, he cannot wish to be worshipped in God's stead. On the contrary, these higher powers acquiesce heartily in the divine sentence in which it is written, "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed." 4

4. That sacrifice is due to the true God only.

But, putting aside for the present the other religious services

1 Augustine here remarks, in a clause that cannot be given in English, that the word religio is derived from religere.—So Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 28.

2 Matt. xxii. 37-40. â€” p s . lxxiii. 28. 4 Ex. xxii. 20.

388 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

with which God is worshipped, certainly no man would dare to say that sacrifice is due to any but God. Many parts, indeed, of divine worship are unduly used in showing honour to men, whether through an excessive humility or pernicious flattery; yet, while this is done, those persons who are thus worshipped and venerated, or even adored, are
reckoned no more than human; and who ever thought of sacrificing save to one whom he knew, supposed, or feigned to be a god?

And how ancient a part of God's worship sacrifice is, those two brothers, Cain and Abel, sufficiently show, of whom God rejected the elder's sacrifice, and looked favourably on the younger's.

5. Of the sacrifices which God does not require, but wished to be observed for the exhibition of those things which He does require.

And who is so foolish as to suppose that the things offered to God are needed by Him for some uses of His own? Divine Scripture in many places explodes this idea. Not to be wearisome, suffice it to quote this brief saying from a psalm: "I have said to the Lord, Thou art my God: for Thou needest not my goodness." 1 We must believe, then, that God has no need, not only of cattle, or any other earthly and material thing, but even of man's righteousness, and that whatever right worship is paid to God profits not Him, but man. For no man would say he did a benefit to a fountain by drinking, or to the light by seeing. And the fact that the ancient church offered animal sacrifices, which the people of God now-a-days reads of without imitating, proves nothing else than this, that those sacrifices signified the things which we do for the purpose of drawing near to God, and inducing our neighbour to do the same. A sacrifice, therefore, is the visible sacrament or sacred sign of an invisible sacrifice. Hence that penitent in the psalm, or it may be the Psalmist himself, entreating God to be merciful to his sins, says, "If Thou desiredst sacrifice, I would give it: Thou delightest not in whole burnt-offerings. The sacrifice of God is a broken heart: a heart contrite and humble God will not despise." 2 Observe how, in the very words in which he is expressing God's refusal of sacrifice, he shows that God requires sacrifice. He does

1 Ps. xvi. 2. 2 P* li 16, 17.
not desire the sacrifice of a slaughtered beast, but He desires the sacrifice of a contrite heart. Thus, that sacrifice which he says God does not wish, is the symbol of the sacrifice which God does wish. God does not wish sacrifices in the sense in which foolish people think He wishes them, viz. to gratify His own pleasure. For if He had not wished that the sacrifices He requires, as, e.g., a heart contrite and humbled by penitent sorrow, should be symbolized by those sacrifices which He was thought to desire because pleasant to Himself, the old law would never have enjoined their presentation; and they were destined to be merged when the fit opportunity arrived, in order that men might not suppose that the sacrifices themselves, rather than the things symbolized by them, were pleasing to God or acceptable in us. Hence, in another passage from another psalm, he says, "If I were hungry, I would not tell thee; for the world is mine and the fulness thereof. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?" 1 as if He should say, Supposing such things were necessary to me, I would never ask thee for what I have in my own hand. Then he goes on to mention what these signify: " Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." 2 So in another prophet: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before Him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? Hath He showed thee, man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" 3 In the words of this prophet, these two things are distinguished and set forth with sufficient explicitness, that God does not require these sacrifices for their own sakes, and that He does require the sacrifices which they symbolize. In the epistle entitled "To the Hebrews" it is said, "To do good and to communicate, forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." 4

1 Ps. 1. 12, 13. 2 Ps. 1. 14, 15. 3 Micah vi. 6-8. 4 Heb. xiii. 16.

390 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

when it is written, "I desire mercy rather than sacrifice," 1 nothing else is meant than that one sacrifice is preferred to another; for that which in common speech is called sacrifice is only the symbol of the true sacrifice. Now mercy is the true sacrifice, and therefore it is said, as I have just quoted, "with such sacrifices God is well pleased." All the divine ordinances, therefore, which we read concerning the sacrifices in the service of the tabernacle or the temple, we are to
refer to the love of God and our neighbour. For "on these two commandments," as it is written, "hang all the law and the prophets." 2

6. Of the true and perfect sacrifice.

Thus a true sacrifice is every work which is done that we may be united to God in holy fellowship, and which has a reference to that supreme good and end in which alone we can be truly blessed. 3 And therefore even the mercy we show to men, if it is not shown for God's sake, is not a sacrifice. For, though made or offered by man, sacrifice is a divine thing, as those who called it sacrifice 4 "meant to indicate. Thus man liimself, consecrated in the name of God, and vowed to God, is a sacrifice in so far as he dies to the world that he may live to God. For this is a part of that mercy which each man shows to himself; as it is written, "Have mercy on thy soul by pleasing God." 5 Our body, too, is a sacrifice when we chasten it by temperance, if we do so as we ought, for God's sake, that we may not yield our members instruments of unrighteousness unto sin, but instruments of righteousness unto God. 6 Exhorting to this sacrifice, "the apostle says, "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service." 7 If, then, the body, which, being inferior, the soul uses as a servant or instrument, is a sacrifice when it is used rightly, and with reference to God, how much more does the soul itself become

1 Hos. vi. 6. 2 Matt. xxii. 40.

3 On the service rendered to the Church by this definition, see Water-land's Works, v. 124.

4 Literally, a sacred action. 6 Ecclus. xxx. 24.
6 Horn. vi. 13. 7 Fium. xii. 1.
a sacrifice when it offers itself to God, in order that, being inflamed by the fire of His love, it may receive of His beauty and become pleasing to Him, losing the shape of earthly desire, and being remoulded in the image of permanent loveliness? And this, indeed, the apostle subjoins, saying, "And be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed in the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." * Since, therefore, true sacrifices are works of mercy to ourselves or others, done with a reference to God, and since works of mercy have no other object than the relief of distress or the conferring of happiness, and since there is no happiness apart from that good of which it is said, "It is good for me to be very near to God," it follows that the whole redeemed city, that is to say, the congregation or community of the saints, is offered to God as our sacrifice through the great High Priest, who offered Himself to God in His passion for us, that we might be members of this glorious head, according to the form of a servant. For it was this form He offered, in this He was offered, because it is according to it He is Mediator, in this He is our Priest, in this the Sacrifice. Accordingly, when the apostle had exhorted us to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, our reasonable service, and not to be conformed to the world, but to be transformed in the renewing of our mind, that we might prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God, that is to say, the true sacrifice of ourselves, he says, "For I say, through the grace of God which is given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith. For, as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another, having shifts differing according to the grace that is given to us." 3 This is the sacrifice of Christians: we, being many, are one body in Christ. And this also is the sacrifice which the Church continually celebrates in the sacrament of the altar, known to the faithful, in which

1 Rom. xii. 2. 2 fs. lxiii. 28. 3 Rom. xii. 3-6.

7. Of the love of the holy angels, which prompts them to desire that we worship the one true God, and not themselves.

It is very right that these blessed and immortal spirits, who inhabit celestial dwellings, and rejoice in the communications of their Creator's fulness, firm in His eternity, assured in His truth, holy by His grace, since they compassionately and tenderly regard us miserable mortals, and wish us to become immortal and happy, do not desire us to sacrifice to themselves, but to Him whose sacrifice they know themselves to be in
common with us. For we and they together are the one city of God, to which it is said in the psalm, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, city of God;" 1 the human part sojourning here below, the angelic aiding from above. For from that heavenly city, in which God's will is the intelligible and unchangeable law, from that heavenly council-chamber, "for they sit in counsel regarding us," that holy Scripture, descended to us by the ministry of angels, in which it is written, "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed," 2 this Scripture, this law, these precepts, have been confirmed by such miracles, that it is sufficiently evident to whom these immortal and blessed spirits, who desire us to be like themselves, wish us to sacrifice.

8. Of the miracles which God has condescended to adhibit, through the ministry of angels, to His promises for the confirmation of the faith of the godly.

I should seem tedious were I to recount all the ancient miracles, which were wrought in atestation of God's promises which He made to Abraham thousands of years ago, that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. 3 For who can but marvel that Abraham's barren wife should have given birth to a son at an age when not even a prolific woman could bear children; or, again, that when Abraham sacrificed, a flame from heaven should have run between the divided parts; 4 or that the angels in human form, whom he had hospitably entertained, and who had renewed God's pro-

1 Ps. lxxxvii. 3. 2 Ex. xxii. 20. 3 Gen. xviii. 18.

4 Gen. xv. 17. In his Retractations, ii. 43, Augustine says that he should not have spoken of this as miraculous, because it was an appearance seen in sleep.
mise of offspring, should also have predicted the destruction of Sodom by fire from heaven; * and that his nephew Lot should have been rescued from Sodom by the angels as the fire was just descending, while his wife, who looked back as she went, and was immediately turned into salt, stood as a sacred beacon warning us that no one who is being saved should long for what he is leaving? How striking also were the wonders done by Moses to rescue God's people from the yoke of slavery in Egypt, when the magi of the Pharaoh, that is, the king of Egypt, who tyrannized over this people, were suffered to do some wonderful things that they might be vanquished all the more signally! They did these things by the magical arts and incantations to which the evil spirits or demons are addicted; while Moses, having as much greater power as he had right on his side, and having the aid of angels, easily conquered them in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth. And, in fact, the magicians failed at the third plague; whereas Moses, dealing out the miracles delegated to him, brought ten plagues upon the land, so that the hard hearts of Pharaoh and the Egyptians yielded, and the people were let go. But, quickly repenting, and essaying to overtake the departing Hebrews, who had crossed the sea on dry ground, they were covered and overwhelmed in the returning waters. What shall I say of those frequent and stupendous exhibitions of divine power, while the people were conducted through the wilderness? of the waters which could not be drunk, but lost their bitterness, and quenched the thirsty, when at God's command a piece of wood was cast into them? of the manna that descended from heaven to appease their hunger, and which begat worms and putrefied when any one collected more than the appointed quantity, and yet, though double was gathered on the day before the Sabbath (it not being lawful to gather it on that day), remained fresh? of the birds which filled the camp, and turned appetite into satiety when they longed for flesh, which it seemed impossible to supply to so vast a population? of the enemies who met them, and opposed their passage with arms, and were defeated without the loss of a single Hebrew, when

1 Gen. xviii.

394 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

Moses prayed with his hands extended in the form of a cross? of the seditions persons who arose among God's people, and separated themselves from the divinely-ordered community, and were swallowed up alive by the earth, a visible token of an invisible punishment? of the rock struck with the rod, and pouring out waters more than enough for all the host? of the deadly serpents' bites, sent in just punishment of sin, but healed by looking at the lifted brazen serpent, so that not only were the tormented people healed, but a symbol of the crucifixion of death set before them in this destruction of death by death? It was this serpent which was preserved in memory of this event, and was afterwards worshipped by the mistaken people as an idol, and was destroyed by the pious and Godfearing king Hezekiah, much to his credit.
9. Of the illicit arts connected with demonolatry, and of which the Platonist Porphyry adopts some, and discards others.

These miracles, and many others of the same nature, which it were tedious to mention, were wrought for the purpose of commending the worship of the one true God, and prohibiting the worship of a multitude of false gods. Moreover, they were wrought by simple faith and godly confidence, not by the incantations and charms composed under the influence of a criminal tampering with the unseen world, of an art which they call either magic, or by the more abominable title necromancy, 1 or the more honourable designation theurgy; for they wish to discriminate between those whom the people call magicians, who practise necromancy, and are addicted to illicit arts and condemned, and those others who seem to them to be worthy of praise for their practice of theurgy, â€” the truth, however, being that both classes are the slaves of the deceitful rites of the demons whom they invoke under the names of angels.

For even Porphyry promises some kind of purgation of the soul by the help of theurgy, though he does so with some hesitation and shame, and denies that this art can secure to any one a return to God; so that you can detect his opinion vacillating between the profession of philosophy and an art which he feels to be presumptuous and sacrilegious. For at

1 Goetia.
one time he warns us to avoid it as deceitful, and prohibited by law, and dangerous to those who practise it; then again, as if in deference to its advocates, he declares it useful for cleansing one part of the soul, not, indeed, the intellectual part, by which the truth of things intelligible, which have no sensible images, is recognised, but the spiritual part, which takes cognizance of the images of things material. This part, he says, is prepared and fitted for intercourse with spirits and angels, and for the vision of the gods, by the help of certain theurgic consecrations, or, as they call them, mysteries. He acknowledges, however, that these theurgic mysteries impart to the intellectual soul no such purity as fits it to see its God, and recognise the things that truly exist. And from this acknowledgment we may infer what kind of gods these are, and what land of vision of them is imparted by theurgic consecrations, if by it one cannot see the things which truly exist. He says, further, that the rational, or, as he prefers calling it, the intellectual soul, can pass into the heavens without the spiritual part being cleansed by theurgic art, and that this art cannot so purify the spiritual part as to give it entrance to immortality and eternity. And therefore, although he distinguishes angels from demons, asserting that the habitation of the latter is in the air, while the former dwell in the ether and empyrean, and although he advises us to cultivate the friendship of some demon, who may be able after our death to assist us, and elevate us at least a little above the earth, â€” for he owns that it is by another way we must reach the heavenly society of the angels, â€” he at the same time distinctly warns us to avoid the society of demons, saying that the soul, expiating its sin after death, execrates the worship of demons by whom it was entangled. And of theurgy itself, though he recommends it as reconciling angels and demons, he cannot deny that it treats with powers which either themselves envy the soul its purity, or serve the arts of those who do envy it. He complains of this through the mouth of some Chaldoean or other: " A good man in Chaldsea complains," he says, " that his most strenuous efforts to cleanse his soul were frustrated, because another man, who had influence in these matters, and who envied him purity, had prayed to the powers, and bound them by his con-

juring not to listen to his request. Therefore/ adds Porphyry, " what the one man bound, the other could not loose." And from this he concludes that theurgy is a craft which accomplishes not only good but evil among gods and men; and that the gods also have passions, and are perturbed and agitated by the emotions which Apuleius attributed to demons and men, but from which he preserved the gods by that sublimit residence, which, in common with Plato, he accorded to them.

10. Concerning theurgy, which promises a delusive purification of the soul by the invocation of demons.
But here we have another and a much more learned Platonist than Apuleius, Porphyry, to wit, asserting that, by I know not what theurgy, even the gods themselves are subjected to passions and perturbations; for by adjurations they were so bound and terrified that they could not confer purity of soul, were so terrified by him who imposed on them a wicked command, that they could not by the same theurgy be freed from that terror, and fulfil the righteous behest of him who prayed to them, or do the good he sought, "Who does no: that all these things are fictions of deceiving demons, unless he be a wretched slave of theirs, and an alien from, the grace of the true Liberator? For if the Chaldaean had been dealing with good gods, certainly a well-disposed man, who sought to purify his own soul, would have had more influence with them than an evil-disposed man seeking to hinder him. Or, if the gods were just, and considered the man unworthy of the purification he sought, at all events they should not have been terrified by an envious person, nor hindered, as Porphyry avows, by the tear of a stronger deity, but should have simply denied the boon on their own free judgment. And it is surprising that that well-disposed Chalditan, who desired to purify his soul by theurgical rites, found no superior deity who could either terrify the frightened gods still more, and force them to confer the boon, or compose their fears, and so enable them to do good without compulsion, even supposing that the good theurgist had no rites by which he himself might purge away the taint of fear from the gods whom he invoked for the purification of his own soul. And why is it that there is a god who has power to terrify the inferior gods, and none who has
power to free them from fear? Is there found a god who listens to the envious man, and frightens the gods from doing good?
and is there not found a god who listens to the well-disposed man, and removes the fear of the gods that they may do him good? excellent theurgy! admirable purification of the soul! a theurgy in which the violence of an impure envy has more influence than the entreaty of purity and holiness, leader let us abominate and avoid the deceit of such wicked spirits, and listen to sound doctrine. As to those who perform these filthy cleansings by sacrilegious rites, and see in their initiated state (as he further tells us, though we may question this vision) certain wonderfully lovely appearances of angels or gods, this is what the apostle refers to when he speaks of "Satan transforming himself into an angel of light." 1
For these are the delusive appearances of that spirit who longs to entangle wretched souls in the deceptive worship of many and false gods, and to turn them aside from the true worship of the true God, by whom alone they are cleansed and healed, and who, as was said of Proteus, "turns himself into all shapes," 2 equally hurtful, whether he assaults us as an enemy, or assumes the disguise of a friend.

11. Of Porphyry's epistle to Anebo, in which he asks for information about the differences among demons.

It was a better tone which Porphyry adopted in his letter to Anebo the Egyptian, in which, assuming the character of an inquirer consulting him, he unmask s and explodes these sacrilegious arts. In that letter, indeed, he repudiates all demons, whom he maintains to be so foolish as to be attracted by the sacrificial vapours, and therefore residing not in the ether, but in the air beneath the moon, and indeed in the moon itself. Yet he has not the boldness to attribute to all the demons all the deceptions and malicious and foolish practices which justly move his indignation. For, though he acknowledges that as a race demons are foolish, he so far accommodates himself to popular ideas as to call some of them benignant demons. He expresses surprise that sacrifices not only incline the gods, but also compel and force them to do what men wish; and he is at a loss to understand how the

1 2 Cor. xi. 14. Â£ Virgil, Georg. iv. 411.

398 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

sun and moon, and other visible celestial bodies, â€” for bodies he does not doubt that they are, â€” are considered gods, if the gods are distinguished from the demons by their incorporeality; also, if they are gods, how some are called beneficent and others hurtful, and how they, being corporeal, are numbered with the gods, who are incorporeal. He inquires further, and still as one in doubt, whether diviners and wonderworkers are men
of unusually powerful souls, or whether the power to do these things is communicated by spirits from without. He inclines to the latter opinion, on the ground that it is by the use of stones and herbs that they lay spells on people, and open closed doors, and do similar wonders. And on this account, he says, some suppose that there is a race of beings whose property it is to listen to men, “a race deceitful, full of contrivances, capable of assuming all forms, simulating gods, demons, and dead men, “and that it is this race which brings about all these things which have the appearance of good or evil, but that what is really good they never help us in, and are indeed unacquainted with, for they make wickedness easy, but throw obstacles in the path of those who eagerly follow virtue; . and that they are filled with pride and rashness, delight in sacrificial odours, are taken with flattery. These and the other characteristics of this race of deceitful and malicious spirits, who come into the souls of men and delude their senses, both in sleep and waking, he describes not as things of which he is himself convinced, but only with so much suspicion and doubt as to cause him to speak of them as commonly received opinions, "We should sympathize with this great philosopher in the difficulty he experienced in acquainting himself with and confidently assailing the whole fraternity of devils, which any Christian old woman would unhesitatingly describe and most unreservedly detest. Perhaps, however, he shrank from offending Anebo, to whom he was writing, himself the most eminent patron of these mysteries, or the others who marvelled at these magical feats as divine works, and closely allied to the worship of the gods.

However, he pursues this subject, and, still in the character of an inquirer, mentions some things which no sober judgment could attribute to any but malicious and deceitful powers.
He asks why, after the better class of spirits have been invoked, the worse should be commanded to perform the wicked desires of men; why they do not hear a man who has just left a woman's embrace, while they themselves make no scruple of tempting men to incest and adultery; why their priests are commanded to abstain from animal food for fear of being polluted by the corporeal exhalations, while they themselves are attracted by the fumes of sacrifices and other exhalations; why the initiated are forbidden to touch a dead body, while their mysteries are celebrated almost entirely by means of dead bodies; why it is that a man addicted to any vice should utter threats, not to a demon or to the soul of a dead man, but to the sun and moon, or some of the heavenly bodies, which he intimidates by imaginary terrors, that he may wring from them a real boon, â€” for he threatens that he will demolish the sky, and such like impossibilities, â€” that those gods, being alarmed, like silly children, with imaginary and absurd threats, may do what they are ordered. Porphyry further relates that a man Chasremon, profoundly versed in these sacred or rather sacrilegious mysteries, had written that the famous Egyptian mysteries of Isis and her husband Osiris had very great influence with the gods to compel them to do what they were ordered, when he who used the spells threatened to divulge or do away with these mysteries, and cried with a threatening voice that he would scatter the members of Osiris if they neglected his orders. Not without reason is Porphyry surprised that a man should utter such wild and empty threats against the gods, â€” not against gods of no account, but against the heavenly gods, and those that shine with sidereal light, â€” and that these threats should be effectual to constrain them with resistless power, and alarm them so that they fulfil his wishes. Not without reason does he, in the character of an inquirer into the reasons of these surprising things, give it to be understood that they are done by that race of spirits which he previously described as if quoting other people's opinions, â€” spirits who deceive not, as he said, by nature, but by their own corruption, and who simulate gods and dead men, but not, as he said, demons, for demons they really are. As to his idea that by means of herbs, and stones, and animals, and certain incantations and noises, and drawings, sometimes fanciful, and sometimes copied from the motions of the heavenly bodies, men create upon earth powers capable of bringing about various results, all that is only the mystification which these demons practise on those who are subject to them, for the sake of furnishing themselves with merriment at the expense of their dupes. Either, then, Porphyry was sincere in his doubts and inquiries, and mentioned these things to demonstrate and put beyond question that they were the work, not of powers which aid us in obtaining life, but of deceitful demons; or, to take a more favourable view of the philosopher, he adopted this method with the Egyptian who was wedded to these errors, and was proud of them, that he might not offend him by assuming the attitude of a teacher, nor discompose his mind by the
altercation of a professed assailant, but, by assuming the character of an inquirer, and the humble attitude of one who was anxious to learn, might turn his attention to these matters, and show how worthy they are to be despised and relinquished. Towards the conclusion of his letter, he requests Anebo to inform him what the Egyptian wisdom indicates as the way to blessedness. But as to those who hold intercourse with the gods, and pester them only for the sake of finding a runaway slave, or acquiring property, or making a bargain of a marriage, or such things, he declares that their pretensions to wisdom are vain. He adds that these same gods, even granting that on other points their utterances were true, were yet so ill- advised and unsatisfactory in their disclosures about blessedness, that they cannot be either gods or good demons, but are either that spirit who is called the deceiver, or mere fictions of the imagination.

12. Of the miracles wrought by the true God through the ministry of the holy angels.

Since by means of these arts wonders are done which quite surpass human power, what choice have we but to believe that these predictions and operations, which seem to be miraculous and divine, and which at the same time form no part of the worship of the one God, in adherence to whom, as the Platonists themselves abundantly testify, all blessedness consists, are the pastime of wicked spirits, who thus seek to seduce and hipder
the truly godly? On the other hand, we cannot but believe that all miracles, whether wrought by angels or by other means, so long as they are so done as to commend the worship and religion of the one God in whom alone is blessedness, are wrought by those who love us in a true and godly sort, or through their means, God Himself working in them. For we cannot listen to those who maintain that the invisible God works -no visible miracles; for even they believe that He made the world, which surely they will not deny to be visible.

Whatever marvel happens in this world, it is certainly less marvellous than this whole world itself, â€” I mean the sky and earth, and all that is in them, â€” and these God certainly made. But, as the Creator Himself is hidden and incomprehensible to man, so also is the manner of creation.

Although, therefore, the standing miracle of this visible world is little thought of, because always before us, yet, when we arouse ourselves to contemplate it, it is a greater miracle than the rarest and most unheard-of marvels. For man himself is a greater miracle than any miracle done through his instrumentality. Therefore God, who made the visible heaven and earth, does not disdain to work visible miracles in heaven or earth, that He may thereby awaken the soul which is immersed in things visible to worship Himself, the Invisible. But the place and time of these miracles are dependent on His unchangeable will, in which things future are ordered as if already they were accomplished. For He moves things temporal without Himself moving in time. He does not in one way know things that are to be, and, in another, things that have been; neither does He listen to those who pray otherwise than as He sees those that will pray. For, even when His angels hear us, it is He Himself who hears us in them, as in His true temple not made with hands, as in those men who are His saints; and His answers, though accomplished in time, have been arranged by His eternal appointment.

13. Of the invisible God, who has often made Himself visible, not as He really is, but as the beholders could bear the sight.

Neither need we be surprised that God, invisible as He is, should often have appeared visibly to the patriarchs. For 

the silence of the mind is not the thought itself, so the form by which God, invisible in His own nature, became visible, was not God Himself. Nevertheless it is He Himself who was seen under that form, as that thought itself is heard in the sound of the voice; and the
patriarchs recognised that, though the bodily form was not God, they saw the invisible God. For, though Moses conversed with God, yet he said, 'If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me Thyself, that I may see and know Thee.' And as it was fit that the law, which was given, not to one man or a few enlightened men, but to the whole of a populous nation, should be accompanied by awe-inspiring signs, great marvels were wrought, by the ministry of angels, before the people on the mount where the law was being given to them through one man, while the multitude beheld the awful appearances. For the people of Israel believed Moses, not as the Lacedaemonians believed their Lycurgus, because he had received from Jupiter or Apollo the laws he gave them. For when the law which enjoined the worship of one God was given to the people, marvellous signs and earthquakes, such as the divine wisdom judged sufficient, were brought about in the sight of all, that they might know that it was the Creator who could thus use creation to promulgate His law.

14. That the one God is to be worshipped not only for the sake of eternal blessings, but also in connection with temporal prosperity, because all things are regulated by His providence.

The education of the human race, represented by the people of God, has advanced, like that of an individual, through certain epochs, or, as it were, ages, so that it might gradually rise from earthly to heavenly things, and from the visible to the invisible. This object was kept so clearly in view, that, even in the period when temporal rewards were promised, the one God was presented as the object of worship, that men might not acknowledge any other than the true Creator and Lord of the spirit, even in connection with the earthly blessings of this transitory life. For he who denies that all things, which either angels or men can give us, are in the hand of the one Almighty, is a madman. The Platonist Plotinus discourses

1 Ex. xxxiii. 13.
concerning providence, and, from the beauty of flowers and foliage, proves that from
the supreme God, whose beauty is unseen and ineffable, providence reaches down even
to these
I earthly things here below; and he argues that all these frail and perishing things could
not have so exquisite and elaborate a beauty, were they not fashioned by Him whose
unseen and unchangeable beauty continually pervades all things. 1 This is proved also by
the Lord Jesus, where He says, ' Consider the lilies, how they grow; they toil not, neither
do they spin.
And yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
But if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the
oven, how much more shall He clothe you, ye of little faith ! ' 2
It was best, therefore, that the soul of man, which was still weakly desiring earthly things,
should be accustomed to seek from God alone even these petty temporal boons, and the
earthly necessaries of this transitory life, which are contemptible in comparison with
eternal blessings, in order that the desire even of these things might not draw it aside
from the worship of Him, to whom we come by despising and forsaking such things.

15. Of the ministry of the holy angels, by which they fulfil the providence
of God.

And so it has pleased Divine Providence, as I have said, and as we read in the Acts of the
Apostles, 3 that the law enjoining the worship of one God should be given by the
disposition of angels. But among them the person of God Himself visibly appeared, not,
indeed, in His proper substance, which ever remains invisible to mortal eyes, but by the
infallible signs furnished by creation in obedience to its Creator.
He made use, too, of the words of human speech, uttering them syllable by syllable
successively, though in His own nature He speaks not in a bodily but in a spiritual way;
not to sense, but to the mind; not in words that occupy time, but, if I may so say,
eterally, neither beginning to speak nor coming to an end. And what He says is
accurately heard, not by the bodily but by the mental ear of His ministers and
messengers, who are immortally blessed in the enjoyment

promises, as I have said, which, however, symbolized eternal ones; and these eternal blessings few understood, though many took a part in the celebration of their visible signs. Nevertheless, with one consent both the words and the visible rites of that law enjoin the worship of one God, not one of a crowd of gods, but Him who made heaven and earth, and every soul and every spirit which is other than Himself. He created; all else was created; and, both for being and well-being, all things need Him who created them.

16. Whether those angels who demand that we pay them divine honour, or those who teach us to render holy service, not to themselves, but to God, are to be trusted about the way to life eternal.

What angels, then, are we to believe in this matter of blessed and eternal life? Those who wish to be worshipped with religious rites and observances, and require that men sacrifice to them; or those who say that all this worship is due to one God, the Creator, and teach us to render it with true piety to Him, by the vision of whom they are themselves already blessed, and in whom they promise that we shall be so? For that vision of God is the beauty of a vision so great, and is so infinitely desirable, that Plotinus does not hesitate to say that he who enjoys all other blessings in abundance, and has not this, is supremely miserable. 1 Since, therefore, miracles are wrought by some angels to induce us to worship this God, by others, to induce us to worship themselves; and since the former forbid us to worship these, while the latter dare not forbid us to worship God, which are we to listen to? Let the Platonists reply, or any philosophers, or the theurgists, or rather, ycriurgists, 2 for this name is good enough for those who practise such arts. In short, let all men answer, if, at least, there survives in them any spark of that natural perception which, as rational beings, they possess when created, let them, I say, tell us whether we should sacrifice to the gods or angels who

1 Ennead. I. vi 7. 2 Meaning, officious meddlers.
order us to sacrifice to them, or to that One to whom we are ordered to sacrifice by those who forbid us to worship either themselves or these others. If neither the one party nor the other had wrought miracles, but had merely uttered commands, the one to sacrifice to themselves, the other forbidding that, and ordering us to sacrifice to God, a godly mind would have been at no loss to discern which command proceeded from proud arrogance, and which from true religion. I will say more. If miracles had been wrought only by those who demand sacrifice for themselves, while those who forbade this, and enjoined sacrificing to the one God only, thought fit entirely to forego the use of visible miracles, the authority of the latter was to be preferred by all who would use, not their eyes only, but their reason. But since God, for the sake of commending to us the oracles of His truth, has, by means of these immortal messengers, who proclaim His majesty and not their own pride, wrought miracles of surpassing grandeur, certainty, and distinctness, in order that the weak among the godly might not be drawn away to false religion by those who require us to sacrifice to them and endeavour to convince us by stupendous appeals to our senses, who is so utterly unreasonable as not to choose and follow the truth, when he finds that it is heralded by even more striking evidences than falsehood?

As for those miracles which history ascribes to the gods of the heathen, ÒI do not refer to those prodigies which at intervals happen from some unknown physical causes, and which are arranged and appointed by Divine Providence, such as monstrous births, and unusual meteorological phenomena, whether startling only, or also injurious, and which are said to be brought about and removed by communication with demons, and by their most deceitful craft, Òbut I refer to these prodigies which manifestly enough are wrought by their power and force, as, that the household gods which Æneas carried from Troy in his flight moved from place to place; that Tarquin cut a whetstone with a razor; that the Epidaurian serpent attached himself as a companion to Æsculapius on his voyage to Eome; that the ship in which the image of the Phrygian mother stood, and which could not be moved by a host of men and oxen, was moved by one weak woman, who

attached her girdle to the vessel and drew it, as proof of her chastity; that a vestal, whose virginity was questioned, removed the suspicion by carrying from the Tiber a sieve full of water without any of it dropping; these, then, and the like, are by no means to be compared for greatness and virtue to those which, we read, were wrought among God's people. How much less can we compare those marvels, which even the laws of heathen nations prohibit and punish, ÒI mean the magical and theurgic marvels, of which the great part are merely illusions practised upon the senses, as the drawing down of the moon, " that," as Lucan says, " it may shed a stronger influence on the plants V 1 And if some of these do seem to equal those which are wrought by the godly, the end for which they are wrought distinguishes the two, and shows that ours are incomparably the more
excellent. For those miracles commend the worship of a plurality of gods, who deserve worship the less the more they demand it; but these of ours commend the worship of the one God, who, both by the testimony of His own Scriptures, and by the eventual abolition of sacrifices, proves that He needs no such offerings. If, therefore, any angels demand sacrifice for themselves, we must prefer those who demand it, not for themselves, but for God, the Creator of all, whom they serve. For thus they prove how sincerely they love us, since they wish by sacrifice to subject us, not to themselves, but to Him by the contemplation of whom they themselves are blessed, and to bring us to Him from whom they themselves have never strayed. If, on the other hand, any angels wish us to sacrifice, not to one, but to many, not, indeed, to themselves, but to the gods whose angels they are, we must in this case also prefer those who are the angels of the one God of gods, and who so bid us to worship Him as to preclude our worshipping any other. But, further, if it be the case, as their pride and deceitfulness rather indicate, that they are neither good angels nor the angels of good gods, but wicked demons, who wish sacrifice to be paid, not to the one only and supreme God, but to themselves, what better protection against them can we choose than that of the one God whom the good angels serve, the angels who bid us

1 Pharsal. vi. 503.
sacrifice, not to themselves, "but to Him whose sacrifice we ourselves ought to be?"

17. Concerning the ark of the covenant, and the miraculous signs whereby God authenticated the law and the promise.

On this account it was that the law of God, given by the disposition of angels, and which commanded that the one God of gods alone receive sacred worship, to the exclusion of all others, was deposited in the ark, called the ark of the testimony. By this name it is sufficiently indicated, not that God, who was worshipped by all those rites, was shut up and enclosed in that place, though His responses emanated from it along with signs appreciable by the senses, but that His will was declared from that throne. The law itself, too, was engraved on tables of stone, and, as I have said, deposited in the ark, which the priests carried with due reverence during the sojourn in the wilderness, along with the tabernacle, which was in like manner called the tabernacle of the testimony; and there was then an accompanying sign, which appeared as a cloud by day and as a fire by night; when the cloud moved, the camp was shifted, and where it stood the camp was pitched. Besides these signs, and the voices which proceeded from the place where the ark was, there were other miraculous testimonies to the law. For when the ark was carried across Jordan, on the entrance to the land of promise, the upper part of the river stopped in its course, and the lower part flowed on, so as to present both to the ark and the people dry ground to pass over. Then, when it was carried seven times round the first hostile and polytheistic city they came to, its walls suddenly fell down, though assaulted by no hand, struck by no battering-ram. Afterwards, too, when they were now resident in the land of promise, and the ark had, in punishment of their sin, been taken by their enemies, its captors triumphantly placed it in the temple of their favourite god, and left it shut up there, but, on opening the temple next day, they found the image they used to pray to fallen to the ground and shamefully shattered. Then, being themselves alarmed by portents, and still more shamefully punished, they restored the ark of the testimony to the people from whom they had taken it. And what was the manner of

its restoration? They placed it on a wagon, and yoked to it cows from which they had taken the calves, and let them choose their own course, expecting that in this way the divine will would be indicated; and the cows, without any man driving or directing them, steadily pursued the way to the Hebrews, without regarding the lowing of their calves, and thus restored the ark to its worshippers. To God these and such like wonders are small, but they are mighty to terrify and give wholesome instruction to men. For if philosophers, and especially the Platonists, are with justice esteemed wiser than other men, as I have just been mentioning, because they taught that even these earthly and insignificant things are ruled by Divine Providence, inferring this from the numberless
beauties which are observable not only in the bodies of animals, but even in plants and grasses, how much more plainly do these things attest the presence of divinity which happen at the time predicted, and in which that religion is commended which forbids the offering of sacrifice to any celestial, terrestrial, or infernal being, and commands it to be offered to God only, who alone blesses us by His love for us, and by our love to Him, and who, by arranging the appointed times of those sacrifices, and by predicting that they were to pass into a better sacrifice by a better Priest, testified that He has no appetite for these sacrifices, but through them indicated others of more substantial blessing, ã€” and all this not that He Himself may be glorified by these honours, but that we may be stirred up to worship and cleave to Him, being inflamed by His love, which is our advantage rather than His ?

18. Against those who deny that the books of the Church are to be believed about the miracles whereby the people of God were educated.

Will some one say that these miracles are false, that they never happened, and that the records of them are lies ? "Whoever says so, and asserts that in such matters no records whatever can be credited, may also say that there are no gods who care for human affairs. For they have induced men to worship them only by means of miraculous works, which the heathen histories testify, and by which the gods have made a display of their own power rather than done any real service. This is the reason why we have not undertaken in this work,
of which we are now writing the tenth book, to refute those who either deny that there is any divine power, or contend that it does not interfere with human affairs, but those who prefer their own god to our God, the Founder of the holy and most glorious city, not knowing that He is also the invisible and unchangeable Founder of this visible and changing world, and the truest bestower of the blessed life which resides not in things created, but in Himself. For thus speaks His most trustworthy prophet: "It is good for me to be united to God." 1

Among philosophers it is a question, what is that end and good to the attainment of which all our duties are to have a relation? The Psalmist did not say, It is good for me to have great wealth, or to wear imperial insignia, purple, sceptre, and diadem; or, as some even of the philosophers have not blushed to say, It is good for me to enjoy sensual pleasure; or, as the better men among them seemed to say, My good is my spiritual strength; but, "It is good for me to be united to God." This he had learned from Him whom the holy angels, with the accompanying witness of miracles, presented as the sole object of worship. And hence he himself became the sacrifice of God, whose spiritual love inflamed him, and into whose ineffable and incorporeal embrace he yearned to cast himself. Moreover, if the worshippers of many gods (whatever kind of gods they fancy their own to be) believe that the miracles recorded in their civil histories, or in the books of magic, or of the more respectable theurgy, were wrought by these gods, what reason have they for refusing to believe the miracles recorded in those writings, to which we owe a credence as much greater as He is greater to whom alone these writings teach us to sacrifice?

19. On the reasonableness of offering, as the true religion teaches, a visible sacrifice to the one true and invisible God.

As to those who think that these visible sacrifices are suitably offered to other gods, but that invisible sacrifices, the graces of purity of mind and holiness of will, should be offered, as greater and better, to the invisible God, Himself greater and better than all others, they must be oblivious that these visible sacrifices are signs of the invisible, as the wordsjwo

1 Ps. lxxiii. 28.

410 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

utter are the signs of things. And therefore, as in prayer or praise we direct intelligible words to Him to whom in our heart we offer the very feelings we are expressing, so we are to understand that in sacrifice we offer visible sacrifice only to Him to whom in our heart we ought to present ourselves an invisible sacrifice. It is then that the angels, and all those superior powers who are mighty by their goodness and piety, regard us with
pleasure, and rejoice with us and assist us to the utmost of their power. But if we offer such worship to them, they decline it; and when on any mission to men they become visible to the senses, they positively forbid it. Examples of this occur in holy writ. Some fancied they should, by adoration or sacrifice, pay the same honour to angels as is due to God, and were prevented from doing so by the angels themselves, and ordered to render it to Him to whom alone they know it to be due. And the holy angels have in this been imitated by holy men of God. For Paul and Barnabas, when they had wrought a miracle of healing in Lycaonia, were thought to be gods, and the Lycaonians desired to sacrifice to them, and they humbly and piously declined this honour, and announced to them the God in whom they should believe.

And those deceitful and proud spirits, who exact worship, do so simply because they know it to be due to the true God.

For that which they take pleasure in is not, as Porphyry says and some fancy, the smell of the victims, but divine honours. They have, in fact, plenty odours on all hands, and if they wished more, they could provide them for themselves. But the spirits who arrogate to themselves divinity are delighted not with the smoke of carcases, but with the suppliant spirit which they deceive and hold in subjection, and hinder from drawing near to God, preventing him from offering himself in sacrifice to God by inducing him to sacrifice to others.

20. Of the supreme and true sacrifice which was effected by the Mediator between God and men.

And hence that true Mediator, in so far as, by assuming the form of a servant, He became the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, though *in the form of God He received sacrifice together with the Father, with whom He is one God, yet in the form of a servant He chose rather to
be than to receive a sacrifice, that not even by this instance any one might have occasion to suppose that sacrifice should be rendered to any creature. Thus He is both the Priest who offers and the Sacrifice offered. And He designed that there should be a daily sign of this in the sacrifice of the Church, which, being His body, learns to offer herself through TTjm. Of this true Sacrifice the ancient sacrifices of the saints were the various and numerous signs; and it was thus variously figured, just as one thing is signified by a variety of words, that there may be less weariness when we speak of it much. To this supreme and true sacrifice all false sacrifices have given place.

21. Of the power delegated to demons for the trial and glorification of the saints, who conquer not by propitiating the spirits of the air, but by abiding in God.

The power delegated to the demons at certain appointed and well-adjusted seasons, that they may give expression to their hostility to the city of God by stirring up against it the men who are under their influence, and may not only receive sacrifice from those who willingly offer it, but may also extort it from the unwilling by violent persecution; â€” this power is found to be not merely harmless, but even useful to the Church, completing as it does the number of martyrs, whom the city of God esteems as all the more illustrious and honoured citizens, because they have striven even to blood against the sin of impiety. If the ordinary language of the Church allowed it, we might more elegantly call these men our heroes. For this name is said to be derived from Juno, who in Greek is called Here, and hence, according to the Greek myths, one of her sons was called Heros. And these fables mystically signified that Juno was mistress of the air, which they suppose to be inhabited by the demons and the heroes, understanding by heroes the souls of the well-deserving dead. But for a quite opposite reason would we call our martyrs heroes, â€” supposing, as I said, that the usage of ecclesiastical language would admit of it, â€” not because they lived along with the demons in the air, but because they conquered these demons or powers of the air, and among them Juno herself, be she what she may, not unsuitably represented, as she commonly is "by the poets, as ^ hostile to virtue, and jealous of men of mark aspiring to the heavens. Virgil, however, unhappily gives way, and yields to her; for, though he represents her as saying, " I am conquered by iEneas," 1 Helenus gives ^Eneas himself this religious advice:

' ' Pay vows to Juno: overbear Her queenly soul with gift and prayer." 2
In conformity with this opinion, Porphyry — expressing, however, not so much his own views as other people's — says that a good god or genius cannot come to a man unless the evil genius has been first of all propitiated, implying that the evil deities had greater power than the good; for, until they have been appeased and give place, the good can give no assistance; and if the evil deities oppose, the good can give no help; whereas the evil can do injury without the good being able to prevent them. This is not the way of the true and truly holy religion; not thus do our martyrs conquer Juno, that is to say, the powers of the air, who envy the virtues of the pious. Our heroes, if we could so call them, overcome here, not by suppliant gifts, but by divine virtues. As Scipio, who conquered Africa by his valour, is more suitably styled Africanus than if he had appeased his enemies by gifts, and so won their mercy.

22. Why then the saints derive power against demons and true purification of heart.

It is by true piety that men of God cast out the hostile power of the air which opposes godliness; it is by exorcising it, not by propitiating it; and they overcome all the temptations of the adversary by praying, not to him, but to their own God against him. For the devil cannot conquer or subdue any but those who are in league with sin; and therefore he is conquered in the name of Him who assumed humanity, and that without sin, that Himself being both Priest and Sacrifice, He might bring about the remission of sins, that is to say, might bring it about through the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, by whom we are reconciled to God, the cleansing from sin being accomplished.

1 uEneid, vii. 310. 3 JEned, iii. 433, 439.
For men are separated from God only by sins, from which we are in this life cleansed not by our own virtue, but by the divine compassion; through His indulgence, not through our own power. For, whatever virtue we call our own is itself bestowed upon us by His goodness. And we might attribute too much to ourselves while in the flesh, unless we lived in the receipt of pardon until we laid it down. This is the reason why there has been vouchsafed to us, through the Mediator, this grace, that we who are polluted by sinful flesh should be cleansed by the likeness of sinful flesh. By this grace of God, wherein He has shown His great compassion toward us, we are both governed by faith in this life, and, after this life, are led onwards to the fullest perfection by the vision of immutable truth.

23. Of the principles which, according to the Platonists, regulate the purification of the soul.

Even Porphyry asserts that it was revealed by divine oracles that we are not purified by any sacrifices to sun or moon, meaning it to be inferred that we are not purified by sacrificing to any gods. For what mysteries can purify, if those of the sun and moon, which are esteemed the chief of the celestial gods, do not purify? He says, too, in the same place, that "principles" can purify, lest it should be supposed, from his saying that sacrificing to the sun and moon cannot purify, that sacrificing to some other of the host of gods might do so. And what he as a Platonist means by "principles," we know. 2 For he speaks of God the Father and God the Son, whom he calls (writing in Greek) the intellect or mind of the Father; 3 but of the Holy Spirit he says either nothing, or nothing plainly, for I do not understand what other he speaks of as holding the middle place between these two.

1 Teletis.

2 The Platonists of the Alexandrian and Athenian schools, from Plotinus to Proclus, are at one in recognising in God three principles or hypostases: 1st, the One or the Good, which is the Father; 2d, the Intelligence or Word, which is the Son; 3d, the Soul, which is the universal principle of life. But as to the nature and order of these hypostases, the Alexandrians are no longer at one with the school of Athens. On the very subtle differences between the Trinity of Plotinus and that of Porphyry, consult M. Jules Simon, ii. 110, and M. Vacherot, ii. 37. â€” Saisset.

3 See below, c. 28.
For if, like Plotinus in his discussion regarding the three principal substances, 1 he wished us to understand by this third the soul of nature, he would certainly not have given it the middle place between these two, that is, between the Father and the Son. For Plotinus places the soul of nature after the intellect of the Father, while Porphyry, making it the mean, does not place it after, but between the others. Xo doubt he spoke according to his light, or as he thought expedient; but we assert that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit not of the Father only, nor of the Son only, but of both. For philosophers speak as they have a mind to, and in the most difficult matters do not scruple to offend religious ears; but we are bound to speak according to a certain rule, lest freedom of speech beget impiety of opinion about the matters themselves of which we speak.

24. OJ the one only true principle which alone purifies and reneivs human nature.

Accordingly, when we speak of God, we do not affirm two or three principles, no more than we are at liberty to affirm two or three gods; although, speaking of each, of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, we confess that each is God: and yet we do not say, as the Sabellian heretics say, that the Father is the same as the Son, and the Holy Spirit the same as the Father and the Son; but we say that the Father is the Father of the Son, and the Son the Son of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit of the Father and the Son is neither the Father nor the Son. It was therefore truly said that man is cleansed only by a Principle, although the Platonists erred in speaking in the plural of principles. _But Porphyry, being under the dominion of these envious powers, whose influence he was at once ashamed of and afraid to throw off, refused to recognise that Christ is the Principle by whose incarnation we are purified. Indeed he despised Him, because of the flesh itself which He assumed, that He might offer a sacrifice for our purification, â€” a great mystery, unintelligible to Porphyry's pride, which that true and benignant Redeemer brought low by His humility, manifesting Himself to mortals by the mortality which He assumed, and which

1 Ennead. v. 1.
the malignant and deceitful mediators are proud of wanting, promising, as the boon of immortals, a deceptive assistance to wretched men. Thus the good and true Mediator showed that it is sin which is evil, and not the substance or nature of flesh; for this, together with the human soul, could without sin be both assumed and retained, and laid down in death, and changed to something better by resurrection. He showed also that death itself, although the punishment of sin, was submitted to by Him for our sakes without sin, and must not be evaded by sin on our part, but rather, if opportunity serves, be borne for righteousness' sake. For he was able to expiate sins by dying, because He both died, and not for sin of His own. But He has not been recognised by Porphyry as the Principle, otherwise he would have recognised Him as the Purifier. The Principle is neither the flesh nor the human soul in Christ, but the Word by which all things were made. The flesh, therefore, does not by its own virtue purify, but by virtue of the Word by which it was assumed, when "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us." 1 For, speaking mystically of eating His flesh, when those who did not understand Him were offended and went away, saying, "This is an hard saying, who can hear it?" He answered to the rest who remained, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." 2 The Principle, therefore, having assumed a human soul and flesh, cleanses the soul and flesh of believers. Therefore, when the Jews asked Him who He was, He answered that He was the Principle. 3 And this we carnal and feeble men, liable to sin, and involved in the darkness of ignorance, could not possibly understand, unless we were cleansed and healed by Him, both by means of what we were, and of what we were not. For we were men, but we were not righteous; whereas in His incarnation there was a human nature, but it was righteous, and not sinful. This is the mediation whereby a hand is stretched to the lapsed and fallen; this is the seed "ordained by angels," by whose ministry the law also was given enjoining the worship of one God, and promising that this Mediator should come.

1 John i. 14. 2 John vi. 60-64.

3 John viii. 25; or "the beginning," following a different reading from ours.

416 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

25. That all the saints, both under the law and before it, were justified by faith in the mystery of Christ's incarnation.

It was by faith in this mystery, and godliness of life, that purification was attainable even by the saints of old, whether before the law was given to the Hebrews (for God and the angels were even then present as instructors), or in the periods under the law, although the promises of spiritual things, being presented in figure, seemed to be carnal, and hence the name of Old Testament. For it was then the prophets lived, by whom, as by angels,
the same promise was announced; and anions them was he whose grand and divine sentiment regarding the end and supreme good of man I have just now quoted, "It is good for me to cleave to God." 1 In this psalm the distinction between the Old and New Testaments is distinctly announced. For the Psalmist says, that when he saw that the carnal and earthly promises were abundantly enjoyed by the ungodly, his feet were almost gone, his steps had wellnigh slipped; and that it seemed to him as if he had served God in vain, when he saw that those who despised God increased in that prosperity which he looked for at God's hand.

He says, too, that, in investigating this matter with the desire of understanding why it was so, he had laboured in vain, until he went into the sanctuary of God, and understood the end of those whom he had erroneously considered happy.

Then he understood that they were cast down by that very thing, as he says, which they had made their boast, and that they had been consumed and perished for their iniquities; and that that whole fabric of temporal prosperity had become as a dream when one awaketh, and suddenly finds himself destitute of all the joys he had imaged in sleep. And, as in this earth or earthy city they seemed to themselves to be great, he says, "Lord, in Thy city Thou wilt reduce their image to nothing." He also shows how beneficial it had been for him to seek even earthly blessings only from the one true God, in whose power are all things, for he says, "As a beast was I before Thee, and I am always with Thee." 1

As a beast," he says, meaning that he was stupid. For I ought to have sought from Thee such things as the ungodly could

1 Pe. lxxiii. 28.
not enjoy as well as I, and not those things which I saw them enjoying in abundance, and hence concluded I was serving Thee in vain, because they who declined to serve Thee had what I had not. Nevertheless, "I am always with Thee," because even in my desire for such things I did not pray to other gods. And consequently he goes on, "Thou hast holden me by my right hand, and by Thy counsel Thou hast guided me, and with glory hast taken me up;" as if all earthly advantages were left-hand blessings, though, when he saw them enjoyed by the wicked, Ins feet had almost gone. "For what,"

he says, "have I in heaven, and -what have I desired from Thee upon earth?" He blames himself, and is justly displeased with himself; because, though he had in heaven so vast a possession (as he afterwards understood), he yet sought from his God on earth a transitory and fleeting happiness, â€” a happiness of mire, we may say. *My heart and my flesh," he says, "fail, God of my heart." Happy failure, from things below to things above! And hence in another psalm he says, "My soul longeth, yea, even faileth, for the courts of the Lord." I Yet, though he had said of both his heart and his flesh that they were failing, he did not say, God of my heart and my flesh, but, God of my heart; for by the heart the flesh is made clean. Therefore, says the Lord, "Cleanse that which is within, and the outside shall be clean also." 2 He then says that God Himself, â€” not anything received from Him, but Himself, â€” is his portion. "The God of my heart, and my portion for ever." Among the various objects of human choice, God alone satisfied him. "The God of my heart, and my portion for ever." Among the various objects of human choice, God alone satisfied him. "For, lo,"

he says, *they that are far from Thee shall perish: Thou destroyest all them that go a-whoring from Thee," â€” that is, who prostitute themselves to many gods. And then follows the verse for which all the rest of the psalm seems to prepare: "It is good for me to cleave to God," â€” not to go far off; not to go a-whoring with a multitude of gods. And then shall this union with God be perfected, when all that is to be redeemed in us has been redeemed. But for the present we must, as he goes on to say, "place our hope in God." "For that which is seen," says the apostle, "is not hope. For what

1 Ps. lxxxiv. 2. - Matt, xxiii. 26.

VOL. L 2D

418 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X;

a man sees, why does lie yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 1

Being, then, for the present established in this hope, let us do what the Psalmist further indicates, and become in our measure angels or messengers of God, declaring His will, and praising His glory and His grace. For when he had said,
"To place my hope in God," he goes on, "that I may declare all Thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Zion." This is the most glorious city of God; this is the city which knows and worships one God: she is celebrated by the holy angels, who invite us to their society, and desire us to become fellowcitizens with them in this city; for they do not wish us to worship them as our gods, but to join them in worshipping their God and ours; nor to sacrifice to them, but, together with them, to become a sacrifice to God. Accordingly, whoever will lay aside malignant obstinacy, and consider these things, shall be assured that all these blessed and immortal spirits, who do not envy us (for if they envied they were not blessed), but rather love us, and desire us to be as blessed as themselves, look on us with greater pleasure, and give us greater assistance, when we join them in worshipping one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, than if we were to offer to themselves sacrifice and worship.

26. Of Porphyry's weakness in wavering between the confession of the true God and the worship of demons.

I know not how it is so, but it seems to me that Porphyry blushed for his friends the theurgists; for he knew all that I have adduced, but did not frankly condemn polytheistic worship. He said, in fact, that there are some angels who visit earth, and reveal divine truth to theurgists, and others who publish on earth the things that belong to the Father, His height and depth. Can we believe, then, that the angels whose office it is to declare the will of the Father, wish us to be subject to any but Him whose will they declare? And hence, even this Platonist himself judiciously observes that we should rather imitate than invoke them. * We ought not, then, to fear that we may offend these immortal and happy subjects.

1 Rom. viii. 24, 25.
of the one God by not sacrificing to them; for this they know to be due only to the one true God, in allegiance to whom they themselves find their blessedness, and therefore they will not have it given to them, either in figure or in the reality, which the mysteries of sacrifice symbolized. Such arrogance belongs to proud and wretched demons, whose disposition is diametrically opposed to the piety of those who are subject to God, and whose blessedness consists in attachment to Him. And, that we also may attain to this bliss, they aid us, as is fit, with sincere kindliness, and usurp over us no dominion, but declare to us Him under whose rule we are then fellow-subjects. Why, then, philosopher, do you still fear to speak freely against the powers which are inimical both to true virtue and to the gifts of the true God? Already you have discriminated between the angels who proclaim God's will, and those who visit theurgists, drawn down by I know not what art. Why do you still ascribe to these latter the honour of declaring divine truth? If they do not declare the will of the Father, what divine revelations can they make? Are not these the evil spirits who were bound over by the incantations of an envious man, that they should not grant purity of soul to another, and could not, as you say, be set free from these bonds by a good man anxious for purity, and recover power over their own actions? Do you still doubt whether these are wicked demons; or do you, perhaps, feign ignorance, that you may not give offence to the theurgists, who have allured you by their secret rites, and have taught you, as a mighty boon, these insane and pernicious devils? Do you dare to elevate above the air, and even to heaven, these envious powers, or pests, let me rather call them, less worthy of the name of sovereign than of slaves, as you yourself own; and are you not ashamed to place them even among your sidereal gods, and so put a slight upon the stars themselves?

27. Of (the impiety of Porphyry, which is worse than even the mistake of Apuleius.

How much more tolerable and accordant with human feeling is the error of your Platonist co-seler Apuleius! for lie

1 See above, c. 9.

420 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

attributed the diseases and storms of human passions only to the demons who occupy a grade beneath the moon, and makes even this avowal as by constraint regarding gods whom he honours; but the superior and celestial gods, who inhabit the ethereal regions, whether visible, as the sun, moon, and other luminaries, whose brilliancy makes them conspicuous, or invisible, but believed in by him, he does his utmost to remove beyond the slightest stain of these perturbations. It is not, then, from Plato, but from your
Chaldæan teachers you have learned to elevate human vices to the ethereal and empyreal regions of the world and to the celestial firmament, in order that your theurgists might be able to obtain from your gods divine revelations; and yet you make yourself superior to these divine revelations by your intellectual life, which dispenses with these theurgic purifications as not needed by a philosopher. But, by way of rewarding your teachers, you recommend these arts to other men, who, not being philosophers, may be persuaded to use what you acknowledge to be useless to yourself, who are capable of higher things; so that those who cannot avail themselves of the virtue of philosophy, which is too arduous for the multitude, may, at your instigation, betake themselves to theurgists by whom they may be purified, not, indeed, in the intellectual, but in the spiritual part of the soul. Kow, as the persons who are unfit for philosophy form incomparably the majority of mankind, more may be compelled to consult these secret and illicit teachers of yours than frequent the Platonic schools. For these most impure demons, pretending to be ethereal gods, whose herald and messenger you have become, have promised that those who are purified by theurgy in the spiritual part of their soul shall not indeed return to the Father, but shall dwell among the ethereal gods above the aerial regions. But such fancies are not listened to by the multitudes of men whom Christ came to set free from the tyranny of demons. For in Him they have the most gracious cleansing, in which mind, spirit, and body alike participate. For, in order that He might heal the whole man from the plague of sin, He took without sin the whole human nature. AVould that you had known Him, and would that you had committed yourself
for healing to Him rather than to your own frail and infirm human virtue, or to pernicious and curious arts! He would not have deceived you; for Him your own oracles, on your own showing, acknowledged holy and immortal. It is of Him, too, that the most famous poet speaks, poetically indeed, since he applies it to the person of another, yet truly, if you refer it to Christ, saying, "Under thine auspices, if any traces of our crimes remain, they shall be obliterated, and earth freed from its perpetual fear." * By which he indicates that, by reason of the infirmity which attaches to this life, the greatest progress in virtue and righteousness leaves room for the existence, if not of crimes, yet of the traces of crimes, which are obliterated only by that Saviour of whom this verse speaks. For that he did not say this at the prompting of his own fancy, Virgil tells us in almost the last verse of that 4th Eclogue, when he says, "The last age predicted by the Cumsean sibyl has now arrived; " whence it plainly appears that this had been dictated by the Cumcean sibyl. But those theurgists, or rather demons, who assume the appearance and form of gods, pollute rather than purify the human spirit by false appearances and the delusive mockery of unsubstantial forms. How can those whose own spirit is unclean cleanse the spirit of man? Were they not unclean, they would not be bound by the incantations of an envious man, and would neither be afraid nor grudge to bestow that hollow boon which they promise. But it is sufficient for our purpose that you acknowledge that the intellectual soul, that is, our mind, cannot be justified by theurgy; and that even the spiritual or inferior part of our soul cannot by this act be made eternal and immortal, though you maintain that it can be purified by it. Christ, however, promises life eternal; and therefore to Him the world flocks, greatly to your indignation, greatly also to your astonishment and confusion. What avails your forced avowal that theurgy leads men astray, and deceives vast numbers by its ignorant and foolish teaching, and that it is the most manifest mistake to have recourse by prayer and sacrifice to angels and principalities, when at the same time, to save yourself from the charge of spending labour in vain on such arts, you direct

1 Virgil, Eclog. iv. 13, 14.

422 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

men to the theurgists, that by their means men, who do not live by the rule of the intellectual soul, may have their spiritual soul purified. ?

28. How it is that Porphyry has been so blind as not to recognise the true wisdom â€” Ch rist.

You drive men, therefore, into the most palpable error. And yet you are not ashamed of doing so much harm, though you call yourself a lover of virtue and wisdom. Had you been true and faithful in this profession, you would have recognised Christ, the virtue of
God and the wisdom of God, and would not, in the pride of vain science, have revolted from His wholesome humility. Nevertheless you acknowledge that the spiritual part of the soul can be purified by the virtue of chastity without the aid of those theurgic arts and mysteries which you wasted your time in learning. You even say, sometimes, that these mysteries do not raise the soul after death, so that, after the termination of this life, they seem to be of no service even to the part you call spiritual; and yet you recur on every opportunity to these arts, for no other purpose, so far as I see, than to appear an accomplished theurgist, and gratify those who are curious in illicit arts, or else to inspire others with the same curiosity. But we give you all praise for saying that this art is to be feared, both on account of the legal enactments against it, and by reason of the danger involved in the very practice of it. And would that in this, at least, you were listened to by its wretched votaries, that they might be withdrawn from entire absorption in it, or might even be preserved from tampering with it at all! You say, indeed, that ignorance, and the numberless vices resulting from it, cannot be removed by any mysteries, but only by the irarpi-/C05 vous, that is, the Father's mind or intellect conscious of the Father's will. But that Christ is this mind you do not believe; for Him you despise on account of the body He took of a woman and the shame of the cross; for your lofty wisdom spurns such low and contemptible things, and soars to more exalted regions. But He fulfils what the holy prophets truly predicted regarding Him: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nought the prudence of the prudent." 1

1 Isa. xxix. 14.
For He does not destroy and bring to nought His own gift in them, but what they arrogate to themselves, and do not hold of Him. And hence the apostle, having quoted this testimony from the prophet, adds, "Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men." 1 This is despised as a weak and foolish thing by those who are wise and strong in themselves; yet this is the grace which heals the weak, who do not proudly boast a blessedness of their own, but rather humbly acknowledge their real misery.

29. Of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Platonists in their impiety blush to acknowledge.

You proclaim the Father and His Son, whom you call the Father's intellect or mind, and between these a third, by whom we suppose you mean the Holy Spirit, and in your own fashion you call these three Gods. In this, though your expressions are inaccurate, you do in some sort, and as through a veil, see what we should strive towards; but the incarnation of the unchangeable Son of God, whereby we are saved, and are enabled to reach the things we believe, or in part understand, this is what you refuse to recognise. You see in a fashion, although at a distance, although with filmy eye, the country in which we should abide; but the way to it you know not.

Yet you believe in grace, for you say it is granted to few to reach God by virtue of intelligence. For you do not say, "Few have thought fit or have wished," but, "It has been granted to few," â€” distinctly acknowledging God's grace, not man's sufficiency. You also use this word more expressly, when, in

1 1 Cor. i. 19-25.

424 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

according to the opinion of Plato, you make no doubt that in this life a man cannot by any means attain to perfect wisdom, but that whatever is lacking is in the future life made up to those who live intellectually, by God's providence and grace. Oh, had you but recognised the grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord, and that very incarnation of His, wherein He assumed a human soul and body, you might have seemed the brightest example of grace! * But what am I doing? I know it is useless to speak to a dead man, â€”
useless, at least, so far as regards you, but perhaps not in vain for those who esteem you
highly, and love you on account of their love of wisdom or curiosity about those arts
which you ought not to have learned; and these persons I
address in your name. The grace of God could not have been more graciously
commended to us than thus, that the only Son of God, remaining unchangeable in
Himself, should assume humanity, and should give us the hope of His love, by means of
the mediation of a human nature, through which we, from the condition of men, might
come to Him who was so far off, â€” the immortal from the mortal; the unchangeable
from the changeable; the just from the unjust; the blessed from the wretched. And, as He
had â€” even us a natural instinct to desire blessedness and immortality, He Himself
continuing to be blessed, but assuming mortality, by enduring what we fear, taught us to
despise it, that what we long for He might bestow upon us.

But in order to your acquiescence in this truth, it is lowliness that is requisite, and to this
it is extremely difficult to bend you. For what is there incredible, especially to men like
you, accustomed to speculation, which might have predisposed* you to believe in this,
â€” what is there incredible, I say, in the assertion that God assumed a human soul and
body? You yourselves ascribe such excellence to the intellectual soul, which is, after all,
the human soul, that you maintain that it can become consubstantial with that intelligence
of the Father whom you believe in as the Son of God. What incredible thing is it, then, if
some one soul be assumed by Him in an ineffable and unique manner for the salvation of
many?

1 According to another reading, "You might have seen it to be," etc.
Moreover, our nature itself testifies that a man is incomplete unless a body be united with the soul. This certainly would be more incredible, were it not of all things the most common; for we should more easily believe in a union between spirit and spirit, or, to use your own terminology, between the incorporeal and the incorporeal, even though the one were human, the other divine, the one changeable and the other unchangeable, than in a union between the corporeal and the incorporeal. But perhaps it is the unprecedented birth of a body from a virgin that staggers you? But, so far from this being a difficulty, it ought rather to assist you to receive our religion, that a miraculous person was born miraculously. Or, do you find a difficulty in the fact that, after His body had been given up to death, and had been changed into a higher kind of body by resurrection, and was now no longer mortal but incorruptible, He carried it up into heavenly places?

Perhaps you refuse to believe this, because you remember that Porphyry, in these very books from which I have cited so much, and which treat of the return of the soul, so frequently teaches that a body of every kind is to be escaped from, in order that the soul may dwell in blessedness with God. But here, in place of following Porphyry, you ought rather to have corrected him, especially since you agree with him in believing such incredible things about the soul of this visible world and huge material frame. For, as scholars of Plato, you hold that the world is an animal, and a very happy animal, which you wish to be also everlasting. How, then, is it never to be loosed from a body, and yet never lose its happiness, if, in order to the happiness of the soul, the body must be left behind? The sun, too, and the other stars, you not only acknowledge to be bodies, in which you have the cordial assent of all seeing men, but also, in obedience to what you reckon a profounder insight, you declare that they are very blessed animals, and eternal, together with their bodies. Why is it, then, that when the Christian faith is pressed upon you, you forget, or pretend to ignore, what you habitually discuss or teach? Why is it that you refuse to be Christians, on the ground that you hold opinions which, in fact, you yourselves demolish? Is it not because Christ came in lowliness, and ye are proud? The

precise nature of the resurrection bodies of the saints may sometimes occasion discussion among those who are best read in the Christian Scriptures; yet there is not among us the smallest doubt that they shall be everlasting, and of a nature exemplified in the instance of Christ's risen body. But whatever be their nature, since we maintain that they shall be absolutely incorruptible and immortal, and shall offer no hindrance to the soul's contemplation by which it is fixed in God, and as you say that among the celestials the bodies of the eternally blessed are eternal, why do you maintain that, in order to blessedness, every body must be escaped from?
Why do you thus seek such a plausible reason for escaping from the Christian faith, if not because, as I again say, Christ is humble and ye proud? Are ye ashamed to be corrected? This is the vice of the proud. It is, forsooth, a degradation for learned men to pass from the school of Plato to the discipleship of Christ, who by His Spirit taught a fisherman to think and to say, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." x The old saint Simplicianus, afterwards bishop of Milan, used to tell me that a certain Platonist was in the habit of saying that this opening passage of the holy gospel, entitled "According to John," should be written in letters of gold, and hung up in all churches in the most conspicuous place. But the proud scorn to take God for their Master, because "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." 2 So that, with these miserable creatures, it is not enough that they are sick, but they boast of their sickness, and are ashamed of the medicine which could heal them. And, doing so, they secure not elevation, but a more disastrous fall.

30. Porphyry's emendations and modifications of Platonism.

If it is considered unseemly to emend anything which Plato has touched, why did Porphyry himself make emendations,
1 Johni. 1-5. 2 Jolini. 14.
and these not a few? for it is very certain that Plato wrote that the souls of men return after death to the bodies of beasts. 1 Plotinus also, Porphyry's teacher, held this opinion; 2 yet Porphyry justly rejected it. He was of opinion that human souls return indeed into human bodies, but not into the bodies they had left, but other new bodies. He shrank from the other opinion, lest a woman who had returned into a mule might possibly carry her own son on her back. He did not shrink, however, from a theory which admitted the possibility of a mother coming back into a girl and marrying her own son. How much more honourable a creed is that which was taught by the holy and truthful angels, uttered by the prophets who were moved by God's Spirit, preached by Him who was foretold as the coming Saviour by His forerunning heralds, and by the apostles whom He sent forth, and who filled the whole world with the gospel, â€” how much more honourable, I say, is the belief that souls return once for all to their own bodies, than that they return again and again to divers bodies? Nevertheless Porphyry, as I have said, did considerably improve upon this opinion, in so far, at least, as he maintained that human souls could transmigrate only into human bodies, and made no scruple about demolishing the bestial prisons into which Plato had wished to cast them. He says, too, that God put the soul into the world that it might recognise the evils of matter, and return to the Father, and be forever emancipated from the polluting contact of matter. And although here is some inappropriate thinking (for the soul is rather given to the body that it may do good; for it would not learn evil unless it did it), yet he corrects the opinion of other Platonists, and that on a point of no small importance, inasmuch as he avows that the soul, which is purified from all evil and received to the Father's presence, shall never again suffer the ills of this life. By this opinion he quite subverted the favourite Platonic dogma, that as dead men are made out of living ones, so living men are made out of dead ones; and he exploded the idea which Virgil seems to have adopted from Plato, that the purified souls which have been sent into the Elysian fields (the poetic name for the joys of the blessed) are summoned to the river Lethe, that is, to the oblivion of the past,

"* That earthward they may pass once more, Remembering not the things before, And with a blind propension yearn To fleshly bodies to return." 1

This found no favour with Porphyry, and very justly; for it is indeed foolish to believe that souls should desire to return from that life, which cannot be very blessed unless by the assurance of its permanence, and to come back into this life, and to the pollution of

corruptible bodies, as if the result of perfect purification were only to make defilement desirable.

For if perfect purification effects the oblivion of all evils, and the oblivion of evils creates a desire for a body in which the soul may again be entangled with evils, then the supreme felicity will be the cause of infelicity, and the perfection of wisdom the cause of foolishness, and the purest cleansing the cause of defilement. And, however long the blessedness of the soul last, it cannot be founded on truth, if, in order to be blessed, it must be deceived. For it cannot be blessed unless it be free from fear. But, to be free from fear, it must be under the false impression that it shall be always blessed, â€” the false impression, for it is destined to be also at some time miserable. How, then, shall the soul rejoice in truth, whose joy is founded on falsehood? Porphyry saw this, and therefore said that the purified soul returns to the Father, that it may never more be entangled in the polluting contact with evil. The opinion, therefore, of some Platonists, that there is a necessary revolution carrying souls away and bringing them round again to the same things, is false. But, were it true, what were the advantage of knowing it? Would the Platonists presume to allege their superiority to us, because we were in this life ignorant of what they themselves were doomed to be ignorant of when perfected in purity and wisdom in another and better life, and which they must be ignorant of if they are to be blessed? If it were most absurd and foolish to say so, then certainly we must prefer Porphyry's opinion to the idea of a circulation of souls through constantly alter-

1 jEiieid, vi. 750, 751.
nating happiness and misery. And if this is just, here is a Platonist emending Plato, here is a man who saw what Plato did not see, and who did not shrink from correcting so illustrious a master, but preferred truth to Plato.

31. Against the arguments on which the Platonists ground their assertion that the human soul is co-eternal with God.

Why, then, do we not rather believe the divinity in those matters, which human talent cannot fathom? Why do we not credit the assertion of divinity, that the soul is not coeternal with God, but is created, and once was not? For the Platonists seemed to themselves to allege an adequate reason for their rejection of this doctrine, when they affirmed that nothing could be everlasting which had not always existed.

Plato, however, in writing concerning the world and the gods in it, whom the Supreme made, most expressly states that they had a beginning and yet would have no end, but, by the sovereign will of the Creator, would endure eternally. But, by way of interpreting this, the Platonists have discovered that he meant a beginning, not of time, but of cause. "For as if a foot," they say, "had been always from eternity in dust, there would always have been a print underneath it; and yet no one would doubt that this print was made by the pressure of the foot, nor that, though the one was made by the other, neither was prior to the other; so," they say, "the world and the gods created in it have always been, their Creator always existing, and yet they were made." If, then, the soul has always existed, are we to say that its wretchedness has always existed? For if there is something in it which was not from eternity, but began in time, why is it impossible that the soul itself, though not previously existing, should begin to be in time? Its blessedness, too, which, as he owns, is to be more stable, and indeed endless, after the soul's experience of evils, "this undoubtedly has a beginning in time, and yet is to be always, though previously it had no existence. This whole argumentation, therefore, to establish that nothing can be endless except that which has had no beginning, falls to the ground. For here we find the blessedness of the soul, which has a beginning, and yet has no end.

And, therefore, let the incapacity of man give place to the authority of God; and let us take our belief regarding the true religion from the ever-blessed spirits, who do not seek for themselves that honour which they know to be due to their God and ours, and who do not command us to sacrifice save only to Him, whose sacrifice, as I have often said already, and must often say again, we and they ought together to be, offered through that Priest who offered Himself to death a sacrifice for us, in that human nature which He assumed, and according to which He desired to be our Priest.
32. Of the universal way of the soul's deliverance, which Porphyry did not find because he did not rightly seek it, and which the grace of Christ has alone thrown open,

This is the religion which possesses the universal way for delivering the soul; for, except by this way, none can be delivered. This is a kind of royal way, which alone leads to a kingdom which does not totter like all temporal dignities, but stands firm on eternal foundations. And when Porphyry says, towards the end of the first book Be Regressu Animcc, that no system of doctrine which furnishes the universal way for delivering the soul has as yet been received, either from the truest philosophy, or from the ideas and practices of the Indians, or from the reasoning 1 of the Chaldeans, or from any source whatever, and that no historical reading had made him acquainted with that way, he manifestly acknowledges that there is such a way, but that as yet he was not acquainted with it. Nothing of all that he had so laboriously learned concerning the deliverance of the soul, nothing of all that he seemed to others, if not to himself, to know and believe, satisfied him. For he perceived that there was still wanting a commanding authority which it might be right to follow in a matter of such importance. And when he says that he had not learned from any truest philosophy a system which possessed the universal way of the soul's deliverance, he shows plainly enough, as it seems to me, either that the philosophy of which he was a disciple was not the truest, or that it did not comprehend such a way. And how can that be the truest philosophy which does not possess this way? For what else is the universal way of the soul's deliverance than that by

1 Inductio.
which all souls universally are delivered, and without which, therefore, no soul is
delivered? And when he says, in addition, "or from the ideas and practices of the
Indians, or from the reasoning of the Chaldjeans, or from any source whatever,"
he declares in the most unequivocal language that this universal way of the soul's
deliverance was not embraced in what he had learned either from the Indians or the
Chaldseans; and yet he could not forbear stating that it was from the Chaldeans he had
derived these divine oracles of which he makes such frequent mention. What, therefore,
does he mean by this universal way of the soul's deliverance, which had not yet been
made known by any truest philosophy, or by the doctrinal systems of those nations which
were considered to have great insight in things divine, because they indulged more freely
in a curious and fanciful science and worship of angels?

What is this universal way of which he acknowledges his ignorance, if not a way which
does not belong to one nation as its special property, but is common to all, and divinely
bestowed? Porphyry, a man of no mediocre abilities, does not question that such a way
exists; for he believes that Divine Providence could not have left men destitute of this
universal way of delivering the soul. For he does not say that this way does not exist, but
that this great boon and assistance has not yet been discovered, and has not come to his
knowledge. And no wonder; for Porphyry lived in an age when this universal way of the
soul's deliverance, â€” in other words, the Christian religion, â€” was exposed to the
persecutions of idolaters and demon-worshippers, and earthly rulers, 1 that the number of
martyrs or witnesses for the truth might be completed and consecrated, and that by them
proof might be given that we must endure all bodily sufferings in the cause of the holy
faith, and for the commendation of the truth.

Porphyry, being a witness of these persecutions, concluded that this way was destined to
a speedy extinction, and that it, therefore, was not the universal way of the soul's
deliverance, and did not see that the very thing that thus moved him, and deterred him
from becoming a Christian, contributed to the confirmation and more effectual
commendation of our religion.

1 Namely, under Diocletian and Maximian.

432 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

This, then, is the universal way of the soul's deliverance, the way that is granted by the
divine compassion to the nations universally. And no nation to which the knowledge of it
has already come, or may hereafter come, ought to demand, Why so soon? or, Why so
late? â€” for the design of Him who sends it is impenetrable by human capacity. This
was felt by Porphyry when he confined himself to saying that this gift of God was not yet
received, and had not yet come to his knowledge. For, though this was so, he did not on
that account pronounce that the way itself had no existence. This, I say, is the universal
way for the deliverance of believers, concerning which the faithful Abraham received the
divine assurance, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." 1 He, indeed, was by birth a Chaldean; but, that he might receive these great promises, and that there might be propagated from him a seed " disposed by angels in the hand of a Mediator," 2 in whom this universal way, thrown open to all nations for the deliverance of the soul, might be found, he was ordered to leave his country, and kindred, and father's house. Then was he himself, first of all, delivered from the Chaldaean superstitions, and by his obedience worshipped the one true God, whose promises he faithfully trusted. This is the universal way, of which it is said in holy prophecy, " God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause His face to shine upon us; that Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations." 3

And hence, when our Saviour, so long after, had taken flesh of the seed of Abraham, He says of Himself, " I am the way, the truth, and the life." 4 This is the universal way, of which so long before it had been predicted, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the

1 Gen. xxii. 18. 2 Gal. iii. 19.

â€œ Pa lxvii. 1, 2. 4 John xiv. 6.
OF THE PURIFICATION OF THE SOUL. 433

word of the Lord from Jerusalem." 1 This way, therefore, is not the property of one, but of all nations. The law and the word of the Lord did not remain in Zion and Jerusalem, but issued thence to be universally diffused. And therefore the Mediator Himself, after His resurrection, says to His alarmed disciples, " These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me. Then opened He their understandings that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." 2 This is the universal way of the soul's deliverance, which the holy angels and the holy prophets formerly disclosed where they could among the few men who found the grace of God, and especially in the Hebrew nation, whose commonwealth was, as it were, consecrated to prefigure and fore-announce the city of God which was to be gathered from all nations, by their tabernacle, and temple, and priesthood, and sacrifices. In some explicit statements, and in many obscure foreshadowings, this way was declared; but latterly came the Mediator Himself in the flesh, and His blessed apostles, revealing how the grace of the New Testament more openly explained what had been obscurely hinted to preceding generations, in conformity with the relation of the ages of the human race, and as it pleased God in His wisdom to appoint, who also bore them witness with signs and miracles, some of which I have cited above. For not only were there visions of angels, and words heard from those heavenly ministrants, but also men of God, armed with the word of simple piety, cast out unclean spirits from the bodies and senses of men, and healed deformities and sicknesses; the wild beasts of earth and sea, the birds of air, inanimate things, the elements, the stars, obeyed their divine commands; the powers of hell gave way before them, the dead were restored to life. I say nothing of the miracles peculiar and proper to the Saviour's own person, especially the nativity


434 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK X.]

and the resurrection; in the one of which He wrought only the mystery of a virgin maternity, while in the other He furnished an instance of the resurrection which all shall at last experience. This way purifies the whole man, and prepares the mortal in all his parts for immortality. For, to prevent us from seeking for one purgation for the part which Porphyry calls intellectual, and another for the part he calls spiritual, and another for the "body itself, our most mighty and truthful Purifier and Saviour assumed the whole human nature. Except by this way, which has been present among men both during the period of
the promises and of the proclamation of their fulfilment, no man has been delivered, no man is delivered, no man shall be delivered.

As to Porphyry's statement that the universal way of the soul's deliverance had not yet come to his knowledge by any acquaintance he had with history, I would ask, what more remarkable history can be found than that which has taken possession of the whole world by its authoritative voice? or what more trustworthy than that which narrates past events, and predicts the future with equal clearness, and in the unfulfilled predictions of which we are constrained to believe by those that are already fulfilled? For neither Porphyry nor any Platonists can despise divination and prediction, even of things that pertain to this life and earthly matters, though they justly despise ordinary soothsaying and the divination that is connected with magical arts. They deny that these are the predictions of great men, or are to be considered important, and they are right; for they are founded, either on the foresight of subsidiary causes, as to a professional eye much of the course of a disease is foreseen by certain premonitory symptoms, or the unclean demons predict what they have resolved to do, that they may thus work upon the thoughts and desires of the wicked with an appearance of authority, and incline human frailty to imitate their impure actions. It is not such things that the saints who walk in the universal way care to predict as important, although, for the purpose of commending the faith, they knew and often predicted even such things as could not be detected by human observation, nor be readily verified by experience. But there
were other truly important and divine events which they predicted, in so far as it was
given them to know the will of God. For the incarnation of Christ, and all those important
marvels that were accomplished in Him, and done in His name; the repentance of men
and the conversion of their wills to God; the remission of sins, the grace of righteousness,
the faith of the pious, and the multitudes in all parts of the world who believe in the true
divinity; the overthrow of idolatry and demon worship, and the testing of the faithful by
trials; the purification of those who persevered, and their deliverance from all evil; the
day of judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the eternal damnation of the community of
the ungodly, and the eternal kingdom of the most glorious city of God, ever-blessed in
the enjoyment of the vision of God, â€” these things were predicted and promised in the
Scriptures of this way; and of these we see so many fulfilled, that we justly and piously
trust that the rest will also come to pass. As for those who do not believe, and
consequently do not understand, that this is the way which leads straight to the vision of
God and to eternal fellowship with Him, according to the true predictions and statements
of the Holy Scriptures, they may storm at our position, but they cannot storm it.

And therefore, in these ten books, though not meeting, I
dare say, the expectation of some, yet I have, as the true God and Lord has vouchsafed to
aid me, satisfied the desire of certain persons, by refuting the objections of the ungodly,
who prefer their own gods to the Founder of the holy city, about which we undertook to
speak. Of these ten books, the first five were directed against those who think we should
worship the gods for the sake of the blessings of this life, and the second five against
those who think we should worship them for the sake of the life which is to be after
death. And now, in fulfilment of the promise I made in the first book, I
shall go on to say, as God shall aid me, what I think needs to be said regarding the origin,
history, and deserved ends of the two cities, which, as already remarked, are in this world
commingled and implicated with one another.

436 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XL

BOOK ELEVENTH.

ARGUMENT.

HERE BEGINS THE SECOND PART 1 OF THIS WORK, WHICH TREATS OF THE
ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND DESTINIES OF THE TWO CITIES, THE EARTHLY AND
THE HEAVENLY. IN THE FIRST PLACE, AUGUSTINE SHOWS IN THIS BOOK
HOW THE TWO CITIES WERE FORMED ORIGINALLY, BY THE SEPARATION
OF THE GOOD AND BAD ANGELS; AND TAKES OCCASION TO TREAT OF THE
CREATION OF THE WORLD, AS IT IS DESCRIBED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

1. Of the part of the work, wherein we begin to explain the origin and end of the two cities.

THE city of God we speak of is the same to which testimony is borne by that Scripture, which excels all the writings of all nations by its divine authority, and has brought under its influence all kinds of minds, and this not by a casual intellectual movement, but obviously by an express providential arrangement. For there it is written, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, city of God." 2 And in another psalm we read, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of His holiness, increasing the joy of the whole earth." 3 And, a little after, in the same psalm, "As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God. God has established it for ever." And in another, "There is a river ^the streams whereof shall make glad the city of our God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved." 4 From these and similar testimonies, all of which it were tedious to cite, we have learned that there is a city of God, and its Founder has inspired us with a love which makes us covet its citizenship.

To this Founder of the holy city the citizens of the earthly city prefer their own gods, not knowing that He is the God

1 Written in the year 416 or 417. 2 Ps. Ixxxvii. 3.  
3 Ps. xlviii. 1. 4 Ps. xlvi. 4.
of gods, not of false, i.e. of impious and proud gods, who, being deprived of His unchangeable and freely communicated light, and so reduced to a kind of poverty-stricken power, eagerly grasp at their own private privileges, and seek divine honours from their deluded subjects; but of the pious and holy gods, who are better pleased to submit themselves to one, than to subject many to themselves, and who would rather worship God than be worshipped as God. But to the enemies of this city we have replied in the ten preceding books, according to our ability and the help afforded by our Lord and King. Now, recognising what is expected of me, and not unmindful of my promise, and relying, too, on the same succour, I will endeavour to treat of the origin, and progress, and deserved destinies of the two cities (the earthly and the heavenly, to wit), which, as we said, are in this present world commingled, and as it were entangled together. And, first, I will explain how the foundations of these two cities were originally laid, in the difference that arose among the angels.

2. Of the knowledge of God, to which no man can attain save through the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

It is a great and very rare thing for a man, after he has contemplated the whole creation, corporeal and incorporeal, and has discerned its mutability, to pass beyond it, and, by the continued soaring of his mind, to attain to the unchangeable substance of God, and, in that height of contemplation, to learn from God Himself that none but He has made all that is not of the divine essence. For God speaks with a man not by means of some audible creature dinning in his ears, so that atmospheric vibrations connect Him that makes with him that hears the sound, nor even by means of a spiritual being with the semblance of a body, such as we see in dreams or similar states; for even in this case He speaks as if to the ears of the body, because it is by means of the semblance of a body He speaks, and with the appearance of a real interval of space, â€” for visions are exact representations of bodily objects. Not by these, then, does God speak, but by the truth itself, if any one is prepared to hear with the mind rather than with the body. For He speaks to that part of man which is better than all else that is in him, and than which God Himself alone is better. For since man is most properly understood (or, if that cannot be, then, at least, believed) to be made in God's image, no doubt it is that part of him by which he rises above those lower parts he has in common with the beasts, which brings him nearer to the Supreme. But since the mind itself, though naturally capable of reason and intelligence, is disabled by besetting and inveterate vices not merely from delighting and abiding in, but even from tolerating His unchangeable
light, until it has been gradually healed, and renewed, and made capable of such felicity, it had, in the first place, to be impregnated with faith, and so purified. And that in this faith it might advance the more confidently towards the truth, the truth itself, God, God's Son, assuming humanity without destroying His divinity, I established and founded this faith, that there might be a way for man to man's God through a God-man. For this is the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. For it is as man that He is the Mediator and the Way. Since, if the way lieth between him who goes, and the place whither he goes, there is hope of his reaching it; but if there be no way, or if he know not where it is, what boots it to know whither he should go? Now the only way that is infallibly secured against all mistakes, is when the very same person is at once God and man, God our end, man our way.

3. Of the authority of the canonical Scriptures composed by the Divine Spirit.

This Mediator, having spoken what He judged sufficient, first by the prophets, then by His own lips, and afterwards by the apostles, has besides produced the Scripture which is called canonical, which has paramount authority, and to which we yield assent in all matters of which we ought not to be ignorant, and yet cannot know of ourselves. For if we attain the knowledge of present objects by the testimony of our own senses, whether internal or external, then, regarding objects remote from our own senses, we need others to bring their

1 Homine assumto, non Deo consumto. Â»

* Quo itur Deus, qua itur homo.

3 A clause is here inserted to give the etymology of praisentia from pra sensibus.
testimony, since we cannot know them by our own, and we credit the persons to whom the objects have been or are sensibly present. Accordingly, as in. the case of visible objects which we have not seen, we trust those who have, (and likewise with all sensible objects,) so in the case of things which are perceived 1 by the mind and spirit, i.e. which are remote from our own interior sense, it behoves us to trust those who have seen them set in that incorporeal light, or abidingly contemplate them.

4. That the world is neither without beginning, nor yet created by a new decree of God, by which He afterwards willed what He had not before willed.

Of all visible things, the world is the greatest; of all invisible, the greatest is God. But, that the world is, we see; that God is, we believe. That God made the world, we can believe from no one more safely than from God Himself. But where have we heard Him ? Nowhere more distinctly than in the Holy Scriptures, where His prophet said, " In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." 2 Was the prophet present when God made the heavens and the earth ? No; but the wisdom of God, by whom all things were made, was there, 3 and wisdom insinuates itself into holy souk, and makes them the friends of God and His prophets, and noiselessly informs them of His works. They are taught also by the angels of God, who always behold the face of the Father, 4 and announce His will to whom it befits. Of these prophets was he who said and wrote, " In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." And so fit a witness was he of God, that the same Spirit of God, who revealed these things to him, enabled him also so long before to predict that our faith also would be forthcoming.

But why did God choose then to create the heavens and earth which up to that time He had not made ? 5 If they who put this question wish to make out that the world is eternal and without beginning, and that consequently it has

1 Another derivation, sententia from sensus, the inward perception of the mind.
2 Gen. i. 1. â€œ 3 Prov. viii. 27. 4 Matt. xviii. 10.
5 A common question among the Epicureans; urged by Velleius in Cic. De Nat. Deor. i. 9; adopted by the Manichaeans and spoken to by Augustine in the ConJ. xi. 10, 12, also in De Gen. contra Man. i. 3.
testimony of its own, both that it has been created, and also that it could not have been created save by God, whose greatness and beauty are unutterable and invisible. As for those 1 who own, indeed, that it was made by God, and yet ascribe to it not a temporal but only a creationial beginning, so that in some scarcely intelligible way the world should always have existed a created world, they make an assertion which seems to them to defend God from the charge of arbitrary hastiness, or of suddenly conceiving the idea of creating the world as a quite new idea, or of casually changing His will, though He be unchangeable. But I do not see how this supposition of theirs can stand in other respects, and chiefly in respect of the soul; for if they contend that it is co-eternal with God, they will be quite at a loss to explain whence there has accrued to it new misery, which through a previous eternity had not existed. For if they said that its happiness and misery ceaselessly alternate, they must say, further, that this alternation will continue for ever; whence will result this absurdity, that, though the soul is called blessed, it is not so in this, that it foresees its own misery and disgrace. And yet, if it does not foresee it, and supposes that it will be neither disgraced nor wretched, but always blessed, then it is blessed because it is deceived; and a more foolish statement one cannot make. But if their idea is that the soul's misery has alternated with its bliss during the ages of the past eternity, but that now, when once the soul has been set free, it will return henceforth no more to misery, they are nevertheless of opinion that it has never been truly blessed before, but begins at last to enjoy a new and uncertain happiness; that is to say, they must acknowledge that some new thing, and that an important and signal thing, happens to the soul which never in a whole past eternity happened it before. And if they deny that God's eternal purpose included this new experience of the soul, they deny that He is the Author.

1 The Xeo-Platonists.

BOOK XT.] WHY WAS CREATION DELAYED ? 441

of its blessedness, which is unspeakable impiety. If, on the other hand, they say that the future blessedness of the soul is the result of a new decree of God, how will they show that God is not chargeable with that mutability which displeases them? Further, if they acknowledge that it was created in time, but will never perish in time, a€”that it has, like number, 1 a beginning but no end, a€”and that, therefore, having once made trial of misery, and been delivered from it, it will never again return thereto, they will certainly admit that this takes place without any violation of the immutable counsel of God. Let them, then, in like manner believe regarding the world that it too could be made in time, and yet that God, in making it, did not alter His eternal design.'

5. That we ought not to seek to comprehend the infinite ages of time before the world, nor the infinite realms of space.
Next, we must see what reply can be made to those who agree that God is the Creator of
the world, but have difficulties about the time of its creation, and what reply, also, they
can make to difficulties we might raise about the place of its creation. For, as they
demand why the world was created then and no sooner, we may ask why it was created
just here where it is, and not elsewhere. For if they imagine infinite spaces of time before
the world, during which God could not have been idle, in like manner they may conceive
outside the world infinite realms of space, in which, if any one says that the Omnipotent
cannot hold His hand from working, will it not follow that they must adopt Epicurus' dream of innumerable worlds? with this difference only, that he asserts that they are
formed and destroyed by the fortuitous movements of atoms, while they will hold that
they are made by God's hand, if they maintain that, throughout the boundless immensity
of space, stretching interminably in every direction round the world, God cannot rest,
and that the worlds which they suppose Him to make cannot be destroyed. For here the
question is with those who, with ourselves, believe that God is spiritual, and the Creator
of all existences but Himself. As for others, it is a condescension to dispute with them on
a religious question, for they have acquired a reputation only among men

1 Number begins at one, but runs on infinitely.

442 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XI.]

who pay divine honours to a number of gods, and have become conspicuous among the
other philosophers for no other reason than that, though they are still far from the truth,
they are near it in comparison with the rest. While these, then, neither confine in any
place, nor limit, nor distribute the divine substance, but, as is worthy of God, own it to be
wholly though spiritually present everywhere, will they perchance say that this substance
is absent from such immense spaces outside the world, and is occupied in one only, (and
that a very little one compared with the infinity beyond,) the one, namely, in which is the
world? I think they will not proceed to this absurdity. Since they maintain that there is
but one world, of vast material bulk, indeed, yet finite, and in its own determinate
position, and that this was made by the working of God, let them give the same account
of God's resting in the infinite times before the world as they give of His resting in the
infinite spaces outside of it. And as it does not follow that God set the world in the very
spot it occupies and no other by accident rather than by divine reason, although no human
reason can comprehend why it was so set, and though there was no merit in the spot
chosen to give it the precedence of infinite others, so neither does it follow that we should
suppose that God was guided by chance when He created the world in that and no earlier
time, although previous times had been running by during an infinite past, and though
there was no difference by which one time could be chosen in preference to another. But
if they say that the thoughts of men are idle when they conceive infinite places, since
there is no place beside the world, we reply that, by the same showing, it is vain to
conceive of the past times of God's rest, since there is no time before the world.

6. That the world and time had both one beginning, and the one did not
anticipate the other.

For if eternity and time are rightly distinguished by this, that time does not exist without some movement and transition, while in eternity there is no change, who does not see that there could have been no time had not some creature been made, which by some motion could give birth to change, â€” the various parts of which motion and change, as they cannot be
CREATION AND TIME CONTEMPORANEOUS. 443

simultaneous, succeed one another, â€” and thus, in these shorter or longer intervals of duration, time would begin ? Since then, God, in whose eternity is no change at all, is the Creator and Ordainer of time, I do not see how He can be said to have created the world after spaces of time had elapsed, unless it be said that prior to the world there was some creature by whose movement time could pass. And if the sacred and infallible Scriptures say that in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, in order that it may be understood that He had made nothing previously, â€” for if He had made anything before the rest, this thing would rather be said to have been made " in the beginning," â€” then assuredly the world was made, not in time, but simultaneously with time. For that which is made in time is made both after and before some time, â€” after that which is past, before that which is future. But none could then be past, for there was no creature by whose movements its duration could be measured. But simultaneously with time the world was made, if in the world's creation change and motion were created, as seems evident from the order of the first six or seven days. For in these days the morning and evening are counted, until, on the sixth day, all things which God then made were finished, and on the seventh the rest of God was mysteriously and sublimely signalized. What kind of days these were it is extremely difficult, or perhaps impossible for us to conceive, and how much more to say!

7. Of the nature of the first days, which are said to have had morning and evening, before there was a sun.

We see, indeed, that our ordinary days have no evening but by the setting, and no morning but by the rising, of the sun; but the first three days of all were passed without sun, since it is reported to have been made on the fourth day. And first of all, indeed, light was made by the word of God, and God, we read, separated it from the darkness, and called the light Day, and the darkness Night; but what kind of light that was, and by what periodic movement it made evening and morning, is beyond the reach of our senses; neither can we understand how it was, and yet must unhesitatingly believe it. For either it was some material light, whether proceeding from the upper parts of the world, far removed from our sight, or from the spot where the sun was afterwards kindled; or under the name of light the holy city was signified, composed of holy angels and blessed spirits, the city of which the apostle says, " Jerusalem which is above is our eternal mother in heaven;" 1 and in another place, " For ye are all the children of the light, and the children of the day; we are not of the night, nor of darkness." 2 Yet in some respects we may appropriately speak of a morning and evening of this day also. For the knowledge of the creature is, in comparison of the knowledge of the Creator, but a twilight; and so it dawns and breaks
into morning when the creature is drawn to the praise and love of the Creator; and night never falls when the Creator is not forsaken through love of the creature. In fine, Scripture, when it would recount those days in order, never mentions the word night. It never says, "Night was," but "The evening and the morning were the first day." So of the second and
, the rest. And, indeed, the knowledge of created things contemplated by themselves is, so to speak, more colourless than when they are seen in the wisdom of God, as in the art by which they were made. Therefore evening is a more suitable figure than night; and yet, as I said, morning returns when the creature returns to the praise and love of the Creator. When it does so in the knowledge of itself, that is the first day; when in the knowledge of the firmament, which is the name given to the sky between the waters above and those beneath, that is the second day; when in the knowledge of the earth, and the sea, and all things that grow out of the earth, that is the third day; when in the knowledge of the greater and less luminaries, and all the stars, that is the fourth day; when in the knowledge of all animals that swim in the waters and that fly in the air, that is the fifth day; when in the knowledge of all animals that live on the earth, and of man himself, that is the sixth day. 3

8. What we are to understand of God's resting on the seventh day, after the six days' work.

When it is said that God rested on the seventh day from all His works, and hallowed it, we are not to conceive of this

1 Gal. iv. 2G. 2 1 Thess. v. 5. 3 Comp. de Gen. ad lit. i. and iv.
in a childish fashion, as if work were a toil to God, who "spake and it was done," â€” spake by the spiritual and eternal, not audible and transitory word. But God's rest signifies the rest of those who rest in God, as the joy of a house means the joy of those in the house who rejoice, though not the house, but something else, causes the joy. How much more intelligible is such phraseology, then, if the house itself, by its own beauty, makes the inhabitants joyful! For in this case we not only call it joyful by that figure of speech in which the thing containing is used for the thing contained (as when we say, "The theatres applaud," "The meadows low," meaning that the men in the one applaud, and the oxen in the other low), but also by that figure in which the cause is spoken of as if it were the effect, as when a letter is said to be joyful, because it makes its readers so. Most appropriately, therefore, the sacred narrative states that God rested, meaning thereby that those rest who are in Him, and whom He makes to rest.

And this the prophetic narrative promises also to the men to whom it speaks, and for whom it was written, that they themselves, after those good works which God does in and by them, if they have managed by faith to get near to God in this life, shall enjoy in Him eternal rest. This was prefigured to the ancient people of God by the rest enjoined in their sabbath law, of which, in its own place, I shall speak more at large.

9. What the Scriptures teach us to believe concerning the creation of the angels.

At present, since I have undertaken to treat of the origin of the holy city, and first of the holy angels, who constitute a large part of this city, and indeed the more blessed part, since they have never been expatriated, I will give myself to the task of explaining, by God's help, and as far as seems suitable, the Scriptures which relate to this point. Where Scripture speaks of the world's creation, it is not plainly said whether or when the angels were created; but if mention of them is made, it is implicitly under the name of "heaven," when it is said, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," or perhaps rather under the name of "light," of which presently. But that they were wholly omitted, I am unable to believe, because it is written that God on the seventh day rested from all His works which He made; and this very book itself begins, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," so that before heaven and earth God seems to have made nothing. Since, therefore, He began with the heavens and the earth, â€” and the earth itself, as Scripture adds, was at first invisible and formless, li^ht not bein^ as yet made, and darkness covering the face of the deep (that is to say, covering an undefined chaos of earth and sea, for where light is not, darkness must needs be), â€” and
then when all things, which are recorded to have been completed in six days, were created and arranged, how should the angels be omitted, as if they were not among the works of God, from which on the seventh day He rested? Yet, though the fact that the angels are the work of God is not omitted here, it is indeed not explicitly mentioned; but elsewhere Holy Scripture asserts it in the clearest manner. For in the Hymn of the Three Children in the Furnace it was said, "all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord;" 1 and among these works mentioned afterwards in detail, the angels are named. And in the psalm it is said, "Praise ye the Lord from the heavens, praise Him in the heights. Praise ye Him, all His angels; praise ye Him, all His hosts. Praise ye Him, sun and moon; praise Him, all ye stars of light. Praise Him, ye heaven of heavens; and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord; for He commanded, and they were created." 2 Here the angels are most expressly and by divine authority said to have been made by God, for of them among the other heavenly things it is said, "He commanded, and they were created." Who, then, will be bold enough to suggest that the angels were made, after the six days' creation?

If any one is so foolish, his folly is disposed of by a scripture of like authority, where God says, "When the stars were made, the angels praised me with a loud voice." 3 The angels therefore existed before the stars; and the stars were made the fourth day. Shall we then say that they were made the third day? Far from it; for we know what was made that day. The earth was separated from the water, and each

1 Ver. 35. 2 Ps. cxxviii. 1-5. 3 Job xxxviii. 7.
element took its own distinct form, and the earth produced all that grows on it. On the second day, then? Not even on this; for on it the firmament was made between the waters above and beneath, and was called "Heaven," in which firmament the stars were made on the fourth day. There is no question, then, that if the angels are included in the works of God during these six days, they are that light which was called "Day," and whose unity Scripture signalizes by calling that day not the "first day," but "one day." * For the second day, the third, and the rest are not other days; but the same "one" day is repeated to complete the number six or seven, so that there should be knowledge both of God's works and of His rest. Tor when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," if we are justified in understanding in this light the creation of the angels, then certainly they were created partakers of the eternal light which is the unchangeable Wisdom of God, by which all things were made, and whom we call the only-begotten Son of God; so that they, being illumined by the Light that created them, might themselves become light and be called "Day," in participation of that unchangeable Light and Day which is the Word of God, by whom both themselves and all else were made. "The true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," 2 "a€”this Light lighteth also every pure angel, that he may be light not in himself, but in God; from whom if an angel turn away, he becomes impure, as are all those who are called unclean spirits, and are no longer light in the Lord, but darkness in themselves, being deprived of the participation of Light eternal. For evil has no positive nature; but the loss of good has received the name "evil." 3

10. Of the simple and unchangeable Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God, in whom substance and quality are identical.

There is, accordingly, a good which is alone simple, and therefore alone unchangeable, and this is God. By this Good

1 Vives here notes that the Greek theologians and Jerome held, with Plato, that spiritual creatures were made first, and used by God in the creation of things material. The Latin theologians and Basil held that God made all things at once.

2 John i. 9.

3 Mali enim nulla natura est: sed amissio boni, mali nomen accepit.
have all others been created, but not simple, and therefore not unchangeable. " Created," I say, â€” that is, made, not begotten. For that which is begotten of the simple Good is simple as itself, and the same as itself. These two we call the Father and the Son; and both together with the Holy Spirit are one God; and to this Spirit the epithet Holy is in Scripture, as it were, appropriated. And He is another than the Father and the Son, for He is neither the Father nor the Son. I say " another," not " another thing," because He is equally with them the simple Good, unchangeable and co-eternal. And this Trinity is one God; and none the less simple because a Trinity. For we do not say that the nature of the good is simple, because the Father alone possesses it, or the Son alone, or the Holy Ghost alone; nor do we say, with the Sabellian heretics, that it is only nominally a Trinity, and has no real distinction of persons; but we say it is simple, because it is what it has, with the exception of the relation of the persons to one another. For, in regard to this relation, it is true that the Father has a Son, and yet is not Himself the Son; and the Son has a Father, and is not Himself the Father. But, as regards Himself, irrespective of relation to the other, each is what He has; thus, He is in Himself living, for He has life, and is Himself the Life which He has.

It is for this reason, then, that the nature of the Trinity is called simple, because it has not anything which it can lose, and because it is not one thing and its contents another, as a cup and the liquor, or a body and its colour, or the air and the light or heat of it, or a mind and its wisdom. For none of these is what it has: the cup is not liquor, nor the body colour, nor the air light and heat, nor the mind wisdom. "And hence they can be deprived of what they have, and can be turned or changed into other qualities and states, so that the cup may be emptied of the liquid of which it is full, the body be discoloured, the air darken, the mind grow silly. The incorruptible body which is promised to the saints in the resurrection cannot, indeed, lose its quality of incorruption, but the bodily substance and the quality of incorruption are not the same thing. For the quality of incorruption resides entire in each several part, not greater in one and less in
another j for no part is more incorruptible than another. The body, indeed, is itself greater in whole than in part j and one part of it is larger, another smaller, yet is not the larger more incorruptible than the smaller. The body, then, which is not in each of its parts a whole body, is one thing; incorruptibility, which is throughout complete, is another thing; â€” for every part of the incorruptible body, however unequal to the rest otherwise, is equally incorrupt. For the hand, e.g., is not more incorrupt than the finger because it is larger than the finger; so, though finger and hand are unequal, their incorruptibility is equal. Thus, although incorruptibility is inseparable from an incorruptible body, yet the substance of the body is one thing, the quality of incorruption another.

And therefore the body is not what it has. The soul itself, too, though it be always wise (as it will be eternally when it is redeemed), will be so by participating in the unchangeable wisdom, which it is not; for though the air be never robbed of the light that is shed abroad in it, it is not on that account the same thing as the light. I do not mean that the soul is air, as has been supposed by some who could not conceive a spiritual nature j but, with much dissimilarity, the two things have a kind of likeness, which makes it suitable to say that the immaterial soul is illuminated with the immaterial light of the simple wisdom of God, as the material air is irradiated with material light, and that, as the air, when deprived of this light, grows dark, (for material darkness is nothing else than air wanting light, 2 ) so the soul, deprived of the light of wisdom, grows dark.

According to this, then, those things which are essentially and truly divine are called simple, because in them quality and substance are identical, and because they are divine, or wise, or blessed in themselves, and without extraneous supplement. In Holy Scripture, it is true, the Spirit of wisdom is

1 Plutarch {De Plac. Phil. i. 3, and iv. 3) tells us that this opinion was held "by Anaximenes of Miletus, the followers of Anaxagoras, and many of the Stoics. Diogenes the Cynic, as well as Diogenes of Apollonia, seems to have adopted the same opinion. See Zeller's Stoics, pp. 121 and 199.

2 "Ubi lux non est, tenebrse sunt, non quia aliquid sunt tenebrge, sed ipsa lucis absentia tenebrse dicuntur." â€” Aug. De Gen. contra Man. 7.

VOL. I. 2 F

450 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XI.]

called " manifold " x because it contains many things in it; but what it contains it also is, and it being one is all these things.
For neither are there many wisdoms, but one, in which are untold and infinite treasures of things intellectual, wherein are all invisible and unchangeable reasons of things visible and changeable which were created by it, 2 For God made nothing unwittingly; not even a human workman can be said to do so. But if He knew all that He made, He made only those things which He had known. Whence flows a very striking but true conclusion, that this world could not be known to us unless it existed, but could not have existed unless it had been known to God.

11. Whether the angels that fell partook of the blessedness which the holy angels have always enjoyed from the time of their creation.

And since these things are so, those spirits whom we call angels were never at any time or in any way darkness, but, as soon as they were made, were made light; yet they were not so created in order that they might exist and live in any way whatever, but were enlightened that they might live wisely and blessedly. Some of them, having turned away from this light, have not won this wise and blessed life, which is certainly eternal, and accompanied with the sure confidence of its eternity; but they have still the life of reason, though darkened with folly, and this they cannot lose, even if they would.

But who can determine to what extent they were partakers of that wisdom before they fell? And how shall we say that they participated in it equally with those who through it are truly and fully blessed, resting in a true certainty of eternal felicity? For if they had equally participated in this true knowledge, then the evil angels would have remained eternally blessed equally with the good, because they were equally expectant of it. For, though a life be never so long, it cannot be truly called eternal if it is destined to have an end; for it is called life inasmuch as it is lived, but eternal because it has no end. Wherefore, although everything eternal is not therefore blessed (for hell-fire is eternal), yet if no life can be

1 Wisdom vii. 22.

2 The strongly Platonic tinge of this language is perhaps "best preserved in a bare literal translation.

BOOK XL] BLESSEDNESS AND PERSEVERANCE. 451

truly and perfectly blessed except it be eternal, the life of these angels was not blessed, for it was doomed to end, and therefore not eternal, whether they knew it or not. In the one case fear, in the other ignorance, prevented them from being blessed. And even if their ignorance was not so great as to breed in them a wholly false expectation, but left them wavering in uncertainty whether their good would be eternal or would some time terminate, this very doubt concerning so grand a destiny was incompatible with the plenitude of blessedness which we believe the holy angels enjoyed. For we do not so narrow and restrict the application of the term
"blessedness " as to apply it to God only, 1 though doubtless He is so truly blessed that greater blessedness cannot be; and, in comparison of His blessedness, what is that of the angels, though, according to their capacity, they be perfectly blessed ?

12.-4 comparison of the blessedness of the righteous, who have not yet received the divine reward, with that of our first parents in paradise.

And the angels are not the only members of the rational and intellectual creation whom we call blessed. For who will take upon him to deny that those first men in Paradise were blessed previously to sin, although they were uncertain how long their blessedness was to last, and whether it would be eternal (and eternal it would have been had they not sinned), â€” who, I say, will do so, seeing that even now we not unbecomingly call those blessed whom we see leading a righteous and holy life in hope of immortality, who have no harrowing remorse of conscience, but obtain readily divine remission of the sins of their present infirmity? These, though they are certain that they shall be rewarded if they persevere, are not certain that they will persevere. For what man can know that he will persevere to the end in the exercise and increase of grace, unless he has been certified by some revelation from Him who, in His just and secret judgment, while He deceives none, informs few regarding this matter? Ac-

1 Vives remarks that the ancients defined blessedness as an absolutely perfect state in all good, peculiar to God. Perhaps Augustine had a reminiscence of the remarkable discussion in the Tusc. Disp. lib. v., and the definition "JSTeque ualla alia huic verbo, quum beatum dicimus, subjecta notio est, nisi, secretis malis omnibus, cumulata bonorum complexio."

452 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XL

Accordingly, so far as present comfort goes, the first man in Paradise was more blessed than any just man in this insecure state; but as regards the hope of future good, every man who not merely supposes, but certainly knows that he shall eternally enjoy the most high God in the company of angels, and beyond the reach of ill, â€” this man, no matter what bodily torments afflict him, is more blessed than was he who, even in that great felicity of Paradise, was uncertain of his fate. 1

13. Whether all the angels were so created in one common state of felicity, that those who fell were not aware that they would fall, and that those who stood received assurance of their own perseverance after the ruin of the fallen.

From all this, it will readily occur to any one that the blessedness which an intelligent being desires as its legitimate object results from a combination of these two things, namely, that it uninterruptedly enjoy the unchangeable good, which is God; and that it be delivered from all dubiety, and know certainly that it shall eternally abide in the same enjoyment. That it is so with the angels of light we piously believe; but that the fallen
angels, who by their own default lost that light, did not enjoy this blessedness even before they sinned, reason bids us conclude. Yet if their life was of any duration before they fell, we must allow them a blessedness of some kind, though not that which is accompanied with foresight. Or, if it seems hard to believe that, when the angels were created, some were created in ignorance either of their perseverance or their fall, while others were most certainly assured of the eternity of their felicity, â€” if it is hard to believe that they were not all from the beginning on an equal footing, until these who are now evil did of their own will fall away from the light of goodness, certainly it is much harder to believe that the holy angels are now uncertain of their eternal blessedness, and do not know regarding themselves as much as we have been able to gather regarding them from the Holy Scriptures. For what catholic Christian does not know that no new devil will ever arise among the good angels, as he knows that this present devil will never again return into the

1 With this chapter compare the books De Dono Persever. and De Correp. et Gratia.
fellowship of the good? For the truth in the gospel promises to the saints and the faithful that they will be equal to the angels of God; and it is also promised them that they will "go away into life eternal." 1 But if we are certain that we shall never lapse from eternal felicity, while they are not certain, then we shall not be their equals, but their superiors. But as the truth never deceives, and as we shall be their equals, they must be certain of their blessedness. And because the evil angels could not be certain of that, since their blessedness was destined to come to an end, it follows either that the angels were unequal, or that, if equal, the good angels
! were assured of the eternity of their blessedness after the perdition of the others; unless, possibly, some one may say that the words of the Lord about the devil, "He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth," 2 are to be understood as if he was not only a murderer from the beginning of the human race, when man, whom he could kill by his deceit, was made, but also that he did not abide in the truth from the time of his own creation, and was accordingly never blessed with the holy angels, but refused to submit to his Creator, and proudly exulted as if in a private lordship of his own, and was thus deceived and deceiving. For the dominion of the Almighty cannot be eluded; and he who will not piously submit himself to things as they are, proudly feigns, and mocks himself with a state of things that does not exist; so that what the blessed Apostle John says thus becomes intelligible: " The devil sinneth from the beginning," 3 â€“ that is, from the time he was created he refused righteousness which none but a will piously subject to God can enjoy. Whoever adopts this opinion at least disagrees with those heretics the Manichees, and with any other pestilential sect that may suppose that the devil has derived from some adverse evil principle a nature proper to himself.

I These persons are so befuddled by error, that, although they acknowledge with ourselves the authority of the gospels, they do not notice that the Lord did not say, " The devil was naturally a stranger to the truth," but " The devil abode not in the truth," by which He meant us to understand that he

1 Matt. xxv. 46. 2 John viii. 44. 3 1 John iii. 8.

454 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XI.]

had fallen from the truth, in which, if he had abode, he would have become a partaker of it, and have remained in blessedness along with the holy angels. 1

14. An explanation of what is said oj the devil, that he did not abide in the truth, because the truth does not in him.
Moreover, as if we had been inquiring why the devil did not abide in the truth, our Lord subjoins the reason, saying, "because the truth is not in him." So, it would be in him had he abode in it. But the phraseology is unusual. For, as the words stand, "He abode not in the truth, because the truth is not in him," it seems as if the truth's not being in him were the cause of his not abiding in it; whereas his not abiding in the truth is rather the cause of its not being: in him. The same form of speech is found in the psalm: "I have called upon Thee, for Thou hast heard me, God," 2 where we should expect it to be said, Thou hast heard me, God, for I have called upon Thee. But when he had said, "I have called," then, as if some one were seeking proof of this, he demonstrates the effectual earnestness of his prayer by the effect of God's hearing it; as if he had said, The proof that I have prayed is that Thou hast heard me.

15. How we are to understand the words, "The devil sinneth from the beginning."

As for what John says about the devil, "The devil sinneth from the beginning," 3 they 4 who suppose it is meant hereby that the devil was made with a sinful nature, misunderstand it; for if sin be natural, it is not sin at all. And how do they answer the prophetic proofs, â€” either what Isaiah says when he represents the devil under the person of the king of Babylon, "How art thou fallen, Lucifer, son of the morning!" 5 or what Ezekiel says, "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering," 6 where it is meant that he was some time without sin; for a little after it is still more explicitly said, "Thou wast perfect in thy ways?" And if these passages cannot well be otherwise interpreted, we must understand by this one also, "He abode not in the truth," that he was once in the truth,

1 Cf. Gen. ad Lit. xi. 27 et seqq. 2 Vs. xvii. 6. 3 1 John iii. 8.
4 The Manichceaiis. 5 Isa. xiv. 12. 6 Ezek. xxviii. 13.
but did not remain in it. And from this passage, "The devil sinneth from the beginning," it is not to be supposed that he sinned from the beginning of his created existence, but from the beginning of his sin, when by his pride he had once commenced to sin. There is a passage, too, in the Book of Job, of which the devil is the subject: "This is the beginning of the creation of God, which He made to be a sport to His angels," 1 which agrees with the psalm, where it is said, "There is that dragon which Thou hast made to be a sport therein." 2 But these passages are not to lead us to suppose that the devil was originally created to be the sport of the angels, but that he was doomed to this punishment after his sin. His beginning, then, is the handiwork of God; for there is no nature, even among the least, and lowest, and last of the beasts, which was not the work of Him from whom has proceeded all measure, all form, all order, without which nothing can be planned or conceived. How much more, then, is this angelic nature, which surpasses in dignity all else that He has made, the handiwork of the Most High!

16. Of the ranks and differences of the creatures, estimated by their utility, or according to the natural gradations of being.

For, among those beings which exist, and which are not of God the Creator's essence, those which have life are ranked above those which have none; those that have the power of generation, or even of desiring, above those which want this faculty. And, among things that have life, the sentient are higher than those which have no sensation, as animals are ranked above trees. And, among the sentient, the intelligent are above those that have not intelligence, ã€” men, e.g., above cattle. And, among the intelligent, the immortal, such as the angels, above the mortal, such as men. These are the gradations according to the order of nature; but according to the utility each man finds in a thing, there are various standards of value, so that it comes to pass that we prefer some things that have no sensation to some sentient beings. And so strong is this preference, that, had we the power, we would abolish the latter from nature altogether, whether in ignorance of the place they hold in nature, or, though we know it, sacrificing


456 THE CITY OF GOD. ' [BOOK XI.]

them to our own convenience. Who, e.g., would not rather have bread in his house than mice, gold than fleas? But there is little to wonder at in this, seeing that even when valued by men themselves (whose nature is certainly of the highest dignity), more is often given for a horse than for a slave, for a jewel than for a maid. Thus the reason of one contemplating nature prompts very different judgments from those dictated by the necessity of the needy, or the desire of the voluptuous; for the former considers what
value a thing in itself has in the scale of creation, while necessity considers how it meets its need; reason looks for what the mental light will judge to be true, while pleasure looks for what pleasantly titillates the bodily sense. But of such consequence in rational natures is the weight, so to speak, of will and of love, that though in the order of nature angels rank above men, yet, by the scale of justice, good men are of greater value than bad angels.

17. That the flaw of wickedness is not nature, but contrary to nature, and has its origin, not in the Creator, but in the will.

It is with reference to the nature, then, and not to the wickedness of the devil, that we are to understand these words, "This is the beginning of God's handiwork;" 1 for, without doubt, wickedness can be a flaw or vice 2 only where the nature previously was not vitiated. Vice, too, is so contrary to nature, that it cannot but damage it. And therefore departure from God would be no vice, unless in a nature whose property it was to abide with God. So that even the wicked will is a strong proof of the goodness of the nature.

But God, as He is the supremely good Creator of good natures, so is He of evil wills the most just Euler; so that, while they make an ill use of good natures, He makes a good use even of evil wills. Accordingly, He caused the devil (good by God's creation, wicked by his own will) to be cast down from his high position, and to become the mockery of His angels, â€” that is, He caused his temptations to benefit those whom he wishes to injure by them. And because God, when

â€¢ Job. xl. 14(LXX.).

2 It must be kept in view that "vice " has, in this passage, the meaning of sinful blemish.
He created him, was certainly not ignorant of his future malignity, and foresaw the good which He Himself would bring out of his evil, therefore says the psalm, "This leviathan whom Thou hast made to be a sport therein," * that we may see that, even while God in His goodness created him good, He yet had already foreseen and arranged how He would make use of him when he became wicked.

18. Of the beauty of the universe, which becomes, by God's ordinance, more brilliant by the opposition of contraries.

For God would never have created any, I do not say angel, but even man, whose future wickedness He foreknew, unless He had equally known to what uses in behalf of the good He could turn him, thus embellishing the course of the ages, as it were an exquisite poem set off with antitheses.

For what are called antitheses are among the most elegant of the ornaments of speech. They might be called in Latin "oppositions," or, to speak more accurately, "contrapositions;" but this word is not in common use among us, 2 though the Latin, and indeed the languages of all nations, avail themselves of the same ornaments of style. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians the Apostle Paul also makes a graceful use of antithesis, in that place where he says, "By the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things." 3 As, then, these oppositions of contraries lend beauty to the language, so the beauty of the course of this world is achieved by the opposition of contraries, arranged, as it were, by an eloquence not of words, but of things. This is quite plainly stated in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, in this way: "Good is set against evil, and life against death: so is the sinner against the godly. So look upon all the works of the Most High, and these are two and two, one against another." 4

1 Ps. civ. 26.

2 Quintilian uses it commonly in the sense of antithesis.

3 2 Cor. vi. 7-10. * Ecclus. xxxiii. 15.

458 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XL

19. What, seemingly, ice are to understand by the words, "God divided the
Accordingly, though the obscurity of the divine word has certainly this advantage, that it causes many opinions about the truth to be started and discussed, each reader seeing some fresh meaning in it, yet, whatever is said to be meant by an obscure passage should be either confirmed by the testimony of obvious facts, or should be asserted in other and less ambiguous texts. This obscurity is beneficial, whether the sense of the author is at last reached after the discussion of many other interpretations, or whether, though that sense remain concealed, other truths are brought out by the discussion of the obscurity. To me it does not seem incongruous with the working of God, if we understand that the angels were created when that first light was made, and that a separation was made between the holy and the unclean angels, when, as is said, "God divided the light from the darkness; and God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night." For He alone could make this discrimination, who was able also, before they fell, to foreknow that they would fall, and that, being deprived of the light of truth, they would abide in the darkness of pride. For, so far as regards the day and night, with which we are familiar, He commanded those luminaries of heaven that are obvious to our senses to divide between the light and the darkness. "Let there be," He says, "lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the clay from the night;" and shortly after He says, "And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness." 1 But between that light, which is the holy company of the angels spiritually radiant with the illumination of the truth, and that opposing darkness, which is the noisome foulness of the spiritual condition of those angels who are turned away from the light of righteousness, only He Himself could divide, from whom their wickedness (not of nature, but of will), while yet it was future, could not be hidden or uncertain.

1 Gen. i. 14-18.
20. Of the words which follow the separation of light and darkness, "And God saw the light that it was good."

Then, we must not pass from this passage of Scripture without noticing that when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," it was immediately added, "And God saw the light that it was good." No such expression followed the statement that He separated the light from the darkness, and called the light Day and the darkness Night, lest the seal of His approval might seem to be set on such darkness, as well as on the light. For when the darkness was not subject of disapprobation, as when it was divided by the heavenly bodies from this light which our eyes discern, the statement that God saw that it was good is inserted, not before, but after the division is recorded. "And God set them," so runs the passage, "in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good." For He approved of both, because both were sinless. But where God said, "Let there be light, and there was light; and God saw the light that it was good;" and the narrative goes on, "and God divided the light from the darkness: and God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night," there was not in this place subjoined the statement, "And God saw that it was good," lest both should be designated good, while one of them was evil, not by nature, but by its own fault. And therefore, in this case, the light alone received the approbation of the Creator, while the angelic darkness, though it had been ordained, was yet not approved.

21. Of God's eternal and unchangeable knowledge and will, whereby all He has made pleased Him in the eternal design as well as in the actual result.

For what else is to be understood by that invariable refrain, "And God saw that it was good," than the approval of the work in its design, which is the wisdom of God? For certainly God did not in the actual achievement of the work first learn that it was good, but, on the contrary, nothing would have been made had it not been first known by Him. While, therefore, He sees that that is good which, had He not seen it before it was made, would never have been made, it is plain that He is not discovering, but teaching that it is good.

Plato, indeed, was bold enough to say that, when the universe was completed, God was, as it were, elated with joy. 1 And Plato was not so foolish as to mean by this that God was rendered more blessed by the novelty of His creation; but he wished thus to indicate
that the work now completed met with its Maker's approval, as it had while yet in design. It is not as if the knowledge of God were of various kinds, knowing in different ways things which as yet are not, things which are, and things which have been. For not in our fashion does He look forward to what is future, nor at what is present, nor back upon what is past; but in a manner quite different and far and profoundly remote from our way of thinking. For He does not pass from this to that by transition of thought, but beholds all things with absolute unchangeableness; so that of those things which emerge in time, the future, indeed, are not yet, and the present are now, and the past no longer are; but all of these are by Him comprehended in His stable and eternal presence. Neither does He see in one fashion by the eye, in another by the mind, for He is not composed of mind and body; nor does His present knowledge differ from that which it ever was or shall be, for those variations of time, past, present, and future, though they alter our knowledge, do not affect His, " with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." 2 Neither is there any growth from thought to thought in the conceptions of Him in whose spiritual vision all things which He knows are at once embraced. For as without any movement that time can measure, He Himself moves all temporal things, so He knows all times with a knowledge that time cannot measure. And therefore He saw that what He had made was good, when He saw that it was good to make it. And when He saw it made, He had not on that account a twofold nor any way increased knowledge of it; as if He had less knowledge before He made what He saw. For certainly He would not be the perfect

1 The reference is to the Timæus, p. 37 C, where he says, "When the parent Creator perceived this created image of the eternal gods in life and motion, He was delighted, and in His joy considered how He might make it still liker its model."

2 Jas. i. 17.

BOOK XL] GOOD IN ALL CREATED THINGS. 461

worker He is, unless His knowledge were so perfect as to receive no addition from His finished works. Wherefore, if the only object had been to inform us who made the light, it had been enough to say, * God made the light;" and if further information regarding the means by which it was made had been intended, it would have sufficed to say, " And God said, Let there be light, and there was light," that we might know not only that God had made the world, but also that He had made it by the word. But because it was right that three leading truths regarding the creature be intimated to us, viz., who made it, by what means, and why, it is written, " God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good." If, then, we ask who made it, it was " God." If, by what means, He said " Let it be," and it was. If we ask, why He made it, " it was good." Neither is there any author more excellent than God, nor any skill more efficacious than the word of God, nor any cause better than that good might be created by the good God. This also Plato has assigned as the most sufficient reason for the creation of the world, that good works might be made by a good God.
whether he read this passage, or, perhaps, was informed of these things by those who had read them, or, by his quicksighted genius, penetrated to things spiritual and invisible through the things that are created, or was instructed regarding them by those who had discerned them.

22. Of those who do not approve of certain things which are a part of this good creation of a good Creator, and who think that there is some natural evil.

This cause, however, of a good creation, namely, the goodness of God, “this cause, I say, so just and fit, which, when piously and carefully weighed, terminates all the controversies of those who inquire into the origin of the world, has not been recognised by some heretics, 2 because there are, forsooth, many things, such as fire, frost, wild beasts, and so forth, which do not suit but injure this thin-blooded and frail mortality of our

1 The passage referred to is in the Timaeus, p. 29 D.: "Let us say what was the cause of the Creator's forming this universe. He was good; and in the good no envy is ever generated about anything whatever. Therefore, being free from envy, He desired that all things should, as much as possible, resemble Himself."

2 The Manichseans, to wit.

462 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XL

flesh, which is at present under just punishment. They do not consider how admirable these things are in their own places, how excellent in their own natures, how beautifully adjusted to the rest of creation, and how much grace they contribute to the universe by their own contributions as to a commonwealth; and how serviceable they are even to ourselves, if we use them with a knowledge of their fit adaptations, “so that even poisons, which are destructive when used injudiciously, become wholesome and medicinal when used in conformity with their qualities and design; just as, on the other hand, those things which give us pleasure, such as food, drink, and the light of the sun, are found to be hurtful when immoderately or unseasonably used. And thus divine providence admonishes us not foolishly to vituperate things, but to investigate their utility with care; and, where our mental capacity or infirmity is at fault, to believe that there is a utility, though hidden, as we have experienced that there were other things which we all but failed to discover. For this concealment of the use of things is itself either an exercise of our humility or a levelling of our pride; for no nature at all is evil, and this is a name for nothing but the want of good.

But from things earthly to things heavenly, from the visible to the invisible, there are some things better than others; and for this purpose are they unequal, in order that they might all exist. ISTow God is in such sort a great worker in great things, that He is not less in little things, “for these little things are to be measured not by their own greatness (which does not exist), but by the wisdom of their Designer; as, in the visible
appearance of a man, if one eyebrow be shaved off, how nearly nothing is taken from the
body, but how much from the beauty! â€” for that is not constituted by bulk, but by the
proportion and arrangement of the members. But we do not greatly wonder that persons,
who suppose that some evil nature has been generated and propagated by a kind of
opposing principle proper to it, refuse to admit that the cause of the creation was this, that
the good God produced a good creation. For they believe that He was driven to this
enterprise of creation by the urgent necessity of repulsing the evil that warred against
Him, and that He mixed His good nature

BOOK XL] ORIGEN'S ERROR REGARDING CREATION. 463

with the evil for the sake of restraining and conquering it; and that this nature of His,
being thus shamefully polluted, and most cruelly oppressed and held captive, He labours
to cleanse and deliver it, and with all His pains does not wholly succeed; but such part of
it as could not be cleansed from that defilement is to serve as a prison and chain of the
conquered and incarcerated enemy. The Manichaeans would not drivel, or rather, rave in
such a style as this, if they believed the nature of God to be, as it is, unchangeable and
absolutely incorruptible, and subjec 4: to no injury; and if, moreover, they held in
Christian sobriety, that the soul which has shown itself capable of being altered for the
worse by its own will, and of being corrupted by sin, and so, of being deprived of the
light of eternal truth, â€” that this soul, I say, is not a part of God, nor of the same
nature as God, but is created by Him, and is far different from its Creator.

23. Of the error in which the doctrine of Origen is involved.

But it is much more surprising that some even of those who, with ourselves, believe that
there is one only source of all things, and that no nature which is not divine can exist
unless originated by that Creator, have yet refused to accept with a good and simple faith
this so good and simple a reason of the world's creation, that a good God made it good;
and that the things created, being different from God, were inferior to Him, and yet were
good, being created by none other than He. But they say that souls, though not, indeed,
parts of God, but created by Him, sinned by abandoning God; that, in proportion to their
various sins, they merited different degrees of debasement from heaven to earth, and
diverse bodies as prisonhouses; and that this is the world, and this the cause of its
creation, not the production of good things, but the restraining of evil. Origen is justly
blamed for holding this opinion. For in the books which he entitles irepl ap-

464 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XL
God, regularly adds, "And God saw that it was good;" and, when all were completed, inserts the words, "And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good." Was it not obviously meant to be understood that there was no other cause of the world's creation than that good creatures should be made by a good God? In this creation, had no one sinned, the world would have been filled and beautified with natures good without exception; and though there is sin, all things are not therefore full of sin, for the great majority of the heavenly inhabitants preserve their nature's integrity. And the sinful will, though it violated the order of its own nature, did not on that account escape the laws of God, who justly orders all things for good. For as the beauty of a picture is increased by well-managed shadows, so, to the eye that has skill to discern it, the universe is beautified even by sinners, though, considered by themselves, their deformity is a sad blemish.

In the second place, Origen, and all who think with him, ought to have seen that if it were the true opinion that the world was created in order that souls might, for their sins, be accommodated with bodies in which they should be shut up as in houses of correction, the more venial sinners receiving lighter and more ethereal bodies, while the grosser and graver sinners received bodies more crass and gross, then it would follow that the devils, who are deepest in wickedness, ought, rather than even wicked men, to have earthly bodies, since these are the grossest and least ethereal of all. But in point of fact, that we might see that the deserts of souls are not to be estimated by the qualities of bodies, the wickedest devil possesses an ethereal body, while man, wicked, it is true, but with a wickedness small and venial in comparison with his, received even before his sin a body of clay. And what more foolish assertion can be advanced than that God, by this sun of ours, did not design to benefit the material creation, or lend lustre to its loveliness, and therefore created one single sun for this single world, but that it so happened that one soul only had so sinned as to deserve to be enclosed in such a body as it is? On this principle, if it had chanced that not

1 Gen. L 31.
one, but two, yea, or ten, or a hundred had sinned similarly, and with a like degree of
guilt, then this world would have one hundred suns. And that such is not the case, is due
not to the considerate foresight of the Creator, contriving the safety and beauty of things
material, but rather to the fact that so line a quality of sinning was hit upon by only one
soul, so that it alone has merited such a body. Manifestly persons holding such opinions
should aim at confining, not souls of which they know not what they say, but themselves,
lest they fall, and deservedly, far indeed from the truth. And as to these three answers
which I formerly recommended when in the case of any creature the questions are put,
Who made it? By what means? Why? that it should be replied, God, By the Word,
Because it was good, “as to these three answers, it is very questionable whether the
Trinity itself is thus mystically indicated, that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,
or whether there is some good reason for this acceptation in this passage of Scripture, “as
this, I say, is questionable, and one can't be expected to explain everything in one
volume.

24. Of the divine Trinity, and the indications of its presence scattered everywhere among
its works.

We believe, we maintain, we faithfully preach, that the Father begat the Word, that is,
Wisdom, by which all things were made, the only-begotten Son, one as the Father is one,
eternal as the Father is eternal, and, equally with the Father, supremely good; and that the
Holy Spirit is the Spirit alike of Father and of Son, and is Himself consubstantial and
coequal with both; and that this whole is a Trinity by reason of the individuality of the
persons, and one God by reason of the indivisible divine substance, as also one Almighty
by reason of the indivisible omnipotence; yet so that, when we inquire regarding each
singly, it is said that each is God and Almighty; and, when we speak of all together, it is
said that there are not three Gods, nor three Almighties, but one God Almighty; so great
is the indivisible unity of these Three, which requires that it be so stated. But, whether
the Holy Spirit of the Father, and of the Son, who are both good, can be with propriety
called the goodness of both, be-

1 Proprietias.
VOL. I. 2 G
distinctively called the Holy Spirit, as if He were the substantial holiness consubstantial with the other two. But if the divine goodness is nothing else than the divine holiness, then certainly it is a reasonable studiousness, and not presumptuous intrusion, to inquire whether the same Trinity be not hinted at in an enigmatical mode of speech, by which our inquiry is stimulated, when it is written who made each creature, and by what means, and why. For it is the Father of the Word who said, Let there be. And that which was made when He spoke was certainly made by means of the Word. And by the words, "God saw that it was good," it is sufficiently intimated that God made what was made not from any necessity, nor for the sake of supplying any want, but solely from His own goodness, i.e., because it was good. And this is stated after the creation had taken place, that there might be no doubt that the thing made satisfied the goodness on account of which it was made. And if we are right in understanding that this goodness is the Holy Spirit, then the whole Trinity is revealed to us in the creation. In this, too, is the origin, the enlightenment, the blessedness of the holy city which is above among the holy an_ For if we inquire whence it is, God created it; or whence its wisdom, God illumined it; or whence its blessedness, God is its bliss. It has its form by subsisting in Him; its enlightenment by contemplating Him; its joy by abiding in Him. It is; it sees; it loves. In God's eternity is its life; in God's truth its light; in God's goodness its joy.

25. Of the division of philosophy into three parts.

As far as one can judge, it is for the same reason that philosophers have aimed at a threefold division of science, or rather, were enabled to see that there was a threefold divi-
THREEFOLD DIVISION OF PHILOSOPHY. 467

sion (for they did not invent, but only discovered it), of which one part is called physical, another logical, the third ethical.

The Latin equivalents of these names are now naturalized in the writings of many authors, so that these divisions are called natural, rational, and moral, on which I have touched slightly in the eighth book. Not that I would conclude that these philosophers, in this threefold division, had any thought of a trinity in God, although Plato is said to have been the first to discover and promulgate this distribution, and he saw that God alone could be the author of nature, the bestower of intelligence, and the kindler of love by which life becomes good and blessed. But certain it is that, though philosophers disagree both regarding the nature of things, and the mode of investigating truth, and of the good to which all our actions ought to tend, yet in these three great general questions all their intellectual energy is spent. And though there be a confusing diversity of opinion, every man striving to establish his own opinion in regard to each of these questions, yet no one of them all doubts that nature has some cause, science some method, life some end and aim. Then, again, there are three things which every artificer must possess if he is to effect anything, nature, education, practice. Nature is to be judged by capacity, education by knowledge, practice by its fruit. I am aware that, properly speaking, fruit is what one enjoys, use [practice] what one uses. And this seems to be the difference between them, that we are said to enjoy that which in itself, and irrespective of other ends, delights us; to use that which we seek for the sake of some end beyond. For which reason the things of time are to be used rather than enjoyed, that we may deserve to enjoy things eternal; and not as those perverse creatures who would fain enjoy money and use God, not spending money for God's sake, but worshipping God for money's sake. However, in common parlance, we both use fruits and enjoy uses. For we correctly speak of the "fruits of the field," which certainly we all use in the present life.

And it was in accordance with this usage that I said that there were three things to be observed in a man, nature, education, practice. From these the philosophers have elaborated, as I said, the threefold division of that science by which a blessed life is attained: the natural having respect to nature, the rational to education, the moral to practice. If, then, we were ourselves the authors of our nature, we should have generated knowledge in ourselves, and should not require to reach it by education, i.e., by learning it from others. Our love, too, proceeding from ourselves and returning to us, would suffice to make our life blessed, and would stand in need of no extraneous enjoyment. But now, since our nature has God as its requisite author, it is certain that we must have Him for our teacher that we may be wise; Him, too, to dispense to us spiritual sweetness that we may be blessed.

4^8 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XI.]
26. Of the image of the supreme Trinity, which we find in some sort in human nature even in its present state.

And we indeed recognise in ourselves the image of God, that is, of the supreme Trinity, an image which, though it be not equal to God, or rather, though it be very far removed from Him, â€” being neither co-eternal, nor, to say all in a word, consubstantial with Him, â€” is yet nearer to Him in nature than any other of His works, and is destined to be yet restored, that it may bear a still closer resemblance. For we both are, and know that we are, and delight in our being, and our knowledge of it. Moreover, in these three things no trueseeing illusion disturbs us; for we do not come into contact with these by some bodily sense, as we perceive the things outside of us, â€” colours, e.g., by seeing, sounds by hearing, smells by smelling, tastes by tasting, hard and soft objects by touching, â€” of all which sensible objects it is the images resembling them, but not themselves which we perceive in the mind and hold in the memory, and which excite us to desire the objects. But, without any delusive representation of images or phantasms, I am most certain that I am, and that I know and delight in this. In respect of these truths, I am not at all afraid of the arguments of the Academicians, who say, What if you are deceived? For if I am deceived, I am. 1 For he who is not, cannot be deceived; and if I am

1 This is one of the passages cited by Sir "William Hamilton, along with the " Cogito, ergo sum" of Descartes, in confirmation of his proof, that in so far as we are conscious of certain modes of existence, in so far we possess an absolute certainty that we exist. See note A in Hamilton's Reid, p. 744.
deceived, by this same token I am. And since I am if I am deceived, how am I deceived in believing that I am? for it is certain that I am if I am deceived. Since, therefore, I, the person deceived, should be, even if I were deceived, certainly I am not deceived in this knowledge that I am. And, consequently, neither am I deceived in knowing that I know. For, as I know that I am, so I know this also, that I know. And when I love these two things, I add to them a certain third thing, namely, my love, which is of equal moment. For neither am I deceived in this, that I love, since in those things which I love I am not deceived; though even if these were false, it would still be true that I loved false things. For how could I justly be blamed and prohibited from loving false things, if it were false that I loved them? But, since they are true and real, who doubts that when they are loved, the love of them is itself true and real? Further, as there is no one who does not wish to be happy, so there is no one who does not wish to be. For how can he be happy, if he is nothing?

27. Of existence, and knowledge of it, and the love of both. And truly the very fact of existing is by some natural spell so pleasant, that even the wretched are, for no other reason, unwilling to perish; and, when they feel that they are wretched, wish not that they themselves be annihilated, but that their misery be so. Take even those who, both in their own esteem, and in point of fact, are utterly wretched, and who are reckoned so, not only by wise men on account of their folly, but by those who count themselves blessed, and who think them wretched because they are poor and destitute, â€” if any one should give these men an immortality, in which their misery should be deathless, and should offer the alternative, that if they shrank from existing eternally in the same misery they might be annihilated, and exist nowhere at all, nor in any condition, on the instant they would joyfully, nay exultantly, make election to exist always, even in such a condition, rather than not exist at all. The well-known feeling of such men witnesses to this. For when we see that they fear to die, and will rather live in such misfortune than end it by death, is it not obvious enough how

nature shrinks from annihilation? And, accordingly, when they know that they must die, they seek, as a great boon, that this mercy be shown them, that they may a little longer live in the same misery, and delay to end it by death. And so they indubitably prove with what glad alacrity they would accept immortality, even though it secured to them endless destruction. "What! do not even all irrational animals, to whom such calculations are unknown, from the huge dragons down to the least worms, all testify that they wish to exist, and therefore shun death by every movement in their power? Nay, the very plants and shrub's, which have no such life as enables them to shun destruction by movements we can see, do not they all seek, in their own fashion, to
conserve their existence, by rooting themselves more and more deeply in the earth, that so they may draw nourishment, and throw out healthy branches towards the sky? In fine, even the lifeless bodies, which want not only sensation but seminal life, yet either seek the upper air or sink deep, or are balanced in an intermediate position, so that they may protect their existence in that situation where they can exist in most accordance with their nature.

And how much human nature loves the knowledge of its existence, and how it shrinks from being deceived, will be sufficiently understood from this fact, that every man prefers to grieve in a sane mind, rather than to be glad in madness. And this Grand and wonderful instinct belongs to men alone of all animals; for, though some of them have keener eyesight than ourselves for this world's light, they cannot attain to that spiritual light with which our mind is somehow irradiated, so that we can form right judgments of all things. For our power to judge is proportioned to our acceptance of this light. Nevertheless, the irrational animals, though they have not knowledge, have certainly something resembling knowledge; whereas the other material things are said to be sensible, not because they have senses, but because they are the objects of our senses. Yet among plants, their nourishment and generation have some resemblance to sensible life. However, both these and all material things have their causes hidden in their nature; but their outward forms, which lend beauty to this
visible structure of the world, are perceived by our senses, so that they seem to wish to compensate for their own want of knowledge by providing us with knowledge. But we perceive them by our bodily senses in such a way that we do not judge of them by these senses. For we have another and far superior sense, belonging to the inner man, by which we perceive what things are just, and what unjust, just by means of an intelligible idea, unjust by the want of it. This sense is aided in its functions neither by the eyesight, nor by the orifice of the ear, nor by the air-holes of the nostrils, nor by the palate's taste, nor by any bodily touch. By it I am assured both that I am, and that I know this; and these two I love, and in the same manner I am assured that I love them.

23. Whether we ought to love the love itself with which we love our existence and our knowledge of it, that so we may more nearly resemble the image of the divine Trinity.

We have said as much as the scope of this work demands regarding these two things, to wit, our existence, and our knowledge of it, and how much they are loved by us, and how there is found even in the lower creatures a kind of likeness of these things, and yet with a difference. We have yet to speak of the love wherewith they are loved, to determine whether this love itself is loved. And doubtless it is; and this is the proof. Because in men who are justly loved, it is rather love itself that is loved; for he is not justly called a good man who knows what is good, but who loves it. Is it not then obvious that we love in ourselves the very love wherewith we love whatever good we love? For there is also a love wherewith we love that which we ought not to love; and this love is hated by him who loves that wherewith he loves what ought to be loved. For it is quite possible for both to exist in one man. And this co-existence is good for a man, to the end that this love which conduces to our living well may grow, and the other, which leads us to evil may decrease, until our whole life be perfectly healed and transmuted into good. For if we were beasts, we should love the fleshly and sensual life, and this would be our sufficient good; and when it was well with us in respect of

472 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XI.]

(it, we should seek nothing beyond. In like manner, if we were trees, we could not, indeed, in the strict sense of the word, love anything; nevertheless we should seem, as it were, to long for that by which we might become more abundantly and luxuriantly fruitful. If we were stones, or waves, or wind, or flame, or anything of that kind, we should want, indeed, both sensation and life, yet should possess a kind of attraction towards our own proper position and natural order.
For the specific gravity of bodies is, as it were, their love, whether they are carried downwards by their weight, or upwards by their levity. For the body is borne by its gravity, as the spirit by love, whithersoever it is borne. But we are men, created in the image of our Creator, whose eternity is true, and whose truth is eternal, whose love is eternal and true, and who Himself is the eternal, true, and adorable Trinity, without confusion, without separation; and, therefore, while, as we run over all the works which He has established, we may detect, as it were, His footprints, now more and now less distinct even in those tilings that are beneath us, since they could not so much as exist, or be bodied forth in any shape, or follow and observe any law, had they not been made by Him who supremely is, and is supremely good and supremely wise; yet in ourselves beholding His image, let us, like that younger son of the gospel, come to ourselves, and arise and return to Him from whom by our sin we had departed.

There our being will have no death, our knowledge no error, our love no mishap. But now, though we are assured of our possession of these three things, not on the testimony of others, but by our own consciousness of their presence, and because we see them with our own most truthful interior vision* yet, as we cannot of ourselves know how long they are to continue, and whether they shall never cease to be, and what issue their good or bad use will lead to, we seek for others who can acquaint us of these things, if we have not already found them. Of the trustworthiness of these witnesses, there will, not now, but subsequently, be an opportunity of speaking.

But in this book let us go on as we have begun, with God's help, to speak of the city of God, not in its state of pilgri-

1 Compare the Confessions, xiii. 9.
mage and mortality, but as it exists ever immortal in the heavens, â€” that is, let us speak of the holy angels who maintain their allegiance to God, who never were, nor ever shall be, apostate, between whom and those who forsook light eternal and became darkness, God, as we have already said, made at the first a separation.

29. Of the knowledge by which the holy angels know God in His essence, and by which they see the causes of His works in the art of the worker, before they see them in the works of the artist.

Those holy angels come to the knowledge of God not by audible words, but by the presence to their souls of immutable truth, i.e., of the only-begotten Word of God; and they know this Word Himself, and the Father, and their Holy Spirit, and that this Trinity is indivisible, and that the three persons of it are one substance, and that there are not three Gods but one God; and this they so know, that it is better understood by them than we are by ourselves.

Thus, too, they know the creature also, not in itself, but by this better way, in the wisdom of God, as if in the art by which it was created; and, consequently, they know themselves better in God than in themselves, though they have also this latter knowledge. For they were created, and are different from their Creator. In Him, therefore, they have, as it were, a noonday knowledge; in themselves, a twilight knowledge, according to our former explanations. 1 For there is a great difference between knowing a thing in the design in conformity to which it was made, and knowing it in itself, â€” e.g., the straightness of lines and correctness of figures is known in one way when mentally conceived, in another when described on paper; and justice is known in one way in the unchangeable truth, in another in the spirit of a just man.

So is it with all other things, â€” as, the firmament between the water above and below, which was called the heaven; the gathering of the waters beneath, and the laying bare of the dry land, and the production of plants and trees; the creation of sun, moon, and stars; and of the animals out of the waters, fowls, and fish, and monsters of the deep; and of everything that walks or creeps on the earth, and of man himself, who

1 Ch. 7.

474 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XL

excels all that is on the earth, â€” all these things are known in one way by the angels in the "Word of God, in which they see the eternally abiding causes and reasons according to which they were made, and in another way in themselves: in the former, with a clearer knowledge; in the latter, with a knowledge dimmer, and rather of the bare works than of the design.
Yet, when these works are referred to the praise and adoration of the Creator Himself, it is as if morning dawned in the minds of those who contemplate them.

30. Of the perfection of the number six, which is the first of the number which is composed of its aliquot parts.

These works are recorded to have been completed in six days (the same day being six times repeated), because six is a perfect number, not because God required a protracted time, as if He could not at once create all things, which then should mark the course of time by the movements proper to them, but because the perfection of the works was signified by the number six. For the number six is the first which is made up of its own parts, i.e., of its sixth, third, and half, which are respectively one, two, and three, and which make a total of six. In this way of looking at a number, those are said to be its parts which exactly divide it, as a half, a third, a fourth, or a fraction with any denominator, e.g., four is a part of nine, but not therefore an aliquot part; but one is, for it is the ninth part; and three is, for it is the third. Yet these two parts, the ninth and the third, or one and three, are far from making its whole sum of nine. So again, in the number ten, four is a part, yet does not divide it; but one is an aliquot part, for it is a tenth; so it has a fifth, which is two; and a half, which is five. But these three parts, a tenth, a fifth, and a half, or one, two, and five, added together, do not make ten, but eight. Of the number twelve, again, the parts added together exceed the whole; for it has a twelfth, that is, one; a sixth, or two; a fourth, which is three; a third, which is four; and a half, which is six. But one, two, three, four, and six make up, not twelve, but more, viz. sixteen. So much I have thought fit to state for the sake of illustrating the perfection of the number six, which is, as I said, the first which

1 Or aliquot parts.
is exactly made up of its own parts added together; and in this number of days God finished His work. 1 And, therefore, we must not despise the science of numbers, which, in many passages of holy Scripture, is found to be of eminent service to the careful interpreter. 2 Neither has it been without reason numbered among God's praises, " Thou hast ordered all things in number, and measure, and weight." 3

31. Of the seventh day, in which completeness and repose are celebrated.

But, on the seventh day (i.e., the same day repeated seven times, which number is also a perfect one, though for another reason), the rest of God is set forth, and then, too, we first hear of its being hallowed. So that God did not wish to hallow this day by His works, but by His rest, which has no evening, for it is not a creature; so that, being known in one way in the Word of God, and in another in itself, it should make a twofold knowledge, daylight and dusk (day and evening). Much more might be said about the perfection of the number seven, but this book is already too long, and I fear lest I should seem to catch at an opportunity of airing my little smattering of science more childishly than profitably. I must speak, therefore, in moderation and with dignity, lest, in too keenly following " number," I be accused of forgetting " weight " and " measure." Suffice it here to say, that three is the first whole number that is odd, four the first that is even, and of these two, seven is composed. On this account it is often put for all numbers together, as, " A just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again," 4 â€” that is, let him fall never so often, he will not perish (and this was meant to be understood not of sins, but of afflictions conducing to lowliness). Again, " Seven times a day will I praise Thee," 5 which elsewhere is expressed thus, " I will bless the Lord at all times!" 6 And many such instances are found in the divine authorities, in which the number seven is, as I said, commonly used to express the whole, or the completeness of anything.

2 For passages illustrating early opinions regarding numbers, see Smith's Diet. Art. number.
3 Wisd. xi. 20. 4 Prov. xxiv. 16. 5 Ps. cxix. 1G1. Â° Ps. xxxiv. 1.
that which is in part shall be done away." 3 It is even with toil we search into the Scriptures themselves. But the holy angels, towards whose society and assembly we sigh while in this our toilsome pilgrimage, as they already abide in their eternal home, so do they enjoy perfect facility of knowledge and felicity of rest. It is without difficulty that they help us; for their spiritual movements, pure and free, cost them no effort.

32. Of the opinion that the angels were created before the world.

But if some one oppose our opinion, and say that the holy angels are not referred to when it is said, "Let there be light, and there was light;" if he suppose or teach that some material light, then first created, was meant, and that the angels were created, not only before the firmament dividing the waters and named " the heaven," but also before the time signified in the words, " In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;" if he allege that this phrase, "In the beginning," does not mean that nothing was made before (for the angels were), but that God made all things by His Wisdom or Word, who is named in Scripture " the Beginning," as He Himself, in the gospel, replied to the Jews when they asked Him who He was, that He was the Beginning: 4 â€” I will not contest the point, chiefly because it gives me the liveliest satisfaction to find the Trinity celebrated in the very beginning of the book of Genesis. For, having said, " In the Beginning God created the heaven and the earth," meaning that the Father made them in the Son (as the psalm testifies where it says, " How manifold are Thy works, Lord ! in Wisdom

1 John xvi. 13.

2 In Isa. xi. 2, as he shows in his eighth sermon, where this subject is further pursued; otherwise, one might have supposed he referred to Ev. iii. 1.

3 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

4 Augustine refers to John viii. 25; see p. 415. He might rather have referred to p iev. n'i. 14.
hast Thou made them all " *), a little afterwards mention is fitly made of the Holy Spirit also. For, when it had been told us what kind of earth God created at first, or what the mass or matter was which God, under the name of " heaven and earth," had provided for the construction of the world, as is told in the additional words, " And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep," then, for the sake of completing the mention of the Trinity, it is immediately added, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Let each one, then, take it as he pleases; for it is so profound a passage, that it may well suggest, for the exercise of the reader's tact, many opinions, and none of them widely departing from the rule of faith. At the same time, let none doubt that the holy angels in their heavenly abodes are, though not, indeed, co-eternal with God, yet secure and certain of eternal and true felicity. To their company the Lord teaches that His little ones belong; and not only says, " They shall be equal to the angels of God," 2 but shows, too, what blessed contemplation the angels themselves enjoy, saying, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones: for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." 3

33. Of the two different and dissimilar communities of angels, which are not inappropriately signified by the names light and darkness.

That certain angels sinned, and were thrust down to the lowest parts of this world, where they are, as it were, incarcerated till their final damnation in the day of judgment, the Apostle Peter very plainly declares, when he says that " God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment." 4 Who, then, can doubt that God, either in foreknowledge or in act, separated between these and the rest? And who will dispute that the rest are justly called " light ? " For even we who are yet living by faith, hoping only and not yet enjoying equality with them, are already called " light " by the apostle: " For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." 5 But as for these apostate angels, all

1 Ps. ciy. 24. 2 Matt. xxii. 30. 3 Matt, xviii. 10.

4 2 Peter ii. 4. 5 Eph. v. 8.

473 THE CITY OF GOD. [COOK XI.

who understand or believe them to be worse than unbelieving men are well aware that they are called " darkness." "Wherefore, though light and darkness are to be taken in theii literal signification in these passages of Genesis in which it is said, " God said, Let there be light, and there was light," and
"God divided the light from the darkness," yet, for our part, we understand these two societies of angels, â€” the one enjoying God, the other swelling with pride; the one to whom it is said, "Praise ye Him, all His angels," * the other whose prince says, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me;" 2 the one blazing with the holy love of God, the other reeking with the unclean lust of self-advancement. And since, as it is written, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble," 3 we may say, the one dwelling in the heaven of heavens, the other cast thence, and raging through the lower regions of the air; the one tranquil in the brightness of piety, the other tempest-tossed with beclouding desires; the one, at God's pleasure, tenderly succouring, justly avenging, â€” the other, set on by its own pride, boiling with the lust of subduing and hurting; the one the minister of God's goodness to the utmost of their good pleasure, the other held in by God's power from doing the harm it would; the former laughing at the latter when it does good unwillingly by its persecutions, the latter envying the former when it gathers in its pilgrims. These two angelic communities, then, dissimilar and contrary to one another, the one both by nature good and by will upright, the other also good by nature but by will depraved, as they are exhibited in other and more explicit passages of holy writ, so I think they are spoken of in this book of Genesis under the names of light and darkness; and 'even if the author perhaps had a different meaning, yet our discussion of the obscure language has not been wasted time; for, though we have been unable to discover his meaning, yet we have adhered to the rule of faith, which is sufficiently ascertained by the faithful from other passages of equal authority. For, though it is the material works of God which are here spoken of, they have certainly a resemblance to the spiritual, so that Paul can say, "Ye are all the children of light, and 1 Ps. cxmlviii. 2. 2 Matt iv. 9. 3 Jas. iv. 6.
the children of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darkness." ! If, on the other hand, the author of Genesis saw in the words what we see, then our discussion reaches this more satisfactory conclusion, that the man of God, so eminently and divinely wise, or rather, that the Spirit of God who by him recorded God's works which were finished on the sixth day, may be supposed not to have omitted all mention of the angels, whether he included them in the words "in the beginning," because He made them first, or, which seems most likely, because He made them in the only-begotten Word. And, under these names heaven and earth, the whole creation is signified, either as divided into spiritual and material, which seems the more likely, or into the two great parts of the world in which all created things are contained, so that, first of all, the creation is presented in sum, and then its parts are enumerated according to the mystic number of the days.

34. Of the idea that the angels were meant where the separation of the waters by the firmament is spoken of, and of that other idea that the waters were not created.

Some, 2 however, have supposed that the angelic hosts are somehow referred to under the name of waters, and that this is what is meant by, "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters:" 3 that the waters above should be understood of the angels, and those below either of the visible waters, or of the multitude of bad angels, or of the nations of men. If this be so, then it does not here appear when the angels were created, but when they were separated. Though there have not been wanting men foolish and wicked enough 4 to deny that the waters were made by God, because it is nowhere written, "God said, Let there be waters." With equal folly they might say the same of the earth, for nowhere do we read, "God said, Let the earth be." But, say they, it is written, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

1 1 Thess. v. 5.

2 Augustine himself published this idea in his Conf xiii. 32, but afterwards retracted it, as "said without sufficient consideration" {Retract. II. vi. 2). Epiphanius and Jerome ascribe it to Origen.

3 Gen. i. 6.

4 Namely, the Audians and Sampssseans, insignificant heretical sects mentioned by Theodoret and Epiphanius.
Yes, and there the water is meant, for both are included in one word. For "the sea is His," as the psalm says, "and He made it; and His hands formed the dry land."  

1 But those who would understand the angels by the waters above the skies have a difficulty about the specific gravity of the elements, and fear that the waters, owing to their fluidity and weight, could not be set in the upper parts of the world. So that, if they were to construct a man upon their own principles, they would not put in his head any moist humours, or "phlegm" as the Greeks call it, and which acts the part of water among the elements of our body. But, in God's handiwork, the head is the seat of the phlegm, and surely most fitly; and yet, according to their supposition, so absurdly that if we were not aware of the fact, and were informed by this same record that God had put a moist and cold and therefore heavy humour in the uppermost part of man's body, these world-weighers would refuse belief. And if they were confronted with the authority of Scripture, they would maintain that something else must be meant by the words. But, were we to investigate and discover all the details which are written in this divine book regarding the creation of the world, we should have much to say, and should widely digress from the proposed aim of this work. Since, then, we have now said what seemed needful regarding these two diverse and contrary communities of angels, in which the origin of the two human communities (of which we intend to speak anon) is also found, let us at once bring this book also to a conclusion.

1 Ps. xcv. 5.
BOOK TWELFTH.

ARGUMENT.


1. That the nature of the angels, both good and bad, is one and the same.

IT has already, in the preceding book, been shown how the two cities originated among the angels. Before I speak of the creation of man, and show how the cities took their rise, so far as regards the race of rational mortals, I see that I must first, so far as I can, adduce what may demonstrate that it is not incongruous and unsuitable to speak of a society composed of angels and men together; so that there are not four cities or societies, â€” two, namely, of angels, and as many of men, â€” but rather two in all, one composed of the good, the other of the wicked, angels or men indifferently.

That the contrary propensities in good and bad angels have arisen, not from a difference in their nature and origin, since God, the good Author and Creator of all essences, created them both, but from a difference in their wills and desires, it is impossible to doubt. While some steadfastly continued in that which was the common good of all, namely, in God Himself, and in His eternity, truth, and love; others, being enamoured rather of their own power, as if they could be their own good, lapsed to this private good of their own, from that higher and beatific good which was common to all, and, bartering the lofty dignity of eternity for the inflation of pride, the most assured verity for the slyness of vanity, uniting love for factious partisanship, they became proud, deceived, envious. The cause, therefore, of the blessedness of the good is adherence to God. And so the cause of the others' misery will be found in the contrary,

VOL. I. 2 II

432 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.}
that is, iii their not adhering to God. Wherefore, if when the question is asked, why are
the former blessed, it is rightly answered, because they adhere to God; and when it is
asked, why are the latter miserable, it is rightly answered, because they do not adhere to
God, â€” then there is no other good for the rational or intellectual creature save God
only. Thus, though it is not every creature that can be blessed (for beasts, trees, stones,
and things of that kind have not this capacity), yet that creature which has the capacity
cannot be blessed of itself, since it is created out of nothing, but only by Kim by whom it
has been created. For it is blessed by the possession of that whose loss makes it
miserable. He, then, who is blessed not in another, but in himself, cannot be miserable,
because he cannot lose himself.

Accordingly we say that there is no unchangeable good but the one, true, blessed God;
that the things which He made are indeed good because from Him, yet mutable because
made not out of Him, but out of nothing. Although, therefore, they are not the supreme
good, for God is a greater good, yet those mutable things which can adhere to the
immutable good, and so be blessed, are very good; for so completely is He their good,
that without Him they cannot but be wretched. And the other created things in the
universe are not better on this account, that they cannot be miserable. For no one would
say that the other members of the body are superior to the eyes, because they cannot be
blind. But as the sentient nature, even when it feels pain, is superior to the stony, which
can feel none, so the rational nature, even when wretched, is more excellent than that
which lacks reason or feeling, and can therefore experience no misery. And since this is
so, then in this nature which has been created so excellent, that though it be mutable
itself, it can yet secure its blessedness by adhering to the immutable good, the supreme
God; and since it is not satisfied unless it be perfectly blessed, and cannot be thus blessed
save in God, â€” in this nature, I say, not to adhere to God, is manifestly a fault. 1 Now
every fault injures the nature, and is consequently contrary to the nature.
The creature, therefore, which cleaves to God, differs from

1 Vitium: perhaps "fault" most nearly embraces all the uses of this word.
those who do not, not by nature, but by fault; and yet by this very fault the nature itself is proved to be very noble and admirable. For that nature is certainly praised, the fault of which is justly blamed. For we justly blame the fault because it mars the praiseworthy nature. As, then, when we say that blindness is a defect of the eyes, we prove that sight belongs to the nature of the eyes; and when we say that deafness is a defect of the ears, hearing is thereby proved to belong to their nature; so, when we say that it is a fault of the angelic creature that it does not cleave to God, we hereby most plainly declare that it pertained to its nature to cleave to God. And who can worthily conceive or express how great a glory that is, to cleave to God, so as to live to Him, to draw wisdom from Him, to delight in Him, and to enjoy this so great good, without death, error, or grief? And thus, since every vice is an injury of the nature, that very vice of the wicked angels, their departure from God, is sufficient proof that God created their nature so good, that it is an injury to it not to be with God.

2. That there is no entity contrary to the divine, because nonentity seems to be that which is wholly opposite to Him who supremely and always is.

This may be enough to prevent any one from supposing, when we speak of the apostate angels, that they could have another nature, derived, as it were, from some different origin, and not from God. From the great impiety of this error we shall disentangle ourselves the more readily and easily, the more distinctly we understand that which God spoke by the angel when He sent Moses to the children of Israel: "I am that I am." For since God is the supreme existence, that is to say, supremely is, and is therefore unchangeable, the things that He made He empowered to be, but not to be supremely like Himself. To some He communicated a more ample, to others a more limited existence, and thus arranged the natures of beings in ranks. For as sapere comes sapientia, so from esse comes essentia, a new word indeed, which the old Latin writers did not use, but which is naturalized in our day, that our language may not want an equivalent for the Greek ousia. For this is expressed word for word by essentia.

1 Essentia. 2 Ex. iii. 14. 3 Quintilian calls it dura.

Consequently, to that nature which supremely is, and which created all else that exists, no nature is contrary save that which does not exist. For nonentity is the contrary of that which is. And thus there is no being contrary to God, the Supreme Being, and Author of all beings whatsoever.

3. That the enemies of God are so, not by nature but by will, ichich, as it injures them, injures a good nature; for if vice does not injure, it is not vice.
In Scripture they are called God's enemies who oppose His rule, not by nature, but by vice; having no power to hurt Him, but only themselves. For they are His enemies, not through their power to hurt, but by their will to oppose Him. For God is unchangeable, and wholly proof against injury. Therefore the vice which makes those who are called His enemies resist Him, is an evil not to God, but to themselves. And to them it is an evil, solely because it corrupts the good of their nature. It is not nature, therefore, but vice, which is contrary to God. For that which is evil is contrary to the good. And who will deny that God is the supreme good? Vice, therefore, is contrary to God, as evil to good. Further, the nature it vitiates is a good, and therefore to this good also it is contrary. But while it is contrary to God only as evil to good, it is contrary to the nature it vitiates, both as evil and as hurtful. For to God no evils are hurtful; but only to natures mutable and corruptible, though, by the testimony of the vices themselves, originally good. For were they not good, vices could not hurt them. For how do they hurt them but by depriving them of integrity, beauty, welfare, virtue, and, in short, whatever natural good vice is wont to diminish or destroy? But if there be no good to take away, then no injury can be done, and consequently there can be no vice. For it is impossible that there should be a harmless vice. Whence we gather, that though vice cannot injure the unchangeable good, it can injure nothing but good; because it does not exist where it does not injure. This, then, may be thus formulated: Vice cannot be in the highest good, and cannot be but in some good. Things solely good, therefore, can in some circumstances exist; things solely evil, never; for even those natures which are vitiated by an evil will, so far indeed as they are vitiated, are evil, but in so far as they
are natures they are good. And when a vitiated nature is punished, besides the good it has in being a nature, it has this also, that it is not unpunished. 1 For this is just, and certainly everything just is a good. For no one is punished for natural, but for voluntary vices. For even the vice which by the force of habit and long continuance has become a second nature, had its origin in the will For at present we are speaking of the vices of the nature, which has a mental capacity for that enlightenment which discriminates between what is just and what is unjust.

4. Of the nature of irrational and lifeless creatures, which in their own kind and order do not mar the beauty of the universe.

But it is ridiculous to condemn the faults of beasts and trees, and other such mortal and mutable things as are void of intelligence, sensation, or life, even though these faults should destroy their corruptible nature; for these creatures received, at their Creator's will, an existence fitting them, by passing away and giving place to others, to secure that lowest form of beauty, the beauty of seasons, which in its own place is a requisite part of this world. For things earthly were neither to be made equal to things heavenly, nor were they, though inferior, to be quite omitted from the universe. Since, then, in those situations where such things are appropriate, some perish to make way for others that are born in their room, and the less succumb to the greater, and the things that are overcome are transformed into the quality of those that have the mastery, this is the appointed order of things transitory.

Of this order the beauty does not strike us, because by our mortal frailty we are so involved in a part of it, that we cannot perceive the whole, in which these fragments that offend us are harmonized with the most accurate fitness and beauty.

And therefore, where we are not so well able to perceive the wisdom of the Creator, we are very properly enjoined to believe it, lest in the vanity of human rashness we presume to find any fault with the work of so great an Artificer. At the same time, if we attentively consider even these faults of earthly

1 With this may be compared the argument of Socrates in the Gorgias, in which it is shown that to escape punishment is worse than to suffer it, and that the greatest of evils is to do wrong and not be chastised.

486 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.]
things, which are neither voluntary nor penal, they seem to illustrate the excellence of the natures themselves, which are all originated and created by God; for it is that which pleases us in this nature which we are displeased to see removed by the fault, â€” unless even the natures themselves displease men, as often happens when they become hurtful to them, and then men estimate them not by their nature, but by their utility; as in the case of those animals whose swarms scourged the pride of the Egyptians. But in this way of estimating, they may find fault with the sun itself; for certain criminals or debtors are sentenced by the judges to be set in the sun.

Therefore it is not with respect to our convenience or discomfort, but with respect to their own nature, that the creatures are glorifying to their Artificer. Thus even the nature of the eternal fire, penal though it be to the condemned sinners, is most assuredly worthy of praise. For what is more beautiful than fire flaming, blazing, and shining? What more useful than fire for warming, restoring, cooking, though nothing is more destructive than fire burning and consuming? The same thing, then, when applied in one way, is destructive, but when applied suitably, is most beneficial. For who can find words to tell its uses throughout the whole world? We must not listen, then, to those who praise the light of fire but find fault with its heat, judging it not by its nature, but by their convenience or discomfort. For they wish to see, but not to be burnt. But they forget that this very light which is so pleasant to them, disagrees with and hurts weak eyes; and in that heat which is disagreeable to them, some animals find the most suitable conditions of a healthy life.

5. That in all natures, of every kind and rank, God is glorified.

All natures, then, inasmuch as they are, and have therefore a rank and species of their own, and a kind of internal harmony, are certainly good. And when they are in the places assigned to them by the order of their nature, they preserve such being as they have received. And those things which have not received everlasting being, are altered for better or for worse, so as to suit the wants and motions of those things to which the Creator's law has made them subservient; and
thus they tend in the divine providence to that end which is embraced in the general scheme of the government of the universe. So that, though the corruption of transitory and perishable things brings them to utter destruction, it does not prevent their producing that which was designed to be their result. And this being so, God, who supremely is, and who therefore created every being which has not supreme existence (for that which was made of nothing could not be equal to Him, and indeed could not be at all had He not made it), is not to be found fault with on account of the creature's faults, but is to be praised in view of the natures He has made.

6. What the cause of the blessedness of the good angels is, and what the cause of the misery of the wicked.

Thus the true cause of the blessedness of the good angels is found to be this, that they cleave to Him who supremely is. And if we ask the cause of the misery of the bad, it occurs to us, and not unreasonably, that they are miserable because they have forsaken Him who supremely is, and have turned to themselves who have no such essence. And this vice, what else is it called than pride? For "pride is the beginning of sin." 1 They were unwilling, then, to preserve their strength for God; and as adherence to God was the condition of their enjoying an ampler being, they diminished it by preferring themselves to Him. This was the first defect, and the first impoverishment, and the first flaw of their nature, which was created, not indeed supremely existent, but finding its blessedness in the enjoyment of the Supreme Being; whilst by abandoning Him it should become, not indeed no nature at all, but a nature with a less ample existence, and therefore wretched.

If the further question be asked, What was the efficient cause of their evil will? there is none. For what is it which makes the will bad, when it is the will itself which makes the action bad? And consequently the bad will is the cause of the bad action, but nothing is the efficient cause of the bad will. For if anything is the cause, this thing either has or has not a will. If it has, the will is either good or bad. If good, who is so left to himself as to say that a good will

1 Eccles. x. 13.

makes a will bad? For in this case a good will would be the cause of sin; a most absurd supposition. On the other hand, if this hypothetical thing has a bad will, I wish to know what made it so; and that we may not go on for ever, I ask at once, what made the first evil will bad? For that is not the first which was itself corrupted by an evil will, but that is the first which was made evil by no other will. For if it were preceded by that which
made it evil, that will was first which made the other evil. But if it is replied, "Nothing made it evil; it always was evil," I ask if it has been existing in some nature. For if not, then it did not exist at all; and if it did exist in some nature, then it vitiated and corrupted it, and injured it, and consequently deprived it of good. And therefore the evil will could not exist in an evil nature, but in a nature at once good and mutable, which this vice could injure. For if it did no injury, it was no vice; and consequently the will in which it was, could not be called evil. But if it did injury, it did it by taking away or diminishing good. And therefore there could not be from eternity, as was suggested, an evil will in that tiling in which there had been previously a natural good, which the evil will was able to diminish by corrupting it. If, then, it was not from eternity, who, I ask, made it? The only thing that can be suggested in reply is, that something which itself had no will, made the will evil. I ask, then, whether this thing was superior, interior, or equal to it? If superior, then it is better. How, then, has it no will, and not rather a good will? The same reasoning applies if it was equal; for so long as two things have equally a good will, the one cannot produce in the other an evil will. Then remains the supposition that that which corrupted the will of the angelic nature which first sinned, was itself an inferior thing without a will. But that thing, be it of the lowest and most earthly kind, is certainly itself good, since it is a nature and being, with a form and rank of its own in its own kind and order. How, then, can a good thing be the efficient cause of an evil will? How, I say, can good be the cause of evil? For when the will abandons what is above itself, and turns to what is lower, it becomes evil and not because that is evil to which it turns, but because the
turning itself is wicked. Therefore it is not an inferior thing which has made the will evil, but it is itself which has become so by wickedly and inordinately desiring an inferior thing.

For if two men, alike in physical and moral constitution, see the same corporal beauty, and one of them is excited by the sight to desire an illicit enjoyment, while the other stedfastly maintains a modest restraint of his will, what do we suppose brings it about, that there is an evil will in the one and not in the other? What produces it in the man in whom it exists? Not the bodily beauty, for that was presented equally to the gaze of both, and yet did not produce in both an evil will. Did the flesh of the one cause the desire as he looked?

But why did not the flesh of the other? Or was it the disposition? But why not the disposition of both? For we are supposing that both were of a like temperament of body and soul. Must we, then, say that the one was tempted by a secret suggestion of the evil spirit? As if it was not by his own will that he consented to this suggestion and to any inducement whatever! This consent, then, this evil will which he presented to the evil suasive influence, "what was the cause of it, we ask? For, not to delay on such a difficulty as this, if both are tempted equally, and one yields and consents to the temptation, while the other remains unmoved by it, what other account can we give of the matter than this, that the one is willing, the other unwilling, to fall away from chastity? And what causes this but their own wills, in cases at least such as we are supposing, where the temperament is identical? The same beauty was equally obvious to the eyes of both; the same secret temptation pressed on both with equal violence. However minutely we examine the case, therefore, we can discern nothing which caused the will of the one to be evil. For if we say that the man himself made his will evil, what was the man himself—before his will was evil but a good nature created by God, the unchangeable good?

Here are two men who, before the temptation, were alike in body and soul, and of whom one yielded to the tempter who persuaded him, while the other could not be persuaded to desire that lovely body which was equally before the eyes of both. Shall we say of the successfully tempted man that he

490 THE CITY OF GOD). [BOOK XII.]

corrupted his own will, since he was certainly good before his will became bad? Then, why did he do so? "VYas it because his will was a nature, or because it was made of nothing?" We shall find that the latter is the case. For if a nature is the cause of an evil will, what else can we say than that evil arises from good, or that good is the cause of evil? And how can it come to pass that a nature, good though mutable, should produce any evil "that is to say, should make the will itself wicked?

7. Thai we ought not to expect to find any efficient cause of the evil will.
Let no one, therefore, look for an efficient cause of the evil will; for it is not efficient, but deficient, as the will itself is not an effecting of something, but a defect. For defection from that which supremely is, to that which has less of being, â€” this is to begin to have an evil will. Now, to seek to discover the causes of these defections, â€” causes, as I have said, not efficient, but deficient, â€” is as if some one sought to see darkness, or hear silence. Yet both of these are known by us, and the former by means only of the eye, the latter only by the ear; but not by their positive actuality, but by their want of it. Let no one, then, seek to know from me what I know that I do not know; unless he perhaps wishes to learn to be ignorant of that of which all we know is, that it cannot be known. For those things which are known not by their actuality, but by their want of it, are known, if our expression may be allowed and understood, by not knowing them, that by knowing them they may be not known. For when the eyesight surveys objects that strike the sense, it nowhere sees darkness but where it begins not to see. And so no other sense but the ear can perceive silence, and yet it is only perceived by not hearing. Thus, too, our mind perceives intelligible forms by understanding them; but when they are deficient, it knows them by not knowing them; for u who can understand defects? 2

8. Of the misdirected love whereby the will fell away from the immutable
to the mutable good. Â»

This I do know, that the nature of God can never, no-

1 Specie. 2 Ps. xix. 12.
where, nowise be defective, and that natures made of nothing can. These latter, however, the more being they have, and the more good they do (for then they do something positive), the more they have efficient causes; but in so far as they are defective in being, and consequently do evil (for then what is their work but vanity?), they have deficient causes. And I know likewise, that the will could not become evil, were it unwilling to become so; and therefore its failings are justly punished, being not necessary, but voluntary. For its defections are not to evil things, but are themselves evil; that is to say, are not towards things that are naturally and in themselves evil, but I the defection of the will is evil, because it is contrary to the order of nature, and an abandonment of that which has supreme being for that which has less. For avarice is not a fault inherent in gold, but in the man who inordinately loves gold, to the detriment of justice, which ought to be held in incomparably higher regard than gold. Neither is luxury the fault of lovely and charming objects, but of the heart that inordinately loves sensual pleasures, to the neglect of temperance, which attaches us to objects more lovely in their spirituality, and more delectable by their incorruptibility. Nor yet is boasting the fault of human praise, but of the soul that is inordinately fond of the applause of men, and that makes light of the voice of conscience. Pride, too, is not the fault of him who delegates power, nor of power itself, but of the soul that is inordinately enamoured of its own power, and despises the more just dominion of a higher authority. Consequently he who inordinately loves the good which any nature possesses, even though he obtain it, himself becomes evil in the good, and wretched because deprived of a greater good.

9. Whether the angels, besides receiving from God their nature, received from Him also their good will by the Holy Spirit imbuing them with love.

There is, then, no natural efficient cause, or, if I may be allowed the expression, no essential cause, of the evil will, since itself is the origin of evil in mutable spirits, by which the good of their nature is diminished and corrupted; and the will is made evil by nothing else than defection from God, a defection of which the cause, too, is certainly de-
ficient. But as to the good will, if" we should say that there is no efficient cause of it, we must beware of giving currency to the opinion that the good will of the good angels is not created, but is co-eternal with God. For if they themselves are created, how can we say that their good will was eternal? But if created, was it created along with themselves, or did they exist for a time without it? If along with themselves, then doubtless it was created by Him who created them, and, as soon as ever they were created, they attached themselves to Him who created them, with the love He created in them.

And they are separated from the society of the rest, because they have continued in the same good will; while the others have fallen away to another will, which is an evil one, by the very fact of its being a falling away from the good; from which, we may add, they would not have fallen away had they been unwilling to do so. But if the good angels existed for a time without a good will, and produced it in themselves without God's interference, then it follows that they made themselves better than He made them. Away with such a thought! For without a good will, what were they but evil?

Or if they were not evil, because they had not an evil will any more than a good one (for they had not fallen away from that which as yet they had not begun to enjoy), certainly they were not the same, not so good, as when they came to have a good will. Or if they could not make themselves better than they were made by Him who is surpassed by none in His work, then certainly, without His helpful operation, they could not come to possess that good will which made them better. And though their good will effected that they did not turn to themselves, who had a more stinted existence, but to Him who supremely is, and that, being united to Him, their own being was enlarged, and they lived a wise and blessed life by His communications to them, what does this prove but that the will, however good it might be, would have continued helplessly only to desire Him, had not He who had made their nature out of nothing, and yet capable of enjoying Him, first stimulated it to desire Him, and then filled it with Himself, and so made it better?

Besides, this too has to be inquired into, whether, if the
good angels made their own will good, they did so with or without will? If without, then it was not their doing. If with, was the will good or bad? If bad, how could a bad will give birth to a good one? If good, then already they had a good will. And who made this will, which already they had, but He who created them with a good will, or with that chaste love by which they cleaved to Him, in one and the same act creating their nature, and endowing it with grace?

And thus we are driven to believe that the holy angels never existed without a good will or the love of God. But the angels who, though created good, are yet evil now, became so by their own will. And this will was not made evil by their good nature, unless by its voluntary defection from good; for good is not the cause of evil, but a defection from good is. These angels, therefore, either received less of the grace of the divine love than those who persevered in the same; or if both were created equally good, then, while the one fell by their evil will, the others were more abundantly assisted, and attained to that pitch of blessedness at which they became certain they should never fall from it, â€” as we have already shown in the preceding book. 1 We must therefore acknowledge, with the praise due to the Creator, that not only of holy men, but also of the holy angels, it can be said that "the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto them." 2 And that not only of men, but primarily and principally of angels it is true, as it is written, "It is good to draw near to God." 3 And those who have this good in common, have, both with Him to whom they draw near, and with one another, a holy fellowship, and form one city of God â€” His living sacrifice, and His living temple. And I see that, as I have now spoken of the rise of this city among the angels, it is time to speak of the origin of that part of it which is hereafter to be united to the immortal angels, and which at present is being gathered from among mortal men, and is either sojourning on earth, or, in the persons of those who have passed through death, is resting in the secret receptacles and abodes of disembodied spirits.

For from one man, whom God created as the first, the whole

1 C. 13. 2 Rom. v. 5. 3 Ps. lxxiii. 28.

human race descended, according to the faith of Holy Scripture, which deservedly is of wonderful authority among all nations throughout the world; since, among its other true statements, it predicted, by its divine foresight, that all nations would give credit to it.

10. Of the falseness of the history which allots many thousand years to the world's past.
Let us, then, omit the conjectures of men who know not what they say, when they speak of the nature and origin of the human race. For some hold the same opinion regarding men that they hold regarding the world itself, that they have always been. Thus Apuleius says when he is describing our race, "Individually they are mortal, but collectively, and as a race, they are immortal." 1 And when they are asked, how, if the human race has always been, they vindicate the truth of their history, which narrates who were the inventors, and what they invented, and who first instituted the liberal studies and the other arts, and who first inhabited this or that region, and this or that island? they reply, 2 that most, if not all lands, were so desolated at intervals by fire and flood, that men were greatly reduced in numbers, and from these, again, the population was restored to its former numbers, and that thus there was at intervals a new beginning made, and though those things which had been interrupted and checked by the severe devastations were only renewed, yet they seemed to be originated then; but that man could not exist at all save as produced by man. But they say what they think, not what they know.

They are deceived, too, by those highly mendacious documents which profess to give the history of many thousand years, though, reckoning by the sacred writings, we find that not 6000 years have yet passed. 3 And, not to spend many words in exposing the baselessness of these documents, in

1 De Deo Socratis.

2 Augustine no doubt refers to the interesting account given by Critias, near the beginning of the Timatus, of the conversation of Solon with the Egyptian priests. Â»

'â– 'â– Augustine here follows the chronology of Eusebius, who reckons 5611 years from the Creation to the taking of Rome by the Goths; adopting the Septuagint version of the patriarchal ages.
which so many thousands of years are accounted for, nor in proving that their authorities
are totally inadequate, let me cite only that letter which Alexander the Great wrote to his
mother Olympias, 1 giving her the narrative he had from an Egyptian priest, which he
had extracted from their sacred archives, and which gave an account of kingdoms
mentioned also by the Greek historians. In this letter of Alexander's a term of upwards of
5000 years is assigned to the kingdom of Assyria; while in the Greek history only 1300
years are reckoned from the reign of Bel himself, whom both Greek and Egyptian agree
in counting the first king of Assyria.
Then to the empire of the Persians and Macedonians this Egyptian assigned more than
8000 years, counting to the time of Alexander, to whom he was speaking; while among
the Greeks, 485 years are assigned to the Macedonians down to the death of Alexander,
and to the Persians 233 years, reckoning to the termination of his conquests. Thus these
give a much smaller number of years than the Egyptians; and indeed, though multiplied
three times, the Greek chronology would still be shorter. For the Egyptians are said to
have formerly reckoned only four months to their year; 2 so that one year, according to
the fuller and truer computation now in use among them as well as among ourselves,
would comprehend three of their old years. But not even thus, as I
said, does the Greek history correspond with the Egyptian in its chronology. And
therefore the former must receive the greater credit, because it does not exceed the true
account of the duration of the world as it is given by our documents, which are truly
sacred. Further, if this letter of Alexander, which has become so famous, differs widely in
this matter of chronology from the probable credible account, how much less can we
believe these documents which, though full of fabulous and fictitious antiquities, they
would fain oppose to the authority of our well-known and divine books, which pre-

1 See above, viii. 5.

2 It is not apparent to what Augustine refers. The Arcadians, according to Macrobius
(Saturn, i. 7), divided their year into three months, and the Egyptians divided theirs into
three seasons: each of these seasons having four months, it is possible that Augustine
may have referred to this. See Wilkinson's excursus on the Egyptian year, in Eawlinson's
Herod. Book iL

496 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.

dicted that the whole world would believe them, and which the whole world accordingly
has believed; which proved, too, that it had truly narrated past events by its prediction of
future events, which have so exactly come to pass!
11. Of those who suppose that this world indeed is not eternal, but that either there are numberless worlds, or that one and the same world is perpetually resolved into its elements, and renewed at the conclusion of fixed cycles.

There are some, again, who, though they do not suppose that this world is eternal, are of opinion either that this is not the only world, but that there are numberless worlds, or that indeed it is the only one, but that it dies, and is born again at fixed intervals, and this times without number; * but they must acknowledge that the human race existed before there were other men to beget them. For they cannot suppose that, if the whole world perish, some men would be left alive in the world, as they might survive in floods and conflagrations, which those other speculators suppose to be partial, and from which they can therefore reasonably argue that a few men survived whose posterity would renew the population; but as they believe that the world itself is renewed out of its own material, so they must believe that out of its elements the human race was produced, and then that the progeny of mortals sprang like that of other animals from their parents.

12. How these persons are to be answered, tcho find fault with the creation of man on the score of its recent date.

As to those who are always asking why man was not created during these countless ages of the infinitely extended past, and came into being so lately that, according to Scripture, less than 6000 years have elapsed since he began to be, I would reply to them regarding the creation of man, just as I replied regarding the origin of the world to those who will not believe that it is not eternal, but had a beginning, which even Plato himself most plainly declares, though some think his statement was not consistent with his real opinion. 2 If it

1 The former opinion was held by Democritus and his disciple Epicurus; the latter by Heraclitus, who supposed that "God amused Himself" by thus renewing worlds.

2 The Alexandrian Xeo-Platonists endeavoured in this way to escape from the obvious meaning of the Timceus.
times as many, or this sum multiplied until it could no longer be expressed in numbers, the same question could still be put, Why was he not made before? For the past and boundless eternity during which God abstained from creating man is so great, that, compare it with what vast and untold number of ages you please, so long as there is a definite conclusion of this term of time, it is not even as if you compared the minutest drop of water with the ocean that everywhere flows around the globe. For of these two, one indeed is very small, the other incomparably vast, yet both are finite; but that space of time which starts from some beginning, and is limited by some termination, be it of what extent it may, if you compare it with that which has no beginning, I know not whether to say we should count it the very minutest thing, or nothing at all. For, take this limited time, and deduct from the end of it, one by one, the briefest moments (as you might take day by day from a man's life, beginning at the day in which he now lives, back to that of his birth), and though the number of moments you must subtract in this backward movement be so great that no word can express it, yet this subtraction will some time carry you to the beginning. But if you take away from a time which has no beginning, I do not say brief moments one by one, nor yet hours, or days, or months, or years even in quantities, but terms of years so vast that they cannot be named by the most skilful arithmetician, â€” take away terms of years as vast as that which we have supposed to be gradually consumed by the deduction of moments, â€” and take them away not once and again repeatedly, but always, and what do you effect, what do you make by your deduction, since you never reach the beginning which has no existence? Wherefore, that vol. I. 21

498 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII

which we now demand after five thousand odd years, our descendants might with like curiosity demand after six hundred thousand years, supposing these dying generations of men continue so long to decay and be renewed, and supposing posterity continues as weak and ignorant as ourselves. The same question might have been asked by those who have lived before us, and while man was even newer upon earth. The first man himself, in short, might, the day after, or the very day of his creation, have asked why he was created no sooner. And no matter at what earlier or later period he had been created, this controversy about the commencement of this world's history would have had precisely the same difficulties as it has now.

13. Of the revolution of the ages, which some philosophers believe will bring all things round again, after a certain fixed cycle, to the same order and form as at first.

This controversy some philosophers have seen no other approved means of solving than by introducing cycles of time, in which there should be a constant renewal and repetition of the order of nature; and they have therefore asserted that these cycles will ceaselessly recur, one passing away and another coming, though they are not agreed as to whether one permanent world shall pass through all these cycles, or whether the world shall at fixed intervals die out, and be renewed so as to exhibit a recurrence of the same
phenomena — the things which have been, and those which are to be, coinciding. And from this fantastic vicissitude they exempt not even the immortal soul that has attained wisdom, consigning it to a ceaseless transmigration between delusive blessedness and real misery. For how can that be truly called blessed which has no assurance of being so eternally, and is either in ignorance of the truth, and blind to the misery that is approaching, or, knowing it, is in misery and fear? Or if it passes to bliss, and leaves miseries for ever, then there happens in time a new thing which time shall not end. Why not, then, the world also? Why may not man, too, be a similar thing?

So that, by following the straight path of sound doctrine, wo

1 Antoninus says (ii. 14), "All things from eternity are of like forms, and come round in a circle." Cf. also ix. 28, and the references to more ancient philosophical writers in Gataker's notes on these passages.

BOOK XII. | THEORY OF RECURRING CYCLES. 499

escape, I know not what circuitous paths, discovered by deceiving and deceived sages.

Some, too, in advocating these recurring cycles that restore all things to their original, cite in favour of their supposition what Solomon says in the book of Ecclesiastes: "What is that which hath been? It is that which shall be. And what is that which is done? It is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun. Who can speak and say, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us." 1 This he said either of those things of which he had just been speaking — the succession of generations, the orbit of the sun, the course of rivers, or else of all kinds of creatures that are born and die. For men were before us, are with us, and shall be after us; and so all living things and all plants.

Even monstrous and irregular productions, though differing from one another, and though some are reported as solitary instances, yet resemble one another generally, in so far as they are miraculous and monstrous, and, in this sense, have been, and shall be, and are no new and recent things under the sun. However, some would understand these words as meaning that in the predestination of God all things have already existed, and that thus there is no new thing under the sun.

At all events, far be it from any true believer to suppose that by these words of Solomon those cycles are meant, in which, according to those philosophers, the same periods and events of time are repeated; as if, for example, the philosopher Plato, having taught in the school at Athens which is called the Academy, so, numberless ages before, at long but certain intervals, this same Plato, and the same school, and the same disciples existed, and so also are to be repeated during the countless cycles that are yet be be, far be it, I say, from us to believe this. For once Christ died for our sins; and, rising from the dead, He dieth no more.

"Death hath no more dominion over Him;" 2 and we ourselves after the resurrection shall be "ever with the Lord," 3 to whom we now say, as the sacred Psalmist dictates, "Thou shalt keep us, Lord, Thou shalt preserve us from this generation." 4
1 Eccles. i. 9, 10. So Origen, de Prln. iii. 5, and ii. 3.

2 Rom. vi. 9. 3 1 Thess. iv. 16. 4 Ts. xii. 7.

500 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.]

And that too which follows, is, I think, appropriate enough:
"The wicked walk in a circle;" not because their life is to recur by means of these circles, which these philosophers imagine, but because the path in which their false doctrine now runs is circuitous.

14. Of the creation of the human race in time, and how this was effected without any new design or change of purpose on God's part.

What wonder is it if, entangled in these circles, they find neither entrance nor egress? For they know not how the human race, and this mortal condition of ours, took its origin, nor how it will be brought to an end, since they cannot, penetrate the inscrutable wisdom of God. For, though Himself eternal, and without beginning, yet He caused time to have a beginning; and man, whom He had not previously made, He made in time, not from a new and sudden resolution, but by His unchangeable and eternal design. Who can search out the unsearchable depth of this purpose, who can scrutinize the inscrutable wisdom, wherewith God, without change of will, created man, who had never before been, and gave him an existence in time, and increased the human race from one individual? For the Psalmist himself, when he had first said, "Thou shalt keep us, Lord, Thou shalt preserve us from this generation for ever," and had then rebuked those whose foolish and impious doctrine preserves for the soul no eternal deliverance and blessedness, adds immediately, "The wicked walk in a circle." Then, as if it were said to him, "What then do you believe, feel, know? Are we to believe that it suddenly occurred to God to create man, whom He had never before made in a past eternity, â€” God, to whom nothing new can occur, and in whom is no changeableness?"
the Psalmist goes on to reply, as if addressing God Himself,
"According to the depth of Thy wisdom Thou hast multiplied the children of men." Let men, he seems to say, fancy what they please, let them conjecture and dispute as seems good to them, but Thou hast multiplied the children of men according to the depth of thy wisdom, which no man can comprehend.
For this is a depth indeed, that God always *has been, and that man, whom He had never made before, He willed to make in time, and this without changing His design and will
15. Whether ice are to believe that God, as lie has always been sovereign Lord, has always had creatures over whom He exercised His sovereignty; and in what sense we can say that the creature has always been, and yet cannot say it is co-eternal.

For my own part, indeed, as I dare not say that there ever was a time when the Lord God was not Lord, 1 so I ought not to doubt that man had no existence before time, and was first created in time. But when I consider what God could be the Lord of, if there was not always some creature, I shrink from making any assertion, remembering my own insignificance, and that it is written, "What man is he that can know the counsel of God? or who can think what the will of the Lord is? For the thoughts of mortal men are timid, and our devices are but uncertain. For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things." 2 Many things certainly do I muse upon in this earthly tabernacle, because the one thing which is true among the many, or beyond the many, I cannot find. If, then, among these many thoughts, I say that there have always been creatures for Him to be Lord of, who is always and ever has been Lord, but that these creatures have not always been the same, but succeeded one another (for we would not seem to say that any is co-eternal with the Creator, an assertion condemned equally by faith and sound reason), I must take care lest I fall into the absurd and ignorant error of maintaining that by these successions and changes mortal creatures have always existed, whereas the immortal creatures had not begun to exist until the date of our own world, when the angels were created; if at least the angels are intended by that light which was first made, or, rather, by that heaven of which it is said, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." 3 The angels at least did not exist before they were created; for if we say that they have always existed, we shall seem to make them co-eternal with the Creator. Again, if I say that the angels were not created in time, but existed before all times, as those over whom God, who has ever been Sovereign, exercised His sovereignty, then I shall be asked whether, if they were created before all time,

1 Cf. de Trin. v. 17. 2 Wisdom ix. 13-15. 3 Gen. i. 1.

502 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.]

they, being creatures, could possibly always exist. It may perhaps be replied, Why not always, since that which is in all time may very properly be said to be "always?" Now, so true is it that these angels have existed in all time, that even before time was, they were created; if at least time began with the heavens, and the angels existed before the heavens. And if time was even before the heavenly bodies, not indeed marked by hours, days, months, and years, â€” for these measures of time's periods which are commonly
and properly called times, did manifestly begin with the motion of the heavenly bodies, and so God said, when He appointed them, "Let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years," if, I say, time was before these heavenly bodies by some changing movement, whose parts succeeded one another and could not exist simultaneously, and if there was some such movement among the angels which necessitated the existence of time, and that they from their very creation should be subject to these temporal changes, then they have existed in all time, for time came into being along with them. And who will say that what was in all time, was not always?

But if I make such a reply, it will be said to me, How, then, are they not co-eternal with the Creator, if He and they always have been? How even can they be said to have been created, if we are to understand that they have always existed? What shall we reply to this? Shall we say that both statements are true? that they always have been, since they have been in all time, they being created along with time, or time along with them, and yet that also they were created? For, similarly, we will not deny that time itself was created, though no one doubts that time has been in all time; for if it has not been in all time, then there was a time when there was no time. But the most foolish person could not make such an assertion. For we can reasonably say there was a time when Borne was not; there was a time when Jerusalem was not; there was a time when Abraham was not; there was a time when man was not, and so on:

in fine, if the world was not made at the commencement of time, but after some time had elapsed, we can say there

1 Geu. i. U.
was a time when the world was not. But to say there was a time when time was not, is as absurd as to say there was a man when there was no man; or, this world was when this world was not. For if we are not referring to the same object, the form of expression may be used, as, there was another man when this man was not. Thus we can reasonably say there was another time when this time was not; but not the merest simpleton could say there was a time when there was no time. As, then, we say that time was created, though we also say that it always has been, since in all time time has been, so it does not follow that if the angels have always been, they were therefore not created. For we say that they have always been, because they have been in all time; and we say they have been in all time, because time itself could no wise be without them. For where there is no creature whose changing movements admit of succession, there cannot be time at all. And consequently, even if they have always existed, they were created; neither, if they have always existed, are they therefore co-eternal with the Creator. For He has always existed in unchangeable eternity; while they were created, and are said to have been always, because they have been in all time, time being impossible without the creature. But time passing away by its changefulness, cannot be co-eternal with changeless eternity. And consequently, though the immortality of the angels does not pass in time, does not become past as if now it were not, nor has a future as if it were not yet, still their movements, which are the basis of time, do pass from future to past; and therefore they cannot be co-eternal with the Creator, in whose movement we cannot say that there has been that which now is not, or shall be that which is not yet. Wherefore, if God always has been Lord, He has always had creatures under His dominion, â€” creatures, however, not begotten of Him, but created by Him out of nothing; nor co-eternal with Him, for He was before them, though at no time without them, because He preceded them, not by the lapse of time, but by His abiding eternity. But if I make this reply to those who demand how He was always Creator, always Lord, if there were not always a subject creation; or how this was created, and not

rather co-eternal with its Creator, if it always was, I fear I may be accused of recklessly affirming what I know not, instead of teaching what I know. I return, therefore, to that which our Creator has seen fit that we should know; and those things which He has allowed the abler men to know in this life, or has reserved to
be known in the next by the perfected saints, I acknowledge to be beyond my capacity. But I have thought it right to discuss these matters without making positive assertions, that they who read may be warned to abstain from hazardous questions, and may not deem themselves fit for everything. Let them rather endeavour to obey the wholesome injunction of the apostle, when he says, " For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." 1 For if an infant receive nourishment suited to its strength, it becomes capable, as it grows, of taking more; but if its strength and capacity be overtaxed, it dwindles away in place of growing.

16. How we are to understand God's promise of life eternal, which was uttered before the "eternal times."

I own that I do not know what ages passed before the human race was created, yet I have no doubt that no created thing is co-eternal with the Creator. But even the apostle speaks of time as eternal, and this with reference, not to the future, but, which is more surprising, to the past. For he says, " In hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie promised before the eternal times, but hath in due times manifested His word." 2 You see he says that in the past there have been eternal times, which, however, were not co-eternal with God. And since God before these eternal times not only existed, but also "promised" life eternal, which He manifested in its own times (that is to say, in due times), what else is this than His word? For this is life eternal. But then, how did He promise; for the promise was made to men, and yet they had no existence before eternal times?

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}}\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{\textsuperscript{e}}

1 Eom. xii. 3.

Does this not mean that, in His own eternity, and in His co-eternal word, that which was to be in its own time was already predestined and fixed?

17. What defence is made by sound faith regarding God's unchangeable counsel and will, against the reasonings of those who hold that the works of God are eternally repeated in revolving cycles that restore all things as they were.

Of this, too, I have no doubt, that before the first man was created, there never had been a man at all, neither this same man himself recurring by I know not what cycles, and having made I know not how many revolutions, nor any other of similar nature. From this belief I am not frightened by philosophical arguments, among which that is reckoned the most acute which is founded on the assertion that the infinite cannot be comprehended by any mode of knowledge. Consequently, they argue, God has in His own mind finite conceptions of all finite things which He makes. Now it cannot be supposed that His goodness was ever idle; for if it were, there should be ascribed to Him an awakening to activity in time, from a past eternity of inactivity, as if He repented of an idleness that had no beginning, and proceeded, therefore, to make a beginning of work. This being the case, they say it must be that the same things are always repeated, and that as they pass, so they are destined always to return, whether amidst all these changes the world remains the same, æ£” the world which has always been, and yet was created, æ£” or that the world in these revolutions is perpetually dying out and being renewed; otherwise, if we point to a time when the works of God were begun, it would be believed that He considered His past eternal leisure to be inert and indolent, and therefore condemned and altered it as displeasing to Himself.

Now if God is supposed to have been indeed always making temporal things, but different from one another, and one after the other, so that He thus came at last to make man, whom He had never made before, then it may seem that He made man not with knowledge (for they suppose no knowledge can comprehend the infinite succession of creatures), but at the dictate of the hour, as it struck Him at the moment, with a sudden and accidental change of mind. On the other hand, say they, if those cycles be admitted, and if we suppose that

506 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII

the same temporal things are repeated, while the world either remains identical through all these rotations, or else dies away and is renewed, then there is ascribed to God neither the slothful ease of a past eternity, nor a rash and unforeseen creation. And if the same things be not thus repeated in cycles, then they cannot by any science or prescience be comprehended in their endless diversity. Even though reason could not refute, faith
would smile at these argumentations, with which the godless endeavour to turn our simple piety from the right way, that we may walk with them "in a circle."

But by the help of our Lord, even reason, and that readily enough, shatters these revolving circles which conjecture frames. For that which specially leads these men astray to prefer their own circles to the straight path of truth, is, that they measure by their own human, changeable, and narrow intellect the divine mind, which is absolutely unchangeable, infinitely capacious, and, without succession of thought, counting all things without number. So that saying of the apostle comes true of them, for, "comparing themselves with themselves, they do not understand." 1 For because they do, in virtue of a new purpose, whatever new thing has occurred to them to be done (their minds being changeable), they conclude it is so with God; and thus compare, not God, â€” for they cannot conceive God, but think of one like themselves when they think of Him, â€” not God, but themselves, and not with Him, but with themselves. For our part, we dare not believe that God is affected in one way when He works, in another when He rests. Indeed, to say that He is affected at all, is an abuse of language, since it implies that there comes to be something in His nature which was not there before. For he who is affected is acted upon, and whatever is acted upon is changeable. In His leisure, therefore, is no laziness, indolence, inactivity; as in His work is no labour, effort, industry. He can act while He reposes, and repose while He acts. He can begin a new work with (not a new, but) an eternal design; and what He has not made before, He does not now begin to make because He repents of His former repose. But

1 2 Cor. x. 12. Here, and in Enar. in Ps. xxxiv., and also in Cont. Faust. xxii. 47, Augustine follows the Greek, and not the Vulgate.
when one speaks of His former repose and subsequent operation (and I know not how men can understand these things), this "former" and "subsequent" are applied only to the things created, which formerly did not exist, and subsequently came into existence. But in God the former purpose is not altered and obliterated by the subsequent and different purpose, but by one and the same eternal and unchangeable will He effected regarding the things He created, both that formerly, so long as they were not, they should not be, and that subsequently, when they began to be, they should come into existence. And thus, perhaps, He would show in a very striking way, to those who have eyes for such things, how independent He is of what He makes, and how it is of His own gratuitous goodness He creates, since from eternity He dwelt without creatures in no less perfect a blessedness.

18. Against those who assert that things that are infinite cannot be comprehended by the knowledge of God.

As for their other assertion, that God's knowledge cannot comprehend things infinite, it only remains for them to affirm, in order that they may sound the depths of their impiety, that God does not know all numbers. For it is very certain that they are infinite; since, no matter at what number you suppose an end to be made, this number can be, I will not say, increased by the addition of one more, but however great it be, and however vast be the multitude of which it is the rational and scientific expression, it can still be not only doubled, but even multiplied. Moreover, each number is so defined by its own properties, that no two numbers are equal. They are therefore both unequal and different from one another; and (while they are simply finite, collectively they are infinite. Does God, therefore, not know numbers on account of this infinity; and does His knowledge extend only to a certain height in numbers, while of the rest He is ignorant? Who is so left to himself as to say so? Yet they can hardly pretend to put numbers out of the question, or maintain that they have nothing to do with the knowledge of God; for Plato, 2 their great authority, represents God as framing the world on

1 i.e. indefinite, or an indefinite succession of things.

2 Again in the Timams.

508 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.] numerical principles; and in our books also it is said to God,
"Thou hast ordered all things in number, and measure, and weight." 1 The prophet also says, "Who bringeth out their host by number." 2 And the Saviour says in the Gospel, "The very hairs of your head are all numbered." 3 Far be it, then, from us to doubt that all number is known to Him 4 whose understanding is infinite. 4 The infinity of number, though there be no numbering of infinite numbers, is yet not incomprehensible by Him whose understanding is infinite. And thus, if everything which is comprehended is defined or made finite by the comprehension of him who knows it, then all infinity is in some ineffable way made finite to God, for it is comprehensible by His knowledge.

Wherefore, if the infinity of numbers cannot be infinite to the knowledge of God, by which it is comprehended, what are we poor creatures that we should presume to fix limits to His knowledge, and say that unless the same temporal things be repeated by the same periodic revolutions, God cannot either foreknow His creatures that He may make them, or know them when He has made them? God, whose knowledge is simply manifold, and uniform in its variety, comprehends all incomprehensibles with so incomprehensible a comprehension, that though He willed always to make His later works novel and unlike what went before them, He could not produce them without order and foresight, nor conceive them suddenly, but by His eternal foreknowledge.

19. Of worlds without end, or ages of ages. s

I do not presume to determine whether God does so, and whether these times which are called "ages of ages" are joined together in a continuous series, and succeed one another with a regulated diversity, and leave exempt from their vicissitudes only those who are freed from their misery, and abide without end in a blessed immortality; or whether these are called "ages of ages," that we may understand that the ages remain unchangeable in God's unwavering wisdom, and are the efficient causes, as it were, of those ages which are being spent in time.

1 Wisdom xi. 20. 2 Isa. xl. 26. 3 Matt. x. 30.

* Ps. cxlvi. 5. 5 De soeculis saeculorum.
Possibly "ages" is used for "age," so that nothing else is meant by "ages of ages" than by "age of age" as nothing else is meant by "heavens of heavens" than by "heaven of heaven." For God called the firmament, above which are the waters, "Heaven," and yet the psalm says, "Let the waters that are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord." * Which of these two meanings we are to attach to "ages of ages," or whether there is not some other and better meaning still, is a very profound question; and the subject we are at present handling presents no obstacle to our meanwhile deferring the discussion of it, whether we may be able to determine anything about it, or may only be made more cautious by its further treatment, so as to be deterred from making any rash affirmations in a matter of such obscurity. For at present we are disputing the opinion that affirms the existence of those periodic revolutions by which the same things are always recurring at intervals of time. Now, whichever of these suppositions regarding the "ages of ages" be the true one, it avails nothing for the substantiating of those cycles; for whether the ages of ages be not a repetition of the same world, but different worlds succeeding one another in a regulated connection, the ransomed souls abiding in well-assured bliss without any recurrence of misery, or whether the ages of ages be the eternal causes which rule what shall be and is in time, it equally follows, that those cycles which bring round the same things have no existence; and nothing more thoroughly explodes them than the fact of the eternal life of the saints.

20. Of the impiety of those who assert that the souls which enjoy true and perfect blessedness, must yet again and again in these periodic revolutions return to labour and misery.

What pious ears could bear to hear that after a life spent in so many and severe distresses (if, indeed, that should be called a life at all which is rather a death, so utter that the love of this present death makes us fear that death which delivers us from it), that after evils so disastrous, and miseries of all kinds have at length been expiated and finished by the help of true religion and wisdom, and when we have thus attained to the vision of God, and have entered into bliss by the con-

1 Ps. cxlviii. 4.

510 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.]

teniation of spiritual light and participation in His unchangeable immortality, which we burn to attain, â€” that we must at some time lose all this, and that they who do lose it are cast down from that eternity, truth, and felicity to infernal mortality and shameful foolishness, and are involved in accursed woes, in which God is lost, truth held in detestation, and happiness sought in iniquitous impurities? and that this will happen endlessly again and again, recurring at fixed intervals, and in regularly returning periods
and that this everlasting and ceaseless revolution of definite cycles, which remove and restore true misery and deceitful bliss in turn, is contrived in order that God may be able to know His own works, since on the one hand He cannot rest from creating, and on the other, cannot know the infinite number of His creatures, if He always makes creatures? Who, I say, can listen to such things? Who can accept or suffer them to be spoken? Were they true, it were not only more prudent to keep silence regarding them, but even (to express myself as best I can) it were the part of wisdom not to know them. For if in the future world we shall not remember these things, and by this oblivion be blessed, why should we now increase our misery, already burdensome enough, by the knowledge of them? If, on the other hand, the knowledge of them will be forced upon us hereafter, now at least let us remain in ignorance, that in the present expectation we may enjoy a blessedness which the future reality is not to bestow; since in this life we are expecting to obtain life everlasting, but in the world to come are to discover it to be blessed, but not everlasting.

And if they maintain that no one can attain to the blessedness of the world to come, unless in this life he has been indoctrinated in those cycles in which bliss and misery relieve one another, how do they avow that the more a man loves God, the more readily he attains to blessedness, â€” they who teach what paralyzes love itself? For who would not be more remiss and lukewarm in his love for a person whom he thinks he shall be forced to abandon, and whose truth and wisdom he shall come to hate; and this, too, after he has quite attained to the utmost and most blissful knowledge of Him that he is capable of? Can any one be faithful in his love, even to a
human friend, if he knows that he is destined to become his enemy? * God forbid that there be any truth in an opinion which threatens us with a real misery that is never to end, but is often and endlessly to be interrupted by intervals of fallacious happiness. For what happiness can be more fallacious and false than that in whose blaze of truth we yet remain ignorant that we shall be miserable, or in whose most secure citadel we yet fear that we shall be so? For if, on the one hand, we are to be ignorant of coming calamity, then our present misery is not so shortsighted, for it is assured of coming bliss. If, on the other hand, the disaster that threatens is not concealed from us in the world to come, then the time of misery which is to be at last exchanged for a state of blessedness, is spent by the soul more happily than its time of happiness, which is to end in a return to misery. And thus our expectation of unhappiness is happy, but of happiness unhappy. And therefore, as we here suffer present ills, and hereafter fear ills that are imminent, it were truer to say that we shall always be miserable, than that we can some time be happy.

But these things are declared to be false by the loud testimony of religion and truth; for religion truthfully promises a true blessedness, of which we shall be eternally assured, and which cannot be interrupted by any disaster. Let us therefore keep to the straight path, which is Christ, and, with Him as our Guide and Saviour, let us turn away in heart and mind from the unreal and futile cycles, of the godless. Porphyry, Platonist though he was, abjured the opinion of his school, that in these cycles souls are ceaselessly passing away and returning, either being struck with the extravagance of the idea, or sobered by his knowledge of Christianity. As I mentioned in the tenth book, he preferred saying that the soul, as it had been sent into the world that it might know evil, and be purged and delivered from it, was never again exposed to such an experience after it had once returned to

1 Cicero has the same (de Amicitia, 16): "Quonam modo quisquam amicus esse poterit, cui se putabit inimicum esse posse?" He also quotes Scipio to the effect that no sentiment is more unfriendly to friendship than this, that we should love as if some day we were to hate.

2 C. 30.

512 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.]

the Father. And if he abjured the tenets of his school, how much more ought we Christians to abominate and avoid an opinion so unfounded and hostile to our faith? But having disposed of these cycles and escaped out of them, no necessity compels us to suppose that the human race had no beginning in time, on the ground that there is nothing
new in nature which, by I know not what cycles, has not at some previous period existed, and is not hereafter to exist again.

For if the soul, once delivered, as it never was before, is never to return to misery, then there happens in its experience something which never happened before; and this, indeed, something of the greatest consequence, to wit, the secure entrance into eternal felicity. And if in an immortal nature there can occur a novelty, which never has been, nor ever shall be, reproduced by any cycle, why is it disputed that the same may occur in mortal natures? If they maintain that blessedness is no new experience to the soul, but only a return to that state in which it has been eternally, then at least its deliverance from misery is something new, since, by their own showing, the misery from which it is delivered is itself, too, a new experience. And if this new experience fell out by accident, and was not embraced in the order of tilings appointed by Divine Providence, then where are those determinate and measured cycles in which no new thing happens, but all things are reproduced as they were before? If, however, this new experience was embraced in that providential order of nature (whether the soul was exposed to the evil of this world for the sake of discipline, or fell into it by sin), then it is possible for new things to happen which never happened before, and which yet are not extraneous to the order of nature. And if the soul is able by its own imprudence to create for itself a new misery, which was not unforeseen by the Divine Providence, but was provided for in the order of nature along with the deliverance from it, how can we, even with all the rashness of human vanity, presume to deny that God can create new things—new to the world, but not to Him—which He never before created, but yet foresaw from all eternity? If they say that it is indeed true that ransomed souls return no more to misery, but that even so no new thing
happens, since there always have been, now are, and ever shall be a succession of ransomed souls, they must at least grant that in this case there are new souls to whom the misery and the deliverance from it are new. For if they maintain that those souls out of which new men are daily being made (from whose bodies, if they have lived wisely, they are so delivered that they never return to misery) are not new, but have existed from eternity, they must logically admit that they are infinite. For however great a finite number of souls there were, that would not have sufficed to make perpetually new men from eternity, "men whose souls were to be eternally freed from this mortal state, and never afterwards to return to it. And our philosophers will find it hard to explain how there is an infinite number of souls in an order of nature which they require shall be finite, that it may be known by God.

And now that we have exploded these cycles which were supposed to bring back the soul at fixed periods to the same miseries, what can seem more in accordance with godly reason than to believe that it is possible for God both to create new things never before created, and in doing so, to preserve His will unaltered? But whether the number of eternally redeemed souls can be continually increased or not, let the philosophers themselves decide, who are so subtle in determining where infinity cannot be admitted. For our own part, our reasoning holds in either case. For if the number of souls can be indefinitely increased, what reason is there to deny that what had never before been created, could be created?

since the number of ransomed souls never existed before, and has yet not only been once made, but will never cease to be anew coming into being. If, on the other hand, it be more suitable that the number of eternally ransomed souls be definite, and that this number will never be increased, yet this number, whatever it be, did assuredly never exist before, and it cannot increase, and reach the amount it signifies, without having some beginning; and this beginning never before existed. That this beginning, therefore, might be, the first man was created.

21. That there was created at first but one individual, and that the human race was created in him.

Now that we have solved, as well as we could, this very difficult question about the eternal God creating new things, without any novelty of will, it is easy to see how much better it is that God was pleased to produce the human race from the one individual whom He created, than if He had originated it in several men. For
as to the other animals, He created some solitary, and naturally seeking lonely places, â€” as the eagles, kites, lions, wolves, and such like; others gregarious, which herd together, and prefer to live in company, â€” as pigeons, starlings, stags, and little fallow deer, and the like: but neither class did He cause to be propagated from individuals, but called into being several at once. Man, on the other hand, whose nature was to be a mean between the angelic and bestial, He created in such sort, that if he remained in subjection to His Creator as his rightful Lord, and piously kept His commandments, he should pass into the company of the angels, and obtain, without the intervention of death, 1 a blessed and endless immortality; but if he offended the Lord his God by a proud and disobedient use of his free will, he should become subject to death, and live as the beasts do, â€” the slave of appetite, and doomed to eternal punishment after death.

And therefore God created only one single man, not, certainly, that he might be a solitary bereft of all society, but that by this means the unity of society and the bond of concord might be more effectually commended to him, men being bound together not only by similarity of nature, but by family affection. And indeed He did not even create the woman that was to be given him as his wife, as he created the man, but created her out of the man, that the whole human race might derive from one man.

22. That God foreknew that the first man would sin, and that He at the same time foresaw how large a multitude of godly persons would by His grace be translated to the fellowship of the angels.

And God was not ignorant that man would sin, and that, being himself made subject now to death, he would propagate men doomed to die, and that these mortals would run to such enormities in sin, that even the beasts devoid of rational will, and who were created in numbers from the waters and the earth, would live more securely and peaceably with their own

1 Cocjuseus remarks that this is levelled against the Pelagians.
kind than men, who had been propagated from one individual for the very purpose of commending concord. For not even lions or dragons have ever waged with their kind such wars as men have waged with one another. 1 But God foresaw also that by His grace a people would be called to adoption, and that they, being justified by the remission, of their sins, would be united by the Holy Ghost to the holy angels in eternal peace, the last enemy, death, being destroyed; and He knew that this people would derive profit from the consideration that God had caused all men to be derived from one, for the sake of showing how highly He prizes unity in a multitude.

23. Of the nature of the human soul created in the image of God.

God, then, made man in His own image. For He created for him a soul endowed with reason and intelligence, so that he might excel all the creatures of earth, air, and sea, which were not so gifted. And when He had formed the man out of the dust of the earth, and had willed that his soul should be such as I have said, â€” whether He had already made it, and now by breathing imparted it to man, or rather made it by breathing, so that that breath which God made by breathing (for what else is "to breathe" than to make breath?) is the soul, 2 â€” He made also a wife for him, to aid him in the work of generating his kind, and her He formed of a bone taken out of the man's side, working in a divine manner.

For we are not to conceive of this work in a carnal fashion, as if God wrought as we commonly see artisans, who use their hands, and material furnished to them, that by their artistic skill they may fashion some material object. God's hand is God's power; and He, working invisibly, effects visible results.

But this seems fabulous rather than true to men, who measure

1 " Quando leoni Fortior eripuit vitam leo ? quo nemore unquam Exspiravit aper majoris dentibus apri ?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem Perpetuam; ssevis inter se convenit ursis.
Ast homini," etc.

Juvenal, Sat. xv. 160-5.
â€” See also the very striking lines which precede these.

2 See this further discussed in Gen. ad Lit. vii. 35, and in Delitzsch's Bibl. Psychology.
understand the things which at the beginning were created, they are sceptical regarding them as if the very things which they do know about human propagation, conceptions and births, would seem less incredible if told to those who had no experience of them; though these very things, too, are attributed by many rather to physical and natural causes than to the work of the divine mind.

24. Whether the angels can be said to be the creators of any, even the least creature.

But in this book we have nothing to do with those who do not believe that the divine mind made or cares for this world. As for those who believe their own Plato, that all mortal animals among whom man holds the pre-eminent place, and is near to the gods themselves were created not by that most high God who made the world, but by other lesser gods created by the Supreme, and exercising a delegated power under His control, if only those persons be delivered from the superstition which prompts them to seek a plausible reason for paying divine honours and sacrificing to these gods as their creators, they will easily be disentangled also from this their error. For it is blasphemy to believe or to say (even before it can be understood) that any other than God is creator of any nature, be it never so small and mortal. And as for the angels, whom those Platonists prefer to call gods, although they do, so far as they are permitted and commissioned, aid in the production of the things around us, yet not on that account are we to call them creators, any more than we call gardeners the creators of fruits and trees.

25. That God alone is the Creator of every kind of creature, whatever its nature or form.

For whereas there is one form which is given from without to every bodily substance, such as the form which is constructed by potters and smiths, and that class of artists who paint and fashion forms like the body of animals, but another and internal form which is not itself constructed, but, as the efficient cause, produces not only the natural bodily
forms, but even the life itself of the living creatures, and which proceeds from the secret
and hidden choice of an intelligent and living nature, ã€” let that first-mentioned form be
attributed to every artificer, but this latter to one only, God, the Creator and Originator
who made the world itself and the angels, without the help of world or angels. For the
same divine and, so to speak, creative energy, which cannot be made, but makes, and
which gave to the earth and sky their roundness, ã€” this same divine, effective, and
creative energy gave their roundness to the eye and to the apple; and the other natural
objects which we anywhere see, received also their form, not from without, but from the
secret and profound might of the Creator, who said, "Do not I fill heaven and earth?" 1
and whose wisdom it is that "reacheth from one end to another mightily; and sweetly doth
she order all things." 2 Wherefore I know not what kind of aid the angels, themselves
created first, afforded to the Creator in making other things. I cannot ascribe to them what
perhaps they cannot do, neither ought I to deny them such faculty as they have. But, by
their leave, I attribute the creating and originating work which gave being to all natures to
God, to whom they themselves thankfully ascribe their existence.
We do not call gardeners the creators of their fruits, for we read, "Neither is he that
planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." 3 Nay, not
even the earth itself do we call a creator, though she seems to be the prolific mother of all
things which she aids in germinating and bursting forth from the seed, and which she
keeps rooted in her own breast; for we likewise read, "God giveth it a body, as it hath
pleased Him, and to every seed his own body." 4 We ought not even to call a woman the
creatress of her own offspring; for He rather is its creator who said to His servant, "
Before I formed thee in the womb, I knew thee." 5 And although the various mental
emotions of a pregnant woman do produce in the fruit of her womb similar qualities, ã€”
as Jacob with his peeled wands caused piebald sheep to be produced, ã€” yet the mother
as little creates her

1 Jer. xxiii. 24. 2 Wisdom viii. 1. 3 1 Cor. iii. 7.
4 1 Cor. xv. 38. 5 Jer. i. 5.

518 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XII.]

offspring, as she created herself. "Whatever bodily or seminal causes, then, may be used
lor the production of things, either by the co-operation of angels, men, or the lower
animals, or by sexual generation; and whatever power the desires and mental emotions of
the mother have to produce in the tender and plastic foetus, corresponding lineaments and
colours; yet

Cthe natures themselves, which are thus variously affected, are the production of none
but the most high God. It is His occult power which pervades all things, and is present in
all without being contaminated, which gives being to all that is, and modifies and limits its existence; so that without Him it would not be thus or thus, nor would have any being at all. 1 If, then, in regard to that outward form which the workman's hand imposes on his work, we do not say that Eome and Alexandria were built by masons and architects, but by the kings by whose will, plan, and resources they were built, so that the one has Eomulus, the other Alexander, for its founder; with how much greater reason ought we to say that God alone is the Author of all natures, since He neither uses for His work any material which was not made by Him, nor any workmen who were not also made by Him, and since, if He were, so to speak, to withdraw from created things His creative power, they would straightway relapse into the nothingness in which they were before they were created ?

"Before," I mean, in respect of eternity, not of time. For what other creator could there be of time, than He who created those things whose movements make time ? 2

26. Of that opinion of the Plaionists, that the angels were themselves indeed created by God, but that afterwards they created man's body.

It is obvious, that in attributing the creation of the other animals to those inferior gods who were made by the Supreme, he meant it to be understood that the immortal part was taken from God Himself, and that these minor creators added the mortal part; that is to say, he meant them to be considered the creators of our bodies, but not of our souls. But since Porphyry maintains that if the soul is to be purified, all entanglement with a body must be escaped from; and at the same time agrees with Plato and the Platonists in

1 Compare de Trin. iii. 13-16. 2 See Book xi. 5.
thinking that those who have not spent a temperate and honourable life return to mortal bodies as their punishment (to bodies of brutes in Plato's opinion, to human bodies in Porphyry's); it follows that those whom they would have us worship as our parents and authors, that they may plausibly call them gods, are, after all, but the forgers of our fetters and chains, not our creators, but our jailers and turnkeys, who lock us up in the most bitter and melancholy house of correction. Let the Platonists, then, either cease menacing us with our bodies as the punishment of our souls, or preaching that we are to worship as gods those whose work upon us they exhort us by all means in our power to avoid and escape from. But, indeed, both opinions are quite false. It is false that souls return again to this life to be punished; and it is false that there is any other creator of anything in heaven or earth, than He who made the heaven and the earth.

For if we live in a body only to expiate our sins, how says Plato in another place, that the world could not have been the most beautiful and good, had it not been filled with all kinds of creatures, mortal and immortal ?* But if our creation even as mortals be a divine benefit, how is it a punishment to be restored to a body, that is, to a divine benefit ? And if God, as Plato continually maintains, embraced in His eternal intelligence the ideas both of the universe and of all the animals, how, then, should He not with His own hand make them all ? Could He be unwilling to be the constructor of works, the idea and plan of which called for His ineffable and ineffably to be praised intelligence ?

27. That the whole plenitude of the human race was embraced in the first man, and that God there saw the portion of it which was to be honoured and rewarded, and that which was to be condemned and punished.

With good cause, therefore, does the true religion recognise and proclaim that the same God who created the universal cosmos, created also all the animals, souls as well as bodies.

Among the terrestrial animals man was made by Him in His own image, and, for the reason I have given, was made one individual, though he was not left solitary. For there is nothing so social by nature, so unsocial by its corruption, as this race. And human nature has nothing more appropriate, either for the prevention of discord, or for the healing of it, where it exists, than the remembrance of that first parent

---

* "The Deity, desirous of making the universe in all respects resemble the most beautiful and entirely perfect of intelligible objects, formed it into one visible animal, containing within itself all the other animals with which it is naturally allied." â€” Timozus, c. xi.
of us all, whom God was pleased to create alone, that all men might be derived from one, and that they might thus be admonished to preserve unity among their whole multitude. But from the fact that the woman was made for him from his side, it was plainly meant that we should learn how dear the bond between man and wife should be. These works of God do certainly seem extraordinary, because they are the first works. They who do not believe them, ought not to believe any prodigies; for these would not be called prodigies did they not happen out of the ordinary course of nature. But, is it possible that anything should happen in vain, however hidden be its cause, in so grand a government of divine providence?

One of the sacred Psalmists says, "Come, behold the works of the Lord, what prodigies He hath wrought in the earth." 1

Why God made woman out of man's side, and what this first prodigy prefigured, I shall, with God's help, tell in another place. But at present, since this book must be concluded, let us merely say that in this first man, who was created in the beginning, there was laid the foundation, not indeed evidently, but in God's foreknowledge, of these two cities or societies, so far as regards the human race. For from that man all men were to be derived — some of them to be associated with the good angels in their reward, others with the wicked in punishment; all being ordered by the secret yet just judgment of God. For since it is written, "All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth," 2 neither can His grace be unjust, nor His justice cruel.

1 Ps. xlvi. 8. 2 Ts. xxv. 10.
BOOK THIRTEENTH.

ARGUMENT.

IN THIS BOOK IT IS TAUGHT THAT DEATH IS PENAL, AND HAD ITS ORIGIN IN ADAM'S SIN.

1. Of the fall of the first man, through which mortality has been contracted.

HAVING disposed of the very difficult questions concerning the origin of our world and the beginning of the human race, the natural order requires that we now discuss the fall of the first man (we may say of the first men), and of the origin and propagation of human death.

For God had not made man like the angels, in such a condition that, even though they had sinned, they could none the more die. He had so made them, that if they discharged the obligations of obedience, an angelic immortality and a blessed eternity might ensue, without the intervention of death; but if they disobeyed, death should be visited on them with just sentence — which, too, has been spoken to in the preceding book.

2. Of that death which can affect an immortal soul, and of that to which the body is subject.

But I see I must speak a little more carefully of the nature of death. For although the human soul is truly affirmed to be immortal, yet it also has a certain death of its own. For it is therefore called immortal, because, in a sense, it does not cease to live and to feel; while the body is called mortal, because it can be forsaken of all life, and cannot by itself live at all. The death, then, of the soul takes place when God forsakes it, as the death of the body when the soul forsakes it. Therefore the death of both — that is, of the whole man — occurs when the soul, forsaken by God, forsakes the body. For, in this case, neither is God the life of the soul, nor the soul the life of the body. And this death of the whole man is followed by that which, on the authority of the divine oracles, we call the second death. This the Savior referred to when He said, "Fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." And since this does not happen before the soul is so joined to its body that they cannot be separated at all, it may be matter of wonder how the body can be said to be killed by that death in which it is not
forsaken by the soul, but, being animated and rendered sensitive by it, is tormented. For in that penal and everlasting punishment, of which in its own place we are to speak more at large, the soul is justly said to die, because it does not live in connection with God; but how can we say that the body is dead, seeing that it lives by the soul? For it could not otherwise feel the bodily torments which are to follow the resurrection. Is it because life of every kind is good, and pain an evil, that we decline to say that that body lives, in which the soul is the cause, not of life, but of pain? The soul, then, lives by God when it lives well, for it cannot live well unless by God working in it what is good; and the body lives by the soul when the soul lives in the body, whether itself be living by God or no. For the wicked man's life in the body is a life not of the soul, but of the body, which even dead souls—souls forsaken of God—can confer upon bodies, how little soever of their own proper life, by which they are immortal, they retain. But in the last damnation, though man does not cease to feel, yet because this feeling of his is neither sweet with pleasure nor wholesome with repose, but painfully penal, it is not without reason called death rather than life. And it is called the second death because it follows the first, which sunders the two cohering essences, whether these be God and the soul, or the soul and the body. Of the first and bodily death, then, we may say that to the good it is good, and evil to the evil. But, doubtless, the second, as it happens to none of the good, so it can be good for none.

3. Whether death, which by the sin of our first parents has passed upon all men, is the punishment of sin, even to the good.

But a question not to be shirked arises. Whether in very truth death, which separates soul and body, is good to the

1 Matt x. 23.
OF SIN AND DEATH. 523

good? 2 For if it be, how has it come to pass that such a thing should be the punishment of sin? For the first men would not have suffered death had they not sinned. How, then, can that be good to the good, which could not have happened except to the evil? Then, again, if it could only happen to the evil, to the good it ought not to be good, but non-existent. For why should there be any punishment where there is nothing to punish? Wherefore we must say that the first men were indeed so created, that if they had not sinned, they would not have experienced any kind of death; but that, having become sinners, they were so punished with death, that whatsoever sprang from their stock should also be punished with the same death. For nothing else could be born of them than that which they themselves had been. Their nature was deteriorated in proportion to the greatness of the condemnation of their sin, so that what existed as punishment in those who first sinned, became a natural consequence in their children. For man is not produced by man, as he was from the dust. For dust was the material out of which man was made: man is the parent by whom man is begotten. Wherefore earth and flesh are not the same thing, though flesh be made of earth. But as man the parent is, such is man the offspring. In the first man, therefore, there existed the whole human nature, which was to be transmitted by the woman to posterity, when that conjugal union received the divine sentence of its own condemnation; and what man was made, not when created, but when he sinned and was punished, this he propagated, so far as the origin of sin and death are concerned. For neither by sin nor its punishment was he himself reduced to that infantine and helpless infirmity of body and mind which we see in children. For God ordained that infants should begin the world as the young of beasts begin it, since their parents had fallen to the level of the beasts in the fashion of their life and of their death; as it is written,
"Man when he was in honour understood not; he became like the beasts that have no understanding." 2 Kay more, I

1 On this question compare the 24th and 25th epistles of Jerome, de ol'Uu Lece, and de oblту Blesilce JiUce. Coquaeus.

2 Ps. xlix. 12.

524 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]

infants, we see, are even feebleer in the use and movement of their limbs, and more infirm to choose and refuse, than the most tender offspring of other animals; as if the force that dwells in human nature were destined to surpass all other living things so much the more eminently, as its energy has been longer restrained, and the time of its exercise delayed, just as an arrow flies the higher the further back it has been drawn. To this infantine imbecility 1 the first man did not fall by his lawless presumption and just sentence; but
human nature was in his person vitiated and altered to such an extent, that he suffered in his members the warring of disobedient lust, and became subject to the necessity of dying.
And what he himself had become by sin and punishment, such he generated those whom he begot; that is to say, subject to sin and death. And if infants are delivered from this bondage of sin by the Eedeemer's grace, they can suffer only this death which separates soul and body; but being redeemed from the obligation of sin, they do not pass to that second endless and penal death.

4. Why death, the punishment of sin, is not withheld from those who by the grace of regeneration are absolved from sin.

If, moreover, any one is solicitous about this point, how, if death be the very punishment of sin, they whose guilt is cancelled by grace do yet suffer death, this difficulty has already been handled and solved in our other work which we have written on the baptism of infants. 2 There it was said that the parting of soul and body was left, though its connection with sin was removed, for this reason, that if the immortality of the body followed immediately upon the sacrament of regeneration, faith itself would be thereby enervated. For faith is then only faith when it waits in hope for what is not yet seen in substance. And by the vigour and conflict of faith, at least in times past, was the fear of death overcome. Specially was this conspicuous in the holy martyrs, who could have had no victory, no glory, to whom there could not even have been any conflict, if, after the laver of regeneration, saints could not suffer

1 On which see further in de Peccat. Mer. i. 67 et seq.

2 De Baptismo Parvulorum is the second half of the title of the book, de reccatorum Meritis et Remissionc.
bodily death. Who would not, then, in company with the infants presented for baptism, run to the grace of Christ, that so he might not be dismissed from the body? And thus faith would not be tested with an unseen reward; and so would not even be faith, seeking and receiving an immediate recompense of its works. But now, by the greater and more admirable grace of the Saviour, the punishment of sin is turned to the service of righteousness. For then it was proclaimed to man, "If thou sinnest, thou shalt die;" now it is said to the martyr, "Die, that thou sin not." Then it was said, "If ye transgress the commandments, ye shall die;" now it is said, "If ye decline death, ye transgress the commandment." That which was formerly set as an object of terror, that men might not sin, is now to be undergone if we would not sin. Thus, by the unutterable mercy of God, even the very punishment of wickedness has become the armour of virtue, and the penalty of the sinner becomes the reward of the righteous. For then death was incurred by sinning, now righteousness is fulfilled by dying. In the case of the holy martyrs it is so; for to them the persecutor proposes the alternative, apostasy or death. For the righteous prefer by believing to suffer what the first transgressors suffered by not believing. For unless they had sinned, they would not have died; but the martyrs sin if they do not die. The one died because they sinned, the others do not sin because they die. By the guilt of the first, punishment was incurred; by the punishment of the second, guilt is prevented. Not that death, which was before an evil, has become something good, but only that God has granted to faith this grace, that death, which is the admitted opposite to life, should become the instrument by which life is reached.

5. As the wicked make an ill use of the law, which is good, so the good make a good use of death, which is an ill.

The apostle, wishing to show how hurtful a thing sin is, when grace does not aid us, has not hesitated to say that the strength of sin is that very law by which sin is prohibited. "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law." 1 Most certainly true; for prohibition increases the desire of illicit action, if righteousness is not so loved that the desire of

1 1 Cor. xv. 56.
sin is conquered by that love. But unless divine grace aid us, we cannot love nor delight in true righteousness. But lest the law should he thought to be an evil, since it is called the strength of sin, the apostle, when treating a similar question in another place, says, " The law indeed is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is holy made death unto me ? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful." 1 Exceeding, he says, because the transgression is more heinous when through, the increasing lust of sin the law itself also is despised.

"Why have we thought it worth while to mention this? For this reason, because, as the law is not an evil when it increases the lust of those who sin, so neither is death a good thing when it increases the glory of those who suffer it, since either the former is abandoned wickedly, and makes transgressors, or the latter is embraced for the truth's sake, and makes martyrs.

And thus the law is indeed good, because it is prohibition of sin, and death is evil because it is the wages of sin; but as wicked men make an evil use not only of evil, but also of good things, so the righteous make a good use not only of good, but also of evil things. Whence it comes to pass that the wicked make an ill use of the law, though the law is good; and that the good die well, though death is an evil.

6. Of the evil of death in general, considered as the separation of soul and body.

Wherefore, as regards bodily death, that is, the separation of the soul from the body, it is good unto none while it is being endured by those whom we say are in the article of death. For the very violence with which body and soul are wrenched asunder, which in the living had been conjoined and closely intertwined, brings with it a harsh experience, jarring horridly on nature so long as it continues, till there comes a total loss of sensation, which arose from the very interpenetration of spirit and flesh. And all this anguish is sometimes forestalled by one stroke of the body or sudden flitting of the soul, the swiftness of which prevents it from being felt. But whatever that may be in the dying which

1 Bom. vii. 12, 13.
with violently painful sensation robs of all sensation, yet, when it is piously and faithfully borne, it increases the merit of patience, but does not make the name of punishment inapplicable. Death, proceeding by ordinary generation from the first man, is the punishment of all who are born of him, yet, if it be endured for righteousness' sake, it becomes the glory of those who are born again; and though death be the award of sin, it sometimes secures that nothing be awarded to sin.

7. Of the death which *he unbaptized 1 suffer for the confession of Christ.

For whatever unbaptized persons die confessing Christ, this confession is of the same efficacy for the remission of sins as if they were washed in the sacred font of baptism. For He who said, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," 2 made also an exception in their favour, in that other sentence where He no less absolutely said, " Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven;" 3 and in another place, " Whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it." 4 And this explains the verse, " Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." 5 For what is more precious than a death by which a man's sins are all forgiven, and his merits increased an hundredfold ? For those who have been baptized when they could no longer escape death, and have departed this life with all their sins blotted out, have not equal merit with those who did not defer death, though it was in their power to do so, but preferred to end their life by confessing Christ, rather than by denying Him to secure an opportunity of baptism. And even had they denied Him under pressure of the fear of death, this too would have been forgiven them in that baptism, in which was remitted even the enormous wickedness of those who had slain Christ. But how abundant in these men must have been the grace of the Spirit, who" breathes where He listeth, seeing that they so dearly loved Christ as to be unable to deny Him even in so sore an emergency, and with so sure a hope of pardon ! Precious, therefore, is the death of the saints, to

1 Literally, unregenerate. 2 John iii. 5. a Matt. x. 32.

4 Matt. xvi. 25. & Ps. cxvi. 15.

528 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XUI.

whom the grace of Christ has been applied with such gracious effects, that they do not hesitate to meet death themselves, if so be they might meet Him And precious is it, also, because it has proved that what was originally ordained for the punishment of the sinner, has been used for the production of a richer harvest of righteousness. But not on this account should we look upon death as a good thing, for it is diverted to such useful purposes, not by any virtue of its own, but by the divine interference. Death was
originally proposed as an object of dread, that sin might not be committed; now it must
be undergone that sin may not be committed, or, if committed, be remitted, and the award
of righteousness bestowed on him whose victory has earned it.

8. That the saints, by suffering the first death for the truth's sake, are freed from the
second.

For if we look at the matter a little more carefully, we shall see that even when a man dies
faithfully and laudably for the truth's sake, it is still death he is avoiding. For he submits
to some part of death, for the very purpose of avoiding the whole, and the second and
eternal death over and above. He submits to the separation of soul and body, lest the soul
be separated both from God and from the body, and so the whole first death be
completed, and the second death receive him everlastingly. Wherefore death is indeed, as
I said, good to none while it is being actually suffered, and while it is subduing the dying
to its power; but it is meritoriously endured for the sake of retaining or winning what is
good. And regarding what happens after death, it is no absurdity to say that death is good
to the good, and evil to the evil. For the disembodied spirits of the just are at rest; but
those of the wicked suffer punishment till their bodies rise again, â€” those of the just to
life everlasting, and of the others to death eternal, which is called the second death.

9. Whether we should say that the moment of death, in which sensation ceases, occurs in
the experience of the dying or in that of the dead.

The point of time in which the souls of the good and evil are separated from the body, are
we to say 'it is after death, or in death rather? If it is after death, then it is not death which
is good or evil, since death is done with and past, but
it is the life which the soul has now entered on. Death was an evil when it was present, that is to say, when it was being suffered by the dying; for to them it brought with it a severe and grievous experience, which the good make a good use of. But when death is past, how can that which no longer is be either good or evil? Still further, if we examine the matter more closely, we shall see that even that sore and grievous ~*
pain which the dying experience is not death itself. For so long as they have any sensation, they are certainly still alive; and, if still alive, must rather be said to be in a state previous to death than in death. For when death actually comes, it robs us of all bodily sensation, which, while death is only approaching, is painful. And thus it is difficult to explain how we speak of those who are not yet dead, but are agonized in their last and mortal extremity, as being in the article of death. Yet what else can we call them than dying persons? for when death which was imminent shall have actually come, we can no longer call them dying but dead. No one, there-^ fore, is dying unless living; since even he who is in the last extremity of life, and, as we say, giving up the ghost, yet lives. The same person is therefore at once dying and living, but drawing near to death, departing from life; yet in life, because his spirit yet abides in the body; not yet in death, because not yet has his spirit forsaken the body. But if, when it has forsaken it, the man is not even then in death, but after death, who shall say when he is in death? On the one hand, no one can be called dying, if a^ man cannot be dying and living at the same time; and as long as the soul is in the body, we cannot deny that he is living. On the other hand, if the man who is approaching death be rather called dying, I know not who is living.

10. Of the life of mortals, which is rather to be called death than life.

.* V

For no sooner do we begin to live in this dying body, than we begin to move ceaselessly towards death. 1 For in the~

1 Much of this paradoxical statement about death is taken from Seneca. See, among other places, his epistle on the premeditation of future dangers, the passage beginning, "Quotidie morimur, quotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitae."

VOL. I. 2 L

530 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]
whole course of this life (if life we must call it) its mutability tends towards death. Certainly there is no one who is not nearer it this year than last year, and to-morrow than to-day, and to-day than yesterday, and a short while hence than now, and now than a short while ago. For whatever time we live is deducted from our whole term of life, and that which remains is daily becoming less and less; so that our whole life is nothing but a race towards death, in which no one is allowed to stand still for a little space, or to go somewhat more slowly, but all are driven forwards with an impartial movement, and with equal rapidity. For he whose life is short spends a day no more swiftly than he whose life is longer.

But while the equal moments are impartially snatched from both, the one has a nearer and the other a more remote goal to reach with this their equal speed. It is one tiling to make a longer journey, and another to walk more slowly. He, therefore, who spends longer time on his way to death does not proceed at a more leisurely pace, but goes over more ground. Further, if every man begins to die, that is, is in death, as soon as death has begun to show itself in him (by taking away life, to wit; for when life is all taken away, the man will be then not in death, but after death), then he begins to die so soon as he begins to live. For what else is going on in all his days, hours, and moments, until this slow-working death is fully consummated? And then comes the time after death, instead of that in which life was being withdrawn, and which we called being in death. Man, then, is never in life from the moment he dwells in this dying rather than living body, if, at least, he cannot be in life and death at once. Or rather, shall we say, he is in both? in Hie, namely, which he lives till all is consumed; but in death also, which he dies as his life is consumed? For if he is not in life, what is it which is consumed till all be gone? And if he is not in death, what is this consumption itself? For when the whole of life has been consumed, the expression "after death" would be meaningless, had that consumption not been death. And if, when it has all been consumed, a man is not in death but after death, when is he in death, unless when life is being consumed away?
11. Whether one can both be living and dead at the same time.

But if it is absurd to say that a man is in death before he reaches death (for to what is his course running as he passes through life, if already he is in death?), and if it outrage common usage to speak of a man being at once alive and dead, as much as it does so, to speak of him as at once asleep and awake, it remains to be asked when a man is dying? For, before death comes, he is not dying but living; and when death has come, he is not dying but dead. The one is before, the other after death. When, then, is he in death so that we can say he is dying? Tor as there are three times, before death, in death, after death, so there are three states corresponding, living, dying, dead. And it is very hard to define when a man is in death or dying, when he is neither living, which is before death, nor dead, which is after death, but dying, which is in death. For so long as the soul is in the body, especially if consciousness remain, the man certainly lives; for body and soul constitute the man. And thus,' before death, he cannot be said to be in death; but when, on the other hand, the soul has departed, and all bodily sensation is extinct, death is past, and the man is dead. Between these two states the dying condition finds no place; for if a man yet lives, death has not arrived; if he has ceased to live, death is past. Never, then, is he dying, that is, comprehended in the state of death. So also in the passing of time, â€” you try to lay your finger on the present, and cannot find it, because the present occupies no space, but is only the transition of time from the future to the past. Must we then conclude that there is thus no death of the body at all? For if there is, where is it, since it is in no one, and no one can be in it? Since, indeed, if there is yet life, death is not yet; for this state is before death, not in death: and if life has already ceased, death is not present; for this state is after death, not in death. On the other hand, if there is no death before or after, what do we mean when we say "after death," or "before death?" This is a foolish way of speaking if there is no death. And would that we had lived so well in Paradise that in very truth there were now no death! But not only does it now exist, but so grievous

532 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]

a thing is it, that no skill is sufficient either to explain or to escape it.

Let us, then, speak in the customary way, â€” no man ought to speak otherwise, â€” and let us call the time before death come, "before death," as it is written, "Praise no man before his death." 1 And when it has happened, let us say that "after death" this or that took place. And of the present time let us speak as best we can, as when we say, "He, when dying, made his will, and left this or that to such and such persons," â€” though, of course, he could not do so unless he were living, and did this rather before death than in death.
And let us use the same phraseology as Scripture uses; for it makes no scruple of saying that the dead are not after but in death. So that verse, "For in death there is no remembrance of thee." 2 For until the resurrection men are justly said to be in death; as every one is said to be in sleep till he awakes. However, though we can say of persons in sleep that they are sleeping, we cannot speak in this way of the dead, and say they are dying. For, so far as regards the death of the body, of which we are now speaking, one cannot say that those who are already separated from their bodies continue dying. But this, you see, is just what I was saying, â that no words can explain how either the dying are said to live, or how the dead are said, even after death, to be in death. For how can they be after death if they be in death, especially when we do not even call them dying, as we call those in sleep, sleeping; and those in languor, languishing; and those in grief, grieving; and those in life, living? And yet the dead, until they rise again, are said to be in death, but cannot be called dying.

And therefore I think it has not unsuitably nor inappropriately come to pass, though not by the intention of man, yet perhaps with divine purpose, that this Latin word moriitur cannot be declined by the grammarians according to the rule followed by similar words. For oritur gives the form ortus est for the perfect; and all similar verbs form this tense from their perfect participles. ' But if we ask the perfect of moritut, we get the regular answer, mortuus

1 Ecclus. xi. 28. 2 Ps. vi 5.
est with a double u. For thus mortuus is pronounced, like fatuus, arduus, conspicuus, and similar words, which are not perfect participles but adjectives, and are declined without regard to tense. But mortuus, though in form an adjective, is used as perfect participle, as if that were to be declined which cannot be declined; and thus it has suitably come to pass that, as the thing itself cannot in point of fact be declined, so neither can the word significant of the act be declined. Yet, by the aid of our Redeemer's grace, we may manage at least to decline the second. For that is more grievous still, and, indeed, of all evils the worst, since it consists not in the separation of soul and body, but in the uniting of both in death eternal. And there, in striking contrast to our present conditions, men will not be before or after death, but always in death; and thus never living, never dead, but endlessly dying. And never can a man be more disastrously in death than when death itself shall be deathless.

12. What death God intended, when He threatened our first parents with death if they should disobey His commandment.

When, therefore, it is asked what death it was with which God threatened our first parents if they should transgress the commandment they had received from Him, and should fail to preserve their obedience, "whether it was the death of soul, or of body, or of the whole man, or that which is called second death, "we must answer, It is all. For the first consists of two; the second is the complete death, which consists of all. For, as the whole earth consists of many lands, and the Church universal of many churches, so death universal consists of all deaths. The first consists of two, one of the body, and another of the soul. So that the first death is a death of the whole man, since the soul without God and without the body suffers punishment for a time; but the second is when the soul, without God but with the body, suffers punishment everlasting. When, therefore, God said to that first man whom he had placed in Paradise, referring to the forbidden fruit, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," that threatening included not only the first part of the first death, by which the soul is deprived, of God; nor only the subsequent part of the first death, by which the body is deprived of the soul; nor only the whole first death itself, by which the soul is punished in separation from God and from the body; "but it includes whatever of death there is, even to that final death which is called second, and to which none is subsequent.

13. What was the first punishment of the transgression of our first parents?
For, as soon as our first parents had transgressed the commandment, divine grace forsook them, and they were con-founded at their own wickedness; and therefore they took fig-leaves (which were possibly the first that came to hand in their troubled state of mind), and covered their shame; for though their members remained the same, they had shame now where they had none before. They experienced a new motion of their flesh, which had become disobedient to them, an strict retribution of their own disobedience to God. For the soul, revelling in its own liberty, and scorning to serve God, was itself deprived of the command it had formerly maintained over the body. And because it had wilfully deserted its superior Lord, it no longer held its own inferior servant; neither could it hold the flesh subject, as it would always have been able to do had it remained itself subject to God. Then began the flesh to lust against the Spirit, in which strife we are born, deriving from the first transgression a seed of death, and bearing in our members, and in our vitiated nature, the contest or even victory of the flesh.

14. In what state man was made by God, and into what estate lie fell by the choice of his own will.

For God, the author of natures, not of vices, created man upright; but man, being of his own will corrupted, and justly condemned, begot corrupted and condemned children. For we all were in that one man, since we all were that one man who fell into sin by the woman who was made from him before the sin. For not yet was the particular form created and distributed to us, in which we as individuals were to live, but already the seminal nature was there from which

1 Gal. v. 17.

LOOK XIII.] THE DEATH WHICH ADAM DIED. 535

we were to be propagated; and this being vitiated by sin, and bound by the chain of death, and justly condemned, man could not be born of man in any other state. And thus, from the bad use of free will, there originated the whole train of evil, which, with its concatenation of miseries, convoys the human race from its depraved origin, as from a corrupt root, on to the destruction of the second death, which has no end, those only being excepted who are freed by the grace of God.

15. That Adam in his sin forsook God ere God forsook him, and that his falling away from God was the first death of the soul.

It may perhaps be supposed that because God said, " Ye shall die the death," 1 and not "deaths," we should understand only that death which occurs when the soul is deserted by God, who is its life; for it was not deserted by God, and so deserted Him, but deserted Him, and so was deserted by Him.
For its own will was the originator of its evil, as God was the originator of its motions towards good, both in making it when it was not, and in re-making it when it had fallen and perished. But though we suppose that God meant only this death, and that the words, "In the day ye eat of it ye shall die the death," should be understood as meaning, "In the day ye desert me in disobedience, I will desert you in justice," yet assuredly in this death the other deaths also were threatened, which were its inevitable consequence. For in the first stirring of the disobedient motion which was felt in the flesh of the disobedient soul, and which caused our first parents to cover their shame, one death indeed is experienced, that, namely, *f, which occurs when God forsakes the soul. (This was intimated by the words He uttered, when the man, stupefied by fear, had hid himself, "Adam, where art thou?" 2 â€” words which He used not in ignorance of inquiry, but warning him to consider where he was, since God was not with him.) But when the soul itself forsook the body, corrupted and decayed with age, the other death was experienced of which God had spoken in pronouncing man's sentence, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 3 And of these two deaths that first death of the whole man is composed. And this first death

1 Gen. ii. 17. 2 Gen. Hi. 9. 3 Gen. i.i. 19.

* 5 3 6 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]

is finally followed by the second, unless man be freed by grace. For the body would not return to the earth from which it was made, save only by the death proper to itself, which occurs when it is forsaken of the soul, its life. And therefore it is agreed among all Christians who truthfully hold the catholic faith, that we are subject to the death of the body, not by the law of nature, by which God ordained no death for man, but by His righteous infliction on account of sin; for God, taking vengeance on sin, said to the man, in whom we all then were, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

16. Concerning the philosophers who think that the separation of soul and body is not penal, though Plato represents the supreme Deity as promising to the inferior gods that they shall never be dismissed from their bodies.

But the philosophers against whom we are defending the city of God, that is, His Church, seem to themselves to have good cause to deride us, because we say that the separation of the

^soul from the body is to be held as part of man's punishment. For they suppose that the blessedness of the soul then only is complete, when it is quite denuded of the body, and returns to God a pure and simple, and, as it were, naked soul. On this point, if I should find nothing in their own literature to refute this opinion, I should be forced laboriously to demonstrate that it is not the body, but the corruptibility of the body, which is a burden to the soul. Hence that sentence of Scripture we
.quoted in a foregoing book, " For the corruptible body presseth down the souL" 1 The word corruptible is added to show that the soul is burdened, not by any body whatsoever, but by the body such as it has become in consequence of sin. And even though the word had not been added, we could understand nothing else. But when Plato most expressly declares that the gods who are made by the Supreme have immortal bodies, and when he introduces their Maker himself promising them as a great boon that they should abide in their bodies eternally, and never by any death be loosed from them, why do these adversaries of ours, for the sake of troubling the Christian

* faith, feign to be ignorant of what they quiÀ£e well know, and even prefer to contradict themselves rather than lose an opportunity of contradicting us ? Here are Plato's words, as Cicero

1 "Wisdom ix. 15.
has translated them, 1 in which he introduces the Supreme addressing the gods He had
made, and saying, " Ye who are sprung from a divine stock, consider of what works I am
the parent and author. These (your bodies) are indestructible so long as I will it; although
all that is composed can be destroyed. But it is wicked to dissolve what reason has
compacted. But, seeing that ye have been born, ye cannot indeed be immortal and
indestructible; yet ye shall by no means be destroyed, nor shall any fates consign you to
death, and prove superior to my will, which is a stronger assurance of your perpetuity
than those bodies to which ye were joined when ye were born." Plato, you see, says that
the gods are both mortal by the connection of the body and soul, and yet are rendered
immortal by the will and decree of their Maker.
If, therefore, it is a punishment to the soul to be connected with any body whatever, why
does God address them as if they were afraid of death, that is, of the separation of soul
and body ? Why does He seek to reassure them by promising them immortality, not in
virtue of their nature, which is composite and not simple, but by virtue of His invincible
will, whereby He can effect that neither things born die, nor things compounded be
dissolved, but preserved eternally ?

Whether this opinion of Plato's about the stars is true or not, is another question. For we
cannot at once grant to him that these luminous bodies or globes, which by day and night
shine on the earth with the light of their bodily substance, have also intellectual and
blessed souls which animate each its own body, as he confidently affirms of the universe
itself, as if it were one huge animal, in which all other animals were contained. 2 But this,
as I said, is another question, which we

1 A translation of part of the Timceus, given in a little book of Cicero's, De Universo.

2 Plato, in the Timceus, represents the Demiurgus as constructing the kosmos or universe
to be a complete representation of the idea of animal. He planted in its centre a soul,
spreading outwards so as to pervade the whole body of the kosmos; and then he
introduced into it those various species of animals which were contained in the idea of
animal. Among these animals stand first the celestial, the gods embodied in the stars; and
of these the oldest is the earth, set in the centre of all, close packed round the great axis
which traverses the centre of the kosmos. â€” See the Timceus and Grote's Plato, iii. 250
et seq.
have not undertaken to discuss at present. This much only I deemed right to bring forward, in opposition to those who so pride themselves on being, or on being called Platonists, that they blush to be Christians, and who cannot brook to be called by a name which the common people also bear, lest they vulgarize the philosophers’ coterie, which is proud in proportion to its exclusiveness. These men, seeking a weak point in the Christian doctrine, select for attack the eternity of the body, as if it were a contradiction to contend for the blessedness of the soul, and to wish it to be always resident in the body, bound, as it were, in a lamentable chain; and this although Plato, their own founder and master, affirms that it was granted by the Supreme as a boon to the gods He had made, that they should not die, that is, should not be separated from the bodies with which He had connected them.

17. Against those who affirm that earthly bodies cannot be made incorruptible and eternal.

These same philosophers further contend that terrestrial bodies cannot be eternal, though they make no doubt that the whole earth, which is itself the central member of their god, not, indeed, of the greatest, but yet of a great god, that is, of this whole world, is eternal. Since, then, the Supreme made for them another god, that is, this world, superior to the other gods beneath Him; and since they suppose that this god is an animal, having, as they affirm, a rational or intellectual soul enclosed in the huge mass of its body, and having, as the fitly situated and adjusted members of its body, the four elements, whose union they wish to be indissoluble and eternal, lest perchance this great god of theirs might some day perish if what reason is there that the earth, which is the central member in the body of a greater creature, should be eternal, and the bodies of other terrestrial creatures should not possibly be eternal if God should so will it? But earth, say they, must return to earth, out of which the terrestrial bodies of the animals have been taken. For this, they say, is the reason of the necessity of their death and dissolution, and this the manner of their restoration to the solid and eternal earth whence they came. But if any one says the same thing of fire, holding that the bodies which are derived from it to make
ETERNITY OF THE BODY. 539

celestial beings must be restored to the universal lire, does not the immortality which Plato represents these gods as receiving from the Supreme evanesce in the heat of this dispute? Or does this not happen with those celestials because God, whose will, as Plato says, overpowers all powers, has willed it should not be so? What, then, hinders God from ordaining the same of terrestrial bodies? And since, indeed, Plato acknowledges that God can prevent things that are born from dying, and things that are joined from being sundered, and things that are composed from being dissolved, and can ordain that the souls once allotted to their bodies should never abandon them, but enjoy along with them immortality and everlasting bliss, why may He not also effect that terrestrial bodies die not? Is God powerless to do everything that is special to the Christian's creed, but powerful to effect everything the Platonists desire? The philosophers, forsooth, have been admitted to a knowledge of the divine purposes and power which has been denied to the prophets! The truth is, that the Spirit of God taught His prophets so much of His will as He thought fit to reveal, but the philosophers, in their efforts to discover it, were deceived by human conjecture.

But they should not have been so led astray, I will not say by their ignorance, but by their obstinacy, as to contradict themselves so frequently; for they maintain, with all their vaunted might, that in order to the happiness of the soul, it must abandon not only its earthly body, but every kind of body. And yet they hold that the gods, whose souls are most blessed, are bound to everlasting bodies, the celestials to fiery bodies, and the soul of Jove himself (or this world, as they would have us believe) to all the physical elements which compose this entire mass reaching from earth to heaven. For this soul Plato believes to be extended and diffused by musical numbers, 1 from the middle of the inside of the earth, which geometricians call the centre, outwards through all its parts to the utmost heights and extremities of the heavens; so that this world is a very great and blessed immortal animal, whose soul has both the perfect blessedness of wisdom, and never leaves its own body, and whose body has life everlasting.

1 On these numbers see Grote's Plato, iii. 254.

540 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]

from the soul, and by no means clogs or hinders it, though itself be not a simple body, but compacted of so many and so huge materials. Since, therefore, they allow so much to their own conjectures, why do they refuse to believe that by the divine will and power immortality can be conferred on earthly bodies, in which the souls would be neither oppressed with the burden of them, nor separated from them by any death, but live eternally and blessedly? Do they not assert that their own gods so live in bodies of fire, and that Jove himself, their king, so lives in the physical elements? If, in order to its blessedness, the soul must quit every kind of body, let their gods flit from the starry
spheres, and Jupiter from earth to sky; or, if they cannot do so, let them be pronounced miserable. But neither alternative will these men adopt. For, on the one hand, they dare not ascribe to their own gods a departure from the body, lest they should seem to worship mortals; on the other hand, they dare not deny their happiness, lest they should acknowledge wretches as gods. Therefore, to obtain blessedness, we need not quit every kind of body, but only the corruptible, cumbersome, painful, dying, &c. not such bodies as the goodness of God contrived for the first man, but such only as man’s sin entailed.

18. Of earthly bodies, which the philosophers affirm cannot be in heavenly places, because whatever is of earth is by its natural weight attracted to earth.

But it is necessary, they say, that the natural weight of earthly bodies either keep them on earth or draw them to it; and therefore they cannot be in heaven. Our first parents were indeed on earth, in a well-wooded and fruitful spot, which has been named Paradise. But let our adversaries a little more carefully consider this subject of earthly weight, because it has important bearings, both on the ascension of the body of Christ, and also on the resurrection body of the saints. If human skill can by some contrivance fabricate vessels that float, out of metals which sink as soon as they are placed on the water, how much more credible is it that God, by some occult mode of operation, should even more certainly effect that these earthy masses be emancipated from the downward pressure of their weight? This cannot be impossible to that God by whose almighty will, according to
Plato, neither things born perish, nor things composed dissolve, especially since it is much more wonderful that spiritual and bodily essences be conjoined than that bodies be adjusted to other material substances. Can we not also easily believe

(that souls, being made perfectly blessed, should be endowed with the power of moving their earthy but incorruptible bodies as they please, with almost spontaneous movement, and of placing them where they please with the readiest action? If the angels transport whatever terrestrial creatures they please from any place they please, and convey them whither they please, is it to be believed that they cannot do so without toil and the feeling of burden? Why, then, may we not believe that the spirits of the saints, made perfect and blessed by divine grace, can carry their own bodies where they please, and set them where they will? For, though we have been accustomed to notice, in bearing weights, that the larger the quantity the greater the weight of earthy bodies is, and that the greater weight the more burdensome it is, yet the soul carries the members of its own flesh with less difficulty when they are massive with health, than in sickness when they are wasted. And though the hale and strong man feels heavier to other men carrying him than the lank and sickly, yet the man himself moves and carries his own body with less feeling of burden when he has the greater bulk of vigorous health, than when his frame is reduced to a minimum by hunger or disease. Of such consequence, in estimating the weight of earthly bodies, even while yet corruptible and mortal, is the consideration not of dead weight, but of the healthy equilibrium of the parts. And what words can tell the difference between what we now call health and future immortality? Let not the philosophers, then, think to upset our faith with arguments from the weight of bodies; for I don't care to inquire why they cannot believe an earthly body can be in heaven, while the whole earth is suspended on nothing.

For perhaps the world keeps its central place by the same law that attracts to its centre all heavy bodies. But this I say, if the lesser gods, to whom Plato committed the creation of man and the other terrestrial creatures, were able, as he affirms, to withdraw from the fire its quality of burning, while

542 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]
19. Against the opinion of those who do not believe that the primitive men would have been immortal if they had not sinned.

At present let us go on, as we have begun, to give some explanation regarding the bodies of our first parents. I say then, that, except as the just consequence of sin, they would not have been subjected even to this death, which is good to the good, â€” this death, which is not exclusively known and believed in by a few, but is known to all, by which soul and body are separated, and by which the body of an animal which was but now visibly living is now visibly dead. For though there can be no manner of doubt that the souls of the just and holy dead live in peaceful rest, yet so much better would it be for them to be alive in healthy, well-conditioned bodies, that even those who hold the tenet that it is most blessed to be quit of every kind of body, condemn this opinion in spite of themselves. For no one will dare to set wise men, whether yet to die or already dead, â€” in other words, whether already quit of the body, or shortly to be so, â€” above the immortal gods, to whom the Supreme, in Plato, promises as a munificent gift life indissoluble, or in eternal union with their bodies. But this same Plato thinks that nothing better can happen to men than that they pass through life piously and justly, and, being separated from their bodies, be received into the bosom of the gods, who never abandon theirs; that, oblivious of the past, they may revisit the upper air, and conceive the longing to return again to the body." 1 Virgil

1 Virgil, JZneid, vi. 750, 751.

LOOK XIII.] DEATH NOT NATURALLY A NECESSITY. 543

is applauded for borrowing this from the Platonic system. Assuredly Plato thinks that the souls of mortals cannot always be in their bodies, but must necessarily be dismissed by death; and, on the other hand, he thinks that without bodies they cannot endure for ever, but with ceaseless alternation pass from life to death, and from death to life. This difference, however, he sets between wise men and the rest, that they are carried after death to the stars, that each man may repose for a while in a star suitable for him, and may thence return to the labours and miseries of mortals when he has become oblivious of his former misery, and possessed with the desire of being embodied. Those, again, who have lived foolishly transmigrate into bodies fit for them, whether human or bestial. Thus he has appointed even the good and wise souls to a very hard lot indeed, since they do not receive such bodies as they might always and even immortally inhabit, but such only as they can neither permanently retain nor enjoy eternal purity without. Of this notion of Plato's, we have in a former book already said 1 that Porphyry was ashamed in the light of these Christian times, so that he not only emancipated human souls from a destiny in the bodies of beasts, but also contended for the liberation of the souls of the wise from all bodily ties, so that, escaping from all flesh, they might, as bare and blessed souls, dwell with the Father time without end. And that he might not seem to be outbid by Christ's promise of life everlasting to His saints, he
also established purified souls in endless felicity, without return to their former woes; but, that he might contradict Christ, he denies the resurrection of incorruptible bodies, and maintains that these souls will live eternally, not only without earthly bodies, but without any bodies at all. And yet, whatever he meant by this teaching, he at least did not teach that these souls should offer no religious observance to the gods who dwelt in bodies. And why did he not, unless because he did not believe that the souls, even though separate from the body, were superior to those gods? Wherefore, if these philosophers will not dare (as I think they will not) to set human souls above the gods who are most blessed, and yet are tied eternally

1 Book x. 30.

544 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]

to their bodies, why do they find that absurd which the Christian faith preaches/ namely, that our first parents were so created that, if they had not sinned, they would not have been dismissed from their bodies by any death, but would have been endowed with immortality as the reward of their obedience, and would have lived eternally with their bodies; and further, that the saints will in the resurrection inhabit those very bodies in which they have here toiled, but in such sort that neither shall any corruption or unwieldiness be suffered to attach to their flesh, nor any grief or trouble to cloud their felicity?

20. That the flesh now resting in peace shall be raised to a perfection not enjoyed by the flesh of our first parents.

Thus the souls of departed saints are not affected by the death which dismisses them from their bodies, because their flesh rests in hope, no matter what indignities it receives after sensation is gone. For they do not desire that their bodies be forgotten, as Plato thinks fit, but rather, because they remember what has been promised by Him who deceives no man, and who gave them security for the safe keeping even of the hairs of their head, they with a longing patience wait in hope of the resurrection of their bodies, in which they have suffered many hardships, and are now to suffer never again. For if they did not "hate their own flesh," when it, with its native infirmity, opposed their will, and had to be constrained by the spiritual law, how much more shall they love it, when it shall even itself have become spiritual! For as, when the spirit serves the flesh, it is fitly called carnal, so, when the flesh serves the spirit, it will justly be called spiritual. Kot that it is converted into spirit, as some fancy from the words, "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption," 2 but because it is subject to the spirit with a perfect and marvellous readiness of obedience, and responds in all things to the will that has entered on immortality, â€” all reluctance, all corruption, and all slowness being removed. For the body will not only be better than it was here in its best estate of health, but it will surpass the
1 A catena of passages, showing that this is the catholic Christian faith, will be found in Bull's State of Man before the Fall (Works, vol. ii.).

2 1 Cor. xv. 42.
bodies of our first parents ere they sinned. For though they were not to die unless they should sin, yet they used food as men do now, their bodies not being as yet spiritual, but animal only. And "though they decayed not with years, nor drew nearer to death, â€” a condition secured to them in God's marvellous grace by the tree of life, which grew along with the forbidden tree in the midst of Paradise, â€” yet they took other nourishment, though not of that one tree, which was interdicted not because it was itself bad, but for the sake of commending a pure and simple obedience, which is the great virtue of the rational creature set under the Creator as his Lord. For, though no evil thing was touched, yet if a thing forbidden was touched, the very disobedience was sin. They were, then, nourished by other fruit, which they took that their animal bodies might not suffer the discomfort of hunger or thirst; but they tasted the tree of life, that death might not steal upon them from any quarter, and that they might not, spent with age, decay. Other fruits were, so to speak, their nourishment, but this their sacrament. So that the tree of life would seem to have been in the terrestrial Paradise what the wisdom of God is in the spiritual, of which it is written, " She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her." *

21. Of Paradise, that it can be understood in a spiritual sense without sacrificing the historic truth of the narrative regarding the real place.

On this account some allegorize all that concerns Paradise itself, where the first men, the parents of the human race, are, according to the truth of holy Scripture, recorded to have been; and they understand all its trees and fruit-bearing plants as virtues and habits of life, as if they had no existence in the external world, but were only so spoken of or related for the sake of spiritual meanings. As if there could not be a real terrestrial Paradise! As if there never existed these two women, Sarah and Hagar, nor the two sons who were born to Abraham, the one of the bond woman, the other of the free, because the apostle says that in them the two covenants were prefigured; or as if water never flowed from the rock when Moses struck it, because therein Christ can be seen in a figure, as the same apostle says, " Now that rock was Christ I " 2 No

1 Prov. iii. 18. 2 1 Cor. x. 4.

546 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]
commandment. The punishment which God appointed was in itself a just, and therefore a
good thing; but man's experience of it is not good.

These things can also and more profitably be understood of the Church, so that they
become prophetic foreshadowings of things to come. Thus Paradise is the Church, as it is
called in the Canticles j 1 the four rivers of Paradise are the four gospels; the fruit-trees
the saints, and the fruit their works; the tree of life is the holy of holies, Christ; the tree of
the knowledge of good and evil, the will's free choice. For if man despise the will of God,
he can only destroy himself; and so he learns the difference between consecrating himself
to the common good and revelling in his own. For he who loves himself is abandoned to
himself, in order that, being overwhelmed with fears and sorrows, he may cry, if there be
yet soul in him to feel his ills, in the words of the psalm, " My soul is cast down within
me," 2 and when chastened, may say, " Because of his strength I will wait upon Thee." 3
These and similar allegorical
' interpretations may be suitably put upon Paradise without giving offence to any one,
while yet we believe the strict truth of the history, confirmed by its circumstantial
narrative
' of facts. 4

22. That the bodies of the saints shall after the resurrection be spiritual, and yet flesh shall
not be changed into spirit.

The bodies of the righteous, then, such as they shall be in the resurrection, shall need
neither any fruit to preserve them from dying of disease or the wasting decay of old age,
nor any other physical nourishment to allay the cravings of hunger or of thirst; for they
shall be invested with so sure and every

1 Cant. iv. 13. 2 Ps. xlii. 6. 3 Ps. lix. 9.

4 Those who wish to pursue this subject will find a pretty full collection of opinions in
the learned commentary on Genesis by the Jesuit Pererius. Philo was, of course, the
leading culprit, but Ambrose and other Church fathers went nearly as far. Augustine
condemns the Seleucians for this among other heresies, that they denied a visible
Paradise. â€” De Hares. 59.
way inviolable an immortality, that they shall not eat save when they choose, nor be under the necessity of eating, while they enjoy the power of doing so. For so also was it with the angels who presented themselves to the eye and touch of men, not because they could do no otherwise, but because they were able and desirous to suit themselves to men by a kind of manhood ministry. For neither are we to suppose, when men receive them as guests, that the angels eat only in appearance, though to any who did not know them to be angels they might seem to eat from the same necessity as ourselves. So these words spoken in the Book of Tobit, "You saw me eat, but you saw it but in vision; " * that is, you thought I took food as you doÂ» for the sake of refreshing my body.

But if in the case of the angels another opinion seems more capable of defence, certainly our faith leaves no room to doubt regarding our Lord Himself, that even after His resurrection, and when now in spiritual but yet real flesh, He ate and drank with His disciples; for not the power, but the need, of eating and drinking is taken from these bodies. And so they will be spiritual, not because they shall cease to be bodies, but because they shall subsist by the quickening spirit.

23. What we are to understand by the animal and spiritual body; or of those who die in Adam, and of those who are made alive in Christ.

For as those bodies of ours, that have a living soul, though not as yet a quickening spirit, are called soul-informed bodies, and yet are not souls but bodies, so also those bodies are called spiritual, â€” yet God forbid we should therefore suppose them to be spirits and not bodies, â€” which, being quickened by the Spirit, have the substance, but not the unwieldiness and corruption of flesh. Man will then be not earthly but heavenly, â€” not because the body will not be that very body which was made of earth, but because by its heavenly endowment it will be a fit inhabitant of heaven, and this not by losing its nature, but by changing its quality. The first man, of the earth earthy, was made a living soul, not a quickening spirit, â€” which rank was reserved for him as the reward of obedience. And therefore his body, which required meat and drink to satisfy hunger and thirst, and which had no absolute and indestructible

1 Tobit xii. 19.

548 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIII.]

immortality, but by means of the tree of life warded off the necessity of dying, and was thus maintained in the flower of youth, â€” this body, I say, was doubtless not spiritual, but animal; and yet it would not have died but that it provoked God's threatened
vengeance by offending. And though sustenance was not denied him even outside Paradise, yet, being forbidden the tree of life, he was delivered over to the wasting of time, at least in respect of that life which, had he not sinned, he might have retained perpetually in Paradise, though only in an animal body, till such time as it became spiritual in acknowledgment of his obedience.

Wherefore, although we understand that this manifest death, which consists in the separation of soul and body, was also signified by God when He said, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," 1 it ought not on that account to seem absurd that they were not dismissed from the body on that very day on which they took the forbidden and death-bringing fruit. For certainly on that very day their nature was altered for the worse and vitiated, and by their most just banishment from the tree of life they were involved in the necessity even of bodily death, in which necessity we are born. And therefore the apostle does not say, "The body indeed is doomed to die on account of sin," but he says, "The body indeed is dead because of sin." Then he adds, "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you." 2 Then accordingly shall the body become a quickening spirit which is now a living soul; and yet the apostle calls it "dead," because already it lies under the necessity of dying. But in Paradise it was so made a living soul, though not a quickening spirit, that it could not properly be called dead, for, save through the commission of sin, it could not come under the power of death. Now, since God by the words, "Adam, where art thou?" pointed to the death of the soul, which results when He abandons it, and since in the words, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return," 3 He signified the death of the body, which results when the soul departs from

1 Gen. ii. 17. 2 Rom. viii. 10, 11. 3 Gen. iii. 19.
it, we are led, therefore, to believe that He said nothing of the second death, wishing it to be kept hidden, and reserving it for the New Testament dispensation, in which it is most plainly revealed. And this He did in order that, first of all, it might be evident that this first death, which is common to all, was the result of that sin which in one man became common to all. 1 But the second death is not common to all, those being excepted who were " called according to His purpose. For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren." 2 Those the grace of God has, by a Mediator, delivered from the second death.

Thus the apostle states that the first man was made in an animal body. For, wishing to distinguish the animal body which now is from the spiritual, which is to be in the resurrection, he says, (< It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory:

it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." Then, to prove this, he goes on, "There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." And to show what the animated body is, he says, " Thus it was written, The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit." 3

He wished thus to show what the animated body is, though Scripture did not say of the first man Adam, when his soul was created by the breath of God, " Man was made in an animated body," but " Man was made a living soul." 4 By these words, therefore, " The first man was made a living soul," the apostle wishes man's animated body to be understood.

But how he wishes the spiritual body to be understood he shows when he adds, " But the last Adam was made a quickening spirit," plainly referring to Christ, who has so risen from the dead that He cannot die any more. He then goes on to say, "But that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual." And here he much more clearly asserts that he referred to the animal body when he said that the first man  

1 "In uno commune factum est omnibus." 2 Bom. viii. 28, 29.  

3 1 Cor. xv. 42-45. 4 Gen. ii. 7.
was made a living soul, and to the spiritual when he said that the last man was made a quickening spirit. The animal body is the first, being such as the first Adam had, and which would not have died had he not sinned, being such also as we now have, its nature being changed and vitiated by sin to the extent of bringing us under the necessity of death, and being such as even Christ condescended first of all to assume, not indeed of necessity, but of choice; but afterwards comes the spiritual body, which already is worn by anticipation by Christ as our head, and will be worn by His members in the resurrection of the dead.

Then the apostle subjoins a notable difference between these two men, saying, "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." 1 So he elsewhere says, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ; " 2 but in very deed this shall be accomplished when that which is animal in us by our birth shall have become spiritual in our resurrection. For, to use his words again, "We are saved by hope." 3 Now we bear the image of the earthly man by the propagation of sin and death, which pass on us by ordinary generation; but we bear the image of the heavenly by the grace of pardon and life eternal, which regeneration confers upon us through the Mediator of God and men, the Man Christ Jesus. And He is the heavenly Man of Paul's passage, because He came from heaven to be clothed with a body of earthly mortality, that He might clothe it with heavenly immortality.

And he calls others heavenly, because by grace they become His members, that, together with them, He may become one Christ, as head and body. In the same epistle he puts this yet more clearly: "Since by man came death, by Man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," 4 â€” that is to say, in a spiritual body which shall be made a quickening spirit. Not

1 1 Cor. xv. 47-49. 2 Gal. iii. 27.

3 Rom. viii. 24. 4 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.
that all who die in Adam shall be members of Christ, òél" for the great majority shall be punished in eternal death, òé" but he uses the word "all" in both clauses, because, as no one dies in an animal body except in Adam, so no one is quickened a spiritual body save in Christ. We are not, then, by any means to suppose that we shall in the resurrection have such a body as the first man had before he sinned, nor that the words, " As is the earthly, such are they also that are earthy," are to be understood of that which was brought about by sin; for we are not to think that Adam had a spiritual body before he fell, and that, in punishment of his sin, it was changed into an animal body. If this be thought, small heed has been given to the words of so great a teacher, who says, " There is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body; as it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul." Was it after sin he was made so? or was not this the primal condition of man from which the blessed apostle selects his testimony to show what the animal body is?

24. How ice must understand that breathing of God by which " the first man was made a living soul," and that also by which the Lord conveyed His Spirit to His disciples when He said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."

Some have hastily supposed from the words, " God breathed into Adam's nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul," ! that a soul was not then first given to man, but that the soul already given was quickened by the Holy Ghost. They are encouraged in this supposition by the fact that the Lord Jesus after His resurrection breathed on His disciples, and said, " Eeceive ye the Holy Spirit." 2 From this they suppose that the same thing was effected in either case, as if the evangelist had gone on to say, And they became living souls. But if he had made this addition, we should only understand that the Spirit is in some way the life of souls, and that without Him reasonable souls must be accounted dead, though their bodies seem to live before our eyes. But that this was not what happened when man was created, the very words of the narrative sufficiently show: " And God made man dust of the earth;" which some have thought to render more clearly by the words, " And God formed man of the clay

1 Gen. ii. 7. 2 John xx. 22.
where the Greek reads eifkaaev, is of little importance; yet "formed" is the better rendering. But those who preferred "created" thought they thus avoided the ambiguity arising from the fact, that in the Latin lansnia^e the usa^e obtains that those are said to form a thing who frame some feigned and fictitious thing. This man, then, who was created of the dust of the earth, or of the moistened dust or clay, â€” this "dust of the earth" (that I may use the express words of Scripture) was made, as the apostle teaches, an animated body when he received a souL This man, he says, " was made a living soul; " that is, this fashioned dust was made a living soul

They say, Already he had a soul, else he would not be called a man; for man is not a body alone, nor a soul alone, but a being composed of both. This, indeed, is true, that the soul is not the whole man, but the better part of man; the body not the whole, but the inferior part of man; and that then, when both are joined, they receive the name of man, which, however, they do not severally lose even when we speak of them singly. For who is prohibited from saying, in colloquial usage, " That man is dead, and is now at rest or in torment," though this can be spoken only of the soul; or " He is buried in such and such a place," though this refers only to the body ? Will they say that Scripture follows no such usage ? On the contrary, it so thoroughly adopts it, that even while a man is alive, and body and soul are united, it calls each of them singly by the name " man" speaking of the soul as the "inward man," and of the body as the "outward man," 2 as if there were two men, though both together are indeed but one. But we must understand in what sense man is said to be in the image of God, and is yet dust, and to return to the

1 Gen. ii. 6. 2 2 Cor. iv. 16.
dust. The former is spoken of the rational soul, which God by His breathing, or, to speak more appropriately, by His inspiration, conveyed to man, that is, to his body; but the latter refers to his body, which God formed of the dust, and to which a soul was given, that it might become a living body, that is, that man might become a living soul.

Wherefore, when our Lord breathed on His disciples, and said, " Receive ye the Holy Ghost," He certainly wished it to be understood that the Holy Ghost was not only the Spirit of the Father, but of the only-begotten Son Himself. For the same Spirit is, indeed, the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, making with them the trinity of Father, Son, and Spirit, not a creature, but the Creator. For neither was that material breath which proceeded from the mouth of His flesh the very substance and nature of the Holy Spirit, but rather the intimation, as I said, that the Holy Spirit was common to the Father and to the Son; for they have not each a separate Spirit, but both one and the same. Now this Spirit is always spoken of in sacred Scripture by the Greek word θεοφανία, as the Lord, too, named Him in the place cited when He gave Him to His disciples, and intimated the gift by the breathing of His lips; and there does not occur to me any place in the whole Scriptures where He is otherwise named.

But in this passage where it is said, " And the Lord formed man dust of the earth, and breathed, or inspired, into his face the breath of life; " the Greek has not θεοφανία, the usual word for the Holy Spirit, but ἐνσωματευμένον, a word more frequently used of the creature than of the Creator; and for this reason some Latin interpreters have preferred to render it by "breath" rather than "spirit." For this word occurs also in the Greek in Isa. lvii. 16, where God says, "I have made all breath," meaning, doubtless, all souls. Accordingly, this word ἐνσωματευμένον is sometimes rendered "breath," sometimes "spirit," sometimes "inspiration," sometimes "aspiration," sometimes "soul," even when it is used of God. Ἐνσωματευμένον, on the other hand, is uniformly rendered "spirit," whether of man, of whom the apostle says, " For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him ? " ! or of beast, as in the book of

1 1 Cor. ii. 11.

Solomon, " "Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth ? " 1 or of that physical spirit which is called wind, for so the Psalmist calls it. " Fire and hail; snow and vapours; stormy wind; " 2 or of the uncreated Creator Spirit, of whom the Lord said in the gospel, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost,"
indicating the gift by the breathing of His mouth; and when He says, " Go ye and baptize all nations in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," 3 words which very expressly and excellently commend the Trinity; and where it is said, " God is a Spirit; " 4 and in very many other places of the sacred writings. In all these quotations from Scripture we do not find in the Greek the word irvor] used, but irvevfia, and in the Latin, not flatus, but spirihis. Wherefore, referring again to that place where it is written, u He inspired," or, to speak more properly, " breathed into his face the breath of life," even though the Greek had not used tvov (as it has) but irvevfia, it would not on that account necessarily follow that the Creator Spirit, who in the Trinity is distinctively called the Holy Ghost, was meant, since, as has been said, it is plain that irvevfia is used not only of the Creator, but also of the creature.

But, say they, when the Scripture used the word u spirit," 5 it would not have added " of life " unless it meant us to understand the Holy Spirit; nor, when it said, " Man became a soul," would it also have inserted the word "living" unless that life of the soul were signified which is imparted to it from above by the gift of God. For, seeing that the soul by itself has a proper life of its own, what need, they ask, ws there of adding living, save only to show that the life which is given it by the Holy Spirit was meant ? What is this but to fight strenuously for their own conjectures, while they carelessly neglect the teaching of Scripture ? Without troubling themselves much, they might have found in a preceding page of this very book of Genesis the words, " Let the earth bring forth the living soul," 6 when all the terrestrial animals were created. Then at a slight interval, but still in the same book,

1 Eccles. iii. 21. 2 Ps. cxlviii. 8. 3 Matt, xxviii. 19.

4 John iv. 24. 5 "Breath," Eng. ver. 6 Gen. i. 2i.
was it impossible for them to notice this verse, "All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died," by which it was signified that all the animals which lived on the earth had perished in the deluge? If, then, we find that Scripture is accustomed to speak both of the "living soul" and the "spirit of life" even in reference to beasts; and if in this place, where it is said, "All things which have the spirit of life," the word Trvoij, not irvevixa, is used; why may we not say, What need was there to add "living," since the soul cannot exist without being alive? or, What need to add "of life" after the word spirit? But we understand that Scripture used these expressions in its ordinary style so long as it speaks of animals, that is, animated bodies, in which the soul serves as the residence of sensation; but when man is spoken of, we forget the ordinary and established usage of Scripture, whereby it signifies that man received a rational soul, which was not produced out of the waters and the earth like the other living creatures, but was created by the breath of God.

Yet this creation was so ordered that the human soul should live in an animal body, like those other animals of which the Scripture said, "Let the earth produce every living soul."

and regarding which it again says that in them is the breath of life, where the word irvorj and not irvevxa is used in the Greek, and where certainly not the Holy Spirit, but their spirit, is signified under that name.

But, again, they object that breath is understood to have been emitted from the mouth of God; and if we believe that is the soul, we must consequently acknowledge it to be of the same substance, and equal to that wisdom, which says, "I come out of the mouth of the Most High." 1 Wisdom, indeed, does not say it was breathed out of the mouth of God, but proceeded out of it. But as we are able, when we breathe, to make a breath, not of our own human nature, but of the surrounding air, which we inhale and exhale as we draw our breath and breathe again, so almighty God was able to make breath, not of His own nature, nor of the creature beneath Him, but even of nothing; and this breath, when He communicated it to man's body, He is most appropriately said to have breathed or inspired, â€” the Immaterial breathing it also immaterial, but the Immutable not also the immutable; for it was created, He uncreated. Yet, that these persons who are forward to quote Scripture, and yet know not the usages of its language, may know that not only what is equal and consubstantial with God is said to proceed out of His mouth, let them hear or read what God says: "So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth." 1

1 Ecclus. xxiv. 3.
There is no ground, then, for our objecting, when the apostle so expressly distinguishes the animal body from the spiritual, that is to say, the body in which we now are from that in which we are to be. He says, "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.

The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." 2 Of all which words of his we have previously spoken. The animal body, accordingly, in which the apostle says that the first man Adam was made, was not so made that it could not die at all, but so that it should not die unless he should have sinned.

That body, indeed, which shall be made spiritual and immortal by the quickening Spirit shall not be able to die at all; as the soul has been created immortal, and therefore, although by sin it may be said to die, and does lose a certain life of its own, namely, the Spirit of God, by whom it was enabled to live wisely and blessedly, yet it does not cease living a kind of life, though a miserable, because it is immortal by creation.

So, too, the rebellious angels, though by sinning they did in a sense die, because they forsook God, the Fountain of life, which while they drank they were able to live wisely and well, yet they could not so die as to utterly cease living and

1 Her. iii. 16. 2 1 Cor. xv. 44-49.
feeling, for they are immortals by creation. And so, after the final judgment, they shall be hurled into the second death, and not even there be deprived of life or of sensation, but shall suffer torment. But those men who have been embraced by God's grace, and are become the fellow-citizens of the holy angels who have continued in bliss, shall never more either sin or die, being endued with spiritual bodies; yet, being clothed with immortality, such as the angels enjoy, of which they cannot be divested even by sinning, the nature of their flesh shall continue the same, but all carnal corruption and unwieldiness shall be removed.

There remains a question which must be discussed, and, by the help of the Lord God of truth, solved: If the motion of concupiscence in the unruly members of our first parents arose out of their sin, and only when the divine grace deserted them; and if it was on that occasion that their eyes were opened to see, or, more exactly, notice their nakedness, and that they covered their shame because the shameless motion of their members was not subject to their will, â€” how, then, would they have begotten children had they remained sinless as they were created? But as this book must be concluded, and so large a question cannot be summarily disposed of, we may relegate it to the following book, in which it will be more conveniently treated.
Of the following Work, Books IV. XVII. and XVII I. have been translated by the Kev. George Wilson, Glenluce; Books V. VI. VII. and VIII. by the Kev. J. J. Smith.
CONTENTS.

BOOK XIV.

PAGE

Of the punishment and results of man's first sin, and of the propagation of man without lust, ........ 1

BOOK XV.

The progress of the earthly and heavenly cities traced by the sacred history, 49

BOOK XVI.

The history of the city of God from Noah to the time of the kings of Israel, ........... 104

BOOK XVII.

The history of the city of God from the times of the prophets to Christ, 165

BOOK XVIII.

A parallel history of the earthly and heavenly cities from the time of Abraham to the end of the world, 217

BOOK XIX.

A review of the philosophical opinions regarding the Supreme Good, and a comparison of these opinions with the Christian belief regarding happiness, .......... 293

BOOK XX.

Of the last judgment, and the declarations regarding it in the Old and
AUGUSTINE AGAIN TREATS OF THE SIN OF THE FIRST MAN, AND TEACHES THAT IT IS THE CAUSE OF THE CARNAL LIFE AND VICIOUS AFFECTIONS OF MAN. ESPECIALLY HE PROVES THAT THE SHAME WHICH ACCOMPANIES LUST IS THE JUST PUNISHMENT OF THAT DISOBEDIENCE, AND INQUIRES HOW MAN, IF HE HAD NOT SINNED, WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE WITHOUT LUST TO PROPAGATE HIS KIND.

1. That the disobedience of the first man would have plunged all men into the endless misery of the second death, had not the grace of God rescued many.
WE have already stated in the preceding books that God, desiring not only that the human race might be able by their similarity of nature to associate with one another, but also that they might be bound together in harmony and peace by the ties of relationship, was pleased to derive all men from one individual, and created man with such a nature that the members of the race should not have died, had not the two first (of whom the one was created out of nothing, and the other out of him) merited this by their disobedience; for by them so great a sin was committed, that by it the human nature was altered for the worse, and was transmitted also to their posterity, liable to sin and subject to death. And the kingdom of death so reigned over men, that the deserved penalty of sin would have hurled all headlong even into the second death, of which there is no end, had not the undeserved grace of God saved some therefrom. And

1 This book is referred to in another work of Augustine's {contra Advers. Legis et Prophet, i. 18), which was written about the year 420.

VOL. II. A

ea

17

THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

thus it has come to pass, that though there are very many and great nations all over the earth, whose rites and customs, speech, arms, and dress, are distinguished by marked differences, yet there are no more than two kinds of human society, which we may justly call two cities, according to the language of our Scriptures. The one consists of those who wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit; and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in peace, each after their kind.

2. Of carnal life, which is to be understood not only of living in bodily indulgence, but also of living in the vices of the inner man.

First, we must see what it is to live after the flesh, and what to live after the spirit. For any one who either does not recollect, or does not sufficiently weigh, the language of sacred Scripture, may, on first hearing what we have said, suppose that the Epicurean philosophers live after the flesh, because they place man's highest good in bodily pleasure; and that those others do so who have been of opinion that in some form or other bodily good is man's supreme good; and that the mass of men do so who, without dogmatizing or philosophizing on the subject, are so prone to lust that they cannot delight in any pleasure save such as they receive from bodily sensations: and he may suppose that the Stoics, who place the supreme good of men in the soul, live after the spirit; for
what is man's soul, if not spirit? But in the sense of the divine Scripture both are proved to live after the flesh. For by flesh it means not only the body of a terrestrial and mortal animal, as when it says, "All flesh is not the same flesh, but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, another of birds," 1 but it uses this word in many other significations; and among these various usages, a frequent one is to use flesh for man himself, the nature of man taking the part for the whole, as in the words, "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified;" 2 for what does he mean here by "no flesh" but no man? "And this, indeed, he shortly after says more plainly: "No man shall be justified by the law;" 3 and in the Epistle to the Galatians, "Knowing that a man is not justified by the

1 1 Cor. xv. 39. 2 Rom. iii. 2a 3 Gal. iii. 11.
works of the law." And so we understand the words, "And the Word was made flesh/ 1 2 that is, man, which some not accepting in its right sense, have supposed that Christ had not a human soul. 2 For as the whole is used for the part in the words of Mary Magdalene in the Gospel, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him," 3 by which she meant only the flesh of Christ, which she supposed had been taken from the tomb where it had been buried, so the part is used for the whole, flesh being named, while man is referred to, as in the quotations above cited.

Since, then, Scripture uses the word flesh in many ways, which there is not time to collect and investigate, if we are to ascertain what it is to live after the flesh (which is certainly evil, though the nature of flesh is not itself evil), we must carefully examine that passage of the epistle which the Apostle Paul wrote to the Galatians, in which he says, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." 4 This whole passage of the apostolic epistle being considered, so far as it bears on the matter in hand, will be sufficient to answer the question, what it is to live after the flesh. For among the works of the flesh which he said were manifest, and which he cited for condemnation, we find not only those which concern the pleasure of the flesh, as fornications, uncleanness, lasciviousness, drunkenness, revellings, but also those which, though they be remote from fleshly pleasure, reveal the vices of the soul. For who does not see that idolatries, witchcrafts, hatreds, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, heresies, envyings, are vices rather of the soul than of the flesh? For it is quite possible for a man to abstain from fleshly pleasures for the sake of idolatry or some heretical error; and yet, even when he does so, he is proved by this apostolic authority to be living after the flesh; and in

1 John. i. 14. 2 The Apollinarians.

abstaining from fleshly pleasure, he is proved to be practising damnable works of the flesh. "Who that has enmity has it not in his soul? or who would say to his enemy, or to the man he thinks his enemy, You have a bad flesh towards me, and not rather, You have a bad spirit towards me? In fine, if any one heard of what I may call " carnalities," he would not fail to attribute them to the carnal part of man; so no one doubts that "animosities " belong to the soul of man.

Why then does the doctor of the Gentiles in faith and verity call all these and similar things works of the flesh, unless because, by that mode of speech whereby the part is used for the whole, he means us to understand by the word flesh the man himself?

3. That sin is caused not by the flesh, but by the soul, and that the corruption contracted from sin is not sin, but ski's punishment.

But if any one says that the flesh is the cause of all vices and ill conduct, inasmuch as the soul lives wickedly only because it is moved by the flesh, it is certain he has not carefully considered the whole nature of man. For " the corruptible body, indeed, weigheth down the soul." 1 "Whence, too, the apostle, speaking of this corruptible body, of which he had shortly before said, " though our outward man perish," ~ says, " "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven: if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up in life." "We are then burdened with this corruptible body; but knowing that the cause of this burdensomeness is not the nature and substance of the body, but its corruption, we do not desire to be deprived of the body, but to be clothed with its immortality. For then, also, there will be a body, but it shall no longer be a burden, being no longer corruptible. At present, then, " the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon 1 Wisd. ix. 15. 2 2 Cor. iv. 16. 3 2 Cor. v. 1-4.
[BOOK XIV.] THE SOUL AND THE FLESH. 5

many things," nevertheless they are in error who suppose that all the evils of the soul proceed from the body.

Virgil, indeed, seems to express the sentiments of Plato in the beautiful lines, where he says, â€”

"A fiery strength inspires their lives, An essence that from heaven derives, Though clogged in part by limbs of clay, And the dull ' vesture of decay;' 

but though he goes on to mention the four most common mental emotions, â€” desire, fear, joy, sorrow, â€” with the intention of showing that the body is the origin of all sins and vices, saying, â€”

" Hence wild desires and grovelling fears, And human laughter, human tears, Immured in dungeon-seeming night, They look abroad, yet see no light," 2

yet we believe quite otherwise. For the corruption of the body, which weighs down the soul, is not the cause but the punishment of the first sin; and it was not the corruptible flesh that made the soul sinful, but the sinful soul that made the flesh corruptible. And though from this corruption of the flesh there arise certain incitements to vice, and indeed vicious desires, yet we must not attribute to the flesh all the vices of a wicked life, in case we thereby clear the devil of all these, for he has no flesh. For though we cannot call the devil a fornicator or drunkard, or ascribe to him any sensual indulgence (though he is the secret instigator and prompter of those who sin in these ways), yet he is exceedingly proud and envious. And this viciousness has so possessed him, that on account of it he is reserved in chains of darkness to everlasting punishment. 3 Now these vices, which have dominion over the devil, the apostle attributes to the flesh, which certainly the devil has not. For he says

"hatred, variance, emidations, strife, envying" are the works of the flesh; and of all these evils pride is the origin and head, and it rules in the devil though he has no flesh. For who shows more hatred to the saints? who is more at

1 Jeneid, vi. 730-32. 2 lb. 733, 734.

3 On the punishment of the devil, see the De Agone Christi, 3-5, and Be Nat. Boni, 33.

6 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

variance with them? who more envious, bitter, and jealous?
And since he exhibits all these works, though he has no flesh, how are they works of the flesh, unless because they are the works of man, who is, as I said, spoken of under the
name of flesh? For it is not by having flesh, which the devil has not, but by living according to himself, â€” that is, according to man, â€” that man became like the devil. For the devil too, wished to live according to himself when he did not abide in the truth; so that when he lied, this was not of God, but of himself, who is not only a liar, but the father of lies, he being the first who lied, and the originator of lying as of sin.

4. What it is to live according to man, and what to live according to God.

When, therefore, man lives according to man, not according to God, he is like the devil. Because not even an angel might live according to an angel, but only according to God, if he was to abide in the truth, and speak God's truth and not his own lie. And of man, too, the same apostle says in another place, "If the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie:" 1 â€” "my lie," he said, and "God's truth."

When, then, a man lives according to the truth, he lives not according to himself, but according to God; for He was God who said, "I am the truth." 2 When, therefore, man lives according to himself, â€” that is, according to man, not according to God, â€” assuredly he lives according to a lie; not that man himself is a lie, for God is his author and creator, who is certainly not the author and creator of a lie, but because man was made upright, that he might not live according to himself, but according to Him that made him, â€” in other words, that he might do His will and not his own; and not to live as he was made to live, that is a lie. For he certainly desires to be blessed even by not living so that he may* be blessed. And what is a lie if this desire be not? Wherefore it is not without meaning said that all sin is a lie. For no sin is committed save by that desire or will by which we desire that it be well with us, and shrink from it being ill with us.

That, therefore, is a lie which we do in order that it may be well with us, but which makes us more miserable

1 Rom. iii. 7. Â» 2 John xiv. 6.
than we were. And why is this, but because the source of man's happiness lies only in God, whom he abandons when he sins, and not in himself, by living according to whom he sins?

In enunciating this proposition of ours, then, that because some live according to the flesh and others according to the spirit there have arisen two diverse and conflicting cities, we might equally well have said, "because some live according to man, others according to God." For Paul says very plainly to the Corinthians, "For whereas there is among you envying and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk according to man?" 1 So that to walk according to man and to be carnal are the same; for by flesh, that is, by a part of man, man is meant. For before he said that those same persons were animal whom afterwards he calls carnal, saying, "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the animal man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him." 2 It is to men of this kind, then, that is, to animal men, he shortly after says, "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal." 3 And this is to be interpreted by the same usage, a part being taken for the whole. For both the soul and the flesh, the component parts of man, can be used to signify the whole man; and so the animal man and the carnal man are not two different things, but one and the same thing: viz. man living; according to man. In the same way it is nothing else than men that are meant either in the words, "By the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified;" 4 or in the words, "Seventy-five souls went clown into Egypt with Jacob." 5 In the one passage, "no flesh" signifies "no man;" and in the

1 1 Cor. iii. 3. 2 1 Cor. ii. 11-14. 3 1 Cor. iii. 1.
4 Rom. iii. 20. 5 Gen. xlvi. 27.

8 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

other, by "seventy-five souls" seventy-five men are meant. And the expression, "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth," might equally be "not in words which fleshly wisdom teacheth;" and the expression, "ye walk according to man," might be "according to the flesh." And this is still more apparent in the words which followed: "For while one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not men?" The same thing which he had before expressed by
"ye are animal," "ye are carnal," he now expresses by "ye are men;" that is, ye live according to man, not according to God, for if you lived according to Him, you should be gods.

5. That the opinion of the Plaionists regarding the nature of body and soul is not so censurable as that of the Manichceans, but that even it is objectionable, because it ascribes the origin of vices to the nature of the flesh.

There is no need, therefore, that in our sins and vices we accuse the nature of the flesh to the injury of the Creator, for in its own kind and degree the flesh is good; but to desert the Creator good, and live according to the created good, is not good, whether a man choose to live according to the flesh, or according to the soul, or according to the whole human nature, which is composed of flesh and soul, and which is therefore spoken of either by the name flesh alone, or by the name soul alone. For he who extols the nature of the soul as the chief good, and condemns the nature of the flesh as if it were evil, assuredly is fleshly both in his love of the soul and hatred of the flesh; for these his feelings arise from human fancy, not from divine truth. The Platonists, indeed, are not so foolish as, with the Manichceans, to detest our present bodies as an evil nature;* for they attribute all the elements of which this visible and tangible world is compacted, with all their qualities, to God their Creator. Nevertheless, from the death-infected members and earthly construction of the body they believe the soul is so affected, that there are thus originated in it the diseases of desires, and fears, and joy, and sorrow, under which four perturbations, as Cicero 2 calls them, or passions, as most prefer to name them with the Greeks, is included the whole viciousness of human life. But if this be so, how is it that iEneas in Virgil, when he had heard from his father in Hades that 1 See Augustine, De Hares. 46. 2 Tusc. Quozst. iv. 6.
the souls should return to bodies, expresses surprise at this declaration, and exclaims:

"* father! and can thought conceive That happy souls this realm would leave,

And seek the upper sky, With sluggish clay to reunite?
This direful longing for the light,

"Whence comes it, say, and why?"

This direful longing, then, does it still exist even in that boasted purity of the disembodied spirits, and does it still proceed from the death-infected members and earthly limbs?

Does he not assert that, when they begin to long to return to the body, they have already been delivered from all these so-called pestilences of the body? From which we gather that, were this endlessly alternating purification and defilement of departing and returning souls as true as it is most certainly false, yet it could not be averred that all culpable and vicious motions of the soul originate in the earthly body; for, on their own showing, "this direful longing," to use the words of their noble exponent, is so extraneous to the body, that it moves the soul that is purified of all bodily taint, and is existing apart from any body whatever, and moves it, moreover, to be embodied again. So that even they themselves acknowledge that the soul is not only moved to desire, fear, joy, sorrow, by the flesh, but that it can also be agitated with these emotions at its own instance.

6. Of the character of the human will which makes the affections of the soul right or wrong.

But the character of the human will is of moment; because, if it is wrong, these motions of the soul will be wrong, but if it is right, they will be not merely blameless, but even praiseworthy. For the will is in them all; yea, none of them is anything else than will. For what are desire and joy but a volition of consent to the things we wish? And what are fear and sadness but a volition of aversion from the thing we do not wish? But when consent takes the form of seeking to possess the things we wish, this is called desire; and when consent takes the form of enjoying the things we wish, this is called joy. In like manner, when we turn with aversion from that which we do not wish to happen, this volition is termed fear; and when we turn away from that
which has happened against our will, this act of will is called sorrow. And generally in respect of all that we seek or shun, as a man's will is attracted or repelled, so it is changed and turned into these different affections. "Wherefore the man who lives according to God, and not according to man, ought to be a lover of good, and therefore a hater of evil. And since no one is evil by nature, but whoever is evil is evil by vice, he who lives according to God ought to cherish towards evil men a perfect hatred, so that he shall neither hate the man because of his vice, nor love the vice because of the man, but hate the vice and love the man. For the vice being cursed, all that ought to be loved, and nothing that ought to be hated, will remain.

7. That the words love and regard (amor and dilectio) are in Scripture used indifferently of good and evil affection.

He who resolves to love God, and to love his neighbour as himself, not according to man but according to God, is on account of this love said to be of a good will; and this is in Scripture more commonly called charity, but it is also, even in the same books, called love. For the apostle says that the man to be elected as a ruler of the people must be a lover of good. 1 And when the Lord Himself had asked Peter, "Hast thou a regard for me (diligis) more than these?" Peter replied, "Lord, Thou knowest that I love (amo) Thee." And again a second time the Lord asked not whether Peter loved (amaret) Him, but whether he had a regard (dilirjcret) for Him, and he again answered, "Lord, Thou knowest that I love (amo) Thee." But on the third interrogation the Lord Himself no longer says, "Hast thou a regard (diligis) for me," but "Lovest thou (amas) me?" Arid then the evangelist adds, "Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time, Lovest thou (amas) me?" though the Lord had not said three times but only once, "Lovest thou (amas) me?" and twice "Diligis me?" from which we gather that, even when the Lord said "diligis" He used an equivalent for "amas." Peter, too, throughout used one word.

1 Tit. i. 8, according to Greek and VulgatÂ§.
for the one thing, and the third time also replied, "Lord, Thou knowest all things, Thou knowest that I love (amo) Thee." *

I have judged it right to mention this, because some are of opinion that charity or regard (dilectio) is one thing, love (amor) another. They say that dilectio is used of a good affection, amor of an evil love. But it is very certain that even secular literature knows no such distinction. However, it is for the philosophers to determine whether and how they differ, though their own writings sufficiently testify that they make great account of love (amor) placed on good objects, and even on God Himself. But we wished to show that the Scriptures of our religion, whose authority we prefer to all writings whatsoever, make no distinction between amor, dilectio, and caritas; and we have already shown that amor is used in a good connection. And if any one fancy that amor is no doubt used both of good and bad loves, but that dilectio is reserved for the good only, let him remember what the psalm says, "He that loveth (diligit) iniquity hateth his own soul;" 2 and the words of the Apostle John, "If any man love (diligere) the world, the love (dilectio) of the Father is not in him." 3 Here you have in one passage dilectio used both in a good and a bad sense. And if any one demands an instance of amor being used in a bad sense (for we have already shown its use in a good sense), let him read the words, "Tor men shall be lovers (amantes) of their own selves, lovers (amatores) of money." 4

The right will is, therefore, well-directed love, and the wrong will is ill-directed love. Love, then, yearning to have what is loved, is desire; and having and enjoying it, is joy; fleeing what is opposed to it, it is fear; and feeling what is opposed to it, when it has befallen it, it is sadness. Now these motions are evil if the love is evil; good if the love is good. What we assert let us prove from Scripture. The apostle "desires to depart, and to be with Christ.” 5 And, "My soul desired to long for Thy judgments;" 6 or if it is more appropriate to say, "My soul longed to desire Thy judgments." And, "The desire of wisdom bringeth to a kingdom." 7

1 John xxi. 15-17. On these synomyms see the commentaries in loc.

2 Ps. xi. 5. 3 1 John ii. 15. 4 2 Tim. iii. 2.
6 Phil. i. 23. â€œ Ps. cxix. 20. 7 Wisd. vi. 20.

12 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

Yet there lias always obtained the usage of understanding desire and concupiscence in a bad sense if the object be not denned.
But joy is used in a good sense: "Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous." * And, "Thou hast put gladness in my heart." 2 And, "Thou wilt fill me with joy with Thy countenance." 3 Fear is used in a good sense by the apostle when he says, "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling." 4

And, "Be not high-minded, but fear." 5 And, "I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." G But with respect to sadness, which Cicero prefers to call sickness (cegritudo), and Virgil pain (dolor) (as he says, "Dolent gaitdentque" 7 ), but which I prefer to call sorrow, because sickness and pain are more commonly used to express bodily suffering, â€” with respect to this emotion, I say, the question whether it can be used in a good sense is more difficult.

8. Of the three perturbations, which the Stoics admitted in the soul of the wise man to the exclusion of grief or sadness, which the manly mind ought not to experience.

Those emotions which the Greeks call evTraOelai, and which Cicero calls constanticc, the Stoics would restrict to three; and, instead of three "perturbations" in the soul of the wise man, they substituted severally, in place of desire, will; in place of joy, contentment; and for fear, caution; and as to sickness or pain, which we, to avoid ambiguity, preferred to call sorrow, they denied that it could exist in the mind of a wise man. "Will, they say, seeks the good, for this the wise man does. Contentment has its object in good that is possessed, and this the wise man continually possesses. Caution avoids evil, and this the wise man ought to avoid. But sorrow arises from evil that has already happened; and as they suppose that no evil can happen to the wise man* there can be no representative of sorrow in his mind. According to them, therefore, none but the wise man wills, is contented, uses caution; and that the fool can do no more than desire, rejoice, fear, be sad. The former three affections

1 Ps. xxxii. 11. 2 Ps. iv. 7. 3 Ps. xvi. 11.

4 Phil. ii. 12. 5 Pom. xi. 20. c 2 Cor. xi. 3.

7 jEneid, vi. 733.
Cicero calls constanticcc, the last four perturbationes. Many, however, call these last passions; and, as I have said, the Greeks call the former eviradelai, and the latter 7rd0tr). And when I made a careful examination of Scripture to find whether this terminology was sanctioned by it, I came upon this saying of the prophet: "There is no contentment to the wicked, saith the Lord; "* as if the wicked might more properly rejoice than be contented regarding evils, for contentment is the property of the good and godly. I found also that verse in the Gospel: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them;" 2 which seems to imply that evil or shameful things may be the object of desire, but not of will. Indeed, some interpreters have added "good things" to make the expression more in conformity with customary usage, and have given this meaning, "Whatsoever good deeds that ye would that men should do unto you." For they thought that this would prevent any one from wishing other men to provide him with unseemly, not to say shameful, gratifications, â€” luxurious banquets, for example, â€” on the supposition that if he returned the like to them he would be fulfilling this precept. In the Greek Gospel, however, from which the Latin is translated, "good" does not occur, but only, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you," and, as I believe, because "good" is already included in the word "would;" for He does not say "desire."

Yet though we may sometimes avail ourselves of these precise proprieties of language, we are not to be always bridled by them; and when we read those writers against whose authority it is unlawful to reclaim, we must accept the meanings above mentioned in passages where a right sense can be educed by no other interpretation, as in those instances we adduced partly from the prophet, partly from the Gospel. For who does not know that the wicked exult with joy? Yet "there is no contentment for the wicked, saith the Lord." And how so, unless because contentment, when the word is used in its proper and distinctive significance, means something different from joy? In like manner,

1 Isa. lvii. 21. 2 Matt. vii. 12.

14 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

who would deny that it were wrong to enjoin upon men that whatever they desire others to do to them they should themselves do to others, lest they should mutually please one another by shameful and illicit pleasure? And yet the precept, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them," is very wholesome and just. And how is this, unless because the will is in this place used strictly, and signifies that will which cannot have evil for its object? But ordinary phraseology would not have allowed the saying, "Be unwilling to make any manner of lie/" I had there not been also an evil
will, whose wickedness separates it from that which the angels celebrated, "Peace on earth, of good will to men;" 2 For "good" is superfluous if there is no other kind of will but good will. And why should the apostle have mentioned it among the praises of charity as a great thing, that "it rejoices not in iniquity;' unless because wickedness does so rejoice? For even with secular writers these words are used indifferently. For Cicero, that most fertile of orators, says, "I desire, conscript fathers, to be merciful"

And who would be so pedantic as to say that he should have said "I will" rather than "I desire," because the word is used in a good connection? Again, in Terence, the profligate youth, burning with wild lust, says, "I will nothing else than Philumena," 4 That this "will" was lust is sufficiently indicated by the answer of his old servant which is there introduced: "How much better were it to try and banish that love from your heart, than to speak so as uselessly to inflame your passion still more!" And that contentment was used by secular writers in a bad sense, that verse of Virgil testifies, in which he most succinctly comprehends these four perturbations, à€’

11 Hence they fear and desire, grieve and are content." 5

The same author had also used the expression, "the evilcontentments of the mind." 6 So that good and bad men alike will, are cautious, and contented; or, to say the same thing in other words, good and bad men alike desire, fear, rejoice, but the former in a good, the latter in a bad fashion, according as the will is right or wrong. Sorrow itself, too,


4 Ter. Andr. ii. 1, 6.: 'JZneid, vi. 733. 6 jEnekl, v. 278.
which the Stoics would not allow to be represented in the mind of the wise man, is used in a good sense, and especially in our writings. For the apostle praises the Corinthians because they had a godly sorrow. But possibly some one may say that the apostle congratulated them because they were penitently sorry, and that such sorrow can exist only in those who have sinned. For these are his words: "For I perceive that the same epistle hath made you sorry, though it were but for a season. Now I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance; for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing. For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of, but the sorrow of the world worketh death. For, behold, this selfsame thing that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you!" Consequently the Stoics may defend themselves by replying, that sorrow is indeed useful for repentance of sin, but that this can have no place in the mind of the wise man, inasmuch as no sin attaches to him of which he could sorrowfully repent, nor any other evil the endurance or experience of which could make him sorrowful. For they say that Alcibiades (if my memory does not deceive me), who believed himself happy, shed tears when Socrates argued with him, and demonstrated that he was miserable because he was foolish. In his case, therefore, folly was the cause of this useful and desirable sorrow, wherewith a man mourns that he is what he ought not to be. But the Stoics maintain not that the fool, but that the wise man, cannot be sorrowful.

9. Of the perturbations of the soul which appear as right affections in the lift of the righteous.

But so far as regards this question of mental perturbations, we have answered these philosophers in the ninth book of this work, showing that it is rather a verbal than a real dispute, and that they seek contention rather than truth.

Among ourselves, according to the sacred Scriptures and sound doctrine, the citizens of the holy city of God, who live according to God in the pilgrimage of this life, both fear and desire, and grieve and rejoice. And because their love is

1 2 Cor. vii. 8-11. 2 Tusc. Disp. iii. 32. 3 C. 4, 5.

1 G THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

rightly placed, all these affections of theirs are right. They fear eternal punishment, they desire eternal life; they grieve because they themselves groan within themselves, waiting for the adoption, the redemption of their body; they rejoice in hope, because there "shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory." In like manner they fear to sin, they desire to persevere; they grieve in sin, they rejoice in
good works. They fear to sin, because they hear that "because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold." 3 They desire to persevere, because they hear that it is written, "He that endureth to the end shall be saved." 4 They grieve for sin, hearing that "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." 5 They rejoice in good works, because they hear that "the Lord loveth a cheerful giver." 6 In like manner, according as they are strong or weak, they fear or desire to be tempted, grieve or rejoice in temptation. They fear to be tempted, because they hear the injunction, "If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." 7 They desire to be tempted, because they hear one of the heroes of the city of God saying, "Examine me, Lord, and tempt me: try my reins and my heart." 8 They grieve in temptations, because they see Peter weeping; 9 they rejoice in temptations, because they hear James saying, "My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations." 10 And not only on their own account do they experience these emotions, but also on account of those whose deliverance they desire and whose perdition they fear, and whose loss or salvation affects them with grief or with joy. For if we who have come into the Church from among the Gentiles may suitably instance that noble and mighty hero who glories in his infirmities, the teacher (doctor) of the nation in faith and truth, who also laboured more than all his fellow-apostles, and instructed the tribes of God's people by his

1 Rom. viii. 23. - 1 Cor. xv. 54. 3 Matt. xxiv. 12.

4 Matt. x. 22. 5 1 John i. S. c 2 Cor. ix. 7.

7 Gal. vi. 1. 8 Ps. xxvi. 2. c Matt. xxvi. 75.
10 Jas. i. 2.
epistles, which edified not only those of his own time, but all those who were to be gathered in; â€” that hero, I say, and athlete of Christ, instructed by Him, anointed of His Spirit, crucified with Him, glorious in Him, lawfully maintaining a great conflict on the theatre of this world, and being made a spectacle to angels and men, 1 and pressing onwards for the prize of his high calling, 2 â€” very joyfully do we with the eyes of faith behold him rejoicing with them that rejoice, and weeping with them that weep; 3 though hampered by fightings without and fears within; 4 desiring to depart and to be with Christ; 5 longing to see the Romans, that he might have some fruit among them as among other Gentiles; 6 being jealous over the Corinthians, and fearing in that jealousy lest their minds should be corrupted from the chastity that is in Christ; 7 having great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart for the Israelites, 8 because they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God; 9 and expressing not only his sorrow, but bitter lamentation over some who had formally sinned and had not repented of their uncleanness and fornications. 10

If these emotions and affections, arising as they do from the love of what is good and from a holy charity, are to be called vices, then let us allow these emotions which are truly vices to pass under the name of virtues. But since these affections, when they are exercised in a becoming way, follow the guidance of right reason, who will dare to say that they are diseases or vicious passions? Wherefore even the Lord Himself, when He condescended to lead a human life in the form of a slave, had no sin whatever, and yet exercised these emotions where He judged they should be exercised. For as there was in Him a true human body and a true human soul, so was there also a true human emotion. When, therefore, we read in the Gospel that the hard-heartedness of the Jews moved Him to sorrowful indignation, 11 that

1 1 Cor. iv. 9. 2 Phil. iii. 14. 3 Rom. xii. 15.
4 2 Cor. vii. 5. 5 Phil. i. 23. 6 Rom. i. 11-13.
? 2 Cor. xi. 1-3. 8 jÂ» om> { x 2 . 9 Rom. x. 3.
10 2 Cor. xii. 21. Â« Mark iii. 5.
VOL. II. B

18 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

He said, "I am glad for your sakes, to the intent ye may believe," 1 that when about to raise Lazarus He even shed tears, 2 that He earnestly desired to eat the passover with His disciples, 3 that as His passion drew near His soul was sorrowful, 4 these emotions are
certainly not falsely ascribed to Him. But as He became man when it pleased Him, so, in the grace of His definite purpose, when it pleased Him He experienced those emotions in His human soul.

But we must further make the admission, that even when these affections are well regulated, and according to God's will, they are peculiar to this life, not to that future life we look for, and that often we yield to them against our will. And thus sometimes we weep in spite of ourselves, being carried beyond ourselves, not indeed by culpable desire, but by praiseworthy charity. In us, therefore, these affections arise from human infirmity; but it was not so with the Lord Jesus, for even His infirmity was the consequence of His power. But so long as we wear the infirmity of this life, we are rather worse men than better if we have none of these emotions at all. For the apostle vituperated and abominated some who, as he said, were "without natural affection." The sacred Psalmist also found fault with those of whom he said, "I looked for some to lament with me, and there was none." 6 Tor to be quite free from pain while we are in this place of misery is only purchased, as one of this world's literati perceived and remarked, 7 at the price of blunted sensibilities both of mind and body. And therefore that which the Greeks call aTr&Oeia, and what the Latins would call, if their language would allow them, "impassibilitas," if it be taken to mean an impassibility of spirit and not of body, or, in other words, a freedom from those emotions which are contrary to reason and disturb the mind, then it is obviously a good and most desirable quality, but it is not one which is attainable in this life. For the words of the apostle are the confession, not of the common herd, but of the eminently pious, just, and holy men: "If we say we have no sin, we

1 John xi. 15. 2 John xi. 35. 3 Luke xxii. 15.

4 Matt. xxvi. 38. 5 Ram. i. 31. 6 Ps. lxix. 20.

7 Crantor, an Academic philosopher quoted by Cicero, Tusc. Qucest. iii. 6.
deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." * When there shall be no sin in a man, then there shall be this airdOeia.

At present it is enough if we live without crime; and he who thinks he lives without sin puts aside not sin, but pardon. And if that is to be called apathy, where the mind is the subject of no emotion, then who would not consider this insensibility to be worse than all vices? It may, indeed, reasonably be maintained that the perfect blessedness we hope for shall be free from all sting of fear or sadness; but who that is not quite lost to truth would say that neither love nor joy shall be experienced there? But if by apathy a condition be meant in which no fear terrifies nor any pain annoys, we must in this life renounce such a state if we would live according to God's will, but may hope to enjoy it in that blessedness which is promised as our eternal condition.

For that fear of which the Apostle John says, " There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love," 2 â€” that fear is not of the same kind as the Apostle Paul felt lest the Corinthians should be seduced by the subtility of the serpent; for love is susceptible of this fear, yea, love alone is capable of it. But the fear which is not in love is of that kind of which Paul himself says, " For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear." 3 But as for that " clean fear which endureth for ever," 4 if it is to exist in the world to come (and how else can it be said to endure for ever?), it is not a fear deterring us from evil which may happen, but preserving us in the good which cannot be lost. For where the love of acquired good is unchangeable, there certainly the fear that avoids evil is, if I may say so, free from anxiety. For under the name of " clean fear" David signifies that will by which we shall necessarily shrink from sin, and guard against it, not with the anxiety of weakness, which fears that we may strongly sin, but with the tranquillity of perfect love. Or if no kind of fear at all shall exist in that most imperturbable security of perpetual and blissful delights, then the expression, " The fear

1 1 John i. 8. 2 1 John iv. 18. 3 Rom. viii. 15. 4 Ps. xix. 9.

20 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever," must be taken in the same sense as that other, " The patience of the poor shall not perish for ever." 1 For patience, which is necessary only where ills are to be borne, shall not be eternal, but that which patience leads us to will be eternal. So perhaps this " clean fear" is said to endure for ever, because that to which fear leads shall endure.

And since this is so, â€” since we must live a good life in order to attain to a blessed life, â€” a good life has all these affections right, a bad life has them wrong. But in the blessed
life eternal there will be love and joy, not only right, but also assured; but fear and grief there will be none.

Whence it already appears in some sort what manner of persons the citizens of the city of God must be in this their pilgrimage, who live after the spirit, not after the flesh, “that is to say, according to God, not according to man,” and what manner of persons they shall be also in that immortality whither they are journeying. And the city or society of the wicked, who live not according to God, but according to man, and who accept the doctrines of men or devils in the worship of a false and contempt of the true divinity, is shaken with those wicked emotions as by diseases and disturbances. And if there be some of its citizens who seem to restrain and, as it were, temper those passions, they are so elated with ungodly pride, that their disease is as much greater as their pain is less. And if some, with a vanity monstrous in proportion to its rarity, have become enamoured of themselves because they can be stimulated and excited by no emotion, moved or bent by no affection, such persons rather lose all humanity than obtain true tranquillity. For a thing is not necessarily right because it is inflexible, nor healthy because it is insensible.

10. Whether it is to be believed that our first parents in Paradise, before they sinned, were free from all perturbation.

But it is a fair question, whether our first parent or first parents (for there was a marriage of two), before they sinned, experienced in their animal body such emotions as we shall not experience in the spiritual body when sin has been

1 Ps. ix. 18.
purged and finally abolished. For if they did, then how were they blessed in that boasted place of bliss, Paradise?

For who that is affected by fear or grief can be called absolutely blessed? And what could those persons fear or suffer in such affluence of blessings, where neither death nor illhealth was feared, and where nothing was wanting which a good will could desire, and nothing present which could interrupt man's mental or bodily enjoyment? Their love to God was unclouded, and their mutual affection was that of faithful and sincere marriage; and from this love flowed a wonderful delight, because they always enjoyed what was loved. Their avoidance of sin was tranquil; and, so long as it was maintained, no other ill at all could invade them and bring sorrow. Or did they perhaps desire to touch and eat the forbidden fruit, yet feared to die; and thus both fear and desire already, even in that blissful place, preyed upon those first of mankind? Away with the thought that such could be the case where there was no sin! And, indeed, this is already sin, to desire those things which the law of God forbids, and to abstain from them through fear of punishment, not through love of righteousness. Away, I say, with the thought, that before there was any sin, there should already have been committed regarding that fruit the very sin which our Lord warns us against regarding a woman:

"Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." * As happy, then, as were these our first parents, who were agitated by no mental perturbations, and annoyed by no bodily discomforts, so happy should the whole human race have been, had they not introduced that evil which they have transmitted to their posterity, and had none of their descendants committed iniquity worthy of damnation; but this original blessedness continuing until, in virtue of that benediction which said,

"Increase and multiply," 2 the number of the predestined saints should have been completed, there would then have been bestowed that higher felicity which is enjoyed by the most blessed angels, â€” a blessedness in which there should have been a secure assurance that no one would sin, and no

1 Matt. v. 28. 2 Gen. i. 28.

22 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

one die; and so should the saints have lived, after no taste of labour, pain, or death, as now they shall live in the resurrection, after they have endured all these things.

11. Of the fall of the first man, in whom nature was created good, and can be restored only by its Author.
But because God foresaw all things, and was therefore not ignorant that man also would
fall, we ought to consider this holy city in connection with what God foresaw and
ordained, and not according to our own ideas, which do not embrace God's ordination.
For man, by his sin, could not disturb the divine counsel, nor compel God to change what
He had decreed; for God's foreknowledge had anticipated both, â€” that is to say, both
how evil the man whom He had created good should become, and what good He Himself
should even thus derive from him. For though God is said to change His determinations
(so that in a tropical sense the Holy Scripture says even that God repented x ), this is said
with reference to man's expectation, or the order of natural causes, and not with reference
to that which the Almighty had foreknown that He would do. Accordingly God, as it is
written, made man upright, 2 and consequently with a good will For if he had not had a
good will, he could not have been upright.
The good will, then, is the work of God; for God created him with it. But the first evil
will, which preceded all man's evil acts, was rather a kind of falling away from the work
of God to its own works than any positive work. And therefore the acts resulting were
evil, not having God, but the will itself for their end; so that the will or the man himself,
so far as his will is bad, was as it were the evil tree bringing forth evil fruit. Moreover, the
bad will, though it be not in harmony with, but opposed to nature, inasmuch as it is a vice
or blemish, yet it is true of it as of all vice, that it cannot exist except in a nature, and only
in a nature created out of nothing, and not in that which the Creator has begotten of
Himself, as He begot the Word, by whom all things were made. For though God formed
man of the dust of the earth, yet the earth itself, and every earthly material, is absolutely
created out of nothing; and man's soul, too, God created out
1 Gen. vi. 6, and 1 Sam. xv. 11. , 2 Eccles. vii. 29.
of nothing, and joined to the body, when He made man. But evils are so thoroughly
overcome by good, that though they are permitted to exist, for the sake of demonstrating
how the most righteous foresight of God can make a good use even of them, yet good can
exist without evil, as in the true and supreme God Himself, and as in every invisible and
visible celestial creature that exists above this murky atmosphere; but evil cannot exist
without good, because the natures in which evil exists, in so far as they are natures, are
good.
And evil is removed, not by removing any nature, or part of a nature, which had been
introduced by the evil, but by healing and correcting that which had been vitiated and
depraved. The will, therefore, is then truly free, when it is not the slave of vices and sins.
Such was it given us by God; and this being lost by its own fault, can only be restored by
Him who was able at first to give it. And therefore the truth says, "If the Son shall make
you free, ye shall be free indeed;" * which is equivalent to saying, If the Son shall save
you, ye shall be . saved indeed. For He is our Liberator, inasmuch as He is our Saviour.

Man then lived with God for his rule in a paradise at once physical and spiritual. For
neither was it a paradise only physical for the advantage of the body, and not also
spiritual for the advantage of the mind; nor was it only spiritual to afford enjoyment to
man by his internal sensations, and not also physical to afford him enjoyment through his
external senses. But obviously it was both for both ends. But after that proud and
therefore envious angel (of whose fall I have said as much as I was able in the eleventh
and twelfth books of this work, as well as that of his fellows, who, from being God's
angels, became his angels), preferring to rule with a kind of pomp of empire rather than
to be another's subject, fell from the spiritual Paradise, and essaying to insinuate his
persuasive guile into the mind of man, whose unfallen condition provoked him to envy
now that himself was fallen, he chose the serpent as his mouthpiece in that bodily
Paradise in which it and all the other earthly animals were living with those two human
beings, the man and his wife, subject to

1 John viii. 3G.

24 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

them, and harmless; and he chose the serpent because, being slippery, and moving in
tortuous windings, it was suitable for his purpose. And this animal being subdued to his
wicked ends by the presence and superior force of his angelic nature, he abused as his
instrument, and first tried his deceit upon the woman, making his assault upon the weaker
part of that human alliance, that he might gradually gain the whole, and not supposing
that the man would readily give ear to him, or be deceived, but that he might yield to the
error of the woman.
For as Aaron was not induced to agree with the people when they blindly wished him to make an idol, and yet yielded to constraint; and as it is not credible that Solomon was so blind as to suppose that idols should be worshipped, but was drawn over to such sacrilege by the blandishments of women; so we cannot believe that Adam was deceived, and supposed the devil's word to be truth, and therefore transgressed God's law, but that he by the drawings of kindred yielded to the woman, the husband to the wife, the one human being to the only other human being. For not without significance did the apostle say, "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression;" but he speaks thus, because the woman accepted as true what the serpent told her, but the man could not bear to be severed from his only companion, even though this involved a partnership in sin. He was not on this account less culpable, but sinned with his eyes open. And so the apostle does not say, "He did not sin," but "He was not deceived." For he shows that he sinned when he says, "By one man sin entered into the world," and immediately after more distinctly, "In the likeness of Adam's transgression." But he meant that those are deceived who do not judge that which they do to be sin; but he knew. Otherwise how were it true "Adam was not deceived?" But having as yet no experience of the divine severity, he was possibly deceived in so far as he thought his sin venial. And consequently he was not deceived as the woman was deceived, but he was deceived as to the judgment which would be passed on his apology: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me, and I did

1 1 Tim. ii. 14. - Rom. v. 12.
eat.” 1 What need of saying more? Although they were not both deceived by credulity, yet both were entangled in the snares of the devil, and taken by sin.

12. Of the nature of man's first sin.

If any one finds a difficulty in understanding why other sins do not alter human nature as it was altered by the transgression of those first human beings, so that on account of it this nature is subject to the great corruption we feel and see, and to death, and is distracted and tossed with so many furious and contending emotions, and is certainly far different from what it was before sin, even though it were then lodged in an animal body, â€” if, I say, any one is moved by this, he ought not to think that that sin was a small and light one because it was committed about food, and that not bad nor noxious, except because it was forbidden; for in that spot of singular felicity God could not have created and planted any evil thing.

But by the precept He gave, God commended obedience, which is, in a sort, the mother and guardian of all the virtues in the reasonable creature, which was so created that submission is advantageous to it, while the fulfilment of its own will in preference to the Creator's is destruction. And as this commandment enjoining abstinence from one kind of food in the midst of great abundance of other kinds was so easy to keep, â€” so light a burden to the memory, â€” and, above all, found no resistance to its observance in lust, which only afterwards sprung up as the penal consequence of sin, the iniquity of violating it was all the greater in proportion to the ease with which it might have been kept.

13. That in Adam's sin an evil will preceded the evil act.

Our first parents fell into open disobedience because already they were secretly corrupted; for the evil act had never been done had not an evil will preceded it. And what is the origin of our evil will but pride? For "pride is the beginning of sin." 2 And what is pride but the craving for undue exaltation? And this is undue exaltation, when the soul abandons Him to whom it ought to cleave as its end, and

1 Gen. iii. 12. 2 Ecclus. x. 13.

"becomes a land of end to itself. This happens when it becomes its own satisfaction. And it does so when it falls away from that unchangeable good which ought to satisfy it more than itself. This falling away is spontaneous; for if the will had remained stedfast in the love of that higher and changeless good by which it was illumined to intelligence and kindled into love, it would not have turned away to find satisfaction in itself, and so
become frigid and benighted; the woman would not have believed the serpent spoke the truth, nor would the man have preferred the request of his wife to the command of God, nor have supposed that it was a venial transgression to cleave to the partner of his life even in a partnership of sin. The wicked deed, then, "that is to say, the transgression of eating the forbidden fruit," was committed by persons who were already wicked. That "evil fruit" 1 could be brought forth only by "a corrupt tree." But that the tree was evil was not the result of nature; for certainly it could become so only by the vice of the will, and vice is contrary to nature. Now, nature could not have been depraved by vice had it not been made out of nothing. Consequently, that it is a nature, this is because it is made by God; but that it falls away from Him, this is because it is made out of nothing. But man did not so fall away 2 as to become absolutely nothing; but being turned towards himself, his being became more contracted than it was when he clave to Him who supremely is. Accordingly, to exist in himself, that is, to be his own satisfaction after abandoning God, is not quite to become a nonentity, but to approximate to that.

And therefore the holy Scriptures designate the proud by another name, "self-pleasers." For it is good to have the heart lifted up, yet not to one's self, for this is proud, but to the Lord, for this is obedient, and can be the act only of the humble. There is, therefore, something in humility which, strangely enough, exalts the heart, and something in pride which debases it. This seems, indeed, to be contradictory, that loftiness should debase and lowliness exalt. But pious humility enables us to submit to what is above us; and nothing is more exalted above us than God; and therefore

1 Matt. vii. 18. 2 Defeat.
humility, by making us subject to God, exalts us. But pride, being a defect of nature, by
the very act of refusing subjection and revolting from Him who is supreme, falls to a low
condition; and then comes to pass what is written: "Thou castedst them down when they
lifted up themselves." 1 For he does not say, "when they had been lifted up," as if first
they were exalted, and then afterwards cast down; but "when they lifted up themselves"
even then they were cast down, â€” that is to say, the very lifting up was already a fall.
And therefore it is that humility is specially recommended to the city of God as it
sojourns in this world, and is specially exhibited in the city of God, and in the person of
Christ its King; while the contrary vice of pride, according to the testimony of the sacred
writings, specially rules his adversary the devil. And certainly this is the great difference
which distinguishes the two cities of which we speak, the one being the society of the
godly men, the other of the ungodly, each associated with the angels that adhere to their
party, and the one guided and fashioned by love of self, the other by love of God.

The devil, then, would not have ensnared man in the open and manifest sin of doing what
God had forbidden, had man not already begun to live for himself. It was this that made
him listen with pleasure to the words, "Ye shall be as gods," 2
which they would much more readily have accomplished by obediently adhering to their
supreme and true end than by proudly living to themselves. For created gods are gods not
by virtue of what is in themselves, but by a participation of the true God. By craving to be
more, man becomes less; and by aspiring to be self-sufficing, he fell away from Him who
truly suffices him. Accordingly, this wicked desire which prompts man to please himself
as if he were himself light, and which thus turns him away from that light by which, had
he followed it, he would himself have become light, â€” this wicked desire, I say, already
secretly existed in him, and the open sin was but its consequence. For that is true which is
written, "Pride goeth before destruction, and before honour is humility;" 3 that is to say,
secret ruin precedes open ruin, while the former is not counted ruin. For who counts exal-

1 Ps. lxxiii. 18. 2 Gen. iii. 5. 3 Prov. xviii. 12.

23 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

ation ruin, though no sooner is the Highest forsaken than a fall is begun? But who does
not recognise it as ruin, when there occurs an evident and indubitable transgression of the
commandment? And consequently, God's prohibition had reference to such an act as,
when committed, could not be defended on any pretence of doing what was righteous. 1
And I make bold to say that it is useful for the proud to fall into an open and indisputable
transgression, and so displease themselves, as already, by pleasing themselves, they had
fallen.
For Peter was in a healthier condition when he wept and was dissatisfied with himself,
than when he boldly presumed and satisfied himself. And this is averred by the sacred
Psalmist when he says, "Pill their faces with shame, that they may seek Thy name, Lord;" that is, that they who have pleased themselves in seeking their own glory may be pleased and satisfied with Thee in seeking Thy glory.

14. Of the pride in the sin, which was worse than the sin itself.

But it is a worse and more damnable pride which casts about for the shelter of an excuse even in manifest sins, as these our first parents did, of whom the woman said, "The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat;" and the man said, "The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." Here there is no word of begging pardon, no word of entreaty for healing. For though they do not, like Cain, deny that they have perpetrated the deed, yet their pride seeks to refer its wickedness to another, â€” the woman's pride to the serpent, the man's to the woman. But where there is a plain transgression of a divine commandment, this is rather to accuse than to excuse oneself. For the fact that the woman sinned on the serpent's persuasion, and the man at the woman's offer, did not make the transgression less, as if there were any one whom we ought rather to believe or yield to than God.

15. Of the justice of the punishment with which our first parents were visited for their disobedience.

Therefore, because the sin was a despising of the authority

1 That is to say, it was an obvious and indisputable transgression.
8 Ps. lxxxiii. 16. Â» Gen. ill 12, 13.
of God, — who had created man; who had made him in His own image; who had set him above the other animals; who had placed him in Paradise; who had enriched him with abundance of every kind and of safety; who had laid upon him neither many, nor great, nor difficult commandments, but, in order to make a wholesome obedience easy to him, had given him a single very brief and very light precept by which He reminded that creature whose service was to be free that He was Lord, — it was just that condemnation followed, and condemnation such that man, who by keeping the commandments should have been spiritual even in his flesh, became fleshly even in his spirit; and as in his pride he had sought to be his own satisfaction, God in His justice abandoned him to himself, not to live in the absolute independence he affected, but instead of the liberty he desired, to live dissatisfied with himself in a hard and miserable bondage to him to whom by sinning he had yielded himself, doomed in spite of himself to die in body as he had willingly become dead in spirit, condemned even to eternal death (had not the grace of God delivered him) because he had forsaken eternal life. Whoever thinks such punishment either excessive or unjust shows his inability to measure the great iniquity of sinning where sin might so easily have been avoided. For as Abraham's obedience is with justice pronounced to be great, because the thing commanded, to kill his son, was very difficult, so in Paradise the disobedience was the greater, because the difficulty of that which was commanded was imperceptible.

And as the obedience of the second Man was the more laudable because He became obedient even "unto death," * so the disobedience of the first man was the more detestable because he became disobedient even unto death. For where the penalty annexed to disobedience is great, and the thing commanded by the Creator is easy, who can sufficiently estimate how great a wickedness it is, in a matter so easy, not to obey the authority of so great a power, even when that power deters with so terrible a penalty?

In short, to say all in a word, what but disobedience was the punishment of disobedience in that sin? For what else

1 Phil. ii. 8.

30 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

is man's misery but his own disobedience to himself, so that in consequence of his not being willing to do what he could do, he now wills to do what he cannot? For though he could not do all things in Paradise before he sinned, yet he wished to do only what he could do, and therefore he could do all things he wished. But now, as we recognise in his offspring, and as divine Scripture testifies, "Man is like to vanity." * For who can count how many things he wishes which he cannot do, so long as he is disobedient to himself, that is, so long as his mind and his flesh do not obey his will? For in spite of himself his mind is both frequently disturbed, and his flesh suffers, and grows old, and dies; and in
spite of ourselves we suffer whatever else we suffer, and which we would not suffer if our nature absolutely and in all its parts obeyed our will. But is it not the infirmities of the flesh which hamper it in its service? Yet what does it matter how its service is hampered, so long as the fact remains, that by the just retribution of the sovereign God whom we refused to be subject to and serve, our flesh, which was subjected to us, now torments us by insubordination, although our disobedience brought trouble on ourselves, not upon God?

For He is not in need of our service as we of our body's; and therefore what we did was no punishment to Him, but what we receive is so to us. And the pains which are called bodily are pains of the soul in and from the body. For what pain or desire can the flesh feel by itself and without the soul? But when the flesh is said to desire or to suffer, it is meant, as we have explained, that the man does so, or some part of the soul which is affected by the sensation of the flesh, whether a harsh sensation causing pain, or gentle, causing pleasure. But pain in the flesh is only a discomfort of the soul arising from the flesh, and a kind of shrinking from its suffering, as the pain of the soul which is called sadness is a shrinking from those things which have happened to us in spite of ourselves. But sadness is frequently preceded by fear, which is itself in the soul, not in the flesh; while bodily pain is not preceded by any kind of fear of the flesh, which can be felt in the flesh before the pain. But pleasure is pre-

1 Ps. cxliv. 4.
ceded by a certain appetite which is felt in the flesh like a craving, as hunger and thirst and that generative appetite which is most commonly identified with the name "lust," though this is the generic word for all desires. For anger itself was defined by the ancients as nothing else than the lust of revenge; * although sometimes a man is angry even at inanimate objects which cannot feel his vengeance, as when one breaks a pen, or crushes a quill that writes badly. Yet even this, though less reasonable, is in its way a lust of revenge, and is, so to speak, a mysterious kind of shadow of [the great law of] retribution, that they who do evil should suffer evil. There is therefore a lust for revenue, which is called anger; there is a lust of money, which goes by the name of avarice; there is a lust of conquering, no matter by what means, which is called opinionativeness; there is a lust of applause, which is named boasting. There are many and various lusts, of which some have names of their own, while others have not. For who could readily give a name to the lust of ruling, which yet has a powerful influence in the soul of tyrants, as civil wars bear witness ?

16. Of the evil of lust, â€” a word which, though applicable to many vices, is specially appropriated to sexual uncleanness.

Although, therefore, lust may have many objects, yet when no object is specified, the word lust usually suggests to the mind the lustful excitement of the organs of generation. And this lust not only takes possession of the whole body and outward members, but also makes itself felt within, and moves the whole man with a passion in which mental emotion is mingled with bodily appetite, so that the pleasure which results is the greatest of all bodily pleasures. So possessing indeed is this pleasure, that at the moment of time in which it is consummated, all mental activity is suspended. What friend of wisdom and holy joys, who, being married, but knowing, as the apostle says, "how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the disease of desire, as the Gentiles who know not God," 2 would not prefer, if this were possible, to beget children without this lust, so that in this

1 Cicero, Tusc. Quest. iii. 6 and iv. 9. So Aristotle.
3 1 Thess. iv. 4.

32 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

function of begetting offspring the members created for this purpose should not be stimulated by the heat of lust, but should be actuated by his volition, in the same way as his other members serve him for their respective ends ? But even those who delight in this pleasure are not moved to it at their own will, whether they confine themselves to lawful or transgress to unlawful pleasures; but sometimes this lust importunes them in spite of themselves, and sometimes fails them when they desire to feel it, so that though
lust rages in the mind, it stirs not in the body. Thus, strangely enough, this emotion not only fails to obey the legitimate desire to beget offspring, but also refuses to serve lascivious lust; and though it often opposes its whole combined energy to the soul that resists it, sometimes also it is divided against itself, and while it moves the soul, leaves the body unmoved.

17. Of the nakedness of our first parents, which they saw after their base and shameful sin.

Justly is shame very specially connected with this lust; justly, too, these members themselves, being moved and restrained not at our will, but by a certain independent autocracy, so to speak, are called "shameful." Their condition was different before sin. Tor as it is written, "They were naked and were not ashamed," 1 â€” not that their nakedness was unknown to them, but because nakedness was not yet shameful, because not yet did lust move those members without the will's consent; not yet did the flesh by its disobedience testify against the disobedience of man. For they were not created blind, as the unenlightened vulgar fancy; 2 for Adam saw the animals to whom he gave names, and of Eve we read, "The woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes." 3 Their eyes, therefore, were open, but were not open to this, that is to say, were not observant so as to recognise what was conferred upon them by the garment of grace, for they had no consciousness of their members warring against their will. But when they

1 Gen. ii. 25.

2 An error which arose from the words, u The eyes of them both were opened," Gen. iii. 7. â€” See De Genesi ad lit. ii. 40.

3 Gen. iii. 6.
were stripped of this grace, that their disobedience might be punished by fit retribution, there began in the movement of their bodily members a shameless novelty which made nakedness indecent: it at once made them observant and made them ashamed. And therefore, after they violated God's command by open transgression, it is written: "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons." 2 "The eyes of them both were opened," not to see, for already they saw, but to discern between the good they had lost and the evil into which they had fallen. And therefore also the tree itself which they were forbidden to touch was called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil from this circumstance, that if they ate of it it would impart to them this knowledge. For the discomfort of sickness reveals the pleasure of health. "They knew," therefore, "that they were naked," â€”naked of that grace which prevented them from being ashamed of bodily nakedness while the law of sin offered no resistance to their mind. And thus they obtained a knowledge which they would have lived in blissful ignorance of, had they, in trustful obedience to God, declined to commit that offence which involved them in the experience of the hurtful effects of unfaithfulness and disobedience. And therefore, being ashamed of the disobedience of their own flesh, which witnessed to their disobedience while it punished it, "they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons," that is, cinctures for their privy parts; for some interpreters have rendered the word by succinctovia. Campcstria is, indeed, a Latin word, but it is used of the drawers or aprons used for a similar purpose by the young men who stripped for exercise in the campus; hence those who were so girt were commonly called camjestrati. Shame modestly covered that which lust disobediently moved in opposition to the will which was thus punished.

1 This doctrine and phraseology of Augustine being important in connection with his whole theory of the fall, we give some parallel passages to show that the words are not used at random: De Genesi ad lit. xi. 41; De Corrept. et Gratia, xi. 31; and especially Cont. Julian, iv. 82.

3 Gen. iii. 7.

VOL. II.

34 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

for its own disobedience. Consequently all nations, being propagated from that one stock, have so strong an instinct to cover the shameful parts, that some barbarians do not uncover them even in the bath, but wash with their drawers on. In the dark solitudes of India also, though some philosophers go naked, and are therefore called gymnosophists, yet they make an exception in the case of these members, and cover them.
18. Of the shame which attends all sexual intercourse.

Lust requires for its consummation darkness and secrecy; and this not only when unlawful intercourse is desired, but even such fornication as the earthly city has legalized. Where there is no fear of punishment, these permitted pleasures still shrink from the public eye. Even where provision is made for this lust, secrecy also is provided; and while lust found it easy to remove the prohibitions of law, shamelessness found it impossible to lay aside the veil of retirement. For even shameless men call this shameful; and though they love the pleasure, dare not display it. "What! does not even conjugal intercourse, sanctioned as it is by law for the propagation of children, legitimate and honourable though it be, does it not seek retirement from every eye? Before the bridegroom fondles his bride, does he not exclude the attendants, and even the paranymphs, and such friends as the closest ties have admitted to the bridal chamber? The greatest master of Eoman eloquence says, that all right actions wish to be set in the light, i.e. desire to be known. This right action, however, has such a desire to be known, that yet it blushes to be seen. Who does not know what passes between husband and wife that children may be born? Is it not for this purpose that wives are married with such ceremony? And yet, when this well-understood act is gone about for the procreation of children, not even the children themselves, who may already have been born to them, are suffered to be witnesses. This right action seeks the light, in so far as it seeks to be known, but yet dreads being seen. And why so, if not because that which is by nature fitting and decent is so done as to be accompanied with a shame-begetting penalty of sin?
19. That it is now necessary, as it was not before man sinned, to bridle anger and lust by the restraining influence of wisdom.

Hence it is that even the philosophers who have approximated to the truth have avowed that anger and lust are vicious mental emotions, because, even when exercised towards objects which wisdom does not prohibit, they are moved in an ungoverned and inordinate manner, and consequently need the regulation of mind and reason. And they assert that this third part of the mind is posted as it were in a kind of citadel, to give rule to these other parts, so that, while it rules and they serve, man's righteousness is preserved without a breach. 1 These parts, then, which they acknowledge to be vicious even in a wise and temperate man, so that the mind, by its composing and restraining influence, must bridle and recall them from those objects towards which they are unlawfully moved, and give them access to those which the law of wisdom sanctions, 2 that anger, e.g., may be allowed for the enforcement of a just authority, and lust for the duty of propagating offspring, 3 these parts, I say, were not vicious in Paradise before sin, for they were never moved in opposition to a holy will towards any object from which it was necessary that they should be withheld by the restraining bridle of reason. For though now they are moved in this way, and are regulated by a bridling and restraining power, which those who live temperately, justly, and godly exercise, sometimes with ease, and sometimes with greater difficulty, this is not the sound health of nature, but the weakness which results from sin. And how is it that shame does not hide the acts and words dictated by anger or other emotions, as it covers the motions of lust, unless because the members of the body which we employ for accomplishing them are moved, not by the emotions themselves, but by the authority of the consenting will? For he who in his anger rails at or even strikes some one, could not do so were not his tongue and hand moved by the authority of the will, as also they are moved when there is no anger. But the organs of generation are so subjected to the rule of lust, that they have no motion but what it communicates. It is this we are ashamed of; it is this which blushingly

1 See Plato's Republic, book iv.

36 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

hides from the eyes of onlookers. And rather will a man endure a crowd of witnesses when he is unjustly venting his anger on some one, than the eye of one man when he Innocently copulates with his wife.

20. Of the foolish beastliness of the Cynics.
It is this which those canine or cynic philosophers have overlooked, when they have, in violation of the modest instincts of men, boastfully proclaimed their unclean and shameless opinion, worthy indeed of dogs, viz., that as the matrimonial act is legitimate, no one should be ashamed to perform it openly, in the street or in any public place.

Instinctive shame has overborne this wild fancy. For though it is related that Diogenes once dared to put his opinion in practice, under the impression that his sect would be all the more famous if his egregious shamelessness were deeply graven in the memory of mankind, yet this example was not afterwards followed.

Shame had more influence with them, to make them blush before men, than error to make them affect a resemblance to dogs. And possibly, even in the case of Diogenes, and those who did imitate him, there was but an appearance and pretence of copulation, and not the reality. Even at this day there are still Cynic philosophers to be seen; for these are Cynics who are not content with being clad in the pallium, but also carry a club; yet no one of them dares to do this that we speak of. If they did, they would be spat upon, not to say stoned, by the mob. Human nature, then, is without doubt ashamed of this lust; and justly so, for the insubordination of these members, and their defiance of the will, are the clear testimony of the punishment of man's first sin. And it was fitting that this should appear specially in those parts by which is generated that nature which has been altered for the worse by that first and great sin,-that sin from whose evil connection no one can escape, unless God's grace expiate in him individually that which was perpetrated to the destruction of all in common, when all were in one man, and which was avenged by God's justice.

1 The one word being the Latin form, the other the Greek, of the same adjective

* By Diogenes Laertius, vi. G9, and Cicero, De Offic. i. 41.
[BOOK XIV.] LUST NOT FELT BY MAN UNFALLEN. 37

21. That man's transgression did not annul the blessing of fecundity pronounced upon man before he sinned, but infected it with the disease of lust.

Far be it, then, from us to suppose that our first parents in Paradise felt that lust which caused them afterwards to blush and hide their nakedness, or that by its means they should have fulfilled the benediction of God, " Increase and multiply and replenish the earth; " for it was after sin that lust began. — It was after sin that our nature, having lost the power it had over the whole body, but not having lost all shame, perceived, noticed, blushed at, and covered it. But that blessing upon marriage, which encouraged them to increase and multiply and replenish the earth, though it continued even after they had sinned, was yet given before they sinned, in order that the procreation of children might be recognised as part of the glory of marriage, and not of the punishment of sin. But now, men being ignorant of the blessedness of Paradise, suppose that children could not have been begotten there in any other way than they know them to be begotten now, i.e. by lust, at which even honourable marriage blushes; some not simply rejecting, but sceptically deriding the divine Scriptures, in which we read that our first parents, after they sinned, were ashamed of their nakedness, and covered it; while others, though they accept and honour Scripture, yet conceive that this expression, " Increase and multiply," refers not to carnal fecundity, because a similar expression is used of the soul in the words, " Thou wilt multiply me with strength in my soul;" and so, too, in the words which follow in Genesis, " And replenish the earth, and subdue it," they understand by the earth the body which the soul fills with its presence, and which it rules over when it is multiplied in strength. And they hold that children could no more then than now be begotten without lust, which, after sin, was kindled, observed, blushed for, and covered; and even that children would not have been born in Paradise, but only outside of it, as in fact it turned out. For it was after they were expelled from it that they came together to beget children, and begot them.

1 Gen. i. 23. 2 p s> cxxxv iii. 3.

38 THE CITY OF GOD. â— [BOOK XIV.]

22. Of the conjugal union as it was originally instituted and blessed by God.

But we, for our part, have no manner of doubt that to increase and multiply and replenish the earth in virtue of the blessing of God, is a gift of marriage as God instituted it from the beginning before man sinned, when He created them male and female, â€” in other words, two sexes manifestly distinct. And it was this work of God on which His blessing was pronounced. For no sooner had Scripture said, "Male and female created He them," than it immediately continues,
"And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it," etc.

And though all these things may not unsuitably be interpreted in a spiritual sense, yet "male and female" cannot be understood of two things in one man, as if there were in him one thing which rules, another which is ruled; but it is quite clear that they were created male and female, with bodies of different sexes, for the very purpose of begetting offspring, and so increasing, multiplying, and replenishing the earth; and it is great folly to oppose so plain a fact. It was not of the spirit which commands and the body which obeys, nor of the rational soul which rules and the irrational desire which is ruled, nor of the contemplative virtue which is supreme and the active which is subject, nor of the understanding of the mind and the sense of the body, but plainly of the matrimonial union by which the sexes are mutually bound together, that our Lord, when asked whether it were lawful for any cause to put away one's wife (for on account of the hardness of the hearts of the Israelites Moses permitted a bill of divorcement to be given), answered and said, "Have ye not read that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." 2 It is certain, then, that from the first men were created, as we see and know them to be now, of two sexes, male and female, and that they are called one, either on account of the matrimonial union, or on account of

1 Gen. i. 27, 23. â€¢ Matt. xix. 4, 5.
the origin of the woman, who was created from the side of the man. And it is by this original example, which God Himself instituted, that the apostle admonishes all husbands to love their own wives in particular. 1

23. Whether generation should have taken place even in Paradise had man not sinned, or whether there should have been any contention there between chastity and lust.

But he who says that there should have been neither copulation nor generation but for sin, virtually says that man's sin was necessary to complete the number of the saints. For if these two by not sinning should have continued to live alone, because, as is supposed, they could not have begotten children had they not sinned, then certainly sin was necessary in order that there might be not only two but many righteous men. And if this cannot be maintained without absurdity, we must rather believe that the number of the saints fit to complete this most blessed city would have been as great though no one had sinned, as it is now that the grace of God gathers its citizens out of the multitude of sinners, so long as the children of this world generate and are generated. 2

And therefore that marriage, worthy of the happiness of Paradise, should have had desirable fruit without the shame of lust, had there been no sin. But how that could be, there is now no example to teach us. Nevertheless, it ought not to seem incredible that one member might serve the will without lust then, since so many serve it now. Do we now move our feet and hands when we will to do the things we would by means of these members? do we meet with no resistance in them, but perceive that they are ready servants of the will, both in our own case and in that of others, and especially of artisans employed in mechanical operations, by which the weakness and clumsiness of nature become, through industrious exercise, wonderfully dexterous? and shall we not believe that, like as all those members obediently serve the will, so also should the members have discharged the function of generation, though lust, the award of disobedience, had been wanting? Did not Cicero, in discussing the difference of governments in his De Republica, adopt a simile from human

1 Eph. v. 25. â– Luke xx. 34.

40 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

nature, and say that we command our bodily members as children, they are so obedient; but that the vicious parts of the soul must be treated as slaves, and be coerced with a more stringent authority? And no doubt, in the order of nature, the soul is more excellent than the body; and yet the soul commands the body more easily than itself. Nevertheless this lust, of which we at present speak, is the more shameful on this account, because the soul is therein neither master of itself, so as not to lust at all, nor of the body, so as to keep the members under the control of the will; for if they were thus ruled, there should be no
shame. But now the soul is ashamed that the body, which by nature is inferior and subject to it, should resist its authority. For in the resistance experienced by the soul in the other emotions there is less shame, because the resistance is from itself, and thus, when it is conquered by itself, itself is the conqueror, although the conquest is inordinate and vicious, because accomplished by those parts of the soul which ought to be subject to reason, yet, being accomplished by its own parts and energies, the conquest is, as I say, its own. For when the soul conquers itself to a due subordination, so that its unreasonable motions are controlled by reason, while it again is subject to God, this is a conquest virtuous and praiseworthy. Yet there is less shame when the soul is resisted by its own vicious parts than when its will and order are resisted by the body, which is distinct from and inferior to it, and dependent on it for life itself.

But so long as the will retains under its authority the other members, without which the members excited by lust to resist the will cannot accomplish what they seek, chastity is preserved, and the delight of sin foregone. And certainly, had not culpable disobedience been visited with penal disobedience, the marriage of Paradise should have been ignorant of this struggle and rebellion, this quarrel between will and lust, that the will may be satisfied and lust restrained, but those members, like all the rest, should have obeyed the will. The field of generation 1 should have been sown by the organ created for this purpose, as the earth is sown by the hand. And

1 See Virgil, Georg. iii. 136.
whereas now, as we essay to investigate this subject more exactly, modesty hinders us, and compels us to ask pardon of chaste ears, there would have been no cause to do so, but we could have discoursed freely, and without fear of seeming obscene, upon all those points which occur to one who meditates on the subject. There would not have been even words which could be called obscene, but all that might be said of these members would have been as pure as what is said of the other parts of the body. Whoever, then, comes to the perusal of these pages with unchaste mind, let him blame his disposition, not his nature; let him brand the actings of his own impurity, not the words which necessity forces us to use, and for which every pure and pious reader or hearer will very readily pardon me, while I expose the folly of that scepticism which argues solely on the ground of its own experience, and has no faith in anything beyond. He who is not scandalized at the apostle's censure of the horrible wickedness of the women who "changed the natural use into that which is against nature," 1 will read all this without being shocked, especially as we are not, like Paul, citing and censuring a damnable uncleanness, but are explaining, so far as we can, human generation, while with Paul we avoid all obscenity of language.

24. That if men had remained innocent and obedient in Paradise, the generative organs should have been in subjection to the will as the other members are.

The man, then, would have sown the seed, and the woman received it, as need required, the generative organs being moved by the will, not excited by lust. For we move at will not only those members which are furnished with joints of solid bone, as the hands, feet, and fingers, but we move also at will those which are composed of slack and soft nerves: we can put them in motion, or stretch them out, or bend and twist them, or contract and stiffen them, as we do with the muscles of the mouth and face. The lungs, which are the very tenderest of the viscera except the brain, and are therefore carefully sheltered in the cavity of the chest, yet for all purposes of inhaling and exhaling the breath, and of uttering and modulating the voice, are obedient to the will when we breathe, exhale, speak, shout, or sing, just as the bellows obey

1 Rom. i. 26.

42 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.

the smith or the organist. I will not press the fact that some animals have a natural power to move a single spot of the skin with which their whole body is covered, if they have felt on it anything they wish to drive off, a power so great, that by this shivering tremor of the skin they can not only shake off flies that have settled on them, but even spears that have fixed in their flesh. Man, it is true, has not this power; but is this any reason for supposing that God could not give it to such creatures as He wished to possess it? And
therefore man himself also might very well have enjoyed absolute power over his members had he not forfeited it by his disobedience; for it was not difficult for God to form him so that what is now moved in his body only by lust should have been moved only at will.

We know, too, that some men are differently constituted from others, and have some rare and remarkable faculty of doing with their body what other men can by no effort do; and, indeed, scarcely believe when they hear of others doing.

There are persons who can move their ears, either one at a time, or both together. There are some who, without moving the head, can bring the hair down upon the forehead, and move the whole scalp backwards and forwards at pleasure.

Some, by lightly pressing their stomach, bring up an incredible quantity and variety of things they have swallowed, and produce whatever they please, quite whole, as if out of a bag.

Some so accurately mimic the voices of birds and beasts and other men, that, unless they are seen, the difference cannot be told. Some have such command of their bowels, that they can break wind continuously at pleasure, so as to produce the effect of singing. I myself have known a man who was accustomed to sweat whenever he wished. It is well known that some weep when they please, and shed a flood of tears.

But far more incredible is that which some of our brethren saw quite recently. There was a presbyter called Eestitutus, in the parish of the Calamensian Church, who, as often as he pleased (and he was asked to do this by those who desired to

1 The position of Calama is described by Augustine as between Constantine and Hippo, but nearer Hippo. â€” Contra Lit. Petil. ii. 228. A full description of it is given in Poujoulat's Histoire de S. Augustin, i. 340, who says it was
witness so remarkable a phenomenon), on some one imitating the wailings of mourners, became so insensible, and lay in a state so like death, that not only had he no feeling when they pinched and pricked him, but even when fire was applied to him, and he was burned by it, he had no sense of pain except afterwards from the wound. And that his body remained motionless, not by reason of his self-command, but because he was insensible, was proved by the fact that he breathed no more than a dead man; and yet he said that, when any one spoke with more than ordinary distinctness, he heard the voice, but as if it were a long way off. Seeing, then, that even in this mortal and miserable life the body serves some men by many remarkable movements and moods beyond the ordinary course of nature, what reason is there for doubting that, before man was involved by his sin in this weak and corruptible condition, his members might have served his will for the propagation of offspring without lust? Man has been given over to himself because he abandoned God, while he sought to be self-satisfying; and disobeying God, he could not obey even himself. Hence it is that he is involved in the obvious misery of being unable to live as he wishes. For if he lived as he wished, he would think himself blessed; but he could not be so if he lived wickedly.

25. Of true blessedness, which this present life cannot enjoy.

However, if we look at this a little more closely, we see that no one lives as he wishes but the blessed, and that no one is blessed but the righteous. But even the righteous himself does not live as he wishes, until he has arrived where he cannot die, be deceived, or injured, and until he is assured that this shall be his eternal condition. For this nature demands; and nature is not fully and perfectly blessed till it attains what it seeks. But what man is at present able to live as he wishes, when it is not in his power so much as to live? He wishes to live, he is compelled to die. How, then, does he live as he wishes who does not live as long as he

one of the most important towns of Numidia, eighteen leagues south of Hippo, and represented by the modern Ghelma. It is to its bishop, Possidius, we owe the contemporary Life of Augustine.

44 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

"wishes ? or if he wishes to die, how can he live as he wishes, since he does not wish even to live ? Or if he wishes to die, not because he dislikes life, but that after death he may live better, still he is not yet living as he wishes, but only has the prospect of so living when, through death, he reaches that which he wishes. But admit that he lives as he wishes, because he has done violence to himself, and forced himself not to wish what he cannot obtain, and to wish only what he can (as Terence has it, " Since you cannot do what you will, will what you can;") , is he therefore blessed because he is patiently
wretched? For a blessed life is possessed only by the man who loves it. If it is loved and possessed, it must necessarily be more ardently loved than all besides; for whatever else is loved must be loved for the sake of the blessed life. And if it is loved as it deserves to be, “and the man is not blessed who does not love the blessed life as it deserves,” then he who so loves it cannot but wish it to be eternal. Therefore it shall then only be blessed when it is eternal.

26. That we are to believe that in Paradise our first parents begat offspring without blushing.

In Paradise, then, man lived as he desired so long as he desired what God had commanded. He lived in the enjoyment of God, and was good by God's goodness; he lived without any want, and had it in his power so to live eternally. He had food that he might not hunger, drink that he might not thirst, the tree of life that old age might not waste him. There was in his body no corruption, nor seed of corruption, which could produce in him any unpleasant sensation. He feared no inward disease, no outward accident. Soundest health blessed his body, absolute tranquillity his soul. As in Paradise there was no excessive heat or cold, so its inhabitants were exempt from the vicissitudes of fear and desire. No sadness of any kind was there, nor any foolish joy; true gladness ceaselessly flowed from the presence of God, who was loved "out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned." 2 The honest love of husband and wife made a sure harmony between them. Body and spirit worked harmoniously together, and the commandment was kept without labour. No

1 Andr. ii. 1, 5. 2 1 Tim. i. 5.

..LOOK XIV.] WILL NATURALLY SUPREME IN GENERATION. 45

languor made their leisure wearisome; no sleepiness interrupted their desire to labour. 1 In tanta facilitate rerum et felicitate hominum, absit ut suspicemur, non potuisse prolem seri sine libidinis morbo: sed eo voluntatis nutu moverentur ilia membra quo caitera, et sine ardoris illecebroso stimulo cum tranquillitate animi et corporis nulla corruptione integritatis infunderetur gremio maritus uxoris. Neque enim quia experientia probari non potest, ideo credendum non est; quando illas corporis partes non ageret turbidus calor, sed spontanea potestas, sicut opus esset, adhiberet; ita tunc potuisse utero conjugis salva integritate feminei genitalis virile semen immitti, sicut nunc potest eadem integritate salva ex utero virginis fluxus menstrui cruoris emitti. Eadem quippe via posset illud injici, qua hoc potest ejici. Ut enim ad pariendum non doloris gemitus, sed maturitatis impulsus feminea viscera relaxaret: sic ad foetandum et concipiendum non libidinis appetitus, sed voluntarius usus naturam utramque conjungeret. We speak of things which are now shameful, and although we try, as well as we are able, to conceive them as they were before they became shameful, yet necessity compels us rather to limit our discussion to the bounds set by modesty than to extend it as our moderate faculty of discourse might suggest. For since that which I have been speaking of was not
experienced even by those who might have experienced it, â€” I mean our first parents (for sin and its merited banishment from Paradise anticipated this passionless generation on their part), â€” when sexual intercourse is spoken of now, it suggests to men's thoughts not such a placid obedience to the will as is conceivable in our first parents, but such violent acting of lust as they themselves have experienced. And therefore modesty shuts my mouth, although my mind conceives the matter clearly. But Almighty God, the supreme and supremely good Creator of all natures, who aids and rewards good wills, while He abandons and condemns the bad, and rules both, was not destitute of a plan by which He might people His city with the fixed number of citizens which His wisdom had foreordained even out of the condemned

1 Compare Basil's Homily on Paradise, and Jolm Damascene, De Fide Orthod. ii. 11.

46 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

human race, discriminating them not now by merits, since the whole mass was condemned as if in a vitiated root, but by grace, and showing, not only in the case of the redeemed, but also in those who were not delivered, how much grace He has bestowed upon them. For every one acknowledges that he has been rescued from evil, not by deserved, but by gratuitous goodness, when he is singled out from the company of those with whom he might justly have borne a common punishment, and is allowed to go scathless. Why, then, should God not have created those whom He foresaw would sin, since He was able to show in and by them both what their guilt merited, and what His grace bestowed, and since, under His creating and disposing hand, even the perverse disorder of the wicked could not pervert the right order of things?

27. Of the angels and men who sinned, and that their wickedness did not disturb the order of God's providence.

The sins of men and angels do nothing to impede the "great works of the Lord which accomplish His will." * For He who by His providence and omnipotence distributes to every one his own portion, is able to make good use not only of the good, but also of the wicked. And thus making a good use of the wicked angel, who, in punishment of his first wicked volition, was doomed to an obduracy that prevents him now from willing any good, why should not God have permitted him to tempt the first man, who had been created upright, that is to say, with a good will? For he had been so constituted, that if he looked to God for help, man's goodness should defeat the angel's wickedness; but if by proud self-pleasing he abandoned God, his Creator and Sustainer, he should be conquered. If his will remained upright, through leaning on God's help, he should be rewarded; if it became wicked, by forsaking God, he should be punished But even this trusting in God's help could not itself be accomplished without God's help, although man had it in his own power to relinquish the benefits of divine grace by pleasing himself. For as it is not in our power to live in this world without
sustaining ourselves by food, while it is in our power to refuse this nourishment and cease to live, as those

1 Ps. cxi. 2. Â»
do who kill themselves, so it was not in man's power, even in Paradise, to live as he ought without God's help; but it was in his power to live wickedly, though thus he should cut short his happiness, and incur very just punishment. Since, then, God was not ignorant that man would fall, why should He not have suffered him to be tempted by an angel who hated and envied him? It was not, indeed, that He was unaware that he should be conquered, but because He foresaw that by the man's seed, aided by divine grace, this same devil himself should be conquered, to the greater glory of the saints. All was brought about in such a manner, that neither did any future event escape God's foreknowledge, nor did His foreknowledge compel any one to sin, and so as to demonstrate in the experience of the intelligent creation, human and angelic, how great a difference there is between the private presumption of the creature and the Creator's protection. For who will dare to believe or say that it was not in God's power to prevent both angels and men from sinning? But God preferred to leave this in their power, and thus to show both what evil could be wrought by their pride, and what good by His grace.

28. Of the nature of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly.

Accordingly, two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self. The former, in a word, glories in itself, the latter in the Lord. For the one seeks glory from men; but the greatest glory of the other is God, the witness of conscience.

The one lifts up its head in its own glory; the other says to its God, "Thou art my glory, and the lifter up of mine head." 1 In the one, the princes and the nations it subdues are ruled by the love of ruling; in the other, the princes and the subjects serve one another in love, the latter obeying, while the former take thought for all. The one delights in its own strength, represented in the persons of its rulers; the other says to its God, "I will love Thee, Lord, my strength." 2 And therefore the wise men of the one

1 Ps. iii. 3. * Ps. xviii. 1.

48 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIV.]

city, living according to man, have sought for profit to their own bodies or souls, or both, and those who have known God "glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise," â€” that is, glorifying in their own wisdom, and being possessed by pride, â€” "they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." For they were either leaders or followers of the people in adoring images,
"and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever."
* But in the other city there is no human wisdom, but only godliness, which offers due worship to the true God, and looks for its reward in the society of the saints, of holy angels as well as holy men,
"that God may be all in all." 2

1 Rom. i. 21-25. * 1 Cor. xv. 28.
BOOK FIFTEENTH, ARGUMENT.


1. Of the two lines of the human race which from first to last divide it.

OF the bliss of Paradise, of Paradise itself, and of the life of our first parents there, and of their sin and punishment, many have thought much, spoken much, written much. We ourselves, too, have spoken of these things in the foregoing books, and have written either what we read in the Holy Scriptures, or what we could reasonably deduce from them. And were we to enter into a more detailed investigation of these matters, an endless number of endless questions would arise, which would involve us in a larger work than the present occasion admits. We cannot be expected to find room for replying to every question that may be started by unoccupied and captious men, who are ever more ready to ask questions than capable of understanding the answer. Yet I trust we have already done justice to these great and difficult questions regarding the beginning of the world, or of the soul, or of the human race itself. This race we have distributed into two parts, the one consisting of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God. And these we also mystically call the two cities, or the two communities of men, of which the one is predestined to reign eternally with God, and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil. This, however, is their end, and of it we are to speak afterwards. At present, as we have said

50 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

enough about their origin, whether among the angels, whose numbers we know not, or in the two first human beings, it seems suitable to attempt an account of their career, from the time when our two first parents began to propagate the race until all human generation shall cease. For this whole time or world-age, in which the dying give place
and those who are born succeed, is the career of these two cities concerning which we treat.

Of these two first parents of the human race, then, Cain was the first-born, and he belonged to the city of men; after him was born Abel, who belonged to the city of God. For as in the individual the truth of the apostle's statement is discerned, "that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual," * whence it comes to pass that each man, being derived from a condemned stock, is first of all born of Adam evil and carnal, and becomes good and spiritual only afterwards, when he is grafted into Christ by regeneration: so was it in the human race as a whole. "When these two cities began to run their course by a series of deaths and births, the citizen of this world was the first-born, and after him the stranger in this world, the citizen of the city of God, predestinated by grace, elected by grace, by grace a stranger below, and by grace a citizen above. By grace, â€” for so far as regards himself he is sprung from the same mass, all of which is condemned in its origin; but God, like a potter (for this comparison is introduced by the apostle judiciously, and not without thought), of the same lump made one vessel to honour, another to dishonour. 2 But first the vessel to dishonour was made, and after it another to honour. For in each individual, as I have already said, there is first of all that which is reprobate, that from which we must begin, but in which we need not necessarily remain; afterwards is that which is well-approved, to which we may by advancing attain, and in which, when we have reached it, we may abide. Not, indeed, that every wicked man shall be good, but that no one will be good who was not first of all wicked; but the sooner any one becomes a good man, the more speedily does he receive this title, and

1 1 Cor. xv. 46. * Rom. ix. 21.
abolish the old name in the new. Accordingly, it is recorded of Cain that he built a city, but Abel, being a sojourner, built none. For the city of the saints is above, although here below it begets citizens, in whom it sojourns till the time of its reign arrives, when it shall gather together all in the day of the resurrection; and then shall the promised kingdom be given to them, in which they shall reign with their Prince, the King of the ages, time without end.

2. Of the children of the flesh and the children of the promise.

There was indeed on earth, so long as it was needed, a symbol and foreshadowing image of this city, which served the purpose of reminding men that such a city was to be, rather than of making it present; and this image was itself called the holy city, as a symbol of the future city, though not itself the reality. Of this city which served as an image, and of that free city it typified, Paul writes to the Galatians in these terms: "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? [For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bond woman was born after the flesh, but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Eejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband. Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Nevertheless, what saith the Scripture? Cast out the bond woman and her son: for the son of the bond woman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman. And we, brethren, are not children of the bond woman, but of the free, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." 3

1 Gen. iv. 17. 2 Comp. Be Trin. xv. c. 15. 3 Gal. iv. 21-31.

52 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

This interpretation of the passage, handed down to us with apostolic authority, shows how we ought to understand the JScriptures of the two covenants â€” the old and the new. One portion of the earthly city became an image of the heavenly city, not having a significance of its own, but signifying another city, and therefore serving, or "being in bondage."

For it was founded not for its own sake, but to prefigure another city; and this shadow of a city was also itself foreshadowed by another preceding figure. For Sarah's handmaid
Agar, and her son, were an image of this image. And as the shadows were to pass away when the full light came, Sarah, the free woman, who prefigured the free city (which again was also prefigured in another way by that shadow of a city Jerusalem), therefore said, "Cast out the bond woman and her son; for the son of the bond woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac," or, as the apostle says, "with the son of the free woman." In the earthly city, then, we find two things, its own obvious presence, and its symbolic presentation of the heavenly city. Jerusalem citizens are begotten to the earthly city by nature vitiated by sin, but to the heavenly city by grace freeing nature from sin; whence the former are called "vessels of wrath," the latter "vessels of mercy." 1 And this was typified in the two sons of Abraham, "Ishmael, the son of Agar the handmaid, being born according to the flesh, while Isaac was born of the free woman Sarah, according to the promise. Both, indeed, were of Abraham's seed; but the one was begotten by natural law, the other was given by gracious promise. In the one birth, human action is revealed; in the other, a divine kindness comes to light.

3. That Sarah's barrenness was made productive by God's grace.

Sarah, in fact, was barren; and, despairing of offspring, and being resolved that she would have at least through her handmaid that blessing she saw she could not in her own person procure, she gave her handmaid to her husband, to whom she herself had been unable to bear children. From him she required this conjugal duty, exercising her own right in another's womb. And thus Ishmael was born according to the common

1 Rofn. ix. 22, 23.
law of human generation, by sexual intercourse. Therefore it is said that he was born "
according to the flesh/' â€” not because such births are not the gifts of God, nor His
handiwork, whose creative wisdom " reaches," as it is written, " from one end to another
mightily, and sweetly doth she order all things," I
but because, in a case in which the gift of God, which was not due to men and was the
gratuitous largess of grace, was to be conspicuous, it was requisite that a son be given in
a way which no effort of nature could compass. Nature denies children to persons of the
age which Abraham and Sarah had now reached; besides that, in Sarah's case, she was
barren even in her prime. This nature, so constituted that offspring could not be looked
for, symbolized the nature of the human race vitiated by sin and by just consequence
condemned, which deserves no future felicity. Fitly, therefore, does Isaac, the child of
promise, typify the children of grace, the citizens of the free city, who dwell together in
everlasting peace, in which self-love and self-will have no place, but a ministering love
that rejoices in the common joy of all, of many hearts makes one, that is to say, secures a
perfect concord.

4. Of the conflict and peace of the earthly city.
But the earthly city, which shall not be everlasting (for it will no longer be a city when it
has been committed to the extreme penalty), has its good in this world, and rejoices in it
with such joy as such things can afford. But as this is not a good which can discharge its
devotees of all distresses, this city is often divided against itself by litigations, wars,
quarrels, and such victories as are either life-destroying or short-lived. For each part of it
that arms against another part of it seeks to triumph over the nations through itself in
bondage to vice. If, when it has conquered, it is inflated with pride, its victory is life-
destroying; but if it turns its thoughts upon the common casualties of our mortal
condition, and is rather anxious concerning the disasters that may befall it than elated
with the successes already achieved, this victory, though of a higher kind, is still only
short-lived; for it cannot abidingly rule over those whom it has victoriously sub-

1 Wisdom viii. 1.

54 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

jugated. But the things which this city desires cannot justly be said to be evil, for it is
itself, in its own kind, better than all other human good. For it desires earthly peace for
the sake of enjoying earthly goods, and it makes war in order to attain to this peace;
since, if it has conquered, and there remains no one to resist it, it enjoys a peace which it
had not while there were opposing parties who contested for the enjoyment of those
things which were too small to satisfy both.
This peace is purchased by toilsome wars; it is obtained by what they style a glorious victory. Kow, when victory remains with the party which had the juster cause, who hesitates to congratulate the victor, and style it a desirable peace? These things, then, are good things, and without doubt the gifts of God. But if they neglect the better things of the heavenly city, which are secured by eternal victory and peace never-ending, and so inordinately covet these present good things that they believe them to be the only desirable things, or love them better than those things which are believed to be better, â€” if this be so, then it is necessary that misery follow and ever increase.

5. Of the fratricidal act of the founder of the earthly city, and the corresponding crime of the founder of Rome.

J Thus the founder of the earthly city was a fraticide. Overcome with envy, he slew his own brother, a citizen of the eternal city, and a sojourner on earth. So that we cannot be surprised that this first specimen, or, as the Greeks say, archetype of crime, should, long afterwards, find a corresponding crime at the foundation of that city which was destined, to reign over so many nations, and be the head of this earthly city of which we speak. For of that city also, as one of their poets has mentioned, "the first walls were stained with a brother's blood," 1 or, as Bonian history records, Bemus was slain by his brother Bomulus. And thus there is no difference between the foundation of this city and of the earthly city, unless it be that Bomulus and Bemus were both citizens of the earthly city. Both desired to have the glory of founding the Boman republic, but both could not have as much glory as if one only claimed it; for he who wished to have

1 Lucan, Phar. i. 95.
the glory of ruling would certainly rule less if his power were shared by a living consort. In order, therefore, that the whole glory might he enjoyed by one, his consort was removed; and by this crime the empire was made larger indeed, but inferior, while otherwise it would have been less, but better. Now these brothers, Cain and Abel, were not both animated by the same earthly desires, nor did the murderer envy the other because he feared that, by both ruling, his own dominion would be curtailed, â€” for Abel was not solicitous to rule in that city which his brother built, â€” he was moved by that diabolical, envious hatred with which the evil regard the good, for no other reason than because they are good while themselves are evil. For the possession of goodness is by no means diminished by being shared with a partner either permanent or temporarily assumed; on the contrary, the possession of goodness is increased in proportion to the concord and charity of each of those who share it. In short, he who is unwilling to share this possession cannot have it; and he who is most willing to admit others to a share of it will have the greatest abundance to himself. The quarrel, then, between Eomulus and Eemus shows how the earthly city is divided against itself; that which fell out between Cain and Abel illustrated the hatred that subsists between the two cities, that of God and that of men. The wicked war with the wicked; the good also war with the wicked. But with the good, good men, or at least perfectly good men, cannot war; though, while only going on towards perfection, they war to this extent, that every good man resists others in those points in which he resists himself. And in each individual " the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh."

This spiritual lusting, therefore, can be at war with the carnal lust of another man; or carnal lust may be at war with the spiritual desires of another, in some such way as good and wicked men are at war; or, still more certainly, the carnal lusts of two men, good but not yet perfect, contend together, just as the wicked contend with the wicked, until the health of those who are under the treatment of grace attains final victory.

1 Gal. v. 17.

56 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

G. Of the weaknesses which even the citizens of the city of God suffer during this earthly pilgrimage in punishment of sin, and of which they are healed by God's care.

This sickliness â€” that is to say, that disobedience of which we spoke in the fourteenth book â€” is the punishment of the first disobedience. It is therefore not nature, but vice; and therefore it is said to the good who are growing in grace, and living in this pilgrimage by faith, " Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." * In like manner it is said elsewhere, " Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men.
See that none render evil for evil unto any man." 2 And in another place, "If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." 3 And elsewhere, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath."* And in the Gospel, "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." 5 So too of sins which may create scandal the apostle says, "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear." c For this purpose, and that we may keep that peace without which no man can see the Lord, 7 many precepts are given which carefully inculcate mutual forgiveness; among which we may number that terrible word in which the servant is ordered to pay his formerly remitted debt of ten thousand talents, because he did not remit to his fellow-servant his debt of two hundred pence. To which parable the Lord Jesus added the words, "So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother." 8 It is thus the citizens of the city of God are healed while still they sojourn in this earth and sigh for the peace of their heavenly country. The Holy Spirit, too, works within, that the medicine externally applied may have some good result. Otherwise, even though God Himself make use of the creatures that are subject to Him, and in some human form address our human senses, whether we receive those impressions in sleep

1 Gal. vi. 2. 2 1 Thess. v. 14, 15. * Gal. vi. 1.

4 Eph. iv. 26. 5 Matt, xviii. 15. 6 1 Tim. v. 20.

7 Heb. xii. 14. 8 Matt, xviii. 35. Â»
or in some external appearance, still, if He does not by His own inward grace sway and act upon the mind, no preaching of the truth is of any avail. But this God does, distinguishing between the vessels of wrath and the vessels of mercy, by His own very secret but very just providence. When He Himself aids the soul in His own hidden and wonderful ways, and the sin which dwells in our members, and is, as the apostle teaches, rather the punishment of sin, does not reign in our mortal body to obey the lusts of it, and when we no longer yield our members as instruments of unrighteousness, then the soul is converted from its own evil and selfish desires, and, God possessing it, it possesses itself in peace even in this life, and afterwards, with perfected health and endowed with immortality, will reign without sin in peace everlasting.

7. Of the cause of Cain's crime and his obstinacy, which not even the word of God could subdue.

But though God made use of this very mode of address which we have been endeavouring to explain, and spoke to Cain in that form by which He was wont to accommodate Himself to our first parents and converse with them as a companion, what good influence had it on Cain? Did he not fulfil his wicked intention of killing his brother even after he was warned by God's voice? For when God had made a distinction between their sacrifices, neglecting Cain's, regarding Abel's, which was doubtless intimated by some visible sign to that effect; and when God had done so because the works of the one were evil but those of his brother good, Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. For thus it is written: "And the Lord said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dost not rightly distinguish, hast thou not sinned? Fret not thyself, for unto thee shall be his turning, and thou shalt rule over him." 2 In this admonition administered by God to Cain, that clause indeed, "If thou offerest rightly, but dost not rightly distinguish, hast thou not sinned?" is obscure, inasmuch as it is not apparent for what reason or purpose it was spoken, and many meanings have been put upon it, as each one who discusses it attempts to interpret it according to the

1 Horn. vi. 12, 13. 2 Gen. iv. 6, 7.

58 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

rule of faith. The truth is, that a sacrifice is "rightly offered * when it is offered to the true God, to whom alone we must sacrifice. And it is * not rightly distinguished "" when we do not rightly distinguish the places or seasons or
materials of the offering, or the person offering, or the person to whom it is presented, or those to whom it is distributed for food after the oblation. Distinction is here used for discriminating, â€” whether when an offering is made in a place where it ought not or of a material which ought to be offered not there but elsewhere; or when an offering is made at a wrong time, or of a material suitable not then but at some other time; or when that is offered which in no place nor any time ought to be offered; or when a man keeps to himself choicer specimens of the same kind than he offers to God: or when he or any other who may not lawfully partake profanely eats of the oblation. In which of these particulars Cain displeased God, it is difficult to determine. But the Apostle John, speaking of these brothers, says, "Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous." 2 He thus gives us to understand that God did not respect his offering because it was not rightly "distinguished" in this, that he gave to God something of his own but kept himself to himy self. For this all do who follow not God's will but their own, who live not with an upright but a crooked heart, and yet offer to God such gifts as they suppose will procure from Him that He aid them not by healing but by gratifying their evil passions. And this is the characteristic of the earthly city, that it worships God or gods who may aid it in reigning victoriously and peacefully on earth not through love of doing good, but through lust of rule. The good use the world that they may enjoy God: the wicked, on the contrary, that fchey may enjoy the world would fain use God, â€” those of them, at least, who have attained to the belief that He is and takes an interest in human affairs. For they who have not yet attained even to this belief are still at a much lower level. Cain, then, when he saw that God had respect to his brother's sacrifice, but not to his own, should have humbly chosen his good

1 Literally, "division." 2 1 John iii. 12.
brother as his example, and not proudly counted him his rival. But he was wroth, and his countenance fell. This angry regret for another person's goodness, even his brother's, was charged upon him by God as a great sin. And He accused him of it in the interrogation, "Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen?" For God saw that he envied his brother, and of this He accused him. For to men, from whom the heart of their fellow is hid, it might be doubtful and quite uncertain whether that sadness bewailed his own wickedness by which, as he had learned, he had displeased God, or his brother's goodness, which had pleased God, and won His favourable regard to his sacrifice. But God, in giving the reason why He refused to accept Cain's offering and why Cain should rather have been displeased at himself than at his brother, shows him that though he was unjust in "not rightly distinguishing," that is, not rightly living and being unworthy to have his offering received, he was more unjust by far in hating his just brother without a cause.

Yet He does not dismiss him without counsel, holy, just, and good. * Fret not thyself," He says, " for unto thee shall be his turning, and thou shalt rule over him." Over his brother, does He mean? Most certainly not. Over what, then, but sin? For He had said, "Thou hast sinned," and then He added, "Fret not thyself, for to thee shall be its turning, and thou shalt rule over it." And the "turning" of sin to the man can be understood of his conviction that the guilt of sin can be laid at no other man's door but his own. For this is the health-giving medicine of penitence, and the fit plea for pardon; so that, when it is said, "To thee its turning," we must not supply "shall be," but we must read, â€œ To thee let its turning be," understanding it as a command, not as a prediction. For then shall a man rule over his sin when he does not prefer it to himself and defend it, but subjects it by repentance; otherwise he that becomes protector of it shall surely become its prisoner. But if we understand this sin to be that carnal concupiscence of which the apostle says, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit," among the fruits of which lust he

1 We alter the pronoun to suit Augustine's interpretation.

2 Gal. v. 17.

60 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

names envy, by which assuredly Cain was stung and excited to destroy his brother, then we may properly supply the words "shall be," and read, "To thee shall be its turning, and thou shalt rule over it." For when the carnal part which the apostle calls sin, in that place where he says, "It is not I who do it, but sin that dwelleth in me," 1 that part which the philosophers also call vicious, and which ought not to lead the mind, but which the mind ought to rule and restrain by reason from illicit motions, â€œ when, then, this part has been moved to perpetrate any wickedness, if it be curbed and if it obey the word of the
apostle, "Yield not your members instruments of unrighteousness unto sin," it is turned towards the mind and subdued and conquered by it, so that reason rules over it as a subject. It was this which God enjoined on him who was kindled with the fire of envy against his brother, so that he sought to put out of the way him whom he should have set as an example. "Fret not thyself," or compose thyself, He says: withhold thy hand from crime; let not sin reign in your mortal body to fulfil it in the lusts thereof, nor yield your members instruments of unrighteousness unto sin. "For to thee shall be its turning," so long as you do not encourage it by giving it the rein, but bridle it by quenching its fire.

* And thou shalt rule over it; "for when it is not allowed any external actings, it yields itself to the rule of the governing mind and righteous will, and ceases from even internal motions. There is something similar said in the same divine book of the woman, when God questioned and judged them after their sin, and pronounced sentence on them all, â€” the devil in the form of the serpent, the woman and her husband in their own persons. For when He had said to her, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children," then He added, "and thy turning shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." 3

What is said to Cain about his sin," or about the vicious concupiscence of his flesh, is here said of the woman who had sinned; and we are to understand that the husband is to rule his wife as the soul rules the flesh. And therefore, says the apostle, "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself; for no man

1 Eom. vii. 17. 2 Kom. vi. 13. 'Gen. iii. 16.
ever yet hated his own flesh." 1 This iled, then, is to be healed, because it belongs to ourselves: is not to be abandoned to destruction as if it were alien to our nature. But Cain received that counsel of God in the spirit ot one who did not wish to amend. In fact, the vice of envy grew stronger in him; and, having entrapped his brother, he slew him. Such was the founder of the earthly city. He was also a figure of the Jews who slew Christ the Shepherd of the flock of men, prefigured by Abel the shepherd of sheep: but as this is an allegorical and prophetical matter, I forbear to explain it now; besides, I remember that I have made some remarks upon it in writing against Faustus the Manichaean. 2

8. What Cain's reason was for building a city so early in the history of the human race.

At present it is the history which I aim at defending, that Scripture may not be reckoned incredible when it relates that one man built a city at a time in which there seem to have been but four men upon earth, or rather indeed but three, after one brother slew the other, â€” to wit, the first man the father of all, and Cain himself, and his son Enoch, by whose name the city was itself called. But they who are moved by this consideration forget to take into account that the writer of the sacred history does not necessarily mention all the men who might be alive at that time, but those only whom the scope of his work required him to name. The design of that writer (who in this matter was the instrument of the Holy Ghost) was to descend to Abraham through the successions of ascertained generations propagated from one man, and then to pass from Abraham's seed to the people of God, in whom, separated as they were from other nations, was prefigured and predicted all that relates to the city w T hose reign is eternal, and to its king and founder Christ, which things were foreseen in the Spirit as destined to come; yet neither is this object so effected as that nothing is said of the other society of men which we call the earthly city, but mention is made of it so far as seemed needful to enhance the glory of the heavenly city by contrast to its opposite.

Accordingly, when the divine Scripture, in mentioning the number of years which those men lived, concludes its account of each man of whom it speaks, with the words, " And he begat sons and daughters, and all his days were so and so, and he died," are we to understand that, because it does not name those sons and daughters, therefore, during that long term of years over which one lifetime extended in those early days, there might not have been born very many men, by whose united numbers not one but several cities might have been built ? But it suited the purpose of God, by whose inspiration these histories were composed, to arrange and distinguish from the first these two societies in their several generations, â€” that on the one side the generations of men, that is to say, of those who live according to man, and on the other
side the generations of the sons of God, that is to say, of men living according to God, might be traced down together and yet apart from one another as far as the deluge, at which point their dissociation and association are exhibited: their dissociation, inasmuch as the generations of both lines are recorded in separate tables, the one line descending from the fratricide Cain, the other from Seth, who had been born to Adam instead of him whom his brother slew; their association, inasmuch as the good so deteriorated that the whole race became of such a character that it was swept away by the deluge, with the exception of one just man, whose name was Noah, and his wife and three sons and three daughters-in-law, which eight persons were alone deemed worthy to escape from that desolating visitation which destroyed all men.

Therefore, although it is written, u And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bare Enoch, and he builded a city and called the name of the city after the name of his son Enoch," 1 it does not follow that we are to believe this to have been his first-born; for we cannot suppose that this is proved by the expression u he knew his wife," as if then for the first time he had had intercourse with her. For in the case of Adam, the father of all, this expression is used not only when Cain, who seems to have been his first-born, was conceived, but also afterwards the same Scripture says, " Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare a son, and

1 Gen. iv. 17.
called his name Seth." * Whence it is obvious that Scripture employs this expression neither always when a birth is recorded nor then only when the birth of a first-born is mentioned. Neither is it necessary to suppose that Enoch was Cain's first-born because he named his city after him. For it is quite possible that though he had other sons, yet for some reason the father loved him more than the rest. Judah was not the first-born, though he gives his name to Judsea and the Jews. But even though Enoch was the first-born of the city's founder, that is no reason for supposing that the father named the city after him as soon as he was born; for at that time he, being but a solitary man, could not have founded a civic community, which is nothing else than a multitude of men bound together by some associating tie.

But when his family increased to such numbers that he had quite a population, then it became possible to him both to build a city, and give it, when founded, the name of his son. Eor so long was the life of those antediluvians, that he who lived the shortest time of those whose years are mentioned in Scripture attained to the age of 753 years. 2 And though no one attained the age of a thousand years, several exceeded the age of nine hundred. "Who then can doubt that during the lifetime of one man the human race might be so multiplied that there would be a population to build and occupy not one but several cities? And this might very readily be conjectured from the fact that from one man, Abraham, in not much more than four hundred years, the numbers of the Hebrew race so increased, that in the exodus of that people from Egypt there are recorded to have been six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, 3 and this over and above the Idumseans, who, though not numbered with Israel's descendants, were yet sprung from his brother, also a grandson of Abraham; and over and above the other nations which were of the same stock of Abraham, though not through Sarah, aē” that is, his descendants by Hagar and Keturah, the Ishmaelites, Midianites, etc.

9. Of the long life and greater stature of the antediluvians.

Wherefore no one who considerately weighs facts will

1 Gen. iv. 25. 2 Lamech, according to the LXX. 3 Ex. xii. 37.
speaks of that huge stone which had been fixed as a landmark, and which a strong man of those ancient times snatched up as he fought, and ran, and hurled, and cast it, â€”

"Scarce twelve strong men of later mould That weight could on their necks uphold; " *

thus declaring his opinion that the earth then produced mightier men. And if in the more recent times, how much more in the ages before the world-renowned deluge? But the large size of the primitive human body is often proved to the incredulous by the exposure of sepulchres, either through the wear of time or the violence of torrents or some accident, and in which bones of incredible size have been found or have rolled out, I myself, along with some others, saw on the shore at Utica a man's molar tooth of such a size, that if it were cut down into teeth such as we have, a hundred, I fancy, could have been made out of it. But that, I believe, belonged to some giant. For though the bodies of ordinary men were then larger than ours, the giants surpassed all in stature. And neither in our own age nor any other have there been altogether wanting instances of gigantic stature, though they may be few. The younger Pliny, a most learned man, maintains that the older the world becomes, the smaller will be the bodies of men. 2 And he mentions that Homer in his poems often lamented the same decline; and this, he does not laugh at as a poetical figment, but in his character of a recorder of natural wonders accepts it as historically true.

But, as I said, the bones which are from time to time dis-

1 Virgil, Æneid, xii. 899, 900. Compare the Iliad, v. 302, and Juvenal, xv.

65 et seqq.

"Terra malos homines nunc educat atue pusillos. "

covered prove the size of the bodies of the ancients, 1 and will do so to future ages, for they are slow to decay. But the length of an antediluvian's life cannot now be proved by any such monumental evidence. But we are not on this account to withhold our faith from the sacred history, whose statements of past fact we are the more inexcusable in discrediting, as we see the accuracy of its prediction of what was future. And even that same Pliny 2 tells us that there is still a nation in which men live 200 years. If, then, in places unknown to us, men are believed to have a length of days which is quite beyond our own experience, why should we not believe the same of times distant from our own? Or are we to believe that in other places there is what is not here, while we do not believe that in other times there has been anything but what is now?

10. Of the different computation of the ages of the antediluvians, given by the Hebrew manuscripts and by our own. 3

Wherefore, although there is a discrepancy for which I cannot account between our manuscripts and the Hebrew, in the very number of years assigned to the antediluvians, yet the discrepancy is not so great that they do not agree about their longevity. For the very first man, Adam, before he begot his son Seth, is in our manuscripts found to have lived 230 years, but in the Hebrew MSS. 130. But after he begot Seth, our copies read that he lived 700 years, while the Hebrew give 800. And thus, when the two periods are taken together, the sum agrees. And so throughout the succeeding generations, the period before the father begets a son is always made shorter by 100 years in the Hebrew, but the period after his son is begotten is longer by 100 years in the Hebrew than in our copies. And thus, taking the two periods together, the result is the same in both. And in the sixth

1 See the account given by Herodotus (i. 67) of the discovery of the bones of Orestes, which, as the story goes, gave a stature of seven cubits.

2 Pliny, Hist. Nat. vii. 49, merely reports what he had read in Hellanicus about the Epirotes of Eetola.

3 " Our own mss.," of which Augustine here speaks, were the Latin versions of the Septuagint used by the Church before Jerome's was received; the "Hebrew mss." were the versions made from the Hebrew text. Compare De Doct. Christ. ii. 15 et seqq.

VOL. II. E
generation there is no discrepancy at all In the seventh, however, of which Enoch is the representative, who is recorded to have been translated without death because he pleased God, there is the same discrepancy as in the first five generations, 100 years more being ascribed to him by our mss. before he begat a son. But still the result agrees; for according to both documents he lived before he was translated 365 years. In the eighth generation the discrepancy is less than in the others, and of a different kind. For Methuselah, whom Enoch begat, lived, before he begat his successor, not 100 years less, but 100 years more, according to the Hebrew reading; and in our mss. again these years are added to the period after he begat his son; so that in this case also the sum-total is the same. And it is only in the ninth generation, that is, in the age of Lamech, Methuselah's son and Noah's father, that there is a discrepancy in the sum-total; and even in this case it is slight. For the Hebrew MSS. represent him as living twenty-four years more than ours assign to him. For before he begat his son, who was called Noah, six years fewer are given to him by the Hebrew mss. than by ours; but after he begat this son, they give him thirty years more than ours; so that, deducting the former six, there remains, as we said, a surplus of twenty-four.

11. Of Methuselah's age, which seems to extend fourteen years beyond the deluge.

From this discrepancy between the Hebrew books and our own arises the well-known question as to the age of Methuselah 1 for it is computed that he lived for fourteen years after the deluge, though Scripture relates that of all who were then upon the earth only the eight souls in the ark escaped destruction by the flood, and of these Methuselah was not one. For, according to our books, Methuselah, before he begat the son whom he called Lamech, lived 167 years; then Lamech himself, before his son Noah was born, lived 188 years, which together make 355 years. Add to these the age of Noah at the date of the deluge, 600 years, and this gives a total of 955 from the birth of Methuselah to the year of the flood. Now all the years of the life of Methuselah are computed to he 9G9; for when he had lived 167 years, and had begotten his son Lamech, he then lived after this 802 years, which makes a total, as we said, of 969.

1 Jerome (De Quxzst. Hcb. in Gen.) says it was a question famous in all the churches. â€” Vives.
years. From this, if we deduct 955 years from the birth of Methuselah to the flood, there remain fourteen years, which he is supposed to have lived after the flood. And therefore some suppose that, though he was not on earth (in which it is agreed that every living thing which could not naturally live in water perished), he was for a time with his father, who had been translated, and that he lived there till the flood had passed away. This hypothesis they adopt, that they may not cast a slight on the trustworthiness of versions which the Church has received into a position of high authority, and because they believe that the Jewish mss. rather than our own are in error. For they do not admit that this is a mistake of the translators, but maintain that there is a falsified statement in the original, from which, through the Greek, the Scripture has been translated into our own tongue. They say that it is not credible that the seventy translators, who simultaneously and unanimously produced one rendering, could have erred, or, in a case in which no interest of theirs was involved, could have falsified their translation; but that the Jews, envying us our translation of their Law and Prophets, have made alterations in their texts so as to undermine the authority of ours. This opinion or suspicion let each man adopt according to his own judgment. Certain it is that Methuselah did not survive the flood, but died in the very year it occurred, if the numbers given in the Hebrew mss. are true. My own opinion regarding the seventy translators I will, with God's help, state more carefully in its own place, when I have come down (following the order which this work requires) to that period in which their translation was executed. For the present question, it is enough that, according to our versions, the men of that age had lives so long as to make it quite possible that, during the lifetime of the first-born of the two sole parents then

1 " Quos in auctoritatem celebriorum Ecclesia suscepit."

2 See below, book xviii. c. 42-44.

68 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

on earth, the human race multiplied sufficiently to form a community.

12. Of the opinion of those who do not believe that in these primitive times men lived so long as is stated.

For they are by no means to be listened to who suppose that in those times years were differently reckoned, and were so short that one of our years may be supposed to be equal to ten of theirs. So that they say, when we read or hear that some man lived 900 years, we should understand ninety, æ’

ten of those years making but one of ours, and ten of ours equalling 100 of theirs. Consequently, as they suppose, Adam was twenty-three years of age when he begat Seth, and Seth himself was twenty years and six months old when his son Enos was born, though the Scripture calls these months
205 years. For, on the hypothesis of those whose opinion we are explaining, it was customary to divide one such year as we have into ten parts, and to call each part a year. And each of these parts was composed of six days squared; because God finished His works in six days, that He might rest the seventh. Of this I disputed according to my ability in the eleventh book. 1 ISfow six squared, or six times six, gives thirty-six days; and this multiplied by ten amounts to 360 days, or twelve lunar months. As for the five remaining days which are needed to complete the solar year, and for the fourth part of a day, which requires that into every fourth or leap-year a day be added, the ancients added such days as the Eomans used to call "intercalary," in order to complete the number of the years. So that Enos, Seth's son, was nineteen years old when his son Cainan was born, though Scripture calls these years 190. And so through all the generations in which the ages of the antediluvians are given, we find in our versions that almost no one begat a son at the age of 1&0 or under, or even at the age of 120 or thereabouts; but the youngest fathers are recorded to have been 160 years old and upwards. And the reason of this, they say, is that no one can beget children when he is ten years old, the age spoken of by those men as 100, but that sixteen is the age of puberty, and competent now to propagate offspring; and this is the age

1 C. 8.
called by them 160. And that it may not be thought incredible that in these days the year was differently computed from our own, they adduce what is recorded by several writers of history, that the Egyptians had a year of four months, the Acarnanians of six, and the Lavinians of thirteen months. 1
The younger Pliny, after mentioning that some writers reported that one man had lived 152 years, another ten more, others 200, others 300, that some had even reached 500 and 600, and a few 800 years of age, gave it as his opinion that all this must be ascribed to mistaken computation. For some, he says, make summer and winter each a year; others make each season a year, like the Arcadians, whose years, he says, were of three months. He added, too, that the Egyptians, of whose little years of four months we have spoken already, sometimes terminated their year at the wane of each moon; so that with them there are produced lifetimes of 1000 years.

By these plausible arguments certain persons, with no desire to weaken the credit of this sacred history, but rather to facilitate belief in it by removing the difficulty of such incredible longevity, have been themselves persuaded, and think they act wisely in persuading others, that in these days the year was so brief that ten of their years equal but one of ours, while ten of ours equal 100 of theirs. But there is the plainest evidence to show that this is quite false. Before producing this evidence, however, it seems right to mention a conjecture which is yet more plausible. From the Hebrew manuscripts we could at once refute this confident statement; for in them Adam is found to have lived not 230 but 130 years before he begat his third son. If, then, this mean thirteen years by our ordinary computation, then he must have begotten his first son when he was only twelve or thereabouts. Who can at this age beget children according to the ordinary and familiar course of nature? But not to mention him, since it is possible he may have been able to beget his like as soon as he was created, â€” for it is not credible that he was created so little as our infants are, â€” not to mention him, his son was not 205 years old when he begat Enos, as our versions have it, but 105, and consequently, according to this idea, was not eleven years old. But what shall I say of his son Cainan, who, though by our version 170 years old, was by the Hebrew text seventy when he beget Mahalaleel? If seventy years in those times meant only seven of our years, what man of seven years old begets children?

1 On this subject see Wilkinson's note to the second book (appendix) of Rawlinson's Herodotus, where all available references are given.
13. Whether, in computing years, we ought to follow the Hebrew or the Septuagint.

But if I say this, I shall presently be answered, It is one of the Jews' lies. This, however, we have disposed of above, showing that it cannot be that men of so just a reputation as the seventy translators should have falsified their version.

However, if I ask them which of the two is more credible, that the Jewish nation, scattered far and wide, could have unanimously conspired to forge this lie, and so, through envying others the authority of their Scriptures, have deprived themselves of their verity; or that seventy men, who were also themselves Jews, shut up in one place (for Ptolemy king of Egypt had got them together for this work), should have envied foreign nations that same truth, and by common consent inserted these errors: who does not see which can be more naturally and readily believed? But far be it from any prudent man to believe either that the Jews, however malicious and wrong-headed, could have tampered with so many and so widely-dispersed manuscripts; or that those renowned seventy individuals had any common purpose to grudge the truth to the nations. One must therefore more plausibly maintain, that when first their labours began to be transcribed from the copy in Ptolemy's library, some such misstatement might find its way into the first copy made, and from it might be disseminated far and wide; and that this might arise "from no fraud, but from a mere copyist's error. This is a sufficiently plausible account of the difficulty regarding Methuselah's life, and of that other case in which there is a difference in the total of twenty-four years. But in those cases in which there is a methodical resemblance in the falsification, so that uniformly the one version allots to the period before a son and successor is born 100 years more than the other, and to the
DIVERSITY OF MANUSCRIPTS.

period subsequent 100 years less, and vice versa, so that the totals may agree, â€” and this holds true of the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh generations, â€” in these cases error seems to have, if we may say so, a certain kind of constancy, and savours not of accident, but of design.

Accordingly, that diversity of numbers which distinguishes the Hebrew from the Greek and Latin copies of Scripture, and which consists of a uniform addition and deduction of 100 years in each lifetime for several consecutive generations, is to be attributed neither to the malice of the Jews nor to men so diligent and prudent as the seventy translators, but to the error of the copyist who was first allowed to transcribe the manuscript from the library of the abovementioned king. For even now, in cases where numbers contribute nothing to the easier comprehension or more satisfactory knowledge of anything, they are both carelessly transcribed, and still more carelessly emended. For who will trouble himself to learn how many thousand men the several tribes of Israel contained? He sees no resulting benefit of such knowledge. Or how many men are there who are aware of the vast advantage that lies hid in this knowledge? But in this case, in which during so many consecutive generations 100 years are added in one manuscript where they are not reckoned in the other, and then, after the birth of the son and successor, the years which were wanting are added, it is obvious that the copyist who contrived this arrangement designed to insinuate that the antediluvians lived an excessive number of years only because each year was excessively brief, and that he tried to draw the attention to this fact by his statement of their age of puberty at which they became able to beget children. For, lest the incredulous might stumble at the difficulty of so long a lifetime, he insinuated that 100 of their years equalled but ten of ours; and this insinuation he conveyed by adding 100 years whenever he found the age below 160 years or thereabouts, deducting these years again from the period after the son's birth, that the total might harmonize. By this means he intended to ascribe the generation of offspring to a fit age, without diminishing the total sum of years ascribed to the lifetime of the individuals. And the very fact that in the sixth generation he departed from this uniform practice, inclines us all the rather to believe that when the circumstance we have referred to required his alterations, he made them; seeing that when this circumstance did not exist, he made no alteration. For in the same generation he found in the Hebrew MS. that Jared lived before he begat Enoch 162 years, which, according to the short year computation, is sixteen years and somewhat less than two months, an age capable of procreation; and therefore it was not necessary to add 100 short years, and so make the age twenty-six years of the usual length; and of course it was not necessary to
deduct, after the son's birth, years which he had not added before it. And thus it comes to pass that in this instance there is no variation between the two manuscripts.

This is corroborated still further by the fact that in the eighth generation, while the Hebrew books assign 18^ years to Methuselah before Lamech's birth, ours assign to him twenty less, though usually 100 years are added to this period; then, after Lamech's birth, the twenty years are restored, so as to equalize the total in the two books. For if his design was that these 170 years be understood as seventeen, so as to suit the age of puberty, as there was no need for him adding anything, so there was none for his subtracting anything; for in this case he found an age fit for the generation of children, for the sake of which he was in the habit of adding those 100 years in cases where he did not find the age already sufficient. This difference of twenty years we might, indeed, have supposed had happened accidentally, had he not taken care to restore them afterwards as he had deducted them from the period before, so that there might be no deficiency in the total. Or are we perhaps to suppose that there was the still more astute design of concealing the deliberate and uniform addition of 100 years to the first period and their deduction from the subsequent period, â€” did he design to conceal this by doing something similar, that is to

1 One hundred and eighty-seven is the number given in the Hebrew, and one hundred and sixty-seven in the Septuagint; but notwithstanding the confusion, the argument of Augustine is easily followed. Â»
say, adding and deducting, not indeed a century, but some years, even in a case in which there was no need for his doing so? But whatever may be thought of this, whether it be believed that he did so or not, whether, in fine, it be so or not, I would have no manner of doubt that when any diversity is found in the books, since both cannot be true to fact, we do well to believe in preference that language out of which the translation was made into another by translators.

For there are three Greek mss., one Latin, and one Syriac, which agree with one another, and in all of these Methuselah is said to have died six years before the deluge.

14. That the years in those ancient times were of the same length as our own.

Let us now see how it can be plainly made out that in the enormously protracted lives of those men the years were not so short that ten of their years were equal to only one of ours, but were of as great length as our own, which are measured by the course of the sun. It is proved by this, that Scripture states that the flood occurred in the six hundredth year of Noah's life. But why in the same place is it also written, "The waters of the flood were upon the earth in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the twenty-seventh day of the month," if that very brief year (of which it took ten to make one of ours) consisted of thirty-six days? For so scant a year, if the ancient usage dignified it with the name of year, either has not months, or its month must be three days, so that it may have twelve of them. How then was it here said, "In the six hundredth year, the second month, the twenty-seventh day of the month," unless the months then were of the same length as the months now?

For how else could it be said that the flood began on the twenty-seventh day of the second month? Then afterwards, at the end of the flood, it is thus written: "And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, on the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the eleventh month: on the first day of the month were the tops of the mountains seen." But if the

1 Gen. vii. 10, 11 (in our version the seventeenth day).

2 Gen. viii. 4, 5.

74 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

months were such as we have, then so were the years. And certainly months of three days each could not have a twenty-seventh day. Or if every measure of time was diminished in proportion, and a thirtieth part of three days was then called a day, then that great deluge, which is recorded to have lasted forty days and forty nights, was really over in less than four of our days. Who can away with such foolishness and absurdity? Far be this error from us, "an error which seeks to build up our faith in the divine Scriptures on false
conjecture, only to demolish our faith at another point. It is plain that the day then was what it now is, a space of four-and-twenty hours, determined by the lapse of day and night; the month then equal to the month now, which is defined by the rise and completion of one moon; the year then equal to the year now, which is completed by twelve lunar months, with the addition of five days and a-fourth to adjust it with the course of the sun. It was a year of this length which was reckoned the six hundredth of Noah's life; and in the second month, the twenty-seventh day of the month, the flood began, Æ” a flood which, as is recorded, was caused by heavy rains continuing for forty days, which days had not only two hours and a little more, but four-and-twenty hours, completing a night and a day. And consequently those antediluvians lived more than 900 years, which were years as long as those which afterwards Abraham lived 175 of, and after him his son Isaac 180, and his son Jacob nearly 150, and some time after, Moses 120, and men now seventy or eighty, or not much longer, of which years it is said, "their strength is labour and sorrow." 1

But that discrepancy of numbers which is found to exist between our own and the Hebrew text does not touch the longevity of the ancients; and if there is any diversity so great that both versions cannot be true, we must take our ideas of the real facts from that text out of which our own version has been translated. However, though any one who pleases has it in his power to correct this version, yet it is not unimportant to observe that no one has presumed to emend the Septuagint from the Hebrew text in the many

1 Ps. xc. 10. Å»
places where they seem to disagree. For this difference has not been reckoned a falsification; and for my own part I am persuaded it ought not to be reckoned so. But where the difference is not a mere copyist's error, and where the sense is agreeable to truth and illustrative of truth, we must believe that the divine Spirit prompted them to give a varying version, not in their function of translators, but in the liberty of prophesying. And therefore we find that the apostles justly sanction the Septuagint, by quoting it as well as the Hebrew when they adduce proofs from the Scriptures. But as I have promised to treat this subject more carefully, if God help me, in a more fitting place, I will now go on with the matter in hand. For there can be no doubt that, the lives of men being so long, the first-born of the first man could have built a city, a city, however, which was earthly, and not that which is called the city of God, to describe which we have taken in hand this great work.

15. Whether it is credible that the men of the primitive age abstained from sexual intercourse until that date at which it is recorded that they begat children.

Some one, then, will say, Is it to be believed that a man who intended to beget children, and had no intention of continence, abstained from sexual intercourse a hundred years and more, or even, according to the Hebrew version, only a little less, say eighty, seventy, or sixty years; or, if he did not abstain, was unable to beget offspring? This question admits of two solutions. For either puberty was so much later as the whole life was longer, or, which seems to me more likely, it is not the first-born sons that are here mentioned, but those whose names were required to fill up the series until Noah was reached, from whom again we see that the succession is continued to Abraham, and after him down to that point of time until which it was needful to mark by pedigree the course of the most glorious city, which sojourns as a stranger in this world, and seeks the heavenly country. That which is undeniable is that Cain was the first who was born of man and woman. For had he not been the first who was added by birth to the two unborn persons. Adam could not have said what he is recorded to have said, " I have gotten a man by the Lord." He was followed by Abel, whom the elder brother slew, and who was the first to show, by a kind of foreshadowing of the sojourning city of God, what iniquitous persecutions that city would suffer at the hands of wicked and, as it were, earth-born men, who love their earthly origin, and delight in the earthly happiness of the earthly city. But how old Adam was when he begat these sons does not appear. After this the generations diverge, the one branch deriving from Cain, the other from him whom Adam beoot in the room of Abel slain by his brother, and whom he called Seth,
saying, as it is written, "For God hath raised me up another seed for Abel whom Cain slew." 2 These two series of generations accordingly, the one of Cain, the other of Seth, represent the two cities in their distinctive ranks, the one the heavenly city, which sojourns on earth, the other the earthly, which gapes after earthly joys, and grovels in them as if they were the only joys. But though eight generations, including Adam, are registered before the flood, no man of Cain's line has his acre recorded at which the son who succeeded him was begotten. For the Spirit of God refused to mark the times before the flood in the generations of the earthly city, but preferred to do so in the heavenly line, as if it were more worthy of being remembered. Further, when Seth was born, the age of his father is mentioned; but already he had begotten other sons, and who will presume to say that Cain and Abel were the only ones previously begotten? For it does not follow that they alone had been begotten of Adam, because they alone were named in order to continue the series of generations which it was desirable to mention. For though the names of all the rest are buried in silence, yet it is said that Adam begot sons and daughters; and who that cares to be free from the charge of temerity will dare to say how many his offspring numbered? It was possible enough that Adam was divinely prompted to say, after Seth was born, "For God hath raised up to me another seed for Abel," because that son was to be capable of representing Abel's holiness, not because he was born first after him in point of time. Then because it is written, "And Seth lived 205 years," or, according to the Hebrew read-
1 Gen. iv. 1. â†™- Gen. iv. 25.
ing, "105 years, and begat Enos," 1 who but a rash man could affirm that this was his first-born? "Will any man do so to excite our wonder, and cause us to inquire how for so many years he remained free from sexual intercourse, though without any purpose of continuing so, or how, if he did not abstain, he yet had no children? Will any man do so when it is written of him, "And he begat sons and daughters, and all the days of Seth were 912 years, and he died?" 2 And similarly regarding those whose years are afterwards mentioned, it is not disguised that they begat sons and daughters.

Consequently it does not at all appear whether he who is named as the son was himself the first begotten. Nay, since it is incredible that those fathers were either so long in attaining puberty, or could not get wives, or could not impregnate them, it is also incredible that those sons were their first-born.

But as the writer of the sacred history designed to descend by well-marked intervals through a series of generations to the birth and life of Noah, in whose time the flood occurred, he mentioned not those sons who were first begotten, but those by whom the succession was handed down.

Let me make this clearer by here inserting an example, in regard to which no one can have any doubt that what I am asserting is true. The evangelist Matthew, where he designs to commit to our memories the generation of the Lord's flesh by a series of parents, beginning from Abraham and intending to reach David, says, "Abraham begat Isaac;" 3 why did he not say Ishmael, whom he first begat? Then "Isaac begat Jacob;" why did he not say Esau, who was the first-born? Simply because these sons would not have helped him to reach David. Then follows, "And Jacob begat Judah and his brethren;" was Judah the first begotten? "Judah," he says, "begat Pharez and Zara;" yet neither were these twins the first-born of Judah, but before them he had begotten three other sons. And so in the order of the generations he retained those by whom he might reach David, so as to proceed onwards to the end he had in view. And from this we may understand that the antediluvians who are mentioned were not the first-born, but those through whom the order of

1 Gen. v. 6. 2 Gen> v> 8# 3 Matt. i.

78 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

the succeeding generations might be carried on to the patriarch jSToah. We need not, therefore, weary ourselves with discussing the needless and obscure question as to their lateness of reaching puberty.

16. Of marriage between blood-relations, in regard to which the present law could not bind the men of the earliest ages.
As, therefore, the human race, subsequently to the first marriage of the man who was made of dust, and his wife who was made out of his side, required the union of males and females in order that it might multiply, and as there were no human beings except those who had been born of these two, men took their sisters for wives, an act which was as certainly dictated by necessity in these ancient days as afterwards it was condemned by the prohibitions of religion. For it is very reasonable and just that men, among whom concord is honourable and useful, should be bound together by various relationships; and that one man should not himself sustain many relationships, but that the various relationships should be distributed among several, and should thus serve to bind together the greatest number in the same social interests. "Father" and "father-in-law" are the names of two relationships. When, therefore, a man has one person for his father, another for his father-in-law, friendship extends itself to a larger number. But Adam in his single person was obliged to hold both relations to his sons and daughters, for brothers and sisters were united in marriage. So too Eve his wife was both mother and mother-in-law to her children of both sexes; while, had there been two women, one the mother, the other the mother-in-law, the family affection would have had a wider field. Then the sister herself by becoming a wife sustained in her single person two relationships, which, had they been distributed among individuals, -one being sister, and another being wife, the family tie would have embraced a greater number of persons. But there was then no material for effecting this, since there were no human beings but the brothers and sisters born of those two first parents. Therefore, when an abundant population made it possible, men ought to choose for wives women who were not already their sisters; for not only would there then be no necessity for marrying sisters, but, were it done, it would be most abominable. For if the grandchildren of the first pair, being now able to choose their cousins for wives, married their sisters, then it would no longer be only two but three relationships that were held by one man, while each of these relationships ought to have been held by a separate individual, so as to bind together by family affection a larger number. For one man would in that case be both father, and father-in-law, and uncle to his own children (brother and sister now man and wife); and his wife would be mother, aunt, and mother-in-law to them; and they themselves would be not only brother and sister, and man and wife, but cousins also, being the children of brother and sister. Now, all these relationships, which combined three men into one, would have embraced nine persons had each relationship been held by one individual, so that a man had one person for his sister, another his wife, another his cousin, another his father, another his uncle, another his father-in-law, another his mother, another his aunt, another his mother-in-law; and thus the social bond would not have been tightened to bind a few, but loosened to embrace a larger number of relations.
And we see that, since the human race has increased and multiplied, this is so strictly observed even among the profane worshippers of many and false gods, that though their laws perversely allow a brother to marry his sister, 2 yet custom, with a finer morality, prefers to forego this licence; and though it was quite allowable in the earliest ages of the human race to marry one’s sister, it is now abhorred as a thing which no circumstances could justify. For custom has very great power either to attract or to shock human feeling. And in this matter, while it restrains concupiscence within due bounds, the man who neglects and disobeys it is justly branded as abominable. For if it is iniquitous to plough beyond our own boundaries through the greed of gain, is it not much more iniquitous to transgress the recognised boundaries of morals through sexual lust? And with regard to marriage in the next degree of consanguinity, marriage be-

1 His own children being the children of his sister, and therefore his nephews.

2 This was allowed by the Egyptians and Athenians, never by the Romans.

80 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

tween cousins, we have observed that in our own time the customary morality has prevented this from being frequent, though the law allows it. It was not prohibited by divine law, nor as yet had human law prohibited it; nevertheless, though legitimate, people shrank from it, because it lay so close to what was illegitimate, and in marrying a cousin seemed almost to marry a sister, â€” for cousins are so closely related that they are called brothers and sisters, 1 and are almost really so. But the ancient fathers, fearing that near relationship might gradually in the course of generations diverge, and become distant relationship, or cease to be relationship at all, religiously endeavoured to limit it by the bond of marriage before it became distant, and thus, as it were, to call it back when it was escaping them. And on this account, even when the world was full of people, though they did not choose wives from among their sisters or half-sisters, yet they preferred them to be of the same stock as themselves. But who doubts that the modern prohibition of the marriage even of cousins is the more seemly regulation, â€” not merely on account of the reason we have been urging, the multiplying of relationships, so that one person might not absorb two, which might be distributed to two persons, and so increase the number of people bound together as a family, but also because there is in human nature I know not what natural and praiseworthy shame-shamedness which restrains us from desiring that connection which, though for propagation, is yet lustful, and which even conjugal modesty blushes over, with any one to whom consanguinity bids us render respect?

The sexual intercourse of man and woman, then, is in the case of mortals a kind of seed-bed of the city; but while the earthly city needs for its population only generation, the heavenly needs also regeneration to rid it of the taint of generation. Whether before the deluge there was any bodily or visible sign of regeneration, such as was afterwards enjoined upon Abraham when he was circumcised, or what kind of sign it was, the sacred
history does not inform us. But it does inform us that even these earliest of mankind sacrificed

1 Both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, though not uniformly, nor in Latin commonly.
to God, as appeared also in the case of the two first brothers; Noah, too, is said to have offered sacrifices to God when he had come forth from the ark after the deluge. And concerning this subject we have already said in the foregoing books that the devils arrogate to themselves divinity, and require sacrifice that they may be esteemed gods, and delight in these honours on no other account than this, because they know that true sacrifice is due to the true God.

17. Of the two fathers and leaders who sprang from one progenitor.

Since, then, Adam was the father of both lines, Æ the father, ð that is to say, both of the line which belonged to the earthly, and of that which belonged to the heavenly city, Æ when Abel was slain, and by his death exhibited a marvellous mystery, there were henceforth two lines proceeding from two fathers, Cain and Seth, and in those sons of theirs, whom it behoved to register, the tokens of these two cities began to appear more distinctly. For Cain begat Enoch, in whose name he built a city, an earthly one, which was not from home in this world, but rested satisfied with its temporal peace and happiness. Cain, too, means "possession;" wherefore at his birth either his father or mother said, "I have gotten a man through God." Then Enoch means "dedication;" for the earthly city is dedicated in this world in which it is built, for in this world it finds the end towards which it aims and aspires.

Further, Seth signifies "resurrection," and Enos his son signifies "man," not as Adam, which also signifies man but is used in Hebrew indifferently for man and woman, as it is written, "Male and female created He them, and blessed them, and called their name Adam," * leaving no room to doubt that though the woman was distinctively called Eve, yet the name Adam, meaning man, was common to both. But Enos means man in so restricted a sense, that Hebrew linguists tell us it cannot be applied to woman: it is the equivalent of the "child of the resurrection," when they neither marry nor are given in marriage. 2 For there shall be no generation in that place to which regeneration shall have brought us. Wherefore I think it not immaterial to observe that in those gene-

1 Gen. v. 2. 2 Luke xx. 35, 36.

VOL. II. F

82 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

rations which are propagated from him who is called Seth, although daughters as well as sons are said to have been begotten, no woman is expressly registered by name; but in those which sprang from Cain at the very termination to which the line runs, the last person named as begotten is a woman. For we read, "Methusael begat Lamech. And
Lamech took unto him two wives: the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of the shepherds that dwell in tents. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ. And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-Cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron: and the sister of Tubal-Cain was Naamah." 1 Here terminate all the generations of Cain, being eight in number, including Adam, â€” to wit, seven from Adam to Lamech, who married two wives, and whose children, among whom a woman also is named, form the eighth generation. Whereby it is elegantly signified that the earthly city shall to its termination have carnal generations proceeding from the intercourse of males and females. And therefore the wives themselves of the man who is the last named father of Cain's line are registered in their own names, â€” a practice nowhere followed before the deluge save in Eve's case. Now as Cain, signifying possession, the founder of the earthly city, and his son Enoch, meaning dedication, in whose name it was founded, indicate that this city is earthly both in its beginning and in its end, â€” a city in which nothing more is hoped for than can be seen in this world, â€” so Seth, meaning resurrection, and being the father of generations registered apart from the others, we must consider what this sacred history says of his son.

18. The significance of Abel, Seth, and Enos to Christ and His body

the Church.

" And to Seth," it is said, u there was born a son, and he called his name Enos: he hoped to call on the name of the Lord God." 2 Here we have a loud testimony to the truth. Man, then, the son of the resurrection, lives in hope: he lives in hope as long as the city of God, which is begotten

by faith in the resurrection, sojourns in this world. For in these two men, Abel, signifying "grief," and his brother Seth, signifying "resurrection," the death of Christ and His life from the dead are prefigured. And by faith in these is begotten in this world the city of God, that is to say, the man who has hoped to call on the name of the Lord. "For by hope," says the apostle, "we are saved: but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for ?

But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 1 Who can avoid referring this to a profound mystery ? For did not Abel hope to call upon the name of the Lord God when his sacrifice is mentioned in Scripture as having been accepted by God ? Did not Seth himself hope to call on the name of the Lord God, of whom it was said, "For God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel ?" Why then is this which is found to be common to all the godly specially attributed to Enos, unless because it was fit that in him, who is mentioned as the first-born of the father of those generations which were separated to the better part of the heavenly city, there should be a type of the man, or society of men, who live not according to man in contentment with earthly felicity, but according to God in hope of everlasting felicity ? And it was not said, "He hoped in the Lord God," nor "He called on the name of the Lord God," but "He hoped to call on the name of the Lord God." And what does this "hoped to call" mean, unless it is a prophecy that a people should arise who, according to the election of grace, would call on the name of the Lord God?

It is this which has been said by another prophet, and which the apostle interprets of the people who belong to the grace of God: "And it shall be that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." 2 For these two expressions, "And he called his name Enos, which means man," and "He hoped to call on the name of the Lord God," are sufficient proof that man ought not to rest his hopes in himself; as it is elsewhere written, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man." 3 Consequently no one ought to trust in himself that he shall become a citizen of that other city which is not /

1 Rom. viii. 24, 25. 2 Rom. x. 13. 3 Jer. xvii. 5.

84 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

dedicated in the name of Cain's son in this present time, that is to say, in the fleeting course of this mortal world, but in the immortality of perpetual blessedness.

19. The significance of Enoch" s translation.

For that line also of which Seth is the father has the name "Dedication" in the seventh generation from Adam, counting Adam. For the seventh from him is Enoch, that is, Dedication. But this is that man who was translated because he pleased God, and who
held in the order of the generations a remarkable place, being the seventh from Adam, a number signalized by the consecration of the Sabbath. But, counting from the diverging point of the two lines, or from Seth, he was the sixth. Now it was on the sixth day God made man, and consummated His works. But the translation of Enoch prefigured our deferred dedication; for though it is indeed already accomplished in Christ our Head, who so rose again that He shall die no more, and who was Himself also translated, yet there remains another dedication of the whole house, of which Christ Himself is the foundation, and this dedication is deferred till the end, when all shall rise again to die no more. And whether it is the house of God, or the temple of God, or the city of God, that is said to be dedicated, it is all the same, and equally in accordance with the usage of the Latin language. For Virgil himself calls the city of widest empire "the house of Assaracus," 1 meaning the Piomans, who were descended through the Trojans from Assaracus. He also calls them the house of Eneas, because Borne was built by those Trojans who had come to Italy under JEnneas. 2 For that poet imitated the sacred writings, in which the Hebrew nation, though so numerous, is called the house of Jacob.

20. How it is that Cain's line terminates in the eighth generation, i.e., Noah, though descended from the same father, Adam, is found to be the tenth from him.

Some one will say, If the writer of this history intended, in enumerating the generations from Adam through his son Seth, to descend through them to Noah, in whose time the

1 uEneid, i. 288. 2 jEneid, iii. 97.
deluge occurred, and from him again to trace the connected generations down to Abraham, with whom Matthew begins the pedigree of Christ the eternal King of the city of God. L^ what did he intend by enumerating the generations from Cain, and to what terminus did he mean to trace them? We reply, To the deluge, by which the whole stock of the earthly city was destroyed, but repaired by the sons of Noah. For the earthly city and community of men who live after the flesh will never fail until the end of this world, of which our Lord says, "The children of this world generate, and are generated." 1 But the city of God, which sojourns in this world, is conducted by regeneration to the world to come, of which the children neither generate nor are generated. In this world generation is common to both cities; though even now the city of God has many thousand citizens who abstain from the act of generation: yet the other city also has some citizens who imitate these, though erroneously. For to that city belong also those who have erred from the faith, and introduced divers heresies; for they live according to man, not according to God. And the Indian gymnosophists, who are said to philosophize in the solitudes of India in a state of nudity, are its citizens; and they abstain from marriage. For continence is not a good thing, except when it is practised in the faith of the highest good, that is, God. Yet no one is found to have practised it before the deluge; for indeed even Enoch himself, the seventh from Adam, who is said to have been translated without dying, begat sons and daughters before he was translated, and among these was Methuselah, by whom the succession of the recorded generations is maintained.

Why, then, is so small a number of Cain's generations registered, if it was proper to trace them to the deluge, and if there was no such delay of the date of puberty as to preclude the hope of offspring for a hundred or more years? For if the author of this book had not in view some one to whom he might rigidly trace the series of generations, as he designed in those which sprang from Seth's seed to descend to Noah, and thence to start again by a rigid order, what need was there of omitting the first-born sons for the sake of descend-

1 Luke xx. 34.
Why, then, are there so few of them? Their numbers in the period before the deluge must have been greater, if the date of puberty bore no proportion to their longevity, and they had children before they were a hundred years old. For supposing they were on an average thirty years old when they began to beget children, then, as there are eight generations, including Adam and Lamech's children, 8 times 30 gives 240 years; did they then produce no more children in all the rest of the time before the deluge? With what intention, then, did he who wrote this record make no mention of subsequent generations? For from Adam to the deluge there are reckoned, according to our copies of Scripture, 2262 years, 2 and according to the Hebrew text, 1656 years. Supposing, then, the smaller number to be the true one, and subtracting from 1656 years 240, is it credible that during the remaining 1400 and odd years until the deluge the posterity of Cain begat no children?

But let any one who is moved by this call to mind that when I discussed the question, how it is credible that those primitive men could abstain for so many years from begetting children, two modes of solution were found, “either a puberty late in proportion to their longevity, or that the sons registered in the genealogies were not the first-born, but those through whom the author of the book intended to reach the point

1 Rom. ix. 5.

2 Eusebius, Jerome, Bede, and others, who follow the Septuagint, reckon only 2242 years, which Vives explains by supposing Augustine to have made a copyist's error.
aimed at, as lie intended to reach Noah by the generations of Seth. So that, if in the
generations of Cain there occurs no one whom the writer could make it his object to reach
by omitting the first-borns and inserting those who would serve

such a purpose, then we must have recourse to the supposition of late puberty, and say
that only at some age beyond a hundred years they became capable of begetting children,
so that the order of the generations ran through the first-borns, and filled up even the
whole period before the deluge, longthough it was. It is, however, possible that, for some
more secret reason which escapes me, this city, which we say is earthly, is exhibited in all
its generations down to Lamech and his sons, and that then the writer withholds from
recording the rest which may have existed before the deluge. And without supposing so
late a puberty in these men, there might be another reason for tracing the generations by
sons who were not first-borns, viz. that the same city which Cain built, and named after
his son Enoch, may have had a widely extended dominion and many kings, not reigning
simultaneously, but successively, the reigning king begetting always his successor.
Cain himself would be the first of these kings; his son Enoch, in whose name the city in
which he reigned was built, would be the second; the third Irad, whom Enoch begat; the
fourth Methusael, whom Methusael begat; the fifth Methusael, whom Mehujael begat; the sixth
Lamech, whom Methusael begat, and who is the seventh from Adam through Cain.
But it was not necessary that the first-born should succeed their fathers in the kingdom,
but those would succeed who were recommended by the possession of some virtue useful
to the earthly city, or who were chosen by lot, or the son who was best liked by his father
would succeed by a kind of hereditary right to the throne. And the deluge may have
happened during the lifetime and reign of Lamech, and may have destroyed him along
with all other men, save those who were in the ark. Eor we cannot be surprised that,
during so long a period from Adam to the deluge, and with the ages of individuals
varying as they did, there should not be an equal number of generations in both lines, but
seven in Cain's, and ten in Seth's; for as I have already said, Lamech is the seventh

from Adam, Noah the tenth; and in Lamech's case not one son only is registered, as in the
former instances, but more, because it was uncertain which of them would have
succeeded when he died, if there had intervened any time to reign between his death and
the deluge.

But in whatever manner the generations of Cain's line are traced downwards, whether it
be by first-born sons or by the heirs to the throne, it seems to me that I must by no means
omit to notice that, when Lamech had been set down as the seventh from Adam, there
were named, in addition, as many of his children as made up this number to eleven, which is the number signifying sin; for three sons and one daughter are added. The wives of Lamech have another signification, different from that which I am now pressing. For at present I am speaking of the children, and not of those by whom the children were begotten. Since, then, the law is symbolized by the number ten, whence that memorable Decalogue, there is no doubt that the number eleven, which goes beyond ten, symbolizes the transgression of the law, and consequently sin. For this reason, eleven veils of goat's skin were ordered to be hung in the tabernacle of the testimony, which served in the wanderings of God's people as an ambulatory temple. And in that haircloth there was a reminder of sins, because the goats were to be set on the left hand of the Judge; and therefore, when we confess our sins, we prostrate ourselves in haircloth, as if we were saying what is written in the psalm, "My sin is ever before me." The progeny of Adam, then, by Cain the murderer, is completed in the number eleven, which symbolizes sin; and this number itself is made up by a woman, as it was by the same sex that beginning was made of sin by which we all die. And it was committed that the pleasure of the flesh, which resists the spirit, might follow; and so Naamah, the daughter of Lamech, means "pleasure." But from Adam to Noah, in the line of Seth, there are ten generations. And to Noah three sons are added, of whom, while one fell into sin, two were blessed by their father; so that, if you deduct the reprobate and add the gracious sons to the number, you get twelve, a number signalized in the case

1 Transgreditur. 2 Ps. li. 3.
of the patriarchs and of the apostles, and made up of the parts of the number seven multiplied into one another, â€” for three times four, or four times three, give twelve. These things being so, I see that I must consider and mention how these two lines, which by their separate genealogies depict the two cities, one of earth-born, the other of regenerated persons, became afterwards so mixed and confused, that the whole human race, with the exception of eight persons, deserved to perish in the deluge.

21. Why it is that, as soon as Cain's son Enoch has been named, the genealogy is forthwith continued as far as the deluge, while after the mention of Enos, Seth' 8 son, the narrative returns again to the creation of man.

We must first see why, in the enumeration of Cain's posterity, after Enoch, in whose name the city was built, has been first of all mentioned, the rest are at once enumerated down to that terminus of which I have spoken, and at which that race and the whole line was destroyed in the deluge; while, after Enos the son of Seth has been mentioned, the rest are not at once named down to the deluge, but a clause is inserted to the following effect: " This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He him; male and female created He them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created." 1 This seems to me to be inserted for this purpose, that here again the reckoning of the times may start from Adam himself, â€” a purpose which the writer had not in view in speaking of the earthly city, as if God mentioned it, but did not take account of its duration.

But why does he return to this recapitulation after mentioning the son of Seth, the man who hoped to call on the name of the Lord God, unless because it was fit thus to present these two cities, the one beginning with a murderer and ending in a murderer (for Lamech, too, acknowledges to his two wives that he had committed murder), the other built up by him who hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God? For the highest and complete terrestrial duty of the city of God, which is a stranger in this world, is that which was exemplified in the individual who was begotten by him.

1 Gen. v. 1.

90 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

who typified the resurrection of the murdered Abel. That one man is the unity of the whole heavenly city, not yet indeed complete, but to be completed, as this prophetic figure foreshows. The son of Cain, therefore, that is, the son of possession (and of what but an earthly possession?), may have a name in the earthly city which was built in his name. It is of such the Psalmist says, " They call their lands after their own names." 1 " Wherefore they incur what is written in another psalm: "Thou, Lord, in Thy city wilt despise their image." 2
But as for the son of Seth, the son of the resurrection, let him hope to call on the name of the Lord God. For he prefigures that society of men which says, "But I am like a green olivetree in the house of God: I have trusted in the mercy of God." 3 But let him not seek the empty honours of a famous name upon earth, for "Blessed is the man that maketh the name of the Lord his trust, and respecteth not vanities nor lying follies." 4 After having presented the two cities, the one founded in the material good of this world, the other in hope in God, but both starting from a common gate opened in Adam into this mortal state, and both running on and running out to their proper and merited ends, Scripture begins to reckon the times, and in this reckoning includes other generations, making a recapitulation from Adam, out of whose condemned seed, as out of one mass handed over to merited damnation, God made some vessels of wrath to dishonour and others vessels of mercy to honour; in punishment rendering to the former what is due, in grace giving to the latter what is not due: in order that by the very comparison of itself with the vessels of wrath, the heavenly city, which sojourns on earth, may learn not to put confidence in the liberty of its own will, but may hope to call on the name of the Lord God. For will, being a nature which was made good by the good God, but mutable by the immutable, because it was made out of nothing, can both decline from good to do evil, which takes place when it freely chooses, and can also escape the evil and do good, which takes place only by divine assistance.

1 Ps. xlix. 11. 2 Ps. lxxiii. 20.

s Ps. lii. 8. * Ps. xl. 4.
22. Of the fall of the sons of God who were, captivated by the daughters of men, whereby all, with the exception of eight persons, deservedly perished in the deluge.

When the human race, in the exercise of this freedom of will, increased and advanced, there arose a mixture and confusion of the two cities by their participation in a common iniquity. And this calamity, as well as the first, was occasioned by woman, though not in the same way; for these women were not themselves betrayed, neither did they persuade the men to sin, but having belonged to the earthly city and society of the earthly, they had been of corrupt manners from the first, and were loved for their bodily beauty by the sons of God, or the citizens of the other city which sojourns in this world. Beauty is indeed a good gift of God; but that the good may not think it a great good, God dispenses it even to the wicked. And thus, when the good that is great and proper to the good was abandoned by the sons of God, they fell to a paltry good which is not peculiar to the good, but common to the good and the evil; and when they were captivated by the daughters of men, they adopted the manners of the earthly to win them as their brides, and forsook the godly ways they had followed in their own holy society. And thus beauty, which is indeed God's handiwork, but only a temporal, carnal, and lower kind of good, is not fitly loved in preference to God, the eternal, spiritual, and unchangeable good. When the miser prefers his gold to justice, it is through no fault of the gold, but of the man; and so with every created thing. For though it be good, it may be loved with an evil as well as with a good love: it is loved rightly when it is loved ordainately; evilly, when inordinately. It is this which some one has briefly said in these verses in praise of the Creator: 1 "These are Thine, they are good, because Thou art good who didst create them. There is in them nothing of ours, unless the sin we commit when we forget the order of things, and instead of Thee love that which Thou hast made."

But if the Creator is truly loved, that is, if He Himself is

1 Or, according to another reading, "Which I briefly said in these verses in praise of a taper."

9 2 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

loved and not another thing in His stead, He cannot be evilly loved; for love itself is to be ordainately loved, because we do well to love that which, when we love it, makes us live well and virtuously. So that it seems to me that it is a brief but true definition of virtue to say, it is the order of love; and on this account, in the Canticles, the bride of Christ, the city of God, sings, "Order love within me." * It was the order of this love, then, this
charity or attachment, which the sons of God disturbed when they forsook God, and were enmoured of the daughters of men. 2 And by these two names (sons of God and daughters of men) the two cities are sufficiently distinguished. For though the former were by nature children of men, they had come into possession of another name by grace. For in the same Scripture in which the sons of God are said to have loved the daughters of men, they are also called angels of God; whence many suppose that they were not men but angels.

23. Whether we art to believe that angels, icho are of a spiritual substance, fell in love with the beauty of women, and sought them in marriage, and that from this connection giants were born.

In the "third book of this work (c. 5) we made a passing reference to this question, but did not decide whether angels, inasmuch as they are spirits, could have bodily intercourse with women. For it is written, " "Who maketh His angels spirits," 3 that is, He makes those who are by nature spirits His angels by appointing them to the duty of bearing His messages. For the Greek word χιυεξος, which in Latin appears as " angelus," means a messenger. But whether the Psalmist speaks of their bodies when he adds, " and His ministers a flaming fire," or means that God's ministers ousjht to blaze with love as with a spiritual fire, is doubtful. However, the same trustworthy Scripture testifies that angels have appeared to men in such bodies as could not only be seen, but also touched. There is, too, a very general rumour, which many have verified by their own experience, or which trustworthy persons who have heard the experience of others corroborate, that sylvans and fauns, who are commonly called "incubi," had often made wicked assaults upon women, and satisfied

1 Cant. ii. 4. 2 See De Doct. Christ, i. 281 3 Ps. civ. 4.
their lust upon them; and that certain devils, called Duses by the Gauls, are constantly attempting and effecting this impurity is so generally affirmed, that it were impudent to deny it. 1 From these assertions, indeed, I dare not determine whether there be some spirits embodied in an aerial substance (for this element, even when agitated by a fan, is sensibly felt by the body), and who are capable of lust and of mingling sensibly with women; but certainly I could by no means believe that God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen, nor can I think that it is of them the Apostle Peter said, "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." 2 I think he rather speaks of those who first apostatized from God, along with their chief the devil, who enviously deceived the first man under the form of a serpent. But the same holy Scripture affords the most ample testimony that even godly men have been called angels; for of John it is written: "Behold, I send my messenger (angel) before Thy face, who shall prepare Thy way." 3 And the prophet Malachi, by a peculiar grace specially communicated to him, was called an angel. 4

But some are moved by the fact that we have read that the fruit of the connection between those who are called angels of God and the women they loved were not men like our own breed, but giants; just as if there were not born even in our own time (as I have mentioned above) men of much greater size than the ordinary stature. "Was there not at Borne a few years ago, when the destruction of the city now accomplished by the Goths was drawing near, a woman, with her father and mother, who by her gigantic size overtopped all others? Surprising crowds from all quarters came to see her, and that which struck them most was the circumstance that neither of her parents were quite up to the tallest ordinary stature. Giants therefore might well be born, even before the sons of God, who are also called angels of God, formed a connection

1 On these kinds of devils, see the note of Vives in loc. , or Lecky's Hist, of Rationalism, i. 26, who quotes from Maury's Histoire cle la Magie, that the Dusii were Celtic spirits, and are the origin of our "Deuce."

2 2 Pet. ii. 4. 3 Mark i. 2. 4 Mai. ii. 7.

with the daughters of men, or of those living according to men, that is to say, before the sons of Seth formed a connection with the daughters of Cain. For thus speaks even the canonical Scripture itself in the book in which we read of this; its words are: "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair [good];
and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the Lord God said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became the giants, men of renown." * These words of the divine book sufficiently indicate that already there were giants in the earth in those days, in which the sons of God took wives of the children of men, when they loved them because they were good, that is, fair.

For it is the custom of this Scripture to call those who are beautiful in appearance "good." But after this connection had been formed, then too were giants born. For the words are: "There were giants in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men." Therefore there were giants both before, "in those days," and "also after that," And the words, "they bare children to them," show plainly enough that before the sons of God fell in this fashion they begat children to God, not to themselves, â€” that is to say, not moved by the lust of sexual intercourse, but discharging the duty of propagation, intending to produce not a family to gratify their own pride, but citizens to people the city of God; and to these they as God's angels would bear the message, that they should place their hope in God, like him who was born of Seth the son of resurrection, and who hoped to call on the name of the Lord God, in which hope they and their offspring would be co-heirs of eternal blessings, and brethren in the family of which God is the Father.

1 Gen. vi. 1-4. Lactantius (liv. ii. 15), Sulpicius Severus (Hist. i. 2), and others suppose from this passage that angels had commerce with the daughters of men. See further references in the Commentary of Pererius in loc.
But that those angels were not angels in the sense of not being men, as some suppose, Scripture itself decides, which unambiguously declares that they were men. For when it had first been stated that "the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose," it was immediately added, *And the Lord God said, My Spirit shall not always strive with these men, for that they also are flesh." For by the Spirit of God they had been made angels of God, and sons of God; but declining towards lower things, they are called men, a name of nature, not of grace; and they are called flesh, as deserters of the Spirit, and by their desertion deserted [by Him]. The Septuagint indeed calls them both angels of God and sons of God, though all the copies do not show this, some having only the name "sons of God." And Aquila, whom the Jews prefer to the other interpreters, 1 has translated neither angels of God nor sons of God, but sons of gods. But both are correct. For they were both sons of God, and thus brothers of their own fathers, who were children of the same God; and they were sons of gods, because begotten by gods, together with whom they themselves also were gods, according to that expression of the psalm: "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High." 2 For the Septuagint translators are justly believed to have received the Spirit of prophecy; so that, if they made any alterations under His authority, and did not adhere to a strict translation, we could not doubt that this was divinely dictated. However, the Hebrew word may be said to be ambiguous, and to be susceptible of either translation, "sons of God," or "sons of gods."

Let us omit, then, the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal, because their obscure origin was unknown to the fathers from whom the authority of the true Scriptures has been transmitted to us by a most certain and well-as cer-

1 Aquila lived in the time of Hadrian, to whom he is said to have been related. He was excommunicated from the Church for the practice of astrology; and is best known by his translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, which he executed with great care and accuracy, though he has been charged with falsifying passages to support the Jews in their opposition to Christianity.

2 Ps. lxxxii. 6.

96 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XV.]

tained succession. For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements, that they have no canonical authority. "We cannot deny that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, left some divine writings, for this is asserted by the Apostle Jude in his canonical epistle. But it is not without reason that these writings have no place in that canon of Scripture which was preserved in the temple of the Hebrew people by the diligence of successive priests; for their antiquity brought them under
suspicion, and it was impossible to ascertain whether these were his genuine writings, and they were not brought forward as genuine by the persons who were found to have carefully preserved the canonical books by a successive transmission. So that the writings which are produced under his name, and which contain these fables about the Giants, saving that their fathers were not men, are properly judged by prudent men to be not genuine; just as many writings are produced by heretics under the names both of other prophets, and, more recently, under the names of the apostles, all of which, after careful examination, have been set apart from canonical authority under the title of Apocrypha. There is therefore no doubt that, according to the Hebrew and Christian canonical Scriptures, there were many giants before the deluge, and that these were citizens of the earthly society of men, and that the sons of God, who were according to the flesh the sons of Seth, sunk into this community when they forsook righteousness. Nor need we wonder that giants should be born even from these. For all of their children were not giants; but there were more then than in the remaining periods since the deluge. And it pleased the Creator to produce them, that it might thus be demonstrated that neither beauty, nor yet size and strength, are of much moment to the wise man, whose blessedness lies in spiritual and immortal blessings, in far better and more enduring gifts, in the good things that are the peculiar property of the good, and are not shared by good and bad alike. It is this which another prophet confirms when he says, " These were the giants, famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war. Those did not the Lord choose, neither gave He the way of knov-
ledge unto them; but they were destroyed because they had no wisdom, and perished through their own foolishness." 1

24. How we are to understand this which the Lord said to those who were to perish in the flood: "Their days shall be 120 years."

But that which God said, "Their days shall be an hundred and twenty years," is not to be understood as a prediction that henceforth men should not live longer than 120 years, â€” for even after the deluge we find that they lived more than 500 years, â€” but we are to understand that God said this when Noah had nearly completed his fifth century, that is, had lived 480 years, which Scripture, as it frequently uses the name of the whole for the largest part, calls 500 years. Now the deluge came in the 600th year of Noah's life, the second month; and thus 120 years were predicted as being the remaining span of those who were doomed, which years being spent, they should be destroyed by the deluge. And it is not unreasonably believed that the deluge came as it did, because already there were not found upon earth any who were not worthy of sharing a death so manifestly judicial, â€” not that a good man, who must die some time, would be a jot the worse of such a death after it was past. Nevertheless there died in the deluge none of those mentioned in the sacred Scripture as descended from Seth. But here is the divine account of the cause of the deluge: "The Lord God saw that the wickedness of man was <n-eat in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented 2 the Lord that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him at His heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man, whom I have created, from the face of the earth; both man and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air: for I am angry that I have made them." 3

25. Of the anger of God, which does not inflame His mind, nor disturb His unchangeable tranquility.

The anger of God is not a disturbing emotion of His mind, but a judgment, by which punishment is inflicted upon sin. His thought and reconsideration also are the unchangeable

1 Barach iii. 26-28.

2 Lit.: "The Lord thought and reconsidered."

3 Gen. vi. 5-7.

VOL. II. G
reason which changes things; for He does not, like man, repent of anything He has done, because in all matters His decision is as inflexible as His prescience is certain. But if Scripture were not to use such expressions as the above, it would not familiarly insinuate itself into the minds of all classes of men, whom it seeks access to for their good, that it may alarm the proud, arouse the careless, exercise the inquisitive, and satisfy the intelligent; and this it could not do, did it not first stoop, and in a manner descend, to them where they lie. But its denouncing death on all the animals of earth and air is a declaration of the vastness of the disaster that was approaching: not that it threatens destruction to the irrational animals as if they too had incurred it by sin.

26. That the ark which Noah was ordered to make figures in every respect Christ and the church.

Moreover, inasmuch as God commanded Noah, a just man, and, as the truthful Scripture says, a man perfect in his generation, "not indeed with the perfection of the citizens of the city of God in that immortal condition in which they equal the angels, but in so far as they can be perfect in their sojourn in this world, not inasmuch as God commanded him, I say, to make an ark, in which he might be rescued from the destruction of the flood, along with his family, i.e. his wife, sons, and daughters-in-law, and along with the animals who, in obedience to God's command, came to him into the ark: this is certainly a figure of the city of God sojourning in this world; that is to say, of the church, which is rescued by the wood on which hung the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. For even its very dimensions, in length, breadth, and height, represent the human body in which He came, as it had been foretold. For the length of the human body, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, is six times its breadth from side to side, and ten times its depth or thickness, measuring from back to front: that is to say, if you measure a man as he lies on his back or on his face, he is six times as long from head to foot as he is broad from side to side, and ten times as long as he is high from the ground. And therefore the ark was made 300 cubits in length, 50 in breadth, and 30 in

1 1 Tim. ii. 5.
height. And its having a door made in the side of it certainly signified the wound which was made when the side of the Crucified was pierced with the spear: for by this those who come to Him enter; for thence flowed the sacraments by which those who believe are initiated. And the fact that it was ordered to be made of squared timbers, signifies the immoveable steadiness of the life of the saints; for however you turn a cube, it still stands. And the other peculiarities of the ark's construction are signs of features of the church.

But we have not now time to pursue this subject; and, indeed, we have already dwelt upon it in the work we wrote against Faustus the Manichean, who denies that there is anything prophesied of Christ in the Hebrew books. It may be that one man's exposition excels another's, and that ours is not the best; but all that is said must be referred to this city of God we speak of, which sojourns in this wicked world as in a deluge, at least if the expositor would not widely miss the meaning of the author. For example, the interpretation I have given in the work against Faustus, of the words, " with lower, second, and third storeys shalt thou make it," is, that because the church is gathered out of all nations, it is said to have two storeys, to represent the two kinds of men, â€” the circumcision, to wit, and the uncircumcision, or, as the apostle otherwise calls them, Jews and Gentiles; and to have three storeys, because all the nations were replenished from the three sons of Noah. Now any one may object to this interpretation, and may give another which harmonizes with the rule of faith. For as the ark was to have rooms not only on the lower, but also on the upper storeys, which were called " third storeys," that there might be a habitable space on the third floor from the basement, some one may interpret these to mean the three graces commended by the apostle, â€” faith, hope, and charity. Or even more suitably they may be supposed to represent those three harvests in the gospel, thirtyfold, sixtyfold, an hundredfold, â€” chaste marriage dwelling in the ground floor, chaste widowhood in the upper, and chaste virginity in the top storey. Or any better interpretation may be given, so long as the reference to this city is maintained.

And the same statement I would make of all the remaining particulars in this passage which require exposition, viz. that although different explanations are given, yet they must all agree with the one harmonious catholic faith.

27. Of the ark and the deluge, and that we cannot agree with those who receive the bare history, but reject the allegorical interpretation, nor with those who maintain the figurative and not the historical meaning.
Yet no one ought to suppose either that these tilings were written for no purpose, or that we should study only the historical truth, apart from any allegorical meanings; or, on the contrary, that they are only allegories, and that there were no such facts at all, or that, whether it be so or no, there is here no prophecy of the church. For what right-minded man will contend that books so religiously preserved during thousands of years, and transmitted by so orderly a succession, were written without an object, or that only the bare historical facts are to be considered when we read them?

For, not to mention other instances, if the number of the animals entailed the construction of an ark of great size, where was the necessity of sending into it two unclean and seven clean animals of each species, when both could have been preserved in equal numbers? Or could not God, who ordered them to be preserved in order to replenish the race, restore them in the same way He had created them?

But they who contend that these things never happened, but are only figures setting forth other things, in the first place suppose that there could not be a flood so great that the water should rise fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, because it is said that clouds cannot rise above the top of Mount Olympus, because it reaches the sky where there is none of that thicker atmosphere in which winds, clouds, and rains have their origin. They do not reflect that the densest element of all, earth, can exist there; or perhaps they deny that the top of the mountain is earth. Why, then, do these measurers and weighers of the elements contend that earth can be raised to those aerial altitudes, and that water cannot, while they admit that water is lighter and liker to ascend than earth? What reason do they adduce why earth, the heavier and lower element, has for so many ages scaled to the tranquil sether, while water, the lighter, and more likely to
ascend, is not suffered to do the same even for a brief space of time?

They say, too, that the area of that ark could not contain so many kinds of animals of both sexes, two of the unclean and seven of the clean. But they seem to me to reckon only one area of 3 cubits long and 5 broad, and not to remember that there was another similar in the storey above, and yet another as large in the storey above that again; and that there was consequently an area of 900 cubits by 150. And if we accept what Origen 1 has with some appropriateness suggested, that Moses the man of God, being, as it is written, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," 2 who delighted in geometry, may have meant geometrical cubits, of which they say that one is equal to six of our cubits, then who does not see what a capacity these dimensions give to the ark? For as to their objection that an ark of such size could not be built, it is a very silly calumny; for they are aware that huge cities have been built, and they should remember that the ark was an hundred years in building. Or, perhaps, though stone can adhere to stone when cemented with nothing but lime, so that a wall of several miles may be constructed, yet plank cannot be riveted to plank by mortices, bolts, nails, and pitch-glue, so as to construct an ark which was not made with curved ribs but straight timbers, which was not to be launched by its builders but to be lifted by the natural pressure of the water when it reached it, and which was to be preserved from shipwreck as it floated about rather by divine oversight than by human skill.

As to another customary inquiry of the scrupulous about the very minute creatures, not only such as mice and lizards, but also locusts, beetles, flies, fleas, and so forth, whether there were not in the ark a larger number of them than was determined by God in His command, those persons who are moved by this difficulty are to be reminded that the words "every creeping thing of the earth" only indicate that it was not needful to preserve in the ark the animals that can live in the water, whether the fishes that live submerged in it, or the sea-birds that swim on its surface. Then, when it is said

1 In his second homily on Genesis. 2 Acts vii. 22.

'â€œmale and female" no doubt reference is made to the repairing of the races, and consequently there was no need for those creatures being in the ark which are born without the union of the sexes from inanimate things, or from their corruption; or if they were in the ark, they might be there as they commonly are in houses, not in any determinate numbers; or if it was necessary that there should be a definite number of all those animals that cannot naturally live in the water, that so the most sacred mystery which was being enacted might be bodied forth and perfectly figured in actual realities, still this was not the care of Noah or his sons, but of God.
For Noah did not catch the animals and put them into the ark, but gave them entrance as they came seeking it. For this is the force of the words, "They shall come unto thee," *â€” not, that is to say, by man's effort, but by God's will. But certainly we are not required to believe that those which have no sex also came; for it is expressly and definitely said, "They shall be male and female." 1 For there are some animals which are born out of corruption, but yet afterwards they themselves copulate and produce offspring, as flies; but others, which have no sex, like bees. Then, as to those animals which have sex, but without ability to propagate their kind, like mules and she-mules, it is probable that they were not in the ark, but that it was counted sufficient to preserve their parents, to wit, the horse and the ass; and this applies to all hybrids. Yet, if it was necessary for the completeness of the mystery, they were there; for even this species has â€” male and female."

Another question is commonly raised regarding the food of the carnivorous animals, â€” whether, without transgressing the command which fixed the number to be preserved, there were necessarily others included in the ark for their sustenance; or, as is more probable, there might be some food which was not flesh, and which yet suited all. For we know how many animals whose food is flesh eat also vegetable products and fruits, especially figs and chestnuts. What wonder is it, therefore, if that wise and just man was instructed by God what would suit each, so that without flesh he prepared and

1 Gen. vL 19, 20. v
stored provision fit for every species? And what is there which hunger would not make animals eat? Or what could not be made sweet and wholesome by God, who, with a divine facility, might have enabled them to do without food at all, had it not been requisite to the completeness of so great a mystery that they should be fed? But none but a contentious man can suppose that there was no prefiguring of the church in so manifold and circumstantial a detail. For the nations have already so filled the church, and are comprehended in the framework of its unity, the clean and unclean together, until the appointed end, that this one very manifest fulfilment leaves no doubt how we should interpret even those others which are somewhat more obscure, and which cannot so readily be discerned. And since this is so, if not even the most audacious will presume to assert that these things were written without a purpose, or that though the events really happened they mean nothing, or that they did not really happen, but are only allegory, or that at all events they are far from having any figurative reference to the church; if it has been made out that, on the other hand, we must rather believe that there was a wise purpose in their being committed to memory and to writing, and that they did happen, and have a significance, and that this significance has a prophetic reference to the church, then this book, having served this purpose, may now be closed, that we may go on to trace in the history subsequent to the deluge the courses of the two cities, the earthly, that lives according to men, and the heavenly, that lives according to God.

104 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

BOOK SIXTEENTH.

ARGUMENT.


1. Whether, after the deluge, from Noah to Abraham, any families can be found who lived according to God.

IT is difficult to discover from Scripture, whether, after the deluge, traces of the holy city are continuous, or are so interrupted by intervening seasons of godlessness, that not a
single worshipper of the one true God was found among men; because from Noah, who, with his wife, three sons, and as many daughters-in-law, achieved deliverance in the ark from the destruction of the deluge, down to Abraham, we do not find in the canonical books that the piety of any one is celebrated by express divine testimony, unless it be in the case of Noah, who commends with a prophetic benediction his two sons Shem and Japheth, while he beheld and foresaw what was long afterwards to happen. It was also by this prophetic spirit that, when his middle son â€” that is, the son who was younger than the first and older than the last born â€” had sinned against him, he cursed him not in his own person, but in his son's (his own grandson's), in the words, "Cursed be the lad Canaan; a servant shall he be unto his brethren." 1

1 Gen. ix. 25. 2 ,Gen. ix. 26, 27.

Xow Canaan was born of Ham, who, so far from covering his sleeping father's nakedness, had divulged it. For the same reason also he subjoins the blessing on his two other sons, the oldest and youngest, saying, "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall gladden Japheth, and he shall dwell in the houses of Shem." 2 And
so, too, the planting of the vine by Noah, and his intoxication by its fruit, and his
nakedness while he slept, and the other things done at that time, and recorded, are all of
them pregnant with prophetic meanings, and veiled in mysteries. 1

2. What was prophetically prefigured in the sons of Noah.

The things which then were hidden are now sufficiently revealed by the actual events
which have followed. For who can carefully and intelligently consider these things
without recognising them accomplished in Christ? Shem, of whom Christ was born in
the flesh, means "named." And what is of greater name than Christ, the fragrance of
whose name is now everywhere perceived, so that even prophecy sings of it beforehand,
comparing it in the Song of Songs 2 to ointment poured forth? Is it not also in the houses
of Christ, that is, in the churches, that the "enlargement" of the nations dwells? For Japheth means "enlargement." And Ham (i.e. hot), who was the middle son of Noah,
and, as it were, separated himself from both, and remained between them, neither
belonging to the first-fruits of Israel nor to the fulness of the Gentiles, what does he
signify but the tribe of heretics, hot with the spirit, not of patience, but of impatience,
with which the breasts of heretics are wont to blaze, and with which they disturb the
peace of the saints? But even the heretics yield an advantage to those that make
proficiency, according to the apostle's saying, "There must also be heresies, that they
which are approved may be made manifest among you." 3 Whence, too, it is elsewhere
said, "The son that receives instruction will be wise, and he uses the foolish as his
servant." 4 For while the hot restlessness of heretics stirs questions about many articles of
the catholic faith, the necessity of defending them forces us both to investigate them more
accurately, to understand them more clearly, and to proclaim them more earnestly;
and the question mooted by an adversary becomes the occasion of instruction. However, not
only those who are openly separated from the church, but also all who glory in the
Christian name, and at the same time lead abandoned

1 See Contra Faust, xii. c. 22 sqq. 2 Song of Solomon i. 3.
3 1 Cor. xi. 19. 4 Prov# x> 5 (LXX.).

106 THE CITY OF GOD. " [BOOK XVI.]

lives, may without absurdity seem to be figured by Noah's middle son: for the passion of
Christ, which was signified by that man's nakedness, is at once proclaimed by their
profession, and dishonoured by their wicked conduct. Of such, therefore, it has been said,
"By their fruits ye shall know them." ! And therefore was Ham cursed in his son, he
being, as it were, his fruit. So, too, this son of his, Canaan, is fitly interpreted * their movement," which is nothing else than their work. But Shem and Japheth, that is to say, the circumcision and uncircumcision, or, as the apostle otherwise calls them, the Jews and Greeks, but called and justified, having somehow discovered the nakedness of their father (which signifies the Saviour's passion), took a garment and laid it upon their backs, and entered backwards and covered their father's nakedness, without their seeing what their reverence hid. For we both honour the passion of Christ as accomplished for us, and we hate the crime of the Jews who crucified Him. The garment signifies the sacrament, their backs the memory of things past: for the church celebrates the passion of Christ as already accomplished, and no longer to be looked forward to, now that Japheth already dwells in the habitations of Shem, and their wicked brother between them.

But the wicked brother is, in the person of his son (i.e. his work), the boy, or slave, of his good brothers, when good men make a skilful use of bad men, either for the exercise of their patience or for their advancement in wisdom. For the apostle testifies that there are some who preach Christ from no pure motives; " but," says he, " whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." 2 For it is Christ Himself who planted the vine of which the prophet says, "The vine of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel; " 3 and He drinks of its wine, whether we thus understand that cup of which He says, " Can ye drink of the cup that I shall drink of? " 4 and, * Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," 5 by which He obviously means His passion. Or, as wine is the fruit of

1 Matt. vii. 20. 2 Phil. i. 18. 3 Isa. v. 7.
4 Matt. xx. 22. 6 Matt. xxvi. 39. å™†
the vine, we may prefer to understand that from this vine, that is to say, from the race of Israel, He has assumed flesh and blood that He might suffer; "and he was drunken," that is, He suffered; "and was naked," that is, His weakness appeared in His suffering, as the apostle says, M though He was crucified through weakness." * Wherefore the same apostle says, "The weakness of God is stronger than men; and the foolishness of God is wiser than men." 2 And when to the expression "he was naked" Scripture adds "in his house," it elegantly intimates that Jesus was to suffer the cross and death at the hands of His own household, His own kith and kin, the Jews. This passion of Christ is only externally and verbally professed by the reprobate, for what they profess they do not understand. But the elect hold in the inner man this so great mystery, and honour inwardly in the heart this weakness and foolishness of God. And of this there is a figure in Ham going out to proclaim his father's nakedness; while Shem and Japheth, to cover or honour it, went in, that is to say, did it inwardly.

These secrets of divine Scripture we investigate as well as we can. All will not accept our interpretation with equal confidence, but all hold it certain that these things were neither done nor recorded without some foreshadowing of future events, and that they are to be referred only to Christ and His church, which is the city of God, proclaimed from ^ the very beginning of human history by figures which we now see everywhere accomplished. From the blessing of the two sons of Noah, and the cursing of the middle son, down to Abraham, or for more than a thousand years, there is, as I have said, no mention of any righteous persons who worshipped God. I do not therefore conclude that there were none; but it had been tedious to mention every one, and would have displayed historical accuracy rather than prophetic foresight. The object of the writer of these sacred books, or rather of the Spirit of God in him, is not only to record the past, but to depict the future, so far as it regards the city of \ God; for whatever is said of those who are not its citizens, is given either for her instruction, or as a foil to enhance her

1 2 Cor. xiii. 4. 2 1 Cor. i. 25.
with the strings which are struck, and produce musical notes. So in this prophetic history some things are narrated which have no significance, but are, as it were, the framework to which the significant things are attached.

3. Of the generations of the three sons of Noah.

We must therefore introduce into this work an explanation of the generations of the three sons of Noah, in so far as that may illustrate the progress in time of the two cities. Scripture first mentions that of the youngest son, who is called Japheth: he had eight sons, and by two of these sons seven grandchildren, three by one son, four by the other; in all, fifteen descendants. Ham, Noah's middle son, had four sons, and by one of them five grandsons, and by one of these two great-grandsons; in all, eleven. After enumerating these, Scripture returns to the first of the sons, and says, "Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a giant on the earth. He was a giant hunter against the Lord God: wherefore they say, As Nimrod the giant hunter against the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Assur, and built Nineveh, and the city Eehoboth, and Calah, and Eesen between Nineveh and Calah: this was a great city." Now this Cush, father of the giant Nimrod, is the first-named among the sons of Ham, to whom five sons and two grandsons are ascribed. But he either begat this giant after his grandsons were born, or, which is more credible, Scripture speaks of him.

1 Augustine here follows the Greek version, which introduces the name Elisa among the sons of Japheth, though not found in the Hebrew. It is not found in the Complutensian Greek translation, nor in the ms-s. used by Jerome.
separately on account of his eminence; for mention is also made of his kingdom, which began with that magnificent city Babylon, and the other places, whether cities or districts, mentioned along with it. But what is recorded of the land of Shinar which belonged to Nimrod's kingdom, to wit, that Assur went forth from it and built Nineveh and the other cities mentioned with it, happened long after; but he takes occasion to speak of it here on account of the grandeur of the Assyrian kingdom, which was wonderfully extended by Ninus son of Belus, and founder of the great city Nineveh, which was named after him, Nineveh, from Ninus. But Assur, father of the Assyrian, was not one of the sons of Ham, Noah's middle son, but is found among the sons of Shem, his eldest son. Whence it appears that among Shem's offspring there arose men who afterwards took possession of that giant's kingdom, and advancing from it, founded other cities, the first of which was called Nineveh, from Ninus. From him Scripture returns to Ham's other son, Mizraim; and his sons are enumerated, not as seven individuals, but as seven nations. And from the sixth, as if from the sixth son, the race called the Philistines are said to have sprung; so that there are in all eight. Then it returns again to Canaan, in whose person Ham was cursed; and his eleven sons are named. Then the territories they occupied, and some of the cities, are named. And thus, if we count sons and grandsons, there are thirtyone of Ham's descendants registered.

It remains to mention the sons of Shem, Noah's eldest son; for to him this genealogical narrative gradually ascends from the youngest. But in the commencement of the record of Shem's sons there is an obscurity which calls for explanation, since it is closely connected with the object of our investigation. For we read, " Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Heber, the brother of Japheth the elder, were children born." * This is the order of the words: And to Shem was born Heber, even to himself, that is, to Shem himself was born Heber, and Shem is the father of all his children. We are intended to understand that Shem is the patriarch of all his posterity who were to be mentioned, whether sons, grand-

1 Gen. x. 21.

110 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

sons, great-grandsons, or descendants at any remove. For Shem did not beget Heber, who was indeed in the fifth generation from him. For Shem begat, among other sons, Arphaxad; Arphaxad begat Cainan, Cainan begat Salah, Salah begat Heber. And it was with good reason that he was named first among Shem's offspring, taking precedence even of his sons, though only a grandchild of the fifth generation; for from him, as tradition says, the Hebrews derived their name, though the other etymology which derives the name from Abraham (as if Abrcdieivs) may possibly be correct. But there can
be little doubt that the former is the right etymology, and that they were called after Heber, Hebreus, and then, dropping a letter, Hebrews; and so was their language called Hebrew, which was spoken by none but the people of Israel among whom was the city of God, mysteriously prefigured in all the people, and truly present in the saints.

Six of Shem's sons then are first named, then four grandsons born to one of these sons; then it mentions another son of Shem, who begat a grandson; and his son, again, or Shem's great-grandson, was Heber. And Heber begat two sons, and called the one Peleg, which means w dividing;" and Scripture subjoins the reason of this name, saying, " for in his days was the earth divided." "What this means will afterwards appear.

Heber's other son begat twelve sons; consequently all Shem's descendants are twenty-seven. The total number of the progeny of the three sons of iNbah is seventy-three, fifteen by Japheth, thirty-one by Ham, twenty-seven by Shem. Then Scripture adds, " These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations."

And so of the whole number: " These are the families of the sons of Xoah after their generations, in their nations; and by these were the isles of the nations dispersed through the earth after the flood." From which we gather that the seventy-three (or rather, as I shall presently show, seventy-two)

were not individuals, but nations. For in a former passage, when the sons of Japheth were enumerated, it is said in conclusion, " By these were the isles of the nations divided in their lands, every one after his language, in their tribes, and in their nations."
But nations are expressly mentioned among the sons of Ham, as I showed above. "Mizraim begat those who are called Ludim;" and so also of the other seven nations. And after enumerating all of them, it concludes, * These are the sons of Ham, in their families, according to their languages, in their territories, and in their nations." The reason, then, why the children of several of them are not mentioned, is that they belonged by birth to other nations, and did not themselves become nations. Why else is it, that though eight sons are reckoned to Japheth, the sons of only two of these are mentioned; and though four are reckoned to Ham, only three are spoken of as having sons; and though six are reckoned to Shem, the descendants of only two of these are traced ? Did the rest remain childless ? We cannot suppose so; but they did not produce nations so great as to warrant their being mentioned, but were absorbed in the nations, to which they belonged by birth.

4. Of the diversity of languages, and of the founding of Babylon.

But though these nations are said to have been dispersed according to their languages, yet the narrator recurs to that time when all had but one language, and explains how it came to pass that a diversity of languages was introduced.
" The whole earth," he says, " was of one lip, and all had one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there. And they said one to another, Come, and let us make bricks, and burn them thoroughly. And they had bricks for stone, and slime for mortar. And they said, Come, and let us build for ourselves a city, and a tower whose top shall reach the sky; and let us make us a name, before we be scattered abroad on the face of all the earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord God said, Behoold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Come, and let us go down, and confound there their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. And God scattered them thence on the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city and the tower. Therefore the name of it is called Confusion; because the Lord did there confound the lamman of all the earth: and the Lord God scattered them thence on the face of all the earth." x This city, which was called Confusion, is the same as Babylon, whose wonderful construction Gentile history also notices. For Babylon means Confusion. Whence we conclude that the
giant iSTimrod was its founder, as had been hinted a little before, where Scripture, in speaking of him, says that the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, that is, Babylon had a supremacy over the other cities as the metropolis and royal residence; although it did not rise to the grand dimensions designed by its proud and impious founder.

The plan was to make it so high that it should reach the sky, whether this was meant of one tower which they intended to build higher than the others, or of all the towers, which might be signified by the singular number, as we speak of "the soldier," meaning the army, and of the frog or the locust, when we refer to the whole multitude of frogs and locusts in the plagues with which Moses smote the Egyptians. 2 But what did these vain and presumptuous men intend? How did they expect to raise this lofty mass against God, when they had built it above all the mountains and the clouds of the earth's atmosphere? What injury could any spiritual or material elevation do to God? The safe and true way to heaven is made by humility, which lifts up the heart to the Lord, not against Him; as this giant is said to have been a K hunter against the Lord." This has been misunderstood by some through the ambiguity of the Greek word, and they have translated it, not "against the Lord," but "before the Lord;"

for evavTLoV means both "before" and "against." In the Psalm this word is rendered, "Let us weep before the Lord our Maker." 3 The same word occurs in the book of Job, where it is written, "Thou hast broken into fury against the Lord." 4 And so this giant is to be recognised as a "hunter against the Lord." And what is meant by the term "hunter" but deceiver, oppressor, and destroyer of the animals of the earth? He and his people, therefore, erected this tower against the Lord, and so gave expression to their impious pride; and justly was their wicked intention punished by God, even though it was unsuccessful. But what was the nature of the punishment? As the tongue is the instrument of domination, in it pride was punished; so that man, who would not understand God when He issued His commands, should be misunderstood when he himself gave orders. Thus was that conspiracy disbanded, for each man retired from those he could not understand, and associated with those whose speech was intelligible; and the nations were divided according to their languages, and scattered over the earth as seemed good to God, who accomplished this in ways hidden from and incomprehensible to us.

5. Of God's coming down to confound the languages of the builders of the city.

We read, "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men built:" it was not the sons of God, but that society which lived in a merely human way, and which we call the earthly city. God, who is always wholly everywhere, does not
move locally; but He is said to descend when He does anything in the earth out of the usual course, which, as it were, makes His presence felt. And in the same way, He does not by " seeing" learn some new thing, for He cannot ever be ignorant of anything; but He is said to see and recognise, in time, that which He causes others to see and recognise. And therefore that city was not previously being seen as God made it be seen when He showed how offensive it was to Him. We might, indeed, interpret God's descending to the city of the descent of His angels in whom He dwells; so that the following words, "And the Lord God said, Behold, they are all one race and of one language," and also what follows, "Come, and let us go down and confound their speech," are a recapitulation, explaining how the previously intimated " descent of the Lord" was accomplished. For if He had already gone down, why does He say, " Come, and let us go down and confound?" — words which seem to be addressed to the angels, and to intimate that He who was in the angels descended in their de-

VOL. II. H

114 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

scent. And the words most appropriately are, not, " Go ye down and confound/ but, "Let us confound their speech;"
showing that He so works by His servants, that they are themselves also fellow-labourers with God, as the apostle says,
"For we are fellow-labourers with God." 1

6. What we are to understand by God's spealcing to the angels.

"We might have supposed that the words uttered at the creation of man, K Let us," and not Let me, " make man," were addressed to the angels, had He not added " in our image;"
but as we cannot believe that man was made in the imasre of angels, or that the image of God is the same as that of angels, it is proper to refer this expression to the plurality of the Trinity. And yet this Trinity, being one God, even after saying " Let us make," goes on to say, " And God made man in His image," 2 and not "Gods made," or "in their image."
And were there any difficulty in applying to the angels the words, " Come, and let us go down and confound their speech," we might refer the plural to the Trinity, as if the Father were addressing the Son and the Holy Spirit; but it rather belongs to the angels to approach God by holy movements, that is, by pious thoughts, and thereby to avail themselves of the unchangeable truth which rules in the court of heaven as their eternal law. For they are not themselves the truth; but partaking in the creative truth, they are moved towards it as the fountain of life, that what they have not in themselves they may obtain in it. And this movement of theirs is steady, for they never go back from what they have reached. And to these angels God does not
speak, as we speak to one another, or to God, or to angels, or as the angels speak to us, or as God speaks to us through them: He speaks to them in an ineffable manner of His own, and that which He says is conveyed to us in a manner suited to our capacity. For the speaking of God antecedent and superior to all His works, is the immutable reason of His work: it has no noisy and passing sound, but an energy eternally abiding and producing results in time. Thus He speaks to the holy angels; but to us, who are far off, He speaks otherwise. When, however, we

1 1 Cor. iii. 9. 2 Gen. i. 26.
hear with the inner ear some part of the speech of God, we approximate to the angels. But in this work I need not labour to give an account of the ways in which God speaks. For either the unchangeable Truth speaks directly to the mind of the rational creature in some indescribable way, or speaks through the changeable creature, either presenting spiritual images to our spirit, or bodily voices to our bodily sense.

The words, "Nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do," I are assuredly not meant as an affirmation, but as an interrogation, such as is used by persons threatening, as, e.g., when Dido exclaims,

"They will not take arms and pursue?" 2

"We are to understand the words as if it had been said, Shall nothing be restrained from them which they have imagined to do? 3 From these three men, therefore, the three sons of Noah we mean, 73, or rather, as the catalogue will show, 72 nations and as many languages were dispersed over the earth, and as they increased filled even the islands. But the nations multiplied much more than the languages. For even in Africa we know several barbarous nations which have but one language; and who can doubt that, as the human race increased, men contrived to pass to the islands in ships?

7. Whether even the remotest islands received their fauna from the animals which were preserved, through the deluge, in the ark.

There is a question raised about all those kinds of beasts which are not domesticated, nor are produced like frogs from the earth, but are propagated by male and female parents, such as wolves and animals of that kind; and it is asked how they could be found in the islands after the deluge, in which all the animals not in the ark perished, unless the breed was restored from those which were preserved in pairs in the ark. It might, indeed, be said that they crossed to the islands by swimming, but this could only be true of those very near the mainland; whereas there are some so distant, that we fancy no animal could swim to them. But if men caught them

1 Gen. xi. 6. 2 Virgil, JEJneid, iv. 592.

3 Here Augustine remarks on the addition of the particle ne to the word non t which he has made to bring out the sense.
cannot be denied that by the intervention of angels they might be transferred by God's order or permission. If, however, they were produced out of the earth as at their first creation, when God said, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature," 1 this makes it more evident that all kinds of animals were preserved in the ark, not so much for the sake of renewing the stock, as of prefiguring the various nations which were to be saved in the church; this, I say, is more evident, if the earth brought forth many animals in islands to which they could not cross over.

8. Whether certain monstrous races of men are derived from the stock of Adam or 2S T oah's sons.

It is also asked whether we are to believe that certain monstrous races of men, spoken of in secular history, 2 have sprung from Noah's sons, or rather, I should say, from that one man from whom they themselves were descended. For it is reported that some have one eye in the middle of the forehead; some, feet turned backwards from the heel; some, a double sex, the right breast like a man, the left like a woman, and that they alternately beget and bring forth: others are said to have no mouth, and to breathe only through the nostrils; others are but a cubit high, and are therefore called by the Greeks "Pigmies: " 3 they say that in some places the women conceive in their fifth year, and do not live beyond their eighth. So, too, they tell of a race who have two feet but only one leg, and are of marvellous swiftness, though they do not bend the knee: they are called Skiopodes, because in the hot weather they lie down on their backs and shade themselves with their feet. Others are said to have no head, and their eyes in their shoulders; and other human or quasi-human races are depicted in mosaic in the harbour esplanade of Carthage, on the faith of histories of rarities. What shall I say of the Cynocephali, whose dog-like head and barking

1 Gen. i. 24.

2 Pliny, Hist. Nat. vii. 2; Auhis Gellins, Noct. Att. ix. 4.

3 From Tvypv, a cubit. â™️
proclaim them beasts rather than men? But we are not bound to believe all we hear of these monstrosities. But whoever is anywhere born a man, that is, a rational mortal animal, no matter what unusual appearance he presents in colour, movement, sound, nor how peculiar he is in some power, part, or quality of his nature, no Christian can doubt that he springs from that one protoplast. We can distinguish the common human nature from that which is peculiar, and therefore wonderful.

The same account which is given of monstrous births in individual cases can be given of monstrous races. For God, the Creator of all, knows where and when each thing ought to be, or to have been created, because He sees the similarities and diversities which can contribute to the beauty of the whole. But (gfe who cannot see the whole is offended by the deformity of the part, because he is blind to that which balances it, and to which it belongs. We know that men are born with more than four fingers on their hands or toes on their feet: this is a smaller matter; but far from us be the folly of supposing that the Creator mistook the number of a man's fingers, though we cannot account for the difference.

And so in cases where the divergence from the rule is greater. He whose works no man justly finds fault with, knows what He has done. At Hippo-Diarrhytus there is a man whose hands are crescent-shaped, and have only two fingers each, and his feet similarly formed. If there were a race like him, it would be added to the history of the curious and wonderful. Shall we therefore deny that this man is descended from that one man who was first created? As for the Androgyini, or Hermaphrodites, as they are called, though they are rare, yet from time to time there appear persons of sex so doubtful, that it remains uncertain from which sex they take their name; though it is customary to give them a masculine name, as the more worthy. For no one ever called them Hermaphroditesses. Some years ago, quite within my own memory, a man was born in the East, double in his upper, but single in his lower half â€” having two heads, two chests, four hands, but one body and two feet like an ordinary man; and he lived so long that many had an opportunity of seeing him. But who could enumerate all the human births that have differed widely from their ascertained parents? As, therefore, no one will deny that these are all descended from that one man, so all the races which are reported to have diverged in bodily appearance from the usual course which nature generally or almost universally preserves, if they are embraced in that definition of man as rational and mortal animals, unquestionably trace their pedigree to that one first father of all.

We are supposing these stories about various races who differ from one another and from us to be true; but possibly they are not: for if we were not aware that apes, and monkeys, and sphinxes are not men, but beasts, those historians would possibly describe them as
races of men, and flaunt with impunity their false and vainglorious discoveries. But supposing they are men of whom these marvels are recorded, what if God has seen fit to create some races in this way, that we might not suppose that the monstrous births which appear among ourselves are the failures of that wisdom whereby He fashions the human nature, as we speak of the failure of a less perfect workman? Accordingly, it ought not to seem absurd to us, that as in individual races there are monstrous births, so in the whole race there are monstrous races. Wherefore, to conclude this question cautiously and guardedly, either these things which have been told of some races have no existence at all; or if they do exist, they are not human races; or if they are human, they are descended from Adam.

9. Whether we are to believe in the Antipodes.

But as to the fable that there are Antipodes, that is to say, men on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets to us, men who walk with their feet opposite ours, that is on no ground credible. And, indeed, it is not affirmed that this has been learned by historical knowledge, but by scientific conjecture, on the ground that the earth is suspended within the concavity of the sky, and that it has as much room on the one side of it as on the other: hence they say that the part which is beneath must also be inhabited. But they do not remark that, although it be supposed or scientifically demonstrated that the world is of a round and spherical form,
yet it does not follow that the other side of the earth is bare of water; nor even, though it be bare, does it immediately follow that it is peopled. For Scripture, which proves the truth of its historical statements by the accomplishment of its prophecies, gives no false information; and it is too absurd to say, that some men might have taken ship and traversed the whole wide ocean, and crossed from this side of the world to the other, and that thus even the inhabitants of that distant region are descended from that one first man. Wherefore let us seek if we can find the city of God that sojourns on earth among those human races who are catalogued as having been divided into seventy-two nations and as many languages. For it continued down to the deluge and the ark, and is proved to have existed still among the sons of Noah by their blessings, and chiefly in the eldest son Shem; for Japheth received this blessing, that he should dwell in the tents of Shem.

10. Of the genealogy of Shem, in whose line the city of God is preserved till the very time of Abraham.

It is necessary, therefore, to preserve the series of generations descending from Shem, for the sake of exhibiting the city of God after the flood; as before the flood it was exhibited in the series of generations descending from Seth. And therefore does divine Scripture, after exhibiting the earthly city as Babylon or Confusion, "revert to the patriarch Shem, and recapitulate the generations from him to Abraham, specifying "besides, the year in which each father begat the son that belonged to this line, and how long he lived. And unquestionably it is this which fulfils the promise I made, that it should appear why it is said of the sons of Heber, "The name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided." * For what can we understand by the division of the earth, if not the diversity of languages? And, therefore, omitting the other sons of Shem, who are not concerned in this matter, Scripture gives the genealogy of those by whom the line runs on to Abraham, as before the flood those are given who carried on the line to Noah from Seth. Accordingly this series of generations begins thus: * These are the generations of Shem:

Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two

1 Gen. x. 25.

120 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

years after the flood. And Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters."
In like manner it registers the rest, naming the year of his life in which each begat the son who belonged to that line which extends to Abraham. It specifies, too, how many years he lived thereafter, begetting sons and daughters, that we may not childishly suppose that the men named were the only men, but may understand how the population increased, and how regions and kingdoms so vast could be populated by the descendants of Shem; especially the kingdom of Assyria, from which KLnus subdued the surrounding nations, reigning with brilliant prosperity, and bequeathing to his descendants a vast but thoroughly consolidated empire, which held together for many centuries.

But to avoid needless prolixity, we shall mention not the number of years each member of this series lived, but only the year of his life in which he begat his heir, that we may thus reckon the number of years from the flood to Abraham, and may at the same time leave room to touch briefly and cursorily upon some other matters necessary to our argument.

In the second year, then, after the flood, Shem when he was a hundred years old begat Arphaxad; Arphaxad when he was 135 years old begat Cainan; Cainan when he was 130 years begat Salah. Salah himself, too, was the same age when he begat Eber. Eber lived 134 years, and begat Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided. Peleg himself lived 130 years, and begat Eeu; and Eeu lived 132 years, and begat Serug; Serug 130, and begat Xahor; and Xahor 79, and begat Terah; and Terah 70, and begat Abram, whose name God afterwards changed into Abraham. There are thus from the flood to Abraham 1072 years, according to the Vulgate or Septuagint versions. In the Hebrew copies far fewer years are given 7 and for this either no reason or a not very credible one is given.

When, therefore, we look for the city of God in these seventy-two nations, we cannot affirm that while they had but one lip, that is, one language, the human race had departed from the worship of the true God, and that genuine godliness had survived only in those generations which descend from Shem through Arphaxad and reach to Abraham;
but from the time when they proudly built a tower to heaven, a symbol of godless exaltation, the city or society of the wicked becomes apparent. Whether it was only disguised before, or non-existent; whether both cities remained after the flood, the godly in the two sons of Noah who were blessed, and in their posterity, and the ungodly in the cursed son and his descendants, from whom sprang that mighty hunter against the Lord, is not easily determined. For possibly and certainly this is more credible there were despisers of God among the descendants of the two sons, even before Babylon was founded, and worshippers of God among the descendants of Ham. Certainly neither race was ever obliterated from earth. For in both the Psalms in which it is said, " They are all gone aside, they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, net one," we read further, " Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge? who eat up my people as they eat bread, and call not upon the Lord." * There was then a people of God even at that time. And therefore the words, " There is none that doeth good, no, not one," were said of the sons of men, not of the sons of God. For it had been previously said, " God looked down from heaven upon the sons of men, to see if any understood and sought after God;" and then follow the words which demonstrate that all the sons of men, that is, all who belong to the city which lives according to man, not according to God, are reprobate.

11. That the original language in use among men was that which was afterwards called Hebrew, from Heber, in whose family it was preserved when the conjunction of tongues occurred.

"Wherefore, as the fact of all using one language did ' not secure the absence of sin-infected men from the race, for even before the deluge there was one language, and yet all but the single family of just Noah were found worthy of destruction by the flood, so when the nations, by a prouder godlessness, earned the punishment of the dispersion and the confusion of tongues, and the city of the godless was called Confusion or Babylon, there was still the house of Heber in which the primitive language of the race survived. And therefore, as I have already mentioned, when an enumeration is made of the

1 Ps. xiv. 3, 4, liii. 3, 4.
common language of the race, it was on this account thenceforth named Hebrew. For it then became necessary to distinguish this language from the rest by a proper name; though, while there was only one, it had no other name than the language of man, or human speech, it alone being spoken by the whole human race. Some one will say: If the earth was divided by languages in the days of Peleg, Heber's son, that language, which was formerly common to all, should rather have been called after Peleg. But we are to understand that Heber himself gave to his son this name Peleg, which means Division; because he was born when the earth was divided, that is, at the very time of the division, and that this is the meaning of the words, "In his days the earth was divided." 1 For unless Heber had been still alive when the languages were multiplied, the language which was preserved in his house would not have been called after him. We are induced to believe that this was the primitive and common language, because the multiplication and change of languages was introduced as a punishment, and it is fit to ascribe to the people of God an immunity from this punishment. Nor is it without significance that this is the language which Abraham retained, and that he could not transmit it to all his descendants, but only to those of Jacob's line, who distinctively and eminently constituted God's people, and received His covenants, and were Christ's progenitors according to the flesh. In the same way, Heber himself did not transmit that language to all his posterity, but only to the line from which Abraham sprang. -And thus, although it is not expressly stated, that when the wicked were building Babylon there was a godly seed remaining, this indistinctness is intended to stimulate research rather than to elude it. For when we see that originally there was one common language, and that Heber is mentioned before all Shem's sons, though he belonged to the fifth generation from

1 Gen. x. 20.
him, and that the language which the patriarchs and prophets used, not only in their conversation, but in the authoritative language of Scripture, is called Hebrew, when we are asked where that primitive and common language was preserved after the confusion of tongues, certainly, as there can be no doubt that those among whom it was preserved were exempt from the punishment it embodied, what other suggestion can we make, than that it survived in the family of him whose name it took, and that this is no small proof of the righteousness of this family, that the punishment with which the other families were visited did not fall upon it?

But yet another question is mooted: How did Heber and his son Peleg each found a nation, if they had but one language?
For no doubt the Hebrew nation propagated from Heber through Abraham, and becoming through him a great people, is one nation. How, then, are all the sons of the three branches of Noah's family enumerated as founding a nation each, if Heber and Peleg did not so? It is very probable that the giant Nimrod founded also his nation, and that Scripture has named him separately on account of the extraordinary dimensions of his empire and of his body, so that the number of seventy-two nations remains. But Peleg was mentioned, not because he founded a nation (for his race and language are Hebrew), but on account of the critical time at which he was born, all the earth being then divided. Nor ought we to be surprised that the giant Nimrod lived to the time in which Babylon was founded and the confusion of tongues occurred, and the consequent division of the earth. For though Heber was in the sixth generation from Noah, and Nimrod in the fourth, it does not follow that they could not be alive at the same time. For when the generations are few, they live longer and are born later; but when they are many, they live a shorter time, and come into the world earlier. We are to understand that, when the earth was divided, the descendants of Noah who are registered as founders of nations were not only already born, but were of an age to have immense families, worthy to be called tribes or nations. And therefore we must by no means suppose that they were born in the order in which they were set down; otherwise, how could the twelve sons of Joktan,

another son of Heber's, and brother of Peleg, have already founded nations, if Joktan was born, as he is registered, after his brother Peleg, since the earth was divided at Peleg's birth?

We are therefore to understand that, though Peleg is named first, he was born long after Joktan, whose twelve sons had already families so large as to admit of their being divided by different languages. There is nothing extraordinary in the last born being first named: of the sons of Japheth, the descendants of Japheth are first named; then the sons of Ham, who was the second son; and last the sons of Shem, who was the first and oldest. Of these nations the names have partly survived, so that at this day we can see from whom they
have sprung, as the Assyrians from Assur, the Hebrews from Heber, but partly have been altered in the lapse of time, so that the most learned men, by profound research in ancient records, have scarcely been able to discover the origin, I do not say of all, but of some of these nations. There is, for example, nothing in the name Egyptians to show that they are descended from Misraim, Ham's son, nor in the name Ethiopians to show a connection with Cush, though such is said to be the origin of these nations. And if we take a general survey of the names, we shall find that more have been changed than have remained the same.

12. Of the era in Abraham's life from which a new period in the holy succession begins.

Let us now survey the progress of the city of God from the era of the patriarch Abraham, from whose time it begins to be more conspicuous, and the divine promises which are now fulfilled in Christ are more fully revealed. We learn, then, from the intimations of holy Scripture, that Abraham was born in the country of the Chaldeans, a land belonging to the Assyrian empire. Now, even at that time impious superstitions were rife with the Chaldeans, as with other nations. The family of Terah, to which Abraham belonged, was the only one in which the worship of the true God survived, and the only one, we may suppose, in which the Hebrew language was preserved; although Joshua the son of Nun tells us that even this family served other gods in Mesopotamia. 1 The

1 Josh. xxiv. 2. ִיָּםְלָי
other descendants of Heber gradually became absorbed in other races and other languages. And thus, as the single family of Noah was preserved through the deluge of water to renew the human race, so, in the deluge of superstition that flooded the whole world, there remained but the one family of Terah in which the seed of God's city was preserved. And as, when Scripture has enumerated the generations prior to Noah, with their ages, and explained the cause of the flood before God began to speak to Noah about the building of the ark, it is said, "These are the generations of Noah;" so also now, after enumerating the generations from Shem, Noah's son, down to Abraham, it then signalizes an era by saying, "These are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot. And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees. And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah." 1 This Iscah is supposed to be the same as Sarah, Abraham's wife.

13. Why, in the account of Terah's emigration, on his forsaking the Chaldeans and passing over into Mesopotamia, no mention is made of his son Nahor.

Next it is related how Terah with his family left the region of the Chaldeans and came into Mesopotamia, and dwelt in Haran. But nothing is said about one of his sons called Nahor, as if he had not taken him along with him. For the narrative runs thus: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarah his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife, and led them forth out of the region of the Chaldeans to go into the land of Canaan; and he came into Haran, and dwelt there." 2 Nahor and Milcah his wife are nowhere named here. But afterwards, when Abraham sent his servant to take a wife for his son Isaac, we find it thus written: a And the servant took ten camels of the camels of his lord, and of all the goods of his lord, with him; and arose, and went into Mesopotamia, into the city of Nahor." This and other testimonies of this sacred history show that Nahor, Abraham's brother, had also left the region of the Chaldeans, and fixed his abode in Mesopotamia, where Abraham dwelt with his father. Why, then, did the Scripture not mention him, when Terah with his family went forth out of the Chaldean nation and dwelt in Haran, since it mentions that he took with him not only Abraham his son, but also Sarah his daughter-in-law, and Lot his grandson?

1 Gen. xi. 27-29. "Gen. xi. 31. 3 Gen. xxiv. 10.
The only reason we can think of is, that perhaps he had lapsed from the piety of his father and brother, and adhered to the superstition of the Chaldeans, and had afterwards emigrated thence, either through penitence, or because he was persecuted as a suspected person. For in the book called Judith, when Holofernes, the enemy of the Israelites, inquired what kind of nation that might be, and whether war should be made against them, Achior, the leader of the Ammonites, answered him thus:

"Let our lord now hear a word from the mouth of thy servant, and I will declare unto thee the truth concerning the people which dwelleth near thee in this hill country, and there shall no lie come out of the mouth of thy servant. For this people is descended from the Chaldeans, and they dwelt heretofore in Mesopotamia, because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, which were glorious in the land of the Chaldeans, but went out of the way of their ancestors, and adored the God of heaven, whom they knew; and they cast them out from the face of their gods, and they fled into Mesopotamia, and dwelt there many days. And their God said to them, that they should depart from their habitation, and go into the land of Canaan; and they dwelt," etc., as Achior the Ammonite narrates. Whence it is manifest that the house of Terah had suffered persecution from the Chaldeans for the true piety with which they worshipped the one and true God.

14. Of the years of Terah, who completed his lifetime in Haran. m

On Terah's death in Mesopotamia, where he is said to have lived 205 years, the promises of God made to Abraham now begin to be pointed out; for thus it is written: "And the days of Terah in Haran were two hundred and five years, and he died in Haran." 2 This is not to be taken as if he had spent all his days there, but that he there completed the days of his

1 Judith v. 5-9. 2 Gen. xi. 32.
life, which were two hundred and five years: otherwise it would not be known how many years Terah lived, since it is not said in what year of his life he came into Haran; and it is absurd to suppose that, in this series of generations, where it is carefully recorded how many years each one lived, his age was the only one not put on record. For although some whom the same Scripture mentions have not their age recorded, they are not in this series, in which the reckoning of time is continuously indicated by the death of the parents and the succession of the children. For this series, which is given in order from Adam to Noah, and from him down to Abraham, contains no one without the number of the years of his life.

15. Of the time of the migration of Abraham, when, according to the commandment of God, he went out from Haran.

When, after the record of the death of Terah, the father of Abraham, we next read, "And the Lord said to Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house/ * etc., it is not to be supposed, because this follows in the order of the narrative, that it also followed in the chronological order of events. For if it were so, there would be an insoluble difficulty. For after these words of God which were spoken to Abraham, the Scripture says: "And Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him. Now Abraham was seventy-five years old when he departed out of Haran." 2 How can this be true if he departed from Haran after his father's death? For when Terah was seventy years old, as is intimated above, he begat Abraham; and if to this number we add the seventy-five years which Abraham reckoned when he went out of Haran, we get 145 years. Therefore that was the number of the years of Terah, when Abraham departed out of that city of Mesopotamia; for he had reached the seventy-fifth year of his life, and thus his father, who begat him in the seventieth year of his life, had reached, as was said, his 145th. Therefore he did not depart thence after his father's death, that is, after the 205 years his father lived; but the year of his departure from that place, seeing it was his seventy-fifth, is interred beyond a doubt to have been the 145th of his father, who begat him

1 Gen. xii. 1. 2 Gen. xii. 4.

123 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

in his seventieth year. And thus it is to be understood that the Scripture, according to its custom, has gone back to the time which had already been passed by the narrative; just as above, when it had mentioned the grandsons of Xoah, it said that they were in their nations and tongues; and yet afterwards, as if this also had followed in order of time, it says,

"And the whole earth was of one lip, and one speech for all." *
How, then, could they be said to be in their own nations and according to their own tongues, if there was one for all; except because the narrative goes back to gather up what it had passed over? Here, too, in the same way, after saying, "And the days of Terah in Haran were 205 years, and Terah died in Haran," the Scripture, going back to what had been passed over in order to complete what had been begun about Terah, says, "And the Lord said to Abram, Get thee out of thy country," 2 etc. After which words of God it is added, "And Abram departed, as the Lord spake unto him; and Lot went with him. But Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed out of Haran." Therefore it was clone when his father was in the 145th year of his age; for it was then the seventy-fifth of his own. But this question is also solved in another way, that the seventy-five years of Abraham when he departed out of Haran are reckoned from the year in which he was delivered from the fire of the Chaldeans, not from that of his birth, as if he was rather to be held as havimr been born then.

Now the blessed Stephen, in narrating these things in the Acts of the Apostles, says: "The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, and come into the land which I will show thee." According to these words of Stephen, God spoke to Abraham, not after the death of his father, who certainly died in Haran, where Ins son also dwelt with him, but before he dwelt in that city, although he was already in Mesopotamia. Therefore he had already departed from the Chaldeans. So that when Stephen adds, "Then Abraham went out of the land of

1 Gen. xi. 1. 2 Gen. xii. 1. â– Acts vii. 2, 3.
the Chaldeans, and dwelt in Charran," * tins does not point out what took place after God spoke to him (for it was not after these words of God that he went out of the land of the Chaldeans, since he says that God spoke to him in Mesopotamia), but the word " then " which he uses refers to that whole period from his going out of the land of the Chaldeans and dwelling in Haran. Likewise in what follows, "And thenceforth, when his father was dead, he settled him in this land, wherein ye now dwell, and your fathers," he does not say, after his father was dead he went out from Haran; but thenceforth he settled him here, after his father was dead. It is to be understood, therefore, that God had spoken to Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran; but that he came to Haran with his father, keeping in mind the precept of God, and that he went out thence in his own seventy-fifth year, which was his father's 145th. But he says that his settlement in the land of Canaan, not his going forth from Haran, took place after his father's death; because his father was already dead when he purchased the land, and personally entered on possession of it. But when, on his having already settled in Mesopotamia, that is, already gone out of the land of the Chaldeans, God says, " Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house," ~ this means, not that he should cast out his body from thence, for he had already done that, but that he should tear away his soul. For he had not gone out from thence in mind, if he was held by the hope and desire of returning, â€” a hope and desire which was to be cut off by God's command and help, and by his own obedience. It would indeed be no incredible supposition that afterwards, when Nahor followed his father, Abraham then fulfilled the precept of the Lord, that he should depart out of Haran with Sarah his wife and Lot his brother's son.

16. Of the order and nature of the promises of God which were made to

Abraham.

God's promises made to Abraham are now to be considered; for in these the oracles of our God, 3 that is, of the true God,

1 Acts vii. 4. 2 Gen. xii. 1.

3 Various reading, " of our Lord Jesus Christ."

VOL. II. I

130 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]
began to appear more openly concerning the godly people, whom prophetic authority foretold. The first of these reads thus: "And the Lord said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, and into a land that I will show thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and magnify thy name; and thou shalt be blessed: and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee: and in thee shall all tribes of the earth be blessed." 1 Now it is to be observed that two things are promised to Abraham, the one, that his seed should possess the land of Canaan, which is intimated when it is said, "Go into a land that I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation;" but the other far more excellent, not about the carnal but the spiritual seed, through which he is the father, not of the one Israelite nation, but of all nations who follow the footprints of his faith, which was first promised in these words, "And in thee shall all tribes of the earth be blessed." Eusebius thought this promise was made in Abraham's seventy-fifth year, as if soon after it was made Abraham had departed out of Haran; because the Scripture cannot be contradicted, in which we read, "Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran." But if this promise was made in that year, then of course Abraham was staying in Haran with his father; for he could not depart thence unless he had first dwelt there. Does this, then, contradict what Stephen says, "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran?" 2 But it is to be understood that the whole took place in the same year, both the promise of God before Abraham dwelt in Haran, and his dwelling in Haran, and his departure thence, not only because Eusebius in the Chronicles reckons from the year of this promise, and shows that after 430 years the exodus from Egypt took place, when the law was given, but because the Apostle Paul also mentions it.

17. Of the three most famous kingdoms of the nations, of which one, that is, the Assyrian, was already very eminent when Abraham was born.

During the same period there were three famous kingdoms

[BOOK XVI.] REPETITION OF THE PROMISES. 131

of the nations, in which the city of the earth-born, that is, the society of men living according to man under the domination of the fallen angels, chiefly flourished, namely, the three kingdoms of Sicyon, Egypt, and Assyria. Of these, Assyria was much the most powerful and sublime; for that king Ninas, son of Belus, had subdued the people of all Asia except India.

By Asia I now mean not that part which is one province of this greater Asia, but what is called Universal Asia, which some set down as the half, but most as the third part of the whole world, "the three being Asia, Europe, and Africa, thereby making an unequal division. For the part called Asia stretches from the south through the east even to the north; Europe from the north even to the west; and Africa from the west even to the south. Thus we see that two, Europe and Africa, contain one half of the world, and Asia alone the other half.

And these two parts are made by the circumstance, that there enters between them from the ocean all the Mediterranean water, which makes this great sea of ours. So that, if you divide the world into two parts, the east and the west, Asia will be in the one, and Europe and Africa in the other. So that of the three kingdoms then famous, one, namely Sicyon, was not under the Assyrians, because it was in Europe; but as for Egypt, how could it fail to be subject to the empire which ruled all Asia with the single exception of India? In Assyria, therefore, the dominion of the impious city had the pre-eminence. Its head was Babylon, "an earth-born city, most fitly named, for it means confusion. There Ninus reigned after the death of his father Belus, who first had reigned there sixty-five years. His son Ninus, who, on his father's death, succeeded to the kingdom, reigned fifty-two years, and had been king forty-three years when Abraham was born, which was about the 1200th year before Rome was founded, as it were another Babylon in the west.

18. Of the repeated address of God to Abraham, in which He promised the land of Canaan to him and to his seed.

Abraham, then, having departed out of Haran in the seventy-fifth year of his own age, and in the hundred and forty-fifth of his father's, went with Lot, his brother's son, and Sarah his wife, into the land of Canaan, and came even to

132 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

Sichem, where again he received the divine oracle, of which it is thus written: "And the Lord appeared unto Abram, and said unto him, Unto thy seed will I give this land." I Nothing is promised here about that seed in which he is made the father of all nations, but only about that by which he is the father of the one Israelite nation; for by this seed that land was possessed.
19. Of the divine preservation of Sarah's chastity in Egypt, when Abraham had called her not his wife but his sister.

Having built an altar there, and called upon God, Abraham proceeded thence and dwelt in the desert, and was compelled by pressure of famine to go on into Egypt. There he called his wife his sister, and told no lie. For she was this also, because she was near of blood; just as Lot, on account of the same nearness, being his brother's son, is called his brother. Now he did not deny that she was his wife, but held his peace about it, committing to God the defence of his wife's chastity, and providing as a man against human wiles; because if he had not provided against the danger as much as he could, he would have been tempting God rather than trusting in Him.

We have said enough about this matter against the calumnies of Faustus the Manichsean. At last what Abraham had expected the Lord to do took place. For Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who had taken her to him as his wife, restored her to her husband on being severely plagued. And far be it from us to believe that she was defiled by lying with another; because it is much more credible that, by these great afflictions, Pharaoh was not permitted to do this.

20. Of the parting of Lot and Abraham, which they agreed to without breach of charity.

On Abraham's return out of Egypt to the place he had left, Lot, his brother's son, departed from him into the land of Sodom, without breach of charity. For they had grown rich, and began to have many herdmen of cattle, and when these strove together, they avoided in this way the pugnacious discord of their families. Indeed, as human affairs go, this cause might even have given rise to some strife between themselves. Consequently these are the words of Abraham to Lot, when taking

1 Gen. xii. 7. Â»
precaution against this evil, " Let there be no strife between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Behold, is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself from me: if thou wilt go to the left hand, I will go to the right; or if thou wilt go to the right hand, I will go to the left." x From this, perhaps, has arisen a pacific custom among men, that when there is any partition of earthly things, the greater should make the division, the less the choice.

21. Of the third promise of God, by which He assured the land of Canaan to Abraham and his seed in perpetuity.

"Now, when Abraham and Lot had separated, and dwelt apart, owing to the necessity of supporting their families, and not to vile discord, and Abraham was in the land of Canaan, but Lot in Sodom, the Lord said to Abraham in a third oracle, " Lift up thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art, to the north, and to Africa, and to the east, and to the sea; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: if any one can number the dust of the earth, thy seed shall also be numbered. Arise, and walk through the land, in the length of it, and in the breadth of it; for unto thee will I give it." 2 It does not clearly appear whether in this promise that also is contained by which he is made the father of all nations. For the clause, " And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth," may seem to refer to this, being spoken by that figure the Greeks call hyperbole, which indeed is figurative, not literal. But no person of understanding can doubt in what manner the Scripture uses this and other figures. For that figure (that is, way of speaking) is used when what is said is far larger than what is meant by it; for who does not see how incomparably larger the number of the dust must be than that of all men can be from Adam himself down to the end of the world? How much greater, then, must it be than the seed of Abraham, â€” not only that pertaining to the nation of Israel, but also that which is and shall be according to the imitation of faith in all nations of the whole wide world! For that seed is indeed very small in 1 Gen. xiii. 8, 9. 2 Gen. xiii. 14-17.

134 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

comparison with the multitude of the wicked, although even those few of themselves make an innumerable multitude, which by a hyperbole is compared to the dust of the earth. Truly that multitude which was promised to Abraham is not innumerable to God, although to man; but to God not even the dust of the earth is so. Further, the promise here made may be understood not only of the nation of Israel, but of the whole seed of Abraham, which may be fitly compared to the dust for multitude, because regarding it
also there is the promise 1 of many children, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. But we have therefore said that this does not clearly appear, because the multitude even of that one nation, which was born according to the flesh of Abraham through Ins grandson Jacob, has increased so much as to fill almost all parts of the world. Consequently, even it might by hyperbole be compared to the dust for multitude, because even it alone is innumerable by man. Certainly no one questions that only that land is meant which is called Canaan. But that saying, "To thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever," may move some, if by "for ever" they understand "to eternity." But if in this passage they take "for ever" thus, as we firmly hold it means, that the beginning of the world to come is to be ordered from the end of the present, there is still no difficulty, because, although the Israelites are expelled from Jerusalem, they still remain in other cities in the land of Canaan, and shall remain even to the end; and when that whole land is inhabited by Christians, they also are the very seed of Abraham.

22. Of Abraham's overcoming the enemies of Sodom, when he delivered Lot from captivity and was blessed by Melchkedek the priest.

Having received this oracle of promise, Abraham migrated, and remained in another place of the same land, that is, beside the oak of Mamre, which was Hebron. Then on the invasion of Sodom, when five kings carried on war against four, and Lot was taken captive with the conquered Sodomites, Abraham delivered him from the enemy, leading with him to battle three hundred and eighteen of his homeborn servants, and won the victory for the kings of Sodom, but would take nothing of the spoils when offered by the king.

1 Various reading, "the express promise.**"
for whom he had won them. He was then openly blessed by Melchizedek, who was priest of God Most High, about whom many and great things are written in the epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews, which most say is by the Apostle Paul, though some deny this. For then first appeared the sacrifice which is now offered to God by Christians in the whole wide world, and that is fulfilled which long after the event was said by the prophet to Christ, who was yet to come in the flesh, " Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," 1 â€” that is to say, not after the order of Aaron, for that order was to be taken away when the things shone forth which were intimated beforehand by these shadows.

23. Of the word of the Lord to Abraham, by which it was promised to him that his posterity should be multiplied according to the multitude of the stars; on believing which he was declared justified while yet in uncircumcision.

The word of the Lord came to Abraham in a vision also. For when God promised him protection and exceeding great reward, he, being solicitous about posterity, said that a certain Eliezer of Damascus, born in his house, would be his heir. Immediately he was promised an heir, not that house-born servant, but one who was to come forth of Abraham himself; and again a seed innumerable, not as the dust of the earth, but as the stars of heaven; which rather seems to me a promise of a posterity exalted in celestial felicity. For, so far as multitude is concerned, what are the stars of heaven to the dust of the earth, unless one should say the comparison is like inasmuch as the stars also cannot be numbered? For it is not to be believed that all of them can be seen. For the more keenly one observes them, the more does he see. So that it is to be supposed some remain concealed from the keenest observers, to say nothing of those stars which are said to rise and set in another part of the world most remote from us. Finally, the authority of this book condemns those like Aratus or Eudoxus, or any others who boast that they have found out and written down the complete number of the stars. Here, indeed, is set down that sentence which the apostle quotes in order to commend the grace of God, " Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness;" 2 lest the circumcision

1 Ps. ex. 4. 2 Rom. iv. 3: Gen. xv. 6.
should glory, and be unwilling to receive the uncircumcised nations to the faith of Christ. For at the time when he believed, and his faith was counted to him for righteousness, Abraham had not yet been circumcised.

24. Of the meaning of the sacrifice Abraham was commanded to offer when he supplicated to be taught about those things he had believed.

In the same vision, God in speaking to him also says, "I am God that brought thee out of the region of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it." * And when Abram asked whereby he might know that he should inherit it, God said to him, "Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another; but the birds divided he not. And the fowls came down," as it is written, "on the carcases, and Abram sat down by them. But about the going down of the sun, great fear fell upon Abram; and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. And He said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not theirs, and they shall reduce them to servitude; and shall afflict them four hundred years: but the nation whom they shall serve will I judge; and afterward shall they come out hither with great substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; kept in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full. And when the sun was setting, there was a flame, and a smoking furnace, and lamps of fire, that passed through between those pieces. In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river Euphrates: the Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, and the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Bephaims, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Hivites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites." 2

All these things were said and done in a vision from God; but it would take long, and would exceed the scope of this work, to treat of them exactly in detail. It is enough that we should know that, after it was said Abram believed in

1 Gen. xv. 7. 2 »Gen. xv. 9-21.

book xvi.] of Abraham's sacrifice. 137

God, and it was counted to him for righteousness, he did not fail in faith in saying, "Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? " for the inheritance of* that land was promised to him. Now he does not say, How shall I know, as if he did not yet believe; but he says, "Whereby shall I know," meaning that some sign might be given by which he might know the manner of those things which he had believed, just as it is not for lack of faith the Virgin Mary says, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? " L
for she inquired as to the way in which that should take place which she was certain would come to pass. And when she asked this, she war told, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." 2 Here also, in fine, a symbol was given, consisting of three animals, a heifer, a she-goat, and a ram, and two birds, a turtle-dove and pigeon, that he might know that the things which he had not doubted should come to pass were to happen in accordance with this symbol. Whether, therefore, the heifer was a sign that the people should be put under the law, the she-goat that the same people was to become sinful, the ram that they should reign (and these animals are said to be of three years old for this reason, that there are three remarkable divisions of time, from Adam to Noah, and from him to Abraham, and from him to David, who, on the rejection of Saul, was first established by the will of the Lord in the kingdom of the Israelite nation: in this third division, which extends from Abraham to David, that people grew up as if passing through the third age of life), or whether they had some other more suitable meaning, still I have no doubt whatever that spiritual things were prefigured by them as well as by the turtle-dove and pigeon. And it is said, "But the birds divided he not," because carnal men are divided among themselves, but the spiritual not at all, whether they seclude themselves from the busy conversation of men, like the turtle-dove, or dwell among them, like the pigeon; for both birds are simple and harmless, signifying that even in the Israelite people, to which that land was to be given, there would be individuals who were children of the promise, and

1 Luke i. 34. 2 Luke i. 35.

138 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

heirs of the kingdom that is * to remain in eternal felicity. But the fowls coming down on the divided carcases represent nothing good, but the spirits of this air, seeking some food for themselves in the division of carnal mem But that Abraham sat down with them, signifies that even amid these divisions of the carnal, true believers shall persevere to the end. And that about the going down of the sun great fear fell upon Abraham and a horror of great darkness, signifies that about the end of this world believers shall be in great perturbation and tribulation, of which the Lord said in the gospel, u For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning." 2

But what is said to Abraham, "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not theirs, and they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them 400 years," is most clearly a prophecy about the people of Israel which was to be in servitude in Egypt. Not that this people was to be in that servitude under the oppressive Egyptians for 400 years, but it is foretold that this should take place in the course of those 400 years. Eor as it is written of Terah the father of Abraham, "And the days of Terah in Haran were 205 years," 3 not because they were all spent there, but because they were completed there, so it is said here also, "And they shall reduce them to servitude, and shall afflict them 400 years," for this reason, because that number was completed, not because it was all spent in that affliction. The years are said to be 400 in round numbers,
although they were a little more, “whether you reckon from this time, when these things were promised to Abraham, or from the birth of Isaac, as the seed of Abraham, of which these things are predicted. Eor, as we have already said above, from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham, when the first promise was made to him, down to the exodus of Israel from Egypt, there are reckoned 430 years, which the apostle thus mentions: " And this I say, that the covenant confirmed by God, the law, which was made 430 years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect." 4

1 Various reading, "who are to remain." 2 Matt. xxiv. 21.
3 Gen. xi. 32. 4 Gal. iii. 17.
So then these 430 years might be called 400, because they are not much more, especially since part even of that number had already gone by when these things were shown and said to Abraham in vision, or when Isaac was born in his father's 100th year, twenty-five years after the first promise, when of these 430 years there now remained 405, which God was pleased to call 400. No one will doubt that the other things which follow in the prophetic words of God pertain to the people of Israel.

When it is added, "And when the sun was now setting there was a flame, and lo, a smoking furnace, and lamps of fire, which passed through between those pieces," this signifies that at the end of the world the carnal shall be judged by fire. For just as the affliction of the city of God, such as never was before, which is expected to take place under Antichrist, was signified by Abraham's horror of great darkness about the going down of the sun, that is, when the end of the world draws nigh, â€” so at the going down of the sun, that is, at the very end of the world, there is signified by that fire the day of judgment, which separates the carnal who are to be saved by fire from those who are to be condemned in the fire. And then the covenant made with Abraham particularly sets forth the land of Canaan, and names eleven tribes in it from the river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates.

It is not then from the great river of Egypt, that is, the Nile, but from a small one which separates Egypt from Palestine, where the city of Ehinocorura is.

25. Of Sarah's handmaid, Hagar, whom she herself wished to be Abraham's concubine.

And here follow the times of Abraham's sons, the one by Hagar the bond maid, the other by Sarah the free woman, about whom we have already spoken in the previous book. As regards this transaction, Abraham is in no way to be branded as guilty concerning this concubine, for he used her for the begetting of progeny, not for the gratification of lust; and not to insult, but rather to obey his wife, who supposed it would be a solace of her barrenness if she could make use of the fruitful womb of her handmaid to supply the defect of her own nature, and by that law of which

the apostle says, "Likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife," * could, as a wife, make use of him for childbearing by another, when she could not do so in her own person. Here there is no wanton lust, no filthy lewdness. The handmaid is delivered to the husband by the wife for the sake of progeny, and is received
by the husband for the sake of progeny, each seeking, not guilty excess, but natural fruit. And when the pregnant bond woman despised her barren mistress, and Sarah, with womanly jealousy, rather laid the blame of this on her husband, even then Abraham showed that he was not a slavish lover, but a free begetter of children, and that in using Hagar he had guarded the chastity of Sarah his wife, and had gratified her will and not his own, "â€” had received her without seeking, had gone in to her without being attached, had impregnated without loving her, â€” for he says, " Behold thy maid is in thy hands: do to her as it pleaseth thee; " 2 a man able to use women as a man should, â€” his wife temperately, his handmaid compliantly, neither intemperately !

26. Of God's attestation to Abraham, by which He assures him, ichen noxo old, of a son by the barren Sarah, and appoints him the father of the nations, and seals his faith in the promise by the sacrament of circumcision.

After these things Ishmael was born of Hagar; and Abraham might think that in him was fulfilled what God had promised him, saying, when he wished to adopt his home-born servant, "This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth of thee, he shall be thine heir." 3 Therefore, lest he should think that what was promised was fulfilled in the handmaid's son, "when Abram was ninety years old and nine, God appeared to him, and said unto him, I am God; be wellpleasing in my sight, and be without complaint, and I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will fill "thee exceedingly." 4

Here there are more distinct promises about the calling of the nations in Isaac, that is, in the son of the promise, by which grace is signified, and not nature; for the son is promised from an old man and a barren old woman. For

1 1 Cor. vii. 4. - Gen. xvi. 6. 3 Gen> xv> 4#

4 Gen. xvii. 1-22. The passage is given in full by Augustine,
although God effects even the natural course of procreation, yet where the agency of God
is manifest, through the decay or failure of nature, grace is more plainly discerned. And
because this was to be brought about, not by generation, but by regeneration,
circumcision was enjoined now, when a son was promised of Sarah. And by ordering all,
not only sons, but also home-born and purchased, servants to be circumcised, he testifies
that this grace pertains to all. For what else does circumcision signify than a nature
renewed on the putting off of the old? And what else does the eighth day mean than
Christ, who rose again when the week was completed, that is, after the Sabbath? The
very names of the parents are changed: all things proclaim newness, and the new
covenant is shadowed forth in the old. For what does the term old covenant imply but the
concealing of the new? And what does the term new covenant imply but the revealing of
the old? The laughter of Abraham is the exultation of one who rejoices, not the scornful
laughter of one who mistrusts. And those words of his in his heart, "Shall a son be born
to me that am an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear?" are
not the words of doubt, but of wonder.
And when it is said, "And I will give to thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land in which
thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession," if it troubles
any one whether this is to be held as fulfilled, or whether its fulfilment may still be
looked for, since no kind of earthly possession can be everlasting for any nation
whatever, let him know that the word translated everlasting by our writers is what the
Greeks term alcoviov, which is derived from alwv, the Greek for seeculum, an age. But
the Latins have not ventured to translate this by secular, lest they should change the
meaning into something widely different. For many things are called secular which so
happen in this world as to pass away even in a short time; but what is termed alcoviov
either has no end, or lasts to the very end of this world.

27. Of the male, who icas to lose his soul if he ivas not circumcised 011 the eighth day,
because he had broken God's covenant.

When it is said, "The male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, that soul
shall be cut off from his people,

[BOOK XVI.] PROMISE OF A SON BY SARAH. 141

because he hath broken my covenant/* some may be troubled how that ou^ht to be
understood, since it can be no fault of the infant whose life it is said must perish; nor has
the covenant of God been broken by him, but by his parents, who have not taken care to
circumcise him. But even the infants, not personally in their own life, but according to the
common origin of the human race, have all broken God's covenant in that one in whom
all have sinned. 2 Xow there are many things called God's covenants besides those two
great ones, the old and the new, which any one who pleases may read and know. For the
first covenant, which was made with the first man, is just this: "In the day ye eat thereof, ye shall surely die." 3 Whence it is written in the book called Ecclesiasticus, "All flesh waxeth old as doth a garment. For the covenant from the beginning is, Thou shalt die the death/ i Xow, as the law was more plainly given afterward, and the apostle says, "Where no law is, there is no prevarication," 5 on what supposition is what is said in the psalm true, "I accounted all the sinners of the earth prevaricators," 6 except that all who are held liable for any sin are accused of dealing deceitfully (prevaricating) with some law 1 If on this account, then, even the infants are, according to the true belief, born in sin, not actual but original, so that we confess they have need of grace for the remission of sins, certainly it must be acknowledged that in the same sense in which they are sinners they are also prevaricators of that law which was given in Paradise, according to the truth of both scriptures, "I accounted all the sinners of the earth prevaricators," and ἀέξαέξ Where no law is, there is no prevarication." And thus, because circumcision was the sign of regeneration, and the infant, on account of the original sin by which God's covenant was first broken, was not undeservedly to lose his generation unless delivered by regeneration, these divine words are to be understood as if it had been said, Whoever is not born again, that soul shall perish from his people, because he hath broken my covenant, since he also has sinned in Adam with all

1 Gen. xvii. 14. 2 Rom. v. 12, 19. 3 Gen. ii. 17.
4 Ecclus. xv. 17. 6 Kom. iv. 15.
6 Ps. cxix. 119. Augustine and the Vulgate follow the LXX.
others. For had He said, Because he hath broken this my covenant, He would have compelled us to understand by it only this of circumcision; but since He has not expressly said what covenant the infant has broken, we are free to understand Him as speaking of that covenant of which the breach can be ascribed to an infant. Yet if any one contends that it is said of nothing else than circumcision, that in it the infant has broken the covenant of God because he is not circumcised, he must seek some method of explanation by which it may be understood without absurdity (such as this) that he has broken the covenant, because it has been broken in him although not by him. Yet in this case also it is to be observed that the soul of the infant, being guilty of no sin of neglect against itself, would perish unjustly, unless original sin rendered it obnoxious to punishment.

28. Of the change of name in Abraham and Sarah, who received the gift of fecundity when they were incapable of regeneration owing to the barrenness of one, and the old age of both.

Now when a promise so great and clear was made to Abraham, in which it was so plainly said to him, "I have made thee a father of many nations, and I will increase thee exceedingly, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall go forth of thee. And I will give thee a son of Sarah; and I will bless him, and he shall become nations, and kings of nations shall be of him," *â€” a promise which we now see fulfilled in Christ, â€” from that time forward this couple are not called in Scripture, as formerly, Abram and Sarai, but Abraham and Sarah, as we have called them from the first, for every one does so now. The reason why the name of Abraham was changed is given: "For/ He says, "I have made thee a father of many nations." This, then, is to be understood to be the meaning of Abraham; but Abram, as he was formerly called, means "exalted father." The reason of the change of Sarah's name is not given; but as those say who have written interpretations of the Hebrew names contained in these books, Sarah means "my princess," and Sarai "strength." Whence it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Through faith also Sarah herself received strength

1 Gen. xvii. 5, 6, 16.

144 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

to conceive seed." 1 For both were old, as the Scripture testifies; but she was also barren, and had ceased to menstruate, so that she could no longer bear children even if she had not been barren. Further, if a woman is advanced in years, yet still retains the custom of women, she can bear children to a young man, but not to an old man, although that same old man can beget, but only of a young woman: as after Sarah's death Abraham could of
Keturah, because he met with her in her lively age. This, then, is what the apostle mentions as wonderful, saying, besides, that Abraham's body was now dead; 2 because at that age he was no longer able to beget children of any woman who retained now only a small part of her natural vigour. Of course we must understand that his body was dead only to some purposes, not to all; for if it was so to all, it would no longer be the aged body of a living man, but the corpse of a dead one. Although that question, how Abraham begot children of Keturah, is usually solved in this way, that the gift of begetting which he received from the Lord, remained even after the death of his wife, yet I think that solution of the question which I have followed is preferable, because, although in our days an old man of a hundred years can beget children of no woman, it was not so then, when men still lived so long that a hundred years did not yet bring on them the decrepitude of old age.

29s Of the three men or angels, in whom the Lord is related to have appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre.

God appeared again to Abraham at the oak of Mamre in three men, who it is not to be doubted were angels, although some think that one of them was Christ, and assert that He was visible before He put on flesh. Now it belongs to the divine power, and invisible, incorporeal, and incommutable nature, without changing itself at all, to appear even to mortal men, not by what it is, but by what is subject to it. And what is not subject to it? Yet if they try to establish that one of these three was Christ by the fact that, although he saw three, he addressed the Lord in the singular, as it is written, "And, lo, three men stood by him: and, when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent-door, and wor-

1 Heb. xi. 11.; Hob. xi. 12.
shipped toward the ground, and said, Lord, if I have found favour before thee," 1 etc.; why do they not advert to this also, that when two of them came to destroy the Sodomites, while Abraham still spoke to one, calling him Lord, and interceding that he would not destroy the righteous along with the wicked in Sodom, Lot received these two in such a way that he too in his conversation with them addressed the Lord in the singular? For after saying to them in the plural, " Behold, my lords, turn aside into your servant's house," 2 etc., yet it is afterwards said, "And the angels laid hold upon his hand, and the hand of his wife, and the hands of his two daughters, because the Lord was merciful unto him. And it came to pass, whenever they had led him forth abroad, that they said, Save thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all this region: save thyself in the mountain, lest thou be caught. And Lot said unto them, I pray thee, Lord, since thy servant hath found grace in thy sight," 3 etc. And then after these words the Lord also answered him in the singular, although He was in two angels, saying, " See, I have accepted thy face," 4 etc. This makes it much more credible that both Abraham in the three men and Lot in the two recognised the Lord, addressing Him in the singular number, even when they were addressing men; for they received them as they did for no other reason than that they might minister human refection to them as men who needed it. Yet there was about them something so excellent, that those who showed them hospitality as men could not doubt that God was in them as He was wont to be in the prophets, and therefore sometimes addressed them in the plural, and sometimes God in them in the singular. But that they were angels the Scripture testifies, not only in this book of Genesis, in which these transactions are related, but also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where in praising hospitality it is said, "For thereby some have entertained angels unawares." 5 By these three men, then, when a son Isaac was again promised to Abraham by Sarah, such a divine oracle was also given that it was said, " Abraham shall become a great and numerous nation, and all

1 Gen. xviii. 2, 3. 2 Gen. xix. 2. 3 Cen. xix. 16-19.

4 Gen. xix. 21. 6 Heb. xiii. 2.

VOL. II. K

146 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him." 1 And here these two things are promised with the utmost brevity and fulness, â€” the nation of Israel according to the flesh, and all nations according to faith.

30. Of Lot's deliverance from Sodom, and its consumption by fire from heaven;
and of Abimelech, whose lust could not harm Sarah’s chastity.

After this promise Lot was delivered out of Sodom, and a fiery rain from heaven turned into ashes that whole region of the impious city, where custom had made sodomy as prevalent as laws have elsewhere made other kinds of wickedness. But this punishment of theirs was a specimen of the divine judgment to come. For what is meant by the angels forbidding those who were delivered to look back, but that we are not to look back in heart to the old life which, being regenerated through grace, we have put off, if” we think to escape the last judgment ? Lot’s wife, indeed, when she looked back, remained, and, being turned into salt, furnished to believing men a condiment by which to savour somewhat the warning to be drawn from that example. Then Abraham did again at Gerar, with Abimelech the king of that city, what he had done in Egypt about his wife, and received her back untouched in the same way. On this occasion, when the king rebuked Abraham for not saying she was his wife, and calling her his sister, he explained what he had been afraid of, and added this further, "And yet indeed she is my sister by the father's side, but not by the mother's;" 2 for she was Abraham's sister by his own father, and so near of kin. But her beauty was so great, that even at that advanced age she could be fallen in love with.

31. Of Isaac, who was born according to the promise, whose name was given en account of the laughter of both parents.

After these things a son was born to Abraham, according to God's promise, of Sarah, and was called Isaac, which means laughter. For his father had laughed when he was promised to him, in wondering delight, and his mother, when he was again promised by those three men, had laughed, doubting for joy; yet she was blamed by the angel because that laughter, although it was for joy, yet was not full of faith. Afterwards

she was confirmed in faith by the same angel. From this, then, the boy got his name. For when Isaac was born and called by that name, Sarah showed that her laughter was not that of scornful reproach, but that of joyful praise; for she said, "God hath made me to laugh, so that every one who hears will laugh with me." * Then in a little while the bond maid was cast out of the house with her son; and, according to the apostle, these two women signify the old and new covenants, â€” Sarah representing that of the Jerusalem which is above, that is, the city of God. 2

32. Of Abraham’s obedience and faith, which were -proved by the offering up of his son in sacrifice; and of Sarah's death.

Among other things, of which it would take too long time to mention the whole, Abraham was tempted about the offering up of his well-beloved son Isaac, to prove his pious obedience, and so make it known to the world, not to God. Now every temptation is not blameworthy; it may even be praiseworthy, because it furnishes probation. And, for the most part, the human mind cannot attain to self-knowledge otherwise than by making trial of its powers through temptation, by some kind of experimental and not merely verbal self-interrogation; when, if it has acknowledged the gift of God, it is pious, and is consolidated by stedfast grace and not puffed up by vain boasting. Of course Abraham could never believe that God delighted in human sacrifices; yet when the divine commandment thundered, it was to be obeyed, not disputed. Yet Abraham is worthy of praise, because he all along believed that his son, on being offered up, would rise again; for God had said to him, when he was unwilling to fulfil his wife's pleasure by casting out the bond maid and her son, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." No doubt He then goes on to say, "And as for the son of this bond woman, I will make him a great nation, because he is thy seed." 3 How then is it said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called," when God calls Ishmael also his seed? The apostle, in explaining this, says, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called, that is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but

---


3 Gen. xxi. 12, 13.
slay, did not doubt that he whom he once thought it hopeless he should ever receive would be restored to him when he had offered him up. It is in this way the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews is also to be understood and explained. "By faith," he says, "Abraham overcame, when tempted about Isaac: and he who had received the promise offered up his only son, to whom it was said, In Isaac shall thy seed be called: thinking that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead; "therefore he has added, "from whence also he received him in a similitude." "In whose similitude but His of whom the apostle says, "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all?" And on this account Isaac also himself carried to the place of sacrifice the wood on which he was to be offered up, just as the Lord Himself carried His own cross. Finally, since Isaac was not to be slain, after Ms father was forbidden to smite him, who was that ram by the offering of which that sacrifice was completed with typical blood? For when Abraham saw him, he was caught by the horns in a thicket. What, then, did he represent but Jesus, who, before He was offered up, was crowned with thorns by the Jews?

But let us rather hear the divine words spoken through the Angel. For the Scripture says, "And Abraham stretched forth his hand to take the knife, that he might slay his son. And the Angel of the Lord called unto him from heaven, and said, Abraham. And he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thy beloved son for my sake." 4 It is said, "Now I know," that is, Now I have made to be known; for God was not previously ignorant of this. Then, having offered up that ram

1 Rom. ix. 7, 8. 2 Heb. xi. 17-19.
instead of Isaac his son, "Abraham," as we read, "called the name of that place The Lord seeth: as they say this day, In the mount the Lord hath appeared." * As it is said, "Now I know," for Now I have made to be known, so here, "The Lord sees," for The Lord hath appeared, that is, made Himself to be seen. "And the Angel of the Lord called unto Abraham from heaven the second time, saying, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord; because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy beloved son for my sake; that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore; and thy seed shall possess by inheritance the cities of the adversaries: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice." In this manner is that promise concerning the calling of the nations in the seed of Abraham confirmed even by the oath of God, after that burnt-offering which typified Christ. For He had often promised, but never sworn. And what is the oath of God, the true and faithful, but a confirmation of the promise, and a certain reproof to the unbelieving?

After these things Sarah died, in the 127th year of her life, and the 137th of her husband; for he was ten years older than she, as he himself says, when a son is promised to him by her: "Shall a son be born to me that am an hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear? " 3 Then Abraham bought a field, in which he buried his wife. And then, according to Stephen's account, he was settled in that land, entering then on actual possession of it, "that is, after the death of his father, who is inferred to have died two years before.

33. Of Rebecca, the grand-daughter of Kahor, whom Isaac took to wife.

Isaac married Eebecca, the grand-daughter of Nahor, his father's brother, when he was forty years old, that is, in the 140th year of his father's life, three years after his mother's death. Now when a servant was sent to Mesopotamia by his father to fetch her, and when Abraham said to that servant, "Put thy hand under my thigh, and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the Lord of the earth,


150 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son Isaac of the daughters of the Canaanites," * what else was pointed out by this, but that the Lord, the God of heaven, and the Lord of
the earth, was to come in the flesh which was to be derived from that thigh? Are these small tokens of the foretold truth which we see fulfilled in Christ?

34. What is meant by Abraham's marrying Keturah after Sarah's death.

What did Abraham mean by marrying Keturah after Sarah's death? Far be it from us to suspect him of incontinence, especially when he had reached such an age and such sanctity of faith. Or was he still seeking to beget children, though he held fast, with most approved faith, the promise of God that his children should be multiplied out of Isaac as the stars of heaven and the dust of the earth? And yet, if Hagar and Ishmael, as the apostle teaches us, signified the carnal people of the old covenant, why may not Keturah and her sons also signify the carnal people who think they belong to the new covenant? For both are called both the wives and the concubines of Abraham; but Sarah is never called a concubine (but only a wife). For when Hagar is given to Abraham, it is written, "And Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife." 2 And of Keturah, whom he took after Sarah's departure, we read, "Then again Abraham took a wife, whose name was Keturah." 3 Lo, both are called wives, yet both are found to have been concubines; for the Scripture afterward says, "And Abraham gave his whole estate unto Isaac his son. But unto the sons of his concubines Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from his son Isaac, (while he yet lived,) eastward, unto the east country." 4 Therefore the sons of the concubines, that is, the heretics and the carnal Jews, have some gifts, but do not attain the promised kingdom; "For they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are counted for the seed, of whom it was said, In Isaac shall thy seed be called." 5 For I do not see why Keturah, who

1 Gen. xxiv. 2, 3. ' Gen. xvi. 3. 3 Gen. xxv. 1.

4 Gen. xxv. 5, 6. 5 Rom. ix. 7, S.
was married after the wife's death, should be called a concubine, except on account of this mystery. But if any one is unwilling to put such meanings on these things, he need not calumniate Abraham. For what if even this was provided against the heretics who were to be the opponents of second marriages, so that it might be shown that it was no sin in the case of the father of many nations himself, when, after his wife's death, he married again? And Abraham died when he was 175 years old, so that he left his son Isaac seventy-five years old, having begotten him when 100 years old.

35. What was indicated by the divine answer about the twins still shut up in the womb c/ Rebecca their mother.

Let us now see how the times of the city of God run on from this point among Abraham's descendants. In the time from the first year of Isaac's life to the seventieth, when his sons were born, the only memorable thing is, that when he prayed God that his wife, who was barren, might bear, and the Lord granted what he sought, and she conceived, the twins leapt while still enclosed in her womb. And when she was troubled by this struggle, and inquired of the Lord, she received this answer: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall overcome the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." The Apostle Paul would have us understand this as a great instance of grace; for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, the younger is chosen without any good desert, and the elder is rejected, when beyond doubt, as regards original sin, both were alike, and as regards actual sin, neither had any. But the plan of the work on hand does not permit me to speak more fully of this matter now, and I have said much about it in other works. Only that saying, *The elder shall serve the younger,* is understood by our writers, almost without exception, to mean that the elder people, the Jews, shall serve the younger people, the Christians. And truly, although this might seem to be fulfilled in the Idumean nation, which was born of the elder (who had two names, being called both Esau and Eclom, whence the name Idumeans), because it was after-

1 Gen. xxv. 23. 2 Rom. ix. 10-13.

152 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

wards to be overcome by the people which sprang from the younger, that is, by the Israelites, and was to become subject to them; yet it is more suitable to believe that, when it was said, "The one people shall overcome the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger," that prophecy meant some greater thing; and what is that except what is evidently fulfilled in the Jews and Christians?
36. Of the oracle and blessing which Isaac received, just as his father did, being
beloved for his sake.

Isaac also received such an oracle as his father had often received. Of this oracle it is thus
written: "And there was a famine over the land, beside the first famine that was in the
days of Abraham. And Isaac went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar.
And the Lord appeared unto Mm, and said, Go not down into Egypt; but dwell in the land
which I shall tell thee of. And abide in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless
thee: unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all this land; and I will establish mine oath,
which I sware unto Abraham thy father: and I
will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all this land: and
in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because that Abraham thy father
obeyed my voice, and kept my precepts, my commandments, my righteousness, and my
laws." I This patriarch neither had another wife, nor any concubine, but was content with
the twin-children begotten by one act of generation.
He also was afraid, when he lived among strangers, of bein^
brought into danger owing to the beauty of his wife, and did like his father in calling her
his sister, and not telling that she was his wife; for she was his near blood-relation by the
father's and mother's side. She also remained untouched by the strangers, when it was
known she was his wife. Yet we ought not to prefer him to his father because he knew no
woman besides his one wife. For beyond doubt the merits of his father's faith and
obedience were greater, inasmuch as God says it is for his sake He does Isaac good: " In
thy seed,"
He says, "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because that Abraham thy father
obeyed my voice, and kept my pre-

1 Gen. xxvi. 1-5. Â»
cept, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws." And again in another oracle He says, "I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake." So that we must understand how chastely Abraham acted, because imprudent men, who seek some support for their own wickedness in the Holy Scriptures, think he acted through lust. We may also learn this, not to compare men by single good things, but to consider everything in each; for it may happen that one man has something in his life and character in which he excels another, and it may be far more excellent than that in which the other excels him. And thus, according to sound and true judgment, while continence is preferable to marriage, yet a believing married man is better than a continent unbeliever; for the unbeliever is not only less praiseworthy, but is even highly detestable. We must conclude, then, that both are good; yet so as to hold that the married man who is most faithful and most obedient is certainly better than the continent man whose faith and obedience are less. But if equal in other things, who would hesitate to prefer the continent man to the married?

37. Of the things mystically prefigured in Esau and Jacob.

Isaac's two sons, Esau and Jacob, grew up together. The primacy of the elder was transferred to the younger by a bargain and agreement between them, when the elder immoderately lusted after the lentiles the younger had prepared for food, and for that price sold his birthright to him, confirming it with an oath. We learn from this that a person is to be blamed, not for the kind of food he eats, but for immoderate greed. Isaac grew old, and old age deprived him of his eyesight. He wished to bless the elder son, and instead of the elder, who was hairy, unwittingly blessed the younger, who put himself under his father's hands, having covered himself with kid-skins, as if bearing the sins of others.

Lest we should think this guile of Jacob's was fraudulent guile, instead of seeking in it the mystery of a great thing, the Scripture has predicted in the words just before, "Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a simple man, dwelling at home." Some of our writers have interpreted this, "without guile." But whether the Greek αθρααρος; means "without guile," or a simple, "or rather "without feigning," in the receiving of that blessing what is the guile of the man without guile? "What is the guile of the simple, what the fiction of the man who does not lie, but a profound mystery of the truth? But what is the blessing itself?" See," he says, "the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field which the Lord hath blessed: therefore God

1 Gen. xxvi. 24.
give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fruitfulness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine: let nations serve thee, and princes adore thee: and be lord of thy brethren, and let thy father's sons adore thee: cursed be he that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee." 2 The blessing of Jacob is therefore a proclamation of Christ to all nations. It is this which has come to pass, and is now being fulfilled. Isaac is the law and the prophecy: even by the mouth of the Jews Christ is blessed by prophecy as by one who knows not, because it is itself not understood. The world like a field is filled with the odour of Christ's name: His is the blessing of the dew of heaven, that is, of the showers of divine words; and of the fruitfulness of the earth, that is, of the gathering together of the peoples: His is the plenty of corn and wine, that is, the multitude that gathers bread and wine in the sacrament of His body and blood. Him the nations serve, Him princes adore. He is the Lord of His brethren, because His people rules over the Jews. Him His Father's sons adore, that is, the sons of Abraham according to faith; for He Himself is the son of Abraham according to the flesh. He is cursed that curseth Him, and he that blesseth Him is blessed.

Christ, I say, who is ours is blessed, that is, truly spoken of-out of the mouths of the Jews, when, although erring, they yet sing the law and the prophets, and think they are blessing another for whom they erringly hope. So, when the elder son claims the promised blessing, Isaac is greatly afraid, and wonders when he knows that he has blessed one instead of the other, and demands who he is; yet he does not complain that

1 Gen. xxv. 27. 2 Gen, xxvii. 27-29.
he has been deceived, yea, when the great mystery is revealed to him, in his secret heart he at once eschews anger, and confirms the blessing. "Who then," he says, "hath hunted me venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all before thou earnest, and have blessed him, and he shall be blessed?" * Who would not rather have expected the curse of an angry man here, if these things had been done in an earthly manner, and not by inspiration from above? things done, yet done prophetically; on the earth, yet celestially; by men, yet divinely! If everything that is fertile of so great mysteries should be examined carefully, many volumes would be filled; but the moderate compass fixed for this work compels us to hasten to other things.

38. Of Jacob's mission to Mesopotamia to get a wife, and of the vision which he saw in a dream by the way, and of his getting four women when he sought one icife.

Jacob was sent by his parents to Mesopotamia that he might take a wife there. These were his father's words on sending him: "Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of the Canaanites. Arise, fly to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother. And my God bless thee, and increase thee, and multiply thee; and thou shalt be an assembly of peoples; and give to thee the blessing of Abraham thy father, and to thy seed after thee; that thou mayest inherit the land wherein thou dwellest, which God gave unto Abraham." Now we understand here that the seed of Jacob is separated from Isaac's other seed which came through Esau. For when it is said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called," by this seed is meant solely the city of God; so that from it is separated Abraham's other seed, which was in the son of the bond woman, and which was to be in the sons of Keturah. But until now it had been uncertain regarding Isaac's twin-sons whether that blessing belonged to both or only to one of them; and if to one, which of them it was. This is now declared when Jacob is prophetically blessed by his father, and it is said to him,

1 Gen. xxvii. 33. 2 Gen. xxviii. 1-4.

3 Gen. xxi. 12.

156 THE CITY OF GOD. [COOK XVI.

"And thou shalt he an assembly of peoples, and God give to thee the blessing of Abraham thy father."

When Jacob was going to Mesopotamia, he received in a dream an oracle, of which it is thus written: "And Jacob went out from the well of the oath, 1 and went to Haran. And he came to a place, and slept there, for the sun was set; and he took of the stones of the
place, and put them at his head, and slept in that place, and dreamed. And behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and the angels of God ascended and descended by it. And the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; fear not: the land whereon thou sleepest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and it shall be spread abroad to the sea, and to Africa, and to the north, and to the east: and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed. And, behold, I am with thee, to keep thee in all thy way wherever thou goest, and I will bring thee back into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done all which I have spoken to thee of. And Jacob awoke out of his sleep, and said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob arose, and took the stone that he had put under his head there, and set it up for a memorial, and poured oil upon the top of it. And Jacob called the name of that place the house of God. "This is prophetic. For Jacob did not pour oil on the stone in an idolatrous way, as if making it a god; neither did he adore that stone, or sacrifice to it. But since the name of Christ comes from the chrism or anointing, something pertaining to the great mystery was certainly represented in this. And the Saviour Himself is understood to bring this latter to remembrance in the gospel, when He says of Xathanael, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" because Israel who saw this vision is no other than Jacob. And in the same place He says, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye : Beer-sheba. 2 Gen. xxviii. 10-19.

5 John i. 47, 51. Â»
shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."

Jacob went on to Mesopotamia to take a wife from thence. And the divine Scripture points out how, without unlawfully desiring any of them, he came to have four women, of whom he begat twelve sons and one daughter; for he had come to take only one. But when one was falsely given him in place of the other, he did not send her away after unwittingly using her in the night, lest he should seem to have put her to shame; but as at that time, in order to multiply posterity, no law forbade a plurality of wives, he took her also to whom alone he had promised marriage. As she was barren, she gave her handmaid to her husband that she might have children by her; and her elder sister did the same thing in imitation of her, although she had borne, because she desired to multiply progeny. We do not read that Jacob sought any but one, or that he used many, except for the purpose of begetting offspring, saving conjugal rights; and he would not have done this, had not his wives, who had legitimate power over their own husband's body, urged him to do it. So he begat twelve sons and one daughter by four women. Then he entered into Egypt by his son Joseph, who was sold by his brethren for envy, and carried there, and who was there exalted.

39. The reason why Jacob was also called Israel.

As I said a little ago, Jacob was also called Israel, the name which was most prevalent among the people descended from him. Now this name was given him by the angel who wrestled with him on the way back from Mesopotamia, and who was most evidently a type of Christ. For when Jacob overcame him, doubtless with his own consent, that the mystery might be represented, it signified Christ's passion, in which the Jews are seen overcoming Him. And yet he besought a blessing from the very angel he had overcome; and so the imposition of this name was the blessing. For Israel means seeing God, 1 which will at last be the reward of all the saints. The angel also touched him on the breadth of the

1 Gen. xxxii. 28: Israel = "a prince of God; " ver. 30: Peniel = "the face of God."

thigh when he was overcoming him, and in that way made him lame. So that Jacob was at one and the same time blessed and lame: blessed in those among that people who believed in Christ, and lame in the unbelieving. For the breadth of the thigh is the
multitude of the family. For there are many of that race of whom it was prophetically said beforehand, "And they have halted in their paths."

40. How it is said that Jacob went into Egypt with seventy-five souls, when most of those who are mentioned were born at a later period.

Seventy-five men are reported to have entered Egypt along with Jacob, counting him with his children. In this number only two women are mentioned, one a daughter, the other a grand-daughter. But when the thing is carefully considered, it does not appear that Jacob's offspring was so numerous on the day or year when he entered Egypt. There are also included among them the great-grandchildren of Joseph, who could not possibly be born already. For Jacob was then 130 years old, and his son Joseph thirty-nine; and as it is plain that he took a wife when he was thirty or more, how could he in nine years have great-grandchildren by the children whom he had by that wife? Now, since Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph, could not even have children, for Jacob found them boys under nine years old when he entered Egypt, in what way are not only their sons but their grandsons reckoned among those seventy-five who then entered Egypt with Jacob? For there is reckoned there Machir the son of Manasseh, grandson of Joseph, and Machir's son, that is, Gilead, grandson of Manasseh, great-grandson of Joseph; there, too, is he whom Ephraim, Joseph's other son, begot, that is, Shuthelah, grandson of Joseph, and Shuthelah's son Ezer, grandson of Ephraim, and great-grandson of Joseph, who could not possibly be in existence when Jacob came into Egypt, and there found his grandsons, the sons of Joseph, their grandsires, still boys under nine years of age. 2 But doubtless, when the Scripture mentions Jacob's entrance into Egypt with seventy-five souls, it does

1 Ps. xviii. 45.

- Augustine here follows the Septuagint, which at Gen. xlvi. 20 adds these names to those of Manasseh and Ephraim, and at ver. 27 gives the whole number as seventy-five.
not mean one day, or one year, but that whole time as long as Joseph lived, who was the cause of his entrance. For the same Scripture speaks thus of Joseph: "And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he and his brethren, and all his father's house: and Joseph lived 110 years, and saw Ephraim's children of the third generation." That is, his great-grandson, the third from Ephraim; for the third generation means son, grandson, great-grandson. Then it is added, "The children also of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were born upon Joseph's knees." And this is that grandson of Manasseh, and great-grandson of Joseph. But the plural number is employed according to scriptural usage; for the one daughter of Jacob is spoken of as daughters, just as in the usage of the Latin tongue liberi is used in the plural for children even when there is only one.

Now, when Joseph's own happiness is proclaimed, because he could see his great-grandchildren, it is by no means to be thought they already existed in the thirty-ninth year of their great-grand sire Joseph, when his father Jacob came to him in Egypt. But those who diligently look into these things will the less easily be mistaken, because it is written, "These are the names of the sons of Israel who entered into Egypt along with Jacob their father." This means that the seventy-five are reckoned along with him, not that they were all with him when he entered Egypt; for, as I have said, the whole period during which Joseph, who occasioned his entrance, lived, is held to be the time of that entrance.

41. Of the blessing which Jacob promised in Judah his son.

If, on account of the Christian people in whom the city of God sojourns in the earth, we look for the flesh of Christ in the seed of Abraham, setting aside the sons of the concubines, we have Isaac; if in the seed of Isaac, setting aside Esau, who is also Edom, we have Jacob, who also is Israel; if in the seed of Israel himself, setting aside the rest, we have Judah, because Christ sprang of the tribe of Judah. Let us hear, then, how Israel, when dying in Egypt, in blessing his sons, prophetically blessed Judah. He says: "Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee: thy hands shall be on the back of thine enemies; thy father's children shall adore thee. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the sprouting, my son, thou art gone up: lying down, thou hast slept as a lion, and as a lion's whelp; who shall awake him? A prince shall not be lacking out of Judah, and a leader from his thighs, until the things come that are laid up for him; and He shall be the expectation of the nations. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's foal to the choice vine; he shall wash his robe in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grape: his eyes are red with wine, and his teeth are whiter than milk." 1

1 Gen. 1. 22, 23. 2 Gen. 1. 23. 3 Gen. xlvi. 8.
have expounded these words in disputing against Faustus the Manichaean; and I think it is enough to make the truth of this prophecy shine, to remark that the death of Christ is predicted by the word about his lying down, and not the necessity, but the voluntary character of His death, in the title of lion. That power He Himself proclaims in the gospel, saying, "I have the power of laying down my life, and I have the power of taking it again. No man taketh it from me; but I lay it down of myself, and take it again." 2 So the lion roared, so He fulfilled what He said. For to this power what is added about the resurrection refers, *' Who shall awake him?" This means that no man but Himself has raised Him, who also said of His own body, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." 3 And the very nature of His death, that is, the height of the cross, is understood by the single word, "Thou art gone up." The evangelist explains what is added, "Lying down, thou hast slept," when he says, "He bowed His head, and gave up the ghost." 4 Or at least His burial is to be understood, in which He lay down sleeping, and whence no man raised Him, as the prophets did some, and as He Himself did others; but He Himself rose up as if from sleep. As for His robe which He washes in wine, that is, cleanses from sin in His own blood, of which blood those who are baptized know the mystery, so that he adds, "And his clothes in the blood of the grape," what is it but the Church? "And his eyes are red with wine," [these are] His spiritual people drunken with His cup, of which the psalm sings, "And thy cup that makes drunken, how excellent it is!"

1 Gen. xlix. 8-12. 2 John x. 18. 3 John ii. 19. 4 John xix. 30.
"And his teeth are whiter than milk," 1 â€” that is, the nutritive words which, according to the apostle, the babes drink, being as yet unfit for solid food. 2 And it is He in whom the promises of Judah were laid up, so that until they come, princes, that is, the kings of Israel, shall never be lacking out of Judah. "And He is the expectation of the nations." This is too plain to need exposition.

42. Of the sons of Joseph, whom Jacob blessed, prophetically changing his hands.

Now, as Isaac's two sons, Esau and Jacob, furnished a type of the two people, the Jews and the Christians (although as pertains to carnal descent it was not the Jews but the Idumeans who came of the seed of Esau, nor the Christian nations but rather the Jews who came of Jacob's; for the type holds only as regards the saying, "The elder shall serve the younger" s ), so the same thing happened in Joseph's two sons; for the elder was a type of the Jews, and the younger of the Christians. For when Jacob was blessing them, and laid his right hand on the younger, who was at his left, and his left hand on the elder, who was at his right; this seemed wrong to their father, and he admonished his father by trying to correct his mistake and show him which was the elder. But he would not change his hands, but said, Â“I know, my son, I know. He also shall become a people, and he also shall be exalted; but his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations." 4 And these two promises show the same thing. For that one is to become * a people;" this one " a multitude of nations." And what can be more evident than that these two promises comprehend the people of Israel, and the whole world of Abraham's seed, the one according to the flesh, the other according to faith ?

43. Of the times of Moses and Joshua the son of Nun, of the judges, and there-after of the kings, of whom Saul was the first, but David is to be regarded as the chief, both by the oath and by merit.

Jacob being dead, and Joseph also, during the remaining 144 years until they went out of the land of Egypt that nation increased to an incredible degree, even although wasted

1 Gen. xlix. 12. Â» 1 Pet. ii. 2; 1 Cor. iii. 2.

3 Gen. xxv. 23. 4 Gen. xlviii. 19.

VOL. II. L

162 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]
by so great persecutions, that at one time the male children were murdered at their "birth, because the wondering Egyptians were terrified at the too great increase of that people. Then Moses, being stealthily kept from the murderers of the infants, was brought to the royal house, God preparing to do great things by him, and was nursed and adopted by the daughter of Pharaoh (that was the name of all the kings of Egypt), and became so great a man that he â€” yea, rather God, who had promised this to Abraham, by him â€” drew that nation, so wonderfully multiplied, out of the yoke of hardest and most grievous servitude it had borne there. At first, indeed, he fled thence (we are told he fled into the land of Midian), because, in defending an Israelite, he had slain an Egyptian, and was afraid. Afterward, being divinely commissioned in the power of the Spirit of God, he overcame the magi of Pharaoh who resisted him. Then, when the Egyptians would not let God's people go, ten memorable plagues were brought by Him upon them, â€” the water turned into blood, the frogs and lice, the flies, the death of the cattle, the boils, the hail, the locusts, the darkness, the death of the first-born. At last the Egyptians were destroyed in the Eed Sea while pursuing the Israelites, whom they had let go when at length they were broken by so many great plagues. The divided sea made a way for the Israelites who were departing, but, returning on itself, it overwhelmed their pursuers with its waves. Then for forty years the people of God went through the desert, under the leadership of Moses, when the tabernacle of testimony was dedicated, in which God was worshipped by sacrifices prophetic of things to come, and that was after the law had been very terribly given in the mount, for its divinity was most plainly attested by wonderful signs and voices. This took place soon after the exodus from Egypt, when the people had entered the desert, on the fiftieth day after the passover was celebrated by the offering up of a lamb, which is so completely a type of Christ, foretelling that through His sacrificial passion He should go from this world to the Eather (for 'joascha in the Hebrew tongue means transit), that when the new covenant was revealed, after Christ our passover was offered up, the Holy Spirit came from heaven on the fiftieth day; and He is culled

LOOK XVI.] MOSES AND JOSHUA. 163

in the gospel the Finger of God, because He recalls to our remembrance the things done before by way of types, and because the tables of that law are said to have been written by the finger of God.

On the death of Moses, Joshua the son of Nun ruled the people, and led them into the land of promise, and divided it among them. By these two wonderful leaders wars were also carried on most prosperously and wonderfully, God calling to witness that they had got these victories not so much on account of the merit of the Hebrew people as on account of the sins of the nations they subdued. After these leaders there were judges, when the people were settled in the land of promise, so that, in the meantime, the first promise made to Abraham began to be fulfilled about the one nation, that is, the Hebrew, and about the land of Canaan; but not as yet the promise about all nations, and the whole
wide world, for that was to be fulfilled, not by the observances of the old law, but by the advent of Christ in the flesh, and by the faith of the gospel. And it was to prefigure this that it was not Moses, who received the law for the people on Mount Sinai, that led the people into the land of promise, but Joshua, whose name also was changed at God's command, so that he was called Jesus. But in the times of the judges prosperity alternated with adversity in war, according as the sins of the people and the mercy of God were displayed.

We come next to the times of the kings. The first who reigned was Saul; and when he was rejected and laid low in battle, and his offspring rejected so that no kings should arise out of it, David succeeded to the kingdom, whose son Christ is chiefly called. He was made a kind of starting-point and beginning of the advanced youth of God's people, who had passed a kind of age of puberty from Abraham to this David. And it is not in vain that the evangelist Matthew records the generations in such a way as to sum up this first period from Abraham to David in fourteen generations. For from the age of puberty man begins to be capable of generation; therefore he starts the list of generations from Abraham, who also was made the father of many nations when he got his name changed. So that previously this family of God's people was

164 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVI.]

in its childhood, from Xoah to Abraham; and for that reason the first language was then learned, that is, the Hebrew. For man begins to speak in childhood, the age succeeding infancy, which is so termed because then he cannot speak. 1 And that first age is quite drowned in oblivion, just as the first age of the human race was blotted out by the flood; for who is there that can remember his infancy? "Wherefore in this progress of the city of God, as the previous book contained that first age, so this one ought to contain the second and third ages, in which third age, as was shown by the heifer of three years old, the she-goat of three years old, and the ram of three years old, the yoke of the law was imposed, and there appeared abundance of sins, and the beginning of the earthly kingdom arose, in which there were not lacking spiritual men, of whom the turtle-dove and pigeon represented the mystery.

1 Infans, from in, not, and /an, to speak.
IX THIS BOOK THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF GOD IS TRACED DURING THE PERIOD OF THE KINGS AND PROPHETS FROM SAMUEL TO DAVID, EVEN TO CHRIST; AND THE TROPHECIES WHICH ARE RECORDED IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS, TPSALMS, AND THOSE OF SOLOMON, ARE INTERPRETED OF CHRIST AND THE CHURCH.

1. Of the prophetic age.

BY the favour of God we have treated distinctly of His promises made to Abraham, that both the nation of Israel according to the flesh, and all nations according to faith, should be his seed, and the City of God, proceeding according to the order of time, will point out how they were fulfilled. Having therefore in the previous book come down to the reign of David, we shall now treat of what remains, so far as may seem sufficient for the object of this work, beginning at the same reign. Now, from the time when holy Samuel began to prophesy, and ever onward until the people of Israel was led captive into Babylonia, and until, according to the prophecy of holy Jeremiah, on Israel's return thence after seventy years, the house of God was built anew, this whole period is the prophetic age. For although both the patriarch Noah himself, in whose days the whole earth was destroyed by the flood, and others before and after him down to this time when there began to be kings over the people of God, may not undeservedly be styled prophets, on account of certain things pertaining to the city of God and the kingdom of heaven, which they either predicted or in any way signified should come to pass, and especially since we read that some of them, as Abraham and Moses, were expressly so styled, yet those are most and chiefly called the days of the prophets from the time when Samuel began to prophesy, who at God's command first anointed Saul to be king, and, on his rejection, David himself, whom others of his issue should succeed as long as it

1 "Has pointed."
was fitting they should do so. If, therefore, I wished to rehearse all that the prophets have predicted concerning Christ, while the city of God, with its members dying and being born in constant succession, ran its course through those times, this work would extend beyond all bounds. First, because the Scripture itself, even when, in treating in order of the kings and of their deeds and the events of their reigns, it seems to be occupied in narrating as with historical diligence the affairs transacted, will be found, if the things handled by it are considered with the aid of the Spirit of God, either more, or certainly not less, intent on foretelling things to come than on relating things past. And who that thinks even a little about it does not know how laborious and prolix a work it would be, and how many volumes it would require to search this out by thorough investigation and demonstrate it by argument? And then, because of that which without dispute pertains to prophecy, there are so many things concerning Christ and the 'kingdom of heaven, which is the city of God, that to explain these a larger discussion would be necessary than the due proportion of this work admits of. Therefore I shall, if I can, so limit myself, that in carrying through this work, I may, with God's help, neither say what is superfluous nor omit what is necessary.

2. At what time, the promise of God was fulfilled concerning the land of Canaan, which even carnal Israel got in possession.

In the preceding book we said, that in the promise of God to Abraham two things were promised from the beginning, the one, namely, that his seed should possess the land of Canaan, which was intimated when it was said, "* Go into a land ' that I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation; " but the other far more excellent, concerning not the carnal but the spiritual seed, by which he is the father, not of the one nation of Israel, but of all nations who follow the footsteps of his faith, which began to be promised in these words, " And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." 2 And thereafter we showed by yet many other proofs that these two things were promised. Therefore the seed of Abraham, that is, the people of Israel according to the flesh, already was

1 Gen. xii. 1, 2. Â»2 Gen# x ^ 3.
in the land of promise; and there, not only by holding and possessing the cities of the enemies, but also by having kings, had already begun to reign, the promises of God concerning that people being already in great part fulfilled: not only those that were made to those three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and whatever others were made in their times, but those also that were made through Moses himself, by whom the same people was set free from servitude in Egypt, and by whom all bygone things were revealed in his times, when he led the people through the wilderness. But neither by the illustrious leader Jesus the son of Nun, who led that people into the land of promise, and, after driving out the nations, divided it among the twelve tribes according to God's command, and died; nor after him, in the whole time of the judges, was the promise of God concerning the land of Canaan fulfilled, that it should extend from some river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates; nor yet was it still prophesied as to come, but its fulfilment was expected. And it was fulfilled through David, and Solomon his son, whose kingdom was extended over the whole promised space; for they subdued all those nations, and made them tributary. And thus, under those kings, the seed of Abraham was established in the land of promise according to the flesh, that is, in the land of Canaan, so that nothing yet remained to the complete fulfilment of that earthly promise of God, except that, so far as pertains to temporal prosperity, the Hebrew nation should remain in the same land by the succession of posterity in an unshaken state even to the end of this mortal age, if it obeyed the laws of the Lord its God. But since God knew it would not do this, He used His temporal punishments also for training His few faithful ones in it, and for giving needful warning to those who should afterwards be in all nations, in whom the other promise, revealed in the New Testament, was about to be fulfilled through the incarnation of Christ.

3. Of the threefold meaning of the prophecies, ivhich are to be referred now to the earthly, now to the heavenly Jerusalem, and now again to both.

Wherefore just as that divine oracle to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the other prophetic signs or sayings which are given in the earlier sacred writings, so also the other prophecies from this time of the kings pertain partly to the nation of Abraham's flesh, and partly to that seed of his in which all nations are blessed as fellow-heirs of Christ by the New Testament, to the possessing of eternal life and the kingdom of the heavens. Therefore they pertain partly to the bond maid who gendereth to bondage, that is, the earthly Jerusalem, which is in bondage with her children; but partly to the free city of God, that is, the true Jerusalem eternal in the heavens, whose children are all those that live according to God in the earth:
but there are some things among them which are understood to pertain to both, â€” to the bond maid properly, to the free woman figuratively. 1

Therefore prophetic utterances of three kinds are to be found; forasmuch as there are some relating to the earthly Jerusalem, some to the heavenly, and some to both. I think it proper to prove what I say by examples. The prophet Xathan was sent to convict king David of heinous sin, and predict to him what future evils should be consequent on it. AVho can question that this and the like pertain to the terrestrial city, whether publicly, that is, for the safety or help of the people, or privately, when there are given forth for each one's private good divine utterances whereby something of the future may be known for the use of temporal life? But where we read, " Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make for the house of Israel, and for the house of Judah, a new testament: not according to the testament that I settled for their fathers in the day when I laid hold of their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my testament, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the testament that I will make for the house of Israel: after those days, saith the Lord, I will give my laws in their mind, and will write them upon their hearts, and I will see to them; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people;" 2 without doubt this is prophesied to the Jerusalem above, whose reward is God Himself, and whose chief and entire good it is to have Him, and to be His. But this pertains to both, that the city of God is called Jerusalem, and that it is prophesied the house


LOOK XVII.] THREEFOLD REFERENCE OF PROPHECT. 1G9

of God shall be in it; and this prophecy seems to be fulfilled when king Solomon builds that most noble temple. For these things both happened in the earthly Jerusalem, as history shows, and were types of the heavenly Jerusalem. And this kind of prophecy, as it were compacted and commingled of both the others in the ancient canonical books, containing historical narratives, is of very great significance, and has exercised and exercises greatly the wits of those who search holy writ. For example, what we read of historically as predicted and fulfilled in the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, we must also inquire the allegorical meaning of, as it is to be fulfilled in the seed of Abraham according to faith. And so much is this the case, that some have thought there is nothing in these books either foretold and effected, or effected although not foretold, that does not insinuate something else which is to be referred by figurative signification to the city of God on high, and to her children who are pilgrims in this life. But if this be so, then the utterances of the prophets, or rather the whole of those Scriptures that are reckoned under the title of the Old Testament, will be not of three, but of two different kinds. For there will be nothing there which pertains to the terrestrial Jerusalem only, if whatever is there said and fulfilled of or concerning her signifies something which also refers by allegorical prefiguration to the celestial Jerusalem; but there will be only two kinds, one
that pertains to the free Jerusalem, the other to both. But just as, I think, they err greatly
who are of opinion that none of the records of affairs in that kind of writings mean
anything more than that they so happened, so I think those very daring who contend that
the whole gist of their contents lies in allegorical significations.
Therefore I have said they are threefold, not twofold. Yet, in holding this opinion, I do
not blame those who may be able to draw out of everything there a spiritual meaning,
only saving, first of all, the historical truth. For the rest, what believer can doubt that
those things are spoken vainly which are such that, whether said to have been done or to
be yet to come, they do not beseeem either human or divine affairs? Who would not recall
these to spiritual understanding if he could, or confess that they should be recalled by him
who is able?

170 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

4. About the prefigured change of the Israeliitic kingdom and priesthood, and about the
things Hannah the mother of Samuel prophesied, personating the Church.

Therefore the advance of the city of God, where it reached the times of the kings, yielded
a figure, when, on the rejection of Saul, David first obtained the kingdom on such a
footing that thenceforth his descendants should reign in the earthly Jerusalem in continual
succession; for the course of affairs signified and foretold, what is not to be passed by in
silence, concerning the change of things to come, what belongs to both Testaments, the
Old and the 'New, â€” where the priesthood and kingdom are changed by one who is a
priest, and at the same time a king, new and everlasting, even Christ Jesus. For both the
substitution in the ministry of God, on Eli's rejection as priest, of Samuel, who executed
at once the office of priest and judge, and the establishment of David in the kingdom,
when Saul was rejected, typified this of which I speak. And Hannah herself, the mother
of Samuel, who formerly was barren, and afterwards was gladdened with fertility, does
not seem to prophesy anything else, when she exultingly pours forth her thanksgiving to
the Lord, on yielding up to God the same boy she had born and weaned with the same
piety with which she had vowed him. For she says, "My heart is made strong in the Lord,
and my horn is exalted in my God; my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; I am made
glad in Thy salvation. Because there is none holy as the Lord; and none is righteous as
our God: there is none holy save Thee. Do not glory so proudly, and do not speak lofty
things, neither let vaunting talk come out of your mouth: for a God of knowledge is the
Lord, and a God preparing His curious designs. The bow of the mighty hath He made
weak, and the weak are girded with strength. They that were full of bread are
diminished; and the hungry have passed beyond the earth: for the barren hath born seven;
and she that hath many children is waxed feeble. The Lord killeth and maketh alive:
He bringeth down to hell, and bringeth up again. The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich:
He bringeth low and lifeth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifeth up the
beggar from the dunghill, that He^ may set him among
the mighty of [His] people, and maketh them inherit the throne of glory; giving the vow to him that voweth, and He hath blessed the years of the just: for man is not mighty in strength. The Lord shall make His adversary weak: the Lord is holy. Let not the prudent glory in his prudence; and let not the mighty glory in his might; and let not the rich glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, to understand and know the Lord, and to do judgment and justice in the midst of the earth. The Lord hath ascended into the heavens, and hath thundered: He shall judge the ends of the earth, for He is righteous: and He giveth strength to our kings, and shall exalt the horn of His Christ." 1

Do you say that these are the words of a single weak woman giving thanks for the birth of a son? Can the mind of men be so much averse to the light of truth as not to perceive that the sayings this woman pours forth exceed her measure? Moreover, he who is suitably interested in these things which have already begun to be fulfilled even in this earthly pilgrimage also, does he not apply his mind, and perceive, and acknowledge, that through this woman â€” whose very name, which is Hannah, means "His grace" â€” the very Christian religion, the very city of God, whose king and founder is Christ, in fine, the very grace of God, hath thus spoken by the prophetic Spirit, whereby the proud are cut off so that they fall, and the humble are filled so that they rise, which that hymn chiefly celebrates? Unless perchance any one will say that this woman prophesied nothing, but only lauded God with exulting praise on account of the son whom she had obtained in answer to prayer. What then does she mean when she says, "The bow of the mighty hath He made weak, and the weak are girded with strength; they that were full of bread are diminished, and the hungry have gone beyond the earth; for the barren hath born seven, and she that hath many children is waxed feeble?" Had she herself born seven, although she had been barren? She had only one when she said that; neither did she bear seven afterwards, nor six, with whom Samuel himself might be the seventh, but three males and two females. And then, when

1 1 Sam. ii. 1-10.

172 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

as yet no one was king over that people, whence, if she did not prophesy, did she say what she puts at the end, "He giveth strength to our kings, and shall exalt the horn of His Christ?"

Therefore let the Church of Christ, the city of the great King, 1 full of grace, prolific of offspring, let her say what the prophecy uttered about her so long before by the mouth of this pious mother confesses, "My heart is made strong in the Lord, and my horn is exalted in my God." Her heart is truly made strong, and her horn is truly exalted, because not in herself, but in the Lord her God. "My mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; "
because even in pressing straits the word of God is not bound, not even in preachers who are bound. 2 * I am made glad," she says, " in Thy salvation."

This is Christ Jesus Himself, whom old Simeon, as we read in the Gospel, embracing as a little one, yet recognising as great, said, " Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." Therefore may the Church say, " I am made glad in Thy salvation. For there is none holy as the Lord, and none is righteous as our God;" as holy and sanctifying, just and justifying. 4 " There is none holy beside Thee; " because no one becomes so except by reason of Thee. And then it follows, " Do not glory so proudly, and do not speak lofty things, neither let vaunting talk come out of your mouth. For a God of knowledge is the Lord." He knows you even when no one knows; for

" he who thinketh himself to be something when he is nothing deceiveth himself." 5

These things are said to the adversaries of the city of God who belong to Babylon, who presume in their own strength, and glory in themselves, not in the Lord; of whom are also the carnal Israelites, the earth-born inhabitants of the earthly Jerusalem, who, as saith the apostle,

" being ignorant of the righteousness of God," 6 that is, which God, who alone is just, and the justifier, gives to man, " and wishing to establish their own," that is, which is as it were procured by their own selves, not bestowed by Him, " are not subject to the righteousness of God," just because they are

1 Ps. xlviii. 2. 2 2 Tim. ii. 9; Eph. vi. 20. 3 Luke ii. 25-30.

4 Horn. iii. 20 ? 6 Gal. vi. 3. Â» 6 Horn. x, 3.
proud, and think they are able to please God with their own, not with that which is of
God, who is the God of knowledge, and therefore also takes the oversight of consciences,
there beholding the thoughts of men that they are vain, if they are of men, and are not
from Him. "And preparing," she says, "His curious designs." What curious designs do
we think these are, save that the proud must fall, and the humble rise? These curious
designs she recounts, saying, "The bow of the mighty is made weak, and the weak are
girded with strength." The bow is made weak, that is, the intention of those who think
themselves so powerful, that without the gift and help of God they are able by human
sufficiency to fulfil the divine commandments; and those are girded with strength whose
inward cry is, "Have mercy upon me, Lord, for I
am weak." 2

"They that were full of bread," she says, "are diminished, and the hungry have gone
beyond the earth." Who are to be understood as full of bread except those same who were
as if mighty, that is, the Israelites, to whom were committed the oracles of God? 3 But
among that people the children of the bond maid were diminished, ̀by which word
minus, although it is Latin, the idea is well expressed that from being greater they were
made less, ̀because, even in the very bread, that is, the divine oracles, which the
Israelites alone of all nations have received, they savour earthly things.
But the nations to whom that law was not given, after they have come through the New
Testament to these oracles, by thirsting much have gone beyond the earth, because in
them they have savoured not earthly, but heavenly things. And the reason why this is
done is as it were sought; "for the barren," she says, "hath born seven, and she that hath
many children is waxed feeble." Here all that had been prophesied hath shone forth to
those who understood the number seven, which signifies the perfection of the universal
Church. For which reason also the Apostle John writes to the seven churches, 4 showing
in that way that he writes to the totality of the one Church; and in the Proverbs of
Solomon it is said

1 Ps. xciv. 11; 1 Cor. iii. 20. 2 Ps. vi. 2.
3 Eom. iii. 2. * Rev. i. 4.

174 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

aforetime, prefiguring this, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath strengthened her
seven pillars." 1 Tor the city of God was barren in all nations before that child arose
whom we see. 2 We also see that the temporal Jerusalem, who had many children, is now
waxed feeble. Because, whoever in her were sons of the free woman were her strength;
but now, forasmuch as the letter is there, and not the spirit, having lost her strength, she is
waxed feeble.
"The Lord killeth and maketh alive;" He has killed her who had many children, and made this barren one alive, so that she has born seven. Although it may be more suitably understood that He has made those same alive whom He has killed. For she, as it were, repeats that by adding, "He bringeth down to hell, and bringeth up." To whom truly the apostle says, "If ye be dead with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God." 3 Therefore they are killed by the Lord in a salutary way, so that he adds, "Savour things which are above, not things on the earth;" so that these are they who, hungering, have passed beyond the earth. * For ye are dead," he says: behold how God savingly kills! Then there follows, "And your life is hid with Christ in God:" behold how God makes the same alive! But does He bring them down to hell and bring them up again? It is without controversy among believers that we best see both parts of this work fulfilled in Him, to wit, our Head, with whom the apostle has said our life is hid in God. "For when He spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all," 4 in that way, certainly, He has killed Him. And forasmuch as He raised Him up again from the dead, He has made Him alive again. And since His voice is acknowledged in the prophecy, â– Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," 5 He has brought Him down to hell and brought Him up again. By this poverty of His we are made rich; 6 for "the Lord maketh poor and maketh rich." But that we may know what this is, let us hear what follows: "He bringeth low and lifteth up;" and truly He humbles the

1 Prov. ix. 1. - "By whom we see her made fruitful."

3 Col. iii. 1-3. 4 Rom. viii. 32.

6 Ps. xvi. 10; Acts ii. 27, 31. 6 2 Cor. viii. 9.
proud and exalts the humble. "Which we also read elsewhere, " God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." 1 This is the burden of the entire song of this woman whose name is interpreted Η His grace."

Farther, what is added, " He raiseth up the poor from the earth," I understand of none better than of Him who, as was said a little ago, " was made poor for us, when He was rich, that by His poverty we might be made rich." For He raised Him from the earth so quickly that His flesh did not see corruption. Nor shall I divert from Him what is added, "And raiseth up the poor from the dunghill." For indeed he who is the poor man is also the beggar. 2 But by the dunghill from which he is lifted up we are with the greatest reason to understand the persecuting Jews, of whom the apostle says, when telling that when he belonged to them he persecuted the Church, " What things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ; and I have counted them not only loss, but even dung, that I might win Christ." 3 Therefore that poor one is raised up from the earth above all the rich, and that beggar is lifted up from that dunghill above all the wealthy, " that he may sit among the mighty of the people," to whom He says, "Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones," 4 "and to make them inherit the throne of glory." For these mighty ones had said, "Lo, we have forsaken all and followed Thee." They had most mightily vowed this vow.

But whence do they receive this, except from Him of whom it is here immediately said, "Giving the vow to him that voweth ?" Otherwise they would be of those mighty ones whose bow is weakened. " Giving," she saith, " the vow to him that voweth." For no one could vow anything acceptable to God, unless he received from Him that which he might vow. There follows, " And He hath blessed the years of the just," to wit, that he may live for ever with Him to whom it is said, " And Thy years shall have no end." For there the years abide; but here they pass away, yea, they perish: for before they come they are not, and when they shall have come they shall not be, because they bring their

1 Jas. iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5. 2 "For the poor man is the same as the beggar."*
3 Phil. iii. 7, 8. 4 Matt. xix. 27, 28.

176 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

own end with them. Now of these two, that is, "giving the vow to hira that voweth," and " He hath blessed the years of the just," the one is what we do, the other what we receive. But this other is not received from God, the liberal giver, until He, the helper, Himself has enabled us for the former; " for man is not mighty in strength." " The Lord shall make his adversary weak," to wit, him who envies the man that vows, and resists him, lest he should fulfil what he has vowed. Owing to the ambiguity of the Greek, it may also be understood " his own adversary." For when God has begun to possess us, immediately he
who had been our adversary becomes His, and is conquered by us; but not by our own strength, "for man is not mighty in strength."

Therefore "the Lord shall make His own adversary weak, the Lord is holy," that he may be conquered by the saints, whom the Lord, the Holy of holies, hath made saints. For this reason, "let not the prudent glory in his prudence, and let not the mighty glory in his might, and let not the rich glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, â€” to understand and know the Lord, and to do judgment and justice in the midst of the earth."

He in no small measure understands and knows the Lord who understands and knows that even this, that he can understand and know the Lord, is given to him by the Lord. "For what hast thou," saith the apostle, "that thou hast not received? But if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" 1 That is, as if thou hadst of thine own self whereof thou mightest glory. Xow, he does judgment and justice who lives aright. But he lives aright who yields obedience to God when He commands." The end of the commandment," that is, to which the commandment has reference, "is charity out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned." Moreover, this "charity," as the Apostle John testifies, "is of God." 2 Therefore to do justice and judgment is of God. But what is "in the midst of the earth?" For ought those who dwell in the ends of the earth not to do judgment and justice? Who would say so? Why, then, is it added, "In the midst of the earth" 1 1 Cor. iv. 7; 2 1 John iv. 7.
For if this had not been added, and it had only been said, "To do judgment and justice," this commandment would rather have pertained to both kinds of men, ã€” both those dwelling inland and those on the sea-coast. But lest any one should think that, after the end of the life led in this body, there remains a time for doing judgment and justice which he has not done while he was in the flesh, and that the divine judgment can thus be escaped, "in the midst of the earth" appears to me to be said of the time when every one lives in the body; for in this life every one carries about his own earth, which, on a man's dying, the common earth takes back, to be surely returned to him on his rising again. Therefore "in the midst of the earth," that is, while our soul is shut up in this earthly body, judgment and justice are to be done, which shall be profitable for us hereafter, when "every one shall receive according to that he hath done in the body, whether good or bad." 1 For when the apostle there says "in the body," he means in the time he has lived in the body. Yet if any one blaspheme with malicious mind and impious thought, without any member of his body being employed in it, he shall not therefore be guiltless because he has not done it with bodily motion, for he will have clone it in that time which he has spent in the body. In the same way we may suitably understand what we read in the psalm, "But God, our King before the worlds, hath wrought salvation in the midst of the earth;" 2 so that the Lord Jesus may be understood to be our God who is before the worlds, because by Him the worlds were made, working our salvation in the midst of the earth, for the Word was made flesh and dwelt in an earthly body.

Then after Hannah has prophesied in these words, that he who glorieth ought to glory not in himself at all, but in the Lord, she says, on account of the retribution which is to come on the day of judgment, "The Lord hath ascended into the heavens, and hath thundered: He shall judge the ends of the earth, for He is righteous." Throughout she holds to the order of the creed of Christians: For the Lord Christ has ascended into heaven, and is to come thence to judge the quick and dead. 3 For, as saith the apostle, "Who hath ascended

1 2 Cor. v. 10. 2 Ps. lxxiv. 12. 3 Acts x. 42.

VOL. II. ' M

178 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

but He who hath also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up above all heavens, that He might fill all things." 1 Therefore He hath thundered through His clouds, which He hath filled with His Holy Spirit when He ascended up. Concerning which the bond maid Jerusalem ã€” that is, the unfruitful vineyard ã€” is threatened in Isaiah the prophet that they shall rain no showers
upon her. But "He shall judge the ends of the earth" is spoken as if it had been said, "even the extremes of the earth." For it does not mean that He shall not judge the other parts of the earth, who, without doubt, shall judge all men. But it is better to understand by the extremes of the earth the extremes of man, since those things shall not be judged which, in the middle time, are changed for the better or the worse, but the ending in which he shall be found who is judged. For which reason it is said, "He that shall persevere even unto the end, the same shall be saved." 2 He, therefore, who perseveringly does judgment and justice in the midst of the earth shall not be condemned when the extremes of the earth shall be judged.

"And giveth," she saith, "strength to our kings," that He may not condemn them in judging. He giveth them strength whereby as kings they rule the flesh, and conquer the world in Him who hath poured out His blood for them. "And shall exalt the horn of His Christ." How shall Christ exalt the horn of His Christ? For He of whom it was said above,

"The Lord hath ascended into the heavens," meaning the Lord Christ, Himself, as it is said here, "shall exalt the horn of His Christ." Who, therefore, is the Christ of His Christ? Does it mean that He shall exalt the horn of each one of His believing people, as she says in the beginning of this hymn,

"Mine horn is exalted in my God?" For we can rightly call all those christs who are anointed with His chrism, forasmuch as the whole body with its head is one Christ. 3 These things hath Hannah, the mother of Samuel, the holy and much-praised man, prophesied, in which, indeed, the change of the ancient priesthood was then figured and is now fulfilled, since she that had many children is waxed feeble, that

1 Eph. iv. 9, 10. 2 Matt. xxiv. 13. 3 1 Cor. xii. 12.
the barren who hath born seven might have the new priesthood in Christ.

5. Of those things which a man of God spake by the Spirit to Eli the priest, signifying that the priesthood which had been appointed according to Aaron was to be taken away.

But this is said more plainly by a man of God sent to Eli the priest himself, whose name indeed is not mentioned, but whose office and ministry show him to have been indubitably a prophet. For it is thus written: "And there came a man of God unto Eli, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I plainly revealed myself unto thy father's house, when they were in the land of Egypt slaves in Pharaoh's house; and I chose thy father's house out of all the sceptres of Israel to fill the office of priest for me, to go up to my altar, to burn incense and wear the ephod; and I gave thy father's house for food all the offerings made by fire of the children of Israel. Wherefore then hast thou looked at mine incense and at mine offerings with an impudent eye, and hast glorified thy sons above me, to bless the first-fruits of every sacrifice in Israel before me? Therefore thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I said thy house and thy father's house should walk before me for ever: but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me; for them that honour me will I honour, and he that despiseth me shall be despised. Behold, the days come, that I will cut off thy seed, and the seed of thy father's house, and thou shalt never have an old man in my house. And I will cut off the man of thine from mine altar, so that his eyes shall be consumed, and his heart shall melt away; and every one of thy house that is left shall fall by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign unto thee that shall come upon these thy two sons, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they shall die both of them. And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do according to all that is in mine heart and in my soul; and I will build him a sure house, and he shall walk before my Christ for ever. And it shall come to pass that he who is left in thine house shall come to worship him with a piece of money, saying, Put me into one part of thy priesthood, that I may eat bread." x

We cannot say that this prophecy, in which the change of

1 1 Sam. ii. 27-36.

ISO THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIL

â€¢ the ancient priesthood is foretold with so great plainness, was fulfilled in Samuel; for although Samuel was not of another tribe than that which had been appointed by God to serve at the altar, yet he was not of the sons of Aaron, whose offspring was set apart that the priests might be taken out of it. And thus by that transaction also the same change which should come to pass through Christ Jesus is shadowed forth, and the prophecy itself in deed, not in word, belonged to the Old Testament properly, but figuratively to the New, signifying by the fact just what was said by the word to Eli the priest through the
prophet. For there were afterwards priests of Aaron's race, such as Zadok and Abiathar during David's reicm, and others in succession, before the time came when those things which were predicted so long before about the changing of the priesthood behoved to be fulfilled by Christ.

But who that now views these things with a believing eve does not see that they are fulfilled? Since, indeed, no tabernacle, no temple, no altar, no sacrifice, and therefore no priest either, has remained to the Jews, to whom it was commanded in the law of God that he should be ordained of the seed of Aaron; which is also mentioned here by the prophet, when he says, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I said thy house and thy father's house shall walk before me for ever: but now the Lord saith, That be far from me; for them that honour me will I honour, and he that despiseth me shall be despised."

For that in naming his father's house he does not mean that of his immediate father, but that of Aaron, who first was appointed priest, to be succeeded by others descended from him, is shown by the preceding words, when he says, "I was revealed unto thy father's house, when they were in the land of Egypt slaves in Pharaoh's house; and I chose thy father's house out of all the sceptres of Israel to fill the office of priest for me." Which of the fathers in that Egyptian slavery, but Aaron, was his father, who, when they were set free, was chosen to the priesthood? It was of his lineage, therefore, he has said in this passage it should come to pass that they should no longer be priests; which already we see fulfilled. If faith be watchful, the things are before us: they are discerned, they are grasped, and are forced on the eyos of the unwilling, so
that they are seen: "Behold the days come," he says, "that I will cut off thy seed, and the seed of thy father's house, and thou shalt never have an old man in mine house. And I will cut off the man of thine from mine altar, so that his eyes shall be consumed and his heart shall melt away." Behold the days which were foretold have already come. There is no priest after the order of Aaron; and whoever is a man of his lineage, when he sees the sacrifice of the Christians prevailing over the whole world, but that great honour taken away from himself, his eyes fail and his soul melts away consumed with grief.

But what follows belongs properly to the house of Eli, to whom these things were said: "And every one of thine house that is left shall fall by the sword of men. And this shall be a sign unto thee that shall come upon these thy two sons, Hophni and Phinehas; in one day they shall die both of them." This, therefore, is made a sign of the change of the priesthood from this man's house, by which it is signified that the priesthood of Aaron's house is to be changed. For the death of this man's sons signified the death not of the men, but of the priesthood itself of the sons of Aaron. But what follows pertains to that Priest whom Samuel typified by succeeding this one. Therefore the things which follow are said of Christ Jesus the true Priest of the New Testament: "And I will raise me up a faithful Priest that shall do according to all that is in mine heart and in my soul; and I will build Him a sure house." The same is the eternal Jerusalem above. "And He shall walk," saith He, "before my Christ always."

"He shall walk" means "he shall be conversant with," just as He had said before of Aaron's house, "I said that thine house and thy father's house shall walk before me for ever." But what He says, "He shall walk before my Christ," is to be understood entirely of the house itself, not of the priest, who is Christ Himself, the Mediator and Saviour. His house, therefore, shall walk before Him. "Shall walk" may also be understood to mean from death to life, all the time this mortality passes through, even to the end of this world. But where God says, "Who will do all that is in mine heart and in my soul," we must not think that God has a soul, for He is the Author of souls; but this is said of God tropically, not properly, just as He is said to have hands and feet, and other corporal members. And, lest it should be supposed from such language that man in the form of this flesh is made in the image of God, wings also are ascribed to Him, which man has not at all; and it is said to God, "Hide me under the shadow of Thy wings," that men may understand that such things are said of that ineffable nature not in proper but in figurative words.

But what is added, "And it shall come to pass that he who is left in thine house shall come to worship Him," is not said properly of the house of this Eli, but of that Aaron, the
men of which remained even to the advent of Jesus Christ, of which race there are not wanting men even to this present.

For of that house of Eli it had already been said above, "And every one of thine house that is left shall fall by the sword of men." How, therefore, could it be truly said here, "And it shall come to pass that every one that is left shall come to worship him," if that is true, that no one shall escape the avenging sword, unless he would have it understood of those who belong to the race of that whole priesthood after the order of Aaron? Therefore, if it is of these the predestinated remnant, about whom another prophet has said, "The remnant shall be saved" whence the apostle also says, "Even so then at this time also the remnant according to the election of grace is saved;" since it is easily understood to be of such a remnant that it is said, "He that is left in thine house," assuredly he believes in Christ; just as in the time of the apostle very many of that nation believed; nor are there now wanting those, although very few, who yet believe, and in them is fulfilled what this man of God has here immediately added, "He shall come to worship him with a piece of money;"
to worship whom, if not that Chief Priest, who is also God?

Tor in that priesthood after the order of Aaron men did not come to the temple or altar of God for the purpose of worshipping the priest. But what is that he says, "With a piece of money," if not the short word of faith, about which the apostle quotes the saying, "A consummating and shortening

1 Ps. xvii. 8. 2 Isa. x. 21. 3 Horn. xi. 5.
word will the Lord make upon the earth?" 1 But that money is put for the word the psalm is a witness, where it is sung, " The words of the Lord are pure words, money tried with the fire." 2

What then does he say who comes to worship the priest of God, even the Priest who is God? " Put me into one part of Thy priesthood, to eat bread." I do not wish to be set in the honour of my fathers, which is none; put me in a part of Thy priesthood. For " I have chosen to be mean in Thine house;" 3 I desire to be a member, no matter what, or how small, of Thy priesthood. By the priesthood he here means the people itself, of which He is the Priest who is the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. 4 This people the Apostle Peter calls "a holy people, a royal priesthood." 5 But some have translated, " Of Thy sacrifice," not " Of Thy priesthood," which no less signifies the same Christian people. Whence the Apostle Paul says, a We being many are one bread, one body." 6 [And again he says, "Present your bodies a living sacrifice." 7 ]

What, therefore, he has added, to " eat bread," also elegantly expresses the very kind of sacrifice of which the Priest Himself says, " The bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world." 8 The same is the sacrifice not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedec: 9 let him that readeth understand. 10 Therefore this short and salutarily humble confession, in which it is said, " Put me in a part of Thy priesthood, to eat bread," is itself the piece of money, for it is both brief, and it is the Word of God who dwells in the heart of one who believes. For because He had said above, that He had given for food to Aaron's house the sacrificial victims of the Old Testament, where He says, " I have given thy father's house for food all things which are offered by fire of the children of Israel," which indeed were the sacrifices of the Jews; therefore here He has said, u To eat bread," which is in the New Testament the sacrifice of the Christians.

1 Isa. xxviii. 22; Rom. ix. 28. 2 Ps. xii. 6. 3 Ps. lxxxiv. 10. 4 1 Tim. ii. 5. 5 1 Pet. ii. 9. c 1 Cor. x. 17. 7 Rom. xii. 1. s John vi. 51. 9 Heb. vii. 11. 27. 10 Matt. xxiv. 15.

6. Of the Jewish priesthood and kingdom, which, although promised to be established for ever, did not continue; so that other things are to be understood to which eternity is assured.
While, therefore, these things now shine forth as clearly as they were loftily foretold, still some one may not vainly be moved to ask, How can we be confident that all things are to come to pass which are predicted in these books as about to come, if this very thing which is there divinely spoken, "Thine house and thy father's house shall walk before me for ever;' could not have effect? For we see that priesthood has been changed; and there can be no hope that what was promised to that house may some time be fulfilled, because that which succeeds on its being rejected and changed is rather predicted as eternal. He who says this does not yet understand, or does not recollect, that this very priesthood after the order of Aaron was appointed as the shadow of a future eternal priesthood; and therefore, when eternity is promised to it, it is not promised to the mere shadow and figure, but to what is shadowed forth and prefigured by it. But lest it should be thought the shadow itself was to remain, therefore its mutation also behoved to be foretold.

In this way, too, the kingdom of Saul himself, who certainly was reprobated and rejected, was the shadow of a kingdom yet to come which should remain to eternity. For, indeed, the oil with which he was anointed, and from that chrism he is called Christ, is to be taken in a mystical sense, and is to be understood as a great mystery; which David himself venerated so much in him, that he trembled with smitten heart when, being hid in a dark cave, which Saul also entered when pressed by the necessity of nature, he had come secretly behind him and cut off a small piece of his robe, that he might be able to prove how he had spared" him when he could have killed him, and might thus remove from his mind the suspicion through which he had vehemently persecuted the holy David, thinking him his enemy. Therefore he was much afraid lest he should be accused of violating so great a mystery in Saul, because he had thus meddled even his clothes. For thus it is written: "And David's heart smote him because he had taken Â»away the skirt of his
cloak." 1 But to the men with him, who advised him to destroy Saul thus delivered up into his hands, he saith, " The Lord forbid that I should do this thing to my lord, the Lord's christ, to lay my hand upon him, because he is the Lord's christ." Therefore he showed so great reverence to this shadow of what was to come, not for its own sake, but for the sake of what it prefigured. Whence also that which Samuel says to Saul, " Since thou hast not kept my commandment which the Lord commanded thee, whereas now the Lord would have prepared thy kingdom over Israel for ever, yet now thy kingdom shall not continue for thee; and the Lord will seek Him a man after His own heart, and the Lord will command him to be prince over His people, because thou hast not kept that which the Lord commanded thee," 2 is not to be taken as if God had settled that Saul himself should reign for ever, and afterwards, on his sinning, would not keep this promise; nor was He ignorant that he would sin, but He had established his kingdom that it might be a figure of the eternal kingdom. Therefore he added, " Yet now thy kingdom shall not continue for thee." Therefore what it signified has stood and shall stand; but it shall not stand for this man, because he himself was not to reign for ever, nor his offspring; so that at least that word " for ever " might seem to be fulfilled through his posterity one to another. " And the Lord;" he saith, " will seek Him a man," meaning either David or the Mediator of the New Testament, 3 who was figured in the chrism with which David also and his offspring was anointed. But it is not as if He knew not where he was that God thus seeks Him a man, but, speaking through a man, He speaks as a man, and in this sense seeks us. For not only to God the Father, but also to His Only-begotten, who came to seek what was lost, 4 we had been known already even so far as to be chosen in Him before the foundation of the world. 5 "He will seek him" therefore means, He will have His own (just as if He had said, Whom He already has known to be His own He will show to others to be His friend). Whence in Latin this word (qiicerit) receives a preposition and becomes acquirit (acquires),

1 1 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6. 2 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14. 3 Heb. ix. 15.
4 Luke xix. 10. 5 Eph. i. 4.

"
7. Of the disruption of the kingdom of Israel, by which the perpetual division of the spiritual from the carnal Israel was prefigured.

Again Saul sinned through disobedience, and again Samuel says to him in the word of the Lord, "Because thou hast despised the word of the Lord, the Lord hath despised thee, that thou mayest not be king over Israel." 1 And again for the same sin, when Saul confessed it, and prayed for pardon, and besought Samuel to return with him to appease the Lord, he said, "I will not return with thee: for thou hast despised the word of the Lord, and the Lord will despise thee that thou mayest not be king over Israel. And Samuel turned his face to go away, and Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and rent it. And Samuel said unto him, The Lord hath rent the kingdom from Israel out of thine hand this day, and will give it to thy neighbour, who is good above thee, and will divide Israel in twain. And He will not be changed, neither will He repent: for He is not as a man, that He should repent; who threatens and does not persist." 2 

He to whom it is said, "The Lord will despise thee that thou mayest not be king over Israel," and u The Lord hath rent the kingdom from Israel out of thine hand this day," reigned forty years over Israel, â€” that is, just as long a time as David himself, â€” yet heard this in the first period of his reign, that we may understand it was said because none of his race was to reign, and that we may look to the race of David, whence also is sprung, according to the flesh, 3 the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. 4 

But the Scripture has not what is read in most Latin copies, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel out of thine hand this day," but just as we have set it down it is found in the Greek copies, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom from Israel out of thine hand;" that the words "out of thine hand" may be understood to mean "from Israel." Therefore this man figuratively represented the people of Israel, which was to lose the kingdom, Christ Jesus our Lord being about

1 1 Sam. xv. 23. â– 1 Sam. xv. 26-29. 3 Rom. i. 3. 4 1 Tim. ii. 5.
to reign, not carnally, but spiritually. And when it is said of Him, "And will give it to thy neighbour," that is to be referred to the fleshly kinship, for Christ, according to the flesh, was of Israel, whence also Saul sprang. But what is added,
"Good above thee," may indeed be understood, "Better than thee," and indeed some have thus translated it; but it is better taken thus, "Good above thee," as meaning that because He is good, therefore He must be above thee, according to that other prophetic saying, "Till I put all Thine enemies under Thy feet." 1 And among them is Israel, from whom, as His persecutor, Christ took away the kingdom; although the Israel in whom there was no guile may have been there too, a sort of grain, as it were, of that chaff. For certainly thence came the apostles, thence so many martyrs, of whom Stephen is the first, thence so many churches, which the Apostle Paul names, magnifying God in their conversion.

Of which thing I do not doubt what follows is to be understood, "And will divide Israel in twain," to wit, into Israel pertaining to the bond woman, and Israel pertaining to the free. For these two kinds were at first together, as Abraham still clave to the bond woman, until the barren, made fruitful by the grace of God, cried, "Cast out the bond woman and her son." 2 We know, indeed, that on account of the sin of Solomon, in the reign of his son Behoboam Israel was divided in two, and continued so, the separate parts having their own kings, until that whole nation was overthrown with a great destruction, and carried away by the Chaldeans.
But what was this to Saul, when, if any such thing was threatened, it would be threatened against David himself, whose son Solomon was? Finally, the Hebrew nation is not now divided internally, but is dispersed through the earth indiscriminately, in the fellowship of the same error. But that division with which God threatened the kingdom and people in the person of Saul, who represented them, is shown to be eternal and unchangeable by this which is added, "And He will not be changed, neither will He repent: for He is not as a man, that He should repent; who threatens and does not persist," â€” that is, a man threatens and does not persist, but not

1 Ps. ex. 1. 2 Gen. xxi. 10.

188 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

God, who does not repent like man. For when we read that He repents, a change of circumstance is meant, flowing from the divine immutable foreknowledge. Therefore, when God is said not to repent, it is to be understood that He does not change. "We see that this sentence concerning this division of the people of Israel, divinely uttered in these words, has been altogether irremediable and quite perpetual. For whoever have turned, or are turning, or shall turn thence to Christ, it has been according to the foreknowledge of God, not according to the one and the same nature of the human race.
Certainly none of the Israelites, who, cleaving to Christ, have continued in Him, shall ever be among those Israelites who persist in being His enemies even to the end of this life, but shall for ever remain in the separation which is here foretold. For the Old Testament, from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, 1 profiteth nothing, unless because it bears witness to the New Testament. Otherwise, however long Moses is read, the veil is put over their heart; but when any one shall turn thence to Christ, the veil shall be taken away. 2 For the very desire of those who turn is changed from the old to the new, so that each no longer desires to obtain carnal but spiritual felicity. "Wherefore that great prophet Samuel himself, before he had anointed Saul, when he had cried to the Lord for Israel, and He had heard him, and when he had offered a whole burnt-offering, as the aliens were coming to battle against the people of God, and the Lord thundered above them and they were confused, and fell before Israel and were overcome; [then] he took one stone and set it up between the old and new Massephat (Mizpeh), and called its name Ebenezer, which means " the stone of the helper," and said, " Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." 3 Massephat is interpreted " desire." That stone of the helper is the mediation of the Saviour, by which we go from the old Massephat to the new, â€” that is, from the desire with which carnal happiness was expected in the carnal kingdom to the desire with which the truest spiritual happiness is expected in the kingdom of heaven; and since nothing is better than that, the Lord helpeth us hitherto.

1 Gal. iv. 25. c 2 Cor. iii. 15, 1G. * si Sam. vii. 9-12.
8. Of the promises made to David in his son, which are in no wise fulfilled in Solomon, but most fully in Christ.

And now I see I must show what, pertaining to the matter I treat of, God promised to David himself, who succeeded Saul in the kingdom, whose change prefigured that final change on account of which all things were divinely spoken, all things were committed to writing. When many things had gone prosperously with king David, he thought to make a house for God, even that temple of most excellent renown which was afterwards built by king Solomon his son. While he was thinking of this, the word of the Lord came to Nathan the prophet, which he brought to the king, in which, after God had said that a house should not be built unto Him by David himself, and that in all that long time He had never commanded any of His people to build Him a house of cedar, he says, "And now thus shalt thou say unto my servant David, Thus saith God Almighty, I took thee from the sheep-cote that thou mightest be for a ruler over my people in Israel:

and I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies from before thy face, and have made thee a name, according to the name of the great ones who are over the earth. And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant him, and he shall dwell apart, and shall be troubled no more; and the son of wickedness shall not humble him any more, as from the beginning, from the days when I appointed judges over my people Israel. And I will give thee rest from all thine enemies, and the Lord will tell [hath told] thee, because thou shalt build an house for Him.

And it shall come to pass when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will prepare his kingdom. He shall build me an house for my name; and I will order his throne even to eternity. I will be his Father, and he shall be my son. And if he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men: but my mercy I will not take away from him, as I took it away from those whom I put away from before my face. And his house shall be faithful,

190 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

and his kingdom even for evermore before me, and his throne shall be set up even for evermore." I

He who thinks this grand promise was fulfilled in Solomon greatly errs; for he attends to the saying, "He shall build me an house," but he does not attend to the saying, "His house shall be faithful, and his kingdom for evermore before me." Let him therefore attend and behold the house of Solomon full of strange women worshipping false gods, and the king himself, aforetime wise, seduced by them, and cast down into the same
idolatry: and let him not dare to think that God either promised this falsely, or was unable to foreknow that Solomon and his house would become what they did. But we ought not to be in doubt here, or to see the fulfilment of these things save in Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, 2 lest we should vainly and uselessly look for some other here, like the carnal Jews. For even they understand this much, that the son whom they read of in that place as promised to David was not Solomon; so that, with wonderful blindness to Him who was promised and is now declared with so great manifestation, they say they hope for another. Indeed, even in Solomon there appeared some image of the future event, in that he built the temple, and had peace according to his name (for Solomon means "pacific"), and in the beginning of his reign was wonderfully praiseworthy; but while, as a shadow of Him that should come, he foreshowed Christ our Lord, he did not also in his own person resemble Him. "Whence some things concerning him are so written as if they were prophesied of himself, while the Holy Scripture, prophesying even by events, somehow delineates in him the figure of things to come. For, besides the books of divine history, in which his reign is narrated, the 7 2d Psalm also is inscribed in the title with his name, in which so many things are said which cannot at all apply to him, but which apply to the Lord Christ with such evident fitness as makes it quite apparent that in the one the figure is in some way shadowed forth, but in the other the truth itself is presented. For it is known within what bounds the kingdom of Solomon was enclosed; and yet

1 2 Sam. vii. 8-16. 2 Rom. i. 3.
in that psalm, not to speak of other things, we read, "He shall have dominion from sea
even to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," 1 which we see fulfilled in Christ
Truly he took the beginning of His reigning from the river where John baptized; for,
when pointed out by him, He began to be acknowledged by the disciples, who called Him
not only Master, but also Lord.

Nor was it for any other reason that, while his father David was still living, Solomon
began to reign, which happened to none other of their kings, except that from this also it
might be clearly apparent that it was not himself this prophecy spoken to his father
signified beforehand, saying, "And it shall come to pass when thy days be fulfilled, and
thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed which shall proceed out of
thy bowels, and I will prepare His kingdom." How, therefore, shall it be thought on
account of what follows, "He shall build me an house," that this Solomon is prophesied,
and not rather be understood on account of what precedes, "When thy days be fulfilled,
and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will raise up thy seed after thee," that another
peaceful One is promised, who is foretold as about to be raised up, not before David's
death, as he was, but after it? For however long the interval of time might be before
Jesus Christ came, beyond doubt it was after the death of king David, to whom He was so
promised, that He behoved to come, who should build an house of God, not of wood and
stone, but of men, such as we rejoice He does build. For to this house, that is, to
believers, the apostle saith, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." 2

9. How like the prophecy about Christ in the 9th Psalm is to the things promised in
Nathan's prophecy in the Books of Samuel.

Wherefore also in the 89th Psalm, of which the title is,
"An instruction for himself by Ethan the Israelite," mention is made of the promises God
made to king David, and some things are there added similar to those found in the Book
of Samuel, such as this, "I have sworn to David my servant that I will prepare his seed for
ever." 3 And again, "Then thou spakest in vision to thy sons, and saidst, I have laid
1 Ps. lxxii. 8. 2 1 Cor. iii. 17, 3 Ps. lxxxix. 3, 4.

192 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

help upon the mighty One, and have exalted the chosen One out of my people. I have
found David my servant, and with my holy oil I have anointed him. For mine hand shall
help him, and mine arm shall strengthen him. The enemy shall not prevail against him,
and the son of iniquity shall harm him no more. And I will beat down his foes from
before his face, and those that hate him will I put to flight. And my truth and my mercy
shall be with him, and in my name shall his horn be exalted. I will set his hand also in the
sea, and his right hand in the rivers. He shall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God,
and the undertaker of my salvation. Also I will make him my first-born, high among the kings of the earth. My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall be faithful (sure) with him. His seed also will I set for ever and ever, and his throne as the days of heaven.

1 Which words, when rightly understood, are all understood to be about the Lord Jesus Christ, under the name of David, on account of the form of a servant, which the same Mediator assumed 2 from the virgin of the seed of David. 3 For immediately something is said about the sins of his children, such as is set down in the Book of Samuel, and is more readily taken as if of Solomon. For there, that is, in the Book of Samuel, he says, u And if he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of men; but my mercy will I not take away from him," 4 meaning by stripes the strokes of correction. Hence that saying, "Touch ye not my christs." 5 For what else is that than, Do not harm them? But in the psalm, when speaking as if of David, He says something of the same kind there too. " If his children," saith He, " forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they profane my righteousnsses, and keep not my commandments; I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their faults with stripes: but my mercy I will not make void from him." 6 He did not say " from them," although He spoke of his children, not of himself; but he said " from him," which means the same thing if rightly understood. For of Christ Himself, who is the head

1 Ps. lxxxix. 19-29. 2 Phil. ii. 7. 3 Matt. i. 1, 18; Luke i. 27.

4 2 Sam. vii, 14, 15. 5 Ps. cv. 15. 6 Ps. lxxxix. 30-33.
of the Church, there could not be found any sins which required to be divinely restrained by human correction, mercy being still continued; but they are found in His body and members, which is His people. Therefore in the Book of Samuel it is said, " iniquity of Him," but in the psalm, " of His children," that we may understand that what is said of His body is in some way said of Himself. Wherefore also, when Saul persecuted His body, that is, His believing people, He Himself saith from heaven, " Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me V* 1 Then in the following words of the psalm He says, " Neither will I hurt in my truth, nor profane my covenant, and the things that proceed from my lips I will not disallow. Once have I sworn by my holiness, if I lie unto David," 2 å¢” that is, I will in no wise lie unto David; for Scripture is wont to speak thus. But what that is in which He will not lie, He adds, saying, " His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me, and as the moon perfected for ever, and a faithful witness in heaven." 3

10. How different the acts in the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem are from those which God had promised, so that the truth of the promise should be understood to pertain to the glory of the other King and kingdom.

That it might not be supposed that a promise so strongly expressed and confirmed w T as fulfilled in Solomon, as if he hoped for, yet did not find it, he says, " But Thou hast cast off, and hast brought to nothing, Lord." 4 This truly was done concerning the kingdom of Solomon among his posterity, even to the overthrow of the earthly Jerusalem itself, which was the seat of the kingdom, and especially the destruction of the very temple which had been built by Solomon. But lest on this account God should be thought to have done contrary to His promise, immediately he adds, " Thou hast delayed Thy Christ."" Therefore he is not Solomon, nor yet David himself, if the Christ of the Lord is delayed. For while all the kings are called His christs, who were consecrated with that mystical chrism, not only from king David downwards, but even from that Saul who first was anointed king of that same people, David himself indeed calling him the Lord's christ,

1 Acts ix. 4. 2 Ps. lxxxix. 34, 35. 3 Ps. lxxxix. 36, 37.

4 Ps. lxxxix. 33. 5 Ps. lxxxix. 38.

VOL. II. N

194 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

yet there was one true Christ, whose figure they bore "by the prophetic unction, who, according to the opinion of men, who thought he was to be understood as come in David or in Solomon, was long delayed, but who, according as God had disposed, was to come
in His own time. The following part of this psalm goes on to say what in the meantime, while He was delayed, was to become of the kingdom of the earthly Jerusalem, where it was hoped He would certainly reign:

"Thou hast overthrown the covenant of Thy servant; Thou hast profaned in the earth his sanctuary. Thou hast broken down all his walls; Thou hast put his strongholds in fear. All that pass by the way spoil him; he is made a reproach to his neighbours. Thou hast set up the right hand of his enemies; Thou hast made all his enemies to rejoice. Thou hast turned aside the help of his sword, and hast not helped him in war. Thou hast destroyed him from cleansing; Thou hast dashed down his seat to the ground. Thou hast shortened the days of his seat; Thou hast poured confusion over him." All these things came upon Jerusalem the bond woman, in which some also reigned who were children of the free woman, holding that kingdom in temporary stewardship, but holding the kingdom of the heavenly Jerusalem, whose children they were, in true faith, and hoping in the true Christ. But how these things came upon that kingdom, the history of its affairs points out if it is read.

11. Of the substance of the people of God, which through His assumption of flesh is in Christ, who alone had power to deliver His own soul from hell.

But after having prophesied these things, the prophet betakes him to praying to God; yet even the very prayer is prophecy: "How long, Lord, dost Thou turn away in the end?" 2 "Thy face" is understood, as it is elsewhere said, "How long dost Thou turn away Thy face from me?" 3 - For therefore some copies have here not "dost," but "wilt Thou turn away;" although it could be understood, "Thou turnest away Thy mercy, which Thou didst promise to David." But when he says, "in the end," what does it mean, except even to the end? By which end is to be understood the last time, when even that nation is to believe in Christ Jesus, before

1 Ps. lxxxix. 39-45. 2 Ps. lxxxix. 46. 3 Ps. xiii. L

ROOK XVII.] CHRIST REFERRED TO IN THE PSALMS. 195

which end what He has just sorrowfully bewailed must come to pass. On account of which it is also added here, "Thy wrath shall burn like fire. Remember what is my substance." 1 This cannot be better understood than of Jesus Himself, the substance of His people, of whose nature His flesh is. "For not in vain," he says, "hast Thou made all the sons of men." 2 For unless the one Son of man had been the substance of Israel, through which Son of man many sons of men should be set free, all the sons of men would have been made wholly in vain. But now indeed all mankind through the fall of the first man has fallen from the truth into vanity; for which reason another psalm says, "Man is like to vanity: his days pass away as a shadow;" 1 yet God has not made all the sons of men in vain, because He frees many from vanity through the Mediator Jesus, and those whom He did not fore-
know as to be delivered, He made not wholly in vain in the most beautiful and most just
ordination of the whole rational creation, for the use of those who were to be delivered,
and for the comparison of the two cities by mutual contrast.
Thereafter it follows, "Who is the man that shall live, and shall not see death? shall he
snatch his soul from the hand of hell?" 4 Who is this but that substance of Israel out of
the seed of David, Christ Jesus, of whom the apostle says, that "rising from the dead He
now dieth not, and death shall no more have dominion over Him?" 5 For He shall so
live and not see death, that yet He shall have been dead; but shall have delivered His soul
from the hand of hell, whither He had descended in order to loose some from the chains
of hell; but He hath delivered it by that power of which He says in the Gospel, "I have
the power of laying down my life, and I have the power of taking it again." 6

12. To whose person the entreaty for the promises is to be understood to belong, when he
says in the psalm, "Where are Thine ancient compassions, Lord?" etc.

But the rest of this psalm runs thus: "Where are Thine ancient compassions, Lord, which
Thou swarest unto David in Thy truth? Eemember, Lord, the reproach of Thy servants,

1 Ps. lxxxix. 46, 47. 2 Ps. lxxxix. 47. 3 Ps. cxliv. 4.
4 Ps. lxxxix. 48. 5 Rom. vi. 9. 6 John x. 18.

196 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XYII.

which I have borne in my bosom of many nations; wherewith Thine enemies have
reproached, Lord, wherewith they have reproached the change of Thy Christ:’ I Now it
may with very good reason be asked whether this is spoken in the person of those
Israelites who desired that the promise made to David might be fulfilled to them; or
rather of the Christians, who are Israelites not after the flesh but after the Spirit. 2 This
certainly was spoken or written in the time of Ethan, from whose name this psalm gets its
title, and that was the same as the time of David's reign; and therefore it would not have
been said, "Where are Thine ancient compassions, Lord, which Thou hast sworn unto
David in Thy truth?" unless the prophet had assumed the person of those who should
come long afterwards, to whom that time when these things were promised to David was
ancient. But it may be understood thus, that many nations, when they persecuted the
Christians, reproached them with the passion of Christ, which Scripture calls His change,
because by dying-
He is made immortal. The change of Christ, according to this passage, may also be
understood to be reproached by the Israelites, because, when they hoped He would be
theirs, He was made the Saviour of the nations; and many nations who have believed in
Him by the Xew Testament now reproach them who remain in the old with this: so that it
is said, "Eemember, Lord, the reproach of Thy servants;" because through the Lord's not
forgetting, but rather pitying them, even they after this reproach are to believe. But what I
have put first seems to me the most suitable meaning. For to the enemies of Christ who
are reproached with this, that Christ hath left them, turning to the Gentiles, 3 this speech is incongruously assigned, "Remember, Lord, the reproach of Thy servants," for such Jews are not to be styled the servants of God; but these words fit those who, if they suffered great humiliations through persecution for the name of Christ, could call to mind that an exalted kingdom had been promised to the seed of David, and in desire of it, could say not despairingly, but as asking, seeking, knocking, 4 "Where are Thine ancient compas-

1 Ps. lxxxix. 49-51. 2 Rom. iii. 23, 29.

* Acts xiii. 46. Â» 4 Matt. vii. 7, 8.
sions, Lord, which Thou swarest unto David in Thy truth? Remember, Lord, the reproach of Thy servants, that I have borne in my bosom of many nations; that is, have patiently endured in my inward parts. That Thine enemies have reproached, Lord, wherewith they have reproached the change of Thy Christ, not thinking it a change, but a consumption. But what does "Remember, Lord," mean, but that Thou wouldst have compassion, and wouldst for my patiently borne humiliation reward me with the excellency which Thou swarest unto David in Thy truth? But if we assign these words to the Jews, those servants of God who, on the conquest of the earthly Jerusalem, before Jesus Christ was born after the manner of men, were led into captivity, could say such things, understanding the change of Christ, because indeed through Him was to be surely expected, not an earthly and carnal felicity, such as appeared during the few years of king Solomon, but a heavenly and spiritual felicity; and when the nations, then ignorant of this through unbelief, exulted over and insulted the people of God for being captives, what else was this than ignorantly to reproach with the change of Christ those who understand the change of Christ? And therefore what follows when this psalm is concluded, "Let the blessing of the Lord be for evermore, amen, amen," is suitable enough for the whole people of God belonging to the heavenly Jerusalem, whether for those things that lay hid in the Old Testament before the New was revealed, or for those that, being now revealed in the New Testament, are manifestly discerned to belong to Christ. For the blessing of the Lord in the seed of David does not belong to any particular time, such as appeared in the days of Solomon, but is for evermore to be hoped for, in which most certain hope it is said, "Amen, amen;" for this repetition of the word is the confirmation of that hope. Therefore David understanding this, says in the second Book of Kings, in the passage from which we digressed to this psalm, 2 "Thou hast spoken also for Thy servant's house for a great while to come." 3 Therefore also a little after he says, "Now begin, and bless the house of Thy servant for ever-

1 Another reading, "consummation." 2 See above, chap. viii.

3 2 Sam. vii. 19.

193 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

more," etc., because the son was then about to be born from whom his posterity should be continued to Christ, through whom his house should be eternal, and should also be the house of God. For it is called the house of David on account of David's race; but the selfsame is called the house of God on account of the temple of God, made of men, not of stones, where shall dwell for evermore the people with and in their God, and God with and in His people, so that God may fill His people, and the people be filled with their God, while God shall be all in all, Himself their reward in peace who is their strength in war. Therefore, when it is said in the words of Nathan. * And the Lord will tell thee what
an house thou shalt build for Him," 1 it is afterwards said in the words of David, " For Thou, Lord Almighty, God of Israel, hast opened the ear of Thy servant, saying, I will build thee an house." 2

For this house is built both by us through living well, and by God through helping us to live well; for "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it,"' And when the final dedication of this house shall take place, then what God here says by Nathan shall be fulfilled, "And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant him, and he shall dwell apart, and shall be troubled no more; and the son of iniquity shall not humble him any more, as from the beginning, from the days when I appointed judges over my people Israel." 4

13. Wliether the truth of this promised peace can be ascribed to those times passed away undir Solomon.

Whoever hopes for this so great good in this world, and in this earth, his wisdom is but folly. Can any one think it was fulfilled in the peace of Solomon's reign ? Scripture certainly commends that peace with excellent praise as a shadow of that which is to come. But this opinion is to be vigilantly opposed, since after it is said, " And the son of iniquity shall not humble him any more," it is immediately added, " as from the beginning, from the days in which I appointed judges over my people Israel." For the judges were appointed over that people from the time when they received the land of

1 2 Sam. vii. 8. 2 2 Sam. vii. 27. 3 Ps. exxvii. 1. 4 2 Sam. vii. 10, 11. 5 2 Sam. vii. 10, li.

i;ooK xvil] david's meaning in the psalms. 199

promise, before kings had begun to be there. And certainly the son of iniquity, that is, the foreign enemy, humbled him through periods of time in which we read that peace alternated with wars; and in that period longer times of peace are found than Solomon had, who reigned forty years. For under that judge who is called Ehud there were eighty years of peace. 1 Be it far from us, therefore, that we should believe the times of Solomon are predicted in this promise, much less indeed those of any other king whatever. For none other of them reigned in such great peace as he; nor did that nation ever at all hold that kingdom so as to have no anxiety lest it should be subdued by enemies: for in the very great mutability of human affairs such great security is never given to any people, that it should not dread invasions hostile to this life. Therefore the place of this promised peaceful and secure habitation is eternal, and of right belongs eternally to Jerusalem the free mother, where the genuine people of Israel shall be: for this name is interpreted " Seeing God; " in the desire of which reward a pious life is to be led through faith in this miserable pilgrimage. 2

14. Of David's concern in the writing of the Psalms.
In the progress of the city of God through the ages, therefore, David first reigned in the earthly Jerusalem as a shadow of that which was to come. Now David was a man skilled in songs, who dearly loved musical harmony, not with a vulgar delight, but with a believing disposition, and by it served his God, who is the true God, by the mystical representation of a great thing. For the rational and well-ordered concord of diverse sounds in harmonious variety suggests the compact unity of the well-ordered city. Then almost all his prophecy is in psalms, of which a hundred and fifty are contained in what we call the Book of Psalms, of which some will have it those only were made by David which are inscribed with his name. But there are also some who think none of them were made by him except those which are marked "Of David;" but those which have in the title "For"

1 Judg. iii. 30.

2 Israel = "a prince of God;" Peniel = "the face of God" (Gen. xxxii. 28-30).

200 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

David" have been made by others who assumed his person. Which opinion is refuted by the voice of the Saviour Himself in the Gospel, when He says that David himself by the Spirit said Christ was his Lord; for the 110th Psalm begins thus, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." 1 And truly that very psalm, like many more, has in the title, not "of David," but "for David." But those seem to me to hold the more credible opinion, who ascribe to him the authorship of all these hundred and fifty psalms, and think that he prefixed to some of them the names even of other men, who prefigured something pertinent to the matter, but chose to have no man's name in the titles of the rest, just as God inspired him in the management of this variety, which, although dark, is not meaningless. Neither ought it to move one not to believe this, that the names of some prophets who lived loner after the times of kincr David are read in the inscriptions of certain psalms in that book, and that the things said there seem to be spoken as it were by them.

Nor was the prophetic Spirit unable to reveal to king David, when he prophesied, even these names of future prophets, so that he might prophetically sing something which should suit their persons; just as it was revealed to a certain prophet that kins Josiah should arise and reign after more than three hundred years, who predicted his future deeds also along with his name. 2

15. Whether all the things jiprophesied in the Psalms concerning Christ and His Church should he taken up in the text of this work.

And now I see it may be expected of me that I shall open up in this part of this book what David may have prophesied in the Psalms concerning the Lord Jesus Christ or His
Church. But although I have already done so in one instance, I am prevented from doing as that expectation seems to demand, rather by the abundance than the scarcity of matter. For the necessity of shunning prolixity forbids my setting down all things; yet I fear lest if I select some I shall appear to many, who know these things, to have passed by

1 Ps. ex. 1, quoted in Malt. xxii. 44.

2 1 Kings xiii. 2; fulfilled 2 Kings xxiii. 15-17.

COOK XVII.] THE FORTY-FIFTH PSALM. 201

the more necessary. Besides, the proof that is adduced ought to be supported by the context of the whole psalm, so that at least there may be nothing against it if everything does not support it; lest we should seem, after the fashion of the centos, to gather for the thing we wish, as it were verses out of a grand poem, what shall be found to have been written not about it, but about some other and widely different thing.

But ere this could be pointed out— in each psalm, the whole of it must be expounded; and how great a work that would be, the volumes of others, as well as our own, in which we have done it, show well enough. Let him then who will, or can, read these volumes, and he will find out how many and great things David, at once king and prophet, has prophesied concerning Christ and His Church, to wit, concerning the King and the city which He has built.

16. Of the things pertaining to Christ and the Church, said either openly or tropically in the ioth Psalm.

For whatever direct and manifest prophetic utterances there may be about anything, it is necessary that those which are tropical should be mingled with them; which, chiefly on account of those of slower understanding, thrust upon the more learned the laborious task of clearing up and expounding them. Some of them, indeed, on the very first blush, as soon as they are spoken, exhibit Christ and the Church, although some things in them that are less intelligible remain to be expounded at leisure. We have an example of this in that same Book of Psalms: " My heart bubbled up a good matter: I utter my words to the king. My tongue is the pen of a scribe, writing swiftly. Thy form is beautiful beyond the sons of men; grace is poured out in Thy lips: therefore God hath blessed Thee for evermore. Gird Thy sword about Thy thigh, Most Mighty. With Thy goodliness and Thy beauty go forward, proceed prosperously, and reign, because of Thy truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and Thy right hand shall lead Thee forth wonderfully. Thy sharp arrows are most powerful. The people shall fall under Thee: in the heart of the King's enemies. Thy throne, God, is for ever and ever: a rod of direction is the rod of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hast hated iniquity: therefore God,
Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of exultation above Thy fellows. Myrrh and drops, and cassia from Thy vestments, from the houses of ivory: out of winch the daughters of kings have delighted Thee in Thine honour." 1 "Who is there, no matter how slow, but must here recognise Christ whom we preach, and in whom we believe, if he hears that He is God, whose throne is for ever and ever, and that He is anointed by God, as God indeed anoints, not with a visible, but with a spiritual and intelligible chrism? For who is so untaught in this religion, or so deaf to its far and wide spread fame, as not to know that Christ is named from this chrism, that is, from this anointing? But when it is acknowledged that this King is Christ, let each one who is already subject to Him who reigns because of truth, meekness, and righteousness, inquire at his leisure into these other things that are here said tropically: how His form is beautiful beyond the sons of men, with a certain beauty that is the more to be loved and admired the less it is corporeal: and what His sword, arrows, and other things of that kind may be, which are set down, not properly, but tropically.

Then let him look upon His Church, joined to her so great Husband in spiritual marriage and divine love, of which it is said in these words which follow, "The queen stood upon Thy right hand in gold-embroidered vestments, girded about with variety. Hearken, daughter, and look, and incline thine ear; forget also thy people, and thy father's house. Because the King hath greatly desired thy beauty; for He is the Lord thy God. And the daughters of Tyre shall worship Him with gifts; the rich among the people shall entreat Thy face. The daughter of the King has all her glory within, in golden fringes, girded about with variety. The virgins shall be brought after her to the King: her neighbours shall be brought to Thee. They shall be brought with gladness and exultation: they shall be led into the temple of the King. Instead of thy fathers, sons shall be born to thee: thou shalt establish them as princes over all the earth. They shall be mindful of thy name in every generation and descent. Therefore shall the people acknowledge thee for evermore, even for

1 Ps. xlv. 1-9.
ever and ever." 1 I do not think any one is so stupid as to believe that some poor woman is here praised and described, as the spouse, to wit, of Him to whom it is said, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a rod of direction is the rod of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of exultation above Thy fellows;" 2 that is, plainly, Christ above Christians. For these are His fellows, out of the unity and concord of whom in all nations that queen is formed, as it is said of her in another psalm, "The city of the great King." 3 The same is Sion spiritually, which name in Latin is interpreted speculacio (discovery); for she describes the great good of the world to come, because her attention is directed thither. In the same way she is also Jerusalem spiritually, of which we have already said many things. Her enemy is the city of the devil, Babylon, which is interpreted "confusion." Yet out of this Babylon this queen is in all nations set free by regeneration, and passes from the, worst to the best King, â€” that is, from the devil to Christ. Wherefore it is said to her, "Forget thy people and thy father's house." Of this impious city those also are a portion who are Israelites only in the flesh and not by faith, enemies also of this great King Himself, and of His queen. For Christ, having come to them, and been slain by them, has the more become the King of others, whom He did not see in the flesh. Whence our King Himself says through the prophecy of a certain psalm, "Thou wilt deliver me from the contradictions of the people; Thou wilt make me head of the nations. A people whom I have not known hath served me: in the hearing of the ear it hath obeyed me." 4 Therefore this people of the nations, which Christ did not know in His bodily presence, yet has believed in that Christ as announced to it; so that it might be said of it with good reason, "In the hearing of the ear it hath obeyed me," for "faith is by hearing." 5 This people, I say, added to those who are the true Israelites both by the flesh and by faith, is the city of God, which has brought forth Christ Himself according to the flesh, since He

1 Ps. xlv. 9-17. 2 Ps. xlv. 7. 3 Ps. xlviii. 2. 4 Ps. xviii. 43. 5 Rom. x. 5.

204 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

was in these Israelites only. For thence came the Virgin Mary, in whom Christ assumed flesh that He might be man. Of which city another psalm says, "Mother Sion, shall a man say, and the man is made in her, and the Highest Himself hath founded her." 1 Who is this Highest, save God? And thus Christ, who is God, before He became man through Mary in that city, Himself founded it by the patriarchs and prophets.
As therefore was said by prophecy so long before to this queen, the city of God, what we already can see fulfilled, "Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee; thou shalt make them princes over all the earth;" 2 so out of her sons truly are set up even her fathers [princes] through all the earth, when the people, coming together to her, confess to her with the confession of eternal praise for ever and ever. Beyond doubt, whatever interpretation is put on what is here expressed somewhat darkly in figurative language, ought to be in agreement with these most manifest things.

17. Of those things in the WOth Psalm which relate to the priesthood of Christ, and in the 22d to His x>assion.

Just as in that psalm also where Christ is most openly proclaimed as Priest, even as He is here as King, " The Lord said unto my Lord. Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool." 3 That Christ sits on the right hand of God the Father is believed, not seen; that His enemies also are put under His feet doth not yet appear; it is being done, [therefore] it will appear at last: yea, this is now believed, afterward it shall be seen. But what follows, " The Lord will send forth the rod of Thy strength out of Sion, and rule Thou in the midst of Thine enemies," 4 is so clear, that to deny it would imply not merely unbelief and mistake, but downright impudence. And even enemies must certainly confess that out of Sion has been sent the law of Christ which we call the gospel, and acknowledge as the rod of His strength. But that He rules in the midst of His enemies, these same enemies among whom He rules themselves bear witness, gnashing their teeth and consuming away, and having power to do nothing against Him. Then what he says a little after,

1 Ps. lxxxvii. 5. 2 Ps. xlv. 16.

3 Ps. ex. 1. 4 *Ps. ex. 2.

LOOK XVII.] THE HUNDRED AND TENTH PSALM. 205

" The Lord hath sworn and will not repent," * by which words He intimates that what He adds is immutable, " Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," 2 who is permitted to doubt of whom these things are said, seeing that now there is nowhere a priesthood and sacrifice after the order of Aaron, and everywhere men offer under Christ as the Priest, which Melchizedek showed when he blessed Abraham 1. Therefore to these manifest things are to be referred, when rightly understood, those things in the same psalm that are set down a little more obscurely, and we have already made known in our popular sermons how these things are to be rightly understood. So also in that where Christ utters through prophecy the humiliation of His passion, saying, " They pierced my hands and feet; they counted all my bones. Yea, they looked and stared at me." 3 By which words he certainly meant His body stretched out on the cross, with the hands and feet pierced and perforated by the striking through of the nails, and that He had in that way made Himself a spectacle to those who looked and stared. And he adds, "
They parted my garments among them, and over my vesture they cast lots." 4 How this prophecy has been fulfilled the Gospel history narrates.

Then, indeed, the other things also which are said there less openly are rightly understood when they agree with those which shine with so great clearness; especially because those things also which we do not believe as past, but survey as present, are beheld by the whole world, being now exhibited just as they are read of in this very psalm as predicted so long before. For it is there said a little after, " All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He shall rule the nations."

13. Of the 3c?, 41st, 15th, and 68th Psalms, in which the death and resurrection of the Lord are prophesied.

About His resurrection also the oracles of the Psalms are by no means silent. For what else is it that is sung in His person in the 3d Psalm, " I laid me down and took a sleep, [and] I awaked, for the Lord shall sustain me ? " 5 Is there

1 Ps. ex. 4. 2 Ps. ex. 4. 3 Ps. xxii. 16, 17.

1 Ps. xxii. 18, 19. 5 Ps. iii. 5.

206 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

perchance any one so stupid as to believe that the prophet chose to point it out to us as something great that He had slept and risen up, unless that sleep had been death, and that awaking the resurrection, which behoved to be thus prophesied concerning Christ ? For in the 41st Psalm also it is shown much more clearly, where in the person of the Mediator, in the usual way, things are narrated as if past which were prophesied as yet to come, since these things which were yet to come were in the predestination and foreknowledge of God as if they were done, because they were certain. He says, " Mine enemies speak evil of me; When shall he die, and his name perish ? And if he came in to see me, his heart spake vain things: he gathered iniquity to himself. He went out of doors, and uttered it all at once. Against me all mine enemies whisper together: against me do they devise evil They have planned an unjust thing against me. Shall not he that sleeps also rise again ? MI These words are certainly so set down here that he may be understood to say nothing else than if he said, Shall not He that died recover life again ? The previous words clearly show that His enemies have meditated and planned His death, and that this was executed by him who came in to see, and went out to betray. But to whom does not Judas here occur, who, from being His disciple, became His betrayer ? Therefore because they were about to do what they had plotted, â€” that is, were about to kill Him, â€” he, to show them that with useless malice they were about to kill Him who should rise again, so adds this verse, as if he said, "What vain thing are you doing ? What will be your crime will be my sleep. " Shall not He that sleeps also rise again?" And yet
he indicates in the following verses that they should not commit so great an impiety with impunity, saying, "Yea, the man of my peace in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, hath enlarged the heel over me;" 2 that is, hath trampled me under foot. "But Thou," he saith, "Lord, be merciful unto me, and raise me up, that I may requite them." Who can now deny this who sees the Jews, after the passion and resurrection of Christ, utterly rooted up from their abodes by warlike slaughter and de-
1 Ps. xli. 5-8. 2 Pa. xli. 9. 3 Ps. xli 10.

BOOK xvii] interpretation of the psalms. 207

struction? For, being slain by them, He has risen again, and has requited them meanwhile by temporary discipline, save that for those who are not corrected He keeps it in store for the time when He shall judge the quick and the dead. 1 For the Lord Jesus Himself, in pointing out that very man to the apostles as His betrayer, quoted this very verse of this psalm, and said it was fulfilled in Himself: "He that ate my bread enlarged the heel over me." But what he says, "In whom I trusted," does not suit the head but the body. For the Saviour Himself was not ignorant of him concerning whom He had already said before, "One of you is a devil." 2 But He is wont to assume the person of His members, and to ascribe to Himself what should be said of them, because the head and the body is one Christ; 3 whence that saying in the Gospel, "I was an hungered, and ye gave me to eat." 4 Expounding which, He says, "Since ye did it to one of the least of mine, ye did it to me." 5 Therefore He said that He had trusted, because His disciples then had trusted concerning Judas; for he was numbered with the apostles. 6

But the Jews do not expect that the Christ whom they expect will die; therefore they do not think ours to be Him whom the law and the prophets announced, but feign to themselves I know not whom of their own, exempt from the suffering of death. Therefore, with, wonderful emptiness and blindness, they contend that the words we have set down signify, not death and resurrection, but sleep and awaking again. But the 16th Psalm also cries to them, "Therefore my heart is jocund, and my tongue hath exulted; moreover, my flesh also shall rest in hope: for Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt Thou give Thine Holy One to see corruption." 7 Who but He that rose again the third day could say His flesh had rested in this hope; that His soul, not being left in hell, but speedily returning to it, should revive it, that it should not be corrupted as corpses are wont to be, which they can in no wise say of David the prophet and king? The 68th Psalm also cries out, "Our God is the God

1 2 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Pet. iv. 5. 2 John vi. 70. 3 1 Cor. xii. 12.

4 Matt. xxv. 35. 6 Matt. xxv. 40. 6 Acts i. 17.

7 Ps. xvi. 9, 10.
of salvation: even of the Lord the exit was by death." 1 What could be more openly said? For the God of salvation is the Lord Jesus, which is interpreted Saviour, or Healing One. For this reason this name was given, when it was said before He was born of the virgin: "Thou shalt bring forth a Son, and shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins/ 2 Because His blood was shed for the remission of their sins, it behoved Him to have no other exit from this life than death. Therefore, when it had been said, "Our God is the God of salvation," immediately it was added, "Even of the Lord the exit was by death," in order to show that we were to be saved by His dying. But that saying is marvellous, "Even of the Lord," as if it was said, Such is that life of mortals, that not even the Lord Himself could go out of it otherwise save through death.

19. Of the 69th Psalm, in which the obstinate unbelief of the Jews is declared.

But when the Jews will not in the least yield to the testimonies of this prophecy, which are so manifest, and are also brought by events to so clear and certain a completion, certainly that is fulfilled in them which is written in that psalm which here follows. For when the things which pertain to His passion are prophetically spoken there also in the person of Christ, that is mentioned which is unfolded in the Gospel:
"They gave me gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar for drink." 3 And as it were after such a feast and dainties in this way given to Himself, presently He brings in [these words]: "Let their table become a trap before them, and a retribution, and an offence: let their eyes be dimmed that they see not, and their back be always bowed clown," 4 etc. Which things are not spoken as wished for, but are predicted under the prophetic form of wishing. What wonder, then, if those whose eyes are dimmed that they see not do not see these manifest things? What wonder if those do not look up at heavenly things whose back is always bowed down that they may grovel among earthly tilings?
For these words transferred from the body signify mental

1 Ps. lxviii. 20. 2 Matt. i. 21.

3 Ps. lxix. 21; Matt, xxvii. 31, 48. Â» 4 Ps. lxix. 22, 23.
faults. Let these things which have been said about the Psalms, that is, about king David's prophecy, suffice, that we may keep within some bound. But let those readers excuse us who knew them all before; and let them not complain about those perhaps stronger proofs which they know or think I have passed by.

20. Of David's reign and merit; and of his son Solomon, and that prophecy relating to Christ which is found either in those books which are joined to those written by him, or in those which are indubitably his.

David therefore reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, a son of the heavenly Jerusalem, much praised by the divine testimony; for even his faults are overcome by great piety, through the most salutary humility of his repentance, that he is altogether one of those of whom he himself says, "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered." *

After him Solomon his son reigned over the same whole people, who, as was said before, began to reign while his father was still alive. This man, after good beginnings, made a bad end.

For indeed "prosperity, which wears out the minds of the wise," 2 hurt him more than that wisdom profited him, which even yet is and shall hereafter be renowned, and was then praised far and wide. He also is found to have prophesied in his books, of which three are received as of canonical authority, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. But it has been customary to ascribe to Solomon other two, of which one is called Wisdom, the other Ecclesiasticus, on account of some resemblance of style; but the more learned have no doubt that they are not his; yet of old the Church, especially the Western, received them into authority, in the one of which, called the Wisdom of Solomon, the passion of Christ is most openly prophesied. For indeed His impious murderers are quoted as saying, "Let us lie in wait for the righteous, for he is unpleasant to us, and contrary to our works; and he upbraideth us with our transgressions of the law, and objecteth to our disgrace the transgressions of our education. He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the Son of God. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous for us even to behold; for his

1 Ps. xxxii. 1. 2 Sallust, Bel Cat c. xi.

VOL. IL

210 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII.]

life is unlike other men's, and his ways are different. We are esteemed of him as counterfeit; and he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness. He extols the latter end
of the righteous; and sliorith that he hath God for his Father. Let us see, therefore, if his words be true; and let us try what shall happen to him, and we shall know what shall be the end of him. For if the righteous be the Son of God, He will undertake for him, and deliver him out of the hand of those that are against him. Let us put him to the question with contumely and torture, that we may know his reverence, and prove his patience. Let us condemn him to the most shameful death; for by His own sayings He shall be respected.

These things did they imagine, and were mistaken; for their own malice hath quite blinded them." 1 But in Ecclesiasticus the future faith of the nations is predicted in this manner:

" Have mercy upon us, God, Pailer of all, and send Thy fear upon all the nations: lift up Thine hand over the strange nations, and let them see Thy power. As Thou wast sanctified in us before them, so be Thou sanctified in them before us, and let them acknowledge Thee, according as we also have acknowledged Thee; for there is not a God beside Thee, Lord." 2 We see this prophecy in the form of a wish and prayer fulfilled through Jesus Christ. But the things which are not written in the canon of the Jews cannot be quoted against their contradictions with so great validity.

But as regards those three books which it is evident are Solomon's, and held canonical by the Jews, to show what of this kind may be found in them pertaining to Christ and the Church demands a laborious discussion, which, if now entered on, would lengthen this work unduly. Yet what we read in the Proverbs of impious men saying, " Let us unrighteously hide in the earth the righteous man; yea, let us swallow liim up alive as hell, and let us take away his memory from the earth: let us seize Iris precious possession," 3 is not so obscure that it may not be understood, without laborious exposition, of Christ and His possession the Church. Indeed, the gospel parable about the wicked husbandmen shows that our Lord Jesus Himself said something like it: " This is the heir; come,

1 Wisd. ii. 12-21. 2 Ecclus. xxxvi. 1-5. 3 Prov. i. 11-13.
let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours." 1 In like manner also that passage in
this same book, on which we have already touched 2 when we were speaking of the
barren woman who hath born seven, must soon after it was uttered have come to be
understood of only Christ and the Church by those who knew that Christ was the Wisdom
of God. "Wisdom hath builded her an house, and hath set up seven pillars; she hath
sacrificed her victims, she hath mingled her wine in the bowl; she hath also furnished her
table. She hath sent her servants summoning to the bowl with excellent proclamation,
saying, Who is simple, let him turn aside to me. And to the void of sense she hath said,
Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled for you." 3 Here
certainly we perceive that the Wisdom of God, that is, the Word co-eternal with the
Father, hath builded Him an house, even a human body in the virgin womb, and hath
subjoined the Church to it as members to a head, hath slain the martyrs as victims, hath
furnished a table with wine and bread, where appears also the priesthood after the order
of Melchizedek, and hath called the simple and the void of sense, because, as saith the
apostle, "He hath chosen the weak things of this world that He might confound the things
which are mighty." 4 Yet to these weak ones she saith what follows, "Forsake simplicity,
that ye may live; and seek prudence, that ye may have life." 5 But to be made partakers of
this table is itself to begin to have life. For when he says in another book, which is called
Ecclesiastes, "There is no good for a man, except that he should eat and drink," 6 what
can be more credibly understood to say, than what belongs to the participation of this
table which the Mediator of the New Testament Himself, the Priest after the order of
Melchizedek, furnishes with His own body and blood? For that sacrifice has succeeded
all the sacrifices of the Old Testament, which were slain as a shadow of that which was to
come; whereas also we recognise the voice in the 40th Psalm as that of the same
Mediator speaking through prophesy, "Sacrifice and offering

1 Matt. xxi. 38. 2 Ch. 4.

3 Prov. ix. 1-5 (ver. 1 is quoted above in ch. 4). 4 1 Cor. i. 27.

5 Prov. ix. 6. 6 Eccles. ii. 24, iii. 13, v. 18, viii. 15.

212 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XYII.

Thou didst not desire; but a body hast Thou perfected for me." 1 Because, instead of all
these sacrifices and oblations, His body is offered, and is served up to the partakers of it.
For that this Ecclesiastes, in this sentence about eating and drinking, which he often
repeats, and very much commends, does not savour the dainties of carnal pleasures, is
made plain enough when he says, "It is better to go into the house of mourning than to
go into the house of feasting." 2 And a little after He says, "The heart of the wise is in
the house of mourning, and the heart of the simple in the house of feasting." 3 But I think
that more worthy of quotation from this book which relates to both cities, the one of the
devil, the other of Christ, and to their kings, the devil and Christ: " Woe to thee, land,"
he says, " when thy king is a youth, and thy princes eat in the morning ! Blessed art thou,
land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in season, in fortitude, and
not in confusion!" 4 He has called the devil a youth, because of the folly and pride, and
rashness and unruliness, and other vices which are wont to abound at that age; but Christ
is the Son of nobles, that is, of the holy patriarchs, of those belonging to the free city, of
whom He was begotten in the flesh.
The princes of that and other cities are eaters in the morning, that is, before the suitable
hour, because they do not expect the seasonable felicity, which is the true, in the world to
come, desiring to be speedily made happy with the renown of this world; but the princes
of the city of Christ patiently wait for the time of a blessedness that is not fallacious. This
is expressed by the words, " in fortitude, and not in confusion,"
because hope does not deceive them; of which the apostle says, "But hope maketh not
ashamed." 5 A psalm also saith,
" For they that hope in Thee shall not be put to shame." 6
But now the Song of Songs is a certain spiritual pleasure of holy minds, in the marriage
of that Xing and Queen-city, that is, Christ and the Church. But this pleasure is wrapped
up in allegorical veils, that the Bridegroom may be more ardently desired, and more
joyfully unveiled, and may appear; to whom it is said in this same song, " Equity hath
delighted Thee; "

1 Ps. xl. 6. 2 Eccks. vii. 2. 3 Eccles. vii. 4. 4 Eccles. x. 16, 17.

6 Rom. v. 5. 6 Ps. lxix. 6. » Â» Cant. i. 4. Â»
and the bride who those hears, "Charity is in thy delights." 1
We pass over many things in silence, in our desire to finish this work.

21. Of the things after Solomon, both in Judah and Israel.

The other kings of the Hebrews after Solomon are scarcely found to have prophesied, through certain enigmatic words or actions of theirs, what may pertain to Christ and the Church, either in Judah or Israel; for so were the parts of that people styled, when, on account of Solomon's offence, from the time of Eehoboam his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom, it was divided by God as a punishment. The ten tribes, indeed, which Jeroboam the servant of Solomon received, being appointed the king in Samaria, were distinctively called Israel, although this had been the name of that whole people; but the two tribes, namely, of Judah and Benjamin, which for David's sake, lest the kingdom should be wholly wrenched from his race, remained subject to the city of Jerusalem, were called Judah, because that was the tribe whence David sprang. But Benjamin, the other tribe which, as was said, belonged to the same kingdom, was that whence Saul sprang before David. But these two tribes together, as was said, were called Judah, and were distinguished by this name from Israel, which was the distinctive title of the ten tribes under their own king. For the tribe of Levi, because it was the priestly one, bound to the servitude of God, not of the kings, was reckoned the thirteenth. For Joseph, one of the twelve sons of Israel, did not, like the others, form one tribe, but two, Ephraim and Manasseh. Yet the tribe of Levi also belonged more to the kingdom of Jerusalem, where was the temple of God whom it served. On the division of the people, therefore, Eehoboam, son of Solomon, reigned in Jerusalem as the first king of Judah, and Jeroboam, servant of Solomon, in Samaria as king of Israel. And when Eehoboam wished as a tyrant to pursue that separated part with war, the people were prohibited from fighting with their brethren by God, who told them through a prophet that He had done this; whence it appeared that in this matter there had been no sin either of the king or people of Israel, but the accomplished will of

1 Cant. vii. 6.

22. Of Jeroboam, who profaned the people put under him by the impiety of idolatry, amid which, however, God did not cease to inspire the, prophets, and to guard many from the crime of idolatry.
But Jeroboam king of Israel, with perverse mind, not believing in God, whom he had proved true in promising and giving him the kingdom, was afraid lest, by coming to the temple of God which was in Jerusalem, where, according to the divine law, that whole nation was to come in order to sacrifice, the people should be seduced from him, and return to David's line as the seed royal; and set up idolatry in his kingdom, and with horrible impiety beguiled the people, ensnaring them to the worship of idols with himself. Yet God did not altogether cease to reprove by the prophets, not only that king, but also his successors and imitators in his impiety, and the people too. For there the great and illustrious prophets Elijah and Elisha his disciple arose, who also did many wonderful works. Even there, when Elijah said, "Lord, they have slain Thy prophets, they have digged down Thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life," it was answered that seven thousand men were there who had not bowed the knee to Baal. 1

23. Of the varying condition of both the Hebrew kingdoms, until the people of both were at different times led into captivity, Judah being afterward recalled into his kingdom, which finally passed into the power of the Romans.

So also in the kingdom of Judah pertaining to Jerusalem prophets were not lacking even in the times of succeeding kings, just as it pleased God to send them, either for the prediction of what was needful, or for correction of sin and instruction in righteousness; 2 for there, too, although far less than in Israel, kings arose who grievously offended God by their impieties, and, along with their people, who were like them, were smitten with moderate scourges. The no small merits of the pious kings there are praised indeed. But we read that in Israel the kings were, some more, others less, yet

1 1 Kings xix. 10, 14, 15. Â» 2 2 Tim. iii. 16.
all wicked. Each part, therefore, as the divine providence either ordered or permitted, was both lifted up by prosperity and weighed down by adversity of various kinds; and it was afflicted not only by foreign, but also by civil wars with each other, in order that by certain existing causes the mercy or anger of God might be manifested; until, by His growing indignation, that whole nation was by the conquering Chaldeans not only overthrown in its abode, but also for the most part transported to the lands of the Assyrians, first, that part of the thirteen tribes called Israel, but afterwards Judah also, when Jerusalem and that most noble temple was cast down, in which lands it rested seventy years in captivity. Being after that time sent forth thence, they rebuilt the overthrown temple. And although very many stayed in the lands of the strangers, yet the kingdom no longer had two separate parts, with different kings over each, but in Jerusalem there was one prince over them; and at certain times, from every direction wherever they were, and from whatever place they could, they all came to the temple of God which was there. Yet not even then were they without foreign enemies and conquerors; yea, Christ found them tributaries of the Romans.

24. Of the prophets, who either were the last among the Jews, or whom the gospel history reports about the time of Christ's nativity.

But in that whole time after they returned from Babylon, after Malachi, Haggai, and Zechariah, who then prophesied, and Ezra, they had no prophets down to the time of the Saviour's advent except another Zechariah, the father of John, and Elisabeth his wife, when the nativity of Christ was already close at hand; and when He was already born, Simeon the aged, and Anna a widow, and now very old; and, last of all, John himself, who, being a young man, did not predict that Christ, now a young man, was to come, but by prophetic knowledge pointed Him out although unknown; for which reason the Lord Himself says, "The law and the prophets were until John." But the prophesying of these five is made known to us in the gospel, where the virgin mother of our Lord herself is also found to have prophesied before John. But this prophecy of theirs the wicked Jews do not receive; but those

1 Matt. xi. 13.
to put in this work some which pertain to Christ and His Church; and this, by the Lord's help, shall be done more conveniently in the following book, that we may not further burden this one, which is already too long.
BOOK EIGHTEENTH.

ARGUMENT.


1. Of those tings down to the times of the Saviour which have been discussed in the seventeen books.

I PROMISED to write of the rise, progress, and appointed end of the two cities, one of which is God's, the other this world's, in which, so far as mankind is concerned, the former is now a stranger. But first of all I undertook, so far as His grace should enable me, to refute the enemies of the city of God, who prefer their gods to Christ its founder, and fiercely hate Christians with the most deadly malice. And this I have done in the first ten books. Then, as regards my threefold promise which I have just mentioned, I have treated distinctly, in the four books which follow the tenth, of the rise of both cities. After that, I have proceeded from the first man down to the flood in one book, which is the fifteenth of this work; and from that again down to Abraham our work has followed both in chronological order. From the patriarch Abraham clown to the time of the Israelite kings, at which we close our sixteenth book, and thence clown to the advent of Christ Himself in the flesh, to which period the seventeenth book reaches, the city of God appears from my way of writing to have run its course alone; whereas it did not run its course alone in this age, for both cities, in their course amid mankind, certainly experienced chequered times together just as from the beginning. But I did this in order that, first of all, from the time when the promises of God began to be more clear, down to the virgin birth of Him in whom those things promised from the first were to be fill-

218 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]
filled, the course of that city which is God's might be made more distinctly apparent, without interpolation of foreign matter from the history of the other city, although down to the revelation of the new covenant it ran its course, not in light, but in shadow. Now, therefore, I think fit to do what I passed by, and show, so far as seems necessary, how that other city ran its course from the times of Abraham, so that attentive readers may compare the two.

2. Of the Icings and times of the earthly city which were synchronous with the times of the saints, reckoning from the rise of Abraham.

The society of mortals spread abroad through the earth everywhere, and in the most diverse places, although bound together by a certain fellowship of our common nature, is yet for the most part divided against itself, and the strongest oppress the others, because all follow after their own interests and lusts, while what is longed for either suffices for none, or not for all, because it is not the very thing. For the vanquished succumb to the victorious, preferring any sort of peace and safety to freedom itself; so that they who chose to die rather than be slaves have been greatly wondered at. For in almost all nations the very voice of nature somehow proclaims, that those who happen to be conquered should choose rather to be subject to then conquerors than to be killed by all kinds of warlike destruction. This does not take place without the providence of God, in whose power it lies that any one either subdues or is subdued in war; that some are endowed with kingdoms, others made subject to kings. Now, among the very many kingdoms of the earth into which, by earthly interest or lust, society is divided (which we call by the general name of the city of this world), we see that two, settled and kept distinct from each other both in time and place, have grown far more famous than the rest, first that of the Assyrians, then that of the Romans. First came the one, then the other. The former arose in the east, and, immediately on its close, the latter in the west. I may speak of other kingdoms and other kings as appendages of these.

Mnus, then, who succeeded his father Belus, the first king of Assyria, was already the second king of that kingdom when Abraham was born in the land of the Chaldees. There was
also at that time a very small kingdom of Sicyon, with which, as from an ancient date, that most universally learned man Marcus Varro begins, in writing of the Roman race. For from these kings of Sicyon he passes to the Athenians, from them to the Latins, and from these to the Romans. Yet very little is related about these kingdoms, before the foundation of Rome, in comparison with that of Assyria. For although even Sallust, the Roman historian, admits that the Athenians were very famous in Greece, yet he thinks they were greater in fame than in fact. For in speaking of them he says, "The deeds of the Athenians, as I think, were very great and magnificent, but yet somewhat less than reported by fame. But because writers of great genius arose among them, the deeds of the Athenians were celebrated throughout the world as very great. Thus the virtue of those who did them was held to be as great as men of transcendent genius could represent it to be by the power of laudatory words." 1 This city also derived no small glory from literature and philosophy, the study of which chiefly flourished there. But as regards empire, none in the earliest times was greater than the Assyrian, or so widely extended. For when Mnus the son of Belus was king, he is reported to have subdued the whole of Asia, even to the boundaries of Libya, which as to number is called the third part, but as to size is found to be the half of the whole world. The Indians in the eastern regions were the only people over whom he did not reign; but after his death Semiramis his wife made war on them. Thus it came to pass that all the people and kings in those countries were subject to the kingdom and authority of the Assyrians, and did whatever they were commanded. Now Abraham was born in that kingdom among the Chaldees, in the time of Mnus. But since Grecian affairs are much better known to us than Assyrian, and those who have diligently investigated the antiquity of the Roman nation's origin have followed the order of time through the Greeks to the Latins, and from them to the Romans, who themselves are Latins, we ought on this account, where it is needful, to mention the Assyrian kings, that it may appear how Babylon, like a first Rome, ran its course along

1 Sallust, Bell. Cat. c. 8.

220 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

^ with the city of God, which is a stranger in this world. But the things proper for insertion in this work in comparing the two cities, that is, the earthly and heavenly, ought to be taken mostly from the Greek and Latin kingdoms, where Rome herself is like a second Babylon.

At Abraham's birth, then, the second kings of Assyria and Sicyon respectively were Xinus and Europs, the first having been Belus and iEgialeus. But when God promised Abraham, on his departure from Babylonia, that he should become a great nation, and that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed, the Assyrians had their seventh
king, the Sicyons their fifth; for the son of Xinus reigned among them after Ms mother Semiramis, who is said to have been put to death by him for attempting to defile him by incestuously lying with him. Some think that she founded Babylon, and indeed she may have founded it anew. But we have told, in the sixteenth book, when or by whom it was founded. Now the son of Xinus and Semiramis, who succeeded his mother in the kingdom, is also called Xinus by some, but by others Xinius, a patronymic word. Telexion then held the kingdom of the Sicyons. In his reign times were quiet and joyful to such a degree, that after his death they worshipped him as a god by offering sacrifices and by celebrating games, which are said to have been first instituted on this occasion.

3. What kings reigned in Assyria and Sicyon when, according to the promise, Isaac was born to Abraham in his hundredth year, and when the twins Esau and Jacob were born of Rebecca to Isaac in his sixtieth year.

In his times also, by the promise of God, Isaac, the son of Abraham, was born to his father when he was a hundred years old, of Sarah his wife, who, being barren and old, had already lost hope of issue. Aralius was then the fifth king of the Assyrians. To Isaac himself, in Ins sixtieth year, were born twin-sons, Esau and Jacob, whom Rebecca his wife bore to him, their grandfather Abraham, who died on completing a hundred and seventy years, being still alive, and reckoning his hundred and sixtieth year. 1 At that time there reigned as the seventh kings, â€” among the Assyrians, that more ancient Xerxes, who was also called Bataeus; and among the Sicyons,

1 In the Hebrew text, Gen. xxv. 7, a hundred *and seventy-five years.
Thuriac, or, as some write his name, Thurimachus. The kingdom of Argos, in which Inachus reigned first, arose in the time of Abraham's grandchildren. And I must not omit what Varro relates, that the Sicyons were also wont to sacrifice at the tomb of their seventh king Thuriachus. In the reign of Armamitres in Assyria and Leucippus in Sicyon as the eighth kings, and of Inachus as the first in Argos, God spoke to Isaac, and promised the same two things to him as to his father, â€” namely, the land of Canaan to his seed, and the blessing of all nations in his seed. These same things were promised to his son, Abraham's grandson, who was at first called Jacob, afterwards Israel, when Belocus was the ninth king of Assyria, and Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, reigned as the second king of Argos, Leucippus still continuing king of Sicyon. In those times, under the Argive king Phoroneus, Greece was made more famous by the institution of certain laws and judges. On the death of Phoroneus, his younger brother Phegous built a temple at his tomb, in which he was worshipped as God, and oxen were sacrificed to him. I believe they thought him worthy of so great honour, because in his part of the kingdom (for their father had divided his territories between them, in which they reigned during his life) he had founded chapels for the worship of the gods, and had taught them to measure time by months and years, and to that extent to keep count and reckoning of events. Men still uncultivated, admiring him for these novelties, either fancied he was, or resolved that he should be made, a god after his death. Io also is said to have been the daughter of Inachus, who was afterwards called Isis, when she was worshipped in Egypt as a great goddess; although others write that she came as a queen out of Ethiopia, and because she ruled extensively and justly, and instituted for her subjects letters and many useful things, such divine honour was given her there after she died, that if any one said she had been human, he was charged with a capital crime.

4. Of the times of Jacob and his son Joseph.

In the reign of Balceus, the ninth king of Assyria, and Mesappus, the eighth of Sicyon, who is said by some to have

been also called Cephisos (if indeed the same man had both names, and those who put the other name in their writings have not rather confounded him with another man), while Apis was third king of Argos, Isaac died, a hundred and eighty years old, and left his twin-sons a hundred and twenty years old. Jacob, the younger of these, belonged to the city of God about which we write (the elder being wholly rejected), and had twelve sons, one of whom, called Joseph, was sold by his brothers to merchants going down to Egypt, while his grandfather Isaac was still alive. But when he was thirty years of age, Joseph stood before Pharaoh, being exalted out of the humiliation he endured, because, in divinely interpreting the king's dreams, he foretold that there would be seven years of
plenty, the very rich abundance of which would be consumed by seven other years of famine that should follow. On this account the king made him ruler over Egypt, liberating him from prison, into which he had been thrown for keeping his chastity intact; for he bravely preserved it from his mistress, who wickedly loved him, and told lies to his weakly credulous master, and did not consent to commit adultery with her, but fled from her, leaving his garment in her hands when she laid hold of him. In the second of the seven years of famine Jacob came down into Egypt to his son with all he had, being a hundred and thirty years old, as he himself said in answer to the king's question. Joseph was then thirty-nine, if we add seven years of plenty and two of famine to the thirty he reckoned when honoured by the king.

5. 0/ Apis king of Argos, idiom the Egyptians called Seraptis, and worshipped with divine honours.

In these times Apis king of Argos crossed over into Egypt in ships, and, on dying there, was made Serapis, the chief god of all the Egyptians. Now Varro gives this very ready reason why, after his death, he was called, not Apis, but Serapis. The ark in which he was placed when dead, which every one now calls a sarcophagus, was then called in Greek <jopo?, and they began to worship him when buried in it before his temple was built; and from Soros and Apis he was called first [Sorosapis, or] Sorapis, and then Serapis, by changing a
letter, as easily happens. It was decreed regarding him also, that whoever should say he
had been a man should be capitally punished. And since in every temple where Isis and
Serapis were worshipped there was also an image which, with finger pressed on the lips,
seemed to warn men to keep silence, Varro thinks this signifies that it should be kept
secret that they had been human. But that bull which, with wonderful folly, deluded
Egypt nourished with abundant delicacies in honour of him, was not called Serapis, but
Apis, because they worshipped him alive without a sarcophagus. On the death of that
bull, when they sought and found a calf of the same colour, “that is, similarly marked
with certain white spots,” they believed it was something miraculous, and divinely provided for them. Yet it was no
great thing for the demons, in order to deceive them, to show to a cow when she was
conceiving and pregnant the image of such a bull, which she alone could see, and by it
attract the breeding passion of the mother, so that it might appear in a bodily shape in her
young, just as Jacob so managed with the spotted rods that the sheep and goats were born
spotted. For what men can do with real colours and substances, the demons can very
easily do by showing unreal forms to breeding animals.

6. Who were kings of Argos, and of Assyria, when Jacob died in Egypt.

Apis, then, who died in Egypt, was not the king of Egypt, but of Argos. He was
succeeded by his son Argus, from whose name the land was called Argos and the people
Argives, for under the earlier kings neither the place nor the nation as yet had this name.
While he then reigned over Argos, and Eratus over Sicyon, and Balseus still remained
king of Assyria, Jacob died in Egypt a hundred and forty-seven years old, after he had,
when dying, blessed his sons and his grandsons by Joseph, and prophesied most plainly
of Christ, saying in the blessing of Judah, “A prince shall not fail out of Judah, nor a
leader from his thighs, until those things come which are laid up for him; and He is the
expectation of the nations.” 1 In the reign of Argus Greece began to use fruits, and to
have crops of corn in cultivated fields, the seed having

1 Gen. xlix. 10.

224 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVII

been brought from other countries. Argus also began to be accounted a god after his
death, and was honoured with a temple and sacrifices. This honour was conferred in his
reign, before being given to him, on a private individual for being the first to yoke oxen
in the plough. This was one Homog)Tus, who was struck by lightning.

7. IJViO were kings when Joseph died in Egypt.
In the reign of Mamitus, the twelfth king of Assyria, and Plemnaeus, the eleventh of Sicyon, while Argus still reigned over the Argives, Joseph died in Egypt a hundred and ten years old. After his death, the people of God, increasing wonderfully, remained in Egypt a hundred and forty-five years, in tranquillity at first, until those who knew Joseph were dead. Afterward, through envy of their increase, and the suspicion that they would at length gain their freedom, they were oppressed with persecutions and the labours of intolerable servitude, amid which, however, they still grew, being multiplied with God-given fertility. During this period the same kingdoms continued in Assyria and Greece.

8. Who were kings when Moses was born, and what gods began to be worshiped then.

When Saphrus reigned as the fourteenth king of Assyria, and Orthopolis as the twelfth of Sicyon, and Criasus as the fifth of Argos, Moses was born in Egypt, by whom the people of God were liberated from the Egyptian slavery, in which they behaved to be thus tried that they might desire the help of their Creator. Some have thought that Prometheus lived during the reign of the kings now named. He is reported to have formed men out of clay, because he was esteemed the best teacher of wisdom; yet it does not appear what wise men there were in his days. His brother Atlas* is said to have been a great astrologer; and this gave occasion for the fable that he held up the sky, although the vulgar opinion about his holding up the sky appears rather to have been suggested by a high mountain named after him. Indeed, from those times many other fabulous things began to be invented in Greece; yet, down to Cecrops king of Athens, in whose reign that city received its name, and in whose reign
God brought His people out of Egypt by Moses, only a few dead heroes are reported to have been deified according to the vain superstition of the Greeks. Among these were Melantomice, the wife of king Criasus, and Phorbas their son, who succeeded his father as sixth king of the Argives, and Iasus, son of Triopas, their seventh king, and their ninth king, Sthenelas, or Stheneleus, or Sthenelus, â€” for his name is given differently by different authors. In those times also, Mercury, the grandson of Atlas by his daughter Maia, is said to have lived, according to the common report in books. He was famous for his skill in many arts, and taught them to men, for which they resolved to make him, and even believed that he deserved to be, a god after death. Hercules is said to have been later, yet belonging to the same period; although some, whom I think mistaken, assign him an earlier date than Mercury. But at whatever time they were born, it is agreed among grave historians, who have committed these ancient things to writing, that both were men, and that they merited divine honours from mortals because they conferred on them many benefits to make this life more pleasant to them. Minerva was far more ancient than these; for she is reported to have appeared in virgin age in the times of Ogyges at the lake called Triton, from which she is also styled Tritonia, the inventress truly of many works, and the more readily believed to be a goddess because her origin was so little known. For what is sung about her having sprung from the head of Jupiter belongs to the region of poetry and fable, and not to that of history and real fact. And historical writers are not agreed when Ogyges flourished, in whose time also a great flood occurred, â€” not that greatest one from which no man escaped except those who could get into the ark, for neither Greek nor Latin history knew of it, yet a greater flood than that which happened afterward in Deucalion's time. For-Varro begins the book I have already mentioned at this date, and does not propose to himself, as the starting point from which he may arrive at Roman affairs, anything more ancient than the flood of Ogyges, that is, which happened in the time of Ogyges. Now our writers of chronicles â€” first Eusebius, and afterwards Jerome, who entirely follow

VOL. II. p

226 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.

some earlier historians in this opinion â€” relate that the flood of Ogyges happened more than three hundred years after, during the reign of Phoroneus, the second king of Argos. But whenever he may have lived, Minerva was already worshipped as a goddess when Cecrops reigned in Athens, in whose reign the city itself is reported to have been rebuilt or founded.

9. When the city of Athens was founded, and what reason Varro assigns for its name.
Athens certainly derived its name from Minerva, who in Greek is called *A6t]V7), and Varro points out the following reason why it was so called. When an olive-tree suddenly appeared there, and water burst forth in another place, these prodigies moved the king to send to the Delphic Apollo to inquire what they meant and what he should do. He answered that the olive signified Minerva, the water Xeptune, and that the citizens had it in their power to name their city as they chose, after either of these two gods whose signs these were. On receiving this oracle, Cecrops convoked all the citizens of either sex to give their vote, for it was then the custom in those parts for the women also to take part in public deliberations. When the multitude was consulted, the men gave their votes for Xeptune, the women for Minerva; and as the women had a majority of one, Minerva conquered.

Then Keptune, being enraged, laid waste the lands of the Athenians, by casting up the waves of the sea; for the demons have no difficulty in scattering any waters more widely. The same authority said, that to appease his wrath the women should be visited by the Athenians with the threefold punishment â€” that they should no longer have any vote; that none of their children should be named after their mothers; and that no one should call them Athenians. -Thus that city, the mother and nurse of liberal doctrines, and of so many and so great philosophers, than whom Greece had nothing more famous and noble, by the mockery of demons about the strife of their gods, a male and female, and from the victory of the female one through the women, received the name of Athens; and, on being damaged by the vanquished god, was compelled to punish the very victory of the
victress, fearing the waters of Neptune more than the arms of Minerva. Tor in the women who were thus punished, Minerva, who had conquered, was conquered too, and could not even help her voters so far that, although the right of voting was henceforth lost, and the mothers could not give their names to the children, they might at least be allowed to be called Athenians, and to merit the name of that goddess whom they had made victorious over a male god by giving her their votes. What and how much could be said about this, if we had not to hasten to other things in our discourse, is obvious.

10. What Varro reports about the term Areopagus, and about Deucalion's flood.

Marcus Varro, however, is not willing to credit lying fables against the gods, lest he should find something dishonouring to their majesty; and therefore he will not admit that the Areopagus, the place where the Apostle Paul disputed with the Athenians, got this name because Mars, who in Greek is called "Apr)?, when he was charged with the crime of homicide, and was judged by twelve gods in that field, was acquitted by the sentence of six; because it was the custom, when the votes were equal, to acquit rather than condemn.

Against this opinion, which is much most widely published, he tries, from the notices of obscure books, to support another reason for this name, lest the Athenians should be thought to have called it Areopagus from the words "Mars" and "field," 1 as if it were the field of Mars, to the dishonour of the gods, forsooth, from whom he thinks lawsuits and judgments far removed. And he asserts that this which is said about Mars is not less false than what is said about the three goddesses, to wit, Juno, Minerva, and Venus, whose contest for the palm of beauty, before Paris as judge, in order to obtain the golden apple, is not only related, but is celebrated in songs and dances amid the applause of the theatres, in plays meant to please the gods who take pleasure in these crimes of their own, whether real or fabled. Varro does not believe these things, because they are incompatible with the nature of the gods and of morality; and yet, in giving not a fabulous

1 "Apns and Tuyos.

228 THE CITY OF GOD. [COOK XVIII.

but a historic reason for the name of Athens, he inserts in his books the strife between Neptune and Minerva as to whose name should be given to that city, which was so great that, when they contended by the display of prodigies, even Apollo dared not judge between them when consulted; but, in order to end the strife of the gods, just as Jupiter sent the three goddesses we have named to Paris, so he sent them to men, when Minerva
won by the vote, and yet was defeated by the punishment of her own voters, for she was unable to confer the title of Athenians on the women who were her friends, although she could impose it on the men who were her opponents. In these times, when Cranaos reigned at Athens as the successor of Cecrops, as Varro writes, but, according to our Eusebius and Jerome, while Cecrops himself still remained, the flood occurred which is called Deucalion's, because it occurred chiefly in those parts of the earth in which he reigned. But this flood did not at all reach Egypt or its vicinity.

11. When Moses led the people out of Egypt; and who were kings when his successor Joshua the son of Nun died.

Moses led the people out of Egypt in the last time of Cecrops king of Athens, when Ascatades reigned in Assyria, Marathus in Sicyon, Triopas in Argos; and having led forth the people, he gave them at Mount Sinai the law he received from God, which is called the Old Testament, because it has earthly promises, and because, through Jesus Christ, there was to be a New Testament, in which the kingdom of heaven should be promised. For the same order behoved to be observed in this as is observed in each man who prospers in God, according to the saying of the apostle, "That is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural," since, as he says, and that truly, "The first man of the earth, is earthly; the second man, from heaven, is heavenly." * Now Moses ruled the people for forty years in the wilderness, and died a hundred and twenty years old, after he had prophesied of Christ by the types of carnal observances in the tabernacle, priesthood, and sacrifices, and many other mystic ordinances.

Joshua the son of Nun succeeded Moses, and settled in the land of promise the people he had brought in, having by

11 Cor. xv. 46, 47. ♠

LOOK XVIII.] IDOLATRY OF THIS PERIOD. 229

divine authority conquered the people by whom it was formerly possessed. He also died, after ruling the people twenty-seven years after the death of Moses, when Amyntas reigned in Assyria as the eighteenth king, Coracos as the sixteenth in Sicyon, Danaos as the tenth in Argos, Ericthonius as the fourth in Athens.

12. Of the rituals of false gods instituted by the kings of Greece in the period from Israel's exodus from Egypt down to the death of Joshua the son of Nun.

During this period, that is, from Israel's exodus from Egypt clown to the death of Joshua the son of Nun, through whom that people received the land of promise, rituals were instituted to the false gods by the kings of Greece, which, by stated celebration, recalled the memory of the flood, and of men's deliverance from it, and of that troublous life they then led in migrating to and fro between the heights and the plains. Eor even the Luperci, 1 when they ascend and descend the sacred path, are said to represent the men who
sought the mountain summits because of the inundation of water, and returned to the lowlands on its subsidence. In those times, Dionysus, who was also called Father Liber, and was esteemed a god after death, is said to have shown the vine to his host in Attica. Then the musical games were instituted for the Delphic Apollo, to appease his anger, through which they thought the regions of Greece were afflicted with barrenness, because they had not defended his temple which Danaos burnt when he invaded those lands; for they were warned by his oracle to institute these games. But king Ericthonius first instituted games to him in Attica, and not to him only, but also to Minerva, in which games the olive was given as the prize to the victors, because they relate that Minerva was the discoverer of that fruit, as Liber was of the grape. In those years Europa is alleged to have been carried off by Xanthus king of Crete (to whom we find some give another name), and to have borne him Ehadamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos, who are more commonly reported to have been the sons of Jupiter by the same woman. Now those who worship such gods regard what we have said about

1 The priests who officiated at the Lupercalia.

230 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

Xantlms king of Crete as true history; but this about Jupiter, which the poets sing, the theatres applaud, and the people celebrate, as empty fable got up as a reason for games to appease the deities, even with the false ascription of crimes to them. In those times Hercules was held in honour in Tyre, but that was not the same one as he whom we spoke of above. In the more secret history there are said to have been several who were called Father Liber and Hercules. This Hercules, whose great deeds are reckoned as twelve (not including the slaughter of Antaeus the African, because that affair pertains to another Hercules), is declared in their books to have burned himself on Mount (Eta, because he was not able, by that strength with which he had subdued monsters, to endure the disease under which he languished. At that time the king, or rather tyrant Busiris, who is alleged to have been the son of Neptune by Libya the daughter of Epaphus, is said to have offered up his guests in sacrifice to the gods. Now it must not be believed that Neptune committed this adultery, lest the gods should be criminated; yet such things must be ascribed to them by the poets and in the theatres, that they may be pleased with them. Vulcan and Minerva are said to have been the parents of Ericthonius king of Athens, in whose last years Joshua the son of Nun is found to have died. But since they will have it that Minerva is a virgin, they say that Vulcan, being disturbed in the struggle between them, poured out his seed into the earth, and on that account the man born of it received that name; for in the Greek language e/υ is "strife," and ^Ooov " earth," of which two words Ericthonius is a compound. Yet it must be admitted that the more learned disprove and disown such things concerning their gods, and declare that this fabulous belief originated in the fact that in the temple at Athens, which Vulcan and Minerva had in common, a boy who had been exposed was found wrapped up in the coils of a dragon, which signified that he would become great, and, as his parents were unknown, he was called the son of Vulcan and Minerva, because they
had the temple in common. Yet that fable accounts for the origin of his name better than this history. But what does it matter to us? Let the one in Books that speak the
truth edify religious men, and the other in lying fables delight impure demons. Yet these religious men worship them as gods. Still, while they deny these things concerning them, they cannot clear them of all crime, because at their demand they exhibit plays in which the very things they wisely deny are basely done, and the gods are appeased by these false and base things. Now, even although the play celebrates an unreal crime of the gods, yet to delight in the ascription of an unreal crime is a real one.

13. What fables were invented at the time when judges began to rule the Hebrews.

After the death of Joshua the son of Nun, the people of God had judges, in whose times they were alternately humbled by afflictions on account of their sins, and consoled by prosperity through the compassion of God. In those times were invented the fables about Triptolemus, who, at the command of Ceres, borne by winged snakes, bestowed corn on the needy lands in flying over them; about that beast the Minotaur, which was shut up in the Labyrinth, from which men who entered its inextricable mazes could find no exit; about the Centaurs, whose form was a compound of horse and man; about Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell; about Phryxus and his sister Hellas, who fled, borne by a winged ram; about the Gorgon, whose hair was composed of serpents, and who turned those who looked on her into stone; about Bellerophon, who was carried by a winged horse called Pegasus; about Amphion, who charmed and attracted the stones by the sweetness of his harp; about the artificer Daedalus and his son Icarus, who flew on wings they had fitted on; about (Edipus, who compelled a certain four-footed monster with a human face, called a sphynx, to destroy herself by casting herself headlong, having solved the riddle she was wont to propose as insoluble; about Antaeus, who was the son of the earth, for which reason, on falling on the earth, he was wont to rise up stronger, whom Hercules slew; and perhaps there are others which I have forgotten. These fables, easily found in histories containing a true account of events, bring us down to the Trojan war, at which Marcus Varro has closed his second book about the race of the Eoman people; and they

are so skilfully invented by men as to involve no scandal to the gods. But whoever have pretended as to Jupiter's rape of Ganymede, a very beautiful boy, that king Tantalus committed the crime, and the fable ascribed it to Jupiter; or as to his impregnating Danae as a golden shower, that it means that the woman's virtue was corrupted by gold: whether these things were really done or only fabled in those days, or were really done by others and falsely ascribed to Jupiter, it is impossible to tell how much wickedness must have been taken for granted in men's hearts that they should be thought able to listen to such...
lies with patience. And yet they willingly accepted them, when, indeed, the more devotedly they worshipped Jupiter, they ought the more severely to have punished those who durst say such things of him. But they not only were not angry at those who invented these things, but were afraid that the gods would be angry at them if they did not act such fictions even in the theatres. In those times Latona bore Apollo, not him of whose oracle we have spoken above as so often consulted, but him who is said, along with Hercules, to have fed the flocks of king Admetus; yet he was so believed to be a god, that very many, indeed almost all, have believed him to be the selfsame Apollo. Then also Father Liber made war in India, and led in his army many women called Bacckal, who were notable not so much for valour as for fury. Some, indeed, write that this Liber was both conquered and bound; and some that he was slain in Persia, even telling where he was buried; and yet in his name, as that of a god, the unclean demons have instituted the sacred, or rather the sacrilegious, Bacchanalia, of the outrageous vileness of which the senate, after many years, became so much ashamed as to prohibit them in the city of Borne. Men believed that in those times Perseus and his wife Andromeda were raised into heaven after their death, so that they were not ashamed or afraid to mark out their images by constellations, and call them by their names.

14. Of the theological poets.

During the same period of time arose the poets, who were also called theologues, because they made hymns about the
gods; yet about such gods as, although great men, were yet but men, or the elements of this world which the true God made, or creatures who were ordained as principalities and powers according to the will of the Creator and their own merit. And if, among much that was vain and false, they sang anything of the one true God, yet, by worshipping Him along with others who are not gods, and showing them the service that is due to Him alone, they did not serve Him at all rightly; and even such poets as Orpheus, Musseus, and Linus, were unable to abstain from dishonouring their gods by fables. But yet these theologues worshipped the gods, and were not worshipped as gods, although the city of the ungodly is wont, I know not how, to set Orpheus over the sacred, or rather sacrilegious, rites of hell. The wife of king Athamas, who was called Ino, and her son Melicertes, perished by throwing themselves into the sea, and were, according to popular belief, reckoned among the gods, like other men of the same times, [among whom were] Castor and Pollux. The Greeks, indeed, called her who was the mother of Melicertes, Leucothea, the Latins Matuta; but both thought her a goddess.

15. Of the fall of the kingdom of Argos, when Picus the son of Saturn first received his father’s kingdom of Laurentum.

During those times the kingdom of Argos came to an end, being transferred to Mycene, from which Agamemnon came, and the kingdom of Laurentum arose, of which Picus son of Saturn was the first king, when the woman Deborah judged the Hebrews; but it was the Spirit of God who used her as His agent, for she was also a prophetess, although her prophecy is so obscure that we could not demonstrate, without a long discussion, that it was uttered concerning Christ. Now the Laurentes already reigned in Italy, from whom the origin of the Eoman people is quite evidently derived after the Greeks; yet the kingdom of Assyria still lasted, in which Lampares was the twenty-third king when Picus first began to reign at Laurentum. The worshippers of such gods may see what they are to think of Saturn the father of Picus, who deny that he was a man; of whom some also have written that he himself reigned in Italy before Picus his son; and Virgil in his well-known book says, &c"

234 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

"That race indocile, and through mountains high Dispersed, he settled, and endowed with laws, And named their country Latium, because Latent within their coasts he dwelt secure. Tradition says the golden ages pure Began when he was king. "

But they regard these as poetic fancies, and assert that the father of Picus was Sterces rather, and relate that, being a most skilful husbandman, he discovered that the fields could be fertilized by the dung of animals, which is called stercus from his name. Some
say he was called Stercutius. But for whatever reason they chose to call him Saturn, it is yet certain they made this Sterces or Stercutius a god for his merit in agriculture; and they likewise received into the number of these gods Picus his son, whom they affirm to have been a famous augur and warrior. Picus begot Faunus, the second king of Laurentum; and he too is, or was, a god with them. These divine honours they gave to dead men before the Trojan war.

16. Of Diomede, who after the destruction of Troy was placed among the gods, while his companions are said to have been changed into birds.

Troy was overthrown, and its destruction was everywhere sung and made well known even to boys; for it was signally published and spread abroad, both by its own greatness and by writers of excellent style. And this was done in the reign of Latinus the son of Faunus, from whom the kingdom began to be called Latium instead of Laurentum. The victorious Greeks, on leaving Troy destroyed and returning to their own countries, were torn and crushed by divers and horrible calamities. Yet even from among them they increased the number of their gods, for they made Diomede a god. They allege that his return home was prevented by a divinely imposed punishment, and they prove, not by fabulous and poetic falsehood, but by historic attestation, that his companions were turned into birds. Yet they think that, even although he was made a god, he could neither restore them to the human form by his own power, nor yet obtain it from Jupiter his king, as a favour granted to a new inhabitant of heaven. They also say that his temple is in the island of

1 JEncid, viii. 321.
Diomedasa, not far from Mount Garganus in Apulia, and that
these birds fly round about this temple, and worship in it
with such wonderful obedience, that they fill their beaks with
water and sprinkle it; and if Greeks, or those born of the
Greek race, come there, they are not only still, but fly to meet
them; but if they are foreigners, they fly up at their heads,
and wound them with such severe strokes as even to kill
them. For they are said to be well enough armed for these
combats with their hard and large beaks.

17. What Varro says of the incredible transformations of men.

In support of this story, Varro relates others no less incredible about that most famous
sorceress Circe, who changed the companions of Ulysses into beasts, and about the
Arcadians, who, by lot, swam across a certain pool, and were turned into wolves there,
and lived in the deserts of that region with wild beasts like themselves. But if they never
fed on human flesh for nine years, they were restored to the human form on swimming
back again through the same pool. Finally, he expressly names one Demametus, who, on
tasting a boy offered up in sacrifice by the Arcadians to their god Lycseus according to
their custom, was changed into a wolf, and, being restored to his proper form in the tenth
year, trained himself as a pugilist, and was victorious at the Olympic games. And the
same historian thinks that the epithet Lycaeus was applied in Arcadia to Pan and Jupiter
for no other reason than this metamorphosis of men into wolves, because it was thought it
could not be wrought except by a divine power. For a wolf is called in Greek ωκός, from
which the name Lycseus appears to be formed. He says also that the Eoman Luperci were
as it were sprung of the seed of these mysteries.

18. What we should believe concerning the transformations which seem to happen to men
through the art of demons.

Perhaps our readers expect us to say something about this so great delusion wrought by
the demons; and what shall we say but that men must fly out of the midst of Eabylon ? 1
For this prophetic precept is to be understood spiritually in this sense, that by going
forward in the living God, by the steps of
faith, which worketh by love, we must flee out of the city of this world, which is altogether a society of ungodly angels and men. Yea, the greater we see the power of the demons to be in these depths, so much the more tenaciously must we cleave to the Mediator through whom we ascend from these lowest to the highest places. For if we should say these things are not to be credited, there are not wanting even now some who would affirm that they had either heard on the best authority, or even themselves experienced, something of that kind. Indeed we ourselves, when in Italy, heard such things about a certain region there, where landladies of inns, imbued with these wicked arts, were said to be in the habit of giving to such travellers as they chose, or could manage, something in a piece of cheese by which they were changed on the spot into beasts of burden, and carried whatever was necessary, and were restored to their own form when the work was done. Yet their mind did not become bestial, but remained rational and human, just as Apuleius, in the books he wrote with the title of The Golden Ass, has told, or feigned, that it happened to his own self that, on taking poison, he became an ass, while retaining his human mind.

These things are either false, or so extraordinary as to be with good reason disbelieved. But it is to be most firmly believed that Almighty God can do whatever He pleases, whether in punishing or favouring, and that the demons can accomplish nothing by their natural power (for their created being is itself angelic, although made malign by their own fault), except what He may permit, whose judgments are often hidden, but never unrighteous. And indeed the demons, if they really do such things as these on which this discussion turns, do not create real substances, but only change the appearance of things created by the true God so as to make them seem to be what they are not. I cannot therefore believe that even the body, much less the mind, can really be changed into bestial forms and lineaments by any reason, art, or power of the demons; but the phantasm of a man, which even in thought or dreams goes through innumerable changes, may, when the man's senses are laid asleep or overpowered, be presented to the senses of others in a 'corporeal form, in
some indescribable way unknown to me, so that men's bodies themselves may lie
somewhere, alive, indeed, yet with their senses locked up much more heavily and firmly
than by sleep, while that phantasm, as it were embodied in the shape of some animal,
may appear to the senses of others, and may even seem to the man himself to be changed,
just as he may seem to himself in sleep to be so changed, and to bear burdens; and these
burdens, if they are real substances, are borne by the demons, that men may be deceived
by beholding at the same time the real substance of the burdens and the simulated bodies
of the beasts of burden. For a certain man called Praestantius used to tell that it had
happened to his father in his own house, that he took that poison in a piece of cheese, and
lay in his bed as if sleeping, yet could by no means be aroused. But he said that after a
few days he as it were woke up and related the things he had suffered as if they had been
dreams, namely, that he had been made a sumpter horse, and, along with other beasts of
burden, had carried provisions for the soldiers of what is called the Khctian Legion,
because it was sent to Ehcetia. And all this was found to have taken place just as he told,
yet it had seemed to him to be his own dream. And another man declared that in his own
house at night, before he slept, he saw a certain philosopher, whom he knew very well,
come to him and explain to him some things in the Platonic philosophy which he had
previously declined to explain when asked.
And when he had asked this philosopher why he did in his house what he had refused to
do at home, he said, "I did not do it, but I dreamed I had done it." And thus what the one
saw when sleeping was shown to the other when awake by a phantasmal image.

These things have not come to us from persons we might deem unworthy of credit, but
from informants we could not suppose to be deceiving us. Therefore what men say and
have committed to writing about the Arcadians being often changed into wolves by the
Arcadian gods, or demons rather, and what is told in song about Circe transforming the
companions of Ulysses, 1 if they were really done, may, in my

1 Virgil, Eclogue, viii. 70.

opinion, have been done in the way I have said. As for Dioniede's birds, since their race
is alleged to have been perpetuated by constant propagation, I believe they were not made
through the metamorphosis of men, but were slyly substituted for them on their removal,
just as the hind was for Iphigenia, the daughter of king Agamemnon. For juggleries of
this kind could not be difficult for the demons if permitted by the judgment of God; and
since that virgin was afterward found alive, it is easy to see that a hind had been slyly
substituted for her. But because the companions of Diomede were of a sudden nowhere to
be seen, and afterward could nowhere be found, being destroyed by bad avenging angels,
they were believed to have been changed into those birds, which were secretly brought
there from other places where such birds were, and suddenly substituted for them by fraud. But that they bring water in their beaks and sprinkle it on the temple of Diomede, and that they fawn on men of Greek race and persecute aliens, is no wonderful thing to be done by the inward influence of the demons, whose interest it is to persuade men that Diomede was made a god, and thus to beguile them into worshipping many false gods, to the great dishonour of the true God; and to serve dead men, who even in their lifetime did not truly live, with temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests, all which, when of the right kind, are due only to the one living and true God.

19. That Æneas came into Italy when Abdon the judge ruled over the Hebrews.

After the capture and destruction of Troy, Æneas, with twenty ships laden with the Trojan relics, came into Italy, when Latinus reigned there, Menestheus in Athens, Polyphidos in Sicyon, and Tautanos in Assyria, and Abdon was judge of the Hebrews. On the death of Latinus, Æneas reigned three years, the same kings continuing in the abovenamed places, except that Pelasgus was now king in Sicyon, and Sampson was judge of the Hebrews, who is thought to be Hercules, because of his wonderful strength. Now the Latins made Æneas one of their gods, because at his death he was nowhere to be found. The Sabines also placed among the gods their first king, Sancus, [Sangus], or s Sanctus, as some
call him. At that time Codrus king of Athens exposed himself incognito to be slain by the Peloponnesian foes of that city, and so was slain. In this way, they say, he delivered his country. For the Peloponnesians had received a response from the oracle, that they should overcome the Athenians only on condition that they did not slay their king. Therefore he deceived them by appearing in a poor man's dress, and provoking them, by quarrelling, to murder him. Whence Virgil says, "Or the quarrels of Codrus." 1

And the Athenians worshipped this man as a god with sacrificial honours. The fourth king of the Latins was Silvius the son of iEneas, not by Creusa, of whom Ascanius the third king was born, but by Lavinia the daughter of Latinus, and he is said to have been his posthumous child. Oneus was the twenty-ninth king of Assyria, Melanthus the sixteenth of the Athenians, and Eli the priest was judge of the Hebrews; and the kingdom of Sicyon then came to an end, after lasting, it is said, for nine hundred and fifty-nine years.

20. Of the succession of the line of kings among the Israelites after the times of the judges.

While these kings reigned in the places mentioned, the period of the judges being ended, the kingdom of Israel next began with king Saul, when Samuel the prophet lived. At that date those Latin kings began who were surnamed Silvii, having that surname, in addition to their proper name, from their predecessor, that son of iEneas who was called Silvius; just as, long afterward, the successors of Caesar Augustus were surnamed Caesars. Saul being rejected, so that none of his issue should reign, on his death David succeeded him in the kingdom, after he had reigned forty years. Then the Athenians ceased to have kings after the death of Codrus, and began to have a magistracy to rule the republic. After David, who also reigned forty years, his son Solomon was king of Israel, who built that most noble temple of God at Jerusalem. In his time Alba was built among the Latins, from which thereafter the kings began to be styled kings not of the Latins, but of the Albans, although in the same Latium. Solomon was succeeded by his son Eehoboam,

1 Virgil, Eclogue, v. 11.

2±0 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

under whom that people was divided into two kingdoms, and its separate parts began to have separate kings.

21. Of the kings of Latium, the first and twelfth of whom, jEneas and Aventinus, were made gods.
After iEneas, whom they deified, Latium had eleven kings, none of whom was deified. But Aventinus, who was the twelfth after iEneas, having been laid low in war, and buried in that hill still called by his name, was added to the number of such gods as they made for themselves. Some, indeed, were unwilling to write that he was slain in battle, but said he was nowhere to be found, and that it was not from his name, but from the alighting of birds, that hill was called Aventinus. 1 After this no god was made in Latium except Romulus the founder of Rome. But two kings are found between these two, the first of whom I shall describe in the Virgilian verse:

" Xext came that Procas, glory of the Trojan race." 2

That greatest of all kingdoms, the Assyrian, had its long duration brought to a close in his time, the time of Rome's birth drawing nigh. For the Assyrian empire was transferred to the Medes after nearly thirteen hundred and five years, if we include the reign of Belus, who begot Ninus, and, content with a small kingdom, was the first king there. Now Procas reigned before Amulius. And Amulius had made his brother Xumitor's daughter, Rhea by name, who was also called Ilia, a vestal virgin, who conceived twin sons by Mars, as they will have it, in that way honouring or excusing her adultery, adding as a proof that a she-wolf nursed the infants when exposed. For they think this kind of beast belongs to Mars, so that the she-wolf is believed to have given her teats to the infants, because she knew they were the sons of Mars her lord; although there are not wanting persons who say that when the crying babes lay exposed, they were first of all picked up by I know not what harlot, and sucked her breasts first (now harlots were called lupce, shewolves, from which their vile abodes are even yet called luj>anaria), and that afterwards they came into the hands of the shepherd Faustulus, and were nursed by Acca his wife. Yet

1 Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 43. \jEneid, vi. 767.
what wonder is it, if, to rebuke the king who had cruelly ordered them to be thrown into the water, God was pleased, after divinely delivering them from the water, to succour, by means of a wild beast giving milk, these infants by whom so great a city was to be founded? Amulius was succeeded in the Latian kingdom by his brother Numitor, the grandfather of Eomulus; and Borne was founded in the first year of this Numitor, who from that time reigned along with his grandson Eomulus.

22. That Rome was founded when the Assyrian kingdom perished, at which time Hezekiah reigned in Judah.

To be brief, the city of Eome was founded, like another Babylon, and as it were the daughter of the former Babylon, by which God was pleased to conquer the whole world, and subdue it far and wide by bringing it into one fellowship of government and laws. For there were already powerful and brave peoples and nations trained to arms, who did not easily yield, and whose subjugation necessarily involved great danger and destruction as well as great and horrible labour. For when the Assyrian kingdom subdued almost all Asia, although this was done by fighting, yet the wars could not be very fierce or difficult, because the nations were as yet untrained to resist, and neither so many nor so great as afterward; forasmuch as, after that greatest and indeed universal flood, when only eight men escaped in Noah's ark, not much more than a thousand years had passed when Mnus subdued all Asia with the exception of India. But Eome did not with the same quickness and facility wholly subdue all those nations of the east and west which we see brought under the Eoman empire, because, in its gradual increase, in whatever direction it was extended, it found them strong and warlike. At the time when Eome was founded, then, the people of Israel had been in the land of promise seven hundred and eighteen years. Of these years twenty-seven belong to Joshua the son of Nun, and after that three hundred and twenty-nine to the period of the judges. But from the time when the kings began to reign there, three hundred and sixty-two years had passed. And at that time there was a king in Judah called Ahaz, or, as others compute, Hezekiah his successor, the best and most pious king, who it is admitted reigned in the times of

23. Of the Erythraean sibyl, who is hwich to have sung many things about Christ more plainly than the other sibyls.

Some say the Erythraean sibyl prophesied at this time.
Now Varro declares there were many sibyls, and not merely one. This sibyl of Erythrae certainly wrote some things concerning Christ which are quite manifest, and we first read them in the Latin tongue in verses of bad Latin, and unrhythmical, through the unskilfulness, as we afterward learned, of some interpreter unknown to me. Eor Flaccianus, a very famous man, who was also a proconsul, a man of most ready eloquence and much learning, when we were speaking about Christ, produced a Greek manuscript, saying that it was the prophecies of the Erythraean sibyl, in which he pointed out a certain passage which had the initial letters of the lines so arranged that these words could be read in them: 'Irticroi? Xpcarbs Geov vlbs acorijp, which mean, "Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour."

And these verses, of which the initial letters yield that meaning, contain what follows as translated by some one into Latin in good rhythm:

f Judgment shall moisten the earth with the sweat of its standard,
K Ever enduring, behold the King shall come through the ages,
m Sent to be here in the flesh, and Judge at the last of the world.
c O God, the believing and faithless alike shall behold Thee
1-5 Uplifted with saints, when at last the ages are ended.
m Sisted before Him are souls in the flesh for His judgment.
y. Hid in thick vapours, the while desolate lieth the earth.
*n Rejected by men are the idols and long hidden treasures;
w Earth is consumed by the fire, and it searcheth the ocean and heaven;
m Issuing forth, it destroyeth the terrible portals of hell.
m Saints in their body and soul freedom and light shall inherit;
H Those who are guilty shall burn in fire and brimstone for ever.
o Occult actions revealing, each one shall publish his secrets;
u Secrets of every man's heart God shall reveal in the light.
< Lê Then shall be weeping and wailing, yea; and gnashing of teeth;
Â« Eclipsed is the sun, and silenced the stars in their chorus,
o Over and gone is the splendour of moonlight, melted the heaven.
i-? Uplifted by Him are the valleys, and cast down the mountains.

<-i Utterly gone among men are distinctions of lofty and lowly.

â€¢- Into the plains rush the hills, the skies and oceans are mingled,

c Oh, what an end of all things! earth broken in pieces shall perish;

m Swelling together at once shall the waters and flames flow in rivers.
m Sounding the archangel's trumpet shall peal down from heaven,

K Over the wicked whogroan in their guilt and their manifold sorrows.

H Trembling, the earth shall be opened, revealing chaos and hell.

K Every king before God shall stand in that day to be judged.

â–ºo Rivers of fire and of brimstone shall fall from the heavens.

In these Latin verses the meaning of the Greek is correctly given, although not in the exact order of the lines as connected with the initial letters; for in three of them, the fifth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, where the Greek letter T occurs, Latin words could not be found beginning with the corresponding letter, and yielding a suitable meaning. So that, if we note down together the initial letters of all the lines in our Latin translation except those three in which we retain the letter T in the proper place, they will express in five Greek words this meaning, "Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour." And the verses are twenty-seven, which is the cube of three. For three times three are nine; and nine itself, if tripled, so as to rise from the superficial square to the cube, comes to twenty-seven. But if you join the initial letters of these five Greek words, 'Ijtctovs Xpiarbs Qeov u/o? awTrjp, which mean, "Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour," they will make the word Ix^s, that is, "fish," in which word Christ is mystically understood, because He was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality as in the depth of waters.

But this sibyl, whether she is the Erythraean, or, as some rather believe, the Cumsean, in her whole poem, of which this is a very small portion, not only has nothing that can relate to the worship of the false or feigned gods, but rather speaks against them and their worshippers in such a way that we might even think she ought to be reckoned among those who belong to the city of God. Lactantius also inserted in his work the prophecies about Christ of a certain sibyl, he does not say which. But I have thought fit to combine in a single extract, which may seem long, what he has set down in many short quotations. She says, "Afterward He shall come into the injurious hands of the unbelieving, and they will give God buffets with profane hands, and with impure mouth will spit out envenomed spittle; but He will with simplicity yield His holy back to stripes. And He will hold His peace when struck with the fist, that no one may find out what word, or whence, He conies to speak to hell; and He shall be
crowned with a crown of thorns. And they gave Him gall for meat, and vinegar for His thirst: they will spread this table of inhospitality. For thou thyself, being foolish, hast not understood thy God, deluding the minds of mortals, but hast both crowned Him with thorns and mingled for Him bitter gall. But the veil of the temple shall be rent; and at midday it shall be darker than night for three hours. And He shall die the death, taking sleep for three days; and then returning from hell, He first shall come to the light, the beginning of the resurrection being shown to the recalled.” Lactantius made use of these sibylline testimonies, introducing them bit by bit in the course of his discussion as the things he intended to prove seemed to require, and we have set them down in one connected series, uninterrupted by comment, only taking care to mark them by capitals, if only the transcribers do not neglect to preserve them hereafter. Some writers, indeed, say that the Erythraean sibyl was not in the time of Romulus, but of the Trojan war.

24. That the seven sages flourished in the reign of Romulus, when the ten tribes which were called Israel were led into captivity by the Chaldeans, and Romulus, when dead, liad divine honours conferred on him.

While Romulus reigned, Thales the Milesian is said to have lived, being one of the seven sages, who succeeded the theological poets, of whom Orpheus was the most renowned, and were called Zocpoi, that is, sages. During that time the ten tribes, which on the division of the people were called Israel, were conquered by the Chaldeans and led captive into their lands, while the two tribes which were called Judah, and had the seat of their kingdom in Jerusalem, remained in the land of Judea. As Romulus, when dead, could nowhere be found, the Romans, as is everywhere notorious, placed him among the gods, a thing which by that time had already ceased to be done, and which was not done afterwards till the time of the Caesars, and then not through error, but in flattery; so that Cicero ascribes great praises to Romulus, because he merited such honours not in rude and unlearned, times, when men were easily deceived, but in times already polished and learned, although the subtle and acute loquacity of the philosophers had not yet culminated. But although the later times did not deify dead men, still they did not cease to hold and worship as gods those deified of old; nay, by images, which the ancients never had, they even increased the allurements of vain and impious superstition, the unclean demons effecting this in their heart, and also deceiving them by lying oracles, so that even the fabulous crimes of the gods, which were not once imagined by a more polite age, were yet basely acted in the plays in honour of these same false deities. Numa reigned after Romulus; and although he had thought that Eome would be better defended the more gods there were, yet on his death he himself
was not counted worthy of a place among them, as if it were supposed that he had so crowded heaven that a place could not be found for him there. They report that the Samian sibyl lived while he reigned at Eome, and when Manasseh began to reign over the Hebrews, â€œ an impious king, by whom the prophet Isaiah is said to have been slain.

25. What philosophers were famous when Tarqulnius Prisms reigned over the Romans, and Zedekiah over the Hebrews, when Jerusalem was taken and the temple overthrown.

When Zedekiah reigned over the Hebrews, and Tarquinius Priscus, the successor of Ancus Martius, over the Romans, the Jewish people was led captive into Babylon, Jerusalem and the temple built by Solomon being overthrown. For the prophets, in chiding them for their iniquity and impiety, predicted that these things should come to pass, especially Jeremiah, who even stated the number of years Pittacus of Mitylene, another of the sages, is reported to have lived at that time. And Eusebius writes that, while the people of God were held captive in Babylon, the five other sages lived, who must be added to Thales, whom we mentioned above, and Pittacus, in order to make up the seven. These are Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedaemon, Periander of Corinth, Cleobulus of Lindus, and Bias of Priene. These flourished after the theological poets, and were called sages, because they excelled other men in a certain laudable line of life, and summed up some moral precepts in epigrammatic sayings. But they left posterity no literary monuments, except that Solon is alleged to have given certain laws to the Athenians, and Thales was a natural philosopher, and left books of his doctrine in short proverbs. In that time of the Jewish captivity, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Xenophanes, the natural philosophers, nourished. Pythagoras also lived then, and at this time the name philosopher was first used.

26. That at the time when the captivity of the Jews was brought to an end, on the completion of seventy years, the Romans also were freed from kingly rule.

At this time, Cyrus king of Persia, who also ruled the Chaldeans and Assyrians, having somewhat relaxed the captivity of the Jews, made fifty thousand of them return in order to rebuild the temple. They only began the first foundations and built the altar; but, owing to hostile invasions, they were unable to go on, and the work was put off to the time of Darius. During the same time also those things were done which are written in the book of Judith, which, indeed, the Jews are said not to have received into the canon of the Scriptures. Under Darius king of Persia, then, on the completion of the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah the prophet, the captivity of the Jews was brought to an end, and they were
restored to liberty. Tarquin then reigned as the seventh king of the Eomans. On his expulsion, they also began to be free from the rule of their kings. Down to this time the people of Israel had prophets; but, although they were numerous, the canonical writings of only a few of them have been preserved among the Jews and among us. In closing the previous book, I promised to set down something in this one about them, and I shall now do so.

27. Of the times of the prophets whose oracles are contained in books, and icho sang many things about the call of the Gentiles at the lime when the Roman kingdom began and the Assyrian came to an end.

In order that we may be able to consider these times, let us 20 back a little to earlier times. At the becrinnin^ of the book of the prophet Hosea, who is placed first of twelve, it is written, " The word of the Lord which came to Hosea in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Aliaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." * Amos also writes that he prophesied in the days of Uzziah, and adds the name of Jeroboam king of Israel, who lived at the same time. 1 Hos. i. l. â€¢

BOOK XVIII. ] OF THE HEBREW PROPHETS. 247

time. 1 Isaiah the son of Amos â€” either the above-named prophet, or, as is rather affirmed, another who was not a prophet, but was called by the same name â€” also puts at the head of his book these four kings named by Hosea, saying by way of preface that he prophesied in their days. 2 Micah also names the same times as those of his prophecy, after the days of Uzziah; 3 for he names the same three kings as Hosea named, â€” Jotham, Aliaz, and Hezekiah. We find from their own writings that these men prophesied contemporaneously. To these are added Jonah in the reign of Uzziah, and Joel in that of Jotham, who succeeded Uzziah. But we can find the date of these two prophets in the chronicles, 4 not in their own writings, for they say nothing about it themselves. JSTow these days extend from Procas king of the Latins, or his predecessor Aventinus, down to Eomulus king of the Eomans, or even to the beginning of the reign of his successor, Numa Pompilius. Hezekiah king of Judah certainly reigned till then. So that thus these fountains of prophecy, as I may call them, burst forth at once during those times when the Assyrian kingdom failed and the Roman began; so that, just as in the first period of the Assyrian kingdom Abraham arose, to whom the most distinct promises were made that all nations should be blessed in his seed, so at the beginning of the western Babylon, in the time of whose government Christ was to come in whom these promises were to be fulfilled, the oracles of the prophets were given not only in spoken but in written words, for a testimony that so great a thing should come to pass. For although the people of Israel hardly ever lacked prophets from the time when they began to have kings, these were only for their own use, not for that of the nations. But when the more manifestly
prophetic Scripture began to be formed, which was to benefit the nations too, it was fitting that it should begin when this city was founded which was to rule the nations.

28. Of (lie things pertaining to the gospel of Christ which Hosea and Amos prophesied.

The prophet Hosea speaks so very profoundly that it is laborious work to penetrate his meaning. But, according to

1 Amos i. 1. 2 Isa. i. 1. Isaiah's father was Amoz, a different name.

3 Mic. i. 1. 4 The chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome.

promise, we must insert something from his book. He says, "And it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there they shall be called the sons of the living God."! Even the apostles understood this as a prophetic testimony of the calling of the nations who did not formerly belong to God; and because this same people of the Gentiles is itself spiritually among the children of Abraham, and for that reason is rightly called Israel, therefore he goes on to say, "And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together in one, and shall appoint themselves one headship, and shall ascend from the earth." 2 We should but weaken the savour of this prophetic oracle if we set ourselves to expound it. Let the reader but call to mind that corner-stone and those two walls of partition, the one of the Jews, the other of the Gentiles, 3 and he will recognise them, the one under the term sons of Judah, the other as sons of Israel, supporting themselves by one and the same headship, and ascending from the earth. But that those carnal Israelites who are now unwilling to believe in Christ shall afterward believe, that is, their children shall (for they themselves, of course, shall go to their own place by dying), this same prophet testifies, saying, "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, without a prince, without a sacrifice, without an altar, without a priesthood, without manifestations." 4 Who does not see that the Jews are now thus?

But let us hear what he adds: "And afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall be amazed at the Lord and at His goodness in the latter days." 5 Nothing is clearer than this prophecy, in which by David, as distinguished by the title of king, Christ is to be understood, "who is made," as the apostle says, "of the seed of David according to the flesh." 6 This prophet has also foretold the resurrection of Christ on the third day, as it behoved to be foretold, with prophetic loftiness, when he says, "He will heal us after two days, and in the third day we shall rise again." 7 In agreement with this the apostle says to us, "If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are
above." 1 Amos also prophesies thus concerning such things: "Prepare thee, that thou mayst invoke thy God, Israel; for lo, I am binding the thunder, and creating the spirit, and announcing to men their Christ." 2 And in another place he says, " In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and build up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and will build them up again as in the days of old: that the residue of men may inquire for me, and all the nations upon whom my name is invoked, saith the Lord that doeth this." 3

29. What things are predicted by Isaiah concerning Christ and the Church.

The prophecy of Isaiah is not in the book of the twelve prophets, who are called the minor from the brevity of their writings, as compared with those who are called the greater prophets because they published larger volumes. Isaiah belongs to the latter, yet I connect him with the two above named, because he prophesied at the same time. Isaiah, then, together with his rebukes of wickedness, precepts of righteousness, and predictions of evil, also prophesied much more than the rest about Christ and the Church, that is, about the King and that city which he founded; so that some say he should be called an evangelist rather than a prophet. But, in order to finish this work, I quote only one out of many in this place. Speaking in the person of the Father, he says, " Behold, my servant shall understand, and shall be exalted and glorified very much. As many shall be astonished at Thee." 4 This is about Christ.

But let us now hear what follows about the Church. He says, " Eejoice, barren, thou that barest not; break forth and cry, thou that didst not travail with child: for many more are the children of the desolate than of her that has an husband." ' But these must suffice; and some things in them ought to be expounded; yet I think those parts sufficient which are so plain that even enemies must be compelled against their will to understand them.

1 Col. iii. 1. 2 Amos iv. 12, 13. 3 Amos ix. 11, 12; Acts xv. 15-17.

4 Isa. iii. 13-liii. 13. Augustine quotes these passages in full.

5 Isa. liv. 1-5.
30. What Micah, Jonah, and Joel prophesied in accordance with the New Testament.

The prophet Micah, representing Christ under the figure of a great mountain, speaks thus: "It shall come to pass in the last days, that the manifested mountain of the Lord shall be prepared on the tops of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall hasten unto it. Many nations shall go, and shall say, Come, let us go up into the mountain of the Lord, and into the house of the God of Jacob; and He will show us His way, and we will go in His paths: for out of Zion shall proceed the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem. And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off." 1 This prophet predicts the very place in which Christ was born, saying, "And thou, Bethlehem, of the house of Ephratah, art the least that can be reckoned among the thousands of Judah; out of thee shall come forth unto me a leader, to be the prince in Israel; and His going forth is from the beginning, even from the days of eternity. Therefore will He give them [up] even until the time when she that travaileth shall bring forth; and the remnant of His brethren shall be converted to the sons of Israel. And He shall stand, and see, and feed His flock in the strength of the Lord, and in the dignity of the name of the Lord His God: for now shall He be magnified even to the utmost of the earth." 2

The prophet Jonah, not so much by speech as by his own painful experience, prophesied Christ's death and resurrection much more clearly than if he had proclaimed them with his voice. For why was he taken into the whale's belly and restored on the third day, but that he might be a sign that Christ should return from the depths of hell on the third day?

I should be obliged to use many words in explaining all that Joel prophesies in order to make clear those that pertain to Christ and the Church. But there is one passage I must not pass by, which the apostles also quoted when the Holy Spirit came down from above on the assembled believers according to Christ's promise. He says, * And it shall come to 1 Mic iv. 1-3. 2 iiic v. 2-4.
pass after these things, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream, and your young men shall see visions: and even on my servants and mine handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit." 1

31. Of the predictions concerning the salvation of the world in Christ, in Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk.

The date of three of the minor prophets, Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, is neither mentioned by themselves nor given in the chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome. For although they put Obadiah with Micah, yet when Micah prophesied does not appear from that part of their writings in which the dates are noted. And this, I think, has happened through their error in negligently copying the works of others. But we could not find the two others now mentioned in the copies of the chronicles which we have; yet because they are contained in the canon, we ought not to pass them by.

Obadiah, so far as his writings are concerned, the briefest of all the prophets, speaks against Idumea, that is, the nation of Esau, that reprobate elder of the twin sons of Isaac and grandsons of Abraham. Now if, by that form of speech in which a part is put for the whole, we take Idumea as put for the nations, we may understand of Christ what he says among other things, " But upon Mount Sion shall be safety, and there shall be a Holy One." 2 And a little after, at the end of the same prophecy, he says, " And those who are saved again shall come up out of Mount Sion, that they may defend Mount Esau, and it shall be a kingdom to the Lord." 3 It is quite evident this was fulfilled when those saved again out of Sion — that is, the believers in Christ from Judea, of whom the apostles are chiefly to be acknowledged — went up to defend Mount Esau. How could they defend it except by making safe, through the preaching of the gospel, those who believed that they might be " delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God?" 4 This he expressed as an inference, adding, " And it shall be to the Lord a kingdom." For Mount Sion signifies Judea, where it is predicted there shall be safety, and a Holy One, that is,

1 Joel ii. 28, 29. 2 Obad. 17. 3 Obad. 21. 4 Col. i. 13.

Christ Jesus. But Mount Esau is Idumea, which signifies the Church of the Gentiles, which, as I have expounded, those saved again out of Sion have defended that it should be a kingdom to the Lord. This was obscure before it took place; but what believer does not find it out now that it is done?
As for the prophet Xahum, through him God says, "I will exterminate the graven and the molten things: I will make thy burial. For lo, the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings and announceth peace are swift upon the mountains!

Judah, celebrate thy festival days, and perform thy vows; for now they shall not go on any more so as to become antiquated. It is completed, it is consumed, it is taken away. He ascendeth who breathes in thy face, delivering thee out of tribulation." 1 Let him that remembers the gospel call to mind who hath ascended from hell and breathed the Holy Spirit in the face of Judah, that is, of the Jewish disciples; for they belong to the Xew Testament, whose festival days are so spiritually renewed that they cannot become antiquated.

Moreover, we already see the graven and molten things, that is, the idols of the false gods, exterminated through the gospel, and given up to oblivion as of the grave, and we know that this prophecy is fulfilled in this very thing.

Of wnat else than the advent of Christ, who was to come, is Habakkuk understood to say, "And the Lord answered me, and said, "Write the vision openly on a tablet of boxwood, that he that readeth these things may understand. For the vision is yet for a time appointed, and it will arise in the end, and will not become void: if it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, and will not be delayed?" 2

32. Of the prophecy that is contained in the prayer and song of Habalckulc.

In his prayer, with a song, to whom but the Lord Christ does he say, "Lord, I have heard-Thy hearing, and was afraid: Lord, I have considered Thy works, and was greatly afraid? " 3 What is this but the inexpressible admiration of the foreknown, new, and sudden salvation of men? " In the midst of two living creatures thou shalt be recognised." What is this but either between the two testaments, or between the

1 Nah. i. 14-ii. 1. 2 Hab. ii. 2, 3. 3 Hab. iii. 2.
two thieves, or between Moses and Elias talking with Him on the mount? "While the years draw nigh, Thou wilt be recognised; at the coming of the time Thou wilt be shown,"
does not even need exposition. "While my soul shall be troubled at Him, in wrath Thou wilt be mindful of mercy."

What is this but that He puts Himself for the Jews, of whose nation He was, who were troubled with great anger and crucified Christ, when He, mindful of mercy, said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do?" * " God shall come from Teman, and the Holy One from the shady and close mountain." 2 What is said here, " He shall come from Teman," some interpret "from the south," or "from the south-west," by which is signified the noontide, that is, the fervour of charity and the splendour of truth. "The shady and close mountain" might be understood in many ways, yet I prefer to take it as meaning the depth of the divine Scriptures, in which Christ is prophesied:

for in the Scriptures there are many things shady and close which exercise the mind of the reader; and Christ comes thence when he who has understanding finds Him there.

" His power covereth up the heavens, and the earth is full of His praise." What is this but what is also said in the psalm,

" Be Thou exalted, God, above the heavens; and Thy glory above all the earth?" 3 " His splendour shall be as the light."

What is it but that the fame of Him shall illuminate believers? K Horns are in His hands." What is this but the trophy of the cross?" And He hath placed the firm charity of His strength " 4 needs no exposition. "Before His face shall go the word, and it shall go forth into the field after His feet." What is this but that He should both be announced before His coming hither and after His return hence?" He stood, and the earth was moved." What is this but that " He stood " for succour, " and the earth was moved " to believe?" He regarded, and the nations melted;"

that is, He had compassion, and made the people penitent.

" The mountains are broken with violence; " that is, through the power of those who work miracles the pride of the haughty is broken. " The everlasting hills flowed down;"

1 Luke xxiii. 34. 2 Hab. iii. 3.

* Ps. lvii. 5, 11. 4 Hab. iii. 4.

254 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

that is, they are humbled in time that they may be lifted up for eternity. " I saw His goings [made] eternal for His labours;" that is, I beheld His labour of love not left without the reward of eternity. " The tents of Ethiopia shall be greatly afraid, and the tents of the land of Midian;" that is, even those nations which are not under the Eoman authority, being suddenly terrified by the news of Thy wonderful works, shall become a Christian people.
"Wert Thou angry at the rivers, Lord? or was Thy fury against the rivers? or was Thy rage against the sea? " This is said because He does not now come to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. 1 "For Thou shalt mount upon Thy horses, and Thy riding shall be salvation;" that is, Thine evangelists shall carry Thee, for they are guided by Thee, and Thy gospel is salvation to them that believe in Thee. "Bending, Thou wilt bend Thy bow against the sceptres, saith the Lord;" that is, Thou wilt threaten even the kings of the earth with Thy judgment. "The earth shall be cleft with rivers;" that is, by the sermons of those who preach Thee flowing in upon them, men's hearts shall be opened to make confession, to whom it is said, "Bend your hearts and not your garments." 2 "What does "The people shall see Thee and grieve mean, but that in mourning they shall be blessed? 3 What is "Scattering the waters in marching," but that by walking in those who everywhere proclaim Thee, Thou wilt scatter hither and thither the streams of Thy doctrine? What is "The abyss uttered its voice?" Is it not that the depth of the human heart expressed what it perceived? The words, "The depth of its phantasy," are an explanation of the previous verse, for the depth is the abyss; and "Uttered its voice" is to be understood before them, that is, as we have said, it expressed what it perceived. Xow the phantasy is the vision, which it did not hold or conceal, but poured forth in confession. "The sun was raised up, and the moon stood still in her course;" that is, Christ ascended into heaven, and the Church was established under her King. "Thy darts shall go in the light;" that is, Thy words shall not be sent in secret, but openly. For He had said to His own disciples, "What I tell

1 John iii. 17. 2 Joel ii. 13. 3 Matt. v. 4.
you in darkness, that speak ye in the light." * â— By threatening thou shalt diminish the earth:" that is, by that threatening Thou shalt humble men. " And in fury Thou shalt cast down the nations:" for in punishing those who exalt themselves Thou dashest them one against another. " Thou wentest forth for the salvation of Thy people, that Thou mightest save Thy Christ; Thou hast sent death on the heads of the wicked."* None of these words require exposition. " Thou hast lifted up the bonds, even to the neck." This may be understood even of the good bonds of wisdom, that the feet may be put into its fetters, and the neck into its collar. "Thou hast struck off in amazement of mind the bonds " must be understood for, He lifts up the good and strikes off the bad, about which it is said to Him, " Thou hast broken asunder my bonds," 2 and that " in amazement of mind," that is, wonderfully. "The heads of the mighty shall be moved in it;" to wit, in that wonder. " They shall open their teeth like a poor man eating secretly." For some of the mighty among the Jews shall come to the Lord, admiring His works and words, and shall greedily eat the bread of His doctrine in secret for fear of the Jews, just as the Gospel has shown they did.

" And Thou hast sent into the sea Thy horses, troubling many waters," which are nothing else than many people; for unless all were troubled, some would not be converted with fear, others pursued with fury. "I gave heed, and my belly trembled at the voice of the prayer of my lips; and trembling entered into my bones, and my habit of body was troubled under me." He gave heed to those things which he said, and was himself terrified at his own prayer, which he had poured forth prophetically, and in which he discerned things to come. For when many people are troubled, he saw the threatening tribulation of the Church, and at once acknowledged himself a member of it, and said, " I shall rest in the day of tribulation," as being one of those who are rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation. 3 * That I may ascend," he says, " among the people of my pilgrimage," departing quite from the wicked people of his carnal kinship, who are not pilgrims in this earth, and do not seek the country above. 4 " Although

1 Matt. x. 27. 2 Ps. cxvi. 16. 3 Rom. xii. 12. 4 Heb. xi. 13, 16.

25 G THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

the fig-tree:" he says, " shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall lie, and the fields shall yield no meat; the sheep shall be cut off from the meat, and there shall be no oxen in the stalls/ He sees that nation which was to slay Christ about to lose the abundance of spiritual supplies, which, in prophetic fashion, he has set forth by the figure of earthly plenty. And because that nation was to suffer such wrath of God, because, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, it wished to establish its own, 1 he immediately says, " Yet will I rejoice in the Lord; I
will joy in God my salvation. The Lord God is my strength, and He will set my feet in completion; He will place me above the heights, that I may conquer in His song," to wit, in that song of which something similar is said in the psalm, " He set my feet upon a rock, and directed my goings, and put in my mouth a new song, a hymn to our God." 2 He therefore conquers in the song of the Lord, who takes pleasure in His praise, not in his own; that " He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." 3 But some copies have, " I will joy in God my Jesus," which seems to me better than the version of those who, wishing to put it in Latin, have not set down that very name which for us it is dearer and sweeter to name.

33. What Jeremiah and Zephaniah have, by the prophetic Spirit, spoken before concerning Christ and the calling of the nations.

Jeremiah, like Isaiah, is one of the greater prophets, not of the minor, like the others from whose writings I have just given extracts. He prophesied when Josiah reigned in Jerusalem, and Ancus Martius at Rome, when the captivity of the Jews was already at hand; and he continued to prophesy down to the fifth month of the captivity, as we find from his writings. Zephaniah, one of the minor prophets, is put along with him, because he himself says that he prophesied in the days of Josiah; but he does not say till when. Jeremiah thus prophesied not only in the times of Ancus Martius, but also in those of Tarquinius Priscus, whom the Romans had for their fifth king. For he had already begun to reign when that captivity took place. Jeremiah, in prophesying of Christ, says, " The breath of our mouth, the Lord Christ, was taken in

1 Pom. x. 3. 2 Ps. xl. 2, 3. 8 Jer. ix. 23, 24, as in 1 Cor. i. 31.
our sins/ 1 thus briefly showing both that Christ is our Lord and that He suffered for us. Also in another place he says, "This is my God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him; who hath found out all the way of prudence, and hath given it to Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved: afterward He was seen on the earth, and conversed with men." 2 Some attribute this testimony not to Jeremiah, but to his secretary, who was called Baruch; but it is more commonly ascribed to Jeremiah. Again the same prophet says concerning Him, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise up unto David a righteous shoot, and a King shall reign and shall be wise, and shall do judgment and justice in the earth. In those days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell confidently: and this is the name which they shall call Him, Our righteous Lord." 3 And of the calling of the nations which was to come to pass, and which we now see fulfilled, he thus spoke: "Lord my God, and my refuge in the day of evils, to Thee shall the nations come from the utmost end of the earth, saying, Truly our fathers have worshipped lying images, wherein there is no profit." 4 But that the Jews, by whom He behoved even to be slain, were not going to acknowledge Him, this prophet thus intimates: "Heavy is the heart through all; and He is a man, and who shall know Him?" 5 That passage also is his which I have quoted in the seventeenth book concerning the new testament, of which Christ is the Mediator. For Jeremiah himself says, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will complete over the house of Jacob a new testament," and the rest, which may be read there. 6

For the present I shall put down those predictions about Christ by the prophet Zephaniah, who prophesied with Jeremiah. "Wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, in the day of my resurrection, in the future; because it is my determination to assemble the nations, and gather together the kingdoms." 7 And again he says, "The Lord will be terrible upon them, and will exterminate all the gods of the earth; and they shall

1 Lam. iv. 20. 2 Bar. iii. 35-37. 3 Jer. xxiii. 5, 6.
4 Jer. xvi. 19. 6 Jer. xvii. 9. 6 Jer. xxxi. 31; see Bk. xvii. 3.
7 Zeph. iii. 8.

VOL. II. K

258 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.
worship Him every man from his place, even all the isles of the nations/ * And a little after he says, " Then will I turn to the people a tongue, and to His offspring, that they may call upon the name of the Lord, and serve Him under one yoke. From the borders of the rivers of Ethiopia shall they bring sacrifices unto me. In that day thou shalt not be confounded for all thy curious inventions, which thou hast done impiously against me: for then I will take away from thee the naughtiness of thy trespass; and thou shalt no more magnify thyself above thy holy mountain. And I will leave in thee a meek and humble people, and they who shall be left of Israel shall fear the name of the Lord/ 2 These are the remnant of whom the apostle quotes that which is elsewhere prophesied; " Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved." 3 These are the remnant of that nation who have believed in Christ.

34. Of the prophecy of Daniel and Ezekiel, other two of the greater prophets.

Daniel and Ezekiel, other two of the greater prophets, also first prophesied in the very captivity of Babylon. Daniel even denved the time when Christ was to come and suffer by the exact date. It would take too long to show this by computation, and it has been done often by others before us. But of His power and glory he has thus spoken: " I saw in a night vision, and, behold, one like the Son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and He came even to the Ancient of days, and He was brought into His presence. And to Him there was given dominion, and honour, and a kingdom: and all people, tribes, and tongues shall serve Him. His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed." 4

Ezekiel also, speaking prophetically in the person of -God the Lather, thus foretells Christ, speaking of Him in the prophetic manner as David because He assumed flesh of the seed of David, and on account of that form of a servant in which He was made man, He who is the Son of God is also called the servant of God. He says, " And I will set up over

1 Zepli. ii. 11. 2 Zeph. iii. 9-12.  
2 Isa. x. 22; Rom. ix. 27. 4 JDan. vii. 13, 14.
my sheep one Shepherd, who will feed them, even my servant David; and He shall feed them, and He shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince in the midst of them. I the Lord have spoken." 1 And in another place he says, " And one King shall be over them all: and they shall no more be two nations, neither shall they be divided any more into two kingdoms: neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, and their abominations, and all their iniquities. And I will save them out of all their dwelling-places wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God. And my servant David shall be king over them, and there shall be one Shepherd for them all." 2

35. ' Of the prophecy of the three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

There remain three minor prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who prophesied at the close of the captivity.

Of these Haggai more openly prophesies of Christ and the Church thus briefly: " Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Yet one little while, and I will shake the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will move all nations, and the desired of all nations shall come." 3 The fulfilment of this prophecy is in part already seen, and in part hoped for in the end. For He moved the heaven by the testimony of the angels and the stars, when Christ became incarnate. He moved the earth by the great miracle of His birth of the virgin. He moved the sea and the dry land, when Christ was proclaimed both in the isles and in the whole world. So we see all nations moved to the faith; and the fulfilment of what follows, " And the desired of all nations shall come," is looked for at His last coming. For ere men can desire and wait for Him, they must believe and love Him.

Zechariah says of Christ and the Church. " Eejoice greatly, daughter of Sion; shout joyfully, daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King shall come unto thee, just and the Saviour; Himself poor, and mounting an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass: and His dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth." 4 How this was done,


260 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

when the Lord Christ on His journey used a beast of burden of this kind, we read in the Gospel, where, also, as much of this prophecy is quoted as appears sufficient for the context.
In another place, speaking in the Spirit of prophecy to Christ Himself of the remission of sins through His blood, he says,
"Thou also, by the blood of Thy testament, hast sent forth Thy prisoners from the lake wherein is no water." 1 Different opinions may be held, consistently with right belief, as to what he meant by this lake. Yet it seems to me that no meaning suits better than that of the depth of human misery, which is, as it were, dry and barren, where there are no streams of righteousness, but only the mire of iniquity. For it is said of it in the Psalms, "And He led me forth out of the lake of misery, and from the miry clay." 2

Malachi, foretelling the Church which we now behold propagated through Christ, says most openly to the Jews, in the person of God, "I have no pleasure in you, and I will not accept a gift at your hand. For from the rising even to the going down of the sun, my name is great among the nations; and in every place sacrifice shall be made, and a pure oblation shall be offered unto my name: for my name shall be s^reat among the nations, saith the Lord." 3 Since we can already see this sacrifice offered to God in every place, from the rising of the sun to his going down, through Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, while the Jews, to whom it was said, "I have no pleasure in you, neither will I accept a gift at your hand," cannot deny that their sacrifice has ceased, why do they still look for another Christ, when they read this in the prophecy, and see it fulfilled, which could not be fulfilled except through Him? And a little after he says of Him, in the person of God, "My covenant was with Him of life and peace; and I gave to Him that He might fear me with fear, and be afraid before my name. The law of truth was in His mouth: directing in peace He hath walked with me, and hath turned many away from iniquity. For the Priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at His mouth: for He is the Angel of the Lord Almighty." 4 Nor is it to be wondered at that Christ Jesus is called the Angel of the

1 Zech. ix. 11. 2 Ts. xl. 2. 3 Mal. i. 10/11. 4 UaL ii. 5-71
Almighty God. For just as He is called a servant on account of the form of a servant in which He came to men, so He is called an angel on account of the evangel which He proclaimed to men. For if Ave interpret these Greek words, evangel is "good news," and angel is "messenger." Again he says of Him, "Behold I will send mine angel, and He will look out the way before my face: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come into His temple, even the Angel of the testament, whom ye desire. Behold, He cometh, saith the Lord Almighty, and who shall abide the day of His entry, or who shall stand at His appearing?" 1 In this place he has foretold both the first and second advent of Christ: the first, to wit, of which he says, "And He shall come suddenly into His temple;" that is, into His flesh, of which He said in the Gospel, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again." 2 And of the second advent he says, "Behold, He cometh, saith the Lord Almighty, and who shall abide the day of His entry, or who shall stand at His appearing?" But what he says, "The Lord whom ye seek, and the Angel of the testament whom ye desire," just means that even the Jews, according to the Scriptures which they read, shall seek and desire Christ. But many of them did not acknowledge that He whom they sought and desired had come, being blinded in their hearts, which were preoccupied with their own merits. Now what he here calls the testament, either above, where he says, "My testament had been with Him," or here, where he has called Him the Angel of the testament, we ought, beyond a doubt, to take to be the new testament, in which the things promised are eternal, and not the old, in which they are only temporal.

Yet many who are weak are troubled when they see the wicked abound in such temporal things, because they value them greatly, and serve the true God to be rewarded with them. On this account, to distinguish the eternal blessedness of the new testament, which shall be given only to the good, from the earthly felicity of the old, which for the most part is given to the bad as well, the same prophet says, "Ye have made your words burdensome to me: yet ye have said, In what have we spoken ill of Thee? Ye have said,

1 Mai. iii. 1,2. 2 John ii. 19.

262 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

Foolish is every one who serves God; and what profit is it that we have kept His observances, and that we have walked as suppliants before the face of the Lord Almighty? And now we call the aliens blessed; yea, all that do wicked things are built up again; yea, they are opposed to God and are saved. They that feared the Lord uttered these reproaches every one to his neighbour: and the Lord hearkened and heard; and He wrote a book of remembrance before Him, for them that fear the Lord and that revere His name." 1 By that book is meant the Xew Testament. Finally, let us hear what follows: "And they shall be an acquisition for me, saith the Lord Almighty, in the day which I
make; and I will choose them as a man chooseth his son that serveth him. And ye shall return, and shall discern between the just and the unjust, and between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not. For, behold, the day cometh burning as an oven, and it shall burn them up; and all the aliens and all that do wickedly shall be stubble: and the day that shall come will set them on fire, saith the Lord Almighty, and shall leave neither root nor branch. And unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise, and health shall be in His wings; and ye shall go forth, and exult as calves let loose from bonds. And ye shall tread down the wicked, and they shall be ashes under your feet, in the day in which I shall do [this], saith the Lord Almighty." 2 This day is the day of judgment, of which, if God will, we shall speak more fully in its own place.

36. About Esdras and the books of the Maccabees.
After these three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, during the same period of the liberation of the people from the Babylonian servitude Esdras also wrote, who is historical rather than prophetical, as is also the book called Esther, which is found to relate, for the praise of God, events not far from those times; unless, perhaps, Esdras is to be understood as prophesying of Christ in that passage where, on a question having arisen among certain voices men as to what is the strongest thing, when one had said kings, another wine, the third women, who for the most part rule kings, yet that

1 Mai. iii. 13-16. - Mai. iii. 17-iv. 3.
same third youth demonstrated that the truth is victorious over all. 1 For by consulting the Gospel we learn that Christ is the Truth. From this time, when the temple was rebuilt, down to the time of Aristobulus, the Jews had not kings but princes; and the reckoning of their dates is found, not in the Holy Scriptures which are called canonical, but in others, among? which are also the books of the Maccabees. These

are held as canonical, not by the Jews, but by the Church, on account of the extreme and wonderful sufferings of certain martyrs, who, before Christ had come in the flesh, contended for the law of God even unto death, and endured most grievous and horrible evils.

37. That prophetic records are found which are more ancient than any fountain of the Gentile philosophy.

In the time of our prophets, then, whose writings had already come to the knowledge of almost all nations, the philosophers of the nations had not yet arisen, â€” at least, not those who were called by that name, which originated with Pythagoras the Samian, who was becoming famous at the time when the Jewish captivity ended. Much more, then, are the other philosophers found to be later than the prophets. For even Socrates the Athenian, the master of all who were then most famous, holding the pre-eminence in that department that is called the moral or active, is found after Esdras in the chronicles. Plato also was born not much later, who far outwent the other disciples of Socrates. If, besides these, we take their predecessors, who had not yet been styled philosophers, to wit, the seven sages, and then the physicists, who succeeded Thales, and imitated his studious search into the nature of things, namely, Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras, and some others, before Pythagoras first professed himself a philosopher, even these did not precede the whole of our prophets in antiquity of time, since Thales, whom the others succeeded, is said to have flourished in the reign of Romulus, when the stream of prophecy burst forth from the fountains of Israel in those writings which spread over the whole world. So that only those theological poets, Orpheus, Linus, and Musseus, and, it may be, some others

1 Esdras iii. and iv.

among the Greeks, are found earlier in date than the Hebrew prophets whose writings we hold as authoritative. But not even these preceded in time our true divine, Moses, who
authentically preached the one true God, and whose writings are first in the authoritative
 canon; and therefore the Greeks, in whose tongue the literature of this age chiefly
 appears, have no ground for boasting of their wisdom, in which our religion, wherein is
 true wisdom, is not evidently more ancient at least, if not superior. Yet it must be
 confessed that before Moses there had already been, not indeed among the Greeks, but
 among barbarous nations, as in Egypt, some doctrine which might be called their
 wisdom, else it would not have been written in the holy books that Moses was learned in
 all the wisdom of the Egyptians, 1 as he was, when, being born there, and adopted and
 nursed by Pharaoh's daughter, he was also liberally educated. Yet not even the wisdom of
 the Egyptians could be antecedent in time to the wisdom of our prophets, because even
 Abraham was a prophet. And what wisdom could there be in Egypt before Isis had given
 them letters, whom they thought fit to worship as a goddess after her death? Now Isis is
 declared to have been the daughter of Inachus, who first began to reign in Argos when
 the grandsons of Abraham are known to have been already born.

38. That the ecclesiastical canon has not admitted certain writings* on account of their too
 great antiquity, lest through them false things should be inserted instead of true.

If I may recall far more ancient times, our patriarch Noah was certainly even before that
 great deluge, and I might not undeservedly call him a prophet, forasmuch as the ark he
 made, in which he escaped with his family, was itself a prophecy of our times. 2 What of
 Enoch, the seventh from Adam? Does not the canonical epistle of the Apostle Jude
 declare that he prophesied? 3 But the writings of these men could not be held as
 authoritative either among the Jews or us, on account of their too great antiquity, which
 made it seem needful to regard them with suspicion, lest false things should be set forth
 instead of true. For some writings which are said to be theirs are quoted by those who,
 according to their own

1 Acts vii. 22. - Heb. xi. 7; 1 Pet iii. 20/21. 3 Jude 14.
humour, loosely believe what they please. But the purity of the canon has not admitted these writings, not because the authority of these men who pleased God is rejected, but because they are not believed to be theirs. Nor ought it to appear strange if writings for which so great antiquity is claimed are held in suspicion, seeing that in the very history of the kings of Judah and Israel containing their acts, which we believe to belong to the canonical Scripture, very many things are mentioned which are not explained there, but are said to be found in other books which the prophets wrote, the very names of these prophets being sometimes given, and yet they are not found in the canon which the people of God received. Now I confess the reason of this is hidden from me; only I think that even those men, to whom certainly the Holy Spirit revealed those things which ought to be held as of religious authority, might write some things as men by historical diligence, and others as prophets by divine inspiration; and these things were so distinct, that it was judged that the former should be ascribed to themselves, but the latter to God speaking through them: and so the one pertained to the abundance of knowledge, the other to the authority of religion.
In that authority the canon is guarded. So that, if any writings outside of it are now brought forward under the name of the ancient prophets, they cannot serve even as an aid to knowledge, because it is uncertain whether they are genuine; and on this account they are not trusted, especially those of them in which some things are found that are even contrary to the truth of the canonical books, so that it is quite apparent they do not belong to them.

39. About the Hebrew written characters which that language always possessed.

Now we must not believe that Heber, from whose name the word Hebrew is derived, preserved and transmitted the Hebrew language to Abraham only as a spoken language, and that the Hebrew letters began with the giving of the law through Moses; but rather that this language, along with its letters, was preserved by that succession of fathers. Moses, indeed, appointed some among the people of God to teach letters, before they could know any letters of the divine law.

266 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

The Scripture calls these men ypa/nfiareLaaycoyeU. who may be called in Latin inductores or introductorcs of letters, because they, as it were, introduce them into the hearts of the learners, or rather lead those whom they teach into them. Therefore no nation could vaunt itself over our patriarchs and prophets by any wicked vanity for the antiquity of its wisdom; since not even Egypt, which is wont falsely and vainly to glory in the antiquity of her doctrines, is found to have preceded in time the
wisdom of our patriarchs in her own wisdom, such as it is. Keither will any one dare to say that they were most skilful in wonderful sciences before they knew letters, that is, before Isis came and taught them there. Besides, what, for the most part, was that memorable doctrine of theirs which was called wisdom but astronomy, and it may be some other sciences of that kind, which usually have more power to exercise men's wit than to enlighten their minds with true wisdom?

As regards philosophy, which professes to teach men something which shall make them happy, studies of that kind flourished in those lands about the times of Mercury whom they called Trismegistus, long before the sages and philosophers of Greece, but yet after Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and even after Moses himself. At that time, indeed, when Moses was born, Atlas is found to have lived, that great astronomer, the brother of Prometheus, and maternal grandson of the elder Mercury, of whom that Mercury Trismegistus was the grandson.

40. About the most mendacious vanity of the Egyptians, in wheh they ascribe to their science an antiquity of a hundred thousand years.

In vain, then, do some babble with most empty presumption, saying that Egypt has understood the reckoning of the stars for more than a hundred thousand years. For in what books have they collected that number who learned letters from Isis their mistress, not much more than two thousand years ago? Varro, who has declared this, is no small authority in history, and it does not disagree with the truth of the divine books. For as it is not yet six thousand years since the first man, who is called Adam, are not those to be ridiculed rather than refuted who try to persuade us of anything regarding a space of time so different from, ahd contrary to, the
ascertained truth? For what historian of the past should we credit more than him who has also predicted things to come which we now see fulfilled? And the very disagreement of the historians among themselves furnishes a good reason why we ought rather to believe him who does not contradict the divine history which we hold. But, on the other hand, the citizens of the impious city, scattered everywhere through the earth, when they read the most learned writers, none of whom seems to be of contemptible authority, and find them disagreeing among themselves about affairs most remote from the memory of our age, cannot find out whom they ought to trust. But we, being sustained by divine authority in the history of our religion, have no doubt that whatever is opposed to it is most false, whatever may be the case regarding other things in secular books, which, whether true or false, yield nothing of moment to our living rightly and happily.

But let us omit further examination of history, and return to the philosophers from whom we digressed to these things. They seem to have laboured in their studies for no other end than to find out how to live in a way proper for laying hold of blessedness. Why, then, have the disciples dissembled from their masters, and the fellow-disciples from one another, except because as men they have sought after these things by human sense and human reasonings? Now, although there might be among them a desire of glory, so that each wished to be thought wiser and more acute than another, and in no way addicted to the judgment of others, but the inventor of his own dogma and opinion, yet I may grant that there were some, or even very many of them, whose love of truth severed them from their teachers or fellow-disciples, that they might strive for what they thought was the truth, whether it was so or not. But what can human misery do, or how or where can it reach forth, so as to attain blessedness, if divine authority does not lead it? Finally, let our authors, among whom the canon of the sacred books is fixed and bounded, be far from disagreeing in any respect. It is not without good reason, then, that not merely a few people prating in the schools and gymnasia in captious disputations, but so many and great people, both learned and unlearned, in countries and cities, have believed that God spoke to them or by them, i.e. the canonical writers, when they wrote these books. There ought, indeed, to be but few of them, lest on account of their multitude what ought to be religiously esteemed should grow cheap; and yet not so few that their agreement should not be
wonderful. For among the multitude of philosophers, who in their works have left behind them the monuments of their dogmas, no one will easily find any who agree in all their opinions. But to show this is too long a task for this work.

But what author of any sect is so approved in this demonworshipping city, that the rest who have differed from or opposed him in opinion have been disapproved? The Epicureans asserted that human affairs were not under the providence of the gods; and the Stoics, holding the opposite opinion, agreed that they were ruled and defended by favourable and tutelary gods. Yet were not both sects famous among the Athenians? I wonder, then, why Anaxagoras was accused of a crime for saying that the sun was a burning stone, and denying that it was a god at all; while in the same city Epicurus flourished gloriously and lived securely, although he not only did not believe that the sun or any star was a god, but contended that neither Jupiter nor any of the gods dwelt in the world at all, so that the prayers and supplications of men might reach them! Were not both Aristippus and Antisthenes there, two noble philosophers and both Socratic? yet they placed the chief end of life within bounds so diverse and contradictory, that the first made the delight of the body the chief good, while the other asserted that man was made happy mainly by the virtue of the mind. The one also said that the wise man should flee from the republic; the other, that he should administer its affairs. Yet did not each gather disciples to follow his own sect? Indeed, in the conspicuous and wellknown porch, in gymnasia, in gardens, in places public and private, they openly strove in bands each for his own opinion, some asserting there was one world, others innumerable worlds;
some that this world had a beginning, others that it had not; some that it would perish, others that it would exist always; some that it was governed by the divine mind, others by chance and accident; some that souls are immortal, others that they are mortal, â€” and of those who asserted their immortality, some said they transmigrated through beasts, others that it was by no means so, while of those who asserted their mortality, some said they perished immediately after the body, others that they survived either a little while or a longer time, but not always; some fixing supreme good in the body, some in the mind, some in both; others adding to the mind and body external good things; some thinking that the bodily senses ought to be trusted always, some not always, others never. Now what people, senate, power, or public dignity of the impious city has ever taken care to judge between all these and other well-nigh innumerable dissensions of the philosophers, approving and accepting some, and disapproving and rejecting others? Has it not held in its bosom at random, without any judgment, and confusedly, so many controversies of men at variance, not about fields, houses, or anything of a pecuniary nature, but about those things which make life either miserable or happy? Even if some true things were said in it, yet falsehoods were uttered with the same licence; so that such a city has not amiss received the title of the mystic Babylon. For Babylon means confusion, as we remember we have already explained. Nor does it matter to the devil, its king, how they wrangle among themselves in contradictory errors, since all alike deservedly belong to him on account of their great and varied impiety.

But that nation, that people, that city, that republic, these Israelites, to whom the oracles of God were entrusted, by no means confounded with similar licence false prophets with the true prophets; but, agreeing together, and differing in nothing, acknowledged and upheld the authentic authors of their sacred books. These were their philosophers, these were their sages, divines, prophets, and teachers of probity and piety. Whoever was wise and lived according to them was wise and lived not according to men, but according to God who hath spoken by them. If sacrilege is forbidden there, God hath forbidden it. If it is said, "Honour thy father and thy mother," 1 God hath commanded it. If it is said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal," 2 and other similar commandments, not human lips but the divine oracles have enounced them. Whatever truth certain philosophers, amid their false opinions, were able to see, and strove by laborious discussions to persuade men of, â€” such as that God has made this world, and Himself most providently governs it, or of the nobility of the virtues, of the love of country, of fidelity in friendship, of good works and everything pertaining to virtuous manners, although they knew not to what end and what rule all these things were to be referred, â€” all these, by words prophetic, that is, divine, although spoken by men, were commended to the people in that city, and not inculcated by contention in

270 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

it. If it is said, "Honour thy father and thy mother," 1 God hath commanded it. If it is said, "Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal," 2 and other similar commandments, not human lips but the divine oracles have enounced them. Whatever truth certain philosophers, amid their false opinions, were able to see, and strove by laborious discussions to persuade men of, â€” such as that God has made this world, and Himself most providently governs it, or of the nobility of the virtues, of the love of country, of fidelity in friendship, of good works and everything pertaining to virtuous manners, although they knew not to what end and what rule all these things were to be referred, â€” all these, by words prophetic, that is, divine, although spoken by men, were commended to the people in that city, and not inculcated by contention in
arguments, so that he who should know them might be afraid of contemning, not the wit of men, but the oracle of God.

42. By what dispensation of God's providence the sacred Scripture of the Old Testament were translated out of Hebrew into Greek, that they might be made known to all the nations.

One of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, desired to know and have these sacred books. For after Alexander of Macedon, who is also styled the Great, had by his most wonderful, but by no means enduring power, subdued the whole of Asia, yea, almost the whole world, partly by force of arms, partly by terror, and, among other kingdoms of the East, had entered and obtained Judea also, on his death his generals did not peaceably divide that most ample kingdom among them for a possession, but rather dissipated it, wasting all things by wars.

Then Egypt began to have the Ptolemies as her kings. The first of them, the son of Lagus, carried many captive out of Judea into Egypt. But another Ptolemy, called Philadelphus, who succeeded him, permitted all whom he had brought under the yoke to return free; and, more than that, sent kingly gifts to the temple of God, and begged Eleazar, who was the high priest, to give him the Scriptures, which he had heard by report were truly divine, and therefore greatly desired to have in that most noble library he had made.

When the high

1 Ex. xx. 12. 2 Ex. xx. 13-15, the order as in Mark x. 19.
priest had sent them to him in Hebrew, he afterwards demanded interpreters of him, and there were given him seventy-two, out of each of the twelve tribes six men, most learned in both languages, to wit, the Hebrew and Greek; and their translation is now by custom called the Septuagint. It is reported, indeed, that there was an agreement in their words so wonderful, stupendous, and plainly divine, that when they had sat at this work, each one apart (for so it pleased Ptolemy to test their fidelity), they differed from each other in no word which had the same meaning and force, or in the order of the words; but, as if the translators had been one, so what all had translated was one, because in very deed the one Spirit had been in them all. And they received so wonderful a gift of God, in order that the authority of these Scriptures might be commended not as human but divine, as indeed it was, for the benefit of the nations who should at some time believe, as we now see them doing.

43. Of the authority of the Septuagint translation, which, saving the honour of the Hebrew original, is to be preferred to all translations.

For while there were other interpreters who translated these sacred oracles out of the Hebrew tongue into Greek, as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and also that translation which, as the name of the author is unknown, is quoted as the fifth edition, yet the Church has received this Septuagint translation just as if it were the only one; and it has been used by the Greek Christian people, most of whom are not aware that there is any other. From this translation there has also been made a translation in the Latin tongue, which the Latin V churches use. Our times, however, have enjoyed the advantage of the presbyter Jerome, a man most learned, and skilled in all three languages, who translated these same Scriptures into the Latin speech, not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew. But although the Jews acknowledge this very learned labour of his to be faithful, while they contend that the Septuagint translators have erred in many places, still the churches of Christ judge that no one should be preferred to the authority of so many men, chosen for this very great work by Eleazar, who was then high priest; for even if there had not appeared in them one spirit, without doubt divine, and the seventy learned men had, after the manner of men, compared together the words of their translation, that what pleased them all might stand, no single translator ought to be preferred to them; but since so great a sign of divinity has appeared in them, certainly, if any other translator of their Scriptures from the Hebrew into any other tongue is faithful, in that case he agrees with these seventy translators, and if he is not found to agree with them, then we ought to believe that the prophetic gift is with them. For the same Spirit who was in the prophets when they spoke these things was also in the seventy men when
they translated them, so that assuredly they could also say something else, just as if the prophet himself had said both, because it would be the same Spirit who said both; and could say the same tiring differently, so that, although the words were not the same, yet the same meaning should shine forth to those of good understanding; and could omit or add something, so that even by this it might be shown that there was in that work not human bondage, which the translator owed to the words, but rather divine power, which filled and ruled the mind of the translator. Some, however, have thought that the Greek copies of the Septuagint version should be emended from the Hebrew copies; yet they did not dare to take away what the Hebrew lacked and the Septuagint had, but only added what was found in the Hebrew copies and was lacking in the Septuagint, and noted them by placing at the beginning of the verses certain marks in the form of stars which they call asterisks.

And those things which the Hebrew copies have not, but the Septuagint have, they have in like manner marked at the beginning of the verses by horizontal spit-shaped marks like those by which we denote ounces; and many copies having these marks are circulated even in Latin. 1 But we cannot, without inspecting both kinds of copies, find out those things which are neither omitted nor added, but expressed differently, whether they yield another meaning not in itself unsuitable, or can be shown to explain the same meaning in another way.

If, then, as it behoves us, we behold nothing else in these Scriptures than what the Spirit of God has spoken through

1 Var. reading, "both in Greek and Latin."
men, if anything is in the Hebrew copies and is not in the version of the Seventy, the Spirit of God did not choose to say it through them, but only through the prophets. But whatever is in the Septuagint and not in the Hebrew copies, the same Spirit chose rather to say through the latter, thus showing that both were prophets. For in that manner He spoke as He chose, some things through Isaiah, some through Jeremiah, some through several prophets, or else the same thing through this prophet and through that. Further, whatever is found in both editions, that one and the same Spirit willed to say through both, but so as that the former preceded in prophesying, and the latter followed in prophetically interpreting them: because, as the one Spirit of peace was in the former when they spoke true and concordant words, so the selfsame one Spirit hath appeared in the latter, when, without mutual conference, they yet interpreted all things as if with one mouth.

44. How the threat of the destruction of the Ninevites is to be understood, which in the Hebrew extends to forty days, while in the Septuagint it is contracted to three.

But some one may say, "How shall I know whether the prophet Jonah said to the Ninevites, 'Yet three days and Nineveh shall be overthrown/ or forty days ? " I For who does not see that the prophet could not say both, when he was sent to terrify the city by the threat of imminent ruin ? For if its destruction was to take place on the third day, it certainly could not be on the fortieth; but if on the fortieth, then certainly not on the third. If, then, I am asked which of these Jonah may have said, I rather think what is read in the Hebrew, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown." Yet the Seventy, interpreting long afterward, could say what was different and yet pertinent to the matter, and agree in the selfsame meaning, although under a different signification.

And this may admonish the reader not to despise the authority of either, but to raise himself above the history, and search for those things which the history itself was written to set forth. These things, indeed, took place in the city of Nineveh, but they also signified something else too great to apply to that

1 Jon. iii. 4.

274 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

city; just as, when it happened that the prophet himself was three days in the whale's belly, it signified besides, that He who is Lord of all the prophets should be three days in the depths of hell. Wherefore, if that city is rightly held as prophetically representing the Church of the Gentiles, to wit, as brought down by penitence, so as no longer to be what
it had been, since this was done by Christ in the Church of the Gentiles, which Nineveh represented, Christ Himself was signified both by the forty and by the three days: by the forty, because He spent that number of days with His disciples after the resurrection, and then ascended into heaven, but by the three days, because He rose on the third clay. So that, if the reader desires nothing else than to adhere to the history of events, he may be aroused from his sleep by the Septuagint interpreters, as well as the prophets, to search into the depth of the prophecy, as if they had said, In the forty days seek Him in whom thou mayest also find the three days, â€” the one thou wilt find in His ascension, the other in His resurrection.

Because that which could be most suitably signified by both numbers, of which one is used by Jonah the prophet, the other by the prophecy of the Septuagint version, the one and selfsame Spirit hath spoken. I dread prolixity, so that I must not demonstrate this by many instances in which the seventy interpreters may be thought to differ from the Hebrew, and yet, when well understood, are found to agree. For which reason I also, according to my capacity, following the footsteps of the apostles, who themselves have quoted prophetic testimonies from both, that is, from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, have thought that both should be used as authoritative, since both are one, and divine. But let us now follow out as we can what remains.

45. That the Jews ceased to have prophets after the rebuilding of the temple, and from that time until the birth of Christ were afflicted with continual adversity, to prove that the building of another temple had been promised by prophetic voices.

The Jewish nation no doubt became worse after it ceased to have prophets, just at the very time when, on the rebuilding of the temple after the captivity in Babylon, it hoped to become better. For so, indeed, did that carnal people under-
stand what was foretold by Haggai the prophet, saying, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former." 1 Now, that this is said of the new testament, he showed a little above, where he says, evidently promising Christ, "And I will move all nations, and the desired One shall come to all nations." 2 In this passage the Septuagint translators, giving another sense more suitable to the body than the Head, that is, to the Church than to Christ, have said by prophetic authority, "The things shall come that are chosen of the Lord from all nations," that is, men, of whom Jesus saith in the Gospel, "Many are called, but few are chosen." 3 For by such chosen ones of the nations there is built, through the new testament, with living stones, a house of God far more glorious than that temple was which was constructed by king Solomon, and rebuilt after the captivity. For this reason, then, that nation had no prophets from that time, but was afflicted with many plagues by kings of alien race, and by the Romans themselves, lest they should fancy that this prophecy of Haggai was fulfilled by that rebuilding of the temple.

For not long after, on the arrival of Alexander, it was subdued, when, although there was no pillaging, because they dared not resist him, and thus, being very easily subdued, received him peaceably, yet the glory of that house was not so great as it was when under the free power of their own kings. Alexander, indeed, offered up sacrifices in the temple of God, not as a convert to His worship in true piety, but thinking, with impious folly, that He was to be worshipped along with false gods. Then Ptolemy son of Lagus, whom I have already mentioned, after Alexander's death carried them captive into Egypt. His successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, most benevolently dismissed them; and by him it was brought about, as I have narrated a little before, that we should have the Septuagint version of the Scriptures. Then they were crushed by the wars which are explained in the books of the Maccabees. Afterward they were taken captive by Ptolemy king of Alexandria, who was called Epiphanes. Then Antiochus king of Syria compelled them by many and most grievous evils to

1 Hag. ii. 9. 2 Hag. ii. 7. 3 Matt. xxii. H.
assumed the diadem among them, and was made both king and pontiff. Before that, indeed, from the time of their return from the Babylonish captivity and the rebuilding of the temple, they had not kings, but generals or præprincipes. Although a king himself may be called a prince, from his principality in governing, and a leader, because he leads the army, but it does not follow that all who are princes and leaders may also be called kings, as that Aristobulus was.

He was succeeded by Alexander, also both king and pontiff, who is reported to have reigned over them cruelly. After him his wife Alexandra was queen of the Jews, and from her time downwards more grievous evils pursued them; for this Alexandra's sons, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, when contending with each other for the kingdom, called in the Boman forces against the nation of Israel. For Hyrcanus asked assistance from them against his brother. At that time Borne had already subdued Africa and Greece, and ruled extensively in other parts of the world also, and yet, as if unable to bear her own weight, had, in a manner, broken herself by her own size. For indeed she had come to grave domestic seditions, and from that to social wars, and by and by to civil wars, and had enfeebled and worn herself out so much, that the changed state of the republic, in which she should be governed by kings, was now imminent. Pompey then, a most illustrious prince of the Boman people, having entered Judea with an army, took the city, threw open the temple, not with the devotion of a suppliant, but with the authority of a conqueror, and went, not reverently, but profanely, into the holy of holies, where it was lawful for none but the pontiff to enter. Having established Hyrcanus in the pontificate, and set Antipater over the subjugated nation as
guardian or procurator, as they were then called, he led Aristobulus with him bound. From that time the Jews also began to be Eoman tributaries. Afterward Cassius plundered the very temple. Then after a few years it was their desert to have Herod, a king of foreign birth, in whose reign Christ was born. For the time had now come signified by the prophetic Spirit through the mouth of the patriarch Jacob, when he says, "There shall not be lacking a prince out of Judah, nor a teacher from his loins, until He shall come for whom it is reserved; and He is the expectation of the nations." 1 There lacked not therefore a Jewish prince of the Jews until that Herod, who was the first king of a foreign race received by them. Therefore it was now the time when He should come for whom that was reserved which is promised in the iS T ew Testament, that He should be the expectation of the nations. But it was not possible that the nations should expect He would come, as we see they did, to do judgment in the splendour of power, unless they should first believe in Him when He came to suffer judgment in the humility of patience.

46. Of the birth of our Saviour, whereby the Word ivas made flesh; and of the dispersion of the Jews among all nations, as had been propJiesied.

While Herod, therefore, reigned in Judea, and Csesar Augustus was emperor at Eome, the state of the republic being already changed, and the world being set at peace by him, Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah, man manifest out of a human virgin, God hidden out of God the Father. For so liad the prophet foretold: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb, and bring forth a Son, and they shall call His name Immanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us." 2 He did many miracles that He might commend God in Himself, some of which, even as many as seemed sufficient to proclaim Him, are contained in the evangelic Scripture. The first of these is, that He was so wonderfully born, and the last, that with His body raised up again from the dead He ascended into heaven. But the Jews who slew Him, and would not believe in Him, because it behoved Him to die and rise again, were yet more miserably wasted by the Romans, and utterly 1 Gen. xlix. 10. 2 Isa. vii. 14, as in Matt. i. 23.

278 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

rooted out from their kingdom, where aliens had already ruled over them, and were dispersed through the lands (so that indeed there is no place where they are not), and are thus by their own Scriptures a testimony to us that we have not forged the prophecies about Christ. And very many of them, considering this, even before His passion, but chiefly after His resurrection, believed on Him, of whom it was predicted, " Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved." 1 But the rest are blinded, of whom it was predicted, " Let their table be made before them a trap, and a retribution, and a stumblingblock. Let their eyes be darkened lest they see,
and bow down their back alway." 2 Therefore, when they do not believe our Scriptures, their own, which they blindly read, are fulfilled in them, lest perchance any one should say that the Christians have forged these prophecies about Christ which are quoted under the name of the sibyl, or of others, if such there be, who do not belong to the Jewish people. For us, indeed, those suffice which are quoted from the books of our enemies, to whom we make our acknowledgment, on account of this testimony which, in spite of themselves, they contribute by their possession of these books, while they themselves are dispersed among all nations, wherever the Church of Christ is spread abroad. For a prophecy about this thing was sent before in the Psalms, which they also read, where it is written,

" My God, His mercy shall prevent me. My God hath shown me concerning mine enemies, that Thou shalt not slay them, lest they should at last forget Thy law: disperse them in Thy might." 3 Therefore God has shown the Church in her enemies the Jews the grace of His compassion, since, as saith the apostle, " their offence is the salvation of the Gentiles." 4

And therefore He has not slain them, that is, He has not let the knowledge that they are Jews be lost in them, although they have been conquered by the Romans, lest they should forget the law of God, and their testimony should be of no avail in this matter of which we treat. But it was not enough that he should say, " Slay them not, lest they should

1 Isa. x. 22, as in Rom. ix. 27, 28. " Ps. lxi*. 22, 23; Rom. xi. 9, 10.

3 Ps. lxix. 10, 11. * Rom. xi. 11.
at last forget Thy law," unless he had also added, " Disperse them;" because if they had only been in their own land with that testimony of the Scriptures, and not everywhere, certainly the Church which is everywhere could not have had them as witnesses among all nations to the prophecies which were sent before concerning Christ.

47. Whether before Christian times there were any outside of the Israelite race who belonged to the fellowship of the heavenly city.

Wherefore if we read of any foreigner — that is, one neither born of Israel nor received by that people into the canon of the sacred books — having prophesied something about Christ, if it has come or shall come to our knowledge, we can refer to it over and above; not that this is necessary, even if wanting, but because it is not incongruous to believe that even in other nations there may have been men to whom this mystery was revealed, and who were also impelled to proclaim it, whether they were partakers of the same grace or had no experience of it, but were taught by bad angels, who, as we know, even confessed the present Christ, whom the Jews did not acknowledge. "Nov do I think the Jews themselves dare contend that no one has belonged to God except the Israelites, since the increase of Israel began on the rejection of his elder brother. For in very deed there was no other people who were specially called the people of God; but they cannot deny that there have been certain men even of other nations who belonged, not by earthly but heavenly fellowship, to the true Israelites, the citizens of the country that is above. Because, if they deny this, they can be most easily confuted by the case of the holy and wonderful man Job, who was neither a native nor a proselyte, that is, a stranger joining the people of Israel, but, being bred of the Idumean race, arose there and died there too, and who is so praised by the divine oracle, that no man of his times is put on a level with him as regards justice and piety. And although we do not find his date in the chronicles, yet from his book, which for its merit the Israelites have received as of canonical authority, we gather that he was in the third generation after Israel. And I doubt not it was divinely provided, that from this one case we might know that among other nations also there might be

280 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

men pertaining to the spiritual Jerusalem who have lived according to God and have pleased Him. And it is not to be supposed that this was granted to any one, unless the one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, I was divinely revealed to him; who was pre-announced to the saints of old as yet to come in the flesh, even as He is announced to us as having come, that the selfsame faith through Him may lead all to God who are predestinated to be the city of God, the house of God, and the temple of God. But whatever prophecies concerning the grace of God through Christ Jesus are quoted, they may be thought to have been forged by the Christians. So that there is nothing of
more weight for confuting all sorts of aliens, if they contend about this matter, and for supporting our friends, if they are truly wise, than to quote those divine predictions about Christ which are written in the books of the Jews, who have been torn from their native abode and dispersed over the whole world in order to bear this testimony, so that the Church of Christ has everywhere increased.

48. That Haggai's prophecy, in which he said that the glory of the house of God would be greater than that of the first had been,* was really fulfilled, not in the rebuilding of the temple, but in the Church of Christ.

This house of God is more glorious than that first one which was constructed of wood and stone, metals, and other precious things. Therefore the prophecy of Haggai was not fulfilled in the rebuilding of that temple. For it can never be shown to have had so much glory after it was rebuilt as it had in the time of Solomon; yea, rather, the glory of that house is shown to have been diminished, first by the ceasing of prophecy, and then by the nation itself suffering so great calamities, even to the final destruction made by the Romans, as the things above-mentioned prove. But this house which pertains to the new testament is just as much more glorious as the living stones, even believing, renewed men, of which it is constructed are better. But it was typified by the rebuilding of that temple for this reason, because the very renovation of that edifice typifies in the prophetic oracle another testament which is called the new. When, therefore, God said by

1 1 Tim. ii. 5. ' 2 Ha£. ii. 9.
the prophet just named, "And I will give peace in this place,"! He is to be understood who is typified by that typical place; for since by that rebuilt place is typified the Church which was to be built by Christ, nothing else can be accepted as the meaning of the saying, "I will give peace in this place," except I will give peace in the place which that place signifies. For all typical things seem in some way to personate those whom they typify, as it is said by the apostle, "That Rock was Christ." 2 Therefore the glory of this new testament house is greater than the glory of the old testament house; and it will show itself as greater when it shall be dedicated. For then "shall come the desired of all nations," as we read in the Hebrew. For before His advent He had not yet been desired by all nations. For they knew not Him whom they ought to desire, in whom they had not believed. Then, also, according to the Septuagint interpretation (for it also is a prophetic meaning), "shall come those who are elected of the Lord out of all nations." For then indeed there shall come only those who are elected, whereof the apostle saith, "According as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world." 4 For the Master Builder who said, "Many are called, but few are chosen," 5 did not say this of those who, on being called, came in such a way as to be cast out from the feast, but would point out the house built up of the elect, which henceforth shall dread no ruin. Yet because the churches are also full of those who shall be separated by the winnowing as in the threshing-floor, the glory of this house is not so apparent now as it shall be when every one who is there shall be there always.

49. Of the indiscriminate increase of the Church, wherein many reprobate are in this world mixed with the elect.

In this wicked world, in these evil days, when the Church measures her future loftiness by her present humility, and is exercised by goading fears, tormenting sorrows, disquieting labours, and dangerous temptations, when she soberly rejoices, rejoicing only in hope, there are many reprobate mingled with the good, and both are gathered together by the gospel as in

1 Hag. ii. 9. 2 1 Cor. x. 4; Ex. xvii. 6. 3 Hag. ii. 7.
4 Eph. i. 4. 6 Matt. xxii. 11-14.

282 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII]

a drag net j 1 and in this world, both swim enclosed without distinction in the net, until it is brought ashore, when the wicked must be separated from the good, that in the good, as in His temple, God may be all in all. We acknowledge, indeed, that His word is now fulfilled who spake in the psalm, and said, "I have announced and spoken; they
are multiplied above number." 2 This takes place now, since He has spoken, first by the mouth of his forerunner John, and afterward by His own mouth, saying, "Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand/" 3 He chose disciples, whom He also called apostles, 4 of lowly birth, unhonoured, and illiterate, so that whatever great thing they might be or do, He might be and do it in them. He had one among them whose wickedness He could use well in order to accomplish His appointed passion, and furnish His Church an example of bearing with the wicked.

Having sown the holy gospel as much as that behoved to be done by His bodily presence, He suffered, died, and rose again, showing by His passion what we ought to suffer for the truth, and by His resurrection what we ought to hope for in adversity; saving always the mystery of the sacrament, by which His blood was shed for the remission of sins. He held converse on the earth forty days with His disciples, and in their sight ascended into heaven, and after ten days sent the promised Holy Spirit. It was given as the chief and most necessary sign of His coming on those who had believed, that every one of them spoke in the tongues of all nations; thus signifying that the unity of the catholic Church would embrace all nations, and would in like manner speak in all tongues.

50. Of the preaching of the gospel, which is made more famous and powerful by the sufferings of its preachers.

Then was fulfilled that prophecy, "Out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem*" and the prediction of the Lord Christ Himself, when, after the resurrection, "He opened the understanding */ of His amazed disciples K that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them that thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and


4 Luke vi 13. * Isa. ii. 3. Â»
that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." 1 And again, when, in reply to their questioning about the day of His last coming, He said, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power; but ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even unto the ends of the earth." 2 First of all, the Church spread herself abroad from Jerusalem; and when very many in Judea and Samaria had believed, she also went into other nations by those who announced the gospel, whom, as lights, He Himself had both prepared by His word and kindled by His Holy Spirit. For He had said to them, "Fear ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." 3 And that they might not be frozen with fear, they burned with the fire of charity. Finally, the gospel of Christ was preached in the whole world, not only by those who had seen and heard Him both before His passion and after His resurrection, but also after their death by their successors, amid the horrible persecutions, diverse torments and deaths of the martyrs, God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, 4 that the people of the nations, believing in Him who was crucified for their redemption, might venerate with Christian love the blood of the martyrs which they had poured forth with devilish fury, and the very kings by whose laws the Church had been laid waste might become profitably subject to that name they had cruelly striven to take away from the earth, and might begin to persecute the false gods for whose sake the worshippers of the true God had formerly been persecuted.

SI. That the catholic faith may be confirmed even by the dissensions of the heretics.

But the devil, seeing the temples of the demons deserted, and the human race running to the name of the liberating Mediator, has moved the heretics under the Christian name to resist the Christian doctrine, as if they could be kept in

1 Luke xxiv. 45-47. a Acts i. 7, 8.
3 Matt. x. 28. < Heb. ii. 4.

284 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII]

the city of God indifferently without any correction, just as the city of confusion indifferently held the philosophers who were of diverse and adverse opinions. Those, therefore, in the Church of Christ who savour anything morbid and depraved, and, on being corrected that they may savour what is wholesome and right, contumaciously resist, and will not amend their pestiferous and deadly dogmas, but persist in defending them,
become heretics, and, going without, are to be reckoned as enemies who serve for her discipline. For even thus they profit by their wickedness those true catholic members of Christ, since God makes a good use even of the wicked, and all things work together for good to them that love Him. 1

For all the enemies of the Church, whatever error blinds or malice depraves them, exercise her patience if they receive the power to afflict her corporally; and if they only oppose her by wicked thought, they exercise her wisdom: but at the same time, if these enemies are loved, they exercise her benevolence, or even her beneficence, whether she deals with them by persuasive doctrine or by terrible discipline. And thus the devil, the prince of the impious city, when he stirs up his own vessels against the city of God that sojourns in this world, is permitted to do her no harm. For without doubt the divine providence procures for her both consolation through prosperity, that she may not be broken by adversity, and trial through adversity, that she may not be corrupted by prosperity; and thus each is tempered by the other, as we recognise in the Psalms that voice which arises from no other cause, " According to the multitude of my griefs in my heart, Thy consolations have delighted my soul." 2 Hence also is that saying of the apostle, " Pejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation." 3

For it is not to be thought that what the same teacher says can at any time fail, " Whoever will live piously in Christ shall suffer persecution." 4 Because even when those who are without do not rage, and thus there seems to be, and really is, tranquillity, which brings very much consolation, especially to the weak, yet there are not wanting, yea, there

1 Rom. viii. 28. 2 Ps. xciv. 19.

3 Rom. xii. 12. 4 2 Tim. iii. 12.
are many within who by their abandoned manners torment the hearts of those who live piously, since by them the Christian and catholic name is blasphemed; and the dearer that name is to those who will live piously in Christ, the more do they grieve that through the wicked, who have a place within, it comes to be less loved than pious minds desire. The heretics themselves also, since they are thought to have the Christian name and sacraments, Scriptures, and profession, cause great grief in the hearts of the pious, both because many who wish to be Christians are compelled by their dissensions to hesitate, and many evil-speakers also find in them matter for blaspheming the Christian name, because they too are at any rate called Christians. By these and similar depraved manners and errors of men, those who will live piously in Christ suffer persecution, even when no one molests or vexes their body; for they suffer this persecution, not in their bodies, but in their hearts. Whence is that word, 
"According to the multitude of my griefs in my heart; " for he does not say, in my body. Yet, on the other hand, none of them can perish, because the immutable divine promises are thought of. And because the apostle says, "The Lord knoweth them that are His; 1 for whom He did foreknow/ He also predestinated [to be] conformed to the image of His Son," 2 none of them can perish; therefore it follows in that psalm, "Thy consolations have delighted my soul." 3 But that grief which arises in the hearts of the pious, who are persecuted by the manners of bad or false Christians, is profitable to the sufferers, because it proceeds from the charity in which they do not wish them either to perish or to hinder the salvation of others. Finally, great consolations grow out of their chastisement, which imbue the souls of the pious with a fecundity as great as the pains with which they were troubled concerning their own perdition. Thus in this world, in these evil days, not only from the time of the bodily presence of Christ and His apostles, but even from that of Abel, whom first his wicked brother slew because he was righteous, 4 and thenceforth even to the end of this world, the Church has

1 2 Tim. ii. 19. 2 Rom. viii. 29.
8 Ps. xciv. 19. 4 1 John iii. 12.

286 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

gone forward on pilgrimage amid the persecutions of the world and the consolations of God.

52. Whether we should believe what some think, that, as the ten persecutions which are past have been fulfilled, there remains no other beyond, the eleventh, which must happen in the very time of Antichrist.
I do not think, indeed, that what some have thought or may think is rashly said or believed, that until the time of Antichrist the Church of Christ is not to suffer any persecutions besides those she has already suffered, "that is, ten," and that the eleventh and last shall be inflicted by Antichrist.

They reckon as the first that made by Ñerno, the second by Domitian, the third by Trajan, the fourth by Antoninus, the fifth by Severus, the sixth by Maximin, the seventh by Decius, the eighth by Valerian, the ninth by Aurelian, the tenth by Diocletian and Maximian. For as there were ten plagues in Egypt before the people of God could begin to go out, they think this is to be referred to as showing that the last persecution by Antichrist must be like the eleventh plague, in which the Egyptians, while following the Hebrews with hostility, perished in the Red Sea when the people of God passed through on dry land. Yet I do not think persecutions were prophetically signified by what was done in Egypt, however nicely and ingeniously those who think so may seem to have compared the two in detail, not by the prophetic Spirit, but by the conjecture of the human mind, which sometimes hits the truth, and sometimes is deceived. But what can those who think this say of the persecution in which the Lord Himself was crucified? In which number will they put it? And if they think the reckoning is to be made exclusive of this one, as if those must be counted which pertain to the body, and not that in which the Head Himself was set upon and slain, what can they make of that one which, after Christ ascended into heaven, took place in Jerusalem, when the blessed Stephen was stoned; when James the brother of John was slaughtered with the sword; when the Apostle Peter was imprisoned to be killed, and was set free by the angel; when the brethren were driven away and scattered from Jerusalem; when Saul, who afterward became the Apostle Paul, wasted the Church; and when he himself, pub-
lishing the glad tidings of the faith he had persecuted, suffered such things as he had inflicted, either from the Jews or from other nations, where he most fervently preached Christ everywhere? Why, then, do they think fit to start with Nero, when the Church in her growth had reached the times of Nero amid the most cruel persecutions, about which it would he too long to say anything? But if they think that only the persecutions made by kings ought to be reckoned, it was king Herod who also made a most grievous one after the ascension of the Lord. And what account do they give of Julian, whom they do not number in the ten? Did not he persecute the Church, who forbade the Christians to teach or learn liberal letters? Under him, the elder Valentinian, who was the third emperor after him, stood forth as a confessor of the Christian faith, and was dismissed from his command in the army. I shall say nothing of what he did at Antioch, except to mention his being struck with wonder at the freedom and cheerfulness of one most faithful and steadfast young man, who, when many were seized to be tortured, was tortured during a whole day, and sang under the instrument of torture, until the emperor feared lest he should succumb under the continued cruelties and put him to shame at last, which made him dread and fear that he would be yet more dishonourably put to the blush by the rest. Lastly, within our own recollection, did not Valens the Arian, brother of the foresaid Valentinian, waste the catholic Church by great persecution throughout the East? But how unreasonable it is not to consider that the Church, which bears fruit and grows through the whole world, may suffer persecution from kings in some nations even when she does not suffer it in others! Perhaps, however, it was not to be reckoned a persecution when the king of the Goths, in Gothia itself, persecuted the Christians with wonderful cruelty, when there were none but catholics there, of whom very many were crowned with martyrdom, as we have heard from certain brethren who had been there at that time as boys, and unhesitatingly called to mind that they had seen these things? And what took place in Persia of late? Was not persecution so hot against the Christians (if even yet it is allayed) that some of the fugitives from it came even to

Roman towns? When I think of these and the like things, it does not seem to me that the number of persecutions with which the Church is to be tried can be definitely stated. But, on the other hand, it is no less rash to affirm that there will be some persecutions by kings besides that last one, about which no Christian is in doubt. Therefore we leave this undecided, supporting or refuting neither side of this question, but only restraining men from the audacious presumption of affirming either of them.

53. Of the hidden time of the final persecution.
Truly Jesus Himself shall extinguish by His presence that last persecution which is to be made by Antichrist. For so it is written, that "He shall slay him with the breath of His mouth, and empty him with the brightness of His presence." 1

It is customary to ask, When shall that be? But this is quite unreasonable. For had it been profitable for us to know this, by whom could it better have been told than by God Himself, the Master, when the disciples questioned Him?

For they were not silent when with Him, but inquired of Him, saying, "Lord, wilt Thou at this time present the kingdom to Israel, or when?" 2 But He said, "It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power." When they got that answer, they had not at all questioned Him about the hour, or day, or year, but about the time. In vain, then, do we attempt to compute definitely the years that may remain to this world, when we may hear from the mouth of the Truth that it is not for us to know this. Yet some have said that four hundred, some five hundred, others a thousand years, may be completed from the ascension of the Lord up to His final coming. But to point out how each of them supports his own opinion would take too long, and is not necessary; for indeed they use human conjectures, and bring forward nothing certain from the authority of the canonical Scriptures. But on this subject He puts aside the figures of the calculators, and orders silence, who says, "It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power."

1 Isa. xi. 4; 2 Tliess. i. 9. â™¦ 2 Acts i. 6, 7.

LOOK XVIII.] OF THE FINAL PERSECUTION. 289

But because this sentence is in the Gospel, it is no wonder that the worshippers of the many and false gods have been none the less restrained from feigning that by the responses of the demons, whom they worship as gods, it has been fixed how long the Christian religion is to last. For when they saw that it could not be consumed by so many and great persecutions, but rather drew from them wonderful enlargements, they invented I know not what Greek verses, as if poured forth by a divine oracle to some one consulting it, in which, indeed, they make Christ innocent of this, as it were, sacrilegious crime, but add that Peter by enchantments brought it about that the name of Christ should be worshipped for three hundred and sixty-five years, and, after the completion of that number of years, should at once take end. Oh the hearts of learned men! Oh, learned wits, meet to believe such things about Christ as you are not willing to believe in Christ, that His disciple Peter did not learn magic arts from Him, yet that, although He was innocent, His disciple was an enchanter, and chose that His name rather than his own should be worshipped through his magic arts, his great labours and perils, and at last even the shedding of his blood! If Peter the enchanter made the world so love Christ, what did Christ the innocent do to make Peter so love Him? Let them answer themselves then, and, if they can, let them understand that the world, for the sake of eternal life, was made to love Christ by that same supernal grace which made Peter also love Christ for the sake of the eternal life to be received from Him, and that even to the extent of suffering
temporal death for Him. And then, what kind of gods are these who are able to predict such things, yet are not able to avert them, succumbing in such a way to a single enchanter and wicked magician (who, as they say, having slain a yearling boy and torn him to pieces, buried him with nefarious rites), that they permitted the sect hostile to themselves to gain strength for so great a time, and to surmount the horrid cruelties of so many great persecutions, not by resisting but by suffering, and to procure the overthrow of their own images, temples, rituals, and oracles? Finally, what god was it â€” not ours, certainly, but one of their own â€” who was either enticed or compelled

vol. II. T

290 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XVIII.]

by so great wickedness to perform these things? For those verses say that Peter bound, not any demon, but a god to do these things. Such a god have they who have not Christ.

Â£^4. Of the very foolish lie of the pagans, in feigning that the Christian religion was not to last beyond three hundred and sixty-five years.

I might collect these and many similar arguments, if that year had not already passed by which lying divination has promised, and deceived vanity has believed. But as a few years ago three hundred and sixty-five years were completed since the time when the worship of the name of Christ was established by His presence in the flesh, and by the apostles, what other proof need we seek to refute that falsehood? For, not to place the beginning of this period at the nativity of Christ, because as an infant and boy He had no disciples, yet, when He began to have them, beyond doubt the Christian doctrine and religion then became known through His bodily presence, that is, after He was baptized in the river Jordan by the ministry of John. For on this account that prophecy went before concerning Him: "He shall reign from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth." 1

But since, before He suffered and rose from the dead, the faith had not yet been defined to all, but was defined in the resurrection of Christ (for so the Apostle Paul speaks to the Athenians, saying, "But now He announces to men that all everywhere should repent, because He hath appointed a day in which to judge the world in equity, by the Man in whom He hath defined the faith to all men, raising Him from the dead: '2'), it is better that, in settling this question, we should start from that point, especially because the Holy Spirit was then given, just as He behoved to be given after the resurrection of Christ in that city from which the second law, that is, the new testament, ought to begin. For the first, which is called the old testament, was given from Mount Sinai through Moses. But concerning this which was to be given by Christ it was predicted, "Out of Sion shall go
forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem; '3 whence He Himself said, that repentance in His name behoved to be preached among all nations, but yet beginning at Jerusalem. 4

There, therefore, the worship of this name took its rise, that Jesus should be believed in, who died and rose again. There this faith blazed up with such noble beginnings, that several thousand men, being converted to the name of Christ with wonderful alacrity, sold their goods for distribution among the needy, thus, by a holy resolution and most ardent charity, coming to voluntary poverty, and prepared themselves, amid the Jews who raged and thirsted for their blood, to contend for the truth even to death, not with armed power, but with more powerful patience. If this was accomplished by no magic arts, why do they hesitate to believe that the other could be done throughout the whole world by the same divine power by which this was done? But supposing Peter wrought that enchantment so that so great a multitude of men at Jerusalem was thus kindled to worship the name of Christ, who had either seized and fastened Him to the cross, or reviled Him when fastened there, we must still inquire when the three hundred and sixty-five years must be completed, counting from that year. Now Christ died when the Gemini were consuls, on the eighth day before the kalends of April. He rose the third day, as the apostles have proved by the evidence of their own senses. Then forty days after, He ascended into heaven. Ten days after, that is, on the fiftieth after His resurrection, He sent the Holy Spirit; then three thousand men believed when the apostles preached Him.

Then, therefore, arose the worship of that name, as we believe, and according to the real truth, by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, but, as impious vanity has feigned or thought, by the magic arts of Peter. A little afterward, too, on a wonderful sign being wrought, when at Peter's own word a certain beggar, so lame from his mother's womb that he was carried by others and laid down at the gate of the temple, where he begged alms, was made whole in the name of Jesus Christ, and leaped up, five thousand men believed, and thenceforth the Church grew by sundry accessions of believers. Thus we gather the very day with which that year began, namely, that on which the Holy Spirit was sent, that is, during the ides of May. And, on counting the consuls, the three hundred and sixty-five years are found completed on the same

de in the consulate of Honorius and Eutychianus. Xow, in the following year, in the consulate of Mallius Theodorus, when, according to that oracle of the demons or figment of men, there ought already to have been no Christian religion, it was not necessary to inquire what perchance was done in other parts of the earth. But, as we knew, in the most noted and eminent city Carthage, in Africa, Gaudentius and Jovius, officers of the Emperor Honorius, on the fourteenth day before the kalends of April, overthrew the
temples and broke the images of the false gods. And from that time to the present, during almost thirty years, who does not see how much the worship of the name of Christ has increased, especially after many of those became Christians who had been kept back from the faith by thinking that divination true, but saw when that same number of years was completed that it was empty and ridiculous? We, therefore, who are called and are Christians, do not believe in Peter, but in Him whom Peter believed, â€” being edified by Peter's sermons about Christ, not poisoned by his incantations; and not deceived by his enchantments, but aided by his good deeds. Christ Himself, who was Peter's Master in the doctrine which leads to eternal life, is our Master too.

But let us now at last finish this book, after thus far treating of, and showing as far as seemed sufficient, what is the mortal course of the two cities, the heavenly and the earthly, which are mingled together from the beginning down to the end. Of these, the earthly one has made to herself of whom she would, either from any other quarter, or even from among men, false gods whom she might serve by sacrifice; but she which is heavenly, and is a pilgrim on the earth, does not make false gods, but is herself made by the true God, of whom she herself must be the true sacrifice. Yet both alike either enjoy temporal good things, or are afflicted with temporal evils, but with diverse faith, diverse hope, and diverse love, until they must be separated by the last judgment, and each must receive her own end, of which there is no end. About these ends of both we must next treat.
BOOK NINETEENTH.

ARGUMENT.

IN THIS BOOK THE END OF THE TWO CITIES, THE EARTHLY AND THE HEAVENLY, IS DISCUSSED. AUGUSTINE REVIEWS THE OPINIONS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS REGARDING THE SUPREME GOOD, AND THEIR VAIN EFFORTS TO MAKE FOR THEMSELVES A HAPPINESS IN THIS LIFE; AND, WHILE HE REFUTES THESE, HE TAKES OCCASION TO SHOW WHAT THE PEACE AND HAPPINESS BELONGING TO THE HEAVENLY CITY, OR THE PEOPLE OF CHRIST, ARE BOTH NOW AND HEREAFTER.

1. That Varro has made out that two hundred and eighty-eight different sects of philosophy might be formed by the carious opinions regarding the supreme good.

AS I see that I have still to discuss the fit destinies of the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly, I must first explain, so far as the limits of this work allow me, the reasonings by which men have attempted to make for themselves a happiness in this unhappy life, in order that it may be evident, not only from divine authority, but also from such reasons as can be adduced to unbelievers, how the empty dreams of the philosophers differ from the hope which God gives to us, and from the substantial fulfilment of it which He will give us as our blessedness. Philosophers have expressed a great variety of diverse opinions regarding the ends of goods and of evils, and this question they have eagerly canvassed, that they might, if possible, discover what makes a man happy. For the end of our good is that for the sake of which other things are to be desired, while it is to be desired for its own sake; and the end of evil is that on account of which other things are to be shunned, while it is avoided on its own account.

Thus, by the end of good, we at present mean, not that by which good is destroyed, so that it no longer exists, but that by which it is finished, so that it becomes complete; and by the end of evil we mean, not that which abolishes it, but that which completes its development. These two ends, therefore, are the supreme good and the supreme evil; and, as I have

294 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]
said, those who have in this vain life professed the study of wisdom have been at great
pains to discover these ends, and to obtain the supreme good and avoid the supreme evil
in this life. And although they erred in a variety of ways, yet natural insight has prevented
them from wandering from the truth so far that they have not placed the supreme good
and evil, some in the soul, some in the body, and some in both.
From this tripartite distribution of the sects of philosophy, Marcus Varro, in his book De
Philosophic/,} has drawn so large a variety of opinions, that, by a subtle and minute
analysis of distinctions, he numbers without difficulty as many as 288
sects, â€” not that these have actually existed, but sects which are
possible.

To illustrate briefly what he means, I must begin with his own introductory statement in
the above-mentioned book, that there are four things which men desire, as it were by
nature without a master, without the help of any instruction, without industry or the art of
living which is called virtue, and which is certainly learned: 2 either pleasure, which is an
agreeable stirring of the bodily sense; or repose, which excludes every bodily
inconvenience; or both these, which Epicurus calls by the one name, pleasure; or the
primary objects of nature, 3 which comprehend the things already named and other
things, either bodily, such as health, and safety, and integrity of the members, or spiritual,
such as the greater and less mental shifts that are found in men. Row these four things â€”
pleasure, repose, the two combined, and the primary objects of nature â€” exist in us in
such sort that we must either desire virtue on their account, or them for the sake of virtue,
or both for their own sake; and consequently there arise from this distinction twelve sects,
for each is by this consideration tripled. I will illustrate this in one instance, and, having
done so, it will not be difficult to understand the others.
According, then, as bodily pleasure is subj
ected, preferred, or united to virtue, there are
three sects. It is subjected to virtue when it is chosen as subservient to virtue. Thus it is

1 Not extant.

2 Alluding to the vexed question whether virtue could be taught.

3 The prima nature?, or <rpZra xurk $Ctnv of the* Stoics.

book xix.] VAr.no ox sects of philosophy. 295

a duty of virtue to live for one's country, and for its sake to beget children, neither of
which can be done without bodily pleasure. For there is pleasure in eating and drinking,
pleasure also in sexual intercourse. But when it is preferred to virtue, it is desired for its
own sake, and virtue is chosen only for its sake, and to effect nothing else than the
attainment or preservation of bodily pleasure. And this, indeed, is to make life hideous;
for where virtue is the slave of pleasure it no longer deserves the name of virtue. Yet even
this disgraceful distortion has found some philosophers to patronize and defend it. Then
virtue is united to pleasure when neither is desired for the other's sake, but both for their
own. And therefore, as pleasure, according as it is subjected, preferred, or united to
virtue, makes three sects, so also do repose, pleasure and repose combined, and the prime natural blessings, make their three sects each. For as men's opinions vary, and these four things are sometimes subjected, sometimes preferred, and sometimes united to virtue, there are produced twelve sects. But this number again is doubled by the addition of one difference, viz. the social life; for whoever attaches himself to any of these sects does so either for his own sake alone, or for the sake of a companion, for whom he ought to wish what he desires for himself. And thus there will be twelve of those who think some one of these opinions should be held for their own sakes, and other twelve who decide that they ought to follow this or that philosophy not for their own sakes only, but also for the sake of others whose good they desire as their own: These twenty-four sects again are doubled, and become forty-eight by adding a difference taken from the New Academy. For each of these four and twenty sects can hold and defend their opinion as certain, as the Stoics defended the position that the supreme good of man consisted solely in virtue; or they can be held as probable, but not certain, as the New Academics did. There are, therefore, twenty-four who hold their philosophy as certainly true, other twenty-four who hold their opinions as probable, but not certain.

Again, as each person who attaches himself to any of these sects may adopt the mode of life either of the Cynics or of the other philosophers, this distinction will double the number, and so make ninety-six sects. Then, lastly, as each of these sects may be adhered to either by men who love a life of ease, as those who have through choice or necessity addicted themselves to study, or by men who love a busy life, as those who, while philosophizing, have been much occupied with state affairs and public business, or by men who choose a mixed life, in imitation of those who have apportioned their time partly to erudite leisure, partly to necessary business: by these differences the number of the sects is tripled, and becomes 288.

I have thus, as briefly and lucidly as I could, given in my own words the opinions which Yarro expresses in his book. But how he refutes all the rest of these sects, and chooses one, the Old Academy, instituted by Plato, and continuing to Polemo, the fourth teacher of that school of philosophy which held that their system was certain; and how on this ground he distinguishes it from the New Academy, 1 which began with Polemo's successor Arcesilaus, and held that all things are uncertain; and how he seeks to establish that the Old Academy was as free from error as from doubt, â€” all this, I say, were too long to enter upon in detail, and yet I must not altogether pass it by in silence. Varro then rejects, as a first step, all those differences which have multiplied the number of sects; and the ground on which he does so is that they are not differences about the supreme good. He maintains that in philosophy a sect is created only by its having an opinion of its own different from other schools on the point of the ends in chief. For man has no other reason for philosophizing than that he may be happy; but that which makes him happy is itself the supreme good. In other words, the supreme good is the reason of philosophizing; and
therefore that cannot be called a sect of philosophy which pursues no way of its own towards the supreme good. Thus, when it is asked whether a wise man will adopt the social life, and desire and be interested in the supreme good of his friend as in his own, or will, on the contrary, do all that he does merely for his own sake, there is no question here about the supreme good, but only about the propriety of associating or not associating a friend in its participation: whether the wise man will do this 1 Frequently called the Middle Academy; the New beginning with Carneades.
not for his own sake, but for the sake of his friend in whose good he delights as in his own. So, too, when it is asked whether all things about which philosophy is concerned are to be considered uncertain, as by the New Academy, or certain, as the other philosophers maintain, the question here is not what end should be pursued, but whether or not we are to believe in the substantial existence of that end; or, to put it more plainly, whether he who pursues the supreme good must maintain that it is a true good, or only that it appears to him to be true, though possibly it may be delusive, â€” both pursuing one and the same good. The distinction, too, which is founded on the dress and manners of the Cynics, does not touch the question of the chief good, but only the question whether he who pursues that good which seems to himself true should live as do the Cynics. There were, in fact, men who, though they pursued different things as the supreme good, some choosing pleasure, others virtue, yet adopted that mode of life which gave the Cynics their name. Thus, whatever it is which distinguishes the Cynics from other philosophers, this has no bearing on the choice and pursuit of that good which constitutes happiness. For if it had any such bearing, then the same habits of life would necessitate the pursuit of the same chief good, and diverse habits would necessitate the pursuit of different ends.

2. How Varro, by removing all the differences which do not form sects, but are merely secondary questions, reaches three definitions of the chief good, of which we must choose one.

The same may be said of those three kinds of life, the life of studious leisure and search after truth, the life of easy engagement in affairs, and the life in which both these are mingled. When it is asked, which of these should be adopted, this involves no controversy about the end of good, but inquires which of these three puts a man in the best position for finding and retaining the supreme good. For this good, as soon as a man finds it, makes him happy; but lettered leisure, or public business, or the alternation of these, do not necessarily constitute happiness. Many, in fact, find it possible to adopt one or other of these modes of life, and yet to miss what makes a man happy. The question, therefore, regarding the supreme
not constituting what can properly be called sects, he returns to those twelve schools which concern themselves with inquiring what that good is which makes man happy, and he shows that one of these is true, the rest false. In other words, he dismisses the distinction founded on the threefold mode of life, and so decreases the whole number by two-thirds, reducing the sects to ninety-six. Then, putting aside the Cynic peculiarities, the number decreases by a half, to forty-eight. Taking away next the distinction occasioned by the hesitancy of the New Academy, the number is again halved, and reduced to twenty-four. Treating in a similar way the diversity introduced by the consideration of the social life, there are left but twelve, which this difference had doubled to twenty-four. Regarding these twelve, no reason can be assigned why they should not be called sects. For in them the sole inquiry is regarding the supreme good and the ultimate evil, that is to say, regarding the supreme good, for this being found, the opposite evil is thereby found. Now, to make these twelve sects, he multiplies by three these four things — pleasure, repose, pleasure and repose combined, and the primary objects of nature which Varro calls pi*imigenia. For as these four things are sometimes subordinated to virtue, so that they seem to be desired not for their own sake, but for virtue's sake; sometimes preferred to it, so that virtue seems to be necessary not on its own account, but in order to attain these things; sometimes joined with it, so that both they and virtue are desired for their own sakes, we must multiply the four by three, and thus we get twelve sects. But from those
four tilings Varro eliminates three â€” pleasure, repose, pleasure and repose combined â€” not because he thinks these are not worthy of the place assigned them, but because they are included in the primary objects of nature. And what need is there, at any rate, to make a threefold division out of these two ends, pleasure and repose, taking them first severally and then conjunctly, since both they, and many other things besides, are comprehended in the primary objects of nature? Which of the three remaining sects must be chosen? This is the question that Varro dwells upon. For whether one of these three or some other be chosen, reason forbids that more than one be true. This we shall afterwards see; but meanwhile let us explain as briefly and distinctly as we can how Varro makes his selection from these three, that is, from the sects which severally hold that the primary objects of nature are to be desired for virtue's sake, that virtue is to be desired for their sake, and that virtue and these objects are to be desired each for their own sake.

3. Which of the three leading opinions regarding the chief good should be preferred, according to Varro, who follows Antiochus and the Old Academy.

Which of these three is true and to be adopted he attempts to show in the following manner. As it is the supreme good, not of a tree, or of a beast, or of a god, but of man, that philosophy is in quest of, he thinks that, first of all, we must define man. He is of opinion that there are two parts in human nature, body and soul, and makes no doubt that of these two the soul is the better and by far the more worthy part. But whether the soul alone is the man, so that the body holds the same relation to it as a horse to the horseman, this he thinks has to be ascertained. The horseman is not a horse and a man, but only a man, yet he is called a horseman, because he is in some relation to the horse. Again, is the body alone the man, having a relation to the soul such as the cup has to the drink? For it is not the cup and the drink it contains which are called the cup, but the cup alone; yet it is so called because it is made to hold the drink. Or, lastly, is it neither the soul alone nor the body alone, but both together, which are man, the body and the soul being each a part, but the whole man being both together, as

300 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

we call two horses yoked together a pair, of which pair the near and the off horse is each a part, but we do not call either of them, no matter how connected with the other, a pair, but only both together? Of these three alternatives, then, Varro chooses the third, that man is neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but both together. And therefore the highest good, in which lies the happiness of man, is composed of goods, of both kinds, both bodily and spiritual. And consequently he thinks that the primary objects of nature are to be sought for their own sake, and that virtue, which is the art of living, and can be communicated by instruction, is the most excellent of spiritual goods. Thus virtue, then, or art of regulating life, when it has received these primary objects of nature which
existed independently of it, and prior to any instruction, seeks them all, and itself also, for its own sake; and it uses them, as it also uses itself, that from them all it may derive profit and enjoyment, greater or less, according as they are themselves greater or less; and while it takes pleasure in all of them, it despises the less that it may obtain or retain the greater when occasion demands. Now, of all goods, spiritual or bodily, there is none at all to compare with virtue. For virtue makes a good use both of itself and of all other goods in which lies man's happiness; and where it is absent, no matter how many good things a man has, they are not for his good, and consequently should not be called good things while they belong to one who makes them useless by using them badly. The life of man, then, is called happy when it enjoys virtue and these other spiritual and bodily good things without which virtue is impossible. It is called happier if it enjoys some or many other good things which are not essential to virtue; and happiest of all, if it lacks not one of the good things which pertain to the body and the soul. For life "is not the same thing as virtue, since not every life, but a wisely regulated life, is virtue; and yet, while there can be life of some kind without virtue, there cannot be virtue without life. This I might apply to memory and reason, and such mental faculties; for these exist prior to instruction, and without them there cannot be any instruction, and consequently no virtue, since virtue is learned. But bodily advantages, such as swift-
ness of foot, beauty, or strength, are not essential to virtue, neither is virtue essential to them, and yet they are good things; and, according to our philosophers, even these advantages are desired by virtue for its own sake, and are used and enjoyed by it in a becoming manner.

They say that this happy life is also social, and loves the advantages of its friends as its own, and for their sake wishes for them what it desires for itself, whether these friends live in the same family, as a wife, children, domestics; or in the locality where one's home is, as the citizens of the same town; or in the world at large, as the nations bound in common human brotherhood; or in the universe itself, comprehended in the heavens and the earth, as those whom they call gods, and provide as friends for the wise man, and whom we more familiarly call angels. Moreover, they say that, regarding the supreme good and evil, there is no room for doubt, and that they therefore differ from the New Academy in this respect, and they are not concerned whether a philosopher pursues those ends which they think true in the Cynic dress and manner of life or in some other. And, lastly, in regard to the three modes of life, the contemplative, the active, and the composite, they declare in favour of the third. That these were the opinions and doctrines of the Old Academy, Varro asserts on the authority of Antiochus, Cicero's master and his own, though Cicero makes him out to have been more frequently in accordance with the Stoics than with the Old Academy.

But of what importance is this to us, who ought to judge the matter on its own merits, rather than to understand accurately what different men have thought about it?

4. What the Christians believe regarding the supreme good and evil, in opposition to the philosophers, who have maintained that the supreme good is in themselves.

If, then, we be asked what the city of God has to say upon these points, and, in the first place, what its opinion regarding the supreme good and evil is, it will reply that life eternal is the supreme good, death eternal the supreme evil, and that to obtain the one and escape the' other we must live rightly. And thus it is written, "The just lives by faith," for

1 Hab. ii. 4.

302 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]
the sovereign good and evil are to be found in this life, and have placed it either in the soul or the body, or in both, or, to speak more explicitly, either in pleasure or in virtue, or in both; in repose or in virtue, or in both; in pleasure and repose, or in virtue, or in all combined; in the primary objects of nature, or in virtue, or in both, â€” all these have, with a marvellous shallowness, sought to find their blessedness in this life and in themselves. Contempt has been poured upon such ideas by the Truth, saying by the prophet, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men" (or, as the Apostle Paul cites the passage, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise") "that they are vain." *

For what flood of eloquence can suffice to detail the miseries of this life? Cicero, in the Consolation on the death of his daughter, has spent all his ability in lamentation; but how inadequate was even his ability here? For when, where, how, in this life can these primary objects of nature be possessed so that they may not be assailed by unforeseen accidents? Is the body of the wise man exempt from any pain which may dispel pleasure, from any disquietude which may banish repose? The amputation or decay of the members of the body puts an end to its integrity, deformity blights its beauty, weakness its health, lassitude its vigour, sleepiness or sluggishness its activity, â€” and which of these is it that may not assail the flesh of the wise man? Comely and fitting attitudes and movements of the body are numbered among the prime natural blessings; but what if some sickness makes the members' tremble? What if a man suffers from curvature of the spine to such an extent that his hands reach the ground, and he goes upon all-fours like a quadruped? Does not this destroy all beauty and grace in the body, whether at rest or in motion? "What shall I say of the fundamental blessings of the soul, sense and intellect, of which the one is given for the perception, and the other for the comprehension of truth?"

1 Vs. xciv. 11, and 1 Cor. iii. 20. Â»
But what kind of sense is it that remains when a man becomes deaf and blind? Where are reason and intellect when disease makes a man delirious? We can scarcely, or not at all, refrain from tears, when we think of or see the actions and words of such frantic persons, and consider how different from and even opposed to their own sober judgment and ordinary conduct their present demeanour is. And what shall I say of those who suffer from demoniacal possession? Where is their own intelligence hidden and buried while the malignant spirit is using their body and soul according to his own will? And who is quite sure that no such thing can happen to the wise man in this life? Then, as to the perception of truth, what can we hope for even in this way while in the body, as we read in the true book of Wisdom, "The corruptible body weigheth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle presseth down the mind that museth upon many things." And eagerness, or desire of action, if this is the right meaning to put upon the Greek opfξρ], is also reckoned among the primary advantages of nature; and yet is it not this which produces those pitiable movements of the insane, and those actions which we shudder to see, when sense is deceived and reason deranged?

In fine, virtue itself, which is not among the primary objects of nature, but succeeds to them as the result of learning, though it holds the "highest place among human good things, what is its occupation save to wage perpetual war with vices, â€” not those that are outside of us, but within; not other men's, but our own, â€” a war which is waged especially by that virtue which the Greeks call aαξfξpοαvvr), and we temperance, 2 and which bridles carnal lusts, and prevents them from winning the consent of the spirit to wicked deeds? For we must not fancy that there is no vice in us, when, as the apostle says, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit;" 3 for to this vice there is a contrary virtue, when, as the same writer says, "The spirit lusteth against the flesh." "For these two," he says, "are contrary one to the other, so that you cannot do the things which you would." But what is it we wish to do when we seek to attain the supreme good, unless that the flesh should cease to lust against the spirit, and that there be no vice in us 1 Wisdom ix. 15. 2 Cicero, Tusc. Qacest. iii. 8. 3 Gal. v. 17.

against which the spirit may lust? And as we cannot attain to this in the present life, however ardently we desire it, let us by God's help accomplish at least this, to preserve the soul from succumbing and yielding to the flesh that lusts against it, and to refuse our consent to the perpetration of sin. Far be it from us, then, to fancy that while we are still engaged in this intestine war, we have already found the happiness which we seek to reach by victory. And who is there so wise that he has no conflict at all to maintain asfaimst his vices?
"What shall I say of that virtue which is called prudence? Is not all its vigilance spent in the discernment of good from evil things, so that no mistake may be admitted about what we should desire and what avoid? And thus it is itself a proof that we are in the midst of evils, or that evils are in us; for it teaches us that it is an evil to consent to sin, and a good to refuse this consent. And yet this evil, to which prudence teaches and temperance enables us not to consent, is removed from this life neither by prudence nor by temperance. And justice, whose office it is to render to every man his due, whereby there is in man himself a certain just order of nature, so that the soul is subjected to God, and the flesh to the soul, and consequently both soul and flesh to God, â€”

does not this virtue demonstrate that it is as yet rather labouring towards its end than resting in its finished work? For the soul is so much the less subjected to God as it is less occupied with the thought of God; and the flesh is so much the less subjected to the spirit as it lusts more vehemently against the spirit. So long, therefore, as we are beset by this weakness, this plague, this disease, how shall we dare to say that we are safe? and if not safe, then how can we be already enjoying our final beatitude? Then that virtue which goes by the name of fortitude is the plainest proof of the ills of life, for it is these ills which it is compelled to bear patiently. And this holds good, no matter though the ripest wisdom co-exists with it. And I am at a loss to understand how the Stoic philosophers can presume to say that these are no ills, though at the same time they allow the wise man to commit suicide and pass out of this life if they become so grievous that he
cannot or ought not to endure them. But such is the stupid pride of these men who fancy that the supreme good can be found in this life, and that they can become happy by their own resources, that their wise man, or at least the man whom they fancifully depict as such, is always happy, even though he become blind, deaf, dumb, mutilated, racked with pains, or suffer any conceivable calamity such as may compel him to make away with himself; and they are not ashamed to call the life that is beset with these evils happy.

happy life, which seeks the aid of death to end it! If it is happy, let the wise man remain in it; but if these ills drive him out of it, in what sense is it happy? Or how can they say that these are not evils which conquer the virtue of fortitude, and force it not only to yield, but so to rave that it in one breath calls life happy and recommends it to be given up?

For who is so blind as not to see that if it were happy it would not be fled from? And if they say we should flee from it on account of the infirmities that beset it, why then do they not lower their pride and acknowledge that it is miserable? Was it, I would ask, fortitude or weakness which prompted Cato to kill himself? for he would not have done so had he not been too weak to endure Caesar's victory.

Where, then, is his fortitude? It has yielded, it has succumbed, it has been so thoroughly overcome as to abandon, forsake, flee this happy life. Or was it no longer happy? Then it was miserable. How, then, were these not evils which made life miserable, and a thing to be escaped from?

And therefore those who admit that these are evils, as the Peripatetics do, and the Old Academy, the sect which Varro advocates, express a more intelligible doctrine; but theirs also is a surprising mistake, for they contend that this is a happy life which is beset by these evils, even though they be so great that he who endures them should commit suicide to escape them. "Pains and anguish of body," says Varro, "are evils, and so much the worse in proportion to their severity; and to escape them you must quit this life." What life, I pray? This life, he says, which is oppressed by such evils. Then it is happy in the midst of these very evils on account of which you say we must quit it? Or do you call it happy?

VOL. II. u

306 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

because you are at liberty to escape these evils by death %

What, then, if by some secret judgment of God you were held fast and not permitted to die, nor suffered to live without these evils? In that case, at least, you would say that such a life was miserable. It is soon relinquished, no doubt, but this does not make it not miserable; for were it eternal, you yourself would pronounce it miserable. Its brevity,
therefore, does not clear it of misery; neither ought it to be called happiness because it is a brief misery. Certainly there is a mighty force in these evils which compel a man â€” according to them, even a wise man â€” to cease to be a man that he may escape them, though they say, and say truly, that it is as it were the first and strongest demand of nature that a man cherish himself, and naturally therefore avoid death, and should so stand his own friend as to wish and vehemently aim at continuing to exist as a living creature, and subsisting in this union of soul and body. There is a mighty force in these evils to overcome this natural instinct by which death is by every means and with all a man's efforts avoided, and to overcome it so completely that what was avoided is desired, sought after, and if it cannot in any other way be obtained, is inflicted by the man on himself. There is a mighty force in these evils which make fortitude a homicide, â€” if, indeed, that is to be called fortitude which is so thoroughly overcome by these evils, that it not only cannot preserve by patience the man whom it undertook to govern and defend, but is itself obliged to kill him. The wise man, I admit, ought to bear death with patience, but when it is inflicted by another.

If, then, as these men maintain, he is obliged to inflict it on himself, certainly it must be owned that the ills which compel him to this are not only evils, but intolerable evils. The life, then, which is either subject to accidents, or environed with evils so considerable and grievous, could never have been called happy, if the men who give it this name had condescended to yield to the truth, and to be conquered by valid arguments, when they inquired after the happy life, as they yield to unhappiness, and are overcome by overwhelming evils, when they put themselves to death, and if they had not fancied that the supreme good was to be found in this mortal
life; for the very virtues of this life, which are certainly its best and most useful possessions, are all the more telling proofs of its miseries in proportion as they are helpful against the violence of its dangers, toils, and woes. For if these are true virtues, " and such cannot exist save in those who have true piety, " they do not profess to be able to deliver the men who possess them from all miseries; for true virtues tell no such lies, but they profess that by the hope of the future world this life, which is miserably involved in the many and great evils of this world, is happy as it is also safe. For if not yet safe, how could it be happy? And therefore the Apostle Paul, speaking of men without prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice, but of those whose lives were regulated by true piety, and whose virtues were therefore true, says, " For we are saved by hope: now hope which is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 1 As, therefore, we are saved, so we are made happy by hope. And as we do not as yet possess a present, but look for a future salvation, so is it with our happiness, and this " with patience; " for we are encompassed with evils, which we ought patiently to endure, until we come to the ineffable enjoyment of unmixed good; for there shall be no longer anything to endure. Salvation, such as it shall be in the world to come, shall itself be our final happiness. And this happiness these philosophers refuse to believe in, because they do not see it, and attempt to fabricate for themselves a happiness in this life, based upon a virtue which is as deceitful as it is proud.

5. Of the social life, which, though most desirable, is frequently disturbed by many distresses.

L We give a much more unlimited approval to their idea that the life of the wise man must be social. For how could the city of God (concerning which we are already writing no less than the nineteenth book of this work) either take a beginning or be developed, or attain its proper destiny, if the life of the saints were not a social life? But who can enumerate all the great grievances with which human society abounds in the misery of this mortal state? Who can weigh them? Hear how one of their comic writers makes one of his characters express the common feelings of all men in this matter:
" I am married; this is one misery. Children are born to me; they are additional cares." 1 What shall I say of the miseries of love which Terence also recounts " slights, suspicions, quarrels, war to-day, peace to-morrow?" 2 Is not human life full of such things?
things? Do they not often occur even in honourable friendships? On all hands we experience these slights, suspicions, quarrels, war, all of which are undoubted evils; while, on the other hand, peace is a doubtful good, because we do not know the heart of our friend, and though we did know it to-day, we should be as ignorant of what it might be to-morrow. Who ought to be, or who are more friendly than those who live in the same family? And yet who can rely even upon this friendship, seeing that secret treachery has often broken it up, and produced enmity as bitter as the amity was sweet, or seemed sweet by the most perfect dissimulation? It is on this account that the words of Cicero so move the heart of every one, and provoke a sigh: "There are no snares more dangerous than those which lurk under the guise of duty or the name of relationship. For the man who is your declared foe you can easily baffle by precaution; but this hidden, intestine, and domestic danger not merely exists, but overwhelms you before you can foresee and examine it." 3 It is also to this that allusion is made by the divine saying, "A man's foes are those of his own household," 4 words which one cannot hear without pain; for though a man have sufficient fortitude to endure it with equanimity, and sufficient sagacity to baffle the malice of a pretended friend, yet if he himself is a good man, he cannot but be greatly pained at the discovery of the perfidy of wicked men, whether they have always been wicked and merely feigned goodness, or have fallen from a better to a malicious disposition. If, then, home, the natural refuge from the ills of life, is itself not safe, what shall we say of the city, which, as it is larger, is so much the more filled with lawsuits civil and criminal, and is never

1 Terent. Adelph. v. 4. 2 Eunuch, i. 1.

3 In Varcm, ii. 1. 15. Mlatt. x. 36.
free from the fear, if sometimes from the actual outbreak, of disturbing and bloody insurrections and civil wars?

G. Of the error of human judgments when the truth is hidden.

What shall I say of these judgments which men pronounce on men, and which are necessary in communities, whatever outward peace they enjoy? Melancholy and lamentable judgments they are, since the judges are men who cannot discern the consciences of those at their bar, and are therefore frequently compelled to put innocent witnesses to the torture to ascertain the truth regarding the crimes of other men. What shall I say of torture applied to the accused himself? He is tortured to discover whether he is guilty, so that, though innocent, he suffers most undoubted punishment for crime that is still doubtful, not because it is proved that he committed it, but because it is not ascertained that he did not commit it. Thus the ignorance of the judge frequently involves an innocent person in suffering. And what is still more unendurable is this, that when the judge puts the accused to the question, that he may not unwittingly put an innocent man to death, the result of this lamentable ignorance is that this very person, whom he tortured that he might not condemn him if innocent, is condemned to death both tortured and innocent. For if he has chosen, in obedience to the philosophical instructions to the wise man, to quit this life rather than endure any longer such tortures, he declares that he has committed the crime which in fact he has not committed. And when he has been condemned and put to death, the judge is still in ignorance whether he has put to death an innocent or a guilty person, though he put the accused to the torture for the very purpose of saving himself from condemning the innocent; and consequently he has both tortured an innocent man to discover his innocence, and has put him to death without discovering it. If such darkness shrouds social life, will a wise judge take his seat on the bench or no? Beyond question he will. For human society, which he thinks it a wickedness to abandon, constrains him and compels him to this duty. And he thinks it no

wickedness that innocent witnesses are tortured regarding the crimes of which other men are accused; or that the accused are put to the torture, so that they are often overcome with anguish, and, though innocent, make false confessions regarding themselves, and are punished; or that, though they be not condemned to die, they often die during, or in consequence of, the torture; or that sometimes the accusers, who perhaps have been prompted by a desire to benefit society by bringing criminals to justice, are themselves condemned through the ignorance of the judge, because they are unable to prove the truth of their accusations though they are true, and because the witnesses lie, and the accused
endures the torture without being moved to confession. These numerous and important evils he does not consider sins; for the wise judge does these things, not with any intention of doing harm, but because his ignorance compels him, and because human society claims him as a judge. But though we therefore acquit the judge of malice, we must none the less condemn human life as miserable. And if he is compelled to torture and punish the innocent because his office and his ignorance constrain him, is he a happy as well as a guiltless man? Surely it were proof of more profound considerateness and finer feeling were he to recognise the misery of these necessities, and shrink from his own implication in that misery; and had he any piety about him, he would cry to God, "From my necessities deliver Thou me." 1

7. Of the diversity of languages, by u-Jiich the intercourse of men is jwevented; and of the misery of wars, even of those called just.

After the state or city comes the world, the third circle of human society; the first being the house, and the second the city. And the world, as it is larger, so it is fuller of danger as the greater sea is the more dangerous. And here, in the first place, man is separated from man by the difference of languages. For if two men, each ignorant of the other's language, meet, and are not compelled to pass, but, on the contrary, to remain in company, dumb animals, though of different species, would more easily hold intercourse than they, human beings though they be. For their common

1 Ps. xxv. 17.
nature is no help to friendliness when they are prevented by diversity of language from conveying their sentiments to one another; so that a man would more readily hold intercourse with his dog than with a foreigner. But the imperial city has endeavoured to impose on subject nations not only her yoke, but her language, as a bond of peace, so that interpreters, far from being scarce, are numberless. This is true; but how many great wars, how much slaughter and bloodshed, have provided this unity! And though these are past, the end of these miseries has not yet come. For though there have never been wanting, nor are yet wanting, hostile nations beyond the empire, against whom wars have been and are waged, yet, supposing there were no such nations, the very extent of the empire itself has produced wars of a more obnoxious description—social and civil wars—and with these the whole race has been agitated, either by the actual conflict or the fear of a renewed outbreak. If I attempted to give an adequate description of these manifold disasters, these stern and lasting necessities, though I am quite unequal to the task, what limit could I set? But, say they, the wise man will wage just wars. As if he would not all the rather lament the necessity of just wars, if he remembers that he is a man; for if they were not just he would not wage them, and would therefore be delivered from all wars. For it is the wrong-doing of the opposing party which compels the wise man to wage just wars; and this wrong-doing, even though it gave rise to no war, would still be matter of grief to man because it is man's wrong-doing. [Let every one, then, who thinks with pain on all these great evils, so horrible, so ruthless, acknowledge that this is misery. And if any one either endures or thinks of them without mental pain, this is a more miserable plight still, for he thinks himself happy because he has lost human feeling.

8. That the friendship of good men cannot be securely rested in, so long as the dangers of this life force us to be anxious.

In our present wretched condition we frequently mistake a friend for an enemy, and an enemy for a friend. And if we escape this pitiable blindness, is not the unfeigned confidence and mutual love of true and good friends our one solace in
torn? We would, in fact, prefer to hear that they were dead, although we could not without anguish hear of even this. For if their life has solaced us with the charms of friendship, can it be that their death should affect us with no sadness? He who will have none of this sadness must, if possible, have no friendly intercourse. Let him interdict or extinguish friendly affection; let him burst with ruthless insensitivity the bonds of every human relationship; or let him contrive so to use them that no sweetness shall distil into his spirit. But if this is utterly impossible, how shall we contrive to feel no bitterness in the death of those whose life has been sweet to us? Hence arises that grief which affects the tender heart like a wound or a bruise, and which is healed by the application of kindly consolation. For though the cure is affected all the more easily and rapidly the better condition the soul is in, we must not on this account suppose that there is nothing at all to heal. Although, then, our present life is afflicted, sometimes in a milder, sometimes in a more painful degree, by the death of those very dear to us, and especially of useful public men, yet we would prefer to hear that such men were dead rather than to hear or perceive that they had fallen from the faith, or from virtue, in other words, that they were spiritually dead. Of this vast material for misery the earth is full, and therefore it is written, "Is not human life upon earth a trial?" And with the same reference the

1 Job vii. 1.

COOK XIX.] FRIENDSHIP OF ANGELS NOT AVAILABLE. 313

Lord says, "Woe to the world because of offences!" And again, "Because iniquity abounded, the love of many shall wax cold." And hence we enjoy some gratification when our good friends die; for though their death leaves us in sorrow, we have the consolatory assurance that they are beyond the ills by which in this life even the best of men are broken down or corrupted, or are in danger of both results.

9. Of the friendship of the holy angels, which men cannot be sure of in this life, owing to the deceit of the demons who hold in bondage the worshippers of a plurality of gods.

The philosophers who wished us to have the gods for our friends rank the friendship of the holy angels in the fourth circle of society, advancing now from the three circles of society on earth to the universe, and embracing heaven itself. And in this friendship we have indeed no fear that the angels will grieve us by their death or deterioration. But as we cannot mingle with them as familiarly as with men (which itself is one of the grievances of this life), and as Satan, as we read, sometimes transforms himself into an angel of light, to tempt those whom it is necessary to discipline, or just to deceive, there is great need of God's mercy to preserve us from making friends of demons in disguise, while we fancy we have good angels for our friends; for the astuteness and deceitfulness of these wicked spirits is equalled by their hurtfulness. And is this not a great misery of human life, that we are involved in such ignorance as, but for God's mercy, makes us a prey to these demons? And it is very certain that the philosophers of the godless city, who have maintained that the gods were
their friends, had fallen a prey to the malignant demons who rule that city, and whose eternal punishment is to be shared by it. For the nature of these beings is sufficiently evinced by the sacred or rather sacrilegious observances which form their worship, and by the filthy games in which their crimes are celebrated, and which they themselves originated and exacted from their worshippers as a fit propitiation.

1 Matt. xvii. 7. 2 Matt. xxiv. 12. 3 2 Cor. xi. 14.

314 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

10. The reward prepared for the saints after they have endured the trial of this life.

But not even the saints and faithful worshippers of -the one true and most high God are safe from the manifold temptations and deceits of the demons. For in this ahode of -weakness, and in these wicked days, this state of anxiety has also its use, stimulating us to seek with keener longing for that security where peace is complete and unassailable. There we shall enjoy the gifts of nature, that is to say, all that God the Creator of all natures has bestowed upon ours, â€” gifts not only good, but eternal, â€” not only of the spirit, healed now by wisdom, but also of the body renewed by the resurrection. There the virtues shall no longer be struggling against any vice or evil, but shall enjoy the reward of victory, the eternal peace which no adversary shall disturb. This is the final blessedness, this the ultimate consummation, the unending end. Here, indeed, we are said to be blessed when we have such peace as can be enjoyed in a good life; but such blessedness I is mere misery compared to that final felicity. When we mortals possess such peace as this mortal life can afford, virtue, if we are living rightly, makes a right use of the advantages of this peaceful condition; and when we have it not, virtue makes a good use even of the evils a man suffers. But this is true virtue, when it refers all the advantages it makes a good use of, and all that it does in making good use of good and evil things, and itself also, to that end in which we shall enjoy the best and greatest peace possible.

11. Of the happiness of the eternal peace, which constitutes ike end or true perfection of the saints.

And thus we may say of peace, as we have said of eternal life, that it is the end of our good; and the rather because the Psalmist says of the city of God, the subject of this laborious work, " Praise the Lord, Jerusalem; praise thy God, Zion: for He hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; He hath blessed thy children within thee; who hath made thy borders peace." 1 For when the bars of her gates shall be strengthened, none
shall go in or come out from her; consequently we ought to understand the peace of her borders as

1 Ps. cxlvii. 12-14.
[BOOK XIX.] OF ETERNAL PEACE. 315

that final peace we are wishing to declare. For even the mystical name of the city itself, that is, Jerusalem, means, as I have already said, "Vision of Peace." But as the word peace is employed in connection with things in this world in which certainly life eternal has no place, we have preferred to call the end or supreme good of this city life eternal rather than peace. Of this end the apostle says, "But now, being freed from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end life eternal." 1 But, on the other hand, as those who are not familiar with Scripture may suppose that the life of the wicked is eternal life, either because of the immortality of the soul, which some of the philosophers even have recognised, or because of the endless punishment of the wicked, which forms a part of our faith, and which seems impossible unless the wicked live for ever, it may therefore be advisable, in order that every one may readily understand what we mean, to say that the end or supreme good of this city is either peace in eternal life, or eternal life in peace. For peace is a good so great, that even in this earthly and mortal "life there is no word we hear with such pleasure, nothing we desire with such zest, or find to be more thoroughly gratifying. So that if we dwell for a little longer on this subject, we shall not, in my opinion, be wearisome to our readers, who will attend both for the sake of understanding what is the end of this city of which we speak, and for the sake of the sweetness of peace which is dear to all.

12. That even the fierceness of war and all the disquietude of men make towards this one end of peace, which every nature desires.

Whoever gives even moderate attention to human affairs and to our common nature, will recognise that if there is no man who does not wish to be joyful, neither is there any one who does not wish to have peace. For even they who make war desire nothing but victory, â€” desire, that is to say, to attain to peace with glory. For what else is victory than the conquest of those who resist us? and when this is done there is peace. It is therefore with the desire for peace that wars are waged, even by those who take pleasure in exercising their warlike nature in command and battle. And

1 Rom. vi. 22.

SIC THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

hence it is obvious that peace is the end sought for by war. For every man seeks peace by waging war, but no man seeks war by making peace. For even they who intentionally interrupt the peace in which they are living have no hatred of peace, but only wish it changed into a peace that suits them better. They do not, therefore, wish to have no peace, but only one more to their mind. And in the case of sedition, when men have separated themselves from the community, they yet do not effect what they
wish, unless they maintain some kind of peace with their fellow-conspirators. And therefore even robbers take care to maintain peace with their comrades, that they may with greater effect and greater safety invade the peace of other men. And if an individual happen to be of such unrivalled strength, and to be so jealous of partnership, that he trusts himself with no comrades, but makes his own plots, and commits depredations and murders on his own account, yet he maintains some shadow of peace with such persons as he is unable to loll, and from whom he wishes to conceal his deeds. In his own home, too, he makes it his aim to be at peace with his wife and children, and any other members of his household; for unquestionably their prompt obedience to his every look is a source of pleasure to him. And if this be not rendered, he is angry, he chides and punishes; and even by this storm he secures the calm peace of his own home, as occasion demands. For he sees that peace cannot be maintained unless all the members of the same domestic circle be subject to one head, such as he himself is in his own house. And therefore if a city or nation offered to submit itself to him, to serve him in the same style as he had made his household serve him, he would no longer lurk in a brigand's hiding-places, but lift his head in open day as a king, though the same covetousness and wickedness should remain in him. And thus all men desire to have peace with their own circle whom they wish to govern as suits themselves. For even those whom they make war against they wish to make their own, and impose on them the laws of their own peace.

But let us suppose a man such as poetry and mythology speak of,â€”a man so insociable and savage as to be called rather
a semi-man than a man. 1 Although, then, his kingdom Avas the solitude of a dreary
cave, and he himself was so singularly Lad-hearted that he was named Kafcos, which is
the Greek word for bad; though he had no wife to soothe him with endearing talk, no
children to play with, no sons to do his bidding, no friend to enliven him with intercourse,
not even his father Vulcan (though in one respect he was happier than his father, not
having begotten a monster like himself); although he gave to no man, but took as he
wished whatever he could, from whomsoever he could, when he could; yet in that solitary
den, the floor of which, as Virgil 2 says, was always reeking with recent slaughter, there
was nothing else than peace sought, a peace in which no one should molest him, or
disquiet him with any assault or alarm. With his own body he desired to be at peace; and
he was satisfied only in proportion as he had this peace. For he ruled his members, and
they obeyed him; and for the sake of pacifying his mortal nature, which rebelled when it
needed anything, and of allaying the sedition of hunger which threatened to banish the
soul from the body, he made forays, slew, and devoured, but used the ferocity and
savageness lie displayed in these actions only for the preservation of his own life's peace.
So that, had he been willing to make with other men the same peace which he made with
himself in his own cave, he would neither have been called bad, nor a monster, nor a
semi-man. Or if the appearance of his body and his vomiting smoky fires frightened men
from having any dealings with him, perhaps his fierce ways arose not from a desire to do
mischief, but from the necessity of finding a living. But he may have had no existence,
or, at least, he was not such as the poets fancifully describe him, for they had to exalt
Hercules, and did so at the expense of Cacus. It is b
etter, then, to believe that such a man
or semi-man never existed, and that this, in common with many other fancies of the
poets, is mere fiction. For the most savage animals (and he is said to have been almost a
wild beast) encompass their own species with a ring of protecting peace. They cohabit,
beget, produce, suckle, and bring up their young, though very many of them are not
gregarious, but solitary, â€” not like sheep, deer, pigeons, starlings,
1 He refers to the giant Cacus. 2 sEneid, viii. 195.

318 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

bees, but such as lions, foxes, eagles, bats. For what tigress does not gently purr over her
cubs, and lay aside her ferocity to fondle them ? "What kite, solitary as he is when
circling over his prey, does not seek a mate, build a nest, hatch the eggs, bring up the
young birds, and maintain with the mother of his family as peaceful a domestic alliance
as he can ?xHow!
much more powerfully do the laws of man's nature move Mm to hold fellowship and
maintain peace with all men so far as in him lies, since even wicked men wage war to
maintain the peace of their own circle, and wish that, if possible, all men belonged to
them, that all men and things might serve but one head, and might, either through love or
fear, yield themselves to peace with him ! It is thus that pride in its perversity apes God.
It abhors equality with other men under Him; but, instead of His rule, it seeks to impose a rule of its own upon its equals. It abhors, that is to say, the just peace of God, and loves its own unjust peace; but it cannot help loving peace of one kind or other. For there is no vice so clean contrary to nature that it obliterates even the faintest traces of nature. He, then, who prefers what is right to what is wrong, and what is well-ordered to what is perverted, sees that the peace of unjust men is not worthy to be called peace in comparison with the peace of the just. And yet even what is perverted must of necessity be in harmony with, and in dependence on, and in some part of the order of things, for otherwise it would have no existence at all. Suppose a man hangs with his head downwards, this is certainly a perverted attitude of body and arrangement of its members; for that which nature requires to be above is beneath, and vice versa. This perversity disturbs the peace of the body, and is therefore painful. Nevertheless the spirit is at peace with its body, and labours for its preservation, and hence the suffering; but if it is banished from the body by its pains, then, so long as the bodily framework holds together, there is in the remains a kind of peace among the members, and hence the body remains suspended. And inasmuch as the earthy body tends towards the earth, and rests on the bond by which it is suspended, it tends thus to its natural peace, and the voice of its own weight demands a place for it to rest; and though now lifeless and without feeling, it does
not fall from the peace that is natural to its place in creation, whether it already has it, or is tending towards it. For if you apply embalming preparations to prevent the bodily frame from mouldering and dissolving, a kind of peace still unites part to part, and keeps the whole body in a suitable place on the earth, in other words, in a place that is at peace with the body. If, on the other hand, the body receive no such care, but be left to the natural course, it is disturbed by exhalations that do not harmonize with one another, and that offend our senses; for it is this which is perceived in putrefaction until it is assimilated to the elements of the world, and particle by particle enters into peace with them. Yet throughout this process the laws of the most high Creator and Governor are strictly observed, for it is by Him the peace of the universe is administered. For although minute animals are produced from the carcase of a larger animal, all these little atoms, by the law of the same Creator, serve the animals they belong to in peace. And although the flesh of dead animals be eaten by others, no matter where it be carried, nor what it be brought into contact with, nor what it be converted and changed into, it still is ruled by the same laws which pervade all things for the conservation of every mortal race, and which bring things that fit one another into harmony.

13. Of the universal peace which the law of nature preserves through all disturbances, and by which every one reaches his desert in a way regulated by the just Judge.

The peace of the body then consists in the duly proportioned arrangement of its parts. The peace of the irrational soul is the harmonious repose of the appetites, and that of the rational soul the harmony of knowledge and action. The peace of body and soul is the well-ordered and harmonious life and health of the living creature. Peace between man and God is the wellordered obedience of faith to eternal law. Peace between man and man is well-ordered concord. Domestic peace is the wellordered concord between those of the family who rule and those who obey. Civil peace is a similar concord among the citizens. The peace of the celestial city is the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God. The peace of all tilings is the tranquillity of order. Order is the distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place. And hence, though the miserable, in so far as they are such, do certainly not enjoy peace, but are severed from that tranquillity of order in which there is no disturbance, nevertheless, inasmuch as they are deservedly and justly miserable, they are by their very misery connected with order. They are not, indeed, conjoined with the blessed, but they are disjoined from them by the law of order. And though they are disquieted, their circumstances are notwithstanding
adjusted to them, and consequently they have some tranquillity of order, and therefore some peace. But they are wretched because, although not wholly miserable, they are not in that place where any mixture of misery is impossible. They would, however, be more wretched if they had not that peace which arises from being in harmony with the natural order of things. When they suffer, their peace is in so far disturbed; but their peace continues in so far as they do not suffer, and in so far as their nature continues to exist. As, then, there may be life without pain, while there cannot be pain without some kind of life, so there may be peace without war, but there cannot be war without some kind of peace, because war supposes the existence of some natures to wage it, and these natures cannot exist without peace of one land or other.

And therefore there is a nature in which evil does not or even cannot exist; but there cannot be a nature in which there is no crood. Hence not even the nature of the devil himself is evil, in so far as it is nature, but it was made evil by being perverted. Thus he did not abide in the truth, 1 but could not escape the judgment of the Truth; he did not abide in the tranquillity of order, but did not therefore escape the power of the Ordainer. The good imparted by God to his nature did not screen him from the justice of God by which order was preserved in his punishment; neither did God punish the good which He had created, but the evil which the devil had committed. God did not take back all He had imparted to his nature, but something He took and something He left, that there might remain enough to be sensible of the loss of what was taken. And this very sensibility to pain is

1 John viii. 44.
evidence of the good which has been taken away and the good which has been left. For, were nothing good left, there could be no pain on account of the good which had been lost. For he who sins is still worse if he rejoices in his loss of righteousness. But he who is in pain, if he derives no benefit from it, mourns at least the loss of health. And as righteousness and health are both good things, and as the loss of any good thing is matter of grief, not of joy, “if, at least, there is no compensation, as spiritual righteousness may compensate for the loss of bodily health, certainly it is more suitable for a wicked man to grieve in punishment than to rejoice in his fault. As, then, the joy of a sinner who has abandoned what is good is evidence of a bad will, so his grief for the good he has lost when he is punished is evidence of a good nature. For he who laments the peace his nature has lost is stirred to do so by some relics of peace which make his nature friendly to itself. And it is very just that in the final punishment the wicked and godless should in anguish bewail the loss of the natural advantages they enjoyed, and should perceive that they were most justly taken from them by that God whose benign liberality they had despised. (God, therv the most wise Creator and most just Ordainer of all natures, who placed the human race upon earth as its greatest ornament, imparted to men some good things adapted to this life, to wit, temporal peace, such as we can enjoy in this life from health and safety and human fellowship, and all things needful for the preservation and recovery of this peace, such as the objects which are accommodated to our outward senses, light, night, the air, and waters suitable for us, and everything the body requires to sustain, shelter, heal, or beautify it: and all under this most equitable condition, that every man who made a good use of these advantages suited to the peace of this mortal condition, should receive ampler and better blessings, namely, the peace of immortality, accompanied by glory and honour in an endless life made fit for the enjoyment of God and of one another in God; but that he who used the present blessings badly should both lose them and should not receive the others.

VOL. II. X

322 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

14. Of the order and law, which obtain in heaven and earth, whereby it conies to pass that human society is served by those who rule it.

The whole use, then, of things temporal has a reference to this result of earthly peace in the earthly community, while in the city of God it is connected with eternal peace. And therefore, if we were irrational animals, we should desire nothing beyond the proper arrangement of the parts of the body and the satisfaction of the appetites, nothing, therefore, but bodily comfort and abundance of pleasures, that the peace of the body might contribute to the peace of the soul For if bodily peace be wanting, a bar is put to
the peace even of the irrational soul, since it cannot obtain the gratification of its appetites. And these two together help out the mutual peace of soul and body, the peace of harmonious life and health. For as animals, by shunning pain, show that they love bodily peace, and, by pursuing pleasure to gratify their appetites, show that they love peace of soul, so their slirinking from death is a sufficient indication of their intense love of that peace which binds soul and body in close alliance. But, as man has a rational soul, he subordinates all this which he has in common with the beasts to the peace of his rational soul, that his intellect may have free play and may regulate his actions, and that he may thus enjoy the well-ordered harmony of knowledge and action which constitutes, as we have said, the peace of the rational soul. And for this purpose he must desire to be neither molested by pain, nor disturbed by desire, nor extinguished by death, that he may arrive at some useful knowledge by which he may regulate his life and manners. But, owing to the liability of the human mind to fall into mistakes, this very pursuit of knowledge may be a snare to him unless he has a divine Master, whom he may obey without misgiving, and who may at the same time give him such help as to preserve his own freedom. And because, so long as he is in this mortal body, he is a stranger to God, he walks by faith, not by sight; and he therefore refers all peace, bodily or spiritual or both, to that peace which mortal man has with the immortal God, so that he exhibits the wellordered obedience of faith to eternal law. But as this divine Master inculcates two precepts, â€” the love of God and the
love of our neighbour, "and as in these precepts a man finds three things he has to love, "God, himself, and his neighbour, "and that he who loves God loves himself thereby, it follows that he must endeavour to get his neighbour to love God, since he is ordered to love his neighbour as himself. He ought to make this endeavour in behalf of his wife, his children, his household, all within his reach, even as he would wish his neighbour to do the same for him if he needed it; and consequently he will be at peace, or in well-ordered concord, with all men, as far as in him lies. And this is the order of this concord, that a man, in the first place, injure no one, and, in the second, do good to every one he can reach.

Primarily, therefore, his own household are his care, for the law of nature and of society gives him readier access to them and greater opportunity of serving them. And hence the apostle says, "Now, if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the v faith, and is worse than an infidel." 1 This is the origin of domestic peace, or the well-ordered concord of those in the family who rule and those who obey. For they who care for the rest rule, "the husband the wife, the parents the children, the masters the servants; and they who are cared for obey, "the women their husbands, the children their parents, the servants their masters. OBut in the family of the just man who lives by faith and is as yet a pilgrim journeying on to the celestial city, even those who rule serve those whom they seem to command; for they rule not from a love of power, but from a sense of the duty they owe to others "not because they are proud of authority, but because they love mercy.

15. Of the liberty proper to man's nature, and the servitude introduced by sin, "a servitude in which the man whose will is wicked is the slave of his own lust, though he is free so far as regards other men.

This is prescribed by the order of nature: it is thus that God has created man. For " let them," He says, " have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every creeping thing which creepeth on the earth." 2 \He did not intend that His rational creature, who

1 1 Tim. v. 8. 2 Gen. i. 26.

324 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

was made in His image, should have dominion over anything but the irrational creation, "not man over man, but man over the beasts. And hence the righteous men in primitive times were made shepherds of cattle rather than kings of men, God intending thus to teach us what the relative position of the creatures is, and what the desert of sin; for it is with justice, we believe, that the condition of slavery is the result of sin. And this is why we do not find the word "slave " in any part of Scripture until righteous Xoah branded the sin of his son with this name. It is a name, therefore, introduced by sin
and not by nature. The origin of the Latin word for slave is supposed to be found in the circumstance that those who by the law of war were liable to be killed were sometimes preserved by their victors, and were hence called servants. 1 And these circumstances could never have arisen save through sin. For even when we wage a just war, our adversaries must be sinning; and every victory, even though gained by wicked men, is a result of the first judgment of God, who humbles the vanquished either for the sake of removing or of punishing their sins. "Witness that man of God, Daniel, who, when he was in captivity, confessed to God his own sins and the sins of his people, and declares with pious grief that these were the cause of the captivity. 2 The prime cause, then, of slavery is sin, which brings man under the dominion of his fellow, â€” that which does not happen save by the judgment of God, with whom is no unrighteousness, and who knows how to award fit punishments to every variety of offence. But our Master in heaven says, " Every one who doeth sin is the servant of sin." 3 And thus there are many wicked masters who have religious men as their slaves, and who are yet themselves in bondage; " for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage." 4 And beyond question it is a happier thing to be the slave of a man than of a lust; for even this very lust of ruling, to mention no others, lays waste men's hearts with the most ruthless dominion. Moreover, when men are subjected to one another in a peaceful order, the lowly position does as much good to the servant as the proud posi-

1 Sc7-vus, "a slave," from servarc, "to preserve." 2 Dan. ix.

3 John viii. 3 A. 2 Pet. ii. 19.
tion docs harm to the master. But by nature, as God first created us, no one is the slave either of man or of sin. This servitude is, however, penal, and is appointed by that law which enjoins the preservation of the natural order and forbids its disturbance; for if nothing had been done in violation of that law, there would have been nothing to restrain by penal servitude. And therefore the apostle admonishes slaves to be subject to their masters, and to serve them heartily and with good-will, so that, if they cannot be freed by their masters, they may themselves make their slavery in some sort free, by serving not in crafty fear, but in faithful love, until all unrighteousness pass away, and all principality and every human power be brought to nothing, and God be all in all.

16. Of equitable rule.

And therefore, although our righteous fathers 1 had slaves, and administered their domestic affairs so as to distinguish between the condition of slaves and the heirship of sons in regard to the blessings of this life, yet in regard to the worship of God, in whom we hope for eternal blessings, they took an equally loving oversight of all the members of their household. And this is so much in accordance with the natural order, that the head of the household was called paterfamilias; and this name has been so generally accepted, that even those whose rule is unrighteous are glad to apply it to themselves. But those who are true fathers of their households desire and endeavour that all the members of their household, equally with their own children, should worship and win God, and should come to that heavenly home in which the duty of ruling men is no longer necessary, because the duty of caring for their everlasting happiness has also ceased; but, until they reach that home, masters ought to feel their position of authority a greater burden than servants their service. And if any member of the family interrupts the domestic peace by disobedience, he is corrected either by word or blow, or some kind of just and legitimate punishment, such as society permits, that he may himself be the better for it, and be readjusted to the family harmony from which he had dislocated himself. For as it is not benevolent to give a man help at the expense of some greater benefit he might receive, so it is not innocent to spare a man at the risk of his falling into graver sin. To be innocent, we must not only do harm to no man, but also restrain him from sin or punish his sin, so that either the man himself who is punished may profit by his experience, or others be warned by his example. Since, then, the house ought to be the beginning or element of the city, and every beginning bears reference to some end of its own kind, and every element to the integrity of the whole of which it is an element, it follows plainly enough that domestic peace has a relation to civic peace, â€” in other

1 The patriarchs.
words, that the well-ordered concord of domestic obedience and domestic rule has a relation to the well-ordered concord of civic obedience and civic rule. And therefore it follows, further, that the father of the family ought to frame his domestic rule in accordance with the law of the city, so that the household may be in harmony with the civic order.

17. What introduces peace, and what discord, between the heavenly and earthly cities.

But the families which do not live by faith seek their peace in the earthly advantages of this life; while the families which live by faith look for those eternal blessings which are promised, and use as pilgrims such advantages of time and of earth as do not fascinate and divert them from God, but rather aid them to endure with greater ease, and to keep down the number of those burdens of the corruptible body which weigh upon the soul. Thus the things necessary for this mortal life are used by both kinds of men and families alike, but each has its own peculiar and widely different aim in using them. 'The earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the wellordered concord of civic obedience' and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life. The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it
has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it. 1 But, as the earthly city has had some philosophers whose doctrine is condemned by the divine teaching, and who, being deceived either by their own conjectures or by demons, supposed that many gods must be iapted to take an interest in human affairs, and assigned to each a separate function and a separate department, â€” to one the body, to another the soul; and in the body itself, to one the head, to another the neck, and each of the other members to one of the gods; and in like manner, in the soul, to one god the natural capacity was assigned, to another education, to another anger, to another lust; and so the various affairs of life were assigned, â€” cattle to one, corn to another, wine to another, oil to another, the woods to another, money to another, navigation to another, wars and victories to another, marriages to another, births and fecundity to another, and other things to other gods: and as the celestial city, on the other hand, knew that one God only was to be worshipped, and that to Him alone was due that service which the Greeks call \arpeia, and which can be given only to a\^pd, it has come to pass that the two cities could not have common laws of religion, and that the heavenly city has been compelled in this matter to dissent, and to become obnoxious to those who think differently, and to stand the brunt of their anger and hatred and persecutions, except in so far as the minds of their enemies have been alarmed by the multitude of the Christians and quelled by the manifest protection of God accorded to them. 328 This heavenly city, then, while it sojourns on earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognising that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace. It therefore is so far from rescinding and abolishing these diversities, that it even preserves and adopts them, so long only as no hindrance to the worship of the one supreme and true God is thus introduced. Even the heavenly city, therefore, while in its state of pilgrimage, avails itself of the peace of earth, and, so far as it can without injuring faith and godliness, desires and maintains a common agreement among men regarding the acquisition of the necessaries of life, and makes this earthly peace bear upon the peace of heaven; for this alone can be truly called and esteemed the peace of the
reasonable creatures, consisting as it does in the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God and of one another in God. When we shall have reached that peace, this mortal life shall give place to one that is eternal, and our body shall be no more this animal body which by its corruption weighs down the soul, but a spiritual body feeling no want, and in all its members subjected to the will. In its pilgrim state the heavenly city possesses this peace by faith; and by this faith it lives righteously when it refers to the attainment of that peace every good action towards God and man; for the life of the city is a social life.

18. How different the uncertainty of the Xeio Academy is from the certainty of the Christian faith.

As regards the uncertainty about everything which Varro alleges to be the differentiating characteristic of the New Academy, the city of God thoroughly detests such doubt as madness. Regarding matters which it apprehends by the mind and reason it has most absolute certainty, although its knowledge is limited because of the corruptible body pressing down the mind, for, as the apostle says, “We know in part.” 1 It believes also the evidence of the senses which the mind uses by aid of the body; for [if one who trusts his senses is sometimes deceived], he is more wretchedly deceived who fancies he should never trust them. It believes also the Holy Scriptures, old and new, which we call canonical, and which are the source of the faith by which the just lives, and by which we walk without doubting whilst we are absent from the Lord. So long as this faith remains inviolate and firm, we may without blame entertain doubts regarding some.

1 1 Cor. xiii. 9. 2 Hab. ii. 4. 3 2 Cor. v. 6.
things which we have neither perceived by sense nor by reason, and which have not been
revealed to us by the canonical Scriptures, nor come to our knowledge through witnesses
whom it is absurd to disbelieve.

19. Of the dress and habits of the Christian people.

It is a matter of no moment in the city of God whether he who adopts the faith that brings
men to God adopts it in one dress and manner of life or another, so long only as he lives
in conformity with the commandments of God. And hence, when philosophers
themselves become Christians, they are compelled, indeed, to abandon their erroneous
doctrines, but not their dress and mode of living, which are no obstacle to religion. So
that we make no account of that distinction of sects which Varro adduced in connection
with the C\(^{\text{n}}\)nian school, provided always nothing indecent or self-indulgent is retained.
As to these three modes of life, the contemplative, the active, and the composite,
although, so long as a man's faith is preserved, he may choose any of them without
detriment to his eternal interests, yet he must never overlook the claims of truth and duty.
No man has a right to lead such a life of contemplation as to forget in his own ease the
service due to his neighbour; nor has any man a right to be so immersed in active life as
to neglect the contemplation of God.
The charm of leisure must not be indolent vacancy of mind, but the investigation or
discovery of truth, that thus every man may make solid attainments without grudging that
others do the same. And, in active life, it is not the honours or power of this life we
should covet, since all things under the sun are vanity, but we should aim at using our
position and influence, if these have been honourably attained, for the welfare of those
who are under us, in the way we have already explained. 1 It is to this the apostle refers
when he says,
"He that desireth the episcopate desireth a good work." 2 He wished to show that the
episcopate is the title of a work, not of an honour. It is a Greek word, and signifies that he
who governs superintends or takes care of those whom he governs:
for e\(\nu\) means over, and cr\(\kappa\)o\(\iota\)r\(\epsilon\)l\(\nu\), to sec; therefore iirLaKoirelp
1 Ch. 6. 2 1 Tim. iii. 1.

330 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

means "to oversee." 1 So that he who loves to govern rather than to do good is no bishop.
Accordingly no one is prohibited from the search after truth, for in this leisure may most
laudably be spent; but it is unseemly to covet the high position requisite for governing the
people, even though that position be held and that government be administered in a
seemly manner. And therefore holy leisure is longed for by the love of truth; but it is the
necessity of love to undertake requisite business. If no one imposes this burden upon us, we are free to sift and contemplate truth; but if it be laid upon us, we are necessitated for love's sake to undertake it. And yet not even in this case are we obliged wholly to relinquish the sweets of contemplation; for were these to be withdrawn, the burden might prove more than we could bear.

20. That the saints are in this life blessed in hope.

LSince, then, the supreme good of the city of God is perfect and eternal peace, not such as mortals pass into and out of by birth and death, but the peace of freedom from all evil, in which the immortals ever abide, who can deny that that future life is most blessed, or that, in comparison with it, this life which now we live is most wretched, be it filled with all blessings of body and soul and external things? And yet, if any man uses this life with a reference to that other which he ardently loves and confidently hopes for, he may well be called even now blessed, though not in reality so much as in hope. But the actual possession of the happiness of this life, without the hope of what is beyond, is but a false happiness and profound misery. For the true blessings of the soul are not now enjoyed; for that is no true wisdom which does not direct all its prudent observations, manly actions, virtuous self-restraint, and just arrangements, to that end in which God shall be all and all in a secure eternity and perfect peace.

21. Whether there ever was a Roman republic answering to the definitions of Scipio in Cicero's dialogue.

This, then, is the place where I should fulfil the promise I

1 Augustine's words are: "Wt t quippe â€¢ super;' <rKo-ros, vero, 'intentio ' est: irî<7xo7n7v, si velimus, latine 'superintended ' possumtfs dicere."
gave in the second book of this work, 1 and explain, as briefly and clearly as possible, that if we are to accept the definitions laid down by Scipio in Cicero's De Re publica, there never was a Roman republic; for he briefly defines a republic as the weal of the people. And if this definition be true, there never was a Roman republic, for the people's weal was never attained among the Romans. For the people, according to his definition, is an assemblage associated by a common acknowledgment of right and by a community of interests.

And what he means by a common acknowledgment of right he explains at large, showing that a republic cannot be administered without justice. Where, therefore, there is no true justice there can be no right. For that which is done by right is justly done, and what is unjustly done cannot be done by right. For the unjust inventions of men are neither to be considered nor spoken of as rights; for even they themselves say that right is that which flows from the fountain of justice, and deny the definition which is commonly given by those who misconceive the matter, that right is that which is useful to the stronger party. Thus, where there is not true justice there can be no assemblage of men associated by a common acknowledgment of right, and therefore there can be no people, as defined by Scipio or Cicero; and if no people, then no weal of the people, but only of some promiscuous multitude unworthy of the name of people. Consequently, if the republic is the weal of the people, and there is no people if it be not associated by a common acknowledgment of right, and if there is no right where there is no justice, then most certainly it follows that thereus no republic where there is no justice. [Further, justice is that virtue which gives every one his due. Where, then, is the justice of man, when he deserts the true God and yields himself to impure demons? Is this to give every one his due? Or is he who keeps back a piece of ground from the purchaser, and gives it to a man who has no right to it, unjust, while he who keeps back himself from the God who made him, and serves wicked spirits, is just?

This same book, De Re publica, advocates the cause of justice

1 Ch. 21.

332 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

against injustice with great force and keenness. The pleading for injustice against justice was first heard, and it was asserted that without injustice a republic could neither increase nor even subsist, for it was laid down as an absolutely unassailable position that it is unjust for some men to rule and some to serve; and yet the imperial city to which the republic belongs cannot rule her provinces without having recourse to this injustice. It was replied in behalf of justice, that this ruling of the provinces is just, because servitude may be advantageous to the provincials, and is so when rightly administered,  â€” that is to say, when lawless men are prevented from doing harm. And further, as they became
worse and worse so long as they were free, they will improve by subjection. To confirm this reasoning, there is added an eminent example drawn from nature: for "why," it is asked, "does God rule man, the soul the body, the reason the passions and other vicious parts of the soul?" This example leaves no doubt that, to some, servitude is useful; and, indeed, to serve God is useful to all. And it is when the soul serves God that it exercises a right control over the body; and in the soul itself the reason must be subject to God if it is to govern as it ought the passions and other vices, silence, when a man does not serve God, what justice can we ascribe to him, since in this case his soul cannot exercise a just control over the body, nor his reason over his vices? And if there is no justice in such an individual, certainly there can be none in a community composed of such persons. Here, therefore, there is not that common acknowledgment of right which makes an assemblage of men a people whose affairs we call a republic. And why need I speak of the advantageousness, the common participation in which, according to the definition, makes a people? For although, if you choose to regard the matter attentively, you will see that there is nothing advantageous to those who live godlessly, as every one lives who does not serve God but demons, whose wickedness you may measure by their desire to receive the worship of men though they are most impure spirits, yet what I have said of the common acknowledgment of right is enough to demonstrate

that, according to the above definition, there can be no people,
and therefore no republic, where there is no justice. For if they assert that in their republic
the Eomans did not serve unclean spirits, but good and holy gods, must we therefore
again reply to this evasion, though already we have said enough, and more than enough,
to expose it? He must be an uncommonly stupid, or a shamelessly contentious person,
who has read through the foregoing books to this point, and can yet question whether the
Eomans served wicked and impure demons. But, not to speak of their character, it is
written in the law of the true God, "He that sacrificeth unto any god save unto the Lord
only, he shall be utterly destroyed." 1 He, therefore, who uttered so menacing a
commandment decreed that no worship should be given either to good or bad gods.

22. Whether the God whom the Christians serve is the true God to whom alone
sacrifice ought to be paid.

But it may be replied, Who is this God, or what proof is there that He alone is worthy to
receive sacrifice from the Eomans? One must be very blind to be still asking who this
God is. He is the God whose prophets predicted the things we see accomplished. He is
the God from whom Abraham received the assurance, "In thy seed shall all nations be
blessed." 2 That this was fulfilled in Christ, who according to the flesh sprang from that
seed, is recognised, whether they will or no, even by those who have continued to be the
enemies of this name. He is the God whose divine Spirit spake by the men whose
predictions I cited in the preceding books, and which are fulfilled in the Church which has
extended over all the world. This is the God whom Varro, the most learned of the
Eomans, supposed to be Jupiter, though he knows not what he says; yet I think it right to
note the circumstance that a man of such learning was unable to suppose that this God
had no existence or was contemptible, but believed Him to be the same as the supreme
God. In fine, He is the God whom Porphyry, the most learned of the philosophers, though
the bitterest enemy of the Christians, confesses to be a great God, even according to the
oracles of those whom he esteems gods.

. > Ex. xxii. 20. 2 Gen. xxii. 18.

334 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

23. Porphyry's account of the responses given by the oracles of the gods concerning
Christ.

For in his book called e/c Ξούοιοι (πιXοcρøpLa^, in which he collects and comments
upon the responses which he pretends were uttered by the gods concerning divine things,
he says â€” I
give his own words as they have been translated from the Greek: "To one who inquired what god he should propitiate in order to recall his wife from Christianity, Apollo replied in the following verses." Then the following words are given as those of Apollo: "You will probably find it easier to write lasting characters on the water, or lightly fly like a bird through the air, than to restore right feeling in your impious wife once she has polluted herself. Let her remain as she pleases in her foolish deception, and sing false laments to her dead God, who was condemned by right-minded judges, and perished ignominiously by a violent death." Then after these verses of Apollo (which we have given in a Latin version that does not preserve the metrical form), he goes on to say: "In these verses Apollo exposed the incurable corruption of the Christians, saying that the Jews, rather than the Christians, recognised God." See how he misrepresents Christ, giving the Jews the preference to the Christians in the recognition of God. This was his explanation of Apollo's verses, in which he says that Christ was put to death by right-minded or just judges, in other words, that He deserved to die. I leave the responsibility of this oracle regarding Christ on the lying interpreter of Apollo, or on this philosopher who believed it or possibly himself invented it; as to its agreement with Porphyry's opinions or with other oracles, we shall in a little have something to say. In this passage, however, he says that the Jews, as the interpreters of God, judged justly in pronouncing Christ to be worthy of the most shameful death. He should have listened, then, to this God of the Jews to whom he bears this testimony, when that God says, "He that sacrificeth to any other god save to the Lord alone shall be utterly destroyed." But let us come to still plainer expressions, and hear how great a God Porphyry thinks the God of the Jews is. Apollo, he says, when asked whether word, i.e. reason, or law is the better thing, replied in the following verses. Then
lie gives the verses of Apollo, from which I select the following as sufficient: "God, the Generator, and the King prior to all things, before whom heaven and earth, and the sea, and the hidden places of hell tremble, and the deities themselves are afraid, for their law is the Father whom the holy Hebrews honour." In this oracle of his god Apollo, Porphyry avowed that the God of the Hebrews is so great that the deities themselves are afraid before Him. I am surprised, therefore, that when God said, He that sacrificeth to other gods shall be utterly destroyed, Porphyry himself was not afraid lest he should be destroyed for sacrificing to other gods.

This philosopher, however, has also some good to say of Christ, oblivious, as it were, of that contumely of his of which we have just been speaking; or as if his gods spoke evil of Christ only while asleep, and recognised Him to be good, and gave Him His deserved praise, when they awoke. For, as if he were about to proclaim some marvellous thing passing belief, he says, "What we are going to say will certainly take some by surprise. For the gods have declared that Christ was very pious, and has become immortal, and that they cherish his memory: that the Christians, however, are polluted, contaminated, and involved in error. And many other such things," he says, "do the gods say against the Christians."

Then he gives specimens of the accusations made, as he says, by the gods against them, and then goes on: "But to some who asked Hecate whether Christ were a God, she replied, You know the condition of the disembodied immortal soul, and that if it has been severed from wisdom it always errs. The soul you refer to is that of a man foremost in piety: they worship it because they mistake the truth." To this so-called oracular response he adds the following words of his own:

"Of this very pious man, then, Hecate said that the soul, like the souls of other good men, was after death dowered with immortality, and that the Christians through ignorance worship it. And to those who ask why he was condemned to die, the oracle of the goddess replied, The body, indeed, is always exposed to torments, but the souls of the pious abide in heaven.

And the soul you inquire about has been the fatal cause of error to other souls which were not fated to receive the gifts of the gods, and to have the knowledge of immortal Jove. Such souls are therefore hated by the gods; for they who were fated not to receive the gifts of the gods, and not to know God, were fated to be involved in error by means of him you speak of. He himself, however, was good, and heaven has been opened to him as to other good men. You are not, then, to speak evil of him, but to pity the folly of men: and through him men's danger is imminent."
Who is so foolish as not to see that these oracles were either composed by a clever man with a strong animus against the Christians, or were uttered as responses by impure demons with a similar design, â€” that is to say, in order that their praise of Christ may win credence for their vituperation of Christians; and that thus they may, if possible, close the way of eternal salvation, which is identical with Christianity?

For they believe that they are by no means counterworking their own hurtful craft by promoting belief in Christ, so long as their calumniation of Christians is also accepted; for they thus secure that even the man who thinks well of Christ declines to become a Christian, and is therefore not delivered from their own rule by the Christ he praises.

Besides, their praise of Christ is so contrived that whosoever believes in Him as thus represented will not be a true Christian but a Photinian heretic, recognising only the humanity, and not also the divinity of Christ, and will thus be precluded from salvation and from deliverance out of the meshes of these devilish lies. For our part, we are no better pleased with Hecate's praises of Christ than with Apollo's calumniation of Him. Apollo says that Christ was put to death by rightminded judges, implying that He was unrighteous. Hecate says that He was a most pious man, but no more. The intention of both is the same, to prevent men from becoming Christians, because if this be secured, men shall never be rescued from their power. But it is incumbent on our philosopher, or rather on those who believe in these pretended oracles against the Christians, first of all, if they can, to bring Apollo and Hecate to the same mind regarding Christ, so that either both may condemn or both praise Him. And even if they succeeded in this, we for our part would notwithstanding repudi-
ate the testimony of demons, whether favourable or adverse to Christ. But when our adversaries find a god and goddess of their own at variance about Christ, the one praising, the other vituperating Him, they can certainly give no credence, if they have any judgment, to mere men who blaspheme the Christians.

When Porphyry or Hecate praises Christ, and adds that He gave Himself to the Christians as a fatal gift, that they might be involved in error, he exposes, as he thinks, the causes of this error. But before I cite his words to that purpose, I would ask, If Christ did thus give Himself to the Christians to involve them in error, did He do so willingly, or against His will? If willingly, how is He righteous? If against His will, how is He blessed? However, let us hear the causes of this error. "There are," he says, "in a certain place very small earthly spirits, subject to the power of evil demons. The wise men of the Hebrews, among whom was this Jesus, as you have heard from the oracles of Apollo cited above, turned religious persons from these very wicked demons and minor spirits, and taught them rather to worship the celestial gods, and especially to adore God the Father. This," he said, "the gods enjoin; and we have already shown how they admonish the soul to turn to God, and command it to worship Him. But the ignorant and the ungodly, who are not destined to receive favours from the gods, nor to know the immortal Jupiter, not listening to the gods and their messages, have turned away from all gods, and have not only refused to hate, but have venerated the prohibited demons. Professing to worship God, they refuse to do those things by which alone God is worshipped. For God, indeed, being the Father of all, is in need of nothing; but for us it is good to adore Him by means of justice, chastity, and other virtues, and thus to make life itself a prayer to Him, by inquiring into and imitating His nature. For inquiry," says he, "purifies and imitation deifies us, by moving us nearer to Him." He is right in so far as he proclaims God the Father, and the conduct by which we should worship Him. Of such precepts the prophetic books of the Hebrews are full, when they praise or blame the life of the saints. But in speaking of the Christians he is in error,

VOL. II. Y

338 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XIX.]

and calumniates them as much as is desired by the demons whom he takes for gods, as if it were difficult for any man to Tecollect the disgraceful and shameful actions which used to be done in the theatres and temples to please the gods, and to compare with these things what is heard in our churches, and what is offered to the true God, and from this comparison to conclude where character is edified, and where it is ruined. But who but a diabolical spirit has told or suggested to this man so manifest and vain a lie, as that the Christians reverenced rather than hated the demons, whose worship the
Hebrews prohibited? But that God, whom the Hebrew sages worshipped, forbids sacrifice to be offered even to the holy angels of heaven and divine powers, whom we, in this our pilgrimage, venerate and love as our most blessed fellow-citizens. For in the law which God gave to His Hebrew people He utters this menace, as in a voice of thunder: "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed." 1 And that no one might suppose that this prohibition extends only to the very wicked demons and earthly spirits, whom this philosopher calls very small and inferior, "â€” for even these are in the Scripture called gods, not of the Hebrews, but of the nations, as the Septuagint translators have shown in the psalm where it is said, "For all the gods of the nations are demons," 2 â€” that no one might suppose, I say, that sacrifice to these demons was prohibited, but that sacrifice might be offered to all or some of the celestials, it was immediately added, "save unto the Lord alone." 3 The God of the Hebrews, then, to whom this renowned philosopher bears this signal testimony, gave to His Hebrew people a law, composed in the Hebrew language, and not obscure and unknown, but published now in every nation, and in this law it is written, "He that sacrificeth unto any god, 'save unto the Lord alone, he shall be utterly destroyed." What need is there to seek further proofs in the law or the prophets of this same thing? Seek, we need not say, for the passages are neither few nor difficult to find; but what need to collect

1 Ex. xxii. 20. 2 Ps. xcvi. 5.

3 Augustine here warns Iris readers against a possible misunderstanding of the Latin word for "alone " (soli), which might be rendered "the sun."
and apply to my argument the proofs which are thickly sown and obvious, and by which it appears clear as day that sacrifice may be paid to none but? the supreme and true God? Here is one brief but decided, even menacing, and certainly true utterance of that God whom the wisest of our adversaries so highly extol. Let this be listened to, feared, fulfilled, that there may be no disobedient soul cut off. "He that sacrifices," He says, not because He needs anything, but because it behoves us to be His possession. Hence the Psalmist in the Hebrew Scriptures sings, "I have said to the Lord, Thou art my God, for Thou needest not my good." 1 For we ourselves, who are His own city, are His most noble and worthy sacrifice, and it is this mystery we celebrate in our sacrifices, which are well known to the faithful, as we have explained in the preceding books. For through the prophets the oracles of God declared that the sacrifices which the Jews offered as a shadow of that which was to be would cease, and that the nations, from the rising to the setting of the sun, would offer one sacrifice. From these oracles, which we now see accomplished, we have made such selections as seemed suitable to our purpose in this work. Therefore, where there is not this righteousness whereDy the one supreme God rules the obedient city according to His grace, so that it sacrifices to none but Him, and whereby, in all the citizens of this obedient city, the soul consequently rules the body and reason the vices in the rightful order, so that, as the individual just man, so also the community and people of the just, live by faith, which works by love, that love whereby man loves God as He ought to be loved, and his neighbour as himself, â€” there, I say, there is not an assemblage associated by a common acknowledgment of right, and by a community of interests. But if there is not this, there is not a people, if our definition be true, and therefore there is no republic; for where there is no people there can be no republic.

24. The definition which must be given of a people and a republic, in order to vindicate the assumption of these titles by the Homans and by other kingdoms.

But if we discard this definition of a people, and, assuming another, say that a people is an assemblage of reasonable beings bound together by a common agreement as to the objects of their love, then, in order to discover the character of any people, we have only to observe what they love. Yet whatever it loves, if only it is an assemblage of reasonable beings and not of beasts, and is bound together by an agreement as to the objects of love, it is reasonably called a people; and it will be a superior people in proportion as it is bound together by higher

1 Ps. xvi. 2.
interests, inferior in proportion as it is bound together by lower. According to this definition of ours, the Eoman people is a people, and its weal is without doubt a commonwealth or republic. But what its tastes were in its early and subsequent days, and how it declined into sanguinary seditions and then to social and civil wars, and so burst asunder or lotted off the bond of concord in which the health of a people consists, history shows, and in the preceding books I have related at large. And yet I would not on this account say either that it was not a people, or that its administration was not a republic, so long as there remains an assemblage of reasonable beings bound together by a common agreement as to the objects of love. But what I say of this people and of this republic I must be understood to think and say of the Athenians or any Greek state, of the Egyptians, of the early Assyrian Babylon, and of every other nation, great or small, which had a public government. For, in general, the city of the ungodly, which did not obey the command of God that it should offer no sacrifice save to Him alone, and which, therefore, could not give to the soul its proper command over the body, nor to the reason its just authority over the vices, is void of true justice.

25. That where there is no true religion there are no true virtues.

For though the soul may seem to rule the body admirably, and the reason the vices, if the soul and reason do not themselves obey God, as God has commanded them to serve Him, they have no proper authority over the body and the vices. For what kind of mistress of the body and the vices can that mind be which is ignorant of the true God, and which, instead of being subject to His authority, is prostituted to the corrupting influences of the most vicious demons? It is for this reason
that the virtues which it seems to itself to possess, and by which it restrains the body and
the vices that it may obtain and keep what it desires, are rather vices than virtues so
long as there is no reference to God in the matter. For although some suppose that virtues
which have a reference only to themselves, and are desired only on their own account, are
yet true and genuine virtues, the fact is that even then they are inflated with pride, and are
therefore to be reckoned vices rather than virtues. For as that which gives life to the flesh
is not derived from flesh, but is above it, so that which gives blessed life to man is not
derived from man, but is something above him; and what I say of man is true of every
celestial power and virtue whatsoever.

2C. Of the peace which is enjoyed by the people that are alienated from God, and the use
made of it by the people of God in the time of its pilgrimage.

L Wherefore, as the life of the flesh is the soul, so the blessed life of man is God, of
whom the sacred writings of the Hebrews say, "Blessed is the people whose God is the
Lord." 1 Miserable, therefore, is the people which is alienated from God. Yet even this
people has a peace of its own which is not to be lightly esteemed, though, indeed, it shall
not in the end enjoy it, because it makes no good use of it before the end. But it is our
interest that it enjoy this peace meanwhile in this life; for as long as the two cities are
commingled, we also enjoy the peace of Babylon. For from Babylon the people of God is
so freed that it meanwhile sojourns in its company. And therefore the apostle also
admonished the Church to pray for kings and those in authority, assigning as the reason, "
that we may live a quiet and tranquil life in all godliness and love." 2
And the prophet Jeremiah, when predicting the captivity that was to befall the ancient
people of God, and giving them the divine command to go obediently to Babylonia, and
thus serve their God, counselled them also to pray for Babylonia, saying,
/ "In the peace thereof shall ye have peace," 3 â€” the temporal peace which the good
and the wicked together enjoy.

27. That the peace of those who serve God cannot in this mortal life be apprehended in its
perfection.

[But the peace which is peculiar to ourselves we enjoy now

1 Ps. cxliv. 15. 2 1 Tim. ii. 2; var. reading, "purity." 3 Jer. xxix. 7.
with God by faith, and shall hereafter enjoy eternally with Him by sight. But the peace which we enjoy in this life, whether common to all or peculiar to ourselves, is rather the solace of our misery than the positive enjoyment of felicity. Our very righteousness, too, though true in so far as it has respect to the true good, is yet in this life of such a kind that it consists rather in the remission of sins than in the perfecting of virtues. "Witness the prayer of the whole city of God in its pilgrim state, for it cries to God by the mouth of all its members, " Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." 1

And this prayer is efficacious not for those whose faith is "without works and dead," 2 but for those whose faith "worketh by love." 3 For as reason, though subjected to God, is yet

" pressed down by the corruptible body," 4 so long as it is in this mortal condition, it has not perfect authority over vice, and therefore this prayer is needed by the righteous. For though it exercises authority, the vices do not submit without a struggle. For however well one maintains the conflict, and however thoroughly he has subdued these enemies, there steals in some evil thing, which, if it do not find ready expression in act, slips out by the lips, or insinuates itself into the thought; and therefore his peace is not full so long as he is at war with his vices. For it is a doubtful conflict he wagers with those that resist, and his victory over those that are defeated is not secure, but full of anxiety and effort. Amidst these temptations, therefore, of all which it has been summarily said in the divine oracles, " Is not human life upon earth a temptation ? " 5 who but a proud man can presume that he so lives that he has no need to say to God, "Forgive us our debts ? " And such a man is not great, but swollen and puffed up with vanity, and is justly resisted by Him who abundantly gives grace to the humble. Whence it is said, " GG& resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." 6

In this, then, consists the righteousness of a man, that he commit himself to God, his body to his soul, and his vices, even when they rebel, to his reason, which either defeats or at least resists them;


3 Gal. v. 6. 4 Wisdom ix. 15.

5 Job vii. 1. 6 Jas. iv. 6; 1 Pet. v. 5.
and also that he beg from God grace to do his duty, 1 and the pardon of his sins, and that
he render to God thanks for all the blessings he receives. But, in that final peace to which
all our righteousness has reference, and for the sake of which it is maintained, as our
nature shall enjoy a sound immortality and incorruption, and shall have no more vices,
and as we shall experience no resistance either from ourselves or from others, it will not
be necessary that reason should rule vices which no longer exist, but God shall rule the
man, and the soul shall rule the body, with a sweetness and facility suitable to the felicity
of a life which is done with bondage. And this condition shall there be eternal, and we
shall be assured of its eternity; and thus the peace of this blessedness and the blessedness
of this peace shall be the supreme good.

28. The end of the wicked.

But, 'on the other hand, they who do not belong to this city of God shall inherit eternal
misery, which is also called the second death, because the soul shall then be separated
from God its life, and therefore cannot be said to live, and the body shall be subjected to
eternal pains. And consequently this second death shall be the more severe, because no
death shall terminate it. But war being contrary to peace, as misery to happiness, and life
to death, it is not without reason asked what kind of war can be found in the end of the
wicked answering to the peace which is declared to be the end of the righteous ? The
person who puts this question has only to observe what it is in war that is hurtful and
destructive, and he shall see that it is nothing else than the mutual opposition and conflict
of things. And can he conceive a more grievous and bitter war than that in which the will
is so opposed to passion, and passion to the will, that their hostility can never be
terminated by the victory of either, and in which the violence of pain so conflicts with the
nature of the body, that neither yields to the other ? For in this life, when this conflict has
arisen, either pain conquers and death expels the feeling of it, or nature conquers and
health expels the pain. But in the world to come the pain continues that it may torment,
and

1 Gratia meritorum.

;44

THE CITY OF GOD.

[BOOK XIX.]
the nature endures that it may be sensible of it; and neither ceases to exist, lest punishment also should cease.

Now, as it is through the last judgment that men pass through these ends, the good to the supreme good, the evil to the supreme evil, I will treat of this judgment in the following book.
BOOK TWENTIETH.

ARGUMENT.

CONCERNING THE LAST JUDGMENT, AND THE DECLARATIONS REGARDING IT IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

1. That although God is always judging, it is nevertheless reasonable to confine our attention in this book to His last judgment.

INTENDING to speak, in dependence on God's grace, of the day of His final judgment, and to affirm it against the ungodly and incredulous, we must first of all lay, as it were, in the foundation of the edifice the divine declarations. Those persons who do not believe such declarations do their best to oppose to them false and illusive sophisms of their own, either contending that what is adduced from Scripture has another meaning, or altogether denying that it is an utterance of God's. For I suppose no man who understands what is written, and believes it to be communicated by the supreme and true God through holy men, refuses to yield and consent to these declarations, whether he orally confesses his consent, or is from some evil influence ashamed or afraid to do so; or even, with an opinionativeness closely resembling madness, makes strenuous efforts to defend what he knows and believes to be false against what he knows and believes to be true.

That, therefore, which the whole Church of the true God holds and professes as its creed, that Christ shall come from heaven to judge quick and dead, this we call the last day, or last time, of the divine judgment. For we do not know how many days this judgment may occupy; but no one who reads the Scriptures, however negligently, need be told that in them "day" is customarily used for "time." And when we speak of the day of God's judgment, we add the word last or final for this reason, because even now God judges, and has judged from the beginning of human history, banishing from paradise, and excluding from the tree of life, those first men who perpetrated so great a sin. Yea, He was certainly exercising judgment also when He did not spare the angels who sinned, whose prince, overcome by envy, seduced men after being himself seduced. Neither is it without God's profound and
just judgment that the life of demons and men, the one in the air, the other on earth, is filled with misery, calamities, and mistakes. And even though no one had sinned, it could only have been by the good and right judgment of God that the whole rational creation could have been maintained in eternal blessedness by a persevering adherence to its Lord. He judges, too, not only in the mass, condemning the race of devils and the race of men to be miserable on account of the original sin of these races, but He also judges the voluntary and personal acts of individuals. For even the devils pray that they may not be tormented, which proves that without injustice they might either be spared or tormented according to their deserts. And men are punished by God for their sins often visibly, always secretly, either in this life or after death, although no man acts rightly save by the assistance of divine aid; and no man or devil acts unrighteously save by the permission of the divine and most just judgment. For, as the apostle says, *There is no unrighteousness with God; " 2 and as he elsewhere says, *His judgments are inscrutable, and His ways past finding out." 3 In this book, then, I shall speak, as God permits, not of those first judgments, nor of these intervening judgments of God, but of the last judgment, when Christ is to come from heaven to judge the quick and the dead. For that day is properly called the day of judgment, because in it there shall be no room left for the ignorant questioning why this wicked person is happy and that righteous man unhappy. In that day true and full happiness shall be the lot of none but the good, while deserved and supreme misery shall be the portion of the wicked, and of them only.

2. That in the mingled web of human affairs God’s judgment is present, though it cannot be discerned.

In this present time we learn to bear with equanimity the ills to which even good men are subject, and to hold cheap the blessings which even the wicked enjoy. And conse-

1 Matt. viii. 29. 2 Rom. ix. 14. 3 Rom. xi. 33.
GOD JUDGES EVEN NOW. 347

quently, even in those conditions of life in which the justice of God is not apparent, His teaching is salutary. For we do not know by what judgment of God this good man is poor and that had man rich; why he who, in our opinion, ought to suffer acutely for his abandoned life enjoys himself, while sorrow pursues him whose praiseworthy life leads us to suppose he should be happy; why the innocent man is dismissed from the bar not only unavenged, but even condemned, being either wronged by the iniquity of the judge, or overwhelmed by false evidence, while his guilty adversary, on the other hand, is not only discharged with impunity, but even has his claims admitted; why the ungodly enjoys good health, while the godly pines in sickness; why ruffians are of the soundest constitution, while they who could not hurt any one even with a word are from infancy afflicted with complicated disorders; why he who is useful to society is cut off by premature death, while those who, as it might seem, ought never to have been so much as born have lives of unusual length; why he who is full of crimes is crowned with honours, while the blameless man is buried in the darkness of neglect. But who can collect or enumerate all the contrasts of this kind? But if this anomalous state of things were uniform in this life, in which, as the sacred Psalmist says, " Man is like to vanity, his days as a shadow that passeth away," 1 â€” so uniform that none but wicked men won the transitory prosperity of earth, while only the good suffered its ills, â€” this could be referred to the just and even benign judgment of God. We might suppose that they who were not destined to obtain those everlasting benefits which constitute human blessedness were either deluded by transitory blessings as the just reward of their wickedness, or were, in God's mercy, consoled by them, and that they who were not destined to suffer eternal torments were afflicted with temporal chastisement for their sins, or were stimulated to greater attainment in virtue. But now, as it is, since we not only see good men involved in the ills of life, and bad men enjoying the good of it, which seems unjust, but also that evil often overtakes evil men, and good surprises the good, the rather on this account are God's judgments unsearchable, and

1 Ps. cxliv. 4.

348 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

His ways past finding out. Although, therefore, we do not know by what judgment these things are done or permitted to be done by God, with whom is the highest virtue, the highest wisdom, the highest justice, no infirmity, no rashness, no unrighteousness, yet it is salutary for us to learn to hold cheap such things, be they good or evil, as attach indifferently to good men and bad, and to covet those good things which belong only to good men, and flee those evils which belong only to evil men. But when we shall have come to that judgment, the date of which is called peculiarly the day of judgment, and sometimes the day of the Lord, we shall then recognise the justice of all God's judgments, not only of such as shall then be pronounced, but of all which take effect from the
beginning, or may take effect before that time. And in that day we shall also recognise with what justice so many, or almost all, the just judgments of God in the present life defy the scrutiny of human sense or insight, though in this matter it is not concealed from pious minds that what is concealed is just.

3. What Solomon, in the book of Ecclesiastes, says regarding the things which happen alike to good and wicked men.

Solomon, the wisest king of Israel, who reigned in Jerusalem, thus commences the book called Ecclesiastes, which the Jews number among their canonical Scriptures: "Vanity of vanities, said Ecclesiastes, vanity of vanities; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he hath taken under the sun?" And after pointing on to enumerate, with this as his text, the calamities and delusions of this life, and the shifting nature of the present time, in which there is nothing substantial, nothing lasting, he bewails, among the other vanities that are under the sun, this also, that though wisdom excelleth folly as light excelleth darkness, and though the eyes of the wise man are in his head, while the fool walketh in darkness, yet one event happeneth to them all, that is to say, in this life under the sun, unquestionably alluding to those evils which we see befall good and bad men alike. He says, further, that the good suffer the ills of life as if they were evil-doers, and the bad enjoy the good

1 Eccles. i. 2, 3. 2 Ecces. ii. 13, 14.

of life as if they were good. "There is a vanity which is done upon the earth; that there be just men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked: again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous. I said, that this also is vanity." This wisest man devoted this whole book to a full exposure of this vanity, evidently with no other object than that we might long for that life in which there is no vanity under the sun, but verity under Him who made the sun. In this vanity, then, was it not by the just and righteous judgment of God that man, made like to vanity, was destined to pass away?

But in these days of vanity it makes an important difference whether he resists or yields to the truth, and whether he is destitute of true piety or a partaker of it, "Fear God," he says, i: and keep His commandments: for this is every man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every despised person, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." What truer, terser, more salutary enouncement could be made? "Fear God," he says, i: and keep His commandments: for this is every man." For whosoever has real existence, is this, is a keeper of God's commandments; and he who is not this, is nothing. For so long as he remains in the likeness of vanity, he is not renewed in the image of the truth. "For
God shall bring into judgment every work," â€” that is, whatever man does in this life, â€” " whether it be good or whether it be evil, with every despised person," â€” that is, with every man who here seems despicable, and is therefore not considered; for God sees even him, and does not despise him nor pass him over in His judgment.

4. That proofs of the last judgment will be adduced, first from the New Testament, and then from the Old.

The proofs, then, of this last judgment of God which I pro-
1 Eccles. viii. 14. 2 Eccks. xii. 13, 14.

350 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

pose to adduce shall be drawn first from the New Testament, and then from the Old. For although the Old Testament is prior in point of time, the New has the precedence in intrinsic value; for the Old acts the part of herald to the New. We shall therefore first cite passages from the New Testament, and confirm them by quotations from the Old Testament, The Old contains the law and the prophets, the New the gospel and the apostolic epistles. Now the apostle says, " By the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; now the righteousness of God is by faith of Jesus Christ upon all them that believe." 2 This righteousness of God belongs to the New Testament, and evidence for it exists in the old books, that is to say, in the law and the prophets. I shall first, then, state the case, and then call the witnesses. This order Jesus Christ Himself directs us to observe, saying, "The scribe instructed in the kingdom of God is like a good householder, bringing out of his treasure things new and old." 2 He did not say * old and new," which He certainly would have said had He not wished to follow the order of merit rather than that of time.

5. The passages in wJdch the Saviour declares that there shall be a divine judgment in the end of the world.

The Saviour Himself, while reproving the cities in which He had done great works, but which had not believed, and while setting them in unfavourable comparison with foreign cities, says, " But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you." And a little after He says, " Verily, I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee." 4 Here He most plainly predicts that a day of judgment is to come. And in another place He says, " The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.
The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the words of Solomon;

1 Eoia. iii. 20-22. 2 Matt. xiii. 52. 3 Matt. xi. 22. 4 Matt. xi. 21.
and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here." 1 Two things we learn from this passage, that a judgment is to take place, and that it is to take place at the resurrection of the dead. Tor when He spoke of the Menevites and the queen of the south, He certainly spoke of dead persons, and yet He said that they should rise up in the day of judgment. He did not say, " They shall condemn," as if they themselves were to be the judges, but because, in comparison with them, the others shall be justly condemned.

Again, in another passage, in which He was speaking of the present intermingling and future separation of the good and bad, â€” the separation which shall be made in the day of judgment, â€” He adduced a comparison drawn from the sown wheat and the tares sown among them, and gave this explanation of it to His disciples: el He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man," 2 etc. Here, indeed, He did not name the judgment or the day of judgment, but indicated it much more clearly by describing the circumstances, and foretold that it should take place in the end of the world.

In like manner He says to His disciples, " Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." 3 Here we learn that Jesus shall judge with His disciples. And therefore He said elsewhere to the Jews,
" If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out ? Therefore they shall be your judges." 4

Neither ought we to suppose that only twelve men shall judge along with Him, though He says that they shall sit upon twelve thrones; for by the number twelve is signified the completeness of the multitude of those who shall judge. Tor the two parts of the number seven (which commonly symbolizes totality), that is to say, four and three, multiplied into one another, give twelve. For four times three, or three times four, are twelve. There are other meanings, too, in this number twelve. Were not this the right interpretation of the twelve thrones, then since we read that Matthias was

1 Matt. xii. 41, 42. 2 Augustine quotes the whole passage, Matt. xiii. 37-43.
3 Matt. xix. 28. 4 Matt. xii. 27.

52 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

ordained an apostle in the room of Judas the traitor, the Apostle Paul, though he laboured more than them all, I should have no throne of judgment; but he unmistakeably considers
himself to be included in the number of the judges when he says, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" 2 The same rule is to be observed in applying the number twelve to those who are to be judged. For though it was said, "judging the twelve tribes of Israel," the tribe of Levi, which is the thirteenth, shall not on this account be exempt from judgment, neither shall judgment be passed only on Israel and not on the other nations. And by the words "in the regeneration" He certainly meant the resurrection of the dead to be understood; for our flesh shall be regenerated by incorruption, as our soul is regenerated by faith.

Many passages I omit, because, though they seem to refer to the last judgment, yet on a closer examination they are found to be ambiguous, or to allude rather to some other event, à€” whether to that coming of the Saviour which continually occurs in His Church, that is, in His members, in which He comes little by little, and piece by piece, since the whole Church is His body, or to the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem. For when He speaks even of this, He often uses language which is applicable to the end of the world and that last and great day of judgment, so that these two events cannot be distinguished unless all the corresponding passages bearing on the subject in the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are compared with one another, à€” for some things are put more obscurely by one evangelist and more plainly by another, à€” so that it becomes apparent what things are meant to be referred to one event. It is this which I have been at pains to do in a letter which I wrote to Hesychius of blessed memory, bishop of Salon, and entitled, 'Of the End of the World.' *

I shall now cite from the Gospel according to Matthew the passage which speaks of the separation of the good from the wicked by the most efficacious and final judgment of Christ:
"When the Son of man," he says, "shall come in His glory, . . . then shall He say also unto them on His left hand, Depart

1 1 Cor. sv. 10. =1 Cor. vi. 3. 3 Ep. 199.
from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." * Then
He in like manner recounts to the wicked the things they had not done, but which He had
said those on the right hand had done. And when they ask when they had seen Him in
need of these things, He replies that, inasmuch as they had not done it to the least of His
brethren, they had not done it unto Him, and concludes His address in the words, "And
these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."
Moreover, the evangelist John most distinctly states that He had predicted that the
judgment should be at the resurrection of the dead. For after saying, " The Father judgeth
no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honour the
Son, even as they honour the Father: he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the
Father which hath sent Him;" He immediately adds, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He
that heareth my word and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall
not come into judgment; but is passed from death to life." 2 Here He said that believers
on Him should not come into judgment. How, then, shall they be separated from the
wicked by judgment, and be set at His right hand, unless judgment be in this passage used
for condemnation? For into judgment, in this sense, they shall not come who hear His
word, and believe on Him that sent Him.

6. What is the first resurrection, and what the second.

After that He adds the words, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and
now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall
live. For as the Father hath life in Himself; so hath He given to the Son to have life in
Himself." 3 As yet He does not speak of the second resurrection, that is, the resurrection
of the body, which shall be in the end, but of the first, which now is. It is for the sake of
making this distinction that He says, " The hour is coming, and now is." Now this
resurrection regards not the body, but the soul. For souls, too, have a death of their own
in wickedness and sins, whereby they are the dead of whom the same lips say, " Suffer
the dead to bury

1 Matt. xxv. 34-41, given in full. 2 John v. 22-24. 3 John v. 25, 26.
VOL. II. Z

their dead," 1 â€” that is, let those who are dead in soul bury them that are dead in body.
It is of these dead, then â€” the dead in ungodliness and wickedness â€” that He says, " The
hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God;
and they that hear shall live." K They that hear,"
that is, they who obey, believe, and persevere to the end.
Here no difference is made between the good and the bad.
For it is good for all men to hear His voice and live, by passing to the life of godliness from the death of ungodliness. Of this death the Apostle Paul says, "Therefore all are dead, and He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them and rose again." 2 Thus all, without one exception, were dead in sins, whether original or voluntary sins, sins of ignorance, or sins committed against knowledge; and for all the dead there died the one only person who lived, that is, who had no whatever, in order that they who live by the remission of their sins should live, not to themselves, but to Him who died for all, for our sins, and rose again for our justification, that we, believing in Him who justifies the ungodly, and being justified from ungodliness or quickened from death, may be able to attain to the first resurrection which now is. For in this first resurrection none have a part save those who shall be eternally blessed; but in the second, of which He goes on to speak, all, as we shall learn, have a part, both the blessed and the wretched. The one is the resurrection of mercy, the other of judgment. And therefore it is written in the psalm, "I will sing of mercy and of judgment: unto Thee, Lord, will I sing." 3

And of this judgment He went on to say, "And hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man." Here He shows that He will come to judge in that flesh in which He had come to be judged. For it is to show this He says, "because He is the Son of man" And then follow the words for our purpose: "Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment." 1 This judgment He uses here in the same sense as a little before, when He says, "He that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into judgment, but is passed from death to life;" i.e., by having a part in the first resurrection, by which a transition from death to life is made in this present time, he shall not come into damnation, which He mentions by the name of judgment, as also in the place where He says, "but they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment," i.e. of damnation. He, therefore, who would not be damned in the second resurrection, let him rise in the first. For "the hour is coming," but here He does not say, "and now is," because it shall come in the end of the world in the last and greatest judgment of God) "when all that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth." He does not say, as in the first resurrection, u And they that hear shall live." For

1 Matt. viii. 22. 2 2 Cor. v. 14, 15 v 3 Ps. ci. 1.

LOOK XX.] THE FIRST RESURRECTION SPIRITUAL. 355

done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment." 1 This judgment He uses here in the same sense as a little before, when He says, "He that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into judgment, but is passed from death to life;" i.e., by having a part in the first resurrection, by which a transition from death to life is made in this present time, he shall not come into damnation, which He mentions by the name of judgment, as also in the place where He says, "but they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment," i.e. of damnation. He, therefore, who would not be damned in the second resurrection, let him rise in the first. For "the hour is coming," but here He does not say, "and now is," because it shall come in the end of the world in the last and greatest judgment of God) "when all that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth." He does not say, as in the first resurrection, u And they that hear shall live." For
all shall not live, at least with such life as ought alone to be called life because it alone is
blessed. For some kind of life they must have in order to hear, and come forth from the
graves in their rising bodies. And why all shall not live He teaches in the words that
follow: "They that have done good, to the resurrection of life," â€” these are they who
shall live;
"but they that have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment," â€” these are they who
shall not live, for they shall die in the second death. They have done evil because their
life has been evil; and their life has been evil because it has not been renewed in the first
or spiritual resurrection which now is, or because they have not persevered to the end in
their renewed life. As, then, there are two regenerations, of which I have already made
mention, â€” the one according to faith, and which takes place in the present. life by
means of baptism; the other according to the flesh, and which shall be accom-

1 John v. 28, 29.

356 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

plished in its incorruption and immortality by means of the great and final judgment, â€”
so are there also two resurrections, â€”
the one the first and spiritual resurrection, which has place in this life, and preserves us
from coming into the second death; the other the second, which does not occur now, but
in the end of the world, and which is of the body, not of the soul, and which by the last
judgment shall dismiss some into the second death, others into that life which has no
death.

7. What is written in the Revelation of John regarding the two resurrections, and the
thousand years, and what may reasonably be held on these joints.

The evangelist John has spoken of these two resurrections in the book which is called the
Apocalypse, but in such a way that some Christians do not understand the first of the two,
and so construe the passage into ridiculous fancies. For the Apostle John says in the
foresaid book, "And I saw an angel come down from heaven. . . . Blessed and holy is he
that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power; but they
shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years." 1 Those
who, on the strength of this passage, have suspected that the first resurrection is future
and bodily, have been moved, among other things, specially by the number of a thousand
years, as if it were a fit thing that the saints should thus enjoy a kind of Sabbath-rest
during that period, a holy leisure after the labours of the six thousand years since man
was created, and was on account of his great sin dismissed from the blessedness of
paradise into the woes of this mortal life, so that thus, as it is written, "One day is with
the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," 2 there should follow on
the completion of six thousand years, as of six days, a kind of seventh-day Sabbath in the
succeeding thousand years; and that it is for this purpose the saints rise, viz. to celebrate
this Sabbath. And this opinion would not be objectionable, if it were believed that the
joys of the saints in that Sabbath shall be spiritual, and consequent on the presence of
God; for I myself, too, once held this opinion. 3 But, as they assert that those who then
rise again shall enjoy the leisure of im-

1 Rev. xx. 1-6. The whole passage is quoted. 5 2 Pet. iii. 8.

3 Serin. 259. Â»
moderate carnal banquets, furnished with an amount of meat and drink such as not only to shock the feeling of the temperate, but even to surpass the measure of credulity itself, such assertions can be believed only by the carnal. They who do believe them are called by the spiritual Chiliasts, which we may literally reproduce by the name Millenarians. It were a tedious process to refute these opinions point by point: Ave prefer proceeding to show how that passage of Scripture should be understood.

The Lord Jesus Christ Himself says, "No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man," 2 â€” meaning by the strong man the devil, because he had power to take captive the human race; and meaning by his goods which he was to take, those who had been held by the devil in divers sins and iniquities, but were to become believers in Himself. It was then for the binding of this strong one that the apostle saw in the Apocalypse " an angel coming down from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand. And he laid hold," he says, " on the dragon, that old serpent, which is called the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years," â€” that is, bridled and restrained his power so that he could not seduce and gain possession of those who were to be freed. Now the thousand years may be understood in two ways, so far as occurs to me:

either because these things happen in the sixth thousand of years or sixth millennium (the latter part of which is now passing), as if during the sixth day, which is to be followed by a Sabbath which has no evening, the endless rest of the saints, so that, speaking of a part under the name of the whole, he calls the last part of the millennium â€” the part, that is, which had yet to expire before the end of the world â€” a thousand years; or he used the thousand years as an equivalent for the whole duration of this world, employing the number of perfection to mark the fulness of time. For a thousand is the cube of ten. For ten times ten makes a hundred, that is, the square on a plane superficies. But to give this superficies height, and make it a cube, the hundred is again multiplied by ten, which gives a thousand. Besides, if a hundred is 1 Milliarii. 2 Mark iii. 27; " Vasa " for "goods. "

sometimes used for totality, as when the Lord said by way of promise to him that left all and followed Him, " He shall receive in this world an hundredfold;" 1 of which the apostle gives, as it were, an explanation when he says, " As having nothing, yet possessing all things," 2 â€” for even of old it had been said, The whole world is the wealth of a believer, â€” with how much greater reason is a thousand put for totality since it is the cube, while the other is only the square ? And for the same reason we cannot better interpret the words of the psalm, " He hath been mindful of His covenant for ever, the word which He commanded to a thousand generations," 3 than by understanding it to mean u to all generations."
"And he cast him into the abyss," â€“ i.e. cast the devil into the abyss. By the abyss is meant the countless multitude of the wicked whose hearts are unfathomably deep in malignity against the Church of God; not that the devil was not there before, but he is said to be cast in thither, because, when prevented from harming believers, he takes more complete possession of the ungodly. For that man is more abundantly possessed by the devil who is not only alienated from God, but also gratuitously hates those who serve God. "And shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled."

"Shut him up," â€“ i.e. prohibited him from going out, from doing what was forbidden. And the addition of "set a seal upon him" seems to me to mean that it was designed to keep it a secret who belonged to the devil's party and who did not. For in this world this is a secret, for we cannot tell whether even the man who seems to stand shall fall, or whether he who seems to lie shall rise again. But by the chain and prisonhouse of this interdict the devil is prohibited and restrained from seducing those nations which belong to Christ, but which he formerly seduced or held in subjection. For before the foundation of the world God chose to rescue these from the power of darkness, and to translate them into the kingdom of the Son of His love, as the apostle says. 4 For what Christian is not aware that he seduces nations even now, and draws them with himself to eternal punishment, but not

1 Matt. xix. 29. â– 2 Cor. vi. 10. 3 Ps. cv. S. 4 Col. i. 13.
those predestined to eternal life? And let no one be dismayed by the circumstance that
the devil often seduces even those who have been regenerated in Christ, and begun to
walk in God's way. For "the Lord knoweth them that are His"; and of these the devil
seduces none to eternal damnation. For it is as God, from whom nothing is hid even of
things future, that the Lord knows them; not as a man, who sees a man at the present time
(if he can be said to see one whose heart he does not see), but does not see even himself
so far as to be able to know what kind of person he is to be. The devil, then, is bound and
shut up in the abyss that he may not seduce the nations from which the Church is
gathered, and which he formerly seduced before the Church existed. For it is not said "
that he should not seduce any man," but "that he should not seduce the nations "â€”
meaning, no doubt, those among which the Church exists â€” "till the thousand years
should be fulfilled," â€” i.e. either what remains of the sixth day which consists of a
thousand years, or all the years which are to elapse till the end of the world.

The words, " that he should not seduce the nations till the thousand years should be
fulfilled," are not to be understood as indicating that afterwards he is to seduce only those
nations from which the predestined Church is composed, and from seducing whom he is
restrained by that chain and imprisonment; but they are used in conformity with that
usage frequently employed in Scripture and exemplified in the psalm,
" So our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until He have mercy upon us," 2 â€” not as if
the eyes of His servants would no longer wait upon the Lord their God when He had
mercy upon them. Or the order of the words is unquestionably this, " And he shut him up
and set a seal upon him, till the thousand years should be fulfilled;" and the interposed
clause, " that he should seduce the nations no more," is not to be understood in the
connection in which it stands, but separately, and as if added afterwards, so that the
whole sentence might be read,
"And He shut him up and set a seal upon him till the thousand years should be fulfilled,
that he should seduce the nations no more," â€” i.e. he is shut up till the thousand years

1 2 Tim. ii. 19. 2 Ps. cxxiii. 2.

360 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

be fulfilled, on this account, that he may no more deceive the nations.

8. Of the Unclipping and loosing of the devil.

" After that/" says John, " he must be loosed a little season."
If the binding and shutting up of the devil means Ins being made unable to seduce the
Church, must his loosing be the recovery of this ability ? By no means. For the Church
predestined and elected before the foundation of the world, the Church of which it is said,
"The Lord knoweth them that are His," shall never be seduced by him. And yet there shall be a Church in this world even when the devil shall be loosed, as there has been since the beginning, and shall be always, the places of the dying being filled by new believers. For a little after John says that the devil, being loosed, shall draw the nations whom he has seduced in the whole world to make war against the Church, and that the number of these enemies shall be as the sand of the sea. "And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them. And the devil who seduced them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever. **1 Rev. xx. 9, 10.**

1 Rev. xx. 9, 10.
devil is his being prevented from the exercise of his whole power to seduce men, either by violently forcing or fraudulently deceiving them into taking part with him. If he were during so long a period permitted to assail the weakness of men, very many persons, such as God would not wish to expose to such temptation, would have their faith overthrown, or would be prevented from believing; and that this might not happen, he is bound.

But when the short time comes he shall be loosed. For he shall rage with the whole force of himself and his angels for three years and six months; and those with whom he makes war shall have power to withstand all his violence and stratagems. And if he were never loosed, his malicious power would be less patent, and less proof would be given of the steadfast fortitude of the holy city: it would, in short, be less manifest what good use the Almighty makes of his great evil. For the Almighty does not absolutely seclude the saints from his temptation, but shelters only their inner man, where faith resides, that by outward temptation they may grow in grace. And He binds him that he may not, in the free and eager exercise of his malice, hinder or destroy the faith of those countless weak persons, already believing or yet to believe, from whom the Church must be increased and completed; and he will in the end loose him, that the city of God may see how mighty an adversary it has conquered, to the great glory of its Redeemer, Helper, Deliverer. And what are we in comparison with those believers and saints who shall then exist, seeing that they shall be tested by the loosing of an enemy with whom we make war at the greatest peril even when he is bound?

Although it is also certain that even in this intervening period there have been and are some soldiers of Christ so wise and strong, that if they were to be alive in this mortal condition at the time of his loosing, they would both most wisely guard against, and most patiently endure, all his snares and assaults.

Now the devil was thus bound not only when the Church began to be more and more widely extended among the nations beyond Judea, but is now and shall be bound till the end of the world, when he is to be loosed. Because even now men are, and doubtless to the end of the world shall be, converted to the faith from the unbelief in which he held them.

And this strong one is bound in each instance in which he is spoiled of one of his goods; and the abyss in which he is shut up is not at an end when those die who were alive when first he was shut up in it, but these have been succeeded, and shall to the end of the world be succeeded, by others born after them with a like hate of the Christians, and in the depth of whose blind hearts he is continually shut up as in an abyss.

But it is a question whether, during these three years and six months when he shall be loose, and raging with all his force, any one who has not previously believed shall attach
himself to the faith. For how in that case would the words hold good, â€” Who entereth into the house of a strong one to spoil his soods, unless first he shall have bound the strong one?"

Consequently this verse seems to compel us to believe that during that time, short as it is, no one will be added to the Christian community, but that the devil will make war with those who have previously become Christians, and that, though some of these may be conquered and desert to the devil, these do not belong to the predestinated number of the sons of God: For it is not without reason that John, the same apostle as wrote this Apocalypse, says in his epistle regarding certain persons, u They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have remained with us." 1 But what shall become of the little ones? For it is beyond all belief that in these days there shall not be found some Christian children born, but not yet baptized, and that there shall not also be some born during that very period; and if there be such, we cannot believe that their parents shall not find some way of bringing them to the laver of regeneration. But if this shall be the case, how shall these goods be snatched from the devil when he is loose, since into his house no man enters to spoil his goods unless he has first bound him? On the contrary, we are rather to believe that in these days there shall be no lack either of those who fall away from, or of those who attach themselves to the Church; but there shall be such resoluteness, both in parents to seek

1 1 John ii. 19. Â»
baptism for their little ones, and in those who shall then first believe, that they shall conquer that strong one, even though unbound, "that is, shall both vigilantly comprehend, and patiently bear up against him, though employing such wiles and putting forth such force as he never before used; and thus they shall be snatched from him even though unbound.

And yet the verse of the Gospel will not be untrue, "Who entereth into the house of the strong one to spoil his goods, unless he shall first have bound the strong one?" For in accordance with this true saying that order is observed "the strong one first bound, and then his goods spoiled; for the Church is so increased by the weak and strong from all nations far and near, that by its most robust faith in things divinely predicted and accomplished, it shall be able to spoil the goods of even the unbound devil. For as we must own that, "when iniquity abounds, the love of many waxes cold," 1 and that those who have not been written in the book of life shall in large numbers yield to the severe and unprecedented persecutions and stratagems of the devil now loosed, so we cannot but think that not only those whom that time shall find sound in the faith, but also some who till then shall be without, shall become firm in the faith they have hitherto rejected, and mighty to conquer the devil even though unbound, God's grace aiding them to understand the Scriptures, in which, among other things, there is foretold that very end which they themselves see to be arriving. And if this shall be so, his binding is to be spoken of as preceding, that there might follow a spoiling of him both bound and loosed; for it is of this it is said, "Who shall enter into the house of the strong one to spoil his goods, unless he shall first have bound the strong one?"

9. What the reign of the saints with Christ for a thousand years is, and how it differs from the eternal kingdom.

But while the devil is bound, the saints reign with Christ during the same thousand years, understood in the same way, that is, of the time of His first coming. 2 For, leaving out of account that kingdom concerning which He shall say in the end, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, take possession of the

1 Matt. xxiv. 12. 2 Between His first and second coming.

kingdom prepared for you/ 1 the Church could not now he called His kingdom or the kingdom of heaven unless His saints were even now reigning with Him, though in another and far different way; for to His saints He says, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." 2 Certainly it is in this present time that the scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God, and of whom we have already spoken, brings forth from his treasure things new and old. And from the Church those reapers shall gather out
the tares which He suffered to grow with the wheat till the harvest, as He explains in the words, "The harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered together and burned with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences." 3 Can He mean out of that kingdom in which are no offences? Then it must be out of His present kingdom, the Church, that they are gathered.

So He says, "He that breaketh one of the least of these commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but he that doeth and teacheth thus shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." 4 He speaks of both as being in the kingdom of heaven, both the man who does not perform the commandments which He teaches, â€” for "to break" means not to keep, not to perform, â€” and the man who does and teaches as He did; but the one He calls least, the other great. And He immediately adds, * For I say unto you, that except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees," â€” that is, the righteousness of those who break what they teach; for of the scribes and Pharisees He elsewhere says, "For they say and do not;" 5 unless, therefore, your righteousness exceed theirs, that is, so that you do not break but rather do what you teach, "ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven." 6 We must understand in one sense the kingdom of heaven in which exist together both he who breaks what he teaches and he who does it, the one being least, the other great, and in another sense the kingdom of heaven into which only he who does what he teaches shall enter. Con-

1 Matt. xxv. 34. - Matt, xxviii. 20. 3 Matt xiii. 39-41.

4 Matt v. 19. 6 Matt xsiii. a. 6 Matt v. 20.
sequently, where both classes exist, it is the Church as it now is, but where only the one shall exist, it is the Church as it is destined to be when no wicked person shall be in her. Therefore the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, even now His saints reign with Him, though otherwise than as they shall reign hereafter; and yet, though the tares grow in the Church along with the wheat, they do not reign with Him. For they reign with Him who do what the apostle says, "If ye be risen with Christ, mind the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Seek those things which are above, not the things which are on the earth." * Of such persons he also says that their conversation is in heaven. 2 In fine, they reign with Him who are so in His kingdom that they themselves are His kingdom. But in what sense are those the kingdom of Christ who, to say no more, though they are in it until all offences are gathered out of it at the end of the world, yet seek their own things in it, and not the things that are Christ's ? 3

It is then of this kingdom militant, in which conflict with the enemy is still maintained, and war carried on with warring lusts, or government laid upon them as they yield, until we come to that most peaceful kingdom in which we shall reign without an enemy, and it is of this first resurrection in the present life, that the Apocalypse speaks in the words just quoted. For, after saying that the devil is bound a thousand years and is afterwards loosed for a short season, it goes on to give a sketch of what the Church does or of what is done in the Church in those days, in the words, "And I saw seats and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given." It is not to be supposed that this refers to the last judgment, but to the seats of the rulers and to the rulers themselves by whom the Church is now governed. And no better interpretation of judgment being given can be produced than that which we have in the words, "What ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." 4 Whence the apostle says, " What have I to do

1 Col. iii. 1, 2. 2 Phil. iii. 20. 3 Phil. ii. 21. 4 Matt. xviii. 18.

366 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

with judging them that are without ? do not ye judge them that are within?"" 1 "And the souls/ says John, "of" those who were slain for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God/ â€” understanding what he afterwards says, " reigned with Christ a thousand years/ 2 â€” that is, the souls of the martyrs not yet restored to their "bodies. For the souls of the pious dead are not separated from the Church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ; otherwise there would be no remembrance made of them at the altar of God in the partaking of the body of Christ, nor would it do any good in danger to run to His baptism,
that we might not pass from this life without it; nor to reconciliation, if by penitence or a bad conscience any one may be severed from His body. For why are these things practised, if not because the faithful, even though dead, are His members? Therefore, while these thousand JJ years run on, their souls reign with Him, though not as yet in conjunction with their bodies. And therefore in another part of this same book we read, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: and now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works do follow them."

The Church, then, begins its reign with Christ now in the living and in the dead. For, as the apostle says, "Christ died that He might be Lord both of the living and of the dead." But he mentioned the souls of the martyrs only, because they who have contended even to death for the truth, themselves principally reign after death; but, taking the part for the whole, we understand the words of all others who belong to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.

As to the words following, "And if any have not worshipped the beast nor his image, nor have received his inscription on their forehead, or on their hand," we must take them of both the living and the dead. And what this beast is, though it requires a more careful investigation, yet it is not inconsistent with the true faith to understand it of the ungodly city itself, and the community of unbelievers set in opposition to the faithful people and the city of God. "His image" seems to me to mean his simulation, to wit, in those men who profess to believe, but live as unbelievers. For they pretend to be what they are not, and are called Christians, not from a true likeness, but from a deceitful image. For to this beast belong not only the avowed enemies of the name of Christ and His most glorious city, but also the tares which are to be gathered out of His kingdom, the Church, in the end of the world. And who are they who do not worship the beast and his image, if not those who do what the apostle says, "Be not yoked with unbelievers?" For such do not worship, i.e. do not consent, are not subjected; neither do they receive the inscription, the brand of crime, on their forehead by their profession, on their hand by their practice.

They, then, who are free from these pollutions, whether they still live in this mortal flesh, or are dead, reign with Christ even now, through this whole interval which is indicated by the thousand years, in a fashion suited to this time.

"The rest of them," he says, "did not live." For now is the hour when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live; and the rest of them shall not live. The words added, "until the thousand years are finished," mean that they did not
live in the time in which they ought to have lived by passing from death to life. And therefore, when the day of the bodily resurrection arrives, they shall come out of their graves, not to life, but to judgment, namely, to damnation, which is called the second death. For whosoever has not lived until the thousand years be finished, i.e. during this whole time in which the first resurrection is going on, â€” whosoever has not heard the voice of the Son of God, and passed from death to life, â€” that man shall certainly in the second resurrection, the resurrection of the flesh, pass with his flesh into the second death. For he goes on to say, "This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection," or who experiences it. Now he experiences it who not only revives from the death of sin, but continues in this renewed life. "In these the second death hath no power." Therefore it has power in the rest, of whom he said above, a The rest of them did not live until the thousand years were finished;" for in this whole intervening

1 2 Cor. vi. 14.

3C8 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

time, called a thousand years, however lustily they lived in the body, they were not quickened to life out of that death in which their wickedness held them, so that by this revived life they should become partakers of the first resurrection, and so the second death should have no power over them.

10. What is to be replied to those who think that resurrection pertains only to bodies and not to souls.

There are some who suppose that resurrection can be predicated only of the body, and therefore they contend that this first resurrection (of the Apocalypse) is a bodily resurrection. For, say they, "to rise again" can only be said of things that fall. Now, bodies fall in death. 1 There cannot, therefore, be a resurrection of souls, but of bodies. But what do they say to the apostle who speaks of a resurrection of souls? For certainly it was in the inner and not the outer man that those had risen again to whom he says, "If ye have risen with Christ, mind the things that are above." 2 The same sense he elsewhere conveyed in other words, saying, "That as Christ has risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life." 3 So, too, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." 4 As to what they say about nothing being able to rise again but what falls, whence they conclude that resurrection pertains to bodies only, and not to souls, because bodies fall, why do they make nothing of the words, "Ye that fear the Lord, wait for His mercy; and go not aside lest ye fall;" 5 and "To his own Master he stands or falls;" 6 and "He that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall?" 7 For I fancy this fall that we are to take heed against is a fall of the soul, not of the body. If, then, rising again
belongs to things that fall, and souls fall, it must be owned that souls also rise again. To the words, "In them the second death hath no power," are added the words, "but they shall be priests of God and Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years;" and this refers not to the bishops

1 And, as Augustine remarks, are therefore called cadavera, from cadere, "to fall."
3 Col. iii. 1. 3 Rom. vi. 4. 4 Eph. v. 14.

6 Ecclus. ii. 7. 6 Horn. xiv. 4. "1 Cor. x. 12."
alone, and presbyters, who are now specially called priests in the Church; but as we call all believers Christians on account of the mystical chrism, so we call all priests because they are members of the one Priest. Of them the Apostle Peter says, "A holy people, a royal priesthood." Certainly he implied, though in a passing and incidental way, that Christ is God, saying priests of God and Christ, that is, of the Father and the Son, though it was in His servant-form and as Son of man that Christ was made a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec. But this we have already explained more than once.

11. Of Gog and Magog, icho are to be roused by the devil to persecute the Church, when he is loosed in the end of the world.

"And when the thousand years are finished, Satan shall be loosed from his prison, and shall go out to seduce the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall draw them to battle, whose number is as the sand of the sea." This, then, is his purpose in seducing them, to draw them to this battle. For even before this he was wont to use as many and various seductions as he could continue. And the words "he shall go out" mean, he shall burst forth from lurking hatred into open persecution. For this persecution, occurring while the final judgment is imminent, shall be the last which shall be endured by the holy Church throughout the world, the whole city of Christ being assailed by the whole city of the devil, as each exists on earth. For these nations which he names Gog and Magog are not to be understood of some barbarous nations in some part of the world, whether the Getse and Massagetos, as some conclude from the initial letters, or some other foreign nations not under the Eoman government. For John marks that they are spread over the whole earth, when he says, "The nations which are in the four corners of the earth," and he added that these are Gog and Magog. The meaning of these names we find to be, Gog, "a roof," Magog, "from a roof," â€” a house, as it were, and he who comes out of the house. They are therefore the nations in which we found that the devil was shut up as in an abyss, and the devil himself coming out

1 1 Peter ii. 9.

VOL. IL 2 A

370 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

from them and going forth, so that they are the roof, he from the roof. Or if we refer both words to the nations, not one to them and one to the devil, then they are both the roof, because in them the old enemy is at present shut up, and as it were roofed in; and they shall be from the roof when they break forth from concealed to open hatred. The words, "And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city/" do not mean that they have come, or shall come, to one place, as if
the camp of the saints and the beloved city should be in some one place; for this camp is nothing else than the Church of Christ extending over the whole world. And consequently wherever the Church shall be, â€” and it shall be in all nations, as is signified by " the breadth of the earth," â€” there also shall be the camp of the saints and the beloved city, and there it shall be encompassed by the savage persecution of all its enemies; for they too shall exist along with it in all nations, â€” that is, it shall be straitened, and hard pressed, and shut up in the straits of tribulation, but shall not desert its military duty, which is signified by the word " camp."

12. Whether the fire that came down out of heaven and devoured them refers to the last ptamshmad of the icicked.

The words, "And fire came down out of heaven and devoured them," are not to be understood of the final punishment which shall be inflicted when it is said, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire; " 1 for then they shall be cast into the fire, not fire come down out of heaven upon them. In this place " fire out of heaven " is well understood of the firmness of the saints, wherewith they refuse to yield obedience to those who rage against them. For the firmament is " heaven," by whose firmness these assailants shall be pained with blazing zeal, for they shall be impotent to jiraw away the saints to the party of Antichrist. This is the fire which shall devour them, and this is " from God; " for it is by God's grace the saints become unconquerable, and so torment their enemies. For as in a good sense it is said, " The zeal of Thine house hath consumed me," 2 so in a bad sense it is said, " Zeal hath possessed the uninstructed people,

1 Matt. xxv. 41. 2 Ps. lxxix. 9.

ROOK XX.] antichrist's persecution. 371

and now fire shall consume the enemies." 1 "And now," that is to say, not the fire of the last judgment. Or if by this fire coming down out of heaven and consuming them, John meant that blow wherewith Christ in His coming is to strike those persecutors of the Church whom He shall then find alive upon earth, when He shall kill Antichrist with the breath of His mouth, 2 then even this is not the last judgment of the wicked; but the last judgment is that which they shall suffer when the bodily resurrection has taken place.

13. Whether the time of the persecution of Antichrist should he reckoned in the thousand years.

This last persecution by Antichrist shall last for three years and six months, as we have already said, and as is affirmed both in the book of Evelation and by Daniel the prophet. Though this time is brief, yet not without reason is it questioned whether it is comprehended in the thousand years in which the devil is bound and the saints reign with
Christ, or whether this little season should be added over and above to these years. For if we say that they are included in the thousand years, then the saints reign with Christ during a more protracted period than the devil is bound. For they shall reign with their King and Conqueror mightily even in that crowning persecution when the devil shall now be unbound and shall rage against them with all his might. How


then does Scripture define both the binding of the devil and the reign of the saints by the same thousand years, if the binding of the devil ceases three years and six months before this reign of the saints with Christ? On the other hand, if we say that the brief space of this persecution is not to be reckoned as a part of the thousand years, but rather as an additional period, we shall indeed be able to interpret the words, "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with Him a thousand years; and when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison;" for thus they signify that the reign of the saints and the bondage of the devil shall cease simultaneously, so that the time of the persecution we speak of should be contemporaneous neither with the reign of the saints nor with the imprisonment of Satan,

1 Isa. xi. 11. 2 Thess. ii. 8.

372 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

but should be reckoned over and above as a superadded portion of time. But then in this case we are forced to admit that the saints shall not reign with Christ during that persecution. But who can dare to say that His members shall not reign with Him at that very juncture when they shall most of all, and with the greatest fortitude, cleave to Him, and when the glory of resistance and the crown of martyrdom shall be more conspicuous in proportion to the hotness of the battle? Or if it is suggested that they may be said not to reign, because of the tribulations which they shall suffer, it will follow that all the saints who have formerly, during the thousand years, suffered tribulation, shall not be said to have reigned with Christ during the period of their tribulation, and consequently even those whose souls the author of this book says that he saw, and who were slain for the testimony of Jesus and the word of God, did not reign with Christ when they were suffering persecution, and they were not themselves the kingdom of Christ, though Christ was then pre-eminently possessing them. This is indeed perfectly absurd, and to be scouted. But assuredly the victorious souls of the glorious martyrs, having overcome and finished all griefs and toils, and having laid down their mortal members, have reigned, and do reign, with Christ till the thousand years are finished, that they may afterwards reign with Him when they have received their immortal bodies. And therefore during these three years and a half the souls of those who were slain for His testimony, both those which formerly passed from the body and those which shall pass in that last persecution, shall
reign with Him till the mortal world come to an end, and pass into that kingdom in which there shall be no death.
And thus the reign of the saints with Christ shall last longer than the bonds and imprisonment of the devil, because they shall reign with their King the Son of God for these three years and a half during which the devil is no longer bound.
It remains, therefore, that when we read that "the priests of God and of Christ shall reign with Him a thousand years; and when the thousand years are finished, the devil shall be loosed from his imprisonment," that we understand either that the thousand years of the reign of the saints does not
terminate, though the imprisonment of the devil does, â€” so that both parties have their thousand years, that is, their complete time, yet each with a different actual duration appropriate to itself, the kingdom of the saints being longer, the imprisonment of the devil shorter, â€” or at least that, as three years and six months is a very short time, it is not reckoned as either deducted from the whole time of Satan's imprisonment, or as added to the whole duration of the reign of the saints, as we have shown above in the sixteenth book regarding the round number of four hundred years, which were specified as four hundred, though actually somewhat more; and similar expressions are often found in the sacred writings, if one will mark them.

14. Of the damnation of the devil and his adherents; and a sketch of the bodily resurrection of all the dead, and of the final retributive judgment.

After this mention of the closing persecution, he summarily indicates all that the devil, and the city of which he is the prince, shall suffer in the last judgment. For he says, "And the devil who seduced them is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, in which are the beast and the false prophet, and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever." We have already said that by the beast is well understood the wicked city. His false prophet is either Antichrist or that image or figment of which we have spoken in the same place. After this he gives a brief narrative of the last judgment itself, which shall take place at the second or bodily resurrection of the dead, as it had been revealed to him: "I saw a throne great and white, and One sitting on it from whose face the heaven and the earth fled away, and their place was not found." He does not say, "I saw a throne great and white, and One sitting on it, and from His face the heaven and the earth fled away," for it had not happened then, i.e. before the living and the dead were judged; but he says that he saw Him sitting on the throne from whose face heaven and earth fled away, but afterwards. Tor when the judgment is finished, this heaven and earth shall cease to be, and there will be a new heaven and a new earth. For this world shall pass away by transmutation, not by absolute de-

1 Ch. 24.

37-4 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

struction. And therefore the apostle says, "For the figure of this world passeth away. I would have you be without anxiety." 2 The figure, therefore, passes away, not the nature. After John had said that he had seen One sitting on the throne from whose face heaven and earth fled, though not till afterwards, he said, "And I saw the dead, great and small:
and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of the life of each man: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their deeds." He said that the books were opened, and a book; but he left us at a loss as to the nature of this book, "which is," he says, "the book of the life of each man." By those books, then, which he first mentioned, we are to understand the sacred books old and new, that out of them it might be shown what commandments God had enjoined; and that book of the life of each man is to show what commandments each man has done or omitted to do. If this book be materially considered, who can reckon its size or length, or the time it would take to read a book in which the whole life of every man is recorded? Shall there be present as many angels as men, and shall each man hear his life recited by the angel assigned to him? In that case there will be not one book containing all the lives, but a separate book for every life. But our passage requires us to think of one only. "And another book was opened," it says. We must therefore understand it of a certain divine power, by which it shall be brought about that every one shall recall to memory all his own works, whether good or evil, and shall mentally survey them with a marvellous rapidity, so that this knowledge will either accuse or excuse conscience, and thus all and each shall be simultaneously judged. And this divine power is called a book, because in it we shall as it were read all that it causes us to remember. That he may show who the dead, small and great, are who are to be judged, he recurs to this which he had omitted or rather deferred, and says, "And the sea presented the dead which were in it; and death and hell gave up the dead which were in them." This of course took place before the dead were judged, yet it is mentioned after.

1 1 Cor. vii. 31, 32. Â»

LOOK XX.] THE SEA GIVING UP ITS DEAD. 375

And so, I say, he returns again to what he had omitted. But now he preserves the order of events, and for the sake of exhibiting it repeats in its own proper place what he had already said regarding the dead who were judged. For after he had said, "And the sea presented the dead which were in it, and death and hell gave up the dead which were in them," he immediately subjoined what he had already said, "and they were judged every man according to their works." For this is just what he had said before, "And the dead were judged according to their works."

15. Who the dead are who are given up to judgment by the sea, and by death and hell.

But who are the dead which were in the sea, and which the sea presented? For we cannot suppose that those who die in the sea are not in hell, nor that their bodies are preserved in the sea; nor yet, which is still more absurd, that the sea retained the good, while hell
received the bad. Who could believe this? But some very sensibly suppose that in this place the sea is put for this world. When John then wished to signify that those whom Christ should find still alive in the body were to be judged along with those who should rise again, he called them dead, both the good to whom it is said, "For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God," 1 and the wicked of whom it is said, "Let the dead bury their dead." 2 They may also be called dead, because they wear mortal bodies, as the apostle says, "The body indeed is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness;" proving that in a living man in the body there is both a body which is dead, and a spirit which is life. Yet he did not say that the body was mortal, but dead, although immediately after he speaks in the more usual way of mortal bodies. These, then, are the dead which were in the sea, and which the sea presented, to wit, the men who were in this world, because they had not yet died, and whom the world presented for judgment. "And death and hell," he says, "gave up the dead which were in them." The sea presented them because they had merely to be found in the place where they were; but death and hell gave them up or restored them, because they

1 Col. iii. 3. 2 Matt. viii. 22. 3 Rom. viii. 10.

376 THE CITY OF GOD. [COOK XX.

called them back to life, which they had already quitted. And perhaps it was not without reason that neither death nor hell were judged sufficient alone, and both were mentioned, â€” death to indicate the good, who have suffered only death and not hell; hell to indicate the wicked, who suffer also the punishment of hell. For if it does not seem absurd to believe that the ancient saints who believed in Christ and His then future coming, were kept in places far removed indeed from the torments of the wicked, but yet in hell, 1 until Christ's blood and His descent into these places delivered them, certainly good Christians, redeemed by that precious price already paid, are quite unacquainted with hell while they wait for their restoration to the body, and the reception of their reward. After saying, "They were judged every man according to their works," he briefly added what the judgment was:
"Death and hell were cast into the lake of fire; " by these names designating the devil and the whole company of his angels, for he is the author of death and the pains of hell. For this is what he had already, by anticipation, said in clearer lanmiae: "The devil who seduced them was cast into a lake

of fire and brimstone." The obscure addition he had made in the words, "in which were also the beast and the false prophet" he here explains, "They who were not found written in the book of life were cast into the lake of fire." This book is not for reminding God, as if things might escape Him by forgetfulness, but it symbolizes His predestination of those to whom eternal life shall be given. For it is not that God is ignorant, and reads in the
book to inform Himself, but rather His infallible prescience is the book of life in which they are written, that is to say, known beforehand.

16. Of the new heaven and the new earth.

Having finished the prophecy of judgment, so far as the wicked are concerned, it remains that he speak also of the good. Having briefly explained the Lord's words, "These will go away into everlasting punishment," it remains that he explain the connected words, "but the righteous into life eternal

1 "Apud inferos," i.e. in hell, in the sense in which the word is used in the Psalms and in the Creed.
- Matt xxv. 46.
"And I saw," he says, "a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth have passed away; and there is no more sea." 1 This will take place in the order which he has by anticipation declared in the words, "I saw One sitting on the throne, from whose face heaven and earth fled." For as soon as those who are not written in the book of life have been judged and cast into eternal fire, â€” the nature of which fire, or its position in the world or universe, I suppose is known to no man, unless perhaps the divine Spirit reveal it to some one, â€” then shall the figure of this world pass away in a conflagration of universal fire, as once before the world was flooded with a deluge of universal water. And by this universal conflagration the qualities of the corruptible elements which suited our corruptible bodies shall utterly perish, and our substance shall receive such qualities as shall, by a wonderful transmutation, harmonize with our immortal bodies, so that, as the world itself is renewed to some better thing, it is fitly accommodated to men, themselves renewed in their flesh to some better thing. As for the statement, "And there shall be no more sea," I would not lightly say whether it is dried up with that excessive heat, or is itself also turned into some better thing. For we read that there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, but I do not remember to have anywhere read anything of a new sea, unless what I find in this same book, "As it were a sea of glass like crystal." 2 But he was not then speaking of this end of the world, neither does he seem to speak of a literal sea, but "as it were a sea." It is possible that, as prophetic diction delights in mingling figurative and real language, and thus in some sort veiling the sense, so the words "And there is no more sea" may be taken in the same sense as the previous phrase, "And the sea presented the dead which were in it." For then there shall be no more of this world, no more of the surgings and restlessness of human life, and it is this which is symbolized by the sea.

17. Of the endless glory of the Church.

"And I saw," he says, "a great city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned..."

1 Rev. xxi. 1. 2 P tev> xv 2.

378 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, but neither shall there be any more pain: because the former things have passed away. And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new." 1 This city is said to come down out of heaven, because the grace with which God formed it is of heaven.
Wherefore He says to it by Isaiah, "I am the Lord that formed thee." 2 It is indeed descended from heaven from its commencement, since its citizens during the course of this world grow by the grace of God, which cometh down from above through the laver of regeneration in the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. But by God's final judgment, which shall be administered by His Son Jesus Christ, there shall by God's grace be manifested a glory so pervading and so new, that no vestige of what is old shall remain; for even our bodies shall pass from their old corruption and mortality to new incorruption and immortality. For to refer this promise to the present time, in which the saints are reigning with their King a thousand years, seems to me excessively barefaced, when it is most distinctly said, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, but there shall be no more pain." And who is so absurd, and blinded by contentious opinionativeness, as to be audacious enough to affirm that in the midst of the calamities of this mortal state, God's people, or even one single saint, does live, or has ever lived, or shall ever live, without tears or pain, â€” the fact being that the holier a man is, and the fuller of holy desire, so much the more abundant is the tearfulness of his supplication? Are not these the utterances of a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem: "My tears have been my meat day and night;" 3 and "Every night shall I make my bed to swim; with my tears shall I water my couch;" 4 and "My groaning is not hid from Thee;" 5 and

1 Rev. xxi. 2-5. 2 Isa. xlv. 8. 3 Ps. xlii. 3.
4 Ps. vi. 6. 5 Ps. xxxviii. 9 %
pains; and this difficulty is increased by the repetition of the same things, in forms so different, that the things referred to seem to be different, although in fact they are only differently stated. But in the words, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, but there shall be no more pain" there is so manifest a reference to the future world and the immortality and eternity of the saints, "that if we think this obscure, we need not expect to find anything plain in any part of Scripture.

18. What the Apostle Peter predicted regarding the last judgment.

Let us now see what the Apostle Peter predicted concerning this judgment. "There shall come," he says, "a in the last days scoffers. . . . Nevertheless we, according to His promise,

1 Ps. xxxix. 2. 2 Cor. v. 4.

3 Rom. viii. 23. 4 Rom. ix. 2.

5 Augustine therefore read vuxo; and not with the Vulgate, v'ocri.

G 1 Cor. xv. 55. 7 1 John i. 8.

380 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." 1 There is nothing said here about the resurrection of the dead, but enough certainly regarding the destruction of this world. And by his reference to the deluge he seems as it were to suggest to us how far we should believe the ruin of the world will extend in the end of the world. For he says that the world which then was perished, and not only the earth itself, but also the heavens, by which we understand the air, the place and room of which was occupied by the water. Therefore the whole, or almost the whole, of the gusty atmosphere (which he calls heaven, or rather the heavens, meaning the earth's atmosphere, and not the upper air in which sun, moon, and stars are set) was turned into moisture, and in this way perished together with the earth, whose former appearance had been destroyed by the deluge. "But the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." Therefore the heavens and the earth, or the world which was preserved from the water to stand in place of that world which perished in the flood, is itself reserved to fire at last in the day of the judgment and perdition of ungodly men. He does not hesitate to affirm that in this great change men also shall perish: their nature, however, shall notwithstanding continue, though in eternal punishments. Some one will perhaps put the question, If after judgment is pronounced the world itself is to burn, where shall the saints be during the conflagration, and before it is replaced by a new heavens and a new earth, since somewhere they must be, because they have material
bodies? We may reply that they shall be in the upper regions into which the flame of that conflagration shall not ascend, as neither did the water of the flood; for they shall have such bodies that they shall be wherever they wish. Moreover, when they have become immortal and incorruptible, they shall not greatly dread the blaze of that conflagration, as the corruptible and mortal bodies of the three men were able to live unhurt in the blazing furnace.

1 2 Pet. iii. 3-13. The whole passage is quoted by Augustine.
19. What the Apostle Paul wrote to the Thessalonians about the manifestation of Antichrist which shall precede the day of the Lord.

I see that I must omit many of the statements of the gospels and epistles about this last judgment, that this volume may not become unduly long; but I can on no account omit what the Apostle Paul says, in writing to the Thessalonians, "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," ! etc.

No one can doubt that he wrote this of Antichrist and of the day of judgment, which he here calls the day of the Lord, nor that he declared that this day should not come unless he first came who is called the apostate â€” apostate, to wit, from the Lord God. And if this may justly be said of all the ungodly, how much more of him? But it is uncertain in what temple he shall sit, whether in that ruin of the temple which was built by Solomon, or in the Church; for the apostle would not call the temple of any idol or demon the temple of God. And on this account some think that in this passage Antichrist means not the prince himself alone, but his whole body, that is, the mass of men who adhere to him, along with him their prince; and they also think that we should render the Greek more exactly were we to read, not " in the temple of God," but " for " or " as the temple of God," as if he himself were the temple of God, the Church. 2 Then as for the words, "And now ye know what withholdeth," i.e. ye know what hindrance or cause of delay there is, " that he might be revealed in his own time;" they show that he was unwilling to make an explicit statement, because he said that they knew.

And thus we who have not their knowledge wish and are not able even with pains to understand what the apostle referred to, especially as his meaning is made still more obscure by what he adds. For what does he mean by "For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now holdeth, let him hold until he be taken out of the way: and then shall the wicked be revealed?" I frankly confess I do not know what he means. I will nevertheless mention such conjectures as I have heard or read.

Some think that the Apostle Paul referred to the Eoman empire, and that he was unwilling to use language more explicit, lest he should incur the calumnious charge of wishing ill to
the empire which it was hoped would be eternal; so that in saving, u Tor the mystery of iniquity doth already work/ he alluded to Xero, whose deeds already seemed to be as the deeds of Antichrist. And hence some suppose that he shall rise again and be Antichrist. Others, again, suppose that he is not even dead, but that he was concealed that he mi^ht be supposed to have been killed, and that he now lives in concealment in the vigour of that same asre which he had reached when he was believed to have perished, and will live until he is revealed in his own time and restored to his kins'dom. 1 But I wonder that men can be so audacious in their conjectures. However, it is not absurd to believe that these words of the apostle, " Only he who now holdeth, let him hold until he be taken out of the way," refer to the Eoman empire, as if it were said, " Only he who now reigneth, let him reign until he be taken out of the way." "And then shall the wicked be revealed:" no one doubts that this means Antichrist. But others think that the words, " Ye know what withholdeth," and * The mystery of iniquity worketh," refer only to the wicked and the hypocrites who are in the Church, until they reach a number so great as to furnish Antichrist with a great people, and that this is the mystery of iniquity, because it seems hidden; also that the apostle is exhorting the faithful tenaciously to hold the faith they hold when he says, " Only he who now holdeth, let him hold until he be taken out of the way;" that is, until the mystery of iniquity which now is hidden departs from the Church. For they suppose that it is to this same mystery John alludes when in his epistle he says, * Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued

1 Suetonius' Xero, c. 57.
with us." 1 As therefore there went out from the Church many heretics, whom John calls "many antichrists," at that time prior to the end, and which John calls "the last time," so in the end they shall go out who do not belong to Christ, but to that last Antichrist, and then he shall be revealed.

Thus various, then, are the conjectural explanations of the obscure words of the apostle. That which there is no doubt he said is this, that Christ will not come to judge quick and dead unless Antichrist, His adversary, first come to seduce those who are dead in soul; although their seduction is a result of God's secret judgment already passed. For, as it is said, "his presence shall be after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all seduction of unrighteousness in them that perish." For then shall Satan be loosed, and by means of that Antichrist shall work with all power in a lying though a wonderful manner. It is commonly questioned whether these works are called "signs and lying wonders" because he is to deceive men's senses by false appearances, or because the things he does, though they be true prodigies, shall be a lie to those who shall believe that such things could be done only by God, being ignorant of the devil's power, and especially of such unexampled power as he shall then for the first time put forth. For when he fell from heaven as fire, and at a stroke swept away from the holy Job his numerous household and his vast flocks, and then as a whirlwind rushed upon and smote the house and killed his children, these were not deceitful appearances, and yet they were the works of Satan to whom God had given this power. Why they are called signs and lying wonders we shall then be more likely to know when the time itself arrives. But whatever be the reason of the name, they shall be such signs and wonders as shall seduce those who shall deserve to be seduced, "because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved." Neither did the apostle scruple to go on to say, "For this cause God shall send upon them the working of error that they should believe a lie."

1 1 John ii. 18, 19.

though the doing of them is in pursuance of the devil's unrighteous and malignant purpose, "that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." Therefore, being judged, they shall be seduced. and, being seduced, they shall be judged. But, being judged, they shall be seduced by those secretly just and justly secret judgments of God, with which He has never ceased to judge since the first sin of the rational creatures; and, being seduced, they shall be judged in that last and
manifest judgment administered by Jesus Christ, who was Himself most unjustly judged and shall most justly judge.

20. What the same apostle taught in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians regarding the resurrection of the dead.

But the apostle has said nothing here regarding the resurrection of the dead; but in his first Epistle to the Thessalonians he says, "We would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep," 1 etc. These words of the apostle most distinctly proclaim the future resurrection of the dead, when the Lord Christ shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

But it is commonly asked whether those whom our Lord shall find alive upon earth, personated in this passage by the apostle and those who were alive with him, shall never die at all, or shall pass with incomprehensible swiftness through death to immortality in the very moment during which they shall be caught up along with those who rise again to meet the Lord in the air? For we cannot say that it is impossible that they should both die and revive again while they are carried aloft through the air. For the words, "And so shall we ever be with the Lord," are not to be understood as if he meant that we shall always remain in the air with the Lord; for He Himself shall not remain there, but shall only pass through it as He comes. For we shall go to meet Him as He comes, not where He remains; but "so shall we be with the Lord," that is, we shall be with Him possessed of immortal bodies wherever we shall be with Him. We seem compelled to take the words in this sense, and to suppose that those whom the Lord shall find alive upon earth shall in that

1 1 Thess. iv. 13-16.
brief space both suffer death and receive immortality; for this same apostle says, " In Christ shall all be made alive; " * while, speaking of the same resurrection of the body, he elsewhere says, "That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die." 2 How, then, shall those whom Christ shall find alive upon earth be made alive to immortality in Him if they die not, since on this very account it is said, " That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die ?" Or if we cannot properly speak of human bodies as sown, unless in so far as by dying they do in some sort return to the earth, as also the sentence pronounced by God against the sinning father of the human race runs, " Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return," 3 we must acknowledge that those whom Christ at His coming shall find still in the body are not included in these words of the apostle nor in those of Genesis; for, being caught up into the clouds, they are certainly not sown, neither going nor returning to the earth, whether they experience no death at all or die for a moment in the air.

But, on the other hand, there meets us the saying of the same apostle when he was speaking to the Corinthians about the resurrection of the body, " We shall all rise," or, as other mss. read, " We shall all sleep." 4 Since, then, there can be no resurrection unless death has preceded, and since we can in this passage understand by sleep nothing else than death, how shall all either sleep or rise again if so many persons whom Christ shall find in the body shall neither sleep nor rise again ? If, then, we believe that the saints who shall be found alive at Christ's coming, and shall be caught up to meet Him, shall in that same ascent pass from mortal to immortal bodies, we shall find no difficulty in the words of the apostle, either when he says, " That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die," or when he says, " We shall all rise," or " all sleep," for not even the saints shall be quickened to immortality unless they first die, however briefly; and consequently they shall not be exempt from resurrection which is preceded by sleep, however brief. And why should it seem to us incredible that that multitude of bodies should

1 1 Cor. xv. 22.
3 Gen. iii. 19.

2 1 Cor. xv. 36.
Toe, as it were, sown in the air, and should in the air forthwith revive immortal and incorruptible, when we believe, on the testimony of the same apostle, that the resurrection shall take place in the twinkling of an eye, and that the dust of bodies long dead shall return with incomprehensible facility and swiftness to those members that are now to live endlessly?

Neither do we suppose that in the case of these saints the sentence, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return," is null, though their bodies do not, on dying, fall to earth, but both die and rise again at once while caught up into the air.

For "Thou shalt return to earth" means, Thou shalt at death return to that which thou wert before life beran. Thou shalt, when exanimate, be that which thou wast before thou wast animate. For it was into a face of earth that God breathed the breath of life when man was made a living soul; as if it were said, Thou art earth with a soul, which thou wast not; thou shalt be earth without a soul, as thou wast. And this is what all bodies of the dead are before they rot; and what the bodies of those saints shall be if they die, no matter where they die, as soon as they shall give up that life which they are immediately to receive back again.

In this way, then, they return or go to earth, inasmuch as from being living men they shall be earth, as that which becomes cinder is said to go to cinder; that which decays, to go to decay; and so of six hundred other things. But the manner in which this shall take place we can now only feebly conjecture, and shall understand it only when it comes to pass. For that there shall be a bodily resurrection of the dead when Christ comes to judge quick and dead, we must believe if we would be Christians. But if we are unable perfectly to comprehend the manner in which it shall take place, our faith is not on this account vain. Now, however, we ought, as we formerly promised, to show, as far as seems necessary, what the ancient prophetic books predicted concerning this final judgment of God; and I fancy no great time need be spent in discussing and explaining these predictions, if the reader has been careful to avail himself of the help we have already furnished.
21. Utterances of the prophet Isaiah regarding the resurrection of the dead and the retributive judgment.

The prophet Isaiah says, "The dead shall rise again, and all who were in the graves shall rise again; and all who are in the earth shall rejoice: for the dew which is from Thee is their health, and the earth of the wicked shall fall." 1 All the former part of this passage relates to the resurrection of the blessed; but the words, "the earth of the wicked shall fall," is rightly understood as meaning that the bodies of the wicked shall fall into the ruin of damnation. And if we would more exactly and carefully scrutinize the words which refer to the resurrection of the good, we may refer to the first resurrection the words, "the dead shall rise again," and to the second the following words, "and all who were in the graves shall rise again." And if we ask what relates to those saints whom the Lord at His coming shall find alive upon earth, the following clause may suitably be referred to them: "All who are in the earth shall rejoice: for the dew which is from Thee is their health." 2

By "health" in this place it is best to understand immortality. For that is the most perfect health which is not repaired by nourishment as by a daily remedy. In like manner the same prophet, affording hope to the good and terrifying the wicked regarding the day of judgment, says, "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will flow down upon them as a river of peace, and upon the glory of the Gentiles as a rushing torrent: their sons shall be carried on the shoulders, and shall be comforted on the knees. As one whom his mother comforteth, so shall I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem. And ye shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall rise up like a herb; and the hand of the Lord shall be known by His worshippers, and He shall threaten the contumacious. For, behold, the Lord shall come as a fire, and as a whirlwind His chariots, to execute vengeance with indignation, and wasting with a flame of fire. For with fire of the Lord shall all the earth be judged, and all flesh with His sword: many shall be wounded by the Lord." 2 In His promise to the good he says that He will flow down as a river of peace, that is to say, in the

1 Isa. xxvi. 19. 2 lea. lxvi. 12-16.

388 THE CITY OF COD. [EOOK XX.

greatest possible abundance of peace. AYith this peace we shall in the end be refreshed; but of this we have spoken abundantly in the preceding book. It is this river in which he says He shall flow down upon those to whom He promises so great happiness, that we may understand that in the region of that felicity, which is in heaven, all things are satisfied from this river. But because there shall thence flow, even upon earthly bodies, the peace of incorruption and immortality, therefore he says that He shall flow down as this river, that He may as it were pour Himself from things above to things beneath, and make men the equals of the angels.
By 'â€œJerusalem," too, we should understand not that which serves with her children, but that which, according to the apostle, is our free mother, eternal in the heavens. In her we shall be comforted as we pass toilworn from earth's cares and calamities, and be taken up as her children on her knees and shoulders. Inexperienced and new to such blandishments, we shall be received into unwonted bliss. There we shall see, and our heart shall rejoice. He does not say what we shall see; but what but God, that the promise in the Gospel may be fulfilled in us, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God?" What shall we see but all those things which now we see not, but believe in, and of which the idea we form, according to our feeble capacity, is incomparably less than the reality? "And ye shall see," he says, "and your heart shall rejoice." Here ye believe, there ye shall see.

But because he said, "Your heart shall rejoice," lest we should suppose that the blessings of that Jerusalem are only spiritual, he adds, "And your bones shall rise up like a herb," alluding to the resurrection of the body, and as it were suppling an omission he had made. For it will not take place when we have seen; but we shall see when it has taken place. For he had already spoken of the new heavens and the new earth, speaking repeatedly, and under many figures, of the things promised to the saints, and saying, "There shall be new heavens, and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind; but they shall find in it..."


book xx.] Isaiah's prediction of the last things. 380

Madness and exultation. Behold, I will make Jerusalem an exultation, and my people a joy. And I will exult in Jerusalem, and joy in my people; and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her; "and other promises, which some endeavour to refer to carnal enjoyment during the thousand years. For, in the manner of prophecy, figurative and literal expressions are mingled, so that a serious mind may, by useful and salutary effort, reach the spiritual sense; but carnal sluggishness, or the slowness of an uneducated and undisciplined mind, rests in the superficial letter, and thinks there is nothing beneath to be looked for. But let this be enough regarding the style of those prophetic expressions just quoted.

And now, to return to their interpretation. When he had said, "And your bones shall rise up like a herb," in order to show that it was the resurrection of the good, though a bodily resurrection, to which he alluded, he added, "And the hand of the Lord shall be known by His worshippers." What is this but the hand of Him who distinguishes those who worship from those who despise Him? Regarding these the context immediately adds, "And He shall threaten the contumacious," or, as another translator has it, "the unbelieving."

He shall not actually threaten then, but the threats which are now uttered shall then be fulfilled in effect. "For behold," he says, "the Lord shall come as a fire, and as a whirlwind His chariots, to execute vengeance with indignation, and wasting with a flame
of fire. For with fire of the Lord shall all the earth be judged, and all flesh with His sword: many shall be wounded by the Lord." By fire, ivhirlwind, sword, he means the judicial punishment of God. For he says that the Lord Himself shall come as a fire, to those, that is to say, to whom His coming shall be penal. By His chariots (for the word is plural) we suitably understand the ministration of angels. And when he says that all flesh and all the earth shall be judged with His fire and sword, we do not understand the spiritual and holy to be included, but the earthly and carnal, of whom it is said that they "mind earthly things," ' and "to be carnally minded is death," J and whom the Lord calls simply flesh when He says, " My Spirit shall
1 Isa. lxv. 17-19. 2 Phil. iii. 19. 3 Bom. viii. 6.

390 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

not always remain in these men, for the') are flesh." * As to the words, " Many shall be wounded by the Lord," this wounding shall produce the second death. It is possible, indeed, to understand fire, sword, and wound in a good sense. For the Lord said that He wished to send fire on the earth. 2 And the cloven tongues appeared to them as fire when the Holy Spirit came. 3 And our Lord says, " I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword." 4 And Scripture says that the word of God is a doubly sharp sword, 5 on account of the two edires, the two Testaments. And in the Sons of Son^s the holy Church says that she is wounded with love, 6 — pierced, as it were, with the arrow of love. But here, where we read or hear that the Lord shall come to execute vengeance, it is obvious in what sense we are to understand these expressions.

After briefly mentioning those who shall be consumed in this judgment, speaking of the wicked and sinners under the figure of the meats forbidden by the old law, from which they had not abstained, he summarily recounts the grace of the new testament, from the first coming of the Saviour to the last judgment, of which we now speak; and herewith he concludes his prophecy. For he relates that the Lord declares that He is coming to gather all nations, that they may come and witness His glory. 7 For, as the apostle says, " All have sinned and are in want of the glory of God." 8 And he says that He will do wonders among them, at which they shall marvel and believe in Him; and that from them He will send forth those that are saved into various nations, and distant islands which have not heard His name nor seen His glory, and that they shall declare His glory among the nations, and shall bring the brethren of those to whom the prophet was speaking, i.e. shall bring to the faith under God the Father the brethren of the elect Israelites; and that they shall Jring from all nations an offering to the Lord on beasts of burden and wagons (which are understood to mean the aids furnished by God in the shape of angelic or human ministry), to the holy city Jerusalem, which at present is scattered over the
1 Gen. vi. 3. 2 Luke xii. 49. 3 Acts ii. 3.

4 Matt. x. 34. 5 Heb. iv. 12. e Song of Sol. ii. 5.

7 Isa. lxvi. 18. 8 Rom. iii. 23.
earth, in the faithful saints. For where divine aid is given, men believe, and where they believe, they come. And the Lord compared them, in a figure, to the children of Israel offering sacrifice to Him in His house with psalms, which is already everywhere done by the Church; and He promised that from among them He would choose for Himself priests and Levites, which also we see already accomplished. For we see that priests and Levites are now chosen, not from a certain family and blood, as was originally the rule in the priesthood according to the order of Aaron, but as befits the new testament, under which Christ is the High Priest after the order of Melchisedec, in consideration of the merit which is bestowed upon each man by divine grace. And these priests are not to be judged by their mere title, which is often borne by unworthy men, but by that holiness which is not common to good men and bad.

After having thus spoken of this mercy of God which is now experienced by the Church, and is very evident and familiar to us, he foretells also the ends to which men shall come when the last judgment has separated the good and the bad, saying by the prophet, or the prophet himself speaking for God, "For as the new heavens and the new earth shall remain before me, said the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain, and there shall be to them month after month, and Sabbath after Sabbath. All flesh shall come to worship before me in Jerusalem, said the Lord. And they shall go out, and shall see the members of the men who have sinned against me: their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh." 1 At this point the prophet closed his book, as at this point the world shall come to an end. Some, indeed, have translated "carcases" 2 instead of "members of the men," meaning by carcases the manifest punishment of the body, although carcase is commonly used only of dead flesh, while the bodies here spoken of shall be animated, else they could not be sensible of any pain; but perhaps they may, without absurdity, be called carcases, as being the bodies of those who are to fall into the second death. And for the same reason

1 Isa. lxvi. 22-24. 2 As the Vulgate: cadavera virorum.

392 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

it is said, as I have already quoted, by this same prophet, "The earth of the wicked shall fall." 1 It is obvious that those translators who use a different word for men do not mean to include only males, for no one will say that the women who sinned shall not appear in that judgment; but the male sex, being the more worthy, and that from which the woman was derived, is intended to include both sexes.
But that which is especially pertinent to our subject is this, that since the words "All flesh shall come" apply to the good, for the people of God shall be composed of every race of men, for all men shall not be present, since the greater part shall be in punishment, but, as I was saying, since flesh is used of the good, and members or carcases of the bad, certainly it is thus put beyond a doubt that that judgment in which the good and the bad shall be allotted to their destinies shall take place after the resurrection of the body, our faith in which is thoroughly established by the use of these words.

22. What is meant by the good going out to see the punishment of the wicked.

But in what way shall the good go out to see the punishment of the wicked? Are they to leave their happy abodes by a bodily movement, and proceed to the places of punishment, so as to witness the torments of the wicked in their bodily presence? Certainly not; but they shall go out by knowledge. For this expression, go out, signifies that those who shall be punished shall be without. And thus the Lord also calls these places "the outer darkness," to which is opposed that entrance concerning which it is said to the good servant, "Enter into the joy of thy Lord," that it may not be supposed that the wicked can enter thither and be known, but rather that the good by their knowledge go out to them, because the good are to know that which is without.

For those who shall be in torment shall not know what is going on within in the joy of the Lord; but they who shall enter into that joy shall know what is going on outside in the outer darkness. Therefore it is said, "They shall go out," because they shall know what is done by those who are without. For if the prophets were able to know things that had not yet happened, by means of that indwelling of God in their minds, limited though it was, shall not the immortal saints know things that have already happened, when God shall be all in all? * The seed, then, and the name of the saints shall remain in that blessedness, the seed, to wit, of which John says, "And his seed remaineth in him;" and the name, of which it was said through Isaiah himself, "I will give them an everlasting name." 3 " And there shall be to them month after month, and Sabbath after Sabbath," as if it were said, Moon after moon, and rest upon rest, both of which they shall themselves be when they shall pass from the old shadows of time into the new lights of eternity. The worm that dieth not, and the fire that is not quenched, which constitute the punishment of the wicked, are differently interpreted by different people. For some refer both to the body, others refer both to the soul; while others again refer the fire literally to the body, and the worm figurally to the soul, which seems the
more credible idea. But the present is not the time to discuss this difference, for we have undertaken to occupy this book with the last judgment, in which the good and the bad are separated: their rewards and punishments we shall more carefully discuss elsewhere.

23. What Daniel predicted regarding the persecution of Antichrist, the judgment of God, and the kingdom of the saints.

Daniel prophesies of the last judgment in such a way as to indicate that Antichrist shall first come, and to carry on his description to the eternal reign of the saints. For when in prophetic vision he had seen four beasts, signifying four kingdoms, and the fourth conquered by a certain king, who is recognised as Antichrist, and after this the eternal kingdom of the Son of man, that is to say, of Christ, he says, "My spirit was terrified, I Daniel in the midst of my body, and the visions of my head troubled me," 4 etc. Some have interpreted these four kingdoms as signifying those of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. They who desire to understand the fitness of this interpretation may read Jerome's book on Daniel, which is written with a sufficiency of care and erudition. But the who reads this passage, even half asleep, cannot fail to see that the kingdom of Antichrist shall fiercely, though for a short time, assail the Church before the last judgment of God shall introduce the eternal reign of the saints. For it is patent from the context that the time, times, and half a time, means a year, and two years, and half a year, that is to say, three years and a half. Sometimes in Scripture the same thing is indicated by months. For though the word times seems to be used here in the Latin indefinitely, that is only because the Latins have no dual, as the Greeks have, and as the Hebrews also are said to have. Times, therefore, is used for two times. As for the ten kings, whom, as it seems, Antichrist is to find in the person of ten individuals when he comes, I own I am afraid we may be deceived in this, and that he may come unexpectedly while there are not ten kings living in the Roman world. For what if this number ten signifies the whole number of kings who are to precede his coming, as totality is frequently symbolized by a thousand, or a hundred, or seven, or other numbers, which it is not necessary to recount?

In another place the same Daniel says, "And there shall be a time of trouble, such as was not since there was born a nation upon earth until that time: and in that time all Thy people which shall be found written in the book shall be delivered. And many of them that sleep in the mound of earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting confusion. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and many of the just as the stars for ever." 1 This passage is very similar to

1 1 Cor. xv. 28. 2 1 John iii. 9.
3 Isa. lvi. 5. 4 Dan. vii. 15-28. Passage cited at length.
the one we have quoted from the Gospel, 2 at least so far as regards -the resurrection of
dead bodies. For those who are there said to be " in the graves " are here spoken of as "
sleeping in the mound of earth," or, as others translate, " in the dust of earth." There it is
said, "They shall come forth;" so here, cf They shall arise." There, " They that have done
good, to the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, to the re-

1 Dan. xii. 1-3. 2 John v. 28.
surrcction of judgment;" here, " Some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting confusion." Neither is it to be supposed a difference, though in place of the expression in the Gospel, " All who are in their graves," the prophet does not say " all," but " many of them that sleep in the mound of earth." For many is sometimes used in Scripture for all. Thus it was said to Abraham, " I have set thee as the father of many nations," though in another place it was said to him, " In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." 1 Of such a resurrection it is said a little afterwards to the prophet himself, " And come thou and rest: for there is yet a day till the completion of the consummation; and thou shalt rest, and rise in thy lot in the end of the days." 2

24. Passages from the Psalms of David which predict the end of the world and the last judgment.

There are many allusions to the last judgment in the Psalms, but for the most part only casual and slight. I cannot, however, omit to mention what is said there in express terms of the end of this world: " In the beginning hast Thou laid the foundations of the earth, Lord; and the heavens are the work of Thy hands. They shall perish, but Thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment; and as a vesture Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail." 3 Why is it that Porphyry, while he lauds the piety of the Hebrews in worshipping a God great and true, and terrible to the gods themselves, follows the oracles of these gods in accusing the Christians of extreme folly because they say that this world shall perish? For here we find it said in the sacred books of the Hebrews, to that God whom this great philosopher acknowledges to be terrible even to the gods themselves, " The heavens are the work of Thy hands: they shall perish." When the heavens, the higher and more secure part of the world, perish, shall the world itself be preserved? If this idea is not relished by Jupiter, whose oracle is quoted by this philosopher as an unquestionable authority in rebuke of the credulity of the Christians, why does he not similarly rebuke the wisdom of the Hebrews as folly, seeing that the

1 Gen. xvii. 5, and xxii. 18. 2 Dan. xii. 13. 3 Ps. cii. 25-27.

396 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

prediction is found in their most holy books? But if this Hebrew wisdom, with which Porphyry is so captivated that he extols it through the utterances of his own gods, proclaims that the heavens are to perish, how is he so infatuated as to detest the faith of the Christians partly, if not chiefly, on this account, that they believe the world is to
perish? — though how the heavens are to perish if the world does not is not easy to see. And, indeed, in the sacred writings which are peculiar to ourselves, and not common to the Hebrews and us, I mean the evangelic and apostolic books, the following expressions are used: "The figure of this world passeth away;" 51 "The world passeth away;" 2 "Heaven and earth shall pass away," 3 these expressions which are, I fancy, somewhat milder than "They shall perish." In the Epistle of the Apostle Peter, too, where the world which then was is said to have perished, being overflowed with water, it is sufficiently obvious what part of the world is signified by the whole, and in what sense the word perished is to be taken, and what heavens were kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. 4 And when he says a little afterwards, "The day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great rush, and the elements shall melt with burning heat, and the earth and the works which are in it shall be burned up;" 5 and then adds, "Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be?" 5 these heavens which are to perish may be understood to be the same which he said were kept in store reserved for fire; and the elements which are to be burned are those which are full of storm and disturbance in this lowest part of the world in which he said that these heavens were kept in store; for the higher heavens in whose firmament are set the stars are safe, and remain in their integrity. For even the expression of Scripture, that "the stars shall fall from heaven," not to mention that a different interpretation is much preferable, rather shows that the heavens themselves shall remain, if the stars are to fall from them. This expression, then, is either figurative, as

1 1 Cor. vii. 31. 2 1 John ii. 17. 3 Matt. xxiv. 35.

4 2 Pet. iii. 6. 2 Pet. iii. 10, 11. 6 Matt. xxiv. 29.
[BOOK XX.] PREDICTIONS IN THE PSALMS. 397

is more credible, or this phenomenon will take place in this lowest heaven, like that mentioned by Virgil, â€”

" A meteor with a train of light Athwart the sky gleamed dazzling bright,

Then in Idcean woods was lost

"i

But the passage I have quoted from the psalm seems to except none of the heavens from the destiny of destruction; for he says, " The heavens are the works of Thy hands: they shall perish; " so that, as none of them are excepted from the category of God's works, none of them are excepted from destruction. For our opponents will not condescend to defend the Hebrew piety, which has won the approbation of their gods, by the words ot the Apostle Peter, whom they vehemently detest; nor will they argue that, as the apostle in his epistle understands a part when he speaks of the whole world perishing in the flood, though only the lowest part of it, and the corresponding heavens were destroyed, so in the psalm the whole is used for a part, and it is said " They shall perish," though only the lowest heavens are to perish. But since, as I said, they will not condescend to reason thus, lest they should seem to approve of Peter's meaning, or ascribe as much importance to the final conflagration as we ascribe to the deluge, whereas they contend that no waters or flames could destroy the whole human race, it only remains to them to maintain that their gods lauded the wisdom of the Hebrews because they had not read this psalm.

It is the last judgment of God which is referred to also in the 50th Psalm in the words, " God shall come manifestly, our God, and shall not keep silence: fire shall devour before Him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about Him. He shall call the heaven above, and the earth, to judge His people. Gather His saints together to Him; they who make a covenant with Him over sacrifices." 2 This we understand of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we look for from heaven to judge the quick and the dead. For He shall come manifestly to judge justly the just and the unjust, who before came hiddenly to be unjustly judged by the unjust. He, I say, shall come manifestly, and shall not keep silence, that is, shall

1 jEneid, ii. 694. 2 Ps. 1. 3-5.
make Himself known by His voice of judgment, who before, when He came hiddenly, was silent before His judge when He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and, as a lamb before the shearer, opened not His mouth, as we read that it was prophesied of Him by Isaiah, I and as we see it fulfilled in the Gospel." As for the fire and tempest, we have already said how these are to be interpreted when we were explaining a similar passage in Isaiah. 3 As to the expression, "He shall call the heaven above," as the saints and the righteous are rightly called heaven, no doubt this means what the apostle says, "Ye shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air." 4 For if we take the bare literal sense, how is it possible to call the heaven above, as if the heaven could be anywhere else than above ? And the following expression, "And the earth to judge His people," if we supply only the words, "He shall call," that is to say, "He shall call the earth also," and do not supply "above," seems to give us a meaning in accordance with sound doctrine, the heaven symbolizing those who will judge along with Christ, and the earth those who shall be judged; and thus the words, "He shall call the heaven above," would not mean, "He shall catch up into the air," but "He shall lift up to seats of judgment." Possibly, too, "He shall call the heaven," may mean, He shall call the angels in the high and lofty places, that He may descend with them to do judgment; and "He shall call the earth also" would then mean, He shall call the men on the earth to judgment. But if with the words "and the earth" we understand not only "He shall call," but also "above," so as to make the full sense be, He shall call the heaven above, and He shall call the earth above, then I think it is best understood of the men who shall be caught up to meet Christ in the air, and that they are called the heaven with reference to their souls, and the earth with reference to their bodies. Then what is "to judge His people," but to separate by judgment the good from the bad, as the sheep from the goats? Then he turns to address the angels: "Gather His saints together unto Him." For certainly a

1 Isa. liii. 7. * Matt xxvi. 63.

'Ch. 21. 4 1 Thess. iv. 17.
matter so important must be accomplished by the ministry of angels. And if we ask who
the saints are who are gathered unto Him by the angels, we are told, "They who make a
covenant with Him over sacrifices." This is the whole life of the saints, to make a
covenant with God over sacrifices. For
"over sacrifices" either refers to works of mercy, which are preferable to sacrifices in the
judgment of God, who says,
"I desire mercy more than sacrifices;" 1 or if "over sacrifices" means in sacrifices, then
these very works of mercy are the sacrifices with which God is pleased, as I remember to
have stated in the tenth book of this work; 2 and in these works the saints make a
covenant with God, because they do them for the sake of the promises which are
contained in His new testament or covenant. And hence, when His saints have been
gathered to Him and set at His right hand in the last judgment, Christ shall say, "Come,
ye blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the
foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat," 3 and so on,
mentioning the good works of the good, and their eternal rewards assigned by the last
sentence of the Judo-e.

25. Of Malachi's prophecy, in which he speaks of the last judgment, and of a cleansing
ichicli some are to undergo by purifying punishments.

The prophet Malachi or Malachias, who is also called Angel, and is by some (for Jerome
4 tells us that this is the opinion of the Hebrews) identified with Ezra the priest, 5 others
of whose writings have been received into the canon, predicts the last judgment, saying, "
Behold, He cometh, saith the Lord Almighty; and who shall abide the day of His entrance
? . . .
for I am the Lord your God, and I change not." 6 From these words it more evidently
appears that some shall in the last judgment suffer some kind of purgatorial punishments;
for what else can be understood by the word, "Who shall abide the day of His entrance, or
who shall be able to look upon Him? for He enters as a moulder's fire, and as the herb of
fullers: and He shall sit fusing and purifying as if

1 Hos. vi. 6. 2 Ch. 6.
3 Matt. xxv. 34. 4 In his Proem, ad Mai.
5 See Smith's Bible Diet. 6 Mai. iii. 1-6. Whole passage quoted.

400 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]
over gold and silver: and He shall purify the sons of Levi, and pour them out like gold and silver?" Similarly Isaiah says, " The Lord shall wash the filthiness of the sons and daughters of Zion, and shall cleanse away the blood from their midst, by the spirit of judgment and by the spirit of burning." 1

Unless perhaps we should say that they are cleansed from filthiness and in a manner clarified, when the wicked are separated from them by penal judgment, so that the elimination and damnation of the one party is the purgation of the others, because they shall henceforth live free from the contamination of such men. But when he says, *And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and pour them out like gold and silver, and they shall offer to the Lord sacrifices in righteousness; and the sacrifices of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasing to the Lord," he declares that those who shall be purified shall then please the Lord with sacrifices of righteousness, and consequently they themselves shall be purified from their own unrighteousness which made them displeasing to God. Now they themselves, when they have been purified, shall be sacrifices of complete and perfect righteousness; for what more acceptable offering can such persons make to God than themselves? But this question of purgatorial punishments we must defer to another time, to give it a more adequate treatment. By the sons of Levi and Judah and Jerusalem we ought to understand the Church herself, gathered not from the Hebrews only, but from other nations as well; nor such a Church as she now is, when "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us," 2 but as she shall then be, purged by the last judgment as a threshing-floor by a winnowing wind, and those of her members who need it being cleansed by fire, so that there remains absolutely not one who offers sacrifice for his sins. For all who make such offerings are assuredly in their sins, for the remission of which they make offerings, that having made to God an acceptable offering, they may then be absolved.

26. Of the sacrifices offered to God by the saints, which are to be pleasing to Him, as in the 'primitive days and former years.

And it was with the design of showing that His city shall

1 Isa. iv. 4. - 1 John i. 8.
not then follow this custom, that God said that the sons of Levi should offer sacrifices in righteousness, â€” not therefore in sin, and consequently not for sin. And hence we see how vainly the Jews promise themselves a return of the old times of sacrificing according to the law of the old testament, grounding on the words which follow, " And the sacrifice of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasing to the Lord, as in the primitive days, and as in former years." For in the times of the law they offered sacrifices not in righteousness but in sins, offering especially and primarily for sins, so much so that even the priest himself, whom we must suppose to have been their most righteous man, was accustomed to offer, according to God's commandments, first for his own sins, and then for the sins of the people. And therefore we must explain how we are to understand the words, " as in the primitive days, and as in former years;" for perhaps he alludes to the time in which our first parents were in paradise. Then, indeed, intact and pure from all stain and blemish of sin, they offered themselves to God as the purest sacrifices. But since they were banished thence on account of their transgression, and human nature was condemned in them, with the exception of the one Mediator and those who have been baptized, and are as yet infants, " there is none clean from stain, not even the babe whose life has been but for a day upon the earth." 1 But if it be replied that those who offer in faith may be said to offer in righteousness, because the righteous lives by faith, 2 â€” he deceives himself, however, if he says that he has no sin, and therefore he does not say so, because he lives by faith, â€” will any man say this time of faith can be placed on an equal footing with that consummation when they who offer sacrifices in righteousness shall be purified by the fire of the last judgment ? And consequently, since it must be believed that after such a cleansing the righteous shall retain no sin, assuredly that time, so far as regards its freedom from sin, can be compared to no other period, unless to that during which our first parents lived in paradise in the most innocent happiness before their transgression. It is this period, then, which is properly understood when it is said, " as in the primitive days, and as in former years." 1 Job xiv. 4. " Rom. i. 17.

402 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

years." For in Isaiah, too, after the new heavens and the new earth have been promised, among other elements in the blessedness of the saints which are there depicted by allegories and figures, from giving an adequate explanation of which I am prevented by a desire to avoid prolixity, it is said, " According to the days of the tree of life shall be the days of my people." 1 And who that has looked at Scripture does not know where God planted the tree of life, from whose fruit He excluded our first parents when their own iniquity ejected them from paradise, and round which a terrible and fiery fence was set ?
But if any one contends that those days of the tree of life mentioned by the prophet Isaiah are the present times of the Church of Christ, and that Christ Himself prophetically called the Tree of Life, because He is "Wisdom, and of wisdom Solomon says, "It is a tree of life to all who embrace it;" and if they maintain that our first parents did not pass paradise, but were driven from it so soon that none of their children were begotten there, and that therefore that time cannot be alluded to in words which run, "as in the primitive days, and as in former years," I forbear entering on this question, lest by discussing everything I become prolix, and leave the whole subject in uncertainty. For I see another meaning, which should keep us from believing that a restoration of the primitive days and former years of the legal sacrifices could have been promised to us by the prophet as a great boon. For the animals selected as victims under the old law were required to be immaculate, and free from all blemish whatever, and symbolized holy men free from all sin, the only instance of which character was found in Christ. As, therefore, after the judgment those who are worthy of such purification shall be purified even by fire, and shall be rendered thoroughly sinless, and shall offer themselves to God in righteousness, and be indeed victims immaculate and free from all blemish whatever, they shall then certainly be "as in the primitive days, and as in former years," when the purest victims were offered, the shadow of this future reality. For there shall then be in the body and soul of the saints the purity which was symbolized in the bodies of these victims.

1 Isa. lxv. 22. 2 Prov. in. 18.

LOOK XX.] MALACHI'S PREDICTION. 403

Then, with reference to those who are worthy not of cleansing but of damnation, He says, "And I will draw near to you to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against evil-doers and against adulterers;" and after enumerating other damnable crimes, He adds, "For I am the Lord your God, and I am not changed." It is as if He said, Though your fault has changed you for the worse, and my grace has changed you for the better, I am not changed. And he says that He Himself will be a witness, because in His judgment He needs no witnesses; and that He will be "swift," either because He is to come suddenly, and the judgment which seemed to lag shall be very swift by His unexpected arrival, or because He will convince the consciences of men directly and without any prolix harangue. "For," as it is written, "in the thoughts of the wicked His examination shall be conducted." 1 And the apostle says, "The thoughts accusing or else excusing, in the day in which God shall judge the hidden things of men, according to my gospel in Jesus Christ." 2 Thus, then, shall the Lord be a swift witness, when He shall suddenly bring back into the memory that which shall convince and punish the conscience.

27. Of the separation of the good and the bad, which proclaim the discriminating influence of the last judgment.
The passage also which I formerly quoted for another purpose from this prophet refers to the last judgment, in which he says, "They shall be mine, saith the Lord Almighty, in the day in which I make up my gains," 3 etc. When this diversity between the rewards and punishments which distinguish the righteous from the wicked shall appear under that Sun of righteousness in the brightness of life eternal, "a diversity which is not discerned under this sun which shines on the vanity of this life," there shall then be such a judgment as has never before been.

28. That the law of Moses must be spiritually understood to preclude the damnable murmurs of a carnal interpretation.

In the succeeding words, "Remember the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded to him in Horeb for all

1 Wisd. i. 9. 2 Kom. ii. 15 9 16.
3 Mai. iii. 7-iv. 3.

404 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

Israel! 1 the prophet opportunely mentions precepts and statutes, after declaring the important distinction hereafter to be made between those who observe and those who despise the law. He intends also that they learn to interpret the law spiritually, and find Christ in it, by whose judgment that separation between the good and the bad is to be made. For it is not without reason that the Lord Himself says to the Jews, "Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." 2 For by receiving the law carnally, without perceiving that its earthly promises were figures of things spiritual, they fell into such murmuring as audaciously to say, "It is vain to serve God; and what profit is it that we have kept His ordinance, and that we have walked suppliantly before the face of the Lord Almighty? And now we call aliens happy; yea, they that work wickedness are set up." 3 It was these words of theirs which in a manner compelled the prophet to announce the last judgment, in which the wicked shall not even in appearance be happy, but shall manifestly be most miserable; and in which the good shall be oppressed with not even a transitory wretchedness, but shall enjoy unsullied and eternal felicity. For he had previously cited some similar expressions of those who said, "Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and such are pleasing to Him." 4 It was, I say, by understanding the law of Moses carnally that they had come to murmur thus against God. And hence, too, the writer of the 73d Psalm says that his feet were almost gone, his steps had well-nigh slipped, because he was envious of sinners while he considered their prosperity, so that he said among other things, How doth God know, and is there knowledge in the Most High? and again, Have I sanctified my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency? 5 He goes on to
say that his efforts to solve this most difficult problem, which arises when the good seem to be wretched and the wicked happy, were in vain until he went into the sanctuary of God, and understood the last things. 6 For in the last judgment things shall not be so; but in the manifest felicity of the righteous and mani-

1 Mai. iv. 4. 2 John v. 46. 3 Mai. iii. 14, 15.

4 Mai. ii. 17. 6 In innocentibus. 6 Ps. lxxiii.
fest misery of the wicked quite another state of things shall appear.

29. Of the coming of Elias before the judgment, that the Jews may be converted to Christ by his preaching and explanation of Scripture.

After admonishing them to give heed to the law of Moses, as he foresaw that for a long time to come they would not understand it spiritually and rightly, he went on to say, "And, behold, I will send to you Elias the Tishbite before the great and signal day of the Lord come: and he shall turn the heart of the father to the son, and the heart of a man to his next of kin, lest I come and utterly smite the earth." 1 It is a familiar theme in the conversation and heart of the faithful, that in the last days before the judgment the Jews shall believe in the true Christ, that is, our Christ, by means of this great and admirable prophet Elias who shall expound the law to them. For not without reason do we hope that before the coming of our Judge and Saviour Elias shall come, because we have good reason to believe that he is now alive; for, as Scripture most distinctly informs us, 2 he was taken up from this life in a chariot of fire. When, therefore, he is come, he shall give a spiritual explanation of the law which the Jews at present understand carnally, and shall thus "turn the heart of the father to the son," that is, the heart of fathers to their children; for the Septuagint translators have frequently put the singular for the plural number. And the meaning is, that the sons, that is, the Jews, shall understand the law as the fathers, that is, the prophets, and among them Moses himself, understood it. For the heart of the fathers shall be turned to their children when the children understand the law as their fathers did; and the heart of the children shall be turned to their fathers when they have the same sentiments as the fathers. The Septuagint used the expression, "and the heart of a man to his next of kin," because fathers and children are eminently neighbours to one another. Another and a preferable sense can be found in the words of the Septuagint translators, who have translated Scripture with an eye to prophecy, the sense, viz., that Elias shall turn the heart of God the Father to the Son, not certainly as if he should bring about this love
1 Mai. iv. 5, 6. 2 2 Kings ii. 11.

406 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

of the Father for the Son, but meaning that he should make it known, and that the Jews also, who had previously hated, should then love the Son who is our Christ. For so far as regards the Jews, God has His heart turned away from our Christ, this being their conception about God and Christ. But in their case the heart of God shall be turned to the Son when they themselves shall turn in heart, and learn the love of the Father towards the Son. The words following, "and the heart of a man to his next of kin," ã€”that is, Elias shall also turn the heart of a man to his next of kin, ã€”how can we understand this better than as the heart of a man
to the man Christ? For though in the form of God He is our God, yet, taking the form of a servant, He condescended to become also our next of kin. It is this, then, which Elias will do,

* lest," he says, "I come and smite the earth utterly." For they who mind earthly things are the earth. Such are the carnal Jews until this day; and hence these murmurs of theirs against God, "The wicked are pleasing to Him," and "It is a vain tiring to serve God." 1

SO. That in the books of the Old Testament, where it is said that God shall judge the world, the person of Christ is not explicitly indicated, but it plainly appeals from some passages in which the Lord God speaks that Christ is meant.

There are many other passages of Scripture bearing on the last judgment of God, â€” so many, indeed, that to cite them all would swell this book to an unpardonable size. Suffice it to have proved that both Old and New Testament enounce the judgment. But in the Old it is not so definitely declared as in the New that the judgment shall be administered by Christ, that is, that Christ shall descend from heaven as the Judge; for when it is therein stated by the Lord God or His prophet that the Lord God shall come, we do not necessarily understand this of Christ. For both the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are the Lord God. ' "We must not, however, leave this without proof. And therefore we must first show how Jesus Christ speaks in the prophetical books under the title of the Lord God, while yet there can be no doubt that it is Jesus Christ who speaks; so that in other passages where this

1 Mai. ii. 17, iii. 14.
JUDGMENT TO BE ADMINISTERED BY CHRIST. 407

is not at once apparent, and where nevertheless it is said that the Lord God will come to that last judgment, we may understand that Jesus Christ is meant. There is a passage in the prophet Isaiah which illustrates what I mean. For God says by the prophet, "Hear me, Jacob and Israel, whom I call. I am the first, and I am for ever: and my hand has founded the earth, and my right hand has established the heaven. I will call them, and they shall stand together, and be gathered, and hear. Who has declared to them these things? In love of thee I have done thy pleasure upon Babylon, that I might take away the seed of the Chaldeans. I have spoken, and I have called: I have brought him, and have made his way prosperous. Come ye near unto me, and hear this. I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; when they were made, there was I. And now the Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me." 1 It was Himself who was speaking as the Lord God; and yet we should not have understood that it was Jesus Christ had He not added, "And now the Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me." For He said this with reference to the form of a servant, speaking of a future event as if it were past, as in the same prophet we read, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter," 2 not "He shall be led;" but the past tense is used to express the future. And prophecy constantly speaks in this way.

There is also another passage in Zechariah which plainly declares that the Almighty sent the Almighty; and of what persons can this be understood but of God the Father and God the Son? For it is written, "Thus saith the Lord Almighty, After the glory hath He sent me unto the nations which spoiled you; for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of His eye. Behold, I will bring mine hand upon them, and they shall be a spoil to their servants: and ye shall know that the Lord Almighty hath sent me." 3 Observe, the Lord Almighty saith that the Lord Almighty sent Him. Who can presume to understand these words of any other than Christ, who is speaking to the lost sheep of the house of Israel? For He says in the Gospel, "I am not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," 4 which He here compared to the pupil of God's eye, to signify the profoundest love. And to this class of sheep the apostles themselves belonged. But after the glory, to wit, of His resurrection, â€” for before it happened the evangelist said that "Jesus was not yet glorified," 1 â€” He was sent unto the nations in the persons of His apostles; and thus the saying of the psalm was fulfilled, "Thou wilt deliver me from the contradictions of the people; Thou wilt set me as the head of the nations." 2 So that those who had spoiled the Israelites, and whom the Israelites had served when they were subdued by them, were not themselves to be spoiled.

1 Isa. xlviii. 12-16. 2 Isa. liii. 7. 3 Zech. ii. 8, 9. 4 Matt. xv. 24.

408 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XX.]

pupil of God's eye, to signify the profoundest love. And to this class of sheep the apostles themselves belonged. But after the glory, to wit, of His resurrection, â€” for before it happened the evangelist said that "Jesus was not yet glorified," 1 â€” He was sent unto the nations in the persons of His apostles; and thus the saying of the psalm was fulfilled, "Thou wilt deliver me from the contradictions of the people; Thou wilt set me as the head of the nations." 2 So that those who had spoiled the Israelites, and whom the Israelites had served when they were subdued by them, were not themselves to be spoiled.
in the same fashion, but were in their own persons to become the spoil of the Israelites. For this had been promised to the apostles when the Lord said, "I will make you fishers of men." 3 And to one of them He says, "From henceforth thou shalt catch men." 4 They were then to become a spoil, but in a good sense, as those who are snatched from that strong one when he is bound by a stronger. 5

In like manner the Lord, speaking by the same prophet, says, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and mercy; and they shall look upon me because they have insulted me, and they shall mourn for Him as for one very dear, and shall be in bitterness as for an only-begotten." 6 To whom but to God does it belong to destroy all the nations that are hostile to the holy city Jerusalem, which "come against it," that is, are opposed to it, or, as some translate, "come upon it," as if putting it down under them; or to pour out upon the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy? This belongs doubtless to God, and it is to God the prophet ascribes the words; and yet Christ shows that He is the God who does these so great and divine things, when He goes on to say, "And they shall look upon me because they have insulted me, and they shall mourn for Him as if for one very dear (or beloved), and shall be in bitterness for Him as for an only-begotten." For in that day the Jews Æ”

1 John vii. 39. 2 Ps. xviii. 43. 3 Matt. iv. 19.

4 Luke v. 10. 5 Matt. xii. 29. 6 Zech. xii. 9, 10.
those of them, at least, who shall receive the spirit of grace and mercy when they see Him coming in His majesty, and recognise that it is He whom they, in the person of their parents, insulted when He came before in His humiliation, shall repent of insulting Him in His passion: and their parents themselves, who were the perpetrators of this huge impiety, shall see Him when they rise; but this will be only for their punishment, and not for their correction. It is not of them we are to understand the words, "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and mercy, and they shall look upon me because they have insulted me;" but we are to understand the words of their descendants, who shall at that time believe through Elias. But as we say to the Jews, You killed Christ, although it was their parents who did so, so these persons shall grieve that they in some sort did what their progenitors did. Although, therefore, those that receive the spirit of mercy and grace, and believe, shall not be condemned with their impious parents, yet they shall mourn as if they themselves had done what their parents did. Their grief shall arise not so much from guilt as from pious affection. Certainly the words which the Septuagint have translated, "They shall look upon me because they insulted me," stand in the Hebrew, "They shall look upon me whom they pierced." 1

And by this word the crucifixion of Christ is certainly more plainly indicated. But the Septuagint translators preferred to allude to the insult which was involved in His whole passion. For in point of fact they insulted Him both when He was arrested and when He was bound, when He was judged, when He was mocked by the robe they put on Him and the homage they did on bended knee, when He was crowned with thorns and struck with a rod on the head, when He bore His cross, and when at last He hung upon the tree. And therefore we recognise more fully the Lord's passion when we do not confine ourselves to one interpretation, but combine both, and read both "insulted" and "pierced."

When, therefore, we read in the prophetical books that God is to come to do judgment at the last, from the mere mention

1 So the Vulgate.

of the judgment, and although there is nothing else to determine the meaning, we must gather that Christ is meant; for though the Father will judge, He will judge by the coming of the Son. For He Himself, by His own manifested presence, "judges no man, but has committed all judgment to the Son;" 1 for as the Son was judged as a man, He shall also judge in human form. For it is none but He of whom God speaks by Isaiah under the name of Jacob and Israel, of whose seed Christ took a body, as it is written, "Jacob is my servant, I will uphold Him; Israel is mine elect, my Spirit has assumed Him; I have put
my Spirit upon Him; He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor cease, neither shall His voice be heard without. A bruised reed shall He not break, and the smoking flax shall He not quench: but in truth shall He bring forth judgment. He shall shine and shall not be broken, until He sets judgment in the earth: and the nations shall hope in His name." 2

The Hebrew has not " Jacob " and " Israel; " but the Septuagint translators, wishing to show the significance of the expression " my servant," and that it refers to the form of a servant in which the Most High humbled Himself, inserted the name of that man from whose stock He took the form of a servant. The Holy Spirit was given to Him, and was manifested, as the evangelist testifies, in the form of a dove. 3

He brought forth judgment to the Gentiles, because He predicted what was hidden from them. In His meekness He did not cry, nor did He cease to proclaim the truth. But His voice was not heard, nor is it heard, without, because He is not obeyed by those who are outside of His body. And the Jews themselves, who persecuted Him, He did not break, though as a bruised reed they had lost their integrity, and as smoking flax their light was quenched; for He spared thejn, having come to be judged and not yet to judge. He brought forth judgment in truth, declaring that they should be punished did they persist in their wickedness. His face shone on the Mount, 4 His fame in the world. He is not broken nor overcome, because neither in Himself nor in His

1 John v. 22. - Isa. xlii. 1-4.

3 John i. 32. 4 Matt. xvii. 1, 2.
Church has persecution prevailed to annihilate Him. And therefore that has not, and shall not, be brought about which His enemies said or say, "When shall He die, and His name perish?" 1 "until He set judgment in the earth." Behold, the hidden thing which we were seeking is discovered. For this is the last judgment, which He will set in the earth when He comes from heaven. And it is in Him, too, we already see the concluding expression of the prophecy fulfilled:
"In His name shall the nations hope." And by this fulfilment, which no one can deny, men are encouraged to believe in that which is most impudently denied. For who could have hoped for that which even those who do not yet believe in Christ now see fulfilled among us, and which is so undeniable that they can but gnash their teeth and pine away? Who, I say, could have hoped that the nations would hope in the name of Christ, when He was arrested, bound, scourged, mocked, crucified, when even the disciples themselves had lost the hope which they had begun to have in Him? The hope which was then entertained scarcely by the one thief on the cross, is now cherished by nations everywhere on the earth, who are marked with the sign of the cross on which He died that they may not die eternally.

That the last judgment, then, shall be administered by Jesus Christ in the manner predicted in the sacred writings is denied or doubted by no one, unless by those who, through some incredible animosity or blindness, decline to believe these writings, though already their truth is demonstrated to all the world. And at or in connection with that judgment the following events shall come to pass, as we have learned: Elias the Tishbite shall come; the Jews shall believe; Antichrist shall persecute; Christ shall judge; the dead shall rise; the good and the wicked shall be separated; the world shall be burned and renewed. All these things, we believe, shall come to pass; but how, or in what order, human understanding cannot perfectly teach us, but only the experience of the events themselves. My opinion, however, is, that they will happen in the order in which I have related them.

Two books yet remain to be written by me, in order to

1 Ps. xli. 5.
arguments in favour of those things which, however incredible they seem to men, are yet contained in the Scriptures, whose truth has already in many ways been proved; for they are sure that God can in no wise lie, and that He can do what is impossible to the unbelieving.
BOOK TWENTY-FIRST.

ARGUMENT.


1. Of the order of the discussion, which requires that we first speak of the eternal punishment of the lost in company with the devil, and then of the eternal happiness of the saints.

I PROPOSE, with, such ability as God may grant me, to discuss in this book more thoroughly the nature of the punishment which shall be assigned to the devil and all his retainers, when the two cities, the one of God, the other of the devil, shall have reached their proper ends through Jesus Christ our Lord, the Judge of quick and dead. And I have adopted this order, and preferred to speak, first of the punishment of the devils, and afterwards of the blessedness of the saints, because the body partakes of either destiny; and it seems to be more incredible that bodies endure in everlasting torments than that they continue to exist without any pain in everlasting felicity. Consequently, when I shall have demonstrated that that punishment ought not to be incredible, this will materially aid me in proving that which is much more credible, viz. the immortality of the bodies of the saints which are delivered from all pain. Neither is this order out of harmony with the divine writings, in which sometimes, indeed, the blessedness of the good is placed first, as in the words, "They that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation;" * but sometimes also last, as, " The Son of man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things which offend, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.

1 John v. 29.

414 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXL

Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of His Father;" 1 and that, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." 2
And though we have not room to cite instances, any one who examines the prophets will find that they adopt now the one arrangement and now the other. My own reason for following the latter order I have given.

2. Whether it is possible for bodies to last for ever in burning fire.

What, then, can I adduce to convince those who refuse to believe that human bodies, animated and living, can not only survive death, but also last in the torments of everlasting fires? They will not allow us to refer this simply to the power of the Almighty, but demand that we persuade them by some example. If, then, we reply to them, that there are animals which certainly are corruptible, because they are mortal, and which yet live in the midst of flames; and likewise, that in springs of water so hot that no one can put his hand in it with impunity a species of worm is found, which not only lives there, but cannot live elsewhere; they either refuse to believe these facts unless we can show them, or, if we are in circumstances to prove them by ocular demonstration or by adequate testimony, they contend, with the same scepticism, that these facts are not examples of what we seek to prove, inasmuch as these animals do not live for ever, and besides, they live in that blaze of heat without pain, the element of fire being congenial to their nature, and causing it to thrive and not to suffer, â€” just as if it were not more incredible that it should thrive than that it should suffer in such circumstances. It is strange that anything should suffer in fire and yet live, but stranger that it should live in fire and not suffer. If, then, the latter be believed, why not also the former?

3. Whether bodily suffering necessarily terminates in the destruction of the flesh.

But, say they, there is no body which can suffer and cannot also die. How do we know this? For who can say with certainty that the devils do not suffer in their bodies, when 1 Matt xiii. 41-43. 2 Matt. xxv. 46.
they own that they are grievously tormented? And if it is replied that there is no earthly body that is to say, no solid and perceptible body, or, in one word, no flesh which can suffer and cannot die, is not this to tell us only what men have gathered from experience and their bodily senses? For they indeed have no acquaintance with any flesh but that which is mortal; and this is their whole argument, that what they have had no experience of they judge quite impossible.

For we cannot call it reasoning to make pain a presumption of death, while, in fact, it is rather a sign of life. For though it be a question whether that which suffers can continue to live for ever, yet it is certain that everything which suffers pain does live, and that pain can exist only in a living subject.

It is necessary, therefore, that he who is pained be living, not necessary that pain kill him; for every pain does not kill even those mortal bodies of ours which are destined to die. And that any pain kills them is caused by the circumstance that the soul is so connected with the body that it succumbs to great pain and withdraws; for the structure of our members and vital parts is so infirm that it cannot bear up against that violence which causes great or extreme agony. But in the life to come this connection of soul and body is of such a kind, that as it is dissolved by no lapse of time, so neither is it burst asunder by any pain. And so, although it be true that in this world there is no flesh which can suffer pain and yet cannot die, yet in the world to come there shall be flesh such as now there is not, as there will also be death such as now there is not. For death will not be abolished, but will be eternal, since the soul will neither be able to enjoy God and live, nor to die and escape the pains of the body.

The first death drives the soul from the body against her will: the second death holds the soul in the body against her will.

The two have this in common, that the soul suffers against her will what her own body inflicts.

Our opponents, too, make much of this, that in this world there is no flesh which can suffer pain and cannot die; while they make nothing of the fact that there is something which is greater than the body. For the spirit, whose presence animates and rules the body, can both suffer pain and

41 G THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]
though no pain can be suffered by the body apart from the soul. The soul, then, is pained with the body in that part where something occurs to hurt it; and it is pained alone, though it be in the body, when some invisible cause distresses it, while the body is safe and sound. Even when not associated with the body it is pained; for certainly that rich man was suffering in hell when he cried, "I am tormented in this flame." 1 But as for the body, it suffers no pain when it is soulless; and even when animate it can suffer only by the soul's suffering. If, therefore, we might draw a just presumption from the existence of pain to that of death, and conclude that where pain can be felt death can occur, death would rather be the property of the soul, for to it pain more peculiarly belongs. But, seeing that that which suffers most cannot die, what ground is there for supposing that those bodies, because destined to suffer, are therefore destined to die? The Platonists indeed maintained that these earthly bodies and dying members gave rise to the fears, desires, griefs, and joys of the soul. "Hence," says Virgil (i.e. from these earthly bodies and dying members),

"Hence wild desires and grovelling fears,
And human laughter, human tears." 2 m

But in the fourteenth book of this work 3 we have proved that, according to the Platonists' own theory, souls, even when purged from all pollution of the body, are yet possessed by a monstrous desire to return again into their bodies. But where desire can exist, certainly pain also can exist; for desire frustrated, either by missing what it aims at or losing what it has.
it had attained, is turned into pain. And therefore, if the soul, which is either the only or the chief sufferer, has yet a kind of immortality of its own, it is inconsequent to say that because the bodies of the damned shall suffer pain, therefore they shall die. In fine, if the body causes the soul to suffer, why can the body not cause death as well as suffering, unless because it does not follow that what causes pain causes death as well? And why then is it incredible that these fires can cause pain but not death to those bodies we speak of, just as the bodies themselves cause pain, but not therefore death, to the souls? Pain is therefore no necessary presumption of death.

4. Examples from nature proving that bodies may remain unconsumed and alive in fire.

If, therefore, the salamander lives in fire, as naturalists 1 have recorded, and if certain famous mountains of Sicily have been continually on fire from the remotest antiquity until now, and yet remain entire, these are sufficiently convincing examples that everything which burns is not consumed. As the soul, too, is a proof that not everything which can suffer pain can also die, why then do they yet demand that we produce real examples to prove that it is not incredible that the bodies of men condemned to everlasting punishment may retain their soul in the fire, may burn without being consumed, and may suffer without perishing? For suitable properties will be communicated to the substance of the flesh by Him who has endowed the things we see with so marvellous and diverse properties, that their very multitude prevents our wonder. For who but God the Creator of all things has given to the flesh of the peacock its antiseptic property? This property, when I first heard of it, seemed to me incredible; but it happened at Carthage that a bird of this kind was cooked and served up to me, and, taking a suitable slice of flesh from its breast, I ordered it to be kept, and when it had been kept as many days as make any other flesh stinking, it was produced and set before me, and emitted no offensive smell. And after it had been laid by for thirty days and more, it was still in the same state; and a year after, the same still, except that it was a little more shrivelled, and drier. "Who

1 Aristotle does not affirm it as a fact observed "by himself, but as a popular tradition (Hist. anim. v. 19). Pliny is equally cautious (Hist. nat. xxix. 23). Dioscoiides declared the thing impossible (ii. 68). â€” Saisset.
gave to chaff such power to freeze that it preserves snow buried under it, and such power to warm that it ripens green fruit?

But who can explain the strange properties of fire itself, which blackens everything it burns, though itself bright; and which, though of the most beautiful colours, discolours almost all it touches and feeds upon, and turns blazing fuel into grimy cinders? Still this is not laid down as an absolutely uniform law; for, on the contrary, stones baked in glowing fire themselves also glow, and though the fire be rather of a red hue, and they white, yet white is congruous with light, and black with darkness. Thus, though the fire burns the wood in calcining the stones, these contrary effects do not result from the contrariety of the materials. For though wood and stone differ, they are not contraries, like black and white, the one of which colours is produced in the stones, while the other is produced in the wood by the same action of fire, which imparts its own brightness to the former, while it begrimes the latter, and which could have no effect on the one were it not fed by the other. Then what wonderful properties do we find in charcoal, which is so brittle that a light tap breaks it and a slight pressure pulverizes it, and yet is so strong that no moisture rots it, nor any time causes it to decay. So enduring is it, that it is customary in laying down landmarks to put charcoal underneath them, so that if, after the longest interval, any one raises an action, and pleads that there is no boundary stone, he may be convicted by the charcoal below. "What then has enabled it to last so long without rotting, though buried in the damp earth in which [its original] wood rots, except this same fire which consumes all things?

Again, let us consider the wonders of lime; for besides growing white in fire, which makes other things black, and of which I have already said enough, it has also a mysterious property of conceiving fire within it. Itself cold to the touch, it yet has a hidden store of fire, which is not at once apparent to our senses, but which experience teaches us, lies as it were
slumbering within it even while unseen. And it is for this reason called "quick lime," as if the fire were the invisible soul quickening the visible substance or body. But the marvellous thing is, that this fire is kindled when it is extinguished.

For to disengage the hidden fire the lime is moistened or drenched with water, and then, though it be cold before, it becomes hot by that very application which cools what is hot. As if the fire were departing from the lime and breathing its last, it no longer lies hid, but appears; and then the lime lying in the coldness of death cannot be requickened, and what we before called "quick," we now call "slaked." "What can be stranger than this? Yet there is a greater marvel still. For if you treat the lime, not with water, but with oil, which is as fuel to fire, no amount of oil will heat it. Now if this marvel had been told us of some Indian mineral which we had no opportunity of experimenting upon, we should either have forthwith pronounced it a falsehood, or certainly should have been greatly astonished. But things that daily present themselves to our own observation we despise, not because they are really less marvellous, but because they are common; so that even some products of India itself, remote as it is from ourselves, cease to excite our admiration as soon as we can admire them at our leisure.

The diamond is a stone possessed by many among ourselves, especially by jewellers and lapidaries, and the stone is so hard that it can be wrought neither by iron nor fire, nor, they say, by anything at all except goat's blood. But do you suppose it is as much admired by those who own it and are familiar with its properties as by those to whom it is shown for the first time? Persons who have not seen it perhaps do not believe what is said of it, or if they do, they wonder as at a thing beyond their experience; and if they happen to see it, still they marvel because they are unused to it, but gradually familiar experience [of it] dulls their admiration. We know

1 So Lucretius, ii. 1025:

"Sed neque tam facilis res ulla 'st, quin ea primum Difficilis magis ad credendum constet: itemque Nil adeo magnum, nee tam mirabile quicquam Principis, quod non minuant mirari omnes Paulatim."

that the loadstone has a wonderful power of attracting iron.

"When I first saw it I was thunderstruck, for I saw an iron ring attracted and suspended by the stone; and then, as if it had communicated its own property to the iron it attracted, and had made it a substance like itself, this ring was put near another, and lifted it up; and as the first ring clung to the magnet, so did the second ring to the first. A third and a fourth were similarly added, so that there hung from the stone a kind of chain of rings, with their hoops connected, not interlinking, but attached together by their outer surface.
Who would not be amazed at this virtue of the stone, subsisting as it does not only in itself, but transmitted through so many suspended rings, and binding them together by invisible links? Yet far more astonishing is what I heard about this stone from my brother in the episcopate, Severus bishop of Milevis. He told me that Bathanarius, once count of Africa, when the bishop was dining with him, produced a magnet, and held it under a silver plate on which he placed a bit of iron; then as he moved his hand with the magnet underneath the plate, the iron upon the plate moved about accordingly. The intervening silver was not affected at all, but precisely as the magnet was moved backwards and forwards below it, no matter how quickly, so was the iron attracted above. I have related what I myself have witnessed; I have related what I was told by one whom I trust as I trust my own eyes. Let me further say what I have read about this magnet. "When a diamond is laid near it, it does not lift iron; or if it has already lifted it, as soon as the diamond approaches, it drops it. These stones come from India. But if we cease to admire them because they are now familiar, how much less must they admire them who procure them very easily and send them to us? Perhaps they are held as cheap as we hold 4ime, which, because it is common, we think nothing of, though it has the strange property of burning when water, which is wont to quench fire, is poured on it, and of remaining cool when mixed with oil, which ordinarily feeds fire.

5. That there are many things which reason cannot account for, and which are nevertheless true.

Nevertheless, when we declare the miracles which God has
wrought, or will yet work, and which we cannot bring under the very eyes of men, sceptics keep demanding that we shall explain these marvels to reason. And because we cannot do so, inasmuch as they are above human comprehension, they suppose we are speaking falsely. These persons themselves, therefore, ought to account for all these marvels which we either can or do see. And if they perceive that this is impossible for man to do, they should acknowledge that it cannot be concluded that a thing has not been or shall not be because it cannot be reconciled to reason, since there are things now in existence of which the same is true. I will not, then, detail the multitude of marvels which are related in books, and which refer not to things that happened once and passed away, but that are permanent in certain places, where, if any one has the desire and opportunity, he may ascertain their truth; but a few only I recount. The following are some of the marvels men tell us:—Æ” The salt of Agrigentum in Sicily, when thrown into the fire, becomes fluid as if it were in water, but in the water it crackles as if it were in the fire. The Garamantse have a fountain so cold by day that no one can drink it, so hot by night no one can touch it. 1 In Epirus, too, there is a fountain which, like all others, quenches lighted torches, but, unlike all others, lights quenched torches. There is a stone found in Arcadia, and called asbestos, because once lit it cannot be put out. The wood of a certain kind of Egyptian fig-tree sinks in water, and does not float like other wood; and, stranger still, when it has been sunk to the bottom for some time, it rises again to the surface, though nature requires that when soaked in water it should be heavier than ever. Then there are the apples of Sodom, which grow indeed to an appearance of ripeness, but, when you touch them with hand or tooth, the peel cracks, and they crumble into dust and ashes. The Persian stone pyrites burns the hand when it is tightly held in it, and so gets its name

1 Alluded to by Moore in his Melodies:

"The fount that played In times of old through Amnion's shade, Though icy cold by day it ran, Yet still, like souls of mirth, began To burn when night W as near. "

from fire. In Persia, too, there is found another stone called selenite, because its interior brilliancy waxes and wanes with the moon. Then in Cappadocia the mares are impregnated by the wind, and their foals live only three years. Tilon, an Indian island, has this advantage over all other lands, that no tree which grows in it ever loses its foliage.

These and numberless other marvels recorded in the history, not of past events, but of permanent localities, I have no time to enlarge upon and diverge from my main object; but let those sceptics who refuse to credit the divine writings give me, if they can, a rational account of them. For their only ground of unbelief in the Scriptures is, that they
contain incredible things, just such as I have been recounting. For, say they, reason
cannot admit that flesh burn and remain unconsumed, suffer without dying. Mighty
reasoners, indeed, who are competent to give the reason of all the marvels that exist! Let
them then give us the reason of the few things we have cited, and which, if they did not
know they existed, and were only assured by us they would at some future time occur,
they would believe still less than that which they now refuse to credit on our word. For
which of them would believe us if, instead of saying that the living bodies of men
hereafter will be such as to endure everlasting pain and fire without ever dying, we were
to say that in the world to come there will be salt which becomes liquid in fire as if it
were in water, and crackles in water as if it were in fire; or that there will be a fountain
whose water in the chill air of night is so hot that it cannot be touched, while in the heat
of day it is so cold that it cannot be drunk; or that there will be a stone which by its own
heat burns the hand when tightly held, or a stone which cannot be extinguished if it has
been lit in any part; or any of those wonders I have cited, while omitting numberless
others? If we were to say that these things would be found in the world to come, and our
sceptics were to reply, "If you wish us to believe these things, satisfy our reason about
each of them," we should confess that we could not, because the frail comprehension of
man cannot master these and such-like wonders of God's working; and that yet our reason
was thoroughly convinced that the

BOOK XXI] SCEPTICS CANNOT EXPLAIN THESE MARVELS. 423

Almighty does nothing without reason, though the frail mind of man cannot explain the
reason; and that while we are in many instances uncertain what He intends, yet that it is
always most certain that nothing which He intends is impossible to Him; and that when
He declares His mind, we believe Him whom we cannot believe to be either powerless or
false. Nevertheless these cavillers at faith and exactors of reason, how do they dispose of
those things of which a reason cannot be given, and which yet exist, though in apparent
contrariety to the nature of things? If we had announced that these things were to be,
these sceptics would have demanded from us the reason of them, as they do in the case of
those things which we are announcing as destined to be. And consequently, as these
present marvels are not non-existent, though human reason and discourse are lost in such
works of God, so those things we speak of are not impossible because inexplicable; for in
this particular they are in the same predicament as the marvels of earth.

6. That all marvels are not of nature's production, but that some are due to human
ingenuity and others to diabolic contrivance.

At this point they will perhaps reply, "These things have no existence; we don't believe
one of them; they are travellers' tales and fictitious romances;" and they may add what has the appearance of argument,
and say, "If you believe such things as these, believe what is recorded in the same books,
that there was or is a temple of Venus in which a candelabrum set in the open air holds a
lamp, which burns so strongly that no storm or rain extinguishes it, and which is therefore
called, like the stone mentioned above, the asbestos or inextinguishable lamp." They may say this with the intention of putting us into a dilemma: for if we say this is incredible, then we shall impugn the truth of the other recorded marvels; if, on the other hand, we admit that this is credible, we shall avouch the pagan deities. But, as I have already said in the eighteenth book of this work, we do not hold it necessary to believe all that profane history contains, since, as Varro says, even historians themselves disagree on so many points, that one would think they intended and were at pains to do so; but we believe, if we are disposed, those things which are not contradicted by these books, which we do not hesitate to say we are, bound to believe. But as to those permanent miracles of nature, whereby we wish to persuade the sceptical of the miracles of the world to come, those are quite sufficient for our purpose which we ourselves can observe, or of which it is not difficult to find trustworthy witnesses. Moreover, that temple of Venus, with its inextinguishable lamp, so far from hemming us into a corner, opens an advantageous field to our argument. For to this inextinguishable lamp we add a host of marvels wrought by men, or by magic, â€” that is, by men under the influence of devils, or by the devils directly, â€” for such marvels we cannot deny without impugning the truth of the sacred Scriptures we believe. That lamp, therefore, was either by some mechanical and human device fitted with asbestos, or it was arranged by magical art in order that the worshippers might be astonished, or some devil under the name of Venus so signally manifested himself that this prodigy both began and became permanent. Now devils are attracted to dwell in certain temples by means of the creatures (God's creatures, not theirs), who present to them what suits their various tastes. They are attracted not by food like animals, but, like spirits, by such symbols as suit their taste, various kinds of stones, woods, plants, animals, songs, rites. And that men may provide these attractions, the devils first of all cunningly seduce them, either by imbuing their hearts with a secret poison, or by revealing themselves under a friendly guise, and thus make a few of them their disciples, who become the instructors of the multitude. For unless they first instructed men, it were impossible to know what each of them desires, what they shrink from, by what name they should be invoked or constrained to be present. Hence the origin of magic and magicians. But, above all, they possess the hearts of men,-and are chiefly proud of this possession when they transform themselves into angels of light. Very many things that occur, therefore, are their doing; and these deeds of theirs we ought all the more carefully to shun as we acknowledge them to be very surprising. And yet these very deeds forward my present arguments. For if such marvels are wrought by unclean devils, how much mightier are the holy angels! and what can â€¢
not that God do who made the angels themselves capable of working miracles!

If, then, very many effects can be contrived by human art, of so surprising a kind that the uninitiated think them divine, as when, e.g., in a certain temple two magnets have been adjusted, one in the roof, another in the floor, so that an iron image is suspended in mid-air between them, one would suppose by the power of the divinity, were he ignorant of the magnets above and beneath; or, as in the case of that lamp of Venus which we already mentioned as being a skilful adaptation of asbestos; if, again, by the help of magicians, whom Scripture calls sorcerers and enchanters, the devils could gain such power that the noble poet Virgil should consider himself justified in describing a very powerful magician in these lines:

"Her charms can cure what souls she please, Rob other hearts of healthful ease, Turn rivers backward to their source, And make the stars forget their course,

And call up ghosts from night:
The ground shall bellow 'neath your feet:
The mountain-ash shall quit its seat,

And travel down the height; " ] â€”

if this be so, how much more able is God to do those things which to sceptics are incredible, but to His power easy, since it is He who has given to stones and all other things their virtue, and to men their skill to use them in wonderful ways; He who has given to the angels a nature more mighty than that of all that lives on earth; He whose power surpasses all marvels, and whose wisdom in working, ordaining, and permitting is no less marvellous in its governance of all things than in its creation of all!

7. That the ultimate reason for believing miracles is the omnipotence of the Creator.

Why, then, cannot God effect both that the bodies of the dead shall rise, and that the bodies of the damned shall be tormented in everlasting fire, â€” God, who made the world full of countless miracles in sky, earth, air, and waters, while itself is a miracle unquestionably greater and more admirable than all the marvels it is filled with? But those with whom or

1 ^EneiJ, iv. 487-491.
against whom we are arguing, who believe both that there is a God who made the world, and that there are gods created by Him who administer the world's laws as His vicegerents,
 our adversaries, I say, who, so far from denying emphatically, assert that there are powers in the world which effect marvellous results (whether of their own accord, or because they are invoked by some rite or prayer, or in some magical way), when we lay before them the wonderful properties of other things which are neither rational animals nor rational spirits, but such material objects as those we have just cited, are in the habit of replying. This is their natural property, their nature; these are the powers naturally belonging to them.
 Thus the whole reason why Agrigentine salt dissolves in fire and crackles in water is that this is its nature. Yet this seems rather contrary to nature, which has given not to fire but to water the power of melting salt, and the power of scorching it not to water but to fire. But this, they say, is the natural property of this salt, to show effects contrary to these. The same reason, therefore, is assigned to account for that Garamantian fountain, of which one and the same runlet is chill by day and boiling by night, so that in either extreme it cannot be touched. So also of that other fountain which, though it is cold to the touch, and though it, like other fountains, extinguishes a lighted torch, yet, unlike other fountains, and in a surprising manner, kindles an extinguished torch. So of the asbestos stone, which, though it has no heat of its own, yet when kindled by fire applied to it, cannot be extinguished.
 And so of the rest, which I am weary of reciting, and in which, though there seems to be an extraordinary property contrary to nature, yet no other reason is given for them than this, that this is their nature, a brief reason truly, and, I own, a satisfactory reply. But since God is the author of all natures, how is it that our adversaries, when they refuse to believe what we affirm, on the ground that it is impossible, are unwilling to accept from us a better explanation than their own, viz. that this is the will of Almighty God, for certainly He is called Almighty only because He is mighty to do all He will, He who was able to create so many marvels, not only unknown, but very well ascertained, as I have been showing,
and which, were they not under our own observation, or reported by recent and credible witnesses, would certainly be pronounced impossible? For as for those marvels which have no other testimony than the writers in whose books we read them, and who wrote without being divinely instructed, and are therefore liable to human error, we cannot justly blame any one who declines to believe them.

For my own part, I do not wish all the marvels I have cited to be rashly accepted, for I do not myself believe them implicitly, save those which have either come under my own observation, or which any one can readily verify, such as the lime which is heated by water and cooled by oil; the magnet which by its mysterious and insensible suction attracts the iron, but has no effect on a straw; the peacock's flesh which triumphs over the corruption from which not the flesh of Plato is exempt; the chaff so chilling that it prevents snow from melting, so heating that it forces apples to ripen; the glowing fire, which, in accordance with its glowing appearance, whitens the stones it bakes, while, contrary to its glowing appearance, it begets most things it burns (just as dirty stains are made by oil, however pure it be, and as the lines drawn by white silver are black); the charcoal, too, which by the action of fire is so completely changed from its original, that a finely marked piece of wood becomes hideous, the tough becomes brittle, the decaying incorruptible. Some of these things I know in common with many other persons, some of them in common with all men; and there are many others which I have not room to insert in this book. But of those which I have cited, though I have not myself seen, but only read about them, I have been unable to find trustworthy witnesses from whom I could ascertain whether they are facts, except in the case of that fountain in which burning torches are extinguished and extinguished torches lit, and of the apples of Sodom, which are ripe to appearance, but are filled with dust. And indeed I have not met with any who said they had seen that fountain in Epirus, but with some who knew there was a similar fountain in Gaul not far from Grenoble. The fruit of the trees of Sodom, however, is not only spoken of in books worthy of credit, but so many per-

428 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

sons say that they have seen it that I cannot doubt the fact.

But the rest of the prodigies I receive without definitely affirming or denying them; and I have cited them because I read them in the authors of our adversaries, and that I might prove how many things many among themselves believe, because they are written in the works of their own literary men, though no rational explanation of them is given, and yet they scorn to believe us when we assert that Almighty God will do what is beyond their experience and observation; and this they do even though we assign a reason for His work. For what better and stronger reason for such things can be given than to say that the Almighty is able to bring them to pass, and will bring them to pass, having predicted them in those
books in which many other marvels which have already come to pass were predicted? Those things which are regarded as impossible will be accomplished according to the word, and by the power of that God who predicted and effected that the incredulous nations should believe incredible wonders.

8. That it is not contrary to nature that, in an object whose nature is hwu-n, there should be discovered an alteration of the properties which have been known as its natural properties.

But if they reply that their reason for not believing us when we say that human bodies will always burn and yet never die, is that the nature of human bodies is known to be quite otherwise constituted; if they say that for this miracle we cannot give the reason which was valid in the case of those natural miracles, viz. that this is the natural property, the nature of the thing, â€” for we know that this is not the nature of human flesh, â€” we find our answer in the sacred writings, that even this human flesh was constituted in one fashion before there was sin, â€” was constituted, in fact, so that it could not die, â€” and in another fashion after sin, being made such as we see it in this miserable state of mortality, unable to retain enduring life. And so in the resurrection of the dead shall it be constituted differently from its present well-known condition. But as they do not believe these writings of ours, in which we read what nature man had in paradise, and how remote he was from the necessity of death, â€” and indeed, if they did believe them, we should of course have
little trouble in debating with them the future punishment of the damned, “we must produce from the writings of their own most learned authorities some instances to show that it is possible for a thing to become different from what it was formerly known characteristically to be.

From the book of Marcus Varro, entitled, Of the Race of the Roman People, I cite word for word the following instance: "There occurred a remarkable celestial portent; for Castor records that, in the brilliant star Venus, called Vesperugo by Plautus, and the lovely Hesperus by Homer, there occurred so strange a prodigy, that it changed its colour, size, form, course, which never happened before nor since. Adrastus of Cyzicus, and Dion of Naples, famous mathematicians, said that this occurred in the reign of Ogyges." So great an author as Varro would certainly not have called this a portent had it not seemed to be contrary to nature. For we say that all portents are contrary to nature; but they are not so.

For how is that contrary to nature which happens by the will of God, since the will of so mighty a Creator is certainly the nature of each created thing? A portent, therefore, happens not contrary to nature, but contrary to what we know as nature. But who can number the multitude of portents recorded in profane histories? Let us then at present fix our attention on this one only which concerns the matter in hand. What is there so arranged by the Author of the nature of heaven and earth as the exactly ordered course of the stars? What is there established by laws so sure and inflexible? And yet, when it pleased Him who with sovereignty and supreme power regulates all He has created, a star conspicuous among the rest by its size and splendour changed its colour, size, form, and, most wonderful of all, the order and law of its course! Certainly that phenomenon disturbed the canons of the astronomers, if there were any then, by which they tabulate, as by unerring computation, the past and future movements of the stars, so as to take upon them to affirm that this which happened to the morning star (Venus) never happened before nor since. But we read in the divine books that even the sun itself stood still when a holy man, Joshua the son of Nun, had begged this from God until victory should finish the battle he had begun; and that it even went back, that the promise of fifteen years added to the life of king Hezekiah might be sealed by this additional prodigy. But these miracles, which were vouchsafed to the merits of holy men, even when our adversaries believe them, they attribute to magical arts; so Virgil, in the lines I quoted above, ascribes to magic the power to

"Turn rivers backward to their source, And make the stars forget their course."
For in our sacred books we read that this also happened, that a river "turned backward," was stayed above while the lower part flowed on, when the people passed over under the above-mentioned leader, Joshua the son of Xun; and also when Elias the prophet crossed; and afterwards, when his disciple Elisha passed through it: and we have just mentioned how, in the case of king Hezekiah, the greatest of the "stars forgot its course." But what happened to Venus, according to Varro, was not said by him to have happened in answer to any man's prayer.

Let not the sceptics then benight themselves in this knowledge of the nature of things, as if divine power cannot bring to pass in an object anything else than what their own experience has shown them to be in its nature. Even the very things which are most commonly known as natural would not be less wonderful nor less effectual to excite surprise in all who beheld them, if men were not accustomed to admire nothing but what is rare. For who that thoughtfully observes the countless multitude of men, and their similarity of nature, can fail to remark with surprise and admiration the individuality of each man's appearance, suggesting to us, as it does, that unless men were like one another, they would not be distinguished from the rest of the animals; while unless, on the other hand, they were unlike, they could not be distinguished from one another, so that those whom we declare to be like, we also find to be unlike? And the unlikeness is the more wonderful consideration of the two; for a common nature seems rather to require similarity. And yet, because the very rarity of things is that which makes them wonderful, we are filled with much greater wonder when we are intro-
duced to two men so like, that we either always or frequently mistake in endeavouring to distinguish between them.

But possibly, though Varro is a heathen historian, and a very learned one, they may disbelieve that what I have cited from him truly occurred; or they may say the example is invalid, because the star did not for any length of time continue to follow its new course, but returned to its ordinary orbit.

There is, then, another phenomenon at present open to their observation, and which, in my opinion, ought to be sufficient to convince them that, though they have observed and ascertained some natural law, they ought not on that account to prescribe to God, as if He could not change and turn it into something very different from what they have observed. The land of Sodom was not always as it now is; but once it had the appearance of other lands, and enjoyed equal if not richer fertility; for, in the divine narrative, it was compared to the paradise of God. But after it was touched [by fire] from heaven, as even pagan history testifies, and as is now witnessed by those who visit the spot, it became unnaturally and horribly sooty in appearance; and its apples, under a deceitful appearance of ripeness, contain ashes within. Here is a thing which was of one kind, and is of another. You see how its nature was converted by the wonderful transmutation wrought by the Creator of all natures into so very disgusting a diversity, â€” an alteration which after so long a time took place, and after so long a time still continues.

As therefore it was not impossible to God to create such natures as He pleased, so it is not impossible to Him to change these natures of His own creation into whatever He pleases, and thus spread abroad a multitude of those marvels which are called monsters, portents, prodigies, phenomena, 1 and which if I were minded to cite and record, what end would there be to this work? They say that they are called "monsters," because they demonstrate or signify something; "portents," because they portend something; and so forth. 2

1 See the same collocation of words in Cic. Nat. deor. ii. 3.

2 The etymologies given here by Augustine are, "monstra," a monstrando; "ostenta," ab ostendendo; "portenta," a portendo, i.e. pneostendendo; "prodigia," quod porro dicant, i.e. futura predicant.

But let their diviners see how they are either deceived, or even when they do predict true things, it is because they are inspired by spirits, who are intent upon entangling the minds
of men (worthy, indeed, of such a fate) in the meshes of a hurtful curiosity, or how they
light now and then upon some truth, because they make so many predictions. Yet, for our
part, these things which happen contrary to nature, and are said to be contrary to nature
(as the apostle, speaking after the manner of men, says, that to graff the wild olive into
the good olive, and to partake of its fatness, is contrary to nature), and are called
monsters, phenomena, portents, prodigies, ought to demonstrate, portend, predict that
God will bring to pass what He has foretold regarding the bodies of men, no difficulty
preventing Him, no law of nature prescribing to Him His limit. How He has foretold what
He is to do, I think I have sufficiently shown in the preceding book, culling from the
sacred Scriptures, both of the New and Old Testaments, not, indeed, all the passages that
relate to this, but as many as I judged to suffice for this work.


So then what God by His prophet has said of the everlasting punishment of the damned
shall come to pass â€” shall without fail come to pass, â€” " their worm shall not die,
neither shall their fire be quenched." * In order to impress this upon us most forcibly, the
Lord Jesus Himself, when ordering us to cut off our members, meaning thereby those
persons whom a man loves as the most useful members of his body, says, " It is better for
thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that
never shall be quenched; where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched.
Similarly of the foot: " It is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to
be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched; where their worm dieth not,
and the fire is not quenched." So, too, of the eye: " It is better for thee to enter into the
kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire; where their
worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." 2 He did not

1 Isa. lxvi. -2L 2 Mark ix. 43- IS.
shrink from using the same words three times over in one passage. And who is not terrified by this repetition, and by the threat of that punishment uttered so vehemently by the lips of the Lord Himself?

Now they who would refer both the fire and the worm to the spirit, and not to the body, affirm that the wicked, who are separated from the kingdom of God, shall be burned, as it were, by the anguish of a spirit repenting too late and fruitlessly; and they contend that fire is therefore not inappropriately used to express this burning torment, as when the apostle exclaims,

*Who is offended, and I burn not?* *The worm, too, they think, is to be similarly understood. For it is written, they say, "As the moth consumes the garment, and the worm the wood, so does grief consume the heart of a man."* 2 But they who make no doubt that in that future punishment both body and soul shall suffer, affirm that the body shall be burned with fire, while the soul shall be, as it were, gnawed by a worm of anguish. Though this view is more reasonable, â€” for it is absurd to suppose that either body or soul will escape pain in the future punishment, â€” yet, for my own part, I find it easier to understand both as referring to the body than to suppose that neither does; and I think that Scripture is silent regarding the spiritual pain of the damned, because though not expressed, it is necessarily understood that in a body thus tormented the soul also is tortured with a fruitless repentance. For we read in the ancient Scriptures, "The vengeance of the flesh of the ungodly is fire and worms." 3 It might have been more briefly said, "The vengeance of the ungodly." Why, then, was it said, "The flesh of the ungodly," unless because both the fire and the worm are to be the punishment of the flesh? Or if the object of the writer in saying, "The vengeance of the flesh," was to indicate that this shall be the punishment of those who live after the flesh (for this leads to the second death, as the apostle intimated when he said, "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die" 4), let each one make his own choice, either assigning the fire to the body and the worm to the soul, â€” the one figuratively, the other really, â€” or assigning both really to

1 2 Cor. xi. 29. 2 Isa. & 8>

3 Ecclus. vii. 17. 4 Rom. viii. 13.

VOL. IL 2 E

434 THE CITY OF GOD. [COOK XXI.

the body. For I have already sufficiently made out that animals can live in the fire, in burning without being consumed, in pain without dying, by a miracle of the most
omnipotent Creator, to whom no one can deny that this is possible, if he be not ignorant by whom has been made all that is wonderful in all nature. For it is God Himself who has wrought all these miracles, great and small, in this world which I have mentioned, and incomparably more which I have omitted, and who has enclosed these marvels in this world, itself the greatest miracle of all. Let each man, then, choose which he will, whether he thinks that the worm is real and pertains to the body, or that spiritual things are meant by bodily representations, and that it belongs to the soul. But which of these is true will be more readily discovered by the facts themselves, when there shall be in the saints such knowledge as shall not require that their own experience teach them the nature of these punishments, but as shall, by its own fulness and perfection, suffice to instruct them in this matter. For " now we know in part, until that which is perfect is come; " I only, this we believe about those future bodies, that they shall be such as shall certainly be pained by the fire.

10. Whether the fire of hell, if it be material fire, can burn the wicked spirits, that is to say, devils, who are immaterial.

Here arises the question: If the fire is not to be immaterial, analogous to the pain of the soul, but material, burning by contact, so that bodies may be tormented in it, how can evil spirits be punished in it? For it is undoubtedly the same fire which is to serve for the punishment of men and of devils, according to the words of Christ: " Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels; " 2 unless, perhaps, as learned men have thought, the devils have a kind of body made of that dense and humid air which we feel strikes us when the wind is blowing. And if this kind of substance could not be affected by fire, it could not burn when heated in the baths. For in order to burn, it is first burned, and affects other things as itself is affected. But if any one maintains that the devils have no bodies, this is not

1 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10. â– ? Matt. xxv. 41.
[BOOK XXI.] HOW SPIRITS SUFFER IN HELL. 435

a matter either to be laboriously investigated, or to be debated with keenness. " For why may we not assert that even immaterial spirits may, in some extraordinary way, yet really be pained by the punishment of material fire, if the spirits of men, which also are certainly immaterial, are both now contained in material members of the body, and in the world to come shall be indissolubly united to their own bodies? Therefore, though the devils have no bodies, yet their spirits, that is, the devils themselves, shall be brought into thorough contact with the material fires, to be tormented by them; not that the fires themselves with which they are brought into contact shall be animated by their connection with these spirits, and become animals composed of body and spirit, but, as I said, this junction will be effected in a wonderful and ineffable way, so that they shall receive pain from the fires, but give no life to them. And, in truth, this other mode of union, by which bodies and spirits are bound together and become animals, is thoroughly marvellous, and beyond the comprehension of man, though this it is which is man.

I would indeed say that these spirits will burn without any body of their own, as that rich man was burning in hell when he exclaimed, " I am tormented in this flame," were I not aware that it is aptly said in reply, that that flame was of the same nature as the eyes he raised and fixed on Lazarus, as the tongue on which he entreated that a little cooling water might be dropped, or as the finger of Lazarus, with which he asked that this might be done, â€” all of which took place where souls exist without bodies. Thus, therefore, both that flame in which he burned and that drop he begged were immaterial, and resembled the visions' of sleepers or persons in an ecstasy, to whom immaterial objects appear in a bodily form. For the man himself who is in such a state, though it be in spirit only, not in body, yet sees himself so like to his own body that he cannot discern any difference whatever. But that hell, which also is called a lake of fire and brimstone, will be material fire, and will torment the bodies of the damned, whether men or devils, â€” the solid bodies of the one, aerial bodies of the others; or if only men have bodies as well as

1 Luke xvi. 24. 2 Rev. xx. 10.

436 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

souls, yet the evil spirits, though without bodies, shall be so connected with the bodily fires as to receive pain without imparting life. One fire certainly shall be the lot of both, for thus the truth has declared.

11. Whether it is just that the punishments of sins last longer than the sins themselves lasted.
Some, however, of those against whom we are defending the city of God, think it unjust that any man be doomed to an eternal punishment for sins which, no matter how great they were, were perpetrated in a brief space of time; as if any law ever regulated the duration of the punishment by the duration of the offence punished! Cicero tells us that the laws recognise eight kinds of penalty, “damages, imprisonment, scourging, reparation, 1 disgrace, exile, death, slavery. Is there any one of these which may be compressed into a brevity proportioned to the rapid commission of the offence, so that no longer time may be spent in its punishment than in its perpetration, unless, perhaps, reparation? For this requires that the offender suffer what he did, as that clause of the law says, "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth." 2 For certainly it is possible for an offender to lose his eye by the severity of legal retaliation in as brief a time as he deprived another of his eye by the cruelty of his own lawlessness. But if scourging be a reasonable penalty for kissing another man's wife, is not the fault of an instant visited with long hours of atonement, and the momentary delight punished with lasting pain? "What shall we say of imprisonment? Must the criminal be confined only for so long a time as he spent on the offence for which he is committed? or is not a penalty of many years' confinement imposed on the slave who has provoked his master with a word, or has struck him a blow that is quickly over? And as to damages, disgrace, exile, slavery, which are commonly inflicted so as to admit of no relaxation or pardon, do not these resemble eternal punishments in so far as this short life allows a resemblance? For they are not eternal only because the

1 "Talio," i.e. the rendering of like for like, the punishment being exactly similar to the injury sustained.

2 Ex. xxi. 24. â€œ
ETERNAL PUNISHMENT OF BRIEF SIN. 437

life in which they are endured is not eternal; and yet the crimes which are punished with these most protracted sufferings are perpetrated in a very brief space of time. Nor is there any one who would suppose that the pains of punishment should occupy as short a time as the offence; or that murder, adultery, sacrilege, or any other crime, should be measured, not by the enormity of the injury or wickedness, but by the length of time spent in its perpetration. Then as to the award of death for any great crime, do the laws reckon the punishment to consist in the brief moment in which death is inflicted, or in this, that the offender is eternally banished from the society of the living? And just as the punishment of the first death cuts men off from this present mortal city, so does the punishment of the second death cut men off from that future immortal city. For as the laws of this present city do not provide for the executed criminal's return to it, so neither is he who is condemned to the second death recalled again to life everlasting. But if temporal sin is visited with eternal punishment, how, then, they say, is that true which your Christ says, "With the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again?" and they do not observe that "the same measure" refers, not to an equal space of time, but to the retribution of evil, or, in other words, to the law by which he who has done evil suffers evil. Besides, these words could be appropriately understood as referring to the matter of which our Lord was speaking when He used them, viz. judgments and condemnation. Thus, if he who unjustly judges and condemns is himself justly judged and condemned, he receives "with the same measure" though not the same thing as he gave. For judgment he gave, and judgment he receives, though the judgment he gave was unjust, the judgment he receives just.

12. Of the greatness of the first transgression, on account of which eternal punishment is due to all who are not within the pale of the Saviour's grace.

But eternal punishment seems hard and unjust to human perceptions, because in the weakness of our mortal condition there is wanting that highest and purest wisdom by which it can be perceived how great a wickedness was committed in that first transgression. The more enjoyment man found in God, the greater was his wickedness in abandoning Him; and he who destroyed in himself a good which might have been eternal, became worthy of eternal evil. Hence the whole mass of the human race is condemned; for he who at first gave entrance to sin has been punished with all his posterity who were in him as in a root, so that no one is exempt from this just and due punishment, unless delivered by mercy and undeserved grace; and the human race is so apportioned that in some is
displayed the efficacy of merciful grace, in the rest the efficacy of just retribution. For both could not be displayed in all; for if all had remained under the punishment of just condemnation, there would have been seen in no one the mercy of redeeming grace. And, on the other hand, if all had been transferred from darkness to light, the severity of retribution would have been manifested in none. But many more are left under punishment than are delivered from it, in order that it may thus be shown what was due to all. And had it been inflicted on all, no one could justly have found fault with the justice of Him who taketh vengeance; whereas, in the deliverance of so many from that just award, there is cause to render the most cordial thanks to the gratuitous bounty of Him who delivers.

13. Against the opinion of those who think that the punishments of the wicked after death are purgatorial.

The Platonists, indeed, while they maintain that no sins are unpunished, suppose that all punishment is administered for remedial purposes, be it inflicted by human or divine law, in this life or after death; for a man may be scathless here, or, though punished, may yet not amend. Hence that passage

1 Remanerent. But Augustine constantly uses the imp. for the plup. subjunctive.

2 Plato's own theory was that punishment had a twofold purpose, to reform and to deter. "No one punishes an offender on account of the past offence, and simply because he has done wrong, but for the sake of the future, that the offence may not be again committed, either by the same person or by any one who has seen him punished." â€” See the Protagoras, 324, b, and Grote's Plato, ii. 41.
of Virgil, where, when he had said of our earthly bodies and mortal members, that our souls derive â€”

"Hence wild desires and grovelling fenrs, And human laughter, human tears; Immured in dungeon-seeming night, They look abroad, yet see no light."

goes on to say:

"Nay, when at last the life has fled, And left the body cold and dead, E'en then there passes not away The painful heritage of clay; Full many a long-contracted stain Perforce must linger deep in grain.

So penal suf^nings they endure For ancient crime, to make them pure; Some hang aloft in open view, For winds to pierce them through and through, While others purge their guilt deep-dyed In burning fire or whelming tide. "

They who are of this opinion would have all punishments after death to be purgatorial; and as the elements of air, fire, and water are superior to earth, one or other of these may be the instrument of expiating and purging away the stain contracted by the contagion of earth. So Virgil hints at the air in the words, " Some hang aloft for winds to pierce; " at the water in " whelming tide; " and at fire in the exression " in burning fire." For our part, we recognise that even in this life some punishments are purgatorial, â€” not, indeed, to those whose life is none the better, but rather the worse for them, but to those who are constrained by them to amend their life.

All other punishments, whether temporal or eternal, inflicted as they are on every one by divine providence, are sent either on account of past sins, or of sins presently allowed in the life, or to exercise and reveal a man's graces. They may be inflicted by the instrumentality of bad men and angels as well as of the good. For even if any one suffers some hurt through another's wickedness or mistake, the man indeed sins whose ignorance or injustice does the harm; but God, who by His just though hidden judgment permits it to be done, sins not.

But temporary punishments are suffered by some in this life

1 JZneid, vi. 733.

only, by others after death, by others both now and then; but all of them before that last and strictest judgment. But of those who suffer temporary punishments after death, all are not doomed to those everlasting pains which are to follow that judgment; for to some, as we have already said, what is not remitted in this world is remitted in the next, that is, they are not punished with the eternal punishment of the world to come.
14. Of the temporary punishments of this life to which the human condition is subject.

Quite exceptional are those who are not punished in this life, but only afterwards. Yet that there have been some who have reached the decrepitude of age without experiencing even the slightest sickness, and who have had uninterrupted enjoyment of life, I know both from report and from my own observation. However, the very life we mortals lead is itself all punishment, for it is all temptation, as the Scriptures declare, where it is written, "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" 1 For ignorance is itself no slight punishment, or want of culture, which it is with justice thought so necessary to escape, that boys are compelled, under pain of severe punishment, to learn trades or letters; and the learning to which they are driven by punishment is itself so much of a punishment to them, that they sometimes prefer the pain that drives them to the pain to which they are driven by it. And who would not shrink from the alternative, and elect to die, if it were proposed to him either to suffer death or to be again an infant? Our infancy, indeed, introducing us to this life not with laughter but with tears, seems unconsciously to predict the ills we are to encounter. 2 Zoroaster alone is said to have laughed when he was born, and that unnatural omen portended no good to him. For he is said, to have been the inventor of magical arts, though indeed they were unable to secure to him even the poor Micity of this present life against the assaults of his enemies. For, himself king of the Bactrians, he was conquered by Xinus king of the

1 Job vii. 1.

2 Compare Goldsmith's saying, "We begin life in tears, and every day tells ns why."
Assyrians. In short, the words of Scripture, "An heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mothers womb till the day that they return to the mother of all things" 1 ⊃ "1 æ” these words so infallibly find fulfilment, that even the little ones, who by the laver of regeneration have been freed from the bond of original sin in which alone they were held, yet suffer many ills, and in some instances are even exposed to the assaults of evil spirits. But let us not for a moment suppose that this suffering is prejudicial to their future happiness, even though it has so increased as to sever soul from body, and to terminate their life in that early age.

15. That everything which the grace of God does in the way of rescuing us from the inveterate evils in which we are sunk, pertains to the future world, in which all things are made new.

Nevertheless, in the "heavy yoke that is laid upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb to the day that they return to the mother of all things," there is found an admirable though painful monitor teaching us to be sober-minded, and convincing us that this life has become penal in consequence of that outrageous wickedness which was perpetrated in Paradise, and that all to which the New Testament invites belongs to that future inheritance which awaits us in the world to come, and is offered for our acceptance, as the earnest that we may, in its own due time, obtain that of which it is the pledge. Now, therefore, let us walk in hope, and let us by the spirit mortify the deeds of the flesh, and so make progress from day to day. For "the Lord knoweth them that are His;" 2 and "as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are sons of God," 3 but by grace, not by nature. For there is but one Son of God by nature, who in His compassion became Son of man for our sakes, that we, by nature sons of men, might by grace become through Him sons of God. For He, abiding unchangeable, took upon Him our nature, that thereby He might take us to Himself; and, holding fast His own divinity, He became partaker of our infirmity, that we, being changed into some better thing, might, by participating in His righteousness and immor-

1 Eccles. xl. 1. 2 Tim. ii. 19. 3 Rom. viii. 14.

442 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

tality, lose our own properties of sin and mortality, and preserve whatever good quality He had implanted in our nature, perfected now by sharing in the goodness of His nature. For as by the sin of one man we have fallen into a misery so deplorable, so by the righteousness of one Man, who also is God, shall we come to a blessedness inconceivably exalted. Nor ought any one to trust that he has passed from the one man to the other until he shall have reached that place where there is no temptation, and have entered into the peace which he seeks in the many and various conflicts of this war, in which "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh." 1 Now, such a war as this would
have had no existence, if human nature had, in the exercise of free will, continued stedfast in the uprightness in which it was created. But now in its misery it makes war upon itself, because in its blessedness it would not continue at peace with God; and this, though it be a miserable calamity, is better than the earlier stages of this life, which do not recognise that a war is to be maintained. For better is it to contend with vices than without conflict to be subdued by them. Better, I say, is war with the hope of peace everlasting than captivity without any thought of deliverance. We long, indeed, for the cessation of this war, and, kindled by the flame of divine love, we burn for entrance on that well-ordered peace in which whatever is inferior is for ever subordinated to what is above it. But if (which God forbid) there had been no hope of so blessed a consummation, we should still have preferred to endure the hardness of this conflict, rather than, by our non-resistance, to yield ourselves to the dominion of vice.

16. The laws of grace, which extend to all the epochs of the life of the regenerate.

But such is God's mercy towards the vessels of mercy which He has prepared for glory, that even the first age of man, that is, infancy, which submits without any resistance to the flesh, and the second age, which is called boyhood, and which has not yet understanding enough to undertake this warfare, and therefore yields to almost every vicious pleasure

1 Gal. v. 17.
(because though this age has the power of speech, 1 and may therefore seem to have 
passed infancy, the mind is still too weak to comprehend the commandment), yet if either 
of these ages has received the sacraments of the Mediator, then, although the present life 
he immediately brought to an end, the child, having been translated from the power of 
darkness to the kingdom of Christ, shall not only be saved from eternal punishments, but 
shall not even suffer purgatorial torments after death. For spiritual regeneration of itself 
suffices to prevent any evil consequences resulting after death from the connection with 
death which carnal generation forms. 2 But when we reach that age which can now 
comprehend the commandment, and submit to the dominion of law, we must declare war 
upon vices, and wage this war keenly, lest we be landed in damnable sins. And if vices 
have not gathered strength, by habitual victory they are more easily overcome and 
subdued; but if they have been used to conquer and rule, it is only with difficulty and 
labour they are mastered. And indeed this victory cannot be sincerely and truly gained 
but by delighting in true righteousness, and it is faith in Christ that gives this. For if the 
law be present with its command, and the Spirit be absent with His help, the presence of 
the prohibition serves only to increase the desire to sin, and adds the guilt of 
transgression. Sometimes, indeed, patent vices are overcome by other and hidden vices, 
which are reckoned virtues, though pride and a kind of ruinous self-sufficiency are their 
informing principles. Accordingly vices are then only to be considered overcome when 
they are conquered by the love of God, which God Himself alone gives, and which He 
gives only through the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who 
became a partaker of our mortality that He might make us partakers of His divinity. But 
few indeed are they who are so happy as to have passed their youth without committing 
any damnable sins, either by dissolute or violent conduct, or by following some godless 
and unlawful opinions, but have subdued by their greatness of soul everything in them 
which could make them the slaves of carnal pleasures. The greater number having first 
become 
1 " Fari." 2 See Aug. Ep. 98, ad Bonifacium.

444 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

transgressors of the law that they have received, and having allowed vice to have the 
ascendancy in them, then flee to grace for help, and so, by a penitence more bitter, and a 
struggle more violent than it would otherwise have been, they subdue the soul to God, 
and thus give it its lawful authority over the flesh, and become victors. Whoever, 
therefore, desires to escape eternal punishment, let him not only be baptized, but also 
justified in Christ, and so let him in truth pass from the devil to Christ. And let him not 
fancy that there are any purgatorial pains except before that final and dreadful judgment. 
We must not, however, deny that even the eternal fire will be proportioned to the deserts 
of the wicked, so that to some it will be more, and to others less painful, whether this 
result be accomplished by a variation in the temperature of the fire itself, graduated
according to every one's merit, or whether it be that the heat remains the same, but that all do not feel it with equal intensity of torment.

17. Of those who fancy that no men shall be punished eternally.

I must now, I see, enter the lists of amicable controversy with those tender-hearted Christians who decline to believe that any, or that all of those whom the infallibly just Judge may pronounce worthy of the punishment of hell, shall suffer eternally, and who suppose that they shall be delivered after a fixed term of punishment, longer or shorter according to the amount of each man's sin. In respect of this matter, Origen was even more indulgent; for he believed that even the devil himself and his angels, after suffering those more severe and prolonged pains which their sins deserved, should be delivered from their torments, and associated with the holy angels. But the Church, not without reason, condemned him for this and other errors, especially for his theory of the ceaseless alternation of happiness and misery, and the interminable transitions from the one state to the other at fixed periods of ages; for in this theory he lost even the credit of being merciful, by allotting to the saints real miseries for the expiation of their sins, and false happiness, which brought them no true and secure joy, that is, no fearless assurance of eternal blessedness. Very different, however, is the error we speak of, which
is dictated by the tenderness of these Christians who suppose that the sufferings of those who are condemned in the judgment will be temporary, while the blessedness of all who are sooner or later set free will be eternal. Which opinion, if it is good and true because it is merciful, will be so much the better and truer in proportion as it becomes more merciful.

Let, then, this fountain of mercy be extended, and flow forth even to the lost angels, and let them also be set free, at least after as many and long ages as seem fit! Why does this stream of mercy flow to all the human race, and dry up as soon as it reaches the angelic? And yet they dare not extend their pity further, and propose the deliverance of the devil himself.

Or if any one is bold enough to do so, he does indeed put to shame their charity, but is himself convicted of error that is more unsightly, and a wresting of God's truth that is more perverse, in proportion as his clemency of sentiment seems to be greater.

18. Of those who fancy that, on account of the saints' intercession, no man shall be damned in the last judgment.

There are others, again, with whose opinions I have become acquainted in conversation, who, though they seem to reverence the holy Scriptures, are yet of reprehensible life, and who accordingly, in their own interest, attribute to God a still greater compassion towards men. For they acknowledge that it is truly predicted in the divine word that the wicked and unbelieving are worthy of punishment, but they assert that, when the judgment comes, mercy will prevail. For, say they, God, having compassion on them, will give them up to the prayers and intercessions of His saints. For if the saints used to pray for them when they suffered from their cruel hatred, how much more will they do so when they see them prostrate and humble suppliants? For we cannot, they say, believe that the saints shall lose their bowels of compassion when they have attained the most perfect and complete holiness; so that they who, when still sinners, prayed for their

1 On the heresy of Origen, see Epiphanius (Epistola ad Joannem Hierosol.); Jerome (Epistola 61, ad Pammachium); and Augustine (De Haeres. 43). Origen's opinion was condemned "by Anastasius (Jerome, Apologia adv. Ruffinum, and Epistola 78, ad Pammaclium), and after Augustine's death by Vigilius and the Emperor Justinian, in the Fifth (Ecumenical Council (Nicephorus Callistus, xvii 27, and the Acts of Hie Council, iv. 11). æ€”CoQuiEUS.

446 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

enemies, should now, when they are freed from sin, withhold from interceding for their suppliants. Or shall God refuse to listen to so many of His beloved children, when their holiness has purged their prayers of all hindrance to His answering them? And the
passage of the psalm which is cited by those who admit that wicked men and infidels shall be punished for a long time, though in the end delivered from all sufferings, is claimed also by the persons we are now speaking of as making much more for them. The verse runs: "Shall God forget to be gracious? Shall He in anger shut up His tender mercies?" 

They say, would condemn all that are unworthy of everlasting happiness to endless punishment.

But if He suffer them to be punished for a long time, or even at all, must He not shut up His tender mercies, which the Psalmist implies He will not do? For He does not say, "Shall He in anger shut up His tender mercies for a long period?" but he implies that He will not shut them up at all.

And they deny that thus God's threat of judgment is proved to be false even though He condemn no man, any more than we can say that His threat to overthrow Nineveh was false, though the destruction which was absolutely predicted was not accomplished. For He did not say, "Nineveh shall be overthrown if they do not repent and amend their ways," but without any such condition He foretold that the city should be overthrown.

And this prediction, they maintain, was true because God predicted the punishment which they deserved, although He was not to inflict it. For though He spared them on their repentance, yet He was certainly aware that they would repent, and, notwithstanding, absolutely and definitely predicted that the city should be overthrown. This was true, they say, in the truth of severity, because they were worthy of it; but in respect of the compassion which checked His anger, so that He spared the suppliants from the punishment with which He had threatened the rebellious, it was not true. If, then, He spared those whom His own holy prophet was provoked at His sparing, how much more shall He spare those more wretched suppliants for whom all His saints shall intercede?

And they suppose that this conjecture of theirs

1 Ps. lxxvii. 9. Â»
is not hinted at in Scripture, for the sake of stimulating many to reformation of life through fear of very protracted or eternal sufferings, and of stimulating others to pray for those who have not reformed. However, they think that the divine oracles are not altogether silent on this point; for they ask to what purpose is it said, "How great is Thy goodness which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee," * if it be not to teach us that the great and hidden sweetness of God's mercy is concealed in order that men may fear? To the same purpose they think the apostle said, "For God hath concluded all men in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all," 2 signifying that no one should be condemned by God. And yet they who hold this opinion do not extend it to the acquittal or liberation of the devil and his angels. Their human tenderness is moved only towards men, and they plead chiefly their own cause, holding out false hopes of impunity to their own depraved lives by means of this quasi compassion of God to the whole race. Consequently they who promise this impunity even to the prince of the devils and his satellites make a still fuller exhibition of the mercy of God.

19. Of those who promise impunity from all sins even to heretics, through virtue of their participation of the body of Christ.

So, too, there are others who promise this deliverance from eternal punishment, not, indeed, to all men, but only to those who have been washed in Christian baptism, and who become partakers of the body of Christ, no matter how they have lived, or what heresy or impiety they have fallen into. They ground this opinion on the saying of Jesus, "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that if any man eat thereof, he shall not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If a man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." Therefore, say they, it follows that these persons must be delivered from death eternal, and at one time or other be introduced to everlasting life.

20. Of those who promise this indulgence not to all, but only to those who have been baptized as catholics, though afterwards they have broken out into many crimes and heresies.

There are others still who make this promise not even to

1 Ps. xxxi. 19. 2 Rom. xi. 32. 3 John vi. 50, 51.
"We, being many, are one bread, one body;" 1 so that, though they have afterwards lapsed into some heresy, or even into heathenism and idolatry, yet by virtue of this one thing, that they have received the baptism of Christ, and eaten the body of Christ, in the body of Christ, that is to say, in the catholic Church, they shall not die eternally, but at one time or other obtain eternal life; and all that wickedness of theirs shall not avail to make their punishment eternal, but only proportionately long and severe.

21. Of those who assert that all catholics who continue in the faith, even though by the depravity of their lives they have merited hellfire, shall be saved on account of the "foundation" of their faith.

There are some, too, who found upon the expression of Scripture, "He that endureth to the end shall be saved," 2 and who promise salvation only to those who continue in the Church catholic; and though such persons have lived badly, yet, say they, they shall be saved as by fire through virtue of the foundation of which the apostle says, "For other foundation hath no man laid than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus. Kow if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day of the Lord shall declare it, for it shall be revealed by fire; and each man's work shall be proved of what sort it is. If any man's work shall endure which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. But if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as through fire." 3 They say, accordingly, that the catholic Christian, no matter what his life be, has Christ as his foundation, while this foundation is not possessed by any heresy which is separated from the unity of His body. And therefore, through virtue of this foundation, even though the catholic Christian by the inconsistency of his life has been as one building up wood, hay, stubble, upon it, they believe that he shall be

1 1 Cor. x. 17. 2 Matt. xxiv. 13. â™¡ 3 1 Cor. iii. 11-15.
saved by fire, in other words, that he shall be delivered after tasting the pain of that lire to which the wicked shall be condemned at the last judgment.

22. Of those who fancy that the sins which are intermingled with alms-deeds shall not be charged at the day of judgment.

I have also met with some who are of opinion that such only as neglect to cover their sins with alms-deeds shall be punished in everlasting fire; and they cite the words of the Apostle James, "He shall have judgment without mercy who hath shown no mercy." 1 Therefore, say they, he who has not amended his ways, but yet has intermingled his profligate and wicked actions with works of mercy, shall receive mercy in the judgment, so that he shall either quite escape condemnation, or shall be liberated from his doom after some time shorter or longer. They suppose that this was the reason why the Judge Himself of quick and dead declined to mention anything else than works of mercy done or omitted, when awarding to those on His right hand life eternal, and to those on His left everlasting punishment. 2 To the same purpose, they say, is the daily petition we make in the Lord's prayer, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." 3 For, no doubt, whoever pardons the person who has wronged him does a charitable action. And this has been so highly commended by the Lord Himself, that He says, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." 4 And so it is to this kind of alms-deeds that the saying of the Apostle James refers, "He shall have judgment without mercy that hath shown no mercy." And our Lord, they say, made no distinction of great and small sins, but "Your Father will forgive your sins, if ye forgive men theirs." Consequently they conclude that, though a man has led an abandoned life up to the last day of it, yet whatsoever his sins have been, they are all remitted by virtue of this daily prayer, if only he has been mindful to attend to this one thing, that when they who have done him any injury ask his pardon, he forgive them from his heart.

1 Jag. ii. 13. 2 Matt. xxv. 33.


VOL. II. 2 F

450 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

"When, by God's help, I have replied to all these errors, I
shall conclude this (twenty-first) book.

23. Against those who are of opinion that the punishment neither of the devil nor of wicked men shall be eternal.

First of all, it behoves us to inquire and to recognise why the Church has not been able to tolerate the idea that promises cleansing or indulgence to the devil even after the most severe and protracted punishment. For so many holy men, imbued with the spirit of the Old and New Testament, did not grudge to angels of any rank or character that they should enjoy the blessedness of the heavenly kingdom after being cleansed by suffering, but rather they perceived that they could not invalidate nor evacuate the divine sentence which the Lord predicted that He would pronounce in the judgment, saying, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." * For here it is evident that the devil and his angels shall burn in everlasting fire. And there is also that declaration in the Apocalypse, "The devil their deceiver was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where also are the beast and the false prophet. And they shall be tormented day and night for ever." 2 In the former passage "everlasting" is used, in the latter "for ever;" and by these words Scripture is wont to mean nothing else than endless duration. And therefore no other reason, no reason more obvious and just, can be found for holding it as the fixed and immovable belief of the truest piety, that the devil and his angels shall never return to the justice and life of the saints, than that Scripture, which deceives no man, says that God spared them not, and that they were condemned beforehand by Him, and cast into prisons of darkness in hell, 3 being reserved to the judgment of the last day, when eternal fire shall receive them, in which they shall be tormented world without end. And if this be so, how can it be believed that all men, or even some, shall be withdrawn from the endurance of punishment after some time has been spent in it? how can this be believed without enervating our faith in the eternal punishment of the devils? For if all or some of those to whom it shall be said, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into ever-

1 Matt. xxv. 41. 2 Hev. xx. 10. 3 2 Pet. ii. 4.
last fire, prepared for the devil and his angels," * are not to be always in that fire, then what reason is there for believing that the devil and his angels shall always be there ? Or is perhaps the sentence of God, which is to be pronounced on wicked men and angels alike, to be true in the case of the angels, false in that of men ? Plainly it will be so if the conjectures of men are to weigh more than the word of God.

But because this is absurd, they who desire to be rid of eternal punishment ought to abstain from arguing against God, and rather, while yet there is opportunity, obey the divine commands. Then what a fond fancy is it to suppose that eternal punishment means long-continued punishment, while eternal life means life without end, since Christ in the very same passage spoke of both in similar terms in one and the same sentence, " These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into life eternal ! " 2 If both destinies are " eternal," then we must either understand both as long-continued but at last terminating, or both as endless. For they are correlative, â€” on the one hand, punishment eternal, on the other hand, life eternal. And to say in one and the same sense, life eternal shall be endless, punishment eternal shall come to an end, is the height of absurdity. Wherefore, as the eternal life of the saints shall be endless, so too the eternal punishment of those who are doomed to it shall have no end.

24. Against those who fancy that in the judgment of God all the accused will be spared in virtue of the prayers of the saints.

And this reasoning is equally conclusive against those who, in their own interest, but under the guise of a greater tenderness of spirit, attempt to invalidate the words of God, and who assert that these words are true, not because men shall suffer those things which are threatened by God, but because they deserve to suffer them. For God, they say, will yield them to the prayers of His saints, who will then the more earnestly pray for their enemies, as they shall be more perfect in holiness, and whose prayers will be the more efficacious and the more worthy of God's ear, because now purged from all sin whatsoever. Why, then, if in that perfected holiness their prayers be so pure and all-availing, will they not use

1 Matt. xxv. 41. 2 Matt. xxv. 46.

452 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

them in behalf of the angels for whom eternal fire is prepared, that God may mitigate His sentence and alter it, and extricate them from that fire ? Or will there, perhaps, be some one hardy enough to affirm that even the holy angels will make common cause with holy men (then become the equals of God's angels), and will intercede for the guilty, both men and angels, that mercy may spare them the punishment which truth has pronounced them
to deserve? But this has been asserted by no one sound in the faith, nor will be. Otherwise there is no reason why the Church should not even now pray for the devil and his angels, since God her Master has ordered her to pray for her enemies. The reason, then, which prevents the Church from now praying for the wicked angels, whom she knows to be her enemies, is the identical reason which shall prevent her, however perfected in holiness, from praying at the last judgment for those men who are to be punished in eternal fire. At present she prays for her enemies among men, because they have yet opportunity for fruitful repentance. For what does she especially beg for them but that "God would grant them repentance," as the apostle says, 

It is then, I say, the same reason which prevents the

1 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26.
Church at any time from praying for the wicked angels, which prevents her from praying hereafter for those men who are to be punished in eternal fire; and this also is the reason why, though she prays even for the wicked so long as they live, she yet does not even in this world pray for the unbelieving and godless who are dead. For some of the dead, indeed, the prayer of the Church or of pious individuals is heard; but it is for those who, having been regenerated in Christ, did not spend their life so wickedly that they can be judged unworthy of such compassion, nor so well that they can be considered to have no need of it. As also, after the resurrection, there will be some of the dead to whom, after they have endured the pains proper to the spirits of the dead, mercy shall be accorded, and acquittal from the punishment of eternal fire.

For were there not some whose sins, though not remitted in this life, shall be remitted in that which is to come, it could not be truly said, "They shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in that which is to come." 1 But when the Judge of quick and dead has said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," and to those on the other side, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels," and "These shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life," 2 it were excessively presumptuous to say that the punishment of any of those whom God has said shall go away into eternal punishment shall not be eternal, and so bring either despair or doubt upon the corresponding promise of life eternal.

Let no man then so understand the words of the Psalmist,
"Shall God forget to be gracious? shall He shut up in His anger His tender mercies?" 3 as if the sentence of God were true of good men, false of bad men, or true of good men and wicked angels, but false of bad men. For the Psalmist's words refer to the vessels of mercy and the children of the promise, of whom the prophet himself was one; for when he had said,
"Shall God forget to be gracious? shall He shut up in His anger His tender mercies?" and then immediately subjoins,
"And I said, Now I begin: this is the change wrought by

1 Matt. xii. 32. 2 Matt. xxv. 34, 41, 46. 3 Ps. lxxvii. 9.

454 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXL

the right hand of the Most High/1 he manifestly explained what he meant by the words,
"Shall He shut up in His anger His tender mercies?" For God's anger is this mortal life, in which man is made like to vanity, and his days pass as a shadow. 2 Yet in this anger God does not forget to be gracious, causing His sun to shine and His rain to descend on the just and the unjust; 3 and thus He does not in His anger cut short His tender mercies, and especially in what the Psalmist speaks of in the words, "jSTow I begin: this change
is from the right hand of the Most High; " for He changes for the better the vessels of mercy, even while they are still in this most wretched life, which is God's anger, and even while His anger is manifesting itself in this miserable corruption; for " in His anger He does not shut up His tender mercies."

And since the truth of this divine canticle is quite satisfied by this application of it, there is no need to give it a reference to that place in which those who do not belong to the city of God are punished in eternal fire. But if any persist in extending its application to the torments of the wicked, let them at least understand it so that the anger of God, which has threatened the wicked with eternal punishment, shall abide, but shall be mixed with mercy to the extent of alleviating the torments which might justly be inflicted; so that the wicked shall neither wholly escape, nor only for a time endure these threatened pains, but that they shall be less severe and more endurable than they deserve. Thus the anger of God shall continue, and at the same time He will not in this anger shut up His tender mercies. But even this hypothesis I am not to be supposed to affirm because I do not positively oppose it. 4

As for those who find an empty threat rather than a truth in such passages as these: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire;" and "These shall go away into eternal punishment;" 5 and "They shall be tormented for ever and ever;" 6 and "Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched," 7 such persons, I say, are most emphatically and abundantly refuted, not by me so much as by the divine

1 Ps. lxxvii. 10. 2 Ps. cxliv. 4. 3 Matt. v. 45.

4 It is the theory which Chrysostom adopts. 5 Matt. xxv. 41, 46.

fi Rev. xx. 10. 7 Isa. lxvi. 24. á™€}
Scripture itself. For the men of Nineveh repented in this life, and therefore their repentance was fruitful, inasmuch as they sowed in that field which the Lord meant to be sown in tears that it might afterwards be reaped in joy. And yet who will deny that God's prediction was fulfilled in their case, if at least he observes that God destroys sinners not only in anger but also in compassion? For sinners are destroyed in two ways, â€” either, like the Sodomites, the men themselves are punished for their sins, or, like the Ninevites, the men's sins are destroyed by repentance. God's prediction, therefore, was fulfilled, â€” the wicked Nineveh was overthrown, and a good Nineveh built up. For its walls and houses remained standing; the city was overthrown in its depraved manners. And thus, though the prophet was provoked that the destruction which the inhabitants dreaded, because of his prediction, did not take place, yet that which God's foreknowledge had predicted did take place, for He who foretold the destruction knew how it should be fulfilled in a less calamitous sense.

But that these perversely compassionate persons may see what is the purport of these words, " How great is the abundance of Thy sweetness, Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee," I let them read what follows: " And Thou hast perfected it for them that hope in Thee." For what means, " Thou hast hidden it for them that fear Thee," " Thou hast perfected it for them that hope in Thee," unless this, that to those who through fear of punishment seek to establish their own righteousness by the law, the righteousness of God is not sweet, because they are ignorant of it? They have not tasted it. For they hope in themselves, not in Him; and therefore God's abundant sweetness is hidden from them. They fear God, indeed, but it is with that servile fear " which is not in love; for perfect love casteth out fear." Therefore to them that hope in Him He perfecteth His sweetness, inspiring them with His own love, so that with a holy fear, which love does not cast out, but which endureth for ever, they may, when they glory, glory in the Lord. For the righteousness of God is Christ, " who is of God made unto us," as the apostle says, " wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and reclemp-

1 Ps. xxxi. 19. 2 1 Jolm iv. 18.

456 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

As it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. 5 ' 1 This righteousness of God, which is the gift of grace without merits, is not known by those who go about to establish their own righteousness, and are therefore not subject to the righteousness of God, which is Christ. 2 But it is in this righteousness that we find the great abundance of God's sweetness, of which the psalm says, " Taste and see how sweet the Lord is." 3 And this we rather taste than partake of to satiety in this our pilgrimage. We hunger and thirst for it now, that hereafter we may be satisfied with it when we see Him as He is, and that
is fulfilled which is written, "I shall be satisfied when Thy glory shall be manifested." 4 It is thus that Christ perfects the great abundance of His sweetness to them that hope in Him. But if God conceals His sweetness from them that fear Him in the sense that these our objectors fancy, so that men's ignorance of His purpose of mercy towards the wicked may lead them to fear Him and live better, and so that there may be prayer made for those who are not living as they ought, how then does He perfect His sweetness to them that hope in Him, since, if their dreams be true, it is this very sweetness which will prevent Him from punishing those who do not hope in Him? Let us then seek that sweetness of His, which He perfects to them that hope in Him, not that which He is supposed to perfect to those who despise and blaspheme Him; for in vain, after this life, does a man seek for what he has neglected to provide while in this life.

Then, as to that saying of the apostle, "For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all," 5 it does not mean that He will condemn no one; but the foregoing context shows what is meant. The apostle composed the epistle for the Gentiles who were already believers; and when he was speaking to them of the Jews who were yef to believe, he says, "For as ye in times past believed not God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief; even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy." Then he added the words in question with which these persons beguile themselves: "For

1 1 Cor. i. 30, 31. 2 Rom. x. 3. s Vs. xxxiv. 8.

/j Ps. xvii. 15. 5 Rom. xi. 32. â€¢
God concluded all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all." All whom, if not all those of whom he was speaking, just as if he had said, " Both you and them?" God then concluded all those in unbelief, both Jews and Gentiles, whom He foreknew and predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son, in order that they might be confounded by the bitterness of unbelief, and might repent and believingly turn to the sweetness of God's mercy, and might take up that exclamation of the psalm, " How great is the abundance of Thy sweetness, Lord, which Thou hast hidden for them that fear Thee, but hast perfected to them that hope," not in themselves, but " in Thee." He has mercy, then, on all the vessels of mercy. And what means "all?" Both those of the Gentiles and those of the Jews whom He predestinated, called, justified, glorified: none of these will be condemned by Him; but we cannot say none of all men whatever.

25. Whether those who received heretical baptism, and have afterwards fallen away to wickedness of life; or those who have received catholic baptism, but have afterwards passed over to heresy and schism; or those who have remained in the catholic Church in which they were baptized, but have continued to live immorally, â€” may hope through the virtue of the sacraments for the remission of eternal punishment.

But let us now reply to those who promise deliverance from eternal fire, not to the devil and his angels (as neither do they of whom we have been speaking), nor even to all men whatever, but only to those who have been washed by the baptism of Christ, and have become partakers of His body and blood, no matter how they have lived, no matter what heresy or impiety they have fallen into. But they are contradicted by the apostle, where he says, " Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variances, emulations, wrath, strife, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and the like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, for they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." 1 Certainly this sentence of the apostle is false, if such persons shall be delivered after any lapse of time, and shall then inherit the kingdom of God. But as it is not false, they shall certainly

1 Gal. v. 19-21.

never inherit the kingdom of God. And if they shall never enter that kingdom, then they shall always he retained in eternal punishment; for there is no middle place where he may live unpunished who has not he en admitted into that kingdom.
And therefore we may reasonably inquire how we are to understand these words of the Lord Jesus: "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever." L

And those, indeed, whom we are now answering, are refuted in their interpretation of this passage by those whom we are shortly to answer, and who do not promise this deliverance to all who have received the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's body, but only to the catholics, however wickedly they live; for these, say they, have eaten the Lord's body not only sacramentally, but really, being constituted members of His body, of which the apostle says, "We being many are one bread, one body." 2 He then who is in the unity of Christ's body (that is to say, in the Christian membership), of which body the faithful have been wont to receive the sacrament at the altar, that man is truly said to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ. And consequently heretics and schismatics being separate from the unity of this body, are able to receive the same sacrament, but with no profit to themselves, â€” nay, rather to their own hurt, so that they are rather more severely judged than liberated after some time. For they are not in that bond of peace which is symbolized by that sacrament.

But again, even those who sufficiently understand that he who is not in the body of Christ cannot be said to eat the body of Christ, are in error when they promise liberation from the fire of eternal punishment to persons who fall away from the unity of that body into heresy, or even into heathenish superstition. For, in the first place, they ought to consider how intolerable it is, and how discordant with sound doctrine, to suppose that many, indeed, or almost all, who have forsaken the Church catholic, and have originated im-. 1 John vi. 50, 51. ^1 Cor. x. 17.
pious heresies and become heresiarchs, should enjoy a destiny superior to those who
never were catholics, but have fallen into the snares of these others; that is to say, if the
fact of their catholic baptism and original reception of the sacrament of the body of Christ
in the true body of Christ is sufficient to deliver these heresiarchs from eternal
punishment. For certainly he who deserts the faith, and from a deserter becomes an
assailant, is worse than he who has not deserted the faith he never held. And, in the
second place, they are contradicted by the apostle, who, after enumerating the works of
the flesh, says with reference to heresies, " They who do such things shall not inherit the
kingdom of God."

And therefore neither ought such persons as lead an abandoned and damnable life to be
confident of salvation, though they persevere to the end in the communion of the Church
catholic, and comfort themselves with the words, " He that endureth to the end shall be
saved." By the iniquity of their life they abandon that very righteousness of life which
Christ is to them, whether it be by fornication, or by perpetrating in their body the other
uncleanesses which the apostle would not so much as mention, or by a dissolute luxury,
or by doing any one of those things of which he says, " They who do such things shall not
inherit the kingdom of God." Consequently, they who do such things shall not exist
anywhere but in eternal punishment, since they cannot be in the kingdom of God. For,
while they continue in such things to the very end of life, they cannot be said to abide in
Christ to the end; for to abide in Him is to abide in the faith of Christ. And this faith,
according to the apostle's definition of it, " worketh by love." 1 And "love," as he
elsewhere says, "worketh no evil." 2 Neither can these persons be said to eat the body of
Christ, for they cannot even be reckoned among His members.
For, not to mention other reasons, they cannot be at once the members of Christ and the
members of a harlot. In fine, He Himself, when He says, " He that eateth my flesh and
drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him," 3 shows what it is in reality, and not
sacramentally, to eat His body and drink His blood; for this is to dwell in Christ, that He
also may

1 Gal. v. 6. 2 Rom. xiii. 10. 3 John vi. 56.

460 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXL

dwell in us. So that it is as if He said, He that dwelleth in me, and in whom I do not
dwell, let him not say or think that he eateth my body or drinketh my blood. Accordingly,
they who are not Christ's members do not dwell in Him. And they who make themselves
members of a harlot, are not members of Christ unless they have penitently abandoned
that evil, and have returned to this good to be reconciled to it.
20. What it is to have Christ for a foundation, and who they are to whom salvation as by fire is promised.

But, say they, the catholic Christians have Christ for a foundation, and they have not fallen away from union with Him, no matter how depraved a life they have built on this foundation, as wood, hay, stubble; and accordingly the well-directed faith by which Christ is their foundation will suffice to deliver them some time from the continuance of that fire, though it be with loss, since those things they have built on it shall be burned. Let the Apostle James summarily reply to them: "If any man say he has faith, and have not works, can faith save him?" 1 And who then is it, they ask, of whom the Apostle Paul says, "But he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire?" 2 Let us join them in their inquiry; and one thing is very certain, that it is not he of whom James speaks, else we should make the two apostles contradict one another, if the one says, "Though a man's works be evil, his faith will save him as by fire," while the other says, "If he have not good works, can his faith save him?"

We shall then ascertain who it is who can be saved by fire, if we first discover what it is to have Christ for a foundation. And this we may very readily learn from the image itself. In a building the foundation is first. "Whoever, then, has Christ in his heart, so that no earthly or temporal things— not even those that are legitimate and allowed—are preferred to Him, has Christ as a foundation. But if these things be preferred, then even though a man seem to have faith in Christ, yet Christ is not the foundation to that man; and much more if he, in contempt of wholesome precepts, seek forbidden gratifications, is he clearly convicted of putting Christ not first but last, since he has despised Him as his ruler, and has preferred to fulfill his own wicked lusts, in contempt of Christ's commands and allowances. Accordingly, if any Christian man loves a harlot, and, attaching himself to her, becomes one body, he has not now Christ for a foundation. But if any one loves his own wife, and loves her as Christ would have him love her, who can doubt that he has Christ for a foundation? But if he loves her in the world's fashion, carnally, as the disease of lust prompts him, and as the Gentiles love who know not God, even this the apostle, or rather Christ by the apostle, allows as a venial fault. And therefore even such a man may have Christ for a foundation. For so long as he does not prefer such an affection or pleasure to Christ, Christ is his foundation, though on it he builds wood, hay, stubble; and therefore he shall be saved as by fire. For the fire of affliction shall burn such luxurious pleasures and earthly loves, though they be not damnable, because enjoyed in lawful wedlock. And of this fire the fuel is bereavement, and all those calamities which consume these joys. Consequently the superstructure will be loss to him who has built it, for he shall not retain it, but shall be agonized by the loss of those things in the enjoyment of which he found pleasure.
But by this fire he shall be saved through virtue of the foundation, because even if a persecutor demanded whether he would retain Christ or these things, he would prefer Christ.

Would you hear, in the apostle's own words, who he is who builds on the foundation gold, silver, precious stones? "He that is unmarried," he says, "careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord." 1 Would you hear who he is that buildeth wood, hay, stubble? "But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife." 2 "Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the clay shall declare it," α€’ the day, no doubt, of tribulation α€’ "because," says he, "it shall be revealed by fire." 3 He calls tribulation fire, just as it is elsewhere said, "The furnace proves the vessels of the potter, and the trial of affliction righteous men." 4 And "The fire shall

1 1 Cor. vii. 32. 2 1 Cor. vii. 33.
3 1 Cor. iii. 13. * Ecclus. xxvii. 5.

462 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide "α€’ for a man's care for the tilings of the Lord, how he may please the Lord, abides α€’ "which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward," α€’ that is, he shall reap the fruit of his care. "But if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss," α€’ for what he loved he shall not retain: α€’ "but he himself shall be saved," α€’ for no tribulation shall have moved him from that stable foundation, α€’ "yet so as by fire; " 1 for that which he possessed with the sweetness of love he does not lose without the sharp sting of pain. Here, then, as seems to me, we have a fire which destroys neither, but enriches the one, brings loss to the other, proves both.

But if this passage [of Corinthians] is to interpret that fire of which the Lord shall say to those on His left hand,
"Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," 2 so that anions these we are to believe there are those who build on the foundation wood, hay, stubble, and that they, through virtue of the good foundation, shall after a time be liberated from the fire that is the award of their evil deserts, what then shall we think of those on the right hand, to whom it shall be said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you," 3 unless that they are those who have built on the foundation gold, silver, precious stones?

But if the fire of which our Lord speaks is the same as that of which the apostle says, u Yet so as by fire," then both α€’ that is to say, both those on the right as well as those on the left α€’ are to be cast into it. For that fire is to try both, since it is said, "For the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it
is." 4 If, therefore, the fire shall try both, in order that if any man's work abide â€” i.e. if the superstructure be not consumed by the fire â€” he may receive a reward, and that if his work is burned he may suffer loss, certainly that fire is not the eternal fire itself. For into this latter fire only those on the left hand shall be cast,' and that with final and everlasting doom; but that former fire proves those on the right hand. But some of them it so proves that it does not burn and consume the structure which

1 1 Cor. iii. 14, 15. 2 Matt. xxv. 41. 3 Matt. xxy. 34. 4 1 Cor. iii. 13.
is found to have been built by them on Christ as the foundation; while others of them it
proves in another fashion, so as to burn what they have built up, and thus cause them to
suffer loss, while they themselves are saved because they have retained Christ, who was
laid as their sure foundation, and have loved Him above all. But if they are saved, then
certainly they shall stand at the right hand, and shall with the rest hear the sentence, "
Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you; ' and not at the left
hand, where those shall be who shall not be saved, and shall therefore hear the doom,
"Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." For from that fire no man shall be
saved, because they all shall go away into eternal punishment, where their worms shall
not die, nor their fire be quenched, in which they shall be tormented day and night for
ever.

But if it be said that in the interval of time between the death of this body and that last
day of judgment and retribution which shall follow the resurrection, the bodies of the
dead shall be exposed to a fire of such a nature that it shall not affect those who have not
in this life indulged in such pleasures and pursuits as shall be consumed like wood, hay,
stubble, but shall affect those others who have carried with them structures of that kind; if
it be said that such worldliness, being venial, shall be consumed in the fire of tribulation
either here only, or here and hereafter both, or here that it may not be hereafter, â€” this I
do not contradict, because possibly it is true. For perhaps even the death of the body is
itself a part of this tribulation, for it results from the first transgression, so that the time
which follows death takes its colour in each case from the nature of the man's building.
The persecutions, too, which have crowned the martyrs, and which Christians of all kinds
suffer, try both buildings like a fire, consuming some, along with the builders themselves,
if Christ is not found in them as their foundation, while others they consume without the
builders, because Christ is found in them, and they are saved, though with loss; and other
buildings still they do not consume, because such materials as abide for ever are found in
them. In the end of the world there shall be in the time of Antichrist tribulation such as

464 THE CITY OF GOD. [COOK XXI.

has never before been. How many edifices there shall then be, of gold or of hay, built on
the best foundation, Christ Jesus, which that fire shall prove, bringing joy to some, loss to
others, but without destroying either sort, because of this stable foundation! But
whosoever prefers, I do not say his wife, with whom he lives for carnal pleasure, but any
of those relatives who afford no delight of such a kind, and whom it is right to love, â€”
whosoever prefers these to Christ, and loves them after a human and carnal fashion, has
not Christ as a foundation, and will therefore not be saved by fire, nor indeed at all; for he
shall not possibly dwell with the Saviour, who says very explicitly concerning this very
matter, "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that
loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." I But he who loves his
relations carnally, and yet so that he does not prefer them to Christ, but would rather want them than Christ if he were put to the proof, shall be saved by fire, because it is necessary that by the loss of these relations he suffer pain in proportion to his love. And he who loves father, mother, sons, daughters, according to Christ, so that he aids them in obtaining His kingdom and cleaving to Him, or loves them because they are members of Christ, God forbid that this love should be consumed as wood, hay, stubble, and not rather be reckoned a structure of gold, silver, precious stones. For how can a man love those more than Christ whom he loves only for Christ's sake?

27. Against the belief of those who think that the sins which have been accompanied with almsgiving will do them no harm.

It remains to reply to those who maintain that those only shall burn in eternal fire who neglect alms-deeds proportioned to their sins, resting this opinion on the words of the Apostle James, "He shall have judgment without mercy kat hath showed no mercy." 2 Therefore, they say, he that hath showed mercy, though he has not reformed his dissolute conduct, but has lived wickedly and iniquitously even while abounding in alms, shall have a merciful judgment, so that he shall either be not condemned at all, or shall be delivered from final judgment after a time. And for the same reason

1 Matt. x. 37. 2 Jas. ii. 13.
they suppose that Christ will discriminate between those on the right hand and those on the left, and will send the one party into His kingdom, the other into eternal punishment, on the sole ground of their attention to or neglect of works of charity. Moreover, they endeavour to use the prayer which the Lord Himself taught as a proof and bulwark of their opinion, that daily sins which are never abandoned can be expiated through alms-deeds, no matter how offensive or of what sort they be. For, say they, as there is no day on which Christians ought not to use this prayer, so there is no sin of any kind which, though committed every day, is not remitted when we say, "Forgive us our debts," if we take care to fulfil what follows, "as we forgive our debtors." If, they go on to say, the Lord does not say, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will forgive you your little daily sins," but "will forgive you your sins." Therefore, be they of any kind or magnitude whatever, be they perpetrated daily and never abandoned or subdued in this life, they can be pardoned, they presume, through alms-deeds.

But they are right to inculcate the giving of alms proportioned to past sins; for if they said that any kind of alms could obtain the divine pardon of great sins committed daily and with habitual enormity, if they said that such sins could thus be daily remitted, they would see that their doctrine was absurd and ridiculous. For they would thus be driven to acknowledge that it were possible for a very wealthy man to buy absolution from murders, adulteries, and all manner of wickedness, by paying a daily alms of ten paltry coins. And if it be most absurd and insane to make such an acknowledgment, and if we still ask what are those fitting alms of which even the forerunner of Christ said, "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance," undoubtedly it will be found that they are not such as are done by men who undermine their life by daily enormities even to the very end. For they suppose that by giving to the poor a small fraction of the wealth they acquire by extortion and spoliation they can propitiate Christ, so that they may with impunity commit the most damnable sins, in the persuasion that they

1 Matt. vi. 12. 2 Matt. iii. 8.
who exercises charity towards his neighbour should not do so towards himself, since he hears the Lord saying, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," 1 and again, "Have compassion on thy soul, and please God." 2 He then who has not compassion on his own soul that he may please God, how can he be said to do alms-deeds proportioned to his sins? To the same purpose is that written, "He who is bad to himself, to whom can he be good?" 3 We ought therefore to do alms that we may be heard when we pray that our past sins may be forgiven, not that while we continue in them we may think to provide ourselves with a licence for wickedness by alms-deeds.

The reason, therefore, of our predicting that He will impute to those on His right hand the alms-deeds they have done, and charge those on His left with omitting the same, is that He may thus show the efficacy of charity for the deletion of past sins, not for impunity in their perpetual commission.

And such persons, indeed, as decline to abandon their evil habits of life for a better course cannot be said to do charitable deeds. For this is the purport of the saying, *Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.* 4 He shows them that they do not perform charitable actions even when they think they are doing so. For if they gave bread to a hungering Christian because he is a Christian, assuredly they would not deny to themselves, the bread of righteousness, that is, Christ Himself; for God considers not the person to whom the "gift is made, but the spirit in which it is made. He therefore who loves Christ in a Christian extends alms to him in the same spirit in which he draws near to Christ, not in that spirit which would abandon

1 Matt xxii. 39. 2 Ecclus. xxx. 24.

3 Ecclus. xxi. 1. 4 Matt. xxv. 45.
EFFICACY OF ALMS AND PRAYER. 467

Christ if it could do so with impunity. For in proportion as a man loves what Christ disapproves does he himself abandon Christ. For what does it profit a man that he is baptized, if he is not justified? Did not He who said, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God," 1 say also, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven?" 2 Why do many through fear of the first saying run to baptism, while few through fear of the second seek to be justified? As therefore it is not to his brother a man says, "Thou fool," if when he says it he is indignant not at the brotherhood, but at the sin of the offender, â€” for otherwise he were guilty of hell fire, â€” he who extends charity to a Christian does not extend it to a Christian if he does not love Christ in him. Now he does not love Christ who refuses to be justified in Him. Or, again, if a man has been guilty of this sin of calling his brother Fool, unjustly reviling him without any desire to remove his sin, his alms-deeds go a small way towards expiating this fault, unless he adds to this the remedy of reconciliation which the same passage enjoins. For it is there said, "Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." 3 Just so it is a small matter to do alms-deeds, no matter how great they be, for any sin, so long as the offender continues in the practice of sin.

Then as to the daily prayer which the Lord Himself taught, and which is therefore called the Lord's prayer, it obliterates indeed the sins of the day, when day by day we say," Forgive us our debts," and when we not only say but act out that which follows, "as we forgive our debtors;" 4 but we utter this petition because sins have been committed, and not that they may be. For by it our Saviour designed to teach us that, however righteously we live in this life of infirmity and darkness, we still commit sins for the remission of which we ought to pray, while we must pardon those who sin against us that we ourselves also may be pardoned. The Lord then did not utter the words, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your Father will also forgive you your trespasses," 1 in order that we might contract from this petition such confidence as should enable us to sin securely from day to day, either putting ourselves above the fear of human laws, or craftily deceiving men concerning our

1 John iii. 5. 2 Matt. v. 20.


463 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

ought to pray, while we must pardon those who sin against us that we ourselves also may be pardoned. The Lord then did not utter the words, "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your Father will also forgive you your trespasses," 1 in order that we might contract from this petition such confidence as should enable us to sin securely from day to day, either putting ourselves above the fear of human laws, or craftily deceiving men concerning our
conclude, but in order that we might thus learn not to suppose that we are without sins, even though we should be free from crimes; as also God admonished the priests of the old law to this same effect regarding their sacrifices, which He commanded them to offer first for their own sins, and then for the sins of the people.

For even the very words of so great a Master and Lord are to be intently considered. For He does not say, If ye forgive men their sins, your Father will also forgive you your sins, no matter of what sort they be, but He says, your sins; for it was a daily prayer He was teaching, and it was certainly to disciples already justified He was speaking. What, then, does He mean by " your sins," but those sins from which not even you who are justified and sanctified can be free? While, then, those who seek occasion from this petition to indulge in habitual sin maintain that the Lord meant to include great sins, because He did not say, He will forgive you your small sins, but "your sins," we, on the other hand, taking into account the character of the persons He was addressing, cannot see our way to interpret the expression "your sins" of anything but small sins, because such persons are no longer guilty of great sins. Nevertheless not even great sins themselves " sins from which we must flee with a total reformation of life " are forgiven to those who pray, unless they observe the appended precept, " as ye also forgive your debtors." - For if the very small sins which attach even to the life of the righteous be not remitted without that condition, how much further from obtaining indulgence shall those be who are involved in many great crimes, if, while they cease from perpetrating such enormities, they still inexorably refuse to remit any debt incurred to themselves, since the Lord says, " But if


LOOK XXI.] HOW UNRIGHTEOUS MAMMON SAVES. 4G9

ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses?" 1 For this is the purport of the saying of the Apostle James also, " He shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy." 2 For we should remember that servant whose debt of ten thousand talents his lord cancelled, but afterwards ordered him to pay up, because the servant himself had no pity for his fellow-servant who owed him an hundred pence. 3 The words which the Apostle James subjoins, " And mercy rejoiceth against judgment," 4 find their application among those who are the children of the promise and vessels of mercy. For even those righteous men, who have lived with such holiness that they receive into the eternal habitations others also who have won their friendship with the mammon of unrighteousness, 5 became such only through the merciful deliverance of Him who justifies the ungodly, imputing to him a reward according to grace, not according to debt. For among this number is the apostle, who says, " I obtained mercy to be faithful." 6

But it must be admitted, that those who are thus received into the eternal habitations are not of such a character that their own life would suffice to rescue them without the aid of the saints, and consequently in their case especially does mercy rejoice against judgment. And yet we are not on this account to suppose that every abandoned profligate, who has
made no amendment of his life, is to be received into the eternal habitations if only he has assisted the saints with the mammon of unrighteousness, “that is to say, with money or wealth which has been unjustly acquired, or, if rightfully acquired, is yet not the true riches, but only what iniquity counts riches, because it knows not the true riches in which those persons abound, who even receive others also into eternal habitations.

There is then a certain kind of life, which is neither, on the one hand, so bad that those who adopt it are not helped towards the kingdom of heaven by any bountiful almsgiving by which they may relieve the wants of the saints, and make friends who could receive them into eternal habitations, nor, on the other hand, so good that it ol itself suffices to win for

1 Matt. vi. 15. 2 Jas. ii. 13. 3 Matt, xviii. 23.

4 Jas. ii. 13. 5 Luke xvi. 9. 6 1 Cor. vii. 25.

470 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXI.]

them that great blessedness, if they do not obtain mercy through the merits of those whom they have made their friends.

And I frequently wonder that even Virgil should give expression to this sentence of the Lord, in which He says, " Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may receive you into everlasting habitations;" 1 and this very similar saying, " He that receiveth a prophet, in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward." 2 For when that poet described the Elysian fields, in which they suppose that the souls of the blessed dwell, he placed there not only those who had been able by their own merit to reach that abode, but added, â€”

"And they who grateful memory won By services to others done;" 3

that is, they who had served others, and thereby merited to be remembered by them. Just as if they used the expression so common in Christian lips, where some humble person commends himself to one of the saints, and says, Remember me, and secures that he do so by deserving well at his hand. But what that kind of life we have been speaking of is, and what those sins are which prevent a man from winning the kingdom of God by himself, but yet permit him to avail himself of the merits of the saints, it is very dimcult to ascertain, very perilous to define. For my own part, in spite of all investigation, I have been up to the present hour unable to discover this. And possibly it is hidden from us, lest we should become careless in avoiding such sins, and so cease to make progress. For if it were known what these sins are, which, though they continue, and be not abandoned for a higher life, do yet not prevent us from seeking and hoping for the intercession of the saints, human sloth would presumptuously wrap itself in these sins, and would take no steps to be disentangled from such wrappings by the deft energy of any virtue, but would
only desire to be rescued by the merits of other people, whose friendship had been won by a bountiful use of the mammon of unrighteousness. But now that we

1 Luke xvi. 9. 2 Matt. x. 41. 3 En. vi. 66L
are left in ignorance of the precise nature of that iniquity which is venial, even though it be persevered in, certainly we are both more vigilant in our prayers and efforts for progress, and more careful to secure with the mammon of unrighteousness friends for ourselves among the saints.

But this deliverance, which is effected by one's own prayers, or the intercession of holy men, secures that a man be not cast into eternal fire, but not that, when once he has been cast into it, he should after a time be rescued from it. For even those who fancy that what is said of the good ground bringing forth abundant fruit, some thirty, some sixty, some an hundred fold, is to be referred to the saints, so that in proportion to their merits some of them shall deliver thirty men, some sixty, some an hundred, â€” even those who maintain this are yet commonly inclined to suppose that this deliverance will take place at, and not after the day of judgment. Under this impression, some one who observed the unseemly folly with which men promise themselves impunity on the ground that all will be included in this method of deliverance, is reported to have very happily remarked, that we should rather endeavour to live so well that we shall be all found among the number of those who are to intercede for the liberation of others, lest these should be so few in number, that, after they have delivered, one thirty, another sixty, another a hundred, there should still remain many who could not be delivered from punishment by their intercessions, and among them every one who has vainly and rashly promised himself the fruit of another's labour. But enough has been said in reply to those who acknowledge the authority of the same sacred Scriptures as ourselves, but who, by a mistaken interpretation of them, conceive of the future rather as they themselves wish, than as the Scriptures teach.

And having given this reply, I now, according to promise, close this book. â–

472 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

BOOK TWENTY-SECOND.
ARGUMENT.

1. Of the creation of angels and men.

As we promised in the immediately preceding book, this, the last of the whole work, shall contain a discussion of the eternal blessedness of the city of God. This blessedness is named eternal, not because it shall endure for many ages, though at last it shall come to an end, but because, according to the words of the gospel, "of His kingdom there shall be no end." 1 Xeither shall it enjoy the mere appearance of perpetuity which is maintained by the rise of fresh generations to occupy the place of those that have died out, as in an evergreen the same freshness seems to continue permanently, and the same appearance of dense foliage is preserved by the growth of fresh leaves in the room of those that have withered and fallen; but in that city all the citizens shall be immortal, men now for the first time enjoying what the holy angels have never lost. And this shall be accomplished by God, the most almighty Founder of the city. For He has promised it, and cannot lie, and has already performed many of His promises, and has done many unpromised kindnesses to those whom He now asks to believe that He will do this also.

For it is He who in the beginning created the world full of all visible and intelligible beings, among which He created nothing better than those spirits whom He endowed with intelligence, and made capable of contemplating and enjoying Him,

1 Luke i. 33.
and united in our society, which we call the holy and heavenly city, and in which the material of their sustenance and blessedness is God Himself, as it were their common food and nourishment. It is He who gave to this intellectual nature free-will of such a kind, that if he wished to forsake God his blessedness, misery should forthwith result. It is He who, when He foreknew that certain angels would in their pride desire to suffice for their own blessedness, and would forsake their great good, did not deprive them of this power, deeming it to be more befitting His power and goodness to bring good out of evil than to prevent the evil from coming into existence.

And indeed evil had never been, had not the mutable nature mutable, though good, and created by the most high God and immutable Good, who created all things good brought evil upon itself by sin. And this its sin is itself proof that its nature was originally good. For had it not been very good, though not equal to its Creator, the desertion of God as its light could not have been an evil to it. For as blindness is a vice of the eye, and this very fact indicates that the eye was created to see the light, and as, consequently, vice itself proves that the eye is more excellent than the other members, because it is capable of light (for on no other supposition would it be a vice of the eye to want light), so the nature which once enjoyed God teaches, even by its very vice, that it was created the best of all, since it is now miserable because it does not enjoy God. It is He who with very just punishment doomed the angels who voluntarily fell to everlasting misery, and rewarded those who continued in their attachment to the supreme good with the assurance of endless stability as the meed of their fidelity. It is He who made also man himself upright, with the same freedom of will, an earthly animal, indeed, but fit for heaven if he remained faithful to his Creator, but destined to the misery appropriate to such a nature if he forsook Him. It is He who, when He foreknew that man would in his turn sin by abandoning God and breaking His law, did not deprive him of the power of freewill, because He at the same time foresaw what good He Himself would bring out of the evil, and how from this mortal race, deservedly and justly condemned, He would by

474 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

His grace collect, as now He does, a people so numerous, that He thus fills up and repairs the blank made by the fallen angels, and that thus that beloved and heavenly city is not defrauded of the full number of its citizens, but perhaps may even rejoice in a still more overflowing population.

2. Of the eternal and unchangeable will of God.

It is true that wicked men do many things contrary to God's will; but so great is His wisdom and power, that all things which seem adverse to His purpose do still tend towards those just and good ends and issues which He Himself has foreknown. And
consequently, when God is said to change- His will, as when, e.g., He becomes angry with those to whom He was gentle, it is rather they than He who are changed, and they find Him changed in so far as their experience of suffering at His hand is new, as the sun is changed to injured eyes, and becomes as it were fierce from being mild, and hurtful from being delightful, though in itself it remains the same as it was. That also is called the will of God which He does in the hearts of those who obey His commandments; and of this the apostle says, "For it is God that worketh in you both to will." 1 As God's "righteousness" is used not only of the righteousness wherewith He Himself is righteous, but also of that which He produces in the man whom He justifies, so also that is called His law, which, though given by God, is rather the law of men. For certainly they were men to whom Jesus said, "It is written in your law," 2 though in another place we read, * The law of his God is in his heart." 3 According to this will which God works in men, He is said also to will what He Himself does not will, but causes His people to will; as He is said to know what He has caused those to know who were ignorant of it. For when the apostle says, *But now, after that ye have known God," 4 we cannot suppose that God there for the first time knew those who were foreknown by Him before the foundation of the world; but He is said to have known them then, because then He caused them to know. But I remember that I dis-

1 Phil ii. 13. - John viii. 17.

3 Ps. xxxvii. 31. Â» 4 Gal. iv. 9.
cussed these modes of expression in the preceding books. According to this will, then, by which we say that God wills what He causes to be willed by others, from whom the future is hidden, He wills many things which He does not perform. Thus His saints, inspired by His holy will, desire many things which never happen. They pray, e.g., for certain individuals they pray in a pious and holy manner but what they request He does not perform, though He Himself by His own Holy Spirit has wrought in them this will to pray. And consequently, when the saints, in conformity with God's mind, will and pray that all men be saved, we can use this mode of expression: God wills and does not perform, meaning that He who causes them to will these things Himself wills them. But if we speak of that will of His which is eternal as His foreknowledge, certainly He has already done all things in heaven and on earth that He has willed, not only past and present things, but even things still future. But before the arrival of that time in which He has willed the occurrence of what He foreknew and arranged before all time, we say, It will happen when God wills. But if we are ignorant not only of the time in which it is to be, but even whether it shall be at all, we say, It will happen if God wills, not because God will then have a new will which He had not before, but because that event, which from eternity has been prepared in His unchangeable will, shall then come to pass.

3. Of the promise of eternal blessedness to the saints, and everlasting punishment to the wicked.

Wherefore, not to mention many other instances besides, as we now see in Christ the fulfilment of that which God promised to Abraham when He said, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed," 1 so this also shall be fulfilled which He promised to the same race, when He said by the prophet, "They that are in their sepulchres shall rise again;" 2 and also, "There shall be a new heaven and a new earth: and the former shall not be mentioned, nor come into mind; but they shall find joy and rejoicing in it: for I will make Jerusalem a rejoicing, and my people a joy. And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people, and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her." 1 And by another prophet He uttered the same prediction: "At that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book And many of them that sleep in the dust" (or, as some interpret it, "in the mound") "of the

1 Gen. xxii. 18. 2 Isa. xxvi. 19.
earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

And in another place by the same prophet: "The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and shall possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." 3 And a little after he says, "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom." 4 Other prophecies referring to the same subject I have advanced in the twentieth book, and others still which I have not advanced are found written in the same Scriptures; and these predictions shall be fulfilled, as those also have been which unbelieving men supposed would be frustrate. For it is the same God who promised both, and predicted that both would come to pass, â€” the God whom the pagan deities tremble before, as even Porphyry, the noblest of pagan philosophers, testifies.

4. Against the wise men of the world, who fancy (hat the earthly bodies of men cannot be transferred to a heavenly habitation.

But men who use their learning and intellectual ability to resist the force of that great authority which, in fulfilment of what was so long before predicted, has converted all races of men to faith and hope in its promises, seem to themselves to argue acutely against the resurrection of the body while they cite what Cicero mentions in the third book Be Republica.

For when he was asserting the apotheosis of Hercules and Eomulus, he says: "Whose bodies were not taken up into heaven; for nature would not permit a body of earth to exist anywhere except upon earth." This, forsooth, is the profound reasoning of the wise men, whose thoughts God knows that they are vain. For if we were only souls, that is, spirits without any body, and if we dwelt in heaven and had no knowledge of earthly animals, and were told that we should be bound to earthly bodies by some wonderful bond of union, and should animate them, should we not much more vigor-

1 Isa. Ixv. 17-10. 2 Dan. xii. 1, 2.

3 Dan. vii. 18. 4 Dan. vii. 27.
rously refuse to believe this, and maintain that nature would not permit an incorporeal substance to be held by a corporeal bond? And yet the earth is full of living spirits, to which terrestrial bodies are bound, and with which they are in a wonderful way implicated. If, then, the same God who has created such beings wills this also, what is to hinder the earthly body from being raised to a heavenly body, since a spirit, which is more excellent than all bodies, and consequently than even a heavenly body, has been tied to an earthly body? If so small an earthly particle has been able to hold in union with itself something better than a heavenly body, so as to receive sensation and life, will heaven disdain to receive, or at least to retain, this sentient and living particle, which derives its life and sensation from a substance more excellent than any heavenly body? If this does not happen now, it is because the time is not yet come which has been determined by Him who has already done a much more marvellous thing than that which these men refuse to believe.

For why do we not more intensely wonder that incorporeal souls, which are of higher rank than heavenly bodies, are bound to earthly bodies, rather than that bodies, although earthly, are exalted to an abode which, though heavenly, is yet corporeal, except because we have been accustomed to see this, and indeed are this, while we are not as yet that other marvel, nor have as yet ever seen it? Certainly, if we consult sober reason, the more wonderful of the two divine works is found to be to attach somehow corporeal things to incorporeal, and not to connect earthly things with heavenly, which, though diverse, are yet both of them corporeal.

5. Of the resurrection of the flesh, which some refuse to believe, though the world at large believes it.

But granting that this was once incredible, behold, now, the world has come to the belief that the earthly body of Christ was received up into heaven. Already both the learned and unlearned have believed in the resurrection of the flesh and its ascension to the heavenly places, while only a very few either of the educated or uneducated are still staggered by it. If this is a credible thing which is believed, then let those who do not believe see how stolid they are; and if it is in-

478 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

credible, then this also is an incredible thing, that what is incredible should have received such credit. Here then we have two incredibles, â€” to wit, the resurrection of our body to eternity, and that the world should believe so incredible a thing; and both these incredibles the same God predicted should come to pass before either had as yet occurred. "We see that already one of the two has come to pass, for the world has believed what was incredible; why should we despair that the remaining one shall also
come to pass, and that this which the world believed, though it was incredible, shall itself occur? For already that which was equally incredible has come to pass, in the world's believing an incredible thing. Both were incredible: the one we see accomplished, the other we believe shall be; for both were predicted in those same Scriptures by means of which the world believed. And the very manner in which the world's faith was won is found to be even more incredible, if we consider it. Men uninstructed in any branch of a liberal education, without any of the refinement of heathen learning, unskilled in grammar, not armed with dialectic, not adorned with rhetoric, but plain fishermen, and very few in number, â€” these were the men whom Christ sent with the nets of faith to the sea of this world, and thus took out of every race so many fishes, and even the philosophers themselves, wonderful as they are rare. Let us add, if you please, or because you ought to be pleased, this third incredible thing to the two former. And now we have three incredibles, all of which have yet come to pass. It is incredible that Jesus Christ should have risen in the flesh and ascended with flesh into heaven; it is incredible that the world should have believed so incredible a thing; it is incredible that a very few men, of mean birth and the lowest rank, and no education, should have been able so effectually to persuade the world, and even its learned men, of so incredible a thing. Of these three incredibles, the parties with whom we are debating refuse to believe the first; they cannot refuse to see the second, which they are unable to account for if they do not believe the third. It is indubitable that the resurrection of Christ, and His ascension into heaven with the flesh in which He rose, is already preached and believed in
the whole world. If it is not credible, how is it that it has already received credence in the whole world? If a number of noble, exalted, and learned men had said that they had witnessed it, and had been at pains to publish what they had witnessed, it were not wonderful that the world should have believed it, but it were very stubborn to refuse credence; but if, as is true, the world has believed a few obscure, inconsiderable, uneducated persons, who state and write that they witnessed it, is it not unreasonable that a handful of wrongheaded men should oppose themselves to the creed of the whole world, and refuse their belief? And if the world has put faith in a small number of men, of mean birth and the lowest rank, and no education, it is because the divinity of the thing itself appeared all the more manifestly in such contemptible witnesses. The eloquence, indeed, which lent persuasion to their message, consisted of wonderful works, not words. For they who had not seen Christ risen in the flesh, nor ascending into heaven with His risen body, believed those who related how they had seen these things, and who testified not only with words but wonderful signs. For men whom they knew to be acquainted with only one, or at most two languages, they marvelled to hear speaking in the tongues of all nations.

They saw a man, lame from his mother's womb, after forty years stand up sound at their word in the name of Christ; that handkerchiefs taken from their bodies had virtue to heal the sick; that countless persons, sick of various diseases, were laid in a row in the road where they were to pass, that their shadow might fall on them as they walked, and that they forthwith received health; that many other stupendous miracles were wrought by them in the name of Christ; and, finally, that they even raised the dead. If it be admitted that these things occurred as they are related, then we have a multitude of incredible things to add to those three incredibles. That the one incredibility of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ may be believed, we accumulate the testimonies of countless incredible miracles, but even so we do not bend the frightful obstinacy of these sceptics. But if they do not believe that these miracles were wrought by Christ's apostles to gain credence to their preaching of His

resurrection and ascension, this one grand miracle suffices for us, that the whole world has believed without any miracles.

G. That Rome made its founder Romulus a god because it loved him; but the Church loved Christ because it believed Him to be God.

Let us here recite the passage in which Tully expresses his astonishment that the apotheosis of Romulus should have been credited. I shall insert his words as they stand: "It is most worthy of remark in Romulus, that other men who are said to have become gods lived in less educated ages, when there was a greater propensity to the fabulous, and
when the uninstructed were easily persuaded to believe anything. But the age of Romulus was barely six hundred years ago, and already literature and science had dispelled the errors that attach to an uncultured age." And a little after he says of the same Romulus words to this effect: " From this we may perceive that Homer had flourished long before Romulus, and that there was now so much learning in individuals, and so generally diffused an enlightenment, that scarcely any room was left for fable. For antiquity admitted fables, and sometimes even very clumsy ones; but this age [of Romulus] was sufficiently enlightened to reject whatever had not the air of truth." Thus one of the most learned men, and certainly the most eloquent, M. Tullius Cicero, says that it is surprising that the divinity of Romulus was believed in, because the times were already so enlightened that they would not accept a fabulous fiction. But who believed that Romulus was a god except Rome, which was itself small and in its infancy? Then afterwards it was necessary that succeeding generations should preserve the tradition of their ancestors; that, drinking in this superstition with their mother's milk, the state might grow and come to such power that it might dictate this belief, as from a point of vantage, to all the nations over whom its sway extended. And these nations, though they might not believe that Romulus was a god, at least said so, that they might not give offence to their sovereign state by refusing to give its founder that title which was given him by Rome, which had adopted this belief, not by a love of error, but an error of love. But though Christ is the founder of the heavenly and eternal city, yet it did not believe Him to be God because it was founded by Him, but rather it

LOOK XXII.] DIVINITY OF CHRIST IS CREDIBLE. 481

is founded by Him, in virtue of its belief. Borne, after it had been built and dedicated, worshipped its founder in a temple as a god; but this Jerusalem laid Christ, its God, as its foundation, that the building and dedication might proceed. The former city loved its founder, and therefore believed him to be a god; the latter believed Christ to be God, and therefore loved Him. There was an antecedent cause for the love of the former city, and for its believing that even a false dignity attached to the object of its love; so there was an antecedent cause for the belief of the latter, and for its loving the true dignity which a proper faith, not a rash surmise, ascribed to its object. For, not to mention the multitude of very striking miracles which proved that Christ is God, there were also divine prophecies heralding Him, prophecies most worthy of belief, which being already accomplished, we have not, like the fathers, to wait for their verification. Of Eomulus, on the other hand, and of his building Rome and reigning in it, we read or hear the narrative of what did take place, not prediction which beforehand said that such things should be. And so far as his reception among the gods is concerned, history only records that this was believed, and does not state it as a fact; for no miraculous signs testified to the truth of this. For as to that wolf which is said to have nursed the twin-brothers, and which is considered a great marvel, how does this prove him to have been divine? For even supposing that this nurse was a real wolf and not a mere courtezan, yet she nursed both brothers, and Remus is not reckoned a god. Besides, what was there to hinder any one from asserting that Romulus or Hercules, or any such man, was a god?
Or who would rather choose to die than profess belief in his divinity? And did a single
nation worship Romulus among its gods, unless it were forced through fear of the Roman
name? But who can number the multitudes who have chosen death in the most cruel
shapes rather than deny the divinity of Christ? And thus the dread of some slight
indignation, which it was supposed, perhaps groundlessly, might exist in the minds of the
Romans, constrained some states who were subject to Rome to worship Romulus as a
god; whereas the dread, not of a slight mental shock, but of severe and various punish-

482 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

ments, and of death itself, the most formidable of all, could not prevent an immense
multitude of martyrs throughout the world from not merely worshipping but also
confessing Christ as God.
The city of Christ, which, although as yet a stranger upon earth, had countless hosts of
citizens, did not make war upon its godless persecutors for the sake of temporal security,
but preferred to win eternal salvation by abstaining from war.
They were bound, imprisoned, beaten, tortured, burned, torn in pieces, massacred, and
yet they multiplied. It was not given to them to fight for their eternal salvation except by
despising their temporal salvation for their Saviour's sake.

I am aware that Cicero, in the third book of his De Republica, if I mistake not, argues that
a first-rate power will not engage in war except either for honour or for safety. What he
has to say about the question of safety, and what he means by safety, he explains in
another place, saying, "Private persons frequently evade, by a speedy death, destitution,
exile, bonds, the scourge, and the other pains which even the most insensible feel. But to
states, death, which seems to emancipate individuals from all punishments, is itself a
punishment; for a state should be so constituted as to be eternal. And thus death is not
natural to a republic as to a man, to whom death is not only necessary, but often even
desirable. But when a state is destroyed, obliterated, annihilated, it is as if
(to compare great things with small) this whole world perished and collapsed." Cicero
said this because he, with the Platonists, believed that the world would not perish. It is
therefore agreed that, according to Cicero, a state should engage in war for the safety
which preserves the state permanently in existence, though its citizens change $ as the
foliage of an olive or laurel, or any tree of this kind, is perennial, the old leaves being
replaced by fresh ones. For death, as he says, iÄ« no punishment to individuals, but
rather delivers them from all other punishments, but it is a punishment to the state. And
therefore it is reasonably asked whether the Saguntines did right when they chose that
their whole state should perish rather than that they should break faith with the Eoman
republic; for this deed of theirs is applauded by the citizens of the earthly republic. But I
do not see how they could
follow the advice of Cicero, who tells us that no war is to be undertaken save for safety or for honour; neither does he say which of these two is to be preferred, if a case should occur in which the one could not be preserved without the loss of the other. For manifestly, if the Sages chose safety, they must break faith; if they kept faith, they must reject safety; as also it fell out. But the safety of the city of God is such that it can be retained, or rather acquired, by faith and with faith; but if faith be abandoned, no one can attain it. It is this thought of a most steadfast and patient spirit that has made so many noble martyrs, while Eomulus has not had, and could not have, so much as one to die for his divinity.

7. That the world's belief in Christ is the result of divine power, not of human persuasion.

But it is thoroughly ridiculous to make mention of the false divinity of Romulus as any way comparable to that of Christ. Nevertheless, if Eomulus lived about six hundred years before Cicero, in an age which already was so enlightened that it rejected all impossibilities, how much more, in an age which certainly was more enlightened, being six hundred years later, the age of Cicero himself, and of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, would the human mind have refused to listen to or believe in the resurrection of Christ's body and its ascension into heaven, and have scouted it as an impossibility, had not the divinity of the truth itself, or the truth of the divinity, and corroborating miraculous signs, proved that it could happen and had happened? Through virtue of these testimonies, and notwithstanding the opposition and terror of so many cruel persecutions, the resurrection and immortality of the flesh, first in Christ, and subsequently in all in the new world, was believed, was intrepidly proclaimed, and was sown over the whole world, to be fertilized richly with the blood of the martyrs. For the predictions of the prophets that had preceded the events were read, they were corroborated by powerful signs, and the truth was seen to be not contradictory to reason, but only different from customary ideas, so that at length the world embraced the faith it had furiously persecuted.

8. Of miracles which were wrought that the world might believe in Christ, and which have not ceased since the world believed.

Why, they say, are those miracles, which you affirm were wrought formerly, wrought no longer? I might, indeed, reply that miracles were necessary before the world believed, in order that it might believe. And whoever now-a-days demands to see prodigies that he
may believe, is himself a great prodigy, because he does not believe, though the whole world does.

But they make these objections for the sole purpose of insinuating that even those former miracles were never wrought.

How, then, is it that everywhere Christ is celebrated with such firm belief in His resurrection and ascension? How is it that in enlightened times, in which every impossibility is rejected, the world has, without any miracles, believed things marvellously incredible? Or will they say that these things were credible, and therefore were credited? Why then do they themselves not believe? Our argument, therefore, is a summary one—either incredible things which were not witnessed have caused the world to believe other incredible things which both occurred and were witnessed, or this matter was so credible that it needed no miracles in proof of it, and therefore convicts these unbelievers of unpardonable scepticism.

This I might say for the sake of refuting these most frivolous objectors. But we cannot deny that many miracles were wrought to confirm that one grand and health-giving miracle of Christ's ascension to heaven with the flesh in which He rose. For these most trustworthy books of ours contain in one narrative both the miracles that were wrought and the creed which they were wrought to confirm. The miracles were published that they might produce faith, and the faith which they produced brought them into greater prominence.

For they are read in congregations that they may be believed, and yet they would not be so read unless they were believed.

For even now miracles are wrought in the name of Christ, whether by His sacraments or by the prayers or relics of His saints; but they are not so brilliant and conspicuous as to cause them to be published with such glory as accompanied the former miracles. For the canon of the sacred writings,
which behoved to be closed, 1 causes those to be everywhere recited, and to sink into the memory of all the congregations; but these modern miracles are scarcely known even to the whole population in the midst of which they are wrought, and at the best are confined to one spot. For frequently they are known only to a very few persons, while all the rest are ignorant of them, especially if the state is a large one; and when they are reported to other persons in other localities, there is no sufficient authority to give them prompt and unwavering credence, although they are reported to the faithful by the faithful.

The miracle which was wrought at Milan when I was there, and by which a blind man was restored to sight, could come to the knowledge of many; for not only is the city a large one, but also the emperor was there at the time, and the occurrence was witnessed by an immense concourse of people that had gathered to the bodies of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius, which had long lain concealed and unknown, but were now made known to the bishop Ambrose in a dream, and discovered by him. By virtue of these remains the darkness of that blind man was scattered, and he saw the light of day. 2

But who but a very small number are aware of the cure which was wrought upon Innocentius, ex-advocate of the deputy prefecture, a cure wrought at Carthage, in my presence, and under my own eyes? For when I and my brother Alypius, 3 who were not yet clergymen, 4 though already servants of God, came

1 Another reading has diffamatum, "published."

2 A somewhat fuller account of this miracle is given by Augustine in the Confessions, ix. 16. See also Serm. 286, and Ambrose, Ep. 22. A translation of this epistle in full is given in Isaac Taylor's Ancient Christianity, ii. 242, where this miracle is taken as a specimen of the so-called miracles of that age, and submitted to a detailed examination. The result arrived at will be gathered from the following sentence: "In the Nicene Church, so lax were the notions of common morality, and in so feeble a manner did the fear of God influence the conduct of leading men, that, on occasions when the Church was to be served, and her assailants to be confounded, they did not scruple to take upon themselves the contrivance and execution of the most degrading impostures." Ææ” P. 270. It is to be observed, however, that Augustine was, at least in this instance, one of the deceived.

3 Alypius was a countryman of Augustine, and one of his most attached friends. See the Confessions, passim.

4 Cleros
from abroad, this man received us, and made us live with him, for he and all his household were devotedly pious. He was being treated by medical men for fistulæ, of which he had a large number intricately seated in the rectum. He had already undergone an operation, and the surgeons were using every means at their command for his relief. In that operation he had suffered long-continued and acute pain; yet, among the many folds of the gut, one had escaped the operators so entirely, that, though they ought to have laid it open with the knife, they never touched it. And thus, though all those that had been opened were cured, this one remained as it was, and frustrated all their labour. The patient, having his suspicions awakened by the delay thus occasioned, and fearing greatly a second operation, which another medical man— one of his own domestics— had told him he must undergo, though this man had not even been allowed to witness the first operation, and had been banished from the house, and with difficulty allowed to come back to his enraged master's presence, the patient, I say, broke out to the surgeons, saving, "Are you going to cut me again? Are you, after all, to fulfil the prediction of that man whom you would not allow even to be present?" The surgeons laughed at the unskilful doctor, and soothed their patient's fears with fair words and promises. So several days passed, and yet nothing they tried did him good. Still they persisted in promising that they would cure that fistula by drugs, without the knife. They called in also another old practitioner of great repute in that department, Ammonius (for he was still alive at that time); and he, after examining the part, promised the same result as themselves from their care and skill. On this great authority, the patient became confident, and, as if already well, vented his good spirits in facetious remarks at the expense of his domestic physician, who had predicted a second operation. To make a long story short, after a number of days had thus uselessly elapsed, the surgeons, wearied and confused, had at last to confess that he could only be cured by the knife. Agitated with excessive fear, he was terrified, and grew pale with dread; and when he collected himself and was able to speak, he ordered them to go away and never to return. "Worn out with weeping, and driven by
necessity, it occurred to him to call in an Alexandrian, who was at that time esteemed a wonderfully skilful operator, that he might perform the operation his rage would not suffer them to do. But when he had come, and examined with a professional eye the traces of their careful work, he acted the part of a good man, and persuaded his patient to allow those same hands the satisfaction of finishing his cure which had begun it with a skill that excited his admiration, adding that there was no doubt his only hope of a cure was by an operation, but that it was thoroughly inconsistent with his nature to win the credit of the cure by doing the little that remained to be done, and rob of their reward men whose consummate skill, care, and diligence he could not but admire when he saw the traces of their work. They were therefore again received to favour; and it was agreed that, in the presence of the Alexandrian, they should operate on the fistula, which, by the consent of all, could now only be cured by the knife. The operation was deferred till the following day. But when they had left, there arose in the house such a wailing, in sympathy with the excessive despondency of the master, that it seemed to us like the mourning at a funeral, and we could scarcely repress it. Holy men were in the habit of visiting him daily; Saturninus of blessed memory, at that time bishop of Uzali, and the presbyter Gelosus, and the deacons of the church of Carthage; and among these was the bishop Aurelius, who alone of them all survives, â€” a man to be named by us with due reverence, â€” and with him I have often spoken of this affair, as we conversed together about the wonderful works of God, and I have found that he distinctly remembers what I am now relating. When these persons visited him that evening according to their custom, he besought them, with piteous tears, that they would do him the honour of being present next day at what he judged his funeral rather than his suffering. For such was the terror his former pains had produced, that he made no doubt he would die in the hands of the surgeons. They comforted him, and exhorted him to put his trust in God, and nerve his will like a man. Then we went to prayer; but while we, in the usual way, were kneeling and bending to the ground, he cast himself down, as if some one were

488 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

hurling him violently to the earth, and began to pray; but in what a manner, with what earnestness and emotion, with what a flood of tears, with what groans and sobs, that shook his whole body, and almost prevented him speaking, who can describe! Whether the others prayed, and had not their attention wholly diverted by this conduct, I do not know. For myself, I could not pray at all. This only I briefly said in my heart: "Lord, what prayers of Thy people dost Thou hear if Thou hearest not these?" For it seemed to me that nothing could be added to this prayer, unless he expired in praying. We rose from our knees, and, receiving the blessing of the bishop, departed, the patient beseeching his visitors to be present next morning, they exhorting him to keep up his heart.
The dreaded day dawned. The servants of God were present, as they had promised to be; the surgeons arrived; all that the circumstances required was ready; the frightful instruments are produced; all look on in wonder and suspense.

While those who have most influence with the patient are cheering his fainting spirit, his limbs are arranged on the couch so as to suit the hand of the operator; the knots of the bandages are untied; the part is bared; the surgeon examines it, and, with knife in hand, eagerly looks for the sinus that is to be cut. He searches for it with his eyes; he feels for it with his finger; he applies every kind of scrutiny: he finds a perfectly firm cicatrix! No words of mine can describe the joy, and praise, and thanksgiving to the merciful and almighty God which was poured from the lips of all, with tears of gladness. Let the scene be imitated rather than described!

In the same city of Carthage lived Innocentia, a very devout woman of the highest rank in the state. She had cancer in one of her breasts, a disease which, as physicians say, is incurable. Ordinarily, therefore, they either amputate, and so separate from the body the member on which the disease has seized, or, that the patient's life may be prolonged a little, though death is inevitable even if somewhat delayed, they abandon all remedies, following, as they say, the advice of Hippocrates. This the lady we speak of had been advised to by a skilful physician, who was intimate with her family; and she betook herself to God alone by prayer. On the approach
of Easter, she was instructed in a dream to wait for the first woman that came out from
the baptistery 1 after being baptized, and to ask her to make the sign of Christ upon her
sore. She did so, and was immediately cured. The physician who had advised her to apply
no remedy if she wished to live a little longer, when he had examined her after this, and
found that she who, on his former examination, was afflicted with that disease was now
perfectly cured, eagerly asked her what remedy she had used, anxious, as we may well
believe, to discover the drug which should defeat the decision of Hippocrates.
But when she told him what had happened, he is said to have replied, with religious
politeness, though with a contemptuous tone, and an expression which made her fear he
would utter some blasphemy against Christ, " I thought you would make some great
discovery to me." She, shuddering at his indifference, quickly replied, " What great thing
was it for Christ to heal a cancer, who raised one who had been four days dead ? "
When, therefore, I had heard this, I was extremely indignant that so great a miracle,
wrought in that well-known city, and on a person who was certainly not obscure, should
not be divulged, and I considered that she should be spoken to, if not reprimanded on this
score. And when she replied to me that she had not kept silence on the subject, I asked
the women with whom she was best acquainted whether they had ever heard of this
before. They told me they knew no
thing of it. " See," I said, " what your not keeping
silence amounts to, since not even those who are so familiar with you know of it." And as I had only briefly heard the story, I made her tell how the whole thing happened,
from beginning to end, while the other women listened in great astonishment, and
 glorified God.

A gouty doctor of the same city, when he had given in his name for baptism, and had
been prohibited the day before his baptism from being baptized that year, by black
woollyhaired boys who appeared to him in his dreams, and whom

1 Easter and Whitsuntide were the common seasons for administering baptism, though no
rule was laid down till towards the end of the sixth century. Tertullian thinks these the
most appropriate times, but says that every time is suitable. See Tertull. de Baptismo, c.
19.
We, however, do know it, and so, too, do the small number of brethren who were in the neighbourhood, and to whose ears it might come.

An old comedian of Curubis 1 was cured at baptism not only of paralysis, but also of hernia, and, being delivered from both afflictions, came up out of the font of regeneration as if he had had nothing wrong with his body. Who outside of Curubis knows of this, or who but a very few who might hear it elsewhere? But we, when we heard of it, made the man come to Carthage, by order of the holy bishop Aurelius, although we had already ascertained the fact on the information of persons whose word we could not doubt.

Hesperius, of a tribunitian family, and a neighbour of our own, 2 has a farm called Zubedi in the Fussalian district; 3 and, finding that his family, his cattle, and his servants were suffering from the malice of evil spirits, he asked our presbyters, during my absence, that one of them would go with him and banish the spirits by his prayers. One went, offered there the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying with all his might that that vexation might cease. It did cease forthwith, through God's mercy. Now he had received from a friend of his own some holy earth brought from Jerusalem, where Christ, having been buried, rose again the third day. This earth he had hung up in his bedroom to preserve himself from harm. But when his house was purified of that demoniacal invasion, he began to consider what should be done with the earth; for his reverence for it made him unwilling to have it any longer in his bedroom. It so happened that I and Maximinus bishop of Synita, and then my

1 A town near Carthage. 2 This may possibly mean a Christian.

3 Xear Hippo. Â»
colleague, were in the neighbourhood. Hesperius asked us to visit him, and we did so. When he had related all the circumstances, he begged that the earth might be buried somewhere, and that the spot should be made a place of prayer where Christians might assemble for the worship of God. "We made no objection: it was done as he desired. There was in that neighbourhood a young countryman who was paralytic, who, when he heard of this, begged his parents to take him without delay to that holy place. When he had been brought there, he prayed, and forthwith went away on his own feet perfectly cured.

There is a country-seat called Victoriana, less than thirty miles from Hippo-regius. At it there is a monument to the Milanese martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius. Thither a young man was carried, who, when he was watering his horse one summer day at noon in a pool of a river, had been taken possession of by a devil. As he lay at the monument, near death, or even quite like a dead person, the lady of the manor, with her maids and religious attendants, entered the place for evening prayer and praise, as her custom was, and they began to sing hymns. At this sound the young man, as if electrified, was thoroughly aroused, and with frightful screaming seized the altar, and held it as if he did not dare or were not able to let it go, and as if he were fixed or tied to it; and the devil in him, with loud lamentation, besought that he might be spared, and confessed where and when and how he took possession of the youth. At last, declaring that he would go out of him, he named one by one the parts of his body which he threatened to mutilate as he went out; and with these words he departed from the man. But his eye, falling out on his cheek, hung by a slender vein as by a root, and the whole of the pupil which had been black became white. When this was witnessed by those present (others too had now gathered to his cries, and had all joined in prayer for him), although they were delighted that he had recovered his sanity of mind, yet, on the other hand, they were grieved about his eye, and said he should seek medical advice. But his sister's husband, who had brought him there, said, "God, who has banished the devil, is able to restore his eye at the prayers of His saints." Therewith he replaced the eye that was fallen out and hanging, and bound it in its place with his handkerchief as well as he could, and advised him not to loose the bandage for seven days. When he did so, he found it quite healthy. Others also were cured there, but of them it were tedious to speak.

I know that a young woman of Hippo was immediately dispossessed of a devil, on anointing herself with oil mixed with the tears of the presbyter who had been praying for her. I know also that a bishop once prayed for a demoniac young man whom he never saw, and that he was cured on the spot.
There was a fellow-townsmen of ours at Hippo, Florentius, an old man, religious and poor, who supported himself as a tailor. Having lost his coat, and not having means to buy another, he prayed to the Twenty Martyrs, who have a very celebrated memorial shrine in our town, in a distinct voice that he might be clothed. Some scoffing young men, who happened to be present, heard him, and followed him with their sarcasm as he went away, as if he had asked the martyrs for fifty pence to buy a coat. But he, walking on in silence, saw on the shore a great fish, gasping as if just cast up, and having secured it with the good-natured assistance of the youths, he sold it for curing to a cook of the name of Catosus, a good Christian man, telling him how he had come by it, and receiving for it three hundred pence, which he laid out in wool, that his wife might exercise her skill upon, and make into a coat for him. But, on cutting up the fish, the cook found a gold ring in its belly; and forthwith, moved with compassion, and influenced, too, by religious fear, gave it up to the man, saying, "See how the Twenty Martyrs have clothed you."

When the bishop Projectus was bringing the relics of the most glorious martyr Stephen to the waters of Tibilis, a great concourse of people came to meet him at the shrine. There a blind woman entreated that she might be led to the bishop who was carrying the relics. He gave her the flowers he was carrying. She took them, applied them to her eyes, and 1 Augustine's 325th sermon is in honour of these martyrs.
forthwith saw. Those who were present were astounded, while she, with every expression of joy, preceded them, pursuing her way without further need of a guide.

Lucillus bishop of Sinita, in the neighbourhood of the colonial town of Hippo, was carrying in procession some relics of the same martyr, which had been deposited in the castle of Sinita. A fistula under which he had long laboured, and which his private physician was watching an opportunity to cut, was suddenly cured by the mere carrying of that sacred fardel, 1 â€” at least, afterwards there was no trace of it in his body.

Eucharius, a Spanish priest, residing at Calama, was for a long time a sufferer from stone. By the relics of the same martyr, which the bishop Possidius brought him, he was cured. Afterwards the same priest, sinking under another disease, was lying dead, and already they were binding his hands. By the succour of the same martyr he was raised to life, the priest's cloak having been brought from the oratory and laid upon the corpse.

There was there an old nobleman named Martial, who had a great aversion to the Christian religion, but whose daughter was a Christian, while her husband had been baptized that same year. When he was ill, they besought him with tears and prayers to become a Christian, but he positively refused, and dismissed them from his presence in a storm of indignation. It occurred to the son-in-law to go to the oratory of St. Stephen, and there pray for him with all earnestness that God might give him a right mind, so that he should not delay believing in Christ. This he did with great groaning and tears, and the burning fervour of sincere piety; then, as he left the place, he took some of the flowers that were lying there, and, as it was already night, laid them by his father's head, who so slept. And lo! before dawn, he cries out for some one to run for the bishop; but he happened at that time to be with me at Hippo. So when he had heard that he was from home, he asked the presbyters to come. They came. To the joy and amazement of all, he declared that he believed, and he was baptized. As long as he remained in

1 See Isaac Taylor's Ancient Christianity, ii. 354.

life, these words were ever on his lips: "Christ, receive my spirit," though he was not aware that these were the last words of the most blessed Stephen when he was stoned by the Jews. They were his last words also, for not long after he himself also gave up the ghost.

There, too, by the same martyr, two men, one a citizen, the other a stranger, were cured of gout; but while the citizen was absolutely cured, the stranger was only informed what
he should apply when the pain returned; and when he followed this advice, the pain was at once relieved.

Audurus is the name of an estate, where there is a church that contains a memorial shrine of the martyr Stephen. It happened that, as a little boy was playing in the court, the oxen drawing a waggon went out of the track and crushed him with the wheel, so that immediately he seemed at his last gasp. His mother snatched him up, and laid him at the shrine, and not only did he revive, but also appeared uninjured.

A religious female, who lived at Caspalium, a neighbouring estate, when she was so ill as to be despaired of, had her dress brought to this shrine, but before it was brought back she was gone. However, her parents wrapped her corpse in the dress, and, her breath returning, she became quite well.

At Hippo a Syrian called Bassus was praying at the relics of the same martyr for his daughter, who was dangerously ill. He too had brought her dress with him to the shrine. But as he prayed, behold, his servants ran from the house to tell him she was dead. His friends, however, intercepted them, and forbade them to tell him, lest he should bewail her in public. And when he had returned to his house, which was already ringing with the lamentations of his family, and had thrown on his daughter's body the dress he was carrying, she was restored to life.

There, too, the son of a man, Irenaeus, one of our taxgatherers, took ill and died. And while his body was lying lifeless, and the last rites were being prepared, amidst the weeping and mourning of all, one of the friends who were consoling the father suggested that the body should be anointed with the oil of the same martyr. It was done, and he revived.
Likewise Eleusinus, a man of tribunitian rank among us, laid his infant son, who had died, on the shrine of the martyr, which is in the suburb where he lived, and, after prayer, which he poured out there with many tears, he took up his child alive.

What am I to do? I am so pressed by the promise of finishing this work, that I cannot record all the miracles I know; and doubtless several of our adherents, when they read what I have narrated, will regret that I have omitted so many which they, as well as I, certainly know. Even now I beg these persons to excuse me, and to consider how long it would take me to relate all those miracles, which the necessity of finishing the work I have undertaken forces me to omit.

For were I to be silent of all others, and to record exclusively the miracles of healing which were wrought in the district of Calama and of Hippo by means of this martyr â€” I mean the most glorious Stephen â€” they would fill many volumes; and yet all even of these could not be collected, but only those of which narratives have been written for public recital. For when I saw, in our own times, frequent signs of the presence of divine powers similar to those which had been given of old, I desired that narratives might be written, judging that the multitude should not remain ignorant of these things. It is not yet two years since these relics were first brought to Hippo-regius, and though many of the miracles which have been wrought by it have not, as I have the most certain means of knowing, been recorded, those which have been published amount to almost seventy at the hour at which I write. But at Calama, where these relics have been for a longer time, and where more of the miracles were narrated for public information, there are incomparably more.

At Uzali, too, a colony near Utica, many signal miracles were, to my knowledge, wrought by the same martyr, whose relics had found a place there by direction of the bishop Evodius, long before we had them at Hippo. But there the custom of publishing narratives does not obtain, or, I should say, did not obtain, for possibly it may now have been begun. For, when I was there recently, a woman of rank, Petronia, had been miraculously cured of a serious illness of long standing, in which all medical appliances had failed, and, with the consent of the above-named bishop of the place, I exhorted her to publish an account of it that might be read to the people. She most promptly obeyed, and inserted in her narrative a circumstance which I cannot omit to mention, though I am compelled to hasten on to the subjects which this work requires me to treat. She said that she had been persuaded by a Jew to wear next her skin, under all her clothes, a hair girdle, and on this girdle a ring, which,
instead of a gem, had a stone which had been found in the kidneys of an ox. Girt with this charm, she was making her way to the threshold of the holy martyr. But, after leaving Carthage, and when she had been lodging in her own demesne on the river Bagrada, and was now rising to continue her journey, she saw her ring lying before her feet. In great surprise she examined the hair girdle, and when she found it bound, as it had been, quite firmly with knots, she conjectured that the ring had been worn through and dropped off; but when she found that the ring was itself also perfectly whole, she presumed that by this great miracle she had received somehow a pledge of her cure, whereupon she untied the girdle, and cast it into the river, and the ring along with it. This is not credited by those who do not believe either that the Lord Jesus Christ came forth from His mother's womb without destroying her virginity, and entered among His disciples when the doors were shut; but let them make strict inquiry into this miracle, and if they find it true, let them believe those others. The lady is of distinction, nobly born, married to a nobleman. She resides at Carthage. The city is distinguished, the person is distinguished, so that they who make inquiries cannot fail to find satisfaction. Certainly the martyr himself, by whose prayers she was healed, believed on the Son of her who remained a virgin; on Him who came in among the disciples when the doors were shut; in fine, on Him who ascended into heaven with the flesh in which He had risen; and it is because he laid down his life for this faith that such miracles were done by his means.

Even now, therefore, many miracles are wrought, the same
God who wrought those we read of still performing them, by whom He will and as He will; but they are not as well known, nor are they beaten into the memory, like gravel, by frequent reading, so that they cannot fall out of mind. For even where, as is now done among ourselves, care is taken that the pamphlets of those who receive benefit be read publicly, yet those who are present hear the narrative but once, and many are absent; and so it comes to pass that even those who are present forget in a few days what they heard, and scarcely one of them can be found who will tell what he heard to one who he knows was not present.

One miracle was wrought among ourselves, which, though no greater than those I have mentioned, was yet so signal and conspicuous, that I suppose there is no inhabitant of Hippo who did not either see or hear of it, none who could possibly forget it. There were seven brothers and three sisters of a noble family of the Cappadocian Csesarea, who were cursed by their mother, a new-made widow, on account of some wrong they had done her, and which she bitterly resented, and who were visited with so severe a punishment from Heaven, that all of them were seized with a hideous shaking in all their limbs. Unable, while presenting this loathsome appearance, to endure the eyes of their fellow-citizens, they wandered over almost the whole Eoman world, each following his own direction. Two of them came to Hippo, a brother and a sister, Paulus and Palladia, already known in many other places by the fame of their wretched lot. Now it was about fifteen days before Easter when they came, and they came daily to church, and specially to the relics of the most glorious Stephen, praying that God might now be appeased, and restore their former health. There, and wherever they went, they attracted the attention of every one. Some who had seen them elsewhere, and knew the cause of their trembling, told others as occasion offered. Easter arrived, and on the Lord's day, in the morning, when there was now a large crowd present, and the young man was holding the bars of the holy place where the relics were, and praying, suddenly he fell down, and lay precisely as if asleep, but not trembling as he was wont to do even in sleep. All present were astonished. Some were

alarmed, some were moved with pity; and while some were for lifting him up, others prevented them, and said they should rather wait and see what would result. And behold! he rose up, and trembled no more, for he was healed, and stood quite well, scanning those who were scanning him. Who then refrained himself from praising God? The whole church was filled with the voices of those who were shouting and congratulating him. Then they came running to me, where I
was sitting ready to come into the church. One after another they throng in, the last comer
telling me as news what the first had told me already; and while I rejoiced and inwardly
gave God thanks, the young man himself also enters, with a number of others, falls at my
knees, is raised up to receive my kiss. We go in to the congregation: the church was full,
and ringing with the shouts of joy, "Thanks to God!"
Praised be God!" every one joining and shouting on all sides,
"I have healed the people," and then with still louder voice shouting again. Silence being
at last obtained, the customary lessons of the divine Scriptures were read. And when I
came to my sermon, I made a few remarks suitable to the occasion and the happy and
joyful feeling, not desiring them to listen to me, but rather to consider the eloquence of
God in this divine work. The man dined with us, and gave us a careful account of his own,
his mother's, and his family's calamity.
Accordingly, on the following day, after delivering my sermon, I promised that next day I
would read his narrative to the people. 1 And when I did so, the third day after Easter
Sunday, I made the brother and sister both stand on the steps of the raised place from
which I used to speak; and while they stood there their pamphlet was read. 2 The whole
congregation, men and women alike, saw the one standing without any unnatural
movement, the other trembling in all her limbs; so that those who had not before seen the
man himself saw in his sister what the divine compassion had removed from him. In him
they saw matter of congratulation, in her subject for prayer. Meanwhile, their pamphlet
being finished, I instructed them to withdraw from the gaze of the people; and I had
begun to discuss the whole matter somewhat more

1 See Augustine's Sermons, 321. 2 Sermon 322.
carefully, when lo! as I was proceeding, other voices are heard from the tomb of the martyr, shouting new congratulations.
My audience turned round, and began to run to the tomb.
The young woman, when she had come down from the steps where she had been standing, went to pray at the holy relics, and no sooner had she touched the bars than she, in the same way as her brother, collapsed, as if falling asleep, and rose up cured. While, then, we were asking what had happened, and what occasioned this noise of joy, they came into the basilica where we were, leading her from the martyr's tomb in perfect health. Then, indeed, such a shout of wonder rose from men and women together, that the exclamations and the tears seemed like never to come to an end. She was led to the place where she had a little before stood trembling. They now rejoiced that she was like her brother, as before they had mourned that she remained unlike him; and as they had not yet uttered their prayers in her behalf, they perceived that their intention of doing so had been speedily heard. They shouted God's praises without words, but with such a noise that our ears could scarcely bear it. What was there in the hearts of these exultant people but the faith of Christ, for which Stephen had shed his blood?

9. That all the miracles which are done by means of the martyrs in the name of Christ testify to that faith which the martyrs had in Christ.

To what do these miracles witness, but to this faith which preaches Christ risen in the flesh, and ascended with the same into heaven? For the martyrs themselves were martyrs, that is to say, witnesses of this faith, drawing upon themselves by their testimony the hatred of the world, and conquering the world not by resisting it, but by dying. For this faith they died, and can now ask these benefits from the Lord in whose name they were slain. For this faith their marvellous constancy was exercised, so that in these miracles great power was manifested as the result. For if the resurrection of the flesh to eternal life had not taken place in Christ, and were not to be accomplished in His people, as predicted by Christ, or by the prophets who foretold that Christ was to come, why do the martyrs who were slain for this faith which proclaims the resurrection possess such power? For whether

500 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

God Himself wrought these miracles by that wonderful manner of working by which, though Himself eternal, He produces effects in time; or whether He wrought them by servants, and if so, whether He made use of the spirits of martyrs as He uses men who are still in the body, or effects all these marvels by means of angels, over whom He exerts an invisible, immutable, incorporeal sway, so that what is said to be done by the martyrs is done not by their operation, but only by their prayer and request; or whether, finally, some things are done in one way, others in another, and so that man cannot at all
comprehend them, "nevertheless these miracles attest this faith which preaches the resurrection of the flesh to eternal life.

10. That the martyrs who obtain many miracles in order that the true God may be worshipped, are worthy of much greater honour than the demons, who do some marvels that they themselves may be supposed to be God.

Here perhaps our adversaries will say that their gods also have done some wonderful things, if now they begin to compare their gods to our dead men. Or will they also say that they have gods taken from among dead men, such as Hercules, Romulus, and many others whom they fancy to have been received into the number of the gods? But our martyrs are not our gods; for we know that the martyrs and we have both but one God, and that the same. Nor yet are the miracles which they maintain to have been done by means of their temples at all comparable to those which are done by the tombs of our martyrs. If they seem similar, their gods have been defeated by our martyrs as Pharaoh's magi were by Moses. In reality, the demons wrought these marvels with the same impure pride with which they aspired to be the gods of the nations; but the martyrs do these wonders, or rather God does them while they pray and assist, in order that an impulse may be given to the faith by which we believe that they are not our gods, but have, together with ourselves, one God. In fine, they built temples to these gods of theirs, and set up altars, and ordained priests, and appointed sacrifices; but to our martyrs we build, not temples as if they were gods, but monuments as to dead men whose spirits live with God. Neither do we erect altars at these monuments.
that we may sacrifice to the martyrs, but to the one God of the martyrs and of ourselves; and in this sacrifice they are named in their own place and rank as men of God who conquered the world by confessing Him, but they are not invoked by the sacrificing priest. For it is to God, not to them, he sacrifices, though he sacrifices at their monument; for he is God's priest, not theirs. The sacrifice itself, too, is the body of Christ, which is not offered to them, because they themselves are this body. Which then can more readily be believed to work miracles? They who wish themselves to be reckoned gods by those on whom they work miracles, or those whose sole object in working any miracle is to induce faith in God, and in Christ also as God? They who wished to turn even their crimes into sacred rites, or those who are unwilling that even their own praises be consecrated, and seek that everything for which they are justly praised be ascribed to the glory of Him in whom they are praised? For in the Lord their souls are praised. Let us therefore believe those who both speak the truth and work wonders. For by speaking the truth they suffered, and so won the power of working wonders. And the leading truth they professed is that Christ rose from the dead, and first showed in His own flesh the immortality of the resurrection which He promised should be ours, either in the beginning of the world to come, or in the end of this world.

11. Against the Platonists, who argue from the physical weight of the elements that an earthly body cannot inhabit heaven.

But against this great gift of God, these reasoners, "whose thoughts the Lord knows that they are vain," * bring arguments from the weights of the elements; for they have been taught by their master Plato that the two greatest elements of the world, and the furthest removed from one another, are coupled and united by the two intermediate, air and water. And consequently they say, since the earth is the first of the elements, beginning from the base of the series, the second the water above the earth, the third the air above the water, the fourth the heaven above the air, it follows that a body of earth cannot live in the heaven; for each element is poised

1 Ps. xciv. 11.

502 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

by its own weight so as to preserve its own place and rank. Behold with what arguments human infirmity, possessed with vanity, contradicts the omnipotence of God! "What, then, do so many earthly bodies do in the air, since the air is the third element from the earth? Unless perhaps He who has granted to the earthly bodies of birds that they be carried through the air by the lightness of feathers and wings, has not been able to confer upon the bodies of men made immortal the power to abide in the highest heaven. The earthly animals, too, which cannot fly, among which are men,
ought on these terms to live under the earth, as fishes, which are the animals of the water, live under the water. Why, then, can an animal of earth not live in the second element, that is, in water, while it can in the third? Why, though it belongs to the earth, is it forthwith suffocated if it is forced to live in the second element next above earth, while it lives in the third, and cannot live out of it? Is there a mistake here in the order of the elements, or is not the mistake rather in their reasonings, and not in the nature of things? I will not repeat what I said in the thirteenth book, 1 that many earthly bodies, though heavy like lead, receive from the workman's hand a form which enables them to swim in water; and yet it is denied that the omnipotent Worker can confer on the human body a property which shall enable it to pass into heaven and dwell there.

But against what I have formerly said they can find nothing to say, even though they introduce and make the most of this order of the elements in which they confide. For if the order be that the earth is first, the water second, the air third, the heaven fourth, then the soul is above all. For Aristotle said that the soul was a fifth body, while Plato denied that it was a body at all. If it were a fifth body, then certainly it would be above the rest; and if it is not a body at all, so much the more does it rise above all. What, then, does it do in an earthly body? What does this soul, which is finer than all else, do in such a mass of matter as this? What does the lightest of substances do in this ponderosity? this swiftest substance in such sluggishness? Will

1 C. 18.
not the body be raised to heaven by virtue of so excellent a nature as this? and if now earthly bodies can retain the souls below, shall not the souls be one day able to raise the earthly bodies above?

If we pass now to their miracles which they oppose to our martyrs as wrought by their gods, shall not even these be found to make for us, and help out our argument? For if any of the miracles of their gods are great, certainly that is a great one which Varro mentions of a vestal virgin, who, when she was endangered by a false accusation of unchastity, filled a sieve with water from the Tiber, and carried it to her judges without any part of it leaking. Who kept the weight of water in the sieve? Who prevented any drop from falling from it through so many open holes? They will answer, Some god or some demon. If a god, is he greater than the God who made the world? If a demon, is he mightier than an angel who serves the God by whom the world was made? If, then, a lesser god, angel, or demon could so sustain the weight of this liquid element that the water might seem to have changed its nature, shall not Almighty God, who Himself created all the elements, be able to eliminate from the earthly body its heaviness, so that the quickened body shall dwell in whatever element the quickening spirit pleases?

Then, again, since they give the air a middle place between the fire above and the water beneath, how is it that we often find it between water and water, and between the water and the earth? For what do they make of those watery clouds, between which and the seas air is constantly found intervening? I should like to know by what weight and order of the elements it comes to pass that very violent and stormy torrents are suspended in the clouds above the earth before they rush along upon the earth under the air? In fine, why is it that throughout the whole globe the air is between the highest heaven and the earth, if its place is between the sky and the water, as the place of the water is between the sky and the earth?

Finally, if the order of the elements is so disposed that, as Plato thinks, the two extremes, fire and earth, are united

504 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

by the two means, air and water, and that the fire occupies the highest part of the sky, and the earth the lowest part, or as it were the foundation of the world, and that therefore earth cannot be in the heavens, how is fire in the earth? For, according to this reasoning, these two elements, earth and fire, ought to be so restricted to their own places, the highest and the lowest, that neither the lowest can rise to the place of the highest, nor the highest sink to that of the lowest. Thus, as they think that no particle of earth is or shall ever be in the sky, so we ought to see no particle of fire on the earth. But the fact is that it exists to such an extent, not only
on but even under the earth, that the tops of mountains vomit it forth; besides that we see it to exist on earth for human uses, and even to be produced from the earth, since it is kindled from wood and stones, which are without doubt earthly bodies. But that [upper] fire, they say, is tranquil, pure, harmless, eternal; but this [earthly] fire is turbid, smoky, corruptible, and corrupting. But it does not corrupt the mountains and caverns of the earth in which it rages continually. But grant that the earthly fire is so unlike the other as to suit its earthly position, why then do they object to our believing that the nature of earthly bodies shall some day be made incorruptible and fit for the sky, even as now fire is corruptible and suited to the earth? They therefore adduce from their weights and order of the elements nothing from which they can prove that it is impossible for Almighty God to make our bodies such that they can dwell in the skies.

12. Against the calumnies with which unbelievers throw ridicule upon the Christian faith in the resurrection of the flesh.

But their way is to feign a scrupulous anxiety in investigating this question, and to cast ridicule on our faith in the resurrection of the body, by asking, "Whether abortions shall rise? And as the Lord says, "Verily I say unto you, not a hair of your head shall perish," I shall all bodies have an equal stature and strength, or shall there be differences in size? For if there is to be equality, where shall those abortions, supposing that they rise again, get that bulk which

1 Luke xxi. 18. A"
they had not here? Or if they shall not rise because they were not born but cast out, they raise the same question about children who have died in childhood, asking us whence they get the stature which we see they had not here; for we will not say that those who have been not only born, but born again, shall not rise again. Then, further, they ask of what size these equal bodies shall be. For if all shall be as tall and large as were the tallest and largest in this world, they ask us how it is that not only children but many fullgrown persons shall receive what they here did not possess, if each one is to receive what he had here. And if the saying of the apostle, that we are all to come to the "measure of the age of the fulness of Christ," * or that other saying, "Whom He predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son," 2 is to be understood to mean that the stature and size of Christ's body shall be the measure of the bodies of all those who shall be in His kingdom, then, say they, the size and height of many must be diminished; and if so much of the bodily frame itself be lost, what becomes of the saying, "Not a hair of your head shall perish?" Besides, it might be asked regarding the hair itself, whether all that the barber has cut off shall be restored? And if it is to be restored, who would not shrink from such deformity? For as the same restoration will be made of what has been pared off the nails, much will be replaced on the body which a regard for its appearance had cut off. And where, then, will be its beauty, which assuredly ought to be much greater in that immortal condition than it could be in this corruptible state? On the other hand, if such things are not restored to the body, they must perish; how, then, they say, shall not a hair of the head perish? In like manner they reason about fatness and leanness; for if all are to be equal, then certainly there shall not be some fat, others lean. Some, therefore, shall gain, others lose something. Consequently there will not be a simple restoration of what formerly existed, but, on the one hand, an addition of what had no existence, and, on the other, a loss of what did before exist.

The difficulties, too, about the corruption and dissolution

1 Epifa. iv. 13. 2 Rom. viii. 29.

506 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXIT.

of dead bodies, "that one is turned into dust, while another evaporates into the air; that some are devoured by beasts, some by fire, while some perish by shipwreck or by drowning in one shape or other, so that their bodies decay into liquid, "these difficulties give them immoderate alarm, and they believe that all those dissolved elements cannot be gathered again and reconstructed into a body. They also make eager use of all the deformities and blemishes which either accident or birth has produced, and accordingly, with horror and derision, cite monstrous births, and ask if every deformity will be preserved in the resurrection. For if we say that no such thing
shall be reproduced in the body of a man, they suppose that they confute us by citing the
marks of the wounds which we assert were found in the risen body of the Lord Christ.
But of all these, the most difficult question is, into whose body that flesh shall return
which has been eaten and assimilated by another man constrained by hunger to use it so;
for it has been converted into the flesh of the man who used it as his nutriment, and it
filled up those losses of flesh which famine had produced. For the sake, then, of
ridiculing the resurrection, they ask, Shall this return to the man whose flesh it first was,
or to him whose flesh it afterwards became?
And thus, too, they seek to give promise to the human soul of alternations of true misery
and false happiness, in accordance with Plato's theory; or, in accordance with Porphyry's,
that, after many transmigrations into different bodies, it ends its miseries, and never more
returns to them, not, however, by obtaining an immortal body, but by escaping from
every kind of body.

13. Whether abortions, if they are numbered among the dead, shall not also have a part in
the resurrection.

To these objections, then, of our adversaries which I have thus detailed, I will now reply,
trusting that God will mercifully assist my endeavours. That abortions, which, even
supposing they were alive in the womb, did also die there, shall rise again, I make bold
neither to affirm nor to deny, although I fail to see why, if they are not excluded from the
number of the dead, they should not attain to the resurrection of the dead. For either all
the dead shall not rise, and there will
be to all eternity some souls without bodies, though they once had them, “only in their mother's womb, indeed; or, if all human souls shall receive again the bodies which they had wherever they lived, and which they left when they died, then I do not see how I can say that even those who died in their mother's womb shall have no resurrection. But whichever of these opinions any one may adopt concerning them, we must at least apply to them, if they rise again, all that we have to say of infants who have been born.

14. Whether infants shall rise in that body which they would have had had they grown up.

What, then, are we to say of infants, if not that they will not rise in that diminutive body in which they died, but shall receive by the marvellous and rapid operation of God that body which time by a slower process would have given them? Tor in the Lord's words, where He says, "Not a hair of your head shall perish," x it is asserted that nothing which was possessed shall be wanting * but it is not said that nothing which was not possessed shall be given. To the dead infant there was wanting the perfect stature of its body; for even the perfect infant lacks the perfection of bodily size, being capable of further growth. This perfect stature is, in a sense, so possessed by all that they are conceived and born with it.

“only that is, they have it potentially, though not yet in actual bulk; just as all the members of the body are potentially in the seed, though, even after the child is born, some of them, the teeth for example, may be wanting. In this seminal principle of every substance, there seems to be, as it were, the beginning of everything which does not yet exist, or rather does not appear, but which in process of time will come into being, or rather into sight. In this, therefore, the child who is to be tall or short is already tall or short. And in the resurrection of the body, we need, for the same reason, fear no bodily loss; for though all should be of equal size, and reach gigantic proportions, lest the men who were largest here should lose anything of their bulk and it should perish, in contradiction to the words of Christ, who said that not a hair of their head should perish, yet why should there lack

1 Luke xxii. 18.

508 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII-

the means by which that wonderful Worker should make such additions, seeing that He is the Creator, who Himself created all things out of nothing?

15. Whether the bodies of all the dead shall rise the same size as the Lord's body.
It is certain that Christ rose in the same bodily stature in which He died, and that it is wrong to say that, when the general resurrection shall have arrived, His body shall, for the sake of equaling the tallest, assume proportions which it had not when He appeared to the disciples in the figure with which they were familiar. But if we say that even the bodies of taller men are to be reduced to the size of the Lord's body, there will be a great loss in many bodies, though He promised that not a hair of their head should perish. It remains, therefore, that we conclude that every man shall receive his own size which he had in youth, though he died an old man, or which he would have had, supposing he died before his prime. As for what the apostle said of the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ, we must either understand him to refer to something else, viz. to the fact that the measure of Christ will be completed when all the members among the Christian communities are added to the Head; or if we are to refer it to the resurrection of the body, the meaning is that all shall rise neither beyond nor under youth, but in that vigour and age to which we know that Christ had arrived. For even the world's wisest men have fixed the bloom of youth at about the age of thirty; and when this period has been passed, the man begins to decline towards the defective and duller period of old age. And therefore the apostle did not speak of the measure of the body, nor of the measure of the stature, but of " the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ."

16. What is meant by the conforming of the saints to the image of the Son of God.

Then, again, these words, " Predestinate to be conformed to the image of the Son of God," * may be understood of the inner man. So in another place He says to us, " Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your mind." ! In so far, then, as we are transformed so as not to be conformed to the world, we are conformed to the Son of God. It may also be understood thus, that as He was conformed to us by assuming mortality, we shall be conformed to Him by immortality; and this indeed is connected with the resurrection of the body. But if we are also taught in these words what form our bodies shall rise in, as the measure we spoke of before, so also this conformity is to be understood not of size, but of age. Accordingly all shall rise in the stature they either had attained or would have attained had they lived to their prime, although it will be no great disadvantage even if the form of the body be infantine or aged, while no infirmity shall remain in the mind nor in the body itself. So that even if any one contends that every person will rise again in the same bodily form in which he died, we need not spend much labour in disputing with him.

1 Rom. viiL 29. â€¢

COOK XXII.] WOMEN SHALL RISE IN THEIR OWN SEX. 509

of your mind." ! In so far, then, as we are transformed so as not to be conformed to the world, we are conformed to the Son of God. It may also be understood thus, that as He was conformed to us by assuming mortality, we shall be conformed to Him by immortality; and this indeed is connected with the resurrection of the body. But if we are also taught in these words what form our bodies shall rise in, as the measure we spoke of before, so also this conformity is to be understood not of size, but of age. Accordingly all shall rise in the stature they either had attained or would have attained had they lived to their prime, although it will be no great disadvantage even if the form of the body be infantine or aged, while no infirmity shall remain in the mind nor in the body itself. So that even if any one contends that every person will rise again in the same bodily form in which he died, we need not spend much labour in disputing with him.
17. Whether the bodies of women shall retain their own sex in the resurrection.

From the words, "Till we all come to a perfect man, to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ," 2 and from the words, "Conformed to the image of the Son of God," 3 some conclude that women shall not rise women, but that all shall be men, because God made man only of earth, and woman of the man. For my part, they seem to be wiser who make no doubt that both sexes shall rise. For there shall be no lust, which is now the cause of confusion. For before they sinned, the man and the woman were naked, and were not ashamed.

From those bodies, then, vice shall be withdrawn, while nature shall be preserved. And the sex of woman is not a vice, but nature. It shall then indeed be superior to carnal intercourse and child-bearing; nevertheless the female members shall remain adapted not to the old uses, but to a new beauty, which, so far from provoking lust, now extinct, shall excite praise to the wisdom and clemency of God, who both made what was not and delivered from corruption what He made.

For at the beginning of the human race the woman was made of a rib taken from the side of the man while he slept; for it seemed fit that even then Christ and His Church should

1 Rom. xii. 2. 2 Eph. iv. 13. 3 Rom. viii. 29.

510 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

be foreshadowed in this event. For that sleep of the man was the death of Christ, whose side, as He hung lifeless upon the cross, was pierced with a spear, and there flowed from it blood and water, and these we know to be the sacraments by which the Church is "built up." For Scripture used this very word, not saying "He formed" or "framed," but "built her up into a woman;" 1 whence also the apostle speaks of the edification of the body of Christ, 2 which is the Church. The woman, therefore, is a creature of God even as the man; but by her creation from man unity is commended; and the manner of her creation prefigured, as has been said, Christ and the Church. He, then, who created both sexes will restore both. Jesus Himself also, when asked by the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection, which of the seven brothers should have to wife the woman whom all in succession had taken to raise up seed to their brother, as the law enjoined, says, "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God." 3

And though it was a fit opportunity for His saying, She about whom you make inquiries shall herself be a man, and not a woman, He said nothing of the kind; but â– In the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." 4 They shall be equal to the angels in immortality and happiness, not in flesh, nor in resurrection, which the angels did not need, because they could not die. The Lord then denied that there would be in the resurrection, not women, but marriages; and He uttered this denial in circumstances in which the question mooted would have been more easily and speedily solved by denying that the female sex would exist, if this had in truth been foreknown by Him. But, indeed, He even affirmed that the sex should exist by
saying, "They shall not be given in marriage," which can only apply to females; "Neither shall they marry," which applies to males. There shall therefore be those who are in this world accustomed to marry and be given in marriage, only they shall there make no such marriages.

1 Gen. ii. 22. 2 Eph. iv. 12.
18. Of the perfect Man, that is, Christ; and of His body, that is, the Church,
which is His fidness.

To understand what the apostle means when he says that we shall all come to a perfect
man, we must consider the connection of the whole passage, which runs thus: " He that
descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all
things. And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and
some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry,
for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come to the unity of the faith and
knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect man, to the measure of the age of the fulness
of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, tossed, and carried about with every
wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait
to deceive; but, speaking the truth in love, may grow up in Him in all things, which is the
Head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by
that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of
every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love." 1 Behold
what the perfect man is â€” the head and the body, which is made up of all the members,
which in their own time shall be perfected.

But new additions are daily being made to this body while the Church is being built up, to
which it is said, " Ye are the body of Christ and His members; " 2 and again, " For His
body's sake," he says, " which is the Church;" 3 and again, " We being many are one
head, one body." 4 It is of the edification of this body that it is here, too, said, " For the
perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of
Christ;" and then that passage of which we are now speaking is added, " Till we all come
to the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, to a perfect man, to the
measure of the age of the fulness of Christ," and so on. And he shows of what body we
are to understand this to be the measure, when he says, " That we may grow up into Him
in all things, which is the Head, even Christ: from whom the

1 Eph. iv. 10-16. 2 1 Cor. xii. 27.
3 Col. i. 24. * 1 Cor. x. 17.

wholesome and compacted by that which every joint supplieth,
according to the effectual working in the measure of every part." As, therefore, there is a
measure of every part, so there is a measure of the fulness of the whole body which is
made up of all its parts, and it is of this measure it is said, " To the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ." This fulness he spoke of also in the place where he says of Christ, "And gave Him to be the Head over all things to the Church, 1 which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all/ 2 But even if this should be referred to the form in which each one shall rise, what should hinder us from applying to the woman what is expressly said of the man, understanding both sexes to be included under the general term "man?" For certainly in the saying, "Blessed is he who feareth the Lord," 3 women also who fear the Lord are included.

19. That all bodily blemishes which mar human beauty in this life shall be removed in the resurrection, the natural substance of the body remaining, but the quality and quantity of it being altered so as to produce beauty.

TVliat am I to say now about the hair and nails? Once it is understood that no part of the body shall so perish as to produce deformity in the body, it is at the same time understood that such things as would have produced a deformity by their excessive proportions shall be added to the total bulk of the body, not to parts in which the beauty of the proportion would thus be marred. Just as if, after making a vessel of clay, one wished to make it over again of the same clay, it would not be necessary that the same portion of the clay which had formed the handle should again form the new handle, or that what had formed the bottom should again do so, but only that the whole clay should go to make up the whole new vessel, and that no part of it should be left unused. 

Wherefore, if the hair that has been cropped and the nails that have been cut would cause a deformity were they to be restored to their places, they shall not be restored; and yet no one will lose these parts at the resurrection, for they shall be changed into the same flesh, their substance being so altered.

1 Another reading is, " Head over all the Church."

2 Eph. i. 22, 23. 3 Ps. cxii. 1.
as to preserve the proportion of the various parts of the body.
However, what our Lord said, "Not a hair of your head shall perish," might more suitably be interpreted of the number, and not of the length of the hairs, as He elsewhere says, "The hairs of your head are all numbered." 1 ISTo I would say this because I suppose that any part naturally belonging to the body can perish, but that whatever deformity was in it, and served to exhibit the penal condition in which we mortals are, should be restored in such a way that, while the substance is entirely preserved, the deformity shall perish. For if even a human workman, who has, for some reason, made a deformed statue, can recast it and make it very beautiful, and this without suffering any part of the substance, but only the deformity to be lost, â€” if he can, for example, remove some unbecoming or disproportionate part, not by cutting off and separating this part from the whole, but by so breaking down and mixing up the whole as to o-et rid of the blemish without diminishing the quantity of his material, â€” shall we not think as highly of the almighty Worker? Shall He not be able to remove and abolish all deformities of the human body, whether common ones or rare and monstrous, which, though in keeping with this miserable life, are yet not to be thought of in connection with that future blessedness; and shall He not be able so to remove them that, while the natural but unseemly blemishes are put an end to, the natural substance shall suffer no diminution?

And consequently overgrown and emaciated persons need not fear that they shall be in heaven of such a figure as they would not be even in this world if they could help it. For all bodily beauty consists in the proportion of the parts, together with a certain agreeableness of colour. Where there is no proportion, the eye is offended, either because there is something awanting, or too small, or too large. And thus there shall be no deformity resulting from want of proportion in that state in which all that is wrong is corrected, and all that is defective supplied from resources the Creator wots of, and all that is excessive removed without destroying the integrity of the substance. And as for the pleasant colour, how

1 Luke xii. 7.
VOL. II. 2 K

conspicuous shall it be where "the just shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father!" 1 This brightness we must rather believe to have been concealed from the eyes of the disciples when Christ rose, than to have been awanting. For weak human eyesight could not bear it, and it was necessary that they should so look upon Him as to be able to recognise Him. For this purpose also He allowed them to touch the marks of His wounds, and also ate and drank, â€” not because He needed
nourishment, but because He could take it if He wished. Now, when an object, though present, is invisible to persons who see other things which are present, as we say that that brightness was present but invisible by those who saw other things, this is called in Greek aopaala; and our Latin translators, for want of a better word, have rendered this cecitas (blindness) in the book of Genesis. This blindness the men of Sodom suffered when they sought the just Lot's gate and could not find it. But if it had been blindness, that is to say, if they could see nothing, then they would not have asked for the gate by which they might enter the house, but for guides who might lead them away.

But the love we bear to the blessed martyrs causes us, I know not how, to desire to see in the heavenly kingdom the marks of the wounds which they received for the name of Christ, and possibly we shall see them. For this will not be a deformity, but a mark of honour, and will add lustre to their appearance, and a spiritual, if not a bodily beauty. And yet we need not believe that they to whom it has been said, "Not a hair of your head shall perish," shall, in the resurrection, want such of their members as they have been deprived of in their martyrdom. But if it will be seemly in that new kingdom to have some marks of these wounds still visible in that immortal flesh, the places where they have been wounded or mutilated shall retain the scars without any of the members being lost. While, therefore, it is quite true that no blemishes which the body has sustained shall appear in the resurrection, yet we are not to reckon or name these marks of virtue blemishes.

1 Matt. xiii. 43.
20. That, in the resurrection, the substance of our bodies, however disintegrated,
shall be entirely reunited.

Far be it from us to fear that the omnipotence of the Creator cannot, for the resuscitation
and reanimation of our bodies, recall all the portions which have been consumed by
beasts or fire, or have been dissolved into dust or ashes, or have decomposed into water,
or evaporated into the air. Far from us be the thought, that anything which escapes our
observation in any most hidden recess of nature either evades the knowledge or
transcends the power of the Creator of all things. Cicero, the great authority of our
adversaries, wishing to define God as accurately as possible, says, "God is a mind free
and independent, without materiality, perceiving and moving all things, and
itself endowed with eternal movement." 1 This he found in the systems of the
greatest philosophers. Let me ask, then, in their own language, how anything can either
lie hid from Him who perceives all things, or irrevocably escape Him who moves all
things?

This leads me to reply to that question which seems the most difficult of all, "To
whom, in the resurrection, will belong the flesh of a dead man which has become the
flesh of a living man? For if some one, famishing for want and pressed with hunger, use
human flesh as food, "an extremity not unknown, as both ancient history and the
unhappy experience of our own days have taught us, "can it be contended, with any
show of reason, that all the flesh eaten has been evacuated, and that none of it has been
assimilated to the substance of the eater, though the very emaciation which existed
before, and has now disappeared, sufficiently indicates what large deficiencies have been
filled up with this food? But I have already made some remarks which will suffice for
the solution of this difficulty also. For all the flesh which hunger has consumed finds its
way into the air by evaporation, whence, as we have said, God Almighty can recall it.
That flesh, therefore, shall be restored to the man in whom it first became human flesh.
For it must be looked upon as borrowed by the other person, and, like a pecuniary loan,
must be returned to the lender. His own flesh, however, which he lost by famine, shall be
restored to

1 Cic. Tusc. Qucest. i. 27.

516 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.

him by Him who can recover even what has evaporated. And though it had been
absolutely annihilated, so that no part of its substance remained in any secret spot of
nature, the Almighty could restore it by such means as He saw fit.
For this sentence, uttered by the Truth, "Xot a hair of your head shall perish," forbids us to suppose that, though no hair of a man's head can perish, yet the large portions of his flesh eaten and consumed by the famishing can perish.

From all that we have thus considered, and discussed with such poor ability as we can command, we gather this conclusion, that in the resurrection of the flesh the body shall be of that size which it either had attained or should have attained in the flower of its youth, and shall enjoy the beauty that arises from preserving symmetry and proportion in all its members. And it is reasonable to suppose that, for the preservation of this beauty, any part of the body's substance, which, if placed in one spot, would produce a deformity, shall be distributed through the whole of it, so that neither any part, nor the symmetry of the whole, may be lost, but only the general stature of the body somewhat increased by the distribution in all the parts of that which, in one place, would have been unsightly. Or if it is contended that each will rise with the same stature as that of the body he died in, we shall not obstinately dispute this, provided only there be no deformity, no infirmity, no languor, no corruption, â€” nothing of any kind which would ill become that kingdom in which the children of the resurrection and of the promise shall be equal to the angels of God, if not in body and age, at least in happiness.

21. Of the new spiritual body into which the flesh of the saints shall be transformed.

Whatever, therefore, has been taken from the body, either during life or after death, shall be restored to it, and, in conjunction with what has remained in the grave, shall rise again, transformed from the oldness's of the animal body into the newness of the spiritual body, and clothed in incorruption and immortality. But even though the body has been all quite ground to powder by some severe accident, or by the ruthlessness of enemies, and though it has been so diligently scattered to the winds, or into the water, that there is bo
trace of it left, yet it shall not be beyond the omnipotence of the Creator, â€” no, not a hair of its head shall perish. The flesh shall then be spiritual, and subject to the spirit, but still flesh, not spirit, as the spirit itself, when subject to the flesh, was fleshly, but still spirit and not flesh. And of this we have experimental proof in the deformity of our penal condition.

For those persons were carnal, not in a fleshly, but in a spiritual way, to whom the apostle said, "I could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal." ! And a man is in this life spiritual in such a way, that he is yet carnal with respect to his body, and sees another law in his members warring against the law of his mind; but even in his body he will be spiritual when the same flesh shall have had that resurrection of which these words speak, "It is sown an animal body, it shall rise a spiritual body." 2 But what this spiritual body shall be, and how great its grace, I fear it were but rash to pronounce, seeing that we have as yet no experience of it. Nevertheless, since it is fit that the joyfulness of our hope should utter itself, and so show forth God's praise, and since it was from the profoundest sentiment of ardent and holy love that the Psalmist cried, "Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house," 3 we may, with God's help, speak of the gifts He lavishes on men, good and bad alike, in this most wretched life, and may do our best to conjecture the great glory of that state which we cannot worthily speak of, because we have not yet experienced it. For I say nothing of the time when God made man upright; I say nothing of the happy life of "the man and his wife" in the fruitful garden, since it was so short that none of their children experienced it: I speak only of this life which we know, and in which we now are, from the temptations of which we cannot escape so long as we are in it, no matter what progress we make, for it is all temptation, and I ask, Who can describe the tokens of God's goodness that are extended to the human race even in this life?

22. Of the miseries and ills to which the human race is justly cxjJosed through the first sin, and from which none can be delivered save by Christ's grace.

That the whole human race has been condemned in its 1 1 Cor. iii. 1. 2 1 Cor. xv. 44. 3 Ps. xxvi. 8.

518 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

first origin, this life itself, if life it is to be called, bears -witness by the host of cruel ills with which it is filled. Is not this proved by the profound and dreadful ignorance which produces all the errors that enfold the children of Adam, and from which no man can be delivered without toil, pain, and fear? Is it not proved by his love of so many vain and hurtful things, which produces gnawing cares, disquiet, griefs, fears, wild joys, quarrels, law-suits, wars, treasons, angers, hatreds, deceit, flattery, fraud, theft, robbery, perfidy, pride, ambition, envy, murders, parricides, cruelty, ferocity,
wickedness, luxury, insolence, impudence, shamelessness, fornications, adulteries, incests, and the numberless uncleannesses and unnatural acts of both sexes, which it is shameful so much as to mention; sacrileges, heresies, blasphemies, perjuries, oppression of the innocent, calumnies, plots, falsehoods, false witnessings, unrighteous judgments, violent deeds, plunderings, and whatever similar wickedness has found its way into the lives of men, though it cannot find its way into the conception of pure minds? These are indeed the crimes of wicked men, yet they spring from that root of error and misplaced love which is born with every son of Adam. For who is there that has not observed with what profound ignorance, manifesting itself even in infancy, and with what superfluity of foolish desires, beginning to appear in boyhood, man comes into this life, so that, were he left to live as he pleased, and to do whatever he pleased, he would plunge into all, or certainly into many of those crimes and iniquities which I mentioned, and could not mention?

But because God does not wholly desert those whom He condemns, nor shuts up in His anger His tender mercies, the human race is restrained by law and instruction, which keep guard against the ignorance that besets us, and oppose* the assaults of vice, but are themselves full of labour and sorrow.

For what mean those multifarious threats which are used to restrain the folly of children? "What mean pedagogues, masters, the birch, the strap, the cane, the schooling which Scripture says must be given a child, "beating him on the sides lest he wax stubborn," 1 and it be hardly possible or not

1 Eccaii. xxx. 12. â€œ
possible at all to subdue him? Why all these punishments, save to overcome ignorance
and bridle evil desires? these evils with which we come into the world? For why is it
that we remember with difficulty, and without difficulty forget?
learn with difficulty, and without difficulty remain ignorant?
are diligent with difficulty, and without difficulty are indolent? Does not this show what
vitiated nature inclines and tends to by its own weight, and what succour it needs if it is
to be delivered? Inactivity, sloth, laziness, negligence, are vices which shun labour, since
labour, though useful, is itself a punishment.

But, besides the punishments of childhood, without which there would be no learning of
what the parents wish, and the parents rarely wish anything useful to be taught, who can describe, who can conceive the number and severity of the punishments which
afflict the human race, pains which are not only the accompaniment of the
wickedness of godless men, but are a part of the human condition and the common
misery, what fear and what grief are caused by bereavement and mourning, by losses
and condemnations, by fraud and falsehood, by false suspicions, and all the crimes and
wicked deeds of other men? For at their hands we suffer robbery, captivity, chains,
imprisonment, exile, torture, mutilation, loss of sight, the violation of chastity to satisfy
the lust of the oppressor, and many other dreadful evils. What numberless casualties
threaten our bodies from without, extremes of heat and cold, storms, floods,
inundations, lightning, thunder, hail, earthquakes, houses failing; or from the stumbling,
or shying, or vice of horses; from countless poisons in fruits, water, air, animals; from the
painful or even deadly bites of wild animals; from the madness which a mad dog
communicates, so that even the animal which of all others is most gentle and friendly to
its own master, becomes an object of intenser fear than a lion or dragon, and the man
whom it has by chance infected with this pestilential contagion becomes so rabid, that his
parents, wife, children, dread him more than any wild beast! What disasters are suffered
by those who travel by land or sea! What man can go out of his own house without being
exposed on all hands to unforeseen acci-

520 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

dents? Returning home sound in limb, lie slips on his own door-step, breaks his leg, and
never recovers. What can seem safer than a man sitting in his chair? Eli the priest fell
from his, and broke his neck. How many accidents do farmers, or rather all men, fear that
the crops may suffer from the weather, or the soil, or the ravages of destructive animals?
Commonly they feel safe when the crops are gathered and housed. Yet, to my certain
knowledge, sudden floods have driven the labourers away, and swept the barns clean of
the finest harvest. Is innocence a sufficient protection against the various assaults of
demons? That no man might think so, even baptized infants, who are certainly
unsurpassed in innocence, are sometimes so tormented, that God, who permits it, teaches
us hereby to bewail the calamities of this life, and to desire the felicity of the life to come.

As to bodily diseases, they are so numerous that they cannot all be contained even in medical books. And in very many, or almost all of them, the cures and remedies are themselves tortures, so that men are delivered from a pain that destroys by a cure that pains.

Has not the madness of thirst driven men to drink human urine, and even their own? Has not hunger driven men to eat human flesh, and that the flesh not of bodies found dead, but of bodies slain for the purpose? Have not the fierce pangs of famine driven mothers to eat their own children, incredibly savage as it seems? In fine, sleep itself, which is justly called repose, how little of repose there sometimes is in it when disturbed with dreams and visions; and with what terror is the wretched mind overwhelmed by the appearances of things which are so presented, and which, as it were, so stand out before the senses, that we cannot distinguish them from realities! How wretchedly do false appearances distract men in certain diseases! With what astonishing variety of appearances are even healthy men sometimes deceived by evil spirits, who produce these delusions for the sake of perplexing the senses of their victims, if they cannot succeed in seducing them to their side!

From this hell upon earth there is no escape, save through the grace of the Saviour Christ, our God and Lord. The very name Jesus shows this, for it means Saviour; and He save*:
us especially from passing out of this life into a more wretched and eternal state, which is rather a death than a life. For in this life, though holy men and holy pursuits afford us great consolations, yet the blessings which men crave are not invariably bestowed upon them, lest religion should be cultivated for the sake of these temporal advantages, while it ought rather to be cultivated for the sake of that other life from which all evil is excluded. Therefore, also, does grace aid good men in the midst of present calamities, so that they are enabled to endure them with a constancy proportioned to their faith. The world's sages affirm that philosophy contributes something to this, â€” that philosophy which, according to Cicero, the gods have bestowed in its purity only on a few men. They have never given, he says, nor can ever give, a greater sift to men. So that even those against whom we are disputing have been compelled to acknowledge, in some fashion, that the grace of God is necessary for the acquisition, not, indeed, of any philosophy, but of the true philosophy. And if the true philosophy â€” this sole support against the miseries of this life â€” has been given by Heaven only to a few, it sufficiently appears from this that the human race has been condemned to pay this penalty of wretchedness. And as, according to their acknowledgment, no greater gift has been bestowed by God, so it must be believed that it could be given only by that God whom they themselves recognise as greater than all the gods they worship.

23. Of the miseries of this life which attach peculiarly to the toil of good men, irrespective of those which are common to the good and bad.

But, irrespective of the miseries which in this life are common to the good and bad, the righteous undergo labours .peuciar to themselves, in so far as they make war upon their vices, and are involved in the temptations and perils of such a contest. For though sometimes more violent and at other times slacker, yet without intermission does the flesh lust against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh, so that we cannot do the things we would, 1 and extirpate all lust, but can only refuse consent to it, as God gives us ability, and so keep it under, vigilantly keeping watch lest a semblance of

1 Gal. v. 17.

522 . THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

truth deceive us, lest a subtle discourse blind us, lest error involve us in darkness, lest we should take good for evil or evil for good, lest fear should hinder us from doing what we ought, or desire precipitate us into doing what we ought not, lest the sun go down upon our wrath, lest hatred provoke us to render evil for evil, lest unseemly or immoderate grief consume us, lest an ungrateful disposition make us slow to recognise benefits
received, lest calumnies fret our conscience, lest rash suspicion on our part deceive us regarding a friend, or false suspicion of us on the part of others give us too much uneasiness, lest sin reign in our mortal body to obey its desires, lest our members be used as the instruments of unrighteousness, lest the eye follow lust, lest thirst for revenge carry us away, lest sight or thought dwell too long on some evil thing which gives us pleasure, lest wicked or indecent language be willingly listened to, lest we do what is pleasant but unlawful, and lest in this warfare, filled so abundantly with toil and peril, we either hope to secure victory by our own strength, or attribute it when secured to our own strength, and not to His grace of whom the apostle says, "Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ;" - 1 and in another place he says, "In all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us." 2

But yet we are to know this, that however valorously we resist our vices, and however successful we are in overcoming them, yet as long as we are in this body we have always reason to say to God, "Forgive us our debts." 3 But in that Kingdom where we shall dwell for ever, clothed in immortal bodies, we shall no longer have either conflicts or debts, â€” as indeed we should not have had at any time or in any condition, had our nature continued upright as it was created.

Consequently even this our conflict, in which we are exposed to peril, and from which we hope to be delivered by a final victory, belongs to the ills of this life, which is proved by the witness of so many grave evils to be a life under condemnation.

24. Of the blessings with which the Creator has filled this life, obnoxious though it be to the curse.

But we must now contemplate the rich and countless bless-
1 1 Cor. xv. 57. 2 Rom. viii. 37. 3 Matt. vi. 12.
The blessings with which the goodness of God, who cares for all He has created, has filled this very misery of the human race, which reflects His retributive justice. That first blessing which He pronounced before the fall, when He said, "Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth," He did not inhibit after man had sinned, but the fecundity originally bestowed remained in the condemned stock; and the vice of sin, which has involved us in the necessity of dying, has yet not deprived us of that wonderful power of seed, or rather of that still more marvellous power by which seed is produced, and which seems to be as it were inwrought and inwoven in the human body. But in this river, as I may call it, or torrent of the human race, both elements are carried along together, — both the evil which is derived from him who begets, and the good which is bestowed by Him who creates us. In the original evil there are two things, sin and punishment; in the original good, there are two other things, propagation and conformation. But of the evils, of which the one, sin, arose from our audacity, and the other, punishment, from God's judgment, we have already said as much as suits our present purpose. I mean now to speak of the blessings which God has conferred or still confers upon our nature, vitiated and condemned as it is. For in condemning it He did not withdraw all that He had given it, else it had been annihilated; neither did He, in penally subjecting it to the devil, remove it beyond His own power; for not even the devil himself is outside of God's government, since the devil's nature subsists only by the supreme Creator, who gives being to all that in any form exists.

Of these two blessings, then, which we have said flow from God's goodness, as from a fountain, towards our nature, vitiated by sin and condemned to punishment, the one, propagation, was conferred by God's benediction when He made those first works, from which He rested on the seventh day. But the other, conformation, is conferred in that work of His wherein "He worketh hitherto." 2 For were He to withdraw His efficacious power from things, they should neither be able to go on and complete the periods assigned to their measured move-

1 Gen. i. 28. 2 John v. 17.

524 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.

ments, nor should they even continue in possession of that nature they were created in. God, then, so created man that He gave him what we may call fertility, whereby he might propagate other men, giving them a congenital capacity to propagate their kind, "but not imposing on them any necessity to do so. This capacity God withdraws at pleasure from individuals, making them barren; but from the whole race He has not withdrawn the blessing of propagation once conferred.
But though not withdrawn on account of sin, this power of propagation is not what it would have been had there been no sin. For since "man placed in honour fell, he has become like the beasts," * and generates as they do, though the little spark of reason, which was the image of God in him, has not been quite quenched. But if conformation were not added to propagation, there would be no reproduction of one's land. For even though there were no such thing as copulation, and God wished to fill the earth with human inhabitants, He might create all these as He created one without the help of human generation. And, indeed, even as it is, those who copulate can generate nothing save by the creative energy of God. As, therefore, in respect of that spiritual growth whereby a man is formed to piety and righteousness, the apostle says, "Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase," 2 so also it must be said that it is not he that generates that is anything, but God that giveth the essential form; that it is not the mother who carries and nurses the fruit of her womb that is anything, but God that giveth the increase. For He alone, by that energy wherewith "He worketh hitherto," causes the seed to develope, and to evolve from certain secret and invisible folds into the visible forms of beauty which we see. He alone, coupling and connecting in some wonderful fashion the spiritual and corporeal natures, the one to command, the other to obey, makes a living being. And this work of His is so great and wonderful, that not only man, who is a rational animal, and consequently more excellent than all other animals of the earth, but even the most diminutive insect, cannot be

1 Vs. xlix. 20. 2 I Cor. iii. 7.
considered attentively without astonishment and without praising the Creator.

It is He, then, who has given to the human soul a mind, in which reason and understanding lie as it were asleep during infancy, and as if they were not, destined, however, to be awakened and exercised as years increase, so as to become capable of knowledge and of receiving instruction, fit to understand what is true and to love what is good. It is by this capacity the soul drinks in wisdom, and becomes endowed with those virtues by which, in prudence, fortitude, temperance, and righteousness, it makes war upon error and the other inborn vices, and conquers them by fixing its desires upon no other object than the supreme and unchangeable Good. And even though this be not uniformly the result, yet who can competently utter or even conceive the grandeur of this work of the Almighty, and the unspeakable boon He has conferred upon our rational nature, by giving us even the capacity of such attainment? For over and above those arts which are called virtues, and which teach us how we may spend our life well, and attain to endless happiness, â€” arts which are given to the children of the promise and the kingdom by the sole grace of God which is in Christ, â€” has not the genius of man invented and applied countless astonishing arts, partly the result of necessity, partly the result of exuberant invention, so that this vigour of mind, which is so active in the discovery not merely of superfluous but even of dangerous and destructive things, betokens an inexhaustible wealth in the nature which can invent, learn, or employ such arts? What wonderful â€” one might say stupefying â€” advances has human industry made in the arts of weaving and building, of agriculture and navigation! With what endless variety are designs in pottery, painting, and sculpture produced, and with what skill executed! What wonderful spectacles are exhibited in the theatres, which those who have not seen them cannot credit! How skilful the contrivances for catching, killing, or taming wild beasts! And for the injury of men, also, how many kinds of poisons, weapons, engines of destruction, have been invented, while for the preservation or restoration of health the appliances and remedies are infinite!

To provoke appetite and please the palate, what a variety of seasonings have been concocted! To express and gain entrance for thoughts, what a multitude and variety of signs there are, among which speaking and writing hold the first place! what ornaments has eloquence at command to delight the mind! what wealth of song is there to captivate the ear! how many musical instruments and strains of harmony have been devised! What skill has been attained in measures and numbers! with what sagacity have the movements and connections of the stars been discovered! Who could tell the thought that has been spent upon nature, even though, despairing of recounting it in detail, he endeavoured only to give a general view of it? In fine, even the defence of errors and misapprehensions, which has illustrated the genius of
heretics and philosophers, cannot be sufficiently declared. For at present it is the nature of the human mind which adorns this mortal life which we are extolling, and not the faith and the way of truth which lead to immortality. And since this great nature has certainly been created by the true and supreme God, who administers all things He has made with absolute power and justice, it could never have fallen into these miseries, nor have gone out of them to miseries eternal, “saving only those who are redeemed,” had not an exceeding great sin been found in the first man from whom the rest have sprung.

Moreover, even in the body, though it dies like that of the beasts, and is in many ways weaker than theirs, what goodness of God, what providence of the great Creator, is apparent! The organs of sense and the rest of the members, are not they so placed, the appearance, and form, and stature of the body as a whole, is it not so fashioned, as to indicate that it was made for the service of a reasonable soul? Man has not been created stooping towards the earth, like the irrational animals; but his bodily form, erect and looking heavenwards, admonishes him to mind the things that are above. Then the marvellous nimbleness which has been given to the tongue and the hands, fitting them to speak, and write, and execute so many duties, and practise so many arts, does it not prove the excellence of the soul for which such an assistant was pro-
vided? And even apart from its adaptation to the work required of it, there is such a
symmetry in its various parts, and so beautiful a proportion maintained, that one is at a
loss to decide whether, in creating the body, greater regard was paid to utility or to
beauty. Assuredly no part of the body has been created for the sake of utility which does
not also contribute something to its beauty. And this would be all the more apparent, if
we knew more precisely how all its parts are connected and adapted to one another, and
were not limited in our observations to what appears on the surface; for as to what is
covered up and hidden from our view, the intricate web of veins and nerves, the vital
parts of all that lies under the skin, no one can discover it. For although, with a cruel zeal
for science, some medical men, who are called anatomists, have dissected the bodies of
the dead, and sometimes even of sick persons who died under their knives, and have
inhumanly prised into the secrets of the human body to learn the nature of the disease and
its exact seat, and how it might be cured, yet those relations of which I speak, and which
form the concord, 1 or, as the Greeks call it, "harmony,"
of the whole body outside and in, as of some instrument, no one has been able to
discover, because no one has been audacious enough to seek for them. But if these could
be known, then even the inward parts, which seem to have no beauty, would so delight us
with their exquisite fitness, as to afford a profounder satisfaction to the mind â€” and the
eyes are but its ministers â€” than the obvious beauty which gratifies the eye.
There are some things, too, which have such a place in the body, that they obviously
serve no useful purpose, but are solely for beauty, as e.g. the teats on a man's breast, or
the beard on his face; for that this is for ornament, and not for protection, is proved by the
bare faces of women, who ought rather, as the weaker sex, to enjoy such a defence. If,
therefore, of all those members which are exposed to our view, there is certainly not one
in which beauty is sacrificed to utility, while there are some which serve no purpose but
only beauty, I think it can readily be concluded that in the crea-

1 Coaptation a word coined by Augustine, and used by him again in the De Trin. iv. 2.

528 THE CITY OF GOD. [LOOK XXII.

tion of the human body comeliness was more regarded than necessity. In truth, necessity
is a transitory thing; and the time is coming when we shall enjoy one another's beauty
without any lust, â€” a condition which will specially redound to the praise of the
Creator, who, as it is said in the psalm, has "put on praise and comeliness." 1

How can I tell of the rest of creation, with all its beauty and utility, which the divine
goodness has given to man to please his eye and serve his purposes, condemned though
he is, and hurled into these labours and miseries? Shall I speak of the manifold and
various loveliness of sky, and earth, and sea; of the plentiful supply and wonderful
qualities of the light; of sun, moon, and stars; of the shade of trees; of the colours and
perfume of flowers; of the multitude of birds, all differing in plumage and in song; of the variety of animals, of which the smallest in size are often the most wonderful, â€” the works of ants and bees astonishing us more than the huge bodies of whales. Shall I speak of the sea, which itself is so grand a spectacle, when it arrays itself as it were in vestures of various colours, now running through every shade of green, and again becoming purple or blue? Is it not delightful to look at it in storm, and experience the soothing complacency which it inspires, by suggesting that we ourselves are not tossed and shipwrecked? 2 "What shall I say of the numberless kinds of food to alleviate hunger, and the variety of seasonings to stimulate appetite, which are scattered everywhere by nature, and for which we are not indebted to the art of cookery? How many natural appliances are there for preserving and restoring health? How grateful is the alternation of day and night! How pleasant the breezes that cool the air! How abundant the supply of clothing furnished us by trees and animals! Who can enumerate all the blessings we enjoy? If I were to attempt to detail and unfold only these few which I have indicated in the mass, such an enumeration would fill a volume. And all these are but the solace of the

1 Ps. civ. 1.

2 He apparently has in view the celebrated passage in the opening of the second book of Lucretius. The uses made of this passage are referred to by Lecky, Hist, of European florals, i. 74.
wretched and condemned, not the rewards of the blessed. What then shall these rewards be, if such be the blessings of a condemned state? What will He give to those whom He has predestined to life, who has given such things even to those whom He has predestined to death? What blessings will He in the blessed life shower upon those for whom, even in this state of misery, He has been willing that His only-begotten Son should endure such sufferings even to death? Thus the apostle reasons concerning those who are predestined to that kingdom: "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also give us all things?" 1 When this promise is fulfilled, what shall we be? What blessings shall we receive in that kingdom, since already we have received as the pledge of them Christ's dying?

In what condition shall the spirit of man be, when it has no longer any vice at all; when it neither yields to any, nor is in bondage to any, nor has to make war against any, but is perfected, and enjoys undisturbed peace with itself? Shall it not then know all things with certainty, and without any labour or error, when unhindered and joyfully it drinks the wisdom of God at the fountainhead? What shall the body be, when it is in every respect subject to the spirit, from which it shall draw a life so sufficient, as to stand in need of no other nutriment? For it shall no longer be animal, but spiritual, having indeed the substance of flesh, but without any fleshly corruption.

25. Of the obstinacy of those individuals who impugn the resurrection of the body, though, as was predicted, the whole world believes it.

The foremost of the philosophers agree with us about the spiritual felicity enjoyed by the blessed in the life to come; it is only the resurrection of the flesh they call in question, and with all their might deny. But the mass of men, learned and unlearned, the world's wise men and its fools, have believed, and have left in meagre isolation the unbelievers, and have turned to Christ, who in His own resurrection demonstrated the reality of that which seems to our adversaries absurd. For the world has believed this which God predicted, as it was also predicted that the world would believe, â€”a prediction not due to the sorceries of Peter, 1 since it was uttered so long before. He who has predicted these things, as I have already said, and am not ashamed to repeat, is the God before whom all other divinities tremble, as Porphyry himself owns, and seeks to prove, by testimonies from the oracles of these Â£ods, and q-oes so far as to call Him God the Father and Kingr.
Far be it from us to interpret these predictions as they do who have not believed, along with the whole world, in that which it was predicted the world would believe in. For why should we not rather understand them as the world does, whose belief was predicted, and leave that handful of unbelievers to their idle talk and obstinate and solitary infidelity? For if they maintain that they interpret them differently only to avoid charging Scripture with folly, and so doing an injury to that God to whom they bear so notable a testimony, is it not a much greater injury they do Him when they say that His predictions must be understood otherwise than the world believed them, though He Himself praised, promised, accomplished this belief on the world’s part? And why cannot He cause the body to rise again, and live for ever? or is it not to be believed that He will do this, because it is an undesirable thing, and unworthy of God? Of His omnipotence, which effects so many great miracles, we have already said enough. If they wish to know what the Almighty cannot do, I shall tell them He cannot lie. Let us therefore believe what He can do, by refusing to believe what He cannot do. Eefusing to believe that He can lie, let them believe that He will do what He has promised to do; and let them believe it as the world has believed it, whose faith He predicted, whose faith He praised, whose faith He promised, whose faith He now points to. But how do they prove that the resurrection is an undesirable thing? There shall then be no corruption, which is the only evil thing about the body. I have already said enough about the order of the elements, and the other fanciful objections men raise; and in the thirteenth book I have, in my own judgment, sufficiently illustrated the facility of movement which the incorruptible body shall enjoy, judging from the ease and vigour we experience even now, when the body

1 Vide Book xviii, c. 53.
is in good health. Those who have either not read the former books, or wish to refresh
their memory, may read them for themselves.

26. That the opinion of Porphyry, that the soul, in order to be blessed, must be separated
from every kind of body, is demolished by Plato, who says that the supreme
Oodpromised the gods that they should never be ousted from their bodies.

But, say they, Porphyry tells us that the soul, in order to be blessed, must escape
connection with every kind of body.
It does not avail, therefore, to say that the future body shall be incorruptible, if the soul
cannot be blessed till delivered from every kind of body. But in the book above
mentioned I have already sufficiently discussed this. This one thing only will I repeat, â€”
let Plato, their master, correct his writings, and say that their gods, in order to be blessed,
must quit their bodies, or, in other words, die; for he said that they were shut up in
celestial bodies, and that, nevertheless, the God who made them promised them
immortality, â€” that is to say, an eternal tenure of these same bodies, such as was not
provided for them naturally, but only by the further intervention of His will, that thus
they might be assured of felicity. In this he obviously overturns their assertion that the
resurrection of the body cannot be believed because it is impossible; for, according to
him, when the uncreated God promised immortality to the created gods, He expressly
said that He would do what was impossible. For Plato tells us that He said,
"As ye have had a beginning, so you cannot be immortal and incorruptible; yet ye shall
not decay, nor shall any fate destroy you or prove stronger than my will, which more
effectually binds you to immortality than the bond of your nature keeps you from it." If
they who hear these words have, we do not say understanding, but ears, they cannot
doubt that Plato believed that God promised to the gods He had made that He would
effect an impossibility. For He who says,
"Ye cannot be immortal, but by my will ye shall be immortal," what else does He say
than this, " I shall make you what ye cannot be?" The body, therefore, shall be raised
incorruptible, immortal, spiritual, by Him who, according to Plato, has promised to do
that which is impossible. Why
ascribed to them when he says that they wish to return again to their bodies. 1 They shall not, I say, feel this desire to return to their bodies, since they shall have those bodies to which a return was desired, and shall, indeed, be in such thorough possession of them, that they shall never lose them even for the briefest moment, nor ever lay them down in death.

27. Of the apparently conflicting opinions of Plato and Porphyry, which icould have conducted them both to the truth if they cov.ld have yielded to one another.

Statements were made by Plato and Porphyry singly, which if they could have seen their way to hold in common, they might possibly have become Christians. Plato said that souls could not exist eternally without bodies; for it was on this account, he said, that the souls even of wise men must some time or other return to their bodies. Porphyry, again, said that the purified soul, when it has returned to the Father, shall never return to the ills of this world. Consequently, if Plato had communicated to Porphyry that which he saw to be true, that souls, though perfectly purified, and belonging to the wise and righteous, must return to human bodies; and if Porphyry, again, had imparted to Plato the truth which he saw, that holy souls shall never return to the miseries of a corruptible body, so that they should not have each held only his own opinion, but should both have held both truths, I think they would have seen that it follows that the souls return to their bodies, and also that these bodies shall be such as to afford them a blessed and immortal life. For, according to Plato, even holy

1 Virg. JEn. vi. 751.
souls shall return to the body; according to Porphyry, holy souls shall not return to the ills of this world. Let Porphyry then say with Plato, they shall return to the body; let Plato say with Porphyry, they shall not return to their old misery:
and they will agree that they return to bodies in which they shall suffer no more. And this is nothing else than what God has promised, â€” that He will give eternal felicity to souls joined to their own bodies. For this, I presume, both of them would readily concede, that if the souls of the saints are to be reunited to bodies, it shall be to their own bodies, in which they have endured the miseries of this life, and in which, to escape these miseries, they served God with piety and fidelity.

28. What Plato or Labeo, or even Varro, might have contributed to the true faith of the resurrection, if they had adopted one another's opinions into one scheme.

Some Christians, who have a liking for Plato on account of his magnificent style and the truths which he now and then uttered, say that he even held an opinion similar to our own regarding the resurrection of the dead. Cicero, however, alluding to this in his Republic, asserts that Plato meant it rather as a playful fancy than as a reality; for he introduces a man *
who had come to life again, and gave a narrative of his experience in corroboration of the doctrines of Plato. Labeo, too, says that two men died on one day, and met at a cross-road, and that, being afterwards ordered to return to their bodies, they agreed to be friends for life, and were so till they died again. But the resurrection which these writers instance resembles that of those persons whom we have ourselves known to rise again, and who came back indeed to this life, but not so as never to die again. Marcus Varro, however, in his work On the Origin of the Roman People, records something more remarkable; I think his own words should be given. " Certain astrologers," he says, " have written that men are destined to a new birth, which the Greeks call palingenesy. This will take place after four hundred and forty years have elapsed; and then the same soul and the same body, which were formerly united in the person, shall again be reunited." This Varro, indeed, or those nameless astrologers, â€” for he does not give us the names

1 In the Republic, x.
water, or into the bodies of the beasts or even of the men that fed on them, should be restored again to that which they formerly were. And therefore, if Plato and Porphyry, or rather, if their disciples now living, agree with us that holy souls shall return to the body, as Plato says, and that, nevertheless, they shall not return to misery, as Porphyry maintains, â€” if they accept the consequence of these two propositions which is taught by the Christian faith, that they shall receive bodies in which they may live eternally without suffering any misery, â€” let them also adopt from Varro the opinion that they shall return to the same bodies as they were formerly in, and thus the whole question of the eternal resurrection of the body shall be resolved out of their own mouths.

29. Of the beatific vision.

And now let us consider, with such ability as God may vouchsafe, how the saints shall be employed when they are clothed in immortal and spiritual bodies, and when the flesh shall live no longer in a fleshly but a spiritual fashion. And indeed, to tell the truth, I am at a loss to understand the nature of that employment, or, shall I rather say, repose and ease, for it has never come within the range of my bodily senses. And if I should speak of my mind or understanding, what is our understanding in comparison of its excellence? For then shall be that "peace of God which," as the apostle says, "passeth all understanding," 1 â€” that is to say, all human, and perhaps all angelic understanding, but certainly not the divine. That it passeth ours there is no doubt; but if it passeth that of the angels, â€” and he who says "all understanding" seems to make no exception in their favour, â€” then we must understand him to mean that neither we nor the angels do.

1 Phil. iv. 7.
can understand, as God understands, the peace which God Himself enjoys. Doubtless this passeth all understanding but His own. But as we shall one day be made to participate, according to our slender capacity, in His peace, both in ourselves, and with our neighbour, and with God our chief good, in this respect the angels understand the peace of God in their own measure, and men too, though now far behind them, whatever spiritual advance they have made. For we must remember how great a man he was who said, "We know in part, and we prophesy in part, until that which is perfect is come;" 1 and "Now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face." 2 Such also is now the vision of the holy angels, who are also called our angels, because we, being rescued out of the power of darkness, and receiving the earnest of the Spirit, are translated into the kingdom of Christ, and already begin to belong to those angels with whom we shall enjoy that holy and most delightful city of God of which we have now written so much. Thus, then, the angels of God are our angels, as Christ is God's and also ours. They are God's, because they have not abandoned Him; they are ours, because we are their fellow-citizens. The Lord Jesus also said, "See that ye despise not one of these little ones: for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always see the face of my Father which is in heaven." As, then, they see, so shall we also see; but not yet do we thus see. Wherefore the apostle uses the words cited a little ago, "Now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face." This vision is reserved as the reward of our faith; and of it the Apostle John also says, "When He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." 4 By "the face" of God we are to understand His manifestation, and not a part of the body similar to that which in our bodies we call by that name.

And so, when I am asked how the saints shall be employed in that spiritual body, I do not say what I see, but I say what I believe, according to that which I read in the psalm, "I believed, therefore have I spoken." 5 I say, then, they shall in the body see God; but whether they shall see Him by means of the body, as now we see the sun, moon, stars, sea, earth, and all that is in it, that is a difficult question. For it is hard to say that the saints shall then have such bodies that they shall not be able to shut and open their eyes as they please; while it is harder still to say that every one who shuts his eyes shall lose the vision of God. For if the prophet Elisha, though at a distance, saw his servant Gehazi, who thought that his wickedness would escape his master's observation and accepted gifts from Xaaman the Syrian, whom the prophet had cleansed from his foul leprosy, how much more shall the saints in the

1 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 3 Matt, xviii. 10.

4 1 John iii. 2. 5 Ps. cxvi. 10.
spiritual body see all things, not only though their eyes be shut, but though they themselves be at a great distance? For then shall be "that which is perfect."
of which the apostle says, "We know in part, and we prophesy in part: but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." Then, that he may illustrate as well as possible, by a simile, how superior the future life is to the life now lived, not only by ordinary men, but even by the foremost of the saints, lie says, "When I was a child, I understood as a child, I spake as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things. Xow we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known."

1 If, then, even in this life, in which the prophetic power of remarkable men is no more worthy to be compared to the vision of the future life than childhood is to manhood, Elisha, though distant from his servant, saw him accepting gifts, shall we say that when that which is perfect is come, and the corruptible body no longer oppresses the soul, but is incorruptible and offers no impediment to it, the saints shall need bodily eyes to see, though Elisha had no need of them to see his servant? For, following the Septuagint version, these are the prophet's words: "Did not my heart go with thee, when the man came out of his chariot to meet thee, and thou tookedst his gifts?" 2 Or, as the presbyter Jerome rendered it from the Hebrew, "Was not my heart present when the man turned from his chariot to meet thee?"
The prophet said that he saw tins with his heart, miraculously

1 1 Cor. xiii. 11, 12. Â»2 Kings v. 26.
aided by God, as no one can doubt. But how much more abundantly shall the saints enjoy this gift when God shall be all in all? Nevertheless the bodily eyes also shall have their office and their place, and shall be used by the spirit through the spiritual body. For the prophet did not forego the use of his eyes for seeing what was before them, though he did not need them to see his absent servant, and though he could have seen these present objects in spirit, and with his eyes shut, as he saw things far distant in a place where he himself was not.

Far be it, then, from us to say that in the life to come the saints shall not see God when their eyes are shut, since they shall always see Him with the spirit.

But the question arises, whether, when their eyes are open, they shall see Him with the bodily eye? If the eyes of the spiritual body have no more power than the eyes which we now possess, manifestly God cannot be seen with them. They must be of a very different power if they can look upon that incorporeal nature which is not contained in any place, but is all in every place. For though we say that God is in heaven and on earth, as He Himself says by the prophet, "I fill heaven and earth," 1 we do not mean that there is one part of God in heaven and another part on earth; but He is all in heaven and all on earth, not at alternate intervals of time, but both at once, as no bodily nature can be. The eye, then, shall have a vastly superior power, â€” the power not of keen sight, such as is ascribed to serpents or eagles, for however keenly these animals see, they can discern nothing but bodily substances, â€” but the power of seeing things incorporeal. Possibly it was this great power of vision which was temporarily communicated to the eyes of the holy Job while yet in this mortal body, when he says to God, "I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth Thee: wherefore I abhor myself, and melt away, and count myself dust and ashes;" 2 although there is no reason why we should not understand this of the eye of the heart, of which the apostle says, "Having the eyes of your heart illuminated." 3 But that God shall be seen with these eyes no Christian doubts who believingly accepts what our God and Master says, "Blessed

1 Jer. xxiii. 24. 2 Job xlii. 5, 6. 3 Eph. i. 18.
witness, but especially the words of the venerable Simeon, who, when he had received into his hands the infant Christ, said,

* Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." 3 As for the words of the above-mentioned Job, as they are found in the Hebrew manuscripts, " And in my flesh I shall see God/" 4 no doubt they were a prophecy of the resurrection of the flesh; yet he does not say " ~by the flesh." And indeed, if he had said this, it would still be possible that Christ was meant by " God;" for Christ shall be seen by the flesh in the flesh.

But even understanding it of God, it is only equivalent to saying, I shall be in the flesh when I see God. Then the apostle's expression, "face to face," does not oblige us to believe that we shall see God by the bodily face in which are the eyes of the body, for we shall see Him without intermission in spirit. And if the apostle had not referred to the face of the inner man, he would not have said, " But we, with unveiled face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord." 6 In the same sense we understand what the Psalmist sings, "Draw near unto Him, and be enlightened; and your faces shall not be ashamed." 7 For it is by faith we draw near to God, and faith is an act of the spirit, not of the body. But as we do not know what degree of perfection the spiritual body shall attain, â€” for here we speak of a matter of which we have no experience, and upon which the authority of Scripture does not definitely pronounce, â€” it is


4 Job xix. 26. 3 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 6 2 Cor. iii. 18.

7 Ps. xxxiv. 5. â€¢
necessary that the words of the Book of Wisdom be illustrated in us: "The thoughts of mortal men are timid, and our forecastings uncertain." 1

For if that reasoning of the philosophers, by which they attempt to make out that intelligible or mental objects are so seen by the mind, and sensible or bodily objects so seen by the body, that the former cannot be discerned by the mind through the body, nor the latter by the mind itself without the body, "if this reasoning were trustworthy, then it would certainly follow that God could not be seen by the eye even of a spiritual body. But this reasoning is exploded both by true reason and by prophetic authority. For who is so little acquainted with the truth as to say that God has no cognisance of sensible objects? Has He therefore a body, the eyes of which give Him this knowledge? Moreover, what we have just been relating of the prophet Elisha, does this not sufficiently show that bodily things can be discerned by the spirit without the help of the body? For when that servant received the gifts, certainly this was a bodily or material transaction, yet the prophet saw it not by the body, but by the spirit. As, therefore, it is agreed that bodies are seen by the spirit, what if the power of the spiritual body shall be so great that spirit also is seen by the body? For God is a spirit. Besides, each man recognises his own life — that life by which he now lives in the body, and which vivifies these earthly members and causes them to grow — by an interior sense, and not by his bodily eye; but the life of other men, though it is invisible, he sees with the bodily eye. For how do we distinguish between living and dead bodies, except by seeing at once both the body and the life which we cannot see save by the eye? But a life without a body we cannot see thus.

Wherefore it may very well be, and it is thoroughly credible, that we shall in the future world see the material forms of the new heavens and the new earth in such a way that we shall most distinctly recognise God everywhere present and governing all things, material as well as spiritual, and shall see Him, not as now we understand the invisible things of God, by the things which are made, 2 and see Him darkly, as we do not believe, but see that the living men around us who are exercising vital functions are alive, though we cannot see their life without their bodies, but see it most distinctly by means of their bodies, so, wherever we shall look with those spiritual eyes of our future bodies, we shall see, too, by means of bodily substances behold God, though a spirit, ruling all things. Either, therefore, the eyes shall possess some quality

540 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]
similar to that of the mind, by which they may be able to discern spiritual things, and among these God, â€” a supposition for which it is difficult or even impossible to find any support in Scripture, â€” or, which is more easy to comprehend, God will be so known by us, and shall be so much before us, that we shall see Him by the spirit in ourselves, in one another, in Himself, in the new heavens- and the new earth, in every created thing which shall then exist; and also by the body we shall see Him in every body which the keen vision of the eye of the spiritual body shall reach. Our thoughts also shall be visible to all, for then shall be fulfilled the words of the apostle, "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the thoughts of the heart, and then shall every one have praise of God." 1

30. Of the eternal felicity of the city of God, and of the perpetual Sabbath.

How great shall be that felicity, which shall be tainted with no evil, which shall lack no good, and which shall afford leisure for the praises of God, who shall be all in all! For I know not what other employment there can be where no lassitude shall slacken activity, nor any want stimulate to labour.

I am admonished also by the sacred song, in which I read or hear the words, "Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house, Lord; they will be still praising Thee." 2 All the members and organs of the incorruptible body, which now we see to be suited to various necessary uses, shall contribute to the praises of God; for in that life necessity shall have no place, but full,

1 1 Cor. iv. 5. 2 Ps. lxxxiv. 4.
certain, secure, everlasting felicity. For all those parts 1 of the bodily harmony, which are distributed through the whole body, within and without, and of which I have just been saying that they at present elude our observation, shall then be discerned; and, along with the other great and marvellous discoveries which shall then kindle rational minds in praise of the great Artificer, there shall be the enjoyment of a beauty which appeals to the reason. What power of movement such bodies shall possess, I have not the audacity rashly to define, as I have not the ability to conceive. Nevertheless I will say that in any case, both in motion and at rest, they shall be, as in their appearance, seemly; for into that state nothing which is unseemly shall be admitted. One thing is certain, the body shall forthwith be wherever the spirit wills, and the spirit shall will nothing which is unbecoming either to the spirit or to the body. True honour shall be there, for it shall be denied to none who is worthy, nor yielded to any unworthy; neither shall any unworthy person so much as sue for it, for none but the worthy shall be there. True peace shall be there, where no one shall suffer opposition either from himself or any other. God Himself, who is the Author of virtue, shall there be its reward; for, as there is nothing greater or better, He has promised Himself. What else was meant by His word through the prophet, " I will be your God, and ye shall be my people," " than, I shall be their satisfaction, I shall be all that men honourably desire, â€” life, and health, and nourishment, and plenty, and glory, and honour, and peace, and all good things? This, too, is the right interpretation of the saying of the apostle, " That God may be all in all." 3 He shall be the end of our desires who shall be seen without end, loved â€” without cloy, praised without weariness. This outgoing of affection, this employment, shall certainly be, like eternal life itself, common to all.

But who can conceive, not to say describe, what degrees of honour and glory shall be awarded to the various degrees of merit? Yet it cannot be doubted that there shall be degrees.

And in that blessed city there shall be this great blessing, that no inferior shall envy any superior, as now the archangels are

1 Numbers. 2 Lev. xxvi. 12. 3 1 Cor. xv. 23.

542 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

not envied by the angels, because no one will wish to be what he has not received, though bound in strictest concord with him who has received; as in the body the finger does not seek to be the eye, though both members are harmoniously included in the complete structure of the body. And thus, along with his gift, greater or less, each shall receive this further gift of contentment to desire no more than he has.
Neither are we to suppose that because sin shall have no power to delight them, free will must be withdrawn. It will, on the contrary, be all the more truly free, because set free from delight in sinning to take unfailing delight in not sinning.

For the first freedom of will which man received when he was created upright consisted in an ability not to sin, but also in an ability to sin; whereas this last freedom of will shall be superior, inasmuch as it shall not be able to sin. This, indeed, shall not be a natural ability, but the gift of God. For it is one thing to be God, another thing to be a partaker of God.

God by nature cannot sin, but the partaker of God receives this inability from God. And in this divine gift there was to be observed this gradation, that man should first receive a free will by which he was able not to sin, and at last a free will by which he was not able to sin, â€” the former being adapted to the acquiring of merit, the latter to the enjoying of the reward. 1

But the nature thus constituted, having sinned when it had the ability to do so, it is by a more abundant grace that it is delivered so as to reach that freedom in which it cannot sin. For as the first immortality which Adam lost by sinning consisted in his being able not to die, while the last shall consist in his not being able to die; so the first free will consisted in his being able not to sin, the last in his not being able to sin.

And thus piety and justice shall be as indefeasible as happiness. For certainly by sinning we lost both piety and happiness; but when we lost happiness, we did not lose the love of it. Are we to say that God Himself is not free because He cannot sin? In that city, then, there shall be free will, one in all the citizens, and indivisible in each, delivered from all ill, filled with all good, enjoying indefeasibly the delights of eternal joys, oblivious of sins, oblivious of sufferings, and yet

1 Or, the former to a state of probation, the latter to a state of reward.
not so oblivious of its deliverance as to be ungrateful to its Deliverer.

The soul, then, shall have an intellectual remembrance of its past ills; but, so far as regards sensible experience, they shall be quite forgotten. For a skilful physician knows, indeed, professionally almost all diseases; but experimentally he is ignorant of a great number which he himself has never suffered from. As, therefore, there are two ways of knowing evil things, â€” one by mental insight, the other by sensible experience, for it is one thing to understand all vices by the wisdom of a cultivated mind, another to understand them by the foolishness of an abandoned life, â€” so also there are two ways of forgetting evils. For a well-instructed and learned man forgets them one way, and he who has experimentally suffered from them forgets them another, â€” the former by neglecting what he has learned, the latter by escaping what he has suffered. And in this latter way the saints shall forget their past ills, for they shall have so thoroughly escaped them all, that they shall be quite blotted out of their experience. But their intellectual knowledge, which shall be great, shall keep them acquainted not only with their own past woes, but with the eternal sufferings of the lost. For if they were not to know that they had been miserable, how could they, as the Psalmist says, for ever sing the mercies of God? Certainly that city shall have no greater joy than the celebration of the grace of Christ, who redeemed us by His blood. There shall be accomplished the words of the psalm, "Be still, and know that I am God." 1 There shall be the great Sabbath which has no evening, which God celebrated among His first works, as it is written, "And God rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it He had rested from all His work which God began to make." 2 For we shall ourselves be the seventh day, when we shall be filled and replenished with God's blessing and sanctification. There shall we be still, and know that He is God; that He is that which we ourselves aspired to be when we fell away from Him, and listened to the voice of the seducer, M Ye shall be as gods," 3 and so abandoned God, who

1 Ps. xlvii. 10. 2 Gen. ii. 2, 3. 3 Gen. iii. 5.

54-4 THE CITY OF GOD. [BOOK XXII.]

would have made us as gods, not by deserting Him, but by participating in Him. For without Him what have we accomplished, save to perish in His anger? But when we are
restored by Him, and perfected with greater grace, we shall have eternal leisure to see that He is God, for we shall be full of Him when He shall be all in all. For even our good works, when they are understood to be rather His than ours, are imputed to us that we may enjoy this Sabbath rest. For if we attribute them to ourselves, they shall be servile; for it is said of the Sabbath, "Ye shall do no servile work in it." 1 Wherefore also it is said by Ezekiel the prophet, "And I gave them my Sabbaths to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord who sanctify them." 2 This knowledge shall be perfected when we shall be perfectly at rest, and shall perfectly know that He is God.

This Sabbath shall appear still more clearly if we count the ages as days, in accordance with the periods of time defined in Scripture, for that period will be found to be the seventh. The first age, as the first day, extends from Adam to the deluge; the second from the deluge to Abraham, equalling the first, not in length of time, but in the number of generations, there being ten in each. From Abraham to the advent of Christ there are, as the evangelist Matthew calculates, three periods, in each of which are fourteen generations, &e", one period from Abraham to David, a second from David to the captivity, a third from the captivity to the birth of Christ in the flesh. There are thus five ages in all. The sixth is now passing, and cannot be measured by any number of generations, as it has been said, "It is not for you to know the times, which the Father hath put in His own power." 3 After this period God shall rest as on the seventh day, when He shall give us (who shall be the seventh day) rest in Himself. But there is not now space to treat of these ages; suffice it to say that the seventh shall be our Sabbath, which shall be brought to a close, not by an evening, but by the Lord's day, as an eighth and eternal day, consecrated by the resurrection of Christ, and prefiguring the eternal repose not only of the spirit, but also of the body. There we shall rest and see, see and love, love and praise.


DOOK XXII.] CONCLUSION. 5 4 5

This is what shall be in the end without end. For what other end do we propose to ourselves than to attain to the kingdom of which there is no end?

I think I have now, by God's help, discharged my obligation in writing this larger work. Let those who think I have said too little, or those who think I have said too much, forgive me; and let those who think I have said just enough join me in giving thanks to God. Amen.

VOL. TL 2 M
INDEXES.

I.â€” INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

i. 1, 2,
i. 6, i. 14, i. 14-18, i. 24, i. 26, i. 27, 28, 128, i. 31, ii. 2, 3, ii. 6, .
ii. 7, .
ii. 17, i.

ii. 22, ii. 25, iii. 5, iii. 6, iii. 7, iii. 9, .
iii. 12, iii. 12, 13, iii. 16, iii. 19,

iv. 6, 7, iv. 17, iv. 18-22, iv. 25, iv. 26, v. 1, .
v. 2, .
v. 6, .
v. 8, .
vi. 1-4, vi. 3, vi. 5-7, vi. 6, vi. 19, 20, vii. 10, 11,

Genesis.

VOL. PAGE

i. 439, 446, 501
. i. 322
. i. 479
. i. 502
. i. 458
i. 544; ii. 116
ii. 114, 323
ii. 38
ii. 21, 37, 523
i. 464
ii. 543
i. 552
i. 549
533, 535, 548;
ii. 142
ii. 510
ii. 32
ii. 27, 543
ii. 32
ii. 32, 33
i. 535
ii. 24
ii. 28
ii. 60
i. 535, 548;
ii. 385
ii. 57
ii. 51, 62
ii. 82
ii. 290
ii. 97
ii. 22
ii. 103
ii. 73

vii.

vii.

vii.

VOL. PAGE

viii. 4, 5, .

. ii.

73

ix. 25,
i.

L04

ix. 26, 27,

ii.

L04

x. 21,

ii.

L09

x. 25,

ii. 119.;

L22

xi. 1,

. ii.

128

xi. 1-9,

. ii. ’.
L12

xi. 6,

. ii. '.

115

xi. 27-29, .

. ii. !

L25

xi. 31,

. ii.

L25

xi. 32,

ii. 126,: 

L38

xii. 1, ii. l'

27, 128, .
xii. 1, 2, .

. ii. 

xii. 1-3, .

. ii.;

xii. 3,

. ii. 

xii. 4,

. ii.;

xii. 7,

. ii.
xvii. 5,

. ii.: 295

xvii. 5, 6, 10,

. ii. ', L43

xvii. 14, .

. ii. ', L42

xvii. 17, â€¢

. ii. ', L49

xviii.

. i.: 593
xviii. 2, 3,

. ii. ]

L45

xviii. 18, i. <

292; ii. ]

L45

xix. 2,

. ii. '.

L45

xix. 16-19,

. ii. '.

L45

xix. 21, .

. ii. '.

145

xx. 12,
VOL. PAGE

xxii. 10, 12,

ii. 148

xxii. 14, .

ii. 149

xxii. 15-18,

ii. 149

xxii. 18, .

i. 432;

ii.

333, 395

xxiv. 2, 3,

ii. 150

xxiv. 10, .

ii. 125
XXV. 1,

ii. 150

xxv. 5, 6,

ii. 150

xxv. 7,

ii. 220

xxv. 9,

i. 24

xxv. 23, ii.

151, 161

xxv. 27,

ii. 154

xxvi. 1-5,

ii. 152

xxvi. 24,

ii. 153
xxvii. 27-29,

ii. 154

xxvii. 33,

ii. 155

xxviii. 1-4,

ii. 155

xxviii. 10-19,

ii. 156

xxxii. 28,

ii. 157

xxxii. 28-30,

ii. 199

xxxv. 29,

i. 24

xlvi. 8,
ii. 159

xlvi. 27, .

ii. 7

xlvii. 29, .

i. 21

xlviii. 19, .

ii. 161

xlix. 8-12,

ii. 160

xlix. 10, . ii.

223, 277

xlix. 12, .

ii. 161

1. 22, 23, .

ii. 159
1. 23,

ii. 159

1. 24,

i. 21

Exodus

iii. 14, i.

323, 482

x...

ii. 112

xii. 37,

ii. 63

xvii. 6,

ii. 281

xxi. 24,

ii. 436
xxii. 20, .

i. 387;

ii.

332, 338

xxxiii. 13,

i. 402

547

54S

INDEX OF TEXTS.

Leytticus.

VOL. PAGE

xx vi. 12, . . ii. 541

Deuteronomy.

v. 14, . . ii. 544

Joshua.
. ii. 124

Judges.
iii. SO, . ii. 199

1 Samuel.

ii. 1-10, .
ii. 27-36, .
vii. 9-12, .
vii. 14, 15, xiii. 13, 14, xv. 11, .
xv. 23, .
xv. 26-29, .
xxiv. 5, 6,

ii. 171
ii. 179
ii. 188
ii. 192
ii. 185
ii. 22
ii. 186
ii. 186
ii. 185

2 Samuel.

vii. 8, vii. 8-16, .
vii. 10, 11, vii. 19, .
vii. 29,

9, .

ii. 198
ii. 190
ii. 198 bis
ii. 197
ii. 19S

1 Kings.

xiii. 2, xix. 10, 14, 15, .

ii. 200
ii. 214

2 Kings.

ii. 11, . . ii. 405
v. 26, . . ii- 536

xiii. 15-17, . ii. 200

2 Chronicles.

xxx. 9, . . i. 384

Job.

i. 21,

. i. 15
Psalms.

iii. 3,

. ii. 47

iii. 5,

. ii. 205

iv. 7,

. ii. 12

vi. 2,

. ii. 173

vi. 5,

. i. 532

vi. 6, ix. IS, x. 3,

xi. 5, xii. 6, xii. 7, xiii. 1, xvi. 2, xvi. 9, 10, xvi. 10, xvi. 11, xvii. 6, xvii. 8.

xvii. 15, xviii. 43, xviii. 45, xix. 9, xix. 12, xxii. 16, 17, xxii. IS, 19, xxiv. 16, xxv. 10, xxv. 17, xxvi. 2, xxxi. 19, xxxii. 1, xxxii. 11, xxxiv. 5, xxxiv. S, xxxvi. S, xxxix. 2, xxxix. S, xl. 2, xl. 2, 3, xl. 4, xl. 5, xl. 6, xii. 5, xii. 5-S, xii. 9, xii. 10, xiii. 3,

xiii. 6,
i. 107
ii. 11
ii. 182
i. 499
ii. 194
3SS; ii. 339
ii. 207
ii. 174
ii. 12
i. 454
ii. 1S2
ii. 456
ii. 47
203, 40S
ii. 15S
ii. 19
i. 490
ii. 205
ii. 205
i. 475
i. 520
ii. 310
ii. 10
447, 455
ii. 209
ii. 12
ii. 538
ii. 45G
ii. 517
ii. 379
lxxiv. 12, lxxvii. 9,
lxxvii. 10, lxxxii. 6,

lxxxiii. 16, lxxxiii. 28,
I xxxiv. 2,
lxxxiv. 4,
lxxxiv. 10, lxxxvii. 3, lxxxvii. 5, lxxxix. 2, 3, lxxxix. 3, 4, lxxxix. 19-29, lxxxix. 30-33,
i lxxxix. 32, lxxxix. 34, 35, lxxxix. 36, 37, lxxxix. 3S, lxxxix. 39-45, lxxxix. 46,
[ lxxxix. 46, 47, lxxxix. 47,
i lxxxix. 48, lxxxix. 49-51,
I xc. 10, xciv. 4,

ii. 177
ii. 446, 453
ii. 454
i. 379, 385;
ii. 95
. ii. 2S
. i. 3^7
. i. 417
. ii. 540
. ii. 1S3
i. 292, 436
. ii. 402
. i. 19
. ii. 191
. ii. 192
. ii. 192
. i. 10
. ii. 193
. ii. 193
ii. 193 but
. ii. 194
. ii. 194
. ii. 194
. ii. 195
. ii. 195
. ii. 195
. ji. 196
. ii. 74
. i. 49

xciv. 11, ii. 173, 302, 501

xciv. 15, xcv. 19, xcv. 3, xcv. 5, xcv. 6, xcvii. 1, xcvii. 1-5, xcvii. 4, 5,

. l. 1
ii. 2S4, 2S5
. i. 379
INDEX OF TEXTS.

xcvi. 5, xcvi. 5, 6, ci. 1,
cii. 25-27, civ. 1, civ. 4, civ. 24, civ. 26, cv. 28, cv. 15, ex. 1, ex. 2, ex. 4, cxi. 1, cxi. 2, cxii. 1, cxv. 5, cxvi. 10, .
cxvi. 15, .
cxvi.
cxviii. 1-5, cxix. 20, .
cxix. 119, .
cxix. 164, .
exxiii. 2, .
exxxvi. 2, .
exxxvii. 1, exxxviii. 3, cxliv. 4, ii. 195
cxliv. 15, .
cxlvi. 5, .
cxlvi. 12-14, cxlvi. 2, .
cxlvi. 4, .
cxlvi. 8, .

VOL PAGE

ii. 33S
i. 379
ii. 354
ii. 395
ii. 528
ii. 92
i. 477

455, 457
ii. 358
ii. 192

200, 204

ii. 204

ii. 135, 205 bis

ii. 187

ii. 46
ii. 512

i. 344

ii. 535

19, 527

ii. 255

i. 446
ii. 11
ii. 142

i. 475
ii. 329

i. 379

ii. 198

ii. 37

347, 454

ii. 341
Proverbs.

i. 11-13, iii. 18, vi. 26, viii. 15, vii. 27, ix. 1, ix. 1-5, ix. 6, x. 5, x. xviii. 12, xxiv. 16,

. ii. 210

i. 445; ii. 404

i. 54

i. 216

i. 439

ii. 174

ii. 211

ii. 211

ii. 105

ii. 27

I. 475

ECCLESIASTES.
i. 2, 3, i. 9, 10, ii. 13, 14,

ii. 24, iii. 13, iii. 18, iii. 22, vii. 4, vii. 29,

ii. 34S
i. 499
ii. 348
ii. 211
ii. 211
ii. 211
i. 554
ii. 212
ii. 22

viii. 14, viii. 15, x. 13, x. 16, 17, xi. 9, xii. 13, 14,

VOL. PAGE

ii. 349
ii. 211

i. 485
ii. 212

i. 384
ii. 349

Canticles or Songs.

i. 3, ii. 105

i. 4,

ii.
212

ii. 4,

ii.

92

ii. 5,

ii.

390

iv. 13,

i.

546

vii. 6,

ii.

213

Isaiah
i. 1,

ii.

247

ii. 2, 3,

i.

433

ii. 3, ii.

2S2,

290

iv. 4,

ii.

400

v. 7,

. ii.

106
vii. 14,

ii.

277

x. 21,

ii.

182

x. 22, . ii.

258,

278

xi. 2,

i.

476

xi. 4,

ii.

288
i.

422

xl. 26,

i.

508

xlii. 1-4,

ii.

410

xlv. 8,

. ii.

378

xlviii. 12-16,

. ii.

407

xlviii. 20,
ii.

13

lxv. 5,

. ii.

393

lxv. 17-19, ii.

389,

476

lxv. 22, .

. ii.

402

lxvi. 12-16,

ii.

387

lxvi. 18, .

. ii.
390

lxvi. 22-24,

ii.

391

lxvi. '24, .

. ii.

454

lxvi. 34, .

. ii.

432

Jeremiah.

i. 5,

i.

517
257

VOL. PAGj.;

xxiii. 24, i. 517; ii. 537
xxix. 7, . . ii. 341
xxxi. 31, . . ii. 257

Lamentations.
iv. 20, . . ii. 257

EZEKIEL.

xx. 12, xxviii. 13, .
xxxiii. 6, .
xxxiv. 23, .
xxxvii. 22-24,

Daniel iii.

vii. 13, 14
vii. 15-28, vii. 18, vii. 27, xii. 1, 2, xii. 1-3, xii. 13,

Hosea

i. 1,
i. 10,
iii. 4, iii. 5, vi. 2, vi. 6,
ii. 544
i. 454
i. 14

ii. 259
ii. 259

i. 22

ii. 258
ii. 393
ii. 476
ii. 476
ii. 476
ii. 394
ii. 395

ii. 246
ii. 248
ii. 248
ii. 248
ii. 248
ii. 248

i. 390; ii. 399

Joel.
ii. 13, ii. 28, 29, .

Amos.
i. 1, .

iv. 12, 13, .
ix. 11, 12, .

Obadiah, ver. 17, ver. 21, .

iii. 4,
Jonah

Micah i. 1, iv. 13, v. 2-4, vi. 6-8, .

Naiium i. 14-ii. 1,

ii. 254
ii. 251

ii. 247
ii. 249
ii. 249

ii. 251
ii. 251

ii. 247
ii. 250
ii. 250
i. 359

ii. 2C2

550
INDEX OF TEXTS.

Haeakkuk.

VOL. PAGE

ix. 13-15; i. 501

vi. 15,

ii. 468

ii. 2, 3; ii. 252

ix. 14; ii. 539

vi. 19-21;

i. 16

ii. 4, i. 157; ii. 301, 328

ix. 15, i. 536; ii. 4, 303

vi. 28-30;
i. 403

iii. 2, . ii. 252

xi. 20, . i. 475, 508

vii. 7, 8, .

. ii. 196

iii. 3, . . ii- 253

xi. 38, . . i. 532

vii 12,

ii. 13

iii. 4, . . ii. 253

vii. 18,

ii. 26

ECCLESIASTICUS.

vii. 20,
Zephaxiah.

ii. 106

ii. 7, . . ii. 368

viii. 22, i. 212; ii

. 354, 375

ii. 11, . . ii. 258

iii. 27,

. i. 38

viii. 29, i. 342; ii. 345

iii. 8, . . ii. 257

vii. 13,

. ii. 14

x. 22,

. ii. 16

iii. 9-12, . . ii. 25S
vii 17, . ii. 433
x. 27, . ii. 255
x. 13, . ii. 25
x. 28, i. 19, 212, 522
Haggai.

xv. 17, . ii. 142

ii. 283
ii. 6, . ii. 259
xxi. 1, . ii. 466
x. 30,
i. 508

ii. 7, ii. 275, 281

xxiv. 3,
i. 455

x. 32,
i. 527

ii. 9, ii. 275, 280, 281

xxvii. 5,

. ii. 461

x. 33,
i. 205

xxx. 12,

. ii. 51S

x. 34,
ii. 390

Zechaeiah.

xxx. 24, i. 390; ii. 466

x. 36,

ii. 308

ix. 9, 10, . . ii. 259

xxxiii. 15, . i. 457

x. 37,

ii. 464

ix. 11, . . ii. 260

xxxvi. 1-5, . ii. 210

x. 41,

. ii. 470

xii. 9, 10, . . ii. 408

3d. 1, . ii. 441
xi. 13,

ii. 217

xiii. 2, . . i. 34

xi. 22,

. ii. 350

Baruch.

xi. 24,

ii. 350

Malaciii.

iii. 26, 27, . . ii. 97

xii. 27, .

ii. 351

i. 10, 11, . . ii. 260

iii. 35-37, . . ii. 257
Hymn of the Three Children.

xiv. 41, 42,

ii. 351

ii. 17, . ii. 404, 406

Children.

xiii. 37-10,

ii. 351

iii. 1, 2, . . ii. 261

ver. 35, . . i. 446
xiii. 39-41.

ii. 264

iii. 1-6, ii. 399

xiii. 41-

ii. 414

iii. 13-16, ii. 362
iii. 14, ii. 406

xiii. 43, xiii. 47-50,

ii. 514
ii. 282

iii. 14, 15, ii. 404

NEW TESTAMENT.

xiii. 52,

. ii. 350
iii. 17-iv. 3, ii. 262, 403

xvi 16,

i. 342

iv. 4, . . ii. 404

Matthew.

xvi. 25,

i. 528

iv. 5, 6, . . ii. 405

i. . . ii. 77

xvii. 1, 2, .

ii. 410

i. 1, 18,

. ii. 192

xvii. 7,
ii. 313

i. 21, i. 23,

. ii. 208
. ii. 277

xviii. 10, .
xviii. 15, .

i. 439

ii. 56

APOCRYPHA.

iii. 2,

. ii. 282

xviii. 18, .

. ii. 365

iii. 8,

. ii. 465
ii. 175

Tobit.

iv. 19,

ii. 408

xix. 2S,

ii. 351

xii. 12, . i. 21

v. 4,

ii. 2.14

xix. 29, .

ii. 358

xii. 19, . i. 547

v. 8,

ii. 3S8, 53S

xx. 22,
ii. 106

v. 16,

. i. 2C6

xxii. 11-14,

iiâ€”z2Sl

Judith.

v. 19,

. ii. 364

xxii. 14,

ii. 273

v. 5-9, . . ii. 126

v. 20,

ii. 364.

xxii. 29,

ii. 510
vii. 20, . . i. 384

v. 23, 24,

. ii. 467

xxii. 30, i. 477

; ii. 510

v. 28,

. ii. 21

xxii. 37-40,

i. 357

Wisdom.

v. 45, i. 1

), 138; ii. 454

xxii. 39,

ii. 466

i. 9, . . ii. 403
vi. 1,
  i. 206

xxii. 40,
  i. 390
  ii. 12-21, . . ii. 210

vi. 2,
  i. 207

xxii. 44,
  ii. 200

vi. 20, ' . . ii. 1 1

vi. 12, ii. 342, 349, 465,

xxiii. 3,
  ii. 364

vii. 22, . . i. 450

467, 522
INDEX OF TEXTS.

551
xxiv. 21, . . ii. 138
xxiv. 25, . . ii. 396
xxiv. 29, . . ii. 396
xxv. 24, . . ii. 407
xxv. 30, . . ii. 392
xxv. 33, . . ii. 449
xxv. 34, ii. 364, 399, 462
xxv. 34-41, . ii. 353
xxv. 34, 41, 46, ii. 543
xxv. 35, . . ii. 207
xxv. 40, . . ii. 207
xxv. 41, . ii. 370, 434,
 450, 451, 462
  ii. 466

xxv. 45, xxv. 46, .

xxvi. 10-13, xxvi. 38, .
xxvi. 39, .
xxvi. 63, .
xxvi. 75, .
xxvii. 34, 48, xxviii. 19, xxviii. 20,

i. 453, 376,
  414, 451
  . ii. 13
  . ii. 18
  . ii. 106
  . ii. 398
  . ii. 16
  . ii. 208
  . i. 554
  . ii. 364

Mark.

i. 2, . . ii. 93

i. 24, . . i. 377
iii. 5, . . ii. 17

iii. 27, . . ii 357

ix. 43, 48, . . ii. 432


i. 27, i. 33, i. 34, i. 35, ii. 14, ii. 25-30, ii. 29, 30, iii. 6, v. 10, vi. 13, vi. 38, xii. 4, xii. 7, xii. 49, xvi. 9, xvi. 24, xix. 10, xx. 34, xx. 35, xxi. 18, xxii. 15, xxiii. 34, xxiv. 27, xxiv. 44-47, xxiv. 45-47,

ii. 192

ii. 472

ii. 137

ii. 137

ii. 14

ii. 172

ii. 538

ii. 538

ii. 408

ii. 282

ii. 437

i. 19

ii. 513

ii. 390
469, 470
416, 435
ii. 185
ii. 39, 85
ii. 81
504, 507
ii. 18
ii. 253
ii. 290
i. 433
ii. 2S3

John.

vor.. PAGE

VOL. PAGE

xv. 15-17,

. ii. 249

i. 1-5,
. i. 426

xvii. 28.

. i. 320

i. 6-9,

. i. 386

xvii. 30, 31

. . ii. 290

i. 9,

. i. 447

i. 14, i. <

115, 426; ii. 3

Romans.

i. 32,

. ii. 410
i. 3, ii.

186, 190, 248

i. 47, 51,

. ii. 156

i. 11-13, .

. ii. 17

ii. 19,

i. 160; ii. 261

i. 17,

. ii. 401

iii. 5,

i. 527; ii. 467

i. 19, 20,

i. 310, 320

iii. 17,

. ii. 254
i. 20,

i. 323; ii. 539

iv. 24,

i. 554

i. 21,

i. 341, 383

v. 17,

ii. 523

i. 21-23, 

i. 320

v. 22,

ii. 410

i. 21-25, 

ii. 48

v. 22-24, 

ii. 353

i. 25,

i. 170

v. 25, 26,

ii. 353

i. 26,

ii. 41

v. 28,

ii. 394

i. 31,

ii. 18

v. 28, 29,

ii. 355

ii. 4,

i. 10
v. 29,

. ii. 413

ii. 15, 16, .

. ii. 403

v. 44,

. i. 205

iii. 2,

. ii. 173

v. 46,

. ii. 404

iii. 4,

. ii. 135

vi. 50, 51,

ii. 447, 458

iii. 7,

. ii. 6
vi. 51,

. ii. 183

iii. 20,

. ii. 27

vi. 56,

. ii. 458

iii. 20-22,

. ii. 350

vi. 60-64,

. i. 415

iii. 23,

. ii. 390

vi. 70,

. ii. 207

iii. 26,
. ii. 172

vii. 39,

. ii. 408

iii. 28, 29,

. ii. 196

viii. 25,

i. 415, 476

iv. 15,

. ii. 142

viii. 34,

. ii. 324

v. 5,

. ii. 212

viii. 36,

. ii. 23
v. 12,  
. ii. 24  
viii. 44, ]  
i. 453; ii. 320  
v. 12, 19, .  
. ii. 142  
x. 9, .  
. i. 270  
vi. 4,  
. ii. 368  
x. 18,  
i. 160, 195  
vi. 9,  
i. 499; ii. 195  
xi. 15,  
. ii. 18
vi. 12, 13, .

. ii. 57

xi. 35,

. ii. 18

vi. 13,

i. 390; ii. 60

xii. 43, .

. i. 205

vi. 22,

. ii. 315

xiv. 6,

i. 432; ii. 6

vii. 12, 13,

. i. 526

xvi. 13,
. i. 476
vii. 17,
. ii. 60
xix. 30,
. ii. 160
viii. 6,
. ii. 389
xix. 38,
. i. 21
viii. 10,
. ii. 375
xx. 13,
. ii. 3
viii. 13,
. ii. 433
xx. 22,
  . i. 551
viii. 14,
  . ii. 441
xxi. 15-17,
  . ii. 11
viii. 15,
  . ii. 19

viii. 18,
  . i. 215

A
ICTS.

viii. 23,
  . ii. 16, 379
i. 6, 7,  

. ii. 288 

viii. 24, 

i. 550; ii. 307 

i. 7, 

. ii. 544 

viii. 24, 25 

. i. 418 

i. 7, S,  

. ii. 283 

viii. 28, 

i. 14; ii. 284 

i. 17, 

. ii. 207 

viii. 28, 29, 

. i. 549
ii. 17, 379

vii. 2, 3,

. ii. 128

ix. 5,

. ii. 86

vii. 4,

. ii. 129

ix. 7, 8,

ii. 14S, 150

vii. 22,

ii. 101, 264

ix. 10-13,

. ii. 151

vii. 53,

. i. 403
ix. 14,

. ii. 346

ix. 4,

. ii. 193

ix. 21,

. ii. 30

x. 42,

. ii. 177

ix. 22, 23,

. ii. 52

xiii. 46,

. ii. 196

ix. 27,

. ii. 25S

552
INDEX OF TEXTS.

VOL. PAGE '

VOL. FACE

VOL PAGE

ix. 27, 28,

. ii. 278

xi. 14,

. i. 86

iv. 22-31,

. ii. 16S

ix. 28,

. ii. 183

xi. 19,
. ii. 105;

iv. 25,

. ii. 188

x. 3, ii. 17,

172, 256, 456

xii. 12, . ii

. 178, 207 j

iv. 26, i

. 444; ii. 388

x. 5, .

. ii. 203

xii. 27,

. ii. 511

v. 6,

ii. 342, 459
x. 13,

. ii. 83

xiii. 4,

. ii. 107 |

v. 17, i. 534; ii. 55, 59,

xi. 5,

. ii. 182

xiii. 9, 10, ii

434, 535

303, 441, 521

xi. 11,

. ii. 278 !

xiii. 10, 12,

. ii. 476

v. 19-21, .
ii. 3, 457

xi. 20,

. ii. 12

xiii. 11, 12,

. ii. 536

vi. 1,

ii. 16, 5G

xi. 32,

. i. 39;

xiii. 12, ii

. 535, 538

vi. 2,

. ii. 56

ii. 447, 456

xv. 10,
. ii. 352

vi. 3,

. ii. 172

xi. 33,

. ii. 346

xvi. 21, 22,

i. 550 i

vi. 4,

. i. 201

xii. 1, i

. 390; ii. 1S3

xv. 22,

. ii. 3S5

xii. 2,
. i. 391

xv. 28, ii. 4S

, 393, 541

Ephesians.

xii. 3,

. i. 504

xv. 32,

. i. 544

i. 4,

ii. 1S5, 2S1

xii. 3-G,

. i. 391

xv. 36,

. ii. 385

i. 18,
xv. 42-45,

i. 549

iv. 10-16,

ii 511

xiii. 24, 25,

ii. 83

xv. 44,

ii. 517

iv. 12,

ii. 510

xiv. 4,

ii. 368

xv. 46,

ii. 50

iv. 13,

ii. 505
xiv. 9,

. ii. 366

xv. 46, 47,

. ii. 22S

iv. 26,

. ii. 56

xv. 47-49,

i. 550

v. 8,

i. 477

1 Corinthians.

xv. 51,

ii. 3S5

v. 14,
xv. 56,
i. 525
vi. 5,
i. 383
i. 30, 31,

ii. 456
xv. 57,
i. 522
vi. 20,

ii. 172
i. 31,

ii. 256

ii. 11,
. ii. 251

iii. 2,

. ii. 161

iii. 18,

. ii. 538

i. 24,

. ii. 511

iii. 3,

. ii. 7

iv. 16, . i.

552; ii. 4

ii. 8,

. i. 319

iii. 7, i

. 517; ii. 524
v. 1-4,

. ii. 4

iii. 1,

ii. 249, 368

iii. 9,

ii. 114, 328

v. 4,

. ii. 379

iii. 1, 2,

. ii. 365

iii. 11-15,

. ii. 448

v. 6,

. ii. 328

iii. 1-3,

. ii. 174
PHIL

[irriAx.s.

iii. 17,

. ii. 191

vi. 10,

. ii. 358

i. 3,

. ii. 17

iii. 20,

ii. 173, 302

vi. 14,

. ii. 309

i. 106,

. ii. 106

iv. 5,
. ii. 540

vii. 5,

. ii. 17

i. 23,

. ii. 11

iv. 7,

. ii. 176

vii. 8-11, .

. ii. 15

ii 7,

. ii. 192

iv. 9,

. ii. 17

viii. 9,

. ii. 174
ii. 8,

. ii. 29

v. 12,

. ii. 366

ix. 7,

. ii. 16

ii. 12,

. ii. 12

vi. 3,

. ii. 352

x. 12,

. i. 506

ii. 21,

. ii. 365

vii. 4,

. ii. 140
xi. 1-3,

   ii. 17

iii. 7, 8,

ii. 175

vii. 25,

   ii. 469

xi. 3,

i. 12

iii. 14,

   ii. _ 17

vii. 31,

   ii. 396

xi. 14, i. 3;

>7; ii. 313

iii. 19,
. ii. 389

vii. 31, 32,

. ii. 374

xi. 29,

. ii. 433

iii. 20,

. ii. 365

vii. 32,

. ii. 461

xii. 21,

. ii.. 17

iv. 7,

. ii. 534

vii. 33,

. ii. 461
viii. 1,

. i. 376

Galatians

iNS.

1 Thessalonians

SALOPIANS.

viii. 5, 6, .

. i. 380

ii. 14-20, .

. ii. 248

iv. 4.

. ii. 31

x. 4; :
L 545; ii. 281

iii. 11,

. ii. 2

iv. 13-16,

. ii. 384

x. 12,

. ii. 368

iii. 17,

. ii. 138

iv. 16,

. i. 499

x. 17,

ii. 183, 448,

iii. 19,

. i. 432
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

553

2 Thessalon

IANS.

VOL.

PACK

VOL PAGE

vii. 11-27, . . ii-

183

iii. 3-13, . . ii. 380

i. 9,
ii. 2S8

viii. 8,

ii.

168

iii. 6, . . ii. 396

ii. 1-11,

ii. 3S1

ix. 15,

ii.

185

iii. 8, . . ii. 356

ii. 8,

â€¢

ii. 371

xi. 7, xi. 11,
264
144

iii. 10, 11, . ii. 396

1 Timothy.

xi. 12,

ii.

144

1 Jot ix.

i. 5,

. 

ii. 44

xi. 13-16,

ii.

255
i. 8, ii. 16, 19, 379, 400

ii. 5, i.

374; ii.

93, 183,

xi. 17-19,

ii.

146

ii. 15, . . ii. 11

186, 280

xii. 14,

ii.

56

ii. 17, . . ii. 396

ii. 14,
ii. 24

xiii. 2,

ii.

144

ii. 18, 19, . ii. 381

iii. 1,

# m

ii. 329

xfti. 16,

i.

389

ii. 19, . ii. 362

v. S,

_ m

ii. 323
iii. 2, ... ii. 535

v. 20,

m #

ii. 56

James.

iii. 8, ... i. 453, 454

vi. 6-10,

m #

i. 15

i. 2, ... ii.

16

iii. 9, ... ii. 393

vi. 17-10
> â€¢ â€¢

i. 16

i. 17, . . i.

460

iii. 12, . . ii. 58

ii. 13, ii

449, 464,

469

iv. 7, . . ii. 176

2

Timothy.

ii. 14,

. ii.
iv. 18, ii. 19, 455

ii. 9,

ii. 172

ii. 19,

ii. 285,

359, 441

iv. 6,

i. 2, 478;

Jude.

ii. 25, 26
ii. 452

ii. 175,

342

ver. 14, . . ii. 264

iii. 2,

ii. 11

iii. 7,

##

i. 49

1 Peter.

Revelation.
iii. 12,

##

ii. 2S4

ii. 2, . . ii.

161

i. 4, . . ii. 173

iii. 16,

.. 

ii. 214

ii. 9, . ii. 1S3,

269

iii. 1, . i. 476

iv. 1,

.. 

ii. 207
iii. 4, . . i.

14

iii. 14, . . i. 476

iii. 20, 21, . ii.

264

xiv. 13, . . ii. 3G6

Titus.

iv. 5, . . ii.

207

xv. 2, . . ii. 377

i. 2, 3,
Hebrews

2 Peter.

xx. 10, ii. 435, 450, 454
II. INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Abel, the relation of, to Christ, ii. 82, 83. See Cain.

Abraham, the era in the life of, from which a new succession begins, i. 124; time of the migration of, 127, etc.; the order and nature of God's promises to, 129, etc.; the three great kingdoms existing at the time of the birth of, 130, 131; the repeated
promises of the land of Canaan made to, and to his seed, 131; his denial of his wife in Egypt, 132; the parting of Lot and, 132, 133; the third promise of the land to, 133; his victory over the kings, 134; the promise made to, of a large posterity, 135; the sacrifices offered by, when the covenant was renewed with, 136; the seed of, to be in bondage 400 years, 138; Sarah gives Hagarto, 139; the promise of a son given to, â€” receives the seal of circumcision, 140; change of the name of, 143; visit of three angels to, 144; his denial of his wife in Gerar, 146; birth of his son Isaac, 147; his offering up of Isaac, 147; death of his wife Sarah, 149; what is meant by marrying Keturah after Sarah's death? 150; the time of the fulfilment of the promise made to, respecting Canaan, 166. Abyss, casting Satan into the, ii. 358.

554

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Achior, his answer to Holofernes' inquiry respecting the Jews, ii. 126.

Adam forsook God before God forsook him, i. 535; in Paradise; his temptation and fall, ii. 22, etc.; nature of his first sin, 25; an evil will preceded his evil act, 25, 2G; the pride involved in the sin of, 23; the justice of the punishment of, 23, etc.; the nakedness of, seen after his base sin, 32; the fearful consequences of the sin of, i. 515, 521, ii. 1, 2.

iEneas, i. 04; time of the arrival of, in Italy, ii. 233.

tEScualanus, the god, i. 159.

^ESculapius, sent for to Epidaurus by the Romans, i. 115, 116; a deified man, 349.

Affections of the soul, right or wrong according to their direction, ii. 10, 12, 15.

Africa, a fearful visitation of, by locusts, i. 134.
Ages of ages, i. 50S, etc.

Amwmw, ii. 141.

Albans, the wickedness of the war waged by the Romans against, i. 105.

Alcimus, ii. 276.

Alexander the Great, the apt reply of a pirate to, i. 140; and Leo, an Egyptian priest, â€” a letter of, to his mother Olympias, i. 313, 351; invades Judea, ii. 275.

Alexandra, queen of the Jews, ii. 276.

Alms-deeds, of those who think that they will free evil-doers from damnation in the day of judgment, ii. 449, 464.

Altor, i. 238.

Alypius, ii. 485.

Amor and dlectlo, how used in Scripture, ii. 10, etc.

Amulius and Xumitor, ii. 240, 241.

Anaxagoras, i. 307; ii. 268.

Anaximander, i. 307.

Anaximenes, i. 308.

'Ancient compassions, Thine,' sworn unto David, ii. 195, etc.

Andromache, i. 104.

Anebo, Porphyry's letter to, i. 397, etc.

Angels, the holy things common to men and, i. 347, etc.; not mediators, 370; the difference between the knowledge of, and that of demons, 377; the love of, which prompts them to desire that we should worship God alone, 392; miracles wrought by the ministry of, for the confirmation of the faith, 392, etc., 400, etc.; the ministry of, to fulfil the providence
of God, 403; those who seek worship for themselves, and those who seek honour for God, which to be trusted about life eternal, 404; rather to be imitated than invoked, 41 S; the creation of, 445, etc.; whether those who fell partook of the blessedness of the unfallen, 450; were those who fell aware that they would fall? 452; were the unfallen assured of their own perseverance? 452, 453; the separation of the unfallen from the fallen, meant by the separation of the light from the darkness, 45S; approbation of the good, signified by the words, `God saw the light that it was good,' 459; the knowledge by which they know God in His essence, and perceive the causes of His works, 473; of the opinion that they were created before the world, 476; the two different and dissimilar communities of, 477, etc.; the idea that angels are meant by the separation of the waters by the firmament, 479; the nature of good and bad, one and the same, 4S1; the cause of the blessedness of the good, and of the miser)' of the bad, 4S7; did they receive their good-will as well as their nature from God? 491; whether they can be said to be creators of any creatures, 516; the opinion of the Platonists that man's body was created by, 51S; the wickedness of those who sinned did not disturb the order of God's providence, ii. 46; the 'sons of God' of the 6th chapter of Genesis not, 92, etc.; what we are to understand by God's speaking to, 114; the three, which appeared to Abraham, 144; Lot delivered by, 146; the creation of, 472.

Anger of God, the, ii. 97, etc., 454.

Animals, the dispersion of those preserved in the ark, after the deluge, ii. 115, etc.

Animals, rational, are they part 4)f God? i. 151.

Antediluvians, the long life and great' stature of, ii. 63, etc.; the different computation of the ages of, given by the Hebrew and other MBS. of the Old Testament, 65, etc.; the opinion of those who believe they did not live so long as is stated, considered, 6S; was the age of puberty later among, than it is now ? 75, etc.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Antichrist, the time of the last persecution by, hidden, ii. 28S, etc;
â– whether the time of the persecution by, is included in the thousand years, 371; the manifestation of, preceding the day of the Lord, 381, etc.; Daniel's predictions respecting the persecution caused by, 393, etc.
Antiochus of Syria, ii. 275.

Antipater, ii. 27C, 277.

Antipodes, the idea of, absurd, ii. 118.

Antiquities, Varro's book respecting human and divine, i. 234, 235.

Antiquity of the world, the alleged, i. 494, etc.

Antisthenes, ii. 268.

Antithesis, i. 457.

Antoninus, quoted, i. 18.

Antony, i. 132.

Apis, and Serapis, the alleged change of name; worshipped, ii. 222, 223.

Apocryphal Scriptures, ii. 95.

Apollo and Diana, i. 279.

Apollo, the weeping statue of, i. 101.

Apostles, the, whence chosen, ii. 282.

Apples of Sodom, the, ii. 421.

Apuleius, referred to, or quoted, i. 56, 137, 324; his book concerning the God of Socrates, 326; his definition of man, 329; what he attributes to demons, to whom he ascribes no virtue, 354, 355; on the passions which agitate demons, 360; maintains that the poets wrong the gods, 361; his definition of gods and men, 362; the error of, in respect to demons, 419, etc.

Aquila, the translator, ii. do, and note.

Archelaus, i. 308.

Areopagus, the, ii. 227.

Argos, the kings of, ii. 222, 223 j the fall of the kingdom of, 233.

Argus, King, ii. 223, 224.
Aristippus, ii. 268.

Aristobulus, ii. 276.

Aristotle, and Plato, i. 323.

Ark, the, of Noah, a figure of Christ and of His Church, ii. 98, etc.; and the deluge, the literal and allegorical interpretation of, 100; the capacity of, 101; what sort of creatures entered, 101, 102; how the creatures entered, 102; the food required by the creatures in, 102, 103; whether the remotest islands received their fauna from the animals preserved in, 115, etc.

Ark of the covenant, the, i. 407.

Art of making gods, the invention of the, i. 343.

Asbestos, ii. 421.

 Assyrian empire, the, ii. 219; close of, 240.

Athenians, the, ii. 219.

Athens, the founding of, and reason of the name, ii. 226.

Atlas, ii. 224.

Atys, the interpretation of the mutilation of, i. 291, 292.

Audians, i. 479, and note.

Augury, the influence of, i. 162, 168, 169.

Augustus Caesar, i. 132.

Aulus Gellius, the story he relates in the Nodes Atticm of the Stoic philosopher in a storm at sea, i. 356, 357.

Aurelius, Bishop, ii. 487.

Aventinus, king of Latium, deified, ii. 240, 241.

Babylone, the founding of, ii. Ill, etc.; meaning of the word, 112, 269.
Bacchanalia, the, ii. 232.

Baptism, the confession of Christ has the same efficacy as, i. 527, 528, 544; of those who think that Catholic, will free from damnation, ii. 447, etc., 457, etc.; other references to, 489, 490.

Barbarians, the, in the sack of Rome, spared those who had taken refuge in Christian churches, i. 2.

"Barren, the, hath born seven," ii. 173, 174.

Bassus, the daughter of, restored to life by a dress from the shrine of St, Stephen, ii. 494.

Bathanarius, count of Africa, and his magnet, ii. 420.

Beast, the, and his image, ii. 366, 367.

Beatific vision, the nature of, considered, ii. 534-540.

Beauty of the universe, the, i. 457.

"Beginning, in the," i. 476.

Berecynthia, i. 52, and note.

Binding the devil, ii. 357.

Birds, the, offered by Abraham, not to be divided, â€” import of this, ii. 137.

Birds, the, of Diomede, ii. 234, 238.

Blessed life, the, not to be obtained by the intercession of demons, but of Christ alone, i. 374.

Blessedness, the, of the righteous in this life compared with that of our first parents in Paradise, i. 451; of good angels, â€” its cause, 487, etc. j

556
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

the true, ii. 43; eternal, the promise of, 475.

Blessings, the, with which the Creator has filled this life, although it is obnoxious to the curse, ii. 522-529.

Boasting, Christians ought to be free from, i. 209.

Bodies, earthly, refutation of those who affirm that they cannot be made incorruptible and eternal, i. 53S; refutation of those who hold that they cannot be in heavenly places, 540, etc.; of the saints, after the resurrection, in what sense spiritual, 546; the animal and spiritual, 547-551; can they last for ever in burning fire? ii. 414-418; against the wise men who deny that they can be transferred to heavenly habitations, 476; the Platonists refuted, who argue that they cannot inhabit heaven, 501; all blemishes shall be removed from the resurrection bodies, the substance of, remaining, 572; the substance of, however they may have been disintegrated, shall in the resurrection be reunited, 515; the opinion of Porphyry, that souls must be wholly released from, in order to be happy, exploded by Plato, 531.

Body, the, sanctity of, not polluted by the violence done to it by another's lust, i. 26, 27; the Platonic and Manichosan idea of, ii. 8, etc.; the new spiritual, 516; obviously meant to be the habitation of a reasonable soul, 526.

Body, the, of Christ, against those who think that the participation of, will save from damnation, ii. 447, 448.

Body of Christ, the Church the, ii. 511.

Books opened, the, ii. 374.

Bread, they that were full of, â€” who? ii. 173.

Breathing, the, of God, when man was made a living soul, distinguished from the breathing of Christ on His disciples, i. 551.

Brutus, Junius, his unjust treatment of Tarquinius Collatinus, i. 68, 111, 112; kills his own son, 210.

Bull, the sacred, of Egypt, ii. 223.
Burial, the denial of, to Christians, no hurt to them, i. 19; the reason of, in the case of Christians, 20, etc.

Basiri?, ii. 230.

C^sar, Augustus, i. 132.

Caesar, Julius, the statement of, respecting an enemy when sacking a city, i. 7, etc.; claims to be descended from Venus, 94; assassination of, 132.

Cain, and Abel, belonged respectively to the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly, ii. 50; the fratricidal act of the former corresponding with the crime of the founder of Rome, 54, etc.; cause of the crime of, â€“ God's expostulation with, â€“ exposition of the viciousness of his offering, 57-61; his reason for building a city so early in the history of the human race, 61, etc.; and Seth, the heads of the two cities, the earthly and heavenly, 81; why the line of, terminates in the eighth generation from Adam, 84-89; why the genealogy of, is continued to the deluge, while after the mention of Enos the narrative returns to the creation, 89, etc.

Cakus (xxxu;), the giant, ii. 317.

Camillus, Furius, the vile treatment of, by the Romans, i. 68, 115, 211.

Canaan, the land of, the time of the fulfilment of God's promise of, to Abraham, ii. 166.

Canaan, and Xoah, ii. 106.

Candelabrum, a particular, in a temple of Venus, ii. 423, 424.

Cannse, the battle of, i. 121.

Canon, the ecclesiastical, has excluded certain writings, on account of their great antiquity, ii. 264, 265.

Canonical Scriptures, the, i. 43S, ii. 263; the concord of, in contrast with the discordance of philosophical opinion, 267, 268.

Cappadocia, the mares of, ii. 422.

Captivity of the Jews, the, the end of, ii. 246.

Captivity, the, of the saints, consolation in, i. 22.

Carnal life, the, ii. 2, etc.
Carthaginians, the, their treatments Regulus, i. 23.

Cataline, i. 80.

Catholic truth, the, confirmed by the dissensions of heretics, ii. 283-285.

Cato, what are we to think of his conduct in committing suicide? i. 34; excelled by Regulus, 35; his virtue, 202; was his suicide fortitude or weakness? ii. 305.

Catosus, the cook, ii. 492.

Cecrops, ii. 224, 226.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Ceres, i. 279; the rites of, 283.

Cheremon, cited by Porphyry in relation to the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, i. 399.

Chaldiean, a certain, quoted by Porphyry as complaining of the obstacles experienced from another man's influence with the gods to his efforts at self-purification, i. 395, 396.

Charcoal, the peculiar properties of, ii. 418.

Chariots, the, of God, ii. 389.

Charity, the efficacy of, ii. 466.

Chickens, the sacred, and the treaty of Numantia, i. 124.

Children of the flesh, and children of promise, ii. 51.

Chiliasts, the, ii. 357.

Christ, the preserving power of the name of, in the sack of Rome, i.
2, etc., 9, etc.; the mystery of the redemption of, at no past time awanting, but declared in various forms, 299, etc.; the incarnation of, 414; faith in the incarnation of, alone justifies, 416; the true Wisdom, but Porphyry fails to recognise, 422, 423; the Platonists blush to acknowledge the incarnation of, 423, etc.; the grace of, opens a way for the soul's deliverance, 430, etc.; the knowledge of God attained only through, 437, etc.; possessed true human emotions, ii. 17, etc.; the passion of, typified by Noah's nakedness, 106; described in the 45th Psalm, 201-204; the priesthood and passion of, described in the 110th and 122d Psalms, 204; the resurrection of, predicted in the Psalms, 205; the passion of, foretold in the Book of Wisdom, 209; the birth of, 277; the birth and death of, 290, 291; Porphyry's account of the responses of the oracles respecting, 334, etc.; the world to be judged by, 406, etc.; the one Son of God by nature, 441; the Foundation, 460; the world's belief in, the result of divine power, 453; the measure of the stature of, 508; the Perfect Man, and His Body, 511; the body of, after His resurrection, 514; the grace of, alone delivers us from the misery caused by the first sin, 520, 521.

Christian faith, the certainty of, ii. 328.

Christian religion, the, health-giving, i. 35; alone, revealed the malignity of evil spirits, 300; the length it is to last foolishly and lyingly fixed by the heathen, ii. 259-292.

Christianity, the calamities of Koine attributed to, by the heathen, i. 23, 50, 51; the effrontery of such an imputation to, 132.

Christians, why they are permitted to suffer evils from their enemies, i. 39; the reply of, to those who reproach them with suffering, 41; ought to be far from boasting, 209; the God whom they serve, the true God, to whom alone sacrifice ought to be offered, ii. 333, etc.

Chronology, the enormously long, of heathen writers, i. 494, 495, 496; the discrepancy in that of the Hebrew and other mss. in relation to the lives of the antediluvians, ii. 65, etc.

Church, the sons of the, often hidden among the wicked, and false Christians within the, i. 46; the indiscriminate increase of, ii. 281, 282, 283; the endless glory of, 377, etc.; the body of Christ, 511, etc.

Cicero, his opinion of the Roman republic, i. 74; on the miseries of this life, 302; his definition of a republic, â€” was there ever a Roman republic answering to it? 330, 331; variously quoted, 57, 58, 62, 63, 87, 109, 117, 129, 165, 170, 171, 173,
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Concord, the temple of, erected, i.

126; the wars which followed the building of, 128, etc.
Confession of Christ, the efficacy of,

for the remission of sins, i. 527.

Conflagration of the world, the, ii.
377; where shall the saints be
during ? 380.
Confusion of toDgues, the, ii. Ill, etc.;
God's coming down to cause, 113,
etc.
Conjugal union, the, as instituted and
blessed by God, ii. 38.
Constantine, i. 219, etc.; the prosperity
granted to, by God, 223, etc.
Consuls, the first Roman, their fate,
ii. Ill, etc.
Corn, the gods which were supposed
to preside over, at the various stages
of its growth, gathering in, etc., i.
144.
Creation, i. 439, 443; the reason and
cause of, 461, 462; the beauty and
goodness of, ii. 25S.
Creation, the, of angels, i. 445; of the
human race in time, 500; of both
angels and men, ii. 472, etc.
Creator, the, is distinguished from His
works by piety, i. 297, etc.; sin had
not its origin in, 456.
Creatures, the, to be estimated by
their utility, i. 455.
Cumsean Sibyl, the, i. 421.
Curiatii and Horatii, the, i. 105.
Curtius leaps into the gulf in the
Forum, i. 211.
Curubis, a comedian, miraculously
healed, ii. 490.
Cybele, i. 52, 53; the priests of, 56.
Cycles of time maintained by some,
i. 498, 505, etc., 511, 513.
Cynics, the foolish beastliness of
the, ii. 36; further referred to, 297.
Cynocephalus, i. 65.

Damned, the punishment of the, ii.
432.

Danae, ii. 232.

Darkness, the, when the Lord was crucified, i. 108, 109.

David, the promise made to, in his Son; Nathan's message to, ii. 189, etc., 193, etc.; God's
"ancient compassions " sworn to, 195, etc., 19S; his concern in writing the Psalms,
199; his reign and merit, 209.

Day, the seventh, the meaning of God's resting on, i. 444.

Days, the first, i. 443.

Days, lucky and unlucky, i. 186, 1S7.

"Days of the tree of life," the, ii. 402.

Dead, the, given up to judgment by the sea, death, and hell, ii. 375.

Dead, prayers for the, ii. 453.

Dead men, the religion of the pagans has reference to, i. 347.

Death, caused by the fall of man, i.
521; that which can affect an immortal soul, and that to which the body is subject, 521, 522; is it the punishment of sin, even in case of the good ? 522-524; why, if it is the
punishment of sin, is it not withheld from the regenerate ? 524; although an evil, yet
made a good to the good, 525; the evil of, as the separation of soul and body, 526; that
which the unbaptized suffer for the confession of Christ, 527, etc.; the saints, bj r
suffering the first, are freed from the second, 528; the moment of, when it actually occurs, 528, 529; the life which mortals claim may be fitly called, 529, 530; whether one can be living and yet in the state of, at the same time, 531; what kind of, involved in the threatenings addressed to our first parents, 533; concerning those philosophers who think it is not penal, 536; the second, ii. 343, etc.

Death, when it may be inflicted without committing murder, i. 32.

Deborah, ii. 233.

"Debts, forgive us our," ii. 467, 468.

Decii, the, ii. 212.

Deliverance, the way of the soul's, which grace throws open, i. 430.

Demaenetus, ii. 235.

Demon of Socrates, the, Apuleius on, i. 326, 327.

Demoniacal possessions, ii. 303.

Demonolatry, illicit acts connected with, i. 394.

Demons, the vicissitudes of life, not dependent on, i. 79; look after their own ends only, 82; incite to crime by the pretence of divine authority, 83; give certain obscure instructions in morals, while their own solemnities publicly inculcate wickedness, 85, etc.; what they are, 326; not better than men because of their having aerial bodies, 327, etc.; what Apuleius thought concerning the manners and actions of, 329, etc.; is it proper to worship? 331, etc.; ought the advocacy of, with the gods, to be employed? 332, 334; are the good A gods more willing to

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

559

have intercourse with, than with men? 335; do the gods use them as messengers, or interpreters, or are they deceived by? 335, etc.; we must reject the worship of, 338; are
there any good, to whom the guardianship of the soul may be committed? 354; what
Apuleius attributes to, 354, 355; the passions which agitate, 300; does the intercession of,
obtain for men the favour of the celestial gods? 363; men, according to Plotinus, less
wretched than, 364; the opinion of the Platonists that the souls of men become,
365; the three opposite qualities by which the Platonists distinguish between the nature of
man, and that of, 365, 366; how can they mediate between gods and men, having nothing
in common with either?

366; the Platonist idea of the necessity of the mediation of, 371; mean, by their
intercession, to turn man from the path of truth, 375; the name has never a good
signification, 375; the kind of knowledge which puffs up the, 376; to what extent the
Lord, was pleased to make Himself known to, 376, 377; the difference between the
knowledge possessed by, and that of the holy angels, 377; the power delegated to, for the
trial of the saints, 411; where the saints obtain power against, 412; seek to be
worshipped, 419; error of Apuleius in regard to, 419, etc.; strange transformations of
men, said to have been wrought by, ii. 235,
238; the friendship of good angels in this life, rendered insecure by the deception of, 313,
etc.

Demons, various other references to, i. 174, 222, 223, 231, 288, 301, 302,
303, 304, 305, 312, 326, 327, 345,
370, 411, 420, ii. 223, 289, 347.

"Desired One, the," of all nations, ii. 275.

Deucalion's flood, ii. 228.

Devil, the, how he abode not in the truth, i. 454; how is it said that he sinned from the
beginning? 454,
455; the reason of the fall of (the wicked angel), ii. 46, 47; stirs up persecution, 284; the
nature of, as nature, not evil, 320, 321; the binding of, 357; cast into the abyss,
358; seducing the nations, 359; the binding and loosing of, 360, etc.; stirs up Gog and
Magog against the

Church, 369, etc.; the damnation of, 373; of those who deny the eternal punishment of,
450.

Devil, a young man freed from a, at the monument of Protasius and Gervasius, ii. 491; a
young woman freed from a, by anointing, 492.

Devils, marvels wrought by, ii. 424.

Diamond, the, the peculiar properties of, ii. 419.

Diana, and Apollo, i. 279.
Dictator, the first, i. 116.

Diomede and his companions, who were changed into birds, ii. 234, 238.

Dis, i. 279, 288, 296.

Discord, why not a goddess as well as Concord? i. 127.

Divination, i. 302.

Doctor, a gouty, of Carthage, miraculously healed, ii. 489.

Duration and space, infinite, not to be comprehended, i. 441.

Earth, the, affirmed by Varro to be a goddess, â€” reason of his opinion, i. 286.

"Earth, in the midst of the," ii. 176, 177, 178.

Earth, holy, from Jerusalem, the efficacy of, ii. 490, 491.

Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, the Books of, ii. 209.

Eclipses, i. 108, 109.

Education, the divine, of mankind, i. 402.

Egeria, the nymph, and Numa, i. 303.

Egypt, a fig-tree of a peculiar kind found in, ii. 421.

Egyptians, the mendacity of, in ascribing an extravagant antiquity to their science, ii. 266, 267.

Eleusinian rites of Ceres, the, i. 283.

Eleven, the significance of the number, ii. 88.

Eli, the message of the man of God to, ii. 179-183.

Elias, the coming of, before the judgment, ii. 405.

Elisha and Gehazi, ii. 536, 537.

Emotions, mental, opinions of the Peripatetics and Stoics respecting, i. 355, 356.
Emotions and affections, good and bad, ii. 10, 12, 15.

Emperors, the Christian, the happiness K, of, i. 222, etc.

Empire, a great, acquired by war, â€” is it to be reckoned among good **Â» things? i. 13S; should good men wish to rule an extensive? 152, 153, 154.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Empire, the Roman. See Roman

Empire.

Enemies of God, the, are not so by nature, but by will, i. 4S4.

Enlightenment from above, Plotinus respecting, i. 385.

Enoch, the seventh from Adam, the significance of the translation of, 84; left some divine writings, 96.

Enoch, the son of Cain, ii. 81.

Enos, the son of Seth, ii. 81; a type of Christ, S2-S4.

Entity, none contrary to the divine, i. 4S3.

Epictetus, quoted on mental emotions, i. 357.

Ericthonius, ii. 230.

Errors, the, of the human judgment,
when the truth is hidden, ii. 209, etc.
Erythraean Sibyl, the, her predictions
oi Christ, ii. 242.
Esau and Jacob, the dissimilarity of
the character and actions of, i. 182;
the things mystically prefigured by,
ii. 153, etc.
Esdras and Maccabees, the Books of,
ii. 262.
Eternal life, the gift of God, i. 257;
the promise of, uttered before
eternal times, 504.
Eternal punishment, ii. 433. See
Punishment.
Eucharius, a Spanish bishop, cured of
stone by the relics of St. Stephen,
ii. 493.
K 'lemons, i, 365, 36S.
iL-j<TiO>iù f 1. 3S4.
Evil, no natural, i. 461.
Evil will, a, no efficient cause of, i.
490.
Existence, and knowledge of it, and
love of both, i. 469, etc., 471, etc.
Eye, the, of the resurrection body, the
power of, ii. 537.
Fables invented by the heathen in the time3 of the judges of Israel, ii. 231.
Fabricius and Pyrrhus, i. 213.
Faith, justification by, i. 416, etc.

Faith and Virtue, honoured by the Romans with temples, i. 156, 157.

Fall of man, the, and its results, foreknown by God, i. 514; mortality contracted by, 521; the second death results from, ii. 1 j the nature of, 22, etc., 25, etc.

Fate, i. 178; the name misapplied by some when they use it of the divine will, 189.

Fathers, the two, of the two cities, sprung from one progenitor, ii. SI.

Fear and Dread, made gods, i. 161.

Felicity, the gift of God, i. 257: the eternal, of the city of God, ii. 540-545.

Felicity, the goddess of, i. 155; the Romans ought to have been content, with Virtue and, 157, 158; for a long time not worshipped by the Romans; her deserts, 161, 162, 163.

Fever, worshipped as a deity, i. 65 and note, 102.

Fig-tree, a singular, of Egypt, ii. 421.

Fimbria, the destruction of Ilium by, i. 96, 97.

Fire, the peculiar properties of, ii. 418.

Fire, the, whirlwind, and the sword, ii. 389.

Fire, saved so as by, ii. 460.

Fire, the, which comes down from heaven to consume the enemies of the holy city, ii. 370.

Fire, the, and the worm that dieth not, ii. 433; of hell, â€” is it material? and if it be so, can it burn wicked spirits? 434, etc.

First man (our first parents), the, the plenitude of the human race contained in, i. 519; the fall of, 521; what was the first punishment of? 534; the state in which he was made, and that into which he fell,
534, 535; forsook God, before God forsook him, 535; effects of the sin of, â€” the second death, ii. 1, etc.; was he, before the fall, free from perturbations of soul ? 20; the temptation and fall of, 22-25; nature of the first sin of, 25; the pride of the sin of, 25; justice of the punishment of, 25-31; the nakedness of, 32; the transgression of, did not abolish the blessing of fecundity, 37; begat offspring in Paradise without blushing, 44-46.

First parents, our. See First Man.

First principles of all things, the, according to the ancient philosophy, i. 313.

First sin, the nature of the, ii. 25.

Flaccianus, ii. 242.

Flesh, the, of believers, the resurrection of, i. 544; the world at large believes in the resurrection of [see Resurrection], ii. 477; of a dead man, which has become the flesh of a living man, â€” whose shall it be in the resurrection ? 515.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

5G1

Flesh, living after the, ii. 2, etc., 4, etc., 6, etc.; children of the, and of the promise, 51.

Florentius, the tailor, how he prayed for a coat, and got it, ii. 492.

Foreknowledge, the, of God, and the free-will of man, i. 190, etc.

Forgiveness of debts, prayed for, ii. 467, 408.

Fortitude, ii. 304, 305.

Fortune, the goddess of, i. 155, 263.

Foundation, the, the opinion of those who think that even depraved Catholics will be saved from damnation on account of, considered, ii. 448, etc., 460, etc.; who has Christ for? 460, 401.
Fountain, the singular, of the Garamantse, ii. 421.

Free-will of man, the, and the foreknowledge of God, i. 190, etc.

Free-will, in the state of perfect felicity, ii. 542.

Friendship, the, of good men, anxieties connected with, ii. 311; of good angels, rendered insecure by the deceit of demons, 313, etc.

Fruit, i. 467.

Fugalia, the, i. 54, 55.

Furnace, a'smoking, and a lamp of fire passing between the pieces of Abraham's sacrifice, the import of, ii. 139.

Galli, the, i. 56, and note, 289, 290.

Games, restored in Rome during the first Punic war, i. 118.

Ganymede, ii. 232.

Garamantse, the singular fountain of the, ii. 421.

Gauls, the, Home invaded by, i. 115, 116.

Gehazi and Elisha, ii. 536, 537.

Generation, would there have been, in Paradise if man had not sinned?
ii. 39, etc., 41, etc.

Genius, and Saturn, both shown to be really Jupiter, i. 275, etc.

Giants, the offspring of the sons of God and daughters of men, â€” and other, ii. 93, etc., 96.

Glory, the difference between, and the desire of dominion, i. 215; shameful to make the virtues serve human,
217; the, of the latter house, ii. 280, 281; the endless, of the Church, 377, etc.

God, the vicissitudes of life dependent on the will of, i. 79, etc.; not the soul of the world, 151; rational
animals not parts of, 151, 152; the one, to be worshipped, although His name is unknown, the giver of felicity, 164, 165; the times of kings and kingdoms ordered by, 175; the kingdom of the Jews founded by, 175; the foreknowledge of, and the free-will of man, 190, etc.; the providence of, 198, etc., 403; all the glory of the righteous is in, 205; what He gives to the followers of truth to enjoy above His general bounties, 199; the worship of, 383, 384, 386; the sacrifices due to Him only, 387, etc.; the sacrifices not required, but enjoined by, for the exhibition of truth, 388; the true and perfect sacrifice due to, 390, etc.; invisible, yet has often made Himself visible, 401, etc.; our dependence for temporal good, 402; angels fulfil the providence of, 403, 404; sin had not its origin in, 457; the eternal knowledge, will, and design of, 459, etc.; has He been always sovereign Lord, and has He always had creatures over whom He exercised His sovereignty? 501, etc.; His promise of eternal life uttered before eternal times, 504; the unchangeable counsel and will of, defended against objections, 505; refutation of the opinion that His knowledge cannot comprehend things infinite, 507; the fall of man foreknown by, 514; the Creator of every kind of creature, 516; the providence of, not disturbed by the wickedness of angels or of men, ii. 46; the anger of, 97, etc., 454; the coming down of, to confound the language of the builders of Babel, 113, etc.; whether the, of the Christians is the true, to whom alone sacrifice ought to be paid, 333, etc.; the will of, unchangeable and eternal, 474. Gods, the, cities never spared on account of, i., 3, etc.; folly of the Romans in trusting, 4, etc.; the worshippers of, never received healthy precepts from, â€” the impurity of the worship of, 51; obscenities practised in honour of the Mother of the, 53; never inculcated holiness of life, 55; the shameful actions of, as displayed in theatrical exhibitions, 57; the reason why they suffered false or real crimes to be attributed to them, 59; the Romans showed a more
delicate regard for themselves than for the, 61; the Romans should have considered those who desired to be worshipped in a licentious manner as unworthy of being honoured as, 62; Plato better than, 63; if they had any regard for Rome, the Romans should have received good laws from them, 66; took no means to prevent the republic from being ruined by immorality, 77, etc.; the vicissitudes of life not dependent on, 79, etc.; incite to evil actions, 83, etc.; give secret and obscure instructions in morals, while their solemnities publicly incite to wickedness, 85; the obscenities of the plays consecrated to, contributed to overthrow the republic, 87; the evils which alone the pagans feared, not averted by, 91, etc.; were they justified in permitting the destruction of Troy? 92; could not be offended at the adultery of Paris, the crime being so common among themselves, 93; Varro's opinion of the utility of men feigning themselves to be the offspring of, 94; not likely they were offended at the adultery of Paris, as they were not at the adultery of the mother of Romulus, 94; exacted no penalty for the fratricidal conduct of Romulus, 95; is it credible that the peace of Numa's reign was owing to? 98; new, introduced by Kuma, 101; the Romans added many to those of Numa, 102; Rome not defended by, 114, etc.; which of the, can the Romans suppose presided over the rise and welfare of the empire? 143, etc.; the silly and absurd multiplication of, for places and things, 144; divers set over divers parts of the world, 146; the many, who are asserted by pagan doctors to be the one Jove, 148, etc.; the knowledge and worship of the, which Varro glories in having conferred on the Romans, 159; the reasons by which the pagans defended their worshipping the divine gifts themselves among the, 163, etc.; the scenic plays which they have exacted from their worshippers, 165; the three kinds of, discovered by Scsevola, 166, etc.; whether the worship of, has been of service to the Romans, 168; what their worshippers have owned they have thought about, 170; the opinions of Varro about, 172; of those who profess to worship them on account of eternal advantages, 229, etc.; Varro's thoughts about the, of the nations, 233, etc.; the worshippers of, regard human things more than divine, 235, etc.; Varro's distribution of, into fabulous, natural, and civil, 238, etc.; the mythical and civil, 240; natural explanations of, 246, etc.; the special offices of, 248; those presiding over the marriage chamber, 249,250; the popular worship of, vehemently censured by Seneca, 252-254; unable to bestow eternal life, 256, 257; the select, 258, 259; no reason can be assigned for forming the select class of, 260; those which preside over births, 260; the inferior and the select compared, 364*; the secret doctrine of the pagans concerning the physical interpretation of, 266; Varro pronounces his own opinions concerning, uncertain, 280, 281; Varro's doctrine concerning, not selfconsistent, 295, etc.; distinguished from men and demons, 326; do they use the demons as messengers? 335; Hermes laments the error of his forefathers in inventing the art of making, 343; scarcely any of, who were not dead men, 348; the Platonists maintain that the poets wrong the, 361; Apuleius' definition of, 363; does the intercession of demons secure the favour of, for men? 363; according to the Platonists, they decline intercourse with men, 371, etc.; the name falsely given to those of the nations, yet given
in Scripture to angels and men, 378, etc.; threats employed towards, 399; philosophers assigned to each of, different functions, ii. 327.

Gods, the multitudes of, for every place and thing, i. 144, etc., 158, 159, 248, 249, 259, 260.

Gods, the invention of the art of making, i. 343.

Gog and Magog, ii. 369.

Good, no nature in which there is not some, ii. 320.

Good, the chief, ii. 288; various opinions of the philosophers respecting, 293; the three leading views of, which to be chosen, 299, etc.; the Christian view of, 301, etc.

Good men, and wicked, the advar-

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

50

tages and disadvantages indiscriminately occurring to, i. 10; reasons for administering correction to both together, 11, etc; what Solomon says of things happening alike to both, 348.

Goods, the loss of, no loss to the saints, i. 14, etc.

Gospel, the, made more famous by the sufferings of its preachers, ii. 282.

Gracchi, the civil dissensions occasioned by, i. 126.

Grace of God, the, the operation of, in relation to believers, ii. 441; pertains to every epoch of life, 442; delivers from the miseries occasioned by the first sin, 520, 521,

Great Mother, the, the abominable sacred rites of, i. 292, 293.

Greeks, the conduct of the, on the sack of Troy, i. G, 7.

Habakkuk, the prophecy and prayer
of, ii. 252.
Hagar, the relation of, to Sarah and Abraham, ii. 139.
Haggai's prophecy respecting the glory of the latter house, ii. 280, 281.
Hadrian yields up portions of the Roman empire, i. 169, 170.
Ham, the conduct of, towards his father, ii. 105; the sons of, 109.
Hannah's prophetic song, an exposition of, ii. 170-179.
Hannibal, his invasion of Italy, and victories over the Romans, i. 120; his destruction of Saguntum, 121, 122.
Happiness, the gift of God, i. 257; of the saints in the future life, ii. 314, 315.
Happiness, the, desired by those who reject the Christian religion, i. 72, etc.
Happy man, the, described by contrast, i. 138.
Heaven, God shall call to, ii. 398.
Hebrew Bible, the, and the Septuagint, 'which to be followed in computing the years of the antediluvians, ii. 70, etc.
Hebrew language, the original, ii. 121, etc.; written character of, 265, 266.
Hebrews, the Epistle to the, ii. 135.
Hecate, the reply of, when questioned respecting Christ, ii. 335.
Heifer, goat, and ram, three years old, in Abraham's sacrifice, 'the import of, ii. 136, 137.
Hell, ii. 432; is the fire of, material? and if so, can it burn wicked spirits?
434.

Hercules, ii. 225, 230; the story of the sacristan of, i. 244.

Here, i. 411.

Heretics, the Catholic faith confirmed by the dissensions of, ii. 283, 284.

Hermes, the god, i. 349.
Hermes Trismegistus, respecting idolatry and the abolition of the superstitions of the Egyptians, i. 339, etc.; openly confesses the error of his forefathers, the destruction of which he yet deplores, 342, etc.

Herod, ii. 277; a persecutor, 287.

Heroes of the Church, the, ii. 411.

Hesperius, miraculously delivered from evil spirits, ii. 490.

Hippocrates quoted in relation to twins, i. 179.

Histriones, i. 63, note.

Holofernes, his inquiry respecting the Israelites, and Achior's answer, ii. 126.

Holy Ghost, the, i. 553.

Homer, quoted, i. 92, 189.

Hope, the influence of, ii. 307; the saints now blessed in, 330.

Horace, quoted, i. 5, 204.

Horatii and Curiatii, the, i. 105, 106.

Hortensius, the first dictator, i. 116.

Hosea, his prophecies respecting the things of the gospel, ii. 247-249.

Human race, the, the creation of, in time, i. 500; created at first in one individual, 513, 514; the plenitude of, contained in the first man, 519.

Hydromancy, i. 302.

Hyrcanus, ii. 276.

Ilium, modern, destroyed by Fimbria, i. 96, 97.

Image of the beast, the, ii. 366, 367.

Image of God, the human soul created in the, i. 515.

Images of the gods, not used by the ancient Romans, i. 173.
Imitation of the gods, i. 56.

Immortality, the portion of man, had he not sinned, i. 521, 542, etc.

Incarnation of Christ, the, i. 414, ii. 277; faith in, alone justifies, 416, etc.; the Platonists, in their impiety, blush to acknowledge, 423, etc.

Innocentia, of Carthage, miraculously cured of cancer, ii. 488, 489.

Innocentius, of Carthage, miraculously cured of fistula, ii. 485-488.

Ino, ii. 233.

Intercession of the saints, “of those who think that, on account of, no

man shall be damned in the last judgment, ii. 445, etc., 451, etc.

Io, daughter of, ii. 221.

Ionic school of philosophy, the founder of the, i. 307.

Irenceus, a tax-gatherer, the son of, restored to life by means of the oil of St. Stephen, ii. 494.

Isaac, and Ishmael, ii. 52; a type, 53; the birth of, and import of his name, 146, 147; the offering up of, 148; Rebecca, the wife of, 149; the oracle and blessing received by, just as his father died, 152.

Isaiah, the predictions of, respecting Christ, ii. 249.

Isis and Osiiis, i. 349, 351, 395, ii. 221, 223, 264, 266.

Israel, the name given to Jacob, “
the import of, ii. 157.

Israel, the nation of, its increase in, and deliverance from Egypt, ii. 161-103; were there any outside of, before Christ, who belonged to the fellowship of the holy city? 279, etc.

Italic school of philosophy, the, i. 306.

Jacob, and Esau, the things mysteriously prefigured by, ii. 153, etc.; his mission to Mesopotamia, 155; his dream, 156; his wives, 157; why called Israel, 157; how said to have gone into Egypt with seventy-five souls, 158; his blessing on Judah, 159; his blessing the sons of Joseph, 161; the times of, and of Joseph, 221, etc.

Janus, the temple of, i. 95; the relation of, to births, 260, 261; nothing infamous related of, 265; is it reasonable to separate Terminus and? 268; why two faces, and sometimes four, given to the image of? 269; compared with Jupiter, 270; why he has received no star, 275.

Japhet, ii. 105.

Jeroboam, ii. 214.

Jerome, his labours as a translator of Scripture, ii. 271; his commentary on Daniel referred to, 394.

Jerusalem, the new, coming down from heaven, ii. 377, etc.

Jews, the, the kingdom of, founded by God, i. 175; what Seneca thought of, 255, 256; their unbelief, foretold in the Psalms, ii. 205; end of the captivity of, â€” their prophets, 246, etc.; the many adversities endured by, 274, etc. j the dispersion of, pre-
dicted, 277-279; whether, before Christ, there were any outside of, who belonged to the heavenly city, 279.

Joseph, the sons of, blessed by Jacob, ii. 161; the times of, 221; the elevation of, to be ruler of Egypt, 222; who were kings at the period of the death of? 224.

Joshua, i. 163; who were kings at the time of the death of? ii. 229; the sun stayed in its course by, 429, 430; the Jordan divided by, 430.
Jove, are the many gods of the pagans one and the same Jove? i. 148; the enlargement of kingdoms improperly ascribed to, 152; Mars, Terminus, and Juventus refuse to yield to, 162, 169. See Jupiter.

Judah, Jacob's blessing on, ii. 159, etc.

Judgment, ever going on, "the last," ii. 345, 346; ever present, although it cannot be discerned, 346; proofs of the last, from the ZST ew Testament and the Old, 349, etc.; words of Jesus respecting, 350, 373, 374. 375: what Peter says of, 379; predictions respecting, 389, 390, etc., 395, etc., 399, etc.; separation of the good ainl bad in the, 403; to be effected ia the person of Christ, 406, etc.

Julian the apostate, i. 219; a persecutor, ii. 2b7.

Juno, i. 147, 14S, 260.

Jupiter, the power of, compared with Janus, i. 270, etc.; is the distinction made between, and Janus, a proper one ? 273; the surnames of, 27" Â»; called "Pecunia. '" â€” why? 275; scandalous amours of, ii. 232.

Justinus, the historian, quoted respecting Ninus' lust of empire, i. 141.

Juventus, i. 162, 169.

Ketueah, whatismeant by Abraham's marrying, after the death of Sarah? ii. 150.

" Killeth and maketh alive, the Lord,*
ii. 174.

Killing, when allowable, i. 32.

Kingdom, the, of Israel, under Saul, a shadow, ii. 184; the description of, 1S6; promises of God respecting, 1S9, etc., 193, etc.; varying character of, till the captivity, and, finally, till the people passed under the power of the Romans, 214, 215.

Kingdom of Christ, the, ii. 363, 364.

Kingdoms, without justice, i. 139; have any been aided or deserted by

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.
the gods? 142; the enlargement of, unsuitably attributed to Jove, 152; the times of, ordained by the true God, 175; not fortuitous, nor influenced by the stars, 177-179; the three great, when Abraham was born, ii. 130, 131.

Kings, of Israel, the times of the, ii. 1G3; after Solomon, 213; after the judges, 239; of the earthly city which synchronize with the times of the saints, reckoning from Abraham, ii. 218, etc.; of Argos, ii. 223, 224; of Latium, 240.

Knowledge, the eternal and unchangeable, of God, i. 439, etc.; of our own existence, 409, etc., 471, etc.; by which the holy angels know God, 473, etc.

Laeæo, cited, i. 64, 127, 325, ii. 533.

Lactantius, quotations made by, from a certain Sibyl, ii. 243, 244.

Language, the origin of the diversity of, ii. III, etc.; the original, 121, etc.; diversities of, how they operate to prevent human intercourse, 310, 311.

Larentina, the harlot, i. 244.

Latinius, Titus, the trick of, to secure the re-enactment of the games, i. 165.

Latium, the kings of, ii. 240.

Aurpiicc and AouXilu., i. 383, 386.

Laurentum, the kingdom of, ii. 233.

Laver of regeneration, the, ii. 441.

Law, the, confirmed by miraculous signs, i. 407, etc.; of Moses, must be spiritually understood, to cut off the murmurs of carnal interpreters, ii. 403, 404.

Lethe, the river, i. 428.

Lex Voconla, the, i. 124.
Liber, the god, i. 230; and Libera, 248, 260, 261, ii. 232.

Liberty, the, which is proper to man's nature, ii. 323, etc.

Life, the end of, whether it is material that it be long delayed, i. 18; the vicissitudes of, not dependent on the favour of the gods, but on the will of the true God, 79.

Life, eternal, the gift of God, i. 257; the promise of, uttered before the eternal times, 504.

Light, the, the division of, from the darkness, “the significance of this, i. 458; pronounced "good," “meaning of this, 459.

Lime, the peculiar properties of, ii. 418, 419.

Livy, quoted, i. 165.

Loadstone, the, ii. 420.

Locusts, a fearful invasion of Africa by, i. 134.

Lot, the parting of Abraham and, ii. 132; the deliverance of, from captivity, by Abraham, 134.

Lot's wife, i. 293.

Love and regard used in Scripture indifferently of good and evil affections, ii. 10.

Lucan's Pharsalia, quoted, i. 20, 103, 12!.

Lucillius, bishop of Sinita, cured of a fistula by the relics of St. Stephen, ii. 493.

Lucina, the goddess, i. 149, 260.

Lucretia, her chastity and suicide, i. 28, 29.

Lucretius, quoted, ii. 419.

Lust, the evil of, ii. 31; and anger, to be bridled, 35, etc.; the bondage of, worse than bondage to men, 224, 225.
Lying-in woman, the, her god-protectors, i. 249.

Maccabeus, Judas, ii. 276.

Maccabees, the Books of, ii. 262.

Madness, the strange, which once seized upon all the domestic animals of the Romans, i. 126.

Magic art, the impiety of, i. 33; the marvels wrought by, ii. 424.

Magicians of Egypt, the, i. 393.

Magnets, two, an image suspended between, in mid air, ii. 425.

Malachi, ii. 399.

"Mammon of unrighteousness," ii. 469, 470.

Man, though mortal, can enjoy true happiness, i. 369; recentness of the creation of, 496, etc.; the first, 519, etc.; the fall of the first, 521; the death with which he first was threatened, 533; in what state made, and into what state he fell, 534; forsook God before God forsook him, 535; effects of the sin of the first, ii. 1, etc.; what it is to live according to, 6, etc. See First Man.

Manichreans, the, references to, i. 461, 462, 463; their view of the body, ii. 8, etc.

Manlius, Cneius, i. 123.

Manturme, the goddess, i. 249, 250.

Marcellus, Marcus, destroys Syracuse, and bewails its ruin, i. 8.

Mares, the, of Cappadocia, ii. 422.
Marica, the Minturnian goddess, i. 81.

Marius, i. 79, 80, 81; the war between, and Sylla, 128, 129, 130.

Marriage, as originally instituted by God, ii. 38; among blood relations in primitive times, 78; between blood relations, now abhorred, 79.

Marriage bed-chamber, the, the gods which preside over, i. 249, 250.

Mars, Terminus, and Juventus, refuse to yield to Jove, i. 162, 169; and Mercury, the offices of, 276.

Martial, a nobleman, converted by means of flowers brought from the shrine of St. Stephen, ii. 493.

Martyrs, the honour paid to, by Christians, i. 350, etc.; the heroes of the Church, 411; miracles wrought by, ii. 499, 500.

Marvels related in history, ii. 417-423, 426, 427; wrought by magic, 424, 425.

Massephat, ii. 185.

Mathematicians, the, convicted of professing a vain science, i. 183.

Mediator, Christ the, between God and man, i. 369; the necessity of having Christ as, to obtain the blessed life, 374; the sacrifice effected by, 410, etc.

Melchizedek, blesses Abraham, ii. 135.

Melicertes, ii. 233.

Men, the primitive, immortal, had they never sinned, i. 542; the creation of, and of angels, ii. 472-474.

Mereury, and Mars, i. 276; the fame of, ii. 225.

Metellus, rescues the sacred things from the fire in the temple of Vesta, i. 119.

Methuselah, the great age of, ii. 66.
Millennium, the, ii. 356.

Mind, the capacity and powers of, ii.

Minerva, i. 146, 262, 279, 296, ii. 225.

Miracles wrought by the ministry of angels, i. 392, etc., 400, etc., 405; the, ascribed to the gods, 405, 406; the, by which God authenticated the law, 407, etc.; against such as deny the, recorded in Scripture, 408, etc.; the ultimate reason for believing, 425-425; wrought in more recent times, 454-499; wrought by the martyrs in the name of Christ, 499, etc.

Miseries, the, of this life, Cicero on, ii. 302; of the human race through the first sin, 517-520; deliverance from, through the grace of Christ,

520, 521; which attach peculiarly to the toil of good men, 521, etc.

Mithridates, the edict of, enjoining the slaughter of all Roman citizens

found in Asia, i. 125.

Monstrous races, â€” are they derived from the stock of Adam, or from Noah's sons? i. 116, 118.

Moses, miracles wrought by, i. 393; the time of, ii. 161-163; who were kings at the period of the birth of? 224; the time he led Israel out of Egypt, 228; the antiquity of the writings of, 264.

Mother of the gods, the obscenities of the worship of, i. 52, 53, etc.; whence she came, 102.
Mucius, and king Porsenna, i. 211.
Mysteries, i. 266; the Eleusinian,
283; the Samothracian, 296.
Mystery, the, of Christ's redemption
often made known by signs, etc.,
i. 299.
Mystery of iniquity, the, ii. 3S1, 3S2.

Nahor, ii. 125.
Nakedness of our first parents, the,
i. 32.
Nathan, his message to David, ii. 1S9;
the resemblance of Psalm lxxxix. to
the prophecy of, 191, etc.
Natural history, curious facts in:
the salamander, ii. 417; the flesh
of the peacock, 417, 41S; fire,
418; charcoal, 418; lime, 418, 419;
the diamond, 419; the loadstone,
420; the salt of Agrigentum, 421; the fountain of the Garamantae, and of Epirus, 421;
asbestos, 421; the wood of the Egyptian fig-tree,
421; the apples of Sodom, 421; the stone pyrites, 421, 422; the stone selenite, 422; the Cappadocian mares, 422; the island Tilon, 422; the star Venus, 429.

Nature, not contrary to God, but good, i. 4S4; of irrational and lifeless creatures, 485;
none in which there is not good, 320, 321.

Natures, God glorified in all, i. 4S6.

Necessity, is the will of man ruled by?i. 195.

Necromancy, i. 302.
Neptune, i. 279, 296; and Salacia, and Venilia, 285.

Nero, the first to reach the citadel of vice, i. 216; curious opinions entertained of him after his death, ii. 382.

New Academy, the uncertainty of,

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

G7

contrasted with the Christian faith, ii. 328.

New heavens, and new earth, the, ii. 373, 374, 370, etc.

Nigidius, cited in reference to the birth of twins, i. 181.


Nineveh, ii. 109; curious discrepancy between the Hebrew and Septuagint as to the time fixed for the overthrow of, in Jonah's prophecy, 273, 274; spared, 446; how the prediction against, was fulfilled, 455.

Ninus, ii. 219, 220.

Noah, commanded by God to build an ark, ii. 98; whether after, till Abraham, any family can be found who lived according to God, 104; what was prophetically signified by the sons of? 105; the nakedness of, revealed by Ham, but covered by Shem and Japhet, its typical significance, 10G, 107; the generation of the sons of, 10S, etc.

Nodes Atticce, the, of Aulus Gellius, quoted, 356, 357.

Numa Pompilius, the peace that existed during the reign of, is it attributable to the gods? i. 98; introduces new gods, 101, etc.; the Romans add new gods to those introduced by, 102; the story of finding the books of, respecting the gods, and the burning of the same by the senate, 301, etc.; befooled by hydro mancy, 302.

Numantia, i. 124.
Numitor and Amulius, ii. 240, 241.

Ogyges, ii. 225, 226.

Old Testament Scriptures, caused by Ptolemy Philadelphus to be translated out of Hebrew into Greek, ii. 270, 271.

Opimius, Lucius, and the Gracchi, i. 126.

Oracles of the gods, responses of, respecting Christ, as related by Porphyry, ii. 344, etc.

Order and law, the, which obtain in heaven, and on earth, ii. 322.

Origen, the errors of, i. 463-465.

'OflKjj, ii. 303.

Orpheus, ii. 233.

Pagan error, the probable cause of the rise of, i. 281, 282, 347.

Paradise, man in, ii, 23; would there have been generation in, had man not sinned? 39, etc., 41, etc., 44,

etc.; Malachi's reference to man's state in, 401.

Paris, the gods had no reason to be offended with, i. 93.

Passions, the, which assail Christian souls, i. 359, etc.; which agitate demons, 360.

Paterfamilias, ii. 325.

Patricians and Plebs, the dissensions between, i. 69, 70, 113.

Paulinus, i. 10.

Paulus and Palladia, members of a household cursed by a mother-in-law, miraculously healed at the shrine of St. Stephen, ii. 497-499. ^

Peace, the eternal, of the saints, ii.
314, 315; the fierceness of war, and the disquietude of men make towards, 315-319; the universal, which the law of nature preserves,
319, etc.; the, between the heavenly and earthly cities, 326, etc.; the, of those alienated from God, and the use made of it by God's people, 341; of those who serve God in this mortal life, cannot be apprehended in its perfection, 341-343; of God, which passeth all understanding, 534, 535.

Peacock, the antiseptic properties of the flesh of, ii. 417.

Pecunia, i. 264; Jupiter so named, 275.

Peleg, ii. 122, 123.

Peripatetic sect, the, i. 323.

Peripatetics, and Stoics, the opinion of, about mental emotions, â€™ an illustrative story, i. 355-358.

"Perish," ii. 296.

Periurgists, i. 404.

Persecution, all Christians must suffer, ii. 284; the benefits derived from, 285; the "ten persecutions," 286-288; the time of the final, hidden, 288-290.

Persius, quoted, i. 55, 56.

Perturbations, the three, of the souls of the wise, as admitted by the Stoics, ii. 12; in the souls of the righteous, 15, etc.; were our first parents before the fall free from? 20.

Peter, ridiculously feigned by the heathen to have brought about by enchantment the worship of Christ, ii. 289; heals the cripple at the temple gate, 291.

Petronia, a woman of rank, miraculously cured, ii. 496.

Philosopher, origin of the name, i. 307.

Philosophers, the secret of the weakness of the moral precepts of, i. 55;
IXDEX OF SUBJECTS.

the Italic and Ionic schools of, 306, etc.; of some who think the separation of soul and body not penal, 536; the discord of the opinions of, contrasted "with the concord of the canonical Scriptures, ii. 267-270.

Philosophy, Varro's enumeration of the multitudinous sects of, ii. 293-297.

Phoroneus, ii. 221.

Picus, king of Argos, ii. 233.

" Piety," i. 384.

Pirate, the apt reply of a, to Alexander the Great, i. 140.

Plato, would exclude the poets from his ideal republic, i. 63, etc.; his threefold division of philosophy, 310, etc.; how he was able to approach so near Christian knowledge, 321, etc.; his definition of the gods, 324; the opinion of, as to the transmigration of souls, 427; the opinion of, that almost all animals were created by inferior gods, 519; declared that the gods made by the Supreme have immortal bodies, 536, ii. 531; the apparently conflicting views of, and of Porphyry, if united, might have led to the truth, 532, 533.

Platonists, the opinions of, preferable to those of other philosophers, i. 312, etc.; their views of physical philosophy, 314, etc.; how far they excel other philosophers in logic, or rational philosophy, 316; hold the first rank in moral philosophy, 317; their philosophy has come nearest to the Christian faith, 318; the Christian religion above all their science, 319; thought that sacred rites were to be performed to many gods, 323; the opinion of, that the souls of men become demons, 365; the three qualities by which they distinguish between the nature of men and of demons, 365, etc.; their idea of the non-intercourse of celestial gods with men, and the need of the intercourse of demons, 371, etc.; hold that God alone can bestow happiness, 382; have misunderstood the true worship of God, 386; the principles which, according to, regulate the purification of the soul, 413; blush to acknowledge the incarnation of Christ, 423; refutation of the notion of, that the soul is coeternal with God, 429, 430; opinion of, that angels created man's body,
51S; refutation of the opinion of, that earthly bodies cannot inherit heaven, ii. 501, etc.

Players, excluded by the Pomans from offices of state, i. 60, 61.

Plays, scenic, which the gods have exacted from their worshippers, i. 165.

Pleasure, bodily, graphically described, i. 217.

Plebs, the dissensions between, and the Patricians, ii, 69, 70, 113; the secession of, 113.

Plotinus*, men, according to, less wretched than demons, i. 364; regarding enlightenment from above, 385.

Plutarch, his Life of Caio quoted, i. 34; his Life of Xunia, 173.

Pluto, i. 296.

U',izua., i. 553, 554, 000.

Poetical licence, allowed by the Greek?, restrained by the Pomans, i. 57, 61.

Poets, the, Plato would exclude from his ideal republic, i. 63, etc., 325; the theological, ii. 232, 233.

Pontius, Lucius, announces Sylla's victory, i. S2.

"Poor, He raiseth the, out of the dunghill," ii. 175.

Porphyry, his views of theurgy, i. 394, etc., 396, etc.; epistle of, to Aneh.>, 397, etc.; as to how the soul is purified, 413; refused to recognise Christ. 414; vacillation of, between the confession of the true God and the worship of demons, 418; the impiety of, 419; so blind as not to recognise the true wisdom, 422; his emendations of Platonism, 426, etc.; his ignorance of the universal way of the soul's deliverance, 430, etc.; abjured the opinion that souls constantly pass away and return in cycles, 511; his notion that the soul must be separated from the body in order to be happy, demolished by Plato, 531, etc.; the conflicting opinions of Plato and, if united, might have led to the truth, 532, 533; his account of the responses of the oracles of the gods concerning Christ, ii. 334-339.

Portents, strange, i. 133; meaning of the word, ii. 429.
Possidoniua, the story of, i. 179.

Postumius, the augur, and Sylla, i.
S1, 82, 83.

Praestantius, the strange story related by, respecting his father, ii. 237.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Praise, the love of, why reckoned a virtue? i. 204; of the eradication of the love of human, 205.

Prayer for the dead, ii. 453.

Predictions of Scripture, i. 434.

Priest, the faithful, ii. 181.

Priesthood, the, the promise to establish it for ever, how to be understood, ii. 184; of Christ, described in the Psalms, 204, 205.

Proclus, Julius, i. 108.

Projectus, Bishop, and the miraculous cure of blind women, ii. 492, 493.

Proletarli, the, i. 11G.

Prometheus, ii. 224.

Promises, the, made to Abraham, ii.
129, etc., 131, etc., 133.

Prophetic age, the, ii. 1G5.

Prophetic records, the, ii. 163.

Prophecies, the threefold meaning of the, ii. 167-169; respecting Christ and His gospel, 247-249, 250, 251,
Prophets, the later, ii. 215; of the time when the Roman kingdom began, 246.

Proscription, the, of Sylla, i. 130.

Proserpine, i. 284, 288.

Protasius and Gervasius, martyrs, a blind man healed by the bodies of, at Milan, ii. 485; a young man freed from a devil by, 491.

Providence of God, the, i. 197, 403; not disturbed by the wickedness of angels or men, ii. 46.

Prudence, ii. 304.

Psalms, the, David's concern in writing, ii. 1 99.

Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the Hebrew Scriptures to be translated into Greek, ii. 270, 271.

Puberty, was it later among the antediluvians than it is now? ii. 75, etc.

Pulvillus, Marcus, i. 212.

Punic wars, the, the disasters suffered by the Romans in, i. 117; the second of these, its deplorable effects, 119, etc.

Punishment, eternal, ii. 413; whether it is possible for bodies to last for ever in burning fire, 414; whether bodily sufferings necessarily terminate in the destruction of the flesh, 414-417; examples from nature to show that bodies may remain unconsumed and alive in fire, 417; the nature of, 432, etc.; is it just that it should last longer than the sins themselves lasted? 436, etc.; the greatness of the first transgression on account of which it is due to all not within the pale of the Saviour's grace, 437, etc.; of the wicked after death, not purgatorial, 438-440; proportioned to the deserts of the wicked, 444; of certain persons, who deny, 444; of those who think that the intercession of saints will deliver from, 445; of those who think that participation of the body of Christ will save from, 447; of those who think that Catholic baptism will deliver from, 447; of the opinion that building on the "Foundation" will save from, 448; of the opinion that alms-giving will deliver from, 449; of those who think that the devil will not suffer, 450; replies to all those who deny, 451, 457, etc.,
Punishments, the temporary, of this life, ii. 440; the object of, 441.

Purgatorial punishments, ii. 399, 400, 453.

Purification of heart, the, whence obtained by the saints, i. 412; the principles which, according to the Platonists, regulate, 413; the one true principle which alone can effect, 414.

Purifying punishment, the, spoken of by Malachi, ii. 399.

Pyrites, the Persian stone so called, ii. 421.

Pyrrhus, invades Italy, â€” response of the oracle of Apollo to, i. 116; cannot tempt Fabricius, 213.

Pythagoras, the founder of the Italic school of philosophy, i. 307.

Queex, the, the Church, ii. 202, 203.

Quiet, the temple of, i. 154.

Radagaisus, king of the Goths, the war with, i. 221.

Rain, portentous, i. 133.

Rape of the Sabine women, the, i. 103, 104.

Rebecca, wife of Isaac, ii. 149; the divine answer respecting the twins in the womb of, 151.

Recentness of man's creation, an answer to those who complain of, i. 496.

Regeneration, the laver or font of, ii. 490.

Regulus, as an example of heroism, and voluntary endurance for religion's sake, i. 22, etc.; the virtue of, far excelled that of Cato, 35.
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Reign of the saints with Christ for a thousand years, ii. 263, etc.
Religion, i. 384; no true, without true virtues, ii. 340.

Religions, false, kept up on policy, ii. 174.

Republic, Cicero's definition of a, "was there ever a Roman, answering to? ii. 330-333; according to what definition could the Romans or others assume the title of a? 339, 340.

Resting on the seventh day, God's, the meaning of, i. 444, 445.

Restitutus, presbyter of the Calamensian Church, a curious account of, ii. 42, 43.

Resurrection, the, of the flesh of believers, to a perfection not enjoyed by our first parents, i. 544, 546, 547; the first and the second, ii. 353-356, 367, 368; Paul's testimony on, 384; utterances of Isaiah respecting, 387, etc.; some refuse to believe, while the world at large believes, 477; vindicated against ridicule thrown on it, 504, etc.; whether abortions shall have part in, 506; whether infants shall have that body in, which they would have had if they had grown up, 507; whether in the, the dead shall rise the same size as the Lord's body, 508; the saints shall be conformed to the image of Christ in the, 508, 509; whether women shall retain their sex in, 509, 510; all bodily blemishes shall be removed in, 512; the substance of our bodies, however disintegrated, shall be entirely reunited, 515; the new spiritual body of, 517; the obstinacy of those who impugn, while the world believes, 529, etc.

Resurrection of Christ, the, referred to in the Psalms, ii. 205, 206.

Reward, the, of the saints, after the trials of this life, ii. 314.

Rhea, or Ilia, mother of Romulus and Remus, ii. 240, 241.

Rich man, the, in hell, ii. 435.

Righteous, the glory of the, is in God, i. 205.
Righteous man, the, the sufferings of, described in the Book of Wisdom, ii. 209, etc.

Rites, sacred, of the gods, i. 245.

Rituals of false gods, instituted by kings of Greece, from the exodus of Israel downward, ii. 229.

Roman empire, the, which of the gods presided over? i. 143; whether the great extent and duration of, should be attributed to Jove, 165; whether the worship of the gods has been of service in extending, 168; the cause of, not fortuitous, nor attributable to the position of the stars, 177, etc.; by what virtues the enlargement of, was merited, 198, etc.

Roman kings, what manner of life and death they had, i. 108, etc.

Roman republic, was there ever one answering to Cicero's definition? i. 331-333, 339, 340.

Romans, the, the folly of, in trusting gods which could not defend Troy, i. 4, etc.; by what steps the passion of governing increased among, 43; the vices of, not corrected by the overthrow of their city, 45; the calamities suffered by, before Christ, 50, etc., 67, etc.; poetical licence restrained by, 57, etc.; excluded players from offices of state, and restrained the licence of players, 60, 61; the gods never took any steps to prevent the republic of, from being ruined by immorality, 77, etc; the obscenities of their plays consecrated to the service of their gods, contributed to overthrow their republic, 102, etc.; exhorted to forsake paganism, 89; was it desirable that the empire of, should be increased by a succession of furious Avars? 99; by what right they obtained their first wives, 103; the wickedness of the wars waged by, against the Albans, 105, 106; the first consuls of, 111, etc.; the disasters which befell, in the Punic wars, 117, etc., 119, etc.; the ingratitude of, to Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal, 123; the internal disasters which vexed the republic, 125, etc.; multiplied gods for small and ignoble purposes, 144; to what profit they carried on war, and how far to the well-being of the conquered, 208; dominion granted to, by the providence of God, 218.

Rome, the sack of, by the Barbarians, i. 2; the evils inflicted on the Christians in the sack of, â€” why permitted, 39; the iniquities practised in the palmiest days of, 67, etc.; the corruption which had grown up in, before Christianity, 71, etc.; Cicero's opinion of the republic of, 74; frost and snow incredibly severe at, 117 J
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

571

calamities which befell, in the Punic wars, 117, etc., 119, etc.; Asiatic luxury introduced to, 123; when founded, ii. 241; the founder of, made a god, 480.

Romulus, the alleged parentage of, i. 94, 95; no penalty exacted for his fratricidal act, 95, etc.; the death of, 108, 109, ii. 240; suckled by a wolf, ii. 240, 241; made a god by Rome, 480, etc.

Rule, equitable, ii. 325.

Rulers serve the society which they rule, ii. 322, 323.

Sabbath, the perpetual, ii. 543.

Sabine women, the rape of the, i. G7, 103, 104.

Sack, of Rome, the, by the Barbarians, i. 2, etc.; of Troy, 6, etc.

Sacrifice, that due to the true God only, i. 357; the true and perfect, 390; the reasonableness of offering a visible, to God, 409; the supreme and true, of the Mediator, 410; of Abraham, when he believed, “its meaning, ii. 136.

Sacrifices, those not required by God, but enjoined for the exhibition of the truth, i. 388.

Sacrifices of righteousness, ii. 400, 401.

Sacristan of Hercules, a, the story of, i. 244.

Sages, the seven, ii. 244, 245.

Saguntum, the destruction of, i. 121, 122.

Saints, the, lose nothing in losing their temporal goods, i. 14, etc.; their consolations in captivity, 22; cases in which the examples of, are not to be followed, 37; why the enemy was permitted to indulge his lust on the bodies of, 39; the reply of, to unbelievers, who taunted them with Christ's not having rescued them from the fury of their enemies, 41,
etc.; the reward of, after the trials of this life, ii. 314; the happiness of the eternal peace which, constitutes the perfection of, 314, 315; in this life, blessed in hope, 330.

Salacia, i. 285.

Salamander, the, ii. 417.

Sallust, quoted, i. 7, 8, 67, 69, 92, 100, ^ 107, 113, 198, 201, 263, ii. 219.

Salt, the, of Agrigentum, the peculiar qualities of, ii. 421.

Samnites, the, defeated by the Romans, i. 115.

Samothracians, the mysteries of the, i. 29G.

Samuel, the address of, to Saul on his disobedience, ii. 186, etc.; sets up a stone of memorial, 188.

Saul, spared by David, ii. 184, 185; forfeits the kingdom, 185, 186.

Sanctity, the, of the body, not violated by the violence of another's lust, i. 26, 27.

Sancus, or Sangus, a Sabine god, ii. 238.

Sarah, and ITagar, and their sons, â€” the typical significance of, ii. 51, 52; Sarah's barrenness, 52, 53; preservation of the chastity of, in Egypt, and in Gerar, 32, 146; change of the name of, 143, 144; the death of, 149.

Satan, transforms himself into an angel of light, ii. 313. See Devil.

Saturn, i. 147, 260, 261, 265; and Genius, thought to be really Jupiter, 275, etc.; interpretations of the reasons for worshipping, 282; and Picus, ii. 233.

Saved by fire, ii. 460.

ScEevola, the pontiff, slain in the Marian wars, i. 129, 131; distinguishes three kinds of gods, 166, 167.

Scenic representations, the establishment of, opposed by Scipio Nasica, i. 44; the obscenities of, contributed to the overthrow of the republic, 84, etc.
Schools of philosophers, i. 306, etc.

Scipio Nasica, Rome's "best man, "opposes the destruction of Carthage, i. 42, 43; opposes scenic representations, 144.

Scripture, the obscurity of, â€“ its advantages, i. 458.

Scriptures, the canonical, the authority of, i. 438; of the Old Testament, translated into Greek, ii. 270, 271.

Sea, the, gives up the dead which are in it, ii. 375; no more, 377.

Sects of philosophy, the number of, according to Varro, ii. 293-297.

Selenite, the stone so called, ii. 422.

Semiramis, ii. 220.

Seneca, Annoeus, recognises the guiding will of the Supreme, i. 189; censures the popular worship of the gods, and the popular theology, 252-255; what he thought of the Jews, 255, 256.

Septuagint, â€“ is it or the Hebrew text to be followed in computing years? ii. 70, etc.; origin of the, 270.

72

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

271; authority of, in relation to the j Hebrew original, 271-273; difference ' between, and the Hebrew text, as to the days fixed by Jonah for the destruction of Xineveh, 273-275.

Servitude introduced by sin, ii. 323.

Servius Tullius, the foul murder of, i. 110.
Seth and Cain, heads of two lines of descendants, ii. 81; relation of the former to Christ, 82.

Seven, the number, i. 475, ii. 173, 174.

Seventh day, the, i. 475.

Severus, bishop of Milevis, ii. 420.

Sex, shall it be restored in the resurrection? 509, 510.

Sexual intercourse, ii. 34; in the antediluvian age, 75, etc.

Shem, ii. 105; the sons of, 109; the genealogy of, 119, etc.

Sibyl, the Cumeean, i. 421; the Erythraean, 422.

Sibylline books, the, i. IIS.

Sicyon, the kingdom and kings of, ii. 219, 220, 221, 239.

Silvanus, the god, i. 249.

Silvii, ii. 239.

Siliciplianus, bishop of Milan, his reminiscence of the saying of a certain Platonist, i. 426.

Sin, should not be sought to be obviated by sin, i. 3G; should not be sought to be shunned by a voluntary death, 38; had not its origin in God, but in the will of the creature, 456; not caused by the flesh, but by the soul, ii. 4; servitude introduced by, 323.

Sins, how cleansed, i. 413.

Six, the perfection of the number, i. 474.

Slave, when the word, first occurs in Scripture; its meaning, ii. 324.

Social life, disturbed by many distresses, ii. 307, etc.
Socrates, a sketch of, â€” his philosophy, i. 308-310; the god or demon of, the book of Apuleius concerning, 325, 327.
Sodom, the region of, ii. 431.
Solomon, books written by, and the prophecies they contain, ii. 209, etc.; the kings after, both of Israel and Judah, 213.
Son of God, but one by nature, ii. 441.
Sons of God, the, and daughters of men, ii. 91, etc.; not angels, 92, etc.
Soranus, Valerius, i. 274.
Soul, the, immortal, i. 257; the way of its deliverance, 430; created in the image of God, 515; Porphyry's notion that its blessedness requires separation from the body, demolished by Plato, 531; the separation of, and the body, considered by some not to be penal, 536.
Soul of the world, God not the, i. 151;
Vai'ro's opinion of, examined, 207.
Souls, rational, the opinion that there are three kinds of, i. 325, 326; the, of men, according to the Platonists, become demons, 363; views of the transmigration of, 427, 428; not coeternal with God, 429; do not return from blessedness to labour and misery, after certain periodic revolutions, 509.
Speusippus, i. 024.
Spirit, i. 553, 554, 555.
Spiritual body, the, of the saints, in the resurrection, ii. 516.
Stars, the supposed influence of, on kingdoms, births, etc., i. 177, ITS, 179, ISO; some, called bythenaj of gods, 277, etc.
Stephen, St., miracles wrought by the relics of, and at the shrine of, ii. 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497.
Stoics, opinions of, about mental emotions, i. 355, etc.; the three perturbations admitted by, in the soul of the wise man, ii. 12, etc.; the belief of, as to the gods, 268; suicide permitted by, 304, 305.
Strong man, the, ii. 356.
Substance, the, of the people of God,
ii. 194.
Suicide, committed through fear of dishonour or of punishment, i. 25; Christians have no authority for committing, under any circumstance-.
30; can never be prompted to, by magnanimity, 32; the example of Cato in relation to, 34; should it be resorted to, to avoid sin ? 38; permitted by the Stoics, ii. 304, 305.
Sun, the, staved in its course "fey

Joshua, ii. 429, 430.
Superstition, i. 171.
Sylla, the deeds of, i. SI-S3; and Marius, the war between, 128, 129.
Sylva, i. 95.
Symmachus, i. 51, and note.

TABQVINins, Priscus, or Superbus, hid barbarous murder of his father-inlaw, i. 110; the expulsion of, from Pome, 110, 111.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

573

Tatius, Titus, introduces new gods, i. 161.
Tel I us, i. 147; the surnames of, and their significance, 289.
Tcnpersance, ii. 303.
Ten kings, the, ii. 394.
Terah, the emigration of, from Ur of the Chaldees, ii. 125; the years of, 126.
Terence, quoted, i. 56.
Terentius, a certain, finds the books of Numa Pompilius, i. 301.
Terminus, i. 162, 109; and Janus, 26S.
Thales, the founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, i v 307.
Theatrical exhibitions, publish the shame of the gods, i. 57; the obscenities of, contributed to overthrow the republic, 87.
Theodoras, the Cy renian philosopher, his reply to Lysimachus, i. 20, note.
Theodosius, the faith and piety of, i. 224 etc.
Theological poets, ii. 232, 233.

Theology, Varro's threefold division of, i. 238-243.

Â®io<rifiia. y i. 384.

Theurgy, i. 394, etc., 396, etc.

Thousand years, the, of the Book of Revelation, ii. 356; the reign of the saints with Christ during, 362, etc.

Threats employed against the gods to compel their aid, i. 399.

8pn<rxux, i. 384.

Tilon, the island of, ii. 422.

Time, i. 442.

Time, times, and a half time, ii. 394.

Times and seasons, the hidden, ii. 288, 289.

Titus, Latinius, i. 325.

Torquatus, slays his victorious son, i. 210.

Transformations, strange, of men, ii. 235; what we should believe respecting, 235-238.

Transgression, the first, the greatness of, ii. 347, 348.

Transmigration of souls, the Platonic views of, amended by Porphyry, i. 427, 428.

"Tree of life, the, the days of," ii. 402.

Trinity, the, i. 414; further explained, 447-450; further statements of, "indications of, scattered everywhere among the works of God, 465; indications of, in philosophy, 466-468; the image of, in human nature, 468.

Troy, the gods unable to afford an
asylum during the saek of, i. 6;

were the gods justified in permitting

the destruction of ? 93, etc.
Truth, the sad results where it is

hidden, ii. 309, etc.
Tullus Hostilius, i. 109, 110.
Twelve thrones, ii. 351.
Twenty Martyrs, the, how a tailor
got a new coat by praying at the

shrine of, ii. 492.
Twins, on the difference of the health,

etc. , of, i. 179, 180; of different

sexes, 185.

Uneaptized, the, saved through the confession of Christ, i. 527, 528.

Unbelief of the Jews, the, foretold, ii. 208.
Unity, the, of the human race, i. 513, etc.

Universe, the beauty of the, i. 457.

Valens, a persecutor, ii. 287.

Valentinian, protected by Theodosius, i. 224; a confessor, ii. 287.

Valerius, Marcus, i. 213.

Yarro, his opinion of the utility of men feigning themselves to be the offspring of gods, i. 94; boasts of having conferred the knowledge of the worship of the gods on the Ilomans, 159, 160; what he thought of the gods of the nations, 232; his book concerning the antiquities of divine and human things, 234, 235, etc.; his threefold division of theology into fabulous, natural, and civil, 238, etc.; the opinion of, that God is the soul of the world, 267, 272; pronounces his own opinions respecting the gods uncertain, 280; holds the earth to be a goddess, 286, etc.; his doctrine of the gods not self-consistent, 295; assigns the reason why Athens was so called, ii.
226; the opinion of, about the name of Areopagus, 227, 228; what he relates of the strange transformations of men, 235, etc.; on the number of philosophical sects, 293-299, etc.; in reference to a celestial portent, 429; his story of the Vestal virgin falsely accused, 503; his work on The Origin of the Roman People, quoted in relation to the Palingenesy> 533.

Vaticanus, i. 149.

Venilia, i. 285.

Venus, a peculiar candelabrum in a temple of, ii. 423, 424.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Venus, the planet, a strange prodigy that occurred to, ii. 429.

Vesta, i. 147, 148, 279.

Vestal virgin, a, to prove her innocence, carries water in a sieve from the Tiber, ii. 503.

Vestal virgins, the punishment of those caught in adultery, i. 95.

Vice, not nature, contrary to God, and hurtful, i. 484.

Vicissitudes of life, the, on what dependent, i. 79, etc.

Victoria, the goddess, i. 152, 153; ought she to be worshipped as well as Jove? 154.


Virgin Mary, the, ii. 204.

Virgins, the violation of, by force, does not contaminate, i. 25.
Virtue and Faith, honoured by the Romans with temples, i. 156, 157; the Romans ought to have been content with, and Felicity, 157; the war waged by, ii. 203.

Virtues, as disgraceful to make them serve human glory as to serve bodily pleasure, i. 217; true, necessary to true religion, ii. 340, 341.

Virtumnus and Sentinus, i. 260, 261.

Virtus, the goddess, i. 263, 264.

Vision, the beatific, ii. 534-540.

Vulcan, i. 279.

Warfare, the Christian, ii. 442.

Wars, against the Albans, i. 105; with Pyrrhus, 116; the Punic, 117, etc.; 119, etc.; the civil, of the Gracchi, 126; the civil, between Marius and Sylla, 128, etc.; the Gothic and Gallic, 130; severe and frequent, before the advent of Christ, 131; the duration of various, 220; with Radagaisus, 221; the miseries of, ii. 311.

Waters, the separation of the, i. 479.

Wicked, the, the ills which alone are feared by, i. 91; God makes a good use of, ii. 284; going out to see the punishment of, 392; the end of, 343; and the good, one event befalls, i. 10, ii. 348; the connection of, and the good together, i. 11.

Wickedness, not a flaw of nature, i. 456.

Will, the consent of, to an evil deed, makes the deed evil, i. 26; is it ruled by necessity? 195; the enemies of God are so by, 484, 487; no efficient cause of an evil, 490; the misdirected love by which it fell away from the immutable to the mutable good, 490, 491; whether the angels received their good, from God, 491, 492; the character of, makes the affections of the soul right or wrong, ii. 9, etc.; free, in the state of perfect felicity, 542.

Will of God, the eternal and unchangeable, ii. 474.

Wisdom, described in the Book of Proverbs, ii. 211.

Wisdom, the Book of, a prophecy of Christ in the, ii. 209.
Wives, how the Romans obtained their first, i. 103.

Woman, shall she retain her sex in the resurrection? ii. 509, 510; the formation of, from a rib of sleeping Adam, a type, 510.

World, the, not eternal, i. 439; the infinite ages before, not to be comprehended, 441; and time had both one beginning, 442; falseness of the history which ascribes many thousand years to the past existence of, 494; of those who hold a plurality of worlds, 496; predictions respecting the end of, ii. 395, etc.

Worlds without end, or ages of ages, i. 508, etc.

Wonders, lying, ii. 483.

Worm, the, that dieth not, ii. 393, 433.

Worship of God, distinction between latria and dulia, i. 383, 384, 386, etc.

Xexoceates, i. 324.

Years, in the time of the antediluvians, ii. 6S, etc., 73, etc.; in the words, "their days shall be an hundred and twenty years," 97, etc.; the thousand, of the Book of Revelation, 356; the three and a half, of the Book of Revelation, 394.

Zoroaster, ii. 440.
THE WORKS

OF

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION,

REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. III.

WRITINGS IN CONNECTION WITH THE DONATIST CONTROVERSY.

EDINBUEGH:
T. & T. CLAEK, 38, GECOE STEEET.

MDCCCLXXII

Source:
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
http://www.archive.org/details/worksofaurelius03augu

-------------------------
WRITINGS

IX

CONNECTION WITH THE
DONATIST CONTROVERSY.

EEV. J. R. KING, mX

VICAR OF ST. Peter's in the east, oxford;

AND LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXII.
CONTENTS.

ON BAPTISM, AGAINST THE DONATISTS,

BOOK I.

He proves that baptism can "be conferred outside the Catholic com-
* munion by heretics or schismatics, but that it ought not to be received from them; and
that it is of no avail to any while in a state of heresy or schism, . . . .

BOOK II.

In which Augustine proves that it is to no purpose that the Donatists bring forward the
authority of Cyprian, bishop and martyr, since it is really more opposed to them than to
the Catholics. For that he held that the view of his predecessor Agrippinus, on the subject
of baptizing heretics in the Catholic Church when they join â€¢
its communion, should only be received on condition that peace should be maintained
with those who entertained the opposite view, and that the unity of the Church should
never be broken by any kind of schism, ...... SI

BOOK III.

Augustine undertakes the refutation of the arguments which might be derived from the
Epistle of Cyprian to Jubaianus, to give colour to the view that the baptism of Christ
could not be conferred by heretics, ........ S4

BOOK IV.

In which he treats of what follows in the same Epistle of Cyprian to
Jubaianus, .........., 79

VI CONTENTS.
BOOK V.

He examinos the last part of the Epistle of Cyprian to Jubaianus, together with his Epistle to Quintus, the letter of the African Synod to the Numidian bishops, and Cyprian's Epistle to Pompeius, . 115

BOOK VI.

In which is considered the Council of Carthage, held under the authority and presidency of Cyprian, to determine the question of the baptism of heretics, . . . . ICiO

BOOK VII.

In which the remaining judgments of the Council of Carthage are examined, ...â€¢â€¢â€¢â€¢â€¢â€¢ 195

ANSWEE TO LETTEES OF PETILIAN.

BOOK I.

Written in the form of a letter addressed to the Catholics, in which the first portion of the letter which Petilian had written to his adherents is examined and refuted, ..... 231

BOOK II.

In which Augustine replies to all the several statements in the letter of Petilianus, as though disputing with an adversary face to face, 2j5

BOOK III.

In this Book Augustine refutes the second letter which Petilianus wrote to him after having seen the first of Augustine's earlier Books.
This letter had been full of violent language; and Augustine rather shows that the arguments of Petilianus had been deficient and irrelevant, than brings forward arguments in support of his own statements, ...*â€¢.. 405

CONTEXTS. VU

OX THE COEECTIOX OF THE DONATISTS.

PAGE

A Letter of Augustine to Boniface, who, as we learn from Epistle 220, was Tribune, and afterwards Count in Africa. In it Augustine shows that the heresy of the Donatists has nothing in common with that of Arius; and points out the moderation with which it was possible to recall the heretics to the communion of the Church through awe of the imperial laws. He adds remarks concerning the savage conduct of the Donatists and Circumcelliones, concluding with a discussion of the unpardonable nature of the sin against the Holy Ghost, â€¢â€¢â€¢â€¢â€¢â€¢Â».. 479

INDEX, 521

!.

5(Â»74  
1^71

PEEFACE.

THE schism of the Donatists, with which the treatises in the present volume are concerned, arose indirectly out of the persecution under Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century. At that time IMensurius, bishop of Carthage, and his archdeacon
Caecilianus, had endeavoured to check the fanatical spirit in which many of the Christians courted martyrdom; and consequently, on the death of Mensorius in 311, and the elevation of Ciecilianus to the see of Carthage in his place, the opposing party, alleging that Felix, bishop of Aptunga, by whom Caecilianus had been consecrated, had been a tractator, and that therefore his consecration was invalid, set up against him Majorinus, who was succeeded in 315 by Donatus. The party had by this time gained strength, through the professions that they made of extreme purity in the discipline which they maintained, and had gone so far, under the advice of another Donatus, bishop of Cassiigrae in Xumidia, as to accuse Caecilianus before the Roman Emperor Constantine, thus setting the first precedent for referring a spiritual cause to the decision of a civil magistrate. Constantine accepted the appeal, and in 313 the matter was laid for decision before Melchiades, bishop of Rome, and three bishops of the province of Gaul. They decided in favour of the validity of the consecration of Caecilianus; and a similar verdict was given by a council held at Aries, by direction of the Emperor, in the following year. The party of Majorinus (then appealed to the personal judgment of the Emperor, which was likewise given against them, not without strong expressions of his anger at their pertinacity. This was followed by severe laws directed against their schism; but so far from crushing them, the attack seemed only to increase their enthusiasm and develop their resources. And, under the leadership of Donatus, the successor of Majorinus, their influence spread widely throughout Africa, and continued to prevail, in spite of various efforts at their forcible suppression, during the whole of the fourth century. They especially brought on themselves the vengeance of the civil powers, by the turbulence of certain fanatical ascetics who embraced their cause, and who, under the name of Circumcelliones, spread terror through the country, seeking martyrdom for themselves, and offering violence to every one who opposed them.

Towards the close of the century, this schism attracted the attention of Augustine, then a priest of Hippo Regius in Xumidia. The controversy seems to have had for him a special attraction, not merely because of its intrinsic importance, but also because of the field which it presented for his unrivalled powers as a dialectician. These the Donatists had recently provoked, by inconsistently receiving back into their body a deacon of Carthage named Maximianus who had separated himself from them, and by recognising as valid all baptism administered by his followers. Hence they naturally shrank from engaging in a contest with an antagonist who was sure to make the most of such a deviation from the very principles on which they based their schism; and, on the other
hand, Augustine was so firmly convinced that his own position was impregnable, that he seems to have thought that if he could only secure a thorough and dispassionate discussion of the matter, the Donatists must necessarily be brought

^ Aug. De ITccr. c. 69; Fnarr. in Ps. 132, sees. 3, 6; C. Crscsc. iii. 46, 47; C Gaudeniium, i. 32.

I

PREFACE. XI

to acknowledge not only their theoretical errors, but also the practical sinfulness of their separation from the Church. Throughout the controversy, however, he appears to have put out of sight two considerations: first, the influence of party spirit and prejudice in blinding men to argument; and, secondly, the necessity of treating his opponents in a logical discussion as on an equal footing with himself. The first was in some degree an unavoidable element of disappointment; but Augustine made concession yet more difficult on the part of his opponents, by expecting them to acknowledge his superior position as a member of the Catholic Church, whose duty it was to expose the error of their views. He practically begs the very point at issue, by assuming that he, and not the Donatists, was in the Catholic communion; and though his argument is conducted independently of this premiss, yet it naturally rendered them more unwilling to admit its force.

This dogmatism was of less consequence in the first pamphlet which Augustine published on the subject, “his AljoJiahdicd Psalm, in which he set forth the history and errors of the Donatists in a popular form, “since it was not intended as a controversial treatise, but only as a means of enlightening the less educated as to the Catholic tenets on the question in dispute. His next work, written in answer to a letter of Donatus of Carthage, in which the latter tried to prove that the baptism of Christ existed only in his communion, is unfortunately lost; and we can only gather hints as to the further part which he took in the controversy during the next few years from certain of his letters, especially those to the Donatist Bishops Honoratus and Crispinus. From the former he claims the admission that the exclusiveness of the Donatists proves that they are not the Church of Christ; and his letter to the latter contains an invitation to discuss the leading points at issue, which Crispinus seems to have declined.

^ Ejnstat. xlii. 11
XII PREFACE.

In the year 400 he wrote two books Against the Party of Donatus, which are also lost; and about the same time he published his refutation of the letter of Parmenianus in answer to Tichonius, in which he handles and solves the famous question, whether, while abiding in unity in the communion of the same sacraments, the wicked pollute the good by their society.  

Then followed his seven Looks On Baptism, included in this volume, in which he shows the emptiness of the arguments of the Donatists for the repetition of baptism; and proves that so far was Cyprian from being on their side, that his letters and conduct are of the highest value as overthrowing their position, and utterly condemning their separation from the Church.

\[\text{1 Vol. ix. p. 31, etc.}\]

PREFACE. XI 11

Augustine admits neither of his assumptions; but, leaving the "guilt or innocence of Cæcilius as a point which was irrelevant (though practically the case against him utterly broke down), he addresses himself to the other point, and argues most conclusively that all the functions of the clergy in celebrating the rites of the Church being purely ministerial, the efficacy of those rites could in no way depend upon the excellence of the individual minister, but was derived entirely from Christ. Hence there was a certainty of the grace bestowed through the several ordinances, which otherwise there could not possibly have been, had their virtue depended on the character of any
man, in whom even an unblemished reputation might have been the fruit of a skilled hypocrisy.

The third treatise in this volume belongs to a later period, being a letter written to Bonifacius, the Koman Count of Africa under Valentinian the Third. He had written to AufTustine to consult him as to the best means of dealinowith the Donatists; and Augustine in his reply points out to him his mistake in supposing that the Donatists shared in the errors of the Arians, whilst he urges him to use moderation in his coercive measures; though both here and in his answer to Petilianus we find him countenancing the theory that the State has a right to interfere in constraining men to keep within the Church. Starting with a forced interpretation of the words, "Compel them to come in," in Luke xiv. 23, he enunciates principles of coercion which, though in him they were subdued and rendered practically of little moment by the spirit of love which formed so large an element in his character, yet found their natural development in the despotic intolerance of the Papacy, and the horrors of the Inquisition.

It is probable that he was himself in some degree misled by confounding the necessity of repressing the violence of the CircumceUiones, which was a real offence against the State,

Xiv PREFACE.

with the expediency of enforcing spiritual unity by temporal authority.

The Donatist treatises have met with little attention from individual editors. There is a dissertation, De Aicr. Aurjustino adversario Donatistarum, by Adrien Eoux, published at Louvain in 1838; but it is believed that no treatises of this series have ever before been translated into English, nor are they separately edited. They are in themselves a valuable authority for an important scene in the history of the Church, and afford a good example both of the strength and the weakness of Augustine's writing, â€” its strength, in the exhaustive way in which he tears to pieces his opponent's arguments, and the clearness with which he exposes the fallacies of their reasoning; its weakness, in the persistency with which he pursues a point long after its discussion might fairly have been closed, as though he hardly knew when he had gained the victory; and his tendency to claim, by right of his position, a vantageground which did not in reality belong to him till the superiority of his cause was proved.

J. K. King.

Oxford, March 1870.

^ The other works "bearing on this controversy are mentioned in the exhaustive volume of Ferd. Ribbeck, Donatus und Augustinus (Elberfeld, 1858). â€” Ed.
ON BAPTISM, AGAINST THE DONATISTS.

BOOK FIRST.

HE PROVES THAT BAPTISM CAN BE CONFERRED OUTSIDE THE CATHOLIC COMMUNION BY HERETICS OR SCHISMATICS, BUT THAT IT OUGHT NOT TO BE RECEIVED FROM THEM; AND THAT IT IS OF NO AVAIL TO ANY WHILE IN A STATE OF HEREHY OR SCHISM.

CHAP. I. â€” 1. In the treatise which we wrote against the published epistle of Parmenianus to Tichonius, we promised that at some future time we would treat the question of baptism more thoroughly; and indeed, even if we had not made this promise, we are not unmindful that this is a debt fairly due from us to the prayers of our brethren. "Wherefore in this treatise we have undertaken, with the help of God, not only to refute the objections which the Donatists have been wont to urge against us in this matter, but also to advance what God may enable us to say in respect of the authority of the blessed martyr Cyprian, which they endeavour to use as a prop, to prevent their perversity from falling before the attacks of truth. And this we propose to do, in order that all whose judgment is not blinded by party spirit may understand that, so far from Cyprian's authority being in their favour, it tends directly to their refutation and discomfiture.

2. In the treatise above mentioned, it has already been said that the grace of baptism can be conferred outside the Catholic

1 This treatise was written about 400 A.D.

* Contra Epist, Parmen. ii. 14.
ON BAPTISM. [book T.

â– ^^-^ communion, just as it can be also there retained. But no one 
-of the Donatists themselves denies that even apostates retain 
-the grace of baptism: for when they return within the pale 
- of the Church, and are converted through repentance, it is never given to them a second 
time, and so it is ruled that it never could have been lost. So those, too, who in the 
sacrilege of schism depart from the communion of the Church, certainly retain the grace 
of baptism, which they received before their departure, seeing that, in case of their return, 
it is not again conferred on them; whence it is proved, that what they had received while 
within the unity of the Church, they 
'[^^-^] could not have lost in their separation. But if it can be re-
"^-^ tained outside, why may it not also be given there? If you say, " It is not rightly 
given without the pale," we answer, 
" As it is not rightly retained, and yet is in some sense re-
â– --^-^ tained, so it is not indeed rightly given, but yet it is given." 
But as, by reconciliation to unity, that begins to be profitably possessed which was 
possessed to no profit in exclusion from unity, so, by the same reconciliation, that begins 
to be profitable which without it was given to no profit. Yet it cannot be allowed that it 
should be said that that was not given which was given, nor that any one should reproach 
a man with not having given this, while confessing that he had given what he had himself 
received. For the sacrament of baptism is what the person possesses who is baptized; and 
the sacrament of conferring baptism is what he possesses who is ordained. And as the 
baptized person, if he depart from the unity of the Church, does not thereby lose the 
sacrament of baptism, so also he who is ordained, if he depart from the unity of the 
Church, does not lose the sacrament of conferring baptism. For neither sacrament may be 
^vronged. If a sacrament necessarily becomes void in the case of the wicked, both must 
become void; if it remain valid with the wicked, this must be so with both. If, therefore, 
the baptism be acknowledged which he could not lose who severed himself from the 
unity of the Church, that baj^tism must also be aclvQowed which was administered 
by one who by liis secession had not lost the sacrament of conferring baptism. For as 
those who return to the Church, if they had been baptized before their 

CHAP. I.] SCHISMATICS CAN CONFER BAPTISM. 3 

secession, are not rebaptized, so those who return, having been ordained before their 
secession, are certainly not ordained again; but either they again exercise their former 
ministry, if the interests of the Church require it, or if they do not exercise it, at any rate 
they retain the sacrament of their ordination; and hence it is, that when hands are laid on 
them.-^
to mark their reconciliation, they are not ranked with the laity. For Felicianus, when he
separated himself from them with Maximianus, was not held by the Donatists themselves
to have lost either the sacrament of baptism or the sacrament of conferring baptism. For
now he is a recognised member of their own body, in company with those ytj men
whom he baptized while he was separated from them in the schism of
\[\text{Jaximianus. And so others could receive from them, whilst they still had not joined our}

society, what they themselves had not lost by severance from our society. And hence it is
clear that they are guilty of impiety who endeavour to rebaptize those who are in Catholic
unity; and we act rightly who do not dare to repudiate God's sacraments, even when
administered in schism. For in all points in which they think with us, they also are in
communion with us, and only are severed from us in those points in which they dissent
from us. For contact and disunion are not to be measured by different laws in the case of
material or spiritual affinities.

For as union of bodies arises from continuity of position, so in the agreement of wills
there is a kind of contact between souls. If, therefore, a man who has severed himself
from unity wishes to do anything different from that which had been impressed on him
while in the state of unity, in this point he does sever himself, and is no longer a part of
the united whole; but wherever he desires to conduct himself as is customary in the state
of unity, in which he himself learned and received the lessons which he seeks to follow,
in these points he remains a member, and is united to the corporate whole.

Chap. ii. â€” 3. And so the Donatists in some matters are with us; in some matters have
gone out from us. Accordingly,

^ Comp. V. 23, and iii. 16, note.

ON BAPTISM^r. [cook I.

those things wherein they agree with us we forbid them not to do; but in those things in
which they differ from us, we earnestly endeavour that they should come and receive
them from us, or return and recover them, as the case may be. We do not therefore say to
them, " Abstain from giving baptism,"

but " Abstain from giving it in schism." Nor do we say to those whom we see them on the
point of baptizing, " Do not receive the baptism," but " Do not receive it in schism." For
if any one were compelled by urgent necessity, being unable to find a Catholic from
whom to receive baptism, and so, while preserving Catholic peace in his heart, should
receive from one without the pale of Catholic unity the sacrament which he was intending
to receive within its pale, this man, should he forthwith depart this life, we deem to be
none other than a Catholic. But if he should be delivered from the death of the body, on his restoring himself in bodily presence to that Catholic congregation from which in heart he had never departed, so far from blaming his conduct, we should praise it with the greatest truth and confidence; because he trusted that God was present to his heart, while he was striving to preserve unity, and was unwilling to depart this life without the sacrament of holy baptism, which he knew to be of God, and not of men, wherever he might find it. But if any one who has it in his power to receive baptism within the Catholic Church prefers, from some perversity of mind, to be baptized in schism, even if he afterwards bethinks himself to come to the Catholic Church, because he is assured that there that sacrament will profit him, which can indeed be received but cannot profit elsewhere, beyond all question he is perverse, and guilty of sin, and that the more flagrant in proportion as it was committed wilfully. For that he entertains no doubt that the sacrament is rightly received in the Church, is proved by his conviction that it is there that he must look for profit even from what he has received elsewhere.

Chap. hi. 4. There are two propositions, moreover, which we affirm, that baptism exists in the Catholic Church, and that in it alone can it be rightly received, both of which the Donatists deny. Likewise there are two other propositions which we affirm, that baptism exists among the Donatists, but that with them it is not rightly received, of which two they strenuously confirm the former, that baptism exists with them; but they are unwilling to allow the latter, that in their Church it cannot be rightly received. Of these four propositions, three are peculiar to us; in one we both agree. For that baptism exists in the Catholic Church, that it is rightly received there, and that it is not rightly received among the Donatists, are assertions made only by ourselves; but that baptism exists also among the Donatists, is asserted by them and allowed by us. If any one, therefore, is desirous of being baptized, and is already convinced that he ought to choose our Church as a medium for Christian salvation, and that the baptism of Christ is only profitable in it, even when it has been received elsewhere, but yet wishes to be baptized in the schism of Donatus, because not they only, nor we only, but both parties alike say that baptism exists with them, let him pause and look to the other three points. For if he has made up his mind to follow us in the points which they deny, though he prefers what both of us acknowledge to what only we assert, it is enough for our purpose that he prefers what they do not affirm and we alone assert, to what they alone assert. That baptism exists in the Catholic Church, we assert and they deny. That it is rightly received in the Catholic Church, we assert and they deny. That it is not rightly received in the schism of Donatus, we assert and they deny. As, therefore, he is the more ready to believe what we alone assert should be believed, so let him be the more ready to do what we alone declare should be done. But let him believe more firmly, if he be so disposed, what both parties assert should be believed, than what we alone maintain. For he is inclined to believe more firmly that the baptism of
Christ exists in the schism of Donatus, because that is acknowledged by both of us, than that it exists in the Catholic Church, an assertion made alone by the Catholics. But again, he is more ready to believe that the baptism of Christ exists also with us, as we alone assert, than that it does not exist with us, as they alone assert. For he has already determined and is fully convinced, that where we differ, our authority is to be preferred to theirs. So that he is more ready to believe what we alone assert, that baptism is rightly received with us, than that it is not rightly so received, since that rests only on their assertion. And, by the same rule, he is more ready to believe what we alone assert, that it is not rightly received with them, than as they alone assert, that it is rightly so received. He finds, therefore, that his confidence in being baptized among the Donatists is somewhat profitless, seeing that, though we both acknowledge that baptism exists with them, yet we do not both declare that it ought to be received from them. But he has made up his mind to clinch rather to us in matters where we disagree. Let him therefore feel confidence in receiving baptism in our communion, where he is assured that it both exists and is rightly received; and let him not receive it in a communion, where those whose opinion he has determined to follow acknowledge indeed that it exists, but say that it cannot rightly be received. E'ay, even if he should hold it to be a doubtful question, whether or no it is impossible for that to be rightly received among the Donatists which he is assured can rightly be received in the Catholic Church, he would commit a grievous sin, in matters concerning the salvation of his soul, in the mere fact of preferring uncertainty to certainty. At any rate, he must be quite sure that a man can be rightly baptized in the Catholic Church, from the mere fact that he has determined to come over to it, even if he be baptized elsewhere. But let him at least acknowledge it to be matter of uncertainty whether a man be not improperly baptized among the Donatists, when he finds this asserted by those whose opinion he is convinced should be preferred to theirs; and, preferring certainty to uncertainty, let him be baptized here, where he has good grounds for being assured that it is rightly done, in the fact that when he thought of doing it elsewhere, he had still determined that he ought afterwards to come over to this side.

Chap. iv. â€” 5. Further, if any one fails to understand how it can be that we assert that the sacrament is not rightly conferred among the Donatists, while we confess that it exists among them, let him observe that we also deny that it exists rightly among them, just as they deny that it exists rightly among those who quit their communion. Let him also
consider the analogy of the military mark, which, though it can both be retained, as by
deserters, and also be received by those who are not in the army, yet ought not to be
either received or retained outside its ranks; and, at the same time, it is not changed or
renewed when a man is enlisted or brought back to his service. However, we must
distinguish between the case of those who unwittingly join the ranks of these heretics,
under the impression that they are entering the true Church of Christ, and those who
know that there is no other Catholic Church save that which, according to the promise, is
spread abroad throughout the whole world, and ext-ends even to the utmost limits of the
earth; which, rising amid tares, and seeking rest in the future from the weariness of
offences, says in the Book of Psalms, "From the end of the earth I cried unto Thee, while
my heart was in weariness: Thou didst exalt me on a rock."^ But the rock was Christ, in
whom the apostle says that we are now raised up, and set together in heavenly places,
though not yet actually, but only in hope.^ And so the psalm goes on to say, "Thou wast my guide, because Thou art become my
hope, a tower of strength from the face of the enemy."^ By means of His promises,
which are like spears and javelins stored up in a strongly fortified place, the enemy is not
only guarded against, but overthrown, as he clothes his wolves in sheep's clothing,^ that
they may say,
"Lo, here is Christ, or there:"^ and that they may separate many from the Catholic
city which is built upon a hill, and bring them down to the isolation of their own snares, so as
utterly to destroy them. And these men, knowing this, choose to receive the baptism of
Christ without the limits of the communion of the unity of Christ's body, though they
intend afterwards, with the sacrament which they have re-

"^ Ps. Ixi. 2, 3. Augustine translates from the Septuagint. The English version is: "From
the end of the earth will I cry unto Thee, when my heart is overwhelmed: lead me to the
Rock that is higher than I. For Thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from
the enemy."

2 Eph. ii. 6. 3 ]xatt. vii. 15. â€œ* Matt. xxiv. 23.

8 ON BAPTISM. [book T.

ceived elsewhere, to pass into that very communion. Tor they propose to receive Christ's
baptism in antagonism to the Church of Christ, well knowing that it is so even on the very
day on which they receive it. And if this is a sin, who is the man that will say. Grant that
for a single day I may commit sin ? For if he proposes to pass over to the Catholic
Church, I would fain ask why. What other answer can he give, but that it is ill to belong
to the party of Donatus, and not to the unity of the Catholic Church ? Just so many days,
then, as you commit this ill, of so many days' sin are you going to be guilty. And it may
be said that there is greater sin in more days' commission of it, and less in fewer; but in
no wise can it be said that no sin is committed at all. But what is the need of allowing this
accursed wrong for a single day, or a single hour ? For the man who wishes this licence
to be granted him, might as well ask of the Church, or of God Himself, that for a single
day he should be permitted to apostatize. For there is no reason why he should fear to be an apostate for a day, if he does not shrink from being for that time a schismatic or a heretic.

Chap. v. â€” 6. I prefer, he says, to receive Christ's baptism where both parties agree that it exists. But those whom you intend to join say that it cannot be received there rightly; and those who say that it can be received there rightly are the party whom you mean to quit. What they say, therefore, whom you yourself consider of inferior authority, in opposition to what those say whom you yourself prefer, is, if not false, at any rate, to use a milder term, at least uncertain.

I entreat you, therefore, to prefer what is true to what is false, or what is certain to what is uncertain. For it is not only those whom you are going to join, but you yourself who are going to join them, that confess that what you want can be rightly received in that body which you mean to join when you have received it elsewhere. For if you had any doubts whether it could be rightly received there, you would also have doubts whether you ought to make the change. If, therefore, it is doubtful whether it be not sin to receive baptism from the party of Donatus, who can doubt but that it

CHAP, v.] ADISSIOXS OF THE DONATISTS.

is certain sin not to prefer receiving it where it is certain that it is not sin? And those who are baptized there through ignorance, thinking that it is the true Church of Christ, are guilty of less sin in comparison than these, though even they are wounded by the impiety of schism; nor do they escape a grievous hurt, because others suffer even more. For when it is said to certain men, "It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for you," it is not meant that the men of Sodom shall escape torment, but only that the others shall be even more grievously tormented.

7. And yet this point had once, perhaps, been involved in obscurity and doubt. But that which is a source of health to those who give heed and receive correction, is but an aggravation of the sin of those who, when they are no longer suffered to be ignorant, persist in their madness to their own destruction. For the condemnation of the party of Maximianus, and their restoration after they had been condemned, together with those whom they had sacrilegiously, to use the language of their own Council, baptized in schism, settles the whole question in dispute, and removes all controversy. There is no point at issue between ourselves and those Donatists who hold communion with Primianus, which could give rise to any doubt that the baptism of Christ may not only be retained, but even conferred by those who are severed from the Church. For as they themselves are obliged to confess that those whom Felicianus baptized in schism received true baptism, inasmuch as they now acknowledge them as members of their own body with no other baptism than that which they received in schism, so we say that that is
Christ's baptism, even without the pale of Catholic communion, which they confer who are cut off from that communion, inasmuch as they had not lost it when they were cut off. And what they themselves think that they conferred on those persons whom Felicianus baptized in schism, when they admitted them to reconciliation with themselves, viz., not that they should re-

1 Matt. xi. 24.


10 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

ceive that which they did not as yet possess, but that what they had received to no advantage in schism, and were already in possession of, should be of profit to them, this God really confers and bestows through the Catholic communion on those who come from any heresy or schism in which they received the baptism of Christ; viz. not that they should begin to receive the sacrament of baptism as not possessing it before, but that what they already possessed should now begin to profit them.

Chap. vi. â€” 8. Between us, then, and what we may call the genuine Donatists, whose bishop is Primianus at Carthage, there is now no controversy on this point. For God willed that it should be ended by means of the followers of Maximianus, that they should be compelled by the precedent of his case to acknowledge what they would not allow at the persuasion of Christian charity. But this brings us to consider next, whether those men do not seem to have something to say for themselves, who refuse communion with the party of Primianus, contending that in their body there remains greater sincerity of Donatism, just in proportion to the paucity of their numbers. And even if these were only the party of Maximianus, we should not be justified in despising their salvation. How much more, then, are we bound to consider it, when we find that this same party of Donatus is split up into many most minute fractions, all which small sections of the body blame the one much larger portion which has Primianus for its head, because they receive the baptism of the followers of Maximianus; while each endeavours to maintain that it is the sole receptacle of true baptism, which exists nowhere else, neither in the whole of the world where the Catholic Church extends itself, nor in that larger main body of the Donatists, nor even in the other minute sections, but only in itself. Whereas, if all these fragments would listen not to the voice of man, but to the most unmistakeable manifestation of the truth, and would be willing to curb the fiery temper of their own perversity, they would return from their own barrenness, not indeed to the main body of Donatus, a

' Quodam moclo cardinalcsDonatistas.
mature fragment of which they are a smaller fragment, but to the never-failing fruitfulness of the root of the Catholic Church. For all of them who are not against us are for us; but when they gather not with us, they scatter abroad.

Chap. vii. â€” 9. For, in the next place, that I may not seem to rest on mere human arguments, â€” since there is so much obscurity in this question, that in earlier ages of the Church, before the schism of Donatus, it has caused men of great weight, and even bishops whose hearts were full of charity, so to dispute and doubt among themselves, saving always the peace of the Church, that the several statutes of their Councils in their different districts long varied from each other, till at length the most wholesome opinion was established, to the removal of all doubts, by a general Council of the whole world:â€”I therefore bring forward from the gospel clear proofs, by which I propose, with God's help, to prove how rightly and truly in the sight of God it has been determined, that in the case of every schismatic and heretic, the wound which caused his separation should be cured by the medicine of the Church; but that what remained sound in him should rather be recognised with approbation, than wounded by condemnation. ' It is indeed true that the Lord says in the gospel; " He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."^ Yet when the disciples had brought word to Him that they had seen one casting out devils in His name, and had forbidden him, because he followed not them. He said, " Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us. For there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me."^ If, indeed, there were nothing in this man requiring correction, then any one would be safe, who, setting himself outside the communion of the Church, severing himself from all Christian brotherhood, should gather in Christ's name; and so there would be no truth in this, " He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." But if he required correction in the point where

1 See below, on ii. 9. " Matt. xii. 30.

3 Mark ix. 38, 39; Luke ix. CO.

12 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

the disciples in their ignorance were anxious to check him, why did our Lord, by saying, " Forbid him not," prevent this check from being given? And how can that be true which He then says, " He that is not against you is for you? " For in this point he was not against, but for them, when he was working miracles of healing in Christ's name. That
both, therefore, should be true, as both are true, â€” both the declaration, that " he that is not with me is against me, and he that cathereth not with me scattereth abroad:" and also the injunction, "Forbid him not; for he that is not against you is for you," â€” what must we understand, except that the man was to be confirmed in his veneration for that mighty Name, in respect of which he was not against the Church, but for it; and yet he was to be blamed for separating himself from the Church, whereby his gathering became a scattering; and if it should have so happened that he sought union with the Church, he should not have received what he already possessed, but be made to set right the points wherein he had gone astray?

Chap. viii. â€” 10. ISTor indeed were the prayers of the Gentile Cornelius unheard, nor did his alms lack acceptance; nay, he was found worthy that an angel should be sent to him, and that he should behold the messenger, through whom he might assuredly have learned everything that was necessary, without requiring that any man should come to him. But since all the good that he had in his prayers and alms could not benefit him unless he were incorporated in the Church by the bond of Christian brotherhood and peace, he was ordered to send to Peter, and through him learned Christ; and, being also baptized by his orders, he was joined by the tie of communion to the fellowship of Christians, to which before he was bound only by the likeness of good works.â€ And indeed it would have been most fatal to despise what he did not yet possess, vaunting himself in what he had. So too those who, by separating themselves from the society of their fellows, to itlie overthrow of charity, thus break the bond of unity, if they observe none of the things which they have received in that

^ Acts X.

CHAP. VIII.] SCHISMATICS PAETLY, NOT WHOLLY SOUND. 1 3

society, are separated in everything; and so any one whom they have joined to their society, if he afterwards wish to come over to the Church, ought to receive everything which he has not already received. But if they observe some of the same things, in respect of these they have not severed themselves; and so far they are still a part of the framework of the Church, while in all other respects they are cut off from it. Accordingly, any one whom they have associated with themselves is united to the Church in all those points in which they are not separated from it. And therefore, if he wish to come over to the Church, he is made sound in those points in which he was unsound and went astray; but where he was sound in union with the Church, he is not cured, but recognised, â€” lest in desirins; to cure what is sound we should rather inflict a wound. Therefore those whom they baptize they heal from the wound of idolatry or unbelief; but they injure them more seriously with the wound of schism. For idolaters among the people of the Lord-were smitten with the sword â€¢ but schismatics were swallowed up by the earth opening her mouth.â€ And the apostle says, " Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."^
11. If any one is brought to the surgeon, afflicted with a grievous wound in some vital part of the body, and the surgeon says that unless it is cured it must cause death, the friends who brought him do not, I presume, act so foolishly as to count over to the surgeon all his sound limbs, and, drawing his attention to them, make answer to him, "Can it be that all these sound limbs are of no avail to save his life, and that one wounded limb is enough to cause his death?" They certainly do not say this, but they entrust him to the surgeon to be cured. I, or, again, because they so entrust him, do they ask the surgeon to cure the limbs that are sound as well; but they desire him to apply drugs with all care to the one part from which death is threatening the other sound parts too, with the certainty that it must come, unless the wound be healed. What will it then profit a man that he has sound faith, or perhaps only soundness in the sacrament of faith, Ex. xxxii. Num. xvi. 3 Qqj. xijj. 2.

14. ON BAPTISM [book T.

when the soundness of his charity is done away with by the fatal wound of schism, so that by the overthrow of it the other points, which were in themselves sound, are brought into the infection of death? To prevent which, the mercy of God, through the unity of His holy Church, does not cease striving that they may come and be healed by the medicine of reconciliation, through the bond of peace. And let them not think that they are sound because we admit that they have something sound in them; nor let them think, on the other hand, that what is sound must needs be healed, because we show that in some parts there is a wound. So that in the soundness of the sacrament, because they are not against us, they are for us; but in the wound of schism, because they gather not with Christ, they scatter abroad. Let them not be exalted by what they have. Why do they pass the eyes of pride over those parts only which are sound? Let them condescend also to look humbly on their wound, and give heed not only to what they have, but also to what is wanting in them.

CITAP. IX. â€” 12. Let them see how many things, and what important things, are of no avail, if a certain single thing be wanting, and let them see what that one thing is. And herein let them hear not my words, but those of the apostle: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." What does it profit them, therefore, if they have both the voice of angels in the sacred mysteries, and the gift of prophecy, as had Caiaphas and Saul, that so they may be found prophesying, of whom Holy Scripture testifies that they were worthy of condemnation? If they not only know, but even possess the sacraments, as Simon lagus did if they have faith, as the devils confessed Christ (for we must not suppose that they did not believe when they
CHAP. X. — SCmS^IATICS r.ETAILN THE CHUrvCII'S SACKAMEXTS. 15

said, "What have we to do with Thee? I know Thee who Thou art, the Holy One of God"; if they distribute of themselves their o-vii substance to the poor, as many do, not only in the Cathohc Church, but in the different heretical bodies; if, under the pressure of any persecution, they give their bodies with us to be burned for the faith which they like us confess: yet because they do all these things apart from the Church, not "forbearing one another in love," nor "endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," insomuch as they have not charity, they cannot attain to eternal salvation, even with all those good things which profit them not.

Chap. x. â€” 13. But they think within themselves that they show very great subtlety in asking whether the baptism of Christ in the party of Donatus makes men sons or not; so that, if we allow that it does make them sons, they may assert that theirs is the Church, the mother which could give birth to sons in the baptism of Christ; and since the Church must be one, they may allege that ours is no Church. But if we say that it does not make them sons, "Why then," say they, "do you not cause those who pass from us to you to be born again in baptism, after they have been baptized with us, if they are not thereby born as yet?"

14. Just as though their party gained the power of generation in virtue of what constitutes its division, and not from what causes its union with the Church. For it is severed from the bond of peace and charity, but it is joined in one baptism. And so there is one Church which alone is called Cathohc; and whenever it has anything of its own in these communions of different bodies which are separate from itself, it is most certainly in virtue of this which is its own in each of them that it, not they, has the power of generation. For neither is it their separation that generates, but what they have retained of the essence of the Church; and if they were to go on to abandon this, they would lose the power of generation. The generation, then, in each case proceeds from the Church, whose sacraments are retained, from which any such

1 Mark i. 24. ^ Ei^li. iv. 2, ^.
birth can alone in any case proceed, â€” although not all who receive its birth belong to its unity, which shall save those who persevere even to the end. Nor is it those only that do not belong to it who are openly guilty of the manifest sacrilege of schism, but also those who, being outwardly joined to its unity, are yet separated by a life of sin. For the Church had herself given birth to Simon Magus through the sacrament of baptism; and yet it was declared to him that he had no part in the inheritance of Christ.â€”Did he lack anything in respect of baptism, of the gospel, of the sacraments? But in that he wanted charity, he was born in vain; and perhaps it had been well for him that he had never been born at all.

Was anything wanting to their birth to whom the apostle says, "I have fed you with milk, and not with meat, even as babes in Christ?" Yet he recalls them from the sacrilege of schism, into which they were rushing, because they were carnal: "I have fed you," he says, "with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet are ye able. For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? For while one saith, I am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollos; are ye not carnal?" â€”For of these he says above: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" â€”These, therefore, if they continued in the same perverse obstinacy, were doubtless indeed born, but yet would not belong by the bond of peace and unity to the very Church in respect of which they were born. Therefore she herself bears them in her own womb, and in the womb of her handmaids, by virtue

1 Acts viii. 13, 21. - 1 Cor. iii. 1-4.

Â» 1 Cor. i. 10-13.

CHAR XI.] AP.GUMEXTS OF THE DONATISTS. 17

of the same sacraments, as though by virtue of the seed of her husband. For it is not without meaning that the apostle says that all these things were done by way of figure.â€”But those who are too proud, and are not joined to their lawful mother, are like Ishmael, of whom it is said, "Cast out this bond-woman and her son: for the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac." â€”But those who peacefully love the lawful wife of their father, whose sons they are by lawful descent, are like the sons of Jacob, born indeed of handmaids, but yet receiving the same inheritance.â€”But those who are born within the family, of the womb of the mother herself, and then neglect what they
have received, are like Isaac's son Esau, who was rejected, God Himself bearing witness to it, and saying, "I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau."* and that though they were twin-brethren, the offspring of the same womb.

Chap. xi. â€” 15. They ask also, " Whether sins are remitted in baptism in the party of Donatus:" so that, if we say that they are remitted, they may answer, then the Holy Spirit is there; for when by the breathing of our Lord the Holy Spirit was given to the disciples, He then went on to say, "Baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." ^ "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." ^ And if it is so, they say, then our communion is the Church of Christ; for the Holy Spirit does not work the remission of sins except in the Church. And if our communion is the Church of Christ, then your communion is not the Church of ^ Christ. For that is one, wherever it is, of which it is said, "My dove is but one; she is the only one of her mother;" ^ nor can there be just so many churches as there are schisms. But if we should say that sins are not there remitted, then, say they, there is no true baptism there; and therefore ought you to baptize those whom you receive from us. And since

^ 1 Cor. X. 11. Infifjura; rvTriKcJg; A. V., "for ensamples."
2 Gen. xxi. 10. ^ Qq^i. xxx. 3.

-* Mai. i. 2, 3; Gon. xxv. 21. Â« Matt, xxvii. 10.

Â« John XX. 23. 7 gong of Sol. vi. 9.

3 B

18 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

you do not do this, you confess that you are not in the Church of Christ.

16. To these we reply, following the Scriptures, by asking them to answer themselves what they ask of us. For I beg them to tell us whether there is any remission of sins where there is not charity; for sins are the darkness of the soul. For we find St. John saying, "He that hateth his brother is in darkness." ^ But none would create schisms, if they were not blinded by hatred of their brethren. If, therefore, we say that sins are not remitted there, how is he regenerate who is baptized among them? And what is regeneration in baptism, except the being renovated from the corruption of the old man? And how can he be so renovated whose past sins are not remitted? But if he be not regenerate, neither does he put on Christ; from which it seems to follow that he ought to be baptized again. For the apostle says, "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ;" ^ and if he has not so put on Christ, neither
should he be considered to have been baptized in Christ. Further, since we say that he has
been baptized in Christ, we confess that he has put on Christ; and if we confess this, we
confess that he is regenerate. And if this be so, how does St.
John say, " He that hateth his brother remaineth still in darkness," if remission of his sins
has already taken place ?
Can it be that schism does not involve hatred of one's brethren ? Who will maintain this,
when both the origin of, and perseverance in schism consists in nothing else save hatred
of the brethren ?

1 7. They think that they solve this question when they say:
" There is then no remission of sins in schism, and therefore no creation of the new man
by regeneration, and accordingly neither is there the baptism of Christ." But since we
confess that the baptism of Christ exists in schism, we propose this question to them for
solution: Was Simon Magus endued with the true baptism of Christ ? They will answer.
Yes; being compelled to do so by the authority of holy Scripture. I ask them whether they
confess that he received remission of his sins. They will certainly acknowledge it. So I
ask why

* 1 John ii. 11. - Gal. iii. 27.

CHAP. XII] baptism AND REMISSION OF SINS. 19

Peter said to him that he had no part in the lot of the saints.
Because, they say, he sinned afterwards, wishing to buy with money the gift of God,
which he believed the apostles were able to sell.

Chap. xii. â€” 18. What if he approached baptism itself in deceit ? were his sins remitted,
or were they not ? Let them choose which they will. Whichever they choose will answer
our purpose. If they say they were remitted, how then shall " the Holy Spirit of discipline
flee deceit,"^ if in him who was full of deceit He worked remission of sins ? If they say
they were not remitted, I ask whether, if he should afterwards confess his sin with
contrition of heart and true sorrow, it would be judged that he ought to be baptized again.
And if it is mere madness to assert this, then let them confess that a man can be baptized
with the true baptism of Christ, and that yet his heart, persisting in malice or sacrilege,
may not allow remission of sins to be given; and so let them understand that men may be
baptized in communications severed from the Church, in which Christ's baptism is given and
received in the said celebration of the sacrament, but that it will only then be of avail for
the remission of sins, when the recipient, being reconciled to the unity of the Church, is
purged from the sacrilege of deceit, by which his sins were retained, and their remission
prevented. For, as in the case of him who had approached the sacrament in deceit there is
no second baptism, but he is purged by faithful discipline and truthful confession, which
he could not be without baptism, so that what was given before becomes then powerful to
work his salvation, when the former deceit is done away by the truthful confession; so
also in the case of the man who, while an enemy to the peace and love of Christ, received
in any heresy or schism the baptism of Christ, which the schismatics in question had not lost from among them, though by his sacrilege his sins were not remitted, yet, when he corrects his error, and comes over to the communion and unity of the Church, he ought not to be again baptized: because by his very reconciliation to the peace of the Church he receives this

1 Wisd. i. 5.

20 ON BAPTISM, [cook I.

benefit, that the sacrament now begins in unity to be of avail for the remission of his sins, which could not so avail him as received in schism.

19. But if they should say that in the man who has approached the sacrament in deceit, his sins are indeed removed by the holy power of so great a sacrament at the moment when he received it, but return immediately in consequence of his deceit: so that the Holy Spirit has both been present with him at his baptism for the removal of his sins, and has also fled before his perseverance in deceit so that they should return: so that both declarations prove true, â€” both, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ;" and also, "The holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit;" â€” that is to say, that both the holiness of baptism clothes him with Christ, and the sinfulfulness of deceit strips him of Christ; like the case of a man who passes from darkness through light into darkness again, his eyes being always directed towards darkness, though the light cannot but penetrate them as he passes; â€” if they should say this, let them understand that this is also the case with those who are baptized without the pale of the Church, but yet with the baptism of the Church, which is holy in itself, wherever it may be; and which therefore belongs not to those who separate themselves, but to the body from which they are separated; while yet it avails even among them so far, that they pass through its light back to their own darkness, their sins, which in that moment had been dispelled by the holiness of baptism, returning immediately upon them, as though it were the darkness returning which the light had dispelled while they were passing through it.

20. For that sins which have been remitted do return upon a man, is most clearly taught by our Lord, in the case of the servant whom He found owing Him ten thousand talents, and to whom He yet forgave all at his entreaty.
But when he refused to have pity on his fellow-servant who owed him a hundred pence, the Lord commanded him to pay what He had forgiven him. The time, then, at which pardon is received through baptism is as it were the time for rendering accounts, so that all the debts which are found to be due

CHAP. XII.] GUILT ONCE EEMITTED MAY RETURN. 21
may be remitted. Yet it was not afterwards that the servant lent his fellow-servant the
money, which he had so pitilessly exacted when the other was unable to pay it; but his
fellow-servant already owed him the debt, when he himself, on rendering his accounts to
his master, was excused a debt of so vast an amount. He had not first excused his fellow-
servant, and so come to receive forgiveness from his Lord. This is proved by the words of
the fellow-servant: " Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all." Otherwise he would
have said, " You forgave me it before; why do you again demand it? " This is made more
clear by the words of the Lord Himself. For He says, " But the same servant went out,
and found one of his fellow-servants which was owing to him a hundred pence." He does
not say, " To whom he had already forgiven a debt of a hundred pence." Since then He
says, " was owing him," it is clear that he had not forgiven him the debt. And indeed it
would have been better, and more in accordance with the position of a man who was
going to render an account of so great a debt, and expected forbearance from his lord, that
he should first have forgiven his fellow-servant what was due to him, and so have come
to render the account when there was such need for imploring the compassion of his lord.
Yet the fact that he had not yet forgiven his fellow-servant, did not prevent his lord from
forgiving him all his debts on the occasion of receiving his accounts. But what advantage
was it to him, since they all immediately returned with redoubled force upon his head, in
consequence of his persistent want of charity? So the grace of baptism is not prevented
from giving remission of all sins, even if he to whom they are forgiven continues to
cherish hatred towards his brother in his heart. For the guilt of yesterday is remitted, and
all that was before it, nay, even the guilt of the very hour and moment previous to
baptism, and during baptism itself. But then he immediately begins again to be
responsible, not only for the days, hours, moments which ensue, but also for the past, â€”
the guilt of all

^ Debebat. It is necessary to depart from the A. V., *' owed," as Augustine founds an
argument on the use of the imperfect tense. Gr. upiXiv. 2 Matt, xviii. 23-35.

22 ON BAPTISM. [book L

the sins which were remitted returning on him, as happens only too frequently in the
Church.

Chap. xiii. â€” 21. For it often happens that a man has an enemy whom he hates most
unjustly; although we are commanded to love even our unjust enemies, and to pray for
them. But in some sudden danger of death he begins to be uneasy, and desires baptism,
which he receives in such haste, that the emergency scarcely admits of the necessary
formal examination of a few words, much less of a long conversation, so that this hatred
should be driven from his heart, even supposing it to be known to the minister who
baptizes him.
Certainly cases of this sort are still found to occur not only with us, but also with them. What shall we say then? Are this man's sins forgiven or not? Let them choose just which alternative they prefer. For if they are forgiven, they immediately return: this is the teaching of the gospel, the authoritative announcement of truth. Whether, therefore, they are forgiven or not, medicine is necessary afterwards; and yet if the man lives, and learns that his fault stands in need of correction, and corrects it, he is not baptized anew, either with them or with us. So in the points in which schismatics and heretics neither entertain different opinions nor observe different practice from ourselves, we do not correct them when they join us, but rather commend what we find in them. For where they do not differ from us, they are not separated from us. But because these things do them no good so long as they are schismatics or heretics, on account of other points in which they differ from us, not to mention the most grievous sin that is involved in separation itself, therefore, whether their sins remain in them, or return again immediately after remission, in either case we exhort them to come to the soundness of peace and Christian charity, not only that they may obtain something which they had not before, but also that what they had may begin to be of use to them.

Chap. xiv. ^22. It is to no purpose, then, that they say to us, "If you acknowledge our baptism, what do we lack that

f)Q

CHAP. XV.] BAPTISM AVAILS ONLY IN THE CHUKCII. Zo

should make you suppose that we ought to think seriously of joining your communion?" For we reply, We do not acknowledge any baptism of yours; for it is not the baptism of schismatics or heretics, but of God and of the Church, wheresoever it may be found, and whithersoever it may be transferred. But it is in no sense yours, except because you entertain false opinions, and do sacrilegious acts, and have impiously separated yourselves from the Church. For if everything else in your practice and opinions were true, and still you were to persist in this same separation, contrary to the bond of brotherly peace, contrary to the union of all the brethren, who have been manifest, according to the promise, in all the world; the particulars of whose history, and the secrets of whose hearts, you never could have known or considered in every case, so as to have a right to condemn them; who, moreover, cannot be liable to condemnation for submitting themselves to the judges of the Church rather than to one of the parties to the dispute, â€” in this one thing, at least, in such a case, you are deficient, in which he is deficient who lacks charity. Why should we go over our argument again? Look and see yourselves in the apostle, how much there is that you lack. For what does it matter to him who lacks charity, whether he be carried away outside the Church at once
by some blast of temptation, or remain within the Lord's harvest, so as to be separated only at the final winnowing?
And yet even such, if they have once been born in baptism, need not be born again.

Chap. xv. â€” 23. For it is the Church that gives birth to all, either within her pale, of her own womb; or beyond it, of the seed of her bridegroom, â€” either of herself, or of her handmaid. But Esau, even though born of the lawful wife, was separated from the people of God because he quarrelled with his brother. And Asher, born indeed by the authority of a wife, but yet of a handmaid, was admitted to the land of promise on account of his brotherly good-will. Whence also it was not the being born of a handmaid, but his quarrelling with his brother, that stood in the way of Ishmael, to cause his separation from the people of God; and he received no benefit from the power of the wife, whose son he rather was, inasmuch as it was in virtue of her conjugal rights that he was both conceived in and born of the womb of the handmaid. Just as with the Donatists it is by the right of the Church, which exists in baptism, that whosoever is born receives his birth; but if they agree with their brethren, through the unity of peace they come to the land of promise, not to be again cast out from the bosom of their true mother, but to be acknowledged in the seed of their father; but if they persevere in discord, they will belong to the line of Ishmael. For Ishmael was first, and then Isaac; and Esau was the elder, Jacob the younger. Not that heresy gives birth before the Church, or that the Church herself gives birth first to those who are carnal or animal, and afterwards to those who are spiritual; but because, in the actual lot of our mortality, in which we are born of the seed of Adam, "that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual." But from mere animal sensation, because "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God," arise all dissensions and schisms. And the apostle says that all who persevere in this animal sensation belong to the old covenant, that is, to the desire of earthly promises, which are indeed the type of the spiritual; but "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." 2

24. At whatever time, therefore, men have begun to be of such a nature in this life, that, although they have partaken of such divine sacraments as were appointed for the dispensation under which they lived, they yet savour of carnal things, and hope for and desire carnal things from God, whether in this life or afterwards, they are yet carnal. But the Church, which is the people of God, is an ancient institution even in the pilgrimage of this life, having a carnal interest in some men, a spiritual interest in others. To the carnal belongs the old covenant, to the spiritual the new. But in the first days both were hidden, from Adam even to Moses. But by Moses the old covenant was made manifest, and in it was hidden the new covenant, because after a secret fashion it
Â» 1 Cor. XV. -IC. 2 I Cor. ii. U. 3 Qal. iv.
was typified. But so soon as the Lord came in the flesh, the new covenant was revealed; yet, though the sacraments of the old covenant passed away, the dispositions peculiar to it did not pass away. For they still exist in those whom the apostle declares to be already born indeed by the sacrament of the new covenant, but yet incapable, as being natural, of receiving the things of the Spirit of God. For, as in the sacraments of the old covenant some persons were already spiritual, belonging secretly to the new covenant, which was then concealed, so now also in the sacrament of the new covenant, which has been by this time revealed, many live who are natural. And if they will not advance to receive the things of the Spirit of God, to which the discourse of the apostle urges them, they will still belong to the old covenant but if they advance, even before they receive them, yet by their very advance and approach they belong to the new covenant; and if, before becoming spiritual, they are snatched away from this life, yet through the protection of the holiness of the sacrament they are reckoned in the land of the living—where the Lord is our hope and our portion. Nor can I find any truer interpretation of the scripture, "Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect;" considering what follows, "And in Thy book shall all be written."

Chap. xvi. â€” 25. But the same mother which brought forth Abel, and Enoch, and ISToah, and Abraham, brought forth also Moses and the prophets who succeeded him till the coming of our Lord; and the mother which gave birth to them gave birth also to our apostles and martyrs, and all good Christians. For all these that have appeared have been born indeed at different times, but are included in the society of our people; and it is as citizens of the same state that they have experienced the labours of this pilgrimage, and some of them are experiencing them, and others will experience them even to the end. Again, the mother who brought forth Cain, and Ham, and Ishmael, and Esau, brought forth also Dathan and

^ Ps. cxxxix. 16.

2 So Augustine from the Septuagint: It) to (s^fiXtov gov -ruvrts 'ypcc(py,ffovTui. A. v., "In Thy book were all my members written."

26 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

others like him in the same people; and she who gave birth to them gave birth also to Judas the false apostle, and Simon Magus, and all the other false Christians who up to this time have persisted obstinately in their carnal affections, whether they have been mingled in the unity of the Church, or separated from it in open schism. But when men of this kind have the gospel preached to them, and receive the sacraments at the hand of those who are spiritual, it is as though Eebecca gave birth to them of her own womb, as
she did to Esau; but when they are produced in the midst of the people of God through
the instrumentality of those who preach the gospel not sincerely," Sarah is indeed the
mother, but through Hagar.
So when good spiritual disciples are produced by the preaching or baptism of those who
are carnal, Leah, indeed, or Rachel, gives birth to them in her right as wife, but from the
womb of a handmaid. But when good and faithful disciples are born of those who are
spiritual in the gospel, and either attain to the development of spiritual age, or do not
cease to strive in that direction, or are only deterred from doing so by want of power,
these are born like Isaac from the womb of Sarah, or Jacob from the womb of Rebecca, in
the new life of the new covenant.

Chap. xvii. â€” 26. Therefore, whether they seem to abide within, or are openly outside,
whatsoever is flesh is flesh, and what is chaff is chaff, whether they persevere in
remaining in their barrenness on the threshing-floor, or, when temptation befalls them,
are carried out as it were by the blast of some wind. And even that man is always severed
from the unity of the Church which is without spot or wrinkle, who associates with the
congregation of the saints in carnal obstinacy.
Yet we ought to despair of no man, whether he be one who shows himself to be of this
nature within the pale of the

^ Kon caste; olx, ccxyui. V\\\ i. 16.

2 In the Retractations, ii. 18, Augustine notes on this passage, that wherever he uses this
quotation from the Epistle to the Ephesians, he means it to be understood of the progress
of the Church towards this condition, and not of her success in its attainment; for at
present the infirmities and ignorance of her members give ground enough for the whole
Church joining daily in the petition, "Forgive us our debts."

CHAP. XVIII] CYPRIAN CLAIMED BY THE DONATISTS. 27

Church, or whether he more openly opposes it from without.
But the spiritual, or those who are steadily advancing with pious exertion towards this
end, do not stray without the pale; since even when, by some perversity or necessity
among men, they seem to be driven forth, they are more approved than if they had
remained within, since they are in no degree roused to contend against the Church, but
remain rooted in the strongest foundation of Christian charity on the solid rock of unity.
For hereunto belongs what is said in the sacrifice of Abraham: " But the birds divided he
not."

Chap, xviii. â€” 27. On the question of baptism, then, I think that I have argued at
sufficient length; and since this is a most manifest schism which is called by the name of
the Donatists, it only remains that on the subject of baptism we should believe with pious
faith what the universal Church maintains, apart from the sacrilege of schism. And yet, if
within the Church different men still held different opinions on the point, without
meanwhile violating peace, then till some one clear and simple decree should have been passed by an universal Council, it would have been right for the charity which seeks for unity to throw a veil over the error of human infirmity, as it is written, " For charity shall cover the multitude of sins."^ For, seeing that its absence causes the presence of all other things to be of no avail, we may well suppose that in its presence there is found pardon for the absence of some missing things.

28. There are great proofs of this existing on the part of the blessed martyr Cyprian, in his letters, â€” to come at last to him of whose authority they carnally flatter themselves they are possessed, whilst by his love they are spiritually overthrown. For at that time, before the consent of the whole Church had declared authoritatively, by the decree of a general Council,^ what practice should be followed in this matter, it seemed to him, in common with about eighty of his fellow-bishops of the African churches, that every man who had been baptized outside the communion of the Catholic Church should, on joining the Church, be baptized anew.

1 Gen. XV. 10. = 1 Pet. iv. 8. 3 g^g below, ii. 9.

28 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

And I take it, that the reason why the Lord did not reveal the error in this to a man of such eminence, was, that his pious humility and charity in guarding the peace and health of the Church might be made manifest, and might be noticed, so as to serve as an example of healing power, so to speak, not only to Christians of that age, but also to those who should come after. For when a bishop of so important a Church, himself a man of so great merit and virtue, endowed with such excellence of heart and power of eloquence, entertained an opinion about baptism different from that which was to be confirmed by a more diligent searching into the truth; though many of his colleagues held what was not yet made manifest by authority, but was sanctioned by the past custom of the Church, and afterwards embraced by the whole Catholic world; yet under these circumstances he did not sever himself, by refusal of communion, from the others who thought differently, and indeed never ceased to urge on the others that they should " forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.""^-^ For so, while the frame of the body remained whole, if any infirmity occurred in certain of its members, it might rather regain its health from their general soundness, than be deprived of the chance of any healing care by their death in severance from the body. And if he had severed himself, how many were there to follow ! what a name was he likely to make for himself among men ! how much more widely would the name of Cyprianist have spread than that of Donatist ! But he was not a son of perdition, one of those of whom it is said, " Thou castedst them down into destruction;"^ ^ but he was the son of the peace of the Church, who in the clear illumination of his mind failed to see one thine; only that through him another thing might be more excellently seen. " And yet," says the apostle, " show I unto you a more excellent way: though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."^ ^ He had therefore imperfect insight into the hidden mystery of the sacrament.
But if he had known the mysteries of all sacraments, with-
1 Eph. iv. 2, 3. 2 Ps. ixiii. IS. 3 Cor. xii. 31, xiii. 1.

CHAP. XIX.] CHARACTER OF cvrrjAX. 29

out having charity, it would have been nothing. But as he, with imperfect insight into the
mystery, was careful to preserve charity with all courage and humility and faith, he
deserved to come to the crown of martyrdom; so that, if any cloud had crept over the
clearness of his intellect from his infirmity as man, it might be dispelled by the glorious
brilliance of his blood. For it was not in vain that our Lord Jesus Christ, when He
declared Himself to be the vine, and His disciples, as it were, the branches in the vine,
trave command that those which bare no fruit should be cut off, and removed from the
vine as useless branches."* But what is really fruit, save that new offspring, of which He
further says, " A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another?"^ Tliis is
that very charity, without which the rest profiteth nothing. The apostle also says:
" But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith,
meekness, temperance;"^ each of which begins with charity, and with the rest of the
combination forms one unity in a kind of wondrous cluster. "Nov is it again in vain that
our Lord added, " And every branch that bear eth fruit, my Father purgeth it, that it may
bring forth more fruit," ^ but because those who are strong in the fruit of charity may yet
have something which requires purging, which the Husbandman will not leave untended.
Whilst, then, that holy man entertained on the subject of baptism an opinion at variance
with the true view, which was afterwards thoroughly examined and confirmed after most
diligent consideration, his error was compensated by his remaining in catholic unity, and
by the abundance of his charity; and finally it was cleared away by the pruning-hook of
martyrdom.

Chap. xix. â€” 29. But that I may not seem to be uttering these praises of the blessed
martyr (which, indeed, are not Lis, but rather those of Him by whose grace he showed
himself what he was), in order to escape the burden of proof, let I us now bring forward
from his letters the testimony by which

1 John XV. 1, 2. 2 jojin xiii. 34. 3 Gal. v. 22, 23.

* Uotmm. ^ John xv. 2.

30 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

the mouths of the Donatists may most of all be stopped.
For they advance his authority before the unlearned, to show that in a manner they do well when they baptize afresh the faithful who come to them. Too wretched are they and, unless they correct themselves, even by themselves are they utterly condemned who choose in the example set them by so great a man to imitate just that fault, which only did not injure him, because he walked with constant steps even to the end in that from which they have strayed who have not known the ways of peace. It is true that Christ's baptism is holy; and although it may exist among heretics or schismatics, yet it does not belong to the heresy or schism; and therefore even those who come from thence to the Catholic Church herself ought not to be baptized afresh. Yet to err on this point is one thing; it is another thing that those who are straying from the peace of the Church, and have fallen headlong into the pit of schism, should go on to decide that any who join them ought to be baptized again. For the former is a speck on the brightness of a holy soul which abundance of charity would fain have covered; the latter is a stain in their nether foulness which the hatred of peace in their countenance ostentatiously brings to light. But the subject for our further consideration, relating to the authority of the blessed Cyprian, we will commence from a fresh beginning.

1 Horn. iii. 17; from which it has been introduced into the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint at Ps. xiv. 3, as it is quoted by Migne, and found in the English Prayer-book version of the Psalms.

"Charitas ubera.

CHAP. I] the design OF THE SECOND BOOK. 31

BOOK SECO:NRD.

IN WHICH AUGUSTINE PROVES THAT IT IS TO NO PURPOSE THAT THE DONATISTS BEING FORWARD THE AUTHORITY OF CYPRIAN, BISHOP AND MARTYR, SINCE IT IS REALLY MORE OPPOSED TO THEM THAN TO THE CATHOLICS. FOR THAT HE HELD THAT THE VIEW OF HIS PREDECESSOR AGrippinus, ON THE SUBJECT OF BAPTIZING HERETICS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WHEN THEY JOIN ITS COMMUNION, SHOULD ONLY BE RECEIVED ON CONDITION THAT PEACE SHOULD BE MAINTAINED WITH THOSE WHO ENTERTAINED THE OPPOSITE VIEW, AND THAT THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH SHOULD NEVER BE BROKEN BY ANY KIND OF SCHISM.

CHAP. I. â€” 1. How in like the arguments make for us, that is, for catholic peace, which the party of Donatus profess to bring forward against us from the authority of the blessed
Cyprian, and how much they prove against those who bring them forward, it is my intention, with the help of God, to show in the ensuing book. If, therefore, in the course of my argument, I am obliged to repeat what I have already said in other treatises (although I will do so as little as I can), yet this ought not to be objected to by those who have already read them and agree with them; since it is not only right that those things which are necessary for instruction should be frequently instilled into men of dull intelligence, but even in the case of those who are endowed with larger understanding, it contributes very much both to make their learning easier and their powers of teaching readier, where the same points are handled and discussed in many various ways. For I know how much it discourages a reader, when he comes upon any knotty question in the book which he has in hand, to find himself presently referred for its solution to another which he happens not to have. Wherefore, if I am compelled, by the urgency of the present questions, to repeat what I have already said in other books, I would seek forgiveness from those who know those books already, that those who are ignorant may have their difficulties removed; for it

32 ox BAPTISM. [cook U.

is Letter to give to one who has already, than to abstain from satisfying any one who is in want.

2. "What, then, do they venture to say, when their month is closed by the force of truth, with which they will not agree? "Aēcē" Cyprian," say they, "whose great merits and vast learning we all know, decreed in a Council, with many of his fellowbishops contributing their several opinions, that all heretics and schismatics, that is, all who are severed from the communion of the one Church, are without baptism; and therefore, whosoever has joined the communion of the Church after being baptized by them must be baptized in the Church." The authority of Cyprian does not alarm me, because I am reassured by his humility. We know, indeed, the great merit of the bishop and martyr Cyprian; but is it in any way greater than that of the apostle and martyr Peter, of whom the said Cyprian speaks as follows in his epistle to Quintus? "For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose first, and on whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him about circumcision, claim or assume anything insolently and arrogantly to himself, so as to say that he held the primacy, and should rather be obeyed of those who were late and newly come. 'Nov did he despise Paul because he had before been a persecutor of the Church, but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily assented to the legitimate grounds which Paul maintained; giving us thereby a pattern of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously love our own opinions, but should rather account as our own any true and rightful suggestions of our brethren and colleagues for the common health and weal."

Here is a passage in which Cyprian records what we also learn in holy Scripture, that the Apostle Peter, in whom the primacy of the apostles shines with such exceeding grace, was corrected by the later
2 The Council of Carthage, September 1, a.d. 256, in which eightj-seven African bishops declared in favour of rebaptizing heretics. The opinions of the bishops are quoted and answered by Augustine, one by one, in Books vL and vii.

Â» Matt. XV i. 18. â— * Cypr. 2>. Ixxi.

CHAP. I.] CYPrJAX TxBAPTIZED SCIIXMSxVTICS. 33

Apostle Paul, when lie adopted a custom in the matter of circumcision at variance v/ith the demands of truth. If it
-was therefore possible for Peter in some point to walk not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, so as to compel the Gentiles to judaize, as Paul â‡‘rites in that epistle in which he calls God to witness that he does not lie; for he says, "Jow the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not;"^ and, after this sacred and awful calling of God to witness, he told the whole tale, saying in the course of it, " But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" if Peter, I say, could compel the Gentiles to live after the manner of the Jews, contrary to the rule of truth which the Church afterwards held, why might not Cyprian, in opposition to the rule of faith which the whole Church afterwards held, compel heretics and schismatics to be baptized afresh? I suppose that there is no slight to Cyprian in comparing him with Peter in respect to his crown of martyrdom; rather I ought to be afraid lest I am showing disrespect towards Peter. For who can be ignorant that the primacy of his apostleship is to be preferred to any episcopate in the w^orld? But, granting the difference in the dignity of their sees, yet they have the same glory in their martyrdom. And whether it may be the case that the hearts of those who confess and die for the true faith in the unity of charity take precedence of each other in different points, the Lord Himself will know, by the hidden and wondrous dispensation of w^hose grace the thief hanging on the cross once for all confesses Him, and is sent on the selfsame day to paradise,^ while Peter, the follower of our Lord, denies Him thrice, and has his crown postponed:* for us it were rash to form a judgment from the evidence. But if any one were now found compelling a man to be circumcised after the Jewish fashion, as a necessary preliminary for baptism, this
- would meet with much more general repudiation by man-
-Idnd, than if a man should be compelled to be baptized
again. Wherefore, if Peter, on doing this, is corrected by his later colleague Paul, and is yet preserved by the bond of peace and unity till he is promoted to martyrdom, how much more readily and constantly should we prefer, either to the authority of a single bishop, or to the Council of a single province, the rule that has been established by the statutes of the universal Church? For this same Cyprian, in urging his view of the question, was still anxious to remain in the unity of peace even with those who differed from him on this point, as is shown by his own opening address at the beginning of the very Council which is quoted by the Donatists. For it is as follows:

Chap. ii. â€” 3. "When, on the calends of September, very many bishops from the provinces of Africa, - Istumidia, and Mauritania, with their presbyters and deacons, had met together at Carthage, a great part of the laity also being present; and when the letter addressed by Jubaianus to Cyprian, as also the answer of Cyprian to Jubaianus, on the subject of baptizing heretics, had been read, Cyprian said: 'Ye have heard, most beloved colleagues, what Jubaianus, our fellow-bishop, has written to me, consulting my moderate ability concerning the unlawful and profane baptism of heretics, and what answer I gave him, â€” giving a judgment which we have once and again, and often given, that heretics coming to the Church ought to be baptized, and sanctified with the baptism of the Church.

Another letter of Jubaianus has likewise been read to you, in which, agreeably to his sincere and religious devotion, in answer to our epistle, he not only expressed his assent, but returned thanks also, acknowledging that he had received instruction. It remains that we severally declare our opinion on this subject, judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of communion if he differ from us. For no one of us sets himself up as a bishop of bishops, or, by tyrannical terror, forceth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying, inasmuch as every bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by

* That is, the proconsular province of Africa, or Africa Zengitana, answering to the northern part of the territory of Tunis.

CILVr. TV.] NO BISHOP OE COUNCIL INTALLiriE. 35
another than he can himself judge another. But we must all await the judgment of our
Lord Jesus Christ, who alone has the power both of setting us in the government of His
Church, and of judging of our acts therein: "

Chap. iii. â€” 4. Now let the proud and swelling necks of the heretics raise themselves, if
they dare, against the holy humility of this address. Ye mad Donatists, whom we desire
earnestly to return to the peace and unity of the holy Church, that ye may receive health
therein, what have ye to say in answer to this? You are wont, indeed, to bring up against
us the letters of Cyprian, his opinion, his Council; why do ye claim the authority of
Cyprian for your schism, and reject his example when it makes for the peace of the
Church? But who can fail to be aware that the sacred canon of Scripture, both of the Old
and New Testament, is confined within its own limits, and that it stands so absolutely in
a superior position to all later letters of the bishops, that about it we can hold no manner
of doubt or disputation whether what is confessedly contained in it is right and true; but
that all the letters of bishops which have been written, or are being written, since the
closing of the canon, are liable to be refuted if there be anything contained in them which
strays from the truth, either by the discourse of some one who happens to be wiser in the
matter than themselves, or by the weightier authority and more learned experience of
other bishops, or by the authority of Councils; and further, that the Councils themselves,
which are held in the several districts and provinces, must yield, beyond all possibility of
doubt, to the authority of universal Councils which are formed for the whole Christian
world; and that even of the universal Councils, the earlier are often corrected by those
which follow them, when, by some actual experiment, things are brought to light which
were before concealed, and that is known which previously lay hid, and this without any
whirlwind of sacrilegious pride, without any puffing of the neck through arrogance,
without any strife of envious hatred, simply with holy humility, catholic peace, and
Christian charity?

Chap. iv. â€” 5. Wherefore the holy Cyprian, whose dignity is

36 ON BAPTISM. [cook IL

only increased by his humility, who so loved the pattern set by Peter as to use the words,
" Giving us thereby a pattern of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously
love our own opinions, but should rather account as our own any true and rightful
suggestions of our brethren and colleagues, for the common health and weal," â€” he, I
say, abunstantly shows that he was most willing to correct his own opinion, if any one
should prove to him that it is as certain that the baptism of Christ can be given by those
who have strayed from the fold, as that it could not be lost when they strayed; on which
subject we have already said much. Nor should we ourselves venture to assert anything of
the kind, were we not supported by the unanimous authority of the whole Church, â€”
to which he himself would unquestionably have yielded, if at that time the truth of this
question had been placed beyond dispute by the investigation and decree of a general
Council.
YoT if he quotes Peter as an example for his allowing himself quietly and peacefully to be corrected by one junior colleague, how much more readily would he himself, with the Council of his province, have yielded to the authority of the whole world, when the truth had been thus brought to light? For, indeed, so holy and peaceful a soul would have been most ready to assent to the arguments of any single person who could prove to him the truth; and perhaps he even did so, though we have no knowledge of the fact. For it was neither possible that all the proceedings which took place between the bishops at that time should have been committed to writing, nor are we acquainted with all that was so committed. For how could a matter which was involved in such mists of disputation even have been brought to the full illumination and authoritative decision of a general Council, had it not first been known to be discussed for some considerable time in the various districts of the world, with many discussions and comparisons of the views of the bishops on every side? But this is one effect of the soundness of peace, that when any doubtful points are long under investigation, and when, on account of the difficulty of arriving at the truth, they produce difference of opinion in the course of brotherly disputation, till men at last arrive at the unalloyed truth; yet the bond of unity remains, lest in the part that is cut away there should be found the incurable wound of deadly error.

^ See above, c. i. 2.

^ Bede asserts that this was the case, Bok viii. qu. 5.

CILVr. v.] CHAPTY AND HUMILITY OF CYPEIAN. 37

opinion in the course of brotherly disputation, till men at last arrive at the unalloyed truth; yet the bond of unity remains, lest in the part that is cut away there should be found the incurable wound of deadly error.

Chap. v. â€” 6. And so it is that often something is imperfectly revealed to the more learned, that their patient and humble charity, from which proceeds the greater fruit, may be proved, either in the way in which they preserve unity, when they hold different opinions on matters of comparative obscurity, or in the temper with which they receive the truth, when they learn that it has been declared to be contrary to what they thought. And of these two we have a manifestation in the blessed Cyprian of the one, viz. of the way in which he preserved unity with those from whom he differed in opinion. For he says, "Judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of communion if he differ from us." And the other, viz. in what temper he could receive the truth when found to be different from what he thought it, though his letters are silent on the point, is yet proclaimed by his merits. If there is no letter extant to prove it, it is witnessed by his crown of martyrdom; if the Council of bishops declare it not, it is declared by the host of angels. For it is no small proof of a most peaceful soul, that he won the crown of martyrdom in that unity from which he would not separate, even though he differed from it. For we are but men; and it is therefore a temptation incident to men that we should hold views at variance with the truth on any point. But to come through too great love for our own opinion, or through jealousy of our betters, even to the sacrilege of dividing the communion of the Church, and of founding heresy or schism, is a
presumption worthy of the devil. But never in any point to entertain an opinion at variance with the truth is perfection found only in the angels. Since then we are men, yet forasmuch as in hope we are angels, whose equals we shall be in the resurrection, at any rate, so long as we are wanting in the perfection of angels, let us at least be without the presumption of the devil. Accordingly the apostle says, "There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man." It is therefore part of man’s nature to be sometimes wrong. Wherefore he says in another place, "Let us therefore, as many as are perfect, be thus minded: and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." But to whom does He reveal it when it is His will (be it in this life or in the life to come), save to those who walk in the way of peace, and stray not aside into any schism? Not to such as those who have not known the way of peace, or for some other cause have broken the bond of unity. And so, when the apostle said, "And if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you," lest they should think that besides the way of peace their own wrong views might be revealed to them, he immediately added, "Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule." And Cyprian, walking by this rule, by the most persistent tolerance, not simply by the shedding of his blood, but because it was shed in unity (for if he gave his body to be burned, and had not charity, it would profit him nothing), came by the confession of martyrdom to the light of the angels, and if not before, at least then, acknowledged the revelation of the truth on that point on which, while yet in error, he did not prefer the maintenance of a wrong opinion to the bond of unity.

Chap. vi. â€” 7. What then, ye Donatists, what have ye to say to this? If our opinion about baptism is true, yet all who thought differently in the time of Cyprian were not cut off from the unity of the Church, till God revealed to them the truth of the point on which they were in error, why then have ye by your sacrilegious separation broken the bond of peace? But if yours is the true opinion about baptism, Cyprian and the others, in conjunction with whom ye set forth that he held such a Council, remained in unity with those who thought otherwise; why, therefore, have ye broken the bond of peace? Choose which alternative ye will, ye are compelled to pronounce an opinion against your schism. Answer me,

1 1 Cor. X. 13. 2 pi^n. iii. 15. Â» p^qj^, iiL 17; see on i. 19, 29.

* Phil. iii. 16. = i Cor. xiii. 3.
wherefore have ye separated yourselves? Wherefore have ye erected an altar in opposition to the whole world? Wherefore do ye not communicate with the Churches to which apostolic epistles have been sent, which you yourselves read and acknowledge, in accordance with whose tenor you say that you order your lives? Answer me, wherefore have ye separated yourselves? I suppose in order that ye might not perish by communion with wicked men. How then was it that Cyprian, and so many of his colleagues, did not perish? For though they believed that heretics and schismatics did not possess baptism, yet they chose rather to hold communion with them when they had been received into the Church without baptism, although they believed that their flagrant and sacrilegious sins were yet upon their heads, than to be separated from the unity of the Church, according to the words of Cyprian, "Judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of communion if he differ from us."

8. If, therefore, by such communion with the wicked the just cannot but perish, the Church had already perished in the time of Cyprian. Whence then sprang the origin of Donatus? Where was he taught, where was he baptized, where was he ordained, since the Church had been already destroyed by the contaction of communion with the wicked? But if the Church still existed, the wicked could do no harm to the good in one communion with them. Wherefore did ye separate yourselves? Behold, I see in unity Cyprian and others, his colleagues, who, on holding a council, decided that those who have been baptized without the communion of the Church have no true baptism, and that therefore it must be given them when they join the Church. But again, behold I see in the same unity that certain men think differently in this matter, and that, recognising in those who come from heretics and schismatics the baptism of Christ, they do not venture to baptize them afresh. All of these catholic unity embraces in her motherly breast, bearing each other's burdens by turns, and endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, till God should reveal to one or other of them any error in their views. If the one party held the truth, were

\[i\text{ Eph. iv. 3.}\]

40 ON BAPTISM. [book IL

they infected by the others, or no? If the others held the truth, were they infected by the first, or no? Choose which ye will. If there was contamination, the Church even then ceased to exist; answer me, therefore, whence came ye forth hither? But if the Church remained, the good are in no wise contaminated by the bad in such communion; answer me, therefore, why did ye break the bond?

9. Or is it perhaps that schismatics, when received without baptism, bring no infection, but that it is brought by those who deliver up the sacred books? For that there were iraditors of your number is proved by the clearest testimony of history. And if you had then brought true evidence against those whom you were accusing, you would have
proved your cause before the unity of the whole world, so that you would have been retained whilst they were shut out. And if you endeavoured to do this, and did not succeed, the world is not to blame, which trusted the judges of the Church rather than the beaten parties in the suit; whilst, if you would not urge your suit, the world again is not to blame, which could not condemn men without their cause being heard. Why, then, did you separate yourselves from the innocent? You cannot defend the sacrilege of your schism. But this I pass over. But so much I say, that if the traditors could have defiled you, who were not convicted by you, and by whom, on the contrary, you were beaten, much more could the sacrilege of schismatics and heretics, received into the Church, as you maintain, without baptism, have defiled Cyprian. Yet he did not separate himself. And inasmuch as the Church continued to exist, it is clear that it could not be defiled. Wherefore, then, did you separate yourselves, I do not say from the innocent, as the facts proved them, but from the traditors, as they were never proved to be? Aie the sins of traditors, as I began to say, heavier than those of schismatics? Let us not bring in deceitful balances, to which we may hang what weights we will, and how we will, saying to suit ourselves, "This is heavy and this is light;" but let us bring forward the sacred balance out of holy Scripture, as out of the Lord's treasure-house, and let us weigh them by

* Traditores Gacnonim librorum.

CHAT. VII.] SCHIS^r OX£ OF. THE DEADLIEST SINS. 41

it, to see which is the heavier; or rather, let iiis not weigh them for ourselves, but read the weights as declared by the Lord. At the time when the Lord showed, by the example of recent punishment, that there was need to guard against the sins of olden days, and an idol was made and worshipped, and the prophetic book was burned by the wrath of a scoffing king, and schism was attempted, the idolatry was punished with the sword, the burning of the book by slaughter in war and captivity in a foreign land, schism by the earth opening, and swallowing up alive the leaders of the schism, while the rest were consumed with fire from heaven. Who will now doubt that that was the worse crime which received the heavier punishment? If men coming from such sacrilegious company, without baptism, as you maintain, could not defile Cyprian, how could those defile you who were not convicted but supposed betrayers of the sacred books?* Tor if they had not only given up the books to be burned, but had actually burned them with their own hands, they would have been guilty of a less sin than if they had committed schism; for schism is visited with the heavier, the other with the lighter punishment, not at man's discretion, but by the judgment of God.

Chap. vii. â€” 10. Wherefore, then, have ye severed yourselves? If there is any sense left in you, you must surely see that you can find no possible answer to these arguments.
"We are not left," they say, "so utterly without resource, but that we can still answer, It is our will. ' Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth.' They do not understand that this was said to men who were wishing to judge, not of open facts, but of the hearts of other men. Tor how does the apostle himself come to say so much about the sins of schisms and heresies? Or how comes that verse in the Psalms, "If of a truth ye love justice, judge uprightly, ye sons of men?" But why does the Lord Himself say, "Judge not according to the appear-

^ Ex. xxxii. 2 Jqy^ xxxvi. 3 Xu^i, xvi.

^ Non convicti sed conficti traditores. 5 j^om. xiv. 4.

^ Ps. Iviii. 1; though slightly varied from the LXX.: si vere justitiam diligitis;

for il xkr,0u; cipa ^tÂ»atoffV)i>]>v ?,ciki7rt.

42 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

ance, but judge righteous judgment;'^ if we may not judge any man? Lastly, why, in the case of those tracUtors, whom they have judged unrighteously, have they themselves ventured to pass any judgments at all on another man's servants? To their own master they were standing or falling. Or why, in the case of the recent followers of Maximianus, have they not hesitated to bring forward the judgment delivered with the infallible voice, as they aver, of a general Council, in such terms as to compare them with those first schismatics whom the earth swallowed up alive? And yet some of them, as they cannot deny, they either condemned though innocent, or received back again in their guilt. But when a truth is urged which they cannot gainsay, they mutter a truly wholesome murmuring: " It is our will: ' Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth.'" But when a weak sheep is espied in the desert, and the pastor who should reclaim it to the fold is nowhere to be seen, then there is setting of teeth, and breaking of the weak neck: " Thou wouldst be a good man, wert thou not a traditor.

Consult the welfare of thy soul; be a Christian." What unconscionable madness! When it is said to a Christian, " Be a Christian," what other lesson is taught, save a denial that he is a Christian? Was it not the same lesson which those persecutors of the Christians wished to teach, by resisting whom the crown of martyrdom was gained? Or must we even look on crime as lighter when committed with threatening of the sword than with treachery of the tongue?

11. Answer me this, ye ravening wolves, who, seeking to be clad in sheep's clothing,^ think that the letters of the blessed C3qDrian are in your favour. Did the sacrilege of schismatics defile Cyprian, or did it not? If it did, the Church perished from that instant,
and there remained no sou'ce from which ye might spring. If it did not, then by what 
offence on the part of others can the guiltless possibly be defiled, if the sacrilege of 
schism cannot defile them? Wherefore, then, have ye severed yourselves? Wherefore, 
while shunning the lighter offences, which are inventions of your own, have ye 
committed the heaviest offence of all, the sacrilege of schism?


CHAP. VII.] CYPRIAN WHOLLY AGAINST SCHISM|r. 43

Will ye now perchance confess that those men were no longer schismatics or heretics 
who had been baptized without the communion of the Church, or in some heresy or 
schism, because by coming over to the Church, and renouncing their former errors, they 
had ceased to be what formerly they were? 
How then was it, that though they were not baptized, their sins remained not on their 
heads? Was it that the baptism was Christ's, but that it could not profit them without the 
communion of the Church; yet when they came over, and, renouncing their past error, 
were received into the communion of the Church by the laying on of hands, then, being 
now rooted and founded in charity, without which all other things are profitless, they 
began to receive profit for the remission of sins and the sanctification of their lives from 
that sacrament, which, while without the pale of the Church, they possessed in vain?

12. Cease, then, to bring forward against us the authority of Cyprian in favour of 
repeating baptism, but cling with us to the example of Cyprian for the preservation of 
unity. For this question of baptism had not been as yet completely worked out, but yet the 
Church observed the most wholesome custom of correcting what was wrong, not 
repeating what was already given, even in the case of schismatics and heretics: 
she healed the wounded part, but did not meddle with what was whole. And this custom, 
coming, I suppose, from apostolical tradition (like many other things which are held to 
have been handed down under their actual sanction, because they are preserved 
throughout the whole Church, though they are not found either in their letters, or in the 
Councils of their successors), â€” this most wholesome custom, I say, according to the 
holy Cyprian, began to be what is called amended by his predecessor Agrippinus. But, 
according to the teaching which springs from a more careful investigation into the truth, 
which, after great doubt and fluctuation, was brought at last to the decision of a general 
Council, we ought to believe that it rather began to be corrupted than to receive 
correction at the hands of Agrippinus. Accordingly, when so great a question forced 
[i itself upon him, and it was difficult to decide the point, 
"whether remission of sins and man's spiritual regeneration
could take Y]ace among heretics or schismatics, and the authority of Agrippinus was there to guide him, with that of some few men who shared in his misapprehension of this question, having preferred attempting something new to maintaining a custom which they did not understand how to defend; under these circumstances, considerations of probability forced themselves into the eyes of his soul, and barred the way to the thorough investigation of the truth.

Chap. viii. â€” 13. Nor do I think that the blessed Cyprian had any other motive in the free expression and earlier utterance of what he thought in opposition to the custom of the Church, save that he should thankfully receive any one that could be found with a fuller revelation of the truth, and that he should show forth a pattern for imitation, not only of diligence in teaching, but also of modesty in learning; but that, if no one should be found to bring forward any argument by which those considerations of probability should be refuted, then he should abide by his opinion, with the full consciousness that he had neither concealed what he conceived to be the truth, nor violated the unity which he loved. For so he understood the words of the apostle: "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." ^ "In which passage he has taught and shown, that many things are revealed to individuals for the better, and that we ought not each to strive pertinaciously for what he has once imbibed and held, but if anything has appeeered better and more useful, he should willingly embrace it." ^ At any rate, in these words he not only advised those to agree with him who saw no better course, but also exhorted any who could to bring forward arguments by which the maintenance of the former custom might rather be established: that if they should be of such a nature as not to admit of refutation, he might show in his own person with what sincerity he said "that we ought not each to strive pertinaciously for Avhat he has once imbibed and held, but that, if anything has appeared better and more useful, he should willingly embrace it." ^ But inasmuch as none appeared,


CILVr. IX.] CYPRJAN OPEN TO CONVICTION. 45

except such as simply urged the custom against him, and the arguments which they produced in its favour were not of a kind to bring conviction to a soul like his, this mighty reasoner was not content to give up his opinions, which, though they were not true, as he was himself unable to see, were at any rate not confuted, in favour of a custom which had truth on its side, but had not yet been confirmed. And yet, had not his predecessor Agrippinus, and some of his fellow-bishops throughout Africa, first tempted him to desert this custom, even by the decision of a Council, he certainly would not have dared to argue against it. But, amid the perplexities of so obscure a question, and seeing everywhere around him a stronguniversal custom, he would rather have put restraint upon
himself by prayer and stretching forth his mind towards God, so as to have perceived or taught that for truth which was afterwards decided by a general Council. But when he had found relief amid his weariness in the authority of the former Council — which was held by Agrippinus, he preferred maintaining what was in a manner the discovery of his predecessors, to expending further toil in investigation. For, at the end of his letter to Quintus, he thus shows how he has sought repose, if one may use the expression, for his weariness, in what might be termed the resting-place of authority.

CiiAP. IX. â€” 14. "This moreover," says he, "Agrippinus, a man of excellent memory, with the rest, bishops with him, who at that time governed the Church of the Lord in the province of Africa and Numidia, did, when by common counsel duly weighed, establish and confirm; whose sentence, being both religious and legitimate and salutary in accordance with the Catholic faith and Church, we also have followed." ^ By this witness he gives sufficient proof how much more ready he would have been to bear his testimony, had any Council been held to discuss this matter which either embraced the whole Church, or at least represented our brethren beyond the sea. But such a Council had not yet been held, because

^ The former Council of Carthage was held by Agrippinus early in the third century, the ordinary date given being 215 A.D.


46 â– ON BAPTis: [BOOK II.] the whole world was bound together by the powerful bond of custom; and this was deemed sufficient to oppose to those who wished to introduce what was new, because they could not comprehend the truth. Afterwards, however, while the question became matter for discussion and investigation amongst many on either side, the new practice was not only invented, but even submitted to the authority and power of a general Council, â€” after the martyrdom of Cyprian, it is true, but before we were born.—^ But that this was indeed the custom of the Church, which afterwards was confirmed by a general Council, in which the truth was brought to light, and many difficulties cleared away, is plain enough from the words of the blessed Cyprian himself in that same letter to Jubaianus, which was quoted as being read in the Council.—^ For he says, "But some one asks. What then will be done in the case of those who, coming out of heresy to the Church, have already been admitted without baptism?" where certainly he shows plainly enough what was usually done, though he would have wished it otherwise; and in the very fact of his quoting the Council of Agrippinus, he clearly proves that the custom of the Church was different. "Not indeed was it requisite that he should seek to establish the practice by this Council, if it was already sanctioned by custom; and in the Council itself some of the speakers expressly declare, in giving their opinion, that they
The general Council, on whose authority Augustine relies in many places in this work, was either that of Aries, in 314 A.D, or of Nicsea, in 325 a.d., both of them being before his birth, in 354 a.d. He quotes the decision of the same council, contra Farmentianum, ii. 13, 30; de Heresibus, 69; Ep. xliii. 7, 19.

Iligne brings forward the following passages in favor* of its being the Council of Aries to which Augustine refers, since in them he ascribes the decision of the controversy to "the authority of the whole world." Contra Parmenianum, iii. 4, 21: * "They condemned," he says, "some few in Africa, by whom they were in turn vanquished by the judgment of the whole world;" and he adds, that "the Catholics trusted ecclesiastical judges like these in preference to the defeated parties in the suit." Ib. 6, 30: He says that the Donatists, *' having made a schism in the unity of the Church, were refuted, not by the authority of 310 African bishops, but by that of the whole world." And in the sixth chapter of the first book of the same treatise, he says that the Donatists, after the decision at Aries, came again to Constantine, and there were defeated ** by a final decision," i.e. at Milan, as is seen from Lp. xliii. 7, 20, in the year 316 A.D.

2 See above, cli. ii. 3.

CILVr. X.] EAELY CUSTOM NOT UXIFOETL 47

went against the custom of the Church in deciding what they thought was right. Wherefore let the Donatists consider this one point, which surely none can fail to see, that if the authority of Cyprian is to be followed, it is to be followed rather in maintaining unity than in altering the custom of the Church; but if respect is paid to his Council, it must at any rate yield place to the later Council of the universal Church, of which he rejoiced to be a member, often warning his associates that they should all follow his example in upholding the coherence of the whole body. For both later Councils are preferred among later generations to those of earlier date; and the whole is always, with good reason, looked upon as superior to the parts.

Chap. x. â€” 15. But what attitude do they assume, when it is shown that the holy Cyprian, though he did not himself admit as members of the Church those who had been baptized in heresy or schism, yet held communion with those who did admit them, according to his express declaration, "Judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of communion if he differ from us ?" â€” "â€” If he was polluted by communion with persons of this kind, why do they follow his authority in the question of baptism ? But if he was not polluted by communion with them, why do they not follow his example in maintaining unity ? Have they anything to urge in their defence except the plea, " We choose to have it so ?" What other answer have any sinful or wicked men to the discourse of truth or justice, â€” the voluptuous, for instance, the drunkards, adulterers, and those
who are impure in any way, thieves, robbers, murderers, plunderers, evil-doers, idolaters, â€” what other answer can they make when convicted by the voice of truth, except "I choose to do it;" "It is my pleasure so?" And if they have in them a tinge of Christianity, they say further, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?"^ Yet these have so much more remains of modesty, that when, in accordance with divine and human law, they meet with punishment for their abandoned life and deeds, they do not style themselves martyrs; ^

^Yhile the Donatists wish at once to lead a sacrilegious life and

^ See above, ch. ii. 3. * Rom. xiv. 4.

48 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

enjoy a blameless reputation, to suffer no punishment for their wicked deeds, and to gain a martyr's glory in their just punishment. As if they were not experiencing the greater mercy and patience of God, in proportion as "executing His judgments upon them by little and little, He giveth them place of repentance,"^ and ceases not to redouble His scourgings in this life; that, considering what they suffer, and why they suffer it, they may in time grow wise; and that those who have received the baptism of the party of Maximianus in order to preserve the unity of Donatus, may the more readily embrace the baptism of the whole world in order to preserve the peace of Christ; that they may be restored to the root, may be reconciled to the unity of the Church, may see that they have nothing left for them to say, though something yet remains for them to do; that for their former deeds the sacrifice of loving-kindness may be offered to a long-suffering God, whose unity they have broken by their wicked sin, on whose sacraments they have inflicted such a lasting wrong. For "the Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, plenteous in mercy and truth." ^

Let them embrace His mercy and long-suffering in this life, and fear His truth in the next. For He willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his way and live f because He bends His judgment against the wrongs that have been inflicted on Him. This is our exhortation.

Chap, xl â€” 16. For this reason, then, we hold them to be enemies, because we speak the truth, because we are afraid to be silent, because we fear to shrink from pressing our point with all the force that lies within our power, because we obey the apostle when he says, "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort."* But, as the gospel says, "They love the praise of men more than the praise of God;"^ and while they fear to incur blame for a time, they do not fear to incur damnation for ever. They see, too, themselves what wrong they are doing; they see that

1 Wisd. xii. 10.

- Ps. ciii. 8. **And truth" is not found in the A. Y., nor in the Roman version of the LXX. The Alexandrian Ms. adds xa/ aXv^uvo;.
they have no answer which they can make, but they overspread the inexperienced with mists, whilst they themselves are being swallowed up alive, "that is, are perishing knowingly and willfully. They see that men are amazed, and look with abhorrence on the fact that they have divided themselves into many schisms, especially in Carthage, the capital and most noted city of all Africa; they have endeavoured to patch up the disgrace of their rags. Thinking that they could annihilate the followers of Maximianus, they pressed heavily on them through the agency of Optatus the Gildonian; they inflicted on them many wrongs amid the cruellest of persecutions. Then they received back some, thinking that all could be converted under the influence of the same terror; but they were unwilling to do those whom they received the wrong of baptizing afresh those who had been baptized by them in their schism, or rather of causing them to be baptized again within, their communion by the very same men by whom they had been baptized outside, and thus they at once made an exception to their own impious custom. They feel how wickedly they are acting in assailing the baptism of the whole world, when they have received the baptism of the followers of Maximianus. But they fear those whom they have themselves rebaptized, lest they should receive no mercy from them, when they have shown it to others; lest these should call them to account for the souls when they have ceased to destroy those of other men.

CHAP. XII. 17. What answer they can give about the followers of Maximianus whom they have received, they cannot divine. If they say, "Those we received were innocent," the answer is obvious, "Then you had condemned the innocent."

\* Optatus, a Donatist bishop of Thaumugade in Numidia, was called Gildonianus from his adherence to Gildo, Count of Africa, and generalissimo of the pro-Tince under the elder Theodosius. On his death, in 395 a.d., Gildo usurped supreme authority, and by his aid Optatus was enabled to oppress the Catholics in the province, till, in 398 a.d., Gildo was defeated by his brother Maxezel, and destroyed himself, and Optatus was put in prison, where he died soon afterwards. He is not to be confounded with Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, the strenuous opponent of the Donatists.
cent." If they say, "We did it in ignorance," then you judged rashly (just as you passed a rash judgment on the traditors), and your declaration was false that "you must know that they were condemned by the truthful voice of a general Council." ^ For indeed the innocent could never be condemned by a voice of truth. If they say, "We did not condemn them," it is only necessary to cite the Council, to cite the names of bishops and states alike. If they say, "The Council itself is none of ours," then we cite the records of the proconsular province, where more than once they quoted the same Council to justify the exclusion of the followers of Maximianus from the basilicas, and to confound them by the din of the judges and the force of their allies. If they say that Telicianus of Musti, and Prsetextatus of Assavse, whom they afterwards received, were not of the party of Maximianus, then we cite the records in which they demanded, in the courts of law, that these persons should be excluded from the Council which they held against the party of Maximianus. If they say, "They were received for the sake of peace," our answer is, "Why then do ye not acknowledge the only true and full peace? Who urged you, who compelled you to receive a schismatic whom you had condemned, to preserve the peace of Donatus, and to condemn the world unheard, in violation of the peace of Christ?" Truth hems them in on every side. They see that there is no answer left for them to make, and they think that there is nothing left for them to do; they cannot find out what to say. They are not allowed to be silent. They had rather strive with perverse utterance against truth, than be restored to peace by a confession of their faults.

Chap. xiii. â€” 18. But who can fail to understand what they may be saying in their hearts? "What then are we to do," say they, "with those whom we have already rebaptized?" Return with them to the Church. Bring those whom you have wounded to be healed by the medicine of peace; bring those whom you have slain to be brought to life again by the life of charity. Brotherly union has great power in propitiating God. "If two of you," says our Lord, "shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them." ^ If for two men who agree, how much more for two communities? Let us throw ourselves together on our knees before the Lord. Do you share with us our unity; let us share with you your contrition; and let charity cover the multitude of sins. ^ Seek counsel from the blessed Cyprian himself. See how much he considered to depend upon the blessing of unity, from
which he did not sever himself to avoid the communion of those who disagreed with him; how, though he considered that those who were baptized outside the communion of the Church had no true baptism, he was yet willing to believe that, by simple admission into the Church, they might, merely in virtue of the bond of unity, be admitted to a share in pardon.

For thus he solved the question which he proposed to himself in writing as follows to Jubaianus: "But some will say, 'What then will become of those who, in times past, coming to the Church from heresy, were admitted without baptism?' The Lord is able of His mercy to grant pardon, and not to sever from the gifts of His Church those who, being out of simplicity admitted to the Church, have in the Church fallen asleep." ^

Chap. xiv. â€” 19. But which is the worse, not to be baptized at all, or to be twice baptized, it is difficult to decide. I see, indeed, which is more repugnant and abhorrent to men's feelings; but when I have recourse to that divine balance, in which the weight of things is determined, not by man's feelings, but by the authority of God, I find a statement by our Lord on either side. For He said to Peter, "He who is washed has no need of washing a second time;" * and to Mcodemus, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." ^ What is the purport of the more secret determination of God, it is perhaps difficult for men like us to learn; but as far as the mere words are concerned, any one may see what a difference there is between "has no


* John xiii. 10. "Qui lotus est, non habet necessitatem iterum lavandi."

The Latin, with the A.V., loses the distinction between o XiXov/^ivog, "he that has bathed," and v/Vre/v, to wash; and further introduces the idea of repetition.

^ John iii. 5.

52 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

need of washing," and "cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." The Church, lastly, herself holds as her tradition, that without baptism she cannot admit a man to her altar at all; but since it is allowed that one who has been rebaptized may be admitted after penance, surely this plainly proves that his baptism is considered valid. If, therefore, Cyprian thought that those whom he considered to be unbaptized yet had some share in pardon, in virtue of the bond of unity, the Lord has power to be reconciled even to the rebaptized by means of the simple bond of unity and peace, and by this same compensating power of peace to mitigate His displeasure against those by whom they were rebaptized, and to pardon all the errors which they had committed while in error, on their offering the sacrifice of charity, which covereth the multitude of sins; so that He looks not to the number of those who have been wounded by their separation, but to the greater number who have been delivered from bondage by their return. For in the same bond of peace in which Cyprian conceived that, through the mercy of God, those whom
he considered to have been admitted to the Church without baptism, were yet not severed from the gifts of the Church, we also believe that through the same mercy of God the rebaptized can earn their pardon at His hands.

Chap. xv. â€” 20. Since the Catholic Church, both in the time of the blessed Cyprian and in the older time before him, contained within her bosom either some that were rebaptized or some that were unbaptized, either the one section or the other must have won their salvation only by the force of simple unity. For if those who came over from the heretics were not baptized, as Cyprian asserts, they were not rightly admitted into the Church; and yet he himself did not despair of their obtaining pardon from the mercy of God in virtue of the unity of the Church. So again, if they were already baptized, it was not right to rebaptize them. What, therefore, was there to aid the other section, save the same charity that delighted in unity, so that what was hidden from man's weakness, in the consideration of the sacrament, might not be reckoned, by the mercy of God, as a fault in those who were lovers of peace? Why, then, while ye fear those whom ye have rebaptized, do ye grudge yourselves and them the entrance to salvation? There was at one time a doubt upon the subject of baptism; those who held different opinions yet remained in unity. In course of time, owing to the certain discovery of the truth, that doubt was taken away. The question which, unsolved, did not frighten Cyprian into separation from the Church, invites you, now that it is solved, to return once more within 'the fold. Come to the Catholic Church in its agreement, which Cyprian did not desert while yet disturbed with doubt; or if now you are dissatisfied with the example of Cyprian, who held communion with those who were received with the baptism of heretics, declaring openly that we should "neither judge any one, nor deprive any one of the right of communion if he differ from us," "^A whither are ye going, ye wretched men? What are ye doing? You are bound to fly even from yourselves, because you have advanced beyond the position where he abode. But if neither his own sins nor those of others could stand in his way, on account of the abundance of his charity and his love of brotherly kindness and the bond of peace, do you return to us, where you will find much less hindrance in the way of either us or you from the fictions which your party have invented.

* See above, c. ii. 3.

54 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

BOOK THIED.
AUGUSTINE UNDERTAKES THE REFUTATION OF THE ARGUMENTS WHICH MIGHT
BE DERIVED FROM THE EPISTLE OF CYPRIAN TO JUBAIANUS, TO GIVE
COLOUR TO THE VIEW THAT THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST COULD NOT BE
CONFERRER BY HERETICS.

CHAP. I. — 1. I think that it may now be considered clear to every one, that the
authority of the blessed Cyprian for the maintenance of the bond of peace, and the
avoiding of any violation of that most wholesome charity which preserves unity in the
Church, may be urged on our side rather than on the side of the Donatists. Tor if they
have chosen to act upon his example in rebaptizing Catholics, because he thought that
heretics ought to be baptized on joining the Catholic Church, shall not we rather follo
his example, whereby he laid down a manifest rule that one ought in no wise, by the
establishment of a separate communion, to secede from the Catholic communion, that is,
from the body of Christians dispersed throughout the world, even on the admission o
evil and sacrilegious men, since he was unwilling even to remove from the right of
communion those whom he con
sidered to have received sacrilegious men without
baptism into the Catholic communion, saying, "Judging no one, nor depriving any of the
right of communion if he differ from us ?"^  

Chap. ii. â€” 2. N"evertheless, I see what may still be required of me, viz. that I should
answer those plausible arguments, by which, in even earlier times, Agrippinus, or
Cyprian himself, or those in Africa who agreed with them, or any others in far distant
lands beyond the sea, were moved, not indeed by the authority of any general or even
provincial Council, but by a mere epistolary correspondence, to

^ See above, ii. ii. 3.

CHAP. II.] rr.IMITIVE CUSTOM AGAINST EEBAPTIZING. 55

think that they ought to adopt a custom' which had no sanction from the ancient custom
of the Church, and which was expressly forbidden by the most unanimous resolution of
the Catholic world, in order that an error which had begun to creep into the minds of
some men, through discussions of this kind, might be cured by the more powerful truth
and universal healing power of unity coming on the side of safety. And so they may see
with what security I approach this discourse. If I am unable to gain my point, and show
how those arguments may be refuted which they bring forward from the Council and the
epistles of Cyprian, to the effect that Christ's baptism may not be given by the hands of
heretics, I shall still remain safely in the Church, in whose communion Cyprian himself
remained with those who differed from him.

3. But if they say that the Catholic Church existed then, because there were a few, or, if
they prefer it, even a considerable number, who denied the validity of any baptism
conferred in an heretical body, and baptized all who came from thence, what then? Did the Church not exist at all before Agrippinus, with whom that new kind of system began, at variance with all previous custom? Or how, again, after the time of Agrippinus, when, unless there had been a return to the primitive custom, there would have been no need for Cyprian to set on foot another Council? Was there no Church then, because such a custom as this prevailed everywhere, that the baptism of Christ should be considered nothing but the baptism of Christ, even though it were proved to have been conferred in a body of heretics or schismatics? But if the Church existed even then, and had not perished through a breach of its continuity, but was, on the contrary, holding its ground, and receiving increase in every nation, surely it is the safest plan to abide by this same custom, which then embraced good and bad alike in unity. But if there was then no Church in existence, because sacrilegious heretics were received without baptism, and this prevailed by universal custom, whence has Donatus made his appearance? from what land did he spring? or from what sea did he emerge? or from what sky did he fall?

5G ox BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

And so we, as I had begun to say, are safe in the communion of that Church, throughout the whole extent of which the custom now prevails, which prevailed in like manner through its whole extent before the time of Agrippinus, and in the interval between Agrippinus and Cyprian, and whose unity neither Agrippinus nor Cyprian ever deserted, nor those who agreed with them, although they entertained different views from the rest of their brethren—all of them remaining in the same communion of unity with the very men from whom they differed in opinion. But let the Donatists themselves consider what their true position is, if they neither can say whence they derived their origin, if the Church had already been destroyed by the plague-spot of communion with heretics and schismatics received into her bosom without baptism; nor again agree with Cyprian himself, for he declared that he remained in communion with those who received heretics and schismatics, and so also with those who were received as well: while they have separated themselves from the communion of the whole world, on account of the charge of having delivered up the sacred books, which they brought against the men whom they maligned in Africa, but failed to convict when brought to trial beyond the sea; although, even had the crimes which they alleged been true, they were much less heinous than the sins of heresies and schisms; and yet these could not defile Cyprian in the persons of those who came from them without baptism, as he conceived, and were admitted without baptism into the Catholic communion.

Nor, in the very point in which they say that they imitate Cyprian, can they find any answer to make about acknowledging the baptism of the followers of Maximianus, together with those whom, though they belonged to the party that they had first condemned in their own general Council, and then gone on to prosecute even at the tribunal of the secular power, they yet received back into their communion, in the episcopate of the very same bishop under whom they had been condemned. Wherefore, if the communion of wicked men destroyed the Church in the time of Cyprian, they have no
source from which they can derive their own communion; and if the Church was not destroyed, they have no excuse.

Cfvr. III.] cytpjan's example condemns the donatists. 57

for their separation from it. Moreover, they are neither following the example of Cyprian, since they have burst the bond of unity, nor abiding by their own Council, since they have recognised the baptism of the followers of Maximianus.

Chap. hi. â€” 4. Let us therefore, seeing that we adhere to the example of Cyprian, go on now to consider Cyprian's Council. What says C}T3rian ? " Ye have heard," he says, "most beloved colleagues, what Jubaianus our fellow-bishop has written to me, consulting my moderate ability concerning the unlawful and profane baptism of heretics, and what answer I gave him, â€” giving a judgment which we have once and again and often given, that heretics coming to the Church ought to be baptized and sanctified with the baptism of the Church. Another letter of Jubaianus has likewise been read to you, in which, agreeably to his sincere and religious devotion, in answer to our epistle, he not only expressed his assent, but returned thanks also, acknowledging that he had received instruction."^ In these words of the blessed Cyprian, we find that he had been consulted by Jubaianus, and what answer he had given to his questions, and how Jubaianus acknowledged with gratitude that he had received instruction.

Ought we then to be thought unreasonably persistent, if we desire to consider this same epistle by which Jubaianus was convinced ? For till such time as we are also convinced (if there are any arguments of truth whereby this can be done), Cyprian himself has established our security by the right of Catholic communion.

5. For he goes on to say: "It remains that we severally declare our opinion on this same subject, judging no one, nor depriving any one of the right of communion if he differ from us."-" He allows me, therefore, without losing the right of communion, not only to continue inquiring into the truth, but even to hold opinions differing from his own. "For no one of us," he says, "settheth himself up as a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror forceth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying." What could be more kind ? what more humble ?

Surely there is here no authority restraining us from inquiry.

^ See above, ii. ii. 3.

58 ON BAPTISE!. [book in.

into what is truth. "Inasmuch as every bishop," he says, "in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge another," â€” that is, I
suppose, in those questions which have not yet been brought to perfect clearness of solution; for he knew what a deep question about the sacrament was then occupying the whole Church with every kind of disputation, and gave free liberty of inquiry to every man, that the truth might be made known by investigation. For he was surely not uttering what was false, and trying to catch his simpler colleagues in their speech, so that, when they should have betrayed that they held opinions at variance with his, he might then propose, in violation of his promise, that they should be excommunicated. Far be it from a soul so holy to entertain such accursed treachery; indeed, they who hold such a view about such a man, thinking that it conduces to his praise, do but show that it would be in accordance with their own nature. I for my part will in no wise believe that Cyprian, a Catholic bishop, a Catholic martyr, whose greatness only made him proportionately humble in all things, so as to find favour before the Lord, should ever, especially in the sacred Council of his colleagues, have uttered with his mouth what was not echoed in his heart, especially as he further adds, "But we must all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone has the power both of setting us in the government of His Church, and of judging of our acts therein." When, then, he called to their remembrance so solemn a judgment, hoping to hear the truth from his colleagues, would he first set them the example of lying? May God avert such madness from every Christian man, and how much more from Cyprian! We have therefore the free liberty of inquiry granted to us by the most moderate and most truthful speech of Cyprian.

Chap. iv. â€” 6. Next his colleagues proceed to deliver their several opinions. But first they listened to the letter written to Jubaianus; for it was read, as was mentioned in the preamble. Let it therefore be read among ourselves also,

^ Ecclus. iii. 18. * See above, ii. ii. 3.

CHAP. v.] CYPEIAN'S LETTER TO JUEAIANUS. 59

that we too, with the help of God, may discover from it what we ought to think. "What! I think I hear some one saying, "do you proceed to tell us what Cyprian wrote to Jubaianus?" I have read the letter, I confess, and should certainly have been a convert to his views, had I not been induced to consider the matter more carefully by the vast weight of authority, originating in those whom the Church, distributed throughout the world amid so many nations, of Latins, Greeks, barbarians, not to mention the Jewish race itself, has been able to produce, that same Church which gave birth to Cyprian himself, men with whom I could in no wise bring myself to think had been unwilling without reason to hold this view, not because it was impossible that in so difficult a question the opinion of one or of a few might not have been more near the truth than that of more, but because one must not lightly, without full consideration and investigation of the matter to the best of his abilities, decide in favour of a single individual, or even of a few, against the decision of so very many men of the same religion and communion, all
endowed with great talent and abundant learning. And so how much was suggested to me on more diligent inquiry, even by the letter of Cyprian himself, in favour of the view which is now held by the Catholic Church, that the baptism of Christ is to be recognised and approved, not by the standard of their merits by whom it is administered, but by His alone of whom it is said, "The same is He which baptizeth."^ will be shown naturally in the course of our argument. Let us therefore suppose that the letter which was written by Cyprian to Jubaianus has been read among us, as it was read in the Council.^ And I would have every one read it who means to read what I am going to say, lest he might possibly think that I have suppressed some things of consequence. For it would take too much time, and be irrelevant to the elucidation of the matter in hand, were we at this moment to quote all the words of this epistle.

CiiAP. V. â€” 7. But if any one should ask what I hold in the meantime, while discussing this question, I answer that.

1 John i. 33. 2 The Council of Ciirtlia^re.

60 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

in the first place, the letter of Cyprian suggested to me what I should hold till I should see clearly the nature of the question which next begins to be discussed. For Cyprian himself says: " But some will say, ' What then will become of those who in times past, coming to the Church from heresy, were admitted without baptism ? ' " ^ Whether they were really without baptism, or whether they were admitted because those who admitted them conceived that they had partaken of baptism, is a matter for our future consideration. At any rate, Cyprian himself shows plainly enough what was the ordinary custom of the Church, when he says that in past time those who came to the Church from heresy were admitted without baptism.

8. For in the Council itself Castus of Sicca says: " He who, desiring truth, presumes to follow custom, is either envious or evil-disposed towards the brethren to whom the truth is revealed, or is ungrateful towards God, by whose inspiration His Church is instructed."^ Whether the truth had been revealed, we shall investigate hereafter; at any rate, he acknowledges that the custom of the Church was different.

Chap, vl â€” 9. Libosus also of Vaga says: " The Lord says in the gospel, ' I am the Truth.' ^ He does not say, ' I am custom.' Therefore, when the truth is made manifest, custom must give way to truth."* Clearly no one could doubt that custom must give way to truth where it is made manifest.

But we shall see presently about the manifestation of the truth. Meanwhile he also makes it clear that custom was on the other side.

Chap. vii. â€” 10. Zosimus also of Tharassa said: ""V^nen a revelation of the truth has been made, error must give way to truth; for even Peter, who at the first circumcised,
afterwards gave way to Paul when he declared the truth." ^ He indeed chose to say error, not custom; but in saying " for even Peter, who at the first circumcised, afterwards gave way to

^ Epist. Ixxiii, sec. 20, to Jubaiamis. 2 Conc. Carth. sec. 28.

^ John xiv. G. * Cone. Cartli. sec. 30. * lb. sec. 5G.

CHAP. X.] THE COUNCIL OF CARThAGE. Gl

Paul when he declared the truth," he shows plainly enough that there was a custom also on the subject of baptism at variance with his views. At the same time, also, he warns us that it was not impossible that Cyprian might have held an opinion about baptism at variance with that required by the truth, as held by the Church both before and after him, if even Peter could hold a view at variance with the truth as taught us by the Apostle Paul.-^

CHxVP. VIII. â€” 11. Likewise Felix of Buslacene said: "In admitting heretics without the baptism of the Church, let no one prefer custom to reason and truth; because reason and truth always prevail to the exclusion of custom."^ Nothing could be better, if it be reason, and if it be truth; but this we shall see presently. Meanwhile, it is clear from the words of this man also that the custom was the other way.

Chap. ix. â€” 12. Likewise Honoratus of Tucca said: " Since Christ is the Truth, we ought to follow truth rather than custom."^ By all these declarations it is proved that we are not excluded from the communion of the Church, till it shall have been clearly shown what is the nature of the truth, which they say must be preferred to our custom. But if the truth has made it clear that the very regulation ought to be maintained which the said custom had prescribed, then it is evident, both that this custom was not established or confirmed in vain, and also that, in consequence of the discussions in question, the most wholesome observance of so great a sacrament, which could never, indeed, have been changed in the Catholic Church, was even more watchfully guarded with the most scrupulous caution, when it had received the further corroboration of Councils.

CHxVP. X. â€” 13. Therefore Cyprian writes to Jubaianus as follows, " concerning the baptism of heretics, who, being placed without, and set down out of the Church," seem to him to " claim to themselves a matter over which they have neither right nor power. Which we," he says, " cannot

1 Gal. ii. 11-14. 2 Conc. Cartli. sec. 63. = lb. sec. 77.

62 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]
account valid or lawful, since it is clear that among them it is unlawful."^ Neither, indeed, do we deny that a man who is baptized among heretics, or in any schism outside the Church, derives no profit from it so far as he is partner in the perverseness of the heretics and schismatics; nor do we hold that those who baptize, although they confer the real true sacrament of baptism, are yet acting rightly, in gathering adherents outside the Church, and entertaining opinions contrary to the Church. But it is one thing to be without a sacrament, another thing to be in possession of it wrongly, and to usurp it unlawfully. Therefore they do not cease to be sacraments of Christ and the Church, merely because they are unlawfully used, not only by heretics, but by all kinds of wicked and impious persons. These, indeed, ought to be corrected and punished, but the sacraments should be acknowledged and revered.

14. Cyprian, indeed, says that on this subject not one, but two or more Councils were held; always, however, in Africa. For indeed in one he mentions that seventy-one bishops had been assembled, to all whose authority we do not hesitate, with all due deference to Cyprian, to prefer the authority, supported by many more bishops, of the whole Church spread throughout the whole world, of which Cyprian himself rejoiced that he was an inseparable member.

15. Nor is the water "profane and adulterous" over which the name of God is invoked, even though it be invoked by profane and adulterous persons; because neither the creature itself of water, nor the name invoked, is adulterous. But the baptism of Christ, consecrated by the words of the gospel, is necessarily holy, however polluted and unclean its ministers may be; because its inherent sanctity cannot be polluted, and the divine excellence abides in its sacrament, whether to the salvation of those who use it aright, or to the destruction of those who use it wrong. Would you indeed maintain that, while the light of the sun or of a candle, diffused through unclean places, contracts no foulness in itself therefrom, yet the baptism of Christ can be defiled by the sins of any man, whatsoever he may be? For if we turn our thoughts to the


CHAP. XI.] BAPTISE! HOLY EVEN IN SCHISM 63

visible materials themselves, which are to us the medium of the sacraments, every one must know that they admit of corruption. But if we think on that which they convey to us, who can fail to see that it is incorruptible, however much the men through whose ministry it is conveyed are either being rewarded or punished for the character of their lives?
CiL\P. XL â€” 16. But Cyprian was right in not being moved by what Jubaianus wrote, that "the followers of Novatian rebaptize those who come to them from the Catholic Church." ^

For, in the first place, it does not follow that whatever heretics have done in a perverse spirit of mimicry. Catholics are therefore to abstain from doing, because the heretics do the same.

And again, the reasons are different for which heretics and the Catholic Church ought respectively to abstain from rebaptizing. For it would not be right for heretics to do so, even if it were fitting in the Catholic Church; because their argument is, that among the Catholics is wanting that which they themselves received whilst still within the pale, and took away with them when they departed. Whereas the reason why the Catholic Church should not administer again the baptism which was given among heretics, is that it may not seem to decide that a power which is Christ's alone belongs to its members, or to pronounce that to be wanting in the heretics which they have received within her pale, and certainly could not lose by straying outside. For thus much Cyprian himself, with all the rest, established, that if any should return from heresy to the Church, they should be received back, not by baptism, but by the discipline of penitence; whence it is clear that they cannot be held to lose by their secession what is not restored to them when they return. Nor ought it for a moment to be said that, as their heresy is their own, as their error is their own, as the sacrilege of disunion is their own, so also the baptism is their own, which is really Christ's. Accordingly, while the evils which are their own are corrected when they return, so in that which is not theirs His presence should be recognised, from whom it is.

^ Cypr. Ep. Ixxiii. sec. %

C4 ox BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

Ci\P. XII. â€” 17. But the blessed Cyprian shows that it was no new or sudden thing that he decided, because the practice had already begun under Agrippinus. "Many years," he says, "and much time has passed away since, under Agrippinus of honoured memory, a large assembly of bishops determined this point." Accordingly, under Agrippinus, at any rate, the thing was new. But I cannot understand what Cyprian means by saying, "And thenceforward to the present day, so many thousand heretics in our provinces, having been converted to our Church, showed no hesitation or dislike, but rather with full consent of reason and will, have embraced the opportunity of the grace of the laver of life and the baptism unto salvation,"^ unless indeed he says, "thenceforward to the present day," because from the time when they were baptized in the Church, in accordance with the Council of Agrippinus, no question of excommunication had arisen in the case of any of the rebaptized. Yet if the custom of baptizing those who came over from heretics remained in force from the time of Agrippinus to that of CypTian, why should new Councils have been held by Cyprian on this point? Why does he say to this same Jubaianus that he is not doing anything new or sudden, but only what had been established by Agrippinus?
Eor why should Jubaianus be disturbed by the question of novelty, so as to require to be satisfied by the authority of Agrippinus, if this was the continuous practice of the Church from Agrippinus till Cyprian? Why, lastly, did so many of his colleagues urge that reason and truth must be preferred to custom, instead of saying that those who wished to act otherwise were acting contrary to truth and custom alike?

CiiAP. xiii. â€” 18. But as regards the remission of sins, whether it is granted through baptism at the hands of the heretics, I have already expressed my opinion on this point in a former book;^ but I will shortly recapitulate it here. If remission of sins is there conferred by the sacredness of baptism, the sins return again through obstinate perseverance in heresy or schism; and therefore such men must needs return to the peace of the Catholic Church, that they may

^ Cypr. Ep. Ixxiii. sec. 3. ^ Above, Book i. c. xi. foil.

CHAP. XIV.] BAPTISM THE SAME EVERYWHERE. 65

cease to be heretics and schismatics, and deserve that those sins which had returned on them should be cleansed away by love working in the bond of unity. But if, although among heretics and schismatics it be still the same baptism of Christ, it yet cannot work remission of sins owing to this same foulness of discord and wickedness of dissent, then the same baptism begins to be of avail for the remission of sins when they come to the peace of the Church,' â€” not that what has been already truly remitted should not be retained; nor that heretical baptism should be repudiated as belonging to a different religion, or as being different from our own, so that a second baptism should be administered; but that the very same baptism, which was working death by reason of discord outside the Church, may work salvation by reason of the peace within. It was, in fact, the same savour of which the apostle says, "We are a sweet savour of Christ in every place;" and yet, says he, " both in them that are saved, and in them that perish. To the one we are the savour of life unto life; and to the other the savour of death unto death." ^

And although he used these words with reference to another subject, I have applied them to this, that men may understand that what is good may not only work life to those who use it aright, but also death to those who use it wrong.

Chap. xiv. â€” 19. Is^or is it material, when we are considering the question of the genuineness and holiness of the sacrament, " what the recipient of the sacrament believes, and with what faith he is imbued." It is of the very highest consequence as regards the entrance into salvation, but is wholly immaterial as regards the question of the sacrament For it is quite possible that a man may be possessed of the genuine sacrament and a corrupted faith, as it is possible that he may
hold the words of the creed in their integrity, and yet entertain an erroneous belief about
the Trinity, or the resurrection, or any other point.

^ Non ut jam vere dimissa non retineantur. One of the negatives here appears to be
superfluous, and the former is omitted in Amerbach's edition, and in many of the Mss.,
which continue the sentence, **non ut ille baptismus," instead of "neque ut ille," etc. If
the latter negative were omitted, the sense would be improved, and "neque " would
appropriately remain.

2 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.

3 E

66 ON BAPTISM. [book ITT.

For it is no slight matter, even within the Catholic Church, to hold faith entirely
consistent with the truth about even God Himself, to say nothing of any of His creatures.
Is it then to be maintained, that if any one who has been baptized within the Catholic
Church itself should afterwards, in the course of reading, or by listening to instruction, or
by quiet argument, find out, through God's own revelation, that he had before believed
otherwise than he ought, it is requisite that he should therefore be baptized afresh ? But
what carnal and natural man is there who does not stray tlirough the vain conceits ^ of his
own heart, and picture God's nature to himself to be such as he has imagined out of his
carnal sense, and differ from the true conception of God as far as vanity from truth ?
Most truly, indeed, speaks the apostle, filled with the light of truth: " The natural man,"
says he, " receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." ^ And yet therein he was speaking
of men whom he himself shows to have been baptized. For he says to them, " Was Paul
crucified for you ?
or were ye baptized in the name of Paul ? "^ These men had therefore the sacrament of
baptism; and yet, inasmuch as their wisdom was of the flesh, what could they believe
about God otherwise than according to the perception of their flesh, according to which "
the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ?" To such he says: " I could
not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I
have fed you with milk, and not with meat:
for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able. For ye are yet carnal."
* For such are carried about with every wind of doctrine, of which kind he says, " That
we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of
document." ^ Is it then true that, if these men shall have advanced even to the spiritual age
of the inner man, and in the integrity of understanding shall have learned how far
different from the requirements of the truth has been the belief which they have been led
by the fallacious character of their conceits to entertain of God, they are therefore to be
baptized again ? For, on this principle, it would be possible

1 Phantasmata. Â» 1 Cor. ii. 14. ^l Cor. L 13.
for a Catholic catechumen to light upon the writings of some heretic, and, not having the knowledge requisite for discerning truth from error, he might entertain some belief contrary to the Catholic faith, yet not condemned by the words of the creed, just as, under color of the same words, innumerable heretical errors have sprung up. Supposing, then, that the catechumen was under the impression that he was studying the work of some great and learned Catholic, and was baptized with that belief in the Catholic Church, and by subsequent research should discover what he ought to believe, so that, embracing the Catholic faith, he should reject his former error, ought he, on confessing this, to be baptized again? Or supposing that, before learning and confessing this for himself, he should be found to entertain such an opinion, and should be taught what he ought to reject and what he should believe, and it were to become clear that he had held this false belief when he was baptized, ought he therefore to be baptized again? Why should we maintain the contrary?

Because the sanctity of the sacrament, consecrated in the words of the gospel, remains upon him in its integrity, just as he received it from the hands of the minister, although he, being firmly rooted in the vanity of his carnal mind, entertained a belief other than was right at the time when he was baptized. Wherefore it is manifest that it is possible that, with defective faith, the sacrament of baptism may yet remain without defect in any man; and therefore all that is said about the diversity of the several heretics is beside the question. For in each person that is to be corrected which is found to be amiss by the man who undertakes his correction.

That is to be made whole which is unsound; that is to be given which is wanting, and, above all, the peace of Christian charity, without which the rest is profitless. Yet, as the rest is there, we must not administer it as though it were wanting, only take care that its possession be to the profit, not the hurt of him who has it, through the very bond of peace and excellence of charity.

Chap. xv. â€” 20. Accordingly, if Marcion consecrated the sacrament of baptism with the words of the gospel, "In the
name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," ^ 
the sacrament was complete, although his faith expressed under the same words, seeing 
that he held opinions not taught by the Catholic truth, w^as not complete, but stained with 
the falsity of fables.^ Tor under these same words, "In the name of the Father, and of the 
Son, and of the Holy Ghost," not Marcion only, or Valentinus, or Arius, or Eunomius, but 
the carnal babes of the Church themselves (to whom the apostle said, " I could not speak 
unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal"), if they could be individually asked for an 
accurate exposition of their opinions, would probably show a diversity of opinions as 
numerous as the persons who held them, " for the natural man receiveth not the tilings 
of the Spirit of God." Can it, however, be said on this account that they do not receive the 
complete sacrament ? or that, if they shall advance, and correct the vanity of their carnal 
opinions, they must seek again what they had received ? Each man receives after the 
fashion of his own faith; yet how much does he obtain under the guidance of that mercy 
of God, in the confident assurance of which the same apostle says, "If in anything ye be 
otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this to you?"^ Yet the snares of heretics and 
schismatics prove for this reason only too pernicious to the carnally-minded, because 
their very progress is intercepted when their vain opinions are confirmed in opposition to 
the Catholic truth, and the perversity of their dissension is strengthened against the 
Catholic peace. Yet if the sacraments are the same, they are everywhere complete, even 
when they are wrongly understood, and perverted to be instruments of discord, just as the 
ybtj writings of the gospel, if they are only the same, are everywhere complete, even 
though quoted with a boundless variety of false opinions. For as to what Jeremiah says 
â€” " Why do those who grieve me prevail against me ? My w^ound is 

1 )tatt. xxviii. 19.

2 Cp. Concilium Arelatense, can. 8. ** De Afris, quod propria lege utuntur ut rebaptizent; 
placuit ut si ad ecclesiain aliquis de hroresi venerit, interrogciit cum symbolum; et si 
perviderint eum in Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu sancto esse baptizatum, nianus ei tantuni 
imponatur, ut accipiat Spiritum sanctum. Quod si interrogatus nou responderit lianc 
Trinitatem, baptizetur."

3 riil. iii. 15.

CII.VP. XVr.] THE SACRAMENTS EVERYWHERE COMPLETE. 69

Stubborn, whence shall I be healed ? In its origin it became unto me as lying water, 
having no certainty,"^ â€” if the term 
" water " were never used figuratively and in the allegorical language of prophecy . 
except to signify baptism, we should have trouble in discovering what these words of 
Jeremiah meant; but as it is, when " waters " are expressly used in the Apocalypse ^ to 
signify " peoples," I do not see why, by " lying water having no certainty," I should not 
understand, " a lying people, whom I cannot trust."
Chap. xvi. â€” 21. But when it is said that " the Holy Spirit is given only in the Catholic Church," I suppose that our ancestors meant that we should understand thereby what the apostle says, " Because the love of God is spread abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."^ For this is that very love which is wanting in all who are cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church; and for lack of this, " though they speak with the tongues of men and of angels, though they understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though they have the gift of prophecy, and all faith, so that they could remove mountains, and though they bestow all their goods to feed the poor, and though they give their bodies to be burned, it profiteth them nothing."* But those are wanting in God's love who do not care for the unity of the Church; and consequently we are right in understanding that the Holy Spirit may be said not to be received except in the Catholic Church. For the Holy Spirit is not only given by the laying on of hands amid the testimony of temporal sensible miracles, as He was given in former days to be the credentials of a rudimentary faith, and for the extension of the first beginnings of the Church. For who expects in these days that those on whom hands are laid that they may receive the Holy Spirit should forthwith begin to speak with tongues ? but it is understood that invisibly and imperceptibly, on account of the bond of peace, divine love is breathed into their hearts, so that they may be able to say, " Because the love of God is spread abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto

^ Jer. XV. 18, quoted from the LXX. 2-p^Qy ^vii. 15.

3 Horn. V. 5. * 1 Cor. xiii. 1-3.

70 ON BAPTISM. [book HL

US." But there are many operations of the Holy Spirit, which the same apostle commemorates in a certain passage at such length as he thinks sufficient, and then concludes: " But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will."^-^ Since, then, the sacrament is one thing, which even Simon Magus could have -f and the operation of the Spirit is another thing, which is even often found in wicked men, as Saul had the gift of prophecy f and that operation of the same Spirit is a third thing, which only the good can have, as " the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned:"* whatever, therefore, maybe received by heretics and schismatics, the charity which covereth the multitude of sins is the especial gift of Catholic unity and peace; nor is it found in all that are within that bond, since not all that are within it are of it, as we shall see in the proper place. At any rate, outside the bond that love cannot exist, without which all the other requisites, even if they can be recognised and approved, cannot profit or release from sin. But the laying on of hands in reconciliation to the Church is not, like baptism, incapable of repetition; for what is it more than a prayer offered over a man ?^
Chap. xvii. â€” 22. "For as regards the fact that to preserve the figure of unity the Lord gave the power to Peter that whatsoever he should loose on earth should be loosed," ^ it is clear that that unity is also described as one dove without fault."^ Can it be said, then, that to this same dove belong all those greedy ones, whose existence in the same Catholic Church Cyprian himself so grievously bewailed? For birds of prey, I believe, cannot be called doves, but rather hawks. How then did they baptize those who used to plunder estates by treacherous deceit, and increase their profits by compound usury,^ if baptism is only given by that indivisible and chaste and perfect

^ 1 Cor. xii. 11. 2 Acts viii. 13. M Sam. x. 6, 10. M Tim. i. 6.

^ He refers to laying on of hands such as he mentions below, Book v. c. xxiii:
** If hands were not laid on one who returned from heresy, he would be judged to be free from all fault. "

Â® Matt. xvi. 19. 7 Song of Sol. vi. 9. 8 Cypr. de. Lapsis, c 4.

CnAP. XVIII.] POWER OF PRAYERS IN UNITY. 71
dove, that unity which can only be understood as existing among the good? Is it possible that, by the prayers of the saints who are spiritual within the Church, as though by the frequent lamentations of the dove, a great sacrament is dispensed, with a secret administration of the mercy of God, so that their sins also are loosed who are baptized, not by the dove but by the hawk, if they come to that sacrament in the peace of Catholic unity? But if this be so, why should it not also be the case that, as each man comes from heresy or schism to the Catholic peace, his sins should be loosed through their prayers? But the integrity of the sacrament is everywhere recognised, though it will not avail for the irrevocable remission of sins outside the unity of the Church. Nor will the prayers of the saints, or, in other words, the groanings of that one dove, be able to help one who is set in heresy or schism; just as they are not able to help one who is placed within the Church, if by a wicked life he himself retain the debts of his sins against himself, and that though he be baptized, not by this hawk, but by the pious ministry of the dove herself.

Chap. xyii. â€” 23. "As my Father hath sent me," says our Lord, "even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."^ Therefore, if they represented the Church, and this was said to them as to the Church herself, it follows that the peace of the Church looses sins, and estrangement from the Church retains them, not according to the will of men, but according to the will of God and the prayers of the saints who are spiritual, who "judge all things, but themselves are judged of no man."^ For the rock retains, the rock remits; the dove retains, the dove remits; unity retains, unity remits. But the peace of this unity exists only in the good, in those who are either already spiritual, or are advancing by the obedience of concord to
spiritual things; it exists not in the bad, whether they make disturbances abroad, or are endured within the
1 John XX. 21-23. * 1 Cor. ii 15.

72 ON" BAnis^r. [book hi.

Church with lamentations baptizing and being baptized. But just as those who are tolerated with groanings within the Church, although they do not belong to the same unity of the dove, and to that "glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing," yet if they are corrected, and confess that they approached to baptism most unworthily, are not baptized again, but begin to belong to the dove, through whose groans those sins are remitted which were retained in them who were estranged from her peace; so those also who are more openly without the Church, if they have received the same sacraments, are not freed from their sins on coming, after correction, to the unity of the Church, by a repetition of baptism, but by the same law of charity and bond of unity. For if "those only may baptize who are set over the Church, and established by the law of the gospel and ordination as appointed by the Lord," were they in any wise of this kind who seized on estates by treacherous frauds, and increased their gains by compound interest? I trow not, since those are established by ordination as appointed of the Lord, of whom the apostle, in giving them a standard, says, "Not greedy, not given to filthy lucre." Yet men of this kind used to baptize in the time of Cyprian himself; and he confesses with many lamentations that they were his fellow-bishops, and endures them with the great reward of tolerance. Yet did they not confer remission of sins, which is granted through the prayers of the saints, that is, the groans of the dove, whoever it be that baptizes, if those to whom it is given belong to her peace. For the Lord would not say to robbers and usurers, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to him; and whose soever sins ye retain, they shall be retained." Outside the Church, indeed, nothing can be either bound or loosed, since there there is no one who can either bind or loose;" but he is loosed who has made peace with the dove, and he is bound who is not at peace with the dove, whether he is openly without, or appears to be within.

24. But we know that Dathan, Korah, and Abiram, who tried to usurp to themselves the right of sacrificing, contrary

1 Eph. V. 27. Cp. Retract, ii. 18, quoted above on i. xviL
* Tit. i. 7. 3 ]^uji^_xvi.

CHAP. XIX.] BAPTISM ALWAYS GOD'S ALOXE. 73
Chap. xix. â€” 25. They indeed who say that baptism is not to be repeated, because only hands were laid on those whom Philip the deacon had baptized,^ are saying what is quite beside the point; and far be it from us, in seeking the truth, to use such arguments as this. Wherefore we are all the further from "yielding to heretics,"* if we deny that what they possess of Christ's Church is their own property, and do not refuse to acknowledge the standard of our General because of the crimes of deserters; nay, all the more because "the Lord our God is a jealous God."^ let us refuse, whenever we see anything of His with an alien, to allow him to consider it his own. For of a truth the jealous God Himself rebukes the woman who commits fornication against Him, as the type of an erring people, and says that she gave to her lovers what belonfred to Him, and again received from them what was not theirs but His. In the hands of the adulterous woman and the adulterous lovers, God in His wrath, as a jealous God, recognises His gifts; and do we say that baptism, consecrated in the words of the gospel, belongs to heretics ? and are we willing, from consideration of their deeds, to attribute to them even what belongs to God, as though they had the power to pollute it, or as though they could make what is God's to be their own, because they themselves have refused to belong to God ?

26. Who is that adulterous woman whom the prophet Hosea points out, who said, "I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, and every-thing that befits me ?"^ Let us grant that we may understand

^ Lev. X. 1, 2. Rom. ii. 4. ^ Acts viii. 5-17.

* Because Cyprian, in his letter to Jubaianus (Ep. Ixxiii. sec. 8), had urged as following from this, that ** there is no reason, dearest brother, why w^e should I think it right to yield to heretics that baptism which was granted to the one ] and only Church."

5 Deut. iv. 21. 6 Hos. ii. 5, from the LXX.

74 . ON BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

this also of the people of the Jews that went astray; yet "whom else are the false Christians (such as are all heretics and schismatics) wont to imitate, except false Israelites ? Por there were also true Israelites, as the Lord Himself
bears witness to E’athanael, " Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." ^ But who are true Christians, save those of whom the same Lord said, " He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me ? " ^ But what is it to keep His commandments, except to abide in love ?
Whence also He says, " A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another;" and again, " By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."^ But who can doubt that this was spoken not only to those who heard His words with their fleshly ears when He was present with them, but also to those who learn His words through the gospel, when He is sitting on His throne in heaven ? For He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil.* But the fulfilling of the law is love.^ And in this Cyprian abounded greatly, insomuch that though he held a different view concerning baptism, he yet did not forsake the unity of the Church, and was in the Lord's vine a branch firmly rooted, bearing fruit, which the heavenly Husbandman purged with the knife of suffering, that it should bear more fruit.^ But the enemies of this brotherly love, whether they are openly without, or appear to be within, are false Christians, and antichrists. For when they have found an opportunity, they go out, as it is written: " A man wishing to separate himself from his friends, seeketh opportunities." ^ But even if occasions are wanting, while they seem to be within, they are severed from that invisible bond of love. Whence St. John says, " They went out from us, but they were not of us; for had they been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us." ^ He does not say that they ceased to be of us by going out, but that they went out because they were not of us. The Apostle Paul also speaks of certain men who had erred concerning the truth, and were overthrowing the faith

^ John i. 47. ' John xiv. 21. s joj^i^ ^iii. 34, 35.
^ Prov. xviii. 1, from the LXX. ^ 1 John ii, 19.

CHAP. XIX.] L0\T: the test of CHRISTIANITY. "75

of some; whose word was eating as a canker. Yet in saying that they should be avoided, he nevertheless intimates that they were all in one great house, but as vessels to dishonour, â€” I suppose because they had not as yet gone out. Or if they had already gone out, how can he say that they were in the same great house with the honourable vessels, unless it was in virtue of the sacraments themselves, which even in the severed meetings of heretics are not changed, that he speaks of all as belonging to the same great house, though in different degrees of esteem, some to honour and some to dishonour ?
For thus he speaks in his Epistle to Timothy: " But shun profane and vain babblings; for they will increase unto more ungodliness. And their word will eat as doth a canker; of whom is Hymenaeus and Philetus; who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the
resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some. Nevertheless the foundation
of God standeth firm, having this seal. The Lord knoweth them that are His. And, Let
every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. But in a great house there
are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to
honour, and some to dishonour. If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a
vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every
good work." ^ But what is it to purge oneself from such as these, except what he said just
before,
" Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity?" And lest any one
should think that, as being in one great house with them, he might perish with such as
these, he has most carefully forewarned them, " The Lord knoweth them that are His,"â€”
those, namely, who, by departing from iniquity, purge themselves from the vessels
made to dishonour, lest they should perish with them whom they are compelled to
tolerate in the great house.

27. They, therefore, who are wicked, evil-doers, carnal, fleshly, devilish, think that they
receive at the hands of their seducers what are the gifts of God alone, whether
sacraments, or any spiritual workings about present salvation. But these men have not
love towards God, but are busied about those

1 2 Tim. ii. 16-21.

76 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

by whose pride they are led astray, and are compared to the adulterous woman, whom the
prophet introduces as saying,
" I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax,
and my oil, and everything that befits me." For thus arise heresies and schisms, when the
fleshly people which is not founded on the love of God says, " I will go after my lovers,"
with whom, either by corruption of her faith, or by the puffing up of her pride, she
shamefully commits adultery. But for the sake of those who, having undergone the
difficulties, and straits, and barriers of the empty reasoning of those by whom they are led
astray, afterwards feel the prickings of fear, and return to the way of peace, to seeking
God in all sincerity, â€” for their sake He goes on to say, " Therefore, behold, I will
hedge up thy way with thorns, and make a wall, that she shall not find her paths.
And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek
them, but she shall not find them:
then shall she say, I will go and return to my first husband; for then was it better with me
than now." Then, that they may not attribute to their seducers what they have that is
sound, and derived from the doctrine of truth, by which they lead them astray to the
falseness of their own dogmas and dissensions; that they may not think that what is sound
in them belongs to them, he immediately added, " And she did not know that I gave her
corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her money; but she made vessels of gold and
silver for Eaal." ^ For she had said above, " I will go after my lovers, that give me my
bread," etc., not at all understanding that all this, which was held soundly and lawfully by her seducers, was of God, and not of men. Nor would even they themselves claim these things for themselves, and as it were assert a right in them, had not they in turn been led astray by a people which had gone astray, when faith is reposed in them, and such honours are paid to them, that they should be enabled thereby to say such things, and claim such things for themselves, that their error should be called truth, and their iniquity be thought righteousness, in virtue of the sacraments and Scriptures, which they hold, not for salvation, but only in

^ Hos. ii. 5-8, from the LXX.

CHAP. XIX.] THE HARLOTRY OF SCHISM. T7

appearance. Accordingly, the same adulterous woman is addressed by the mouth of Ezekiel: "Thou hast also taken thy fair jewels of my gold and of my silver, which I had given thee, and madest to thyself images of men, and didst commit whoredom with them; and tookest my^ broidered garments, and coverest them: and thou hast set mine oil and mine incense before them. My meat also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee, thou hast even set it before them for a sweet savour: and this thou hast done." ^

For she turns all the sacraments, and the words of the sacred books, to the images of her own idols, with which her carnal mind delights to wallow. Nor yet, because those images are false, and the doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy,^ are those sacraments and divine utterances therefore so to lose their due honour, as to be thought to belong to such as these; seeing that the Lord sa^s, " Of my gold, and my silver, and my broidered garments, and mine oil, and mine incense, and my meat," and so forth. Ought we, because those erring ones think that these things belong to their seducers, therefore not to recognise whose they really are, when He Himself says, " And she did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her money?" For He did not say that she did not have these things because she was an adulteress; but she is said to have had them, and that not as belonging to herself or her lovers, but to God, whose alone they are. Although, therefore, she had her fornication, yet those things wherewith she adorned it, whether as seduced or in her turn seducing, belonged not to her, but to God. If these things were spoken in a figure of the Jewish nation, when the scribes and Pharisees were rejecting the commandment of God in order to set up their own traditions, so that they were in a manner committing whoredom with a people which was abandoning their God; and yet for all that, whoredom at that time among the people, such as the Lord brought to light by convicting it, did not cause that the mysteries should belong to them, which were not theirs but God's, who,

^ In the LXX., as well as in the English version, this is in the second person:

Tov idKierîev rov â££îToîx.iXov crov.

2 Ezek. xvi. 17-19. a i xim. iv. ], 2.
in speaking to the adulteress, says that all these things were His; whence the Lord Himself also sent those whom He cleansed from leprosy to the same mysteries, that they should offer sacrifice for themselves before the priests, because that sacrifice had not become efficacious for them, which He Himself afterwards wished to be commemorated in the Church for all of them, because He Himself proclaimed the tidings to them all; it this be so, how much the more ought we, when we find the sacraments of the New Testament among certain heretics or schismatics, not to attribute them to these men, nor to condemn them, as though we could not recognise them? We ought to recognise the gifts of the true husband, though in the possession of an adulteress, and to amend, by the word of truth, that whoredom which is the true possession of the unchaste woman, instead of finding fault with the gifts, which belong entirely to the pitying Lord.

28. From these considerations, and such as these, our forefathers, not only before the time of Cyprian and Agrippinus, but even afterwards, maintained a most wholesome custom, that whenever they found anything divine and lawful remaining in its integrity even in the midst of any heresy or schism, they approved rather than repudiated it; but whatever they found that was alien, and peculiar to that false doctrine or division, this they convicted in the light of the truth, and healed. The points, however, which remain to be considered in the letter written by Jubaianus, must, I think, when looking at the size of this book, be taken in hand and treated with a fresh beginning.

CHAP. T.] THE WATERS OF PARADISE. 79

BOOK FOURTH.

IN WHICH HE TREATS OF WHAT Follows IN THE SAME EPISTLE OF CYPPWIAN

TO JUBAIANUS.

CHAP. I. It shows us that men may indeed receive her baptism outside her pale, but that no one outside can either receive or retain the salvation of eternal happiness. For, as the words of Scripture testify, the streams from the fountain of Paradise flowed copiously even beyond its bounds. Ecord indeed is made of their names; and through what countries they flow, and that they are situated beyond the limits of Paradise, is known to all; and yet in
Mesopotamia, and in Egypt, to which countries those rivers extended, there is not found that blessedness of life which is recorded in Paradise. Accordingly, though the waters of Paradise are found beyond its boundaries, yet its happiness is in Paradise alone. So, therefore, the baptism of the Church may exist outside, but the gift of the life of happiness is found alone within the Church, which has been founded on a rock, which has received the keys of binding and loosing. She it is alone who holds as her privilege the whole power of her Bridegroom and Lord; by virtue of which power as bride, she can bring forth sons even of handmaids. And these, if they be not high-minded, shall be called into the lot of the inheritance; but if they be high-minded, they shall remain outside.

Chap. ii. â€” 2. All the more, then, because we are fighting for the honour and unity of the Church, let us beware of giving to heretics the credit of whatever we acknowledge among them as belonging to the Church; but let us teach


Â» Matt. xvL 18, 19.

80 ON BAPTismâ€”r. [cook iy.

tliem by argument, that what they possess that is derived from unity is of no efhcacy to their salvation, unless they shall return to that same unity. For "the water of the Church is full of faith, and salvation, and holiness" to those who use it rightly. No one, however, can use it well outside the Church. But to those who use it perversely, whether within or without the Church, it is employed to work punishment, and does not conduce to their reward.

And so baptism " cannot be corrupted and polluted," though it be handled by the corrupt or by adulterers, just as also " the Church herself is uncorrupt, and pure, and chaste." And so no share in it belongs to the avaricious, or thieves, or usurers, â€”

many of whom, by the testimony of Cyprian himself in many places of his letters, exist not only without, but actually within the Church, â€” and yet they both are baptized and do baptize, with no change in their hearts.

3. For this, too, he says, in one of his epistlesâ€” to the clergy on the subject of prayer to God, in which, after the fashion of the holy Daniel, he represents the sins of his people as falling upon himself. For among many other evils of which he makes mention, he speaks of them also as " renouncing the world in words only and not in deeds;" as the apostle says of certain men, " They profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him."^ These, therefore, the blessed Cyprian shows to be contained within the Church herself, who are baptized without their hearts being changed for the better, seeing that they renounce the world in words and not in deeds, as the Apostle Peter says, " The like figure whiereunto even baptism doth now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience),"^
which certainly they had not of whom it is said that they " renounced the world in words only, and not in deeds;" and yet he does his utmost, by chiding and convincing them, to make them at length walk in the way of Christ, and be His friends rather than friends of the world.

Chap. hi. â€” 3. And if they would have obeyed him, and begun to live rightly, not as false but as true Christians, 1 Cypr. Ep. xi. sec. 1. ’Tit. i. 16. Â» 1 Pet iiu. 21.

CHAP, in.] SCHISMATICS NOT WITHIN THE CHURCH. 81

would he have ordered them to be baptized anew? Surely not; but their true conversion would have gained this for them, that the sacrament which availed for their destruction while they were yet unchanged, should begin when^ they champed to avail for their salvation.

4. For neither are they " devoted to the Church " ^ who seem to be wthin, and live contrary to Christ, that is, act against His commandments; nor can they be considered in any way to belong to that Church, which He so purifies by the washing of water, " that He may present to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." ^ But if they are not in that Church to whose members they do not belong, they are not in the Church of which it is said, "My dove is but one; she is the only one of her mother;" ^ for she herself is without spot or wrinkle.

Or else let him who can assert that those are members of this dove who renounce the world in words but not in deeds.

Meantime there is one thinor which we see, from which I think it was said, " He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord;" * for God judgeth every day. For, accordin^ to His foreknowledge,^ who knows whom He has foreordained before the foundation of the world to be made like to the image of His Son, many who are even openly outside, and are called heretics, are better than many good Catholics.

For w^e see what they are to-day, what they shall be tomorrow we know not. And with God, with whom the future is already present, they already are what they shall hereafter be. But we, according to what each man is at present, inquire whether they are to be today reckoned among the members of the Church which is called the one dove, and the Bride of Christ without spot or wrinkle,^ of whom Cyprian says in the letter which I have quoted above, that "they did not keep in the way of the Lord, nor observe the commandments given unto them for their salvation; that they did not fulfil the word of their Lord, being eager about their property and gainSj following the dictates of pride, giving way to envy and

1 Cypr. Ep. Ixxiiil sec. 9. 2 -^^i^ y 26, 27.

82 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

dissension, careless about single-mindedness and faith, renouncing the world in words only and not in deeds, pleasing each himself, and displeasing all men." ^ But if the dove does not acknowledge them among her members, and if the Lord shall say to them, supposing that they continue in the same perversity, " I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity;" ^ then they seem indeed to be in the Church, but are not; "nay, they even act against the Church. How then can they baptize with the baptism of the Church," ^

which is of avail neither to themselves, nor to those who receive it from them, unless they are changed in heart with a true conversion, so that the sacrament itself, which did not avail them when they received it whilst they were renouncing the world in words and not in deeds, may begin to profit them when they shall begin to renounce it in deeds also ? And so too in the case of those whose separation from the Church is open; for neither these nor those are as yet among the members of the dove, but some of them perhaps will be at some future time.

Chap. iv. â€” 5. We do not, therefore, "acknowledge the baptism of heretics,"* when we refuse to rebaptize after them; but because we acknowledge the ordinance to be of Christ, even among evO. men, whether openly separated from us, or secretly severed whilst within our body, we receive it with due respect, having corrected those who were wrong in the points wherein they went astray. For as I seem to be hard pressed when it is said to me, " Does then a heretic confer remission of sins V so I in turn press hard when I say. Does then he who violates the commands of Heaven, the avaricious man, the robber, the usurer, the envious man, does he who renounces the world in words and not in deeds, confer such remission ? If you mean by the force of God's sacrament, then both the one and the other; if by his own merit, neither of them. For that sacrament, even in the hands of wicked men, is known to be of Christ; but neither the one nor the other of these men is found in the body of the one

profit to him who is baptized in heresy or schism; but each of them, when he amends his ways, begins to receive profit from that which before was not profitable, but was yet already in him.

6. " He therefore that is baptized in heresy does not become the temple of God:"^ but does it therefore follow that he is not to be considered as baptized ? For neither does the avaricious man, baptized within the Church, become the temple of God, unless he depart from his avarice; for they who become the temple of God certainly inherit the kingdom of God. But the apostle says, among many other things, " Neither the covetous, nor thieves, shall inherit the kingdom of God."^ For in another place the same apostle compares covetousness to the worship of idols: " Nor covetous man," he says, " who is an idolater; "^ which meaning the same Cyprian has so far extended in a letter to Antonianns, that he did not hesitate to compare the sin of covetousness with that of men who in time of persecution had declared in writing that they would offer incense.* The man, then, who is baptized in heresy in the name of the Holy Trinity yet does not become the temple of God unless he abandons his heresy, just as the covetous man who has been baptized in the same name does not become the temple of God unless he abandons his covetousness, which is idolatry. For this, too, the same apostle says: " What agreement hath the temple of God with idols ?"* Let it not, then, be asked of us " of what God he is made the temple ? "^ when we say that he is not made the temple of God at all. Yet he is not therefore unbaptized, nor does his foul error cause that what he has received, consecrated in the words of the gospel, should not be the holy sacrament; just as the other man's covetousness (which is idolatry) and great uncleanness cannot prevent what he receives from being holy baptism, even though he be baptized with the same words of the gospel by another man covetous like himself.

^ Cypr. Ep. Ixxvii. sec. 10. Â« 1 Cor. vi. 10. 3 jjpi^^ y^ 5^  
* Cypr. Ep. Iv. sec. 23. Â» 2 Cor. vi. 16.

84 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

Chap. v. â€” 7. " Further," Cyprian goes on to say, " in vain do some, who are overcome by reason, oppose to us custom, as though custom were superior to truth, or that were not to be followed in spiritual things which has been revealed by the Holy Spirit, as the better way."^ This is clearly true, since reason and truth are to be preferred to custom. But when truth supports custom, nothing should be more strongly maintained. Then he proceeds as follows: " For one may pardon a man who merely errs, as the Apostle Paul says of himself, 'Who was before a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly:'^ but he who, after inspiration and revelation given, perseveres advisedly and knowingly in his former error, sins without hope of pardon on the ground of ignorance. For he rests on a kind of presumption and obstinacy, when he is overcome by reason." This is most true,
that his sin is much more grievous who has sinned wittingly than his who has sinned through ignorance. And so in the case of the holy Cyprian, who was not only learned, but also patient of instruction, which he so fully himself understood to be a part of the praise of the bishop whom the apostle describes, that he said, "This also should be approved in a bishop, that he not only teach with knowledge, but also learn with patience." I do not doubt that if he had had the opportunity of discussing this question, which has been so long and so much disputed in the Church, with the pious and learned men to whom we owe it that subsequently that ancient custom was confirmed by the authority of a general Council, he would have shown, without hesitation, not only how learned he was in those things which he had grasped with all the security of truth, but also how ready he was to receive instruction in what he had failed to perceive. And yet, since it is so clear that it is much more grievous to sin wittingly than in ignorance, I should be glad if any one would tell me which is the worse, the man who falls into heresy, not knowing how great a sin it is, or the man who refuses to abandon his covetousness, knowing its enormity. I might even put the question thus: If one man


CHAP, v.] UNWITTING ERROR NOT THE WORST SIN. 85

unwittingly fall into heresy, and another knowingly refuse to depart from idolatry, since the apostle himself says, "The covetous man, which is an idolater;" and Cyprian too understood the same passage in just the same way, when he says, in his letter to Antonianus, "Nor let the new heretics flatter themselves in this, that they say they do not communicate with idolaters, whereas there are amongst them both adulterers and covetous persons, who are held guilty of the sin of idolatry; ’ for know this, and understand, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God;" and again, * Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry."

I ask, therefore, which sins more deeply, the man who ignorantly has fallen into heresy, or he who wittingly has refused to abandon covetousness, that is idolatry? According to that rule by which the sins of those who sin wittingly are placed before those of the ignorant, the man who is covetous with knowledge takes the first place in sin. But as it is possible that the greatness of the actual sin should produce the same effect in the case of heresy that the witting commission of the sin produces in that of covetousness, let us suppose the ignorant heretic to be on a par in guilt with the consciously covetous man, although the evidence which Cyprian himself has advanced from the apostle does not seem to prove this.
For what is it that we abominate in heretics except their blasphemies? But when he wished to show that ignorance of the sin may conduce to ease in obtaining pardon, he advanced a proof from the case of the apostle, when he says, "Who before was a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly."^ But if possible, as I said before, let the sins of the two men â€” the blasphemy of the unconscious, and the idolatry of the conscious sinner â€” be esteemed of equal weight; and let them be judged by the same sentence, â€” he who, in seeking for Christ, falls into a truth-like setting forth of what is false, and he who witfully resists Christ speaking through His apostle,

1 Eph. V. 5. 2 Qq1 iii 5^ Cypr^ ^ ly_ gee. 23. 3 j r^====== â€œ ^3^ 86 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

"seeing that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God,"^ â€” and then I would ask why baptism and the words of the gospel are held as naught in the former case, and accounted valid in the latter, when each is alike found to be estranged from the members of the dove.

Is it because the former is an open combatant outside, that he should not be admitted, the latter a cunning assenter within the fold, that he may not be expelled?

Chap, vl â€” 8. But as regards his saying, "Nor let any one affirm that what they have received from the apostles, that they follow; for the apostles handed down only one Church and one baptism, and that appointed only in the same Church;"^ this does not so much move me to venture to condemn the baptism of Christ when found amongst heretics (just as it is necessary to recognise the gospel itself when I find it with them, though I abominate their error), as it warns me that there were some even in the times of the holy Cyprian who traced to the authority of the apostles that custom against which the African Councils were held, and in respect of which he himself said a little above, "In vain do those who are beaten by reason oppose to us the authority of custom." Nor do I find the reason why the same Cyprian found this very custom, which after his time was confirmed by nothing less than a general Council of the whole world, already so strong before his time, that when with all his learning he sought an authority worth following for changing it, he found nothing but a Council of Agrippinus held in Africa a very few years before his own time. And seeing that this was not enough for him, as against the custom of the whole world, he laid hold on these reasons which we just now, considering them with great care, and being confirmed by the antiquity of the custom itself, and by the subsequent authority of a general Council, found to be truth-like rather than true; which, however, seemed to him true, as he toiled in a question of the
greatest obscurity, and was in doubt about the remission of sins, whether it could fail to be given in the

CHAP. VI] CYPRIAN'S KNOWLEDGE DEFECTIVE. 87

baptism of Christ, and whether it could be given among heretics. In which matter, if an imperfect revelation of the truth was given to Cyprian, that the greatness of his love in not deserting the unity of the Church might be made manifest, there is yet not any reason why any one should venture to claim superiority over the strong defences and excellence of his virtues, and the abundance of graces which were found in him, merely because, with the instruction derived from the strength of a general Council, he sees something which Cyprian did not see, because the Church had not yet held a general Council on the matter. Just as no one is so insane as to set himself up as surpassing the merits of the Apostle Peter, because, taught by the epistles of the Apostle Paul, and confirmed by the custom of the Church herself, he does not compel the Gentiles to Judaize, as Peter once had done.^

9, We do not then "find that any one, after being baptized among heretics, was afterwards admitted by the apostles with the same baptism, and communicated;" but neither do we find this, that any one coming from the society of heretics, who had been baptized among them, was baptized anew by the apostles. But this custom, which even then those who looked back to past ages could not find to have been invented by men of a later time, is rightly believed to have been handed down from the apostles. And there are many other things of the same kind, which it would be tedious to recount. Wherefore, if they had something to say for themselves to whom Cyprian, wishing to persuade them of the truth of his own view, says, "Let no one say. What we have received from the apostles, that we follow," with how much more force we now say, What the custom of the Church has always held, what this argument has failed to prove false,' and what a general Council has confirmed, this we follow!
To this we may add that it may also be said, after a careful inquiry into the reasoning on both sides of the discussion, and into the evidence of Scripture, What truth has declared, that we follow.

Chap. vii. â€” 10. For in fact, as to what some opposed to

88 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

the reasoning of Cyprian, that the apostle says, "IStotwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, let Christ be preached,"^ Cyprian rightly exposed their error, showing that it has nothing to do with the case of heretics, since the apostle was speaking
of those who were acting within the Church, with malicious envy seeking their own
profit. They announced Christ, indeed, according to the truth whereby we believe in
Christ, but not in the spirit in which He was announced by the good evangelists to the
sons of the dove. " For Paul," he says, " in his epistle was not speaking of heretics, or of
their baptism, so that it could be shown that he had laid down anything concerning this
matter. He was speaking of brethren, whether as walking disorderly and contrary to the
discipline of the Church, or as keeping the discipline of the Church in the fear of God.
And he declared that some of them spoke the word of God stedfastly and fearlessly, but
that some were acting in envy and strife; that some had kept themselves encompassed
with kindly Christian love, but that others entertained malice and strife: but yet that he
patiently endured all things, with the view that, whether in truth or in pretence, the name
of Christ, which Paul preached, might come to the knowledge of the greatest number, and
that the sowing of the word, which was as yet a new and unaccustomed work, might
spread more widely by the preaching of those that spoke. Furthermore, it is one thing for
those who are within the Church to speak in the name of Christ, another thing for those
who are without, acting against the Church, to baptize in the name of Christ."

These words of Cyprian seem to warn us that we must distinguish between those who are
bad outside, and those who are bad within the Church. And those whom he says that the
apostle represents as preaching the gospel impurely and of envy, he says truly were
within. This much, however, I
think I may say without rashness, if no one outside can have anything which is of Christ,
neither can any one within have anything which is of the devil. For if that closed garden
can contain the thorns of the devil, why cannot the fountain

^ Phil. i. 18. Cyprian, like the Vulgate, reads "iuiuuutietui-.
Chap. viii. â€” 11. In short, we may see how great an evil in itself is envy, which cannot be other than malicious. Let us not look for other testimony. Cyprian himself is sufficient for us, through whose mouth the Lord poured forth so many thunders in most perfect truth, and uttered so many useful precepts about envy and malignity. Let us therefore read the letter of Cyprian about envy and malignity, and see how great an evil it is to envy those better than ourselves, â€” an evil whose origin he shows in memorable words to have sprung from the devil himself. "To feel jealousy," he says, "of what you regard as good, and to envy those who are better than yourselves, to some, dearest brethren, seems a light and minute offence."^ And again a little later, when he was inquiring into the source and origin of the evil, he says, "From this the devil, in the very beginning of the world, perished first himself, and led others to destruction." ^ And further on in the same chapter: "What an evil, dearest brethren, is that by which an angel fell! by which that exalted

' Cypr. de Zd. et Liv. c. 1. ^ 7^-^ c. 3.

90 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

and illustrious loftiness was able to be deceived and overthrown! by which he was deceived who was the deceiver!
From that time envy stalks upon the earth, when man, about to perish through malignity, submits himself to the teacher of perdition, â€” when he who envies imitates the devil, as it is written, "Through envy of the devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it."^ How true, how forcible are these words of Cyprian, in an epistle known throughout the world, we cannot fail to recognise. It was truly fitting for Cyprian to argue and warn most forcibly about envy and malignity, from which most deadly evil he proved his own heart to be so far removed by the abundance of his Christian love; by carefully guarding which he remained in the unity of communion with his colleagues, who without ill-feeling entertained different views about baptism, whilst he himself differed in opinion from them, not through any contention of ill will, but through human infirmity, erring in a point which God, in His own good time, would reveal to him by reason of his perseverance in love. For he says openly, "Judging no one, nor depriving any of the right of communion if he differ from us. For no one of us seteth himself up as a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror forceth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying."^ And in the end of the epistle before us he says, "These things I have written to you briefly, dearest brother, according to my poor ability, prescribing to or prejudging no one, so as to prevent each bishop from doing what he thinks right in the free exercise of his own judgment. We, so far as in us lies, do not strive on behalf of heretics with our colleagues and fellow-bishops, with whom we hold the harmony that God enjoins, and the peace of our Lord, especially as the apostle says,
'If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.'^ Christian love in our souls, the honour of our colleges, the bond of faith, the harmony of the priesthood, all these are maintained by us with patience and gentleness. For this cause we have also, so far as our poor ability admitted, by the permission and inspiration of the Lord, written now a treatise on the benefit

1 Wisd. ii. 24, 25. Â« Cone. Cai-th. sub in. ' 1 Cor. xL 16.

CHAP. IX.] EMINENT CHARITY OF CYPEIAN. 91

of patience/ which we have sent to you in consideration of our mutual affection."^

Chap. ix. Â» 1 2. By this patience of Christian love he not only endured the difference of opinion manifested in all kindliness by his good colleagues on an obscure point, as he also himself received toleration, till, in process of time, when it so pleased God, what had always been a most wholesome custom was further confirmed by a declaration of the truth in a general Council, but he even put up with those who were manifestly bad, as was very well known to himself, who did not entertain a different view in consequence of the obscurity of the question, but acted contrary to their preaching in the evil practices of an abandoned life, as the apostle says of them, "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" ^ For Cyprian says in his letter of such bishops of his own time, his own colleagues, and remaining in communion with him,

"While they had brethren starving in the Church, they tried to amass large sums of money, they took possession of estates by fraudulent proceedings, they multiplied their gains by accumulated usuries." * For here there is no obscure question. Scripture declares openly, "Neither thieves nor covetous shall inherit the kingdom of God;" ^ and "He that putteth out his money to usury," ^ and "No whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." ^ He therefore certainly would not, without knowledge, have brought accusations of such covetousness, that men not only greedily treasured up their own goods, but also fraudulently appropriated the goods of others, or of idolatry existing in such enormity as he understands and proves it to exist; nor assuredly would he bear false witness against his fellow-bishops. And yet with the bowels of fatherly and motherly love he endured them, lest that, by rooting out the tares before their time, the wheat should also have been rooted up.^ imitating assuredly the Apostle

^ This treatise is still extant. See Clark's Trans.


5 1 Cor. vi. 10. 6 Ps. XV. 5. ? Eph. v. 6.
Paul, who, with the same love towards the Church, endured those who were ill-disposed and envious towards him.

13. But yet because "by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it," not because they are created by God, but because they go astray of themselves, as Cyprian also says himself, seeing that the devil, before he was a devil, was an angel, and good, how can it be that they who are of the devil's side are in the unity of Christ? Beyond all doubt, as the Lord Himself says, "an enemy hath done this," who "sowed tares among the wheat." As therefore what is of the devil within the fold must be convicted, so what is of Christ without must be recognised. Has the devil what is his within the unity of the Church, and shall Christ not have what is His without? This, perhaps, might be said of individual men, that as the devil has none that are his among the holy angels, so God has none that are His outside the communion of the Church. But though it may be allowed to the devil to mingle tares, that is, wicked men, with this Church which still wears the mortal nature of flesh, so long as it is wandering far from God, he being allowed this just because of the pilgrimage of the Church herself, that men may desire more ardently the rest of that country which the angels enjoy, yet this cannot be said of the sacraments. For, as the tares within the Church can have and handle them, though not for salvation, but for the destruction to which they are destined in the fire, so also can the tares without, which received them from seceders from within; for they did not lose them by seceding. This, indeed, is made plain from the fact that baptism is not conferred again on their return, when any of the very men who seceded happen to come back again. And let not any one say. Why, what fruit hath the tares? For if this be so, their condition is the same, so far as this goes, both inside and without. For it surely cannot be that grains of corn are found in the tares inside, and not in those without. But when the question is of the sacrament, we do not consider whether the tares bear any fruit, but whether they have any share of heaven; for the tares, both within and without, share the rain with the wheat itself, which rain is in itself heavenly.

1 i. 15-18. a wisd. ii. 24, 25. 3 jj. xiii. 28, 25.
in barrenness. And so the sacrament, according to the gospel of Christ, is divine and pleasant; nor is it to be esteemed as naoulit because of the barrenness of those on whom its dew falls even without.

Chap. x. â€” 14. But some one may say that the tares within may more easily be converted into wheat. I grant that it is so; but what has this to do with the question of repeating baptism? You surely do not maintain that if a man converted from heresy, through the occasion and opportunity given by his conversion, should bear fruit before another who, being within the Church, is more slow to be washed from his iniquity, and so corrected and changed, the former therefore needs not to be baptized again, but the churchman to be baptized again, who was outstripped by him who came from the heretics, because of the greater slowness of his amendment. It has nothing, therefore, to do with the question now at issue who is later or slower in being converted from his especial waywardness to the straight path of faith, or hope, or charity. For although the bad within the fold are more easily made good, yet it will sometimes happen that certain of the number of those outside will outstrip in their conversion certain of those within; and while these remain in barrenness, the former, being restored to unity and communion, will bear fruit with patience, thirty-fold, or sixty-fold, or a hundred-fold.â€” Or if those only are to be called tares who remain in perverse error to the end, there are many ears of corn outside, and many tares within.

15. But it will be urged that the bad outside are worse than those within. It is indeed a weighty question, whether Nicolaus, being already severed from the Church,â€” or Simon, who was still within it,â€” was the worse, the one being a heretic, the other a sorcerer. But if the mere fact of division, as being the clearest token of violated charity, is held to be the worse evil, I grant that it is so. Yet many, though they have lost all feelings of charity, yet do not secede from considerations of worldly profit; and as they seek their own, not


94 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

the things which are Jesus Christ's/ what they are unwilling to secede from is not the unity of Christ, but their own temporal advantage. Whence it is said in praise of charity, that she " seeketh not her own." ^

16. Now, therefore, the question is, how could men of the party of the devil belong to the Church, which has no spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.â€” of which also it is said, " My dove is one ?"* But if they cannot, it is clear that she groans among those who are not of her, some treacherously laying wait within, some barking at her gate without. Such men, however, even within, both receive baptism, and possess it, and transmit it holy in itself;
nor is it in any way defiled by their wickedness, in which they persevere even to the end. Wherefore the same blessed Cyprian teaches us that baptism is to be considered as consecrated in itself by the words of the gospel, as the Church has received, without joining to it or mingling with it any consideration of waywardness and wickedness on the part of either minister or recipients; since he himself points out to us both truths, â€” both that there have been some within the Church who did not cherish kindly Christian love, but practised envy and unkind dissension, of whom the Apostle Paul spoke; and also that the envious belong to the devil's party, as he testifies in the most open way in the epistle which he wrote about envy and malignity. Wherefore, since it is clearly possible that in those who belong to the devil's party, Christ's sacrament may yet be holy, â€” not, indeed, to their salvation, but to their condemnation, â€” and that not only if they are led astray after they have been baptized, but even if they were such in heart when they received the sacrament, renouncing the world (as the same Cyprian shows) in words only and not in deeds and since even if afterwards they be brought into the right way, the sacrament is not to be again administered which they received when they were astray; so far as I can see, the case is clear and evident, that in the question of baptism we have to consider, not who gives, but what he gives; not who receives, but what he receives; not who has, but what he has. Tor if men of the party of the

À» riil. ii. 21. À» 1 Cor. xiii. 5. À» Eph. v. 27; RetracL ii. 18.

* Song of Sol. vi. 8. 'â€” t!ypr. Ep. xi. sec. 1.

CHAP. XI.] BAPTISM EVERYWHERE SACRED IN ITSELF. 95

devil, and therefore in no way belonging to the one dove, can yet receive, and have, and give baptism in all its holiness, in no way defiled by their waywardness, as we are taught by the letters of Cyprian himself, how are we ascribing to heretics what does not belong to them? how are we saying that what is really Christ's is theirs, and not rather recognising in them the signs of our Sovereign, and correcting the deeds of deserters from Him? Wherefore it is one thing, as the holy Cyprian says, " for those within, in the Church, to speak in the name of Christ, another thing for those without, who are acting against the Church, to baptize in His name."^ But both many who are within act against the Church, by evil living, and by enticing weak souls to copy their lives; and some who are without speak in Christ's name, and are not forbidden to work the works of Christ, but only to be without, since for the healing of their souls we grasp at them, or reason with them, or exhort them. For he, too, was without who did not follow Christ with His disciples, and yet in Christ's name was casting out devils, which the Lord enjoined that he should not be prevented from doing;^ although, certainly, in the point where he was imperfect he was to be made whole, in accordance with the words of the Lord, in which He says, " He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad."^ Therefore both some things are done outside in the name of Christ
not against the Church, and some things are done inside on the devil's part which are against the Church.

Chap. xi. â€” 17. What shall we say of what is also wonderful, that he who carefully observes may find that it is possible that certain persons, without violating Christian charity, may yet teach what is useless, as Peter wished to compel the Gentiles to observe Jewish customs,* as Cyprian himself would force heretics to be baptized anew? whence the apostle says to such good members, who are rooted in charity, and yet walk not rightly in some points, "If in anything ye be otherwise minded, the Lord shall reveal even this unto you;"^ and

* GaL ii 14. Â» Thil. iii. 15.

96 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

that some again, though devoid of charity, may teach something wholesome? of whom the Lord says, " The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not."^ Whence the apostle also says of those envious and malicious ones who yet preach salvation through Christ, " Whether in pretence, or in truth, let Christ be preached."^ Wherefore, both within and without, the waywardness of man is to be corrected, but the divine sacraments and utterances are not to be attributed to men. He is not, therefore, a " patron of heretics " who refuses to attribute to them what he knows not to belong to them, even though it be found among them. We do not grant baptism to be theirs; but we recognise His baptism of whom it is said, " The same is He which baptizeth,"^ wheresoever we find it. But if " the treacherous and blasphemous man " continue in his treachery and blasphemy, he receives no " remission of sins either without " or within the Church; or if, by the power of the sacrament, he receives it for the moment, the same force operates both without and within, as the power of the name of Christ used to work the expulsion of devils even without the Church.

Chap. xii. â€” 18. But he urges that "we find that the apostles, in all their epistles, execrated and abhorred the sacrilegious wickedness of heretics, so as to say that 'their word does spread as a canker.'"^ * What then? Does not Paul also show that those who said, " Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," were corrupters of good manners by their evil communications, adding immediately afterwards, " Evil communications corrupt good manners;" and yet he intimated that these were within the Church when he says, " How say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? "^ But when does he fail to express his abhorrence of the covetous?
Or could anything be said in stronger terms, than that covetousness should be called idolatry, as the same apostle

1 Matt, xxiii. 2, 3. * Pliil. i. 18; soe on cli. vii. 10.


5 1 Cor. XV. 32, 33, 12.

CHAP. Xn.] mXTURE OF EVIL IN THE WORLD. 97

declared ?^ Xor did Cyprian understand his language otherwise, inserting it when need required in his letters; though he confesses that in his time there were in the Church not covetous men of an ordinary type, but robbers and usurers, and these found not among the masses, but among the bishops.
And yet I should be willing to understand that those of whom the apostle says, " Their word does spread as a canker," were without the Church, but Cyprian himself will not allow me.
For, when showing, in his letter to Antonianus, that no man ought to sever himself from the unity of the Church before the time of the final separation of the just and unjust, merely because of the admixture of evil men in the Church, when he makes it manifest how holy he was, and deserving of the illustrious martyrdom which he won, he says, " What swelling of arrogance it is, what forgetfulness of humility and gentleness, that any one should dare or believe that he can do what the Lord did not grant even to the apostles, â€” to think that he can distinguish the tares from the wheat, or, as if it were granted to him to carry the fan and purge the floor, to endeavour to separate the chaff from the grain! And whereas the apostle says, * But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, ' ^ that he should seem to choose those of gold and of silver, and to despise and cast away and condemn those of wood and of earth, when really the vessels of wood are only to be burned in the day of the Lord by the burning of the divine conflagration, and those of earth are to be broken by Him to whom the 'rod of iron' ^ has been given."^ By this argument, therefore, against those who, under the pretext of avoiding the society of wicked men, had severed themselves from the unity of the Church, Cyprian shows that by the great house of which the apostle spoke, in which there were not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth, he understood nothing else but the Church, in which there should be good and bad, till at the last day it should be cleansed as a threshing-floor by the winnowing-fan. And if this be so, in the Church herself, that is, in the great house itself, there were vessels to dishonour, whose word did spread

I 3 G
like a canker. For the apostle, speaking of them, taught as, follows: "And their word," he says, "will eat as doth a canker; of whom is Hymenaeus and Philetus; who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some. Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His. And, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth." If, therefore, they whose word did eat as doth a canker were as it were vessels to dishonour in the great house, and by that "great house" Cyprian understands the unity of the Church itself, surely it cannot be that their canker polluted the baptism of Christ. Accordingly, neither without, any more than within, can any one who is of the devil's party, either in himself or in any other person, stain the sacrament which is of Christ. It is not, therefore, the case that "the word which eats as a canker to the ears of those who hear it gives remission of sins;" but when baptism is given in the words of the gospel, however great be the perverseness of understanding on the part either of him through whom, or of him to whom it is given, the sacrament itself is holy in itself on account of Him whose sacrament it is. And if any one, receiving it at the hands of a misguided man, yet does not receive the perversity of the minister, but only the holiness of the mystery, being closely bound to the unity of the Church in good faith and hope and charity, he receives remission of his sins, â€“ not by the words which do eat as doth a canker, but by the sacraments of the gospel flowing from a heavenly source. But if the recipient himself be misguided, on the one hand, what is given is of no avail for the salvation of the misguided man; and yet, on the other hand, that which is received remains holy in the recipient, and is not renewed to him if lie be brought to the right way.

CiTAP. XIII. â€“ 19. There is therefore "no fellowship between righteousness and unrighteousness," not only without, but also


CHAP. Xm.] THE EVIL CANNOT DESECRATE THE GOOD. 99

within the Church; for "the Lord knoweth them that are His," and "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." There is also "no communion between light and darkness." not only without, but also within the Church; for "he that hateth his brother is still in darkness." And they at any rate hated Paul, who, preaching Christ of
envy and malicious strife, supposed that they added affliction to his bonds f and yet the same Cyprian understands these still to have been within the Church. Since, therefore, "neither darkness can enlighten, nor unrighteousness justify,"* as Cyprian again says, I ask, how could those men baptize within the very Church herself ? I ask, how could those vessels which the large house contains not to honour, but to dishonour, administer what is holy for the sanctifying of men within the great house itself, unless because that holiness of the sacrament cannot be polluted even by the unclean, either when it is given at their hands, or when it is received by those who in heart and life are not changed for the better ? of whom, as situated within the Church, Cyprian himself says, " Eenouncing the world in word only, and not in deed."^  

20. There are therefore also within the Church "enemies of God, whose hearts the spirit of Antichrist has possessed; " and yet they "deal with spiritual and divine things," ^ which cannot profit for their salvation so long as they remain such as they are; and yet neither can they pollute them by their own uncleanness. With regard to what he says, therefore, " that they have no part given them in the saving grace of the Church, who, scattering and fighting against the Church of Christ, are called adversaries by Christ Himself, and antichrists by His apostles," ^ this must be received under the consideration that there are men of this kind both within and without. But the separation of those that are within from the perfection and unity of the dove is not only known in the case of some men to God, but even in the case of some to their fellow-men; for, by regarding their openly abandoned


100 ON BAPTISM. [book TV.  

life and confirmed wickedness, and comparing it with the rules of God's commandments, they understand to what a multitude of tares and chaff, situated now some within and some without, but destined to be most manifestly separated at the last day, the Lord wiU then say, " Depart from me, ye that work iniquity,"^ and "Depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." ^  

Chap. xiv. â€” 21. But we must not despair of the conversion of any man, whether situated within or without, so long as "the goodness of God leadeth him to repentance,"^ and * visits their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes." For in this way " He does not utterly take from them His loving - kindness," * if they will themselves sometime "love their own soul, pleasing God."^ But as the good man " that shall endure
to the end, the same shall be saved,"^ so the bad man, whether within or without, who
shall persevere in his wickedness to the end, shall not be saved. tTO do we say that "
all, wheresoever and howsoever baptized, obtain the grace of baptism,"^ if by the grace
of baptism is understood the actual salvation which is conferred by the celebration of the
sacrament; but many fail to obtain this salvation even within the Church, although it is
clear that they possess the sacrament, which is holy in itself WeU, therefore, does the
Lord warn us in the gospel that we should not company with IU-advisers,^ who walk
under the pretence of Christ's name; but these are found both within and without, as, in
fact, they do not proceed without unless they have first been IU-disposed within. And we
know that the apostle said of the vessels placed in the great house, " If a man therefore
purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the
Master's use, and prepared unto every good work." ^ But in what manner each man ought
to purge himself from these he shows a little above, saying,

' Ecclus. XXX. 23. The words "placentes Deo " are derived from the Latin version only.


CHAP. XY.] ALL DO NOT DECEIVE GEACE IN BAPTISM. 101

" Let every one that nametli the name of Christ depart from iniquity,"^ that he may not in
the last day, with the chaff, whether with that which has already been driven from the
threshing-floor, or with that which is to be separated at the last, hear the command, "
Depart from me, ye that work iniquity."^ Whence it appears, indeed, as Cyprian says, that
" we are not at once to admit and adopt whatsoever is professed in the name of Christ, but
only what is done in the truth of Christ." ^ But it is not an action done in the truth of
Christ that men should " seize on estates by fraudulent pretences, and increase their gains
by accumulated usury,"^ or that they should " renounce the world in word only; " ^ and yet, that all this is done
within the Church, Cyprian himself bears sufficient testimony.

Chap. xv. â€” 22. To go on to the point which he pursues at great length, that "they who
blaspheme the Father of Christ cannot be baptized in Christ," ^ since it is clear that they
blaspheme through error (for he who comes to the baptism of Christ will not openly
blaspheme the Father of Christ, but he is led to blaspheme by holding a view contrary to
the teaching of the truth about the Father of Christ), we have already shown at sufficient
length that baptism, consecrated in the words of the gospel, is not affected by the error of
any man, whether ministrant or recipient, whether he hold views contrary to the
revelation of divine teaching on the subject of the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Ghost.
For many carnal and natural men are baptized even within the Church, as the apostle expressly says: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God;"^ and after they had received baptism, he says that they "are yet carnal." ^ But according to its carnal sense, a soul given up to fleshly appetites cannot entertain but fleshly wisdom about God. Wherefore many, progressing after baptism, and especially those who have been baptized in infancy or early youth, in proportion as their intellect becomes clearer and brighter, while "the inward


U Cor. ii. 14. Â« 1 Cor. iii. 3.

102 ON BAPTIS:

m<e man is renewed day Ly da}^," ^ throw away their former opinions which they held about God while they were mocked with vain imaginings, with scorn and horror and confession of their mistake. And yet they are not therefore considered not to have received baptism, or to have received baptism of a kind corresponding to their error; but in them both the perfection of the sacrament is honoured and the delusion of their mind is corrected, even though it had become inveterate through long confirmation, or been, perhaps, maintained in many controversies. Wherefore even the heretic, who is manifestly without, if he has there received baptism as ordained in the gospel, has certainly not received baptism of a kind corresponding to the error which blinds him. And therefore, if returning into the way of wisdom, he perceives that he ought to relinquish what he has held amiss, he must not at the same time give up the good which he had received; nor because his error is to be condemned, is the baptism of Christ in him to be therefore extinguished. For it is already sufficiently clear, from the case of those who happen to be baptized within the Church with false views about God, that the truth of the sacrament is to be distinguished from the error of him who believes amiss, although both may be found in the same man. And therefore, when any one grounded in any error, even outside the Church, has yet been baptized with the true sacrament, when he is restored to the unity of the Church, a true baptism cannot take the place of a true baptism, as a true faith takes the place of a false one, because a thing cannot take the place of itself, since neither can it give place. Heretics therefore join the Catholic Church to this end, that what they have evil of themselves may be corrected, not that what they have good of God should be repeated.

Chap. xvi. â€” 23. Some one says. Does it then make no difference, if two men, rooted in like error and wickedness, be baptized without change of life or heart, one without, the other within the Church ? I acknowledge that there is a difference. For he is worse who is baptized without, in addition to his other sin, â€” not because of his baptism, however,

1 2 Cor. iv. 16.
but because he is without; for the evil of division is in itself far from insignificant or trivial. Yet the difference exists only if he who is baptized within has desired to be within not for the sake of any earthly or temporal advantage, but because he has preferred the unity of the Church spread throughout the world to the divisions of schism; otherwise he too must be considered among those who are without. Let us therefore put the two cases in this way. Let us suppose that the one, for the sake of argument, held the same opinions as Photinus\(^a\) about Christ, and was baptized in his heresy outside the communion of the Catholic Church; and that another held the same opinion, but was baptized in the Catholic Church, believing that his view was really the Catholic faith. I consider him as not yet a heretic, unless, when the doctrine of the Catholic faith is made clear to him, he chooses to resist it, and prefers that which he already holds; and till this is the case, it is clear that he who was baptized outside is the worse. And so in the one case erroneous opinion alone, in the other the sin of schism also, requires correction; but in neither of them is the truth of the sacrament to be repeated. But if any one holds the same view as the first, and knows that it is only in heresy severed from the Church that such a view is taught or learned, but yet for the sake of some temporal emolument has desired to be baptized in the Catholic unity, or, having been already baptized in it, is unwilling on account of the said emolument to secede from it, he is not only to be considered as seceding, but his offence is aggravated, in so far as to the error of heresy and the division of unity he adds the deceit of hypocrisy. Wherefore the depravity of each man, in proportion as it is more dangerous and wanting in straightforwardness, must be corrected with the more earnestness and energy; and yet, if he has anything that is good in him, especially if it be not of himself, but from God, we ought not to think it of no value because of his depravity, or to be blamed like it, or to be ascribed to it, rather than to His

\(^a\) Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, was condemned and deposed by a synod held in his own city, in 351, for teaching that there was no distinction of persons in the Godhead.
death outside the Church."^ This is most true; for, by being put to death outside the Church, he is proved not to have bad charity, of which the apostle says, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."^ But if martyrdom is of no avail for this reason, because it has not charity, neither does it profit those who, as Paul says, and Cyprian further sets forth, are living within the Church without charity in envy and malice; and yet they can both receive and transmit true baptism. "Salvation," he says, "is not without the Church.""^* Who says that it is? And therefore, whatever men have that belongs to the Church, it profits them nothing towards salvation outside the Church. But it is one things not to have, another to have so as to be of no use. He who has not must be baptized that he may have; but he who has to no avail must be corrected, that what he has may profit him. Nor is the water in the baptism of heretics "adulterous,"* because neither is the creature itself which God made evil, nor is fault to be found with the words of the gospel in the mouths of any who are astray; but the fault is theirs in whom there is an adulterous spirit, even though it may receive the adornment of the sacrament from a lawful spouse. Baptism therefore can "be common to us and the heretics,"* just as the gospel can be common to us, whatever difference there may be between our faith and their error, â€” whether they think


Â» 1 Cor. xiii. 3. * Cypr. l.c

CHAP. XViri.] BAPTISM UNAVAILING WITHOUT UNITY. 105

otherwise than the truth about the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit; or, being cut away from unity, do not gather with Christ, but scatter abroad,^ â€” seeing that the sacrament of baptism can be common to us, if we are the wheat of the Lord, with the covetous within the Church, and with robbers, and drunkards, and other pestilent persons of the same sort, of whom it is said, "They shall not inherit the kingdom of God,"^ and yet the vices by which they are separated from the kingdom of God are not shared by us.

Chap, xviii. â€” 25. Xor, indeed, is it of heresies alone that the apostle says "that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." But it may be worth while to look for a moment at the things which he groups together.
"The works of the flesh," he says, "are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrâ€”h, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." ^ Let us suppose some one, therefore, chaste, continent, free from covetousness, no idolater, hospitable, charitable to the needy, no man's enemy, not contentious, patient, quiet, jealous of none, envying none, sober,
frugal, but a heretic; it is of course clear to all that for this one fault only, that he is a heretic, he will fail to inherit the kingdom of God. Let us suppose another, a fornicator, unclean, lascivious, covetous, or even more openly given to idolatry, a student of witchcraft, a lover of strife and contention, envious, hot-tempered, seditious, jealous, drunken, and a reveller, but a Catholic; can it be that for this sole merit, that he is a Catholic, he will inherit the kingdom of God, though his deeds are of the kind of which the apostle thus concludes: *" Of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God ?" If we say this, we lead ourselves astray. For the word of God does not lead us astray, which is neither silent, nor lenient, nor deceptive. 

'Matt. xii. 30. Â« 1 Cor. vi. 10. Â» Gal. v. 19-21.

106 ON BAPTISM. [cook IV.

through any flattery. Indeed, it speaks to the same effect elsewhere: " For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words." ^ We have no reason, therefore, to complain of the word of God. It certainly says, and says openly and freely, that those who live a wicked life have no part in the kingdom of God.

Chap. xix. â€” 26. Let us therefore not flatter the Catholic who is hemmed in with all these vices, nor venture, merely because he is a Catholic Christian, to promise him the impunity which holy Scripture does not promise him; nor, if he has any one of the faults above mentioned, ought we to promise him a partnership in that heavenly land. For, in writing to the Corinthians, the apostle enumerates the several sins, under each of which it is implicitly understood that it shall not inherit the kingdom of God: " Be not deceived," he says: 

" neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." ^ He does not say, those who possess all these vices together shall not inherit the kingdom of God; but neither these nor those: so that, as each is named, you may understand that no one of them shall inherit the kingdom of God. As, therefore, heretics shall not possess the kingdom of God, so the covetous shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Nor can we indeed doubt that the punishments themselves, with which they shall be tortured who do not inherit the kingdom of God, will vary in proportion to the difference of their offences, and that some will be more severe than others; so that in the eternal fire itself there wiU be different tortures in the punishments, corresponding to the different weights of guilt. For indeed it was not idly that the Lord said, " It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee." ^ But yet, so far as failing to inherit the kingdom of God is concerned, it is just as certain, if you choose any one of the less heinous of
these vices, as if you chose more than one, or some one which you saw was more atrocious; and because those will inherit the kingdom of God whom the Judge shall set on His right hand, and for those who shall not be found worthy to be set at the right hand nothing will remain but to be at the left, no other announcement is left for them to hear like goats from the mouth of the Shepherd, except, "Depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels;"^ though in that fire, as I said before, it may be that different punishments will be awarded corresponding to the difference of the sins.

Chap. xx. â€” 27. But on the question whether we ought to prefer a Catholic of the most abandoned character to a heretic in whose life, except that he is a heretic, men can find nothing to blame, I do not venture to give* a hasty judgment. But if any one says, because he is a heretic, he cannot be this only without other vices also following, â€” for he is carnal and natural, and therefore must be also envious, and hot-tempered, and jealous, and hostile to truth itself, and utterly estranged from it, â€” let him fairly understand, that of those other faults of which he is supposed to have chosen some one less flagrant, a single one cannot exist by itself in any man, because he in turn is carnal and natural; as, to take the case of drunkenness, which people have now become accustomed to talk of not only without horror, but with some degree of merriment, can it possibly exist alone in any one in whom it is found? For what drunkard is not also contentious, and hot-tempered, and jealous, and at variance with all soundness of counsel, and at grievous enmity with those who rebuke him? Further, it is not easy for him to avoid being a fornicator and adulterer, though he may be no heretic; just as a heretic may be no drunkard, nor adulterer, nor fornicator, nor lascivious, nor a lover of money, or given to witchcraft, and cannot well be all these together. JSTor indeed is any one vice followed by all the rest. Supposing, therefore, two men, â€” one a Catholic with all these vices, the other a heretic free from all from which a heretic can be free, â€” although they do not both contend against the faith, and yet

1 Matt. XXV. 41.

108 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

each lives contrary to the faith, and each is deceived by a vain hope, and each is far removed from charity of spirit, and therefore each is severed from connection with the body of the one dove; why do we recognise in one of them the sacrament of Christ, and not in the other, as though it belonged to this or that man, whilst really it is the same in both, and belongs to God alone, and is good even in the worst of men? And if of the men who have it, one is worse than another, it does not follow that the sacrament which they
have is worse in the one than in the other, seeing that neither in the case of two bad Catholics, if one be worse than the other, does he possess a worse baptism, nor, if one of them be good and another bad, is baptism bad in the bad one and good in the good one; but it is good in both. Just as the light of the sun, or even of a lamp, is certainly not less brilliant when displayed to bad eyes than when seen by better ones; but it is the same in the case of both, although it either cheers or hurts them differently according to the difference of their powers.

Chap. xxi. â€” 28. With regard to the objection brought against Cyprian, that the catechumens who were seized in martyrdom, and slain for Christ's name's sake, received a crown even without baptism, I do not quite see what it has to do with the matter, unless, indeed, they urged that heretics could much more be admitted with baptism to Christ's kingdom, to which catechumens were admitted without it, since He Himself has said, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."^-^ Now, in this matter I do not hesitate for a moment to place the Catholic catechumen, who is burning with love for God, before the baptized heretic; nor yet do we thereby do dishonour to the sacrament of baptism which the latter has already received, the former not as yet; nor do we consider that the sacrament of the catechumen^ is to be preferred to the sacrament of baptism, when we acknowledge that some catechumens are better and more faithful than some baptized persons.

For the centurion Cornelius, before baptism, was better than Simon, who had been baptized. For Cornelius, even before his baptism, was filled with the Holy Spirit;^ Simon, even after baptism, was puffed up with an unclean spirit.^ Cornelius, however, would have been convicted of contempt for so holy a sacrament, if, even after he had received the Holy Ghost, he had refused to be baptized. But when he was baptized, he received in no wise a better sacrament than Simon; but the different merits of the men were made manifest under the equal holiness of the same sacrament, â€” so true is it that the good or ill deserving of the recipient does not increase or diminish the holiness of baptism. But as baptism is wanting to a good catechumen to his receiving the kingdom of heaven, so true conversion is wanting to a bad man though baptized. For He who said, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," said also Himself, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."^ For that the righteousness of the catechumens might not feel secure, it is written, "Except a man be

* John iii. 5.

2 Another reading, of less authority, is, ** Aut catechiimeno sacramentiim baptismi praiferendum putamis." This does not suit the sense of the passage, and probably sprung from want of knowledge of the meaning of the *" catochumeus

CHAP. XXI.] BAPTISM AND HOLINESS BOTH REQUISITE. 109

ment of baptism, when we acknowledge that some catechumens are better and more faithful than some baptized persons.

For the centurion Cornelius, before baptism, was better than Simon, who had been baptized. For Cornelius, even before his baptism, was filled with the Holy Spirit;^ Simon, even after baptism, was puffed up with an unclean spirit.^ Cornelius, however, would have been convicted of contempt for so holy a sacrament, if, even after he had received the Holy Ghost, he had refused to be baptized. But when he was baptized, he received in no wise a better sacrament than Simon; but the different merits of the men were made manifest under the equal holiness of the same sacrament, â€” so true is it that the good or ill deserving of the recipient does not increase or diminish the holiness of baptism. But as baptism is wanting to a good catechumen to his receiving the kingdom of heaven, so true conversion is wanting to a bad man though baptized. For He who said, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," said also Himself, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."^ For that the righteousness of the catechumens might not feel secure, it is written, "Except a man be
born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And again, that the unrighteousness of the baptized might not feel secure because they had received baptism, it is written, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." The one were too little without the other; the two make perfect the heir of that inheritance. As, then, we ought not to depreciate a man's righteousness, which begins to exist before he is joined to the Church, as the righteousness of Cor-
sacrament." It is mentioned in the third Council of Carthage as "the sacrament of salt" (Cone. Carth. 3, can. 5). Augustine {de Peccat. Meritis, ii. c. 26) says that "what the catechumens receive, though it be not the body of Christ, yet is holy, more holy than the food whereby our bodies are sustained, because it is a sacrament." â€” Cp. de Catech. liudibus, c. 26. It appears to have been only a taste of salt, given them as the emblem of purity and incorruption. See Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book x. c. ii. 16.

Â» Acta X. 44. 2 Acts viii. 13, 18, 19. 3 ^att. v. 20.

110 ON BAPTISM. [cook IV,

nelius began to exist before he was in the body of Christian men, â€” which righteousness was not thought worthless, or the angel would not have said to him, " Thy prayers and thine alms are come up as a memorial before God;" nor did it yet suffice for his obtaining the kingdom of heaven, or he would not have been told to send to Peter,^ â€” so neither ought we to depreciate the sacrament of baptism, even though it has been received outside the Church. But since it is of no avail for salvation unless he who has baptism indeed in full perfection be incorporated into the Church, correcting also his own depravity, let us therefore correct the error of the heretics, that we may recognise what in them is not their own but Christ's.

Chap. xxii. â€” 29. That the place of baptism is sometimes supplied by martyrdom is supported by an argument by no means trivial, which the blessed Cyprian adduces^ from the thief, to whom, though he was not baptized, it was yet said, " To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise."^ On considering which' again and again, I find that not only martyrdom for the sake of Christ may supply what was wanting of baptism, but also faith and conversion of heart, if recourse may not be had to the celebration of the mystery of baptism for want of time.*

For neither was that thief crucified for the name of Christ, but as the reward of his own deeds; nor did he suffer because he believed, but he believed while suffering. It was shown, therefore, in the case of that thief, how great is the power, even without the visible sacrament of baptism, of what the apostle says, " With the heart man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."^ But the want is supplied invisibly only when the administration of baptism is prevented, not by contempt for religion, but by the necessity of the moment. For much more in the case of Cornelius
and his friends, than in the case of that robber, might it seem superfluous that they should also be baptized with water, seeing that in them the gift of the Holy Spirit,


^ In Retract, ii. 18, Augustine expresses a doubt whether the thief may not have been baptized.

* Rom. X. 10.

CHAP. XXIII.] BAPTISM ALMOST ALWAYS INDISPENSABLE. III

which, according to the testimony of holy Scripture, was received by other men only after baptism, had made itself manifest by every unmistakable sign appropriate to those times when they spoke with tongues. Yet they were baptized, and for this action we have the authority of an apostle as the warrant. So far ought all of us to be from being induced by any perfection in the inner man, if it so happen that before baptism a person has advanced, through the workings of a pious heart, to spiritual understanding, to despise a sacrament which is applied to the body by the hands of the minister, but which is God's own means for working spiritually a man's dedication to Himself. "Nov do I conceive that the function of baptizing was assigned to John, so that it should be called John's baptism, for any other reason except that the Lord Himself, who had appointed it, in not disdaining to receive the baptism of His servant,^ might consecrate the path of humility, and show most plainly by such an action how high a value was to be placed on His own baptism, with which He Himself was afterwards to baptize. For He saw, like an excellent physician of eternal salvation, that overweening pride would be found in some, who, having made such progress in the understanding of the truth and in uprightness of character that they would not hesitate to place themselves, both in life and knowledge, above many that were baptized, would think it was unnecessary for them to be baptized, since they felt that they had attained a frame of mind to which many that were baptized were still only endeavouring to raise themselves.

Chap, xxiii à€” 30. But what is the precise value of the sanctification of the sacrament (which that thief did not receive, not from any want of will on his part, but because it was unavoidably omitted), and what is the effect on a man of its material application, it is not easy to say. Still, had it not been of the greatest value, the Lord would not have received the baptism of a servant. But since we must look at it in itself, without entering upon the question of the salvation of the recipient, which it is intended to work, it shows clearly

1 Matt, iil 6, 13.

112 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]
enoucjli that both in the bad, and in those who renounce the world in word and not in deed, it is itself complete, though they cannot receive salvation unless they amend their lives.

But as in the thief, to whom the material administration of the sacrament was necessarily wanting, the salvation was complete, because it was spiritually present through his piety, so, when the sacrament itself is present, salvation is complete, if what the thief possessed be unavoidably wanting. And this is the firm tradition of the universal Church, in respect of the baptism of infants, who certainly are as yet unable " with the heart to believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth to make confession unto salvation," as the thief could do; nay, who even, by crying and moaning when the mystery is performed upon them, raise their voices in opposition to the mysterious words, and yet no Christian will say that they are baptized to no purpose.

Chap. xxiv. â€” 31. And if any one seek for divine authority in this matter, though what is held by the whole Church, and that not as instituted by Councils, but as a matter of invariable custom, is rightly held to have been handed down by apostolical authority, still we can form a true conjecture of the value of the sacrament of baptism in the case of infants, from the parallel of circumcision, which was received by God's earlier people, and before receiving which Abraham was justified, as Cornelius also was enriched with the gift of the Holy Spirit before he was baptized. Yet the apostle says of Abraham himself, that "he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith," having already believed in his heart, so that "it was counted unto him for righteousness."^ Why, therefore, was it commanded him that he should circumcise every male child in order on the eighth day,"^ though it could not yet believe with the heart, that it should be counted unto it for righteousness, unless because the sacrament in itself was of great avail? And this was made manifest by the message of an angel in the case of Moses' son; for when he was carried by his mother, being yet un circumcised, it was required, by manifest present peril, that he should

1 Kom. iv. 11, 3. Â» Gen. xvii. 9-H.

CHAP. XXV.] INFANTS CAPABLE OF BAPTISM. 113

be circumcised,"^ and when this was done, the danger of death was removed. As therefore in Abraham the justification of faith came first, and circumcision was added afterwards as the seal of faith; so in Cornelius the spiritual sanctification came first in the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the sacrament of retrerneration was added afterwards in the laver of baptism. And as in Isaac, who was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, the seal of this righteousness of faith was given first, and afterwards, as he imitated the faith of his father, the righteousness itself followed as he grew up, of which the seal had been given before when he was an infant; so in infants, who are baptized, the sacrament of regeneration is given first, and if they maintain a Christian piety, conversion also in the heart will follow, of which the mysterious sign had gone before in the outward body. And as in the thief the gracious goodness of the Almighty supplied what had been wanting in
the sacrament of baptism, because it had been missing not from pride or contempt, but from want of opportunity; so in infants who die baptized, we must believe that the same grace of the Almighty supplies the want, that, not from perversity of will, but from insufficiency of age, they can neither believe with the heart unto righteousness, nor make confession with the mouth unto salvation. Therefore, when others take the vows for them, that the celebration of the sacrament may be complete in their behalf, it is unquestionably of avail for their dedication to God, because they cannot answer for themselves. But if another were to answer for one who could answer for himself, it would not be of the same avail. In accordance with which rule, we find in the gospel what strikes every one as natural when he reads it, "He is of age, he shall speak for himself."^  

CiiAP. XXV. â€” 32. By all these considerations it is proved that the sacrament of baptism is one thing, the conversion of the heart another; but that man's salvation is made complete through the two together. 'Nor are we to suppose that, if one of these be wanting, it necessarily follows that the other is wanting also; because the sacrament may exist in the infant.

1 Ex. iv. 24. 2 joijn i^. 21.

1 H

114 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK IV.]

without the conversion of the heart; and this was found to be possible without the sacrament in the case of the thief, God in either case filling up what was involuntarily wanting. But when either of these requisites is wanting intentionally, then the man is responsible for the omission. And baptism may exist when the conversion of the heart is wanting; but, with respect to such conversion, it may indeed be found when baptism has not been received, but never when it has been despised. ISTor can there be said in any way to be a turning of the heart to God when the sacrament of God is treated with contempt. Therefore we are right in censuring, anathematizing, abhorring, and abominating the perversity of heart shown by heretics; yet it does not follow that they have not the sacrament of the gospel, because they have not what makes it of avail. AWherefore, when they come to the true faith, and by penitence seek remission of their sins, we are not flattering or deceiving them, when we instruct them by heavenly discipline for the kingdom of heaven, correcting and reforming in them their errors and perverseness, to the intent that we may by no means do violence to what is sound in them, nor, because of man's fault, declare that anything which he may have in him from God is either valueless or faulty.

Chap. xxvi. â€” 33. A few things still remain to be noticed in the epistle to Jubaianus; but since these will raise the question both of the past custom of the Church and of the baptism of John, which is wont to excite no small doubt in those who pay slight attention
to a matter which is sufficiently obvious, seeing that those who had received the baptism of John were commanded by the apostle to be baptized again.\(^\text{^\textsuperscript{1}}\) they are not to be treated in a hasty manner, and had better be reserved for another book, that the dimensions of this may not be inconveniently large.

\(^\text{^\textsuperscript{1}}\) Acts xix. 3-5.

CHAP. I.] THE QUESTION WITH THE DONATISTS. 115

BOOK FIFTH.

HE EXAMINES THE LAST PART OF THE EPISTLE OF CYPRIAN TO JUBAIANUS, TOGETHER WITH HIS EPISTLE TO QUINTUS, THE LETTER OF THE AFRICAN SYNOD TO THE NUMIDIAN BISHOPS, AND CYPRIAN'S EPISTLE TO POMPEIUS.

CHAP. I. â€“ 1. "We have the testimony of the blessed C}^rian, that the custom of the Catholic Church is at present retained, when men coming from the side of heretics or schismatics, if they have received baptism as consecrated in the words of the gospel, are not baptized afresh. For he himself proposed to himself the question, and that as coming from the mouth of brethren either seeking the truth or contending for the truth. For in the course of the arguments by which he wished to show that heretics should be baptized again, which we have sufficiently considered for our present purpose in the former books, he says: " But some will say, AVTiat then will become of those who in times past, coming to the Church from heresy, were admitted without baptism ? " ^

In this question is involved the shipwreck of the whole cause of the Donatists, with whom our contest is on this point. For if those had not really baptism who were thus received on coming from heretics, and their sins were still upon them, then, when such men were admitted to communion, either by Cyprian himself, or by those who came before him, we must ' acknowledge that one of two things occurred, â€” either that the 1 Church perished then and there from the pollution of communion with such men, or that any one abiding in unity is not injured by even the notorious sins of other men. But since they cannot say that the Church then perished through the contamination arising from communion with those who, i as Cyprian says, were admitted into it without baptism, â€” for '1 otherwise they cannot maintain the validity of their own origin


116 ON BAPTisir. [BOOK V.]
if the Church then perished, seeing that the list of consuls proves that more than forty
years elapsed between the martyrdom of Cyprian and the burning of the sacred books/
from which they took occasion to make a schism, spreading abroad the smoke of their
calumnies, â€” it therefore is left for them to acknowledge that the unity of Christ is not
polluted by any such communion, even with known offenders. And, after this confession,
they will be unable to discover any reason which will justify them in maintaining that
they were bound to separate from the churches of the whole world, which, as we read,
were equally founded by the apostles, seeing that, while the others could not have
perished from any admixture of offenders, of whatsoever kind, they, though they would
not have perished if they had remained in unity with them, brought destruction on
themselves in schism, by separating themselves from their brethren, and breaking the
bond of peace. For the sacrilege of schism is most clearly evident in them, if they had no
sufficient cause for separation. And it is clear that there was no sufficient cause for
separation, if even the presence of notorious offenders cannot pollute the good while they
abide in unity. But that the good, abiding in unity, are not polluted even by notorious
offenders, we teach on the testimony of Cyprian, who says that "men in past times,
coming to the Church from heresy, were admitted without baptism;" and yet, if the
wickedness of their sacrilege, which was still upon them, seeing it had not been purged
away by baptism, could not pollute and destroy the holiness of the Church, it cannot
perish by any infection from wicked men. Wherefore, if they allow that Cyprian spoke
the truth, they are convicted of schism on his testimony; if they maintain that he does not
speak truth, let them not use his testimony on the question of baptism.

CHAP. 11. — 2. But now that we have begun a disputation with a man of peace like
Cyprian, let us go on. For when he had brought an objection against himself, which he
knew was urged by his brethren, "What then will become of those who in times past,
coming to the Church from heresy, were admitted without baptism?" the Lord," he answers, "is able of His mercy to grant
indulgence, and not to separate from the gifts of His Church those who, being admitted in
all honesty to His Church, have fallen asleep within the Church." Well indeed has he
assumed that charity can cover the multitude of sins. But if they really had baptism, and
this were not rightly perceived by those who thought that they should be baptized again,
that error was covered by the charity of unity so long as it contained, not the discord
and spirit of the devil, but merely human infirmity, until, as the apostle says, "if they were
otherwise minded, the Lord should reveal it to them." 

But woe unto those who, being torn asunder from unity by a sacrilegious rupture, either
rebaptize, if baptism exists with both us and them, or do not baptize at all, if baptism exist

^ See below, Book vii. c. ii.
in the Catholic Church only. Whether, therefore, they rebaptize, or fail to baptize, they are not in the bond of peace; wherefore let them apply a remedy to which they please of these two wounds. But if we admit to the Church without baptism, we are of the number of those who, as Cyprian has assumed, may receive pardon because they preserved unity. But if (as is, I think, already clear from what has been said in the earlier books) Christian baptism can preserve its integrity even amid the perversity of heretics, then even though any in those times did rebaptize, yet without departing from the bond of unity, they might still attain to pardon in virtue of that same love of peace, through which Cyprian bears witness that those admitted even without baptism might obtain that they should not be separated from the gifts of the Church. Further, if it is true that with heretics and schismatics the baptism of Christ does not exist, how much less could the sins of others hurt those who were fixed in unity, if even men's own sins were forgiven when they came to it even without baptism! For if, according to Cyprian, the bond of unity is of such efficacy, how could they be hurt by other men's sins, who were unwilling to separate themselves from unity, if even the unbaptized, who wished to come to it from heresy, thereby escaped the destruction due to their own sins?

1 Phil. iii. 15.

II^ ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

CiiAP. III. â€” 3. But in what Cyprian adds, saying, "iSTor yet because men once have erred must there be always error, since it rather befits wise and God-fearing men gladly and unhesitatingly to follow truth, when it is clearly laid before their eyes, than obstinately and persistently to fight for heretics against their brethren and their fellow-priests," he is uttering the most perfect truth; and the man who resists the manifest truth is opposing himself rather than his neighbours. But, so far as I can judge, it is perfectly clear and certain, from the many arguments which I have already adduced, that the baptism of Christ cannot be invalidated even by the perversity of heretics, when it is given or received among them. But, granting that it is not yet certain, at any rate no one who has considered what has been said, even from a hostile point of view, will assert that the question has been decided the other way. Therefore we are not striving against manifest truth, but either, as I think, we are striving in behalf of what is clearly true, or, at any rate, as those may hold who think that the question has not yet been solved, we are seeking for the truth. And therefore, if the truth be other than we think, yet we are receiving those baptized by heretics with the same honesty of heart with which those received them whom Cyprian supposed, in virtue of their cleaving to the unity of the Church, to be capable of pardon. But if the baptism of Christ, as is indicated by the many arguments used above, can retain its integrity amid any defect either of life or faith, whether on the part of those who seem to be within, and yet do not belong to the members of the one dove, or on the part of those whose severance from her extends to being openly without, then those who sought its repetition in those former days deserved the same pardon for their charity in clinging
to unity, which Cyprian thought that those deserved for charity of the same kind whom he believed to have been admitted without baptism. They therefore who, without any cause (since, as Cyprian himself shows, the bad cannot hurt the good in the unity of the Church), have cut themselves off from the charity which is shown in this unity, have lost 'all place of pardon, and whilst they would incur destruction by the very crime of schism, even though they did not rebaptize

CHAP. IV.] SAFETY IS WITH THE CATHOLICS. 119

those who had been baptized in the Catholic Church, of how bitter punishment are they deserving, who are either endeavouring to give to the Catholics who have it what Cyprian affirms that they themselves have not, or, as is clear from the facts of the case, are bringing as a charge against the Catholic Church that she has not what even they themselves possess?

Chap. iv. â€” 4. But since now, as I said before, we have begun a disputation with the epistles of Cyprian, I think that I should not seem even to him, if he were present, "to be contending obstinately and persistently in defence of heretics against my brethren and my fellow-priests," when he learned the powerful reasons which move us to believe that even among heretics, who are perversely obstinate in their malignant error, the baptism of Christ is yet in itself most holy, and most highly to be reverenced. And seeing that he himself, whose testimony has such weight with us, bears witness that they were wont in past times to be admitted without a second baptism, I would have any one, who is induced by Cyprian's arguments to hold it as certain that heretics ought to be baptized afresh, yet consider that those who, on account of the weight of the arguments on the other side, are not as yet persuaded that this should be so, hold the same place as those in past time, who in all honesty admitted men who were baptized in heresy on the simple correction of their individual error, and who were capable of salvation with them in virtue of the bond of unity. And let any one, who is led by the past custom of the Church, and by the subsequent authority of a general Council, and by so many powerful proofs from holy Scripture, and by much evidence from Cyprian himself, and by the clear reasoning of truth, to understand that the baptism of Christ, consecrated in the words of the gospel, cannot be perverted by the error of any man on earth, â€” let such an one understand, that they who then thought otherwise, but yet preserved their charity, can be saved by the same bond of unity. And herein he should also understand of those who, in the society of the Church dispersed throughout the world, could not have been defiled by any tares, by any chaff, so long as they themselves desired to be

120 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]
fruitful corn, and who therefore severed themselves from the same bond of unity without any cause for the divorce, that at any rate, whichever of the two opinions be true, â€” that which Cyprian then held, or that which was maintained by the universal voice of the Catholic Church, which Cyprian did not abandon, â€” in either case they, having most openly placed themselves outside in the plain sacrilege of schism, cannot possibly be saved, and all that they possess of the holy sacraments, and of the free gifts of the one legitimate Bridegroom, is of avail, while they continue what they are, for their confusion rather than the salvation of their souls.

Chap. v. â€” 5. Wherefore, even if heretics should be truly anxious to correct their error and come to the Church, for the very reason that they believed that they had no baptism unless they received it in the Church, even under these circumstances we should not be bound to yield to their desire for the repetition of baptism; but rather they should be taught, on the one hand, that baptism, though perfect in itself, could in no way profit their perversity if they would not submit to be corrected; and, on the other hand, that the perfection of baptism could not be impaired by their perversity, while refusing to be corrected: and again, that no further perfection is added to baptism in them because they are submitting to correction; but that, while they themselves are quitting their iniquity, that which was before within them to their destruction is now beginning to be of profit for salvation. Tor, learning this, they will both recognise the need of salvation in Catholic unity, and will cease to claim as their own what is really Christ's, and will not confound the sacrament of truth, although existing in themselves, with their own individual error.

6. To this we may add a further reason, that men, by a sort of hidden inspiration from heaven, shrink from any one who for the second time receives baptism which he had already received in any quarter whatsoever, insomuch that the very heretics themselves, when their arguments start with that subject, rub their forehead in perplexity, and almost all their laity, even those who have grown old in their body, and

CHAP. VI.] SECOND BAPTISM GENERALLY DISLIKED. 121

have conceived an obstinate animosity against the Catholic Church, confess that this one point in their system displeases them; and many who, for the sake of gaining some secular advantage, or avoiding some disadvantage, wish to secede to them, strive with many secret efforts that they may have granted to them, as a peculiar and individual privilege, that they should not be rebaptized; and some, who are led to place credence in their other vain delusions and false accusations against the Catholic Church, are recalled to unity by this one consideration, that they are unwilling to associate with them lest they should be compelled to be rebaptized. And the Donatists, through fear of this feeling, which has so thorough possession of all men's hearts, have consented to acknowledge the baptism which was conferred among the followers of Maximianus, whom they had
condemned, and so to cut short their own tongues and close their mouths, in preference to 
baptizing again so many men of the people of Musti, and Assurae, and other districts, 
whom they received with Felicianus and Prsetextatus, and the others who had been 
condemned by them and afterwards returned to them.

Chap, vl â€” 7. For when this is done occasionally in the case of individuals, at great 
intervals of time and space, the enormity of the deed is not equally felt; but if all were 
suddenly to be brought together who had been baptized in course of time by the aforesaid 
followers of Maximianus, either under pressure of the peril of death or at their Easter 
solemnities, and it were told them that they must be baptized again, because what they 
had already received in the sacrilege of schism was null and void, they might indeed say 
what obstinate perseverance in their error would compel them to say, that they might hide 
the rigour and iciness of their hardness under any kind of false shade of consistency 
against the warmth of truth. But in fact, because the party of Maximianus could not bear 
this, and because the very men who would have to enforce it could not endure what must 
needs have been done in the case of so many men at once, especially as those very men 
would be rebaptizing them in the party of Primianua who had akeady baptized them in 
the party of

122 ON BArTiSM. [BOOK V.]

Maximianus, for these reasons their baptism was received, and the pride of the Donatists 
was cut short. And this course they would certainly not have chosen to adopt, had they 
not thou<Tht that more harm would have been done to their cause by the offence men 
would have taken at the repetition of the baptism, than by the reputation lost in 
abandoning their defence. And this I would not say with any idea that we ought to be 
restrained by consideration of human feelings, if the truth compelled those who came 
from heretics to be baptized afresh. But because the holy C^T^rian says, " that heretics 
might have been all the more impelled to the necessity of coming over, if only they were 
to be rebaptized in the Catholic Church,"^- on this account I have wished to place on 
record the intensity of the repugnance to this act which is seated deeply in the heart of 
nearly every one, â€” a repugnance which I can believe was inspired by God Himself, 
that the Church might be fortified by the instinct of repugnance against any possible 
arguments which the weak cannot dispel.

Chap. vii. â€” 8. Truly, when I look at the actual words of Cyprian, I am warned to say 
some things which are very necessary for the solution of this question. "For if they were 
to see," he says, " that it was settled and established by our formal decision and vote, that 
the baptism with which they are baptized in heresy is considered just and lawful, they 
will think that they are in just and lawful possession of the Church also, and all its other 
gifts." He does not say " that they will think they are in possession," 
but " in just and lawful possession of the gifts of the Church."
But we say that we cannot allow that they are in just and lawful possession of baptism. That they are in possession of it we cannot deny, when we recognise the sacrament of the Lord in the words of the gospel. They have therefore lawful baptism, but they do not have it lawfully. For whosoever has it both in Catholic unity, and living worthily of it, both has lawful baptism and has it lawfully; but whosoever has it either within the Catholic Church itself, as chaff mixed with the wheat, or outside, as chaff carried away by the wind, has


I CHAP, viii] baptism not always used lawfully. 123

indeed lawful baptism, but not lawfully. For he lies it as he uses it. But the man does not use it lawfully who uses it against the law, â€” which every one does, who, being baptized, yet leads an abandoned life, whether inside or without the Church.

Chap, viii] â€” 9. Wherefore, as the apostle said of the law, "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully," ^ so we may fairly say of baptism. Baptism is good, if a man use it lawfully. And as they who used the law unlawfully could not â€” that is, could not cause that it should not be in itself good, or make it null and void, so any one who uses baptism unlawfully, either because he lives in heresy, or because he lives the worst of lives, yet cannot cause that the baptism should be otherwise than good, or altogether null and void. And so, when he is converted either to Catholic unity, or to a mode of living worthy of so great a sacrament, he begins to have not another and a lawful baptism, but that same baptism in a lawful manner. !Nor does the remission of irrevocable sins follow on baptism, unless a man not only have lawful baptism, but have it lawfully; and yet it does not follow that if a man have it not lawfully, so that his sins are either not remitted, or, being remitted, are brought on him again, therefore the sacrament of baptism should be in the baptized person either bad or null and void. For as Judas, to whom the Lord gave a morsel, gave a place within himself to the devil, not by receiving what was bad, but by receiving it badly, ^ so each person, on receiving the sacrament of the Lord, does not cause that it is bad because he is bad himself, or that he has received nothing because he has not received it to salvation. For it was none the less the body of the Lord and the blood of the Lord, even in those to whom the apostle said, "He that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself." ^ Let the heretics therefore seek in the Catholic Church not what they have, but what they have not, â€” that is, the end of the commandment, without which many holy things may be possessed, but they cannot profit. " Now, the end of the commandment is

â€” 1 Tim. i. 8. 2 John xiii. 27. ^ i q^j, ^ i. 29.
124 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." Let them therefore hasten to the unity and truth of the Catholic Church, not that they may have the sacrament of washing, if they have been already bathed in it, although in heresy, but that they may have it to their health.

Chap. ix. â€” 10. Now we must see what is said of the baptism of John. For we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that those who had already been baptized with the baptism of John were yet baptized by Paul," simply because the baptism of John was not the baptism of Christ, but a baptism allowed by Christ to John, so as to be called especially John's baptism; as the same John says, " A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven." And that he might not possibly seem to receive this from God the Father in such wise as not to receive it from the Son, speaking presently of Christ Himself, he says, " Of His fulness have we all received." * But by the grace of a certain dispensation John received this, which was to last not for long, but only long enough to prepare for the Lord the way in which he must needs be the forerunner. And as our Lord was presently to enter on this way with all humility, and to lead those who humbly followed Him to perfection, as He washed the feet of His servants, so was He willing to be baptized with the baptism of a servant. For as He set Himself to minister to the feet of those whose guide He was Himself, so He submitted Llimself to the gift of John which He Himself had given, that all might understand what sacrilegious arrogance they would show in despising the baptism which they ought each of them to receive from the Lord, when the Lord Himself accepted what He Himself had bestowed upon a servant, that he might give it as his own; and that when John, than whom no greater had arisen among them that are born of women, bore such testimony to Christ, as to confess that he was not worthy to unloose the latchet of His shoe,* Christ

* 1 Tim. i. 5. ^ YV^- P- Ixxiii. sec. 21; Acts xix. 3-5.

* John iii. 27. * John i. 16. â€¢> John xiii. 4, 5.

8 Matt. iii. 13. 7 Matt. xi. 11. 8 johu i. 27.

CHAP. IX.] THE BAPTISM OF JOHN. 125

might both, by receiving his baptism, be found to be the humblest among men, and, by taking away the place for the baptism of John, be believed to be the most high God, at once the teacher of humility and the giver of exaltation.

11. For to none of the prophets, to no one at all in holy Scripture, do we read that it was granted to baptize in the water of repentance for the remission of sins, as it was granted to John; that, causing the hearts of the people to hang upon liim through this marvellous
grace, he might prepare in them the way for Him whom he declared to be so infinitely
greater than himself. But the Lord Jesus Christ cleanses His Church by such a baptism
that on receiving it no other is required; while John gave a first washing with such a
baptism that on receiving it there was further need of the baptism of the Lord, â€” not that
the first baptism should be repeated, but that the baptism of Christ, for whom he was
preparing the way, might be further bestowed on those who had received the baptism of
John.
For if Christ's humility were not to be commended to our notice, neither would there be
any need of the baptism of John; again, if the end were in John, after his baptism there
would be no need of the baptism of Christ. But because " Christ is the end of the law for
righteousness to every one that believeth," ^ it was shown by John to whom men should
go, and in whom, when they had reached Him, they should rest. The same John,
therefore, set forth both the exalted nature of the Lord, when he placed Him far before
himself, and His humility, when he baptized Him as the lowest of the people. But if John
had baptized Christ alone, he would be thought to have been the dispenser of a better
baptism, in that with which Christ alone was baptized, than the baptism of Christ with
which Christians are baptized; and again, if all ought to be baptized first with the baptism
of John, and then with that of Christ, the baptism of Christ would deservedly seem to be
lacking in fulness and perfection, as not sufficing for salvation. Wherefore the Lord was
baptized with the baptism of John, that He might bend the proud necks of men to His own
health-giving baptism; and

* Rom. X. 4.

126 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

He was not alone baptized with it, lest He should show His own to be inferior to this,
with which none but He Himself had deserved to be baptized; and He did not allow it to continue longer, lest the one
baptism with which He baptizes might seem to need the other to precede it.

Chap. x. â€” I ask, therefore, if sins were remitted by the baptism of John, what more
could the baptism of Christ confer on those whom the Apostle Paul desired to be baptized
with the baptism of Christ after they had received the baptism of John ? But if sins were
not remitted by the baptism of John, were those men in the days of Cyprian better than
John, of whom he says himself that they " used to seize on estates by treacherous frauds,
and increase their gains by accumulated usuries," ^ through whose administration of
baptism the remission of sins was yet conferred ? Or was it because they were contained
within the unity of the Church ? What then ? Was John not contained within that unity,
the friend of the Bridegroom, the preparer of the way of the Lord, the baptizer of the Lord
Himself ? Who will be mad enough to assert this ?
AVherefore, although my belief is that John so baptized with the water of repentance for
the remission of sins, that those who were baptized by him received the expectation of the
remission of their sins, the actual remission taking place in the baptism of the Lord, â€”
just as the resurrection which is expected at the last day is fulfilled in hope in us, as the
apostle says, that " He hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly
places in Christ Jesus;" ^ and again, "Por we are saved by hope;" ^ or as again John
himself, while he says, " I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, for the
remission of your sins,"* yet says, on seeing our Lord, " Behold the Lamb of God, which
taketh away the sin of the world," ^ Nevertheless I am not disposed to contend
vehemently against any one who maintains that sins were remitted even in the baptism of
John, but that some fuller sanctification was conferred by the baptism of Christ on those
whom Paul ordered to be baptized anew. ^


* ]latt. iii. 11. Â» John i. 29. 6 Acts xix. 3-5.

CHAP. XII.] JOHN'S BAPTISM DIFFERENT FROM CIIRIST's. 127

Ci\AP. XL â€” 13. For we must look at the point which especially concerns the matter
before us (whatever be the nature of the baptism of John, since it is clear that he belongs
to the unity of Christ), viz., what is the reason for which it was right that men should be
baptized again after receiving the baptism of the holy John, and why they ought not to be
baptized again after receiving the baptism of the covetous bishops. For no one denies that
in the Lord's field John was as wheat, bearing an hundred-fold, if that be the highest rate
of increase; also no one doubts that covetousness, which is idolatry, is reckoned in the
Lord's harvest among the chaff.

Why then is a man baptized again after receiving baptism from the wheat, and not after
receiving it from the chaff? If it was because he was better than John that Paul baptized
after John, why did not also Cyprian baptize after his usurious colleagues, than whom he
was better beyond all comparison?

If it was because they were in unity with him that he did not baptize after such
colleagues, neither ought Paul to have baptized after John, because they were joined
together in the same unity. Can it be that defrauders and extortioners belong to the
members of that one dove, and that he does not belong to it to whom the full power of the
Lord Jesus Christ was shown by the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove? ^

Truly he belongs most closely to it; but the others, who must be separated from it either
by the occasion of some scandal, or by the winnowing at the last day, do not by any
means belong to it, and yet baptism was repeated after John and not after them. What
then is the cause, except that the baptism which Paul ordered them to receive was not the
same as that which was given at the hands of John? And so in the same unity of the
Church, the baptism of Christ cannot be repeated though it be given by an usurious
minister; but those who receive the baptism of John, even from the hands of John
himself, ought to be afterwards baptized with the baptism of Christ.

Ci\AP. xii. â€” 14. Accordingly, I too might use the words of the blessed Cyprian to turn
the hearts of those that hear me
to the consideration of something truly marvellous, if I were to say "that John, who was accounted greater among the prophets, â€” he who was filled with divine grace while yet in his mother's womb; he who was upheld in the spirit and power of Elias; who was not the adversary, but a forerunner and herald of the Lord; who not only foretold our Lord in words, but also showed Him to the sight; who baptized Christ Himself, through whom all others are baptized,"â€”he was not worthy to baptize in such wise that those who were baptized by him should not be baptized again after him; and shall no one think that a man should be baptized in the Church after he had been baptized by the covetous, by defrauders, by extortioners, by usurers? Is not the answer ready to this invidious question. Why do you think this unmeet, as though either John were dishonoured, or the covetous man honoured?
But His baptism ought not to be repeated, of whom John says, "The same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost."^ Fox whoever be the minister by whose hands it is given, it is His baptism of whom it was said, "The same is He which baptizeth." But neither was the baptism of John himself repeated, when the Apostle Paul commanded those who had been baptized by him to be baptized in Christ. For what they had not received from the friend of the Bridegroom, this it was right that they should receive from the Bridegroom Himself, of whom that friend had said, "The same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost."

128 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

Chap. xiii. â€” 15. For the Lord Jesus might, if He had so thought fit, have given the power of His baptism to some one or more of His chief servants, whom He had already made His friends, such as those to whom He says, "Henceforth I call you not servants, but friends:"^ that, as Aaron was shown to be the priest by the rod that budded,* so in His Church, when more and greater miracles are performed, the ministers of more excellent holiness, and the dispensers of His mysteries, might be made manifest by some sign, as those who alone ought to baptize. But if this had been done, then though the power

^ Cypr. Ep. Ixxiii. sec. 22. ' John i. 33.


CHAP. xiIT.] cnrJST's baptism by john. 129

of baptizing were given them by the Lord, yet it would necessarily be called their ow^n baptism, as in the case of the baptism of John. And so Paul gives thanks to God that he baptized none of those men who, as though forgetting in whose name they had been
baptized, were for dividing themselves into factions under the names of different individuals. For when baptism is as valid at the hands of a contemptible man as it was when given by an apostle, it is recognised as the baptism neither of this man nor of that, but of Christ; as John bears witness that he learned, in the case of the Lord Himself, through the appearance of the dove. For in what other respect he said, " And I knew Him not," I cannot clearly see. For if he had not known Him in any sense, he could not have said to Him when He came to his baptism, " I have need to be baptized of Thee." What is it, therefore, that he says, " I Saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode on Him. And I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me. Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost ?" The dove clearly descended on Him after He was baptized. But while He was yet coming to be baptized, John had said, " I have need to be baptized of Thee." He therefore already knew Him. What does he therefore mean by the words, " I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me. Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," since this took place after He was baptized, unless it were that he knew Him in respect of certain attributes, and in respect of others knew Him not ? He knew Him, indeed, as the Son of God, the Bridegroom, of whose fulness all should receive; but whereas of His fulness he himself had so received the power of baptizing that it should be called the baptism of John, he did not know whether He would so give it to others also, or whether He would have His own baptism in such wise, that at whose soever hands it was given, whether by a man that brought forth fruit a hundred-fold, or sixty-fold, or thirty-fold, or sixty-fold, or thirty-fold, whether by the wheat or by the chaff, it should be known to be of Him alone; and this he learned through the Spirit descending like a dove, and abiding on Him.

Chap. xiv. â€” 16. Accordingly we find the apostles using the expressions, "My glorying," though it was certainly in the Lord; and "Mine office," "My knowledge," and "My gospel," although it was confessedly bestowed and given by the Lord; but no one of them ever once said, " My baptism." Eor neither is the glorying of all of them equal, nor do they all minister with equal powers, nor are they all endowed with equal knowledge, and in preaching the gospel one works more forcibly than another, and so one may be said to be more learned than another in the doctrine of salvation itseK; but one cannot be said to be more or less baptized than another, whether he be baptized by a greater or a less worthy minister. So when " the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred,
variance, emulations, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; "^ if it be strange that it should be said, " Men were baptized after John, and are not baptized after heretics," why is it not equally strange that it should be said, " Men were baptized after John, and are not baptized after the envious," seeing that Cyprian himself bears witness in his epistle concerning envy and malignity that the covetous are of the party of the devil, and Cyprian himself makes it manifest from the words of the Apostle Paul, as we have shown above, that in the time of the apostles themselves there were envious persons in the Church of Christ among the very preachers of the name of Christ?

Chap. xv. â€” 17. That therefore the baptism of John was not the same as the baptism of Christ, has, I think, been shown with sufficient clearness; and therefore no argument can be drawn from it that baptism should be repeated after heretics because it was repeated after John: since John was not a heretic, and could have a baptism, which, though granted by Christ, was yet not the very baptism of Christ, seeing that he had the love of Christ; while a heretic can have at once the baptism of Christ and the perversity of the devil, as another within the Church may have at once the baptism of Christ and the envy of the devil.

18. But it will be urged that baptism after a heretic is much more requii'ed, because John was not a heretic, and yet baptism was repeated after him. On this principle, a man may say, much more must we rebaptize after a drunkard, because John "svas sober, and yet baptism was repeated after him. And we shall have no answer to make to such a man, save that the baptism of Clmst was given to those who were baptized by John, because they had it not; but where men have the baptism of Christ, no iniquity on their part can possibly effect that the baptism of Christ should fail to be in them.

19. It is not therefore true that "by baptizing first, the heretic obtains the right of baptism; "^ but because he did not baptize with his own baptism, and though he did not possess the right of baptizing, yet that which he gave is Christ's, and he who received it is Christ's. For many things are given wrongfully, and yet they are not therefore said to be non-existent or not given at all. For neither does he who renounces the world in word only and not in deed receive baptism lawfully, and yet he does receive it. For both
Cyprian records that there were such men in the Church in his day, and we ourselves experience and lament the fact.

20. But it is strange in what sense it can be said that "baptism and the Church cannot in any way be separated and detached from one another." For if baptism remains inseparably in him who is baptized, how can it be that he can be separated from the Church, and baptism cannot? But it is clear that baptism does remain inseparably in the baptized person; because into whatever depth of evil, and into whatever fearful whirlpool of sin the baptized person may fall, even to the ruin of apostasy, he yet is not bereft of his baptism.

\^ Cypr. Fp. Lxxiii. sec. 22.

132 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

And therefore, if through repentance he returns, it is not given again, because it is judged that he could not have been without it even in his sin. But who can ever doubt that a baptized person can be separated from the Church? For hence all the heresies have proceeded which deceive by the use of Christian terms.

Chap. xvi. \^ Wlierefore, since it is manifest that the baptism remains in the baptized person when he is separated from the Church, the baptism which is in him is certainly separated with him. And therefore not all who retain the baptism retain the Church, just as not all who retain the Church retain eternal life. Or if we say that only those retain the Church who observe the commandments of God, we at once concede that there are many who retain baptism, and do not retain the Church.

21. Therefore the heretic is not "the first to seize baptism," since he has received it from the Church. Nor, though he seceded, could baptism have been lost by him whom we assert no longer to retain the Church, and yet allow to retain baptism. Nor does any one "yield his birthright, and give it to a heretic," because he says that he took away with him what he could not give lawfully, but what would yet be according to law when given; or that he no longer has lawfully what yet is in accordance with law in his possession. But the birthright rests only in a holy conversation and good life, to which all belong\(^\text{^of whom that bride consists as her members which has no spot or wrinkle,}^\) or that dove that groans amid the wickedness of the many crows, \^ unless it be that, while Esau lost his birthright from his lust after a mess of pottage,\(^\text{^we are yet to hold that it is retained by defrauders, robbers, usurers, envious persons, drunkards, and the like, over whose existence in the Church of his time Cyprian groaned in his epistles. Wherefore, either it is not the same thing to retain the Church and to retain the birthright in divine things, or, if every one who retains the Church also retains the birthright, then all those wicked ones do not retain the}^\)

\(^\text{\Eph. V. 27. Cp. Aug. Retract, ii. IS, quoted above, i. xvii 26.}\)
CHAP, xvii] Cyprian's peoration. 133

Church who yet both seem and are allowed by every one of us to give baptism within the Church; for no one, save the man who is wholly ignorant of sacred things, would say that they retain the birthright in sacred tilings.

Chap. xvn. â€” 22. But, having considered and handled all these points, we have now come to that peaceful utterance of Cyprian at the end of the epistle, with which I am never sated, though I read and re-read it again and again, â€” so great is the pleasantness of brotherly love which breathes forth from it, so great the sweetness of charity in which it abounds.

"These things," he says, "we have written unto you, dearest brother, shortly, according to our poor ability, prescribing to or prejudging no one, lest each bishop should not do what he thinks right, in the free exercise of his own will. We, so far as in us lies, do not contend on the subject of heretics with our colleagues and fellow-bishops, with whom we maintain concord and peace in the Lord; especially as the apostle also says, 'If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.' We observe patiently and gently charity of spirit, the honour of our brotherhood, the bond of faith, the harmony of the priesthood. For this reason also, to the best of our poor ability, by the permission and the inspiration of God we have written this treatise on *The Good of Patience,' which we have sent to you in consideration of our mutual love."

23. There are many things to be considered in these words, wherein the brightness of Christian charity shines forth in this man, who "loved the beauty of the Lord's house, and the place of the tabernacle of His habitation." First, that he did not conceal what he felt; then, that he set it forth so gently and peacefully, in that he maintained the peace of the Church with those who thought otherwise, because he understood how great healthfulness was bound up in the bond of peace, loving it so much, and maintaining it with sobriety, seeing and feeling that even men who think differently may entertain their several sentiments without breach of Christian charity. For he would not say that he could maintain divine concord or the peace of

^1 Cor. xi. 16. ^Cypr. Ep. Ixxiii sec. 22. 3 pg^ ^^^^ 3^
no one, and prejudging no one, lest each bishop should not do what he thinks right in the
free exercise of his own will, he has left for us also, whatsoever we may be, a place for
treating peacefully of those things with him. For he is present, not only in his letters, but
by that very charity which existed in so extraordinary a degree in him, and which can
never die.
Longing, therefore, with the aid of his prayers, to cling to and be in union with him, if I
be not hindered by the unmeetness of my sins, I will learn if I can through his letters with
how great peace and comfort the Lord administered His Church through him; and, putting
on the bowels of humility through the moving influence of his discourse, if, in common
with the Church at large, I entertain any doctrine more true than his, I will not prefer my
heart to his, even in the point in which he, though holding different views, was yet not
severed from the Church throughout the world. For in that, when that question was yet
undecided for want of full discussion, though his sentiments differed from those of many
of his colleagues, yet he observed so great moderation, that he would not mutilate the
sacred fellowship of the Church of God by any stain of schism, a greater strength of
excellence appeared in him than would have been shown if, without that virtue, he had
held views on every point not only true, but coinciding with their own. Nor should I be
acting as he would wish, if I were to pretend to prefer his talent and his fluency of discourse and copiousness of
learning to the holy Council of all nations, whereat he was assuredly present through the
unity of his spirit, especially as he is now placed in such full light of truth as to see with
perfect certainty what he was here seeking in the spirit of perfect peace. For out of that
rich abundance he smiles at all that here seems eloquence in us, as though it were the first
essay of infancy; there he sees by what rule of piety he acted here, that nothing should be
dearer in the Church to him than unity. There, too, with unspeakable delight he beholds
what prescient and most merciful providence the Lord, that He might heal our
swellings, " chose

CHAP. XVIII.] CYPRIANS CHAPJTY PRE-EMINENT. 135

the foolish thing^s of the world to confound the wise," ^ and, in the ordering of the
members of His Church, placed all things in such healthful wise, that men should not say
that they were chosen to the help of the gospel for their own talent or learning, of whose
source they yet were ignorant, and so be puffed up with deadly pride. Oh, how Cyprian
rejoices ! With how much more perfect calmness does he behold how greatly it conduces
to the health of the human race, that in the writings even of Christian and pious orators
there should be found what merits blame, and in the writings of the fishermen there
should nothing of the sort be found ! And so I, being fully assured of this joy of that holy
soul, neither in any way venture to think or say that my writings are free from every kind
of error, nor, in opposing that opinion of his, wherein it seemed to him that those who
came from among heretics were to be received otherwise than either they had been in
former days, as he himself bears witness, or are now received, as is the reasonable
custom, confirmed by a general Council of the whole Christian world, do I set against
him my own view, but that of the holy Catholic Church, which he so loved and loves, in
which he brought forth such abundant fruit with tolerance, whose entirety he himself was not, but in whose unity he remained; whose root he never left, but, though he already brought forth fruit from its root, he was purged by the heavenly Husbandman that he should bring forth more fruit;\(^4\) for whose peace and safety, that the wheat might not be rooted out together with the tares, he both reproved with the freedom of truth, and endured with the grace of charity, so many evils on the part of men who were placed in unity with liimseli

Chap, xviii. â€” 24. Whence Cyprian himself\(^5\) again admonishes us with the greatest fulness, that many who were dead in their trespasses and sins, although they did not belong to the body of Christ, and the members of that innocent and guileless dove (so that if she alone baptized, they certainly could not baptize),

Â» 1 Cor. i. 27. Â« John xv. 2.

\(^\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\) In this and the following chapter Augustine is examining the seventieth epistle of Cyprian to his brother Quintus, bishop in Mauritania.

136 ON BAriis\(^\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\). [BOOK V.]

yet to all appearance seemed both to be baptized and to baptize within the Church. Since, therefore, there be dead men within the Church, who either do not belong at all to that living dove, or at least do not as yet belong to her; and since there be dead men without, who yet more clearly do not belong to her at all, or not as yet; and since it is true that "another man cannot be quickened by one who himself liveth not," â€” it is therefore clear that those who within are baptized by such persons, if they approach the sacrament with true conversion of heart, are quickened by Him whose baptism it is. But if they renounce the world in word and not in deed, as Cyprian declares to be the case with some who are within, it is then manifest that they are not themselves quickened unless they be converted, and yet that they have true baptism even though they be not converted. Whence also it is likewise clear that those who are dead without, although they neither "live themselves, nor quicken others," yet have the living baptism, which would profit them unto life so soon as they should be converted unto peace.

Chap. xix. â€” 25. Wherefore, as regards those who received the persons who came from heresy in the same baptism of Christ with which they had been baptized outside the Church, and said " that they followed ancient custom," it is in vain urged against them "that among the ancients heresies and schisms were yet in their very infancy,\(^\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\) so that those were involved in them who were seceders from the Church, and had originally been baptized within the Church, so that it was not necessary that they should be baptized again when they returned and did penance." For so soon as each several heresy existed, and departed from the communion of the Catholic Church, it was possible that, I will not even say the next day, but even on that very day, its votaries might have baptized some who flocked to them. And therefore if this was the old custom, that they should be so
received into the Church (as could not be denied even by those who maintained the contrary

* Apud veteres hesereses et schismata prima adhucuisse initia. Migne suggests, "liceresis et schismatum "ā¢" "there was as yet only the first beginning of heresy and schisms."

CHAP. XX.] BAPTISM TRUE EVEN WHEN PROFITLESS. 137

part in the discussion), there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who pays careful attention to the matter, that those also were so received who had been baptized without in heresy.

26. But I cannot see what show of reason there is in this, that the name of "erring sheep" should be denied to one whose lot it has been that, while seeking the salvation which is in Christ, he has fallen into the error of heretics, and been baptized in their body; while he is held to have become a sheep already within the body of the Catholic Church herself, who has renounced the world in words and not in deeds, and has received baptism in such falseness of heart as this. Or if such an one also does not become a sheep unless after turning to God with a true heart, then, as he is not baptized at the time when he becomes a sheep, if he had been already baptized, but was not yet a sheep; so he too, who comes from the heretics that he may become a sheep, is not then to be baptized if he had been already baptized with the same baptism, though he was not yet a sheep. Wherefore, since even all the bad that are within are the covetous, the envious, the drunkards, and those that live contrary to the discipline of Christ may be deservedly called liars, and in darkness, and dead, and antichrists, do they yet therefore not baptize, on the ground that there can be nothing common between truth and falsehood, between light and darkness, between death and immortality, between Antichrist and Christ?

27. He makes an assumption, then, not of mere custom, but of the reason of truth itself, when he says that the sacrament of God cannot be turned to error by the error of any man, since it is declared to exist even in those who have erred. Assuredly the Apostle John says most plainly, "He that hateth his brother is in darkness even until now;" and again, "Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer;" and why, therefore, do they baptize within the Church whom Cyprian himself declares to be in the envy of malice?

Chap. xx. How does a murderer cleanse and sanctify the water? How can darkness bless the oil? But if God is

Â» 1 John ii. 9. 2 ^Jql^ jj^ j5^ 3 Qypj. ixxiii. sec. 12.

* In this and the next two chapters Augustine is examining the seventieth
present in His sacraments to confirm His words by whomsoever the sacraments may be administered, then both the sacraments of God are everywhere valid, and evil men whom they profit not are everywhere perverse.

28. But what kind of argument is this, that "a heretic must be considered not to have baptism, because he has not the Church ? " And it must be acknowledged that " when he is baptized, he is questioned about the Church."^ Just as though the same question about the Church were not put in baptism to him who within the Church renounces the world in word and not in deed. As therefore his false answer does not prevent what he receives from being baptism, so also the false reply of the other about the holy Church does not prevent what he receives from being baptism; and as the former, if he afterwards fulfil with truth what he promised in falsehood, does not receive a second baptism, but only an amended life, so also in the case of the latter, if he come afterwards to the Church about which he gave a false answer to the question put to him, thinking that he had it when he had it not, the Church herself which he did not possess is given him, but what he had received is not repeated. But I cannot tell why it should be, that while God can " sanctify the oil " in answer to the words which proceed out of the mouth of a murderer, He yet cannot sanctify it on the altar reared by a heretic, unless it be that He who is not hindered by the false conversion of the heart of man within the Church is hindered by the false erection of some wood without from deigning to be present in His sacraments, though no falseness on the part of men can hinder Him. If, therefore, what is said in the gospel, that " God heareth not sinners,"^ extends so far that the sacraments cannot be celebrated by a sinner, how then does He hear a murderer praying, either over the water of baptism, or over the oil, or over the eucharist, or over the heads of those on whom his hand is laid ? All which things are neverthe-

epistle of Cyprian, from himself and thirty-one other bishops, to Jauarius, Saturninus, Maximus, and fifteen others.

^ In the question, *Dost thou believe in eternal life and remission of sins through the holy Church ? " Cypr. I.e.

2 John ix. 31.
less done, and are valid, even at the hands of murderers, that is, at the hands of those who hate their brethren, even within, in the Church itself. Since "no one can give what he does not possess himself," how does a murderer give the Holy Spirit? And yet such an one even baptizeth within the Church. It is God, therefore, that gives the Holy Spirit even when a man of this kind is baptizing.

Chap. xxi. Æ” 29. But as to what he says, that "he who comes to the Church is to be baptized and renewed, that within he may be hallowed through the holy," what will he do, if within also he meets with those who are not holy?

Or can it be that the murderer is holy? And if the reason for his being baptized in the Church is that "he should put off this very thing also that he, being a man that sought to come to God, fell, through the deceit of error, on one profane," where is he afterwards to put off this, that he may chance, while seeking a man of God within the Church itself, to have fallen, through the deceit of error, on a murderer? If "there cannot be in a man something that is void and something that is valid," why is it possible that in a murderer the sacrament should be holy and his heart unholy? If "whosoever cannot give the Holy Spirit cannot baptize," why does the murderer baptize within the Church? Or how has the murderer the Holy Spirit, when every one that has the Holy Spirit is filled with light, but "he who hates his brother is still in darkness?"

If because "there is one baptism, and one Spirit," therefore they cannot have the one baptism who have not the one Spirit, why do the innocent man and the murderer within the Church have the one baptism and not have the one Spirit? So therefore the heretic and the Catholic may have the one baptism, and yet not have the one Church, as in the Catholic Church the innocent man and the murderer may have the one baptism, though they have not the one Spirit; for as there is one baptism, so there is one Spirit and one Church. And so the result is, that in each person we must acknowledge what he already has, and to each person we must give what he has not. If "nothing can be confirmed and ratified with God which has been done by those whom God calls His enemies

140 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

and foes/why is the baptism confirmed which is given by murderers? Are we not to call murderers the enemies and foes of the Lord? But "he that hateth his brother is a murderer." How then did they baptize who hated Paul, the servant of Jesus Christ, and thereby hated Jesus Himself, since He Himself said to Saul, "Why persecutest thou me?"

when he was persecuting His servants, and since at the last He Himself shall say, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these that are mine, ye did it not to me?" Wherefore all who go out from us are not of us, but not all who are with us are of us; just as when men thresh, all that flies from the threshing-floor is shown not to be corn, but not all that remains there is therefore corn. And so John too says, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us." Wherefore God gives the sacrament of grace even through the hands of wicked men, but the grace itself only by Himself or through His saints. And therefore He gives
remission of sins either of Himself, or through the members of that dove to whom He says, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." But since no one can doubt that baptism, which is the sacrament of the remission of sins, is possessed even by murderers, who are yet in darkness because the hatred of their brethren is not excluded from their hearts, therefore either no remission of sins is given to them if their baptism is accompanied by no change of heart for the better, or if the sins are remitted, they at once return on them again. And we learn that the baptism is holy in itself, because it is of God; and whether it be given or whether it be received by men of such like character, it cannot be polluted by any perversity of theirs, either within, or yet outside the Church.

Chap. xxii. â€” 30. Accordingly we agree with Cælian that heretics cannot give remission of sins; but we maintain that they can give baptism, â€” which indeed in them, both when they give and when they receive it, is profitable only to their destruction, as misusing so great a gift of God; just as also

Â» Acts ix. 4. ^ Matt. xxv. 45. ^ i j^i^^ y, 19^ * j^im ^x. 23.

CnPAP. XXIT.] GRACE COMES ONLY FROM GOD. 141

the malicious and envious, whom Cyprian himself acknowledges to be within the Church, cannot give remission of sins, while we all confess that they can give baptism. For if it was said of those who have sinned against us, "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses," ^ how much more impossible is it that their sins should be forgiven who hate the brethren by whom they are loved, and are baptized in that very hatred; and yet when they are brought to the right way, baptism is not given them anew, but that very pardon which they did not then deserve is granted them in their true conversion? And so even what Cyprian wrote to Quintus, and what, in conjunction with his colleagues Liberalis, Caldonius, Junius, and the rest, he wrote to Saturninus, Maximus, and others, is all found, on due consideration, to be in no wise meet to be preferred as against the agreement of the whole Catholic Church, of which they rejoiced that they were members, and from which they neither cut themselves away nor allowed others to be cut away who held a contrary opinion, until at length, by the will of the Lord, it was made manifest, by a general Council many years afterwards, what was the more perfect way, and that not by the institution of any novelty, but by confirming what was old.

CiLVP. xxm. â€” 31. Cyprian writes also to Pompeius ^ about this selfsame matter, and clearly shows in that letter that Stephen, who, as we learn, was then bishop of the Eonian Church, not only did not agree with him upon the points before us, but even wrote and taught the opposite views. But Stephen certainly did not "communicate with heretics,"
merely because he did not dare to impugn the baptism of Christ, which he knew remained perfect in the midst of their perversity. For if none have baptism who entertain false views about God, it has been proved sufficiently, in my opinion, that this may happen even within the Church. "The apostles," indeed, "gave no injunctions on the point;" but the

* Matt. vi. 15.

2 Cypr. Ep. Ixxivj wliich is examined by Augustine in the remaining chapters of this book.

142 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

custom, which is opposed to Cyprian, may be supposed to have had its origin in apostolic tradition, just as there are many things which are observed by the whole Church, and therefore are fairly held to have been enjoined by the apostles, which yet are not mentioned in their writings.

32. But it will be urged that it is written of heretics that "they are condemned of themselves."^ What then? are they not also condemned of themselves to whom it was said, "For wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself?"^ But to these the apostle says, "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?"^ and so forth. And such truly were they who, being bishops and established in Catholic unity with Cyprian himself, used to plunder estates by treacherous frauds, preaching all the time to the people the words of the apostle, who says, "I^or shall extortioners inherit the kingdom of God."^*

33. Wherefore I will do no more than run shortly through the other sentiments founded on the same rules, which are in the aforesaid letter written to Pompeius. By what authority of holy Scripture is it shown that it is against the commandment of God that persons coming from the society of heretics, if they have already there received the baptism of Christ, are not baptized again? But it is clearly shown that many pretended Christians, though they are not joined in the same bond of charity with the saints, without which anything holy that they may have been able to possess is of no profit to them, yet have baptism in common with the saints, as has been already sufficiently proved with the greatest fulness. He says "that the Church, and the Spirit, and baptism, are mutually incapable of separation from each other, and therefore" he wishes that "those who are separated from the Church and the Holy Spirit should be understood to be separated also from baptism." But if this is the case, then when any one has received baptism in the Catholic Church, it remains so long in him as he himself remains in the Church, which is not so. For it is not restored to him wliien he returns, just because he did not lose it when he

Â» Tit. iii. 11. ' Kom. ii. 1.
seceded. But as the disaffected sons have not the Holy Spirit in the same manner as the beloved sons, and yet they have baptism; so heretics also have not the Church as Cathohcs have, and yet they have baptism. "For the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit/" and yet baptism will not flee from it. And so, as baptism can continue in one from whom the Holy Spirit withdraws Himself, so can baptism continue where the Church is not. But if " the laying on of hands " were not applied to one coming from heresy, he would be as it were judged to be wholly blameless; but for the uniting of love, which is the greatest gift of the Holy Spirit, without which any other holy thing that there may be in a man is profitless to his salvation, hands are laid on heretics when they are brought to a knowledge of the truth.2

Chap. xxtv. â€” 34. I remember that I have already discussed at sufficient length the question of "the temple of God," and how this saying is to be taken, " As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ."^ For neither are the covetous the temple of God, since it is written, " What agreement hath the temple of God with idols ? " * And Cyprian has adduced the testimony of Paul to the fact that covetousness is idolatry. But men put on Christ, sometimes so far as to receive the sacrament, sometimes so much further as to receive holiness of life. And the first of these is common to good and bad alike; the second, peculiar to the good and j]ious. Wherefore, if "baptism cannot be without the Spirit," then heretics have the Spirit also, â€” but to destruction, not to salvation, just as was the case with Saul.^ For in the Holy Spirit devils are cast out through the name of Christ, which even he was able to do who was without the Church, which called forth a suggestion from the disciples to their Lord.^

Just as the covetous have the Holy Spirit, who yet are not ; the temple of God. For "what agreement hath the temple

1 Wisd. i. 5.

' Cyprian, in the laying on of hands, appears to refer to confirmation, but Augustine interprets it of the restoration of penitents. Cp. iii. xvi. 21.  
' GaL iii. 27. * 2 Cor. vi. 16. Â» 1 Sara. xix. 23. Â« Murk ix. 38.
of God with idols?" If therefore the covetous have not the Spirit of God, and yet have baptism, it is possible for baptism to exist without the Spirit of God.

35. If heresy is rendered "unable to engender sons to God through Christ, because it is not the bride of Christ," neither can that crowd of evil men established within the Church, since it is also not the bride of Christ; for the bride of Christ is described as being without spot or wrinkle. Therefore either not all baptized persons are the sons of God, or even that which is not the bride can engender the sons of God. But as it is asked whether "he is spiritually born who has received the baptism of Christ in the midst of heretics," so it may be asked whether he is spiritually born who has received the baptism of Christ in the Catholic Church, without being turned to God in a true heart, of whom it cannot be said that he has not received baptism.

Chap. xxv. â€” 36. I am unwilling to go on to handle again what Cyprian poured forth with signs of irritation against Stephen, as it is, moreover, quite unnecessary. For they are but the selfsame arguments which have already been sufficiently discussed; and it is better to pass over those points which involved the danger of baneful dissension. But Stephen thought that we should even hold aloof from those who endeavoured to destroy the primitive custom in the matter of receiving heretics; whereas Cyprian, moved by the difficulty of the question itself, and being most largely endowed with the holy bowels of Christian charity, thought that we ought to remain at unity with those who differed in opinion from ourselves. Therefore, although he was not without excitement, though of a truly brotherly kind, in his indignation, yet the peace of Christ prevailed in their hearts, that in such a dispute no evil of schism should arise between them. But it was not found that "hence grew more abundant heresies and schisms," because what is of Christ in them is approved, and what is of themselves is condemned; for all the more those who hold this law of rebaptizing were cut into smaller fragments.

* Epî. V. 27. Cp. Aug. Retract, ii. 18, quoted above, i. xvii. 26,

CHAP. XXYLJ CYPRIAN NOT INFALLIBLE. 145

Chap. xxvi. â€” 37. To go on to what he says, "that a bishop should be 'teachable/" adding, "But he is teachable who is gentle and meek to learn; for a bishop ought not only to teach, but to learn as well, since he is indeed the better teacher who daily grows and advances by learning better things;" â€” in these words assuredly the holy man, endowed with pious charity, sufficiently points out that we should not hesitate to read his letters in such a sense, that we should feel no difficulty if the Church should afterwards confirm what had been discovered by further and longer discussions; because, as there were many
things which the learned Cyprian might teach, so there was still something which the
teachable Cyprian might learn. But the admonition that he gives us,
"that we should go back to the fountain, that is, to apostolic tradition, and thence turn the
channel of truth to our times," is most excellent, and should be followed without
hesitation. It is handed down to us, therefore, as he himself records, by the apostles, that
thei^ is "one God, and one Christ, and one hope, and one faith, and one Church, and one
baptism." Since then we find that in the times of the apostles themselves there were
some who had not the one hope, but had the one baptism, the truth is so brought down to
us from the fountain itself, that it is clear to us that it is possible that though there is one
Church, as there is one hope, and one baptism, they may yet have the one baptism who
have not the one Church; just as even in those early times it was possible that men should
have the one baptism who had not the one hope. For how had they one hope with the holy
and the just, who used to say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," asserting
that there was no resurrection of the dead? And yet they were among the very men to
whom the same apostle says, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the
name of Paul V Por he writes most manifestly to them, saying, "How say some among
you that there is no resurrection of the dead?"

^ "Docibilis;" and so the passage (2 Tim. ii. 24) is quoted frequently by Augustine. The
English version, **apt to teach," is more true to the original,

otdaxrixe!.

* See Eph. iv. 4-6. 3 i Qq^v^v. 32. * 1 Cor. i. 13. Â»1 Cor. xv. 12.

8 K

146 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

CiiAP. XXVII. â€” 38. And in that the Church is thus described in the Song of Songs, "A
garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed: thy plants
are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits;"^ I dare not understand this save of
the holy and just,â€”not of the covetous, and defrauders, and robbers, and usurers, and
drunkards, and the envious, of whom we yet both learn most fully from Cyprian's letters,
as I have often shown, and teach ourselves, that they had baptism in common with the
just, in common with whom they certainly had not Christian charity. For I
would that some one would tell me how they "crept into the garden enclosed and the
fountain sealed," of whom Cyprian bears witness that they renounced the world in word
and not in deed, and that yet they were within the Church. For if they both are themselves
there, and are themselves the bride of Christ, can she then be as she is described, 
"without spot or wrinkle," ^ and is the fair dove defiled with such a portion of her
members? Are these the thorns among which she is a lily, as it is said in the same Song
?^ So far, therefore, as the lily extends, so far does "the garden enclosed and the fountain
sealed," namely, through all those just persons who are Jews inwardly in the circumcision of the heart *(for " the King's daughter is all glorious within")*, in whom is the fixed number of the saints predestined before the foundation of the world.

But that multitude of thorns, whether in secret or in open separation, is pressing on it from without, over and above the number. " If I would declare them," it is said, " and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered." ^ The number, therefore, of the just persons, *who are the called according to His purpose,* ^ of whom it is said, " The Lord knoweth them that are His," ^ is itself " the garden enclosed, the fountain sealed, the orchard of pomegranates with pleasant fruits." Of this number some live according to the Spirit, and enter on the excellent way of charity; and when they " restore a man that is overtaken in a fault in the spirit of meekness, they consider themselves, lest they also be tempted." ^ And

^ Cant. iv. 12, 13. * Eph. v. 27. 3 Cant. ii. 2.


CHAP. XXVIII.] THE GARDEN ENCLOSED. 147

when it happens that they also are themselves overtaken, the affection of charity is but a little checked, and not extinguished; and again rising up and being kindled afresh, it is restored to its former course. For they know how to say, " My soul melteth for heaviness: strengthen thou me according unto Thy word." ^ But when " in anything they be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto them," ^ if they abide in the burning flame of charity, and do not break the bond of peace. But some who are yet carnal, and full of fleshy appetites, are instant in working out their progress; and that they may become fit for heavenly food, they are nourished with the milk of the holy mysteries, they avoid in the fear of God whatever is manifestly corrupt even in the opinion of the world, and they strive most watchfully that they may be less and less delighted with worldly and temporal matters.

They observe most constantly the rule of faith which has been sought out with diligence; and if in ought they stray from it, they submit to speedy correction under Catholic authority, although, in Cyprian's words, they be tossed about, by reason of their fleshy appetite, with the various conflicts of phantasies. There are some also who as yet live wickedly, or even lie in heresies or the superstitions of the Gentiles, and yet even then " the Lord knoweth them that are His." Tor, in that inspeakable foreknowledge of God, many who seem to be without are in reality within, and many who seem to be within yet really are without. Of all those, therefore, who, if I may so say, are inwardly and secretly within, is that " enclosed garden" composed, " the fountain sealed, the orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits." The divinely imparted gifts of these are partly peculiar to themselves, as in this world the charity that never faileth, and in the world to
come eternal life; partly they are common with evil and perverse men, as all the other
things in which consist the holy mysteries.

Chap, xxviii. â€” 39. Hence, therefore, we have now set before us an easier and more
sunjjile consideration of that ark of which Koah was the builder and pilot. For Peter says
that in the
Â» Ps. cxix. 28. 8 See Phil. iii. 15.

148 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK V.]

ark of Noah, " few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water.
The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, (not the putting away of
the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God.)" ^ Wherefore, if
those appear to men to be baptized in Catholic unity who renounce the world in words
only and not in deeds, how do they belong to the mystery of this ark in whom there is not
the answer of a good conscience ? Or how are they saved by water, who, making a bad
use of holy baptism, though they seem to be within, yet persevere to the end of their days
in a wicked and abandoned course of life ? Or how can they fail to be saved by water, of
whom Cyprian himself records that they were in time past simply admitted to the Church
with the baptism which they had received in heresy? For the same unity of the ark saved
them, in which no one has been saved except by water. For Cyprian himself says, " The
Lord is able of His mercy to grant pardon, and not to sever from the gifts of His Church
those who, being in all simplicity admitted to the Church, have fallen asleep within her
pale." ^
If not by water, how in the ark ? If not in the ark, how in the Church ? But if in the
Church, certainly in the ark; and if in the ark, certainly by water. It is therefore possible
that some who have been baptized without may be considered, through the
foreknowledge of God, to have been really baptized within, because within the water
begins to be profitable to them unto salvation; nor can they be said to have been
otherwise saved in the ark except by water. And again, some who seemed to have been
baptized within may be considered, through the same foreknowledge of God, more truly
to have been baptized without, since, by making a bad use of baptism, they die by water,
which then happened to no one who was not outside the ark. Certainly it is clear that,
when we speak of within and without in relation to the Church, it is the position of the
heart that we must consider, not that of the body, since all who are within in heart are
saved in the unity of the ark through the same water, through which all who are in heart
without, whether they are also in body without or not, die as enemies of unity. As
therefore it was not

another but the same water that saved those who were placed within the ark, and
destroyed those who were left without the ark, so it is not by different baptisms, but by
the same, that good Catholics are saved, and bad Catholics or heretics perish.
But what the most blessed Cyprian thinks of the Catholic Church, and how the heretics
are utterly crushed by his authority, notwithstanding the much I have already said, I
have yet determined to set forth by itself, if God will, with somewhat greater fulness and
perspicuity, so soon as I shall have first said about his Council what I think is due from
me, which, in God's will, I shall attempt in the following book.

150 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

BOOK SIXTH.

IN WHICH IS CONSIDERED THE COUNCIL OF CARTHA GE, HELD UNDER THE
AUTHORITY AND PRESIDENCY OF CYPRIAN, TO DETERMINE THE
QUESTION
OF THE BAPTISM OF HERETICS.

CHAP. I. — It might perhaps have been sufficient, that after the reasons have been so
often repeated, and considered, and discussed with such variety of treatment,
supplemented, too, with the addition of proofs from holy Scripture, and the concurrent
testimony of so many passages from Cyprian himself, even those who are slow of heart
should thus understand, as I believe they do, that the baptism of Christ cannot be
rendered void by any perversity on the part of man, whether in administering or receiving
it.
And when we find that in those times, when the point in question was decided in a
manner contrary to ancient custom, after discussions carried on without violation of
Christian charity and unity, it appeared to certain eminent men even amongst the servants
of Christ, among whom the blessed Cyprian was specially conspicuous, that the baptism
of Christ could not exist among heretics or schismatics, this simply arose from their not
distinguishing the sacrament from the effect or use of the sacrament; and because its
effect and use was not found among heretics in freeing them from their sins and setting
their hearts right, the sacrament itself was also thought to be wanting among them. But if
we turn our eyes to the multitude of chaff within the Church, since these also who are
perverse and lead an abandoned life in unity itself appear to have no power either of
giving or retaining remission of sins, seeing that it is not to the wicked but the good sons
that it was said, " Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose
soever sins ye retain,
they are retained," yet that such persons both have, and give, and receive the sacrament of baptism, was sufficiently manifest to the pastors of the Catholic Church dispersed over the whole world, through whom the original custom was afterwards confirmed by the authority of a general Council; so that even the sheep which was straying outside, and had received the mark of the Lord from false plunderers outside, if it seek the salvation of Christian unity, is purified from error, is freed from captivity, is healed of its wound, and yet the mark of the Lord is recognised rather than rejected in it; since the mark itself is often impressed both by wolves and on wolves, who seem indeed to be within the fold, but yet are proved by the fruits of their conduct, in which, they persevere even to the end, not to belong to that sheep which is one in many; because, according to the foreknowledge of God, as many sheep wander outside, so many wolves lurk treacherously within, among whom the Lord yet knoweth them that are His, which hear only the voice of the Shepherd, even when He calls by the voice of men like the Pharisees, of whom it was said, " Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do."

2. For as the spiritual man, keeping " the end of the commandment," that is, " charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned," can see some things less clearly out of a body which is yet " corruptible and presseth down the soul," and is liable to be otherwise minded in some things which God will reveal to him in His own good time if he abide in the same charity, so in a carnal and perverse man something good and useful may be found, which has its origin not in the man himself, but in some other source. For as in the fruitful branch there is found something which must be purged that it may bring forth more fruit, so also a grape is often found to hang on a cane that is barren and dry or fettered. And so, as it is foolish to love the portions which require purging in the fruitful branch, whilst he acts wisely who does not reject the sweet fruit wherever it may hang, so, if any one cuts himself off from unity by rebaptizing, simply

* John XX. 23. 2 Matt, xxiii. 3. 3 1 xim. i. 5.

* Wisd. ix. 15. Â« See Phil. iii. 15.

152 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]
themselves from unity, thought that thereby they were separated from baptism itself; while these men, thinking it at most a slight offence that they themselves are severed from the unity of Christ, even maintain that His baptism is not in that unity, but issued forth with them. Therefore they are so far from the fruitfulness of Cyprian, as not even to be equal to the parts in him which needed purging.

Chap. ii. 3. Again, if any one not having charity, and wallowing in the abandoned paths of a most wicked life, seems to be within whilst he really is without, and at the same time does not seek for the repetition of baptism even in the case of heretics, it in no wise helps his barrenness, because he is not rendered fruitful with his own fruit, but laden with that of others. But it is possible that some one may flourish in the root of charity, and may be most rightly minded in the point in which Cyprian was otherwise minded, and yet there may be more that is fruitful in Cyprian than in him, more that requires purging in him than in Cyprian. Not only, therefore, do we not compare bad Catholics with the blessed Cyprian, but even good Catholics we do not hastily pronounce to be on an equality with him whom our pious mother Church counts among the few rare men of surpassing excellence and grace, although these others may recognise the baptism of Christ even among heretics, whilst he thought otherwise; so that, by the instance of Cyprian, who saw one point less clearly, and yet remained most firm in the unity of the Church, it might be shown more clearly to heretics what a sacrilegious crime it was to break the bond of peace. For neither were the blind Pharisees, although they sometimes enjoined what was right to be done, to be compared to the Apostle Peter, though he at times enjoined what was not right. But not only is their dryness not to be compared to

CHAP, in.] THE FAULTS OF SAINTS TO BE AVOIDED. 153

his greenness, but even the fruit of others may not be deemed equal to his fertility. For no one now compels the Gentiles to Judaize, and yet no one now in the Church, however great his progress in goodness, may be compared with the apostleship of Peter. Wherefore, while rendering due reverence, and paying, so far as I can, the fitting honour to the peaceful bishop and glorious martyr Cyprian, I yet venture to say that his view concerning the baptism of schismatics and heretics was contrary to that which afterwards brought to light by a decision, not of mine, but of the whole Church, confirmed and strengthened by the authority of a general Council: just as, while paying the reverence he deserves to Peter, the first of the apostles and most eminent of martyrs, I yet venture to say that he did not do right in compelling the Gentiles to Judaize; for this also I say, not of my own teaching, but according to the wholesome doctrine of the Apostle Paul, retained and preserved throughout the whole Church.

4. Therefore, in discussing the opinion of Cyprian, though myself of far inferior merit to Cyprian, I say that good and bad alike can have, can give, can receive the sacrament of baptism, â€” the good, indeed, to their health and profit; the bad to their destruction and
ruin, â€” whilst the sacrament itself is of equal perfectness in both of them; and that it is of no consequence to its equal perfectness in all, how much worse the man may be that has it among the bad, just as it makes no difference how much better he may be that has it among the good. And accordingly it makes no difference either how much worse he may be that confers it, as it makes no difference how much better he may be; and so it makes no difference how much worse he may be that receives it, as it makes no difference how much better he may be. For the sacrament is equally holy, in virtue of its own excellence, both in those who are unequally just, and in those who are unequally unjust.

CiiAP. in. â€” 5. But I think that we have sufficiently shown, both from the canon of Scripture, and from the letters of


154 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

Cyprian himself, that bad men, while by no means converted to a better mind, can have, and confer, and receive baptism, of whom it is most clear that they do not belong to the holy Church of God, though they seem to be within it, inasmuch as they are covetous, robbers, usurers, envious, evil thinkers, and the like; whilst she is one dove, moder and chaste, a bride without spot or wrinkle, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed, an orchard of pomegranates with pleasant fruits, with all similar properties which are attributed to her; and all this can only be understood to be in the good, and holy, and just, following, that is, not only the operations of the gifts of God, which are common to good and bad alike, but also the inner bond of charity conspicuous in those who have the Holy Spirit, to whom the Lord says, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."-

Chap. iv. â€” 6. And so it is clear that no good ground is shown herein why the bad man, who has baptism, may not also confer it; and as he has it to destruction, so he may also confer it to destruction, â€” not because this is the character of the thing conferred, nor of the person conferring, but because it is the character of him on whom it is conferred. For when a bad man confers it on a good man, that is, on one in the bond of unity, converted with a true conversion, the wickedness of him who confers it makes no severance between the good sacrament which is conferred, and the good member of the Church on whom it is conferred. And when his sins are forgiven him on his true conversion to God, they are forgiven by those to whom he is united by his true conversion. For the same Spirit forgives them, which is given to all the saints that cling to one another in love, whether they know one another in the body or not. Similarly when a man's sins are retained, they are assuredly retained by those from whom he, in whom they are retained, separates himself by dissimilarity of life, and by the turning away of a corrupt heart, whether they know him in the body or not.

Â» Cant. vi. 8. =* Epli. v. 27; cp. Aug. JRdract. ii. IS.
CHAP, v.] MINISTRATIONS OF THE WICKED VALID. 155

CiLNJ. V. â€” 7. Wherefore all bad men are separated in the spmt from the good; but if they are separated in the body also by a manifest dissension, they are made yet worse. But, as it has been said, it makes no difference to the holiness of baptism how much worse the man may be that has it, or how much worse he that confers it: yet he that is separated may confer it, as he that is separated may have it; but as he has it to destruction, so he may confer it to destruction. But he on whom he confers it may receive it to his soul's health, if lie, on his part, receive it not in separation; as it has happened to many that, in a catholic spirit, and with heart not alienated from the unity of peace, they have, under some pressure of impending death, turned hastily to some heretic and received from him the baptism of Christ without any share in his perversity, so that, whether dying or restored to life, they by no means remain in communion with those to whom they never passed in heart. But if the recipient himself has received the baptism in separation, he receives it so much the more to his destruction, in proportion to the greatness of the good which he has not received well; and it tends the more to his destruction in his separation, as it would avail the more to the salvation of one in unity. And so, if, reforming himself from his perverseness and turning from his separation, he should come to the Catholic peace, his sins are remitted through the bond of peace and the same baptism under which his sins were retained through the sacrilege of separation, because that is always holy both in the just and the unjust, which is neither increased by the righteousness nor diminished by the unrighteousness of any man.

8. This being the case, what bearing has it on so clear a truth, that many of his fellow-bishops agreed with Cyprian in that opinion, and advanced their own several opinions on the same side, except that his charity towards the unity of Christ might become more and more conspicuous? For if he had been the only one to hold that opinion, with no one to agree with him, he might have been thought, in remaining, to have shrunk from the sin of schism, because he found no companions in his error; but when so many agreed with him, he showed, by remaining in unity with the rest who thought differently from him, that he preserved the most sacred bond of universal catholicity, not from any fear of isolation, but from the love of peace. Wherefore it might indeed seem now to be superfluous to consider the several opinions of the other bishops also in that Council; but since those who are slow in heart think that no answer has been made at all, if to any passage in any discourse the answer which might be brought to bear on the spot be given not there but
somewhere else, it is better that by reading much they should be polished into sharpness, than that by understanding little they should have room left for complaining that the argument has not been fairly conducted.

Chap. vi. â€” 9. First, then, let us record for further consideration the case proposed for decision by Cyprian himself, with which he initiates the proceedings of the Council, and by which he shows a peaceful spirit, abounding in the fruitfulness of Christian charity. "Ye have heard," he says, "most beloved colleagues, what Jubaianus, our fellow-bishop, has written to me, consulting my poor ability about the unlawful and profane baptism of heretics, and what I have written back to him, expressing to him the same opinion that I have expressed once and again and often, that heretics coming to the Church ought to be baptized, and sanctified with the baptism of the Church. Another letter also of Jubaianus has been read to you, in which, agreeably to his sincere and religious devotion, in answer to our epistle, he not only expressed his assent to it, but also gratefully acknowledged that he had received instruction. It remains that we should individually express our opinions on this same subject, judging no one, and removing no one from the right of communion if he should entertain a different opinion. For neither does any one of us set himself up as a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror force his colleagues to the necessity of obeying, since every bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of free judgment, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge another. But we are all awaiting the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone

CHAP, til] liberality OF CYPJAN. 157

has the power both of preferring us in the government of His Church, and of judging of our actions.'

Â»1

Chap. vil â€” 10. I have already, I think, argued to the best of my power, in the preceding books, in the interests of Catholic unanimity and counsel, in whose unity these continued as pious members, in reply not only to the letter which Cyprian wrote to Jubaianus, but also to that which he sent to Quintus, and that which, in conjunction with certain of his colleagues, he sent to certain other colleagues, and that which he sent to Pompeius. Wherefore it seems now to be fitting to consider also what the others severally thought, and that with the liberty of which he himself would not deprive us, as he says, "Judging no one, nor removing any from the right of communion if he entertain different opinions." And that he did not say this with the object of arriving at the hidden thoughts
of his colleagues, extracted as it were from their secret telling-places, but because he really loved peace and unity, is very easily to be seen from other passages of the same sort, where he wrote to individuals as to Jubaianus himself. " These things," he says, " we have written very shortly in answer to you, most beloved brother, according to our poor ability, not preventing any one of the bishops, by our writing or judgment, from acting as he thinks right, having a free exercise of his own judgment." And that it might not seem that any one, because of his entertaining different opinions in this same free exercise of his judgment, should be driven from the society of his brethren, he goes on to say, " We, so far as lies in us, do not strive on behalf of heretics against our colleagues and fellow-bishops, with whom we maintain godly unity and the peace of our Lord;" and a little later he says,

" Charity of spirit, respect for our college, the bond of faith, the harmony of the priesthood, are by us maintained with patience and gentleness." And so also in the epistle which he wrote to Magnus, when he was asked whether there was any difference in the efficacy of baptism by sprinkling or by immersion, " In this matter," he says, " I am too modest and diffident to prevent any one by my judgment from thinking as he deems right, and acting as he thinks." By which discourses he clearly shows that these subjects were being handled by them at a time when they were not yet received as decided beyond all question, but were being investigated with great care as being yet unrevealed. We, therefore, maintaining on the subject of the identity of all baptisms what must be acknowledged everywhere to be the custom of the universal Church, and what is confirmed by the decision of general Councils, and taking greater confidence also from the words of Cyprian, which allowed me even then to hold opinions differing from his own without forfeiting the right of communion, seeing that greater importance and praise were attached to unity, such as the blessed Cyprian and his colleagues, with whom he held that Council, maintained with those of different opinions, disturbing and overthrowing thereby the seditious calumnies of heretics and schismatics in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who, speaking by His apostle, says,

" Forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" and again, by the mouth of the same apostle, " If in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you,"* â€” we, I say, propose for consideration and discussion the opinions of the holy bishops, without violating the bond of unity and peace with them, in maintaining which we imitate them so far as we can by the aid of the Lord Himself.

Chap, viii â€” 11. Coecilius of Bilta* said: "I know of one baptism in the one Church, and of none outside the Church.
The one will be where there is true hope and sure faith.
For so it is written, ' One faith, one hope, one baptism.'*
Not among heretics, where there is no hope and a false faith; where all things are done by a lie; where one possessed of a devil exorcises; the question of the sacrament is asked


2 De baptism! simplicitate ubique agnoscedam consuetudinem. Ili^e approves of tlie reading of some Mss., ** De baptism! simplicitate iibuque agnosceda," etc., ** maintaining the custom of tlie universal Cluiixh to acknowledge everywhere the identity of baptism."

* Eph. iv. 2, 3. â– * riil. iii. 15. Â« Bilta was in Mauritania.

^ Eph. iv. 4, 5.

CHAP. VIIL] council OF CARTHAGE. 159

by one from whose mouth and words proceeds a cancer; the faithless gives faith; the guilty gives pardon for sins; and Antichrist baptizes in the name of Christ; one accursed of God blesses; the dead promises life; the unpeaceful gives peace; the blasphemer calls on God; the profane administers the priesthood; the sacrilegious sets up the altar. To all this is added this further evil, that the servant of the devil dares to celebrate the eucharist. If this be not so, let those who stand by them prove that all of it is false concerning heretics.

See the kind of things to which the Church is compelled to assent, being forced to communicate without baptism or the remission of sins. This, brethren, we ought to shun and avoid, separating ourselves from so great a sin, and holding to the one baptism which is granted to the Church alone."

12. To this I answer, that all who even within the Church profess that they know God, but deny Him in their deeds, such as are the covetous and envious, and those who, because they hate their brethren, are pronounced to be murderers, not on my testimony, but on that of the holy Apostle John, ^ â€” all these are both devoid of hope, because they have a bad conscience; and are faithless, because they do not do what they have vowed to God; and liars, because they make false professions; and possessed of devils, because they give place in their heart to the devil and his angels; and their words work corruption, since they corrupt good manners by evil communications; and they are infidels, because they laugh at the threats which God utters against such men; and accursed, because they live wickedly; and antichrists, because their lives are opposed to Christ; and cursed of God, since holy Scripture everywhere calls down curses on such men; and dead, because they are without the life of righteousness; and unpeaceful, because by their contrary deeds they are at variance with God's behests; and'
blasphemous, because by their abandoned acts despite is done to the name of Christian; and profane, because they are spiritually shut out from that inner sanctuary of God; and sacrilegious, because by their evil life they defile the temple of God within themselves; and servants of the devil, because they do service to fraud and covetousness, which is idolatry.

* Cone. Carth. sec. 1. ^ 1 John iii. 15.

IoC ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

That of such a kind are some, nay very many, even within the Church, is testified both by Paul the apostle and by Cyprian the bishop. AVhy, then, do they baptize? Why also are some, who renounce the world in words and not in deeds, baptized without being converted from a life like this, and not rebaptized when they are converted? And as to what he says with such indignation, " See the kind of things to which the Church is compelled to assent, being forced to communicate without baptism or the remission of sins," he could never have used such expressions had there not been the other bishops who elsewhere forced men to such things. Whence also it is shown that at that time those men held the truer views who did not depart from the primitive custom, which is since confirmed by the consent of a general Council. But what does he mean by adding, " This, brethren, we ought to shun and avoid, separating ourselves from so great a sin?"

For if he means that he is not to do nor to approve of this, that is another matter; but if he means to condemn and sever from him those that hold the contrary opinion, he is setting himself against the earlier words of Cyprian, " Judging no man, nor depriving any of the right of communion if he differ from us."

Chap. ix. â€” 13. The elder Felix^ of Migirpa said: " I think that every one coming from heresy should be baptized. For in vain does any one suppose that he has been baptized there, seeing that there is no baptism save the one true baptism in the Church; for there is one Lord, and one faith, and one Church, in which rests the one baptism, and holiness, and the rest. For the things that are practised without have no power to work salvation."

14. To what Felix of IMigirpa said we answer as follows.

If the one true baptism did not exist except in the Church, it surely would not exist in those who depart from unity. But

^ This section is wanting in the mss. and in the edition of Amerhach,

so that it has been supposed to liave been added by Erasmus from Cyprian (Cone. Carth. sec. 2), â€” the name Felix, -which is not found in Cyprian, being

derived from the following section of Augustine, liligirpa, or Misgirpa, was in
it does exist in them, since they do not receive it when they return, simply because they had not lost it when they departed.
But as regards his statement, that "the things that are practised without have no power to work salvation," I agree with him, and think that it is quite true; for it is one thing that baptism should not be there, and another that it should have no power to work salvation. For when men come to the peace of the Catholic Church, then what was in them before they joined it, but did not profit them, begins at once to profit them.

Chap. x. â€” 15. To the declaration of Polycarp of Adrumetum, that "those who declare the baptism of heretics to be valid, make ours of none effect," we answer, if that is the baptism of heretics which is given by heretics, then that is the baptism of the covetous and murderers which is given by them within the Church. But if this be not their baptism, neither is the other the baptism of heretics; and so it is Christ's, by whomsoever it be given.

Chap. XI. â€” 16. Novatus of Thamugadis said: "Though we know that all Scripture gives its testimony respecting saving baptism, yet we ought to express our belief that heretics and schismatics, coming to the Church with the semblance of having been baptized, ought to be baptized in the unfailing fountain; and that therefore, according to the testimony of the Scriptures, and according to the decree of those most holy men, our colleagues, all schismatics and heretics who are converted to the Church ought to be baptized; and that, moreover, all that seemed to have received ordination should be admitted as simple laymen."

17. Novatus of Thamugadis has stated what he has done; but he has brought forward no proofs by which to show that

^Adrumetum was an ancient Phoenician settlement, made a Roman colony by Trajan, on the coast of the Sinus Neapolitanus, some ninety miles south-east of Carthage.

'Thamugadis, a town in Numidia, on the east side of Mount Aurasius. The whole opinion of Novatus (Conc. Carth. sec. iv.) is omitted in the Mss.

'The words in Cyprian are, * * sanctissimse memoriae virorum." The decree referred to is one of the Council held by Agrippinus.

tt L
he ought to have acted as he did. For he has made mention of the testimony of the Scriptures, and the decree of his colleagues, but he has not adduced out of them anything which we could consider.

Chap. xii. â€” 18. ISTemesianus of Tubunse^ said: "That the baptism which is given by heretics and schismatics is not true is everywhere declared in the holy Scriptures, inasmuch as their very prelates are false Christs and false prophets, as the Lord declares by the mouth of Solomon, ' AVhoso trusteth in lies, the same feedeth the winds; he also followeth flying birds. For he deserteth the ways of his own vineyard, and hath strayed from the paths of his own field. For he walketh through pathless and dry places, and a land destined to thirst; and he gathereth fruitless weeds in his hands.' ^ And again, ' Abstain from strange water, and drink not of a strange fountain, that thou mayest live long, and that years may be added to thy life.' ^ And in the gospel our Lord Jesus Christ spake with His own voice, saying, ' Except a man be born of 1 water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' ^ This is the Spirit which from the beginning ' moved upon the face of the waters.' ^ For neither can the Spirit act without the water, nor the water without the Spirit. IU, therefore, for themselves do some interpret, saying that by ' imposition of hands they receive the Holy Ghost, and are received into the Church, when it is manifest that they ought to be born again by both sacraments^ in the Catholic Church. 

For then indeed will they be able to become the sons of God, as the apostle says, ' Endeavouring to keep the unity of the

* TuLunfE, a town in Mauritia Cresariensis.

^ Prov. ix. 12, according to the LXX. version, the passage being altogether absent in the Hebrew, and consequently in the English version. The whole opinion of Nemesianus is wanting in the mss. and in the edition of Amerbach; and in that of Erasmus it is somewhat different, having been subsequently revised by the Louvain editors to bring it into harmony with the answer of Augustine and the text of Cyprian (Conc. Carth. sec. 6).

^ Prov. ix. 18, according to the LXX. version only.

* John iii. 5. * ^ Gen. i. 2.

^ Viz. baptism and the laying on of hands; the latter sacramental ordinance being similarly spoken of by Aug. Ep. Ixxii. sec. 1, as efficacious only when preceded by Catholic baptism.
Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God. All this the Catholic Church asserts. And again he says in the gospel, 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit; for the Spirit is God, and is born of God.' Therefore all things whatsoever all heretics and schismatics do are carnal, as the apostle says, 'Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' The apostle condemns, equally with all the wicked, those also who cause divisions, that is, schisms and heretics. Unless therefore they receive that saving baptism which is one, and found only in the Catholic Church, they cannot be saved, but will be condemned with the carnal in the judgment of the Lord.

Nemesianus of Tubunae has advanced many passages of Scripture to prove his point; but he has in fact said much on behalf of the view of the Catholic Church, which we have undertaken to set forth and maintain. Unless, indeed, we must suppose that he does not "trust in what is false" who trusts in the hope of things temporal, as do all covetous men and robbers, and those who renounce the world in words but not in deeds, of whom Cyprian yet bears witness that such men not only baptize, but even are baptized within

Eph. iv. 3-6.

Quoniam Spiritus Dens est, et de Deo natus est. These words are found at the end of John iii. G in the oldest Latin MS. (in the Bodleian Library), and their meaning appears to bo, as given in the text, that whatsoever is born of the Spirit is spirit, since the Holy Ghost, being God, and born of, or proceeding from God, in virtue of His supreme power makes those to be spirits Avhom He regenerates. If the meaning had been (as Bishop Fell takes it), that "he who is born of the Spirit is born of God," the neuter " de Deo natus est" would have been required. To refer "Spiituus Deus est," with Migne, to John iv. 24, "God is a Spirit," reverses the grammar and destroys the sense of the passage. The above explana-
vion is taken from the preface to Cyprian by the monk of St. Maur (Maranus), p. xxxvi., quoted by Kouth, Rcl. Sac. iii. 193.

3 Gal. V. 19-21.

ON BAPTISM. [book VL

the Church. For they themselves also "follow flying birds,"
since they do not attain to what they desire. But not only the heretic, but every one who leads an evil life, " deserteth the ways of his own vineyard, and hath strayed from the paths of his own field. And he walketh through pathless and dry places, and a land destined to thirst; and he gathereth fruitless weeds in his hands;" because all justice is fruitful, and all iniquity is barren. Those, again, who " drink strange water out of a strange fountain," are found not only among heretics, but among all who do not live according to the teaching of God, and do live according to the teaching of the devil. For if he were speaking of baptism, he would not say, " Do not drink of a strange fountain," but, do not wash thyself in a strange fountain. Again, I do not see at all what aid he gets towards proving his point from the words of our Lord, " Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."^ For it is one thing to say that every one who shall enter into the kingdom of heaven is first born again of water and the Spirit, because except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, which is the Lord's saying, and is true; another thing to say that every one who is born of water and the Spirit shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, which is assuredly false. For Simon Magus also was born of water and of the Spirit,* and yet he did not enter into the kingdom of heaven; and this may possibly be the case with heretics as well. Or if only those are born of the Spirit who are changed with a true conversion, all who renounce the world in word and not in deed are assuredly not born of the Spirit, but of water only, and yet they are within the Church, according to the testimony of Cyprian. For we must perforce grant one of two things, â€” either those who renounce the world deceitfully are born of the Spirit, though it is to their destruction, not to salvation, and therefore heretics may be so born; or if what is written, that "the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit,"^ extends to proving as much as this, that those who renounce the world deceitfully are not born of


CHAP. XIII.] THE COUNCIL OF CAETHAGE. 165

the Spirit, then a man may be baptized with water, and not born of the Spirit, and Nemesianus says in vain that neither the Spirit can work without the water, nor the water without the Spirit. Indeed it has been already often shown how it is possible that men should have one baptism in common who have not one Church, as it is possible that in the body of the Church herseK those who are sanctified by their righteousness, and those who are polluted through their covetousness, may not have the same one Spirit, and yet have the same one baptism. For it is said " one body," that is, the Church, just as it is said "one Spirit" and "one baptism." The other arguments which he has adduced rather favour our position. For he has brought forward a proof from the gospel, in the words, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit; for the Spirit is God, and
born of God;"^ and he has advanced the argument that therefore all things that are done
by any heretic or schismatic are carnal, as the apostle says, "The works of the flesh are
manifest, which are these; fornication, uncleanness;" and so he goes through the list
which the apostle there enumerates, amongst which he has reckoned heresies, since "they
who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."^ Then he goes on to add, that "
therefore the apostle condemns with all wicked men those also who cause division, that
is, schismatics and heretics." And in this he does well, that when he enumerates the
works of the flesh, among which are also heresies, he found and declared that the apostle
condemns them all alike. Let him therefore question the holy Cyprian himself, and learn
from him how many even within the Church live according to the evil works of the flesh,
which the apostle condemns in common with the heresies, and yet these both baptize and
are baptized. Why then are heretics alone said to be incapable of possessing baptism,
which is possessed by the very partners in their condemnation?

Chap, xiiil — 20. Januarius of Lambaese' said: "Following

^ Lambaese was one of the chief cities in the interior of Numidia, on the confines of
Mauritania.

166

ON BAPTISM.

[book TI.

the authority of the holy Scriptures, I pronounce that all heretics should be baptized, and
so admitted into the holy Church."

21. To him we answer, that, following the authority of the holy Scriptures, a universal
Council of the whole world decreed that the baptism of Christ was not to be disavowed,
even when found among heretics. But if he had brought forward any proof from the
Scriptures, we should have shown either that they were not against us, or even that they
were for us, as we proceed to do with him who follows.
Chap. xiv. â€” 21. Lucius of Castrum Galba3^ said: "Since the Lord hath said in His gospel, 'Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, that which is salted from it shall be thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men;'^ and seeing that again, after His resurrection, when sending forth His apostles. He commanded them, saying, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,'*â€” since then it is plain that heretics, that is, the enemies of Christ, have not the full confession of the sacrament, also that schismatics cannot reason with spiritual wisdom, since they themselves, by withdrawing when they have lost their savour from the Church, which is one, have become contrary to it,^ let that be done which is written, 'The houses of those that are opposed to the law must needs be cleansed;'^ and it therefore follows that those who have been polluted by being baptized by men opposed to Christ should first be cleansed, and only then baptized."

23. Lucius of Castrum Galbse has brought forward a proof from the gospel, in the words of the Lord, " Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, that which is

^ Cone. Garth, sec. vi. " Castrum Callw was also in Numidia.

3 Matt. V. 13. " Id quod salietur ex eo, ad nihiluni valebit."

* Matt, xxviii. 18, 19.

6 Reccedendo infatuati contravii facti sunt. Dr. Routh, from a ms. in his own possession, inserts " et " after " iulatuati,"â€” " have lost their savour and become contrary to the Church."

â€œ^ Frov. xiv. 9, from the LXX.

salted from it shall be good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men; " just as though we maitained that men when cast out were of any profit for the salvation either of themselves or of any one else. But those also who, though seeming to be within, are yet of such a kind, not only are without spiritually, but will in the end be separated in the body also. For all such are profitable for nothing. But it does not therefore follow that the sacrament of baptism which is in them is nothing. For even in the very men who are cast out, if they return to their senses and come back, the salvation which had departed from them returns; but the baptism does not return, because it never had departed. And in what the Lord says, " Go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," He did not permit any to baptize except the good, inasmuch as He did not say to the bad, " Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye
retain, they are retained."^- How then do the wicked baptize within, who cannot remit sins? How also is it that they baptize the wicked whose hearts are not changed, whose sins are yet upon them, as John says, " He that hateth his brother is in darkness even "until now ? "^ But if the sins of these men are remitted when they join themselves in the close bonds of love to the good and just, through whom sins are remitted in the Church, though they have been baptized by the wicked, so the sins of those also are remitted who come from without and join themselves by the inner bond of peace to the same framework of the body of Christ. Yet the baptism of Christ should be acknowledged in both, and held invalid in none, whether before they are converted, though then it profit them nothing, or after they are converted, that so it may profit them, as he says, " Since they themselves, by withdrawing when they have lost their savour from the Church, which is one, have become contrary to the law, which says, " Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal ?"^ " They must therefore needs be cleansed." Who will deny it? And yet not only those who are baptized by such within the Church, but also those who, being such themselves, are baptized without being changed in heart, are nevertheless exempt from further baptism when they are so changed. So great is the force of the sacrament of mere baptism, that though we all know that a man who has been baptized and continues to lead an evil life requires to be cleansed, we yet forbid him to be any more baptized.

168 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

baptized by men opposed to Christ should first be cleansed, and only then baptized." What then? Are thieves and murderers not contrary to the law, which says, " Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal ?"^ " They must therefore needs be cleansed." Who will deny it? And yet not only those who are baptized by such within the Church, but also those who, being such themselves, are baptized without being changed in heart, are nevertheless exempt from further baptism when they are so changed. So great is the force of the sacrament of mere baptism, that though we allow that a man who has been baptized and continues to lead an evil life requires to be cleansed, we yet forbid him to be any more baptized.

Chap. xv. â€“ 24. Crescens of Cirta^ said: "The letters of our most beloved Cyprian to Jubaianus, and also to Stephen,^ having been read in so large an assembly of our most holy brethren in the priesthood, containing as they do so large a body of sacred testimony derived from the Scriptures that give us our God,* that we have every reason to assent to them, being all united by the grace of God, I give my judgment that all heretics or schismatics who wish to come to the Catholic Church should not enter therein unless they have been first exorcised and baptized; with the obvious exception of those who have been originally baptized in the Catholic Church, these being reconciled and admitted to the penance of the Church by the imposition of hands."

25. Here we are warned once more to inquire why he says, "Except, of course, those who have been originally baptized in the Catholic Church." Is it because they had not lost what they had before received? Why then could they not also transmit outside the Church what they were able to possess outside? Is it that outside it is unlawfully
transmitted? But neither is it lawfully possessed outside, and yet it is possessed; so it is
unlawfully given outside, but yet it is given. But what is given to the person returning
from
1 Ex. XX. 13, 15.

* Cirta, an inland city of the Massyli in Numidia, was rebuilt by Constantine, and called
Constantina.

* See below, on sec. 25. * Ex Scripturis deificis.

CHAP. XVI.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 169

heresy who had been baptized inside, is given to the person coming to the Church who
had been baptized outside, â€” that is, that he may have lawfully inside what before he
had unlawfully outside. But perhaps some one may ask what was said on this point in the
letter of the blessed Cyprian to Stephen, which is mentioned in this judgment, though not
in the opening address to the Council, â€” I suppose because it was not considered
necessary. For Crescens stated that the letter itself had been read in the assembly, which I
have no doubt was done, if I am not mistaken, as is customary, in order that the bishops,
being already assembled, might receive some information at the same time on the subject
contained in that letter. For it certainly has no bearing on the present subject;
and I am
more surprised at Crescens having thought fit to mention it at all, than at its having been
passed over in the opening address. But if any one thinks that I have slirunk from
bringing forward something which has been urged in it that is essential to the present
point, let him read it and see that what I say is true; or if he finds it otherwise, let him
convict me of falsehood. For that letter contains nothing whatsoever about baptism
administered among heretics or schismatics, which is the subject of our present
argument.^

Chap. xvi. â€” 26. Nicomedes of Segermse^ said: "My judgment is that heretics coming to
the Church should be baptized, because they can obtain no remission of sins among
sinners outside."

2 7. The answer to which is: The judgment of the whole Catholic Church is that heretics,
being already baptized with the baptism of Christ, although in heresy, should not be
rebap-

' There are two letters extant from Cyprian to Stephen, No. 68, respecting Marcianus of
Aries, who had joined Novatian, and No. 72, on a Council concerning heretical baptism.
It is clear, however, from Ep. Ixxiii. sec. 1, that this Council, and consequently the letter
to Stephen, was subsequent to the Council under consideration; and consequently
Augustine is right in ignoring it, and referring solely to the former. Dr. Routh thinks the
words an interpolation, of course before Augustine's time; and they may perhaps have been inserted by some one who had Cyprian's later letter to Stephen before his mind.

^ Segermse in Numidia.

170 ON BAPTISM. [book VI,

tized on cominir to the Church. For if there is no remission

of sins among sinners, neither can sinners within the Church remit sins; and yet those who have been baptized by them are not rebaptized.

Chap. xvii. â€” 28. Monnulus of Girba^ said: " The truth of our mother, the Catholic Church, hath continued, and still continues among us, brethren, especially in the threefold nature^ of baptism, as our Lord says, ' Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' ^ Since, therefore," he goes on to say, " we know clearly that heretics have neither Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost, they ought, on coming to our mother, the Church, to be truly regenerate and baptized, that the cancer which they had, and the wrath of condemnation, and the destructive energy of error,^ may be sanctified by the holy and heavenly laver."

29. To this we answer. That all who are baptized with the baptism that is consecrated in the words of the gospel have the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost in the sacrament alone; but that in heart and in life neither do those have them who live an abandoned and accursed life within.

Chap. xviii. â€” 30. Secundinus of Cedise^ said: "Since our Lord Christ said, ' He that is not with me is against me,' * and the Apostle John declares those who go out from the Church to be antichrists,^ without all doubt the enemies of Christ, and those who are called antichrists, cannot minister the grace of the baptism which gives salvation; and therefore my judgment is that those who take refuge in the Church from the snares of heresy should be baptized by us, who of His condescension are called the friends of God."

1 Girba, formerly Meninx, an island to the south-east of the Lesser SjTtis.

2 In baptism! trinitate. ** Quia trina immersioue expediebatur, in nomine Tatris, Filii, et S. ^\}\\ii\xs"â€” Bishop Fell

3 Matt, xxviii. 19.

* Erroris ofTcctura. Other readings are "olTensa" and "ofToetura."
"Cedioe has been identified, but perhaps without sufficient reason, with
Quidias, or Quiza, in Mauritania Ctesariensis.

* Matt. xii. 30. '1 John ii. 18.

CHAP. XIX.] THE COUNCIL OF CAPvTHAGE. 171

31. The answer to which is, That all are the opponents of Christ, to whom, on their
saying, " Lord, have we not in Thy name done many wonderful things ?" with all the rest
that is there recorded. He shall at the last day answer, " I never knew you: depart from
me, ye that work iniquity," all which kind of chaff is destined for the fire, if it
persevere to the last in its wickedness, whether any part of it fly outside before its
winnowing, or whether it seem to be within. If, therefore, those heretics who come to the
Church are to be again baptized, that they may be baptized by the friends of God, are
those covetous men, those robbers, murderers, the friends of God, or must those whom
they have baptized be baptized afresh ?

Chap. xix. Â” 32. Felix of Bagâ®s said: "As when the blind leads the blind, both fall into
the ditch, Â” so when a heretic baptizes a heretic, both fall together into death."

33. This is true, but it does not follow that what he adds is true. "And therefore," he says,
"the heretic must be baptized and brought to life, lest we who are alive should hold
communion with the dead." Were they not dead who said,
" Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die ?" * for they did not believe in the
resurrection of the dead. Those then who were corrupted by their evil communications,
and followed them, were not they likewise falling with them into the pit ?
And yet among them there were men to whom the apostle was 'vsTiting as being already
baptized; nor would they, therefore, if they were corrected, be baptized afresh. Does not
the same apostle say, " To be carnally-minded is death ? " ^ and certainly the covetous,
the deceivers, the robbers, in the midst of whom Cyprian himself was groaning, were
carnally-minded.
What then? Did the dead hurt him who was living in unity?
or who would say, that because such men had or gave the baptism of Christ, that it was
therefore violated by their iniquities ?

1 Matt. vii. 22, 23.

2 Bagai, or Vacca, in the interior of Numidia. See on i. v. 7.

3 Matt. XV. 14. â– * 1 Cor. xv. 32.
^ Rora. viii. 6.
Chap. xx. â€“ 34. Pollianus of Mileum said: "It is right that a heretic should be baptized in the holy Church."

35. Nothing, indeed, could be expressed more shortly. But I think this too is short: It is right that the baptism of Christ should not be depreciated in the Church of Christ.

Chap. xxi. â€“ 36. Theogenes of Hippo Regius said: "According to the sacrament of the heavenly grace of God which we have received, we believe in the one only baptism which is in the holy Church."

37. This may be my own judgment also. For it is so balanced, that it contains nothing contrary to the truth. For we also believe in the one only baptism which is in the holy Church. Had he said, indeed, We believe in that which is in the holy Church alone, the same answer must have been made to him as to the rest. But as it is, since he has expressed himself in this wise, "We believe in the one only baptism which is in the holy Church," so that it is asserted that it exists in the holy Church, but not denied that it may be elsewhere as weU, whatever his meaning may have been, there is no need to argue against these words. For if I were questioned on the several points, first, whether there was one baptism, I should answer that there was one. Then if I were asked, whether this was in the holy Church, I should answer that it was. In the third place, if it were asked whether I believed in this baptism, I should answer that I did so believe; and consequently I should answer that I believed in the one baptism which is in the holy Church. But if it were asked whether it was found in the holy Church alone, and not among heretics and schismatics, I should answer that, in common with the whole Church, I believed the contrary. But since he did not insert this in his judgment, I should consider that it was mere wantonness if I added words which I did not find there, for the sake of arguing against them. For if he were to say, There is one water of the river Euphrates, which is in Paradise, no one could gainsay the truth of what

^ Mileum, or Mireum, a Roman colony in Numidia, noted as the seat of two Councils.
* Hippo Regius, the see of Augustine himself, was on the coast of Numidia.
But who is rash enough to say that he would have been likely to assert what is false, when it is quite possible that he was asserting what is true? Wherefore the words of this judgment require no contradiction, because they in no wise run counter to the truth.

Chap. xxn. "38. Dativus of Badis^ said: "We, so far as lies within our power, refuse to communicate with a heretic, unless he has been baptized in the Church, and received remission of his sins."

39. The answer to this is: If your reason for wishing him to be baptized is that he has not received remission of sins, supposing you find a man within the Church who has been baptized, though entertaining hatred towards his brother, since the Lord cannot lie, who says, "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses," ^ will you bid such an one, when corrected, to be baptized afresh? Assuredly not; so neither should you bid the heretic.

It is clear that we must not pass unnoticed why he did not briefly say, "We do not communicate with a heretic," but added, "so far as lies within our power." For he saw that a greater number agreed with this view, from whose communion, however, he and his friends could not separate themselves, lest unity should be impaired, and so he added, "so far as lies within our power," ^ showing beyond all doubt that he did not willingly communicate with those whom he held to be without baptism, but that yet all things were to be endured for the sake of peace and unity; just as was done also by those who thought that Dativus and his party were in the wrong, and who held what afterwards was taught by a fuller declaration of the truth, and urged by ancient custom, which received the stronger confirmation of a later Council; yet in turn, with anxious piety, they showed toleration towards each other, though without violation of Christian charity they en-

^ Badis in Numidia. ^ Matt. vi. 15.

174 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

tertained different opinions, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace/ till God should reveal to one of them, were he otherwise minded, even this error of his ways. ^ And to this I would have those give heed, by whom unity is attacked on the authority of this very Council by which it is declared how much unity should be loved.

Chap. xxiii. "40. Successus of Abbir Germaniciana^ said:
"Heretics may either do everything or nothing. If they can baptize, they can also give the Holy Spirit; but if they cannot give the Holy Spirit, because they do not possess the Holy Spirit, then can they not either spiritually baptize. Therefore we give our judgment that heretics should be baptized."

41. To this we may answer almost word for word: Murderers may either do everything or nothing. If they can baptize, they can also give the Holy Spirit; but if they cannot give the Holy Spirit, because they do not possess the Holy Spirit, then can they not either
spiritually baptize. Therefore we give our judgment that persons baptized by murderers, or murderers themselves who have been baptized without being converted, should, when they have corrected themselves, be baptized. Yet this is not true. For "whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer;"* and Cyprian knew such men within the Church, who certainly baptized. Therefore it is to no purpose that words of this sort are used concerning heretics.

CiiAP. XXIV. â€” 42. Tortunatus of Thuccabori' said: "Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the Son of God the Father and Creator, built His Church upon a rock, not upon heresy, and gave the power of baptizing to bishops, not to heretics. Wherefore those who are outside the Church, and stand against Christ, scattering His sheep and flock, cannot baptize outside."

43. He added the word "outside" in order that he might not be answered with a like brevity to Successus. For other-

1 Eph. iv. 3. * Phil. iii. 15.

^ Abbir Germaniciana was in Zeugitana.

* 1 Jolm iii. 15.

^ Tiiuccabori was perhaps the same as Tucca in Byzacene.

CHAP. XXIV.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 175

wise he micrlit also have been answered wcrd for word: Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the Son of God the Father and Creator, built His Church upon a rock, not upon iniquity, and gave the power of baptizing to bishops, not to the unrighteous. Wherefore those who do not belong to the rock on which they build who hear the word of God and do it,^ but, living contrary to Christ in hearing the word and not doing it, and hereby building on the sand, in this way scatter His sheep and flock by the example of an abandoned character, cannot baptize. Might not this be said with all the semblance of truth ? and yet it is false. For the unrighteous do baptize, since those robbers are unrighteous whom Cyprian maintained to be at unity with himself.^ But for this reason, says the Donatist, he adds "outside." Why therefore can they not baptize outside ? Is it because they are worse from the very fact that they are outside ? But it makes no difference, in respect of the validity of baptism, how much worse the minister may be. For there is not so much difference between bad and worse as between good and bad; and yet, when the bad baptizes, he gives the selfsame sacrament as the good. Therefore, also, when the worse baptizes, he gives the selfsame sacrament as the less bad. Or is it that it is not in respect of man's merit, but of the sacrament of baptism itself, that it cannot be given outside ? If
this were so, neither could it be possessed outside, and it would be necessary that a man should be baptized again so often as he left the Church and again returned to it.

44. Further, if we inquire more carefully what is meant by
* outside," especially as he himself makes mention of the rock on which the Church is built, are not they in the Church who are on the rock, and they who are not on the rock, not in the Church either ? JSTow, therefore, let us see whether they build their house upon a rock who hear the words of Christ and do them not. The Lord Himself declares the contrary, saying, " Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock;" and a little later, "Every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be

176 ON BAPTISM. [book YI.

likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand."^ If, therefore, the Church is on a rock, those who are on the sand, because they are outside the rock, are necessarily outside the Church. Let us recollect, therefore, how many C]prian mentions as placed within who build upon the sand, that is, who hear the words of Christ and do them not. And therefore, because they are on the sand, they are proved to be outside the rock, that is, outside the Church; yet even while they are so situated, and are either not yet or never changed for the better, not only do they baptize and are baptized, but the baptism which they have remains valid in them though they are destined to damnation.

45. Neither can it be said in this place,^ Yet who is there that doeth all the words of the Lord which are written in the evangelic sermon itself, at the end of which He says, that he who heard the said words and did them built upon a rock, and he who heard them and did them not built upon the sand ? Tor, granting that by certain persons all the words are not accomplished, yet in the same sermon He has appointed the remedy, saying, " Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven."^ And after the Lord's prayer had been recorded in detail in the same sermon. He says, " For I say unto you, if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."^ Hence also Peter says, " For charity shall cover the multitude of sins;"^ which charity they certainly did not have, and on this account they built upon the sand, of whom the same Cyprian says, that within the Church they held conversation, even in the time of the apostles, in unldndly hatred alien from Christian charity f and therefore they seemed indeed to be within, but really were without, because they were not on that rock by which the Church is signified.


2 It is pointed out by the Louvain editors that this passage shows that Augustine considered our Lord's precept to comprehend everything contained in the Sermon on the Mount.
Ch. VP. XXV.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 1V7

Chap. xxv. â€” 46. Sedatus of Tuburbo said: "Inasmuch as water, sanctified by the prayer of the priest in the Church, washes away sins, just so much does it multiply sins when infected, as by a cancer, with the words of heretics. Wherefore one must strive, with all such efforts as conduce to peace, that no one who has been infected and tainted by heretical error should refuse to receive the one true baptism, with which whosoever is not baptized shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

47. To this we answer, that if the water is not sanctified, when through want of skill the priest who prays utters some words of error, many, not only of the bad, but of the good brethren in the Church itself, fail to sanctify the water. For the prayers of many are corrected every day on being recited to men of greater learning, and many things are found in them contrary to the Catholic faith. Supposing, then, that it were shown that some persons were baptized when these prayers had been uttered over the water, will they be bidden to be baptized afresh? Why not? Because generally the fault in the prayer is more than counterbalanced by the intent of him who offers it; and those fixed words of the gospel, without which baptism cannot be consecrated, are of such efficacy, that, by their virtue, anything faulty that is uttered in the prayer contrary to the rule of faith is made of no effect, just as the devil is excluded by the name of Christ. For it is clear that if a heretic utters a faulty prayer, he has no good intent of love whereby that want of skill may be compensated, and therefore he is like any envious or spiteful person in the Catholic Church itself, such as Cyprian proves to exist within the Church. Or one might offer some prayer, as not unfrequently happens, in which he should speak against the rule of faith, since many rush into the use of prayers which are composed not only by unskilful men who love to talk, but even by heretics, and in the simplicity of ignorance, not being able to discern their true character, use them, thinking they are good; and yet what is erroneous in them does not vitiate what is right, but rather it is rendered null thereby, just as in the man of good hope and approved

^ Tuburbo was in Zeugitana.

8 M

178 ON BAPTISM. [book VL
faith, who yet is but a man, if in anything he be otherwise minded, what he holds aright is not thereby vitiated until God reveal to him also that in which he is otherwise minded.\(^^\)

But supposing that the man himself is wicked and perverse, then, if he should offer an upright prayer, in no part contrary to the Catholic faith, it does not follow that because the prayer is right the man himself is also right; and if over some he offers an erroneous prayer, God is present to uphold the words of His gospel, without which the baptism of Christ cannot be consecrated, and He Himself consecrates His sacrament, that in the recipient, either before he is baptized, or when he is baptized, or at some future time when he turns in truth to God, that very sacrament may be profitable to salvation, which, were he not to be converted, would be powerful to his destruction. But who is there who does not know that there is no baptism of Christ, if the words of the gospel in which consists the outward visible sign be not forthcoming? But none will more easily find heretics who do not baptize at all, than any who baptize without those words. And therefore we say, not that every baptism (for in many of the blasphemous rites of idols men are said to be baptized), but that the baptism of Christ, that is, every baptism consecrated in the words of the gospel, is everywhere the same, and cannot be vitiated by any perversity on the part of any men.\(^^\)

48. We must certainly not lightly pass over in this judgment that he here inserted a clause, and says, "Wherefore we must strive, with all such efforts as conduce to peace, that no one who has been infected," etc. For he had regard to those words of the blessed Cyprian in his opening speech, "Judging no man, nor depriving any of the right of communion if he entertain a different view." See of what power is the love of unity and peace in the good sons of the Church, that they should choose rather to show tolerance towards those whom they called sacrilegious and profane, being admitted, as they thought, without the sacrament of baptism, if they could not correct them as they thought was right, than on their account to break that holy bond, lest on account of the tares the wheat also should be rooted out,\(^\) permitting, so far

\(^\) riil. iii. 15. \(^^\) See above, in. cc. xiv. xv. À«Matt. xiii. 29.

CHAP. XXYIL] the council OF CAr.THAGE. 179

as rested with them, as in that noblest judgment of Solomon, that the infant body should rather be nourished by the false mother than be cut in pieces.\(^^\) But this was the opinion both of those who held the truer view about the sacrament of baptism, and of those to whom God, in consideration of their great love, was purposing to reveal any point in which they were otherwise minded.

Chap. xxyi. \(\text{â€”} 49. \text{Privatianus of Sufetula}\) said: "He who says that heretics have the power of baptizing should first say who it was that founded heresy. For if heresy is of God, it may have the divine favour; but if it be not of God, how can it either have or confer on any one the grace of God?"
50. This man may thus be answered word for word: He who says that malicious and envious persons have the power of baptizing, should first say who was the founder of malice and envy. For if malice and envy are of God, they may have the divine favour; but if they are not of God, how can they either have or confer on any one the grace of God? But as these words are in the same way most manifestly false, so are also those which these were uttered to confute. For the malicious and envious baptize, as even Cyprian himself allows, because he bears testimony that they also are within. So therefore even heretics may baptize, because baptism is the sacrament of Christ; but envy and heresy are the works of the devil. Yet though a man possesses them, he does not thereby cause that if he have the sacrament of Christ, it also should itself be reckoned in the number of the devil's works.

Chap. xxvii. 51. Privatus of Sufes said: "What can be said of the man who approves the baptism of heretics, save that he communicates with heretics?"

52. To this we answer: It is not the baptism of heretics which we approve in heretics, as it is not the baptism of the covetous, or the treacherous, or deceitful, or of robbers, or of envious men which we approve in them; for all of these

* 1 Kmcrs iii. 26.

2 Sufetula was a town of Cyzacene, twenty-five miles from Sufes, of which the name is a diminutive.

180 ON BAPTISM. [book VI

are unjust, but Christ is just, whose sacrament existing in them, they do not in its essence violate. Otherwise another man might say: What can be said of the man who approves the baptism of the unjust, save that he communicates with the unjust? And if this objection were brought against the Catholic Church herself, it would be answered just as I have answered the above.

Chap. xxviii. 53. Hortensianus of Lares said: "How many baptisms there are, let those who uphold or favour heretics determine. We assert one baptism of the Church, which we only know in the Church. Or how can those baptize any one in the name of Christ whom Christ Himself declares to be His enemies?"

54. Giving answer to this man in a like tenor of words, we say: Let those who uphold or favour the unrighteous see to it: we recall to the Church when we can the one baptism which we know to be of the Church alone, wherever it be found. Or how can they baptize any one in the name of Christ whom Christ Himself declares to be His enemies? For He says to all the unrighteous, "I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity;" and yet, when they baptize, it is not themselves that baptize, but He of whom John says,
"The same is He which baptizeth."

Chap. xxix. 55. Cassius of Macomades* said: "Since there cannot be two baptisms, he who grants baptism unto heretics takes it away from himself. I therefore declare my judgment that heretics, those objects for our tears, those masses of corruption,^ should be baptized when they begin to come to the Church, and that so being washed by the sacred and divine laver, and enlightened with the light of life, they may be received into the Church, â€” as being now made not enemies, but peaceful; not strangers, but of the household of the faith.

^Lares was a town of importance in Byzacene.

2 Matt. vii. 23. ^John i. 33. *Macomades was in Numidia.

^Flcbiles et tabidos. This is otherwise taken of the repentant lureties, *'Melting with the grief and wretchedness of penitence;" but Bishop Fell points out that the interpretation in the text is supported by an expression in c. xxxiii. 63: Mens hajretica, quae diuturna tabe polluta est.

CHAP. XXIX.] THE COUNCIL OF CAETHAGE. 181

of the Lord; not bastards/ but sons of God; partaking not of error, but of salvation, â€” with the exception of those who, being believers transplanted from the Church, had gone over to heresy, and that these should be restored by the laying on of hands."

56. Another might say: Since there cannot be two baptisms, he who grants baptism to the unrighteous takes it away from himself. But even our opponents would join us in resisting such a man when he says that we grant baptism to the unrighteous, which is not of the unrighteous, like their unrighteousness, but of Christ, of whom is righteousness, and whose sacrament, even among the imrighteous, is not unrighteous. What, therefore, they would join us in saying of the unrighteous, that let them say to themselves of heretics. And therefore he should rather have said as follows: I therefore give my judgment that heretics, those objects for our tears, those masses of corruption, should not be baptized when they begin to come to the Church, if they already have the baptism of Christ, but should be corrected from their error. For we may similarly say of the unrighteous, of whom the heretics are a part: I therefore give my judgment that the unrighteous, those objects for our tears, and masses of corruption, if they have been already baptized, should not be baptized again when they begin to come to the Church, that is, to that rock outside which are all who hear the words of Christ and do them not; but, being already washed with the sacred and divine laver, and now further enlightened with the light of truth, should be received into the Church no longer as enemies but as peaceful, for the unrighteous have no peace; no longer as strangers, but of the household of the faith of the Lord, for to the unrighteous it is said, "How then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?"\^

\^Lares was a town of importance in Byzacene.
no longer as bastards, but the sons of God, for the unrighteous are the sons of the devil, partaking not of error but of salvation, for

^ Adulteros. So all the mss. of Augustine, though in Cyprian is sometimes found *'adulterinos." In classical Latin, however, "adulter" is sometimes used in the sense of "adulterinus." Cassius seems to have had in mind Heb. xii. 8, "Then are ye bastards, and not sons."

2 Jer. ii. 21.

182 ON BAPTISM. [book VL

unrighteousness cannot save. And by the Church I mean that rock, that dove, that garden enclosed and fountain sealed, which is recognised only in the wheat, not in the chaff, whether that be scattered far apart by the wind, or appear to be mingled with the corn even till the last winnowing. In vain, therefore, did Cassius add, " With the exception of those who, being believers transplanted from the Church, had gone over to heresy." For if even they themselves had lost baptism by seceding, to themselves also let it be restored; but if they had not lost it, let what was given by them receive due recognition.

Chap. xxx. â€“ 57. Another Januarius of Vicus Csesaris^ said: " If error does not obey truth, much more does truth refuse assent to error; and therefore we stand by the Church in which we preside, so that, claiming her baptism for herself alone, we baptize those whom the Church has not baptized."

68. We answer: Whom the Church baptizes, those that rock baptizes outside which are all they who hear the words of Christ and do them not. Let all, therefore, be baptized again who have been baptized by such. But if this is not done, then, as we recognise the baptism of Christ in these, so should we recognise it in heretics, though we either condemn or correct their unrighteousness and error.

Chap. xxxi. â€“ 59. Another Secundinus of Carpis^ said:
" Are heretics Christians or not ? If they are Christians, why are they not in the Church of God ? If they are not Christians, let them be made so." Else what will be the reference in the discourse of the Lord, in which He says, ' He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad?'* Whence it is clear that on strange children and the offspring of Antichrist the Holy Spirit cannot

1 Vicus Caesaris is unknown, unless it be the same as Nova Caesai'is in Numidia.

2 Carpis was in Zeugitana, on the borders of Tunis.
3 Fiant. Another reading in some mss. of Cyprian (not found in those of Auf'ustinc) is, *'quomodo Christianos faciut," which is less in harmony with the context.

* Matt. xii. 30.

CHAP, xxxi] the council of caethage. 183

descend by the laying on of hands alone, since it is clear that heretics have not baptism."

6 0. To this we answer: Are the unrighteous Christians or not ? If they are Christians, why are they not on that rock on which the Church is built ? for they hear the words of Christ and do them not. If they are not Christians, let them be made so. Else what will be the reference in the discourse of our Lord, in which He says, " He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad?" For they scatter His sheep who lead them to the ruin of their lives by a false imitation of the Lord. Whence it is clear that upon strange children (as all the unrighteous are called), and upon the offspring of Antichrist (which all are who oppose themselves to Christ), the Holy Spirit cannot descend by the laying on of hands alone, if there be not added a true conversion of the heart; since it is clear that the unrighteous, so long as they are unrighteous, may indeed have baptism, but cannot have the salvation of which baptism is the sacrament. For let us see whether heretics are described in that psalm where the following words are used of strange children: " Deliver me, Lord, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood: whose sons are like young shoots well established, and their daughters polished after the similitude of the temple. Their garners are full, affording all manner of store; their sheep are fruitful, bringing forth plenteously in their streets; their oxen are strong: there is no breaking down of their fence, no opening of a passage out, no complaining in their streets. Men deemed happy the people that is in such a case; rather blessed is the people whose God is the Lord." ^ If, therefore, those are strange children who place their happiness in temporal things, and in the abundance of earthly prosperity, and despise the commandments of the Lord, let us see whether these are not the very same of whom Cyprian so speaks, making himself also as one of them, that he may show that he is speaking of men with whom he held communion in the sacraments: " In not keeping," he says, " the way of the

Â» Ps. cxliv. 11-15, from the LXX.

184 ON BAPTISM. [book VL

Lord, nor observing the heavenly commandments given us for our salvation. Our Lord did the will of His Father, and we do not do the will of the Lord, hein^ eaj^er about our patrimony or our gains, following after pride, and so forth." ^
But if these could both have and transmit baptism, why is it denied that it may exist among strange children, whom he yet exhorts, that, by keeping the heavenly commandments conveyed to them through the only-begotten Son, they should deserve to be His brethren and the sons of God?

Chap. xxxil. â€” 61. Victorious of Thabraca^ said: "If heretics may baptize, and give remission of sins, why do we destroy their credit, and call them heretics?"

62. What if another were to say: If the unrighteous may baptize, and give remission of sins, why do we destroy their credit, and call them unrighteous? The answer which we should give to such an one concerning the unrighteous may also be given to the other concerning heretics, â€” that is, in the first place, that the baptism with which they baptize is not theirs; and secondly, that it does not follow that whosoever has the baptism of Christ is also certain of the remission of his sins, if he has this only in the outward sign, and is not converted with a true conversion of the heart, so that he who gives remission should himself have remission of his sins.

Chap. XXXIII. â€” 63. Another Felix of Uthina^ said: "No one can doubt, most holy brethren in the priesthood, that human presumption has not so much power as the adorable and venerable majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ. Remembering then the danger, we ought not only to observe this ourselves, but to confirm it by our general consent, that all heretics who come to the bosom of our mother the Church be baptized, that the heretical mind, which has been polluted by long-continued corruption, may be reformed when cleansed by the sanctification of the laver."

1 Cypr. Ep. xi. ad Clericos, sec. 1.

^ Thabraca was on the coast of Numidia, the frontier town towards Zephytana, at the mouth of the Tucca.

^ Uthiua was in Zeugitana.

CHAP. XXXIV.] THE COUNCIL OF CARThAGE. 185

64. Perhaps the man who* has placed the strength of his case for the baptizing of heretics in the cleansing away of the long-continued corruption, would spare those who, having fallen headlong into some heresy, had remained in it a brief space, and presently being corrected, had passed from thence to the Catholic Church. Furthermore, he has himself failed to observe that it might be said that all unrighteous persons who come to that rock, in which is understood the Church, should be baptized, so that the unrighteous mind, which was building outside the rock upon the sand by hearing the words of Christ and not doing them, might be reformed when cleansed by the sanctification of the laver; and yet this is not done if they have been baptized already, even if it be proved that such was their character when they were baptized, that is, that they renounced the world in words and not in deeds.
Chap, xxxiv. â€“ 6 5.Quietus of Burugâ€” said: " We who live by faith ought with believing observance to obey what has been before foretold for our instruction. For it is written in Solomon, ' He that is washed by one dead, what availeth his washing ? ' ^ Which assuredly he says of those who are washed by heretics, and of those who wash. Tor if they who are baptized among them receive eternal life through the remission of their sins, why do they come to the Church ?

But if no salvation is received from a dead person, and they therefore, acknowledging their former error, return with penance to the truth, they ought to be sanctified with the one life-giving baptism which is in the Catholic Church."

QQ. What it is to be baptized by the dead, we have already, without prejudice to the more careful consideration of the same scripture, sufficiently declared before. ^ But I would ask why it is that they wish heretics alone to be considered dead, when Paul the apostle has said generally of sin, " The wages of sin is death;"* and again, " To be carnally minded is

^ Bunig or Burca was in Mauritania Csesariensis.

^ In the Eng. version this is, " He that washeth himself after touching a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing ? " â€” Ecclus. xxxiv. 25.

^ Contra Parmenianum, ii. x. 22. * Rom. vi. 23.

186 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

dead." ^ And when he says 'that a widow that liveth in pleasure is dead/ how are they not dead who renounce the world in words and not in deeds ? What, therefore, is the profit Oi washing in him who is baptized by them, except, indeed, that if he himself also is of the same character, he has the laver indeed, but it does not profit him to salvation ?

But if he by whom he is baptized is such, but the man who is baptized is turned to the Lord with no false heart, he is not baptized by that dead person, but by that living One of whom it is said, " The same is He which baptizeth." ^ But to what he says of heretics, that if they who are baptized among them receive eternal life through the remission of their sins, why do they come to the Church ? we answer:

They come for this reason, that although they have received the baptism of Christ up to the point of the celebration of the sacrament, yet they cannot attain to life eternal save through the charity of unity; just as neither would those envious and malicious ones attain to life eternal, who would not have their sins forgiven them, even if they entertained hatred only against those from whom they suffered wrong; since the Truth said, " If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses,"* how much less when they were hating those towards whom they were rewarding evil for good ? ^ And yet these men, though renouncing the world in words and not in deeds, would not be baptized again, if they should afterwards be corrected, but they would be made holy by the one living baptism. And this is indeed in the Catholic Church, but not in it alone,
as neither is it in the saints alone who are built upon the rock, and of whom that one dove is composed.^

Chap. xxxv. â€” 67. Castus of Sicca^ said: He who presumes to follow custom in despite of truth is either envious and evilly disposed towards the brethren to whom the truth is revealed, or else he is ungrateful towards God, by whose inspiration His Church is instructed."

68. If this man proved that those who differed from him,

1 Rom. viii. 6. ^1 Tira. v. 6. " John i. 33. * ^latt. vi. 15.

' Ps. XXXV. 12. ^ Caut. vi. 9. ? Sicca was in Zeugitana.

CHAP. XXXVI.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 187

and held the view that has since been held by the whole world under the sanction of a general Council, were following custom so as to despise truth, we should have reason for fearing these words; but seeing that this custom is found both to have had its origin in truth and to have been confirmed by truth, we have nothing to fear in this judgment. And yet, if they were envious or evilly disposed towards the brethren, or ungrateful towards God, see with what kind of men they were willing to hold communion; see what kind of men, holding different opinions from their own, they treated as Cyprian enjoined them at the first, not removing them from the right of communion; see by what kind of men they were not polluted in the preservation of unity; see how greatly the bond of peace was to be loved; see what views they hold who bring charges against us, founded on the Council of bishops, their predecessors, whose example they do not imitate, and by whose example, when the rights of the case are considered, they are condemned. If it was the custom, as this judgment bears witness, that heretics coming to the Church should be received with the baptism which they already had, either this was done rightly, or the evil do not pollute the good in unity.
If it was rightly done, why do they accuse the world because they are so received ? But if the evil do not pollute the good in unity, how do they defend themselves against the charge of sacrilegious separation ?

Chap. xxxvi. â€” 69. Eucratius of Theuc^^ said: "Our God and Lord Jesus Christ, teaching the apostles with His own mouth, fully laid down our faith, and the grace of baptism, and the rule of the law of the Church, saying, ' Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' ^ Therefore the false and unrighteous baptism of heretics is to be repudiated by us, and contradicted with aU solemnity of witness, seeing that from their mouth issues not life, but poison, not heavenly grace, but blaspheming of the Trinity. And so it is plain that heretics coming to the Church ought to be baptized with perfect and Catholic baptism, that, being purified from the
188 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK TI.

blasphemy of their presumption, they may be reformed by the grace of the Holy Spirit."

70. Clearly, if the baptism is not consecrated in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, it should be considered to be of the heretics, and repudiated as unh'ighteous by us with all solemnity of witness; but if we discern this name in it, we do better to distinguish the words of the gospel from heretical error, and approve what is sound in them, correcting what is faulty.

Chap, xxxvii. â€” 71. Libosus of Vaga^ said: "The Lord says in the gospel, ' I am the truth;"â€” He did not say, I am custom. Therefore, when the truth is made manifest, let custom yield to truth; so that, if even in time past any one did not baptize heretics in the Church, he may now begin to baptize them."

72. Here he has in no way tried to show how that is the truth to which he says that custom ought to yield. But it is of more importance that he helps us against those who have separated themselves from unity, by confessing that the custom existed, than that he thinks it ought to yield to a truth which he does not show. For the custom is of such a nature, that if it admitted sacrilegious men to the altar of Christ without the cleansing of baptism, and polluted none of the good men who remained in unity, then all who have cut themselves off from the same unity, in which they could not be polluted by the contagion of any evil persons whatsoever, have separated themselves without reason, and have committed the manifest sacrilege of schism. But if all perished in pollution through that custom, from what cavern do they issue without the original truth, and with all the cunning of calumny? If, however, the custom was a right one by which heretics were thus received, let them abandon their madness, let them confess their error; let them come to the Catholic Church, not that they may be bathed again with the sacrament of baptism, but that they may be cured from the wound of severance.

Chap, xxxviii. â€” 73. Lucius of Thebaste^ said: " I declare

^ Vaga was in Numidia. ' Joliu xiy. 6.

' The baste was in Nimiiidia.
my judgment that heretics, and blasphemers, and unrighteous men, who with various words pluck away the sacred and adorable words of the Scriptures, should be held accursed, and therefore exorcised and rebaptized."

74. I too think that they should be held accursed, but not that therefore they should be exorcised and rebaptized; for it is their own falsehood which I hold accursed, but Christ's sacrament which I venerate.

Chap. xxxix. â€’ 75. Eugenius of Ammederaâ€ said: "I too pronounce this same judgment, that heretics should be baptized."

76. To him we answer: But this is not the judgment which the Church pronounces, to which also God has now revealed in a general Council the point in which ye were then still otherwise minded; but because your charity was unimpaired, ye remained in unity.

Chap. xl. â€” 77. Also another Felix of Ammacuraâ€ said: "I too, following the authority of the holy Scriptures, give my judgment that heretics should be baptized, and with them those also who maintain that they have been baptized among schismatics. For if, according to the warning of Christ, our fountain is sealed to ourselves, let all the enemies of our Church understand that it cannot belong to others; nor can He who is the Shepherd of our flock give the water unto salvation to two different peoples. And therefore it is clear that neither heretics nor schismatics can receive anything heavenly, who dare to accept from men that are sinners and aliens from the Church. When the giver has no ground to stand upon, surely neither can the receiver derive any profit."

78. To him we answer, that the holy Scriptures nowhere have enjoined that heretics baptized among heretics should be baptized afresh, but that they have shown in many places that all are aliens from the Church who are not on the rock, nor belong to the members of the dove, and yet that they baptize and are baptized, and have the sacrament of salvation

* Ammedera and Ammacura were in Numidia.

2 Phil, iii, 16. 3 See Cant. iv. 12.

190 ON BAPTISM. [book VL

without salvation. But how our fountain is like the fountain of Paradise, in that, like it, it flows forth even beyond the bounds of Paradise, has been sufficiently set forth above;
and that He who is the Shepherd of our flock cannot give the water unto salvation to two
different peoples, that is, to one that is His own, and to another that is alien, I fully agree
in admitting. But does it follow that because the water is not unto salvation it is not the
identical water? For the water of the deluge was for salvation unto those who were
placed within the ark, but it brought death to those without, and yet it was the same
water. And many aliens, that is to say, envious persons, whom Cyprian declares and
proves from Scripture to be of the party of the devil, seem as it were to be within, and yet,
if they were not without the ark, they would not perish by water. For such men are slain
by baptism, as the sweet savour of Christ was unto death to those of whom the apostle
speaks.\(^\text{1}\) Why then do not either heretics or schismatics receive anything heavenly, just as
thorns or tares, like those who were without the ark received indeed the rain from the
floods of heaven, but to destruction, not to salvation? And so I do not take the pains to
refute what he said in conclusion: " When the giver has no ground to stand upon, surely
neither can the receiver derive any profit," since we also say that it does not profit the
receivers while they receive it in heresy, consenting with the heretics; and therefore they
come to Catholic peace and unity, not that they may receive baptism, but that what they
had received may begin to profit them.

Chap. xli. â€” 79. Also another Januarius of Muzuli\(^*\) said:
" I wonder that, while all acknowledge that there is one baptism, all do not understand the unity of the same baptism.
For the Church and heresy are two distinct things. If heretics have baptism, we have it
not; but if we have it, heretics cannot have it. But there is no doubt that the Church alone
possesses the baptism of Christ, since it alone possesses both the favour and the truth of
Christ."

1 Ch. xxi. 37. * 2 Cor. ii. 15.

* Muzuli is perhaps the same as Mazula in Nuniidia.

CHAP. XLIII.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 191

80. Another might equally say, and say with equal want of truth: I wonder that, while all
confess there is one baptism, all do not understand the unity of baptism. For
righteousness and unrighteousness are two distinct things. If the unrighteous have
baptism, the righteous have it not; but if the righteous have it, the unrighteous cannot
have it. But there is no doubt that the righteous alone possess the baptism of Christ, since
they alone possess both the favour and the truth of Christ. This is certainly false, as they
confess themselves. For those envious ones also who are of the party of the devil, though
placed within the Church, as Cyprian tells us, and who were well known to the Apostle
Paul, had baptism, but did not belong to the members of that dove which is safely
sheltered on the rock.
Chap. xlh. â€” 81. Adelphius of Thasbalte^ said: "It is surely without cause that they find fault with the truth in false and invidious terms, saying that we rebaptize, since the Church does not rebaptize heretics, but baptize them."

82. Truly enough it does not rebaptize them, because it only baptizes those who were not baptized before; and this earlier custom has only been confirmed in a later Council by a more careful perfecting of the truth.

Chap. xltii. â€” 83. Demetrius of the Lesser Leptis^ said: "We uphold one baptism, because we claim for the Catholic Church alone what is her own. But those who say that heretics baptize truly and lawfully are themselves the men who make, not two, but many baptisms; for since heresies are many in number, the baptisms, too, will be reckoned according to their number."

84. To him we answer: If this were so, then would as many baptisms be reckoned as there are works of the flesh, of which the apostle says "that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God;" among which are reckoned also heresies; and so many of those very works are

* Thasbalte was in Bjrâ€acene.

^ Leptis the Lesser was in Cyzacene, the Greater being in Tripoli.

8 Gal. V. 21.

102 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VI.]

tolerated within the Church as though in the chaff, and yet there is one baptism for them all, which is not vitiated by any work of unrighteousness.

Chap. xltv. â€” 85. Vincentius of Thibaris^ said: "We know that heretics are worse than heathens. If they, being converted, wish to come to God, they have assuredly a rule of truth, which the Lord by His divine precept committed to the apostles, saying, 'Go ye, lay on hands in my name, cast out devils;' and in another place, 'Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Therefore, first by the laying on of hands in exorcism, secondly by regeneration in baptism, they may come to the promises of Christ; but my judgment is that in no other way should this be done."

86. By what rule he asserts that heretics are worse than heathens I do not know, seeing that the Lord says, "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."* Is a heretic worse even than such? I do not gainsay it. I do not, however, allow that because the man himself is worse than a heathen, that is, than a Gentile and pagan, therefore whatever the sacrament contains that is Christ's is mingled
with his vices and character, and perishes through the corruption of such admixture. For if even those who depart from the Church, and become not the followers but the founders of heresies, have been baptized before their secession, they continue to have baptism, although, according to the above rule, they are worse than heathens; for if on correction they return, they do not receive it, as they certainly would do if they had lost it. It is therefore possible that a man may be worse than a heathen, and yet that the sacrament of Christ may not only be in him, but be not a whit inferior to what it is in a holy and righteous man. For although to the extent of his powers he has not preserved the sacrament, but done it violence in heart and will, yet so far as the sacrament's own nature is concerned, it has remained unhurt in its integrity even in the man who

1 Tliibaris, perhaps the same as Tabora in ^lauritania Csesariensis.


CHAP. XLIV.] THE COUNCIL OF CArvTHAGE. 193

despised and rejected it. "Were not the people of Sodom heathens, that is to say, Gentiles? The Jews therefore were worse, to whom the Lord says, " It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee;"^ and to whom the prophet says, "Thou hast justified Sodom," ^

that is to say, in comparison with thee Sodom is righteous. Shall we, however, maintain that on this account the holy sacraments which existed among the Jews partook of the nature of the Jews themselves, â€“ those sacraments which the Lord Himself also accepted, and sent the lepers whom He had cleansed to fulfil them,^ of which, when Zacharias was administering them, the angel stood by him, and declared that his prayer had been heard while he was sacrificing in the temple? * These same sacraments were both in the good men of that time, and in those bad men who were worse than are the heathens, seeing that they were ranked before the Sodomites for wickedness, and yet those sacraments were perfect and holy in both.

87. For even if the Gentiles themselves could have anything holy and right in their doctrines, our saints did not condemn it, however much the Gentiles themselves were to be detested for their superstitions and idolatry and pride, and the rest of their corruptions, and to be punished with judgment from heaven, unless they submitted to correction. For when Paul the apostle also was saying something concerning God before the Athenians, he adduced as a proof of what he said, that certain of them had said something to the same effect,^ which certainly would not be condemned but recognised in them if they should come to Christ. And the holy Cyprian uses similar evidence against the same heathens; for, speaking of the magi, he says, " The chief of them, however, Hostanes, asserts both that the form of the true God cannot be seen, and also that true angels stand beside His seat. In which Plato also agrees in like manner, and, maintaining the ( existence of one God, he calls the others angels or demons.
Hermes Trismegistus also speaks of one God, and confesses that He is incomprehensible, and past our powers of estima-


3 isr

194 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VL

...tion." ^ If, therefore, they were to come to the perception of salvation in Christ, it surely would not be said to them, This that ye have is bad, or false; but clearly it would deservedly be said. Though this in you is perfect and true, yet it would profit nothing unless ye came to the grace of Christ. If, therefore, anything that is holy can be found and rightly approved in the very heathens, although the salvation which is of Christ is not yet to be granted to them, we ought not, even though heretics are worse than they, to be moved to the desire of correcting what is bad in them belonging to themselves, without being willing to acknowledge what is good in them of Christ. But we will set forth from a fresh preface to consider the remaining judgments of this Council

* Cypr. de Idol. Vanitate,

CITAP. [L] the council OF CARTHAGE. 195

BOOK SEVENTH.

IN WHICH THE REMAINING JUDGMENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE ARE

EXAMINED.

CHAP. I. â€” 1. Let us not be considered troublesome to our readers, if we discuss the same question often and from different points of view. For although the holy Catholic Church throughout all nations be fortified by the authority of primitive custom and of a general Council against those arguments which throw some darkness over the question about baptism, whether it can be the same among heretics and schismatics that it is in the Catholic Church, yet, since a different opinion has at one time been entertained in the
unity of the Church itself, by men who are in nowise to be despised, and especially by
Cyprian, whose authority men endeavour to use against us who are far removed from his
charity, we are therefore compelled to make use of the opportunity of examining and
considering all that we find on this subject in his Council and letters, in order, as it were,
to handle at some considerable length this same question, and to show how it has more
truly been the decision of the whole body of the Catholic Church, that heretics or
schismatics, who have received baptism already in the body from which they came,
should be admitted with it into the communion of the Catholic Church, being corrected in
their error, and rooted and grounded in the faith, that, so far as concerns the sacrament of
baptism, there should not be an addition of something that was wanting, but a turning to
profit of what was in them. And the holy Cyprian indeed, now that the corruptible body
no longer presseth down the soul, nor the earthly tabernacle presseth down the mind that
museth upon many things, sees with greater clearness that truth to which

1 Wisd. ix. 15.


his charity made him deserving to attain. May he therefore help Tis by his prayers, while
we labour in the mortality of the flesh as in a darksome cloud, that if the Lord so grant it,
we may imitate so far as we can the good that was in him. But if he thought otherwise
than right on any point, and persuaded certain of his brethren and colleagues to entertain
his views in a matter which he now sees clearly through the revelation of Him whom he
loved, let us, who are far inferior to his merits, yet following, as our weakness will allow,
the authority of the Catholic Church of which he was himself a conspicuous and most
noble member, strive our utmost against heretics and schismatics, seeing that they, being
cut off from the unity which he maintained, and barren of the love with which he was
fruitful, and fallen away from the humility in which he stood, are disavowed and
condemned the more by him, in proportion as he knows that they wish to search out his
writings for purposes of treachery, and are unwilling to imitate what he did for the
maintenance of peace, â€” like those who, calling themselves Nazarene Christians, and
circumcising the foreskin of their flesh after the fashion of the Jews, being heretics by
birth in that error from which Peter, when straying from the truth, was recalled by Paul, persist in the same to the present day. As therefore they have remained in their perversity
cut off from the body of the Church, while Peter has been crowned in the primacy of the
apostles through the glory of martyrdom, so these men, while Cyprian, through the
abundance of his love, has been received into the portion of the saints through the
brightness of his passion, are obliged to recognise themselves as exiles from unity, and,
in defence of their calumnies, set up a citizen of unity as an opponent against the very
home of unity. Let us therefore go on to examine the other judgments of that Council
after the same fashion.
Char ii. â€” 2. Marcus of Mactaris* said: " It is not to be wondered at if heretics, being enemies and opponents of the truth, claim to themselves what has been entrusted and vouchsafed to other men. What is marvellous is that some of us,

* Gal. ii. 11. Mactaris was in Byzacene.

CITAP. IT.] THE COUNCIL OF CAUTHAGA. 197

traitors to the triitli, uphold heretics and oppose Christians; therefore we decree that heretics should be baptized."

3. To him we answer: It is indeed much more to be wondered at, and deserving of expressions of great praise, that Cyprian and his colleagues had such love for unity that they continued in unity with those whom they considered to be traitors to the truth, without any apprehension of being polluted by them. For when Marcus said, " It is marvellous that some of us, traitors to the truth, uphold heretics and oppose Christians," it seemed natural that he should add. Therefore we decree that communion should not be held with them. This he did not say; but what he does say is, " Therefore we decree that heretics should be baptized," adhering to what the peaceful Cyprian had enjoined in the first instance, saying,

" Judging no man, nor removing any from the right of communion if he entertain a different opinion." While, therefore, the Donatists calumniate us and call us traditors, I should be glad to know, supposing that any Jew or pagan were found, who, after reading the records of that Council, should call both us and them, according to their own rules, traitors to the truth, how we should be able to make our joint defence so as to refute and wash away so grave a charge. They give the name of traditors to men whom they were never able in times past to convict of the offence, and whom they cannot now show to be involved in it, being themselves rather shown to be liable to the same charge. But what has this to do with us ?

What shall we say of them who, by their own showing, are unquestionably traitors ? For if we, however falsely, are called traditors, because, as they allege, we took part in the same communion with traitors, we have all taken part with the traitors in question, seeing that in the time of the blessed Cyprian the party of Donatus had not yet separated itself from unity. For the delivery of the sacred books, from which they began to be called traditors, occurred somewhat more than forty years after his martyrdom. If, therefore, we are traditors, because we sprang from traditors, as they believe or pretend, we both of us derive our origin from those other traitors. For there is no room for saying that they did not communicate with these traitors, since they call them men of
their own party. In the words of the Council which they are most forward to quote, "Some of us," it declares, "traitors to the truth, uphold heretics." To this is added the testimony of Cyprian, showing clearly that he remained in communion with them when he says, "Judging no man, nor removing any from the right of communion if he entertain a different opinion." For those who entertained a different opinion were the very persons whom Marcus calls traitors to the truth because they upheld heretics, as he maintains, by receiving them into the Church without baptism. That it was, moreover, the custom that they should be so received, is testified both by Cyprian himself in many passages, and by some bishops in this Council. Whence it is evident that, if heretics have not baptism, the Church of Christ of those days was full of traitors, who upheld them by receiving them in this way. I would urge, therefore, that we plead our cause in common against the charge of treason which they cannot disavow, and therein our special case will be argued against the charge of delivering the books, which they could;iot prove against us.

But let us argue the point as though they had convicted us; and what we shall answer jointly to those who urge against both of us the general treason of our forefathers, that we will answer to these men who urge against us that our forefathers gave up the sacred books. For as we were dead because our forefathers delivered up the books, which caused them to divide themselves from us, so both we and they themselves are dead through the treason of our forefathers, from whom both we and they are sprung. But since they say they live, they hold that that treason does not in any way affect them, therefore neither are we affected by the delivery of the books. And it should be observed that, according to them, the treason is indisputable: while, according to us, there is no truth either in the former charge of treason, because we say that heretics also may have the baptism of Christ; nor in the latter charge of delivering the books, because in that they were themselves beaten. They have therefore no reason for separating themselves by the wicked sin of schism, because, if our forefathers were not guilty of delivering the sacred books, as we say, there is no charge which can affect us at all; but if they were guilty of the sin.

Chap. iii. — 4. Satius of Siccilibba said: "If heretics receive forgiveness of their sins in their own baptism, it is without reason that they come to the Church. For since it is for sins that men are punished in the day of judgment, heretics have nothing to fear in the judgment of Christ if they have obtained remission of their sins."

5. This too might also have been our own judgment; but let its author beware in what spirit it was said. For it is expressed in terms of such import, that I should feel no
compunction in consenting and subscribing to it in the same spirit in which I too believe that heretics may indeed have the baptism of Christ, but cannot have the remission of their sins.

But he does not say. If heretics baptize or are baptized, but "If heretics," he says, "receive forgiveness of their sins in their own baptism, it is without reason that they come to the Church." For if we were to set in the place of heretics those whom Cyprian knew within the Church as renouncing the world in words alone and not in deeds, we also might express this same judgment, in just so many words, with the most perfect truth. If those who only seem to be converted receive forgiveness of their sins in their own baptism, it is without reason that they are afterwards led on to a true conversion.

For since it is for sins that men are punished in the day of judgment, those who renounce the world in words and not in deeds have nothing to fear in the judgment of Christ if they have obtained remission of their sins. But this reasoning is only made perfect by some such context as is formed by the addition of the words. But they ought to fear the judgment of Christ, and to lose no time in being converted in the truth of their hearts; and when they have done this, it is certainly not necessary that they should be baptized a second time. It

^ Siccilibba was in Zeugitana.

200 ox BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

was possible, therefore, for them to receive baptism, and either not to receive remission of their sins, or to be burdened again at once with the load of sins which were forgiven them; and so the same is the case also with the heretics.

Chap. iv. â€” 6. Victor of Gor ^ said: "Seeing that sins are forgiven only in the baptism of the Church, he who admits heretics to communion without baptism is guilty of two errors contrary to reason; for, on the one hand, he does not cleanse the heretics, and, on the other, he defiles the Christians."

7. To this we answer that the baptism of the Church exists even among heretics, though they themselves are not within the Church; just as the water of Paradise was found in the land of Egypt, though that land was not itself in Paradise. We do not therefore admit heretics to communion without baptism.; and since they come with their waywardness corrected, we receive not their sins, but the sacraments of Christ. And, in respect of the remission of their sins, we say again here exactly what we said above. And certainly, in regard of what he says at the end of his judgment, declaring that he "is guilty of two errors contrary to reason, seeing that on the one hand he does not cleanse the heretics, and on the other he defiles the Christians," Cyprian himself is the first and the most earnest in repudiating this with, the colleagues who agreed with him.
Por neither did he think that he was defiled, when, on account of the bond of peace, he decreed that it was right to hold communion with such men, when he used the words, "Judæinc:

no one, nor removing any from the right of communion if he entertain a different opinion." Or, if heretics defile the Church by being admitted to communion without being baptized, then the whole Church has been defiled in vii'tue of that custom which has been so often recorded here. And just as those men call us tradiiors because of our forefathers, in whom they were able to prove nothing of the sort when they laid the charge against them, so, if every man partakes of the character of those with whom he may have held communion, all were then made heretics. And if every one who

^ Gor is variously supposed to "be Garra in Mauritania, or Garriana iu Byzacene.

CHAP, v.]

asserts this is mad, it must be false that Victor says, when he declares that " he who admits heretics to communion without baptism, not only fails to cleanse the heretics, but pollutes the Christians as well." Or if this be true, they were then not admitted without baptism, but those men had the baptism of Christ, although it was given and received among heretics, who were so admitted in accordance with that custom which these very men acknowledged to exist; and on the same grounds they are even now rightly admitted in the same manner.

Chap. v. â€” 8. Aurelius of Utica^ said: " Since the apostle says that we ought not to be partakers with the sins of other men,^ what else does he do but make himself partaker with the sins of other men, who holds communion with heretics without the baptism of the Church? And therefore I pronounce my judgment that heretics should be baptized, that they may receive remission of their sins, and so communion be allowed to them." *

9. The answer is: Therefore Cyprian and all those bishops were partakers in the sins of other men, inasmuch as they remained in communion with such men, when they removed no one from the right of communion who entertained a different opinion. Where, then, is the Church? Then, to say nothing for the moment of heretics, â€” since the words of this judgment are applicable also to other sinners, such as Cyprian saw with lamentatioD to be in the Church with him, whom, while he confuted them, he yet tolerated, â€” where is the Church, which, according to these words, must be held to have perished from that very moment by the contagion of their sins? But if, as is the most firmly established truth, the Church both has remained and does remain, the partaking of the sins of others, which is forbidden by the apostle, must be considered only to consist in consenting to them.

But let heretics be baptized again, that they may receive remission of their sins, if the wayward and the envious are baptized again, who, seeing that they renounced the world in
^ Utica, the well-known city in Zeugitana, where Cato died.
\(\text{«} 1\ \text{Tim. V. 22.}\)

202 ON BARIISM. [book vil

words and not in deeds, were indeed able to receive baptism, but did not obtain remission of their sins, as the Lord says,
"If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." ^

Chap. VIL â€“ 10. Iambus of Germaniciana ^ said: "The^se who approve the baptism of heretics disapprove ours, so as to deny that such as are, I will not say washed, but defiled outside the Church, ought to be baptized within the Church."

11. To him we answer, that none of our party approves the baptism of heretics, but all the baptism of Christ, even though it be found in heretics who are as it were chaff outside the Church, as it may be found in other unrighteous men who are as chaff within the Church. For if those who are baptized without the Church are not washed, but defiled, assuredly those who are baptized outside the rock on which the Church is built are not washed, but defiled. But all are without the said rock who hear the words of Christ and do them not. Or if it be the case that they are washed indeed in baptism, but yet continue in the defilement of their unrighteousness, from which they were unwilling to be changed for the better, the same is true also of the heretics.

Chap, vil â€“ 12. Lucianus of Paicuma^ said: "It is written, 'And God saw the light that it was good, and God divided the light from the darkness.' * If light and darkness can agree, then can there be something in common between us and heretics. Therefore I give my judgment that heretics should be baptized."

13. To him the answer is: If light and darkness can agree, then can there be something common between the righteous and unrighteous. Let him therefore declare his judgment that those unrighteous should be baptized afresh wliom C\'prian confuted within the Church itself; or let him who can say if those are not unrighteous who renounce the world in words and not in deeds.

1 Matt. vi. 15.

2 Germaniciana Nova was in Byzacene.

* E-ucuma was in Zcugitana. * Gen. i. i.

CHAP. X.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 203
Chap. VIII. ã€” 14. Pelagianus of Luperciana^ said: "It is written, 'Either the Lord is God, or Baal is God.' ^ So now either the Church is the Church, or heresy is the Church. Further, if heresy be not the Church, how can the baptism of the Church exist among heretics?"

15. To him we may answer as follows: Either Paradise is Paradise, or Egypt is Paradise. Further, if Egypt be not Paradise, how can the water of Paradise be in Egypt? But it will be said to us that it extends even thither by flowing forth from Paradise. In like manner, therefore, baptism extends to heretics. Also we say: Either the rock is the Church, or the sand is the Church. Further, since the sand is not the Church, how can baptism exist with those who build upon the sand by hearing the words of Christ and doing them not? ^ And yet it does exist with them; and in like manner also it exists among the heretics.

Chap. ix. ã€” 16. Jader of Midïlia* said: "We know that there is but one baptism in the Catholic Church, and therefore we ought not to admit a heretic unless he has been baptized in our body, lest he should think that he has been baptized outside the Catholic Church."

17. To him our answer is, that if this were said of those unrighteous men who are outside the rock, it certainly would be falsely said. And so it is therefore also in the case of heretics.

Chap. x. ã€” 18. Likewise another Felix of Marazana ' said: "There is one faith, one baptism,^ but of the Catholic Church, to which alone is given authority to baptize."

19. What if another were to say as follows: One faith, one baptism, but of the righteous only, to whom alone authority is given to baptize? As these words might be refuted, so also may the judgment of Felix be refuted. Do even the unrighteous, who are not^ changed in heart in baptism, while

^ The position of Luperciana is unknown. * See 1 Kings xviii. 21.
3 Matt. vii. 24-27. * Midila was in Numidia.

^ Marazana was in Byzacene. ^ Eph. iv. 5.

"^ Ifec . . . mutati. ** Nee " is restored by Migne from the mss.

204 ON BAniSM. [BOOK VII.]
they renounce the world in words and not in deeds, yet belong to the members of the Church? Let them consider whether such a Church is the actual rock, the very dove, the bride herself without spot or wrinkle. —

Chap. xi. â€” 20. Paul of Bobba^ said: "I for my part am not moved if some fail to uphold the faith and truth of the Church, seeing that the apostle says, Tor what if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar."^ But if God be true, how can the truth of baptism be in the company of heretics, where God is not?"

21. To him we answer: What, is God among the covetous? And yet baptism exists among them; and so also it exists among heretics. For they among whom God is, are the temple of God. " But what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?"* Further, Paul considers, and Cyprian agrees with him, that covetousness is idolatry; and Cyprian himself again associates with his colleagues, who were robbers, but yet baptized, with great reward of toleration.

Chap. xii. â€” 22. Pomponius of Dionysiana^ said: "It is manifest that heretics cannot baptize and give remission of sins, seeing that no power is given to them that they should be able either to loose or bind anything on earth."

23. The answer is: This power is not given to murderers either, that is, to those who hate their brothers. For it was not said to such as these, " Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."^ And yet they baptize, and both Paul tolerates them in the same communion of baptism, and Cyprian accoiowledges them.

Chap. xiii. â€” 24. Venantius of Tinisa^ said: " If a husband, going on a journey into foreign countries, had entrusted the

* Eph. V. 27. See Retract, ii. 18, quoted on i. xvii. 26.

* Bobba was in Mauritania Tin^itana. ^ Horn. iii. 3, 4.

* 2 Cor. vi. 16. ^ Dionysiana was in Byzacene.
guardianship of his wife to a friend, he would surely keep her that was entrusted to his care with the utmost diligence, that her chastity and holiness might not be defiled by any one.

Christ our Lord and God, when going to the Father, committed His bride to our care: do we keep her uncorrupt and undefiled, or do we betray her purity and chastity to adulterers and corrupters? For he who makes the baptism of Christ common with heretics betrays the bride of Christ to adulterers."

25. We answer: What of those who, when they are baptized, turn themselves to the Lord with their lips and not with their heart? do not they possess an adulterous mind? Are not they themselves lovers of the world, which they renounce in words and not in deeds; and they corrupt good manners through evil communications, saying, "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die?" Do not they possess an adulterous mind? Did not the discourse of the apostle take heed even against such as these, when he says, 'â€œ But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtility, so your minds also should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ?" When, therefore, Cyprian held the baptism of Christ to be in common with such men, did he therefore betray the bride of Christ into the hands of adulterers, or did he not rather recognise the necklace of the Bridegroom even on an adulteress?

Chap. xiv. â€” 26. Aymnius of Ausnaga said: "We have received one baptism, which same also we administer; but he who says that authority is given to heretics also to baptize, the same makes two baptisms."

27. To him we answer: Why does not he also make two baptisms who maintains that the unrighteous also can baptize? For although the righteous and unrighteous are in themselves opposed to one another, yet the baptism which the righteous give, such as was Paul, or such as was also Cyprian, is not contrary to the baptism which those unrighteous men were wont to give who hated Paul, whom Cyprian understands to have been not heretics, but bad Catholics; and

1 1 Cor. XV. 33, 32. 2 2 Cor. xi. 3.

^ Ausna;ia was in Zeufcitana.

206 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

although the moderation which was found in Cyprian, and the covetousness which was found in his colleagues, are in themselves opposed to one another, yet the baptism which Cyprian used to give was not contrary to the baptism which his colleagues who opposed him used to give, but one and the same with it, because in both cases it is He that baptizes of whom it is said, " The same is He which baptizeth."
Chap. xiv. â€” 28. Saturninus of Victoriana^ said: "If heretics may baptize, they are excused and defended in doing unlawful things; nor do I see why either Christ called them His adversaries, or the apostle called them antichrists."

29. To him we answer: We say that heretics have no authority to baptize in the same sense in which we say that defrauders have no authority to baptize. For not only to the heretic, but to the sinner, God says, "What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my statutes in thy mouth?" To the same person He assuredly says, "When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him." ^

How much worse, therefore, are those who did not consent with thieves, but themselves were wont to plunder farms with treacherous deceits? Yet Cyprian did not consent with them, though he did tolerate them in the corn-field of the Catholic Church, lest the wheat should be rooted out together with it.

And yet at the same time the baptism which they themselves conferred was the very selfsame baptism, because it was not of them, but of Christ. As therefore they, although the baptism of Christ be recognised in them, were yet not excused and defended in doing unlawful things, and Christ rightly called those His adversaries who were destined, by persevering in such things, to hear the doom, "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity," * whence also they are called antichrists, because they are contrary to Christ while they live in opposition to His words, so likewise is it the case with heretics.

Chap. XVI. â€” 30. Another Saturninus of Tucca" said: "The

^ John i. 33. ^ Victoriana was in Byzacene. ' Ps. 1. IG, IS.

* Matt. vii. 23. * Tucca was in Numidia.

CHAP. XVII.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 207

Gentiles, although they worship idols, yet acknowledge and confess the supreme God, the Father and Creator. Against Him Marcion blasphemes, and some men do not blush to approve the baptism of Marcion. How do such priests either maintain or vindicate the priesthood of God, who do not baptize the enemies of God, and hold communion with them while they are thus unbaptized?"

31. The answer is this: Truly when such terms as this are used, all moderation is passed; nor do they take into consideration that even they themselves hold communion with such men, "judging no one, nor removing any from the right of communion if he entertain a contrary opinion." But Saturninus has used an argument in this very judgment of his, which might furnish materials for his admonition (if he would pay attention to it), that in each man what is wrong should be corrected, and what is right should be approved, since he says, "The Gentiles, although they worship idols, yet acknowledge and confess the supreme God, the Father and Creator." If, then, any Gentile of such a kind should come to God, would he wish to correct and change this point in him that he acknowledged and
confessed God the Father and Creator? I trow not. But he would amend in him his idolatry, which was an evil in him; and he would give to him the sacraments of Christ, which he did not possess; and anything that was wajrved which he found in him he would correct; and anything which had been wanting he would supply. So also in the Marcionist heretic he would acknowledge the perfectness of baptism, he would correct his waywardness, he would teach him Catholic truth.

Chap. xvii. Æ” 32. Marcellus of Zama^ said: "Since sins are remitted only in the baptism of the Church, he who does not baptize a heretic holds communion with a sinner."

33. AVhat, does he who holds communion with one who

* He is alluding to Stephen, bishop of Rome, of whom Cyprian says in his seventy-fourth epistle (to Pompeius): ** Why has the perverse obstinacy of our brother Stephen burst out to such a point, that he should even contend that sons of God are born of the baptism of Marcion, and others who blaspheme against God the Father?"

* Zama was in Numidia, famous for Hannibal's defeat by Scipio.

208 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

does this not hold communion with a sinner? But what else did all of them do, in judging no one, or removing from the right of communion any one who entertained a different opinion? Where, then, is the Church? Are those things not an obstacle to those who are patient, and tolerate the tares lest the wheat should be rooted out together with them? I would have them therefore say, who have committed the sacrilege of schism by separating themselves from the whole world, how it comes that they have in their mouths the judgment of Cyprian, while they do not have in their hearts the patience of Cyprian. But to this Marcellus we have an answer in what has been said above concerning baptism and the remission of sins, explaining how there can be baptism in a man although there be in him no remission of his sins.

Chap, xviii. Æ” 34. Iren^us of Ululi^ said: "If the Church does not baptize a heretic, because it is said that he has been baptized already, then heresy is the greater."

35. The answer is: On the same principle it might be said. If therefore the Church does not baptize the covetous man, because it is said that he has been baptized already, then covetousness is the greater. But this is false, therefore the other is also false.

CiiAP. XIX. Æ” 36. Donatus of Cibaliana^ said: "I acknowledge one Church, and one baptism that appertains thereto. If there is any one who says that the grace of baptism exists among heretics, he must first show and prove that the Church exists with them."
37. To him we answer: If you say that the grace of baptism is identical with baptism, then it exists among heretics; but if baptism is the sacrament or outward sign of grace, while the grace itself is the abolition of sins, then the grace of baptism does not exist with heretics. But so there is one baptism and one Church, just as there is one faith. As therefore the good and bad, not having one hope, can yet have one baptism, so those who have not one common Church can have one common baptism.

^ Ululi and Cibuliaua were both in Byzacene.

CHAP. XXII.] THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 209

CiiAr. XX. â€” 38. Zozimus of Tharassa^ said: "When a revelation has been made of the truth, error must give way to truth; inasmuch as Peter also, who before was wont to circumcise, gave way to Paul when he declared the truth." ^

39. The answer is: This may also be considered as the expression of our judgment too, and this is just what has been done in respect of this question of baptism. For after that the truth had been more clearly revealed, error gave way to truth, when that most wholesome custom was further confirmed by the authority of a general Council. It is well, however, that they so constantly bear in mind that it was possible even for Peter, the chief of the apostles, to have been at one time minded otherwise than the truth required; which we believe, without any disrespect to Cyprian, to have been the case with him, and that with all our love for Cyprian, for it is not right that he should be loved with greater love than Peter.

Chap. xxi. â€” 40. Julianus of Telepte^ said: "It is written, 'A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven;' * if heresy is from heaven, it can give baptism."

41. Let him hear another also saying: If covetousness is from heaven, it can give baptism. And yet the covetous do confer it; so therefore also may the heretics.

Chap. xxii. â€” 42. Faustus of Timida Eegia^ said: "Let not these persons flatter themselves who favour heretics. He who interferes with the baptism of the Church on behalf of heretics makes them Christians, and us heretics."

43. To hhn we answer: If any one were to say that a man who, when he received baptism, had not received remission of his sins, because he entertained hatred towards his brother in his heart, was nevertheless not to be baptized again when he dismissed that hatred from his heart, does such a man interfere with the baptism of the Church on behalf of murderers, or does he make them righteous and us

^ Tharassa was in Kumidia. 2 Qa]_ {{ 11
Telepte, or Thala, was in Byzacene. * John iii. 27.

* Timida Re^a was in Zeugitana.

210 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

murderers 1 Let him therefore understand the same also in the case of heretics.

Chap, xxiii. â€” 44. Geminius of Furni ^ said: "Certain of our colleagues may prefer heretics to themselves, they cannot prefer them to us: and therefore what we have once decreed we hold, that we should baptize those who come to us from heretics."

45. This man also acknowledges most openly that, certain of his colleagues entertained opinions contrary to his own:
whence again and again the love of unity is confirmed, because they were separated from one another by no schism, t'iU God should reveal to one or other of them anything wherein "they were otherwise minded.^ But to him our answer is, that his colleagues did not prefer heretics to themselves, but that, as the baptism of Christ is acknowledged in the covetous, in the fraudulent, in robbers, in murderers, so also they acknowledged it in heretics.

Chap. xxiv. â€” 46. Eogatianus of !N"ova^ said: "Christ established the Church, the devil heresy: how can the synagogue of Satan have the baptism of Christ ? "

47. To him our answer is: Is it true that because Christ established the well-aftactioned, and the devil the envious, therefore the party of the devil, which is proved to be among the envious, cannot have the baptism of Christ ?

Chap. xxv. â€” 48. Therapius of Bulla "^ said: "If a man gives up and betrays the baptism of Christ to heretics, what else can he be said to be but a Judas to the Bride of Christ?"

49. How great a condemnation have we here of all schismatics, who have separated themselves by wicked sacrilege from the inheritance of Christ dispersed throughout the whole world, if Cyprian held communion with such as was the traitor Judas, and yet was not defiled by them; or if he was defiled, then were all made such as Judas; or if they were not, then the evil deeds of those who went before do not

' Furni was in Zeiigitana. ^ Phil. iii. 15.

* Kovu was in Zeugitana. * Balla Regia was an inland town of Numiilia.
belong to those who came after, even though they were the offspring of the same communion. Why, therefore, do they cast in our teeth the traditores, against whom they did not prove their charge, and do not cast in their own teeth Judas, with whom Cyprian and his colleagues held communion?

Behold the Council in which these men are wont to boast!

We indeed say, that he who approves the baptism of Christ even in heretics, does not betray to heretics the baptism of Christ; just in the same way as he does not betray to murderers the baptism of Christ who approves the baptism of Christ even in murderers: but inasmuch as they profess to prescribe to us from the decrees of this Council what opinions we ought to hold, let them first assent to it themselves. See how therein were compared to the traitor Judas, all who said that heretics, although baptized in heresy, yet should not be baptized again.

Yet with such Cyprian was willing to hold communion, when he said, "Judging no man, nor depriving any of the right of communion if he entertain a contrary opinion." But that there had been men of such a sort in former times within the Church, is made clear by the sentence in which he says:

"But some one will say. What, then, shall be done with these men who in times past were admitted into the Church without baptism?" ^ That such had been the custom of the Church, is testified again and again by the very men who compose this Council. If, therefore, any one who does this

"can be said to be nothing else but a Judas to the Bride of Christ," according to the terms in which the judgment of Therapius is couched; but Judas, according to the teaching of the gospel, was a traitor; then all those men held communion with traitors who at that time uttered those very judgments, and before they uttered them they all had become traitors through that custom which at that time was retained by the Church. All, therefore â€” that is to say, both we and they themselves who were the offspring of that unity â€” are traitors. But we defend ourselves in two ways: first, because without prejudice to the right of unity, as Cyprian himself declared in his opening speech, we do not assent to the decrees of this Council in which this judgment was pro-


212 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

nounced; and secondly, because we hold that the wicked in no way hurt the good in Catholic unity, until at the last the chaff be separated from the wheat. But our opponents, inasmuch as they both shelter themselves as it were under the decrees of this Council, and maintain that the good perish as by a kind of infection from communion with the wicked, have no resource to save them from allowing both that the earlier Christians, whose offspring they are, were traitors, inasmuch as they are convicted by their own Council; and that the deeds of those who went before them do reflect on them, since they throw in our teeth the deeds of our ancestors.
Chap, xxvl â€“ 50. Also another Lucius of Membresa^ said: "It is written, 'God heareth not sinners.' How can he who is a sinner be heard in baptism?"

51. We answer: How is the covetous man heard, or the robber, and usurer, and murderer? Are they not sinners? And yet Cyprian, while he finds fault with them in the Catholic Church, yet tolerates them.

Chap, xxvii. â€“ 52. Also another Felix of Buslaceni^ said: "In admitting heretics to the Church without baptism, let no one place custom before reason and truth; for reason and truth always exclude custom."

53. To him our answer is: You do not show the truth; you confess the existence of the custom. We should therefore do right in maintaining the custom which has since been confirmed by a general Council, even if the truth were still concealed, which we believe to have been already made manifest.

Chap, xxviii. â€“ 54. Another Saturninus of Abitini* said: "If Antichrist can give to any one the grace of Christ, then can heretics also baptize, who are called Antichristians."

55. What if another were to say: If a murderer can give

^ Membresa was in Zengitana. 2 John ix. 31.

' Buslaceni is probably Byzacium, the capital of Byzacene, since we know that it was also called Bizica Liicana.
* Abitini was in Byzacene.

CIIAr. XXXII.] THE COUCIL OF CAKTHAGE. 213

the grace of Christ, then can they also baptize that hate their brethren, who are called murderers? For certainly he would seem in a way to speak the truth, and yet they can baptize; in like manner, therefore, can the heretics as well.

Chap, xxix. â€“ 56. Quintus of Aggya^ said: "He who has a thing can give it; but what can the heretics give, who are well known to have nothing?"

57. To him our answer is: If, then, any man can give a thing who has it, it is clear that heretics can give baptism: for when they separate from the Church, they have still the
sacrament of washing which they had received while in the Church; for when they return they do not again receive it, because they had not lost it when they withdrew from the Church.

Chap. xxx. â€” 58. Another Julianus of Marcelliana^ said: "If a man can serve two masters, God and mammon,^ then baptism also can serve two, the Christian and the heretic."

59. Truly, if it can serve the seK-restrained and the covetous man, the sober and the drunken, the well-affectioned and the murderer, why should it not also serve the Christian and the heretic ? â€” whom, indeed, it does not really serve; but it ministers to them, and is administered by them, for salvation to those who use it right, and for judgment to such as use it wrong.

Chap. xxxi. â€” 60, Tenax of Horrea Celiae* said: "There is one baptism, but of the Church; and where the Church is not, there baptism also cannot be."

61. To him we answer: How then comes it that it may "be where the rock is not, but only sand; seeing that the Church is on the rock, and not on sand ?

Chap, xxxii. â€” 62. Another Victor of Assura^ said: "It i is written, that ' there is one God and one Christ, one Church

^ Aggya, probably the same as Aggiva.

' The position of Marcelliana is unknown. ^ Matt. vi. 24.

* Horrea Celiac was a village of Byzacene, ten miles north of Hadrumetum.
' Assura was in Zeu^^itana.

214 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

and one baptism/ ^ How then can any one baptize in a place where there is not either God, or Christ, or the Church ? "

63. How can any one baptize either in that sand, where the Church is not, seeing that it is on the rock; nor God and Christ, seeing that there is not there the temple of God and Christ ?

Chap, xxxxiil â€” 16. Donatulus of Capsa^ said: "I also have always entertained this opinion, that heretics, who have gained nothing outside the Church, should be baptized when they are converted to the Church."
65. To this the answer is: They have, indeed, gained nothing outside the Church, but that is nothing towards salvation, not nothing towards the sacrament. For salvation is peculiar to the good; but the sacraments are common to the good and bad alike.

Chap. xxxrv. â€” 66. Verulus of Eusiccada ^ said: "A man that is a heretic cannot give that which he has not; much more is this the case with a schismatic, who has lost what he had."

67. We have already shown that they still have it, because they do not lose it when they separate themselves. For they do not receive it again when they return: wherefore, if it was thought that they could not give it because they were supposed not to have it, let it now be understood that they can give it, because it is understood that they also have it.

Chap. xxxv. â€” 68. Pudentianus of Cuiculi* said: "My recent ordination to the episcopate induced me, brethren, to wait and hear what my elders would decide. For it is plain that heresies have and can have nothing; and so, if any come from them, it is determined righteously that they should be baptized."

69. As, therefore, we have already answered those who went before, for whose judgment this man was waiting, so be it understood that we have answered himself.

^ See Eph. iv. 4-6. ' Capsa was in Byzacene.

^ Ilusiccada was at the mouth of the Thapsus, in Numidia.
* Cuiculi was in Numidia Cajsariensis.

CHAP. XXXVIII.] THE COUNCIL OF CAETHAGE. 215

Ceeap. XXXVI. â€” 70. Peter of Hippo Diarrhytus^ said: "Since there is one baptism in the Catholic Church, it is clear that a man cannot be baptized outside the Church; and therefore I give my judgment, that those who have been bathed in heresy or in schism ought to be baptized on coming to the Church."

71. There is one baptism in the Catholic Church, in such a sense that, when any have gone out from it, it does not become two in those who go out, but remains one and the same. What, therefore, is recognised in those who return, should also be recomised in those who received it from men who have separated themselves, since they did not lose it when they went apart into heresy.

Chap. xxx\^i. â€” 72. Likewise another Lucius of Ausafa^
said: "According to the motion of my mind and of the Holy Spirit, since there is one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Christ, and one hope, one Spirit, one Church, there ought also to be only one baptism. And therefore I say, both that if anything has been set on foot or done among the heretics, that it ought to be rescinded; and also, that they who come out from among the heretics should be baptized in the Church."

73. Let it therefore be pronounced of no effect that they baptize, who hear the words of God and do them not, when they shall begin to pass from unrighteousness to righteousness, that is, from the sand to the rock. And if this is not done, because what there was in them of Christ was not violated by their unrighteousness, then let this also be understood in the case of heretics: for neither is there the same hope in the unrighteous, so long as they are on the sand, as there is in those who are upon the rock; and yet there is in both the same baptism, although as it is said that there is one hope, so also is it said that there is one baptism.

CiiAP. xxxviii. â€” 74. Felix of Gurgites ^ said: "I give my judgment, that, according to the precepts of the holy Scrip-

* Hippo Diarrhytus was on the coast of Zeugltana.

^ Ausafa was in Zeugitana. ^ Gurgites was in Byzacene.

2 I G ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

tures, those who have been unlawfully baptized outside the Church by heretics, if they wish to flee to the Church, should obtain the grace of baptism where it is lawfully given."

75. Our answer is: Let them indeed begin to have in a lawful manner to salvation what they before had unlawfully to destruction; because each man is justified under the same baptism, when he has turned himself to God with a true heart, as that under which he was condemned, when on receiving it he renounced the world in words alone, and not in deeds.

Chap, xxxix. â€” 76. Pusillus of Lamasba^ said: "I believe that baptism is not unto salvation except within the Catholic Church. Whatsoever is without the Catholic Church is mere pretence."

77. This indeed is true, that "baptism is not unto salvation except within the Catholic Church." For in itself it can indeed exist outside the Catholic Church as well; but there it is not unto salvation, because there it does not work salvation; just as that sweet savour of Christ is certainly not unto salvation in them that perish,^ though from a fault not in itself, but in them. But "whatsoever is without the Catholic Church is mere pretence," yet only in so far as it is not Catholic. But there may be something Catholic outside the
Catholic Church, just as the name of Christ could exist outside the congregation of Christ, in which name he who did not follow with the disciples was casting out devils. For there may be pretence also within the Catholic Church, as is unquestionable in the case of those who renounce the world in words and not in deeds, and yet the pretence is not Catholic. As, therefore, there is in the Catholic Church something which is not Catholic, so there may be something which is Catholic outside the Catholic Church.

Chap. xl. â€” 78. Salvianus of Gazaufala* said: "It is generally known that heretics have nothing; and therefore they come to us, that they may receive what previously they did not have."

^ Lamasba was in Numidia. ' 2 Cor. ii. 15.

* Mark ix. 38. * Gazaufala was in Numidia.

CHAP. XLITI.] THE COUNCIL OF CAETHAGE. 21 7

79. Our answer is: On this theory, the very men who founded heresies are not heretics themselves, because they separated themselves from the Church, and certainly they previously had what they received there. But if it is absurd to say that those are not heretics through whom the rest became heretics, it is therefore possible that a heretic should have what turns to his destruction through his evil use of it.

Chap, xll â€” 80. Honoratus of Tucca^ said: "Since Christ is the truth, we ought to follow the truth rather than custom; that we may sanctify by the baptism of the Church the heretics who come to us, simply because they could receive no thin fT outside."

81. This man, too, is a witness to the custom, in which he gives us the greatest assistance, whatever else he may appear to say against us. But this is not the reason why heretics come over to us, because they have received nothing outside, but that what they did receive may begin to be of use to them: for this it could not be outside in any wise.

Chap, xlll â€” 82. Victor of Octavus^ said: "As ye yourselves also know, I have not been long appointed a bishop, and therefore I waited for the counsel of my seniors. This therefore I express as my opinion, that whosoever comes from heresy should undoubtedly be baptized."

83. What, therefore, has been answered to those for whom he waited, may be taken as the answer also to himself.

Char xliii. â€” 84. Clarus of Mascula^ said: "The sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, when He sent forth His apostles, and gave the power which had been given Him of His Father to them alone, whose successors we are, governing the Church of the Lord with the same power, and baptizing those who believe the faith. And therefore
heretics, who, being without, have neither power nor the Church of Christ, cannot baptize
yany one with His baptism."

85. Are, then, ill-affectioned murderers successors of the

'Tucca was in Mauritania Csesariensis.
2 Octavus and Iklascula were in Numidia.

218 ON BAriiSM. [book vn.

apostles ? Why, then, do they baptize ? Is it because they are not outside ? But they are
outside the rock, to which m the Lord gave the keys, and on which He said that He would
build His Church.^

CiiAP. XLiv. â€” 86. Secundianus of Thambei^ said: "We ought not to deceive heretics
by our too great forwardness, that not having been baptized in the Church of our Lord
Jesus Christ, and having therefore not received remission of their sins, they may not
impute to us, when the day of judgment comes, that we have been the cause of their not
being baptized, and not having obtained the indulgence of the grace of God. On which
account, since there is one Church and one baptism, when they are converted to us, let
them receive together with the Church the baptism also of the Church."

87. iN'ay, when they are transferred to the rock, and joined to the society of the Dove, let
them receive the remission of their sins, which they could not have outside the rock and
outside the Dove, whether they were openly without, like the heretics, or apparently
within, like the abandoned Catholics; of whom, however, it is clear that they both have
and confer baptism without remission of sins, when even from themselves it is received
by men, who, being not changed for the better, honour God with their lips, while their
heart is far from Him.^ Yet it is true that there is one baptism, just as there is one Dove,
though those who are not in the one communion of the Dove may yet have baptism in
common.

Chap. xlv. â€” 88. Also another Aurelius of ChuUabi* said:
" The Apostle John has laid down in his epistle the following precept: ' If there come any
unto you, and bring not tliis doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him
God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.' ^ How can
such men be admitted without consideration into the house of God, who are forbidden to
be admitted into our private house ? Or how can we hold com-

^ Matt. xvi. 18, 19. - Thambei was in Byzaceue. ^ Tsa. xxix. 13.

* Chullabi, or Cululi, was in Byzacene. * '2 John 10, 11.
in instruction with them without the baptism of Christ, when, if we only so much as bid them God speed, we are partakers of their evil deeds?"

89. In respect of this testimony of John there is no need of further disputation, since it has no reference at all to the question of baptism, which we are at present discussing. For lie says, "If any come unto you, and bring not the doctrine of Christ." But heretics leaving the doctrine of their error are converted to the doctrine of Christ, that they may be incorporated with the Church, and may begin to belong to the members of that Dove whose sacrament they previously had; and therefore what previously they lacked belonging to it is given to them, that is to say, peace and charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned. But what they previously had belonging to the Dove is acknowledged, and received without any depreciation; just as in the adulteress God recognises His gifts, even when she is following her lovers; because when after her fornication is corrected she is turned again to chastity, those gifts are not laid to her charge, but she herself is corrected. But just as Cyprian might have defended himself, if this testimony of John had been cast in his teeth, whilst he was holding communion with men like these, so let those against whom it is spoken make their own defence. For to the question before us, as I said before, it has no reference at all. For John says that we are not to bid God speed to men of strange doctrine; but Paul the apostle says, with even greater vehemence, "If any man that is called a brother be covetous, or a drunkard," or anything of the sort, with such an one no not to eat and yet Cyprian used to admit to fellowship, not with his private table, but with the altar of God, his colleagues who were usurers, and treacherous, and fraudulent, and robbers. But in what manner this may be defended has been sufficiently set forth in other books already.

Chap. xlvi. *90. Litteus of Gemelli* said: "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.' Since, there-

1 1 Tim. i. 5. 2 fjos. ii. 1 Cor. v. 11.

* Gemelli was a Roman colony in Numidia. * Matt. xv. 14.

220 ON BAPTISM. [BOOK VII.]

fore, it is clear that heretics can give no light to any one, as being blind themselves, therefore their baptism is invalid."

91. *Neither do we say that it is valid for salvation so long as they are heretics, just as it is of no value to those murderers of whom we spoke so long as they hate their brethren:}
for they also themselves are in darkness, and if any one follows them they fall together into the ditch; and yet it does not follow that they either have not baptism or are unable to confer it.

Chap. xlvii. â€” 92. !Tatalis of Oea^ said: "It is not only I myself who am present, but also Pompeius of Sabrata,^ and Dioga of Leptis Magna,^ who commissioned me to represent their views, being absent indeed in body, but present in spirit, who deliver this same judgment as our colleagues, that heretics cannot have communion with us, unless they have been baptized with the baptism of the Church."

93. He means, I suppose, that communion which belongs to the society of the Dove; for in the partaking of the sacraments they doubtless held communion with them, judging no man, nor removing any from the right of communion if he held a different opinion. But with whatever reference he spoke, there is no great need for these words being refuted. For certainly a heretic would not be admitted to communion, unless he had been baptized with the baptism of the Church.

But it is clear that the baptism of the Church exists even among heretics if it be consecrated with the words of the gospel; just as the gospel itself belongs to the Church, and has nothing to do with their waywardness, but certainly retains its own holiness.

Chap. xlviii. â€” 94. Junius of Neapolis^ said: "I do not depart from the judgment which we once pronounced,

^ Illuminare; baptism being often called (puTta-fjcoi.

^ Sabrata, Oea, and Leptis Alagna, were the three cities whose combination gave its name to Tripolis. The privilege of bishops to give their votes by proxy in a Council appears to have existed in very early times, and is perhaps referable to the example of St. Paul's interference in the Council of Achaean Bishops, though absent in body, 1 Cor. v. -1.

^ Neupolis was in Zeugitana.

CHAP. XLIX.] THE COUNCIL OF CAETHAGE. 221

that we should baptize heretics on their coming to the Church."

95. Since this man has adduced no argument nor proof from the Scriptures, he need not detain us long.

Chap. xlix. â€” 96. Cyprian of Carthage said: "My opinion has been set forth with the greatest fulness in the letter which has been written to our colleague Jubaianus/ that heretics being called enemies of Christ and antichrists according to the testimony of the
gospel and the apostles, should, when they come to the Church, be baptized with the one baptism of the Church, that from enemies they may be made friends, and that from antichrists they may be made Christians."

9 7. What need is there of further disputation here, seeing that we have already handled with the utmost care that very epistle to Jubaianus of which he has made mention? And as to what he has said here, let us not forget that it might be said of all unrighteous men who, as he himself bears witness, are in the Catholic Church, and whose power of possessing and of conferring baptism is not questioned by any of us.

For they come to the Church, who pass to Christ from the party of the devil, and build upon the rock, and are incorporated with the Dove, and are placed in security in the garden enclosed and fountain sealed; where none of those are found who live contrary to the precepts of Christ, wherever they may seem to be. For in the epistle which he wrote to Magnus, while discussing this very question, he himself warned us at sufficient length, and in no ambiguous terms, of what kind of society we should understand that the Church consists. For he says, in speaking of a certain man, "Let him become an alien and profane, an enemy to the peace and unity of the Lord, not dwelling in the house of God, that is to say, in the Church of Christ, in which none dwell save those who are of one heart and of one mind."^ Let those, therefore, who would lay injunctions on us on the authority of Cyprian, pay attention for a time to what we here say. For if only those who are of one heart and of one mind dwell in the Church of


222 ON BAPTISM. [book VH.

Christ, beyond all question those were not dwelling in the Church of Christ, however much they might appear to be within, who of envy and contention were announcing Christ without charity; by whom he understands, not the heretics and schismatics who are mentioned by the Apostle Paul but false brethren holding conversation with him within, who certainly ought not to have baptized, because they were not dwelling in the Church, in which he himself says that none dwell save those who are of one heart and of one mind: unless, indeed, any one be so far removed from the truth as to say that those were of one heart and of one mind who were envious and malevolent, and contentious without charity; and yet they used to baptize: nor did the detestable waywardness which they displayed in any degree violate or diminish from the sacrament of Christ, which was handled and dispensed by them.

Chap. l. â€” 98. It is indeed worth while to consider the whole of the passage in the aforesaid letter to Magnus, which he has put together as follows: "Not dwelling," he says, "in the house of God â€” that is to say, in the Church of Christ â€” in which none dwell save those that are of one heart and of one mind, as the Holy Spirit says in the Psalms, speaking of 'God that maketh men to be of one mind in an house.' ^ Finally, the very sacrifices of the Lord declare that Christians are united among themselves by a firm and inseparable love for one another. For when the Lord calls bread, which is compacted
together by the union of many grains. His body/ He is signifying one people, whom He 
bore, compacted into one body; and when He calls wine, which is pressed out fr6m a 
multitude of branches and clusters and browo-hut tocjether into one. His blood,^ He also 
signifies one flock joined together by the mingling of a multitude united into one." These 
words of the blessed Cyprian show that he both understood and loved the glory of the 
house of God, which house he asserted to consist of those who are of one heart and of 
one mind, proving it by the testimony of the prophets and the meaning of the sacraments, 
and in which house certainly were not found

1 Phil. i. 15, 17. 2 Ps. Ixviii. 6, from the LXX.


CHAP. LI.] CVrrJAN'S LETTER TO MAGXU3. 223

those envious persons, those malevolent without charity, who nevertheless used to 
baptize. From whence it is evident that the sacrament of Christ can both be in and be 
administered by those who are not in the Church of Christ, in which C}^rian himself 
bears witness that there are none dwelling save those who are of one heart and of one 
mind. Xor can it indeed be said that they are allowed to baptize so long as they are 
undetected, seeing that the Apostle Paul did not fail to detect those of whose ministry he 
bears unquestionable testimony in his epistle, saying that he rejoices that they also were 
proclaiming Christ. For he says of them, " Whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is 
preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."^ 

Chap. ll â€” 99. Taking all these things, therefore, into consideration, I think that I am not 
rash in saying that there are some in the house of God after such a fashion as not to be 
themselves the very house of God, which is said to be built upon a rock.^ which is called 
the one dove," which is styled the beauteous bride without spot or wrinkle,* and a garden 
enclosed, a fountain sealed, a well of lining water, an orchard of pomegranates with 
pleasant fruits f which house also received the keys, and the power of binding and 
loosing.^ If any one shall neglect this house when it arrests and corrects him, the Lord 
says, " Let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." ^ Of this house it is said, 
" Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour 
dweUeth;"^® and, " He maketh men to be of one mind in an house;" ^ and, " I was glad 
when they said unto me.
Let us go into the house of the Lord;"^-^ and, " Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house, 
Lord; they wiU be still praising Thee;"^® with countless other passages to the same 
effect. This house is also called wheat, bringing forth fruit with patience, some thirty- 
fold, some sixty-fold, and some an hundred-fold.^^

^ Phili. i. 18. Â« ]\att. xvi 18. ^ Cant. vi. 9.

This house is also in vessels of gold and of silver, and in precious stones and Imperishable woods. To this house it is said, "Forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" and, "For the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." For this house is composed of those that are good and faithful, and of the holy servants of God dispersed throughout the world, and bound together by the unity of the Spirit, whether they know each other personally or not. But we hold that others are said to be in the house after such a sort, that they belong not to the substance of the house, nor to the society of fruitful and peaceful justice, but only as the chaff is said to be among the corn; for that they are in the house we cannot deny, when the apostle says, "But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour." Of this countless multitude are found to be not only the crowd which within the Church afflicts the heart of the saints, who are so few in comparison with so vast a host, but also the heresies and schisms which exist in those who have burst the meshes of the net, and may now be said to be rather out of the house than in the house, of whom it is said, "They went out from us, but they were not of us." For they are more thoroughly separated, now that they are also divided from us in the body, than are those who live within the Church in a carnal and worldly fashion, and are separated from us in the spirit.

Chap. lii. â€” 100. Of all these several classes, then, no one doubts respecting those first, who are in the house of God in such a sense as themselves to be the house of God, whether they be already spiritual, or as yet only babes nurtured with 1 2 Tim. ii. 20. - Eph. iv. 2, 3. ^1 Cor. iii. 17.

* 2 Tim. ii. 20. \| Retract, ii. 18, Augustine says that he thinks the meaning of this last passage to be, not as Cyprian took it, Ep. liv. sec. 2, that the vessels of gold and silver are the good, -which are to honour; the vessels of wood and earth the wicked, which are to dishonour: but that the material of the vessels refers to the outward appearance of the several members of the Church, and that in each class some will be found to honour, and some to dishonour. This interpretation he derives from Tychonius.

\* 1 John ii. 19.
milk, but still making progress, -syiti earnestness of heart, towards that which is spiritual, that such men both have baptism so as to be of profit to themselves, and transmit it to those who follow their example so as to benefit them; but that in its transmission to those who are false, whom the Holy Spirit shuns, though they themselves, so far as lies with them, confer it so as to be of profit, yet the others receive it in vain, since they do not imitate those from whom they receive it. But they who are in the great house after the fashion of vessels to dishonour, both have baptism without profit to themselves, and transmit it without profit to those who follow their example: those, however, receive it with profit, who are united in heart and character, not to their ministers, but to the holy house of God. But those who are more thoroughly separated, so as to be rather out of the house than in the house, have baptism without any profit to themselves; and, moreover, there is no profit to those who receive it from them, unless they be compelled by urgent necessity to receive it, and their heart in receiving it does not depart from the bond of unity: yet nevertheless they possess it, though the possession be of no avail; and it is received from them, even when it is of no profit to those who so receive it, though, in order that it may become of use, they must depart from their heresy or schism, and cleave to that house of God. And this ought to be done, not only by heretics and schismatics, but also by those who are in the house through communion in the sacraments, yet so as to be outside the house through the perversity of their character. For so the sacrament begins to be of profit even to themselves, which previously was of no avail.

Chap. liii. 101. The question is also commonly raised, whether baptism is to be held valid which is received from one who had not himself received it, if, from some promptings of curiosity, he had chanced to learn how it ought to be conferred; and whether it makes no difference in what spirit the recipient receives it, whether in mockery or in sincerity: if in mockery, whether the difference arises when the mockery is of deceit, as in the Church, or in good faith in a play, if any one were to be moved by a sudden feeling of religion in the midst of his acting. And yet, if we compare such an one even with him who receives it deceitfully in the Catholic Church itself, I should be surprised if any one were to doubt which of the two should be preferred; for I do not see of what avail the intention of him who gives in truth can be to him who
receives deceitfully. But let us consider, in the case of some one also giving it in deceit,
when both the giver and the recipient are acting deceitfully in the unity of the Catholic
Church itself, whether this should rather be acknowledged as baptism, or that which is
given in a play, if any one should be found who received it faithfully from a sudden
impulse of religion:
or whether it be not true that, so far as the men themselves are concerned, there is a very
great difference between the believing recipient in a play, and the mocking recipient in
the Church; but that in regard to the genuineness of the sacrament there is no difference.
For if it makes no difference in respect to the genuineness of the sacrament within the
Catholic Church itself, whether certain persons celebrate it in truth or in deceit, so long as
both still celebrate the same thing, I cannot see why it should make a difference outside,
seeing that he who receives it is not cloaked by his deceit, but he is changed by his
religious impulse. Or have those truthful persons among whom it is celebrated more
power for the confirmation of the sacrament, than those deceitful men by whom and in
whom it is celebrated can exert for its invalidation? And yet, if the deceit be
subsequently brought to light, no one seeks a repetition of the sacrament; but the fraud is
either punished by excommunication or set right by penitence.

102. But the safe course for us is, not to advance with any rashness of judgment in setting
forth a view which has neither been started in any provincial Council of the Catholic
Church nor established in a general one; but to assert, with all the confidence of a voice
that cannot be gainsaid, what has been

CHAP. LIV.] BAPTISM NOT GIVEN IN DECEIT. 227

confirmed by the consent of the universal Church, under the direction of our Lord God
and Saviour Jesus Christ. N"evertheless, if any one were to press me â€” supposing I
were duly seated in a Council in which a question were raised on points like these â€” to
declare what my own opinion was, without reference to the previously expressed views
of others, whose judgment I would rather follow, if I were under the influence of the
same feelings as led me to assert what I have said before, I should have no hesitation in
saying that all men possess baptism who have received it in any place, from any sort of
men, provided that it were consecrated in the words of the gospel, and received without
deceit on their part with some degree of faith; although it would be of no profit to them
for the salvation of their souls if they were without charity, by which they might be
grafted into the Catholic Church. For " though I
have faith," says the apostle, " so that I could remove mountains, but have not charity, I
am nothing." ^ Just as already, from the established decrees of our predecessors, I have no
hesitation in saying that all those have baptism who, though they receive it deceitfully,
yet receive it in the Church, or where the Church is thought to be by those in whose
society it is received, of whom it was said, "They went out from us." ^
But when there was no society of those who so believed, and when the man who received
it did not himself hold such belief, but the whole thing was done as a farce, or a comedy,
or a jest, â€” if I were asked whether the baptism which was thus conferred should be
approved, I should declare my opinion that we ought to pray for the declaration of God's judgment through the medium of some revelation, seeking it with united prayer and earnest groanings of suppliant devotion, humbly deferring all the time to the decision of those who were to give their judgment after me, in case they should set forth anything as already known and determined. And, therefore, how much the more must I be considered to have given my opinion now without prejudice to the utterance of more diligent research or authority higher than my own!

Chap. liv.--103. But now I think that it is fully time for

1 1 Cor. xiii. 2. 2 j join u. 19.

228 ON BAPTISM. [book vn.

me to bring to their due termination these books also on the subject of baptism, in which our Lord God has shown to us, through the words of the peaceful Bishop Cyprian and his brethren Avho agreed with him, how great is the love which should be felt for catholic unity; so that even where they were otherwise minded until God should reveal even this to them,^ they should rather bear with those who thought differently from themselves, than sever themselves from them by a wicked schism; whereby the mouths of the Donatists are wholly closed, even if we say nothing of the followers of Maximian. For if the wicked pollute the good in unity, then even Cyprian himseK already found no Church to which he could be joined. But if the wicked do not infect the good in unity, then the sacrilegious Donatist has no ground to set before himself for separation. But if baptism is both possessed and transferred by the multitude of others who work the works of the flesh, of which it is said, that "they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God,"^ then it is possessed and transferred also by heretics, who are numbered among those, works; because they could have transferred it had they remained, and did not lose it by their secession. But men of this kind confer it on their fellows as fruitlessly and uselessly as the others who resemble them, inasmuch as they shall not inherit the kingdom of God. And as, when those others are brought into the right path, it is not that baptism begins to be present, having been absent before, but that it begins to profit them, having been already in them; so is it the case with heretics as well. Whence Cyprian and those who thought with him could not impose limits on the Catholic Church, which the'}

would not mutilate. But in that they were otherwise minded we feel no fear, seeing that we too share in their veneration for Peter; yet in that they did not depart from unity we rejoice, seeing that we, like them, are founded on the rock.

Â» Phil. iii. 15. 2 Qal. v. 19-21.
THE THREE BOOKS OF AUGUSTINE,
BISHOP OF HIPPO.

IN ANSWER TO

THE LETTERS OF PETILIAN, THE DONATIST,
BISHOP OF CIRTA.

BOOK FIRST.

WRITTEN IN THE FORM OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CATHOLICS, IN WHICH THE FIRST PORTION OF THE LETTER WHICH PETILIAN HAD WRITTEN TO HIS ADHERENTS IS EXAMINED AND REFUTED.
Augustine, to the well-beloved Hrtilio'en that I belong to the care of our diocese, greeting in the Lord.

CHAP. I. Ye know that we have often wished to bring forward into open notoriety, and to confute, not so much from our own arguments as from theirs, the sacrilegious error of the Donatist heretics; whence it came to pass that we wrote letters even to some of their leaders, not indeed for purposes of communion with them, for of that they had already in times past rendered themselves unworthy by dissenting from the Church; nor yet in terms of reproach, but of a conciliatory character, with the view that, having discussed the question with us which caused them to break off from the holy communion of the whole world, they might, on consideration of the truth, be willing to be corrected, and might not defend the headstrong perversity of their predecessors with a yet more foolish obstinacy, but might be reunited to the Catholic stock, so as to bring forth the fruits of charity. But as it is written, " I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war," so they rejected my letters, just as they hate the very name of peace, in whose interests they were written. Now, however, as I was in the church of Constantina, Ahsentius being present, with my colleague Fortunatus, his bishop, the brethren brought before my notice a letter, which they said that a bishop of the said schism had addressed to his presbyters, as was set forth in the superscription of the letter. When I had read it, I was so amazed to find that in his very first words he cut away the very roots of the whole claims of his party to communion, that I was unwilling to believe that it could be the letter of a man who, if fame speaks truly, is especially conspicuous among them for learning and eloquence. But some of those who were present when I read it, being acquainted with the style and character of his composition, gradually persuaded me that it was undoubtedly his address. I thought, however, that whoever the author might be, it required refutation, lest the writer should seem to himself, in the company of the inexperienced, to have written something of weight against the Catholic Church.

2. The first point, then, that he lays down in his letter is the statement, " that we find fault with them for the repetition of baptism, while we ourselves pollute our souls with a laver stained with guilt." But to what profit is it that I should reproduce all his insulting terms? For, since it is one thing to strengthen proofs, another thing to meddle with abusive words by way of refutation, let us rather turn our attention to the mode in which he has sought to prove that we do not possess baptism, and that therefore they do not require the repetition of what was already present, but confer
what hitherto was wanting. For he says: "What we look for is the conscience of the giver to cleanse that of the recipient." But supposing the conscience of the giver is concealed from view, and perhaps defiled with sin, how will it be able to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, if, as he says, "what we look for is the conscience of the giver to cleanse that of the recipient?" For if he should say that it makes

1 Ts. cxx. 7.

CHAP. TIT.] BAPTISM INDEPENDENT OF THE GIVER. 233

no matter to the recipient what amount of evil may lie concealed from view in the conscience of the giver, perhaps that ignorance may have such a degree of efficacy as this, that a man cannot be defiled by the guilt of the conscience of him from whom he receives baptism, so long as he is unaware of it. Let it then be granted that the guilty conscience of his neighbour cannot defile a man so long as he is unaware of it, but is it therefore clear that it can further cleanse him from his own guilt?

CiiAP. II. â€” 3. Whence, then, is a man to be cleansed who receives baptism, when the conscience of the giver is polluted without the knowledge of him who is to receive it? Especially when he goes on to say, "For he who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith, but guilt." There stands before us one that is faithless ready to baptize, and he who should be baptized is ignorant of his faithlessness: what think you that he will receive? Faith, or guilt? If you answer faith, then you will grant that it is possible that a man should receive not guilt, but faith; and the former saying will be false, that "he who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith, but guilt." For we find that it is possible that a man should receive faith even from one that is faithless, if he be not aware of the faithlessness of the giver. For he does not say. He who receives faith from one that is openly and notoriously faithless; but he says, "He who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith, but guilt;" which certainly is false when a person is baptized by one who hides his faithlessness. But if he shall say. Even when the faithlessness of the baptizer is concealed, the recipient receives not faith from him, but guilt, then let them rebaptize those who are well known to have been baptized by men who in their own body have long concealed a life of guilt, but have eventually been detected, convicted, and condemned.

Chap. hi. â€” For, so long as they escaped detection, they could not bestow faith on any whom they baptized, but only guilt, if it be true that whosoever receives faith from one that is faithless receives not faith, but guilt. Let them therefore

234 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK I.]
be baptized by the good, that they may be enabled to receive not guilt, but faith.

4. But how, again, shall they have any certainty about the good who are to give them faith, if what we look to is the conscience of the giver, which is unseen by the eyes of the proposed recipient? Therefore, according to their judgment, the salvation of the spirit is made uncertain, so long as in opposition to the holy Scriptures, which say, "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man,"^ and, "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man,"^ they remove the hope of those who are to be baptized from the Lord their God, and persuade them that it should be placed in man; the practical result of which is, that their salvation becomes not merely uncertain, but actually null and void. For "salvation belongeth unto the Lord,"^ and "vain is the help of man."* Therefore, whosoever places his trust in man, even in one whom he knows to be just and innocent, is accursed. Whence also the Apostle Paul finds fault with those who said they were of Paul, saying, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"^ 

Chap. rv. â€“ 5. Wherefore, if they were in error, and would have perished had they not been corrected, who wished to be of Paul, what must we suppose to be the hope of those who wished to be of Donatus? For they use their utmost endeavours to prove that the origin, root, and head of the baptized person is none other than the individual by whom he is baptized. The result is, that since it is very often a matter of uncertainty what land of man the baptizer is, the hope therefore of the baptized being of uncertain origin, of uncertain root, of uncertain head, is of itself uncertain altogether. And since it is possible that the conscience of the giver may be in such a condition as to be accursed and defiled without the knowledge of the recipient, it results that, being of an accursed origin, accursed root, accursed head, the hope of the baptized may prove to be vain and ungrounded.

For Petilian expressly states in his epistle, that "everything

* Ps. cxviii. 8. ' Jer. xvii. 5. ^ pg jj^ 3.

* Ps. Ix. 11. Â«1 Cor. i. 13.

CHAP. v.] cnrjST always the head. 235

consists of an origin and root; and if it have not something for a head, it is nothing." And since by the origin and root and head of the baptized person he wishes to be understood the man by whom he is baptized, what good does the unhappy recipient derive from the fact that he does not know how bad a man his baptizer really is? For he does not know that he himself has a bad head, or actually no head at all. And yet what hope can a man have, who, whether he is aware of it or not, has either a very bad head or no head at all? Can we maintain that his very ignorance forms a head, when his baptizer is either a bad head or none at all? Surely any one who thinks this is unmistakeably without a head.
Chap. v. â€” 6. We ask, therefore, since he says, "He who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith, but guilt,"
and immediately adds to this the further statement, that
"everything consists of an origin and root; and if it have not something for a head, it is nothing:" â€” we ask, I say, in a case where the faithlessness of the baptizer is undetected: If, then, the man whom he baptizes receives faith, and not guilt; if, then, the baptizer is not his origin and root and head, who is it from whom he receives faith? where is the origin from which he springs? where is the root of which he is a shoot? where the head which is his starting-point? Can it be, that when he who is baptized is unaware of the faithlessness of his baptizer, it is then Christ who is the origin and root and head?
Alas for human rashness and conceit! Why do you not allow that it is always Christ who gives faith, for the purpose of making a man a Christian by giving it? Why do you not allow that Christ is always the origin of the Christian, that the Christian always plants his root in Christ, that Christ is the head of the Christian? Do we then maintain that, even when spiritual grace is dispensed to those that believe by the hands of a holy and faithful minister, it is still not the minister himself who justifies, but that One of whom it is said, that "He justifieth the ungodly?" ^ But unless we admit this, either the Apostle Paul was the head and origin of those whom he had planted, or ApoUos the root of those whom

^ Rom. iv. 5.

236 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK I.]

he had watered, rather than He who had given them faith in believing; whereas the same Paul says, "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase: so then neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." ^ Nor was the apostle himself their root, but rather He who says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches." ^ How, too, could he be their head, when he says, that "we, being many, are one body in Christ," ^ and expressly declares in many passages that Christ Himself is the head of the whole body?

Chap. vi. â€” 7. Wherefore, whether a man receive the sacrament of baptism from a faithful or a faithless minister, his whole hope is in Christ, that he fall not under the condemnation that " cursed is he that placeth his hope in man."
Otherwise, if each man is born again in spiritual grace of the same sort as he by whom he is baptized, and if when he who baptizes him is manifestly a good man, then he himself gives faith, he is himself the origin and root and head of him who is being born; whilst, when the baptizer is faithless without its being known, then the baptized person receives faith from Christ, then he derives his origin from Christ, then he is rooted in Christ, then he. boasts in Christ as his head, â€” in that case all who are baptized should wish that they might have faithless baptizers, and be ignorant of their faithlessness: for however good their baptizers might have been, Christ is certainly beyond comparison better still;
and He will then be the head of the baptized, if the faithlessness of the baptizer shall escape detection.

Chap. vii. â€” 8. But if it is perfect madness to hold such a view (for it is Christ always that justifieth the ungodly, by changing his ungodliness into Christianity; it is from Christ always that faith is received, Christ is always the origin of the regenerate and the head of the Church), what weight, then, will those words have, which thoughtless readers value by their sound, without inquiring what their inner meaning is? For the man who does not content himself with hearing

* 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7. * John xv. 5. ^ j^om^ xii. 5.

**CHAP. VIII.** CUEIST ALONE JUSTIFIES. 237

the words with his ear, but considers the meaning of the phrase, when he hears, " What we look to is the conscience of the giver, that it may cleanse the conscience of the recipient," will answer. The conscience of man is often unknown to me, but I am certain of the mercy of Christ: when he hears, " He who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith, but guilt," will answer, Christ is not faithless, from whom I receive not guilt, but faith: when he hears, " Everything consists of an origin and root; and if it have not something for a head, is nothing," will answer. My origin is Christ, my root is Christ, my head is Christ. When he hears, " Nor does anything well receive second birth, unless it be born again of good seed," he will answer. The seed of which I am born again is the Word of God, which I am warned to hear with attention, even though he through whom I hear it does not himself do what he preaches; according to the words of the Lord, which make me herein safe, " All whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not." When he hears, "What perversity must it be, that he who is guilty through his own sins should make another free from guilt!" he will answer, No one makes me free from guilt but He who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. For I believe, not in the minister by whose hands I am baptized, but in Him who justifieth the ungodly, that my faith may be counted unto me for righteousness.

CiiAP. VIII. â€” 9. AMien he hears, " Every good tree bringeth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit: do men gather grapes of thorns?" and, " A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things, and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things;" he will answer. This therefore is good fruit, that I should be a good tree, that is, a good man; that I should show forth good fruit, that is, good works. But this will be given to me, not by him that planteth, nor by him that watereth, but by God that giveth the increase. For it the good tree be the good baptizer, so that his good fruit should be the man whom he baptizes, then any one who has been baptized by a bad man,

even if his wickedness be not manifest, will have no power to be good, for he is sprung from an evil tree. For a good tree is one thing; a tree whose quality is concealed, but yet bad, is another. Or if, when the tree is bad, but hides its badness, then whosoever is baptized by it is born not of it, but of Christ; then they are justified with more perfect holiness who are baptized by the bad who hide their evil nature, than they who are baptized by the manifestly good.\(^\wedge\)

Chap. ix. â€” 10. Again, when he hears, "He that is washed by one dead, his washing profiteth him nought,"\(^\wedge\) he will answer, "Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him:"\(^\wedge\) of whom it is said, "The same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost."\(^*\)

But they are baptized by the dead, who are baptized in the temples of idols. For even they themselves do not suppose that they receive the sanctification which they look for from their priests, but from their gods; and since these were men, and are dead in such sort as to be now neither upon earth nor in the rest of heaven,\(^\wedge\) they are truly baptized by the dead:

and the same answer will hold good if there be any other way in which these words of holy Scripture may be examined, and profitably discussed and understood. For if in this place I understand a baptizer who is a sinner, the same absurdity will follow, that whosoever has been baptized by an ungodly man, even though his ungodliness be undiscovered, is yet washed in vain, as though baptized by one dead. For he does not say, He that is baptized by one manifestly dead, but absolutely, "by one dead." And if they consider any man to be dead whom they know to be a sinner, but any one in their communion to be alive, even though he manages most adroitly

\(^*\) See below, Book ii. vi. 12.

2 So the Donatists commonly quoted Eccliis. xxxiv. 25, which is more correctly rendered in our version, "He that washeth himself after the touching of a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his Avashing?" Augustine (Retract. 1. 21, sec. 3) says that the misapplication was rendered possible by the omission in many African MSS. of the second clause, "and touches it again."

3 Kom. vi. 9. * John i. 33.

"Cp. Contra Cresconium, Book ii. xxv. 30: Ita mortui sunt, ut neque super terras, nec\(^ue\) in requie sanctorum siuit."

CHAP. X.] WHO ARE BAPTIZED BY THE DEAD. 239
to conceal a life of wickedness, in the first place with accursed pride they claim more for
themselves than they ascribe to God, that when a sinner is unveiled to them he should be
called dead, but when he is known by God he is held to be alive. In the next place, if that
sinner is to be called dead who is known to be such by men, what answer win they make
about Optatus, whom they were afraid to condemn though they had long known his
wickedness? Why are those who were baptized by him not said to have been baptized by
one dead? Did he live because faith was in his company?^ â€” an elegant and well-
turned saying of some early colleagues of their own, which they themselves are wont to
quote with pride, not understanding that at the death of the haughty Goliath it was his
own sword by which his head was cut off."

Chap. x. â€” 11. Lastly, if they are willing to give the name of dead neither to the wicked
man whose sin is hidden, nor to him whose sin is manifest, but who has yet not been
condemned by them, but only to him whose sin is manifest and condemned, so that
whosoever is baptized by him is himself baptized by the dead, and his washing profits
him nothing: what are we to say of those whom their own party have condemned "by the
unimpeachable voice of a general Council," ^ together with Maximianus and the others who ordained him, â€”
I mean Felicianus of Musti, and Praetextatus of Assura, of whom I speak in the
meantime, who are counted among the twelve ordainers of Maximianus, as erecting an
altar in opposition to their altar at which Primianus stands? They at any rate are reckoned
by them among the dead. To this we have the express testimony of the noble decree of
that Council of theirs which formerly called forth shouts of unreserved^ applause
"when it was recited among them for the purpose of being decreed, but which would now
be received in silence if we should chance to recite it in their ears; whereas they should

^ Migne suggests as an emendation, **quod Deus illi comes erat," as in ii.
xxiii. 53, xxxvii. 87, etc.

2 1 Sam. xvii. 51. ' That of Bagai. See on de Bapt. t. v. 7.

* Ore latissimo acclamaverunt. The Louvain edition has * ' Isetissimo," both here and
Contra Crescon. iv. xli. 48.

240 ANSWER TO PETILIA!T. [BOOK I.]

rather have been slow at first to rejoice in its elo't]uence, lest they should afterwards
come to mourn over it when its credit was destroyed. For in it they speak in the following
terms of the followers of Maximianus, who were shut out from their communion: "
Seeing that the shipwrecked members of certain men have been dashed by the waves of
truth upon the sharp rocks, and after the fashion of the Egyptians, the shores are covered
with the bodies of the dying; whose punishment is intensified in death itself, since after
their life has been wrung from them by the avenging waters, they fail to find so much as burial." In such gross terms, indeed, do they insult those who were guilty of schism from their body, that they call them dead and unburied; but certainly they ought to have wished that they might obtain burial, if it were only that they might not have seen Optatus Gildonianus advancing with a military force, and like a sweeping wave that dashes beyond its fellows, sucking back Felicianus and Prgetextatus once again within their pale, out of the multitude of bodies lying unburied on the shore.

Chap. xi. 12. Of these I would ask, whether by coming to their sea they were restored to life, or whether they are still dead there? For if still they are none the less corpses, then the laver cannot in any way profit those who are baptized by such dead men. But if they have been restored to life, yet how can the laver profit those whom they baptized before outside, while they were lying without life, if the passage, "He who is baptized by the dead, of what profit is his baptism to him," is to be understood in the way in which they think? For those whom Praetextatus and Felicianus baptized while they were yet in communion with Maximianus are now retained among them, sharing in their communion, without being again baptized, together with the same men who baptized them. I mean Felicianus and Ivoetextatus: taking occasion by which fact, if it were not that they cherish the beginning of their own obstinacy, instead of considering the certain end of their spiritual salvation, they would certainly be bound to vigilance, and ought to recover the soundness of their senses, so as to breathe again in

CHAP. XII. 13. But our brethren themselves, the sons of the aforesaid churches, were both ignorant at the time, and still are ignorant, of what has been done so many years ago in Africa: wherefore they at any rate cannot be defiled by the charges which have been brought, on the part of the Donatists, against the Africans, without even knowing whether they were true. But the Donatists having openly separated and divided themselves off, although they are even said to have taken part in the ordination of Primianus, yet condemned the said Primianus, ordained another bishop in opposition to Primianus, baptized outside the communion of Primianus, re baptized after Primianus, and returned to Primianus with their disciples who had been baptized by themselves outside, and never re baptized by any one inside. If such a union with the party of Maximianus does not pollute the Donatists, how can the mere report concerning the Africans pollute the foreigners? If the lips meet together without offence in the kiss of peace, which reciprocally condemned each other, why is each man that is condemned by them in the churches very far removed by the intervening sea from their jurisdiction, not saluted with
a kiss as a faithful Catholic, but driven forth with a blast of indignation as an impious pagan? And if, in receiving the followers of Maximianus, they made peace in behalf of their own unity, far be it from us to find fault with them, save that they cut their own throats by their decision, that whereas, to preserve unity in their schism, they collect together again what had been parted from themselves, they yet scorn to reunite their schism itself to the true unity of the Church.

Chap. xiii. â€” 14. If, in the interests of the unity of the
8 Q

242 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK I.]

XT

party of Donatus, no one rebaptizes those who were baptized in a wicked schism, and men, who are guilty of a crime of such enormity as to be compared by them in their Council to those ancient authors of schism whom the earth swallowed up alive,^ are either unpunished after separation, or restored again to their position after condemnation; why is it that, in defence of the unity of Christ, which is spread throughout the whole inhabited world, of which it has been predicted that it shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth,^ a prediction which seems from actual proof to be in process of fulfilment; why is it that, in defence of this unity, they do not acknowledge the true and universal law of that inheritance which rings forth from the books that are common to us all: "I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession?" ^ In behalf of the unity of Donatus, they are not compelled to call together again what they have scattered abroad, but are warned to hear the cry of the Scriptures: why will they not understand that they meet with such treatment through the mercy of God, that since they brought false charges against the Catholic Church, by contact as it were with which they were unwilling to defile their own excessive sanctity, they should be compelled by the sovereign authority of Optatus Gildonius to receive again and associate with themselves true offenses of the greatest enormity, condemned by the true voice, as they say, of their own general Council? Let them at length perceive how they are filled with the true crimes of their own party, after inventing fictitious crimes wherewith to charge their brethren, when, even if the charges had been true, they ought at length to feel how much should be endured in the cause of peace, and in behalf of Christ's peace to return to a Church which did not condemn crimes undiscovered, if on behalf of the peace of Donatus they were ready to pardon such as were condemned.
Chap. xrv. â€“ 15. Therefore, brethren, let it suffice us that they should be admonished and corrected on the one point of

1 Num. xvi. 31-35. Â« Ps. Ixxii. 8. ' Ps. ii. 8.

CHAP. XVI.] INCONSISTENCY OF THE DONATISTS. 243

their conduct in the matter of the followers of Maximianus.
We do not ransack ancient archives, we do not bring to light the contents of time-honoured libraries, we do not publish our proofs to distant lands; but we bring in, as arbiters betwixt us, all the proofs derived from our ancestors, we spread abroad the witness that cries aloud throughout the world.

Chap. xv. â€“ 16. Look at the states of Musti and Assura:
there are many still remaining in this life and in this province who have severed themselves, and many from whom they have severed themselves; many who have erected an altar, and many against whom that altar has been erected; many who have condemned, and many who have been condemned; who have received, and who have been received; who have been baptized outside, and not baptized again within: if all these things in the cause of unity defile, let the defiled hold their tongues; if these things in the cause of unity do not defile, let them submit to correction, and terminate their strife.

Chap. xvi. â€“ 17. As for the words which follow in his letter, the writer himself could scarcely fail to laugh at them, when, having made an unlearned and lying use of the proof in which he quotes the words of Scripture, " He who is washed by the dead, what profiteth him his washing?" he endeavours to show to us " how far a traditor being still in life may be accounted dead." And then he goes on further to say: "That man is dead who has not been worthy to be born again in true baptism; he is likewise dead, who, although born in genuine baptism, has joined himself to a traditor ^ If, therefore, the followers of Maximianus are not dead, why do the Donatists say, in their general Council, that " the shores are covered with their dying bodies?" But if they are dead, whence is there life in the baptism which they gave ? Again, if Maximianus is not dead, why is a man baptized again who had been baptized by him ? But if he is dead, why is not also Felicianus of Musti dead with him, who ordained him, and might have died beyond the sea with some African colleague or another who was a traditor ? Or, if he also is himself dead, how is there life with him in your society in

244 ANSWER TO PETTTLTAN. [BOOK I.]

those who, having been baptized outside by him who is dead, have never been baptized again within ?
Chap. xvii. â€“ 18. Then he further adds: "Both are without the life of baptism, both he who never had it at all, and he who had it but has lost it." He therefore never had it, whom Felicianus, the follower of Maximianus or Prsetextatus, baptized outside; and these men themselves have lost what once they had. When, therefore, these were received with their followers, who gave to those whom they baptized what previously they did not have, and who restored to themselves what they had lost? But they took away with them the form of baptism, but lost the veritable excellence of baptism by their wicked schism. Why do you repudiate the form itself, which is holy at all times and all places, in the Catholics whom you have not heard, whilst you are willing to acknowledge it in the followers of Maximianus whom you have punished?

19. But whatever he seemed to himself to say by way of accusation about the traitor Judas, I see not how it can concern us, who are not proved by them to have betrayed our trust; nor, indeed, if such treason were proved on the part of any who before our time have died in our communion, would that treason in any way defile us by whom it was disavowed, and to whom it was displeasing. For if they themselves are not defiled by offences condemned by themselves, and afterwards condoned, how much less can we be defiled by what we have disavowed so soon as we have heard of them! However weighty, therefore, his invective against traditors, let him be assured that they are condemned by me in precisely the same terms. But yet I make a distinction; for he accuses one on my side who has long been dead without having been condemned in any investigation made by me. I point to a man adhering closely to his side, who had been condemned by him, or at least had been separated by a sacrilegious schism, and whom he received again with undiminished honour.

Chap. xviii. â€“ 20. lie says: "You who are a most abandoned traditor have come out in the character of a persecutor and murderer of us who keep the law." If the followers of Llaxunianus kept the law when they separated from you, then we may acknowledge you as a keeper of the law, when you are separated from the Church spread abroad throughout the world. But if you raise the question of persecutions, I at once reply: If you have suffered anything unjustly, this does not concern those who, though they disapprove of men who act in such a way,^ yet endure them for the peace that is in unity, in a manner deserving of all praise. Wherefore you have nothing to bring up against the Lord's wheat, who endure the chaff that is among them till the last winnowing, from whom you never would have separated yourself, had you not shown yourself lighter than chaff by flying away under the blast of temptation before the coming of the Winnower. But not to leave this one example, which the Lord hath thrust back in their teeth, to close the mouths of these men, for their correction if they will show themselves to be wise, but for their confusion if they remain in their folly: if those are more just that suffer
persecution than those who inflict it, then those same followers of Maximianus are the more just.

"whose basilica was utterly overthrown, and who were grievously maltreated by the military following of Optatus, when the mandates of the proconsul, ordering that all of them should be shut out of the basilicas, were manifestly procured by the followers of Primianus. Wherefore, if, when the emperors hated their communion, they ventured on such violent measures for the persecution of the followers of Maximianus, what would they do if they were enabled to work their will by being in communion with kings? And if they did such things as I have mentioned for the correction of the wicked, why are they surprised that Catholic emperors should decree with greater power that they should be worked upon and corrected who endeavour to rebaptize the whole Christian world, when they have no ground for differing from them?.

^ Qui talia facientes quamvis improtent. A comparison of the explanation of this passage in Contra Crescon. iir. xli. 45, shows the probability of Migne's conjecture, "quamvis improbe," "who endure the men that act in such a way, however monstrous their conduct may be."

246 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK I.]

seeing that they themselves bear witness that it is right to bear with wicked men even where they have true charges to bring against them in the cause of peace, since they received those whom they had themselves condemned, acknowledging the honours conferred among themselves, and the baptism administered in schism. Let them at length consider what .treatment they deserve at the hands of the Christian powers of the world, who are the enemies of Christian unity throughout the world. If, therefore, correction be bitter, yet let them not fail to be ashamed; lest, when they begin to read what they themselves have written, they be overcome with laughter, when they do not find in themselves what they wish to find in others, and fail to recognise^ in their own case what they find fault with in their neighbours.

Chap. xix. â€” 21. What, then, does he mean by quoting in his letter the words with which our Lord addressed the Jews:

" Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them shall ye scourge" ?^ For if by the wise men and the scribes and the prophets they would have themselves be understood, while we were as it were the persecutors of the prophets and wise men, why are they unwilling to speak with us, seeing they are sent to us? For, indeed, if the man who wrote that epistle which we are at this present moment answering, were to be pressed by us to acknowledge it as his own, stamping its authenticity with his signature, I question much whether he would do it, so thoroughly afraid are they of our possessing any words of theirs. For when we were anxious by some means or other to procure the latter part of this same letter, because those from whom we obtained it were unable to describe the whole
of it, no one who was asked for it was willing to give it to us, so soon as they knew that we were making a reply to the portion which we had. Therefore, when they read how the Lord says to the prophet, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people"

1 Nee in se agioscunt. The reading of the Louvain edition gives better sense, "Et in se agno.scut," ** and discover in themselves."

"Matt, xxiii. 34.

CHAP. XX. — SECEECY OF THE DONATISTS. 247

their transgression,"^ these men who are sent to us as prophets have no fears on this score, but take every precaution that their crying may not be heard by us: which they certainly would not fear if what they spoke of us were true. But their apprehension is not groundless, as it is written in the Psalm, "The mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped."^ For if the reason that they do not receive our baptism be that we are a generation of vipers â€” to use the expression in his epistle â€” why did they receive the baptism of the followers of Maximianus, of whom their Council speaks in the following terms: "Because the enfolding of a poisoned womb has long concealed the baneful offspring of a viper's seed, and the moist concretions of conceived iniquity have by slow heat flowed forth into the members of serpents?" Is it not therefore of themselves also that it is said in the same Council, "The poison of asps is under their lips, their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness, their feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and unhappiness is in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known" ?^ And yet they now hold these men themselves in undiminished honour, and receive within their body those whom these men had baptized without.

Chap. xx. â€” 22. Wherefore all this about the generation of vipers, and the poison of asps under their lips, and all the other things which they have said against those which have not known the way of peace, are really, if they would but speak the truth, more strictly applicable to themselves, since for the sake of the peace of Donatus they received the baptism of these men, in respect of which they used the expressions quoted above in the wording of the decree of the Council; but the baptism of the Church of Christ dispersed throughout the world, from which peace itself came into Africa, they repudiate, to the sacrilegious wounding of the peace of Christ. Which, therefore, are rather the false prophets, who come in sheep's clothing, whilst inwardly they are ravening wolves,* â€” they who either fail to detect the wicked in the Catholic Church, and communicate with them in all innocence, or else

^ Isa. Iviii. 1. 2 pg ixiii. 11.

3 Ps. xiv. 5-7, from the LXX. only. * Idatt. vii. 15.
for the sake of the peace of unity are bearing with those whom they cannot separate from
the threshing-floor of the Lord before the Winnower shall come; or they who do in
schism what they censure in the Catholic Church, and receive in their own separation,
when manifest to all and condemned by their own voice, what they profess that they shun
in the unity of the Church when it calls for toleration, and does not even certainly exist ?

Chap, xxl â€” 23. Lastly, it has been said, as he himself has also quoted, "Ye shall know
them by their fruits:" ^ let us therefore examine into their fruits. You bring up against our
predecessors their delivery of the sacred books. This very charge we urge with greater
probability against their accusers themselves. And not to carry our search too far, in the
same city of Constantina your predecessors ordained Silvanus bishop at the very outset of
his schism. He, while he was still a subdeacon, was most unmistakably entered as a
traditor in the archives of the city. If you on your side bring forward documents against
our predecessors, all that we ask is equal terms,
â€” that we should either believe both to be true or both to be false. If both are true, you
are unquestionably guilty of schism, who have pretended that you avoid offences in the
communion of the whole world, which you had commonly among you in the small
fragment of your own sect. But again, if both are false, you are unquestionably guilty of
schism, who, on account of the false charges of giving up the sacred books, are staining
yourselves with the heinous offence of severance from the Church. But if we have
something to urge in accusation while you have nothing, or if our charges are true whilst
yours are false, it is no longer matter of discussion how thoroughly your mouths are
closed.

Chap. xxii. â€” 24. What if the holy and true Church of Christ were to convince and
overcome you, even if we held no documents in support of our cause, or only such as
were false, while you had possession of some genuine proofs of delivery of the sacred
books ? what would then remain for you,

iMatt. vii. 16.

CHAP. XXIII.] THE DONATISTS TEADITORS THEMSELVES 249

except that, if you would, you should show your love of peace, or otherwise should hold
your tongues ? ^ For whatever, in that case, you might bring forward in evidence, I
should be able to say with the greatest ease and the most perfect truth, that then you are
bound to prove as much to the full and catholic unity of the Church already spread abroad
and established throughout so many nations, to the end that you should remain within,
and that those whom you convict should be expelled. And if you have endeavoured to do
this, certainly you have not been able to make good your proof; and being vanquished or
enraged, you have separated yourselves, with all the heinous guilt of sacrilege, from the guiltless men who could not condemn on insufficient proof. But if you have not even endeavoured to do this, then with most accursed and unnatural blindness you have cut yourselves off from the wheat of Christ, which grows throughout His whole fields, that is, throughout the whole world, until the end, because you have taken offence at a few tares in Africa.^

Chap, xxiit. — 25. In conclusion, the Testament is said to have been given to the flames by certain men in the time of persecution. Now let its lessons be read, from whatever source it has been brought to light. Certainly in the beginning of the promises of the Testator this is found to have been said to Abraham: " In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;"^ and this saying is truthfully interpreted by the apostle: " To thy seed," he says, " which is Christ." * No betrayal on the part of any man has made the promises of God of none effect. Hold communion with all the nations of the earth, and then you may boast that you have preserved the Testament from the destruction of the flames. But if you will not do so, which party is the rather to be believed to have insisted on the burning of the Testament, save that which will not assent to its teaching when it

^ ** Ommitescatis" is the most probable conjecture of Migne for "obtumescatis," -which could only mean, **you should swell with confusion."

' See below, ii. xvi. 36, III. Ivii. 69, Iviii. 70; and Contra Cresconium, ill. xxix. 33, IV. Ivi. 6Q.

3 Geu. xxii. 18. * Gal. iii. 16.

250 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK I.]

is brought to light? For how much more certainly, without any sacrilegious rashness, can he be held to have joined the company of traitors who now persecutes with his tongue the Testament which they are said to have persecuted with the flames! You charge us with the persecution: the true wheat of the Lord answers you, " Either it was done justly, or it was done by the chaff that was among us." . What have you to say to" this? You object that we have no baptism: the same true wheat of the Lord answers you, that the form of the â€œsacrament even within the Church fails to profit some, as it did no good to Simon Magus when he was baptized, much more it fails to profit those who are without. Yet that baptism remains in them when they depart, is proved from this, that it is not restored to them when they return. Never, therefore, except by the greatest shamelessness, will you be able to cry out against that wheat, or to call them false prophets clad in sheep's clothing, whilst inwardly they are ravening wolves; since either they do not know the wicked in the unity of the Catholic Church, or for the sake of unity bear with those whom they know.
Chap. xxiv. â€” 26. But let us turn to the consideration of your fruits. I pass over the tyrannous exercise of authority in the cities, and especially in the estates of other men; I pass over the madness of the Circumcelliones, and the sacrilegious and profane adoration of the bodies of those who had thrown themselves of their own accord over precipices, the revellings of drunkenness, and the ten years' groaning of the whole of Africa under the cruelty of the one man Optatus Gildonianus: all this I pass over, because there are certain among you who cry out that these things are, and have ever been, displeasing to them. But they say that they bore with them in the cause of peace, because they could not put them down; wherein they condemn themselves by their own judgment: for if indeed they felt such love for peace, they never would have rent in twain the bond of unity. For what madness can be greater, than to be willing to abandon peace in the midst of peace itself, and to be anxious to retain it in the midst of discord? Therefore, for the sake of those who pre-

CHAP. XXV.] THE PARTY OF MAXIMIANUS. 251

tend that they do not see the evils of this same faction of Donatus, which all men see and blame, ignoring them even to the extent of saying of Optatus himself, "What did he do?" "Who accused him?" "Who convicted him?" "I know nothing," "I saw nothing," "I heard nothing," â€” for the sake of these, I say, who pretend that they are ignorant of what is generally notorious, the party of Maximianus has arisen, through whom their eyes are opened, and their mouths are closed; for they openly sever themselves; they openly erect altar against altar; they are openly in a Council called sacrilegious and vipers, and swift to shed blood, to be compared with Dathan and Abiram and Korah, and are condemned in cutting terms of abhorrence; and are as openly received again with undiminished honours in company with those whom they have baptized. Such are the fruits of these men, who do all this for the peace of Donatus, that they may clothe themselves in sheep's clothing, and reject the peace of Christ throughout the world that they may be ravening wolves within the fold.

CHxVP. XXV. â€” 27. I think that I have left unanswered none of the statements in the letter of Donatus, so far at least as relates to what I have been able to find in that part of which we are in possession. I should be glad if they would produce the other part as well, in case there should be anything in it which does not admit of refutation. But as for these answers which we have made to him, with the help of God, I admonish your Christian love, that ye not only communicate them to those who seek for them, but also force them on those who show no longing for them. Let them answer anything they will; and if they shrink from sending a reply to us, let them at any rate send letters to their own party, only not forbidding that the contents should be shown to us. For if they do this, they show their fruits most openly, by which they are proved to demonstration to be ravening wolves disguised in sheep's clothing, in that they secretly lay snares for our sheep, and openly shrink from giving any answer to the shepherds. We only lay to their charge the sin of schism,
in which they are all most thoroughly involved, not the offences of certain of their party, which some of them declare to be displeasing to themselves. If they, on the other hand, abstain from charging us with the sins of other men, they have nothing they can lay to our charge, and therefore they are wholly unable to defend themselves from the charge of schism; because it is by a wicked severance that they have separated themselves from the threshing-floor of the Lord, and from the innocent company of the corn that is growing throughout the world, on account of charges which either are false, and invented by themselves, or even if true, involve the chaff alone.

Chap. xxvi. But it is possible that you may expect of me that I should go on to refute what he has introduced about Manichseus. Now, in respect of this, the only thing that offends me is that he has censured a most pestilent and pernicious error — I mean the heresy of the Manichseans — in terms of wholly inadequate severity, if indeed they amount to censure at all, though the Catholic Church has broken down his defences by the strongest evidence of truth. For the inheritance of Christ, established in all nations, is secure against heresies which have been shut out from the inheritance; but, as the Lord says, "How can Satan cast out Satan?" so how can the error of the Donatists have power to overthrow the error of the Manichseans?

Chap. xxvii. Wherefore, my beloved brethren, though that error is exposed and overcome in many ways, and dare not oppose the truth on any show of reason whatsoever, but only with the unblushing obstinacy of impudence; yet, not to load your memory with a multitude of proofs, I would have you bear in mind this one action of the followers of Maximianus, confront them with this one fact, thrust this in their teeth, to make them hold their treacherous tongues,

* Veritatis fortissimis documentis Catholica expugnat; and so the MSS. The earlier editors, apparently not understanding the omission of "ecclesia," read "Veritas."

2 Mark iii. 23. * See II. xviii. 40, 41.

CHAP. XXIX.] THE EEECEPTION OF MAXIMIANUS. 253

destroy their calumny with this, as it were a three-pronged dart destroying a three-headed monster. They charge us with betrayal of the sacred books; they charge us with persecution; they charge us with false baptism: to all their charges make the same answer about the followers of Maxi-
omianus. For they think that the proofs are lost which show that their predecessors gave
the sacred volumes to the flames; but this at least they cannot hide, that they have
received with unimpaired honours those who were stained with the sacrilege of schism.
Also they think that those most violent persecutions are hidden, which they direct against
any who oppose them whenever they are able; but whilst spiritual persecution surpasses
bodily persecution, they received with undiminished honours the followers of
Maximianus, whom they themselves persecuted in the body, and of whom they
themselves said, " Their feet are swift to shed blood;" ^ and this at any rate they cannot
hide.

Chap, xxviii. Finally, they think that the question of baptism is hidden, with which they
deceive wretched souls.
But whilst they say that none have baptism who were baptized outside the communion of
the one Church, they received with undiminished honours the followers of Maximianus,
with those whom they baptized in schism outside the Donatist communion, and this at
least they cannot hide.

30. "But these things," they say, "bring no pollution in the cause of peace; and it is well to
bend to mercy the rigour of extreme severity, that broken branches may be grafted in
anew." Accordingly, in this way the whole question is settled, by defeat in them, by the
impossibility of defeat for us; for if the name of peace be assumed for even the faintest
shadow of defence to justify the bearing with wicked men in schism, then beyond all
doubt the violation of true peace itself involves detestable guilt, with nothing to be said in
its defence throughout the unity of the world.

Chap. xxix. æ” 31. These things, brethren, I would have you retain as the basis of your
action and preaching with un-
Ê Ps. xiv. 6, from the LXX. only.

254 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK I.]

tiring gentleness: love men, while you destroy errors; take of the truth without pride;
strive for the truth without cruelty.
Pray for those whom you refute and convince of error. For the prophet prays to God for
mercy upon such as these, saying, " Fill tlieir faces with shame, that they may seek Thy
name, Lord."^ And this, indeed, the Lord has done already, so as to fill the faces of the
followers of Maximianus with shame in the sight of all mankind: it only remains that they
should learn how to blush to tlieir soul's health. For so they will be able to seek the name
of the Lord, from which they are turned away to their utter destruction, whilst they exalt
their own name in the place of that of Christ. May ye live and persevere in Christ, and be
multiplied, and abound in the love of God, and in love towards one another, and towards all men, brethren well beloved.

* Ps. Lxxxiii. 16.
BOOK SECOND.

IN WHICH AUGUSTINE REPLIES TO ALL THE SEVERAL STATEMENTS IN THE LETTER OF PETILIANUS, AS THOUGH DISPUTING WITH AN ADVENENARY FACE TO FACE.

CHAP. I. That we made a full and sufficient answer to the first part of the letter of Petilianus, which was all that we had been able to find, will be remembered by all who were able to read or hear what we replied. But since the whole of it was afterwards found and copied by our brethren, and sent to us with the view that we should answer it as a whole, this task was one which our pen could not escape, not that he says anything new in it, to which answer has not been already made in many ways and at various times; but still, on account of the brethren of slower comprehension, who, when they read a matter in any place, cannot always refer to everything that has been said upon the same subject, I will comply with those who urge me by all means to reply to every point, and that as though we were carrying on the discussion face to face in the form of a dialogue. I will set down the words of his epistle under his name, and I will give the answer under my own name, as though it had all been taken down by reporters while we were debating. And so there will be no one who can complain either that I have passed anything over, or that they have been unable to understand it for want of disjunction between the parties to the discussion; at the same time that the Donatists themselves, who are unwilling to argue the question in our presence, as is shown by the letters which they have circulated among their party, may thus not fail to find the truth answering them point by point, just as though they were discussing the matter with us face to face.

Written about the beginning of 402 a.d.

256 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK H.

2. In the very beginning of the letter Petilianus said: "Petilianus, a bishop, to his well-beloved brethren, fellowpriests, and deacons, appointed ministers with us throughout our diocese in the gospel, grace be to you and peace, from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ."

3. Augustine answered: I acknowledge the apostolic greeting. You see who you are that employ it, but see from what source you have learned what you say. For in these terms Paul salutes the Romans, and in the same terms the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Colossians, the Philippians, the Thessalonians. What madness is it,
therefore, to be unwilling to share the salvation of peace with those very Churches in whose epistles you learned its form of salutation?

Chap. ii. Â“4. Petilianus said: " Those who have polluted their souls with a guilty laver, under the name of baptism, reproach us with baptizing twice, Â“than whose obscenity, indeed, any kind of filth is more cleanly, seeing that through a perversion of cleanliness they have come to be made fouler by their washing."

5. Augustine answered: We are neither made fouler by our washing, nor cleaner by yours. But when the water of baptism is given to any one in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, it is neither ours nor yours, but His of whom it was said to John, " Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." ^

Chap. iii. Â“6. Petilianus said: " For what we look to is the conscience of the giver, to cleanse that of the recipient."

7. Augustine answered: We therefore need have no anxiety about the conscience of Christ. But if you assert any man to be the giver, be he who he may, there will be no certainty about the cleansing of the recipient, because there is no certainty about the conscience of the giver.

1 John i. 33.

CHAP. V.] BAPTISM EESTS ON CHRIST. 257

Chap. iv. Â“8. Petilianus said: " For lie who receives faith from the faithless, receives not faith but guilt."

9. Augustine answered: Christ is not faithless, from whom the faithful man receives not guilt but faith. For he believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, that his faith may be counted for righteousness.^

Chap. v. Â“10. Petilianus said: "For everything consists of an origin and root; and if it have not something for a head, it is nothing: nor does anything wvll receive second birth, unless it be born again of good seed."

11. Augustine answered: Why will you put yourself forward in the room of Christ, when you will not place yourself under him ? He is the origin, and root, and head of him who is being born, and in Him we feel no fear, as we must in any man, whoever he may be, lest he should prove to be false and of abandoned character, and we should be found to be sprung from an abandoned source, growing from an abandoned root, united to an abandoned head. For what man can feel secure about a man, when it is written, " Cursed be the man that trusteth in man ? " ^ But the seed of which we are born again is the word
of God, that is, the gospel. Whence the apostle says, "For in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel"^ And yet he allows even those to preach the gospel who were preaching it not in purity, and rejoices in their preaching:^ because, although they were preaching it not in purity, but seeking their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's:^ yet the gospel which they preached was pure. And the Lord had said of certain of like character, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not."^ If, therefore, what is in itself pure is preached in purity, then the preacher himself also, in that he is a partner with the word, has his share in begetting the believer; but if he himself be not regenerate, and yet what he preaches be I pure, then the believer is born not from the barrenness of the minister, but from the fruitfulness of the word.

^ Rom. iv. 5.

^ Jer. xvii. 5.

^ 1 Cor. iv. 15.

* ruti. i. 17, 18.

Â» PhU. ii. 21.

Â« Matt, xxiii. 3.

3

R

258 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

CiiAP. VI. — 12. Petilianus said: "This being the case, brethren, what perversity must it be, that he who is guilty through his own sins should make another free from guilt, when
the Lord Jesus Christ says, 'Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit: do men gather grapes of thorns?' And again: 'A good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things: and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things.'

13. Augustine answered: No man, even though he be not guilty through his own sins, can make his neighbour free from sin, because he is not God. Otherwise, if we were to expect that out of the innocence of the baptizer should be produced the innocence of the baptized, then each will be the more innocent in proportion as he may have found a more innocent person by whom to be baptized; and will himself be the less innocent in proportion as he by whom he is baptized is less innocent. And if the man who baptizes happens to entertain hatred against another man, this will also be imputed to him who is baptized. Why, therefore, does the wretched man hasten to be baptized, that his own sins may be forgiven him, or that those of others may be reckoned against him? Is he like a merchant ship, to discharge one burden, and to take on him another? But by the good tree and its good fruit, and the corrupt tree and its evil fruit, we are wont to understand men and their works, as is consequently shown in those other words which you also quoted:

"A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things: and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things." But when a man preaches the word of God, or administers the sacraments of God, he does not, if he is a bad man, preach or minister out of his own treasure; but he will be counted among those of whom it is said, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works:" for they bid you observe what is God's, but their works are their own. For if it is as you say, that is, if the fruit of those who baptize consist in the baptized persons themselves, you declare a great woe.

1 Latt. vii. 17, 16. ^ Matt. xii. 35.

CHAP. VI.] NO DEGREES IN BAPTISM. 259

against Africa, if a young Optatus has sprung up for every one that Optatus baptized.

Chap. vii. â€” 14. Petilianus said: "And again, 'He who is baptized by one that is dead, his washing profiteth him nothing.' He did not mean that the baptizer was a corpse, a lifeless body, the remains of a man ready for burial, but one lacking the Spirit of God, who is compared to a dead body, as He declares to a disciple in another place, according to the witness of the gospel. For His disciple says, 'Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. But Jesus said unto him. Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.' The father of the disciple was not baptized. He declared him as a pagan to belong to the company of pagans; unless he said this of the unbelieving. The dead cannot bury the dead. He was dead, therefore, not as smitten by some death, but as smitten even during life. For he who so lives as to be doomed to eternal death is tortured by a death in life. To
be baptized, therefore, by the dead, is to have received not life but death. We must therefore consider and declare how far the traditor is to be accounted dead while yet alive. He is dead who has not deserved to be born again with a true baptism; he is likewise dead who, having been born again with a true baptism, has become involved with a traditor. Both are wanting in the life of baptism, â€” both he who never had it at all, and he who had it and has lost it. For the Lord Jesus Christ says, * There shall come to that man seven spirits more wicked than the former one, and the last state of that man shall be worse than the first."

15. Augustine answered: Seek with greater care to know in what sense the words which you have quoted from Scripture in proof of your position were really uttered, and how they should be understood. For that all unrighteous persons are wont to be called dead in a mystical sense is clear enough; but Christ, to whom true baptism belongs, which you say is false because of the faults of men, is alive, sitting at the right hand of the Father, and He will not die any more

^ Ecclus. xxxiv. 25; see on i. ix. 10. * Matt. viii. 21, 22.

^ See Matt. xii. 45.

260 ANSWEPv TO PETILTAN. [BOOK U.

through any infirmity of the flesh: death will no more have dominion over Him.â€” And they who are baptized with His baptism are not baptized by one who is dead. And if it so happen that certain ministers, being deceitful workers, seeking their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's, proclaiming the gospel not in purity, and preaching Christ of contention and envy, are to be called dead because of their unrighteousness, yet the sacrament of the living God does not die even in one that is dead. For that Simon was dead who was baptized by Philip in Samaria, who wished to purchase the gift of God for money;â€” but the baptism which he had lived in him still to work his punishment.

16. But how false the statement is which you make, that " both are wanting in the life of baptism, both he who never had it at all, and he who had it and has lost it," you may see from this, that in the case of those who apostatize after having been baptized, and who return through penitence, baptism is not restored to them', as it would be restored if it were lost.
In what manner, indeed, do your dead men baptize according to your interpretation ? Must we not reckon the drunken among the dead (to say nothing of the rest, and to mention only what is well known and of daily experience among all), seeing that the apostle says of the widow, " But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth ?"^ In the next place, in that Council of yours, in which you condemned Ï‡aximianus with his advisers or his ministers, have you forgotten with what eloquence you said. " Even after
the manner of the Egyptians, the shores are full of the bodies of the dying, on whom the weightier punishment falls in death itself, in that, after their life has been wrung from them by the avenging waters, they have not found so much as burial?" And yet you yourselves may see whether or no one of them, Felicianus, has been brought to life again; yet he has with him within the communion of your body those whom he baptized outside. As therefore he is baptized by One that is alive who is clothed with the baptism of the living Christ, so he is baptized by the dead who is wrapped in the baptism of the dead Saturn, or any one like him; tliat we may set forth in the

CHAP. ^11.] BAPTISM BY THE SPIRITUALLY DEAD. 261

meanwhile, with what brevity we may, in what sense the words which you have quoted may be understood without any cavilling on the part of any one of us. For, in the sense in which they are received by you, you make no effort to explain them, but only strive to entangle us together with yourselves.

Chap. vni. â€” 1 7. Petilaxus said: " We must consider, I say, and declare how far the treacherous traditor is to be accounted dead while yet in life. Judas was an apostle when he betrayed Christ; and the same man was already dead, having spiritually lost the office of an apostle, being destined afterwards to die by hanging himself, as it is written: 'I have sinned,' says he, 'in that I have betrayed the innocent blood; and he departed, and went and hanged himself' The traitor perished by the rope: he left the rope for others like himself, of whom the Lord Christ cried aloud to the Father, 'Father, those that Thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the Scripture might be fulfilled.' For David of old had passed this sentence on him who was to betray Christ to the unbelievers: * Let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow.' ^ See how mighty is the spirit of the prophets, that it was able to see all future things as though they were present, so that a traitor who was to be born hereafter should be condemned many centuries before. Finally, that the said sentence should be completed, the holy Matthias received the bishopric of that lost apostle. Let no one be so dull, no one so faithless, as to dispute this: Matthias w^on for himself a victory, not a wrong, in that he carried oE the spoils of the traitor from the victory of the Lord Christ. AYhy then, after this, do you claim to yourself a bishopric as the heir of a worse traitor? Judas betrayed Christ in the flesh to the unbelievers; you in the spirit madly betrayed the holy gospel to the flames of sacrilege. Judas betrayed the Lawgiver to the unbelievers; you, as it were, betraying all that he had left, gave up the law of God to be destroyed by men. Whilst, had you loved the law, like the youthful Maccabees, you would
have welcomed death for the sake of the laws of God (if indeed that can be said to be death to men which makes them immortal because they died for the Lord); for of those brethren we learn that one replied to the sacrilegious tyrant with these words of faith: 'Thou like a fury takest us out of this present life; but the King of the world (who reigns for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end) shall raise us up who have died for His laws, unto everlasting life.'^ If you were to burn with fire the testament of a dead man, would you not be punished as the falsifier of a will? What therefore is likely to become of you who have burned the most holy law of our God and Judge? Judas repented of his deed even in death; you not only do not repent, but stand forth as a persecutor and butcher of us who keep the law, whilst you are the most wicked of traitors!

18. Augustine answered: See what a difference there is between your calumnious words and our truthful assertions. Listen for a little while. See how you have exaggerated the sin of delivering up the sacred books, comparing us in most odious terms, like some sophistical inventor of charges, with the traitor Judas. But when I shall have answered you on this point with the utmost brevity, â€” I did not do what you assert; I did not deliver up the sacred books; your charge is false; you will never be able to prove it, â€” will not all that smoke of mighty words presently vanish away? Or will you perchance endeavour to prove the truth of what you say? This, then, you should do first; and then you might rise against us, as against men who were already convicted, with whatever mass of invective you might choose. Here is one absurdity: behold again a second.

19. You yourself, when speaking of the' foretelling of the condemnation of Judas, used these expressions: "See how mighty is the spirit of the prophets, that it was able to see all future things as though they were present, so that a traitor who was to be born hereafter should be condemned many centuries before;" and yet you did not see that in the same sure prophecy, and certain and unshaken truth, in which it was foretold that one of the disciples should hereafter betray the

* 2 Mace. vii. 9. The words in brackets are not in the original Greek.

CHAP. VIII.] THE TREASON OF JUDAS. 263

Christ, it was also foretold that the whole world should hereafter believe in Christ. Why did you pay attention in the prophecy to the man who betrayed Christ, and in the same place give no heed to the world for which Christ was betrayed? Who betrayed Christ? Judas. To whom did he betray Him? To the Jews. What did the Jews do to Him? "They pierced my hands and my feet" says the Psalmist.
"I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture." â– "â– Of what importance, then, that is which is bought at such a price, I would have you read a little later in the psalm itself: " All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's; and He is the governor among the nations. " But who is able to suffice for the quotation of all the other innumerable prophetic passages which bear witness to the world that is destined to believe? Yet you quote a prophecy because you see in it the man who sold Christ: you do not see in it the possession which Christ bought by being sold. Here is the second absurdity: behold again the third.

20. Among the many other expressions in your invective, you said: " If you were to burn with fire the testament of a dead man, would you not be punished as the falsifier of a will? What therefore is likely to become of you who have burned the most holy law of our God and Judge? " In these words you have paid no attention to what certainly ought to have moved you, to the question of how it might be that we should burn the testament, and yet stand fast in the inheritance which was described in that testament; but it is marvellous that you have preserved the testament and lost the inheritance. Is it not written in that testament, *'Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession? " * Take part in this inheritance, and you may bring what charges you will against me about the testament. For what madness is it, that while you shrank from committing the testament to the flames, you should yet strive against the words of the

* Ps. xxii. 16-18. 2 Ps. xxli. 27, 28. 3 pg ^ 3^
yourself up against me about the betrayal of the sacred books, which concerns neither
you nor me if we abide by the agreement not to charge each other with the sins of other
men, and which, if that agreement does not stand, affects you rather than me? And yet, even without any violation of that agreement, I
think I may say with perfect justice that he should be deemed a partner with him who
delivered up Christ who has not delivered himself up to Christ in company with the
whole world. "Then," says the apostle, "then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs
according to the promise."^ And again he says, "Heirs of God, and joint-heirs with
Christ." ^ And the same apostle shows that the seed of Abraham belongs to all nations,
from the promise which was given to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the
earth be blessed." "*

Therefore I consider that I am only making a fair demand

* Majorinus, ordained by the Numidian bishops in 311 a.d.

^ Qal. iii. 29. ^ Rom. viii. 17. * Gen. xxii. 16.

CHAP. X.] THE DONATISTS DISIXIERIT THEMSELVES. 265

in askiiin- that we should for a moment consider the testament of God, which has already
long been opened, and that we should consider every one to be himself an heir of the
traitor whom we do not find to be a joint-heir with Him whom he betrayed; that every
one should belong to him who sold Christ who denies that Christ has bought the whole
world.

For when He showed Himself after His resurrection to His disciples, and gave His limbs
to those who doubted, that they should handle them, He says this to them, "For thus it is
written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day:
and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all
nations, beginning at Jerusalem."^ See from what an inheritance you estrange yourselves!
see what an Heir you resist! Can it really be that a man would spare Christ if He were
walking here on earth who speaks against Him while He sits in heaven? Do you not yet
understand that whatever you allege against us you allege against His words?

A Christian world is promised and believed in; the promise is fulfilled, and it is denied.
Consider, I entreat of you, what you ought to suffer for such impiety. And yet, if I know
not what you have suffered, â€” if I have not seen it, have not wrought it, â€” then do you
to-day, who do not suffer the violence of my persecution, render to me an account of your
separation. But you are likely to say over and over again what, unless you prove it, can
affect no one, and if you prove it, has no bearing upon me. â€¢

Chap. IX. â€” 21. Petilianus said: "Hemmed in, therefore, by these offences, you cannot
be a true bishop."
22. Augustine answered: By what offences? What have you shown? "What have you proved? And if you have proved charges on the part of I know not whom, what has that to do with the seed of Abraham, in which all the nations of the earth are blessed?

Chap. x. â€” 23. Petilianus said: "Did the apostles persecute any one? or did Christ betray any one?"

^ Luke xxiv. 46, 47.

266 ANSWER TO PETILIAX. [BOOK II.]

24. Augustine answered: I might indeed say that Satan himself was worse than all wicked men; and yet the apostle delivered a man over to him for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.\(^\) And in the same way he delivered over others, of whom he says, "Whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."\(^\) And the Lord Christ drove out the impious merchants from the temple with scourges; in which connection we also find advanced the testimony of Scripture, where it says, "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up."\(^\) So that we do find the apostle delivering over to condemnation, and Christ a persecutor. All this I might say, and put you into no small heat and perturbation, so that you would be compelled to inquire, not into the complaints of those who suffer, but into the intention of those who cause the sufferinfr.

But do not trouble yourself about this; I do not say this. But I do say that it has nothing to do with the seed of Abraham, which is in all nations, if anything has been done to you which ought not to have been done, perhaps by the chaff among the harvest of the Lord, which in spite of this is found among all nations. Do you therefore render an account of your separation. But first, consider what kind of men you have among you, with whom you would not wish to be reproached; and see how unjustly you act, when you cast in our teeth the acts of other men, even if you proved what you assert. Therefore it will be found that there is no ground for your separation.

Chap. xl â€” 25. Petilianus said: "Yet some will be found to say. We are not the sons of a traditor. Any one is the son of that man whose deeds he imitates. For those are most assuredly sons, and at the same time bear a strong resemblance to their parents, who are born in the likeness of their parents, not only as being of their flesh and blood, but in respect of their characters and deeds."

26. Augustine answered: A little while ago you were saying nothing contrary to us, now you even begin to say something in our favour. For this proposition of yours binds
CILVr. XII.] EESPONSIBILITY FOR SIN PERSONAL. 267

US, ^vitll Avhom you are arguing, of being tradiiors and murderers, and anything else with which you charge us, you will then be wholly powerless to hurt us by any charge of the kind which you may prove against those who have gone before us. For we cannot be the sons of those to whose deeds our actions bear no resemblance. And see to what you have committed yourself. If you should be so successful as to convict some man, even of our own times, and living with us, of any guilt of the kind, that is in no way to the prejudice of all the nations of the earth who are blessed in the seed of Abraham, by separating yourself from whom you are found to be guilty of sacrilege. Accordingly, unless (as is altogether impossible) you are acquainted with all men that exist throughout the world, and have not only made yourself familiar with all their characters and deeds, but have also proved that they are as bad as you describe, you have no ground for reproaching all the world, which is among the saints, with parentage of I know not what description, to whom you prove that they are like. JSTor will it help you at all, even if you are able to show that those who are not of the same character take the holy sacraments in common with those who are. In the first place, because you ought yourselves to look at those with whom you celebrate those sacraments, to whom you give them, from whom you receive them, and whom you would be unwilling to have cast up against you as a reproach. And again, if all those are the sons of Judas, who was the devil among the apostles, who imitate his deeds, why do we not call those the sons of the apostles Avho make such men partakers, not in their own deeds, but in the sacraments of the Lord, as the apostles partook of the supper of the Lord in company wdth that traitor ? and in this way they are very different from you, who cast in the teeth of men who are striving for the preservation of unity the very thing that you do to the rending asunder of unity.

CiiAP. XII. â€” 27. Petilianus said: "The Lord Jesus said to the Jews concerning Himself, ' If I do not the works of my rather, believe me not.' "

1 John X. 37.
28. Augustine answered: I have already answered above. This is both true, and makes for us against you.

Chap. xiii. â€” 29. Petilianus said: "Over and over again He reproaches the false speakers and liars in such terms as these: 'Ye are the children of the devil, for he also was a slanderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth.'"

30. Augustine answered: We are not wont to say, "He was a slanderer," but "He was a murderer." But we ask how it was that the devil was a murderer from the beginning; and we find that he slew the first man, not by drawing a sword, nor by applying to him any bodily violence, but by persuading him to sin, and thus driving him from the happiness of Paradise. What then was Paradise is now represented by the Church. Therefore those are the sons of the devil who slay men by withdrawing them from the Church. But as by the words of God we know what was the situation of Paradise, so now by the words of Christ we have learned where the Church is to be found: "Throughout all nations,"

He says, "beginning at Jerusalem." Whosoever, therefore, separates a man from that complete whole to place him in any single part, is proved to be a son of the devil and a murderer. But see, further, what is the application of the expression which you yourself employed in saying of the devil, "He was a slanderer, and abode not in the truth." For you bring an accusation against the whole world on account of the sins of others, though even those others themselves you were more able to accuse than to convict; and you abode not in the truth of Christ. For He says that the Church is "throughout all nations, beginning at Jerusalem;"

but ye say that it is in the party of Donatus.

Chap. XIV. â€” 31. Petilianus said: "In the third place, also. He calls the madness of persecutors in like manner by this name, * Ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in their synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.'"
32. Augustine answered: If I were to say that this is said of men of character like unto yourselves, you would rejDly, "Prove it." What then, have you proved it? Or if you think that it is proved by the mere fact of its being uttered, there is no need to repeat the same words. Pronounce the same judgment against yourselves as coming from us to you. See you not that I too have proved it, if this amounts to proof? And yet I would have you learn what is really meant by proof. For indeed I do not even seek for evidence from without to enable me to prove you vipers. For be well assured that this very fact marks in you the nature of vipers, that you have not in your mouth the foundation of truth, but the poison of slanderous abuse, as it is written, "The poison of asps is under their lips." And because this might be said indiscriminately by any one against any one, as though it were asked. Under whose lips? he immediately adds," Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness." When, therefore, you say such things as this against men dispersed throughout the whole world, of whom you know nothing whatsoever, and many of whom have never heard the name either of Csecilianus or of Donatus, and when you do not hear them answering amid silence, Nothing of what you say has reference to us; we never saw it; we never did it; we are totally at a loss to understand what you are saying, — seeing that you desire nothing else than to say what you are entirely powerless to prove, how can you help allowing that your mouth is full of cursing and bitterness? See, therefore, whether you can possibly show that you are not vipers,* unless you show that all

1 R[att. xxiii. 33-35. 2 p^, ^iv. 5, from the LXX. only.

'Ps. xiv. 6. * Another reading is, "nos esse viporas."

270 ANSWEll TO PETILTAN. [COOK IT.

Christians throughout all nations of the world are traditors, and murderers, and anything but Christians. Nay, in very truth, even though you should be able to know and set before us the lives and deeds of every individual man throughout the world, yet before you can do that, seeing that you act as you do without any consideration, your mouth is that of a viper, your mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Show to ns now, if you can, what prophet, what wise man, what scribe we have slain, or crucified, or scourged in our synagogues. Look how much labour you have expended without in any way being able to prove that Donatus and Marculus were prophets, or wise men, or scribes, because, in fact, they were nothing of the sort. But even if you could prove as much as this, what progress would you have made towards proving that they had been killed by us, when even we ourselves did not so much as know them? and how much less the whole w^orld, whom you calumniate with poisonous mouth? Or wdience will you be able to prove that we have a spirit like that of those who murdered them, when you actually cannot show that they were murdered by any one at all? Look carefully to all these points, see whether you can prove any single one of them either about the whole world, or to the satisfaction of the w^hole
w^orld, â€” in your persevering calumnies against which you show that the charges are true in "you, which you falsely propagate against tlie world.

33. Further, even if we should desire to prove you to be slayers of the prophets, it would be too long a task to collect the evidence through all the several instances of the slaughtier which your infuriated leaders of the CircumccUiones, and the actual crowds of men inflamed by wine and madness, not only have committed since the beginning of your schism, but even continue to commit at the present time. To take the case nearest at hand. Let the divine utterances be produced, which are commonly in the hands of both of us. Let us consider those to be murderers of the prophets whom we find contradicting the words of the prophets. What more learned definition could be given? What could admit of speedier proof? You would be acting less cruelly in piercing the

^ See below, c. xx. iG; and Contra Crescon. in. xlix. jl.

bodies of the prophets with a sword, than in endeavouring to destroy the words of the prophets with your tongue. The prophet says, " All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord." ^ Behold and see how this is being done, how it is being fulfilled. But you not only close your ears in disbelief against what is said, but you even thrust out your tongues in madness to speak against what is already being done. Abraham heard the promise, " In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" ^ and " he believed, and it was counted unto him for righteousness."^ You see the fact accomplished, and you cry out against it; and you will not that it should be counted unto you for unrighteousness, as it fairly would be counted, even if your refusal to believe was not on the accomplishment, but only on the utterance of the prophecy. Nay, not only are you not willing that it should be counted unto you for unrighteousness, but even what you suffer as the punishment of this impiety you would fain have counted unto you for righteousness. Or if your conduct is not a persecution of the prophets, because your instrument is not the sword but the tongue,--what was the reason of its being said under divine inspiration, " The sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword ? " * But what time would suffice me to collect from all the prophets all the testimonies to the Church dispersed throughout the world, all of which you endeavour to destroy and render nought by contradicting them? But you are caught; for " their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words to the end of the world." ^ I will, however, advance this one saying from the mouth of the Lord, who is the Witness of witnesses: " All thinfrs must be fulfilled," He says, " which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me." And what these were let us hear from Himself: " Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand
the Scriptures, and said unto them. Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be

* Ps. xxii. 27. 2 Qen^ xxii. 18. =* Ptom. iv. 3.

* Ps. Ivii. 5. ft Ps. xiv, 5.

272 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK II.]

preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."^ See what it is that is written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning the Lord. See what the Lord Himself revealed about Himself and about the Church, making Himself manifest, uttering promises about the Church. But for you, see that you resist such manifest proofs as these, and as you cannot destroy them, endeavour to pervert them, what would you do, if you were to come across the bodies of the prophets, when you rage so madly against the utterances of the prophets, as not even to hearken to the Lord when He is fulfilling, and making manifest, and expounding the prophets? For do you not, to the utmost of your power, strive to slay the Lord Himself, since even to Himself you will not yield?

Chap. xv. â€” 34. Petilianus said: "David also spoke of you as persecutors in the following terms: 'Their throat is an open sepulchre; with their tongues have they deceived; the poison of asps is under their lips. Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and unhappiness is in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes. Have all the workers of wickedness no knowledge, who eat up my people as they eat bread?"^\*  

35. Augustine answered: Their throat is an open sepulchre, whence they breathe out death by lies. For "the mouth that believeth slayeth the soul."^\* But if nothing is more true than that wliicli Christ said, that His Church should be throughout all nations, beginning at Jerusalem, then there is nothing more false than that which you say, that it is in the party of Donatus. But the tongues which have deceived are the tongues of those who, whilst they are acquainted with their own deeds, not only say that they are just men, but that they are justifiers of men, which is said of One only "that justifieth the ungodly,"* and that because "He is just and the justifier.""\*  
As regards the poison of asps, and the mouth full of cursing

1 Luke xxiv. 44-47.

2 Ps. xiv. 5-8, from tie LXX., the last verse only being in the Hebrew.

<* Wisd. i. 11. "Horn. iv. 5. ^ Kom. iii. 2G.
and bitterness, we have said enough already. But you have yourselves said that the followers of Maximianus had feet swift to shed blood, as is testified by the sentence of your general Council, so often quoted in the records of the proconsular province and of the state. But they, so far as we hear, never killed any one in the body. You evidently, therefore, understood that the blood of the soul was shed in spiritual murder by the sword of schism, which you condemned in Maximianus. See then if your feet are not swift to shed blood, when you cut off men from the unity of the whole world, if you were right in saying it of the followers of Maximianus, because they cut off some from the party of Donatus.

Are we again without the knowledge of the way of peace, who study to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace?

and yet do you possess that knowledge, who resist the discourse which Christ held with His disciples after His resurrection, of so peaceful a nature that He began it with the greeting, "Peace be unto you:" and that so strenuously that you are proved to be saying nothing less to Him than this,

"That Thou saidst of the unity of all nations is false; what we say of the offence of all nations is true?" Who would say such things as this if they had the fear of God before their eyes? See, therefore, if in daily saying things like this you are not trying to destroy the people of God dispersed throughout the world, eating them up as it were bread.

Chap. XVI. æ” 36. Petilianus said: "The Lord Christ also warns us, saying, 'Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; and ye shall know them by their fruits.'"

37. Augustine answered: If I were to inquire of you by what fruits you know us to be ravening wolves, you are sure I to answer by charging us with the sins of other men, and these

I I such as were never proved against those who are said to have ill been guilty of them. But if you should ask of me by what }â€¢ fruits we know you rather to be ravening wolves, I bring

against you the charge of schism, which you will deny, but which I will straightway go on to prove; for, as a matter of


8 S
fact, you do not communicate with all the nations of the earth, nor with those Churches
which were founded by the labour of the apostles. Hereupon you will say, "I do not
communicate with traditors and murderers." The seed of Abraham answers you, "These
are those charges which you made, which are either not true, or have no reference to me."
But these I set aside for the present; do you meanwhile show me the Church.
Now that voice will sound in my ears which the Lord showed was to be avoided in the
false prophets who made a show of their several parties, and strove to estrange men from
the Catholic Church, "Lo, here is Christ, or there." But do you think that the true sheep
of Christ are so utterly destitute of sense, who are told, "Believe it not,"^ that they will
hearken to the wolf when he says, "Lo, here is Christ," and will not hearken to the
Shepherd when He says, "Throughout all nations, beginning at Jerusalem?"

Chap. xvii. â€” 38. Petilianus said: "Thus, thus, thou wicked persecutor, under
whatsoever cloak of righteousness thou hast concealed thyself, under whatsoever name of
peace thou wagest war with kisses, under whatsoever title of unity thou endevourest to
ensnare the race of men, â€” thou, who up to this time art cheating and deceiving, thou art
the true son of the devil, showing thy parentage by thy character."

39. Augustine answered: Consider in reply that these things have been said by us against
you; and that you may know to which of us they are more appropriate, call to mind what I
have said before.

Chap. xviii. â€” 40. Petilianus said: "Nor is it, after all, so strange that you assume to
yourself the name of bishop without authority. This is the true custom of the devil, to
choose in preference a mode of deceiving by which he usurps to himself a word of holy
meaning, as the apostle declares to us: ' And no marvel,' he says ] ' for Satan himself is
transformed into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be
transformed as the ministers of righteousness.'" Xor is it therefore a marvel if you falsely
call yourself a bishop. For even

J Matt. xxiv. 23. - 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15. "

*7K

CHAP. XVIII] AUGUSTINE NO TRUE BISHOP. 27
those fallen angels, lovers of the maidens of the world, who were corrupted by the corruption of their flesh, though, from having stripped themselves of divine excellence, they have ceased to be angels, yet retain the name of angels, and always esteem themselves as angels, though, being released from the service of God, they have passed from the likeness of their character into the army of the devil, as the great God declares, 'My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh.' To those guilty ones and to you the Lord Christ will say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed ones, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' If there were no evil angels, the devil would have no angels; of whom the apostle says, that in the judgment of the resurrection they shall be condemned by the saints: 'Know ye not,' says he, 'that we shall judge angels.' If they were true angels, men would not have authority to judge the angels of God. So too those sixty apostles, who, when the twelve were left alone with the Lord Christ, departed in apostasy from the faith, are so far yet considered among wretched men to be apostles, that from them Manichaeus and the rest entangle many souls in many devilish sects which they destroyed; that they might take them in their snares.

For indeed the fallen Manichaeus, if fallen he was, is not to be reckoned among those sixty, if it be that we can find his name as an apostle among the twelve, or if he was ordained by the voice of Christ when Matthias was elected into the place of the traitor Judas, or another thirteenth like Paul, who calls himself the last of the apostles, expressly that any one who was later than himself might not be held to be an apostle. For these are his words: 'For I am the last of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God.' And do not flatter yourselves in this: he was a Jew that had done this. You too, as Gentiles, may work destruction upon us. For you carry on war without licence, against whom we may not fight in turn. For you desire to live when you have murdered us; but our victory is either to escape or to be slain."

^ Gen. vi. 3. 2 j^j^tt. xxv. 41. ^ 1 Cqj. ^ yj^ o_

* " Perdiderunt," which Mi^tie tlinks maybe a confusion for * * perieruut."
' Novissimus. ^ 1 Cor. xv. 9.

276 ANSWER TO PETILTAN". [BOOK IT.

41. Augustine answered: See how you have quoted the testimony of holy Scripture, or how you have understood it, when it has no bearing at all upon the present point at issue. For all that you have brought forward was simply said to prove that there are false bishops, just as there are false angels and false apostles. Now we too know quite well that there are false angels and false apostles, and, as the true apostle says, false brethren also; but, seeing that charges such as yours may be brought by either side against the other, what is required is a certain degree of proof, and not mere empty words. But if you would see to which of us the charge of falseness more truly applies, recall to mind what we have said before, and you will see it there set forth, that we may not become tedious to
our readers, by repeating the same thing over and over again. And yet how is the Church dispersed throughout the world affected either by what you may have found to say about its chaff, which is mixed with it throughout the whole world; or by what you said of Manichaeus and the other devilish sects? For if the wheat is not affected by anything which is said even about the chaff which is still mingled with it, how much less are the members of Christ dispersed throughout the whole world affected by monstrosities which have been so long and so openly separated from it?

Chap. xix. â€” 42. Petilianus said: "The Lord Jesus Christ commands us, saying, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; and if they persecute you in that, flee yet into a third; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.'*

If He gives us this warning in the case of Jews and pagans, you who call yourself a Christian ought not to imitate the dreadful deeds of the Gentiles. Or do you serve God in such wise that we should be murdered at your hands? You do err, you do err, if you are wretched enough to entertain such a belief as this. For God does not have butchers for His priests."

1 2 Cor. xi. 26. *Portenta.

^ Down to this point Ancestor had already answered Petilianus in the First Book, as he says himself below, in. 1, 61.
* JLat. X. 23.

CHAP. XIX.] THE DONATISTS NOT PERSECUTED. 277

43. Augustine answered: To flee from one state to another from the face of persecution has not been enjoined as precept or permission on heretics or schismatics, such as you are; but it was enjoined on the preachers of the gospel, whom you resist. And this we may easily prove in this wise: you are now in your own cities, and no man persecutes you. You must therefore come forth, and give an account of your separation. For it cannot be maintained that, as the weakness of the flesh is excused when it yields before the violence of persecution, so truth also ought to yield to falsehood. Furthermore, if you are suffering persecution, why do you not retire from the cities in which you are, that you may fulfil the instructions which you quote out of the gospel? But if you are not suffering persecution, why are you unwilling to reply to us? Or if the fact be that you are afraid lest, when you should have made reply, you then should suffer persecution, in that case how are you following the example of those preachers to whom it was said, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves?" To whom it was also further said, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul."^ And how do you escape the charge of acting contrary to the injunction of the Apostle Peter, who says, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith and hope that is in you?"^
And, lastly, wherefore are you ever eager to annoy the Catholic Churches by the most violent disturbances, whenever it is in your power, as is proved by innumerable instances of simple fact? Wherefore in such a case did you not hearken to the voice of the Lord, when He says, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil"? Or, allowing that it is possible that in some cases it should be right for violent men to be resisted by bodily force, and that it does not violate the precept which we receive from the Lord, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil," why may it not also be that a pious man should eject an impious man, or a just man him that is unjust, in the exercise of duly and lawfully constituted authority, from seats which are unlawfully usurped, or retained to the despite of God? For you would not say that the false prophets


278 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

suffered persecution at the hands of Elijah, in the same sense that Elijah suffered persecution from the wickedest of kings?^ Or that because the Lord was scourged by His persecutors, therefore those whom He Himself drove out of the temple with scourges are to be put in comparison with His sufferings?

It remains, therefore, that we should acknowledge that there is no other question requiring solution, except whether you have been pious or impious in separating yourselves from the communion of the whole world. For if it shall be found that you have acted impiously, you would not be surprised if there should be no lack of ministers of God by whom you might be scourged, seeing that you suffer persecution not from us, but as it is written, from their own abominations.^

Chap. xx. â€“ 44. Petilianus said: "The Lord Christ cries again from heaven to Paul, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.'^ He was then called Saul, that he might afterwards receive his true name in baptism. But for you it is not hard so often to persecute Christ in the persons of His priests, though the Lord Himself cries out, 'Touch not mine anointed.' Eeckon up all the deaths of the saints, and so often have you murdered Christ, who lives in each of them.^ Lastly, if you are not guilty of sacrilege, then a saint cannot be a murderer."

45. Augustine answered: Defend yourselves from the charge of the persecution which those men suffered at the hands of your party who separated themselves from you with the followers of Maximianus, and therein you will find our defence. For if you say that you committed no such deeds, we simply read to you the records of the proconsular province and the state. If you say that you were right in persecuting them, why are you unwilling to suffer the like yourselves?
If you say, "But we caused no schism," then let this be inquired into, and, till it is decided whether it be so or not, let no one make accusation against persecutors. If you say that even schismatics ought not to have suffered persecution, I ask whether it is also the case that they ought not to have been

^ 1 Kings xviii. 'Wisd. xii. 23. 3 ^cts ix. 4, 5.

* Ps. cv. 15. Â° Vivacem Christum.

CHAP. XX.] PUNISHMENT NOT PERSECUTION. 279

driven out of the basilicas, in which they lay snares for the leading astray of the weak, even though it were done by duly constituted authorities? If you say that this also should not have been done, first restore the basilicas to the followers of ]\aximianus, and then discuss the point with us. If you say that it was right, then see what they ought to suffer at the hands of duly constituted authority, who, in resisting it, " resist the ordinance of God." Wherefore the apostle expressly says,

" For he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath on him that doeth evil." ^

But even if this had been discovered after the truth had been searched out with all diligence, that not even after public trial ought schismatics to undergo any punishment, or be driven from the positions which they have occupied, for their treachery and deceit; and if you should say that you are vexed that the followers of Maximianus should have suffered such conduct at the hands of some of you, â€” why does not the wheat of the Lord cry out with the more freedom from the whole field of the Lord, that is, from the world, and say, Neither are we at all affected by what the tares and the chaff amongst us do, seeing that it is contrary to our wish? If you confess that it is sufficient to clear you of responsibility, that all the evil that is done by men of your party is done in opposition to your wishes, why then have you separated yourselves?

For if your reason for not separating from the unrighteous among the party of Donatus is that each man bears his own burden, why have you separated yourselves from those throughout the world whom you think, or profess to think, to be unrighteous? Is it that you might all share equally in bearing the burden of schism?

46. And when we ask of you which of your party you can prove to have been slain by us, I indeed can remember no law issued by the emperors to the effect that you should be put to death. Those indeed whose deaths you quote most frequently to bring us into odium, Marculus and Donatus, present a great question, â€” whether they threw themselves down a precipice, as your teaching does not hesitate to encourage by examples of daily occurrence, or whether they were

^ Rom. xiii. 2, 4.
thrown down by the true command of some authority. For if it is a thing incredible that the leaders of the Circumcellionites should have wrought upon themselves a death in accordance with their custom, how much more incredible it is that the Eoman authorities should have been able to condemn them to a punishment at variance with custom! Accordingly, in considering this matter, which you think excessive in its hatefulness, supposing what you say is true, what is there in it which bears upon the Lord's wheat? Let the chaff which flew away outside accuse the chaff which yet remained within; for it is not possible that it should all be separated till the winnowing at the last day. But if what you say is false, what wonder is it if, when the chaff is carried away as it were by a light blast of dissension, it even attacks the wheat of the Lord with false accusations? Wherefore, on the consideration of all such odious accusations, the wheat of Christ, which is ordered to grow together with the tares throughout the field, that is, throughout the whole world, makes this answer to you with a free and fearless voice: If you cannot prove what you say, it has no application to any one; and if you prove it, it yet does not apply to me. The result of which is, that whosoever has separated himself from the unity of the wheat on account of the offences chargeable against the tares, or against the chaff, is unable to defend himself from the charge of murder which is involved in the mere offence of dissension and schism, as the Scripture says, "Whoso liateth his brother is a murderer."\(^\text{1}\)  

Chap. xxi. â€” 47. Petilianus said: "Accordingly, as we have said, the Lord Christ cried, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he said, Who art Thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.' And so presently it goes on, 'But Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man.' See here how blindness, \(^\text{1}\)  

\(^1\) Joliu iiL 15.

CHAr. XXII.] THE CASE OF PAUL IRrELEYANT. 281

coming in punishment of madness, obscures the light in the eyes of the persecutor, not to be again expelled except by baptism! Let us see, therefore, what he did in the city. 'Ananias/ it is said, entered into the house to Saul, and putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales; and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized.'\(^\text{-}\) Seeing therefore that Paul, being freed by baptism from the offence of persecution, received again his eyesight freed from guilt,
why will not you, a persecutor and traditor, blinded by false baptism, be baptized by those whom you persecute?"

48. Augustine answered: You do not prove that I, whom you wish to baptize afresh, am either a persecutor or a traditor. And if you prove this charge against any one, yet the persecutor and traditor is not to be baptized afresh, if he has been baptized already with the baptism of Christ. For the reason why it was necessary that Paul should be baptized was that he had never been washed in any baptism of the kind. Therefore what you have chosen to insert about Paul has no point of resemblance with the case which you are arguing with us. But if you had not inserted this, you would have found no place for your childish declamation. "See how blindness comes in punishment of madness, not to be again expelled except by baptism!" For with how much more force might one exclaim against you. See how blindness comes in punishment of madness, which, finding its similitude in Simon, not in Paul, is not expelled from you even when you have received baptism? For if persecutors ought to be baptized by those whom they persecute, then let Primianus be baptized by the followers of Maximianus, whom he persecuted with the utmost eagerness.

CiiAP. XXII. â€” 49. Petiltanus said: "It may be urged that Christ said to His apostles, as you are constantly quoting against us, 'He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.' Now if you discuss those words in all their fulness, you are bound by what immediately follows. For this is what He said, in His very words: 'He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean, but not all. For He knew who should betray Him; therefore said He, Ye are not all clean.' Whosoever, therefore, has incurred the guilt of treason, has forfeited, like you, his baptism. Again, after that the betrayer of Christ had himself been condemned, He thus more fully confirmed His words to the eleven apostles: 'Now are ye clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you.' And again He said to these same eleven, 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you.' Seeing, then, that these things were said to the eleven apostles, when the traitor, as we have seen, had been condemned, you likewise, being traditors, are similarly without both peace and baptism."

50. Augustine answered: If therefore every traditor has forfeited his baptism, it will follow that every one who, having been baptized by you, has afterwards become a traditor, ought to be baptized afresh. And if you do not do this, you yourselves
sufficiently prove the falseness of the saying, " Whosoever therefore has incurred the guilt of treason, has forfeited, like you, his baptism." For if he has forfeited it, let him return and receive it again; but if he returns and does not receive it, it is clear that he had not forfeited it. Again, if the reason why it was said to the apostles, " Now are ye clean," and " My peace I give unto you," was that the traitor had already left the room, then was not that supper of so great a sacrament clean and able to give peace, which He distributed to all before his going out? And if you venture to say this with your eyes closed against the truth, what can we do save exclaim the more. See how blindness comes in punishment of the madness of those who wish to be, as the apostle says, " teachers of the law, understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm? " * And yet, unless blindness came in the way of their pertinacity, it was not a very difficult matter that you should understand and see that the Lord 1 John xiii. 10, 11. ^ John xv. 3, i. ^ John xiv. 27. * 1 Tim. i. 7.

CHAP. XXIII. ] THE UNCLEAN DO NOT POLLUTE THE CLEAN. 283

did not say in the presence of Judas, Ye are not yet clean, but " Now are ye clean." He added, however, " But not all," because there was one there who was not clean; yet if he had been polluting the others by his presence, it would not have been declared to them, " Now are ye clean," but, as I said before, Ye are not yet clean. But, after Judas had gone out, He said to them, " Now are ye clean," and did not add the words. But not all, because he had now departed in whose presence indeed, as had been said to them, they were already clean, but not all, because there was one there unclean.

Wherefore in these words the Lord rather declared that in the one company of men receiving the same sacraments, the uncleanness of some members cannot hurt the clean. Certainly, if you think that there are among us men like Judas, you might apply to us the words, " Ye are clean, but not all." But this is not what you say; but you say that because of the presence of some who are unclean, therefore we are all unclean. This the Lord did not say to the disciples in the presence of Judas, and therefore whoever says this has not learned from the good Master what He says.

Chap. xxiii â€” 51. Petilianus said: " But if you say that we give baptism twice over, truly it is rather you who do this, who slay men who have been baptized; and this we do not say because you baptize them, but because you cause each one of them, by the act of slaying him, to be baptized in his own blood. For the baptism of water or of the Spirit is as it were doubled when the blood of the martyr is wrung from him. And so our Saviour also Himself, after being baptized in the first instance by John, declared that He must be baptized again, not this time with water nor with the Spirit, but with the baptism of blood, the cross of suffering, as it is written, ' James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came unto Him, saying. Master, we would that Thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall desire. And He said unto
them. What would ye that I should do for you? They said unto Him, Grant that we may sit, one on Thy right hand, and the other on Thy left hand, in Thy glory. But Jesus said unto them, Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I

284 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK IT.

drink of, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? And they said unto Him, We can. And Jesus said unto them, Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of; and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized,’^- and so forth. If these are two baptisms, you commend us by your malice, we must needs confess. For when you kill our bodies, then we do celebrate a second baptism; but it is that we are baptized with our baptism and with blood, like Christ. Blush, blush, ye persecutors. Ye make martyrs like unto Christ, who are sprinkled with the baptism of blood after the water of the genuine baptism."

52. Augustine answered: In the first place, we reply without delay that we do not kill you, but you kill yourselves by a true death, when you cut yourselves off from the living root of unity. In the next place, if all who are killed are baptized in their own blood, then all robbers, all unrighteous, impious, accursed men, who are put to death by the sentence of the law, are to be considered martyrs, because they are baptized in their own blood. But if only those are baptized in their own blood who are put to death for righteousness’ sake, since theirs is the kingdom of heaven,^ you have already seen that the first question is why you suffer, and only afterwards should we ask what you suffer. Why therefore do you puff out your cheeks before you have shown the righteousness of your deeds? Why does your tongue resound before your character is approved? If you have made a schism, you are impious; if you are impious, you die as one guilty of sacrilege, when you are punished for impiety; if you die as one guilty of sacrilege, how are you baptized in your blood? Or do you say, I have not made a schism? Let us then inquire into this. Why do you make an outcry before you prove your case?

53. Or do you say, Even if I am guilty of sacrilege, I ought not to be slain by you? It is one question as to the enormity of my action, which you never prove with any truth, another as to the baptism of your blood, from whence you derive your boast. For I never killed you, nor do you prove that you are killed by any one. Nor even if you were to


CHAP. XXIII.] OPTATUS GILDONIANUS. 285
prove it would it in any way affect me, whoever it was that killed you, whether he did it justly in virtue of power lawfully given by the Lord, or committed the crime of murder, like the chaff of the Lord's harvest, through some evil desire; just as you are in no way concerned with him who in recent times, with an intolerable tyranny, attended even by a company of soldiers, not because he feared any one, but that he might be feared by all, oppressed widows, destroyed pupils, betrayed the patrimonies of other men, annulled the marriages of other men, contrived the sale of the property of the innocent, divided the price of the property when sold with its mourning owners. I should seem to be saying all this out of the invention of my own head, if it were not sufficiently obvious of whom I speak without the mention of his name.^

And if all this is undoubtedly true, then just as you are not concerned with this, so neither are we concerned with anything you say, even though it were true. But if that colleague of yours, being really a just and innocent man, is maligned by a lying tale, then should we also learn in no way to give credit to reports, which have been spread abroad of innocent men, as though they had delivered up the sacred books, or murdered any of their fellow-men. To this we may add, that I refer to a man who lived with you, whose birthday you were wont to celebrate with such large assemblies, with whom you joined in the kiss of peace in the sacraments, in whose hands you jilaced the Eucharist, to whom in turn you extended your hands to receive it from his ministering, whose ears, when they were deaf amid the groanings of all Africa, you durst not offend by free speech; for paying to whom, even indirectly, a most witty compliment, by saying that in the Count^

he had a god for his companion, some one of your party was extolled to the skies. But you reproach us with the deeds of men with whom we never lived, whose faces we never saw, in whose lifetime we were either boys, or perhaps as yet not

^ Optatus Gildonianus is the person to whom he refers.

^ Gildo, from subservience to whom Optatus received the name Gildonianus?, was â€¢ Comes Africse." The play on the meanings of "Comes," in the expression "quod Comitem haberet Deum," is incapable of direct translation. Cp. Xixvii. 88; ciii. 237.

28G ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK U.

even born. What is the meaning, then, of your great unfairness and perversity, that you should wish to impose on us the burdens of those whom we never knew, whilst you will not bear the burdens of your friends? " When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him." ^ If he whom you saw did not pollute you, why do you reproach me with one whom I could not have seen? Or do you say, I did not consent with him, because his deeds were displeasing to me?

But, at any rate, you went up to the altar of God with him. Come now, if you would defend yourself, make a distinction between your two positions, and say that it is one thing to consent together for sin, as the two elders consented together when they laid a plot against the chastity of Susannah, and another thing to
receive the sacrament of the Lord in company with a thief, as the apostles received even that first supper in company with Judas. I am all in favour of your defence. But why do you not consider how much more easily, in the course of your defence, you have acquitted all the nations and boundaries of the earth, throughout which the inheritance of Christ is dispersed? For if it was possible for you to see a thief, and to share the sacraments with the thief whom you saw, and yet not to share his sin, how much less was it possible for the remotest nations of the earth to have anything in common with the sins of African traditors and persecutors, supposing your charges and assertions to be true, even though they held the sacraments in common with them? Or do you say, I saw in him the bishop, I did not see in him the thief? Say what you will. I allow this defence also, and in this the world is acquitted of the charges which you brought against it. For if it was permitted you to ignore the character of a man whom you knew, why is the whole world not allowed to be ignorant of those it never knew, unless, indeed, the Donatists are allowed to be ignorant of what they do not wish to know, while the nations of the earth may not be ignorant of what they cannot know?

5 4. Or do you say, Theft is one thing, delivery of the sacred books or persecution is another? I grant there is a difference,

1 Ts. 1. 15.

CHAP. XXIII.] GUILT NOT CONTAGIOUS. 287

nor is it worth while now to show wherein that difference consists. But listen to the summary of the argument. If he could not make you a thief, because his thieving was displeasing in your sight, who can make men traditors or murderers to whom such treachery or murder is abhorrent? First, then, confess that you share in all the evil of Optatus, whom you knew, and even so reproach me with any evil which was found in those whom I knew not. And do not say to me, But my charges are serious, yours but trifling. You must first acknowledge them, however trifling they may be in your case, not before I on my side confess the charges against me, but before I can allow you to say these serious things about me at all. Did Optatus, whom you knew, make you a thief by being your colleague, or not? Answer me one or the other. If you say he did not, I ask why he did not, â€” because he was not a thief himself? or because you do not know it? or because you disapprove of it? If you say. Because he himself was not a thief, much more ought we not to believe that those with whom you reproach us were of such a character as you assert. For if we must not believe of Optatus what both Christians and pagans and Jews, ay, and what both our party and yours assert, how much less should we believe what you assert of any one? But if you say. Because you do not know it, all the nations of the earth answer you, Much more do we not know of all that you reproach us with in these men. But if you say, Because you disapproved of it, they answer you with the same voice. Although you have never proved the truth of what you say, yet acts like these are viewed by us with disapproval. But if you say, Lo, Optatus, whom I knew, made me a thief because he was my colleague, and I was in the habit of going to the altar
with him when he committed those deeds; but I do not greatly heed it, because the fault was trivial, but your party made you a traditor and a murderer, â€” I answer that I do not allow that I too am made a traditor and a murderer by the sins of other men, just because you confess that you are made a thief by the sin of another man; for it must be remembered that you are proved a thief, not by our judgment, but by your own confession. For we say that every man must bear his

288 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK TI.

own burden, as the apostle is our witness.â€”But you, of your own accord, have taken the burden of Optatus on your own shoulders, not because you committed the theft, or consented to it, but because you declared your conviction that what another did applied to you. For, as the apostle says, when speaking of food, "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean," â€” by the same rule, it may be said that the sins of others cannot implicate those who disapprove of them; but if any one thinks that they affect him, then he is affected by them.

Wherefore you do not convict us of being traditors or murderers, even though you were to prove something of the sort against those who share the sacraments with us; but the guilt of theft is fastened on you, even if you disapprove of everything that Optatus did, not in virtue of our accusation, but by your own decision. And that you may not think this a trivial fault, read what the apostle says, "Nor shall thieves inherit the kingdom of God."â€”But those who shall not inherit the kingdom of God will certainly not be on His right hand among those to whom it shall be said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." If they are not there, where will they be except on the left hand? Therefore among those to whom it shall be said, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."â€”In vain, therefore, do you indulge in your security, thinking it a trivial fault which separates you from the kingdom of God, and sends you into everlasting fire. How much better will you do to betake yourself to true confusion, saying, Every one of us shall bear his own burden, and the winnowing fan at the last day shall separate the chaff from the wheat!

55. But it is evident that you are afraid of its being forthwith said to you, "Why then, whilst you attempt to place on some men's backs the burdens of their neighbours, have you dared to separate yourselves from the Lord's corn, dispersed throughout the world, before the winnowing at the last day?"

Accordingly, you who disapprove of the deeds of your party,

1 Cal. vi. 5. 2 ijom, 3â€”v. 14. ^ 1 Cor. vi. 10. * Matt. xxy. 34, 41.
whilst you are taking precautions against being charged with the schism which you all have made, are involving yourselves also in their sins which you did not commit; and while the shrewd Petilianus is afraid of my being able to say that I am not such as he thinks Caecilianus was, he is obliged to confess that he himself is such as he knows Optatus to have been.

Or are you not such as the common voice of Africa proclaims him to have been? Then neither are we such as those with whom you reproach us are either suspected to have been by your mistake, or calumniously asserted to have been by your madness, or proved to have been by the truth. Much less is the wheat of the Lord in all the nations of the earth of such a character, seeing that it never heard the names of those of whom you speak. There is therefore no reason why you should perish in such sin of separation and such sacrilege of schism. And yet, if you are made to suffer for this great impiety by the judgment of God, you say that you are even baptized in your blood; so that you are not content with feeling no remorse for your division, but you must even glory in your punishment.

Chap. xxiv. â€” 56. Petilianus said: "But you will answer that you abide by the same declaration, 'He that is once washed needeth not save to wash his feet.' Now the 'once' is once that has authority, once that is confirmed by the truth."

57. Augustine answered: Baptism in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost has Christ for its authority, not any man, whoever he may be; and Christ is the truth, not any man.

Chap. xxv. â€” 58. Petilianus said: "For when you in your guilt perform what is false, I do not celebrate baptism twice, which you have never celebrated once."

59. Augustine answered: In the first place, you do not convict us of guilt. And if a guilty man baptizes with a false baptism, then none of those have true baptism who are baptized by men in your party, that are, I do not say openly,

^ John xiii. 10. ^ Matt, xxviii. 19.

3 T

1

290 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

but even secretly guilty. For if he who gives baptism gives something that is God's, if he is already guilty in the sight of God, how can he be giving something that is God's, if a
guilty man cannot give true baptism? But in reality you wait till he is guilty in your sight as well, as though what he proposes to confer were something that belonged to you.

Chap. xxvi. â€” 60. Petiliaxus said: " For if you mix what is false with what is true, falsehood often imitates the truth by treading in its steps. Just in the same way a picture imitates the true man of nature, depicting with its colours the false resemblance of truth. And in the same way, too, the brilliancy of a mirror catches the countenance, so as to represent the eyes of him who gazes on it. In this way it presents to each comer his own countenance, so that the very features of the comer meet themselves in turn; and of such virtue is the falsehood of a clear mirror, that the very eyes which see themselves recognise themselves as though in some one else.

And even when a shadow stands before it, it doubles the reflection, dividing its unity in great part through a falsehood.

Just we then hold that anything is true, because a lying representation is given of it? But it is one thing to paint a man, another to give birth to one. For does any one represent fictitious children to a man who wishes for an heir? or would any one look for true heirs in the falsehood of a picture? Truly it is a proof of madness to fall in love with a picture, letting go one's hold of what is true."

61. Augustine answered: Are you then really not ashamed to call the baptism of Christ a lie, even when it is found in the most false of men? Far be it from any one to suppose that the wheat of the Lord, which has been commanded to grow among the tares throughout the whole field, that is, throughout the whole of this world, until the harvest, that is, until the end of the world, can have perished in consequence of your evil words. Nay, even among the very tares themselves, which are commanded not to be gathered, but to be tolerated even to the end, and among the very chaff, which shall only be separated from the wheat by the winnowing.


CHAP. XXVII.] BAPTISM EVERYWHERE BELONGS TO GOD. 291

ing at the last day/ does any one dare to say that any baptism is false which is given and received in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? Would you say that those whom you depose from their office, whether as your colleagues or your fellow-priests, on the testimony of women whom they have seduced (since examples of this kind are not wanting anywhere), were false or true before their crime was proved against them? You will certainly answer, False. Why then were they able both to have and to give true baptism? Why did not their falseness as men corrupt in them the truth of God? Is it not most truly written,

" For the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit?" Seeing then that the Holy Spirit fled from them, how came it that the truth of baptism was in them, except because what the Holy Spirit fled from was the falseness of man, not the truth of the sacrament? Further, if even the deceitful have the true baptism, how do they have it who possess it in
truthfulness? Whence you ought to observe that it is rather your conversation which is coloured with childish pigments; and accordingly, he who neglects the living Word to take pleasure in such colouring is himself loving the picture in the place of the reality.

Chap. xxvii. â€” 6-2. Petilianus said: "It will be urged against us, that the Apostle Paul said, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism.'^ We profess that there is only one; for it is certain that those who declare that there are two are mad."

63. Augustine replied: These words of yours are arguments against yourselves; but in your madness you are not aware of it. For the men who say there are two baptisms are those who declare their opinion that the just and the unjust have different baptisms; whereas it belongs neither to one party nor the other, but in both of them is one, being Christ's, although they themselves are not one: and yet the baptism, which is one, the just have to salvation, the unjust to their destruction.

Chap. XXVIII. â€” 64. Petilianus said: "But yet, if I may be allowed the comparison, it is certain that the sun appears double to the insane, although it only be that a dark blue cloud often meets it, and its discoloured surface, being struck by the brightness, while the rays of the sun are reflected from it, seems to send forth as it were rays of its own. So in the same way in the faith of baptism, it is one thing to seek for reflections, another to recognise the truth."

65. Augustine answered: What are you saying, if I may ask? When a dark blue cloud reflects the rays of the sun with which it is struck, is it only to the insane, and not to all who look on it, that there appear to be two suns? But when it appears so to the insane as such, it appears to them alone. But if I may say so without being troublesome, I would have you take care lest saying such things and talking in such a way should be itself a sign of madness. I suppose, however, that what you meant to say was this, â€” that the just had the truth of baptism, the unjust only its reflection. And if this be so, I venture to say that the reflection was found in that man of your party, to whom not God, but a certain Count, was God; but that the truth was either in you or in him who uttered the witty saying against Optatus, when he said that
"in the Count he had a god for his companion."^ And distinguish between those who were baptized by either of these, and in the one party approve the true baptism, in the others exclude the reflection, and introduce the truth.

Chap. XXIX. â€“ G6. Petilianus said: " But to pass rapidly through these minor points: can he be said to lay down the law who is not a magistrate of the court? or is what he lays down to be considered law, when in the character of a private person he disturbs public rights? Is it not rather the case that he not only involves himself in guilt, but is held to be a forger, and that which he composes a forgery? "

67. Augustine answered: What if your private person, whom you deem a forger, were to set forth to any one the law of the emperor? Would not the man, when he had compared it with the law of those who have the genuine law, and found it to be identically the same, lay aside all care about

^ Optatus. ^ Gildo. ^ See above, on xxiii. 53.

CIIAr. XXX. ] THE FALSE MAY UTTER TRUTH. 293

the source from which he had obtained it, and consider only what he had obtained? For what the forger gives is false when he gives it of his own falseness; but when something true is given by any person, even though he be a forger, yet, although the giver be not truthful, the gift is notwithstanding true.

Chap. xxx. â€“ 68. Petilianus said: "Or if any one chance to recollect the chants of a priest, is he therefore to be deemed a priest, because with sacrilegious mouth he publishes the strain of a priest?"

69. Augustine answered: In this question you are speaking just as though we were at present inquiring what constituted a true priest, not what constituted true baptism. For that a man should be a true priest, it is requisite that he should be clothed not with the sacrament alone, but with righteousness, as it is written, " Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness."^ But if a man be a priest in virtue of the sacrament alone, as was the high priest Caiaphas, the persecutor of the one most true Priest, then even though he himself be not truthful, yet what he gives is true, if he gives not what is his own but what is God's; as it is said of Caiaphas himself,

** This spake he not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied."^ And yet, to use the same simile which you employed yourself: if you were to hear even from any one that was profane the prayer of the priest couched in the words suitable to the mysteries of the gospel, can you possibly say to him. Your prayer is not true, though he himself may be not only no true priest, but not a priest at all? seeing that the Apostle Paul said that certain testimony of I know not what Cretan prophet was true, though he was not reckoned among the prophets of God; for he says, " One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said the Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies: this witness is true."^
If, therefore, the apostle even himself bore witness to the testimony of some obscure prophet of a foreign race, because he found it to be true, why do not we, when we find in any one what belongs to Christ, and is true even though the man

' r^ cxxxiL 9. 2 Z<^m xL 51. ^ xit. L 12, 13.

294 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK IT.

with whom it may be found be deceitful and perverse, why do not we in such a case make a distinction between the fault which is found in the man, and the truth which he has not of his own but of God's ? and why do we not say, This sacrament is true, as Paul said, " This witness is true ? " Does it at all follow that we say, The man himself also is truthful, because we say. This sacrament is true ? Just as I would ask whether the apostle counted that prophet among the prophets of the Lord, because he confirmed the truth of what he found to be true in him. Likewise the same apostle, when he was at Athens, perceived a certain altar among the altars of the false gods, on which was the inscription, " To the unknown God." And this testimony he made use of to build them up in Christ, to the extent of quoting the inscription in his sermon, and adding, " Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship. Him declare I unto you." Did he, because he found that altar either among the altars of idols, or set up by sacrilegious hands, therefore condemn or reject what he found in it that was true ? or did he, because of the truth which he found upon it, therefore persuade them that they ought also to follow the sacrilegious practices of the pagans ? Surely he did neither of the two; but presently, when, as he judged fitting, he wished to introduce to their knowledge the Lord Himself, unknown to them, but known to him, he says among other things, that " He is not far from every one of us: for in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said."^-^ Can it be said that here also, because he found among the sacrilegious the evidence of truth, he either approved their wickedness because of the evidence, or condemned the evidence because of their wickedness ? But it is unavoidable that you should be always in the wrong, so long as you do despite to the sacraments of God because of the faults of men, or think that we take upon ourselves the sacrilege even of your schism, for the sake of the sacraments of God, to which we are unwilling to do despite in you.

Chap. xxxi. â€” 70. Petilianus said: " ' For there is no power

1 Acts xvii. 23, 27, 28.

CHAP. XXXII. ] TRUTH AMID EREOR TO BE RECOGNISED. 295

but of God/ none in any man of power; as the Lord Jesus Christ answered Pontius Pilate, ' Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.' ^
And again, in the words of John, 'A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven.' Tell us, therefore, traditor, when you received the power of imitating the mysteries."

71. Augustine answered: Tell us rather thyself when the power of baptizing was lost by the whole world through which is dispersed the inheritance of Christ, and by all that multitude of nations in which the apostles founded the Churches. You will never be able to tell us, "not only because you have calumniated them, and do not prove them to be traditors, but because, even if you did prove this, yet no guilt on the part of any evil-doers, whether they be unsuspected, or deceitful, or be tolerated as the tares or as the chaff, can possibly overthrow the promises, so that all the nations of the earth should not be blessed in the seed of Abraham; in which promises you deprive them of their share when you will not have the communion of unity with all nations of the earth.

Chap, xxxii. 72. Petilianus said: "For although there is only one baptism, yet it is consecrated in three several grades. John gave water without the name of the Trinity, as he declared himself, saying, 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.' Christ gave the Holy Spirit, as it is written, 'He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' And the Comforter Himself came on the apostles as a fire burning with rustling flames.

true divinity, which seemed to blaze, not to burn! as it is written, 'And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.' But you,

^ Rom. xiii. 1. 2 John xix. 11. ^ John iii. 27.

* Matt. iii. 11. ^ john xx. 22. ^ _^cts ii. 2-4.

296 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

"Jersecutor, have not even the water of repentance, seeing that you hold the power not of the murdered John, but of the murderer Herod. You therefore, traditor, have not the Holy Spirit of Christ; for Christ did not betray others to death, but was Himself betrayed. For you, therefore, the fire in the spirit in Hades is full of life, "that fire which, surging with hungry tongues of flame, will be able to burn your limbs to all eternity without consuming them, as it is written of the punishment of the guilty in hell, 'Neither shall their fire be quenched.'"
73. Augustine answered: You are the calumnious slanderer, not the truthful arguer. Will you not at length cease to make assertions of a kind which, if you do not prove them, can apply to nobody; and even if you prove them, certainly cannot apply to the unity of the whole world, which is in the saints as in the wheat of God? If we too were pleased to return calumnies for calumnies, we too might possibly be able to give vent to eloquent slanders. We too might use the expression, "With rustling flames," but to me an expression never sounds in any way eloquent which is inappropriate in its use. We too might say, "Surging with hungry tongues of flame;" but we do not wish that the tongues of flame in our writings, when they are read by any one in his senses, should be judged hungry for want of the sap of weightiness, or that the reader himself, while he finds in them no food of useful sentiments, should be left to suffer from the hunger of excessive emptiness. See, I declare that your Circumcelliones are burning, not with rustling but with headlong flames. If you answer. What is that to us? why do not you, when you reproach with any one whom you will, not listen in turn to our answer. We too know nothing of it? If you answer. You do not prove the fact, why may not the whole world answer you in turn. Neither do you prove it? Let us agree therefore, if you please, that you should not charge us with the guilt of the wicked men whom you consider to belong to us, and that we should abstain from similar charges against you. So you will see, by this just agreement, confirmed and ratified, that you have no charge which you can bring against the seed of

^ Isa. Ixvi. 24.

CITAP. XXXII.] THE CATHOLICITY OF THE CHURCII. 297

Abraham, as found in all the nations of the earth. But I find Avithout difficulty a grievous charge to bring against you: Why liave you impiously separated yourselves from the seed of Abraham, which is in all nations of the earth? Against this charge you certainly have no means whereby you may defend yourselves. For we each of us clear ourselves of the sins of other men; but this, that you do not hold communion with all the nations of the earth, which are blessed in the seed of Abraham, is a very grievous crime, of which not some but all of you are guilty.

74. And yet you know, as you prove by your quotation, that the Holy Spirit descended in such wise, that those who were then filled with it spake with divers tongues: what was the meaning of that sign and prodigy? Why then is the Holy Spirit given now in such wise, that no one to whom it is given speaks with divers tongues, except because that miracle then prefigured that all nations of the earth should believe, and that thus the gospel should be found to be in every tongue? Just as it was foretold in the psalm so long before: "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard." This was said with reference to those men
\ who were destined, after receiving the Holy Spirit, to speak with every kind of tongue. But because this passage itself signified that the gospel should be found hereafter in all nations and languages, and that the body of Christ should sound forth throughout all the
world in every tongue, therefore he goes on to say, " Their sound is gone out throughout all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world." Hence it is that the true Church is hidden from no one. And hence comes that which the Lord Himself says in the gospel, " A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." ^ And therefore David continues in the same psalm, " In the sun hath He placed His tabernacle," that is, in the open light of day; as we read in the Book of Kings, " For thou didst it secretly; but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun."^ And He Himself is " as a bridegroom coming out of His chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run His race. His going forth is from the end of heaven:" here you have the coming of the

^ Matt. V. 11. 22 Sam. xii. 12.

298 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

Lord in the flesh. "And His circuit unto the ends of it:" here you have His resurrection and ascension. " And there is nothing hid from the heat thereof:".^ here you have the coming of the Holy Spirit, whom He sent in tongues of fire, that He might make manifest the glowing heat of charity, which he certainly cannot have who does not keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace with the Church, which is throughout all languages.

75. Next, however, with regard to your statement that there is indeed one baptism,^ but that it is consecrated in three several grades, and to your having distributed the three forms of it to three persons after such fashion, that you ascribe the water to John, the Holy Spirit to the Lord Jesus Christ, and, in the third place, the fire to the Comforter sent down from above, â€” consider for a moment in how great an error you are involved. For you were brought to entertain such an opinion simply from the words of John: " I indeed baptize you with water: but He that cometh after me is mightier than I: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." ^ Nor were you willing to take into consideration that the three things are not attributed to three persons taken one by one, â€” water to John, the Holy Spirit to Christ, fire to the Comforter, â€” but that the three should rather be referred to two persons â€” one of them to John, the other two to our Lord. For neither is it said, I indeed baptize you with water: but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost: and the Comforter, who is to come after Him, He shall baptize you with fire; but " I indeed," He says, " with water: but He that cometh after me with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." One he attributes to himself, two to Him that cometh after him. You see, therefore, how you have been deceived in the number. Listen further. You said that there was one baptism consecrated in three stages â€” water, the Holy Spirit, and fire; and you assigned three persons to the three stages severally â€” John to the water, Christ to the Spirit,
Comforter to the fii^e. If, therefore, the water of John bears reference to the same baptism which is com-

* r^ xix. 3-6, from the LXX. - Eph. iv. 6. ^ Matt. iii. 11.

ciLvr. xxxir.] the baptism of john and of chkist. â– 299

mended as being one, it was not right that those should have been baptized a second time by the command of the Apostle Paul whom he found to have been baptized by John. For they already had water, belonging, as you say, to the same baptism; so that it remained that they should receive the Holy Spirit and fire, because these were wanting in the baptism of John, that their baptism might be completed, being consecrated, as you assert, in three stages. But since they were ordered to be baptized by the authority of an apostle, it is sufficiently made manifest that that water with which John baptized had no reference to the baptism of Christ, but belonged to another dispensation suited to the exigencies of the times.

76. Lastly, when you wished to prove that the Holy Spirit was given by Christ, and had brought forward as a proof from the gospel, that Jesus on rising from the dead breathed into the face of His disciples, saying, "Ececeive ye the Holy Ghost;" ^ and when you wished to prove that that last fire which was named in connection with baptism was found in the tongues of fire which were displayed on the coming of the Holy Ghost, how came it into your head to say, "And the Comforter Himself came upon the apostles as a fire burning with rustling flames," as though there were one Holy Spirit whom He gave by breathing on the face of His disciples, and another who, after His ascension, came on the apostles ? Are we to suppose, therefore, that there are two Holy Spirits ? Who will be found so utterly mad as to assert this ? Christ therefore Himself gave the same Holy Spirit, whether by breathing on the face of the disciples, or by sending Him down from heaven on the day of Pentecost, with undoubted commendation of His holy sacrament. Accordingly it was not that Christ gave the Holy Spirit, and the Comforter gave the fire, that the saying might be fulfilled, " With the Holy Spirit, and with fire;" but the same Christ Himself gave the Holy Spirit in both cases, making it manifest while He was yet on earth by His breathing, and when He was ascended into heaven by the tongues of flame. For that you may know that the words of John, " He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost," were not fulfilled at the time when He

1 Jolm XX. 22.
breathed on His disciples' face, so that they should require to be baptized, when the
Comforter should come, not with the Spirit any longer, but with fire, I would have you
remember the most outspoken words of Scripture, and see what the Lord Himself said to
them when He ascended into heaven: " John truly baptized you with water; but ye shall be
baptized with the Holy Ghost, whom ye shall receive not many days hence at
Pentecost." ^ What could be plainer than this testimony ?
But, according to your interpretation, what He should have said was this: John verily
baptized you with water; but ye were baptized with the Holy Spirit when I breathed on
your faces; and next in due order shall ye be baptized with fire, which ye shall receive not
many days hence; â€” in order that by this means the three stages should be completed, in
which you say that the one baptism was consecrated. And so it proves to be the case that
you are still ignorant of the meaning of the words, " He shall baptize you with the Holy
Ghost, and with fire;" and you are rash enough to be willing to teach what you do not
know yourselves.

Chap. xxxm. â€” 7*7. Petilianus said: "But that I may thoroughly investigate the baptism
in the name of the Trinity, the Lord Christ said to His apostles: ' Go ye, and baptize all
nations, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them
to observe all things ^diatsoever I have commanded you.' ^ Whom do you teach, traditor t
Him whom you condemn ? Whom do you teach, traditor ?
Him whom you slay ? Once more, whom do you teach ? Him whom you have made a
murderer ? How then do you baptize in the name of the Trinity ? You cannot call God
your Father. For when the Lord Christ said, ' Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall
be called the children of God,' ^
you who have not peace at your heart cannot have God for your Father. Or how, again,
can you baptize in the name of the Son, who betray that Son Himself, who do not imitate
the Son of God in any of His sufferings or crosses ? Or how, again, can you baptize in the
name of the Holy Ghost, when the Holy Ghost came only on those apostles who were not
guilty of treason ? Seeing, tlierefore, that God is not your Father, neither are you truly
born again with the water of baptism. Xo one of you is born perfectly. You in your
impiety have neither father nor mother. Seeing, then, that you are of such a kind, ought I
not to baptize you, even though you wash yourselves a thousand times, after the
similitude of the Jews, who as it were baptize the flesh ?"

78. Augustine answered: Certainly you had proposed thoroughly to investigate the
baptism in the name of the Trinity, and you had set us to listen with much attention; but
following, as it would seem, what is the easiest course to you, how soon have you
returned to your customary abuse !
This you carry out with genuine fluency. For you set before yourself what victims you please, against whom to inveigh with whatsoever bitterness you please: in the midst of which vast latitude of discourse you are driven into the greatest straits if any one does but use the little word. Prove it. For this is what is said to you by the seed of Abraham; and since in him all nations of the earth are blessed, they care but little when they are cursed by you. But yet, since you are treating of baptism, which you consider to be true when it is found in a just man, but false when it is found in the unjust, see how I too, if I were to investigate baptism in the name of the Trinity according to your rule, might say, with great fulness, as it seems to me, that he has not God for his father who in a Count has God for his companion,^ nor believes that any is his Christ, save him for whose sake he has endured suffering; and that he has not the Holy Ghost who burned the wretched Africa in so very different a fashion with tongues of fire. How then can they have baptism, or how can they administer it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? Surely you must now perceive that baptism can exist in an unrighteous man, and be administered by an unrighteous man, and that no unrighteous baptism, but such as is just and true, â€” not because it belongs to the unrighteous man, but because it is of God. And herein I am uttering no calumny against you, as you never cease to do, on some pretence or other, against the whole world; and,

^ See above, xxiii. 53.

302 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

what is even more intolerable, you do not even bring any proof about the very points on which you found your calumnies. But I know not how this can possibly be endured, because you not only bring calumnies against holy men about unrighteous men, but you even bring a charge against the holy baptism itself, which must needs be holy in any man, however unrighteous he may be, from a comparison with the infection arising from the sins of wicked men, so that you say that baptism partakes of the character of him by whom it is possessed, or administered, or received. Furthermore, if a man partakes of the character of him in whose company he approaches sacred mysteries, and if the sacraments themselves partake of the character of the men in whom they are, holy men may well be satisfied to find consolation in the thought that they only fare like holy baptism itself in hearing false accusations from your lips. But it would be well for you to see how you are condemned out of your own mouths, if both the sober among you are counted as drunken from the infection of the drunken in your ranks, and the merciful among you become robbers from the infection of the robbers, and whatever evil is found among you in the persons of wicked men is perforce shared by those who are not wicked; and if baptism itself is unclean in all of you who are unclean, and if it is of different lands according to the varying character of uncleanness itself, as it must be if it is perforce of the same character as the man by whom it is possessed or administered. These suppositions most undoubtedly are false; and accordingly they in no wise injure us, when you bring them forward against us without looking back upon yourselves. But they do
injure you, because, when you bring them forward falsely, they do not fall on us; but, since you imagine them to be true, they recoil upon yourselves.

Chap. xxxiv. â€“ 79. Petilianus said: "For if the apostles were allowed to baptize those whom John had washed with the baptism of repentance, shall it not likewise be allowed to me to baptize men guilty of sacrilege like yourselves?"

80. Augustine answered: AVliere then is what you said above, that there was not one baptism of John and another

CHAP. XXXV.] BARISM II.â€”DEPENDENT OF THE MINISTUANT. 303

of Christ, but that there was one baptism, consecrated in three stages, of which three stages John gave the water, Christ the Spirit, and the Comforter the fire? Why then did the apostles repeat the water in the case of those to whom John had already administered water belonging to the one baptism which is consecrated in three stages? Surely you must see how necessary it is that every one should understand the meaning of what he is discussing.

Chap. xxxv. â€“ 81. Petilianus said: "Nor indeed will it be possible that the Holy Spirit should be implanted in the heart of any one by the laying on of the hands of the priest, unless the water of a pure conscience has gone before to give him birth."

82. Augustine answered: In these few words of yours two errors are involved; and one of them, indeed, has no great bearing on the question which is being discussed between us, but yet it helps to convict you of want of skill. For the Holy Spirit came upon a hundred and twenty men, without the laying on of any person's hands, and again upon Cornelius the centurion and those who were with him, even before they were baptized.â€”But the second error in these words of yours entirely overthrows your whole case. For you say that the water of a pure conscience must necessarily precede to give new birth, before the Holy Spirit can follow on it. Accordingly, either all the water consecrated in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is water of a pure conscience, not for the merits of those by whom it is administered, or by whom it is received, but in virtue of the stainless merits of Him who instituted this baptism; or else, if only a pure conscience on the part both of the ministrant and the recipient can produce the water of a pure conscience, what do you make of those whom you find to have been baptized by men who bore a conscience stained with as yet undiscovered guilt, especially if there exist among the said baptized persons any one who should confess that he at the time when he was baptized had a bad conscience, in that he might possibly have desired to use their opportunity for the

^ Acts i. 15, ii. 4, x. 44.
accomplishment of some sinful act? When, therefore, it shall be made clear to you that neither the man who administered baptism, nor the man who received it, had a pure conscience, will you give your judgment that he ought to be baptized afresh? You will assuredly neither say nor do anything of the sort.

The purity therefore of baptism is entirely unconnected with the purity or impurity of the conscience either of the giver or the recipient. Will you therefore dare to say that the deceiver, or the robber, or the oppressor of the fatherless and widows, or the sunderer of marriages, or the betrayer, the seller, the divider of the patrimony of other men, was a man of pure conscience? Or will you further dare to say that those were men of pure conscience, whom it is hard to imagine wanting in such times, men who made interest with the man I have described, that they might be baptized, not for the sake of Christ, nor for the sake of eternal life, but to conciliate earthly friendships, and to satisfy earthly desires? Further, if you do not venture to say that these were men of pure conscience, then if you find any of their number who have been baptized, give to them the water of a pure conscience, which they as yet have not received; and if you will not do this, then leave oft® casting in our teeth a matter which you do not understand, lest you should be forced to answer in reply to us about a matter which you know full well.

Chap. xxxvi. 83. Petilianus said: "Which Holy Spirit certainly cannot come on you, who have not been washed even with the baptism of repentance; but the water of the traditor, which most truly needs to be repented of, does but work pollution."

84. Augustine answered: As a matter of fact, not only do you not prove us to be tradiiors, but neither did your fathers prove that our fathers were guilty of that sin; though, even if that had been proved, the consequence would have been that they would not be our fathers, according to your earlier assertion, seeing that we had not followed their deeds: yet neither should we on their account be severed from the companionship of unity, and from the seed of Abraham, in

1 Optatus Gildouiaiius.

CHAP. XXXVII.] IXCOXSISTEXCY OF THE DONATISTS. 305

"vvlicli all nations of the earth are blessed." However, if the water of Christ be one thing, and the water of the traditor another, because Christ was not a traditor, why should not the water of Christ be one thing, and the water of a robber another, since certainly Christ was not a robber? Do you therefore baptize again after baptism by your robber, and I
will baptize again after the traditor, who is neither mine nor yours; or, if one must believe the documents which are produced, who is both mine and yours; or, if we are to believe the communion of the whole world rather than the party of Donatus, who is not mine, but yours. But, by a better and a sounder judgment, because it is according to the words of the apostle, every one of us shall bear his own burden; nor is either that robber yours, if you are not yourselves robbers; nor does any traditor belong to any one either of us or you, who is not himself a traditor. And yet we are Catholics, who, following the spirit of that judgment, do not desert the unity of the Church; but you are heretics, who, on account of charges, whether true or false, which you have brought against certain men, are unwilling to maintain Christian charity with the seed of Abraham.

Chap. xxxvii. Â” 85. Petilianus said: "But that the truth of this may be made manifest from the apostles, we are taught by their actions, as it is written: 'It came to pass that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus: and finding there certain disciples, he said unto them. Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed ? And they said unto him. We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized ? And they said. Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on Him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. And

Â» Gen. xxii. 18. Â« Gal. vi. 5.

Â« U

305 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

all the men were about twelve.' Â” If, therefore, they were baptized that they might receive the Holy Ghost, why do not you, if you wish to receive the Holy Ghost, take measures to obtain a true renewing, after your falsehoods ? And if we do ill in urging this, why do you seek after us ? or, at any rate, if it is an offence, condemn Paul in the first instance; which Paul certainly washed off what had already existed, whereas we in you give baptism which as yet does not exist. For you do not, as we have often said before, wash with a true baptism; but you bring on men an ill repute by your empty name of a false baptism."

86. Augustine answered: We bring no accusation against Paul, who gave to men the baptism of Christ because they had not the baptism of Christ, but the baptism of John, according to their own reply; for, being asked. Unto what were ye baptized ? they answered. Unto John's baptism; which has nothing to do with the baptism of Christ, and is neither a part of it nor a step towards it. Otherwise, either at that time the water of the
baptism of Christ was renewed a second time, or if the baptism of Christ was then made
perfect by the two waters, the baptism is less perfect which is given now, because it is not
given with the water which was given at the hands of John. But either one of these
opinions it is impious and sacrilegious to entertain. Therefore Paul gave the baptism of
Christ to those who had not the baptism of Christ, but only the baptism of John.

87. But why the baptism of John, which is not necessary now, was necessary at that time,
I have already explained; and the question has no bearing on the point at issue between us
at the present time, except so far as that it may appear that the baptism of John was one
thing, the baptism of Christ another, "just as that baptism was a different thing with
which the apostle says that our fathers were baptized in the cloud and in the sea, when
they passed through the Pied Sea under the guidance of Moses." For the law and the
prophets up to the time of John the Baptist had sacraments which foreshadowed things to
come; but the sacraments of our time bear testimony that that has come already which the
former

1 Acts xix. 1-7. " 1 Cor. x. 1, 2.

CHAP. XXXVII.] THE TRUE POSITION OF JOHN. 307

sacraments foretold should come. John therefore was a foreteller of Christ nearer to Him
in time than all who went before him.
And because all the righteous men and prophets of former times desired to see the
fulfilment of what, through the revelation of the Spirit, they foresaw would come to pass,
"whence also the Lord Himself says, " That many prophets and righteous men have
desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things
which ye hear, and have not heard them," " therefore it was said of John that he was
more than a prophet, and that among all that were born of women there was none greater
than he;" because to the righteous men who went before him it was only granted to
foretell the coming of Christ, but to John it was given both to foretell Him in His absence
and to behold His presence, so that it should be found that to him was made manifest
what the others had desired. And therefore the sacrament of his baptism is still connected
with the foretelling of Christ's coming, though as of something very soon to be fulfilled,
seeing that up to his time there were still foretellings of the first coming of our Lord, of
which coming we have now announcements, but no longer predictions. But the Lord,
teaching the way of humility, condescended to make use of the sacraments which He
found here in reference to the foretelling of His coming, not in order to assist the
operation of His cleansing, but as an example for our piety, that so He might show to us
with what reverence we ought to receive those sacraments which bear witness that He is
already come, when He did not disdain to make use of those which foreshadowed His
coming in the future. And John, therefore, though the nearest to Christ in point of time,
and within one year of the same age with Him, yet, while he was baptizing, went before
the way of Christ who was still to come; for which reason it was said of him, " Behold, I
send my messenger before Thy face, which shall prepare Thy way before Thee." And he
himself preached, saying, "There cometh one mightier than I after me."^ In like manner, therefore, the circumcision on the eighth day, which was given to the patriarchs, foretold our

1 Matt. xiii. 17. 2 jyjatt. xi. 9, 11.

3 .Mark i. 2; cp. Mai. iii. 1. ^ Mark i. 7,

308 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK IT.

justification, to the putting away of carnal lusts through the resurrection of our Lord, which took place after the seventh day, which is the Sabbath-day, on the eighth, that is, the Lord's day, which fell on the third day after His burial; yet the infant Christ received the same circumcision of the flesh, with its prophetic signification. And as the Passover, which was celebrated by the Jews with the slaying of a lamb, prefigured the passion of our Lord and His departure from this world to the Father, yet the same Lord celebrated the same Passover with His disciples, when they reminded Him of it, saying. Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover? ^ so too He Himself also received the baptism of John, which formed a part of the latest foretelling of His coming. But as the Jews' circumcision of the flesh is one thing, and the ceremony which we observe on the eighth day after persons are baptized is another; ^ and the Passover which the Jews still celebrate with the slaying of a lamb is one thing,^ and that which we receive in the body and blood of our Lord is another, â€” so the baptism of John was one thing, the baptism of Christ is another. For by the former series of rites the latter were foretold as destined to arrive; by these latter the others are declared to be fulfilled. And even though Christ received the others, yet are they not necessary for us, who have received the Lord Himself who was foretold in them. But when the coming of our Lord was as yet recent, it was necessary for any one who had received the former that he should be imbued with the latter also; but it was wholly needless that any one who had been so imbued should be compelled to go back to the former rites.

88. Wherefore do not seek to raise confusion out of the

^Matt. xxvi. 17.

^ In his treatise on the Sermon on the Mount, Book ii, iv. 12, Augustine again compares the "celebratio octavarum dierum, quas in regeneratione novi hominis celebramus" with the circumcision on the eighth day; and in Serm. 376 he says that the heads of the rebaptized were uncovered on the eighth day, as a token of liberty. Cp. J^pist. ii. xvii. 82, and Bingham, Orig. Sacr. xii. iv. 3.

^ Augustine apparently supposed that the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was still observed among the Jews of the dispersion; cp. Retract, i. x. 2. It was, however, forbidden them to sacrifice the Passover except in the place which the Lord should choose to place His
name there; and hence the Jews, though they observe the other paschal solemnities, abstain from the sacrificial of the lamb.

CHAP. XXXVII.] THE BAPTISM OF JOHN. 309

baptism of John, the source and intention of which was either such as I have here set forth; or if any other better explanation of it can be given, this much still is clear, that the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ are two distinct and separate things, and that the former was expressly called the baptism of John, as is clear both from the answer of those men whose case you quoted, and from the words of our Lord Himself, when He says, "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men?" But the latter is never called the baptism of Caecilianus, or of Donatus, or of Augustine, or of Petilianus, but the baptism of Christ.

For if you think that we are shameless, because we will not allow that any one should be baptized after baptism from us, although we see that men were baptized again who had received the baptism of John, who certainly is incomparably greater than ourselves, will you maintain that John and Optatus were of equal dignity? The thing appears ridiculous. And yet I fancy that you do not hold them to be equals, but consider Optatus the greater of the two. For the apostle baptized after baptism by John: you venture to baptize no one after baptism by Optatus. Was it because Optatus was in unity with you? I know not with what heart a theory like this can be maintained, if the friend of the Count, who had in the Count a god for his companion, is said to have been in unity, and the friend of the Bridegroom to have been excluded from it. But if John was preeminently in unity, and far more excellent and greater than all of us and all of you, and yet the Apostle Paul baptized after him, why do you then not baptize after Optatus? Unless indeed it be that your blindness brings you into such a strait that you should say that Optatus had the power of giving the Holy Spirit, and that John had not! And if you do not say this, for fear of being ridiculed for your madness even insane themseT^s what answer will you be able to make when you are asked \^W men should have required to be baptized after receiving baptism from John, while no one needs to be baptized after receiving it from Optatus, unless it be that the former were baptized with the baptism

^ Matt. xxi. 25. ^ Gildo; see above, xxiii. 53.

310 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK II.]

of John, while, whenever any one is baptized with the baptism of Christ, whether he be baptized by Paul or by Optatus, there is no difference in the nature of his baptism, though there is so great a difference between Paul and Optatus? Eeturn then, ye transgressors, to a right mind,^ and do not seek to weigh the sacraments of God by considerations of the characters and deeds of men. For the sacraments are holy
through Him to whom they belong; but when taken in hand worthily, they bring reward, when unworthily, judgment.

And although the men are not one who take in hand the sacrament of God worthily or unworthily, yet that which is taken in hand, whether worthily or unworthily, is the same; so that it does not become better or worse in itself, but only turns to the life or death of those who handle it in either case. And in respect of what you said, that "in those whom Paul baptized after they had received the baptism of John, he washed off what had already existed," you certainly would not have said it had you taken a moment to consider what you were saying. For if the baptism of John required washing off, it must, beyond all doubt, have had some foulness in it.

Why then should I press you further? Eccollect or read, and see whence John received it, so shall you see against whom you have uttered that blasphemy; and when you have discovered this, your heart will surely be beaten, if a rein be not set on your tongue.

89. To come next to what you think you say against us with so much point: "If we do ill in urging this, why do you seek after us?" cannot you even yet call to mind that only those are sought after who have perished? Or is the incapacity for seeing this an element in your ruin? For the sheep might say to the shepherd with equal absurdity. If I do wrong in straying from the flock, why do you search after me? not understanding that the very reason why it is being sought is because it thinks there is no need for seeking: it. But who is there that seeks for you, either through His Scriptures, or by catholic and conciliatory voices, or by the scourgings of temporal afflictions, save only Him who dispenses that mercy to you in all things? We therefore seek you that we may

1 See Isa. xlvL 8.

CHAP. XXXVIII] the MEANING OF THE NAME CATHOLIC. 311

find you; for we love you that you should have life, with the same intensity with which we hate your error, that it might be destroyed which seeks to ruin you, so long as it is not itself involved in your destruction. And would to God that we might seek you in such a manner as even to find, and be able to say with rejoicing of each one of you, "He was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found!"

Chap. xxxYiii. â€” 90. Petilianus said: "If you declare that you hold the Catholic Church, the word 'catholic' is merely the Greek equivalent for entire or whole. But it is clear that you are not in the whole, because you have gone aside into the part."

91. Augustine answered: I too indeed have attained to a very slight knowledge of the Greek language, scarcely to be called knowledge at all, yet I am not shameless in saying that I know that oKov means not "one," but "the whole;"
and that KaO'oKov means "according to the whole: "whence the Catholic Church received its name, according to the saying of the Lord," It is not for you to know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power.

But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Here you have the origin of the name "Catholic." But you are so bent upon running with your eyes shut against the mountain which grew out of a small stone, according to the prophecy of Daniel, and filled the whole earth, that you actually tell us that we have gone aside into a part, and are not in the whole among those whose communion is spread throughout the whole earth. But just in the same way as, supposing you were to say that I was Petilianus, I should not be able to find any method of refuting you unless I were to laugh at you as being in jest, or mourn over you as being mad, so in the present case I see that I have no other choice but this; and since I do not believe that you are in jest, you see what alternative remains.

Chap, xxxix. Æ’” 92. Pelilianus said: "But there is no

Æ» Luke XV. 32. 2 ^cts i. 7, 8. 3 Dan. n 35,

Q

12 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

fellowship of darkness with light, nor any fellowship of bitterness with the sweet of honey; there is no fellowship of life with death, of innocence with guilt, of water with blood; the lees have no fellowship with oil, though they are related to it as being its dregs, but everything that is reprobate will flow away. It is the very sink of iniquity; according to the saying of John, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us." There is no gold among their pollution:

all that is precious has been purged away. For it is written, "As gold is tried in the furnace, so also are the just tried by the harassing of tribulation." Cruelty is not a part of gentleness, nor religion a part of sacrilege; nor can the party of Macarius in any way be part of us, because he pollutes the likeness of our rite. For the enemy's line, which fills up an enemy's name, is no part of the force to which it is opposed; but if it is truly to be called a part, it will find a suitable motto in the judgment of Solomon, "Let their part be cut off from the earth." "^
93. Augustine answered: What is it but sheer madness to utter these taunts without proving anything? You look at the tares throughout the world, and pay no heed to the wheat, although both have been bidden to grow together throughout the whole of it. You look at the seed sown by the wicked one, which shall be separated in the time of harvest, and you pay no heed to the seed of Abraham, in which all nations of the earth shall be blessed. Just as though you were already a purged mass, and virgin honey, and refined oil, and pure gold, or rather the very similitude of a whitened wall. For, to say nothing of your other faults, do the drunken form a portion of the sober, or are the covetous reckoned among the portion of the wise? If men of gentle temper appropriate the term of light, where shall the madness of the Circumcelliones be esteemed to be, except in the darkness? Why then is baptism, given by men like these, held valid among you, and the same baptism of Christ not held valid, by whatsoever men it may be administered throughout the world?

^ 1 John ii. 19. 2 Apparently from Wisd. iii. G. ' Prov. ii. 22.


CHAP. XXXIX.] MADNESS OF THE DOXATIST3. 313

You see, in fact, that you are separated from the communion of the whole world in so far as this, that you are not indeed all drunk, nor all of you covetous, nor all men of violence, but that you are all heretics, and, in virtue of this, are all impious and all sacrilegious.

94. But as to your saying that the whole world that rejoices in Christian communion is the party of Macarius, who with any remnant of sanity in his brain could make such a statement? But because we say that you are of the party of Donatus, you therefore seek for a man of whose party you may say we are; and, being in a great strait, you mention the name of some obscure person, who, if he is known in Africa, is certainly unknown in any other quarter of the globe. And therefore hearken to the answer made to you by all the seed of Abraham from every corner of the earth: Of that Macarius, to whose party you assert us to belong, we know absolutely nothing. Can you reply in turn that you know nothing of Donatus? But even if we were to say that you are the party of Optatus, which of you can say that he is unacquainted with Optatus, unless in the sense that he does not know him personally, as perhaps he does not know Donatus either? But you acknowledge that you rejoice in the name of Donatus, do you also take any pleasure in the name of Optatus?

What then can the name of Donatus profit you, when all of you alike are polluted by Optatus? What advantage can you derive from the sobriety of Donatus, when you are defiled by the drunkenness of the Circumcelliones? What, according to your views, are you profited by the innocence of Donatus, when you are stained by the rapacity of Optatus? For this is your mistake, that you think that the unrighteousness of a man has more power in infecting his neighbour than the righteousness of a man has in purifying those around him.
Therefore, if two share in common the sacraments of God, the one a just man, the other an unrighteous one, but so that neither the former should imitate the unrighteousness of the latter, nor the latter the righteousness of the former, you say that the result is not that both are made just, but that both are made unrighteous; so that also that holy thing, which both receive in common, becomes unclean and loses its original holiness. When does unrighteousness find for herself such advocates as these, through whose madness she is esteemed victorious? How comes it then that, in the midst of such mistaken perversity, you congratulate yourselves upon the name of Donatus, when it shows not that Petilianus deserves to be what Donatus is, but that Donatus is compelled to be what Optatus is? But let the house of Israel say, "God is my portion for ever;"^ let the seed of Abraham say in all nations, "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance."^ For they know how to speak through the gospel of the glory of the blessed God. For you, too, through the sacrament which is in you, like Caiaphas the persecutor of the Lord, prophesy without being aware of it.\(^{\text{a}}\) For what in Greek is expressed by the word MaKapto is in our language simply "Blessed;" and in this way certainly we are of the party of Macarius, the Blessed One. For what is more blessed than Christ, of whose party we are, after whom all the ends of the earth are called, and to whom they all are turned, and in whose sight all the countries of the nations worship? Therefore the party of this Macarius, that is to say, of this Blessed One, feels no apprehension at your last curse, distorted from the words of Solomon, lest it should perish from the earth. For what is said by him of the impious you endeavour to apply to the inheritance of Christ, and you strive to prove that this has been achieved with inexpressible impiety; for when he was speaking of the impious, he says, "Let their portion perish from off the earth.\(^{\text{a}}\) But when you say, with reference to the words of Scripture, "I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance,"^ and "all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord,"^ that the promise contained in them has already perished from the earth, you are seeking to turn against the inheritance of Christ what was foretold about the lot of the impious; but so long as the inheritance of Christ endures and increases, you are perishing in saying such things. For you are not in every case prophesying through the sacrament of God, since in this case you are merely uttering evil wishes through your own madness.


* Prov. ii. 22. ^ Ps. ii. 8. ^ pg. xxii. 27.
But the prophecy of the true prophets is more powerful than the evil speaking of the false prophets.

Chap. XL. â€” 95. Petilianus said: "Paul the apostle also bids us, 'Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?'"^ 96. Augustine answered: I recognise the words of the apostle; but how they can help you I cannot see at all. Por which of us says that there is any fellowship between righteousness and unrighteousness, even though the righteous and the unrighteous, as in the case of Judas and Peter, should be alike partakers of the sacraments? Por from one and the same holy thing Judas received judgment to himself and Peter salvation, just as you received the sacrament with Optatus, and, if you were unlike him, were not therefore partakers in his robberies. Or is robbery not unrighteousness? A'Tio w^ould be mad enough to assert that? What fellowship was there, then, on the part of your righteousness with his unrighteousness, when you approached together to the same altar?

Chap. xli. â€” 97. Petilianus said: "And, again, he taught us that schisms should not arise, in the following terms: 'Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'"^ 98. Augustine answered: Eemember all of you who read this, it was Petilianus who quoted these words from the apostle. For who could have believed that he would have brought forward words whlich tell so much for us against himseK?

Chap. xlii. â€” 99. Petilianus said: "If Paul uttered these words to the unlearned and to the righteous, I say this to you

1 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15. M Cor. i. 12, 13.
100. Augustine answered: I am afraid lest any one should think that in this work of mine the writer has made a mistake, and has written the heading Petilianus said, when he ought to have written Augustine answered. But I see what your object is: you wished, as it were, to preoccupy the ground, lest we should bring those words in testimony against you. But what have you really done, except to cause them to be quoted twice? If, therefore, you are so much pleased with hearing the words which make against you, as to render it necessary that they should be repeated, hear, I pray you, these words as coming from me, Petilianus: Is Christ divided, that you should separate yourselves from the Church?

Chap. xliii. â€” 101. Petilianus said: "Can it be that the traitor Judas hung himself for you, or did he imbue you with his character, that, following his deeds, you should seize on the treasures of the Church, and sell for money to the powers of this world us who are the heirs of Christ?"

102. Augustine answered: Judas did not die for us, but Christ, to whom the Church dispersed throughout the world says, "So shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me: for I trust in Thy word."^ When, therefore, I hear the words of the Lord, saying, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth," ^ and through the voice of His prophet, "Their sound is gone out through all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world," ^ no bodily admixture of evil ever is able to disturb me, if I know how to say, "Be surety to Thy servant for good: let not the proud oppress me."* I do not, therefore, concern myself about a vain calumation when I have a substantial promise. But if you complain about matters or places appertaining to the Church, which you used once to hold, and hold no longer, then the Jews also may say that they are righteous, and reproach us with unrighteousness, because the Christians now occupy the place in which of old they impiously reigned.

^ Ps. cxix. 42. - Acts i. S. ^ pg. j.^ ^_ 4 Ps^ ,.xix. 122.

CHAP. XLIV.] SUFFERING NO PROOF OF HOLINESS. 317

What then is there unfitting, if, according to a similar will of the Lord, the Catholics now hold the things which formerly the heretics used to have? For against all such men as this, that is to say, against all impious and unrighteous men, those words of the Lord have force, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof;" ^ or is it written in vain, "The righteous shall eat of the labours of the impious?"^ Wherefore you ought rather to be amazed that you still possess something, than that there is something which you have lost. But neither need you wonder even at this, for it is by degrees that the whitened wall falls down. Yet look back at the followers of Maximianus, see what places they possessed, and by whose agency and under whose attacks they were driven from them, and do you venture, if you can, to
say that to suffer things like these is righteousness, while to do them is unrighteousness. In the first place, because you did the deed, and they suffered them; and secondly, because, according to the rule of this righteousness, you are found to be inferior. For they were driven from the ancient places by Catholic emperors acting through judges, while you are not even driven forth by the mandates of the emperors themselves from the basilicas of unity. For what reason is this, save that you are of less merit, not only than the rest of your colleagues, but even than those very men whom you assuredly condemned as guilty of sacrilege by the mouth of your general Council?

Chap. xlv. â€” 103. Petilianus said: "For -we, as it is written, when we are baptized, put on Christ who was betrayed f y ou, when you are infected, put on Judas the betrayer."

104. Augustine answered: I also might say, You when you are infected put on Optatus the betrayer, the robber, the oppressor, the separator of husband and wife; but far be it from me that the desire of returning an evil word should provoke me into any falsehood: for neither do you put on Optatus, nor we Judas. Therefore, if each one who comes to us shall answer to our questions that he has been baptized in

1 Matt. xxi. 43. 2 S(.e Ps. cv. 44. 3 Gul. iii. 27.

318 ANSWER TO PETILIAX. [BOOK II.]

the name of Oi^atus, he shall be baptized in the name of Christ; and if you baptized any that came from us and said that they had been baptized in the name of the traitor Judas, in that case we have no fault to find with what you have done. But if they had been baptized in the name of Christ, do you not see what an error you commit in thinking that the sacraments of God can undergo change through any changeableness of human sins, or be polluted by defilement in the life of any man?

Chap. xlv. â€” 105. Petilianus said: " But if these are the parties, the name of member of a party is no prejudice against us. For there are two ways, the one narrow, in which we walk; the other is for the impious, wherein they shall perish. And yet, though the designations be alike, there is a great difference in the reality, that the way of righteousness should not be defiled by fellowship in a name."

106. Augustine answered: You have been afraid of the comparison of your numbers with the multitude throughout the world; and therefore, in order to win praise for the scantiness of your party, you have sought to bring in the comparison of yourself walking in the narrow path. Would to God that you had betaken yourself not to its praise, but to the path itself I Truly you would have seen that there was the same scantiness in the Church of all nations; but that the righteous are said to be few in comparison with the multitude of the unrighteous,. just as, in comparison with the chaff, there may be said to be few grains of corn in the most abundant crop, and yet these very grains of themselves, when brought into a heap, fill the barn. For the followers of J\laximianus themselves will
surpass you in this scantiness of number, if you think that righteousness consists in this, as well as in the persecution involved in the loss of places which they held."

CiLvr. XLVI. â€” 107. Petilianus said: "In the first Psalm David separates the blessed from the impious, not indeed making them into parties, but excluding all the impious from holiness. 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners.' Let him who had strayed from the path of righteousness, so that he should perish, return to it again. 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.' When he gives this warning, ye miserable men, why do you sit in that seat? 'But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in His law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season: his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.' He blindeth their eyes, so that they should not see. *Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish.'"

CHAP, xlvii.] confusion of the wheat and chaff. 319

of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners.' Let him who had strayed from the path of righteousness, so that he should perish, return to it again. 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.' When he gives this warning, ye miserable men, why do you sit in that seat? 'But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in His law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season: his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. The ungodly are not so: but are like the chaff which the wind driveth away.' He blindeth their eyes, so that they should not see. *Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish.'"

108. Augustine answered: Who is there in the Scriptures that would not distinguish between these two classes of men? But you in your evil speak indiscriminately, charge the corn with the offences of the chaff; and being yourselves mere chaff, you boast yourselves to be the only corn. But the true prophets declare that both these classes have been mingled together throughout the whole world, that is, throughout the whole corn-field of the Lord, until the winnowing which is to take place on the day of judgment. But I advise you to read that first Psalm in the Greek version, and then you will not venture to reproof the whole world with being of the party of Macarius; because you will perhaps come to understand of what Macarius there is a party among all the saints, who throughout all nations are blessed in the seed of Abraham. For what stands in our language as "Blessed is the man," is in Greek Ma/ca^io? avrjp. But that Macarius who offends you, if he is a bad man, neither belongs to this division, nor is to its prejudice. But if he is a good man, let him prove I his own work, that he may have glory in himself alone, and

i not in another. â€” "â€¢

Chap, xlvii. â€” 109. Petilianus said: "But the same Psalmist has sung the praises of our baptism. 'The Lord is

1 Gal. vi. 4.
my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in the green pastures: He leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,' â€” though the persecutor, he means, should slay me, â€” ' I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me.' It was by this that it conquered Goliath, being armed with the anointing oil. 'Thou hast prepared a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.' " ^

110. Augustine answered: This psalm speaks of those who receive baptism aright, and use as holy what is so holy.

For those words have no reference even to Simon Magus, who yet received the same holy baptism; and because he would not use it in a holy way, he did not therefore pollute it, or show that in such cases it should be repeated. But since you have made mention of Goliath, listen to the psalm which treats of Goliath himself, and see that he is portrayed in a new song; for there it is said, " I will sing a new song unto Thee, God: upon a psaltery, and an instrument of ten strings, will I sing praise unto Thee." ^ And see whether he belongs to this song who refuses to communicate with the whole earth.

For elsewhere it is said, " sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth." ^ Therefore the whole earth, with whom you are not in unity, sings the new song. And these too are the words of the whole earth, " The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want," etc. These are not the words of the tares, though they be endured until the harvest in the same crop. They are not the words of the chaff, but of the wheat, although they are nourished by one and the same rain, and are threshed out on the same threshing-floor at the same time, till they shall be separated the one from the other by the winnowing at the last day. And yet these both assuredly have the same baptism, though they are not the same themselves. But if your party also were the Church of God, you

1 Ps. xxiii. * Ps. cxlir. 9. ^ Ps. xcvi. 1.

CHAP. XLYII.] CATHOLICITY OF THE PSALMS. 321

would certainly confess that this psalm has no application to the infuriated bands of the Circumcelliones. Or if they too themselves are led through the paths of righteousness, why do you deny that they are your associates, when you are reproached with them,
although, for the most part, you console yourselves for the scantiness of your section, not
by the rod and staff of the Lord, but by the cudgels of the Circumcelliones, with which
you think that you are safe even against the Koman laws, â€” to bring oneself into collision with which is surely nothing less than to walk through the valley of the shadow of death?
But he with whom the Lord is, fears no evils. Surely, however, you will not venture to say that the words which are sung in this song belong even to those infuriated men, and yet you not only acknowledge, but ostentatiously set forth the fact that they have baptism. These words, therefore, are not used by any who are not refreshed by the holy water, as are all the righteous men of God; not by those who are brought to destruction by using it, as was that magician when baptized by Philip: and yet the water itself in both kinds of men is the same, and of the same degree of sanctity. These words are not used except by those who will belong to the right hand; but yet both sheep and goats feed in the same pasture under one Shepherd, until they shall be separated, that they may receive their due reward. These words are not used except by those who, like Peter, receive life from the table of the Lord, not judgment, as did Judas; and yet the supper was itself the same to both, but it was not of the same profit to both, because they were not one. These words are not used except by those who, by being anointed with the sacred oil, are blessed in spirit also, as was David; not merely consecrated in the body only, as was Saul: and yet, as they had both received the same outward sign, it was not the sacrament, but the personal merit that was different in the two cases. These words are not used except by those who, with converted heart, receive the cup of the Lord unto eternal life; not by those who eat and drink damnation to themselves, as the apostle says } and yet, though they are not one, the cup which they receive is one, exerting its power on the martyrs

^ 1 Cor. xi. 29.
3 X

322 ANSWEK TO PETILIAK. [BOOK II.]

that tliey should obtain a heavenly reward, not on the Circumcelliones, that they should mark precipices with death.
Eem ember, therefore, that the characters of bad men in no wise interfere with the virtue of the sacraments, so that their holiness should either be destroyed, or even diminished; but that they injure the unrighteous men themselves, that they should have them as witnesses of their damnation, not as aids to health. For beyond all doubt you should have taken into consideration the actual concluding words of this psalm, and have understood that, on account of those who forsake the faith after they have been baptized, it cannot be said by all who receive holy baptism that " I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever:" and yet, whether they abide in the faith, or whether they have fallen away, though they themselves are not one, their baptism is one, and though they themselves are not both holy, yet the baptism in both is holy; because even apostates, if they return, are not
baptized as though they had lost the sacrament, but undergo humiliation, because they have done despite to it remaining in them.

Chap. xlviii. â€” 111. Petillianus said: "Yet that you should not call yourselves holy, in the first place, I declare that no one has holiness who has not led a life of innocence."

112. Augustine answered: Show us the tribunal where you have been enthroned as judge, that the whole world should stand for trial before you, and with what eyes you have inspected and discussed, I do not say the consciences, ' but even the acts of all men, that you should say that the whole world has lost its innocence. He who was carried up as far as the third heaven says, " Yea, I judge not mine own self;" and do you venture to pronounce sentence on the whole world, throughout which the inheritance of Christ is spread abroad? In the next place, if what you have said appears to you to be sufficiently certain, that " no one has holiness who has not led a life of innocence," I would ask you, if Saul had not the holiness of the sacrament, what was in him that David reverenced? But if he had innocence, why did he persecute the innocent? For it was on account.

1 Cor. iv. 3.

CIIAr. XLIX.] THE DEVIL QUOTES SCRirTURE. 323

of the sanctity of his anointing that David honoured him while alive, and avenged him after he was dead; and because he cut off so much as a scrap from his garment, he trembled with a panic-stricken heart. Here you see that Saul had not innocence, and yet he had holiness, â€” not the personal holiness of a holy life (for that no one can have without innocence), but the holiness of the sacrament of God, which is holy even in um'iditcous men.

Chap. XLIX. â€” 113. Petillanus said: 'Tor, granting that you faithless ones are acquainted with the law, without any prejudice to the law itself, I may say so much as this, the devil knows it too. For in the case of righteous Job he answered the Lord God concerning the law as though he were himself righteous, as it is written, ' And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil? and still he holdeth fast his integrity, although thou movest me against him, to destroy him without cause. And Satan answered the Lord, Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life." Behold he speaks in legal phrase, even when he is stri\'imT ac\'ainst the law. And a second time he endeavoured thus to tempt the Lord Christ with his discourse, as it is written, ' The devil taketh Jesus into the holy city, and setteth Him on a pinnacle of the temple, and saith unto Him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written. He shall give His angels charge over thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone. Jesus said unto him. It is written again. Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' ^ You know the
law, I say, as did the devil, who is conquered in his endeavours, and blushes in his deeds."

114. Augustine answered: I might indeed ask of you in

I what law the words are written which the devil used when he was uttering calumnies against the holy man Job, if the position which I am set to prove were this, that you yourself

I am unacquainted with the law which you assert the devil

* Job ii. 3, 4. 2 Matt. v. 5-7.

ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II,

to have known; but as this is not the question at issue between us, I pass it by. But you have endeavoured in such sort to prove that the devil is skilful in the law, as though we maintained that all who know the law are just. Accordingly, I do not see in what manner you are assisted by what you have chosen to quote concerning the devil, unless, indeed, it may be that we should be thereby reminded how you imitate the devil himself. For as he brought forward the words of the law against the Author of the law, so you also out of the words of the law bring accusation against men whom you do not know, that you may resist the promises of God which are made in that very self-same law. Then I should be glad if you would tell me in whose honour do those confessors of yours achieve their martyrdom, when they throw themselves over precipices, in honour of Christ, who thrust the devil from Him when he made a like suggestion, or rather in honour of the devil himself, who suggested such a deed to Christ? There are two especially vile and customary deaths resorted to by those who kill themselves, hanging and the precipice.
You assuredly said in the earlier part of this epistle, "The traitor hung himself: he left this death to all who are like him." This has no application whatever to us; for we refuse to reverence with the name of martyr any who have strangled themselves. With how much greater show of reason might we say against you, That master of all traitors, the devil, wished to persuade Christ to throw Himself headlong down, and was repulsed! What, therefore, must we say of those whom he persuaded with success? What, indeed, except that they are the enemies of Christ, the friends of the devil, the disciples of the seducer, the fellow-disciples of the traitor? For both have learned to kill themselves from the same master," Judas by hanging himself, the others by throwing themselves over precipices.

Cn.vp. L." 115. Petilianus said: "But that we may destroy your arguments one by one, if you call yourselves by the name of priests, it was said by the Lord God, through the mouth of His prophet, 'The vengeance of the Lord is upon the false priests.'"

CHAP. LI.] THE SEAT OF THE SCORNFUL. 325

IIG. Augustine answered: Seek rather what you may say with truth, not whence you may derive abusive words; and what you may teach, not what reproaches you may cast in our teeth.

Chap. II." 117. Petilianus said: "If you wretched men claim for yourselves a seat, as we said before, you assuredly have that one of which the prophet and psalmist David speaks as being the seat of the scornful. For to you it is rightly left, seeing that the holy cannot sit therein."

118. Augustine answered: Here again you do not see that this is no kind of argument, but empty abuse. For this is what I said a little while ago, You utter the words of the law, but take no heed against whom you utter them; just as the devil uttered the words of the law, but failed to perceive to whom he uttered them. He wished to thrust down our Head, who was presently to ascend on high; but you wish to reduce to a small fraction the body of that same Head which is dispersed throughout the entire world. Certainly you yourself said a little time before that we know the law, and speak in legal terms, but blush in our deeds. Thus much indeed you say without a proof of anything; but even though you were to prove it of some men, you would not be entitled to assert it of these others. However, if all men throughout all the world were of the character which you most vainly charge them with, what has the chair done to you of the Eoman Church, in which Peter sat, and which Anastasius fills to-day; or the chair of the Church of Jerusalem, in which James once sat, and in which John sits to-day, with which we are united in catholic unity, and from which you have severed yourselves by your mad fury? Why do you call the apostolic chair a seat of the scornful? If it is on account of the men whom you believe to use the words of the law without performing it, do you find that our Lord Jesus Christ was moved by the Pharisees, of whom He says, "They say, and do not," to do any
despite to the seat in which they sat? Did He not commend the seat of Moses, and maintain the honour of the seat, while He convicted those that sat in it? Por He

326 ANSWER TO FETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

says, "They sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do ye not after their works: for they say, and do not." ^ If you were to think of these things, you would not, on account of men whom you calumniate, do despite to the apostolic seat, in which you have no share. But what else is conduct like yours but ignorance of what to say, combined with want of power to abstain from evil-speaking?

Chap. lii. 119. Petilianus said: "If you suppose that you can offer sacrifice, God Himself thus speaks of you as most abandoned sinners: ' The wicked man,' He says, ' that sacrificeth a calf is as if he cut off a dog's neck; and he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood.' ^ Ecognise herein your sacrifice, who have already poured out human blood. And again He says, ' Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted.' ''

120. Augustine answered: We say that in the case of every man the sacrifice that is offered partakes of the character of him who approaches to offer it, or approaches to partake of it; and that those eat of the sacrifices of such men, who in approaching to them partake of the character of those who offer them. Therefore, if a bad man offer sacrifice to God, and a good man receive it at his hands, the sacrifice is to each man of such character as he himself has shown himself to be, since we find it also written that " unto the pure all things are pure." ^ In accordance with this true and catholic judgment, you too are free from pollution by the sacrifice of Optatus, if you disapproved of his deeds. For certainly his bread was the bread of mourners, seeing that all Africa was mourning under his iniquities. But the evil involved in the schism of all your party makes this bread of mourners common to you all. For, according to the judgment of your Council, Felicianus of Musti was a shedder of man's blood. For you said, in condemning them,®

" Their feet are swift to shed blood."® See therefore what kind of sacrifice he offers whom

1 Latt. xxiii. 2, 3. 2 ij^a. lxvi. 3. Â» lies. ix. 4. * Tit. i. 15.

" lu tlie Council of Bogai. ^ Ts. xiv. 3, from the LXX.
you hold to be a priest, when you have yourselves convicted him of sacrilege. And if you think that this is in no way to your prejudice, I would ask you how the emptiness of your calumnies can be to the prejudice of the whole world?

Chap. liii. â€” 121. Petiltanus said: "If you make prayer to God, or utter supplication, it profits you absolutely no thing whatsoever. For your blood-stained conscience makes your feeble prayers of no effect; because the Lord God regards purity of conscience more than the words of supplication, according to the saying of the Lord Christ, 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.' The will of God unquestionably is good, for therefore we pray as follows in the holy prayer, 'Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven,' that, as His will is good, so it may confer on us whatever may be good. You therefore do not do the will of God, because you do what is evil every day."

122. Augustine answered: If we on our side were to utter against you all that you assert against us, would not any one who heard us consider that we were rather insane litigants than Christian disputants, if he himself were in his senses? We do not, therefore, render railing for railing. For it is not fitting that the servant of the Lord should strive; but he should be gentle unto all men, willing to learn, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves. If, therefore, we reproach you with those who daily do what is evil among you, we are guilty of striving unbefittingly, accusing one for the sins of another. But if we admonish you, that as you are unwilling that these things should be brought against yourselves, so you should abstain from bringing against us the sins of other men, we then in meekness are instructing: you, solely in the hopes that some time you will return to a better mind.

Chap. liv. â€” 123. Petilianus said: "But if it should so happen, though whether it be so I cannot say, that you cast out devils, neither will this in you do any good; because the devils themselves yield jieitlier to your faith nor to your merits, but are driven out in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

124. Augustine answered: God be thanked that you have at length confessed that the invocation of the name of Christ may be of profit for the salvation of others, even though it be invoked by sinners! Hence, therefore, you may understand that when the name of Christ is invoked, the sins of one man do not stand in the way of the salvation of another. But to determine in what manner we invoke the name of Christ, we require not your judgment, but the judgment of Christ Himself who is invoked by us; for He alone can
know in what spirit He is invoked. Yet from His own words we are assured that He is invoked to their salvation by all nations, who are blessed in the seed of Abraham.

Chap. lv. â€” 125. Petilianus said: "Even though you do very virtuous actions, and perform miraculous works, yet on account of your wickedness the Lord does not know you; even so, according to the words of the Lord Himself, 'Many will say to me in that day. Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name? and in Thy name have cast out devils? and in Thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.'"

126. Augustine answered: We acknowledge the word of the Lord. Hence also the apostle says, "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." Here therefore we must inquire who it is that has charity: you will find that it is no one else but those who are lovers of unity. For as to the driving out of devils, and as to the working of miracles, seeing that very many do not do such things who yet belong to the kingdom of God, and very many do them who do not belong to it, neither our party nor your party have any cause for boasting, if any of them chance to have this power, since the Lord did not think it right that even the apostles, who could truly do such things both to profit and salvation, should boast in things like this, when He says to them, "In this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are Written in heaven." Wherefore all those things which you have advanced from the writings of the gospel I also might repeat to you, if I saw you working the powerful acts of signs and miracles; and so might you repeat them to me, if you saw me doing things of a like sort.

Let us not, therefore, say one to another what may equally be said on the other side as well; and, putting aside all quibbles, since we are inquiring where the Church of Christ is to be found, let us listen to the words of Christ Himself, who redeemed it with His own blood: "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." You see then who it is with whom a man refuses to communicate who will not communicate with this Church, which is spread throughout all the world, if at least you hear whose words these are.

For what is a greater proof of madness than to hold communion with the sacraments of the Lord, and to refuse to hold communion with the words of the Lord? Such men at any rate are likely to say, In Thy name have we eaten and drunken, and to hear the words, "I never knew you," seeing that they eat His body and drink His blood in the sacrament, and do not recognise in the gospel His members which are spread abroad throughout the earth, and therefore are not themselves counted among them in the judgment.
Chap. LVI. â€” 127. Petilianus said: "But even if, as you yourselves suppose, you are following the law of the Lord in purity, let us nevertheless consider the question of the most holy law itself in a legal form. The Apostle Paul says, 'The law is good, if a man use it lawfully.' * What then does the law say? 'Thou shalt not kill.' What Cain the murderer did once, you have often done, in slaying your brethren."

128. Augustine answered: We do not wish to be like you: for there are not wanting words which might be uttered, as you too utter these; and known also, for you do not know

' Matt. vii. 22. , < 1 Tim. i. 8.

330 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

these; and set forth in the conduct of a life, as these are not set forth by you.

Chap. lvii. â€” 129. Petilianus said: "It is written, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' Each one of you, even though he be chaste in his body, yet in spirit is an adulterer, because he pollutes his holiness."

130. Augustine answered: These words also might be spoken with truth against certain both of our number and of yours; but if their deeds are condemned by us and you alike, they belong to neither us nor you. But you wish that what you say against certain men, without proving it even in their especial case, should be taken just as if you had established it, â€” not in the case of some who have fallen away from the seed of Abraham, but in reference to all the nations of the earth who are blessed in the seed of Abraham.

Chap. LViii. â€” 131. Petilianus said: " It is written, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' "When you falsely declare to the kings of this world that we hold your opinions, do you not make up a falsehood?"

132. Augustine answered: If those are not our opinions which you hold, neither were they your opinions which you received from the followers of Maximianus. But if they were therefore yours, because they were guilty of a sacrilegious schism in not communicating with the party of Donatus, take heed what ground you occupy, and with whose inheritance you refuse communion, and consider what answer you can make, not to the kings of this world, but to Christ your King. Of Him it is said, "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." ^ From what river does it mean, save that where He was baptized, and ' where the dove descended on Him, that mighty token of ' charity and unity? But you refuse communion with this unity, and occupy as yet the place of unity; and you bring us into disfavour with the kings of this world in making â—
use of the edicts of the proconsul to expel your schismatics from the place of the party of Donatus. These are not mere

1 Ps. Ixxii. 8.

words flying at random through the empty void: the men are still alive, the states bear witness to the fact, the archives of the proconsuls and of the several towns are quoted in evidence of it. Let then the voice of calumny be at length silent, which would bring up against the whole earth the kings of this world, through whose proconsuls you, yourselves a fragment, would not spare the fragment which was separated from you. When then we say that you hold our opinions, we are not shown to be bearing false witness, unless you can show that we are not in the Church of Christ, which indeed you never cease alleging, but never will be able to establish; nay, in real truth, when you say this, you are bringing a charge of false witness no longer against us, but against the Lord Himself.

For we are in the Church which was foretold by His own testimony, and where He bore witness to His witnesses, saying, 'Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.' But you show yourselves to be false witnesses not only from this, that you resist this truth, but also in the very trial in which you joined issue with the schism of Maximianus. For if you were acting according to the law of Christ, how much more consistently do certain Christian emperors frame ordinances in accordance with it, if even pagan proconsuls can follow its behests in passing judgment? But if you thought that even the laws of an earthly empire were to be summoned to your aid, we do not blame you for this. It is what Paul did when he bore witness before his adversaries that he was a Ptolemaic citizen. But I would ask by what earthly law is it ordained that the followers of

^maximianus should be driven from their place? You will find no law whatever to this effect. But, in point of fact, you have chosen to expel them under laws which have been passed against heretics, and against yourselves among their number. You, as though by superior strength, have prevailed against the weak. AVhence they, being wholly powerless, say that they are innocent, like the wolf in the power of the lion. Yet sirrely you could not use laws which were passed against yourselves as instruments against others, except by the aid of

* Acts xxii. 25.
false witness. For if those laws are founded on truth, then do you come down from the position which you occupy; but if on falsehood, why did you use them to drive others from the Church? But how if they both are founded on truth, and could not be used by you for the expulsion of others except with the aid of falsehood? For that the judges might submit to their authority, they were willing to expel heretics from the Church, from which they ought first to have expelled yourselves; but you declared yourselves to be Catholics, that you might escape the severity of the laws which you employed to oppress others. It is for you to determine what you appear to yourselves among yourselves; at any rate, under those laws you are not Catholics. Why then have you either made them false, if they are true, by your false witness, or made use of them, if they are false, for the oppression of others?

CiîAP. Lix. â€” 133. Petilianus said: "It is written, 'Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbour's.'-^ You plunder what is ours, that you may have it for your own."

134. Augustine answered: All things of which unity was in possession belong to none other than ourselves, who remain in unity, not in â€œ accordance with the calumnies of men, but with the words of Christ, in whom all the nations of the whole earth are blessed. !N"or do we separate ourselves from the society of the wheat, on account of the unrighteous men whom we cannot separate from the wheat of the Lord before the winnowing at the judgment; and if there are any things which you who are cut off begin already to possess, we do not, because the Lord has given to us what has been taken away from you, therefore covet our neighbours' goods, seeing that they have been made ours by the authority of Him to whom all things belong; and they are rightly ours, for you were wont to use them for purposes of schism, but we use them for the promotion of unity. Otherwise your party might reproach even the first people of God with coveting their neighbours' goods, seeing that they were driven forth before their face by the power of God, because they used the land amiss; and the Jews in turn themselves, from whom the kingdom was taken

1 Ex. XX. 13-17.

CHAP. LXI.] TRUE NATURE OF COVETOUSNESS. 333

away, according to the words of the Lord, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof,^ may bring a charge against that nation of coveting their neighbours' goods, because the Church of Christ is in possession where the persecutors of Christ were wont to reign. And, after all, when it has been said to yourselves, You are coveting the goods of other men, because you have driven out from the basilicas the followers of Maximianus, you are at a loss to find any answer that you can make.
Chap. lx. "A 35. Petilianus said: " Under what law, then, do you make out that you are Christians, seeing that you do what is contrary to the law?"

136. Augustine answered: You are anxious for strife, and not for argument.

Chap. lxi. "A 37. Petilianus said: " But the Lord Christ says, ' Whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.' But He condemns you wretched men as follows: ' Whosoever shall break one of these commandments, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.' "

138. Augustine answered: When you happen to quote the testimony of Scripture as other than it really is, and it does not bear on the question which is at issue between us, I am not greatly concerned; but when it interferes with the matter on hand, unless it is quoted truly, then I think that you have no right to find fault if I remind you how the passage really stands. For you must be aware that the verse which you quoted is not as you quoted it, but rather thus: " Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." And immediately He continues, " For I say unto you. That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." ^ For elsewhere He shows and proves of the Pharisees that they say and do not. It is these, therefore, to whom

1 Matt. xxi. 43. 2 Matt. v. 19, 20.

334 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK II.]

He is referring also liere, when He said, "'Whosoever shall break one of these commandments, and shall teach men so," â€” that is, shall teach in words what he has violated in deeds; whose righteousness He says that our righteousness must excel, in that we must both keep the commandments and teach men so. And yet not even on account of those Pharisees, with whom you compare us, â€” not from any motives of prudence, but from malice, â€” did our Lord enjoin that the seat of Moses should be deserted, which seat He doubtless meant to be a figure of His own; for He said indeed that they who sat in Moses' seat were ever saying and not doing, but warns the people to do what they say, and not to do what they do,^ lest the chair, with all its holiness, should be deserted, and the unity of the flock divided through the faithlessness of the shepherds.

Chap. lxil "A 39. Petilianus said: "And again it is written, ' Every sin which a man shall sin is without the body: but he that sinneth in the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come/ ""
140. Augustine answered: This too is not written as you have quoted it, and see how far it has led you astray. The apostle, writing to the Corinthians, says, " Every sin that a man doeth is without the body: but lie that committeoth fornication sinneth against his own body." But this is one thing, and that is another which the Lord said in the gospel: " All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." But you have begun a sentence from the writing of the apostle, and ended it as though it were one from the gospel, which I fancy you have done not with any intention to deceive, but through mistake; for neither passage has any bearing on the matter in hand. And why you have said this, and in what sense you have said it, I am wholly unable to perceive, unless it be that, whereas you had said above that all were condemned by the Lord who had broken any one of His commandments, you have considered since how many there are in your party who break not one but many of them; and

1 Matt, xxiii. 2, 3, 31 Cor. vi. 18. ^ ^ ^ ^ t, xii. 31, 32.

CHAP. LXIV.] THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST. 335

lest an objection should be brought against you on that score, you have sought, by way of surpassing the difficulty, to bring in a distinction of sins, whereby it might be seen that it is one thing to break a commandment in respect of which pardon may easily be obtained, another thing to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall receive no forgiveness, either in this world or in the world to come. In your dread, therefore, of infection from sin, you were unwilling to pass this over in silence; and again, in your dread of a question too deep for your powers, you wish to touch cursorily on it in passing, in such a state of agitation, that, just as men who are setting about a task in haste, and consequent confusion, are wont to fasten their dress or shoes awry, so you have not thought fit either to see what belongs to what, or in what context or what sense the passage which you quote occurs. But what is the nature of that sin which shall not be forgiven, either in this world or in the world to come, you are so far from knowing, that, though you believe that we are actually living in it, you yet promise us forgiveness of it through your baptism. And yet how could this be possible, if the sin be of such a nature that it cannot be forgiven, either in this world or in the world to come?

Chap, lxiii. â€” 141. Petilianus said: " But wherein do you fulfil the commandments of God ? The Lord Christ said, ' Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' But you by your malice in persecution breathe forth the riches of madness."
142. Augustine answered: Address that rather to your own Circumcelliones.

Chap. lxiv. â€” 143. Petilianus said: "'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.' You therefore, not being meek, have lost both heaven and earth alike."

144. Augustine answered: Again and again you may hear the Lord saying, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."^ How is it, then, that those men

1 Acts. i. 8.

336 ANSWER TO PETILIANUS. [DOOK IT.

have not lost heaven and earth, who, in order to avoid communicating with all the nations of the earth, despise the words of Him that sitteth in heaven? For, in proof of your meekness, it is not your words but the cudgels of the Circumcelliones which should be examined. You will say. What has that to do with us? Just as though we were making the remark with any other object except to extract that answer from you. For the reason that your schism is a valid charge against you is that you do not allow that you are chargeable with another's sin, whereas you have separated from us for no other reason but that you charge us with the sins of other men.

Chap. lxv. â€” 145. Petilianus said: "'Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.' You, our butchers, are the cause of mourning in others; you do not mourn yourselves."

146. Augustine answered: Consider for a short space to how many, and with what intensity, the cry of "Praises be to God," proceeding from your armed men, has caused others to mourn.^ Do you say again. What is that to us? Then I too will rejoin again in your own words, What is that to us? What is it to all the nations of the earth? What is it to those who praise the name of the Lord from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same? What is it to all the earth, which sings a new song? What is it to the seed of Abraham, in which all the nations of the earth are blessed?^ And so the sacrilege of your schism is chargeable on you, just because the evil deeds of your companions are not chargeable on you; and because you are aware from this that the deeds of those on whose account you separated from the world, even if you proved your charges to be true, do not involve the world in sin.

* The older editions have, **Quam multum et quantum luctura dederint Deo (Erasmus alone ideo) laudes amatorum vestrorum: "How much and how groat grief have the praises of your lovers caused to God?" Migne restored the reading translated above ("Quam multis . . . Deo laudes armatorum vestrorum"), Deo laudes being the cry of the Circumcelliones. Cp. Aug. in Ps. cxxxii. 6:
** A quibus plus timetur Deo laudes quam fremitus leonis;'' and ib.: ''Deo laudes vestrum plorunt homines.''

2 Gen. xxii. 18.

CHAP. LX^ail.] MERCY IN CHASTISEMENT. 337

CiiAr. Lxvi. â€” 147. Petilianus said: ''Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.' To you it seems to be righteousness that you thirst after our blood.'

148. Augustine answered: What shall I say unto thee, man, except that thou art calumnious ? The unity of Christ, indeed, is hungering and thirsting after all of you; and I would that it might swallow you up, for then would you be no longer heretics.

Chap. Lxvii. â€” 149. Petilianus said: ''Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.' But how shall I call you merciful when you inflict punishment on the righteous ? Shall I not rather call you a most imrighteous communion, so long as you pollute souls ?''

150. Augustine answered: You have proved neither point, â€” neither that you yourselves are righteous, nor that we inflict punishment on even the unrighteous; and yet, even as false flattery is generally cruel, so just correction is ever merciful.

For whence is that which you do not understand: '' Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me?'' For while he says this of the severity of merciful correction, the Psalmist immediately went on to say of the gentleness of destructive flattery, '' But the oil of sinners shall not break my head.''' Do you therefore consider whither you are called, and from what you are summoned away. For how do you know what feelings he entertains towards you whom you suppose to be cruel ? But whatever be his feelings, every one must bear his own burden both with us and with you. But I would have you cast away the burden of schism which you all of you are bearing, that you may bear your good burdens in unity; and I would bid you mercifully correct, if you should have the power, all those who are bearing evil burdens; and if this be beyond your power, I would bid you bear with them in peace.

Chap, lxviii. â€” 151. Petilianus said: ''Blessed are the I pure in heart: for they shall see God.' When will you see

^ Pa. cxli. 5, from the LXX.

8 Y
God, who are possessed with blindness in the impure malice of your hearts?

152. Augustine answered: Wherefore say you this? Can it be that we reproach all nations with the dark and hidden things which are declared by men, and do not choose to understand the manifest sayings which God spake in olden time of all the nations of the earth? This is indeed great blindness of heart; and if you do not recognise it in yourselves, that is even greater blindness.

153. Petilianus said: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."\(^1\) You make a pretence of peace by your wickedness, and seek unity by war.

154. Augustine answered: We do not make a pretence of peace by wickedness, but we preach peace out of the gospel; and if you were at peace with it, you would be at peace also with it. The risen Lord, when presenting Himself to the disciples, not only that they should gaze on Him with their eyes, but also that they should handle Him with their hands, began His discourse to them with the words, "Peace be into you." And how this peace itself was to be maintained, He disclosed to them in the words which followed. Por " then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them. Thus is it written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.\(^2\) If you will keep peace with these words, you will not be at variance with us. Por if we seek unity by war, our war could not be praised in more glorious terms, seeing that it is written, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."\(^3\)

And again it is written, "No man ever yet hated his own flesh."\(^4\) And yet the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh.\(^5\) But if no man ever yet hated his own flesh, and yet a man lusteth against his own flesh, here you have unity sought by war, that the body, being subject to w\(^6\)hich is in love: their sword is the word of God. To such a war they are
aroused by the trumpet of the apostle sounding with a mighty force: "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." "\'See then that we act not with the sword, but with the word. But you answer what is not true, while you accuse us falsely. You do not correct your own faults, and you bring against us those of other men. Christ bears true witness concerning the nations of the earth; you, in opposition to Christ, bear false witness against the nations of the earth. If we were to believe you rather than Christ, you would call us peacemakers; because we believe Christ rather than you, we are said to make a pretence of peace by our wickedness. And while you say and do such things as this, you have the further impudence to quote the words, 'Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.'"

Chap. lxix. â€” 155. Petilianus said: "Though the Apostle Paul says, 'I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, brethren, that ye walk worthily of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.' "

156. Augustine answered: If you would not only say these words, but hearken to them as well, you would put up even with known evils for the sake of peace, instead of inventing new ones for the sake of quarrelling, if it were only because you subsequently learned, for the sake of the peace of Donatus, to put up with the most flagrant and notorious wickedness of Optatus. What madness is this that you display? Those who are known are borne with, that a fragment may not be further split up; those of whom nothing is known are defamed, that they themselves may not remain in the undivided whole.

Chap. lxx. â€” 157. Petilianus said: "To you the prophet says, 'Peace, peace; and where is there peace?' "

158. Augustine answered: It is you that say this to us, not the prophet. We therefore answer you: If you ask where peace is to be found, open your eyes, and see of whom it is said, "He maketh wars to cease in all the world." If you ask where peace is to be found, open your eyes to see that city which cannot be hidden, because it is built upon a hill; open your eyes to see the mountain itself, and let Daniel show it to you, growing out of a small stone, and filling the whole earth. But when the prophet says to you, "Peace, peace; and where is there peace?" what will you show? Will you show the party of Donatus, unknown to the countless nations to whom Christ is known? It is surely not the city which cannot be hid; and whence is this, except that it is not founded on the mountain? "For He is our peace, ho hath made both one," not Donatus, who has made one into two.
Chap. lxxi. *â€” 159. Petilianus said: "'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' ^ You are not blessed; but you make martyrs to be blessed, with whose souls the heavens are filled, and the earth has flourished with their memory. You therefore do not honour them yourselves, but you provide us with objects of honour."

160. Augustine answered: The plain fact is, that if it had not been said, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake," but had been said instead. Blessed are they who throw themselves over precipices, then heaven would have been filled with your martyrs. Of a truth we see many flowers on the earth blooming from their bodies; but, as the saying goes, the flower is dust and ashes.

^ See Jer. viii. 11. * Vs. xlvi. 9, ^ Dan. ii. 35.


CHAP, lxxil] irrelevant charge of hypocrisy. 341

Chap, lxxil â€” 161. Petilianus said: "Since then you are not blessed by falsifying the commands of God, the Lord Christ condemns you by His divine decrees: 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwardly, but are within, full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.' " ^

162. Augustine answered: Tell me whether you have said anything which may not equally be said against you in turn by any slanderous and evil-speaking tongue. But from what has been said by me before, any one who wishes may find out that these things may be said against you, not by way of empty abuse, but with the support of truthful testimony. As, however, the opportunity is presented to us, we must not pass this by. There is no doubt that to the ancient people of God circumcision stood in the place of baptism. I ask, therefore, putting the case that the Pharisees, against whom those words you quote are spoken, had made some proselyte, who, if he were to imitate them, would, as it is said, become twofold more the child of hell than themselves, supposing that he were to be converted, and desire to imitate Simeon, or Zacharias, or Kathanael, would it
be necessary that he should be circumcised again by them? And if it is absurd to put this case, why, although in empty fashion and with empty sounds you compare us to men like this, do you nevertheless baptize after us? But if you are really men like this, how much better

Matt, xxiii. 13, 15, 23, 24, 27, 28.

342 ANSWEU TO PETILTAN. [BOOK II.]

and how much more in accordance with truth do we act in not baptizing after you, as neither was it right that those whom I have mentioned should be circumcised after the worst of Pharisees. Furthermore, when such men sit in the seat of Moses, for which the Lord preserved its due honour, why do you blaspheme the apostolic chair on account of men whom, justly or unjustly, you compare with these?

Chap, lxxiii. â€“ Petilianus said: "But these things do not alarm us Christians; for of the evil deeds which you are destined to commit we have before a warning given us by the Lord Christ. 'Behold,' He says, 'I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves.' â€“ You fill up the measure of the madness of wolves, who either lay or are preparing to lay snares against the Churches in precisely the same way in which wolves, with their mouths wide open against the fold, even with destructive eagerness, breathe forth panting anger from their jaws, suffused with blood."

164. Augustine answered: I should be glad to utter the same sentiment against you, but not in the words which you have used: they are too inappropriate, or rather mad. But what was required was, that you should show that we were wolves and that you were sheep, not by the emptiest of evilspeaking, but by some distinct proofs. For when I too have said, We are sheep, and you are wolves, do you think that there is any difference caused by the fact that you express the idea in swelling words? But listen whilst I prove what I assert. For the Lord says in the gospel, as you know full well, whether you please it or not, "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me." There are many sayings of the Lord on different subjects; but supposing, for example, that any one were in doubt whether the same Lord had risen in the body, and His words were to be quoted where He says, "Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me, have;" â€“ if even after this he should be unwilling to acquiesce in the belief that His body had risen from the dead, surely such a man could not be reckoned among the sheep of the Lord, because he would not hear His voice. And

Matt. X. 16. 2. John x. 27.
SO too now, when the question between us is, Where is the Church? whilst we quote the words that follow in the same passage of the gospel, where, after His resurrection, He gave His body even to be handled by those who were in doubt, in which He showed the future wide extent of the Church, saying, "Thus it is written, and thus it behaved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name throughout all nations, beginning at Jerusalem;" whereas you will not communicate with all nations, in whom these words have been fulfilled, how are you the sheep of this Shepherd, whose words you not only do not obey when you have heard them, but even fight against them? And so we show to you from this that you are not sheep. But listen further whence we show you that, on the contrary, you are wolves. For necessarily, when it is shown by His own words where the Church is to be found, it is also clear where we must look for the fold of Christ. Whenever, therefore, any sheep separate themselves from this fold, which is expressly pointed out and shown to us by the unmistakeable declaration of the Lord, â€” and that, I will not say because of charges falsely brought, but on account of charges brought, as no one can deny, with great uncertainty against their fellow-men, and consequently slay those sheep which they have torn and alienated from the life of unity and Christian love, â€” is it not evident that they are ravening wolves? But it will be said that these very men themselves praise and preach the Lord Christ. They are therefore those of whom He says Himself, "They come unto you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them." The sheep's clothing is seen in the praises of Christ; the fruits of their wolfish nature in their slanderous teeth.

Chap. lxxiv. â€” 165. Petilianus said: "O wretched traditors! Thus indeed it was fitting that Scripture should be fulfilled. But in you I grieve for this, that you have shown yourselves worthy to fulfil the part of wickedness."

166. Augustine answered: I might rather say, wretched

Â» Luke xxiv. 39, 46, 47. 2 j^j®tt. vii. 15, 16.
tradiors! if I were minded, or rather if justice urged me to cast up against all of you the deeds of some among your number. But as regards what bears on all of you, wretched heretics, I on my part will quote the remainder of your words; for it is written, "There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." Therefore "it was fitting thus that Scripture should be fulfilled. But in you I grieve for this, that you have shown yourselves worthy to fulfil the part of wickedness."

Chap. lxxv. â€“ 1 6 7. Petilianus said: "But to us the Lord Christ, in opposition to your deadly commands, commanded simple patience and harmlessness. For what says He? ' A new commandment I give unto you. That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.' And again, ' By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' "

168. Augustine answered: If you did not transfer these words, so widely differing from your character, to the surface of your talk, how could you be covering yourselves with sheep's clothing?

Chap. lxxvi. â€“ 1 6 9. Petilianus said: " Paul also, the apostle, whilst he was suffering fearful persecutions at the hands of all nations, endured even more grievous troubles at the hands of false brethren, as he bears witness of himself, being oftentimes afflicted: ' In perils by the heathen, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils among false brethren.' And again he says, ' Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.'* When, therefore, false brethren like yourselves assault us, we imitate the patience of our master Paul under our dangers."

170. Augustine answered: Certainly those of whom you speak are false brethren, of whom the apostle thus complains in another place, where he is extolling the natural sincerity of Timothy: " I have no man," he says, " like-minded, who will naturally care for your state. For all seek their own, not

Â» 1 Cor. xi. 19. ' John xiii. 34, 35.

8 2 Cor. xi. 26. * 1 Cor. xL 1.

CHAP, lxvii] false assumptions of the donatists. 345

the things which are Jesus Christ's." Undoubtedly he was speaking of those who were with him at the time when he was writing that epistle; for it could not be that all Christians in every quarter of the earth were seeking their own, and not the things which were Jesus Christ's. It was of those, therefore, as I said, who were with him at the time when he was writing the words which you have quoted, that he uttered this lamentation. For who else was it to whom he referred, when he says in another place, " Without were fightings, within were fears," except those whom he feared all the more intensely
because they were within? If, therefore, you would imitate Paul, you would be tolerant of false brethren within, not a slanderer of the innocent without.

Chap. lxxvii. â€” 171. Petilianus said: "For what kind of faith is that which is in you which is devoid of charity? when Paul himself says, 'Though I speak with the tongues of men, and have the knowledge of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' "

172. Augustine answered: This is what I said just now, that you were desirous to be clad in sheep's clothing, that, if possible, the sheep might feel your bite before it had any consciousness of your approach. Is it not that praise of charity in which you indulge that commonly proves your calumny in the clearest light of truth? Will you bring it about that those arms shall be no longer ours, because you endeavour to appropriate them first? Furthermore, these arms are endowed with life: from whatever quarter they are launched, they recognise whom they should destroy. If they have been sent forth from our hands, they will fix themselves in you; if they are aimed by you, they recoil upon yourselves. For in these apostolic words, which commend the

1 Phil. ii. 20, 21. 2 2 Cor. vii. 5.

346 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK 11.

excellence of charity, we are wont to show to you how profitless it is to man that he should be in possession of faith or of the sacraments, when he has not charity, that, when you come to Catholic unity, you may understand what it is that is conferred on you, and how great a thing it is of which you were at least to some extent in want; for Christian charity cannot be preserved except in the unity of the Church: and that so you may see that without it you are nothing, even though you may be in possession of baptism and faith, and through this latter may be able even to remove mountains. But if this is your opinion as well, let us not repudiate and reject in you either the sacraments of God which we know, or faith itself, but let us hold fast charity, without which we are nothing even with the sacraments and with faith. But we hold fast charity if we cling to unity; while we cling to unity, if we do not make a fictitious unity in a party by our own words, but recognise it in a united whole through the words of Christ.

Chap. lxxviii. â€” 173. Petilianus said: "And again, 'Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not pulled up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own.' But you seek what
belongs to other men. ' Is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth.' 

This is to say, in short. Charity does not persecute, does not inflame emperors to take away the lives of other men; does not plunder other men's goods; does not go on to murder men whom it has spoiled."

174. Augustine answered: How often must I tell you the same thing ? If you do not prove these charges, they tell against no one in the world; and if you prove them, they have no bearing upon us; just as those things have no bearing upon you which are daily done by the furious deeds of the insane, by the luxury of the drunken, by the blindness of the suicides, by the tyranny of robbers. For Avho can fail to see that what I say is true? But now if charity were in you, 

1 1 Cor. xiii. 1-8.

**CHAP. lxxvil] the doxatists wanting in CHAT^ITY. o47**

it would rejoice in the truth. For how neatly it is said under coverinc; of the sheep's clothing, " Charity beareth all things, endureth all things 1 " but when you come to the test, the wolf's teeth cannot be concealed. For when, in obedience to the words of Scripture, " forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," ^ charity would compel you, even if you knew of any evils within the Church, I do not say to consent to them, but yet to tolerate them if you could not prevent them, lest, on account of the wicked who are to be separated by the winnowing-fan at the last day, you should at the present time sever the bond of peace by breaking off from the society of good men, you, resisting her influence, and being cast out by the wind of levity, charge the wheat with being chaff, and declare that what you invent of the wicked holds good through the force of contagion even in the righteous. And when the Lord has said, " The field is the world, the harvest is the end of the world," though He said of the wheat and of the tares,

" Let both grow together until the harvest," ^ you endeavour by your words to bring about a belief that the wheat has perished throughout the main portion of the field, and only continued to exist in your little corner, â€” being desirous that Christ should be proved a liar, but you the man of truth.

And you speak, indeed, against your own conscience; for no one who in any way looks truly at the gospel will venture in his heart to say that in all the many nations throughout which is heard the response of Amen, and among whom Alleluia is sung almost with one single voice, no Christians are to be found. And yet, that it may not appear that the party of Donatus, which does not communicate with the several nations of the world, is involved in error, if any angel from heaven, who could see the whole world, were to declare that outside your communion good and innocent men were nowhere to be found, there is little doubt that you would rejoice over the iniquity of the human race, and boast of having told the truth before you had received assurance of it.

i How then is there in you that charity which rejoices not in
'. iniquity ? But be not deceived. Throughout the field, that is,

Â» Eph. iv. 2, 3. 2 T^iatt. xiii. 38, 39, 30.

348 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

throughout the world, there will be found the wheat of the Lord growing till the end of
the world. Christ has said this: Christ is truth. Let charity be in you, and let it rejoice in
the truth. Though an angel from heaven preach unto you another gospel contrary to His
gospel, let him be accursed.-^

Chap, lxxix. â€” 175. Petilianus said: "Lastly, what is the justification of persecution ? I
ask you, you wretched men, if it so be that you think that your sin rests on any authority
of law."

176. Augustine answered: He who sins, sins not on the authority of the law, but against
the authority of the law.
But since you ask what is the justification of persecution, I
ask you in turn whose voice it is that says in the psalm,
"Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off."^ Seek therefore the reason
or the measure of the per-, secution, and do not display your gross ignorance by finding
fault in general terms with tho-
se who persecute the unrighteous.

Chap. lxxx. â€” 177. Petilianus said: " But I answer you, on the other hand, that Jesus
Christ never persecuted any one. And when the apostles found fault with certain parties,
and suggested that He should have recourse to persecution (He Himself having come to
create faith by inviting men to Him, rather than by compelling them), those apostles say, 'j
Many lay on hands in Thy name, and are not with us:' but Jesus said,' Let them alone: if
they are not against you, they are on your side.' 

178. Augustine answered: You say truly that you will bring forth out of your store with
greater abundance things which are not written in the Scriptures. For if you wish to bring
forth proofs from holy Scripture, will you bring forth even those which you cannot find
therein ? But it is in your own power to multiply your lies according to your will. For
where is what you quoted written ? or when was that either suggested to our Lord, or
answered by our Lord ? " ^lany

1 Gal. i. 8. " Ps. ci. G.

CHAP. LXXX.] CHRIST NEVER SPARED SCHISMATICS. 349
lay on hands in Thy name, and are not with us/ are words that no one of the disciples ever uttered to the Son of God; and therefore neither could the answer have been made by Him, " Let them alone: if they are not against you, they are on your side." But there is something somewhat like it which we really do read in the gospel, â€” that a suggestion was made to the Lord about a certain man who was casting out devils in His name, but did not follow Him with His disciples; and in that case the Lord does say, " Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us."^ But this has nothing to do with pointing out parties whom the Lord is supposed to have spared. And if you have been deceived by an apparent resemblance of sentiment, this is not a lie, but merely human infirmity. But if you wished to cast a mist of falsehood over those who are unskilled in holy Scripture, then may you be pricked to the heart, and covered with confusion and corrected. Yet there is a point which we would urge in respect of this very man of whom the suggestion was made to our Lord.

Tor even as at that time, beyond the communion of the disciples, the holiness of Christ was yet of the greatest efficacy, even so now, beyond the communion of the Church, the holiness of the sacraments is of avail. For neither is baptism consecrated save in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But who will be so utterly insane as to declare that the name of the Son may be of avail even beyond the communion of the Church, but that this is not possible with the names of the Father and of the Holy Ghost? or that it may be of avail in healing a man, but not in consecrating baptism? But it is manifest that outside the communion of the Church, and the most holy bond of unity, and the most excellent gift of charity, neither he by whom the devil is cast out nor he who is baptized obtains eternal life; just as those who obtain it, who through communion in the sacraments seem indeed to be within, and through the depravity of their character are understood to be without. But that Christ persecuted even with bodily chastisement those whom He drove with scourges from the temple, we have already said above.


350 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

Chap. lxxxi. â€” 179. Petilianus said: "But the holy apostle said this: ' In any way, whatsoever it may be/ he says, ' let Christ be preached.' "

180. Augustine answered: You speak against yourself; but yet, since you speak on the side of truth, if you love it, let what you say be counted for you. For I ask of you of whom it was that the Apostle Paul said this? Let us, if you please, trace this a little further back. " Some," he says, " preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good will. The one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds; but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."^ We see that they preached what was in itself holy, and pure, and
true, but yet not in a pure manner, but of envy and contention, without charity, without purity. Certainly a short time ago you appeared to be urging the praises of charity as against us, according to the witness of the apostle, that where there is no charity, whatever there is is of no avail; and yet you see that in those there is no charity, and there was with them the preaching of Christ, of which the apostle says here that he rejoices. For it is not that he rejoices in what is evil in them, but in what is good in the name of Jesus Christ. In him assuredly there was the charity which "rejoice not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." The envy, moreover, which was in them is an evil: proceeding from the devil, for by this he has both killed and cast down. Where then were these wicked men whom the apostle thus condemns, and in whom there was so much that was good to cause him to rejoice? Were they within, or without? Choose which you will. If they were within, then Paul knew them, and yet they did not pollute him. And so you would not be polluted in the unity of the whole world by those of whom you make certain charges, whether these be true, or falsehoods invented by yourselves. But if they were without, then you see that even in those who were without, and who certainly cannot belong to everlasting life, since they have not charity, and do not abide in unity, there is yet found the holiness of the name of Christ, so that the apostle joyfully confirms their teaching, on account of the intrinsic holiness of the name, although he repudiates them. We are right, therefore, in not doing wrong to the actual name, when those come to us who were without; but we correct the individuals, while we do honour to the name. Do you therefore take heed, and see how wickedly you act in the case of those whose acts as it seems you condemn, by treating as naught the sacrament of the name of Christ, which is holy in them. And you, indeed, as is shown by your words, think that those men of whom the apostle spoke were outside the limits of the Church. Therefore, when you fear persecution from the Catholics, of which you speak in order to create odium against us, you have confirmed in heretics the name of Christ to which you do despite by rebaptizing.

CIIAr. LXXXIIL] CHEIST'S name holy EVERYWHERE. 351

liave not charity, and do not abide in unity, there is yet found the holiness of the name of Christ, so that the apostle joyfully confirms their teaching, on account of the intrinsic holiness of the name, although he repudiates them. We are right, therefore, in not doing wrong to the actual name, when those come to us who were without; but we correct the individuals, while we do honour to the name. Do you therefore take heed, and see how wickedly you act in the case of those whose acts as it seems you condemn, by treating as naught the sacrament of the name of Christ, which is holy in them. And you, indeed, as is shown by your words, think that those men of whom the apostle spoke were outside the limits of the Church. Therefore, when you fear persecution from the Catholics, of which you speak in order to create odium against us, you have confirmed in heretics the name of Christ to which you do despite by rebaptizing.

Chap. lxxxii. Â€” 181. Petilianus said: "If then there are not some to whom all this power of faith is found to be in opposition, on what principle do you persecute, so as to compel men to defile themselves?"

182. Augustine answered: We neither persecute you, except so far as truth persecutes falsehood; nor has it anything to do with us if any one has persecuted you in other ways, just as it has nothing to do with you if any of your party do likewise; nor do we compel you to defile yourselves, but we persuade you to be cured.

Chap. lxxxiii. Â€” 183. Petilianus said: "But if authority had been given by some law for persons to be compelled to what is good, you yourselves, unhappy men, ought to have
been compelled by us to embrace the purest faith. But far be it, far be it from our conscience to compel any one to embrace our faith."

184. Augustine answered: ISTo one is indeed to be compelled to embrace the faith against his will; but by the severity, or one might rather say, by the mercy of God, it is common for treachery to be chastised with the scourge of tribulation. Is it the case, because the best morals are chosen

352 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK 11.

Ly freedom of will, that therefore the worst morals are not punished by integrity of law? But yet discipline to punish an evil manner of living is out of the question, except where principles of good living which had been learned have come to be despised. If any laws, therefore, have been enacted against you, you are not thereby forced to do well, but are only prevented from doing ill. For no one can do well unless he has deliberately chosen, and unless he has loved what is in free will; but the fear of punishment, even if it does not share in the pleasures of a good conscience, at any rate keeps the evil desire from escaping beyond the bounds of thought. Who are they, however, that have enacted laws by which your audacity could be repressed? Are they not those of whom the apostle says that " they bear not the sword in vain; for they are the ministers of God, revengers to execute wrath on them that do evil?" The whole question therefore is, whether you are not doing ill, who are charged by the whole world with the sacrilege of so great a schism. And yet, neglecting the discussion of this question, you talk on irrelevant matters; and while you live as robbers, you boast that you die as martyrs. And, through fear either of the laws themselves, or of the odium which you might incur, or else because you are unequal to the task of resisting, I do not say so many men, but so many Catholic nations, you even glory in your gentleness, that you do not compel any to join your party. According to your way of talking, the hawk, when he has been prevented by flight from carrying off the fowls, might call himself a dove. Eor when have you ever had the power without using it? And hence you show how you would do more if you only could. When Julian, envying the peace of Christ, restored to you the churches which belonged to unity, who could tell of all the massacres which were committed by I you, when the very devils rejoiced with you at the opening of their temples? In the war with Firmus and his party, let Mauritania Ctesariensis itself be asked to tell us what the Moor Ptogatus^ suffered at your hands. In the time of Gildol

^ See below, xciv. 217, and c. Gaudentium, i. xxv, 28 sqq.

" Rom. xiii. 4.

^ Augustine speaks of the Moor Illogatus, bishop of Cartenua in Mauritania
because one of your colleagues^ was his intimate friend, let the followers of Maximianus be our witnesses to their sufferings. For if one might appeal to Felicianus himself, who is now with you, on his oath, whether Optatus did not compel him against his will to return to your communion, he would not dare to open his lips, especially if the people of Musti could behold his face, who were witnesses to everything that was done. But let them, as I have said, be witnesses to what they have suffered at the hands of those with whom they acted in such wise towards Eogatus. The Catholic Church herself, though strengthened by the assistance of Catholic princes ruling by land and sea, was savagely attacked by hostile troops in arms under Optatus. It was this that first made it necessary to urge before the vicar Servanus that the law should be put in force against you which imposes a fine of ten pounds of gold, which none of you have ever paid to this very day, and yet you charge us with cruelty. But where could you find a milder course of proceeding, than that crimes of such magnitude on your part should be punished by the imposition of a pecuniary fine? Or who could enumerate all the deeds which you commit in the places which you hold, of your own sovereign will and pleasure, each one as he can, without any friendship on the part of judges or any others in authority? Who is there of our party, among the inhabitants of our towns, who has not either learned something of this sort from those who came before him, or experienced it for himself? Is it not the case that at Hippo, where I am, there are not wanting some who remember that your leader Faustinus gave orders, in the time of his supreme power, in consequence of the scanty numbers of the Catholics in the place, that no one should bake their bread for them, insomuch that a baker, who was the tenant of one of our deacons, threw away the bread of his landlord unbaked, and though he was not sentenced to exile under any law, he cut him off from all

^ Csesariensis, in his ninety-third epistle, to Yncientius, c. iii. 11. We learn from the eighty-seventh epistle, to Emeritus, sec. 10, that the followers of Rogatus called the other Donatists Firmiani, because they had been subjected to much cruelty at their hands under the authority of Firmus.
^ Optatus of Thaumugade, the friend of Gildo.

354 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

share iii the necessaries of life not only in a Roman state,^ but even in his own country, and not only in his own country, but in his own house? Why, even lately, as I myself recall with mourning to this day, did not Crispinus of Calama, one of your party, having bought a property, and that only copyhold,^ boldly and
unhesitatingly immerse in the waters of a second baptism no less than eighty souls, murmuring with miserable groans under the sole influence of terror; and this in a farm belonging to the Catholic emperors, by whose laws you were forbidden even to be in any Eoman city? \(^\text{1}\) But what else was it, save such deeds as these of yours, that made it necessary for the very laws to be passed of which you complain? The laws, indeed, are very far from being proportionate to your offences; but, such as they are, you may thank yourselves for their existence. Indeed, should we not certainly be driven on all sides from the country by the furious attacks of your Circumcelliones, who fight under your command in furious troops, unless we held you as hostages in the towns, who might well be unwilling to endure under any circumstances the mere gaze of the people, and the censure of all honourable men, from very shame, if not from fear? Do not therefore say, "Far be it, far be it from our conscience, to force any one to embrace our faith." For you do it when you can; and when you do not do it, it is because you are unable, either from fear of the laws or the odium which would accompany it, or because of the numbers of those who would resist.

Chap. lxxxiv. \(\text{185}\). Petilianus said: "For the Lord Christ says, 'No man can come to me, except the Father which hatli sent me draw him.'* But why do we not permit each several person to follow his free will, since the Lord

\(^\text{1}\) Augustine mentions again in his thirty-fifth epistle, to Eusebins, sec. 8, that Hippo had received the Roman citizenship. His argument is that, even if not a native of the place, the deacon should have been safe from molestation wherever Roman laws prevailed.

2 Emphyteuticam. The land, therefore, was held under the emperors, and less absolutely in the power of the owner than if it had been freehold.

\(^\text{1}\) Augustine remonstrates with Crispinus on the point, Epist. Ixvi.

* John vi. a.

CHAP. LXXXIY. \(\text{355}\) DOCTRINE OF FREE WILL.

God Himself has given free will to men, showing to them, however, the way of righteousness, lest any one by chance should perish from ignorance of it? For He said, * I have placed before thee good and evil. I have set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thine hand unto whether thou wilt/ From which choice, you wretched men, you have chosen for yourselves not water, but rather fire. ' But yet,' He says, 'stretch forth thine hand unto the good, that thou mayest live.'\(^\text{2}\) You who will not choose the good, have, by your own sentence, declared that you do not wish to live."

186. Augustine answered: If I were to propose to you the question how God the Father draws men to the Son, when He has left them to themselves in freedom of action, you
would perhaps find it difficult of solution. For how does He draw them to Him if He leaves them to themselves, so that each should choose what he pleases? And yet both these facts are true; but this is a truth which few have intellect enough to penetrate. As therefore it is possible that, after leaving men to themselves in free will, the Father should yet draw them to the Son, so is it also possible that those warnings which are given by the correction of the laws do not take away free will. For whenever a man suffers anything that is harsh and unpleasing, he is warned to consider why it is that he is suffering, so that, if he shall discover that he is suffering in the cause of justice, he may choose the good that I consists in the very act of suffering as he does in the cause of i justice; but if he sees that it is unrighteousness for which he suffers, he may be induced, from the consideration that he is suffering and being tormented most fruitlessly, to change his purpose for the better, and may at the same time escape both the fruitless annoyance and the unrighteousness itself, which I is likely to prove yet more hurtful and pernicious in the mischief it produces. And so you, when kings make any enactments against you, should consider that you are receiving a warning to consider why this is being done to you. For if it is for righteousness' sake, then are they truly your persecutors; but you are the blessed ones, who, being persecuted for righteousness' sake, shall inherit the kingdom of heaven: but if it

See Ecclus. xv. 16, 17. 2 Xatt. v. 10: 1 Pet. ii. 20.

56 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

is because of the iniquity of your schism, what are they more than your correctors; while you, like all the others who are guilty of various crimes, and pay the penalty appointed by the law, are undoubtedly unhappy both in this world and in that which is to come? No one, therefore, takes away from you your free will. But I would urge you diligently to consider which you would rather choose, â€” whether to live corrected in peace, or, by persevering in malice, to undergo real punishment under the false name of martyrdom. But I am addressing you just as though you were suffering something proportionate to your sin, whereas you are committing sins of such enormity and reigning in such impunity. You are so furious, that you cause more terror than a war trumpet with your cry of "Praise to God;" so full of calumny, that even when you throw yourselves over precipices without any provocation, you impute it to our persecutions.

187. He says also, like the kindest of teachers, "You who will not choose the good, have, by your own sentence, declared that you do not wish to live." According to this, if we were to believe your accusations, we should live in kindness; but because we believe the
promises of God, we declare by our own sentence that we do not wish to live. You remember well, it seems to me, what the apostles answered to the Jews when they were desired to abstain from preaching Christ.

This therefore we also say, that you should answer us whether we ought rather to obey God or man.\footnote{Traditors, offerers of incense, persecutors: these are the words of men against men.}

Christ remained only in the love of Donatus: these are the \footnote{words of men extolling the glory of a man under the name of I Christ, that the glory of Christ Himself may be diminished.}

For it is written, "In the multitude of people is the king's honour: but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince:"\footnote{these, therefore, are the words of men. But those words in the gospel, "It behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remis-}

\footnote{sion of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem,"}\footnote{these are the words of Christ, showing forth the glory which He received from His Father in the}

\footnote{Acts V. 29. \footnote{ProV. xiv. 28. \footnote{Luke xxiv. 46, 47.}}}

CHAP. LXXXVL] CHRIST'S WORDS THE TEST OF UNITY. 357

wideness of His kingdom. When we have heard them both, we choose in preference the communion of the Church, and prefer the words of Christ to the words of men. I ask, who is there that can say that we have chosen what is evil, except one who shall say that Christ taught what was evil?

Chap, lxxxv. â€” 188. Petilianus said: "Is it then the case that God has ordered the massacre even of schismatics? and if He were to issue such an order at all, you ought to be slain by some barbarians and Scythians, not by Christians."

189. Augustine answered: Let your Circumcelliones remain quiet, and let me entreat you not to terrify us about barbarians. But as to whether we or you are schismatics, let the question be put neither to you nor to me, but to Christ, that He may show where His Church is to be found. Read the gospel then, and there you find the answer, "In Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."\footnote{^ If any one, therefore, is not found within the Church, let not any further question be put to him, but let him either be corrected or converted, or else, being detected, let him not complain.}

Chap, lxxxvi. â€” 190. Petilianus said: "For neither has the Lord God at any time rejoiced in human blood, seeing that He was even willing that Cain, the murderer of his brother, should continue to exist in his murderer's life."

191. Augustine answered: If God was unwilling that death should be inflicted on him who slew his brother, preferring that he should continue to exist in his murderer's life, see
whether this be not the cause why, seeing that the heart of the king is in the hand of God, whereby he has himself enacted many laws for your correction and reproof, yet no law of the king has commanded that you should be put to death, perhaps with this very object, that any one of you who persists in the obstinate self-will of his sacrilegious madness should be tortured with the punishment of the fratricide Cain, that is to say, with the life of a murderer. For we read that many were slain in mercy by Joses the servant of the Lord;

' Acts i. 8.

358 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK U.

for in that he prayed thus in intercession to the Lord for their wicked sacrilege, saying, " Lord, if Thou wilt forgive their sin â€” and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which Thou hast written." his unspeakable charity and mercy are plainly shown. Could it be, then, that he was suddenly changed to cruelty, when, on descending from the mount, he ordered so many thousands to be slain? Consider, therefore, whether it may not be a sign of greater anger on the part of God, that, whilst so many laws have been enacted against you, you have not been ordered by any emperor to be put to death.

Or do you think that you are not to be compared to that fratricide? Hearken to the Lord speaking through His prophet: " From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen., saith the Lord of hosts." On this brother's sacrifice you show that you look with malignant eyes, over and above the respect which God pays to it; and if ye have ever heard that " from the rising of the sun, unto the going down of the same, the Lord's name is to be praised," which is that living sacrifice of which it is said, " Offer unto God thanksgiving," then will your countenance fall like that of yonder murderer.

But inasmuch as you cannot kill the whole world, you are involved in the same guilt by your mere hatred, according to the words of John, " Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer." And I would that any innocent brother might rather fall into the hands of your Circumcelliones, to be murdered by their weapons, than be subjected to the poison of your tongue and rebaptized.

Chap. lxxxvii. â€” 192. Petilianus said: "We advise you, therefore, if so be that you will hear it willingly, and even though you do not willingly receive it, yet we warn you that the Lord Christ instituted for Christians, not any form of slaying, but one of dying only. For if He loved men who thus delight in battle. He would not have consented to be slain for us."

1 Ex. xxxii. 28, 31. ^ Mai. i. 11. 3 Ps_ cxiii. 3.

< Ts. 1. 14. Â° 1 Jolm iii. 15.
193. Augustine answered: Would that your martyrs would follow the form that He prescribed! they would not throw themselves over precipices, which He refused to do at the bidding of the devil. But when you persecute our ancestors with false witness even now that they are dead, whence have you received this form? In that you endeavour to stain us with the crimes of men we never knew, while you are unwilling that the most notorious misdeeds of your own party should be reckoned against you, whence have you received this form? But we are too much yielding to our own conceit if we find fault about ourselves, when we see that you utter false testimony against the Lord Himself, since He Himself both promised and made manifest that His Church should extend throughout all nations, and you maintain the contrary. This form, therefore, you did not receive even from the Jewish persecutors themselves; for they persecuted His body while He was walking on the earth: you persecute His gospel as He is seated in heaven. Which gospel endured more meekly the flames of furious kings than it can possibly endure your tongues; for while they blazed, unity remained, and this it cannot do amid your words. They who desired that the word of God should perish in the flames did not believe that it could be despised if read. They would not, therefore, set their flames to work upon the gospel, if you would let them use your tongues against the gospel. In the earlier persecution the gospel of Christ was sought by some in their rage, it was betrayed by others in their fear; it was burned by some in their rage, it was hidden by others in their love; it was attacked, but none were found to speak against its truth. The more accursed share of persecution was reserved for you when the persecution of the heathen was exhausted. Those who persecuted the name of Christ believed in Christ: now those "who are honoured for the name of Christ are found to speak against His truth.

Chap. lxxxviii. â€” 194. Petilianus said: "Here you have the fullest possible proof that a Christian may take no part in the destruction of another. But the first establishing of this principle was in the case of Peter, as it is written, ' Simon Peter having a sword, drew it, and smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. Then said Jesus unto Peter, Put up thy sword into the sheath. For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' "
195. Augustine answered: Why then do you not restrain the weapons of the Circumcelliones with such words as these? Should you think that you were going beyond the words of the gospel if you should say. All they that take the cudgel shall perish with the cudgel? Withhold not then your pardon, if our ancestors were unable to restrain the men by whom you complain that Marculus was thrown down a precipice; for neither is it written in the gospel, He that useth to throw men down a precipice shall be cast therefrom. And would that, as your charges are either false or out of date, so the cudgels of those friends of yours would cease! And yet, perhaps, you take it ill that, if not by force of law, at any rate in words, we take away their armour from your legions in saying that they manifest their rage with sticks alone. For that was the ancient fashion of their wickedness, but now they have advanced too far. For amid their drunken revellings, and amid the free licence of assembling together, wandering in the streets, jesting, drinking, chambering in company with women who have no husbands, they have learned not only to brandish cudgels, but to wield swords and whirl slings. But why should I not say to them (God knows with what feelings I say it and with what feelings they receive it!), Madmen, the sword of Peter, though drawn from motives not yet free from fleshly impurity, was yet drawn in defence of the body of Christ against the body of His persecutor, but your arms are portioned out against the cause of Christ; but the body of which He is the head, that is, His Church, extends throughout all nations? He Himself has said this, and has ascended into heaven, whither the fury of the Jews could not follow Him; and it is your fury which Jiltacks His members in the body, which on His ascension He commended to our care. In defence of those members all men rage against you, all men resist you, as many as being in the Catholic Church, ^ John xviii. 10, II; Matt. xxvi. 52.

CHAP. LXXXIX.] THE SWORD OF PETER. 361

and possessing as yet but little faith, are influenced by the same motives as Peter was when he drew his sword in the name of Christ. But there is a great difference between your persecution and theirs. You are like the servant of the Jews' high priest; for in the service of your princes you arm yourselves against the Catholic Church, that is, against the body of Christ. But they are such as Peter then was, fighting even with the strength of their bodies for the body of Christ, that is, the Church. But if they are bidden to be still, as Peter then was bidden, how much more should you be warned that, laying aside the madness of heresy, you should join the unity of those members for which they so fight? But, being wounded by such men as these, you hate us also; and, as though you had lost your right ears, you do not hear the voice of Christ as He sits at the right hand of the Father. But to whom shall I address myself, or how shall I address myself to them, seeing that in them I find no time wherein to speak? for even early in the morning they are reeking with wine, drunk, it may be already in the day, it may be still from overnight.
Moreover, they utter threats, and not they only, but their own bishops utter threats concerning them, being ready to deny that what they have done has any bearing on them. May the Lord grant to us a song of degrees, in which we may say, "My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace: but when I speak, they are for war."^ For thus says the body of Christ, which throughout the whole world is assailed by heretics, by some here, by others there, and by all alike wherever they may be.^

Chap. lxxxix. â€” 196. Petilianus said: "Therefore I say. He ordained that we should undergo death for the faith, which each man should do for the communion of the Church. For Christianity makes progress by the deaths of its followers. For if death were feared by the faithful, no man would be found to live with perfect faith. For the Lord Christ says, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.'"^ *Ps. cxx. 6, 7.* See Contr. Cresc. 1. iii. c. Ixvii., 1. iv. cc. Ix. Ixi.

' John xii. 24.

362 ANSWER TO PETILIA. [BOOK II.]

197. Augustine answered: I should be glad to know which of your 'pavij it was who first threw himself over a precipice. For truly that grain of corn was fruitful from which so great a crop of similar suicides has sprung. Tell me, when you make mention of the words of the Lord, that He says a corn of wheat shall die and bring forth much fruit, why do you envy the real fruit, which has most truly sprung up throughout the whole world, and bring up against it all the charges of the tares or chaff which you have ever either heard of or invented?

Chap. xc. â€” 198. Petilianus said: "But you scatter thorns and tares, not seeds of corn, so that you ought to be burned together with them at the last judgment. We do not utter curses; but every thorny conscience is bound under this penalty by the sentence which God has pronounced."

199. Augustine answered: Surely, when you mention tares, it might bring to your minds the thought of wheat as well; for both have been commanded to grow together in the field until the harvest. But you fix the eye of malice fiercely on the tares, and maintain, in opposition to the express declaration of Christ, that they alone have grown throughout the earth, with the exception of Africa alone.

Chap. xci. â€” 200. Petilianus said: "Where is the saying of the Lord Christ, 'Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.'"^ Where is the patience
which He displayed when they spat upon His face, who Himself with His most holy spittle opened the eyes of the blind?

Where is the saying of the Apostle Paul, "If a man smite you in the face V Where is that other saying of the same apostle, "In stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft?" He makes mention of the sufferings which he underwent, not of the deeds which he performed. It had been enough for the Christian faith that these things should be done by the Jews: why do you, wretched men, do these others in addition?"

^ Vcracissime. Another reading is "feracissime, " **most abundantly."
2 Matt. V. 39. 32 Cor. xi. 20, 23.

CHAP. XCII.] THE CATHOLICS CHARGED WITH MURDER. 363

201. Augustine answered: Is it then really so, that when men smite you on the one cheek, you turn to them the other? This is not the report that your furious bands won for you by wandering everywhere throughout the whole of Africa with dreadful wickedness. I would fain have it that men should make a bargain with you, that, in accordance with the old law, you should seek but "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," instead of bringing out cudgels in return for the words which greet your ears.

Chap. xcil â€“ 202. Petilianus said: "But what have you to do with the kings of this world, in whom Christianity has never found anything save envy towards her? And to teach you shortly the truth of what I say: A king persecuted the brethren of the Maccabees. A king also condemned the three children to the sanctifying flames, being ignorant what he did, seeing that he himself was fighting against God. A king sought the life of the infant Saviour. A king exposed Daniel, as he thought, to be eaten by wild beasts. And the Lord Christ Himself was slain by a king's most wicked judge.

Hence it is that the apostle cries out, 'We speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought: but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.' But grant that this was said of the heathen kings of old. Yet you, rulers of this present age, because you desire to be Christians, do not allow men to be Christians, seeing that, when they are believing in all honesty of heart, you draw them by the defilement and mist of your falsehood wholly over to your wickedness, that with their arms, which
... were provided against the enemies of the state, they should assail the Christians, and should think that, at your instigation, they are doing the work of Christ if they kill us whom you hate, according to the saying of the Lord Christ: 'The time

* Deut. xix. 21. ^ 2 Mac. vii. ^ p^n. iii. 4 j^j^tt. ii. 16.

Â» Dan. vi. Â« Matt, xxvii. 26. ^ 1 Cor. ii. 6-8.

364 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

cometli/ He says, ' that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.'^ It makes no matter therefore to you, false teachers, whether the kings of this world desire to be heathens, which God forbid, or Christians, so long as you cease not in your efforts to arm them against the family of Christ. But do you not know, or rather, have you not read, that the guilt of one who instigates a murder is greater than the guilt of him who carries it out ? Jezebel had excited the king her husband to the murder of a poor and righteous man, yet husband and wife alike perished by an equal punishment.^ Nor indeed is your mode of urging on kings different from that by which the subtle persuasion of women has often urged kings on to guilt. For the wife of Herod earned and obtained the boon by means of her daughter, that the head of John should be brought to table in a charger.^ Similarly the Jews forced on Pontius Pilate that he should crucify the Lord Jesus, whose blood Pilate prayed might remain in vengeance upon them and on their children.* So therefore you also overwhelm yourselves with our blood by your sin. Por it does not follow that because it is the hand of the judge that strikes the blow, your calumnies therefore are not rather guilty of the deed. For the prophet David says, speaking in the person of Christ, ' Wliy do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing ? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against His Anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure. Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me. Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.' And he warned the kings themselves in the following precepts,

* John xvi. 2. ^1 Kings xxi.


CHAP. XCII.] THE CATHOLICS CHARGED WITH MURDER. 365
that they should not, like ignorant men devoid of understanding, seek to persecute the Christians, lest they should themselves be destroyed, â€” which precepts I would that we could teach them, seeing that they are ignorant of them; or, at least, that you would show them to them, as doubtless you would do if you desired that they should live; or, at any rate, if neither of the other courses be allowed, that your malice would have permitted them to read them for themselves. The first Psalm of David would certainly have persuaded them that they should live and reign as Christians; but meanwhile you deceive them, so long as they entrust themselves to you.

For you represent to them things that are evil, and you hide from them what is good. Let them then at length read this, which they should have read already long ago. For what does he say, 'Be wise now therefore, ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.'

You urge on emperors, I say, with your persuasions, even as Pilate, whom, as we showed above, the Jews urged on, though he himself cried aloud, as he washed his hands before them all, 'I am innocent of the blood of this just person,' as though a person could be clear from the guilt of a sin who had himself committed it. But, to say nothing of ancient examples, observe, from instances taken from your own party, how very many of your emperors and judges have perished in persecuting us. To pass over IStero, who was the first to persecute the Christians, Domitian perished almost in the same way as Nero, as also did Trajan, Geta, Decius, Valerian, Diocletian; Maximian also perished, at whose command that men should burn incense to their gods, burning the sacred volumes, Marcellinus indeed first, but after him also Mensurius of Carthage, and Csecilianus, escaped death from the sacrilegious

1 Ps. ii. 2 ^jatt. xxvii. 24.

^ Some editions have Varius in the place of Geta, referring to Aurelius

Antoninus Helio^^abalus, of whom Lampridius asserts that he derived the name of Varius from the doubtfulness of his parentage. The Mss. agree, however,

1 in the reading "Getano," which was a name of the second son of Scverus, the brother of Caracalla.

366 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

flames, surviving like some ashes or cinders from the burning. For the consciousness of the guilt of burning incense involved you all, as many as agreed with Mensurius. Macarius perished, Ursacius ^ perished, and all your counts perished in
like manner by the vengeance of God. For Ursacius was slain in a battle with the barbarians, after which birds of prey with their savage talons, and the greedy teeth of dogs with their bitincr, tore him limb from limb. Was not he too a murderer at your suggestion, who, like king Ahab, whom we showed to have been persuaded by a woman, slew a poor and righteous man? ^ So you too do not cease to murder us, who are just and poor (poor, that is, in worldly wealth; for in the grace of God no one of us is poor). For even if you do not murder a man with your hands, you do not cease to do so with your butchersous tongues. For it is written, 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue.'^ All, therefore, who have been murdered, you, the instigator of the deed, have slain. !N"or indeed does the hand, of the butcher glow save at the instigation of your tongue; and that terrible heat of the breast is inflamed by your words to take the blood of others, â€” blood that shall take a just vengeance upon him who shed it."

203. Augustine answered: If I were to answer adequately, and as I ought, to this passage, which has been exaggerated and arranged at such length by you, where you speak in invidious terms against us concerning the kings of this world, I am much afraid that you would accuse me too of having wished to excite the anger of Kings against you. And yet, whilst you are borne after your own fashion by the violence of this invective against all Catholics, you certainly do not pass me by. I will endeavour, however, to show, if I can, that it is rather you who have been guilty of this offence by speaking as you have done, than myself by answering as I shall do. And first of all, see how you yourself oppose yourself; for certainly you prefaced the passage which you quoted with the words, "What have you to do with the kings of this world, in whom Christianity has never found anything save envy towards her?" In these words you certainly cut off from us all access to the kings of this world. And a little later you say, "And he warned the kings themselves in the following precepts, that they should not, like ignorant men devoid of understanding, seek to persecute the Christians, lest they should be themselves destroyed, â€” which precepts I

^ Optatus defends the cause of Macarius at great length in his third book against Parmenianus. Of Ursacius he says in the same phrase: "You are offended at the times of a certain Lcontius, of Ursacius, Macarius, and others. " And Augustine, in his third book against Cresconius, c. xx., introduces an objection of the Donatists against himself: " But so soon as Silvanus, bishop of Cirta, had refused to communicate with Ursacius and Zenopliiinus the persecutors, he was driven into exile. " Usuardus, deceived by a false story made up by the Donatists, enters in his Martyrology that a pseudo-martyr Donatus suffered on the 1st of March, under Ursacius and Marcellinus, to this effect: "On the same day of the holy martyr Douatiis, who suffered under Ursacius the judge and the tribune Marcellinus."

2 1 Kings xxi. * Trov. xviii 21.
would that we could teach them, seeing that they are ignorant of them; or, at least, that you would show them to them, as doubtless you would do if you desired that they should live."

In what way then do you wish us to be the instructors of kings? And indeed those of our body who have any friendship with Christian kings commit no sin if they make a right use of that friendship; but if any are elated by it, they yet sin far less grievously than you. For what had you, who thus reproach us, â€” what had you to do with a heathen king, and what is worse, with Julian, the apostate and enemy of the name of Christ, to whom, when you were begging that the basilicas should be restored to you as though they were your own, you ascribed this meed of praise, "that in him justice alone was found to have a place?" â€” in which words (for I believe that you understand the Latin tongue) both the idolatry and the apostasy of Judas are styled justice. I hold in my hands the petition which your ancestors presented; the memorial which embodied their request; the chronicles, where they made their representation. Watch and attend. To the enemy of Christ, to the apostate, the antagonist of Chris-

' Constitutio qiiam impetraverunt. Some editions have **quam dedcnmt Constantio; " but there is no place for Constantius in this history of the Donatists, â– nor was any boon either sought or obtained from him in their name. The iLouvain editors therefore restored "constitutio," which is the common reading I of the Mas.

368 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

tians, the servant of the devil, that friend, that representative, that Pontius of yours, made supplication in such words as these: "Go to then, and say to us. What have you to do with the kings of this world?" that as deaf men you may read to the deaf nations what you as well as they refuse to hear: "Thou beholdest the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye."^ 

204. "What," say you, "have you to do with the kings of this world, in whom Christianity has never found anything save envy towards her?" Having said this, you endeavoured to reckon up what kings the righteous had found to be their enemies, and did not consider how many more might be enumerated who have proved their friends. The patriarch Abraham was both most friendly treated, and presented with a token of friendship, by a king who had been warned from heaven not to defile his wife. Isaac his son likewise found a king most friendly to him. Jacob, being received with honour by a king in Egypt, went so far as to bless him.* What shall I say of his son Joseph, who, after the tribulation of a prison, in which his chastity was tried as gold is tried in the fire, being raised by Pharaoh to great honours, even swore by the life of Pharaoh,^ â€” not as though puffed up with vain conceit, but being not unmindful of his kindness. The daughter of a king adopted Moses. David took refuge with a king of another race, compelled thereto by the umighteousness of the king of Israel^ Elijah ran before the chariot of a most wicked king, â€” not by the king's
command, but from his own loyalty. Elisha thought it good to offer of his own accord to the woman who had sheltered him anything that she might wish to have obtained from the king through his intercession.

But I will come to the actual times when the people of God were in captivity, in which, to use a mild expression, a strange forgetfulness came over you. For, wishing to prove that Christianity has never found anything in kings saving envy towards her, you made mention of the three children and


* Gen. xlvii. ' Gen. xxxix., xlL ^ Gon. xlii. 15.

7 Ex. ii. 10. ^1 Sam. xxvii. ^1 Kings xviii. 44-46.

^0 2 Kinfis iv. 13.

CHAP. XCIIJ INSTANCES OF KINDNESS FROM KINGS. 369

Daniel, who suffered at the hands of persecuting kings, and you could not derive instruction from circumstances not occurring near, but in the very same passages, viz. from the conduct of the king himself after the miracle of the flames which did no hurt, whether as shown in praising and setting forth the name of God, or in honouring the three children themselves, or from the esteem in which the king held Daniel, and the gifts with which he honoured him, nothing loth to receive them, when he, rendering the honour that was due to the king's power, as sufficiently appears from his own words, did not hesitate to use the gift with which he was endowed by God, in interpreting the king's dream. And when, in consequence, the king was compelled by the men who envied the holy prophet, and heaped calumnies upon him with sacrilegious madness, most unwillingly to cast him into the den of lions, sadly though he did it, yet he had the conviction that he would be safe through the help and protection of his God. Accordingly, when Daniel, by the miraculous repression of the lions' rage, had been preserved unhurt, when the friendly voice of the king spoke first to him in accents of anxiety, he himself replied with benediction from the den, "king, live for ever!" How came it that, when your argument was turning on the very same subject, when you were yourself quoting the examples of the servants of God in whose case these things were done, you either failed to see, or were unwilling to see, or seeing and knowing, were silent, in a manner which I know not how you will defend, about those instances of friendship felt by kings for the saints? But if it were not that, as a defender of the basest cause, you are hindered by the desire of building up falsehood, and thereby turned away either as unwilling or as ignorant from the light of truth, there can be no doubt that you could, without any difficulty, recall some good kings as well as some bad ones, and some friendly to the saints as well as some unfriendly. And we cannot but wonder that your Circumcelliones thus throw themselves from precipices. Who was running after you, I pray?
"What Macarius, what soldier was pursuing you? Certainly none of our party thrust you into this abyss of falsehood.

^ Dan. iii.-vi.
32 A

370 ANSWER TO PETILIAK [eOOK IT.

Why then did you thus run headlong with your eyes shut, so that when you said, "What have you to do with the kings of this world?" you did not add, In whom Christianity has often found envy towards herself, instead of boldly venturing to say, "In whom Christianity has never found anything save envy towards her?" Was it really true that you neither thought yourself, nor considered that those who read your writings would think, how many instances of kings there were that went against your views? Does he not know what he says?

205. Or do you think that, because those whom I have mentioned belonged to olden times, therefore they form no argument against you, because you did not say, In whom righteousness has never found anything, save envy towards her, but "In whom Christianity has never found anything saving envy towards her," â€” meaning, perhaps, that it should be understood that they began to show envy towards the righteous from the time when they began to bear the name of Christians? What then is the meaning of those examples from olden times, by which you even more imprudently wished to prove what you had so imprudently ventured to assert?

For was it not before Christ was born in the world that the Maccabees, and the three children, and Daniel, did and suffered what you told of them? And again, why was it, as I asked just now, that you offered a petition to Julian, the undoubted foe of Christianity? Why did you seek to recover the basilicas from him? Why did you declare that only righteousness found a place with him? If it is the foe of Christianity that hears such things as these, what then are they from whom he hears them? But it should be observed that Constantino, who was certainly no foe to the name of Christian, but rather rendered glorious by it, being mindful of the hope which he maintained in Christ, and deciding most justly on behalf of His unity, was not worthy to be acknowledged by you, even when you yourselves appealed to him.

Both these were emperors in Christian times, but yet not both of them were Christians. But if both of them were foes of Christianity, why did you thus appeal to one of them? why did you thus present a petition to the other? For on your
ancestors making their petition, Constantine had given an episcopal judgment both at Eome and at Aries; and yet the first of them you accused before him, from the other you appealed to him. But if, as is the case, one of them had believed in Christ, the other had apostatized from Christ, why is the Christian despised while furthering the interests of unity, the apostate praised while favouring deceit? Constantine ordered that the basilicas should be taken from you, Julian that they should be restored. Do you wish to know which of these actions is conducive to Christian peace? The one was done by a man who had believed in Christ, the other by one who had abandoned Christ. how you would wish that you could say. It was indeed ill done that supplication should so be made to Julian; but what has that to do with us? But if you were to say this, the Catholic Church would also conquer in these same words, whose saints dispersed throughout the world are much less concerned with what you say of those towards whom you feel as you may be disposed to feel. But it is beyond your power to say. It was ill done that supplication should so be made to Julian. Your throat is closed; your tongue is checked by an authority close at home. It was Pontius that did it. Pontius presented the petition; Pontius declared that the apostate was most righteous; Pontius set forth that only righteousness found a place with the apostate. That Pontius, made a petition to him in these words, we have the express evidence of Julian himself, mentioning him by name, without any disguise. Your representations still exist. It is no uncertain rumour, but public documents that bear witness to the fact. Can it be, that because the apostate made some concession to your prayer, to the detriment of the unity of Christ, you therefore find truth in what was said, that only righteousness found a place with him? but because Christian emperors decide against your wishes, since this appears to them most likely to contribute to the unity of Christ, therefore they are called the foes of Christianity? Such folly may all heretics display; and may they regain wisdom, so that they should be no longer heretics.

206. And when is that fulfilled, you will say, which the Lord declares, " The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service?" At any rate, neither can this be said of the heathen, who persecuted Christians, not for the sake of God, but for the sake of their idols. You do not see that if this had been said of these emperors who rejoice in the name of Christian, their chief command would certainly have been this, that you should have been put to death; and this command they never gave at all. But the men of your party, by opposing the laws in hostile fashion, bring deserved punishment on themselves; and their own voluntary deaths, so long as they think that they bring odium on lis, they consider in no wise ruinous to themselves. But if they think that that saying of Christ refers to kings who honour the name of Christ, let them ask what the Catholic Church suffered in the East, when Valens the Arian was emperor. There indeed I might find what I should understand to be sufficient fulfilment of the saying of the Lord,
"The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service," that heretics should not claim, as conducing to their especial glory, the injunctions issued against their errors by Catholic emperors. But we remember that that time was fulfilled after the ascension of our Lord, of which holy Scripture is known by all to be a witness. The Jews thought that they were doing a service to God when they put the apostles to death. Among those who thought that they were showing service to God was even our Saul, though not ours as yet; so that among his causes for confidence which were past and to be forgotten, he enumerates the following: "An Hebrew," he says, "of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the Church."^ Here was one who thought that he did God service when he did what presently he suffered himself. For forty Jews bound themselves by an oath that they would slay him, when he caused that this should be made known to the tribune, so that under the protection of a guard of armed men he escaped their snares. But there was no one yet to say to him, What have you to do (not with kings, but) with tribunes and the arms of kings? There was no one to say to him, Dare you seek protection at the hand of soldiers, when your Lord was dragged by them to undergo His suffering? There were as yet no instances of madness such as yours; but there were already examples being prepared, which should be sufficient for their refutation.


CHAP. XCIL] persecutions OF THE SAINTS. 373

Lord was dragged by them to undergo His suffering? There were as yet no instances of madness such as yours; but there were already examples being prepared, which should be sufficient for their refutation.

207. Moreover, with what terrible force did you venture to set forth and utter the following: "But to say nothing of ancient examples, observe, from instances taken from your own party, how very many of your emperors and judges have perished in persecuting us." When I read this in your letter, I waited with the most earnest expectation to see what you were going to say, and whom you were going to enumerate, when, lo and behold! as though passing them over, you began to quote to me Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Geta, Decius, Valerian, Diocletian, Maximian. I acknowledge that there were more; but you have altogether forgotten against whom you are arguing. Were not all of these pagans, persecuting generally the Christian name on behalf of their idols? Be vigilant, then; for the men whom you mention were not of our communion. They were persecuting the whole aggregate of unity itself, from which we, as you think, or you, as Christ teaches, have gone forth. But you had proposed to show that our emperors and judges had perished in consequence of persecuting you. Or is it that you yourself do not require that we should reckon these, because, in mentioning them, you passed them over, saying, "To pass over Nero;" and with this reservation did you mean to run through all the rest? What then ; was the use of their being quoted, if they had nothing to do with the matter? But what has it to do with me? I now ; join with you in leaving these. Next, let that larger number
which you promised to us be produced, unless, indeed, it may
be that they cannot be found, inasmuch as you said that they r had perished.

I 208. For now you go on to make mention of the bishops
whom you are wont to accuse of having delivered up the
sacred books, concerning whom we on our part are wont to answer: Either you fail
in your proof, and so it concerns no p one at all; or you succeed, and then it still has no
concern with us. For they have borne their own burden, whether it be good or bad; and
we indeed believe that it was good. But

74 ANSWER TO PETILTAK [BOOK IT.

of whatever character it was, yet it was their own; just as your bad men have borne their
own burden, and neither you theirs nor they yours. But the common and most evil burden
of you all is schism. This we have already often said before.
Show us, therefore, not the names of bishops, but the names of our emperors and judges,
who have perished in persecuting you. For this is what you had proposed, this is what you
had promised, this is what you had caused us most eagerly to expect. "Hear," he says, "Macarius perished, Ursacius perished, and all your counts perished in like manner, by the
vengeance of God." You have mentioned only two by name, and neither of them was
emperor. Who would be satisfied with this, I ask ? Are you not utterly dissatisfied with yourself ? You promise that you will mention a
vast number of emperors and judges of our party who perished in persecuting you; and
then, without a word of emperors, you mention two who were either judges or counts. For
as to what you add, "And all your counts perished in like manner by the vengeance of
God," it has nothing to do with the matter. For on this principle you might some time ago have
closed your argument, without mentioning the name of any one at all. Why then have you
not made mention of our emperors, that is to say, of emperors of our communion ? Were
you afraid that you should be indicted for high treason ? Where is the fortitude that marks
the Circumcelliones ? And further, what do you mean by introducing those whom you
mentioned above in such numbers ?
They might with more right say to you, Why did you seek out us ? For they did nothing
to assist your cause, and yet you mentioned them by name. What kind of man, then, must
you be, who fear to mention those by name, who, as you say, have perished ? At any rate,
you might mention more of the judges and counts, of whom you seem to feel no fear. But
yet you stopped at Macarius and Ursacius. Are these two whom you mention the vast
number of whom you spoke ?
Are you thinking of the lesson which we learned as boys ?
For if you were to ask of me what number two is, singular or plural, what could I answer,
except that it was plural ? But even so I am still not without the means of reply. I take
away Macarius from your list; for you certainly have not told
US how he perished. Or do you maintain that any one who persecutes you, unless he be immortal on the face of this earth, is to be deemed when he dies to have died because of you? And what if Constantine had not lived to enjoy so long a reign, and such prolonged prosperity, who was the first to pass many decrees against your errors? And what if Julian, who gave you back the basilicas, had not been so speedily snatched away from life? In that case, when would you make an end of talking such nonsense as you do, seeing that even now you are unwilling to hold your tongues? And yet neither do we say that Julian died so soon because he gave back the basilicas to you. For we might be equally prolix with you in this, but we are unwilling to be equally foolish. Well, then, as I had begun to say, from these two we will take away Macarius. For when you had mentioned the names of two, Macarius and Ursacius, you repeated the name of Ursacius with the view of showing us how he deserved his death; and you said, "For Ursacius was slain in a battle with the barbarians, after which birds of prey with their savage talons, and the greedy teeth of doers with their bitinfy, tore him limb from limb."

"Wherefore it is quite clear, since it is your custom to excite greater odium against us on account of Macarius, insomuch that you call us not Ursacians but Macarians, that you would have been sure to say by far the most concerning him, had you been able to say anything of the sort about his death. Of these two, therefore, when you used the plural number, if you take away Macarius, there remains Ursacius alone, a proper name of the singular number. Where is therefore the fulfilment of your threatening and tremendous promise of so many who should support your argument?

209. By this time all men who are in any degree acquainted with the meaning of words must understand, it seems to me, how ridiculous it is that, when you had said, "Macarius perished, Ursacius perished, and all your counts perished in like manner, by the vengeance of God," as though men were calling upon you to prove the fact, whereas, in reality, neither hearer nor reader was calling on you for anything further whatsoever, you immediately strung together a long argument in order to prove that all our counts perished in like manner by the vengeance

^ The reign of Constantine lasted about thirty-two years, from 306 to 337 A.D. Julian (lied, after an independent reign, subsequent to the death of Constantius, of only one year and seven months, at the age of thirty, in a war against the Persians, in 363 a.d. 
of God. "For Ursacius," you say, "was slain in a battle with the barbarians, after which birds of prey with their savage talons, and the greedy teeth of dogs with their biting, tore him limb from limb." In the same way, any one else, who was similarly ignorant of the meaning of what he says, might assert that all your bishops perished in prison by the vengeance of God; and when asked how he could prove this fact, he might at once add. For Optatus, having been accused of belonging to the company of Gildo, was put to death in a similar way. Frivolous charges such as these we are compelled to listen to, to consider, to refute; only we are apprehensive for the weak, lest, from the greater slowness of their intellect, they should fall speedily into your toils. But Ursacius, of whom you speak, if it be the case that he lived a good life, and really died as you assert, will receive consolation from the promise of God, who says, "Surely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast will I require it." ^

210. But as to the calumnious charges which you bring against us, saying that by us the wrath of the kings of the world is excited against you, so long as we do not teach them the lesson of holy Scripture, but rather suggest our own desire of war, I do not imagine that you are so absolutely deaf to the eloquence of the sacred books themselves as that you should not rather fear that they should be acquainted with it. But whether you so will or no, they gain entrance to the Church; and even if we hold our tongues, they give heed to the readers: and, to say nothing of the rest, they especially listen with the most marked attention to that very psalm which you quoted. For you said that we do not teach them, nor, so far as we can help it, allow them to become acquainted with the words of Scripture: "Be wise now therefore, ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry,"* etc. Believe that even this is sung, and that they hear it.

> Gen, ix. 5. ' Ps. ii. 10-12.

CHAP. XCII.] THE DUTIES OF KINGS. 377

But, at any rate, they hear what is written above in the same psalm, which you, unless I am mistaken, were only unwilling to pass over, for fear you should be understood to be afraid. They hear therefore this as well: "The Lord hath said unto me. Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession." ^ On hearing which, they cannot but marvel that some should be found to speak against this inheritance of Christ, endeavouring to reduce it to a little corner of the earth; and in their marvel they perhaps ask, on account of what they hear in what follows, "Serve the Lord with fear," wherein they can serve Him, in so far as they are kings. For all men ought to serve God, â€” â—
in one sense, in virtue of the condition common to them all, in (that they are men; in another sense, in virtue of their several gifts, whereby this man has one function on the earth, and that man has another. For no man, as a private individual,
could command that idols should be taken from the earth, which it was so long ago foretold should come to pass.

Accordingly, when we take into consideration the social condition of the human race, we find that kings, in the very fact that they are kings, have a service which they can render to the Lord in a manner which is impossible for any who have not the power of kings.

211. When, therefore, they think over what you quote, they hear also what you yourself quoted concerning the three children, and hear it with circumstances of marvellous solemnity.

For that same Scripture is most of all sung in the Church at a time when the very festal nature of the season excites additional fervour even in those who, during the rest of the year, are more given to be sluggish. What then do you think must be the feelings of Christian emperors, when they hear of the three children being cast into the burning fiery furnace because they were unwilling to consent to the wickedness of worshipping the image of the king, unless you suppose that they con-

^ Vs. ii. 7, 8. † Isa. ii. 18; Zech. xiii. 2.

' Simulacri; and so the Mss. The older editions have "adorandi simulacra; " but the singular is more forcible in its special reference to the image on the plain of Dura, Dan. iii.

378 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

sider that the pious liberty of the saints cannot be overcome either by the power of kings, or by any enormity of punishment, and that they rejoice that they are not of the number of those kings who used to punish men that despised idols as though they were guilty of sacrilege? But, further, when they hear in what follows that the same king, terrified by the marvellous sight of, not only the three children, but the very flames performing service unto God, himself too began to serve God in fear, and to rejoice with reverence, and to learn submission, do they not understand that the reason that this was recorded, and set forth with such publicity, was that an example might be set both before the servants of God, to prevent them from committing sacrilege in obedience to kings, and before kings themselves, that they should show themselves religious by belief in God? Being willing, therefore, on their part, from the admonition of the very psalm which you yourself inserted in your writings, both to be wise, and to receive instruction, and to serve God with fear, and to rejoice unto Him with reverence, and to learn submission, with what attention do they listen to what that king said afterwards! For he said that he would make a decree for all the people over whom he ruled, that whosoever should speak blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego should perish, and their house be utterly destroyed. And if they know that he made this decree that blasphemy should not be uttered against the God who tempered the force of the fire, and liberated the three children, they surely go on to consider what decrees they ought to make in their
kingdom, that the same God who has granted remission of sins, and given freedom to the whole earth, should not be treated with scorn among the faithful in their realm.

...^  

212. See therefore, when Christian kings make any decree against you in defence of Catholic unity, that it be not the case that with your lips you are accusing them of being unlearned, as it were, in holy Scripture, while in your hearts you are grieving that they are so well acquainted with its teaching. For who could put up with the sacrilegious and hateful fallacy which you advance in the case of one and the same Daniel, to find fault with kings because he was cast into the den of lions, and to refuse praise to kings in that he was raised to exalted honour, seeing that, even when he was cast into the den of lions, the king himself was more inclined to believe that he would be saved than that he would be destroyed, and, in anxiety for him, refused to eat his food? And then do you dare to say to Christians, "What have you to do with the kings of the world?" because Daniel suffered persecution at a king's hands, and yet not look back upon the same Daniel faithfully interpreting dreams to kings, calling a king lord, receiving gifts and honours from a king? And so again do you dare, in the case of the aforesaid three children, to excite the flames of odium against kings, because, when they refused to worship the statue, they were cast into the flames, while at the same time you hold your tongue, and say nothing about their being thus extolled and honoured by the king? Granted that the king was a persecutor when he cast Daniel into the lions' den; but when, on receiving him safely out again, in his joy and congratulations he cast in his enemies to be torn in pieces and devoured by the same lions, what was he then, â€” a persecutor, or not? ^ I call on you to answer me. For if he was, why did not Daniel himself resist him, as he might so easily have done in virtue of his great friendship for him, while yet you bid us restrain kings from persecuting men? But if he was not a persecutor, because he avenged with prompt justice the outrage committed against a holy man, what kind of vengeance, I would ask, must be exacted from kings for indignities offered to the sacraments of Christ, if the limbs of the prophet; required such a vengeance because they were exposed to danger? Again, I acknowledge that the king, as indeed is manifest, was a persecutor when he cast the three children into the furnace, because they refused to worship his image; but I ask whether he was still a persecutor when he set forth the decree that all who should blaspheme against the one true God should be destroyed, and their whole house laid waste? For if he was a persecutor, why do you answer Amen to the words of a persecutor? ^ But if he was not a persecutor, why do you
Dan. ii.-vi.

* This is illustrated by the words of Augustine, Epist. 1 05, ad Donafistas, sec. 7:

"Do ye not know that the words of the king were, *I thought it good to show the signs and wonders that the high God hath wrought toward me. How great

380 ANSWER TO PETILIAN*. [BOOK II.]

call those persecutors who deter you from the madness of blasphemy? For if they compel you to worship an idol, then they are like the impious king, and you are like the three children; but if they are preventing you from fighting against Christ, it is you who are impious if you attempt to do this. But what they may be if they forbid this with terrible threats, I do not presume to say. Do you find some other name for them, if you will not call them pious emperors.

213. If I had been the person to bring forward these examples of Daniel and the three children, you would perhaps resist, and declare that they ought not to have been brought from those times in illustration of our days; but God be thanked that you yourself brought them forward, to prove the point, it is true, which you desired to establish, but you see that their force was rather in favour of what you least would wish to prove. Perhaps you will say that this proceeds from no deceit of yours, but from the fallibility of human nature. Would that this were true! Amend it, then. You will not lose in reputation; nay, it marks unquestionably the higher mind to extinguish the fire of animosity by a frank confession, than merely to escape the mist of falsehood by acuteness of the understanding.

Chap. xciii. â€” 214. Petilianus said: "Where is the law of God? where is your Christianity, if you not only commit murders and put men to death, but also order such things to be done?"

215. Augustine answered: In reply to this, see what the fellow-heirs of Christ say throughout the world. We neither commit murders, and put men to death, nor order such things to be done; and you are raging much more madly than those who do such things, in that you put such things into the minds of men in opposition to the hopes of everlasting life.

are His signs! and how mighty are His wonders! His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and His dominion from generation to generation' (Dan. iv. 2, 3)? Do you not, when you hear this, answer Amen, and by saying this in aloud voice, place your seal on the king's decree by a holy and solemn act?" In the Gothic liturgy this declaration was
made on Easter Eve (when the third chapter of Daniel is still read in the Roman Church),
and the people answered *‘ Amen.” .

CHAP. XCVI] CIIKISTIAN CORRECTION IN” LOVE. 381

Chap. xciv. â€” 216. Petilianus said: "If you wish that we should be your friends, why do you drag us to you against our will ? But if you wish that we should be your foes, why do you kill your foes ? ”

217. Augustine answered: We neither drag you to us against your will, nor do we kill our foes; but whatever we do in our dealings with you, though we may do it contrary to your inclination, yet we do it from our love to you, that you may voluntarily correct yourselves, and live an amended life. For no one lives against his will; and yet a boy, in order to learn this lesson of his own free will, is beaten contrary to his inclination, and that often by the very man that is most dear to him. And this, indeed, is what the kings would desire to say to you if they were to strike you, for to this end their power has been ordained of God. But you cry out even when they are not striking you.

Chap. xcv. â€” 218. Petilianus said: " But what reason is there, or what inconsistency of emptiness, in desiring communion with us so eagerly, when all the time you call us by the false title of heretics ?”

219. Augustine answered: If we so eagerly desired communion with heretics, we should not be anxious that you should be converted from the error of heresy; but when the very object of our negotiations with you is that you should cease to be heretics, how are we eagerly desiring communion with heretics ? For, in fact, it is dissension and division that make you heretics; but peace and unity make men Catholics.
When, then, you come over from your heresy to us, you cease to be what we hate, and begin to be what we love.

Chap. xcvl â€” 220. Petilianus said: "Choose, in short, "which of the two alternatives you prefer. If innocence is on your side, why do you persecute us with the sword ? Or if

^ Nam nemo vivit invitns; et tamen puer nt lioc volens discat, invitus vapu-
\lat. Perhaps a better reading is, " Nam nemo vult invitns; et tamen puer ut volens discat,” etc., leaving out " hoc,” which is wanting in the Fleury mss.: "No one wishes against his will; and yet a boy, wishing to learn, is beaten against his will”

382 ANSWER TO TETILIAN. [BOOK II.]
you call us guilty, why do you, who are yourselves innocent, seek for our company?"

221. Augustine answered: most ingenious dilemma, or rather most foolish verbosity! Is it not usual for the choice of two alternatives to be offered to an antagonist, when it is impossible that he should adopt both? For if you should offer me the choice of the two propositions, that I should say either that we were innocent, or that we were guilty; or, again, of the other pair of propositions, viz. those concerning you, I could not escape choosing either one or the other. But as it is, you offer me the choice of these two, whether we are innocent or you are guilty, and wish me to say which of these two I choose for my reply. But I refuse to make a choice; for I assert them both, that we are innocent, and that you are guilty. I say that we are innocent of the false and calumnious accusations which you bring against us, so far as any of us, being in the Catholic Church, can say with a safe conscience that we have neither given up the sacred books, nor taken part in the worship of idols, nor murdered any man, nor been guilty of any of the other crimes which you allege against us; and that any who may have committed any such offences, which, however, you have not proved in any case, have thereby shut the doors of the kingdom of heaven, not against us, but against themselves; "for every man shall bear his own burden." Here you have your answer on the first head. And I further say that you are all guilty and accursed,—not some of you owing to the sins of others, which are wrought among you by certain of your number, and are censured by certain others, but all of you by the sin of schism; from which most heinous sacrilege no one of you can say that he is free, so long as he refuses to hold communion with the unity of all nations, unless, indeed, he be compelled to say that Christ has told a lie concerning the Church which is spread abroad among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.'

And so you have my second answer. See how I have made you two replies, of which you were desirous that we should be reduced to choose the one. At any rate, you should have taken notice that both assertions might be made by us;

1 Gal. vi. 5. ^ Liilve xxiv. 47.

CHAP. XCVII.] GUILT OF THE DONATISTS. 383

and certainly, if this was Avliat you wished, you should have asked it as a favour of us that we should choose one or the other, when you saw that it was in our power to choose both.

222. But "if innocence is on your side, why do you persecute us with the sword?" Look back for a moment on your troops, which are not now armed after the ancient fashion of their fathers only with cudgels, but have further added to their equipment axes and lances and swords, and determine for yourselves to which of us the question best belongs, "Why do you persecute us with the sword?" "Or if you call us guilty," say you, "why do you, who are yourselves innocent, seek for our company?" Here I answer very briefly.
The reason why you, being guilty, are sought after by the innocent, is that you may cease to be guilty, and begin to be innocent. Here then I have chosen both of the alternatives concerning us, and answered both of those concerning you: only do you in turn choose one of the two. Are you innocent or guilty? Here you cannot choose to make the two assertions, and yet choose both, if so it pleases you. For at any rate you cannot be innocent in reference to the same circumstances in respect of which you are guilty. If therefore you are innocent, do not be surprised that you are invited to be at peace with your brethren; but if you are guilty, do not be surprised that you are sought for punishment by kings. But since of these two alternatives you assume one for yourselves, and the other is alleged of you by us, for you assume to yourselves innocence, and it is alleged of you by us that you are living impiously, hear again once more what I shall say on either head. If you are innocent, why do you speak against the testimony of Christ? But if you are guilty, why do you not fly for refuge to His mercy? For His testimony, on the one hand, is to the unity of the world, and His mercy, on the other, is in brotherly love.

Chap. XCVII. "Lastly, as we have often said before, how great is your presumption, that you should speak as you presume to do of kings, when David says, 'It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man:'"

384 â— ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.] 223. Petilianus said: "Lastly, as we have often said before, how great is your presumption, that you should speak as you presume to do of kings, when David says, 'It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes!'"^ 224. Augustine answered: We put no confidence in man, but, so far as we can, we warn men to place their trust in the Lord; nor do we put confidence in princes, but, so far as we can, we warn princes to put confidence in the Lord. And though we may seek aid from princes to promote the advantage of the Church, yet do we not put confidence in them. For neither did the apostle himself put confidence in that tribune, in the sense in which the Psalmist talks of putting confidence in princes, from whom he obtained for himself that an escort of armed men should be assigned to him; nor did he put confidence in the armed men, by whose protection he escaped the snares of the wicked ones, in any such sense as that of the Psalmist where he speaks of putting confidence in men. But neither do we find fault with you yourselves, because you sought from the emperor that the basilicas should be restored to you, as though you had put your trust in Julian the prince; but we find fault with you, that you have despised of the witness of Christ, from whose unity you have separated the basilicas themselves. For you received them at the bidding of an enemy of Christ, that in them you should despise the commands of Christ, whilst you find force and truth in what Julian ordained, saying, 'This, moreover, on the petition of Eogatianus, Pontius, Cassianus, and other bishops, not without an intermixture of clergy, is added to complete the whole, that those proceedings which were taken to their prejudice wrongly and without authority being all annulled, everything should be restored
to its former position; and yet you find nothing that has either force or truth in what Christ ordained, saying, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost ends of the earth." We entreat you, let yourselves be reformed. Picturn to this most manifest imity of the whole world; and let all things be restored to their former position, not in accordance with the words of the apostate Julian, but in accordance with the words of our Saviour Christ. Have pity on your own soul. We are not now comparing Constantine and Julian in order to show how different they are. We are not saying, If you have not placed confidence in a man and in a prince, when you said to a pagan and apostate emperor, that "in him justice only found a place," seeing that the party of Donatus has universally employed the prayers and the proclamation in which those words occur, as is proved by the records of the audience; much less ought we to be accused by you, as though we put our confidence in any man or prince, if without any blasphemous flattery we obtained any request from Constantine or from the other Christian emperors; or if they themselves, without our asking for it, but remembering the account which they shall render to the Lord, under whose words they tremble when they hear what you yourself have quoted, "Be wise now therefore, ye kings," etc., and many other sayings of the sort, make any ordinance of their own accord in support of the unity of the Catholic Church. But I say nothing about Constantine. It is Christ and Julian that we contrast before you; nay, more than this, it is God and man, the Son of God and the son of hell, the Saviour of our souls and the destroyer of his own. Why do you maintain the proclamation of Julian in the occupation of the basilicas, and yet not maintain the gospel of Christ in embracing the peace of the Church? We too cry out. Let all things that have been done amiss be restored to their ancient condition. The gospel of Christ is of greater antiquity than the proclamation of Julian; the unity of Christ is of greater antiquity than the party of Donatus; the prayers of the Church to the Lord on behalf of the unity of the Church are of greater antiquity than the prayers of Eogatianus, and I Pontius, and Cassianus, to Julian on behalf of the party of Donatus. Are proceedings wrongly taken when kings divide division? and are they not wrongly taken when bishops divide unity? Is that wrong action when kings minister to I the witness of Christ in defence of the Church? and is it not wrong action when bishops contradict the witness of Christ in order to deny the Church? We entreat you, therefore, that the words of Julian himself, to whom you thus made supplication, may be listened to, not in opposition to the gospel, but in accordance with the gospel, and that all things which
386 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK IT.

have been done amiss may be restored to their former condition.

Chap, xcviii. â€” 225. Petilianus said: "On you, yes you, you wretched men, I call, who, being dismayed with the fear of persecution, whilst you seek to save your riches, not your souls, love not so much the faithless faith of the traitors, as the wickedness of the very men whose protection you have won unto yourselves, â€” just in the same way as sailors, shipwrecked in the waves, plunge into the waves by which they must be overwhelmed, and in the great danger of their lives seek unmistakeably the very object of their dread; just as the madness of a tyrant, that he may be free from apprehension of any person whatsoever, desires to be feared, though this is fraught with peril to himself: so, so you fly for refuge to the citadel of wickedness, being willing to look on the loss or punishment of the innocent if you may escape fear for yourselves'. If you consider that you escape danger when you, plunge into ruin, truly also it is a faith that merits condemnation to observe the faith of a robber. Lastly, it is trafficking in a madman's gains to lose your own souls in order not to lose your wealth. For the Lord Christ says, ' If a man shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul, what shall a man c\jive in exchange for his soul?'"^  

226. Augustine answered: That exhortation of yours would be useful, I cannot but acknowledge, if any one were to employ it in a good cause. It is undoubtedly well that you have tried to deter men from preferring their riches to their souls. But I would have you, who have heard these words, listen also for a time to us; for we also say this, but listen in what sense. If kings threaten to take away your riches, because you are not Jews according to the flesh, or because you do not worship idols or devils, or because you are not carried about into any heresies, but abide in Catholic unity, then choose rather that your riches should perish, that you perish, not yourselves; but be careful to prefer neither anything else, nor the life of this world itself, to eternal salvation, which is in Christ. But if kings threaten you with loss


CHAP. XCIX.] THE SUFFERINGS OF THE DOXATISTS FRUITLESS. 387

or condemnation, simply on the ground that you are heretics, such things are terrifying you not in cruelty, but in mercy; and your determination not to fear is a sign not of bravery, but of obstinacy. Hear then the words of Peter, where he says, " What glory is it,
if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently?

"so that herein you have neither consolation upon earth, nor in the world to come life everlasting; but you have here the miseries of the unfortunate, and there the hell of heretics. Do you see, therefore, my brother, with whom I am now arguing, that you ought first to show whether you hold the truth, and then to exhort men that in upholding it they should be ready to give up all the blessings which they possess in this present world? And so, when you do not show this, because you cannot, â€” not that the talent is wanting, but because the cause is bad, â€” why do you hasten by your exhortations to make men both beggars and ignorant, both in want and wandering from the truth, in rasjs and contentions, household drudges and heretics, both losing their temporal goods in this world, and finding eternal evils in the judgment of Christ? But the cautious son, who, while he stands in dread of his father's rod, keeps away from the lair of the serpent, escapes both blows and destruction; whereas he who despises the pains of discipline, when set in rivalry with his own pernicious will, is both beaten and destroyed. Do you not now understand, learned man, that he who has resigned all earthly goods in order to maintain the peace of Christ, possesses God; whereas he who has lost even a very few coins in behalf of the party of Donatus is devoid of heart?

Chap. xcix. â€” 227. Petilianus said: "But we who are poor in spirit ^ are not apprehensive for our wealth, but rather feel a dread of wealth. We, ' as having nothing, and yet possessing all things,' ^ look on our soul as our wealth, and by our punishments and blood purchase to ourselves the everlasting riches of heaven. So again the same Lord says, 'Whosoever shall lose his substance, shall find it again an hundredfold.' "

1 1 Pet. ii. 20. 2 Matt. v. 3. ^ 2 Cor. vi. 10.

388 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK 11.

228. Augustine answered: It is not beside the purpose to inquire into the true meaning of this passage also. For where my purpose is not interfered with by any mistake which you make, or any false impression which you convey in quoting from the Scriptures, I do not concern myself about the matter. It is not then written, " Whosoever shall lose his substance," but " Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake." ^ And the passage about substance is not, " Whosoever shall lose," but " Every one that hath forsaken;" ^ and that not only with reference to substance of money, but many other things besides. But you meanwhile have not lost your substance; but whether you have forsaken it, in that you so boast of poverty, I cannot say. And if by any chance my colleague Fortunatus may know this, being in the same city with you, he never told me, because I had never asked him. However, even if you had done this, you have yet yourself quoted the testimony of the apostle against yourself in this very epistle which you have written: " Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."^ For if you had
charity, you would not bring charges against the whole world, which knows nothing of you, and of which you know no more, â€” no, not even such charges as are founded on the proved offences of the Africans. If you had charity, you would not picture to yourself a false unity in your calumnies, but you would learn to recognise the unity that is most clearly set forth in the words of the Lord: "Unto the uttermost part of the earth."* But if you did not do this, why do you boast as though you had done it? Are you really so filled with fear of riches, that, having nothing, you possess all things? Tell that to your colleague Crispinus, who lately bought a farm near our city of Hippo, that he might there plunge men into the lowest abyss of error. Whence I too know this all too well You perhaps are not aware of it, and therefore shout out in security, "We stand in fear of riches." And hence I am surprised that that cry of yours has been allowed to pass Crispinus, so as to reach us. For between Constantina, where

1 Matt. xvi. 25. Â« Matt. xix. 29. Â» 1 Cor. xiii 3.

* Acts i. 8. 6 See above, c. Ixxxiii.

CHAP. C] FALSE PROFESSION'S OF SELF-DENIAL. 389

you are, and Hippo, where I am, lies Calama, where he is, nearer indeed to our side, but still between us. I wonder, therefore, how it was that he did not first intercept this cry, and strike it back so that it should not reach to our ears; and that he did not, in opposition to you, recite in much more copious phrase a eulogy on riches. For he not only stands in no fear of riches, but he actually loves them. And certainly, before you utter anything about the rest, you should rehearse such views to him. If he makes no corrections, then we have our answer ready. But for yourself, if it be true that you are poor, you have with you my brother Fortunatus. You will be more likely with such sentiments to please him, who is my colleague, than Crispinus, who is your own.

Chap. c. â€” 229. Petilianus said: "Inasmuch as we live in the fear of God, we have no fear of the punishments and executions which you wreak with the sword; but the only thing which we avoid is that by your most wicked communion you destroy men's souls, according to the saying of the Lord Himself: ' Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.' " ^

230. Augustine answered: You do the destruction which you speak of, not with a visible sword, but with that of which it is said, " The sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword." ^ For with this sword of accusation and calumny
against the world of which you are wholly ignorant, you destroy the souls of those who lack experience. But if you find fault with a most wicked communion, as you term it, I would bid you presently, not with my words, but with your own, to ascend, descend, enter, turn yourself about, change sides, be such as was Optatus. But if you return to your senses, and shall find that you are not such as he, not because he refused to partake of the sacraments with you, but because you took offence at what he did, then you will acquit the world of crimes which do not belong to it, and you will find yourself involved in the sin of schism.

1 Matt. X. 28. 2 Pjylii, 4

390 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

CiiAP. Cl. â€” 231. Petilianus said: "You therefore, who prefer rather to be washed with the most false of baptisms than to be regenerate, not only do not lay aside your sins, but also load your souls with the offences of criminals. For as the water of the guilty has been abandoned by the Holy Spirit, so it is clearly filled full of the offences of the traditors. To any wretched man, then, who is baptized by one of this sort, we would say. If you have wished to be free from falsehood, you are really drenched with falsity. If you desired to shut out the sins of the flesh, you will, as the conscience of the guilty comes upon you, be partakers likewise of their guilt. If you wished to extinguish the flames of avarice, you are drenched with deceit, you are drenched with wickedness, you are drenched also with madness. Lastly, if you believe that faith is identical in the giver and the receiver, you are drenched with the blood of a brother by him who slays a man. And so it comes to pass that you, who had come to baptism free from sin, return from baptism guilty of the sin of murder."

232. Augustine answered: I should like to come to argument with those who shouted assent when they either heard or read those words of yours. Tor such men have not ears in their heart, but their heart in their ears. Yet let them read again and again, and consider, and find out for themselves, not what the sound of those words is, but what they mean. First of all, to sift the meaning of the last clause, " So it comes to pass," you say, " that you who had come to baptism free from sin, return from baptism guilty of the sin of murder:" tell me, to begin with, who there is that comes to baptism free from sin, with the single exception of Him who came to be baptized, not that His iniquity should be purged away, but that an example of humility might be given us ? For what shall be forgiven to one free from sin ? Or are you indeed endowed with such an eloquence, that you can show to us some innocence which yet committeth sin ? Do you not hear the words of Scripture saying, " No one is clean from sin in Thy sight, not even the infant whose life is but of a single day upon the earth ? " ^ For whence else is it that i

^ Job xiv., according to the LXX.
one hastens even with infants to seek remission of their sins? Do you not hear the words of another Scripture, "In sin did my mother conceive me?" - In the next place, if a man returns a murderer, who had come without the guilt of murder, merely because he receives baptism at a murderer's hands, then all they who returned from receiving baptism at the hands of Optatus were made partakers with Optatus. Go now, and see with what face you cast in our teeth that we excite the wrath of kings against you. Are you not afraid that as many satellites of Gildo will be sought for among you, as there are men who may have been baptized by Optatus? Do you see at length how that sentence of yours, like an empty bladder, has rattled not only with a meaningless sound, but on your own head?

233. To go on to the other earlier arguments which you have set before us to be refuted, they are of such a nature that we must needs allow that every one returns from baptism endowed with the character of him by whom he is baptized; but God forbid that those whom you baptize should return from you infected with the same madness as possesses you when you make such a statement! And what a dainty sound there was in your words, "You are drenched with deceit, you are drenched with wickedness, you are drenched also with madness!" Surely you would never pour forth words like this unless you were, not drenched, but filled even to repletion with madness. Is it then true, to say nothing of the rest, that all who come untainted with covetousness to receive baptism at the hands of your covetous colleagues, or the priests of your party, return guilty of covetousness, and that those who run in soberness to the whirlpool of intoxication to be baptized return in drunkenness? If you entertain and teach such views as this, you will have the effrontery even to quote, as making against us, the passage which you advanced some little time ago: "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in man. It is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in princes." What is the meaning of your teaching, I would ask, save only this, that we should put our confidence, not in the Lord, but in man, when you say that

1 Ps. li. 7. 2 Pa. cxviii. 8, 9.

392 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

the baptized person is made to resemble him who has baptized him? And since you assume this as the fundamental principle of your baptism, are men to place their trust in you? and are those to place their trust in princes who were disposed to place it in the Lord? Truly I would bid them hearken not to you, but rather to those proofs which you have urged against ourselves, ay, and to words more awful yet; for not only is it written, "It is
better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man," but also, " Cursed be the man that trusteth in man."

Chap. cii. â€” 234. Petilianus said: " Imitate indeed the prophets, who feared to have their holy souls deceived with false baptism. For Jeremiah says of old that among impious men water is as one that lies. ' Water,' he says, ' that lies has no faith.'"

235. Augustine answered: Any one that hears these words, without being acquainted with the Scriptures, and who does not believe that you are either so far astray as not to know what you are saying, or deceiving in such wise that he whom you have deceived should not know what he says, would believe that the prophet Jeremiah, wishing to be baptized, had taken precautions not to be baptized by impious men, and liad used these words with this intent. For what was your object in saying, previous to your quotation of this passage, " Imitate indeed the prophets, who feared to have their holy souls deceived with false baptism ?" Just as though, in the days of Jeremiah, any one were washed with the sacrament of baptism, except so far as the Pharisees almost every moment bathed themselves, and their couches and cups and platters, with the washings which the Lord condemned, as we read in the gospel.

How then could Jeremiah have said this, as though he desired to be baptized, and sought to avoid being baptized by impious men ? He said it, then, when he was complaining of a faithless people, by the corruption of whose morals he was vexed, not wishing to associate with their deeds; and yet he did not separate himself bodily from their congregation, nor seek other sacraments than those which the people received as suitable.

^ Jer. xvii. 6. ' Matt, xxiii. 25.

CHAP. CIL] testimony OF JEEJJIAH. 393

to that time, according to the law of Moses. To this people, therefore, in their evil mode of life, he gave the name of " a wound," with which the heart of the righteous man was grievously smitten, whether speaking thus of himself, or foreshadowing in himself what he foresaw would come to pass.

For he speaks as follows: " Lord, remember me, and visit me; make clear my innocence before those who persecute me in no spirit of long-suffering: know that for Thy sake I have suffered rebuke from those that scorn Thy words. Make their portion complete; and Thy word shall be unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by Thy name, O Lord God of hosts. I sat not in the assembly of the mockers, but was afraid of the presence of Thy hand; I sat alone, because I was filled with bitterness. Why do those who make me sad prevail against me ? My wound is grievous; whence shall I be healed ? It is become unto me as lying water, that has no faith." ^ In all this it is manifest what the prophet wished to be understood, but manifest only to those who do not wish to distort to their own perverse cause the meaning of what they read. For Jeremiah says that his wound has become unto him as lying water, which cannot inspire faith; but he wished that by his wound those should be understood who made him sad by the evil conduct of
their lives. Whence also the apostle says, " Without were fightings, within were fears "^ and again, " Who is weak, and I am not weak ? who is offended, and I burn not?"^ And because he had no hopes that they could be reformed, therefore he said, " Whence shall I be healed?" as though his own pain must needs continue so long as those among whom he was compelled to live continued what they were. But that a people is commonly understood under the appellation of water is shown in the Apocalypse, where we understand "many waters" to mean "many peoples," not by any conjecture of our own, but by an express explanation in the place itself.* Abstain then from blaspheming the sacrament of baptism from any misunderstanding, or rather error, even when found in a man of most abandoned character; for not even in the lying Simon was the baptism

Â» Jer. XV. 15-18, according to the LXX. 2 2 Cor. vii. 5.

3 2 Cor. xi. 29. * Rev. xvii. 15.

394 ANSWER TO TETILIAN. [BOOK IT.

which he received a lying water/ nor do all the liars of your party administer a lying water when they baptize in the name of the Trinity. For neither do they begin to be liars only when they are betrayed and convicted, and so forced to acknowledge their misdeeds; but rather they were already liars, when, being adulterers and accursed, they pretended to be chaste and innocent.

Chap. cm. â€” 236. Petilianus said: " David also said, 'The oil of the sinner shall not anoint my head.' Who is it, therefore, that he calls a sinner ? Is it I who suffer your violence, or you who persecute the innocent 1"

237. Augustine answered: As representing the body of Christ, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and mainstay of the truth, dispersed throughout the world, on account of the gospel which was preached, according to the words of the apostle, " to every creature which is under heaven:"^ as representing the whole world, of which David, whose words you cannot understand, has said, " The world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved;"^ whereas you contend that it not only has been moved, but has been utterly destroyed: as representing this, I answer, I do not persecute the innocent. But David said, " The oil of the sinner," not of the traditoT; not of him who offers incense, not of the persecutor, but " of the sinner." What then will you make of j^our interpretation ? See first whether you are not yourself a sinner.

It is nothing to the point if you should say, I am not a traditoT, I am not an offerer of incense, I am not a persecutor.

I myself, by the grace of God, am none of these, nor is the world, which cannot be moved. But say, if you dare, I am not a sinner. For David says, " The oil of the sinner." For so long as any sin, however liglit, be found in you, what ground have you for maintaining that you are not concerned in the expression that is used, " The oil of the sinner ? " For I
would ask whether you use the Lord's prayer in your devotions? For if you do not use
that prayer, which our Loi taught His disciples for their use, where have you learned
another, proportioned to your merits, as exceeding the merits of

CHAP. CIV.] ALL HAVE SINNED. 395

the apostles? But if you i^ray, as our great Master deigned to teach us, how do you say,"
Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us 1 " For in this
petition we are not referring to those sins which have already been forgiven us in
baptism. Therefore these words in the prayer either exclude you from being a petitioner
to God, or else they make it manifest that you too are a sinner. Let those then come and
kiss your head who have been baptized by you, whose heads have perished through your
oil. But see to yourself, both what you are and what you think about yourself. Is it really
true that Optatus, whom pagans, Jews, Christians, men of our party, men of your party,
all proclaim throughout the whole of Africa to have been a thief, a traitor, an oppressor, a
contriver of schism; not a friend, not a client, but a tool of him^ whom one of your party
declared to have been his count, companion, and god, â€” is it true that he was not a
sinner in any conceivable interpretation of the term 1 What then will they do whose heads
were anointed by one guilty of a capital offence? Do not those very men, kiss your
heads, on whose heads you pass so serious a judgment by this interpretation w^hich you
place upon the passage? Truly I would bid you bring them forth, and admonish them to
heal themselves. Or is it rather your heads wdiiich should be healed, who run so
grievously astray? What
then, you will ask, did David really say? Why do you ask me?
rather ask himself He answers you in the verse above: " The righteous shall smite me in
kindness, and shall reprove me; but let not the oil of the sinner anoint my head."
^ What
could be plainer? what more manifest? I had rather, he says, be healed by a rebuke administered in
kindness, than be deceived and led astray by smooth flattery, coming on me as an
ointment on my head. The self-same sentiment is found elsewhere in Scripture under
other words: " Better are the wounds of a friend than the proffered kisses of an enemy." ^

Chap. civ. â€” 238. Petilianus said: "But he thus praises the ointment of concord among
brethren: ' Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity
!

1 Gildo. 2 pg. cxli. 5, from the LXX. ^ Prov. xxvii. 6, from the LXX.
It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard; that went down to the skirts of his garments; as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.'

Thus, he says, is unity anointed, even as the priests are anointed."

239. Augustine answered: What you say is true. For that priesthood in the body of Christ had an anointing, and its salvation is secured by the bond of unity. For indeed Christ Himself derives His name from chrism, that is, from anointing. Him the Hebrews call the Messiah, which word is closely akin to the Phoenician language, as is the case with very many other Hebrew words, if not with almost all. What then is meant by the head in that priesthood, what by the beard, what by the skirts of the garments? So far as the Lord enables me to understand, the head is none other than the Saviour of the body, of whom the apostle says, "And He is the head of the body, the Church." By the beard is not unsuitably understood fortitude. Therefore, on those who show themselves to be brave in His Church, and cling to the light of His countenance, to preach the truth without fear, there descends from Christ Himself, as from the head, a sacred ointment, that is to say, the sanctification of the Spirit. By the skirts of the garments we are here given to understand that which is at the top of the garments, whereby the head of Him who gives the clothing passes on its way. By this are signified those who are perfected in faith within the Church. For in the skirts is perfection. And I presume you must remember what was said to a certain rich man: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast,

Ps. cxxxiii.

2 Compare Tract. 15 m Joannem, n. 27: "Messiah was anointed. The Greek for 'anointed' is *Christ,* the Hebrew, *Messiah;* whence also in Phoenician we have 'Messe' for 'anoint.' For these languages, the Hebrew, Phoenician, and Syrian, are closely cognate, as well as geographically bordering on each other." See also Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, series i. p. 267: "The ancient language of Phoenicia, to judge from inscriptions, was most closely allied to Hebrew."

3 Col. i. 18.

and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me."
imperfect. But does it follow that there were wanting those who were so made perfect by such a surrender of earthly things, that the ointment of unity descended upon them, as from the head upon the skirts of the garments? For, putting aside the apostles, and those who were immediately associated with those leaders and teachers of the Church, whom we understand to be represented with greater dignity and more conspicuous fortitude in the beard, read in the Acts of the Apostles, and see those who "brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet. Neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul." I doubt not that you are aware that it is so written. Ee cognise, therefore, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. Ee cognise the beard of Aaron; recognise the skirts of the spiritual garments. Search the Scriptures themselves, and see where those things began to be done; you will find that it was in Jerusalem. From this skirt of the ejarment is woven together the whole fabric of unity throughout all nations. By this the Head entered into the garment, that Christ should be clothed with all the variety of the several nations of the earth, because in this skirt of the garment appeared the actual variety of tongues. Why, therefore, is the Head itself, whence that ointment of unity descended, that is, the spiritual fragrance of brotherly love, â€” why, I say, is the Head itself exposed to your resistance, while it testifies and declares that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem?" And by this ointment you wish the sacrament of chrism to be understood, which is indeed holy as among the class of visible signs, like baptism itself, but yet can exist even among the worst of men, wasting their life in the works of the flesh, and

\[\text{^Matt. xix. 21. 2 ^^g jy^ 32-35, 3 Luke xxiv. 47.}\]

never destined to possess the kingdom of heaven, and having therefore nothing to do either with the beard of Aaron, or with the skirts of his garments, or with any fabric of priestly clothing. For where do you intend to place what the apostle enumerates as "the manifest works of the flesh, which," he says, "are these; fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, poisonings, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions,
heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God? I put aside fornications, which are committed in secret; interpret uncleanness as you please, I am willing to put it aside as well. Let us put on one side also poisons, since no one is openly a compounder or giver of poisons. I put aside also heresies, since you will have it so. I am in doubt whether I ought to put aside idolatry, since the apostle classes with it covetousness, which is openly rife among you. However, setting aside all these, are there none among you lascivious, none covetous, none open in their indulgence of enmities, none fond of strife, or fond of emulation, wrathful, given to seditions, envious, drunken, wasting their time in revellings? Are none of such a character anointed among you? Do none die well known among you to be given to such things, or openly indulging in them? If you say there are none, I would have you consider whether you do not come under the description yourself, since you are manifestly telling lies in the desire for strife. But if you are yourself severed from men of this sort, not by bodily separation, but by dissimilarity of life, and if you behold with lamentation crowds like these around your altars, what shall we say, since they are anointed with holy oil, and yet, as the apostle assures us with the clearness of truth, shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Must we do such impious despite to the beard of Aaron and to the skirts of his garments, as to suppose that they are to be placed there? Far be that from us. Separate therefore the visible holy sacrament, which can exist both in the good and in the bad, in the former for their reward, in the latter for judgment; separate it from the invisible unction of charity, which is the peculiar property of the good. Separate them, separate them, ay, and may God separate you from the party of Donatus, and call you back again into the Catholic Church, whence you were torn by them while yet a catechumen, to be bound by them in the bond of a deadly distinction. Now are ye not in the mountains of Zion, the dew of Hermon on the mountains of Zion, in whatever sense that be received by you; for you are not in the city upon a hill, which has this as its sure sign. that it cannot be hid. It is known therefore unto all nations. But the party of Donatus is unknown to the majority of nations, therefore is it not the true city.

CHAP. CV.] THE DONATISTS NOT SINLESS. 399

Chap. cv. â€” 240. Petilianus said: "Woe unto you, therefore, who, by doing violence to what is holy, cut away the bond of unity; whereas the prophet says, 'If the people shall sin, the priest shall pray for them: but if the priest shall sin, who will pray for him?'"

241. Augustine answered: I seemed too a little while ago, when we were disputing about the oil of the sinner, to anoint your forehead, in order that you might say, if you dared, whether you yourself were not a sinner. You have had the hardihood to say as much.
What a portentous sin I For in that you assert yourself to be a priest, what else have you maintained by quoting this testimony of the prophet, save that you are wholly without sin? For if you have sin, who is there that shall pray for you, according to your interpretation of the words?

For thus you puff yourselves off in the ears of the wretched people, quoting from the prophet: "If the people shall sin, the priest shall pray for them: but if the priest shall sin, who will pray for him?" to the intent that they may believe you to be without sin, and entrust the wiping away of their sins to your prayers. Truly ye are great men, exalted above your fellows, heavenly, godlike, angels indeed rather than men, who pray for the people, and will not have the people pray for you! Are you more righteous than Paul, more perfect than that great apostle, who was wont to commend himself to the prayers of those whom he taught? Continue," he says,

^ Apparently misquoted from 1 Sam. ii. 25.

400 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK U.]

"in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving; withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds; that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak." See how prayer is made for an apostle, which you would have not made for a bishop. Do you perceive of how devilish a nature your pride is? Prayer is made for an apostle, that he may make manifest the mystery of Christ as he ought to speak. Accordingly, if you had a pious people under you, you ought to have exhorted them to pray for you, that you might not give utterance as you ought not. Are you more righteous than the evangelist John, who says, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us?" Finally, are you more righteous than Daniel, whom you quoted in this very epistle, going so far as to say, "The most righteous king cast forth Daniel, as he supposed, to be devoured by wild beasts?" a thing which he never did suppose, since he said to Daniel himself, in the most friendly spirit, as the context of the lesson shows, "Thy God, whom thou servest continually. He will deliver thee." But on this subject we have already said much. With regard to the question now before us, viz. that Daniel was most righteous, it is proved not by your testimony, though that might be sufficient for me in the argument which I hold with you, but by the testimony of the Spirit of God, speaking also by the mouth of Ezekiel, where he named three men of most eminent righteousness, Noah, Daniel, and Job, who, he said, were the only men that could be saved from a certain excessive wrath of God, which was hanging over the rest.* A man, therefore, of the highest righteousness, one of three conspicuous for righteousness, prays, and says, "Whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God." And you say that you are without sin, because forsooth you are a priest; and if the people sin, you pray for them: but if you sin, who shall pray for you? For clearly by the impiety of such arrogance you show yourself to be unworthy of the mediation of that Priest wisdom the
prophet would have to be understood in these words, which you do not understand. For now that no one may ask why this was said, I will explain it, so far as by God's grace I shall be able. God was preparing the minds of men, by His prophet, to desire a Priest of such a sort that none should pray for Him. He was Himself prefigured in the times of the first people and the first temple, in which all things were figures for our ensample. Therefore the high priest used to enter alone into the holy of holies, that he might make supplication for the people, which did not enter with the priest into that inner sanctuary; just as our High Priest is entered into the secret places of the heavens, into that truer holy of holies, whilst we for whom He prays are still placed here. It is with this reference that the prophet says, "If the people shall sin, the priest shall pray for them: but if the priest shall sin, who will pray for him?" Seek therefore a priest of such a kind that he cannot sin, nor need that one should pray for him. And for this reason prayer is made for the apostles by the people; but for that Priest who is the Master and Lord of the apostles is prayer not made. Hear John confessing this, and saying, "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins." "We have," he says; and "for our sins." I pray you, learn humility, that you may not fall, or rather, that in time you may arise again. For had you not already fallen, you never would have used such words.

Chap. cvi. ã€” 242. Petilianus said: "And that none who is a layman may claim to be free from sin, they are all bound by this prohibition: 'Be not partakers of other men's sins.'"

243. Augustine answered: You are mistaken toto ccclo, as the saying is, by reason of your pride, whilst, by reason of your humility, you are unwilling to communicate with the whole world. For, in the first place, this was not spoken to a layman; and, in the second place, you are wholly ignorant in what sense it was spoken. The apostle, writing to Timothy, gives this warning to none other than Timothy himself, to whom he

^ Lev. xvi.; Heb. ix. 7. ' Acts xiv. 22. 3 1 John ii. 1, 2.

32
says in another place, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." And by many other proofs it is made clear that he was not a layman. But in that he says, "Be not partaker of other men's sins," he means, Be not partaker voluntarily, or with consent. And hence he immediately subjoins directions how he shall obey the injunction, saying, "Keep thyself pure." For neither was Paul himself partaker of other men's sins, because he endured false brethren, over whom he groans, in bodily unity; nor did the apostles who preceded him partake of the thievery and crime of Judas, because they partook of the holy supper with him when he had already sold his Lord, and been pointed out as the traitor by that Lord.

Chap. cvii. â€” 244. Petilianus said: "By this sentence, again, the apostle places in the same category those who have fellowship in the consciousness of evil 'Worthy of death,' he says, 'are both those who do such things, and those who have pleasure in them that do them.' "

245. Augustine answered: I care not in what manner you have used these words, they are true. And this is the substance of the teaching of the Catholic Church, that there is a great difference between those who consent because they take pleasure in such things, and those who tolerate while they dislike them. The former make themselves chaff, while they follow the barrenness of the chaff; the latter are the grain. Let them wait for Christ, who bears the winnowing-fan, that they may be separated from the chaff.

Chap, cviii. â€” 246. Petilianus said: "Come therefore to the Church, all ye people, and flee the company of traditors, if you would not also perish with them. For that you may the more readily lay that, while they are themselves guilty, they yet entertain an excellent opinion of our faith, let me inform you that I baptize their polluted ones; they, though may God never grant them such an opportunity, receive those who are made mine by baptism, â€” which certainly they would not do if they recognised any defects in our baptism. See therefore how holy that is which we give, when even our sacrilegious enemy fears to destroy it."

1 1 Tim. iv. 14. =1 Tim. v. 22. s See Rom. i. 82.

CHAP, cvii] heresy cannot destroy baptism. 403

not do if they recognised any defects in our baptism. See therefore how holy that is which we give, when even our sacrilegious enemy fears to destroy it."

247. Augustine answered: Against this error I have said much already, both in this work and elsewhere. But since you think that in this sentence you have so strong a confirmation of your vain opinions, that you deemed it right to end your epistle with these words, that they might remain as it were the fresher in the minds of your readers, I
think it well to make a short reply. We recognise in heretics that baptism, which belongs not to the heretics but to Christ, in such sort as in fornicators, in unclean persons or effeminate, in idolaters, in poisoners, in those who are fond of contention, in the envious, in drunkards, in revellers; and in men like these we hold valid the baptism which is not theirs but Christ's. For of men like these, and among them are included heretics also, none, as the apostle says, shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. Nor are they to be considered as being in the body of Christ, which is the Church, simply because they are materially partakers of the sacraments. For the sacraments indeed are holy, even in such men as these, and shall be of force in them to greater condemnation, because they handle and partake of them unworthily. But the men themselves are not within the constitution of the Church, which grows in its members through connection and contact with Christ, to the exaltation of God.

For that Church is founded on a rock, as the Lord says, " Upon this rock I will build my Church." But they build on the sand, as the same Lord says, " Every one that heareth these sayings, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand." But that you may not suppose that the Church which is upon a rock is in one part only of the earth, and does not extend even to its furthest boundaries, hear her voice groaning from the psalm, midst the evils of her pilgrimage. For she says, " From the Mid of the earth will I cry unto Thee, when my heart is overwhelmed: lead me to the Rock that is higher than I. For thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from the enemy." See how she cries from the end of the earth. She


404 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK II.]

is not therefore in Africa alone, nor only among the Africans, who send a bishop from Africa to Rome to a few Montenses, and into Spain to the house of one lady. See how she is exalted on a rock. All, therefore, are not to be deemed to be in her which build upon the sand, that is, which hear the words of Christ and do them not, even though both among us and among you they have and transmit the sacrament of baptism. See how her hope is in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, â€” not in Peter or in Paul, still less in Donatus or Petilianus. What we fear, therefore, to destroy, is not yours, but Christ's; and it is holy of itself, even in sacrilegious hands. For we cannot receive those who come from you, unless we destroy in them whatsoever appertains to you. For we destroy the treachery of the deserter, not the stamp of the sovereign. Accordingly, do you yourself consider and annul what you said: " I," say you, " baptize their polluted ones; they, though may God never grant them such an opportunity, receive those who are made mine by baptism." For you do not baptize men who are infected, but you rebaptize them, so as to infect them. But we do not receive men who are made yours by baptism; but we destroy that error of yours whereby they are made yours, and we receive the
baptism of Christ, by which they are baptized. Therefore it is not without significance that you introduce the words, "Though may God never grant them such an opportunity." For you said, "They, though may God never grant them such an opportunity, receive those who are made mine by baptism." And in this, while you intend the meaning to be, "May God never give them the opportunity of receiving such as are mine," I suppose that, without knowing what it meant, you said, "May God never make them mine that you should receive them." For we pray that those may not be really yours who come over at the present moment to the Catholic Church. Nor do they come over so as to be ours by right of baptism, but by fellowship with us, and that with us they may belong to Christ, in virtue of their baptism.

^ That the Donatists were called at Rome Montenses, is observed by Augustine, de Hceresibus, c. xxix., and Epist, liii. 2; and before him by Optatus, Book II. That they were also called Cntzuintani, or Cutzupihv, we learn from the same epistle, and from his treatise de Uniiate Ecclcsiosa c. iii,

2 Lucilla.
BOOK THIED.

IN THIS BOOK AUGUSTINE EEUTES THE SECOND LETTER WHICH PETILIANUS WRITTE TO HIM AFTER HAVING SEEN THE FIRST OF AUGUSTINE's EARLIER BOOKS. THIS LETTER HAD BEEN FULL OF VIOLENT LANGUAGE; AND AUGUSTINE RATHER SHOWS THAT THE ARGUMENTS OF PETILIANUS HAD BEEN DEFICIENT AND IRRELEVANT, THAN BRINGS FORWARD ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF HIS OWN STATEMENTS.

CHAP. I. — 1. Being able to read, Petilianus, I have read your letter, in which you have shown with sufficient clearness that, in supporting the party of Donatus against the Catholic Church, you have neither been able to say anything to the purpose, nor been allowed to hold your tongue. What violent emotions did you endure, what a storm of feelings surged within your heart, on reading the answer which I made, with all possible brevity and clearness, to that portion of your letter which alone at that time had come into my hands ! For you saw that the truth which we maintain and defend was confirmed with such strength of argument, and illustrated with such abundant light, that you could not find anything which could be said against it, whereby the charges which we make might be refuted. You observed, also, that the attention of many who had read it was fixed on you, since they desired to know what you would say, what you would do, how you would escape from the difficulty, how you would make your way out of the strait in which the word of God had encompassed you. Hereupon you, when you ought to have shown contempt for the opinion of the foolish ones, and to have gone on to adopt sound and truthful sentiments, preferred rather to do what Scripture has foretold of men like you: "Thou hast loved evil more than good, and lying

' Possidius, in the third chapter of his Indiculus, designates this third book as "' One book a^ainst the second letter of the same."

406 ANSWEK TO PETILIAK. [BOOK III.]

rather than to speak righteousness." ^ Just as if I in turn were willing to recompense unto you railing for railing; in which case, what should we be but two evil speakers, so that those who read our words would either preserve their selfrespect by throwing us aside with abhorrence, or eagerly devour what we wrote to gratify their malice ? For my own part, since I answer every one, whether in writing or by word of mouth, even when I have been attacked with insulting accusations, in such language as the Lord puts in my mouth,
restraining and crushing the stings of empty indignation in the interests of my hearer or reader, I do not strive to prove myself superior to my adversary by abusing him, but rather to be a source of health in him by convicting him of his error.

2. For if those who take into consideration what you have written have any feelings whatsoever, how did it serve you in the cause which is at issue between us respecting the Catholic communion and the party of Donatus, that, leaving a matter which was in a certain sense of public interest, you should have been led by private animosity to attack the life of an individual with malicious revilings, just as though that individual were the question in debate? Did you think so badly, I do not say of Christians, but of the whole human race, as not to suppose that your writings might come into the hands of some prudent men, who would lay aside all thoughts of individuals like us, and inquire rather into the question which was at issue between us, and pay heed, not to who and what we were, but to what we might be able to advance in defence of the truth or against error? You should have paid respect to these men's judgment, you should have guarded yourself against their censure, lest they should think that you could find nothing to say, unless you set before yourself some one whom you might abuse by any means with your power. But one may see by the thoughtlessness and foolishness of some men, who listen eagerly to the quarrels of any learned disputants, that while they take notice of the eloquence wherewith you lavish your abuse, they do not perceive with what truth you are refuted. At the same time, I

1 Ts. lii. 3.

CHAP. II.] ABUSE NOT ARGUMENT. 407

think your object partly "was that I might be driven, by the necessity of defending myself, to desert the very cause which I had undertaken; and that so, while men's attention was turned to the words of opponents who were engaged not in disputation, but in quarrelling, the truth might be obscured, which you are so afraid should come to light and be well known among men. What therefore was I to do in opposing such a design as this, except to keep strictly to my subject, neglecting rather my own defence, praying withal that no personal calumny may lead me to withdraw from it? I will exalt the house of my God, whose honour I have loved, with the tribute of a faithful servant's voice, but myself I will humiliate and hold of no account. " I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of unrighteousness." ^ I will therefore turn my discourse from you, Petilianus, for a time, and direct it rather to those whom you have endeavoured to turn away from me by your revilings, as though my endeavour rather were that men should be converted unto me, and not rather with me unto God.

Chap. it. â€” 3. Hear therefore, all ye who have read his revilings, what Petilianus has vented ac^ainst me with more anger than consideration. To begin with, I will address you in the words of the apostle, which certainly are true, whatever I myself may be: " Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.
Moreover, it is required of stewards, that a man be found faithful. But with me it is a very small matter that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own self" With regard to what immediately follows, although I do not venture to apply to myself the words, " For I am conscious of nothing in myself," ^ yet I say confidently in the sight of God, that I am conscious in myself of none of those charges which Petilianus has brought against my life since the time when I was baptized in Christ; " yet am I not hereby justified: but He that judgeth me is the Lord.

Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness,

^ Ps. Ixxxiv. 10. 2 j^iiiiii enim mihi conscius sunu

408 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God. And these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself; that ye might learn in us not to think of men above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up for one against another. " ^ " Therefore let no man glory in men: for all things are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." ^

Again I say, " Let no man glory in men;" nay, oftentimes I repeat it, " Let no man glory in men." If you perceive anything in us which is deserving of praise, refer it all to His praise, from whom is every good gift and every perfect gift; for it is " from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with -whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." ^ For what have we which we did not receive? and if we have received it, let us not boast as though we had not received it.* And in all these things which you know to be good in us, be ye our followers, at any rate, if we are Christ's;*

but if, on the other hand, you either suspect, or believe, or see that any evil is in us, hold fast to that saying of the Lord's, in which you may safely resolve not to desert His Church because of men's ill deeds: Whatsoever we bid you observe, that observe and do; but whatsoever evil works you think or know to be in us, those do ye not.^ For this is not the time for me to justify myself before you, when I have undertaken, neglecting all considerations of self, to recommend to you what is for your salvation, that no one should make his boast of men. For " cursed be the man that trusteth in man." ^ So long as this precept of the Lord and His apostle be adhered to and observed, the cause which I serve will be victorious, even if I myself, as my enemy would fain have thought, am faint and oppressed in my own cause. For if you cling most firmly to what I urge on you with all my might, that every one is cursed who places his trust in man, so that none should make his boast of man, then you will in no wise desert the threshing-floor of the Lord on account of the chaff which either is now being dispersed beneath the blast of the wind of pride, or will be separated by the final

*â€¢ 1 Cor. iv. 1-6. 3 I Cor. iii. 21, 23. * Jas. i. 17. * 1 Cor. iv. 7.

"* 1 Cor. iv. 16. 6 Matt, xxiii. 3. 7 Jer. xvii. 5.
winnowing; nor will you fly from the great house on account of the vessels made to dishonour; nor will you quit the net through the breaches made in it because of the bad fish which are to be separated on the shore; nor will you leave the good pastures of unity, because of the goats which are to be placed on the left when the Good Shepherd shall divide the flock; nor will you separate yourselves by an impious secession, because of the mixture of the tares, from the society of that good wheat, whose source is that grain that dies and is multiplied thereby, and that grows together throughout the world until the harvest. For the field is the world, not only Africa; and the harvest is the end of the world, not the era of Donatus.

Chap. in. 4. These comparisons of the gospel you doubtless recognise. Nor can we suppose them given for any other purpose, except that no one should make his boast in man, and that no one should be puffed up for one against another, or divided one against another, saying, "I am of Paul," when certainly Paul was not crucified for you, nor were you baptized in the name of Paul, much less in that of Csecilianus, or of any one of us, that you may learn, that so long as the chaff is being bruised with the corn, so long as the bad fishes swim together with the good in the nets of the Lord, till the time of separation shall come, it is your duty rather to endure the admixture of the bad out of consideration for the good, than to violate the principle of brotherly love towards the good from any consideration of the bad. For this admixture is not for eternity, but for time alone; nor is it spiritual, but corporal. And in this the angels will not be liable to err, when they shall collect the bad from the midst of the good, and commit them to the burning fiery furnace. For the Lord knoweth those which are His. And if a man cannot depart bodily from those who practise iniquity so long as time shall last, at any rate, let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity itself. For in the

1 Matt. iii. 12. 2 2 Tim. ii. 20. 3 Matt. xiii. 47, 48.

* Matt. XXV. 32, 33. Â« Matt. xiii. 24-40. ^ i Cor. i. 12, 13.

7 2 Tim. 11 19.

410 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK IIT.

meantime lie may separate himself from the wicked in life, and in morals, and in heart and affections, and in the same respects depart from his society; and separation such as this should always be maintained. But let the separation in the body be waited for till the end of time, faithfully, patiently, bravely. In consideration of which expectation it is said,
"Wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thine heart: wait, I say, upon the Lord." ^ For the greatest palm of toleration is won by those who, among false brethren that have crept in unawares, seeking their own, and not the things of Jesus Christ, yet show that they on their part seek not to disturb the love which is not their own, but Jesus Christ's, by any turbulent or rash dissension, nor to break the unity of the Lord's net, in which are gathered together fish of every kind, till it is drawn to the shore, that is, till the end of time, by any wicked strife fostered in the spirit of pride: whilst each might think himself to be something, being really nothing, and so might lead himself astray, and wish that sufficient reason might be found for the separation of Christian peoples in the judgment of himself or of his friends, who declare that they know beyond all question certain wicked men unworthy of communion in the sacraments of the Christian religion: though whatever it may be that they know of them, they cannot persuade the universal Church, which, as it was foretold, is spread abroad throughout all nations, to give credit to their tale. And when they refuse communion with these men, as men whose character they know, they desert the unity of the Church; whereas they ought rather, if there really were in them that charity which endureth all things, themselves to bear what they know in one nation, lest they should separate themselves from the good whom they were unable throughout all nations to fill with the teaching of evil alien to them. Whence even, without discussing the case, in which they are convicted by the weightiest proofs of having uttered calumnies against the innocent, they are believed with greater probability to have invented false charges of giving up the sacred books, when they are found to have themselves committed the far more

^ Ps. xxvii. H.

CILVr. IV.] THE NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE. 411

heinous crime of wicked division in the Church. For even, if whatever imputations they have cast of giving up the sacred books were true, yet they in no wise ought to have abandoned the society of Christians, who are commended by holy Scripture even to the ends of the world, on considerations which they have been familiar with, while these men showed that they were not acquainted with them.

Chap. w. â€” 5. ISTor would I therefore be understood to urge that ecclesiastical discipline should be set at naught, and that every one should be allowed to do exactly as he pleased, without any check, without a kind of healing chastisement, a lenity which should inspire fear, the severity of love. For then what will become of the precept of the apostle, "Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men; see that none render evil for evil unto any man?"^ At any rate, when he added these last words^ " See that none render evil for evil unto any man," he showed with sufficient clearness that there is no rendering of evil for evil when one chastises those that are unruly, even though for the fault of unruliness be administered the punishment of chastising. The punishment of chastising therefore is not an evil, though
the fault be an evil. For indeed it is the steel, not of an enemy inflicting a wound, but of a
surgeon performing an operation. Things like this are done within the Church, and that spirit of gentleness within its pale burns with zeal towards God, lest the chaste virgin which is espoused to one husband, even Christ, should in any of her members be corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ, as Eve was beguiled by the subtlety of the serpent. Notwithstanding, far be it from the servants of the father of the family that they should be unmindful of the precept of their Lord, and be so inflamed with the fire of holy indignation against the multitude of the tares, that while they seek to gather them in bundles before the time, the wheat should be rooted up together with them. And of this sin these men would be held to be guilty, even though they showed that those were true charges which they brought against the traditors whom,

412 ANSWER TO PETILIAK [BOOK III.]

they accused; because they separated themselves in a spirit of impious presumption, not only from the wicked, whose society they professed to be avoiding, but also from the good and faithful in all nations of the world, to whom they could not prove the truth of what they said they knew; and with themselves they drew away into the same destruction many others over whom they had some slight authority, and who were not wise enough to understand that the unity of the Church dispersed throughout the world was on no account to be forsaken for other men's sins. So that, even though they themselves knew that they were pressing true charges against certain of their neighbours, yet in this way a weak brother, for whom Christ died, was perishing through their knowledge; whilst, being offended at other men's sins, he was destroying in himself the blessing of peace which he had with the good brethren, who partly had never heard such charges, partly had shrunk from giving hasty credence to what was neither discussed nor proved, partly, in the peaceful spirit of humility, had left these charges, whatsoever they might be, to the cognizance of the judges of the Church, to whom the whole matter had been referred, across the sea.

Chap. v. â€” 6. Do you, therefore, holy scions of our one Catholic mother, beware with all the watchfulness of which you are capable, in due submission to the Lord, of the example of sin and error such as this. With however great light of learning and of reputation he may shine, however much he may boast himself to be a precious stone, who endeavours to lead you after him, remember always that that brave woman who alone is lovely only to her husband, whom holy Scripture portrays to us in the last chapter of the Book of Proverbs, is more precious than any precious stones. Let no one say, I will follow such an one, for it was even he that made me a Christian; or, I will follow such an one, for it was even he that baptized me. For " neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."* And " God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dweUeth in God, and God in him."^ No one also that preaches the name
of Christ, and handles or administers the sacrament of Christ, is to be followed in opposition to the unity of Christ. " Let every man prove his own work; and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another. For every man shall bear his own burden,"-^ â€” the burden, that is, of rendering an account; for " every one of us shall give an account of himself Let us not therefore judge one another any more."^ For, so far as relates to the burdens of mutual love, " bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. For if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself." ^ Let us therefore " forbear one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;"^* for no one who gathers outside that peace is gathering with Christ; but " he that gathereth not with Him scattereth abroad." ^

Furthermore, whether concerning Christ, or concerning His Church, or any other matter whatsoever which is connected with your faith and life, to say nothing of ourselves, who are by no means to be compared with him who said, " Though we," at any rate, as he went on to say, " Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which " ye have received in the lawful and (.vangelical Scriptures, "let him be accursed."^ While carrying out this principle of action in our dealings with you, and with all whom we desire to gain in Christ, and, amongst other things, while preaching the holy Church which we read of as promised in the epistles of God, and see to be fulfilled according to the promises in all nations of the world, we have irned, not the rendering of thanks, bat the flames of hatred, iron those whom we desire to have attracted into His most peaceful bosom; as though we had bound them fast in that party for which they cannot find any defence that they should make; or as though we so long before had given injunctions to prophets and apostles that they should insert in their books no proofs by which it might be shown that the party of Donatus was the Church of Christ. And we indeed, dear

Â» Gal. vi. 4, 5. 2 Rom. xiv. 12, 13. 3 Qr^i ^j 2, 3.


414 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK III.]

brethren, when we hear false charges brought against ns by those whom we have offended by preaching the eloquence of truth, and confuting the vanity of error, have, as
you know, the most abundant consolation. For if, in the matters which they lay to my charge, the testimony of my conscience does not stand against me in the sight of God, where no mortal eye can reach, not only ought I not to be cast down, but I should even rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is my reward in heaven.—^ For in fact I ought to consider, not how bitter, but how false is what I hear, and how true He is in defence of whose name I am exposed to it, and to whom it is said, "Thy name is as ointment poured forth."^ And deservedly does it smell sweet in all nations, though those who speak evil of us endeavour to confine its fragrance within one corner of Africa. Why therefore should we take amiss that we are reviled by men who thus detract from the glory of Christ, whose party and schism find offence in what was foretold so long before of His ascent into the heavens, and of the pouring forth of His name, as of the savour of ointment:

"Be Thou exalted, God, above the heavens: let Thy glory be above all the earth?"^  

CiiAP. VII. â€“ 8. Whilst we bear the testimony of God to this and the like effect against the vain speaking of men, we are forced to undergo bitter insults from the enemies of the glory of Christ. Let them say what they will, whilst He exhorts us, saying, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake." What He says in the first instance, "for righteousness' sake," He has repeated in the words that He uses afterwards, "for my sake;" seeing that He "is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written. He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."^ And when He says, "Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven,"^ if I hold in a good conscience what is said "for righteousness' sake," and "for my sake," whosoever wilfully detracts from my reputation is against his will contributing to my reward. For neither did He only instruct me by His word, without also confirming me by His example. Follow the faith of the holy Scriptures, and you will find that Christ rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father. Follow the charges brought by His enemies, and you will presently believe that He was stolen from the sepulchre by His disciples. Why then should we, while defending His house to the best of the abilities given us by God, expect to meet with any other treatment from His enemies? "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of His household?"^ If, therefore, we suffer, we shall also reign with Him. But if it be not only the wrath of the accuser that strikes the ear, but also the truth of the accusation that stings the conscience, what does it profit me

^ Matt. V. 12. s Cant. i. 3. 3 p^\-

4 1 Cor. i. 30, 31. Â» Matt. v. 10-12.

CILVr. VIII.| MERE INSULTS HARMLESS. 415

good conscience what is said "for righteousness' sake," and "for my sake," whosoever wilfully detracts from my reputation is against his will contributing to my reward. For neither did He only instruct me by His word, without also confirming me by His example. Follow the faith of the holy Scriptures, and you will find that Christ rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father. Follow the charges brought by His enemies, and you will presently believe that He was stolen from the sepulchre by His disciples. Why then should we, while defending His house to the best of the abilities given us by God, expect to meet with any other treatment from His enemies? "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of His household?"^ If, therefore, we suffer, we shall also reign with Him. But if it be not only the wrath of the accuser that strikes the ear, but also the truth of the accusation that stings the conscience, what does it profit me
if the whole world were to exalt me with perpetual praise? So neither the eulogy of him who praises has power to heal a guilty conscience, nor does the insult of him who reviles wound the good conscience.

Nor, however, is your hope which is in the Lord deceived, even though we chance to be in secret what our enemies wish us to be thought; for you have not placed your hope in us, nor have you ever heard from us any doctrine of the kind. You therefore are safe, whatever we may be, who have learned to say, "I have trusted in the Lord; therefore I shall not slide;" and "In God have I put my trust: I will not be afraid what man can do unto me." And to those who endeavour to lead you astray to the earthly heights of proud men, you know how to answer, "In the Lord put I my trust: how say ye to thy soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain?"

Chap. viii. â€” 9. Nor is it only you that are safe, whatever I may be, because you are satisfied with the very truth of Christ which is in us, in so far as it is preached through us, everywhere throughout the world, and because, listening it willingly, so far as it is set forth by the humble ministry of our tongue, you also think well and kindly of us, â€” for so your hope is in Him whom we preach to you out of His lovingkindness, which extends over you, â€” but further, all of you, who also received the sacrament of holy baptism from our ministering, may well rejoice in the same security, seeing that you were baptized, not into us, but into Christ. You did not therefore put on us, but Christ; nor did I ask you whether you were converted unto me, but unto the King God; nor whether you believed in me, but in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But if you answered my question with truthful hearts, you were placed in a state of salvation, not by the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but by the answer of a good conscience towards God; not by a fellow-servant, but by the Lord; not by the herald, but by the judge. For it is not true, as Petilianus inconsiderately said, that "the conscience of the giver," or, as he added, "the conscience of him who gives in holiness, is what we look for to wash the conscience of the recipient." For when something is given that is of God, it is given in holiness, even by a conscience which is not holy. And certainly it is beyond the power of the recipient to discern whether the said conscience is holy or not holy; but that which is given he can discern with clearness. That which is known to Him who is ever holy is received with perfect safety, whatever be the character of the minister at whose hands it is received. For unless the words which are
spoken from Moses' seat were necessarily holy. He that is the Truth would never have said, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." But if the men who uttered holy words were themselves holy. He would not have said, "Do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not." ^ For it is true that in no way do men gather grapes of thorns, because grapes never spring from the root of a thorn; but when the shoot of the vine has entwined itself in a thorn hedge, the fruit which hangs upon it is not therefore looked upon with dread, but the thorn is avoided, while the grape is plucked.

CiiAr. IX. â€” 10. Therefore, as I have often said before, and am desirous to bring home to you, whatsoever we may be, you

> 1 ret. iii. 21. . 2 ^x^tt. xxiii. 2, 3.

CHAP. X.] Augustine's apology. 417

are safe, who have God for your Father and His Church for your mother. For although the goats may feed in company with the sheep, yet they shall not stand on the right hand; although the chaff may be bruised together with the wheat, it shall not be gathered into the barn; although the bad fish may swim in company with the good within the Lord's nets, they shall not be gathered into vessels. Let no man make his boast even in a good man: let no man shun the good gifts of God even in a bad man.

Chap. x. â€” 11. Let these things suffice you, my beloved Christian brethren of the Catholic Church, so far as the present business is concerned; and if you hold fast to this in Catholic affection, so long as you are one sure flock of the one Shepherd, I am not too much concerned with the abuse that any enemy may lavish on me, your partner in the flock, or, at any rate, your watch-dog, so long as he compels me to bark rather in your defence than in my own. And yet, if it were necessary for the cause that I should enter on my own defence, I should do so with the greatest brevity and the greatest ease, joining freely with all men in condemning and bearing witness against the whole period of my life before I received the baptism of Christ, so far as relates to my evil passions and my errors, lest, in defending that period, I should seem to be seeking my own glory, not His, who by His grace delivered me even from myself. Wherefore, when I hear that life of mine abused, in whatever spirit he may be acting who abuses it, I am not so thankless as to be grieved. However much he finds fault with any vice of mine, I praise him in the same degree as my physician. AWhy then should I disturb myself about defending those past and obsolete evils in my life, in respect of which, though Petilianus has said much that is false, he has yet left pore that is true unsaid ? But concerning that period of my life which is subsequent to my baptism, to you who know me [ speak unnecessarily in telling of those tilings which might :d known to all mankind; but those who know me not ought lot to act with such uifairness towards me as to believe .^etilianus rather than you concerning me. For if one should jiot give credence to the panegyrics of a friend, neither should
one believe the detraction of an enemy. There remain, therefore, those things which are
hidden in a man, in which conscience alone can bear testimony, which cannot be a
witness before men. Herein Petilianus says that I am a Manichcean, speaking of the
conscience of another man; I, speaking of my own conscience, aver that I am not. Choose
which of us you had sooner believe. Notwithstanding, since there is not any need even of
this short and easy defence on my part, where the question at issue is not concerning the
merits of any individual, whoever he may be, but concerning the truth of the whole
Church, I have more also to say to any of you, who, being of the party of Donatus, have
read the evil words which Petilianus has written about me, which I should not have heard
from him if I had had no care about the loss of your salvation; but then I should have
been wanting in the bowels of Christian love.

Chap. xi. â€” 12. What wonder is it then, if, when I draw in the grain that has been
shaken forth from the threshing-floor of the Lord, together with the soil and chaff, I
suffer injury from the dust that rebounds against me; or that, when I am diligently seeking
after the lost sheep of my Lord, I am torn by the briars of thorny tongues? I entreat you,
lay aside for a time all considerations of party feeling, and judge with some degree of
fairness between Petilianus and myself. I am desirous that you should be acquainted with
the cause of the Church; he, that you should be familiar with mine. For what other reason
than because he dares not bid you disbelieve my witnesses, whom I am constantly citing
in the cause of the Church, â€” for they are prophets and apostles, and Christ Himself, the
Lord of prophets and apostles, â€” whereas you easily give him credit in whatever he
may choose to say concerning me, a man against a man, and one, moreover, of your own
party against a stranger to you? Petilianus therefore reigns supreme. Whenever he aims
any abuse at me, of whatever character it may be, you all applaud and shout assent. This

^ Some editors have "unitate," but Amerbach and the mss., " veritate; " and this is
supported by sec. 28 below: "De ccclo.si;\3 vol baplismi veritate;" and sec. 22 of the
treatise de Unico J3a2>ti^mo: " Ambulautibus iu ecclesiie veritate." .

CHAP. XII.] PETILIA NOT A FAIR WITNESS. 419

cause he has found wherein the victory is possible for him, but only with you for judges.
He will seek for neither proof nor witness; for all that he has to prove in his words is this,
that he' lavishes most copious abuse on one whom you most cordially hate. For whereas,
when the testimony of divine Scripture is quoted in such abundance and in such express
terms in favour of the Catholic Church, he remains silent amidst your grief, he has chosen
for himself a subject on which he may speak amidst applause from you; and though really
conquered, yet, pretending that he stands unmoved, he may make statements concerning
me like this, and even worse than this. It is enough for me, in respect of the cause which
I am now pleading, that whatsoever I may be found to be, yet the Church for which I
speak is unconquered.

CiiAP. xn. â€” 13. For I am a man of the threshing-floor of Christ: if a bad man, then part
of the chaff; if good, then of the grain. The winnowing-fan of this threshing-floor is not
the tongue of Petilianus; and hereby, whatever evil he may have littered, even with truth,
against the chaff of this threshing-floor, this in no way prejudices its grain. But
whereinsoever he has cast any revilings or calumnies against the grain itself, its faith is
tried on earth, and its reward increased in the heavens. For where men are holy servants
of the Lord, and are fighting with holiness for God, not against Petilianus, or my flesh and
blood like him, but against principalities and Dowers, and the rulers of the darkness of
this world, such as
â€¢re all enemies of the truth, to whom I would that we could ay, " Ye were sometimes
darkness, but now are ye light in he Lord," where the servants of God, I say, are
waging uch a war as this, then all the calumnious revilings that are littered by their
enemies, which cause an evil report among

^ * Ubi vobis faventibus loquatur, et victus venim simulans statum, talia vel t iam
scleratiora dicat in me. Mihi sat est ad rem, etc. Morel (Elem. Crit.
,1. 326-328) suggests as an improvement, "Ubi vobis faventibus loquatur et
â–^ctus. Verum si millies tantum talia vel etiam scleratiora dicat in me, mihi
t est," etc., â€” on which he may speak amidst applause from you, even when
^â€¢eated. But if he were to make a thousand times as many statements concerning
'e," etc.

^ Eph. vi. 12, 3 Epi^y_ 8.

420 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

the malicious and those that are rash in believing, are weapons on the left hand: it is with
such as these that even the devil is defeated. For when we are tried by good report,
whether we resist the exaltation of ourselves to pride, and are tried by evil report, whether
we love even those very enemies by whom it is invented against us, then we overcome
the devil by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left. For when the
apostle had used the expression, " By the armour of righteousness on the right hand and
on the left," he at once goes on to say, as if in explanation of the terms, " By honour and
dishonour, by evil report and good report," reckoning honour and good
report among the armour on the ri<jfht hand, dishonour and evil report among that upon
the left.
Chap. xiii. â€“ 14. If, therefore, I am a servant of the Lord, and a soldier that is not reprobate, with whatever eloquence Petilianus stands forth reviling me, ought I in any way to be annoyed that he has been appointed for me as a most accomplished craftsman of the armour on the left? It is necessary that I should fight in this armour as skilfully as possible in defence of my Lord, and should smite with it the enemy against whom I wage an unseen fight, who in all cunning strives and endeavours, with the most perverse and ancient craftiness, that this should lead me to hate Petilianus, and so be unable to fulfil the command which Christ has given, that we should "love our enemies." ^ But from this may I be saved by the mercy of Him who loved me, and gave Himself for me, so that, as He hung upon the cross. He said, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do;" and so taught me to say of Petilianus, and all other enemies of mine like him, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

nil

Chap. xiv. â€“ 15. Furthermore, if I have obtained from you: in accordance with my earnest endeavours, that, laying aside from your minds all prejudice of party, you should be impartial judges between Petilianus and myself, I will show to ^ 2 Cor. vi. 7, 8. ^ Luke vi. 35. ^ Luke xxiii. 31.

I

I

CHAP. XV.] TOLUTITFULNESS OF AUGUSTINE. 421

you that lie has not replied to what I wrote, that you may understand that he has been compelled by lack of truth to abandon the dispute, and also see what revilings he has allowed himself to utter against the man who so conducted it that he had no reply to make. And yet what I am going to say displays itself with such manifest clearness, that, even though your minds were estranged from me by party prejudice and personal hatred, yet, if you would only read what is written on both sides, you could not but confess among yourselves, in your inmost hearts, that I have spoken truth.
16. For, in replying to the former part of his writings, which then alone had come into my hands, without taking any notice of his wordy and sacrilegious revilings, where he says, "Let those men cast in our teeth our twice-repeated baptism, who, under the name of baptism, have polluted their souls with a guilty washing; whom I hold to be so obscene that no manner of filth is less clean than they; whose lot it has been, by a perversion of cleanliness, to be defiled by the water wherein they washed;" I thought that what follows was worthy of discussion and refutation, where he says, "For what we look for is the conscience of the giver, that the conscience of the recipient may thereby be cleansed;" and I asked what means were to be found for cleansing one who receives baptism when the conscience of the giver is polluted, without the knowledge of him who is to receive the sacrament at his hands.^

Chap. xv. â€” 17. Eead now the most profuse revilings which he has poured forth whilst puffed up with indignation against me, and see whether he has given me any answer, when I ask what means are to be found for cleansing one who receives baptism when the conscience of the giver is polluted, without the knowledge of him who receives the sacrament at his hands. I beg of you to search minutely, to examine every page, to reckon every line, to ponder every word, to sift the meaning of each syllable, and tell me, if you can discover it, where he has made answer to the question. What means are

^ See above, Book i. c. i. sec. 2.

422 ANSWER TO PETILIAX. [BOOK III.]

to be found for cleansing the conscience of the recipient who is unaware that the conscience of the giver is polluted?

18. For how did it bear upon the point that he added a phrase which he said was suppressed by me, maintaining that he had written in the following terms: "The conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient?" For to prove to you that it was not suppressed by me, its addition in no way hinders my inquiry, or makes up the deficiency which was found in him. For in the face of those very words I ask again, and I beg of you to see whether he has given any answer. If "the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient," what means are to be found for cleansing the conscience of the recipient when the conscience of the giver is stained with guilt, without the knowledge of him who is to receive the sacrament at his hands? I insist upon an answer being given to this. Do not allow that any one should be prejudiced by revilings irrelevant to the matter in hand. If the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for, â€” observe that I do not say "the conscience of him who gives," but that I added the words, "of him who gives in holiness" â€” if the conscience, then, of him who gives in holiness is what we look for, what means are to be found for cleansing one who receives baptism
when the conscience of the giver is polluted, without the knowledge of him who is to receive the sacrament at his hands?

Chap. xvi. â€” 19. Let him go now, and with panting lungs and swollen throat find fault with me as a mere dialectician.
Kay, let him summon, not me, but the science of dialectics itself, to the bar of popular opinion as a forger of lies, and let him open his mouth to its widest against it, with all the noisiest uproar of a special pleader. Let him say whatever he pleases before the inexperienced, that so the learned may be moved to wrath, while the ignorant are deceived. Let him call me, in virtue of my rhetoric, by the name of the orator Tertullian, by whom Paul was accused;^ and let him give himself the name of Advocate,^ in virtue of the pleading in which


CPTAP. XYII.] CALUMNIES FORM NO ANSWER. 423

lie boasts his former power, and for this reason delude himself with the notion that he is, or rather was, a namesake of the Holy Ghost. Let him, with all my heart, exaggerate the foulness of the Manichceans, and endeavour to divert it on to me by his barking. Let him quote all the exploits of those who have been condemned, whether known or unknown to me; and let him turn into the calumnious imputation of a prejudged crime, by some new right entirely his own, the fact that a former friend of mine there named me in my absence to the better securing of his own defence. Let him read the titles that have been placed upon my letters by himself or by his friends, as suited their pleasure, and boast that he has, as it were, involved me hopelessly in their expressions. When I acknowledge certain eulogies of bread, uttered in all simplicity and merriment, let him take away my character with the absurd imputations of poisonous baseness and madness. And let him entertain so bad an opinion of your understanding, as to imagine that he can be believed when he declares that pernicious love-charms were given to a woman, not only with the knowledge, but actually with the complicity^ of her husband. What the man who was afterwards to ordain me bishop^ wrote about me in anger, while I was as yet a priest, he may freely seek to use as evidence against me. That the same man sought and obtained forgiveness from a holy Council for the wrong he thus had done me, he is equally at liberty to ignore as being in my favour, â€” being either so ignorant or so forgetful of Christian gentleness, and the commandment of the gospel, that he brings as an accusation against a brother

^hat is wholly unknown to that brother himself, as he humbly entreats that pardon may in kindness be extended to him.

Chap. xvii. â€” 20. Let him further go on, in his discourse of many but manifestly empty words, to matters of which he is
"Fa vente," which is wanting in the Mss., was inserted in the margin by Erasmus, as being needed to complete the sense.

Megalius, bishop of Calama, primate of Numidia, was the bishop who ordained Augustine, as we find in c. viii. of his life by Possidius. Augustine makes further reply to the same calumny, which was gathered from a letter of Megalius, in Contra Cresconium, Book in. c. Ixxx. sec. 92, and Book iv. c. Ixiv. sees. 78, 79.

424 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK III.]

wholly ignorant, or in which rather he abuses the ignorance of the mass of those who hear him, and from the confession of a certain woman, that she had called herself a catechumen of the Manichseans, being already a full member of the Catholic Church, let him say or write what he pleases concerning their baptism, â€” not knowing, or pretending not to know, that the name of catechumen is not bestowed among them upon persons to denote that they are at some future time to be baptized, but that this name is given to such as are also called Hearers, on the supposition that they cannot observe what are considered the higher and greater commandments, which are observed by those whom they think right to distinguish and honour by the name of Elect. Let him also maintain with wonderful rashness, either as himself deceived or as seeking to deceive, that I was a priest among the Manichseans. Let him set forth and refute, in whatever sense seems good to him, the words of the third book of my Confessions, which, both in themselves, and from much that I have said before and since, are perfectly clear to all who read them. Lastly, let him triumph in my stealing his words, because I have suppressed two of them, as though the victory were his upon their restoration.

Chap, xviiir. â€” 21. Certainly in all these things, as you can learn or refresh your memory by reading his letter, he has given free scope to the impulse of his tongue, with all the licence of boasting which he chose to use, but nowhere has he told us where means are to be found for cleansing the conscience of the recipient, when that of the giver has been stained with sin without his knowing it. But amid all his noise, and after all his noise, serious as it is, too terrible as he himself supposes it to be, I deliberately, as it is said, and to the purpose,â€” ask this question once again: If the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for, what means are to be found for cleansing one who receives baptism without knowing that the conscience of the giver is stained with sin? And throughout his whole epistle I find nothing said in answer to this question.


CHAP. XX.] "RT:\$TATorENrT of the question. 425
Chap. xix. â€” 22. For perhaps some one of you will say to me, All these things which he said against you he wished to have force for this purpose, that he might take away your character, and through you the character of those with whom you hold communion, that neither they themselves, nor those whom you endeavour to bring over to your communion, may hold you to be of any further importance. But, in deciding whether he has given no answer to the words of your epistle, we must look at them in the light of the passage in which he proposed them for consideration. Let us then do so: let us look at his writings in the light of that very passage. Passing over, therefore, the passage in which I sought to introduce my subject to the reader, and to ignore those few prefatory words of his, which were rather insulting than relevant to the subject under discussion, I go on to say, "He says, 'What we look for is the conscience of the giver, to cleanse that of the recipient.' But supposing the conscience of the giver is concealed from view, and perhaps defiled with sin, how will it be able to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, if, as he says, 'what we look for is the conscience of the giver, to cleanse that of the recipient'? For if he should say that it makes no matter to the recipient what amount of evil may be concealed from view in the conscience of the giver, perhaps that ignorance may have such a degree of efficacy as this, that a man cannot be defiled by the guilt of the conscience of him from whom he receives baptism, so long as he is unaware of it. Let it then be granted that the guilty conscience of his neighbour cannot defile a man so long as he is unaware of it; but is it therefore clear that it can further cleanse him from his own guilt? Whence then is a man to be cleansed who receives baptism, when the conscience of the giver is polluted without the knowledge of him who is to receive it, especially when he goes on to say, 'For he who receives faith from the faithless receives not faith but guilt?''

Chap. xx. â€” 23. All these statements in my letter Petilianus set before himself for refutation. Let us see, therefore, whether he has refuted them at all. For I add the words which he calumniously accuses me of having suppressed, and, having done so, I ask him again the same question in an even shorter form; for by adding these two words he has helped me much in shortening this proposition. If the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse that of the recipient, and if he who has received his faith wittingly from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt, where shall we find means to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, when he has not known that the conscience of the giver is stained with guilt, and when he receives his faith unwittingly from one that

^ See Book i. c. i. sees. 2, 3.

426 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

them at all. For I add the words which he calumniously accuses me of having suppressed, and, having done so, I ask him again the same question in an even shorter form; for by adding these two words he has helped me much in shortening this proposition. If the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse that of the recipient, and if he who has received his faith wittingly from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt, where shall we find means to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, when he has not known that the conscience of the giver is stained with guilt, and when he receives his faith unwittingly from one that
I ask, where shall we find means to cleanse it? Let him tell us; let him not pass off into another subject; let him not cast a mist over the eyes of the inexperienced.

To end with, at any rate, after many tortuous circumlocutions have been interposed and thoroughly worked out, let him at last tell us where we shall find means to cleanse the conscience of the recipient when the stains of guilt in the conscience of the faithless baptizer are concealed from view. If the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse that of the recipient, and if he who has received his faith wittingly from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt? For the man in question receives it from a faithless man, who has not the conscience of one who gives in holiness, but a conscience stained with guilt, and veiled from view. Where then shall we find means to cleanse his conscience? Whence then does he receive his faith? For if he is neither then cleansed, nor then receives faith, when the faithlessness and guilt of the baptizer are concealed, why, when these are afterwards brought to light and condemned, is he not then baptized afresh, that he may be cleansed and receive faith? But if; while the faithlessness and guilt of the other are concealed, he is cleansed and does receive faith, whence does he obtain his cleansing, whence does he receive faith, when there is not the conscience of one that gives in holiness to cleanse the conscience of the recipient? Let him tell us this; let him make reply to this: Whence does he obtain his cleansing, whence does he receive faith, if the conscience of him that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, seeing that this does not exist, when the baptizer conceals his character of faithlessness and guilt? To this no answer has been made whatever.

Chap. xxi. "24. But see, when he is reduced to straits in the argument, he again makes an attack on me full of mist and wind, that the calm clearness of the truth may be obscured; and through the extremity of his want he becomes full of resources, shown not in saying what is true, but in unbought empty revilings. Hold fast, with the keenest attention and utmost perseverance, what he ought to answer, that is, where means may be found for cleansing the conscience of the recipient when the stains in that of the giver are concealed, lest possibly the blast of his eloquence should wrest this from your hands, and you in turn should be carried away by the dark tempest of his turgid discourse, so as wholly to fail in seeing whence he has digressed, and to what point he should return; and see where the man can wander, whilst he cannot stand in the matter which he has undertaken. For see how much he says, through having nothing that he ought to say. He says "that I slide in slippery places, but am held up; that I neither destroy nor confirm the objections that I make; that I devise uncertain things in the place of certainty; that I do not permit my readers to believe what is true, but cause them to look with increased suspicion on what is doubtful." He says "that I have the accursed talents of the Academic philosopher Carneades." He endeavours to insinuate what the Academics think of the falseness or the falsehood of human sensation, showing in this
also that he is wholly without knowledge of what he says. He declares that " it is said by them that snow is black, whereas it is white; and that silver is black; and that a tower is round, or free from projections, when it is really angular; that an oar is broken in the water, while it is whole." And all this because, when he had said

* Lactantius, Boole v. c. xiv. , tells us of the talents of Carneades, recording that when he was sent on an embassy to Rome by the Athenians, he spoke there first in defence of justice, and then on the following day in opposition to it; and that he was in the habit of speaking with such force on either side, as to be able to refute any arguments advanced by anybody else.

428 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

that " the conscience of him that gives," or " of him that gives in holiness, is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient," I said in reply. What if the conscience of the giver be hidden from sight, and possibly be stained with guilt ! Here you have his black snow, and black silver, and his tower round instead of angular, and the oar in the water broken while yet whole, in that I suggested a state of the case which might be conceived, and could not really exist, that the conscience of the giver might be hidden from view, and possibly might be stained with guilt !

25. Then he continues in the same strain, and cries out:
" What is that what if ? what is that 'possibly ? except the uncertain and wavering hesitation of one who doubts, of whom your poet says, -" What if I now return to those who say, "What if the sky should fall ?"*

* What if I now return to those who say, "What if the sky should fall ?"*

Does he mean that when I said. What if the conscience of the giver be hidden from sight, and possibly be stained with guilt? that it is much the same as if I had said. What if the sky should fall ? There certainly is the phrase What if, because it is possible that it may be hidden from view, and it is possible that it may not. For when it is not known what the giver is thinking of, or what crime he has committed, then his conscience is certainly hidden from the view of the recipient; but when his sin is plainly manifest, then it is not hidden. I used the expression. And possibly may be stained with guilt, because it is possible that it may be hidden from view and yet be pure; and again, it is possible that it may be hidden from view and be stained with guilt. This is the meaning of the What if; this the meaning of the Possibly.

Is this at all like " What if the sky should fall ? " how often have men been convicted, how often have they confessed themselves that they had consciences stained with guilt and adultery, whilst men were unwittingly baptized by them after they were degraded by the sin subsequently brought to light, and yet the sky did not fall! What have we here to do with Pilus and Furius,^ who defended the cause of in-

' Ter. Heaut. iv. iii. 41.
In de Civ. Del, Book ii. c. xx., Augustine mentions L. Furius riilus, one of the interlocutors in Cicero's Laclus, as maintaining this same view. From CIIAr. XXII.] ir.KELEVANT OBJECTIONS OF PETILIAN. 429

justice against justice? What have we here to do with the atheist Diagoras, who denied that there was any God, so that he would seem to be the man of whom the prophet spoke beforehand, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God"? What have we here to do with these? Why were their names brought in, except that they might make a diversion in favour of a man who had nothing to say? that while he is at any rate saying something, though needlessly, about these, the matter in hand may seem to be progressing, and an answer may be supposed to be made to a question which remains without an answer?

Chap, xxi. â€” 26. Lastly, if these two or three words, What if, and Possibly, are so absolutely intolerable, that on their account we should have aroused from their long sleep the Academics, and Carneades, and Pilus, and Furius, and Diagoras, and black snow, and the falling of the sky, and everything else that is equally senseless and absurd, let them be removed from our argument. For, as a matter of fact, it is by no means impossible to express what we desire to say without them. There is quite sufficient for our purpose in what is found a little later, and has been introduced by himseK from my letter: "By what means then is he to be cleansed who receives baptism when the conscience of the giver is polluted, and that without the knowledge of him who is to receive the sacrament?" Do you acknowledge that here there is no What if, no Possibly? Well then, let an answer be given.

Give close heed, lest he be found to answer this in what follows. "But," says he, "I bind you in your cavilling to the faith of believing, that you may not wander further from it. Why do you turn away your life from errors by arguments of folly? Why do you disturb the system of belief in respect of matters without reason? By this one word I bind and convince you." It was Petilianus that said this, not I. These the similarity of the name, it has been thought that here Furiis and Pilus are only one man.

* The Mss. here and below have Protagoras. Both were atheists, according to Cicero, Nat. Deor. i. i. 2, and Lactanius, Boole r. c. i.

^ Ps. xiv. 1. 3 See Book i. c. ii. sec. 3.

430 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]
words are from the letter of Petilianus; but from that letter, to which I just now added the
two words which he accuses me of having suppressed, showing that, notwithstanding
their addition, the pertinency of my question, to which he makes no answer, remains with
greater brevity and simplicity. It is beyond dispute that these two words are. In holiness,
and Wittingly: so that it should not be, " The conscience of him who gives," but " The
conscience of him who gives in holiness;" and that it should not be, " He who has
received his faith from one that is faithless," but " He who has wittingly received his faith
from one that is faithless." And yet I had not really suppressed these words; but I had not
found them in the copy which was placed in my hands. It is possible enough that it was
incorrect; nor indeed is it whoUy beyond the possibility of belief that even by this
suggestion Academic fury should be roused against me, and that it should be asserted
that, in declaring the copy to be incorrect, I had said much the same sort of thing as if I
had declared that snow was black.

For why should I repay in kind his rash suggestion, and say that, though he pretends that I
suppressed the words, he really added them afterwards himself, since the copy, which is
not angry, can confirm that mark of incorrectness, without any abusive rashness on my
part ?

Chap. xxiii. â€” 27. And, in the first place, with regard to that first expression, " Of him
who gives in holiness," it does not interfere in the least with my inquiry, by which he is
so much distressed, whether I use the expression, " If the conscience of him that gives is
what we look for," or the fuller phrase, " If the conscience of him that gives in holiness is
what we look for, to cleanse the conscience of the recipient," by what means then is he to be cleansed who receives baptism if the conscience of the giver is polluted, without the knowledge of him who is to receive the sacrament ? And
with regard to the other word that is added, " wittingly," so that the sentence should not
run, " He who has received his faith from one that is faithless," but " He who has
wittingly received his faith from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt," I
confess that I had said some things as though the

CHAP. XXIV.] FALSE CHAKGE OF GAEBLING. 431

word were absent, but I can easily afford to do without them; for they caused more
hindrance to the facility of my argument than they gave assistance to its possibility. For
how much more readily, how much more plainly and shortly, can I put the question thus:
" If the conscience of him who gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the
conscience of the recipient," and " if he who has wittingly received his faith from one that
is faithless receives not faith but guilt," by what means is he cleansed, from whom the stain on the conscience of him who gives,
but not in holiness, is hidden ?

and whence does he receive true faith, who is baptized unwittingly by one that is faithless
? Let it be declared whence this shall be, and then the whole theory of baptism will be
disclosed; then all that is matter of investigation will be brought to light, â€” but only if it be declared, not if the time be consumed in evil-speaking.

Chap. xxiv. â€” 28. "Whatever, therefore, he finds in these two words, â€” whether he brings calumnious accusations about their suppression, or boasts of their being added, â€” you perceive that it in no way hinders my question, to which he can find no answer that he can make; and therefore, not wishing to remain silent, he takes the opportunity of making an attack upon my character, â€” retiring, I should have said, from the discussion, except that he had never entered on it. For just as though the question were about me, and not about the truth of the Church, or of baptism, therefore he says that I, by suppressing these two words, have argued as though it were no stumblingblock in the way of my conscience that I have ignored what he calls the sacrilegious conscience of him who polluted me. But if this were so, the addition of the word " wittingly," which is thus introduced, would be in my favour, and its suppression would tell against me. For if I had wished that my defence should be urged on the ground that I should be supposed to have been unacquainted with the conscience of the man that baptized me, then I would accept Petilianus as having spoken in my behalf, since he does not say in general terms, " He that has received his faith from one that is faithless," but " He that has wittingly received his faith from one that is faithless.

432 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.

receives not faith but guilt; " so that hence I might boast that I had received not guilt, but faith, since I could say I did not receive it wittingly from one that was faithless, but was unacquainted with the conscience of him that gave it.

See, therefore, and reckon carefully, if you can, what an amount of superfluous words he wastes on the one phrase, "I was unacquainted with," which he declares that I have used; whereas I never used it at all, â€” partly because the question under discussion was not concerning me, so that I should need to use it; partly because no fault was apparent in him that baptized me, so that I should be forced to say in my defence that I had been unacquainted with his conscience.

Chap. xxv. â€” 29. And yet Petilianus, to avoid answering what I have said, sets before himself what I have not, and draws men's attention away from the consideration of his debt, lest they should exact the answer which he ought to make.

He constantly introduces the expressions, " I have been unacquainted with," " I say," and makes answer, " But if you were unacquainted with;" and, as though convicting me, so that it should be out of my power to say, "# I was unacquainted with," he quotes Mensurius, Csecilianus, Macarius, Taurinus, Eomanus, and declares that " they had acted in opposition to the Church of God, as I could not fail to know, seeing that I am an African, and already well advanced in years:" whereas, so far as I hear, Mensurius died in the unity of the communion of the Church, before the faction of Donatus separated itself therefrom; whilst I had read the history of Ca3cilianus, that they
themselves had referred his case to Constantine, and that he had been once and again acquitted by the judges whom that emperor had appointed to try the matter, and again a third time by the sovereign himself, when they appealed to him. But whatever Macarius and Taurinus and Eomanus did, either in their judicial or executive functions, in behalf of unity as against their pertinacious madness, it is beyond doubt that it was all done in accordance with the laws, which these same persons made it unavoidable should be passed and put in force, by referring the case of Cecilianus to the judgment of the emperor.

CHAP. XXVI.] MISSTATEMENTS ABOUT AUGUSTINE's LIFE. 433

3 0. Among many other things which are wholly irrelevant, he says that "I was so hard hit by the decision of the proconsul Messianus, that I was forced to fly from Africa." And in consequence of this falsehood (to which, if he was not the author of it, he certainly lent malicious ears when others maliciously invented it), how many other falsehoods had he the hardihood not only to utter, but actually to write with wondrous rashness, seeing that I went to Milan before the consulship of Banto, and that, in pursuance of the profession of rhetorician which I then followed, I recited a panegyric in his honour as consul on the first of January, in the presence of a vast assembly of men; and after that journey I only returned to Africa after the death of the tyrant Maximus: whereas the proconsul Messianus heard the case of the Manichæans after the consulship of Banto, as the day of the chronicles inserted by Petilianus himself sufficiently shows. And if it were necessary to prove this for the satisfaction of those who are in doubt, or believe the contrary, I could produce many men, illustrious in their generation, as most sufficient witnesses to all that period of my life.

CiiAP. XXVI. â€” 3 1. But why do we make inquiry into these points? Why do we both suffer and cause unnecessary delay? Are we likely to find out by such a course as this what means we are to use for cleansing the conscience of the recipient, who does not know that the conscience of the giver is stained with guilt? whence the man is to receive faith who is unwittingly baptized by one that is faithless? â€” the question which Petilianus had proposed to himself to answer in my epistle, then going on to say anything else he pleased except what the matter in hand required. How often has he said, "If ignorant you were," â€” as though I had said, what I never did say, that I was unacquainted with the conscience of him who baptized me. And he seemed to have no other object in all that his evil-speaking mouth poured forth, except that he should appear to prove that I had not been ignorant of the misdeeds of those among whom I was baptized, and with whom I was associated in communion, understanding fully, it would seem, that ignorance did not convict me of guilt. See then that if I were

3 2E
ignorant, as he has repeated so often, beyond all doubt I should be innocent of all these
crimes. Whence then should I
receive faith, seeing that I was baptized unwittingly by one that was faithless? Tor he has
not repeated " If ignorant you were" so often without purpose, but simply to prevent my
being reputed innocent, esteeming beyond all doubt that no man's innocence is violated if
he unwittingly receives his faith from one that is faithless, and is not acquainted with the
stains on the conscience of him that gives, but not in holiness. Let him say, therefore, by
what means such men are to be cleansed, whence they are to receive not guilt but faith.
But let him not deceive you. Let him speak; let him not, while uttering much, say
nothing; or rather, let him not say much while saying nothing. Next, to urge a point which
occurs to me, and must not be passed over, â€” if I am guilty because I have not been
ignorant, to use his- own phraseology, and I am proved not to have been ignorant,
because I am an African, and already advanced in years, let him grant that the youths of
other nations throughout the w^orld are not guilty, who had no opportunity either from
their race, or from that age you bring against me, of knowing the points that are laid to
our charge, be they true, or be they false; and yet they, if they have fallen into your hands,
are rebaptized without any considerations of such a kind.

Chap, xxvii. â€” 32. But this is not what we are now inquiring. Let him rather answer
(what he wanders off into the most irrelevant matter in order to avoid answering) by what
means the conscience of the recipient is cleansed who is unacquainted with the stain on
the conscience of the giver, if the conscience of one that gives in holiness is wdiat we
look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient ? and from what source he receives
faith who is unwittingly baptized by one that is faithless, if he that has wittingly received
his faith from one'
that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt ? Omitting, therefore, his revilings, which he
has cast at me without any sound'
consideration, let us still notice that he does not say what ^ i we demand in what follows.
But I should like to look at j the garrulous mode in which he has set this forth, as though

CHAP, xxyi]} is ignorance a defence ? 435

he were sure to overwhelm us with confusion. " But let us return," he says, " to that
argument of your fancy, w^hereby you seem to have represented to yourself in a form of
words the persons you baptize. For since you do not see the truth, it would have been
more seemly to have imagined what was probable." These words of his own, Petilianus
put forth by way of preface, being about to state the words that I had used. Then he went on to quote: "Behold, you say, the faithless man stands ready to baptize, but he who is to be baptized knows nothing of his faithlessness." He has not quoted the whole of my proposition and question; and presently he begins to ask me in his turn, saying, "Who is the man, and from what corner has he started up, that you propose to us? Why do you seem to see a man who is the produce of your imagination, in order to avoid seeing one whom you are bound to see, and to examine and test most carefully? But since I see that you are unacquainted with the order of the sacrament, I tell you this as shortly as I can: you were bound both to examine your baptizer, and to be examined by him." What is it, then, that we were waiting for? That he should tell us by what means the conscience of the recipient is to be cleansed, who is unacquainted with the stain on the conscience of him that gives but not in holiness, and whence the man is to receive not guilt but faith, who has received baptism unwittingly from one that is faithless. All that we have heard is that the baptizer ought most diligently to be examined by him who wishes to receive not guilt but faith, that the latter may make himself acquainted with the conscience of him that gives in holiness, which is to cleanse the conscience of the recipient. For the man that has failed to make this examination, and has unwittingly received baptism from one that is faithless, from the very fact that he did not make the examination, and therefore did not know of the stain on the conscience of the giver, was incapacitated from receiving faith instead of guilt. Why therefore did he add what he made so much of adding, the word wittingly, which he (calumniously accused me of having suppressed? For in his unwillingness that the sentence should run, "He who has

^ See Book i. c. ii. sec. 3.

436 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

received his faith from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt," he seems to have left some hope to the man that acts unwittingly. But now, when he is asked whence that man is to receive faith who is baptized unwittingly by one that is faithless, he has answered that he ought to have examined his baptizer; so that, beyond all doubt, he refuses the wretched man permission even to be ignorant, by not finding out from what source he may receive faith, unless he has placed his trust in the man that is baptizing him.

Chap, xxviii. â€” 33. This is what we look upon with horror in your party; this is what the sentence of God condemns, crying out with the utmost truth and the utmost clearness,
"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man." This is what is most openly forbidden by holy humility and apostolic love, as Paul declares, "Let no man glory in me." This is the reason that the attack of empty calumnies and of the bitterest invectives grows even fiercer against us, that when human authority is as it were overthrown, there may remain no ground of hope for those to whom we administer the word and sacrament of God in accordance with the dispensation entrusted unto us. We make answer to them: How long do you rest your support on man? The venerable society of the Catholic Church makes answer to them: "Truly my soul waiteth upon God: from Him cometh my salvation. He only is my rock and my salvation; He is my defence; I shall not be greatly moved." For what other reason have they had for removing from the house of God, except that they pretended that they could not endure those vessels made to dishonour, from which the house shall not be free until the day of judgment? whereas all the time they rather appear, by their deeds and by the records of the time, to have themselves been vessels of this kind, while they threw the imputation in the teeth of others; of which said vessels made unto dishonour, in order that no one should on their account remove in confusion of mind from the great house, which alone belongs to the great Father of our family, the servant of God, one who was good

1 Jer. xvU. 5. ' 1 Cor. iii. 21. Â» Ps. kil 1, 2.

CHAP. XXIX. — TEUST IN MAN FOrvBIDDEN". 437

and faithful, or was capable of receiving faith in baptism, as I have shown above, expressly says, "Truly my soul waiteth upon God " (on God, you see, and not on man): "from Him cometh my salvation” (not from man). But Petilianus would refuse to ascribe to God the cleansing and purifying of a man, even when the stain upon the conscience of him who gives, but not in holiness, is hidden from view, and any one receives his faith unwittingly from one that is faithless. "I tell yon this," he says, "as shortly as I can: you were bound both to examine your baptizer, and to be examined by him."

Chap. xxix. â€” 34. I entreat of yon, pay attention to this:

I ask where the means shall be found for cleansing the conscience of the recipient, when he is not acquainted with the stain upon the conscience of him that gives but not in holiness, if the conscience of him that gives in holiness is waited for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient? and from what source he is to receive faith, who is unwittingly baptized by one that is faithless, if whosoever has received his faith wittingly from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt? and he answers me, that both the baptizer and the baptized should be subjected to examination. And for the proof of this point, out of which no question arises, he adduces the example of John, in that he was examined by those who asked him who he claimed to be, â€” and that, he also in turn examined those to whom he says, "generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" What has this to do with the subject? What has this to do with the question under discussion? God had vouchsafed to John the testimony of most eminent holiness of life, confirmed by the previous witness of the noblest prophecy, both when he was conceived, and when he was born. But the Jews put their question, already
believing him to be a saint, to find out which of the saints he maintained himself to be, or whether he Avas himself the saint of saints, that is, Christ Jesus. So much favour indeed was shown to him, that credence would at once have I been given to whatever he might have said about himself.

Â» John i. 22. * Matt. iii. 7.

438 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

If, therefore, we are to follow this precedent in declaring that each several baptizer is now to be examined, then each must also be believed, whatever he may say of himself But who is there that is made up of deceit, whom we know that the Holy Spirit flees from, in accordance with the Scripture,^ who would not wish the best to be believed of him, or who would hesitate to bring this about by the use of any words within his reach ? Accordingly, when he shall have been asked who he is, and shall have answered that he is the faithful dispenser of God's ordinances, and that his conscience is not polluted with the stain of any crime, will this be the whole examination, or will there be a further more careful investigation into his character and life ? Assuredly there will. But it is not written that this was done by those who asked John who he was in the desert of Jordan.

Chap. xxx. â€” 35. Accordingly this precedent is wholly without bearing on the matter in hand. We might rather say that the declaration of the apostle sufficiently inculcates this care, when he says, " Let these also first be proved; then let them use the office of a deacon, being found blameless." ^ And since this is done anxiously and habitually in both parties, by almost all concerned, how comes it that so many are found to be reprobates subsequently to the time of having undertaken this ministry, except that, on the one hand, human care is often deceived, and, on the other hand, those who have begun well occasionally deteriorate ? And since things of this sort happen so frequently as to allow no man to hide them or to forget them, what is the reason that Petilianus now teaches us insultingly, in a few words, that the baptizer ought to be examined by the candidate for baptism, since our question is, by what means the conscience of the recipient is to be cleansed, when the stain on the conscience of him that gives, but not in holiness, has been concealed from view, if the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient.

" Since I see," he says, " that you are unacquainted with the order of the sacrament, I tell you this as shortly as I can:

1 Wisd. i. 5. - 1 Tim. iii. 10.
you were bound both to examine your baptizer, and to be examined by him." What an answer to make! He is surrounded in so many places by such a multitude of men that have been baptized by ministers who, having in the first instance seemed righteous and chaste, have subsequently been convicted and degraded in consequence of the disclosure of their faults; and he thinks that he is avoiding the force of this question, in which we ask by what means the conscience of the recipient is to be cleansed, when he is unacquainted with the stain upon the conscience of him that gives but not in holiness, if the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, he thinks, I say, that he is avoiding the force of this question, by saying shortly that the baptizer ought to be examined.

Kothincj is more unfortunate than not to be consistent with truth, by which every one is so shut in, that he cannot find a means of escape. We ask from whom he is to receive faith who is baptized by one that is faithless? The answer is, " He ought to have examined his baptizer." Is it therefore the case that, since he does not examine him, and so even unwittingly receives his faith from one that is faithless, he receives not faith but guilt? Why then are those men not baptized afresh, who are found to have been baptized by men that are detected and convicted reprobates, while their true character was yet concealed?

CiiAP. XXXI. â€” 36. "And whiere," he says, "is the word that I added, wittingly? so that I did not say. He that has received his faith from one that is faithless; but. He that has received his faith wittingly from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt." He therefore who received his faith unwittingly from one that was faithless, received not guilt but faith; and accordingly I ask from what source he has received it? And being thus placed in a strait, he answers, " He ought to have examined him." Granted that he ought to have done so; but, as a matter of fact, he did not, or he was not able: what is your verdict about him? Was he cleansed, or was he not? If he was cleansed, I ask from what source? For the polluted conscience of him that gave

440 ANSWER TO PETTILIAN. [BOOK IIT.

but not in holiness, with which he was unacquainted, could not cleanse him. But if he was not cleansed, command that he be so now. You give no such orders, therefore he was cleansed. Tell me, by what means? Do you, at any rate, tell me what Petilianus has failed to tell. For I propose to you the very same words which he was unable to answer. " Behold, the faithless man stands ready to baptize; but he who is to be baptized knows nothing of his faithlessness: what do you think that he will receive, â€” faith, or guilt? " This is sufficient as a constant form of question: answer, or search diligently to find what he has answered. You will find abuse that has already been convicted. He finds fault with me, as though in derision, maintaining that I ought to suggest what is probable for consideration, since I cannot see the truth.
For, repeating my words, and cutting my sentence in two, he says, "Behold, you say, the faithless man stands ready to baptize; but he who is to be baptized knows nothing of his faithlessness." Then he goes on to ask, "Who is the man, and from what corner has he started up, that you propose to us?" Just as though there were some one or two individuals, and such cases were not constantly occurring everywhere on either side! Why does he ask of me who the man in question is, and from what corner he has started up, instead of looking round, and seeming that the churches are few and far between, whether in cities or in country districts, which do not contain men detected in crimes, and degraded from the ministry? While their true character was concealed, while they wished to be thought good, though really bad, and to be reputed chaste, though really guilty of adultery, so long they were involved in deceit; and so the Holy Spirit, according to the Scripture, was fleeing from them." It is from the crowd, therefore, of these men who hitherto concealed their character that the faithless man whom I suggested started up. Why does he ask me whence he started up, shutting his eyes to all this crowd, from which sufficient noise arises to satisfy the blind, if we take into consideration none but those who might have been convicted and degraded from their office?

* Book I. c. ii. sec. 2. ^ Wisd. i. 5.

CHAP. XXXIII.] BAPTISM BY HYPOCRITES. 441

Chap. xxxii. â€” 37. What shall we say of what he himself advanced in his epistle, that "Quodvultdeus, having been convicted of two adulteries, and cast out among you, was received by those of our party?" What then (I would speak without prejudice to this man, who proved his case to be a good one, or at least persuaded men that it was so), when such men among you, being as yet undetected, administer baptism, what is received at their hands, â€” faith, or guilt? Surely not faith, because they have not the conscience of one who gives in holiness to cleanse the conscience of the recipient. But yet not guilt either, in virtue of that added word: "Tor he that has received his faith lutingly from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt." But when men were baptized by those of whom I speak, they were surely ignorant what sort of men they were. Furthermore, not receiving faith from their baptizers, who had not the conscience of one that gives in holiness, and not receiving guilt, because they were baptized not knowing but in ignorance of their faults, they therefore remained without faith and without guilt. They are not, therefore, in the number of men of such abandoned character. But neither can they be in the number of the faithful, because, as they could not receive guilt, so neither could they receive faith from their baptizers. But we see that they are reputed by you in the number of the faithful, and that no one of you declares his opinion that they ought to be baptized, but all of you hold valid the baptism which they have already received. They have therefore received faith; and yet they have not received it from those who had not the conscience of one that gives in holiness, to cleanse the conscience of the recipient. Whence then did they receive it? This is the point from which I make my effort; this is the question that I press most earnestly; to this I do most urgently demand an answer.
Chap, xxxii. â€” 38. See now how Petilianus, to avoid answering this question, or to avoid being proved to be in-

^ The Council of Carthage, held on the 13th of September 401, passed a decree in favour of receiving the clergy of the Donatists with full recognition of their orders.

442 ANSWER TO PETILIAK [BOOK III.]

capable of answering it, wanders off vainly into irrelevant matter in abuse of us, accusing us and proving nothing; and when he chances to make an endeavour to resist, with something like a show of fighting for his cause, he is everywhere overcome with the greatest ease. But yet he nowhere gives an answer of any kind to this one question which we ask: If the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, by what means is he to be cleansed who received baptism while the conscience of the giver was polluted, without the knowledge of him who was to receive it? for in these words, which he quoted from my epistle, he set me forth as asking a question, while he showed himself as giving no answer. For after saying what I have just now recited, and when, on being brought into a great strait on every side, he had been compelled to say that the baptizer ought to be examined by the candidate for baptism, and the candidate in turn by the baptizer; and when he had tried to fortify this statement by the example of John, in hopes that he might find auditors either of the greatest negligence or of the greatest ignorance, he then went on to advance other testimonies of Scripture wholly irrelevant to the matter in hand, as the saying of the eunuch to Philip, "See, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" inasmuch as he knew," says he, "that those of abandoned character were prevented;" arguing that the reason why Philip did not forbid him to be baptized was because he had proved, in his reading of the Scriptures, how far he believed in Christ, â€” as though he had prohibited Simon Magus. And again, he urges that the prophets were afraid of being deceived by false baptism, and that therefore Isaiah said, "Lying water that has not faith," ^ as though showing that water among faithless men is lying; whereas it is not Isaiah but Jeremiah that says this of lying men, calling the people in a figure water, as is most clearly:

shown in the Apocalypse.\(^\text{^}\) And again, he quotes as words of David, " Let not the oil of the sinner anoint my head,"

when David has been speaking of the flattery of the smooth speaker deceiving with false praise, so as to lead the head of


^ Kev. xvii. 15.
the man praised to wax gi-eat with pride. And this meaning is made manifest by the words immediately preceding in the same psahn. For he says, "Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me: but the oil of the sinner shall not break my head." What can be clearer than this sentence? what more manifest? For he declares that he liad rather be reproved in kindness with the sharp correction of the righteous, so that he may be healed, than anointed with the soft spealdng of the flatterer, so as to be puffed up with pride.

Chap, xxxiv. â€” 39. Petilianus quotes also the warning of the Apostle John, that we should not believe every spirit, but try the spirits w^hether they are of God,^ as though this care should be bestowed in order that the wheat should be separated from the chaff in this present world before its time, and not rather for fear that the wheat should be deceived by the chaff; or as though, even if the lying spirit should have said something that was true, it was to be denied, because the spirit whom we should abominate had said it. But if any one thinks this, he is mad enough to contend that Peter ought not to have said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,"^ because the devils had already said something to the same effect.* Seeing, therefore, that the baptism of Christ, whether administered by an unrighteous or a righteous man, is nothing but the baptism of Christ, what a cautious man and faithful Chn-istian should do is to avoid the unrighteousness of man, not to condemn the sacraments of God.

40. Assuredly in all these things Petilianus gives no answer to the question. If the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, by what means is he to be cleansed who receives baptism, when the conscience of the giver is polluted without the knowledge of the proposed recipient? A certain Cyprian, a colleague of his from Thubursicubur, was caught in a brothel with a woman of most abandoned character, and was brought before Primianus of Carthage, and condemned. !N"ow, when

^ Ps. cxli. 5. See Book ii, c. ciii. sec. 236, 237.

2 1 John iv. 1. 3 ^i^i^^ xvi. 16.

-* Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke viii. 28.
this man baptized Lcfore he was detected and condemned, it is manifest that he had not
the conscience of one that gives in holiness, so as to cleanse the conscience of the
recipient.

By what means then have they been cleansed, who at this day, after he has been
condemned, are certainly not washed again? It was not necessary to name the man, save
only to prevent Petilianus from repeating, "Who is the man, and from what corner has he
started up, that you propose to us?" Why did not your party examine that baptizer, as
John, in the opinion of Petilianus, was examined? Or was the real fact this, that they
examined him so far as man can examine man, but were unable to find him out, as he
long lay hid with cunning-falseness.

Chap. xxxv. â€” Was the water administered by this man not lying? or is the oil of the
fornicator not the oil of the sinner? or must we hold what the Catholic Church says, and
what is true, that that water and that oil are not his by whom they were administered, but
His whose name was then invoked? Why did they who were baptized by that hypocrite,
whose sins were concealed, fail to try the spirit, to prove that it was not of God? For the
Holy Spirit of discipline was even then fleeing from the hypocrite.—Was it that He was
fleeing from him, but at the same time not deserting His sacraments, though ministered
by him? Lastly, since you do not deny that those men have been already cleansed, whom
you take no care to have cleansed now that he is condemned, see whether, after shedding
over the subject so many mists in so many different ways, Petilianus, after all, in any
place gives any answer to the question by what means these men have been cleansed, if
what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient is the conscience of one that
gives in holiness, such as the man who was secretly unclean could not have had.

41. Making, then, no answer to this which is so urgently asked of him, and, in the next place, even seeking for himself a latitude of speech, he says, "Since both prophets and apostles have been cautious enough to fear these things, with

1 Wisd. i. 5.

CHAP. XXXVI.] THE FOLLOWERS OF MAXTMIANUS. 445

what face do you say that the baptism of the sinner is holy to those who Leh'eye with a
good conscience?" Just as though I or any Catholic maintained that that baptism was of
the sinner which is administered or received with a sinner to officiate, instead of being
His in virtue of belief in whose name the candidate is baptized! Then he goes off to an
invective against the traitor Judas, saying against him whatever he can, quoting the
testimony of the prophets uttered concerning him so long a time before, as though he
would steep the Church of Christ dispersed throughout the world, whose cause is
involved in this discussion, in the impiety of the traitor Judas, â€” not considering what
this very thing should have recalled to his mind, that we ought no more to doubt that that is the Church of Christ which is spread abroad throughout the world, since this was prophesied with truth so many years before, than we ought to doubt that it was necessary that Christ should be betrayed by one of His disciples, because this was prophesied in like manner.

Chap, xxxvi. â€” 42. But after this, when Petilianus came to that objection of ours, that they allowed the baptism of the followers of Maximianus, whom they had condemned,-^ â€” although in the statement of this question he thought it right to use his own words rather than mine; for neither do we assert that the baptism of sinners is of profit to us, seeing that we maintain it to belong not only to no sinners, but to no men whatsoever, in that we are' satisfied that it is Christ's alone, â€” having put the question in this form, he says, "Yet you obstinately aver that it is right that the baptism of sinners should be of profit to you, because we too, according to your statement, maintained the baptism of criminals whom we justly condemned." "When he came to this question, as I said before, even all the show of ficht which he had made deserted him. He could not find any way to go, any means of escape, any path by which, either through subtle watching or bold enterprise, he could either secretly steal away, or sally forth by force. " Althoug this," he says, " I will demonstrate in my second book, how great the difference is between those of our

* See Book i. c. x. sec. 11, 12.

446 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

party and those of yours whom you call innocent, yet, in the meantime, first extricate yourselves from the offences with which you are acquainted in your colleagues, and then seek out the mode of dealing with those whom we cast out." "Would any one, any man upon the earth, give an answer like this, save one who is setting himself against the truth, against which he cannot find any answer that can be made ? Accordingly, if we too were to use the same words: In the meantime, first extricate yourselves from the offences with which you are acquainted in your colleagues, and then bring up against us any charge connected with those whom you hold to be wicked amongst us, â€” what is the result ? Have we both won the victory, or are we both defeated ? Nay, rather He has gained the victory for His Church and in His Church, who has taught us in His Scriptures that no man should glory in micn, and that he that glorieth should glory in the Lord.-^ For behold in our case, who assert with the eloquence of truth that the man who believes is not justified by him by whom he is baptized, but by Him of whom it is written, " To him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness,"^ since we do not glory in men, and strive, when we glory, to glory in the Lord in virtue of His own gift, how wholly safe are we, whatever fault or charge Petilianus may have been able to prove concerning certain men of our communion ! For among us, whatever wicked men are either wholly undetected, or, being known to certain persons, are yet tolerated for the sake of the bond of tniity and peace, in consideration of other good men to whom their wickedness is unknown, and before whom they could not
be convicted, in order that the wheat may not be rooted up together with the tares, yet they so bear the burden of their own wickedness, that no one shares it with them except those who are pleased with their imrighteousness. Nor indeed have we any apprehension that those whom they baptize cannot be justified, since they believe in Him that justifieth the ungodly, that their faith may be counted for righteousness.\(^\)

Chap, xxxvii. â€” 43. Furthermore, according to our tenets,

1 1 Cor. iii. 21, and- i. 31. 2 r,om. iv. 5.

**CHAP. XXXVIII.**] DISCIPLINE MAINTAINED IN THE CHURCH. 447

neither he of whom Petilianus said that he was cast forth by lis for the sin of the men of Sodom, another being appointed in his place, and that afterwards he was actually restored to our college, â€” talking all the time without knowing what he was saying, â€” nor he whom he declares to have been penitent among you, in whatever degree their respective cases do or do not admit of any defence, can either of them prejudice the Church, which is spread abroad throughout all nations, and increases in the world until the harvest. For if they were really wicked members of it that you accuse, then they were already not in it, but among the chaff; but if they are good, while you defame their character with unrighteous accusations, they are themselves being tried like gold, while you burn after the similitude of chaff. Yet the sins of other men do not defile the Church, which is spread abroad throughout the whole world, according to most faithful prophecies, waiting for the end of the world as for its shore, on which, when it is landed, it will be freed from the bad fish, in company with which the inconvenience of nature might be borne without sin within the same nets of the Lord, so long as it was not right to be impatiently separated from them. Nor yet is the discipline of the Church on this account neglected by constant and diligent and prudent ministers of Christ, in whose province crimes are in such wise brought to light that they cannot be defended on any plea of probability. Innumerable proofs of this may be found in those who have been bishops or clergy of the second degree of orders, and now, being degraded, have either gone abroad into other lands through shame, or have gone over to you yourselves or to other heresies, or are known in their own districts; of whom there is so great a multitude dispersed throughout the earth, that if Petilianus, bridling for a time his rashness in speaking, had taken them into consideration, he would never have fallen into so manifestly false and groundless a misconception, as to think that we ought to join in what he says: None of you is free from guilt, where no one that is guilty is condemned.

Chap, xxxviii. â€” 44. For, to pass over others dwelling in different quarters of the earth, â€” for you will scarcely find any
I

448 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

place in which this kind of men is not represented, from whom it may appear that overseers and ministers are wont to be condemned even in the Catholic Church, â€” we need not look far to find the example of Honorius of Milevis. But take the case of Splendonius, whom Petilian ordained priest after he had been condemned in the Catholic Church, and rebaptized by himself, whose condemnation in Gaul, communicated to us by our brethren, our colleague Fortuatus caused to be publicly read in Constantina, and whom the same Petilianus afterwards cast forth on experience of his abominable deceit.

From the case of this Splendonius, when was there a time when he might not have been reminded after what fashion wicked men are degraded from their office even in the Catholic Church? I wonder on what precipice of rashness his heart was resting when he dictated those words in which he ventured to say, "No one of you is free from guilt, where no one that is guilty is condemned." Wherefore the wicked, being bodily intermingled with the good, but spiritually separated from them in the Catholic Church, both when they are undetected through the infirmity of human nature, and when they are condemned from considerations of discipline, in every case bear their own burden. And in this way those are free from danger who are baptized by them with the baptism of Christ, if they keep free from share in their sins either by imitation or consent; seeing that in like manner, if they were baptized by the best of men, they would not be justified except by Him that justifieth the ungodly: since to those that believe on Him that justifieth the ungodly their faith is counted for righteousness.

Chap. xxxix. â€” 45. But as for you, when the case of the followers of \|\text{Maximianus} is brought up against you, who, after being condemned by the sentence of a Council of 310 bishops; after being utterly defeated in the same Council, quoted in the records of so many proconsuls, in the chronicles of so many municipal towns; after being driven forth from the basilicas of which they were in possession, by the order of the judges, enforced by the troops of the several cities, were yet again

Â» That of Ba;;ai.

CHAP. XL.] THE FOLLOWERS OF MAXIMIANUS. 449

received with all honour by you, together with those whom they had baptized outside the pale of your communion, without any question respecting their baptism, â€” when
confronted, I say, with their case, you can find no reply to make. Indeed, you are
vanquished by an expressed opinion, not indeed true, but proceeding from yourselves, by
which you maintain that men perish for the faults of others in the same communion of the
sacraments, and that each man's character is determined by that of the man by whom he is
baptized, â€” that he is guilty if his baptizer is guilty, innocent if he is innocent. But if
these views are true, there can be no doubt that, to say nothing of innumerable others, you
are destroyed by the sins of the followers of Maximianus, whose guilt your party, in so
large a Council, has exaggerated even to the proportions of the sin of those whom the
earth swallowed up alive. But if the faults of the followers of Maximianus have not
destroyed you, then are these opinions false which you entertain;
and much less have
certain indefinite unproved faults of the Africans been able to destroy the entire world.
And accordingly, as the apostle says, " Every man shall bear his own burden;"^ and the
baptism of Christ is no one's except Christ's; and it is to no purpose that Petilianus
promises that he will take as the subject of his second book the charges which we bring
concerning the followers of Maximianus, entertaining too low an opinion of men's
intelliects, as though
they do not perceive that he has nothing to say.

Chap. xl. â€” 46. For if the baptism which Prsetextatus and elicianus administered in the
communion of Maximianus vas their own, why was it received by you in those whom ley
baptized as though it were the baptism of Christ? But
; it is truly the baptism of Christ, as indeed it is, and yet ould not profit those who had
received it with the guilt of chism, what do you say that you could have granted to those
whom you have received into your body with the same bap

tism, except that, now that the
offence of their accursed dividon is wiped out by the bond of peace, they should not be
ompelled to receive the sacrament of the holy laver as though

1 Gal. vi. 5.
8 2 F

450 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

they had it not, but that, as what they had was before for their destruction, so it should
now begin to be of profit to them? Or if this is not granted to them in your communion,
because it could not possibly be that it should be granted to schismatics among
schismatics, it is at any rate granted to you in the Catholic communion, not that you
should receive baptism as though it were lacking in you, but that the baptism which you
have actually received should be of profit to you. For all the sacraments of Christ, if not
combined with the love which belongs to the unity of Christ, are possessed not unto
salvation, but unto judgment. But since it is not a true verdict, but your verdict, " that
through the baptism of certain traditors the baptism of Christ has perished from the world
in general," it is with good reason that you cannot find any answer to make respecting the
recognition of the baptism of the followers of Maximianus.
47. See therefore, and remember with the most watchful care, how Petilianus has made no answer to that very question, which he proposes to himself in such terms as to seem to make it a starting-point from which to say something. For the former question he has dismissed altogether, and has not wished to speak of it to us, because I suppose it was beyond his power; nor is he at any time, up to the very end of his volume, going to say anything about it, though he quoted it from the first part of my epistle as though it were a matter calling for refutation. For even though he has added the two words which he accused me of having suppressed, as though they were the strongest bulwarks of his position, he yet lies wholly defenceless, unable to find any answer to make when he is asked, If the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient where are we to find means for cleansing the conscience of the man who is unacquainted with the conscience of him that gives, but not in holiness? and if it be the case that any one who has received his faith from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt, from what source is he to receive not guilt but faith, who is unwittingly baptized by one that is faithless? To this question it has long been manifest from what he says that he has made no answer.

48. In the next place, he has gone on, with calumnious mouth, to abuse monasteries and monks, finding fault also with me, as having been the founder of this kind of life. And what this kind of life really is he does not know at all, or rather, though it is perfectly well known throughout all the world, he pretends that he is unacquainted with it. Then, asserting that I had said that Christ was the baptizer, he has also added certain words from my epistle as though I had set this forth as my own sentiment, when I had really quoted it as his and yours, as I will presently show clearly to the best of my ability. Then he has endeavoured to show us, in many unnecessary words, that Christ does not baptize, but that baptism is administered in His name, at once in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; of which Trinity itself he has said, either because it was what he wished, or because it was all that he could say, that "Christ is the centre of the Trinity." In the next place, he has taken, occasion of the names of the sorcerers Simon and Barjesus to vent against us what insults he thought fit. Then he goes on, keeping in guarded suspense the case of Optatus of Thamugas, that he might not be steeped in the odium that arose from it, denying that either he or his party could have passed judgment upon him, and actually intimating in respect of him, that he was crushed in consequence of suggestions from myself.

Chap. xli. â€” 49. Lastly, he has ended his epistle with an exhortation and warning to his own party, that they should not be deceived by us, and with a lamentation over those of
our party, that we had made them worse than they had been before. Having therefore carefully considered and discussed these points, as appears with sufficient clearness from the Ptolemy of the epistle which he wrote, Petilianus has made no answer at all to the position which I advanced to begin with in my epistle, when I asked. Supposing it to be true, as he asserts, that the conscience of one that gives â€” or rather, to add that he considers so great a support to his argument â€” that

^ See Possidius* Life of St. Augustine, cc. v.-xi.
' See c. xlv. sec. 54.

452 ANSWER TO PETILLVNN. [BOOK III.]

the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, by what means he who receives baptism is to be cleansed, when, if the conscience of the giver is polluted, it is without the knowledge of the proposed recipient? Whence it is not surprising that a man resisting in the cause of falsehood, pressed hard in the straits of the truth that contradicts it, should have chosen rather to gasp forth mad abuse, than to walk in the path of that truth which cannot be overcome.

50. And now I would beg of you to pay especial attention to the next few words, that I may show you clearly what he has been afraid of in not answering this, and that I may bring into the light what he has endeavoured to shroud in obscurity. It certainly was in his power, when we asked by what means he is to be cleansed, who receives baptism when the conscience of the giver is polluted without the knowledge of the proposed recipient, to answer with the greatest ease. From our Lord God; and at any rate to say with the utmost confidence, God wholly cleanses the conscience of the recipient, when he is unacquainted with the stain upon the conscience of him that gives but not in holiness. But when a man had already been compelled by the tenets of your sect to rest the cleansing of the recipient on the conscience of the giver, in that he had said, " For the conscience of him that gives," oi

" of him that gives in holiness, is looked for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient," he was naturally afraid lest any one should seem to be better baptized by a wicked man who concealed his wickedness, than by one that was genuinely and manifestly good; for in the former case his cleansing would depend not on the conscience of one that gave in holiness but on the most excellent holiness of God Himself. Witt this apprehension, therefore, that he might not be involved in so great an absurdity, or rather madness, as not to know where he could make his escape, he was unwilling to say by what means the conscience of the recipient should be cleansed when he does not know of the stain upon the conscience of him that gives but not in holiness; and he thought it better i by making a general confusion with his quarrelsome uproar, to conceal what was asked of him, than to give a reply to his:
question, which should at once discomfit him; never, however, thinking that our letter could be read by men of such good understanding, or that his would be read by those who had read ours as well, to which he has professed to make an answer.

Chap. xlili. â€” 51. For what I just now said is put with the greatest clearness in that very epistle of mine, in answering which he has said nothing; and I would beg of you to listen for a few moments to what he there has done. And although you are partisans of his, and hate us, yet, if you can, bear it with equanimity. For in his former epistle, to the first portion of which â€” the only portion which had then come into our hands â€” I had in the first instance made my reply, he had so rested the hope that is found in baptism in the baptizer, as to say, "For everything consists of an origin and root; and if anything has not a head, it is nothing." Since then Petilianus had said this, not wishing anything to be understood by the origin and root and head of baptizing a man, except the man by whom he might be baptized, I made a comment, and said: "We ask, therefore, in a case where the faithlessness of the baptizer is undetected, if then the man whom he baptizes receives faith and not guilt? if then the baptizer is not his origin and root and head, who is it from whom he receives faith? where is the origin from which he springs? where is the root of which he is a shoot? where the head which is his starting-point? Can it be that, when he who is baptized is unaware of the faithlessness of his baptizer, it is then Christ who is the origin and root and head?" This therefore I say and exclaim now also, as I did there as well: "Alas for human rashness and conceit! Why do you not allow that it is always Christ who gives faith, for the purpose of making a man a Christian by giving it? Why do you not allow that Christ is always the origin of the Christian, that the Christian always plants his root in Christ, that Christ is the Head of the Christian? Will it then be urged that, even where spiritual grace is dispensed to those that believe by the hands of a holy and faithful minister, it is still not the minister himself who justifies, but that One of whom it is said, 'He justifieth the ungodly'? But unless we admit this, either the Apostle Paul was the head and origin of those whom he had planted, or Apollos the root of those whom he had watered, rather than He who had given them faith in believing; whereas the same Paul says, 'I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So that neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.' Nor was the apostle himself their root, but rather He who says, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches.' How, too, could he be their head, when he says that 'we, being many, are one body in Christ,' and expressly declares in many passages that Christ Himself is the Head of the whole body? Wherefore, whether a man receive the sacrament of baptism from a faithful or a faithless minister, his whole hope is in Christ, that he fall not under the condemnation, that 'Cursed is he that placeth his hope in man!'"
Chap. xliii. 52. These things, I think, I put with clearness and truth in my former epistle, when I made answer to Petilianus. These things I have also now quoted, intimating and commending to you the truth that our faith rests on something else altogether than man, and that we believe that the Lord Christ is the cleanser and the justifier of men that believe in Him that justifieth the ungodly, that their faith may be counted unto them for righteousness, whether the man who administers the baptism be righteous, or such an impious and deceitful man as the Holy Spirit flees. Then I went on to point out what absurdity would follow were it otherwise, and I said, as I say now: "Otherwise, if each man is born again in spiritual grace of the same sort as he by whom he is baptized, and if, when he who baptizes him is manifestly a good man, then he himself gives faith, he is himself the origin and root and head of him who is being born; whilst, when the baptizer is faithless without its being laiown, then the baptized person receives faith from Christ, then he derives his origin from Christ, then he is rooted in Christ, then he boasts in Christ as his head; in that case all who are baptized should

^ Rom. iv. 5. '1 Cor. iii. 6, 7. ^ John xv. 5.

* Horn. xii. 5. ' Book i. c. v. sees. 6, 7.

CHAP. XLIV.] THE BAPTIZED NOT THE FRUIT OF THE BAPTIZEP. 455

wish that they might have faithless baptizers, and be ignorant of their faithlessness. For however good their baptizers might have been, Christ is certainly beyond comparison better still, and He will then be the Head of the baptized if the faithlessness of the baptizer shall escape detection. But if it be perfect madness to hold such a view (for it is Christ always that justifieth the ungodly, by changing his immodesty into Christianity; it is from Christ always that faith is received; Christ is always the origin of the regenerate, and the Head of the Church), what weight then will those words have, which thoughtless readers value by their sound, without inquiring what their inner meaning is?"^ This much I said at that time; this is written in my epistle.

Chap. xlv\ â€” 53. Then a little after, as he had said, "This being so, brethren, what j)erversity must that be, that he who is guilty by reason of his own faults should make another free from guilt, whereas the Lord Jesus Christ says, 'Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit: do men gather grapes of thorns V ^ and again,

' A good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things: and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things,' " ^ â€” by which words Petilianus showed with sufficient clearness, that the man who baptizes is to be looked on as the tree, and he who is baptized as the fruit: to this I had answered, If the good tree is the good baptizer, and his good fruit he whom he has baptized, then any one who has been baptized by a bad man, even if his wickedness be not manifest, cannot by any
possibility be good, for he is sprung from an evil tree. For a good tree is one thing; a tree whose quality is concealed, but yet bad, is another. What else did I wish to be understood by those words, except what I had stated a little above, that the tree and its fruit do not represent him that baptizes and him that is baptized; but that the man ought to be received as signified by the tree, his works and his life by the fruit, which are always good in the good man, and evil in the evil man, lest this absurdity should follow, that a man should be bad when bap-

* Book I. c. vi. sees. 6, 7. 2 Tyj^tt. vii. 17, 16. 3 Matt. xii. 35.

456 ANSWER TO PETILTAN. [BOOK III.]

tized by a bad man, even though his wickedness were concealed, being, as it were, the fruit of a tree whose quality was unknown, but yet bad? To which he has answered notliing whatsoever.

Chap. xlv. â€” 54. But that neither he nor any one of you might say that, when any one of concealed bad character is the baptizer, then he whom he baptizes is not his fruit, but the fruit of Christ, I went on immediately to point out what a foolish error is consequent also on that opinion; and I repeated, though in other words, what I had said shortly before: If, when the quality of the tree is concealed, but evil, any one who may have been baptized by it is born, not of it, but of Christ, then they are justified with greater holiness who are baptized by wicked men, whose wickedness is concealed, than they who are baptized by men that are genuinely and manifestly good.— Petilianus then, being hemmed in by these embarrassing straits, said nothing about the earlier part on which these remarks depended, and in his answer so quoted this absurd consequence of his error as though I had stated it as my own opinion, whereas it was really stated in order that he might perceive the amount of evil consequent on his opinion, and so be forced to alter it. Imposing, therefore, this deceit on those who hear and read his words, and never for a moment supposing that what we have written could be read, he begins a vehement and petulant invective against me, as though I had thought that all who are baptized ought to wish that they might have as their baptizers men who are faithless, without knowing this themselves, since, however good the men might be whom they had to baptize them, Christ is incomparably better, who will then be the head of the person baptized, if the faithless baptizer conceal his true character. As though, too, I had thought that those were justified with greater holiness who are baptized by evil men, whose character is concealed, than those who are baptized by men that are genuinely and manifestly good; when this marvellous piece of madness was only mentioned by me as following necessarily on the opinion of those who think with Petilianus, that a

* See Book i. cc. vii. viii. sees. 8, 9.
man, when baptized, bears the same relation to his baptizer as fruit does to the tree from which it springs, — good fruit springing from a good tree, evil fruit from an evil tree, seeing that they, when they are bidden by me to answer whose fruit they think a man that is baptized to be when he is baptized by one of secretly bad character, since they do not venture to rebaptize him, are compelled to answer, that then he is not the fruit of that man of secretly bad character, but that he is the fruit of Christ. And so they are followed by a consequence contrary to their inclination, which none but a madman would entertain, — that if a man is the fruit of his baptizer when he is baptized by one that is genuinely and manifestly good, but when he is baptized by one of secretly bad character, he is then not his fruit, but the fruit of Christ, it cannot but follow that they are justified with greater holiness who are baptized by men of secretly bad character, than those who are baptized by men who are genuinely and manifestly good.

Chap. xlvi. — 55. "Now, seeing that when Petilianus attributes this to me as though it were my opinion, he makes it an occasion for a serious and vehement invective against me, he at any rate shows, by the very force of his indignation, how great a sin it is in his opinion to entertain such views; and, accordingly, whatever he has wished it to appear that he said against me for holding this opinion will be found to have been really said against himself, who is proved to entertain the view. For he shows herein by how great force on the side of truth he is overcome, when he cannot find any other door of escape except to pretend that it was I who entertained the views which really are his own. Just as if those whom the apostle confutes for maintaining that there was no resurrection from the dead, were to wish to bring an accusation against the same apostle, on the ground that he said, "Then is Christ not risen," and to maintain that the preaching of the apostle was vain, and the faith of those who believed in it was also vain, and that false witnesses were found against God in those who had said that He raised up Christ from the dead. This is what Petilianus wished to do to me, never expecting that any one could read what I had written, which he could not answer, though very anxious that men should believe him to have answered it. But just as, if any one had done this to the apostle, the whole calumnious accusation would have recoiled on the head of those who made it so soon as the entire passage in his epistle was read, and the preceding words restored, on which any one who reads them must perceive that those which I have quoted depend, in the same way, so soon as the preceding words of my epistle are restored, the accusation which Petilianus brings against me is cast back with all the greater force upon his own head, from which he had striven to remove it.

56. For the apostle, in confuting those who denied that there was any resurrection of the dead, corrects their view by
showing the absurdity which follows those who entertain this view, however loth they may be to admit the consequence, in order that, while they shrink in abhorrence from what is impious to say, they may correct what they have ventured to believe. His argument continues thus: "But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God: because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ; whom He raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not,"^ in order that, while they fear to say that Christ had not risen, with the other wicked and accursed conclusions which follow from such a statement, they may correct what they said in a spirit of folly and infidelity, that there is no resurrection of the dead. If, therefore, you take away what stands at the head of this argument, "If there be no resurrection of the dead," the rest is spoken amiss, and yet must be ascribed to the apostle. But if you restore the supposition on which the rest depends, and place as the hypothesis from which you start, "There is no resurrection of the dead," then the conclusion will follow rightly, "Then is Christ not risen, and our preaching is vain, and your faith is also vain," with all the rest that is appended to it. And all these statements of the apostle are wise and good, since whatever evil they have in them is to be imputed to those who denied the resurrection of the dead. In the same manner also, in my epistle, take away my supposition, If every one is born again in spiritual grace of the same character as he by whom he is baptized, and if, when the man who baptizes is genuinely and manifestly good, he does of himself give faith, he is the origin and root and head of him who is being born again; but when the baptizer is a wicked man, and undetected in his wickedness, then each man who is baptized receives his faith from Christ, derives his origin from Christ, is rooted in Christ, makes his boast in Christ as his Head: — take away, I say, this hypothesis, on which all that follows depends, and there remains a saying of the worst description which must fairly be ascribed to me, viz., that all who are baptized should desire that they should have faithless men to baptize them, and be ignorant of their faithlessness. For however good men they may have to baptize them, Christ is incomparably better, who will then be the Head of the baptized, if the baptizer be a faithless man, but undetected.— But let the statements that you make be restored, and then it will forthwith be found that this which depends upon it and follows in close connection from it is not my sentiment, and that any evil which it contains is retorted on the opinion which you maintain. In like manner, take away the supposition. If the good baptizer is the good tree, so that he whom he has baptized is his good fruit, and if, when the character of an evil tree is concealed, then any one that has been baptized by it is born, not of it, but of Christ, â€” take away this hypothesis, which you were compelled to confess had its origin in your sect and in the letter of Petilianus, and the mad conclusion which follows from it "^\*ill be
mine, to be ascribed to me alone. Then they are justified with greater holiness who are
baptized by undetected evil men, than they who are baptized by men that are genuinely
and manifestly good. But restore the hypothesis on which this depends, and you will at
once see both that I have been right in making this statement for your correction, and that
all that with good reason displeases you in this opinion has recoiled upon your own head.

^ See Book i. c. vi. sec. 7.
^ See Book i. c. viii. sec. 9.

460 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

Chap. xlvii. â€“ 57. Furthermore, in like manner as those who denied the resurrection of
the dead could in no way defend themselves from the evil consequences which the
apostle proved to follow from their premises, in order to refute their error, saying, "Then
is not Christ raised," with the other conclusions of similar atrocity, unless they changed
their opinions, and acknowledged that there was a resurrection of the dead; so is it
necessary that you should change your opinion, and cease to rest on man the hope of
those who are baptized, if you do not wish to have imputed to you what we say for your
refutation and correction, that they are justified with greater holiness who are baptized by
undetected evil men than those that are baptized by men that are genuinely and
manifestly good. For if you make your first assertion, see what I say, unless some one
shall suppress this a second time, and make out that I have entertained the opinion which
I quote for your refutation and correction. See what I lay down as my premiss, from
which hangs the statement which I
shall subsequently make: If you rest the hope of those who are to be baptized on the man
by whom they are baptized, and if you maintain, as Petilianus wrote, that the man who
baptizes is the origin and root and head of him that is baptized; if you receive as the good
tree the good man who baptizes, and as his good fruit the man who has been baptized by
him; then you put it into our heads to ask from what origin he springs, from
what root he
shoots up, to what head he is joined, from what tree he is born, who is baptized by an
undetected bad man? For to this inquiry belongs also the following, to which I have over
and over again maintained that Petilianus has given no reply: By what means is a man to
be cleansed who receives baptism while he is ignorant of the stain upon the conscience of
him that gives but not in holiness? for this conscience of him that gives, or of him that
gives in holiness, Petilianus wishes to be the origin, root, head, seed, tree from which the
sanctification of the baptized has its existence, â€“ springs, begins, sprouts forth, is born.
J

Chap. xlvii. â€“ 58. When we ask, therefore, by what means the man is to be cleansed
whom you do not baptize again in
your communion, even when it has been made clear that he has been baptized by some one who, on account of some concealed iniquity, did not at the time possess the conscience of one that gives in holiness, what answer do you intend to make, except that he is cleansed by Christ or by God, although, indeed, Christ is Himself God over all, blessed for ever,\(^1\) or by the Holy Spirit, since He too is Himself God, because this Trinity of Persons is one God? Whence Peter, after saying to a man, "Thou hast dared to lie to the Holy Ghost," immediately went on to add what was the nature of the Holy Ghost, saying, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." \(^2\) Lastly, even if you were to say that he was cleansed and purified by an angel when he is unacquainted with the pollution in the conscience of him that gives but not in holiness, take notice that it is said of the saints, when they shall have risen to eternal life, that they shall then be equal to the angels of God.\(^3\) Any one, therefore, that is cleansed even by an angel is cleansed with greater holiness than if he were cleansed by any kind of conscience of man. Why then are you unwilling that it should be said to you, If cleansing is wrought by the hands of a man when he is genuinely and manifestly good; but when the man is evil, but undetected in his wickedness, then since he has not the conscience of one that gives in holiness, it is no longer he, but God, or an angel, that cleanses; therefore they who are baptized by undetected evil men are justified with greater holiness than those who are baptized by men that are genuinely and manifestly good? And if this opinion is displeasing to you, as in reality it ought to be displeasing to every one, then take away the source from which it springs, correct the premiss to which it is indissolubly bound; for if these do not precede as hypotheses, the other will not follow as a consequence.

Chap. xlix. â€“ 59. Do not therefore any longer say, "The conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient," lest you be asked. When a stain on the conscience of the giver is concealed, who cleanses the conscience of the recipient? And when you

\(^1\) Rom. ix. 5. 2 Acts v. 3, 4. 3 \(^2\)att. xxii. 30.

462 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK IH.

shall have answered, Either God or an angel (since there is no other answer which you possibly can make), then should follow a consequence whereby you would be confounded:

Those then are justified with greater holiness who are baptized by undetected evil men, so as to be cleansed by God or by an angel, than those who are baptized by men who are genuinely and manifestly good, who cannot be compared with God or with the angels. But prevail upon yourselves to say what is said by Truth and by the Catholic Church, that not only when the minister of baptism is evil, but also when he is holy and good, hope is still not to be placed in man, but in Him that justifieth the ungodly, in whom if any man believe, his faith is counted for righteousness.\(^4\) For when we say, Christ baptizes, we do
not mean by a visible ministry, as Petilianus believes, or would have men think that he believes, to be our meaning, but by a hidden grace, by a hidden power in the Holy Spirit, as it is said of Him by John the Baptist, "The same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Nor has He, as Petilianus says, now ceased to baptize; but He still does it, not by any ministry of the body, but by the invisible working of His majesty. For in that we say. He Himself baptizes, we do not mean. He Himself holds and dips in the water the bodies of the believers; but He Himself invisibly cleanses, and that He does to the whole Church without exception.

Nor, indeed, may we refuse to believe the words of the Apostle Paul, who says concerning Him, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word." Here you see that Christ sanctifies; here you see that Christ also Himself washes. Himself purifies with the self-same washing of water by the word, wherein the ministers are seen to do their work in the body. Let no one, therefore, claim unto himself what is of God. The hope of men is only sure when it is fixed on Him who cannot deceive, since "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man," and "Blessed is that man that maketh the Lord His trust." For the faithful steward shall receive as

Â» Rom. iv. 5. Â« Jolm i. 33. ^ Epli. v. 25, 26.

* Jer. xvii. 5. * Ps. il. 4.

I

CHAP. L. — CHRIST IS ALWAYS THE SOURCE OF BAPTISM. 46 3

liis reward eternal life; but the unfaithful steward, when he dispenses his lord's provisions to his fellow-servants, must in no wise be conceived to make the provisions useless by his own unfaithfulness. For the Lord says, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works." And this is therefore the injunction that is given us against evil stewards, that the good things of God should be received at their hands, but that we should beware of their own evil life, by reason of its unlikeness to what they thus dispense.

Chap. l. â€” 60. But if it is clear that Petilianus has made no answer to those first words of my epistle, and that, when he has endeavoured to make an answer, he has shown all the more clearly how incapable he was of answering, what shall I say in respect of those portions of my writings which he has not even attempted to answer, on which he has not touched at all? And yet if any one shaU be willing to review their character, having in his possession both my writings and those'
of Petilianus, I think he wiU understand by what confirmation they are supported. And
that I may show you this as shortly as I can, I would beg you to call to mind the proofs
that were advanced from holy Scripture, or refresh your memory by reading both what he
has brought forward as against me, and what I have brought forward in my answer as
against you, and see how I have shown that the passages which he has brought forward
are antagonistic not to me, but rather to yourselves; whilst he has altogether failed to
touch those which I brought forward as especially necessary, and in that one passage
of the apostle which he has endeavoured to make use of as though it favoured him, you will
see how he found himself without the means of making his escape.

61. For the portion of this epistle which he wrote to his adherents Â” from the beginning
down to the passage in which he says, " This is the commandment of the Lord to us, '
When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; I ^ and if they persecute you in
that also, flee ye to a third" Â” came first into my hands, and to it I made a reply; and
when this
^ Matt, xxiii. 3. 2 ^att. x. 23.

464 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. ' [BOOK III.]

reply of ours had fallen, in turn, into his hands, he wrote in answer to it this which I am
now refuting, showing that he has made no reply to mine. In that first portion, therefore,
of his writings to which I first replied, these are the passages of Scripture which he
conceives to be opposed to us: " Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt
tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Do men gather grapes of thorns ? " ^ And again: " A good
man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man,
out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things." ^ And again: " When a man is
baptized by one that is dead, his washing profiteth him nothing." ^ From these passages
he is anxious to show that the man who is baptized is made to partake of the character of
him by whom he is baptized; I, on the other hand, have shown in what sense these
passages should be received, and that they could in no wise aid his view. But as for the
other expressions which he has used against evil and accursed men, I have sufficiently
shown that they are applicable to the Lord's wheat, dispersed, as was foretold and
promised, throughout the world, and that they might rather be used by us against you.
Examine them again, and you will find it so.

62. But the passages which I have advanced to assert the truth of the Catholic Church, are
the following: As regards the question of baptism, that our being born again, cleansed,
justified by the grace of God, should not be ascribed to the man who administered the
sacrament, I quoted these: " It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in
man;" *
and, " Cursed be the man that trusteth in man;" ^ and that,
*! Salvation belongeth unto the Lord;" ^ and that, " Vain is the help of man;" ^ and that, "
Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the
increase;"^ and that He in whom men believe justifieth the ungodly, that his faith may be
counted to him for righteousness. But in behalf of the unity of the Church itself, which is spread abroad throughout all the world, with which you do

Â» Matt. vii. 17, 16. Â» Matt. xii. 35.

'â– ^ Ecclus. xxxiv. 25. See Book i. c. ix. sec. 10.

* Ps. cxviii. 8. ** Jer. xvii. 5. * Ps. iii. 8.

7 Ps. lx. 11. 8 1 Cor. iii. 7. Â» Rom. iv. 5.

CHAP. LT.] PETILIANUS IGNORES AUGUSTINE'S PROOFS. 465

not hold communion, I urged that the following passages were prophesied of Christ: that " He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth;"^ and, " I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession;"^ and that the covenant of God made with Abraham may be quoted in behalf of our, that is, of the Catholic, communion, in which it is written, " In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;"^ which seed the apostle interprets, saying, " And to thy seed, which is Christ." * Whence it is evident that in Christ not only Africans or Africa, but all the nations through which the Catholic Church is spread abroad, should receive the blessing which was promised so long before.

And that the chaff is to be with the wheat even to the time of the last winnowing, that no one may excuse the sacrilege of his own separation from the Church by calumnious accusations of other men's offences, if he shall have left or deserted the communion of all nations; and to show that the society of Christians may not be divided on account of evil ministers, that is, evil rulers in the Church, I further quoted the passage, " All whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say and do not."^ With regard to these passages of holy Scripture which I advanced to prove my points, he neither showed how hey ought to be otherwise interpreted, so as to prove that they neither made for us nor against you, nor was he willing to touch them in any way. Nay, his whole object was, could t have been achieved, that by the tumultuous outpouring of lis abuse, it might never occur to any one at all, who after eading my epistle might have been willing to read his as veil, that these things had been said by me.

Chap. li. â€” 63. ^N'ext, listen for a short time to the kind of

jury in which he has tried to use, in his own behalf, the

assages which I had advanced from the writings of the Apostle
'auL. " For you asserted," he says, "that the Apostle Paul finds iTilt with those who used to say that they were of the Apostle
^ Ps. Ixxii. 8. 2 Ps. ii. 8. 3 Qg^^ xxii. 18.
* Gal. iii. 16. Â» Matt, xxiii. 3.
3 2 G

466 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

Paul, saying, ' Was Paul crucified for you ? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul V ^
Wherefore, if they were in error, and would have perished had they not been corrected,
because they wished to be of Paul, what hope can there possibly be for those who have
wished to be of Donatus ? For this is their sole object, that the origin, and root, and head
of him that is baptized should be none other than he by whom he is baptized." ^
These words, and this confirmation from the writings of the apostle, he has quoted from
my epistle, and he has proposed to himself the task of refuting them. Go on then, I beg of
you, to see how he has fulfilled the task. For he says, " This assertion is meaningless, and
inflated, and childish, and foolish, I
and something very far from a true exposition of our faith. For you would only be right in
asserting this, if we were to say.
We have been baptized in the name of Donatus, or Donatus was crucified for us, or we
have been baptized in our own name.
But since such things as this neither have been said nor are said by us, Â” seeing that we
follow the formula of the holy Trinity, Â” it is clear that you are mad to bring such
accusations against us. Or if you think that we have been baptized in the name of
Donatus, or in our own name, you are miserably deceived, and at the same time confess
in your sacrilege that you on your part defile your wretched selves in the name of
Cscilianus." This is the answer which Petilianus has made to those arguments of mine,
not supposing Â” or rather making a noise that no one might suppose Â” that he has
made no answer at all which could bear in any way upon the question which is under
discussion. For who could fail to see that this witness of the apostle has been adduced by
us with aJ
the more propriety, in that you do not say that you were baptized in the name of Donatus,
or that Donatus was crucified for you, and yet separate yourselves from the communion o:
the Catholic Church out of respect to the party of Donatus as also those whom Paul was
rebuking certainly did no say that they had been baptized in the name of Paul, or that Paul
had been crucified for them, and yet they were makiu a schism in the name of Paul. As
therefore in their case for whom Christ, not Paid, was crucified, and who were bap
^ 1 Cor. L 13. ^ See Book i. cc. iii. iv. sees. 4, 5.
tized in the name of Christ, not of Paul, and who yet said, "I am of Paul," the rebuke is used with all the more propriety, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" to make them cling to Him who was crucified for them, and in whose name they were baptized, and not be guilty of division in the name of Paul; so in your case, also, the rebuke, Was Donatus crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Donatus? is used all the more appositely, because you do not say. We were baptized in the name of Donatus, and yet desire to be of the party of Donatus. For you know that it was Christ who was crucified for you, and Christ in whose name you were baptized; and yet, out of respect to the name and party of Donatus, you show such obstinacy in fighting against the unity of Christ, who was crucified for you, and in whose name you were baptized.

Chap. Ln. â€” 64. But if you wish to see that the object of Petilianus in his writings really was to prove "that the origin, and root, and head of him that is baptized is none other than he by whom he is baptized," and that this has not been asserted by me without meaning, or childishly, or foolishly, review the beginning of the epistle itself to which I made my reply, or rather pay careful attention to me as I quote it. "The conscience," he says, "of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient; for he who has received his faith from one that is faithless, receives not faith but guilt." And as though some one had said to him. "Whence do you derive your proof of [this? he goes on to say, "For everything has its existence 'from a source and root; and if anything has not a head, it is pothing; nor does anything well confer a new birth, unless it [be born again of good seed. And this being so, brethren,

; what perversity must it be to maintain that he who is guilty [by reason of his own offences should make another free from lilt; whereas our Lord Jesus Christ says, 'A good tree

)ringeth forth good fruit: do men gather grapes of thorns?' [And again, 'A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, pringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil

reasure, bringeth forth evil things.' And again, 'When a

468 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [EOOK IH.

man is baptized by one that is dead, his washing profiteth him nothing." You see to what end all these things tend, viz.
that the conscience of him that gives in holiness (lest any one, by receiving his faith from one that is faithless, should receive not faith but guilt) should be itself the origin, and root, and head, and seed of him that is baptized. For, wishing to prove that the conscience of one that gives in holiness is what we look for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient, and that he receives not faith but guilt, who wittingly receives his faith from one that is faithless, he has added immediately afterwards, " For everything has its existence from a source and root; and if anything has not a head, it is nothing; nor does anything well confer a new birth, unless it be born again of good seed." And for fear that any one should be so dull as still not to understand that in each case he is speaking of the man by whom a person is baptized, he explains this afterwards, and says, " This being so, brethren, what perversity must it be to maintain that he who is guilty by reason of his own offences should make another free from guilt; whereas our Lord Jesus Christ says, ' A good tree bringeth forth good fruit: do men gather grapes of thorns ? ' " And lest, by some incredible stupidity of understanding, the hearer or seer should be blind enough not to see that he is speaking of the man that baptizes, he adds another passage, where he actually specifies the man. " And again," he says, " ' A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things;' and again, ' When a man is baptized by one that is dead, his washing profiteth him nothing.' " Certainly it is now plain, certainly he needs no longer any interpreter, or disputant, or demonstrator, to show that the object of his party is to prove that the origin, and root, and head of him that is baptized is none other than he by whom he is baptized. And yet, being overwhelmed by the force of truth, and as though forgetful of what he had said before, Petilianus acknowledges afterwards to me that Christ is the origin and root of them that are regenerate, and the Head of the Church, and not any one that may happen to be the dispenser and minister of baptism. For having said that the apostles used

CHAP. LII.] DONATUS REFUTES HIMSELF. 469

to baptize in the name of Christ, and set forth Christ as the foundation of their faith, to make men Christians, and being fiin to prove this, too, by passages and examples from holy Scripture, just as though we were denying it, he says, " Where is now that voice, from which issued the noise of those minute and constant petty questionings, wherein, in the spirit of envy and self-conceit, you uttered many involved sayings about Christ, and for Christ, and in Christ, in opposition to the rashness and haughtiness of men ? Lo, Christ is the origin, Christ is the head, Christ is the root of the Christian." When, therefore, I heard this, what could I do but give thanks to Christ, who had compelled the man to make confession ? All those things, therefore, are false which he said in the beginning of his epistle, when he wished to persuade us that the conscience of one that gives in holiness must be looked for to cleanse the conscience of the recipient; and that when one has wittingly received his faith from one that is faithless, he receives not faith but guilt. For, wishing as it were to show clearly how much rested in the man that baptizes, he had added what he seems to think most weighty proofs, saying,
"For everything has its existence from a source and root; and if anything has not a head, it is nothing." But afterwards, when he says what we also say, "Lo, Christ is the origin, Christ is the head, Christ is the root of the Christian," he wipes out what he had said before, "that the conscience of one that gives in holiness is the origin, and root, and head of the recipient." The truth, therefore, has prevailed, so that the man who is desirous to receive the baptism of Christ should not rest his hope upon the man who administers the sacrament, but should approach in all security to Christ Himself, as to the source which is not changed, to the root which is not plucked up, to the head which is not cast down.

Chap. liii. â€” 65. Then who is there that could fail to perceive from what a vein of conceit it proceeds, that in explaining as it were the declaration of the apostle, he says, "He who said, 'I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase,' surely meant nothing else than this, that 'I made a man a catechumen in Christ, Apollo baptized him; God con-

470 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

firmed what we had done?" Why then did not Petilianus add what the apostle added, and I especially took pains to quote, "So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase?"â€”And if he be willing to interpret this on the same principle as what he has set down above, it follows beyond all doubt, that neither is he that baptizeth anything, but God that giveth the increase. For what matter does it make in reference to the question now before us, in what sense it has been said, "I planted, Apollos watered," â€”whether it is really to be taken as equivalent to his saying, "I made a catechumen, Apollos baptized him;" or whether there be any other more apposite interpretation? â€”For in the mean time, according to his own interpretation of the words, neither is he that makes the catechumen anything, neither he that baptizes, but God that gives the increase. But there is a great difference between confirming what another does, and doing anything oneself. For He who gives the increase does not confirm a tree or a vine, but creates it. For by that increase it comes to pass that even a piece of wood planted in the ground produces and establishes a root; by that increase it comes to pass that a seed cast into the earth puts forth a shoot. But why should we make a longer dissertation on this point? It is enough that, according to Petilianus himself, neither he that makes a catechumen, nor he that baptizes, is anything, but God that gives the increase. But when would Petilianus say this, so that we should understand that he meant. Neither is Donatus of Carthage anything, neither Januarius, neither Petilianus? When would the swelling of his pride permit him to say this, which now causes the man to think himself to be something, when he is nothing, deceiving himself?â€”

Chap. liv. â€” 66. Finally, again, a little afterwards, when he resolved and was firmly purposed, as it were, to reconsider once more the words of the apostle which we had
brought up against him, he was unwilling to set down this that I had said, preferring something else in which by some means or other the swelling of human pride might find means to breathe.
1 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7. 2 q^1 y^ 3.

II

CHAP. LV.] THE TRUE FUNCTION OF THE MINISTER. 471

" For to reconsider," lie says, " those words of the apostle, on which you founded an argument against us; he said, ' What is Apollos, what is Paul, save only ministers of Him in whom ye have believed ? ' ^ What else, for example, does he say to all of us than this. What is Donatus of Carthage, what is Januarius, what is Petilianus, save only ministers of Him in whom ye have believed ? " I did not bring forward this passage of the apostle, but I did bring forward that which he has been unwilling to quote, "I^neither he that planteth is anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." But Petilianus was willing to insert those words of the apostle, in which he asks what is Paul, and what is Apollos, and answers that " They are ministers of Him in whom ye have believed." This the muscles of the heretic's neck could bear; but he was wholly unable to endure the other, in which the apostle did not ask and answer what he was, but said that he was nothing. But now I am willing to ask whether it be true that the minister of Christ is nothing. Who will say so much as this ? In what sense, therefore, is it true that " Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase," except that he who is something in one point of view may be nothing in another ?

For ministering and dispensing the word and sacrament he is something, but for purifying and justifying he is nothing, seeing that this is not accomplished in the inner man, except by Him by whom the whole man was created, and who while He remained God was made man, â€“ by Him, that is, of whom it was said, " Purifying their hearts by faith; " ^ and " To him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly." And this testimony Petilianus has been willing to set forth in my words, whilst in his own he has neither handled it, nor even touched it.

Chap. lv. â€“ 67. A minister, therefore, that is a dispenser of the word and sacrament of the gospel, if he is a good man, becomes a fellow-partner in the working of the gospel; but if he is a bad man, he does not therefore cease to be a dispenser of the gospel For if he is good, he does it of his own free will;

^ Ministri ejus cui credidistis. See 1 Cor. iii. 4, 5.
^ Acts XV. 9. 2 Rom. iv. 5.
but if he is a bad man, â€” that is, one who seeks his own and not the things of Jesus Christ, â€” he does it unwillingly, for the sake of other things which he is seeking after. See, however, what the same apostle has said: " For if I do this thing willingly," he says, "I have a reward; but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me;" ^ as though he were to say. If I, being good, announce what is good, I attain unto it also myself; but if, being evil, I announce it, yet I announce what is good. For has he in any way said, If I do it against my will, then shall I not be a dispenser of the gospel? Peter and the other disciples announce the cfood tidiness, as beinor rood themselves. Judas did it a^^ainst his will, but yet, when he was sent, he announced it in common with the rest. They have a reward; to him a dispensation of the gospel was committed. But they who received the gospel at the mouth of all those witnesses, could not be cleansed and justified by him that planted, or by him that watered, but by Him alone that gives the increase. For neither are we going to say that Judas did not baptize, seeing that he was still among the disciples when that which is written was being accomplished, " Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples." ^ Are we to suppose that, because he had not betrayed Christ, therefore he who had the bag, and bare what was put therein,^ was still enabled to dispense grace without prejudice to those who received it, though he could not be an upright guardian of the money entrusted to his care? Or if he did not baptize, at any rate we must acknowledge that he preached the gospel. But if you consider this a trifling function, and of no importance, see what you must think of the Apostle Paul himself, who said, " For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." ^ To this we may add, that according to this, Apollos begins to be more important, who watered by baptizing, than Paul, who planted by preaching the gospel, though Paul claims to himself the relation of father towards the Corinthians in virtue of this very act, and does not grant this title to those who came to them after him. For he says, " Though ye hav^e ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers; for in 1 1 Cor. Lx. 17. =* John iv. 2. ^ John xii. G. * 1 Cor. i. 17.

CHAP. LYL] excellence OF ST. PAUL*S MISSION. 473

Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel," ^ He says, " I have begotten you " to the same men to whom he says in another place, " I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gains, and I baptized also the household of Stephanas." ^ He had begotten them, therefore, not through himself, but through the gospel. And even though he had been seeking his own, and not the things of Jesus Christ, and had been doing this unwillingly, so as to receive no reward for himself, yet he w^ould have been dispensing the treasure of the Lord; and this, though evil himself, he would not have been maldng evil or useless to those who received it well.
Chap. lvi. ú^ Q^ And if this is rightly said of the gospel, with how much greater certainty should it be said of baptism, which belongs to the gospel in such wise, that without it no one can reach the kingdom of heaven, and with it only if to the sacrament be added righteousness? For He who said,
" Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," ^ said Himself also, " Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." * The form of the sacrament is given through baptism, the form of righteousness through the gospel.
Neither one without the other leads to the kingdom of heaven.
Yet even men of inferior learning can baptize perfectly, but to preach the gospel perfectly is a task of much greater difficulty and rarity. Therefore the teacher of the Gentiles, that was superior in excellence to the majority, was sent to preach the gospel, not to baptize; because the latter could be done by many, the former only by a few, of whom he was chief And yet we read that he said in certain places, " My gospel; " ^ but he never called baptism either his, or any one's else by whom it was administered. For that baptism alone which John gave is called John's baptism.^ This that man received as the special pledge of his ministry, that the preparatory sacrament of washing should even be called by the name of him by whom it was administered; whereas the baptism

1 1 Cor. iv. 15. 2 I Cor. i. 14. 3 John iii. 5.
4 Matt. V. 20. ^ 2 Tim. ii. 8. Â« Acts xix. 3.

474 ANSWER TO PETILIAN. [BOOK III.]

which the disciples of Christ administered was never called by the name of any one of them, that it should be understood to be His alone of whom it is said, " Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word." â– "â– If, therefore, the gospel, which is Christ's, but so that a minister also may call it his in virtue of his office of administering it, can be received by a man even at the hands of an evil minister without danger to himself, if he does according to what he says, and not after the example of what he does, how much more may any one who comes in good faith to Christ receive without fear of contagion from an evil minister the baptism of Christ, which none of the apostles so administered as to dare to call it his own?

Chap. lvii. â€” 69. Furthermore, if, whilst I have continued without intermission to prove how entirely the passages of Scripture which Petilianus has quoted against us have failed to hurt our cause, he himself has in some cases not touched at all what I have quoted, and partly, when he has endeavoured to handle them, has shown that the only thing that he could do was to fail in finding an escape from them, you require no long exhortation or advice in order to see what you ought to maintain, and what you should avoid. But it may be that this has been the kind of show that he has made in dealing with the testimony of
holy Scripture, but that he has not been without force in the case of the documentary evidence found in the records of the schism itself. Let us then see in the case of these too, though it is superfluous to inquire into them after testimony from the word of God, what he has quoted, or what he has proved. For, after pouring forth a violent invective against traditors, and quoting loudly many passages against them from the holy books themselves, he yet said nothing which could prove his opponents to be traditors. But I quoted the case of Silvanus of Cirta, who held his own see some little time before himself, who was expressly declared in the Municipal Chronicles to have been a traditor while he was yet a sub-deacon. Against this fact he did not venture

1 Eph. V. 25, 26.

CHAP. LVIIL] DONATUS' CHARGE RECOILS UPON HBISELF. 475

to whisper a syllable. And yet you cannot fail to see how strong the pressure was which must have been urging him to reply, that he might show a man, who was his predecessor, not only one of his party, but a partner, so to speak, in his see, to have been innocent of the crime of delivering up the sacred books, especially as you rest the whole strength of your cause on the fact that you give the name of traditor to all whom you either pretend or believe to have been the successors of traditors in the path of their communion. Although, then, the very exigencies of your cause would seem to compel him to undertake the defence of a citizen even of Kussicadia, or Calama, or any other city of your party, whom I should declare to be a traditor, on the authority of the Municipal Chronicles, yet he did not open his mouth even in defence of his own predecessor. For what reason, except that he could not find any mist dark enough to deceive the minds of even the slowest and sleepiest of men? For what could he have said, except that the charges brought against Silvanus were false? But we quote the words of the Chronicles, both as to the date of the fact, and as to the time of the information laid before Zenophilus the ex-consul. And how could he resist this evidence, being encompassed on every side by the most excellent cause of the Catholics, whilst yours was bad as bad could be? For which reason I quote these words from my epistle to which he would fain be thought to have replied in this which I am now refuting, that you may see for yourselves how impregnable the position must be against which he has been able to find no safer weapon than silence.

Chap. lvii. For when he quoted a passage from the gospel as making against us, where our Lord says, "They will come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits," I answered and said, "Then let us consider their fruits;" and then I at once went on to add the following words: "You bring up against them their delivery of the sacred books. This very charge we urge with greater probability against

^ See Book iii. c. Cresconium, cc. xxvii. xxviii. sees. 30, 32.
* Matt. vii. 15, 16.
their accusers themselves. And not to carry our search too far: in the same city of
Constantina, your predecessors ordained Silvanus bishop at the very outset of his schism.
He, while he was still a sub-deacon, was most unmistakeably entered as a traditor in the
archives of the city. If you, on your side, bring forward documents against our
predecessors, all that we ask is equal terms, that we should either believe both to be true,
or both to be false. If both are true, you are unquestionably guilty of schism, who have
pretended that you avoid offences in the communion of the whole world, though these
were common among you in your own fragmentary sect. But again, if both are false, you
are unquestionably guilty of schism, who, on account of the false charges of traditors, are
staining yourselves with the heinous offence of severance from the Church. But if we
have something to urge in accusation, while you have nothing, or if our charges are true,
whilst yours are false, it is no longer matter of discussion how thoroughly your mouths
are closed. What if the holy and true Church of Christ were to convince and overcome
you, even if we held no documents in support of our cause, or only such as were false,
while you had possession of some genuine proof of delivery of the sacred books, what
would then remain for you, except that, if you would, you should show your love of
peace, or otherwise should hold your tongues? For whatever in that case you might bring
forward in evidence, I should be able to say with the greatest ease and with the most
perfect truth, that then you are bound to prove as much to the full and Catholic unity of
the Church, already spread abroad and established throughout so many nations, to the end
that you should remain within, and that those whom you convict should be expelled. And
if you have endeavoured to do this, certainly you have not been able to make good your
proof; and, being vanquished or enraged, you have separated yourselves, with all the
heinous guilt of sacrilege, from the guiltless men who could not condemn on insufficient
proof. But if you have not even endeavoured to do this, then with most accursed and
unnatural blindness you have cut yourselves off from the wheat of Christ, which grows
throughout His whole fields, that is, throughout the whole

CHAP. LIX.] DILEMMA OF THE DONATISTS. 477

world until the end, because you have taken offence at a few tares in Africa."^ To this,
which I have quoted from my former epistle, Petilianus has made no answer whatsoever.
And, at all events, you see that in these few words is comprised the whole question which
is at issue between us. For what should he endeavour to say, when, whatever course he
chose, he was sure to be defeated?

71. For when documents are brought forward relating to the traditors, both by us against
the men of your party, and by you against the men of our party, (if indeed any really are
brought forward on your side, for to this very day we are left in total ignorance of them;
nor indeed can we believe that Petilianus would have omitted to insert them in his letter, seeing that he has taken so much pains to secure the quotation and insertion of those portions of the Chronicles which bear on the matter in opposition to me, but still, as I began to say, if such documents are brought forward both by us and by you, documents of whose existence we are wholly ignorant to this very day, surely you must acknowledge that either both are true, or both false, or ours true and yours false, or yours true and ours false; for there is no further alternative that can be supposed.

Chap. lix. But according to all these four hypotheses, the truth is on the side of the communion of the Catholic Church. For if both are true, then you certainly should not have deserted the communion of the whole world on account of men such as you too had among yourselves. But if both are false, you should have guarded against the guilt of most accursed division, which had not even any pretext to allege of any delivery of the sacred books. If ours are true and yours are false, you have long been without anything to say for yourselves. If yours are true and ours are false, we have been liable to be deceived, in common with the whole world, not about the truth of the faith, but about the unrighteousness of men. For the seed of Abraham, dispersed throughout the world, was bound to pay attention, not to what you said you knew, but to what you proved to the judges. Whence have

we any knowledge of what was done by those men who were accused by your ancestors, even if the allegations made against them were true, so long as they were held to be not true but false, either by the judges who took cognisance of the case, or at least by the general body of the Church dispersed throughout the world, which was only bound to pay heed to the sentence of the judges? God does not necessarily pardon any human guilt that others in the weakness of human judgment fail to discover; yet I maintain that no one is rightly deemed guilty for having believed a man to be innocent who was not convicted. How then do you prove the world to be guilty, merely because it did not know what possibly was really guilt in the Africans, its ignorance arising either from the fact that no one reported the sin to it, or from its having given credence, in respect of the information which was given, rather to the judges who took cognisance of the case, than to the murmurers who were defeated? So far, then, Petilianus deserves all praise, in that, when he saw that on this point I was absolutely impregnable, he passed it by in silence. Yet he does not deserve praise for his attempts to obscure in a mist of words other points which were equally impregnable, which yet he thought could be obscured; or for having
put me in the place of his cause, when the cause left him nothing to say; while even about myself he could say nothing except what was either altogether false, or undeserving of any blame, or without any bearing whatsoever upon me. But, in the meantime, are you, whom I have made judges between Petilianus and myself, possessed of discrimination enough to decide in any degree between what is true and what is false, between what is mere empty swelling and what is solid, between what is troubled and what is calm, between inamalation and soundness, between divine predictions and human assumptions, between bringing an accusation and establishing it, between proofs and fictions, between pleading a cause and leading one away from it? If you have such power of discrimination, well and good; but if you have it not, we shall not repent of having bestowed our pains on you; for even though your heart be not converted unto peace, yet our peace shall return unto ourselves.

A TREATISE

CONCERNING

THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS

FORMING EPISTLE 185 IN MIGNE'S EDITION OF AUGUSTINE'S WORKS.

CHAP. I. â€” 1. I must express my satisfaction, and congratulations, and admiration, my son Boniface, in that, amid all the cares of wars and arms, you are eagerly anxious to know concerning the things that are of God. From hence it is clear that in you it is actually a part of your military valour to serve in truth the faith which is in Christ. To place, therefore, briefly before your Grace the difference between the errors

* In Book II. c. xlviii, of his Beti'actations, Augustine says: "About the same time" (as that at which he wrote his treatise De Gestis Pelagii, i.e. about the year 417), "I wrote also a treatise De Correctione Donatistariim, for the sake of those who were not willing that the Donatists should be subjected to the correction of the imperial laws. This treatise begins Avith the words ** Laudo, et gratulor, et admiror." This letter in the old editions was No. 50, â€” the letter which is now No. 4. in the appendix being formerly No. 185.

479

480 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. I.

of the Arians and the Donatists, the Arians say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are different in substance; whereas the Donatists do not say this, but acknowledge the unity of substance in the Trinity. And if some even of them have said that the Son was inferior to the Father, yet they have not denied that He is of the same substance; whilst the greater part of them declare that they hold entirely the same belief regarding the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost as is held by the Catholic Church. Nor is this the actual question in dispute with them; but they carry on their unhappy strife solely on the question of communion, and in the perversity of their error maintain rebellious hostility against the unity of Christ. But sometimes, as we have heard, some of them, wishing to conciliate the Goths, since they see that they are not without a certain amount of power, profess to entertain the same belief as they. But they are refuted by the authority of their own leaders; for Donatus himself, of whose party they boast themselves to be, is never said to have held this belief.

2. Let not, however, things like these disturb thee, my beloved son. For it is foretold to us that there must needs be heresies and stumbling-blocks, that we may be instructed among our enemies; and that so both our faith and our love may be the more approved, â€” our faith, namely, that we should not be deceived by them; and our love, that we should take the utmost pains we can to correct the erring ones themselves; not only watching that they should do no injury to the weak, and that they should be delivered from their wicked error, but also praying for them, that God would open their understanding, and that they might comprehend the Scriptures. For in the sacred books, where the Lord Christ is made manifest, there is also His Church declared; but they, with wondrous blindness, whilst they would know nothing of Christ Himself save what is revealed in the Scriptures, yet form their notion of His Church from the vanity of human falsehood, instead of learning what it is on the authority of the sacred books.
3. They recognise Christ together with us in that which is written, "They pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture;" and yet they refuse to recognise the Church in that which follows shortly after: "All the ends of the world shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's; and He is the Governor among the nations."^- They recognise Christ together with us in that which is written, "The Lord hath said unto me. Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee;" and they will not recognise the Church in that which follows: "Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession."^- They recognise Christ together with us in that which the Lord Himself says in the gospel, "Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day;" and they will not recognise the Church in that which follows: "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."^- And the testimonies in the sacred books are without number, all of which it has not been necessary for me to crowd together into this book. And in all of them, as the Lord Christ is made manifest, whether in accordance with His Godhead, in which He is equal to the Father, so that,
"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" or according to the humility of the flesh which He took upon Him, whereby "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;"^ so is His Church made manifest, not in Africa alone, as they most impudently venture in the madness of their vanity to assert, but spread abroad throughout the world.

4. For they prefer to the testimonies of Holy Writ their own contentions, because, in the case of Cecilianus, formerly a bishop of the Church of Carthage, against whom they brought charges which they were and are unable to substantiate, they separated themselves from the Catholic Church, â€” that is, from the unity of all nations. Although, even if the charges had been true which were brought by them against Caecilianus, and could at length be proved to us, yet, though we might pro-

^- Ps. xxii. 16-18, 27, 28.

^ 2 Ps. ii. 7, 8.

^ 3 Luke xxiv. 46, 47.
nounce an anathema upon him even in the grave/ we are still bound not for the sake of
any man to leave the Church, which rests for its foundation on divine witness, and is not
the figment of litigious opinions, seeing that it is better to trust in the Lord than to put
confidence in man. For we cannot allow that if Csecilianus had erred, a supposition
which I make without prejudice to his integrity, a Christ should therefore have forfeited
His inheritance. It is easy for a man to believe of his fellow-men either what is true or
what is false; but it marks abandoned impudence to desire to condemn the communion
of the whole world on account of charges alleged against a man, of which you cannot
establish the truth in the face of the world.

5. Whether Csecilianus was ordained by men who had delivered up the sacred books, I do
not know. I did not see it, I heard it only from his enemies. It is not declared to me in the
law of God, or in the utterances of the prophets, or in the holy poetry of the Psalms, or in
the writings of any one of Christ's apostles, or in the eloquence of Christ Himself.
But the evidence of all the several scriptures with one accord proclaims the Church
spread abroad throughout the world, with which the faction of Donatus does not hold
communion.

The law of God declared, " In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The
Lord said by the mouth of His prophet, " From the rising of the sun, even unto the going
down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense
shaU be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among
the heathen." The Lord said through the Psalmist, " He shall have dominion also from
sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth." The Lord said by His apostle,
" The gospel is come unto you, as it is in all the world, and bringeth forth fruit." The Son
of God said with His own mouth, " Ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem,

^ This epistle was produced in the fifth conference of the fifth Sj-nod, when the point was
under debate whether Theodorus of Mopsuesta could be condemned after his death.

2 Ps. cxviii. 8. ' Gen. xxvi. 4. * Mai. i. 11.

Â« Ps. budi. 8. Â« Col. i. 6.
and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Caecilianus, the bishop of the Church of Carthage, is accused with the contentiousness of men; the Church of Christ, established among all nations, is recommended by the voice of God. Mere piety, truth, and love forbid us to receive against Csecilianus the testimony of men whom we do not find in the Church, which has the testimony of God; for those who do not follow the testimony of God have forfeited the weight which otherwise would attach to their testimony as men.

Chap. ii. Â” 6. I would add, moreover, that they themselves, by making it the subject of an accusation, referred the case of Ccecilianus to the decision of the Emperor Constantine; and that, even after the bishops had pronounced their judgment, finding that they could not crush Csecilianus, they brought him in person before the above-named emperor for trial, in the most determined spirit of persecution. And so they were themselves the first to do what they censure in us, in order that they may deceive the unlearned, saying that Christians ought not to demand any assistance from Christian emperors against the enemies of Christ. And this, too, they did not dare to deny in the conference which we held at the same time in Carthage: nay, they even venture to make it a matter of boasting that their fathers had laid a criminal indictment against Caecilianus before the emperor; adding furthermore a lie, to the effect that they had there worsted him, and procured his condemnation. How then can they be otherwise than persecutors, seeing that when they persecuted Csecilianus by their accusations, and were overcome by him, they sought to claim false glory for themselves by a most shameless lie; not only considering it no reproach, but glorying in it as conducive to their praise, if they could prove that Ca3cilianus had been condemned on the accusation of their fathers ? But in regard to the manner in which they were overcome at every turn in the conference itself, seeing that the records are exceedingly voluminous, and it would be a serious matter to have them read to you while you are occu-
^ Acts i. 8. * In the Councils at Rome and Aries.

484 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. II.

pied in other matters that are essential to the peace of Eome, perhaps it may be possible to have a digest^ of them read to you, which I believe to be in the possession of my brother and fellow-bishop Optatus; or if he has not a copy, he might easily procure one from the church at Sitifa; for I can well believe that even that volume will prove wearisome enough to you from its lengthiness, amid the burden of your many cares.

7. For the Donatists met with the same fate as the accusers of the holy Daniel.^ For as the lions were turned against them, so the laws by which they had proposed to crush an
innocent victim were turned against the Donatists; save that, through the mercy of Christ, the laws which seemed to be opposed to them are in reality their truest friends; for through their operation many of them have been, and are daily being reformed, and return God thanks that they are reformed, and delivered from their ruinous madness. And those who used to hate are now filled with love; and now that they have recovered their right minds, they congratulate themselves that these most wholesome laws were brought to bear against them, with as much fervency as in their madness they detested them; and are filled with the same spirit of ardent love towards those who yet remain as ourselves, desiring that we should strive in like manner that those with whom they had been like to perish might be saved. For both the physician is irksome to the raging madman, and a father to his undisciplined son, a€” the former because of the restraint, the latter because of the chastisement which he inflicts; yet both are acting in love. But if they were to neglect their charge, and allow them to perish, this mistaken kindness would more truly be accounted cruelty. For if the horse and mule, which have no understanding, resist with all the force of bites and kicks the efforts of the men who treat their wounds in order to cure them; and yet the men, though they are often exposed to danger from their teeth and heels, and sometimes meet with actual hurt, nevertheless do not desert them till they restore

^ This digest will be found in the 9th volume of Migue's edition of Augustine's Works, p. 613, etc.
2 Dau. vi. 24.

^1

CHAP. 11.] NECESSITY OF OBEYING WHOLESOME LA.WS. 485

tliem to health through the pain and annoyance which the healing process gives, a€” how much more should man refuse to desert his fellow-man, or brother to desert his brother, lest he should perish eternally, being himself now able to comprehend the vastness of the boon accorded to himself in his reformation, at the very time that he complained of suffering persecution?

8. As then the apostle says, " As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, not being weary in well-doing," a€” so let all be called to salvation, let all be recalled from the path of destruction, a€” those who may, by the sermons of Catholic preachers; those who may, by the edicts of Catholic princes; some through those who obey the warnings of God, some through those who obey the emperor's commands. For, moreover, when emperors enact bad laws on the side of falsehood as against the truth, those who hold a right faith are approved, and, if they persevere, are crowned; but when the emperors enact good laws on behalf of the truth against falsehood, then those who rage against them are put in fear, and those who understand are reformed. Whosoever,
therefore, refuses to obey the laws of the emperors which are enacted against the truth of God, wins for himself a great reward; but whosoever refuses to obey the laws of the emperors which are enacted in behalf of truth, wins for himself great condemnation. For in the times, too, of the prophets, the kings who, in dealing with the people of God, did not prohibit nor annul the ordinances which were issued contrary to God's commands, are all of them censured; and those who did prohibit and annul them are praised as deserving more than other men.

And king Nebuchadnezzar, when he was a servant of idols, enacted an impious law that a certain idol should be worshipped; but those who refused to obey his impious command acted piously and faithfully. And the very same king, when converted by a miracle from God, enacted a pious and praiseworthy law on behalf of the truth, that every one who should speak anything amiss against the true God, the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should perish utterly, with all liis house. If any persons disobeyed this law, and justly

1 See Gal. vi. 9, 10. 2 d^q. iij. 5^ 5^ 29.

suffered the penalty imposed, they might have said what these men say, that they were righteous, because they suffered persecution through the law enacted by the king: and this they certainly would have said, had they been as mad as these who make divisions between the members of Christ, and spurn the sacraments of Christ, and take credit for being persecuted, because they are prevented from doing such things by the laws which the emperors have passed to preserve the" unity of Christ; and boast falsely of their innocence, and seek from men the glory of martyrdom, which they cannot receive from our Lord.

9. But true martyrs are such as those of whom the Lord says, " Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."^ It is not, therefore, those who suffer persecution for their unrighteousness, and for the divisions which they impiously introduce into Christian unity, but those who suffer for righteousness' sake, that are truly martyrs. For Hagar also suffered persecution at the hands of Sarah;^ and in that case she who persecuted was righteous, and she unrighteous who suffered persecution. Are we to compare with this persecution which Hagar suffered the case of holy David, who was persecuted by unrighteous Saul ?^ Surely there is an essential difference, not in respect of his suffering, but because he suffered for righteousness' sake. And the Lord Himself was crucified with two thieves;^ but those who were joined in their suffering were separated by the difference of its cause. Accordingly, in the psalm, we must interpret of the true martyrs, who wish to be distinguished from false martyrs, the verse in which it is said, " Judge me, Lord, and distinguish my cause from an ungodly nation."^ He does not say, Distinguish my punishment, but " Distinguish my cause."
For the punishment of the impious may be the same; but the cause of the martyrs is always different. To whose mouth also the words are suitable, "They persecute me wrongfully; help


^ Discerne causam inequa. The Eng. Vers, has "'plead my cause against as ungodly nation." Â« Ps. xliii. 1.

CHAP. II] distinctions IN PERSECUTION. 487

Thou me;"^ in which the Psalmist claimed to have a right to be helped in righteousness, because his adversaries persecuted him wrongfully; for if they had been right in persecuting him, he would have deserved not help, but correction.

10. But if they think that no one can be justified in using violence, â€” as they said in the course of the conference that the true Church must necessarily be the one which suffers persecution, not the one inflicting it, â€” in that case I no longer urge what I observed above; because, if the matter stand as they maintain that it does, then Cæcilianus must have belonged to the true Church, seeing that their fathers persecuted him, by pressing his accusation even to the tribunal of the emperor himself. For we maintain that he belonged to the true Church, not merely because he suffered persecution, but because he suffered it for righteousness' sake; but that they were alienated from the Church, not merely because they persecuted, but because they did so in unrighteousness. This, then, is our position.

But if they make no inquiry into the causes for which each person inflicts persecution, or for which he suffers it, but think that it is a sufficient sign of a true Christian that he does not inflict persecution, but suffers it, then beyond all question they include Caecilianus in that definition, who did not inflict, but suffered persecution; and they equally exclude their own fathers from the definition, for they inflicted, but did not suffer it.

11. But this, I say, I forbear to urge. Yet one point I must press: If the true Church is the one which actually suffers persecution, not the one which inflicts it, let them ask the apostle of what Church Sarah was a type, when she inflicted persecution on her handmaid. For he declares that the free mother of us all, the heavenly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true Church of God, was prefigured in that woman who cruelly entreated her handmaid.^ But if we investigate the story further, we shall find that the handmaid rather per-

S^cuted Sarah by her haughtiness, than Sarah the handmaid by her severity: for the handmaid was doing wrong to her mistress; the mistress only imposed on her a proper discipline in her haughtiness. Again I ask, if good and holy men never
48 S THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. III.

inflict persecution upon any one, but only suffer it, whose words they think that those are in the psalm where we read, "I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them; neither did I turn again till they were consumed?" If, therefore, we wish either to declare or to recognise the truth, there is a persecution of unrighteousness, which the impious inflict upon the Church of Christ; and there is a righteous persecution, which the Church of Christ inflicts upon the impious. She therefore is blessed in suffering persecution for righteousness' sake; but they are miserable, suffering persecution for unrighteousness. Moreover, she persecutes in the spirit of love, they in the spirit of wrath; she that she may correct, they that they may overthrow; she that she may recall from error, they that they may drive headlong into error. Finally, she persecutes her enemies and arrests them, until they become weary in their vain opinions, so that they should make advance in the truth; but they, returning evil for good, because we take measures for their good, to secure their eternal salvation, endeavours even to strip us of our temporal safety, being so in love with murder, that they commit it on their own persons, when they cannot find victims in any others. For in proportion as the Christian charity of the Church endeavours to deliver them from that destruction, so that none of them should die, so their madness endeavours either to slay us, that they may feed the lust of their own cruelty, or even to kill themselves, that they may not seem to have lost the power of putting men to death.

Chap. hi. â€” 12. But those who are unacquainted with their habits think that they only kill themselves now that all the mass of the people are freed from the fearful madness of their usurped dominion, in virtue of the laws which have been passed for the preservation of unity. But those who know what they were accustomed to do before the passing of the laws, do not wonder at their deaths, but call to mind their character; and especially how vast crowds of them used to come in procession to the most frequented ceremonies of the pagans, while the worship of idols still continued, â€” not with

1 Ps. xlviii. 37.

CHAP. III.] SUICIDE NOT MARTYRDOM. 489

the view of breaking the idols, but that they might be put to death by those who worshipped them. For if they had sought to break the idols under the sanction of legitimate authority, they might, in case of anything happening to them, have had some shadow of a claim to be considered martyrs; but their only object in coming was, that while the idols remained uninjured, they themselves might meet with death. For it was the general custom of the strongest youths among the worshippers of idols, for each of
them to offer in sacrifice to the idols themselves any victims that he might have slain. Some went so far as to offer themselves for slaughter to any travellers whom they met with arms, using violent threats that they would murder them if they failed to meet with death at their hands. Sometimes, too, they extorted with violence from any passing judge that they should be put to death by the executioners, or by the officer of his court. And hence we have a story, that a certain judge played a trick upon them, by ordering them to be bound and led away, as though for execution, and so escaped their violence, without injury to himself or them. Again, it was their daily sport to kill themselves, by throwing themselves over precipices, or into the water, or into the fire. For the devil taught them these three modes of suicide, so that, when they wished to die, and could not find any one whom they could terrify into slaying them with his sword, they threw themselves over the rocks, or committed themselves to the fire or the eddying pool. But who can be thought to have taught them this, having gained possession of their hearts, but he who actually suggested to our Saviour Himself, as a duty sanctioned by the law, that He should throw Himself down from a pinnacle of the temple? And his suggestion they would surely have thrust far from them, had they carried Christ, as their Master, in their hearts. But since they have rather given place within them to the devil, they either perish like the herd of swine, whom the legion of devils drove down from the hill-side into the sea, or, being rescued from that destruction, and gathered together in the loving bosom of our Catholic mother Church, they are delivered, just as the boy was delivered by our Lord, whom his father

1 Luke iv. 9. 2 || 13

490 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. HI.

brought to be healed of the devil, saying that oftentimes he was wont to fall into the fire, and oft into the water.

13. Whence it appears that great mercy is shown towards them, when by the force of those very imperial laws they are in the first instance rescued against their will from that sect in which, through the teaching of lying devils, they learned those evil doctrines, so that afterwards they might be made whole in the Catholic Church, becoming accustomed to the good teaching and example which they find in it. For many of the men whom we now admire in the unity of Christ, for

y^he pious fervour of their faith, and for their charity, give thanks to God with great joy that they are no longer in that error which led them to mistake those evil things for good,

which thanks they would not now be offering willingly, had they not first, even against their will, been severed from that impious association. And what are we to say of those who confess to us, as some do every day, that even in the olden days they had long been wishing to be Catholics; but they were living among men among whom those who wished to be Catholics could not be so through the infirmity of fear, seeing that if any one there said a single word in favour of the Catholic Church, he and his house were utterly
destroyed at once? Who is mad enough to deny that it was right that assistance should have been given through the imperial decrees, that they might be delivered from so great an evil, whilst those whom they used to fear are compelled in turn to fear, and are either themselves corrected through the same terror, or, at any rate, whilst they pretend to be corrected, they abstain from further persecution of those who really are, to whom they formerly were objects of continual dread?

14. But if they have chosen to destroy themselves, in order to prevent the deliverance of those who had a right to be delivered, and have sought in this way to alarm the pious hearts of the deliverers, so that in their apprehension that some few abandoned men might perish, they should allow others to lose the opportunity of deliverance from destruction, who were either already unwilling to perish, or might have been saved from it by the employment of compulsion; what


CHAP. IV.] SUICIDE SHOULD BE ELIMINATED. 491

is in this case the function of Christian charity, especially when we consider that those who utter threats of their own violent and voluntary deaths are very few in number in comparison with the nations that are to be delivered? What then is the function of brotherly love? Does it, because it fears the shortlived fires of the furnace for a few, therefore abandon all to the eternal fires of hell? and does it leave so many, who are either already desolate, or hereafter are not strong enough to pass to life eternal, to perish everlastingly, while taking precautions that some few should not perish by their own hand, who are only living to be a hindrance in the way of the salvation of others, whom they will not permit to live in accordance with the doctrines of Christ, in the hopes that some day or other they may teach them too to hasten their death by their own hand, in the manner which now causes them themselves to be a terror to their neighbours, in accordance with the custom inculcated by their devilish tenets? or does it rather save all whom it can, even though those whom it cannot save should perish in their own infatuation? For it ardently desires that all should live, but it more especially labours that not all should die. But thanks be to the Lord, that both amongst us and not indeed everywhere, but in the great majority of places and also in the other parts of Africa, the peace of the Catholic Church both has gained and is gaining ground, without any of these madmen being killed. But those deplorable deeds are done in places where there is an utterly fumious and useless set of men, who were given to such deeds even in the days of old.

Chap. iv. And indeed, before those laws were put in force by the emperors of the Catholic faith, the doctrine of the peace and unity of Christ was beginning by degrees to gain ground, and men were coming over to it even from the faction of Donatus, in proportion as each learned more, and became more willing, and more master of his own actions; although, at the same time, among the Donatists herds of abandoned men were
disturbing the peace of the innocent for one reason or another in the spirit of the most reckless madness.
What master was there who was not compelled to live in dread

1

492 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. IV.

of his own servant, if he had put himself under the guardianship of the Donatists? Who dared even threaten one who sought his ruin with punishment? Who dared to exact payment of a debt from one who consumed his stores, or from any debtor whatsoever, that sought their assistance or protection? Under the threat of beating, and burning, and immediate death, all documents compromising the worst of slaves were destroyed, that they might depart in freedom. Notes of hand that had been extracted from debtors were returned to them. Any one who had shown a contempt for their hard words were compelled by harder blows to do what they desired. The houses of innocent persons who had offended them were either razed to the ground or burned. Certain heads of families of honourable parentage, and brought up with a good education, were carried away half dead after their deeds of violence, or bound to the mill, and compelled by blows to turn it round, after the fashion of the meanest beasts of burden. For what assistance from the laws rendered by the civil powers was ever of any avail against them? What official ever ventured so much as to breathe in their presence? What agents ever exacted payment of a debt which they had been unwilling to discharge? Who ever endeavoured to avenge those who were put to death in their massacres? Except, indeed, that their own madness took revenge on them, when some, by provoking against themselves the swords of men, whom they obliged to kill them under fear of instant death, others by throwing themselves over sundry precipices, others by water, others by fire, gave themselves over on the several occasions to a voluntary death, and gave up their lives as offerings to the dead by punishments inflicted with their own hands upon themselves.
16. These deeds were looked upon with horror by many who were firmly rooted in the same superstitious heresy; and accordingly, when they supposed that it was sufficient to establish their innocence that they were ill contented with such conduct, it was urged against them by the Catholics: If these evil deeds do not pollute your innocence, how then do you maintain that the whole Christian world has been polluted by the alleged sins of Cajcilianus, which are either altogether calumnies, or at least not proved against him? How come

CHAP. IV.] TERRORISM OF THE DONATISTS. 493

you, by a deed of gross impiety, to separate yourselves from the unity of the Catholic Church, as from the threshing-floor of the Lord, which must needs contain, up to the time of the final winnowing, both corn which is to be stored in the garner, and chaff that is to be burned up with fire? And thus some were so convinced by argument as to come
over to the unity of the Catholic Church, being prepared even to meet the hostility of abandoned men; whilst the greater number, though equally convinced, and though desirous to do the same, yet dared not make enemies of these men, who were so unbridled in their violence, seeing that some who had come over to us experienced the greatest cruelty at their hands.

To this we may add, that in Carthage itself some of the bishops of the same party, making a schism among themselves, and dividing the party of Donatus among the lower orders of the Carthaginian people, ordained as bishop against bishop a certain deacon named Maximianus, who could not brook the control of his own diocesan. And as this displeased the greater part of them, they condemned the aforesaid Maximianus, with twelve others who had been present at his ordination, but gave the rest that were associated in the same schism a chance of returning to their communion on an appointed day.

But afterwards some of these twelve, and certain others of those who had had the time of grace allowed to them, but had only returned after the day appointed, were received by them without degradation from their orders; and they did not venture to baptize a second time those whom the condemned ministers had baptized outside the pale of their communion.

This action of theirs at once made strongly against them on the side of the Catholic party, so that their mouths were wholly closed. And on the matter being diligently spread abroad, as was only right, in order to cure men's souls of the evils of schism, and when it was shown in every possible direction by the sermons and discussions of the Catholic divines, that to maintain the peace of Donatus they had not only received back those whom they had condemned, with full recognition of their orders, but had even been afraid to declare

1 Matt. iii. 12.

.494 THE COPvPtECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. IV.

that baptism to be void which had been administered outside their Church by men whom they had condemned or even suspended; whilst, in violation of the peace of Christ, they cast in the teeth of all the world the stain conveyed by contact with some sinners, it matters little with whom, and declared baptism to be consequently void which had been administered even in the very Churches whence the gospel itself had come to Africa; â€” seeing all this, very many began to be confounded, and blushing before what they saw to be mostly manifest truth, they submitted to correction in greater numbers than was their wont; and men began to breathe with a somewhat freer sense- of liberty from -their cruelty, and that to a considerably greater extent in every direction.

18. Then indeed they blazed forth with such fury, and were so excited by the goadings of hatred, that scarcely any churches of our communion could be safe against their treachery and violence and most undisguised robberies; scarcely any road secure by which men
could travel to preach the peace of the Catholic Church in opposition to their madness, and convict the rashness of their folly by the clear enunciation of the truth. They went so far, besides, in proposing hard terms of reconciliation, not only to the laity or to any of the clergy, but even in a measure to certain of the Catholic bishops. For the only alternative offered was to hold their tongues about the truth, or to endure their savage fury. But if they did not speak about the truth, not only was it impossible for any one to be delivered by their silence, but many were even sure to be destroyed by their submitting to be led astray; while if, by their preaching the truth, the rage of the Donatists was again provoked to vent its madness, though some would be delivered, and those who were already on our side would be strengthened, yet the weak would again be deterred by fear from following the truth. When the Church, therefore, was reduced to these straits in its affliction, any one who thinks that anything was to be endured, rather than that the assistance of God, to be rendered through the agency of Christian emperors, should be sought, does not sufficiently observe that no good account could possibly be rendered for neglect of this precaution.

CHAP, v.] CIVIL INTERFERENCE JUSTIFIED. 495

Chap. v. â€” 19. But as to the argument of those men who are unwilling that their impious deeds should be checked by the enactment of righteous laws, when they say that the apostles never sought such measures from the kings of the earth, they do not consider the different character of that age, and that everything comes in its own season. For what emperor had as yet believed in Christ, so as to serve Him in the cause of piety by enacting laws against impiety, when as yet the declaration of the prophet was only in the course of its fulfilment, " Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing ? The kings of the earth set themselves, and their rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against His Anointed;" and there was as yet no sign of that which is spoken a little later in the same psalm: " Be wise now, therefore, ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling."^ How then are kings to serve the Lord with fear, except by preventing and chastising with religious severity all those acts which are done in opposition to the commandments of the Lord ? For a man serves God in one way in that he is man, ^

in another way in that he is also king. In that he is man, he serves Him by living faithfully; but in that he is also king, he serves Him by enforcing with suitable rigour such laws as ordain what is righteous, and punish what is the reverse. Even as Hezekiah served Him, by destroying the groves and the temples of the idols, and the high places which had been built in violation of the commandments of God;^ or even as Josiah served Him, by doing the same things in his turn;^ or as the king of the Ninevites served Him, by compelling all the men of his city to make satisfaction to the
Lord;* or as Parius served Him, by giving the idol into the power of i Daniel to be broken, and by casting his enemies into the den of lions;^ or as Nebuchadnezzar served Him, of whom I have spoken before, by issuing a terrible law to prevent any of his subjects from blaspheming God.^ In this way, therefore, kings can serve the Lord, even in so far as they are kings, when they do in His service what they could not do were they not kings, j

1 Vs. ii. 1, 2, 10, 11. 2 2 Kings xviii. 4. ^ 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5.

* Jonah iii. 6-9. * Bel and Drag. vv. 22, 42. ^ Dan. iii. 29.

496 THE CORRECTION OE THE DONATISTS. [CIIAP. VT.

20. Seeing, then, that the kings of the earth were not yet serving the Lord in the time of the apostles, but were still imitating the Lord and against His Anointed, that all might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, it must be granted that at that time acts of impiety could not possibly be prevented by the laws, but were rather performed under their sanction. For the order of events was then so rolling on, that even the Jews were killing those who preached Christ, thinking that they did God service in so doing, just as Christ had foretold,^ and the heathen were raging against the Christians, and the patience of the martyrs r^as overcoming them all. But so soon as the fulfilment began of what is written in a later psalm, " All kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him,"^ what sober-minded man could say to the kings, " Let not any thought trouble you within your kingdom as to who restrains or attacks the Church of your Lord; deem it not a matter in which you should be concerned, which of your subjects may choose to be religious or sacrilegious," seeing that you cannot say to them, " Deem it no concern of yours which of your subjects may choose to be chaste, or which unchaste ? " For why, when free-will is given by God to man, should adulteries be punished by the laws, and sacrilege allowed ? Is it a lighter matter that a soul should not keep faith with God, than that a woman should be faithless to her husband ? Or if those faults which are committed not in contempt but in ignorance of religious truth are to be visited with lighter punishment, are they therefore to be neglected altogether ?

^ Chap. vi. â€” 21. It is indeed better (as no one ever could deny) that men should be led to worship God by teaching, than that they should be driven to it by fear of punishment or pain; but it does not follow that because the former course produces the better men, therefore those who do not yield to it should be neglected. For many have found advantage (as we have proved, and are daily proving by actual experiment), in being first
compelled by fear or pain, so that they might afterwards be influenced by teaching, or might follow out in

1 John xvi. 2. 2 Ps. i^xii. 11.

CHAP. IYL] chastisement SOMETIMES NEEDFUL. 497

act what they had already learned in word. Some, indeed, set before us the sentiments of a certain secular author, who said,

** "Tis well, I ween, hj shame the young to train, And dread of meanness, rather than by pain."*

This is unquestionably true. But whilst those are better who are guided aright by love, those are certainly more numerous who are corrected by fear. For, to answer these persons out of their own author, we find him saying in another place,

** Unless by pain and suffering thou art taught.
Thou canst not guide thyself aright in aught. "^*

But, moreover, holy Scripture has both said concerning the former better class, " There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear;"^ and also concerning the latter lower class, which furnishes the majority, " A servant will not be corrected by words; for though he understand, he will not answer."* In saying, " He will not be corrected by words," he did not order him to be left to himself, but implied an admonition as to the means whereby he ought to be corrected; otherwise he would not have said, " He will not be corrected .by words," but without any qualification, " He will not be corrected." For in another place he says that not only the servant, but also the undisciplined son, must be corrected with stripes, and that with great fruits as the result; for he says, " Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell;"^ and elsewhere he says, "He that spareth the rod hateth his son."^ For, give us a man who with right faith and true understanding can say with all the energy of his heart, " My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?"^ and for such an one there is no need of the terror of hell, to say nothing of temporal punishments or imperial laws, seeing that with him it is so indispensable a blessing to cleave unto the Lord, that he not only dreads being parted from that happiness as a heavy ; punishment, but can scarcely even bear delay in its attainment. But yet, before the good sons can say they have " a

1 Ter. Adelph. i. 1. 32, 33.
desire to depart, and to be with Christ/ many must first be recalled to their Lord by the stripes of temporal scourging, like evil slaves, and in some degree like good-for-nothing fugitives.

22. For who can possibly love us more than Christ, who laid down His life for His sheep ?^ And yet, after calling Peter and the other apostles by His words alone, when He came to summon Paul, who was before called Saul, subsequently the powerful builder of His Church, but originally its cruel persecutor, He not only constrained him with His voice, but even dashed him to the earth with His power; and that He might forcibly bring one who was raging amid the darkness of infidelity to desire the light of the heart, He first struck him with physical blindness of the eyes. If that punishment had not been inflicted, he would not afterwards have been healed by it; and since he had been wont to see nothing with his eyes open, if they had remained unharmed, the Scripture would not tell us that at the imposition of Ananias' hands, in order that their sight might be restored, there fell from them as it had been scales, by which the sight had been obscured.^ Where is what the Donatists were wont to cry: Man is at liberty to believe or not believe ? Towards whom did Christ use violence ? Whom did He compel ? Here they have the Apostle Paul. Let them recognise in his case Christ first compelling, and afterwards teaching; first striking, and afterwards consoling. For it is wonderful how he who entered the service of the gospel in the first instance under the compulsion of bodily punishment, afterwards laboured more in the gospel than all they who were called by word only;* and he who was compelled by the greater influence of ifear to love, displayed that perfect love which casts out fear.

23. Why, therefore, should not the Church use force in compelling her lost sons to return, if the lost sons compelled â– i m others to their destruction ? Although even men who have juj not been compelled, but only led astray, are received by their i,jikj loving mother with more affection if they are recalled to her jL bosom through the enforcement of terrible but salutary laws, i and are the objects of far more deep congratulation than those ^

^ This is not found in the extant plays of Terence. ^ 1 Jolm iv. 18.

whom she had never lost. Is it not a part of the care of the shepherd, when any sheep have left the flock, even though not violently forced away, but led astray by tender words and coaxing blandishments, to bring them back to the fold of his master when he has found them, by the fear or even the pain of the whip, if they show symptoms of resistance; especially since, if they multiply with growing abundance among the fugitive slaves and robbers, he has the more right in that the mark of the master is recognised on them, which is not outraged in those whom we receive but do not rebaptise? For the wandering of the sheep is to be corrected in such wise that the mark of the Redeemer should not be destroyed on it. For even if any one is marked with the royal stamp by a deserter who is marked with it himself, and the two receive forgiveness, and the one returns to his service, and the other begins to be in the service in which he had no part before, that mark is not effaced in either of the two, but rather it is recognised in both of them, and approved with the honour which is due to it because it is the king's. Since then they cannot show that the destination is bad to which they are compelled, they maintain that they ought to be compelled by force even to what is good. But we have shown that Paul was compelled by Christ; therefore the Church, in trying to compel the Donatists, is following the example of her Lord, though in the first instance she waited in the hopes of needing to compel no one, that the prediction of the prophet might be fulfilled concerning the faith of kings and peoples.

24. For in this sense also we may interpret without absurdity the declaration of the blessed Apostle Paul, when he says, "Having in a readiness to avenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled." Whence also the Lord Himself bids the guests in the first instance to be invited to His great supper, and afterwards compelled; for on His servants making answer to Him, "Lord, it is done as Thou hast commanded, and yet there is room," He said to them, "Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in." In those,

* Accipiant: sc. the baptizer and the baptized; and so the Mss. The common reading is 'accipiat.'

2 2 Cor. X. 6. 8 Luke xiv. 22, 23.

500 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. VII.
therefore, who were first brought in with gentleness, the former obedience is fulfilled; but
in those who were compelled, the disobedience is avenged. For what else is the meaning
of " Compel them to come in," after it had previously said, " Bring in," and the answer had
been made, " Lord, it is done as Thou commanded, and yet there is room ? " If He had
wished it to be understood that they were to be compelled by the terrifying force of
miracles, many divine miracles were rather wrought in the sight of those who were first
called, especially in the sight of the Jews, of whom it was said, " The Jews require a
sign;"^-^ and, moreover, among the Gentiles themselves the gospel was so commended by
miracles in the time of the apostles, that had these been the means by which they were
ordered to be compelled, we might rather have had good grounds for supposing, as I said
before, that it was the earlier guests who

Twere compelled. Wherefore, if the power which the Church has received by divine
appointment in its due season, through the religious character and the faith of Idnngs, be
the instrument by which those who are found in the highways and hedges â€” that is, in
heresies and schisms â€” are compelled to come in, then let them not find fault with
being compelled, but consider whether they be so compelled. The supper of the Lord is
the unity of the body of Christ, not only in the sacrament of the altar, but also in the bond
of peace. Of the Donatists themselves, indeed, we can say that they compel no man to
any good thing; for whomsoever they compel, they

\compel to nothing else but evil.

Chap. vii. â€” 25. However, before those laws were sent into Africa by which men are
compelled to come in to the sacred Supper, it seemed to certain of the brethren, of whom
I was one, that although the madness of the Donatists was raging in every direction, yet
we should not ask of the emperors to ordain that heresy should absolutely cease to be, by
sanctioning a punishment to be inflicted on all who wished to live in it; but that they
should rather content themselves with ordaining that those who either preached the
Catholic truth with their voice, or established it by their study, should no

Â» 1 Cor. i. 22.

CHAP. VII.] MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST THE DONATISTS. 501

longer be exposed to the furious violence of the heretics. And this they thought might in
some measure be effected, if they would take the law which Theodosius, of pious
memory, enacted generally against heretics of all kinds, to the effect that any heretical
bishop or clergyman, being found in any place, should be fined ten pounds of gold, and
confirm it in more express terms against the Donatists, who denied that they were
heretics; but with such reservations, that the fine should not be inflicted upon all of them,
but only in those districts where the Catholic Church suffered any violence from their
clergy, or from the Circumcelliones, or at the hands of any of their people; so that, after a
formal complaint had been made by the Catholics who had suffered the violence, the bishops or other ministers should forthwith be obliged, under the commission given to the officers, to pay the fine. For we thought that in this way, if they were terrified, and no longer dared do anything of the sort, the Catholic truth might be freely taught and held under such conditions, that while no one was compelled to it, any one might follow it who was anxious to do so without intimidation, so that we might not have false and pretended Catholics. And although a different view was held by other brethren, who either were more advanced in years, or had experience of many states and places where we saw the true Catholic Church firmly established, which had, however, been planted and confirmed by God's great goodness at a time when men were compelled to come in to the Catholic communion by the laws of previous emperors, yet we carried our point, to the effect that the measure which I have described above should be sought in preference from the emperors: it was decreed in our council and envoys were sent to the court of the count.

26. But God in His great mercy, knowing how necessary was the terror inspired by these laws, and a kind of medicinal inconvenience for the cold and wicked hearts of many men, and for that hardness of heart which cannot be softened by words, but yet admits of softening through the agency of some little severity of discipline, brought it about that our envoys could not obtain what they had undertaken to ask.

^ That of Carthage, held June 26, 401.

502 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CIIAP. VII.

For our arrival had already been anticipated by the serious complaints of certain bishops from other districts, who had suffered much ill-treatment at the hands of the Donatists themselves, and had been thrust out from their sees; and, in particular, the attempt to murder Maximianus, the Catholic bishop of the Church of Bagai, under circumstances of incredible atrocity, had caused measures to be taken which left our deputation nothing to do. For a law had already been published, that the heresy of the Donatists, being of so savage a description that mercy towards it really involved greater cruelty than its very madness wrought, should for the future be prevented not only from being violent, but from existing with impunity at all; but yet no capital punishment was imposed upon it, that even in dealing with those who were unworthy. Christian gentleness might be observed, but a pecuniary fine was ordained, and sentence of exile was pronounced against their bishops or ministers.

27. With regard to the aforesaid bishop of Bagai, in consequence of his claim being allowed in the ordinary courts, after each party had been heard in turn, in a basilica^ of which the Donatists had taken possession, as being the property of the Catholics, they rushed upon him as he was standing at the altar, with fearful violence and cruel fury, beat him savagely with cudgels and weapons of every kind, and at last with the very boards of
the broken altar. They also wounded him with a dagger in the groin so severely, that the
effusion of blood would have soon put an end to his life, had not their further cruelty
proved of service for its preservation; for, as they were dragging him along the ground
thus severely wounded, the dust forced into the spouting vein stanched the blood, whose
effusion was rapidly on the way to cause his death. Then, when they had at length
abandoned him, some of our party tried to carry him off with psalms; but his enemies,
inflamed with even greater rage, tore him from the hands of those who were carrying
him, inflicting grievous punishment on the Catholics, whom they put to flight, being far
superior to them in numbers, and easily inspiring terror by their violence. Finally, they
threw him into

^ The basilica of Fundus Calvianeusis. See C. Crescon. ill. c. 43.

CHAP. VII] story of THE BISHOP OF BAGAI. 503

a certain elevated tower, thinking that he was by this time dead, though in fact he still
breathed. Lighting then on a soft heap of earth, and being espied by the light of a lamp by
some men who were passing by at night, he was recognised and picked up, and being
carried to a religious house, by dint of great care, was restored in a few days from his
state of almost hopeless danger. Eumour, however, had carried the tidings even across the
sea that he had been killed by the violence of the Donatists; and when afterwards he
himself went abroad, and was most unexpectedly seen to be alive, he showed, by the
number, the severity, and the freshness of his wounds, how fully rumour had been
justified in bringing tidings of his death.

28. He sought assistance, therefore, from the Christian emperor, not so much with any
desire of revenging himself, as with the view of defending the Church entrusted to his
charge. And if he had omitted to do this, he would have deserved not to be praised for his
forbearance, but to be blamed for negligence. For neither was the Apostle Paul taking
precautions on behalf of his own transitory life, but for the Church of God, when he
caused the plot of those who had conspired to slay him to be made known to the Eoman
captain, the effect of which was, that he was conducted by an escort of armed soldiers to
the place where they proposed to send him, that he might escape the ambush of his foes.^

Nor did he for a moment hesitate to invoke the protection of the Eoman laws,
proclaiming that he was a Eoman citizen, who at that time could not be scourged; ^ and
again, that he might not be delivered to the Jews who sought to kill him, he appealed to
Csesar,^ â€” a Eoman emperor, indeed, but not a Christian. And by this he showed
sufficiently plainly what was afterwards to be the duty of the ministers of Christ, when in
the midst of the dangers of the Church they found the emperors Christians. And hence,
therefore, it came about that a religious and pious emperor, when such matters were
brought to his knowledge, thought it well, by the enactment of most pious laws, entirely
to correct the error of this great impiety, and to bring those who bore the standards of
Christ

against the cause of Christ into the unity of the Catholic Church, even by terror and compulsion, rather than merely to take away their power of doing violence, and to leave them the freedom of going astray, and perishing in their error.

29. Presently when the laws themselves arrived in Africa, in the first place those who were already seeking an opportunity for doing so, or were afraid of the raging madness of the Donatists, or were previously deterred by a feeling of unwillingness to offend their friends, at once came over to the Church. Many, too, who were only restrained by the force of custom handed down in their homes from their parents, but had never before considered what was the groundwork of the heresy itself, had never, indeed, wished to investigate and contemplate its nature, beginning now to use their observation, and finding nothing in it that could compensate for such serious loss as they were called upon to suffer, became Catholics without any difficulty; for, having been made careless by security, they were now instructed by anxiety. But when all these had set the example, it was followed by many who were less qualified of themselves to understand what was the difference between the error of the Donatists and Catholic truth.

30. Accordingly, when the great masses of the people had been received by the true mother with rejoicing into her bosom, there remained outside cruel crowds, persevering with unhappy animosity in that madness. Even of these the greater number communicated in feigned reconciliation, and others escaped notice from the scantiness of their numbers. But those who feigned conformity, becoming by degrees accustomed to our communion, and hearing the preaching of the truth, especially after the conference and disputation which took place between us and their bishops at Carthage, were to a great extent brought to a right belief. Yet in certain places, where a more obstinate and implacable body prevailed, whom the smaller number that entertained better views about communion with us could not resist, or where the masses were under the influence of a few more powerful leaders, whom they followed in a wrong direction, our difficulties continued somewhat longer. Of these places there are a few in which trouble still exists, in the course of which the Catholics, and especially the bishops and clergy, have suffered many terrible hardships, which it would take too long to go through in detail, seeing that some of them had their eyes put out, and one bishop his hands and tongue cut off, while some were actually murdered. I say nothing of massacres of the most cruel description, and robberies of
houses, committed in nocturnal burglaries, with the burning not only of private houses, but even of churches, some being found abandoned to cast the sacred books into the flames.

31. But we were consoled for the sufferings inflicted on us by these evils, by the fruit which resulted from them. For wherever such deeds were committed by unbelievers, there Christian unity has advanced with greater fervency and perfection, and the Lord is praised with greater earnestness for having deigned to grant that His servants might win their brethren by their sufferings, and might gather together into the peace of eternal salvation through His blood His sheep who were dispersed abroad in deadly error. The Lord is powerful and full of compassion, to whom we daily pray that He will give repentance to the rest as well, that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, by whom they are taken captive at His will, though now they only seek materials for calumniating us, and returning to us evil for good; because they have not the knowledge to make them understand what feelings and love we continue to have towards them, and how we are anxious, in accordance with the injunction of the Lord, given to His pastors by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, to bring again that which was driven away, and to seek that which was lost.

Chap. viii. But they, as we have sometimes said before: in other places, do not charge themselves with what they do to us; while, on the other hand, they charge us with what they do to themselves. For which of our party is there who would desire, I do not say that one of them should perish, but should even lose any of his possessions? But if the house of David could not earn peace on any other terms except that (Absalom his son should have been slain in the war which he was waging against his father, although he had most carefully given strict injunctions to his followers that they should use their utmost endeavours to preserve him alive and safe, that his paternal affection might be able to pardon him on his repentance, what remained for him except to weep for the son that he had lost, and to console himself in his sorrow by reflecting on the acquisition of peace for his kingdom? The same, then, is the case.
with the Catholic Church, our mother; for when war is waged against her by men who are
certainly different from sons, since it must be acknowledged that from the great tree,
which by the spreading of its branches is extended over all the world, this little branch in
Africa is broken off, whilst she is willing in her love to give them birth, that they may
return to the root, without which they cannot have the true life, at the same time if she
collects the remainder in so large a number by the loss of some, she soothes and cures the
sorrow of her maternal heart by the thoughts of the deliverance of such mighty nations;
especially when she considers that those who are lost perish by a death which they
brought upon themselves, and not, like Absalom, by the fortune of war. And if you were
to see the joy of those who are delivered in the peace of Christ, their crowded assemblies,
their eager zeal, the gladness with which they flock together, both to hear and sing
hymns, and to be instructed in the word of God; the great grief with which many of them
recall to mind their former error, the joy with which they come to the consideration of the
truth which they have learned, with the indignation and detestation which they feel
towards their lying teachers, now that they have found out what falsehoods they
disseminated concerning our sacraments; and how many of them, moreover,
acknowledge that they long ago desired to be Catholics, but dared not take the step in the
midst of men of such violence, if, I say, you were to see the congregations of these
nations delivered from such perdition, then you would say that it would have been the
extreme of cruelty, if, in the fear that certain desperate men, in number not to be
compared with the multitudes of those who were rescued, might be burned in fires which
they voluntarily kindled for themselves,

* 2 Sam. xviii. xxii.

CHAP. VIII.] FOECIBLE RESCUE FROM DEATH MERCIFUL. 507

these others had been left to be lost for ever, and to be tortured in fires which shall not be
quenched.

33. For if two men were dwelling together in one house, which we knew with absolute
certainty to be upon the point of falling down, and they were unwilling to believe us
when we warned them of the danger, and persisted in remaining in the house; if it were in
our power to rescue them, even against their will, and we were afterwards to show them
the ruin threatening their house, so that they should not dare to return again within its
reach, I think that if we abstained from doing it, we should well deserve the charge of
cruelty. And further, if one of them should say to us, Since you have entered the house to
save our lives, I shall forthwith kill myself; while the other was not indeed willing to
come forth from the house, nor to be rescued, but yet had not the hardihood to kill
himself: which alternative should we choose, to leave both of them to be
overwhelmed in the ruin, or that, while one at any rate was delivered by our merciful
efforts, the other should perish by no fault of ours, but rather by his own? No one is so
unhappy as not to find it easy enough to decide what should be done in such a case. And I
have proposed the question of two individuals, one, that is to say, who is lost, and
one who is delivered; what then must we think of the case where some few are lost, and an innumerable multitude of nations are delivered? For there are actually not so many persons who thus perish of their own free will, as there are estates, villages, streets, fortresses, municipal towns, cities, that are delivered by the laws under consideration from that fatal and eternal destruction.

34. But if we were to consider the matter under discussion with yet greater care, I think that if there were a large number of persons in the house which was going to fall, and any single one of them could be saved, and when we endeavoured to effect his rescue, the others were to kill themselves by jumping out of the windows, we should console ourselves in our grief for the loss of the rest by the thoughts of the safety of the

It one; and we should not allow all to perish without a single
I rescue, in the fear lest the remainder should destroy them-
1: selves. What then should we think of the work of mercy to

508 THE COETIECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. IX.

which we ought to apply ourselves, in order that men may attain eternal life and escape eternal punishment, if true reason and benevolence compel us to give such aid to men, in order to secure for them a safety which is not only temporal, but very short, for the brief space of their life on earth?

Chap. ix. As to the charge that they bring against us, that we covet and plunder their possessions, I would that they would become Catholics, and possess in peace and love with us, not only what they call theirs, but also what confessedly belongs to us. But they are so blinded with the desire of uttering calumnies, that they do not observe how inconsistent their statements are with one another. At any rate, they assert, and seem to make it a subject of most invidious complaint among themselves, that we constrain them to come in to our communion by the violent authority of the laws, which we certainly should not do by any means, if we wished to gain possession of their property. What avaricious man ever wished for another to share his possessions? Who that was inflamed with the desire of empire, or elated by the pride of its possession, ever wished to have a partner? Let them at any rate look on those very men who once belonged to them, but now are our brethren joined to us by the bond of fraternal affection, and see how they hold not only what they used to have, but also what was ours, which they did not have before; which yet, if we are living as poor in fellowship with poor, belongs to us and them alike; whilst, if we possess of our private means enough for our wants, it is no longer ours, inasmuch as we do not commit so infamous an act of usurpation as to claim for our own the property of the poor, for whom we are in some sense the trustees.

36. Everything, therefore, that was held in the name of the churches of the party of Donatus, was ordered by the Christian emperors, in their pious laws, to pass to the Catholic Church, with the possession of the buildings themselves.
Seeing, then, that there are with us poor members of those said churches who used to be maintained by these same paltry possessions, let them rather cease themselves to covet what

* Cod. Thcod. i. 52, de Ilesrceticis.

CHAP. IX. THE PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH. 509

belongs to others whilst they remain outside, and so let them enter within the bond of unity, that we may all alike administer, not only the property which they call their own, but also with it what is asserted to be ours. For it is written, "All are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." ^ Under Him as our Head, let us all be one in His one body; and in all such matters as you speak of, let us follow the example which is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles: "They were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." ^ Let us love what we sing: "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity" ^ that so they may know, by their own experience, with what perfect truth their mother, the Catholic Church, calls out to them what the blessed apostle writes to the Corinthians: "I seek not yours, but

37. But if we consider what is said in the Book of Wisdom, "Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly;" ^ and also what is said in the Proverbs, "The wealth of the sinner is laid up for the just;" ^ then we shall see that the question is not, who are in possession of the property of heretics? but who are in the society of the just? We know, indeed, that the Donatists arrogate to themselves such a store of justice, that they boast not only that they possess it, but that they also bestow it upon other men. For they say that any one whom they have baptized is justified by them, after which there is nothing left for them but to say to the person who is baptized by them, that he must needs believe on him who has administered the sacrament; for why should he not do so, when the apostle says, "To him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness?" ^ Let him believe, therefore, upon the man by whom he is baptized, if it be none else that justifies him, that his faith may be counted for righteousness. But I think that even they themselves would look with horror on themselves, if they ventured for a moment to entertain such thoughts as these.


510 THE CDRP̌ECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. IX.
For there is none that is just and able to justify, save God alone. But the same might be said of them that the apostle says of the Jews, that " being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." 

38. But far be it from us that any one of our number should call himself in such wise just, that he should either go about to establish his own righteousness, as though it were conferred upon him by himself, whereas it is said to him, " For what hast thou that thou didst not receive ?" or venture to boast himself as being without sin in this world, as the Donatists themselves declared in our conference that they were members of a Church which has already neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, not knowing that this is only fulfilled in those individuals who depart out of this body immediately after baptism, or after the forgiveness of sins, for which we make petition in our prayers; but that for the Church, as a whole, the time will not come when it shall be altogether without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, till the day when we shall hear the words, " death, where is thy sting ? grave, where is thy victory ? The sting of death is sin." 

39. But in this life, when the corruptible body presseth down the soul, if their Church is already of such a character as they maintain, they would not utter unto God the prayer which our Lord has taught us to employ: " Forgive us our trespasses." For since all sins have been remitted in baptism, why does the Church make this petition, if already, even in this life, it has neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing ? They would also have a right to despise the warning of the Apostle John, when he cries out in his epistle, " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. But if we confess our sins. He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." On account of this hope, the universal Church utters the petition, " Forgive us our trespasses," that when He sees that we are not vainglorious, but ready to confess our sins. He may cleanse us from all unrighteousness, and that so the Lord Jesus Christ may show to Himself in that day a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, which now He cleanses with the washing of water in the word:

because, on the one hand, there is nothing that remains behind in baptism to hinder the forgiveness of every bygone sin (so long, that is, as baptism is not received to no effect without the Church, but is either administered within the Church, or, at least, if it has been already administered without, the recipient does not remain outside with it); and, on the other hand, whatever pollution of sin, of whatsoever kind, is contracted through the weakness of human nature by those who live here after baptism, is cleansed away in
virtue of the same laver's efficacy. For neither is it of any avail for one who has not been 
baptized to say, "Forgive us our trespasses."

40. Accordingly, He so now cleanses His Church by the washing of water in the word, 
that He may hereafter show it to Himself as not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such 
thing, â€”
altogether beautiful, that is to say, and in absolute perfection, when death sh'll all be " 
swallowed up in victory."^ Now, therefore, in so far as the life is flourishing within us 
that proceeds from our being born of God, living by faith, so far we are righteous; but in 
so far as we drag along with us the traces of our mortal nature as derived from Adam, so 
far we cannot be free from sin. For there is truth both in the statement that " whosoever is 
born of God doth not commit sin," ^ and also in the former statement, that "if we say that 
we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." ^
The Lord Jesus, therefore, is both righteous and able to justify; but we are justified freely 
by no other grace than His.* For there is nothing that justifieth save His body, which is 
the Church; and therefore, if the body of Christ bears off the spoils of the unrighteous, 
and the riches of the unrighteous are laid up in store as treasures for the body of Christ, 
the unrighteous ought not therefore to remain outside, but rather to enter within, that so 
they may be justified.

41. Wherefore also we may be sure that what is written concerning the day of judgment, " 
Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness before the face of such as have 

^ 1 Cor. XV. 54. 2 I joi^jj ^i g a i joj^v^ ^ 3^ 4 Â£0^v^ ^ 24.

512 THE CORRECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CHAP. IX.

afflicted him, and made no account of his labours," ^ is not to be taken in such a sense as 
that the Canaanite shall stand before the face of Israel, though Israel made no account of 
the labours of the Canaanite; but only as that Naboth shall stand before the face of Ahab, 
since Ahab made no account of the labours of Naboth, since the Canaanite was 
unrighteous, while Naboth was a righteous man. In the same way the heathen shall not 
stand before the face of the Christian, who made no account of his labours, when the 
temples of the idols were plundered and destroyed; but the Christian shall stand before 
the face of the heathen, who made no account of his labours, when the bodies of the 
martyrs were laid low in death. In the same way, therefore, the heretic shall not stand in 
the face of the Catholic, who made no account of his labours, when the laws of the 
Catholic emperors were put in force; but the Catholic shall stand in the face of the 
heretic, who made no account of his labours, when the madness of the ungodly 
Circumcelliones was allowed to have its way. For the passage of Scripture decides the 
question in itself, seeing that it does not say, Then shall men stand, but " Then shall the 
righteous stand; " and they shall stand " in great boldness," 
because they stand in the power of a good conscience.
42. But in this world no one is righteous by his own righteousness, â€” that is, as though it were wrought by himself and for himself; but as the apostle says, "According as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." But then he goes on to add the following: 'Tor as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we, being many, are one body in Christ.'^ And according to this doctrine, no one can be righteous so long as he is separated from the unity of this body. For in the same manner as if a limb be cut off from the body of a living man, it cannot any longer retain the spirit of life; so the man who is cut off from the body of Christ, who is righteous, can in no wise retain the spirit of righteousness, even if he retain the form of membership which he received when in the body. Let them therefore come into the framework of this body, and so possess their own labours, not through the lust of lordship, but through 1 Wisd. V. 1. = Rom. xii. 3-5.

the godliness of using them aright. But we, as has been said before, cleanse our wills from the pollution of this concupiscence, even in the judgment of any enemy you please to name as judge, seeing that we use our utmost efforts in entreating the very men of whose labours we avail ourselves to enjoy with us, within the society of the Catholic Church, the fruits both of their labours and of our own.

Chap. x. â€” 43. But this, they say, is the very thing which disquiets us, â€” If we are unrighteous, wherefore do you seek our company ? To which question we answer, We seek the company of you who are unrighteous, that you may not remain unrighteous; we seek for you who are lost, that we may rejoice over you as soon as you are found, saying, This our brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found.^ Why, then, he says, do you not baptize me, that you might wash me from my sins ? I reply: Because I do not do despite to the stamp of the monarch, when I correct the ill-doing of a deserter. Why, he says, do I not even do penance in your body ? Xay truly, except you have done penance, you cannot be saved; for how shall you rejoice that you have been reformed, unless you first grieve that you had been astray ? What, then, he says, do we receive with you, when we come over to your side ? I answer. You do not indeed receive baptism, which was able to exist in you outside the framework of the body of Christ, although it could not profit you; but you receive the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,^ without which no one can see God; and you receive charity, which, as it is written, " shall cover the multitude of sins." ^ And in regard to this great blessing, without which we have the apostle's testimony that neither the tongues of men or of angels, nor the understanding of all mysteries, nor the gift of prophecy, nor faith so great as to be able to remove mountains, nor the bestowal of all one's goods to feed the poor, nor giving one's body to
be burned, can profit anything; if, I say, you think this mighty blessing to be worthless or of trifling value, you are deservedly but miserably

1 Luke XV. 32.  

2 K

514 THE CORRFXTION OF THE DO.N\TISTS. [CHAP. X.

astray; and deservedly you must necessarily perish, unless you come over to Catholic unity.

44. If, then, they say, it is necessary that we should repent of having been outside, and hostile to the Church, if we would gain salvation, how comes it that after the repentance which you exact from us we still continue to be clergy, or it may be even bishops in your body? This would not be the case, as indeed, in simple truth, we must confess it should not be the case, were it not that the evil is cured by the compensating power of peace itself But let them give themselves this lesson, and most especially let those feel sorrow in their hearts, who are lying in this deep death of severance from the Church, that they may recover their life even by this sort of wound inflicted on our Catholic mother Church. For when the bough that has been cut off is grafted in, a new wound is made in the tree, to admit of its reception, that life may be given to the branch which was perishing for lack of the life that is furnished by the root. But when the newly-received branch has become identified with the stock in which it is received, the result is both vigour and fruit; but if they do not become identified, the engrafted bough withers, but the life of the tree continues unimpaired. For there is further a mode of grafting of such a kind, that without cutting away any branch that is within, the branch that is foreign to the tree is inserted, not indeed without a wound, but with the slightest possible wound inflicted on the tree. In like manner, then, when they come to the root which exists in the Catholic Church, without being deprived of any position which belongs to them as clergy or bishops after ever so deep repentance of their error, there is a kind of wound inflicted as it were upon the ba-rk of the mother tree, breaking in upon the strictness of her discipline; but since neither he that planteth is anything, neither he that watereth, so soon as by prayers poured forth to the mercy of God peace is secured through the union of the engrafted boughs with the parent stock, charity tien covers the multitude of sins.

45. For although it was made an ordinance in the Church, that no one who had been called upon to do penance for any
offence should be admitted into holy orders, or return to or continue in the body of the clergy; this was done not to cause despair of any indulgence being granted, but merely to maintain a rigorous discipline; otherwise an argument will be raised against the keys that were given to the Church, of which we have the testimony of Scripture: "Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." But lest it should so happen that, after the detection of offences, a heart swelling with the hope of ecclesiastical preferment might do penance in a spirit of pride, it was determined, with great severity, that after doing penance for any mortal sin, no one should be admitted to the number of the clergy, in order that, when all hope of temporal preferment was done away, the medicine of humility might be endowed with greater strength and truth. For even the holy David did penance for deadly sin, and yet was not degraded from his office. And we know that the blessed Peter, after shedding the bitterest of tears, repented that he had denied his Lord, and yet remained an apostle. But we must not therefore be induced to think that the care of those in later times was in any way superfluous, who, when there was no risk of endangering salvation, added something to humiliation, in order that the salvation might be more thoroughly protected, having, I suppose, experienced a feigned repentance on the part of some who were influenced by the desire of the power attaching to office. For experience in many diseases necessarily brings in the invention of many remedies. But in cases of this kind, when, owing to the serious ruptures of dissensions in the Church, it is no longer a question of danger to this or that particular individual, but whole nations are lying in ruin, it is right to yield a little from our severity, that true charity may give her aid in healing the more serious evils.

46. Let them therefore feel bitter grief for their detestable error of the past, as Peter did for his fear that led him into falsehood, and let them come to the true Church of Christ,

^ Pope Innocent i., in his 8th Epistle to A{n}apitus, Macedonius, and certain other bishops of Apulia, writes to the effect that "canons had been passed at Nicaje, excluding penitents from even the lowest orders of the ministry."

2 Matt. xvi. 19.
come in whom we find in the highways and hedges, although we fail as yet in persuading some of them that we are seeking not their property, but themselves. The Apostle Peter, when he denied his Saviour, and wept, and did not cease to be an apostle, had not as yet received the Holy Spirit that was promised; but much more have these men not received Him, when, being severed from the framework of the body, which is alone enlivened by the Holy Spirit, they have usurped the sacraments of the Church outside the Church and in hostility to the Church, and have fought against us in a kind of civil war, with our own arms and our own standards raised in opposition to us. Let them come; let peace be concluded in the virtue of Jerusalem, which virtue is Christian charity, â€” to which holy city it is said, " Peace be in thy virtue, and plenteousness within thy palaces."^ Let them not exalt themselves against the solicitude of their mother, which she both has entertained and does entertain with the object of gathering within her bosom themselves, and all the mighty nations whom they are, or recently were, deceiving; let them not be puffed up with pride, that she receives them in such wise; let them not attribute to the evil of their own exaltation the good which she on her part does in order to make peace.

47. So it has been her wont to come to the aid of multitudes who were perishing through schisms and heresies. This displeased Lucifer,^ when it was carried out in receiving and healing those who had perished beneath the poison of the Arian heresy; and, being displeased at it, he fell into the darkness of schism, losing the light of Christian charity. In accordance with this principle, the Church of Africa has recognised the Donatists from the very beginning, obeying herein the decree of the bishops who gave sentence in the Church at Rome between Caecilianus and the party of Donatus; and having

^ Ps. cxxii. G: Fiat pax in virtute tua. The English version is, **Peace be within thy walls."


CHAP. XL] IMERCY OF THE CHUECH. 517

condemned one bishop named Donatus/ who was proved to have been the author of the schism, they determined that the others should be received, after correction, with full recognition of their orders, even if they had been ordained outside the Church, â€” not that they could have the Holy Spirit even outside the unity of the body of Christ, but, in the first place, for the sake of those whom it was possible they might deceive while they remained outside, and prevent from obtaining that gift; and, secondly, that their own weakness also being mercifully received within, might thus be rendered capable of cure, no obstinacy any longer standing in the way to close their eyes against the evidence of truth. For what other intention could have given rise to their own conduct, when they received with full recognition of their orders the followers of Maximianus, whom they had condemned as guilty of sacrilegious schism, as their council shows, and to fill whose places they had already ordained other men, when they saw that the people did not depart from their company, that all might not be involved in ruin? And on what other ground
did they neither speak against nor question the validity of the baptism which had been administered outside by men whom they had condemned? Why, then, do they wonder, why do they complain, and make it the subject of their calumnies, that we receive them in such wise to promote the true peace of Christ, while yet they do not remember what they themselves have done to promote the false peace of Donatus, which is opposed to Christ? For if this act of theirs be borne in mind, and intelligently used in argument against them, they will have no answer whatsoever that they can make.

Chap. xi. 48. But as to what they say, arguing as follows: If we have sinned against the Holy Ghost, in that we have treated your baptism with contempt, why is it that you seek us, seeing that we cannot possibly receive remission of this sin, as the Lord says, "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come?" They do not perceive that


3 Matt. xii. 32.

618 THE COPvKECTION OF THE DONATISTS. [CIIAP. XT.

according to their interpretation of the passage none^ can be delivered. For who is there that does not speak against the Holy Ghost and sin against Him, whether we take the case of one who is not yet a Christian, or of one who shares in the heresy of Arius, or of Eunomius, or of Macedonius, who all say that He is a creature; or of Photinus, who denies that He has any substance at all, saying that there is only one God, the Father; or of any of the other heretics, whom it would now take too long a time to mention in detail? Are none, therefore, of these to be delivered? Or if the Jews themselves, against whom the Lord directed His reproach, were to believe in Him, would they not be allowed to be baptized? for the Saviour does not say, "Shall be forgiven in baptism; but " Shalt not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."

49. Let them understand, therefore, that it is not every sin, but only some sin, against the Holy Ghost which is incapable of forgiveness. For just as when our Lord said, " If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin,"^ it is clear that He did not wish it to be understood that they would have been free from all sin, since they were filled with many grievous sins, but that they would have been free from some special sin, the absence of which would have left them in a position to receive remission of all the sins which yet remained in them, viz. the sin of not believing in Him when He came to them; for they could not have had this sin, had He not come. In like manner, also, when He
said, "Whosoever sinneth against the Holy Ghost," or, "Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost;" it is clear that He does not refer to every sin of whatsoever kind against the Holy Ghost, in word or deed, but would have us understand some special and peculiar sin. But this is the hardness of heart even to the end of this life, which leads a man to refuse to accept remission of his sins in the unity of the body of Christ, to which life is given by the Holy Ghost. For when He had said to His disciples, "Receive the Holy Ghost," He immediately added, "Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." 1 John XV. 22.

CHAP. XI.] THE SIX AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST. 519

ever therefore has resisted or fought against this gift of the grace of God, or has been estranged from it in any way whatever to the end of this mortal life, shall not receive the remission of that sin, either in this world, or in the world to come, seeing that it is so great a sin that in it is included every sin; but it cannot be proved to have been committed by any one, till he has passed away from life. But so long as he lives here, "the goodness of God," as the apostle says, "is leading him to repentance;" but if he deliberately, with the utmost perseverance in iniquity, as the apostle adds in the succeeding verse, "after his hardness and impenitent heart, treasures up unto himself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God," he shall not receive forgiveness, neither in this world, neither in that which is to come.

50. But those with whom we are arguing or about whom we are arguing, are not to be despaired of, for they are yet in the body; but they cannot seek the Holy Spirit, except in the body of Christ, of which they possess the outward sign outside the Church, but they do not possess the actual reality itself within the Church of which that is the outward sign, and therefore they eat and drink damnation to themselves. For there is but one bread which is the sacrament of unity, seeing that, as the apostle says, "We, being many, are one bread, and one body." Furthermore, the Catholic Church alone is the body of Christ, of which He is the Head and Saviour of His body. Outside this body the Holy Spirit giveth life to no one, seeing that, as the apostle says himself, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us;" but he is not a partaker of the divine love who is the enemy of unity. Therefore they have not the Holy Ghost who are outside the Church; for it is written of them, "They separate themselves, being sensual, having not the Spirit." But neither does he receive it who is insincerely in the Church, since this is also the intent of what is written: "For the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit." If any one, therefore, wishes to receive the Holy Spirit, let him beware of continuing in alienation from the Church, let him

1 Rom. li. 4, 5. ^Cor. xi. 29. ^i Cor. x. 17. * Epli. v. 23.
beware of entering it in the spirit of dissimulation; or if he has already entered it in such wise, let him beware of persisting in such dissimulation, in order that he may truly and indeed become united with the tree of life.

51. I have despatched to you a somewhat lengthy epistle, which may prove burdensome among your many occupations. If, therefore, it may be read to you even in portions, the Lord will grant you understanding, that you may have some answer which you can make for the correction and healing of those men who are commended to you as to a faithful son by our mother the Church, that you may correct and heal them, wherever you can, and howsoever you can, either by speaking and replying to them in your own person, or by bringing them into communication with the doctors of the Church.

INDEXES.

I, INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

Genesis.
PACK

X. 6-10, ... 70

xviii. 37,

. 488

i. 2, .

. 162

xvii. 51, . . 239

xix. 3-6,

. 298

i. 4, .

. 202

xviii. xix., . . 486

xix. 4, .

. 316
ii. 8-14, .

. 79

xviii. 10, . . 14

xix. 5, .

. 271

vi. 3, .

. 275

xix. 23, . . 143

xxii. 11,

. 496

XV. 10, .

. 27

xxvii., . . 368

xxii. 16-18,
1 Kings.

xxvi. 8,

. 133, 223

XXV. 24,

17

iii. 26, . . 179

xxvii. 14,

. 410

XXV. 29-34, .

132

xviii., . . 278

XXXV. 12,

. 186

xxvi. 4,

482

xviii. 21, . . 203
xl. 4, .

. 462

xxvi, 11,

368

xviii. 44-46, . . 368

xl. 5, .

. 146

XXX. 3, .

17

xxi,. . 364, 366

xlii. 2, .

. 496

xxix. and xli. ,

368
xliii. 1, .
. 486

xlii. 15, .
368

2 Kings.
xiv. 14, .
. 146

xlvi. 9, .
. 340

xlvii., .
368

iv. 13, . . .368

xlvi. 9, .
. 340

xviii. 4, . . 495

1. 14, .
Exodus.

xxiii. 4, 5, . . 495

1. 16-18,

. 206

ii. 10, .

368

1. 18, .

. 286

iv. 24, .

, .

113

Job.

ii. 7, .
Ivii. 4, .
. 389

xxxii. 28, 31,
358

Psalms.

Ivii. 5, .
. 271

i. 1, . . . 325

Ivii. 11,
. 414

Leviticus.

i. 1, 2, 10, 11, . 495

Iviii. 1, .
Numbers.

ii. 9, . . 97

Ixiii, 11,

. 247

xvi., . . 12,

41, 72

iii. 8, . . 234, 464

Ixviii. 6,

222, 223

xvi. 31-35, .

242

xi. 1, . . 415

Ixxii. 8, 242, 3

35, 465, 482

xvii. 8, .
xiv. 1, . . 429

Ixxiii. 18,

. 28

dv. 3, . . 30, 326

Ixxiii. 26,

. 314

Deuteronomy

',

xiv. 5, . . 269

Ixxxiii. 16, .

. 254

iv. 24, .

73
xiv. 5-7, .247

Ixxxiv. 4,

. 223

xix. 21,

363

xiv. 5-8, .272

Ixxxiv. 10,

. 406

xiv. 6, .253, 269

xciii. 1,

. 394

1 Samuel.

XV. 5, .91
xcvi. 1, .

. 320

ii. 25, .

.

399

xvi. 5, . . . 314

ci. 5,

. 348

521

522

INDEX OF TEXTS.

ciii. 8, .
cv. 15, .
cv. 44, .
cix. 8, 9, cxiii. 3, .
cxviii. 8, 2i cxviii. 8, 9, cxix. 28, cxix. 42, cxix. 80, cxix. 122, cxx. G, 7, cxxii. ], cxxii. G, cxxxii. 9, cxxxiii., cxxxiii. 1, cxxxix. IG, cxli. 5, .
cxliv. 9, cxliv. 11-15,
EZEKIEL.

xiii. 1 1, .
xiv. 14, .
xvi. 17-19, xvi. 31, .
xxxiv. 4,

PAcr.

48
400

77
193
505
NEW TESTAMENT.

Daniel.

11.-
ii.

iii.

vi.

vi.

vi.

ix.

11.,

VI.,

35,

-VI.

5-29,

29,
Ho SEA.

Proverbs.
i. 22, . .312, 314
vii. 12, . . 1G2, 1G4
ix. IS, . . 1G2
xiii. 22, . . 509
xiii. 24, . . 497
xiv. 9, . . IGG
xiv. 28, . . 35G
xviii. 21, . . 3GG
xviii. 1, . . 74
xxiii. 14, . . 497
xxvii. G, . . 395
xxix. 19, . . 497

Song of Solomon.
i. 3, . . 414
ii. 2, . . 14G
iv. 12, . . 189
iv. 12, 13, KG, 154, 223
vi. 8, . . 94, 154
vi. 9, 17, 70, 81, 18G, 223

ii. 2-5, li. 5-7, ii. 5-8, ix. 4,

iii. G-9,

Jonah.

219
73
104
76
32G

495
Malacii.
i. 2, 3, . . . 17
i. 11, . . . 358, 482
iii. 1, . . . 307

ISAIAir.

xxix. 13, xlvi. 8, .
 Iviii. 11, lxvi. 3, .
 lxvi. 24,

218
310
249
32G
29G

jEREML\n.

ii. 21, . . .180
viii. 11, . . . 340
 XV. 15-18, . . 393
 XV. 18, . . 69, 442
 xvii. 5, 234, 257, 392,
 408, 43G, 4G2, 4G4
 xxxvi., . . 41

APOCPvYPHA.

Wisdom.

i. 5, . 19,
143, 164, 291,

438,

440, 444, 519

i. 11, .

. . 272

ii. 24, 25,

90, 92

iii. G,

. 312

V. 1, .

. 512

ix. 15, .

151, 105, 510

X. 20, .

. 509
xii. 10, .
. 48

xii. 23, ^
. 278

xxxiv. 25,
. 404

ECCLESIASTICUS.

iii. 18, . . 58
XV. 16, 17, . . . 355
xxxiv. 25, . 233, 259

2 Maccacees.
vi. . . . 3G3
vii. 9, . . . 262

Bel and the Deagon.
Vers. 22, 42, . . 495

ii. 10, .
iii. G, 13, iii. 7, iii. 11, .
iii. 12, .
iii. 13, .
iii. 14, .
iii. 16, .
iii. 17, .
iv. 6, 7, V. 3, .
V. 3-9, .
V. 5-7, .
V. 9,
V. 10, 284, 3
V. 10-12, V. 12, 
V. 13, 
V. 14, 
V. 17, 
V. 19, 2 a, V. 20, 
V. 39, 
vi. 10, 
vi. 12, 
vi. 14, 15, vi. 15, 141, 1 
vi. 24, 
vi. 3, 
vii. 15, 
vii. 15, IG, vii. 15, 16, vii. 16, 
vii. 17, 16, 

vii. 21, 
vii. 22, 
vii. 22, 23, vii. 23, 
vii. 24, 
vii. 24-2G, vii. 24-27, vii. 26, 
viii. 21, 22, viii. 29, X. 16, 
X. 16, 23, 
X. 25, 

Matthew.

PAOF.

. 363
. III

. 437

J2G, 29.5, 298

291, 409, 493

. 124
. 120

. 127
X. 28, .
X. 35-39, xi. 9, 11, xi. 11, .
xi. 24,
INDEX OF TEXTS.

523

r. 238,
93,
-43,: 238,
01,
32, 223,
79,
0, 223,

192,

xii. 31, 32, xii. 32, .
xii. 35, .
xii. 45, .
xiii. 2, 3, xiii. 23, xiii. 24-30, xiii. 24-40, xiii. 24-30, 3G
xiii. 28, 25, xiii. 29, xiii. 47, 4G, xiii. 38, 39, xiv. 8, 9, XV. 14, .
xvi. 10, xvi. 18, xvi. 18, 19, xvi. 19, xvi. 25, xvi. 26, xvii. 14, xvii. 17, xviii. 19, xviii. 23-25, xix. 21, xix. 29, xxi. 25, xxi. 4.3, xxii. SO, xxii. 39, xxiii. 2, 3, S2G, 334, xxiii. 3, 157, 237,
408, xxiii. 13, 15, 23, 24,

27, 28, xxii. 25, xxiii. 33-35, xxiv. 23, XXV. 32, 33, XXV. 34, 41, XXV. 41, XXV. 45,
xxvi. 17, xxvi. 2G-29, xxvi. 52, xxvi. 69-75, xxvii. 4, 5, xxvii. 24, xxvii. 24-20, xxvii. 20,
xxviii. 18, 19
xxviii. 19,

187, 192, xxviii. 19, 20,

:17,
37,

7,

107,

17, G8,

Matk.
i. 2, i. 7,

PAGE

334
517
^55
259

90
223
312
409
290

92
178
409
347
304
171
443
403
218
515
388
380
490
223
^51

21

397

388

309

333

401
i. 24, .
iii. 23, .
V. 13, .
viii. 29, .
ix. 38, .
ix. 38, 39, xvi, 15-18,

i. 11, 13, ii. 14, 
iv. 9, 
vi. 35, 
vi. 37, 
viii. 15, viii. 28, ix. 38, 
ix. 49, 50, x. 20, 
xiv. 22, 23, XV. 32, 
xxvii. 14, xxiii. 33, xxiii. 31, xxiii. 40-43, xxiii. 43, xxiv. 30, 45, 47, xxiv. 39, 40, 47, xxiv. 44-47, xxiv. 40, 47, xxiv. 47,

John.
1,2, 
10, 
. 22, 
.27, 
. 29, 
. 32, 33, 
. 33, 59, 96, 180, 238, 
. 47, 
i. 15-17, 
ii. 5, 108, 162, 
ii. 0, 
ii. 9, 
ii. 27, . 124, 
V. 2, 
V. 24, 
vi. 44, 
vi. 51, 
vii. 44, 
vi. 44, ix. 21,
. 222

42

268

113

13

8,212

498

. 342

207

xi. 51,

xi. 52,

xii. 0, xii. 24,

xii. 43,
xiii. 45, xiii. 10, xiii. 11, xiii. 24, xiii. 27, xiii. 34, 35, xiv. 6, 
xiv. 21, xiv. 27, XV. 1, 2, XV. 1-5, XV. 2, .
XV. 3, 4, XV. 5, .
XV. 15, .
XV. 22, .
xi. 2, . o xvi. 12, xviii. 10, 11, xix. 11, .
XX. 19-21, XX. 21-23, XX. 22, .
XX. 22, 23, XX. 23, . 140,

XX. 28, .

PAGE

293, 314
. 14
. 472
. 361

. 48
. 124

74, 289
. 282
. 29
. 123

74, 344

GO, 188
. 74
. 282
. 29
. 74

29, 1.35

. 282

236, 454

. 128

. 518
Acts.
i. 5, . . . 300
i. 7, 8, . . . 311
i. 8, 316, 329, 335, 357, 384, 388, 483
i. 15, . . . 303
ii. 2-4, . . . 295
ii. 4, . . . 303
iv. 32, . . . 509
iv. 32-35, . . 397
V. 3, 4, . . . 461
V. 29, . . . 356
viii. 5-17, . . 73
viii. 9-24, . . 93
viii. 13, 14, 70, 164, 394
viii. 1.3, 18, 19, . . 109
viii. 13, 21, . . 16
viii. 30, . . . 442
ix. 1-18, . . 498
ix. 4, . . 140
ix. 4, 5, . . 278
ix. 4-18, . . 281
X., ... 12
X. 4, 5, . . . 110
X. 44, . . 109, 303
xiii. 18, 19, . . 200

524

INDEX OF TEXTS.

xiv. 22, 
XV. 9, 
Xvii. 23, 27, 28, xvii. 28, xix. 1-7, xix. 3, 
xix. 3-5, 114, xxii. 25, xxiii. 12-23, 
xxiii. 17-32, , xxiv. 1, 
XXV. 11,

TAGK
Romans.
i. 1, . . . 143
ii. 4, . . . 73
ii. 4, 5, . . . 519
ii. 21, . . 91, 142
ii. 29, . . . 146
iii. 3, 4, . . 204
iii. 17, . . 30, 38
iii. 24, . . 511
iii. 26, . . 272
iv. 3, . . 271
iv. 5, 235, 257, 292, 272,
446, 454, 462, 464,
471, 509
iv. 11, 3, iv. 25, 5, V. 5, .
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. 17, vi. 9, vi. 23, viii. 6, viii. 17, viii. 24, viii. 28, ix. 5, X. 3, x. 4, x. 10, xi. 13, xii. 2, xii. 4, xii. 3-5, xii. 5, xiii. 4, xiii. 10, xiv. 4, xiv. 6, xiv. 12, 13, xiv. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236, 454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Corinthians.
i. 10, 13, . . 16
i. 12, 13, . 315, 409
i. 12-15, . . 129
i. 13, 66, 115, 234, 466

PAGE

i. 14, .

. 475

XV. 46, .

,

. 24

i. 17, .

. 472

XV. 55, 56,

,
. 510

i. 22, .

. 500

i. 27, .

. 135

2 Corinthians.

i. .30, 31,

. 414

ii. 1.5, .

190, 216

i. 31, .

. 446
ii. 15, 16,

. 65

ii. 6-8, .

. 363

iv. 16, .

. 102

ii. 14, .

24, 66

vi. 7, 8,

. 420

ii. 15, .

. 71

vi. 10, .
. 387

iii. 1-3, .

. 06

vi. 14, .

98, 99

iii. 1-4, .

. 16

vi. 14, 15,

. 315

iii. 4, 5,

. 471

vi. 16, .

83,

143, 204
iii. 6, 7,

. 236, 470

vii. 5, .

345, 393

iii. 7, .

412, 464, 514

X. 6,

. 499

iii. 17, .

. 224

xi. 2, 3,

. 411

iii. 21, .
276, 344

iv. 3, .

. 322

xi. 29, .

. 393

iv. 7, .

. 408, 510

xii. 14, .

. 509

iv. 15, .

. 257, 425
iv. 16, .
. 408

Galatians.

V. 4, .
. 220

i. 8, .
,
348, 413

V. 5, .
. 266

i. 20, .
,
. 33

V. 11, .
. 219
ii. 11, .

196, 209

vi. 3, .

. 275

ii. 11-14,

. 61

vi. 9, 10,

. 106

ii. 14, .

33, 87, 153

vi. 10, 83,

91, 105, 142,

iii. 16, .

,
249, 465

288

iii. 27,

IS,

143, 317

viii. 11,

. 412

iii. 29,

. 264

ix. 15,

. 130

iv..

. 24
90, 133

V. 22, 23,

, 29

xi. 19, 344

vi. 1, 146

, 123, 321, 519

vi. 2, 3,

, 413

xii. 11,
. 70

vi. 3, .

, .

. 470

xii. 31, .

. 28

vi. 4,

, .

. 319

xiii. 1, .

. 28

vi. 4, 5,

, .

. 413

xiii. 1, 2,
vi. 5, 288,
305,
382, 449

xiii. 1-3,
. 69, 513
vi. 9, 10,
,
. 485

xiii. 1-8,
. 346

xiii. 2, 
12, 227, 328

Epiiesians.
xiii. 3, .

38, 104, 388

ii. 6,

,  

7, 126

xiii. 5, .

. 94

ii. 14, .

,  

. 340

xiii. 6, .

. 350

iii. 4,  

,  

. 130
xiv. 29, 30,
. 444

iv. 1-3,

, 339

XV. 9,
. 275

iv. 2, 3,
15

, 28, 158,

XV. 10,
. 498

224,

.347, 413

XV. 12,
INDEX OF TEXTS.

1 TIIESSALONIANS.

12, . 96

iv. 4–6, .

145, 214

XV. 33, 32,

. 205

iv. 5,

203, 293

M

r.voE

525
James.

iv. 14, ... 6Q

PAGE

V. 5, 13, S5, 86, 91, 97

V. 14, 15, ... 411

i. 17, ... 408

V. 23, ... 519

V. 25, 26, ... 462, 474

1 Timothy.

1 Peter.

V. 26, 27, ... 81

i. 5, 70, 124, 151, 219

ii. 20, ... 355, 387

iii. 15, ... 277

iii. 20, 21, ... 148
iii. 21, . . SO, 416
iv. 8, . 27, 51, 513

V. 27, 72, 94, 132, 144,
146, 154, 204,
223, 510
V. 20, . . . 338
vi 12, . . . 419

i. 8, .
i. 13, .
i. 20, .
iii. 10, .
iii. 11, .

123, 329
84, 85
. 266
. 438
. 142

iv. 12, .
iv. 14, .

. 77
. 402

1 JOHK.

COLOSSIANS.
V. 6, .
186, 260
i. 8, . . 400, 511
i. 6, . . 482
v. 22, .
201, 402
i. 8, 9, . . 510
i. 23, . . 394
ii. 1, 2, . . 401
iii. 5, . . 84
2 Timothy.
ii. 9, . 99, 137, 167
iv. 2-4, . . 400
ii. 8, . . 139, 473
ii. 18, . . 170
ii. 16-21, . . 175

ii. 19, 74, 140, 212, 224

ii. 17, . . 96

iii. 9, . . 511

PHILIPPIANS.

ii. 17-20, . . 98

iii. 15, 137, 174, 280, 358

i. 15, . . -99

ii. 19, . . 146, 409

iv. 1, . . 443

i. 15, 17, . . 222

ii. 20, 97, 224 bis, 409

iv. 16, . . 412

i. 15-18, . C2, 450
ii. 24, . . . 84

iv. 18, . . . 497

i. 16, . . . 26

ii. 24, 25, . . . 327

J. 17, 18, . . 257

ii. 26, . . . 505

2 John.

i. 18, . 88, 96, 223

iv. 2, . . 48, 339

Vers. 10, 11, . 218

i. 23, . . . 498

ii. 20, 21, . . 345
ii. 21, . . 94, 257

Titus.
i. 7, . . . 72
JUDE.

id. 5, 6, . . 372

i. 12, 13, . . 293

Ver. 19, . . 519

iii. 15, 38, 95, 117, 147,

i. 15, . . . 326

151, 158, 174,

i. 16, . . . 80

Revelation.

178, 189, 210,

ii. 6, . . 93

228

Hebrews.

xvii. 5, . . 393
INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Aaron, the ointment on the Lead, l)earf], and garments of, 30G, o97.

Adelphius of Thabbalte, the sentence of, respecting the rebaptism of heretics, 191.

Adulterous woman, the, 7i>, TG, 77.

Apostates retain the grace of baptism, 2.

Ark, the, of Noah, and baptism, 147, 148.

Aries, the Council of, 40.

Augustine, the apology of, in regard to the rei)roaches cast ou him by Petilian respecting his past life, 417; misstatements of Petilian respecting the life of, 433.

Aurelius of Chullabi, the pentence of, respecting the re baptizing of heretics, 218.
Aurelius of Utica, 201.

Aymnius of Ausnaga, 205.

Babylon, the king of, and Daniel, 379.

Baptized, the, not the fruit of the baptizer, 455.

Baptized by the dead, the, who? 20S, 239.

Baptized twice, or not at all, which the worst case? 51.

Baptizer, the, to be examined, 439.

Baptism, heretical, valid — may be conferred outside of the Church, but should not be received, 1, etc.; the grace of, retained by apostates, 2; of no avail while men remain in schism, 13, etc.; examination and refutation of the arguments of Cy- 
) nan's epistle to Jubaianus in defence of the rebaptizing of heretics, G2, G3, etc.; everywhere the same, G5; valid even with defective faith, 07; how Marcion consecrated the sacrament of, 07, 08; the streams of the river of 
Paradise illustrative of, within and without the Church, 79; heretical, true, but profitless, 83; sacred in itself, 94, 95; all do not receive the grace of, 100, 101; the difference between a bad man who receives it without, and a bad man who receives it within the Church, 102, 103; unavailing without unity, 105; and holiness â€” both requisite, 109; the place of, sometimes supplied by martyrdom, 110;

almost always indispensable, 111; infants capable (j if, 112, 113; the custom of the Church in relation to, 115; second, not to be given, and generally disliked, 120, 121; not alwjiysuserl lawfully, 122, 123; the, of John, 124, 125; John's, different from Christ's, 127, 130, 131; administered to Christ by John, 129; true even when profitless, 139; hieretics can give, 140; cannot be annull ed, 142, 143; judgments of the bishops in the Council of Carthage in relation to heretics, 150, etc., 195, etc.; not always profitable, 224, 225; is it valid when received from one who was not himself baptized? 225, 220; cannot be given in deceit, 220, 227; independent of the giver, 232, 233, 234, 235; rests in Christ, 257; no degrees in, 257, 258; everywhere belongs to Goci, 291; the, of Christ and John, 298, 299, 30G, 307, 308, 309; independent of the ministrant, 303; depends not on the giver, 390, 391; heresy cannot destroy, 403; by hypocrites, 441; the source of, always one, 401, 402, 403.
Beard, the, of Aaron, the import of, 390, 397.

Bishops, the wicked conduct of some, in the days of Cyprian, 91, etc.

C.4ciLius of Bilta, his sentence on the rebaptizing of heretics, 158:

Cfficilianus, bishop of the Church of Cai’thage, oj^posed by the Donatists, 481, 482; persecuted by the Donatists, 483.

Carneades, 427.

Carthage, the Council of, 32, 00, 01; the various sentences of the members of the Council of, on the baptizing of heretics, 150, etc., 105, etc., 195, etc.

Cassius of Macomades, his sentence respecting the rebaptizing of heretics refuted, 180.

Castus of Sicca, his opinion refuted, GO, 180.

Catholic, meaning of the term, 311.

Catholic, the wicked, cannot be saved, 105, 100; ought we to prefer a, of an abandoned life, to a blameless heretic? 107, 108.

INDEX OF PPvTKCirAL SUBJECTS.

527

Catholicity, the, of the Church, 297; of the Psalms, 320, 321.

Catholics, the, charged by the Donatists with murder, 363, etc.; innocent of the charges alleged against them by the Donatists, 382.

Chaff and the wheat, the, 318, 319.

Christ, the baptistn of, by John, 129; the head and origin of the Christian, 235; alone iustities, 236, 237; the baptism of John and, 125, 29G, 299; the name of, everywhere holy, 351; the derivation of the name, 398; alone without sin, 401; the only source of grace, 453; the source of baptism, 462, 463.
Christian, the true, 74; Christ the head and origin of, 235.

Church, the, union with, necessary to salvation, 15; the Holy Spirit given only in, 69, 70; a mixture of good and evil in, 92, 93, 97, etc.; a garden enclosed, 146, etc.; the ark, 148, 149; the catholicity of, 296, 297; the property of, 509; not sinless in this world, 510, 511; the mercy of, 516, 517.

Circumcelliones, the, 250, 270, 354, 360, 369, 374.

Clarus of Mascula, his sentence on the rebaptizing of heretics, 217.

Compulsion in religion justified, 495-500.

Constantine and Julian, 370, 371.

Cornelms, the centurion, 12, 109, 110.

Correction, loving, 339.

Council of Carthage, the, 32, CO, 61, 165, 195; of Aries, 146.

Covetousness, the nature of, 332, 333.

Crescens of Cirta, the sentence of, on the baptism of heretics, 168.

Crispinus of Calama, the Donatist, the conduct of, towards the Catholics, 354.

C^'prian, the position of, with respect to the rebaptizing of heretics, 27, 23, 29; the example of, more opposed to the Donatists than to the Catholics, 31, etc.; quoted, 32, 34; the charity and humility of, 35-38; not a schismatic, 38, 39; against schism, 43; examination of his epistle to Jubaianus, 54, etc.; the example of, condemns the Donatists, 57, etc.; his epistle to Jubaianus further examined, 79, etc.; on envy and malignity, 89, etc.; the eminent character of, 90, 91, 135; the wicked conduct of some bishops in the days of, 91; not infallible, 145; the liberality of, 157; his sentence at the Council of Carthage, 224.
Daniel and the three children, 379, 380.

Dativas of Badis, his sentence on the baptism of heretics, 173.

Dead, baptized by the, 238, 2.39.

Death, forcible rescue from, merciful, 507.

Demetrius of the Lesser Septis, his sentence on the baptism of heretics, 191.

Devil, the, 92; a murderer from the baptism, 268; quotes Scripture, 323.

Discipline, necessary, 411; maintained in the Church, 447; admits of relaxation, 515.

Donatists, the validity of the baptism of, no justification of their schism, 1, etc.; the case of Cyprian quoted by, in their defence, 27; the case of Cyprian really against, 31, etc.; the inconsistency of, 49, 240, 241; the example of Cyprian condemns, 57, etc.; traditors, 248, 249; the wicked conduct of, 250; the slanders of which they are guilty, 270, 271; not persecuted, 277, etc.; the madness of, 312, 313; condemned by secular testimony, 331; ravening wolves, 342, 343; false assumptions of, 344, 345; wanting in charity, 346, 347; persecution and cruelty practised by, 352, 353; worse than murderers, 359; the intrigues of, with the Emperor Julian, 367, 369, 370; the guilt of, 382, 383; the confidence of, in Julian, 384, 385; the sufferings of, fruitless, 387; noo sinless, 398, 399; the wantonness of their schism, 466, 467; to be distinguished from the Arians, 479, 489; the question in dispute with, 480; the reason of the separation of, 481, 482; the appeal of, to the Emperor Constantine against Cosclianus, 4S3; the habit of suicide among, 488, 489; the gratitude of some of the reclaimed, 41)0; persecutions, cruelties, and terrorism practised by, 491, 492, 493, 494; measures taken against, 500, 501; attempt of, to murder Maximianus, bishop of Bagai, 502, 503; results of the fury of, 503-505; charge of, against the Church, of plundering their possessions, 508, 509.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.
Donatulus of Capsa, 214,

Donatus of Casce Nigra), 517.

Donatus of Cibaliana, 208.

Dove, the one, 70, 81.

Drawing, the, of the Father, and freewill, 355.

Drunkenness, can it exist alone, without involving other sins ? 107-

Envy and malignity, Cyprian on, 89.
Error, unwittingly fallen into, not as

bad as vice, 84, 85; healed in unity,

110, 117.
Eucratius of Thente, his sentence on

the baptism of heretics, 187.
Eugenius of Ammedera, his opinion

as to the baptizing of heretics, 189.

F AUSTiNUS, a Donatist, his persecution

vi the Catholics, 353.
Faustus of Timida Regia, the sentence

of, on the baptizing of heretics, 209.
Felicianus, the Donatist, 3, 353.
Felix of Ammacura, 189.
Felix of Bagai, 171.
Felix of Buslacene, 01, 212.
Felix of Gurgites, 215.
Felix of Marazaua, 203.
Felix of Migirpa, 100.
Felix of Uthina, 184.
Fortunatus of Thuccabori, 174.

Garden enclosed, the, 140.

Gildo, Count of Africa, 49 (note), 285
(note), 309.
Grace, comes from God only, 141, Grafting into the Church, 514.
Guilt, not contagious, 280, 287.

Heresy, cannot destroy baptism, 403.

Heretics, can bestow baptism, not to be rebaptized, 1, etc.; the baptism of, true, but
profitless, 82, 83; even although virtuous, cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, 105; can
give baptism, but not remission of sins, 140.

Holy Ghost, the, given only in the Catholic Church, 09; the sin against,
335; the sin against, alone incapable of forgiveness, 517, 518; gives life to none outside
the Church, 519.

Honoratus of Tucca, his sentence on the baptism of heretics, 217.

Hortensianus of Lares, 180.

House, a great, the vessels in, 98, 100.

Iamrus of Germaniciana, 202.
Infants capable of baptism, 112, 113.

Invective, not proof, 301, Irenuius of Ululi, 208.

Jader of Medina, 203.

Januarius of Lamba;se, 165.

Januarius of Muzuli, 190.

Januarius of Vicus Ccesaris, 183.

John, the baptism of, different from Christ's, 124, 127; Christ baptized by, 127, 288, 289,
306-309; the true position of, 307.

Jubaianus, Cyprian's epistle to, examined, 54, etc., 01, etc.

Judas, 261, 262, 263.
Julian, the Emperor, the intrigues of the Donatists with, 367; and Constantine, 371, 384, 385.

Julianus of Marcelliana, 213.

Julianus of Telpe, 209.

Junius of Neaxjolis, 220.

Kings of the world, the, their attitude towards the Church as represented by Petilian and Augustine, 363; the duties of, 376, 377.

Korah and Abiram, 72, 73.

LiBOSUS of Vaga, 188.
Litteus of Genielli, 219.
Lucianus of Eucuma, 202.
Lucifer, bishop of Calarita, 510.
Lucius of Ausafa, 215.
Lucius of Castrum Galb», 166.
Lucius of Membresa, 212.
Lying water, 392, 393.

Macarius, 313, 314; and Ursacius,-
374, 375.

Marcellus of Zama, 207.

Marcion, how he consecrated the sacrament of baptism, 67, 68.

Marcus of Mactaris, 196.

Martyrdom, of no avail to those outside the Church, 104; sometimes supplies the place of baptism, 110; suicide not, 488, 489.

Maximiianus and his followers, who separated from the Donatists, but afterwards returned to communion with them, 49, 245, 248, 249.

Maximiianus, the Catholic bishop of Bagai, attempts of the Donatists to murder, 502, 503; seeks aid from the Emperor against the Donatists, 503.

Minister, the true function of the Christian, 471.

Ministrations, the, of bad men, valid, 154, 155.
Miracles no proof of holiness, 329.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

529

Monnulus of Girba, his sentence on the baptizing of heretics, 170.

Na^ie of Christ, the, everywhere holy,

351.
Natalis of Oea, 220.
Nebuchadnezzar, 485.
Kemesianus of Tabunre, his sentence as to the baptizing of heretics, 262,

263.
Nicomedes of Segermce, 169.
Novatus of Thamugadis, 169.

Oil of sinners, the, 394, 395.

Ointment, the, on the head and beard of Aaron, 396, 397.

Optatus, the Gildonian, 49, 251, 252,
285, 309; persecution of the Catholic Church under, 353; the universal opinion respecting, 395.

Paradise, the comparison of the Church with, 79.

Paul the apostle, the case of the baptism of, 281; the excellency of the mission of, 472, 473.

Paul of Bobba, his sentence on the rebaptizing of heretics, 204.

Pelagianus of Luperciana, 203.

Penitent robber, the, 110.
Persecution, the, of the Donatists denied, 277; punishment not, 278, 279; of the saints, 371, 372, etc.; distinctions in, 486, 487; an apology for, 487, 488; how the true Church persecutes, 488; justified, 495-500.

Peter, the sword of, 360, 361.

Peter of Hippo Diarrhytus, the opinion of, on the baptism of heretics, 215.

Petilian the Donatist, Augustine's reply to, 231, etc., 256, etc.; not a fair witness, 418, 419; misstatements of, respecting Augustine's life, 433.

Photius, bishop of Sirmium, 103.

Polycarp of Adrumetum, the sentence of, relating to the baptism of heretics, 161.

Pomponius of Dionysiana, 204.

Prayer, the power of, in unity, 70, 71.

Primianus, a Donatist bishop, 10.

Privatianus of Sufetula, the opinion of, respecting the baptism of heretics, 179.

Privatus of Sufes, 179.

Proof, invective not, 301.

Property of the Church, the, 509.

Psalms, the catholicity of, 320, 321.

Pudentianus of Cuiculi, 214.

Pusillus of Lamasba, 216.

Quietus of Burug, 185.

Quintus of Aggya, 213.

Rhetoric not argument, 427.

Righteousness only in the unity of the Church, 512.

Rogatus the Moor, 352, 353.

Sacraments, the, everywhere complete, 68, 69; cannot be polluted, 99; may be validly conferred by bad men, 154, 155.

Salvation not possible without union with the Church, 15, 69.

Salvianus of Gazuufala, 216.

Sarah and Hagar, the case of, as illustrative of persecution, 487.

Satius of Siccilibba, 199.

Saturninus of Abitini, 212.

Saturninus of Tucca, 206, 207.

Saturninus of Victoriana, 206.

Schism, the evil of, 13, 14, 15; the deadliest of sins, 41; Cyprian against, 43; spiritual murder, 272, 273.

Schismatics, not within the Church, 81, 82; never spared by Christ, 348, 349.

Seat of the scornful, the, 325.

Secundianus of Thambei, 218.

Secundinus of Carpis, 182.

Secundinus of Cediae, 170.

Sedatus of Tuburbo, 177.

Servant, the unmerciful, 20, 21.

Silvanus, bishop of Constantia, a traditor, 248.

Silvanus of Cirta, a traditor, 474, 475, 476.

Simon Magus, the baptism of, 18, 19.
Sin, one, fatal, 107.

Sin against the Holy Ghost, the, 335.

Sinless, Christ alone, 400, 401.

Sins, remitted, sometimes return upon a man, 20; do not imjjlicate those who disapprove of them, 286, 287.

Slander may be murder, 271.

Speech, empty, never eloquent, 296.

Successus of Abbir Germaniciana, 174.

Sufferings no proof of holiness, 316, 317.

Suicide not martyrdom, 488, 489; to be repressed, 491.

Sword, the, of Peter, 360, 361.

Tares, the, 92, 93.
Tenax of Horrea Cellse, 213.
Theogenes of Hippo Regius, 172.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Traditors, 40; not to be baptized afresh, 279, 282.

Trust in man forbidden, 436, 437.

Truth may sometimes be spoken byfalse and wicked men, 293; to be recognised amid error, 294.
Unclean, the, do not pollute the clean, 282, 283.

Unity, the, of the Church, 70, 71; baptism does not avail without, 105; error healed in, 117; in the primitive Church, 396, 397; righteousness only in, 512, 513.

Unmerciful servant, the, 20, 21.

Ursacius and Macarius, 374, 375, 376.

Venantius of Tinisa, 204.
Verulus of Rusicada, 214.
Victor of Assura, 213.
Victor of Gor, 200.
Victor of Octavus, 217.
Victorious of Thabraca, 184.
Vincentius of Thibaris, 192.

Water, lying, which has no faith,

392 393.
Wheat and chaff, 318, 319.
Will, the doctrine of the, 355.
Worship, unholy, 327.

Zosimus of Tharassa, 60, 209.

THE END.

SICERAT AND GIBB, EDINBURGH, PRINTERS TO HER MAJESTY’S STATIONERY OFFICE.

[*End: Vol. III (Scan 1)*]
THE WORKS

OF

AUKELIUS AUGUSTINE

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. IV.

THE ANTI-PELAGIAN WORKS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE, VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLAEK, 38, GEORGE STEEET.

MDCCCLXXII.

--------------------------
Source (of this Volume):
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
www.archive.org/details/worksofaurelius04augu

--------------------------
THE
ANTI-PELAGIAN WORKS
OF
SAINT AUGUSTINE,
BISHOP OF HIPPO.

PETER HOLMES, D.D., F.R.A.S.,
DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE EIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS OF ROTHES; AND CURATE OF PENNYCROSS, PLYMOUTH.

VOLUME I.
DEDICATION.
TO THE EIGHT REVEREND
THE LOED BISHOP OF EXETEE.

My dear Lord,

I gladly avail myself of your permission to dedicate this volume to you. In the course of a professional life of nearly the third of a century, which has not "been idly spent, I have never failed to find pleasure in theological pursuits. In the intervals of most pressing labour, these have often tended to refresh and comfort one's wearied spirit. If this confession of my own experience should have any weight with any one in our sacred calling to combine the hard work which we owe to others while ministering to their wants, with "that diligent attendance to reading " which we require for ourselves, to inform our minds and refresh our spirits, I shall have accomplished my only purpose in making it. Your Lordship, I am sure, will entirely approve of such a combination of employments in your clergy. I well remember your recommendation of theological study to us at the opening of Bishop Phillpott's Library at Truro; and how you counselled us the more earnestly to pursue it, from the danger there is, in these busy times, of merging the acquisition of sacred learning in the active labours of our holy vocation. That the divine blessing may crown the work which you are so diligently prosecuting in the several functions of your high office, is the earnest wish, my dear Lord, of your faithful servant,

PETER HOLMES.

Mannnamead, Plymouth, March 10, 1872.

PREFACE.

Contents. â€” Â§ 1. The Latin titles of the treatises contained in this volume; on the Preface of the Benedictine Edition. Â§2. JY 'otlce of Pelagius and his opinions. Â§3. Of Celestius and his doctrine, In seven propositions. Â§4. On Augustine as compared, with other doctors of the Church; his estimate of Pelagius and Cailestius. Â§ 5. The different fortunes of these two men at first. Â§ 6. St. Jerome differs from St. Augustine as to the origin of Pelaglanism; East and West, their doctrinal characteristics â€” how agreeing, how varying. Â§ 7. On the conduct of Augustine and Pelagius; partisanship of their followers and critics. Â§ S. Paramount influence of St. Augustine in ancient and modern times, and in various parts of Chr dom. Â§ 9. Reason of this influence; Augustine true to Scripture and liuman experience; in favourable contrast to Pelagius as to the scientific depth and accuracy of his doctrine. Â§ 10. Rationalism and Revelation; Pelagius' views isolated and incoherent; Augustine an excellent guide in Scripture knowledge. Â§ 11. Popularity and permanence of Pelaglanism; consentient with mans natural ftellngs; elevating influence of Divine Grace, its idtlmate triumph in
everlasting glory. Â§ 12. Original text from which this translation is made; works useful
in the Pelagian controversy.

Â§ 1. ri^HE reader has in this volume, translated for the first
_time in English, five of the fifteen treatises of St.
Augustine on the Pelagian heresy. They are here arranged in the same order (the
chronological one) in which they are placed in the tenth volume of the Benedictine
edition, and are therefore St. Augustine's earliest contributions to the great controversy.
These are their Latin titles:

Dc peccatorum mcritis ct rcmissione, ct dc oaptismo parvulorum ad Marccllinum; libri
tres, scripti anno Christ! 412.

De Spiritu ct httca ad eumclem; liber unus, scriptus sub finem anni 412.

De natura ct gratia contra Pelagium, ad Timasium ct Jacob urn; liber unus, scriptus anno
Christi 415.

4 I

jt /. n /

PREFACE.

De jperfectione justitice hominis; [Epistola sen] liber ad Eutropium et Paulum, scrip tus
circiter finem anni 415.

De gcstis Pclagii ad Aurelium ejpiscopum; liber unus, scriptus sub initium anni 417.

The Benedictine editors have enriched their edition with prefaces ("Admonitiones") and
critical and explanatory notes, and, above all, with the appropriate extracts from St.
Augustine's Retractations) in which we have the author's own final revision and
correction of his works. All these have been reproduced in a translated form in this
volume; and they will, it is believed, afford the reader sufficient guidance for an
intelligent apprehension of at least the special arguments of the several treatises. The
Benedictine editors, however, prefixed to this detailed information an elaborate and
lengthy preface, in which they reviewed the general history of the Pelagian discussions
and their authors, with especial reference to the part which St. Augustine played
throughout it. This historical introduction it was at first intended to present to the reader
in English at the head of this volume. In consideration, however, of the length of the
document, we have so far changed our purpose as to substitute a shorter statement of certain facts and features of the Pelagian controversy, which it is hoped may contribute to a better understanding of the general subject.

§ 2. The Pelagian heresy is so designated after Pelagius, a British monk. (Augustine calls him Brito, so do Prosper and Gennadius; by Orosius he is called Britannicus noster, and by Mercator described as gente Britannus. This wide epithet is somewhat restricted by Jerome, who says of him, Habet progeniem Scotiae gentis de Britannorum vicinia; leaving it uncertain, however, whether he deemed Scotland his native country, or Ireland. His monastic character is often referred to both by Augustine and other writers, and Pope Zosimus describes him as Laicum virum ad honam frugem longa erga Deum servitute nitentem. It is, after all, quite uncertain what part of "Britain" gave him birth; among other conjectures, he has been made a native of Wales, attached to a monastery at Bangor, and gifted with the Welsh name of Morgan, of which his usual designation of Pelagius is supposed to be simply the Greek version, Ilekayios.) It was at the beginning of the fifth century that he became conspicuous. He then resided at Rome, known by many as an honourable and earnest man, seeking in a corrupt age to reform the morals of society. (In the present volume the reader will not fail to observe the eulogistic lansniaje which Augustine often uses of Pelagius; see pages 98, 132, 134, 409.) Sundry theological treatises are even attributed to him; among them one On the Trinity, of unquestionable orthodoxy, and showing great ability. Unfavourable reports, however, afterwards began to be circulated, charging him with opening, in fact, entirely new ground in the fields of heresy. During the previous centuries of Christian opinion the speculations of active thinkers had been occupied on Theology properly so called, or the doctrine of God as to His nature and personal attributes, including Christology, which treated of Christ's divine and human natures. This was objective divinity. With Pelagius, however, a fresh class of subjects was forced on men's attention: in his peculiar system of doctrine he deals with what is subjective in man, and reviews the whole of his relation to God. His heresy turns mainly upon two points — the assumed incorruptness of human nature, and the denial of all supernatural influence upon the human will.

§ 3. He had an early associate in Ccelestius, a native of Campania, according to some, or as others say, of Ireland or of Scotland. This man, who is said to have been highly connected, began life as an advocate, but, influenced by the advice and example of Pelagius, soon became a monk. He excelled his master in boldness and energy; and thus early precipitated the new doctrine into a formal dogmatism, from which the caution and subtler management of Pelagius mio-hi have saved it. In the year a.d. 412 (Pelagius
having just left him at Carthage to go to Palestine), Ccelestius was accused before the bishop Aurelius of holding and teaching the following opinions:

1. Adam was created mortal, and must have died, even if

he had not sinned; 2. Adam's sin injured himself only, and not mankind; 3. Infants are born in the state of Adam before he fell; 4. Mankind neither died in Adam, nor rose again in Christ; 5. The Law, no less than the Gospel, brings men to the kingdom of heaven; 6. There were sinless men before the coming of Christ. 1 What Ccelestius thus boldly propounded, he had the courage to maintain. On his refusal to retract, he was excommunicated. He threatened, or perhaps actually though ineffectually made, an appeal to Rome, and afterwards quitted Carthage for Ephesus.

§ 4. Augustine, who had for some time been occupied in the Donatist controversy, had as yet taken no personal part in the proceedings against Ccelestius. Soon, however, was his attention directed to the new opinions, and he wrote the first two treatises contained in this volume, in the year when Ccelestius was excommunicated. At first he treated Pelagius, as has been said, with deference and forbearance, hoping by courtesy to recall him from danger. But as the heresy developed, Augustine's opposition was more directly and vigorously exhibited. The gospel was being fatally tampered with, in its essential facts of human sin and divine grace; so, in the fulness of his own absolute loyalty to the entire volume of evangelical truth, he concentrated his best efforts in opposition to the now formidable heresy. It is perhaps not too much to say, that St. Augustine, the greatest doctor of the Catholic Church, effected his greatness mainly by his labours against Pelagianism. Other Christian writers besides Augustine have achieved results of decisive influence on the Church and its deposit of the Christian faith. St. Athanasius, "alone against the world," has often been referred to as a splendid instance of what constancy, aided by God's grace and a profound knowledge of theology, could accomplish; St. Cyril of Alexandria, and St. Leo of Rome, might be also quoted as signal proofs of the efficacy of catholic truth in opposition to popular heresy: these men, under God, saved the Creed from the ravages of Arianism, and the subtler injuries of Nestorius and Eutyches. Then, again, in the curious learning of the

1 Marius Mercator mentions a seventh opinion broached by Ccelestius, to the effect that "infants, though they be unbaptized, have everlasting life."

PEEFACE. XIII
primitive Irenaeus; in the critical skill, and wide knowledge, and indomitable labours of Origen; in the catechetical teaching of the elder Cyril; in the chaste descriptive power of Basil; in the simplicity and self-denial of Ambrose; in the fervid eloquence of the "golden-mouthed" Chrysostom; in the great learning of Jerome; in the scholastic accuracy of Damascene; and in the varied sacred gifts of other Christian worthies, from the impetuous Tertullian and the gentle Cyprian, with all the Gregories of manifold endowments, down to the latest period of patristic wisdom, graced by our own Anselm and the unrivalled preacher Bernard, "in all these converging lines of diverse yet compatible accomplishments, the Church of Christ has found, from age to age, ample reinforcements against the attacks of heretical hostility. And in our great Bishop of Hippo one may trace, operating on various occasions in his various works, the manifold characteristics which we have just enumerated of his brother saints, "with this difference, that in no one of them are found combined the many traits which constitute his greatness. We have here to do only with his anti-Pelagian writings. Upon the whole, perhaps, these exhibit most of his wonderful resources of Christian character. In many respects, one is reminded by him of the great apostle, whom he reverenced, and whose profound doctrines he republished and vindicated. He has himself, in several of his works, especially in his Confessions, admitted us to a view of the sharp convulsions and bitter conflicts through which he passed, before his regeneration, into the Christian life, animated by the free and sovereign grace of God, and adorned with his unvanquished energies in works of faith and love. From the depths of his own consciousness he instinctively felt the dangers of Pelagianism, and he put forth his strength, as God enabled him, to meet the evil; and the reader has in this volume samples in great variety of the earnestness of his conflict with the new heresy and its leaders. These leaders he has himself characterized: "Ille [nempe Ccelestius] apertior, iste [scilicet Pelagius] occultior fuit; ille pertinacior, iste mendacior; vel certe ille liberior, hie astutior ζ" 1 and illustrations of the general correctness of this estimate will

1 De Peccato originali, [xii.] 13. In the second volume of this series.

XIV PREFACE.

be forthcoming, especially in the fourth treatise of this volume, where Ccelestius is dealt with, and in the fifth, which relates to the subterfuges and pretenses practised by Pelagius in his proceedings in Palestine.

§ 5. The difference in the characters of the two leaders in this heresy contributed to different results in their earlier proceedings. We have seen the disastrous issue to Ccelestius at Carthage, from his outspoken and unyielding conduct. The more reserved Pelagius, resorting to a dexterous management of sundry favourable circumstances, obtained a friendly hearing on two public occasions "at Jerusalem, in the summer of
A.D. 415, and again at the end of that year, in a council of fourteen bishops, at Diospolis, the ancient Lydda. In the last treatise of this volume, the reader has a characteristic narrative of these events from St. Augustine's own pen. The holy man's disappointment at the untoward results of these two inquiries is apparent; but he struggles to maintain his respect for the bishops concerned in the affair, and comforts himself and all Catholics with the assurance, which he thinks is warranted by the proceedings, that the acquittal obtained by Pelagius, through the concealment of his real opinions, amounted in fact to a condemnation of them. This volume terminates with these transactions in Palestine; so that any remarks on the decline and fall of Pelagianism proper must be postponed to a subsequent volume.

§ 6. St. Jerome as well as St. Augustine engaged in this controversy, and experienced in the East some loss and much danger from the rougher followers of Pelagius. 1 It is not without interest that one observes the difference of view entertained by these eminent men on the general question of the Pelagian heresy. Augustine had but an imperfect acquaintance with either the language or the writings of the Greek Fathers, and had treated the Pelagian opinions as unheard-of novelties. Jerome, however, who had acquired a competent knowledge of the Christian literature of Greece during his long residence in the East, traced these heretical opinions to the school of Origen, for whose memory he entertained but scant respect. There is, no doubt, extravagance in Jerome's censure, but withal a founda-

1 See the last page of this volume.

PREFACE. XV

tion of truth. For from the beginning there was a tendency at least to divergent views between the Eastern and the Western sections of Christendom, on the relation of the human will to the srace of God in the matter of man's conversion and salvation. On the general question, indeed, there was always substantial agreement in the Catholic Church; â€” man, as he is born into the world, is not in his originally perfect state; in order to be able to live according to his original nature and to do good, he requires an inward change by the almighty power of God. But this general agreement did not hinder specific differences of opinion, which having been developed with considerable regularity, in East and West respectively, admit of some classification. The chief writers of the "West, especially Tertullian and Cyprian in the third century, and Hilary of Poitiers and (notably) Ambrose in the fourth century, prominently state the doctrine of man's corruption, and the consequent necessity of a change of his nature by divine grace; whilst the Alexandrian Fathers (especially Clement), and other Orientals (for instance, Chrysostom), laid great stress upon human freedom, and on the indispensable co-operation of this freedom with the grace of God. By the fifth century these tendencies were ready to culminate; they were at length precipitated to a decisive controversy. In the Pelagian system, the liberty which had been claimed for man was pushed to the heretical extreme of independence of God's help; while Augustine, in resisting this heresy, found it
hard to keep clear of the other extreme, of the absorption of human responsibility into the divine sovereignty. Our author, no doubt, moves about on the confines of a deep insoluble mystery here; but, upon the whole, it must be apparent to the careful reader how earnestly he tries to maintain and vindicate man's responsibility even amidst the endowments of God's grace.

§ 7. Much has been written on the conduct of the two leading opponents in this controversy. Sides (as usual) have been taken, and extreme opinions of praise and of blame have been freely bestowed on both Augustine and Pelagius. It is impossible, even were it desirable, in this limited space to enter upon a question which, after all, hardly rises above the dignity of mere personalities. The orthodox bishop and the heretical monk have had their share of censure as to their mode of conducting the controversy. Augustine has been taxed with intolerance, Pelagius with duplicity. We are perhaps not in a position to form an impartial judgment on the case. To begin with, the evidence comes all from one side; and then the critics pass their sentence according to the suggestions of modern prejudice, rather than by the test of ancient contemporary facts, motives, and principles of action. A good deal of obloquy has been cast on Augustine, as if he were responsible for the Rescript of Honorius and its penalties; but this is (to say the least) a conclusion which outruns the premises. We need say nothing of the peril which seriously threatened true religion when the half-informed bishops of Palestine, and the vacillating Pope, all gave their hasty and ill-grounded approval to Pelagius, as a justification of Augustine. He deeply felt the seriousness of the crisis, and he unsheathed "the sword of the Spirit," and dealt with it trenchant blows, every one of which struck home with admirable precision; but it is not proved that he ever wielded the civil sword of pains and penalties. Of all theological writers in ancient, medieval, or earlier modern times, it may be fairly maintained that St. Augustine has shown himself the most considerate, courteous, and charitable towards opponents. The reader will trace with some interest the progress of his criticism on Pelagius. From the forbearance and love which he gave him at first, 1 he passes slowly and painfully on to censure and condemnation, but only as he detects stronger and stronger proofs of insincerity and bad faith.

§ 8. But whatever estimate we may form on the score of their personal conduct, there can be no doubt of the bishop's

1 For some time Augustine abstained from mentioning the name of Pelagius, to save him as much as he could from exposure, and to avoid the irritation which might urge him to heresy from obstinacy. Augustine recognised fairly enough the motive which influenced
Pelagius at first. The latter dreaded the Antinomianism of the day, and concentrated his teaching in a doctrine which was meant as a protest against it. "We would rather not do injustice to our friends," says Augustine, as he praises their "strong and active minds;" and he goes on to commend Pelagius anonymously for "the zeal which he entertains against those who find a defence for their sins in the infirmity of human nature." See the third treatise of this volume, On Nature and Grace, ch. 6, 7.

PREFACE. xv }

superiority over the monk, when we come to gauge the value of their principles and doctrines, whether tested by Scripture or by the great facts of human nature. Concerning the test of Scripture, our assertion will be denied by no one. No ancient Christian writer approaches near St. Augustine in his general influence on the opinions and belief of the Catholic Church, in its custody and interpretation of Holy Scripture; and there can be no mistake either as to the Church's uniform guardianship of the Augustinian doctrine, taken as a whole, or as to its invariable resistance to the Pelagian system, whenever and however it has been reproduced in the revolutions of human thought. There cannot be found in all ecclesiastical history a more remarkable fact than the deference shown to the great Bishop of Hippo throughout Christendom, on all points of salient interest connected with his name.

Whatever basis of doctrine exists in common between the great sections of Catholicism and Protestantism, was laid at first by the genius and piety of St. Augustine. In the conflicts of the early centuries he was usually the champion of Scripture truth against dangerous errors. In the Middle Ages his influence was paramount with the eminent men who built up the scholastic system. In the modern Latin Church he enjoys greater consideration than either Ambrose, or Hilary or Jerome, or even Gregory the Great; and lastly, and perhaps most strangely, he stands nearest to evangelical Protestantism, and led the van of the great movement in the sixteenth century, which culminated in the Reformation How unique the influence which directed the minds of Anselm and Bernard, and Aquinas, and Bonaventure, with no less power than it swayed the thoughts of Luther, and Melancthon, and Zumgale, and Calvin!

Å§ 9 The key to this wonderful influence is Augustine's knowledge of Holy Scripture, and its profound suitableness to the facts and experience of our entire nature. Perhaps to no one, not excepting St. Paul himself, has it been ever given so wholly and so deeply to suffer the manifold experiences of the human heart, whether of sorrow and anguish from the tyranny of sin, or of spiritual joy from the precious consolations of the grace of God. Augustine speaks with authority here; he has

XV111 PREFACE.
traversed all the ground of inspired writ, and shown us how true is its portraiture of man's life. And, to pass on to our last point, he has threaded the mazes of human consciousness; and in building up his doctrinal system, has been, in the main, as true to the philosophy of fact, as he is to the statements of revelation. He appears in as favourable a contrast to his opponent in his philosophy as in his Scripture exegesis. We cannot; however, in the limits of this Preface, illustrate this criticism with all the adducible proofs; but we may quote one or two weak points which radically compromise Pelagius as to the scientific bearings of his doctrine. By science we mean accurate knowledge, which stands the test of the widest induction of facts. Now, it has been frequently remarked that Pelagius is scientifically defective in the very centre of his doctrine, â€” on the freedom of the will. His theory, especially in the hands of his vigorous followers, Coelestius and Julianus, ignored the influence of habit on human volition, and the development of habits from action, isolating human acts, making man's power of choice (his liberum arhitrium) a mere natural faculty, of physical, not moral operation. How defective this view is, â€” how it impoverishes the moral nature of man, strips it of the very elements of its composition, and drops out of consideration the many facts of human life, which interlace themselves in our experience as the very web and woof of moral virtue, â€” is manifest to the students of Aristotle and Butler. Acts are not mere insulated atoms, merely done, and then done with; but they have a relation to the will, and an influence upon subsequent acts: and so acts generate habits, and habits produce character, the formal cause of man's moral condition.

The same defect runs through the Pelagian system. Passing from the subject of human freedom, and the effect of action upon conduct and habit, we come to Pelagius' view of sin.

According to him, Adam's transgression consisted in an isolated act of disobedience to God's command; and our sin now consists in the mere repetition and imitation of his offence.

1 "We make this qualification, because Pelagius himself seems to have recognised to some extent the power of habit and its effect upon the will, in his Letter to Demetrias, 8. See Dr. Philip Schaff's History of the Christian Church, vol. iii. p. 804.

2 Aristotle, Ethic. Nicom. ii. 2, 3, 6; Butler, Analogy, i. 5.
§ 10. We have said enough, and we hope not unfairly said it, to show that Pelagius was radically at fault in his deductions, whether tested by divine revelation or human experience. How superior to him in all essential points his great opponent was, will be manifest to the reader of this volume.

Not a statement of Scripture, nor a fact of nature, does Augustine find it necessary to soften, or repudiate, or ignore. Hence his writings are valuable in illustrating the harmony between revelation and true philosophy; we have seen how much of his far-seeing and eminent knowledge was owing to his own deep convictions and discoveries of sin and grace; perhaps we shall not be wrong in saying, that even to his opponents is due something of his excellence. There can be no doubt that in Pelagius and Cælestius, and his still more able follower Julianus, of whom we shall hear in a future volume, he had very able opponents "men of earnest character, acute in observation and reasoning, impressed with the truth of their convictions, and deeming it a fit occupation to rationalize the meaning of Scripture in its bearings on human experience. There is a remarkable peculiarity in this respect in the opinions of Pelagius. He accepted the mysteries of theology, properly so called, with the most exemplary orthodoxy. Nothing could be better than his exposition of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. But again we find him hemmed in with a perverse isolation. The doctrine of the Trinity, according to him, stands alone; it sheds no influence on man and his eternal interests; but in the blessed Scripture, as read by Augustine, there is revealed to man a most intimate relation between himself and God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost, as his Creator, his Redeemer, and his Sanctifier. In Pelagianism, then, we see a disjointed and unconnected theory, a creed which stands apart from practical life, and is not allowed to shape man's conduct, a system, in short, which falls to pieces for want of the coherence of the true "analogy of the faith" which worketh by love. By exposing, therefore, this incompatibility in the doctrine of his opponents, Augustine shows how irreconcilable are the deductions of their Rationalism with the statements of Bevelation. But Rationalism is not confined to any one period. "We live to see a bolder Rationalism, which, unlike Belagius', is absolutely uncompromising in its aims, and (as must be admitted) more consistent in its method. To institute the supremacy of Beason, it destroys more or less the mysteries of Beligion. All the miraculous element of the gospel is discarded; God's personal relation to man in the procedures of grace, and man's to God in the discipline of repentance, faith, and love, are abolished: nay, the Divine Personality itself merges into an impalpable, uninfluential Pantheism; while man's individual responsibility is absorbed into a mythical personification of the race. The only sure escape from such a desolation as this, is to recur to the good old paths of gospel faith "stare super antiquas vias" Our directory for life's journey through these is furnished to us in Holy Scripture; and if an interpreter is wanted who shall be able by competent knowledge and ample experience to explain to us any difficulties of direction, we know none more suited for the purpose than our St.
Augustine.

§11. But Bationalism is not always so exaggerated as this: in its ordinary development, indeed, it stops short of open warfare with Bevelation, and (at whatever cost of logical consistency) it will accommodate its discussions to the form of Scripture. This adaptation gives it double force: there is its own intrinsic principle of uncontrolled liberty in will and action, and there is "the form of godliness," which has weight with unreflective Christians. Hence Pelagianism was undoubtedly popular: it offered dignity to human nature, and flattered its capacity; and this it did without virulence and

PREFACE. XXI

with sincerity, under the form of religion. This acquiescence of matter and manner gave it strength in men's sympathies, and has secured for it durability, seeing that there is plenty of it still amongst us; as indeed there always has been, and ever will be, so long as the fatal ambition of Eden (Gen. iii. 5, 6) shall seduce men into a temper of rivalry with God.

Writers like Paley (in his Evidences) have treated of the triumph of Christianity over difficulties of every kind. Of all the stumblingblocks to the holy religion of our blessed Saviour, not one has proved so influential as its doctrine of Grace; the prejudice against it, by what St. Paul calls "the natural man" (1 Cor. ii. 14), is ineradicable and, it may be added, inevitable: for in his independence and self-sufficiency he cannot admit that in himself he is nothing, but requires external help to rescue him from sin, and through imparted holiness to elevate him to the perfection of the blessed. How great, then, is the benefit which Augustine has accomplished for the gospel, in probing the grounds of this natural prejudice against it, and showing its ultimate untenableness the moment it is tested on the deeper principles of the divine appreciation!

!No, the ultimate effect of the doctrine and operation of grace is not to depreciate the true dignity of man. If there be the humbling process first, it is only that out of the humility should emerge the exaltation at last (1 Pet. v. 6). I know nothing in the whole range of practical or theoretical divinity more beautiful than Augustine's analysis of the procedures of grace, in raising man from the depths of his sinful prostration to the heights of his last and eternal elevation in the presence and fellowship of God. The most ambitious, who thinks "man was not made for meanness," might be well content with the noble prospect. But his ambition must submit to the conditions; and his capacity both for the attainment and the fruition of such a destiny is given to him and trained by God Himself. "It is so contrived," says Augustine, "in the discipline of the present life, that the holy Church shall arrive at last at that condition of unsotted purity which all holy men desire; and that it may in the world to come, and in a state unmixed with all soil of evil men, and undisturbed by any law of sin resisting the law of the mind, lead the purest
life in a divine eternity. . . . But in whatever place and at what time soever the love which animates the good shall reach that state of absolute perfection which shall admit of no increase, it is certainly not 'shed abroad in our hearts' by any energies either of the nature or the volition that are within us, but 'by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us' (Pom. v. 5), and which both helps our infirmity and cooperates with our strength" (On Nature and Grace, pp. 299 and 307).

§12. This translation has been made from the (Antwerp) Benedictine edition of the works of St. Augustine, tenth volume, compared with the beautiful reprint by Gaume. Although left to his own resources in making his version, the Translator has gladly availed himself of the learned aid within his reach. He may mention the Kirchengeschichte both of Gieseler and ISTeander [Clark's transl. vol. iv.]; Wigger's Versuch einer pragonatischen Darstellung des Augustinismus unci Pelagianismus [1st part]; Shedd's Christian Doctrine; Cunningham's Historical Theology; Short's Bampton Lectures for 1846 [Lect. vii.]; Professor Bright's History of the Church from A.D. 313 to A.D. 451; Bishop Forbes* Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles [vol. i.]; Canon Eobertson's History of the Christian Church, vol. i. pp. 376-392; and especially Professor Mozley's Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination, ch. iii. iv. vi.; and Dr. Philip Schaff's excellent History of the Christian Church [Clark, Edinburgh 1869], vol. iii. pp. 783-1028; of which work Dr. Dorner's is by no means exaggerated commendation: "It is," says he, "on account of the beauty of its descriptions, the lucid arrangement of its materials, and the moderation of its decisions, a very praiseworthy work" (Dorner's History of Protestant Theology [Clark's translation], vol. ii. p. 449, note 2). This portion of Dr. Schaff's work is an expansion of his able and interesting article on the Pelagian Controversy, in the American Bibliotheca Sacra of May 1848.

PETER HOLMES.

CONTENTS.

PAGE
Extract from Augustine's "Retractations" on the Be Peecci-
torum Meritis, etc., ...... 1

TREATISE I.

On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins, and the Baptism of
Infants, ...... 3-154

Extract from Augustine's "Retractations" on the De Spiritu
et L'dtera, ...... 155, 156

TREATISE II.


TREATISE III.

On Nature and Grace, â€”
Introductory jSTote, ..... 233, 234
Extract from the " Retractations," .... 235
The Treatise itself, ...... 236-303

TREATISE IV.

On the Perfection of Man's Righteousness, 1 â€”
Preface to the Treatise, ...... 309-312
The Treatise itself, ...... 313-356

1 Or, On Mail's Perfect Righteousness.
A necessity arose which compelled me to write against the new heresy of Pelagius. Our previous opposition to it was confined to sermons and conversations, as occasion suggested, and according to our respective abilities and duties; but it had not yet assumed the shape of a controversy in writing. Certain questions were then submitted to me [by our brethren] at Carthage, to which I was to send them back answers in writing: I accordingly wrote first of all three books, under the title, "De Peccatorum Meritis et Eemissione" ["On the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins"], in which I mainly discussed the baptism of infants because of original sin, and the grace of God by which we are justified, that is, made righteous; but [I remarked] no man in this life can so keep the commandments which prescribe holiness of life, as to be beyond the necessity of using this prayer for his sins: "Forgive us our trespasses." * It is in direct opposition to these principles that they have devised their new heresy. Now throughout these three books I thought it right not to mention any of their names, hoping and desiring that by such reserve they might the more readily be set right; nay more, in the third book (which is really a letter, but reckoned
2 EXTRACT FROM AUGUSTINE’S RETRACTATIONS.

amongst the books, because I wished to connect it with the two previous ones) I actually quoted Pelagius' name with considerable commendation, because his conduct and life were made a good deal of by many persons; and those statements of his which I refuted, he had himself adduced in his writings, not indeed in his own name, but had quoted them as the words of other persons. However, when he was afterwards confirmed in heresy, he defended them with most persistent animosity. Coelestius, indeed, a disciple of his, had already been excommunicated for similar opinions at Carthage, in a council of bishops, at which I was not present. In a certain passage of my second book I used these words: "Upon some there will be bestowed this blessing at the last day, that they shall not perceive the actual suffering of death in the suddenness of the change which shall happen to them," 1 â€” reserving the passage for a more careful consideration of the subject; for they will either die, or else by a most rapid transition from this life to death, and then from death to eternal life, as in the twinkling of an eye, they will not undergo the feeling of mortality. This work of mine begins with this sentence: "However absorbing and intense the anxieties and annoyances!*

1 See Book ii. ch. 50.

A TREATISE

ON THE

MERITS AND FORGIVENESS OF SINS, AND THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS,

By AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo;

IN THREE BOOKS,

ADDRESSED TO MABCELLINUS, A.D. 412.
BOOK I.

I WHICH HE REFUTES THOSE WHO MAINTAIN, THAT ADAM MUST HAVE HIED 
EVEN IF HE HAD NEVER SINNED; AND THAT NOTHING OF HIS SIN HAS 
BEEN TRANSMITTED TO HIS POSTERITY BY NATURAL DESCENT. HE ALSO 
SHOWS, THAT DEATH HAS NOT ACCRUED TO MAN BY ANY NECESSITY OF 
HIS 
NATURE, BUT AS THE PENALTY OF SIN; HE THEN PROCEEDS TO PROVE 
THAT 
IN ADAM'S SIN HIS ENTIRE OFFSPRING IS IMPLICATED, SHOWING THAT 
INFANTS ARE BAPTIZED FOR THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF RECEIVING THE 
REMISSION OF ORIGINAL SIN.

Chap. 1.â€”Introductory, in the shape of an inscription to his friend 

Marcellinus.

rTOWEVER absorbing and intense the anxieties and annoy-
L A ^ ances in the whirl and warmth of which we are engaged 
ã– ith sinful men 1 who forsake the law of God, â€” [evils] indeed 
'hich we may well ascribe even to the fault of the sin 
'hich is inherent in us all,â€” I am unwilling, and, to say the rath, unable, any longer to 
remain a debtor, my dearest Mar-

1 This is probably an allusion to the Donatists, who were then fiercely assailing the Catholics.

8

ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]
shall make it manifest that I have yielded, if not a sufficient, yet at any rate an obedient, compliance with your own kind wish and the desire of those to whom these questions are a source of anxiety.

Chap. 2. [n.]â€” If Adam had not sinned, he would never have died.

They who say that Adam was so formed that he would even without any demerit of sin have died, not as the penalty of sin, but from the necessity of his being, endeavour indeed to refer that passage in the law, which says: " On the day ye eat thereof ye shall surely die," 1 not to the death of the body, but to that death of the soul which takes place in sin. It is the unbelievers who have died this death, to whom the Lord pointed when He said, " Let the dead bury their dead." 2 Now what will be their answer, when [we adduce the place where] we read that God, when reproving and sentencing the first man after his sin, said to him, " Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return V' 3 For it was not in respect of his soul that he was " dust," but clearly by reason of his body, and it was by the death of the self-same body that he was destined to "return to dust." Still, although it was by reason of his body that he was dust, and although he bare about the natural body in which he was created, he would, if he had not sinned, have been changed into a spiritual body, and would have passed
into the incorruptible state, which is promised to the faithful

1 Gen. ii. 17. 2 Matt. viii. 22; Luke ix. 60. 3 Gen. iii. 19.

CHAP. III.] MORTALITY, AND SUBJECTION TO DEATH. 5.

and the saints, without the peril of death. And of this issue we not only are conscious in ourselves of having an earnest desire, but we learn it from the apostle's intimation, when he says: " For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." 1 Therefore, if Adam had not sinned, he would not have been divested of his body, but would have been clothed upon with immortality and incorruption, that his mortal [body] might have been absorbed by life; that is, that he might have passed from his natural body to the spiritual body.

Chap. 3. [in.] â€” It is one thing to be mortal, another thing to be subject to death. Enoch and Elijah still alive, in Paradise.

Nor was there any reason to fear that if he had happened to live on here longer in his natural body, he would have been oppressed with old age, and have gradually, by reason of the senility, arrived at death. For if God granted to the clothes and the shoes of the Israelites that " they waxed not old" during forty years, 2 what wonder if for obedience it had been by the power of the same [God] allowed to man, that his natural and mortal body should have in it a certain condition, in which he might grow full of years without decrepitude, and, whenever God pleased, pass from mortality to immortality without the medium of death ? For even as this very flesh of ours, which we now possess, is not therefore invulnerable, because there happens to be no occasion on which it receives a wound; so also was it not therefore immortal, because there arose no necessity for its dying. Such a condition, whilst still in their natural and mortal body, I suppose, was granted even to those who were translated hence without death. 3 For Enoch and Elijah were not reduced to the decrepitude of old age by their long life. But yet I do not believe that they were then changed into that spiritual kind of body, such as is promised in the resurrection, and which the Lord was the first to receive; only they probably do not need those ali-
ments, which by their use minister refreshment to the body; ever since their translation, however, they so live, as to enjoy such a sufficiency as was provided during the forty days in which Elijah lived on the cruse of water and the cake without substantial food j 1 or else, if there be any need of such sustenance they are, it may be, sustained in Paradise in some such way as Adam was, before he brought on himself expulsion therefrom by sinning. And he, as I suppose, was supplied with sustenance against decay from the fruit of the various trees, and from the tree of life with security against the decrepitude of age. J

Chap. 4. [iv.] â€” Death accrues to the body owing to sin.

But in addition to the passage where God in punishment says, " Dust thou art, unto dust shalt thou return," 2 â€” a passage which I cannot understand how any one can apply except to the death of the body, â€” there are other testimonies likewise, from which it most fully appears that by reason of sin the human race has brought upon itself not spiritual death merely, but the death of the body also. The apostle says to the Romans:

* If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness. If therefore the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you." 3 I apprehend that a sentence which is so clear and open as this only requires to be read and not expounded. The body, says he, is dead, not through earthly frailty, as being made of the dust of the ground, but because of sin; what more do we want ? And he is most careful in his words: he does not say [the body] is mortal, but dead.

Chap. 5. [v.] â€” The words, mortale (capable of dying), mortuum (dead), and morituras (likely to die); mail's righteousness, obedience.

Now previous to the change into the incorruptible state which is promised in the resurrection of the saints, the body may have been mortal (capable of dying), although not likely to die; just as our body in its present state may, so to speak, be capable of sickness, although not likely to suffer

1 1 Kings xix. 8. 2 Gen. iii. 19. 3 Rom. viii. 10, 11.

CHAP. VI.] WHY POSSIBLE DEATH BECAME ACTUAL. 7

sickness. For whose is the flesh which is incapable of sickness, even if from some accident it die before it ever experienced an illness ? ( In like manner was man's body then mortal, but this mortality was to have been superseded by an eternal incorruption, if man had persevered in righteousness, that is to say, obedience. But mortality only itself actually experienced death on account of sin; I for the change which is to take place in the resurrection will, in truth, not only not have death incidental to it, which has happened through sin, but it will be even free from mortality, [or the very possibility of death,] which the natural body had before it sinned. He does not say: " He that raised up Christ
Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your dead bodies" (although he had previously said, "the body is dead" 1); but his words are: "He shall also quicken your mortal bodies;" 2 so that they are not only no longer dead, but no longer mortal [or capable of dying], since the natural shall by the resurrection become spiritual, and this mortal body shall put on immortality, and mortality shall be absorbed in life.

Chap. 6. [vi.] â€” How it is that the body is dead because of sin.
One wonders that anything is required clearer than the proof we have given. But we must perhaps be content to hear this clear illustration gainsaid by the position, that we must understand "the dead body" here 3 in the sense of the passage where it is said, "Mortify your members which are upon the earth." 4 Now it is because of righteousness and not because of sin that the body is in this sense mortified; for it is to do the works of righteousness that we mortify our bodies which are upon the earth. Unless they suppose that the phrase, "because of sin," is added, not with the view of our understanding that sin has been actually committed, but in order that sin may not be committed â€” as if it were said, "The body indeed is dead, in order to prevent the commission of sin." "What then does he mean in the next clause by adding the words, "because of righteousness," to the statement which he has just made, "The spirit is life?" 5 For it would

1 Rom. viii. 10. 2 Rom. viii. 11.
3 In Rom. viii. 10. * Col. iii. 5. 5 Rom. viii. 10.

8 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

have been enough simply to have mentioned the life of the spirit, to have secured its being understood "in order to prevent the commission of sin;" we should thus understand the two propositions to point to one thing â€” even that "the body is dead," and "the spirit is life," for the one common purpose of "preventing the commission of sin." So likewise if he had merely meant to say, "because of righteousness," in the sense of "for the purpose of doing righteousness," the two clauses might possibly be referred to this one purpose â€” to the effect, that "the body is dead," and "the spirit is life," "for the purpose of doing righteousness." But as the passage actually stands, it declares that "the body is dead because of sin," and "the spirit is life because of righteousness," attributing different merits to different things â€” the demerit of sin to the death of the body, and the merit of righteousness to the life of the spirit. Wherefore if, as no one can doubt, "the spirit is life because of righteousness," that is, by the merit, or as the desert, of righteousness; how ought we, or can we, understand by the statement, "The body is dead because of sin," anything else than that the body is dead owing to the fault or demerit of sin, unless indeed we try to pervert or wrest the plainest sense of Scripture to our own arbitrary will? But besides this, additional light is afforded by the words which follow. For it is by the present tense that he defines the influence [of the twofold condition], when he says, that on the one
hand "the body is dead because of sin," since, whilst the body is unrenovated by the resurrection, there remains in it the desert of sin, that is, the necessity of dying; and on the other hand, that "the spirit is life because of righteousness," since, notwithstanding the fact of our being still burdened with "the body of this death," 1 we have, by the renewal which is begun in our inner man, new aspirations 2 after the righteousness of faith. ] Yet, lest man in his ignorance should fail to entertain any hope of the resurrection of the body, he says that the very body which he had just declared to be "dead because of sin" in this world, will in the next world be made alive 3 "because of righteousness," 4 and that not only in such a way as to become alive from the dead, but immortal after

1 Eom. vii. 24. 2 Respiramus.

CHAP. VII.] SPIRITUAL LIFE AN EARNEST OF BODILY. 9

its mortality, [that is to say, not only recovering from actual death, but becoming free from all possibility of dying.]

Chap. 7. [vn.] â€” The life of the body the object of hope, the life of the spirit being a prelude to it; Adam's spirit extinct by the death of unbelief

Although I am much afraid that so clear a matter may rather be obscured by exposition, I must yet request your attention to the luminous statement of the apostle. "If Christ," says he, "be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness." 5 Now this is said, that men may not suppose that they derive no benefit, or at best but scant benefit, from the grace of Christ, from the fact that they must needs die in the body. For they are bound to remember that, although their body still sustains that desert of sin, which is irrevocably bound to the condition of death, yet their spirit has already begun to live because of the righteousness of faith, although it had actually become extinct by the death, as it were, of unbelief. No small gift, therefore, he [as good as] says, must you suppose to have been conferred upon you, by the circumstance that Christ is in you; inasmuch as in your body, which is dead because of sin, your spirit is even now alive because of righteousness; so that on this very account you should not despair of the life even of your body. "For if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you." 6 How is it that fumes of controversy still darken so clear a light? 7 The apostle distinctly tells you, that although the body is dead because of sin within you, yet even your mortal bodies shall be made alive because of righteousness, by reason of which even now your spirit is life, 8 the whole of which process is to be perfected by the grace of Christ, in other words, by His Spirit that dwelleth in you. I

Well, do men still gainsay? He goes on to tell us how this comes to pass, how that life converts death into itself by mortifying it, [that is, that the spirit of life, by mortifying the body, renders it spiritual and full of life.] "Therefore, brethren," says he, "we are
debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; 
but if ye  

1 Rom. viii. 10. s Ver. 11.

10 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." 1 What else does this mean but this: If ye live the way of death, ye shall wholly die; but if by living the way of life ye mortify and slay death, ye shall wholly live ?

Chap. 8. [viii.]  
When to the like purport he says: " By man came death, by man also came the resurrection of the dead," 2 in what other sense can the passage be understood than of the death of the body; for having in view the mention of this, he proceeded to speak of the resurrection of the body, and affirmed it in a most earnest and solemn discourse ? In these words, addressed to the Corinthians: " By man came death, and by man came also the resurrection of the dead; for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive," a ä€” what other meaning is indeed conveyed than in the verse in which he says to the Eomans, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin?" 4 Now they will have it, that the death here meant is the death, not of the body, but of the soul, on the pretence that another thing is spoken of to the Corinthians, where they are quite unable to understand the death of the soul, because the subject there treated is the resurrection of the body, which is the antithesis of the death of the body.  
The reason, moreover, why only death is here mentioned as caused by man, and not sin also, is because the point of the discourse is not about righteousness, which is the antithesis of sin, but about the resurrection of the body, which is contrasted with the death of the body.

Chap. 9. [ix.] ä€” Sin passes on to all men by natural descent, and not merely by imitation.

You tell me in your letter, that they endeavour to twist into some new sense the passage of the apostle, in which he says: " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin;" 5 yet you have not informed me what they suppose to be the meaning of these words. But so far as I have discovered from others, they think that the death which is here mentioned is not the death of the body, which they will not  

1 Rom. viii. 12. 2 1 Cor. xv. 21. 3 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.  

4 Rom. v. 12. 6 Rom. v. 12.
allow Adam to have deserved, but that of the soul, which takes place in actual sin; and that this actual sin has not been transmitted by natural descent from the first man to other persons, but by imitation [of his conduct]. Hence, likewise, they refuse to believe that in infants original sin is remitted through baptism, for they contend that no such original sin exists at all in people by their birth. But if the apostle had wished to assert that sin entered into the world, not by natural descent, but by imitation, he would have mentioned as the first offender, not Adam indeed, but the devil, of whom it is written, 1 that "he sinneth from the beginning;" of whom also we read in the Book of Wisdom: "Nevertheless through the devil's envy death entered into the world." 2 Now, forasmuch as this death came upon men from the devil, not because they were propagated by him, but because they imitated his example, it is immediately added: "And they that do hold of his side do imitate him." 3 Accordingly, the apostle, when mentioning sin and death together, which had passed by natural descent from one upon all men, set him down as the introducer thereof from whom the propagation of the human race took its beginning.

Chap. 10. â€” Grace operates internally; it is infused into infants latently in their baptism; the contagion of original sin; slowness of understanding objected to the Catholics by the Pelagians.

Now all they are imitators of Adam who by disobedience transgress the commandment of God; but [Adam considered as] an example to those who sin, because they choose, is one thing; and [the same Adam considered as] the original from whom all spring, with their birth in sin, is another thing.

All His saints, indeed, imitate Christ in the pursuit of righteousness; whence the same apostle, whom we have already quoted, says: "Be ye followers of me, as I am also of Christ." 4 But besides this imitation, His grace works within us our illumination and justification, by that operation concerning which the same great preacher of His [name] says:

"Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." 5 For by His grace He

1 1 John iii. 8. 2 Wisd. ii. 24. 3 Ver. 25.

4 1 Cor. xi. 1. 6 1 Cor. iii. 7.

12 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

engrafts into His body even baptized infants, who certainly have not yet become able to imitate any one. As therefore He, in whom all are made alive, besides offering Himself as an example of righteousness to those who follow Him, gives also to those who believe on Him the hidden grace of His Holy Spirit, which He secretly infuses even into infants; so
likewise he, in whom all die, besides being an example for imitation to those who willfully transgress the commandment of the Lord, depraved in his own person all who come of his stock by the hidden corruption of his own carnal concupiscence. It is entirely on this account, and for no other reason, that the apostle says: " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men; and in this [sin] all have sinned." 1 Now if I were to say this, they would raise an objection, and loudly insist that I was incorrect both in expression and in sentiment; for [if couched] in such words as these, they would attribute no importance to the opinion of an ordinary man, but in an apostle they simply refuse to admit such an opinion to be possible. Since, however, these are actually the words of the apostle, to whose authority and doctrine they submit, they charge us with slowness of understanding, while they endeavour to wrest to some unintelligible sense words which were written in a clear and obvious purport. " By one man," says he, " sin entered into the world, and death by sin." This indicates propagation, not imitation; for if imitation were meant, he would mention the devil as the object of the imitation. But, as no one doubts, [the apostle] refers to that first man who is called Adam: " And so," says he, " death passed upon all men."

Chap. 11. [x.] â€” Distinction between actual and original sin. In Adam we were all one man. 2 In Christ alone are we justified.

Again, in the clause which follows, "And in this [sin] 3 all have sinned," how cautiously, rightly, and unambiguously is the statement expressed! For if you understand that sin to be meant which by one man entered into the world, and in

1 Kom. v. 12.

2 See below, Book in. c. vii.; also in the De Nuptiis, c. v.; also Ejnst. 186, and Serm. 165.

3 Such is Augustine's reading; but see below.

CHAP. XII. ORIGINAL SIN; ACTUAL SIN. 13

which all have sinned, it is surely clear enough, that the sins which are peculiar to every man, which they themselves commit and which belong simply to them, mean one thing; and that the one sin, in and by which all have sinned, means another thing, since all were included in that one [primeval] man. If, however, it be not the sin, but this first man that is understood [in this clause, so that it be read] " in whom " [not, in which] " all have sinned," what again can be plainer than even this clear statement? "We read, indeed, of those being justified in Christ who believe in Him, by reason of the secret communion and inspiration of that spiritual grace which makes every one who cleaves to the Lord " one spirit " with Him, 1 although His saints also follow His example; can I
find, however, any similar statement made of those, who have followed in the steps of His saints? Can any man be said to be justified in Paul or in Peter, or in any one whatever of those excellent men whose authority stands high among the people of God? We are no doubt said to be blessed in Abraham, according to the passage in which the words are addressed to him, "In thee shall all nations be blessed" 2 for Christ's sake, who is his seed according to the flesh; which is still more clearly expressed in the parallel passage: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." I do not believe that any one can find it anywhere stated in the Holy Scriptures, that a man has ever sinned or still sins "in the devil," although all wicked and impious men "imitate" Mm. The apostle, however, has declared concerning the first man, that "in him all have sinned;" a but notwithstanding there is still a contest about the propagation of sin; and men oppose to it I know not what nebulous theory of "imitation." 4


Observe also what follows. Having said that "all have

1 1 Cor. vi. 17.

2 GaL iii. 8; comp. Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18.

3 Rom. v. 12.

4 This was the Pelagian term, expressive of their dogma that original sin stands in the following [or imitation] of Adam, instead of being the fault and corruption of the nature of every man who is naturally engendered of Adam's offspring; which doctrine is expressed by Augustine's word, propagatio.

14 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

sinned in it [or, in him]/ he at once added, "Tor until the law, sin was in the world." 1 This means that sin could not be taken away even by the law, which entered that sin might the more abound, 2 whether it be the law of nature, under which every man when arrived at years of discretion only proceeds to add his own sins to original sin, or that very law which Moses gave to the people. "For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. 3 But sin is not imputed where there is no law." 4 Now what means the phrase "is not imputed" but "is ignored" or "is not reckoned as sin?" Although the Lord God does not Himself regard it, as if it had never been, since it is written: "As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law." 5

Chap. 13. [xi.] "Meaning of the apostle's phrase "the reign of death." The saints of old had no relation to the letter of the law, but to the grace of Christ who was to come.
"Nevertheless," says he, "death reigned from Adam even unto Moses," 6 â€“ that is to say, from the first man even to the very law which was promulged by the divine authority, because even it was unable to abolish the reign of death. Now death must be understood "to reign," whenever the guilt of sin 7 so dominates in men that it prevents their attainment of that eternal life which is the only true life, and drags them down even to the second death which is penally eternal.

This reign of death is only destroyed in any man by the Saviour's grace, which wrought even in the saints of the olden time, all of whom, though previous to the coming of Christ in the flesh, yet lived in relation to His assisting grace, not to the letter of the law, which only knew how to command, but not to help them. In the Old Testament, indeed, that was hidden (owing to the perfectly just dispensation of that period) which is now revealed in the New Testament.

Therefore "death reigned from Adam unto Moses," in all

1 Rom. v. 13. 2 Rom. v. 20. 3 Gal. iii. 21, 22.


7 licatus peccatz.

CHAP. XIV.] THE REIGN OF DEATH. 15

who were not assisted by the grace of Christ, that in them the kingdom of death might be destroyed. "Even in those who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression" 1 [continues the apostle, meaning] those who had not sinned of their own individual will, as Adam did, but had drawn from him the original sin; "'who is the figure of him that was to come," 2 because in him was constituted the form of condemnation to his future progeny, who should spring from him by natural descent; so that from him alone all men were born to a condemnation, from which there is no deliverance but in the Saviour's grace. I am quite aware, indeed, that several Latin copies of the Scriptures read the passage thus:

"Death reigned from Adam to Moses over them who have sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; " 3 but even this version is referred by those who so read it to the very same purport, for they understand those who have sinned in him to have sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression; so that they are created in his likeness, not only as men born of his manhood, but as sinners born of a sinner, destined to die as he was doomed to die, and under condemnation because he was under condemnation. However, the Greek copies from which the Latin version was made, have all, without exception or nearly so, the reading which I first adduced.

Chap. 14.
"But," says he, "not as the offence so also is the free gift.
For if, through the offence of one, many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the
gift by grace, which is by One Man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." 4 [Much
more, are his words,] not many more, as to prevalence of number, for there are not more
persons justified than condemned; but it runs, hath much more abounded; inasmuch as,
while Adam produced sinners from his one sin, Christ has by His grace procured free
forgiveness even for the sins which men have of their own accord added by actual
transgression to the original sin in which they were born. This he states more clearly still
in the sequel.

3 Comp. Epist. 157, n. 19. 4 Eom. v. 15.

16 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 15. [xn.] â€” The one sin common to all men. Original sin suffices
for condemnation. Degrees of condemnation.

But observe more attentively what he says, that " through the offence of one, many are
dead." For why should it be on account of the sin of one, and not rather on account of
their own sins [that many are dead], if this passage is to be understood as supporting th e
principle of imitation, and not communication by natural des cent ? But mark what
follows:

u And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to
condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification." 1 Now let them
tell us, where there is room in these words for the principle of imitation. "By one," says
he, "to condemnation." By one what, but one sin ? This much, indeed, he clearly implies
in the words which he adds: " But the free gift [or the grace] is of many offences unto
justification." Why, indeed, is the judgment from one offence to condemnation, and the
grace from many offences to justification ? If original sin is a nullity, would it not foll
ow, not only that grace withdraws men from many offences to justification, but that judgment
leads them to condemnation [not from one sin merely, but] from many offences likewise ? For assuredly grace does not condone many offences,
without judgment in like manner having many offences to condemn. Else, if men are
involved in condemnation because of one offence, on the ground that all the offences
which are condemned were committed in imitation of that one offence, there is the same
reason why men should also be regarded as withdrawn from one offence unto
justification, inasmuch as all the offences which are remitted to the justified were
committed in imitation of that one offence. But this most certainly was not the apostle's
meaning, when he said: " The judgment, indeed, was from one offence unto
condemnation, but the grace was from many offences unto justification." We on our side,
indeed, can understand the apostle, and see that judgment is predicated of one offence
unto condemnation entirely on the ground that, even if there were in men nothing but original sin, it would be sufficient for their condemnation. For however much

1 Rom. v. 16.

CHAP. XVII.] OUR RELATION TO ADAM'S SIN. 17

heavier will be their condemnation who have added their own sins to the original offence (and it will be the more severe in individual cases, in proportion to the sins of individuals); still, even that sin alone which was originally derived unto men not only excludes from the kingdom of God, which infants are unable to enter (as they themselves allow), unless they have received the grace of Christ before they die, but also alienates from salvation and everlasting life, which cannot be anything else than the kingdom of God, to which fellowship with Christ alone introduces us.

Chap. 16. [xiii.]

And from this we gather that we have derived from Adam, in whom all have sinned, not all our actual sins, but only original sin; whereas from Christ, in whom we are all justified, we obtain the remission not merely of that original sin, but of the rest of our sins also, which we have added by our actual transgression. Hence it runs: "Not as by the one that sinned, so also is the free gift." For the judgment, to be sure, unless remitted, is from one sin — and that the original sin — capable of drawing us into condemnation; whilst grace conducts us to justification from the remission of many sins, "and that is to say, not simply from the original sin, but from all others also whatsoever.

Chap. 17.

"For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of righteousness shall reign in life by one, even Jesus Christ." 1 Why did death reign owing to the sin of one, unless it was that men were bound by the chain of death in that one man in whom all men sinned, even though they added no sins of their own? Otherwise it was not owing to the sin of one that death reigned through one; rather it was owing to the manifold offences of many, [operating] through each individual offender.

For if the reason why men have died for the delinquency of another be, that they have followed and imitated him as their predecessor in delinquency, it must even result, and that with much greater propriety, that he died for the offence of

1 Rom. v. 17.

4 B
one, whom the devil by his pre-eminent influence so wrought on as to induce him to commit the offence. Adam, however, used no influence to persuade his followers; and the many who are said to have imitated him have, in fact, either not heard of his existence at all or of his having committed any such sin as is ascribed to him, or [if they have heard of the history], simply refuse to believe it. How much more correct, therefore, as I have already remarked, I would the apostle have been in setting forth the devil as the first offender, and telling us that sin and death had passed from him only upon us all, if he had in this passage meant to speak of imitation and not of propagation? For there is much stronger reason for saying that Adam is an imitator of the devil, since he had in him an actual instigator to sin; if, [as it would seem], one may be an imitator even of him who has never used any particular persuasion of such a kind, or of whom he is absolutely ignorant. But what is implied in the clause,
"They which receive abundance of grace and righteousness," but that the grace of remission is given not only to that sin in which all have sinned, but to those offences likewise which men have actually committed besides; and that on those [happy recipients of the grace] so great a righteousness is freely bestowed, that, although Adam gave way to him who persuaded him to sin, they at any rate yield not even to the coercion of the same tempter? Again, what mean the words,
"Much more shall they reign in life," when the fact is, that the reign of death drags much the more down to eternal punishment, unless we understand those to be really mentioned in both clauses, who pass from Adam to Christ, in other words, from death to life; because in the life eternal they shall reign without end, and thus exceed the reign of death which has prevailed within them only temporarily and

with a termination?

Chap. 18.

f Therefore as by the offence of one [judgment came] upon all men to condemnation, even so by the justification of One, [the free gift came] upon all men unto justification of life."
This "offence of one," if we are bent on [the theory of]
1 See above, ch. 9. 2 Rom. v. 18.

CHAP. XIX.] OUR JUSTIFICATION BY CHRIST. 19

imitation, can only be the devil's offence. Since, however, it is clearly mentioned in reference to Adam and not the devil, it follows that we have no other alternative than to understand the principle of natural propagation, and not that of imitation, to be here implied, [xiv.] Now when he says in reference to Christ, "By the justification of one," he
Chap. 19. [xv.] 

Sin is from natural descent, as righteousness is from regeneration; how "all" are sinners through Adam, and "all" are just through Christ.

Now if it is imitation only that makes men sinners through Adam, why does not imitation likewise alone make men righteous through Christ? "For," he says, "as by the offence of one [judgment came] upon all men to condemnation; even so by the justification of one [the free gift came] upon all men unto justification of life." [On the theory of imitation], then, those who are in this passage antithetically mentioned as the

1 1 Cor. iv. 16. 2 Rom. iv. 5. 3 Sanctorum sanctorum.
4 John xiv. 1. 5 Rom. v. 13.

20 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

"one" and the "one" must not be regarded as Adam and Christ, but Adam and Abel. For although many sinners have preceded us in the time of this present life, and have been imitated in their sin by those who have sinned at a later date, yet they will have it, that only Adam is mentioned as he in whom all have sinned by following his example, on the ground that he was the very first man who sinned. And on the same principle, Abel ought certainly to have been mentioned, as he in whom alone all men likewise are justified by imitation of his good example, inasmuch as he was himself the first man who lived a holy life. If, however, it be thought necessary to take into the account some critical period having relation to the beginning of the New Testament, and Christ be taken as the leader of the righteous and the object of their imitation, then Judas, who betrayed Him, ought to
be set down as the leader of the class of sinners. Moreover, if Christ alone is He in whom all men are justified, on the ground that it is not simply the imitation of His example which makes men just, but His grace which regenerates men by the Spirit, then also Adam is the only one in whom all have sinned, on the ground that it is not the mere following of his evil example that makes men sinners, but the penalty which generates through the flesh. Hence the terms "all men" and "all men" [used by the apostle in his antithetical clauses.] For not they who are generated through Adam are actually the very same as those who are regenerated through Christ; but yet the language of the apostle is strictly correct, because as none partakes of carnal generation except through Adam, so no one shares in the spiritual except through Christ. For if any could be generated in the flesh, yet not by Adam; and if in like manner any could be generated in the Spirit, and not by Christ; clearly "all" could not be spoken of either in the one class or in the other. But these "all" the apostle afterwards describes as "many;" for obviously, under certain circumstances, the "all" may be but a few. The carnal generation, however, embraces "many" and the spiritual generation also includes "many;" although the "many" of the spiritual are less numerous than the "many" of the carnal. But as

1 The word is "all" in ver. 18. 2 See ver. 19.

CHAP. XXL] NATURAL AND SPIRITUAL BIRTH. 21

the one embraces all men whatever, so the other includes all righteous men; because as in the former case none can be a man without the carnal generation, so in the other class no one can be a righteous man without the spiritual generation; in both instances, therefore, there are "many:" "For as by the disobedience of one man many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." *

Chap. 20. â€” Original sin alone is contracted by natural birth.

"Moreover the law entered, that the offence might abound." 2 This addition to original sin men now made of their own wilfulness, not through Adam; but even this is done away and remedied by Christ, because "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that as sin hath reigned unto death" 3 â€” even that sin which men have not derived from Adam, but have added of their own accord â€” "even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life." 4 There is, however, no righteousness except through Christ, as there are no sins except through Adam. Therefore, after saying, "As sin hath reigned unto death," he did not add in the same clause "by one," or "by Adam" because he had already spoken of that sin which was abounding when the law entered, and which, of course, was not original sin, but the sin of man's own wilful commission. But [here the case is different; for] after lie has said: "Even so might grace also reign through righteousness unto eternal life," he at once adds, "through Jesus Christ our Lord;" 5 because, whilst by carnal generation only i original sin is contracted, yet by spiritual regeneration there/ is effected the remission not of original sin only, but also 01 the sins of man's own voluntary and actual commission.
Chap. 21. [xvi.]â€”Unbaptized infants damned, but in a most modified way; 6 the penalty of Adam's sin, the grace of his body lost.

It may therefore be correctly affirmed, that such infants as I quit the body without being baptized will be involved in condemnation, but of the mildest character. That person, therefore, greatly deceives both himself and others, who teaches


4 Rom. v. 21. 5 Rom. v. 21.

6 See Augustine's Enchiridion, c. 93, and Contra Julianum, v. 11.

22 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

that they will not be involved in condemnation; whereas the apostle says: "Judgment [hath arisen] from one offence to condemnation;" 1 and again a little after: "By the offence of one [judgment came] upon all persons to condemnation." 2 When, indeed, Adam sinned by not obeying God, then his body â€” although it was a natural and mortal body â€” lost the grace whereby it used in every part of it to be obedient to the soul. Then there arose in me n affections common to th e brutes which are productive of shame, and which made man ashamed of his own nakedness. 3 Then also, by a certain morbid condition which was conceived in men from a suddenly injected and pestilential corruption, it was brought about that they lost that firmness of life in which they were created, and, by reason of the mutations which they experienced in the stages of life, issued at last in death. However many were the years they lived in their subsequent life, yet they began to die on the day when they received the law of death, because they kept verging towards old age. For that possesses not even a moment's stability, but glides away without respite or recovery, which by constant change perceptibly advances to an end which does not produce perfection, but utter exhaustion. Thus, then, was fulfilled what God had spoken: " In the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall surely die." 4 As a consequence, then, of this disobedience of the flesh and this law of sin and death, whoever is born of the flesh has need of spiritual regeneration â€” not only that he may reach the kingdom of God, but even that he may be freed from the damnation of sin. Hence [arise the two opposite conditions]; men are on the one hand born in the flesh liable to sin and death from the first Adam, and on the other hand are born again in baptism associated with the righteousness and eternal life of the second Adam; even as it is written in the book of Ecclesiasticus: "Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die." 5 Now whether it be said of the woman or of the man, both statements pertain to the first man; since (as we know) the woman is of the man, and the two are one flesh. Whence also it is written: " And they

1 Rom. v. 16. 2 Ver. 18. 3 Q en# iiit 10<
4 Gen. ii. 17. 6 Ecclus. xxv. 24.

CHAP. XXIII.] INFANTS BORN IN SIN. 23

twain shall be one flesh; wherefore/ the Lord -says, " they are no more twain, but one flesh." 1

Chap. 22. [xyii.] â€” To infants personal sin cannot be attributed.

They, therefore, who say that the reason why infants are baptized, is, that they may have the remission of the sin which they have themselves committed in their life, not what they have derived from Adam, may be refuted without much difficulty. For whenever these persons shall have reflected within themselves a little, uninfluenced by any polemical spirit, on the absurdity of their statement, how unworthy it is, in fact, of serious discussion, they will at once change their opinion. But if they will not do this, we shall not so completely despair of men's common sense, as to have any fears that they will induce others to adopt their views. They are themselves driven to adopt their opinion, if I am not mistaken, by their prejudice for some other theory; and therefore, feeling themselves obliged to confess that sins are remitted to the baptized, and being unwilling to allow that the sin was derived from Adam which they admit to be remitted to infants, they were obliged to charge infancy itself with actual sin; as if by bringing this charge against infancy a man could become the more safe himself, when accused and unable to answer his assailant! However, let us, as I suggested, pass by such opponents as these; indeed, we require neither words nor quotations of Scripture to prove the sinlessness of infants, so far as their conduct in life is concerned; this life they spend, such is the recency of their birth, within their very selves, since it escapes the cognizance of human perception, which has no data or support whereon to sustain any controversy on the subject.

Chap. 23. [xviii.] â€” He refutes those who allege that infants are baptized not for the remission of sins, but for the obtaining of the kingdom of heaven 2

But those persons raise a question, and appear to adduce an argument deserving of consideration and discussion, who say that new-born infants receive baptism not for the remission of sin, but that they may have a spiritual creation 8 and

1 Matt. xix. 5, 6.

2 See below, c. 26; also Be Peccato orig. c. 19-24; also Serm. 294.

3 We adopt this reading after three mss., but the Benedictine text has " non
be born again in Christ, and become partakers even of the kingdom of heaven, and by the
same means children and heirs of God, and joint-heirs of Christ. And yet, when you ask
them, whether, if [infants are] not baptized, and are not made joint-heirs with Christ and
partakers of the kingdom of heaven, they have at any rate the blessing of eternal life in
the resurrection of the dead, they are extremely perplexed, and find no way out of their
difficulty. For what Christian is there who would allow it to be said, that any one could
attain to eternal salvation without being born again in Christ,
â€” [a result] which He meant to be effected through baptism, at the very time when such
a sacrament was purposely instituted for men beinâ€™ regenerated with a view to eternal
salvation?
Whence the apostle says: " Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but
according to His mercy He saved us by the laver 1 of regeneration." 2 This salvation,
however, according to him, consists in hope, while we live here below.
He says, " For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man
seeth, why doth he yet hope for ?
But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 3 Who then
could be so bold as to affirm, that without the regeneration of which the apostle speaks,
infants could attain to eternal salvation, as if Christ died not for them ? For " Christ died
for the ungodly." 4 As for them, however, who (as is manifest) never did an ungodly act
in all their life, if also they are not bound by any bond of sin in their original nature, how
did He die for them, who died for the ungodly ? If they were hurt by no malady of
original sin, how is it they are carried to the Physician Christ, for the express purpose of
receiving the sacrament of eternal salvation, by the pious anxiety of those who run to
Him ? Why rather is it not said to them in the Church: Take hence these innocents: " they
that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick;" â€” Christ " came not to call
the righteous, but sinners to repentance?" 5 There never has been heard,

habentes," etc.; which means, "that they may be created in Christ, not having the spiritual
procreation," whatever that may mean.

1 Lavacrum. 3 Tit. iii. 5. 3 Rom. viii. 21, 25.


CHAP. XXIV.] THEIR REGENERATION. 25

there never is heard, there never will be heard in the Church, such a fiction concerning
Christ.

Ciiap. 24. [xix.]
And let no one suppose that infants ought to be brought to baptism, because, as they are not sinners, so they are not righteous; how then do some remind us of the Lord's saying, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven;" I hold that the Lord thus commends this tender age as meritorious? Tor if this is not said of infants because of their resemblance to the grace of humility (since humility makes [us] infants), but from the meritoriousness of the life of children, then of course infants must be righteous persons; otherwise, it could not be correctly said, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," for heaven can only belong to the righteous. But probably, after all, it is not a right opinion of the meaning of the Lord's words, to make Him commend the life of infants when He says, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven;" inasmuch as that may be their true sense, which makes Christ adduce the tender age of infancy as a likeness of humility. Well, then, perhaps we must revert to the tenet which I mentioned just now, that infants ought to be baptized, because, although they are not sinners, they are yet not righteous. But it would seem as if there were an answer to this view, in the words of Christ: "I came not to call the righteous." Whom then, [O Lord,] didst Thou come to call? He immediately goes on to say: "â€” but sinners to repentance." Therefore it follows, that, however righteous they may be, if also they are not sinners, He came not to call them, who said of Himself: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." They therefore seem, not vainly only, but even wickedly to rush to His baptism, who does not invite them, â€” an opinion, which God forbid that we should entertain. He calls them, then, as a Physician who is not wanted for those that are whole, but for those that are sick; and who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Now, inasmuch as infants are not held bound by any sins of their own actual life, it is the guilt of original sin


26 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

which is healed in them by the grace of Him who saves them by the laver of regeneration.

Chap. 25. â€” Infants are described as believers and as penitents. Sins alone separate between God and men.

Some one will say: How then are mere infants called to repentance? Is it possible for them at so tender an age to have anything to repent of? The answer to this is: If they must not be called penitents on the ground of their not having the experience of one that repents, neither must they be called believers, because they likewise have not the faculty of believing. But if they are rightly called believers, I because they in a certain sense profess faith by the words of those who bring them to baptism, why are they not also held to possess the previous grace of repentance, when they are proved to renounce the world and the devil by the profession again of those who bring them to the font? The whole of this is done in hope, on the strength of the sacrament and the divine grace,
which the Lord has bestowed upon the Church. But yet who knows not that the baptized infant fails to be [ultimately] benefited from what he received as a little child, if on coming to years of reason he fails to believe and to abstain from unlawful desires? If, however, the infant departs from the present life after he has received baptism, the guilt in which he was involved by original sin being [thereby] done away, he shall be made perfect in that light of truth, which, as it remains unchangeable for evermore, illumines the justified in the presence of their Maker. For it is only sins which separate between men and God; and these are done away by Christ's grace, through whose mediation we are reconciled, when He justifies the ungodly.

Chap. 26. [xx.] â€” No one, except he be baptized, rightly comes to the table of the Lord.

Now they take alarm from the statement of the Lord, when He says, " Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" 2 because in His own explanation of the passage He affirms, " Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." 3 And

1 See below, c. 26 and 40; also Book iii. c. 2; also Epist. 98, and Serm. 294.
2 John iii. 3. 3 Ver. 5.

CHAP. XXVII] ORIGINAL SIN AND THE TWO SACRAMENTS. 27

so they try to ascribe to unbaptized infants, by the merit of their innocence, the gift of salvation and eternal life, but at the same time, owing to their being unbaptized, to exclude them from the kingdom of heaven. But how novel and astonishing is such an assumption, as if there could possibly be salvation and eternal life without heirship with Christ, [and] without the kingdom of heaven! Of course they have their refuge, whither to escape and hide themselves, because the Lord does not say, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot have life, but â€” " he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." If indeed He had said that, there could have risen not a moment's doubt. Well, then, let us remove the doubt [which they import]; let us now listen to the Lord, and not to men's notions and conjectures. Let us, I say, hear what the Lord says â€” not indeed concerning the sacrament of baptism, but concerning the sacrament of His own holy table, to which none but a baptized person has a right to approach: " Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall have no life in you." 1

What do we want more? What answer to this can be adduced, unless it be by that obstinacy which ever resists the constancy of manifest truth?

Chap. 27.
Will, however, any man be so bold as to say that this statement [of the Lord's] has no relation to infants, and that they can have life in them without partaking of His body and blood "on the ground that He does not say, Except a man eat (as in the phrase about baptism, "Except a man be born again"), but " Except ye eat; " as if He were addressing those who were able to hear and to understand, which of course infants cannot do? But the man who says this is inattentive [to the circumstances of the case]; because, unless all are embraced in the statement, that without the body and the blood of the Son of man men cannot have life, it is to no purpose that the elder age has this provision. For if you attend to the mere words, and not to the meaning, of the Lord as He speaks, this passage may very well seem to have been spoken merely to the people whom He happened at the moment to be addressing;

1 John vi. 53.

28 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

because He does not say [in a general phrase], Unless any man eat; but [personally], Except ye eat. What also becomes of the statement which He makes in the same context on this very point: " The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world?" 1 For, according to this statement, we find that that sacrament pertains virtually to ourselves, who were not in existence at the time the Lord spoke these words; for we cannot possibly say that we do not belong to " the world," for the life of which Christ gave His flesh. Who indeed can doubt that in the term world all persons are indicated who enter the world by being born? For, as He says in another passage, " The children of this world besjet and are begotten." 2 From all this it follows, that even for the life of infants was His flesh given, which He gave for the life of the world; and that even they will not have life if they eat not the flesh of the Son of man.

Chap. 28.

Hence also that other statement: " The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; while he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." 3 Now in which of these classes must we place infants? amongst those who believe on the Son, or amongst those who believe not the Son? In neither, say some, because, as they are not yet able to believe, so must they not be deemed capable of unbelief. This, however, the rule of the Church does not indicate, for it joins baptized infants to the number of the faithful. Now if they who are baptized are, by virtue of the excellence and administration of so great a sacrament, still reckoned in the number of the faithful, although by their heart and mouth they do not literally perform what appertains to the action of faith and confession, surely they who have lacked the sacrament must be classed amongst those who do not believe on the Son; and therefore, if they shall depart this life without this grace, they will have to encounter what is written concerning such " they shall not have life, but the
1 John vi. 52. 2 Geiierant et generantur; Luke xx. 34.

3 John iii. 34, 35.

CHAP. XXIX.] GOD'S SECRETS WISE AND GOOD. 29

wrath of God abideth on them. "Whence could this result to those who clearly have no sins of their own, if they are not held to be obnoxious to original sin ?

Chap. 29. [xxx.] â€” It is an inscrutable mystery why some infants depart this life balked of baptism, and others not; through faith we attain to understanding and knowledge.

Now there is much significance in what He says. His words are not, " The wrath of God shall come upon him," but " The wrath of God abideth on him." For from this wrath (in which we are all involved under sin, and of which the apostle says, " For we too were once by nature the children of wrath, even as others" 1 ) nothing delivers us but the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. The reason why this grace comes upon one man and not on another may be a secret reason, but it cannot be an unjust one. For " is there unrighteousness with God ? God forbid." 2 We must first bend our necks to the authority of the Holy Scriptures, in order that we may each arrive at knowledge and understanding through faith. It is not said in vain, "Thy judgments are a great deep, Lord." 3

The profundity of this " deep" the apostle, as if with a feeling of dread, notices in that exclamation: " the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God !" He had indeed previously noticed the wonderful character of this depth, when he said: " For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all." 4 Then struck, as it were, with a horrible fear of this abyss, he goes on to say: " the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out ! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again ? For of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen." 5 How utterly insignificant, then, is our faculty for discussing the justice of God's judgments, and for the consideration of His gratuitous grace, which, as men have no prevenient merits for deserving it, cannot be partial or unrighteous, and which does not disturb us when

1 EpL ii. 3. 2 Rom. ix. 14. 8 Ps. xxxvi. 6.

4 Rom. xi. 32. 5 Rom. xi. 33-36.

30 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]
it is bestowed upon unworthy men, as much as when it is denied to those who are equally
unworthy!

Chap. 30.
Now those very persons, who think it unjust that infants which depart this life without
baptism should be deprived not only of the kingdom of God, into which they themselves
admit that none but such as are regenerated through baptism can enter, but also of eternal
life and salvation, when they ask how it can be just that one man should be freed from
original sin and another not, although the condition of both of them is the same, might
really answer their own question, and that on their own terms, [by determining] how it
can be so frequently just and right that one man should have baptism administered to him
whereby to enter into the kingdom of God, and another not be so favoured, although the
case of both is alike. For if the question disturbs him, why, of the two persons, who are
both equally involved in original sin, the one is loosed from that bond on whom baptism
is conferred, and the other is not released on whom such grace is not bestowed, why is he
not similarly disturbed by the fact that of two persons, [whom he assumes to be] equally
innocent by nature, one receives baptism, whereby he is able to enter into the kingdom of
God, and the other does not receive it, so that he is incapable of approaching the kingdom
of God? Now in both cases one recurs to the apostle's outburst of wonder, "the depth of
the riches!" Again, let me be informed, why of two baptized infants one is taken away,
so that his understanding undergoes no change from a wicked life, 1 and the other
survives, destined to become an impious man? Suppose both were carried off, would not
both enter the kingdom of heaven?
And yet there is no unrighteousness with God. 2 How is it that no one is moved, no one is
driven to the expression of wonder amidst such depths, by the circumstance that some
children are vexed by the unclean spirit, while others experience no such pollution, and
others again, as Jeremiah, are sanctified even in their mother's womb; 3 whereas all men,
if there is original sin, are equally guilty; or else equally innocent if there is no original
sin? Whence this great

1 Wisdom iv. 11. 2 Rom. ix. 14. 3 Jer. i. 5.

CHAP. XXXI.] HUMAN CONDUCT DIVERSE. 31

diversity J _cept inatŽJ^t_ibaJG:0.d's judgments . are unsearchable, and His ways
past finding out ?

Chap. 31. [xxn.] â€” He refutes those who suppose that souls, on account of sins
committed in another state, are thrust into bodies suited to their merits, in which they are
more or less tormented. There is no salvation for the man to whom Christ has not been
preached.
Perhaps, however, the now exploded and rejected opinion must be resumed, that souls which once sinned in their heavenly abode, descend by stages and degrees to bodies suited to their deserts, and, as a penalty for their previous life, are more or less tormented by corporeal chastisements. To this opinion Holy Scripture indeed presents a most manifest contradiction; for when recommending divine grace, it says:
"For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger." 1 And yet they who entertain such an opinion are actually unable to escape the perplexities of this question, but, embarrassed and straitened by them, are compelled to exclaim like others, "the depth!" For whence does it come to pass that a person shall from his earliest boyhood show greater moderation, mental excellence, and temperance, and shall to a great extent conquer lust, shall hate avarice, detest luxury, and rise to a greater eminence and aptitude in the other virtues, and yet live in such a place as to be unable to hear the grace of Christ preached? â€” for "how shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? or how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" 2 — while another man, although of a tardy mind, addicted to lust, and covered with disgrace and crime, shall be so directed as to hear, and believe, and be baptized, and be taken away. â€” or, if permitted to remain longer here, lead the rest of his life in a manner that shall bring him praise?

Now where did these two persons acquire characters deserving such diverse issues, â€” I do not say, causing the one to believe and the other not to believe, for that is a matter for a man's own will; but providing that the other should hear in

1 Rom. ix. 11, 12. 2 Rom.<x# 14#

32 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

order to believe, and that the other should not hear, for this is not within man's power? Where, I say, did they acquire the merit of such different issues? If they had indeed passed any part of their life in heaven, so as to be thrust down, or (if you like) glide gently down, to this world, and to tenant such bodily receptacles as are fitted to their own former life, then of course that man ought to be supposed to have led the better life previous to his present body of death, who did not much deserve to be burdened with such a body for the purpose of possessing a good disposition, and of being importuned by the milder desires which he could easily overcome; and yet, [strange to say,] he did not deserve to have that grace preached to him whereby alone he could be delivered from the ruin of the second death. Whereas the other, who was hampered with a grosser body, as a penalty â€” so they suppose â€” for his worse deserts, and was accordingly possessed of obtuser affections, whilst he was in the violent ardour of his lust, succumbing to the snares of the flesh, and by his wicked life aggravating his former sins, which had brought him to such a pass, by a still more abandoned course of earthly pleasures,
[was arrested in his career, and] either heard upon the cross, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise," 1 or else joined himself to some apostle, by whose preaching he became a changed man, and was saved by the washing of regeneration, â€” so that where sin once abounded, grace did much more abound. What answer they can get out of this, I am at a loss to know, in their wish to maintain God's righteousness by human conjectures, who, knowing nothing of the depths of grace, have woven webs of improbable fable.

Chap. 32. â€” The case of the Moriones (certain idiots and simpletons) adverted to; one of these exhibited a remarkable sensitiveness whenever the name of Christ was insulted, notwithstanding his stupid insensibility to an injury done to himself. *

Now a good deal may be said of men's strange vocations, â€” either such as we have read about, or have experienced ourselves, â€” which go to overthrow the opinion of those persons who think that, previous to the possession of their bodies, men's souls passed through certain lives peculiar to them- selves, in which they must come to this, and experience in the present life either good or evil, according to the difference of their individual deserts. My anxiety, however, of bringing this work to an end does not permit me to dwell longer on these topics. But on one point, which among many I have found to be a very strange one, I will say something. Following those persons who suppose that souls are oppressed with earthly bodies in a greater or a less degree of grossness, according to the deserts of the life which had been passed in celestial bodies previous to the assumption of the present one, who is there among them that would not affirm that men previous to this life had sinned with an especial amount of enormity, deserving to lose all mental light, so as to be born with sensation akin to brute animals, â€” men who are (I will not say most slow in intellect, for this is very commonly said of others also, but) so stupid and silly as to make a show of their fatuity for the amusement of clever people, even with idiotic gestures, I whom the vulgar call Morioncs (brainless fools), after the Greek designation [for a simpleton â€” Mwpos] ?

And yet there was once a certain person of this class, who was so imbued with Christian feeling that although he used to bear with an endurance which almost amounted to an imbecile indifference any amount of injury to himself, he was yet so impatient of any contumelious treatment of the name of Christ, or of the reverence of it in himself, with which he was so imbued, that he could never refrain, whenever his gay and clever audience proceeded to blaspheme the sacred name, as they sometimes would in order to provoke his patience, from pelting them with stones; and on these occasions he would show no favour even to persons of rank. Well, now, such__persons are predestinated and
created, as I suppose, to understand, so far as they are able, that God's grace and Spirit, " which bloweth where it listeth," 2 does not pass over any kind of disposition in the sons of mercy, nor in like manner does it omit from its notice any sort of character in

1 We here follow the reading cerriti; other readings are, â€” curati (with studied folly), cirrati (with effeminate foppery), and citrati (decking themselves with citrus leaves).

2 John iii. 8.

34 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

the children of wrath, so that " he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." 1 They, however, who affirm that souls severally receive different earthly bodies, more or less gross according to the merits of their former life, and that their abilities as men vary according to the self-same merits, so that some minds are sharper and others more obtuse, [must answer me one question,] â€” is the grace of God also dispensed for the liberation of men from their sins according to the deserts of their former existence? What will they have to say in reply on this point? How, [for instance,] will they be able, to attribute to the man of whom we have been speaking a previous life of so disgraceful a character that he desired to be born an idiot, and at the same time so meritorious a career as to entitle him to a preference in the award of the grace of Christ over many men of the acutest intellect?

Chap. 33. â€” Christ is the Saviour and Redeemer even of infants.

Let us therefore give in and yield our assent to the authority of Holy Scripture, which knows not how either to be deceived or to deceive; and as we do not believe that men as yet unborn have done any good or evil for raising a difference in their moral deserts, so let us by no means doubt that all men are under that sin which came into the world by one man, and has passed through unto all men; and that from this sin nothing frees us but the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, [xxni.] His remedial advent is needed by those that are sick, not by the whole: for He came not to call the righteous, but sinners; and into His kingdom shall enter no one that is not born again of water and the Spirit; nor shall any one attain salvation and eternal life except in His kingdom, â€” since the man who believes not in the Son, and eats not His flesh, shall not have life, but the wrath of God remains upon him. Now from this sinful condition, from this sick state, from this wrath of God (of which by nature they are children who have original sin, even if they in their lifetime add none of their own commission), none delivers them, except the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world; except the Physician, who came not for the sake of the sound, but of the sick; except the Saviour, concerning whom

1 1 Cor. i. 31.
it was said to the human race: "Unto you there is born this day a Saviour;" 1 except the Bedeemer, by whose blood our debt is blotted out. For who would dare to say that Christ is not the Saviour and Redeemer of infants? But from what does He save them, if there is no malady of original sin within them? From what does He redeem them, if through their origin from the first man they are not sold under sin? Let there be then no eternal salvation promised to infants out of our own mere whim and will, without Christ's baptism; for none is promised in that Holy Scripture which is to be preferred to all human authority and opinion.

Chap. 34. [xxiv.] Baptism is called salvation; and the Eucharist, life, by the Christians of Carthage. The ancient and apostolic tradition.

The Christians of Carthage have an excellent name for the sacraments, when they say that baptism is nothing else than "salvation," and the sacrament of the body of Christ nothing else than "life." Whence, however, was this derived, but from that primitive, as I suppose, and apostolic tradition, by which the Churches of Christ maintain it to be an inherent principle, that without baptism and partaking of the supper of the Lord it is impossible for any man to attain to salvation and everlasting life? So much also does Scripture testify, according to the words which we already quoted. For wherein does their opinion, who designate baptism by the term salvation, differ from what is written: "He saved us by the washing [or laver] of regeneration?" 2 or from Peter's statement: "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us?" 3 Then as for those who call the sacrament of the Lord's Supper life, what else do they say than that which is written: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven;" 4 or that other statement: "The bread that I shall give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;" 5 or again: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye shall have no life in you?" 6 If, therefore, as so many important scriptures agree in testifying, neither salvation nor eternal life can be hoped for by any [without baptism and the Lord's body and blood, it is vain to promise

1 Luke ii. 11. * Tit. iii. 5. 3 1 Pet. iii. 21.
4 John vi. 51. 5 John vi. 51. 6 John vi. 53.

36 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

these blessings to infants without these [sacraments]. Moreover, if it be only sins that separate man from salvation and eternal life, there is nothing else in infants which these sacraments can be the means of removing, but the guilt of [original]
sin, "respecting which guilty nature it is written, that "no one is clean, not even if his life be only that of a day." 1 Whence also that exclamation of the Psalmist: "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me!" 2 This is either said in the person of our common humanity, or of himself only does David speak. Even if the latter be the sense, it can have no reference to fornication, of course, because David was born in lawful wedlock. We therefore ought not to doubt that even for the baptism of infants was that precious blood shed, which previous to its actual effusion was so given, and applied in the sacrament, that it was said [by Him who gave His life for us,] "This is my blood, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." 3 Now they who will not allow that they are under sin, deny that there is any liberation. For what is there that men are liberated from, if they are held to be bound by no bondage of sin?

Chap. 35. Unless infants are baptized, they remain in darkness. 
"I am come," says Christ, "a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness." 4

Now what does this passage show us, but that every person is in darkness who does not believe on Him, and that it is by believing on Him that he escapes from this permanent state of darkness? What do we understand by the darkness but sin? And whatever else it may embrace in its meaning, at any rate he who believes not in Christ will "abide in darkness," \(\text{â€”}\) which, of course, is a penal state, not as the darkness of the night necessary for the refreshment of living beings.

[xxv.] So that infants, unless they pass into the number of believers through the sacrament which was divinely instituted for this purpose, will undoubtedly remain in this darkness.

Chap. 36. Some have concluded from the gospel, that infants, as soon as they are born, are enlightened.

Some, however, understand that as soon as children are born they are enlightened; and they derive this opinion from
1 Job xiv. 4 (Sept.). 2 Ps. li. 5. 3 Matt. xxvi. 28. 4 John xii. 46.

CHAP. XXXVII.] GOD THE UNIVERSAL ENIIGHTENEB. 37

the passage: "That was the true Light, which lighteth every one that cometh into the world." 5 Well, if this be the case, it is quite astonishing how it can be that those who are thus enlightened by the only-begotten Son, who was the Word in the beginning with God, and [Himself] God, are not admitted into the kingdom of God, nor are heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ. For that such an inheritance is not bestowed upon them except through baptism, even they who hold the opinion in question do acknowledge. Then, again, if they are (though already illuminated) thus admitted to be unfit for entrance into the kingdom of God, they at all events ought gladly to receive baptism, because, at least, they are fit for it; but, strange to say, we see how reluctant infants are to submit to baptism, resisting even with strong crying. And this ignorance of theirs we think lightly
of at their time of life, so that we fully administer the sacraments, which we know to be serviceable to them, even although they struggle against them.

And why, too, does the apostle say, "Be not children in understanding," 2 if their minds have been already enlightened,

[according to the hypothesis,] with that true Light, which is the Word of God?

Chap. 37. How God enlightens every person; God teaches in one way, man in another; the Sun of Wisdom shines everywhere, but is not seen by fools.

The statement, therefore, which occurs in the gospel,

"That was the true Light, which lighteth every one that cometh into the world," has this meaning, that no man is illuminated except with that Light of the truth, which is God; so that no person must think that he is enlightened by him whom he listens to as a learner, if that instructor happen to be â€” I will not say, any great man â€” but even an angel himself. For the word of truth is applied to man externally by the ministry of a bodily voice, but yet * neither he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." 3 Man indeed hears the speaker, be he man or angel, but in order that he may perceive and know that what is said is true, his mind is internally besprinkled with that light which remains for ever, and which shines even in darkness. But just as the sun is not seen by the blind,

1 John i. 9. 2 i Cor. xiv. 20. 3 1 Cor. iii. 7.

38 ON FOKGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

though they are clothed as it were with its rays, so is the light of truth not understood by the darkness of folly.

Chap. 38.

But why, after saying, "which lighteth every one," should he have added, "that cometh into the world," â€” the clause which has suggested the opinion that He enlightens the minds of newly-born babes in the recent birth of their bodies from

\their mother's womb ? for the words are so placed in the Greek , that they may be understood to express that the light

^ itself "cometh into the world." * If, however, the clause must be taken as a predicate of man ["every one who cometh into the world"], I suppose that it is either a simple phrase, like many others one finds in the Scriptures, which may be removed without impairing the general sense, or else, if it is to be regarded as a distinctive addition, it was probably inserted in order to distinguish spiritual illumination from that bodily one which enlightens the eyes of the flesh either by means of the luminaries of the sky, or by the lights of ordinary fire. He mentioned, therefore, the inner man as coming into the world, because the outward man is of a corporeal nature, just as this worldly fabric is itself; as if
he said, "Which lighteth every man on his coming into the body," in accordance with that which is written: "I obtained a good spirit, and I came into a body undefiled." 2 Or again, if the passage, "Which lighteth every one that cometh into the world," was added for the sake of expressing some distinction, it might perhaps mean: Which illuminates every inner man, because, when the inner man becomes truly wise, it is enlightened only by Him who is the true Light; or, once more, if the intention was to designate reason herself, which causes the human soul to be called rational (and which faculty, although as yet quiet and as it were asleep, is for all that latent in infants, sown and implanted in their nature), by the term illumination, as if it were the creation of the eye within, then it cannot be denied that it is made when the soul is created; and there is no absurdity in supposing this to take place when the human being comes into the world. But yet, although his eye is now created, he himself must needs remain in darkness, if he does not believe in Him who said: "I am come a Light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness."* Now that this takes place in the case of infants, through the sacrament of baptism, is not doubted by our mother the Church, which uses for them the heart and mouth of a mother, that they may be imbued with the sacred mysteries, seeing that they have not themselves as yet a heart for "believing unto righteousness," nor a mouth of their own to make "confession unto salvation." J There is not indeed a man among the faithful, who would hesitate to call such infants believers merely from the circumstance that such a designation is derived from the act of believing; for although incapable of such an act themselves, yet others are sponsors for them in the sacraments.

Chap. 39. [xxvi.] â€“ The conclusion drawn, that all are involved in original sin.

It would be tedious, were we fully to discuss, at similar length, every testimony bearing on the question. I suppose it will be the more convenient course simply to collect the passages together which may turn up, or such as shall seem suitable for manifesting the truth, that the Lord Jesus Christ came in the flesh, and, in the form of a servant, became obedient even to the death of the cross, 3 for no other reason than (by this dispensation of His most merciful grace) to give life to all those who are engrafted members of His body, and to whom accordingly He becomes their Head for their gaining possession of the kingdom of heaven; and furthermore to save, free, redeem, and enlighten them, involved as they had aforetime been in the death of sin, exposed to its infirmities, thraldom, captivity, and darkness, under the dominion of the devil, the author of sin; that He might thus become the Mediator between God and man, and that by Him (after the enmity of our ungodly condition had been terminated by His gracious help) we might
be reconciled to God unto eternal life, having been rescued from the everlasting death which threatened such as us. When this shall have been made

1 John xii. 46. 2 Rom. x. 10. 3 Phil. ii. 8.

40 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

clear by more than sufficient evidence, it will follow that those persons can have no possible connection with that dispensation of Christ which is comprised in His humiliation, who have no need of life, and salvation, and deliverance, and redemption, and illumination. And inasmuch as this dispensation has for one of its instruments the baptism in which we are buried with Christ, in order to be incorporated into Him as His members (that is, as those who believe in Him), it must of course be inferred that baptism is unnecessary for them, who have no need of the benefit of that forgiveness and reconciliation which is acquired through a Mediator. Now, seeing that they admit the necessity of baptizing infants, finding themselves unable to contravene that authority of the universal Church, which has been unquestionably handed down by the Lord and His apostles, they cannot avoid the further concession, that infants require the same benefits of the Mediator, in order that, being washed by the sacrament and charity of the faithful, and thereby incorporated into the body of Christ, which is the Church, they may be reconciled to God, and so live in Him, and be saved, and delivered, and redeemed, and enlightened; but [saved and delivered] from what, if not from death, and the vices, and guilt, and thealdom, and darkness of sin?

Now, inasmuch as there cannot be committed any of these in the tender age of infancy by any actual transgression, it follows that original sin [must be inherent in infants].

Chap. 40. [xxvu.] A collection of Scripture testimonies.
This reasoning will carry more weight, after I have collected the mass of Scripture testimonies which I have undertaken to adduce. We have already quoted: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." 1 To the same purport [the Lord] says, on entering the home of Zaccheus: "To-day is salvation come to this house, forsooth as he also is a son of Abraham; for the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." 2 The same truth is declared in the parable of the lost sheep and the ninety and nine which were left until the missing one was sought and found; 3 as it is


CHAP, xll] scripture proofs, from the gospel. 41
also in the parable of the lost one among the ten silver coins. 1
Whence, as He said, "it behoved that repentance and remission of sins should be
preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." 2 Mark likewise, at the
end of his Gospel, tells us how that the Lord said: "Go ye into all the world, and preach
the gospel to every creature.
He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be
damned." 3 I STow, who can be unaware that in the case of infants being baptized is to
believe, and not being baptized is not to believe? From the Gospel of John we have
already adduced some passages. However, I
must also request your attention to the following: John Baptist says of Christ, "Behold
the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" 4 and He too says of Himself,
"My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them
eternal life; and they shall never perish." 5 Now, inasmuch as infants are only able to
become His sheep by baptism, it must needs come to pass that they perish if they are not
baptized, because they will not have that eternal life which He gives to His sheep.
So in another passage He says: " I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh
unto the Father, but by me." 6

Chai\ 41.

See with what earnestness the apostles declare this doctrine, after they had once received
it. Peter, in his first Epistle, says: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus
Christ, which, according to His abundant mercy, hath regenerated us unto a lively hope,
by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, and
undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the
power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time." 7 And a
little afterwards he adds: " May ye be found unto the praise and honour of Jesus Christ: of
whom ye were ignorant; but in whom ye believe, though now ye see Him not; and in

1 Luke xv. 8. 2 Luke xxiv. 46, 47. 3 Mark xvi. 15, 16.
4 John i. 29. * j^ x 2 7, 28. 6 John xiv. 6.
* 1 Tet. i. 3-5.
whom also ye shall rejoice, when ye shall see Him, with joy unspeakable and full of glory: receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls." 1 Again, in another place he says: " But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light." 2 Once more he says: " Christ hath once suffered for our sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God f 3 and, after mentioning the fact of eight persons having been saved in Noah's ark, he adds: " And by the like figure baptism saveth you." 4 Now infants are strangers to this salvation and light, and will remain in perdition and darkness, unless they are joined to the people of God by adoption, holding that Christ suffered the just for the unjust, to bring them unto God.

Chap. 42.
Moreover, from John's Epistle I meet with the following words, which seem indispensable to the solution of this question: " But if," says he, " we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin." 5 To the like import he says, in another place: " If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which He hath testified of His Son. He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God hath made Him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of His Son. And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life." 6 It seems, then, that it is not only the kingdom of heaven, but life also, which infants are not to have, if they have not the Son, whom they can only have by His baptism. So again he says: " For this cause the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil." 7 Therefore infants will have no interest in the manifestation of the Son of God, if He do not in them destroy the works of the devil.

4 1 Pet. iii. 21.

1 1 Pet. i. 7-9.
5 1 John i. 7.

2 1 Pet. ii. 9.
6 1 John v. 9-12.

3 1 Pet. iii. 18.
7 1 John iii. 8.
Chap. 43. å“Paul was an earnest preacher of the grace of God.

Let me now request your attention to the testimony of the Apostle Paul on this subject. And quotations from him may of course be made more abundantly, because he wrote more epistles, and because it fell to him to recommend the grace of God with especial earnestness, in opposition to those who gloried in their works, and who, ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish their own, submitted not to the righteousness of God. 1 In his Epistle to the Romans he writes: "The righteousness of God is upon all them that believe; for there is no difference; since all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time His righteousness; that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." 2 Then in another passage he says: "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin." 3 And then after no long interval he observes: "Now, it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him; but for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on Him that raised up Jesus Christ our Lord from the dead; who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification." 4 Then a little after he writes: "For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly." 5 In another passage he says: "We know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I know not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that I do. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now then, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I

1 Rom. x. 3. 2 Rom. iii. 22-26. 3 Rom. iv. 4-8.

4 Rom. iv. 23-25. 5 Rom. v. 6.

44 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now then, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing; for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I
do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I
do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law,
that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after
the inward man: but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my
mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.
wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God,
through Jesus Christ our Lord." * Let them, who can, say that men are not born in this
body of death, that so they may be able to affirm that they have no need of God's grace
through Jesus Christ in order to be delivered from the body of this death. Therefore he
adds, a few verses afterwards: " For what the law could not do, in that it was weak
through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin,
condemned sin in the flesh." 2 Let them say, who dare, that Christ must have been born
in the likeness of sinful flesh, if we were not born in sinful flesh.

Chap. 44.

Likewise to the Corinthians he says: " For I delivered to you first of all that which I also
received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." Again, in his
Second Epistle to these Corinthians: " For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we
thus judge, that if One died for all, then were all dead: and for all did Christ die, that they
which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and
rose again. Wherefore, henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have
known Christ after the flesh, yet from henceforth know we Him so no more. Therefore if
any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things

1 Rom. vii. 14-25. 2 Rom. viii. 3. 3 I Cor. xv. 3.

CHAP. XLYI.] PROOFS FROM HIS EPISTLES. 45

are become new. And all things are of God, who hath reconciled ns to Himself by Jesus
Christ, and hath given unto us the ministry of reconciliation. To what effect? That God
was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto
them, and putting on us the ministry of reconciliation. Now then are we ambassadors for
Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, to be
reconciled to God. For He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we
might become the righteousness of God in Him. 1 "We then, as workers together with
Him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. (For He saith, I have
heard thee in an acceptable time, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee:
behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation.)" 2 Now, if
infants are not embraced within this reconciliation and salvation, who wants them for the
baptism of Christ? But if they are embraced [in this reconciliation and salvation] then
are they reckoned as among the dead for whom He died; nor can they be possibly
reconciled and saved by Him, unless He remit and impute not unto them their sins.
Chap. 45.

Likewise to the Galatians the apostle writes: "Grace be to you, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from this present evil world." 3 While in another passage he says to them: "The law was added because of transgressions, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator belongs not to one party; but God is one. Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." 4

Chap. 46.

To the Ephesians he addresses words of the same import:

1 2 Cor. v. 14-21. » 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2. 3 Gal. i. 3. 4 Gal. iii. 19-22.

4G ON FOEGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

"And you [hath He quickened,] when ye were dead in trespasses and sins; wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience; among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; by whose grace ye are saved." 1 Again, a little afterwards, he says: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." 2 And again, after a short interval:

"At that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world: but now, in Christ Jesus, ye who were sometimes far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in His flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in Himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having in Himself slain the enmity; and He came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh. For through Him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father." 3 Then in another passage he thus writes: "As the truth is in Jesus: that ye put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according
to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the
new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." 4 And again:
"Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.

1 Eph. ii. 1-5. 2 Eph. ii. 8-10. Â» Eph. ii. 12-18.


CHAP. XLVIII.] FURTHER PROOFS FROM ST. PAUL. 47

Chap. 47.

To the Colossians he addresses these words: "Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath
made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light: who hath delivered
us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son;
in whom we have redemption in the remission of our sins." 1 And again he says: "And ye
are complete in Him, which is the head of all principality and power: in whom also ye are
circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the
flesh by the circumcision of Christ; buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen
with Him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised Him from the dead.
And you, when ye were dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath He
quickened together with Him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the
handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out
of the way, nailing it to His cross; and putting the flesh off Him, 2 He made a bold and
confident show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself." 3

Chap. 48.

And then to Timothy he says: "This is a faithful saying, 4
and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of
whom I am chief. Howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ
might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe
on Him to life everlasting." 5 He also says: "For there is one God and one Mediator
between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave Himself a ransom for all." 6 In
his 'second Epistle to the same Timothy, he says: "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the
testimony of our Lord, nor of me His prisoner: but be thou a fellow-labourer for the
gospel, according to the power of God; who hath saved us, and called us with a holy
calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which
was given us in Christ Jesus before the

1 Col.i. 12-14. 2 Exuens se carnem. 3 Col. ii. 10-15.

4 Humanus sermo. 5 1 Tim. i. 15, 16. 6 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.
ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

world began; but is now manifested by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." 1

Chap. 49.

Then again he writes to Titus as follows: " Looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." 2 And to the like effect in another passage: " But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that, being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." 3

Chap. 50.

The Epistle of the Hebrews, although its authority is doubted by some, 4 is, I find, sometimes held by persons, who oppose our opinion touching the baptism of infants, to contain evidence in favour of their own views. We are therefore bound to notice the pointed testimony it bears in our behalf; and I quote it the more confidently, because of the authority of the Eastern Churches, which expressly place it amongst the 1 canonical Scriptures. In its very exordium one thus reads:

" God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds; who, being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." 3

> 2 Tim. i. 8-10. 2 Tit. ii. 13, 14. 3 Tit. iii. 3-7.

4 Amongst the Latins, as Jerome tells us in more than one passage (see his Commentaries, on Isa. vi., viii.; on Zech. viii.; on Matt. xxvi.; also, in his Catal. Script. Eccles., c. xvi. [ad Paulum], and lxx. [ad Gaium], etc.). The Greeks, however, held that the epistle was the work of St. Paul. In his Epistle cxxix. [ad Dardanum] he thus writes: " We must admit that the epistle written to the Hebrews is regarded as the Apostle Paul's, not only by the churches of the East, but by all church writers who have from the beginning (retro) written in Greek." â€” [Note of the Benedictine Editor.]
the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." 1 And by and by the writer says: "For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" 2 And again in another passage: "Forasmuch then," says he, "as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; that through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." 3 Again, shortly after, he says: "Wherefore in all things it behoved Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people." 4 And in another place he writes: "Let us hold fast our profession. For we have not a high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." 5 Again he says: "He hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore He is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such a High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily (as those high priests) to offer up sacrifice, first for His own sins, and then for the people's: for this He did once, when He offered up Himself." 6 And once more: "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us: nor yet that He should offer Himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; (for then must He often have suffered since the foundation of the world;) but now once, in the end of the world, hath He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself. And as it

1 Heb. i. 1-3. * Heb. ii. 2, 3. 3 Heb. ii. 14, 15.
4 Heb. ii. 17. 5 H cb> iv# u> 15# 6 He b. vii. 21-27.
4 D

50 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many: and unto them that look for Him shall He appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation." 1
Chap. 51.

The Eevelation of John likewise tells us that in a new sons?
these praises are offered to Christ: "Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the
seals thereof: for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood out of
every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." 2

â€¢ Chap. 52.

To the like effect, in the Acts of the Apostles, the Apostle Peter designated the Lord Jesus
as "the Prince or Author of life," upbraiding the Jews for having put Him to death in
these words: "But ye dishonoured and denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a
murderer to be granted unto you, and ye killed the Prince of life." 3 While in another
passage he says: "This is the stone which was set at nought by you builders, which is
become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none
other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." 4
And again, elsewhere: "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, by
hanging on a tree. Him hath God exalted with His right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour,
for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." 5 Once more [the same apostle
says:] "To Him give all the prophets witness, that, through His name, whosoever
believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins." 6 Whilst in the same Acts of the
Apostles Paul says: "Be it known therefore unto you, men and brethren, that through this
Man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by Him every one that believeth is
justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." 7

Chap. 53. â€” The utility of the hooks of the Old Testament.

Under so great a weight of testimony, who would not be oppressed that should dare lift
up his voice against the truth

1 Heb. ix. 24-28. 2 Rev. v. 9. 3 Acts iii. 14, 15.
4 Acts iv. 11, 12. 5 Acts v. 30, 31. 6 Acts x. 43.
7 Acts xiii. 38, 39.

CHAP. LIT.] THE OLD TESTAMENT SCEIPTUEES. 51

of God ? And many other testimonies might be found, were it not for my anxiety to bring
this tract to an end, â€” an anxiety which I must not slight. From the books of the Old
Testament, likewise, many attestations to our doctrine in inspired words
[might be adduced, but these] I have deemed it superfluous to quote, on the ground that
what they have concealed under the veil of earthly promises is clearly revealed in the
preaching of the New Testament. Our Lord Himself briefly demonstrated and defined the
use of the Old Testament writings, when He said that it was necessary there should be a
fulfilment of what had been written concerning Himself in the Law, and in the Prophets,
and in the Psalms, even to the effect that Christ must suffer, and rise from the dead the
third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name
among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. 1 In agreement with which is that statement of
Peter which I have already quoted, how that all the prophets bear witness to Christ,
through whose means every one that believes in Him receives remission of his sins. 2

Chap. 54. â€” By the sacrifices of the Old Testament men were convinced of sins rather
than cleansed from them.

And yet it is perhaps better to advance a few testimonies even out of the Old Testament,
which will serve to supplement our former quotations, or rather form a crowning addition
to their value. The Lord Himself, speaking by the Psalmist, says: " As for my saints
which are upon earth, He hath wonderfully fulfilled all my purposes in them." 3 He does
not say their merits, but " ray purposes!' For what is theirs except that which is afterwards
mentioned, â€” " their sorrows are multiplied," 4 â€” proving the fact that they are weak?
Wherefore also the law entered, that the offence might abound. But why does the
Psalmist immediately add: " They hastened after another?" When their sorrows and
infirmities multiplied (that is, when their offence abounded), they then sought the
Physician with the greater eagerness, that so, where sin abounded, grace might much
more abound. He then says: " I will not gather their assemblies together [with their
offerings] of blood;"

1 See Luke xxiv. 44-47. * Acts x. 43.
3 Ps. xvi. 3 (Sept). * Vs. xvi. 4. 5 Ps. xvi. 4.

52 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

for by their many sacrifices of blood, when they gathered their assemblies into the
tabernacle at first, and then into the temple, they were rather convicted as sinners than
cleansed.
I shall not then gather these assemblies of blood-offerings together, He says in fact;
because there is one blood-shedding given for many, whereby they may be cleansed in
very deed.
Then it follows, [in the same verse:] " Neither will I make mention of their names with
my lips." For these were their names at first: children of the flesh, children of the world,
children of wrath, children of the devil, unclean, sinners, impious; but afterwards they
became children of God,â€” becoming a new man, a new name befits them; and a new
song, because endued with new chanting powers by means of the New Testament [of our
Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ]. Men must not be ungracious with God's grace, mean and
small with great things; [but be ever rising] from the less to the greater. The cry of the whole Church is, "I have gone astray like a lost sheep." 1 From all the members of Christ the voice is heard: "All we, as sheep, have gone astray; and He hath Himself been delivered up for our sins." 2 The whole of this passage is that famous one in Isaiah which was expounded by Philip to the eunuch of Queen Candace, when he on the strength of it believed in Jesus. 3 See how often he commends this very subject, and, as it were, inculcates it again and again on proud and contentious men: "He was a man under a heavy stroke, who well knew how to bear infirmities; because His face was averted, dishonoured, and lightly esteemed. He carries our sins, and for us is involved in pains: and we accounted Him to be [for Himself] in pain, and suffering, and punishment. But He was wounded for our sins, was weakened for our infirmities; it was our peace's chastisement that was inflicted on Him; and by His bruise we are healed. All we, as sheep, have gone astray; and the Lord delivered Him up for our sins. And although He was Himself so evilly treated, He yet opened not His mouth: as a sheep was He led to the slaughter, and as a lamb is dumb before the shearer, so He opened not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away: His generation who shall declare? For His 1 Ps. cxix. 176. 2 Isa. liii. 6. 3 Acts viii. 30-37.

CHAP. LV.] THE SACRIFICE OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST. 53

life shall be taken away from the earth, and for the iniquities of my people was He led to death. Therefore I will give the wicked for His burial, and the rich for His death; because He did no iniquity, nor deceit with His mouth. The Lord is pleased to purge Him from His stroke. If you could yourselves have given your soul an offering for sin, then ye should certainly see a seed of a prolonged life. The Lord is also pleased to rescue His soul from its travail, to show Him light, and to form it through His understanding; to justify the Just One, who serves so well the cause of many; and He shall Himself bear their sins. Therefore for His inheritance He shall possess many, and He shall divide the spoils of the mighty; and He was numbered amongst the transgressors; and Himself bare the sins of many, and for their iniquities was He delivered." 1 Consider also that passage of this same prophet which Christ actually declared to be fulfilled in Himself, when He recited it in the synagogue [of ISTazareth], discharging the function of the reader: 2 "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me: to preach glad tidings to the poor hath He sent me; (that so I may refresh all who are broken-hearted,) as well as to preach deliverance to the captives, and to the blind recovery of their sight." 3 Let us then all acknowledge Him; nor should there be one exception among persons like ourselves, who wish to cleave to His body, to enter through Him into the sheepfold, and to attain to that salvation and eternal life which He has promised to His own. æ” Let us, I repeat, all of us acknowledge Him who did no sin, who bare our sins in His own body on the tree, that we might live unto righteousness separate from sins.; by whose wounds and scars we are healed, although in ourselves so weak æ” as erring sheep. 4
Re concludes that all men need the death of Christ, that they may be saved. Unbaptized infants will be involved in the condemnation of the devil. How all men through Adam are unto condemnation; and through Christ unto justification.

Under such circumstances, no man of those who have been joined to Christ by baptism has ever been regarded, according to sound doctrine and the true faith, as excepted from the grace of forgiveness of sins; nor has eternal life been ever thought possible to any man except in Christ's kingdom. For this is ready to be revealed at the last time, 1 which will be at the resurrection of the dead who are reserved not for that eternal death which is called "the second death," but for the eternal life which God, who cannot lie, promises to His saints and faithful servants. Now all who shall partake of this life can only be made alive in Christ, even as all die in Adam. 2 For as none whatever, in respect of their birth according to the will of the flesh, die except in Adam, in whom they all sinned, so none at all who are regenerated by the will of the Spirit are endowed with life except in Christ, in whom they are all justified. Because as through one all are brought to condemnation, so through One are all brought to justification. Nor is there any middle place or state for any man, so that a man can only be with the devil who is not with Christ. Accordingly, even the Lord Himself (wishing to remove from the minofis of heretical thinkers 3 that vague and indefinite middle condition, which some would provide for unbaptized infants, as if, by reason of their innocence, they were embraced in eternal life, but were not, because of their unbaptized state, with Christ in His kingdom) uttered that definitive sentence of His, which seems intended to shut the mouths of these persons: "He that is not with me is against me." 4 Take then the case of any infant you please: If he is already in Christ, why baptize him? If, however, as the Truth puts the case, he is baptized for the express purpose of being with Christ, it certainly follows that he who is not baptized is not with Christ; and if he is not "with" Christ, he is "against" Christ; for He has pronounced His own sentence, which is so explicit that we ought not, and indeed cannot, impair it or change it. And how can he be "against" Christ, if not owing to sin? For it cannot possibly be from his soul or his body, both of these being the creation of God. Now if it be owing to sin, what sin can be found at such an
age, except the ancient and original sin. Of course that sinful flesh in which all are born to condemnation is one thing, and that Flesh which was made " after the likeness of sinful flesh,"

1 1 Pet. L 5. 2 1 Cor. xv. 22. 3 Male credentium. 4 Matt. xii. 30.

CHAP. LYI.] CONDEMNATION AND JUSTIFICATION. 55

whereby also all are freed from condemnation, is another thing. It is, however, by no means meant to be implied that all who are born in sinful flesh are themselves actually cleansed by that Flesh which is " like" sinful flesh; " for all men have not faith." 1 [What is meant is, to predicate such a universal sense in each case as shall be compatible with their respective conditions, so that] all who spring from natural concubinage are born entirely of sinful flesh, whilst all who are born again of spiritual betrothal are cleansed only by the Flesh which is in the likeness of sinful flesh. In other words, the former class are in Adam [born] to condemnation, the latter are in Christ [regenerated] to justification. This is pretty much the same thing as saying, for example, that in such a city there is a certain widwife who undertakes for all; and in the same place there is an expert teacher who instructs the entire community. [Now in these modes of expression there is of course a limitation.] In the one case, only those who are born can possibly be understood; in the other case, only those who are taught: it does not, however, follow that all who are born also receive the instruction. For it is obvious to any that the former statement, about her undertaking for all, indicates that none is born without passing through her hands; while the other assertion, about his teaching all, implies that none is instructed except by his tuition.

Chap. 56. â€” No one is reconciled to God except through Christ.

Taking into account all the inspired statements which I have quoted, â€” whether I regard the separate value of each passage, or combine their united testimony in an accumulated witness (or if I even include similar passages which I have not adduced), â€” there can be nothing discovered, but that which the Catholic Church holds, in her dutiful vigilance against all profane novelties, that every man is separated from God, except those who are reconciled to Him through Christ the Mediator; and that no one can be separated from God, except through the sins which cause separation: that there is, therefore, no reconciliation except by the remission of sins, through the grace alone of the most merciful Saviour, â€” through

1 2 Thess. iii. 2.

56 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]
the only sacrifice of the most veritable Priest; and that none who are born of the woman, that trusted the serpent and was corrupted through concupiscence, I am delivered from this body of death, except by the Son of the virgin who believed the angel so as to be impregnated without concupiscence. 2

Chap. 57. [xxix.]â€”The good of marriage; original sin seems to stand in sexual love; four different cases of the good and the evil use of matrimony.

The good, then, of marriage lies not in the ardour of concupiscence, but in a certain legitimate and honourable means of indulging the ardour, adapted for the propagation of children, not for the gratification of lust. [What characterizes matrimony is the regulated desire â€” voluptas â€” not the voluptuous extravagance â€” voluptas.] 3 That, therefore, which is recklessly excited in the members of this body of death, and endeavours to attract into itself the entire affection of our fallen state (neither arising nor subsiding at the bidding of the mind), is that evil of sin in which every man is born. When, however, it curbs its unlawful and corrupt desires, and applies itself simply to the temperate propagation and renewal of the human race, then ensues the proper use of wedlock, which produces human birth by the well-ordered conjunction of the sexes. Nobody, however, is born again in Christ's body, unless he be previously born in the body of sin. But inasmuch as it is an evil to make a bad use of a good thing, so is it a good to utilize a bad thing well. These two ideas therefore of good and evil, and those other two of a good use and an evil use, when they are duly combined together, produce four different conditions: â€” [1.] A man makes a good use of a good thing, when he dedicates his chastity to God; [2.] He makes a bad use of a good thing, when he dedicates his chastity to an idol; [3.] He makes a bad use of an evil thing, when he loosely gratifies his concupiscence by adultery; [4.] He makes a good use of an evil thing, when he restrains his concupiscence by matrimony. Now, as it is better to make good use of a good thing than to make good use of an evil thing, â€” the use in both instances being good,â€” so " he that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well; but he that

1 Gen. iii. 6. 2 Luke i. 38.

* The sentence between the brackets occurs in none of the mss.

CHAP. LVIII.] PELAGIAN VIEW OF INFANT BAPTISM. 57

giveth her not in marriage doeth better." * This question, indeed, I have treated at greater length, and more to the point, as God enabled me according to my humble abilities, in two works of mine, â€” one of them, On the Good of Marriage, and the other, On Holy Virginity. They, therefore, who extol the flesh and blood of a sinful creature, to the prejudice of the Eeemer's flesh and blood, must not defend the evil of concupiscence through the good of marriage; nor should they, from whose infant â€“ the Lord has inculcated in us a lesson of humility, 2 be proudly exalted by the error of others. He only
was born without sin whom His virgin mother conceived without the embrace of a husband, â€” not by the concupiscence of the flesh, but by the chaste submission of her mind. 3 She alone was able to give birth to One who should heal our wound, who brought forth the germ of a pure offspring without the wound of sin.

Chap. 58. [xxx.] â€” In what respect the Pelagians regarded baptism as necessary for infants.

Let us now examine more carefully, so far as the Lord enables us, that very chapter of the Gospel where He says,

" Except a man be born again, â€” of water and the Spirit, â€” he shall not enter into the kingdom of God." 4 If it were not for the authority which this sentence has with them, they would not be of opinion that infants ought to be baptized at all. This is their comment on the passage: " Because He does not say, ' Except a man be born again of water and the Spirit, he shall not have salvation or eternal life,' but He merely said, ' shall not enter into the kingdom of God/ therefore infants are to be baptized, to the intent that they may be with Christ in the kingdom of God, where they will not find entrance unless they are baptized. Should they die, however, even without baptism, in the state of infancy, they will have salvation and eternal life, seeing that they are not bound with any chain of sin." Now in such a statement as this, the first thing that strikes one is, that they never explain where the justice is of separating from the kingdom of God that "image of God" which has no sin. Then, secondly, we ought to see whether the Lord Jesus, the one only true

1 1 Cor. vii. 38. 2 Matt, xviii. 4. 3 Luke i. 34, 38. 4 John iii. 3, 5.

58 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

Teacher, has not in this very passage of the Gospel intimated, and indeed shown us, that it only comes to pass through the forgiveness of their sins that baptized persons reach the kingdom of God; although to persons of a right understanding, the words, as they stand in the passage, ought to be sufficiently explicit: " Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God;" 1 and: " Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." 2

Eor why should he be born again, unless to be renewed ?
Erom what is he to be renewed, if not from some old condition ? Erom what old condition, but that in which " our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed "} 3 Or whence comes it to pass that " the image of God " enters not into the kingdom of God, unless it be that the impediment of sin prevents it ? However, let us (as we said before) see, as earnestly and diligently as we are able, what is the entire context which belongs to the quotation which we have made out of the Gospel on the point in question.
Chap. 59.

" There was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews: the same came to Jesus by night, and said unto Him, Eabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Nicodemus saith unto Him, How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born? Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is everyone that is born of the Spirit.

Nicodemus answered and said unto Him, How can these things be? Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness. If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things? And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven. And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." 2 Thus far the Lord's discourse wholly relates to the subject of our present inquiry; from this point the sacred historian digresses to another matter.

Chap. 60. [xxxr.] â€” Christ, the head and the body; owing to the union of the natures in the person of Christ, He both remained in heaven, and walked about on earth; how the one Christ could ascend to heaven; the one Christ is not only the head, but the body too.
Now when Xicodemus understood not what was being told him, he inquired of the Lord how such things could possibly be. Let us look at what the Lord said to him in answer to his inquiry; for of course, as He deigns to answer the question how these things can be, He will in fact tell us how spiritual regeneration can accrue to a man who springs from carnal generation. After noticing with a slight censure the ignorance

1 Num. xxi. 9. 2 John iii. 1-21.

60 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

of one who assumed a superiority over others as being a public teacher, and having blamed the unbelief of all persons who belonged to his class, for refusing to accept His witness to the truth, He went on to inquire and wonder whether, as He had told them about earthly things and had not gained their assent, they would believe Him when He discoursed about heavenly things. He then pursues the subject, and gives an answer such as others should believe â€“ if these refused â€“ to His own question, [and so indicates] how these mysteries could happen.

" No man," says He, " hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." 1 Thus, He says in fact, shall happen the spiritual birth, â€“ men, from being earthly, becoming heavenly; and this result they can only obtain [so He seems to add] by being made members of me; so that he may ascend who descended, â€“ no one ascending unless he first descended. All, therefore, who have to be changed and raised must meet together in a union with Christ, so that the Christ who descended should Himself ascend, reckoning His body (that is to say, His Church) as nothing else than Himself, â€“ that passage receiving its truest sense from Christ and the Church, " And they twain shall be one flesh;" 2 concerning which very subject He expressly said Himself, " So then they are no more twain, but one flesh." 3 To ascend, therefore, they would be wholly unable [out of Christ], since " no man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." 4 For although, as the Son of man, He was formed on earth, yet He did not deem it unworthy of that divinity, in which, while remaining in heaven, He came down to earth, to designate it by the name of the Son of man, as He dignified His flesh with the name of Son of God (thereby to prevent His two conditions being regarded as two Christs, â€“ the one God, the other man; 6 and to secure His being at once both God and man, â€“ God, because " in the beginning was the "Word, and the Word was with God, and

i John iii. 13. 2 Gen. ii. 24.

3 Mark x. 8. 4 John iii. 13.

5 This was the error which was subsequently condemned in the heresy of Nestorius.
the Word was God; as man, inasmuch as "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (John 1:14). By this means the difference between His divinity and His humiliation was maintained in heaven as Son of God, and walked on earth as Son of man; whilst, by that unity of His person which made His two substances one Christ, He also walked as Son of God on earth, and at the same time Himself remained in heaven as the Son of man. Faith, therefore, in more credible things arises from the belief of such things as are more incredible.

For if His divine substance, though a far more distant object, and more sublime, owing to its incomparable diversity from our human ideas, had ability so to take upon itself the nature of man on our account as to become one Person, and whilst appearing as Son of man on earth in the weakness of the flesh, was able to remain all the while in heaven through the divinity which assumed participation with the flesh, how much easier for our faith is it to suppose that fellow-men, who are His faithful saints, become one Christ with the Man Christ Jesus, so that, whilst all ascend by His grace and fellowship, the one Christ Himself ascends to heaven who came down from heaven? It is in this sense that the apostle says, "As we have many members in one body, and although all the members of the body, being many, are but one body, so likewise is Christ." (1 Corinthians 12:12) He did not say, "So also is Christ's," meaning Christ's body, or Christ's members, but his words are, "So likewise is Christ" thus calling the one Christ the Church's head and body.

Chap. 61. [xxxn.] The serpent lifted up in the wilderness prefigured Christ suspended on the cross; even infants themselves poisoned by the serpent's bite.

The attainment of this great and wonderful dignity can only be accomplished by the remission of sins. Accordingly He goes on to say, "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life." (John 3:14, 15) We know what at that time happened in the wilderness. Many were dying of the bite of serpents: the people then confessed their sins, and, through Moses, besought the

1 John LI. 2 John i. 14. 3 1 Cor. xii. 12. * John iii. 14, 15.
Lord to take away from them the virulent infliction; accordingly, Moses, at the Lord's command, lifted up a brazen serpent in the desert, and requested every one amongst the people that had been serpent-bitten to look towards the uplifted figure. When they did so they were immediately healed.

What means the exalted serpent but the death of Christ, by that mode of expressing a sign, whereby the thing which is effected is signified by him that effects it? Now death came by the serpent, which persuaded man to commit the sin, owing to which he deserved to die. The Lord, however, transferred not to His own flesh sin, as the poison of the serpent, although He did transfer to it death, that the penalty without the guilt might transpire in the likeness of sinful flesh, whence, in the sinful flesh, both the guilt might be removed and the penalty.

As, therefore, it then came to pass that whoever looked at the raised serpent was both healed of the poison and freed from death, so also now, whosoever conforms himself to the likeness of the death of Christ by faith in Him and His baptism, is both liberated from sin by justification, and by resurrection from death. For this is meant when He says, "That whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life." What necessity then could there be for an infant's being conformed to the death of Christ by baptism, if he were not altogether poisoned by the bite of the serpent?

Chap. 62. [xxxm.]

He then expresses Himself, by way of consequence, to the following effect: "God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Every infant, therefore, was destined to perish, and to lose everlasting life, if through the sacrament of baptism he believed not in the only-begotten Son of God. Meanwhile, He comes not in such a way as to judge the world, but that the world through Him may be saved. This especially appears in the following clause, wherein He says, "He that believeth in Him is not condemned; although he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God." In what class, then, do we place baptized infants but amongst believers, as the voice of the Catholic Church everywhere loudly and clearly asserts? Their rank, therefore, is amongst those who have believed; for this [capacity] accrues to them by virtue of the sacrament and the guarantee of their sponsors, and on this account it follows that such as are not baptized are reckoned among those who have not believed.

CHAP. LXIII.] BAPTIZED INFANTS BELIEVEES. 63

Son of God." 1 In what class, then, do we place baptized infants but amongst believers, as the voice of the Catholic Church everywhere loudly and clearly asserts? Their rank, therefore, is amongst those who have believed; for this [capacity] accrues to them by virtue of the sacrament and the guarantee of their sponsors, and on this account it follows that such as are not baptized are reckoned among those who have not believed.

1 John iii. 15. 2 John iii. 16.
light? And why should we not include even this fact in "men's love of darkness," that as they do not themselves believe, so they refuse to think that their infants ought to be baptized, although they are afraid of their incurring the death of the body? u In God," however, he declares that man's "works to be wrought, who cometh to the light," 3 because he is quite aware that his justification results from no merits of his own, but from the grace of God.

"For it is God," says the apostle, "who worketh in you both to will and to do of His own good pleasure." 4 This then is the way in which spiritual regeneration is effected in all who come to Christ in their carnal state. He explained it Himself, and pointed it out, when He was asked, How those things could be? He left it open to no man to settle such a question by human reasoning. There is no passage leading to Christ, no man can be reconciled to God, or can come to God, except through Christ.

Chap. 63. [xxxiv.] â€” The form, or rite, of baptism. Exorcism.

What shall I say of the actual form of baptism? I only wish some one of those who espouse the contrary side would bring me an infant to be baptized. What does my exorcism do in that babe, if he be not firmly included in the devil's family? The man who brought the infant would certainly have had to act as sponsor for him, for he could not answer for himself. How was it possible then for him to declare that he renounced the devil, if there was no devil in him? that he was converted to God, if he had never been averted from Him? that he believed, besides other articles, in the forgiveness of sins, if no sins were attributable to him? For my own part, indeed, if I thought that his opinions were opposed to this faith, I could not permit him even to bring the infant to the sacraments. Nor can I imagine with what face before men, or what mind before God, he can conduct himself in such a way. But I do not wish to say anything too severe.

That a false and fallacious form of baptism should be administered to infants, in which there might be the sound and semblance of something being done, but yet no remission of sins actually ensue, has been seen and allowed by some amongst them to be as abominable and hateful a thing as it was possible to mention or conceive. Then, again, in respect of the necessity of baptism to infants, they admit that even infants stand in need of redemption, â€” a concession which is made in a short treatise written by one of their party, â€” but yet there is not found in this work any open admission of the forgiveness of a single sin. According, however, to an intimation dropped in your letter to me, they now acknowledge, as you say, that a remission of sins takes place even in infants through baptism. No wonder; for it is impossible that redemption should be understood in any other way. Their own words are these: "It is, however, not by reason of their original
condition, but in their own proper actual life, after their birth, that they began to commit sin.

Chap. 64. "A twofold mistake respecting infants.

You see how great a difference there is amongst those whom I have been opposing at such length and persistency in this work, "one of whom has written the book which contains the points I have refuted to the best of my ability. You see, as I was saying, the important difference existing between such of them as maintain that infants are absolutely pure and free from all sin, whether original or actual; and those who suppose that from their very birth infants have contracted sins of their own, from which they need cleansing by baptism.

CHAP. LXV.] DIFFERENT VIEWS ABOUT INFANT NATURE. 65

The latter class, indeed, by examining the Scriptures, and considering the authority of the whole Church as well as the form of the sacrament itself, have clearly discovered that by baptism remission of sins accrues to infants; but they are either unable or unwilling to allow that the sin which infants have is original sin. The former class, however, clearly observed (as they easily might) that in the very nature of man, which is open to the consideration of all men, the tender age of which we speak could not possibly commit any sin whatever in its own proper conduct; but, to avoid acknowledging original sin, they assert that in infants there is no sin at all. Now in the truths which they thus severally maintain, it so happens that they first of all mutually agree with each other, and subsequently differ from us in no material aspect. For if the one party concede to the other that remission of sins takes place in all infants which are baptized, whilst the other concedes to their opponents that infants (as infant nature itself in the stillness of its silence even loudly proclaims) have as yet contracted no sin in their own living, then both sides must agree in conceding to us, that nothing remains but original sin, which can be remitted in baptism.

Chap. 65. [xxxv.] "In infants there are no sins actually committed by them.

Will this point also be questioned, and must we spend any time in discussing it, [namely,] to prove and show how that by their own will "without which there can be no sin actually committed "infants could never commit an offence, whom all, for this very reason, are in the habit of calling innocent t Does not their great weakness of mind and body, their perfect ignorance of things, their utter inability to obey a precept, the absence in them of all perception and impression of either natural or written law, the complete
want of reason to impel them in the direction either of right or of wrong, â€” [does not, I say, each one of these conditions of their life] proclaim and demonstrate the point before us by its silent and negative testimony much more expressively than any argument of ours?
The very palpableness of the fact must surely go a great way to persuade us of its truth; for there is no place where I do

4 Â£

66 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

not find traces of what I say, so ubiquitous is the fact of which we are speaking, â€” clearer, indeed, to perceive than anything we can say to prove it.

J Chap. 66. â€” Infant* faults spring from their sheer Ignorance; their pranks, like those of simpletons, afford a natural pleasure and amusement.

I should, however, wish any one who was wise on the point to tell me what sin he has seen or thought of in an infant fresh from its mother's womb, for redemption from which he allows baptism to be already necessary; or how much evil it has at this period of its life committed in its own mind or body.
If it should happen to cry and to be tedious to its elders, I wonder whether my informant would ascribe this to the fault of the baby, and not rather to its infelicity. What, too, would he say to the fact that it is hushed from its very weeping by no appeal to its own reason, and by no prohibition of any one else? This, however, comes from the ignorance in which it is so deeply steeped, by reason of which, too, when it grows stronger, as it very soon does, it strikes its mother in its little passion, and often her very breasts which it sucks in its desire for food. Well, now, these small freaks are not only borne in very young children, but are actually liked, â€” and this, too, with an affection which is only natural, 1 such as will feel pleasure from a laugh or a joke, even when seasoned with fun and nonsense by clever persons; indeed, if the said joke were only felt in the way mentioned, the persons who indulge therein would not be laughed with as facetious, but derided as simpletons. Talking, indeed, of simpletons, we see how the silly fools called Moriones 2 are used for the amusement of clever people; and that they fetch higher prices than your clever folks when appraised for the slave market. So great, then, is the influence of mere natural feeling, and that on persons who are by no means fools, in producing amusement at another's misfortune.
Now, although a man may be amused by another man's silliness, he would still dislike to be a simpleton himself; and if the father, who gladly enough looks out for, and even provokes, silly pranks from his own merry little boy, were to foreknow that he would, when grown

1 Carnali. 2 See above, chap. 32.
up, turn out a mere ninny, lie would no doubt think him a
cause of a bitterer sorrow than if he lost him by death. So long, however, as there is a
good hope of healthy faculties, and a belief that a clear intellect will come with increase of
ears, then it often happens that the saucy pranks of young children even on father and
mother are thought not merely lot wrong, but even agreeable and pleasant. No prudent
man would possibly approve of a weakness, which not only fails, while prohibition is
possible, to forbid in children such conduct in word and deed as this, but even excites
them to it,
that they may enjoy the fun, and gratify the folly of their elders. For as soon as children
are of an age to know their father and mother, they dare not use wrong words to either,
less permitted or bidden by either, or both; and even this
san only be in the case of such young children as are now striving to lisp out words, and
whose minds are just able to give notion to their tongue in such words as you please. Let
us, however, consider rather that most perfect ignorance of new-born babes, out of which,
as they advance in age, they come to that merely temporary period of stuttering folly and
prattle, â€”
On their road, as it were, to full knowledge and speech.

Chap. 67. [xxxvi.] â€” On the ignorance of infants, and whence it arises.

Yes, let us consider that darkness of their rational intellect,
by reason of which they are even completely ignorant of God, whose sacraments they
actually struggle against, while being baptized. Now my inquiry is, When and whence
came they to be immersed in this darkness? Is it then the fact that they incurred it all
here, and in this life and conduct of theirs forgot God through over-much negligence,
after a life of wisdom and religion in their mother's womb? Let those say so who dare;
let them listen to [the nonsense] who like it; let them believe it who can. I, however, am
sure that none whose grinds are not blinded by an obstinate adherence to a foregone
Conclusion can possibly entertain such an opinion. Is there hen no evil in ignorance, â€”
nothing in it which needs to be urged and done away? What means that prayer: "Ke-
member not the sins of my youth and of my ignorance?"

1 Ps. xxiv. 7 (Sept.).

63 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]
For although those sins are more damnable which are knowingly committed, yet if there were no sins of ignorance, we should not have read in Scripture such a sentence as entreats God not to remember the sins of one's youth and one's ignorance. Seeing now that the soul of an infant fresh from its mother's womb is still the soul of a human being, â€” nay, the soul of a rational creature, â€” and remembering that it is not only untaught, but even incapable of instruction, I ask why, or when, or whence, it was plunged into the shadows of that thick darkness in which it lies? If it is the way of man's nature thus to begin its course, and if that nature is not at fault in this early stage, then why was not Adam created with such a nature? Why was he susceptible of a moral commandment? and how had he intellectual ability to give names to his wife, and to all the animal creation? For of her he said, "She shall be called Woman;" 1 and in respect of the rest we read: "Whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof." 2

Whereas the human being of whom we write, although he is ignorant where he is, what he is, by whom created, of what parents born, is already guilty of offence, and yet is incapable as yet of moral government, and is so completely involved and overwhelmed in a cloud of darkness and ignorance, that he cannot be aroused out of his sleepy condition, so as to perceive that these facts are at any rate set before him; but a time must be patiently awaited, until he can shake off this overhanging drowsiness and intoxication, as it were, (not indeed in a single night, as even the heaviest drunken bout usually can be, but) only gradually, through the space of many months, and even years; and until this be accomplished, we have to bear in little children so many things which we restrain in older persons, that we cannot enumerate them. Now, as touching this enormous amount of ignorance and weakness, [I ask] if it be true that infants have in this present life accumulated it as soon as they were born, where, when, how, have they become suddenly implicated in such darkness by the perpetration of some great iniquity?

1 Gen. ii. 23. 2 Gen. ii. 19.

CHAP. LXVIII.] THE HELPLESSNESS OF INFANCY. C9

Chap. 68. [xxxvn.] â€” If Adam ivas not created of such a character as that in which we are born, how is it that Christ, although free from sin, was born an infant and in weakness? The weakness of the flesh a penal thing, even in infants.

Some one will ask, If this nature is not pure, but is faulty in its origin, since Adam was not created of such, how is it that Christ, who is far more excellent, and was certainly born of a virgin without any sin, appeared in such weakness, and came into the world in the state of infancy? To this question our answer is as follows: Adam was not created in such a state, because, as no sin from a parent preceded him, he was not created in sinful flesh. We, however, are in such a condition, because by reason of his preceding sin we are born in sinful flesh; while Christ was born in such a state, because, in order that He might condemn sin, He assumed the likeness of sinful flesh. The question, however,
which we are now discussing is not about Adam in respect of the size of his body, since he was not made an infant, but in the perfection of a full-grown man; and it may indeed be said that the beasts were thus created likewise, â€” nor was it owing: to their sin that their young happened to be born so small in stature.

Why indeed all this came to pass we are not now asking. But the question before us has regard to the degree of man's intellectual power and his use of reason, by virtue of which f Adam, who was capable of instruction, was able to understand God's moral law and commandment, and if he so willed, to observe and keep it without any difficulty; whereas man is now born in such a state as to be utterly incapable of doing so, owing to his dreadful ignorance and weakness, not indeed of body, but of mind, â€” although we must all admit that in every infant there exists a rational soul of the self-same substance (and no other) as that which belonged to the first man. Still this very infirmity of the flesh, complete as it is, clearly, in my opinion, points to a something, whatever it may be, that is penal. It raises the doubt whether, if the first human beings had not sinned, they would have had children who could use neither tongue, nor hands, nor feet; that they should be born in the diminutive state of infancy was perhaps absolutely necessary, owing to the limited capacity of the womb.

70 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK I.]

But, at the same time, it does not follow, because a rib is a small part of a man's body, that God made [the first] man an infant wife, and then built her up into a woman. The manner of her creation indeed suggests the reflection that God's almighty power was competent to make her children also, soon to be born to her, adult at once.

Chap. 69. [xxxvili] â€” The ignorance and the infirmity of an infant.

But not to dwell on this, that was at least possible to them which has actually happened to many animals, that although their young are born of diminutive stature, and without power either of increasing in bodily bulk or of advancing in mental faculty, the little creatures yet run about, and recognise their mothers, and require no external help or care when they want to suck, but with remarkable ease discover their mothers' breasts themselves, although these are concealed from ordinary sight. A human being, on the contrary, at his birth is furnished neither with legs fit for walking, nor with hands able even to scratch; and unless their lips were actually applied to the breast by the mother, they would not know where to find it; and even when close to the nipple, they would, notwithstanding their desire for food, be more able to cry than to suck. It cannot be denied, then, that this utter helplessness of body fits in with their infirmity of mind; nor would Christ's flesh have been "in the likeness of sinful flesh," unless sinful flesh had been such that the rational soul is oppressed by it in the way we have described. And as for this rational soul, whether it has been derived from parents, or created in each case for the individual separately, or whether it be an inspiration from above, I now forbear from inquiring.
Chap. 70. [xxxix.] “How far sin is done away in infants, also in adults, and what advantage results therefrom. No man, except by an ineffable miracle, is in this life entirely freed from all evil concupiscence. Sins of ignorance and infirmity.

In infants it is certain that, by the grace of God, through His baptism who came in the likeness of sinful flesh, it is brought to pass that the sin of the flesh is done away. This result, however, is so effected, that the concupiscence which is diffused over and innate in this very living flesh of ours is not removed all at once, su as to exist in it no longer; but only

CHAP. LXX.] WHY CHRIST PARTOOK OF THIS STATE. 71

that it might not be injurious to a man at his death, as it was inherent at his birth. For should an infant survive his baptism, and arrive at an age capable of obedience to a law, he finds there a concupiscence to fight against, and, by God's help, to overcome, unless he has received His grace in vain, and is willing to be a reprobate. For not even to those who are of riper years is it given in their baptism (except, it may be, by an indescribable miracle of the almighty Creator), that the law of sin which is in their members, warring against the law of their mind, should be entirely extinguished, and cease to exist; but that whatever of evil has been done, said, or thought by a man whilst his mind was subject to this concupiscence, and he its servant, should be abolished, and regarded as if it had never occurred; whilst the concupiscence itself, however,

( notwithstanding the loosening of the chain of sin by which the devil, operating through it, used to keep the soul in bondage, and although the barrier is destroyed which separated man from his Maker,) remains engaged in the contest in which we chasten our body and bring it into subjection; has to be relaxed by being directed to lawful and necessary uses, or to be restrained by continence. 1 But inasmuch as the Spirit of God, who knows so much better than we do all the past, and present, and future of the human race, foresaw and foretold that the life of man would be such that " no man living should be justified in God's sight," 2 it happens that through ignorance or infirmity we do not exert all the powers of our will against this [evil concupiscence,] and so yield to it in the commission of even sundry unlawful things, â€” becoming worse in proportion to the frequency and greatness of our surrender; and better, the less frequent and less complete our submission may be. The investigation, however, of the point in which we are now interested â€” whether there could possibly be (or whether in fact there is, has been, or ever will be) a man without sin in this present life, except Him who said, " The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me " 3 â€” requires a much fuller discussion; and the arrangement of the present treatise is such as to make us postpone the question to the commencement of another book.

1 1 Cor. ix. 27. 2 Vs. cxliii. 2. 3 John xiv. 30.
BOOK SECOND.

IN WHICH AUGUSTINE ARGUES AGAINST SUCH AS SAT THAT IN THE PRESENT LIFE THERE ARE, HAVE BEEN, AND WILL BE, MEN WHO HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO SIN AT ALL. HE LAYS DOWN FOUR PROPOSITIONS ON THIS HEAD, AND TEACHES, "FIRST, THAT A MAN MIGHT POSSIBLY LIVE IN THE PRESENT LIFE WITHOUT SIN, BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND HIS OWN FREE WILL; HE NEXT SHOWS THAT NEVERTHELESS IN FACT THERE IS NO MAN WHO LIVES QUITE FREE FROM SIN IN THIS LIFE; THIRDLY, HE SETS FORTH THE REASON OF THIS, "BECAUSE THERE IS NO MAN WHO EXACTLY CONFINES HIS WISHES WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE JUST REQUIREMENT OF EACH CASE, WHICH JUST REQUIREMENT HE EITHER FAILS TO PERCEIVE, OR IS UNWILLING TO CARRY OUT IN PRACTICE; IN THE FOURTH PLACE, HE PROVES THAT THERE IS NOT, NOR HAS BEEN, NOR EVER WILL BE, A HUMAN BEING; "EXCEPT THE ONE MEDIATOR, CHRIST "WHO IS FREE FROM ALL SIN.

Chap. 1. [i.] "What has thus far been dwelt on; and what is to be treated in this book.

WE have, my dearest Marcellinus, discussed at sufficient length, I think, in the former book the "baptism of infants, "how that it is given to them not only for an entrance into the kingdom of God, but also for attaining salvation and eternal life, which none can have out of the kingdom of God, "and without that union with the Saviour Christ, to which He has redeemed us by His blood. I undertake in the present book to discuss and explain the question, Whether there lives in this world, or has yet lived, or ever will live, a man without any sin whatever, except "the one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all;" "and this I will do with as much care and ability as He may Himself vouchsafe to me. And should there occasionally arise in this discussion, either casually or inevitably from the argument, any question about the baptism or the sin of infants, I must neither be surprised nor be induced to shrink from giving the best answer I can, at such emergencies, to whatever point challenges my attention.

1 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.
CHAP. III.] THE SIXLESSNESS OF CHRIST. 73

Chap. 2. [n.] â€” Some persons attribute too much to the freedom of man's will; its ignorance and infirmity.

A solution is extremely necessary of this question about man's life being unassailed by any surreptitious or sudden preoccupation of sin, in consequence even of our daily prayers; for there are some persons who presume so much upon the absolute freedom of man's will, as to suppose that it need not sin, and that we require no divine assistance, â€” attributing this freedom of the will to our own natural power. An inevitable consequence of this is, that we need not pray "not to enter into temptation," â€” in other words, not to be overcome of temptation, either when it deceives and surprises us in our ignorance of its approach, or when it presses and importunes us in our weakness to resist it. Now how hurtful this is, and how fatally opposed to our salvation in Christ, and how violently adverse to the very religion with which we are impressed, and to the piety whereby we worship God, it cannot but be for us not to beseech the Lord for the attainment of such a benefit, but be rather led to think that petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," 1 to be a vain and useless insertion, it is beyond my ability to express in words.


Now these people imagine that they say a sharp thing (as if none among us knew anything like it) to this effect, that "if we have not the will, we commit no sin; nor would God command man to do what was impossible for human volition." But they do not see this important fact, that in order to overcome certain things, which are the objects either of an evil desire or an ill-conceived fear, men need the strenuous efforts, and sometimes even all the energies, of the will, which [the Holy Ghost] foresaw that we should only imperfectly employ in every instance, when He willed so true an utterance to be spoken by the prophet: "In Thy sight shall no man living be justified." 2 The Lord, foreseeing that such would be our character, was pleased to provide and endow with efficacious virtue certain healthful remedies against the guilt and bonds even of sins committed after baptism, â€” for instance, the works

1 Matt. vi. 13. 2 Ps. cxliii. 2.

74 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

of mercy, â€” as when he says: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given unto you." 1 For who could quit this life with any hope of obtaining eternal
salvation, with that sentence impending: " Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all," 2 if it did not soon after follow: " So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty: for he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgment?" 3

Chap. 4. [iv.] â€” Concupiscence, how far in us; the baptized are not injured by concupiscence, but only by consent therewith; the three last petitions of the Lord's Prayer.

Concupiscence, therefore, as the law of sin which remains in the members of this body of death, is born with infants; in baptized infants it is deprived of guilt; it is left for the struggle [of life]; such infants as die before the struggle begins it does not pursue with any condemnation; unbaptized infants it binds as guilty and as children of wrath, and even if they die in infancy it involves them in condemnation. In baptized adults, however, endowed with reason, whatever consent their mind gives to this concupiscence for the commission of sin is an act of their own will. After all sins have been blotted out, and that guilt has been cancelled which by nature 4 bound men in a conquered condition, concupiscence still remains, â€” but not to hurt in any way those who yield no assent to the commission of improper actions, â€” and it will remain until death is swallowed up in victory, and until, in that perfection of peace, nothing is left to be conquered. Such, however, as yield assent to it for the commission of sinful deeds, it holds as guilty still; and unless, through the medicine of repentance, and through the works of mercy, by the intercession in our behalf of the heavenly High Priest, these sins be healed, then [this concupiscence] conducts us to the second death and utter condemnation. It was on this account that the Lord, when instructing us in prayer, advised us, besides other petitions, to say: " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us

1 Luke vi. 37, 38. 2 Jas. ii. 10. 3 Jas. ii. 12.
4 Originalited, i.e. owing to birth-sin.

CHAP. V.] REMEDIES AGAINST CONCUPISCENCE. 75

from evil." 1 For evil remains in our flesh, not by reason of the nature in which man was created by divine power and wisdom, but owing to that fault into which he fell of his own will, and in which, since he has lost its powers of choice, he is not healed with the same facility of will as that with which he was wounded. Of this evil it is the apostle says: "I know that in my flesh dwelleth no good thing;" 2 and it is likewise to the same evil that he counsels us to give no obedience, when he says: " Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, to obey the lusts thereof." 3 When, there-
fore, we have by an unlawful inclination of our will yielded assent to the lustful desires of the flesh, we say, with a view to the cure of this fault, " Forgive us our debts;" 4 and
we at the same time apply the remedy of a work of mercy, in that we add, "As we forgive our debtors." When, however, we yield no such assent, we pray for assistance, and say,
"Lead us not into temptation," â€” not that God ever Himself tries any one with such kind of temptation, "for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man;" 5 [but the purport of our prayer is,] that whenever we happen to feel the rising of temptation from our concupiscence, we should not be deserted by His help, in order that thereby we may be strong enough to conquer, and not be carried away by the attraction of lust. We then add our request for that which is to be perfected at the last, "when mortality shall be swallowed up of life:" 6 "But deliver us from evil." 7 For then there will exist no longer a concupiscence with which we must struggle, and from which we must be bidden to withhold our consent. The whole substance, accordingly, of these three petitions may be thus briefly expressed: "Forgive us those things in which we have been drawn aside (by)concupiscence; help us against the temptations of concupiscence; take away from us all concupiscence."

Chap. 5. [v.] â€” The will of man requires the help of God.
Now for the commission of sin we get no help from God; but to do justly, and to fulfil the law of righteousness in every part thereof, we have no ability whatever, except as God shall


76 ON FORGIVENESS. OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

help us. For as the bodily eye is not assisted by the light that it may turn away therefrom shut and averted, but gets the assistance of the light in order that it may see, â€” being wholly incapable of vision without such help, â€” so God, who is the light of the inner man, aids our mental sight, in order that we do some good, not after our own, but according to His righteousness. Whenever we turn away from Him, it is our own act; we then show carnal wisdom, we then give our consent to the unholy promptings of fleshly concupiscence. When we turn to Him, God helps us; when we turn away from Him, He forsakes us. But then He helps us even to turn to Him, â€” an action which that [divine] light of which we speak certainly does not show to the eyes of our body. When, therefore, He commands us in the words, "Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you," 1 and we say to Him,"Turn us, God of our salvation," 2 and again, "Turn us, God of hosts;" 3 what else do we in fact say than, "Give us what Thou commandest?" 4 When, also, He commands us, saying, "Understand now, ye simple among the people," 5 and we say to Him, "Give me understanding, that I may learn Thy commandments;" 6 what else do we really say than, "Give us what Thou commandest?" So when He commands us, saying, "Go not after thy lusts," 7 and we say to Him,
"We know that no man can be continent, except God enable him;" 8 what do we indeed say to Him, but "Give us, Lord, what Thou commandest?" When, again, He commands us, saying, "Keep judgment, and do justice," 9 and we say to Him, "Teach me Thy judgments, Lord;" 10 what else do we say in fact than, "Give us, Lord, what Thou commandest?"

In like manner, when He says: "Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled," 11 from whom ought we to seek for the meat and drink of righteousness, but from Him who promises His fulness to such as hunger and thirst after it?

I Zech. i. 3. 2 Ps. lxxxv. 4. 3 Ps. lxxx. 3, 4,

4 Da quod jubes; see the Confessiojis, Book x. chap. 26.

5 Ps. xciv. 8. 6 Ps. cxix. 73. 7 Ecclus. xviii. 30.
8 Wisd. viii. 21. 9 â€œ Isa. lvi. 1. 10 Ps. cxix. 108.

II Matt. v. 6.

CHAP. VI.] THE HEART'S EESPONSE TO GOD'S COMMAND. 77

Chap. 6. â€” Wherein the Pharisee sinned when he thanked God; to God's grace must be added the exertion of our own will.

Let us then refuse to lend an ear or to give heed to those who assert that, after the choice of our own free will has been accepted, we are not bound to pray that God would help us not to sin. By such darkness as this even the Pharisee was not blinded; for although he erred in thinking that he needed no addition to his righteousness, and supposed himself to be endowed with an absolute sufficiency thereof, he yet thanked God that he was not "like other men, unjust, extortioners, adulterers, or even as the publican; for he fasted twice in the week, he gave tithes of all that he possessed." 1 He wished, indeed, for no addition to his own righteousness; but then, by giving thanks to God, he allowed that all he had he had in fact received from Him; and yet he was not approved, both because he asked for no further aliments of righteousness, as if he already had enough, and because he arrogantly and ostentatiously preferred himself to the publican, who was hungering and thirsting after righteousness. What, then, is to be said of those who, whilst acknowledging that they have no righteousness, or no fulness thereof, presume to pray for its acquisition from themselves simply, not from their Creator, in whom lies its store and fountain? And yet this is not a question about prayers alone; there must be superadded a consideration of the efficacy of our own will in its co-operation [with prayer]. God is said to be "our Helper;" 2 but nobody can be . helped who does not make some effort of his own accord. For God does not work our salvation in us as if we were mere stones, without sensibility, or creatures in whose nature He had placed neither reason nor will. Why, however, He helps
one man, but not another; or why one man so much, and another not to the same extent; or why one man in one way, and another in another way, â€” are points which He reserves to Himself according to the method of His own most secret judgment, and to the excellency of His power.

1 Luke xviii. 11, 12. 9 Ps. xl. 17, lxx. 5.

73 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK IT.

Chap. 7. [vi.] â€” Four questions on the perfection of righteousness: (1.) Whether a man can be without sin in this life.

Now those who aver that a man can exist in this life without sin, must not be opposed all out of hand with incautious temerity; for if we should deny the possibility, we should derogate both from man's free will, who in his wish desires this [sinlessness], and from the power or mercy of God, who effects it by His help. But it is one question, whether there could exist such a sinless man; and another question, whether he does exist. Again, it is one question, â€” why (on the supposition of the possibility of such a man's existence, but in face of the fact that there is none such) he does not exist; and another question, whether such a man as had never sinned at all, not only is in existence, but also has been able to exist [at any former time], or could exist [at any future time]. Now, if in the order of this fourfold set of interrogative propositions, I were asked, [1st.] Whether it be possible for a man in this life to be without sin? I should allow the possibility, through the grace of God and the man's own free will; for I should have no doubt that the free will itself is ascribable to God's grace, â€” in other words, has its place amongst the gifts of God, â€” not only as to its existence, but also in respect of its goodness; that is to say, [it is a gift of God] that it applies itself to doing the commandments of God. Thus it is that God's grace not only shows a man what he ought to do, but also gives him such assistance as secures the possibility of that being done which His grace points out to be done. " What indeed have we that we have not received?" 1 Whence Jeremiah says: " I know, Lord, that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." 2 Accordingly, when in the Psalms one says to God, " Thou hast commanded me to keep Thy precepts diligently," 3 he at once adds a disclaimer of his own ability, and only wishes to be able to keep these precepts: " that my ways," says he, " were directed to keep Thy statutes! Then should I not be ashamed, when I have respect to all Thy commandments." 4 Now who ever wishes for what he has already so entirely in his own power, that he requires no further help

1 1 Cor. iv. 7. 2 Jer. x. 23. 3 Ps. cxix. 4. 4 Ps. cxix. 5, 6.
chap, viii] man's co-operation with God's grace. 79

for effecting his purpose? To whom, however, he should look for the fulfilment of his
wish, â€” not to fortune, or fate, or any one else but God, â€” he shows with sufficient
clearness in the following words, where he says: " Order my steps in Thy word; and let
not any iniquity have dominion over me." 1 From the thraldom of this execrable dominion
they are liberated, to whom, on their receiving Him, the Lord Jesus gave power to
become the sons of God. 2 From so horrible a tyranny were they to be freed, to whom He
says, " If the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed." 3 From these and
many other like testimonies, I cannot doubt that God has laid no impracticable command
on man; and that, by God's grace and help, everything which He commands is able to be
brought to good effect. In this way may a man, if he pleases, be without sin by the
assistance of God.

Chap. 8. [vn.] â€” Second question: Whether there is in this world a man

without sin.

If, however, I am asked the second question which I have suggested, â€” whether there be
a sinless man, â€” I believe there is no such person. For I have perfect confidence in the
Scripture, which says: " Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall
no man living be justified." 4 There is therefore need of the mercy of God, which " rejoiceth against judgment," 5 and
which that man shall not obtain who displays it not in his own conduct. 6 And whereas
the prophet says, " I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and Thou
forgavest the iniquity of my heart," 7 he yet immediately adds, " For this shall every one
that is godly pray unto Thee in an acceptable time." 8 " Every one" â€” not indeed every
sinner, but every saint; for it is the voice of saints which says, " If we say that we have no
sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." 9 Accordingly we read, in the
Apocalypse of the same Apostle John, of " the hundred and forty and four thousand "
saints, " which were not defiled with women; for they continued virgins: and in their
mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault." 10 " Without

1 Ps. cxix. 133. * John i. 12. 3 j^ yjjjj, 36< 4 p s C xJiii. 2.

5 Jas. ii. 13. 6 Jas. ii. 13. 7 p s . ^xxiL 5. 8 p s< xxx a, q.

9 1 John i. 8. 10 Ptev. xiv. 3-5.

80 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

fault," indeed, they no doubt are, because they really and truly enough found fault in
themselves; and " in their mouth was discovered no guile or deception, because if they
said they had no sin, they deceived themselves, and the truth was not in them; " 1 and of
course, where the truth was not, there would be lying and guile. When a righteous man begins a statement by accusing himself, he verily utters no falsehood.

Chap. 9. â€” The beginning of renewal; resurrection called regeneration; they are the sons of God who lead lives suitable to newness of life.

And hence in the passage, " Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, and cannot commit sin, for His seed remaineth in him," 2 and in every other passage of like import, they find much to deceive themselves by an inadequate consideration of the [gist of the] Scriptures; for they fail to observe that men severally become sons of God when they begin to live in newness of spirit, and to be renewed as to the inner man after the image of Him that created them. 3

For it is not from the moment of a man's baptism that all his old infirmity is destroyed. Eeenovation rather begins with the remission of all his sins, and so far as he who is now wise shows spirituality of wisdom. All things else, indeed, are accomplished in hope, with the view of their being also realized in fact, 4 even to the renewal of the very body in that better state of immortality and incorruption with which we shall be clothed at the resurrection of the dead. For even this the Lord calls a regeneration, â€” though, of course, not such as occurs through baptism, but still a regeneration wherein that which is now begun in the spirit shall be brought to perfection also in the body. " In the regeneration," says He, " when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." 5 For however entire and full be the remission of sins which takes place in baptism, there is yet continually going on an entire and full change of the man towards his everlasting renovation. I do not mean the change in his body, which is most clearly tending evermore to the old corruption and to death, after which there is to be a renewal,

1 1 John i. 8. 2 1 John iii. 9. 3 See CoL iii. 10.

4 Donee etiam in refant. 5 Matt. xix. 28.

CHAP. X.] THE RESURRECTION A REGENERATION. 81

which shall consist of an absolutely perfect newness of condition. I therefore now omit consideration of the body. Taking, however, the soul, which is the inner man, [the change which it is undergoing is, I say,], a progressive one; for] if it were a perfect renewal thereof which takes place in baptism, the apostle would not say: " But though our outward man perishes, yet the inward man is renewed day by day." * Now, undoubtedly, he who is renewed day by day is not as yet wholly renewed; and inasmuch as he is not yet wholly renewed, he is so far in his old state. Since, then, men, even after they are baptized, are still in some degree in their old condition, they are on that account also still children of the world; but inasmuch as they are also admitted into a new state, that is to say, by the full and perfect remission of their sins [in baptism], and in so far as they are
spiritually-minded, and cherish a disposition suitable to that spiritual mind, they are the
children of God. Internally we put off the old man and put on the new: for we then and
there lay aside lying, and speak truth, and [cultivate] those other qualities wherein the
apostle makes to consist the putting off of the old man and the putting on of the new,
which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness. 2 Now it is men who are
already baptized and faithful whom he exhorts to do all this, â€”
an exhortation which would be unsuitable to them, if the absolute and perfect change had
been already made in their baptism; and yet [in one sense] made it was, since we were
then actually saved; for " He saved us by the laver of regeneration." 3 In another passage,
however, he tells us how this took place. " Not they only," says he, " but ourselves also,
which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves,
waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body. For we are saved by hope:
but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for ? But if
we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 4

Chap. 10. [vm.] â€” Perfection, ivhen to be realized.
Our full adoption, then, as children, is to happen at the re-
1 2 Cor. iv. 16. 2 Eph. iv. 24. 3 Tit. iii. 5. 4 Rom. viii. 23-25.

4 F

82 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

demption of our body. It is therefore the first-fruits of the Spirit which we now possess,
whence we are already really become the children of God; for the rest, indeed, as it is by
hope that we are saved and renewed, so [thus far] are we the children of God. But
inasmuch as we are not yet actually saved, we are for that reason not yet fully renewed,
nor yet fully also sons of God, but children of this world. We are therefore advancing in
renewal and holiness of life, in that we are children of God, and hereby also we cannot
commit sin.
[And this progress in holiness, with its attendant inability to sin, will go on] until our
whole condition be changed, â€” even that which keeps us still children of this world; for
it is owing to this [remainder of evil in us] that we are even yet able to commit sin. Hence
it comes to pass that " whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin j" 1 and "if we were
to say that we have no sin, we should deceive ourselves, and the truth would not be in
us." 2 There shall be then an end put to the state within us which keeps us children of the
flesh and of the world; whilst that other condition shall be perfected which makes us the
children of God, and renews us by His Spirit. Accordingly the same [Apostle] John says,
" Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be." 3
Now what means this variety in the expressions, " now are we," and " what we shall he"
but this â€” we are in hope, we shall he in reality ? For he goes on to say,
" We know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He
is." 4 We have therefore even now begun to be like Him, as we have the first-fruits of the
Spirit; but yet even now we are unlike Him, by reason of the old nature which leaves its
remains in us. In as far, then, as we are like Him, in so far are we, by the regenerating Spirit, sons of God; but in as far as we are unlike Him, in so far are we the children of the flesh and of this world. On the one side, we cannot commit sin; but, on the other, if we say that we have no sin, we only deceive ourselves. [And so it must be,] until our entire state pass into the adoption, and there be not a sinner more, and you look for his place and find it not. 5

1 1 John iii. 9. 2 1 John i. 8. 3 1 John iii. 2. 4 1 John iii. 2. 6 Ps. xxxvi. 10.

CHAP. XI.] PROGRESS TOWARD PERFECTION. 83

Chap. 11. [ix.] â€” An objection of the Pelagians â€” Why does not a righteous man beget a righteous man? x

In vain, then, do some of them argue: "Since the sinner begat a sinner, so that the guilt of this birth-sin must in his infant son be done away by his receiving baptism, in like manner ought the righteous man to have begotten a righteous son." Just as if a man begat children in the flesh by reason of his righteousness, and not because he is moved thereto by the concupiscence which is in his members, and because the law of sin is applied by the law of his mind to the purpose of procreation. His begetting children, therefore, shows that he still retains the old nature among the children of this world; it does not arise from the fact of his progress to newness of life among the children of God. For "the children of this world [marry and are given in marriage], beget children and are begotten." 2 And their offspring is like themselves; for "that which is born of the flesh is flesh." 3 Only the children of God, however, are righteous; but in so far as they are the children of God, they do not carnally beget, because it is of the Spirit, and not of the flesh, that they are themselves begotten. But as many of them as become parents, beget children from the circumstance that they have not yet put off the entire remain of their old nature in exchange for the perfect renovation which awaits them. It follows, therefore, that every son who is born in this old and infirm condition of his father's nature, must needs himself partake of the same old and infirm condition. In order, then, that he may be begotten again, he must also himself be renewed by the Spirit through the remission of sin; and if this change does not take place in him, his righteous father will be of no use to him.

For it is by the Spirit that he is righteous, but it is not by the Spirit that he begat his son. On the other hand, if this change does accrue to him, he will not be prejudiced or damaged by having an unrighteous father: for it is by the grace of the Spirit that he has passed into the hope of the eternal regeneration; whereas it is owing to his carnal mind that his father has wholly remained in the old nature.

[See below, c. 25; also De Nuptiis, i. 18; also contra Julianum, vi. 5.]
Chap. 12. — He reconciles some passages of Scripture; in Noah, Daniel, and Job, three classes of men are represented.

The statement, therefore, "He that is born of God sinneth not," 1 is not contrary to the passage in which it is declared by those who are born of God, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." For however complete may be a man's present hope, and however real may be his renewal by spiritual regeneration in that part of his nature, he still, for all that, carries about a body which is corrupt, and which presses down his soul; and so long as this is the case, one must distinguish even in the same individual what is the tendency of each several action, and from what source it is said to arise. Now, I suppose it is not easy to find in God's Scripture so weighty a testimony of holiness given of any man as that which is written of His three servants, Noah, Daniel, and Job, whom the Prophet Ezekia describes as the only men able to be delivered from God's impending wrath. 3 In these three men he no doubt prefigure: three classes of mankind to be delivered: in Noah, as I suppose, are represented righteous leaders of nations, by reason of his government of the ark as a type of the Church; iii Daniel, men who are holy in continence; in Job, those who are holy in wedlock; 4 to say nothing of any other view which may be entertained of the passage, but which it is unnecessary for me now to consider. It is, at any rate, clear from this testimony of the prophet, and from other inspired statement, how eminent were these worthies in righteousness. Yet no man must be led by any statement in their history to say, for instance, that there is no sin in drunkenness, although so good a man as one of these was surprised into it; for we read that Noah was once drunk, 4 but God forbid that it should I thought that he was an habitual drunkard.

Chap. 13. — A subterfuge of the Pelagians.

Daniel, indeed, after the prayer which he poured out before God, actually says respecting himself, "Whilst I was praying and confessing my sins, and the sins of my people, before the Lord my God." 5 This is the reason, if I am not mistake,
Why in the above-mentioned Prophet Ezekiel a certain most haughty person is asked, "Art thou then wiser than Daniel?" 1

Nor on this point can that be possibly said which some contend for in opposition to the Lord's Prayer: <f For although that prayer was offered by the apostles, after they became holy and perfect, and had no sin whatever of their own, yet it was not in behalf of their own selves, but of imperfect and still sinful men that they said, 'Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.' They used the word our," they say, "in order to show that in one and the same body are contained both those who still have sins, and themselves, who are now altogether free from sin." Now this certainly cannot be said in the case of Daniel, who being (as I suppose) a prophet endued with a foresight of this presumptuous opinion, after so often saying in his prayer, " 'We have sinned," put no such construction on his words or their purport, as if we must suppose him to have said, "Whilst I was praying and confessing to my God, the sins of my people," [with no reference to his own;] nor yet did he confound the distinct objects of his supplication, so as to leave it uncertain whether he had in view the fellowship of one body by using such words as, While I was confessing our sins to the Lord my God; but he expresses himself in language so distinct and precise, as if he were full of the distinction himself, and wanted above all things to commend it to our notice: " 'My sins" says he, "and the sins of my people." Who can gainsay such evidence as this, but he who is more pleased to defend what he thinks than to find out what he ought to think ?

o CnAP. 14. â€” Job was not without sin.

But let us see what Job has to say of himself, after God's great testimony of his righteousness. "I know of a truth," he says, "that it is so: for how shall a mortal man be just before the Lord ? For if He should enter into judgment with him, he would not be able to obey Him." 2 And shortly afterwards he asks: "Who shall resist His judgment ? Even if I should seem righteous, my mouth will speak profanely," 3

And again, further on, he says: "I know He will not leave
1 Ezek. xxviii. 3. 2 Job ix. 2, 3 (Sept.). 3 Vers. 19, 20.

8G ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]
me unpunished. But since I am ungodly, why have I not died? If I should wash myself with snow, and be purged with clean hands, thou hadst thoroughly stained me with filth."

1 In another of his discourses he says: "For Thou hast written evil things against me, and hast compassed me with the sins of my youth; and Thou hast placed my foot in the stocks. Thou hast watched all my works, and hast inspected the soles of my feet, which wax old like a bottle, or like a moth-eaten garment. For man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of wrath; like a flower that hath bloomed, so doth he fall; he is gone like a shadow, and continueth not. Hast Thou not taken account even of him, and caused him to enter into judgment with Thee?

For who is pure from uncleanness? Not even one; even should his life last but a day." 2 Then a little afterwards he says: "Thou hast numbered all my devices and necessities; and not one of my sins hath escaped Thee. Thou hast sealed up my transgressions in a bag, and hast marked whatever I have done unwillingly." 3 See how Job confesses his sins, and says indeed how sure he is that there is none righteous before the Lord. So he is sure of this also, that if we say we have no sin, the truth is not in us. While, therefore, God bestows on him His high testimony of righteousness, according to the standard of human conduct, Job himself, taking his measure from that rule of righteousness, which, as well as he can, he beholds in God, knows of a truth that so it is; and he goes on at once to say, "How shall a mortal man be just before the Lord? For if He should enter into judgment with him, he would not be able to obey Him;" in other words, if, when challenged to judgment, he wished to show that there was nothing in him which He could condemn, he would be unable to comply with His injunctions, since he misses even that obedience which might enable him to obey Him who teaches that sins ought to be confessed. Accordingly [the Lord] rebukes certain men, saying to them, "Why will ye contend with me in judgment? 4

This [the Psalmist] averts, saying, "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in

i Job ix. 30 (Sept.). 2 Job xiii. 26, to xiv. 5 (Sept.).

3 Job xiv. 16, 17 (Sept.). 4 Jer. ii. 29.

CHAP. XV.] CARNAL GENERATION SINFUL. 87

Thy sight shall no man living be justified." 1 In accordance with which, Job also asks: "For who shall resist His judgment?

Even if I should seem righteous, my mouth will speak profanely;" which means: If, contrary to His judgment, I should call myself righteous, when His perfect rule of righteousness proves me to be unholy, then of a truth my mouth would speak profanely, because it would speak against the truth of God.

Chap. 15. â€” Carnal generation condemned on account of original sin.

He sets forth the absolute weakness, or rather condemnation, of our carnal generation from the transgression of original sin, when, treating of his own sins, he shows, as it
were, their very causes, and says that " man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of wrath." Of what wrath, but of that in which all are involved, as the apostle says, "We are by nature," that is, by our original sin, "children of wrath," inasmuch as all are children of carnal desire and of the world ? He further shows that to this wrath also pertains, as its consequence, the death of man. For after saying, " Hath but a short time to live, and is full of wrath," he added, " Like a flower that hath bloomed, so doth he fall; he is gone like a shadow, and continueth not." He then subjoins: " Hast Thou not caused him to enter into judgment with Thee ? For who is pure from uncleanness ? Not even one; even should his life last but a day." In these words he in fact says, Thou hast throwed upon man, short-lived though he be, the care of entering into judgment with Thee. For how brief soever be his life, â€” even if it last but a single day, he could not possibly be clean of filth; and therefore with perfect justice must he come under Thy judgment. Then, when he says again, " Thou hast numbered all my devices and necessities, and not one of my sins hath escaped Thee: Thou hast sealed up my transgressions in a bag, and hast marked whatever I have done unwillingly," is it not clear enough that even those sins are justly imputed to a man which he commits through no allurement of mere pleasure, but for the sake of avoiding some trouble, or pain, or death ? Kow these sins, too, are said to be committed under some

1 Ps. cxliii. 2. 2 Eph # ^ 3#

88 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

stress of necessity, whereas they ought all to be overcome by the love and pleasure of righteousness. Again, what he said in the clause, "Thou hast marked whatever I have done unwillingly," may evidently be connected with what was said [by the apostle]: " For what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I." 1

Chap. 16. â€” Job foresaw that Christ would come to suffer; the way of humility in those that are perfect.

Now it is remarkable 2 that the Lord Himself, after bestowing on Job the testimony which is expressed in Scripture, that is, by the Spirit of God, " In all the things which happened to him he sinned not with his lips before the Lord," did yet afterwards speak to him with a rebuke, as Job himself tells us: " Why do I yet plead, being admonished, and hearing the rebukes of the Lord?" 4 Now no man is fairly rebuked unless there be in him something which deserves rebuke.

[xi] And what sort of rebuke is that which is understood to proceed from the person of Christ our Lord ? He recounts to him all the operations which indicated His divine power, rebuking him under this idea; so that He seems to say to him, " Canst thou effect all these mighty works as I can ? "
But to what purpose is all this but to teach Job wisdom (for this instruction was divinely inspired into him, that he might foreknow Christ's coming to suffer), that he might understand how patiently he ought to endure all that he went through, since Christ, although, when He became man for us, He was absolutely without sin, and although as God He possessed so great power, did for all that by no means refuse to obey even to the suffering of death? "When Job understood this with a purer intensity of heart, he added to his own answer these words: "I used before now to hear of Thee by the hearing of the ear; but behold now mine eye seeth Thee: therefore I abhor myself and melt away, and account myself but dust and ashes." Why was he displeased with himself in this so deep and profound a manner? God's work, in that he was man, could not rightly have given him displeasure, since it is even said to God Himself, "Despise not Thou the work of

1 Rom. vii. 15. 2 Quid quod. 3 Job i. 2£.
4 Job xxxix. 34 (Sept.). 6 Job xlii. 5, 6.

CHAP. XVII.] COMPARATIVE PERFECTION IN SAINTS. 89

Thine own hands." * It was indeed in view of that righteousness, in which he had discovered his own unrighteousness, 2 that he abhorred himself and melted away, and deemed himself dust and ashes, â€” beholding, as he did in his mind, the righteousness of Christ, in whom there could not possibly be any sin, not only in respect of His divinity, but also of His soul and His flesh. It was also in view of this righteousness which is of God that the Apostle Paul, although as "touching the righteousness which is of the law he was blameless," yet "counted all things " not only as loss, but even as dung. 3

Chap. 17. [xn.] â€” No one righteous in all things; Job not afflicted because of his sins. 4

That illustrious testimony, therefore, in which Job is commended, is not contrary to the passage in which it is said, "In Thy sight shall no man living be justified;" 5 for it does not lead us to suppose that in him there was nothing at all which, might either by himself really or by God rightly be blamed, although at the same time he might with no untruth be said to be a holy man, and a sincere worshipper of God, and one who kept himself from every evil work. For these are God's words concerning him: "Hast thou diligently considered my servant Job? For there is none like him on the earth, a man blameless, holy, a true worshipper of God, who abstains from everything evil." 6 First, he is here praised for his excellence in comparison with all men on earth. He therefore excelled all who were at that time able to be righteous upon earth; and yet, because of this superiority over others in righteousness, he was not therefore altogether without sin. He is next said to be * blameless " â€” no one could
fairly bring an accusation against him in respect of his conduct; " holy " â€” he had advanced so greatly in moral probity, that no man could be mentioned on a par with him; " a true worshipper of Goal " â€” because he sincerely and humbly confessed his own sins; a man " who abstained from every evil thing " â€” it would have been wonderful and strange, however,

1 Ps. exxxviii. 8.

2 Qua se noverat injustum. Several mss. have justum [q. d. "had discovered what his own righteousness was," â€” i.e. nothing].

3 Phil. iii. 6-8. * See below, chap. 23. 5 Ps. cxliii. 2. 6 Job i. 8.

90 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

if this abstinence had extended to every evil word and thought. How great a man indeed Job was, we are not told; but we know that he was a just man; we know, too, that in the endurance of terrible afflictions and trials he was great; and we know that it was not on account of his sins, but for the purpose of demonstrating his righteousness, that he had to bear so much suffering. But the language in which the Lord commends Job might also be applied to him who " delights in the law of God after the inner man, whilst he sees another law in his members warring against the law of his mind;" 1 especially as he says, " The good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." 2 Observe how he too after the inward man abstains from every evil work, because such work he does not himself effect, but the evil which dwells in his flesh; and yet, although he derives that very ability to delight in the law of God only from the grace of God, he still exclaims in conscious yearning after deliverance, " wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? God's grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord." 3

Chap. 18. [xiii.] â€” Man's perfect righteousness is imperfect.

There are then on earth righteous men, great men, wise, chaste, patient, pious, merciful, who endure all kinds of temporal evil with an even mind for righteousness' sake. If, however, there is truth â€” nay, because there is truth â€” in these words, " If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves," 4 and in these, " In Thy sight shall no man living be justified," even these worthies are not without sin; nor is there one among them so proud and foolish as not to feel how needful to him is the Lord's Prayer, by reason of his manifold sins, of whatever kind.

Now what must we say of Zacharias and Elisabeth, who are often alleged against us in discussions on this question?

All we can say is, that there is clear evidence in the Scripture that Zacharias was a man of eminent holiness among the chief priests, whose duty it was to offer up the sacrifices of the Old Testament. "We also read, however, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in a passage which I have already quoted in my previous book, 1 that Christ was the only High Priest who had no need, as those high priests are said to have had, to offer daily â€” first for Himself, and then for the people â€” sacrifices for sin. "For such a High Priest," says [the apostle], "became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins." 2 Amongst the high priests here referred to was Zacharias, amongst them was Phinehas, yea, Aaron himself, in whom this priesthood had its beginning, and whatever others there were whose lives were worthy of commendation for their righteous discharge of their priestly functions; and yet all these were under the necessity, first of all, of offering sacrifice for their own sins, â€” Christ, of whose future coming they were an earnest and a type, being the one only High Priest who had no such necessity, by reason of His freedom from all sinful taint.

Chap. 20. Paul worthy to be the prince of the apostles; Hie perfect wayfarer on the journey of eternal life.

What commendation, however, is bestowed on Zacharias and Elisabeth which is not comprehended in what the apostle has said about himself before he believed in Christ? He said that, "as touching the righteousness which is in the law, he had been blameless." 3 The same is said also of them: "They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless." 4 Whatever righteousness they had in them was not a pretence of virtue exhibited before men. Accordingly it is said, "They walked before the Lord." But that which is written of Zacharias and his wife in the phrase, in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, the apostle briefly expressed by the words, in the law. For there was not one law for him and another for them previous to the gospel. It was one and the same law which, as we read, was given by Moses to their fathers, and according

1 See above, Book i. c. 50. 2 Hob. vii. 26, 27. 3 Phil. iii. 6.
to the prescription of which Zacharias held his priestly office, and offered sacrifices in his course. And yet the apostle, who was then endued with the like righteousness, goes on to say:

"But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ; for whose sake I have not only thought all things to be only detriments, but I have even counted them as dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in Him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith:

that I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His suffering, being made conformable unto His death; if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead." * . So far, then, is it from being true that we should, from the words in which Scripture describes them, suppose that Zacharias and Elisabeth had a perfect righteousness without any sin, that we must not, in fact, even regard the apostle himself as perfect in excellence according to the self-same rule, â€” [that he lacked perfection] not only in that righteousness of the law which he possessed in common with them, and which he counts as loss and dung in comparison with that most excellent righteousness which is by the faith of Christ, but also in the very gospel itself, wherein he deserved the pre-eminence of his great apostleship. Now I would not venture to say this if I did not deem it very wrong to refuse credence to himself. He extends the passage which we have quoted, and says: "Not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect; but I follow after, if I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended:

but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." 2 Here he acknowledges that he has not yet attained, and is not yet perfect in that plenitude of righteousness which he longed to obtain in Christ, but that he was pursuing his aim, and, forgetting all that was behind and 1 Phil. iii. 7-11. 2 Phil. iii. 12-14.

CHAP. XXII.] SAINTLY MEN ARE YET SINNERS. 93

past, was reaching out to the things which lay before him. We are sure, then, that what he says elsewhere is true even of himself: "Although our outward man is perishing, yet the inward man is renewed day by day." 1 Although he was a complete and excellent traveller, he had not yet attained the very end of his journey. All such as deserved this character he would fain take with him as companions of his course.
This he expresses in the words which follow our former quotation: "Let as many, then, of us as are perfect, be thus minded: and if ye be yet of another mind, God will reveal even this also to you. Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by that rule." 2 This "walk" is not that of the legs, but is accomplished by the affections of the soul and the character of the life, so that they who possess righteousness may arrive at perfection; advancing in newness of life day by day along the straight path of faith, they have by this time become wayfarers, perfect in the self-same righteousness.

Chap. 21. [xiv.]

In like manner, all who are described in the Scriptures as exhibiting in their present life the good-will and the actions of righteousness, and all who have lived like them since, although lacking the same testimony of Scripture; or all who are even now living, or shall hereafter live, although they are all good and righteous, and are really worthy of all praise, â€” yet they are by no means without sin: inasmuch as, on the authority of the same Scriptures which supply us with the grounds of our belief in their virtues, we learn that in a God's sight no man living is justified;" 3 whence arises our request to Him, that He would "not enter into judgment with His servants; " 4 so that not only to all faithful people in general, but to each of them in particular, is the Lord's Prayer necessary, which He delivered to His disciples. 5

ChAp. 22. [xv.] â€” An objection of the Pelagians; perfection is relative; he is rightly said to be perfect in righteousness who has made much progress therein.

"Well, but the Lord says, " Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," 6 â€” an injunction which He would

1 2 Cor. iv. 16. " Phil# m 15j 16 3 Ps< cx iii. 2.
4 Ps. cxiii. 2. Â« Matt. vi. 12; Luke xi. 4. 6 Matt. v. 48.

94 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

not have given, they say, if He had known that what He enjoined was impracticable. Now the present question is not whether it be possible for any men, during this present life, to be without sin if they receive adequate grace for the purpose, for this question we have already solved; 1 but what we have now to consider is, whether any man in fact achieves perfection. We have, however, already recognised the fact that no man's will keeps even pace with the just necessity of every circumstance [of duty], as also the testimony of the Scriptures, which we have quoted so largely above, declares. When, indeed, the perfection of any particular person is mentioned, we must look carefully at the sense in which it is mentioned. For I have just above quoted a passage of the apostle, wherein he confesses that he had not yet made that advance in the attainment of righteousness which he desires; but still he immediately adds, "Let as many of us as
are perfect be thus minded." Now he would certainly not have uttered these two sentences if there were not a sense in which he was perfect, and another in which he was not perfect. For instance, a man may be perfect as a scholar in the pursuit of wisdom, which could not yet be said of those to whom [the apostle] said, " I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye have not been able to bear it, neither are ye yet able;" 2 whereas to the former class he says, " Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect/” â€” meaning, of course, to understand such as were perfect in the capacity of scholars. It may happen, therefore, as I have said, that a man may be already perfect as a scholar, though not as yet perfect as a teacher of wisdom; may be perfect as a learner, though not as yet perfect as a doer of righteousness; may be perfect as a lover of his enemies, though not as yet perfect in bearing their wrong. 3 [Now, taking the case of him] who is so far perfect as to love all men, inasmuch as he has attained even to the love of his enemies, it still remains a question whether he be perfect in that love, â€” in other words, whether he feel towards the objects of his love so great a charity as is prescribed to be exercised towards them by the

1 See above, chap. 7. 2 1 Cor. iii. 2.
3 Ut sufferat is his antithesis here to ut diligat.

CHAP. XXIII.] HUMAN PERFECTION RELATIVE. 95

unchangeable love of truth. Whenever, then, we read in the Scriptures of any man's perfection, it must be carefully considered in what sense the statement is made, since a man is not therefore to be understood as being entirely without sin because he is described as perfect in some particular thing; although the term may be, in a general sense, employed to show, not, indeed, that there is no longer any point left for a man to reach in his way to perfection, but that he has in fact advanced a very great way, and on that account may be deemed worthy of the designation. Thus, in the teaching of the law, a man may be said to be perfect, even if there be still considerable omission in his observance of it; and in the same manner the apostle called men perfect, to whom he said at the same time, " Yet if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this to you. Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule." 1

Chap. 23. [xyi.] â€” Why God prescribest what He knows cannot be observed.

We must not deny that God lays upon us such an injunction as this, â€” that we ought to be so perfect in accomplishing righteousness, as to have no sin at all. Now that cannot be sin, whatever it may be, unless God has enjoined that it shall not be. Why then, they ask, does He command what He knows very well no man living can perform? On this ground also an objection might be raised by asking, Why He laid an injunction on the first human beings, who were only two, which He knew they would not be able to obey? For it must not be pretended that He issued His command, that some of us might obey it, if they did not. The prohibition, indeed, that they should not partake of the fruit of the particular tree,
God laid entirely on them, and on none besides; for as He knew what amount of righteousness they would fail to perform, so did He also know what righteous measures He meant Himself to adopt concerning them. In the same way He orders all men to commit no sin, although He knows beforehand that no man will fulfil the command, in order that He may, in the case of all who impiously despise His precepts so as to incur condemnation, Himself execute righteousness in

1 Phil. iii. 15.

96 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

their condemnation; and that He may at the same time, in the case of those who obediently and piously keep the way of His commandments, and who, while failing to observe to the utmost all things which He has enjoined, do yet forgive others as they wish to be forgiven themselves, Himself do what is just and good in their sanctification and acquittal. For how can forgiveness be bestowed by God's mercy on the forgiving, when there is no sin? or how prohibition fail to be given by the justice of God, when there is sin?

Chap. 24. æ”” An objection of the Pelagians. The Apostle Paul was not free from the thorn of the flesh so long as he lived.

But see, say they, how the apostle says, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness; MI which it were impossible for him to say if he had any sin. It is for them, then, to explain how he could have said this, when there still remained for him to encounter the great conflict, the grievous and excessive weight of suffering which he had just said awaited him. 2 In order to finish his course, was there yet wanting only a small thing, when that in fact was still left to suffer wherein would exist a fiercer and more cruel foe? If, however, he uttered such words of joy from feeling sure and certain, on the ground that the assurance and certainty had been inspired in him by One who had revealed to him the imminence of his suffering, then it was not from absolute realization, but from a very firm hope, that he spoke his famous words; he assumed beforehand that such an issue was going to happen, just as if he were demonstrating that it had actually come to pass. If, therefore, he had added to those words the further statement, "I have no longer any sin," we must have understood him as even then expressing the idea of a perfection arising from a future prospect, not from an accomplished fact.

For his having no sin pertained to the finishing of his course, because (as they suppose) that course was completed when he spoke these words; just in the same way that his triumphing over his adversary in the decisive conflict of his passion had also reference to
the finishing of his course. And our opponents must needs themselves allow that this completion remained i o Tim. iv. 7 2 2 Tim. iv. 6.

yet to be effected, when lie uttered the exclamation which they quote. The whole of this consummation i ve in fact declare to have been even then awaiting its accomplishment, at the very moment when the apostle, with his perfect trust in the promise of God, spoke of it all as having been already realized. For it was in reference to the finishing of his course that he actually forgave the sins of those who sinned against him, and prayed that his own sins mierht in like manner be forgiven him; and it was in his most certain confidence in this promise of the Lord, [in His Prayer,] that he believed he should commit no sin in his encounter with that last end, which was still future, even when in his trustfulness he spoke of it as already accomplished. Xow, omitting all other considerations, I wonder whether, when he uttered the words in which he seemed to imply that he had passed beyond the commission of sin, that " thorn of the flesh" had been yet removed out of him, for the withdrawal of which he had three times entreated the Lord, and had received this answer: " My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness." 1 For bringing so great a man to perfection, it was needful that there should not be withdrawn from him that " messenger of Satan" by whom he was therefore to be buffeted, " lest he should be unduly exalted by the abundance of his revelations." 2 Is there then any man so bold as either to think or to say, that any one who has to bend beneath the burden of this life is altogether clean from all sin whatever ?

Chap. 25. â€” God punishes both in icrath and in mercy; there is no punishment but what is deserved by sin; 3 Pelagius’ character commendable.

Although there are some men who are so eminent in holiness that God speaks to them out of His cloudy pillar, such as " Moses and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel among them that call upon His name," 4 the latter of whom is much praised for his piety and purity in the Scriptures of truth, from his earliest childhood, when his mother, to accomplish her vow, placed him in God's temple, and devoted him to the Lord as His servant, yet even of such men it is said, " Thou, God, wast propitious unto them, though Thou didst

1 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. 2 2 Cor. xii. 7.

3 See above, ch. 17. 4 Ps. xcix. 6.

4 G
punish all their devices." 1 Now the children of wrath God punishes in anger; whereas it is in mercy that He chastises the children of grace; since "whom He loveth He correcteth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." 2 However, there are no punishments, no correction, no scourge of God, but what are owing to sin, except in the case of Him who prepared His back for the smiter, in order that He might undergo all our experience in our likeness without sin, in order that He might be the saintly Priest of saints, making intercession even for saints, who with no sacrifice of truth even say each one for himself, " Forgive us our trespasses, even as we also forgive them that trespass against us." 3 Wherefore even our opponents in this controversy, whilst they are chaste in their life, and commendable in character, and although they do not hesitate to do that which the Lord enjoined on the rich man, who inquired of Him about the attainment of eternal life, and who had told Him, in answer to His first question, that he had already fully kept every commandment in the law, that " if he wished to be perfect, he must sell all that he had and give to the poor, and transfer his treasure to heaven," 4 yet they do not in any one instance venture to say that they are without sin. But this, as we believe, they refrain from saying, with a mind to deceive; at any rate, when they propound their lies, this is the very point on which they begin either to augment or commit their sin.

Chap. 26. [xvn.] â€” The third question: Why no one in this life is without sin. Two causes of sin, ignorance and infirmity; in men lies the reason why they are not assisted by God.

Let us now consider the point which I mentioned as our third inquiry. Since man may possibly exist in this life without sin, when God's grace assists the human will, how happens it that there is in fact no such man? To this question I might return a very easy and truthful answer: Because men are unwilling; but if I am asked why they are unwilling, we are drawn into a lengthy statement. And yet, without prejudice to a longer disquisition, I may briefly say this much:
Men are unwilling to do what is just and right, either because

1 Ps. xcix. 8 (Sept.). 2 Prov. iii. 12 (Sept.).
3 Matt, vl 12, 14; Luke xi. 4. 4 Matt. xix. 12.

CHAP. XXVII.] HINDRANCES OF MAN'S WILL. 99

it is unknown to them, or because it is unpleasant to them.
For we have the stronger desire for a thing, in proportion to the certainty of our knowledge how good it is; .and in proportion to the warmth of satisfaction which that knowledge occa ions . I gnorance , therefore, and infirmity are faults which hinder our
will from moving either to the performance of a good work, or to the refraining from an evil one. But in order that what was hidden may come to light, and what was unpleasant may become agreeable, the grace of God operates and assists the wills of men. If in any case men are not assisted by it, the reason is equally due to themselves, not to God, whether they be predestinated to condemnation, owing to the iniquity of their pride, or whether they are to be judged contrary to their very pride, and to be disciplined out of the rudeness thereof, if they are children of mercy and grace. Accordingly Jeremiah, after saying, "I know, Lord, that the way of man is not in himself, and that it belongeth not to any man to walk and direct his steps," * immediately adds, "Correct me, Lord, but with judgment, and not in Thine anger;" 2 as much as to say, I know that it is owing to my own fault, and that it is a part of Thy chastisement, that I am not assisted by Thee, that my footsteps should be perfectly directed: but yet do not in this so deal with me as Thou dost in Thine anger, when Thou dost determine to condemn the wicked; but as Thou dost in Thy judgment whereby Thou dost teach Thy children not to be proud and arrogant. "Whence in another passage it is said, "And Thy judgments shall help me." 3

Chap. 27. å“' The divine remedies against pride; grace pre-eminent in Christ; how it happens that righteousness sometimes affords pleasure more or less, sometimes not.*

You cannot therefore attribute to God the cause of any sin or shortcoming in man. For of all human faults the cause 'ride, for the conviction and removal of which a great remedy comes from heaven. God in His mercy humbles Himself, descends from above, and displays to man, lifted up

1 Jer. x. 23. * Jer. x. 24. 3 Ps. cxix. 175.

4 See below, in ch. 33; also De Naturd et Gratid, 29-32; and De Corrept. ti Gratia, 10.

100 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

in pride, a pure and manifest grace in our own very manhood, which He undertook out of the vast love He bore to those who partake [of this nature] along with Himself. For [Christ] did not undertake this dispensation of grace 1 (uniting Himself so intimately with the Word of God as by the very union to become in one and the same person both Son of God and also Son of man) owing to any merits or claims antecedent to His own will. It behoved Him to be one; if it were possible that there should be two, or three, or more, such a dispensation would not have come from the pure and simple gift of God, but from
man's free will and choice. This, then, is what is especially commended to us [in the
gospel of God]; this, so far as I dare to think, is the divine lesson taught and learned in
those treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are hidden in Christ. Every one of us,
therefore, either knows or knows not â€” either rejoices or rejoices not â€” to begin,
continue, and complete a good work, discovering that it is due to his own will, but to
the gift of God that he either knows or rejoices [to accomplish such a work]. This results
in his being cured of the pride and vanity which elated him, and in his knowing how truly
it is said not simply of this earth of ours, but in the spiritual sense, "The Lord will give
kindness and sweet grace, and our land shall yield her fruit." 2
A good work, moreover, affords greater delight, in proportion as God is more and more
loved as the highest unchangeable Good, and as the Author of all good things of every
dkind whatever. And that God may be loved, "His love is shed abroad in our hearts," not
by ourselves, but "by the Holy Ghost that is given unto us.

Chap. 28. [viii.] â€” A good will comes from God.

Men, however, are toiling to discover in our own will some good thing of our own, â€”
not given to us by God; but how it is to be found I cannot imagine. The apostle says,
when speaking of men's good works, "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? now, if
thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?" 4 But,
besides this, even nature itself, which may be taken into the account

1 Fecit. 2 Ps. lxxxv. 12 (Sept.). 3 Bom. v. 5. * 1 Cor. iv. 7-

CHAP. XXX.] HOW A GOOD WILL COMES FROM GOD. 101

by such as we, on such subjects as these, firmly keeps every one of us in our
investigations within narrow bounds; forbidding us so to maintain God's grace as to
seem to take away free will, or, on the other hand, so to assert its liberty as to lay
ourselves open to the censure of being ungrateful to the grace of God, in the arrogance of
our impiety. 1

Chap. 29. â€” A subterfuge of the Pelagians.

Now, with reference to the passage of the apostle which I
have quoted, some of them would maintain it to mean that
"whatever amount of good inclination a man has, must on this account be attributed to
God, because even this amount could not be in him if he were not a human being. Now,
inasmuch as he only has from God the capacity of being anything at all, and of being human, why should there not be also attributed to God whatever there is in him of a good will, which could not exist unless he existed in whom it is found?"
But on these terms it may also be maintained that a bad and depraved will also comes from God as its author; because even it could not exist in man unless he were a man in whom it existed. Now God is the author of his human existence; He must therefore be the author also of this depraved will, which could have no existence if it had not a man to give it being.
But to argue thus is blasphemy.

Chap. 30. â€” A free will is that which is freely bent hither and thither; there are certain good things the use of which cannot be evil; all will is either good, and then it loves righteousness, or evil, when it does not love righteousness.

I Unless, therefore, we obtain not simply a choice of will, which is freely turned in this direction and that, and has its place amongst those natural goods which a man by using wrongly may become evil, but also a good will and desire, which has its place among those good gifts of which it is impossible for us to make a wrong use (unless our having it from God negative the point of possibility to us), I know not how we are to defend the principle expressed [in the apostle's question], "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?"
For if we have from God a certain freedom of will, which may still be either a good will or an evil one; and if the good will
I See De Gratid Christi, 52; and Be Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, 1.

A sVAT*"*

102 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

comes from ourselves; then that which emanates from ourselves is a better thing than that which proceeds from Him.
But inasmuch as it is the height of absurdity to say this, they ought to acknowledge that we learn from God how to acquire even a good will. It would indeed be a strange thing if our will could remain in a certain condition of neutrality, â€” so as to be neither good nor bad; for we either love righteousness, and then our will is a good one (and if our love for it be greater or less, then our will is more or less good); or else we do not love it at all, and in that case our will is not a good one. For who can hesitate to affirm that, when the will loves not righteousness in any way at all, it is not only a bad, but even a wholly depraved will? Since therefore the will is either good or bad, and since of course we have not the bad will from God, it remains that we have of God a good will; and besides, I know no other gift of His, since our justification is from Him, in which we ought to rejoice. Hence I suppose it is written, " The will is prepared of
the Lord; and in the Psalms, "The steps of a man will be rightly ordered by the Lord, and His way will be the choice of his will;" 2 and that which the apostle says, "For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of His own good pleasure."

Chap. 31. "Grace is given to some men in mercy; is withheld from others in justice and truth.

Forasmuch then as our turning away from God is our own act and deed, and this is our depraved will; since also our turning to God is not in our power, except He rouses and helps us, and this is our good will, "what have we that we have not received? And since we are recipients, why do we glory as if we had received nothing? Therefore, as "he that glorieth must glory in the Lord," 4 it comes from His grace and mercy that God wills to impart such gifts to some, and from His truth and equity that He wills not to impart them to others. For to sinners punishment is justly due, because "the Lord God loveth mercy and truth," 5 and "mercy and truth are met together;" 6 and "all the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth." 1 And who can tell the numberless instances in which Holy Scripture combines these two attributes?

Sometimes, by a change in the terms, grace is put for mercy, as in the passage, "We beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." 2

Sometimes also judgment occurs instead of truth, as in the passage, "I will sing of mercy and judgment unto Thee, Lord." 3

Chap. 32. "Why grace is not given to all men, and not always even to the saints.

As to the reason why He wills to convert some, and to punish others for turning away from Him, although nobody can justly censure Him for being merciful in conferring His blessing, nor can any man justly find fault with His truthfulness in awarding punishment (as no one could justly blame Him, in the parable of the labourers, for paying to some their stipulated hire, and asserting for others such as had not been agreed on 4), yet, after all, the purpose of His more hidden judgment lies entirely in His own hand, [xix.] So far as it has been given us to have wisdom and understanding, the Lord our God "if we are able to form a judgment" is even good in withholding sometimes from His saints

1 [4i\wf, Sept.], Prov. viii. 35.  * [h\uer, Sept.], Ps. xxxvii. 23.
3 P hfl. ii. 13. 4 Isa. xlv. 25; Jer. ix. 23, 24; 1 Cor. i. 31.
5 Ps. lxxxiv. 11 (Septuagint). 6 Ps. lxxxv. 10.
either the certain knowledge or the triumphant joy of a good work, that they may discover how it is not from themselves but from Him that they receive the light which illuminates their darkness, and the sweet grace which causes their land 5 to yield her fruit.

Chap. 33. â€” Through grace we have both the knowledge of good, and the delight which it affords; need of grace to assist us; it is given in mercy, or withheld in judgment; we must, above all things, watch against pride.

But when we pray Him to give us His help to do and accomplish righteousness, what else do we pray for than that He would open and explain what used to be hidden, and impart sweetness to that which once gave no pleasure? For even this very duty of praying to Him we have learned by His grace, since before we knew no such duty; and by His grace have come to love it, whereas before it gave us no

1 Ps. xxv. 10. 2 John i. 14. 3 Ps. ci. 1.

4 Matt. xx. 1-16. 5 i.e. the soil of their hearts. See above, c. 27.

104 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

pleasure, â€” so that " he who giorieth must glory in the Lord," and not in himself. To be lifted up, indeed, to pride is the result of men's own will, not of the operation of God; for to such an emotion God neither urges us nor helps us. There first occurs then in the will of man a certain appetite of its own power, to become disobedient through pride. If it were not for this appetite, indeed, there would be nothing to cause trouble; and whenever man willed it, he might refuse without difficulty. There ensued, however, out of the penalty which was justly due to sin such a flaw and damage [~to our moral nature ], that henceforth it became difficult to be obedient unto righteousness; and unless this damage were overcome by the assistance of grace, no one would turn to holiness; nor would any one enjoy the peace of righteousness unless the flaw were mended by the operation of grace. But whose grace is it that overcomes and repairs the damage, but His to whom the prayer is directed: " Convert us, God of our salvation, and turn Thine anger away from us V' And even when He does this, He does it in mercy, so that it is said of Him, " Not according to our sins hath He dealt with us, nor hath He recompensed us according to our iniquities;" 2 and when He refrains from
doing this to any, it is in judgment that He refrains. And who shall say to Him, "What hast Thou done?" when with pious mind the saints sing to His praise of His mercy and judgment? Wherefore even in the case of His saints and faithful servants He applies to them a tardier cure in certain of their failings, in order that, while they are involved in these, a less pleasure than is compatible with the fulfilling of righteousness in all its perfection may be experienced by them at any good they may achieve, whether latent or manifest; so that in respect of His most perfect rule of equity and truth "no man living can be justified in His sight." 3 In His own self, indeed, He wishes none of us to fall under condemnation, but that we should become humble; and He displays to us all the self-same grace of His own. Let us not, however, after we have made trial of its facility in all things, suppose that [virtue] to be our own which is really His; for that would be an error most antagonistic to religion and piety.

1 Ps. lxxxv. 4. 2 Ps. ciii. 10. 3 Ps. cxlii. 2.

CHAP. XXXIV.] NO MAN BUT ONE SINLESS. 105

Nor let us think that we should, because of His grace, continue in the same sins as of old; but against that very pride, which causes us our humiliation so long as we continue in them, let us, above all things, both vigilantly strive and ardently seek His help, knowing at the same time that it is by His gift that we have the power thus to strive and thus to pray; so that in every case, while we look not at ourselves, but raise our hearts above, we may render thanks to the Lord our God, and whenever we glory, glory in Him alone.

Chap. 34. [xx.] â€” He answers the fourth question proposed: That no man, with the exception of Christ, has ever lived, or can live without sin. 1

There now remains our fourth point, after the explanation of which, as God shall help us, this lengthened treatise of ours may at last be brought to an end. It is this: Whether the man who has never sinned at all, or never can sin, is not only now living as one of the sons of men, but also could ever have existed at any time, or will yet, in time to come exist? Now it is altogether most certain that such a man neither does now live, nor has lived, nor ever will live, except the one only Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus. We have already said a good deal on this subject in our remarks on the baptism of infants; for if these have no sin, not only are there at present, but also there have been, and there will be, persons innumerable without sin. Now if the point which we treated of under the second head be truly substantiated, that there is in fact no man without sin, then of course not even infants are without sin. From which the conclusion arises, that even supposing a man could possibly exist in the present life so far advanced in virtue as to have reached the perfect fulness of holy living which is absolutely free from sin, he still must have been undoubtedly a sinner previously, and have been converted from the sinful state to this subsequent newness of life. Now when we were discussing the second head, a different question was before us from that which is before us under this fourth head. For then the point we had to consider was,
"Whether any man in this life could ever attain to such perfection as to be absolutely without sin by the grace of God, by the hearty desire of his own will? whereas the question now

1 See above, c. 8.

106 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

proposed in this fourth place is, Whether there be among the sons of men, or could possibly ever have been, or yet ever could be, a man who has not indeed emerged out of sin and attained to perfect holiness, but has never, at any time whatever, been under the bondage of sin? If, therefore, the remarks are true which we have made at so great length concerning infants, there neither is, has been, nor will be, among the sons of men any man, except the one Mediator, in whom there accrues to us that propitiation and justification through which we have reconciliation with God, by putting an end to the enmity produced by our sins. It will therefore be not unsuitable to retrace a few considerations, so far as the present subject seems to require, from the very commencement of the human race, in order that they may inform and strengthen the reader's mind in answer to some objections which may possibly disturb him.

Chap. 35. [xxi.] â€” Adam and Eve; the tree of knowledge of good and evil, why so called; Adam, previous to his fall, made use of the tree of life; the tree of life a type of wisdom; a paradise for the body and for the soul; obedience most strongly enjoined by God on man.

When the first human pair â€” the man Adam, and his wife Eve who came out of him â€” willed no longer to obey the commandment which they had received from God, a just and deserved punishment overtook them. The Lord had threatened that, on the day they dared to eat the forbidden fruit, they should surely die. 1 Now, inasmuch as they had received the permission of using for food every tree that grew in Paradise, among which God had planted the tree of life; but since He had forbidden them to partake of one only tree, which He called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, to signify by this name the consequence of their discovering both what good they would experience if they kept the prohibition, and what evil if they transgressed it, they are no doubt rightly considered to have abstained from the forbidden food previous to the malignant advice of the devil, and to have used all the aliment which had been allowed them, and therefore, among all the others, and before all the others, the tree of life. For what could be more absurd than to suppose that they partook of the fruit of other trees, but not of that which had been

1 Gen. ii. 17.
equally with others granted to them, and which, by its extreme virtue, prevented even their animal bodies from undergoing change through the decay of age, and from dying at last through very decrepitude, applying this benefit from its own body to the man's body, and in a mystery demonstrating what, by virtue of the wisdom which it symbolized, it conferred on the rational soul, even that it should be quickened by its fruit, and not be changed into a worthless state of decay and death? For of her it is rightly said, "She is a tree of life to them that lay hold of her." 1 The one was a tree for the bodily Paradise, the other for the spiritual; the one afforded vigour to the senses of the outward man, the other strength to those of the inner man, â€” a vital strength and vigour, without any change for the worse through lapse of time. They therefore serve God, that dutiful obedience being all along commended to them, whereby alone God can be worshipped.

Now, however great [this tree] was in itself, and however efficient by itself alone to guard and preserve the rational creature under the Creator, it was yet impossible for it to be put to any higher use than that these rational creatures should by it be prohibited from a tree which had no inherent evil. For God forbid that the Creator of all good, who made all things, "and behold they were very good," 2 should plant anything evil amidst the fertility of even that material Paradise.

Still, however, it was well to show man, whose submission to such a Master was so very useful to him, how much good belonged simply to the obedience, which was all that He had demanded of His servant. This obedience would find its account not so much in the lordship of the Master as in the advantage of the servant. They were in fact forbidden the use of a tree, which, if it had not been for the prohibition, they might have used without suffering any evil result whatever; and from this circumstance it may be clearly understood, that whatever evil they brought on themselves because they made use of it in spite of the prohibition, the tree did not produce it to their detriment from any noxious or pernicious quality in its fruit, but entirely from the fact of their violated obedience.

1 Prov. iii. 18. 9 Gen. i. 31.

- 

TOO

103 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]
Chap. 36. [xxn.] â€” Man's state before the fall; why the members of human generation are called "pudenda;" sin dwelling in our members; the "opening of their eyes," what this meant in our first parents.

Before they had thus violated their obedience they were pleasing to God, and God was pleasant to them; and though they carried about an animal body, they yet perceived in it no incentive moving them to disobedience. This was the righteous appointment [of the Creator.] that inasmuch as their soul had received from the Lord a body for its servant, so it should itself obey the same Lord as its Master, even as its own body was obedient to itself, and should exhibit a service suitable to the life given it without resistance. Hence "they were both naked, and were not ashamed." * It is with a natural instinct of shame that the rational soul is now indeed affected, because in that flesh, whose service it had once received as the just due of its own superior power, it can no longer, owing to some indescribable infirmity, prevent the motion of the members thereof, notwithstanding its own unwillingness, nor excite them to motion even when it wishes. Now these members are on this account, in every man of chastity, rightly called "jmclencla" [such as cause him shame], because they excite themselves, just as they like, in opposition to the mind which is their master, as if they were in fact their own masters; and the sole authority which the bridle of virtue possesses over them is to check them from approaching impure and unlawful pollutions. Such disobedience of the flesh as this, which lies in the very excitement, even when it is not allowed to take effect, did not exist in the first man and woman whilst they were naked and not ashamed. For as yet the rational soul, which rules the flesh, had not developed such a disobedience to its Lord, as by a reciprocity of punishment to bring on itself the rebellion of its own servant the flesh, along with that feeling of confusion and trouble to itself which it certainly failed to inflict upon God by its own disobedience to Him; for God is put to no shame or trouble when we do not obey Him, nor are we able in any wise to lessen His very great power over us; but on ourselves shame is caused, whenever the flesh is not submissive to our command, â€” a result which is brought

1 Gen. ii. 25.

CHAP. XXXVII.] THE LAW OF SIN IN THE MEMBERS. 109

about by the infirmity which we incur by sinning, and is called "the sin which dwelleth in our members." 1 But this sin is of such a character that it becomes the chastisement of sin. As soon, indeed, as the transgression has been effected, and the soul in its disobedience has turned away from the law of its Lord, then its servant, the body, begins to put in force the law of disobedience against it; and then the man and the woman grew ashamed of their nakedness, when they perceived the rebellious motion of the flesh, which they had not perceived before. This discovery is called "the opening of their eyes;" 2 for no longer did they walk about among the trees with closed eyes. The same thing is said of Hagar: "Her eyes were opened, and she saw a well." 3 Then the man and the
woman covered their loins. God had given them to them as useful members; they made them * pudenda," parts which caused them shame.

Chap. 37. [xxni.] â€” Sin is the corruption of nature, its renovation is by Christ; man's original righteousness in Paradise, his righteousness after the fall.

From this law of sin comes that sinful flesh, which requires cleansing through the mystery of Him who came in the likeness of sinful flesh, that the body of sin might be destroyed, which is also called "the body of this death," from which only God's grace delivers wretched man through Jesus Christ our Lord. 4 For this law, which originated death, passed on from the first pair to their posterity, as [is attested by] the labour with which all men toil on earth, and the travail which affects J mothers with the pains of childbirth. These sufferings they brought on themselves according to the sentence of God, when they were convicted of sin; and we see them accomplished, not only in them, but also in their descendants, in some more, in others less. Whereas, however, the primeval righteousness of the first human beings consisted in obeying God, and not having in their members the law of concupiscence operating against the law of their mind; now, since their fall, in our sinful flesh which is born of them, it is obtained by those who obey God as a great acquisition that they do not obey the desires of this evil concupiscence, but crucify in themselves the flesh with its affections and lusts, that they may be Jesus


110 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

Christ's, who on His cross figured this crucifixion, and who gave them power through His grace to become the sons of God. For it is not to all men, but to as many as have received Him, that He has given to be born again to God of the Spirit, after their natural birth in the flesh. Of these indeed it is written: " But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God; which were born, not of the flesh, nor of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God." 1

Chap. 38. [xxiv.] â€” What benefit has been conferred on us by the incarnation of the Word: Christ's birth in the flesh, wherein it is like and wherein unlike our own birth.

He goes on to add, " And the "Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;" 2 as much as to say, A great thing indeed has been done among them, even that they are born again to God of God, who had before been born of the flesh to the world, although created by God Himself; but far more wonderful is the fact that, whereas it accrued to them by nature to be born of the flesh, but by the divine goodness to be born of God, in order that so great a benefit might be imparted to them, He who was in His own nature the Son of God, vouchsafed in mercy to be also born of the flesh, â€” no less being meant by the passage, " And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Hereby, he says in effect, it has
come to pass that we who were born of the flesh as flesh, by being afterwards born of the Spirit, became spirit and dwelt in God; because God, who was born of God, by being afterwards born of the flesh, became flesh, and dwelt among us. For the Word, which became flesh, was in the beginning, and was God with God. 3 But at the same time His condescending to our inferior condition, and sharing in it, in order to our participation in His higher state, has always occupied a kind of intermediate position even in His birth of the flesh. Whilst we indeed were born in sinful flesh, He was born in the likeness of sinful flesh; whilst we were born not only of flesh and blood, but also of the will of man, and of the will of the flesh, He was born only of flesh and blood, not of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. We, therefore, [were born] to

1 John i. 12, 13. 2 John i. 14. 3 John i. 1. 4 Medietatem.

CHAP. XXXIX.] CHARACTER OF CHRIST'S INCARNATION. Ill
die on account of sin; He, on our account, [was born] to die without sin. Moreover, just as His inferior circumstances, to which He lowered Himself to reach us, were not in every particular exactly on a par with our inferior condition, in which He found us here; so our superior state, in which we mount up to God, will not be quite equal to His superior state, in which we are there to find Him by and by. For we by His grace are to be made the sons of God, whereas He was evermore by nature the Son of God; we having been once converted shall cleave to God, though not as His equal; He who never turned from God, remains ever equal to God; we are partakers of eternal life, He is eternal life. He, therefore, alone having become man, but still continuing to be God, never had any sin, nor did He assume a flesh of sin, although born of His mother's 1 sinful flesh. For what He then took of flesh, He either cleansed in order to take it, or cleansed by taking it. His virgin mother, therefore, whose conception was not according to the law of sinful flesh (in other words, not by the excitation of carnal concupiscence), but who merited by her piety and faith the formation within her of the holy seed, He formed in order to select her [as His parent] and selected her in order to be formed in her and of her. How much more needful, then, is it for sinful flesh to be baptized in order to escape the judgment, when the flesh which was untainted by sin was baptized to set an example for imitation?

Chap. 39. [xxv.] å‘” An objection of the Pelagians.

The answer, which we have already given, 2 to those who say, " If a sinner has begotten a sinner, a righteous man ought also to have begotten a righteous man," we now advance in reply to such as argue that one who is born of a baptized man ought himself to be regarded as already baptized. " For why," they ask, " could he not have been baptized in the loins of his father, when, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, Levi 3 was able to pay tithes in the loins of Abraham ?" They who
1 De maternd came peccati. Another reading has, De naturd carnis peccati (" of the nature of sinful flesh ") j and a third, De materid carnis peccati (" of the matter of sinful flesh ").

2 See above, c. 11. 3 jhe allusion is to Heb. vii. 9.

112 ON FOKGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

propose this argument ought to observe that Levi did not subsequently pay tithes because he had paid tithes already in the loins of Abraham, but because he was ordained to the office of the priesthood in order to receive tithes, not to pay them; otherwise not even his brethren, who all used to contribute their tithes to him, would have to make such payments, because they too, whilst in the loins of Abraham, had paid tithes to Melchisedec.

Chap. 40. â€” An argument anticipated.

And let no one contend that the descendants of Abraham might fairly enough have paid tithes, although they had already paid tithes in the loins of their forefather, on the ground that paying tithes was an obligation of such a nature as to require constant repetition from each several person, as was the case with the Israelites, who used to pay such contributions year by year all through life to their Levites, to whom were due various tithes from all kinds of produce; whereas baptism is a sacrament of such a nature as admits of no repetition, â€” it is administered once for all. And if a man had already received it when in his father [according to the supposition], he must be considered as no other than baptized, since he was born of a man who had been himself baptized. Well, whoever thus argues (I will simply say, without discussing the point at length), should look at circumcision. This used to be administered once for all, but yet it must be dispensed to each person separately and individually. [And the cases are strictly parallel] For as it was necessary in the time of that ancient sacrament for the son of a circumcised man to be himself circumcised, so now the son of one who has been baptized must himself also receive baptism.

Chap. 41. â€” Children are called " clean" [or holy] by the apostle when one or the other of their parents was a believer. 1

The apostle indeed says, " Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy;" 2 and therefore they infer there was no necessity for the children of believers to be baptized. I am surprised at the use of such language by persons who

1 [See Gelasius, in his Treatise against the Pelagians.]
Â« 1 Cor. vii. 14.
deny that original sin has been transmitted from Adam. If they take this passage of the
apostle to mean that the children of believers are born in a state of holiness, how is it that
they actually have no doubt about the necessity of even these children being baptized?
Why, in short, do they refuse to admit that any original sin is derived from a sinful parent,
if any holiness is received from a holy parent? Now it does not contravene any assertion
on our side, indeed, even if
"holy" children are [said to be] born of believing parents, because we also hold that
unless children are baptized they are in danger of 1 damnation; and even our opponents
exclude them from the kingdom of heaven, although they insist that they are without sin,
whether actual or original. 2 Now, if they think it an unbecoming thing for beings who
are "holy"
to incur damnation, how can it be a proper thing to exclude them, "holy" as they are,
from the kingdom of God? They should pay especial attention to this point. How can a
sinful state help being derived from sinful parents, if a holy state is derived from holy
parents, and an unclean state from unclean parents? For the twofold principle was
affirmed [by the apostle] when he said, "Else were your children unclean, but now are
they holy." They should also explain to us how it is right that the holy children of
believers and the unclean children of unbelievers are, notwithstanding their different
circumstances, equally prohibited from entering the kingdom of God, if they have not
been baptized. "What avails that sanctity of theirs in the former class? Now if they were
to maintain that the unclean children of unbelievers are damned, but that the holy
children of believers are not damned, because they are "holy," 3 although they are
unable to enter the kingdom of heaven unless they are baptized, â€“ that would be a
distinction so far as it went; but as it is, they declare with an equal amount of assurance
respecting the holy children of holy parents and the unclean offspring of unclean parents,
that they are not damned, since they have not any sin; and that they are excluded from the
kingdom of God because they are unbaptized. What an absurdity! Who can suppose that
such splendid geniuses do not perceive it?

1 Pergere in. 2 See above, Book I. ch. 21-23.

4 H

114 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

Chap. 42.â€“ Sanctification manifold; sacrament of catechumens.
Our opinions on this point are strictly in unison with the apostle's himself, who said, "From one all are exposed to condemnation," and "from One all to justification of life." 1 Now how consistent these statements are with what he elsewhere says, when treating of another point, "Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy," consider awhile.

[xxvl] Holiness or sanctification is not of merely one mode; for even catechumens, I take it, are sanctified in a manner suitable to them by the sign of Christ, and His prayer and imposition of hand; and what they receive is holy, although it is not the body of Christ, â€” holier, indeed, than any food which constitutes our ordinary nourishment, because it is a sacrament. 2 However, that very meat and drink, wherewithal the necessities of our present life are sustained, are, according to the same apostle, "sanctified by the word of God and prayer," 3 even the prayer with which we beg that our bodies may be refreshed. [And here arises an argument from analogy;] for as this sanctification of our ordinary food does not hinder what enters the mouth from descending into the belly, and being ejected into the draught, 4 and partaking of the corruption into which everything earthly is resolved, whence the Lord exhorts us to labour for the food which never perishes, 5 so the sanctification of the catechumen, if he is not baptized, does not avail for his entrance into the kingdom 1 of heaven, nor for the remission of his sins. And, by parity of reasoning, that sanctification likewise, of whatever kind it be, which, according to the apostle, is inherent in the children of believers, has nothing whatever to do with the question of baptism and of original sin, or the remission thereof. 6 The apostle, in this very passage which has occupied our attention,

1 See Rom. v. 18.

* Catechumens received the sacramentum sailsâ€”salt placed in the mouth â€” with other rites, such as exorcism and the sign of the cross \ the Lord's Prayer and other invocations concluding the ceremony. See Canon 5 of the third Council of Carthage; also Augustine's JDe Catechiz. Rud. 50; and his Confess, i. 11, j where (speaking of his own catechumenical course) he says: " I was now signed with the sign of His cross, and was seasoned with His salt."

3 i xim. iv. 5. * Mark vii. 19. 6 John vi. 27.

6 See below, Book in. chap. 21; and his Sermons, xxix. 4.

CHAP. XLIII.] CHILDREN OF THE BAPTIZED REQUIRE BAPTISM. 115

says that the unbeliever of a married couple is sanctified by a believing partner. His words are: " For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband. Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy." 1 Now, I should say, there is not a man whose mind is so warped by unbelief, as to suppose that, whatever sense he gives to these words, they can possibly mean that a
husband who is not a Christian should not be baptized because his wife is a Christian, and that he has already obtained remission of his sins, with the certain prospect of entering the kingdom of heaven, because he is described as being sanctified by his wife.

Chap. 43. [xxvu.]

If any man, however, is still perplexed by the question why the children of baptized persons are baptized, let him briefly consider this: Inasmuch as through the one man, Adam, the generation of sinful flesh draws into condemnation all who are born of such generation, so the generation of the Spirit of grace through the one man Jesus Christ, draws to the justification of eternal life all who partake of this regeneration to which they are predestinated. But the sacrament of baptism is undoubtedly the sacrament of regeneration.

"Wherefore, as the man who has never lived cannot die, and he who has never died cannot rise again, so he who has never been born cannot be born again. From which the conclusion arises, that no man who has not been born could possibly have been born again in his father. Born again, however, a man must of necessity be, if he has ever been born; because,"

"Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." 2 Even an infant, therefore, must be immersed in the sacrament of regeneration, or without it his would be an unhappy exit out of this life; and this baptism is administered solely for the remission of sins. And so much does Christ show us in this very passage; for when asked, How could such things be? He reminded His questioner of what Moses did when he lifted up the serpent. Inasmuch, then, as infants are by the sacrament of baptism conformed to the death of

1 1 Cor. vii. 14. 2 John iii. 3.

116 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

Christ, it must be admitted that they are also freed from the serpent's poisonous bite, unless we wilfully wander from the rule of the Christian faith. This bite, however, they did not receive in their own actual life, but in and through him on whom the wound was primarily inflicted.

Chap. 44. â€” An objection of the Pelagians.

Nor do they fail to see this point, that his own sins are no detriment to the parent after his conversion; they therefore raise the occurrent question: "How much more -impossible is it that they should be a hindrance to his son?" But they who thus think do not attend to this consideration, that as his own sins are not injurious to the father for the very reason that he is born again of the Spirit, so in the case of his son, unless he be in the same manner born again, the sins which he derived from his father will prove injurious to him. Because even regenerate parents beget children, not from the firstfruits of their renewed
condition, but carnally from the remains of the old nature; and the children who are thus the offspring of their parents' remaining old nature, and are born in sinful flesh, escape from the condemnation which is due to the old man by the sacrament of spiritual regeneration and renewal. Now this is a consideration which, on account of the controversies that have arisen, and may still arise, on this subject, we ought to keep in our view and memory, â€” that a plenary and perfect remission of sins takes place only in baptism, that the character of the actual man does not at once undergo a total change, but that the first-fruits of the Spirit in such as walk worthily change the old carnal nature into one of like character by a process of renewal, which increases day by day, until the entire old nature is so renovated that the very weakness of the natural body attains to the strength and incorruptibility of the spiritual body.

Chap. 45. [xxviii.] â€” The law of sin is called sin; concupiscence still remains after its evil has been removed in the baptized; how this happens; the being in the flesh; the guilt of concupiscence is done away by baptism, though the concupiscence remains.

This law of sin, however, which the apostle also designates "sin," when he says, "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof, does not remain in the members of those who are born again of water and the Spirit, in such a way as if there were no remission thereof, because there is a full and perfect remission of our sins, all the enmity being slain, which separated us from God; but it remains in our old carnal nature, as overcome and destroyed, so Long as it does not, by consenting to unlawful objects, spring to life again, and call itself back to its proper reign and dominion. There is, however, so clear a distinction to be seen between this old carnal nature, in which the law of sin (or sin) is already repealed, and that life of the Spirit, in the newness of which they who are baptized are through God's grace born again, that the apostle deemed it inadequate to say of such that they were not in sin; but he went so far as to describe them as not being in the flesh itself, even before they departed out of this mortal life. "They that are in the flesh," says he, "cannot please God; but ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." 2 And indeed, as they turn to good account the flesh itself, however corruptible it be, who apply its members to good works,
and in that flesh no longer are, since they do not mould their understanding nor their life according to its principles; and as they in like manner make even a good use of death, which is the penalty of the first sin, who encounter it with fortitude and patience for their brethren's sake, and for the faith, and in defence of whatever is true and holy and just, so also do all "true yokefellows" in the faith turn to good account that very law of sin which still remains, though remitted, in their old carnal nature, who, from their having the new life of Christ, do not permit lust to have dominion over them. And yet these very persons, from the fact of their still carrying about Adam's old nature, continue after the manner of mortal man to beget children with a progeny of sin, who require regeneration to attain immortality; [and this they may attain,) because such as are born again are not tied and bound by the sin in which they are born, and from which they that are born in it are loosened by being born again. As long, then, as the law of sin by concupiscence 1 dwells in the members, although the concupiscence remains, the guilt of it is dissoluble, but [only] to him who has received the sacrament of regeneration, and is entering upon newness of life. Whatevuer is born of the old nature, which still abides with its concupiscence, requires to be born again in order to be healed. Granting that believing parents, who have been both carnally born and spiritually regenerated, have themselves begotten children in a carnal manner, how could their children by any possibility, previous to their first birth, have been born again?

Chap. 46. [Compare Augustine's Book vi. against Julianus, c. 22.]

You must not be surprised at what I have said, that although the law of sin remains with its concupiscence, the guilt thereof is done away through the grace of the sacrament. For as wicked deeds, and words, and thoughts have already passed away, and cease to exist, so far as regards the mere movements of the mind and the body, and yet their guilt remains after they have passed away and become non-existent, unless it be done away by the remission of sins; so, contrariwise, in this not yet preterite but still abiding law of concupiscence, its guilt is done away, and continues no longer, since in baptism there takes place a full forgiveness of sins.

Indeed, if a man were to quit this present life immediately: after his baptism, there would be nothing at all left to keep him bound, inasmuch as all bonds which held him are loosened. As, on the one hand, therefore, there is nothing strange in the fact that the guilt of past sins of thought, and word, and deed remains before their remission; so, on the other hand, there ought to be nothing to create surprise, that the guilt of remaining concupiscence passes away after the remission of sins.
Chap. 47. [xxix.] "All the predestinated are saved through the one Mediator Christ, and by one only faith.

This being the case, ever since the time when by one man sin thus entered into the world and death by sin, and death in this way passed through to all men, up to the close of the generations of the flesh and this perishing world, the children of which beget and are begotten, there never has existed, nor ever will exist, a human being of whom, while placed in this life of ours, it could be said that he had no sin at all, with the exception of the one Mediator, who reconciles us to our Maker through the forgiveness of sins.

Now this same Mediator, our Lord Himself, has never yet refused, at any period of the human race, nor to the last judgment will He ever refuse, this healing grace of His to those whom, in His most sure foreknowledge and promised loving-kindness, He has predestinated to reign with Himself to life eternal. For, previous to His birth in the flesh, and His suffering in infirmity, and rising again in power, He instructed all who then lived, in the faith of those then future blessings, that they might inherit everlasting life; whilst those who were alive when all these things were being accomplished in Christ, and who were witnessing the fulfilment of prophecy, He impressed with the belief of their present reality; whilst again, those who have since lived, and ourselves who are now alive, and all those who are yet to live, He likewise informs without ceasing, and will inform, in the faith of these great past events. It is therefore "one faith" which saves all, who after their carnal birth are born again of the Spirit, having its end in Him, who came to be judged for us and to die, "the Judge of quick and dead. But this one faith undergoes change at various times, in sacraments fitted to express its signification by suitable methods.

Chap. 48. "Christ the Saviour even of infants; Christ, when an infant, was fret from the ignorance and mental weakness of that stage of life; Christ's flesh would seem to have been liable to death even by growing old.

He is therefore actually the Saviour at once of infants and of adults, of whom the angel said, "There is born unto you this day a Saviour; 2 and concerning whom it was declared to the Virgin Mary, 3 "Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins," where it is plainly shown that He was called Jesus because of the salvation which He bestows upon us, "Jesus being tantamount to the Latin Salvator, "Saviour." Who then can be so bold as to

1 Futuram. 2 Luke ii. 11.
120 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

maintain that the Lord: Christ is Jesus only for adults and not for infants also? Coming in the likeness of sinful flesh, to destroy the body of sin, with infants' limbs fitted and suitable for no use in the extreme weakness of such body, and His rational soul oppressed with miserable ignorance! Now that such ignorance existed [in such a way as is here suggested,] I cannot suppose in the infant in whom the Word was made flesh, that He might dwell among us; nor can I imagine that such weakness of the mental faculty ever existed in the infant Christ which we see in infants generally. It is owing to such infirmity and ignorance that infants are disturbed with unaccountable fits of restlessness, and are restrained by no rational command or rule, but by pains and penalties, or the terror of such. From this you can quite see what happens in the case of the children of that disobedience, which excites itself in the members of our body in opposition to the law of the mind, â€” how it refuses to be still, even when the reason wishes; nay, how it is either repressed by some actual infliction of bodily pain, as for instance by flogging; or is checked by producing fear, or by some such mental emotion, but not by any precept of the will. Inasmuch, however, as in Him there was the likeness of sinful flesh, He willed to pass through the changes of the various stages of life, beginning even with infancy, so that it would seem as if that flesh of His might have arrived at death by the gradual approach of old age, if He had not been killed when a young man. Since, however, the death which is inflicted on sinful flesh is owing to disobedience, in His case it was undergone in the likeness of sinful flesh, because of His voluntary obedience. For when He was on His way to it, and was soon to suffer it, He said, "Behold, the prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me. But that all may know that I am doing my Fathers will, arise, let us go hence." 1 Having said these words, He went straightway, and encountered His undeserved death, having become obedient even unto death.

Chap. 49. [xxx.] â€” An objection of the Pelagians.

They therefore who say, "If through the sin of the first man it has come to pass that we must die, by the coming of

1 John xiv. 30, 31.
Christ it must needs happen that, being believers in Him, we shall not die;" and they add what they deem a reason, saying,
"For the sin of the first transgressor could not possibly have injured us more than the incarnation or redemption of the Saviour has benefited us." But why do they not rather give an attentive ear, and an unhesitating belief, to that which the apostle has stated so unambiguously: "Since by man came death, by Man came also the resurrection of the dead; for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive V n It is of no other subject that he spoke than of the resurrection of the body. Having said that the bodily death of all men has come about through one man, he adds the promise that the bodily resurrection of all men to eternal life shall happen through one, even Christ. How can it therefore be that "the one has injured us more by sinning than the other has benefited us by redeeming," when by the sin of the former we die a temporal death, but by the redemption of the latter we rise again not to a temporal, but to an eternal life? Our body, therefore, is dead because of sin, but Christ's body only died without sin, in order that, having poured out His blood without fault or sin, "the handwriting" which contains the register of all men's sins "might be blotted out." 2 While their debts were inscribed in this, they who now believe in Him were formerly held in bondage by the devil. And accordingly He says, "This is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." 3

Chap. 50. [xxxi.] â€” Why it is that death itself is not abolished, along with sin, by baptism.

He might, however, have also conferred this upon believers, that they should escape even the experience of the death of their body. But if He had done this, there might no doubt have been added a certain felicity to the flesh, but the fortitude of faith would have been diminished; for men have such a fear of death, that they would insist on Christians being happy, because of their mere immunity from dying. No one in the case now supposed would, for the sake of that life which is to be so happy after death, be forward in possessing the grace of Christ by virtue of despising even death itself;

1 I Cor. xv. 21, 22. a Col. ii. 14. 3 Matt. xxvi. 28.

122 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

He would rather resort to a more delicate and easy mode of believing in Christ, with a view to remove the trouble and difficulty of death. More grace, therefore, than this has He conferred on those who believe on Him; and a greater gift, undoubtedly, has He vouchsafed to them! What great matter would it have been for a man, on seeing that people did not die when they became believers, himself also to believe that he was not to die? How much greater a thing is it, how much braver, how much more laudable, so to believe, that although one is sure to die, he can still hope to live hereafter for evermore!
Indeed, upon some there will be bestowed this blessing at the last day, that they shall not perceive the actual suffering of death in the suddenness of the change which shall happen to them, but they shall be caught up along with the risen in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so shall they ever live with the Lord. And rightly shall it befall those whose belief is actuated by this nobler principle; they shall escape the degradation of those who shall deserve the lower place for not hoping for what they see not, while loving what they see. This weak and nerveless faith must not be called faith at all, inasmuch as faith indeed is thus defined: "Faith is the firmness of those who hope, the clear proof of things which they do not see." Accordingly, in the same Epistle to the Hebrews, where this passage occurs, after enumerating in subsequent sentences certain worthies who pleased God by their faith, he says: "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but seeing them afar off, and hailing them, and confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth." And then afterwards he concluded his eulogy on faith in these words: "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but seeing them afar off, and hailing them, and confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth." And then afterwards he concluded his eulogy on faith in these words: K And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, did not indeed receive God's promises; for they foresaw better things for us, and that without us they could not themselves become perfect." Now this would

1 1 Thess. iv. 17.
2 Augustine constantly quotes this text with the active participle sperantium, instead of sperandorum. The Greek ixviopivav is not always construed passively in the passage; some regard it as of the middle voice.
3 Heb. xi. 1. 4 Heb. xi. 13. 5 Heb. xi. 39, 40.

CHAP. 51. Why the regenerate are subject to death. 123

be no praise for faith, nor (as I said) would it be faith at all, were men in believing to follow after rewards which they could see, â€” in other words, if on believers were bestowed the reward of immortality in this present world.

Chap. 51. â€” Why the devil is said to hold the power and dominion of death.

Hence the Lord Himself willed to die, "in order that," as it is written of Him, "through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." From this passage it is shown with sufficient clearness that the death of the body came about at the instigation and authority of the devil, â€” in a word, from the sin which he persuaded man to commit; nor is there any other reason why he should be said in strictness of truth to hold the power of death. Accordingly, He who died without any sin, original or actual, said in the passage I have already quoted: "Behold, the prince of this world," that is, the devil, who had the power of death, "and hath nothing in me," â€” meaning, he shall find no sin in me, because of which he has caused men to die. As if the question were asked Him: Why then should you die? He says, "That all may know that I
am doing my Father's will; arise, let us go hence." 2 That is, [let us go hence] that I may
die, though I have no cause of death from sin under the author of sin, but only from
obedience and righteousness having become obedient unto death. Proof is likewise
afforded us by this passage, that the fact of the faithful overcoming the fear of death is a
part of the struggle of faith itself; for all struggle would indeed be at an end, if
immortality were at once to become the reward of them that believe.

Chap. 52. [xxxn.] â€” Why Christ, after His resurrection, withdrew His presence
from the world.

However many were the miracles which the Lord visibly wrought, in order that faith
might sprout at first and be fed by infant nourishment, and grow to its full strength by and
by after this tender treatment (for faith becomes stronger the more it foregoes the help of
those [visible proofs] ), He still

1 Heb. ii. 14. 2 j^ xiv# 30) 31.

124 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

wished us to wait quietly, without visible inducements, for the promised hope, that the
just might live by faith; 1 and so great was this wish of His, that though He rose from the
dead the third day, He did not desire even to remain among men, but, after leaving a
proof of His resurrection by showing Himself in the flesh to those whom He deigned to
have for His witnesses of the great event, He ascended into heaven, withdrawing Himself
even from their sight, and no longer conferring on the flesh of any one of them such [a
quickening]
as He had displayed in His own flesh, in order that they too might live by faith, and in the
present world might wait in patience and without visible inducements for the reward of
that righteousness in which men live by faith, â€” a reward which should hereafter be
visibly and openly bestowed. To this view and purpose I believe that passage must be
referred which He speaks concerning the Holy Ghost: " He will not come, unless I
depart." 2 For this was in fact saying, Ye shall not be able to live that life of faith, which
ye shall have as a gift of mine, â€” that is, from the Holy Ghost, â€” unless I
withdraw from your eyes that which ye now gaze upon, in order that your heart may
advance in spiritual growth by fixing its faith on invisible things. This righteousness of
faith He constantly commends to them. Speaking of the Holy Ghost, He says, " He shall
reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment: of sin, because they have
not believed on me: of righteousness, because I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no
more." 3 What is that righteousness, whereby men were not to see Him, except as the just
man who lived by faith ? and the hope of which we were to cherish by the Spirit in faith,
â€” not looking at the things which are seen, but at those which are not seen ?
Chap. 53. [xxxni.] â€” An objection of the Pelagians.

But those persons who say, "If the death of the body has happened by sin, we of course ought not to die after that remission of sins which the Redeemer has bestowed upon us," do not understand how it is that some things, whose guilt God has cancelled and hindered from standing in our way

1 Hab. ii. 4. 2 John xvi. 7. 3 John xvi. 8-10.

CHAP. LIT.] "WHY EFFECT OF SIN OUTLIVES ITS EEMISSION. 125

after this life, He yet permits to remain in the contest of faith, in order that they may become the means of instructing and exercising those who are advancing in the struggle after holiness. Might not some man, by not understanding this, raise a question and ask, Since God has said to man because of his sin, "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread:
thorns also and thistles shall the ground bring forth to thee," 1 how comes it to pass that this labour and toil continues since the remission of sins, and that the ground of believers yields them this rough and terrible harvest? Again, since it was said to the woman in consequence of her sin, "In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children," 2 how is it that believing women, notwithstanding the remission of their sins, suffer the same pains in the process of parturition? But it is an incontestable fact, that by reason of the sin which they had committed, the primeval man and woman heard these sentences pronounced by God, and deserved them; nor is any opposition shown to these words of the sacred volume, which I have quoted about man's labour and woman's travail, except by the man who is utterly hostile to the Catholic faith, and an adversary to the inspired writings.

Chap. 54. [xxxiv.] â€” Why punishment is still inflicted, after sin has been forgiven.

But, inasmuch as there are not wanting persons of such character, just as we say in answer to those who raise this question, that the punishments of sins are as such before remission, whereas after remission they become trials and trainings of the righteous; so again to such persons as are similarly perplexed about the death of the body, our answer ought to be so drawn as to show both that we acknowledge the said death to have accrued because of sin, and that we are not discouraged by the punishment of sins having been bequeathed to us for an exercise of discipline, in order that our great fear of it may be overcome by us as we advance in holiness. For if only small virtue accrued to "the faith which worketh by love" to conquer the fear of death, there would be no great glory for the martyrs; nor could the Lord say, "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay
down his life for his friends;” 1 which John in his epistle expresses in these terms: ” As He laid down His life for us, so ought we to lay down our lives for the brethren.” 2 In vain, therefore, would commendation be bestowed on the most eminent suffering in encountering or despising death for righteousness’ sake, if there were not in death itself a really great and very severe trial. And the man who overcomes the fear of it by his faith, procures a great renown and just recompense even for his faith itself. Wherefore it ought to surprise no one, that the death of the body could not possibly have happened to man unless sin had been previously committed, of which it was to become even the penal consequence; and that after the remission of their sins it happens to the faithful, in order that in their triumphing over the fear of it, it may afford them opportunity of exhibiting holiness with fortitude.

Chap. 55. â€” To recover the righteousness which had been lost by sin, man has to struggle hard, with abundant labour and sorrow.

The flesh which was originally created was not that sinful flesh in which man refused to maintain his holiness amidst the enticements of Paradise; whence God determined that sinful flesh should propagate itself after it had sinned, and have to struggle hard for the recovery of holiness, by many toils and troubles. Therefore, after Adam was driven out of Paradise, he had to dwell over against Eden, â€” that is, over against the garden of delights, â€” to indicate that it is by labours and sorrows, which are the very contraries of delights, that sinful flesh had to be educated, after it had failed amidst its first pleasures to maintain its holiness, previous to its becoming sinful flesh. As therefore our first parents, by their subsequent return to holy living, whence they are fairly supposed to have been released from the worst penalty of their sentence by the blood of [Christ, their] Lord, were still not deemed worthy to be recalled to Paradise during their life on earth, so in like manner our sinful flesh, even if a man lead a righteous life in it after the remission of his sins, does not deserve to be immediately exempted from that death which it has derived from its propagation of sin. 3

1 John xv. 13. 2 1 John iii. 16.

3 See also his treatise, De Naturd et Gratia, ch. xxiii.
Some such thought has occurred to us about the patriarch David, in the Book of Kings. After the prophet was sent to him, and was threatening him with the evils which were to arise from the anger of God on account of the sin which he had committed, he acknowledged his offence, and received pardon for it, for the prophet met his confession with the assurance that the crime and guilt had been remitted to him; but yet, for all that, the evils with which God had threatened him followed in due course, so that he was brought low by his son. Now why is not an objection at once raised here? If it was on account of his sin that God threatened him, why, when the sin was done away, did He fulfil His threat? Only, if the cavil had been raised, it would have been a most correct answer to say, that the remission of the sin was given that the man might not be hindered from gaining the life eternal; but the threatened evil was still carried into effect, in order that the man's piety might be exercised and approved in the lowly condition to which he was reduced. Thus it came to pass that God both inflicted on that man the death of his body, because of his sin, and, after his sins were forgiven, released him not [from his doom,] in order that he might be exercised in righteousness.

Chap. 57. [xxxv.]

Let us hold fast, then, the confession of this faith, without faltering or failure. One alone is there who was born without sin, in the likeness of sinful flesh, who lived without sin amid the sins of others, and who died without sin on account of our sins. " Let us turn neither to the right hand nor to the left." 1 For to turn to the right hand is to deceive oneself, by saying that we are without sin; and to turn to the left is to surrender oneself to one's sins with a sense of impunity, in I know not how perverse and depraved a recklessness. " God indeed knoweth the ways on the right hand," 2 even He who alone is without sin, and is able to blot out our sins; " but the ways on the left hand are perverse and crooked," 3 they are

1 Prov. iv. 27.

2 Same verse [in the Septuagint; the clause occurs not in the Hebrew].

3 [See the last note.]

128 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

in friendship with sins. Of such inflexibility were those youths of twenty years who foretokened in figure God's new people; they entered the land of promise; they, it is said, turned neither to the right hand nor to the left. 2 Now this age of twenty is not to be compared with the age of children's innocence. If I mistake not, this number is the shadow and echo of a mystery. For the Old Testament has its excellence in the five books of Moses, while the New Testament is most refulgent in the authority of the four Gospels. These numbers, when multiplied together, reach to the number twenty: four times five, or five times four, are twenty. Such a nation (as I have already said), instructed in the
kingdom of heaven by the two Testaments â€” the Old and the New â€” turning neither to the right hand, in a proud assumption of righteousness, nor to the left hand, in a reckless delight in sin, shall enter into the land of promise, where we shall have no longer either to pray that sins may be forgiven to us, or to fear that they may be punished in us, having been freed from them all by that Eedeemer, who, not being "sold under sin," 3 "hath redeemed Israel out of all his iniquities," 4 whether committed in the actual life, or derived from the original transgression.

Chap. 58. [xxxvi.]

It is no small concession to the authority and truthfulness of the inspired pages which those persons have made, who, although unwilling to admit openly in their writings that remission of sins is necessary for infants, have yet confessed that they need redemption. Nothing that they have said [hereon] differs indeed from another word [known to us all,] even that which is derived from the very instruction of Christ. Whilst by those who faithfully read, faithfully hear, and faithfully hold fast the Holy Scriptures, it cannot be doubted that from that flesh, which first became sinful flesh by man's wilfulness, and which has been subsequently transmitted to all through successive generations, there has been propagated a sinful flesh [in every instance of birth.] with the single exception of that "likeness of sinful flesh," 5 â€” which likeness, however, there could

1 Num. xiv. 29, 31. 2 Josh, xxiii. 6, 8. 3 Rom. vii. 14.

4 Ps. xxv. 22. 6 Rom. viii. 3.

CHAP. LX. INTRICATE QUESTIONS ON THE SOUL. 129

not have been, had there not been also the reality of sinful flesh.

Chap. 59. â€” Whether the soul is propagated; on obscure points, concerning which the Scriptures give us no assistance, we must be on our guard against forming hasty judgments and opinions; the Scriptures are clear enough on those subjects which are necessary to salvation.

Concerning the soul, indeed, the question arises, whether it is propagated by birth in the same way [as the flesh,] and bound by the same guilt and condemnation, which needs remission in its case (for we cannot say that it is only the flesh of the infant, and not his soul also, which requires the help of a Saviour and Eedeemer; or that the latter must not be included in that thanksgiving in the Psalms, where we read and repeat, * Bless the Lord, my soul, and forget not all His benefits; who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction" 1 ); or if it be not likewise propagated, whether, by the very fact of its being mingled with and overloaded by the sinful flesh, it still has need of the remission of its own sin, and requires a
redemption of its own, leaving it to God to determine, in the height of His foreknowledge, 2 what infants they are that deserve 3 not to be absolved from that guilt and condemnation, even before they are born, and have yet in any instance ever done any actual good or evil. The question also axises how God (even if He does not create souls by natural propagation) can yet not be the Author of that very sin and guilt, on account of which redemption by the sacrament is necessary to the infant's soul. The subject is a wide and important one, 4 and requires another treatise. The discussion, however, so far as I can judge, ought to be conducted with temper and moderation, so as to deserve the praise of cautious inquiry, rather than the censure of headstrong assertion. For whenever a question arises on an unusually obscure subject, on which no assistance can be rendered by clear and certain proofs of the Holy Scriptures, the presumption of man ought

1 Ps. ciii. 2-4. 2 We follow the reading, per summam praiscientiam.

3 Xon mereantur.

4 He treats it in his Epistle, 166; in his work, DeAnimd et ejus Origine; and in his De Libero Arbitrio, 42.

4 I

130 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK II.]

to restrain itself; nor should it attempt anything definite by leaning to either side. But if I must indeed be ignorant concerning any points of this sort, as to how they can be explained and proved, this much I should still believe, that from this very circumstance the Holy Scriptures would possess a most clear authority, whenever a point arose which no man could be ignorant of, without imperilling the salvation which has been promised him. You have now before you, [my dear Marcellinus,] this treatise, worked out to the best of my ability. I only wish that its value equalled its length; for its length I might probably be able to justify, only I should fear that, by adding the justification, I should stretch the prolixity beyond your endurance»

CHAP. I.] INTRODUCTORY. 131

BOOK THIRD.

IN THE SHAPE OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE SAME
To his beloved son Marcellinus, Augustine, bishop and servant of Christ and of the servants of Christ, sendeth greeting in the Lord.

Chap. 1. Pelagius, a holy man, held in high esteem; his expositions on Saint Paul.

The questions which you proposed that I should write to you about, in opposition to those persons who say that Adam would have died even if he had not sinned, and that nothing of his sin has passed to his posterity by natural transmission; and especially on the subject of the baptism of infants, which the universal Church, with most pious and maternal care, maintains by constant celebration; and whether in this life there are, or have been, or ever will be, children of men without any sin at all I have already fully discussed in the two preceding books, which, [as I have said,] have extended to a great length. And I venture to think that if in them I have not met all the points which perplex all men's minds on such matters (an achievement which, I apprehend, lies beyond the power either of myself, or of any other person), I have at all events effected something in the shape of a firm ground on which those who defend the faith delivered to us against the novel opinions of its opponents may at any time take their stand, armed for the contest. However, within the last few days I have read some writings by Pelagius, a holy man, as I am told, who has made no small progress in the Christian life, containing some brief expository notes on the epistles of the Apostle Paul; and therein I found, on coming to the passage where the apostle says, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men," an argument which is used by those persons who say that infants are not burdened with original sin. Now I confess that I have not refuted this argument in
my lengthy treatise, because it did not indeed once occur to me that anybody was capable of thinking or expressing such sentiments. Being, however, unwilling to increase the bulk of the work, which I had concluded, I have thought it right to insert in this epistle, [as an appendix to my treatise,] both the argument itself in the very words in which I read it, and the answer which it seems to me proper to give to it.

Chap. 2. [n.] â€” Pelagius' objection; infants reckoned among the number of faithful believers.

In these terms, then, stands the argument in question: â€”
" 'They who are opposed to the [opinion of the] propagation of sin endeavour to impugn it thus: If (say they) Adam's sin was injurious even to those who do not sin, therefore Christ's righteousness also profits those who do not believe; because [the apostle] says, ' In like manner (nay, much more) are men saved by one, as they had previously perished by one! '"

Now to this argument, I repeat, I advanced no reply in the two books which I previously addressed to you; nor, indeed, had I proposed to myself such a task. But in now [calling your attention to the new subject,] I beg you first of all to observe how, when they say, "If Adam's sin is injurious even to those who do not sin, then Christ's righteousness also profits those who do not believe," they judge most absurdly and falsely, [in supposing, first.] that the righteousness of Christ profits those who do not believe, and thence thinking to put together such an argument as this: That even as the first man's sin could possibly do no injury to infants who commit no sin, even so the righteousness of Christ is unable to benefit any who do not believe. Let them therefore tell us what is

1 Horn. v. 12.

CHAP. III.] OUR INTEREST IN THE EIRST AXD SECOND ADAM. 133

the use of Christ's righteousness to baptized infants; let them by all means tell us what they mean. For of course, since they do not forget that they are Christians themselves, they have no doubt that there is some use and benefit. But whatever be this benefit, it is incapable (as they themselves assert) of benefiting those who do not believe. "Whence they are obliged to class baptized infants in the number of believers, and to assent to the authority of the Holy Catholic Church, which does not account them unworthy of the name of believers to whom the righteousness of Christ could be, according to them, of no use except as believers. As, therefore, by the answer of their sponsors, through whose agency they are born again, the Spirit of holiness infuses into them that faith which, of their own will, they could not yet have attained, so the'
sinful flesh of those through whom they are born transfers to them that injury, which they have not yet contracted by any conduct of their own. And even as the Spirit of life regenerates them as believers in Christ, so also the body of death had generated them as sinners in Adam. The one makes them children of the flesh, the other children of the Spirit; the one makes them children of death, the other children of the resurrection; the one the children of the world, the other the children of God; the one children of wrath, the other children of mercy; and thus the one binds them under original sin, the other liberates them from the bond of every sin.

Chap. 3.
"We are driven at last to yield our assent on divine authority to that which we are unable to investigate with even the clearest intellect. It is well that they remind us that Christ's righteousness is unable to profit any but believers, and that they yet allow that it yields some profit to infants; for from this admission it follows (as we have already said) that they must, without any hesitation, find room for baptized infants among the number of believers. Consequently, if they are not baptized, they will have to rank amongst those who do not believe; and therefore they will not even have life, but "the wrath of God abideth on them," inasmuch as "he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of

134 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

God abideth on him; "V and they are under judgment, since "he that believeth not is condemned already; "2 and they shall be condemned, since "he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." 3 Our opponents must already see to it with what justice they can attempt or strive to maintain that human beings who are without sin have nothing to do with eternal life, but appertain to the wrath of God, and incur the divine judgment and condemnation, if [infants] â€” as they cannot have any actual sin, so also â€” have within them no original sin.

Chap. 4.

To all the other points which Pelagius makes them urge who argue against original sin, I have, I think, sufficiently and clearly replied in the two former books of my lengthy treatise. Now if my reply should seem to any persons to be brief or obscure, I beg their pardon, and request the favour of their coming to equitable terms with those who perhaps censure my treatise, not for being too brief, but rather as being too long; whilst any who still fail to understand the points which I cannot help thinking I have explained as clearly as the nature of the subject allowed me, shall certainly hear no blame or reproach from me for indifference, or want of understanding me. 4 I
would rather that they should pray God to give them intelli-
gence.

Chap. 5. [in.] â€” Pelagius praised by some; arguments against original sin proposed by Pelagius in his Commentary.

But we must not indeed omit to observe that this good and praiseworthy man (as they who know him describe him to be) has not of himself advanced this argument against the natural transmission of sin, but has reproduced what is alleged by those persons who disapprove of the doctrine, and that not merely so far as I have just quoted and confuted the allegation, but also as to those other points on which I have now further undertaken to furnish a reply. Now, after saying, "If, according to them, Adam's sin was injurious even to those who do not sin, therefore Christ's righteousness also profits those

1 John iii. 36. a John iii. 18. 3 Mark xvi. 16.

4 [Or, "because they lack my own faculty of understanding the subject."]

CHAP. VI.] PELAGIUS' EARLY DIFFIDENCE IN ERROR. 135

who do not believe/â€”which sentence, you will perceive from what I have said in answer to it, is not only not repugnant to what we hold, but even reminds us what we ought to hold, â€” he at once goes on to add, "Then they contend, if baptism cleanses away that old sin, those children who are born of two baptized parents must needs be free from this sin, for they could not possibly have transmitted to those who came after them that which they did not possess themselves. Besides," says he, "if the soul is not born by natural propagation, but only the flesh, then only the latter has transmitted sin, and it alone deserves punishment; for they allege that it would be unfair for the soul, which is only now born, and comes not of the stock of Adam, to have to bear the burden of so old a sin, with which it has nothing to do. They say, likewise," says Pelagius, "that it cannot by any means be conceded that God, who remits to a man his own sins, should impute to him the sin of another."

Chap. 6.
Pray, don't you see how Pelagius has inserted the whole of this paragraph in his writings, not in his own person, but in that of others, being so entirely sure of the novelty of this unheard-of doctrine, which is now beginning to raise its voice against the ancient opinion so natural to the Church, that he was actually ashamed or afraid to acknowledge it himself?

And probably he does not really believe that a man is born without sin for whom he confesses that baptism to be necessary by which comes the remission of sins, or that the man is condemned without sin who must be reckoned, when unbaptized, in the class of non-believers, since the gospel of course cannot deceive us, when it most clearly asserts, "He that believeth not shall be damned; " 1 or, lastly, that the image of God, when without sin, is not admitted into the kingdom of God, forasmuch as "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; " 2 and so he must either be precipitated into eternal death without sin, or (what is still more absurd) must have eternal life outside the kingdom of God; for the Lord, when foretelling what He should say to His people at last, â€” "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world," also clearly indicated what the kingdom was of which He was speaking; for He thus concludes: " So these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." 2 These opinions, then, and others which spring from the central error, I believe so worthy a man, and so good a Christian, does not at all accept, as being too perverse and repugnant to Christian truth. But it is quite possible that he may, by the very arguments of those who deny the transmission of sin by birth, be still so far distressed as to be anxious to hear or know what can be said in reply to them; and on this account he was both unwilling to keep silent the tenets propounded by them who deny the natural transmission of sin, in order that he might get the question in due time discussed, and, at the same time, declined to report the opinions in his own person, lest he should be supposed to entertain them himself.

Chap. 7. [iv.] â€” Proof of original sin in infants.

Now, although I may not be able myself to refute the arguments of these men, I yet see how necessary it is to adhere closely to the clear and undoubted statements of the Scriptures, in order that the obscure passages may be explained by help of these, or, if the mind be as yet unequal to the function of either perceiving them when explained, or investigating them whilst abstruse, that they may be received and believed without misgiving. But what can be plainer than the many weighty testimonies of the inspired Scriptures, which afford to us the clearest proof possible that without union with Christ there is no man who can attain to eternal life and salvation; and that by the judgment of God no man can unjustly be damned, â€” that is, separated from that life and salvation?
The inevitable conclusion from which truths is this, that (as nothing else is effected when infants are baptized than their incorporation into the church, in other words, than their union with the body and members of Christ) unless this benefit [of the sacrament] be bestowed upon them, they are manifestly in danger of damnation. Damned, however, they

1 Matt. xxv. 34. 2 Matt. xxv. 46. 3 Pertinere ad.

CHAP. VIII.] INFANT BAPTISM PROVES ORIGINAL SIN". 137

could not be if they really had no sin. 'Now, since their tender age could not possibly have contracted sin by any act and conduct of their own, it remains for us, even if we are as yet unable to understand [the mystery,] at least to believe that infants inherit original sin.

Chap. 8. â€” Jesus is the Saviour even of infants.

And therefore, if there is any ambiguity in the apostle's words when he says, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men;" 1 and if it is possible for them to be drawn aside, and applied to some other sense, â€” is there anything ambiguous in this statement: " Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God?" 2 Is this, â€” ambiguous: " Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins?" 3 Is there any doubt of what this means: " The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick? " 4 â€” in other words, Jesus is not needed by those who have no sin, but by those who are to be saved from sin. Is there anything, again, uncertain in this: " Except men eat the flesh of the Son of man," that is, become partakers of His body, " they shall not have life? " 5 By these and similar statements, which I now pass over, â€” so absolutely clear in the light of God, so absolutely certain by His authority are they, â€” does not truth proclaim with un faltering tongue, that unbaptized infants not only cannot enter into the kingdom of God, but cannot have everlasting life, except in the body of Christ, into which, that they may receive incorporation, they are washed in the sacrament of baptism? Does not truth, without any ambiguity, testify that for no other reason are they carried by pious hands to Jesus (that is, to Christ, the Saviour and Physician), than that they may be healed of the plague of their sin by the medicine of His sacraments? Why then do we delay so to understand the apostle's very words, of which we perhaps used to have some doubt, that they may agree with these statements of which we can have no manner of doubt?

1 Rom. v. 12. 2 John iii. 5. 3 Matt. L 21.

* Matt. ix. 12. 5 See John vi. 53.
138 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

Chap. 9.

To me, however, no doubt presents itself about the whole of this passage, in which the apostle speaks of the condemnation of many through the sin of one, and the justification of many through the righteousness of One, except as to the words, "the figure of the Adam that was to come." 1 For this phrase in reality not only suits the sense which understands that Adam's posterity were to be born of the same form as himself along with sin, but the words are also capable of being drawn out into several distinct meanings. For we have ourselves actually contended for various senses from the words in question at different times, 2 and very likely we shall propound yet another view, which, however, will not be incompatible with the sense here mentioned; even Pelagius has not always expounded the passage in one way. All the rest, however, of the passage in which these doubtful words occur, if its statements are carefully examined and treated, as I have tried my best to do in the first book of this treatise, will not (in spite of the obscurity of style necessarily engendered by the subject itself) fail to show the incompatibility of any other meaning than that which has secured the adhesion of the Catholic Church from the earliest times â€” that believing infants have obtained through the baptism of Christ the remission of original sin.

Chap. 10. [v.]

He shows that former writers had never entertained a doubt about the original sin of infants.

Accordingly, it is not without reason that the blessed Cyprian 3 carefully shows how from the very first the Church holds this as a well understood article of faith, even when he was asserting the fitness of infants only just born to receive Christ's baptism, on a certain occasion when the question was submitted to him â€” whether this ought to be administered before the eighth day. He endeavoured, as far as he could, to prove these new-born babes perfect, that no one should be

1 "Adam formam fiduri;" see Rom. v. 14.

2 Comp. above, Book I. c. 13; Epist. 157; Be Nuptiis, ii. 44; and Contra Julianum, vi. 8.

3 See Cyprian's Ejiistle, 64 {ad Fidum}; also Augustine, Epist. 166; De Nujh tiis, ii. 49; Contra Jidianum, ii. 5; Ad Bon'facium, iv. 3; Sermons, 294.

CHAP. X.] CYPRIAN'S TESTIMONY. 139
led to suppose, from the number of the days (on the ground that infants used formerly to be circumcised on the eighth day), that they so far lacked perfection. However, after bestowing upon them the full support of his argument, he still confessed that they were not free from original sin; if indeed he had denied this, he would have removed all reason for the very baptism which he was maintaining their fitness to receive. You can, if you wish, read for yourself the epistle of the illustrious martyr On the Baptism of Little Children; for it cannot fail to be within reach at Carthage. But be this as it may, I have deemed it right to transcribe some few statements of it into this letter of mine, so far as applies to the question before us; and I pray you to mark them carefully. " Now with respect," says he, " to the case of infants, whom you declared it would be improper to baptize if presented within the second and third day after their birth, [contending] that due regard ought to be paid to the old law of circumcision, as if you thought that the infant should not be baptized and sanctified before the eighth day after its birth, [I can only say] that a far different view has been formed of the question in our council. [Since a man there assented to what you thought ought to be done, but the whole of us rather determined that to no human being, whatever, as soon as born, ought God's mercy and grace to be denied. For since the Lord in His gospel says, ' The Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them,' x so far as in us lies, not a soul ought, if possible, to be lost." You observe how in these words [Cyprian] supposes that it is fraught with ruin and death, not only to the flesh, but also to the soul, for one to depart this life without the sacrament of salvation. Wherefore, if he said nothing else, it was at least competent to us to conclude from his words that without sin the soul could not perish. See, however, what (when he shortly afterwards maintains the innocence of infants) he at the same time allows concerning them in the plainest terms: " But if," says he, " anything could hinder men from the attainment of grace, then their heavier sins might well hinder those who have reached the stages of adults, and advanced life, and old age.

1 Luke ix. 56.

140 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

Since, however, remission of sins is given even to the greatest sinners after they have believed, however much they have previously sinned against God, and since nobody is forbidden baptism and grace, how much more ought an infant not to be forbidden [these benefits,] who since his recent birth has done nothing amiss, except that from having been born after Adam in the flesh he has contracted from his very birth the contagion of the primeval death! How, too, does this fact contribute in itself the more easily to their reception of the forgiveness of sins, that the remission which they have is not of their own sins, but those of another!"

Chap. 11.
You see with what confidence this great man expresses himself after the ancient and undoubted rule of faith. In advancing such very certain statements, his object was by help of these firm conclusions to prove the uncertain point which had been submitted to him by his correspondent, and concerning which he informs him that a decree of a council had been passed, to the effect that, if an infant were brought [to the font] even before the eighth day after his birth, no one should hesitate to baptize him. Now it was not then determined or affirmed by the council as a novel opinion, or struck out for the occasion by the opposition of any person, that infants were held bound by original sin; but [this doctrine was declared incidentally] when another controversy was being conducted, and the question was discussed, in reference to the law of the circumcision of the flesh, whether they ought to be baptized before the eighth day. None agreed with the person who held that they ought not to be so baptized, on the ground that it was not an open question admitting of discussion, whether the soul would forfeit eternal salvation if it ended this life without obtaining the sacrament of baptism, for this point was regarded as fixed and unassailable; but at the same time infants fresh from the womb were held to be affected only by the guilt of original sin. On this account, although remission of sins was easier in their case, because the sins were derived from another, it was nevertheless indispensable. It was on sure grounds like these that the

CHAP. XII.] ST. JEROME'S TESTIMONY. 141

uncertain question Of the, Eighth Day was solved, and the council decided that after a man was born, not a day ought to be lost in rendering him that succour which should prevent his perishing for ever. When also a reason was given for the circumcision of the flesh as being itself a shadow of the circumcision which was to be, its purport was not that we should understand that baptism ought to be administered to an infant on the eighth day after his birth, but rather that we are spiritually circumcised in the resurrection of Christ, who rose from the dead on the third day, indeed, after He suffered, but (reckoning by the days of the weekly cycles as their periods advanced) on the eighth, â€” in other words, on the first day after the Sabbath [or full week].

Chap. 12. [vi.] â€” The universal consensus respecting original sin.

And now, again, with a novel boldness stimulated by an obscure controversy, certain persons are endeavouring to infuse uncertainty in our minds on a point which our forefathers used to bring forward as most certainly fixed, whenever they would solve such questions as seemed to some men to partake of uncertainty. When this controversy, indeed, first began, I am unable to say; but one thing I know, that even the holy Jerome, who is actually in our own day renowned for great industry and learning in ecclesiastical subjects, applies [our doctrine] as incontrovertibly furnishing most certain proof towards the solution of sundry questions treated in his writings. For instance, in his commentary on the prophet Jonah, when he comes to the passage where even infants are mentioned as afflicted with the fast, he says: * * "The greatest age comes first, and then all the rest is pervaded down to the
least. 2 For there is no man without sin, whether the span of his age be but that of a single
day, or he reckon many years to his life. For if the very stars are unclean in the sight of
God, 3 how much more is a worm and corruption, such as are they who are held bound
by the sin of the offending Adam? " If, indeed, we could readily interrogate this most
learned man, how many authors who have treated of the divine Scriptures in both
languages, 4 and have written on

1 St. Jerome, on Jonah-iii. 2 Yer. 3. 3 Job xxv. 4.

4 Or "who have treated of both languages of the divine Scriptures."

142 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

Christian controversies, would he mention to us, who have never held any other opinion
since the Church of Christ was founded, neither receiving any other from their
forefathers, nor handing down any other to their posterity? My own reading, indeed, has
been far more limited, but yet I do not recollect ever having heard of any other doctrine
on this point from Christians, who accept the two Testaments, whether living in the
Catholic Church, or even if found in any heretical or schismatic body. I do not remember,
I say, that I have at any time found any other doctrine in such writers as have contributed
anything to literature of this kind, whether they have followed the canonical Scriptures,
or have supposed that they have followed them, or had wished to be so supposed.
From what quarter this question has suddenly come upon us I know not. A short time
ago, 1 in a random conversation with certain persons while we were at Carthage, my
ears were suddenly offended with such a proposition as this: "That infants are not
baptized for the purpose of receiving remission of sin, but that they may be sanctified in
Christ." Although I was much disturbed by so novel an opinion, still, as there was no
opportunity afforded me for gainsaying it, and as its propounders were not persons whose
influence gave me anxiety, I readily let the subject slip into neglect and oblivion.
But, strange to say, 2 it is now maintained with burning zeal against the Church; it is
committed to our permanent notice by writing; nay, the matter is brought to such a pitch
of distracting influence, that we are even consulted on it by our brethren [in Christ:] and
we are actually 3 obliged to oppose its progress both by disputation and by writing.

Chap. 13. [vn.] â€” The error of Jovinianns.

A few years ago there lived at Eome one Jovinian, who is said to have persuaded nuns of
even advanced age to marry, â€” not, indeed, by any prurient attraction, as if he wanted to make any of them his wife, but
by contending that virgins

1 "We suppose in the year 411, when a conference was held at Carthage with the
Donatists. Augustine says that he then ' saw Pelagius; see his work, De Gesta Pelagii, c. 46."
who dedicated themselves to the ascetic life had no more merit before God than married
women who believed. It never entered his mind, however, along with this conceit, to
venture to affirm that the children of any persons are born without original sin. If, indeed,
he had added such an opinion, the women might have more readily consented to marry,
to give birth to the purest offspring. When this man's writings (for he had the courage to
become a writer) were by the brethren forwarded to Jerome to refute, he not only
discovered no such error in them, but, while looking out his conceits for refutation, he
found among other passages this very clear testimony to the doctrine of man's original
sin, from which Jerome indeed felt satisfied of the man's belief of that doctrine. 1 These
are his words when treating of it: " He who says that he abides in Christ, ought himself
also to walk even as He walked. 2 We give our opponent leave to choose which
alternative he likes. Does he abide in Christ, or does he not? If he does, then, let him
walk like Christ.
If, however, it is a rash thing to undertake to resemble the (excellences of Christ, he abides not in Christ, because he walks not as Christ did. He did
no sin, neither was any deceit found in His mouth; 3 who, when He was reviled, reviled
not again; and as a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so He opened not His mouth; 4 to
whom the prince of this world came, and found nothing in Him; 5 whom, though He had
done no sin, God made sin for us. 6 We, however, according to the Epistle of James, all
commit many sins; 7 none of us is pure from uncleanness, even if his life should be but of
one day [upon the earth]. 8 For who shall boast that he has a clean heart? Or who shall
be confident that he is pure from sins? We are held guilty according to the likeness of
Adam's transgression. Accordingly David also says: ' Behold, I was shapen in iniquity;
and in sin did my mother conceive me.' " 9

1 See Jerome's work Against Jovinian, ii. near the beginning.

2 John ii. 6. 3 Isa. liii. 9. 4 Isa. liiii. 7.
5 John xiv. 30. 6 2 Cor. v. 21. 7 j aS- m o.
â€¢ Job xiv. 5 (Septuagint). 9 Ps. ii. 5.

144 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

Chap. 14. â€” The opinions of all controversialists whatever are not, however, canonical
authority; original sin, how another's; we were all one man in Adam.
I have not quoted these words as if we might rely upon the opinions of every disputant as on canonical authority; but I have done it, that it may be seen how, from the beginning down to the present age, which has given birth to this novel opinion, the doctrine of original sin has been guarded with the utmost constancy as a part of the Church's faith, so that it is usually adduced as most certain ground whereon to refute other opinions when false, instead of being itself exposed to refutation by any one as false. Moreover, in the sacred books of the canon, the authority of this doctrine is vigorously asserted in the clearest and fullest way. The apostle exclaims:
"By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." 1
Now from these words it cannot certainly be said, that Adam's sin has injured even those who commit no sin, for the Scripture says, "In him all have sinned!" Nor, indeed, are those sins of infancy so said to be another's, as if they did not appertain to the infants at all, inasmuch as all then sinned in Adam, when in his nature, by virtue of that innate power whereby he was able to produce them, they were still all the one Adam; but they are called the sin of another because as yet they were not living their own lives; but the life of the one man contained [in itself as a germ] whatsoever was [developed] in his future offspring.

Chap. 15. [viii.]
"It is," they say, "by no means conceded that the God who remits to a man his own sins should impute to him another's." He remits, indeed, but it is to the regenerate in spirit, not to those who are born of the flesh; but He imputes to a man no longer the sins of another, but only his own. They were no doubt the sins of another, whilst as yet they were not in existence who bore them when naturally produced; but now the sins belong to them by carnal generation, to whom they have not yet been remitted by spiritual regeneration.

1 Kom. v. 12. 2 Aliena.

**CHAP. XVI.**] THE CHILDREN OF BAPTIZED PARENTS. 145

Chap. 16. ""Origin of errors; a simile sought from the foreskin of the circumcised, and from the chaff of wheat.

"But surely/ say they, "since baptism cleanses the primeval sin, they who are born of two baptized parents ought to be free from the said sin; for these could not have transmitted to their children that thing which they did not themselves possess." Now observe whence error usually springs and spreads: it is when persons are sharp in starting subjects which they are not clever enough to understand. For before what audience, and in what words, can I explain how it is that birth in a sinful mortal condition brings no obstacle to those who have made a beginning in another, even immortal, condition of new birth, and at the same time proves an obstacle to those whom those very persons against
whom it was not prejudicial have begotten of the self-same sinful condition? How can a 
man understand these things, whose dull labouring mind is impeded both by its own 
prejudiced opinions and by the chain of its own most stolid obstinacy?
If indeed I had undertaken my cause in opposition to those who either altogether forbid 
the baptism of infants, or else contend that it is superfluous to baptize them, alleging that 
as they are born of believing parents, they must needs enjoy the merit of their parents, 
then it would have been my duty to have roused myself perhaps to greater labour and 
effort for the purpose of refuting their opinion. In that case, if I 
encountered a difficulty before obtuse and contentious men in refuting error and 
inculcating truth, owing to the obscurity which beset the nature of the subject, I should 
probably resort to such illustrations as were palpable and at hand; and I should in my turn 
ask them some questions, â€” how, for instance, if they were puzzled to know in what 
way sin, after being cleansed by baptism, still remained in those who were begotten of 
baptized parents, they would explain how it is that the foreskin, after being removed by 
circumcision, should still remain in the sons of the circumcised? or acmin, how it 
happens that the chaff which is winnowed off so carefully by human labour still keeps its 
place in the grain which springs from the winnowed wheat?

146 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

Chap. 17. [ix.]

With these, and probably such as these, palpable arguments, should I endeavour, as I best 
could, to persuade those persons who believed that sacraments of cleansing were 
uselessly applied to the children of the cleansed, how proper is the purpose of baptizing 
the infants of baptized parents, and how it may happen that to a man who has within him 
the twofold seed â€” of death in the flesh, and of immortality in the spirit 
â€” that may prove no obstacle, regenerated as he is by the Spirit, which is prejudicial to 
his son, who is generated by the flesh; and that that may be cleansed in the one by 
remission, which in the other still requires cleansing by like remission, just as in the case 
supposed of circumcision, and as in the case of the winnowing and thrashing. But now, 
when we are contending with those who allow that the children of the baptized ought to 
be themselves baptized, how much more conveniently do we conduct our discussion, 
when we can say: You who assert that the children of such persons as have been cleansed 
from the pollution of sin ought to have been born without sin, why do you not perceive 
that by the same rule you might just as well say that the children of Christian parents 
ought to have been born Christians? Why, indeed, do you maintain that they ought to 
become Christians?
Was there not in their parents a Christian body, to whom it is said, "Know ye not that 
your bodies are the members of Christ V' I Perhaps you suppose that a Christian body 
may be born of Christian parents, without having received a Christian soul? Well, this 
would render the case much more wonderful still. For you would think of the soul one of 
two things as you pleased, â€” because, of course, you hold with the apostle, that before 
birth it had done nothing good or evil, â€” that it was either derived by natural
propagation [to the body,] and that just as the body of Christians is Christian, so should also their soul be Christian; or else that it was created by Christ, either in the Christian body, or for the use of the Christian body, and that it ought therefore to have been-created or transmitted in a Christian condition. Unless perchance you shall pretend that, although Christian parents

1 1 Cor. vi. 15.

CHAP. XVIII. ] ALL INFANTS REQUIRE THE SECOND BIRTH. 147

had it in their power to beget a Christian body, yet Christ Himself was not able to create a Christian soul. Yield then to the truth, and see that, as it has been possible (as you yourselves admit) for one who is not a Christian to be born of Christian parents, for one who is not a member of Christ to be born of members of Christ, and (that we may meet the views of all, who, however falsely, are yet in some sense possessed with a sense of religion) for a man who is not consecrated to be born of parents who are; so also it is quite possible for one who is not cleansed and sanctified to be born of parents who are in such a state. Now what answer will you give us, [explaining] why of Christian parents is born one who is not a Christian, unless it be that Christians are made not by natural birth, but by regeneration? Resolve therefore your own question with a like reason, that no one is cleansed from his sins by being born, but all are purified by the second birth. And thus of parents who are cleansed, because born again, any child who is born must himself be born again, in order that he too may be cleansed. For it was quite possible for parents to transmit to their children that which they possessed not themselves, thus resembling not only the wheat which yielded the chaff, and the circumcised the foreskin, but also the instance which you yourselves adduce, even that of believers who transmit unbelief to their posterity.

Now this circumstance does not accrue to the faithful as regenerated by the Spirit, but it is owing to the fact that they have been born of the flesh, it is, in short, the fault of their mortal seed. For in respect of the infants whom you judge it necessary to make believers by the sacrament of the faithful, you do not deny that they were born in unbelief, although of believing parents.

Chap. 18. [x.] Æ” Is the soul derived by natural propagation? Pelagius; sin

is proved by punishment.

Well, but " if the soul is not propagated, but only the flesh, then the latter alone is the propagator of sin, and it only deserves punishment." This is what they think; and they say " that it is unjust that the soul which is only recently produced, and that not out of Adam's substance, should bear the sin of another committed so loner a<K>." Now observe,
I pray you, how the cautious Pelagius felt the question about the soul to be a very difficult one, and acted accordingly (for the words which I have just quoted are copied from a book of his). He does not say absolutely, "Because the soul is not propagated," but hypothetically, If the soul is not propagated, rightly determining on so obscure a subject (on which we can find in Holy Scriptures no certain and obvious testimonies, or with very great difficulty discover any) to speak with hesitation rather than with confidence. Wherefore I too, on my side, answer with no hasty assertion this proposition: "If the soul is not propagated, where is the justice in that, which has been but recently created and is quite free from the contagion of sin, being compelled in infants to endure the passions and other torments of the flesh, and, what is more terrible still, even the attacks of evil spirits? For never does the flesh experience any sufferings of this kind without the indwelling and sympathizing soul also incurring the misery to even a greater degree." If this, indeed, is shown to be just, it may be shown, on the same terms, with what justice original sin comes to exist in our sinful flesh, to be subsequently cleansed by the sacrament of baptism and God's gracious mercy. If the former point cannot be shown, I imagine that the latter point is equally incapable of demonstration. We must therefore either bear with both positions in silence, and remember that we are human, or else we must prepare, at some other time, another work "On the Soul" if it shall appear necessary, discussing the whole question with caution and sobriety.

Chap. 19. [xi.]

We must, however, for the present accept what the apostle says: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned," 1 and in such a way, indeed, that we seem not rashly and foolishly to oppose the many great passages of Holy Scripture, which teach us that no man can obtain eternal life without that union with Christ which is effected in Him and with Him, when we are imbued with His sacraments and incorporated with the members of His body. Now this state-

1 Rom. v. 12.

CHAP. XX.] OUR RELATIONS TO ADAM AND CHRIST CONTRASTED. 149

merit which the apostle addresses to the Romans, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned," tallies in sense with his words to the Corinthians: "Since by man came death, by Man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 For nobody doubts that the subject here referred to is the death of the body, because the apostle was with much earnestness dwelling on the resurrection of the body. If he says nothing in this latter passage about sin, it evidently is because the question was not about righteousness. Both
points are mentioned in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and both points are, at very great length, insisted on by the apostle, â€” sin in Adam, righteousness in Christ; also death in Adam, life in Christ. However, as I have observed already, I have thoroughly examined and opened, in the first book of this treatise, all these words of the apostle's argument, as far as I was able, and as much as seemed necessary.

Chap. 20. â€” The sting of death, what?

But even in the passage to the Corinthians, where he had been treating fully of the resurrection, the apostle concludes his statement in such a way as not to permit us to doubt that the death of the body is the result of sin. For after he had said, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality: so when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then," he added, "'t shall be brought to pass the saying which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. death, where is thy sting? grave, where is thy victory?" and at last he subjoined these words: " The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law." Now, because (as the apostle's words most plainly declare) death shall then be swallowed up in victory when this corruptible and mortal body shall have put on incorruption and immortality, â€” that is, when "Christ shall quicken our mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in us," â€” it manifestly follows that the sting of the body of this death, which is the contrary of the resurrection of the body, is sin. It is the sting, however, by which death

1 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. a 1 Cor. xv. 53-56.

150 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III

was made, and not which made death, since it is by sin that we die, and not by death that we sin. It is therefore called "the sting of death" on the principle which originated the phrase "the tree of life," â€” not because the life of man produced it, but because by it the life of man was made. In like manner "the tree of knowledge" was that whereby man's knowledge was made, not that which man made by his knowledge. So also "the sting of death" is that by which death was produced, not that which death made. We similarly use the expression "the cup of death," [or "deadly cup,"] when one dies of it, or might die of it, â€” not meaning, of course, a cup made by a dying or dead man. The sting of death is therefore sin, because by its puncture the human race has been affected with death. Why further ask, of whose death, â€” the death of the soul, or the death of the body? Is it the first death which we are all of us now dying, or that second death which the wicked shall then endure? There is no occasion for plying the question so curiously; there is no room for subterfuge. The words in which the apostle expresses the case are used by him to answer his own questions: "When this mortal," says he, "shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory." [Then
come his questions:] " death, where is thy sting? grave, where is thy victory?" [And here is the answer:] " The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law." He was treating of the resurrection of the body, wherein death shall be swallowed up in victory, when this mortal shall have put on immortality. Then over death itself shall be raised the shout of triumph, when at the resurrection of the body it shall be swallowed up in victory; then shall be said to it, " grave, where is thy victory? death, where is thy sting?" To the death of the body shall this challenge be addressed. For it is immortality which shall absorb the victory, when this mortal body shall clothe itself in immortality. I repeat it, to the death of the body shall it be said, "Where is thy victory?" â€” that victory in which thou didst conquer all, so that even the Son of God engaged with thee in conflict; and by not shrinking but grappling with thee He overcame. Over the dying thou hast triumphed; but thou art thyself conquered in

CHAP. XXL] WHAT MEANS "THE STING OF DEATH?" 151

the children of the resurrection. Thy victory was but temporary, in which thou didst absorb the bodies of them that die. Our victory will last for evermore, in which thou art absorbed in the bodies of them that rise again. u "Where is thy sting?" â€” that is, the sin wherewithal we are punctured and poisoned, so that thou didst fix thyself in our very bodies, and for so long a time didst hold them in possession. " The stingy of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law."

We all sinned in one, so that we all die in one; we received the law, not by amendment according to its precepts to put an end to sin, but by transgression to increase it. For " the law entered that sin might abound;"* and " the Scripture hath concluded all under sin;" 2 but "thanks be to God, who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ," 3 in order that " where sin abounded, grace might much more abound;" 4 and "that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe;" 5 and that we might overcome death by a deathless resurrection, and sin, "the sting" thereof, by a free and gracious justification.

Chap. 21. [xn.] â€” The precept about touching the menstruous woman not to be figuratively understood; the necessity of the sacraments.

Let no one, then, on this subject be either deceived or a deceiver. The manifest bearing of Holy Scripture which we have considered, removes all subterfuge. Even as death is in this our mortal body derived from the beginning, so from the first has sin been drawn into this sinful flesh of ours, for the cure of which, both as it is derived by natural descent and augmented by wilful transgression, as well as for the quickening of our flesh itself, our Physician came in the likeness of sinful flesh, who is not needed by the sound, but only by the sick, â€” who came not to call the righteous, but only sinners. 6 Therefore the saying of the apostle, when advising believers not to separate themselves from unbelieving partners: " For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and
the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy," 7 must be either so

1 Rom. v. 20. 2 Gal iij 22. 3 i Cor. xv. 57. 4 Rom. v. 20. 5 Ga i. iii^ 22. Â« Mark ii. 17.
7 1 Cor. vii. 14.

152 ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]

understood as both we ourselves elsewhere/ and as Pelagius in his notes on this same Epistle to the Corinthians/ has expounded it, according to the purport of Â» the examples mentioned in the preceding verses, that sometimes wives gained husbands to Christ, and sometimes husbands converted wives, whilst the Christian will of even one of the parents prevailed towards making their children Christians; or else, if (as the apostle's words seem rather to indicate, and to a certain degree persuade us) some particular sanctification is to be here understood, which used to sanctify an unbelieving husband or wife by the believing partner, and through which the children of the believing parents were sanctified, â€” whether it was that the husband or the wife, during the woman's menstruation, abstained from cohabiting together, having learned that duty in the law (for Ezekiel classes this amongst the precepts which were not to be taken in a metaphorical sense 3 ), or on account of some other voluntary sanctification which is not there expressly prescribed, â€” a sprinkling of holiness arising out of the close ties of married life and children; â€” yet whatever be the sanctification meant, this point must be steadily kept in view, that there is no other valid means of making Christians and remitting sins, if men do not become believers through the sacraments according to the institution of Christ and the Church. For neither are unbelieving husbands and wives, notwithstanding their intimate union with holy and righteous spouses, cleansed of the sin which separates men from the kingdom of God and drives them into condemnation, nor are the children who are born of parents, however just and holy, absolved from the guilt of original sin, unless they have been baptized into Christ, in behalf of whom our plea should be the more earnest, the less able they are to urge one themselves.

Chap. 22. [xiii.] â€” We ought to be anxious to secure the baptism of infants.

For this is the point aimed at by the controversy, against

1 See Augustine's work On the Sermon on the Mount, i. 16.

2 See the Commentaries on St. Paul in Jerome's works, vol. viii. , the work of either Pelagius or one of his followers.
the novelty of which we have to struggle by the aid of ancient truth, that it is clearly altogether superfluous for infants to be baptized. JS"ot that this opinion is avowed in so many words, lest so firmly established a custom of the Church should prove too much for its assailants. If we are taught to render help to orphans, how much more ought we to labour in behalf of those children who, though under the protection of parents, will still be left more destitute and wretched than orphans, should that grace of Christ be denied them, which they are all unable to demand for themselves?

Chap. 23.

As for what they say, that some men, by the use of their reason, have lived, and do live, in this world without sin, it is to be wished it were true. \ T e should strive to make it true, and pray that it become a fact; but, at the same time, we must confess that the fact has not yet been realized. For to those who wish and strive and worthily pray for this result, whatever sins remain in them are daily remitted by means of that supplication which we sincerely offer up, " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." * Whosoever shall deny that this prayer is in this life necessary for every righteous man who knows and does the will of God, except the one Holy [King] of saints, greatly errs, and is utterly incapable of pleasing even Him whom he praises. Moreover, if he supposes himself to be such a character, " he deceives himself, and the truth is not in him," 2 â€” for no other reason than that his thoughts are false. That Physician, then, who is not needed by the sound, but by the sick, knows how to heal us, and by healing to perfect us unto eternal life; nor does He in this world actually take away death, although inflicted because of sin, from those whose sins He remits, that they may enter on their conflict, having to overcome the fear of death with full sincerity of faith. In some cases, too, He declines to help even His righteous servants, so long as they are capable of still higher elevation, to the attainment of a perfect righteousness, in order that (while in His sight no man living is justified 3 ) we may always feel it to be our

i Matt. vi. 12. 2 1 John i. 8. 3 Ps. cxliii. 2.

ON FORGIVENESS OF SINS AND BAPTISM. [BOOK III.]
duty to give Him thanks for mercifully bearing with us, and so, by holy humility, be
healed of that first cause of all our failings, even the swellings of pride. This letter, as my
intention first sketched it, was to have been a short one; it has grown into a lengthy book.
Would that it were as perfect as it has at last become complete!

EXTRACT FROM
AUGUSTINE’S "RETRACTATIONS,"

Book II. Chap. 37,

OX THE FOLLOWING TREATISE,

"DE SPIEITU ET LITTEKA."

The person 1 to whom I had addressed the three books entitled De Pecatorum Mentis et
Remissione, in which I carefully discussed also the baptism of infants, informed me,
when acknowledging my communication, that he was much disturbed because I declared
it to be possible that a man might be without sin, if he wanted not the will, by the help of
God, even though in this life no man either had lived, was living, or would live, so
perfect in righteousness. He asked how I could say that was possible of which no
example could be adduced. Owing to such an inquiry on the part of this person, I wrote
the treatise entitled De Spiritu et Littera.
In handling this subject, I largely considered the apostle's

1 [The Tribune Marcellinus, with whose name are connected many other treatises of
Augustine. In this work the author informs us that the occasion of its composition was
furnished by this person, who mooted an inquiry touching a statement in the preceding
books Concerning the Merits and the Remission of Sins. Those books, as we have already
indicated, were published a.d. 412.
in the Retractations there is placed after these very books the present work Concerning
the Spirit and the Letter, â€” not, indeed, immediately next, but in the fourth place after,
â€” so that it was written, no doubt, about the end of the same year, a.d. 412, some time
previous to the death of Marcellinus, who was killed in the month of September of the
following year, 413. This present work is also mentioned in the book On Faith and Works, c. 1-1; and in that On Christian Doctrine, iii. 33.] â€” Ed. Bened.

155

156 EXTRACT FROM AUGUSTINE'S " RETRACTATIONS."

statement, " The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." 1
In this work, so far as God enabled me, I earnestly discussed the point with those who oppose that grace of God which justifies the ungodly. While treating, however, of the observances of the Jews, who abstain from sundry meats and drinks in accordance with their ancient law, I mentioned " the ceremonies of certain meats" [Quarumdam escarum cerimonise] 2 â€”

a phrase which, though not used in Holy Scripture, seemed to me very convenient, because I remembered that aerimoniw is tantamount to carimonice [as if from carcre, to be without], and expresses the abstinence of the worshippers from certain things. If, however, there is any other derivation of the word, which is inconsistent with the true religion, I meant no reference whatever to it; I confined my use to the sense above indicated. This work of mine begins thus: " After perusing the short treatises which I lately drew up for you, my beloved son Marcellinus," etc.

1 2 Cor. iii. 6. 2 See chap. 36. [xxl]

A TREATISE ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER,

IN ONE BOOK,

ADDEESSED TO MAECCELLINUS, A.D. 412.

MARCELLINUS, IN A LETTER TO AUGUSTINE, HAD EXPRESSED SOME SURPRISE AT HAVING READ, IN THE PRECEDING WORK, OF THE POSSIBILITY BEING ALLOWED OF A MAN CONTINUING, IF HE WILLED IT, WITHOUT SIN IN THE PRESENT LIFE, ALTHOUGH THERE EXISTS NOT A SINGLE HUMAN EXAMPLE ANYWHERE OF SUCH PERFECT RIGHTEOUSNESS. AUGUSTINE TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY OF DISCUSSING, IN OPPOSITION TO THE PELAGIANS, THE SUBJECT OF GOD'S ASSISTING GRACE; AND HE SHOWS THAT THE DIVINE HELP TO THE WORKING OF RIGHTEOUSNESS BY US DOES NOT LIE IN THE FACT OF GOD'S HAVING GIVEN US A LAW WHICH IS FULL OF GOOD AND
HOLY PRECEPTS; BUT IN THE FACT THAT OUR VERY WILL, WITHOUT WHICH
WE CAN DO NOTHING GOOD, IS ASSISTED AND ELEVATED BY THE SPIRIT
OF GRACE BEING IMPARTED TO US, WITHOUT THE AID OF WHICH THE
DOCTRINE OF THE LAW IS "THE LETTER THAT KILLETH," BECAUSE INSTEAD OF
JUSTIFYING THE UNGODLY, IT RATHER CORROBORATES THEIR GUILT. HE
BEGINS TO TREAT OF THE QUESTION PROPOSED TO HIM AT THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THIS WORK, AND RETURNS TO IT TOWARDS ITS CONCLUSION; HE
SHOWS THAT, AS ALL ALLOW, MANY THINGS ARE POSSIBLE WITH GOD'S HELP, OF WHICH THERE OCCURS INDEED NO EXAMPLE; AND THEN CONCLUDES THAT, ALTHOUGH A PERFECT RIGHTEOUSNESS IS UNEXAMPLED AMONG MEN, IT IS FOR ALL THAT NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

Chap. 1. [i.] â€” The occasion of this work being written; a thing may be capable of being realized, and yet may never reach reality.

AETER perusing the short treatises which I lately drew up for you, my beloved son Marcellinus, touching the baptism of infants, and the perfection of man's righteousness, â€” how that no one in this life seems either to have attained or to be likely to attain to it, except only the Mediator, who experienced our human condition in the likeness of sinful flesh, without any sin whatever, â€” you wrote me in answer that you were embarrassed by the point which I advanced in the first book, that it was possible for a man to be without sin, if he

157

158 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. II.

wanted not the will, and was assisted by the grace of God; and yet that no one, except Him in whom "all shall be made alive," I has ever lived or will live by whom this perfection has been attained whilst living here. It appeared to you absurd to say that anything was possible of which no example ever occurred, â€” although I suppose you would not hesitate to admit that no camel ever passed through a needle's eye, 2 and yet He said that even this was possible with God; you may read, too, that twelve legions 3 of angels could have fought for Christ and rescued Him from suffering, but in fact did not; you will find, also, how possible it was for the [Canaanite] nations to be exterminated at once out of the land which was given to the children of Israel, 4 and yet that God willed it to be gradually effected. 5 And one may meet with a thousand other incidents, the past or the future possibility of which we might readily admit, and yet be unable to produce any proofs of their having ever really happened. Accordingly, it would not be right for us to deny the possibility of a man's living without
sin, on the ground that amongst men none can be found except Him who is in His nature not man only, but also God, in whom we could prove such perfection of character to have existed.

Chap. 2. [n.]

Here, perhaps, you will say to me in answer, that the works which I have instanced as not having been realized, although capable of realization, are divine works; whereas a man's being without sin actually falls in the range of a man's own work, â€” that being indeed his very noblest work which effects a full and perfect righteousness complete in every part; and therefore that it is incredible that no man has ever existed, or is existing, or will exist in this life, who has achieved such a work, if the achievement is possible for a human being. But then you ought to reflect that, although this great work, no doubt, belongs to human agency to accomplish, yet it is the

1 1 Cor. xv. 22. 2 Matt. xix. 24.

3 Augustine's text has "twelve thousand legions," both here and below in chap. lxii. See Matt. xxvi. 53.

4 Deut. xxxi. 3. 5 Judg. ii. 3.

CHAP. IV.] CAN MAN LIVE WITHOUT SIN ? 159

result of the divine help, and that it is undoubtedly, therefore, a divine work; " for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure." *

Chap. 3. â€” Theirs is comparatively a harmless error, who say that a man lives here without sin.

They therefore are not a very dangerous set of persons (and we must urge them to show, if possible, that such is their character), who hold that man lives or has lived here without any sin whatever. There are indeed passages of Scripture, in which I apprehend it is definitely stated that no man who lives on earth, although enjoying freedom, ofjwilLcan be found without sin; as, for instance, the place where it is written, " Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, [0 Lord.] for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." 2

If, however, anybody shall have succeeded in persuading people that this text and similar ones ought to be taken in a different sense from their obvious one, and shall have shown that some man or men have spent a sinless life on earth, whoever not merely refrains from opposing him slightly, but also agrees with him to the full, is not affected by the ordinary stimulus of envy. Moreover, if there neither is, has been, nor will be any man endowed with such perfection of holiness (which I am more inclined to believe), who yet
is firmly set forth and thought to be, to have been, or to be about to be in possession of such an excellence, so far as I can judge, no great error is made, and certainly not a dangerous one, when a man indulges such an opinion, carried away by a certain benevolent feeling; but whoever thinks so much of another, should not deem himself to be so pure a being, unless he has really and clearly discovered all this of himself.

Chap. 4. â€” Theirs is a much more serious error, and requiring a very vigorous refutation, who deny God's grace to be necessary for us; grace, according to the Pelagians, is nothing but God's gift to man of free-will, and the teaching of the law.

They, however, must be resisted with the utmost alacrity and vigour who suppose that the mere power of the human will in itself, without God's help, can either perfect righteousness or advance towards it in an even tenor; and when they 1 Phil. ii. 13. 2 p s# cx niL 2.

160 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTEE. [CHAP. V.

begin to be hard pressed about their presumption in asserting that this result can be reached without the divine assistance, they check themselves, and do not venture to utter such an opinion, because they see how impious and insufferable it is. But they allege that such attainments are not possible without God's help, seeing that God created man with the free choice of his will, and, by giving him His commandments, teaches man, Himself, how he ought to live; and indeed assists him, in that He takes away his ignorance by instructing him in the knowledge of what he ought to avoid and to desire in his actions; and thus, by means of the free-will naturally implanted within him, he enters on the way which is pointed out to him, perseveres in a just and pious course of life, and arrives (as he deserves) at the blessedness of eternal life.

Chap. 5. [in.] â€” True grace is the gift of the Holy Ghost, which kindles in the soul the joy and love of what is good.

We, however, on our side affirm that the human will is so divinely aided in the pursuit of righteousness, that (in addition to the fact of man's being created with a free-will, and besides the doctrine which instructs him how he ought to live) he receives the Holy Ghost, by whose gift there springs up in his mind a delight in, and a love of, that supreme and unchangeable good which is God, even in the present state, while he still "walks by faith" and not yet "by sight;" * in order that by this gift to him of the earnest, as it were, of the free gift, he may conceive an ardent desire to cleave to his Maker, and burn to approach to a participation in that true light, that it may go well with him from Him to whom he owes all that he is. A man's free-will, indeed, only avails to induce him to sin, if he knows not the way of truth; and even after his duty and his proper aim shall begin to become known to him, unless he take delight and feel a love therein, he neither does his duty, nor sets about it, nor effects a righteous life. Now, in order that such a course may engage
our affections, God's " love is shed abroad in our hearts," not through the free-will which arises from ourselves, but "through the Holy Ghost, which is given to us." 2

1 2 Cor. v. 7. 2 Rom. v. 5.

CHAP. VI.] THE LAW WITHOUT THE SPIRIT KILLS. 161

Chap. 6. [iv.] â€” The teaching of the law without the life-giving spirit is " the letter that killeth."

For that doctrine which furnishes us with the command to live in chastity and holiness is " the letter that killeth/ unless accompanied with " the spirit that giveth life." Xow that is not the sole meaning of the passage, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," 1 which merely prescribes our not taking in the literal sense any figurative phrase which in the proper meaning of its words would only produce nonsense; but it also signifies that we should regard the underlying sense of the figurative terms, cherishing the inner man by our spiritual intelligence, because " being carnally-minded is death, whilst to be spiritually-minded is life and peace." 3 If, for instance, a man were to take in a literal and carnal sense the contents of the Sons of Solomon, he would minister not to the fruit of a pure and luminous charity, but to the feeling of a libidinous desire. Therefore I repeat, the apostle's principle is not to be confined to the limited application just mentioned, when he says, " The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life;" 3 but it must also (and indeed mostly) be regarded as equivalent to what he says elsewhere in the plainest words: " I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet;" 4 and again, immediately after: " Sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me." 5 Now from this you may see what is meant by " the letter that killeth."

There is indeed no figurative intention in a phrase which could not be so regarded in its plain sense, as when it is said, " Thou shalt not covet." This is a very plain and salutary precept; and any man who shall fulfil it will have no sin at all The apostle, indeed, purposely selected this general precept, in which he embraced everything, as if this were the voice of the law which prohibits us from all sin, when it says, " Thou shalt not covet;" for there is no sin committed except by evil concupiscence; so that the law which prohibits this is a good and praiseworthy law. Still, when the Holy Ghost withholds His help, which inspires us with a good desire instead of this evil concupiscence (in other words, diffuses charity in our

1 2 Cor. iii. 6. 2 Rom. viii. 6. 3 2 Cor. iii. 6.

4 Rom. vii. 7. 5 Rom. vii. 11.
hearts), that law, however good in itself, only augments the evil desire by forbidding it. Just like the rush of water which flows incessantly in a particular direction; it becomes more violent when it meets with any impediment, and when it has overcome the stoppage, it falls in a greater bulk, and with increased impetuosity hurries forward in its downward course.

I know not indeed how it is, but the very object which we covet becomes all the more pleasant and desired by being forbidden. Now this is the sin which through the commandment deceives and slays, whenever transgression is actually added, which occurs not where there is no law.

Chap. 7. [v.] â€” What' is proposed to be here treated; righteousness the work of God, but not unaccompanied with the will of man.

We will, however, consider, if you please, the whole of this passage of the apostle and thoroughly handle it, as the Lord shall enable us. For I want, if I shall be able, to prove that the apostle's words, " The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," have no reference to figurative phrases, â€” although even in this sense a suitable signification might be obtained from them, â€” but rather plainly to the law, which forbids whatever is evil. When I shall have proved this, it will more manifestly appear that to lead a holy life is the gift of God, â€” not only because God has given a free-will to man, without which there is no living ill or well; and not only because He has given him a commandment to teach him how he ought to live; but because through the Holy Ghost He sheds love abroad in the hearts of those whom He foreknew, in order to predestinate them; whom He predestinated, that He might call them; whom He called, to justify them; and whom He justified, that He might glorify them. 3 When this point also shall be cleared, you will, I think, see how vain it is to call those things barely possible which are unexampled, when they are the works of God, â€” such as the passage of the camel through the needle's eye, which we have already referred to, and other similar cases, which to us no doubt are impossible, but easy enough to God; [and equally vain] to reckon man's righteousness in this class of things, on the ground of its being properly

1 Rom. iv. 15. 2 Rom. vii. 7. 3 Rom. viii. 29, 30.

CHAP. IX.] MEANING OF THE APOSTLE. 163

man's work, not God's; [and no less vain] to hold that, if a perfect righteousness in the present life is possible, there is no reason for supposing that there can be no example forthcoming.

That the assertion of such propositions is undoubtedly vain will be clear enough, after it has been also plainly shown that even man's righteousness must be attributed to the operation of God, although not taking place without the co-operation of man's will. We therefore cannot refuse to admit that his righteousness may be perfect even in this life,
because all things are possible with God, 1 â€” both those which He accomplishes of His own sole will, and those which He appoints to be done with the co-operation with Himself of His creature's will. Accordingly, whatever of such things He does not effect is no doubt without an example in the way of an accomplished fact, although before God and in His power it possesses the cause of its possible accomplishment, and in His wisdom the reason of its not coming to pass; and should this cause escape the penetration of the human mind, let not the thinker forget that he is but human; nor charge God with folly simply because he cannot fully comprehend His wisdom.

Chap. 8. Attend, then, carefully, while in his Epistle to the Romans the apostle explains and clearly enough shows that the passage which he wrote to the Corinthians, " The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," 2 must be understood in the sense which we have already indicated, â€” that the letter of the law, which teaches us not to commit sin, kills, if the life-spirit be absent, forasmuch as it causes sin to be known rather than avoided, to be increased rather than diminished, because to an evil concupiscence there is now added the transgression of the law.

Chap. 9. [vi.] â€” Through the law sin has abounded; divine grace; the law.

The apostle, then, wishing to commend the grace which has come to all nations through Jesus Christ, and to prevent the Jews from extolling themselves at the expense of other people on account of their having received the law, first says that sin and death came on the human race through one man, and that righteousness and eternal life came also through One, expressly

1 Mark x. 27. * 2 Cor. iii. 6.

164 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. IX.

mentioning Adam as the former, and Christ as the latter; and he then goes on to declare that " the law entered, that the offence might abound: but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound: that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord;" 1 then, proposing a question for himself to answer, he adds, " What shall we say then ? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound ? God forbid." 2 He saw, indeed, that a perverse use might be made by perverse men of what he had said: " The law entered, that the offence might abound: but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound," â€” he might, in short, be made to say that sin had profited by the abundance of grace. Rejecting so worthless an insinuation, he answers his question with a " God forbid !" and at once subjoins another question: " How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein ? " 3 as much as to say, When grace has brought it to pass that we should die unto sin, what else shall we be doing, if we continue to live in it, than showing ourselves ungrateful to grace ? The man who extols the virtue of a medicine does not contend for any advantage of diseases and
wounds of which the medicine cures him; on the contrary, in proportion to the praise lavished on the remedy are the blame and horror which are felt of the diseases and wounds healed by the much-extolled medicine. In like manner, the commendation and praise which are bestowed upon grace imply an equal amount of hatred and condemnation of all sins. The corrupt state of his weakness had to be set forth with convincing clearness to man, who derived no advantage and help against his sinful nature in that good and holy law, which rather increased than diminished his iniquity; for the law indeed entered, that the offence might abound.

The purpose of this dispensation was that man, being convicted and confounded, might see not only that he wanted a doctor, but also that he had a helper in God, who would so direct his steps that sin should not lord it over him, and that he might be healed by betaking himself to the help of the divine mercy; and that in this way, where sin abounded grace might

1 Rom. v. 20, 21. 2 Rom. vi. 1, 2.

3 Rom. vi. 2.

CHAP. XT.] MYSTERY OF CHRIST'S DEATH AND RESURRECTION. 165

much more abound, â€” not (to be sure) through, the merit of the sinner, but by the intervention of his Helper.

Chap. 10.

Accordingly, the apostle describes the same medicine as mystically set forth in the passion and resurrection of Christ, when he says, " Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death ? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is justified from sin. Now, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him:

knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him. For in that He died, He died unto sin once; but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." * Now it is plain enough that here by the mystery of the Lord's death and resurrection is figured the fall of our old sinful life, and the rise of the new; and that here is demonstrated the abolition of iniquity and the renewal of righteousness. Whence then arises this vast benefit to man through the letter of the law, except it be through the faith of Jesus Christ ?
Chap. 11. [vn.] â€” From what fountain good works emanate; pride.

This holy meditation preserves "the children of men, who put their trust under the shadow of God's wings," 2 so that they are "enriched with the fatness of His house, and drink of the full stream of His pleasure. For in Him [they find] the fountain of life, and in His light shall they see light. For He extendeth His mercy to them that know Him, and His righteousness to the upright in heart." 3 He does not, indeed, extend His mercy to them because they know Him, "but that they may know Him; nor is it because they are upright in heart, but that they may become so, that He extends to them His righteousness, whereby He justifies the ungodly. 1 This meditation elevates no man with pride: this sin arises when any man has too much confidence in himself, and makes himself the chief aim of his life. Impelled by this vain feeling, he departs from that fountain of life, from the draughts of which is imbued the holiness which is itself the good man's life, â€”[departs,] too, from that unchanging light, by partaking of which man's reasonable soul is in a certain sense set on fire, and becomes itself a created and reflected luminary; even as "John was a burning and a shining light," 2 who notwithstanding acknowledged the source of his own illumination in the words, "Of His fulness have all we received." 3 Of whose, I would ask, but His, of course, in comparison with whom John indeed was no light at all? For "that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." 4 Therefore, in the previously quoted psalm, after saying, "Extend Thy mercy to them that know Thee, and Thy righteousness to the upright in heart," 5 he adds, "Let not the foot of pride come against me, and let not the hands of sinners move me. There have fallen all the workers of iniquity: they are cast out, and are not able to stand." 6 Tor by that impiety which leads each to attribute to himself the excellence which is God's, he is cast out into his own native darkness, in which consist the works of iniquity; it is manifestly these works which he does spontaneously, and for the achievement of such alone is he naturally fit. The works of righteousness he never does, except as he receives ability from that fountain and that light, which comprises the life that wants for nothing, and where is "no variableness, nor the shadow of turning." 7

Chap. 12. â€” Paul, whence so called; bravely contends for grace.

Accordingly Paul, who, instead of his former name Saul, 8 chose this new designation, for no other reason, as it appears

1 Rom. iv. 5. 2 John v. 35. 3 John i. 16.
to me, than because lie would show himself little — the very
" least of the apostles," contends with much courage and earnestness against the
proud and arrogant, and such as plume themselves on their own works, in order that he
may commend the mighty grace of God. This grace, indeed, appeared more obvious and
manifest in his case, inasmuch as, while he was pursuing such vehement measures of
persecution against the Church of God as made him worthy of the greatest punish-
ment, he found mercy instead of condemnation, and instead of punishment obtained grace. Very
properly, therefore, does he lift voice and hand in defence of grace. He cares not for the
envy either of those who understood not a subject too profound and abstruse for their
intelligence, or of those who perversely misinterpreted his own sound words; whilst at the
same time he unfa]tering]y preaches that gift of God, whereby alone salvation accrues to
those who are the children of the promise, children of the divine goodness, children of
grace and mercy, children of the new covenant. In the salutation with which he begins
every epistle, he is full of it:
" Grace be to you, and peace, from God the Father, and from
the Lord Jesus Christ;" whilst in his Epistle to the Romans it forms almost the only
topic, and is plied with so much persistence and variety of argument, as fairly to fatigue
the reader's attention,
" only the fatigue is so useful and salutary, that it rather exercises than breaks the
faculties of the inner man.

Then comes what I mentioned above; he proceeds to show up the Jew; he tells him
how he calls himself a Jew, but by no means fulfils what he promises to do. M Now,"
says he,
" thou callest thyself a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God, and
knowest His will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out
of the law; and art confident that thou art thyself a guide of the blind, a light of them that
are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of
knowledge and of the truth in the law. Thou therefore who teache] another,

1 See Augustine's Confessions, viii. 4. 2 1 Cor. xv. 9.
8 See Rom. i. 7, 1 Cor. i. 3, and Gal. i. 3.
teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God % For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written. Circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law; but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision. , Therefore, if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law? For he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God." 1 Here he plainly showed in what sense he said, "Thou makest thy boast of God." 2 For undoubtedly if one who was truly a Jew made his boast of God in the way which grace demands (which is bestowed not for merit of works, but gratuitously), then his praise would be of God, and not of men. But they, in fact, were making their boast of God, as if they alone had deserved to receive His law, as the Psalmist said: "He did not the like to any nation, nor His judgments has He displayed to them." 2 And yet, [strange to say,] they thought they were fulfilling the law of God by their righteousness, when they were rather breakers of it all the while. [The law,] accordingly, "wrought wrath" 3 upon them, making sin abound, committed as it was by them who knew the law. For whoever did even what the law commanded, without the assistance of the Spirit of grace, acted through fear of punishment, not from love of righteousness. Hence in the sight of God that proceeded not from a good will, which in the sight of men appeared as a work; and such doers of the law were rather held guilty from the fact that God knew their inclination to commit sin, if only it were possible with impunity. Moreover, he calls that "the circumcision of the

1 Rom. ii. 17-29. 2 Ps. cxxxvii 20. 3 Rom. iv. 15.

CHAP. XV.] BY THE LAW IS THE KNOWLEDGE OF SENT. 169

heart "which is a will perfectly pure of all unlawful desire; and this is a state which comes not from the letter of the law, with its inculcation and threatening, but from the Spirit's assisting and healing influence. Such doers of the law have their praise not of men but of God, who by His grace provides the grounds on which they receive praise; of whom it is said, "My soul shall make her boast of the Lord -," 1 to whom also it is said, "My boast [or praise] shall be of Thee." 2 But not such are they who would have God praised because they are men; and themselves likewise, because they are righteous.

Chap. 14. â€” In what respect the Pelagians acknowledge God as the Author of
our justification.

"But," say they, "we do actually acknowledge God to be the Author of our righteousness, in that He gave the law, by the teaching of which we have been instructed how we ought to live." But they give no heed to what they read: "By [the deeds of] the law there shall no flesh be justified in the sight of God." 3 This may indeed be possible before men, but not in His sight who looks into our very heart and will; where He sees that, although the man who fears the law keeps a certain precept, he would nevertheless rather do another thing if he were permitted. The apostle, however, would have nobody suppose that, in the passage just quoted from him, he had meant to say that none are justified by that law, which contains many precepts, under the figure of the ancient sacraments, and among them circumcision itself, which infants were commanded to receive on the eighth day after birth; he therefore immediately adds what law he meant, and says,

"For by the law is the knowledge of sin." 4 He refers them to that law of which he afterwards declares, "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." 5 [Now what means this but that "by the law comes the knowledge of sin?"

Chap. 15. [ix.] â€” The righteousness of God manifested by the law and the prophets.

Here, perhaps, it may be said by that presumption of man, which is ignorant of the righteousness of God, and wishes to

1 Ps. xxxiv. 2. 2 Ps. xxii. 25. 3 Pom. iii. 20.
4 Pom. iii. 20. 5 Rom. vii 7.

170 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XV.

establish one of its own, that the apostle was quite correct in saying, "For by the law shall no man be justified" 1 inasmuch as the law merely shows what one 'ought to do, and what one ought to guard against, in order that what the law thus points out may be accomplished by the will, and so man be justified, not indeed by the power of the law, but by his freedom of will. But I ask your attention, vain man, to what follows. "Now the righteousness of God," says he, "without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." 2 Does this then sound a light thing in deaf ears? He says, "The righteousness of God is manifested." Now this righteousness is ignored by those who wish to set up one of their own; they will not submit themselves to it. 3 His words are, "The righteousness of God is manifested: "he does not say, the righteousness of man, or the righteousness of his will, but the righteousness of God"
meaning not that whereby He is Himself righteous, but that with which He endows man when He justifies the ungodly. This is witnessed by the law and the prophets; in other words, the law and the prophets each afford it their separate testimony. The law, indeed, by issuing its commands and threats, and yet justifying no man, clearly shows in that very circumstance that it is by God's gift, through the help of the Spirit, that a man is justified; and the prophets, because it is in accordance with what they predicted, that Christ at His coming accomplished it. Accordingly he advances a step further, and adds, "The righteousness of God is by faith of Jesus Christ," 4 that is, by the faith wherewith one believes in Christ; for here is not meant the faith with which Christ Himself believes, just as there was not meant the righteousness whereby God is Himself righteous. Both no doubt are ours, but yet they are called [in one case] God's, and [in the other] Christ's, because it is by their bounty that these gifts are bestowed upon us.

The righteousness of God then is without the law, but not manifested without the law; for if it were manifested without the law, how could it be witnessed by the law? That righteousness of God, however, is without the law, which God by the Spirit of grace bestows on the believer without the help of the law— that is, who is not assisted by the law. AVhen, indeed, He by the law discovers to a man his weakness, it is in order that by faith he may flee for refuge to His mercy, and be healed of his infirmity. Concerning His wisdom we are told, that "she carries law and mercy upon her tongue," 1 ã€” the "law" whereby she may convict the proud and lofty; the "mercy" wherewith she may justify them when humbled. "The righteousness of God," then, "by faith of Jesus Christ, is unto all that believe; for there is no difference, inasmuch as all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God" 2 ã€” not of their own glory. For what have they, which they have not received ? Now if they received it, why do they glory as if they had not received it ? 3 Well, then, they come short of the glory of God; now observe what follows: "Being justified freely by His grace." 4 It is not, therefore, by the law, nor is it by their own will, that they are justified; but they are justified freely by God? s grace, ã€” not that the justification ensues without our will; but our will is by the law shown to be weak, that grace may heal its infirmity; and that being thus healed, our will may fulfil the law, not as constituted under the law, nor indeed as wanting the law.

Chap. 16. [x.] ã€” How the law was not made for a righteous man; grace justifies freely; the law of faith.

Because "for a righteous man the law was not made;" 5 and yet "the law is good, if a man use it lawfully." 6 Now by
connecting together these two seemingly contrary statements, the apostle warns and urges his reader to sift the question and i solve it too. For how can it be that " the law is good, if a I man use it lawfully," if what follows is also true: " Knowing : this, that the law is not made for a righteous man ?" 7 For who but a righteous man lawfully uses the law ? Yet it is ;â– not for him that it is made, but for the unrighteous. Must j then the unrighteous man, in order that he may be justified, â€” i that is, become a righteous man, â€” lawfully use the law, to lead him, as by the schoolmaster's hand, 8 to that grace by which alone he can fulfil what the law bids him do ? Now it is 1 Prov. iii. 16 (Septuagint). 2 Rom. iii. 22, 23. 3 1 Cor. iv. 7. 4 Rom. iii. 24. s 1 Tim. i. 8. 6 1 Tim. i. 9. 7 1 Tim. i. 9. 8 Qal. iii. 24.

172 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XVI.

freely or gratuitously that lie is justified thereby, â€” that is, there are no antecedent merits of his own to earn the favour; " otherwise grace is no more grace," * since it is bestowed on us, not because we have done good works, but that we may be able to do them, â€” in other words, not because we have fulfilled"o T 7~ but in order that we may be able to fulfil the law. Now He said, " I am come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it," 2 of whom it was said, " We have seen His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."' This is the glory which is meant in the words, " All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;" 4 and this the grace of which he speaks in the next verse, " Being justified freely by His grace." 5 The unrighteous man therefore lawfully uses the law, that he may become righteous; but when he has become so, he must no longer use it as a chariot, for he has arrived at his journey's end, â€” or rather (that I may employ the apostle's own
simile, which has been already mentioned) as a schoolmaster, seeing that he is now fully learned. How then is the law not made for a righteous man, if it is even necessary for the righteous man, not that he may be brought as an unrighteous man to the grace that justifies, but that he may use it lawfully, now that he is righteous? Or does not the case perhaps stand thus? Perhaps, did I say? should I not rather say, certainly stand thus? â€“ The man who is become righteous thus lawfully uses the law, when he applies it to alarm the unrighteous, so that whenever the disease of some unusual desire begins in them, too, to be augmented by the incentive of the law's prohibition and an increased amount of transgression, they may in faith flee for refuge to the grace that justifies, and becoming delighted with the sweet pleasures of holiness, may escape the penalty of the law's menacing letter through the spirit's soothing gift. In this way the two statements will not be contrary, nor will they: be repugnant to each other: even the righteous man may; lawfully use a good law, and yet the law be not made for the righteous man; for it is not by the law that he becomes, righteous, but by the law of faith, which led him to believe

1 Rom. xi. 6. 2 Matt. v. 17. 3 John i. 14.

* Rom. iii. 23. 5 Rom. iii. 24.

CHAP. XVIII.] TO BE u EXCLUDED "â€”WHAT? 173

that no other resource was possible to his weakness for fulfilling the precepts of the law of human conduct, than being assisted by the grace of God.

Chap. 17. â€“ Concerning the " exclusores," or icorkers in silver.

Accordingly he says, " Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay; but by the law of faith." 1 He must either mean, that boasting is laudable, when it is in the Lord; and that it is excluded, not in the sense of shut out and driven away, but of standing out prominently as when carved. Whence certain artificers in silver are called " exclusores." In this sense occurs that passage in the Psalms: " That they may be excluded, who have been proved with silver," 2 â€“ that is, that they may stand out in prominence, who have been tried by the word [or oracle] of God. So in another passage it is said: " The words [or oracles] of the Lord are pure words, as silver which is tried in the fire." 3 Or if this be not his meaning, he must have wished to mention that vicious boasting which comes of pride â€“ that is, the glorying of those persons who, appearing to themselves to lead righteous lives, boast of their excellence, just as if they had not received it, â€“ and further to inform us, that by the law of faith, not by the law of works, this boasting was excluded, in the other sense of shut out and driven away; because by the law of faith every one learns that whatever good life he leads he has from the grace of God, and that from no other source whatever can he obtain the means of fulfilling his course in the love of righteousness.
Chap. 18. [xi.] — Piety is wisdom; the sacrifice of the New Testament; the apostle a
vigorous defender of grace; that is called the righteousness of God, which He produces.

Now, meditating upon this makes a man godly, and this godliness is true wisdom. By
godliness I mean that which the Greeks designate \( \delta \varepsilon \iota \alpha \eta \varepsilon \iota \alpha \) that very virtue which
is commended to man in the passage of Job, where it is said to him,
" Behold, godliness is wisdom." 4 Now if the word \( \delta \varepsilon \o \varepsilon \iota \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon \iota \alpha \) be interpreted according to its derivation, it might be called

1 Eom. iii. 27. 2 Ps. lxviii. 30 (Septuagint).

3 Ps. xii. 6. 4 Job xxviii. 28.

174 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XVIII.

"the worship of God;" 1 and in this worship the essential point is, that the soul be not
ungrateful to Him. "Whence it is that in the most true and excellent sacrifice [of the
gospel] we are admonished to " give thanks unto our Lord God." 2 Ungrateful, however,
our soul would be, were it to attribute to itself that which it has received from God,
especially its righteousness, with the works of which (the especial property, as it were, of
itself, and produced, so to speak, by the soul itself for itself)
it is not puffed up in a vulgar pride, as if they were the result of riches, or of beauty of
limb, or of eloquence, or of those other accomplishments, external or internal, bodily or
mental, which even wicked men are in the habit of possessing, although it is, if I may say
so, proud of them in a wise complacency, as of things which constitute in an especial
manner the good works of the good. It is owing to this sin of vulgar pride that even some
great men have drifted from the sure anchorage of the divine nature, and have floated
down into the dishonours of idolatry. Whence the apostle again in the same epistle,
wherein he so firmly maintains the principle of grace, after saying that he was a debtor
both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, to the wise and to the unwise, and professing
himself ready, so far as to him pertained, to preach the gospel even to those who lived in
Eome, adds: " I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto
salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein
is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live
by faith." 3 This is the righteousness of God, which was veiled in the Old Testament, and
is revealed in the New. It is called the righteousness of God, because by His bestowal of
it He makes us righteous. In like manner we read that " salvation is the Lord's," 4 because
He saves by it. And this is the faith " from which " and " to which " it is revealed, â€”
even from the faith of them who preach it, to the faith of those who obey it. By this faith
of Jesus Christ â€” I mean the faith which Christ has given to us â€” we believe it is from
God that
CHAP. XIX.] GOD KNOWN THROUGH THE CREATION. 175

we now have, and shall have more and more, the ability of living righteously; wherefore we give Him, thanks with that dutiful reverence with which He only is to be worshipped.

Chap. 19. [xu.] â€” The knowledge of God through the creation.

And then the apostle very properly turns from this point to describe with detestation those men who, light-minded and puffed up by the sin which I have mentioned in the preceding chapter, have been carried away of their own conceit, as it were, through the empty space where they could find no resting-place, only to fall shattered to pieces against the vain figments of their idols, as against the stones. For, after he had commended the piety of that faith, whereby, being justified, we must needs be pleasing to God, he proceeds to call our attention to what we ought to abominate as the opposite.

"For the wrath of God," says he, "is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them: for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of Him are clearly seen from the creation of the world, being understood through the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because, knowing God, they yet glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and they changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to fourfooted beasts, and to creeping things." 1 Observe, he does not say that they were ignorant of the truth, but that they held the truth in unrighteousness. It struck him, indeed, that he would inquire whence the knowledge of the truth might be obtained by those to whom God had not given the law; and he was not silent on the source of their information: for he declares that it was through the visible works of creation that they arrived at the knowledge of the invisible attributes of the Creator. And, in very deed, as...
of discovering the truth. Wherein then lay their unrighteousness? In the fact that, when they had found out God, they glorified Him not as God, nor gave Him thanks, but became vain in their imaginations. Vanity is a disease which especially characterizes those persons who mislead themselves, and "think themselves to be something, when they are nothing." 1 Such men, indeed, darken themselves in that swelling pride, the foot of which the Psalmist prays that it may not come against him, 2 after saying, "In Thy light shall we see light;" 3 and from the very light of unchanging truth they turn aside, and "their foolish heart is darkened." 4 For theirs was not a wise heart, even though they had found out God; but it was foolish, because they did not glorify Him as God, or give Him thanks; for "He said unto man, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom." 5 So by this conduct, while "professing themselves to be wise" (which can only be understood to mean that they attributed this quality absolutely to themselves), "they became fools." 6

Chap. 20. â€” The law without grace.

Now why need I speak of what follows? Those men, indeed, by this their impiety â€” I mean those who might have known the Creator through the creature â€” fell irretrievably; and where they fell, there (since "God resisteth the proud" 7 ) they sank into the very depths of ruin. All this is better shown in the sequel of this epistle than we can here mention.

For in this letter of mine we have not undertaken to expound this epistle [to the Romans], but only to demonstrate, so far as we are able (relying mainly on its authority), that we are assisted by divine aid towards the achievement of righteousness, â€” not by the circumstance that God has given us a law full of good and holy precepts, but because our very will, without which we cannot do any good thing, is assisted and elevated by the Spirit of grace being imparted to us, without whose help the teaching [of the law] is nothing more than "the letter that killeth," 8 forasmuch as it holds them guilty

1 Gal. vi. 3. 2 Ps. xxxvi. 11. 3 Ps. xxxvi. 9.
4 Rom. i. 21. 6 Job xxviii. 28. 6 Rom. i. 22.
7 Jas. iv. 6. 8 2 Cor. iii. G.

CHAP. XXI.] WORKS AND FAITH. 177

of transgressing it, instead of justifying the ungodly. Now just as those discoverers of the Creator by the creature received no benefit towards salvation, even from their discovery, â€”
because "though they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, nor gave Him thanks, while professing themselves to be wise," * â€” so also they who discover from the law how man ought to live, are not made righteous by their discovery, because, "going about to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." 2

Chap. 21. [xiii.] â€” The law of ivories and the law of faith.

The law, then, of human action, that is, the law of works, whereby this self-gloryification is not excluded, and the law of faith, by which it is excluded, differ from each other; and this difference it is worth our while to consider, if so be we are able to observe and discern it. Cursorily, indeed, one might say that the law of works lay in Judaism, and the law of faith in Christianity; forasmuch as circumcision and the other works prescribed by the law are just those which the Christian system no longer retains. But there is a fallacy in this distinction, the greatness of which I have for some time been endeavouring to expose; and to such as are shrewd in appreciating distinctions, especially to yourself and those who share in your intelligence, I have possibly succeeded in my effort. Since, however, the subject is an important one, it will not be unsuitable, if with a view to its illustration, we linger over the many testimonies which again and again meet our view. Now, although the apostle says that by the law no man is justified, 3 and declares that it entered that the offence might abound, 4 yet in order to save it from the aspersions of the ignorant and the accusations of the impious, he defends this very law in words such as these: * What shall we say then ? Is the law sin ? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin but by the law: for I had not known concupiscence, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence." 5 He says also: " The law

1 Rom. L 21. 2 Rom. x. 3. 3 Rom. iii. 20.
4 Rom. v. 20. 5 Rom. vii. 7, 8.
4 il

178 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XXI.

indeed is holy, and the commandment is holy, and just, and good; but sin, that it might appear sin, worked death in me by that which is good." 1 It is therefore the very letter that kills, which says, " Thou shalt not covet." And of this law it is that he speaks in a passage which I have before referred to: " By the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, beingwitnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ upon all them that believe; for there is no difference: seeing that all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God: being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ
Jesus; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, [I say,] His righteousness at this time; that so He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." 2 And then he adds the passage which is now under consideration: " Where, then, is your boasting? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay; but by the law of faith."; And so it is the very law of works itself which says, "Thou shalt not covet;" because thereby comes the knowledge of sin.

Now I wish to know, if anybody will have the courage to inform me, whether the law of faith says to us, "Thou shalt not covet," or not? For if it does not say so to us, what reason is there why we, who are placed under its sanction, should not sin in safety and with impunity? Indeed, this is just what those people thought the apostle meant, of whom he writes:

"Even as some affirm that we say, Let us do evil, that good may come; whose damnation is just." 4 If, on the contrary, it does say to us, "Thou shalt not covet" (even as numerous passages in the gospels and epistles 5 so often testify and urge), then why is not this law also called the law of works?

For it by no means follows that, because it retains not in its service the operations of the ancient sacraments, â€” even circumcision and the other ceremonies, â€” it therefore has no external duties 6 comprised in its own sacraments, which are

1 Rom. vii. 12, 13. 2 Rom. iii. 20-26. 3 Rom. iii. 27.

4 Rom. iii. 8. 5 Apostolica. 6 Opera.

CHAP. XXII.] DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FAITH AND WORKS. 179

well adapted to the present age; at least there was a question about sacramental works, since the law was mentioned, because by it is the knowledge of sin, and so nobody is justified by it; therefore it is not by it that boasting is excluded, but by the law of faith, whereby the just man lives. But is there not by it too the knowledge of sin, when even it says, "Thou shalt not covet?"

Chap. 22. â€” The law of works; the law of faith; Paul the most persevering preacher of grace; the "child of faith."

"What the difference between them is, I will briefly explain. What the law of works enjoins by menace, that the law of faith secures by faith. The one says, "Thou shalt not covet; MI the other uses such language as this: "When I perceived that nobody could have the gift of continence, unless God gave it to him; and that this
was the very point of wisdom: to know whose gift it was, I approached unto the Lord, and I
besought Him;' 2 This indeed is the very wisdom which is called piety, in which is
worshipped "the Father of lights, from whom descends every good and perfect gift." 3
This worship, however, consists in the sacrifice of praise and giving of thanks, so that the
worshipper of God glories not in himself, but in Him. 4 Accordingly, by the law of
works, God says to us, Do what I command thee; but by the law of faith we say to God,
Give me what Thou commandest. Xow this is the reason why the law gives its command,
even to admonish us what faith ought to do, â€” in other words, that he to whom the
command is given, if he is as yet unable to perform it, may know what he should ask for;
but if he has at once the ability, and complies with the command, he ought also to be
aware from whose gift the ability comes. " We have received not the spirit of this world,
but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us
of God." 5 "What, however, â€” is the spirit of this world,"
but the spirit of pride ? By it their foolish heart is darkened, who, after knowing God,
glorified Him not as God, by giving Him thanks. 6 Moreover, it is really by this same
spirit that they too are deceived, who, while ignorant of the righteousness

1 Ex. xx. 17. 2 Wisdom viii. 21. 3 Jas. i. 17.
4 2 Cor. x. 17. 5 1 Cor. ii. 12. 6 Rom. i. 21.

180 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XXIII.

of God, and wishing to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted to God's
righteousness. 1 It appears to me, therefore, that he is much more " a child of faith " who
has learned from what source to expect assistance, than he who attributes to himself
whatever he has; although, no doubt, to both of these must be preferred the man who
possesses the gift, and at the same time knows from whom he has it. Suppose, however,
that he does not believe himself to be what he has not yet attained to, let him not in such a
case fall into, the mistake of the Pharisee, who, while thanking God for what he
possessed, failed to ask for any further gift, just as if he stood in want of nothing for the
increase and perfection of his righteousness. 2
Now, having duly considered and weighed all these circumstances and testimonies, we
conclude that a man is not justified by the precepts of a holy life, but by faith in Jesus
Christ, â€” in a word, not by the law of works, but by the law of faith; not by the letter,
but by the spirit; not by meritorious conduct, but by free grace.

Chap. 23. [xiv.] â€” How the Decalogue hills, if grace be not present.

The apostle undoubtedly reproves and corrects those who were prevailed on to accept
circumcision, in such terms as to designate by the word " law " this rite of circumcision
and other similar legal observances, which are now rejected as shadows of a future
substance by Christians who yet hold what those shadows figuratively promised;
although he at the same time would have it to be clearly understood that the law, by which he says no man is justified, lies not merely in those sacramental institutions which contained promissive figures, but also in those works which made the man who did them to live holy, and amongst which occurs this prohibition:
"Thou shalt not covet." Now, to make our statement all the clearer, let us look at the Decalogue itself. It is certain, then, that Moses on the mount received the law, that he might deliver it to the people, written on tables of stone by the finger of God. It is summed up in ten commandments, in which there is no precept about circumcision, nor anything concerning those animal sacrifices which have ceased to be offered by Christians. Well, now, I should like to be told

1 Rom. x. 3. 2 Luke xviii. 11, 12.

CHAP. XXIV.] THE DECALOGUE ITSELF THE "LETTER." 181

what there is in these ten commandments, except that on the observance of the Sabbath, which ought not to be kept by a Christian, â€“ whether it prohibit the making and worshipping of idols and of any other gods than the one true God, or the taking of God's name in vain; or prescribe honour to parents; or give warning against fornication, murder, theft, false witness, adultery, and coveting other men's property? Which of these commandments would any one say that the Christian ought not to keep? Or will it by any chance be contended that it is not the law which was written on those two tables that the apostle describes as "the letter that killeth," but the law of circumcision and the other sacred rites which are now abolished? But then how can we think so, when in the law occurs this precept, "Thou shalt not covet," by which very commandment, notwithstanding its being holy, just, and good,
"sin," says the apostle, "deceived me, and by it slew me" 1
What else can this be than "the letter" that "killeth?"

Chap. 21
In the passage where he speaks to the Corinthians about the letter that kills, and the spirit that gives life, he expresses himself more clearly, but he does not mean even there any other "letter" to be understood than the Decalogue itself, which was written on the two tables. His words are these:
"Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with, ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart. And such trust have we through Christ to God-ward: not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God; who hath made us able ministers of the new testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. But if the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more
182 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XXV.

shall the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory." 1 A
good deal might be said about these words; but perhaps we shall have a more fitting
opportunity at some future time. At present, however, I beg you to observe how he speaks
of the letter that killeth, and contrasts therewith the spirit that giveth life. Now this must
certainly be the same as " the ministration of death written and engraven in stones," and as
" the ministration of condemnation/ since the law entered that sin might abound. 2 But
the commandments themselves are so useful and salutary to the doer of them, that unless
they were kept by him, he could not possibly have life.
Well, then, is it owing to the one precept about the Sabbath-day, which is included
amongst them, that the Decalogue is called " the letter that killeth ?" Because, forsooth,
every man that still observes that commandment in its literal appointment is carnally
wise, but to be carnally wise is nothing else than death ? And must the other nine
commandments, when rightly observed just in their literal shape also, not be regarded as
belonging to the law of works by which none is justified, but to the law of faith whereby
the just man lives ?
Who can possibly entertain so absurd an opinion as to sup
pose that " the ministration of
death, written and engraven in stones," is not said equally of all the ten commandments,
but only of the solitary one touching the Sabbath-day ? In which class do we place that
which is thus spoken of: " The law worketh wrath: for where no law is, there is no
transgression?" 3 and again thus: "Until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not
imputed when there is no law ? " 4 and also that which we have already so often quoted:
" By the law is the knowledge of- sin?" 5 and especially the passage in which the apostle
has more clearly expressed the question of which we are treating: " I had not known lust,
except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet ?" 6

Chap. 25.
Now carefully consider this entire passage, and see whether it says anything about
circumcision, or the Sabbath, or any-

1 2 Cor. iii. 3-9. 2 Rom. v. 20. 3 Rom. iv. 15.
4 Rom. v. 13. c Rom. iii. 20. 6 Rom. vii. 7.
thing else pertaining to a foreshadowing sacrament. Does not its whole scope amount to this, that the letter which forbids sin fails to give man life, but rather "killeth," by increasing concupiscence, and aggravating our sinfulness by transgression, unless indeed grace liberates us by the law of faith, which is in Christ Jesus, when His love is "shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us?" x The apostle having at the outset of the passage used these words: "That we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter," 2 goes on to inquire, "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. Nay; I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. For I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me. Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, worked death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful For we know that the law is spiritual; whereas I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that I do. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. But then it is no longer I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. 'For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing. To will, indeed, is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do that which I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. I find then a law, that, when I w T ould do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin 1 Rom. v. 5. 2 Rom. vii. 6.

184 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XXVII.

which is in my members. wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." 1

Chap. 26. ë” The commandment is not kept, if the sole motive of its observance be the fear of punishment.

It is evident, then, that the oldness of the letter, in the absence of the newness of the spirit, instead of freeing us from sin, rather makes us guilty by the knowledge of sin. Whence it is written in another part of Scripture, "He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow," 2 ë” not that the law is itself evil, but because the commandment has its good in the demonstration of the letter, not in the assistance of the spirit; and if this
commandment is kept from the fear of punishment and not from the love of righteousness, there is only servility and not freedom in such observance, and therefore it is in truth not kept at all. For no fruit is good which does not grow from the root of love. If, however, that faith be present which worketh by love, then one begins to delight in the law of God after the inward man, and this delight is the gift of the spirit, not of the letter; moreover, this joyous feeling, thus begun, continues] even though there is another law in our members still warring against the law of the mind, until the old state is changed and passes into that new condition which increases from day to day in the inward man, whilst the grace of God liberates us from the body of this death through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Chap. 27. [xv.] The grace which was latent in the Old Testament is revealed in the New; what the observation of the Sabbath signified.

This grace lay hid under a veil in the Old Testament, but it has been revealed in the New Testament according to the most perfectly ordered dispensation of the ages, forasmuch as God knew how to appoint all things in their several places.

And perhaps it is in reference to this very secret ordinance of God, that in the Decalogue, which was given on Mount Sinai, the portion which relates to the Sabbath was simply hidden under a prefiguring precept. The Sabbath is a day set apart for holy purposes; and it is not without significance that, among all the works which God accomplished, the first sound of sanctification or holiness was heard on the day when He rested from all His labours. On this, indeed, we must not now enlarge. But at the same time I deem it to be not inapplicable to the point now in question, that it was not for nothing that the nation was commanded on that day to abstain from all servile work, by which sin is signified; [the precept so ran] only because not to commit sin belongs to sanctification, that is, to God's gift through the Holy Spirit. Now this precept in the law, which was written on the two tables of stone, was placed among the others only in a prefiguring shadow, under which the Jews observe their Sabbath-day, that by this very circumstance it might be signified that it was then the time for hiding and concealing the grace, which had to be revealed and discovered in the New Testament by the death of Christ, the rending, as it were, of the veil. 1 For when," says the apostle, "it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." 2

Chap. 28. [xvi.] The Holy Ghost, ichy called the finger of God. " Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." 3 Now this Spirit of God by whose gift we are justified, whence it comes to pass that we rejoice, in that we sin not, a state of liberty; even as, when we are without this Spirit, it delights us to sin, a condition of slavery, from the works of which it is incumbent on us to abstain; this Holy Spirit, [I say,) through whom love is shed abroad in our
hearts, which is the fulfilment of the law, is designated in the gospel as "the finger of God." 4 Is it not because those very tables of the law were written by the finger of God, that the Spirit of God by whom we are sanctified is also the finger of God, in order that, living by faith, we may do good works through love? Who is not touched by the congruity [of the idea,] and at the same time not regardless of the diversity implied therein? For as fifty days are reckoned from the celebration of the Passover (which was ordered by Moses to be offered by slaying the typical lamb, 5 to signify,

1 Matt, xxvii. 51. 2 2 Cor. iii. 16. 3 2 Cor. iii. 17.
4 Luke xi. 20. 5 Ex. xii. 3.

186 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XXX.

indeed, the future death of the Lord) to the day when Moses received the law written on the tables of stone by the finger of God/ so, in like manner, from the death and resurrection of Him who was led as a lamb to the slaughter, 2 there were fifty complete days up to the time when the finger of God â€” that is, the Holy Spirit â€” gathered together in one 3 perfect company those who believed [in the Lord Jesus Christ.]

Chap. 29. [xvii.] â€” A comparison of the law of Moses and of the new law.

Now, amidst this admirable correspondence, there is at least this very considerable diversity in the cases, in that the people in the earlier instance were deterred by a horrible dread from approaching the place where the law was given; whereas in the other case the Holy Ghost came upon them who were gathered together in expectation of His promised gift. There it was on tables of stone that the finger of God operated; here it was on the hearts of men. There it was outwardly that the law was registered, so that the unrighteous were terrified by it; 4 here it was inwardly given, so that we might be justified by it. 5 "For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment," â€” such, of course, as was written on those tables, â€” "it is briefly comprehended," says he, "in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." 6

Now this was not written on the tables of stone, but "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." 7 God's law, therefore, is love. "To it the carnal mind is not subject, neither indeed can be." 8 When, however, the works of love are written on tables to alarm the carnal mind, there arises the law of works and "the letter which killeth" the transgressor; but when love itself is shed abroad in the hearts of believers, then we have the law of faith, and the spirit which gives life to him that loves.

Chap. 30.
Now, observe how consonant this diversity is with those words of the apostle which I quoted not long ago in another

1 Ex. xxxi. 18. 2 Isa. liii. 7. 3 Acts ii. 2. 4 Ex. xix. 12, 16.
5 Acts ii. 1-47. 6 Rom. xiii. 9, 10. 7 Rom. v. 5. 8 Rom. viii. 7.

CHAP. XXXI.] THE " LETTEE " CANNOT JUSTIFY. 1ST

connection, and which I postponed for a more careful consideration afterwards: " Forasmuch;’ says he, w as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart." * See how he shows that the one is written externally to man, that it may alarm him from without; the other within man himself, that it may justify him from within. He speaks of the " fleshy tables of the heart,” not of the carnal mind, but of a living agent possessing sensation, in comparison with a stone, which is senseless. The assertion which he subsequently makes, â€” that " the children of Israel could not look stedfastly into the face of Moses," and that he accordingly spoke to them through a veil, 2 â€” signifies that the letter of the law justifies no man, but that rather a veil overspreads the mind in reading the Old Testament, until it turns to Christ, and the veil is removed; â€” in other words, until the mind resorts to grace, and understands that from Him accrues to us the justification, whereby we do what He commands; and His commandment He gives us, in order that while failing in ourselves, we may flee to Him for refuge. Accordingly, after most guardedly making this admission, " Such trust have we through Christ to God- ward," 3 the apostle immediately goes on to add the statement which underlies our subject, to prevent our confidence being attributed to any strength of our own. He says: " Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God; who also hath made us able ministers of the Xew Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." 4

Chap. 31. [xviii.] â€” Tlie old law ministers death; the new, righteousness.

Now, since, as he says in another passage, " the law was added because of transgressions " 5 meaning the law which is written externally to man, he therefore designates it both as " the ministration of death," 6 and " the ministration of condemnation;" 7 but the other, that is, the law of the Xew

1 2 Cor. iii. 3. 2 Cor. iii. 13. 2 Cor. iii. 4. 2 Cor. iii. 5, 6.
6 Gal. iii. 19. e 2 Cor. iii. 7. 7 o Cor. iii. 9.
Testament, he calls "the ministration of the spirit" 1 and
"the ministration of righteousness;" 2 because through the spirit we work righteousness,
and are delivered from the condemnation due to transgression. The one, therefore,
vanishes away; the other abides; for the terrifying schoolmaster will be dispensed with,
when love has succeeded to fear. Now
"where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." 3 This ministration, however, is
vouchsafed to us, as the apostle says, not on account of our deserving, but from His
mercy.
"Seeing then that we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, let us faint not;
but let us renounce the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling
the word of God deceitfully." 4 By this "craftiness" and "deceitfulness" he would have
us understand the hypocrisy with which the proud and arrogant would fain be supposed to
be righteous. Whence in the psalm, which the apostle cites in testimony of this very grace
of God, it is said, "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin, and in
whose mouth is no guile." 5 This is the confession of lowly saints, who do not boast to be
what they are not. Then, in a passage which follows not long after, the apostle writes
thus:
"For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for
Jesus' sake. For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in
our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus
Christ." 6 This is the knowledge of His glory, whereby we know that He is the light
which illumines our darkness. And I beg you to observe how he inculcates this very
point: "We have," says he, "this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the
power may be of God, and not of us." 7 Then further on he commends in glowing terms
same grace, in the Lord Jesus Christ, until he comes to that vestment of the
righteousness of faith,
"clothed with which we cannot be found naked," and whilst longing for which "we
groan, being burdened" with mortality,
"earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from Heaven," that
mortality might be swallowed

1 2 Cor. iii. 8. 2 2 Cor. iii. 9. 3 2 Cor. iii. 17. * 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2.
6 Ps. xxxii. 2. c 2 Cor. iv. 5, 6. 7 2 Cor. iv. 7.

CHAP. XXXIII.] PROPHECY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. 189

up of life." 1 Observe what he then says: * Now He that hath wrought us for the self-
same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit;" 2 and by and by
he thus briefly draws the conclusion of the matter: "That we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." 3 â€” this being not the righteousness whereby God is Himself righteous, but that whereby we are made righteous by Him.

Chap. 32. [xix.] â€” The Christian faith touching the assistance of grace.

Let no Christian then stray from this faith, which alone is the Christian one; and, in case any one should feel ashamed to say that we become righteous through our own selves, without the grace of God working in us, â€” because he sees, when such an allegation is made, how unable pious believers are to endure it, â€” let him not resort to any subterfuge on this point, by affirming that the reason why we cannot become righteous without the operation of God's grace is this, that He gave the law, He instituted its teaching, He commanded its precepts of good. No doubt, without His assisting grace, it is "the letter which killeth;" but when the life-giving spirit is present, the law causes that to be loved as written within, which it once caused to be feared as written without.

Chap. 33. â€” The prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the New Testament.

Observe how this is also [declared] in that testimony which was given by the prophet on this subject in the most emphatic way: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will consummate a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt. Because they continued not in my covenant, I also have rejected them, saith the Lord. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." 1 What say we to this? One nowhere, or hardly anywhere, except in this passage of the prophet, finds in the Old Testament Scriptures any mention so made of the New Testament as to indicate it in so many words. It is no doubt often referred to and foretold as about to be given, but not so plainly as to have its very name mentioned. Consider then carefully, what difference God has testified as existing between the two testaments â€” the old covenant and the new.

Chap. 34. â€” The law; grant.

After saying, "Not according to the covenant which I
made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt," observe the addition which He makes: "Because they continued not in my covenant." He reckons it as their own fault that they did not continue in God's covenant [or testament] lest the law, which they received at that time, should seem to be deserving of blame. For it was the very law that Christ "came not to destroy, but to fulfil." Nevertheless, it is not by that law that the ungodly are made righteous, but by grace; and this change is effected by the life-giving Spirit, without whom the letter kills. "For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe," out of which promise, that is, from the kindness of God, the law is fulfilled, which, however, without the said promise only makes men transgressors, either by the actual commission of some sinful deed, if the flame of concupiscence have greater power than even the restraints of fear, or at least by their mere will, if the fear of punishment transcend the pleasure of lust. In what he says, "The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe," it is the benefit of the actual "conclusion" which is asserted.

1 Jer. xxxi. 31-34. 2 Matt. v. 17. 3 Gal. iii. 21, 22.

CHAP. XXXV.] THE OLD AND THE NEW LAW. 191

For to what purposes "hath it concluded" except as it is expressed in the next sentence: "Before, indeed, faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up [or concluded'] for the faith which was afterwards revealed?" 1 The law was therefore given, in order that grace might be sought; grace was given, in order that the law might be fulfilled. Now it was not through any fault of its own that the law was not fulfilled, but by the fault of the carnal mind; and this fault was to be demonstrated by the law, and healed by grace. "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." 2 Accordingly, in the passage which we cited from the prophet, he says, "I will consummate a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah." 3 Now what means / will consummate but I iv ill fulfil ? "Not, [he goes on to say,] according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt." 4

Chap. 35. [xx.] â€” The old law; the new law.
The one [covenant or testament] was therefore old, because the other is new. But whence comes it that one is old and the other new, if the same law, which said in the Old Testament, "Thou shalt not covet," 5 is fulfilled by the New Testament? "Because," says the prophet, "they continued not in my covenant, I have also rejected them, saith the Lord." 6 It is then on account of the hurt done by the old man, which was by no means healed by the letter which commanded and threatened, that it is called the old testament [or covenant;] whereas the other is called the new testament [or covenant,] because of the newness of the spirit, which heals the new man of the fault of the old. Then consider what follows, and see in how clear a light the fact is placed, that men who have faith are unwilling to trust in themselves:

"Because," says he, "this is the covenant which I will make

1 Gal. iii. 23. 2 Rom. viii. 3, 4. 3 Jer. xxxi. 31.

4 Jer. xxxi. 32. 5 Ex. xx. 17. 6 Jer. xxxi. 32.

with the house of Israel; After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." 1 See how similarly the apostle states it in the passage we have already quoted: "Not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart," 2 because [written] "not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God." 3 And I apprehend that the apostle in this passage had no other reason for mentioning "the New Testament" ("who hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit"), than because he had an eye to the words of the prophet, when he said, "Not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart," inasmuch as in the prophet it runs: "I will write it in their hearts." 4

Chap. 36. [xxi.] â€” The law written in our hearts.

What then is God's law written by God Himself in the hearts of men, but the very presence of the Holy Spirit, who is "the finger of God," and by whose presence is shed abroad in our hearts the love which is the fulfilling of the law, 5 and the end of the commandment? 6 Now the promises of the Old Testament are earthly; and yet (with the exception of the sacramental ordinances which were the shadow of things to come, such as circumcision, the Sabbath and other observances of days, and the ceremonies of certain meats, 7 and the complicated ritual of sacrifices and sacred things which suited "the oldness" of the carnal law and its slavish yoke) it contains such precepts of righteousness as we are even now taught to observe, especially those which were expressly drawn out on the two tables without figure or shadow: for instance, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt do no murder," "Thou shalt not covet," 8 "and whatsoever other commandment is briefly comprehended in the saying, Thou shalt love
thy neighbour as thyself;' 9 â€” nevertheless, as in the said Testament earthly and
temporal promises are, as I have said, recited, and these are goods of this corruptible flesh
(although they prefigure those heavenly and everlasting blessings which

1 Jer. xxxi. 33. 2 2 Cor. iii. 3. 3 2 Cor. iii. 3.

4 Jer. xxxi. 33. 5 Rom. xiii. 10. 6 1 Tim. i. 5.

7 See Retractations, ii. 37. 8 Ex. xx. 13, 14, 17. 9 Rom. xiii. 9.

CHAP. XXXVII.] NATURE OF THE PROMISED REWARD. 193

belong to the New Testament), what is now promised is blessing for the heart itself,
blessing for the mind, blessing of the spirit, in other words, a blessing for the
understanding to appreciate; since it is said, " I will put my law in their inward parts, and
in their hearts will I write them," 1 â€” by which He signified that men would not fear the
law which alarmed them externally, but would love the very righteousness of the law
which dwelt inwardly in their hearts.

Chap. 37. [xxii.]â€” The eternal reward.

He then went on to state the reward to ensue: " I will be their God, and they shall be my
people." 2 This corresponds to the Psalmist's words to God: " It is good for me to hold me
fast by God." 3 " I will be," says God, " their God, and they shall be my people." What is
better than this blessing, what happier than this happiness, â€” to live to God, to live on
God, with whom is the fountain of life, and in whose light we shall see light ? 4 Of this
life the Lord Himself speaks in these words: " This is life eternal, that they may know
Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent," 5
â€” that is, " to know Thee and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent" as the one very God.
For no less than this did [Christ]
Himself promise to those who love Him: " He that loveth me, keepeth my
commandments; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him,
and will manifest myself unto him," 6 â€” in the form, no doubt, of God, wherein He is
equal to the Father; not in the form of a servant, for in this He will display Himself even
to the wicked also. Then indeed shall that come to pass which is written, " Let the
ungodly man be taken away, that he see not the glory of the Lord." 7 Then also shall " the
wicked go into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into life eternal" 6 Now this
eternal life, as I have just mentioned, has been defined to be, that they may know the one
true God. 9
Accordingly John again says: " Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet
appear what we shall be:

1 Jer. xxxi. 33. 2 Jer. xxxi. 33. 8 Ps. lxxiii. 2S.
but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is." * This likeness begins even now to be recast in us, while the inward man is being renewed from day to day, according to the image of Him that created him. 2

Chap. 38. [xxiii.] â€” The re-formation which is now being effected, compared with the perfection of the life to come.

But what is this change, and how great, in comparison with the perfect eminence which is then to be realized? The apostle applies an illustration, such as it is, derived from well-known facts, to these indescribable subjects, comparing the period of childhood with the age of manhood. "When I was a child," says he, "I used to speak as a child, to understand as a child, to think as a child; but when I became a man, I put aside childish things." 3 He then immediately explains why he said this in these words: "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then [we shall see] face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." 4

Chap. 39. [xxiv.] â€” The eternal reward which is specially declared in the New Testament, foretold by the prophet.

Accordingly, in our prophet likewise, whose testimony we are dealing with, there is this additional statement, that in God is the reward, in Him the end, in Him the perfection of
happiness, in Him the sum of the happy life eternal. For after saying, " I will be their
God, and they shall be my people," he at once adds, " And they shall no more teach every
man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all
know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them." 5 Well, the present is
certainly the time of the new testament, the promise of which is given by the prophet in
the words which we have quoted from his prophecy. Wherefore then does each man still
say even now to his neighbour and his brother, " Know the Lord ?" Or is it not perhaps
meant that this is everywhere said when the gospel is preached, and when this is its very
proclamation ?
For on what ground does the apostle call himself " a teacher

1 1 John iii. 2. 2 Col. iii. 10. 3 1 Cor. xiii. 11.
4 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 5 Jer. xxxi. 34.

CHAP. XL.] WHO ARE THE "ALL?" 195

of the Gentiles," * if it be not that what he himself implies in the following passage
becomes realized: " How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed ? and
how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard ? and how shall they hear
without a preacher ?" 2 Since, then, this preaching is now everywhere spreading, in what
way is it the time of the new testament of which the prophet spoke in the words, " And
they shall not every man teach his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know
the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them," J
unless it be that he has included in his prophetic forecast the eternal reward of the said
new testament, by promising us the most blessed contemplation of God Himself ?

Chap. 40. â€” How that is to be the reward of all; the apostle earnestly
defends grace.

What then is the import of the " All, from the least of them unto the greatest of them," but
all that belong spiritually to the house of Israel and to the house of Judah, â€” that is, to
the children of Isaac, to the seed of Abraham ? For such is the promise, wherein it was
said to him, " In Isaac shall thy seed be called; for they which are the children of the flesh
are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are counted for the seed. For
this is the word of promise, At this time will I come, and Sarah shall have a son. And not
only this; but when Eebecca also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac, (for the
children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God
according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth,) it was said unto
her, The elder shall serve the younger." 4 This is the house of Israel, or rather the house
of Judah, on account of Christ, who came of the tribe of Judah.
This is the house of the children of promise, â€” not by reason of their own merits, but of
the kindness of God. For God promises what He Himself performs: He does not Himself
promise, and another perform; which course of conduct would no longer be giving a promise, but uttering a prophecy.
Hence it is "not of works, but of Him that calleth," 6

1 1 Tim. ii. 7. 2 Rom. x. 14. 3 Jer. xxxi. 34.


196 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XLI.

lest the result should be their own, not God's; lest the reward should be ascribed not to His grace, but to their due; and so grace should be no longer that grace which was so earnestly defended and maintained by him who, though the least of the apostles, laboured more abundantly than all the rest, â€” not himself indeed, but the grace of God that was with him. 1 "They shall all know me," 2 He says,â€”"All" the house of Israel and house of Judah. "All," however, "are not Israel which are of Israel," 3 but they only to whom it is said in "the psalm concerning the morning aid" 4 (that is, concerning the new refreshing light, meaning that of the new testament), "All ye the seed of Jacob, glorify Him; and fear Him, all ye the seed of Israel." 5 All the seed, without exception, even the entire seed of the promise and of the called, but only of those who are the called according to His purpose. 6 "For whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." 7 "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed: not to that only which is of the law, "â€”that is, which comes from the Old Testament into the New, â€”"but to that also which is of faith," which was indeed prior to the law, even "the faith of Abraham," â€”meaning those who copy of Abraham, â€”"who is the father of us all; as it is written, I have made thee the father of many nations." 8 Now all these predestinated ones, who are also called, and justified, and glorified, shall know God by virtue of the new covenant or testament, from the least to the greatest of them.

Chap. 41. â€” The law written in the heart, and the reward of the eternal contemplation of God. belong to the new covenant; who among the saints are the least and the greatest.

As then the law of works, which was written on the tables of stone, and its recompense, the land of promise, which the house of the carnal Israel after their liberation from Egypt received, belonged to the old testament, so the law of faith,

1 1 Cor. xv. 9, 10. 2 Jer. xxxi. 34. 3 Horn. ix. 6.

4 See title of Ps. xxii. (xxi. Sept.) in the Sept. 5 Ps. xxii. 23.

6 From viii. 28. 7 R m. viii. 30. 8 Rom. iv. 16, 17.
written on the heart, and its reward, the beatific vision which the house of the (spiritual Israel, when delivered from the present world, shall perceive, belong to the new testament. Then shall come to pass the issue which the apostle describes: " Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away,"

! â€” even that imperfect knowledge of " the child " 2 in which this present life is passed, and which is but " in part," and " through a glass," and " as an enigma." 3 Because of this, indeed, "prophecy" is necessary, for still to the past succeeds the future; and because of this, too, " tongues " are required, â€” that is, a multiplicity of expressive signs, â€” since it is by successive signs that a succession of ideas is suggested to him who does not as yet contemplate with a perfectly purified mind the everlasting light of transparent truth. " When that, however, which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away," 4 because then what appeared to the flesh in assumed flesh shall display Itself as It is In Itself to all who love It; then it shall be eternal life for us to know the one very God; 5 then shall we be like Him, 6 because "we shall then know, even as we are known;" 7 then " they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, [saith the Lord.]" 8 Now this may be understood in several ways: Either, that in that life the saints shall differ one from another in glory, as star from star. It matters not how the expression runs, â€” whether (as in the passage before us) it be, u From the least of them unto the greatest of them," or the other way, From the greatest unto the least. And, in like manner, it matters not even if we understand " the least " to mean those who simply believe, and u the greatest " those who have been further able to understand â€” so far as may be in this world â€” the light which is incorporeal and unchangeable. Or, " the least " may mean those who are later in time; whilst by * the greatest " He may

1 1 Cor. xiii. 8. 2 lb. ver. 11. 3 lb. ver. 12 pi Ä«1^*?,= "darkly"].

* 1 Cor. xiii. 10. 5 John xvii. 3. 6 1 John iii. 2.
7 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 8 Jer. xxxi. 34. ,

have intended to indicate those who were prior in time. For they are all to receive the promised vision of God hereafter, since it was for us that they foresaw the future which would be better than their present, that they without us should not arrive at complete perfection. 1 And so the earlier are found to be the lesser, because they were less deferred
in time; as in the case of the gospel "penny a day," which is given for an illustration. 2 This penny they are the first to receive who came last into the vineyard. Or, "the least and the greatest"
ought perhaps to be taken in some other sense, which at present does not occur to my mind.

Chap. 42. [xxv.] â€” Difference between the old and the new testaments.

I beg of you, however, carefully to observe, as far as you can, the point which I am endeavouring to prove with so much effort. When the prophet promised a new covenant [or testament], not according to the covenant which had been formerly made with Israel when liberated from Egypt, he said nothing about a change in the sacrifices or any sacred ordinances, although such change was no doubt to follow, as we see in fact that it did follow; even as the same prophetic scripture testifies in many other passages; but he simply called attention to the point of difference [between the testaments,] â€” how that God would impress His laws on the mind of those who pertained to this covenant, and would write them in their hearts; 3 and hence the apostle drew his conclusion, â€” "not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart;" 4 and how that the eternal recompense of this righteousness was not the land out of which were driven the Amorites and Hittites, and other nations who dwelt there, 5 but God Himself, "to whom it is good to hold us fast," 6 in order that God Himself, who is the object of their love, may be the good in God which they love, between whom and men nothing but sin produces separation; and it is only by grace that sin is remitted. Accordingly, after saying, "For all shall know me, from the least to the greatest of them," He instantly added, "For I will forgive

1 Heb. xi. 40. 2 Matt. xx. 8. 3 Jer. xxxi. 32, 33.

* 2 Cor. iii. 3. 5 Josh. xii. 6 Ps. lxxiii. 28.

CHAP. XLIII.] GENTILES IN RELATION TO LAW. 199

their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." 1 By the law of works, then, the Lord says, "Thou shalt not covet," 2 but by the law of faith He says, "Without me ye can do nothing;" 3 for there the Lord was treating of good works, even the fruit of the vine-branches. It is therefore apparent what difference there is between the old covenant and the new, â€” that in the former the law is written on material tables, while in the latter it is engraven on men's hearts; so that what in the one alarms from without, in the other delights from within; and while man in the former becomes a transgressor through the letter that kills, in the other he takes to loving through the life-giving spirit. But for all that we must avoid saying, that the way in which God assists us to work righteousness, and "works in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure," 4 is by externally addressing to our faculties precepts of holiness; for He gives His increase internally, 5 by shedding love abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us. 6
Chap. 43. [xxvi.] A question touching the passage in the apostle about the Gentiles who are said to do by nature the law's commands, which they are also said to have written on their hearts.

Now we must see in what sense it is that the apostle says, "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves, which show the work of the law written in their hearts," lest there should seem to be no certain difference in the new testament, when the Lord promised that He would write His laws in the hearts of His people, inasmuch as the Gentiles indeed have this done for them naturally. This question therefore has to be sifted, arising as it does as one of no inconsiderable importance. For a man may say, If God distinguishes the new testament from the old by this circumstance, that in the old He wrote His law on tables, but in the new He wrote them on men's hearts, by what are the faithful of the new testament discriminated from the Gentiles, which have the work of the law written on their hearts, whereby they do by nature the things

1 Jer. xxxi. 34. 2 Ex. xx. 17. 3 John xv. 5. 4 Phil. ii. 13.

200 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XLIV.

of the law, 1 as if, forsooth, they were better than the ancient nation, which received the law on tables, and in advance of the new nation, which has that conferred on it by the new testament which nature has already bestowed on them?

Chap. 44. ã€” The answer is, that the passage must be understood of the faithful

of the new covenant.

Perhaps, however, they whom the apostle mentioned as having the law written in their hearts were those Gentiles who belong to the new testament. Now we must see whence this view arises. First, then, referring to the gospel, he says, "It is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith." He goes on to speak of the ungodly, who by reason of their pride profit not by the knowledge of God, since they did not glorify Him as God, neither were thankful. He then passes to those who think and do the very things which they condemn, ã€” having in view, no doubt, the Jews, who made their boast of God's law, but as yet not mentioning them expressly by name; and then he says, "Indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile: but glory, honour, and peace, to every soul that doeth good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the
law, shall be judged by the law; for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the
doers of the law shall be justified." 4 Who they are that are treated of in these words, he
goes on to tell us:
" For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the
law," 5 and so forth in the passage which I have quoted already. Evidently, therefore, no
others are here signified under the name of Gentiles than those whom he had before
designated by the name of " Greek " when he said, " To the Jew first, and also to the
Greek." 6 Since then the gospel is " the power of God unto salvation to every one

1 Rom. ii. 14. 2 Rom. i. 16, 17. 3 Rom. i. 21.
4 Rom. ii. 8-13. 5 Rom. ii. 14. 6 Rom. i. 16.

CHAP. XLV.] JUSTIFICATION BY GRACE, XOT BY WORKS. 201

that believe tli, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek;" 1 and since it is " indignation and
wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first,
and also of the Gentile [or Greek]: but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that doeth
good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile [or Greek]; " since, moreover, the Greek is
indicated by the term " Gentiles " who do by nature the things contained in the law, and
which have the work of the law written in their hearts; it follows that such Gentiles
belong to the gospel as have the law written in their hearts, to whom, on their believing, it
becomes the power of God unto salvation.
To what Gentiles, however, would he promise glory, and honour, and peace, in their
doing good works, if living with
out the grace of the gospel ? Since there is no respect of
persons with God, 2 and since it is not the hearers of the law, but the doers thereof, that
are justified, 3 it follows that any man of any nation, whether Jew or Greek, who shall
believe, will equally have salvation under the gospel. " For there is no difference," as he
says afterwards; " for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God: being justified
freely by His grace." 4 How then could he say that any Gentile person, who was a doer of
the law, was justified without the Saviour's grace ?

Chap. 45. "æ” It is not by their icorhs, but by grace, that the doers of the laic are justified;
God's saints and God's name hallowed in different senses.

Now [the apostle] could not mean to contradict himself in saying, " The doers of the law
shall be justified;" 5 as if their justification came through their works, and not through
grace, when he declares that a man is justified freely by His grace without the works of
the law, 6 intending by the term
"freely" nothing more than that works do not precede justification. For in another passage
he expressly says, " If by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no longer
grace." 7 But the statement that "the doers of the law shall be justified" 8 must be so understood, that we may know how unable men are to become doers of the law unless they

1 Rom. i. 16. 2 ft om ij 1L 3 Rom# iL 13

4 Rom. iii. 22-24. 5 Rom. ii. 13. 6 Rom. iii. 24, 23.

7 Rom. xi. 6. 8 Rom. ii. 13.

202 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XLVI.

be justified, so that justification does not subsequently accrue to them as doers of the law, but precedes them in that character. For what else does the phrase "being justified" signify than "being made righteous," â€” by Him, of course, who justifies the ungodly man, that he may become a godly one instead? If we were to express a certain fact by saying, The men will be liberated, the phrase would of course be understood as asserting that the liberation would accrue to those who were men already; but if we were to say, The men will be created, we should certainly not be understood as asserting that the creation would happen to those who were already in existence, but that they became men by the creation itself.

If in like manner it were said, The doers of the law shall be honoured, we should only interpret the statement correctly if we supposed that the honour was to accrue to those who were already doers of the law. When, however, the allegation is, "The doers of the law shall be justified," what else does it mean than that the just shall be justified? for of course the doers of the law are just persons. And thus it amounts to the same thing as if it were said, The doers of the law shall be created, â€” not those who were so already, but that they may become such; that the Jews who were hearers of the law might hereby understand that they wanted the grace of the Justifier, in order to become its doers also. Or else the term "They shall be justified" is used in the sense of, They shall be deemed, or reckoned as just, as it is predicated of a certain man in the Gospel, "He, willing to justify himself," 1 â€” meaning that he wished to be thought and accounted just. Accordingly, we attach one meaning to the statement, God sanctifies His saints, and another to the words, "Hallowed [or sanctified] be Thy name;" 2 for in the former case we suppose the words to mean that He makes those to be saints who were not saints before, and in the latter, that the prayer would have that which is always holy and sanctified in itself be also regarded as holy by men, â€” in a word, be feared with a hallowed awe.

Chap. 46. â€” How the passage of the apostle agrees with that of the prophet.
Since therefore the apostle, when he mentioned that the

1 Luke x. 29. 2 Matt. vi. 9.

CHAP. XL VI.] PAUL NOT AT VARIANCE WITH JEREMIAH. 203

Gentiles do by nature trie things contained in the law, and have the work of the law written in their hearts; intended those amongst them to be understood who believed in Christ, "since they come to the faith in a different way from the Jews, who have the law before faith," there is no good reason why we should endeavour to distinguish them from those to whom the Lord by the prophet promises the new covenant, telling them that He will write His laws in their hearts, 2 inasmuch as they too, by the grafting which he says had been made of the wild olive, actually belong to the self-same olivetree, 3 "in other words, to the same people of God. There is therefore a good agreement of this passage of the apostle with the words of the prophet; so that belonging to the new covenant or testament means having the law of God not written on tables, but on the heart, "in other words, embracing the righteousness of the law with one's innermost affection, where by that love faith works. 4 "Because it is by faith that God justifies the Gentiles;" and the Scripture foreseeing this, preached the gospel before to Abraham, saying, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed," 5 that by this grace of the promise the wild olive might be grafted into the good olive, and believing Gentiles might become children of Abraham, "in Abraham's seed, which is Christ," 6 following the faith of him who, without receiving the law written on tables, and not yet possessing even circumcision, "believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness." 7 Now it must be some such thing as this which the apostle attributed to Gentiles of this character, "how that they have the work of the law written in their hearts;" 8 like the description which he makes to the Corinthians: "[Written] not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart." 9 For thus do they become of the house of Israel, when their uncircumcision is accounted circumcision, by the fact that they exhibit not the righteousness of the law by the cutting of the flesh, but keep it by the charity of the heart. "If," says he, "the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be

1 Rom. ii. 14, 15. 3 Jer. xxxii. 32. 3 Rom. xi. 24.

4 Gal. v. 6. 5 Gal. iii. 8; Gen. xxii 18. 6 Gal. iii. 16.

7 Gen. xv. 6; Rom. iv. 2. 8 Rom. ii. 15. 9 2 Cor. iii. 3.

204 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XL VII.
counted for circumcision?" * Now because they are in the house of the true Israel, in which is no guile, 2 they become partakers of the new covenant or testament, since God puts His laws into their mind, and writes them in their hearts with His own finger, the Holy Ghost, by whom is shed abroad in them the love 3 which is "the fulfilling; of the law." 4

Nor ought it to disturb us that the apostle described them as doing that which is contained in the law "by nature", â€” not by the Spirit of God, not by faith, not by grace; for it is the Spirit of grace that does it, in order to restore in us the image of God, in which we were naturally created. 5 All sin, indeed, is contrary to nature, and it is grace that heals it, â€” in relation to which the prayer is offered to God, "Be merciful unto me: heal my soul; for I have sinned against Thee." 6

Therefore it is by nature that men do the things which are contained in the law; 7 for they who do not, fail to do so by reason of their sinful defect. In consequence of this sinfulness, the law of God is erased out of their hearts; whence it follows that, when once the sin is healed, and [the law] is written in the heart, the prescriptions of the law are done "by nature" â€” not that by nature grace is denied, but rather by grace nature is repaired. For "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned;" 8 wherefore "there is no difference: they all come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by His grace." 9 By this grace there is written on the renewed inner man that righteousness which sin had blotted out; and this mercy comes upon the human race through our Lord Jesus Christ. "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus." 10

1 Rom. ii. 26. 2 See John i. 47. 3 Rom. v. 5. 4 Rom. xiii. 10.
5 Gen. i. 27. c Ps. xli. 4. 7 r oiu . ii. 14. 8 p t0m> v . y^v
9 Rom. iii. 22-24. ] Â« 1 Tim. ii. 5.

CHAP. XLYIII.] GOD'S IMAGE RENOVATED. 205

Chap. 48. â€” Even if the apostle is understood to speak of unbelieving Gentiles, the difference which has been asserted of the new testament is not taken away; the image of God is not wholly blotted out in these unbelievers; venial sins.
According to some, however, they who do by nature the things contained in the law must not be regarded as yet in the number of those whom Christ's grace justifies, but rather as among those whose actions (although they are those of ungodly men, who do not truly and rightly worship the true God) we not only cannot blame, but actually praise, and with good reason, and rightly too, since they have been done â€” so far as we read, or know, or hear â€” according to the rule of righteousness; though at the same time, were we to discuss the question with what motive they are done, they would hardly be found to be such as deserve the praise and defence which are due to righteous conduct. [xxviii.] Still, in estimating these actions, we must not lose sight of the fact that God's image has not been so completely erased in the soul of man by the stain of earthly affections, as to have left remaining there no merest lineaments of it, whence it might be fairly said that man, even in his very ungodliness of life, did, or could appreciate, some things contained in the law.

If, then, this is what is meant by the statement [of the apostle] that "the Gentiles, which have not the law" (that is, the law of God), "do by nature the things contained in the law," * and because men of this character "are a law to themselves," and "show the work of the law written in their hearts," â€” that is to say, because what was impressed on their hearts when they were created in the image of God has not been wholly blotted out, â€” even in this view of the subject, that wide difference will not be disturbed, which separates the new covenant or testament from the old, and which lies in the fact that by the new covenant the law of God is written in the hearts of believers, whereas in the old it was inscribed on tables of stone. This writing in the heart, indeed, is effected by renovation, although it had not been completely blotted out by the old unrenewed nature. For just as the very image of God is renewed in the mind of believers by the

1 Rom. ii. 14.

206 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. XLYIII.

new testament, which impiety had not quite abolished (for there had remained undoubtedly that faculty which cannot be anything else than man's rational soul), so also the law of God, which had not been wholly blotted out there by unrighteousness, is certainly written thereon, being renewed by grace. Now in the Jews the law which was written on tables could not effect this new inscription (which in a word is justification), but only transgression; for they too were men, and there was inherent in them that power of nature, which (enables the rational soul both to perceive and do anything that pertains to the law. But the godliness which is to transfer [the soul] happy and immortal to another life has "a spotless law, converting souls," * so that by the light thereof they may be renewed, and that be accomplished in them which is
written, "There has been manifested over us, Lord, the light of Thy countenance." 2

Turned away from which, they have deserved to fall into decay, whilst they are incapable of renovation except by the grace of Christ, â€” in other words, without the intercession of the Mediator; there being "one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all." 3 Should they be strangers to His grace of whom we are treating, and who (after the manner of which we have spoken with sufficient fulness already) "do by nature, the things contained in the law," 4 of what use will be their "excusing thoughts" to them "in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men," 5 unless it be perhaps to procure for them a milder punishment?

For as, on the one hand, there are certain venial sins, which do not hinder the righteous man from the attainment of eternal life, and which are unavoidable in this life, so, on the other hand, there are some good works which are of no avail to an ungodly man towards the attainment of everlasting life, although it would be very difficult to find the life of any very bad man whatever entirely without them. But inasmuch as in the kingdom of God the saints differ in glory as one star does from another, 6 so likewise, in the condemnation of everlasting punishment, it will be more tolerable for Sodom

1 Ps. xix. 7. 2 Ps. iv. 6. 3 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.

* Rom. ii. 14. 5 Rom. ii. 15, 16. 6 1 Cor. xv. 41.

CHAP. XLIX. | GRACE THE SUBJECT OF PROMISE. 207

than for that other city; 'whilst some men will be twofold more the children of hell than others. 2 Thus in the judgment of God not even this fact will be without its influence, â€” that one man will have sinned more, or sinned less, than another, even when both are involved in the condemnation of the same ungodliness.

Chap. 49. â€” The grace promised by the prophet for the new covenant. What indeed could the apostle have meant to imply by the fact that, after checking the boasting of the Jews, by telling them that â— not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified," 3 he immediately afterwards speaks of them "which, having not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law," 4 if in this description not they are to be understood who belong to the Mediator's grace, but rather they who, while not worshipping the true God with true godliness, do yet exhibit some good works in the general course of their ungodly lives? Or perhaps the apostle deemed it probable (from the very fact that he had previously said that "with God there is no respect of persons," 5 and that he afterwards said that "God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles" 6 ) that even those scanty little works of the law, which are suggested by nature, were only discovered in those, who received not the law, by the remains of the image of God, which He does not disdain when they believe in Him, with whom there is no respect of persons. But whichever of these views is accepted, it is evident that the grace of God was
promised to the new testament or covenant even by the prophet, and that this grace was definitively announced to take this shape, 
â€” God's laws were to be written in men's hearts; and they were to arrive at such a knowledge of God, that men were not severally and solitarily to teach their neighbours and brothers, saying, Know the Lord; for all were to know Him, from the least to the greatest of them. 7 This is the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which love is shed abroad in our hearts, 8 
â€” not, indeed, any love of a vague, indefinite character, but God's love, " out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and

1 Luke x. 12. 2 Matt, xxiii. 15. 3 Rom. ii. 13. 4 Rom. ii. 14.
6 Rom. ii 11. 6 Rom. iii. 29. ' Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. 8 Rom. v. 5.

208 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. L.

an unfeigned faith/* by means of which the just man, while living in this pilgrim state, is led on, after the stages of " the glass," and " the enigma," and "the partial knowledge," to the actual vision, that he may see face to face, and know even as he is known himself. 2 For one thing has he required of the Lord, and that he still seeks after, that he may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of his life, in order to behold the fair beauty of the Lord. 8

Chap. 50. [xxix.] â€” Righteousness is the gift of Gad.

Let no man therefore boast of that which he seems to possess, as if he had not received it; 4 nor let him think that he has received it merely because the letter of the law has been externally exhibited to him to read, and sounded in his ear for him to hear it. For " if righteousness came by the law, then Christ died in vain." 5 Seeing, however, that He has not died in vain, and has ascended up on high, and has led captivity captive, and has given gifts to men, 6 it follows that whosoever possesses gifts, has them from that source. If, indeed, any man denies that he has received them thus, he either does not possess them, or is in great danger of being deprived of what he has. 7 " For it is one God which justifies the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith;" 8 in which clauses there is no real difference in the sense, as if the phrase " by faith" meant one thing, and "through faith" another, but only a variety of expression. For in one passage, when speaking of the Gentiles, â€” that is, of the uncircumcision, â€” he says, " The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen by faith 9 [ex fide, ifc TroirecDs]; " again, in another, when speaking of the circumcision, to which he himself belonged, he says, " We who are Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but through faith [per fidem, Sea 7rtVrea]9] in Jesus Christ, even we believed in Jesus Christ." 10 Observe, he says that the uncircumcision are justified by faith,
and the circumcision through faith, if, indeed, the circumcision keep the righteousness of faith. For "the Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of [or 'by'] faith," * by obtaining it of God, not by assuming it of themselves. " But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. And why? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law" 2 â€” in other words, working it out as it were by themselves, not believing that it is God who works within them.
" For it is God which worketh in us both to will and to do of His own good pleasure." 3 And hereby " they stumbled at the stumbling-stone." 4 For what he asserted about their " not seeking [righteousness] by faith, but as it were by the works of the law," 5 he most clearly explained in the following words:
" They, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." 6 Then are we still in doubt what are those works of the law by which a man is not justified, if he believes them to be his own works, as it were, without the help and gift of God, which is " by the faith of Jesus Christ?" 7 Do we suppose that they are circumcision and the other like ordinances, because some such things in other passages are read concerning these sacramental rites? In this place, however, it is certainly not circumcision which they wanted to establish as their own righteousness, because God established this by prescribing it Himself. ISTor is it possible for us to understand the statement of those works concerning which the Lord says to them, "Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition;" 7 because, as the apostle says, Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness." 1 He did not say, Which followed after their own traditions, framing them and relying on them. This then is solely the distinction in their case, that the very precept,
210 ON THE SPIKIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LI.

"Thou shalt not covet," 1 and God's other good and holy commandments, they attributed to themselves; whereas, that man may keep them, God must work in him through faith in Jesus Christ, who is " the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." 2 That is to say, every one who is incorporated into Him and made a member of His body, is able, by His giving the increase within, to work righteousness. It is of such a man's works that Christ Himself has said, " Without me ye can do nothing." 3

Chap. 51.

The righteousness of the law is set forth in these terms, that whosoever achieves the same shall live in it; and the purpose which such a proposition has in view is, that whenever a man has discovered his own weakness, he may by faith conciliate the grace of the Justifier, and thus, arriving at [the righteousness of the law] not by his own strength, nor by the letter of the law (which becomes impracticable and unavailing to him), may reduce it to action, and live in it. Now the work by which a man shall live, if he accomplish it, is only effectuated by one who is justified. His justification, however, is obtained by faith; and concerning faith it is written, " Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven ? (that is, to bring down Christ therefrom;) or, Who shall descend into the deep ? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it ? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is (says he), the word of faith which we preach; That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." 4 As far as he is saved, so far is he righteous. For by this faith we believe that God will raise even us from the dead, â€” even now in the spirit, that we may in this present world live soberly, righteously, and godly in the renewal of His grace; and by and by in our flesh, which shall rise again to an undying condition. This indeed is the gift of the Spirit, who introduces this immortality by a resurrection which is suitable in itself, â€” in a word, by our justification. " For we are buried with Christ by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised

1 Ex. xx. 17. 2 Rom. x. 4. 5 Jolm xv. 5. * Rom. x. 6-9.
up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." 1 By faith, therefore, in Jesus Christ we obtain salvation, â€” both so far as it is begun within us in reality, and is expected to be accomplished for us hereafter in hope; - for whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." 2 Â«How abundant," says the Psalmist "is the multitude of Thy goodness, Lord, which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee, and hast perfected for them that hope in Thee!" 3 By the law we fear God; by faith we hope in God: but from those who are afraid of punishment grace is hidden. Now the soul which labours under this fear, from not having conquered its evil concupiscence and from which this fear, like a harsh master, has not departed should flee for refuge to the mercy of God in faith that He may impart to it what He commands, and may, by infusing into it the sweetness of His grace through His Holy Spirit" cause the soul to take greater delight in what He teaches it, than pleasure in what opposes His instruction. In this manner it is that the abundance of God's goodness â€” that is to say, the law of faith, â€” the love which is impressed and shed abroad in men's hearts, is perfected in them that hope in Him, that good works may be wrought by the soul, when it is healed not by the fear of punishment, but by the love of righteousness.

Chap. 52. [xxx.]
Do we then by grace make void man's freedom of will? God forbid! We rather establish that faculty. For as the law is not weakened or cancelled by faith, neither is free will by grace. 4 Indeed, the law is only fulfilled by a free exercise of the will; for by the law is the knowledge of sin By faith comes the acquisition of grace to resist sin; by grace the soul procures healing from the disease of sin â€” by the health of the soul liberty is given to the will; from this freedom of the will arises the love of righteousness, and from this love of holiness proceeds the accomplishment of the law. Accordingly, as the law is not made void, but is established through faith, since faith procures the grace whereby the

3 Â° m ' vi: 4 - 2 Eom. x. 13; Joelii. 32.

212 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LIII.

law is fulfilled, so the freedom of the will is not made void through grace, but rather is thereby established, inasmuch as grace gives a healthy condition to a man's desire, whereby he is enabled to love righteousness frankly and fully? Now all the stages which I have here connected together in their successive links, have each their proper voices in the sacred Scriptures. The law says: "Thou shalt not covet." 1 Faith says: " Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee." 2 Grace says: " Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee." 3 The healed condition says:
"Lord my God, I cried unto Thee, and Thou hast healed me." 4 The liberty of the will says: "I will freely sacrifice unto Thee." 5 The love of righteousness says: "Transgressors told me pleasant tales, but not according to Thy law, Lord." 6 How is it then that miserable men dare to be proud, either of their free will, before they have liberty, or of their own strength, if they have been liberated? [Talk of free will!] They do not observe that in the very mention of free will there is of course the sound of liberty. But "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." 7 Since, however, they are the servants of sin, why do they boast of their free will? "For by what a man is overcome, by the same is he brought in bondage." 8 But if they have been liberated from that bondage, why do they vaunt themselves as if it were by their own doing? Why boast, as if they had not received [the gift?]

Or is their free condition of such sort that they do not choose to have Him for their Lord who says to them: "Without me ye can do nothing;" 9 and "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed?" 10

Chap. 53. [xxx.] â€” Is faith in our own power? possessing will; possessing power; how one is said to act against his will.

Some one will ask whether the faith itself lies in our own power, in which seems to be the beginning either of salvation, or of that series leading to salvation which I have just mentioned. Now we shall see this question more easily, if we first examine with some care what "our own power" means. There are then two faculties, â€” the exercise of will and the exercise of power, â€” and not every one that has the will has therefore the power also, nor has every one that possesses the power got the will in immediate control; for as we sometimes will what we cannot do, so also we sometimes can do what we do not will. If we turn over * in our examination merely the words themselves with sufficient care, we shall detect, in the very ring of the terms, the derivation of the wish or will 2 from the existence of the wishing faculty, 3 and of the ability or power* from the fact of our being able 5 to do this or that.

Therefore, even as the man who wishes has volition or will, so also the man who can do so and so possesses ability or power; but in order that a thing may be done with power, the will must be present. For no man is usually said to do a thing with power or mastery if he did it unwillingly. Although, at the same time, if we go into the thing accurately, even that which a man is forced to do against his will, he does, if he really accomplishes the
thing, with his will; only he is said to be an unwilling agent, or to act against his will in that particular thing, because he would prefer doing some other thing. He is compelled, indeed, by some unfortunate influence, to do what he does under the compulsion, wishing all the while to escape it or to remove it out of his way. Now if his will be such that he prefers not doing this to not suffering that, then undoubtedly he resists the compelling influence, and does it not. And accordingly, if he does it, it is not with a full free will, although at the same time it is not without a will that he does it; and inasmuch as the will is closely followed by its effect, we cannot say that he lacked the power, as he did it. If, indeed, he had the wish to do it, yielding to compulsion, but lacked the power, although we allowed that a coerced will was present to the agent, we should yet say that the power was absent. But when his reason for not doing the thing was because he was unwilling, then of course the power was present although the will was absent, since he did it not, by his resistance to the compelling influence. Hence it is that even they who compel, or they who persuade, to an action, are accustomed to say, Why don't you

1 Evolutis. 2 Voluntas. 3 Velle. * Potestas. 6 Posse.

214 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LIV.

do what you have it in your power to do, in order to get rid of this evil [coercion?] While they who are utterly powerless to do what they are compelled to do, on the ground that they are supposed to be able, usually answer that question by excusing themselves, and say, I would do it if it were in my power. What then do we want more, since we call that power when to the will is added at once the faculty of doing anything? Accordingly, every one is said to have that in his power which he does if he likes, and does not if he dislikes it.

Chap. 54. â€” Whether faith be in a man's own power; faith twofold; faith in our own power, but only when a man believes voluntarily â€” all power, but not will, is from God.

Attend now to the point which we have laid down for discussion: whether faith be in our own power? We now speak of that faith which we employ when we believe anything, not that which we impart when we make a promise; for this [fidelity] also is called faith. We use the word in one sense when we say, "He put no faith in me," and in another sense when we say, "He did not keep faith with me." The one phrase means, "He did not believe what I said;" the other, "He did not do what he promised." According to the faith by which we believe, we are faithful to God; but according to that whereby a thing is realized which is promised, God Himself even is faithful to us; for so much does the apostle declare, "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able." * Well, now, this is the faith about which we inquire, Whether it be in our power? even the faith by which we believe God, or believe in God. For of this it is written, "Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." 2 And again,
"To him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." 3 Consider now whether anybody believes, if he be unwilling; or whether he believes not, if he be desirous to do so. Such a position, indeed, is absurd; for what is believing but agreeing to the truth of what is asserted? This consent, however, proves the possession of will: faith, therefore, is in our own power. But, as

1 1 Cor. x. 13. 2 Rom. iv. 3; comp. Gen. xv. 6. 3 Rom. iv. 5.

CHAP. LV.] ALL POWER, BUT NOT WILL, FROM GOD. 215

the apostle says: "There is no power but comes from God," * what reason then is there why it may not be said to us even of that: "What hast thou which thou hast not received f 2 for it is God who gave us even to believe. Nowhere, however, in Holy Scripture do we find such an assertion as, There is no will or volition but comes from God. And rightly is it not so written, because it is not true. Otherwise God would be the Author of sins (which Heaven forbid!), if there were no will or volition except what comes from Him; inasmuch as a depraved will alone is already a sin, even if the effect be wanting, â€” in other words, if it has not the power of acting. But when the depraved will receives power to accomplish its intention, this proceeds from the judgment of God, with whom there is no unrighteousness. 3 He indeed inflicts His punishment even after such a manner as this; nor is His chastisement unjust, because it is secret. The ungodly man, however, is not aware that he is being punished, except when he unwillingly discovers by a manifest penalty how much evil he has willingly committed. This is just what the apostle remarks of certain men: "God hath given them up to the evil desires of their own hearts, ... to do those things that are not convenient." 4 Accordingly, the Lord also said to Pilate: "Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." 5 But still, when the power is given, it does not follow that a necessity is imposed. Therefore, although David had acquired a power to kill Saul, he preferred sparing to striking him. 6 Whence we understand that bad men receive power in their own depraved will for condemnation, while good men receive the power of a good will to test their piety.

Chap. 55. [xxxn.] â€” What faith is laudable.

Since faith, then, is in our power, inasmuch as every one believes when he likes; and since, when he believes, he willingly believes; our next inquiry, which we must conduct with care, is, What faith it is which the apostle commends with so much earnestness? For indiscriminate faith, [or

1 Rom. xiii. 1. 2 1 Cor. iv. 7. 3 Pcom. ix. 14.

4 Fconi. i. 24, 28. 5 John xix. 11. 6 1 Sam. xxiv. 7, and xxvi. 0.
cre dulity, is not a good thing. Accordingly we find this caution: "Brethren, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God." * Nor must the clause in commendation of charity, that it "believeth all things," 2 be so understood as derogating from the charity of any particular person, if he refuses at once to believe what he hears. For the same charity admonishes us that we ought not readily to believe anything evil about a brother; and when anything of the kind is said of him, it judges it to be more suitable to its own character not to believe the aspersion. Lastly, the same charity, "which believeth all things," does not believe every spirit. Accordingly [this distinction arises:] charity believes all things, but it believes in God. Observe, it is not said, Believes in all things. It cannot therefore be doubted that the faith which is commended by the apostle is the faith whereby we believe in God. 3

Chap. 56. åê” The faith of those who are under the law different from the faith of others; slavish fear; faith works by love, not by fear.

But there is yet another distinction to be observed, since they who are under the law both attempt to work righteousness through fear of punishment, and fail to do God's righteousness, because this is accomplished solely by the charity to which only what is lawful is pleasing, and never by the fear which is forced to regard in its work the thing which is lawful, although at the same time it has something else in its will which would prefer the unlawful object of its desire being allowed it, if it were only possible. These persons also believe in God; for if they had no faith in Him at all, neither would they of course have any dread of the penalty of His law. This, however, is not the faith which the apostle commends. He says: "Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father." 4 The fear, then, of which we speak is the fear of slaves; and therefore, even though there be in it a belief in the Lord, yet righteousness is not loved by it, but condemnation is feared. God's children, however, exclaim, "Abba, Father," åê” one of

1 1 John iv. 1. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 7.
3 Roui. iv. 3 (iviffrivcn rZ Qiu). 4 Rom. viii. 15.

CHAP, lyl] true faith. 217

which words they of the circumcision utter; the other, they of the uncircumcision, åê” the Jew first, and then the Greek. 1 There is "one God, which justifieth the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith." 2 When indeed they utter this call, they want something; and what do they want, but that which they hunger and thirst after? And what
else is this but that which is said of them, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." 3

Let, then, those who are under the law pass over to this position, and become sons instead of slaves; and yet not so as to cease to be servants, but so as, while they are sons, still to serve their Lord and Father in a loving and generous spirit. For even this great gift have they received; for the Only-begotten "gave them power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name;" 4 and He advised them to ask, to seek, and to knock, in order to receive, to find, and to have the gate opened to them, 5 adding by way of rebuke, the words: "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?" 6

When, therefore, that strength of sin, the law inflamed the sting of death, even sin, to take occasion by the commandment, and work all manner of concupiscence in them, 8 of whom were they to ask for the gift of continence, but of Him who knows how to give good gifts to His children? Perhaps, however, a man, in his folly, is unaware that no one can be continent except God give him the gift. To know this, indeed, hB requires Wisdom herself. 9 Why, then, does the man not listen to the Spirit of his Father, speaking through Christ's apostle, or even Christ Himself, who says in His gospel, "Seek and ye shall find;" 10 and who also says to us, speaking by His apostle: "If any one of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given to him. Let him, however, ask in faith, nothing wavering?" n This is the faith by which the just man lives; 12 ' this is the faith whereby he believes on Him.

1 Rom. ii. 9. 2 Rom. iii. 30. 3 Matt. v. 6. 4 John i. 12.

6 See Matt. vii. 7. 6 Matt, ifi.ll. 7 1 Cor. xv. 56. 8 Rom. vii. 8.

9 Wiad. viii. 21. 10 Matt. vii. 7. "Jas. i. 5, 6. 12 Rom. i. 17.

218 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LVI.

who justifies the ungodly; * this is the faith through which boasting is excluded, 2 either by the retirement of that with which we become self-inflated, or by the excitement of that with which we glory in the Lord. This, again, is the faith by which we procure that copious gift of the Spirit, of which it is said: "We indeed through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith." 3 But this admits of the further question, Whether he meant by "the hope of righteousness" that by which righteousness hopes, or that whereby righteousness is itself hoped for? For the just man, who lives by faith, hopes undoubtedly for eternal life; and the faith likewise, which hungers and thirsts for righteousness, makes progress therein by the renewal of the inward man day by day, 4 and hopes to be satiated therewith in that eternal life, where shall be realized that which is said by the Psalmist of God:
"Who satisfieth thy desire with good things." 5 This, moreover, is the faith whereby they are saved to whom it is said:
"By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." 6 This, in short, is the faith which works not by fear, but by love; 7 not by dreading punishment, but by loving righteousness. Whence, therefore, arises this love, "that is to say, this charity," by which faith works, if not from the source whence faith itself obtained it? For it would not be within us, to what extent soever it is in us, if it were not diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to us. 8 Now "the love of God" is said to be shed abroad in our hearts, not because He loves us, but because He makes us lovers of Himself; just as "the righteousness of God" 9 is used in the sense of our being made righteous by His gift; and "the salvation of the Lord" 10 in that we are saved by Him; and "the faith of Jesus Christ" 11 because He makes us believers in Him. This is that righteousness of God, which He not

1 Rom. iv. 5. 2 Rom. iii. 27. 3 Gal. v. 5.
4 2 Cor. iv. 16. 6 Vs. ciii. 5 (Sept.). 6 Eph. ii. 8-10.
7 Gal. v. 6. 8 Rom. v. 5. 9 Rom. iii. 21.
10 Ps. iii. 8. Â» Gal. ii. 16.

CHAP. LVIII.] WHENCE COMES THE WILL TO BELIEVE? 219

only teaches us by the precept of His law, but also bestows upon us by the gift of His Spirit.

Chap. 57. [xxxiii.] Â” Whence comes the will to believe?
But it remains for us briefly to inquire, Whether the will

iwhith which we believe be itself the gift of God, or whether it be the production of that freedom of will which is naturally implanted in us? If we say that it is not the gift of God, we must then incur the fear of supposing that we have discovered some -answer to the apostle's reproachful appeal: "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thouhadst not received it V' 1 â€” even some such an answer as this: See, we have the will to believe, which we did not receive. See in what we glory, â€” even in the fact that we did not receive it! If, however, we were to say that this kind of will is nothing but the gift of God, we should then have to fear lest unbelieving ungodly men might ilnot unreasonably seem to have some fair ground for their un-I-belief, in the fact that God has refused to give them this will.
Now the apostle's statement: "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of His own good pleasure," 2 refers to that grace which faith secures, in order that good works may be within the reach of man, â€” even the good works which faith achieves through the love which is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost which is given to us. If we believe that jwe may obtain this grace (and of course believe with our will), then the question arises, whence we have this will ? â€” if from nature, why is it not at everybody's command, since the same God made all men ? if from God's gift, then again, why is not the gift open to all, since "He will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth ?" 3

Chap. 58. â€” The free will of man is an intermediate power; the will of God is invincible for ever; good works the result of grace.

Let us then, first of all, lay down this proposition, and see whether it satisfies the question before us, that our freedom of will is naturally assigned by the Creator to our rational soul, and that it is an intermediate power, which is able either to incline towards faith, or to turn towards unbelief. Consequently a man cannot be said to have even that will with 1 1 Cor. iv. 7. 2 Phil. ii. 13. 3 1 Tim. ii. 4.

which he believes in God, without having received it, since at the call of God it rises out of that free will which he received naturally when he was created. God no doubt wishes all men to be saved; but yet not so as to take away from them their liberty of will, for the good or the evil use of which they may be most righteously judged. This being the case, unbelievers indeed do contrary to the will of God when they do not believe His gospel; nevertheless they do not overcome His will, but they rob their own selves of the great, nay, the very greatest, good, and implicate themselves in penalties of misery, destined to experience in their punishment the power of Him whose mercy they despised in His gifts. Thus God's will is for ever invincible; but it would be vanquished, unless it could devise what to do with such as despised it, or if these despisers could in any way escape from the retribution which He has appointed for such as they.

Suppose a master, for example, who should say to his servants, I wish you to labour in my vineyard, and, after your work is done, to feast and take your rest; but who, at the same time, should require any who refused to work to grind in the mill ever after. Whoever neglected such a command would evidently act contrary to the master's will; but he would do more than that, â€” he would vanquish that will, if he also despised and refused the mill. This, however, cannot possibly happen under the government of God. Whence it is written, "God hath spoken once," â€” that is, irrevocably, â€” although the passage may refer to His one only Son. He then adds what it is which He had irrevocably uttered, saying: "Twice have I heard this, that power belongeth unto God. Also unto Thee, Lord, doth mercy belong: because Thou wilt render to every man according to his work." 1 He
therefore will be guilty enough to deserve condemnation under God's mighty hand, who shall think too contemptuously of His mercy to believe in Him. But whosoever shall put his trust in Him, and yield himself up to Him, for the forgiveness of all his sins, for the cure of all his corruption, and for the kindling and illumination of his soul by His warmth and light, shall find good works spring from His grace; and by them he shall be even

1 Ps. lxii. 11, 12. 2 Ex quibus.

CHAP. LIX.] THE MERCY OR GRACE OF GOD. 221

in his body redeemed from the corruption of death, and be crowned, and be satisfied with blessings, â€” not temporal, but eternal, â€” above what we can ask or understand.

Chap. 59. â€” Mercy and pity in the judgment of God.

This is the order observed in the psalm, where it is said: 
" Bless the Lord, my soul, and forget not all His recompenses; who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercy; who satisfieth thy desire with good things." 1 And lest by any chance these great blessings should be despaired of under the corruption and deformity of our old mortal condition, the Psalmist at once says, a Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's;" 2 as much as to say, All that you have heard belongs to the renewed man and to the new covenant. Now let us consider together briefly these very [statements of the psalm,] and with delight examine its eulogy on the mercy, that is, the grace of God. " Bless the Lord, my soul," he says, " and forget not all His recompenses." Observe, he does not say blessings, but recompenses; 3 because He recompenses evil with good. "Who forgiveth all thine iniquities:" this is done in the sacrament of baptism. " Who healeth all thy diseases:" this is effected by the believer in the present life, while the flesh so lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, that we cannot do the things we would; 4 whilst also another law in our members wars against the law of our mind; 5 whilst to will is present indeed to us, but not how to perform that which is good. 6 These are the diseases of a man's old nature, which, however, if we only advance with persevering purpose, are healed by the growth of the new nature day by day, owing to the faith which operates through love. 7 " Who redeemeth thy life from destruction:" this will take place at the resurrection of the dead in the last day. " Who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercy;" this shall be accomplished in the day of judgment; for when the righteous King

1 Ps. ciii. 2-5. 2 Ps. ciii. 5.

8 Non tributiones, sed retributiones. 4 Gal. v. 17.

* Rom. vii. 23. 6 Rom. vii. 18. 7 Gal. v. 6.
shall sit upon His throne to render to every man according to his works, who shall be then able to boast of having a pure heart? or who shall glory of being clean from sin? It was therefore necessary to mention God's loving-kindness and tender mercy as present there, where one might expect debts to be demanded and deserts recompensed so strictly as to leave no room for mercy. Well then does he crown [the edifice of grace] with mercy and pity; but even here regard is had to works. For the man shall be separately placed on the right hand for it to be said to him, *I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat." 1 There will, however, be also "judgment without mercy;" but it will be for him "that hath not showed mercy." 2 But "blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy" 3 of God. Then, as soon as those on the left hand shall have gone into eternal fire, and the righteous into everlasting life, 4 [these shall experience that of which] He says: "This is life eternal, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

And with this knowledge, this vision, this contemplation, shall the desire of their soul be satisfied; for it shall be enough for it to have this and nothing else, â€” there being nothing more for it to desire, to aspire to, or to require. It was with a craving after this full joy that his heart glowed who said to the Lord Christ, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us;"

and to whom the answer was returned, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." 6 Because He is Himself the eternal life, in order that men may know, God, that Thou art one only with Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. If, however, he that has seen the Father has also seen the Son, then assuredly he who sees the Father and the Son sees also the Holy Spirit of the Father and the Son. So we do not impair the freedom of man's will, whilst our soul blesses the Lord and forgets not all His recompenses; 7 nor does it, in ignorance of God's righteousness, wish to set up one of its own; 8 but it believes in Him who justifies the ungodly, 9 and until it arrives at the sight of its happiness, it lives by faith,

1 Matt. xxv. 35. 2 Jas. ii. 13. 3 Matt. v. 7.

4 Matt. xxv. 46. 5 John xvii. 3. 6 John xiv. 8, 9.

7 Ps. ciii. 2. 8 Rom. x. 3. 9 Rom. iv. 5.

CHAP. LX.] GOD WORKS WILLINGNESS IN MAN. 223

â€” even that faith which works by love. 1 And this love is shed abroad in our hearts, by no sufficiency of our own will, nor by the letter of the law, but by the Holy Ghost who has been given to us. 2
Chap. 60. [xxxiv.] The will to believe is from God.

Let this discussion suffice, as it satisfactorily meets the question we had to solve. Since, however, it is objected in reply, that we must be on our guard lest any man should suppose the sin would have to be imputed to God which is committed through our free will, if in the passage where it is said, "What hast thou which thou didst not receive?" 3 the very will by which we believe in God is therefore reckoned as a gift of God, because it arises out of that freedom of our will which we received at our creation 4 then let the objector attentively observe that the will in question must not be ascribed to the divine gift, merely because it arises from our freedom of will, which was created naturally with us; for there is another reason, even because God acts upon us by the incentives of visible objects to will and to believe; He also influences us externally by evangelical exhortations; where even the commands of the law also do something, since they so far admonish a man of his infirmity, that he betakes himself to the grace that justifies by believing; He furthermore affects our minds by internal influence, in which no man has it in his own control as to what shall enter into his thoughts; it appertains, however, to his own will either to consent or to dissent. Since God, therefore, in such ways acts upon the reasonable soul, and induces it to believe in Him (for nothing whatever can possibly trust in man's free will, seeing that it has no persuasiveness and no call in which to believe), it surely follows that it is God who works in man the actual willingness to believe, and in all things prevents us with His mercy. To yield our consent indeed, or to withhold it, whenever God calls, is (as I have said) the function of our own will. Now this circumstance not only does not invalidate what is said, "For what hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 4 but it really confirms it. For the

1 Gal. v. 6. 2 Rom. v. 5. 3 1 Cor. iv. 7. 4 1 Cor. iv. 7.

224 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER [CHAP. LXII.

soul cannot receive and possess these gifts, which are here referred to, except by yielding its own consent. So that whatever it possesses, and whatever it receives, is from God and belongs to God; and yet the act of receiving and having belongs, of course, to the receiver and the possessor. Now, should any man be for constraining us to examine into that profound fact of our moral nature, why this person is so far advised as to be persuaded, and that person is not, there are only two thoughts occurring to me, which I should like to advance as my answer: "the depth of the riches I" 1 and "Is there unrighteousness with God?" 2 If the man is displeased with such an answer, he must seek more learned disputants. Let him beware, however, lest he find in them presumptuous wranglers!

Chap. 61. [xxxv.] Conclusion of the work.
Let us at last bring our book to an end. I hardly know whether we have accomplished our purpose at all by our great prolixity. It is not in respect of you, [my Marcellinus,] that I have this misgiving, for I know your faith; but with reference to the minds of those for whose sake you wished me to write. It is not so much in opposition to my opinion, but (to speak mildly, and not to mention the doctrine of Him who spoke in His apostles) certainly against not only the opinion of the great Apostle Paul, but also his strong, earnest, and vigilant conflict, that they prefer maintaining their own views with tenacity to listening to him, when he "beseeches them by the mercies of God," and tells them, "through the grace of God which was given to him, not to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God had dealt to every man the measure of faith." 3

Chap. 62. â€” He returns to the question which Marcellinus had proposed to him.

But I beg of you to advert to the question which you proposed to me, and to what we have made out of it in the lengthy process of this discussion. You were perplexed how I could have said that it was possible for a man to be without sin, if his will were not wanting, by the help of God's

1 Rom. xi. 33. 2 Rom. ix. 14. 3 Rom. xii. 1, 3.

CHAP. LXIL] ALL THINGS POSSIBLE WITH GOD. 225

strength, although no man in the present life had ever lived, was living, or would live, of such perfect righteousness. Now, in the books which I formerly addressed to you, I set forth this very question. I said: fS If I were asked whether it be possible for a man in this life to be without sin, I should allow the possibility, through the grace of God, and the man's own free will; for I should have no doubt that the free will itself is ascribable to God's grace, â€” in other words, has its place among the gifts of God, â€” not only as to its existence, but also in respect of its goodness; that is to say, [it is a gift of God] that it applies itself to doing the commandments of God. Thus it is that God's grace not only shows a man what he ought to do, but also gives him such assistance as secures the possibility of that being done which His grace points out to be done." 1 You seemed to think it absurd, that a thing which might happen was actually unexampled. Hence arose the subject treated of in this book; and thus did it devolve on me to show that a thing was possible although no example of it could be found. We accordingly adduced certain cases out of the gospel and of the law, at the beginning of this work, â€” such as the passing of a camel through the eye of a needle; 2 and the twelve [thousand] legions of angels, who could fight for Christ, if He pleased; 3 and those nations which God said He could have exterminated at once from the face of His people, 4 â€” none of which possibilities were ever reduced to fact. To these instances may be added those which are referred to in the Book of Wisdom, 5 su^v^estng how many are the strange torments and troubles which God was able to employ against ungodly men, by using the creature which was obedient to His beck, which, however, He did not employ. One might also allude to the supposed
"mountain," which faith could remove into the sea, although no realization of such a thing anywhere took place, so far as we have ever read or heard. Now you see how thoughtless

1 See his work preceding this, Be Peccat. Meritis, ii. 7.


6 Wisdom xvi. 6; att xx v 21.

7 Augustine, it would then seem, had not met with the statement of Eusebius,

4 P

226 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LXIII.

and foolish would be the man who should say that any one of these things is impossible with God, and how opposed to the sense of Scripture would be his assertion. Many other cases of this kind may occur to anybody who reads or thinks, the possibility of which with God we cannot deny, although there may not be any example of them forthcoming.

Chap. 63. â€” An objection.

But inasmuch as it may be said that the instances which I have been quoting are divine works, whereas to live righteousness is a work that belongs to ourselves, I undertook to show that even this too is a divine work. This I have done in the present book, with perhaps a fuller statement than is necessary, although I seem to myself to have said too little against the opponents of the grace of God. And I am never so much delighted in my treatment of a subject as when Scripture comes most copiously to my aid; and when the question to be discussed requires that "he that glorieth should glory in the Lord;" 1 and that we should in all things lift up our hearts and give thanks to the Lord our God, from whom, v as the Father of lights, every good and every perfect gift cometh down. 2 Now if a gift is not God's gift, on the ground of its being wrought by us, or because we act by His gift, then it is not a work of God that "a mountain should be removed into the sea," inasmuch as, according to the Lord's statement, it is through faith men's faith that this is possible. Moreover, He attributes the deed to their actual operation: "If ye have faith in yourselves as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; it shall be done, and nothing shall be impossible to your 7 Observe how He said "to you," not to me or to the Father; and yet it is certain that no man does such a thing without God's gift and operation. See how unexampled among men is an instance of
as translated by Rufinus (Hist. vii. 24), to the effect that Gregory, bishop of Neocesarea, in Pontus, once performed the miracle of removing a mountain or rock from its place; which Bede also mentions, Comment, on Mark xi., Book iii.

1 2 Cor. x. 17. 2 Jas. i. 17.


CHAP. LXIV.] LOVE THE FULFILLING OF THE LAW. 227

perfect righteousness; but yet it is not impossible. For it might be achieved if there were only applied as much of a favourable will as suffices for so great a work. Now there would accrue this just amount of will, if there were not hidden from us any of those qualities and conditions which pertain to righteousness; and if these pleasantly affected our mind to such a degree, that whatever hindrance of pleasure or pain might else occur, this delight in holiness prevailed over every rival affection. Now the fact that this is not realized, is not owing to any intrinsic impossibility, but to God's judicial act. For who can be ignorant of the truth, that it is not in a man's power as to what he should know; nor does it follow that what he has discovered to be a desirable object is actually desired, unless he also feel a delight in that object, commensurate with its claims on his affection? For this is characteristic of the soul's healthy condition.

Chap. 64. [xxxvi.] â€” How the commandment to love is fulfilled; sins of ignorance.

But somebody will perhaps think that we want nothing for helping us to the knowledge of righteousness, since the Lord, when on earth He summarily and briefly expounded His word, informed us that the whole law and the prophets depend on two commandments j 1 nor was He silent as to what these were, but declared them in the plainest words: "Thou shalt love," said He, "the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." 2 What is more surety true than that, if these be fulfilled, all righteousness is fulfilled? But the man who sets his mind on this truth must also carefully attend to another, â€” in how many things we all of us offend, 3 while we suppose that what we do is pleasant (or, at all events, not unpleasing) to God whom we love; and afterwards, having (through His inspired word, or else by being warned in some clear and certain way) learned what is not pleasing to Him, we pray to Him that He would forgive us on our repentance. The life of man is full of examples of this. But whence comes it that we fall short of knowing what is pleasing to Him, if it be not from the circumstance

1 Matt. xxii. 40. 2 Matt. xxii. 37, 39. 3 Jas. iii. 2.
that He is to that extent unknown to us? " For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face." 1 Who, however, can make so bold, on arriving far enough to say: "Then shall I know even as also I am known," 2 as to think that they who shall see God will have no greater love towards Him than they have who now believe in Him? or that the one ought to be compared to the other, as if they were in very near ratio with each other? Now, if love increases just in proportion as our knowledge of its object becomes more intimate, of course we ought to believe that there is as much wanting now to the fulfilment of righteousness as there is defective in our love of it. A thing may indeed be known or believed, and yet not loved; but it is an utter impossibility that a thing can be loved which is neither known nor believed. But if the saints, in the exercise of their faith, could arrive at that great love, than which (as the Lord Himself testified) no greater can possibly be exhibited in the present life, â€” even to lay down their lives for the faith, or for their brethren, 3 â€” then after their pilgrimage here, in which their walk is by " faith," when they shall have reached the "sight" of that final happiness 4 which we hope for, though as yet we see it not, and wait for in patience, 5 [then, I say.] the very love itself shall undoubtedly be not only greater than that which we here experience, but far higher than all which we ask or think; 6 and yet it cannot be possibly more than [we can embrace] with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind. For there remains in us nothing which can be added to the whole; since, if anything did remain, there would not be the whole. Therefore the first commandment about righteousness, which bids us love the Lord with all our heart, and soul, and mind 7 (the next to which is, that we love our neighbour as ourselves), we shall completely fulfil in that life, when we shall see face to face. 8

1 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 3 John xv. 13.
4 2 Cor. v. 7. s Rom. viii. 23. 6 Eph. iii. 20.
7 Matt. xxii. 37. 8 1 Cor. xiii. 12.
righteousness which is to be perfected hereafter, who has discovered by this very advance how very far removed he is from the completion of righteousness.

Chap. 65. ã€” In what sense a sinless righteousness in this life can be asserted. Forasmuch, however, as an inferior righteousness may be said to be competent to this life, whereby the just man lives by faith, 2 although absent from the Lord; still as walking by faith, and not yet by sight, 3 it may be said, even in respect of it, that it is free from sin; for it ought not to be attributed to it as a fault, that it is not as yet sufficient for so great a love to God, as is due to the final, complete, and perfect condition thereof. It is one thing to fail at present in attaining to the fulness of love, and another thing to be swayed by no lust.

A man ought therefore to abstain from every unlawful desire, however much he loves God now less than it is possible to love Him when He becomes an object of sight. It is just the same in matters connected with the bodily senses: the eye can receive no pleasure from any kind of darkness, although it may be unable to look with a firm sight amidst refulgent light. Only let us see to it that we so constitute the soul of man in this corruptible body, that, although it has not yet absorbed and consumed the motions of earthly lust, it nevertheless, in that inferior righteousness to which we have referred, gives no consent to the aforesaid lust for the purpose of effecting any unlawful thing. In respect, therefore, of that perfect eternal life, the commandment is even now applicable: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might;" 4 but in reference to the present life the following suits: "Let not sin reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof." 5 To the one, again, belongs, "Thou shalt not covet;" 6 to the other, "Thou shalt not go after thy lusts." 7 To the one it appertains to seek for nothing more than to continue in its perfect state; to the other it belongs actively to do the duty committed to it, and to hope as its reward for the perfection of the future life, ã€”

1 Phil. iii. 13. 2 Rom. i. 17. 3 2 Cor. v. 7. 4 Deut. vi. 5.
5 Rom. vi. 12. 6 Ex. xx. 17. 7 Ecclus. xviii. 30.

230 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LXV.

to the other it belongs actively to do the duty committed to it, and to hope as its reward for the perfection of the future life, ã€”
so that in the one the just man may live for evermore in the sight of that happiness which in this life was his object of desire; in the other, he may live by that faith whereon rests his desire for the ultimate blessedness as its certain end.
(These things being so, it will be sinful in the man who walks by faith ever to consent to an unlawful delight, ã€” in committing not only frightful deeds and crimes, but even trifling faults; sinful, if he lend an ear to a word that ought not to be listened to, or a tongue to a phrase which should not be uttered; sinful, if he entertains a thought in his heart in such a way as to wish that an evil pleasure were a lawful one, although known to be unlawful by the commandment, ã€”
for this amounts to a consent to sin, which would certainly be precipitated in act, unless fear of punishment deterred.) 1 Such just men, while living by faith, have no need to say: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." 2 And they prove that to be wrong which is written, "In Thy sight shall no man living be justified;" 3 and also the passages: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;" 4 and, "There is no man that sinneth not;" 5 and again, "There is not on the earth a righteous man, who doeth good and sinneth not" 6 (both these statements are expressed in a general future sense, ë“ë’" sinneth not," ë“ë’" will not sin," ë“ë’" not in the past time, "has not sinned"); and all other places of this purport contained in Holy Scripture. Since, however, these passages cannot possibly be false, it plainly follows, to my mind, that whatever be the quality or extent of the righteousness which we may definitively ascribe to the present life, there is not a man living in it who is absolutely free from all sin; and that it is necessary for every one to give, that it may be given to him; 7 and to forgive, that it may be forgiven him; 8 and whatever righteousness he has, not to

1 [The Benedictine editor is not satisfied with the place of the lines in the parenthesis. He would put them in an earlier position, perhaps before the clause beginning with, "Only let us see to it," etc.]

2 Matt. vi. 12. 3 Ps. cxlii. 2. 4 1 John i. 8. 5 1 Kings viii. 46. 6 Ecclus. 7 Luke vi. 30, 38. 8 Luke xi. 4.

CHAP. LXVI.] POSSIBILITY OF PERFECT RIGHTEOUSNESS. 231

presume that he has it of himself, but from the grace of God, who justifies him, and still to go on hungering and thirsting for righteousness 1 from Him who is the living bread, 2 and with whom is the fountain of life; 3 who works in His saints, whilst labouring amidst temptation in this life, their justification in such manner that He may still have somewhat to impart to them liberally when they ask, and something mercifully to forgive them when they confess it.

Chap. 66. â€” Although perfect righteousness be not found here on earth, it is still not impossible.

But let objectors find, if they can, any man, while living under the weight of this corrupt nature, in whom God has no longer anything to forgive; they will still â€” unless they acknowledge that such an individual has been aided in the attainment of his good character not merely by the teaching of the law which God gave, but also by the infusion of grace by His Spirit â€” incur the charge of ungodliness itself, not of this or that particular sin. Of course they are not at all able to discover such a man, if they receive in a becoming manner the testimony of the divine writings. Still, for all that, it must not by any means be said that with God there is no possibility whereby the will of man can be
assisted to such a degree, that there can be accomplished in every respect even now in a man, not that righteousness only which is of faith, but that also in accordance with which we shall by and by have to live for ever in the very vision of God. Now, suppose even that this corruptible in any particular man should wish to put on incorruption, and should desire him so to live among mortal men (not destined himself to die) that his old nature should be wholly and entirely withdrawn, and there should be no law in his members warring against the law of his mind, moreover, that he should discover God to be everywhere present, as the saints shall hereafter know and behold Him, who will madly venture to affirm that this is impossible? Men, however, ask why it does not do this; but they who raise the question consider not duly the fact that they are human. I am quite certain that, as nothing is

1 Matt. v. 6. - John vi. 51. 3 Ts. xxxvi. 9.

* Rom. x. 6. 5 1 Cor. xv. 53. c Rom. vii. 23.

232 ON THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER. [CHAP. LXIV.

impossible with God, so also there is no iniquity with Him. Equally sure am I that He resists the proud, and gives grace to the humble. I know also that to him who had a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure, it was said, when he besought God for its removal once, twice, nay thrice: " My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness." There is, therefore, in the hidden depths of God's judgments, a certain reason why every mouth even of the righteous should be shut in their own commendation, and only opened to celebrate the praise of God. But what this certain reason is, who can calculate, who investigate, who know? So " unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been His counsellor? or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen." 5


4 2 Cor. xii. 7-9. 5 Rom. xi. 33-36.

A TREATISE
ON NATURE AND GRACE,
AGAINST PELAGIUS.
BY

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO; CONTAINED IN ONE BOOK, ADDRESSSED TO TIMASIUS AND JACOBUS.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 415.

NOTE ON THE FOLLOWING WORK.

In a letter (169 th) to Evodius, written in the course of the year a.d. 415/ Augustine assigned to this work, On Nature and Grace, the last place of several treatises written in that year, "I have also written," says he, "an extensive book in opposition to the heresy of Pelagius, at the request of some brethren, whom he had persuaded to accept a very dangerous opinion injurious to the grace of Christ." The work had been begun, but was not completed, when Orosius sailed from Africa to Palestine, in the spring of this very year of 415; for this man, shortly after his arrival, at a council in Jerusalem, where Pelagius was present, expressly affirmed, "that the blessed Augustine had prepared a very complete answer to Pelagius' book, two of whose followers had presented the work to him, and requested him to reply to it." Jerome, also, at this very time mentioned a certain production of Augustine's, which he had not yet seen, wherein it was said that he had expressly opposed Pelagius. His words, which occur in his third dialogue against the heresy of Pelagius, are these: â– It is said that he is preparing other

233

234 ON NATURE AND GRACE.

...treatises likewise, especially against your name and opinions." Augustine, however, did not actually employ in this work of his the name of Pelagius, whose book he was refuting, in order that (as he says in his letter [186 th] to Paulinus) he might not by personal irritation drive him into a more incurable degree of opposition; for he hoped to be of some service to his opponent, if by still maintaining friendly terms with him he might be able to spare his feelings, although he could not in duty show leniency to his writings. Thus, at least, he expresses his mind, in his book On the Doings of Pelagius, ch. xxiii. In this latter passage he subjoins a letter which he had received from Timasius and Jacobus, containing the expression of great gratitude to Augustine on receiving his volume On Nature and Grace, in which they expressed "their agreeable surprise" at the answers he had furnished to them "on every point" of the Pelagian controversy. In the following year Augustine despatched this work, along with Pelagius' own book, to John, bishop of Jerusalem, in order that that prelate might...
become acquainted with the views of the new heresiarch, accompanying the books with a letter to the bishop [179 th]. In the course of this year 416, he had the same two treatises (his own and Pelagius') forwarded to Pope Innocent, with a letter [177th] forwarded in the name of five bishops, to which Innocent returned an answer [183d].

It maybe here stated, that in this last-mentioned letter [183, n. 5], and in the foregoing epistle [177, n. 6], there is honourable mention made of Timasius and Jacobus, as "conscientious and honourable young men, servants of God, who had relinquished the hope which they had in the world by the exhortation of Pelagius himself, and continued diligently to serve God. The same persons are described in another epistle [1 79, n. 2] as "young men of very honourable birth, and highly educated;" and in the work Be Gestis Pelagii, ch. xxiii., they are called "servants of God, good, and honourable men."

Julianus [who espoused the side of Pelagius], in his work addressed to Floras (book iv. n. 112, of the imperfect work), quotes this treatise of Augustine's as addressed to Timasius, and calumniously pronounces it to be written "against the freedom of the human will."

EXTRACT FROM "THE RETRACTATIONS." 235

From " The Retractations" Book II. chap. 43.

" At that time there found its way into my hands a certain book of Pelagius', in which he defends, with all the argumentative skill he can muster, the nature of man, in disparagement of that grace of God whereby we are justified and become Christians. The treatise, which contains my reply to him (and in which I uphold grace, net indeed in disparagement of nature, but as that which liberates and controls nature), I have entitled De naturd et gratia [' On Nature and Grace ']. In this work there are sundry short passages, quoted by Pelagius, as the words of the Eoman bishop and martyr, Xystus or Sixtus, vindicated by myself 1 as if they really were the words of this Sixtus. I thought they were, at the time; but I afterwards discovered, that Sixtus the heathen philosopher, and not Sixtus the Christian bishop, was their author. This treatise of mine begins with the words:
' Librum quern misistis ' [' The book which you sent me ']."

HE BEGINS WITH AN EXAMINATION CONCERNING NATURE AND CONCERNING GRACE; HE SHOWS THAT NATURE, AS PROPAGATED FROM THE FLESH OF THE SINFUL ADAM, BEING NO LONGER WHAT GOD MADE IT AT FIRST, â€” FAULTLESS AND SOUND, â€” REQUIRES THE AID OF GRACE, IN ORDER THAT IT MAY BE REDEEMED FROM THE WRATH OF GOD, AND REGULATED FOR THE PERFECTION OF RIGHTEOUSNESS; THAT THE PENAL FAULT OF NATURE LEADS TO A MOST RIGHTEOUS PUNISHMENT; WHILST GRACE ITSELF IS NOT
BESTOWED OWING TO ANY DESERTS OF OURS, BUT IS GIVEN GRATUITOUSLY:
THEY, THEREFORE, WHO ARE NOT DELIVERED BY IT ARE JUSTLY CONDEMNED.
HE AFTERWARDS REFUTES, WITH ANSWERS ON EVERY SEVERAL POINT, A WORK BY PELAGIUS, WHO SUPPORTS THE SELF-SAME NATURE IN OPPOSITION TO GRACE. ONE OF THE CHIEF POSITIONS OF PELAGIUS WAS, THAT A MAN COULD LIVE WITHOUT SIN; IN HIS DESIRE TO ADVANCE THIS, HE CONTENDED THAT NATURE HAD NOT BEEN WEAKENED AND CHANGED BY SIN; FOR, OTHERWISE, THE MATTER OF SIN WOULD BE ITS PUNISHMENT, â€” A PRO-POSITION WHICH HE THINKS ABSURD, â€” IF THE SINNER WERE WEAKENED TO SUCH A DEGREE THAT HE ONLY COMMITTED MORE SIN. HE GOES ON TO ENUMERATE SUNDRY RIGHTEOUS MEN BOTH OF THE OLD AND OF THE NEW TESTAMENTS \ DEeming THESE TO HAVE BEEN FREE FROM SIN, HE ALLEGED THE POSSIBILITY OF AVOIDING SIN TO BE INHERENT IN MAN; AND THIS HE ATTRIBUTED TO GOD'S GRACE, ON THE GROUND THAT GOD IS THE AUTHOR OF

1 In chap. 77.

236 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. I.

THAT NATURE IN WHICH IS INSEPARABLY INHERENT THIS ALLEGED POSSI-BILITY OF AVOIDING SIN, TOWARDS THE END OF THIS TREATISE THERE IS AN EXAMINATION OF SUNDRY EXTRACTS FROM OLD WRITERS, WHICH PELAGIUS ADDUCED IN SUPPORT OF HIS VIEWS, AND EXPRESSLY FROM HILARY, AMBROSE, AND EVEN AUGUSTINE HIMSELF.

Chap. 1. [i.] â€” The occasion of publishing this work; God's righteousness,

what it is.

THE book which, you sent to me, my beloved Timasius and Jacobus, I have read through hastily, but not without considerable attention, omitting only the few points which are plain enough to everybody; and I saw in it a person of most ardent zeal warm against those, who, when they ought to censure the human will in their own sins, are more forward in accusing man's nature in general, and thereby endeavour to excuse their own
faults. He shows too great a warmth against this evil, which even literary authors have severely censured, with the exclamation: "The human race wrongly complains of its own nature!" 1 This same sentiment your author has also treated in a very exaggerated tone, with all the powers of his mind. I fear, however, that he will chiefly help those "who have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge," who, "being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God." 2 Now, what the righteousness of God is, of which

[the apostle] here speaks, he immediately afterwards explains by adding: "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." 3 This righteousness of God, therefore, lies not in the commandment of the law, which excites fear, but in the aid afforded by the grace of Christ, to which alone the fear of the law, as of a schoolmaster, 4 usefully conducts. Now, the man who understands this understands why he is a Christian. "If righteousness indeed came by the law, then Christ is dead in vain." 5 Since, however, He did not die in vain, in Him only is the ungodly man justified, to whom, as believing in Him who justifies the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness. 6 For all men have sinned.

1 See Sallust's Prologue to his Jugurtha. 2 Rom. x. 2, 3.
8 Rom. x. 4. 4 Gal. iii. 24. 5 Gal. ii. 21. 6 Rom. iv. 5.

CHAP. II.] NATUEAX RIGHTEOUSNESS. 237

and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by His blood. 1 Now, all those persons who do not think themselves to belong to the "all who have sinned and fall short of the glory of God;" have of course no need to become Christians, because "they that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; " 2 whence it is, that He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

Chap. 2. [n.] â€” Faith in Christ not necessary to salvation, if a man without it can lead a righteous life; righteousness comes neither by the law nor by nature.

Therefore human nature, such as is generated from the flesh of the one original transgressor, if it is self-sufficient to fulfil the law and to perfect righteousness, ought to be sure of its reward, that is, secure of everlasting life, even if in any nation or at any former time faith in the blood of Christ was quite unknown to it. For God is not so unjust as to deprive righteous persons of the reward of righteousness, because they had not announced to them the mystery of Christ's divine and human nature, which was manifested in the flesh. 4 For how could they believe what they had not heard of; or how could they hear without a preacher? a For "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ. But I say
(adds he): Have they not heard? Yes, verily; their sound went out into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." Before, however, all this could have been accomplished, previous, in fact, to the actual preaching of the gospel reaching the utmost bounds of all the earth because there are some remote nations still (although it is said they are very few) to whom the preached gospel has not found its way, what must human nature do, or what has it done?

For it had either not heard that all this was to take place, or had not yet learnt that it was accomplished. What, I say, could it do, but believe in God who made heaven and earth, by whom also it felt that it had been itself created, and lead a right life, and by doing and believing this to accomplish His will, unimbued with any faith in the death and resurrection of Christ? Well, if this could have been done, or can


4 1 Tim. iii. 16. 6 Rom. x. 14. 6 Rom. x. 17, 18.

238 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. IV.

still be done, then on my side I have to say what the apostle said in regard to the law: "In such a case Christ is dead in vain." For if he said so much in respect of the law, which only the nation of the Jews received, how much more justly may it be said of the law of nature, which the whole human race has received? If righteousness come by nature, then Christ is dead in vain. Since, however, Christ did not die in vain, therefore human nature cannot by any means be justified and redeemed from God's most righteous wrath in a word, from punishment except by faith and the mystery of the blood of Christ.

Chaï \ 3. [in.] Nature was created sound and whole; it was afterwards corrupted by sin; penal nature the punishment of sin.

Man's nature, indeed, was created at first faultless and without any sin; but nature, as man now has it, in which every one is born from Adam, wants the Physician, being no longer in a healthy state. All good qualities, no doubt, which it still possesses in its make, its life, its senses, its intellect, it has of the Most High God, its Creator and Maker. But the flaw, which darkens and weakens all those natural goods, it has not contracted from its blameless Creator

with a view to its having need of illumination and healing; but from that original sin, which it committed of its own free-will. Accordingly, nature having become guilty, most righteously deserves punishment. For, although we are now newly created in Christ, we were, for all that, children of wrath, even as others are. But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, by whose grace we were saved." 5

Chap. 4. [iv.] Free grace.
This grace, however, of Christ, without which neither
infants nor adults can be saved, is not bestowed for any
merits, but is given freely? on account of which it is also
called grace? " Being justified," says the apostle, " freely
j through His blood." 7 Whence they, who are not liberated
1 Gal. ii. 21. 2 Sacramentum. 3 2 Cor. v. 17. 4 Eph. ii. 3.
6 Eph. ii. 4, 5. 6 G ratis an d gratia. 7 Rom. iii. 24.

CHAP. VI.] THE SAVED CALLED "VESSELS OF MERCY." 239

through grace, either through their inability as yet to hear
[from tenderness of age], or through their unwillingness to obey; or again through their
not having received, at the time when they were unable to hear, that bath of regeneration,
which they might have received and through whicih they might have been saved, are
indeed justly condemned; because they are not without sin, either that which they have
derived from their birth, or that which they have added from their own misconduct. " For
all have sinned " â€”
whether in Adam or in themselves â€” " and come short of the glory of God." r

Chap. 5. [v.]

The entire mass, therefore, incurs penalty; and if the deserved punishment of
condemnation were rendered to all, it would without doubt be righteously rendered.
They, therefore, who are delivered therefrom by grace are called, not vessels of their own
merits, but " vessels of mercy." 2 But of whose mercy, if not His, Who sent Christ Jesus
into the world to save sinners, whom He foreknew, and foreordained, and called, and
justified, and glorified ? 8 Now, who could be so exceedingly mad as to refuse to give
ineffable thanks to the . Mercy which liberates whom it would ? The man who correctly
appreciated the whole subject could not possibly blame the justice of God in wholly
condemning all men whatsoever.

Chap. 6. [vi.] â€” The Pelagians have very strong and active minds.

If we are simply wise according to the Scriptures, we are not obliged to dispute against
the grace of Christ, and to make statements attempting to show that human nature
requires no Physician, â€” either in infants, because it is whole and sound; or in adults,
whenever it strives by itself to achieve the righteousness which is necessary for itself.
Men no doubt seem to urge shrewd opinions on these points, but it is only word-wisdom, which nullifies the cross of Christ. This, however, " is not the wisdom which descendeth from above." The words which follow in the apostle's

1 Rom. iii. 23. 2 Rom. ix. 23. 3 Rom. viii. 29, 30.

4 1 Cor. i. 17. 5 Jas. iii. 15.

240 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. VIII.

statement I am unwilling to quote; for we would rather not be thought to do an injustice to our friends, whose very strong and active minds we should be sorry to see running in a perverse, instead of an upright, course.

Chap. 7. [vn.] â€” He proceeds to confute the work of Pelagius; he refrains as yet from mentioning Pelagius' name.

However ardent, then, is the zeal which the author of the book you have forwarded to me entertains against those who find a defence for their sins in the infirmity of human nature; not less, nay even much greater, should be our â€œ eagerness in preventing all attempts to render the cross of Christ of none effect. Of none effect, however, it is rendered, if it be contended that by any other means than by Christ's own mystery it is possible to attain to righteousness and everlasting life. This is actually done in the book to which I refer â€” I will not say by its author wittingly, lest I should express the judgment that he ought not to be accounted even a Christian, but, as I rather believe, unconsciously. He has done it, no doubt, with much power; I only wish that the ability he has displayed were less like that which insane persons are accustomed to exhibit.

Chap. 8. [viii.] â€” A distinction drawn by Pelagius; an error of Pelagius about a man's being free from blame, because he could not have been otherwise.

For he first of all indulges in a distinction: It is one thing, says he, to inquire whether a thing may be, in respect of its possibility only; and another thing, whether or not it exists. This distinction, nobody doubts, is true enough; for it follows that whatever is, was able to exist; but it does not therefore follow that what is able to exist has existence. Our Lord, for instance, raised Lazarus; He unquestionably was able to do so. But inasmuch as He did not raise up Judas, must we therefore contend that He was unable? He certainly was able, but He was not willing. For if He had been willing, He could have effected even this, as He had the same power as before. 1 For the Son quickeneth whomsoever He will. 2 Observe, however, what he means by

1 Peter Lombard refers to this passage of Augustine, to show that God can do many things which He will not do. See his 1 Sent. Dist. 43, last chapter.
this distinction, true and manifest enough in itself, and what he endeavours to make out of it. We are treating, says he, of what is possible only: to pass from winch to something else, except in the case of some certain fact, we deem to he a very serious and extraordinary process. This idea he turns over again and again, in many ways and at great length, so that no one would suppose that he was inquiring about any other point than the possibility of not committing sin.

Among the many passages in which he treats of this subject, occurs the following: I once more repeat my position: I say that it is possible for a man to he without sin. What do you say? That it is impossible for a man to be without sin? But I do not say, he adds, that there is a man without sin; nor do you say, that there is not a man without sin.

Our contention is about what is possible, and not possible; not about what is, and is not. He then enumerates certain passages of Scripture, 1 which are usually alleged in opposition to them, and insists that they have nothing to do with the question, which is really in dispute, as to the possibility or otherwise of a man's being without sin. This is what he says: No man indeed is clean from pollution; and, There is no man that sinneth not; and, There is not a just man upon the earth; and, There is none that doeth good. There are these and similar passages in Scripture, says he, but they testify to the point of not being, not of not being able; for by testimonies of this sort it is shown what kind of persons certain men were at such and such a time, not that they were unable to be something else. Whence they are justly found to be blameworthy. If, however, they had been of such a character, simply because they were unable to be anything else, they are free from blame.

See now what he has in effect said: I affirm that an infant born in a place where it was not possible for him to be admitted to the baptism of Christ, and being overtaken by death, was placed in such circumstances, that is to say, died without the bath of regeneration, because it was not possible for him

1 Job xiv. 2 (Septuagint); 1 Kings viii. 46; Eccles. vii. 21; Ps. xiv. 1.
4 Q

242 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XL

to be otherwise. He would therefore absolve him, and, in spite of the Lord's sentence, open to him the kingdom of heaven. The apostle, however, does not absolve him, when he says: " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed
upon all men, for that all have sinned." 1 Eightly, therefore, by virtue of that condemnation which runs throughout the mass of human nature, is he not admitted into the kingdom of heaven, although he was not only not a Christian, but was unable to become one.

Chap. 10. [ix.] â€” He could not be justified, who had not heard of the name of Christ j rendering the cross of Christ of none effect.

But they say: There is no condemnation in the case; because the statement that all sinned in Adam, was not made because of the sin which is derived from one's birth, but because of men's imitation of him. If, therefore, Adam is said to be the author of all the sins which followed his own, because he was the first sinner of the human race, then how is it that Abel, rather than Christ, is not set down as the head of all the righteous, because he was the first righteous man %
But I am not speaking of the case of an infant. I take the , ; instance of a young man, or an old man, who has died in a

: neighbourhood where he could not hear of the name of Christ.
\i, I., ---ji * â€¢ -

. Well, could such a man have become righteous by nature and free-will; or could he not ? If they contend that he could, then see what it is to render the cross of Christ of none effect; 2
it is arguing that any man can be justified by the law of nature and his own free-will. We may here also say, Christ is dead in vain, 8 forasmuch as all might accomplish so much as this, even if He had never died; now if they were unrighteous, they were so because they wished to be, not because they were unable to be righteous. But even though a man could not be justified at all without the grace of Christ, he would absolve him, if he dared, in accordance with his words, to the effect that, " if a man were of such a character, because he could not possibly have been of any other, he would be free from all blame."

Chap. 11. [x.]
He then starts an objection to his own position, as if, in-

1 Rom. v. 12. 2 1 Cor. i. 1. 3 Gal. ii. 21.

I

CHAP. XT.] CAN A MAN BE WITHOUT SIN? 243

deed, another person had raised it, and says: " A man, yon will say, may be [without sin]: bnt it is by the grace of God."
He then at once subjoins the following, as if in answer to his own suggestion: " I thank you for your kindness, because you are not merely content to withdraw your opposition
to my statement, which you long resisted, and barely to acknowledge it; but you actually
go so far as to bestow your approbation on it. For to say a thing is possible, although by
this or by that method, is in fact nothing else than to not only assent to its possibility, but
also to show the mode and quality of its happening. Xobody, therefore, gives a better
assent to the possibility of an}ihing than the man who allows the mode or quality
thereof; because, without the thing itself, it is not possible for a thing to be." After this he
raises another objection against himself: " But, you will say, you here seem to reject the
grace of God, inasmuch as you do not even mention it; " and he then answers the
objection: " Xow, is it / that reject grace, or you â€” I, who by acknowledging the thing
must needs also confess the means by which it may be effected, or you, who by denying
the thing do undoubtedly also deny whatever may be the means through which the thing
is accomplished ? " He forgot that he was answering one who does not deny the thing,
and whose objection he had just before set forth in these words: " A man may be [without
sin]; but it is by the grace of God." How then does that man deny the possibility, in
defence of which his opponent earnestly contends, when he makes the admission to that
opponent that
" the thing is possible, but only by the grace of God ? " Dismissing, however, the
circumstance that he already acknowledges the essential thing, what are we to say to the
fact that he still has a question against those who maintain the impossibility of a man's
being without sin ? Let him ply his questions against any opponents he pleases, provided
he only confesses this truth, which cannot be denied without the most criminal impiety,
that a man cannot be without sin except by the grace of God. He says, indeed: " Whether
it be by grace, or by divine aid, or by mercy, whatever that be by which a man can be
without sin, every one acknowledges the same who admits the thing itself."

244 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XIII.

Chap. 12. [xi.] â€” In our discussions about grace, we do not speak of that which relates
to the constitution of our nature, but to its restitution.

I confess to [a fellow-feeling in] your love. When I read those words I was filled with a
sudden joy, because he did not deny that grace of God by which alone a man can be
justified; for it is this [denial] which I mainly detest and dread in discussions of this kind.
But when I went on to read the rest, I began to have my suspicions, first of all, from the
similes he employs. He says: " If I were to say, man is able to dispute; a bird is able to
fly; a hare is able to run; without mentioning at the same time the instruments by which
these acts can be accomplished â€” that is, the tongue, the wings, and the legs; should I
then have denied the methods of the various offices, when I acknowledged the very
offices themselves ?" It is at once apparent that he has here instanced such things as are
by nature efficient and unimpaired; for the members of the bodily structure which are
here mentioned are created with natures of such a kind â€” the tongue, the wings, the
legs.
He has not here assumed any such position as we wish to have understood by grace â€”
the grace without which no man is justified; for this is a topic which is concerned about
the cure, not the constitution, of natural functions. Entertaining, then, some apprehensions, I proceeded to read all the rest, and I soon found that my suspicions had not been unfounded.

Chap. 13. [xn.] â€” The scope and purpose of the law's threatenings; perfect wayfarers.

But before I proceed further, see what he has said. When treating the question about the difference of sins, and starting as an objection to himself, what certain persons allege, "that some sins are light by their very frequency, their constant irruption making it impossible that they should be all of them avoided;" he thereupon contended that it was "improper that such offences should be censured as even light or trifling, if they are altogether unavoidable." He of course does not notice the Scriptures of the New Testament, wherein we learn that the intention of the law in its censure is this, that, by reason of the transgressions which men commit, they may flee for refuge to the grace of the Lord, who has pity upon them â€”

1 We have read discimus, not dicimus.

CHAP. XV.] A WORD OF ADVICE. 245

"the schoolmaster " * " shutting them up unto the same faith which should afterwards be revealed; " 2 that by it their transgressions may be forgiven, and then not again be committed, by God's assisting grace. The road indeed belongs to all who are progressing in it; although it is they who make a good advance that are called perfect travellers. That, however, is complete perfection which admits of no addition, when the goal to which men tend has begun to be possessed.

Chap. 14. [xiii.]

But the truth is, the question which is proposed to him â€” " Are you even yourself without sin? " â€” does not really belong to the subject in dispute. That, however, which he says, that "it is rather imputable to his own negligence that he is not without sin," is no doubt well spoken; but then he should deem it to be his duty even to pray to God that this faulty negligence get not the dominion over him. A certain man once put up such an entreaty, when he said: " Order my steps according to Thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me." 3 [Such, I say, should be his prayer,] lest, whilst relying on his own diligence as on strength of his own, he should fail to attain to the true righteousness either by this way [of self-reliance], or by that other method where, no doubt, such righteousness is to be desired and hoped for in perfection.
Chap. 15. [xrv.] â€” Not everything [of doctrinal truth] is written in Scripture in so many words.

That, too, which is said to him, "that it is nowhere written in so many words, A man can be without sin," he easily refutes thus: "That the question here is not in what precise words each doctrinal statement is made." It is perhaps not without reason that, while in several passages of Scripture we may find it said that men are without complaint, 4 it is nowhere found that any man is described as being without sin, except Him only, of whom it is plainly said, that "He knew no sin." 5 Similarly, we read in the passage where the subject is con-

1 Gal. iii. 24. 2 Gal. iii. 23. 3 Ps. cxix. 133.

* Sine querela; without complaining of their sinful malady.
5 2 Cor. v. 21.

246 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XVI.

cerning priests: " He was in all points tempted like as we are, only without sin" 1 â€” meaning, of course, in that flesh which bore the likeness of sinful flesh, although it was not sinful flesh; a likeness, indeed, which it would not have borne if it had not been in every other respect the same as sinful flesh. There is, however, a passage [which seems opposed to our statement]: " Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; neither can he sin, for his seed remaineth in him; " 2 while the Apostle John himself expressly uses language as if he had not been born of God, or else were addressing men who had not been born of God, when he lays down this position: " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." 3 The sense, however, in which such passages ought to be received, I have already explained, with such care as I was able, in those books which I wrote to Marcellinus on this very subject. 4 It seems, moreover, to me to be an interpretation worthy of acceptance to regard the clause of the above quoted passage: " Neither can he sin," as if it meant: He ought not to commit sin. For who could be so foolish as to say that sin ought to be committed, when, in fact, sin is sin, for no other reason than that it ought not to be committed ?

Chap. 16. [xv.] â€” Pelagius corrupts a passage of the Apostle James by adding a note of interrogation.

Now that passage, in which the Apostle James says: " But the tongue can no man tame," 5 does not appear to me to be capable of the interpretation which he would put upon it, when he expounds it, " as if it were written by way of reproach; as much as to say: Can
no man, then, tame the tongue? As if in a reproachful tone, which would say: You are able to tame wild beasts; cannot you tame the tongue?

As if it were an easier tiring to tame the tongue than to subjugate wild beasts." I do not think that this is the meaning of the passage. For, if he had meant such an opinion as this to be entertained of the facility of taming the tongue, there would have followed in the sequel of the passage a comparison of that member with the beasts. As it is, however, it simply

1 Heb. iv. 15. 2 1 John iii. 9. 3 1 John i. 8.
4 See the De Peccat. Meritis et fiemissione, ii. 10. 6 Jas. iii. 8.

CHAP. XVII.] WHAT IT IS TO TAME THE TONGUE. 247
goes on to say: "The tongue is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison/" 1 â€” such, of course, as is more noxious than that of beasts and creeping things. For while the one destroys the flesh, the other kills the soul. "The mouth that belieth slayeth the soul." 2 It is not, therefore, in the sense that this is an easier achievement than the taming of beasts that St. James pronounced the statement before us, or would have others utter it; but he rather aims at showing what a great evil in man his tongue is â€” so great, indeed, that it cannot be tamed by any man, although even beasts are tameable by human beings. And he said so much as this, not with a view to our permitting the subjugation of so great an evil to ourselves to pass by through our neglect, but in order that we might be induced to request the help of divine grace for the taming of the tongue. For he does not say: " Kone [nullus]
can tame the tongue;" but "No man [nullus hominum];"
that, when it is tamed, we may acknowledge it to be effected
by the mercy, the help, the grace of God. The soul, therefore,
should endeavour to tame the tongue, and while endeavouring
should pray for assistance; the tongue, too, should beg for the
taming f the tongue, â€” He beino; the tamer who said to His
disciples: " It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your
Father which speaketh in you." 3 So that we are warned and
taught by such a precept to do this, â€” namely, first make the
attempt, and, failing in our own strength, then to pray for the
help of God.

Chap. 17. [xvi.]

Accordingly, after emphatically describing the evil of the tongue â€” saying, among other
things: "My brethren, these things ought not so to be " 4 â€“ he at once, after finishing
some suitable remarks which arose out of his subject, goes on to add this advice, showing
by what help those things would not happen, which (as he said) ought not to be: " Who is
a wise man and endowed with knowledge among you ? Let him show out of a good
conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. But if ye have bitter envying and strife
in your hearts, glory not and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from
above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where there

1 Jas. iii. 8. 2 Wisd. i. 11. 3 Matt. x. 20. 4 Jas. iii. 10.

248 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XVIII.

is envying and strife, there is confusion and every "evil work.
But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be
entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." * This
is the wisdom which tames the tongue; it descends from heaven, but springs from no
human heart. Will any one, then, dare to divorce it from the grace of God, and with most
arrogant vanity place it in the power of man ? Why should I pray to God that it be
accorded me, if it is of man that it must be obtained ? Is it not a contradiction to such
prayer to apprehend any injury being done to that free-will which is self-sufficient in natural ability for discharging all the duties of righteousness? It must, therefore, be a contradiction even to the Apostle James himself, who admonishes us in these words: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him; but let him ask in faith, nothing doubting." 2 This is the faith to which the commandments drive us, in order that the law may prescribe our duty and faith accomplish it. 3 For through the tongue, which no man can tame, but only the wisdom which comes down from above, "in many things we all of us offend." 4 For this truth also the same apostle pronounced in no other sense than that which he afterwards declares [in the words already quoted]: "The tongue no man can tame." 5

Chap. 18. [xvn.] ã€” Who may be said to be in the flesh.
There is a passage which nobody could place against these texts with the similar purpose of showing the impossibility of not sinning: "The carnal mind [or wisdom of the flesh] is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be; so then they that are in the flesh cannot please God;" 6 for he here mentions the wisdom of the flesh, not the wisdom which cometh from above: moreover, it is manifest, that in this passage, by the phrase, "being in the flesh," are signified, not those who have not yet quitted the body, but those who live after the flesh. The question, however, we are discussing does not lie in this point. But what

1 Jas. iii. 13-17. 2 Jas. i. 5, 6. 3 Ut lex imperet et fides impetret.
4 Jas. iii. 2. Â° Jas. iii. 8. 6 Rom. viii. 7, 8.

CHAP. XX.] SINS OF IGNORANCE. 249

I want to hear from him, if I can, is [his opinion] about those who live after the Spirit, and who on this account are not in a certain sense in the flesh, even while they still live here, â€” whether [he thinks that] they, by God's grace, live after the flesh, or have resources enough of their own, natural capability having been bestowed on them when they were created, and their own proper will besides. Whereas the fulfilling of the law is nothing else than love;* and God's love is shed abroad in our hearts, not by our own selves, but by the Holy Ghost which is given to us. 2

Chap. 19. â€” Sins of ignorance; to whom wisdom is given by God on their requesting it.

He further treats on sins of ignorance, and says that "a man ought to be very careful to avoid ignorance; and that ignorance is blameworthy for this reason, because it is through his own neglect that a man is ignorant of that which he certainly must have known if he had only applied diligence;"
whereas he prefers disputing all things rather than pray, and say: "Give me understanding, that I may learn Thy commandments." 3 It is, indeed, one thing to have taken no pains to know what sins of negligence were apparently expiated through divers sacrifices of the law; it is another thing to wish, but to be unable to understand, and then to act contrary to the law, through not understanding what it would have done. We are accordingly enjoined to ask of God wisdom, " who giveth to all men liberally; " 4 that is, of course, to all men who ask in such a manner, and to such an extent, as so great a matter requires in earnestness of petition.

Chap. 20. [xvur.] â€” What prayer Pelagius would admit to be necessary. It is foolish to pray that you may do what you have in your own control.

He confesses that " sins which have been committed do notwithstanding require divine interposition for their atonement, and that the Lord must be entreated because of them," â€” that is, for the purpose, of course, of obtaining pardon; " because that which has been done cannot," it is Iris own admission, " be undone," by that " power of nature and will of man " which he talks about so much. From this necessity therefore it follows that a man must pray to be forgiven. That a man,

1 Rom. xiii. 10. 2 Rom. v. 5. 3 Ps. cxix. 73. 4 Jas. i. 5.

250 ON NATUREE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XXI.

however, requires to be helped not to sin, he has nowhere admitted; I read no such admission in this passage; he keeps a strange silence on this subject altogether; although the Lord's Prayer enjoins upon us the necessity of praying both that our debts may be remitted to us, and that we may not be led into temptation, â€” the one petition entreating that past offences may be atoned for; the other, that future ones may be avoided. Now, although this is never done unless our will be assistant, yet our will alone is not enough to secure its being done; the prayer, therefore, which is offered up to God for this result is neither superfluous nor offensive to the Lord.

For what is more foolish than to pray that you may do that which you have it in your own power to do ?

Chap. 21. [xix.] â€” Pelagius denies that human nature has been depraved or corrupted by sin.

You may now see (what bears very closely on our subject) how he endeavours to exhibit human nature, as if it were wholly without fault, and how he struggles against the plainest of God's Scriptures with that " word-wisdom " 1 which renders the cross of Christ of none effect. That cross, however, shall certainly never be so impaired; rather shall such wisdom be subverted. Now, after we shall have demonstrated
this, it may be that God's mercy may visit him, so that he may be sorry that he ever expressed the following sentiments: "We have," he says, "first of all to discuss the position which is maintained, that our nature has been weakened and changed by sin. I think," continues he, "that before all other things we have to inquire what sin is, â€” whether it be a substance, or an entirely unsubstantial name, whereby is expressed not a reality, not an existence, not a body, but the doing of a wrongful deed." He then adds: * I suppose that this is the case; and if so," he asks, "how could that which lacks all substance have possibly weakened or changed human nature?"

Observe, I beg of you, how in his ignorance he struggles to overthrow the most salutary words of the remedial Scriptures:
"I said, Lord, be merciful unto me; heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee." 2 Now, how can a thing be healed, if it is not wounded nor hurt, nor weakened and vitiated?
1 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 Ps. xli. 4.

CHAP. XXII.] HUMAN NATURE CORRUPTED BY SIX. 251

But, as there is here something to be healed, whence did it receive its injury? You hear [the Psalmist] confessing the fact; what need is there of discussion? He says: "Heal my soul." Ask him how that which he wants to be healed became injured, and then listen to his following words: "Because I have sinned against Thee." If, however, he were to put a question [to the Psalmist], and ask him what he deemed a suitable inquiry, and say: you who exclaim, Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee! pray tell me what sin is? Is it a substance or an entirely unsubstantial name, whereby is expressed, not a reality, not an existence, not a body, but merely the doing of a wrongful deed? Then the other returns for answer: It is even as you say; sin is not a substance; under its name there is merely expressed the doing of a wrongful deed. But he rejoins: Then why cry out, Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee? How could that have possibly vitiated your soul which lacks all substance? Then would the other, worn out with the anguish of his wound, in order to avoid being diverted from prayer by the discussion, briefly answer and say: Go from me, I beseech you; rather discuss the point, if you can, with Him who said: "They that are whole need no physician, but they that are sick; I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners," 1 â€” in which words, of course, He designated the righteous as the whole, and sinners as the sick.

Chap. 22. [xx.] â€” How our nature could be vitiated by sin, even though it be not a substance.

Xow, do you not perceive the tendency and direction of this controversy? Even to render of none effect the Scripture where it is said: "Thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins." 2 For how is He to save where there is no malady? For the sins, from which this gospel says Christ's people have to be saved, are not substances,
and according to him are incapable of vitiating [our nature]. My brother, how good a thing it is to remember that you are a Christian! To believe, as you would have us, might perhaps be enough; but still, since you persist in discussion, there is no harm, nay there is even benefit, if a firm

1 Matt. ix. 12, 13. a Matt. i. 21.

252 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XXIII.

faith precede it; if, too, we refrain from thinking that human nature cannot be vitiuated by sin; but rather, believing, after the inspired Scriptures, that it is thereby vitiuated, let our inquiry be how this could possibly have come about. Since, then, we have already learnt that sin is not a substance, do we not consider, not to mention any other example, that not to eat is also not a substance? Because such abstinence is withdrawal from a substance, as food is a substance.

To abstain, then, from food is not a substance; and yet the substance of our body, if it does altogether abstain from food, so languishes, is so impaired by broken health, is so exhausted of strength, so weakened and broken with very weariness, that even if it be in any way able to continue alive, it is hardly capable of being restored to the use of that food, by abstaining from which it became so vitiated and injured. In the same way sin is not a substance; but God is a substance, yea the highest substance and only true sustenance of the reasonable creature. The consequence of departing from Him by disobedience, and of being unable, through infirmity, to receive what one ought really to rejoice in, you hear from the Psalmist, when he says: " My heart is smitten and withered like grass, since I have forgotten to eat my bread." 1

Chap. 23. [xxi.] â€” Adam delivered by the mercy of Christ.

But observe how, by specious arguments, he continues to oppose the truth of Holy Scripture. The Lord Jesus, who is called Jesus because He saves His people from their sins, 2 in accordance with this His merciful character, says: " They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; I am come not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." 3 Accordingly, His apostle also says: " This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." 4 This man, however, contrary to the faithful and all-acceptable saying, declares that this sickness of man's nature could not have been contracted by sins, else the punishment of sin would amount to this, that more sins would be committed." Even infants require the help of the Great Physician. This writer asks: " Why want Him for

1 Ps. cii. 4. 2 Matt. i. 21. 3 Matt. ix. 12. * 1 Tim. i. 15.
them? They are already whole for whom you propose to fetch the Physician. Not even was the first man condemned to die for any such reason, for he committed no sin afterwards.

As if he had ever heard anything of his subsequent perfection in righteousness, except so far as the Church commends to our faith that even Adam was delivered by the mercy of the Lord [Jesus] Christ. * As to his posterity also," says he, "not only are they not more infirm than he, but they actually fulfilled more commandments than he ever did, since he neglected to fulfil even one." The posterity which [our author] sees born with such faculties, though certainly not made as Adam was, are not only unequal to the commandment, which they are altogether inexperienced in, but they are hardly capable of sucking the breast, when their appetite craves; yet even these would He have to be saved in the bosom of Mother Church by His grace Who saves His people from their sins; but these men gainsay such grace, and, as if they had a deeper insight into the creature than ever He possesses who made the creature, they pronounce [these infants] sound with an assurance which is anything but sound itself.

Chap. 24. [xxxn.] â€” Sin and the penalty of sin the same. Blindness of the heart.

"The very matter," says he, * of sin must also be its punishment, since the sinner is so much weakened that he commits more sins." He does not consider how justly the light of truth forsakes the man who transgresses the law. When thus deserted, he of course becomes blinded, and necessarily goes on committing offences; by so falling he is embarrassed, and being embarrassed he fails to rise, even so far as to hear the voice of the law, which admonishes him to beg for the Saviour's grace. Is no punishment due to them of whom the apostle says: "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened V' 1 This darkening was, of course, already their punishment; and yet through this very penalty â€” that is, through their blindness of heart, which supervenes on the withdrawal of the light of wisdom â€” they fell into more grievous

1 Horn. i. 21.

254 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XXIV.

sins still. For giving themselves out as wise, they became fools. This is a grievous penalty, if one only understand it; and from such a penalty only see to what lengths they ran:
"They changed," as the apostle goes on to say, "the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." *
All this they did owing to that penalty of their sin, whereby their foolish heart was
darkened. And yet, owing to these deeds of theirs, which, although coming in the way of
punishment, were none the less sins, he goes on to say: " Wherefore God also gave them
up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts." 2 See how severely God
condemned them, giving them over to uncleanness in the very desires of their heart.
Observe also the sins they commit owing to such condemnation: " To dishonour," says
he, " their own bodies among themselves." 3 Here is the punishment of iniquity, which is
itself iniquity; a fact which sets forth in a clearer light the words which follow: " Who
changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the
Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen. For this cause," says he, " God gave them up
unto vile affections." 4 See how often God inflicts punishment; and out of the self-same
punishment sins, more numerous and more severe, arise. " For even their women did
change the natural use into that which is against nature; and likewise the men also,
leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with
men working that which is unseemly." 5 Then, to show that these things were not only
sins themselves, but were also the penalties of sins, he further says: " And receiving in
themselves that recompense of their error which was meet." 6
Observe how often it happens that the very punishment which God inflicts begets other
sins as its natural offspring. Attend still further: " And even as they did not like to retain
God in their knowledge," says he, " God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those
things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication,
wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit,

1 Rom. i. 23. 2 Rom. i. 24. 3 Rom. i. 24.
4 Rom. i. 25, 26. 5 Rom. i. 2G, 27. 6 Rom. i. 27.

CHAP. XXV.] THE GOD-FORSAKEX. 255

malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of
evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without
natural affection, implacable, unmerciful." 1 Here, now, let our opponent say: " Sin ought
not to have been punished in this way, that the sinner, through his punishment, should
commit even more sins."

Chap. 25. [xxtii.] â€” God only forsakes those who deserve to be forsaken. We are
ourselves sufficient to commit sin; but we are not able to return to the way of
righteousness. Death is the punishment, not the cause of sin. There is nothing good
without grace.

Perhaps he may say in answer: God does not compel men
to do these things; He only leaves those alone who deserve
to be forsaken. If he does say this, he says what is most true. For, as I have already remarked, those who are forsaken by the light of righteousness, and therefore groping in darkness, produce nothing else than those works of darkness which I have enumerated; until such time as it is said to them, and they obey the command: "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." 2 Truth designates them as dead; whence the passage: "Let the dead bury their dead." The truth [I repeat] designates as dead those whom he declares to have been incapable of receiving hurt or damage from sin, on the ground, forsooth, that he has discovered sin to be no substance. Nobody tells him that "man was so formed as to be able to pass from righteousness to sin, and yet not be able to return from sin to righteousness." But that freedom of his will, whereby man vitiated his own self, was sufficient for his falling into sin; in order, however, for him to return to righteousness, he has need of a Physician, since he is out of health; and requires one to revive him, because he is dead. Now about, such grace as this he says not a word, as if he were able to cure himself by his own will and choice, since this alone was able to ruin him. Nor do we tell him that "the death of the body is enough to produce sin," because it is only its punishment;
for no one sins by undergoing the death of his body. The
death of the soul, however, is conducive to sin, forsaken as it
1 Bom. i. 28-31. 2 Epli. v. 14.

256 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XXVI.

is by its life, that is, God; and it must needs produce dead works, until it revives by the
grace of Christ. God forbid that we should assert that "hunger and thirst and other bodily
sufferings necessarily produce sin." The life of the righteous, when exercised by such
ailments, only shines out with greater lustre, and procures a greater glory by overcoming
them through patience; but then it is assisted by the grace, by the Spirit, by the mercy of
God; not exalting itself in an arrogant will, but eliciting courage by a humble confession.
For it had learnt to say unto God: "Thou art my hope; Thou art my trust." 1 Now, how it
happens that concerning this grace, and help and mercy, without which we cannot live, he
has nothing to say, I am at a loss to know. But he goes further, and in the most open
manner gainsays the grace of Christ, whereby we are justified, by insisting on the self-
sufficiency of nature to work righteousness, provided only the will be present. The
reason, however, why, after sin has been released from its guilt by grace, or the exercise
of faith, there should still remain the death of the body, which proceeds from sin, I
have already explained, according to my ability, in those books which I wrote to
Marcellinus of blessed memory. 2

Chap. 26. [xxiv.]â€”Christ died of His own power and choice.

As to his statement, indeed, that "the Lord was able to die without sin," [we may
observe, in reply,] that being born also was in His case the choice and capacity of His
mercy, not the condition of His nature: so, likewise, did He undergo death of His own
choice and power; and this is, in fact, our ransom, the price He paid to redeem us from
death. Now, this truth their contention labours hard to nullify; for human nature is
maintained by them to be so [complete], that with its freedom of will it wants no such
ransom in order to be translated from the power of darkness, and of him who has the
power of death, 3
into the kingdom of Christ the Lord. 4 And yet, when the

1 Ps. lxxi. 5.

2 [The tribune Marcellinus had been put to death, in the September of 413,
"having, though innocent, fallen a victim to the cruel hatred of the tyrant Heraclius," as
Jerome writes in his book iii. against the Pelagians. Honorius mentions him as a "man of
conspicuous renown," in a law enacted August 30, in the year 414, contained in the Cod.
Theod. xvi. 5 (de hoereticis), line 55.]
Lord approached His passion, He said, "Behold, the prince of this world cometh and shall find nothing in me," 1 and therefore no sin, of course, owing to which he might exercise dominion over Him, so as to destroy Him. "But," added He, "that the world may know that I do the will of my Father, arise, let us go hence;" 2 as much as to say, I am going to die, not through the necessity of sin, but in the voluntariness of my own obedient will.

Chap. 27. â€” Even evils, through God's mercy, are of use.

He asserts that "no evil is the cause of anything good;" as if punishment, forsooth, were a good; although thereby many have been reformed. There are, then, evils which are of use by the wondrous mercy of God. Did that man experience some good thing, when he said, "Thou didst hide Thy face from me, and I was troubled?" 3 Certainly not; and yet this very trouble was to him in a certain manner a remedy against his pride. For he had said in his prosperity, "I shall never be moved;" 4 and so was ascribing to himself what he was receiving from the Lord. "For what had he that he did not receive?" It had, therefore, become necessary to show him whence he had received everything, that he might receive in humility what he had lost in pride. Accordingly, he says, "In Thy good pleasure, Lord, Thou didst add strength to my beauty." 6 In this abundance of mine I once used to say, "I shall not be moved;" whereas it all came from Thee, not from myself. Then at last Thou didst turn away Thy face from me, and I became troubled.

Chap. 2S. [xxv.] â€” The disposition of nearly all who go astray. With some heretics our business ought not to be disputation but prayer. The gravity of Adam's sin.

Man's proud disposition has no relish at all for this; God, however, is great, in persuading even it how to find it all out. "We are, indeed, more inclined to seek how best to reply to such arguments as oppose our going astray, than eager to experience how salutary would be our condition if we were free from error. We ought, therefore, to encounter all such [restive tempers],

1 John xiv. 30. 2 John xiv. 31. 3 Ps. xxx. 7. 4 Ps. xxx. 8. 5 1 Cor. iv. 7. 6 Ps. xxx. 7 (Septuagint).
not by discussions, but rather by prayers both for them and for ourselves. For we never say to them, what this opponent has paradoxically advanced to himself, that "sin was necessary in order that there might be a cause for God's mercy." Would there had never been misery to need that mercy! But the iniquity of sin, â€” which is so much the greater in proportion to the ease wherewith man might have avoided sin, whilst no infirmity did as yet beset him, â€” has been followed closely up by a most righteous punishment; even that [offending man] should receive in himself the mutual reward of his sin, losing that obedience of his body which had been in some degree put under his own control, and which he had despised when it was so remarkably displayed in his Lord. And, inasmuch as we are now born with the self-same law of sin, which in our members resists the law of our mind, we ought never to murmur against God, nor to dispute in opposition to the clearest fact, but to seek and pray for His mercy instead of our punishment.

Chap. 29. [xxvi.] â€” A simile to show that God's grace is necessary for doing any good work whatever. God never forsakes the justified man if He be not Himself forsaken. 1

Observe, indeed, how cautiously he expresses himself: "God, no doubt, applies His mercy even to this object, whenever it is necessary; because man after sin requires help in this way, â€” not because God wished there should be a cause for such necessity." Do you not see how he does not say that God's grace is necessary to prevent us from sinning, but because we have sinned? Then he adds: *But just in the same way it is the duty of a physician to be ready to cure a man who is already wounded; although he ought not to wish for a man who is sound and whole to be wounded." Now, if this simile suits the subject of which we are treating, human nature is certainly incapable of receiving a wound from sin, inasmuch as sin is not a substance. As therefore, for example's sake, a man who is lamed by a wound is cured for the simple purpose of his step for the future being direct and strong, now that its past infirmity is healed, so does the Heavenly Physician cure our maladies, not only that they may cease any longer to

1 [See the treatise De Peccatorum Meritis, ii. 22. J

CHAP, xxx.] god's never-failing help. 259

exist, but in order that we may ever afterwards be able to walk aright, â€” an accomplishment to which we should be unequal, even after our healing, except by His continued help.
For after a medical man has administered a cure, in order that the patient may be afterwards duly nourished with bodily elements and aliments, for the completion and continuance of the said cure by suitable means and help, he commends him to God's good care, who bestows these aids on all who live in the flesh, and from whom proceeded even those means which [the physician] applied during the process of the cure. It is not out of any resources which he has himself created that the medical man effects any cure, but out of the resources of Him who creates all things which are required by the whole and by the sick. God, however, unless He be first forsaken, never withdraws His help from men, that they may lead constant lives of piety and holiness, whenever He â€” through "the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" â€” spiritually heals the sick or raises the dead, that is, justifies the ungodly; and after He has brought him to perfect health, in other words, to the fulness of life and righteousness. For, just as the eye of the body, even when completely sound, is unable to see unless aided by the brightness of light, so also man, even when most fully justified, is unable to lead a holy life, if he be not divinely assisted by the eternal light of righteousness. God, therefore, heals us not only that He may blot out the sin which we have committed, but, furthermore, that He may enable us even to avoid sinning.

Chap. 30. [xxvu.] â€” Sin is removed by sin.

He no doubt shows some acuteness in handling, and turning over and exposing, as he likes, and refuting a certain statement, which is made to this effect, that "it was really necessary to man, in order to take from him all occasion for pride and boasting, that he should be unable to exist without sin." [In answer to this,] he supposes it to be "the height of absurdity and folly, that there should have been sin in order that sin might not be; inasmuch as pride is itself, of course, a sin." As if a sore were not attended with pain, and an operation did not produce pain, that pain might be remedied by pain.

260 ON NATURE AND GEACE. [CHAP. XXXI.

If we had not experienced any such treatment, but were only to hear about it in some parts of the world where these things had never happened, we might perhaps use this man's words, and say, It is the height of absurdity that pain should have been necessary in order that a sore should have no pain.

Chap. 31. â€” The order and process of healing our heavenly Physician does not adopt from the sick patient, but derives from Himself. What cause the righteous have for fearing.

"But God," they say, "is able to heal all things." It is quite true that He so acts as to heal all things; but He acts on His own judgment, and does not take His procedure in healing from the sick man. For undoubtedly it was His will to endow His apostle with very great
power and strength, and yet He said to him: "My strength is made perfect in weakness;"

1 nor did He remove from him, though he so often entreated Him to do so, that mysterious "thorn in the flesh," which He told him had been given to him "lest he should be unduly exalted through the abundance of the revelation." 2 For all other sins only prevail in evil deeds; pride only has to be guarded against in things that are rightly done. Whence it happens that those persons are admonished not to attribute to their own power the gifts of God, nor to plume themselves thereon, lest by so doing they should perish with a heavier perdition than if they had done no good at all, to whom it is said Â« "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of His good pleasure." 3 Why, then, must it be with fear and trembling, and not rather with security, since God is working; except it be because there so quickly steals over our human soul, by reason of our will (without which we can do nothing well), the inclination to esteem simply as our own accomplishment whatever good we do; and so each one of us says in his prosperity: "I shall never be moved?" 4 Therefore, He who in His good pleasure had added strength to our beauty, turns away His face, and the man who had made his boast becomes troubled, because it is by actual sorrows that the swelling pride must be remedied.

1 2 Cor. xii. 9. 2 2 Cor. xii. 7, 8.

3 Phil. ii. 12, 13. 4 Ps. xxx. G.

CHAP. XXXIII.] SALUTARY CHASTENING. 261

Chap. 32. [xxviii.] Â“God forsakes us sometimes that ice may not grow proud.

Therefore it is never said to a man: "It is necessary for you to sin that you may not sin;" but it is said to a man: God sometimes forsakes you, in consequence of which you grow proud, that you may know that you are * not your own," but are His I Â” and so learn not to be proud. Now even that incident in the apostle's [life, to which we have just referred,] is of such a kind, not to say so wonderful, that were it not for the fact that he himself is the voucher for it whom it is impious to contradict, truthful as he is, it would be incredible. For what believer is there who is ignorant of the fact that the first incentive -to sin came from Satan, and that he is the primary author of all sins? And yet, for all that, some are "delivered over unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." 2 How comes it to pass, then, that Satan's work is excluded and prevented by the work of Satan? These and such like questions let a man regard in such a light that they seem not to him to be too acute; they have somewhat of the sound of acuteness, and yet when discussed are found to be obtuse. What must we say also to our author's use of similes? But he only thereby rather suggests to us the answer which we should give to himself. "What" (asks he)
"shall I say more than this, that we may as well believe that fires are quenched by fires, if we may believe that sins are cured by sins 1 " What if one cannot put out fires by fires: pains can, for all that, as I have shown, be cured by pains. Poisons can also, if one only inquire and learn the fact, be expelled by poisons. Now, if he observes that the heats of fevers are sometimes subdued by certain medicinal warmths, he will perhaps also allow that fires may be extinguished by fires.

Chap. 33. [xxrx.] â€” Not every sin is pride. How pride is the commencement of every sin.

" But how," asks he, " shall we separate pride itself from sin ? " Now, why does he raise such a question, when it is manifest that even pride itself is a sin ? " To sin," says he, " is quite as much to be proud, as to be proud is to sin; for only ask what every sin is, and see whether you can find any sin unaccompanied by the designation of pride." Then he
1 1 Cor. vi. 19. * 1 Tim. i. 20.

262

ON NATUEE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XXXIV.

thus pursues this opinion, and endeavours to prove it thus:
" Every sin/ says he, " if I mistake not, is a contempt of God, and every contempt of God is pride. For what is so proud as to despise God ? All sin, then, is also pride, even as Scripture says, Pride is the beginning of all sin." I Let him seek diligently, and he will find in the law that the sin of pride is quite distinguished from all other sins. For many sins are committed through pride; but yet not all things which are wrongly done are done proudly, â€” at any rate, not by the ignorant, not by the infirm, and not, generally speaking, by the weeping and sorrowful. And indeed pride, although it be in itself a great sin, is so in itself alone without any others; so that, as I have already remarked, it for the most part advances with swifter, though still stealthy foot, in things which are actually well done, and not so much in sins.

However, that which he has understood in another sense, is after all most truly said: " Pride is the commencement of all sin; " because it was this which overthrew the devil, from whom arose the origin of sin; and afterwards, when his malice and envy pursued man, who was yet standing in his uprightness, it subverted him in the same way in which he himself fell. For the serpent, in fact, only sought for the door of pride whereby to enter when he said [to the man and the woman: ] 
" Ye shall be as gods." 2 Truly then is it said, " Pride is the commencement of all sin; " 3 and, " The beginning of pride is when a man departeth from God." 4
Chap. 34. [xxx.]

Well, but what does he mean when he says: "Then again, how shall one be subjected to God for the guilt of that sin, which he knows is not his own? For," says he, "his own it cannot be, since it is committed under necessity. Otherwise, if it is his own, it proceeds from his will; and if it is voluntary, it may be avoided." We reply: It is unquestionably his own. But the fault by which sin is committed is not yet in every respect healed, and the fact of its becoming permanently fixed in us arises from our not rightly using the healing virtue; and so out of this faulty condition the man

1 Ecclus. x. 13. 2 Gen. iiL 5. 3 Ecclus. x. 13. 4 Ecclus. x. 12.

CHAP. XXXV.] PREVENTING AND SUBSEQUENT GRACE. 263

who is now growing strong in depravity commits many sins, either through infirmity or blindness. Prayer must therefore be made for him, that he may be healed, and that he may thenceforward attain to a life of uninterrupted soundness of health; nor must pride be indulged in, as if any man were healed by the self-same power whereby he became morally diseased.

Chap. 35. [xxxi.] â€” Why God does not immediately cure pride itself. The secret and insidious growth of pride. Preventing and subsequent grace.

But I would indeed so treat these topics, as to confess myself ignorant of God's deeper counsel, why He does not at once heal the very principle of pride, which insidiously overspreads man's heart; and for the cure of which pious souls, with tears and strong crying, beseech Him that He would stretch forth His right hand and help their endeavours to overcome it, and in a certain sense tread and crush it under foot. Now when a man has felt glad that he has even by some good work overcome pride, from the very joy he lifts up his head and says: Behold, I live; why do you triumph? Nay, I live because you triumph. Premature, however, this forwardness of his to triumph over pride may perhaps be, as if it were now vanquished, whereas its last shadow is to be absorbed, as I suppose, in that noontide which is promised in the scripture which says, "He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday;" I provided that be done winch was written in the preceding verse: "Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass," 2 â€” not, as some suppose, that they themselves bring it to pass. Xow, when he said, "And He shall bring it to pass," he evidently intended none but those who say, We ourselves bring it to pass; that is to say, we are ourselves the justifiers of our own selves. No doubt, even where we ourselves work, we are fellow-workers with Him who co-operates with us, because His mercy prevents us. He prevents us, however, that we may be healed; but then He will also follow us, that being healed we may grow healthy and strong.
He prevents us that we may be called; He will follow us that we may be glorified. He prevents us that we may lead godly lives; He will follow us that we may always live with

1 Ps. xxxvii. 6. 2 pg, xxxvii. 5.

264 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XXXVI.

Him, because without Him we can do nothing. 1 Now the Scriptures refer to both these operations of grace. There is both this: " The God of my mercy shall prevent me/ 2 and again this: " Thy mercy shall follow me all the days of my life." 3 Let us therefore unveil to Him our life by confession, not praise it with a vindication. For if it is not His way but our own, beyond doubt it is not the right one. Let us therefore reveal this by making our confession to Him; for however much we may endeavour to conceal it, it is not hid from Him. It is a good thing to confess unto the Lord.

Chap. 36. [xxxii.] â€” There is nothing right without grace. Pride even in such things as are done aright must be avoided. Free will is not taken away when grace is preached.

Thus will He bestow on us whatever pleases Him. If there be anything displeasing to Him in us, it ought also to be displeasing to us. " He will," as the Scripture has said, " turn aside our paths from His own way," 4 and will make our way that which is His own; because it is by Himself that the favour is bestowed on such as believe in Him and hope in His name, of having their way made by His very self.

STow there is a way of righteousness of which they are ignorant " who have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge," 5 and who, wishing to make up a righteousness of their own, " have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God." 6 " For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth:" 7 and He has said, " I am the way." 8 God's voice, however, has alarmed even those who have already begun to walk in this way, lest they should be lifted up, as if it were by their own energies that they were walking therein. For the same persons to whom the apostle, on account of this danger, says, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of His good pleasure," 9 are likewise for the self-same reason admonished in the psalm: " Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice in Him with trembling. Accept correction, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and ye

1 John xv. 5. 2 Ps. lix. 10. 3 Ps. xxiii. 6.

4 See Ps. xliiv. 18 (Sept.). 5 Eom. x. 2. 6 Rom. x. 3.

1 Rom. x. 4. 8 John xiv. 6. 9 Phil. ii. 12.
perish from the righteous way, when His wrath shall be suddenly kindled upon you." * He does not say, "Lest at any time the Lord be angry and refuse to show you the righteous way," or, "refuse to lead you into the way of righteousness;" but even after you are walking therein, he goes so far in his tone of alarm as to say, "Lest ye perish from the righteous way."

Now, whence could this arise if not from pride, which (as I have so often said, and must repeat again and again) has to be guarded against even in things which are rightly done, that is, in the very way of righteousness, lest a man, by regarding as his own that which is really God's, lose what is God's and be reduced merely to what is his own? Let us then carry out the concluding injunction of this same psalm, "Blessed are all they that trust in Him," 2 so that He may Himself indeed effect and Himself show His own way in us, to whom it is said, "Show us Thy mercy, Lord;" 3 and Himself bestow on us the pathway of safety that we may walk therein, to whom the prayer is offered, "And grant us Thy salvation;" 4 and Himself lead us in the self-same way, to whom again it is said, "Guide me, Lord, in Thy way, and in Thy truth will I walk;" 5 Himself, too, conduct us to those promises whither His way leads, to whom it is said, "Even there shall Thy hand lead me and Thy right hand shall hold me;" 6 Himself pasture therein those who sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of whom it is said, "He shall make them sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them." 7

Now we do not, when we make mention of these [acts of the Lord] take away the freedom of man's will, but we preach the grace of God. For to whom are those gracious gifts of use, but to the man who uses, and humbly uses, his own will, and who does not make any boast of the power and energy thereof, as if it alone were sufficient for perfecting him in righteousness?

Chap. 37. [xxxiii.] â€” Being wholly without sin does not put man on an equality with God. The blessed are not changed into the substance of God.

God forbid that we should meet him with such an assertion as he says certain persons advance against him: "That man

1 Ps. ii. 11, 12. 2 Ps. ii. 12. 3 Ps. lxxxv. 7. 4 Ps. lxxxv. 7.

6 Ps. lxxxvi. 11. 6 Ps. cxxxix. 10. ? Luke xii. 37.

2 G 6 ON NATURE AND GEACE. [CHAP. XXXVIII.
is placed on a par with God, if lie is described as being without sin; " as if indeed an
angel, because he is without sin, is put in such an equality. Tor my own part, I am of
opinion that the creature will never become equal with God, even when so perfect a
holiness shall be accomplished in us, that it shall be quite incapable of receiving any
addition. No; all who maintain that our progress is to be so complete that we shall be
changed into the substance of God, and that we shall thus become what He is, should
look well to it how they build up their opinion; upon myself I must confess that it
produces no conviction.

Chap. 38. [xxxiv.] â€” We must not lie, even for the sake of moderation. The praise of
humility must not be placed to the account of falsehood.

I am favourably disposed, indeed, to the view of our author, when he resists those who
say to him, " What you assert is undoubtedly reasonable enough in appearance, but it is
an arrogant thing to allege that any man can be without sin,"
with this answer, that if it is at all true, it must not on any account be called an arrogant
statement, for with very great truth and acuteness he asks, " On what side must humility
be placed ? No doubt on the side of falsehood, if you prove arrogance to exist on the side
of truth." And so he decides, and rightly decides, that humility should rather be ranged on
the side of truth, not of falsehood. Whence it follows that he who said, " If we say that we
have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us," x must without hesita
tion be held to have spoken the truth, and not seem to have advanced what is false under the
guise of humility. Therefore he added the words, "And the truth is not in us;"
whereas it might perhaps have been enough if he merely said,
" We deceive ourselves," if he had not observed that some were capable of supposing that
the clause " we deceive ourselves " is here employed on the ground that the man who
praises himself is even extolled for a really good action. So that, by the addition of " the
truth is not in us," he clearly shows (even as our author most correctly observes) that it is
not at all true if we say that we have no sin, lest humility, if placed on the side of
falsehood, should lose the praise and guerdon of truth.

1 1 John i. 8.

CHAP. XL.] GOD IS SAVIOUR AS WELL AS CREATOR. 267

Chap. 39.

Beyond this, however, although he flatters himself that he
vindicates the cause of God by defending nature, he forgets that
by predicking soundness of the said nature, he rejects the
Physician's mercy. He, however, who created him is also
his Saviour. We ought not, therefore, so to magnify the Creator as to be under the necessity, nay, rather incur the guilt, of declaring the Saviour to be superfluous. Man's nature indeed we may honour with distinguished praise, and attribute the praise to the Creator's glory; but at the same time, while we show our gratitude to Him for having created us, let us not be ungrateful to Him for healing us. Our sins which He heals we must undoubtedly attribute not to God's operation, but to the wilfullness of man, and submit them to His righteous correction; as, however, we acknowledge that it was in our power that they should not be committed, so let us confess that it lies in His mercy rather than in our own power that they should be healed. But this mercy and remedial help. of the Saviour, according to this writer, consists only in this, that He forgives the transgressions that are past, not that He helps us to avoid such as are to come. Here he is most fatally mistaken; here, however unwittingly, he hinders us from being watchful, and from praying that " we enter not into temptation," since he maintains that . it simply lies without our own control that this should not happen to us.

Chap. 40. [xxxv.] â€” Why there is a record in Scripture of certain men's sins. Recklessness in sins accounts it to be so much loss whenever it falls short in gratifying the instigation of lust.
The man who is endowed with a sound opinion does not say [what our author says.]
"That the instances of certain persons, of whose sinning we read in Scripture, are recorded for this purpose, that they may discourage recklessness in sinning, nor seem in any way to afford to us security in committing sin," â€” but that we may learn the humility of repentance, or else discover that even in such falls salvation ought not to be despaired of. For there are some who, when they have fallen into sin, perish rather from the recklessness of despair, and not only neglect the remedy of repentance, but become the slaves of lusts and wicked desires, so far as to run

268 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XLIL

all lengths in gratifying these depraved and abandoned dispositions, â€” as if it were a loss to them if they failed to accomplish what their lust impelled them to, whereas all the while there awaits them a certain condemnation. To oppose this morbid recklessness, which is only too full of danger and ruin, there is great force in the record of those sins into which even just and holy men have before now fallen.

Chap. 41. â€” Whether holy men have died without sin. Forgiveness of sins like a daily incense. No man can live, though he may die, without sin.

But there is clearly much acuteness in the question put by our author, " How must we suppose that those holy men quitted this life, â€” with sin, or without sin ? " For if we answer, " With sin," condemnation will be supposed to have been their destiny, which it is shocking to imagine; but if it be said that they departed this life " without sin," then it would be a proof that man had been without sin in his present life, at all events, when death was approaching. But, with all his acuteness, he overlooks the circumstance that even righteous persons not without good reason offer up this prayer: " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; " *

and that the Lord [Jesus] Christ, after explaining the prayer in His teaching, most truly added: " For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your [heavenly] Father will also forgive you your trespasses." 2 Here, indeed, we have the daily incense, so to speak, of the Spirit, which is offered to God on the altar of the heart, which we are bidden "to lift up [unto the Lord.] " â€” implying that, even if we cannot live here without sin, we may yet die without sin, whilst the sin is blotted out in merciful forgiveness which is committed in ignorance or infirmity.

Chap. 42. [xxxvi.] â€” The blessed Virgin Mary lived without sin. None of the saints besides her without sin. The praise of humility is not to be placed on the side of falsehood.

He then enumerates those " who not only lived without sin, but are described as having led holy lives, â€” Abel, Enoch, Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joshua the son of Nun, Phinehas, Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Joseph, Elisha, Micaiah, Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah, Mishael, Mordecai, Simeon, Joseph
the husband of the Virgin Mary, and John." And he adds the names of some women, â€” "Deborah, Hannah the mother of Samuel, Judith, Esther, the other Anna, daughter of Phanuel, Elisabeth, and even the mother of our Lord and Saviour, for of her," he says, "we must needs allow that her piety had no sin in it." We must except the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom I wish to raise no question, when it touches the subject of sins, out of honour to the Lord; for from Him we know what abundance of grace for overcoming sin in ever)

particular was conferred upon her who had the merit to conceive and bear Him who undoubtedly had no sin. Well then, if, with this exception of the Virgin, we could only assemble together all the forementioned holy men and women, and ask them whether they lived without sin whilst they were in this life, what can we suppose would be their answer? Would it be in the language of our author, or in the words of the Apostle John? I put it to you, whether, on having such a question submitted to them, however excellent might have been their sanctity in this body, they would not have exclaimed with one voice: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us?" 1 But perhaps in this their answer would have shown more of humility than of truth! Well, but our author has already determined, and rightly determined, "not to place the praise of humility on the side of falsehood." If, therefore, they spoke the truth in giving such an answer, they would have sin, and since they humbly acknowledged it, the truth would be in them; but if they lied in their answer, they would still have sin, because the truth would not be in them.

Chap. 43. [xxxvu.]

"But perhaps," says he, "they will ask me: Could not the Scripture have mentioned some sins belonging to all of them?" And surely they would say the truth, whoever should put such a question to him; and I do not discover that he has anywhere given a sound reply to them, although I perceive that he was unwilling to let the question pass without an answer. What this is, I beg of you to observe:

1 1 John i. 8.
"This," says he, "might be rightly asked of those whom Scripture mentions neither as good nor as bad; but of those whose holiness it mentions, it would also no doubt have mentioned the sins likewise, if only it had known that they had sinned at all." He would say, forsooth, that their grand faith had no connection with holiness in the case of those who comprised "the multitudes that went before and that followed" the colt on which the Lord rode, when "they shouted and said, Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," 1 even amidst the malignant men who with murmurs asked why they were doing all this! Let him then boldly tell us, if he can, that there was not a man in all that vast crowd who had any sin at all. Now, if it is most absurd to make such a statement as this, why has not the Scripture mentioned any sins in the persons to whom reference has been made, especially when it has carefully recorded the eminent goodness of their faith?

Chap. 44.

This, however, even he probably observed, and therefore he went on to say: "But, granted that it has sometimes abstained, in the instance of a numerous crowd, from narrating the sins of all that composed it; still, in the very beginning of the world, when there were only four persons in existence, what reason (asks he) have we to give why it chose not to mention the sins of all [that small number?] Was it in consideration of the vast multitude, which had not yet come into existence? or because, having mentioned only the sins of those who had transgressed, it was unable to record any of him who had not yet committed sin?" And then he proceeds to add some words, in which he unfolds this idea with a fuller and more explicit illustration. "It is certain," says he, "that in the earliest age Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel their sons, are mentioned as being the only four persons then in being. Eve sinned, â€” the Scripture distinctly says so much; Adam also transgressed, as the same Scripture does not fail to inform us; whilst it affords us an equally clear testimony that Cain also sinned: and of

1 Matt. xxi. 9.
all these it not only mentions the sins, but also indicates the character of their sins. Now if Abel had likewise sinned, Scripture would no doubt have told us so. But it has given us no such information; therefore he committed no sin, and not only so, but proved himself, and the Scripture moreover shows him, to have been a righteous man. 1 What we read, therefore, let us believe; and what we do not read, let us deem it impious to affirm.”

Chap. 45. [xxxviii.] â€” Wlty Cain has been by some thought to have had children by his mother Eve. The sins of righteous men. Who can be both righteous, and yet not without sin.

When he says this, he forgets what he had himself said not long before: "After the human race had multiplied, it was possible that in the crowd the Scripture may have neglected to notice the sins of all men." If indeed he had borne this well in mind, he would have seen that even in one man there was such a crowd and so vast a number of slight sins, that it would have been impossible (or, even if possible, improper) to describe them. Those only are recorded which required some method and consideration to be applied in their selection, that they might serve, in their limited number, as examples for instructing the reader in the many cases where he needed warning. Scripture has indeed omitted to mention concerning the few persons who were then in existence, either their numbers or their characters, 2 â€” in other words, how many sons and daughters Adam and Eve begat, and what names they gave them; and from this circumstance some, not considering how many things are quietly passed over in Scripture, have- gone so far as to suppose that Cain cohabited with his mother, and by her had the children which are mentioned, thinking that Adam's sons had no sisters, because Scripture failed to mention them in the particular place, although it afterwards, in the way of recapitulation, implied what it had previously omitted, â€” that " Adam begat sons and daughters," 3 without, however, dropping a syllable to intimate either their number or the time

1 [We have thus combined the two possible meanings of " quinetiam jw ostcnd'tt." See 1 John iii. 12.]

2 Quot vel qui fuerint. 3 Gen. v. 4.

272 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XLV.

when they were bom. In like manner it was unnecessary to state whether Abel, notwithstanding that he is rightly styled "righteous/ ever indulged in immoderate laughter, or was ever jocose in moments of relaxation, or ever looked at an object with a covetous eye, or ever plucked fruit to extravagance, or ever suffered indigestion from too much eating, or ever in the midst of his prayers permitted his thoughts to wander, and call him away from the purpose of his devotion; and [much more uncalled for still was it to state] how frequently these and many other similar failings stealthily crept over his mind.
And are not these failings sins, about which the apostle's precept gives us a general admonition that we should avoid and restrain them, when he says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof?" 1 To escape from such an obedience, we have to struggle in a constant and daily conflict against unlawful and unseemly inclinations. Only let the eye be directed, or rather abandoned, to an object which it ought to avoid, and let the mischief strengthen and get the mastery, and adultery is consummated in the body, which is expediting in the heart only more quickly, as thought is more rapid than action, and there is no impediment to retard and delay it. They who in a great degree have curbed this sin, that is, this appetite of a vitiated affection, so as not to obey its desires, nor to "yield their members to it as instruments of unrighteousness," 2 have fairly deserved to be called righteous persons, and this by the help of the grace of God. Since, however, sin often stole over them in very small matters, and when they were off their guard, they were both righteous, and at the same time not sinless. To conclude, even if there were yet in righteous Abel that love of God, whereby alone the righteous man has true holiness, to enable him to advance in holiness and to lay him under a moral obligation to such progress, still, in whatever degree he fell short therein, it came from his own fault. And who indeed can help thus falling short, until he come to that mighty power thereof, in which man's entire infirmity shall be swallowed up?
1 Rom. vi. 12. 2 Rom. vi. 13.

CHAP. XLYII.] ADHERENCE TO WHAT IS WRITTEN. 273

Chap. 46. [xxxix.]

It is, to be sure, a grand sentence with which he concluded this passage, when he says: "What we read, therefore, let us believe; and what we do not read, let us deem it impious to affirm, â€” which it is sufficient to remark also of every case." On the contrary, I for my part say that we ought not to believe even everything that we read, [and this I say] on the sanction of the apostle's advice: "Read all things; hold fast that which is good." 1 Nor is it an impious thing to affirm anything which we have not read; for it is in our power to affirm anything which we have bond fide experienced as witnesses, even if it so happens that we have not read about it. Perhaps he will say in reply: "When I said this, I was treating of the Holy Scriptures." Oh how I wish that he were never willing to affirm, I will not say anything but what he reads in the Scriptures, but in opposition to what he reads in them; that he would only faithfully and obediently hear that which is written there: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned; " 2 and that he would not weaken the grace of the great Physician, â€” all by his unwillingness to confess that human nature is vitiated ! Oh how I wish that he would, as a Christian, read the sentence, "There is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved; " 3 and that he would not so uphold the capability of human nature, as to believe that man can possibly be saved by his own free will without that Name !
Chap. 47. [xl.] â€” For what Pelagius thought that Christ is necessary to us.

Perhaps, however, he thinks the name of Christ to be necessary on this account, that by means of His gospel we may learn how we ought to live; but not that we may be also assisted by His grace, in order withal to lead good lives.

Well, even this consideration should lead him at least to confess that there is a miserable darkness in the human mind, which knows how it ought to tame a lion, but knows not how to live. To know this, too, is it enough for us to

1 1 Thess. v. 21. 2 Rom. v. 12. 3 Acts iv. 12.

274 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. XLVIII.

have a free will and the law of nature ? This is that word wisdom, whereby "the cross of Christ is rendered of none effect." 1 He, however, who said, "I will destroy the wisdom of the prudent," 2 since that cross cannot be made of none effect in very deed, overthrows the wisdom of the prudent by that foolishness of preaching whereby believers are healed [of their sinful malady.] For if natural capacity, by help of free will, is in itself sufficient both for discovering how one ought to live, and also for leading a holy life, then " Christ died in vain," 3 and therefore also " the offence of the cross is ceased." 4 Why also may I not myself exclaim, â€” nay, I will exclaim, and chide them with a Christian's sorrow, â€” " Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by nature; ye are fallen from grace; " 5 for, " being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish your own righteousness, you have not submitted yourselves to the righteousness of God ? " 6 For even as " Christ is the end of the law," so likewise is He the Saviour of man's corrupted nature, " for righteousness to every one that believeth." 7

Chap. 48. [xlii] â€” How the term "all" is to be understood.

His opponents adduced the passage, " All have sinned," 8 and he met their statement founded on this with the remark that " the apostle was manifestly speaking of the then existing generation, that is, the Jews and the Gentiles;" but surely the passage which I have quoted, " By one man sin entered the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned," 9 embraces in its terms the generations both of old and of modern times, both ourselves and our posterity.

He quotes, " As by the offence of one, [judgment came] upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of One, [the free gift came] upon all men unto justification of life," 10 and thus remarks: " There can be no doubt that not all men are sanctified by the righteousness of Christ, but only those who are willing to obey Him, and have been cleansed in the washing of His baptism." Well,

1 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 1 Cor. i. 19. 3 Gal. ii; 21. 4 Gal. v. 11.
but he does not prove what he wants by this quotation. For as the clause, "By the offence of one, [judgment came] upon all men to condemnation," is so worded that not one is omitted in its sense, so in the corresponding clause, "By the righteousness of one, [the free gift came] upon all men unto justification of life," there is a like fulness of meaning which omits none, â€” not, indeed, because all men have faith and are washed in His baptism, but because no man is justified unless he believes in Christ and is cleansed by His baptism. The term "all" is therefore used in a way which shows that no one whatever can be supposed able to be saved by any other means than through Christ Himself. For if in a city there be appointed but one instructor, we are most correct in saying: That man teaches all in that place; not meaning, indeed, that all who live in the city take lessons of him, but that no one is instructed unless taught by him. In like manner no one is justified unless Christ has justified him. 1

Chap. 49. [xlii.] â€” A man can be sinless, but only by the help of grace. In the saints this possibility advances and keeps pace with the realization.

"Well, be it so," says he, "I agree; he testifies to the fact that all were sinners. He says, indeed, what they have been, not that they might not have been something else. Wherefore," he adds, "if all men could be proved to be sinners, it would not by any means prejudice our own definite position, in insisting not so much on what men are, as on what they are capable of being." He is right for once to allow that no man living is justified in God's sight. He contends, however, that this is not the question in the passage before us, but that the point lies in the possibility of a man's not sinning, â€” on which subject it is unnecessary even for ourselves to take ground against him; for, in truth, I do not much care about expressing a definite opinion on the question, whether in the present life there ever have been, or now are, or ever can be, any persons who have had, or are having, or are to have, the love of God so perfectly as to admit of no addition to it (for nothing short of this amounts to a most true, plenary, and perfect righteousness). The point which I aver and maintain concerns the ability of man's will, â€” what it can do when

1 Compare De Peccatorum meritis et remissione, i. 55.

276 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. L.
assisted by the grace of God. As to the incidental questions of time and place, and the person who is to accomplish the doing, I am not bound to bestow any great pains in discussing them. Nor do I indeed contend about the actual possibility, forasmuch as the possibility under dispute advances with the realization in all holy persons, their human will being duly healed and helped [by divine grace;] whilst "the love of God," as fully as our sound and cleansed nature can possibly receive it, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us." 1 In a better way, therefore, is God's cause promoted (and it is to its promotion that our author professes to apply his warm defence of nature) when He is acknowledged as our Saviour no less than as our Creator, than when His succour to us as Saviour is impaired and dwarfed to nothing by the defence of the creature, as if it were sound and its resources entire.

Chap. 50. [xliil] â€” God commands no impossibilities.

What he says, however, is true enough, "that God is so good and just, that He made man of such a nature as to be quite able to live without the evil of sin, if indeed he had been only willing." For who does not know that man was made whole and faultless, and endowed with a free will and a power at liberty to lead a holy life? Our present inquiry, however, is about the man whom "the thieves" 2 left half dead on the road, and who, being disabled and pierced through with heavy wounds, is quite incapable of mounting up to the heights of holiness with the facility wherewith he was able to descend therefrom; who, moreover, is still in process of cure, even though he is already in "the inn." 3 God therefore does not enjoin impossibilities; but in His injunctions He counsels you both to do what you can for yourself, and to ask His aid in what you cannot do. Now, we should see whence comes the possibility, and whence the impossibility. He says: "That proceeds not from a man's will which he can do by nature." I say: A man is not righteous by his will if he can be by nature. He will, however, be able to accomplish

1 Rom. v. 5. 2 Luke x. 30. [Rather, "robbers;" latrones, XrmrruL]
3 Luke x. 34.

CHAP. LII.] FAITH IN CHRIST INDISPENSABLE. 277

by remedial aid what lie is rendered incapable of doing by the fault [of his nature.]

Chap. 51. [xliv.] â€” State of the question between the Pelagians and the Catholics. Holy men of old saved by the self -same faith in Christ which ice exercise.

But why need we tarry longer on general statements? Let us go into the core of the question, which we have to discuss with our opponents solely, or almost entirely, on one particular point. For inasmuch as he says that "as far as the present question is concerned, it is not pertinent to inquire whether there have been or now are any men in this life
without sin, but whether there could ever have been or still could be such persons;" so, were I even to allow that there have been or are any such, I should not by any means therefore affirm the past or, the present possibility [of any men being sinless.] unless justified by the grace of God through our Lord " Jesus Christ and Him crucified." 1 For the same faith which healed the saints of old now heals us, â€” that is to say, faith " in the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," 2 faith in His blood, faith in His cross, faith in His death and resurrection. As we therefore have the same spirit of faith, we also believe, and on that account also speak.

Chap. 52.

Let us, however, observe what our author answers, after laying before himself the question wherein he seems indeed so intolerable to Christian hearts. He says: " But you will tell me this is what moves a great many, â€” the fact that you do not maintain that it is by the grace of God that a man can be without sin." Certainly this is what causes us disturbance; this is what we object to him. He touches the very gist of the case. This is what causes us such utter pain to endure it; this is why we cannot bear to have such points debated by Christians, owing to the love which we feel towards others and towards themselves. Well, let us hear how he clears himself from the objectionable character of the question he has raised. " What blindness of ignorance," he exclaims, " what sluggishness of an uninstructed mind, which supposes that that is maintained and held to be without God's grace

1 1 Cor. ii. 2. 2 1 Tim. ii. 5.

278 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LIII.

which it merely hears ought to be attributed to God!" Now, if we knew nothing of what follows this outburst of his, and formed our opinion on simply hearing these words, we might suppose that we had been led to a wrong view of our opponents by the recklessness of report and by the asseveration of some competent witnesses among the brethren. For how could it have been more pointedly and truly stated that the possibility of men's not sinning, to whatever extent it exists or shall exist, ought only to be attributed to [the grace of] God? This too is our own affirmation. "We may shake hands.

Chap. 53. [xlv.]

Well, must we listen to the rest of the sentence? Yes, certainly; both hear it, and of course correct it and guard against it. These are his words: " Now, when it is said that the very possibility in dispute *is not at all within the competence of man's will, but of the Author of nature, â€” that is, God, â€” how can that possibly be understood to be without the grace of God which is deemed to belong to Him in so especial a manner?" Here we begin to see what he means; but that we may not lie under any mistake, he explains himself with greater breadth and clearness: " That this may become still plainer, we
must," says he, "enter on a somewhat fuller discussion of the point. Now we affirm that the possibility of anything lies not so much in the power of a man's will as in the necessity of nature." He then proceeds to illustrate his meaning by examples and similes. “Take,” says he, “for instance, my ability to speak. That I am able to speak is not my own; but that I do speak is my own, â€” that is, it proceeds from my own will. And because the act of my speaking is my own, I have the power of resorting to either alternative, â€” that is to say, I am able either to speak or to refrain from speaking. But as my being able to speak is not my own, â€” in other words, does not proceed from my own will and pleasure, â€” this capability of speech at all times is a matter of necessity, 1 [not of volition,] to me; and if I wished to be unable to

1 Necesse est me semper loqui posse. This obscure sentence seems to point to Pelagius’ former statement: Cujusque rei possibilitatem non tarn in arbitrii humani potestate quam in naturae necessitate consistere.

CHAP. LY. ] NECESSITY, AND FEEEDOM OF WILL. 279

speak, I still have no power to secure such inability to myself, unless perhaps I were to deprive myself of that member whereby the function of speaking is to be performed." Many means, indeed, might be mentioned whereby, if he wish it, a man may deprive himself of the ability to speak, without removing the organ of speech. If, for instance, anything were to happen to a man to destroy his voice, he would be unable to speak, although the proper organ remained; for a man's voice is of course no organic part of his body. There may, in short, be an injury done to the organ internally, short of the actual loss of it. I am, however, unwilling to press the argument for a word; and it may be replied to me in the contest, Why, even to injure [an organ of our body] is to lose the use of it. But yet we can so contrive matters, by closing and shutting the mouth with bandages, as to be quite unable to open it, and, [what is more,] to put the opening of it out of our power, although it was quite in our own competency to shut it while the strength and healthy exercise of the limbs remained.

Chap. 54. [xlvi.] â€” There is no incompatibility between necessity and the freedom of our will.

Now how does all this apply to our subject ? Let us see what he makes out of it. " Whatever," says he, " is bound by natural necessity is deprived of all freedom of will and deliberate choice." Well, now, here lies a question; for it is the height of absurdity for us to say that it is no concern of our will when we form a wish to be happy, on the ground that it is absolutely impossible for us to be unwilling to be happy, by reason of some indescribable but amiable coercion of our nature; nor dare we maintain that God wills not to be holy, but is under the necessity of being so, because He cannot be willing to sin.
Mark also what follows. We may perceive," says he, "the same thing to be true of hearing, smelling, and seeing, â€” that to hear, and to smell, and to see is our own, while the capacity to hear, and to smell, and to see is not our own, but lies in a natural necessity." Either I do not understand what he means, or he does not himself. For how is the capacity to see

â€¢

280 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LVI.

not in our own power, if the necessity of not seeing is in our own power; because blindness is in our own power, by which we can deprive ourselves, if we will, of this very capacity to see? How, moreover, is it in our own power to see whenever we will, when, without any loss whatever to our natural structure of body in the organ of sight, we are unable, even though we wish, to see, â€” either by the removal of all external lights during the night, or by our being shut up in some dark place?

Likewise, if our capacity or our incapacity to hear is not in our own power, but lies in the necessity of nature, whereas our actual hearing or not hearing is within the competency of our own will, how comes it that he is inattentive to the fact that there are so many things which we hear against our will, which penetrate our sense even when our ears are stopped, as the creaking of a saw near to us, or the grunt of a pig?

Although the said stopping of our ears shows plainly enough that it does not lie within our own power not to hear with open ears; perhaps, too, such a stopping of our ears as shall deprive us of the entire sense in question proves that even the ability not to hear lies within our own power. As to his remarks, again, concerning our sense of smell, does he not display no little carelessness when he says "that it is not in our own power to be able or to be unable to smell, but that it is in our own power" â€” that is to say, it lies within the competency of our own will â€” "to smell or not to smell"? For let us suppose some one to place us, with our hands firmly tied, but yet without any injury to our olfactory organs, among some bad and noxious smells; in such a case we altogether lose the power, however strong may be our wish not to smell, because every time we are obliged to draw breath, we also inhale the smell which we dislike.

Chap. 56. [xlviil.] â€” The assistance of grace in a perfect nature.

Not only, then, are these similes employed by our author false, but the application also which he has made of them is equally incorrect. He goes on to say: "In like manner, touching the possibility of our not sinning, we must understand that it is ours not to sin, but yet that the ability to avoid sin is not ours." If he were speaking of man's whole and perfect nature, which we do not yet possess, â€” * for we are
saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope: [for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?] But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it, "1 â€” his language even in that case would not be correct, to the effect that (however true it might be that it would be in our power to sin) to avoid sinning would be simply in our own control; for even then there must be the help of God, which must shed itself on those who are willing to receive it, just as the light is given to strong and healthy eyes to assist them in their function of sight. Inasmuch, however, as it is about this present life of ours that he raises the question, wherein our corruptible body weighs down the soul, and our earthly tabernacle depresses our sense with all its many thoughts, I am astonished that he can with any heart suppose that, even without the help of our Saviour's healing balm, it is in our own power to avoid sin, and at the same time ascribe the capacity to do so to nature, which gives only stronger evidence of its own vitiated state by the very fact of its failing to see its taint.

Chap. 57. [xlix.] â€” It does not detract from God's almighty power, that He is incapable of either sinning, or dying, or destroying Himself.

" Inasmuch," says he, "as not to sin is ours, [it follows that] we are able to sin and to avoid sin." What, then, if another should say: Because it belongs to us not to wish for unhappiness, [it follows that] we are able both to wish for it and not to wish for it; while yet we are positively unable to wish for it? For who could possibly wish to be unhappy, even if he wishes for something else from which unhappiness would ensue to him even against his will? Then again, since, in an infinitely greater degree, it appertains to God not to sin, shall we therefore venture to say that He is able both to sin and to avoid sin? God forbid that we should ever say that He is able to sin! For He cannot, as foolish persons suppose therefore fail to be almighty, because He is unable to die, 01 because He cannot deny Himself. What, therefore, does he mean? by what method of speech does he try to persuade us on a point which he is himself loth to consider? For he advances a step further, and says: " Since indeed it does not appertain to us to be able to avoid sin, even if we were to wish

1 Bom. viii. 24, 25.

282 ON NATURE AND GEACE. [CHAP. LVIII.

not to be able to avoid sin, it is not in our power to be unable to avoid sin." It is an involved sentence, and therefore a very obscure one. It might, however, be more plainly expressed in some such way as this: Since to be able to avoid sin does not appertain to us,
then, whether it be with our will or without our will, we are able to avoid sin! He does not say, whether with our will or without our will, we do not sin, â€” for we undoubtedly do sin, if we will, â€” but yet he asserts that, whether we will or not, we have the capacity of not sinning, â€” a capacity which he declares to be inherent in our nature. Of a man, indeed, who has Ins legs strong and sound, it may be said admissibly enough, that whether he will or not he has the power or capacity of walking; but if his legs be broken, he has not the capacity or ability, however much he may wish to walk. The nature of which our author speaks is vitiated.

"Why is earth and ashes proud? MI It is vitiated, [I say.] It implores the Physician's help. " Save me, Lord," 2 is its cry; "Heal my soul," 3 it exclaims. Why does he check such cries so as to hinder future health, by insisting as it were on its present possibility?

Chap. 58. [l.] â€” Even pious and God-fearing men resist grace.

Observe also what remark he adds, by which he thinks that his position is confirmed: "No effort of will," says he, "can take away that winch is proved to be inseparably implanted in nature." Whence then comes that utterance: "So then ye cannot do the things that ye would?" 4 Whence also this: "For what good I would, that I do not; but what evil I hate, that do I?" 5 Where is that capability which is shown to be so inseparably inherent in nature? It is certain that the apostle does not speak of his own mere self, but to his own person attributes a general character, man being the object thus assumed by him. By our author, however, it is maintained that our human nature actually possesses as an inseparable attribute the capacity of not sinning. Such a statement, however, even when made by a man who knows not the effect of his words (but this ignorance is hardly attributable to the man who suggests the propriety of such statements even for unwary, though God-fearing men), causes the grace of Christ to be "made of none effect," 1 when it is pretended that human nature is self-sufficient for its own holiness and justification.

1 Ecclus. x. 9. 2 Ps. xii. 1. 3 Ps. xli. 4.

4 Gal. v. 17. 5 Rom. vii. 15. 6 Rom. vii. 18.
Chap. 59. [ll] â€” In icjat sense Pelagius attributed to God's grace the capacity of not sinning.

In order, however, to escape from the odium which arises in consequence of the jealousy wherewith Christians guard everything affecting their salvation, he parries their question when they ask him, " Why do you affirm that man without the help of God's grace is able to avoid sin ?" by saying, " The actual capability of not sinning lies not so much in the power of man's will as in the necessity of his nature. Now, whatever is placed in the necessity of nature undoubtedly appertains to the Author of that nature, that is, God. How then," says he, " can that be regarded as done without the grace of God which is shown to belong in an especial manner to God ? " We have here expressed the opinion which all along was kept in the background; there is, in fact, no way of permanently concealing such a doctrine. The reason why he attributes to the grace of God the capacity of not sinning is, that God is the Author of that nature in which he declares this capacity of avoiding sin to be inseparably inherent. Whenever He wills a thing, no doubt He does it; and what He wills not, that He does not. Now, wherever there is this inseparable capability, there cannot accrue any infirmity of the will; or rather, there cannot be both a readiness of the will and a failure in the " performance." 2 This, then, being the case, how comes it to pass that " to will is present, where how to perform that

1 1 Cor. i. 17. Another reading has crux Christi instead of "Christi gratia," thus closely adopting the apostle's words.

2 Ttom. vii. 18.

284 ON NATURE AND GEACE. [CHAP. LX.

which is good" is absent ? Now, if the author of the work we are discussing spoke of that nature of man, which was in the beginning created faultless and perfect, in whatever sense his dictum be taken, " that it has an inseparable capacity," â€” that is, so to say, a capability which cannot be lost, â€” then that nature ought not to have been mentioned at all which admitted of deterioration, and which could require a physician to restore sight to the blind, and that possibility of seeing which had been lost through blindness; â€” for I suppose a blind man would like to see, but is unable. Now, whenever a man wishes to do a thing and cannot, there is present to him the will, but he has lost the capability.

Chap. 60. [ll]

See what obstacles he still attempts to break through, if possible, in order to introduce his own opinion. He raises a question for himself in these terms: " But you will tell me that, according to the apostle, the flesh is contrary * to us;"
and then answers it in this wise: "How can it be that in the case of any baptized person the flesh is contrary to him, when according to the same apostle he is understood not to be in the flesh? For he says, 'But ye are not in the flesh.' " 2

Very well; we shall soon see whether it be really true that [the apostle] says that in the baptized the flesh cannot be contrary to them; at present, however, as it was impossible for him quite to forget that he was a Christian (although his reminiscence on the point is but slight), he has quitted his defence of nature. Where then is that inseparable capability of his? Does he mean that those who are not yet baptized are not a part of human nature? Well, now, here by all means, here at this point, he might find his opportunity of awaking out of his sleep; and he still has it if he is careful.

"How can it be," he asks, "that in the case of a baptized person the flesh is contrary to him?" Then [it seems] to the unbaptized the flesh is contrary. Let him tell us how, because even in the case of these the resources of nature have been stoutly maintained by him. However, in these he does allow that nature is vitiated, inasmuch as it was actually impossible for him quite to forget that he was a Christian (although his reminiscence on the point is but slight), he has quitted his defence of nature. Where then is that inseparable capability of his? Does he mean that those who are not yet baptized are not a part of human nature? Well, now, here by all means, here at this point, he might find his opportunity of awaking out of his sleep; and he still has it if he is careful.

CHAP. LXL] IN WHOM IS THE FLESH CONTRARY? 285

among the already baptized that the wounded traveller left his inn sound and well, or rather remains sound in the inn whither the compassionate Samaritan carried him that he might become cured. 1 Well, now, if he allows the contrariousness of the flesh even in these, let him tell us what has happened to occasion this, since the flesh and the spirit alike are the work of one and the same Creator, and are therefore both of them good, because He is good. What indeed is it except the flaw which has been inflicted by man's own wilfulness? And that this fault of our nature may be repaired, there is need of that very Saviour from whose creative hand nature itself proceeded. Now, if we acknowledge that this Saviour, and that healing remedy of His which made the Word incarnate in order to dwell within us, are required by small and great, â€” by the crying infant and the hoaryheaded man alike, â€” then, in fact, the whole controversy of the point between us is settled at once and for ever.

Chap. 61. [mil]

Now let us see whether we anywhere read about the flesh being contrary in the baptized also. And here, I ask, to whom did the apostle say, "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would?" 2 He wrote this, I apprehend, to the Galatians, to whom he also says, "He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?" 3 It appears, therefore, that it is to Christians that he speaks, to whom God had also given His Spirit: then it is to the baptized [that these words are addressed.] Observe, therefore, that even in baptized persons the flesh is found to be contrary; so that they cannot have that capacity about which our author speaks as if
it were inseparably inherent in our nature. Where then is the ground for his assertion, "How can it be that in the case of a baptized person the flesh is contrary to him?" in whatever sense he understands the flesh? Because in very deed it is not the nature of the flesh, which is good, [that is thought 1 Luke x. 34. * Ga L v. 17. 3 GaL iii. 5.

286 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXII.

of;] but it is the carnal faults of the flesh which are expressly named in the passage before us. 1 Yet observe, even in the baptized, how contrary is the flesh. And in what way contrary? "They do not the things which they would." Take notice that the will is present in a man; but where is that capacity of nature [of which we hear so much?] Let us confess that grace is necessary to us; let us cry out, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And let our answer be, [as his of old was,] "I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord!" 2

Chap. 62. â€” Concerning ivhat grace of God the discussion is here concerned. The ungodly man, when dying, is not delivered from concupiscence.

Now, whereas there is the greatest correctness in those words of the question put to him, " Why do you affirm that man without the help of God's grace is able to avoid sin?" yet the inquiry did not concern that grace of God by which man was created, but only that whereby he is saved through Jesus Christ our Lord. Faithful men say in their prayer, " Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." 3 But if they already have [the boasted] capacity of avoiding the evil, why do they thus pray for it? Or, what is the evil which they pray to be delivered from, but, above all else, "the body of this death?" And from this only God's grace delivers them, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Not indeed from this bodily substance of us, which is very good; but from its carnal lusts, whence a man is only liberated by the grace of the Saviour, â€” and not when he quits the body by the death thereof. If the apostle meant [only] to declare this, why had he previously said, " I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members?" 4

Behold what damage the disobedience of the will has inflicted on man's nature! He may be permitted to pray that he may be healed. But why does lie presume so strongly on the capability of his nature? It is wounded, hurt, harassed, destroyed. It is a true confession of its weakness, not a false defence of its capacity, that it stands in need of. It

1 See the context of Gal. v. 17, in versos 19-21.

requires the grace of God, not that it may be made, but that it may be re-made. And this is
the only grace which by our author is declared to be unnecessary; and the more loudly so
declared, because of the silence he keeps about it. If, indeed, he had said nothing at all
about God's grace, and had not proposed to himself that question for solution, for the
purpose of removing from himself the odium of this matter, it might have been thought
that his view of the subject was consistent with the truth, only that he had refrained from
mentioning it, on the ground that not on all occasions must we say all we think. He
proposed, [however,] the question of grace, and answered it in the way that suited him; it
has [therefore]
assumed its distinctive form, not in the way we wished, but according to the doubt we
entertained as to what was his

meaning.

Chap. 63. [liv.]

He next endeavours, by much quotation from the apostle, about which there is no
controversy, to show "that the flesh is often mentioned by him in such a manner as
proves him to mean not the substance, but the works of the flesh." What is this to the
point? The faults of the fl
. must be confessed that they are." And then follows his conclusion: " Since, therefore,
the spirit [of man] is good, and his flesh good, as made by the good Creator, how can it
be that the two being good should be contrary to one another?" I need not say that the
whole of this reasoning would be upset if one were to ask him, "Who made heat and
cold?" and he were to say in answer, " God, without a doubt." For my part, I
decline asking a string of questions on the point. Let him determine himself whether
these conditions of climate may

1 See above, ch. 59, sub init.
substances." Very true, it is so. But still they are natural qualities, and undoubtedly belong to God's creation; and substances, indeed, are not said to be contrary to each other in themselves, but in their qualities, as water and fire. What if it be so too with flesh and spirit? We do not affirm it to be so; but, in order to show that his argument terminates in a conclusion which does not necessarily follow, we have said so much as this: That it is quite possible for contraries not to be reciprocally opposed to each other, but rather by mutual action to temper health and render it good. Thus, in the case of our body, dryness and moisture, cold and heat, are substances in the tempering of which altogether consists our bodily health. The fact, however, that "the flesh is contrary to the Spirit, so that we cannot do the things that we would," I is a defect, not a natural state. The Physician's grace must be sought, and the controversy must end.

Chap. 64.
Now, as touching these two good substances which the good God created, how, in the case of unbaptized persons, can it be true of them that they are contrary the one to the other, as this man's reasoning would make them to be? Will he be sorry to have said this too, which he admitted out of some regard to the Christians' faith? For when he asked, "How, in the case of any person who is already baptized, could there be a contrariousness in his flesh?" he intimated, of course, that in the case of unbaptized persons it is possible for the flesh to be contrary. For why insert the clause, "who is already baptized" when without such an addition he might have put his question thus: "How in the case of any person can the flesh be contrary?" and when, in order to prove this, he might have subjoined that argument of his, that as both body and spirit are good (made as they are by the good Creator), they therefore cannot be contrary to each other?

Now, suppose unbaptized persons (in whom, at any rate, he holds the contrariousness of the flesh) were to ply him with

1 Gal. v. 17.

CHAP. LXV.] ABSUEDITY OF PELAGIUS' ARGUMENT. 289

his own arguments, and say to him, "Who made man's spirit? he must answer, God. Suppose they asked him again, Who created the flesh? and he answers, The same God, I apprehend. Suppose their third question to be, Is the God good who created both? and his reply to be, Nobody doubts it. Suppose once more they put to him his yet remaining inquiry, Are not both good, since the good Creator made them? and his acknowledgment of that truth; â€” then surely "they will hoist the engineer with his own petard," when they force home his conclusion on him, and say: Since therefore the spirit of man is good, and his flesh good, as made by the good Creator, how can it be that the two being good should be contrary to one another? Here, perhaps, he will reply:
I beg your pardon, I ought not to have said that the flesh cannot be contrary to the spirit in any baptized person, as if I meant to imply that it is contrary in the unbaptized; but I ought to have made my statement general, to the effect that the flesh in no man's case is contrary. Now see into what a corner he drives himself. See what a man will say, who is unwilling to cry out with the apostle, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." 1 "But why," he asks "should I so exclaim, who am already baptized in Christ? It is for them to cry out thus who have not yet received so great a benefit, whose words the apostle in a figure transferred to himself, "if indeed even they say so much." Well, so intense is this man's defence of nature, that it does not permit even these to utter this exclamation. For in the baptized, nature does not exist; nor in the unbaptized is there nature. Or if even in the one class it is allowed to be vitiated, so that it is not without reason that men exclaim, "wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?" and to the other help is brought in what follows: "I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord," let it at last be granted that human nature stands in need of Christ for its Physician.

Chap. 65. [lv.]"This body of death," so called from its defect, not from its substance.

Now, I ask, when did our nature lose that liberty, which

1 Eom. vii. 24, 25.
4 T

290 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXV.

he craves to be given to him when he says: "Who shall deliver me?" For even he finds no fault with the substance of the flesh when he expresses his desire to be liberated from the body of this death, for he affirms that the nature of the body, as well as of the soul, must be attributed to the good God as the author thereof. What he speaks of undoubtedly concerns the sins of the body. Now from our body the death of the body separates us; whereas the vices contracted from the body remain, and their just punishment awaits them, as the rich man [in the parable] found to his cost in hell. 1 From these it was that he was unable to deliver himself, who said:

"Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" 2 But whenever it was that he lost the liberty in question, at least there remains that capability which is inseparable from nature. This power he has from the resources of nature, whilst the will comes to him through the freedom of his volition. [Then if this be so,] why does he require the sacrament of baptism? Is it because of past sins, in order that they may be forgiven, since they cannot be undone? Well, suppose you acquit and release a man on these terms, he must still utter the old cry; for he not only wants to be mercifully let off from punishment for past offences, but to be strengthened and fortified against sinning for the time to
come. For he " delights in the law of God, after the inward man; but then he sees another law in his members, warring against the law of his mind." 3 Observe, he sees that there is, not recollects that there was. It is a present pressure, not a past memory. And he sees the other law not only " warring," but even " bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which is " (not which was) " in his members." 4 Hence comes that cry of his: " wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? " 5 Let him pray, let him entreat for the help of the mighty Physician.

Why gainsay that prayer? Why cry down that entreaty? Why shall the unhappy suitor be hindered from begging for the mercy of Christ, â€” and that too by Christians? For, [alas!] it was even they who were accompanying Christ that tried


CHAP. LXVII.] THE BAPTIZED HAVE INTERNAL CONFLICTS. 291

to prevent the blind man, by clamouring him down, from being for light; but even amidst the din and throng of the gainsayers He hears the suppliant; from whence the invariable response: " I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." 2

Chap. 66. [lvi.]

Now if we secure even this concession from them, that unbaptized persons implore the assistance of the Saviour's grace, this is indeed no slight point against that fallacious assertion of the self-sufficiency of nature and of the power of our free will [of which we hear so much.] For he has no self-sufficient resources who says, " wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me? " Nor can he be said to have full liberty who still asks for deliverance. But let us, moreover, see to this point also, whether they who are baptized do the good which they would, without any resistance from the lust of the flesh. That, however, which we have to say on this subject, our author himself mentions, when concluding this topic he says: " As we remarked, the passage in which occur the words, ' The flesh lusteth against the Spirit,' 3 must needs have reference not to the substance, but to the works of the flesh." We too allege that this is spoken not of the substance of the flesh, but of its works, which proceed from carnal concupiscence, â€” in a word, from sin, concerning which we have this precept: " Not to let it reign in our mortal body, that we should obey it in the lusts thereof;

Â» 4
Chap. 67. [lvii.] "Who may he said to he under the law.

But even he should observe that it is to persons who have been already baptized that it was said: " The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." 5 And lest he should make them disinclined for the actual conflict through sloth, and should seem by this statement to have given them laxity in sinning, he goes on to tell them: " If ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law." 6 For that man is under the law, who, from fear of the punishment which the law

1 Mark x. 46-52. 2 Rom. vii. 25. 3 Gal. v. 17.
4 Kom. vi. 12. 5 Gal. v. 17. 6 Gal. v. IS.

292 ON NATURKIE AND GEACE. [CHAP. LXVIII.

threatens, and not from any love for holiness, obliges himself to avoid the work of sin, without being as yet free and removed from the desire of sinning. For it is in his very will that he is guilty, whereby he would prefer, if it were possible, that [the punishment] he dreads should not exist, in order that he might freely do what he secretly desires. Therefore he says, " If ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law," even the law which inspires fear, but gives not love. For this " love is shed abroad in our hearts," not by the letter of the law, but " by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." *

This is the law of liberty, not of bondage; being the law of love, not of fear; and concerning it the Apostle James says: " Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty," 2 etc. Whence he no longer indeed felt terrified by God's law as a slave, but delighted in it in the inward man, although still seeing another law in his members warring against the law of his mind. Accordingly he here says: " If ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law." So far, indeed, as any man is led by the Spirit, he is not under the law; because, so far as he rejoices in the law of God, he lives not in fear of the law, since " fear has torment," 3 not joy and delight.

Chap. 68. [lviii.]

If, therefore, we feel rightly on this matter, it is our duty at once to be thankful for what is already healed within us, and to pray for such further healing as shall enable us to enjoy full liberty, in that most absolute state of health which is incapable of addition, the perfect pleasure at God's [right hand.] 4 For we do not deny that human nature may be without
sin; nor ought we by any means to refuse to it the power of perfectibility, since we admit its capacity for progress, â€” by God's grace, however, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

By His assistance we aver that it becomes holy and happy, by whom it was created in order to be so. There is accordingly an easy refutation of the objection which our author says is alleged by some against him: " The devil is our adversary." This objection we also meet in entirely identical language with that which he uses in reply: " We must resist him, and he will flee. 'Eesist the devil,' says the blessed 1 Kom. v. 5. 2 Jas. i. 25. 3 1 John iv. 18. 4 Ps. xvi. 11.

CHAP. LXIX.] THE MEANS FOR AVOIDING SIX. 293

apostle, * and he will flee from you.' l From which it may be observed, what his harming amounts to against those whom he avoids; or what power he is to be understood as possessing, when he prevails only against those who do not resist him." Such language is my own also; for it is impossible to employ truer words. There is, however, this difference between us and his partisans, that we, whenever the devil has to be resisted, not only do not deny, but actually teach, that God's help must be sought; whereas they attribute so much power to the human will, as to exempt prayer from religious duty. Now it is certainly with a view to resisting the devil and his fleeing from us that we say when we pray, " Lead us not into temptation; " 2 to the same end also are we warned by our Captain, exhorting us as soldiers in the words: " Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation." 3

Chap. 69. [lix.]

In opposition, however, to those who ask, " And who would be unwilling to be without sin, if it were put in the power of a man ? " he discusses the question with perfect propriety, saying " that by this very question they acknowledge that the thing is not impossible; because so much as this, many, if not all men, certainly desire." Well, then, let him only confess the means by which this is possible, and then our controversy is ended. Now the means is the actual grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ; but nowhere has he been willing to allow that we are assisted at all by it in our prayers for the avoidance of sin. If indeed he happens to have secret views different from his expressed opinion, he must forgive us if we suspect otherwise. For he himself does no less than this, who, though encountering so much obloquy on this subject, wishes to entertain the secret opinion, and yet is unwilling to confess or profess it. It would surely be no great matter were he to speak out, especially since he has undertaken to handle and open this point, as if it had been objected against him on the side of opponents. Why on such occasions did he choose only to defend nature, and assert that man was so created as to have it in his power not to sin if he had not

1 Jas. iv. 17. 2 Matt, vi. 13. 3 Mark xiv. 38.
wished to sin; and, from the fact that he was so created, definitively say that the power was owing to God's grace which enabled him to avoid sin. if he was unwilling to commit it; and yet, [after all these admissions,] refuse to say anything concerning the fact that even nature itself is either, because disordered, healed by God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ, or else assisted by it, because in itself it is so insufficient?

Chap. 70. [lx.] â€” Whether any man is without sin in this life.

Now, whether there ever has been, or is, or ever can be, a man living so righteous a life in this world as to have no sin at all, may be an open question among true and pious Christians; 1 but if any person doubts the possibility of this sinless state after this present life, he is unwise. For my own part, indeed, I am unwilling to dispute the point even as respects this life. For although that passage seems to me to be incapable of bearing any doubtful sense, wherein it is written, "In thy sight shall no man living be justified" 2 (and so of similar passages), yet I can only wish it were possible to show either that such quotations were capable of bearing a better signification, or that a perfect and plenary righteousness, to which it were impossible for any accession to be made, had ever at any former time existed in any man whilst passing through this life in the flesh, or was now existing, or would hereafter come into existence. They, however, are in a great majority, who, while not doubting that to the last day of their life it will be needful to them to resort to the prayer which they can so truthfully utter, " Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us," 3 still trust that in Christ and His promises they possess a true, certain, and unfailing hope. There is, however, no method whereby any persons arrive at absolute perfection, or whereby any man makes the slightest progress to true and godly righteousness, but the assisting grace of our crucified Saviour Christ, and the gift of His Spirit; and whosoever shall deny this cannot rightly, I almost think, be reckoned in the number of any Christians at all.

1 See next treatise â€” its preface, or Admonitio. 2 Ps. cxliii. 2.
2 Matt. vi. 12.

a Matt. vi. 12.

CHAP. LXXI.] QUOTATIONS MISAPPLIED BY PELAGIUS. 295

Ciiap. 71. [lxi.] â€” Augustine replies against the quotations which Pelagius had advanced out of the Catholic writers.

Accordingly, with, respect even to the passages which he has adduced, â€” not indeed from the canonical Scriptures, but out of certain treatises of Catholic writers, â€” I wish to meet the assertions of such as say that the said quotations make for him. The fact is,
these passages are so entirely neutral, that they oppose neither our own opinion nor his. Amongst them he wanted to class something out of my own books, thus accounting me to be a person who seemed worthy of being ranked with [the distinguished writers in question.] For this I must not be ungrateful, and I should be sorry â€” so I say with unaffected friendliness â€” for him to be in error, since he has conferred this honour upon me. As for his first quotation, indeed, why need I examine it largely, since I nowhere have discovered the author's name, either because he has not given it, or because from some casual mistake the copy which you forwarded to me did not contain it? Especially as in writings of such authors I feel myself free to use my own judgment
(owing unhesitating assent to nothing but the canonical Scriptures), whilst in fact there is not a passage which he has quoted from the works of this â€” so far as I can find â€” anonymous author 2 that disturbs me. " It was right," says he, " for the Master and Teacher of virtue to become entirely like man, that by conquering sin He might show that man is able to overcome sin." Now, whatever be the literal expression of this passage, its author must see to it as to what explanation it is capable of bearing. We, indeed, on our part, could not possibly doubt that in Christ there was no sin to conquer, â€” born as He was in the likeness of sinful flesh, not in sinful flesh itself.
Another passage is adduced by our author to this effect: " And again, that by subduing the desires of the flesh He might teach us that it is not of necessity that one sins, but of set purpose and wilfulness." Â£ For my own part, I understand these desires of the flesh (since it is not of its unlawful lusts that the writer

1 Timasius and Jacobus.

2 Lactantius is the writer from whom Pelagius takes his first quotations here. See his Inst. Divin. iv. 14.

3 Lactantius, Inst. Divin. iv. 5.

296 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXXII.

here speaks) to be such as hunger, thirst, refreshment after fatigue, and the like. For it is through these, however faultless they be in themselves, that some men fall into sin, â€” a result which never befell our blessed Saviour, even though, as Ave see from the evidence of the gospel, these affections were natural to Him owing to His likeness to sinful flesh.

Chap. 72. [lxil] â€” The pure in heart blessed. The doing and perfecting of righteousness.

He quotes the following words from the blessed Hilary:
" It is only when we shall be perfect in spirit, and changed in our immortal state, which blessedness has been appointed only for the pure in heart, 1 that we shall see that which is
immortal in God." 2 Now I am really not aware what is here said contrary to our own statement, or in what respect this passage is of any use to our opponent, unless it be that it testifies to the possibility of a man's being "pure in heart."

But who denies such possibility? Only it must be through Jesus Christ our Lord, and not merely by our freedom of the will. He goes on to quote also this passage: "This Job had so effectually read, that he kept himself from every wicked work, because he worshipped God purely with a mind unmixed with vices: now such worship of God is the proper work of righteousness." It is what Job had done which the writer here spoke of, not what he had brought to perfection in this world, â€” much less what he had done or perfected without the grace of that Saviour whom he had actually foretold. 3

For that man, indeed, abstains from every wicked work, who does not allow the sin which he has within him to have dominion over him; and who, whenever an unworthy thought stole over him, suffered it not to come to a head in actual deed. It is, however, one thing not to have sin, and another to refuse obedience to its desires. It is one thing to fulfil the command, "Thou shalt not covet;" 4 and another thing, by an endeavour at any rate after abstinence, to do that which is also written, "Thou shalt not go after thy lusts." 5 And yet one is quite aware that he can do nothing of all this without the Saviour's grace. To work righteousness, therefore,

1 See Matt. v. 8. 2 Hilary in loco. 3 Job xix. 25.
4 Ex. xx. 17. 5 Ecclus. xviii. 30.

CHAP. LXXIII.] HILAEY QUOTED IX EEPLY. 297

[iis consistent with] having to fight in an internal struggle with the internal evil of concupiscence in the true worship of God; whilst to perfect it means to have no adversary at all.

Now he who has to fight is still in danger, and is sometimes shaken, even if he is not overthrown; whereas he who has no enemy at all rejoices in perfect peace. He, moreover, is most truly said to be without sin in whom no sin has an indwelling, â€” not he who, abstaining from evil deeds, uses such language as [the apostle's:] "Now it is no longer I that do it, but the sin that dwelleth in me." 1

Chap. 73. â€” He meets Pelagius with another passage from Hilary on Ps. cxix. 21.

Now even Job himself is not silent respecting his own sins; and your friend, 2 of course, is justly of opinion that humility must not by any means be put on the side of falsehood and affectation. Whatever confession [of sin,] therefore, Job makes, inasmuch as he is a true worshipper of God, he undoubtedly makes it in sincerity and truth. 3 Hilary, likewise, while expounding that passage of the psalm in which it is written, "Thou hast despised all those who turn aside from Thy commandments," 4 says: "If God were to
despise sinners, He would despise indeed all men, because no man is without sin; but it is those who turn away from Him, whom they call apostates, that He despises." You observe his statement: it is not to the effect that no man was without sin, as if he spoke of the past; but no man is without sin; and on this point, as I have already remarked, I have no contention with him. But if one refuses to submit to the Apostle John, â€” who does not himself declare, "If we were to say we have had no sin," but "If we say we have no sin," 5 â€” how is he likely to show deference to Bishop Hilary? It is in defence of the grace of Christ that I lift up my voice, without which grace no man is justified, although for nature free will is sufficient. Nay, [Christ] Himself lifts up His own voice in

1 Rom. vii. 20. 2 Vestro amico, in reference to Timasius and Jacobus.

3 Job xl. 4, and xlii. 6.

4 This is probably a version of Ps. cxix. 21, the Septuagint of which reads:

\[ \text{Votisque pnestat sedulis, Sanctum mereri Spiritum,} \]

5 1 John i. 8.

298 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXXV.

defence of the same. Let us submit to Him when He says:
"Without me ye can do nothing." *

Chap. 74. [lxiii.]

He also quotes a passage from St. Ambrose; but in very deed this holy man rather opposes those who say that man cannot exist without sin in the present life. For, in order to support his statement, he avails himself of the instance of Zacharias and Elisabeth, because they are mentioned as "having walked in all the commandments and ordinances" of the law "blameless." 2 Well, but does he for all that deny that it was by God's grace that they did this through our Lord Jesus Christ? It was undoubtedly by such faith in Him that holy men lived of old, even before His death. It is He who sends the Holy Ghost that is given to us, through whom that love is shed abroad in our hearts whereby alone the righteous are justified. This same Holy Ghost is expressly mentioned by our good bishop, who reminds us that He is to be obtained by prayer (so that the will is not sufficient unless it be aided by Him); thus in his hymn he says:

"Votisque pnestat sedulis, Sanctum mereri Spiritum," â€”

"To prayer He gives, when diligent, His Holy Spirit to possess."
Chap. 75. “Augustine adduces in reply some other passages of Ambrose.

I will quote, on my side too, a passage out of this very work of St. Ambrose, from which our opponent has taken the statement which he deemed favourable for citation: "So it seemed good to me," he says; "but what he declares seemed good to him cannot have seemed good to him alone. For it is not simply to his human will that it seemed good, but also as it pleased Him, even Christ, who, says he, speaketh in me. He it is who causes that which is good in itself to seem good to ourselves also. For him on whom He has mercy He also calls. He, therefore, who follows Christ, when asked why he wished to be a Christian, can answer: Because it seemed good to me. In saying this he does not deny that it also pleased

1 John xv. 5. 2 Luke i. 6. See Ambrose in loco.

CHAP. LXXV.] â€œ AMBROSE VINDICATED. 299

God; for from God proceeds the preparation of man's will, inasmuch, as it is by God's grace that God is honoured by His saint." See now what your author must learn, if he takes pleasure in the words of Ambrose, how that man's will is prepared by God, and that it is of no importance, or, at any rate, does not much matter, by what means or at what time the preparation is accomplished, provided no doubt is raised as to whether the thing itself be capable of accomplishment without the grace of Christ. Then, again, how important it was that he should observe one point derived from the words of Ambrose which he quoted! For after that holy man had said, "Inasmuch as the Church has been gathered out of the world, that is, out of sinful men, how can it be spotless when composed of such polluted material, except that, in the first place, it is washed of its sinful state by the grace of Christ, and then, in the next place, abstains from actual sins through the character it has acquired of avoiding sin?" he added the following sentence, which your author has refused to quote for a self-evident reason; for [Ambrose] says: "It was not spotless from the very first, for that state was impossible for human nature. It is through the grace of God and that character of its own by which it no longer sins, that it comes to pass that it has the appearance of being without spot." Now who does not understand the reason why your author declined adding these words? It is, of course, so contrived in the discipline of the present life, that the holy Church shall arrive at last at that condition of unspotted purity which all holy men desire; and that it may in the world to come, and in a state unmixed with all soil of evil men, and undisturbed by any law of sin resisting the law of the mind, lead the purest life in a divine eternity. Still he should well observe what Bishop Ambrose says, æœ” and his statement exactly tallies with the Scriptures: "It was not spotless from the very first, for that condition was impossible for human nature." By his phrase, "from the very first," he means indeed from the time of our being born of Adam. Adam no doubt was himself created in an immaculate condition; in the case, however, of those who are by nature children of wrath, deriving from him that which in him became corrupt, [Ambrose] distinctly
300 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXXVII.

averred that it was an impossibility in human nature that they should be unspotted from the very first.

Chap. 76. [lxiv.]

He quotes also John, bishop of Constantinople, as saying "that sin is not a substance, but a malignant act." Who denies this? " And because it is contrary to nature, therefore the law was given to oppose it, inasmuch also as it proceeds from the downward course of the liberty of our will." Who, too, denies this? However, the present question concerns our human nature in its corrupted state; it is a further question also concerning that grace of God whereby our nature is healed by the great Physician, Christ, whose remedy it would not need if it were only whole. And yet your author defends it as capable of not sinning, as if it were sound, or as if its freedom of will were self-sufficient.

Chap. 77.

What Christian, again, is unaware of the fact that he quotes the blessed Sixtus, bishop of Rome and martyr of Christ, as having said, " God has conferred upon men liberty of will, in order that by purity and sinlessness of life they may become like unto God? " 1 But the man who appeals to such a free will ought to listen to it and believe, and ask Him in whom he believes to give him His assistance not to sin. For when he speaks of "becoming like unto God," it is indeed through God's love that men are to be like unto God, à€” even the love which is " shed abroad in our hearts," not by any ability of nature or the free will within us, but "by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." 2 Then, in respect of what the same martyr further says, " A pure mind is a holy temple for God, and a clean heart without sin is His best altar,"

who knows not that the clean heart must be brought up to this perfect state, whilst " the inward man is renewed day by day," 3 but yet not without the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord? Again, when he even says, " A man of chastity and without sin has received power from God to be

---

1 This passage, which Pelagius had quoted as from Sixtus the Roman bishop and martyr, Augustine subsequently ascertained to have had for its author Sixtus or Xystus, a Pythagorean philosopher.

2 Rom. v. 5. 3 2 Cor. iv. 16.

CHAP. LXXYIII.] PURITY UNATTAINABLE WITHOUT GEACE. 301
a son of God' he of course meant it as an admonition that on a man's becoming so chaste and sinless (without raising any question as to when and where this perfection was to be obtained by him, â€“ although in fact it is quite an interesting question among godly men, who are notwithstanding agreed as to the possibility of such perfection on the one hand, and on the other hand its impossibility except through " the one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus; " * without raising the prior question, as I said before, Sixtus designed his words to be an admonition that, on any man's attaining such a high character), and thereby being rightly reckoned to be among the sons of God, the attainment must not be thought to have been the work of any power of his own, which indeed he, through grace, received from God; forasmuch as he possessed no such power in his nature, which had become vitiated and depraved, â€“ even as we read in the Gospel, " But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God," 2 which they were not by nature, nor could at all become, unless by receiving Him they also received such power through His grace. This is the power which is claimed for itself by the fortitude of that love which is only communicated to us by the Holy Ghost bestowed upon us.

Chap. 78. [lxv.]
We have next a quotation of some words of the venerable presbyter Jerome, from his exposition of the passage where it is written: " Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." 3 Among other remarks, he â€“ says: " It is they whom no consciousness of sin reproves; " and he adds: " The pure man is seen by his purity of heart; the temple of God cannot be denied." This perfection is, to be sure, wrought in us by endeavour, by labour, by prayer, by effectual importunity therein that we may be brought up to the perfection in which we may be able to see God with a pure heart, by His grace through our Lord Jesus Christ. As to his allegation, that the forementioned presbyter said, " God created us with freedom of will; we are drawn by necessity neither to virtue nor to vice; if it were otherwise, where there is necessity there

1 1 Tim. ii. 5. 2 John i. 12. 3 Matt. v. 8.

302 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXXX.

would be no crown of reward; " â€“ who would not allow this? Who would not cordially accept it? Who would deny that human nature was so created? The reason, however, why in doing a right action there is no bondage of necessity, is that liberty is the essence of charity.


But let us revert to the apostle's assertion: " The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." 1 By whom given if not by Him who
"ascended up on high, led captivity captive, and" gave gifts unto men? "2 Forasmuch, however, as there is, owing to the flaws which have vitiated our nature, though not owing to the constitution of our nature, a certain necessary tendency to sin, a man should listen, and in order that the said necessity may cease to exist, learn to say to God in his prayers, "Bring Thou me out of my necessities;" 3 because in the very offering up of such a prayer there is a struggle against the tempter, who fights against us concerning this very necessity; and thus, by the assistance of grace through our Lord Jesus Christ, both the evil necessity will be removed and full liberty be bestowed.

Chap. 80. [lxvii.] â€” Two methods whereby sins, like diseases, are guarded against.

Let us now turn to our own case. "Bishop Augustine also," says your author, "in his books on free will has these words: 'Whatever is that cause of the will, if it is impossible to resist it, submission to it is not sinful; if, however, it may be resisted, should it not be submitted to, there will be no sin. Does it, perchance, deceive the unwary man? Let him then beware that he be not deceived. Is the deception, however, so potent that it is not possible to guard against it? If such be the case, then there are no sins in the case. For who sins in a case where precaution is quite impossible? Sin, however, is committed; precaution therefore is possible.' "4 I acknowledge it, these are my words; but he, too, should condescend to acknowledge what I said previously. The question indeed is about the grace of God, which helps us as a medicine through, the Mediator; the discussion has no concern with the impossibility of righteousness. "Whatever, then, may be the cause, it may be resisted. Most certainly it may. ISTow it is because of this fact that we pray for help, saying, "Lead us not into temptation." 1 This help we should not ask for if we supposed that resistance were quite impossible. It is possible to guard against sin, but by the help of Him who cannot be deceived. 2 For this very circumstance has much to do with guarding against sin that we can unfeignedly say, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Now there are two ways whereby, even in bodily maladies, the evil is guarded against, â€” to prevent its occurrence, and, if it happen, to secure a speedy cure. To prevent its occurrence, we may find precaution in the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation;" to secure the prompt remedy, we have the resource in the prayer, "Forgive us our debts." "Whether then the danger only threaten, or be inherent, it may be guarded against.
Chap. 81.

In order, however, that my meaning on this subject may be clear not merely to him, but also to such persons as have not read those treatises of mine on the freedom of the will, which your author has read, and who have not only not read them, but probably do read him; I must go on to quote out of my books what he has omitted, but which, if he had perceived and quoted in his letter, no controversy would be left between us on this subject. For immediately after those words of mine which your friend has quoted, I expressly added, and (as fully as I could) worked out, the train of thought which might occur to any one's mind, to the following effect: "And yet some actions are disapproved of, even when they are done in ignorance, and are judged deserving of chastisement, as we read in the inspired authorities." After taking some examples out of these, I went on to speak also of infirmity as follows: "Some actions also encounter disapprobation, even when they are done from necessity; as when a man wishes to act rightly

1 Matt. vi. 13.

2 Augustine gives a similar reply to the objection in his Eetraclaiones, i. 9.

3 Matt. vi. 12.

304 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXXXI.

and cannot. For whence arise those utterances: 'For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do' ? "- 1 Then, after quoting some other passages of the Holy Scriptures to the same effect, I say: "But all these are the sayings of persons who come from that condemnation of death; for if this is not man's punishment, but his nature, then those are no sins." Then, again, a little afterwards I add: "It remains, therefore, that this is the just punishment of persons who come of man's condemnation. Nor ought it to be wondered at, that either by ignorance man has not liberty of will to choose what he will rightly do, or that by the resistance of that carnal habit (which by force of mortal transmission has, in a certain sense, become engrafted into his nature), though seeing what ought rightly to be done, and wishing to do it, he yet is unable to accomplish it. For this is the just test penalty of sin, that a man should lose what he has refused to make a good use of, when he might with ease have done so if he would; which, however, amounts to this, that the man who knowingly refuses to do what is right loses the ability to do it when he wishes. For, in truth, to every soul that sins there accrue these two penal consequences

â€” ignorance and difficulty. Out of the ignorance springs the error which disgraces; out-of the difficulty arises the pain which afflicts. But to approve of falsehoods as if they were true, so as to err involuntarily, and to be unable, owing to the resistance and pain of carnal bondage, to refrain from deeds of lust, is not the nature of man as he was created,
but the punishment of man as under condemnation. When, however, we speak of a free will to do what is right, we of course mean that liberty in which man was created." Some men at once deduce what seems to them a just objection from the transfer and transmission of sins of ignorance and difficulty from the first man to his posterity; my answer to such objectors is this: " I tell them, by way of a brief reply, to be silent, and to cease from murmuring against God. Perhaps their complaint might have been a proper one, if from among men there had not stood forth a vanquisher of error and of lust; but there is everywhere present One who calls off from himself, through the 

1 Rom. vii. 19.

CHAP. LXXXIL] CORRUPTION OF MAN'S NATURE. 305

creature by so many means, the man who serves the Lord, teaches him when believing, consoles him when hoping, encourages him when loving, helps him when endeavouring, hears him when praying. It is not reckoned to you as a fault that you are involuntarily ignorant, but that you neglect to search out what you are ignorant of; nor is it imputed to you in censure that you do not bind up the limbs that are wounded, but that you despise him who wishes to heal them." * In such terms did I exhort them, as well as I could, to live righteously; nor did I frustrate the grace of God, without which the now obscured and tarnished nature of man can neither be enlightened nor purified. Our whole discussion with them on this subject turns upon this, that we frustrate not the grace of God which is in Jesus Christ our Lord by a perverted assertion of natural powers. In a passage occurring shortly after the last quoted one, I said in reference to these natural powers: " Of our actual nature we speak in one sense, when we properly and specially describe it as that human nature in which man was created faultless after his kind; and in another sense of that nature in which we are born ignorant and carnally minded, owing to the penal condition of man under condemnation, after the manner mentioned by the apostle, ' We ourselves likewise were by nature children of wrath, even as others.' " 2

Chap. 82. [lxviii.]

If, therefore, we wish " to rouse and kindle cold and sluggish souls by Christian exhortations to lead righteous lives," 3 we must first of all exhort them to that faith whereby they may become Christians, and be subjects of His name and authority, without whom they cannot be saved. If, however, they are already Christians, but neglect to lead holy lives, they must be chastised with alarms, and be aroused by the praises of reward, â€” in such a manner, indeed, that we must not forget to urge them to godly prayers as well as to virtuous actions, and furthermore to instruct them in such wholesome doctrine,

1 De Libero Arlitrio, iii. 19. 2 Eph. ii. 3.

3 This passage, and others in this and the following chapters, are marked as quotations, apparently cited by Pelagius from Augustine.
that they be induced thereby to thank [God] for being able to accomplish any step in that holy life which they have entered upon, without distraction or difficulty/ and whenever they do experience such "difficulty," that they then wrestle with God in most faithful and persistent prayer and ready works of mercy to obtain from Him a removal of the difficulty. But provided they thus progress, I am not over-anxious as to the where and the when of their perfection in the absolute fulness of holy living; only I solemnly assert, that wheresoever and whensoever the great climax is reached, it cannot be but by the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. When, indeed, they have attained to the clear knowledge that they have no sin, let them not say "they have no sin, lest the truth be not in them;" 2 even as the truth is not in those persons who, though they have sin, yet say that they have it not.

Chap. 83. [lxix.] â€” God enjoins no impossibility, because all things are possible and easy to love. The commandment of love never grievous.

But "the precepts of the law are very good," if we use them lawfully. 3 Indeed, by the very fact (of which we have the firmest conviction) "that God, being just and good, could not possibly have enjoined on us any impossibilities," we are admonished both what to do in easy paths and what to ask for when they are difficult. Now all things are easy for love to effect, to which (and which alone) "Christ's burden is light," 4 â€” or rather, it is itself alone the burden which is light. Accordingly it is said, "And His commandments are not grievous;" 5 so that whoever finds them grievous must regard the inspired statement about their "not being grievous " as having been capable of only this meaning, that there may be a state of heart to which they are not burdensome, and he must pray for that disposition which he at present wants, so as to be able to fulfill all that is commanded him. And this is the purport of what is said to Israel in Deuteronomy, if understood in a godly, sacred, and spiritual sense.

[This is clear from the fact] that the apostle, after quoting

1 For the "difficulty," which is one of the penal consequences of sin, see last chapter, about its middle.

2 1 John i. 8. 3 See 1 Tim. i. 8. 4 Matt. xi. 30. 6 1 John v. 3.
the passage, "The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart" * (and, as the verse also has it, in thine hands, 2 for in man's heart are his spiritual hands), adds in explanation, "This is the word of faith which we preach." 3 ~No man, therefore, who "returns to the Lord his God/" as he is there commanded, "with all his heart and with all his soul," 4 will find God's commandment "grievous." How, indeed, can it be grievous, when it is the precept of love? Either, therefore, a man has not love, and then it is grievous; or he has love, and then it is not grievous. But he possesses love if he does what is there enjoined on Israel, by returning to the Lord his God with all his heart and with all his soul. "A new commandment," says [Christ,] "do I give unto you, that ye love one another;" 5 while [His apostle writes,] "He that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law;" 6 and again, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." 7 In accordance with these sayings is that passage, "Had they trodden good paths, they would have found, indeed, the ways of righteousness easy." 8 How then is it written, "Because of the words of Thy lips, I have kept the paths of difficulty," 9 except it be that both statements are true: These paths are paths of difficulty to fear; but to love they are easy?

Chap. 84. [lxx.] â€” The stages of love are also stages of holiness. Inchoate love, therefore, is inchoate holiness; advanced love is advanced holiness; great love is great holiness; "perfect love is perfect holiness," â€” but this "love is out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned," 10 "which in this life is then the greatest, when life itself is contemned in comparison with it." 11 I wonder, however, whether it has not a soil in which to grow after it has quitted this mortal life! But in what place and at what time soever it shall reach that state of absolute perfection, which shall admit of no increase, it is certainly not "shed abroad in our hearts" by

1 Deut. xxx. 14, quoted Rom. x. 8.

2 According to the Septuagint, which adds after tv tj? xapVia, gov the words kcu iv ra.7; %tp<ri f fou. This was probably Pelagius' reading.

3 Rom. x. 8. 4 Deut. xxx. 2. 5 John xiii. 34.

6 Rom. xiii. 8. 7 Rom. xiii. 10. 8 Pro v. ii. 20 (Septuagint).

9 Ps. xvii. 4. io 1 Tim. i. 5.

11 See note at beginning of ch. 82 for the meaning of this mark of quotation.

308 ON NATURE AND GRACE. [CHAP. LXXXIV.
any energies either of the nature or the volition that are within us, but "by the Holy Ghost
which is given unto us," 1 and which both helps our infirmity and co-operates with our
strength. For it is itself indeed the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom,
with the Father and the Holy Spirit, appertaineth eternity, and all goodness, for ever and
ever. Amen.

1 Rom. v. 5.

PREFACE TO THE TREATISE

PERFECTION OF MAN'S RIGHTEOUSNESS.

AUGUSTINE has made no mention of this treatise in his book of Retractations; for the
reason, no doubt, that it formed a portion of the Epistles, for which he designed a separate
statement of Etractations. In all the mss. this work begins with his usual epistolary
salutation: " Sanctis fratribus et coepiscopis Eutropio et Paulo, Augustinus" [Augustine,
to his holy brethren and fellow-bishops Eutropius and Paulus].

And yet, by general consent, this epistle has been received as a treatise, â€” and is so
classed, not only in those volumes of his works which contain the copy of the work, but
also in the writings of those ancient authors who quote it. Amongst the more renowned of
these, and who are at the same time better acquainted with Augustine's writings,
Possidius (In incilico, 4)

and Eulgentius (Ad Monimum, i. 3) expressly call this work
" A Treatise on the Perfection of Mans PigJiteousness." So far nearly all the mss. agree,
but a few (including the Coclcl.

Audoenensis and Pratellensis) add these words to the general title: " Adversus eos qui
asserunt hominem posse fieri justum solis suis viribus" [In opposition to those who assert
that it is possible for a man to become righteous by his own sole strength]. In a MS.

belonging to the Church of Eheims there occurs this inscription: " Liber de definitionibus
quoie dicuntur Cozestii" [The book of what are called the definitions or breviates of
Celestius]. Prosper, in his work against Collator, ch. 43, advises his reader to peruse,
besides some other of Augustine's
" looks', that which he wrote " to the bishops Paulus and
310 ON man's perfection in righteousness.

Eutropius in opposition to the questions of Pelagius and Coelestius."

From this passage of Prosper, however, in which he mentions, but with no regard to accurate order, some of the short treatises of Augustine against the Pelagians, nobody could rightly show that this work On the Perfection of Man's Righteousness was later in time than his work On Marriage and Concupiscence, or than the six books against Julianus, which are mentioned previously in the same passage by Prosper.

Now, at the conclusion of the present treatise, Augustine hesitates as yet to censure those persons who affirmed that men are living or have lived in this life righteously without any sin at all: their opinion Augustine, in the passage referred to (just as in his treatises On Nature and Grace, and On the Spirit and the Letter), does not yet think it necessary stoutly to resist. Nothing had as yet, therefore, been determined on this point; nor were there yet enacted, in opposition to this opinion, the three well-known canons (6â€“8) of the Council of Carthage, which was held in the year 418. Afterwards, however, on the authority of these canons, he cautions people against the opinion as a pernicious error, as one may see from many passages in his books Against the two Epistles of the Pelagians, especially Book IV. ch. x. (2 7), where he says:

"Let us now consider that third point of theirs, which each individual member of Christ as well as His entire [mystical] body regards with horror, where they contend that there are in this life, or have been, righteous persons without any sin whatever." In the year 414, in an epistle (157) to Hilary, when answering the questions which were then being agitated in Sicily, he certainly expresses himself in the same tone, and almost in the same language, on this subject of sinlessness, as that which he employs at the end of this present treatise.

"But those persons," says he (in ch. ii. of that epistle),

"however much one may tolerate them when they affirm that there either are, or have been, men besides the one Prince of saints who have been wholly free from sin; yet when they allege that man's own free-will is sufficient for fulfilling the Lord's commandments, even when unassisted by God's grace and the gift of the Holy Spirit for the performance of good works, the idea is altogether worthy of anathema and of perfect detestation." How, on comparing these words with the conclusion of this treatise before us, nothing will appear more probable than that the work which supplies the refutation of Ccelestius' questions, which were also brought over from Sicily, was written not long after the above-mentioned epistle. This work Possidius, in his index, places immediately after the treatise.
On Nature and Grace, and before the book On the Proceedings of Pelagius. Augustine, however, does not mention this work in his epistle (169) which he addressed to Evodius about the end of the year 415; but he intimates in it that he had published an answer to the Commonitorium of Orosius, wherein that author stated that "the bishops Eutropius and Paulus had already given information to Augustine about certain formidable heresies." Some suppose that this statement refers to the letter which they despatched to Augustine along with Celestius' propositions. However that be, it is not unreasonable to believe that they, not long after Orosius' arrival in Africa (that is, before the midsummer of the year 415), had sent these propositions to him, and that Augustine soon afterwards wrote back to Eutropius and Paulus a refutation of them, his answer to Orosius having been previously given.

Furthermore, Celestius, whose name is inscribed in the propositions, "wrote to his parents from his monastery," as Gennadius informs us in his work on Church writers (De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis), "before he fell in with the teaching of Pelagius, three letters in the shape of short treatises, necessary for all seekers after God." Afterwards he openly professed the Pelagian heresy, and published a short treatise, in which, besides other topics, he acknowledged in the Church of Carthage that even infants had redemption by being baptized into Christ, an episcopal decision on the question having been obtained in that city about the commencement of the year 412, as we learn from an epistle to Pope Innocent (amongst the Epistles of Augustine [175, n. 1 and 6] as well as from the epistle [157, n. 22] which we have referred to above; and from his work On the Merits of Sins, i. 62, and 1Alujuantis.  

312 ON man's perfection in righteousness.

ii. 59; also from his treatise On Original Sin, 21; and his work Against Julianus, iii. 9. Another work by an anonymous writer, but which was commonly attributed to Celestius, divided into chapters, is mentioned in the treatise which follows the present one, On the Proceedings of Pelagius; see chapters 29, 30, and 62. There were extant, moreover, in the year 417, several small books or tracts of Celestius, which Augustine, in his work On the Grace of Christ, 31, 32, and 36, says were produced by Celestius himself in some ecclesiastical proceedings at Rome under Zosimus. Augustine, at the commencement of the present work On the Perfection of Man's Righteousness, mentions an undoubted work of Celestius as having been seen by him, from which he discovered that the definitions or brevites therein examined by Augustine were not unsuited to the tone and temper of Celestius. This was very probably the book which Jerome quotes in his Epistle to Ctesiphon, written in the year 413 or 314. These are Jerome's words: "One of his followers [that is, Pelagius'], who was already in fact become the master and the leader of all that army, and 'a vessel of wrath,' in opposition to the apostle, runs on through thickets, not of
syllogisms, as his admirers are apt to boast, but of solecisms, and philosophizes and disputes to the following effect: 'If I do nothing without God's help, and if everything which I shall achieve is owing to His operations solely, then it follows that it is not I who work, but only God's work is to be crowned in me.
In vain, therefore, has He conferred on me the power of will, if I am unable to exercise it fully without His incessant help.
That volition, indeed, is destroyed which requires the assistance of another. But it is a free will which God has given to me; and free it can only remain, if I do whatever I wish.
The state of the case then is this: I either use once for all the power which has been bestowed on me, so as to retain my will in freedom; or else, if I require the assistance of another, all liberty of volition in me perishes.' 

1 Eom. ix. 22.

A TREATISE

CONCERNING

MAN'S PERFECTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS.

BY

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO, a.d. 415.

a paper containing sundry propositions, 1 said to have been drawn up by ccelestius, was put into the hands of augustine. in this document, ccelestius, or some person 'who shared in his errors, had recklessly asserted that a man had it in his power to live here without sin. augustine first refutes the several propositions in brief answers, showing that the perfect and plenary state of righteousness, in which a man exists absolutely without sin, is unattainable without grace by the mere resources of our corrupt nature, and is incompatible with this present state of existence, he next proceeds to consider the authorities which the paper contained as gathered out of the scriptures; some of them teaching man to be "unspotted " and " perfect;" others mentioning the commandments of god as "not grievous;" while others again are quoted as opposed to the authoritative passages which the catholics were accustomed to advance against the pelagians.
THAT charity of yours, which in both of you is so conspicuous and so constraining as even to afford delight to one in obeying its commands, has laid me under an obligation to reply to some propositions which are said to be the work of Celestius; for so runs the prefatory note on the paper which you have given me, "Definitions, ut dicitur, Ccedstii"

1 These breves definitiones, which Augustine also calls raliocinationes, are short argumentative statements, which we propose to designate breviates.

313

314 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. II.

"The definitions, so it is said, of Coelestius"). As for this prefatory note, I take it that it does not refer so much to him as to those persons who have brought this report from Sicily, where Celestius is expressly said not to be; although many there make boastful pretension of holding views like his, who, to use the apostle's word, "are themselves deceived, and lead others also astray." 2 That these views are, however, in accordance with his teaching, or that of sundry associates of his, we can well imagine. For the above-mentioned brief definitions, or rather argumentative propositions, are by no means at variance with his opinion, such as I have seen it expressed in another work, of which he is the undoubted author. There was therefore good reason, I think, for the report which those brethren, who brought these tidings to us, heard in Sicily, that Celestius taught such opinions and committed them to writing. I should like, so far as I could, so to meet the obligation imposed on me by your brotherly kindness, as to contrive that my own answers should be as brief [as this man's breviates]. But, at the same time, I must set forth the propositions also which elicit my answers; otherwise, who will be able to form a judgment of the value of my confutation?

Still I will try to the best of my ability, assisted, too, as God shall mercifully permit, by your own prayers, so to conduct the discussion as to keep it from running to an unnecessary length.

Chap. ii. â€” (1.) The first breviate of Celestius.

"First of all," says he, "we must ask any one who denies man's ability to live without sin of what sort every sin is, â€”

1 In his epistle (157) to Hilary, written a little while before this work, he mentions Celestius and the condemnation of his errors in a Council held at Carthage; he expresses also some apprehension of Celestius attempting to spread his opinions in Sicily: "Whether he be himself there," says Augustine, "or only others who are partners in his errors, there are too many of them; and, unless they be checked, they lead astray others to
join their sect; and so great is their increase, that I cannot tell whither they will force their way," etc.

2 2 Tim. iii. 13.

3 Sociorum ejus. It has been proposed to read sectatorum ejus, â€” not unsuitably (although not justified by MS. evidence), because Ccelestius "had," to use Jerome's words, "by this time turned out a master with a following, â€” the leader of a perfect army." â€” Jerome's Epistle to Ctesiphon, written in the year 413 or 414.

CHAP. II.] MAX'S ABILITY THROUGH GRACE. 315

is it such as can be avoided ? or is it unavoidable ? If it is unavoidable, then it is not sin; if it can be avoided, then a man can live without the sin, which can be avoided. Xo right nor rule permits us to designate as sin that which cannot in any way be avoided." Our answer to this is, that sin can be avoided, if our corrupt nature be healed by God's grace, through our Lord Jesus Christ. For, as far as it is in an unsound state, so far does it either through blindness fail to see, or through infirmity fail to accomplish, that which it ought to do; " for the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh," 1 so that a man cannot do the things which he would.

(2.) The second breviate.

"We must next ask, whether sin comes from choice, or from necessity ? If from necessity, it is not sin; if from choice, it can be avoided." We answer as before; and in order that we may be healed, we pray to Him to whom that suffrage is addressed in the psalm: " Lead Thou me out of my necessities." 2

(3.) The third breviate.

" Again we must ask, what sin is, â€” is it natural ? or is it accidental ? If natural, it is not sin; if accidental, it can get out of the way; and if it can get out of one's way, it can be avoided; and man can very well dispense with that which can be avoided." The answer to this is, that sin is not natural; on the contrary, nature (especially in that corrupt state from which we have become by nature " children of wrath " 3 ) has too little power of will to avoid sin, unless assisted and healed by God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ.

(4. ) The fourth breviate.

" We must then ask, What is sin, â€” a real thing, or only an act ? If a reality, it must of course have an author; and if it be admitted to have an author, then another besides God will manifestly be introduced as the author of a real thing.
Now since it is impious to make such an admission as this, we are driven to the conclusion that every sin is an act, not a reality. If therefore it is an act, on this very ground it is 1 Gal. v. 17. - Ts. xxv. 17. 3 Epli. ii. 3.

316 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. III.

capable of being avoided." Our reply is, that sin no doubt is called an action, and is such, not a real thing. But then in the body lameness by the same rule is an act, not a thing, since it is the foot itself, or the body, or the human being who walks lame because of an injured foot, that is the thing; but still the man cannot avoid the lameness, unless his foot be cured. The same change may take place in the inward man, but it is by God's grace, through our Lord Jesus Christ. The very defect which causes the lameness of the man is neither the foot, nor the body, nor indeed the lameness itself; for there is of course no lameness in the case, when there is no walking, although undoubtedly there is the inherent defect which causes the lameness whenever there is an attempt to walk. He should therefore ask, what name must be given to this defect, â€” would he have it called a thing, or an act, or rather a disordered quality in the thing, which causes the existence of the deformed act ? So in the inward man the soul is the really existing thing, the theft is the act, and dishonest desire is the vitiated condition, or quality by which the soul becomes evilly affected, even when it does nothing in immediate gratification of its avaricious principle, â€” even when it hears the prohibition, * Thou shalt not covet," * and censures its own covetousness, and yet retains its evil affection still. By faith, however, it receives renovation; in other words, it receives a healing remedy, and applies it day by day, 2 â€” yet only by God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chap. hi. â€” (5.) The fifth breviate.

" We must next inquire whether a man ought to be without sin ? No doubt he ought. If he ought, he is able; if he is not able, for that reason he ought not. Now if a man ought not to be without sin, it follows that he ought to be with sin, â€” and then it ceases to be sin at all, if it be so plainly due. â€¢ Since, however, it is absurd even to put such a statement into words, we are obliged to confess that man ought to be without sin; and it is clear that his obligation is not more than his ability." We frame our answer with the same illustration as we employed in our previous reply.

1 Ex. xx. 17. 2 2 Cor. iv. 16.

CHAP. III.] HUMAN INABILITY NEEDS GEACE. 317

When we see a lame man who has the opportunity of being cured of his lameness, we of course have a right to say: That man ought not to be lame; and since this is the case, he can avoid the lameness. And yet this ability of his does not immediately ensue whenever
he wishes; but only after the application of the remedy and the completion of the cure, â€” when the remedial resource has assisted his will. The same thing takes place in the inward man in relation to sin, which is its lameness, by the grace of Him who " came not to call the righteous, but sinners; " * since " the whole need not the physician,, but only they that be sick/”

(6.) The sixth breviate.

" Again, we have to inquire whether man is commanded to be without sin; for either he is not able [so to live.] and then there is no such commandment; or else if there is such a commandment, he has the ability. For why should that be commanded to be done, which there is no ability at all to do ? " The answer is obvious. Man is most wisely commanded to walk with right steps, on purpose that, when he has discovered his own inability to do even this, he may seek the remedy which is provided for the inward man to cure the lameness of sin, even the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

(7.) The seventh breviate.

" The next question we shall have to propose is, whether God wills that man be without sin. No doubt God wills it; and no doubt there is the ability on man's part. For who is so foolhardy as to hesitate to believe that to be possible, which he has no doubt about God's willing to be done ? " This is the answer. If God willed not that man should be without sin, He would not have sent His Son without sin, to heal men of their sins. This takes place in believers, who are being renewed day by day, 3 until their righteousness becomes perfect, like fully restored health.

(8.) The eighth breviate.

" Again, this question must be asked: in what manner God would have a man live â€” with sin, or without sin ? Beyond a

1 Matt. ix. 13. 2 Matt. ix. 12. 3 2 Cor. iv. 16.

318 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. IV.

doubt, it is not with sin that He would have him live. We must reflect how great would be the impious blasphemy for it to be said that man had it in his power to exist with sin, which God does not wish; and for it to be denied that he had it in his power to live without sin, which God wishes: just as if God had created any man for such a result as this, â€” that he should be capable of being what He would not have him be; and incapable of being what He would have him be; and that he should rather lead an existence contrary to His will, than one which should be in accordance therewith." This
has been in fact already answered; but I see that it is necessary for me to make here an additional remark, that "we are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 1

Plenary righteousness, therefore, will only then be reached, when fulness of [moral soundness, or] health is attained; and this fulness of health shall be when there is fulness of love, 2 for "love is the fulfilling of the law; " 3 and then shall come fulness of love, when "we shall see Him even as He is." 4

Nor will any addition to love be possible more, when faith shall have reached the fruition of sight.

Chap. iv. (9.) The ninth breviate. (The hard necessity of possessing sin has always pursued sinners.)

"The next question we shall require to be solved is this: By what means is it brought about that man exists with sin? Is it through the necessity of his nature, or through the choice of his will? If it is through the necessity of his nature, he is blameless; if through his own will, then the question arises, from whom he has received this freedom of will? No doubt, from God. "Well, but that which God bestows is certainly good. This cannot be gainsaid. On what principle, then, is a thing proved to be good, if it is more prone to evil than to good? For there is a greater proneness to evil than to good in an arrangement which renders it im-

1 Rom. viii. 24, 25.

2 Of course we here miss the pleasant terseness of the original: "Tunc plena sanitas, quando plena caritas."

3 Rom. xiii. 10. * 1 John iii. 2.

CHAP. IV.] LIBERTY THROUGH CHRIST. 319

possible for a man to live without sin." The answer is this: It came to pass by the exercise of free will that man associated himself with sin; but a penal viciousness closely followed thereon, and out of the liberty produced necessity. Hence the cry of faith to God, "Lead Thou me out of my necessities." 1 With these necessities upon us, we are either unable to understand what we want, or else (while having the wish) we are not strong enough to accomplish what we have come to understand. Now real liberty is promised to believers by the Deliverer. "If the Son," says He, "shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." 2 For, vanquished by the sin into which it fell by the bent of its will, nature has lost its liberty.
Hence another Scripture says, "For of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage." 3 Since therefore "the whole need not the physician, but only they that be sick;" 4 so likewise it is not the free that need the Deliverer, but only the enslaved. Hence the cry of joy to Him for deliverance, "Thou hast saved my soul from the straits of necessity." 5 For true liberty is also real sanity â€“ [the condition of "the whole."] And this state would never have been lost, if the will of man had remained good. But because the will turned to sinning, the hard necessity of possessing sin pursued the sinner; [and will pursue him,] until his infirmity be wholly remedied, and such freedom be regained, that there must needs be, on the one hand, a permanent will to live happily, and, on the other hand, a voluntary and happy necessity of living virtuously also, and of always avoiding sin.

(10.) The tenth breviate.

* Since God made man good, and, in addition to this, further commanded him to do good, how impious it is for us to hold that man is evil, when he was neither made so, nor taught to act so; and to deny him the capability of being good, although he was both made so, and commanded to act so!"

Our answer here is: Since then it was not man himself, but God, who made man good; so also is it God, and not man himself, who remakes him to be good, while liberating him

1 Ps. xxv. 17. 2 John viii. 38. 3 2 Pet. ii. 19.

* Matt. ix. 12. 6 Ps. xxxi. 7 (Septuagint),

320 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. v.

from the evil which he himself did upon his willing, believing, and invoking such a deliverance. But all this is effected by the renewal day by day of the inward man/ by the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, with a view to the outward man's resurrection at the last day to an eternity not of punishment, but of life.

Chap. v. â€“ (1 1 . ) The eleventh breviate. ( The general prohibition in Scripture is, 11 Thou shalt not covet" and the general precept, "Thou shalt love;" the office of the law.)

"The next question which must be put is, in how many ways all sin becomes apparent? In two, if I mistake not: when either those things are done which are forbidden, or those things are left undone which are bidden. Now, it is just as certain that all things which are forbidden are able to be avoided, as it is that all things which are commanded are able to be effected. For it is vain either to forbid or to enjoin that which cannot either be guarded against or accomplished. And how shall we deny the possibility of man's living without sin, when we are compelled to admit that he can as well avoid all those things which are forbidden,
as do all those which are commanded?" My answer is, that in the Holy Scriptures there are many divine precepts, to mention the whole of which would be too laborious; but the Lord, who on earth consummated His word and also abridged it, 2 expressly declared that the law and the prophets hung on two commandments, 3 that we might understand that whatever else has been enjoined on us by God ends in these two commandments, and must be referred to them: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" 4 and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." 5 On these two commandments," says Christ, "hang all the law and the prophets." 6 Whatever, therefore, we are by God's law forbidden, and whatever we are bidden to do, we are forbidden and bidden with the direct object of fulfilling these two commandments. And probably the general prohibition is, "Thou shalt not covet;" 7 and the

1 2 Cor. iv. 16. 2 An application of Rom. ix. 28.
6 Matt. xxii. 40. 7 Ex. xx. 27.

CHAP. VI.] THE LAW LEADS TO CHRIST. 321

general precept, "Thou shalt love." * Accordingly the Apostle Paul, in a certain place, briefly embraced the two, expressing the prohibition in these words, "Be not conformed to this world," 2 and the command in these, "But be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind." 3 The former falls under the negative precept, not to covet; the latter under the positive one, to love. The one has reference to continence, the other to righteousness. The one enjoins avoidance of evil; the other, pursuit of good. By eschewing covetousness we put off the old man, and by showing love we put on the new. But no man can be continent unless God endow him with the gift; 4 nor is God's love shed abroad in our hearts by our own selves, but by the Holy Ghost that is given to us. 5 This, however, takes place day after day in those who advance by willing, believing, and praying, and who, "forgetting those things which are behind, reach forth unto those things which are before." 6 For the reason why the law inculcates all these precepts is, that when a man has failed in fulfilling them, he may not be swollen with pride, and so exalt himself, but may in very weariness betake himself to grace. Thus the law fulfils its office as "schoolmaster," so terrifying the man as "to lead him to Christ," to give Him his love. 7

Chap. vi. â€” The twelfth breviate. (The lust of the flesh nothing else than the
desire of sin.)

"Again the question arises, how it is that man is unable to live without sin, â€” by his will, or by nature? If by nature, it is not sin; if by his will, then will can very easily be changed by will" We answer by reminding him how he ought to reflect on the extreme
presumption of saying “not simply that it is possible (for this no doubt is undeniable, when God's grace comes in aid), but “very easy” for will to be changed by will. Whereas the apostle says, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye do not the things that ye would." He does not say, "These are contrary the one to the other, so that ye will not do the things that ye can," but, "so that ye do not the things that ye would." 1

1 Deut. vi. 5. 2 Eom. xii. 2. 3 Eom. xii. 2. 4 Wisd. viii. 21.

5 Eom. v. 5. Â« Phil. iii. 13. ' Gal. iii. 21. 8 Gal. v. 17.

4 X

322 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. VI.

ye would.” 1 How happens it, then, that the lust of the flesh (which of course is culpable and vicious, and is nothing else than a desire for sin, as to which the same apostle instructs us not to let it "reign in our mortal body;" 2 by which expression he shows us plainly enough that that must have an existence in our mortal body which must not be permitted to hold a dominion in it; â€” how happens it, I say, that such lust of the flesh) has not been changed by that will, which the apostle clearly implied the existence of in his words, "So that ye do not the things that ye would [or 10111]" if so be that the will can so easily be changed by will? Not that we, indeed, by this argument throw the blame upon the nature either of the soul or of the body, which God created, and which is wholly good; but we say that it has been vitiated by man's own will, and cannot be made whole without the grace of God.

(13.) The thirteenth breviate.

"The next question we have to ask is this: If man cannot exist without sin, whose fault is it, â€” man's own, or some one's else? If man's own, in what way is he to blame for not being that which he is unable to be?" We reply, that man is to blame for not being without sin entirely on this account, because it has by man's sole will come to pass that he has come into such a necessity as cannot be overcome by man's sole will.

(14.) The fourteenth breviate. (Why the law is called "the strength of sin")

"Again the question must be asked, If man's nature is good, as nobody but Marcion or Manichaeus will venture to deny, in what way is it good if it is impossible for it to be free from evil? For that all sin is evil who can gainsay?"
We answer, that man's nature is both good, and is also able to be free from evil. Therefore do we earnestly pray, "Deliver us from evil." 3 This deliverance, indeed, is not fully wrought, so long as the soul is oppressed by the body, which is hastening to
corruption. 4 This process, however, is being effected by grace through faith, so that it may be said by and by,

1 "iva fzn a. uv 6'iXnn, ravru vrown. a Rom. VI. 12.


CHAP. VII.] THE VITIATION AND DELIVERANCE OF NATURE. 323

" death, where is thy struggle? Where is thy sting, death? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law; " I because the law by prohibiting sin only increases the desire for it, unless the Holy Ghost spreads abroad that love, which shall then be full and perfect, when we shall see face to face.

(15.) The fifteenth breviate.
" And this, moreover, has to be said: God is certainly righteous; this cannot be denied. But God imputes every sin to man. This too, I suppose, must be allowed, that whatever shall not be imputed as sin is not sin. Now if there is any sin which is unavoidable, how is God said to be righteous, when He is supposed to impute to any man [as sin] that which cannot be avoided? " We reply, that long ago was it declared in opposition to the proud, " Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not sin." 2 JSow He does not impute it to those who say to Him in faith, " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." 3 And justly does He withhold this imputation, because that is just which He says: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." 4 That, however, is sin in which there is either not the love which ought to be, or where the love is less than it ought to be, 5 â€” whether it be avoidable by the human will or inevitable; because when avoidable, the man's present will does it, [or] his past will did it; and yet it can be avoided, â€” not, however, when the proud will is lauded, but when the humble one is assisted.

Chap. vii. â€” (16.) The sixteenth breviate.

After all these disputations, their author introduces himself in person as arguing with another person, and represents himself as under examination, and as being addressed by his examiner: " Show me the man who is without sin." He answers: " I show you one who might be without sin." His examiner then says to him: "And who is he?" He answers promptly enough: " You are the man." " But if," he adds, " you were

1 1 Cor. xv. 35, 36. 2 Ps. xxxii. 2. 3 Matt. vi. 12. 4 Matt. vii. 2.
5 See above, in his work De Spiritu et Litterd, 64; and De Naturd et Gratia, 45.

324 ON MAN'S PERFECTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS. [CHAP. VII.
to say, 'I, at any rate, cannot live without sin/ then you must answer me, ' Whose fault is
that ? ' If you then were to say, ' My own fault,' you must be further asked, ' And how is it
your fault, if, [as you say,] you cannot live without sin?' " He again represents himself as
under examination, and thus accosted: " Are you really yourself without sin, who allege
that a man can live without sin ? And he answers [by retorting a question:] " Whose fault
is it that I am not without sin ? But if," continues he, " he had said in reply, ' The fault is
your own;' then the answer would be, ' How my fault, when I am unable to live without
sin ? ' " Now our answer to all this running argument is, that no controversy ought to have
been raised between them about such words as these; because he nowhere ventures to
affirm that a man
(either any one else, or himself) IS without sin, but he merely said in reply that he could
be, â€” a position which we do not ourselves deny. Only the question arises, when this
possibility accrues, and through whom ? If it occurs at the present time, then by no
faithful soul which is enclosed within the body of this death must this prayer be offered,
or such words as these be spoken, " Forgive as our debts, as we forgive our debtors," I
since in holy baptism all past debts have been already forgiven. But whoever tries to
persuade us that such a prayer is not proper for faithful members of Christ, does in fact
acknowledge nothing else than that he is not himself a Christian. If, again, it is through
himself that a man is able to live without sin, then did Christ die in vain.
But " Christ is not dead in vain." No man, therefore, can be without sin, even if he wish
it, unless he be assisted by the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. And that this
perfection may be attained, there is even now a training carried on in growing
[Christians,] and there will be by all means a completion made, after the conflict with
death is spent, and love, which is now cherished by the operation of faith and hope, shall
be perfected in the fruition of sight and possession.

1 Matt. vi. 12.

CHAP. YIII. DEPAETTEE FROM, AXD LIBERATION OF, THE BODY. 325

Chap. tiii. â€” (17.) It is one thing to depart from the body, another thing to be liberated
from the body of this death; the recompense of eternal life shall be bestowed on no man
icho 7ias not in the present life merited It.

He next proposes to establish his point by the testimony of Holy Scripture. Let us
carefully observe what kind of defence he makes. " There are passages/ says he, " which
go to show that man is commanded to live without* sin." Xow our answer to this is:
Whether such commands are given is not at all the point in question, for the fact is clear
enough; but whether the thing which is evidently commanded be itself at all capable of
accomplishment in the body of this death, wherein u the flesh lusteth against the spirit,
and the spirit against the flesh, so that we cannot do the things that we would." 1 Now
from this body of death not every one is liberated who ends the present life, but only he who in this life has received grace, and given proof of not receiving it in vain by spending his days in good works. For it is plainly one thing to depart from the body, which all men are obliged to do in the last day of their present life, and another to be delivered from the body of this death, a liberation which God's grace alone, through our Lord Jesus Christ, imparts to His faithful saints. It is after this life, indeed, that the reward of perfection is bestowed, but only upon those by whom in their present life has been acquired the merit of such a recompense. For no one, after going hence, shall arrive at fulness of righteousness, unless, whilst here, he shall have run his course by hungering and thirsting after it. " Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled." 2

(18.) The righteousness of this life comprehended in three parts, fasting, almsgiving, and prayer; an enemy must be forgiven if he repents and asks forgiveness. From the Lord's Prayer we find that the faithful are not here perfect, without sin.

As long, then, as we are " absent from the Lord, we walk by faith, not by sight; " 3 whence it is said, " The just shall live by his faith." 4 Our righteousness in this pilgrimage of absence is such, that we now press forward to that perfect and plenary righteousness in which love shall be fulfilled, and perfected in the sight of its glory; [and this we accomplish] 1 Gal. v. 17. 2 Matt. v. 6. 3 2 Cor. v. 6. 4 Hab. ii. 4.

326 ON MAN'S PERFECTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS. [CHAP. VIII.

in the rectitude and perfection of our actual course, by " keeping under our body and bringing it into subjection/ * by doing our alms cheerfully and heartily, while bestowing kindnesses and forgiving the trespasses which have been committed against us, and by u continuing instant in prayer; " a â€” and doing all this with sound doctrine, whereon are built a right faith, a firm hope, and a pure charity. This is now our righteousness, in which we pass through our course hungering and thirsting after the perfect and plenary righteousness, in order that we may after all be satisfied therewith. Therefore our Lord in the Gospel (after saying, " Take heed that ye do not your righteousness 3 before men, to be seen of them," 4 that we measure not our course of life by the limit of human glory) goes on to expound the righteousness itself; but He instances only these three [constituents] of it, â€” fasting, alms, and prayers. Now in the fasting He indicates the entire subjugation of the body; in the alms, all kindness of will and deed, either by giving or forgiving; and in prayers He implies all the rules of a holy desire. Now, although by the subjugation of the body a check is given to that concupiscence, which ought not only to be bridled, but to be put altogether out of existence (and which will not be found at all in that state of perfect righteousness, where sin shall be absolutely excluded), yet it often exerts its immoderate desire even in the use of things which are allowable and right. Even in that real
beneficence in which the just man consults his neighbour's welfare, things are sometimes done which are prejudicial, although it was thought that they would be advantageous. Sometimes, too, through infirmity, when the amount of the kindness and trouble which is expended either falls short of the necessities of the objects, or is of little use under the circumstances, then there steals over us a disappointment which tarnishes that " cheerfulness " which secures to the " giver " the approbation of God. 5 This trail of sadness, how-

1 1 Cor. ix. 27. 2 Rom. xii. 12.

3 For this reading of "ixatotrvn" instead of i'un/xorv' there is high MS. authority. It is admitted also by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Alford, and in the margin of our Bibles.

* Matt. vi. 1. 6 2 Cor. ix. 7.

CHAP. VIII.] THE GREATEST GACE IS LOVE. 327

ever, is the greater or the less, as each man has made more or less progress in his kindly purposes. If, then, these considerations, and such as these, be duly weighed, we are only right when we say in our prayers, " Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." 1 But what we say in our prayers we must carry into act, even to loving our very enemies; or if any one who is still a babe in Christ fails as yet to reach this point, he must at any rate, whenever one who has trespassed against him repents and craves his pardon, exercise forgiveness from the bottom of his heart, if he would have his heavenly Father listen to his prayer.

(19.) The commandment of love shall be perfectly fulfilled in the life to come. The lusting of the flesh means that the soul itself lusts in a carnal manner.

And in this prayer, unless we choose to be contentious, there is placed before our view a mirror of sufficient brightness in which to behold the life of the righteous, who live by faith, and finish their course, although they are not without sin. Therefore they say, "Forgive us," because they have not yet arrived at the end of their course. Hence the apostle says, " Not as if I had already attained, either were already perfect. . . . Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended:

but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded." 2 In other words, let us, as many as are running our course to perfection, be thus resolved, that, being not yet perfected, we pursue our course to perfection along the way by which we have thus far run perfectly, in order that " when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part may be done away; " 3 that is, may cease to be but in part any longer, but become whole and complete.
For to faith and hope shall succeed at once the very substance itself, no longer to be believed in and hoped for, but to be seen and grasped. Love, however, which is the greatest among the three, is not to be superseded, but increased and fulfilled, â€“ contemplating in full vision what it used to see by faith, and acquiring in actual fruition what it once only embraced in
1 Matt. vi. 12. 2 Phil. iii. 12-15. 3 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

328 ON MAN'S PERFECTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS. [CHAP. IX.

hope. Then in all this plenitude of charity will be fulfilled the commandment, " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." 1 So long, indeed, as there remains [in our present state] any remnant of the lust of the flesh, to be kept in check by the rein of continence, God is by no means loved with all one's soul. For the flesh does not lust without the soul; although it is the flesh which is said to lust, because the soul lusts by means of the flesh. 2 In that perfect state the just man shall live absolutely without any sin, since there will be in his members no law warring against the law of his mind, 3 but wholly will he love God, with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his mind, 4 which is the first and chief commandment. For why should not such perfection be enjoined on man, although in this life nobody may attain to it ? The course is a right one, even if it be not known whereunto it must finally run. How, indeed, could it be known at all, unless it were pointed out in such precepts ? 5 Let us therefore " so run that we may obtain." 6 For all who run rightly will obtain, â€“ not as in the contest of the theatre, where all indeed run, but only one wins the prize. 7 Let us, [I say,] run, believing, hoping, longing for [the crown]; let us run, subjugating the body, doing alms cheerfully and heartily, â€“ in giving kindnesses and forgiving injuries; [let us run,] praying that our strength may be helped as we run; and let us so listen to the commandments which urge us to perfection, as not to neglect running towards the fulness of charity.

Chap. ix. â€“ (20.) Who may be said to walk without spot; damnable and venial sins.

Having premised these remarks, let us carefully attend to the passages which he whom we are answering has produced, as we would ourselves have quoted them. " In Deuteronomy [it is written,] " Thou shalt be perfect before the Lord thy God." 8 Again, in the same book, " There shall not be an im-

1 Mente. The Septuagint, however, like the Hebrew, has ^uvapias. A.V. "thy might." Comp. Deut. vi. 5 with Matt. xxii. 37.
perfect man among the sons of Israel." 2 In like manner the Saviour says in the Gospel, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." 3 So the apostle, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, says: "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect." 4 Again, to the Colossians he writes: "Warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ." 5 And so to the Philippians: "Do all things without murmurings and disputings, that ye may be blameless, and harmless, as the immaculate sons of God." 6 In like manner to the Ephesians he writes: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ; according as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before Him." 7 Then again to the Colossians he says in another passage: "And you, that were sometime alienated, and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His flesh through death; [therefore] present yourselves holy and unblameable and unreprovable in His sight." 8 In the same strain, he says to the Ephesians: "That He might present to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." 9 In his first Epistle to the Corinthians he says: "Be ye sober, and righteous, and sin not." n So again in the Epistle of St. Peter it is written: "Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is offered to you: ... as obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance: but as He who hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written, 12 Be ye holy; for I am holy." 13 Whence blessed David likewise says: "Lord, who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle, or who shall

1 Augustine's word is inconsummatus. The Septuagint term ἐνκωσμόν comes to mean one initiated into the mysteries of idolatrous worship.

2 Deut. xxiii. 17 (Sept.). 3 Matt. v. 48. 4 2 Cor. xiii. 11.

5 Col. i. 28. 6 phi], ii. 14? 15# 7 Eph. i. 3, 4.

8 Exhibete vos. 9 Col. i. 21, 22. 10 Eph. v. 26, 27.
rest on Thy holy mountain? He that walketh without blame, and worketh righteousness."
* And in another passage: "I shall be blameless with Him." 2 And yet again: "Blessed are the blameless in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord." 3
To the same effect it is written in Solomon: "The Lord loveth holy hearts, and all they that are blameless are acceptable unto Him." 4 Now some of these passages exhort men who are running their course that they do it perfectly; others refer to the end thereof, that men may reach forward to it as they run. That man, however, is not unreasonably said to walk blamelessly, who has not yet indeed reached the end of his journey, but who is pressing on towards the end in a blameless manner, free from damnable sins, and at the same time not neglecting to cleanse by alms giving such sins as are venial. For the way in which we walk, that is, the road by which we reach perfection, is cleansed by holy prayer. That, moreover, is a holy prayer in which we say in truth, "Forgive us, as we ourselves show forgiveness." 5 So that, as there is nothing censured when blame is not imputed, we may hold on our course to perfection without censure, in a word, blamelessly; and in this perfect state, when we arrive at it at last, we shall find that there is absolutely nothing which requires cleansing by forgiveness.

Chap. x. à¢” (21.) To whom God's commandments are grievous; and to whom, not. Why Scripture says that God's commandments are not grievous; a commandment is a proof of the freedom of man's will; prayer is a proof of grace.

He next quotes passages to show that God's commandments are not grievous. But who can be ignorant of the fact that, since the universal commandment is love (for "the end of the commandment is charity," 6 and "love is the fulfilling of the law" 7), whatever is accomplished by the operation of love, and not of fear, is not grievous? They, however, experience toil and labour in the commandments of God, who try to fulfil them by fearing. "But perfect love casteth out fear;" 8 and, in respect of the burden of the commandment, it

1 Ps. xv. 1, 2. 2 Ps. xviii. 23 (Sept.). 3 Ps. cxix. 1 (Sept.).

* Prov. xi. 20. 6 Matt. vi. 12. * 1 Tim. i. 8.

1 Ptom. xiii. 10. s 1 John iv. 18.
not only takes off the pressure of its heavy weight, but it actually lifts it up as if on wings. In order, however, that this charity may be possessed, even as far as it can possibly be possessed in the body of this death, the free exercise of our own will avails but little, unless it be helped by God's grace through our Lord Jesus Christ; for as it must again and again be stated, it is " shed abroad in our hearts," not by our own selves, but " by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." And for no other reason does Holy Scripture insist on the truth that God's commandments are not grievous, than this, that the soul which finds them grievous may understand that it has not yet received those resources [of grace] which make the Lord's commandments to be such as they are commended to us as being, even gentle and pleasant; and that it may pray in the deep earnestness of sincerity to obtain the gift of a ready obedience. For the man who says, " Let my heart be blameless [in Thy statutes;]" and, " Order Thou my steps according to Thy word: and let not any iniquity have dominion over me;" and, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven;" and, "Lead us not into temptation;" and other prayers of a like purport, which it would be too long to particularize, does in effect offer up a prayer for ability to keep God's commandments. Neither, indeed, on the one hand, would any injunctions be laid upon us to keep them, if our own will had not anything to do in the matter; nor, on the other hand, would there be any room for prayer, if our will were alone sufficient. God's commandments, therefore, are commended to us as being not grievous, in order that he to whom they are burdensome may understand that he has not as yet received the gift which removes their grievousness; and that he may not think that he is really performing them, when he so keeps them that they are grievous to him. For it is a cheerful giver whom God loves. Nevertheless, when a man finds God's commandments grievous, let him not be broken down by indulging despair; let him rather oblige himself to seek, to ask earnestly, and to knock [at mercy's gate for grace].

1 Rom. v. 5. 2 Facilitatis. 3 Ps. cxix. 80. * Ps. cxix. 133.
5 Matt. vi. 10. 6 Matt. vi. 13. * 2 Cor. Lx. 7.

332 on man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. X.] (22.) He afterwards adduces those passages which represent God as recommending His own commandments as not grievous: let us now attend to their testimony. Because," says he, " God's commandments are not only not impossible, but they are not even grievous. In Deuteronomy [we read]: 'The Lord thy God will again turn and rejoice over thee for good, as He rejoiced over thy fathers, if ye shall hearken to the voice of the Lord your God, to keep His commandments, and His ordinances, and His judgments, written in the book of this law; if thou turn to the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul. For this command, which I give thee this day, is not grievous, neither is it far from thee: it is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who will ascend into heaven, and obtain it for us, that
we may hear and do it? neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who will cross over the sea, and obtain it for us, that we may hear and do it? The word is close to thee, in thy mouth, and in thine heart, and in thine hands to do it. * In the Gospel likewise the Lord says: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.

Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

Tor my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.' 2 So also in the Epistle of Saint John it is written: 'This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments: and His commandments are not grievous.' 3 After hearing these testimonies out of the law, and the gospel, and the epistles, let us edify ourselves for that grace which those persons do not understand, who, " being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." 4 Now, since they understand not the passage of Deuteronomy in the sense that the Apostle Paul quoted it, â€” that " with the heart men believe unto righteousness, and with their mouth make confession unto salvation;" 5 since "they that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick," 6 â€” they certainly ought (by that very passage of the Apostle John which he quoted last

1 Deut. xxx. 9-14. 2 Matt. xi. 28-30. 8 1 John v. 3.

* Rom. x. 3. 6 Horn. x. 10. 6 Matt. ix. 12.

CHAP. XI.] PELAGIAN HERMENEUTICS NEGATIVE. 33

to this effect: " This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments; and His commandments are not grievous " x )

to be admonished that God's commandments are never burdensome to God's love, which is shed abroad in our hearts only by the Holy Ghost, not by the power of man's free will, by attributing to which more than they ought, they are ignorant of God's righteousness. This love, however, shall then be made perfect, when all slavish fear of punishment shall be cut off.

Chap. xi. â€” (23.) Passages of Scripture which, when objected against him by the Catholics, Cozlestius endeavours to elude by other passages: the first passage.
After this he adduced the passages which are usually quoted against them. He does not attempt to meet these passages, but, by alleging what seem to be contrary statements, he has rendered his questions more difficult to solve. 2
"For," says he, "there are passages of Scripture which are to be alleged in opposition to those who ignorantly suppose that they are able to destroy the liberty of the will, or the possibility of not sinning, by the authority of Scripture. For," he adds, "they are in the habit of quoting against us what holy Job said: 'Who is pure from uncleanness? Not one; even if he be an infant of only one day upon the earth.'" 3 Then he proceeds to give a sort of answer to this passage by help of other quotations; as when Job himself said: "For although I am a righteous and blameless man, I have become a subject for mockery," 4 not understanding that a man may be called righteous, who has gone so far towards perfection in righteousness as to be very near it; and this we do not deny to have been in the power of many even in this life, when they walk in it by faith.

(24.) To be without sin, and to be without blame "how differing.

The same thing is affirmed in another passage, which he has quoted immediately afterwards, as spoken by the same Job: "Behold, I am very near my judgment, and I know that I shall be found righteous." Now this is the judgment of which it is said in another scripture: "And He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday." But he does not say, I am already there; but, "I am very near." If, indeed, the judgment of which he meant was not that which he would himself exercise, but that whereby he was to be judged at the last day, then in such judgment all will be found righteous who with sincerity pray: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." 1 For it is through this forgiveness that they will be found righteous; on this account that whatever sins they have here incurred, they have blotted out by their deeds of charity. Whence the Lord says: "Give alms [of such things as ye have]; and, behold, all things are clean unto you." 2 For by and by it shall be said to the righteous, when about to enter into their promised kingdom: "I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat," 3 and so forth. However, it is one thing to be in this life without sin, which could only be predicated of the Only-begotten, and another thing to be without censure, which might be said of many just persons even in the present life; for there is a certain criterion of a good man's life, according to which even in our human conversation there could no just blame be possibly laid against him. For who can fairly find fault with the man who harbours no ill-will

1 1 John v. 3. 2 Questiones arctius illigavit.
3 Job xiv. 4, 5 (Sept.). 4 Job xii. 4 (Sept.). 5 Job xiii. 18 (Sept.).
against any, and who faithfully does good to all he can, and never cherishes a wish to avenge himself on any man who does him wrong, so that he can truly say, "As we forgive our debtors?" And yet by the very fact that he truly says, "Forgive, as we also forgive," he plainly admits that he is not without sin.

(25.) Hence the force of [Job's] statement: "There was no injustice in my hands, but my prayer was pure." 4 For the purity of his prayer arose from this circumstance, that it was not improper for him to ask forgiveness in prayer, when he really bestowed forgiveness himself.

(26.) Why Job was so great a sufferer.

And. when he says concerning the Lord, "For many bruises hath He inflicted upon me without a cause," 5 observe that his words are not, He hath inflicted none with a cause; but,

1 Matt. vi. 12. 2 Luke xi. 41. 3 Matt. xxv. 35.

* Job xvi. 18 (Sept.). 5 Job ix. 17.

CHAP. XL] TRIAL OF JOB'S PATIENCE. 335

"many without a cause." For it was not because of his manifold sins that these many bruises were inflicted on him, but in order to make trial of his patience. In respect of his sins, indeed, while acknowledging in another passage that he was certainly not free from them, he yet judges that he ought to have suffered less.

(27.) WJw may be said to keep the icays of the Lord; what it is to decline and depart from the icays of the Lord.

Then again, as for what [Job] says, "For I have kept His ways, and have not turned aside from His commandments, nor will I depart from them," 1 [let us remember that] he keeps God's ways who does not so turn aside as to forsake them, but makes progress by running his course therein; although, weak as he is, he sometimes stumbles or falls, onward, however, he still goes, sinning less and less until he reaches the perfect state in which he will sin no more. For in no other way could he make progress, except by keeping God's commandments. The man, indeed, who declines from "these, and becomes an apostate at last, is certainly not he who, although he has sin, yet never ceases to persevere in fighting against it, until he arrives at the home where there shall remain no more conflict with death. "Well now, it is in our present struggle therewith that we are clothed with the righteousness in which
we here live by faith, clothed with it as it were with a breastplate. 2 Judgment also we take on ourselves; and even when it is against us, we turn it round to our own behalf; for we become our own accusers and condemn our sins: whence that scripture which says, "The righteous man accuses himself at the beginning of his speech." 3 Hence also [Job] says: "I put on righteousness, and clothed myself with judgment like a mantle." 4 Our vesture at present no doubt is wont to be armour for war rather than garments of peace, while concupiscence has still to be subdued; it will be different by and by, when our last enemy death shall be destroyed, 5 and our righteousness shall be full and complete, without an enemy to molest us more.

1 Job xxiii. 11, 12 (Sept.). 2 Eph. vi. 1 1. * prov# xv iii. 17 (Sept.).
4 Job xxix. 14 (Sept.). 5 1 Cor. x\ 26.

336 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XL
(28.) When our heart may be said not to reproach zts; when good is to be perfected.

Furthermore, concerning these words of Job, "My heart shall not reproach me so long as I live," * [we remark.] that it is in this present life of ours, in which we live by faith, that our heart does not reproach us, when the same faith whereby we believe unto righteousness does not neglect to rebuke our sin. On this principle the apostle says: "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do." 2 Now it is a good thing to avoid concupiscence, and this good the just man would do, who lives by faith; 3 and still he does what he hates, because he indulges concupiscence, although "he goes not after his lusts," 4 which if he has ever done, he has himself really done it at the moment, so as to yield to, and acquiesce in, and obey the desire of sin.

His heart then reproaches him, because it is even it, and not his sin which dwelleth in him, that is the rebuker. But whersoever he suffers not sin to reign in his mortal body to obey it in the lusts thereof, 5 and yields not his members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin, 6 sin no doubt is inherent in his members, but it does not reign, because its desires are not obeyed. Therefore, while he does that which he would not, â€” in other words, while he wishes not to lust, but still lusts, â€” he consents to the law that it is good: 7 for what the law would, that he also wishes; because it is his desire not to indulge concupiscence, and the law expressly says, "Thou shalt not covet." 8 Now in that he wishes what the law also would have done, he no doubt consents to the law: but still he lusts, because he is not without sin; it is, however, no longer himself that does the thing, but the sin which dwells within him. Hence it is that "his heart does not reproach him so long as he lives;" that is, so long as he has faith, because the just man lives by faith, so that his faith is his very life. He knows, to be sure, that in himself dwells nothing good, â€” even in his flesh, which is the dwelling-place of sin. By not consenting,
against sin. Moreover, there is present to him the will that no sin at all should he in him, but then how to carry out this good wish is beyond his present power. It is not the mere doing of a good thing that is not present to him, but the perfect accomplishment of it. For in the fact that he yields no consent [to evil.] he does a good thing; he does good again, when he hates his own lust; he does good also, in not ceasing to give alms; whenever, too, he forgives the man who sins against him, he does a good thing; in the very fact, moreover, of his asking forgiveness for his own trespasses, â€” sincerely avowing in his petition that he also forgives those who trespass against himself, and praying that he may not be led into temptation, but he delivered from evil, â€” he does a good thing. But how to give full effect to the good is not in his present power; it will be, however, in that final state, when the concupiscence which dwells in his members shall exist no more. His heart, therefore, does not reproach him, when it reprehends the sin which dwells in his members; nor has it the unbelief which it censures in him. Thus "so long as he lives," â€” that is, so long as he has faith, â€” he is neither reproached by his own heart, nor convinced of not being without sin. And Job himself acknowledges as much as this concerning himself, when he says, "Not one of my sins hath escaped Thee; Thou hast sealed up my transgressions in a bag, and marked if I have done iniquity unawares." 1 With regard, then, to the passages which he has adduced from the book of holy Job, we have shown to the best of our ability in what sense they ought to be taken. He, however, has failed to explain the meaning of the words which he has himself quoted from the same Job: "Who then is pure from uncleanness? Not one; even if he be an infant of only one day upon the earth." 2

Chap. xii. â€” (29.) The second passage. Who may be said to abstain from every evil thing.

"They are in the habit of next quoting," says he, "the passage: 'Every man is a liar.' " 3 But here again he offers no solution of words which are quoted against himself even by himself; all he does is to mention other apparently opposite passages before persons who are unacquainted with

1 Job adv. 16, 17. 2 Job xiv. 4, 5 (Sept.). 3 Ts. cxt. 2 (Sept.).

4 Y
ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XII.

the sacred Scriptures, and thus to divide the word of God contentiously. This is what he says: "We tell them in answer, how in the book of Numbers it is said, 'Man is true.' x While of holy Job this eulogy is read: 'There was a certain man in the land of Ausis, whose name was Job; that man was true, blameless, righteous, and godly, abstaining from every evil thing.'" 2 I am surprised that he has brought forward this passage, which says that Job "abstained from every evil thing," wishing it to mean "abstained from every sin; " because he has argued already 3 that sin is not a real thing, but an act. He should recollect that, even if it is an act, it may still be called a real thing. That man, however, abstains from every evil thing, who either never consents to the sin, which is always with him, or, if sometimes hard pressed by it, is never oppressed by it; just as the wrestling champion, who, although he is sometimes caught in a fierce grapple, does not for all that lose the prowess which constitutes him the better man. We read, indeed, of a blameless man, of one who deserves no censure; but we never read of a sinless man, except in the case of the Son of man, who is also the only-begotten Son of God.

(30.) "Every man is a liar," owing to himself alone; but "every man is true" by help only of the grace of God.

"Moreover," says he, "in Job himself it is said: 'And he maintained the wonderful character of a true man.' 4 Again We read in Solomon, touching wisdom: 'Men that are liars cannot remember her, but men of truth shall be found in her.' 5 Again in the Apocalypse: 'And in their mouth was found no guile, for they are without fault.' 6 To all these statements we reply with an admonition to our opponents, how that a man (who is, owing to himself no doubt, a liar) can only be called true when instructed by the grace and truth of God. Whence it is said: "Every man is a liar." 7

1 If this refer to Num. xxiv. 3, 15 (as the editions mark it), the quotation is most inexact. The Septuagint words b avSpcovro; b a,\textit{Xn8ivZ}>s bpuv is not a proposition equal to "homo verax," as an antithesis to the proposition "oinnis homo mendax."

2 Job i. 1 (Sept.). 3 See above, (1.)

4 Et miraculum tenuit veracis hominis. [We cannot verify this quotation.]

5 Ecclus. xv. 8 [for the first clause]. 6 Rev. xiy. 5. 7 Ps. cxv. 2 (Sept.).
As for the passage also which he has quoted in reference to wisdom, when it is said, "Men of truth shall be found in her," we must observe that it is undoubtedly not "in lier" but in themselves that men shall be found liars. Just as the case stands in respect of another passage: "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." 1 "When [the apostle, in the former clause,] said, "Ye were darkness," he did not add, "in the Lord;" but in the latter clause,] however, after saying, "Ye are now light," he expressly added the phrase, "in the Lord," for they could not possibly be "light" in themselves; "he therefore who glorifieth must glory in the Lord." 2 The "faultless" ones, indeed, in the Apocalypse, are so called because "no guile was found in their mouth."

They did not say they had no sin: if they had made such a pretension, they would deceive themselves, and the truth would not be in them; but if the truth were not in them, guile and untruth would be found in their mouth. If, however, to avoid odium, they said they were not without sin, although they were sinless, then this very insincerity would be a lie, and the character given of them would be untrue: "In their mouth was found no guile [or lie]." Hence indeed "they are without fault;" for as they have forgiven those who have done them wrong, so are they purified by God’s forgiveness of themselves. Observe now how we have to the best of our power explained in what sense the quotations he has in his own behalf advanced ought to be understood. But how the passage, "Every man is a liar," is to be interpreted, he on his part has altogether omitted to explain; nor is an explanation within his power, without a correction of the error which makes him believe that man can be true without the help of God’s grace, and merely by virtue of his own free will.

Chaf. xiii. â€” (31.) The third passage. It is one thing to depart, and another thing to have departed, from all sin. "There is none that doeth good," â€” of whom this is to be understood.

He accordingly propounded another question, as we shall proceed to show; but he failed to solve it, nay, he rather rendered it more complex and difficult, by first stating the

1 Eph. v. 8. 2 1 Cor. i. 31. 3 Rev. xiv. 5. 4 1 John i. 8.

340 ON man’s perfection in righteousness, [chap. XIII.

testimony that had been quoted against him: *There is none that doeth good, no, not one j* 1 and then resorting to seemingly contrary passages to show that there are persons who do good. This he succeeded, no doubt, in doing. It is, however, one thing for a man not to do good, and another thing not to be without sin, although he at the same time may do many good things. The passages, therefore, which he adduces are not really contrary to the statement that no person is without sin in this life. He does not, for his own part, explain in what sense it is declared that "there’ is none that doeth good, no, not one."
These are his words: "Holy David indeed says, 'Hope thou in the Lord and be doing good.' " 2
But this is a precept, and not an accomplished fact; and such a precept as is never kept by those of whom it is said, "There is none that doeth good, no, not one." He adds: "Holy Tobit also said, 'Fear not, my son, that we have to endure poverty; we shall have many blessings if we fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is good.' " 3 Most true indeed it is, that man shall have many blessings when he shall have departed from all sin. Then no evil shall betide him; nor shall he have need of the prayer, "Deliver us from evil." 4
Although even now every man who progresses [in spiritual life,] advancing ever with an upright purpose, departs from all sin, and becomes further removed from it as he approaches nearer to the fulness and perfection of the righteous state; because even concupiscence itself, which is sin dwelling in our flesh, never ceases to diminish in progressing [Christians,]
although it still remains in their mortal members. It is one thing, therefore, to depart from all sin, â€” a process which is even now in operation, â€” and another thing to have departed from all sin, which shall happen in the state of future perfection. But still, even he who has departed already from evil, and is continuing to do so, must be allowed to be a doer of good. How then is it said, in the passage which he has quoted and left unsolved, "There is none that doeth good, no, not one," except that the Psalmist there censures some one nation, amongst whom there was not a man that did good, wishing to remain "children of men," and not sons of God, by

CHAP. XIV.] GOD'S GOODNESS UNIQUE. 341

whose grace man becomes good, in order to do good | For we must suppose the Psalmist here to mean that "good" which he describes in the context, saying, "God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek God." 1 Such good then as this, seeking after God, there was not a man found who pursued it, no, not one; but this was in that class of men which is predestinated to destruction. 2 It was upon such that God looked down in His foreknowledge and passed sentence.

Chap. XIV. â€” (32.) The fourth passage. In ichat sense God only is good. With God to be good and to be Himself are the same thing.

"They likewise," says he, "quote what the Saviour says:
* Why callest thou me good? There is none good save one, that is, God? ' ' This quotation, however, he makes no attempt whatever to explain; all he does is to oppose to it sundry other passages which seem to contradict it. These he adduces to show that man is good. Here are his remarks: "We must answer tins text with another, in which the same Lord says, 'A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things.' 4 And again: 'He maketh His sun to rise on the good and on the evil.' 5 Then in
another passage it is written, 'For the good things are created from the beginning;' 6 and yet again, 'They that are good shall dwell in the land.' 7 Now to all this we must say in answer, that the passage in question must be understood in the same sense as the former one, " There is none that doeth good, no, not one," either because all created things, although God made them very good, are yet, when compared with their Creator,

1 Ps. xiv. 2.

2 On this passage Fulgentius remarks (Ad Monimum, i. 5): "In no other sense do I suppose that passage of St. Augustine should be taken, in which he affirms that there are certain persons predestinated to destruction, than in regard to their punishment, not their sin. [That is to say, their predestination is] not to the evil which they unrighteously commit, but to the punishment which they shall righteously suffer; not to the sin on account of which they either do not receive, or else lose, the benefit of the first resurrection, but to the retribution which their own personal iniquity evilly incurs, and the divine justice righteously inflicts."

3 Luke xviii. 19. 4 Matt. xii. 35. 5 Matt. v. 45. 6 Ecclus. xxxix. 25. 7 Prov. ii 21.

342 o^ man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XIV.

not good, being in fact incapable of any comparison with Him. For in a transcendent, and yet very proper sense, He said of Himself, "I AM that I am." 1 The statement therefore before us, " None is good save one, that is, God," is used in some such way as that which is said of John, " He was not that light;" 2 although the Lord calls him "a light," 5 [or "lamp," 4 ] just as he He says to His disciples: " Ye are the light of the world: . . . . neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel." Still, in comparison with that light which is " the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," 6 he was not light. Or else, because the very sons of God even, when compared with themselves as they shall hereafter become in their eternal perfection, [have only a qualified goodness,] are good in such a way as still to remain evil. Although I should not have dared to say this of them (for who would be so bold as to call them evil who have God for their Father ?) unless the Lord had Himself said: " If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him ?" 7 Of course, by applying to them the words, " your Father," He proved that they were already sons of God; and yet at the same time He did not hesitate to say that they were " evil." Your author, however, does not explain to us how they [whose eulogies he quotes] are good, whilst yet " there is none good save one, that is, God." Accordingly the man who asked [the Lord] " what good thing he was to do," 8 was admonished to seek Him 9 by whose grace he might become good; to whom also to be
good is nothing else than to be Himself, because He is unchangeably good, and cannot be evil at all.

(33.) The fifth passage.

"This," says he, "is another text of theirs: c "Who will boast that he has a pure heart?"

And then he produced his answer thereto out of several passages, wishing to show that there may be in man a pure heart. But he omits to

1 Ex. iii. 14. 2 John i. 8. 3 John v. 35.
4 [The word is A^vo,−, not $*s. 5 Matt. v. 14, 15. 6 John i. 9.
7 Matt. vii. 11. 8 Matt. xix. 16. 9 Luke x. 27, 23.
10 See also his work Contra Julianum, ii. 8. 11 Pro v. xx. 9.

CHAP. XV.] COXFIDEXCE TOWARDS GOD. 343

inform us how the passage which he paraded as quoted against himself must be taken, so as to prevent Holy Scripture seeming to be opposed to itself in this text, and in the passages which comprise his answer. We for our part indeed tell him, in answer to all his allegation, that the clause, "Who will boast that he has a pure heart?" is a suitable sequel to the preceding sentence, "whenever a righteous king sits upon the throne." 1 For how great soever a man's righteousness may be, he ought to reflect and think, lest there should be found something blameworthy, which has escaped indeed his own notice, when that righteous King shall sit upon His throne, whose cognizance no sins can possibly escape, not even those of which it is said, "Who understandeth his transgressions?" 2 "When, therefore, the righteous King shall sit upon His throne, .... who will boast that he has a pure heart? or who will boldly say that he is pure from sin?" 3 Not one, except perhaps those who wish to boast of their own righteousness, and not glory in the compassions of the Judge Himself.

Chai\ xv.ã€” (34.)

And yet the passages are true which he goes on to adduce by way of answer. This is what he says: 'The Saviour in the gospel declares, 'Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.' 4 David also says, 'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place? He that is innocent in his hands, and pure in his heart;' 5 and again in another passage, 'Do good, Lord, unto those that be good and upright in heart.' 6 So also in Solomon [it is written,] 'Eiches are good unto him that hath no sin [on his conscience];' 7 and again in the same book, 'Leave off from sin, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thy heart from wickedness.' 8 So in the Epistle of John, 'If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God; and whatsoever we ask, we shall
receive of Him."

9 For all this is accomplished in us when we have the will, by the exercise of faith, hope, and charity; by keeping under the body; by doing

1 Prov. xx. 8. 2 Ps. xix. 12. 3 Pro v. xx. 8, 9.

4 Matt. v. 8. 5 Ps. xxiv. 3, 4. 6 P S- cxxv> ^

7 Ecclus. xiii. 24. 8 Ecclus. xxxviii. 10. e 1 John iii. 21, 22.

344 on man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XV.

alms; by forgiving injuries; by earnest prayer; by supplicating for strength to advance in our course; by sincerely saying, " Forgive us, as we also forgive others" and " Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." 1 By this process, [I say,] it is certainly brought about that our heart is cleansed, and all our sin taken away; and what -the righteous King, when sitting on His throne, shall find concealed in the heart and uncleaned as yet, shall be remitted by His mercy, so that the whole shall be rendered sound and cleansed for seeing God. For " he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy: yet mercy triumpheth against judgment." 2 If it were not so, what hope could any of us have? " When, indeed, the righteous King shall sit upon His throne, who shall boast that he hath a pure heart, or who shall boldly say that he is pure from sin?" Then, however, through His mercy shall the righteous, being by that time fully and perfectly cleansed, shine forth like the glorious sun in the kingdom of their Father. 3

(35.) The Church will be without spot and wrinkle after the resurrection.

Then shall the Church realize, in a full and perfect degree, the condition of "not having spot, or any such thing," 4 because then also will it in a real sense be glorious. For inasmuch as he added the epithet " glorious," when he said, " That He might present the Church to Himself, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing," [it follows that it shall] then be spotless when it shall be glorious. Because it is not so much when the Church is involved in so many evils [as now befall it,] or amidst such offences, and in so great a mixture of evil of very evil men, and amidst the heavy reproaches of the ungodly, that we ought to say that it is glorious, from the fact that kings serve it, â€” a fact which only produces a more perilous and a sorer temptation, â€” but that its glory shall rather then arise, when that event shall come to pass of which the apostle also speaks in the words, " When Christ, who is your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." 5 For since the Lord Himself, in that form of a ser-

1 Matt. vi. 12, 13. 2 Jas. ii. 13. 3 Matt. xiii. 43.

4 Epli. v. 27. 5 Col. iiL 4.
vant by means of which He united Himself as Mediator to the Church, was not glorified without the glory of His resurrection (whence the statement, " The Spirit was not yet given, because Christ was not yet glorified" 1 ), how shall His Church be described as glorious, previous to its resurrection ? He cleanses it, therefore, now " by the laver of the water in the word," 2 washing away its past sins, and driving off from it the dominion of wicked angels; but then by bringing all its healthy powers to perfection, He makes it meet for that glorious state, where it shall shine without a spot or wrinkle. For " whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." 3 It was under this mystery, as I suppose, that that [remarkable word of His] was spoken, " Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be consummated or perfected." 4 For He said this in the person of His body, which is His Church, putting days for distinct and appointed periods, whilst He also signified on "the third day" [the perfection which should accrue to Him] in His resurrection.

(36.) The difference between the upright in heart and the clean in heart.

I suppose, too, that there is a difference between one who is upright in heart and one who is clean in heart. A man is upright in heart when he " reaches forward to those things which are before, forgetting those things which are behind," 5 so as to arrive in a right course, that is, with right faith and purpose, at the perfection where he may dwell clean and pure in heart. Thus, in the psalm, the conditions ought to be severally bestowed on each separate character, where it is said, " Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord ? or who shall stand in His holy place ? He that is innocent in his hands, and pure [or clean] in his heart." 6 He shall ascend, innocent in his hands, and stand, clean in his heart, â€” the one state in present operation, the other in its consummation. And of them should rather be understood that which is written:

1 John vii. 39.

2 Eph. v. 26. [The phrase is lavacro aquce=ru> XovryZ rod titans.]


346 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XVI.

" Eicles are good unto liim that hath no sin [on his conscience." 1 ] Then indeed shall accrue the good, or true riches, when all poverty shall have passed away; in other words, when all infirmity shall have been removed. A man may now indeed " leave off from
"sin," when in his onward course he departs from it, and is renewed day by day; and he may
"order his hands," and direct them to works of mercy, and
"cleanse his heart from all wickedness," 2 [and] be so merciful that what remains may be forgiven him by free pardon. This indeed is the sound and suitable meaning, without any vain and empty boasting, of that which St. John said: "If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God.
And whatsoever we ask, we shall receive of Him." 3 The warning which he clearly has addressed to us in this passage, is to beware lest our heart should reproach us in our very prayers and petitions; that is to say, lest, when we happen to resort to this prayer, and say, "Forgive us, even as we ourselves forgive," we should have to feel compunction for not doing what we say, or should even lose boldness to utter what we fail to do, and thereby forfeit the confidence of faithful and earnest prayer.

Chap. xvi. â€” (37.) The sixth passage.
He has also adduced this passage of Scripture, which is very commonly quoted against his party: "For there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not." 4 And he makes a pretence of answering it by other passages, â€” how, [for instance,] the Lord says concerning holy Job, "Hast thou considered my servant Job? For there is none like him upon earth, a man who is blameless, true, a worshipper of God, and abstaining from every evil thing." 5 On this passage we have already made some remarks. 6 But even he has not attempted to show us how, on the one hand, Job was absolutely sinless upon earth, â€” if the words are to bear such a sense; and, on the other hand, how that can be true which he has admitted to be in the Scripture, "There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not." 7

1 Ecclus. xiii. 24 2 Ecclus. xxxviii. 10. 3 John iii. 21, 22.
4 Eccles. vii. 20. 5 Job i. 8 (Sept.). 6 See above, cli. xii. (29.)
7 Eccles. vii. 20.

CHAP. XVII.] BLAMELESS MEN. 347

Chap. xvii. â€” (38.) The seventh passage. Who may be called immaculate.
Hoio it is that in God's sight no man is justified.

"They also," says he, "quote the text: 'For in thy sight shall no man living be justified.'"
* And his affected answer to this passage amounts to nothing else than the showing how texts of Holy Scripture seem to clash with one another, whereas it is our duty rather to demonstrate their agreement.
These are his words: "We must confront them with this answer, from the testimony of the evangelist concerning holy Zacharias and Elisabeth, when he says, 'And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord
blameless.' 2 Now both these righteous persons had, of course, read amongst these very commandments the prescribed method of cleansing their own sins. For, according to what is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews of 'every high priest taken from among men,' 3 Zacharias used no doubt to offer sacrifices even for his own sins. The meaning, however, of the phrase "blameless" which is applied to him, we have already, as I suppose, sufficiently explained. 4 "And," he adds, "the blessed apostle says, 'That we should be holy, and without blame before Him.'" This, according to him, means that we should be so, if those persons are to be understood by "blameless" who are altogether without sin. If, however, they are "blameless" who are without blame or censure, then it is impossible for us to deny that there have been, and still are, such persons even in this present life; for it does not follow that a man is without sin because he has not a blot of censure. Accordingly the apostle, when selecting ministers for ordination, does not say, "If any be sinless" for he would be unable to find any such; but he says, "If any be blameless" 6 for such, of course, he would be able to find. But our opponent does not tell us how, in accordance with his views, we ought to understand the scripture, "For in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." 7 The meaning of these words is plain enough, receiving as it does additional light from the preceding clause: "Enter not," says the Psalmist, "into judgment with Thy servant," 8 for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified. It is judgment which he fears, therefore he desires that mercy which triumphs over judgment. 1 For the meaning of the prayer, "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant/ is this: Judge me not according to Thine own attribute, who art without sin; " for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." This without doubt is understood as spoken of the present life, whilst the predicate "shall not be justified " has reference to that perfect state of righteousness which belongs not to this life.

Chap. xviii. â€” (39.) The eighth passage, In what sense he is said not to sin who is born of God. In what way he who sins shall not see nor know God.

"They also quote," says he, "this passage, (If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' " 2 And this very clear testimony he has endeavoured to meet with apparently contradictory texts, saying thus: "The same St. John in this very epistle says, 'This, however, brethren, I enjoin on you, that ye sin not. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin.' 3 Also
elsewhere: 'Whosoever is born of God sinneth not; because his being born of God
preserveth him, and the evil one toucheth him not.' 4 And again in another passage, when
speaking of the Saviour, he says: 'Since He was manifested to take away sins, whosoever
abideth in Him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen Him, neither known Him.' 6
And yet again: 'Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we
shall be: but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see
Him as He is. And every man that hath this hope towards Him purifieth himself, even as
He is pure.'" 6
And yet, notwithstanding the truth of all these passages, that also is true which he has
adduced, without, however, offering any explanation of it: "If we say that we have no
sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." 7 Now it follows from the whole of
this, that in so far as we are born of God we abide in Him who appeared to take away
sins, that is, in Christ, and therefore sin not, which implies that "the inward man is
renewed day by day;" 8 but in so far as we are born

1 Jas. ii. 13. 2 1 John i. 8. 3 1 John iii. 9. 4 1 John v. 18.

* 1 John iii. 5, 6. c 1 John iii. 2, 3. * 1 John i. 8. 8 2 Cor. iv. 16.

CHAP. XVIII.] THE REGENERATE, HOW SINLESS. 349

of that man "through whom sin entered into the world, and death by sin, whereby death
passed upon all men," 1 we are not without sin, because we are not as yet freed from his
infirmity, [nor indeed shall be.] until by that renewal which takes place from day to day
(for it is in accordance with this very [renovation] that we were born of God), that
infirmity shall be wholly repaired, wherein we were born after the first man, and in which
we are not without sin. Now, while the remains of this infirmity abide in our inward man
(for they still continue in us, however much they may be daily lessened in those who are
advancing [in the Christian course]), "we deceive ourselves, and have not the truth in us,
if we say that we have no sin." 8 Now, however true it is that "whosoever sinneth hath not
seen Him, nor known Him" 2 (for in respect of the vision and knowledge, which shall be
realized in actual sight by and by, no one can in this life see and know Him), yet in
respect of the vision and knowledge which come of faith, there may be many who
commit sin, â€” actual apostates, at any rate, â€” who still have believed in Him some
time or other; so that of none of these could it be said, according to the vision and
knowledge which still come of faith, that he has neither seen Him nor known Him. But I
suppose it ought to be understood that it is the renewal which awaits perfection that sees
and knows Him; whereas the infirmity which is destined to waste and ruin neither sees
nor knows Him. And it is owing to the remains of this infirmity, of whatever amount,
which remain firm in our inward man, that
"we deceive ourselves, and have not the truth in us, when we say that we have no sin."
Although, then, by the grace of renovation "we are the sons of God," yet by reason of the
remains of infirmity within us "it doth not appear what we shall be; only we know that,
when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." Then there
shall be no more sin, because no infirmity shall any longer remain within us or without us. " And every man that hath this hope towards Him purifieth himself, even as He is pure,"

â€” purifieth himself, not indeed by himself simply, but by believing in Him, and calling on Him who sanctifieth His

'Kom. v. 12. 2 1 John iii. 6.

â€”

50 ox man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XIX.

saints; which sanctification, when perfected at last (for it is at present only advancing and growing day by day), shall take away from us for ever all the remains of our infirm condition.

Chap. xix. â€” (40.) The ninth passage.

" This passage, too/ says he, " is quoted by them: ' It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy.' " 1 And he observes that the answer to be given to them is derived from the same apostle's words in another passage: " Let him do what he will." 2 And he adds another passage from the Epistle to Philemon, where, speaking of Onesimus, [St. Paul says]: " Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel. But without thy mind would I do nothing; that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly."; " Likewise," [continues he, we read] " in Deuteronomy: ' Life and death hath He set before thee, and good and evil: . . choose thou life, that thou mayest live.' 4 So in the book of Solomon: ' God from the beginning made man, and left him in the hand of His counsel; and He added for him commandments and precepts: the precepts, if thou wilt, shall save thee, and [make thee] perform acceptable faithfulness for the time to come. He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thine hand unto whether thou wilt. Before man are good and evil, and life and death; poverty and honour are from the Lord God.' 5 So again in Isaiah we read:

' If ye be willing, and hearken unto me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye be not willing, and hearken not to me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken this.' " 6 Now with all their efforts of disguise they here betray their purpose; for they plainly attempt to controvert the grace and mercy of God, which we desire to obtain whenever we offer the prayer, " Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven;" 7 or again this, " Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." 8 For indeed why do we present such petitions in earnest supplication, if the result is of him that willeth, and him that runneth, but not of God that showeth mercy? Not that the result is quite independent of
our will, but that our will does not accomplish its aims in action, unless it receive the
divine assistance. Now the wholesome effect of faith is this, that it makes us " seek, that
we may find; ask, that we may receive; and knock, that it may be opened to us." *
Whereas the man who gainsays it, does really shut the door of God's mercy against
himself. I
am unwilling to say more touching so important a matter, because I do better in
committing it to the deep sighing of the faithful, than in enlarging on it in words of my
own.

(41.) But I beg of you to see, what after all is the small amount of Ins objection, that to
him who " willeth and runneth" there is no necessity for God's mercy, which actually
prevents him, in order that he may run, â€” because, forsooth, the apostle says concerning
a certain person, " Let him do what he will," 2 in the matter, I suppose, which he goes on
to treat, when he says, " He sinneth not, let him marry;"" 3 as if indeed it should be
regarded as a great matter to be willing to marry, when the subject is a laboured
discussion concerning the assistance of God's grace. Well, then,
[I suppose] even in this case to have a will is of considerable advantage, even if God's
providence, which governs all things, does not join together the man and the woman ! So
again,
[I suppose it is] in the case of the apostle's writing to Philemon, that " his kindness should
not be as it were of necessity, but voluntary," â€” as if any good act could indeed be
voluntary otherwise than by God's " working in us both to will and to do of His own good
pleasure." 4 So again, when the Scripture says in Deuteronomy, " Life and death hath He
set before man, and good and evil," and admonishes him li to choose life; " as if, forsooth, this very admonition did not come from God's mercy, or as if there were any
advantage in choosing life, unless God inspired love to make such a choice, and it were
better to have it as the object of our choice. On this point it is said: " For anger is in His
indignation, and in His pleasure is life." 5

Or again, because it is said, " The commandments, if thou wilt, shall save thee," G â€” as
if a man ought not to thank God,

1 Luke xi. 9. 2 i Cor. vii. 36. 3 1 Cor. vii. 36.

* Phil. ii. 13. Â« Ps. xxx. 5. c Ecclus. xv. 15.
ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XIX.

because he has a will to keep the commandments, since, if he wholly lacked the light of truth, it would not be possible for him to possess such a will. " Fire and water being set before him, a man stretches forth his hand towards which he pleases; " 1 and yet higher is He who calls man to his higher vocation than any thought on man's own part, inasmuch as the beginning of correction of the heart lies in faith, even as it is written, " Thou shalt come, and pass on from the beginning of faith." 2 Every one makes his choice of good, " according as God hath dealt to every man the â— measure of faith; " 3 and as the Prince of faith says, " No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him." 4 And that He spake this in reference to the faith which believes in Him, He subsequently explains with sufficient clearness, when He says: " The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life; yet there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray Him. And He said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father." 5

(12.) God's promises conditional. Saints of the Old Testament were saved by the grace of Christ.

He, however, thought he had discovered a great support for his cause in the prophet Isaiah; because by him God said:
" If ye be willing, and hearken unto me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye be not willing, and hearken not to me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken this." 6 As if the entire law were not full of conditions of this sort; or as if its commandments had been given to proud men for any other reason than that " the law was added because of transgression, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made." 7 " It entered, therefore, that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." 8 In other words, That man might receive commandments, trusting as he did in his own resources, and that, failing in these and becoming a transgressor, he might ask for a deliverer and a saviour; and that

1 Ecclus. xv. 16. 2 Cant. iv. 8 (Sept.). 3 Rom. xii. 3. 4 John vi. 44. 6 Jolmvi. 62-65. 6 Isa. i. 19.. 20. 7 Gal. iii. 19. 8 Rom. v. 20.

CHAP. XX.] GOD AND MAN IN CO-OPERATION. 353

the law by its fear might humble him, and bring him, as a schoolmaster, to faith and grace. Thus " their weaknesses being multiplied, they hastened " [after the Saviour];* and in order to heal them, Christ in due season came. In His grace even righteous men of old believed, and by the same grace were they holpen; so that with joy did they receive a foreknowledge of Him, and some of them even foretold His coming, â€” whether they
were found among the people of Israel themselves, as Moses, and Joshua the son of Xun, and Samuel, and David, and such-like worthies; or outside that people, as Job; or previous to their formation, as Abraham, and Xoah, and all others either mentioned in Holy Scripture or tacitly assumed therein. "For there is but one God, and one only Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," 2 without whose grace nobody is delivered from condemnation, whether he has derived that condemnation from him in whom all men sinned, or has afterwards aggravated it by his own iniquities.

Chap. xx. â€” (43.) No man is assisted unless he does himself also work. Our course is a constant progress.

But what is the import of the last statement which he has made: " If any one say, ' It may possibly be that a man sin not even in word/' then the answer," says he, "which must be given is, ' Quite possible, if God so will; and God does so will, therefore it is possible.' " See how unwilling he was to say, " If God give His help, then it would be possible; " and yet the Psalmist thus addresses God: " Be Thou my helper, for sake me not; " 3 where of course help is not sought for procuring bodily advantages and avoiding bodily evils, but for practising and fulfilling righteousness. Hence it is that we say: " Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil" 4 Kow no man is assisted [by God,] unless he also himself does something; assisted, however, he is, if he prays, if he believes, if he is " called according to God's purpose; 5 for " whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren, Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them

1 Ps. xvi. 4 (Sept.). 2 1 Tim. ii. 5. 3 Ps. xxvii. 9.

* Matt. vi. 13. 6 Rom. viii. 28.

354 ON MAN'S PERFECTION IN RIGHTEOUSNESS. [CHAP. XXI.

He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." x We run, therefore, whenever we make advance; and our healthy condition keeps pace with us in this onward course (just as a sore is said to run 2 when the wound is in process of a sound and careful treatment), in order that we may be in every respect perfect, without any infirmity of sin whatever, â€” a result which God not only wishes, but even causes and helps us to accomplish. And this God's grace does, in co-operation with ourselves, through Jesus Christ our Lord, as well by commandments, sacraments, and examples, as by His Holy Spirit also; through whom there is latently shed abroad in our hearts 3 that love, "which maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered," 4 until health and salvation be perfected in us, and God be manifested to us as He will be seen in His eternal truth.
Chap. xxi. â€” (44.) Conclusion of the work. In the regenerate it is not concupiscence, but consent, which is sin.

Whosoever, then, supposes that any man or any men (except the one Mediator between God and man 5) have ever lived, or are yet living in this present state, who have not wanted, and do not want, forgiveness of sins, he opposes Holy Scripture, wherein it is said by the apostle: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." 6 And he must needs go on to assert, with an impious contention, that there may possibly be men who are freed and saved from sin without the liberation and salvation of the one Mediator Christ. Whereas He it is who has said: "They that be whole need no physician, but they that are sick;" 7 "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." 8 He, moreover, who says that any man, after he has received remission of sins, has ever lived in this body, or is still living, so righteously as to have no sin at all, he contradicts the Apostle John, who declares that "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." 9 Observe,

1 Rom. viii. 29, 30. 2 Ps. lxxvii. 2. 3 Rom. v. 5.

4 Rom. viii. 26. 5 1 Tim. ii. 5. 6 Rom. v. 12.


CHAP. XXI.] CONSENT, NOT CONCUPISCENCE, IS SIN. 355

the expression is not we had, but "we have" If, however, anybody contend that the apostle's statement concerns the sin which dwells in our mortal flesh after the original flaw of our nature, which was caused by the wilfulness of the first man when he sinned, then the Apostle Paul enjoins us " not " to obey it in the lusts thereof; I [implying] that he does not sin who altogether withholds his consent from this same indwelling sin, and so brings it to no evil work, â€“ either in deed, or word, or thought, â€“ although the lusting after it may be excited (which in another sense has received the name of sin, inasmuch as consenting to it would amount to sinning), but excited against our will This, no doubt, is drawing subtle distinctions; but the man who indulges in them should consider what relation all this bears to the Lord's Prayer, wherein we say, "Forgive us our debts." 2 Now, if I judge aright, it would be unnecessary to put up such a prayer as this, if we never in the least degree consented to the lusts of the before-mentioned sin, either in a slip of the tongue, or in a wanton thought; all that it would be needful to say would be, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil" 3 Nor could the Apostle James say: "In many things we all offend." 4 For in truth only that man offends whom an evil concupiscence persuades, either by deception or by force, to do or say or think something which he ought to avoid, by directing his appetites or his aversions contrary to the rule of righteousness. Finally, if it be asserted that there either
have been, or are in this present life, any persons, with the sole exception of our Great Head, "the Saviour of His body [the Church,]" 1 who are righteous, without any sin, â€” and this, either by not consenting to the lusts thereof, or because that must not be accounted as any sin, which is such that God does not impute it to them by reason of their godly lives (although the blessedness of being without sin is a different thing from the blessedness of not having one's sin imputed to him), 6 â€” I do not deem it necessary to contest the point over much. Fam quite aware that some hold this opinion, 7 whose


* Jas. iii. 2. 6 Eph. i. 22, 23, and v. 23. 6 Ps. xxxii. 2.

7 See Augustine's treatise, De Natura et Gratia, 74, 75.

356 ON man's perfection in righteousness, [chap. XXI.

views on the subject I have not the courage to censure, although, at the same time, I cannot defend them. But if any man says that we ought not to use the prayer, " Lead us not into temptation " (and he says as much who maintains that God's help is unnecessary to a person for the avoidance of sin, and that his own will, after accepting only the law, is sufficient for the purpose), then I do not hesitate at once to affirm that such a man ought to be removed from the public ear, and to have his anathema pronounced by every mouth.

PREFACE

TO THE BOOK

ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS.

IN" the year of Christ 415, Pelagius was accused of heresy in Palestine, and brought to trial on one or two occasions.
At the first trial, which was held on or about the 30th of July, at a congress of his presbyters, by John, bishop of Jerusalem, no regular account was kept of the proceedings, as we are informed by Augustine in the following work (sec. 39 and 55).
The hour and the day of this assembly we may learn from Orosius, a presbyter of Spain, who was present at the congress, and has in his Apology committed to writing some of its most memorable acts. "We are informed by him that * after a great deal of earnest proceeding on both sides, the bishop John proposed the last resolution, that certain brethren should be sent with a letter to the blessed Innocent, Pope of Rome, to the intent that he might decide on all the points which were to follow."

The second trial took place afterwards at a city in Palestine called Diospolis [Lydda], before fourteen bishops, at which was kept an accurate report of the proceedings. The bishops are severally mentioned by Augustine in his work against Julianus, chs. v. and vii, in the following order: Eulogius, John, Ammonianus, Porphyry, Eutonius, another Porphyry, Fidus, Zoninus, Zoboeninus, Xymphidius, Chromatius, Jovinus, Eleutherius, and Clematius. There can be no doubt that Eidogius, bishop of Caesarea, was also primate of the province of Palestine, because he is constantly mentioned by Augustine as occupying the first place before the other thirteen bishops, and even before John himself, bishop of Jerusalem.

We find from the epistle of Lucian, Be revelatione corporis Stcpliani martyris, that this synod was held at the approach of Christmas. In this epistle he tells us of three visions which God had shown him in the year 415, â€” the first on December 3d, and the other two on the 10th and 17th of the same month; that he then reported the matter to John, bishop of Jerusalem, who sent him in quest of the martyr's sepulchre. He further informs us that he discovered the sepulchre, and at once returned to John, "who (says he) was attending a synod at Lydda, which is Diospolis." This must have happened about the 21st of the month, since Lucian goes on to say that John came, in the company of two more bishops, Eutonius of Sebaste and Eleutherius of Jericho, and that in their presence the relics of the martyr were removed on the 26th day of the same month of December.

A certain deacon, called Annianus, is supposed to have pleaded the cause of Pelagius at the synod; some learned men 'finding it easier to interpret of this deacon than of Pelagius what Jerome writes in a letter addressed to Alypius and Augustine (Epist. Augustinian. 202, 2): "For everything which he denies having ever uttered in that miserable synod of Diospolis he professes to hold in this work." Jerome bestowed the epithet of "miserable" on this synod of Diospolis, for no other reason (as we suppose) than because he discovered from the Acts [or register of the proceedings] how miserably the synod had been duped by Pelagius. Pope Innocent, after a sight of these Acts, expressly owned (see Upist. Augustinian. 184, 4) that "he could not bring himself to refuse either blame or
praise of those men" [meaning the bishops of the synod]. Augustine, however, in the following treatise (see chs. iv. and viii.), does not hesitate to call them "pious judges," and (in his first book against Julianits, ch. v.) "catholic judges," who, when Pelagius abjured the errors attributed to him, pronounced him a Catholic, and acquitted him; indeed, he frequently cites these fourteen bishops as witnesses of the Catholic faith in opposition to Julianus.

In his letters addressed to Pope Innocent in the year 416

PREFACE. Sod

(see Epist. Av.gustinian. 175, 4, and 177, 2), Augustine intimated that he knew nothing of the Acts of the synod except from hearsay; and in a letter to John, bishop of Jerusalem (Epist. 179, 4), he earnestly requested him to forward them to him. But the report was in his hands about midsummer in 417, when he wrote his Epistle to Paulinus (Epist. 186, 31); so that the date of the following treatise is thus traced to the commencement of the year 417, supposing it to have been published immediately after he had received the Acts.

The title given to this work by Augustine, in his book On Original Sin (14), stands Be Gcstis Palccstinis [On the Proceedings which took place in Palestine]; by this title Prosper likewise refers to the work (in his book [so-called] Adv. Collatorem, 47); but yet we ought to retain the inscription Be Gcsta Pdagii, which is prefixed both to the ancient editions and to the particular Retractation in. which Augustine reviewed this work. The treatise had this title given to it, no doubt, either because it had been already commonly accepted as a description of these proceedings of Pelagius and his vindication, which led to his boast that he had been acquitted; or else from the fact that an examination had become necessary of those proceedings, which the accused party had himself published in an abridged and garbled form. Hence Possidonius named the treatise by the title, Contra Gcsta Pdagii [A Protest, or Vindication, against the Proceedings of Pelagius].

Out of this book Photius copied a very accurate account of the Synod of Diospolis and inserted it in his Bibliotheca (cod. 54). One may therefore conclude that this work of Augustine's is one of those which Possidonius, in his life [of the saint], ch. xi., mentions as having been "translated into the Greek tongue." The Aurelius to whom the work is dedicated is mentioned by Photius in the cited passage, and by Prosper before* him (in the 43d chapter of the above-quoted Advcrsus Collatorcm), as "the bishop of Carthage." Now, although the title-page of old did not give them this information, they could both of them discover this fact about Aurelius from reading this book, especially ch. 23 [xi.].

EXTKACT FROM THE SECOND BOOK,
CHAPTER XL VII.,

OF

THE RETRACTATIONS.

"[TT happened] about this time, in the East (that is to say, JL in Syrian Palestine), that Pelagius was summoned by certain Catholic brethren ¹ before a tribunal of bishops, and was heard on his trial by fourteen prelates, in the absence of his accusers, who were unable to be present on the day appointed for the synod. On his condemning the very dogmas which were read from the indictment against him, and which assailed the grace of Christ, they pronounced him to be a Catholic. But when the Acts of this synod found their way into our hands, I wrote a treatise on them, to prevent the idea gaining ground that, because he had been in a manner acquitted, his opinions also were approved by the bishops; or that the accused could by any chance have escaped condemnation at their hands, unless he had condemned the opinions charged against him. This treatise of mine begins with these words: 'After there fell into my hands' â€” 'Postca quam in manus nostras!' "

¹ [Their names were Heros and Lazarus.]

360

A WORK,

IN ONE BOOK,

ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS,

ADDRESSED TO

BISHOP AURELIUS [of Carthage],

BY
AUELIUS AUGUSTINE.


the several heads of error which were alleged against pelagius at the synod in palestine, with his answers to each charge, are minutely discussed. augustine shows that, although pelagius was acquitted by the synod, there still clave to him a suspicion of heresy; and that the acquittal of the accused by the synod was so contrived, that the heresy itself with which he was charged was unhesitatingly condemned.

Chap. 1. Introduction.

AFTER there fell into my hands, holy father Aurelius, the ecclesiastical acts, by which fourteen bishops of the province of Palestine pronounced Pelagius a Catholic, that hesitation of mine received its limit, which previously rendered me reluctant to make any lengthy or confident statement about his actual defence. This defence, indeed, I had already read in a paper, which he himself forwarded to me. Forasmuch, however, as I received no letter therewith from him, I was afraid that some discrepancy might be detected between my own statement of the subject and the record itself of the ecclesiastical proceedings; and that, should Pelagius say, as was quite possible, that he had not sent me any paper (and it would have been difficult for me to prove that he had when

361

362 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. II.

there was only one witness in the case), I should myself rather seem guilty in the eyes of all, who would readily credit his denial either of a supposed falsification, or else (to say the least) of a reckless credulity. Now, however, when I am to treat of matters which are shown to have actually transpired, and when, as it appears to me, all doubt is removed whether he really acted in the way described, your holiness, and everybody who reads these pages, will no doubt be able to judge, with greater readiness and certainty, both of his defence and of this my treatment of it.

Chap. 2. [i.
First of all, then, I offer to the Lord my God, who is also my defence and guide, unspeakable thanks, because I was not misled in my views respecting our holy brethren and fellow-bishops who sat as judges on that case. His answers, indeed, they approved, and not without reason; because they had not to consider how he had in his writings stated the points which were objected against him, but what he had to say about them in his reply at the pending inquiry. A case of unsoundness in the faith is one thing, that of
incautious statement is another thing. Now sundry objections were urged against Pelagius
out of a certain book, which our holy brethren and fellow-bishops in Gaul, Heros and
Lazarus, gave
[to Bishop Eulogius.] 1 being themselves unable to be present, owing (as we afterwards
learned from credible information) to the severe indisposition of one of them. The first of
these objectionable opinions, which he inserts in a certain book of his, is this: " No man
can be without sin unless he has acquired a knowledge of the law." After this had been
read out, the synod inquired: " Did you, Pelagius, express yourself thus? " Then in
answer he said: "I certainly used the words, but not in the sense in which they understand
them.
I did not say that a man is unable to sin who has acquired a knowledge of the law; but
that a man is by the knowledge of the law assisted towards not sinning, even as it is
written,
'He hath given them a law for a help.'" 2 Upon hearing

1 [Who presided in this synod during the trial of Pelagius. His name is mentioned "below,
see ch. 3. [ix.]

2 Isa. viii. 20 (Septuagint).

CHAR III] NO EIGHT LIVING WITHOUT GEACE. 363

this, the synod declared: " The words which have been spoken by Pelagius are not alien
from the mind of the Church." Assuredly they are not alien, as he expressed them in his
answer; the statement, however, which was produced from his book has a different
sound. But this the bishops, who were Greek-speaking men, and did not catch the words
through the interpreter, did not care about discussing. All they had to consider at the
moment was, what the man who was under examination said was his meaning, â€” not in
what words his opinion was alleged to have been expressed in his book.

Chap. 3.
Xow to say that a man is by a knowledge of the law assisted towards not sinning, is a
different assertion from saying that a man cannot be without sin unless he has acquired a
knowledge of the law. We see, for example, that corn-floors may be threshed without
machines, â€” however much these may assist the operation; and that boys can find their
way to school without the pedagogue, â€” however valuable for the conduct be the office
of pedagogues; and that many persons recover from sickness without physicians, â€”
although the doctor's skill is clearly of greatest use; and that men sometimes thrive on
other aliments besides bread, â€” however invaluable the use of bread must needs be
allowed to be; and several other illustrations may occur to the thoughtfull reader, without
our prompting. From which instances we are undoubtedly reminded that there are two
sorts of aids. Some are indispensable, and without their help results could not be attained.
Without a ship, for instance, no man could take a voyage; no man could speak without a
voice; without legs no man could walk; without light nobody could see; and so on in
numberless instances. Amongst them this also may be reckoned, that without God's grace no man can live rightly.

But then, again, there are other helps, which render us assistance in such a way that we might effect the object to which they are ordinarily auxiliary even in their absence. Such are those which I have already mentioned, â€” the machines for threshing corn, the pedagogue for conducting the child, medical art applied to the recovery of health, and other like instances.

We have therefore to inquire to which of these two classes

364 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. IV.

belongs the knowledge of the law, â€” in other words, to consider in what way it helps us towards the avoidance of sin. If it be in the sense of an indispensable aid, not only was Pelagius' answer before the judges true, but what he wrote in his book was true also. If, however, the help afforded by the knowledge of the law be of such a character, that the avoiding of sin can only be effected by it when it is present, but even if it be absent, then the result is still obtainable by some other means, â€” in this case, indeed, his answer to the judges was still true, and not unreasonably did it find favour with the' bishops, to the effect that " man is assisted in not sinning by a knowledge of the law; " but what he wrote in his book is not true, that " there is no man without sin except him who has acquired a knowledge of the law," â€” a statement which the judges left [undetermined and even] undiscussed. They were ignorant of the Latin language, and were content with the confession of the man who was pleading his cause before them; especially as no one was present on the other side who could oblige the interpreter to expose his meaning by an explanation of the words of his book, and to show why it was that the brethren were not groundlessly moved [to bring their charges against the accused.] For but very few persons are thoroughly acquainted with the law. The mass of the members of Christ, who are scattered abroad everywhere, being ignorant of the very profound and complicated contents of the law, have their merit in that piety and unfailing hope in God and sincerity of love which spring from their simple faith. Endowed with such gifts, they trust that by the grace of God they may be purged from their sins through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chap. 4. [ir.]

If Pelagius, as he probably might, were to say in reply to this, that this very description [of the Christian graces] was what he meant by " the knowledge of the law," which is indispensable for a man's being free from sins, which is also communicated by the doctrine of faith to converts and babes in Christ, and in which candidates for baptism are catechetically instructed with a view to their knowing the creed, [all I can say is, that] this is not what is usually meant when any one is said to have a knowledge of the law. This phrase is
only applied to such persons as are skilled in the law. But if he persists in describing the knowledge of the law by the words in question, which, however few in number, are massive in weight, and used to designate all who are rightly baptized according to the prescribed rule of the Churches; and if he maintains that it was of this that he said, " No one is without sin, but the man who has acquired the knowledge of the law," â€” a knowledge which must needs be conveyed to believers before they attain to the actual remission of sins, â€” even in such case there would crowd around him a countless multitude, not indeed of angry disputants, but of whining baptized infants, who would exclaim, â€” not, to be sure, in words, but in the very truthfulness of innocence, â€” " What is it, what is it that you have written: ' He only can be without sin who has acquired a knowledge of the law ? ' See here are we, a large flock of lambs; we are without sin, and yet we have no knowledge of the law." Now surely they with their silent tongue would compel him to silence, or, perhaps, even to confess that he was corrected of his great perverseness; or else (if you will), that he had already for some time entertained the opinion which he acknowledged before his ecclesiastical examiners, but that he had failed before to express his opinion in words of sufficient care, â€” that his faith, therefore, should be approved, but his book revised and amended. For as the Scripture says: " There is that slippeth in his speech, but not from his heart." 1 Now it he would only admit this, or were already saying as much, who would not most readily forgive those words which he had committed to writing with too great heedlessness and neglect, especially on his declining to defend the opinion which the said words contain, and affirming that to be his proper view which the truth approves ? This we must suppose was in the minds of the pious judges themselves; but yet, if they could only have understood the contents of his Latin book, duly interpreted to them, as [they understood] his reply to the synod which was spoken in Greek, and therefore quite intelligible to them, they would have adjudged the former, as they did in fact the latter, as not alien from the Church. Let us go on to consider the other cases.

1 Ecclus. xix. 16.

366 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. V.

Chap. 5. [in.]
The synod of bishops then proceeded to say: " Let another section be read." Accordingly there was read the passage in the same book wherein Pelagius had laid down the position that " all men are ruled by their own will." On this being read, Pelagius said in answer: " This I stated in the interest of the freedom of our will. God is its helper whenever it chooses good; man, however, when sinning is himself in fault, as under the direction of a free will." Upon hearing this, the bishops exclaimed: " Nor again is this opposed to the doctrine of the Church." For who indeed could condemn or i deny the freedom of the
will, when God's help is associated with it? His opinion, therefore, as thus explained in his answer, was, and not without good reason, deemed satisfactory by the bishops. And yet, after all, the statement made in his book, "All men are ruled by their own will," ought no doubt to have moved the apprehensions of our brethren, who had discovered how much his party advanced in discussion against the grace of God. The bare statement, "All men are ruled by their own will," implies that God rules no man, and that the Scripture says in vain, "Save Thy people, [0 Lord,] and bless Thine inheritance; rule them, and lift them up for ever." 1 They would not, of course, remain in one stay, if they are ruled only by their own will without God, even as sheep which have no shepherd. Now unquestionably to be led is something more compulsory than to be ruled. He who is ruled at the same time does something himself, â€” indeed, when ruled by God, it is with the express view that he should also act rightly; whereas the man who is led can hardly be understood to do anything himself at all. And yet the Saviour's helpful grace is so much better than our own wills and desires, that the apostle does not hesitate to say: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." 2 And our free will can do nothing better for us than to submit itself to be led by Him who can do nothing amiss; and after doing this, not to doubt that it was helped to do it by Him of whom it is said in the psalm, "He is my God, His mercy shall go before me.

Chap. 6.

Indeed, in this very Look which contains these statements, after laying down the position, "All men are governed by their own will, and every one submits himself to his own desire," Pelagius goes on to adduce the testimony of Scripture, from which it is evident enough that no man ought to trust to himself for direction. For on this very subject the Wisdom of Solomon declares: â€” I myself also am a mortal man like unto all; and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth," * â€” with other similar words to the conclusion of the paragraph, where we read: "For all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out therefrom; wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given to me; I called [upon God,] and the Spirit of Wisdom came into me." 2 Now is it not clearer than light itself, how that man, on duly considering the wretchedness of human frailty, did not dare to commit himself to his own direction, but prayed, and understanding was given to

1 Ts. xxviii. 9. 2 Piom. viii. 14. 3 Ps. lix. 10.

CHAP. VII.] HOW GOD'S CHILDREN ARE LED. 367

Chap. 6.

Indeed, in this very Look which contains these statements, after laying down the position, "All men are governed by their own will, and every one submits himself to his own desire," Pelagius goes on to adduce the testimony of Scripture, from which it is evident enough that no man ought to trust to himself for direction. For on this very subject the Wisdom of Solomon declares: â€” I myself also am a mortal man like unto all; and the offspring of him that was first made of the earth," * â€” with other similar words to the conclusion of the paragraph, where we read: "For all men have one entrance into life, and the like going out therefrom; wherefore I prayed, and understanding was given to me; I called [upon God,] and the Spirit of Wisdom came into me." 2 Now is it not clearer than light itself, how that man, on duly considering the wretchedness of human frailty, did not dare to commit himself to his own direction, but prayed, and understanding was given to
him, concerning which the apostle says: "But we have the mind [or understanding] of the Lord; " s and he called [upon God,] and the Spirit of Wisdom entered into him ? Now it is by this Spirit, and not by the strength of their own will, that they who are God's children are governed and led.

Chap. 7.
As for the passage from the psalm, " He loved cursing, and it shall come upon him; and he willed not blessing, so it shall be far removed from him," 4 which he quoted as if to prove his own point, " that all men are ruled by their own will," who can be ignorant that this is not a fault of nature as God created it, but of that human will which departed away from God ? The fact indeed is, that even if he had not loved cursing, and had willed blessing, he would in this very case, too, deny that his will had received any assistance from God; in his ingratitude and impiety, moreover, he would submit himself to be ruled by himself, until he found out to his cost, by the penalties of his condition, that, sunk as he was into ruin without God to govern him, he was utterly incapable of directing his own self. In like manner, from the passage which he quoted in the same book under the same head of his subject, " He hath set fire and

1 Wisd. vii. 1. 2 Wisd. vii. 0, 7. 3 1 Cor. ii. 16. 4 Ps. cix. 18.

368 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. VIII.

water before thee; stretch forth thy hand unto whether thou wilt; before man are good and evil, life and death, and whichever he liketh shall be given to him/ * it is manifest that, if he applies his hand to fire, and if evil and death please him, his human will effects all this; but if, on the contrary, he loves goodness and life, not alone does his will accomplish the happy choice, but as it is assisted by divine grace. For purposes of darkness or not seeing, the eye indeed is self-sufficient; but for the purposes of sight, it is in its own luminous resources not self-sufficient; the assistance of a clear external light must be rendered to it. God forbid, however, that they who are " the called according to His purpose, whom He also foreknew, and predestinated to be conformed to the likeness of His Son," 2 should be given up to perish through their own wilful desire. This end is suffered only by "the vessels of wrath," 3 who are perfectly prepared for perdition; in whose very destruction, indeed, God "makes known the riches of His glory on the vessels of His mercy." 4 Now it is on this account that, after saying, "He is my God, His mercy shall go before me," 5 he immediately adds, " My God will show me vengeance upon my enemies." 6 That therefore happens to them which is mentioned in Scripture, ". God gave them up to the lusts of their own heart." 7 This, however, does not happen to the predestinated, who are ruled by the Spirit of God, for not in vain is their cry: " Deliver me not, Lord, to the sinner, according to my desire." 8 With regard, indeed, to the evil lusts which assail them, their prayer has ever assumed some such shape as this: " Take away from me the concupiscence of the belly; and let not the desire of lust take hold of me." Â£ Upon those whom He governs as His subjects does God bestow this gift;
but not upon those who think themselves capable of governing themselves, and who, in the stiff-necked confidence of their own self-will, disdain to have Him to rule over them.

Chap. 8.
This being the case, how must God's children, who have learned the truth of all this, and rejoice at being ruled and led by the

1 Ecclus. xv. 16, 17. 2 Rom. viii. 29. 3 Rom. ix. 22.
4 Rom. ix. 23. 5 Ps. lix. 10. 6 Same verse.

* Rom. i. 21. 8 Ps. cxl. 8 (Sept.). 9 Ecclus. xxiii. 5, 6.

CHAP. IX.] GOD'S HELP REGULATIVE. 369

Spirit of God, have been affected when they heard or read that Pelagius had declared in writing that "all men are governed by their own will, and that every one submits himself to his own desire?" And yet, when questioned by the bishops, he fully perceived what an evil impression these words of his might produce; so he told them in his answer that "he had made such an assertion in the interests of free will," adding at once, "God is the helper of this free will whenever it chooses good; whilst man is himself in fault when he sins, as being under the influence of his own will." Although the pious judges even approved of this sentiment, they were unwilling to consider or examine how incautiously he had written, or indeed in what sense he had employed the words found in his book. They thought it was enough that he had made such a confession concerning the freedom of the will, as to admit that God helped the man who chose the good; whereas the man who sinned was himself to blame, his own inclination having all to do with his conduct in this direction. According to this, God rules those whom He assists in their choice of the good. So far, then, as they rule anything themselves, they rule it rightly, since they themselves are ruled by Him who is right and good.

Chap. 9.

Another statement was read which Pelagius had placed in his book, to this effect: * In the day of judgment no leniency will be shown to the ungodly and the sinner; but they will be consumed in eternal fires." This induced the brethren to regard the statement as open to the objection, that it seemed so worded as to imply that all sinners whatever ought to be punished with an eternal penalty, without excepting even those who hold Christ as their foundation, although "they build thereupon wood, hay, stubble," 1 concerning whom the apostle writes: "If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he shall himself be saved, yet so as by fire." 2 When, however, Pelagius said in his self-defence
that "he had made his assertion in accordance with the Gospel, in which it is written concerning sinners, 'They shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal,'" it was impossible for Christian judges to

1 1 Cor. iii. 12. 2 1 Cor. iii. 15. 3 Matt. xxv. 46.

4 2 A

370 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. X.

be dissatisfied with a sentence which is written in the Gospel, and was spoken by the Lord; especially as they knew not what there was in the words of Pelagius' book which could so disturb the brethren, who were accustomed to hear his discussions, and those of his followers. Since also they were absent *

who presented the indictment against Pelagius to the holy bishop Eulogius, there was no one to urge him that he ought to distinguish by allowing some exceptional case between those sinners who must be saved by fire, and those who must be punished with everlasting perdition. If, indeed, the judges had come to understand by these means the reason why the objection had been made to his statement, had he then refused to allow the distinction, he would have been justly open to blame.

Chap. 10. On Origen's error concerning the non- eternity of the punishment of

the devil and the damned.

What Pelagius said in addition to his last statement, "Who believes differently is an Origenist," was approved by the judges, because in very deed the Church most justly abominates the opinion of Origen, that even they whom the Lord pronounces worthy of everlasting punishment, and the devil himself and his angels, will be purged, and after a time, however protracted, be released from their punishment, and shall then cleave to the saints who reign with God in the society of their blessed life. This additional sentence, therefore, the synod pronounced to be "not opposed to the Church," â€” accepting it not in Pelagius' sense, but rather in accordance with, the Gospel, that the ungodly and sinful men whom eternal fires shall consume will be such as the Gospel determines to be worthy of such a punishment; and that he is a sharer in Origen's abominable opinion, who affirms that their punishment can possibly ever come to an end, when the Lord has said it is to be eternal. Concerning those sinners, however, of whom the apostle declares that "they shall be saved, yet so as by fire, after their [evil] work has been burnt up," 2

inasmuch as no objectionable opinion in reference to them was manifestly chargeable against Pelagius, the synod determined nothing. Wherefore he who says that the ungodly and sinner, whom the truth consigns to eternal punishment, can ever be

1 The bishops Heros and Lazarus; see above 1 [n.]. 2 1 Cor. iii. 12, 15.
liberated therefrom, is not unfitly designated by Pelagius as an "Origenist" But, on the other hand, he who supposes that no sinner whatever deserves mercy in the judgment of God, may be designated by whatever name Pelagius is disposed to give to him, only it must at the same time be quite understood that the supposition is an error, and is not received as truth by the Church. "For he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy." 1

Chap. 11.
But how this judgment is to be accomplished, it is not easy to understand from Holy Scripture; for there are many modes therein of describing that which is to come to pass only in one mode. In one place the Lord declares that He will shut the door against those whom He does not admit into His kingdom; and that, on their clamorously demanding admission, "Open unto us, . . . we have eaten and drunk in Thy presence," and so forth, as the Scripture describes this expostulation, "He will say unto them in answer, I know you not, ... all ye workers of iniquity." 2 In another passage He reminds us that He will command all which would not that He should reign over them to be brought to Him, and be slain in His presence." 3 In another place, again, He tells us that He will come with His angels in His majesty; and before Him shall be gathered all nations, and He shall separate them one from another; some He will set on His right hand, and after enumerating their good works, will award to them eternal life; and others on His left hand, whose barrenness in all good works He will expose, will He condemn to everlasting burnings. 4 In two other passages He deals, — [in one] with that wicked and slothful servant, who neglected to trade with His money, 5 and [in the other] with the man who was found at the feast without the wedding garment, 6 and He orders them to be bound hand and foot, and to be cast into outer darkness. 7 And in yet another scripture, after admitting the five virgins who were wise, He shuts the door against the other five foolish ones. 7 Istow these descriptions, â€” and there are others which at the instant do not occur to me, â€” are all intended to represent to us the future judgment, which, of course will be held not over one, or over five, but over multitudes. For if it were a solitary case

7 Matt. xxv. 1-10.
only of the man who was cast into outer darkness for not having on the wedding garment, He would not have gone on at once to give it a plural turn, by saying: "For many are called, but few are chosen;" * whereas it is plain that, after the one was cast out and condemned, many still remained behind in the house. However, it would occupy us too long to discuss all these questions to the full. This brief remark, however, I may make, without prejudice (as they say in affairs of money) to some better discussion, that by the many descriptions which are scattered throughout the Holy Scriptures there is signified to us but one mode and process of final judgment, which is inscrutable to our minds, â€” all that admits of any variety being the rewards and punishments which will follow men's deserts.

Touching the particular point, indeed, which we have before us at present, it is sufficient to remark that, if Pelagius had actually said that all sinners whatever without exception would be punished in an eternity of punishment by everlasting fire, then whosoever of his judges had approved of this, he would, to begin with, have brought the sentence [of the synod] down on his own head. "For who will boast that he [has a pure heart, or will boldly say that he] is pure from sins?" 3 Forasmuch, however, as he did not say all, nor certain, but made an indefinite statement only, â€” and afterwards, in explanation, declared that his meaning was according to the words of the Gospel, â€” his opinion was affirmed by the judgment of the bishops to be true: but it does not even now appear what Pelagius really thinks on the subject, and in consequence there is no indecency in inquiring further into the decision of the episcopal judges.

Chap. 12. [iv.]
It was further objected against Pelagius, that he had written in his book, that "evil did not enter his thoughts."


2 [Judicium; the other reading, judicium, means, "If any one had approved of such a judgment," etc.]

3 Prov. xx. 9 (Septuagint).

CHAP. XIII.] EVIL THOUGHTS IMPLY CONSENT. 373

In reply, however, to this charge, he said: "We made no such statement. What we did say was, that the Christian ought to be careful not to have evil thoughts." Of this, as it became them, the bishops approved. For who can doubt that evil ought not to be thought of? And, indeed, if what he said in his book about evil not being thought runs in this form, "nee cogitandum quidem" the ordinary meaning of such words is "that evil ought not even to be thought of." Now if any person denies this, what else does he in fact say, than that evil ought to be thought of? And if this were true, it could not be said in praise of charity that "it thinketh no evil!" 1 But after all, the phrase about "not entering into the thoughts "
of righteous and holy men is not quite a commendable one, for this reason, that what enters the mind is commonly called a thought, even when assent to it does not follow. The thought, however, which involves blame, and is justly forbidden, is never unaccompanied with assent and compliance. Possibly those men had an incorrect copy of Pelagius’ writings, who thought it proper to object to him that he had used the words: "Malum nee in cogitationem venire" that is, that whatever is evil never entered into the thoughts of righteous and holy men. Which is, of course, a very absurd statement. For whenever we censure evil things, we cannot enunciate them in words, unless they have first occupied the thoughts. But, as we said before, that is termed a culpable thought of evil which carries with it the assent of our will.

Chap. 13. [v.]
After the judges had accorded their approbation to this answer of Pelagius, another passage which he had written in his book was read aloud: "The kingdom of heaven was promised even in the Old Testament." Upon this Pelagius remarked in vindication: "This can be readily proved by the Scriptures. The heretics, however, in order to disparage the Old Testament, deny this statement; but I simply followed the authority of the Scriptures when I said this; for in the prophet Daniel it is written: 'The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom.' " 2 After they had heard this answer, the synod said: "This is not opposed at all to the Church's faith."

1 1 Cor. xiii. 5. 2 Dan. vii. 18.

374 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XIV.


Was it therefore without reason that our brethren [the accusing bishops] were moved by his words to include this charge among the others against him? Certainly not. The fact is, that the phrase Old Testament is constantly employed in two different ways, αὐτοῦ” in one, following the authority of the Holy Scriptures; in the other, following the most common mode of speech. For the Apostle Paul says, in his Epistle to the Galatians: "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free woman.

. . . Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants [or testaments]; the one which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. For this is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and is most intimately connected with the Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children; whereas the Jerusalem which is above is free, and is the mother of us all." x Now, inasmuch as the Old Testament tends to bondage, whence it is written, "Cast out the bond-woman and her son for the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac," 2 whereas the kingdom of heaven tends to liberty; what has the kingdom of heaven to do with the Old Covenant [or Testament]? Since, however, as I have already remarked, we
are accustomed, in our ordinary use of words, to designate all those Scriptures of the law and the prophets which were given previous to the Lord's incarnation, and are embraced together by canonical authority, under the name and title of the Old Testament, what man who is ever so moderately informed in ecclesiastical lore can be ignorant that the kingdom of heaven could be quite as well promised in those early Scriptures as even the "New Testament itself, to which the kingdom of heaven belongs? At all events, in those ancient Scriptures it is most distinctly written: 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will accomplish a new covenant [or testament] with the house of Israel and with the house of Jacob; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the


CHAP. XIV.] THE NEW MAX FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT. 375

hand, to lead them out of the land of Egypt." 1 This was done on Mount Sinai. But then there had not yet risen the prophet Daniel to say: "The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom." 2 For by these words he foretold the merit not of the Old, but of the New Testament. In the same manner did the same prophets [of the Old Testament] foretell that Christ Himself would come, in whose blood the New Covenant [or Testament] was consecrated. Of this Testament also the apostles became the ministers, as the most blessed Paul declares: "He hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not in its letter, but its spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." 3 In that testament, however, which is properly called the Old, and was given on Mount Sinai, only earthly happiness is expressly promised. Accordingly that land, into which the nation, after being led through the wilderness, was conducted, is called the land of promise, wherein peace and royal power, and the gaining of victories over enemies, and an abundance of children and of fruits of the ground, and gifts of a similar kind, are the promises of the Old Testament. And these, indeed, are figures of the spiritual blessings which appertain to the New Testament; but yet the man who lives under God's law with those earthly blessings for his sanction, is precisely the heir of the Old Testament [or Covenant,] for just such rewards are promised and given to him, according to the terms of the Old Covenant, as are the objects of his desire according to the condition of the old man. But whatever blessings are there figuratively set forth as appertaining to the New Testament require the new man to give them effect. And no doubt the great apostle understood perfectly well what he was saying, when he described the two covenants [or testaments] as capable of the allegorical distinction of the bond-woman and the free, â€” attributing the children of the flesh to the Old Covenant, and to the New the children of the promise: "They," says he, "which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed." 4 The children of the flesh, then, belong to the earthly Jerusalem, which is in bondage with

1 Jer. xxxi. 31, 32. " Dm. vii. 18. 3 2 Cor. iii. 6. * Rom. ix. 8.
ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XV.

her children; whereas the children of the promise belong to the Jerusalem above, the free, the mother of ns all, eternal in the heavens. 1 Whence we can easily see who they are that appertain to the earthly, and who to the heavenly kingdom.

But then the happy persons, who even in that early age were by the grace of God taught to understand the distinction now set forth, were thereby made the children of promise, and were accounted in the secret purpose of God as heirs of the New Covenant [which was to come]; although they continued with perfect fitness to administer the Old Testament to the ancient people of God, because that covenant was divinely appropriated to that people in God's distribution of the times and seasons.

Chap. 15.

How then should there not be a feeling of just disquietude entertained by the children of promise, sons of the free Jerusalem, which is eternal in the heavens, when they see that by the words of Pelagius the distinction which has been drawn by Apostolic and Catholic authority is abolished, and Agar is supposed to be by some means on a par with Sarah ? He therefore does injury to the scripture of the Old Testament with the depravity of a heretic, who with an impious and sacrilegious face denies that it was inspired by the good, supreme, and very God, â€” as Marcion does, as Manichseus does, and other pests of similar opinions. On this account (that I may put into as brief a space as I can what my own views are on the subject), as much injury is done to the New Testament, when it is put on the same level with the Old Testament, as is inflicted on the Old itself, when men deny it to be the work of the supreme God of goodness. Now, when Pelagius in his answer gave as his reason (for saying that even in the Old Testament there was a promise of the kingdom of heaven), the testimony of the prophet Daniel, who most plainly foretold that the saints should receive the kingdom of the Most High, it was fairly decided that the statement of Pelagius was not opposed to the Catholic faith, although not according to the distinction which shows that the earthly promises of Mount Sinai are the proper characteristics of the Old Testament; nor indeed was the

1 Gal. iv. 25, 26.

CHAP. XVI.] PELAGIUS AND THE WIDOW. 3*77

decision an improper one, considering that mode of speech which designates all the canonical Scriptures which were given to men before the Lord's coming in the flesh by the title of the "Old Testament." The kingdom of the Most High is of course none other
than the kingdom of God; otherwise, anybody might boldly contend that the kingdom of God is one thing, and the kingdom of heaven another.

Chap. 16. [vi.]
The next objection was to the effect that Felagius in that same book of his wrote thus: "A man is able, if he likes, to live without sin; and that he addressed a certain widow in a letter in the following fulsome strain: "In thee piety may find a dwelling-place, such as she finds nowhere else; in thee righteousness, though a stranger in every other place, can find a sojourn; that truth, which no one any longer recognises, can discover an abode and a friend in thee; by thee alone, moreover, that law of God, which almost everybody despises, is honoured." And in another sentence he writes: "how happy and blessed art thou, when that righteousness which we must believe to flourish only in heaven has found a shelter on earth only in thy heart!" In another work addressed to her, after reciting the prayer of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and teaching her in what manner saints ought to pray, he says: "Such an one is worthy to raise his hands to God; and with a good conscience does he pour out his prayer, since he is able to say, 'Thou, Lord, knowest how holy and harmless are the hands which I stretch out to Thee; how pure also they are of all injury, and iniquity, and violence; moreover, how righteous, and pure, and free from all deceit, are the lips with which I offer to Thee my supplication, that Thou wouldst have mercy upon me.' To all this Pelagius said in answer: "We asserted that a man could, if he liked, live without sin, and could keep God's commandments; but that this power was given to him by God. But we never said that any man could be found who at no time whatever, from infancy to old age, committed sin; but that if any person were converted from his sins, he could by his own labour and God's grace live without sin. And yet nobody even thus was rendered incapable of change ever afterwards. As for the

378 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XVIII.

other statements which they have made against us, they are not to be found in our books, nor have we at any time said such things." Upon hearing this vindication, the synod put this question to him: "You have denied having ever written such words; are you therefore ready to anathematize those who do hold these opinions?" Pelagius answered: "I anathematize them as fools, but not as heretics, for there is no dogma in the business." The bishops then pronounced their judgment in these words: "Since now Pelagius has with his own mouth anathematized this vague statement as foolish verbiage, dedaring in his reply, 'That a man is able with God's assistance and grace to live without sin/ let him now proceed to answer the other heads of accusation against him."

Chap. 17.
Well now, had the judges in this case either the power or the right to condemn these unrecognised and vague words, when no person on the other side was present to prove that Pelagius had written the very culpable sentences which were alleged to have been addressed by him to the widow? In such a matter, it surely could not be enough to produce a manuscript, and to read out of it words as his, if there were not also witnesses
forthcoming [to identify the writing] in case he denied, on the words being read out, that they ever dropped from his pen. But even here the judges did all that lay in their power to do, when they asked Pelagius whether he would anathematize the persons who held such sentiments as he declared he had never himself propounded either in speech or in writing. And when he answered that he did anathematize them as fools, what right had the judges to push the inquiry any further on the matter, in the absence of Pelagius’ opponents?

Chap. 18.

But perhaps the point requires some consideration, whether he was right in saying that "such as held the opinions in question deserved anathema, not as heretics, but as fools, since there was no dogma in the matter." The question, when fairly confronted, is no doubt far from being an unimportant one, â€” how far a man deserves to be described as a heretic? On this occasion, however, the judges acted rightly in abstaining from it altogether. Let us take an instance to illustrate the point. If any one were to allege that eaglets are suspended on the talons of the parent bird, and so exposed to the rays of the sun, such as wink or flinch are flung to the ground as spurious, the light being in some mysterious way the gauge of their genuine nature, he is not to be accounted a heretic, although the story happens to be untrue. 1 Now, â€œ since it occurs in the writings of the learned, and is very commonly received as fact, ought it to be considered a foolish thing to mention it, even though it be not true? much less ought our credit, which gains for us the name of being trustworthy, to be affected, on the one hand injuriously if the story be believed by us, or beneficially if disbelieved. 2 If, to go a step further in illustration, any one were from this instance to contend that there existed in birds reasonable souls, from the notion that human souls at intervals passed into them, then indeed we should have to reject from our mind and ears alike an idea like this as the rankest heresy; and even if the story about the eagles were true (as there are many curious facts about bees confessed to the most common observation), we should still have to consider, and even demonstrate, the great difference that exists between the condition of creatures like these, which are quite irrational, however surprising in their powers of sensation, and the nature which is common (not to human beings and brute animals, but) to men and angels. There are, to be sure, a great many foolish things said by foolish and ignorant persons, which yet fail to prove them heretics. One might instance the silly talk so commonly heard about the pursuits of other people, from persons who have never learned these pursuits; equally hasty and untenable are the judgments they express, whether in the shape of excessive and indiscriminate praise of those they love, or of blame in the case of those they happen to dislike. The same remark might be made

CHAP. XVIII.] FOOLS AND HERETICS. 379
concerning the usual current of human conversation: whenever it does not touch on a subject which requires dogmatic accuracy of statement, but is thrown out at

1 [It is told by Pliny, Hist. Nat. x. 3 (3), and Lucan, Pharsalia, ix. 902, etc.]

2 [Creditum, however, is read in both clauses; we should expect non creditum in one, as one reading has it.]

380 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XIX.

random, or suggested by the passing moment, it is too often pervaded by foolish levity, whether uttered by the mouth or expressed in writing. Many persons, indeed, when gently reminded of their reckless gossip, have afterwards much regretted their conduct; [its only excuse was its utter thoughtlessness, for] they scarcely recollected what they had never uttered with a fixed purpose, but had poured forth in a sheer volley of casual and unconsidered words. It is, unhappily, almost impossible to be quite clear of such faults. Who is he "that slippeth not in his tongue," 1 and "offendeth not in word?" 2 It, however, makes all the difference in the world, to what extent, and from what motive, and whether in fact at all, a man when warned of his fault corrects it, or obstinately clings to it so as to make a dogma and settled opinion of that which he had not at first uttered on purpose, but only in levity. Although, then, it turns out eventually that every heretic is a fool, it does not follow that every fool must on the nonce be dubbed a heretic. The judges were quite right in saying that Pelagius had anathematized the vague folly under consideration by its fitting designation; for even if it were heresy, there could be no doubt of its being foolish prattle. Whatever, therefore, it was, they designated the offence under a general name. But whether the quoted words had been used with any definitely dogmatic purpose, or only in a vague and indeterminate sense, and with an unmeaningness which should be capable of an easy correction, they did not deem it necessary to discuss on the present occasion, since the man who was on his trial before them denied that the words were his at all, in whatever sense they had been employed.

Chap. 19.
Now it so happened that, while we were reading this defence of Pelagius in the small paper which we received at first, 3 there were present certain holy brethren, who said that they had in their possession some hortatory or consolatory works which Pelagius had addressed to a widow lady whose name did not appear, and they advised us to examine whether the words which he had abjured for his own occurred

1 See Ecclus. xix. 16. 2 See Jas. iii. 2.

8 See below, in chap. 57. [xxxii.]
anywhere in these books. They were not themselves aware whether they did or not. The said books were accordingly read through, and the words in question were actually discovered in them. Moreover, they who had produced the copy of the book, affirmed that four years had almost passed away since they first regarded the contents as really the work of Pelagius, nor had they once heard a doubt expressed about his authorship. Considering, then, from the integrity of these servants of God, which was very well known to us, how impossible it was for them to use deceit in the matter, the conclusion seemed inevitable, that Pelagius must be supposed by us to have rather been the deceiver at his trial before the bishops; only we thought it was quite possible that something might, even all those years before, have been put out in his name, although not actually composed by him, for not even did our informants tell us that they had received the books from Pelagius himself, nor had they ever heard him admit his own authorship. Now, in my own case, certain of our brethren have told me that sundry writings have found their way into Spain under my name. Such persons, indeed, as had read my genuine writings could not recognise those others as mine; although by other persons my authorship of them was quite believed.

Chap. 20. [vn.] â€” Pelagius acknowledges the doctrine of grace in deceptive terms.

There can be no doubt that what Pelagius has acknowledged as his own views is as yet a very obscure affair. I suppose, however, that it will become apparent in the subsequent details of these synodal proceedings. Now he says:

"We have affirmed that a man is able, if he likes, to live without sin, and to keep the commandments of God, inasmuch as God gives him this ability. But we have not said that any man can be found, who from infancy to old age has never committed sin; but that if any person were converted from his sins, he could by his own exertion and God's grace live without sin. Nobody, however, even thus was ever rendered incapable of change afterwards." Now it is quite uncertain what he means in these words by the grace of God; and the judges, Catholic as they were, could not possibly understand

382 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XX..

by the phrase anything else than the grace which is so very strongly recommended to us in the apostle's teaching. Now this is the grace whereby we hope that we can be delivered from the body of this death through our Lord Jesus Christ, 1
and for the obtaining of which we pray that we may not be led into temptation. 2 This grace is not nature, but it renders assistance to frail and impaired nature. This grace is not the knowledge of the law, but is that of which the apostle says:

"I will not frustrate the grace of God: for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain." 3 Therefore it is not "the letter that killeth, but the life-giving spirit." 4

For the knowledge of the law, without the grace of the Spirit, produces all kinds of concupiscence in man; for, as the apostle says, "I had not known sin but by the law: I had not known lust, unless the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence." 5 By saying this, however, he blames not the law; he rather praises it, for he says afterwards: "The law indeed is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good." 6 And he goes on to ask:

"Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good." 7 And, again, he praises the law by saying:

"We know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I know not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good." 8 Observe, then, he knows the law, praises it, and consents to it; for what it commands, that he also wishes; and what it forbids, and condemns, that he also hates: but for all that, what he hates, that he actually does. There is in his mind, therefore, a knowledge of the holy law of God, but still his evil concupiscence is not cured. He has a good will within him, but still what he does is evil. Hence it comes to pass that, amidst the mutual struggles of the two laws within him, "the law in his members warring against the law of his mind, and making him captive to the law of sin" 1 â€” he confesses his misery, and exclaims in such words as these:

"wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God; through Jesus Christ our Lord." 2

Chap. 21. [vin.]

It is not nature, you may be well assured, which, sold as it is under sin and wounded by the ruin, longs for a Redeemer and Saviour; nor is it the knowledge of the law â€”
through which comes the discovery, not the expulsion, of sin
â€” which delivers us from the body of this death; but it is the Lord's good grace through
our Lord Jesus Christ. 3

Chap. 21. [ix.]

This grace is not expiring nature, nor the slaying letter, but the vivifying spirit; for
already did he possess nature with freedom of will, because he said: "To will is present
with me." 4 Nature, however, in a healthy condition and without a flaw, he did not
possess, for he said: "I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth nothing good." 5
Already had he the knowledge of God's holy law, for he said: "I
had not known sin but through the law;" 6 yet for all that he did not possess strength and
power to practise and fulfil righteousness, for he complained: "What I would, that do I
not; but what I hate, that do I." 7 And again, "How to accomplish that which is good I
find not." 8 Therefore it is not from the liberty of the human will, nor from the precepts
of the law, that there arises deliverance from the body of this death; for both of these he
had already, â€” the one in his nature, the other in Iris learning; but all he wanted was the
help of the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Chap. 22. [x.] â€” The Synod supposed that the grace acknowledged by Pelagius was that
which was so thoroughly known to the Church.

This grace, then, which was most completely known in the Catholic Church (as the
bishops were well aware), they supposed Pelagius made confession of, when they heard
him say that "a man, when converted from his sins, is able by his own exertion and the
grace of God to live without sin." For my

1 Ptom. vii. 23. 2 Rom. vii. 24. 25. 3 Eom. vii. 25. 4 Rom. vii. 18.
6 Horn. vii. 18. 6 Eoni. vii. 7. 7 Rom. vii. 15. 8 Eom. vii. 18.

384 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OE PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXII.

own part, however, I remembered the treatise which had been given to me, that I might
refute it, by those servants of God, who had been Pelagiis' followers. 1 They,
notwithstanding their great affection for him, plainly acknowledge that the work was his;
and that, on their proposing this question [to him,] because he had already given offence
to very many persons from advancing views against the grace of God, he most expressly
admitted that "what he meant by God's grace was the circumstance that, when our nature
was created, it received
[from Him] the possibility of avoiding sin, because it was
/created with a free will." Remembering, therefore, as I do, this treatise, I cannot help
feeling still anxious, whilst many of the brethren, who are so well acquainted with his
discussions, share in my anxiety, lest under the ambiguity which notoriously
characterizes his words there lie some latent reserve, and lest he should afterwards tell his
followers that it was without prejudice to his own doctrine that he made any admissions, â€” as when he said: "I no doubt asserted that a man was able by his own exertion and the grace of God to live without sin; but you know very well what I mean by grace; and you may recollect in your perusal [of my book]
that grace is that [condition] in which we are created by God with a free will."
Accordingly, while the bishops understood him to mean the grace by which we have by adoption been made new creatures, not that by which we were created (for most plainly does Holy Scripture instruct us in the former sense of grace as the true one), ignorant of his being a heretic, they acquitted him as a Catholic. 2 I must say that my suspicion is excited also by the circumstance, that in the work [by Pelagius] which I answered, he most openly said that "righteous Abel never sinned at all." 3 Just now, however, he thus expressed himself: "But we never said that any man could be found who at no time whatever, from infancy to old age, committed sin; but that, if any man were converted from

1 [Timasius and Jacobus, to whom Augustine addressed his book De Naturd et Gratid.]

2 [The reader may consult the treatise De Naturd et Gratid, chapters 53 and 54, on this opinion of Pelagius.]

3 [See De Naturd et Gratid, xxxvii. (44).]

J

CHAP. XXIII.] CERTAIN OPINIONS OF CCELESTIUS. 385

his sins, he could by his own labour and God's grace live without sin." 1 Now, when speaking of righteous Abel, he did not say that after being converted from his sins he became sinless in a new life, but absolutely that he never committed sin at all. If, then, that book be his [in which occurs the statement about Abel,] it must of course be corrected and amended from his answer [before the synod.] I should be indeed sorry to say that he was insincere in his more recent statement; for he would probably say that he had forgotten what he had previously written in the book we have quoted.

Let us therefore direct our view to what afterwards occurred.

NTow, from the sequel of these ecclesiastical proceedings, we can by God's help show that, although Pelagius, as some suppose, cleared himself in his examination, and was at all events acquitted by his judges (who were, however, but human beings after all), that this great heresy, 2 which we should be most unwilling to see making further progress or becoming aggravated in guilt, was undoubtedly itself condemned.

Chap. 23. [xi.] â€” The breviates of Cozlestius objected to Pelagius, but repudiated by him.
Then follow sundry statements charged against Pelagius, which are said to be found among the opinions of his disciple Cælestius: how that "Adam was created subject to death, and that he must have died whether he had sinned or not; that Adam's sin hurt only himself and not the human race; that the law no less than the gospel leads us to the kingdom [of heaven;] that there were sinless men previous to the coming of Christ; that new-born infants are in the same condition as Adam was before he fell; that the entire human race does not, on the one hand, die owing to Adam's death and transgression, nor, on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through the resurrection of Christ."

These objections against him proceeded to such a length, that they are even said to have been, after a full hearing, condemned at Carthage by your holiness and other bishops associated with you. 3 I was not present on that occasion, as you will recollect; but afterwards, on my arrival at Carthage, I read over the Acts of the synod, some of which I perfectly well remember, but I hardly know whether all the tenets now mentioned occur among them. But what matters it if some of them were possibly not mentioned, and so not included in the condemnation of the synod? It is quite clear that they deserve condemnation. Sundry other points of error were next alleged against him, connected with the mention of my own name. 1 They had been transmitted to me from Sicily, some of our Catholic brethren there being perplexed by these questions; and I drew up a reply to them in a little work addressed to Hilary, 2 who had consulted me respecting them in a letter. My answer, in my opinion, was a sufficient one.

These are the errors referred to: u That a man is able to live without sin if he likes. That infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life. That rich men, even if they are baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned to them; neither can they possess the kingdom of God."

386 OX THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXIV.

read over the Acts of the synod, some of which I perfectly well remember, but I hardly know whether all the tenets now mentioned occur among them. But what matters it if some of them were possibly not mentioned, and so not included in the condemnation of the synod? It is quite clear that they deserve condemnation. Sundry other points of error were next alleged against him, connected with the mention of my own name. 1 They had been transmitted to me from Sicily, some of our Catholic brethren there being perplexed by these questions; and I drew up a reply to them in a little work addressed to Hilary, 2 who had consulted me respecting them in a letter. My answer, in my opinion, was a sufficient one.

These are the errors referred to: u That a man is able to live without sin if he likes. That infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life. That rich men, even if they are baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned to them; neither can they possess the kingdom of God."

Chap. 24.
The following, as the proceedings testify, was Pelagius' own answer to these charges against him: "Concerning a man's being able indeed to live without sin, we have spoken," says he, "already; concerning the fact, however, that before the Lord's coming there were persons without sin, we say now that, previous to
Christ's advent, some men lived holy and righteous lives, according to the tradition of the sacred Scriptures. The other points were never advanced by me, as even their testimony goes to show, to whom, however, I do not feel that I am in any way responsible. But for the satisfaction of the holy synod, I anathematize those who either now hold, or have ever held, these opinions." After hearing this answer of his, the synod said: "With regard to these charges aforesaid, Pelagius has in our presence given us sufficient and proper satisfaction, whilst he anathematizes the opinions which were none of his." We see, therefore, and firmly believe that the most dangerous points of this heresy were condemned, not only by Pelagius, but also by the holy bishops who presided over that inquiry. The position that "Adam was made mortal;" (and, that the meaning of this statement might be more clearly understood, it was added that "he must have died whether he had sinned or not:) that his sin injured only himself and not the human race; that the law, no less than the gospel, leads us to the kingdom [of heaven:] that new-born infants are in the same condition as Adam was before he fell; that the entire human race does not, on the one hand, die in consequence of Adam's death and transgression, nor, on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through, the resurrection of Christ; that infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life; that rich men, even if baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned to them, neither can they possess the kingdom of God;" â€” all these opinions, at any rate, were clearly condemned in that ecclesiastical court, â€” Pelagius pronouncing the anathema, and the bishops the interlocutory sentence.

Chap. 25. The Pelagians falsely pretended that the Eastern Churches were on their side.

Now, by reason of these questions, and that very contentious assertion of these tenets, which is everywhere accompanied with heated feelings, many weak brethren are disturbed. We have accordingly, in the anxiety of that love which it becomes us to feel towards the Church of Christ through His grace, and out of regard to Marcellinus of blessed memory (who used to be extremely vexed day by day by these disputers, and who used by letter to ask my advice), been obliged to write on some of these questions, and especially on the baptism of infants. On this same subject also I afterwards, at your request, and assisted by your prayers, delivered an earnest address, to the best of my ability, in the church of the Majorcs}
holding in my hands an epistle of the most glorious martyr Cyprian, and reading
therefrom his words, on which I also largely discoursed, in order to remove this
dangerous error out of the hearts of sundry persons, who had been persuaded to take up
with the opinions which, as we see, were condemned in the Acts of the synod. These
opinions it has been

1 [According to another reading, "the church of Majorinus. "]

388 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXVI.

attempted by their promoters to force upon the minds of some of the brethren, by
threatenings, as if from the Eastern Churches, that unless they adopted the said opinions,
they would be formally condemned by those Churches. Observe, however, that no less
than fourteen bishops of the Eastern Church, 1
assembled in synod in the land where the Lord manifested His presence in the days of His
flesh, refused to acquit Pelagius unless he condemned these opinions as opposed to the
Catholic faith. Since, therefore, he was then acquitted because he anathematized such
views, it follows beyond a doubt that the said opinions were condemned. This, indeed,
will appear more clearly still, and on still stronger evidence, in the sequel.

Chap. 26.
Let us now see what were the two points out of all that were alleged which Pelagius
refused to anathematize.
He admitted them to be indeed his own opinions, but to remove their offensive aspect he
explained in what sense he held them. " That a man," says he, " is able to live without sin
has been asserted already." Asserted no doubt, and we remember the assertion quite well;
but still it was toned down to such a degree, and approved by the judges, that God's grace
was added, concerning which nothing was said in the original draft of his doctrine.
Touching the second, however, of these points, we ought to pay careful attention to what
he said in answer to the charge against him. " Concerning the fact, indeed," says he, " that
before the Lord's coming there were persons without sin," although this had been laid to his charge after the very words of
Ccelestius. For he perceived how dangerous such a statement was, and into what trouble
it would bring him. So he reduced the sentence to these harmless dimensions: "We again
assert that before the coming of Christ there were persons who led holy and righteous
lives." Of course there were:

1 [Augustine mentions their names in his work contra Julianum, Book I. ch.
V. (19).]
who would deny it? But to say this is a very different tiling from saying that they lived "without sin." Because, indeed, those ancient worthies lived holy and righteous lives, they could for that very reason better confess: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." 1

In the present day, also, many men live holy and righteous lives; but yet it is no untruth they utter when in their prayer they say: "Forgive us our debts, even as we forgive our debtors." 2 This avowal was accordingly acceptable to the judges, in the sense in which Pelagius solemnly declared his belief; but certainly not in the sense which Ccelestius, according to the original charge against him, was said to hold.

We must now treat in detail of the topics which still remain, to the best of our ability.

Chap. 27. [xn.]

Pelagius was charged with having said: "That the Church

here on earth is without spot and wrinkle." It was on this point that the Donatists also were constantly at conflict with us in our conference. We used, in their case, to lay especial stress on the mixture of bad men with good, like that of the chaff with the wheat; and we were led to this idea by the similitude of the threshing-floor. We might apply the same illustration in answer to our present opponents, unless indeed they would have the Church consist only of good men, whom they assert to be without any sin whatever, that so the Church might be without spot or wrinkle. If this be their meaning, then I repeat the same words as I quoted just now, for how can they be members of the Church, of whom the voice of a genuine humility declares, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us?" 3 or how could the Church offer up that prayer which the Lord taught her to use, "Forgive us our debts," 4 if in this world the Church is without a spot or blemish? In short, they must themselves submit to be strictly catechised respecting themselves: do they really allow that they have any sins of their own? If their answer is in the negative, then they must be plainly told that they are deceiving themselves, and the truth is not in them. If, however, they shall acknowledge that they do commit sin, what is this but a confession of their taint and blemish? They therefore are not members of the Church; because the Church is without spot and wrinkle, while they have both.

1 1 John i. 8. 2 Matt. vi. 12.

3 1 John i. 8. 4 Matt. vi. 12.
Chap. 28.
But to this objection he replied with a watchful caution such as the Catholic judges no doubt approved. "It has," says he, "been asserted by me, â€” but in such a sense that the Church is by the laver of baptism cleansed from every spot and wrinkle, and in this purity the Lord wishes her to continue." Whereupon the synod said: "Of this also we approve." And who amongst us denies that in baptism the sins of all men are remitted, and that all believers come up spotless and pure from the laver of regeneration? Or what Catholic Christian is there who wishes not, as his Lord also wishes, and as it is meant to be, that the Church should remain always without spot or wrinkle? For in very deed God is now in His mercy and truth bringing it about, that His holy Church should be conducted to that perfect state in which she is to remain without spot or wrinkle for evermore. But between the laver, where all past stains and deformities are removed, and the kingdom, where the Church will remain for ever without any spot or wrinkle, there is this present intermediate time of prayer, during which her cry must of necessity be: "Forgive us our debts." Hence arose the objection against them for saying that "the Church here on earth is without spot or wrinkle;" from the doubt whether by this opinion they did not boldly prohibit that prayer whereby the Church in her present baptized state entreats day and night for herself the forgiveness of her sins. On the subject of this intervening period between the remission of sins which takes place in baptism, and the perpetuity of sinlessness which is to be in the kingdom of heaven, no proceedings ensued with Pelagius, and no decision was pronounced by the bishops. Only he thought that some brief indication ought to be given that he had not expressed himself in the way which the accusation against him seemed to state. As to his saying, "This has been asserted by me, â€” but in such a

CHAP. XXIX.] HOW â– PELAGIUS SATISFIED niS JUDGES. 391

sense," what else did he mean to convey than the idea that he had not in fact expressed himself in the same manner as he was supposed to have done by his accusers? The reason, however, which induced the judges to say that they were satisfied with his answer [was his confession of] baptism as the means of being washed from our sins; and of the kingdom of heaven, in which the holy Church, which is now in process of cleansing, shall continue in a sinless state for ever: this is clear from the evidence, so far as I can form an opinion.

Chap. 29. [xiii.]
The next objections were urged out of the book of Ccelestius, following the contents of each several chapter, but rather according to the sense than the words. These indeed he expatiates on rather fully; they, however, who presented the indictment against Pelagius said that they had been unable at the moment to adduce all the words. In the first chapter, then, of Ccelestius' book they alleged that the following was written: "That we do more than is commanded us in the law and the gospel." To this Pelagius replied: "This they have set down as my statement. "What we said, however, was in keeping with the
apostle's assertion concerning virginity, of which Paul writes: 'I have no commandment of the Lord.' 1 1 Upon this the synod said: 'This also the Church receives.' I have read for myself the meaning which Ccelestius gives to this in his book, â€” for he does not deny that the book is his. Now he made this statement obviously with the view of persuading us that we possess through the nature of our free will such a possibility of avoiding sin, that we are able to do more than is commanded us; for a perpetual virginity is maintained by very many persons, and this is not commanded; whereas, in order to avoid sin, it is sufficient to fulfil what is commanded. "When the judges, however, accepted Pelagius' answer, they did not take it to convey the idea that those persons keep all the commandments of the law and the gospel who over and above maintain the state of virginity, which is not commanded, â€” but only this, that virginity, which is not commanded, is something more than conjugal chastity, which is commanded; so that to observe

1 1 Cor. vii. 25.

392 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXX.

the one is of course more than to keep the other; whereas, at the same time, neither can be maintained without the grace of God, inasmuch as the apostle, in speaking of this very subject, says: "But I would that all men were even as I myself. Every man, however, hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." 1 And even the Lord Himself, upon the disciples remarking, "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry" (or, as the Latin better expresses it, "non expedit ducere"), 2 said to them: "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given." 3 This, therefore, is the doctrine which the bishops of the synod declared to be received by the Church, -that the state of virginity, persevered in to the last, which is not commanded, is more than the chastity of married life, which is commanded. In what view Pelagius or Ccelestius regarded this subject, the judges were not aware.

Chap. 30. [xiv.] â€” The more prominent points of Ccelestius' work.

After this we find objected against Pelagius some other points of Ccelestius' teaching, â€” prominent ones, and undoubtedly worthy of condemnation; such, indeed, as would certainly have involved Pelagius in condemnation, if he had not anathematized them in the synod. Under his third head Ccelestius was alleged to have written: "That God's grace and assistance is not given for single actions, but is imparted in the freedom of the will, or in the law and in doctrine." And again: "That God's grace is given in proportion to our deserts; because, were He to give it to sinful persons, He would evidently be unrighteous." And from these words he inferred that "therefore grace itself has been placed in my own will/according as I have been either worthy or unworthy of it. For if we do all things by grace, then whenever we
are overcome by sin, it is not we who are overcome, but God's grace, which wanted by all means to help us, but was actually

1 1 Cor. vii. 7.

2 ["Not expedient to take a wife." This "better expression" Augustine substitutes for the reading "non expedit nubere," as applied to a woman's taking a husband. The original, yupnaou [not ya^eJWa*], justifies Augustine's preference.]

3 Matt. xix. 10, 11.

CHAP. XXXI.] FURTHER DISAVOWAL OF CCELESTIUS. 393

unable." And once more lie says: " If, when we conquer sin, it is by the grace of God; therefore it is He who is in fault whenever we are vanquished by sin, because He was either altogether unable or wholly unwilling to keep us safe." To these charges Pelagius replied: " Whether these are really the opinions of Ccelestius or not, is the concern of those who say that they are. For my own part, indeed, I never entertained such views; on the contrary, I anathematize every one who does entertain them." Then the synod said: " This holy synod accepts you for your condemnation of these impious words." Now certainly there can be no mistake, in regard to these opinions, either as to the clear way in which Pelagius pronounced on them his anathema, or as to the absolute terms in which the bishops condemned them. It is left quite in doubt, or in the dark, whether Pelagius ever held these sentiments, or still holds them, â€” or Ccelestius, or both of them, or neither, or other persons with them, or in their name. By this judgment of the bishops, however, it has been declared plainly enough that the opinions in question were condemned, and that Pelagius would have been condemned along with them, unless he had himself actually condemned them too. Now, after this trial, it is certain that whenever 'we enter on a controversy touching opinions of this kind, we only discuss an already condemned heresy.

Chap. 31.
I shall make my next remark with greater satisfaction.
In a former section I expressed a fear 1 that, when Pelagius said that " a man was able by the help of God's grace to live without sin," he perhaps meant by the term " grace " the capability possessed by nature as created by God with a free will, as it is understood in that book which I received as his, and to which I replied; 2 and that by these means he was deceiving the judges, who were ignorant of the circumstances. Now, however, since he anathematizes those persons who hold that " God's grace and assistance is not given for single actions, but is imparted in the freedom of the will,

1 [See above, (20).]
2 [He refers to Pelagius' work which Augustine received from Jacobus and Timasius, and against which he wrote his treatise De Naturd et Gratia.]

394 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXXI.

or in the law and in doctrine/ it is quite evident that he really means the grace which is preached in the Church of Christ, and is conferred by the ministration of the Holy Ghost, for the purpose of helping us in each detail of our conduct, whence it is that we pray for needful and suitable grace that we enter not into any temptation. Nor, again, have I any longer a fear that, when he said, " No man can be without sin unless he has acquired a knowledge of the law," and added this explanation of his words, that " he perhaps regarded a knowledge of the law as a help towards the avoidance of sin," 1 he at all meant the said knowledge to be considered as tantamount to the grace of God; for, observe, he anathematizes such as hold this opinion. See, too, how he refuses to hold our natural free will, or the law and doctrine, as equivalent to that grace of God which helps us through our single actions. What else then is left to him but to understand that grace which the apostle tells us is given by " the supply [or administration] of the Spirit ? " 2 This is what the Lord meant when He said: " Take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." 3 Nor, again, need I be under any apprehension that, when he asserted, " All men are ruled by their own will," and afterwards explained that he had made that statement "in the interest of the freedom of our will, of which God is the helper whenever it makes choice of good," 4 that he perhaps here also held God's helping grace as synonymous with our natural free will and the teaching of the law. For inasmuch as he rightly anathematized the persons who hold that God's grace or assistance is not given for single actions, but lies [generally] in the gift of free will, or in the law and doctrine, it follows, of course, that God's grace or assistance is given us for single actions,â€”free will, or the law and the doctrine, being left out of all consideration in such a matter'; and thus through the particulars of our life, when we act rightly, we are ruled and directed by God; nor is our prayer a useless one,

1 [See above, (2),] 2 Phil. i. 19 [Ivi Z opt.y'iÂ«, r. nÂ».]. 3 Matt. x. 19, 20. * [See above, (5).]
wherein we say: "Order my steps, [O Lord,] according to Thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me." *

Chap. 32.
But what comes afterwards again fills me with anxiety.
On its being objected to him, from the fifth chapter of Celestius' book, that "they say every individual has the faculty of possessing all powers and graces, thus taking away that 'diversity of gifts' which the apostle sets forth," Pelagius replied: "We have certainly said so much: but yet they have laid against us a malignant and blundering charge. "We do not take away the diversity of gifts; but we declare that God gives to the person, who has proved himself worthy to receive them, all graces, even as He conferred them on the Apostle Paul." Hereupon the synod said: "You accordingly do yourself hold the doctrine of the Church touching the gift of the graces, which are collectively possessed by the apostle."

Here some one may say, Why then is he anxious? Do you on your side deny that all the powers and graces were combined in the apostle? For my own part, indeed, if all those are to be understood which the apostle has himself mentioned together in one passage, â€” as, I suppose, the bishops understood Pelagius to mean when they approved of his answer, and pronounced it to be in keeping with the sense of the Church, â€” then I do not doubt that the apostle had them all; for he says: "And God hath set some in the Church, first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." 2 What then shall we say, that the Apostle Paul did not possess all these gifts himself? Who would be bold enough to assert this? The very fact that he was an apostle showed, of course, that he possessed the grace of the apostolate. He possessed also the gift of prophecy; for was not that a prophecy of his in which he says: "In the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils?" 3 He was, moreover, *the teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity." 4 He performed miracles also and cures; for he shook off from his hand, unhurt, the biting viper; *and the cripple [of Lystra]
stood upright on his feet at the apostle's word, and his strength was at once restored. 2 It is not clear what he means by "helps" for the term is of very wide application; but who can say that he was wanting even in this grace, when through his labours such helps were manifestly afforded towards

1 Ps. cxix. 133. 3 1 Cor. xii. 28.

3 1 Tim. iv. 1. * 1 Tim. ii. 7.

396 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXXII.

hand, unhurt, the biting viper; * and the cripple [of Lystra]
stood upright on his feet at the apostle's word, and his strength was at once restored. 2 It is not clear what he means by "helps" for the term is of very wide application; but who can say that he was wanting even in this grace, when through his labours such helps were manifestly afforded towards
the salvation of mankind? Then as to his possessing the grace of "government" what
could be more excellent than his administration, when the Lord at that time governed so
many churches by his personal agency, and governs them still in our day through his
epistles? And in respect of the " diversities [or kinds] of tongues" what tongues could
have been wanting to him, when he says himself: " I thank my God that I speak with
tongues more than you all? " 3 It being thus inevitable to suppose that not one of these
gifts and graces was wanting to the Apostle Paul, the judges approved of Pelagius'
answer, wherein he said " that all graces were conferred upon him." But there are other
graces in addition to these which are not mentioned here. For it is not to be supposed,
however greatly the Apostle Paul excelled others as a member of Christ's body, that the
very Head itself of the entire body did not receive more and ampler graces still, whether
in His flesh or His soul as man; for such a created nature did the Word of God assume as
His own into union with His [divine] Person, that He might so be our Head, and we His
body. And in very deed, if all gifts could be in each member, it would be evident that the
similitude, which is used to illustrate this subject, of the several members of our body is
inapplicable; for some things are common to the members in general, such as life and
health, whilst other things are peculiar to the separate members, since the ear has no
perception of colours, nor the eye of voices. Hence it is written: " If the whole body were
an eye, where were the hearing? if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? "
4 JSTow this of course is not said as if it were impossible for God to impart to the ear the
sense of seeing, or to the eye the function of hearing.
However, what He does in Christ's body, which is the Church,

1 Acts xxviii. 5. 2 Acts xiv. 8, 9.
3 1 Cor. xiv. 18. 4 1 Cor. xii. 17.

CHAP. XXXIII.] SUSPICIOUS WORDS OF PELAGIUS. 397

and what the apostle meant by diversity of graces/ as if through the different members,
that there might be gifts proper even to every one separately, is clearly known. "Why,
too, and on what ground they who raised the objection were so unwilling to have taken
away all difference in graces, why, moreover, the bishops of the synod were able to
approve of the answer given by Pelagius in deference to the Apostle Paul, in whom we
admit the combination of all those graces which he mentioned in the one particular
passage, is by this time clear also.

Chap. 33.
What, then, is the reason why, as I said just now, I
felt anxious on the subject of this head of his doctrine? It is occasioned by what Pelagius
says in these words: " That God gives to the man, who has proved himself worthy to
receive them, all graces, even as He conferred them on the Apostle Paul." Now, I should
not have felt any anxiety about this answer of Pelagius, if it were not closely connected
with the cause which we are bound to guard with the utmost care â€” even that God's
grace may never be attacked, while we are silent or dissembling in respect of so great an evil. As, therefore, he does not say, that God gives to whom He will, but that "God gives to the man, icho has proved himself worthy to receive them, all these gifts," I could not help being suspicious, when I read such words. For the very name of grace, and the thing that is meant by it, is taken away, if it is not bestowed gratuitously, but he only receives it who is worthy of the gift. Will anybody say that I do the apostle wrong, because I do not admit him to have been worthy of grace? Nay, I should indeed rather do him wrong, and bring on myself a punishment, if I refused to believe what he himself says. Well, now, has he not pointedly so defined grace as to show that it is so called because it is bestowed gratuitously? These are his own very words: "And if by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace." 2 In accordance with this, he says again: "Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt." 3

[Another reading has Ecclesiarum, instead of gratiarum; q.d. "difference in churches."]

2 Rom. xi. 6. 3 Rom. iv. 4.

398 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXXIV.

If any man, however, is worthy of grace, there is a debt of it due to him; and if it is thus due to him, it ceases to be grace; for grace is freely given, but a debt is paid as due. Grace, therefore, is bestowed on those who are unworthy, that a debt may be paid to them when they become worthy. He, however, who has bestowed on the unworthy the gifts which they possessed not before, does Himself take care that they shall have whatever things He means to recompense to them when they become worthy.

Chap. 34. â€” On the works of unbelievers; faith is the initial principle from which good works have their beginning; faith is the gift of God's grace.

He will perhaps say: It was not because of his works, but in consequence of his faith, that I said the apostle was worthy of having all those great graces bestowed upon him. His faith deserved this distinction, but not his works, which were not good previous [to his faith]. Well, then, are we to suppose that faith does not produce any works? Surely faith does work in a very real way, for it "worketh by love." 1 Preach up, however, as much as you like, the works of unbelieving men, we still know how true and invincible is the statement of this same apostle: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." 2 The very reason, indeed, why he so often declares that righteousness is imputed to us, not because of our works, but our faith, whereas faith rather works through love, is that no man should think that he arrives at faith itself through the merit of his works; for it is faith which is the initial principle whence good works first proceed; since (as has already been stated) whatsoever comes not from faith itself is sin. Accordingly, it is said to the Church, in the Song of Songs:
"Thou shalt come and pass by from the beginning of faith." 3

Although, therefore, faith procures the grace of producing good works, we do not deserve by our faith that we should have faith itself bestowed upon us; but, in its bestowal upon us, in order that we might follow the Lord by its help, "His mercy has prevented us." 4

Was it we ourselves that gave it to us? Did we ourselves make ourselves faithful? I must

1 Gal. v. 6. 2 Rom. xiv. 23.

8 [^Eki6ffri xeci $i&\%virri icxl ctpy^i Titrtus.] Cant. iv. 8 (Sept.).

* Ps. lix! 10.

CHAP. XXXV.] ALL IS OF GRACE. 399

by all means at this idea emphatically say: "It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves." 1 And indeed nothing else than this is pressed upon us in the apostle's teaching, when he says: "For I declare, through the grace that is given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." 2 Whence, too, arises the well-known challenge: "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 3 inasmuch as we have received even that which is the spring from which everything we have of good in our actions takes its beginning.

Chap. 3d.

What, then, is the meaning of that which the same apostle says: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day"? 4 If this is not a recompense paid to the worthy, is it anyhow a gift bestowed on the unworthy? He who says this, does not consider that the crown could not have been given to the man who is worthy of it, unless grace had been first bestowed on him whilst unworthy of it. He says indeed: "I have fought a good fight;" 5 but then he also says: "Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." He says too: "I have finished my course;" but he says again: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." 7 He says, moreover: "I have kept the faith;" but then it is he too who says again: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep my deposit against that day" â€” that is, "what I have committed to His keeping; " for some copies have not the word \\depositum, but commendatum, which yields a plainer sense. 8

Now, what do we commit to God's keeping, except the things which we pray Him to preserve for us, and amongst these our

1 Ps. c. 3. 2 Rom. xii. 3. 3 1 Cor. iv. 7. 4 2 Tim. iv. 7.
very faith? For what else did the Lord procure for the Apostle Peter by His prayer for him, 1 of which He said, "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not," 2 than that God would preserve his faith, that it should not fail by giving way to temptation? Therefore, blessed Paul, thou great preacher of grace, I will say it without fear of any man (for who will be less angry with me for so saying than thyself, who hast told us what to say, and taught us what to teach?)

"I will, I repeat, say it, and fear no man for the assertion:
Thy merits are recompensed with their own crown of reward; but thy merits are the gifts of God!

Chap. 36. ã€"" The monk Pelagius. Grace is conferred on the unworthy.

His due reward, therefore, is recompensed to the apostle as worthy of it; but still it was grace which bestowed on him the apostleship itself, which was not his due, and of which he was not worthy. Shall I be sorry for having said this? God forbid! "For under his own testimony shall I find a ready protection from such reproach; nor will any man charge me with audacity, unless he be himself audacious enough to charge the apostle with mendacity. He frankly says, nay he protests, that he commends the gifts within himself as God's gifts, so that he glories not in himself at all, but glories in the Lord; 3 he not only declares that he possessed no good deserts in himself why he should be made an apostle, but he even mentions his own demerits, in order to manifest and preach the grace of God. * I am not meet," says he, "to be called an apostle; " 4 and what else does this mean than "I am not worthy "? ã€"" as indeed several Latin copies read the phrase. Now this, to be sure, is the very gist of our question; for undoubtedly in this grace of apostleship all those graces are contained [which are the subject of our discussion]. For it was neither convenient nor right that an apostle should not possess the gift of prophecy, nor be a teacher, nor be illustrious for miracles and the gifts of healings, nor furnish need-

1 [There seems to be a corruption in the text here: "Quid aliud apostolo Petro Dominus commendavit orando." Another reading inserts de before the word apostolo. Our version is rather of the apparent sense than of the words of the passage.]

2 Luke xxii. 32. 3 1 Cor. i. 31. 4 1 Cor. xv. 9.
ful helps, nor provide governments over the churches, nor excel in diversities of tongues. All these functions the one name of apostleship embraces. Let us, therefore, consult the man himself, nay listen wholly to him. Let us say to him: Holy Apostle Paul, the monk Pelagius declares that thou wast worthy to receive all the graces of thine apostleship.

"What dost thou say thyself? He answers: "I am not worthy to be called an apostle." Shall I then, under pretence of honouring Paul, in a matter concerning Paul, dare to believe Pelagius in preference to Paul? I will not do so; for if I did, I should only prove to be more onerous to myself than honourable to him. 1 Let us hear also why he is not worthy to be called an apostle: "Because," says he, (<I persecuted the Church of God." 2 Now, were we to follow up the idea here expressed, who would not judge that he rather deserved from Christ condemnation, instead of an apostolic call? Who could so love the preacher as not to loathe the persecutor? Well, therefore, and truly does he say of himself: "I am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." As thou wroughtest then such evil, how earnest thou to earn such good? Let all men hear his answer: "But by the grace of God, I am what I am." Is there, then, no other way in which grace is conferred on an unworthy recipient? "And His grace," he adds, "which was bestowed on me was not in vain." 3 He says the same thing as a lesson to others also, to show them that their will is free to choose, when he says: "We then, as workers together with Him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." 4 Whence however does he derive His proof, that "His grace bestowed on himself was not in vain," except from the fact which he goes on to mention: "But I laboured more abundantly than they all?" 5 So it seems he did not labour in order to receive grace, but he received grace in order that he might labour. And thus, when unworthy, he gratuitously received grace, whereby he might become worthy to receive

1 [This is a poor imitation of Augustine's playful words: "ile potius onerabo quam ilium honoi'abo."]

2 1 Cor. xv. 9. 3 1 Cor. xv. 10. * 2 Cor. vi. 1. 5 1 Cor. xv. 10.

4 2C

402 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XXXVII.

the due rewards [of his labours]. Not that he ventured even to claim aught for his labour; for, after saying: "I laboured more abundantly than they all," he at once subjoined: "Yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me." 1 mighty teacher, confessor, and
preacher of grace! What meaneth this: " I laboured more, yet not I? " Where the will exalted itself ever so little, there piety was instantly on the watch, and humility trembled, because infirmity confessed all the truth.

Chap. 37. â€” John, Bishop of Jerusalem.

With great propriety, as the proceedings show, did John, the holy bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, employ the authority of this same passage of the apostle, as he himself told our brethren the bishops who were his assessors at that trial, on their asking him what proceedings had taken place before him previous to the trial. 2 He told them that on the occasion in question, whilst some were whispering, and remarking on Pelagius' statement, that "without God's grace man was able to attain perfection" (that is, as he had previously expressed it, "man was able to live without sin"), he censured the statement, and reminded them besides, that even the Apostle Paul, after so many labours â€” not indeed in his own strength, but by the grace of God â€” said: " I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God that was with me; " 3 and in another passage: " It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy;" 4 and [he also reminded them] of that passage in the Psalm: " Except the Lord build the house, they labour but in vain who build it." 5 And he added: "We quoted several other like passages out of the Holy Scriptures. When, however, they did not receive the quotations which we made out of the Holy Scriptures, but continued their murmuring noise, Pelagius said: 'This also is what I believe; let him be anathema, who declares that a man is able, without God's help, to arrive at the perfection of all virtues.'":

1 1 Cor. xv. 10.

2 [In a conference held at Jerusalem at the end of July in the year 415, as described by Orosius in his Apology.]

3 1 Cor. xv. 10. 4 Rom. ix. 16. Âº Ps. cxxvii. 1.

CHAP. XXXIX.] PELAGIUS AND THE PEESIDIXG BISHOP. 403

Chap. 38. [xv.]
Bishop John narrated all this in the hearing of Pelagins; but he, of course, might respectfully say: Your holiness is in error; you do not accurately remember the facts. It was not in reference to the passages of Scripture which you have quoted that I uttered the words: " This also is what I believe." Because this is not my opinion of them. I do not understand them to say, that God's grace so co-operates with man, that his abstinence from sin is due, not to " him that willeth, nor to him that runneth, but to God that showeth mercy." 1

Chap. 39. [xvi.] â€” Heros and Lazarus; Orosius.
For there are some commentaries on Paul’s Epistle to the Romans which are said to have been written by Pelagius himself. In one of these he asserts, that the passage: “Xot of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy,” was not a statement of Paul’s own meaning; but that he therein employed the language of controversy and refutation, as if implying that such a statement could not be properly made. No safe conclusion, therefore, can be drawn, although the bishop John plainly acknowledged the passage in question as conveying the mind of the apostle, and mentioned it for the very purpose of hindering Pelagius from thinking that any man can avoid sin without God’s grace, and declared that Pelagius said in answer: “This also is what I believe.” Nor, indeed, upon hearing all this did he repudiate his admission by replying: This is not my belief. He ought, indeed, either to deny altogether, or unhesitatingly to correct and amend the above mentioned exposition, in which he would have it, that the apostle must not be regarded as entertaining the sentiment [of the passage quoted from his epistle], 3 but only as refuting it. Now, whatever Bishop John said of our brethren who were absent æ” whether our brother bishops Heros and Lazarus, or the presbyter Orosius, or any others whose names are not registered in the Acts, 4 æ” I am sure that he did not mean it to operate to their prejudice. For, had they been

1 Rom. ix. 16.

2 [See the treatise De Peccatorurn meritls, iii. 1.] 3 Rom. ix. 16.

4 [Avitus, perhaps, Fasserms, and Dominus ex duce, whose names do not occur in the Acts of the Synod of Diospolis, but are mentioned by Orosius, Apol. 3. J

404 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XL.

present, they might possibly (God forbid that I should say it absolutely) have convicted him of untruth; at any rate they might perhaps have reminded him of something he had forgotten, or something in which he might have been deceived by the Latin interpreter: not, to be sure, for the purpose of misleading him by untruth, but at least, owing to some difficulty occasioned by a foreign language, only imperfectly understood; especially as the question was not treated in the Acts, 1 which were drawn up for the useful purpose of preventing deceit on the part of evil men, and of preserving a record to assist the memory of good men. If, however, any man shall be disposed by this mention of our brethren to introduce any question or doubt on the subject in question, and summon them before the Episcopal judgment, they will not be wanting to themselves, as occasion shall serve. Why need we here pursue the point, when not even the judges themselves, after the narrative of our brother bishop, were inclined to pronounce any definite sentence in consequence of it?

Chap. 40. [xvii.]
Since, then, Pelagius was present when these [decisive] passages of the Scriptures were discussed, and by his silence acknowledged having said that he entertained the same view of their meaning, how happens it, that, after reconsidering the apostle’s testimony, as he had just done, and finding that he said: "I am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God; but by the grace of God I am what I am," 2 he did not perceive that it was improper for him to say, respecting the question of the abundance of the graces and gifts which the said apostle received, that he had shown himself "worthy to receive them," when the apostle himself not only confessed, but added a reason to prove, that he was unworthy of them â€” and by this very fact set forth grace as grace indeed? If he could not for some reason or other consider or recollect the narrative of his holiness the bishop John, which he had heard some time before,

1 Augustine here refers to the Acts of the conference at Jerusalem before its bishop John, which sat previous to the Council of Diospolis. See above, 37 (xiv.).]

2 1 Cor. xv. 9, 10.

CHAP. XLI.] UNCERTAINTY IN PELAGIUS' DECLARATIONS. 405

he might surely show some deference to his own very recent answer at the synod, and remember how he anathematized, but a short time since, the opinions which had been alleged against him out of Ccelestius. Now among these it was objected to him that Ccelestius had said: "That the grace of God is bestowed according to our merits." If, then, Pelagius was sincere in his condemnation of this doctrine by his anathema, why does he say that all those graces were conferred on the apostle because he deserved them? Is the phrase "worthy to receive" of different meaning from the expression "to receive according to merit"? Can he by any disputatious subtlety show that a man is worthy who has no merit?

But neither Ccelestius, nor any other, whose opinions he anathematized at one swoop, has any intention to allow him to throw clouds over the phrase, and to conceal himself behind them. He presses home the matter, and plainly says: "Grace has been actually placed in my own will, according as I have been either worthy or unworthy of it." If, then, a statement, wherein it is declared that "God's grace is given in proportion to our deserts, to such as are worthy," 1 was rightly and truly condemned by Pelagius, how could his heart permit him to think, or his mouth to utter, such a sentence as this: "God gives to the person who has proved himself worthy to receive them, all graces? " 2 Who that carefully considers all this can help feeling some anxiety about his answer or defence?

Chap. 41. â€” Augustine indulgently sJioios that the judges acted incautiously in their official conduct of the case of Pelagius.
Why, then (some one will say), did the judges approve of this? I confess that I hardly even now understand why they did. It is, however, not to be wondered at, if some brief word or phrase too easily escaped their attention and ear; or if, because they thought it capable of being somehow interpreted in a correct sense, from seeming to have from the accused himself such clear confessions of truth on the subject, they decided it to be hardly worth while to excite a discussion about a word. The same feeling might have occurred to ourselves also, if we had sat with them at the trial. For if, instead of the term worthy, the word predestinated had been

1 [See above, 30 (xiv.).]  2 [See above, 32.]

406 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XLII.

used, or some such word, my mind would certainly not have entertained any doubt, much less have been disquieted by it; and yet if it were asserted, that he who is justified by the election of grace is called worthy, through no antecedent merits of good indeed, but by [God's] destination, just as he is called "elect," it would be really difficult to determine whether he might be so designated at all, or at least with very little offence to an intelligent view of the subject.

As for myself, indeed, I might readily pass on from the discussion on this word, were it not that the treatise which called forth my reply, and in which he says that God's grace is nothing else whatever than our own nature with its freewill gratuitously created, I made me suspicious and anxious about the actual meaning of Pelagius â€” whether he had procured the introduction of the term into the argument without any accurate intention as to its sense, or else as a carefully drawn dogmatic expression. [But to proceed], the last remaining statements had such an effect on the judges, that they deemed them worthy of condemnation, without waiting for Pelagius' answer.

Chap. 42. [xvin.] â€” Other heads of ' Cozlestius' doctrine abjured by Pelagius.

For it was objected that in the sixth chapter of Ccelestius' work there was laid down this position: "Men cannot be called sons of God, unless they have entirely become free from all sin." It follows from this statement, that not even the Apostle Paul is a child of God, since he said: "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect." 2 In the seventh chapter he makes this statement: "Forgetfulness and ignorance have no connection with sin, as they do not happen through the will, but occur of necessity; " although David says: "Remember not the sins of my youth, nor my sins of ignorance; " 3 although too, in the law, sacrifices are offered for ignorance, as if for sin. 4 In his eleventh chapter he says: "Our will cannot be free, if it requires the help of God; inasmuch as every one in the

1 [We have preferred the reading gratis creatam to the obscure gratiam creaturam.]
possession of his proper will has either something to do or to abstain from doing." In the twelfth he says: "Our victory comes not from God's help, but from our own free-will." And this is a conclusion which he was said to draw in the following terms: "The victory is ours, seeing that we took up arms of our own will and accord; just as, on the other hand, being conquered is our own, since it was of our own will and accord that we neglected to arm ourselves." And, after quoting the phrase of the Apostle Peter, "partakers of the divine nature," I he is said to have made out of it this argument: "Now since our spirit or soul is unable to be without sin, therefore even God is subject to sin, since this part of Him, that is to say the spirit or soul, is exposed to sin." In his thirteenth chapter he says: "That pardon is not given to penitents according to the grace and mercy of God, but according to their own merits and effort, since through repentance they have been worthy of mercy."

Chap. 43. [xix.] â€” The answer of the monk Pelagius and his profession of faith.

After all these sentences were read out, the synod said: "What says the monk Pelagius to all these heads of opinion which have been read in his presence? For this holy synod condemns the whole, as does also God's Holy Catholic Church."

Pelagius answered: (t I say again, that these opinions, even according to their own showing, are not mine; nor for them, as I have already said, am I to be held responsible. The opinions which I have confessed to be my own, I maintain are sound and correct; those, however, which I have said are not my own, I reject according to the judgment of this holy synod, pronouncing anathema on every man who opposes and gainsays the doctrines of the Holy Catholic Church. For I believe in the Trinity of the One Divine substance, and I hold all things in accordance with the teaching of the Holy Catholic Church. If indeed any man entertains opinions different from that doctrine, let him be anathema."

Chap. 44. [xx.] â€” The acquittal of Pelagius.

The synod said: "Now since we have received satisfaction on the points which have come before us touching the
monk Pelagius, who has been present; since, too, he gives his consent to the doctrines of godliness, and anathematizes everything that is contrary to the Church's faith, we pronounce him to belong to the communion of the Catholic Church."

Chap. 45. [xxi.] â€” Pelagius' acquittal becomes suspected.

If these proceedings were conducted in such a manner as to induce Pelagius' friends to rejoice in his exculpation by them, we, on our part, undoubtedly desire and pray for his salvation in Christ; and he certainly took much pains to prove that we were well affected towards him, by going so far as to produce even our private letters to him, and reading them at the trial. As regards his acquittal, however, which is rather believed than clearly shown to be deserved, we ought not to be in a hurry to exult in it. When I say this, indeed, I do not charge the judges either with negligence or connivance, or with consciously holding unsound doctrine â€” which they most certainly would be the very last to entertain. But although by their sentence Pelagius is held by those who are on terms of fullest and closest intimacy with him to have been acquitted, as he deserved to be, with the approval and even commendation of his judges, he certainly does not appear to me to have been cleared of the charges brought against him. They conducted his trial as of one whom they knew nothing of, especially in the absence of those who had prepared the indictment against him, and were quite unable to examine him with diligence and care; but, in spite of this inability, they completely quashed the heresy itself, as even the defenders of his perverseness must allow, if they only follow the judgment through its particulars.

As for those persons, however, who well know what Pelagius â€¢ has been in the habit of teaching, or who have had to oppose his contentious efforts, or those who, to their joy, have escaped from his erroneous doctrine, how can they possibly help suspecting him, when they read the affected confession, wherein he acknowledges past errors, but so expressed as if he had never entertained any other opinion than those which he stated in his replies to the satisfaction of the judges?

CHAP. XLVII.] AUGUSTINE AND PELAGIUS. 409

Chap. 46. [xxn. ] â€” How Pelagius became known to A ugustine, Ccelestius condemned at Carriage.

"Now, that I may especially refer to my own relation to him, I first became acquainted with Pelagius' name at a distance, and when he was living at Eome; it was mentioned with much commendation and respect. Afterwards reports began to reach us, that he was a frequent disputant against the grace of God. This caused me much pain, for I could not refuse to believe the statements of my informants; but yet I was desirous of ascertaining
information on the matter either from himself or from some treatise of his, that, in case I should have to discuss the question with him, it should be on grounds which he could not disown. On his arrival, however, in Africa, he was in my absence kindly received on our coast of Hippo, where, as I found from our brethren, nothing whatever of his unfavourable character had been heard of him; he left, however, earlier than was expected.

On a subsequent occasion, indeed, I caught a glimpse of him, once or twice, to the best of my recollection, when I was very much occupied in preparing for a conference which we were to hold with the heretical Donatists; but he hastened away across the sea. Meanwhile the doctrines connected with his name were warmly maintained, and passed from mouth to mouth, among his reputed followers â€” to such an extent that Ccelestius found his way before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and developed opinions well suited to his perverse character. We thought it would be a better way of proceeding against them, if, without mentioning any names of individuals, the errors themselves were met and refuted; that the [misguided] persons might thus be brought to a right mind by the fear of a condemnation from the Church rather than by the punishment actually administered on them.

And so both by books and by popular discussions we ceased not to oppose the evil doctrines in question.

Chap. 47. [xxiii.] â€” Pelagius' book, which teas sent by Timasius and Jacobus to Augustine, was answered by the latter in his work "On Nature and Grace."

But when there was actually placed in my hands, by those faithful servants of God and honourable men, Timasius and

410 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. XLVII.

Jacobus, the treatise in which Pelagius dealt with the question of God's grace, it became very evident to me â€“ too evident, indeed, to admit of any further doubt â€“ how hostile to salvation by Christ was his poisonous perversion of the truth. He treated the subject in the shape of an objection started, as if by an opponent, in his own terms against himself; for he was already suffering a good deal of obloquy from his opinions on the question, which he now appeared to solve for himself in no other way than by simply describing the grace of God as nature created [by God] with a free-will, occasionally combining therewith either the help of the law, or even the remission of sins; although these additional admissions were not plainly made, but only sparingly suggested by him. And yet, even under these circumstances, I refrained from inserting Pelagius' name in my work, wherein I refuted this book of his; for I still thought that I should^ render a prompter assistance to the truth if I continued to preserve a friendly relation to him, and so to spare his _ personal feelings, while at the same time I showed no mercy, as I was bound not to show it, to the productions of his pen.
Hence, I must say, I now feel some annoyance that in this trial he somewhere said: "I anathematize those who hold these opinions, or have at any time held them." He might have been contented with saying, "Those who hold these opinions" which we should have regarded in the light of a self-censure; but when he went on to say, "Or have at any time held them," [I cannot help asking], in the first place, how he could dare to condemn so unjustly those harmless persons who no longer held the errors, which they had learnt either from others, or actually from himself? And, in the second place, [I must inquire] who among all those persons that were aware of the fact of his not only having held the opinions in question, but of his having taught them, could help suspecting, and not unreasonably, that he must have acted insincerely in condemning those who now held those opinions, seeing that he did not hesitate to condemn in the same strain and at the same moment those also who had at any time previously held them, when they would be sure to remember that they had no less a person than himself as

chap, xlviil] augustixe's refutation of pelagianism. 411

their instructor in these errors? There are, for instance, such persons as Timasius and Jacobus, to say nothing of any others. How can he with unblushing face look at them, his dear friends (who have never relinquished their love of him) and his former disciples? These are the persons to whom I addressed the work in which I replied to the statements of [Pelagius'] book. I think I ought not to pass over in silence the style and tone which they observed towards me in their correspondence, and I have here added a letter of theirs as a sample.

Chap. 48. [xxiv.] â€” A letter written by Timasius and Jacobus to Augustine on receiving his treatise "On Nature and Grace."

"To his lordship, the truly blessed and deservedly venerable father, Bishop Augustine, Timasius and Jacobus send greeting in the Lord. "We have been so greatly refreshed and strengthened by the grace of God, which your word has ministered to us, my lord, our truly blessed and justly venerated father, that we may with the utmost sincerity and propriety say, 'He sent His word and healed them.' * We have found, indeed, that your holiness has so thoroughly sifted the contents of his poor worthless book as to astonish us with the answers with which even the slightest points of his error have been confronted, whether it be on matters which every Christian ought to rebut, loathe, and avoid, or on those in which he is not with sufficient certainty found to have erred, â€” although even in these he has, with incredible subtlety, suggested his belief that God's grace should be kept out of sight. 2 There is, however, one consideration which affects us under so great a benefit, that this most illustrious gift of the grace of God has, however slowly, so fully shone out upon us. If, indeed, it has happened that some are removed from the influence of this clearest light of truth, whose blind condition required its illumination, yet even to them, we doubt not, the same grace will find its steady way, however late, by the merciful favour of that God 'who will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of
the truth.’ 3 As for ourselves, indeed, thanks to that loving spirit which is in you, we have, in consequence of your instruction, some time since thrown off our
1 Ps. cvii. 20. 2 Supprimendam. 3 1 Tim. ii. 4.

412 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. L.

subjection to his errors; but we still have even now cause for continued gratitude in the fact that, as we have been informed, the false opinions which we formerly believed are now becoming apparent to others â€” a way of escape opening out to them in the extremely precious discourse of your holiness.” Then, in another hand, [comes this conclusion]:
" May the mercy of our God keep your blessedness in safety, and mindful of us, for His eternal glory.” *

Chap. 49. [xxv.]

If now even that man 2 were to confess that he had once been implicated in this error as a person possessed, but that he now anathematized all that held these opinions, whoever should withhold his congratulation from him, now that he was in possession of the way of truth, would surely surrender all the instincts of charity. As the case, however, now stands, he has not only not acknowledged his liberation from his pestilential error; but, as if that were a small thing, he has gone on to anathematize men who have reached that freedom, who love him so well that they would fain desire his own emancipation. Amongst these are those very men who have expressed their good-will towards him in the [abovementioned] letter, which they forwarded to me. For he it was whom they had chiefly in view when they said how much they were affected at the fact of my having at last written that work. ” If, indeed, it has happened,” they say, ” that some are removed from the influence of this clearest light of truth, whose blind condition required its illumination, yet even to them,” they go on to remark, ” we doubt not, the self-same grace will find its way, by the merciful favour of God.” Any name, or names, even they too thought it desirable as yet to suppress, in order that, if friendship still lived on, the error of the friends might the more surely die.

Chap. 50. â€” Pelagius has no good reason to be annoyed if his name be at last used in the controversy, and he be expressly refuted; concerning the Epistles which were written to him by the Bishops.

But now if Pelagius thinks of God, if he is not ungrateful for His mercy in having brought him before this tribunal of
1 [See Augustine's Epist. 168.] 2 Pelagius.

CHAP. LI.] AUGUSTINE'S CONSIDERATION TOWARDS PELAGIUS. 413
the bishops, that thus he might be saved from the hardihood of afterwards defending these anathematized opinions, and be at once led to acknowledge them as deserving of abhorrence and rejection, he will be more thankful to us for a letter in which, by mentioning his name, we shall open the wound in order to cure it, than for one in which we were afraid to cause him pain, and, in fact, only produced irritation, a result which causes us regret. Should he, however, feel angry with us, let him reflect how unfair such anger is; and, in order to subdue it, let him ask God to give him that grace which, in this trial, he has confessed to be necessary for each one of our actions, that so by His assistance he may gain a real victory. For of what use to him are all those great laudations contained in the letters of the bishops, which he thought fit to be mentioned, and even to be read and quoted in his favour, as if all those persons who heard his strong and, to some extent, earnest exhortations to goodness of life could not have easily discovered how perverse were the opinions which he was entertaining?

Chap. 51. [xxyl]

For my own part, indeed, in the letter which he produced, I not only abstained from all praises of him, but I even exhorted him, with as much earnestness as I could, short of actually mooting the question, to cultivate right views about the grace of God. In my salutation I called him Dominus; a title which, in our epistolary style, we usually apply even to some persons who are not Christians, and this without untruth; inasmuch as we do, in a certain sense, owe to all such persons a service, which is yet freedom, to help them in obtaining the salvation which is in Christ. I added the epithet Dilcctissimus [most beloved]; and as I now call him by this term, so shall I continue to do so, even if he be angry with me; because, if I ceased to retain my love towards him, because of his feeling the anger, I should only injure myself rather than him. I, moreover, styled him Besideratissimus [most longed-for], because I greatly longed to have a conversation with him in person; for I had already heard that

1 [This term corresponds somewhat to our Sir; but Augustine here refers to its more expressive meaning of Master, or Lord.]
at once expressed the hope that the Lord would recompense him with such blessings as do not appertain to physical welfare, but which he used to think, and probably still thinks, consist solely in the freedom and power he possesses over his will, ñ¢” at the same time, and for this reason, wishing him eternal life. Then again, remembering the many good and kind wishes he had expressed for me in his letter, which I was answering, I went on to beg of him, too, that he would pray for me, that the Lord would indeed make me such a man as he believed me to be already; that so I might gently remind him, against the opinion he was himself entertaining, that the very righteousness which he had thought worthy to be praised in me was * not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." I This is the substance of that short letter of mine, and such was my purpose when I dictated it. This is a copy of it:

Chap. 52. [xxvu. and xxviii.]

"To my very dear sir, and most longed-for brother Pelagius, Augustine sends greeting in the Lord. I thank you very much for the pleasure you have kindly afforded me by your letter, and for informing me of your good health. May the Lord requite you with blessings, and may you ever enjoy them, and live with Him for evermore in eternity, my very dear sir and most longed-for brother. Tor my own part, indeed, although I do not admit your high encomiums of me, which your kind letter 2 conveys, I yet cannot be insensible of the benevolent view you entertain towards my poor deserts; at the same time requesting you to pray for me, that the Lord would make me

1 Rom. ix. 16.

2 [Tuce Benignitatis Eplstola is more than "your kind letter." "Benignitas" is a complimentary abstract title addressed to the correspondent.]

CHAP. LIII.] PELAGITJS HERETICAL, AFTER ALL. 415

such a man as you suppose me to be already." Then, in another hand, it follows: * Be mindful of us; may you be safe, and find favour with the Lord, my very dear sir and most beloved brother."

Chap. 53. [xxix.]

As to that which I placed in the postscript, ñ¢” that he might "find favour with the Lord," ñ¢” I intimated that this lay rather in His grace than in man's sole will; for I did not make it the subject either of exhortation, or of precept, or of instruction, but simply of my wish. But just in the same way as I should, if I had fallen to exhorting or enjoining, or even to instructing him, simply have shown that all this appertained indeed to the freedom of man's will, without, however, derogating from the grace of God; so, in like manner, when I
expressed the matter in the way of a wish, I asserted no doubt the grace of God, but at the same time I did not quench the liberty of the human will. Wherefore, then, did he produce this letter at the trial? If he had only from the beginning entertained views in accordance with it, very likely he would not have been at all summoned before the bishops by the brethren, who, with all their kindness of disposition, could yet not help being offended with his perverse contentiousness. Now, however, as I have given on my part an account of this letter of mine, so would they, whose epistles he quoted, explain theirs also, if it were necessary; â€” they would tell us either what they thought, or what they were ignorant of, or what purpose they wrote to him. Pelagius, therefore, may boast to his heart's content of the friendship of holy men, he may read their letters recounting his praises, he may produce whatever synodal acts he pleases to attest his own acquittal, â€” there still stands against him the fact, proved by the testimony of competent witnesses, that he has inserted in his books statements which are opposed to that grace of God whereby we are called and justified; and unless he shall, after true confession, anathematize these statements, and then go on to contradict them both in his writings and discussions, he will certainly seem to all those who have a fuller knowledge of him to have laboured in vain in his attempt to set himself right.

416 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. LIV.

Chap. 54. [xxx.] â€” On the letter of Pelagius, in which he boasts that his errors had been approved by fourteen Bishops.

For I will no longer conceal my opinion of the transactions which took place after this trial, and which rather augment the suspicion against him. A certain epistle found its way into our hands, which was ascribed to Pelagius himself, writing to a friend of his, a presbyter, who had kindly admonished him (as appears from the forenamed epistle), to prevent any one's separating himself from the body of the Church on his account.

Among the other contents of this document, which it would be both tedious and unnecessary to quote here, Pelagius says:

"By the sentence of fourteen bishops our statement was received with approbation, in which we affirmed that 'a man is able to live without sin, and easily to keep the commandments of God, if he pleases.' This sentence [of the bishops]," says he, "has filled the mouths of the gainsayers with confusion, and has separated asunder the entire set which was conspiring together for evil." Whether, indeed, this epistle was really written by Pelagius, or was composed by somebody in his name, none can fail to discern, after the manner in which the erroneous doctrine claims to have achieved a victory, even in the judicial proceedings where it was refuted and condemned. Jesu, he has adduced the words we have just quoted according to the form in which they occur in his book of Ccypadula ["Chapters "], as it is called, not in the shape in which they were objected to him at his trial, and even repeated by him in his answer. For even his accusers, through some unaccountable inaccuracy, left out a word in their indictment, concerning which there is
no small controversy. They made him say, that "a man is able to live without sin, if he likes; and, if he likes, to keep the commandments of God." There is nothing said here about this being "easily" done. Afterwards, when he gave his answer, he spake thus: "We said, that a man is able to live without sin, and to keep the commandments of God, if he pleases;" he did not then say, "easily keep," but only "keep." So in another passage, amongst the statements about which Hilary consulted me, and I gave him my views, it was objected to Pelagius that he had said, "A man is able, if he likes, to live without sin;" when he admitted himself, in reply, that he had already said, "A man is able to live without sin." Now, on this occasion, we do not find on the part either of those who brought the objection or of him who rebutted it, that the word "easily" was used at all. Then, again, in the narrative of the holy Bishop John, which we have partly quoted above, he says, "When they were importunate and exclaimed, 'He is a heretic;' he said, 'Still it is true that a man is able, if he only will, to live without sin;' and then, when we questioned him on this point, he answered, 'I did not say that man's nature has received the power of being impeccable, â€” but I said, whosoever is willing, in the pursuit of his own salvation, to labour and struggle to abstain from sinning, and to walk in the commandments of God, receives the possibility of doing so from God;' then, whilst some were whispering, and remarking on the statement of Pelagius, that 'without God's grace man was able to attain perfection,' I then censured the statement" [continued the bishop], "and reminded them, besides, that even the Apostle Paul, after so many labours, â€” not, indeed, in his own strength, but by the grace of God, â€” said, 'I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God that was with me;' and so on, as I have already mentioned."

Chap. 55.

What, then, is the meaning of those vaunting words of theirs in this epistle, wherein they boast of having induced the fourteen bishops who sat in that trial to believe not merely that a man is able, but that He is "easily" able to abstain from sinning, according to the position which is laid down in the Capitula of this same Pelagius, â€” when, in the draft of the proceedings, notwithstanding the frequent repetition of the general charge and full consideration bestowed on it, there is nowhere found the occurrence of this [offensive word]? How, indeed, can this word fail to contradict the very defence and answer which Pelagius made; since the Bishop John asserted that Pelagius put in this answer in his presence, that "he wished it to be understood that the man who willingly laboured and strove to secure his salvation was able to avoid

1 In. 37. [xiv.] 2 i cor. xv. 10.
sin," while Pelagius himself, when engaged in a formal inquiry and conducting his
defence, I distinctly said, that "it was by his own effort and the grace of God that a man
is able to live without sin ? " Now, is a thing easily done when labour and effort are
required to effect it ? For I suppose that every man would agree with us in the opinion,
that wherever there is effort there cannot be an easy achievement of a result. And yet this
precious epistle, buoyed up by the lightness of its inflated and turgid contents, has outrun
in speed the record of the proceedings, which was drawn more tardily, and has first fallen
into men's hands; so it is asserted that fourteen bishops in the East have determined, not
only
" that a man is able to live without sin, and to keep God's commandments," but " easily
able." Nor is God's assistance once named: it is merely said, " If he likes;" so that, of
course, as nothing is affirmed of the divine grace, for which the earnest fight was made, it
remains that the only thing one reads of in this epistle is the unhappy and self-deceiving
—
because represented as victorious " power of human pride. As if the Bishop John,
indeed, had not expressly declared that he censured this statement, and that, by the help
of three inspired texts of Scripture, 2 he had, as if by thunderbolts, struck to the ground
the gigantic mountains of such presumption which they had piled up against the still
overtowering heights of heavenly grace; or as if again those other bishops who were
John's assessors could have borne with Pelagius, either in mind or even in ear, when he
pronounced these words: " We said that a man is able to live without sin and to keep the
commandments of God, if he likes,"
unless he had gone on at once to say: " But the ability to do this God has given to him "
(for they were quite unaware that he was speaking of nature, and not of that grace which
they had learnt from the doctrine of the apostle); and had afterwards added this
qualification: " We never said, however, that any man could be found, who at no time
whatever from his infancy to his old age committed sin, but that

1 [At the Synod of Diospolis. The proceedings before John, bishop of Jerusalem, were
not duly registered. See above, 39.]

2 [See above, 37. J

CHAP, lv] its groundlessness shown. 419

if any person were converted from his sins, he could by his own exertion and the grace of
God live without sin." Now, by the very fact that in their sentence they used these words,
he has answered correctly, " that a man can live without sin when he has the assistance
and grace of God; " what else did they fear than that, if he denied this, he would be doing a manifest wrong not to man's inability, but to God's grace ? It has indeed not been denned at what particular time a man becomes sinless; it has only been judicially settled, that this result can only be reached by the assisting grace of God; it has not, I say, been defined whether a man, whilst he is in this flesh which lusts against the Spirit, ever has been, or now is, or ever can be, by his present use of reason and free-will, either in the full society of man or in monastic solitude, in such a state as to be beyond the necessity of offering up the prayer, not in behalf of others, but for himself personally: " Forgive us our debts; " ! or whether this gift [of a sinless condition] shall be consummated at the time when " we shall be like Him, when we shall see Him as He is; " 2 when it shall be said, not by [Christians] militant:

u I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind," 3 but by them when triumphant: " death, where is thy sting ? grave, where is thy victory ? " 4 Now, this is perhaps hardly a question which ought to be discussed between Catholics and heretics, but only among Catholics with a view to a peaceful settlement. 5

Chap. 56. [xxxi.]
How, then, can it be believed that Pelagius (if indeed this epistle is his) could have been sincere, when he acknowledged the grace of God, which is not nature with its free-will, nor the knowledge of the law, nor simply the forgiveness of sins, but a something which is necessary to each of our actions, and when he anathematized everybody who entertained the contrary opinion, â€” seeing that in his epistle he set forth the

1 Matt. vi. 12. 2 1 Johniii. 2. 3 Rom. vii. 23. 4 1 Cor xv. 55.

5 [This point, however, was definitely settled a "year or two afterwards, at a council held in Carthage. (See its Canons 6-8.) See also, above, the Preface to the treatise On the Perfection of Man's Righteousness.]

420 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. LVII.

ease wherewith a man could avoid sinning (concerning which no question had arisen at this trial), just as if the judges had come to an agreement to receive even this word, and said nothing about the grace of God, by the acknowledgment and subsequent admission of which [at the trial] he escaped the penalty of condemnation by the Church ?

Chap. 57. [xxxn.] â€” Fraudulent practices pursued by Pelagius in his report of the proceedings in Palestine, in ilie paper wherein he defended himself to Augustine.

There is yet another point which I must not pass over in silence. In a paper containing his defence which he sent to me by a friend of ours, one Charus, a citizen of Hippo, but a deacon in the Eastern Church, he has made a statement which is different from what is contained in the Acts of the Bishops. Now, these formal acts, as regards their contents, are of a far higher and firmer tone, and altogether more straightforward in defending the
Catholic verity in opposition to this heretical pestilence. Now, when I read this paper of his, previous to receiving a copy of the Acts, I was not aware that he had put down therein those very words which he had used at the trial, when he was present for himself. There are a few in respect of which there is not much discrepancy, and which do not occasion me much anxiety. [xxxiii.] But I could not help feeling annoyance at the unmistakeable signs he gave of having kept back a defence of sundry sentences of Cælestius, which he had clearly enough anathematized in the Acts. Now, some of these he disavowed for himself, simply remarking, that "he was not in any way responsible for them." In his paper, however, he refused to anathematize these same opinions, which are to this effect: "That Adam was created mortal, and that he must have died whether he had sinned or not. That Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the human race. That the law, no less than the gospel, leads us to the kingdom of heaven. That new-born infants are in the same condition as Adam was before he fell. That, on the one hand, the entire human race does not die owing to Adam's death and transgression; nor, on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through the resurrection of Christ. That infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life. That rich men, even if they are baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned to them; neither shall they possess the kingdom of heaven. Now, in his paper, the answer which he gives to all this is: "These statements have not been all made by me, even on their own showing, nor do I hold myself responsible for them." In the Acts of the Bishops, however, he expressed himself as follows on these points: "The other points were never advanced by me, as even their testimony goes to show, to whom, however, I do not feel that I am at all answerable for them. But yet, for the satisfaction of the holy synod, I anathematize those who either now hold, or have ever held, these opinions."

Now, why did he not express himself thus in his paper also? It would not, I suppose, have cost much ink, or writing, or delay; nor have occupied much of the paper itself, if he had done this. Who, however, can help believing that there is a contrivance in all this, for the purpose of passing off this paper in all directions as an abridgment of the Episcopal Acts? In consequence of which, men might think that there had arisen an interference with his right still to maintain any of these opinions which he pleased, â€” on the ground that they had been simply laid to his charge, but had not received his approbation, although, at the same time, they had not been by him anathematized and condemned.

Chap. 58.

He has, moreover, in this same paper, huddled together many of the points which were objected against him, out of the Capitula, or heads, of Cælestius' book; nor has he kept...
distinct, at the intervals which separate them in the Acts, the two answers in which he anathematized these very heads [before the bishops; ] but he has substituted one general reply for them all. This, I should have supposed, had been done for the sake of brevity, had I not perceived that he had a very special object in the arrangement which disturbs us.
For thus has he closed this answer: "I say again, that these opinions, even according to their own showing, are not mine;

422 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. CHAP. LVIII.

nor, as I have already said, am I to be held responsible for them. The opinions which I have confessed to be my own, I maintain are sound and correct; those, however, which I have said are not my own, I reject according to the judgment of this holy synod, pronouncing anathema on every man that opposes and gainsays the doctrines of the holy Catholic Church; and likewise on those who by broaching false opinions have excited odium against us." This last paragraph the Acts do not contain; it has, however, no bearing on the matter which causes us anxiety. By all means let them have his anathema who have brought him into disrepute by their invention of false doctrine. But, when first I read, "Those opinions which I have said are not my own, I reject in accordance with the judgment of this holy synod," being ignorant that any judgment had been arrived at on the point by the Church, since there is here nothing said about it (and I had not then read the Acts, or formal proceedings before the bishops), I really thought that nothing else was meant than that he promised that he would entertain the same view about the Contula of Coelestius as the Church, which had not yet determined the question, might some day decide respecting them; and that he was ready to reject the opinions which the Church had not yet indeed rejected, but might one clay have occasion to reject; and that this, too, was the purport of what he further said: "Pronouncing anathema on every man that opposes and gainsays the doctrines of the holy Catholic Church." But in fact, as the Acts testify, a judgment of the Church had already been pronounced on these subjects by the fourteen bishops; and it was in accordance with this judgment that he professed to reject all these opinions, and to pronounce his anathema against those persons who, by reason of the said opinions, were contravening the judgment, which had already, as the proceedings show, been actually settled. For already had the judges asked: "What says the monk Pelagius to all these heads of opinion which have been read in his presence? For this holy synod condemns them, as does also God's holy Catholic Church." Now, they who know nothing of all this, and only read this paper of his, are led to suppose that some one or other of these opinions may lawfully be maintained.

CHAP. LIX.] PELAGIAISM, IF NOT PELAGIUS, CONDEMNED. 423

as if they had not been determined to be contrary to Catholic doctrine, and as if Pelagins had declared himself to be ready to hold the same sentiments concerning them as the
Church, which had not as yet determined, but might have to determine. He has not, in short, expressed himself in this paper, to which we have so often referred, straightforwardly enough for us to discover the fact, of which we find a voucher in the Acts, that all those dogmatic assertions which were being stealthily overrun by this same heresy, and were in turn inspiring it with the vigour of a contentious audacity, had really been condemned by fourteen bishops presiding in an ecclesiastical synod. Now, if he was afraid that this fact would become known, as is the case, he has more reason for self-correction than for resentment at the vigilance with which we are watching the controversy to the best of our ability, however late. If, however, it is untrue that he had any such fears, and we are only indulging in a suspicion which is natural to man, let him forgive us; but, at the same time, let him continue to oppose and resist the opinions which were rejected by him with anathemas in the proceedings before the bishops, when he was on his defence; for if he now shows any leniency to them, he would run the risk of seeming not only to have believed these opinions formerly, but to be cherishing them still.

Chap. 59. [xxxiv.] Although Pelagins was acquitted, this heresy was condemned.

ISTow, with respect to this treatise of mine, which perhaps is not unreasonably lengthy, considering the importance and extent of its subject, I have wished to inscribe it to your Everence, in order that, if it be not displeasing to your mind, it may become known to such persons as I have thought to stand in need of it under the recommendation of your authority, which carries so much more weight than our own poor industry. [With such a sanction, I trust that my endeavour will avail] to crush the vain and contentious thoughts of those persons who suppose that, because Pelagius was acquitted, those Eastern bishops who pronounced the judgment approved of those dogmas which are beginning to shed very pernicious influences against the Christian faith, and that

424 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. LX.

grace of God whereby we are called and justified. These the Christian verity never ceases to condemn, as indeed it condemned them even by the authoritative sentence of the fourteen bishops; nor would it, on the occasion in question, have hesitated to condemn Pelagius too, unless he had anathematized the heretical opinions with which he was charged. But now, while we render to this man the respect of brotherly affection (and we have all along expressed with all sincerity our anxiety for him and interest in him), let us observe, with as much brevity as is consistent with accuracy of observation, that, notwithstanding the undoubted fact of his having been acquitted by a human verdict, the heresy itself has ever been held worthy of condemnation by divine judgment, and has actually been condemned by the sentence of these fourteen bishops of the Eastern Church.
Chap. 60. [xxxv.]
This is the concluding clause of their judgment. The synod said: "Now forasmuch as we have received satisfaction in these inquiries from the monk Pelagius, who has been present; since he yields assent to godly doctrines, and rejects and anathematizes those which are repugnant to the faith of the Church, we pronounce him still to belong to the communion of the Catholic Church." Now, there are two facts here contained with entire perspicuity in this brief statement of the holy bishops who judged him, concerning the monk Pelagius: one, that " he yields assent to godly doctrines; " the other, that " he rejects and anathematizes those which are repugnant to the faith of the Church."
On account of these two concessions, Pelagius was pronounced to be " in the communion of the Catholic Church." Let us, in pursuit of our inquiry, briefly recapitulate the entire facts, in order to discover what were the words he used which made those two points so clear, as far as men were able at the moment to form a judgment as to what were manifest points.
In regard, indeed, to the allegations which were made against him, he is said to have rejected and anathematized, as contrary [to the faith of the Church,] all the statements which in his answer he denied having ever made. Let us, then, summarize the whole case so far as we can.

CHAP. LXII.] CCELESTIUS AND THE COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE. 425

Chap. 61. â€” The Pelagian heresy was raised by sundry persons who affected the monastic state.

Since the Apostle Paul's prediction must needs be accomplished, â€” " There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you," 1 â€” after the promulgation of the older heresies, there has been lately introduced, not by bishops or presbyters, or indeed by any persons of the clerical orders, but by certain men who have affected the monastic life, a heresy which disputatiously resists, under colour of defending our free will, that grace of God which we have through our Lord Jesus Christ, and endeavours to overthrow the foundation of the Christian faith, of which it is written, " Since by one man came death, by one man shall all be made alive f 2 and thoroughly denies God's help in our actions, by affirming that, "in order to avoid sin and to fulfil righteousness, human nature has sufficient power, which has been created with a free will; and that God's grace lies in the fact that we have been so created as to be able [to accomplish so much] by the exercise of our free will; and in the further fact that God has given to us the assistance of His law and commandments, and also in that He forgives their past sins when men turn to Him." In these things alone must God's grace be regarded as consisting, not in the help He gives us for each of our actions; " seeing that a man can live without sin, and keep God's commandments easily if he likes."
Chap. 62. Ææ’ Cozlestias condemned at Carthage by episcopal judgment. Pelagius acquitted by bishops in Palestine, in consequence of his deceptive answers; but yet his heresy was condemned by them.

After this heresy had deceived a great many persons, and was still disturbing the brethren whom it had failed to deceive, one Ccelestius, who entertained these sentiments, was brought up for trial before the Church of Carthage, and was condemned by a formal sentence of the bishops there present. 3

1 1 Cor. xi. 19. 2 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.

3 This trial was held at Carthage, before the Bishop Aurelius (to whom Augustus dedicated the present treatise), at the beginning of the year 402, as appears from the letter to Innocentius among Augustine's Epistles, 17u.

426 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. LXII.

A few years afterwards, Pelagius himself, who was said to have been this man's instructor, having been accused of holding his heresy, found his way also before an episcopal tribunal. 1 The indictment was prepared against him by the Gallican bishops, Heros and Lazarus, who were, however, not present at the proceedings, being excused from attendance owing to the illness of one of them. After the charges were duly recited, and Pelagius had met them by his answers, the fourteen bishops of the province of Palestine were induced by the tenor of his vindication to pronounce him free from the taint of this heresy, although they did not hesitate, at the same time, to condemn the heresy itself. They approved indeed of his answer to one of the objections, that " a man is assisted by a knowledge of the law, towards not sinning; even as it is written, ' He hath given them a law for a help;" 2 but yet they disapproved of this knowledge of the law being regarded as that grace of God concerning which the Scripture says: " Who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." 3 Nor did, Pelagius say absolutely: " All men are ruled by their own will," as if God did not rule them; for he said, when questioned on this point: " This I stated in the interest of the freedom of our will; God is its helper, whenever it makes choice of God. Man, however, when sinning, is himself in fault, as being under the direction of his free will." They approved, moreover, of his statement, that " in the day of judgment no leniency will be shown to the ungodly and the sinners, but they will be punished in everlasting fires;" because in his defence he said, " that he had made such an assertion in accordance with the gospel, in which it is written concerning sinners, ' They shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.'" 4 It must be observed here, that he had not said, all sinners are reserved for eternal punishment, for then he would evidently have run counter to the apostle, who distinctly states that some of them will be saved, " yet so as by fire." 6 When also Pelagius said
1 This happened in the year 415, in the month of December, at Diospolis.

2 Isa. viii. 20 (Septuagint). 3 Kom. vii. 24, 25. 4 Matt. xxv. 46. 5 1 Cor. iii. 15.

CHAP. LXIII.] RECAPITULATOR Notes. 427

that " the kingdom of heaven was promised even in the Old Testament/" they approved of the statement, on the ground that he supported himself by the testimony of the prophet Daniel, who thus wrote: " The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom." * They understood him in this statement of his to mean by the term " Old Testament," not simply the covenant which was made on Mount Sinai, but the entire body of the canonical Scriptures which had been given previous to the coming of the Lord. His allegation, however, that " a man is able to live without sin, if he likes," was not approved by the bishops in the sense which he had evidently meant it to bear in his book â€” as implying that this attainment of sinlessness was solely in a man's power by reason of his free-will (for it was contended that he must have meant no less than this by his saying: "if he likes"), â€” but only in the sense which he actually gave to the passage on the present occasion in his answer; in the very sense, indeed, in which the episcopal judges mentioned the subject in their own interlocution with especial brevity and clearness, that a man is able to live without sin with the help and grace of God. But still it was left undetermined when the saints were to attain to this state of perfection, â€” whether in the body of this death, or when death shall be swallowed up in victory.

Chap. 63. â€” The dogmas of Coelestius were laid to the charge of Pelaghts, as his master.

Of the opinions which were objected against Pelagius, on the ground that they had been dogmatically affirmed, by oral teaching or in writing, by his disciple Coelestius, he acknowledged some as entertained also by himself; but, in his vindication, he said that he held them in a different sense from that which was alleged in the indictment. One of these opinions was thus stated: "Before the advent of Christ some men lived holy and righteous lives." Ccelestius, however, was stated to have said that " they lived sinless lives." Again, it was objected that Coelestius declared " the Church to be without spot and wrinkle." Pelagius, however, said in his reply, " that he had made such an assertion, but as meaning that the Church is by the laver of baptism cleansed from every spot

1 Dan. vii. 18.
and wrinkle, and that in this purity the Lord would have her continue." Expecting that statement of Coelestius: "That we do more than is commanded us in the law and the gospel/"
Pelagius urged in his own vindication, that "he spoke concerning that virginity" of which Paul says: "I have no commandment of the Lord." 1 Another objection alleged, that Coelestius had maintained that <: every individual has the faculty of possessing all powers and graces, thus annulling that c diversity of gifts '/ which the apostle sets forth." Pelagius, however, answered, that "he did not annul the diversity of gifts, but declared that God gives to the man who has proved himself worthy to receive them, all graces, even as He conferred them on the Apostle Paul."

Chap. 64.
These four dogmas, thus connected with the name of Coelestius, were therefore not approved by the bishops in their judgment, in the sense in which Coelestius was said to have set them forth, but in the sense which Pelagius gave to them in his reply. For they saw clearly enough, that it is one thing to lead a sinless life, and another thing to live holy and righteously, as Scripture testifies that some lived before the coming of Christ. And although the Church here on earth is not without spot or wrinkle, she is yet being cleansed from every spot and wrinkle by the laver of regeneration, and in this state the Lord would have her continue. And continue she certainly will, for without doubt she shall reign without spot or wrinkle in an everlasting felicity. [They saw, too,] that the perpetual virginity, which is not commanded, is unquestionably a greater thing than the purity of wedded life, which is commanded "and/" although virginity is perpetuated in many persons, who, notwithstanding, are not without sin. [And they, moreover, saw] that all those graces were in fact possessed by the Apostle Paul, which he enumerates in a certain passage; and yet, for all that, they could quite understand, in regard to his having been worthy to receive them, either that the merit was not according to his works, but rather, in some [mysterious] way, according to [God's] predestination; (for the apostle says himself: "I am not [worthy, or] meet to be called an apostle;") 2 or else their attention was not arrested by 1 Cor. vii. 25. 2 Cor. xv. 9.
Chap. 65.
Let us now, by a like recapitulation, bestow a little more attention on those subjects which the bishops said he rejected and condemned as contrary to the faith; for herein especially lies the gist of the whole of that heresy. We will entirely pass over the strange terms of adulation which he is reported to have put into writing in praise of a certain widow; these expressions he denied having ever inserted in any of his writings, or given utterance to, at any time whatever, while he anathematised all who held the opinions in question not indeed as heretics, but as simpletons. The following are the wild thickets of this heresy, which we are sorry to see shooting out buds, nay growing into trees, day by day: â€” " That I Adam was made mortal, and must have died whether he had sinned or not; that Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the human race; that the law no less than the gospel leads us to the kingdom [of heaven]; that new-born infants are in the same condition as Adam was before he fell; that the whole human race does not, on the one hand, die in consequence of Adam's death and transgression; nor, on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through the resurrection of Christ; that infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life; that rich men, even if baptized, unless they renounce and surrender everything, have (whatever good they may seem to have done) nothing of it reckoned to them; neither can they possess the kingdom of God; that God's grace and assistance are not given for single actions, but are imparted in the freedom of the will, and in the law and in doctrine; that the grace of God is bestowed according to our merits, so that grace really lies at the control of a man's own will, as he makes himself worthy or unworthy of it; that men cannot be called children of God, unless they have become entirely free from sin; that oblivion and ignorance are no underlying elements of sin, as they do not happen through the will, but occur of necessity; that the will cannot be free, if it requires the help of God; inasmuch as every one in the pos-

430 ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF PELAGIUS. [CHAP. LXVI

| session of his proper will has either something to do, or to abstain from doing; that our victory comes not from God's help, but from our own free will; that from the circumstance of [the Apostle] Peter's saying, that 'we are partakers of the divine nature,' x it must follow that the soul has the power of being without sin, just in the way that God Himself has." For no less than this have I read in the eleventh chapter of the book, which bears no title of its author, but is commonly reported to be the work of Coelestius, â€” in words to this effect:

" Now how can anybody," asks the author, " become a 'partaker of the thing from the condition and power of which he is distinctly declared to be a stranger ? " Accordingly, the brethren who prepared these objections understood him to have said that man's soul and God are of the self-same nature, and to have asserted that the soul is a portion of God; for they took him to mean that the soul partakes of the same condition and power as God. Moreover, in the last of the objections laid to his charge there occurs this position: " That pardon is not given to penitents according to the grace and mercy of God, but
according to their own merits and effort, since through repentance they have been worthy of mercy.

1 Now all these dogmas, and the arguments which were advanced in support of them, were repudiated and anathematised by Pelagius, and his conduct herein was approved of by the judges, who accordingly pronounced that he had, by his rejection and anathema, condemned the opinions in question as contrary to the faith. Let us therefore rejoice that whatever may be the circumstances of the case, whether Coelestius laid down these theses or not, or whether Pelagius believed them or not that the injurious principles of this new heresy were condemned before that ecclesiastical tribunal; and let us thank God for such a result, and proclaim His praises.

Chap. 66. The harsh measures of the Pelagians against the holy monies and nuns who belonged to Jerome's charge.

There is another point which concerns the conduct of sundry followers of Pelagius who carried their support of his cause after these judicial proceedings to an incredible extent of perverseness and audacity. They

1 2 Pet. i. 4.

CHAP. LXVI.] PERSECUTING SPIRIT OF PELAGIANS. 431

are said to have most cruelly beaten and maltreated the servants and handmaidens of the Lord who lived under the care of the holy presbyter Jerome, slain his deacon, and burnt his monastic houses; whilst he himself, by God's mercy, narrowly escaped the violent attacks of these impious assailants in the shelter of a well-defended fortress. However, I think it better becomes me to say nothing of these matters, but to wait and see what measures our brethren the bishops may deem it their duty to adopt concerning such scandalous enormities; for nobody can suppose that it is possible for them to pass them over without notice. Impious doctrines put forth by persons of this character it is no doubt the duty of all Catholics, however remote their residence, to oppose and refute, and so to hinder all injury from such opinions wheresoever they may happen to find their way; but impious actions it belongs to the discipline of the episcopal authority on the spot to control; and they must be left for punishment to the bishops of the very place or immediate neighbourhood, to be dealt with as pastoral diligence and godly severity may suggest. We, therefore, who live at so great a distance, are bound to hope that such a stop may there be put to proceedings of this kind, that there may be no necessity elsewhere of further invoking judicial remedies.

But what rather befits our personal activity is so to set forth the truth, that the minds of all those who have been severely wounded by the report, so widely spread everywhere, may be healed by the mercy of God following our efforts. "With this desire, I must now at last terminate this work, which, should it succeed, as I hope, in commending itself to your mind, will I trust, with the Lord's blessing, become serviceable to its readers."
recommended to them, [Aurelius], rather by your name than by my own, and through your care and diligence receiving a far wider circulation.

1 [He here refers to a letter (32) of Pope Innocent to John, Bishop of Jerusalem. It thus commences: "Plunder, slaughter, incendiary fire, every atrocity of the maddest kind have been deplored by the noble and holy virgins Eustochium and Paula, as having been perpetrated, at the devil's instigation, in several places of your diocese," etc. An epistle by the same writer (33) addressed to Jerome, begins with these words: "The apostle testifies that contention never did any good to the Church."]

, x 9/3

Augustine St - Anti-Pelagian
!^..i. (Dods tr.) ã¬¼<>!â€¢ x

writings, (Dods

PONTIFICAL INSTII
OF MEDIAEVAL STUC

59 QUEENS P^RK

Toronto 5. Can*

5105

[*End: Vol. IV*]
[*Beg: Vol. V*]
THE WORKS

OF

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE.

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by:

REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. V.

WRITINGS IN CONNECTION WITH THE

* *

MANICHIEAN HERESY.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEOEGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXII.

Source:
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
http://www.archive.org/details/worksofaureliusa05augu

------------------------
PRINTED BY MURRAY AND GIBB,

FOR

T. & T. CLAEK, EDIXBURGH.

LONDON, .... HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.

DUBLIN, .... JOHN ROBERTSON AND CO.

NEW YORK, . . . SCRIBNER, WELFORD, AND CO.
WRITINGS

in CONNECTION WITH

THE MANICHIAN HERESY.

THE REV. RICHARD STOTHERT, M.A.,

BOMBAY.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLAEP, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXII.
CONTENTS.

OF THE MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, .... 1
ON THE MORALS OF THE MANICHIANS, ..... 61
AGAINST THE EPISTLE OF MANICHÆUS CALLED FUNDAMENTAL, . . 97
REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN, . . . . .145
INDEX, .......... 561

PREFACE.

NO reader of the accompanying volume can be expected to take a very lively interest in its contents, unless lie has before his mind some facts regarding the extraordinary genius to whom the heresy of Manichreism owes its origin and its name. His history is involved in considerable obscurity, owing to the suspicious nature of the documents from which it is derived, and the difficulty of constructing a consistent and probable account out of the contradictory statements of the Asiatics and the Greeks. The ascertained facts, therefore, are few, and may be briefly stated.^

According to the Chronicle of Edessa, Mani was born a.d. 240. From his original name, Corbicius or Carcubius, Beausobre conjectures that he was born in Carcub, a town of Chaldæa. He belonged to a Magian family, and while still a youth won a distinguished place among the sages of Persia. He was master of all the lore peculiar to his class, and was, besides, so proficient a mathematician and geographer, that he was able to construct a globe. He was a skilled musician, and had some knowledge of the Greek language, â€” an accomplishment rare among his countrymen. But his fame, and

^ Beausobre (Histoire Critique de Mankhee et du Manicheisme, Amst. 1734, 2 vols.) has collected everything that is known of Mani. The original sources are here sifted with unusual acuteness, and with great and solid learning, though the author's strong "bias in favour of a heretic " frequently leads him to make unwarranted statements. Burton's estimate of this entertaining and indispensable work (Heresies of Apostol. Age, p. xxi.) is much fairer than Pusey's (Aug. Con, p. 314). A brief account of Mani and his doctrines is given by Milman with his usual accuracy, impartiality, and lucidity (Hist, of Christianity, ii. 259, ed. 1867). For
any one who wishes to investigate the subject further, ample references are there given. A specimen of the confusion that involves the history of Mani will be found in the account given by Socrates {Hist. i. 22).

8a

VIU PREFACE.

even his ultimate success as a teacher, was due in great measure to his skill in painting, which was so considerable as to earn for him among the Persians the distinctive title, Mani the painter. His disposition was ardent and lively, but patient and self-restrained. His appearance was striking, as he wore the usual dress of a Persian sage: the high-soled shoes, the one red, the other green; the mantle of azure blue, that changed colour as he moved; the ebony staff in his right hand, and the Babylonish book under his left arm.

The meaning of his name, Mani, Manes, or Ianich{fius, has been the subject of endless conjecture. Epiphanius supposes that he was providentially so named, that men might be warned against the mania of his heresy.-^ Hyde, whose opinion on any Oriental subject must have weight, tells us that in Persian Tnani means painter, and that he was so called from his profession. Archbishop Usher conjectured that it was a form of Manaem or Menallicm, which means Paraclete or Comforter; founding this conjecture on the fact that Sulpicius Severus calls the Israelitish king Menahem,^ Mane. Gataker supplements this idea by the conjecture that Manes took this name at his own instance, and in pursuance of his claim to be the Paraclete. It is more probable that, if his name was really given on account of this meaning, he received it from the widow who seems to have adopted him when a boy, and may have called him her Consolation. But it is also possible that Manes was not an uncommon Persian name, and that he adopted it for some reason too trifling to discover.^

^^|ile still a young man he was ordained as a Christian priest, and distinguished himself in that capacity by his knowledge of Scripture, and the zeal with which he discharged his sacred functions. His heretical tendencies, however, were very soon manifested, stimulated, we may suppose, by his anxiety to make the Christian religion more acceptable to those who adhered to the Eastern systems. Excommunicated from the Christian Church, Manes found asylum with

' See also Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. vii. 31, witli Heinichen's note.
- 2 Kings XV. 14.

^ " Peut-etre clierclions nous du mystere, ou il n'y en a point." â€” Beafsobre, i. 79.
SajDor, and won his confidence by presenting only the Magian side of his system. But no sooner did he permit the Christian element to appear, and call himself the apostle of the Lord, and show a desire to reform Magianism, than his sovereign determined to put him to death as a revolutionist.

Forced to flee, he took refuge in Turkesthan, and gained influence there, partly by decorating the temples with paintings.

To lend his doctrines the appearance of divine authority, he adopted the same device as Zoroaster and Mohammed. Having discovered a cave through which there ran a rill of water, he laid up in it a store of provisions, and retired there for a year, giving out that he was on a visit to heaven. In this retirement he produced his Gospel, a work illustrated with symbolical drawings the ingenuity of which has been greatly praised. This book Manes presented to Hormizdas, the son and successor of Sapor, who professed himself favourable to his doctrine, and even built him a castle as a place of shelter and retirement.

Unfortunately for Manes, Hormizdas died in the second year of his reign; and though his successor, Varanes, was at first willing to shield him from persecution, yet, finding that the Magians were alarmed for their religion, he appointed a disputation to be held between the opposing parties. Such trials of dialectic in Eastern courts have not unfrequently resulted in very serious consequences to the parties engaged in them. In this instance the result was fatal to Manes. Worsted in argument, he was condemned to die, and thus perished in some sense as a martyr. The mode of his death is uncertain; but it seems that his skin was stuffed with chaff, and hung up in public in terrorem. This occurred in the year 277, and the anniversary was commemorated as the great religious festival of the Manichaeans.

This is not the place to attempt any account or criticism of the strange eclecticism of Mani. An adequate idea of the system may be gathered from the accompanying treatises. It

^ Called Erteng or Arzeng, i.e., according to Renaudot, an illustrated hook.

2 Bohringer adopts the more horrible tradition. "Sein Schicksal war, dass er von den Christen, von den Magiern verfolgt, nach mannigfachem Wechsel unter Baharani lebendig geschunden wurde" (p. 386),

^ Bohringer characterizes it briefly in the words: 'Es ist der alte heidnische
may, however, be desirable to give some account of the original sources of information regarding it.

We study the systems of heresiarchs at a disadvantage when our only means of ascertaining their opinions is from the fragmentary quotations and hostile criticism which occur in the writings of their adversaries. Such, however, is our only source of information regarding the teaching of Manichaeus. Originally, indeed, this heresy was specially active in a literary direction, assailing the Christian Scriptures with an ingenuity of unbelief worthy of a later age, and apparently ambitious of promulgating a rival canon. Certainly the writings of its early supporters were numerous; and from the care and elegance with which they were transcribed, the sumptuous character of the manuscripts, and the mysterious emblems with which they were adorned, we should fancy it was intended to inspire the people with respect for an authoritative though as yet undefined code. It is, indeed, nowhere said or implied that the sacred books of the Manichaeans were reserved for the eye only of the initiated or elect; and their reception of the New Testament Scriptures (subject to their own revision and emendation) would make it difficult for them to establish any secret code apart from these writings. There were certainly, however, doctrines of an esoteric kind, which were not divulged to the catechumens or hearers; and many of their books, being written in Persian, Syriac, or Greek, were practically unavailable for the instruction of the Latinspeaking population. It was not always easy, therefore, to obtain an accurate knowledge of their opinions. Commentaries on the whole of the Old and New Testaments were written by Hierax; a Theosophy by Aristocritus; a book of memoirs, or rather Memorabilia, of Manichaeus, and other works, by dualismus mit seiner Kulturlieologie, der in Mani's Systeme seine letzten Kräfte sammelt und unter der gleissenden Hülle christlicher "Yorte und Formen an den reinen Monotheismus des Christenthums und dessen reine Ethik sich. heranwagt."

^ Aug. c. Faustum, xiii. 6 and 18.

^ Lardner, however, seems to prove that Hierax was not a Manichean, though some of his opinions approximated to this heresy. The whole subject of the Manichpean literature is treated by Lardner ( Worls, iii. p. 374) with the learning of Beausobre, and more than Beausobre's impartiality.

PREFACE. XI

Heraclides, Aphthonius, Adas, and Agapius. Unfortunately all of these books have perished, whether in the flames to which the Christian authorities commanded that all
Manichsean books should be consigned, or by the slower if not more critical and impartial processes of time.

Manichseus himself was the author of several works: a Gospel, the Treasury of Life (and probably an abridgment of the same), the Mysteries, the Foundation Epistle, a book of Articles or heads of doctrine, one or two works on astronomy or astrology, and a collection of letters so dangerous, that Manichaeans who sought restoration to the Church were required to anathematize them.

Probably the most important of these writings was the Foundation Epistle, so called because it contained the leading articles of doctrine on which the new system was built. This letter was written in Greek or Syriac; but a Latin version of it was current in Africa, and came into the hands of Augustine, who undertook its refutation. To accomplish this with the greater precision and effect, he quotes the entire text of each passage of the Epistle before proceeding to criticise it.

Had Augustine accomplished the whole of his task, we should accordingly have been in possession of the whole of this important document. Unfortunately, for reasons unknown, Augustine stops short at an early point in the Epistle; and though he tells us he had notes on the remainder, and would some day expand and publish them, this promise lay unredeemed for thirty years till the day of his death. Extracts from the same Epistle and from the Treasury are also given by Augustine in the treatise Be Natura Boni.

Next, we have in the Opns Imperfediim of Augustine some extracts from a letter of Manichgeus to Menoch, which Julian had unearthed and republished to convict Augustine of being still tainted with Manichsean sentiments. These extracts give

^ The De Natura Boni, written in the year 405, is necessarily very much a reproduction of what is elsewhere affirmed, that all natures are good, and created by God, who alone is immutable and incorruptible. It presents concisely the leading positions of Augustine in this controversy, and concludes with an eloquent prayer that his efforts may be blessed to the conversion of the heretics, â€” not the only passage which demonstrates that he not for the glory of victory so much as for the deliverance of men from fatal error.

XU PEEFACE.

US some insight into the heresiarch's opinions regarding the corruption of nature and the evils of sexual love.

Again, we have Manichfeus' letter to Marcel, preserved by Epiphanius, and given in full by Beausobre: which, however, merely reiterates two of the doctrines most certainly identified with Manichceus, â€” the assertion of two principles, and the tenet that the Son of God was man only in appearance.
Finally, Fabricius has inserted in the fifth volume of his Bibliotheca Graeca the fragments, such as they are, collected by Grabe.

Such is the fragmentary character of the literary remains of Manichaeus: for fuller information regarding his opinions we must depend on Theodoret, Epiphanius, Alexander of Lycopolis, Titus of Bostra, and Augustine. Beausobre is of opinion that the Fathers derived all that they knew of Manichaeus from the Acts of Archeleaus! This professes to be a report of a disputation held between Manes and Archeleaus bishop of Caschar in Mesopotamia. Grave doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this document, and Burton and Milman seem inclined to consider it an imaginary dialogue, and use it on the understanding that while some of its statements are manifestly untrustworthy, a discriminating reader may rather from it some reliable material.^

In the works of Augustine there are some other pieces which may well be reckoned among the original sources. In the reply to Faustus, which is translated in this volume, the 1 Histoire, i. 91.

^ Published by Zaccagni in his ColUdanea Monumentorum Veterum, Eomse 1698; and by Eouth in his Reliqum Sacrce, vol. v., in which all the material for forming an opinion regarding it is collected.

^ Any one who consults Beausobre on this point will find that historical criticism is not of so recent an origin as some persons seem to think. It is worth transcribing his own account of the spirit in which he means to do his work: " Je traiterai mon sujet en Critique, suivant la Eegle de S. Paul, Examinez toute choses, et ne retenez que ce qui est bon. L'Histoire en general, et l'Histoire Ecclesiastique en particulier, n'est bien souvent qu'un melange confisi de faux et de vrai, entasse par des Ecrivains mal instruits, credules ou passionez. Cela convient surtout a l'Histoire des Heretiques et des Heresies. C'est au Lecteur attentif et judicieux d'en faire le discernement, a l'aide d'une critique, qui ne soit trop timide, ni temeraire. Sans le secours de cet art, on erre dans l'Histoire comme un Pilote sur les mers, lorsqu'il n'a ni boussole, ni carte marine " (i. 7).

PEEFACE. XIII

book of Faustus is not indeed reproduced; but there is no reason for doubting that his arguments are fairly represented, and we think there is evidence that even the original expression of them is preserved. Augustine had been acquainted with Faustus for many years. He first met him at Carthage in 383, and found him nothing more than a clever and agreeable talker, making no pretension to science or philosophy, and with only slender reading. His cleverness is sufficiently apparent in his debate with Augustine; the
objections he leads are plausible, and put with acuteness, but at the same time with a flippancy which betrays a want of earnestness and real interest in the questions. In this reply to Faustus, Augustine is very much on the defensive, and his statements are apologetic rather than systematic.

But in an age when the ability to read was by no means commensurate with the interest taken in theological questions, written discussions were necessarily supplemented by public disputation. These theological contests seem to have been a popular entertainment in Egypt; the people attending in immense crowds, while reporters took down what was said on either side for the sake of appeal as well as for the information of the absent. In two such disputation Augustine engaged in connection with Manichaeism. The first was held on the 28th and 29th of August 392, with a Manichaean priest, Fortunatus. To this encounter Augustine was invited by a deputation of Donatists and Catholics, who were alike alarmed at the progress which this heresy was making in the district of Hippo. Fortunatus at first showed some reluctance to meet such formidable an antagonist, but was prevailed upon by his own sectaries, and shows no nervousness.

Beausobre and Cave suppose that we have the whole of Faustus' book embodied in Augustine's review of it. Lardner is of opinion that the commencement, and perhaps the greater part, of the work is given, but not the whole.

2 See the interesting account of Faustus in the Confessions, v. 10.

His willingness to do so, and the success with which he encountered the most renowned champions of this heresy, should have prevented Beausobre from charging him with misunderstanding or misrepresenting the Manichaean doctrine. The retractation of Felix tells strongly against this view of Augustine's incompetence to deal with Manichaeism.

Possidius, Vita Aug. vi.

XIV PREFACE.

during the debate. His incompetence, however, was manifest to the Manichaeans themselves; and so hopeless was it to think of any further proselytizing in Hippo, that he left that city, and was too much ashamed of himself ever to return. The character of his reasoning is shift: he evades Augustine's questions, and starts fresh ones. Augustine pushes his usual and fundamental objection to the Manichaean system: If God is impassible and incorruptible, how could He be injured by the assaults of the kingdom of darkness? In opposition to the statement of Fortunatus, that the Almighty produces no evil, he explains that God made no nature evil, but made man free, and that voluntary sin is the original evil. The most remarkable circumstance in the
discussion is the desire of Fortunatus to direct the conversation to the conduct of the Manichseans, and the refusal of Augustine to make good the charges which had been made against them, or to discuss anything but the doctrine. This cannot but make us cautious in receiving the statements of the tract, On the Morals of the Manichseans. There can be little doubt that many of the Manichaeans practised the ascetic virtues, and were recognisable by the gauntness and pallor of their looks, so that Manklusian became a byword for any one who did not appreciate the felicity of good living. Thus Jerome says of a certain class of women, "quam viderint pallentem atque tristem, Miseram, Monacham, et Manichseam vocant" (De Custod. Virg. Ep. 18). Lardner throws light on the practices of the Manichseans, and effectually disposes of some of the calumnies uttered regarding them, Pusey's appendix to his translation of the Confessions may also be referred to with advantage.

2 Retract, ii. 8.

PREFACE. XV

The works given in the accompanying volume comprehend by no means the whole of Augustine's writings against this heresy. Before his ordination he wrote five anti-Manichsean books, entitled De Libero Arbitrio, De Genesi contra Manichceos, De Moribus Ecclesim Catholicm, Dc Moribus Manichceorum, and De Vera Religione. These Paulinus called his anti-Manichsean Pentateuch. After his ordination he was equally diligent, publishing a little treatise in the year 391, under the title De Utilitate Credencli) which was immediately followed by a small work, De Duahus Animahis. In the following year the report of the Disimtatio contra Fortunatum was published; and after this, at short intervals, there appeared the books Contra Adimantum, Contra Upistolam Manichcei qicam vocant Fundamenti, Contra Faustum, Disputatio contra Felicem, De Natnra Boni, and Contra Secundmum.

Besides these writings, which are exclusively occupied with Manichaeism, there are others in which the Manichaean doctrines are handled with more or less directness. These
are the Confessions, the 79th and 236th Letters, the Lecture on Psalm 140, Sermons 1, 2, 12, 50, 153, 182, 237, the Liher de Agone Christiano, and the De Continentia.

Of these writings, Augustine himself professed a preference for the reply to the letter of Secundinus.\(^\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) It is a pleasing feature of the times, that a heretic whom he did not know even by sight should write to Augustine entreating him to abstain from writing against the Manichaeans, and reconsider his position, and ally himself with those whom he had till now fancied to be in error. His language is respectful, and illustrates the esteem in which Augustine was held by his contemporaries; though he does not scruple to insinuate that his conversion from Manichaeism was due to motives not of the highest kind. We have not given this letter and its reply, because the preference of Augustine has not been ratified by the judgment of his readers.

The present volume gives a fair sample of Augustine's con-

\(^\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) Epist. August, xxv.

\(^\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) Betract. ii. 10: "quod, niea sententia, omnibus quae adversus illam pestem scribere potui, facile praepono." The reason of this preference is explained by Bindemann, Der heilige Augustinus, iii. 168.

XVI PREFACE.

As a result of his controversial powers. His nine years' personal experience of the vanity of Manichaeism made him thoroughly earnest and sympathetic in his efforts to disentangle other men from its snares, and also equipped him with the knowledge requisite for this task. No doubt the Pelagian controversy was more congenial to his mind. His logical acuteness and knowledge of Scripture availed him more in combating men who fought with the same weapons, than in dealing with a system which threw around its positions the mist of Gnostic speculation, or veiled its doctrine under a grotesque mythology, or based itself on a cosmogony too fantastic for a Western mind to tolerate.\(^\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) But however Augustine may have misconceived the strange forms in which this system was presented, there is no doubt that he comprehended and demolished its fundamental principles;" that he did so as a necessary part of his own personal search for the truth; and that in doing so he gained possession vitally and permanently of ideas and principles which subsequently entered into all he thought and wrote. In finding his way through the mazes of the obscure region into which Manichaeus had led him, he once for all ascertained the true relation subsisting between God and His creatures, formed his opinion regarding the respective provinces of reason and faith, and the connection of the Old and New Testaments, and found the root of all evil in the created will.
THE EDITOR.

Some knowledge of the Magianism of the time of Manes may be obtained from the sacred books of the Parsis, especially from the Vendidad Sade, an account of which is given by Dr. Wilson of Bombay in his book on the Parsi Religion. ã€” Tr.

^' Wo Entwickelungen, dialektische Begriffe sein soUten, stellt sich ein Bild, ein Mytlns ein." ã€” Bohringer, p. 390.

2 Some have thought Augustine more successful here than elsewhere. Cassiodorus may have thought so when he said: "* diligenter atque vivacius adversus eos quam contra hsereses alias disseruit " (Instit. i. quoted by Lardner).

OF THE MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

IT IS LAID DOWN AT THE OUTSET THAT THE CUSTOMS OF THE HOLY LIFE OF THE CHURCH SHOULD BE REFERRED TO THE CHIEF GOOD OF MAN, THAT IS, GOD. WE MUST SEEK AFTER GOD WITH SUPREME AFFECTION; AISD THIS DOCTRINE IS SUPPORTED IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH BY THE AUTHORITY OF BOTH TESTAMENTS. THE FOUR VIRTUES GET THEIR NAMES FROM DIFFERENT FORMS OF THIS LOVE. THEN FOLLOW THE DUTIES OF LOVE TO OUR NEIGHBOUR. IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH WE FIND EXAMPLES OF CONTINENCE AND OF TRUE CHRISTIAN CONDUCT.

I. ã€” Hov) the pretensions of the Manichceans are to he refuted. Two 3Ianichcean falsehoods.

1. ÑA ISTOUGH, probably, has been done in our other books JLi in the way of answering the ignorant and profane attacks which the Manichseans make on the law, which is called the Old Testament, in a spirit of vainglorious boasting, and with the approval of the nninstructed. Here, too, I may shortly touch upon the subject. For every one with average intelligence can easily see that the explanation of the Scriptures should be sought for
from those who are the professed teachers of the Scriptures; and that it may happen, and indeed always happens, that many things seem absurd to the ignorant, which, when they are explained by the learned, appear all the more excellent, and are received in the explanation with the greater pleasure on account of the obstructions which made it difficult to reach the meaning. This commonly happens

* Written in the year 388. In his Retractations (i. 7) Augustine says: "When I was at Eome after my baptism, and could not bear in silence the vaunting of the Manichseans about their pretended and misleading continence or abstinence, in which, to deceive the inexperienced, they claim superiority over true Christians, to whom they are not to be compared, I wrote two books, one on the morals of the Catholic Church, the other on the morals of the Manichseans."

2 A

2 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

as regards the holy books of the Old Testament, if only the man who meets with difficulties applies to a pious teacher, and not to a profane critic, and if he begins his inquiries from a desire to find truth, and not in rash opposition. And should the inquirer meet with some, whether bishops or presbyters, or any officials or ministers of the Catholic Church, who either avoid in all cases opening up mysteries, or, content with simple faith, have no desire for more recondite knowledge, he must not despair of finding the knowledge of the truth in a case where neither are all able to teach to whom the inquiry is addressed, nor are all inquirers worthy of learning the truth. Diligence and piety are both necessary: on the one hand, we must have knowledge to find truth, and, on the other hand, we must deserve to get the knowledge.

2. But as the Manichseans have two tricks for catching the unwary, so as to make them take them as teachers, â€” one, that of finding fault with the Scriptures, which they either misunderstand or wish to be misunderstood, the other, that of making a show of chastity and of notable abstinence, â€” this book shall contain our doctrine of life and morals according to Catholic teaching, and will perhaps make it appear how easy it is to pretend to virtue, and how difficult to possess virtue.

I will refrain, if I can, from attacking their weak points, which I know well, with the violence with which they attack what they know nothing of; for I wish them, if possible, to be cured rather than conquered. And I will quote such testimonies from the Scriptures as they are bound to believe, for they shall be from the New Testament; and even from this I will take none of the passages which the Manichaeans when hard pressed are accustomed to call spurious, but passages which they are obliged to acknowledge and approve. And for every testimony from apostolic teaching I will bring a similar statement from the Old Testament, that if they ever become willing to wake up from their persistent dreams, and to rise towards the light of Christian faith, they may discover both how far
from being Christian is the life which they profess, and how truly Christian is the Scripture which they cavil at.

WHAT HAPPINESS IS.

II. â€“ He begins with arguments, in compliance with the mistaken method of the Manicheans.

3. Where, then, shall I begin ? With authority, or with reasoning ? In the order of nature, when we learn anything, authority precedes reasoning. For a reason may seem weak, when, after it is given, it requires authority to confirm it. But because the minds of men are obscured by familiarity with darkness, which covers them in the night of sins and evil habits, and cannot perceive in a way suitable to the clearness and purity of reason, there is most wholesome provision for bringing the dazzled eye into the light of truth under the congenial shade of authority. But since we have to do with people who are perverse in all their thoughts and words and actions, and who insist on nothing more than on beginning with argument, I will, as a concession to them, take what I think a wrong method in discussion. Eor I like to imitate, as far as I can, the gentleness of my Lord Jesus Christ, who took on Himself the evil of death itself, wishing to free us from it.

III. â€“ Happiness is in the enjoyment of man's chief good. Two conditions of the chief good: 1st^ Nothing is better than it; 2d, It cannot be lost against the will.

4. How then, according to reason, ought man to live ? We all certainly desire to live happily; and there is no human being but assents to this statement almost before it is made. But the title happy cannot, in my opinion, belong either to him who has not what he loves, whatever it may be, or to him who has what he loves if it is hurtful, or to him ,who does not love what he has, although it is good in perfection. For one who seeks what he cannot obtain suffers torture, and one who has got what is not desirable is cheated, and one who does not seek for what is worth seeking for is diseased. E"ow in all these cases the mind cannot but be unhappy, and happiness and unhappiness cannot reside at the same time in one man; so in none of these cases can the man be happy. I find, then, a fourth case, where the happy life exists, â€“ when that which is man's chief good is both loved and possessed. For what do we call enjoyment but having at hand the object of love ? And no one can be happy who does not enjoy
what is man's chief good, nor is there any one who enjoys this who is not happy. We
must then have at hand our chief good, if we think of living happily.

5. We must now inquire what is man's chief good, which of course cannot be anything
inferior to man himself Por whoever follows after what is inferior to himself, becomes
himself inferior. But every man is bound to follow what is best. Wherefore man's chief
good is not inferior to man. Is it then something similar to man himself ? It must be so, if
there is nothing above man which he is capable of enjoying.
But if we find something which is both superior to man, and can be possessed by the man
who loves it, who can doubt that in seeking for happiness man should endeavour to reach
that which is more excellent than the being who makes the endeavour ? For if happiness
consists in the enjoyment of a good than which there is nothing better, which we call the
chief good, how can a man be properly called happy vrho has not yet attained to his chief
good ? or how can that be the chief good beyond which something better remains for us
to arrive at ?
Such, then, being the* cliief good, it must be something which cannot be lost against the
will. For no one can feel confident reo^ardin^ a good which he knows can be taken from
him, although he wishes to keep and cherish it. But if a man feels no confidence
regarding the good which he enjoys, how can he be happy while in such fear of losing it?

6. Let us then see what is better than man. This must necessarily be hard to find, unless
we first ask and examine what man is. I am not now called upon to give a definition of
man. The question here seems to me to be, â€” since almost all agree, or at least, which is
enough, those I have now to do with are of the same opinion with me, that we are made
up of soul and body, â€” What is man ? Is he both of these? or is he the body only, or the
soul only ? For although the things are two, soul and body, and although neither without
the other could be called man (for the body would not be man without the soul, nor agrain
would the soul be man if there were not a body animated by it), still it is possible that one
of these may

man's chief good.
be held to be man, and may be called so. What then do we call man? Is he soul and body, as in a double harness, or like a centaur? Or do we mean the body only, as being in the service of the soul which rules it, as the word lamp denotes not the light and the case together, but only the case, though on account of the light? Or do we mean only the mind, and that on account of the body which it rules, as horseman means not the man and the horse, but the man only, and that as employed in ruling the horse? This dispute is not easy to settle; or, if the proof is plain, the statement requires time. This is an expenditure of time and strength which we need not incur. For whether the name man belongs to both, or only to the soul, the chief good of man is not the chief good of the body; but what is the chief good either of both soul and body, or of the soul only, that is man's chief good.

Y. â€” Marl's chief good is not the chief good of the body only, but the chief good of the soul.

7. Now if we ask what is the chief good of the body, reason obliges us to admit that it is that by means of which the body comes to be in its best state. But of all the things which invigorate the body, there is nothing better or greater than the soul. The chief good of the body, then, is not bodily pleasure, not absence of pain, not strength, not beauty, not swiftness, or whatever else is usually reckoned among the goods of the body, but simply the soul. For all the things mentioned the soul supplies to the body by its presence, and, what is above them all, life. Hence I conclude that the soul is not the chief good of man, whether we give the name of man to soul and body together, or to the soul alone. For as, according to reason, the chief good of the body is that which is better than the body, and from which the body receives vigour and life, so whether the soul itself is man, or soul and body both, we must discover whether there is anything which goes before the soul itself, in following which the soul comes to the perfection of good of which it is capable in its own kind. If such a thing can be found, all uncertainty must be at an end, and we must pronounce this to be really and truly the chief good of man.

MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

8. If, again, the body is roan, it must be admitted that the soul is the chief good of man. But clearly, when we treat of morals, â€” when we inquire what manner of life must be held in order to obtain happiness, â€” it is not the body to which the precepts are addressed, it is not bodily discipline which we discuss. In short, the observance of good customs belongs to that part of us which inquires and learns, which are the prerogatives of the soul; so, when we speak of attaining to virtue, the question does not regard the body. But if it follows, as it does, that the body which is ruled over by a soul possessed of virtue is ruled both better and more honourably, and is in its greatest perfection in consequence of the perfection of the soul which rightfully governs it, that which gives perfection to the soul will be man's chief good, though we call the body man. For if my
coachman, in obedience to me, feeds and drives the horses he has charge of in the most satisfactory manner, himself enjoying the more of my bounty in proportion to his good conduct, can any one deny that the good condition of the horses, as well as that of the coachman, is due to me? So the question seems to me to be not, whether soul and body is man, or the soul only, or body only, but what gives perfection to the soul; for when this is obtained, a man cannot but be either perfect, or at least much better than in the absence of this one thing.

VI. â€” Virtue gives 'perfection to the soul; the soul obtains virtue by following God; following God is the happy life.

9. No one will question that virtue gives perfection to the soul. But it is a very proper subject of inquiry whether this virtue can exist by itself or only in the soul. Here again arises a profound discussion, needing lengthy treatment; but perhaps my summary will serve the purpose. God will, I trust, assist me, so that, notwithstanding our feebleness, we may give instruction on these great matters briefly as well as intelligibly. In either case, whether virtue can exist by itself or without the soul, or can exist only in the soul, undoubtedly in the pursuit of virtue the soul follows after something, and this must be either the soul itself, or virtue, or something else. But if the soul follows after itself in the pursuit of virtue, it follows after a foolish thing; for before obtaining God the Chief Good.

GOD THE CHIEF GOOD.

virtue it is foolish. Now the height of a follower's desire is to reach that which he follows after. So the soul must either not wish to reach what it follows after, which is utterly absurd and unreasonable, or, in following after itself while foolish, it reaches the folly which it flees from. But if it follows after virtue in the desire to reach it, how can it follow what does not exist? or how can it desire to reach what it already possesses? Either, therefore, virtue exists beyond the soul, or if we are not allowed to give the name of virtue except to the habit and disposition of the wise soul, which can exist only in the soul, we must allow that the soul follows after something else in order that virtue may be produced in itself; for neither by following after nothing, nor by following after folly, can the soul, according to my reasoning, attain to wisdom.

10. This something else, then, by following after which the soul becomes possessed of virtue and wisdom, is either a wise man or God. But we have said already that it must be something that we cannot lose against our will. No one can think it necessary to ask whether a wise man, supposing we are content to follow after him, can be taken from us in spite of our unwillingness or our persistence. God then remains, in following after whom we live well, and in reaching whom we live both well and happily. If any deny God's existence, why should I consider the method of dealing with them, when it is
doubtful whether they ought to be dealt with at all? At any rate, it would require a different starting-point, a different plan, a different investigation from what we are now engaged in. I am now addressing those who do not deny the existence of God, and who, moreover, allow that human affairs are not disregarded by Him. For there is no one, I suppose, who makes any profession of religion but will hold that divine Providence cares at least for our souls.

VII, â€“ The knowledge of God to be obtained from, the Scripture. The plan and principal mysteries of the divine scheme of redemption.

11. But how can we follow after Him whom we do not see? or how can we see Him, we who are not only men, but also men of weak understanding? For though God is seen not with the eyes but with the mind, where can such a mind be found as shall, while obscured by foolishness, succeed or even attempt to drink in that light? We must therefore have recourse to the instructions of those whom we have reason to think wise. Thus far argument brings us. For in human things reasoning is employed, not as of greater certainty, but as easier from use. But when we come to divine things, this faculty turns away; it cannot behold; it pants, and gasps, and burns with desire; it falls back from the light of truth, and turns again to its wonted obscurity, not from choice, but from exhaustion. What a dreadful catastrophe is this, that the soul should be reduced to greater helplessness when it is seeking rest from its toil! So, when we are hasting to retire into darkness, it will be well that by the appointment of adored Wisdom we should be met by the friendly shade of authority, and should be attracted by the wonderful character of its contents, and by the utterances of its pages, which, like shadows, typify and attemper the truth.

12. What more could have been done for our salvation? What can be more gracious and bountiful than divine providence, which, when man had fallen from its laws, and, in just retribution for his coveting mortal things, had brought forth a mortal offspring, still did not wholly abandon him? For in this most righteous government, whose ways are strange and inscrutable, there is, by means of unknown connections established in the creatures subject to it, both a severity of punishment and a mercifulness of salvation. How beautiful this is, how great, how worthy of God, in fine, how true, which is all we are seeking for, we shall never be able to perceive, unless, beginning mth things human and at hand, and holding the faith and the precepts of true religion, we continue without turning from it in the way which God has secured for us by the separation of the patriarchs, by the bond of the law, by the foresight of the prophets, by the witness of the apostles, by the blood of the martyrs, and by the subjugation of the Gentiles. From this point, then, let no one ask me for my opinion, but let us rather hear the oracles, and submit our weak inferences to the announcements of Heaven.
VIII. "Ood is the chief goody whom we are to seek after with supreme affection.

13. Let us see how the Lord Himself in the gospel has taught us to live; how, too, Paul the apostle, â€” for the Manichseans cannot reject these Scriptures. Let us hear, Christ, what chief end Thou dost prescribe to us; and that is evidently the chief end after which we are told to strive with supreme affection. "Thou shalt love," He says, "the Lord thy God." Tell me also, I pray Thee, what must be the measure of love; for I fear lest the desire enkindled in my heart should either exceed or come short in fervour. "With all thy heart," He says. "With all thy soul." Nor is it enough yet. "With all thy mind." What do you wish more? I might, perhaps, wish more if I could see the possibility of more. What does Paul say on this?

"We know," he says, "that all things issue in good to them that love God." Let him, too, say what is the measure of love. "Who then," he says, "shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword?" We have heard, then, what and how much we must love; this we must strive after, and to this we must refer all our plans.
The perfection of all our good things and our perfect good is God. We must neither come short of this nor go beyond it: the one is dangerous, the other impossible.

IX. "Harmony of the Old and New Testament on the precepts of charity.

14. Come now, let us examine, or rather let us take notice, â€” for it is obvious and can be seen at once, â€” whether the authority of the Old Testament too agrees with those statements taken from the gospel and the apostle. What need to speak of the first statement, when it is clear to all that it is a quotation from the law given by Moses? For it is there written, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." And not to go farther for a passage of the Old Testament to compare with that of the apostle, he has himself added one. For after saying that no tribulation, no distress, no persecution, no pressure of bodily want, no peril, no sword, separates

1 Matt. xxii. 37. ^^^^ ^n 28, 35. ^ gut. vi. 5.

10 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHUECH.

US from the love of Christ, he immediately adds, "As it is written, For Thy sake we are in suffering all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." â€” The Manichseans are in the habit of saying that this is an interpolation, â€” so unable are they to reply, that they are forced in their extremity to say
this. But every one can see that this is all that is left for men to say when it is proved that
they are WToNs.

15. And yet I ask them if they deny that this is said in the Old Testament or if they hold
that the passage in the Old Testament does not agree with that of the apostle. For the first,
the books will prove it; and as for the second, those prevaricators who fly off at a tangent
will be brought to agree with me, if they will only reflect a little and consider what is
said, or else I will press upon them the opinion of those who judge impartially. For what
could agree more harmoniously than these passages? For tribulation, distress,
persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, cause great suffering to man while in this life. So
all these words are implied in the single quotation from the law, where it is said, " For
Thy sake we are in suffering." The only other thing is the sword, which does not inflict a
painful life, but removes whatever life it meets with.
Answering to this are the words, "We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." And
love could not have been more plainly expressed than by the words, "For Thy sake."
Suppose, then, that this testimony is not found in the Apostle Paul, but is quoted by me,
must you not prove, you heretic,

1 Rom. Tiii. 36, cf. Ps. xliiv. 22.

= Retract, i. 7, Â§ 2:â€”"In the book on the morals of the Catholic Church, where I have
quoted the words, ' For Thy sake we are in suffering all day long, we are accounted as
sheep for the slaughter,' the inaccuracy of my manuscript misled me; for my recollection
of the Scriptures was defective from my not
"being at that time familiar with them. For the reading of the other manuscripts has a
different meaning: not, we suffer, but, we suffer death, or, in one word, we are killed.
That this is the true reading is shown by the Greek text of the Septuagint, from which the
Old Testament was translated into Latin. I have indeed made a good many remarks on the
words, ' For thy sake we suffer,' and the things said are not wrong in themselves; but, as
regards the harmony of the Old and Xew Testaments, this case certainly does not prove
it. The error originated in the way mentioned above, and this harmony is afterwards
abundantly proved from other passages."

THE TWO GODS OF THE MANICHÂ’ANS. 11

either that this is not written in the old law, or that it does not harmonize with the apostle
? And if you dare not say either of these things (for you are shut up by the reading of the
manuscript, which will show that it is written, and by common sense, which sees that
nothing could agree better with what is said by the apostle), why do you imagine that
there is any force in accusing the Scriptures of being corrupted? And once more, what
will you reply to a man who says to you. This is what I understand, this is my view, this
is my belief, and I read these books only because I see that everything in them agrees
with the Christian faith? Or tell me at once if you will venture deliberately to tell me to
the face that we are not to believe that the apostles and martyrs are spoken of as having
endured great sufferings for Christ's sake, and as having been accounted by their persecutors as sheep for the slaughter? If you cannot say this, why should you bring a charge against the book in which I find what you acknowledge I ought to believe?

X. â€” What the Church teaches about God. The two gods of the Manichæans.

16. Will you say that you grant that we are bound to love God, but not the God worshipped by those who acknowledge the authority of the Old Testament? In that case you refuse to worship the God who made heaven and earth, for this is the God set forth all through these books. And you admit that the whole of the world, which is called heaven and earth, had God and a good God for its author and maker. For in speaking to you about God we must make a distinction. For you hold that there are two gods, one good and the other bad. But if you say that you worship and approve of worshipping the God who made heaven and earth, but not the God supported by the authority of the Old Testament, you act impertinently in trying, though vainly, to attribute to us views and opinions altogether unlike the wholesome and profitable doctrine we really hold. Ist or can your silly and profane discourses be at all compared with the expositions in which learned and pious men of the Catholic Church open up those Scriptures to the willing and worthy. Our understanding of the law and the prophets is quite different from what you suppose. Mistake us no longer. We do not worship a God who repents, or is envious, or needy, or cruel, or who takes pleasure in the blood of men or beasts, or is pleased with guilt and crime, or whose possession of the earth is limited to a little corner of it. These and such like are the silly notions you are in the habit of denouncing at great length. Your denunciation does not touch us. The fancies of old women or of children you attack with a vehemence that is only ridiculous. Any one whom you persuade in this way to join you shows no fault in the teaching of the Church, but only proves his own ignorance of it.

17. If, then, you have any human feeling, â€” if you have any regard for your own welfare, â€” you should rather examine with diligence and piety the meaning of these passages of Scripture.
You should examine, unhappy beings that you are; for we condemn with no less severity and copiousness any faith which attributes to God what is unbecoming Him, and in those by whom these passages are literally understood we correct the mistake of ignorance, and look upon persistence in it as absurd. And in many other things which you cannot understand there is in the Catholic teaching a check on the belief of those who have got beyond mental childishness, not in years, but in knowledge and understanding, â€” old in the progress towards wisdom. For we learn the folly of believing that God is bounded by any amount of space, even though infinite; and it is held unlawful to think of God, or any part of Him, as moving from one place to another. And should any one suppose that anything in God's substance or nature can suffer change or conversion, he will be held guilty of wild profanity. There are thus among us children who think of God as having a human form, which they suppose He really has, which is a most degrading idea; and there are many of full age to whose mind the majesty of God appears in its inviolableness and unchangeableness as not only above the human body, but above their own mind itself. These ages, as we said, are distinguished not by time, but by virtue and discretion. Among you, again, there is no one who will picture God in a human form; but neither is there one who sets God apart from the contamination of human error. As regards

**GOD THE CHIEF GOOD. 13**

those who are fed like crying babes at the breast of the Catholic Church, if they are not carried off by heretics, they are nourished according to the vigour and capacity of each, and arrive at last, one in one way and another in another, first to a perfect man, and then to the maturity and hoary hairs of wisdom, when they may get life as they desire, and life in perfect happiness.

XI. â€” God is the one object of love; therefore He is man's chief good. Nothing is better than God. God cannot be lost against our will.

18. Following after God is the desire of happiness; to reach God is happiness itself. We follow after God by loving Him; we reach Him, not by becoming entirely what He is, J but in nearness to Him, and in wonderful and immaterial contact with Him, and in being inwardly illuminated and occupied by His truth and holiness. He is light itself; we get enlightenment from Him. The greatest commandment, J therefore, which leads to happy life, and, the first, is this:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind." For to those who love the Lord all things issue in good. Hence Paul adds shortly after, "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor virtue, nor things present, nor things future, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." -*- If, then, to those who love God all things issue in good, and if, as no one doubts, the chief or perfect good is not only to be loved, but to be loved so that nothing shall be loved better, as is expressed in the words, "With all thy soul, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind," who, I ask, will not at once
conclude, when these things are all settled and most surely believed, that our chief good which we must hasten to arrive at in preference to all other things is nothing else than God? And then, if nothing can separate us from His love, must not this be surer as well as better than any other good?

19. But let us consider the points separately. No one separates us from this by threatening death. For that with which we love God cannot die, except in not loving God; for death is not to love God, and that is when we prefer anything.

1 Eom. viii. 38, 39.

14 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

to Him in affection and pursuit. No one separates us from this by promising life; for no one separates us from the fountain in promising water. Angels do not separate us; for the mind cleaving to God is not inferior in strength to an angel. Virtue does not separate us; for if what is here called virtue is that which has power in this world, the mind cleaving to God is far above the whole world. Or if this virtue is the perfect rectitude of the mind, this in the case of another will favour our union to God, and in ourselves will itseK unite us to God. Present troubles do not separate us; for we feel their burden less the closer we cling to Him from whom they try to separate us. The promise of future things does not separate us; for both future good of every kind is surest in the promise of God, and nothing is better than God Himself, who undoubtedly is already possessed by those who truly cleave to Him. Height and depth do not separate us; for if the height and depth of knowledge are what is meant, I will rather not be inquisitive than be separated from God; nor can any instruction by which error is removed separate me from Him, by separation from whom it is that any one is in error. Or if what is meant are the higher and lower parts of this world, how can the promise of heaven separate me from Him who made heaven? Or who from beneath can frighten me into forsaking God, when I should not have known of things beneath but by forsaking Him? In fine, what place can remove me from His love, when He could not be all in every place unless He were contained in none?

XII. â€” We are united to God by love, in subjection to Him.

20. "To other creature," he says, separates us. O man of profound mysteries! He thought it not enough to say, no creature, but he says, no other creature; teaching that that with which we love God, and by which we cleave to God, our y mind, namely, and understanding, is itself a creature. Thus the body is another creature; and if the mind is an object of intellectual perception, and is known only by this means, the other creature is all that is an object of sense, which as it were makes itself known through the eyes, or ears, or smell, or taste, or touch, and this must be inferior to what is per-
ceived by the intellect alone. ISTow, as God also can be known by the worthy only intellectually, exalted though He is above the intelligent mind as being its Creator and Author, there was danger lest the human mind, from being reckoned among invisible and immaterial things, should be thought to be of the same nature with Him who created it, and so should fall away by pride from Him to whom it should be united by love. For the mind becomes like God, to the extent vouchsafed by its subjection of itself to Him for information and enlightenment. And if it obtains the greatest nearness by that subjection which produces likeness, it must be far removed from Him by that presumption which would make the likeness greater. It is this presumption which leads the mind to refuse obedience to the laws of God, in the desire to be sovereign, as God is.

21. The farther, then, the mind departs from God, not in space, but in affection and lust after things below Him, the more it is filled with folly and wretchedness. So by love it returns to God, a love which places it not along with God, but under Him. And the more ardour and eagerness there is in this, the happier and more elevated will the mind be, and with God as sole governor it will be in perfect liberty. Hence it must know that it is a creature. It must believe what is the truth, that its Creator remains ever possessed of the inviolable and inimitable nature of truth and wisdom; and must confess, even in view of the errors from which it desires deliverance, that it is liable to folly and falsehood. But then, again, it must take care that it be not separated by the love of the other creature, that is, of this visible world, from the love of God Himself, which sanctifies it in order to lasting happiness. No other creature, then, for we are ourselves a creature, separates us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

XIII. We are joined inseparably to God by Christ and His Spirit.

22. Let this same Paul tell us who is this Christ Jesus our Lord. "To them that are called," he says, "we preach Christ the virtue of God, and the wisdom of God." And does not

^ 1 Cor. i. 23, 24.

16 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
Christ Himself say, "I am the truth?" If, then, we ask what it is to live well, â€” that is, to strive after happiness by living well, â€” it must assuredly be to love virtue, to love wisdom, to love truth, and to love with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind; virtue which is inviolable and inimitable, wisdom which never gives place to folly, truth which knows no change or variation from its uniform character. Through this the Father Himself is seen; for it is said, "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." To this we cleave by sanctification. For when sanctified we burn with full and perfect love, which is the only security for our not turning away from God, and for our being conformed to Him rather than to this world; for "He has predestinated us," says the same apostle, "that we should be conformed to the image of His Son." 2

23. -It is through love, then, that we become conformed to God; and by this conformation, and configuration, and circumcision from the world we are not confounded with the things which are properly subject to us. And this is done by the Holy Spirit. "For hope," he says, "does not confound us; for the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, which is given unto us." But we could not possibly be restored to perfection by the Holy Spirit, unless He HimseK continued always perfect and immutable. And this plainly could not be unless He were of the nature and of the very substance of God, who alone is always possessed of unchangeableness and unvariableness. "The creature," it is affirmed, not by me but by Paul, "has been made subject to vanity."* And what is subject to vanity is unable to separate us from vanity, and to unite us to the ti'utli. But the Holy Spirit does this for us. He is therefore no creature. For whatever is, must be either God or the creature.

XIV. â€” We cleave to the Trinity, our chief good, hy love.

24. We ought then to love God, the Trinity in unity. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; for this must be said to be God Himself, for it is said of God as the true and perfect being,

* Of whom are all things, by whom are all things, in whom are


FOURFOLD DIVISION" OF VIRTUE. 17

all things," Those are Paul's words. And what does he add ? "To Him be glory." ^ All this is exactly true. He does not say, To them; for God is one. And what is meant by, To Him be glory, but to Him be chief and perfect and widespread praise ? For as the praise improves and extends, so the love and affection increases in fervour. And when this is the case, mankind cannot but advance with sure and firm step to a life of perfection and bliss. This, I suppose, is all we wish to find when we speak of the chief good of man, to which all must be referred in life and conduct. For the good plainly exists; and we have shown by reasoning, as far as it went, and by the divine
authority which goes beyond our reasoning, that it is nothing else but God. How can anything be man's chief good but that in cleaving to which he is blessed? Now this is nothing but God, to whom we can cleave only by affection, desire, and love.

XV. â€” The Christian definition of the four virtues.

25. As to virtue leading us to a happy life, I hold virtue to be nothing else than perfect love of God. For the fourfold division of virtue I regard as taken from four forms of love. For these four virtues (would that all felt their influence in their minds as they have their names in their mouths!), I should have no hesitation in defining them: that temperance is love giving itself entirely to that which is loved; fortitude is love readily bearing all things for the sake of the loved object; justice is love serving only the loved object, and therefore ruling rightly; prudence is love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it. The object of this love is not anything, but only God, the chief good, the highest wisdom, the perfect harmony. So we may express the definition thus: that temperance is love keeping itself entire and incorrupt for God; fortitude is love bearing everything readily for the sake of God; justice is love serving God only, and therefore ruling well all else, as subject to man; prudence is love making a right distinction between what helps it towards God and what might hinder it.

â» Rom. xi. 36.

18 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

XVL â€” Harmony of the Old and New Testaments.

26. I will briefly set forth the manner of life according to these virtues, one by one, after I have brought forward, as I promised, passages from the Old Testament parallel to those I have been quoting from the New Testament. For is Paul alone in saying that we should be joined to God so that there should be nothing between to separate us? Does not the prophet say the same most aptly and concisely in the words, "It is good for me to cleave to God?" Does not this one word cleave express all that the apostle says at length about love? And do not the words, It is good, point to the apostle's statement, "All things issue in good to them that love God?" Thus in one clause and in two words the prophet sets forth the power and the fruit of love.
27. And as the apostle says that the Son of God is the virtue of God and the wisdom of God, which belongs to action and virtue; and then, referring to teaching and the knowledge of the truth, he says, "The life was the light of men," could anything agree better with these passages than what is said in the Old Testament of wisdom, "She reaches from end to end in strength, and orders all things sweetly?" For reaching in strength expresses virtue, while ordering sweetly expresses skill and method. But if this seems obscure, see what follows: "And of all," he says, "God loved her; for she teaches the knowledge of God, and chooses His works." Nothing more is found here about action; for choosing works is not the same as working, so this refers to teaching. There remains action to correspond to the virtue, to complete the truth we wish to prove. Read then what comes next: "But if," he says, "the possession which is desired in life is honourable, what is more honourable than wisdom, which works all things?" Could anything be brought forward more striking or more distinct than this, or even more fully expressed? Or, if you wish more, hear another passage of the same meaning. "Wisdom," he says, "teaches sobriety, and justice, and virtue."^ Sobriety refers, I think, to the knowledge of the truth, or to teaching; justice and virtue to work and action.

And to these two things, that is, to efficiency in action and sobriety in contemplation, which the virtue of God and the wisdom of God, that is, the Son of God, gives to them that love Him, I know nothing equal; for the same prophet goes on to show their value; for it is thus stated: "Wisdom teaches sobriety, and justice, and virtue, than which nothing is more useful in life to man."^  

28. Perhaps some may think that those passages do not refer to the Son of God. What, then, is taught in the following words: "She displays the nobility of her birth, having her dwelling with God?" To what does birth refer but to parentage? And does not dwelling with the Father claim and assert equality? Again, as Paul says that the Son of God is the wisdom of God, and as the Lord Himself says, "I know the Father save the only-begotten Son," what could be more concordant than those words of the prophet: "With Thee is wisdom which knows Thy works, which was present at the time of Thy making the world, and knew what would be pleasing in Thine eyes?" And as Christ is called the truth, which is also taught by His being called the brightness of the Father (for there is nothing round about the sun but its brightness which is produced from it), what is there in the Old Testament more plainly and obviously in accordance with this than the words, "Thy
'Wisd. viii. 1, 4, 7.

2 Retract. i. 7, Â§ 3: â€” "The quotation from the hook of Wisdom is from my manuscript, where the reading is, "Wisdom teaches sobriety, justice, and virtue." From these words I have made some remarks true in themselves, but occasioned by a false reading. It is perfectly true that wisdom teaches truth of contemplation, as I have explained sobriety; and excellence of action, which is the meaning I give to justice and virtue. And the reading in better manuscripts has the same meaning: " It teaches sobriety, and wisdom, and justice, and virtue." These are the names given by the Latin translator to the four virtues which philosophers usually speak about. Sobriety is for temperance, ^^^sdom for prudence, virtue for fortitude, and justice only has its own name. It was long after that we found these virtues called by their proper names in the Greek text of this book of Wisdom."

3 Wisd. viii. 3. * 1 Cor. i. 24. ^ ^tt. xi. 27.
Â« Wisd. ix. 9. 7 Heb. i. 3.

20 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

truth is round about Thee?"^ Once more, Wisdom herself says in the gospel, " No man cometh unto the Father but by me;"^ and the prophet says, "Who knoweth Thy mind, unless Thou givest wisdom?"^ and a little after, "The things pleasing to Thee men have learned, and have been healed by wisdom."^ 

29. Paul says, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us;"^ and the prophet says, " The Holy Spirit of knowledge will shun guile." ^ For where there is guile there is no love. Paul says that we are "conformed to the image of the Son of God;"^ and the prophet says, " The light of Thy countenance is stamped upon us."^ Paul teaches that the Holy Spirit is God, and therefore is no creature; and the prophet says, " Thou sendest Thy Spirit from the highest."^ For God alone is the highest, than whom nothing is higher. Paul shows that the Trinity is one God, when he says, " To Him be glory; "^ and in the Old Testament it is said, " Hear, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God." 

XVII. â€” Appeal to the Manichoeans, calling on them to repent.

30. What more do you wish? Why do you resist ignorantly and obstinately? Why do you pervert untutored minds by your mischievous teaching? The God of both Testaments is one. For as there is an agreement in the passages quoted from both, so is there in all the rest, if you are willing to consider them carefully and impartially. But because many expressions are undignified, and so far adapted to minds creeping on the earth, that they may rise by human things to divine, while many are figurative, that the inquiring mind may have the more profit from the exertion of finding their meaning, and the more
delight when it is found, you pervert this admirable arrangement of the Holy Spirit for the purpose of deceiving and ensnaring your followers. As to the reason why divine Providence permits you to do this, and as to the truth of the apostle's saying, "There must needs be many heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you," it would take long to discuss these things, and


5 Wisd. i. 5. 6 Rom. viii. 29. ^ Ps. iv. 6. ^ Wisd. ix. 17.

Â» Rom. xi. 36. lo Deut. vi. 4. *^ 1 Cor. xi. 19.

APPEAL TO THE MANICH. ANS. 21

you, with whom we have now to do, are not capable of understanding them. I know you well. To the consideration of divine things, which are far higher than you suppose, you bring minds quite gross and sickly, from being fed with material images.

31. We must therefore in your case try not to make you understand divine things, which is impossible, but to make you desire to understand. This is the work of the pure and guileless love of God, which is seen chiefly in the conduct, and of which Ave have already said much. This love, inspired by the Holy Spirit, leads to the Son, that is, to the wisdom of God, by which the Father Himself is known. For if wisdom and truth are not sought for with the whole strength of the mind, it cannot possibly be found. But when it is sought as it deserves to be, it cannot withdraw or hide itself from its lovers. Hence its words, which you too are in the habit of repeating, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: "^" ^N"o thing is hid which shall not be revealed." ^ It is love that asks, love that seeks, love that knocks, love that reveals, love, too, that gives continuance in what is revealed. From this love of wisdom, and this studious inquiry, we are not debarred by the Old Testament, as you always say most falsely, but are exhorted to this with the greatest urgency.

32. Hear, then, at length, and consider, I pray you, what is said by the prophet: "Wisdom is glorious, and never fadeth away; yea, she is easily seen of them that love her, and found of such as seek her. She preventeth them that desire her, in making herself first known unto them. "Whoso seeketh her early shall have no great travail; for he shall find her sitting at his doors. To think, therefore, upon her is perfection of wisdom; and whoso watcheth for her shall quickly be without care. For she goeth about seeking such as are worthy of her, showeth herself favourably unto them in the ways, and meeteth them in every thought. For the very true beginning of her is the desire of discipline; and the care of discipline is love; and love is the keeping of her laws; and the giving heed unto her laws is the assurance of incor-

22 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHUKCH.

ruption; and incorruption maketh us near unto God. Therefore the desire of wisdom "bringeth to a kingdom." ^ "WIll you still continue in dogged hostility to these things? Do not things thus stated, though not yet understood, make it evident to every one that they contain something deep and unutterable? "Would that you could understand the things here said! Forthwith you would abjure all your silly legends, and your unmeaning material imaginations, and with great alacrity, sincere love, and full assurance of faith, would betake yourselves bodily to the shelter of the most holy bosom of the Catholic Church.

XVIII. â€” Only in the Catholic Church is perfect truth established on the harmony of both Testaments.

33. I could, according to the little ability I have, take up the points separately, and could expound and prove the truths I have learned, which are generally more excellent and lofty than words can express; but this cannot be done while you bark at it. For not in vain is it said, " Give not that which is holy to dogs." ^ Do not be angry. I too barked and was a dog; and then, as was right, instead of the food of teaching, I got the rod of correction. But were there in you that love of which we are speaking, or should it ever be in you as much as the greatness of the truth to be known requires, may God vouchsafe to show you that neither is there among the Manichaeans the Christian faith which leads to the summit of wisdom and truth, the attainment of which is the true happy life, nor is it anywhere but in the Catholic teaching. Is not this what the Apostle Paul appears to desire when he says, " For this cause I bow my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant unto you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spuit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the height, and length, and breadth, and depth; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God?"^ Could anything be more plainly expressed?

1 Wisd. vi. 12-20. ^ HqxI. vii. 6. ^ ^pi^^ ^^^ \i-ld.

THE DUTIES OF TEMPERANCE. 23

34. Wake up a little, I beseech you, and see the harmony of both Testaments, making it quite plain and certain what should be the manner of life in our conduct, and to what all things should be referred. To the love of God we are incited by the gospel, when it is said, "Ask, seek, knock;"^ by Paul, when he says, " That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend;"^ by the prophet also, when he says that wisdom can
easily be known by those who love it, seek for it, desire it, watch for it, set their mind and heart to it. The salvation of the mind and the way of happiness is pointed out by the concord of both Scriptures; and yet you choose rather to bark at these things than to obey them. I will tell you in one word what I think. Do you listen to the learned men of the Catholic Church with as peaceable a disposition, and with the same zeal, that I had when for nine years I attended on you;^ there will be no need of so long a time as that during which you made a fool of me. In a much, a very much, shorter time you will see the difference between sense and nonsense.

XIX. â€” Description of the duties of temperance, according to the sacred Scriptures.

35. It is now time to return to the four virtues, and to draw out and prescribe a way of life in conformity with them, taking each separately. First, then, let us consider temperance, which promises us a kind of integrity and incorruption in the love by which we are united to God. The office of temperance is in restraining and quieting the passions which make us pant for those things which turn us away from the laws of God and from the enjoyment of His goodness, that is, in a word, from the happy life. For there is the abode of truth; and in enjoying its contemplation, and in cleaving closely to it, we are assuredly happy; but departing from this, men become entangled in great errors and sorrows.

For, as the apostle says, "The root of all evils is covetousness; which some having followed, have made shipwreck of the faith, and have pierced themselves through with many sorrows."* And this sin of the soul is quite plainly, to those rightly under-

1 Matt. vii. 7. 2 Epji 7^ 7^ 3 From liis 19thli to liis 28thli year. * 1 Tim. vi. 10.

24 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

standing, set forth in the Old Testament in the transgression of Adam in paradise. Thus, as the apostle says, "In Adam we all die, and in Christ we shall all rise again." ^ Oh the depth of these mysteries 1 But I refrain; for I am now engaged not in teaching you the truth, but in making you unlearn your errors, if I can, that is, if God aid my purpose regarding you.

36. Paul then says that covetousness is the root of all evils; and by covetousness the old law also intimates that the first man fell. Paul tells us to put off the old man and put on the new.^ By the old man he means Adam who sinned, and by the new man him whom the Son of God took to Himself in consecration for our redemption. Por he says in another place, "The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven,
heavenly. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly, "^ â€” that is, put off the old man, and put on the new. The whole duty of temperance, then, is to put off the old man, and to be renewed in God, â€” that is, to scorn all bodily delights, and the praise of popularity, and to turn the whole love to divine and unseen things. Hence that following passage which is so admirable: " Though our outward man perish, our inward man is renewed day by day."* Hear, too, the prophet singing, " Create in me a clean heart, God, and renew a right spirit within me."^ What can be said against such harmony except by blind barkers?

XX. ^ â€” We are required to look down on all sensible tilings, and to love God alone.

37. Bodily delights have their source in all those things with which the bodily sense comes in contact, and which are by some called the objects of sense; and among these the noblest is light, in the common meaning of the word, because among our senses also, which the mind uses in acting through the body, there is nothing more valuable than the eyes, and so in the Holy Scriptures all the objects of sense are spoken of

1 1 Cor. XV. 22. 2 CoL iii. 9, 10. 3 i Cor. xv. 47-49.

* 2 Cor. iv. 16. ^ pg. u. lo.

TEMPEEANCE. 2 5

as visible things. Thus in the ISTew Testament we are warned against the love of these things in the following words:
" While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."^ This shows how far from being Christians those are who hold that the sun and moon are to be not only loved but worshipped. For what is seen if the sun and moon are not ? But we are forbidden to regard things which are seen. The man, therefore, who wishes to offer that incorrupt love to God must not love these things too. This subject I will inquire into more particularly elsewhere. Here my plan is to write not of faith, but of the life by which we become worthy of knowing what we believe. God then alone is to be loved; and all this world, that is, all sensible things, are to be despised, â€” while, however, they are to be used as this life requires.
XXI. â€” Popular renown and inquisitiveness are condemned in the sacred Scriptures.

38. Popular renown is thus slighted and scorned in the New Testament: "If I wished," says St. Paul, "to please men, I should not be the servant of Christ." ^ Again, there is another production of the soul formed by imaginations derived from material things, and called the knowledge of things. In reference to this we are fitly warned against inquisitiveness, to correct which is a great part of temperance. Thus it is said, "Take heed lest any one seduce you by philosophy." And because the word philosophy originally means the love and pursuit of wisdom, a thing of great value and to be sought with the whole mind, the apostle, with great prudence, that he might not be thought to deter from the love of wisdom, has added the words, "And the elements of this world." ^ Por some people, neglecting virtues, and ignorant of what God is, and of the majesty of the nature which remains always the same, think that they are engaged in an important business when searching with the greatest inquisitiveness and eagerness into this material mass which we call the world. This begets so much pride, that they look upon themselves as inhabitants of the heaven of which they

1 2 Cor. iv. 18. 2 Gal. i. 10. ^ Qq^ h 3.

26 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

often discourse. The soul, then, which purposes to keep itself chaste for God must refrain from the desire of vain knowledge like this. For this desire usually produces delusion, so that the soul thinks that nothing exists but what is material; or if, from regard to authority, it confesses that there is an immaterial existence, it can think of it only under material images, and has no belief regarding it but that imposed by the bodily sense. We may apply to this the precept about fleeing from idolatry.

39. To this New Testament authority, requiring us not to love anything in this world, especially in that passage where it is said, "Be not conformed to this world," ^ â€” for the point is to show that a man is conformed to whatever he loves, â€” to this authority, then, if I seek for a parallel passage in the Old Testament, I find several; but there is one book of Solomon, called Ecclesiastes, which at great length brings all earthly things into utter contempt. The book begins thus: "Vanity of the vain, saith the Preacher, vanity of the vain; all is vanity. What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?" ^ If all these words are considered, weighed, and thoroughly examined, many things are found of essential importance to those who seek to flee from the world and to take shelter in God; but this requires time, and our discourse hastens on to other topics. But, after this beginning, he goes on to show in detail that the vain* are those who are deceived by things of this sort; and he calls this which deceives them vanity, â€” not that God did not create those things, but because men choose to subject themselves by their sins to those things, which the divine law has made subject to them in well-doing. Tor
when you consider things beneath yourself to be admirable and desirable, what is this
but to be cheated and misled by unreal goods? The man, then, who is temperate in such
mortal and transient things has his rule of life confirmed by both Testaments, that he
should love none

1 1 John ii. 15. ^ p^om. xii. 2. ' Eccles. i. 2, 3.

* Retract, i. 7, Â§ 3: â€” I found in many manuscripts the reading, * Vanity of the
vain.' But this is not in the Greek, which has 'Yanity of vanities.' This I saw afterwards.
And I found that the best Latin manuscripts had vanities and not vain. But the truths I
have drawn from this false reading are self-evident."

ROETITUDE. 27

of these things, nor think them desirable for their own sakes, but should use them as far
as is required for the purposes and duties of life, with the moderation of an employer
instead of the ardour of a lover. These remarks on temperance are few in proportion to
the greatness of the theme, but perhaps too many in view of the task on hand.

XXII. â€” Fortitude comes from the love of God.

40. On fortitude we must be brief. The love, then, of which we speak, which ought with
all sanctity to burn in desire for God, is called temperance, in not seeking for earthly
things, and fortitude, in bearing the loss of them. But among all things which are
possessed in this life, the body is, by God's most righteous laws, for the sin of old, man's
heaviest bond, which is well known as a fact, but most incomprehensible in its mystery.
Lest this bond should be shaken and disturbed, the soul is shaken with the fear of toil and
pain; lest it should be lost and destroyed, the soul is shaken with the fear of death. For the
soul loves it from the force of habit, not knowing that by using it well and wisely its
resurrection and reformation will, by the divine help and decree, be without any trouble
made subject to its authority. But when the soul turns to God wholly in this love, it knows
these things, and so will not only disregard death, but will even desire it.

41. Then there is the great struggle with pain. But there is nothing, though of iron
hardness, which the fire of love cannot subdue. And when the mind is carried up to God
in this love, it will soar above all torture free and glorious, with wings beauteous and
unhurt, on which chaste love rises to the embrace of God. Otherwise God must allow the
lovers of gold, the lovers of praise, the lovers of women, to have more fortitude than the
lovers of Himself, though love in those cases is rather to be called passion or lust. And
yet even here we may see with what force the mind presses on with unflagging energy, in
spite of all alarms, towards what it loves; and we learn that we should bear all things
rather than forsake God, since those men bear so much in order to forsake Him.
XXIII. Scripture precepts and examples of fortitude.

42. Instead of quoting here authorities from the New Testament, where it is said, "Tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope;"^ and where, in addition to these words, there is proof and confirmation of them from the example of those who spoke them; I will rather summon an example of patience from the Old Testament, against which the Manichseans make fierce assaults. Nor will I refer to the man who, in the midst of great bodily suffering, and with a dreadful disease in his limbs, not only bore human evils, but discoursed of things divine. Whoever gives considerate attention to the utterances of this man, will learn from every one of them what value is to be attached to those things which men try to keep in their power, and in so doing are themselves brought by passion into bondage, so that they become the slaves of mortal things, while seeking ignorantly to be their masters. This man, in the loss of all his wealth, and on being suddenly reduced to the greatest poverty, kept his mind so unshaken and fixed upon God, as to manifest that these things were not great in his view, but that he was great in relation to them, and God to him.^ If this mind were to be found in men in our day, we should not be so strongly cautioned in the New Testament against the possession of these things in order that we may be perfect; for to have these things without cleaving to them is much more admirable than not to have them at all.

43. But since we are speaking here of bearing pain and bodily sufferings, I pass from this man, great as he was, indomitable as he was: this is the case of a man. But these Scriptures present to me a woman of amazing fortitude, and I must at once go on to her case. This woman, along with seven children, allowed the tyrant and executioner to extract her vitals from her body rather than a profane word from her mouth, encouraging her sons by her exhortations, though she suffered in the tortures of their bodies, and was herself to undergo what she called on them to bear.^ What patience could be greater than this? And yet why should we be astonished that the love of God, implanted in her inmost heart,

1 Rom. V. 3, 4. 2 joi3 j 2. 3 2 Mac. vii.

JUSTICE AND PRUDENCE. 29

bore up against tyrant, and executioner, and pain, and sex, and natural affection? Had she not heard, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints?" ^ Had she not heard, "A patient man is better than the mightiest?" ^ Had she not heard, "All that is appointed thee receive; and in pain bear it; and in abasement keep thy patience: for in fire are gold and silver tried?" ^ Had she not heard, "The fire tries the vessels of the potter,
and for just men is the trial of tribulation? * These she knew, and many other precepts of fortitude written in these books, which alone existed at that time, by the same divine Spirit who writes those in the New Testament.

XXIV. â€” Of justice and prudence

4:4:. What of justice as regards God? As the Lord says, "Ye cannot serve two masters," and the apostle denounces those who serve the creature rather than the Creator; was it not said before in the Old Testament, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve?" I need say no more on this, for these books are full of such passages.

The lover, then, whom we are describing, will get from justice this rule of life, that he must with perfect readiness serve the God whom he loves, the highest good, the highest wisdom, the highest peace; and as regards all other things, must either rule them as subject to himself, or treat them with a view to their subjection. This rule of life is, as we have shown, confirmed by the authority of both Testaments.

45. With equal brevity we must treat of prudence, to which it belongs to discern between what is to be desired and what to be shunned. Without this, nothing can be done of what we have already spoken of. It is the part of prudence to keep watch with most anxious vigilance, lest any evil influence should stealthily creep in upon us. Thus the Lord often exclaims, "Watch;" and He says, "Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you." And then it is said, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?" 

^ Ps. cxvi. 15. 2 pj.Qy^ xvi. 32. Ecclus. ii. 4, 5. * Ecclus. xxvii. 6. 5 Matt. vi. 24. 6 jojn. i. 25. ^ Deut. vi. 13.

8 A name given by Augustine to the Holy Spirit, v. xxx.

9 Matt. xxiv. 42. Io John xii. 35.

30 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

lump? ^ And no passage can be quoted from the Old Testament more expressly condemning this mental somnolence, which makes us insensible to destruction advancing on us step by step, than those words of the prophet, "He who despiseth small things shall fall by degrees." On this topic I might discourse at length did our haste allow of it. And did our present task demand it, we might perhaps prove the depth of these mysteries, by making a mock of which profane men in their perfect ignorance fall, not certainly by degrees, but with a headlong overthrow.
XXV. â€” Four moral duties regarding the love of God, of which love the reward is eternal life and the knowledge of the truth.

46. I need say no more about right conduct. For if God is man's chief good, which you cannot deny, it clearly follows, since to seek the chief good is to live well, that to live well is nothing else but to love God with all the heart, with all the soul, with all the mind; and, as arising from this, that this love must be preserved entire and incorrupt, which is the part of temperance; that it give way before no troubles, which is the part of fortitude; that it serve no other, which is the part of justice; that it be watchful in its inspection of things lest craft or fraud steal in, which is the part of prudence. This is the one perfection of man, by which alone he can succeed in attaining to the purity of truth. This both Testaments enjoin in concert; this is commended on both sides alike. Why do you continue to cast reproaches on Scriptures of which you are ignorant? Do you not see the folly of your attack upon books which only those who do not understand them find fault with, and which only those who find fault fail in understanding? For neither can an enemy know them, nor can one who knows them be other than a friend to them.

47. Let us then, as many as have in view to reach eternal life, love God with all the heart, with all the soul, with all the mind. For eternal life contains the whole reward in the promise of which we rejoice; nor can the reward precede desert, nor be given to a man before he is worthy of it. What can be more unjust than this, and what is more just than God? We should not then demand the reward before we deserve to get it. Here, perhaps, it is not out of place to ask what is eternal life; or rather let us hear the Bestower of it:

"This," He says, "is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." -Supreme eternal life is the knowledge of the truth. See, then, how perverse and preposterous is the character of those who think that their teaching of the knowledge of God will make us perfect, when this is the reward of those already perfect!

What else, then, have we to do but first to love with full affection Him whom we desire to know? Hence arises that principium on which we have all along insisted, that there is nothing more wholesome in the Catholic Church than using authority before argument.

XXVI. â€” Love of ourselves and of our neighbour.

48. To proceed to what remains. It may be thought that there is nothing here about man himself, the lover. But to think this, shows a want of clear perception. For it is impossible for one who loves God not to love himself. For he has a proper love for himself who aims diligently at the attainment of the chief and true good; and if this is
nothing else but God, as has been shown, what is to prevent one who loves God from loving himself? And then, among men should there be no bond of mutual love? Yea, verily; so that we can think of no surer step towards the love of God than the love of man to man.

49. Let the Lord then supply us with the other precept in answer to the question about the precepts of life; for He was not satisfied with one, as knowing that God is one thing and man another, and that the difference is nothing less than that between the Creator and the thing created in the likeness of its Creator. He says then that the second precept is, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Now you love your-

1 Jolin xvii. 3.

Retract, i. 7, Â§ 4: â€” I should have said sincere affection rather than MI; or it might be thought that the love of God will be no greater when we shall see Him face to face. Full, then, must be here understood as meaning that it cannot be greater while we walk by faith. There will be gl'eater, yea, perfect fulness, but only by sight."

Matt. xxii. 39.

32 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

self suitably when you love God better than yourself. What, then, you aim at in yourself you must aim at in your neighbour, namely, that he may love God with a perfect affection.

For you do not love him as yourself, unless you try to draw him to that good which you are yourself pursuing. For this is the one good which has room for all to pursue it along with thee. From this precept proceed the duties of human society, in which it is hard to keep from error. But the first thing to aim at is, that we should be benevolent, â€” that is, that we cherish no malice and no evil design against another. For man is the nearest neighbour of man.

50. Hear also what Paul says: *"The love of our neighbour," he says, "worketh no ill."

The testimonies here made use of are very short, but, if I mistake not, they are to the point, and sufficient for the purpose. And every one knows how many and how weighty are the words to be found everywhere in these books on the love of our neighbour. But as a man may sin against another in two ways, either by injuring him or by not helping him when it is in his power, and as it is for these things which no loving man would do that men are called wicked, all that is required is, I think, proved by these words, "The love of our neighbour worketh no ill." And if we cannot attain to good unless we first desist from working evil, our love of our neighbour is a sort of cradle of our love to God; so that, as it is said, "the love of our neighbour worketh no ill," we may rise from this to these other words,

"We know that all things issue in good to them that love God." " 
51. But there is a sense in which these either rise together to fulness and perfection, or, while the love of God is first in beginning, the love of our neighbour is first in coming to perfection. For perhaps divine love takes hold on us more rapidly at the outset, but we reach perfection more easily in lower things. However that may be, the main point is this, that no one should think that while he despises his neighbour he will come to happiness and to the God whom he loves. And would that it were as easy to seek the good of our neighbour, or to avoid hurting him, as it is for one

^ Rom. xiii. 10. ^ Rom. viii. 28.

XXVII. On doing good to the body of our neighbour.

(52. Man, then, as viewed by his fellow-man, is a rational soul with a mortal and earthly body in its service. Therefore he who loves his neighbour does good partly to the man's body, and partly to his soul. What benefits the body is called medicine; what benefits the soul, discipline. Medicine here includes everything that either preserves or restores bodily health. It includes, therefore, not only what belongs to the art of medical men, properly so called, but also food and drink, clothing and shelter, and every means of covering and protection to guard our bodies against injuries and mishaps from without as well as from within. For hunger and thirst, and cold and heat, and all violence from without, produce loss of that health which is the point to be considered.

53. Hence those who seasonably and wisely supply all the things required for warding off these evils and distresses are called compassionate, although they may have been so wise that no painful feeling disturbed their mind in the exercise of compassion. ^ 'No doubt the word compassionate implies sufferincr in the heart of the man who feels for the sorrow of another. And it is equally true that a wise man ought to be free from all painful emotion when he assists the needy, when he gives food to the hungry and water to the thirsty, when he clothes the naked, when he takes the stranger into his house, when he sets free the oppressed, when, lastly, he extends his charity to the dead in giving them
burial. Still the epithet compassionate is a proper one, although he acts with tranquillity of mind, not from the stimulus of painful feeling, but

* Retract, i. 7, Â§ 4: â€” "This does not mean that there are actually in this life wise men such as are here spoken of. My words are not, * although they are so wise,' but * although they were so wise.""

7 C

34 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

from motives of benevolence. There is no harm in the word compassionate when there is no passion in the case.

54. Fools, again, who avoid the exercise of compassion as a vice, because they are not sufficiently moved by a sense of duty without feeling also distressful emotion, are frozen into hard insensibility, which is very different from the calm of a rational serenity. God, on the other hand, is properly called compassionate; and the sense in which He is so will be understood by those whom piety and diligence have made fit to understand. There is a danger lest, in using the words of the learned, we harden the souls of the unlearned by leading them away from compassion instead of softening them with the desire of a charitable disposition. As compassion, then, requires us to ward off these distresses from others, so harmlessness forbids the infliction of them.

XXVIII. â€” On doing good to the soul of our neighbour. Two parts of discipline, restraint and instruction. Through good conduct we arrive at the knowledge of the truth.

55. As regards discipline, by which the health of the mind is restored, without which bodily health avails nothing for security against misery, the subject is one of great difficulty.

And as in the body we said it is one thing to cure diseases and wounds, which few can do properly, and another thing to meet the cravings of hunger and thirst, and to give assistance in all the other ways in which any man may at any time help another; so in the mind there are some things in which the high . and rare offices of the teacher are not much called for, â€” as, for instance, in advice and exhortation to give to the needy the things already mentioned as required for the body. To give such advice is to aid the mind by discipline, as giving the things themselves is aiding the body by our resources. But there are other cases where diseases of the mind, many and various in kind, are healed in a way strange and indescribable. Unless His medicine were sent from heaven to men, so heedlessly do they go on in sin, there would be no hope of salvation; and, indeed, even bodily health, if you go to the root of the matter, can have come to men from none but God, who gives to all things their being and their well-being.
56. This discipline, then, which is the medicine of the mind, as far as we can gather from the sacred Scriptures, includes two things, restraint and instruction. Restraint implies fear, and instruction love, in the person benefited by the discipline; for in the giver of the benefit there is the love without the fear. In both of these God Himself, by whose goodness and mercy it is that we are anything, has given us in the two Testaments a rule of discipline. For though both are found in both Testaments, still fear is prominent in the Old, and love in the New; which the apostle calls bondage in the one, and liberty in the other. Of the marvellous order and divine harmony of these Testaments it would take long to speak, and many pious and learned men have discoursed on it. The theme demands many books to set it forth and explain it as far as is possible for man. He, then, who loves his neighbour endeavours all he can to procure his safety in body and in soul, making the health of the mind the standard in his treatment of the body. And as regards the mind, his endeavours are in this order, that he should first fear and then love God. This is true excellence of conduct, and thus the knowledge of the truth is acquired which we are ever in the pursuit of.

57. The Manichseans agree with me as regards the duty of loving God and our neighbour, but they deny that this is taught in the Old Testament. How greatly they err in this is, I think, clearly shown by the passages quoted above on both these duties. But, in a single word, and one which only stark madness can oppose, do they not see the unreasonableness of denying that these very two precepts which they commend are quoted by the Lord in the Gospel from the Old Testament, " Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" and the other, " Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?" Or if they dare not deny this, from the light of truth being too strong for them, let them deny that these precepts are salutary; let them deny, if they can, that they teach the best morality; let them assert that it is not a duty to love God, or to love our neighbour; that all things do not issue in good

* Deut. vi. 6; Lev. xix. 18; Matt. xxii. 37, 39.

36 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

to them that love God; that it is not true that the love of our neighbour worketh no ill (a twofold regulation of human life which is most salutary and excellent). By such assertions they cut themselves off not only from Christians, but from mankind. But if they dare not speak thus, but must confess the divinity of the precepts, why do they not desist from assailing and maligning mth horrible profanity the books from which they are quoted?

58. Will they say, as they often do, that although we find these precepts in the books, it does not follow that all is good that is found there? How to meet and refute this quibble I
do not well see. Shall I discuss the words of the Old Testament one by one, to prove to stubborn and ignorant men their perfect agreement with the New Testament? But when will this be done? When shall I have time, or they patience? What, then, is to be done? Shall I desert the cause, and leave them to escape detection in an opinion which, though false and impious, is hard to disprove? I will not. God will Himself be at hand to aid me; nor will He suffer me in those straits to remain helpless or forsaken.

XXIX. Of the authority of the Scriptures.

59. Attend, then, ye Manichseans, if perchance there are some of you of whom your superstition has hold so as to allow you yet to escape. Attend, I say, without obstinacy, without the desire to oppose, otherwise your decision will be fatal to yourselves. No one can doubt, and you are not so lost to the truth as not to understand that if it is good, as all allow, to love God and our neighbour, whatever hangs on these two precepts cannot rightly be pronounced bad. What it is that hangs on them it would be absurd to think of learning from me. Hear Christ Himself; hear Christ, I say; hear the Wisdom of God: "On these two commandments," He says, "hang all the law and the prophets."  

60. What can the most shameless obstinacy say to this? That these are not Christ's words? But they are written in the Gospel as His words. That the writing is false? Is not this most profane blasphemy? Is it not most presumptuous to speak thus? Is it not most foolhardy? Is it not most criminal? The worshippers of idols, who hate even the name of Christ, never dared to speak thus against these Scriptures.

AUTHOEITY OF THE SCRIPTURES. 37

to speak thus? Is it not most foolhardy? Is it not most criminal? The worshippers of idols, who hate even the name of Christ, never dared to speak thus against these Scriptures. For the utter overthrow of all literature will follow, and there will be an end to all books handed down from the past, if what is supported by such a strong popular belief, and established by the uniform testimony of so many men and so many times, is brought into such suspicion, that it is not allowed to have the credit and the authority of common history. In fine, what can you quote from any writings of which I may not speak in this way, if it is quoted against my opinion and my purpose?
61. And is it not intolerable that they forbid us to believe a book widely known and placed now in the hands of all, while they insist on our believing the book which they quote?
If any writing is to be suspected, what should be more so than one which has not merited notoriety, or which may be throughout a forgery, bearing a false name? If you force such a writing on me against my will, and make a display of authority to drive me into belief, shall I, when I have a writing which I see spread far and wide for a length of time, and sanctioned by the concordant testimony of churches scattered over all the world, degrade myself by doubting, and, worse degradation, by doubting at your suggestion? Even if you brought forward other readings, I should not receive them unless supported by general agreement; and this being the case, do you think that now, when you bring forward nothing to compare with the text except your own silly and inconsiderate statement, mankind are so unreasonable and so forsaken by divine Providence as to prefer to those Scriptures not others quoted by you in refutation, but merely your own words? You ought to bring forward another manuscript with the same contents, but incorrupt and more correct, with only the passage wanting which you charge with being spurious.
Por example, if you hold that the Epistle of Paul to the Romans is spurious, you must bring forward another incorrupt, or rather another manuscript with the same epistle of the same apostle, free from error and corruption. You say you will not, lest you be suspected of corrupting it. This is

38 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
your usual reply, and a true one. Were you to do this, we should assuredly have this very suspicion; and all men of any sense would have it too. See then what you are to think of your own authority; and consider whether it is right to believe your words against these Scriptures, when the simple fact that a manuscript is brought forward by you makes it dangerous to put faith in it.

XXX. â€” The Church apostrophized as teacher of all wisdom. Doctrine of the Catholic Church.

62. But why say more on this? For who but sees that men who dare to speak thus against the Christian Scriptures, though they may not be what they are suspected of being, are at least no Christians? For to Christians this rule of life is given, that we should love the Lord our God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the mind, and our neighbour as ourselves; for on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. Eightly, then. Catholic Church, most true mother of Christians, dost thou not only teach that God alone, to find whom is the happiest life, must be worshipped in perfect purity and chastity, bringing in no creature as an object of adoration whom we should be required to serve; and from that incorrupt and inviolable eternity to which alone man should be made subject, in cleaving to which alone the rational soul escapes misery, excluding everything made, everything liable to change, everything under the
power of time; without confounding what eternity, and truth, and peace itself keeps separate, or separating what a common majesty unites: but thou dost also contain love and charity to our neighbour in such a way, that for all kinds of diseases with which souls are for their sins afflicted, there is found with thee a medicine of prevailing efficacy.

63. Thy training and teaching are childlike for children, forcible for youths, peaceful for the aged, taking into account the age of the mind as well as of the body. Thou subjectest women to their husbands in chaste and faithful obedience, not to gratify passion, but for the propagation of offspring, and for domestic society. Thou givest to men authority over their wives, not to mock the weaker sex, but in the laws of un-

THE CHURCH APOSTROPHIZED. 39

feigned love. Thou dost subordinate children to their parents in a kind of free bondage, and dost set parents over their children in a godly rule. Thou bindest brothers to brothers in a religious tie stronger and closer than that of blood. "Without violation of the connections of nature and of choice, thou bringest within the bond of mutual love every relationship of kindred, and every alliance of affinity. Thou teachest servants to cleave to their masters from delight in their task rather than from the necessity of their position. Thou renderest masters forbearing to their servants, from a regard to God their common Master, and more disposed to advise than to compel. Thou unitest citizen to citizen, nation to nation, yea, man to man, from the recollection of their first parents, not only in society but in fraternity. Thou teachest kings to seek the good of their peoples; thou counsellest peoples to be subject to their kings. Thou teachest carefully to whom honour is due, to whom regard, to whom reverence, to whom fear, to whom consolation, to whom admonition, to whom encouragement, to whom discipline, to whom rebuke, to whom punishment; showing both how all are not due to all, and how to all love is due, and how injury is due to none.

64. Then, after this human love has nourished and invigorated the mind cleaving to thy breast, and fitted it for following God, when the divine majesty has begun to disclose itself as far as suffices for man while a dweller on the earth, such fervent charity is produced, and such a flame of divine love is kindled, that by the burning out of all vices, and by the purification and sanctification of the man, it becomes plain how divine are these words, *I am a consuming fire," ^

^ Deut. iv. 24. Retract, i. 7, Â§ 5: â€” "The Pelagians may think that I have spoken of perfection as attainable in this life. But they must not think so. For the fervour of charity which is fitted for following God, and of force enough to consume all vices, can have its origin and growth in this life; but it does not follow that it can here accomplish the purpose of its origin, so that no vice shall remain in the man; although this great effect is produced by this same fervour of charity, when and where this is possible, that, as the laver of regeneration purifies from the guilt of all the sins which attach to man's birth, or come from his evil conduct, so this perfection may purify
him from all stain of the vices which necessarily attend human infirmity in this world. So we must understand the words of the apostle: * Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it; cleansing it with the washing of water by the word, that He might

40 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

and, "I have come to send fire on the earth." \(^*\) These two utterances of one God stamped on both Testaments, exhibit with harmonious testimony the sanctification of the soul, pointing forward to the accomplishment of that which is also quoted in the New Testament from the Old: " Death is swallowed up in victory. death, where is thy sting? Where, death, is thy contest?"\(^*\) Could these heretics understand this one saying, no longer proud but quite reconciled, they would worship God nowhere but with thee and in thy bosom. In thee, as is fit, divine precepts are kept by widelystattered multitudes. In thee, as is fit, it is well understood how much more heinous sin is when the law is known than when it is unkno\(^\parallel\)Ti. For " the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law,"\(^*\) which adds to the force with which the consciousness of disregard of the precept strikes and slays. In thee it is seen, as is fit, how vain is effort under the law, when lust lays waste the mind, and is held in check by fear of punishment, instead of being overborne by the love of virtue. Thine, as is fit, are the many hospitable, the many friendly, the many compassionate, the many learned, the many chaste, the many saints, the many so ardent in their love to God, that in perfect continence and amazing indifference to this world they find happiness even in solitude.

XXXI. â€” The life of the Anachoretes and Cosnobites set against the continence of the Manichceans.

65. What must we think is seen by those who can live without seeing their fellowcreatures, though not without loving them? It must be something transcending human things in contemplating which man can live without seeing his fellow-man. Hear now, ye ManichaBans, the customs and notable continence of perfect Christians, who have thought it right not only to praise but also to practise the height of chastity, that you may be restrained, if there is any shame in

present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing' (Eph. v. 25-27). For in this world there is the washing of water by the word which purifies the Church. But as the whole Church, as long as it is here, says, * Forgive us our debts,' it certainly is not while here without spot, or wTinkle, or any such thing; but from that which it here receives, it is led on to the glory which is not here, and to perfection."

1 Luke xii. 49. 2 Hos. xiii. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55. 2 i Qq\(^\parallel\) ^v. 56.
you, from vaunting your abstinence before uninstructed minds as if it were the hardest of all things. I will speak of things of which you are not ignorant, though you hide them from us.

For who does not know that there is a daily increasing multitude of Christian men of absolute continence spread all over the world, especially in the East and in Egypt, as you cannot help knowing?

66. I will say nothing of those to whom I just now alluded, who, in complete seclusion from the view of men, inhabit regions utterly barren, content with simple bread, which is brought to them periodically, and with water, enjoying communion with God, to whom in purity of mind they cleave, and most blessed in contemplating His beauty, which can be seen only by the understanding of saints. I will say nothing of them, because some people think them to have abandoned human things more than they ought, not considering how much those may benefit us in their minds by prayer, and in their lives by example, whose bodies we are not permitted to see. But to discuss this point would take long, and would be fruitless; for if a man does not of his own accord regard this high pitch of sanctity as admirable and honourable, how can our speaking lead him to do so? Only the Manichseans, who make a boast of nothing, should be reminded that the abstinence and continence of the great saints of the Catholic Church has gone so far, that some think it should be checked and recalled within the limits of humanity, â€” so far above men, even in the judgment of those who disapprove, have their minds soared.

6 7. But if this is beyond our tolerance, who can but admire and commend those who, slighting and discarding the pleasures of this world, living together in a most chaste and holy society, unite in passing their time in prayers, in readings, in discussions, without any swelling of pride, or noise of contention, or sullenness of envy; but quiet, modest, peaceful, their life is one of perfect harmony and devotion to God, an offering most acceptable to Him from whom the power to do those things is obtained? No one possesses anything of his own; no one is a burden to another. They work with their hands in such occupations as may feed their bodies without dis-

42 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

tracting their minds from God. The product of their toil they give to the decans or tithesmen, â€” so called from being set over the tithes, â€” so that no one is occupied with the care of his body, either in food or clothes, or in any thing else required for daily use or for the common ailments. These decans, again, arranging everything with great care, and meeting promptly the demands made by that life on account of bodily infirmities, have one called "father," to whom they give in their accounts. These fathers are not only more saintly in their conduct, but also distinguished for divine learning, and of high character in every way; and without pride they superintend those whom they call
their children, having themselves great authority in giving orders, and meeting with willing obedience from those under their charge. At the close of the day they assemble from their separate dwellings before their meal to hear their father, assembling to the number of three thousand at least for one father; for one may have even a much larger number than this. They listen with astonishing eagerness in perfect silence, and give expression to the feelings of their minds as moved by the words of the preacher, in groans, or tears, or signs of joy without noise or shouting. Then there is refreshment for the body, as much as health and a sound condition of the body requires, every one checking unlawful appetite, so as not to go to excess even in the poor, inexpensive fare provided. So they not only abstain from flesh and wine, in order to gain the mastery over their passions, but also from those things which are only the more likely to whet the appetite of the palate and of the stomach, from what some call their greater cleanness, which often serves as a ridiculous and disgraceful excuse for an unseemly taste for exquisite viands, as distinct from animal food. Whatever they possess in addition to what is required for their support (and much is obtained, owing to their industry and frugality), they distribute to the needy with greater care than they took in procuring it for themselves. For while they make no effort to obtain abundance, they make every effort to prevent their abundance remaining with them, â€“ so much so, that they send shiploads to places inhabited by poor people. I need say no more on a matter known to all.

LIFE OF THE CCENOBITES. 4

68. Such, too, is the life of the women, who serve God assiduously and chastely, living apart and removed as far as propriety demands from the men, to whom they are united only in pious affection and in imitation of virtue. No young men are allowed access to them, nor even old men, however respectable and approved, except to the porch, in order to furnish necessary supplies. Tor the women occupy and maintain themselves by working in wool, and hand over the cloth to the brethren, from whom, in return, they get what they need for food. Such customs, such a life, such arrangements, such a system, I could not commend as it deserves, if I wished to commend it; besides, I am afraid that it would seem as if I thought it unlikely to gain acceptance from the mere description of it, if I considered myself obliged to add an ornamental eulogium to the simple narrative. Ye Manichaeans, find fault here if you can. Do not bring into prominence our tares before men too blind to discriminate.

XXXII. â€“ Praise of the clergy.
69. There is not, however, such narrowness in the moral excellence of the Catholic Church as that I should limit my praise of it to the life of those here mentioned. For how many bishops have I known most excellent and holy men, how many presbyters, how many deacons, and ministers of all kinds of the divine sacraments, whose virtue seems to me more admirable and more worthy of commendation on account of the greater difficulty of preserving it amidst the manifold varieties of men, and in this life of turmoil! For they preside over men needing cure as much as over those already cured. The vices of the crowd must be borne with in order that they may be cured, and the plague must be endured before it is subdued. To keep here the best way of life and a mind calm and peaceful is very hard. Here, in a word, we are among people who are learning to live. There they live.

XXXIII. â€” Another kind of men living together in cities. Fasts of three days.

70. Still I would not on this account cast a slight upon a praiseworthy class of Christians, â€” those, namely, who live together in cities, quite apart from common life. I saw at

44 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Milan a lodging-house of saints, in number not a few, presided over by one presbyter, a man of great excellence and learning. At Rome I knew several places where there was in each one eminent for weight of character, and prudence, and divine knowledge, presiding over all the rest who lived with him, in Christian charity, and sanctity, and liberty. These, too, are not burdensome to any one; but, in the Eastern fashion, and on the authority of the Apostle Paul, they maintain themselves with their own hands. I was told that many practised fasts of quite amazing severity, not merely taking only one meal daily towards night, which is everywhere quite common, but very often continuing for three days or more in succession without food or drink. And this among not men only, but women, who also live together in great numbers as widows or virgins, gaining a livelihood by spinning and weaving, and presided over in each case by a woman of the greatest judgment and experience, skilled and accomplished not only in directing and forming moral conduct, but also in instructing the understanding.

71. With all this, no one is pressed to endure hardships for which he is unfit; nothing is imposed on any one against his will; nor is he condemned by the rest because he confesses himself too feeble to imitate them: for they bear in mind how strongly Scripture enjoins charity on all; they bear in mind, "To the pure all things are pure," ^ and " ISTot that which entereth into your mouth defileth you, but that which Cometh out of it." ^ Accordingly, all their endeavours are concerned not about the rejection of kinds of food as polluted, but about the subjugation of inordinate desire and the maintenance of brotherly love. They remember, "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them; " ^ and again, " ]!!^either if we eat shall we abound, nor if we refrain from eating shall we be in want; " * and, above all, this: " It is good, my brethren, not to eat flesh, nor drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother is offended; "
for this passage shows that love is the end to be aimed at in all these things. " For one man," he says, " believes that he can eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. He

1 Tit. i. 15. 2 jatt. xv. 11. \*l Cor. vi. 13. * 1 Cor. viii. 8.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY. 45

that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath approved him. Who art thou that thou shouldest judge another man's servant? To his own master he stands or falls; but he shall stand: for God is able to make him to stand." And a little after: " He that eateth, to the Lord he eateth, and giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." And also in what follows: " So every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, then, any more judge one another: but judge this rather, that ye place no stumbling-block, or cause of offence, in the way of a brother. I know, and am confident in the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing common in itself: but to him that thinketh anything to be common, to him it is common." Could he have shown better that it is not in the things we eat, but in the mind, that there is a power able to pollute it, and therefore -that even those who are fit to think lightly of these things, and know perfectly that they are not polluted if they take any food in mental superiority, without being gluttons, should still have regard to charity? See what he adds: " For if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably."

72. Read the rest: it is too long to quote all. You will find that those able to think lightly of such things, â€” that is, those of greater strength and stability, â€” are told that they must nevertheless abstain, lest those should be offended who from their weakness are still in need of such abstinence. The people I was describing know and observe these things; for they are Christians, not heretics. They understand Scripture according to the apostolic teaching, not according to the presumptuous and fictitious name of apostle.â€ Him that eats not no one despises; him that eats no one judges; he who is weak eats herbs. Many who are strong, however, do this for the sake of the weak; with many the reason for so doing is not this, but that they may have a cheaper diet, and may lead a life of the greatest tranquillity, with the least expensive provision for the support of the body. " For all things are lawful

^ Rom. xiv. 2-21.

* See title of the Epistle of Maniciliseus, Contra Faust, xiii. 4.

46 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
for me," he says; "but I will not be brought under the power of any." Thus many do not eat flesh, and yet do not superstitiously regard it as unclean. And so the same people who abstain when in health take it when unwell without any fear, if it is required as a cure. Many drink no wine; but they do not think that wine defiles them; for they cause it to be given with the greatest propriety and moderation to people of languid temperament, and, in short, to all who cannot have bodily health without it. When some foolishly refuse it, they counsel them as brothers not to let a silly superstition make them weaker instead of making them holier. They read to them the apostle's precept to his disciple to "take a little wine for his many infirmities." Then they diligently exercise piety; bodily exercise, they know, profiteth for a short time, as the same apostle says.

73. Those, then, who are able, and they are without number, abstain both from flesh and from wine for two reasons: either for the weakness of their brethren, or for their own liberty. Charity is principally attended to. There is charity in their choice of diet, charity in their speech, charity in their dress, charity in their looks. Charity is the point where they meet, and the plan by which they act. To transgress against charity is thought criminal, like transgressing against God. Whatever opposes this is attacked and expelled; whatever injures it is not allowed to continue for a single day. They know that it has been so enjoined by Christ and the apostles; that without it all things are empty, with it all are fulfilled.

XXXIV. â€” The Church is not to be blamed for the conduct of bad Christians. Worshippers of tombs and pictures.

74. Make objections against these, ye Manichseans, if you can. Look at these people, and speak of them reproachfully, if you dare, without falsehood. Compare their fasts with your fasts, their chastity with yours; compare them to yourselves in dress, food, self-restraint, and, lastly, in charity. Compare, which is most to the point, their precepts with yours. Then you will see the difference between show and sincerity, between the right way and the wrong, between faith and imposture, between strength and inflatedness, between happiness

1 1 Cor. vi. 12. 2 1 Yim. v. 23. 3 1 Tim. iv. 8.

TAKES AMONG THE WHEAT. 47

and wretchedness, between unity and disunion; in short, between the sirens of superstition and the harbour of religion.

75. Do not summon against me professors of the Christian name, who neither know nor give evidence of the power of their profession. Do not hunt up the numbers of ignorant people, who even in the true religion are superstitious, or are so given up to evil passions as to forget what they have promised to God. I know that there are many worshippers of
tombs and pictures. I know that there are many who drink to great excess over the dead, and who, in the feasts which they make for corpses, bury themselves over the buried, and give to their gluttony and drunkenness the name of religion. I know that there are many who in words have renounced this world, and yet desire to be burdened with all the weight of worldly things, and rejoice in such burdens. Nor is it surprising that among so many multitudes you should find some by condemning whose life you may deceive the unwary and seduce them from Catholic safety; for in your small numbers you are at a loss when called on to show even one out of those whom you call the elect who keeps the precepts, which in your indefensible superstition you profess. How silly those are, how impious, how mischievous, and to what extent they are neglected by most, nearly all of you, I have shown in another volume.

76. My advice to you now is this: that you should at least desist from slandering the Catholic Church, by declaiming against the conduct of men whom the Church herself condemns, seeking daily to correct them as wicked children. Then, if any of them by good will and by the help of God are corrected, they regain by repentance what they had lost by sin. Those, again, who with wicked will persist in their old vices, or even add to them others still worse, are indeed allowed to remain in the field of the Lord, and to grow along with the good seed; but the time for separating the tares will come. Or if, from their having at least the Christian name, they are to be placed among the chaff rather than among thistles, there will also come One to purge the floor and to separate the chaff from the wheat, and to assign to each part (according to its desert) the due reward.

* Matt. iii. 13, and xiii. 24-43.

48 MORALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

XXXV. â€” Marriage and property allowed to the baptized by the apostles.

77. Meanwhile, why do you rage? why does party spirit blind your eyes? Why do you entangle yourselves in a long defence of such great error? Seek for fruit in the field, seek for wheat in the floor: they will be found easily, and will present themselves to the inquirer. Why do you look so exclusively at the dross? Why do you use the roughness of the hedge to scare away the inexperienced from the fatness of the garden? There is a proper entrance, though known to but a few; and by it men come in, though you disbelieve it, or do not wish to find it. In the Catholic Church there are believers without number who do not use the world, and there are those who "use it," in the words of the apostle, "as not using it," as was proved in those times when Christians were forced to worship idols. For then, how many wealthy men, how many peasant householders, how many merchants, how many military men, how many leading men in their own cities, and how many senators, people of both sexes, giving up all these empty and transitory things, though while they used them they were not bound down by them, endured death for the
salutary faith and religion, and proved to unbelievers that instead of being possessed by all these things they really possessed them?

78. Why do you reproach us by saying that men renewed in baptism ought no longer to beget children, or to possess fields, and houses, and money? Paul allows it. For, as cannot be denied, he wrote to believers, after recounting many kinds of evil-doers who shall not possess the kingdom of God: "And such were you," he says: "but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God." By the washed and sanctified, no one, assuredly, will venture to think any are meant but believers, and those who have renounced this world. But, after showing to whom he writes, let us see whether he allows these things to them. He goes on: "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any. Meat for the belly, and the belly for meats:

Â» 1 Cor. vii. 31.

MAKRiAGE ALLOWABLE. 49

but God will destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.
But God raised up the Lord, and will raise us up also by His own power. Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid. Know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is made one body? for the twain, saith He, shall be one flesh. But he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit. Flee fornication. Whatever sin a man doeth is without the body: but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. Know ye not that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a great price: glorify God, and carry Him in your body." Â” "But of the things concerning which ye wrote to me: it is good for a man not to touch a woman.

JN'evertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence: and likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife. Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may have leisure for prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. For I would that all men were even as I myself: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." 2

79. Has the apostle, think you, both shown sufficiently to the strong what is highest, and permitted to the weaker what is next best? I STot to touch a woman he shows is highest when he says, "I would that all men were even as I myself."
But next to this highest is conjugal chastity, that man may not be the prey of fornication. Did he say that these people were not yet believers because they were married? Indeed, by this conjugal chastity he says that those who are united are sanctified by one another, if one of them is an unbeliever, 1 1 Cor. vi. 11-20. 2 I Qoj.\(^{\text{^^^ j:}}\)^

50 MOEALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

and that their children also are sanctified. "The unbelieving husband," he says, "is sanctified by the believing wife, and the unbelieving woman by the believing husband: otherwise your children would be unclean; but now are they holy." \(^{\text{^\^ Why do you persist in opposition to such plain truth? Why do you try to darken the light of Scripture by vain shadows?}}\)

80. Do not say that catechumens are allowed to have wives, but not believers; that catechumens may have money, but not believers. For there are many who use as not using. And in that sacred washing the renewal of the new man is begun so as gradually to reach perfection, in some more quickly, in others more slowly. The progress, however, to a new life is made in the case of many, if we view the matter without hostility, but attentively. As the apostle says of himself, "Though the outward man perish, the inward man is renewed day by day." \(^{\text{^\^ The apostle says that the inward man is renewed day by day that it may reach perfection; and you wish it to begin with perfection! And it were well if you did wish it. In reality, you aim not at raising the weak, but at misleading the unwary. You ought not to have spoken so arrogantly, even if it were known that you are perfect in your childish precepts. But when your conscience knows that those whom you bring into your sect, when they come to a more intimate acquaintance with you, will find many things in you which nobody hearing you accuse others would suspect, is it not great impertinence to demand perfection in the weaker Catholics, to turn away the inexperienced from the Catholic Church, while you show nothing of the kind in yourself to those thus turned away? But not to seem to inveigh against you without reason, I will now close this volume, and will proceed at last to set forth the precepts of your life and your notable customs.}}\)

1 1 Cor. vii. 14. ^2 Cor. iv. 1$.

ON THE MOEALS OF THE MANICH\(^{\text{^\^ANS}}\).

I. â€” The supreme good is that which is possessed, of supreme existence.

1. TT^VEEY one, I suppose, will allow that the question of things good and evil belongs to moral science, in which such terms are in common use. -. It is therefore to be wished that men would bring to these inquiries such a clear intellectual perfection as might enable them to see the chief good, than which nothing is better or higher, next in order to which comes a rational soul in a state of purity and perfection. If this were clearly understood, it would also become evident that the chief good is that which is properly described as having supreme and original existence. For that exists in the highest sense of the word which continues always the same, which is throughout like itself, which cannot in any part be corrupted or changed, which is not subject to time, which admits of no variation in its present as compared with its former condition. This is existence in its true sense. For in this signification of the word existence there is implied a nature which is self-contained, and which continues immutably. Such things can be said only of God, to whom there is nothing contrary in the strict sense of the word. For the contrary of existence is non-existence. There is therefore no nature contrary to God. But since the minds with which we approach the study of these subjects have their vision damaged.

52 MOEALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

and dulled by silly notions, and by perversity of will, let us try what we can to gain some little knowledge of this great matter by degrees and with caution, making our inquiries not like men able to see, but like men groping in the dark.

II. â€” What evil is. That evil is that which is against nature. In allowing this, the Manichæans refute themselves.

2. You Manichæans often, if not in every case, ask those whom you try to bring over to your heresy ï "V^Qience is evil ?
Suppose I had now met you for the first time, I would ask you, if you please, to follow my example in putting aside for a little the explanation you suppose yourselves to have got of these subjects, and to commence this great inquiry with me as if for the first time. You ask me, Whence is evil? I ask you in return. What is evil? Which is the most reasonable question? Are those right who ask whence a thing is, when they do not know what it is; or he who thinks it necessary to inquire first what it is, in order to avoid the gross absurdity of searching for the origin of a thing unknown? Your answer is quite correct, when you say that evil is that which is contrary to nature; for no one is so mentally blind as not to see that, in every kind, evil is that which is contrary to the nature of the kind. But the establishment of this doctrine is the overthrow of your heresy. For evil is no nature if it is contrary to nature. Now, according to you, evil is a certain nature and substance. Moreover, whatever is contrary to nature must oppose nature and seek its destruction. For nature means nothing else than that which anything is conceived of as being in its own kind. Hence is the new word which we now use derived from the word for being, â€” essence namely, or, as we usually say, substance, â€” while before these words were in use, the word nature was used instead. Here, then, if you will consider the matter without stubbornness, we see that evil is that which falls away from essence and tends to non-existence.

3. Accordingly, when the Catholic Church declares that God is the author of all natures and substances, those who understand this understand at the same time that God is not the author of evil. For how can He who is the cause of the being of all things be at the same time the cause of their not being, â€” that is, of their falling off from essence and tending to non-existence? For this is what reason plainly declares to be the definition of evil. Now, how can that race of evil of yours, which you make the supreme evil, be against nature, that is, against substance, when it, according to you, is itself a nature and substance? For if it acts against itself, it destroys its own existence; and when that is completely done, it will come at last to be the supreme evil. But this cannot be done, because you will have it not only to be, but to be everlasting?. That cannot then be the chief evil which is spoken of as a substance.

4. But what am I to do? I know that many of you can understand nothing of all this. I know, too, that there are some who have a good understanding and can see these things, and yet are so stubborn in their choice of evil, â€” a choice that will ruin their
understanding as well, â€” that they try rather to find what reply they can make in order to impose upon inactive and feeble minds, instead of giving their assent to the truth. Still I shall not regret having written either what one of you may come some day to consider impartially, and be led to abandon your error, or what men of understanding and in allegiance to God, and who are still untainted with your errors, may read and be kept from being led astray by your addresses.

III. â€” If evil is defined as that which is hurtful, this implies another refutation of the Manicheans.

5. Let us then inquire more carefully, and, if possible, more plainly. I ask you again. What is evil? If you say it is that which is hurtful, here, too, you will not answer amiss. But consider, I pray you; be on your guard, I beg of you; be so good as to lay aside party spirit, and make the inquiry for the sake of finding the truth, not of getting the better of it. Whatever is hurtful takes away some good from that to which it is hurtful; for without the loss of good there can be no hurt. What, I appeal to you, can be plainer than this? what more intelligible? What else is required for complete demonstration to one of average understanding, if he is not perverse? But, if this is granted, the consequence seems plain. In that race which you take for the chief evil, nothing can be liable to be hurt, since there is no good in it. But if, as you assert, there are two natures, â€” the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness; since you make the kingdom of light to be God, attributing to it an uncompounded nature, so that it has no part inferior to another, you must grant, however decidedly in opposition to yourselves, you must grant, nevertheless, that this nature, which you not only do not deny to be the chief good, but spend all your strength in trying to show that it is so, is immutable, incorruptible, impenetrable, inviolable, for otherwise it would not be the chief good; for the chief good is that than which there is nothing better, â€” and for such a nature to be hurt is impossible. Again, if, as has been shown, to hurt is to deprive of good, there can be no hurt to the kingdom of darkness, for there is no good in it. And as the kingdom of light cannot be hurt, as it is inviolable, what can the evil you speak of be hurtful to?

IV. â€” The difference between what is good in itself and what is good by â€“ participation.

6. Now, compare with this perplexity, from which you cannot escape, the consistency of the statements in the teaching of the Catholic Church, according to which there is one good which is good supremely and in itself, and not by the participation of any good, but
by its own nature and essence; and another good which is good by participation, and by having something bestowed. Thus it has its being as good from the supreme good, which, however, is still self-contained, and loses nothing. This second kind of good is called a creature, which is liable to hurt through falling away. (But of this falling away God is not the author, for He is author of existence and of being. Here we see the proper use of the word evil; for it is correctly applied not to essence, but to negation or loss. We see, too, what nature it is which is liable to hurt. This nature is not the chief evil, for when it is hurt it loses good; nor is it the chief good, for its falling away from good is because it is good not by existence, but by possessing the good. And a thing cannot be good by nature when it is spoken of as being made, which shows that the goodness was bestowed. Thus, on the one hand, God is the good, and all things which He has made are good, though not

TWO KINDS OF GOOD. 55

SO good as He who made them. For what madman would venture to require that the works should equal the workman, the creatures the Creator? What more do you want? Could you wish for anything plainer than this?

V. â€” If evil is defined to be corruption, this completely refutes the Manichcean Jieresy.

7. I ask a third time, What is evil? Perhaps you will reply. Corruption. Undeniably this is a definition of evil; for corruption implies opposition to nature, and also hurt. But corruption exists not by itself, but in some substance which it corrupts; for corruption itself is not a substance. So the thing which it corrupts is not corruption, is not evil; for what is corrupted suffers the loss of integrity and purity. So that which has no purity to lose cannot be corrupted; and what has, is necessarily good by the participation of purity. Again, what is corrupted is perverted; and what is perverted suffers the loss of order, and order is good. To be corrupted, then, does not imply the absence of good; for in corruption it can be deprived of good, which could not be if there was the absence of good. Therefore that race of darkness, if it was destitute of all good, as you say it was, could not be corrupted, for it had nothing which corruption could take from it; and if corruption takes nothing away, it does not corrupt. Say now, if you dare, that God and the kingdom of God can be corrupted, when you cannot show how the kingdom of the devil, such as you make it, can be corrupted.

VI. â€” What corruption affects, and what it is.
8. What further does the Catholic light say? What do you suppose, but what is the actual truth, â€” that it is the created substance which can be corrupted, for the uncreated, which is the chief good, is incorruptible; and corruption, which is the chief evil, cannot be corrupted; besides, that it is not a substance? But if you ask what corruption is, consider to what it seeks to bring the things which it corrupts; for it affects those things according to its own nature. Now all things by corruption fall away from what they were, and are brought to non-continuance, to non-existence; for existence implies continuance. So the supreme and chief existence is

56 MORALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

SO called because it continues in itself, or is self-contained. In the case of a thing changing for the better, the change is not from continuance, but from perversion to the worse, that is, from falling away from essence; the author of which falling away is not he who is the author of the essence. So in some things there is change for the better, and so a tendency towards existence. And this change is not called a perversion, but reversion or conversion; for perversion is opposed to orderly arrangement, i Now things which tend towards existence tend towards order; and in attaining order they attain existence, as far as that is possible to a creature. For order reduces to a certain uniformity that which it arranges; and existence is nothing else than being one. Thus, so far as anything acquires unity, so far it exists. For uniformity and harmony are the effects of unity, and by these compound things exist as far as they have existence. For simple things exist by themselves, for they are one. But things not simple imitate unity by the agreement of their parts; and so far as they attain this, so far they exist. This arrangement is the cause of existence, disorder of non-existence; and perversion or corruption are the other names for disorder. So whatever is corrupted tends to non-existence. You may now be left to reflect upon the effect of corruption, that you may discover what is the chief evil; for it is that which corruption aims at accomplishing.

VII. The goodness of God prevents corruption from bringing anything to non-existence. The difference between creating and forming.

9. But the goodness of God does not permit the accomplishment of this end, but so orders all things that fall away that they may exist where their existence is most suitable, till in the order of their movements they return to that from which they fell away. Thus, when rational souls fall away from God, although they possess the greatest amount of freewill, He ranks them in the lower grades of creation, where

* In Retract, i. 7, Â§ 6, it is said: 'This must not be understood to mean that all things return to that from which they fell away, as Origen believed, but only those which do return. Those who shall be punished in everlasting fire do not return to God, from whom they Tell away. Still they are in order as existing in punishment, where their existence is most suitable.'
WHAT IS CORRUPTION? 5 7

their proper place is. So they suffer misery by the divine judgment, while they are ranked suitably to their deserts.
Hence we see the excellence of that saying which you are always inveighing against so strongly, " I make good things, and create evil things." To create is to form and arrange. So in some copies it is written, " I make good things and form evil things." To make is used of things previously not in existence; but to form is to arrange what had some kind of existence, so as to improve and enlarge it. Such are the things which God arranges when He says, " I form evil things," meaning things which are falling off, and so tending to nonexistence, â€” not things which have reached that to which they tend. For it has been said, Nothing is allowed in the providence of God to go the length of non-existence.

10. These things might be discussed more fully and at greater length, but enough has been said for our purpose in dealing with you. We have only to show you the gate which you despair of finding, and make the uninstructed despair of it too. You can be made to enter only by good-will, on which the divine mercy bestows peace, as the song in the Gospel says, " Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good-will." It is enough, I say, to have shown you that there is no way of solving the religious question of good and evil, unless whatever is, as far as it is, is from God; while as far as it falls away from being it is not of God, and yet is always ordered by Divine Providence in agreement with the whole system. If you do not see this, I know nothing else that I can do but to discuss the things already said with greater particularity. For nothing save piety and purity can lead the mind to greater things.

VIII. â€” Evil is not a substance, but a disagreement hostile to substance. ^

11. For what other answer will you give to the question, What is evil? but either that it is against nature, or that it is hurtful, or that it is corruption, or something similar? But I have shown that in these replies you make shipwreck of your cause, unless, indeed, you will answer in the childish way in which you generally speak to children, that evil is

^ Isa. xlv. 7. 2 Lui^e ii. 14.

58 MORALS OF THE MiLN'ICH^ANS.

fire, poison, a wild beast, and so on. For one of the leaders of this heresy, whose instructions we attended with great familiarity and frequency, used to say with reference to a person who held that evil was not a substance, " I should like to put a scorpion in the man's hand, and see whether he would not withdraw his hand; and in so doing he would get a proof, not in words but in the thing itself, that evil is a substance, for he would not
deny that the animal is a substance." He said this not in the presence of the person, but to us, when we repeated to him the remark which had troubled us, 

Por who with the least tincture of learning or science does not see that these things hurt by disagreement with the bodily temperament, while at other times they agree with it, so as not only not to hurt, but to produce the best effects? For if this poison were evil in itself, the scorpion itself would suffer first and most. In fact, if the poison were quite taken from the animal, it would die. So for its body it is evil to lose what it is evil for our body to receive; and it is good for it to have what it is good for us to want. Is the same thing then both good and evil? By no means; but evil is what is against nature, for this is evil both to the animal and to us. This evil is the disagreement, which certainly is not a substance, but hostile to substance. 

12. We read in history of a female criminal in Athens, who succeeded in drinking the quantity of poison allotted as a fatal draught for the condemned with little or no injury to her health, by taking it at intervals. So, being condemned, she took the poison in the prescribed quantity like the rest, but rendered it powerless by accustoming herself to it, and did not die like the rest. And as this excited great wonder, she was banished. If poison is an evil, are we to think that she made it to be no evil to her? What could be more ab-

EVIL NOT A SUBSTANCE. 59

surd than this? But because disagreement is an evil, what she did was to make the poisonous matter agree with her own body by a process of habituation. How could she by any amount of cunning have brought it about that disagreement should not hurt her? Why so? Because what is truly and properly an evil is hurtful both always and to all. Oil is beneficial to our bodies, but very much the opposite to many six-footed animals. And is not eel-bone sometimes food, sometimes medicine, and sometimes poison? Does not every one maintain that salt taken in excess is poisonous? And yet the benefits to the body from salt are innumerable and most important. Sea-water is injurious when drunk by landanimals, but it is most suitable and useful to many who bathe their bodies in it; and to fish it is useful and wholesome in both ways. Bread nourishes man, but kills hawks. And does not mud itself, which is offensive and noxious when swallowed or smelt, serve as cooling to the touch in hot weather, and as a cure for wounds from fire? What can be nastier than dung, or more worthless than ashes? And yet they are of such use to the fields, that the Eomans thought divine honours due to the discoverer, Stercutio, from whose name the word for dung [stercus] is derived.

13. But why enumerate details which are countless? We need not go farther than the four elements themselves, which, as every one knows, are beneficial where there is agreement,
and bitterly opposed to nature when there is disagreement in the objects acted upon. We who live in air die under earth or under water, while innumerable animals creep alive in sand or loose earth, and fish die in our air. Fire consumes our bodies, but, when suitably applied, it both restores from cold, and expels diseases without number. The sun to which you bow the knee, and than which, indeed, there is no fairer object among visible things, strengthens the eyes of eagles, but hurts and dims our eyes when we gaze on it; and yet we too can accustom ourselves to look without injury. Will you, then, allow the sun to be compared to the poison which the Athenian woman made harmless by habituating herself to it?

Reflect for once, and consider that if a substance is an evil because it hurts some one, the light which you worship can-

60 MORALS OF THE MAXICHIEANS.

not be acquitted of this charge. See the preferableness of making evil to consist in this disagreement, from which the sun's ray produces dimness in the eyes, though nothing is pleasanter to the eyes than light.

IX. â€” The ManichcBan fictions about things good and evil are not consistent with themselves.

14. I have said these things to make you cease, if that is possible, giving the name of evil to a region boundless in depth and length; to a mind wandering through the region; to the five caverns of the elements, â€” one full of darkness, another of waters, another of winds, another of fire, another of smoke; to the animals born in each of these elements, â€” serl'ents in the darkness, swimming creatures in the w^aters, flpng creatures in the winds, quadrupeds in the fire, bipeds in the smoke. For these things, as you describe them, cannot be called evil; for all such things, as far as they exist, must have their existence from the most high God, for as far as they exist they are good. If pain and weakness is an evil, the animals you speak of were of such physical strength that their abortive offspring, after, as your sect believes, the world was formed of them, fell from heaven to earth, according to you, and could not die. If blindness is an evil, they could see; if deafness, they could hear. If to be nearly or altogether dumb is an evil, their speech was so clear and intelligible, that, as you assert, they decided to make war against God in compliance with an address delivered in their assembly. If sterility is an evil, they were prolific in children. If exile is an evil, they were in their own country, having occupied their own territories. If servitude is an evil, some of them were rulers. If death is an evil, they were alive, and the Hfe was such that, by your statement, even after God was victorious, it was impossible for the mind ever to die.

15. Can you tell me how it is that in the chief evil so many good things are to be found, the opposites of the evils above mentioned? and if these are not evils, can any substance be an evil, as far as it is a substance? If weakness is not an evil, can a weak body be an
evil? If blindness is not an evil, can darkness be an evil? If deafness is not an evil, can a deaf man be an evil? If dumbness is not an evil, can a fish be an evil? If sterility is not an evil, how can we call a barren animal an evil? If exile is not an evil, how can we give that name to an animal in exile, or to an animal sending some one into exile? If servitude is not an evil, in what sense is a subject animal an evil, or one enforcing subjection? If death is not an evil, in what sense is a mortal animal an evil, or one causing death? Or if these are evils, must we not give the name of good things to bodily strength, sight, hearing, persuasive speech, fertility, native land, liberty, life, all which you hold to exist in that kingdom of evil, and yet venture to call it the perfection of evil?

16. Once more, if, as has never been denied, unsuitableness is an evil, what can be more suitable than those elements to their respective animals, â€” the darkness to serpents, the waters to swimming creatures, the winds to flying creatures, the fire to voracious animals, the smoke to soaring animals? Such is the harmony which you describe as existing in the race of strife; such the order in the seat of confusion. If what is hurtful is an evil, I do not repeat the strong objection already stated, that no hurt can be suffered where no good exists; but if that is not so clear, one thing at least is easily seen and understood as following from the acknowledged truth, that what is hurtful is an evil. The smoke in that region did not hurt bipeds: it produced them, and nourished and sustained them without injury in their birth, their growth, and their rule. But now, when the evil has some good mixed with it, the smoke has become more hurtful, so that we, who certainly are bipeds, instead of being sustained by it, are blinded, and suffocated, and killed by it. Could the mixture of good have given such destructiveness to evil elements? Could there be such confusion in the divine government?

17. In the other cases, at least, how is it that we find that congruity which misled your author and induced him to fabricate falsehoods? Why does darkness agree with serpents, and waters with swimming creatures, and winds with flying creatures, though the fire burns up quadrupeds, and smoke chokes us? Then, again, have not serpents very sharp sight, and do they not love the sunshine, and abound most where the calmness of the air prevents the clouds from gathering much or often? How very absurd that the natives and lovers of darkness should live most comfortably and agreeably where the clearest light is enjoyed! Or if you say that it is the heat rather than the light that they enjoy, it would be more reasonable to assign to fire serpents, which are naturally of rapid motion, than the slow-going asp. Besides, all must
admit that light is agreeable to the eyes of the asp, for they are compared to an eagle’s eyes. But enough of the lower animals. Let us, I pray, attend to what is true of ourselves without persisting in error, and so our minds shall be disentangled from silly and mischievous falsehoods. For is it not intolerable perversity to say that in the race of darkness, where there was no mixture of light, the biped animals had so sound and strong, so incredible force of eyesight, that even in their darkness they could see the perfectly pure light (as you represent it) of the kingdom of God? for, according to you, even these beings could see this light, and could gaze at it, and study it, and delight in it, and desire it; whereas our eyes, after mixture with light, with the chief good, yea, with God, have become so tender and weak, that we can neither see anything in the dark, nor bear to look at the sun, but, after looking, lose sight of what we could see before.

18. The same remarks are applicable if we take corruption to be an evil, which no one doubts. The smoke did not corrupt that race of animals, though it corrupts animals now. ‘Not to go over all the particulars, which would be tedious, and is not necessary, the living creatures of your imaginary description were so much less liable to corruption than animals are now/ that their abortive and premature offspring, cast headlong from heaven to earth, both lived and were productive, and could band together again, having, forsooth, their original vigour, because they were conceived before good was mixed with the evil); for, after this mixture, the animals born are, according to you, those which we now see to be very feeble and easily giving way to corruption. Can any one persist in the belief of error like this, unless he fails to see these things, or is affected by your habit and association in such an amazing way as to be proof against all the force of reasoning?

THREE SYMBOLS. 63

X. æ¢” Three moral symbols devised by the Manichceans for no good.

19. Now that I have shown, as I think, how much darkness and error is in your opinions about good and evil things in general, let us examine now those three symbols which you extol so highly, and boast of as excellent observances. What then are those three symbols? That of the mouth, that of the hands, and that of the breast. “What does this mean? That man, we are told, should be pure and innocent in mouth, in hands, and in breast. But what if he sins with eyes, ears, or nose? What if he hurts some one with his heels, or perhaps kills him? How can he be reckoned criminal when he has not sinned with mouth, hands, or breast? But, it is replied, by the mouth we are to understand all the organs of sense in the head; by the hands, all bodily actions; by the breast, all lustful tendencies. To what, then, do you assign blasphemies? To the mouth or to the hand? For blasphemy is an action of the tongue. And if all actions are to be classed under one head, why should you join together the actions of the hands and the feet, and not those of the tongue? Do you wish to separate the action of the tongue, as being for the purpose of expressing something, from actions which are not for
this purpose, so that the symbol of the hands should mean abstinence from all evil actions which are not for the purpose of expressing something? But then, what if some one sins by expressing something with his hands, as is done in writing or in some significant gesture? This cannot be assigned to the tongue and the mouth, for it is done by the hands. When you have three symbols of the mouth, the hands, and the breast, it is quite inadmissible to charge against the mouth sins found in the hands. And if you assign action in general to the hands, there is no reason for including under this the action of the feet and not that of the tongue. Do you see how the desire of novelty, with its attendant error, lands you in great difficulties? For you find it impossible to include purification of all sins in these three symbols, which you set forth as a kind of new classification.

XL â€” The value of the symbol of the mouth for the Manichceans, who are found guilty of blaspheming God.

20. Classify as you please, omit what you please, we must

discuss the doctrines you insist upon most. ( You say that the symbol of the mouth implies refraining from all blasphemy. But blasphemy is speaking evil of good things. So usually the word blasphemy is applied only to speaking evil of God; for as regards man there is uncertainty, but God is without controversy good. If, then, you are proved guilty of saying worse things of God than any one else says, what becomes of your famous symbol of the mouth? The evidence is not obscure, but clear and obvious to every understanding, and irresistible, the more so that no one can remain in ignorance of it, that God is incorruptible, immutable, liable to no injury, to no want, to no weakness, to no misery. All this the common sense of rational beings perceives, and even you assent when you hear it.

/ 21. But when you begin to relate your fables, that God is corruptible, and mutable, and subject to injury, and exposed to want and weakness, and not secure from misery, this is what you are blind enough to teach, and what some are blind enough to believe. And this is not all; for, according to you, God is not only corruptible, but corrupted; not only changeable, but changed; not only subject to injury, but injured; not only liable to want, but in want; not only possibly, but actually weak; not only exposed to misery, but miserable. ( You say that the soul is God, or a part of God. I do not see how it can be part of God without being God. A part of gold is gold; of silver, silver; of stone, stone; and, to come to greater things, part of earth is earth, part of water is water, and of air, air; and if you take part from fire, you will not deny it to be fire; and part of light can be nothing but light. Why then should part of God not be God? Has God a jointed body, like man and the lower animals? For part of man is not man.

22. I will deal with each of these opinions separately. If you view God as resembling light, you must admit that part of God is God. Hence, when you make the soul part of God, though you allow it to be corrupted as being foolish, and changed as having once
been wise, and in want as needing help, and feeble as needing medicine, and miserable as desiring happiness, all these things you profanely attribute to God. Or if you deny these things of the mind, it follows

IS GOD CORRUPTED ? 65

that the Spirit is not required to lead the soul into truth, since it is not in folly; nor is the soul renewed by true religion, since it does not need renewal; nor is it perfected by your symbols, since it is already perfect; nor does God give it assistance, since it does not need it; nor is Christ its physician, since it is in health; nor does it require the promise of happiness in another life. Why then is Jesus called the deliverer, according to His own words in the Gospel, " If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed ?"^ And the Apostle Paul says, "Ye have been called to liberty."^ The soul, then, which has not attained this liberty is in bondage. Therefore, according to you, God, since part of God is God, is both corrupted by folly, and is changed by falling, and is injured by the loss of perfection, and is in need of help, and is weakened by disease, and bowed down with misery, and subject to disgraceful bondage.

23/ Again, if part of God is not God, still He is not incorrupt when His part is corrupted, nor unchanged when there is change in His part, nor uninjured when He is not perfect in every part, nor free from want when He is busily endeavouring to recover part of Himself, nor quite whole when He has a weak part, nor perfectly happy when a part is suffering misery, nor entirely free when part is under bondage. These are conclusions to which you are driven, because you say that the soul, which you see to be in such a calamitous condition, is part of God. If you can succeed in making your sect abandon these and many similar opinions, then you may speak of your mouth being free from blasphemies. Better still, leave the sect; for if you cease to believe and to repeat what Manichseus has written, you are no longer Manichseans.

24. That God is the supreme good, and that than which nothing can be or can be conceived better, we must either understand or believe, if we wish to keep clear of blasphemy.

There is a relation of numbers which cannot possibly be impaired or altered, nor can any nature by any amount of violence prevent the number which comes after one from being the double of one. This can in no way be changed; and yet you represent God as changeable ! This relation

1 John viii. 36. 2 q^I. v. 13.
preserves its integrity inviolable; and you will not allow God an equality even in this! Let some race of darkness take in the abstract the number three, consisting of indivisible units, and divide it into two equal parts. Your mind perceives that no hostility could effect this. And can that which is unable to injure a numerical relation injure God? If it could not, what possible necessity could there be for His part being mixed with evil, and driven into such miseries?

XII. â€” Manichcean subterfuge.

2 p. For this gives rise to the question, which used to throw us into great perplexity even when we were your zealous disciples, nor could we find any answer, â€” what the race of darkness would have done to God, supposing He had refused to fight with it at the cost of such calamity to part of Himself. For if God would not have suffered any loss by remaining quiet, we thought it hard that we had been sent to endure so much. Again, if He would have suffered, His nature cannot have been incorruptible, as it behooves the nature of God to be. Sometimes the answer was, that it was not for the sake of escaping evil or avoiding injury, but that God in His natural goodness wished to bestow the blessing of order on a disturbed and disordered nature. This is not what we find in the Manichsean books: there it is constantly implied and constantly asserted that God guarded against an invasion of His enemies. But supposing this answer, which was given from want of a better, to represent the opinion of the Manichseans, is God, in their view, vindicated from the charge of cruelty or weakness? For this goodness of His to the hostile race proved most pernicious to His own subjects. Besides, if God's nature could not be corrupted nor changed, neither could any destructive influence corrupt or change us; and the order to be bestowed on the race of strangers might have been bestowed without robbing us of it.

2 6. 'Since those times, however, another answer has appeared which I heard recently at Carthage. For one, whom I wish much, to see brought out of this error, when reduced to this same dilemma, ventured to say that the kingdom had its own limits, which might be invaded by a hostile race, though God Himself could not be injured. But this is a reply which

. MANICHÂ•AN ABSTINENCE. 67

your founder would never consent to give; for he would be likely to see that such an opinion would lead to a still speedier demolition of his heresy. And in fact any one of average intellect, who hears that in this nature part is subject to injury and part not, will at once perceive that this makes not two but three natures, â€” one violable, a second inviolable, and a third violating.

XIII. â€” Actions to be judged of from their motive, not from externals.
27. Having every day in your mouth these blasphemies which come from your heart, you ought not to continue holding up the symbol of the mouth as something wonderful, to ensnare the ignorant. But perhaps you think the symbol of the mouth excellent and admirable because you do not eat flesh or drink wine. But what is your end in this? For according as the end we have in view in our actions, on account of which we do whatever we do, is not only not culpable but also praiseworthy, so only can our actions merit any praise. If the end we have regard to in any performance is unlawful and blameworthy, the performance itself will be unhesitatingly condemned as improper.

28. We are told of Catiline that he could bear cold, thirst, and hunger. This the vile miscreant had in common with our apostles. What then distinguishes the parricide from our apostles but the precisely opposite end which he followed? He bore these things in order to gratify his fierce and ungoverned passions; they, on the other hand, in order to restrain these passions and subdue them to reason. You often say, when you are told of the great number of Catholic virgins, a she-mule is a virgin. This, indeed, is said in ignorance of the Catholic system, and is not applicable. Still, what you mean is that this continence is worthless unless it leads, on right principles, to an end of high excellence. Catholic Christians might also compare your abstinence from wine and flesh to that of cattle and many small birds, as likewise of countless sorts of worms. But, not to be impertinent like you, I will not make this comparison prematurely, but will first examine your end in what you do. For I suppose I may

^ Sallust, in prolog. Catilin. Â§ 3.

68 MORALS OF THE MANICH^ANS.

safely take it as agreed on, that in such customs the end is the thing to look to. Therefore, if your end is to be frugal and to restrain the appetite which finds gratification in eating and drinking, I assent and approve. But this is not the case.

29. Suppose, what is quite possible, that there is one so frugal and sparing in his diet, that, instead of gratifying his appetite or his palate, he refrains from eating twice in one day, and at supper takes a little cabbage moistened and seasoned with lard, just enough to keep down hunger; and quenches his thirst, from regard to his health, with two or three draughts of pure wine; and this is his regular diet: whereas another of different habits never takes flesh or wine, but makes an agreeable repast at two o'clock on rare and foreign vegetables, varied with a number of courses, and well sprinkled with pepper, and sups in the same style towards night; and drinks honey-vinegar, mead, raisin-wine, and the juices of various fruits, no bad imitation of wine, and even surpassing it in sweetness; and drinks not for thirst but for pleasure; and makes this provision for himself daily, and feasts in this sumptuous style, not because he requires it,
but only gratifying his taste; &quot; which of these two do you regard as living most abstemiously in food and drink? You cannot surely be so blind as not to put the man of the little lard and wine above this glutton!

30. This is the true view; but your doctrine sounds very differently. For one of your elect distinguished by the three symbols may live like the second person in this description, and, though he may be reproofed by one or two of the more sedate, he cannot be condemned as abusing the symbols. But should he sup with the other person, and moisten his lips with a morsel of rancid bacon, or refresh them with a drink of spoilt wine, he is pronounced a transgressor of the symbol, and by the judgment of your founder is consigned to hell, while you, though wondering, must assent. Will you not discard these errors? Will you not listen to reason? Will you not offer some little resistance to the force of habit? Is not such doctrine most unreasonable? Is it not insanity? Is it not the greatest absurdity that one, who stuffs and loads his stomach every day to gratify his appetite with mushrooms.

YEGETAEIANISM. G9

rice, truffles, cake, mead, pepper, and assafoetida, and who fares thus every day, cannot be convicted of transgressing the three symbols, that is, the rule of sanctity; whereas another, who seasons his dish of the commonest herbs with some smoky morsel of meat, and takes only so much of this as is needed for the refreshment of his body, and drinks three cups of wine for the sake of keeping in health, should, for exchanging the former diet for this, be doomed to certain punishment?

XIV. &quot; Three good reasons for abstaining from certain kinds of food.

31. But, you reply, the apostle says, "It is good, brethren, neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine." "No one denies that this is good, provided that it is for the end already mentioned, of which it is said, " Make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof;" or for the ends pointed out by the apostle, namely, either to check the appetite, which is apt to go to a more wild and uncontrollable excess in these things than in others, or lest a brother should be offended, or lest the weak should hold fellowship with an idol. For at the time when the apostle wrote, the flesh of sacrifices was often sold in the market. And because wane, too, was used in libations to the gods of the Gentiles, many weaker brethren, accustomed to purchase such things, preferred to abstain entirely from flesh, and wine rather than run the risk of having fellowship, as they considered it, with idols, even ignorantly. And, for their sakes, even those who were stronger, and had faith enough to see the insinificance of these things, knowing that nothing is unclean except from an evil conscience, and holding by the saying of the Lord, "Kot that which entereth into your mouth defileth you, but that which cometh out of it," still, lest these weaker brethren should stumble, were bound to abstain from these things. And this is not
a mere theory, but is clearly taught in the epistles of the apostle himself. For you are in the habit of quoting only the words, "It is good, brethren, neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine," without adding what follows, "nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." These words show the intention of the apostle in giving the admonition.


70 MORALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

32. This is evident from the preceding and succeeding context. The passage is a long one to quote, but, for the sake of those who are indolent in reading and searching: the sacred Scriptures, we must give the whole of it. "Him that is weak in the faith," says the apostle, "receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations. For one believet that he may eat all things: another, who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth, for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both lived, and died, and rose again, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of God. For it is written. As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God." So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block, or occasion to fall, in his brother's way. I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing common of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything to be common, to him it is common. But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died. Let not then our good be evil spoken of. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he who in these things serveth

1 Isa. xliv. 23, 24.

CHRISTIAN ABSTINENCE. VI
Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another. For meat destroy not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil, for that man who eateth with offence. It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak. Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. And he that distinguishes is damned if he eats, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification. For even Christ pleased not Himself.

33. Is it not clear that what the apostle required was, that the stronger should not eat flesh nor drink wine, because they gave offence to the weak by not going along with them, and made them think that those who in faith judged all things to be pure, did homage to idols in not abstaining from that kind of food and drink? This is also set forth in the following passage of the Epistle to the Corinthians: "As concerning, therefore, the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him. Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some, with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered to an idol; and their conscience being weak is defiled. But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, shall we abound; neither, if we eat not, shall we suffer want. But take heed, lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak. For if any man see one who has knowledge sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not his conscience being weak be instructed to

^ Eom. xiv. and xv. 1-3.

72 MORALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

eat those tilings which are offered to idols; and through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died? But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ. Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."^  

34. Again, in another place: "What say I then? that the idol is anything? or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is anything? But the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers
of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils. Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than He? All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every man what is another's. Whatever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake. But if any man say unto you. This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not for his sake that shows it, and for conscience sake: conscience, I say, not thine own, but another's: for why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience? For if I be a partaker with thanksgiving, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks? Whether, therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Greeks, nor to the Church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved. Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ."

35. It is clear, then, I think, for what end we should abstain from flesh and wine. The end is threefold: to check indulgence, which is mostly practised in this sort of food, and in this kind of drink goes the length of intoxication; to protect weakness, on account of the things which are sacrificed and offered in libation; and, what is most praiseworthy of all, from love, not to offend the weakness of those more feeble than ourselves, who abstain from these things. You, again,

1 1 Cor. viii. 4, etc. ^ 1 2 q^ ^ 1 19-25 and 28â€”xi. 1.

THE DOCTRINE OF SCRIPTURE. 73

consider a morsel of meat unclean; whereas the apostle says that all things are clean, but that it is evil to him that eateth with offence. And no doubt you are defiled by such food, simply because you think it unclean. For the apostle says, "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing common of itself: but to him that esteemeth anything common, to him it is common." And every one can see that by common he means unclean and defiled. But it is folly to discuss passages of Scripture with you /for you both mislead people by promising to prove your doctrines, and those books which possess authority to demand our homage you affirm to be corrupted by spurious interpolations. Prove then to me your doctrine that flesh defiles the eater, when it is taken without offending any one, without any weak notions, and without any excess.

X. â€” Why the Manichmans prohibit the use of flesh.

36. It is worth while to take note of the whole reason for their superstitious abstinence, which is given as follows: â€” Since, we are told, the member of God has been mixed with the substance of evil, to repress it and to keep it from excessive ferocity, â€” for that is what you say, â€” the world is made up of both natures, of good and evil, mixed together. But this part of God
is daily being set free in all parts of the world, and restored to its own domain. But in its
passage upwards as vapour from earth to heaven, it enters plants, because their roots are
fixed in the earth, and so gives fertility and strength to all herbs and shrubs. From these
animals get their food, and, where there is sexual intercourse, fetter in the flesh the
member of God, and, turning it from its proper course, they come in the way and entangle
it in errors and troubles. So then, if food consisting of vegetables and fruits comes to the
saints, that is, to the Manichseans, by means of their chastity, and prayers, and psalms,
whatever in it is excellent and divine is purified, and so is entirely perfected, in order to
restoration, free from all hindrance, to its own kingdom. Hence you forbid people to give
bread or vegetables, or even water, which would cost nobody anything, to a beggar, if he
is not a Manichsean, lest he should defile the member of God by his sins, and obstruct its
return.

%  

V4 MORALS OF THE MANICHIEANS.

37. Flesh, you say, is made up of pollution itself. For, according to you, some portion of
that divine part escapes in the eating of vegetables and fruits: it escapes while they
undergo the infliction of rubbing, grinding, or cooking, as also of biting or chewing. It
escapes, too, in all motions of animals, in the carriage of burdens, in exercise, in toil, or
in any sort of action. It escapes, too, in our rest, when digestion is going on in the body
by means of internal heat. And as the divine nature escapes in all these ways, some very
unclean dregs remain, from which, in sexual intercourse, flesh is formed These dregs,
however, fly off, in the motions above mentioned, along with what is good in the soul;
for though it is mostly, it is not entirely good. So, when the soul has left the flesh, the
dregs are utterly filthy, and the soul of those who eat flesh is defiled.

XVI. ""Disclosure of the monstrous tenets of the ManichcBans.

38. Alas, how difficult is the study of nature! How hard to expose falsehood! ""Tio
that hears these things, if he is one who has not learned the causes of things, and who, not
yet illuminated by any ray of truth, is deceived by material images, would not think them
ture, precisely because the things spoken of are invisible, and are presented to the mind
under the form of visible things, and can be eloquently expressed? Men of this
description exist in numbers and in droves, who are kept from being led away into these
errors more by a fear grounded on religious feeling than by reason.
I will therefore endeavour, as God may please to enable me, so to refute these errors, as
that their falsehood and absurdity will be manifest not only in the judgment of the wise,
who reject them on hearing them, but also to the intelligence of the multitude. r
39. Tell me then, first, where you get the doctrine that part of God, as you call it, exists in corn, legumes, cabbage, and flowers and fruits. From the beauty of the colour, say they, and the sweetness of the taste, this is evident; and as these are not found in rotten substances, we learn that their good has been taken from them. Are they not ashamed to attribute the finding of God to the nose and the palate? But I pass from this. For I will speak, using words in their proper

GOD IN COLOURS AND SMELLS. 75

sense; and, as the saying is, this is not so easy in speaking to you. Let us see rather what sort of mind is required to understand this; how, if the presence of good in bodies is shown by their colour, the dung of animals, the refuse of flesh itself, has all kinds of bright colours, sometimes white, often golden, and so on, though these are what you take in fruits and flowers as proofs of the presence and indwelling of God.

^ Why is it that in a rose you hold the red colour to be an indication of an abundance of good, while the same colour in blood you condemn? Why do you regard with pleasure in a violet the same colour which you turn away from in cases of cholera, or of people with jaundice, or in the excrement of infants? Why do you believe the light shining appearance of oil to be a sign of a plentiful admixture of good, which you readily set about purifying by taking the oil into your throats and stomachs, while you are afraid to touch your lips with a drop of fat, though it has the same shining appearance as oil?

(Why do you look upon a yellow melon as part of the treasures of God, and not rancid bacon fat or the yolk of an egg?

/Why do you think that whiteness in a lettuce proclaims God, and not in milk? So much for colours, as regards which (to mention nothing else) you cannot compare any flower-clad meadow with the wings and feathers of a single peacock, though these are of flesh and of fleshly origin.

40. Again, if this good is discovered also by smell, perfumes of excellent smell are made from the flesh of some animals.

/And the smell of food, when cooked along with flesh of delicate flavour, is better than if cooked without it. Once more, if you think that the things that have a better smell than others are therefore cleaner, there is a kind of mud which you ought to take to your meals instead of water from the cistern; for dry earth moistened with rain has an odour most agreeable to the sense, and this sort of mud has a better smell than rain-water taken by itself. But if we must have the authority of taste to prove the presence in any object of part of God, He must dwell in dates and honey more than in pork, but more in pork than in beans. Cl grant that He dwells more in a fig than in a liver; but then you must allow that He is more in liver than in beet. And, on this principle, must you not confess that
MOEALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

some plants, which none of you can doubt to be cleaner than flesh, receive God from this very flesh, if we are to think of God as mixed with the flavour? For both cabbages taste better when cooked along with flesh; and, while we cannot relish the plants on which cattle feed, when these are turned into milk we think them improved in colour, and find them very agreeable to the taste.

41. Or must we think that good is to be found in greater quantity where the three good qualities—a good colour, and smell, and taste—are found together? Then you must not admire and praise flowers so much, as you cannot admit them to be tried at the tribunal of the palate. At least you must not prefer purslain to flesh, since flesh when cooked is superior in colour, smell, and taste. A young pig roasted (for your ideas on this subject force us to discuss good and evil with you as if you were cooks and confectioners, instead of men of reading or literary taste) is bright in colour, and agreeable in smell, and pleasant in taste. Here is a perfect evidence of the presence of the divine substance. You are invited by this threefold testimony, and called on to purify this substance by your sanctity. Make the attack. Why do you hold back?

Yet objection have you to make? In colour alone the excrement of an infant surpasses lentils; in smell alone a roast morsel surpasses a soft green fig; in taste alone a kid when slaughtered surpasses the plant which it fed on when alive: and we have found a kind of flesh in favour of which all three give evidence. What more do you require? What reply will you make? Why should eating meat make you unclean, if using such monstrosities in discussion does not?

And, above all, the rays of the sun, which you surely think more of than all animal or vegetable food, have no smell or taste, and are remarkable among other substances only by their eminently bright colour; which is a loud call to you, and an obligation, in spite of yourselves, to place nothing higher than a bright colour among the evidences of an admixture of good.

42. Thus you are forced into this difficulty, that you must acknowledge the part of God as dwelling more in blood, and in the filthy but bright-coloured animal refuse which is thrown out in the streets, than in the pale leaves of the olive. If you reply, as you actually do, that olive leaves when burnt give out a flame, which proves the presence of light, while flesh when burnt does not, what will you say of oil, which lights nearly all the lamps in Italy? What of cow dung (which surely is more unclean than the flesh), which peasants use

GOD NOT DISCERNED BY THE SENSES. 77

out in the streets, than in the pale leaves of the olive. If you reply, as you actually do, that olive leaves when burnt give out a flame, which proves the presence of light, while flesh when burnt does not, what will you say of oil, which lights nearly all the lamps in Italy? What of cow dung (which surely is more unclean than the flesh), which peasants use
when dry as fuel, so that the fire is always at hand, and the liberation of the smoke is always going on? And if brightness and lustre prove a greater presence of the divine part, why do you yourselves not purify it, why not appropriate it, why not liberate it? For it is found chiefly in flowers, not to speak of blood and countless things almost the same as blood in flesh or coming from it, and yet you cannot feed on flowers. And even if you were to eat flesh, you would certainly not take with your gruel the scales of fish, or some worms and flies, though these all shine with a light of their own in the dark.

43. What then remains, but that you should cease saying that you have in your eyes, nose, and palate sufficient means of testing the presence of the divine part in material objects? And, without these means, how can you tell not only that there is a greater part of God in plants than in flesh, but that there is any part in plants at all? Are you led to think this by their beauty— not the beauty of agreeable colour, but that of agreement of parts? An excellent reason, in my opinion. For you will never be so bold as to compare twisted pieces of wood with the bodies of animals, which are formed of members answering to one another. But if you choose the testimony of the senses, as those must do who cannot see with their mind the full force of existence, how do you prove that the substance of good escapes from bodies in course of time, and by some kind of attrition, but because God has gone out of it, according to your view, and has left one place for another?

The whole is absurd. But, as far as I can judge, there are no marks or appearances to give rise to this opinion. For many things plucked from trees, or pulled out of the ground, are the better of some interval of time before we use them for food, as leeks and endive, lettuce, grapes, apples, figs, and some pears; and there are many other things which get a better colour when they are not used immediately after being plucked, besides being more wholesome for the body, and having a finer flavour to the palate. But these things should not possess all these excellent and agreeable qualities, if, as you say, they become more destitute of good the longer they are kept after separation from their mother earth. Animal food itself is better and more fit for use the day after the animal is killed; but this should not be, if, as you hold, it possessed more good immediately after the slaughter than next day, when more of the divine substance had escaped.

78 MOEALS OF THE MAXICIDEAXS.

better colour when they are not used immediately after being plucked, besides being more wholesome for the body, and having a finer flavour to the palate. But these things should not possess all these excellent and agreeable qualities, if, as you say, they become more destitute of good the longer they are kept after separation from their mother earth. Animal food itself is better and more fit for use the day after the animal is killed; but this should not be, if, as you hold, it possessed more good immediately after the slaughter than next day, when more of the divine substance had escaped.

44. Who does not know that wine becomes purer and better by age? Nor is it, as you think, more tempting to the destruction of the senses, but more useful for invigorating the body, only let there be moderation, which ought to control everything. The senses are sooner destroyed by new wine.

When the must has been only a short time in the vat, and has begun to ferment, it makes those who look down into it fall headlong, affecting their brain, so that without assistance they would perish. And as regards health, every one knows that bodies are swollen up and injuriously distended by new wine? Has it these bad properties because there is more good in it? Aie they not found in wine when old because a good deal of the divine
substance has gone? An absurd thing to say, especially for you, who prove the divine presence by the pleasing effect produced on your eyes, nose, and palate! And what a contradiction it is to make wine the poison of the princes of darkness, and yet to eat grapes! Has it more of the poison when in the cup than when in the cluster? Or if the evil remains unmixed after the good is gone, and that by the process of time, how is it that the same grapes, when hung up for awhile, become milder, sweeter, and more wholesome? or how does the wine itself, as already mentioned, become purer and brighter when the light has gone, and more wholesome by the loss of the beneficial substance?

45. What are we to say of wood and leaves, which in course of time become dry, but cannot be the worse on that account in your estimation? For while they lose that which produces smoke, they retain that from which a bright flame arises; and,

FALSE TESTS OF GOD's PESENCE. 79

to judge by the clearness, which you think so much of, there is more good in the dry than in the green. Hence you must either deny that there is more of God in the pure light than in the smoky one, which will upset all your evidences; or you must allow it to be possible that, when plants are plucked up, or branches plucked off, and kept for a time, more of the nature of evil may escape from them than of the nature of good. And, on the strength of this, we shall hold that more evil may go off from plucked fruits; and so more good may remain in animal food. So much on the subject of time.

46. As for motion, and tossing, and rubbing, if these give the divine nature the opportunity of escaping from these substances, many things of the same kind are against you, which are improved by motion. In some grains the juice resembles wine, and is excellent when moved about. Indeed, as must not be overlooked, this kind of drink produces intoxication rapidly; and yet you never called the juice of grain the poison of the princes of darkness. There is a preparation of water, thickened with a little meal, which is the better of being shaken, and, strange to say, is lighter in colour when the light is gone. The pastrycook stirs honey for a long time to give it this light colour, and to make its sweetness milder and less unwholesome: you must explain how this can come from the loss of good. Again, if you prefer to test the presence of God by the agreeable effects on the hearing, and not sight, or smell, or taste, harps get their strings and pipes their bones from animals; and these become musical by being dried, and rubbed, and twisted. So the pleasures of music, which you hold to have come from the divine kingdom, are obtained from the refuse of dead animals, and that, too, when they are dried by time, and lessened by rubbing, and stretched by twisting! Such rough treatment, according to you, drives the divine substance from living objects; even cooking them, you say, does this. Why then are boiled thistles not unwholesome? Is it because God, or part of God, leaves them when they are cooked?
47. Why mention all the particulars, when it is difficult to enumerate them? 'Nov is it necessary; for every one knows how many things are sweeter and more wholesome when

80 MORALS OF THE MANICHIÆANS.

cooked. This ought not to be, if, as you suppose, things lose the good by being thus moved about. I do not suppose that you will find any proof from your bodily senses that flesh is unclean, and defiles the souls of those who eat it, because fruits, when plucked and shaken about in various ways, become flesh; especially as you hold that vinegar, in its age and fermentation, is cleaner than wine, and the mead you drink is nothing else than cooked wine, which ought to be more impure than wine, if material things lose the divine members by being moved about and cooked. But if not, you have no reason to think that fruits, when plucked, kept, handled, cooked, and digested, are forsaken by the good, and therefore supply most unclean matter for the formation of bodies.

48. But if it is not from their colour, and appearance, and smell, and taste, that you think the good to be in these things, what else can you bring forward? Do you prove it from the streno'th and viojour which those things seem to lose when they are separated from the earth and put to use? If this is your reason (though its erroneousness is seen at once, from the fact that the strength of some things is increased after their separation from the earth, as in the case already mentioned of wine, which becomes stronger from age), â€” if the strength, then, is your reason, it would follow that the part of God is to be found in no food more abundantly than in flesh. For athletes, who especially require vigour and energy, are not in the habit of feedinoj on cabbasje and fruit without animal food.

49. Is your reason for thinking the bodies of trees better than our bodies, that flesh is nourished by trees and not trees by flesh? You forget the obvious fact that plants, when manured with dung, become richer and more fertile, and crops heavier, though you think it your gravest charge against flesh that it is the abode of duno:. This then moves nourishment to things you consider clean, though it is, according to you, the most unclean part of what you consider unclean. But if you dislike flesh because it springs from sexual intercourse, you should be pleased with the flesh of worms, which are bred in such numbers, and of such a size, in fruits, in wood, and in the earth itself, without any sexual intercourse. But there is some insincerity in this. For if you were displeased with flesh

SOULS AND FOOD. 81

because it is formed from the cohabitation of father and mother, you would not say that those princes of darkness were born from the fruits of their own trees; for no doubt you think worse of these princes than of flesh, which you refuse to eat.
50. Your idea that all the souls of animals come from the food of their parents, from which confinement you pretend to liberate the divine substance which is held bound in your viands, is quite inconsistent with your abstinence from flesh, and makes it a pressing duty for you to eat animal food. For if souls are bound in the body by those who eat animal food, why do you not secure their liberation by being beforehand in eating the food? You reply, it is not from the animal food that the good part comes which those people bring into bondage, but from the vegetables which they take with their meat. What will you say then of the souls of lions, who feed only on flesh? They drink, is the reply, and so the soul is drawn in from the water and confined in flesh. But what of birds without number? What of eagles, which eat only flesh, and need no drink? Here you are at a loss, and can find no answer. For if the soul comes from food, and there are animals which neither drink anything nor have any food but flesh, and yet bring forth young, there must be some soul in flesh; and you are bound to try your plan of purifying it by eating the flesh. Or will you say that a pig has a soul of light, because it eats vegetables, and drinks water; and that the eagle, because it eats only flesh, has a soul of darkness, though it is so fond of the sun?

51. What a confusion of ideas! What amazing fatuity!
All this you would have escaped, if you had rejected idle fictions, and had followed what truth sanctions in abstinence from food, which would have taught you that sumptuous eating is to be avoided, not to escape pollution, as there is nothing of the kind, but to subdue the sensual appetite. For should any one, from inattention to the nature of things, and the properties of the soul and body, allow that the soul is polluted by animal food, you will admit that it is much more defiled by sensuality. Is it reasonable, then, or rather, is it not most unreasonable, to expel from the number of the elect a man who, perhaps for his health's sake, takes some animal food without sensual appetite; while, if a man eagerly devours peppered truffles, you can only reprove him for excess, but cannot condemn him as abusing your symbol? So one who has been induced, not by sensuality, but for health, to eat part of a fowl, cannot remain among your elect; though one may remain who has yielded voluntarily to an excessive appetite for comfits and cakes without animal matter. You retain the man plunged in the defilements of sensuality, and dismiss the man polluted, as you think, by the mere food; though you allow that the defilement of sensuality is far greater than that of meat. You keep hold of one who gloats with delight over highly-seasoned vegetables, unable to keep possession of himself; while you shut out one who, to satisfy hunger, takes whatever comes, if suitable for nourishment, ready either to use the food, or to let it go. Admirable customs! Excellent morals! Notable temperance!

82 'MORALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

appetite; while, if a man eagerly devours peppered truffles, you can only reprove him for excess, but cannot condemn him as abusing your symbol? So one who has been induced, not by sensuality, but for health, to eat part of a fowl, cannot remain among your elect; though one may remain who has yielded voluntarily to an excessive appetite for comfits and cakes without animal matter. You retain the man plunged in the defilements of sensuality, and dismiss the man polluted, as you think, by the mere food; though you allow that the defilement of sensuality is far greater than that of meat. You keep hold of one who gloats with delight over highly-seasoned vegetables, unable to keep possession of himself; while you shut out one who, to satisfy hunger, takes whatever comes, if suitable for nourishment, ready either to use the food, or to let it go. Admirable customs! Excellent morals! Notable temperance!
52. Again, the notion that it is unlawful for any one but the elect to touch as food what is brought to your meals for what you call purification, leads to shameful and sometimes to criminal practices. For sometimes so much is brought that it cannot easily be eaten up by a few; and a\textsuperscript{it} is considered sacrilege to give what is left to others, or, at least, to throw it away, you are obliged to eat to excess, from the desire to purify, as you call it, all that is given. Then, when you are full almost to bursting, you cruelly use force in making the boys of your sect eat the rest. So it was charged against some one at Eome that he killed some poor children, by compelling them to eat for this superstitious reason. (This I should not believe, did I not know how sinful you consider it to give this food to those who are not elect, or, at any rate, to throw it away. So the only way is to eat it; and this leads every day to gluttony, and may sometimes lead to murder.

53. For the same reason you forbid giving bread to beggars. By way of showing compassion, or rather of avoiding reproach, you advise to give money. The cruelty of this is equalled by its stupidity. For suppose a place where food cannot be purchased: the beggar will die of starvation, while you, in your wisdom and benevolence, have more mercy on a cucumber than on a human being! This is in truth (for how could it be better designated) pretended compassion, and real cruelty.

COMPULSORY EATING. 83

Then observe the stupidity. What if the beggar buys bread for himself with the money you give him? Will the divine part, as you call it, not suffer the same in him when he buys the food as it would have suffered if he had taken it as a gift from you? So this sinful beggar plunges in corruption part of God eager to escape, and is aided in this crime by your money! But you in your great sagacity think it enough that you do not give to one about to commit murder a man to kill, though you knowingly give him money to procure somebody to "loe killed. Can any madness go beyond this? The result is, that either the man dies if he cannot get food for his money, or the food itself dies if he gets it. The one is true murder; the other what you call murder: though in both cases you incur the guilt of real murder. Again, there is the greatest folly and absurdity in allowing your followers to eat animal food, while you forbid them to kill animals. If this food does not defile, take it yourselves. If it defiles, what can be more unreasonable than to think it more sinful to separate the soul of a pig from its body than to defile the soul of a man with the pig's flesh?

XVII. â€“ Description of the symbol of the hands among the Manichceans.

54. We must now notice and discuss the symbol of the hands. And, in the first place, your abstaining from the slaughter of animals and from injuring plants is shown by Christ to
be mere superstition; for, on the ground that there is no community of rights between us and brutes and trees.

He both sent the devils into an herd of swine,^ and withered by His curse a tree in which He had found no fruit.^ The swine had not sinned, nor had the tree. We are not so insane as to think that a tree is fruitful or barren by its own choice. Nor is it any reply to say that our Lord wished in these actions to teach some other truths; for every one knows that.

But assuredly the Son of God would not commit murder to illustrate truth, â€” if you call the destruction of a tree or of an animal murder. The signs which Christ wrought in the case of men, with whom we certainly have a community of rights, were in healing, not in killing them.

And it would have been the same in the case of beasts and

'Matt. viii. 32. 2 Matt. xxi. 19.

I

84 MOKALS OF THE MANICHIANS.

( trees, if we had that community with them which you imagine.

55. I think it right to refer here to the authority of Scripture, because we cannot here enter on a profound discussion about the soul of animals, or the kind of life in trees. But as you preserve the right to call the Scriptures corrupted, in case you should find them too strongly opposed to you, â€” although you have never affirmed the passages about the tree and the herd of swine to be spurious, â€” still, lest some day you should wish to say this of them too, when you find how much they are against you, I will adhere to my plan, and will ask you, who are so liberal in your promises of evidence and truth, to tell me first what harm is done to a tree, I say not by plucking a leaf or a fruit, â€” for which, however, one of you would be condemned at once as having abused the symbol, if he did it intentionally, and not accidentally, â€” but if you tear it up by the root. For the soul in trees, which, according to you, is a rational soul, is, in your theory, freed from bondage when the tree is cut down, â€” a bondage, too, where it suffered great misery and got no profit. For it is well known that you, in the words of your founder, threaten as a great, though not the greatest punishment, the change from a man to a tree; and it is not probable that the soul in a tree can grow in wisdom as it does in a man. There is the best reason for not killing a
man, in case you should kill one whose wisdom or virtue might be of use to many, or one who might have attained to wisdom, whether by the advice of another without himself, or by divine illumination in his own mind. And the more wisdom the soul has when it leaves the body, the more profitable is its departure, as we know both from well-grounded reasoning and from wide-spread belief. Thus to cut down a tree is to set free the soul from a body in which it makes no progress in wisdom. You â€” the holy men, I mean â€” ought to be mainly occupied in cutting down trees, and in leading the souls thus emancipated to better things by prayers and psalms. Or can this be done only with the souls which you take into your belly, instead of aiding them by your understanding?

56. And you cannot escape the admission that the souls in

SOULS IN TREES. 85

trees make no progress in wisdom while they are there, when you are asked why no apostle was sent to teach trees as well as men, or why the apostle sent to men did not preach the truth to trees also. Your reply must he, that the souls while in such bodies cannot understand the divine precepts. But this reply lands you in great difficulties; for you declare that these souls can hear your voices and understand what you say, and see bodies and their motions, and even discern thoughts. If this is true, why could they learn nothing from the apostle of light? Why could they not learn even much better than we, since they can see into the mind? Your master, who, as you say, has difficulty in teaching you by speech, might have taught these souls by thought; for the]
could see his ideas in his mind before he expressed them.

But if this is untrue, consider into what errors you have fallen.

57. As for your not plucking fruits or pulling up vegetables yourselves, while you get your followers to pluck and pull and bring them to you, that you may confer benefits not only on those who bring the food but on the food which is brought, what thoughtful person can bear to hear this? For, first, it matters not whether you commit a crime yourself, or wish another to commit it for you. You deny that you wish this! How then can relief be given to the divine part contained in lettuce and leeks, unless some one pull them and bring them to the saints to be purified? And again, if you were passing through a field where the right of friendship permitted you to pluck anything you wished, what would you do if you saw a crow on the point of eating a fig? Does not, according to your ideas, the fig itself seem to address you and to beg of you piteously to pluck it yourself and give it burial in a holy belly, where it may be purified and restored, rather than that the crow should swallow it and make it part of his cursed body, and then hand it over to bondage and torture in other forms? If this is true, how cruel you are! If not, how silly! What can be more contrary to your opinions than to break the symbol? What can be more unkind to the member of God than to keep it?
58. This supposes the truth of your false and vain ideas.

S6 MORALS OF THE MAXICH/EAS.

But you can be shown guilty of plain and positive cruelty flowing from the same error. For were any one lying on the road, his body wasted with disease, weary with journeying, and hark-dead from his sufferings, and able only to utter some broken words, and if eating a pear would do him good as an astringent, and were he to beg you to help him as you passed by, and were he to implore you to bring the fruit from a neighbouring tree, with no divine or human prohibition to prevent you doing so, while the man is sure to die for the want of it, you, a Christian man and a saint, will rather pass on and abandon a man thus suffering and entreating, lest the tree should lament the loss of its fruit, and you should be doomed to the punishment tu-eatened by Manichseus for breaking the symbol. Strange customs, and strange harmlessness!

59. Now, as regards Idlling animals, and the reasons for your opinion, much that has been said will apply also to this. For what harm will be done to the soul of a wolf by killing the wolf, since the wolf, as long as it lives, will be a wolf, and will not listen to any preacher, or give up, in the least, shedding the blood of sheep; and, by killing it, the rational soul, as you think, will be set free from its confinement in the body? But you make this slaughter unlawful even for your followers; for you think it worse than that of trees. And in this there is not much fault to be found with your senses,—that is, your bodily senses. For we see and hear by their cries that animals die with pain, although man disregards this in a beast, with which, as not having a rational soul, we have no community of rights. But as to your senses in the observation of trees, you must be entirely blind. For not to mention that there are no movements in the wood expressive of pain, what is clearer than that a tree is never better than when it is green and flourishing, gay with flowers, and rich in fruit? And this comes generally and chiefly from pruning. But if it felt the iron, as you suppose, it ought to die of wounds so many, so severe, instead of sprouting at the places, and reviving with such manifest delight.

60. But why do you think it a greater crime to destroy animals than plants, although you hold that plants have a
purer soul than animals? There is a compensation, we are told, when part of what is taken from the fields is given to the elect and the saints to be purified. This has already been refuted; and it has, I think, been proved sufficiently that (there is no reason for saying that more of the good part is found in vegetables than in flesh. But should any one support himself by selling butcher-meat, and spend the whole profit of his business in purchasing food for your elect, and bring larger supplies for those saints than any peasant or farmer, will he not plead this compensation as a warrant for his killing animals? But there is, we are told, some other mysterious reason; for a cunning man can always find some resource in the secrets of nature when addressing unlearned people. The story, then, is that the heavenly princes who were taken and bound by the race of darkness, and have a place assigned them in this region by the Creator of the world, have animals on the earth specially belonging to them, each having those coming from his own stock and class; and they hold the slaughterers of those animals guilty, and do not allow them to leave the earth, but harass them as much as they can with pains and torments. What simple man will not be frightened by this, and, seeing nothing in the darkness shrouding these things, will not think that the fact is as described? But I will hold to my purpose, with God's help, to rebuke mysterious falsehood by the plainest truth.

61. Tell me, then, if animals on land and in water come in regular succession by ordinary generation from this race of princes, since the origin of animal life is traced to the abortive births in that race; â€” tell me, I say, whether bees and frogs, and many other creatures not sprung from sexual intercourse, may be killed with impunity. We are told they cannot. So it is not on account of their relation to certain princes that you forbid your followers to kill animals. Or if you make a general relationship to all bodies, the princes would be equally concerned about trees, which you do not require your followers to spare. You are brought back to the weak reply, that the injuries done in the case of plants are atoned for by the fruits which your followers bring to your church. Tor this implies that those who slaughter animals, and sell their flesh in the

88 MORALS OF THE MANICHÄITIANS.

market, if they are your followers, and if they bring to you vegetables bought with their gains, may think nothing of the daily slaughter, and are cleared of any sin that may be in it by your repasts.

62. But if you say that, in order to expiate the slaughter, the thing must be given as food, as in the case of fruits and vegetables, â€” which cannot be done, because the elect do not eat flesh, and so your followers must not slaughter animals, â€” what reply will you give in the case of thorns and weeds, which farmers destroy in clearing their fields, while they cannot bring any food to you from them? How can there be pardon for such destruction, which gives no nourishment to the saints? Perhaps you also put away any sin committed, for the benefit of the fruits and vegetables, by eating some of these. What then if the fields are plundered by locusts, mice, or rats, as
we see often happen? Can your rustic follower kill these with impunity, because he sins for the good of his crops?

Here you are at a loss; for you either allow your followers to kill animals, which your founder prohibited, or you forbid them to be cultivators, which he made lawful. Indeed, you sometimes go so far as to say that an usurer is more harmless than a cultivator, â€” you feel so much more for melons than for men. Eather than hurt the melons, you would have a man ruined as a debtor. Is this desirable and praiseworthy justice, or not rather atrocious and damnable error? Is this commendable compassion, or not rather detestable barbarity?

63. What, again, of your not abstaining yourselves from the slaughter of lice, bugs, and fleas? You think it a sufficient excuse for this to say that these are the dirt of our bodies. But this is clearly untrue of fleas and bugs; for every one knows that these animals do not come from our bodies. Besides, if you abhor sexual intercourse as much as you pretend to do, you should think those animals all the cleaner which come from our bodies without any other generation; for although they produce offspring of their own, they are not produced in ordinary generation from us. Again, if we must consider as most filthy the production of living bodies, still worse must be the production of dead bodies. There must be less harm, therefore, in killing a rat, a snake.

SLAUGHTER SOMETIMES ALLOWABLE. 89

or a scorpion, which you constantly say come from our dead bodies. But to pass over what is less plain and certain, it is a common opinion regarding bees that they come from the carcases of oxen; so there is no harm in killing them. Or if this too is doubted, every one allows that beetles, at least, are bred in the ball of mud which they make and bury. You ought therefore to consider these animals, and others that it would be tedious to specify, more unclean than your lice; and yet you think it sinful to kill them, though it would be foolish not to kill the lice. Perhaps you hold the lice cheap because they are small. But if an animal is to be valued by its size, you must prefer a camel to a man.

64. Here we may use the gradation which often perplexed us when we were your followers. For if a flea may be killed on account of its small size, so may the fly which is bred in beans. And if this, so also may one of a little larger size, for its size at birth is even less. Then again, a bee may be killed, for its young is no larger than a fly. So on to the young of a locust, and to a locust; and then to the young of a mouse, and to a mouse. And, to cut short, it is clear we may come at last to an elephant; so that one who thinks it no sin to kill a flea, because of its small size, must allow that it would be no sin in him to kill this huge creature. But I think enouGjh has been said of these absurdities.

XVIII. â€” Of the symbol of the breast, and of the shameful mysteries of the Manichceans.
65. Lastly, there is the symbol of the breast, in which your very questionable chastity consists. For though you do not forbid sexual intercourse, you, as the apostle long ago said, forbid marriage in the proper sense, although this is the only good excuse for such intercourse. No doubt you will exclaim against this, and will make it a reproach against us that you highly esteem and approve perfect chastity, but do not forbid marriage, because your followers "that is, those in the second grade among you" are allowed to have wives. After you have said this with great noise and heat, I will quietly ask. Is it not you who hold that begetting children, by which souls are

1 V. Retract, i. 7, § 6, where Augustine allows that this is doubtful, and that many have not even heard of it.

90 MORALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

confined in flesh, is a greater sin than cohabitation? Is it not you who used to counsel us to observe as much as possible the time when a woman, after her purification, is most likely to conceive, and to abstain from cohabitation at that time, lest the soul should be entangled in flesh? This proves that you approve of having a wife, not for the procreation of children, but for the gratification of passion. In marriage, as the marriage law declares, the man and woman come together for the procreation of children. Therefore whoever makes the procreation of children a greater sin than copulation, forbids marriage, and makes the woman not a wife, but a mistress, who for some gifts presented to her is joined to the man to gratify his passion. Where there is a wife there must be marriage. But there is no marriage where motherhood is not in view; therefore neither is there a wife. In this way you forbid marriage. "Nov can you defend yourselves successfully from this charge, long ago brought against you prophetically by the Holy Spirit.

66. Moreover, when you are so eager in your desire to prevent the soul from being confined in flesh by conjugal intercourse, and so eager in asserting that the soul is set free from seed by the food of the saints, do you not sanction, unhappy beings, the suspicion entertained about you? For why should it be true regarding corn and beans and lentils and other seeds, that when you eat them you wish to set free the soul, and not true of the seeds of animals? For what you say of the flesh of a dead animal, that it is unclean because there is no soul in it, cannot be said of the seed of the animal; for you hold that it keeps confined the soul which will appear in the offspring, and you avow that the soul of Manichæus himself is thus confined. And as your followers cannot bring these seeds to you for purification, who will not suspect that you make this purification secretly among yourselves, and hide it from your followers, in case they should leave you? If you do not these things, as it is to be hoped you do not, still you see how open to suspicion your superstition is, and how impossible it is to blame men for thinking what your own profession suggests, when you maintain that you set free souls from bodies and from senses by eating and drinking. I wish
to say no more about this: you see yourselves what room there is here for denunciation. But as the matter is one rather to repress than to invite remark, and also as throughout my discourse my purpose appears of exaggerating nothing, and of keeping to bare facts and arguments, we shall pass on to other matters.

XIX. â€” Crimes of the Manichceans.

67. We see then, now, the nature of your three symbols. These are your customs. This is the end of your notable precepts, in which there is nothing sure, nothing stedfast, nothing consistent, nothing irreproachable; but all doubtful, or rather undoubtedly and entirely false, all contradictory, abominable, absurd. In a word, evil practices are detected in your customs so many and so serious, that one wishing to denounce them all, if he were at all able to enlarge, would require at least a separate treatise for each. Were you to observe these, and to act up to your profession, no childishness, or folly, or absurdity would go beyond yours; and when you praise and teach these things Avithout doing them, you display craft and deceit and malevolence equal to anything that can be described or imagined.

68. During nine full years that I attended you with great earnestness and assiduity, I could not hear of one of your elect who was not found transgressing these precepts, or at least was not suspected of doing so. Many were caught at wine and animal food, many at the baths; but this we only heard by report. Some were proved to have seduced other men's wives, so that in this case I could not doubt the truth of the charge. But suppose this, too, a report rather than a fact. I myself saw, and not I only, but others who have either escaped from that superstition, or will, I hope, yet escape, â€” we saw, I say, in a square in Carthage, on a road much frequented, not one, but more than three of the elect walking behind us, and accosting some women with such indecent sounds and gestures as to outdo the boldness and insolence of all ordinary rascals. And it was clear that this was quite habitual, and that they behaved in this way to one another, for no one was deterred by the presence of a companion, â€” showing that most of them, if not all, were affected with this evil tendency. For they did not all come from one house, but lived in quite different places, and quite accidentally left together the place where they had met. It was a great shock to us, and we lodged a complaint about it But who thought of inflicting punishment, â€” I say not by separation from the Church, but even by severe rebuke in proportion to the heinousness of the offence?
69. All the excuse given for the impunity of those men was that, at that time, when their meetings were forbidden by law, it was feared that the persons suffering punishment might retaliate by giving information. What then of their assertion that they will always have persecution in this world, for which they suppose that they will be thought the more of? for this is the application they make of the words about the world hating them. And they will have it that truth must be sought for among them, because, in the promise of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, it is said that the world cannot receive Him. This is not the place to discuss this question. But clearly, if you are always to be persecuted, even to the end of the world, there will be no end to this laxity, and to the unchecked spread of all this immorality, from your fear of giving offence to men of this character.

70. This answer was also given to us, when we reported to the very highest authorities that a woman had complained to us that in a meeting, where she was along with other women, not doubting of the sanctity of these people, some of the elect came in, and when one of them had put out the lamp, one, whom she could not distinguish, tried to embrace her, and would have forced her into sin, had she not escaped by crying out: How common must we conclude the practice to have been which led to the misdeed on this occasion! And this was done on the night when you keep the feast of vigils. Forsooth, besides the fear of information being given, no one could bring the offender before the bishop, as he had so well guarded against being recognised. As if all who entered along with him were not implicated in the crime; for in their indecent merriment they all wished the lamp to be put out.

71. Then what wide doors were opened for suspicions, when we saw them full of envy, full of covetousness, full of greed!


CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR. 9
openly, but in conversation, as he had opportunity, and in whispers â€” of having made a criminal assault on the wife of one of the followers. He again, in clearing himself to us, brought the same charge against another of the elect, who lived with this follower as his most trusted friend. He had, going in suddenly, caught this man with the woman, and his enemy and rival had advised the woman and her paramour to raise this false report about him, that he might not be believed if he gave any information. We were much distressed, and took it greatly to heart, that although there was a doubt about the assault on the woman, the jealous feeling in those two men, than whom we found none better in the place, showed itself so keenly, and inevitably raised suspicion of other things.

72. Another thing was, that we very often saw in theatres men belonging to the elect, men of years and, it was supposed, of character, along with a hoary-headed elder. We pass over the youths, whom we used to come upon quarrelling about the people connected with the stage and the races; from which we may safely conclude how they would be able to refrain in secret, when they could not subdue the passion by which they were exposed in the eyes of their followers, bringing on them disgrace and flight. In the case of the saint, whose discussions we attended in the street of the fig-sellers, would his atrocious crime have been discovered if he had been able to make the dedicated virgin his wife without making her pregnant? The swelling womb betrayed the secret and unthought-of iniquity. When her brother, a young man, heard of it from his mother, he felt keenly the injury, but refrained, from regard to religion.

94 MOEALS OF THE MANICIL-EANS.

from a public accusation. He succeeded in getting the man expelled from that church, for such conduct cannot always be tolerated; and that the crime might not be wholly unpunished, he arranged with some of his friends to have the man well beaten and kicked. When he was thus assailed, he cried out that they should spare him, from regard to the authority of the opinion of Manichaeus, that Adam the first had sinned, and was a greater saint after his sin.

73. This, in fact, is your notion about Adam and Eve. It is a long story; but I will touch only on what concerns the present matter. (You say that Adam was produced from his parents, the abortive princes of darkness; that he had in his soul the most part light, and very little of the opposite race. So while he lived a holy life, on account of the prevalence of good, still the opposite part in him was stirred up, so that he was led away into conjugal intercourse. Thus he fell and sinned, but afterwards lived in greater holiness. E'ow, my complaint is not so much about this wicked man, who, under the garb of an elect and holy man, brought such shame and reproach on a family of strangers by his shocking immorality. I do not charge you with this. Let it be attributed to the abandoned character of the man, and not to your habits. I
blame the man for the atrocity, and not you. Still there is this in you all that cannot, as far as I can see, be admitted or tolerated; that while you hold the soul to be part of God, you still maintain that the mixture of a little evil prevailed over the superior force and quantity of good. Who that believes this, when incited by passion, will not find here an excuse, instead of checking and controlling his passion?

XX. â€” Disgraceful conduct discovered at Rome.

74. What more shall I say of your customs? I have mentioned what I found myself when I was in the city when the things were done. To go through all that happened at Eome in my absence would take a long time. I will, however, give a short account of it; for the matter became so notorious, that even the absent could not remain in ignorance of it. And when I was afterwards in Eome, I ascertained the truth of all I had heard, although the story was told me by

a witness, whom I knew so well and esteemed so highly, that I could not feel any doubt about it. One of your followers, then, quite equal to the elect in their far-famed abstinence, for he was both liberally educated, and was in the habit of defending your sect with great zeal, took it very ill that he had cast in his teeth the vile conduct of the elect, who lived in all kinds of places, and went hither and thither for lodging of the worst description. He therefore desired, if possible, to assemble all who were willing to live according to the precepts into his own house, and to maintain them at his own expense; for he was above the average in carelessness as to spending money, besides being above the average in the amount he had to spend. He complained that his efforts were hindered by the remissness of the bishops, whose assistance he required for success. At last one of your bishops was found, a man, as I know, very rude and unpolished, but somehow, from his very moroseness, the more inclined to strict observance of morality. The follower eagerly lays holds of this man as the person he had long wished for and found at last, and relates his whole plan. He approves and assents, and agrees to be the first to take up his abode in the house.

When this was done, all the elect who could be at Eome were assembled there. The rule of life in the epistle of Manichaeus was laid before them. Many though it intolerable, and left; not a few felt ashamed, and stayed. They began to live as they had agreed, and as this high authority enjoined. The follower all the time was zealously enforcing everything on everybody, though never, in any case, what he did not undertake himself.

Meanwhile quarrels constantly arose among the elect. They charged one another with crimes, all which he lamented to hear, and managed to make them unintentionally expose one another in their altercations. The revelations were vile beyond description. Thus appeared the true character of those who were unlike the rest in being willing to bend to the yoke of the precepts. What then is to be suspected, or rather, concluded, of the others? To come to a close, they gathered together on one occasion and complained that they
could not keep the regulations. Then came rebellion. The follower stated his case most concisely, that either all must be kept, or

96 MORALS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

the man who had given such a sanction to such precepts, which no one could fulfil, must be thought a great fool. But, as was inevitable, the wild clamour of the mob prevailed over the opinion of one man. The bishop himself gave way at last, and took flight with great disgrace; and he was said to have got in provisions by stealth, contrary to rule, which were often discovered. He had a supply of money from his private purse, which he carefully kept concealed.

75. If you say these things are false, you contradict what is too clear and public. But you may say so if you like. For, as the things are certain, and easily known by those who wish to know them, those who deny that they are true show what their habit of telling the truth is. But you have other replies with which I do not find fault. For you either say that some do keep your precepts, and that they should not be mixed up with the guilty in condemning the others; or that the whole inquiry into the character of the members of your sect is wrong, for the question is of the character of the profession. Should I grant both of these (although you can neither point out those faithful observers of the precepts, nor clear your heresy of all those frivolities and iniquities), still I must insist on knowing why you heap reproaches on Christians of the Catholic name on seeing the immoral life of some, while you either have the effrontery to repel inquiry about your members, or the still greater effrontery not to repel it, wishing it to be understood that in your scanty membership there are some unknown individuals who keep the precepts they profess, but that among the multitudes in the Catholic Church there are none.

AGAINST THE EPISTLE OF MANICHÆUS CALLED

FUNDAMENTAL.

I. â€” To restore heretics is better than to destroy them.

1. 1VrY prayer to the one true, almighty God, of whom, JJjL and by whom, and in whom are all things, has been, and is now, that in opposing and refuting the heresy of you Manichseans, as you may after all be heretics more from thoughtlessness than from malice, He would give me a mind calm and composed, and aiming at your recovery rather than at your discomfiture. For while the Lord, by His servants, overthrows the kins^doms of error. His will concernincr errinoj men, as far as they are men, is that they
should be restored rather than destroyed. And in every case where, previous to the final judgment, God inflicts punishment, whether through wicked men or through righteous men, whether through unintelligent agents or through intelligent, whether in secret or openly, we must believe that the designed effect is the recovery of men, and not their ruin; while there is a preparation for the final doom in the case of those who reject the means of recovery. Thus, as the universe contains some things which serve for bodily punishment, as fire, poison, disease, and the rest, and other things, in which the mind is punished, not by bodily distress, but by the entanglements of its own passions, such as loss, exile, bereavement, reproach, and the like; while other things, again, without giving pain,

^ AVritten about the year 397. In his Retractations (ii. 2) Augustine says:
*"The book against the Epistle of Manichseus called Fundamental refutes only its commencement; but on the other parts of the epistle I have made notes, as required, refuting the whole, and sufficient to recall the argument, had I ever had leisure to write against the whole."

7 G

98 KEPLY TO MAXICH.EUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

are fitted to comfort and soothe in distress, as, for example, consolations, exhortations, discussions, and such things; in all these the supreme justice of God makes use sometimes even of wicked men, acting in ignorance, and sometimes of good men, acting intelligently. It behoves us, accordingly, to desire in preference the better part, that we might attain our end in your correction, not by contention, and strife, and persecutions, but by kindly consolation, by friendly exhortation, by quiet discussion; as it is written, "The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle toward all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves."^ It behoves us, I say, to desire to obtain this part in the work; it belongs to God to give what is good to those who ask for what they desire.

IL â€” Why the Manichceans should he gently dealt intJi.

2. Let those treat you angrily who know not the labour necessary to find truth, and the amount of caution required to avoid error. Let those treat you angrily who know not how hard and rare it is to overcome the fancies of the flesh by the clear intelligence of true x'ivity. Let those treat you angrily who know not the difficulty of curing man's mental vision that he may behold his Sun, â€” not that sun which you worship, and which shines with the brilliance of a heavenly body in the eyes of carnal men and of beasts, â€” but that of which it is written in the prophet, "The Sun of righteousness has arisen upon me;"^ and of which it is said in the Gospel, "That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." ^ Let those treat you angrily who know not with what sighs and groans the least particle of the knowledge of God is obtained. And, last of aU,
let those treat you angrily who have never been led astray in the same way that they see that you are.

IL â€“ Augustine at one time a Manichcean.

3. For my part, I, â€“ who, after much and long-continued bewilderment, attained at last to the discovery of the simple truth, which is learned without being recorded in any fanciful legend; who, unhappy that I was, barely succeeded, by God's

1 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. ^XaL iv. 2. ' John i. 9.

FRIENDLY DISCUSSION. 99

help, in refuting the vain notions of my mind, gathered from theories and false doctrines of various kinds; who so late sought the cure of my mental obscuration, in compliance with the call and the tender persuasion of the all-merciful Physician; who long mourned till the immutable and inviolable Existence vouchsafed to convince me inwardly of Himself, in harmony with the testimony of the sacred books; by whom, in fine, all those fictions which have such a firm hold on you, from your long familiarity with them, were diligently examined, and attentively heard, and too easily believed, and commended at every opportunity to the belief of others, and defended against opponents with determination and boldness, â€“ I can on no account treat you angrily; for I must bear with you now as formerly I had to bear with myself, and I must be as patient towards you as my associates were with me, when I went madly and blindly astray in your beliefs.

4. On the other hand, all must allow that you owe it to me, in return, to lay aside all arrogance on your part too, that so you may be the more disposed to gentleness, and may not oppose me in a hostile spirit, to your own hurt. Let neither of us assert that he has found truth; let us seek it as if it were unknown to us both. For truth can be sought with zeal and unanimity only in the absence of any rash assumption of its being already found and ascertained. But if I cannot induce you to grant me this, at least allow me to suppose myself a stranger now for the first time hearing you, for the first time examining your doctrines. My request is surely a reasonable one. And it must be laid down as an understood thing that I am not to join you in your prayers, or in holding conventicles, on in taking the name of Manichaeus, unless you give me a clear explanation, without any obscurity, of all matters touching the salvation of the soul.

ly. â€“ Proofs of the Catholic faith.

5. As regards staying in the Catholic Church, not to speak of the purest wisdom, to the knowledge of which a few spiritual men attain in this life, so as to know it, in the
scantiest measure, indeed, because they are but men, still without any uncertainty (the rest of the multitude, of course, derive their

100 EEPLY TO MANICHeUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

entire security not from acuteness of intellect, but from simplicity of faith), â€” not to speak of this wisdom, which you do not believe to be in the Catholic Church, there are many other things to keep me in her bosom, for the best reasons. 
/ The consent of peoples and nations keeps me in the Church; so does her authority, inaugurated by miracles, nourished in hope, enlarged by love, established by age. The succession of priests keeps me, beginning from the very seat of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, gave it in charge to feed His sheep, down to the present episcopate. And so, lastly, does 'the name itself of Catholic, which, not without reason, amid so many heresies, the Church has still retained; so that, though all heretics wish to be called Catholics, yet when a stranger asks where the Catholic Church meets, no heretic will venture to point to his own chapel or house. Such in number and importance are the precious ties belonging to the Christian name which keep a believer in the Catholic Church, as it is right they should, though from the slowness of our understanding, or the small attainment of our life, the truth may not yet fully disclose itself. You, again, have none of those things to attract or retain me, and your only claim is to teach the truth. !N"ow if the truth is so clearly proved as to leave no doubt, it must be set before all the things which keep me in the Catholic Church; but if there is only a promise without any fulfilment, no one shall move me from the faith to which Christian ties, so many and so strong, bind me.

Y. â€” Against the title of the epistle of Manichoeus.

6. Let us see then what Manichseus teaches me; and particularly let us examine that treatise which he calls the Fundamental Epistle, in which almost all that you believe is contained. For in that unhappy time when we read it we were in your opinion enlightened. The epistle begins thus: â€”

"" Manichceus, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the a'p'pointment of God the Father. Tliese are iwholcsome word.s, from the everlasting fountain of living water." Now, if you please, wait and kindly answer me. I do not believe Manichseus to be an apostle of Christ. Do not, I beg of you, be enraged; do not begin to revile me. You know that it is my rule to believe

MANICH.EUS CLAIMS TO BE AN APOSTLE. 101

none of your statements without consideration. Who then is this Manichceus ? You will reply, An apostle of Christ.
I do not believe it. [Now you are at a loss what to say or do; for you promised to give knowledge of the truth, and here you are forcing me to believe what I have no knowledge of.

Perhaps you Avill read the gospel to me, and will attempt to find there a testimony to Manichasus. But should you meet with a person not yet believing the gospel, how would you reply to him were he to say, I do not believe ? For my part, I should not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the Church. So when those on whose authority I have consented to believe in the gospel tell me not to believe in Manichgeus, how can I but consent ? Take your choice. If you say. Believe the Catholics: their advice to me is to put no faith in you; so that, believing them, I am precluded from believing you; â€” If you say. Do not believe the Catholics: you cannot fairly use the gospel in bringing me to faith in Manichaeus; for it was on the testimony of the Catholics that I believed the gospel; â€” Again, if you say. You were right in believing the Catholics when they praised the gospel, but wrong in believing their condemnation of Manichseus: do you think me such a fool as to believe or not to believe as I like or dislike, without any reason ? It is therefore the fairest and the safest plan for me, having in one instance put faith in the Catholics, not to go over to you, till, instead of bidding me believe, you make me understand something in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. To convince me, then, you must find proof elsewhere than in the gospel. If you keep to the gospel, I will keep to those who led me to believe the gospel; and, in obedience to them, I can never believe you. Then, should you succeed in finding in the gospel an incontrovertible testimony to the apostleship of Manichseus, you will weaken my regard for the authority of the Catholics; and the effect of that will be, that I shall no longer be able to believe the gospel either, for it was through the Catholics that I got my faith in it; and so, whatever you bring from the gospel will no longer have any weight with me. Thus, supposing no clear proof of the apostleship of Manichaeus to be found in the gospel, I will

102 EEPLY TO MANICH^US’ FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

believe the Catholics rather than you. Again, supposing you to find some passage clearly in favour of Manichseus, I will believe neither them nor you: not them, for they deceived me about you; nor you, for you quote to me that Scripture which I believed on the authority of those deceivers. But my not believing the gospel is not to be supposed possible; and, believing the gospel, I can no longer believe you too. For the names of the apostles, as there recorded,"^ do not include the name of Manich?eus. And who the successor of Christ's betrayer was we read in the Acts of the Apostles; ^ which book I must believe if I believe the gospel, since both writings rest alike on the testimony of the Catholic Church. The same book contains the well-known narrative of the callings and apostleship of Paul.^ Read to me, if you can, a passage in the gospel where Manichseus is called an apostle, or from any other book in which I have professed to believe. Will you read the passage where the Lord promised the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, to the apostles ? In reply, I will show you how many and how great are the obstacles in the way of my believing in Manichseus in view of this passage.
YL â€” Why ManiclicBUs called himself the apostle of Christ.

7. For I am at a loss to see why this epistle begins, "Manichceus, the apostle of Jesus Christ', and not the Paraclete, the apostle of Jesus Christ. Or if the Paraclete sent by Christ sent Manichseus, why do we read, "Manicliceus, the apostle of Jesus Christ" instead of Manichseus, the apostle of the Paraclete 1 If you say that it is Christ Himself who is the Holy Spirit, you contradict the very words of Scripture, where the Lord says, "And I will send you another Paraclete." 2 Again, if you justify your putting Christ's name because the Paraclete, though not the same person as Christ, is of the same substance, â€” that is, because, though not one person, they are one existence, â€” Paul too might have used the words. Paul, an apostle of God the Father; for the Lord said, "I and the Father are one." 3 Paul nowhere uses these words; nor does any of the apostles write of himself as an apostle of the


THE PARACLETE. 103

Father. Why then this new fashion? Does it not savour of trickery of some kind or other? For if he thought it equivalent, why did he not in some epistles call himself an apostle of Christ, and in others of the Paraclete? But in every one that I know of, he writes, of Christ; and never, of the Paraclete. What do we suppose to be the reason of this, but that pride, which is the mother of all heretics, led the man to desire it to be thought that he, instead of being sent by the Paraclete, was taken into so close a relation as to get the name of Paraclete himself? As the man Jesus Christ was not sent by the Son of God, that is, the power and wisdom of God, by which all things were made, but, according to the Catholic faith; was taken into such a relation as to be Himself the Son of God, â€” that is, that in Himself the wisdom of God; aras displayed in the recovery of sinners, â€” so Manichseus wished it to be thought that he was so taken up by the Holy Spirit, whom Christ promised, that we are henceforth to understand that the names Manichaeus and Holy Spirit alike signify the apostle of Jesus Christ, â€” that is, one sent by Jesus Christ, who promised to send him. Amazing arrogance! unutterable profanity!

VII. â€” In what sense the followers of Manichceus believe him to be the Holy

Spirit.
8. Besides, you should explain how it is that, while the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are united in equality of nature, as you also acknowledge, you are not ashamed to speak of Manichaeus, a man taken into union with the Holy Spirit, as born of ordinary generation; and yet you are afraid to believe that the man taken into union with the only-begotten Wisdom of God was born of a Virgin. If human flesh, if generation, if the womb of the wife and mother could not contaminate the Holy Spirit, how could the Virgin's womb contaminate the Wisdom of God? This Manichaeus, then, who boasts of a connection with the Holy Spirit, and of being spoken of in the gospel, must produce his claim to either of these two things, that he was sent by the Spirit, or that he was taken into union with the Spirit. If he was sent, let him call himself the apostle of the Paraclete; if taken into union, let him allow that He whom the only-begotten Son took upon Himself had a human mother, since he admits a human father as well as mother in the case of one taken up by the Holy Spirit. Let him believe that the Word of God was not defiled by the virgin womb of Mary, since he bids us believe that the Holy Spirit could not be defiled by the married life of his parents. Suppose you say that Manichaeus was united to the Spirit, not in the womb or before conception, but after his birth, still you must admit that he had a fleshy nature derived from a father and mother. And since you are not afraid to speak of the blood and the bodily substance of Manichaeus as coming from ordinary generation, or of the internal impurities contained in his flesh, and hold that the Holy Spirit, who took on Himself, as you believe, this human being, was not contaminated by all those things, why should I shrink from speaking of the Virgin's womb and body undefiled, and not rather believe that the Wisdom of God in union with the human being; in his mother's flesh still remained free from stain and pollution? Thus, as, whether Manichaeus professes to be sent by or to be united with the Paraclete, neither statement holds good, I am on my guard, and refuse to believe either in his mission or in his susception.

104 III EPLEY TO MAXICHEUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

Himself had a human mother, since he admits a human father as well as mother in the case of one taken up by the Holy Spirit. Let him believe that the Word of God was not defiled by the virgin womb of Mary, since he bids us believe that the Holy Spirit could not be defiled by the married life of his parents. Suppose you say that Manichaeus was united to the Spirit, not in the womb or before conception, but after his birth, still you must admit that he had a fleshy nature derived from a father and mother. And since you are not afraid to speak of the blood and the bodily substance of Manichaeus as coming from ordinary generation, or of the internal impurities contained in his flesh, and hold that the Holy Spirit, who took on Himself, as you believe, this human being, was not contaminated by all those things, why should I shrink from speaking of the Virgin's womb and body undefiled, and not rather believe that the Wisdom of God in union with the human being; in his mother's flesh still remained free from stain and pollution? Thus, as, whether Manichaeus professes to be sent by or to be united with the Paraclete, neither statement holds good, I am on my guard, and refuse to believe either in his mission or in his susception.

VIII "Tiiefestival of the birth-day of Manichaeus.

9, In adding the words, "by the providence of God the Father" what else did Manichaeus design but that, having got the name of Jesus Christ, whose apostle he calls himself, and of God the Father, by whose providence he says he was sent by the Son, we should believe himself, as the Holy Spirit, to be the third person? His words are: "Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the providence of God the Father." The Holy Spirit is not named, though He ought specially to have been named by one who quotes to us in favour of his apostleship the promise of the Paraclete, that he may prevail upon ignorant people by the authority of the gospel. In reply to this, you of course say that in the name of the Apostle Manichaeus we have the name of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, because He condescended to come in Manichaeus. Why then, I ask again, should you cry out against the doctrine of the Catholic Church, that He in whom divine Wisdom came was born of a
THE BIRTH-DAY FESTIVAL. 105

virgin, when you do not scruple to affirm the birth by ordinary generation of him in whom you say the Holy Spirit came?
I cannot but suspect that this Manichseus, who uses the name of Christ to gain access to the minds of the ignorant, wished to be worshipped instead of Christ even. I will state briefly the reason of this suspicion. At the time when I was a student of your doctrines, to my frequent inquiries why it was that the Paschal feast of the Lord was celebrated generally with no interest, though sometimes there were a few languid worshippers, but no watchings, no prescription of any unusual fast, â€“ in a word, no special ceremony, â€“ while great honour is paid to your Bema, that is, the day on which Manichceus was killed, when you have a platform with fine steps, covered with precious cloth, placed conspicuously so as to face the votaries, â€“ the reply was, that the day to observe was the day of the passion of him who really suffered, and that Christ, who was not born, but appeared to human eyes in an unreal semblance of flesh, only feigned suffering, without really bearing it. Is it not deplorable, that men who wish to be called Christians are afraid of a virgin's womb as likely to defile the truth, and yet are not afraid of falsehood? But to go back to the point, who that pays attention can help suspecting that the intention of Manichseus in denying Christ's being born of a woman, and having a human body, â€“ as that His passion, the time of which is now a great festival all over the world, might not be observed by the believers in Manichseanism, so as to lessen the devotion of the solemn commemoration which he wished in honour of the day of his own death? To us it was a great attraction in the feast of the Bema that it was held during Pascha; for the connection of the one feast with another season of great enjoyment added greatly to our affection for it.

IX. â€“ When the Holy Spirit loas sent,

10. Perhaps you will say to me, When, then, did the Paraclete promised by the Lord come? As regards this, had I nothing else to believe on the subject, I should rather look for the Paraclete as still to come, than allow that He came in Manicheus. But seeing that the advent of the Holy Spirit is narrated with perfect clearness in the Acts of the Apostles,

106 EEPLY TO MAXICH^rs' FUXDAMEXTAL EPISTLE.

where is the necessity of my so gratuitously running the risk of believing heretics? For in the Acts it is -written as follows: "The former treatise have we made, Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, in the day in which He chose the apostles by the Holy Spirit, and commanded them to preach the gospel By those to whom He showed Himself alive after His passion by
many proofs in the day-time, He was seen forty days, and taught them concerning the kingdom of God. And how He conversed with them, and commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith He, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall begin to be baptized with the Holy Spirit, whom ye shall receive after not many days, that is, at Pentecost. "[^Tien the] had come, they asked him, saying, Lord, wilt Thou at this time manifest Thyself? And when will be the kingdom of Israel? And He said unto them, No one can know the time which the Father hath put in His own power. But ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." In this passage you have the Lord reminding His disciples of the promise of the Father, which they had heard from His mouth, of the coming of the Holy Spirit. Let us now see when He was sent; for shortly after we read as follows: "^*^ When the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. And when the sound was heard, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because every man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another. Are not all these which speak Galilaeans? and how heard we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Armenia, and in Cappadocia, in Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the regions of Africa about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews, natives, Cretes, and Arabians, they heard them speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt on account of what had happened, saying, What meaneth this? But others, mocking, said, These men are full of new wine." This is when the Holy Spirit came. What more do you wish? If we are to believe the Scriptures, should we not believe most readily in this book, which has the strongest testimony in its support, and which has had the advantage of becoming generally known, and of being handed down and of being publicly taught along with the gospel itself, which contains the promise of the Holy Spirit, which also we believe? On reading, then, this book of the Acts of the Apostles, which stands, as regards authority, on a level with the gospel, I find that not only was the Holy Spirit promised to these true apostles, but that He was also sent so clearly, that no room is left for errors on this subject.
X. â€” The Holy Spirit twice given.

11. For the glorification of our Lord among men is His resurrection and His ascension to heaven. For it is written in the Gospel according to John: "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." ^ ISJ'ow if the reason why He was not given was that Jesus was not yet glorified, it follows that He must have been given immediately on the glorification of Jesus. And since that glorification was twofold, as regards man and as regards God, the Holy Spirit was also given twice: once, when, after His resurrection from the dead. He breathed on the face of His disciples, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" ^ and again, ten days after His ascension to heaven. This number ten signifies perfection; for to the number seven, which embraces all created things, is added the trinity of the Creator. On these things there is much pious and sober discourse among spiritual men.
But I must keep to my point; for my business at present is


108 KEPLY TO MAXICHiEUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

not to teach you, which you might think presumptuous, but to take the part of an inquirer, and learn from you, as I tried to do for nine years without success.) Now, therefore, I have a document to believe on the subject of the Holy Spirit's advent; and if you bid me not to believe this document, as your usual advice is not to believe ignorantly, without consideration, much less will I believe your documents. Away, then, with all books, and disclose the truth with logical clearness, so as to leave no doubt in my mind; or bring forward books where I shall find not an imperious demand for my belief, but a trustworthy statement of what I may understand. Perhaps you say this epistle is of this character.

Let me, then, no longer stop at the threshold: let us see the contents.
^ XL â€” ManichcBUS promises truth, but does not make good his word.

y \ 12. "Here," he says, "are wholesome words from the everlasting fountain of life; and whoever hears them, and having in the first place believed them, in the next place observes the truths they set forth, shall never suffer death, but shall enjoy eternal life in glory. For he is to be pronounced truly blessed who has been instructed in this divine knowledge, by which he is made free and shall abide in everlasting life." This, you see, is a promise of truth, but not the bestowal of it.

And you yourselves can easily see that any errors whatever might be dressed up in this fashion, so as under cover of a showy exterior to steal in unawares into the minds of the ignorant. "Were he to say, Here are unwholesome words from a poisonous fountain; and whoever hears them, and having in the first place believed them, in the next place observes what they set forth, shall never be restored to life, but shall suffer a woeful death as a criminal: for assuredly he is to be pronounced miserable who falls into this infernal error, in which he will sink so as to abide in everlasting torments; â€”
were he to say this, he would say the truth; but instead of gaining any readers for his book, he would excite the greatest aversion in the minds of all into whose hands the book might come. Let us then pass on to what follows; nor let us be deceived by words which may be used alike by good and bad, by learned and unlearned. What, then, comes next?

A PROMISING INTRODUCTION. 109

13. "May the peace of the invisible God, and the knowledge of the truth, be with the holy and beloved brethren who both believe and also yield obedience to the divine precepts." Amen, say we. The prayer is a most amiable and commendable one. Only we must bear in mind that these words might be used by false teachers as well as by good ones. So, if he said nothing more than this, all might safely read and agree to it. And what follows, too, has nothing wrong in it: "May also the right hand of light protect you, and deliver you from every hostile assault, and from the snares of the world." In fact, I have no fault to find with the beginning of this epistle, till we come to the main subject of it. For I wish not to spend time on minor points. Now, then, for this writer's plain statement of what is to be expected from him.

XII. â€” Tlie wild fancies of Ifanichcciis. The battle before the settlement of the world.

14. "Of that matter," he says, "beloved brother of Paticus, of which you told me, saying that you desired to know the manner of the birth of Adam and Eve, whether they were produced by a word or sprung from matter, I will answer you as is fit. For in various writings and narratives we find different assertions made and different descriptions given by many authors. Now the real truth on the subject is unknown to all people, even to those who have long and frequently treated of it. For had they arrived at a clear knowledge of the generation of Adam and Eve, they would not have remained liable to corruption and death." Here, then, is a promise to us of clear knowledge of this matter, so that we shall not be liable to corruption and death. And if this does not suffice, see what follows: "Necessarily," he says, "many things have to be said by way of preface, before a discovery of this mystery free from all uncertainty can be made." This is precisely what I asked for, to have such evidence of the truth as to free my knowledge of it from all uncertainty.

And even were the promise not made by this writer himself, it was proper for me to demand and to insist upon this, so that no opposition should make me ashamed of becoming a Manichaean from a Catholic Christian, in view of such a gain

110 REPLY TO MANICHÆUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

as that of perfectly clear and certain truth. Iow, then, let us hear what he has to state.
15. "Accordingly," he says, "hear first, if you please, what happened before the settlement of the world, and how the battle was carried on, that you may be able to distinguish the nature of light from that of darkness." Such are the false and incredible statements which this writer makes. Who can believe that a battle was fought before the formation of the world? And even supposing it credible, we wish now to get something to know, not to believe. For to say that the Persians and Scythians long ago fought with one another is a credible statement; but while we believe it when we read or hear it, we cannot know it as a fact of experience or as a truth of the understanding. So, then, as I would not accept any such statement on the ground that I have been promised something, not that I must believe on authority, but that I shall understand without any uncertainty; still less will I receive statements which are not only uncertain, but incredible. Perhaps, however, he may have some evidence to make these things clear and intelligible. Let us hear, then, what follows with all possible patience and forbearance.

XII. — Two opposite substances. The kingdom of light. Manichaeus teaches uncertainties instead of certainties.

16. ("In the beginning, then," he says, "these two substances were divided. The empire of light was held by God the Father, who is constant in His holy origin, excellent in virtue, true in His very nature, ever rejoicing in His own eternity, possessing in Himself wisdom and the vital senses, by which He also includes the twelve members of His light, which are the plentiful resources of His kingdom. Also in each of His members are stored thousands of untold and priceless treasures. But the Father Himself, chief in praise, incomprehensible in greatness, has united to Himself happy and glorious worlds, incalculable in wonder and duration, along with which this holy and illustrious Father and Progenitor resides, no poverty or infirmity being admitted in His magnificent realms. And these matchless realms are so founded on the region of light and bliss, that no one can ever move or disturb them/"

EYIDEXCE REQUIRED. III

17. Where is the proof of all this? And where did Manichaeus learn it? Do not frighten me with the name of the Paraclete. For, in the first place, I have come not to put faith in unknown things, but to get the knowledge of undoubtedly truths, according to the caution enjoined on me by yourselves. For you know how bitterly you taunt those who believe without consideration. And what is more, this writer, who here begins to tell of very doubtful things, himself promised a little before to give complete and well-grounded knowledge.
XIV. â€” Manichceus promises the knowledge of undoubted things, and then demands faith in doubtful things.

In the next place, if faith is what is required of me, I should prefer to keep to the Scripture, which tells me that the Holy Spirit came and inspired the apostles, to whom the Lord had promised to send Him. You must therefore prove, either that what Manichseus says is true, and so make clear to me what I am unable to believe; or that Manichseus is the Holy Spirit, and so lead me to believe in what you cannot make clear. For I profess the Catholic faith, and by it I expect to attain certain knowledge. Since, then, you try to overthrow my faith, you must supply me with certain knowledge, if you can, that you may convict me of having adopted my present belief without consideration. You make two distinct propositions, â€” one when you say that the speaker is the Holy Spirit, and another when you say that what the speaker teaches is evidently true. I might fairly ask undeniable proof for both propositions. But I am not greedy, and require to be convinced only of one. Prove this person to be the Holy Spirit, and I will believe what he says to be true, even without understanding it; or prove that what he says is true, and I will believe him to be the Holy Spirit, even without evidence. Could anything be fairer or kinder than this? But you cannot prove either one or other of these propositions. You can find nothing better than to praise your own faith and ridicule mine. So, after having in my turn praised my belief and ridiculed yours, what result do you think we shall arrive at as regards our judgment and our conduct, but to part company with those who promise the knowledge of indubitable things.

112 KEPLY TO MANICHiEUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

while we shall follow those who invite us to begin with believing what we cannot yet fully perceive, that, strengthened by this very faith, we may obtain an intelligent perception of what we believe by the inward illumination and confirmation of our minds, due no longer to men, but to God Himself.

18. And as I have asked this writer to prove these things to me, I ask him now where he learned them himself. If he replies that they were revealed to him by the Holy Spirit, and that his mind was divinely enlightened that he might know them to be certain and evident, this reply itself points to the distinction between knowing and believing. The knowledge is his to whom these things are fully made known as proved; but in the case of those who only hear his account of these things, there is no knowledge imparted, but only a believing acquiescence required. Whoever thoughtlessly yields this becomes a Manichaean, not by knowing undoubted truth, but by believing doubtful statements. Such were we when in our inexperienced youth we were deceived. Instead, therefore, of promising knowledge, or clear evidence, or the settlement of the question free from all uncertainty, Manichseus ought to have said that these things were clearly proved to him, but that those who hear his account of them must believe him without evidence. But
were he to say this, the reply in every case would be, If I must believe without knowing, why should I not prefer to believe those things which have a wide-spread notoriety from the consent of learned and unlearned, and which among all nations are established on the best authority? From fear of having this said to him, Manichseus bewilders the inexperienced by first professing the knowledge of certain truths, and then demanding "faith in doubtful things. And then, if he is asked to make it plain that these things have been proved to himself, he fails again, and bids us believe this too. Who can tolerate such imposture and arrogance?

THE KINGDOM OF DAJECTION. 113

XV. â€“ The doctrine of Manichseus not only uncertain, but false. His absurd fancy of a land and race of darkness bordering on the holy region and the substance of God. The error, first of all, of giving to the nature of God limits and borders, as if God were a material substance, having extension in space.

19. I have now to show, with the help of God and of our Lord, that this writer's statements are false as well as uncertain. The worst feature in this superstition is that it not only fails to impart the knowledge and the truth which it promises, but also teaches what is directly opposed to knowledge and truth. This will at once be seen from the following passage: "In one direction on the border of this bright and holy region there was a land of darkness deep and vast in extent, where abode fiery bodies, destructive races. Here was boundless darkness, flowing from the same source in immeasurable abundance, with the productions properly belonging to it. Beyond this were muddy turbid waters with their inhabitants; and inside of them winds terrible and violent with their prince and their progenitors. Then again a fiery region of destruction, with its chiefs and peoples. And similarly inside of this a race full of smoke and gloom, where abode the dreadful prince and chief of all, having around him innumerable princes, himself the mind and source of them all. Such are the five natures of the region of corruption."

20. To speak of God even as an ethereal body is absurd in the view of all who, with a clear mind, possessing some measure of discernment, can perceive the nature of wisdom and truth as not extended or scattered in space, but as great, and imparting greatness without material size, nor confined more or less in any direction, but throughout co-extensive with the Father of all, nor having one thing here and another there, but everywhere perfect, everywhere present.

XVI. â€“ The soul, though mutable, has no material form. It is all present in every part of the body.

But why speak of truth and wisdom which surpass all the powers of the soul, when the nature of the soul itself, which is known to be mutable still, has no kind of material
extension in space? For whatever consists of gross matter must necessarily be divisible into parts, having one in one place, and another in another. Thus, the finger is less than the whole hand, and one finger is less than two; and there is one place for this finger, and another for that, and another for the rest of the hand. And this applies not to organized bodies only, but also to the ground, each part of which has its own place, so that one cannot be where the other is. So in moisture, the smaller quantity occupies a smaller space, and the larger quantity a larger space; and one part is at the bottom of the cup, and another part near the mouth. So in air, each part has its own place; and it is impossible for the air in this house to have along with itself, in the same house at the same moment, the air in the neighbourhood. And even as regards light itself, one part comes through one window, and another through another; and a greater quantity comes through the larger window, and a smaller quantity through the smaller window. Tor, in fact, can there be any bodily substance, whether celestial or terrestrial, whether aerial or moist, which is not less in its part than in the whole, or which can possibly have one part in the same place as another at the same time; but, ha^a^Jlg one thing in one place and another in another, its extension in space is a substance which has distinct limits and parts, or, so to speak, sections. The nature of the soul, on the other hand, though we leave out of account its power of perceiving truth, and consider only its inferior power of giving unity to the body, and of sensation in the body, does not appear to have any material extension in space. For it is all present in each separate part of its body when it is all present in any sensation. There is not a smaller part in the finger, and a larger in the arm, as the bulk of the finger is less than that of the arm; but the quantity everywhere is the same, for the whole is present everywhere. For when the finger is touched, the whole mind feels, though the sensation is not through the whole body. No part of the mind is unconscious of the touch, which proves the presence of the whole. And yet it is not so present in the finder or in the sensation as to abandon the rest of the body, or to gather itself up into the one place where the sensation occurs. For when it is all present in the sensation in a finger, if another part, say the foot, be touched, it does not fail to be all present in this sensation too; so that at the same moment it is all present in different places, without leaving one in order to be in the other, and without having one part in one, and another in the other; but by this power of

THE SOUL HAS NO EXTENSION. 115
showing itself to be all present at the same moment in separate places. When it is all present in the sensations of these places, it proves that it is not bound by the conditions of space.

XVII. â€” The memory contains the ideas of places of the greatest size.

Again, if we consider the mind's power of remembering not the objects of the intellect, but material objects, such as we see brutes also remembering (for cattle find their way without mistake in familiar places, and animals return to their cribs, and dogs recognise the persons of their masters, and when asleep they often growl, or break out into a bark, which could not be unless their mind retained the images of things before seen or perceived by some bodily sense), who can conceive rightly where these images are contained, where they are kept, or where they are formed? If, indeed, these images were no larger than the size of our body, it might be said that the mind shapes and retains them in the bodily space which contains itself. But while the body occupies a small material space, the mind revolves images of vast extent, of heaven and earth, with no want of room, though they come and go in crowds; so that, clearly, the mind has no material extension:

for instead of being contained in images of the largest spaces, it rather contains them; not, however, in any material receptacle, but by a mysterious faculty or power, by which it can increase or diminish them, can contract them within narrow limits, or expand them indefinitely, can arrange or disarrange them at pleasure, can multiply them or reduce them to a few or to one.

XVIII. â€” The understanding judges of the truth of things, and of its own action.

"What, then, must be said of the power of perceiving truth, and of making a vigorous resistance against these very images which take their shape from impressions on the bodily senses, when they are opposed to the truth? This power discerns the difference between, to take a particular example, the true Carthage and its own imaginary one, which it changes as it pleases with perfect ease. It shows that the countless worlds of Epicurus, in which his fancy roamed without restraint, are due to the same power of imagination, and, to add as other examples, that we get from the same source the region of light, with its boundless extent, and the five dens of the race of darkness, with their inmates, in which ideas the fancies of Manichaeus have dared to assume the name of truth. What is this power which discerns things in this way? Clearly, whatever its extent may be, it is greater than all these things, and is conceived of without any such material images. Find, if you can, space for this power; give it a material extension; provide it with a body of huge size.
Assuredly you will allow that you cannot. For of everything of this corporeal nature your mind forms an opinion as to its divisibility, and you make of such things one part greater and another less, as much as you like; (while that by which you form a judgment of these things you perceive to be above them, not in local position, but in the higher power which it possesses.

XIX. â€” If the mind has no material extension, much less has God,
21. So then, if the mind, so liable to change, whether from a multitude of dissimilar desires, or from feelings varying according to the abundance or the want of desirable things, or from these endless sports of the fancy, or from forgetfulness and remembrance, or from learning and ignorance; if the mind, I say, exposed to frequent change from those and the like causes, is perceived to be without any local or material extension, and to have a vigour of action which surmounts these material conditions, what must we think or conclude of God, who remains superior to all intelligent beings in His freedom from perturbation and from change, giving to every one what is due?

Him the mind dares to express more easily than to see; and the clearer the sight, the less is the power of expression. And yet this God, if, as the Manicheean fables are constantly asserting. He were limited in extension in one direction and unlimited in others, could be measured by so many subdivisions or fractions of greater or less size, as every one might fancy; so that, for example, a division of the extent of two feet would be less by eight parts than one of ten feet. For

**GOD NOT DIVISIBLE. 117**

this is the property of all natures which have extension in space, and therefore cannot be all in one place. But even with the mind this is not the case; and this degrading and perverted idea of the mind is found among people who are unfit for such investigations.

XX. â€” Refutation of the absurd idea of two territories.

22. But perhaps, instead of thus addressing carnal minds, we should rather descend to the views of those who either dare not or are as yet unfit to turn from the consideration of material things to the study of an immaterial and spiritual nature, and who are thus unable to reflect upon their own power of reflection, so as to see how it forms a judgment of material extension without itself possessing it. Let us descend then to these material ideas, and let us ask in what direction, and on what border of the shining and sacred territory, to use the expressions of Manichaean, was the region of darkness?

For he speaks of one direction and border, without saying which, whether the right or the left. In any case, it is clear that to speak of one side implies that there is another. But where there are three or more sides, either the figure is bounded in all directions, or if it
extends infinitely in one direction, still it must be limited in the directions where it has sides.
If, then, on one side of the region of light there was the region of darkness, what bounded it on the other side or sides?
The Manichseans say nothing in reply to this; but when pressed, they say that on the other sides the region of light, as they call it, is infinite, that is, extends throughout boundless space. They do not see, what is plain to the dullest understanding, that in that case there could be no sides. For the sides are where it is bounded. What, then, he says, though there are no sides? -But what you said of one direction or side, implied of necessity the existence of another direction and side, or other directions and sides. For if there was only one side, you should have said, on the side, not on one side; as in reference to our body we say properly. By one eye, because there is another; or on one breast, because there is another. But if we spoke of a thing as being on one nose, or one navel, we should be ridiculed by learned and unlearned.

118 EEPLY TO MANICH^US' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

since there is only one. But I do not insist on words, for you may have used one in the sense of the only one.

XXL â€“ This region of light must he material if it is joined to the region of darkness.
The shape of the region of darkness joined to the region of light.

What, then, bordered on the side of the region which you call shining and sacred? The region, you reply, of darkness.
Do you then allow this latter region to have been material?
Of course you must, since you assert that all bodies derive their origin from it. How then is it that, dull and carnal as you are, you do not see that unless both regions were material, they could not have their sides joined to one another! How could you ever be so blinded in mind as to say that only the region of darkness was material, and that the so-called region of light was immaterial and spiritual? My good friends, let us open our eyes for once, and see, now that we are told of it, what is most obvious, that two regions cannot be joined at their sides unless both are material.

23. Or if we are too dull and stupid to see this, let us hear whether the region of darkness too has one side, and is boundless in the other directions, like the region of light. They do not hold this from fear of making it seem equal to God. Accordingly they make it boundless in depth and in length;

â€™ but upwards, above it, they maintain that there is an infinity of empty space. And lest this region should appear to be a

fraction equal in amount to half of that representing the region of light, they narrow it also on two sides. As if, to give the simplest, illustration, a piece of bread were made into
four squares, three white and one black; then suppose the three white pieces joined as one, and conceive them as infinite upwards and downwards, and backwards in all directions: this represents the Manichsean region of light. Then

* conceive the black square infinite downwards and backwards, but with infinite emptiness above it: this is their region of darkness. But these are secrets which they disclose to very eager and anxious inquirers.

XXII. â€” The form of the region of light the worse of the two.

Well, then, if this is so, the region of darkness is clearly touched on two sides by the region of light. And if it is

REGIONS OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS. 119

touched on two sides, it must touch on two. So much for its being on one side, as we were told before.

24. And what an unseemly appearance is this of the region of light! â€” like a cloven arch, with a black wedge inserted below, bounded only in the direction of the cleft, and having a void space interposed where the boundless emptiness stretches â€“ above the region of darkness. Indeed, the form of the region of darkness is better than that of the region of light: for the former cleaves, the latter is cloven; the former fills the gap which is made in the latter; the former has no void in it, while the latter is undefined in all directions, except that where it is filled up by the wedge of darkness. In an ignorant and greedy notion of giving more honour to a number of parts than to a single one, so that the region of light should have six, three upwards and three downwards, they have made thisâ€“ region be split up, instead of sundering the other. For, according to this figure, though there may be no intermixture of darkness with light, there is certainly interpenetration.

XXIII. â€” The Anthropomorphites not so had as the Manichceans.

25. Compare, now, not spiritual men of the Catholic faith, whose mind, as far as is possible in this life, perceives that the divine substance and nature has no material extension, and has no shape bounded by lines, but the carnal and weak of our faith, who, when they hear the members of the body used figuratively, as when God's eyes or ears are spoken of, are accustomed, in the licence of fancy, to picture God to themselves in a human form; compare these with the Manichceans, whose custom it is to make known their silly stories to anxious inquirers as if they were great mysteries: and consider who have the most allowable and respectable ideas of God, â€” those who think of Him as having a human form which is the most excellent of its kind, or those who think of Him as having boundless material extension, yet not in all directions, but with three parts infinite and solid, while in one part He â€“
is cloven, with an empty void, and with undefined space above, while the region of
darkness is inserted wedge-like below.
Or perhaps the proper expression is, that He is unconfined above in His own nature, but
encroached on below by a hostile

120 EEPLOY TO MANICH^US' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

nature. I join with you in laughing at the folly of carnal men, unable as yet to form
spiritual conceptions, who think of God as having a human form. Do you too join me, if
you can, in laughing at those whose unhappy conceptions represent God as having a
shape cloven or cut in such an unseemly and unbecoming way, with such an empty gap
above, and such a dishonourable curtailment below. Besides, there is this difference, that
these carnal people, who think of God as having a human form, if they are content to be
nourished with milk from the breast of the Catholic Church, and do not rush headlong
into rash opinions, but cultivate in the Church the pious habit of inquiry, and there seek
that they may find, and knock that it may be opened to them, begin to understand
spiritually the figures and parables of Scripture, and gradually to perceive that the divine
energies are suitably set forth under the name, sometimes of ears, sometimes of eyes,
sometimes of hands or feet, or even of wings and feathers, a shield too, and sword, and
helmet, and all the other innumerable things. And the more progress they make in this
understanding, the more are they confirmed as Catholics. The Manichseans, again, when
they abandon their material fancies, cease to be Manichseans.

For this is the chief and special point in their praises of Manichieus, that the divine
mysteries which were taught figuratively in books from ancient times were kept for
Manichseus, who was to come last, to explain and illustrate; and so after Mm no other
teacher will come from God, for he has said nothing in figures or parables, but has
explained ancient sayings of that kind, and has himself taught in plain, simple terms.
Therefore, when the Manichseans hear these words of their founder, mi one side and
border of the shining and sacred region was the region of darkness, they have no
interpretations to fall back on. Wherever they turn, the wretched bondage of their own
fancies brings them upon clefts or sudden stoppacles and joinings or sunderings of the
most unseemly kind, which it would be shocking to believe as true of any immaterial
nature, even though mutable, like the mind, not to speak of the immutable nature of God.
And surely, if I were unable to rise to higher things, and to bring my thoughts from the
entanglement of false imaginations which are impressed on the memory

ANTHROPOMORPHISM. 121
by the bodily senses, into the freedom and purity of spiritual existence, how much better
would it be to think of God as in the form of a man, than to fasten that wedge of darkness
to His lower edge, and, for want of a covering for the boundless vacuity above, to leave it
void and unoccupied throughout infinite space! What notion could be worse than this?
"What darker error can be taught or imagined?"

XXIV. â€” Of the number of natures in the Manichcean fiction.

26. Again, I wish to know, when I read of God the Father and His kingdoms founded on
the shining and happy region, whether the Father and His kingdoms and the region are
all of the same nature and substance. If they are, then it is not another nature or sort of
body of God which the wedge of the race of darkness cleaves and penetrates, which itself
is an unspeakably revolting thing, but it is actually the very nature of God which
undergoes this. Think of this, I beseech you:
as you are men, think of it, and flee from it; and if by tearing open your breasts you can
cast out by the roots such profane fancies from your faith, I pray you to do it. Or will you
say that these three are not of the same nature, but that the Father is of one, the kingdoms
of another, and the region of another, so that each has a peculiar nature and substance,
and that they are arranged according to their degree of excellence?
If this is true, Manichseus should have taught that there are four natures, not two; or if the
Father and the kingdoms have one nature, and the region only one of its own, he should
have made three. Or if he made only two, because the region of darkness does not belong
to God, in what sense does the region of light belong to God? For if it has a nature of its
own, and if God neither produced nor made it, it does not belong to Him, and the seat of
His kingdom is in what belongs to another. Or if it belongs to Him because of its vicinity,
the region of darkness must do so too; for it not only borders on the region of light, but
penetrates it so as to sever it in two. Again, if God produced it, it cannot have a separate
nature. For what is begotten of God must be what God is, as the Catholic Church
believes of the only-begotten Son. So you are brought back of necessity to that shocking
and detestable profanity, that the wedge of darkness sunders

122 EEPLY TO MAXICH^US’ FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

not a region distinct and separate from God, but the very nature of God. Or if God did not
produce, but make it, of
^Yllat did He make it? If of Himself, what is this but to beget or produce? If of some
other nature, was this nature good or evil? If good, there must have been some good
nature not belonging to God; which you will scarcely have the boldness to assert. If evil,
the race of darkness cannot have been the only evil nature. Or did God take a part of that
region and turn it into a region of light, in order to found His kingdom upon it? If He
had, He would have taken the whole, and there would have been no evil nature left. If
God, then, did not make the region of light of a substance distinct from His own. He must
have made it of nothing.
Omnipotence creates good things differing in degree. In every description whatsoever of the junction of the two regions there is either impropriety or absurdity.

27. If, then, you are now convinced that God is able to create some good thing out of nothing, come into the Catholic Church, and learn that all the natures which God has created and founded in their order of excellence from the highest to the lowest are good, and some better than others; and that they were made of nothing, though God, their Maker, made use of His own wisdom as an instrument, so to speak, to give being to what was not, and that as far as it had being it might be good, and that the limitation of its being might show that it was not begotten by God, but made out of nothing. If you examine the matter, you will find nothing to keep you from agreeing to this. For you cannot make your region of light to be what God is, without making the dark section an infringement on the very nature of God. And you cannot make it the production of God, without being reduced to the same enormity, from the necessity of concluding that, as begotten of God, it must be what God is. If, then, you would make it distinct from Him, lest you should be forced to admit that God placed His kingdom in what did not belong to Him, and that there are three natures. Or can you say that God made it of a substance distinct from His own, without making something good besides God, or something evil besides the race of darkness. It remains, therefore, that you must confess that

THE JUNCTION OF THE REGIONS. 123

God made the region of light out of nothing: and you are unwilling to believe this; because if God could make out of nothing some great good which yet was inferior to Himself, He could also, since He is good, and grudges no good, make another good inferior to the former, and again a third inferior to the second, and so on, in order down to the lowest good of created natures, so that the whole aggregate, instead of extending indefinitely without number or measure, should have a fixed and definite consistency. Again, if you will not allow this either, that God made the region of light out of nothing, you will have no escape from the shocking profanities to which your opinions lead.

28. Perhaps, since the carnal imagination can fancy any shapes it likes, you might be able to devise some other form for the junction of the two regions, instead of presenting to the mind such a disagreeable and painful description as this, that the region of God, whether it be of the same nature as God or not, where at least God's kingdoms are founded, lies through immensity in such a huge mass that its members stretch loosely to an infinite extent, and that on their lower part that wedge of the region of darkness, itself of boundless size, encroaches upon them. But whatever other form you contrive for the junction of these two regions, you cannot erase what Manichseus has written. I refer not to other treatises where a more particular description is given, and perhaps, because they are in the hands of only a few, there might not be so much difficulty with them, but to this fundamental epistle which we are now considering, with which all of you who are called enlightened are usually quite familiar. Here the words are: "On one side the
border of the shining and sacred region was the region of darkness, bottomless and boundless in extent."

XXVI. â€” The Manicheans are reduced to the choice of a twisted, or curved, or straight line of junction. The third kind of line would give symmetry and beauty suitable to both regions.

What more is to be got? we have now heard what is on the border. Make what shape you please, draw any kind of lines you like, it is certain that the junction of this boundless mass of the region of darkness to the region of light must have been either by a straight line, or a curved, or a twisted one. If the line of junction is tortuous, the side of the region of light must also be tortuous; otherwise its straight side joined to a tortuous one would leave gaps of infinite depth, instead of having vacuity only above the land of darkness, as we were told before. And if there were such gaps, how much better it would have been for the region of light to have been still more distant, and to have had a greater vacuity between, so that the region of darkness might not touch it at all! Then there might have been such a gap of bottomless depth, that, on the rise of any mischief in that race, although the chiefs of darkness might have the foolhardy wish to cross over, they would fall headlong into the gap (for bodies cannot flâ€† without air to support them); and as there is infinite space downwards, they could do no more harm, though they might live for ever, for they would be for ever falling. Again, if the line of junction was a curved one, the region of light must also have had the disfigurement of a curve to answer it. Or if the land of darkness were curved inwards like a theatre, there would be as much disfigurement in the corresponding line in the region of light. Or if the region of darkness had a curved line, and the region of light a straight one, they cannot have touched at all points. And certainly, as I said before, it would have been better if they had not touched, and if there was such a gap between that the regions might be kept distinctly separate, and that rash evil-doers might fall headlong so as to be harmless. If, then, the line of junction was a straight one, there remain, of course, no more gaps in grooves, but, on the contrary, so perfect a junction as to make the greatest possible peace and harmony between the two regions.

"More beautiful or more suitable than that one side should meet the other in a straight line, without bends or breaks to disturb the natural and permanent connection throughout endless space and endless duration? And even though there was a separation, the straight sides of both regions would be beautiful in themselves, as being straight; and besides, even in spite of an interval, their correspondence, as running parallel, though not meeting, would give a symmetry to both. With the addition of the junction, both regions become perfectly regular and harmonious; for nothing can be devised more
beautiful in description or in conception than this junction of two straight lines.

XXVII. Æ” The heaxdy of the straight line might he taken from the region of darkness without taking anything from its substance. So evil neither takes from nor adds to the substance of the soul. The straightness of its side would be so far a good bestowed on the region of darkness by God the Creator.

29. What is to be done with unhappy minds, perverse in error, and held fast by custom? These men do not know what they say when they say those things; for they do not consider.
Listen to me; no one forces you, no one quarrels with you, no one taunts you with past errors, unless some one who has not experienced the divine mercy in deliverance from error:
all we desire is, that the errors should some time or other be abandoned. Think a little without enmity or bitterness. We are all human beings: let us hate, not one another, but errors and lies. Think a little, I pray you. God of mercy, help them to think, and kindle in the minds of inquirers the true light. If anything is plain, is not this, that right is better than wrong? Give me, then, a calm and quiet answer to this, whether making crooked the right line of the region of darkness which joins on to the right line of the region of light would not detract from its beauty. If you will not be dogged, you must confess that not only is beauty taken from it by its being made crooked, but also the beauty which it might have had from connection with the right line of the region of light.
Is it the case, then, that in this loss of beauty, in which right is made crooked, and harmony becomes discord, and agreement disagreement, there is any loss of substance? Learn, then, from this that substance is not evil; but as in the body, by change of form for the worse, beauty is lost, or rather lessened, and what was called fair before is said to be ugly, and what was pleasing becomes displeasing, so in the mind the seemliness of a right will, which makes a just and pious life, is injured when the will changes for the worse; and by this sin the mind becomes miserable, instead of enjoying as before the happiness which comes from the ornament of a right will, without any gain or loss of substance.

30. Consider, again, that though we admit that the border of the region of darkness was evil for other reasons, such as

126 EEPLOY TO MANICH.EUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

that it was dim and dark, or any other reason, still it was not evil in being straight. So, if I admit that there was some evil in its colour, you must admit that there was some good in its straightness. Whatever the amount of this good, it is not allowable to attribute it to any other than God the Maker, from whom we must believe that all good in whatsoever nature comes, if we are to escape deadly error. It is absurd, then, to say that this region is
perfect evil, when in its straightness of border is found the good of not a little beauty of a material kind; and also to make this region to be altogether estranged from the almighty and good God, when this good which we find in it can be attributed to no other but the author of all good things. This border, too, we are told, was evil. Well, suppose it evil: it would surely have been worse had it been crooked instead of straight. And how can that be the perfection of evil which has something worse than itself? And to be worse implies that there is some good, the want of which makes the thing worse. Here the want of straightness would make the line worse. Therefore its straightness is something good. And you will never answer the question whence this goodness comes, without reference to Him from whom we must acknowledge that all good things come, whether small or great. But now we shall pass on from considering the line to something else.

XXVIII. “Mancli(Eiis places five natures in the region of darkness.

31. "There dwelt," he says, "in that region fiery bodies, destructive races." By speaking of dwelling, he must mean that those bodies were animated and in life. But, not to appear to cavil at a word, let us see how he divides into four classes all these inhabitants of this region. "Here," he says, "was boundless darkness, flowing from the same source in immeasurable abundance, with the productions properly belonging to it. Beyond this were muddy turbid waters, with their inhabitants; and inside of them winds terrible and violent, with their prince and their progenitors. Then, again, a fiery region of destruction, with its chiefs and peoples. And, similarly, inside of this a race full of smoke and gloom, where abode the dreadful prince and chief of all, having around him innumerable princes, himself the mind and source of them all.

FIVE NATURES. 127

Such are the five natures of the region of corruption." We find here five natures mentioned as part of one nature, which he calls the region of corruption. The natures are darkness, waters, winds, fire, smoke; which he so arranges as to make darkness first, beginning at the outside. Inside of darkness he puts the waters; inside of the waters, the winds; inside of the winds, the fire; inside of the fire, the smoke. And each of these natures had its peculiar kind of inhabitants, which were likewise five in number. For to the question. Whether there was only one kind in all, or different kinds corresponding to the different natures? the reply is, that they were different: as in other books we find it stated that the darkness had serpents; the waters swimming creatures, such as fish; the winds flying creatures, such as birds; the fire quadrupeds, such as horses, lions, and the like; the smoke bipeds, such as men.

XXIX. “The refutation of this absurdity.
32. Whose arrangement, then, is this? Who made the distinctions and the classification? Who gave the number, the qualities, the forms, the life? For all these things are in themselves good, nor could each of the natures have them except from the bestowal of God, their author. For this is not like the descriptions or suppositions of poets about an imaginary chaos, as being a shapeless mass, without form, without quality, without measurement, without weight and number, without order or variety; a confused something, absolutely destitute of qualities, so that some Greek-Titers call it aTTOLov. So far from being like this is the Manichsean description of the region of darkness, as they call it, that, in a directly contrary style, they add side to side, and join border to border; they number five natures; they separate, arrange, and assign to each its own qualities. Nor do they leave the natures barren or waste, but people them with their proper inhabitants; and to these, again, they give suitable forms, and adapted to their place of habitation, besides giving the chief of all endowments, life. To recount such good things as these, and to speak of them as having no connection with God, the author of all good things, is to lose sight of the excellence of

128 EEPLY TO MAXICH.^US' FUNDAMENTAL FPISTLE.

the order in the things, and of the great evil of the error which leads to such a conclusion.

XXX. â€” The number of good things in those natures which Maniclecens places

in the region of darkness.

3 3. "But/ is the reply, " the races inhahiting those natures were fierce and destructive." As if I were praising their fierceness and destructiveness. I, you see, join with you in condemning the faults you attribute to them; join you with me in praising the good things which you ascribe to them:

so it will appear that there is a mixture of good and evil in what you call the last extremity of evil. If I join you in condemning what is mischievous in this region, you must join with me in praising what is beneficial. For these races could not have not been produced, or noimshed, or have continued to inhabit that region, without some beneficent influence. I join with you in condemning the darloess; join with me in praising the productiveness. For while you call the darkness immeasurable, you speak of " suitable productions."

Darkness, indeed, is not a real substance, and means no more than the absence of light, as nakedness means the want of clothinsf and emptiness the want of material contents: so that darkness could produce nothing, although a region in darkness â€” that is, in the absence of light â€” might produce something.

But passing over this for the present, it is certain that where productions arise there must be a beneficent adaptation of substances, as well as a symmetrical arrangement and construction in unity of the members of the beings produced, â€” a wise adjustment making them agTee with one another. And who will deny that all these things are more to be praised than darkness is to be condemned? If I join with you in condemning the
muddiness of the waters, you must join with me in praising the waters as far as they possessed the form and quality of water, and also the agreement of the members of the inhabitants swimming in the waters, their life sustaining and directing their body, and every particular adaptation of substances for the benefit of health. For though you find fault with the waters as turbid and muddy, still, in allowing them the quality of producing and maintaining their living inhabitants, you imply that there was some kind of bodily

GOOD THINGS IN THE REGION OF DARKNESS. 129

form, and similarity of parts, giving unity and congruity of character; otherwise there could be no body at all: and, as a rational being, you must see that all these things are to be praised. And however great you make the ferocity of these inhabitants, and their massacring and devastations in their assaults, you still leave them the regular limits of form, by which the members of each body are made to agree together, and their beneficial adaptations, and the regulating power of the living principle binding together the parts of the body in a friendly and harmonious union. And if all these are regarded with common sense, it will be seen that they are more to be commended than the faults are to be condemned.

I join with you in condemning the frightfulness of the winds; join with me in praising their nature, as giving breath and nourishment, and their material form in its continuousness and diffusion by the connection of its parts: for by these things these winds had the power of producing, and nourishing, and sustaining in vigour these inhabitants you speak of; and also in these inhabitants besides the other things which have already been commended in all animated creatures this particular power of going quickly and easily whence and whither they please, and the harmonious stroke of their wings in flight, and their regular motion. I join with you in condemning the destructiveness of fire; join with me in commending the productiveness of this fire, and the growth of these productions, and the adaptation of the fire to the beings produced, so that they had coherence, and came to perfection in measure and shape, and could live and have their abode there: for you see that all these things deserve admiration and praise, not only in the fire which is thus habitable, but in the inhabitants too. I join with you in condemning the denseness of smoke, and the savage character of the prince who, as you say, abode in it; join with me in praising the similarity of all the parts in this very smoke, by which it preserves the harmony and proportion of its parts among themselves, according to its own nature, and has an unity which makes it what it is: for no one can calmly reflect on these things without wonder and praise. Besides, even to the smoke you give the power and energy of production, for you say that princes inhabited it; so

130 REPLY TO MANICHJEUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.
that in that region the smoke is productive, which never happens here, and, moreover, affords a wholesome dwellingplace to its inhabitants.

XXXI. ò€” The same subject continued.

34. And even in the prince of the smoke, instead of mentioning only his ferocity as a bad quality, ought you not to have taken notice of the other things in his nature which you must allow to be commendable ? For he had a soul and a body; the soul life-giving, and the body endowed with life.
Since the soul governed and the body obeyed, the soul took the lead and the body followed; the soul gave consistency, the body was not dissolved; the soul gave harmonious motion, and the body was constructed of a well-proportioned framework of members. In this single prince are you not induced to express approval of the orderly peace or the peaceful order ?
And what applies to one applies to all the rest. You say he was fierce and cruel to others. This is not what I commend, but the other important things which you will not take notice of Those things, when perceived and considered, ò€” after advice by any one who has without consideration put faith in Manichaeus, ò€” lead him to a clear conviction that, in speaking of those natures, he speaks of things good in a sense, not perfect and uncreated, like God the one Trinity, nor of the higher rank of created things, like the holy angels and the ever-blessed powers; but of the lowest class, and ranked according to the small measure of their endowments. These things are thought to be blameworthy by the uninstructed when they compare them with higher things; and in view of their want of some good, the good they have gets the name of evil, because it is defective. My reason also for thus discussing the natures enumerated by Manicheeus is that the things named are things familiar to us in this world. "We are familiar with darkness, waters, winds, fire, smoke; we are familiar, too, with animals creeping, swimming, flying; with quadrupeds and bipeds. With the exception of darkness (which, as I have said already, is nothing but the absence of light, and the perception of it is only the absence of sight, as the perception of silence is the absence of hearing; not that

THE PRINCE OF THE SMOKE. 131

darkness is anything, but that light is not, as neither that silence is anything, but that sound is not), all the other things are natures familiar to all; and the form of those natures, which is commendable and good as far as it exists, no wise man attributes to any other author than God, the author of all crood thinc^s.

XXXII. ò€” Manichceus got the arrangement of Ids fanciful notions from visible objects.

35, Eor in giving to these natures which he has learned from visible things, an arrangement according to his fanciful ideas, to represent the race of darkness, Manichseus
is clearly in error. First of all, he makes darkness productive, which is impossible. But, he replies, this darkness was unlike what you are familiar with. How, then, can you make me understand about it? After so many promises to give knowledge, will you force me to take your word for it? Suppose I believe you; this at least is certain, that if the darkness had no form, as darkness usually has not, it could produce nothing; if it had form, it was better than ordinary darkness: whereas, when you call it different from the ordinary kind, you wish us to believe that it is worse. You might as well say that silence, which is the same to the ear as darkness to the eyes, produced some deaf or dumb animals in that region; and then, in reply to the objection that silence is not a nature, you might say that it was different silence from ordinary silence: in a word, you might say what you pleased to those whom you have once misled into believing you. No doubt, the obvious facts relating to the origin of animal life led Manichaeus to say that serpents were produced in darkness. However, there are serpents which have such sharp sight, and such pleasure in light, that they seem to give evidence of the most weighty kind against this idea. Then the idea of swimming things in the water might easily be got here, and applied to the fanciful objects in that region; and so of flying things in the winds, for the motion of the lower air in this world, where birds fly, is called wind. Where he got the idea of the quadrupeds in fire, no one can tell. Still he said this deliberately, though without sufficient thought, and from great misconception. The reason usually given is, that quadrupeds are voracious and salacious.

132 EEPLY TO MANICH.^US' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

But many men surpass any quadruped in voracity, though they are bipeds, and are called children of the smoke, and not of fire. Geese, too, are as voracious as any animal; and though he might place them in fire as bipeds, or in the water because they love to swim, or in the winds because they have wings and sometimes fly, they certainly have nothing to do with fire in this classification. As regards salaciousness, I suppose he was thinking of neighing horses, which sometimes bite through the bridle and rush at the mares; and writing hastily, with this in his mind, he forgot the common sparrow, in comparison of which the hottest stallion is cold. The reason they give for assigning bipeds to the smoke is, that bipeds are conceited and proud, for men are derived from this class; and the idea, which is a plausible one, is that smoke resembles proud people in rising up into the air, round and swelling. This idea might warrant a figurative description of proud men, or an allegorical expression or explanation, but not the belief that bipeds are born in smoke or of smoke. They might with equal reason be said to be born in dust, for it often rises up to the heaven with a similar circling and lofty motion; or in the clouds, for they are often drawn up from the earth in such a way, that those looking from a distance are uncertain whether they are clouds or smoke. Once more, why, in the case of the waters and the winds, does he suit the inhabitants to the character of the place, as we see swimming things in water, and flying things in the wind; whereas, in the face of fire and smoke, this bold liar is not ashamed to assign to these places the most unlikely inhabitants? For fire burns quadrupeds, and consumes them, and smoke suffocates and kills bipeds. At least he must
acknowledge that he has made these natures better in the race of darkness than they are here, though he wishes us to think everything to be worse. For, according to this, the fire there produced and nourished quadrupeds, and gave them a lodging not only harmless, but most convenient. The smoke, too, provided room for the offspring of its own benign bosom, and cherished them up to the rank of prince. Thus we see that these lies, which have added to the number of heretics, arose from the perception by carnal sense, only without care or discernment, of visible objects in this world, and when thus

GOD IS THE AUTHOR OF ALL NATURES. 133

conceived, were brought forth by fancy, and then presumptuously written and published.

XXXI IL â€” Every nature, as nature, is good.

36. But the consideration we wish most to urge is the truth of the Catholic doctrine, if they can understand it, that God is the author of all natures. I urged this before when I said, I join with you in your condemnation of destructiveness, of blindness, of dense muddiness, of terrific violence, of perishableness, of the ferocity of the princes, and so on; join with me in commending form, classification, arrangement, harmony, unity of forms, symmetry and correspondence of members, provision for vital breath and nourishment, wholesome adaptation, regulation and control by the mind, and the subjection of the bodies, and the continuousness and agreement of parts in the natures, both those inhabiting and those inhabited, and all the other things of the same kind. From this, if they would only think honestly, they would understand that it implies a mixture of good and evil, even in the region where they supposed evil to be alone and in perfection: so that if the evils mentioned were taken away, the good things will remain, without anything to detract from the commendation given to them; whereas, if the good things are taken away, no nature is left. From this every one sees, who can see, that every nature, as far as it is nature, is good; since in one and the same thing in which I found something to praise, and he found something to blame, if the good things are taken away, no nature will remain; but if the disagreeable things are taken away, the nature will remain unimpaired. Take from waters their thickness and muddiness, and pure clear water remains; take from them the consistence of their parts, and no water will be left. If then, after the evil is removed, the nature remains in a purer state, and does not remain at all when the good is taken away, it must be the good which makes the nature of the thing in which it is, while the evil is not nature, but contrary to nature. Take from the winds their terribleness and excessive force, with which you find fault, you can conceive of winds as gentle and mild; take from them the similarity of their parts which gives them continuity of substance, and the unity essential to material exist-

134 REPLY TO MANICHiEUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.
ence, and no nature remains to be conceived of. It would be tedious to go through all the cases; but all who consider the subject free from party spirit, must see that in their list of natures the disagreeable things mentioned are additions to the nature; and when they are removed, the natures remain better than before. This shows that the natures, as far as they are natures, are good; for when you take from them the good instead of the evil, no natures remain. And attend, you who wish to arrive at a correct judgment, to what is said of the fierce prince himself. If you take away his ferocity, see how many excellent things will remain; his material frame, the symmetry of the members on one side with those on the other, the unity of his form, the settled continuity of his parts, the orderly adjustment of the mind as ruling and animating, and the body as subject and animated. The removal of these things, and of others I may have omitted to mention, will leave no nature remaining.

XXXIV. â€” Nature cannot he without some good. The Manichceans dwell upon the evils.

37. But perhaps you will say that these evils cannot be removed from the natures, and must therefore be considered natural. The question at present is not what can be taken away, and what cannot; but it certainly helps to a clear perception that the natures, as far as they are natures, are good, when we see that the good things can be thought of without the evil things, while without the good things no nature can be conceived of. I can conceive of waters without muddy commotion; but without settled continuity of parts no material form is an object of thought or of sensation in any way. Therefore even these muddy waters could not exist without the good which was the condition of their material existence.

As to the reply that these evil things cannot be taken from such natures, I rejoin that neither can the good things be taken away. Why, then, should you call these things natural evils, on account of the evil things which you suppose cannot be taken away, and yet refuse to call them natural good things, on account of the good things which, as has been proved, cannot be taken away?

38. You will next ask, as you do for a last resource, whence

SOME GOOD IN EVERY NATUREE. 135

come the evils which I have said that I too disapprove of. I shall perhaps tell you, if you first tell me whence are the good things which you are obliged to commend, if you would not be altogether unreasonable. But why should I ask this, when we both acknowledge that all good things whatever, and how great soever, are from the one God, who is supremely good? You must therefore yourselves oppose Manichseus, who has placed all these important good things which we have mentioned and commended, â€” the continuity and agreement of parts in each nature, the health and vigour of the animated creatures, and the other things which it would be wearisome to
repeat, â€” in an imaginary region of darkness, so as to separate them altogether from the God whom he allows to be the author of all good things. He lost sight of the good things, while taking notice only of what was disagreeable; as if one, frightened by a lion's roaring, and seeing him dragging away and tearing the bodies of cattle or human beings which he had seized, should from childish pusillanimity be so overpowered with fear as to see nothing but the cruelty and ferocity of the lion; and overlooking or disregarding all the other qualities, should exclaim against the nature of this animal as not only evil, but a great evil, his fear adding to his vehemence. But were he to see a tame lion, with its ferocity subdued, especially if he had never been frightened by a lion, he would have leisure, in the absence of danger and terror, to observe and admire the beauty of the animal. My only remark on this is one closely connected with our subject: that any nature may be in some case disagreeable, so as to excite hatred towards the whole nature; though it is clear that the form of a real living beast, even when it excites terror in the woods, is far better than that of the artificial imitation which is commended in a painting on the wall. We must not then be misled into this error by Manicheus, or be hindered from observing the forms of the natures, by his finding fault with some things in them in such a way as to make us disapprove of them entirely, when it is impossible to show that they deserve entire disapproval And when our minds are thus composed and prepared to form a just judgment, we may ask whence come those evils which I have said that I con-

136 EEPLY TO MANICH^US’ FUNDAMENTAL EPISODE.

demn. It will be easier to see this if we class them all under one name.

XXXV. â€” JEvil is corruption. Corruption is not nature, but contrary to nature. Corruption implies previous good.

39. For w^ho can doubt that the whole of that which is called evil is nothing else than corruption ? Different evils may, indeed, be called by different names; but that which is the evil of all things in which any evil is perceptible is corruption. So the corruption of understanding is ignorance; the corruption of a prudent mind is imprudence; the corruption of a just mind, injustice; the corruption of a brave mind, cowardice; the corruption of a calm, peaceful mind, passion, fear, sorrow, pride. Again, in a living body, the corruption of health is pain and disease; the corruption of strength is exhaustion; the corruption of rest is toil. Again, in a body simply, the corruption of beauty is ugliness; the corruption of straightness is crookedness; the corruption of order is confusion; the corruption of entireness is disseverance, or fracture, or diminution. It would be long and laborious to mention by name all the corruptions of the things here mentioned, and of countless other things; for in many cases the words may apply to the mind as well as to the body, and in innumerable cases the corruption has a distinct name of its own. But enough has been said to show that corruption does harm only as displacing the natural condition; and so, that corruption is not nature, but against nature. And if corruption is the only evil to be found anywhere, and if corruption is not nature, no nature is evil.
40. But if, perchance, you cannot follow this, consider again, that whatever is corrupted is
deprived of some good:
for if it were not corrupted, it would be incorrupt; or if it could not in any way be
corrupted, it would be incorruptible.
Xow, if corruption is an evil, both incorruption and incorruptibility must be good things.
We are not, however, speaking at present of incorruptible nature, but of things which
admit of corruption, and which, while not corrupted, may be called incorrupt, but not
incorruptible. That alone can be called incorruptible which not only is not corrupted, but
also cannot in any part be corrupted. Whatever things, then, being in-

CORKUPTION IMPLIES GOOD. 137

corrupt, but liable to corruption, begin to be corrupted, are deprived of the good which
they had as incorrupt. Nor is this a slight good, for corruption is a great evil. And the
continued increase of corruption implies the continued presence of good, of which they
may be deprived. Accordingly, the natures supposed to exist in the region of darkness
must have been either corruptible or incorruptible. If they were incorruptible, they were
in possession of a good than which nothing is higher. If they were corruptible, they were
either corrupted or not corrupted. If they were not corrupted, they were incorrupt, to say
which of anything is to give it great praise. If they were corrupted, they were deprived of
this great good of incorruption; but the deprivation implies the previous possession of the
good they are deprived of; and if they possessed this good, they were not the perfection
of evil, and consequently all the Manichsean story is a falsehood.

XXXVL â€” The source of evil and of corruption of good.

41. After thus inquiring what evil is, and learning that it is not nature, but against nature,
we must next inquire whence it is. If Manichseus had done this, he might have escaped
falling into the snare of these serious errors. Out of time and out of order, he began with
inquiring into the origin of evil, without first asking what evil was; and so his inquiry led
him only to the reception of foolish fancies, of which the mind, fed by the bodily senses,
with difficulty rids itself. Perhaps, then, some one, desiring no longer argument, but
delivery from error, will ask. Whence is this corruption which we find to be the common
evil of all good things which are not incorruptible 1 Such an inquirer will soon find the
answer if he seeks for truth with great earnestness, and knocks reverently with sustained
assiduity. For while man can use words as a kind of sign for the expression of his
thoughts, teaching is the work of the incorruptible Truth itself, who is the one true, the
one internal Teacher. He became external also, that He might recall us from the external
to the internal; and taking on Himself the form of a servant, that He might bring down
His height to the knowledge of those rising up to Him, He condescended to appear in
lowliness to the low. In His name
let us ask, and through Him let us seek mercy of the Father while making this inquiry. For to answer in a word the question, Whence is corruption? it is hence, because the natures capable of corruption were not begotten by God, but made by Him out of nothing; and as we already proved that those natures are good, no one can say with propriety that they were not good as made by God. If it is said that God made them perfectly good, it must be remembered that the only perfect good is God Himself, the maker of those good things.

XXX VII ã€” God alone perfectly good.

42. What harm, you ask, would follow if those things too were perfectly good? Still, should any one, who admits and believes the perfect goodness of God the Father, inquire what source we should reverently assign to any other perfectly good thing, supposing it to exist, our only correct reply would be, that it is of God the Father, who is perfectly good. And we must bear in mind that what is of Him is born of Him, and not made by Him out of nothing, and that it is therefore perfectly, that is, incorruptibly, good like God Himself. So we see that it is unreasonable to require that things made out of nothing should be as perfectly good as He who was begotten of God Himself, and who is one as God is one, otherwise God would have begotten something unlike Himself.' Hence it shows ignorance and impiety to seek for brethren for this only-begotten Son by whom all good things were made by the Father out of nothing, except in this, that He condescended to appear as man. Accordingly in Scripture He is called both only-begotten and first-begotten; only-begotten of the Father, and first-begotten from the dead. "And we beheld," says John, "His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." And Paul says, "that He might be the first-born among many brethren."^  

43. But should we say. These things made out of nothing are not good things, but only God's nature is good, we shall be unjust to good things of great value. And there is impiety in calling it a defect in anything not to be what God is, and in denying a thing to be good because it is inferior to

1 John i. 14. Rom. viii. 29

GOOD THINGS INFERIOR TO GOD. 139

God.) Pray submit then, thou nature of the rational soul, to be somewhat less than God, but so far less, that after Him nothing else is above thee. Submit, I say, and yield to Him, lest He drive thee still lower into depths where the punishment inflicted will continually detract more and more from the good which thou hast. Thou exaltest thyself against God, if thou art indignant at His preceding thee; and thou art very contumacious in thy
thoughts of Him, if thou dost not rejoice unspeakably in the possession of this good, that
He alone is above thee. This being settled as certain, thou art not to say, God should have
made me the only nature:
there should be no good thing after me. It could not be that the next good thing to God
should be the last. And in this is seen most clearly how great dignity God conferred on
thee, that He who in the order of nature alone rules over thee, made other good things for
thee to rule over. ISTor be surprised that they are not in all respects subject to thee, and
that sometimes they pain thee; for thy Lord has greater authority over the things subject
to thee than thou hast, as a master over the servants of his servants. What wonder, then,
if, when thou sinnest, that is, disobeyest thy Lord, the things thou before ruledst over are
made instrumental in thy punishment? For what is so just, or what is more just than God?
This befell human nature in Adam, of whom this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to
say, the righteous Euler acts in character both in just rewards and in just punishments, in
the happiness of those who live rightly, and in the penalty inflicted on sinners. Nor art
thou left without mercy, since by an appointed distribution of things and times thou art
called to return. Thus the righteous control of the supreme Creator extends even to
earthly good things, which are corrupted and restored, that thou mightest have
consolations mingled with punishments; that thou mightest both praise God when
delighted by the order of good things, and mightest take refuge in Him when tried by the
occurrence of evils. So, as far as earthly things are subject to thee, they teach thee that
thou art their ruler; as far as they distress thee, they teach thee to be subject to thy Lord.

140 EEPLY TO MAXICH^US' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

XXXVI IL â€” Nature made by God; corruption comes from nothing.

44. In this way, though corruption is an evil, and though it comes not from the Author of
natures, but from their being made out of nothing, still, in God's government and control
over all that He has made, even corruption is so ordered that it hurts only the lowest
natures, for the punishment of the condemned, and for the trial and instruction of the
returning, that they may keep near to the incorruptible God, and remain incorrupt, which
is our only good; as is said by the prophet,
" But it is good for me that I keep near to God."^ (And you must not say, God did not
make corruptible natures: for, as far as they are natures, God made them; as far as they
are corruptible, God did not make them: for corruption cannot come from Him who alone
is incorruptible. If you can receive this, give thanks to God; if you cannot, do not
condemn what you do not yet understand, but humbly wait on Him for understanding
who is the light of the mind. For in the expression " corruptible nature " there are two
words, and not one only. So, in the expression, God made out of nothing, " God "
and " nothing " are two separate words. Each of these words, therefore, must be joined
with its corresponding v/ord, so that the word "nature" should go with the word "God,"
and the word
"corruptible" with the word "nothing." And yet even the corruptions, though they have not their origin from God, are overruled by Him in accordance with the order of inanimate things and the deserts of His intelligent creatures. Thus we say rightly that reward and punishment are both from God. For God's not making corruption is consistent with His giving over to corruption the man who deserves to be corrupted, that is, who has begun to corrupt himself by sinning, that he who has wilfully yielded to the allurements of corruption may, against his will, suffer its pains.

XXXIX. â€” In what sense evils are from God.

45. ISTot only is it written in the Old Testament, "I make good, and create evil;"^ but more clearly in the !N"ew Testament, where the Lord says, "Fear not them which kill the body, and have no more that they can do; but fear him who,

^ Ps. Ixxiii. 28. ^ pg. xlv. 7.

PEXAL CORRUPTIONIOX. 141

after he has killed the body, has power to cast the soul into hell."^ And that to voluntary corruption penal corruption is added in the divine judgment, is plainly declared by the Apostle Paul, when he says, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are; whoever corrupts the temple of God, him will God corrupt."^ If this had been said in the Old Law, how vehemently would the Manichseans have denounced it as making God a corrupter! And from fear of the word, many translators make it, " him shall God destroy," instead of corrupt, avoiding the offensive word without any change of meaning. Indeed, any passage in the Old Law or the prophets would be equally denounced if God was called in it a destroyer. But the Greek original here shows that corrupt is the true word; for it is written distinctly, " Whoever corrupts the temple of God, him will God corrupt." If the Manichseans are asked to explain the words, they will say, to escape making God a corrupter, that corrupt here means to give over to corruption, or some such explanation. Did they read the Old Law in this spirit, they would both find many admirable things in it; and instead of spitefully attacking passages which they did not understand, they would reverently postpone the inquiry.

XL. â€” Corruption tends to non-existence.

46. But if any one does not believe that corruption comes from nothing, let him place before himself existence and nonexistence, â€” one, as it were, on one side, and the other on the other (to speak so as not to outstrip the slow to understand); then let him set something, say the body of an animal, between them, and let him ask himself whether, while the body is being formed and produced, while its size is increasing, while it gains
nourishment, health, strength, beauty, stability, it is tending, as regards its duration and permanence, to this side or that, to existence or non-existence. He will see without difficulty, that even in the rudimentary form there is an existence, and that the more the body is established and built up in form, and size, and strength, the more does it come to exist, and to tend to the side of existence. Then, again, let

1 Matt. X. 28 and Luke xii. 4. 1 Cor. iii. 17.

142 r.EPLY TO: rAxiCH.EUs' fuxdamextal epistle.

the body begin to be corrupted; let its whole condition be enfeebled, let its vigour languish, its strength decay, its beauty be defaced, its framework be sundered, the consistency of its parts give way and go to pieces; and let him ask now where the body is tending in this corruption, whether to existence or non-existence: he will not surely be so blind or stupid as to doubt how to answer himself, or as not to see that, in proportion as anything is corrupted, in that proportion it approaches decease. But whatever tends to decease tends to non-existence. Since, then, we must believe that God exists immutably and incorruptibly, while what is called nothing is clearly non-existent; and since, after setting before yourself existence and non-existence, you have observed that the more a visible object increases the more it tends towards existence, while the more it is corrupted the more it tends towards non-existence, why are you at a loss to tell regarding any nature what in it is from God, and what from nothing; seeing that visible form is natural, and corruption against nature? The increase of form leads to existence, and we acknowledge God as supreme existence; the increase of corruption leads to non-existence, and we know that what is non-existent is nothing.

Why then, I say, are you at a loss to tell regarding a corruptible nature, when you have both the words nature and corruptible, what is from God, and what from nothing? And why do you inquire for a nature contrary to God, since, if you confess that He is the supreme existence, it follows that there is nothing contrary to Him?

XLI. â€” Corruption is by God's permission, and comes from v.s.

47. You ask. Why does corruption take from nature what God has given to it? It takes nothing but where God permits; and He permits in righteous and well-ordered judgment, according to the degrees of non-intelligent and the deserts of intelligent creatures.; The word uttered passes away as an object of sense, and perishes in silence; and yet the coming and going of these passing words makes our speech, and the regular intervals of silence give pleasing and appropriate distinction; and so it is with temporal natures which have this lowest form of beauty, that transition gives them being, and

THE VISION OF GOD. 143
the death of what they give birth to gives them individuality.
And if our sense and memory could rightly take in the order and proportions of this
beauty, it would so please us, that we should not dare to give the name of corruptions to
those imperfections which give rise to the distinction. And when distress comes to us
through their peculiar beauty, by the loss of beloved temporal things passing away, we
both pay the penalty of our sins, and are exhorted to set our affection on eternal things.

XLII. Exhortation to the chief good.

48. Let us, then, not seek in this beauty for what has not been given to it (and from not
having what we seek for, this is the lowest form of beauty); and in that which has been
given to it, let us praise God, because He has bestowed this great good of visible form
even on the lowest degree of beauty.
And let us not cleave as lovers to this beauty, but as praisers of God let us rise above it;
and from this superior position let us pronounce judgment on it, instead of so being
bound up in it as to be judged along with it. And let us hasten on to that good which has
no motion in space or advancement in time, from which all natures in space and time
receive their sensible being and their form. To see this good let us purify our heart by
faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, who says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see
God." 
For the eyes needed in order to see this good are not those with which we see
the light spread through space, which has part in one
place and part in another, instead of
being all in every place. The sight and the discernment we are to purify is that by which
we see, as far as is allowed in this life, what is just, what is pious, what is the beauty of
wisdom. He who sees these things,
values them far above the fulness of all regions in
space, and finds that the vision of these things requires not the extension of his perception
through distances in space, but its invigoration by an immaterial influence.

XLIII. Conclusion.

49. And as this vision is greatly hindered by those fancies which are originated by the
carnal sense, and are retained

1 Matt. V. 8.

144 EEPLY TO MANICHÆUS' FUNDAMENTAL EPISTLE.

and modified by the imagination, let us abhor this heresy which has been led by faith in
its fancies to represent the divine substance as extended and diffused through space, even
through infinite space, and to cut short one side so as to make room for evil, not
perceiving that evil is not nature, but against nature; and to beautify this very evil with such
"vdsible appearance, and forms, and consistency of parts prevailing in its several natures, not being able to conceive of any nature without those good things, that the evils found fault with in it are buried under a countless abundance of good things.

Here let us close this part of the treatise. The other absurdities of Manichaeus will be exposed in what follows, by the permission and help of God.

1 Vide Preface,

EEPPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHAESV

BOOK I.

1. Tj^AUStUS was an inhabitant of Milem in Africa. He J- was eloquent and clever, but had adopted the shocking tenets of the Manichoean heresy. He is mentioned in my Confessions where there is an account of my acquaintance with him. This man published a volume against the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Church. A copy reached us, and was read by the brethren, who called for an answer from me, as part of the service of love which I owe to them. Xow, therefore, in the name and with the help of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I undertake the task, that all my readers may see that acuteness of mind and elegance of style are of no use to a man unless the Lord directs his steps.

In the mysterious equity of divine mercy, God often bestows His help on the slow and the feeble; while from the want of this help, the gifted and talented run into error only with greater rapidity and wilfulness. I will give the opinions of Faustus as if stated by himself, and mine as if in reply to him.

2. Faustus. As the learned Adimantus, the only teacher since the sainted Manichseus deserving of our attention, has plentifully exposed and thoroughly refuted the errors of Judaism and of semi-Christianity, I think it not amiss that you should be supplied in writing with brief and pointed replies to the captious objections of our adversaries, that when, like children of the wily serpent, they try to bewilder you with their quibbles, you may be prepared to give intelligent answers. In this way they will be kept to the subject, instead of wandering from one thing to another. And I have placed our opinions and those of our opponent over against one
another, as plainly and briefly as possible, so as not to perplex the reader with a long and intricate discourse.

3. Augustiiie. You condemn us as semi-Christsians; but we condemn you as pseudo-Christsians. Semi-Christsanity may be imperfect without being false. So, then, if the faith of those whom you try to mislead is imperfect, would it not be better to supply what is lacking than to rob them of what they have? It was to imperfect Christians that the apostle wrote, 'ææ' joj ing and beholding your conversation, and the deficiency in your faith in Christ."-^ The apostle had in view a spiritual structure, as he says elsewhere, "Ye are God's building;"^ and in this structure he found both a reason for joy and a reason for exertion. He rejoiced to see part alreaday finished; and the necessity of bringing the edifice to perfection called for exertion. Imperfect Christians as we are, you pursue us with the desire to pervert what you call our semi-Christsanity by false doctrine; while even those who are so deficient in faith as to be unable to reply to all your sophisms, are wise enough at least to know that they must not have anything at all to do with you. You look for semi-Christsians to deceive: we wish to prove you pseudo-Christsians, that Christians may learn something from your refutation, and that the less advanced may learn to avoid you. Do you call us children of the serpent? You have surely forgotten how often you have found fault with the prohibition in Paradise, and have praised the serpent for opening Adam's eyes. You have the better claim to the title which you give us. The serpent o"ns you as well when you blame him as when you praise him.

BOOK II.

1. Faicstics. Do I believe the gospel? Certainly. Do I therefore believe that Christ was born? Certainly not. It

1 Col. ii. 5; cf. 1 Thess. iii. 10. - 1 Cor. iii. 9.
does not follow that because we believe the gospel, as we do, we must therefore believe that Christ was born. This we do not believe; because Christ does not say that He was born of men, and the gospel, both in name and in fact, begins with Christ's preaching. As for the genealogy, the author himseK does not venture to call it the gospel. He calls it the book of the generation of Jesus Christ. The book of the generation is not the book of the gospel. It is more like a birthregister, the star confirming the event. Mark, on the other hand, who recorded the preaching of the Son of God, without any genealogy, begins most suitably with the words, "The gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God." It is plain that the genealogy is not the gospel. Matthew himself says, that after John was put in prison, Jesus began to preach the gospel of the kingdom; so that what is mentioned before this is the genealogy, and not the gospel. Why did not Matthew begin with, "The gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God," but because he thought it sinful to call the genealogy the gospel? Understand, then, what you have hitherto overlooked &quot;the distinction between the genealogy and the gospel Do I then admit the truth of the gospel? Yes; understanding by the gospel the preaching of Christ. I have plenty to say about the generations too, if you wish. But when you ask about the gospel, remember that that has nothing to do with the generations.

2. Augustine. Well, in answer to your own questions, you tell us first that you believe the gospel, and next, that you do not believe in the birth of Christ; and your reason is, that the birth of Christ is not in the gospel. What, then, will you answer the apostle when he says, &quot;Remember that Christ Jesus rose from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my gospel?&quot; You surely are ignorant, or pretend to be ignorant, what the gospel is. You use the word, not as the apostle teaches, but as suits your own errors. What the apostles call the gospel you depart from; for you do not believe that Christ was of the seed of David. This was Paul's gospel; and it was also the gospel of the other apostles, and of all faithful stewards of so great a mystery.

1 2 Tim. ii. 8.

148 EEPLT TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK II.]

For Paul says elsewhere, &quot;Whether, therefore, I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.&quot; They did not all &quot;Tite the gospel, but they all preached it. The name Evangelist is properly given to the narrators of the birth, the actions, the words, the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. The word gospel means good news, and might be used of any good news, but is properly applied to the narrative of the Saviour. If, then, you teach something different, you must have departed from the gospel. Assuredly those babes whom you despise as semi-Christians will oppose you, when they hear their mother Charity declaring by the mouth of the apostle,
"If any one preach another gospel than that which we have preached to you, let him be accursed." Since, then, Paul, according to his gospel, preached that Christ was of the seed of David, and you deny this and preach something else, may you be accursed! And what can you mean by saying that Christ never declares Himself to have been born of men, when on every occasion He calls Himself the Son of man?

3. You learned men, forsooth, dress up for our benefit some wonderful First Iúian, who came down from the race of light to war with the race of darkness, armed with his waters against the waters of the enemy, and with his fire against their fire, and with his winds against their winds. And why not with his smoke against their smoke, and with his darkness against their darkness? According to you, he was armed against smoke with air, and against darkness with light. So it appears that smoke and darkness are bad, since they could not belong to his goodness. The other three, again, water, wind, and fire are good. How, then, could these belong to the evil of the enemy? You reply that the water of the race of darkness was evil, while that which the First Man brought was good; and so, too, his good wind and fire fought against the evil wind and fire of the adversary. But why could he not bring good smoke against evil smoke? Your falsehoods seem to vanish in smoke. Well, your First Man warred against an opposite nature. And yet only one of the five things he brought was the opposite of what the hostile race had. The light was opposed to the darkness, but the four others are not opposed to

1 1 Cor. XV. 11. 2 Gal. i. 8, 9.
one another. Air is not the opposite of smoke, and still less is water the opposite of water,
or wind of wind, or fire of fire.

4. One is shocked at your wild fancies about this First Man changing the elements which
he brought, that he might conquer his enemies by pleasing them. So you make what you
call the kingdom of falsehood keep honestly to its own nature, while truth is changeable
in order to deceive. Jesus Christ, according to you, is the son of this First Man. Truth
springs, forsooth, from your fiction. You praise this First Man for using changeable and
delusive forms in the contest. If you, then, speak the truth, you do not imitate him. If you
imitate him, you deceive as he did. But our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the true and
truthful Son of God, the true and truthful Son of man, both of which He testifies of
Himself, derived the eternity of His ^godhead from true God, and His incarnation from
true man. Your First Man is not the first man of the apostle. " The first man," he says, "
was of the earth, earthy; the second man is from heaven, heavenly. As is the earthy, such
are they also that are earthy; as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. As
we have borne the image of the earthy, let us also bear the image of the heavenly."^
The first man of the earth, earthy, is Adam, who was made of dust. The second man from
heaven, heavenly, is the Lord Jesus Christ; for, being the Son of God, He became flesh
that He might be a man outwardly, while He remained God within; that He might be both
the true Son of God, by whom we were made, and the true Son of man, by whom we are
made anew. Why do you conjure up this fabulous First Man of yours, and refuse to
acknowledge the first man of the apostle?
Is this not a fulfilment of what the apostle says: " Turning away their ears from the truth,
they will give heed to fables?"^
According to Paul, the first man is of the earth, earthy; according to Manichseus, he is not
earthy, and is equipped with five elements of some unreal, unintelligible kind. Paul says:
" If any one preaches differently from what we preached to you, let him be accursed." Let
Paul be true, and let Manichceus be accursed.

5. Again, you find fault with the star by which the Magi^
\^ 1 Cor. XV. 47-49. 2 2 Tim. iv. 4.

150 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK II.]

were led to worship the infant Christ, which you should be ashamed of doing, when you
represent your fabulous Christ, the son of your fabulous First Man, not as announced by a
star, but as bound up in all the stars. For you say that he mingled with the principles of
darkness in his conflict with the race of darkness, that by capturing these principles the
world might be made out of the mixture. So that, by your profane fancies, Christ is not
only mingled with heaven and all the stars, but conjoined and compounded with the earth
and all its productions, a Saviour no more, but needing to be saved by you, by your eating and disgorging Him.

C This foolish custom of making your disciples bring you food, that your teeth and stomach may be the means of relieving Christ, who is bound up in it, is a consequence of your profane fancies. You declare that Christ is liberated in this way not, however, entirely; for you hold that some tiny particles of no value still remain in the excrement, to be mixed up and compounded again and again in various material forms, and to be released and purified at any rate by the fire in which the world will be burned up, if not before. N'ay, even then, you say, Christ is not entirely liberated; but some extreme particles of His good and divine nature, which have been so defiled that they cannot be cleansed, are condemned to stay for ever in the mass of darkness. And these people pretend to be offended with our saying that a star announced the birth of the Son of God, as if this were placing His birth under the influence of a constellation; while they subject Him not to stars only, but to such polluting contact with all material things, with the juices of all vegetables, and with the decay of all flesh, and with the decomposition of all food, in which He is bound up, that the only way of releasing Him, at least one great means, is that men, that is, the elect of the Manichaens, should succeed in disestincr their dinner.

f We, too, deny the influence of the stars upon the birth of any man; for we maintain that, by the just law of God, the free-will of man, which chooses good or evil, is under no constraint of necessity. How much less do we subject to any constellation the incarnation of the eternal Creator and Lord of all! When Christ was born after the flesh, the star which
the Magi saw had no power as governing, but attended as a witness. Instead of assuming
control over Him, it acknowledged Him by the homage it did. Besides, this star was not
one of those which from the beginning of the world continue in the course ordained by
the Creator. Along with the new birth from the Virgin appeared a new star, which served
as a guide to the Magi who were themselves seeking for Christ; for it went before them
till they reached the place where they found the Word of God in the form of a child. But
what astrologer ever thought of making a star leave its course, and come down to the
child that is born, as they imagine, under it? They think that the stars affect the birth, not
that the birth changes the course of the stars; so, if the star in the Gospel was one of those
heavenly bodies, how could it determine Christ's actions, when it was compelled to
change its own action at Christ's birth? But if, as is more likely, a star which did not exist
before appeared to point out Christ, it was the effect of Christ's birth, and not the cause of
it.

Christ was not born because the star was there; but the star was there because Christ was
born. If there was any fate, it was in the birth, and not in the star. The word fate is derived
from a word which means 'to speak; and since Christ is the Word of God by which all
things were spoken before they were, the conjunction of stars is not the fate of Christ, but
Christ is the fate of the stars. The same will that made the heavens took our earthly
nature. The same power that ruled the stars laid down His life and took it again.

6. Why, then, should the narrative of the birth not be the gospel, since it conveys such
good news as heals our malady?
Is it because Matthew begins, not like Mark, with the words,
"The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ," but, "The book of the generation of Jesus
Christ"? In this way, John, too, might be said not to have written the gospel, for he has
not the words, Beginning of the gospel, or Book of the gospel, but, "In the beginning was
the Word." Perhaps the clever word-maker Faustus will call the introduction in John a
Verbidium, as he called that in Matthew a Genesidium. The wonder is, that you are so
impudent as to give the name of Gospel to your silly stories. What good news is there in
tell-

152 EEPLOY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK III.]

ing US that, in the conflict against some strange hostile nation, God could protect His
own kingdom only by permitting part of His own nature to come under this destructive
power, and to be so defiled, that after all those toils and tortures it cannot all be purged?
Is this bad news the gospel? Every one who has even a slender knowledge of Greek
knows that gospel means good news. But where is your good news, when your God
himself is said to weep as under eclipse till the darkness and defilement are removed
from his members? And when he ceases to weep, it seems he becomes cruel. For what
has that part of him which is to be involved in the mass done to deserve this
condemnation? This part must go on weeping for ever. But no; whoever examines this news will not weep because it is bad, but will laugh because it is not true.

BOOK III.

1. Faustics. Do I believe in the incarnation? For my part, this is the very thing I long tried to persuade myself of, that God was born; but the discrepancy in the genealogies of Luke and Matthew stumbled me, as I knew not which to follow. For I thought it might happen that, from not being omniscient, I might take the true for false, and the false for true. So, in despair of settling this dispute, I betook myself to Mark and John, two authorities still, and evangelists as much as the others. I approved with good reason of the beginning of Mark and John, for they have nothing of David, or Mary, or Joseph. John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," meaning Christ. Mark says, "The gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God," as if correcting Matthew, who calls him the Son of David. Perhaps, however, the Jesus of Matthew is a different person from the Jesus of Mark. This is my reason for not believing in the birth of Christ. Eemove this difficulty, if you can, by harmonizing the accounts, and I am ready to yield. In any case, however, it is hardly consistent to believe that God, the God of Christians, was born from the womb.
2. Augustine. Had you read the Gospel with care, and inquired into those places where you found opposition, instead of rashly condemning them, you would have seen that the recognition of the authority of the evangelists by so many learned men all over the world, in spite of this most obvious discrepancy, proves that there is more in it than appears at first sight. Any one can see, as well as you, that the ancestors of Christ in Matthew and Luke are different; while Joseph appears in both, at the end in Matthew and at the beginning in Luke. Joseph, it is plain, might be called the father of Christ, on account of his being in a certain sense the husband of the mother of Christ; and so his name, as the male representative, appears at the beginning or end of the genealogies. Any one can see as well as you that Joseph has one father in Matthew and another in Luke, and so with the grandfather and with all the rest up to David. Did all the able and learned men, not many Latin writers certainly, but innumerable Greek, who have examined most attentively the sacred Scriptures, overlook this manifest difference? Of course they saw it. No one can help seeing it. But with a due regard to the high authority of Scripture, they believed that there was something here which would be given to those that ask, and denied to those that snarl; would be found by those that seek, and taken away from those that criticise; would be open to those that knock, and shut against those that contradict. They asked, sought, and knocked; they received, found, and entered in.

3. The whole question is how Joseph had two fathers. Supposing this possible, both genealogies may be correct. With two fathers, why not two grandfathers, and two greatgrandfathers, and so on, up to David, who was the father both of Solomon, who is mentioned in Matthew's list, and of I'sTathan, who occurs in Luke? This is the difficulty with many people who think it impossible that two men should have one and the same son, forgetting the very obvious fact that a man may be called the son of the person who adopted him as well as of the person who begot him.

Adoption, we know, was familiar to the ancients, for even women adopted the children of other women, as Sarah adopted Ishmael, and Leah her handmaid's son, and Pharaoh's daughter

Moses. Jacob, too, adopted his grandsons, the children of Joseph. Moreover, the word adoption is of great importance in the system of our faith, as is seen from the apostolic writings. For the Apostle Paul, speaking of the advantages of the Jews, says: " AMiose are the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law; whose are the fathers, and of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever." And again: "We ourselves also groan within ourselves, waiting for
the adoption of the sons of God, even the redemption of the body."^ Again, elsewhere: "But in the fulness of time, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons."^ These passages show clearly that adoption is a significant symbol. God has an only Son, whom He beo'ot from His own substance, of whom it is said, "Being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal to God."* Us He begot not of His own substance, for we belong to the creation which is not begotten, but made; but that He might make us the brothers of Christ, by His own act He adopted us. That act, then, by which God, when we were not born of Him, but created and formed, begot us by His word and grace, is called adoption. So John says, "He gave them power to become the sons of God."^  

Since, therefore, the practice of adoption is common among our fathers, and in Scripture, is there not irrational profanity in the hasty condemnation of the evangelists as false because the genealogies are different, as if both could not be true, instead of consideriDg calmly the simple fact that frequently in human life one man may have two fathers, one of whose flesh he is born, and another of whose will he is afterwards made a son by adoption? If the second is not rightly called father, neither are we right in saying, "Our Father which art in heaven," to Him of whose substance we were not born, but of whose grace and most merciful will we were adopted, according to apostolic doctrine, and truth most sure. For one is to us God, and Lord, and Father: God, for by Him we are created, though of human parents; Lord, for we are His subjects;  


* Phil. ii. 6. . 5 John i. 12.
[BOOK III.] THE SYMBOL OF ADOPTION. 155

Father, for by His adoption we are born again. Careful students of sacred Scripture easily saw, from a little consideration, how, in the different genealogies of the two evangelists, Joseph had two fathers, and consequently two lists of ancestors. You might have seen this too, if you had not been blinded by the love of contradiction. Other things far beyond your understanding have been discovered in the careful investigation of all parts of these narratives. The familiar occurrence of one man begetting a son and another adopting him, so that one man has two fathers, you might, in spite of Manichsean error, have thought of as an explanation, if you had not been reading in a hostile spirit.

4. But why Matthew begins with Abraham and descends to Joseph, while Luke begins with Joseph and ascends, not to Abraham, but to God, who made man, and, by giving a commandment, gave him power to become, by believing, a son of God; and why Matthew records the generations at the commencement of his book, Luke after the baptism of the Saviour by John; and what is the meaning of the number of the generations in Matthew, who divides them into three sections of fourteen each, though in the whole sum there appears to be one wanting; while in Luke the number of generations recorded after the baptism amount to seventyseven, which number the Lord Himself enjoins in connection with the forgiveness of sins, saying, "not only seven times, but seventy-seven times;" these things you will never understand, unless either you are taught by some Catholic of superior stamp, who has studied the sacred Scriptures, and has made all the progress possible, or you yourselves turn from your error, and in a Christian spirit ask that you may receive, seek that you may find, and knock that it may be opened to you.

5. Since, then, this double fatherhood of nature and adoption removes the difficulty arising from the discrepancy of the genealogies, there is no occasion for Faustus to leave the two evangelists and betake himself to the other two, which would be a greater affront to those he betook himself to than to those he left. For the sacred writers do not desire to be favoured at the expense of their brethren. For their joy is in union, and they are one in Christ; and if one says one thing.

156 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AX. [BOOK III.]

and another another, or one in one way and another in another, still they all speak truth, and in no way contradict one another; only let the reader be reverent and humble, not in an heretical spirit seeking occasion for strife, but with a believing heart desiring edification. Xow, in this opinion that the evangelists give the ancestors of different fathers, as it is quite possible for a man to have two fathers, there is nothing inconsistent with truth. So the evangelists are harmonized, and you, by Faust's promise, are bound to yield at once.
6. You may perhaps be troubled by that additional remark which he makes: "In any case, however, it is hardly consistent to believe that God, the God of Christians, was born from the womb." As if we believed that the divine nature came from the womb of a woman. Have I not just quoted the testimony of the apostle, speaking of the Jews: "Whose are the fathers, and of whom, according to the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever"? Christ, therefore, our Lord and Saviour, true Son of God in His divinity, and true son of man according to the flesh, not as He is God over all was born of a woman, but in that feeble nature which He took of us, that in it He might die for us, and heal it in us: not as in the form of God, in which He thought it not robbery to be equal to God, was He born of a woman, but in the form of a servant, in taking which He emptied Himself. He is therefore said to have emptied Himself because He took the form of a servant, not because He lost the form of God.

For in the unchangeable possession of that nature by which in the form of God He is equal to God, He took our changeable nature, by which He might be born of a virgin. You, while you protest against putting the flesh of Christ in a virgin's womb, place the very divinity of God in the womb not only of human beings, but of dogs and swine. You refuse to believe that the flesh of Christ was conceived in the Virgin's womb, in which God was not bound nor even changed; while you assert that in all men and beasts, in the seed of male and in the womb of female, in all conceptions on land or in water, an actual part of God and the divine nature is continually bound, and shut up, and contaminated, never to be wholly set free.

†
BOOK IV.

1. Faustus. Do I believe the Old Testament? If it bequeaths anything to me, I believe it; if not, I reject it. It would be an excess of forwardness to take the documents of others which pronounce me disinherited. Remember that the promise of Canaan in the Old Testament is made to Jews, that is, to the circumcised, who offer sacrifice, and abstain from swine's flesh, and from the other animals which Moses pronounces unclean, and observe Sabbaths, and the feast of unleavened bread, and other things of the same kind which the author of the Testament enjoined. Christians have not adopted these observances, and no one keeps them; so that if we will not take the inheritance, we should surrender the documents. This is my first reason for rejecting the Old Testament, unless you teach me better. My second reason is, that this inheritance is such a poor fleshly thing, without any spiritual blessings, that after the New Testament, and its glorious promise of the kingdom of heaven and eternal life, I think it not worth the taking.

2. Augustine. No one doubts that promises of temporal things are contained in the Old Testament, for which reason it is called the Old Testament; or that the kingdom of heaven and the promise of eternal life belong to the New Testament. But that in these temporal things were figures of future things which should be fulfilled in us upon whom the ends of the world are come, is not my fancy, but the judgment of the apostle, when he says of such things, "These things were our examples;" and again, "These things happened to them for an example, and they are written for us on whom the ends of the world are come." â– 'â€¢ We receive the Old Testament, therefore, not in order to obtain the fulfilment of these promises, but to see in them predictions of the New Testament; for the Old bears witness to the New. Whence the Lord, after He rose from the dead, and allowed His disciples not only to see but to handle Him, still, lest they should doubt their mortal and fleshly senses, gave them further confirmation from the testimony of the Old Testament, saying, "It was necessary that all things should be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets and Psalms, concerning me."
Our hope, therefore, rests not on the promise of temporal things. Nor do we believe that the holy and spiritual men of these times— the patriarchs and prophets— were taken up with temporal things. For they understood, by the revelation of the Spirit of God, what was suitable for that time, and how God appointed all these sayings and actions as types and predictions of the future. Their great desire was for the New Testament; but they had a personal duty to perform in those predictions, by which the new things of the future were foretold. So the life as well as the tonsure of these men was prophetic. The carnal people, indeed, thought only of present blessings, though even in connection with the people there were prophecies of the future.

These things you do not understand, because, as the prophet says, "Unless you believe, you shall not understand."^ For you are not instructed in the kingdom of heaven, that is, in the true Catholic Church of Christ. If you were, you would bring forth from the treasure of the sacred Scriptures things old as well as new. For the Lord Himself says, "Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like an householder who brings forth from his treasure things new and old."^ And so, while you profess to receive only the new promises of God, you have retained the oldness of the flesh, adding only the novelty of error; of which novelty the apostle says, "Shun profane novelties of words, for they increase unto more ungodliness, and their speech eats like a cancer. Of whom is Hymenaeus and Philetus, who concerning the faith have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and have overthrown the faith of some." * Here you see the source of your false doctrine, in teaching that the resurrection is only of souls by the preaching of the truth, and that there will be no resurrection of the body. But how can you understand spiritual things of the inner man, who is renewed in the knowledge of God, when in the oldness of the flesh, if you do not possess temporal things, you concoct

1 Luke xxiv. 44. ^ jg^; yii 9. ^;Xatt. xiii. 52. Â« 2 Tim. ii. 16-18.
fanciful notions about them in those images of carnal things of which the whole of your false doctrine consists? You boast of despising as worthless the land of Canaan, which was an actual thing, and actually given to the Jews; and yet you tell of a land of light cut asunder on one side, as by a narrow wedge, by the land of the race of darkness, a thing which does not exist, and which you believe from the delusion of your minds; so that your life is not supported by having it, and your mind is wasted in desiring it.

BOOK Y.

1. Faustus. Do I believe the gospel? You ask me if I believe it, though my obedience to its commands shows that I do. I should rather ask you if you believe it, since you give no proof of your belief I have left my father, mother, wife, and children, and all else that the gospel requires; and do you ask if I believe the gospel? Perhaps you do not know what is called the gospel. The gospel is nothing else than the preaching and the precept of Christ. I have parted with all gold and silver, and have left off carrying money in my purse; content with daily food; without anxiety for tomorrow; and without solicitude about how I shall be fed, or wherewithal I shall be clothed: and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see in me the blessings of the gospel; and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see me poor, meek, a peacemaker, pure in heart, mourning, hungering, thirsting, bearing persecutions and enmity for righteousness' sake; and do you doubt my belief in the gospel? One can understand now how John the Baptist, after seeing Jesus, and also hearing of His works, yet asked whether He was Christ. Jesus properly and justly did not deign to reply that He was; but reminded him of the works of which he had already heard: "The blind see, the deaf hear, the dead are raised." In the same way, I might very well reply to your question whether I believe the gospel, by saying, I have left all, father, mother, wife, children, gold, silver, eating, drinking, luxury, pleasure; take this as a

1 Matt. xix. 29. 2 ^oxt. v. 3-11. ^ jyjatt. xi. 2-6.

sufficient answer to your questions, and believe that you will be blessed if you are not offended in me.

2. But, according to you, to believe the gospel is not only to obey its commands, but also to believe in all that is written in it; and, first of all, that God was born. But neither is believing the gospel only to believe that Jesus was born, but also to do what He
commands. So, if you say that I do not believe the gospel because I disbelieve the incarnation, much more do you not believe because you disregard the commandments. At any rate, we are on a par till these questions are settled. If your disregard of the precepts does not prevent you from professing faith in the gospel, why should my rejection of the genealogy prevent me? And if, as you say, to believe the gospel includes both faith in the genealogies and obedience to the precepts, why do you condemn me, since we both are imperfect? What one wants the other has. But if, as there can be no doubt, belief in the gospel consists solely in obedience to the commands of God, your sin is twofold. As the proverb says, the deserter accuses the soldier. But suppose, since you will have it so, that there are these two parts of perfect faith, one consisting in word, or the confession that Christ was born, the other in deed, or the observance of the precepts; it is plain that my part is hard and painful, yours light and easy. It is natural that the multitude should flock to you and away from me, for they know not that the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. Why, then, do you blame me for taking the harder part, and leaving to you, as to a weak brother, the easy part?

3. You have the idea that your part of faith, or confessing that Christ was born, has more power to save the soul than the other part. Let us then ask Christ Himself, and learn from His own mouth, what is the chief means of our salvation. Who shall enter, Christ, into Thy kingdom? He that doeth the will of my Father in heaven, is His reply; not, "He that confesses that I was born." And again, He says to His disciples, "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded.

1 Matt. vii. 21.
you." ^ It is not, " teaching them that I was born," but, " to observe my commandments."

-Again, " Ye are my friends if ye do what I command you; " ^ not, " if you believe that I
was born." Again, " If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love," ^ and in
many other places. Also in the sermon on the mount, when He taught, " Blessed are the
poor, blessed are the meek, blessed are the peacemakers, blessed are the pure in heart,
blessed are they that mourn, blessed are they that hunger, blessed are they that are
persecuted for righteousness' sake," * He nowhere says, " Blessed are they that confess
that I was born." And in the separation of the sheep from the goats in the judgment. He
says that He will say to them on the right hand, " I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; I
was thirsty, and ye gave me drink," ^ and so on; therefore " inherit the kingdom." 'Not, "
Because ye believe that I was born, inherit the kingdom." Again, to the rich man seeking
for eternal life. He says, " Go, sell all that thou hast, and follow me;" ^ not, " Believe that
I was born, that you may have eternal life." You see, the kingdom, life, happiness, are
everywhere promised to the part I have chosen of what you call the two parts of faith, and
nowhere to your part. Show, if you can, a place where it is written that whoso confesses
that Christ was born of a woman shall be blessed, or shall inherit the kingdom, or have
eternal life.

Even supposing, then, that there are two parts of faith, your part has no blessing. But
what if we prove that your part is not part of faith at all? It will follow that you are
foolish, which indeed will be proved beyond a doubt. At present, it is enough to have
shown that our part is crowned with the benedictions. Besides, we have also a
benediction for a confession in words: for we confess that Jesus Christ is the Son of the
living God; and Jesus declares with His own lips that this confession has a benediction,
when He says to Peter, " Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not
revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." ^ So that we have not one, but
both these parts of


4 Matt. V. 3-10. 6 Matt. xxv. 35. Â« Matt. xix. 21.

7 Matt. xvi. 7.

162 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^EAN. [BOOK V.]

faith, and in both alike are we pronounced blessed by Christ; for in one we reduce faith to
practice, while in the other our confession is unmixed with blasphemy.

4. Augustine. I have already said that/the Lord Jesus Christ repeatedly calls Himself the
Son of man, and that the Manichaeans have contrived a silly story about some fabulous
First Man, who figures in their impious heresy, not earthly, but combined with spurious
elements, in opposition to the apostle, who says, "The first man is of the earth, earthy;"
and that the apostle carefully warns us, "If any one preaches to you differently from what
we have preached, let him be accursed." So that we must believe Christ to be the Son of man according to apostolic doctrine, not
according to Manichsean error.

And since the evangelists assert that Christ was born of a woman, of the family of David,
and Paul writing to Timothy says, "Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David,
was raised from the dead, according to my gospel," it is clear in what sense we must
believe Christ to be the Son of man; for being the Son of God by whom we were made,
He also by His incarnation became the Son of man, that He might die for our sins, and
rise again for our justification. Accordingly He calls Himself both Son of God and Son
of man. To take only one instance out of many, in the Gospel of John it is written,

Verily, verily, I say unto you. The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear
the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in
Himself, so He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself; and hath given Him power
to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man." He says, "They shall hear the
voice of the Son of God;" and He says, "because He is the Son of man." As the Son of
man. He has received power to execute judgment, because He will come to judgment in
human form, that He may be seen by the good and the wicked. In this form He ascended
into heaven, and that voice was heard by His disciples, "He shall so come as ye have
seen Him go into heaven." As the Son of God, equal to and one with the Father, He will
not be seen by the

1 1 Cor. XV. 47. 2 Gal. i. 8, 9. ^2 Tim. ii. 8.

wicked; for "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Since, then. He promises eternal life to those that believe in Him, and since to believe in Him is to believe in the true Christ, such as He declares Himself and His apostles declare Him to be, true Son of God and true Son of man; you, Manichseans, who believe on a false and spurious son of a false and spurious man, and teach that God Himself, from fear of the assault of the hostile race, gave up His own members to be tortured, and after all not to be wholly liberated, are plainly far from that eternal life which Christ promises to those who believe in Him. It is true. He said to Peter when he confessed Him to be the Son of God, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona." But does He promise nothing to those who believe Him to be the Son of man, when the Son of God and the Son of man are the same? Besides, eternal life is expressly promised to those who believe in the Son of man. "As Moses," He says, "lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life." -^ What more do you wish? Believe then in the Son of man, that you may have eternal life; for He is also the Son of God, who can give eternal life: for He is "the true God and eternal life," as John says in his epistle. John also adds, that he is antichrist who denies that Christ has come in the flesh. ^

5. There is no need, then, that you should extol so much the perfection of Christ's commands, because you obey the precepts of the gospel. For the precepts, supposing you really to fulfil them, would not profit you without true faith. Do you not know that the apostle says, " If I distribute all my goods to the poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing "? ^ Why do you boast of having Christian poverty, when you are destitute of Christian charity? Robbers have a kind of charity to one another, arising from a mutual consciousness of guilt and crime; but this is not the charity commended by the apostle. In another passage he distinguishes true charity from all base and vicious affections, by saying, "Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and a good con-

1 John iii. 14, 15. 2 j joj^ v. 20, iv. 3. ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

164 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHiEAN. [BOOK V.]

science, and faitli unfeigned." ^ How then can you have true charity from a fictitious faith? You persist in a faith corrupted by falsehood: for your First Man, according to you, used deceit in the conflict by changing his form, while his enemies remained in their own nature; and, besides, you maintain that Christ, who says, "I am the truth," feigned His incarnation, His death on the cross, the wounds of His passion, the marks shown after His resurrection. If you speak the truth, and your Christ speaks falsehood, you must be better than he. 
But if you really follow your own Christ, your truthfulness may be doubled, and your obedience to the precepts you speak of may be only a pretence. Is it true, as Faustus says, that you have no money in your purses? He means, probably, that your money is in boxes and bags; nor would we blame you for this, if you did not profess one thing and practise another. Constantius, who is still alive, and is now our brother in Catholic Christianity, once gathered many of your sect into his house at Rome, to keep these precepts of Manichaeus, which you think so much of, though they are very silly and childish. The precepts proved too much for your weakness, and the gathering was entirely broken up. Those who persevered separated from your communion, and are called Mattarians, because they sleep on mats, a very different bed from the feathers of Faustus and his goatskin coverlets, and all the grandeur that made him despise not only the Mattarians, but also the house of his poor father in Mileum.

Away, then, with this accursed hypocrisy from your writing, if not from your conduct; or else your language will conflict with your life by your deceitful words, as your First Man with the race of darkness by his deceitful elements.

6. I am, however, addressing not merely men who fail to do what they are commanded, but the members of a deluded sect. For the precepts of Manichaeus are such that, if you do not keep them, you are deceivers; if you do keep them, you are deceived. Christ never taught you that you should not pluck a vegetable for fear of committing homicide; for when His disciples were hungry when passing through a field of corn, He did not forbid them to pluck the ears on the Sabbath.

* 1 Tim. i. 5.
day; which was a rebuke to the Jews of the time, since the action was on Sabbath; and a rebuke in the action itself to the future Manichceans. The precept of Manichseus, however, only requires you to do nothing, while others commit homicide for you; though the real homicide is that of ruining miserable souls by such doctrines of devils.

7. The language of Faustus has the fever of heresy in it, and is the language of overweening arrogance. " You see in me," he says, " the blessings of the gospel; and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see me poor, meek, a peacemaker, pure in heart, mourning, hungering, thirsting, bearing persecution and enmity for righteousness' sake; and do you doubt my belief in the gospel? " If to justify oneself were to be just, Faustus would have flown to heaven while uttering these words. I say nothing of the luxurious habits of Faustus, known to all the followers of the Manichseans, and especially to those at Eome. I shall suppose a Manichsean such as Constantius sought for, when he enforced the observance of these precepts with the sincere desire to see them observed. How can I see him to be poor in spirit, when he is so proud as to believe that his own soul is God, and is not ashamed to speak of God as in bondage? How can I see him meek, when he affronts all the authority of the evangelists rather than believe? How a peacemaker, when he holds that the divine nature itself by which God is whatever is, and is the only true existence, could not remain in lasting peace? How pure in heart, when his heart is filled with so many impious notions? How mourning, unless it is for his God captive and bound, till he be freed and escape, with the loss, however, of a part which is to be united by the Father to the mass of darkness, and is not to be mourned for? How hungering and thirsting for righteousness, which Faustus omits, in case, no doubt, that he should be thought destitute of righteousness? But how can they hunger and thirst after righteousness, whose perfect righteousness will consist in exultation; over their brethren condemned to darkness, not for any fault of their own, but for being irremediably contaminated by the pollution against which they were sent by the Father to contend?

8. How do you suffer persecution and enmity for righteous-
know many among our martyrs, and chiefly Cyprian himself, whose writings also bear witness to his belief that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary. For this faith, which you abhor, he suffered and died along with many Christian believers of that day, who suffered as much, or more. But Faustus, when shown to be a Manichaean by evidence, or by his own confession, on the intercession of the Christians themselves, who brought him before the proconsul, was, along with some others, only banished to an island, which can hardly be called a punishment at all, for it is what God's servants do of their own accord every day when they wish to retire from the tumult of the world. Besides, earthly sovereigns often by a public decree give release from this banishment as an act of mercy. And in this way all were afterwards released at once. Confess, then, that they were in possession of a truer faith and a more righteous life, who were accounted worthy to suffer for it much more than you ever suffered. Or else, cease boasting of the abhorrence which many feel for you, and learn to distinguish between suffering for blasphemy and suffering for righteousness. What it is you suffer for, your own books will show in a way that deserves your most particular attention.

9. Those evangelical precepts of peculiar sublimity which you make people who know no better believe that you obey, are really obeyed by multitudes in our communion. Are there not among us many of both sexes who have entirely refrained from sexual intercourse, and many formerly married

BOOK Y.] CATHOLIC SELF-DENIAL. 167

who practise continence? Are there not many others who give largely of their property, or give it up altogether, and many who keep the body in subjection by fasts, either frequent or daily, or protracted beyond belief? Then there are fraternities whose members have no property of their own, but all things common, including only things necessary for food and clothing, living with one soul and one heart towards God, inflamed with a common feeling of charity. In all such professions many turn out to be deceivers and reprobates, while many who are so are never discovered; many, too, who at first walk well, fall away rapidly from wilfulness. Many are found in times of trial to have adopted this kind of life with another intention than they professed; and again, many in humility and stedfastness persevere in their course to the end, and are saved. There are apparent diversities in these societies; but one charity unites all who, from some necessity, in obedience to the apostle's injunction, have their wives as if they had them not, and buy as if they bought not, and use this world as if they used it not. "With these are joined, in the abundant riches of God's mercy, the inferior class of those to whom it is said, " Defraud not one another, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment." -^ To such the same apostle also says, " Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, that ye go to law one with another; " while, in consideration of their infirmity, he adds, " If ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church." ^
For in the kingdom of heaven there are not only those who, that they may be perfect, sell or leave all they have and follow the Lord; but others in the partnership of charity are joined like a mercenary force to the Christian army, to whom it will be said at last, "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat," and so on. Otherwise, there would be no salvation for those to whom the apostle gives so many anxious and particular directions about their families, telling the wives to be obedient to their husbands, and husbands to love their wives;

1 1 Cor. vii. 5, 6 ^l Cor. vi. 7, 4.

168 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK V.]

children to obey their parents, and parents to bring up their children in the instruction and admonition of the Lord; servants to obey with fear their masters according to the flesh, and masters to render to their servants what is just and equal.

The apostle is far from condemning such people as regardless of gospel precepts, or unworthy of eternal life. For where the Lord exhorts the strong to attain perfection, saying, "If any man take not up his cross and follow me, he cannot be my disciple," He immediately adds, for the consolation of the weak, "Whoso receiveth a just man in the name of a just man, shall receive a just man's reward; and whoso receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward." So that not only he who gives Timothy a little wine for his stomach's sake, and his frequent infirmities, but he who gives to a strong man a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, shall not lose his reward,

10. If it is true that a man cannot receive the gospel without giving up everything, why do you delude your followers, by allowing them to keep in your service their wives, and children, and households, and houses, and fields? Indeed, you may well allow them to disregard the precepts of the gospel: for all you promise them is not a resurrection, but a change to another mortal existence, in which they shall live the silly, childish, impious life of those you call the elect, the life you live yourself, and are so much praised for; or if they possess greater merit, they shall enter into melons or cucumbers, or some eatables which you will masticate, that they may be quickly purified by your digestion. Least of all should you who teach such doctrines profess any regard for the gospel. For if the faith of the gospel had any connection with such nonsense, the Lord should have said, not, "I was hungry, and ye gave me meat;" but, "Ye were hungry, and ye ate me," or, "I was hungry, and I ate you." For, by your absurdities, a man will not be received into the kingdom of God for the service of giving food to the saints, but because he has eaten them and belched them out, or has himself been eaten and belched into heaven. Instead of saying, "Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, and fed Thee?" the righteous must say, "When saw

1 Matt. X. 38-42.
we Thee hungry, and were eaten by Thee? " And He must answer, not, " When ye gave food to one of the least of these, my brethren, you gave to me;" but, " When you were eaten by one of the least of these my brethren, you were eaten by me."

11. Believinsj and teachinof such monstrosities, and living accordingly, you yet have the boldness to say that you obey the precepts of the gospel, and to decry the Catholic Church, which includes many weak as well as strong, both of whom the Lord blesses, because both according to their measure obey the precepts of the gospel and hope in its promises. The blindness of hostility makes you see only the tares in our harvest: for you might easily see wheat too, if you were willing that there should be any. But among you, those who are pretended Manichseans are wicked, and those who are really Manichseans are silly. For where the faith itself is false, he who hypocritically professes it acts deceitfully, while he who truly believes is deceived. Such a faith cannot produce a good life, for every man's life is good or bad according as his heart is engaged. If your affections were set upon spiritual and intellectual good, instead of material forms, you would not pay homage to the material sun as a divine substance, and as the light of wisdom, which every one knows you do, though I now only mention it in passing.

BOOK VI.

1. Faustus. You ask if I believe the Old Testament. Of course not, for I do not keep its precepts. ISTeather, I imagine, do you. I reject circumcision as disgusting; and if I mistake not, so do you. I reject the observance of Sabbaths as superfluous: I suppose you do the same. I reject sacrifices as idolatry, as doubtless you also do. Swine's flesh is not the only flesh I abstain from; nor is it the only flesh you eat. I think all flesh unclean: you think none unclean. Both alike, in these opinions, throw over the Old Testament. We both look upon the weeks of unleavened bread and the feast of tabernacles as unnecessary and useless. IN'ot to patch linen garments with purple; to count it adultery to make a garment

170 r.ErLY TO faustus the maxich.ean. [book yi.

of linen and ^voool; to call it sacrific^e to yoke toQ;etlier an ox and an ass when necessary; not to appoint as priest a bald man, or a man -sA-ith red hair, or any similar peculiarity, as being unclean in the sight of God, â€” are things which we both despise and laugh at, and rank as of neither first nor second importance; and yet they are all precepts and judgments of the Old Testament. You cannot blame me for rejecting the Old Testament; for whether it is right or wrong to do so, you do it as much as I. As for the difference between your faith and mine, it is this, that while you choose to act deceitfully,
and meanly to praise in words what in your heart you hate, I, not having learned the art of deception, frankly declare that I hate both these abominable precepts and their authors.

2. Augustine. How and for what purpose the Old Testament is received by the heirs of the New Testament has been already explained. But as the remarks of Faustus were then about the promises of the Old Testament, and now he speaks of the precepts, I reply that he displays ignorance of the difference between moral and symbolical precepts. For example, "Thou shalt not covet" is a moral precept; "Thou shalt circumcise every male on the eighth day" is a symbolical precept. From not making this distinction, the Manichæans, and all who find fault with the writings of the Old Testament, not seeing that whatever observance God appointed for the former dispensation was a shadow of future things, because these observances are now discontinued, condemn them, though no doubt what is unsuitable now was perfectly suitable then, as prefiguring the things now revealed. In this they contradict the apostle, who says, "All these things happened to them for an example, and they were written for our learning, on whom the end of the world is come." The apostle here explains why these writings are to be received, and why it is no longer necessary to continue the symbolical observances. For when he says, "They were written for our learning," he clearly shows that we should be very diligent in reading and in discovering the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, and that we should have great veneration for them, since it was for us that they were written. Again, when he says, "They

1 Book iv. 2 1 Cor. x. 6.
are our examples," and " these things happened to them for an example," he shows that, now that the things themselves are clearly revealed, the observance of the actions by which these things were prefigured is no longer binding. So he says elsewhere, " Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come." Here also, when he says, "Let no one judge you" in these things, he shows that we are no longer bound to observe them. And when he says, " which are a shadow of things to come," he explains how these observances were binding at the time when the things fully disclosed to us were symbolized by these shadows of future things.

3. Assuredly, if the Manichaeans were justified by the resurrection of the Lord, â€” the day of whose resurrection, the third after His passion, was the eighth day, coming after the Sabbath, that is, after the seventh day, â€” their carnal minds would be delivered from the darkness of earthly passions which rests on them; and rejoicing in the circumcision of the heart, they would not ridicule it as prefigured in the Old Testament by circumcision in the flesh, although they should not enforce this observance under the New Testament. But, as the apostle says, " To the pure all things are pure. But to the impure and unbelieving nothing is pure, but both their mind and conscience are defiled." So these people, who are so pure in their own eyes, that they regard, or pretend to regard, as impure these members of their bodies, are so defiled with unbelief and error, that, while they abhor the circumcision of the flesh, â€” which the apostle calls a seal of the righteousness of faith, â€” they believe that the divine members of their God are subjected to restraint and contamination in these very carnal members of theirs. For they say that flesh is unclean; and it follows that God, in the part which is detained by the flesh, is made unclean: for they declare that He must be cleansed, and that till this is done, as far as it can be done. He undergoes all the passions to which flesh is subject, not only in suffering pain and distress, but also in sensual gratification. For it is for His sake, they say, that they ab-

1 CoL ii. 16, 17. ' Tit. i. 15.

172 EEPY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^EAX. [COOK VI.

stain from sexual intercourse, that He may not be bound more closely in the bondage of the flesh, nor suffer more defilement. The apostle says, " To the pure all things are pure." And if this is true of men, who may be led into evil by a perverse will, how much more must all things be pure to God, who remains for ever immutable and immaculate! In those books which you defile with your violent reproaches, it is said of the divine wisdom, that " no defiled thing falleth into it, and it goeth everywhere by reason of its pureness." It is mere prurient absurdity to find fault with the sign of human regeneration appointed by that God, to whom all things are pure, to be put on the organ of human
generation, while you hold that your God, to whom nothing is pure, is in a part of his nature subjected to taint and corruption by the vicious actions in which impure men employ the members of their body. For if you think there is pollution in conjugal intercourse, what must there be in all the practices of the licentious? If you ask, then, as you often do, whether God could not find some other way of sealing the righteousness of faith, the answer is, "Why not this way, since all things are pure to the pure, much more to God? And we have the authority of the apostle for saying that circumcision was the seal of the righteousness of the faith of Abraham. As for you, you must try not to blush when you are asked whether your God had nothing better to do than to entangle part of his nature with these members that you revile so much. These are delicate subjects to speak of, on account of the penal corruption attending the propagation of man. They are things which call into exercise the modesty of the chaste, the passions of the impure, and the justice of God.

4. The rest of the Sabbath we consider no longer binding as an observance, now that the hope of our eternal rest has been revealed. But it is a very useful thing to read of, and to reflect on. In prophetic times, when things now manifested were prefigured and predicted by actions as well as words, this sign of which we read was a presage of the reality which we possess. But I wish to know why you observe a sort of partial rest. The Jews, on their Sabbath, which

1 Wisd. vii. 24, 25.
they still keep in a carnal manner, neither gather any frnit in the field, nor dress and cook
it at home. But you, in your rest, wait till one of your followers takes his knife or hook to
the garden, to get food for you by murdering the vegetables, and brings back, strange to
say, living corpses. For if cutting plants is not murder, why are you afraid to do it? And
yet, if the plants are murdered, what becomes of the life which is to obtain release and
restoration from your mastication and digestion? Well, you take the living vegetables,
and certainly you ought, if it could be done, to swallow them whole; so that after the one
wound your follower has been guilty of inflicting in pulling them, of which you will no
doubt consent to absolve him, they may reach without loss or injury your private
laboratory, where your God may be healed of his wound. Instead of this, you not only
tear them with your teeth, but, if it pleases your taste, mince them, inflicting a multitude
of wounds in the most criminal manner. Plainly, it would be a most advantageous thing if
you would rest at home too, and not only once a week, like the Jews, but every day of the
week. The cucumbers suffer while you are cooking them, without any benefit to the life
that is in them; for a boiling pot cannot be compared to a saintly stomach. And yet you
ridicule as superfluous the rest of the Sabbath.
Would it not be better, not only to refrain from finding fault with the fathers for this
observance, in whose case it was not superfluous, but, even now that it is superfluous, to
observe this rest yourselves instead of your own, which has no symbolical use, and is
condemned as grounded on falsehood?
According to your own foolish opinions, you are guilty of a defective observance of your
own rest, though the observance itself is foolish in the judgment of truth. You maintain
that the fruit suffers when it is pulled from the tree, when it is cut, and scraped, and
cooked, and eaten. So you are wrong in eating anything that cannot be swallowed raw
and unhurt, so that the wound inflicted might not be from you, but from your follower in
pulling them. You declare that you could not give release to so great a quantity of life, if
you were to eat only things which could be swallowed without cooking or mastication.
But if this release compensates for all the pains

174 P. EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [BOOK VI.]

you inflict, why is it unlawful for you to pull the fruit?
Fruit may be eaten raw, as some of your sect make a point of eating raw vegetables of all
kinds. But before it can be eaten at all, it must be pulled, or fall off, or be taken in some
way from the ground or from the tree. You might well be pardoned for pulling it, since
nothing can be done without that, but not for torturing the members of your God to the
extent you do in dressing your food. One of your silly notions is that the tree weeps
when the fruit is pulled. Doubtless the life in the tree knows all things, and perceives
who it is that comes to it. If the elect were to come and pull the fruit, would not the tree
rejoice to escape the misery of having its fruit plucked by others, and to gain felicity by
enduring a little momentary pain? And yet, while you multiply the pains and troubles of
the fruit after it is plucked, you will not pluck it. Explain that, if you can! Fasting itself is a mistake in your case. There should be no intermission in the task of purging away the dross of the excrements from the spiritual gold, and of releasing the divine members from confinement. The most merciful man among you is he who keeps himself always in good health, takes raw food, and eats a great deal. But you are cruel when you eat, in making your food undergo so much suffering; and you are cruel when you fast, in desisting from the work of liberating the divine members.

5. With all this, you venture to denounce the sacrifices of the Old Testament, and to call them idolatry, and to attribute to us the same impious notion. To answer for ourselves in the first place, while we consider it no longer a duty to offer sacrifices, we recognise sacrifices as part of the mysteries of Eevelation, by which the things prophesied were foreshadowed. For they were our examples, and in many and various ways they all pointed to the one sacrifice which we now commemorate. ISTow that this sacrifice has been revealed, and has been offered in due time, sacrifice is no longer binding as an act of worship, while it retains its symbolical authority. For these things " were written for our learning, upon whom the ends of the world are come."

What you object to in sacrifice is the slaughter of animals, though the whole animal

1 1 Cor. X. 11.
creation is intended conditionally for the use of man. You are merciful to beasts, believing them to contain the souls of human beings, while you refuse a piece of bread to a hungry beggar. The Lord Jesus, on the other hand, was cruel to the swine when He granted the request of the devils to be allowed to enter into them. " The same Lord Jesus, before the sacrifice of His passion, said to a leper whom He had cured, " Go, show thyself to the priest, and give the offering, as Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them." When God, by the prophets, repeatedly declares that He needs no offering, as indeed reason teaches us that offerings cannot be needed by Him who stands in need of nothing, our mind is led to inquire what God wished to teach us by these sacrifices. For, assuredly, He would not have required offerings of which He had no need, except to teach us something that it would profit us to know, and which was suitably set forth by means of these symbols. It would be a great deal better and more respectable for you to be still bound by these sacrifices, which have an instructive meaning, though they are not now necessary, than to require your followers to offer to you as food what you believe to be living victims. The Apostle Paul says most appropriately of some who preached the gospel to gratify their appetite, that their " god was their belly." But the arrogance of your impiety goes much beyond this; for, instead of making your belly your god, you do what is far worse in making your belly the purifier of God. Surely it is great madness to make a pretence of piety in not slaughtering animals, while you hold that the souls of animals inhabit all the food you eat, and yet make what you call living creatures suffer such torture from your hands and teeth.

6. If you will not eat flesh, why should you not slay animals in sacrifice to your God, in order that their souls, which you hold to be not only human, but the members of God Himself, may be released from the confinement of flesh, and be saved from returning by the efficacy of your prayers? Perhaps, however, your stomach gives more effectual aid than your intellect, and that part of divinity which has had the advantage of passing through your bowels is more likely to be saved than that which has only the benefit of your prayers. Your objection to eating flesh will be that you cannot eat animals alive, and so the operation of your stomach will not avail for the liberation of their souls. Happy vegetables, that, torn up with the hand, cut with knives, tortured in fire, ground by teeth, yet reach alive the altars of your intestines! Unhappy sheep and oxen, that are not so tenacious of life, and therefore are refused entrance into your bodies! Such is the absurdity of your notions. And you persist in making out an opposition in us to the Old Testament, because we consider no flesh
unclean: according to the opinion of the apostle, "To the pure all things are pure;" "^ and according to the saying of our Lord Himself, "Xot that which goeth into your mouth defileth you, but that which cometh out." This was not said to the crowd only, as your Adimantus, whom Faustus, in his attack on the Old Testament, praises as second only to Manichieus, wishes us to understand; but when retired from the crowd, the Lord repeated this still more plainly and pointedly to His disciples. Adimantus quotes this saying of our Lord in opposition to the Old Testament, where the people are prohibited from eating some animals which are pronounced unclean; and doubtless he was afraid that he should be asked why, since he quotes a passage from the Gospel about man not being defiled by what enters into his mouth and passes into his belly, he j'et considers not some only, but all flesh unclean, and abstains from eating it. It is in order to escape from this strait, when the plain truth is too much for his error, that he makes the Lord say this to the crowd; as if the Lord were in the habit of speaking the truth only in small companies, while He talked unguardedly in public. To speak of the Lord in this way is blasphemy. And all who read the passage can see that the Lord said the same thing more plainly to His disciples in private. Since Faustus praises Adimantus so much at the beginning of this book of his, placing him next to Manichaeus, let him say in a word whether it is true or false that a man is not defiled by what enters into his mouth. If it is false, why does this great teacher Adimantus quote it against the Old Testament?

Â» Tit. I 15. 2 Matt. xvi. 11.
[BOOK VI.] UNCLEAN FOOD. 177

If it is true, why, in spite of this, do you believe that eating any flesh will defile you? It is true, if you choose this explanation, that the apostle does not say that all things are pure to heretics, but, "to the pure all things are pure." The apostle also goes on to explain why all things are not pure to heretics: "To the impure and unbelieving nothing is pure, but even their mind and conscience are defiled." So to the Manichseans there is absolutely nothing pure; for they hold that the very substance or nature of God not only may be, but has actually been defiled, and so defiled that it can never be wholly restored and purified. What do they mean when they call animals unclean, and refrain from eating them, when it is impossible for them to think anything, whether food or whatever it may be, clean? According to them, vegetables too, fruits, all kinds of crops, the earth and sky, are defiled by mixture with the race of darkness. Why do they not act up to their opinions about other things as well as about animals? Why do they not abstain altogether, and starve themselves to death, instead of persisting in their blasphemies? If they will not repent and reform, this is evidently the best thing that they could do.

7. The saying of the apostle, that "to the pure all things are pure," and that "every creature of God is good," is not opposed to the prohibitions of the Old Testament; and the explanation, if they can understand it, is this. The apostle speaks of the natures of the things, while the Old Testament calls some animals unclean, not in their nature, but symbolically, on account of the prefigurative character of that dispensation. For instance, a pig and a lamb are both clean in their nature, for every creature of God is good; but symbolically, a lamb is clean, and a pig unclean. So the words ivise and fool are both clean in their nature, as words composed of letters; but fool may be called symbolically unclean, because it means an unclean thing. Perhaps a pig is the same among symbols as a fool is among real things. The animal, and the four letters which compose the word, may mean the same thing. No doubt the animal is pronounced unclean by the law, because it does not chew the cud; which

1 Tit. i. 15.
7 M

178 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK YI.

is not a fault, but its nature. But the men of whom this animal is a symbol are unclean, not by nature, but from their own fault; because, though they gladly hear the words of wisdom, they never reflect on them afterwards. For to recall, in quiet repose, some useful instruction from the stomach of memory to the mouth of reflection, is a kind of spiritual rumination. The animals above mentioned are a symbol of those people who do not do this. And the prohibition of the flesh of these animals is a warning against this fault. Another passage of Scripture speaks of the precious treasure of wisdom, and
describes ruminating\(^\text{a}\) as clean, and not ruminating: as unclean: "A precious treasure resteth in the mouth of a wise man; but a foolish man swallows it up." ^\(^\text{b}\) Symbols of this kind, either in words or in things, give useful and pleasant exercise to intelligent minds in the way of inquiry and comparison. But formerly people were required not only to hear, but to practise many such things. For at that time it was necessary that, by deeds as well as by words, those things should be foreshadowed which were in after times to be revealed. After the revelation by Christ and in Christ, the community of believers is not burdened with the practice of the observances, but is admonished to give heed to the prophecy. This is our reason for accounting no animals unclean, in accordance with the saying of the Lord and of the apostle, while we are not opposed to the Old Testament, where some animals are pronounced unclean. ISTow let us hear why you consider all animal food imclean.

8. One of your false doctrines is, that flesh is unclean on account of mixture with the race of darkness. But this would make not only flesh unclean, but your God himself, in that part which he sent to become subject to absorption and contamination, in order that the enemy might be conquered and taken captive. Besides, on account of this mixture, all that you eat must be unclean. But you say flesh is especially unclean. It requires patience to listen to all their absurd reasons for this peculiar impurity of flesh. I vi.ll mention only what will suffice to show the inveterate folly of these critics of the Old Testament, who, while they denounce flesh,

1 ProY. xxi. 20.

BOOK YL\[ the EACE OF DARKNESS. 179

savour only fleshly things, and have no sort of spiritual perception. And a lengthy discussion of this question may perhaps enable us to dispense with saying much on some other points. The following, then, is an account of their vain delusions in this matter i-y\(^\text{a}\)In that battle, when the First Man ensnared the race of darlvhess by deceitful elements, principles 

"of both sexes belonging to this race were taken. By means of these principles the world was constructed; and among those used in the formation of the heavenly bodies, were some pregnant females. When the sky began to rotate, the rapid circular motion made these females give birth to abortions, which, being of both sexes, fell on the earth, and lived, and grew, and came together, and produced offspring. Hence sprang all animal life in earth, air, and sea. ISTow if the origin of flesh is from heaven, that is no reason for thinking it especially unclean. Indeed, in this construction of the world, they hold that these principles of darkness were arranged higher or lower, according to the greater or less amount of good mixed with them in the construction of the various parts of the world. So flesh oudit to be cleaner than vesretables which come out of the earth, for it comes from heaven. And how irrational, to suppose that the abortions, before becoming animate, were so lively, though in an abortive state, that after falling from the sky, they could live and multiply; whereas, after becoming animate, they die if brought forth prematurely, and a fall from a very moderate height is enough to kill them !
The kingdom of life in contest with the kino-dom of death ought to have improved them, by giving them life instead of making them more perishable than before. If the perishableness is a consequence of a change of nature, it is wrong to say that there is a bad nature. The change is the only cause of the perishableness. Both natures are good, though one is better than the other. "Whence then comes the peculiar impurity of flesh as it exists in this world, sprung, as they say, from heaven? They tell us, indeed, of the first bodies of these principles of darkness being generated like worms from trees of darkness; and the trees, they say, are produced from the five elements. But supposing that the bodies of animals

^ Principes.

180 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÉAN. [BOOK VI.]

come in the first place from trees, and afterwards from heaven, why should they be more unclean than the fruit of trees? Perhaps it will be said that what remains after death is unclean, because the life is no longer there. For the same reason fruits and vegetables must be unclean, for they die when they are pulled or cut. As we saw before, the elect get others to bring their food to them, that they may not be guilty of murder. Perhaps, since they say that every living being has two souls, one of the race of light, and the other of the race of darkness, the good soul leaves at death, and the bad soul remains. But, in that case, the animal would be as much alive as it was in the kingdom of darkness, when it had only the soul of its own race, with which it had rebelled against the kingdom of God. So, since both souls leave at death, why call the flesh unclean, as if only the good soul had left? Any life that remains must be of both kinds; for some remains of the members of God are found, we are told, even in filth. There is therefore no reason for making flesh more unclean than fruits. The truth is, they pretend to great chastity in holding flesh unclean because it is generated. But if the divine body is more grossly shut in by flesh, there is all the more reason that they should liberate it by eating. And there are innumerable kinds of worms not produced from sexual intercourse; some in the neighbourhood of Venice come from trees, which they should eat, since there is not the same reason for their being unclean. Besides, there are the frogs produced by the earth after a shower of rain. Let them liberate the members of their God from these. Let them rebuke the mistake of mankind in preferring fowls and pigeons produced from males and females to the pure frogs, daughters of heaven and earth. By this theory, the first principles of darkness produced from trees must be purer than Manicheus, who was produced by generation; and his followers, for the same reason, must be less pure than the lice which spring from the perspiration of their bodies. But if everything that comes from flesh is unclean, because the origin of flesh itself is unclean, fruits and vegetables must also be unclean, because they are manured with dung. After this, what becomes of the notion that fruits are cleaner than flesh? Dung is the most unclean
product of flesh, and also the most fertilizing manure. Their doctrine is, that the life escapes in the mastication and digestion of the food, so that only a particle remains in the excrement. How is it, then, that this particle of life has such an effect on the growth and the quality of your favourite food? Mesh is nourished by the productions of the earth, not by its excrements; while the earth is nourished by the excrements of flesh, not by its productions. Let them say which is the cleaner. Or let them turn from being unbelieving and impure to whom nothing is unclean, and join with us in embracing the doctrine of the apostle, that to the pure all things are pure; that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; that every creature of God is good. All things in nature are good in their own order; and no one sins in using them, unless, by disobedience to God, he transgresses his own order, and disturbs their order by using them amiss.

9. The elders who pleased God kept their own order by their obedience, in observing, according to God's arrangement, what was appointed as suitable to certain times. So, although all animals intended for food are by nature clean, they abstained from some which had then a symbolical uncleanness, in preparation for the future revelation of the things signified. And so with regard to unleavened bread and all such things, in which the apostle says there was a shadow of future things, neglect of their observance under the old dispensation, when this observance was enjoined, and was employed to prefigure what was afterwards to be revealed, would have been as criminal, as it would now be foolish in us, after the light of the New Testament has arisen, to think that these predictive observances could be of any use to us. On the other hand, since the Old Testament teaches us that the things now revealed were so long ago prefigured, that we may be firm and faithful in our adherence to them, it would be blasphemy and impiety to discard these books, simply because the Lord requires of us now not a literal, but a spiritual and intelligent regard to their contents. They were written, as the apostle says, for our admonition, on whom the end of the world is come.-^ Fox whatsoever things were written aforetime we re 11 Cor. X. 11.

written for our learning." ^ ISTot to eat unleavened bread in the appointed seven days was a sin in the time of the Old Testament; in the time of the New Testament it is not a sin. But having the hope of a future world through Christ, who makes us altogether new by clothing our souls with righteousness and our bodies with immortality, to believe that the bondage and infirmity of our original corruption will prevail over us or over our actions must continue to be a sin, till the seven days of the course of time are accomplished. In
the time of the Old Testament, this, under the disguise of a type, was perceived by some saints. In the time of the New Testament it is fully declared and publicly preached.

"What was then a precept of Scripture is now a testimony. Formerly, not to keep the feast of tabernacles was a sin, which is not the case now. But not to form part of the building of God's tabernacle, which is the Church, is always a sin. Formerly this was acted in a figure; now the record serves as a testimony. The ancient tabernacle, indeed, would not have been called the tabernacle of the testimony, unless as an appropriate symbol it had borne testimony to some truth which was to be revealed in its own time. To patch linen garments with purple, or to wear a garment of woollen and linen together, is not a sin now. But to live intemperately, and to wish to combine opposite modes of life, â€” as when a woman devoted to religion wears the ornaments of married women, or when one who has not abstained from marriage dresses like a Adiâ®gin, â€” is always sin. So it is sin whenever inconsistent things are combined in any man's life. This, which is now a moral truth, was then symbolized in dress. What was then a type is now revealed truth. So the same Scripture which then required symbolical actions, now testifies to the things signified. The prefigurative observance is now a record for the confirmation of our faith. Formerly it was unlawful to plough with an ox and an ass together; now it is lawful. The apostle explains this when he quotes the text about not muzzling the ox that is treading out the corn. He says, "Does God care for oxen?" What, then, have we to do with an obsolete prohibition? The apostle teaches us in the

^ Piom. XV. 4.
BOOK VII.

1. Faustus. You ask why I do not believe in the genealogy of Jesus. There are many reasons; but the principal is, that He never declares with His own lips that He had an earthly father or descent, but on the contrary, that He is not of this world, that He came forth from God the Father, that He descended from heaven, that He has no mother or brethren except those who do the will of His Father in heaven. Besides, the framers of these genealogies do not seem to have known Jesus before His birth or soon after it, so as to have the credibility of eye-witnesses of what they narrate. They became acquainted with Jesus as a young man of about thirty years of age, if it is not blasphemy to speak of the age of a divine being. Now the question regarding a witness is always whether he has

1 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10. 2 cf. Lev. xxi. 18.

184 EEPILY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.EAX. [BOOK YII.

following words, " For our sakes it is written." It must be impiety in us not to read what was written for our sakes; for it is more for our sakes, to whom the revelation belongs, than for theirs who had only the figure. There is no harm in joining an ox with an ass where it is required. But to put a wise man and a fool together, not that one should teach and the other obey, but that both with equal authority should declare the word of God, cannot be done without causing offence. So the same Scripture which was once a command enjoining the shadow in which future things were veiled, is now an authoritative witness to the unveiled truth.

In what he says of the uncleanness of a man that is bald or has red hair, Faustus is inaccurate, or the manuscript he has used is incorrect. Would that Faustus were not ashamed to bear on his forehead the cross of Christ, the want of which is baldness, instead of maintaining that Christ, who says, " I am the truth," showed unreal marks, after His resurrection, of unreal wounds! Faustus says he has not learned the art of deceiving, and speaks what he thinks. He cannot therefore be a disciple of his Christ, whom he madly declares to have shown false marks of wounds to his disciples when they doubted. Are we to believe Faustus, not only in his other absurdities, but also when he tells us that he does not deceive us in calling Christ a deceiver? Is he better than Christ? Is he not a deceiver, while Christ is? Or does he prove himself to be a disciple not of the truthful Christ, but of the deceiver Manichaeus, by this very falsehood, when he boasts that he has not learned the art of deceiving?
seen or heard what he testifies to. But the writers of these genealogies never assert that they heard the account from Jesus Himself, nor even the fact of His birth; nor did they see Him till they came to know Him after his baptism, many years after the time of His birth. To me, therefore, and to every sensible man, it appears as foolish to believe this account, as it would be to call into court a blind and deaf witness.

2. Augustine. As regards what Faustus calls his principal reason for not receiving the genealogy of Jesus Christ, a complete refutation is found in the passages formerly quoted, "...where Christ declares Himself to be the Son of man, and in what we have said of the identity of the Son of man with the Son of God: that in His Godhead He has no earthly descent, while after the flesh He is of the seed of David, as the apostle teaches. We are to believe, therefore, that He came forth from the Father, that He descended from heaven, and also that the "Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us..."

If the words, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" are quoted to show that Christ had no earthly mother or descent, it follows that we must believe that His disciples, whom He here teaches by His own example to set no value on earthly relationship, as compared with the kingdom of heaven, had no fathers, because Christ says to them, "Call no man father upon earth; for one is your Father, even God." He taught them to do with reference to their fathers. He Himself first did in reference to His own mother and brethren; as in many other things He condescended to set us an example, and to go before that we might follow in His footsteps. Faustus' principal objection to the genealogy fails completely; and after the defeat of this invincible force, the

* Matt. xii. 48. j jatt. xxiii. 9.

BOOK YIIIL J authority OF THE EVANGELISTS. 185

rest is easily routed. He says that the apostles who declared Christ to be the Son of man as well as the Son of God are not to be believed, because they were not present at the birth of Christ, whom they joined when He had reached manhood, nor heard of it from Christ Himself. Why then do they believe John when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made," and such passages, which they agree to, without understanding them? Where did John see this, or did he ever hear it from the Lord Himself? In whatever way John learned this, those who narrate the nativity may have learned also. Again, how do they know that the Lord said, "Who are my mother, and who are my brethren?" If on the authority of the evangelist, why do they not also believe that the mother and the brethren of Christ were seeking for Him? They believe that Christ said these words, which they misunderstand, while they deny a fact resting on the same authority. Once more, if Matthew could not know that Christ was born, because he knew Him only in His manhood, how could Manichseus, who lived so long after, know that He was not born? They will say that Manichaæus knew this from the Holy Spirit which was in him.
Certainly the Holy Spirit would make him speak the truth. But why not rather believe what Christ's own disciples tell us, who were personally acquainted with Him, and who not only had the gift of inspiration to supply defects in their knowledge, but in a purely natural way obtained information of the birth of Christ, and of His descent, when the event was fresh in memory? And yet he dares to call the apostles deaf and blind. Why were you not deaf and blind, to prevent you from learning such profane nonsense, and dumb too, to prevent you from uttering it?

BOOK VIII

Fauschs. Another reason for not receiving the Old Testament is, that I am provided with the New; and Scripture

1 John i. 1-5.

186 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAK [BOOK VIII.]

says that old and new do not agree. For 'â£e no one ptteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, otherwise the rent is made worse." ^ To avoid making a worse rent, as you have done, I do not mix Christian newness with Hebrew oldness. Every one accounts it mean, when a man has got a new dress, not to give the old one to his inferiors. So, even if I were a Jew by birth, as the apostles were, it would be proper for me, on receiving the New Testament, to discard the Old, as the apostles did. And having the advantage of being born free from the yoke of bondage, and being early introduced into the full liberty of Christ, what a foolish and ungrateful wretch I should be to put myself again under the yoke! This is what Paul blames the Galatians for; because, going back to circumcision, they turned again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto they desired again to be in bondage. ^ Why should I do what I see another blamed for doing? My going into bondage would be worse than their returnin-to it.

Augustine. We have already shown sufficiently why and how we maintain the authority of the Old Testament, not for the imitation of Jewish bondage, but for the confirmation of Christian liberty. It is not I, but the apostle, who says, " All these things happened to them as an example, and they were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come." ^ We do not therefore, as bondmen, observe what was enjoined as predictive of us; but as free, we read what w^as WTitten to confirm us. So any one may see that the apostle remonstrates with the Galatians not for devoutly reading what Scripture says of circumcision, but for superstitiously desiring to be circumcised. We do not put a new cloth to an old garment, but we are instructed in the kingdom of heaven, like the householder, whom the Lord describes as bringing out of his treasure things new and
old.* He who puts a new cloth to an old garment is the man who attempts spiritual self-denial before he has renounced fleshly hope.

Examine the passage, and you will see that, when the Lord was asked about fasting. He replied, "ISTo man putteth a new cloth to an old garment." The disciples had still a carnal affection for the Lord; for they were afraid that, if He died,

tliey would lose Him. So He calls Peter Satan for dissuading Him from suffering, because lie understood not the things of God, but the things of men.-^ The fleshly character of your hope is evident from your fancies about the kingdom of God, and from your paying homage and devotion to the light of the sun, which the carnal eye perceives, as if it were an image of heaven.

So your carnal mind is the old garment to which you join your fasts. Moreover, if a new cloth and old garment do not agree, how do the members of your God come to be not only joined or fastened, but to be united far more intimately by mixture and coherence to the principles of darkness ? Perhaps both are old, because both are false, and both of the carnal mind.

Or perhaps you wish to prove that one was new and the other old, by the rent being made worse, in tearing away the unhappy piece of the kingdom of light, to be doomed to eternal imprisonment in the mass of darkness. So this pretended artist in the fashions of the sacred Scriptures is found stitching together absurdities, and dressing himself in the rags of his own invention.

BOOK IX.

1. Fauskis. Another reason for not receivincj the Old Testament is, that if it was allowable for the apostles, who were born under it, to abandon it, much more may I, who was not born under it, be excused for not thrusting myself into it.

We Gentiles are not born Jews, nor Christians either. Out of the same Gentile world some are induced by the Old Testament to become Jews, and some by the New Testament to become Christians. It is as if two trees, a sweet and a bitter, drew from one soil the sap which each assimilates to its own nature. The apostles passed from the bitter to the sweet; it would be madness in me to change from the sweet to the bitter.

2. Augustine. You say that the apostle, in leaving Judaism, passed from the bitter to the sweet. But the apostle himself says that the Jews, who would not believe in Christ, were branches broken off, and that the Gentiles, a wild olive tree, were graffed into the good olive, that is, the holy stock of the

1 Matt. xvi. 23.

188 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN."" [BOOK IX.]

Hebrews, that they might partake of the fatness of the olive.

For, in warning the Gentiles not to be proud on account of the fall of the Jews, he says: " For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify my
office; if by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them. For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For if the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches. And if some of the branches are broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, were grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then. The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear: for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in His goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graft them in again. For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree; how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits), that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved."-^ It appears from this, that you, who do not wish to be grafted into this root, though you are not broken off, like the carnal unbelieving Jews, remain still in the bitterness of the wild olive. Your worship of the sun and moon has the true Gentile flavour. You are none the less in the wild olive of the Gentiles, because you have added thorns of a new kind, and worship along with the sun and moon a false Christ, the fabrication not of your hands, but of

1 Rom. xi. 16-26.
your misguided understandings. Come, then, and be grafted into the root of the olive tree, in his return to which the apostle rejoices, after by unbelief he had been among the broken branches. He speaks of himself as set free, when he made the happy transition from Judaism to Christianity. For Christ was always preached in the olive tree, and those who did not believe on Him when He came were broken off, while those who believed were grafted in. These are thus warned against pride: "Be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, neither will He spare thee." And to prevent despair of those broken off, he adds: "And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to grafted them in again. For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree, how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree!" The apostle rejoices in being delivered from the condition of a broken branch, and in being restored to the fatness of the olive tree. So you who have been broken off by error should return and be grafted in again. Those who are still in the wild olive should separate themselves from its barrenness, and become partakers of fertility.

BOOK X.

1. Faustiis. Another reason for not receiving the Old Testament is, that both the Old and the New teach us not to covet what belongs to others. Everything in the Old Testament is of this kind. It promises riches, and plenty, and children, and children's children, and long life, and withal the land of Canaan; but only to the circumcised, the Sabbath observers, those offering sacrifices, and abstaining from swine's flesh. Kow I, like every other Christian, pay no attention to these things, as being trifling and useless for the salvation of the soul. I conclude, therefore, that the promises do not belong to me. And mindful of the commandment, Thou shalt not covet, I gladly leave to the Jews their own property, and content myself with the gospel, and with the bright inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. If a Jew were to claim part in the gospel, I should justly reproach him with claiming what he had no right to, because he does not obey its precepts. And a Jew might say the same to me if I professed to receive the Old Testament while I disregard its requirements.

2. Augustine. Faustus is not ashamed to repeat the same nonsense again and again. But it is tiresome to repeat the same answers, though it is to repeat truth. What Faustus says
But if a Jew asks me why I profess to believe the Old Testament while I do not observe its precepts, my reply is this: The moral precepts of the law are observed by Christians; the symbolical precepts were properly observed during the time that the things now revealed were prefigured. Accordingly, those observances, which I regard as no longer binding, I still look upon as a testimony, as I do also the carnal promises from which the Old Testament derives its name. For although the gospel teaches me to hope for eternal blessings, I also find a confirmation of the gospel in those things which "happened to them for an example, and were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come." So much for our answer to the Jews. And now we have something to say to the Manichaeans.

3. By showing the way in which we regard the authority of the Old Testament we have answered the Jews, by whose question about our not observing the precepts Faustus thought we would be puzzled. But what answer can you give to the question, why you deceive simple-minded people by professing to believe in the New Testament, while you not only do not believe it, but assail it with all your force? It will be more difficult for you to answer this than it was for us to answer the Jews. We hold all that is written in the Old Testament to be true, and enjoined by God for suitable times. But in your inability to find a reason for not receiving what is written in the New Testament, you are obliged, as a last resource, to pretend that the passages are not genuine. This is the last gasp of a heretic in the clutches of truth; or rather it is the breath of corruption itself. Faustus, however, confesses that the Old Testament as well as the New teaches him not to

1 Book vi. 2.
covet. His own God could never have taught him this. For if this God did not covet what belonged to another, why did he construct new worlds in the region of darkness? Perhaps the race of darkness first coveted his kingdom. But this would be to imitate their bad example. Perhaps the kingdom of light was previously of small extent, and war was desirable in order to enlarge it by conquest. In that case, no doubt, there was covetousness, though the hostile race was allowed to begin the wars to justify the conquest. If there had been no such desire, there was no necessity to extend the kingdom beyond its old limits into the region of the conquered foe.

If the Manichseans would only learn from these Scriptures the moral precepts, one of which is, Do not covet, instead of taking offence at the symbolical precept, they would acknowledge in meekness and candour that they suited the time then present. We do not covet what belongs to another, when we read in the Old Testament what "happened to them for examples, and was written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come." It is surely not coveting when a man reads what is written for his benefit.

BOOK XL

Faustus. Assuredly I believe the apostle. And yet I do not believe that the Son of God was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, because I do not believe that God's apostle could contradict himself, and have one opinion about our Lord at one time, and another at another. But, granting that he wrote this, since you will not hear of anything being spurious in his writings, it is not against us. For this seems to be Paul's old belief about Jesus, when he thought, like everybody else, that Jesus was the son of David. Afterwards, when he learned that this was false, he corrects himself; and in his Epistle to the Corinthians he says: "We know no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." Observe the difference between these two verses. In one he asserts that Jesus was the son of David after the flesh; in the other he says that now he knows no man after the flesh. If Paul wrote both, it can only have been in the way I have stated. In the next verse he adds: "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." The belief that Jesus was born of the seed of David according to the flesh is of this old transitory kind;
whereas the faith which knows no man after the flesh is new and permanent. So, he says elsewhere:

*"When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things."* We are thus warranted in preferring the new and amended confession of Paul to his old and faulty one. And if you hold by what is said in the Epistle to the Romans, why should not we hold by what is said to the Corinthians? But it is only by your insisting on the correctness of the text that we are made to represent Paul as building again the things which he destroyed, in spite of his own repudiation of such prevarication. If the verse is Paul's, he has corrected himself. If Paul should not be supposed to have written anything requiring correction, the verse is not his.

Augustine. As I said a little ago, when these men are beset by clear testimonies of Scripture, and cannot escape from their grasp, they declare that the passage is spurious. The declaration only shows their aversion to the truth, and their obstinacy in error. Unable to answer these statements of Scripture, they deny their genuineness. But if this answer is admitted, or allowed to have any weight, it will be useless to quote any book or any passage against your errors. It is one thing to reject the books themselves, and to profess no regard for their authority, as the Pagans reject our Scriptures, and the Jews the New Testament, and as we reject any books peculiar to your sect, or any other heretical sect, and also the apocryphal books, which are so called, not because of any mysterious regard paid to them, but because they are mysterious in their origin, and in the absence of clear evidence, have only some obscure presumption to rest upon; and it is another thing to say. This holy man wrote only the truth, and this is his epistle, but some verses are his,

1 1 Cor. xiii. 11.
and some are not. And then, when you are asked for a proof, instead of referring to more correct or more ancient manuscripts, or to a greater number, or to the original text, your reply is. This verse is his, because it makes for me; and this is not his, because it is against me. Are you, then, the rule of truth?

Can nothing be true that is against you? But what answer could you give to an opponent as insane as yourself, if he confronts you by saying, The passage in your favour is spurious, and that against you is genuine? Perhaps you will produce a book, all of which can be explained so as to support you. Then, instead of rejecting a passage, he will reply by condemning the whole book as spurious. You have no resource against such an opponent. For all the testimony you can bring in favour of your book from antiquity or tradition will avail nothing. In this respect the testimony of the Catholic Church is conspicuous, as supported by a succession of bishops from the original seats of the apostles up to the present time, and by the consent of so many nations. Accordingly, should there be a question about the text of some passage, as there are a few passages with various readings well known to students of the sacred Scriptures, we should first consult the manuscripts of the country where the religion was first taught; and if these still varied, we should take the text of the greater number, or of the more ancient. And if any uncertainty remained, we should consult the original text. This is the method employed by those who, in any question about the Scriptures, do not lose sight of the regard due to their authority, and inquire with the view of gaining information, not of raising disputes.

3. As regards the passage from Paul's epistle which teaches, in opposition to your heresy, that the Son of God was born of the seed of David, it is found in all manuscripts of all Churches, and in all languages. So the profession which Faustus makes of believing the apostle is hypocritical. Instead of saying, "Assuredly I believe," he should have said. Assuredly I do not believe, as he would have said if he had not wished to deceive people. What part of his belief does he get from the apostle? Not the first man, of whom the apostle says that he is of the earth, earthy; and again, "The first man Adam was made a living soul." Faustus' First Man is neither of

the earth, earthy, nor made a living soul, but of the substance of God, and the same in essence as God; and this being is said to have mixed up with the race of darkness his members, or vesture, or weapons, that is, the five elements, which also are part of the substance of God, so that they became subject to confinement and pollution. Nor does Faustus get from Paul his Second Man, of whom Paul says that He is from heaven, and that He is the last Adam, and a quickening spirit; and also that He was born of the seed of
David after the flesh, that He was made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law.\(^1\) Of Him Paul says to Timothy: "Remember that Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel."\(^2\) And this resurrection he quotes as an example of our resurrection: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures." And a little further on he draws an inference from this doctrine: "Now, if Christ be preached that He rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?"\(^3\) Our professed believer in Paul believes nothing of all this. He denies that Jesus was born of the seed of David, that He was made of a woman
(by the word woman is not meant a wife in the common sense of the word, but merely one of the female sex, as in the book of Genesis, where it is said that God made a woman before she was brought to Adam\(^4\)); he denies His death. His burial, and His resurrection. He holds that Christ had not a mortal body, and therefore could not really die; and that the marks of His wounds which He showed to His disciples when He appeared to them alive after His resurrection, which Paul also mentions,\(^5\) were not real. He denies, too, that our mortal body will be raised again, changed into a spiritual body; as Paul teaches: "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." To illustrate this distinction between the natural and the spiritual body, the apostle adds what I have quoted already about the first and the last Adam. Then he

1 Gal. iv. 4, 5. \(^2\) Tim. ii. 8. \(^3\) Cor. xv. 3, 4, 12.

* Gen. ii. 22. \(^4\) i Cor. xi. 6.

**BOOK XL**] **TEACHING OF THE APOSTLE. 195**

go\es on: "But this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." And to explain what he means by flesh and blood, that it is not the bodily substance, but corruption, which will not enter into the resurrection of the just, he immediately says, "Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." And in case any one should still suppose that it is not what is buried that is to rise again, but that it is as if one garment were laid aside and a better taken instead, he proceeds to show distinctly that the same body will be changed for the better, as the garments of Christ on the mount were not displaced, but transfigured: "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall not all be changed, but we shall all rise."\(^6\)

Then he shows who are to be changed: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed." And if it should be said that it is not as regards our mortal and corruptible body, but as regards our soul, that we are to be changed, it should be observed that the apostle is not speaking of the soul, but of the body, as is evident from the question he starts with: "But some one will say, How are the dead raised, and with what body do they come?" So also, in the conclusion of his argument, he leaves no doubt
of what he is speaking: "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."^ Faustus denies this; and the God whom Paul declares to be "immortal, incorruptible, to whom alone is glory and honour,"^ he makes corruptible. ^ For in this monstrous and horrible fiction of theirs, the substance and nature of God was in danger of being wholly corrupted by the race of darkness, and to save the rest part actually was corrupted. And to crown all this, he tries to deceive the ignorant who are not learned in the sacred Scriptures, by making this profession: I assuredly believe the Apostle Paul; when he ought to have said, I assuredly do not believe.

4. But Faustus has a proof to show that Paul changed his mind, and, in writing to the Corinthians, corrected what he had written to the Romans; or else that he never wrote the passage which appears as his, about Jesus Christ being born of

Â» Vulg. 2 I Cor. XV. 35-53. ^ i -pij\ ^ ^ 17\^ 

196 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH\^AN. [BOOK XI.]

the seed of David according to the flesh. And what is this proof? If the passage, he says, in the Epistle to the Romans is true, "the Son of God, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," what he says to the Corinthians cannot be true," Henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." We must therefore show that both these passages are true, and not opposed to one another. The agreement of the manuscripts proves both to be genuine. In some Latin versions the word "born"^ is used instead of "made,"^ which is not so literal a rendering, but gives the same meaning. For both these translations, as well as the original, teach that Christ was of the seed of David after the flesh. We must not for a moment suppose that Paul corrected himself on account of a change of opinion. Faustus himself felt the impropriety and impiety of such an explanation, and preferred to say that the passage was spurious, instead of that Paul was mistaken.

5. As regards our \m tings, which are not a rule of faith or practice, but only a help to edification, we may suppose that they contain some things falling short of the truth in obscure and recondite matters, and that these mistakes may or may not be corrected in subsequent treatises. For we are of those of whom the apostle says: "And if ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you."^ Such writings are read with the right of judgment, and without any obligation to believe. In order to leave room for such profitable discussions of difficult questions, there is a distinct boundary line separating all productions subsequent to apostolic times from the authoritative canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. The authority of these books has come down to us from the apostles through the successions of bishops and the extension of the Church, and, from a position of lofty supremacy, claims the submission of every faithful and pious mind. If
are perplexed by an apparent contradiction in Scripture, it is not allowable to say. The author of this book is mistaken; but either the manuscript is faulty, or the translation is wrong, or you have not understood. In the innumerable books that have been written latterly we may

Å» Natus. * Factas. ^ pj^ii, ^^^ X5.
sometimes find the same truth as in Scripture, but there is not the same authority. Scripture has a sacredness peculiar to itself. In other books the reader may form his own opinion, and perhaps, from not understanding the writer, may differ from him, and may pronounce in favour of what pleases him, or against what he dislikes. In such cases, a man is at liberty to withhold his belief, unless there is some clear demonstration or some canonical authority to show that the doctrine or statement either must or may be true. But in consequence of the distinctive peculiarity of the sacred writings, we are bound to receive as true whatever the canon shows to have been said by even one prophet, or apostle, or evangelist. Otherwise, not a single page will be left for the guidance of human fallibility, if contempt for the wholesome authority of the canonical books either puts an end to that authority altogether, or involves it in hopeless confusion.

6. With regard, then, to this apparent contradiction between the passage which speaks of the Son of God being of the seed of David, to the words, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more," even though both quotations were not from the writings of one apostle, â€” though one were from Paul, and the other from Peter, or Isaiah, or any other apostle or prophet, â€” such is the equality of canonical authority, that it would not be allowable to doubt of either. For the utterances of Scripture, harmonious as if from the mouth of one man, commend themselves to the belief of the most accurate and clear-sighted piety, and demand for their discovery and confirmation the calmest intelligence and the most ingenious research. In the case before us both quotations are from the canonical, that is, the genuine epistles of Paul. We cannot say that the manuscript is faulty, for the best Latin translations substantially agree; or that the translations are wrong, for the best texts have the same reading. So that, if any one is perplexed by the apparent contradiction, the only conclusion is that he does not understand. Accordingly it remains for me to explain how both passages, instead of being contradictory, may be harmonized by one rule of sound faith. The pious inquirer will find all perplexity removed by a careful examination.

7. That the Son of God was made man of the seed of David, is not only said in other places by Paul, but is taught elsewhere in sacred Scripture. As regards the words, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more," the context shows what is the apostle's meaning. Here, or elsewhere, he dews with an assuied hope, as if it were already present and in actual possession, our future life, which is now fulfilled in our risen Head and Mediator, the man Christ Jesus. This life will certainly not be after the flesh, even as Christ's life is now not after the flesh. For by flesh the apostle here means not the substance of our bodies, in which sense the Lord used the word when, after His resurrection. He said, "Handle me, and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have,"^
but the corruption and mortality of flesh, which will then not be in us, as now it is not in Christ. The apostle uses the word flesh in the sense of corruption in the passage about the resurrection quoted before: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." So, after the event described in the next verse, "Behold, I show you a mystery; we shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound); and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." Then flesh, in the sense of the substance of the body, "shall, after this change, no longer have flesh, in the sense of the corruption of mortality; and yet, as regards its own nature, it will be the same flesh, the same which rises and which is changed. "The Lord said after His resurrection is true, "Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have;" and what the apostle says is true, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." The first is said of the bodily substance, which exists as the subject of the change: the second is said of the corruption of the flesh, which will cease to exist; for, after its change, flesh will not be corrupted. So, "we have known Christ after the flesh," that is, after the mortality of flesh.

1 Luke xxiv. 39. ^ i Cor. xv. 50-53.
before His resurrection; " ISTow henceforth we know Him no more," "because, as the same apostle says, " Christ being risen from the dead, dieth no more, and death hath no more dominion over Him."^ The words, "we have known Christ after the flesh," strictly speaking, imply that Christ was after the flesh, for what never was cannot be known. And it is not "we have supposed," but "we have known." But not to insist on a word, in case some one should say that known is used in the sense of supposed, it is astonishing, if one could be surprised at want of sight in a blind man, that these blind people do not perceive that if what the apostle says about not knowing Christ after the flesh proves that Christ had not flesh, then what he says in the same place of not knowing any one henceforth after the flesh proves that all those here referred to had not flesh. For when he speaks of not knowing any one, he cannot intend to speak only of Christ; but in his realization of the future life with those who are to be changed at the resurrection, he says, " Henceforth we know no man after the flesh;" that is, we have such an assured hope of our future incorruption and immortality, that the thought of it makes us rejoice even now. So he says elsewhere: " If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affections upon things above, and not on things on the earth." ^ It is true we have not yet risen as Christ has, but we are said to have risen with Him on account of the hope which we have in Him. So again he says: " According to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration."^ Evidently what we obtain in the washing of regeneration is not the salvation itself, but the hope of it. And yet, because this hope is certain, we are said to be saved, as if the salvation were already bestowed. Elsewhere it is said explicitly: " We ginian within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, even the redemption of our body. For we are saved by hope. But hope which is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for ? But if we hope for what we see not, then do we with patience wait for it."^ The apostle says not, " we are to be saved," but, " we are now saved," that is, in hope, though not yet in reality. And in the same

1 Rom. vi. 9. 2 Coi_ ^^^ |^ 9. 3 ^it. iii. 5. * Eom. viii. 23-25.

200 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHiEAN. [BOOK XI.]

way it is in hope, though not yet in reality, that we now know no man after the flesh. This hope is in Christ, in whom what we hope for as promised to us has already been fulfilled. He is risen, and death has no more dominion over Him. Though we have known Him after the flesh, before His death, when there was in His body that mortality which the apostle properly calls flesh, now henceforth know we Him no more; for that mortal of His has now put on immortality, and His flesh, in the sense of mortality, no longer exists.

8. The context of the passage containing this clause of which our adversaries make such a bad use, brings out its real meaning. " The love of Christ," we read, " constrains us,
because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then all died; and He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but to Him who died for them, and rose again. Therefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh; and though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." The words, "that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them, and rose again," show plainly that the resurrection of Christ is the ground of the apostle's statement. To live not to themselves, but to Him, must mean to live not after the flesh, in the hope of earthly and perishable goods, but after the spirit, in the hope of resurrection, â€” a resurrection already accomplished in Christ. Of those, then, for whom Christ died and rose again, and who live henceforth not to themselves, but to Him, the apostle says that he knows no one after the flesh, on account of the hope of future immortality to which they were looking forward, â€” a hope which in Christ was already a reality. So, though he has known Christ after the flesh, before His death, now he knows Him no more; for he knows that He has risen, and that death has no more dominion over Him. And because in Christ we all are even now in hope, though not in reality, what Christ is, he adds: "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new. And all things are of God, who has reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ."^ What the new

1 2 Cor. V. 14-18.
creature â€” that is, the people renewed by faith â€” hopes for regarding itself, it has already in Christ; and the hope will also hereafter be actually realized. And, as regards this hope, old things have passed away, because we are no longer in the times of the Old Testament, expecting a temporal and carnal kingdom of God; and all things are become new, making the promise of the kingdom of heaven, where there shall be no death or corruption, the ground of our confidence. But in the resurrection of the dead it will not be as a matter of hope, but in reality, that old things shall pass away, when the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed; and all things shall become new when this corruptible has put on incorruption, and this mortal has put on immortality. This has already taken place in Christ, whom Paul accordingly, in reality, knew no longer after the flesh. But not yet in reality, but only in hope, did he know no one after the flesh of those for whom Christ died and rose again. For, as he says to the Ephesians, we are already saved by grace. The whole passage is to the purpose: "But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, by whose grace we have been saved." The words, "hath quickened us together with Christ," correspond to what He said to the Corinthians, "that they which live should no longer live to themselves, but to Him that died for them and rose again." And in the words, "by whose grace we have been saved," he speaks of the thing hoped for as already accomplished. So, in the passage quoted above, he says explicitly, "We have been saved by hope." And here he proceeds to specify future events as if already accomplished.

"And has raised us up together," he says, "and has made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Christ is certainly already seated in heavenly places, but we not yet. But as in an assured hope we already possess the future, he says that we sit in heavenly places, not in ourselves, but in Him. And to show that it is still future, in case it should be thought that what is spoken of as accomplished in hope has been accomplished in reality, he adds, "that He might show in the ages to come the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness towards us in Christ Jesus." So also we must understand the following passage: "For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins, which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." He says, "when we were in the flesh," as if they were no longer in the flesh. He means to say, when we were in the hope of fleshly things, referring to the time when the law, which can be fulfilled only by spiritual love, was in force, in order that by transgression the offence might abound, that after the revelation of the New Testament, grace and the gift by grace might much more abound. And to the same effect he says elsewhere, "They which are in the flesh cannot please God;" and then, to show that he does not mean those
not yet dead, he adds, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit." ^ The meaning is, those who are in the hope of fleshly good cannot please God; but you are not in the hope of fleshly things, but in the hope of spiritual things, that is, of the kingdom of heaven, where the body itself, which now is natural, will, by the change in the resurrection, be, according to the capacity of its nature, a spiritual body. 

For "it is sown a natural body, it will be raised a spiritual body." If, then, the apostle knew no one after the flesh of those who were said to be not in the flesh, because they were not in the hope of fleshly things, although they still were burdened with corruptible and mortal flesh; how much more significantly could he say of Christ that he no longer knew Him after the flesh, seeing that in the body of Christ what they hoped for had already been accomplished! Surely it is better and more reverential to examine the passages of sacred Scripture so as to discover their agreement with one another, than to accept some as true, and condemn others as false, whenever any difficulty occurs beyond the power of our weak intellect to solve.

As to the apostle in his childhood understanding as a child, this is said merely as an illustration. And when he was a child he was not a spiritual man, as he was when he produced for the benefit of the churches those writings which are not, as other books, merely a profitable study, but which authoritatively claim our belief as part of the ecclesiastical canon.

1 Eph. ii. 4-7. 2 P^on_ j_ yn 5, 3 P^om_ viii. 8, 9. M Cor. xiii. 11.
BOOK XII.

1. Faiishis. "Why do I not believe the prophets? Either why do you believe them? On account, you will reply, of their prophecies about Christ. For my part, I have read the prophets with the most eager attention, and have found no such prophecies. And surely it shows a weak faith not to believe in Christ without proofs and testimonies. Indeed, you yourselves are accustomed to teach that Christian faith is so simple and absolute as not to admit of laborious investigations. Why, then, should you destroy the simplicity of faith by buttressing it with evidences, and Jewish evidences too? Or if you are changing your opinion about evidences, what more trustworthy witness could you have than God Himself testifying to His own Son when He sent Him on earth, â€” not by a prophet or an interpreter, â€” by a voice immediately from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, believe Him"? And again He testifies of Himself: "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world," and in many similar passages. When the Jews quarreled with this testimony, saying, "Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true," He replied: "Although I bear witness of myself, my witness is true. It is written in your law. The witness of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father who sent me beareth witness of me." He does not mention the prophets. Again He appeals to the testimony of His own works, saying, "If ye believe not me, believe the works;" * not, "If ye believe not me, believe the prophets." Accordingly we ask for no more testimonies to Christ. All we look for in the prophets is prudence and virtue, and a good example, which, you are well aware, are not to be found in the Jewish prophets. This, no doubt, explains your referring me at once to their predictions as a reason for believing them, without a word about their actions.

This may be good policy, but it is not in harmony with the declaration of Scripture, that it is impossible to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. This may serve meanwhile


204 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHIEAN, [BOOK XII.]

as a brief and sufficient reply to the question, why we do not believe the prophets. The fact that they did not prophesy of Christ is abundantly proved in the Titings of our fathers. I shall only add this, that if the Hebrew prophets knew and preached Christ, and yet lived such vicious lives, what Paul says of the wise men among the Gentiles might be applied to them: "Though they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, nor were thankful; but they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." -^
You see the knowledge of great things is worth little, unless the life corresponds.

2. Augustine. The meaning of all this is, that the Hebrew prophets foretold nothing of Christ, and that, if they did, their predictions are of no use to us, and they themselves did not live suitably to the dignity of such prophecies. We must therefore first prove the fact of the prophecies; and second, their use for the truth and stedfastness of our faith; and third, that the lives of the prophets were in harmony with their words. Under the first head, it would take a long time to quote from all the books the passages in which Christ may be shown to have been predicted. Faustus' frivolity may be met effectively by the weight of one great authority. Although Faustus does not believe the prophets, he professes to believe the apostles. Above, as if to satisfy the doubts of some opponent, he declares that he assuredly believes the Apostle Paul." Let us then hear what Paul says of the prophets. His words are: "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, which He had promised before by His prophets in the holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." ^ "What more does Faustus wish? Will he maintain that the apostle is speaking of some other prophets, and not of the Hebrew prophets? In any case, the gospel spoken of as promised was concerning the Son of God, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh; and to this gospel the apostle was separated. So that the Manichaeans heresy is opposed to faith in the gospel, which teaches that the Son of God was made of the seed of

1 Eom. i. 21. - Lib. xi. ^ Rom. i. 1-3.
David according to the flesh. Besides, there are many passages where the apostle plainly testifies in behalf of the Hebrew prophets, with an authority before which the pride of our opponent must give way.

3. "I speak the truth in Christ," says the apostle, "I lie not, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow of heart. For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh: who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever." Here is the most abundant and express testimony, and the most solemn commendation. The adoption here spoken of is evidently through the Son of God; as the apostle says to the Galatians: "In the fulness of time, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made, under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." And the glory spoken of is chiefly that of which he says in the same Epistle to the Romans: "What advantage hath the Jew? or what profit is there in circumcision? Much every way: chiefly, because into them were committed the oracles of God." Can the Manichseans tell us of any oracles of God committed to the Jews besides those of the Hebrew prophets? And why are the covenants said to belong especially to the Israelites, but because not only was the Old Testament given to them, but also the New was prefigured in the Old? Our opponents often display much ignorant ferocity in attacking the dispensation of the law given to the Israelites, not understanding that God wishes us to be not under the law, but under grace. They are here answered by the apostle himself, who, in speaking of the advantages of the Jews, mentions this as one, that they had the giving of the law. If the law had been bad, the apostle would not have referred to it in praise of the Jews. And if Christ had not been preached by the law, Christ Himself would not have said, "If ye believe Moses, ye

1 Kom. ix. 1-5. 2 Gal. iv. 4, 5. ^^^^^ jij ^^ 2.

206 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AN. [BOOK XII.]

"Would have believed me, for he wrote of me;" ^ nor would He have borne the testimony He did after His resurrection, saying, "All things behoved to be fulfilled that were A^Titten in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me." ^

4. But because the Manichseans preach another Christ, and not Him whom the apostles preached, but a false Christ of their own false contrivance, in imitation of whose falsehood they themselves speak lies, though they may perhaps be believed when they are not ashamed to profess to be the followers of a deceiver, that has befallen them which the apostle asserts of the unbelieving Jews: "When Moses is read, a veil is upon their
heart." Either will this veil which keeps them from understanding Moses be taken away from them till they turn to Christ; not a Christ of their own making, but the Christ of the Hebrew prophets. For, as the apostle says, "When thou shalt turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." We cannot wonder that they do not believe in the Christ who rose from the dead, and who said, "All things behoved to be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me;" for this Christ has Himself told us what Abraham said to a hard-hearted rich man when he was in torment in hell, and asked Abraham to send some one to his brothers to teach them, that they might not come too into that place of torment.

Abraham's reply was: "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them." And when the rich man said that they would not believe unless some one rose from the dead, he received this most truthful answer: "If they hear not J Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe even though one rose from the dead." The Manichseans will not hear Moses and the prophets, and so they do not believe Christ, though He rose from the dead. Indeed, they do not even believe that Christ rose from the dead. How can they believe that He rose, when they do not believe that He died? For, again, how can they believe that He died, when they deny that He had a mortal body?

5. We reject those false teachers whose Christ is false, or

ratlier, whose Christ never existed. For we have a Christ true and truthful, foretold by the
prophets, preached by the apostles, who in innumerable places refer to the testimonies of
the law and the prophets in support of their preaching. Paul, in one short sentence, gives
the right view of this subject.
"Now," he says, "the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being
witnessed by the law and the prophets."^ What prophets, if not of Israel, to whom, as he expressly says, pertain the covenants, and
the giving of the law, and the promises? And what promises, but about Christ? Elsewhere, speaking of Christ, he says concisely: "All the promises of God are in Him yea,"^ Paul tells me that the giving of the law pertained to the Israelites. He tells me that
Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. He tells me that
all the promises of God are in Christ yea. And you tell me that the prophets of Israel
foretold nothing of Christ. Shall I believe the absurdities of Manichæus in opposition to
Paul? or shall I believe Paul when he forewarns us: "If any man preach to you another
gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed?"

6. Our opponents may perhaps ask us to point out passages where Christ is predicted by
the prophets of Israel. One would think they might be satisfied with the authority of the
apostles, who declare that what we read in the writings of the Hebrew prophets was
fulfilled in Christ, or with that of Christ Himself, who says that they wrote of Him.
Whoever is unable to point out the passages should lay the blame on his own ignorance;
for the apostles and Christ and the sacred Scriptures are not chargeable with falsehood.
However, one instance out of many may be adduced: The apostle, in the verses
following the passage quoted above, says: "The word of God cannot fail. For they are
not all Israel which are of Israel; neither, because they are the seed of Abraham, are they
all children: but. In Isaac shall thy seed be called: that is, they which are the children of
the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of promise are counted for
the seed."^ What can our opponents say against this, in view of

1 Kom. iii. 21. - 2 Cor. i. 20. ^ Rom. ix. 6-8.

the declaration made to Abraham: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be
blessed"^? At the time when the apostle gave the following exposition of this promise, "
To Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not, To seeds, as of many,
but as of one, To thy seed, which is Christ," an a doubt on this point might then have
been less inexcusable, for at that time all nations had not yet believed on Christ, who is
preached as of the seed of Abraham, But now that we see the fulfilment of what we read
in the ancient prophecy, â€” now that all nations are actually blessed in the seed of
Abraham, to whom it was said thousands of years ago,
"In thy seed shall all nations be blessed," â€™ it is mere obstinate folly to try to bring in another Christ, not of the seed of Abraham, or to hold that there are no predictions of Christ in the prophetic books of the children of Abraham.

7. To enumerate all the passages in the Hebrew prophets referring to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, would exceed the limits of a volume, not to speak of the brief replies of which this treatise consists. The whole contents of these Scriptures are either directly or indirectly about Christ. Often the reference is allegorical or enigmatical, perhaps in a verbal allusion, or in a historical narrative, requiring diligence in the student, and rewarding him with the pleasure of discovery. Other passages, again, are plain; for, without the help of what is clear, we could not understand what is obscure. And even the figurative passages, when brought together, will be found so harmonious in their testimony to Christ as to put to shame the obtuseness of the sceptic.

8. In the creation God finished His works in six days, and rested on the seventh. The history of the world contains six periods marked by the dealings of God with men. The first period is from Adam to IsToah; the second, from IsToah to Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the captivity in Babylon; the fifth, from the captivity to the advent in lowliness of our Lord Jesus Christ; the sixth is now in progress, and will end in the coming of the exalted Saviour to judgment. What answers to the seventh day is the rest of the saints, â€™ not in this life, but in

1 Gal. iii. 16.
another, where the rich man saw Lazarus at rest while he was tormented in hell; where there is no evening, because there is no decay. On the sixth day, in Genesis, man is formed after the image of God; in the sixth period of the world there is the clear discovery of our transformation in the renewing of our mind, according to the image of Him who created us, as the apostle says.\(^\text{1}\) As a wife was made for Adam from his side while he slept, the Church becomes the property of her dying Saviour, by the sacrament of the blood which flowed from His side after His death. The woman made out of her husband's side is called Eve, or Life, and the mother of living beings; and the Lord says in the Gospel:

"Except a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he has no life in him." \(^\text{2}\) The whole narrative of Genesis, in the most minute details, is a prophecy of Christ and of the Church, with reference either to the good Christians or to the bad.

There is a significance in the words of the apostle when he calls Adam " the figure of Him that was to come;" \(^\text{3}\) and when he says, " A man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." \(^\text{4}\) This points most obviously to the way in which Christ left His Father; for "though He was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal to God, He emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant." \(^\text{5}\)

And so, too. He left His mother, the synagogue of the Jews which cleaved to the carnality of the Old Testament, and was united to the Church His holy bride, that in the peace of the New Testament they two might be one flesh. For though with the Father He was God, by whom we were made. He became in the flesh partaker of our nature, that we might become the body of which He is the head.

9. As Cain's sacrifice of the fruit of the ground is rejected, while Abel's sacrifice of his sheep and the fat thereof is accepted, so the faith of the New Testament praising God in the harmless service of grace is preferred to the earthly observances of the Old Testament. For though the Jews

1 Col. iii. 10. 2 John vi. 53. ' Rom. v. 14.

* Eph. V. 31, 32. 5 Phil, ii, Q\(^\text{7}\).

210 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE ^\text{\textregistered}AXICH\text{\textregistered}AX. [BOOK XII.

were right in practising these things, they were guilty of unbelief in not distinguishing the time of the New Testament when Christ came, from the time of the Old Testament. God said to Cain, " If thou offerest well, yet if thou dividest not well, thou hast sinned." \(^\text{6}\)
Cain had obeyed God when He said, "Be content, for to thee shall be its reference, and thon shalt rule over it," he would have referred his sin to himself, hj taking the blame of it, and confessing it to God; and so, assisted by supplies of grace, he would have ruled over his sin, instead of acting as the servant of sin in killing his innocent brother. So also the Jews, of whom all these things are a figure, if they had been content, instead of being turbulent, and had acknowledged the time of salvation through the pardon of sins by grace, and heard Christ saying, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance;" and, "Every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin;" and, "If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed, " they would in confession have referred their sin to themselves, saying to the Physician, as it is written in the Psalm, "I said. Lord, be merciful to me; heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee." And being made free by the hope of grace, they would have ruled over sin as long as it continued in their mortal body. But now, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish a righteousness of their own, proud of the works of the law, instead of being humbled on account of their sins, they have not been content; and in subjection to sin reigning in their mortal body, so as to make them obey it in the lusts thereof, they have stumbled on the stone of stumbling,; and have been inflamed with hatred against him whose works they grieved to see accepted by God.

The man who was born blind, and had been made to see, said to them, "We know that God heareth not sinners; but if any man serve Him, and do His will, him He heareth;" as if he had said, God regardeth not the sacrifice of Cain, but he regards the sacrifice of Abel. Abel, the younger brother, is killed by the elder brother; Christ, the head of the younger people, is killed by the elder people of the Jews. Abel dies in the field; Christ dies on Calvary.

10. God asks Cain where his brother is, not as if He did not know, but as a judge asks a guilty criminal. Cain replies that he knows not, and that he is not his brother's keeper. And what answer can the Jews give at this day, when we ask them with the voice of God, that is, of the sacred Scriptures, about Christ, except that they do not know the Christ that we speak of? Cain's ignorance was pretended, and the Jews are deceived in their refusal of Christ. Moreover, they would have been in a sense keepers of Christ, if they had been willing to receive and keep the Christian faith. For the man who keeps Christ in his heart does not ask, like Cain, Am I
my brother's keeper? Then God says to Cain, "What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." So the voice of God in the Holy Scriptures accuses the Jews. For the blood of Christ has a loud voice on the earth, when the responsive Amen of those who believe in Him comes from all nations. This is the voice of Christ's blood, because the voice of the faithful redeemed by His blood is the voice of the blood itself.

11. Then God says to Cain: "Thou art cursed from the earth, which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand. For thou shalt till the earth, and it shall no longer yield unto thee its strength. A mourner and an abject shalt thou be on the earth." It is not, Cursed is the earth, but. Cursed art thou from the earth, which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand. So the unbelieving people of the Jews is cursed from the earth, that is, from the Church, which in the confession of sins has opened its mouth to receive the blood shed for the remission of sins by the hand of the people that would not be under grace, but under the law. And this murderer is cursed by the Church; that is, the Church admits and avows the curse pronounced by the apostle: "Whoever are of the works of the law are under the curse of the law."^ Then, after saying. Cursed art thou from the earth, which has opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand, what follows is not,

^ Gal. iii. 10.

212 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.\textsuperscript{AX.} [BOOK XII.]

For thou shalt till it, but. Thou shalt till the earth, and it shall not yield to thee its strength. The earth he is to till is not necessarily the same as that which opened its mouth to receive his brother's blood at his hand. From this earth he is cursed, and so he tills an earth which shall no longer yield to him its strength. That is, the Church admits and avows the Jewish people to be accursed, because after killing Christ they continue to till the ground of an earthly circumcision, an earthly Sabbath, an earthly passover, while the hidden strength or virtue of making known Christ, which this tilling contains, is not yielded to the Jews while they continue in impiety and unbelief, for it is revealed in the New Testament. While they will not turn to God, the veil which is on their minds in reading the Old Testament is not taken away. This veil is taken away only by Christ, who does not do away with the reading of the Old Testament, but with the covering which hides its virtue. So, at the crucifixion of Christ, the veil was rent in twain, that by the passion of Christ hidden mysteries might be revealed to believers who turn to Him with a mouth opened in confession to drink His blood. In this way the Jewish people, like Cain, continues tilling the ground, in the carnal observance of the law, which does not yield to them its strength, because they do not perceive in it the grace of Christ. So, too, the flesh of Christ was the ground from which by crucifying Him the Jews produced our salvation, for He died for our offences. But this ground did not yield to them its strength, for they were not justified by the virtue of His resurrection, for He rose again for our justification. As the apostle says: "He was crucified in weakness, but He liveth by the
power of God."^-^ This is the power of that ground which is unknown to the ungodly and unbelieving. When Christ rose, He did not appear to those who had crucified Him. So Cain was not allowed to see the strength of the ground which he tilled to sow his seed in it; as God said, "Thou shalt till the ground, and it shall no longer yield unto thee its strength."

12. "A mourner and an abject shalt thou be on the earth."

Here no one can fail to see that in every land where the Jews are scattered they mourn for the loss of their kingdom, and

1 2 Cor. xiii. 4.
are in terrified subjection to the immensely superior number of Christians. So Cain answered, and said: "My case is worse, if Thou drivest me out this day from the face of the earth, and from Thy face shall I be hid, and I shall be a mourner and an abject on the earth; and it shall be that every one that findeth me shall slay me." Here he mourns indeed in terror, lest after losing his earthly possession he should suffer the death of the body. This he calls a worse case than that of the ground not yielding to him its strength, or than that of spiritual death. For his mind is carnal; for he thinks little of being hid from the face of God, that is, of being under the anger of God, were it not that he may be found and slain.

This is the carnal mind that tills the ground, but does not obtain its strength. To be carnally minded is death; but he, in ignorance of this, mourns for the loss of his earthly possession, and is in terror of bodily death. But what does God reply? "Not so," He says; "but whosoever shall kill Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." That is.

It is not as thou sayest; not by bodily death shall the ungodly race of carnal Jews perish. For whoever destroys them in this way shall suffer sevenfold vengeance, that is, shall bring upon himself the sevenfold penalty under which the Jews lie for the crucifixion of Christ. So to the end of the seven days of time, the continued preservation of the Jews will be a proof to believing Christians of the subjection merited by those who, in the pride of their kingdom, put the Lord to death.

13. "And the Lord God set a mark upon Cain, lest any one finding him should slay him." It is a most notable fact, that all the nations subjugated by Rome adopted the heathenish ceremonies of the Roman worship; while the Jewish nation, whether under Pagan or Christian monarchs, has never lost the sign of their law, by which they are distinguished from all other nations and peoples. No emperor or monarch who finds under his government the people with this mark kills them, that is, makes them cease to be Jews, and as Jews to be separate in their observances, and unlike the rest of the world. Only when a Jew comes over to Christ, he is no longer Cain, nor goes out from the presence of God, nor dwells in the land of Israel, which is said to mean commotion. A\(^\text{ainst}

214 EEPLOY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH\(^\text{\text{A}}\)AN. [BOOK XH.

tliis evil of commotion the Psalmist prays, " Suffer not my feet to be moved;"\(^-\) and again, "Let not the hands of the wicked remove me;"\(^-\) and, " Those that trouble me will rejoice when I am moved;"\(^-\) and, ""The Lord is at my right hand, that I should not be moved;"\(^\ast\) and so in innumerable places.

This evil comes upon those who leave the presence of God, that is. His loving-kindness. Thus the Psalmist says, " I said in my prosperity, I shall never be moved." But observe
what follows, "Lord, by Thy favour Thou hast given strength to my honour; Thou didst hide Thy face, and I was troubled;"^ which teaches us that not in itself, but by participation in the light of God, can any soul possess beauty, or honour, or strength. The Manichaeans should think of this, to keep them from the blasphemy of identifying themselves with the nature and substance of God. But they cannot think, because they are not content. The Sabbath of the heart they are strangers to. If they were content, as Cain was told to be, they would refer their sin to themselves; that is, they would lay the blame on themselves, and not on a race of darkness that no one ever heard of, and so by the grace of God they would prevail over their sin. But now the Manichaeans, and all who oppose the truth by their various heresies, leave the presence of God, like Cain and the scattered Jews, and inhabit the land of commotion, that is, of carnal disquietude, instead of the enjoyment of God, that is, instead of Eden, which is interpreted Feasting, where Paradise was planted. But not to depart too much from the argument of this treatise, I must limit myself to a few short remarks under this head.

1 4. Omitting therefore many passages in these Books where Christ may be found, but which require longer explanation and proof, although the most hidden meanings are the sweetest, convincing testimony may be obtained from the enumeration of such things as the following: â€” That Enoch, the seventh from Adam, pleased God, and was translated, as there is to be a seventh day of rest into which all will be translated who, during the sixth day of the world's history, are created anew by the incarnate Word. That JSToah, with his family, is saved

^ Ps. Ixvi. 9. 2 pg^ xxx\a. 11. ^ Ps. xiii. 4.

* Ps. xvi. 8. 5 ps_ XXX. 6, 7.
by water and wood, as the family of Christ is saved by baptism, as representing the suffering of the cross. That this ark is made of beams formed in a square, as the Church is constructed of saints prepared unto every good work: for a square stands firm on any side. That the length is six times the breadth, and ten times the height, like a human body, to show that Christ appeared in a human body. That the breadth reaches to fifty cubits; as the apostle says, "Our heart is enlarged," that is, with spiritual love, of which he says again, "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." Tor in the fiftieth day after His resurrection, Christ sent His Spirit to enlarge the hearts of His disciples. That it is three hundred cubits long, to make up six times fifty; as there are six periods in the history of the world during which Christ has never ceased to be preached, as in five foretold by the prophets, and in the sixth proclaimed in the gospel. That it is thirty cubits high, a tenth part of the length; because Christ is our height, who in his thirtieth year gave His sanction to the doctrine of the gospel, by declaring that He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. Now the ten commandments are known to be the heart of the law; and so the length of the ark is ten times thirty. Koah himself, too, was the tenth from Adam. That the beams of the ark are fastened within and without with pitch, to signify by compact union the forbearance of love, which keeps the brotherly connection from being impaired, and the bond of peace from being broken by the offences which try the Church either from without or from within. For pitch is a glutinous substance, of great energy and force, to represent the ardour of love which, with great power of endurance, beareth all things in the maintenance of spiritual communion.

15. That all kinds of animals are enclosed in the ark; as the Church contains all nations, which was also set forth in the vessel shown to Peter. That clean and unclean animals are in the ark; as good and bad take part in the sacraments of the Church. That the clean are in sevens, and the unclean in twos; not because the bad are fewer than the good, but

1 2 Cor. vi. 11. 2;^oin, y, 5^
16. That the whole ark together is finished in a cubit above; as the Church, the body of Christ gathered into unity, is raised to perfection. So Christ says in the Gospel: "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth." That the entrance is on the side; as no man enters the Church except by the sacrament of the remission of sins which flowed from Christ's opened side. That the lower spaces of the ark are divided into two and three chambers: as the multitude of all nations in the Church is divided into two, as circumcised and uncircumcised; or into three, as descended from the three sons of Noah. And these parts of the ark are called lower, because in this earthly state there is a difference of races, but above we are completed in one. Above there is no diversity; for Christ is all and in all, finishing us, as it were, in one cubit above with heavenly unity.

17. That the flood came seven days after Noah entered the ark; as we are baptized in the hope of the future rest, which was denoted by the seventh day. That all flesh on the face of the earth, outside the ark, was destroyed by the flood; as, beyond the communion of the Church, though the water of baptism is the same, it is efficacious only for destruction, and not for salvation. That it rained for forty days and forty nights; as the sacrament of heavenly baptism washes away

1 Isa. xi. 2, 3. Eph. iv. 3. 3 Jatt. xii. 30.
all the guilt of the sins against the ten commandments throughout all the four quarters of the world (four times ten is forty), whether that guilt has been contracted in the day of prosperity or in the night of adversity.

18. That Noah was five hundred years old when God told him to make the ark, and six hundred when he entered the ark; which shows that the ark was made during one hundred years, which seem to correspond to the years of an age of the world. So the sixth age is occupied with the construction of the Church by the preaching of the gospel. The man who avails himself of the offer of salvation is made like a square beam, fitted for every good work, and forms part of the sacred fabric. A^'ain, it was the second month of the six hundredth year when Noah entered the ark, and in two months there are sixty days; so that here, as in every multiple of six, we have the number denoting the sixth age.

19. That mention is made of the twenty-seventh day of the month; as we have already seen the significance of the square in the beams. Here especially it is significant; for as twenty-seven is the cube of three, there is a trinity in the means by which we are, as it were, squared, or fitted for every good work. By the memory we remember God; by the understanding we know Him; by the will we love Him.

That in the seventh month the ark rested; reminding us again of the seventh day of rest. And here again, to denote the perfection of those at rest, the twenty-seventh day of the month is mentioned for the second time. So what is promised in hope is realized in experience. There is here a combination of seven and eight; for the water rose fifteen cubits above the mountains, pointing to a profound mystery in baptism, — the sacrament of our regeneration. For the seventh day of rest is connected with the eighth of resurrection. For when the saints receive again their bodies after the rest of the intermediate state, the rest will not cease; but rather the whole man, body and soul united, renewed in immortal health, will' attain to the realization of his hope in the enjoyment of eternal life. Thus the sacrament of baptism, like the waters of ISToah, rises above all the wisdom of the proud. Seven and eight are also combined in the number of one hundred and fifty, made up of seventy and eighty, which was the number of days during which the water prevailed, pointing out the deep import of baptism in consecrating the new man to hold the faith of rest and resurrection.

20. That the raven sent out after forty days did not return, being either prevented by the water or attracted by some floating carcase; as men defiled by impure desire, and therefore eager for things outside in the world, are either rebaptized, or are led astray into the company of those to whom, as they are outside the ark, that is, outside the Church,
baptism is destructive. That the dove when sent forth found no rest, and returned; as in the New Testament rest is not promised to the saints in this world. The dove was sent forth after forty days, a period denoting the length of human life. When again sent forth after seven days, denoting the sevenfold operation of the Spirit, the dove brought back a fruitful olive branch; as some even who are baptized outside of the Church, if not destitute of the fatness of charity, may come after all, as it were in the evening, and be brought into the one communion by the mouth of the dove in the kiss of peace. That, when again sent forth after seven days, the dove did not return; as, at the end of the world, the rest of the saints shall no longer be in the sacrament of hope, as now, while in the communion of the Church, they drink what flowed from the side of Christ, but in the perfection of eternal safety, when the kingdom shall be delivered up to God and the Father, and when, in that unclouded contemplation of unchangeable truth, we shall no longer need natural symbols.

21. There are many other points which we cannot take notice of even in this cursory manner. Why in the six hundred and first year of E'olah's life, that is, after six hundred years were completed, the covering of the ark is removed, and the hidden mystery, as it were, disclosed. Why the earth is said to have dried on the twenty-seventh day of the second month; as if the number fifty-seven denoted the completion of the rite of baptism. For the twenty-seventh day of the second month is the fifty-seventh day of the year; and the number fifty-seven is seven times eight, which are the numbers of the spirit and the body, with one over, to
denote the bond of unity. Why they leave the ark together, though they entered separately. For it is said: " I^Toah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark;" the men and the women being spoken of separately; which denotes the time when the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. But they go forth, I^Toah and his wife, and his sons and their wives, the men and women together. For in the end of the world, and in the resurrection of the just, the body will be united to the spirit in perfect harmony, undisturbed by the wants and the passions of mortality. Why, after leaving the ark, only clean animals are offered in sacrifice to God, though both clean and unclean were in the ark.

22. Then, again, it is significant that when God speaks to I^oah, and begins anew, as it were, in order, by repetition in various forms, to draw attention to the figure of the Church, the sons of I^Toah are blessed, and told to replenish the earth, and all animals are given to them for food; as was said to Peter of the vessel, " Kill and eat." That they are told to pour out the blood when they eat; that the former life may not be kept shut up in the conscience, but may be, as it were, poured out in confession. That God makes the bow, which appears in the clouds only when the sun shines, the sign of His covenant with men, and with every living thing, that He will not destroy them with a flood; as those do not perish by the flood, in separation from the Church, who in the clouds of God discern the glory of Christ, instead of seeking their own glory. The worshippers of the sun, however, need not pride themselves on this; for they must understand that the sun, as also a lion, a lamb, and a stone, are used as types of Christ because they have some resemblance, not because they are of the same substance.

23. Again, the sufferings of Christ from His own nation are evidently denoted by Noah's being drunk with the wine of the vineyard he planted, and his being uncovered in his tent. For the mortality of Christ's flesh was uncovered, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, both Shem and Japhet,
middle son is the Jewish people, for they neither held the first place with the apostles, nor
believed subsequently with the Gentiles.
They saw the nakedness of their father, because they consented to Christ's death; and they
told it to their brethren outside, for what was hidden in the prophets was disclosed by the
Jews. And thus they are the servants of their brethren. For what else is this nation now
but a desk for the Christians, bearing the law and the prophets, and testifying to the
doctrine of the Church, so that we honour in the sacrament what they disclose in the letter?

24. Again, every one must be impressed, and be either enlightened or confirmed in the
faith, by the blessing of the two sons who honoured the nakedness of their father, though
they turned away their faces, as displeased with the evil done by the vine. "Blessed," he
says, "be the Lord God of Shem."
For although God is the God of all nations, even the Gentiles acknowledge Him to be in a
peculiar sense the God of Israel.
And how is this to be explained but by the blessing of Japhet?
The occupation of all the world by the Church among the Gentiles was exactly foretold in
the words: "Let God enlarge Japhet, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem." That is for
the Manichsean to attend to. You see what the state of the world actually is. The very
thing that you are astonished and grieved at in us is this, that God is enlarging Japhet. Is
He not dwelling in the tents of Shem? "That is, in the churches built by the apostles,
the sons of the prophets. Hear what Paul says to the believing Gentiles: "Ye were at that
time without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from
the covenants; having no hope of the

1 Cor. i. 23-25.

BOOK XIL] types IN NOAH'S FAMILY. 221

promise, and without God in the world." In these words there is a description of the state
of Japhet before he dwelt in the tents of Shem. But observe what follows: "Now then," he
says, "ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of
the household of God, being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,
Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone." Here we have Japhet enlarged, and
dwelling in the tents of Shem.
These testimonies are taken from the epistles of the apostles, which you yourselves
acknowledge, and read, and profess to follow. You occupy an unhappy middle position in
a building of which Christ is not the chief corner-stone. For you do not belong to the wall
of those who, like the apostles, being of the circumcision, believed in Christ; nor to the
wall of those who, being of the uncircumcision, like all the Gentiles, are joined in the
unity of faith, as in the fellowship of the corner-stone.
However, all who accept and read any books of our canon in which Christ is spoken of as
having been born and having suffered in the flesh, and who do not unite with us in a
common veiling with the sacrament of the mortality, uncovered by the passion, but
without the knowledge of piety and charity make known that from which we all are born, 
â€”
although they differ among themselves, whether as Jews and heretics, or as heretics of 
one kind or other, â€” are still all useful to the Church, as being all alike servants, either 
in bearing witness to or in proving some truth. For of heretics it is said: " There must be 
heresies, that those who are approved among you may be manifested." ^ Go on, then, 
with your objections to the Old Testament Scriptures ! Go on, ye servants of Ham ! You 
have despised the flesh from which you were born when uncovered. For you could not 
have called yourselves Christians unless Christ had come into the world, as foretold by 
the prophets, and had drunk of His own vine that cup which could not pass from Him, 
and had slept in His passion, as in the excess of the folly which is wiser than men; and so, 
in the hidden counsel of God, the disclosure had been made of that infirmity of mortal 
flesh which is stronger than men. For unless the Word of God had taken 

1 Eph. ii. 12, 19, 20. 2 i Cor. xi. 19.

222 EEPLY TO FARPUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK XH.

on Himself this infirmity, the name of Christian, in which you also glory, Tvould not 
exist in the earth. Go on, then, as I have said. Declare in mockery what we may honour 
with reverence. Let the Church use you as her ser^ants to make manifest those members 
who are approved. So particular are the predictions of the prophets regarding the state 
and the sufferings of the Church, that we can find a place even for you in what is said of 
the destructive error by which the reprobate are to perish, while the approved are to be 
manifested.

25. You say that Christ was not foretold by the prophets of Israel, when, in fact, their 
Scriptures teem with such pre^dictions, if you would only examine them carefully, instead 
of treating them with levity. "VMio in Abraham leaves his country and kindred that he 
may become rich and prosperous among strangers, but He who, leaving the land and 
country of the Jews, of whom He was born in the flesh, is now extending His power, as 
we see, among the Gentiles ? ^Vho in Isaac carried the wood for His own sacrifice, but 
He who carried His own cross ? "Who is the ram for sacrifice, caught by the horns in a 
bush, but He who was fastened to the cross as an offering for us ?

26. Who in the an^rel striving^ with Jacob, on the one hand is constrained to give him a 
blessing, as the weaker to the stronger, the conquered to the conqueror, and on the other 
hand puts his thigh-bone out of joint, but He who, when He suffered the people of Israel 
to prevail against Him, blessed those among them who believed, while the multitude, like 
Jacob's thigh-bone, halted in their carnality ? "Who is the stone placed under Jacob's 
head, but Christ the head of man ? 
And in its anointing the very name of Christ is expressed; for, as all know, Christ means 
anointed. Christ refers to this in the Gospel, and declares it to be a t^pe of Himself, when 
He said of Xathanael that he was an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile, and when
Xathanael, resting his head, as it were, on this Stone, or on Christ, confessed Him as the Son of God and the King of Israel, anointing the Stone by his confession, in which he acknowledged Jesus to be Christ. On this occasion the Lord made appropriate mention of what

BOOK XIL] JACOB'S laddee. 223

Jacob saw in his dream: " Verily I say unto you, Ye shall see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man." ^ This Jacob saw, who in the blessing was called Israel, when he had the stone for a pillow, and had the vision of the ladder reaching from earth to heaven, on which the angels of God were ascending and descending. ^ The angels denote the evangelists, or preachers of Christ. They ascend when they rise above the created universe to describe the supreme majesty of the divine nature of Christ as being in the beginning God with God, by whom all things were made. They descend to tell of His being made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law. Christ is the ladder reaching from earth to heaven, or from the carnal to the spiritual: for by His assistance the carnal ascend to spirituality; and the spiritual may be said to descend to nourish the carnal with milk when they cannot speak to them as to spiritual, but as to carnal.

There is thus both an ascent and a descent upon the Son of man. For the Son of man is above as our head, being Himself the Saviour; and He is below in His body, the Church. He is the ladder, for He says, " I am the way." "We ascend to Him to see Him in heavenly places; we descend to Him for the nourishment of His weak members. And the ascent and descent are by Him as well as to Him. Following His example, those who preach Him not only rise to behold Him exalted, but let themselves down to give a plain announcement of the truth. So the apostle ascends, " Whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; " and descends, " Whether we be sober, it is for your sake." And by whom did he ascend and descend?

" For the love of Christ constraineth us: for we thus judge, that if one died for all, then all died; and that He died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him that died for them, and rose again." *

27. The man who does not find pleasure in these views of sacred Scripture is turned away to fables, because he cannot bear sound doctrine. The fables have an attraction for childish minds in people of all ages; but we who are of the


3 1 Cor. iii. 1-3. * 2 Cor. v. 13-15.
body of Christ should say with the Psalms: "Lord, the wicked have spoken to me pleasing things, but they are not after Thy law."^ In every page of these Scriptures, while I pursue my search as a son of Adam in the sweat of my brow, Christ either openly or covertly meets and refreshes me. Where the discovery is laborious my ardour is increased, and the spoil obtained is eagerly devoured, and is hidden in my heart for my nourishment.

28. Christ appears to me in Joseph, who was persecuted and sold by his brethren, and after his troubles obtained honour in Egypt. We have seen the troubles of Christ in the world, of which Egypt was a figure, in the sufferings of the martyrs. And now we see the honour of Christ in the same world which He subdues to Himself, in exchange for the food which He bestows. Christ appears to me in the rod of Moses, which became a serpent when cast on the earth, as a figure of His death, which came from the serpent. Again, when caught by the tail it became a rod, as a figure of His return after the accomplishment of His work in His resurrection to what He was before, destroying death by His new life, so as to leave no trace of the serpent. We, too, who are His body, glide along in the same mortality through the folds of time; but when at last the tail of this course of things is laid hold of by the hand of judgment that it shall go no further, we shall be renewed, and rising from the destruction of death, the last enemy, we shall be the sceptre of government in the right hand of God.

29. Of the departure of Israel from Egypt, let us hear what the apostle himself says: "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink. For they drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ."^ The explanation of one thing is a key to the rest. For if the rock is Christ from its stability, is not the manna Christ, the living bread which came down from heaven, which gives spiritual life to those who truly

^ Ps. cxix. 83. 2 Cor. x. 1-4.
feed on it? The Israelites died because they received the figure only in its carnal sense. The apostle, by calling it spiritual food, shows its reference to Christ, as the spiritual drink is explained by the words, "That rock was Christ," which explain the whole. Then is not the cloud and the pillar Christ, who by His uprightness and strength supports our feebleness; who shines by night and not by day, that they who see not may see, and that they who see may be made blind? In the Red Sea there is the baptism consecrated by the blood of Christ. The enemies following behind perish, as past sins are put away.

30. The Israelites are led through the wilderness, as those who are baptized are in the wilderness while on the way to the promised land, hoping and patiently waiting for that which they see not. In the wilderness are severe trials, lest they should in heart return to Egypt. Still Christ does not leave them; the pillar does not go away. The bitter waters are sweetened by wood, as hostile people become friendly by learning to honour the cross of Christ. The twelve fountains watering the seventy palm trees are a figure of apostolic grace watering the nations. As seven is multiplied by ten, so the decalogue is fulfilled in the sevenfold operation of the Spirit.
The enemy attempting to stop them in their way is overcome by Moses stretching out his hands in the figure of the cross.
The deadly bites of serpents are healed by the brazen serpent, which was lifted up that they might look at it. The Lord Himself gives the explanation of this: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish, but have everlasting life." ^ So in many other things we may find a protest against the obstinacy of unbelieving hearts. In the passover a lamb is killed, representing Christ, of whom it is said in the Gospel, "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!" ^ In the passover the bones of the lamb were not to be broken; and on the cross the bones of the Lord were not broken. The evangelist, in reference to this, quotes the words, "A bone of Him shall not be broken." ^ The posts were marked with blood to keep away destruction,

1 John iii. 14. 2 John i. 29. ^ John xix. 36.

7 P

as people are marked on their foreheads with the sign of the Lord's passion for their salvation. The law was given on the fiftieth day after the passover; so the Holy Spirit came on the fiftieth day after the passover of the Lord. The law is said to have been written with the finger of God; and the Lord says of the Holy Spirit, "With the finger of God I cast out devils." ^
Such are the scriptures in which Taust, after shutting his eyes, declares that he can see no prediction of Christ. But we need not wonder that he should have eyes to read and yet no heart to understand, since, instead of knocking in devout faith at the door of the heavenly secret, he dares to act in profane hostility. So let it be, for so it ought to be. Let the gate of salvation be shut to the proud. The meek, to whom God teaches His ways, will find all these things in the Scriptures, and those things which he does not see he will believe from what he sees.

31. He will see Jesus leading the people into the land of promise; for this name was given to the leader of Israel, not at first, or by chance, but on account of the work to which he was called. He will see the cluster from the land of promise hanging from a wooden pole. He will see in Jericho, as in this perishing world, an harlot, one of those of whom the Lord says that they go before the proud into the kingdom of heaven, putting out of her window a scarlet line symbolical of blood, as confession is made with the mouth for the remission of sins. He will see the walls of Jericho, like the frail defences of the world, fall when compassed seven times by the ark of the covenant; as now in the course of the seven days of time the covenant of God compasses the whole globe, that in the end, death, the last enemy, may be destroyed, and the Church, like one single house, be saved from the destruction of the ungodly, purified from the defilement of fornication by the window of confession in the blood of remission.

32. He will see the times of the judges precede those of the kings, as the judgment will precede the kingdom. And under both the judges and the kings he will see Christ and the Church repeatedly prefigured in various ways. Who was in Samson, when he killed the lion that met him as he went

1 Luke xi. 20.
to get a wife among strangers, but He who, when going to call His Church from among the Gentiles, said, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world"? What means the hive in the mouth of the slain lion, but that, as we see, the very laws of the earthly kingdom which once raged against Christ have now lost their fierceness, and have become a protection for the preaching of gospel sweetness? What is that woman, boldly piercing the temples of the enemy with a wooden nail, but the faith of the Church casting down the kingdom of the devil by the cross of Christ? What is the fleece wet while the ground was dry, and again the fleece dry while the ground was wet, but the Hebrew nation at first possessing alone in its typical institution Christ the mystery of God, while the whole world was in ignorance? And now the whole world has this mystery revealed, while the Jews are destitute of it.

33. To mention only a few things in the times of the kings, at the very outset does not the change in the priesthood when Eli was rejected and Samuel chosen, and in the kingdom when Saul was rejected and David chosen, clearly predict the new priesthood and kingdom to come in our Lord Jesus Christ, when the old, which was a shadow of the new, was rejected? Did not David, when he ate the shew-bread, which it was not lawful for any but the priests to eat, prefigure the union of the kingdom and priesthood in one person, Jesus Christ? In the separation of the ten tribes from the temple while two were left, is there not a figure of what the apostle asserts of the whole nation: "A remnant is saved by the election of grace"?

34. In the time of famine, Elijah is fed by ravens bringing bread in the morning and flesh in the evening; but the Manichseans cannot in this perceive Christ, who, as it were, hungers for our salvation, and to whom sinners come in confession, having now the first-fruits of the Spirit, while in the evening of the resurrection they will have their bodies also. Elijah is sent to be fed by a widow woman of another nation, who was going to gather two sticks before she died, denoting the two wooden beams of the cross. Her meal and oil are blessed,

^ John xvi. 33. 2 Rom. xi. 5.

228 EDELY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICm^AX. [BOOK XII.]

as the fruit and cheerfulness of charity do not diminish by expenditure, for God loveth a cheerful giver.

35. The children that mocked Elisha by calling out Baldhead, are devoured by wild beasts, as those who in childish folly scoff at Christ crucified on Calvary are destroyed by devils. Elisha sends his servant to lay his staff on the dead body, but it does not revive; he comes himself, and lays himself exactly upon the dead body, and it revives: as the Word
of God sent the law by His servant, without any profit to mankind dead in sins; and yet it was not sent for no purpose by Him who knew the necessity of its being first sent. Then He Himself came, conformed Himself to us by participation in our death, and we were revived. When they were cutting down wood with axes, the iron, flying off the wood, sank to the bottom of the river, and came up again when the wood was thrown in by Elisha. So, when Christ's bodily presence was cutting down the unfruitful trees among the unbelieving Jews, according to the saying of John, "Behold, the axe is laid to the roots of the tree," the death they inflicted, Christ was separated from His body, and descended to the depths of the infernal world; and then, when His body was laid in the tomb, like the wood on the water. His spirit returned, like the iron to the handle, and He rose. The reader will observe how many things of this kind are omitted for the sake of brevity.

36. As regards the departure to Babylon, where the Spirit of God by the prophet Jeremiah enjoins them to go, telling them to pray for the people in whose land they dwell as strangers, because in their peace they would find peace, and to build houses, and plant vineyards and gardens; the figurative meaning is plain, when we consider that the true Israelites, in whom is no guile, passed over in the ministry of the apostles with the ordinances of the gospel into the kingdom of the Gentiles. So the apostle, like an echo of Jeremiah, says to us, "I will first of all that prayer, supplications, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men, and for those in authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and charity; for this is good and acceptable in the

1 2 Cor. ix. 7. ^ Matt. iii. 10.
sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." Accordingly the churches of Christian congregations have been built by believers as abodes of peace, and vineyards of the faithful have been planted, and gardens, where chief among the plants is the mustard tree, in whose wide-spreading branches the pride of the Gentiles, like the birds of heaven, in its soaring ambition, takes shelter. Again, in the return from captivity after seventy years, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, and in the restoration of the temple, every believer in Christ must see a figure of our return as the Church of God from the exile of this world to the heavenly Jerusalem, after the seven days of time have fulfilled their course. Joshua the high priest, after the captivity, who rebuilt the temple, was a figure of Jesus Christ, the true High Priest of our restoration. The prophet Zechariah saw this Joshua in a filthy garment; and after the devil who stood by to accuse him was defeated, the filthy garment was taken from him, and a dress of honour and glory given him. So the body of Jesus Christ, which is the Church, when the adversary is conquered in the judgment at the end of the world, will pass from the pains of exile to the glory of everlasting safety. This is the song of the Psalmist at the dedication of his house: "Thou hast turned for me my mourning into gladness; Thou hast removed my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness, that my glory may sing praise unto Thee, and not be silent."

37. It is impossible, in a digression like this, to refer, however briefly, to all the figurative predictions of Christ which are to be found in the law and the prophets. Will it be said that these things happened in the regular course of things, and that it is a mere ingenious fancy to make them typical of Christ? Such an objection might come from Jews and Pagans; but those who wish to be considered Christians must yield to the authority of the apostle when he says, "All these things happened to them for an example;" and again, "These things are our examples." For if two men, Ishmael and Isaac, are types of the two covenants, can it be supposed that there is no significance in the vast number of particulars which have no

^ 1 Tim. ii. 1-4. 2 Ps. xxx. 11, 12. ^ 1 Cor. x. 10, 6.

230 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICHLEAN. [BOOK Xn.

historical or natural value? Suppose we were to see some Hebrew characters written on the wall of a noble building, should we be so foolish as to conclude that, because we cannot understand the characters, they are not intended to be read, and are mere painting, without any meaning? So, whoever with a candid mind reads all these things that are contained in the Old Testament Scriptures, must feel constrained to acknowledge that they have a meaning.
38. As an example of those particulars which have no meaning at all if not a symbolical one: Granting: that it was necessary that woman should be made as an help meet for man, what natural reason can be assigned for her being taken from his side while he slept? Granting that an ark was required in order to escape from the flood, why should it have precisely these dimensions, and why should they be recorded for the devout study of future s\^enerations? Granting^ that the animals were brought into the ark to preserve the various races, why should there be seven clean and two unclean? Granting that the ark must have a door, why should it be in the side, and why should this fact be committed to writing? Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son: we may allow that this proof of his obedience was required in order to make it conspicuous in all ages; we may allow, too, that it was a proper thing for the son to carry the wood instead of the aged father, and that in the end the fatal stroke was forbidden, lest the father should be left childless. But what had the shedding of the ram's blood to do with Abraham's trial? or if it was necessary to complete the sacrifice, was the ram any the better of being caught by the horns in a bush? The human mind, that is to say, a rational mind, is led by the consideration of the way in which these apparently superfluous things are blended with what is necessary, first to acknowledge their significance, and then to try to discover it.

39. The Jews themselves, who scoff at the crucified Saviour in whom we believe, and who consequently will not allow that Christ is predicted in the sayings and actions recorded in the Old Testament, are compelled to come to us for an explanation of those things which, if not explained, must appear trifling and ridiculous. This led Pliilo, a Jew of great learning, whom
the Greeks speak of as rivalling Plato in eloquence, to attempt to explain some things without any reference to Christ, in whom he did not believe. His attempt only shows the inferiority of all ingenious speculations, when made without keeping Christ in view, to whom all the predictions really point. So true is that saying of the apostle: "When they shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." For instance, Noah's ark is, according to Philo, a type of the human body, member by member: with this view, he shows that the numerical proportions agree perfectly. For there is no reason why a type of Christ should not be a type of the human body too, since the Saviour of mankind appeared in a human body, though what is typical of a human body is not necessarily typical of Christ. Philo's explanation fails, however, as regards the door in the side of the ark. He actually, for the sake of saying something, makes this door represent the lower apertures of the body. He has the hardihood to put this in words, and on paper. Indeed, he knew not the door, and could not understand the symbol. Had he turned to Christ, the veil would have been taken away, and he would have found the sacraments of the Church flowing from the side of Christ's human body. For, according to the announcement, "They two shall be one flesh," some things in the ark, which is a type of Christ, refer to Christ, and some to the Church. This contrast between the explanations which keep Christ in view, and all other ingenious perversions, is the same in every particular of all the figures in Scripture.

40. The Pagans, too, cannot deny our right to give a figurative meaning to both words and things, especially as we can point to the fulfilment of the types and figures. For the Pagans themselves try to find in their own fables figures of natural and religious truth. Sometimes they give clear explanations, while at other times they disguise their meaning, and what is sacred in the temples becomes a jest in the theatres. They unite a disgraceful licentiousness to a degrading superstition.

41. Besides this wonderful agreement between the types and the things typified, the adversary may be convinced by plain prophetic intimations, such as this: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." This was said to Abraham/ and again to Isaac/ and again to Jacob. Hence the significance of the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob." God fulfils His promise to their seed in blessing all nations.
"With a like significance, Abraham himself, when he made his servant swear, told him to put his hand under his thigh; for he knew that thence would come the flesh of Christ, in whom we have now, not the promise of blessing to all nations, but the promise fulfilled.

42. I should like to know, or rather, it would be well not to know, with what blindness of mind Faust reads the passage where Jacob calls his sons, and says, " Assemble, that I may tell you the things that are to happen in the last day.
Assemble and hear, ye sons of Jacob; give ear to Israel, your father." Surely these are the words of a prophet. "What, then, does he say of his son Judah, of whose tribe Christ came of the seed of David according to the flesh, as the apostle teaches? " Judah," he says, "thy brethren shall praise thee:
thy hands shall be upon the backs of thine enemies; the sons of thy father shall bow down to thee. Judah is a lion's whelp; my son and offspring: bowing down, thou hast gone up: thou sleepest as a lion, and as a young lion; who will rouse him up? A prince shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till those things come which have been laid up for him. He also is the desire of nations: binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt with sackcloth, he shall wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes:
his eyes are bright with wine, and his teeth whiter than milk." ^

There is no falsehood or obscurity in these words when we read them in the clear light of Christ. "We see His brethren the apostles and all His joint-heirs praising Him, seeking not their own glory, but His. "We see His hands on the backs of His enemies, who are bent and bowed to the earth by the growth of the Christian communities in spite of their opposition. "We see Him worshipped by the sons of Jacob, the remnant saved according to the election of grace. Christ, who was born as an infant, is the lion's whelp, as it is added, My son.


4 Ex. iii. 6. Â« Gen. xxiv. 2. Â« Gen. xlix. 1, 2, 8-12.
and offspring, to show why this whelp, in whose praise it is said, "The lion's whelp is stronger than the herd," is even in infancy stronger than its elders. "We see Christ ascending on the cross, and bowing down when He gave up His spirit. We see Him sleeping as a lion, because in death itself He was not the conquered, but the conqueror, and as a lion's whelp; for the reason of His birth and of His death was the same. And He is raised from the dead by Him whom no man hath seen or can see; for the words, "Who will raise Him up?" point to an unknown power. A prince did not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till in due time those things came which had been laid up in the promise. For we learn from the authentic history of the Jews themselves, that Herod, under whom Christ was born, was their first foreign king. So the sceptre did not depart from the seed of Judah till the things laid up for him came. Then, as the promise is not only to the believing Jews, it is added: "He is the desire of the nations." Christ bound His foal â€” that is. His people â€” to the vine, when He preached in sackcloth, crying, "Kepent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The Gentiles made subject to Him are represented by the ass's colt, on which He also sat, leading it into Jerusalem, that is, the vision of peace, teaching the meek His ways. We see Him washing His garments in wine; for He is one with the glorious Church, which He presents to Himself, not having spot or wrinkle; to whom also it is said by Isaiah: "Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow." How is this done but by the remission of sins? And the wine is none other than that of which it is said that it is "shed for many, for the remission of sins."

Christ is the cluster that hung on the pole. So it is added, "and His clothes in the blood of the grape." Again, what is said of His eyes being bright with wine, is understood by those members of His body who are enabled, in holy aberration of mind from the current of earthly things, to gaze on the eternal light of wisdom. So Paul says in a passage quoted before: "If we be beside ourselves, it is to God." Those are the eyes bright with wine. But he adds: "If we be sober, it is for your sakes." The babes needing to be fed with milk are not forgotten, as is denoted by the words, "His teeth are whiter than milk."

43. What can our deluded adversaries say to such plain examples, which leave no room for perverse denial, or even for sceptical uncertainty? I call on the Manichaeans to begin to inquire into these subjects, and to admit the force of these evidences, on which I have no time to dwell; nor do I wish to make a selection, in case the ignorant reader should think there are no others, while the Christian student might blame me for the omission of

^ Prov. XXX. 30. 2 isa. i, is.

234 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHEAN. [BOOK XII.]
many points more striking than those which occur to me at the moment. You will find
many passages which require no such explanation as has been given here of Jacob's
prophecy. For instance, every reader can understand the words, "He was led as a lamb to
the slaughter,"
and the whole of that plain prophecy, "With His stripes we are healed" "He bore
our sins." "We have a poetical gospel in the words: "They pierced my hands and feet.
They have told all my bones. They look and stare upon me. They divided my garments
among them, and cast lots on my vesture." The blind even may now see the fulfilment
of the words: "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all
kingdoms of the nations shall worship before Him." The words in the Gospel, "My soul
is sorrowful, even unto death," "My soul is troubled," are a repetition of the words in the
Psalm, "I slept in trouble." And who made Him sleep? Whose voices cried, Crucify
him, crucify him?
The Psalm tells us: "The sons of men, their teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue
a sharp sword." But they could not prevent His resurrection, or His ascension above the
heavens, or His filling the earth with the glory of His name; for the Psalm says: "Be
Thou exalted, God, above the heavens, and let Thy glory be above all the earth." Every
one must apply these words to Christ: "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son, this
day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine
inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession." And what Jeremiah says of wisdom plainly applies to Christ:

1 Isa. liii. 2 pg^xxii. 3 ps, i^ii, 4 (Vulg.).

4 Ps. Ivii. 4. 5 Ps. ii. 8, 9.
*^ Jacob delivered it to his son, and Israel to his chosen one. Afterwards He appeared on earth, and conversed with men." ^

44. The same Savior is spoken of in Daniel, where the Son of man appears before the Ancient of days, and receives a kingdom without end, that all nations may serve Him.^ In the passage quoted from Daniel by the Lord Himself, " When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand," ^ the number of weeks points not only to Christ, but to the very time of His advent. With the Jews, who look to Christ for salvation as we do, but deny that He has come and suffered, we can argue from actual events. Besides the conversion of the heathen, now so universal, as prophesied of Christ in their own Scriptures, there are the events in the history of the Jews themselves. Their holy place is thrown down, the sacrifice has ceased, and the priest, and the ancient anointing; which was all clearly foretold by Daniel when he prophesied of the anointing of the Most Holy. * ISTow, that all these things have taken place, we ask the Jews for the anointed Most Holy, and they have no answer to give.

But it is from the Old Testament that the Jews derive all the knowledge they have of Christ and His advent. Why do they ask John whether he is Christ ? Why do they say to the Lord, " How long dost thou make us to doubt ? If thou art the Christ, tell us plainly." Why do Peter and Andrew and Philip say to JSTathanael, "We have found Messias, which is interpreted Christ," but because this name was known to them from the prophecies of their Scriptures ? In no other nation were the kings and priests anointed, and called Anointed or Christs. ^ or could this symbolical anointing be discontinued till the coming of Him who was thus prefigured. For among all their anointed ones the Jews looked for one who was to save them. But in the mysterious justice of God they were blinded; and thinking only of the power of the Messiah, they did not understand His weakness, in which He died for us. In the book of Wisdom it is prophesied of the Jews: " Let us condemn

^ Baruch iii. 37, 38. ^ pan. vii. 13, 14.

As often as they repeat this denial, we can produce fresh proofs, with the help of Him who has made such provision against human perversity, that proofs already given need not be repeated.

.45. Faust has an evasive objection, which he no doubt thinks a most ingenious way of eluding the force of the clearest evidence of prophecy, but of which one is unwilling to take any notice, because answering it may give it an appearance of importance which it does not really possess.

"What could be more irrational than to say that it is weak faith which will not believe in Christ without evidence? Do our adversaries, then, believe in testimony about Christ? Faust wishes us to believe the voice from heaven as distinguished from human testimony. But did they hear this voice? Has not the knowledge of it come to us through human testimony? The apostle describes the transmission of this knowledge, when he says: "How shall they call on Him on whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe on Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" Clearly, in the preaching of the apostles there was a reference to prophetic testimony. The apostles quoted the predictions of the prophets, to prove the truth and importance of their doctrines. For although their preaching was accompanied with the power of working miracles, the miracles would have been ascribed to magic, as some even now venture to insinuate, unless the apostles had shown that the authority of the prophets was in their favour. The testimony of prophets who lived so long before could not be ascribed to magical

1 Wisd. ii. 18-21. ^ ^om. x. 14, 15.
arts. Perhaps the reason why Faustus will not have us believe the Hebrew prophets as witnesses of the true Christ, is because he believes Persian heresies about a false Christ.

46. According to the teaching of the Catholic Church, the Christian mind must first be nourished in simple faith, in order that it may become capable of understanding things heavenly and eternal. Thus it is said by the prophet:
"Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand." ^ Simple faith is that by which, before we attain to the height of the knowledge of the love of Christ, that we may be filled with all the fulness of God, we believe that not without reason was the dispensation of Christ's humiliation, in which He was born and suffered as man, foretold so long before by the prophets in a prophetic race, a prophetic people, a prophetic kingdom.
This faith teaches us, that in the foolishness which is wiser than men, and in the weakness which is stronger than men, is contained the hidden means of our justification and glorification.
There are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, which are opened to no one who despises the nourishment transmitted through the breast of his mother, that is, the milk of apostolic and prophetic instruction; or who, thinking himself too old for infantile nourishment, devours heretical poison instead of the food of wisdom, for which he rashly thought himself prepared. To require simple faith is quite consistent with requiring faith in the prophets. The very use of simple faith is to believe the prophets at the outset, while the understanding of the person who speaks in the prophets is attained after the mind has been purified and strengthened.

47. But, it is said, if the prophets foretold Christ, they did not live in a way becoming their office. How can you tell whether they did or not? You are bad judges of what it is to live well or ill, whose justice consists in giving relief to an inanimate melon by eating it, instead of giving food to the starving besjc^ar. It is enou2jh for the babes in the Catholic Church, who do not yet know the perfect justice of the human soul, and the difference between the justice aimed at and that actually attained, to think of those men according to the wholesome doctrine of the apostles, that the just lives

* Isa. vii. 9 (Yulg.).

238 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHJ^AX. [BOOK XII.]

by faith. "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. For the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed."^ These are the words of the apostle. If you would, at his clear well-known voice, wake up from yom' unprofitable dreams, you would follow in the footsteps of our father Abraham, and would be blessed, along with all nations, in his seed. For, as the apostle says, "He received the
sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, yet being uncircumcised, that he might be the father of all that believe in uncircumcision; that he might be the father of circumcision not only to those who are of the circumcision, but also to those who follow the footsteps of the faith of our father Abraham in uncircumcision." ^ Since the righteousness of Abraham's faith is thus set forth as an example to us, that we too, being justified by faith, may have peace with God, we ought to understand his manner of life, without finding fault with it; lest, by a premature separation from mother-Church, we prove abortions, instead of being brought forth in due time, when the conception has arrived at completeness.

48. This is a brief reply to Faustus in behalf of the character of the patriarchs and prophets. It is the reply of the babes of our faith, among whom I would reckon myself, inasmuch as I would not find fault with the life of the ancient saints, even if I did not understand its mystical character. Their life is proclaimed to us with approval by the apostles in their Gospel, as they themselves in their prophecy foretold the future apostles, that the two Testaments, like the seraphim, might cry to one another, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts." ^ When Faustus, instead of the vague general accusation which he makes here, condemns particular actions in the lives of the patriarchs and the prophets, the Lord their God, and ours also, will assist me to reply suitably and appropriately to the separate charges. For the present, the reader must choose whether to believe the commendation of the Apostle Paul or the accusations of Faustus the Manichcean.

1 Gal. iii. 6, 8. - Eom. iv. 11, 12. ^ jga. yi. 3.
BOOK XIII.

1. Faustus. We are asked how we believe in Christ when we reject the prophets, who declared the promise of His advent. It is doubtful whether, on examination, it can be shown that the Hebrew prophets foretold our Christ, that is, the Son of God. But were it so, what does it matter to us? If these testimonies of the prophets that you speak of were the means of converting any one from Judaism to Christianity, and if he should afterwards neglect these prophets, he would certainly be in the wrong, and would be chargeable with ingratitude. But we are by nature Gentiles, of the uncircumcision; as Paul says, born under another law. Those whom the Gentiles call poets were our first religious teachers, and from them we were afterwards converted to Christianity. "We did not first become Jews, so as to reach Christianity through faith in their prophets; but were attracted solely by the fame, and the virtues, and the wisdom of our Saviour Jesus Christ. If I were still in the religion of my fathers, and a preacher were to come using the prophets as evidence in favour of Christianity, I should think him mad for attempting to support what is doubtful by what is still more doubtful to a Gentile of another religion altogether. He would require first to persuade me to believe the prophets, and then through the prophets to believe Christ. And to prove the truth of the prophets, other prophets would be necessary.

For if the prophets bear witness to Christ, who bears witness to the prophets? You will perhaps say that Christ and the prophets mutually support each other. But a Pagan, who has nothing to do with either, would believe neither the evidence, of Christ to the prophets, nor that of the prophets to Christ. If the Pagan becomes a Christian, he has to thank his own faith, and nothing else. Let us, for the sake of illustration, suppose ourselves conversing with a Gentile inquirer. We tell him to believe in Christ, because He is God. He asks for proof. We refer him to the prophets. He asks, What prophets? We reply, The Hebrew. He smiles, and says that he does not believe them. We remind him that Christ testifies to them. He replies, laughing, that we must first make him believe in Christ. The result of such a conversation is that we are silenced, and the inquirer departs, thinking us more zealous than \\^dse. Again, I say, the Christian Church, which consists more of Gentiles than of Jews, can owe nothincp to Hebrew witnesses. If, as is said, any prophecies of Christ are to be found in the Sibyl, or in Hermes, called Trismegistus, or Orpheus, or any heathen poet, they might aid the faith of those who, like us, are converts from heathenism to Christianity.
But the testimony of the Hebrews is useless to us before conversion, for then we cannot believe them; and superfluous after, for we believe without them.

2. Augustine. After the long reply of last book, a short answer may suffice here. To one who has read that reply, it must seem insanity in Faustus to persist in denying that Christ was foretold by the Hebrew prophets, when the Hebrew nation was the only one in which the name Christ had a peculiar sacredness as applied to kings and priests; in which sense it continued to be applied till the coming of Him whom those kings and priests typified. "Where did the Manichcean learn the name of Christ? If from Manichaus, it is very strange that Africans, not to speak of others, should believe the Persian Manichceus, since Faustus finds fault with the Eomans and Greeks, and other Gentiles, for believing the Hebrew prophets as belonging to another race. According to Faustus, the predictions of the Sibyl, or Orpheus, or any heathen poet, are more suitable for leading Gentiles to believe in Christ. He forgets that none of these are read in the churches, whereas the voice of the Hebrew prophets, sounding everywhere, draws swarms of people to Christianity. When it is so evident that men are everywhere led to Christ by the Hebrew prophets, it is great absurdity to say that those prophets are not suitable for the Gentiles.

3. Christ as foretold by the Hebrew prophets does not please you; but this is the Christ in whom the Gentile nations believe, with whom, according to you, Hebrew prophecy should have no weight. They receive the gospel which, as Paul says, " God had promised before by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures of His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh."^ So we read in Isaiah: " There shall be a Eoot of Jesse, which shall rise to reign in the nations; in Him shall the Gentiles trust."^ And again: " Behold, a virgın shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel,"^ which is, being interpreted, God with us. jNor let the Manichsean think that Christ is foretold only as a man by the Hebrew prophets; for this is what Faustus seems to insinuate when he says, " Our Christ is the Son of God," as if the Christ of the Hebrews was not the Son of God. We can prove Christ the virgin's son of Hebrew prophecy to be God. For the Lord Himself teaches the carnal Jews not to think that, because He is foretold as the son of David, He is therefore no more than that. He asks: " What think ye of Christ? Whose son is He? " They reply: " Of David." Then, to remind them of the name Emmanuel, God with us. He says: " How does David in the Spirit call Him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, till I make Thine enemies Thy footstool? " Here, then, Christ appears as God in Hebrew prophecy. What prophecy can the Manichseans show with the name of Christ in it?

4. Manichseus indeed was not a prophet of Christ, but calls himself an apostle, which is a shameless falsehood; for it is well known that this heresy began not only after Tertullian, but after Cyprian. In all his letters Manichseus begins thus: " Manichseus, an apostle of Jesus Christ." Why do you believe what Manichseus says of Christ? What evidence does
he give of his apostleship? This very name of Christ is known to us only from the Jews, who, in their application of it to their kings and priests, were not individually, but nationally, prophets of Christ and Christ's kingdom. What right has he to use this name, who forbids you to believe the Hebrew prophets, that he may make you the heretical disciples of a false Christ, as he himself is a false and heretical apostle? And if Eustus quotes as evidence in his own support some prophets who, according to him, foretell Christ, how will he satisfy his supposed inquirer, who will not believe either the prophets or Eustus? Will he take our apostles as witnesses?

1 Rom. i. 2, 3. 2 j^m^i. 10. 3 jga. yii. 14. 4;^x\att. xxii. 42-i4.

7 Q

242 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.EAX. [BOOK XIII.]

Unless lie can find some apostles in Kfe, he must read their writings; and these are all against him. They teach our doctrine that Christ was born of the Vir^a Marv, that He was the Son of God, of the seed of David according to the flesh. He cannot pretend that the writings have been tampered with, for that would be to attack the credit of his own witnesses. Or if he produces his own manuscripts of the apostolic writings, he must also obtain for them the authority of the churches founded by the apostles themselves, by showing that they have been preserved and transmitted with their sanction. It will be difficult for a man to make me believe him on the evidence of writings which derive all their authority from his own word, which I do not believe.

5. But perhaps you believe the common report about Christ. Faustus makes a feeble susfSfesion of this kind, as a last resource, to escape being obliged either to produce his worthless authorities, or to come under the power of those opposed to him. Well, if report is your authority, you should consider the consequences of trusting to such evidence. There are many bad things reported of you which you do not wish people to believe. Is it reasonable to make the same evidence true about Christ and false about 3'o ursefls? In fact, you deny the common report about Christ. For the report most widely spread, and which every one has heard repeated, is that which distinctly asserts that Christ was born of the seed of Da^n-d, according to the promise made in the Hebrew Scriptures to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." You will not admit this Hebrew testimony, but you do not seem to have any other. The authority of our books, which is confirmed by the agreement of so many nations, supported by a succession of apostles, bishops, and councils, is against you. Your books have no authority, for it is an authority maintained by only a few, and these the worshippers of an untruthful God and Christ. If they are not following the example of the beings they worship, their testimony must be against their own false doctrine. And, once more, common report gives a very bad account of you, and invariably asserts, in opposition to you, that Christ was of the seed of Da^dd.

You did not hear the voice of the Father from heaven. You
did not see the works by which Christ bore witness to Himself. The books which tell of these things you profess to receive, that you may maintain a delusive appearance of Christianity; but when anything is quoted against you, you say that the books have been tampered with. You quote the passage where Christ says, " If ye believe not me, believe the works; " and again, " I am one that bear witness of myself; and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me; " but you will not let us quote in reply such passages as these: " Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they that testify of me; " '" If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me, for he wrote of me; " " They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them; " " If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe though one rose from the dead." What liaA-e you to say for yourselves ? Where is your authority ? If you reject these passages of Scripture, in spite of the weighty authority in their favour, what miracles can you show ? However, if you did work miracles, we should be on our canard ae^ainst receiving their evidence in your case; for the Lord has forewarned us: " Many false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and shall do many signs and wonders, that they may deceive, if it were possible, the very elect: behold, I have told you before." 

This shows that the established authority of Scripture must outweigh every other; for it derives new confirmation from the progress of events which happen, as Scripture proves, in fulfilment of the predictions made so long before their occurrence.

6. Are, then, your doctrines so manifestly true, that they require no support from miracles or from any testimony ? Show us these self-evident truths, if you have anything of the kind to show. Your legends, as we have already seen, are long and silly, old wives' fables for the amusement of women and children. The beginning is detached from the rest, the middle is unsound, and the end is a miserable failure. If you begin with the immortal, invisible, incorruptible God, what need was there of His fighting with the race of darkness ? And as for the middle of your theory, what becomes

1 Matt. xxiv. 24, 25.

244 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK XIII.]

of the incorruptibility and unchangeableness of God, when His members in fruits and vegetables are purified by your mastication and digestion ? And for the end, is it just that the wretched soul should be punished with lasting confinement in the mass of darkness, because its God is unable to cleanse it of the defilement contracted from evil external to its?K in the fulfilment of His own commission ? You are at a loss for a reply. / See the worthlessness of your boasted manuscripts, numerous and valuable as you say they are !
Alas for the toils of the antiquaries! Alas for the property of the unhappy owners! Alas for the food of the deluded followers! Destitute as you are of Scripture authority, of the power of miracles, of moral excellence, and of sound doctrine, depart ashamed, and return penitent, confessing that true Christ, who is the Saviour of all who believe in Him, whose name and whose Church are now displayed as they were of old foretold, not by some being issuing from subterranean darkness, but by a nation in a distinct kingdom established for this purpose, that there those things might be figuratively predicted of Christ which are now in reality fulfilled, and the prophets might foretell in writing what the apostles now exhibit in their preaching.

7. Let us suppose, then, a conversation with a heathen inquirer, in which Faustus described ns as making a poor appearance, though his own appearance was much more deplorable. If we say to the heathen, Believe in Christ, for He is God, and, on his asking for evidence, produce the authority of the prophets, if he says that he does not believe the prophets, because they are Hebrew and he is a Gentile, we can prove the truth of the prophets from the actual fulfilment of their prophecies. He could scarcely be ignorant of the persecutions suffered by the early Christians from the kings of this world; or if he was ignorant, he could be informed from history and the records of imperial laws. But this is what we find foretold long ago by the prophet, saying, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the princes take counsel together against the Lord, and against His Christ." The rest of the Psalm shows that this is not said of David. For what
follows might convince the most stubborn unbeliever: "The Lord said unto me. Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for Thy possession."^ This never happened to the Jews, whose king David was, but is now plainly fulfilled in the subjection of all nations to the name of Christ. This and many similar prophecies, which it would take too long to quote, would surely impress the mind of the inquirer. He would see these very kings of the earth now happily subdued by Christ, and all nations serving Him; and he would hear the words of the Psalm in which this was so long before predicted: " All the kings of the earth shall bow down to Him; all nations shall serve Him."^ And if he were to read the whole of that Psalm, which is figuratively applied to Solomon, he would find that Christ is the true King of peace, for Solomon means peaceful; and he would find many things in the Psalm applicable to Christ, which have no reference at all to the literal King Solomon. Then there is that other Psalm where God is spoken of as anointed by God, the very word anointed pointing to Christ, showing that Christ is God, for God is represented as being anointed.^ In reading what is said in this Psalm of Christ and of the Church, he would find that what is there foretold is fulfilled in the present state of the world.

He would see the idols of the nations perishing from off the earth, and he would find that this is predicted by the prophets, as in Jeremiah, "Then shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, shall perish from the earth, and from under heaven;"* and again, "Lord, my strength, and my fortress, and my refuge in the day of affliction, the Gentiles shall come unto Thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say. Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and things wherein there is no profit. Shall a man make gods unto himself, and they are no gods? Therefore, behold, I will at that time cause them to know, I will cause them to know mine hand and my might; and they shall know that I am the Lord."^ Hearing these prophecies,

1 Ps. ii. 7, 8. 2 ps xii. 10. 3 ps. xlv. 7.

*Jer. X. II. 5 Jer. xvi. 19-21.

and seeing their actual fulfilment, I need not say that he would be affected; for we know by experience how the hearts of believers are confirmed by seeing ancient predictions now receiving their accomplishment.

8. In the same prophet the inquirer would find clear proof that Christ is not merely one of the great men that have appeared in the world. For Jeremiah goes on to say: "Cursed be
the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord: for he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good Cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places of the wilderness, in a salt land not inhabited. Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is: for he shall be as a tree beside the water, that spreadeth out its roots by the river: he shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green; he shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit." "^ On hearing this curse pronounced in the figurative language* of prophecy on him that trusts in man, and the blessing in similar style on him that trusts in God, the inquirer might have doubts about our doctrine, in which we teach not only that Christ is God, so that our trust is not in man, but also that He is man because He took our nature. So some err by denying Christ's humanity, while they allow His divinity. Others, again, assert His humanity, but deny His divinity, and so either become infidels or incur the guilt of trusting in man. The inquirer, then, might say that the prophet says only that Christ is God, without any reference to His human nature; whereas, in our apostolic doctrine, Christ is not only God in whom we may safely trust, but the Mediator between God and man â€” the man Jesus. The prophet explains this in the words in which he seems to check himself, and to supply the omission: "His heart," he says, "is sorrowful throughout; and He is man, and who shall know Him?" ^ He is man, in order that in the form of a servant He might heal the hard in heart, and that they might acknowledge as God Him who became man for their sakes, that their trust might be not in man, but in God-man. He is man takin^y the form of a servant. And

^ Jer. xvii. 5-8. ^ Jer. xvii. 9.
who shall know Him? For * He was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be
equal to God." "^ He is man, for
" the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." And who shall know Him? Eor " in
the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." ^
And truly His heart was sorrowful throughout. For even as regards His own disciples His
heart was sorrowful, when He said,
" Have I been so long time with you, and yet have ye not known me? " " Have I been so
long time with you " answers to the words " He is man," and " Have ye not known me? "
to " Who shall know Him? " And the person is none other but He who says, " He that
hath seen me hath seen the Father." ^ So that our trust is not in man, to be under the curse
of the prophet, but in God-man, that is, in the Son of God, the Saviour Jesus Christ, the
Mediator between God and man. In the form of a servant the Father is greater than He; in
the form of God He is equal with the Father.

9. In Isaiah we read: "The pride of man shall be brought low; and the Lord alone shall be
exalted in that day. And they shall hide the workmanship of their hands in the clefts of
the rocks, and in dens and caves of the earth, from fear of the Lord, and from the glory of
His power, when He shall arise to shake terribly the earth. For in that day a man shall cast
away his idols of gold and silver, which they have made to worship, as useless and
hurtful."* Perhaps the inquirer himself, who, as Faustus supposes, would laugh and say
that he does not believe the Hebrew prophets, has hid idols made with hands in some
cleft, or cave, or den. Or he may know a friend, or neighbour, or fellow-citizen who has
done this from the fear of the Lord, who by the severe prohibition of the kings of the
earth, now serving and bowing down to him, as the prophet predicted, shakes the earth,
that is, breaks the stubborn heart of worldly men. The inquirer is not likely to disbelieve
the Hebrew prophets, when he finds their predictions fulfilled, perhaps in his own person.

10. One might rather fear that the inquirer, in the midst of such copious evidence, would
say that the Christians composed those writings when the events described had

1 Phil. ii. 6. 2 joi^j^ i^ 1^ 8 Jql^jj ^^^ a jga. ii. 17-20.

248 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.EAN. [BOOK XIIIT.

already begun to take place, in order that those occurrences might appear to be not due to
a merely human purpose, but as if divinely foretold. One might fear this, were it not for
the widely spread and widely known people of the Jews; that Cain, with the mark that he
should not be killed by any one; that Ham, the servant of his brethren, carrying as a load
the books for their instruction. From the Jewish manuscripts we prove that these things
were not written by us to suit the event, but were long ago published and preserved as
prophecies in the Jewish nation. These prophecies are now explained in their
accomplishment: for even what is obscure in them â€” because these things happened to them as an example, and were written for our benefit, on whom the ends of the world are come â€” is now made plain; and what was hidden in the shadows of the future is now visible in the light of actual experience.

11. The inquirer might bring forward as a difficulty the fact that those in whose books these prophecies are found are not united with us in the gospel. But when convinced that this also is foretold, he would feel how strong the evidence is. The prophecies of the unbelief of the Jews no one can avoid seeing, no one can pretend to be blind to them. 'No one can doubt that Isaiah spoke of the Jews when he said, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, and my people doth not consider:" or again, in the words quoted by the apostle, "I have stretched out my hands all the day to a wicked and gainsaying people;" and especially where he says, "God has given them the spirit of remorse, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, and should not understand," and many similar passages. If the inquirer objected that it was not the fault of the Jews if God blinded them so that they did not know Christ, we should try in the simplest manner possible to make him understand that this blindness is the just punishment of other secret sins known to God. We should prove that the apostle recognises this principle when he says of some persons, "God gave them up to the lusts of their own hearts, and to a reprobate mind, to do things not con-

1 Isa. i. 3. 2 Isa. Ixv. 2; cf. Rom. x. 21. ^ Isa. vi. 10; cf. Eom. xi. 8.
venient; "^ and that the prophets themselves speak of this.
For, to revert to the words of Jeremiah, "' He is man, and who shall know Him?" lest it should be an excuse for the Jews that they did not know, «â€” for if they had known, as the apostle says, 'à—,' they would not have crucified the Lord of glory,"' â€” the prophet goes on to show that their ignorance was the result of secret criminality; for he says: " I the Lord search the heart, and try the reins, to give to every one according to his ways, and according to the fruits of his doings."

12. If the next difficulty in the mind of the inquirer arose from the divisions and heresies among those called Christians, he would learn that this too is taken notice of by the prophets. For, as if it was natural that, after being satisfied about the blindness of the Jews, this objection from the divisions among Christians should occur, Jeremiah, observing this order in his prophecy, immediately adds in the passage already quoted: " The partridge is clamorous, gathering what it has not brought forth, making riches without judgment." For the partridge is notoriously quarrelsome, and is often caught from its eagerness in quarrelling. So the heretics discuss not to find the truth, but with a dogged determination to gain the victory one way or another, that they may gather, as the prophet says, what they have not brought forth. For those whom they lead astray are Christians already born of the gospel, whom the Christian profession of the heretics misleads. Thus they make riches not with judgment, but with inconsiderate haste. For they do not consider that the followers whom they gather as their riches are taken from the genuine original Christian society, and deprived of its benefits; and as the apostle describes these heretics in the words: " As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so they also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be manifest to all men, as theirs also was."^ So the prophet goes on to say of the partridge, which gathers what it has not brought forth: " In the midst of his days they shall leave him, and in the end he shall be a fool; " that is, he who at first misled people by a promising display of superior wisdom,

1 Rom. i. 28. 21 Cor. ii. 8. ' 2 Tim. iii. 8.

250 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.EAX. [BOOK XIII.]

shall be a fool, that is, shall be seen to be a fool. He will be seen when his folly is manifest to all men, and to those to whom he was at first a wise man he will then be a fool.

13. As if anticipating that the inquirer would ask next by what plain mark a young disciple, not yet able to distinguish the truth among so many errors, might find the true Church of Christ, since the clear fulfilment of so many predictions compelled him to
believe in Christ, the prophet answers this question in what follows, and teaches that the Church of Christ, which he describes prophetically, is conspicuously visible. His words are: "A glorious high throne is our sanctuary." This glorious throne is the Church of which the apostle says: "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." The Lord also, foreseeing the conspicuousness of the Church as a help to young disciples who might be misled, says, "A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." Since, then, a glorious high throne is our sanctuary, no attention is to be paid to those who would lead us into sectarianism, saying, "Lo, here is Christ," or "Lo there." Lo here, lo there, speaks of division; but the true city is on a mountain, and the mountain is that which, as we read in the prophet Daniel, grew from a little stone till it filled the whole earth. And no attention should be paid to those who, professing some hidden mystery confined to a small number, say, Behold, He is in the chamber; behold, in the desert: for a city set on an hill cannot be hid, and a glorious high throne is our sanctuary.

14. After considering these instances of the fulfilment of prophecy about kings and people acting as persecutors, and then becoming believers, about the destruction of idols, about the blindness of the Jews, about their testimony to the writings which they have preserved, about the folly of heretics, about the dignity of the Church of true and genuine Christians, the inquirer would most reasonably receive the testimony of these prophets about the divinity of Christ. No doubt, if we were to begin by urging him to believe prophecies yet unfulfilled, he might justly answer, What have I to do with these prophets, of whose truth I have no evidence? But, in view of

the manifest accomplishment of so many remarkable predictions, no candid person would despise either the things which were thought worthy of being predicted in those early times with so much solemnity, or those who made the predictions. To none can we trust more safely, as regards either events long past or those still future, than to men whose words are supported by the evidence of so many notable predictions having been fulfilled.

15. If any truth about God or the Son of God is taught or predicted in the Sibyl or Sibyls, or in Orpheus, or in Hermes, if there ever was such a person, or in any other heathen poets, or theologians, or sages, or philosophers, it may be useful for the refutation of Pagan error, but cannot lead us to believe in these writers. For while they spoke, because they could not help it, of the God whom we worship, they either taught their fellow-countrymen to worship idols and demons, or allowed them to do so without daring to protest against it. But our sacred writers, with the authority and assistance of God, were the means of establishing and preserving among their people a government under which heathen customs were condemned as sacrilege. If any among this people fell into idolatry or demon-worship, they were either punished by the laws, or met by the awful denunciations of the prophets. They worshipped one God, the maker of heaven and earth. They had rites; but these rites were prophetic, or symbolical of things to come, and were to cease on the appearance of the things signified. The whole state was one great prophet, with its king and priest symbolically anointed, which was discontinued, not by the wish of the Jews themselves, who were in ignorance through unbelief, but only on the coming of Him who was God, anointed with spiritual grace above His fellows, the holy of holies, the true King who should govern us, the true Priest who should offer Himself for us. In a word, the predictions of heathen ingenuity regarding Christ's coming are as different from sacred prophecy as the confession of devils from the proclamation of angels.

16. By such arguments, which might be expanded if we were discussing with one brought up in heathenism, and might be supported by proofs in still greater number, the inquirer whom Faustus has brought before us would certainly be led to believe, unless he preferred his sins to his salvation. As a believer, he would be taken to be cherished in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and would be taught in due course the conduct required of him. He would see many who do not practise the required duties; but this would not shake his faith, even though these people should belong to the same Church and partake of the same sacraments as himself. He would understand that few share in the inheritance of God, while many partake in its
outward signs; that few are united in holiness of life, and in the gift of love shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us, which is a hidden spring that no stranger can approach; and that many join in the solemnity of the sacrament, which he that eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks judgment to himself, while he who neglects to eat it shall not have life in him,"^ and so shall never reach eternal life. He will understand, too, that the good are called few as compared with the multitude of the evil, but that as scattered over the world there are very many growing among the tares, and mixed with the chaff, till the day of harvest and of purging. As this is taught in the Gospel, so is it foretold by the prophets. We read, " As a lily among thorns, so is my beloved among the daughters; "^ and again, " I have dwelt in the tabernacles of Kedar; peaceful among them that hated peace; "^ and again, " Mark in the forehead those who sigh and cry for the iniquities of my people, which are done in the midst of them."^ The inquirer would be confirmed by such passages; and being now a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of God, no longer an alien from Israel, but an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile, would learn to utter from a guileless heart the words which follow in the passage of Jeremiah already quoted, " Lord, the patience of Israel: let all that forsake Thee be dismayed." After speaking of the partridge that is clamorous, and gathers what it has not brought forth; and after extolling the city set on an hill which cannot be hid, to prevent heretics from drawing men away from the Catholic Church; after the words, " A glorious high throne is ^1 John vi. 54. ^Cant. ii. 2. ^Ps. cxx. 7. * Ezek. ix. 1.}
our sanctuary," he seems to ask himself, What do we make of all those evil men who are found mixed with the Church, and who become more numerous as the Church extends, and as all nations are united in Christ? And then follow the words, " O Lord, the patience of Israel." Patience is necessary to obey the command, " Suffer both to grow together till the harvest."^ Impatience towards the evil might lead to forsaking the good, who in the strict sense are the body of Christ, and to forsake them would be to forsake Him. So the prophet goes on to say, " Let all that forsake Thee be dismayed; let those who have departed to the earth be confounded." The earth is man trusting in himself, and inducing others to trust in him. So the prophet adds: " Let them be overthrown, for they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of life." This is the cry of the partridge, that it has got the fountain of life, and will give it; and so men are gathered to it, and depart from Christ, as if Christ, whose name they had professed, had not fulfilled His promise. The partridge gathers those whom it has not brought forth. And in order to do this, it declares. The salvation which Christ promises is with me; I will give it. In opposition to this the prophet says: " Heal me, Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved." So we read in the apostle, " Let no man glory in men:" or in the words of the prophet, " Thou art my praise." ^ Such is a specimen of instruction in apostolic and prophetic doctrine, by which a man may be built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.

17. Faustus has not told us how he would prove the divinity of Christ to the heathen, whom he makes to say: I believe neither the prophets in support of Christ, nor Christ in support of the prophets. It would be absurd to suppose that such a man would believe what Christ says of Himself, when he disbelieves what He says of others. For if he thinks Him unworthy of credit in one case, he must think Him so in all, or at least more so when speaking of Himself than when speaking of others. Perhaps, failing this, Faustus would read to him the Sibyls and Orpheus, and any heathen prophecies about Christ that he could find. But how could he do

What, then, would he do? "Would he bring forward Manichaeus as a witness to Christ? The opposite of this is what the Manichaeans do. They take advantage of the widespread fragrance of the name of Christ to gain acceptance for Manichaeus, that the edge of their poisoned cup may be sweetened with this honey. Taking hold of the promise of Christ to His disciples that He would send the Paraclete, that is, the Comforter or Advocate, they say that this Paraclete is Manichaeus, or in Manichaeus, and so steal an entrance into the minds of men who do not know when He who was promised by Christ really came. Those who have read the canonical book called the Acts of the Apostles find a reference to Christ's promise, and an account of its fulfilment. Faustus, then, has no proof to give to the inquirer. It is not likely that any one will be so infatuated as to take the authority of Manichaeus when he rejects that of Christ. Would he not reply in derision, if not in anger, Why do you ask me to believe Persian books, when you forbid me to believe Hebrew books? The Manichean has no hold on the inquirer, unless he is already in some way convinced of the truth of Christianity. When he finds him willing to believe Christ, then he deludes him with the representation of Christ given by Manichaeus. So the partridge gathers what it has not brought forth. "When will you whom he gathers leave him? When will you see him to be a fool, who tells you that Hebrew testimony is worthless in the case of unbelievers, and superfluous to believers?

18. If believers are to throw away all the books which have led them to believe, I see no reason why they should continue reading the Gospel itself. The Gospel, too, must be worthless to this inquirer, who, according to Paustus' pitiful supposition, rejects with ridicule the authority of Christ. And to the believer it must be superfluous, if true notices of Christ are superfluous to believers. And if the Gospel should be read by the believer, that he may not forget what he has believed, so should the prophets, that he may not forget why he believed. For if he forgets this, his faith cannot be firm. By this principle, you should throw away the books of Manichseus, on the authority of which you already believe that light 'that is, God 'fought with darkness, and that, in order to bind darkness, the light was first swallowed up and bound, and polluted and mangled by darkness, to be restored, and liberated, and purified, and healed by your eating, for which you are rewarded by not being condemned to the mass of darkness for ever, along with that part of the light which cannot be extricated. This fiction is sufficiently published by your practice and your words. Why do you seek for the
testimony of books, and add to the embarrassment of your God by the consumption of
strength in the needless task of writing manuscripts? Burn all your parchments, with
their finely-ornamented binding; so you will be rid of a useless burden, and your God
who suffers confinement in the volume will be set free. What a mercy it would be to the
members of your God, if you could boil your books and eat them!
There might be a difficulty, however, from the prohibition of animal food. Then the
writing must share in the impurity of the sheepskin. Indeed, you are to blame for this; for,
like what you say was done in the first war between light and darkness, you brought what
was clean in the pen in contact with the uncleanness of the parchment. Or perhaps, for the
sake of the colours, we may put it the other way; and so the darkness would be yours, in
the ink which you brought against the light of the white pages. If these remarks irritate
you, you should rather be angry with yourselves for believing doctrines of which these
are the necessary consequences. As for the books of the apostles and prophets, we read
them as a record of our faith, to encourage our hope and animate our love. These books
are in perfect harmony with one another; and their harmony, like the music of a heavenly
trumpet, wakens us from the torpor of worldliness, and urges us on to the prize of our
high calling. The apostle, after quoting from the prophets the words, "The reproaches of
them that reproached Thee fell on me," goes on to speak of the benefit of

256 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [BOOK XIV.]

reading the prophets: " For whatsoever things were written beforetime were written for
our learning; that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope."^ If Faustus denies this, we can only say with Paul, " If any one shall preach to you another
doctrine than that ye have received, let him be accursed."^

BOOK XIV.

1. Faustus. If you ask why we do not believe Moses, it is on account of our love and
reverence for Christ. The most reckless man cannot regard with pleasure a person who
has cursed his father. So we abhor Moses, not so much for his blasphemy of everything
human and divine, as for the awful curse he has pronounced upon Christ the Son of God,
who for our salvation hungr on the tree. Whether Moses did this intentionally or not is
your concern. Either way, he cannot be excused, or considered worthy of belief. His
words are,
" Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." ^ You tell me to believe this man, though, if
he was inspired, he must have cursed Christ knowingly and intentionally; and if he did it
in ignorance, he cannot have been inspired. Take either alternative. Moses was no
prophet, and while cursing in his usual manner, he fell ignorantly into the sin of
blasphemy against God. Or he was inspired, and foresaw the future; and from ill-will to
our salvation, he directs the venom of his malediction against Him who was to
accomplish that salvation on a tree. He who thus injures the Son cannot surely have seen
or known the Father. He who knew nothing of the final ascension of the Son, cannot surely have foretold His advent. Moreover, the extent of the injury inflicted by this curse is to be considered. For it denounces all the righteous men and martp's, and sufferers of every kind, who have died in this way, as Peter and Andrew, and the rest. Such a cruel denunciation could never have come from Moses if he had been a prophet, unless he was a bitter enemy of these sufferers. For he pronounces them cursed

1 Eom. XV. 4. 2 Gal. i. 9. 3 peut. xxi. 23.
not only of men, but of God. What hope, then, of blessing remains to Christ, or his apostles, or to us if we happen to be crucified for Christ's sake? It indicates great thoughtlessness in Moses, and the want of all divine inspiration, that he overlooked the fact that men are hung on a tree for very different reasons, some for their crimes, and others who suffer in the cause of God and of righteousness. In this thoughtless way he heaps all together without distinction under the same curse; whereas if he had had sense, not to say inspiration, if he wished to single out the punishment of the cross from all others as specially detestable, he would have said, Cursed is every guilty criminal that hangeth on a tree. This would have made a distinction between the guilty and the innocent.

And yet even this would have been incorrect, for Christ took the malefactor from the cross along with himself into the Paradise of his Father. What becomes of the curse on every one that hangeth on a tree? Was Barabbas, the notorious robber, who certainly was not hung on a tree, but was set free from prison at the request of the Jews, more blessed than the thief who accompanied Christ from the cross to heaven? Again, there is a curse on the man that worships the sun or the moon. Now if under a heathen monarch I am forced to worship the sun, and if from fear of this curse I refuse, shall I incur this other curse by suffering the punishment of crucifixion? Perhaps Moses was in the habit of cursing everything good. We think no more of his denunciation than of an old wife's scolding. So we find him pronouncing a curse on all youths of both sexes, when he says: "Cursed is every one that raiseth not up a seed in Israel." This is aimed directly at Jesus, who, according to you, was born among the Jews, and raised up no seed to continue his family. It points too at his disciples, some of whom he took from the wives they had married, and some who were unmarried he forbade to take wives. We have good reason, you see, for expressing our abhorrence of the daring style in which Moses hurls his maledictions against Christ, against light, against chastity, against everything divine. You cannot make much of the distinction between

^ Deut. XXV. 5-10.

7 E

258 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICHiEAX. [BOOK XIV.]

hanging on a tree and being crucified, as you often try to do by way of apology; for Paul repudiates such a distinction when lie says, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; as it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree."^^

2. Augustine. The pious Faustus is pained because Christ is cursed by Moses. His love for Christ makes him hate Moses.
Before explaining the sacred import and the piety of the words, " Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," I would ask these pious people why they are angry with Moses, since his curse does not affect their Christ. If Christ hung on the tree. He must have been fastened to it with nails, the marks of which He showed to His doubting disciple after His resurrection. Accordingly He must have had a vulnerable and mortal body, which the Manichaeans deny. Call the wounds and the marks false, and it follows that His hanging on the tree was false. This Christ is not affected by the curse, and there is no occasion for this indignation against the person uttering the curse. If they pretend to be angry with Moses for cursing what they call the false death of Christ, what are we to think of themselves, who do not curse Christ, but, what is much worse, make Him a liar? If it is wrong to curse mortality, it is a much more heinous offence to sully the purity of truth. But let us make these heretical cavils an occasion for explaining this mystery to believers.

3. Death comes upon man as the punishment of sin, and so is itself called sin; not that a man sins in dying, but because sin is the cause of his death. So the word tongue, which properly means the fleshy substance between the teeth and the palate, is applied in a secondary sense to the result of the tongue's action. In this sense we speak of a Latin tongue and a Greek tongue. The word hand, too, means both the members of the body we use in working, and the writing which is done with the hand. In this sense we speak of writing as being proved to be the hand of a certain person, or of recognising the hand of a friend. The writing is certainly not a member of the body, but the name hand is given to it because it is the hand that does it. So sin means both a bad

1 Gal. iii. 10.
action deserving punishment, and death the consequence of sin. Christ has no sin in the
sense of deserving death, but He bore for our sakes sin in the sense of death as brought on
human nature by sin. This is what hung on the tree; this is what was cursed by Moses.
Thus was death condemned that its reign might cease, and cursed that it might be
destroyed. By Christ's taking our sin in this sense, its condemnation is our deliverance,
while to remain in subjection to sin is to be condemned.

4. What does Faustus find strange in the curse pronounced on sin, on death, and on
human mortality, which Christ had on account of man's sin, though He Himself was
sinless?
Christ's body was derived from Adam, for His mother the Virgin Mary was a child of
Adam. But God said in Paradise,
"On the day that ye eat, ye shall surely die." This is the curse which hung on the tree. A
man may deny that Christ was cursed who denies that He died. But the man who believes
that Christ died, and acknowledges that death is the fruit of sin, and is itself called sin,
will understand who it is that is cursed by Moses, when he hears the apostle saying,
"For our old man is crucified with Him." The apostle boldly says of Christ, "He was
made a curse for us;" for he could also venture to say, "He died for all." "He died," and
"He was cursed," are the same. Death is the effect of the curse; and sin is cursed, whether
it means the action which merits punishment, or the punishment which follows. Christ,
though guiltless, took our punishment, that He might cancel our guilt, and do away with
our punishment.

5. These things are not my conjectures, but are affirmed constantly by the
apostle, with an
emphasis sufficient to rouse the careless and to silence the gainsayers. "God," he says,
"sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin in the
flesh." Christ's flesh was not sinful, because it was not born of Mary by ordinary
generation; but because death is the effect of sin, this flesh, in being mortal, had the
likeness of sinful flesh. This is called sin in the following words, "that by sin He might
condemn sin in the flesh." Again he says: "He hath made Him to be sin for

1 Rom. vi. 6. 2 jQjy^ yiii^ 3^
6. If we read, "Cursed of God is every one that hangeth on a tree," the addition of the words "of God" creates no difficulty. For had not God hated sin and our death, He would not have sent His Son to bear and to abolish it. And there is nothing strange in God's cursing what He hates. For His readiness to give us the immortality which will be had at the coming of Christ, is in proportion to the compassion with which He hated our death when it hung on the cross at the death of Christ. And if Moses curses every one that hangeth on a tree, it is certainly not because he did not foresee that righteous men would be crucified but rather because He foresaw that heretics would deny the death of the Lord to be real, and would try to disprove the application of this curse to Christ, in order that they might disprove the reality of His death. For if Christ's death was not real, nothing cursed hung on the cross when He was crucified, for the crucifixion cannot have been real. Moses cries from the distant past to these heretics: Your evasion in denying the reality of the death of Christ is useless. Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree; not this one or that, but absolutely every one. What! the Son of God? Yes, assuredly. This is the very thing you object to, and that you are so anxious to evade.

You will not allow that He was cursed for us, because you will not allow that He died for us. Exemption from Adam's curse implies exemption from his death. But as Christ endured death as man, and for man; so also, Son of God as He was, ever living in His own righteousness, but dying for our offences, He submitted as man, and for man, to bear the curse which accompanies death. And as He died in the flesh which He took in bearing our punishment, so also, while ever blessed in His own righteousness. He was cursed for our

1 2 Cor. V. 21.
offences, in the death which He suffered in bearing our punishment. And these words "every one" are intended to check the ignorant ofhiciousness which would deny the reference of the curse to Christ, and so, because the curse goes along with death, would lead to the denial of the true death of Christ.

7. The believer in the true doctrine of the gospel will understand that Christ is not reproached by Moses when he speaks of Him as cursed, not in His divine majesty, but as hanging on the tree as our substitute, bearing our punishment, any more than He is praised by the Manichseans when they deny that He had a mortal body, so as to suffer real death. In the curse of the prophet there is praise of Christ's humility, while in the pretended regard of the heretics there is a charge of falsehood. If, then, you deny that Christ was cursed, you must deny that He died; and then you have to meet, not Moses, but the apostles. Confess that He died, and you may also confess that He, without taking our sin, took its punishment. Now the punishment of sin cannot be blessed, or else it would be a thing to be desired. The curse is pronounced by divine justice, and it will be well for us if we are redeemed from it. Confess then that Christ died, and you may confess that He bore the curse for us; and that when Moses said, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," he said in fact. To hang on a tree is to be mortal, or actually to die.. He might have said, "Cursed is every one that is mortal," or "Cursed is every one dying;" but the prophet knew that Christ would suffer on the cross, and that heretics would say that He hung on the tree only in appearance, without really dying. So he exclaims. Cursed; meaning that He really died. He knew that the death of sinful man, which Christ though sinless bore, came from that curse, "If ye touch it, ye shall surely die." Thus also, the serpent hung on the pole was intended to show that Christ did not feign death, but that the real death into which the serpent by his fatal counsel cast mankind was hung on the cross of Christ's passion. The Manichaeans turn away from the view of this real death, and so they are not healed of the poison of the serpent, as we read that in the wilderness as many as looked were healed.

8. It is true, some ignorantly distinguish between hanging

on a tree and being crucified. So some explain this passage as referring to Judas. But how do they know whether he hung himseK from wood or from stone? Faustus is right in saying that the apostle obliges us to refer the words to Christ. Such ignorant Catholics are the prey of the Manichseans. Such they get hold of and entangle in their sophistry. Such were we when we fell into this heresy, and adhered to it.
Such were we, when, not by our own strength, but by the mercy of God, we were rescued.

9. What attacks on divine things does Faustus speak of when he charges Moses with sparing nothing human or divine?
He makes the charge without stopping to prove it. We know, on the contrary, that Moses gave due praise to everything really divine, and in human affairs was a just ruler, considering his times and the grace of his dispensation. It will be time to prove this when we see any proof of Faustus' charges. It may be clever to make such charges cautiously, but there is great incaution in the cleverness which ruins its possessor. It is good to be clever on the side of truth, but it is a poor thing to be clever in opposition to the truth.

Faustus says that Moses spared nothing human or divine; not that he spared no god or man. If he said that Moses did not spare God, it could easily be shown in reply that Moses everywhere does honour to the true God, whom he declares to be the Maker of heaven and earth. Again, if he said that Moses spared none of the gods, he would betray himself to Christians as a worshipper of the false gods that Moses denounces; and so he would be prevented from gathering what he has not brought forth, by the brood taking refuge under the wings of the Mother Church. Faustus tries to ensnare the babes, by saying that Moses spared nothing divine, wishing not to frighten Christians with a profession of belief in the gods, which would be plainly opposed to Christianity, and at the same time appearing to take the side of the Pagans against us; for they know that Moses has said many plain and pointed things against the idols and gods of the heathen, which are devils.

10. If the Manichaeans disapprove of Moses on this account, let them confess that they are worshippers of idols and devils.
This, indeed, may be the case without their being aware of it. The apostle tells us that "in the last days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy." ã—" Whence but from devils, who are fond of falsehood, could the idea have come that Christ's sufferings and death were unreal, and that the marks which He showed of His wounds were unreal? Are these not the doctrines of lying devils, which teach that Christ, the Truth itself, was a deceiver? Besides, the Manichseans openly teach the worship, if not of devils, still of created things, which the apostle condemns in the words, "They worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator."^ 11. As there is an unconscious worship of idols and devils in the fanciful legends of the Manichseans, so they knowingly serve the creature in their worship of the sun and moon. And in what they call their service of the Creator they really serve their own fancy, and not the Creator at all. For they deny that God created those things which the apostle plainly declares to be the creatures of God, when he says of food, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it is received with thanksgiving."^ This is sound doctrine, which you cannot bear, and so turn to fables. The apostle praises the creature of God, but forbids the worship of it; and in the same way Moses gives due praise to the sun and moon, while at the same time he states the fact of their having been made by God, and placed by Him in their courses, ã€” the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night. Probably you think Moses spared nothing divine, simply because he forbade the worship of the sun and moon, whereas you turn towards them in all directions in your worship. But the sun and moon take no pleasure in your false praises. It is the devil, the transgressor, that delights in false praises. The powers of heaven, who have not fallen by sin, would their Creator to be praised in them; and their true praise is that which does no wrong to their Creator. He is -wronged when they are said to be His members, or parts of His substance. For He is perfect and independent, not divided or scattered in space, but unchangeable self-existent, self-sufficient, and blessed in Himself. In the abundance of His goodness, He by His word spoke, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created.

And if earthly bodies are good, of which the apostle spoke when he said that no food is unclean, because every creature of God is good, much more the heavenly bodies, of which the sun and moon are the chief; for the apostle says again, "The glory of the terrestrial is one, and the glory of the celestial is another."^ .
12. Moses, then, casts no reproach on the sun and moon when he prohibits their worship. He praises them as heavenly bodies; while he also praises God as the Creator of both heavenly and earthly, and will not allow of His being insulted by giving the worship due to Him to those who are praised only as dependent upon Him. Faustus prides himself on the ingenuity of his objection to the curse pronounced by Moses on the worship of the sun and moon. He says, "If under a heathen monarch I am forced to worship the sun, and if from fear of this curse I refuse, shall I incur this other curse by suffering the punishment of crucifixion?" 'No heathen monarch is forcing you to worship the sun; nor would the sun itself force you, if it were reigning on the earth, as neither does it now wish to be worshipped. As the Creator bears with blasphemers till the judgment, so these celestial bodies bear with their deluded worshippers till the judgment of the Creator. It should be observed that no Christian monarch could enforce the worship of the sun. Faustus instances a heathen monarch, for he knows that their worship of the sun is a heathen custom. Yet, in spite of this opposition to Christianity, the partridge takes the name of Christ, that it may gather what it has not brought forth. The answer to this objection is easy, and the force of truth will soon break the horns of this dilemma. Suppose, then, a Christian threatened by royal authority with being hung on a tree if he will not worship the sun. _If I avoid, you say, the curse pronounced by the law on the worshipper of the sun, I incur the curse pronounced by the same law on him that hangs on a tree. So you will be in a difficulty; only that you worship

1 1 Cor. XV. 40.
the sun without being forced by anybody. But a true Christian, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, distinguishes the curses, and the reasons of them. He sees that one refers to the mortal body which is hung on the tree, and the other to the mind which worships the sun. For though the body bows in worship, "which also is a heinous offence,  
the belief or imagination of the object worshipped is an act of the mind. The death implied in both curses is in one case the death of the body, and in the other the death of the soul. It is better to have the curse in bodily death, "which will be removed in the resurrection, "than the curse in the death of the soul, condemning it along with the body to eternal fire. The Lord solves this difficulty in the words:  
"Fear not them that kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; but fear him who has power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire." In other words, fear not the curse of bodily death, which in time is removed; but fear the curse of spiritual death, which leads to the eternal torment of both soul and body. Be assured, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree is no old wife's railing, but a prophetical utterance. Christ, by the curse, takes the curse away, as He takes away death by death, and sin by sin. In the words, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," there is no more blasphemy than in the words of the apostle, "He died," or, "Our old man was crucified along with Him," or, "By sin He condemned sin," or, "He made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin," and in many similar passages. Confess, then, that when you exclaim against the curse of Christ, you exclaim against His death. If this is not an old wife's railing on your part, it is devilish delusion, which makes you deny the death of Christ because your own souls are dead. You teach people that Christ's death was feigned, making Christ your leader in the falsehood with which you use the name of Christian to mislead men.

13. If Faustus thinks Moses an enemy of continence or virginity because he says, "Cursed is every one that raiseth not up seed in Israel," let them hear the words of Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord to all eunuchs; To them who keep my

* Matt. X. 28. 2 p^oj^_ yj^ Q^ 3 r,om. viii. 3. ^ 2 Cor. y. 21.

266 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XV.]

precepts, and choose the things that please me, and regard my covenant, will I give in my house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters; I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off." -^ Though our adversaries disagree with Moses, if they agree with Isaiah it is something gained. It is enough for ns to know that the same God spoke by both Moses and Isaiah, and that every one is cursed who raiseth not up seed in Israel, both then when begetting children in marriage (for the continuation of the people was a civil duty), and now because no one spiritually born
should rest content without seeking spiritual increase in the production of Christians by preaching Christ, each one according to his ability. So that the times of both Testaments are briefly described in the words, "Cursed is every one that raLseth not up seed in Israel."

BOOK XV.

1. Faustus. Why do we not receive the Old Testament?
Because when a vessel is full, what is poured on it is not received, but allowed to run over; and a full stomach rejects what it cannot hold. So the Jews, satisfied with the Old Testament, reject Christ; and we who have received the New Testament from Christ, reject the Old. You receive both because you are only half filled with each, and the one is not completed, but corrupted by the other. For vessels half filled should not be filled up with anything of a different nature from what they already contain. If it contains wine, it should be filled up with wine, honey with honey, vinegar with vinegar. For to pour gall on honey, or water on wine, or alkaHes on vinegar, is not addition, but adulteration. This is why we do not receive the Old Testament. Our Church, the bride of Christ, the poor bride of a rich bridegroom, is content with the possession of her husband, and scorns the wealth of inferior lovers, and despises the gifts of the Old Testament and of its author, and from regard to her own character, receives only the letters of her husband. We leave

^ Isa. Ivi. 4, 0,
the Old Testament to your Church, that, like a bride faithless to her spouse, delights in the letters and gifts of another.

This lover who corrupts your chastity, the God of the Hebrews in his stone tablets promises you gold and silver, and abundance of food, and the land of Canaan. Such low rewards have tempted you to be unfaithful to Christ, after all the rich dowry bestowed by him. By such attractions the God of the Hebrews gains over the bride of Christ. You must know that you are cheated, and that these promises are false. This God is in poverty and beggary, and cannot do what he promises. For if he cannot give these things to the synagogue, Ms proper wife, who obeys him in all things like a servant, how can he bestow them on you who are strangers, and who proudly throw off his yoke from your necks? Go on, then, as you have begun, join the new cloth to the old garment, put the new wine in old bottles, serve two masters without pleasing either, make Christianity a monster, half horse and half man; but allow us to serve only Christ, content with his immortal dower, and imitating the apostle Avho says, 

"Our sufficiency is of God, who has made us able ministers of the NEW Testament," ^

In the God of the Hebrews we have no interest whatever; for neither can he perform his promises, nor do we desire that he should. The liberality of Christ has made us indifferent to the flatteries of this stranger. This figure of the relation of the wife to her husband is sanctioned by Paul, who says: "The woman that has a husband is bound to her husband as long as he liveth; but if her husband die, she is freed from the law of her husband. So, then, if while her husband liveth she be joined to another man, she shall be called an adulteress; but if her husband be dead, she is not an adulteress, though she be married to another man." ^

Here he shows that there is a spiritual adultery in being united to Christ before repudiating the author of the law, and counting him, as it were, as dead. This applies chiefly to the Jews who believe in Christ, and who ought to forget their former superstition. We who have been converted to Christ from heathenism, look upon the God of the Hebrews not merely as dead, but as never having

1 2 Cor. iii. 5, 6. 2 Rom. vii. 2, 3.

268 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH. [BOOK XV.]

existed, and do not need to be told to forcret liim. A Jew, when he believes, should regard Adonai as dead; a Gentile should reG^ard his idol as dead; and so with everythigr that has been held sacred before conversion. One who, after giving up idolatry, worships both the God of the Hebrews and Christ, is like an abandoned woman, who after the death of one husband marries two others.

2. AugiLstiu. Let all who have given their hearts to Christ say whether they can listen patiently to these things, unless Christ Himself enable them. Faustus, full of the new honey, rejects the old vinegar; and Paul, full of the old vinegar, has poured out half that
the new honey may be poured in, not to be kept, but to be corrupted. When the apostle calls himself a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, this is the new honey. But when he adds, " which He promised before by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures of His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh," *this is the old vinegar. Who could bear to hear this, unless the apostle himself consoled us by saying: " There must be heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you " ? " Why should we repeat what we said already ? ^ â€” that the new cloth and the old garment, the new wine and the old bottles, mean not two Testaments, but two lives and two hopes, â€” that the relation of the two Testaments is figuratively described by the Lord when He says: " Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of God is like an householder bringing out of his treasure things new and old."* The reader may remember this as said before, or he may find it on looking back. For if any one tries to serve God with two hopes, one of earthly felicity, and the other of the kingdom of heaven, the two hopes cannot agree; and when the latter is shaken by some affliction, the former will be lost too. Thus it is said, Xo man can serve two masters; which Christ explains thus: " Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."^ But to those who rightly understand it, the Old Testament is a prophecy of the New. Even in that ancient people, the holy patriarchs and prophets, who under-

1 Horn. i. 1-3. 2 1 Cor. xi. 19. s u^y yiii

stood the part they performed, or which they were instrumental in performing, had this hope of eternal life in the New Testament. They belonged to the New Testament, because they understood and loved it, though revealed only in figure. Those belonging to the Old Testament were the people who cared for nothing else but the temporal promises, without understanding them as significant of eternal things. But all this has already been more than enough insisted on.

3. It is amazingly bold in the impious and, impure sect of the Manichaeans to boast of being the chaste bride of Christ. All the effect of such a boast on the really chaste members of the holy Church is to remind them of the apostle's warning against deceivers: "I have joined you to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear lest, as the serpent deceived Eve by his guile, so your minds also should be corrupted from the purity which is in Christ."^ What else do those preachers of another gospel than that which we have received try to do, but to corrupt us from the purity which we preserve for Christ, when they stigmatize the law of God as old, and praise their own falsehoods as new, as if all that is new must be good, and all that is old bad? The Apostle John, however, praises the old commandment, and the Apostle Paul bids us avoid novelties in doctrine. As an unworthy son and servant of the Catholic Church, the true bride of the true Christ, I too, as appointed to give out food to my fellow-servants, would speak to her a word of counsel. Continue ever to shun the profane errors of the Manichseans, which have been tried by the experience of thy own children, and condemned by their recovery. By that heresy I was once separated from thy fellowship, and after running into danger which ought to have been avoided, I escaped. Restored to thy service, my experience may perhaps be profitable to thee. Unless thy true and truthful Bridegroom, from whose side thou wert made, had obtained the remission of sins through His own real blood, the gulf of error would have swallowed me up; I should have become dust, and been devoured by the serpent. Be not misled by the name of truth. The truth is in thine own milk, and in thine own bread.

1 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3.

270 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH. EAN. [BOOK XV.]

They have the name only, and not the thing. Thy full-grown children, indeed, are secure; but I speak to thy babes, my brothers, and sons, and masters, whom thou, the virgin mother, fertile as pure, dost cherish into life under thine anxious wings, or dost nourish with the milk of infancy. I call upon these, thy tender offspring, not to be seduced by noisy vanities, but rather to pronounce accursed any one that preaches to them another gospel than that which they
have received in thee. I call upon these not to leave the true and truthful Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; not to forsake the abundance of His goodness which He has laid up for them that fear Him, and has wrought for them that trust in Him. How can they expect to find truthful words in one who preaches an untruthful Christ? Scorn the reproaches cast on thee, for thou knowest well that the gift which thou desirest from thy Bridegroom is eternal life, for He Himself is eternal life.

4. It is a silly falsehood that thou hast been seduced to another God, who promises abundance of food and the land of Canaan. For thou canst perceive how the saints of old, who were also thy children, were enlightened by these figures which were prophecies of thee. Thou needest not regard the poor jest against the stone tablets, for the stony heart of which they were in old times a figure is not in thee. For thou art an epistle of the apostles, "written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not on tables of stone, but on the fleshy tables of the heart." Our opponents ignorantly think that these words are in their favour, and that the apostle finds fault with the dispensation of the Old Testament, whereas they are the words of the prophet. This utterance of the apostles was a fulfilment of the long anterior utterances of the prophet whom the Manichaeans reject, for they believe the apostles without understanding them. The prophet says: "I will take away from them the stony heart, and I will give them a heart of flesh." This is but: "Not on tables of stone, but on the fleshy tables of the heart"? For by the heart of flesh and the fleshy tables is not meant a carnal understanding: but as flesh feels, whereas a stone cannot, the

1 Ps. xxxi. 19. 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3. Ezek. xi. 19.

BOOK XT.] THE BRIDE ADIOXIISIED. 271

insensibility of stone signifies an unintelligent heart, and the sensibility of flesh signifies an intelligent heart. Instead, then, of scoffing at thee, they deserve to be ridiculed who say that earth, and wood, and stones have sense, and that their life is more intelligent than animal life. So, not to speak of the truth, even their own fiction obliges them to confess that the law written on tables of stone was purer than their sacred parchments. Or perhaps they prefer sheepskin to stone, because their legends make stones the bones of princes. In any case, the ark of the Old Testament was a cleaner covering for the tables of stone than the goatskin of their manuscripts. Laugh at these things, while pitying them, to show their falsehood and absurdity. With a heart no longer stony, thou canst see in these stone tablets a suitableness to that hard-hearted people; and at the same time thou canst find even there the stone, thy Bridegroom, described by Peter as "a living stone, rejected by men, but chosen of God, and precious." To them He was "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence;" but to thee, "the stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." This is all explained by Peter, and is quoted from the prophets, with whom these heretics have nothing to do. Pearl not, then, to read these tablets: they are from thy Husband; to others the stone was a sign of insensibility, but to thee of strength and stability. With the finger of God
these tablets were written; with the finger of God thy Lord cast out devils; with the finger
of God drive thou away the doctrines of lying devils which sear the conscience. With
these tablets thou canst confound the seducer who calls himself the Paraclete, that he may
impose upon thee by a sacred name. Por on the fiftieth day after the passover the tables
were given; and on the fiftieth day after the passion of thy Bridegroom â€” of whom the
passover was a type â€” the finger of God, the Holy Spirit, the promised Paraclete, was
given. Pear not the tablets which convey to thee ancient writings now made plain.
Only be not under the law, lest fear prevent thy fulfilling it; but be under grace, that love,
which is the fulfilling of the law, may be in thee. Por it was in a review of these very
tablets that the friend of thy Bridegroom said: " Por thou shalt

^ 1 Pet. ii. 4-8.

272EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÂ’AN. [BOOK XV.-

not commit adultery. Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not covet, and if there be any
other commandment, it is contained in this word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as
thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."^ One table contains the precept of love to God, and the other of love to man. And He who
first sent these tablets Himself came to enjoin those precepts on which hang the law and
the prophets. In the first precept is the chastity of thy espousals; in the second is the
unity of thy members. In the one thou art united to divinity; in the other thou dost gather
a society. And these two precepts are identical with the ten, of which three relate to God,
and seven to our neighbour. Such is the chaste tablet in which thy Lover and thy Beloved
of old prefigured to thee the new song on a psaltery of ten strings; Himself to be extended
on the cross for thee, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh, and that the
righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in thee. Such is the conjugal tablet, which may
well be hated by the unfaithful wife.

5. I turn now to thee, thou deluded and deluding congregation of Manichseus, â€”
wedded to so many elements, or rather prostituted to so many devils, and impregnated
with blasphemous falsehoods, â€” dost thou dare to slander as unchaste the marriage of
the Catholic Church with thy Lord ? Behold thy lovers, one balancing creation, and the
other bearing it up like Atlas. For one, by thy account, holds the sources of the elements,
and hangs the world in space; while the other keeps him up by kneeling down and
carrying the weight on his shoulders. Where are those beings ? And if they are so
occupied, how can they come to visit thee, to spend an idle hour in getting their shoulders
or their fingers relieved by thy soft, soothing touch ? But thou art deceived by evil spirits
which commit adultery with thee, that thou mayest conceive falsehoods and bring forth
vanities. Well mayest thou reject the message of the true God, as opposed to thy
parchments, where in the vain imaginations of a wanton mind thou hast gone after so
many false gods. The fictions of the poets are more respectable than thine, in this at least,
that they deceive
Â» Rom. xiii. 9, 10. ' Matt. xxii. 37-40.
no one; while the fables in thy books, by assuming an appearance of truth, mislead the childish, both young and old, and pervert their minds. As the apostle says, they have itching ears, and turn away from hearing the truth to listen to fables. How shouldst thou bear the sound doctrine of these tables, where the first commandment is, "Hear, Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord," when thy corrupt affections find shameful delight in so many false deities? Dost thou not remember thy love-song, where thou describest the chief ruler in perennial majesty, crowned with flow^ers, and of fiery countenance? To have even one such lover is shameful; for a chaste wife seeks not a husband crowned with flowers. And thou canst not say that this description or representation has a typical meaning, for thou art wont to praise Manichseus for nothing more than for speaking to thee the simple naked truth without the disguise of figures. So the God of thy song is a real king, bearing a sceptre and crowned with flowers.

When he wears a crown of flowers, he ought to put aside his sceptre; for effeminacy and majesty are incongruous. And then he is not thy only lover; for the song goes on to tell of twelve seasons clothed in flowers, and filled with song, throwing their flowers at their father's face. These are twelve great gods of thine, three in each of the four regions surrounding the first deity. How this deity can be infinite, when he is thus circumscribed, no one can say. Besides, there are countless principalities, and hosts of gods, and troops of angels, which thou sayest were not created by God, but produced from His substance.

6. Thou art thus convicted of worshipping gods without number; for thou canst not bear the sacred doctrine which teaches that there is one Son of one God, and one Spirit of both.

And these, instead of being without number, are not three Gods; for not only is their substance one and the same, but their operation by means of this substance is also one and the same, while they have a separate manifestation in the material creation. These things thou dost not understand, and canst not receive. Thou art full, as thou sayest, for thou art steeped in blasphemous absurdities. Wilt thou continue burying thyself under such crudities? Sing on, then, and open thine eyes, if thou canst, to thine own shame. In this doctrine of lying devils thou art invited to fabulous dwellings of angels in a happy clime, and to fragrant fields where nectar flows for ever from trees and hills, in seas and rivers. These are the fictions of thy foolish heart, which revels in such idle fancies. Such expressions are sometimes used as figurative descriptions of the
abundance of spiritual enjoyments; and they lead the mind of the student to inquire into their hidden meaning. Sometimes there is a material representation to the bodily senses, as the fire in the bush, the rod becoming a serpent, and the serpent a rod, the garment of the Lord not divided by His persecutors, the anointing of His feet or of His head by a devout woman, the branches of the multitude preceding and following Him when riding on the ass. Sometimes, either in sleep or in a trance, the spirit is informed by means of figures taken from material things, as Jacob's ladder, and the stone in Daniel cut out without hands and growing into a mountain, and Peter's vessel, and all that John saw. Sometimes the figures are only in the language; as in the Song of Songs, and in the parable of a householder making a marriage for his son, or that of the prodigal son, or that of the man who planted a vineyard and let it out to husbandmen.

Thou boastest of Manichseus as having come last, not to use figures, but to explain them. His expositions throw light on ancient types, and leave no problem unsolved. This idea is supported by the assertion that the ancient types, in vision or in action or in words, had in view the coming of Manichseus, by whom they were all to be explained; while he, knowing that no one is to follow him, makes use of a style free from all figurative expressions. What, then, are those fields, and shady hills, and crowns of flowers, and fragrant odours, in which the desires of thy fleshly mind take pleasure? If they are not significant figures, they are either idle fancies or delirious dreams. If they are figures, away with the impostor who seduces thee with the promise of naked truth, and then mocks thee with idle tales. His ministers and his wretched deluded followers are wont to bait their hook with that saying of the apostle, "Now we see through a glass in a figure, but then face to face." As if, forsooth, the Apostle Paul knew in part, and prophesied in part, and saw through a glass in a figure; whereas all this is removed at the coming of Manichseus, who brings that which is perfect, and reveals the truth face to face. fallen and shameless! still to continue uttering such folly, still feeding on the wind, still embracing the idols of thine own heart. Hast thou, then, seen face to face the king with the sceptre, and the crown of flowers, and the hosts of gods, and the great world-holder with six faces and radiant with light, and that other exalted ruler surrounded with troops of angels, and the invincible warrior with a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left, and the famous sovereign who moves the three wheels of fire, water, and wind, and Atlas, chief of all, bearing the world on his shoulders, and supporting himself on his arms? These, and a thousand other marvels, hast thou seen face to face, or are thy songs doctrines learned from lying devils, though thou knowest it not? Alas! miserable prostitute to these dreams, such are the vanities which thou drinkest up instead of the truth; and, drunk with this deadly poison, thou darest with this jest of the tablets to affront the matronly purity of the spouse of the only Son of God; because no longer under the tutorship of the law, but under the control of grace, neither proud in activity nor crouching in fear, she lives by faith, and hope, and love, the Israel in whom there is no
guile, who hears what is written: "The Lord thy God is one Lord." This thou hearest not, and art gone a whoring after a multitude of false gods.

7. Of necessity these tables are against thee, for the second commandment is, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;" whereas thou dost attribute the vanity of falsehood to Christ Himself, who, to remove the vanity of the fleshly mind, rose in a true body, visible to the bodily eye. So also the third commandment about the rest of the Sabbath is against thee, for thou art tossed about by a multitude of restless fancies. How these three commandments relate to the love of God, thou hast neither the power nor the will to understand. Shamefully headstrong and turbulent, thou hast

^ 1 Cor. xiii. 9.

276 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÉEAN. [BOOK XV.]

reached the height of folly, vanity, and worthlessness; thy beauty is spoiled, and thine order perished. I know thee, for I was once the same. How shall I now teach thee that these three precepts relate to the love of God, of whom, and by whom, and in whom are all things? How canst thou understand this, when thy pernicious doctrines prevent thee from understanding and from obeying the seven precepts relating to the love of our neighbour, which is the bond of human society? The first of these precepts is, "Honour thy father and mother;" which Paul quotes as the first commandment with promise, and himself repeats the injunction. But thou art taught by thy doctrine of devils to regard thy parents as thine enemies, because their union brought thee into the bonds of flesh, and laid impure fetters even on thy god. The doctrine that the production of children is an evil, directly opposes the next precept, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" for those who believe this doctrine, in order that their wives may not conceive, are led to commit adultery even in marriage. They take wives, as the law declares, for the procreation of children; but from this erroneous fear of polluting the substance of the deity, their intercourse with their wives is not of a lawful character; and the production of children, which is the proper end of marriage, they seek to avoid. As the apostle long ago predicted of thee, thou dost indeed forbid to marry, for thou seekest to destroy the purpose of marriage. Thy doctrine turns marriage into an adulterous connection, and the bed-chamber into a brothel. This false doctrine leads in a similar way to the transgression of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." For thou dost not give^ bread to the hungry, from fear of imprisoning in flesh the member of thy God. From fear of fancied murder, thou dost actually commit murder. For if thou wast to meet a beggar starving for want of food, by the law of God, to refuse him food would be murder; while to give food would be murder by the law of Manichæus. ISTot one commandment in the decalogue dost thou observe. If thou wert to abstain from theft, thou wouldst be guilty of
allowing bread or food, whatever it might be, to undergo the misery of being devoured by a man of no merit, instead of running off with it to the
laboratory of the stomach of thy elect; and so by theft saving thy god from the imprisonment with which he is threatened, and also from that from which he already suffers. Then, if thou art caught in the theft, wilt thou not swear by this god that thou art not guilty? For what will he do to thee when thou sayest to him, I swore by thee falsely, but it was for thy benefit; a regard for thine honour would have been fatal to thee? So the precept. Thou shalt not bear false witness, will be broken, not only in thy testimony, but in thine oath, for the sake of the liberation of the members of thy god.

The commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," is the only one which thy false doctrine does not oblige thee to break. But if it is unlawful to covet our neighbour's wife, what must it be to excite covetousness in others?

Remember thy beautiful gods and goddesses presenting themselves with the purpose of exciting desire in the male and female leaders of darkness, in order that the gratification of this passion might effect the liberation of this god, who is in confinement everywhere, and who requires the assistance of such self-degradation. The last commandment, "Thou shalt not covet the possessions of thy neighbour," it is wholly impossible for thee to obey. Does not this god of thine delude thee with the promise of making new worlds in a region belonging to another, to be the scene of thine imaginary triumph after thy imaginary conquest? In the desire for the accomplishment of these wild fancies, while at the same time thou believest that this land of darkness is in the closest neighbourhood with thine own substance, thou certainly covetest the possessions of thy neighbour. Well indeed mayest thou dislike the tables which contain such good precepts in opposition to thy false doctrine. The three relating to the love of God thou dost entirely set aside. The seven by which human society is preserved thou keepest only from a regard to the opinion of men, or from fear of human laws; or good customs make thee averse to some crimes; or thou art restrained by the natural principle of not doing to another what thou wouldst not have done to thyself. But whether thou doest what thou wouldst not have done to thyself, or refrainest from doing w^hat thou wouldst not have done to thyself, thou seest the opposition of the heresy to the law, whether thou actest according to it or not.

8. The true bride of Christ, whom thou hast the audacity to taunt with the stone tablets, knows the difference between the letter and the spirit, or in other words, between law and grace; and serving God no longer in the oldness of the letter, but in newness of spirit, she is not under the law, but under grace. She is not blinded by a spirit of controversy, but learns meekly from the apostle what is this law which we are not to be under; for "it was given," he says, "on account of transgression, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made." ^ And again: "It entered, that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace has much more abounded." ^ Not that the law is sin, though it cannot
give life without grace, but rather increases the guilt; for "where there is no law, there is no transgression." \(^\text{1 Gal. iii. 19.}^\) The letter without the spirit, the law without grace, can only condemn. So the apostle explains his meaning, in case any should not understand: "What shall we say then? Is the law sin? God forbid. For I had not known sin but by the law. For I had not known lust, unless the law had said. Thou shalt not covet. But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me. Therefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, \(^\text{Rom. vii. 7-13.}^\) She at whom thou scoffest knows what this means; for she asks earnestly, and seeks humbly, and knocks meekly. She sees that no fault is found with the law, when it is said, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," any more than with knowledge, when it is said, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." \(^\text{1 Cor. viii. 1.}^\) The passage runs thus: "We know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth." The apostle certainly had no desire to be puffed up; but he had knowledge, because knowledge joined with love not only does not puff up, but strengthens. So the letter when joined with the spirit, and the law when joined with grace, is no

1 Gal. iii. 19. ’â– Eom. v. 20. ^p^oj^ i^ 15,

* Rom. vii. 7-13. ^ 1 Cor. viii. 1.
longer the letter and the law in the same sense as when by itself it kills by abounding sin. In this sense the law is even called the strength of sin, because its strict prohibitions increase the fatal pleasure of sin. Even thus, however, the law is not evil; but " sin, that it may appear sin, works death by that which is good." So things that are not evil may often be hurtful to certain people. The Manichaeans, when they have sore eyes, will shut out their god the sun. The bride of Christ, then, is dead to the law, that is, to sin, which abounds more from the prohibition of the law; for the law apart from grace commands, but does not enable. Being dead to the law in this sense, that she may be married to another who rose from the dead, she makes this distinction without any reproach to the law, which would be blasphemy against its author. This is thy crime; for though the apostle tells thee that the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good, thou dost not acknowledge it as the production of a good being. Its author thou makest to be one of the princes of darkness.

Here the truth confronts thee. They are the words of the Apostle Paul: " The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good." Such is the law given by Him who appointed for a great symbolical use the tablets which thou foolishly deridest. The same law which was given by Moses becomes through Jesus Christ grace and truth; for the spirit is joined to the letter, that the righteousness of the law might begin to be fulfilled, which when unfulfilled only added the guilt of transgression. The law which is holy, and just, and good, is the same law by which sin works death, and to which we must die, that we may be married to another who rose from the dead. Hear what the apostle adds: " But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good, that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful."

Deaf and blind, dost thou not now hear and see? " Sin wrought death in me," he says, " by that which is good." The law is always good: whether it hurts those who are destitute of grace, or benefits those who are filled with grace, itself is always good; as the sun is always good, for every creature of God is good, whether it hurts weak eyes or gladdens the sight of the healthy.

Grace fits the mind for keeping the law, as health fits the eyes for seeing the sun. And as healthy eyes die not to the pleasure of seeing the sun, but to that painful effect of the rays which beat upon the eye so as to increase the darkness; so the mind, healed by the love of the spirit, dies not to the justice of the law, but to the guilt and transgression which followed on the law in the absence of grace. So it is said, " The law is good, if used lawfully; " and immediately after of the same law, " Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man." The man who delights in righteousness itself, does not require the restraint of the letter.
9. The bride of Christ rejoices in the hope of full salvation, and desires for thee a happy conversion from fables to truth.
She desires that the fear of Adoneus, as if he were a strange lover, may not prevent thy escape from the seductions of the wily serpent. Adonai is a Hebrew word, meaning Lord, as applied only to God. In the same way the Greek word latria means service, in the sense of the service of God; and Amen means true, in a special sacred sense. This is to be learned only from the Hebrew Scriptures, or from a translation. The Church of Christ understands and loves these names, without regarding the evils of those who scofp because they are ignorant.
What she does not yet understand, she believes may be explained, as similar things have already been explained to her.
If she is charged with loving Emmanuel, she laughs at the ignorance of the accuser, and holds fast by the truth of this name.
If she is charged with loving Messiah, she scorns her powerless adversary, and clings to her anointed Master. Her prayer for thee is, that thou also mayest be cured of thy errors, and be built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. The monstrosity with which thou ignorantly chargest the true doctrine, is really to be found in the world which, according to thy fanciful stories, is made partly of thy god and partly of the world of darkness. This world, half savage and half divine, is worse than monstrous. The view of such follies should make thee humble and penitent, and should lead thee to shun the serpent, who seduces thee into such errors. If thou dost not believe what Moses says of the guile of the serpent, thou mayest be warned by Paul, who, when speaking of presenting the Church as a chaste virgin to Christ, says, "I
fear lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his craftiness, your minds also should be
 corrupted from the simplicity and purity which is in Christ." ^ In spite of this warning,
thou hast been so misled, so infatuated by the serpent's fatal enchantments, that while he
has persuaded other heretics to believe various falsehoods, he has persuaded thee to
believe that he is Christ. Others, though fallen into the maze of manifold error, still admit
the truth of the apostle's warning.
But thou art so far gone in corruption, and so lost to shame, that thou boldest as Christ the
very being by whom the apostle declares that Eve was beguiled, and against whom he
thus seeks to put the virgin bride of Christ on her guard.
Thy heart is darkened by the deceiver, who intoxicates thee with dreams of glittering
groves. What are these promises but dreams? What reason is there to believe them true?
drunken, but not with wine!

10. Thou hast the impious audacity to accuse the God of the prophets of not fulfilling His
promises even to His servants the Jews. Thou dost not mention, however, any promise
that is unfulfilled; otherwise it might be shown, either that the promise has been fulfilled,
and so that thou dost not understand it, or that it is yet to be fulfilled, and so that thou dost
not believe it. What promise has been fulfilled to thee, to make it probable that thou wilt
obtain new worlds gained from the region of darkness? If there are prophets who predict
the Manichseans with praise, and if it is said that the existence of the sect is a fulfilment
of this prediction, it must first be proved that these predictions were not forged by
Manichseus in order to gain followers. He does not consider falsehood sinful. If he
declares in praise of Christ that He showed false marks of wounds in His body, he can
have no scruple about showing false predictions in his sheepskin volumes.
Assuredly there are predictions of the Manicha^ans, less clear in the prophets, and most
explicit in the apostle. For example: " The Spirit," he says, " speakest expressly, that in
the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to
doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared, forbidding
to marry,

1 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3.

2S2 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AX. [BOOK XV.]

abstaining from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by
believers, and those who know the truth.
For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with
thanksgiving." -^ The fulfillment of this in the Manichseans is as clear as day to all that
know them, and has already been proved as fully as time permits.
11. She whom the apostle warns against the guile of the serpent by which thou hast been corrupted, that he may present her as a chaste virgin to Christ, her only husband, acknowledges the God of the prophets as the true God, and her own God. So many of His promises have already been fulfilled to her, that she looks confidently for the fulfilment of the rest.

'Not can any one say that these prophecies have been forged to suit the present time, for they are found in the books of the Jews. "What could be more unlikely than that all nations should be blessed in Abraham's seed, as it was promised?"

And yet how plainly is this promise now fulfilled! The last promise is made in the following short prophecy: "Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house: they shall ever praise Thee." When trial is past, and death, the last enemy, is destroyed, there will be rest in the constant occupation of praising God, where there shall be no arrivals and no departures. So the prophet says elsewhere: "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; celebrate thy God, Zion: for He hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; He hath blessed thy children within thee." The gates are shut, so that none can go in or out. The Bridegroom Himself says in the Gospel, that He will not open to the foolish virgins though they knock. This Jerusalem, the holy Church, the bride of Christ, is described fully in the Revelation of John. And that which commends the promises of future bliss to the belief of this chaste virgin is, that now she is in possession of what was foretold of her by the same prophets. For she is thus described: "Hearken, daughter, and regard, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house. For the King hath greatly desired thy beauty; and He is thy God. The daughters of Tyre shall worship Him with gifts; the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour. The daughter of the King is

1 1 Tim. iv. 1-4. ^ Ixxxiv. 4. 3 pg. cxlviii. 1.
all glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold. The virgins following her shall be brought unto the King: her companions shall be brought unto thee; with gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought into the temple of the King.

Instead of thy fathers, children shall be born to thee, whom thou shalt make princes over all the earth. Thy name shall be remembered to all generations: therefore shall the people praise thee for ever and ever. "^ Unhappy victim of the serpent's guile, the inward beauty of the daughter of the King is not for thee even to think of. For this purity of mind is that which thou hast lost in opening thine eyes to love and worship the sun and moon. And so by the just judgment of God thou art estranged from the tree of life, which is eternal and internal wisdom; and with thee nothing is called or accounted truth or wisdom but that light which enters the eyes opened to evil, and which in thy impure mind expands and shapes itself into fanciful images. These are thy abominable whoredoms. Still the truth calls on thee to reflect and return. Return to me, and thou shalt be cleansed and restored, if thy shame leads thee to repentance. Hear these words of the true Truth, who neither with feigned shapes fought against the race of darkness, nor with feigned blood redeemed thee.

BOOK XVI.

1. Faustus. You ask why we do not believe Moses, when Christ says, " Moses wrote of me; and if ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me." I should be glad if not only Moses, but all prophets, Jew and Gentile, had written of Christ. It would be no hindrance, but a help to our faith, if we could cull testimonies from all hands agreeing in favour of our God. You could extract the prophecies of Christ out of the superstition which we should hate as much as ever. I am quite willing to believe that Moses, though so much the opposite of Christ, may seem to have written of him. No one but would gladly find a flower in every thorn, and food in every plant, and honey in every insect, although we would not feed on insects or on grass, nor wear thorns as a crown. No one but would wish pearls to be found in every deep, and gems in every land, and fruit on every tree. "We may eat fish from the sea without drinking the water. We may take the useful, and reject what is hurtful. And why may we not take the prophecies of Christ from a religion the rites of which we condemn as useless? This need not make us liable to be led into the bondage of the errors; for we
do not hate the unclean spirits less because they confessed plainly and openly that Jesus was the Son of God. If any similar testimony is found in Moses, I will accept it. But I will not on this account be brought into subjection to his law, which to my mind is pure Paganism. There is no reason for thinking that I can have any objections to receive prophecies of Christ from every spirit.

2. Since you have proved that Christ declared that Moses wrote of him, it would be a great obligation if you would show me what he has written. I have searched the Scriptures, as we are told to do, and have found no prophecies of Christ, either because there are none, or because I could not understand them. The only escape from this perplexity was in one or other of two conclusions. Either this verse must be spurious, or Jesus a liar. As it is not consistent with piety to suppose God a liar, I preferred to attribute falsehood to the writers, rather than to the Author of truth. Moreover, he himself tells that those who came before him were thieves and robbers, which applies first of all to Moses. And when, on the occasion of his speaking of his own majesty, and calling himself the light of the world, the Jews angrily rejoined, "Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true," I do not find that he appealed to the prophecies of Moses, as might have been expected. Instead of this, as having no connection with the Jews, and receiving no testimony from their fathers, he replied: "It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true. I am one who bear witness of myself, and the Father who sent me beareth witness of me." He referred to the voice from heaven which all had heard: "This is my beloved Son, believe Him." I think it likely that if Christ had said that Moses wrote of him, the ingenious hostility of

1 John viii. 13, 17, 18.

BOOK XYI.] MOSES AND CHRIST. 285

the Jews would have led them at once to ask what he supposed Moses to have written. The silence of the Jews is a proof that Jesus never made such a statement.

3. My chief reason, however, for suspecting the genuineness of this verse is what I said before, that in all my search of the writings of Moses I have found no prophecy of Christ. But now that I have found in thee a reader of superior intelligence, I hope to learn something; and I promise to be grateful if no feeling of ill-will prevents you from giving me the benefit of your higher attainments, as your lofty style of reproof entitles me to expect from you. I ask for instruction in whatever the writings of Moses contain about our God and Lord which has escaped me in reading. I beseech you not to use the ignorant argument that Christ affirms Moses to have written of him. For suppose you had not to deal with me, as in my case there is an obligation to believe him whom I profess to follow, but with a Jew or a Gentile, in reply to the statement that Moses wrote of Christ, they will ask for proofs. What shall we say to them? We cannot quote Christ's authority, for they do not believe in him. We must point out what Moses wrote.
4. What, then, shall we point to? Shall it be that passage which you often quote where the God of Moses says to him:
"I will raise up unto them from among their brethren a prophet like unto thee"? But the Jew can see that this does not refer to Christ, and there is every reason against our thinking that it does. Christ was not a prophet, nor was he like Moses: for Moses was a man, and Christ was God; Moses was a sinner, and Christ sinless; Moses was born by ordinary generation, and Christ of a virgin according to you, or, as I hold, not born at all: Moses, for offending his God, was put to death on the mountain; and Christ suffered voluntarily, and the Father was well pleased in him. If we were to assert that Christ was a prophet like Moses, the Jew would either deride us as ignorant or pronounce us untruthful.

5. Or shall we take another favourite passage of yours:
"They shall see their life hanging, and shall not believe their life"? You insert the words "on a tree," which are not in

^Deut. xviii. 15. ^Deut. xxviii. 6Q.

286 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AN. [BOOK XYI.

the original. Nothing can be easier than to show that this has no reference to Christ. Moses is uttering dire threatenings in case the people should depart from his law, and says among other things that they would be taken captive by their enemies, and would be expecting death day and night, having no confidence in the life allowed them by their conquerors, so that their life would hang in uncertainty from fear of impending danger. This passage will not do, we must try others.

I cannot admit that the words, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," refer to Christ, or when it is said that the prince or prophet must be killed who should try to turn away the people from their God, or should break any of the commandments.—^ That Christ did this I am obliged to grant.

But if you assert that these things were written of Christ, it may be asked in reply. What spirit dictated these prophecies in which Moses curses Christ and orders him to be killed? If he had the Spirit of God, these things are not written of Christ; if they are written of Christ, he had not the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God would "not curse Christ, or order him to be killed. To vindicate Moses, you must confess that these passages too have no reference to Christ. So, if you have no others to show, there are none. If there are none, Christ could not have said that there were; and if Christ did not say so, that verse is spurious.

6. The next verse too is suspicious, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me;" for the religion of Moses is so entirely different from that of Christ, that if the Jews believed one, they could not believe the other. Moses strictly forbids any work to be done on Sabbath, and gives as a reason for this prohibition that God made the world and all that is therein in six days, and rested on the seventh day, which is Sabbath; and therefore
blessed or sanctified it as His haven of repose after toil, and commanded that breaking the Sabbath should be punished with death. The Jews, in obedience to Moses, insisted strongly on this, and so would not even listen to Christ when he told them that God always works, and that no day is appointed for the intermission of His pure and unwearied energy, and that accordingly he himself had to work

^ Deut. xiii. 5.
incessantly even on Sabbath. " My Father," he says, " worketh always, and I too must work." ^ Again, Moses places circumcision among the rites pleasing to God, and commands every male to be circumcised in the foreskin of his flesh, and declares that this is a necessary sign of the covenant which God made with Abraham, and that every male not circumcised would be cut off from his tribe, and from his part in the inheritance promised to Abraham and to his seed.^ In this observance, too, the Jews were very zealous, and consequently could not believe in Christ, who made light of these things, and declared that a man when circumcised became twofold a child of hell.^ Again, Moses is very particular about the distinction in animal food, and discourses like an epicure on the merits of fish, and birds, and quadrupeds, and orders some to be eaten as clean, and others which are unclean not to be touched. Among the unclean he reckons the swine and the hare, and fish without scales, and quadrupeds that neither divide the hoof nor chew the cud. In this also the Jews carefully obeyed Moses, and so could not believe in Christ, who taught that all food is alike, and though he allowed no animal food to his own disciples, gave full liberty to the laity to eat whatever they pleased, and taught that men are polluted not by what goes into the mouth, but by the evil things which come out of it. In these and many other things the doctrine of Jesus contradicts that of Moses.

7. ISTot to enumerate all the points of difference, it is enough to mention this one fact, that most Christian sects, and, as is well known, the Catholics, pay no regard to what is prescribed in the writings of Moses. If this does not originate in some error, but in the doctrine correctly transmitted from Christ and his disciples, you surely must acknowledge that the teaching of Jesus is opposed to that of Moses, and that the Jews did not believe in Christ on account of their attachment to Moses. How can it be otherwise than false that Jesus said to the Jews, " If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also," when it is perfectly clear that their belief in Moses prevented them from believing in Jesus, which they might have done if they had left off believing in Moses ? Again I ask you to show me anything that Moses wrote of Christ.

1 John V. 17. 2 Qgij_ xvii. 9-14. ^ j^jatt. xxiii. 15.

288 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XVI.]

8. When you find no passage to point to, you use this weak and inappropriate argument, that a Christian is bound to believe Christ when he says that Moses wrote of him, and that whoever does not believe this is not a Christian. It would be far better to confess at once that you cannot find any passage. This argument might be used with me, because my reverence for Christ compels me to believe what he says.
Still it may be a question whether this is Christ's own declaration, requiring absolute belief, or only the writer's, to be carefully examined. And disbelief in falsehood is no offence to Christ, but to impostors. But of whatever use this argument may be with Christians, it is wholly inapplicable in the case of the Jew or Gentile, with whom we are supposed to be discussing. And even with Christians the argument is objectionable. When the Apostle Thomas was in doubt, Christ did not spurn him from him. Instead of saying, "Believe, if thou art a disciple; whoever does not believe is not a disciple," Christ sought to heal the wounds of his mind by showing him the marks of the wounds in his own body. Does it become you then to tell me that I am not a Christian because I am in doubt, not about Christ, but about the genuineness of a remark attributed to Christ? But, you say, he calls those especially blessed who have not seen, and yet have believed. If you think that this refers to believing without the use of judgment and reason, you are welcome to this blind blessedness. I shall be content with rational blessedness.

9. Augustine. Your idea of taking any prophecies of Christ to be found in Moses, as a fish out of the sea, while you throw away the water from which the fish is taken, is a clever one. But since all that Moses wrote is of Christ, or relates to Christ, either as predicting Him by words and actions, or as illustrating His grace and glory, you, with your faith in the untrue and untruthful Christ of Manichaeus, and your unbelief in Moses, will not even eat the fish. Moreover, though you are sincere in your hostility to Moses, you are hypocritical in your praise of fish. For how can you say that there is no harm in eating a fish taken out of the sea, when your doctrine is that such food is so hurtful, that you would rather starve than make use of it? If all flesh is unclean, as you say it is, and
if the wretched life of your god is confined in all water or plants, from which it is
liberated by your using them for food, according to your own vile superstition, you must
throw away the fish you have praised, and drink the water and eat the thistles you speak
of as useless. As for your comparison of the servant of God to devils, as if his prophecies
of Christ resembled their confession, the servant does not refuse to bear the reproach of
his master. If the Master of the house was called Beelzebub, how much more they of His
household! You have learned this reproach from Christ's enemies; and you are worse
than they were. They did not believe that Jesus was Christ, and therefore thought Him an
impostor. But the only doctrine you believe in is that which makes Christ a liar,
10. What reason have you for saying that the law of Moses is pure Paganism? Is it
because it speaks of a temple, and an altar of sacrifices, and priests? But all these names
are found also in the 'New Testament. " Destroy," Christ says,
" this temple, and in three days I will raise it up; " and again, "When thou offerest thy
gift at the altar;" and again,
" Go, show thyself to the priest, and offer for thyself a sacrifice as Moses commanded,
for a testimony unto them." What these things prefigured the Lord Himself partly tells
us, when He calls His own body the temple; and we learn also from the apostle, who
says, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are; " and again, " I beseech you
therefore by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy,
acceptable to God; " and in similar passages. As the same apostle says, in words which
cannot be too often quoted, these things were our examples, for they were not the work of
devils, but of the one true God who made heaven and earth, and who, though not needing
such things, yet, suiting His requirements to the time, made ancient observances
significant of future realities. Since you pretend to abhor Paganism, though it is only that
you may lead astray by your deception unlearned Christians or those not established in
the faith, show us any authority in Christian books for your worship and service of the
sun and moon. Your heresy is liker Paganism than the

1 Matt. X. 25. 2 joi-n ij. 19. 3 ^i^tt. v. 24.
4 Matt. viii. 4. ^ 1 Cor. iii. 17. ^ Rom. xii. 1.

290 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAX. [BOOK XVI.]

law of Moses is. For you do not worship Christ, but only something that you call Christ, a
fiction of your own fancy; and the gods you serve are either the bodies visible in the
heavens, or hosts of your own contrivance. If you do not build shrines for these worthless
idols, the creatures of the imagination, you make your hearts their temple.
11. You ask me to show what Moses wrote of Christ. Many passages have already been pointed out. But who could point out all? Besides, when any quotation is made, you are ready perversely to try to give the words another meaning; or if the evidence is too strong to be resisted, you will say that you take the passage as a sweet fish out of the salt water, and that you will not therefore consent to drink all the brine of the books of Moses. It will be enough, then, to take those passages in the Hebrew law which Faustus has chosen for criticism, and to show that, when rightly understood, they apply to Christ. For if the things which our adversary ridicules and condemns are made to prove that he himself is condemned by Christian truth, it will be evident that either the mere quotation or the careful examination of the other passages will be enough to show their agreement with Christian faith. "Well, then, thou full of all subtilty, when the Lord in the Gospel says, "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also, for he wrote of me," there is no occasion for the great perplexity you pretend to be in, or for the alternative of either pronouncing this verse spurious or calling Jesus a liar. The verse is as genuine as its words are true.

Pref erred, says Faustus, to attribute falsehood to the writers, rather than to the Author of truth. What sort of faith can you have in Christ as the author of truth, when your doctrine is that His flesh and His death, His wounds and their marks, were feigned? And where is your authority for saying that Christ is the author of truth, if you dare to attribute falsehood to those who wrote of Him, whose testimony has come down to us with the confirmation of those immediately succeeding them? You have not seen Christ, nor has He conversed with you as with the apostles, nor called you from heaven as He did Saul. What knowledge or belief can we have of Christ, but on the authority of Scripture? Or if there is falsehood in the Gospel which has been widely published among all nations, and has been held in such high sacredness in all churches since the name of Christ was first preached, where shall we find a trustworthy record of Christ?

If the Gospel is called in question in spite of the general consent regarding it, there can be no writing which a man may not call spurious if he does not wish to believe it.

12. You go on to quote Christ's words, that all who came before Him were thieves and robbers. How do you know that these were Christ's words, but from the Gospel? You profess faith in these words, as if you had heard them from the mouth of the Lord Himself. But if any one declares the verse to be spurious, and denies that Christ said this, you will have, in reply, to exert yourself in vindication of the authority of the Gospel. Unhappy being! what you refuse to believe is written in the same place as that which you quote as spoken by the Lord Himself. We believe both, for we believe the sacred narrative in which both are contained.
We believe both that Moses wrote of Christ, and that all that came before Christ were thieves and robbers. By their coming He means their not being sent. Those who were sent, as Moses and the holy prophets, came not before Him, but with Him. They did not proudly wish to precede Him, but were the humble bearers of the message which He uttered by them. According to the meaning which you give to the Lord's words, it is plain that with you there can be no prophet. And so you have made a Christ for yourselves after your own fancy. If you have any prophets of your own, they will have, of course, no authority, as not being recognised by any others; but if there are any that you dare to quote as prophesying that Christ would come in an unreal body, and would suffer an unreal death, and would show to His doubting disciples unreal marks of wounds, not to speak of the abominable nature of such prophecies, and of the evident untruthfulness of those who commend falsehood in Christ, by your own interpretation those prophets must have been thieves and robbers, for they could not have spoken of Christ as coming in any manner unless they had come before Him.

292 KErLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAX. [BOOK XVI.]

Him. If by those who came before Christ we understand those who would not come with Him,â€”that is, with the word of God,â€”but without being sent by God brought their own falsehoods to men, you yourselves, although you are born in this world after the death and the resurrection of Christ, are thieves and robbers. For, without waiting for His illumination that you might preach His truth, you have come before Him to preach up your own deceits.

13. In the passage where we read of the Jews saying to Christ, Thou bearest witness of thyself, thy witness is not true, you do not see that Christ replies by saying that Moses wrote of Him, simply because you have not got the eye of piety to see with. The answer of Christ is this: "It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true; I am one who bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me." What does this mean, if rightly understood, but that this number of witnesses required by the law was fixed upon and consecrated in the spirit of prophecy, that even thus might be prefigured the future revelation of the Father and Son, whose spirit is the Holy Spirit of the inseparable Trinity? So it is written: "In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." As a matter of fact, one witness generally speaks the truth, while a number tell lies. And the world, in its conversion to Christianity, believed one apostle preaching the gospel rather than the mistaken multitude who persecuted him. There was a special reason for requiring this number of witnesses, and in His answer the Lord implied that Moses prophesied of Him. Do you carp at His saying your law instead of the law of God? But, as every one knows, this is the common expression in Scripture. Your law means the law given to you. So the apostle speaks of his gospel, while at the same time he declares that he received it not from man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. You might as well say that Christ denies God to be His Father, when He uses the words your Father instead of our Father. Again, you should refuse to believe the voice which you allude to as having come from heaven, This is my beloved Son, believe
1 John iii. 17, 18. 

BOOK XYI.] MOSES WROTE OF CHRIST. 293

Him, because you did not hear it. But if you believe this because you find it in the sacred Scriptures, you will also find there what you deny, that Moses wrote of Christ, besides many other things that you do not acknowledge as true.

Do you not see that your own mischievous argument may be used to prove that this voice never came from heaven? To your own destruction, and to the detriment of the welfare of mankind, you try to weaken the authority of the gospel, by arguing that it cannot be true that Christ said that Moses wrote of Him; because if He had said this, the ingenious hostility of the Jews would have led them at once to ask what He said Moses to have written of Him. In the same way, it might be impiously argued that if that voice had really come from heaven, all the Jews who heard it would have believed.

"Why are you so unreasonable as not to consider that, as it was possible for the Jews to remain hardened in unbelief after hearing the voice from heaven, so it was possible for them, when Christ said that Moses wrote of Him, to refrain from asking what Moses wrote, because in their ingenious hostility they were afraid of being proved to be in the wrong?"

14. Besides that this argument is an impious assault on the gospel, Faustus himself is aware of its feebleness, and therefore insists more on what he calls his chief difficulty, that in all his search of the writings of Moses he has found no prophecies of Christ. The obvious reply is, that he does not understand. And if any one asks why he does not understand, the answer is that he reads with a hostile, unbelieving mind; he does not search in order to know, but thinks he knows when he is ignorant. This vainglorious presumption either blinds the eye of his understanding so as to prevent his seeing anything, or distorts his vision, so that his remarks of approval or disapproval are misdirected. Ask, he says, for instruction in whatever the writings of Moses contain about our God and Lord, which he escaped me in reading. I reply at once that it has all escaped him, for all is written of Christ.

As we cannot go through the whole, I will, with the help of God, comply with your request, to the extent I have already promised, by showing that the passages which you specially criticise refer to Christ. You tell me not to use the ignorant argument that Christ affirms Moses to have written of Him.

But if I use this argument, it is not because I am ignorant, but because I am a believer. I acknowledge that this argument will not convince a Gentile or a Jew. But, in spite of all
your evasions, you are obliged to confess that it tells against you, who boast of possessing a kind of Christianity.
You say, Suppose you had not to deal with me, as in my case there is an obligation to believe him whom profess to follow, but with a Jew or a Gentile. This is as much as to say that you, at any rate, with whom I have at present to do, are satisfied that Closes wrote of Christ; for you are not bold enough to discard altogether the well-grounded authority of the Gospel where Christ's own declaration is recorded. Even when you attack this authority indirectly, you feel that you are attacking your own position. You are aware that if you refuse to believe the Gospel, which is so generally known and received, you must fail utterly in the attempt to substitute for it any trustworthy record of the sayings and doings of Christ.
You are afraid that the loss of the Christian name might lead to the exposure of your absurdities to universal scorn and condemnation. Accordingly you try to recover yourself, by saying that your profession of Christianity obliges you to believe these words of the Gospel. So you, at any rate, which is all that we need care for just now, are caught and slain in this death-blow to your errors. You are forced to confess that Moses wrote of Christ, because the Gospel, which your profession obliges you to believe, states that Christ said so. As regards a discussion with a Jew or a Gentile, I have already shown as well as I could how I think it should be conducted.

15. I still hold that there is a reference to Christ in the passage which you select for refutation, where God says to Moses, "I will raise up unto them from among their brethren a Prophet like unto thee."[^Deut. xviii. 15] The string of showy antitheses with which you try to ornament your dull discourse does not at all affect my belief of this truth. You attempt to prove, by a comparison of Christ and Moses, that they are unlike, and that therefore the words, "I will raise up a prophet like unto thee," cannot be understood of Christ. You specify a

[^Deut. xviii. 15]

BOOK XVL] MOSES LIKE TO CHRIST. 295

number of particulars in which you find a diversity: that the one is man, and the other God; that one is a sinner, the other sinless; that one is born of ordinary generation, the other, as we hold, of a virgin, and, as you hold, not even of a virgin; the one incurs God's anger, and is put to death on a mountain, the other suffers voluntarily, having throughout the approval of His Father. But surely things may be said to be like, although they are not like in every respect. Besides the resemblance between things of the same nature, as between two men, or between parents and children, or between men in general, or any species of animals, or in trees, between one olive and another, or one laurel and another, there is often a resemblance in things of a different nature, as between a wild and a tame olive, or between wheat and barley. These things are to some extent allied. But there is the greatest possible distance between the Son of God, by whom all things were made, and a beast or a stone. And yet in the Gospel we read, "Behold the Lamb of God,"[^and]
in the apostle, "That rock was Christ." This could not be said except on the supposition of some resemblance. What wonder, then, if Christ condescended to become like Moses, when He was made like the lamb which God by Moses commanded His people to eat as a type of Christ, enjoining that its blood should be used as a means of protection, and that it should be called the Pascha, which every one must admit to be fulfilled in Christ? The Scripture, I acknowledge, shows points of difference; and the Scripture also, as I call on you to acknowledge, shows points of resemblance. There are points of both kinds, and one can be proved as well as the other. Christ is unlike man, for He is God; and it is written of Him that He is "over all, God blessed for ever."^ Christ is also like man, for He is man; and it is likewise written of Him, that He is the "Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." * Christ is unlike a sinner, for He is ever holy; and He is like a sinner, for "God sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh." "Christ is unlike a man born in ordinary generation, for He was born of a virgin; and yet He is like, for He too was born of a woman, to whom it was said, "That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." "^ Christ is not like a man, who dies on account of his own sin, for He died without sin, and of His own free-will; and again, He is like, for He too died a real death of the body.

16. You ought not to say, in disparagement of Moses, that he was a sinner, and that he was put to death on a mountain because his God was angry with him. For Moses could Â£lavour in the Lord as his Saviour, who is also the Saviour of him who says, "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." ^ Moses, indeed, is accused by the voice of God, because his faith showed signs of weakness when he was commanded to draw water out of the rock. In this he may have sinned as Peter did, when from the weakness of his faith he became afraid in the midst of the waves.* But we cannot think from this, that he who, as the Gospel tells us, was counted worthy to be present with the Lord along with holy Elias on the mount of transfiguration, was separated from the eternal fellowship of the saints. The sacred history shows in what favour he was with God even after his sin.

But since you may ask why God speaks of this sin as deserving the punishment of death, and as I have promised to point out prophecies of Christ in those passages which you select for criticism, I will try, with the Lord's help, to show that what you object to in the death of Moses is, when rightly understood, prophetic of Christ.

17. We often find in the symbolical passages of Scripture, that the same person appears in different characters on different occasions. So, on this occasion, Moses represents and
prefigures the Jewish people as placed under the law. As, then, [Moses, when he struck the rock with his rod, doubted the power of God, so the people who were under the law siven by Moses, when they nailed Christ to the cross, did not believe Him to be the power of God. And as water flowed from the smitten rock for those that were athirst, so life comes to believers from the stroke of the Lord's passion.

1 Luke i. 35. ^ i xim. i. 15. 3 Xum. ix. 10-12. " Matt. xiv. 30.
[BOOK XVI.] MOSES LIKE TO CHRIST. 297

The testimony of the apostle is clear and decisive on this point, when he says, "This rock was Christ." In the command of God, that the death of the flesh of Moses should take place on the mountain, we see the divine appointment that the carnal doubt of the divinity of Christ should die on Christ's exaltation. As the rock is Christ, so is the mountain.

The rock is the endurance of His humiliation; the mountain the height of His exaltation. For as the apostle says, "This rock was Christ," so Christ Himself says, "A city set upon an hill cannot be hid," showing that He is the hill, and believers the city built upon the glory of His name. The carnal mind lives when, like the smitten rock, the humiliation of Christ on the cross is despised. For Christ crucified is to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness. And the carnal mind dies when, like the mountain-top, Christ is seen in His exaltation. "For to them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God." Moses therefore ascended the mount, that in the death of the flesh he might be received by the living spirit.

If Faustus had ascended, he would not have uttered carnal objections from a dead mind. It was the carnal mind that made Peter dread the smiting of the rock, when, on the occasion of the Lord's foretelling His passion, he said, "Be it far from Thee, Lord; spare Thyself." And this sin too was severely rebuked, when the Lord replied, "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things which be of God, but those which be of men." And where did this carnal distrust die but in the glorification of Christ, as on a mountain height? If it was alive when Peter timidly denied Christ, it was dead when he fearlessly preached Him. It was alive in Saul, when, in his aversion to the offence of the cross, he made havoc of the Christian Church; and where but on this mountain had it died, when Paul was able to say, "I live no longer, but Christ liveth in me."?

18. What other reason has your heretical folly to give for thinking that there is no prophecy of Christ in the words, "I will raise up unto them a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee?"

Your showing Christ to be unlike Moses is no reason; for we can show that in other respects He is like. How can you object to Christ's being called a prophet, since He condescended to be a man, and actually foretold many future events? What is a prophet, but one who predicts events beyond human foresight? So Christ says of Himself: "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country." But, turning from you, since you have already acknowledged that your profession of Christianity obliges you to believe the
Gospel, I address myself to the Jew, who enjoys the poor privilege of liberty from the yoke of Christ, and who therefore thinks it allowable to say: Your Christ spoke falsely; Moses wrote nothing of him.

19. Let the Jews say what prophet is meant in this promise of God to Moses: "I will raise up unto them a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee." Many prophets appeared after Moses; but one in particular is here pointed out. The Jews will perhaps naturally think of the successor of Moses, who led into the promised land the people that Moses had brought out of Egypt. Having this successor of Moses in his mind, he may perhaps laugh at me for asking to what prophet the words of the promise refer, since it is recorded who followed Moses in ruling and leading the people. When he has laughed at my ignorance, as Paustus supposes him to do, I will still continue my inquiries, and will desire my laughing opponent to give me a serious answer to the question why Moses changed the name of this successor, who was preferred to himself as the leader of the people into the promised land, to show that the law given by Moses not to save, but to convince the sinner, cannot lead us into heaven, but only the grace and truth which are by Jesus Christ.

This successor was called Osea, and Moses gave him the name of Jesus. Why then did he give him this name when he sent him from the valley of Pharan into the land into which he was to lead the people? The true Jesus says, "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself." I will ask the Jew if the prophet does not show the prophetical meaning of these things when he says, "God shall come from Africa, and the Holy One from Pharan." Does this not mean that the holy God would come with the name of him who came from Africa by Pharan, that is, with the name of Jesus? Then, again, it is the Word of God Himself who speaks when He promises to provide this successor to Moses, speaking of him as an angel, a name commonly given in Scripture to those carrying any message.

The words are: "Behold, I send my angel before thy face, to preserve thee in the way, and to bring thee into the land which I have sworn to give thee. Take heed unto him, and obey, and beware of unbelief in him; for he will not take anything from thee wrongfully, for my name is in him." -

Consider these words. Let the Jew, not to speak of the Manichsean, say what other angel he can find in Scripture to whom these words apply, but this leader who was to bring the people into the land of promise. Then let him inquire who it was that succeeded Moses, and brought in the people.

He will find that it was Jesus, and that this was not his name at first, but after his name was changed. It follows that He who said, "My name is in him," is the true Jesus, the
leader who brings His people into the inheritance of eternal life, according to the JSTew Testament, of which the Old was a figure. No event or action could have a more distinctly prophetic character than this, where the very name is a prediction.

20. It follows that this Jew, if he wishes to be a Jew inwardly, in the spirit, and not in the letter, if he wishes to be thought a true Israelite, in whom is no guile, will recognize in this dead Jesus, who led the people into the land of mortality, a figure of the true living Jesus, whom he may follow into the land of life. In this way, he will no longer in a hostile spirit resist so plain a prophecy, but, influenced by the allusion to the Jesus of the Old Testament, he will be prepared to listen meekly to Him whose name he bore, and who leads to the true land of promise; for He says, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the land." ^ The Gentile also, if his heart is not too stony, if he is one of those stones from which God raises up

Â» Ex. xxiii. 20, 21. 2 j^j.^tt. y. 4.

300 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK XVI.]

children unto Abraham, must allow it to be wonderful that in the ancient books of the people of whom Jesus was born, so plain a prophecy, including His very name, is found recorded; and must remark at the same time, that it is not any one of the name of Jesus who is prophesied of, but a divine person, because God said that His name was in the man who was appointed to rule the people, and to lead them into the kingdom, and who by a change of name was called Jesus. In His being sent with this new name. He brings a great and divine message, and is therefore called an Angel, which, as every t}TO in Greek knows, means messenger. No Gentile, therefore, if he were not perverse and obstinate, would despise these books merely because he is not subject to the law of the Hebrews, to whom the books belong; but would think highly of the books, no matter whose they were, on finding in them prophecies of such ancient date, and of what he sees now taking place. Instead of despising Christ Jesus because He is foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures, he would conclude that one thought worthy of being the subject of prophetic description, whoever the writers might be, for so many ages before His coming into the world, â€” sometimes in plain announcements, sometimes in figure by symbolic actions and utterances, â€” must claim to be regarded with profound admiration and reverence, and to be followed with implicit reliance. Thus the facts of Christian history would prove the truth of the prophecy, and the prophecy would prove the claims of Christ. Call this fancy, if it is not actually the case that men all over the world have been led, and are now led, to believe in Christ by reading these books.

21. In view of the multitudes from all nations who have become zealous believers in these books, it is laughably absurd to tell us that it is impossible to persuade a Gentile to learn the Christian faith from Jewish books. Indeed, it is a great confirmation of our faith that such important testimony is borne by enemies. The believing Gentiles cannot suppose these testimonies to Christ to be recent forgeries; for they find them in books
held sacred for so many ages by those who crucified Christ, and still regarded with the highest veneration by those who every day blaspheme Christ. If the prophecies of Christ
were the production of the preachers of Christ, we might suspect their genuineness. But now the preacher expounds the text of the blasphemer. In this way the Most High God orders the blindness of the ungodly for the profit of the saint, in His righteous government bringing good out of evil, that those who by their own choice live wickedly may be, in His just judgment, made the instruments of His will. So, lest those that were to preach Christ to the world should be thought to have forged the prophecies which speak of Christ as to be born, to work miracles, to suffer unjustly, to die, to rise again, to ascend to heaven, to publish the gospel of eternal life among all nations, the unbelief of the Jews has been made of sinal benefit to us; so that those who do not receive in their heart for their own good these truths, carry in their hands for our benefit the writings in which these truths are contained. And the unbelief of the Jews increases rather than lessens the authority of the books, for this blindness is itself foretold. They testify to the truth by their not understanding it. By not understanding the books which predict that they would not understand, they prove these books to be true.

22. In the passage, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," ^ Faustus is deceived by the ambiguity of the words. The words may be differently interpreted; but that they cannot be understood of Christ is not said by Faustus, nor can be said by any one who does not deny that Christ is life, or that He was seen by the Jews hanging on the cross, or that they did not believe Him. Since Christ Himself says, "I am the life," ^ and since there is no doubt that He was seen hanging by the unbelieving Jews, I see no reason for doubting that this was written of Christ; for, as Christ says, Moses wrote of Him. Since we have already refuted Faustus' arguments by which he tries to show that the words, "I will raise up from among their brethren a prophet like unto thee," do not apply to Christ, because Christ is not like Moses, we need not insist on this other prophecy. Since, in the one case, his argument is that Christ is unlike Moses, so here he ought to argue that Christ is not the life, or that He was not seen hanging by the unbelieving Jews.


302 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE:MAXICH.EAX. [BOOK XVI.]

Eiit as lie lias not said tMs, and as no one will now venture to say so, there should be no difficulty in accepting this too as a prophecy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, uttered by His servant. These words, says Faustus, occur in a chapter of curses. But why should it be the less a prophecy because it occurs in the midst of prophecies? Or why should it not be a prophecy of Christ, although the context does not seem to refer to
Christ? Indeed, among all the curses which the Jews brought on themselves by their sinful pride, nothing could be worse than this, that they should see their Life â€” that is, the Son of God â€” hanging, and should not believe their Life. For the curses of prophecy are not hostile imprecations, but announcements of coming judgment. Hostile imprecations are forbidden, for it is said, "Bless, and curse not." But prophetic announcements are often found in the writings of the saints, as when the Apostle Paul says: "Alexander the coppersmith has done me much injury; the Lord shall reward him according to his works." So it might be thought that the apostle was prompted by angry feeling to utter this imprecation: "I would that they were even made eunuchs that trouble you." But if we remember who the writer is, we may see in this ambiguous expression an ingenious style of benediction. For there are eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. If Faustus had a pious appetite for Christian food, he would have found a similar ambiguity in the words of Moses. By the Jews the declaration, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," may have been understood to mean that they would see their life to be in danger from the threats and plots of their enemies, and would not expect to live. But the child of the Gospel, who has heard Christ say, "He wrote of me," distinguishes in the ambiguity of the prophecy between what is thrown to some and what is addressed to intelligent readers. To his mind the thought immediately suggests itself of Christ hancrioncr as the life of man, and of the Jews not belieAong in Him for this very reason, that they saw Him hangiQq. As to the objection that these words, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," are the


BOOK xvi] prophetic curses. 303

only words referring to Christ in a passage containing maledictions not applicable to Christ, some might grant that this is true. Tor this prophecy might very well occur among the curses pronounced by the prophet upon the ungodly people, for these curses are of different kinds. But I, and those who wdh me consider more closely the saying of the Lord in His Gospel, which is not, He wrote also of me, as admitting that Moses wrote other things not referring to Christ, but, "He wrote of me," as teaching that in searching the Scriptures we should view them as intended solely to illustrate the grace of Christ, see a reference to Christ in the rest of the passage also. But it would take too much time to explain this here.

23. So far from these words of Faustus' quotation being proved not to refer to Christ by their occurring among the other curses, these curses cannot be rightly understood except as prophecies of the glory of Christ, in which lies the happiness of man. And what is true of these curses is still more true of this quotation. If it could be said of Moses that his words have a different meaning from what was in his mind, I w^ould rather suppose him to have prophesied without knowing it, than allow that the words, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," are not applicable to Christ. So the words of
Caiaphas had a different meaning from what he intended, when, in his hostility to Christ, he said that it was expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish. But Moses was not Caiaphas; and therefore when Moses said to the Hebrew people, "Thou shalt see thy life hanging, and shalt not believe thy life," he not only spoke of Christ, as he certainly did, even though he spoke without knowing the meaning of what he said, but he knew that he spoke of Christ. For he was a most faithful steward of the prophetic mystery, that is, of the priestly unction which gives the knowledge of the name of Christ; and in this mystery even Caiaphas, wicked as he was, was able to prophesy without knowing it. The prophetic unction enabled him to prophesy, though his wicked life prevented him from knowing it. Who then can say that there are no prophecies of Christ in Moses, with

1 John xi. 49-51.

304 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAX. [BOOK XVI.]

whom began that unction to which we owe the knowledge of Christ's name, and by which even Caiaphas, the persecutor of Christ, prophesied of Christ without knowing it?

24. We have already said as much as appeared desirable of the curse pronounced on every one that hangs on a tree.

Enough has been to show that the command to kill any prophet or prince who tried to turn away the children of Israel from their God, or to break any commandment, is not directed against Christ. The more we consider the words and actions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the more clearly will this appear; for Christ never tried to turn away any of the Israelites from their God. The God whom Moses taught the people to love and serve, is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, whom the Lord Jesus Christ speaks of by this name, using the name in refutation of the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection of the dead. He says, "Of the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read what God said from the bush to Moses, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto Him." In the same words with which Christ answered the Sadducees we may answer the Manichseans, for they too deny the resurrection, though in a different way. Again, when Christ said, in praise of the centurion's faith, "Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel," He added, "And I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go into outer darkness," If, then, as Faustus must admit, the God of whom Moses spoke was the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, of whom Christ also spoke, as these passages prove, it follows that Christ did not try to turn away the people from their God. On the contrary. He warned them that they would go into outer darkness, because He saw that they were turned away from their God, in whose kingdom He says the Gentiles called from the whole world will sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; implying that they would believe in the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of
Jacob. So the apostle also says: "The Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." It is implied that those who are blessed in the seed of Abraham shall imitate the faith of Abraham. Christ, then, did not try to turn away the Israelites from their God, but rather charged them with being turned away. The idea that Christ broke one of the commandments given by Moses is not a new one, for the Jews thought so; but it is a mistake, for the Jews were in the wrong. Let Faustus mention the commandment which he supposes the Lord to have broken, and we will point out his mistake, as we have done already, when it was required.

Meanwhile it is enough to say, that if the Lord had broken any commandment, He could not have found fault with the Jews for doing so. For when the Jews blamed His disciples for eating with unwashen hands, in which they transgressed not a commandment of God, but the traditions of the elders, Christ said, "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God, that ye may observe your traditions?" He then quotes a commandment of God, which we know to have been given by Moses. "For God said," He adds, "Honour thy father and mother, and he that curseth father or mother shall die the death. But ye say. Whoever shall say to his father or mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, is not obliged to honour his father. So ye make the word of God of none effect by your traditions." From this several things may be learned: that Christ did not turn away the Jews from their God; that He not only did not Himself break God's commandments, but found fault with those who did so; and that it was God Himself who gave these commandments by Moses.

25. In fulfilment of our promise that we would prove the reference to Christ in those passages selected by Faustus from the writings of Moses for adverse criticism, since we cannot here point out the reference to Christ which we believe to exist in all the writings of Moses, it becomes our duty to show that this commandment of Moses, that every prince should be killed who tried to turn away the people from their God, or to break any commandment, refers to the preservation of the faith which is taught in the Church of Christ. Moses no doubt knew in the spirit of prophecy, and from what he himself heard from God, that many heretics would arise to teach errors of all kinds against the doctrine of Christ, and to preach another Christ than the true Christ.

1 Gal. iii. 8. 2 jyjatt. xv. 3-6.

5 U
For the true Christ is He that was foretold in the prophecies uttered by Moses himself, and by the other holy men of that nation. Moses accordingly commanded that whoever tried to teach another Christ should be put to death. In obedience to this command, the voice of the Catholic Church, as with the spiritual two-edged sword of both Testaments, puts to death all who try to turn us away from our God, or to break any of the commandments. And chief among these is Manichseus himself; for the truth of the law and the prophets convinces him of error as trying to turn us away from our God, the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, whom Christ acknowledges, and as trying to break the commandments of the law, which, even when they are only figurative, we regard as prophetic of Christ.

26. Faustus uses an argument which is either very deceitful or very stupid. And as Faustus is not stupid, it is probable that he used the argument intentionally, with the design of misleading the careless reader. He says: If these things are not written of Christ, and if you cannot show any others, it follows that there are none at all. The proposition is true; but it remains to be proved, both that these things are not written of Christ, and that no other can be shown. Faustus has not proved this; for we have shown both how these things are to be understood of Christ, and that there are many other things which have no meaning but as applied to Christ. So it does not follow, as Faustus says, that nothing was written by Moses of Christ. Let us repeat Faustus' argument:
If these things are not written of Christ, and if you cannot show any others, it follows that there are none at all. Perfectly so.
But as both these things and many others have been shown to be written of Christ, or with reference to Christ, the true conclusion is that Faustus' argument is worthless. In the
passages quoted by Faustus, lie has tried, though without success, to show that they were not written of Christ. But in order to draw the conclusion that there are none at all, he should first have proved that no others can be shown. Instead of this, he takes for granted that the readers of his book will be blind, or the hearers deaf, so that the omission will be overlooked, and runs on thus: If there are, none, Christ could not have asserted that there were any. And if Christ did not make this assertion, it follows that this verse is spurious. Here is a man who thinks so much of what he says himself, that he does not consider the possibility of another person saying the opposite. Where is your wit? Is this all you could say for a bad cause? But if the badness of the cause made you utter folly, the bad cause was your own choice. To prove your antecedent false, we have only to show some other things written of Christ. If there are some, it will not be true that there are none. And if there are some, Christ may have asserted that there were. And if Christ may have asserted this, it follows that this verse of the Gospel is not spurious.

Coming back, then, to Faustus' proposition. If you cannot show any other, it follows that there are none at all, it requires to be proved that we cannot show any other. We need only refer to what we showed before, as sufficient to prove the truth of the text in the Gospel, in which Christ says, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me; for he wrote of me." And even though from dulness of mind we could find nothing written of Christ by Moses, still, so strong is the evidence in support of the authority of the Gospel, that it would be incumbent on us to believe that not only some things, but everything written by Moses, refers to Christ; for He says not. He wrote also of me, but He wrote of me. The truth then is this, that even though there were doubts, which God forbid, of the genuineness of this verse, the doubt would be removed by the number of testimonies to Christ which we find in Moses; while, on the other hand, even if we could find none, we should still be bound to believe that these are to be found, because no doubts can be admitted regarding any verse in the Gospel.

27. As to your argument that the doctrine of Moses was un-

SOS EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE ^IANICH.^AX. [BOOK XYI.

like that of Christ, and that tlicrefoic it was improhdblc that if they believed Moses, they v:ould hclieve Christ too; and that it icould rather folloiv that their helicf in one would imply of necessity opj’ositicn to the other, â€” you could not have said this if you had turned your mind's eye for a moment to see men all the world over, when they are not blinded by a contentious spirit, learned and unlearned, Greek and barbarian, ^A'ise and unwise, to whom the apostle called himself a debtor..^-^ believing in both Christ and Moses. If it was improbable that the Jews would believe both Christ and Moses, it is still more improbale that all the world would do so. But as we see all nations believing both, and in a common and well-grounded faith holding the agreement of the prophecy of the one with the gospel of the other, it was no impossible
thing to which this one nation was called, when Christ said to them, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me." Either we should be amazed at the guilty obstinacy of the Jews, who refused to do what we see the whole world, has done.

28. Regarding the Sabbath and circumcision, and the distinction in food, in which you say the teaching of Moses differs from what Christians are taught by Christ, we have already shown that, as the apostle says, "all those things were our examples." The difference is not in the doctrine, but in the time. There was a time when it was proper that these things should be figuratively predicted; and there is now a different time, when it is proper that they should be openly declared and fully accomplished. It is not surprising that the Jews, who understood the Sabbath in a carnal sense, should oppose Christ, who began to open up its spiritual meaning. Eeply, if you can, to the apostle, who declares that the rest of the Sabbath was a shadow of something future. If the Jews opposed Christ because they did not understand what the true Sabbath is, there is no reason why you should oppose Him, or refuse to learn what true innocence is. For on that occasion when Jesus appears especially to set aside the Sabbath, when His disciples were hungry, and pulled the ears of corn through which they were passing, and ate them, Jesus, in replying to the Jews, declared His disciples to be innocent. "If you knew," He said, "what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, you would not have condemned the innocent." They should rather have pitied the wants of the disciples, for hunger forced them to do what they did. But pulling ears of corn, which is innocence in the teaching of Christ, is murder in the teaching of Manicheus. Or was it an act of charity in the apostles to pull the ears of corn, that they might in eating set free the members of God, as in your foolish notions? Then it must be cruelty in you not to do the same. Faustus' reason for setting aside the Sabbath is because he knows that God's power is exercised without cessation, and without weariness. It is for those to say this, who believe that all times are the production of an eternal act of God's will. But you will find it difficult to reconcile this with your doctrine, that the rebellion of the race of darkness broke your god's rest, which was also disturbed by a sudden attack of the enemy; or perhaps God never had rest, as he foresaw this from eternity, and could not feel at ease in the prospect of so dire a conflict, with such loss and disaster to his members.

29. Unless Christ had considered this Sabbath â€” which in your want of knowledge and of piety you laugh at â€” one of the prophecies written of Himself, He would not have borne such a testimony to it as He did. For when, as you say in praise of Christ, He suffered voluntarily, and so could choose His own time for suffering, and for resurrection, He brought it about that His body rested from all its works on Sabbath in the tomb, and that His resurrection on the third day, which we call the Lord's day, the day
after the Sabbath, and therefore the eighth, proved the circumcision of the eighth day to be also prophetical of Him. For what does circumcision mean, but the eradication of the mortality which comes from our carnal generation? So the apostle says: "Putting off from Himself His flesh. He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself." The flesh here said to be put off is that mortality of flesh on account of which the body is properly called flesh. The flesh is the mortality, for in the immortality of the resurrection there will be no flesh; as it is written, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of

1 ilatt. xii. 7. 2 Col. il 15.

310 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [BOOK XVI.]

God." You argue from these words against our faith in the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which has already taken place in the Lord Himself. You keep out of view the following words, in which the apostle explains his meaning. To show what he here means by flesh, he adds, "Neither shall corruption inherit incorruption." For this body, which from its mortality is properly called flesh, is changed in the resurrection, so as to be no longer corruptible and mortal. This is the apostle's statement, and not a supposition of ours, as his next words prove. "Lo," he says, "I show you a mystery: we shall all rise again, but we shall not all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the last trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption; and this mortal must put on immortality." To put on immortality, the body puts off mortality. This is the mystery of circumcision, which by the law took place on the eighth day; and on the eighth day, the Lord's day, the day after the Sabbath, was fulfilled in its true meaning by the Lord. Hence it is said, "Putting off His flesh. He made a show of principalities and powers." For by means of this mortality the hostile powers of hell ruled over us. Christ is said to have made a show or example of these, because in Himself, our Head, He gave an example which will be fully realized in the Resurrection of His whole body, the Church, from the power of the devil at the last resurrection. This is our faith. And according to the prophetic declaration quoted by Paul, "The just shall live by faith." This is our justification. Even Pagans believe that Christ died. But only Christians believe that Christ rose again. "If thou confess with thy mouth," says the apostle, "that Jesus is the Lord, and believest in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Again, because we are justified by faith in Christ's resurrection, the apostle says, "He died for our offences, and rose again for our justification." And because this resurrection by faith in which we are justified was prefigured by the circumcision of the eighth day, the.

Â» 1 Cor. XV. 50-59. ^ Hab. ii. 4 and Kom. i. 17.

apostle says of Abraham, with whom the observance began, "He received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith." ^

Circumcision, then, is one of the prophecies of Christ, written by Moses, of whom Christ said, "He wrote of me." In the words of the Lord, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves," ^ it is not the circumcision of the proselyte which is meant, but his imitation of the conduct of the scribes and Pharisees, which the Lord forbids His disciples to imitate, when He says: "The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: Avhat they say unto you, do, but do not after their works, for they say, and do not." ^ These words of the Lord teach us both the honour due to the teaching of Moses, in whose seat even bad men were obliged to teach good things, and the reason of the proselyte becoming a child of hell, which was not that he heard from the Pharisees the words of the law, but that he copied their example. Such a circumcised proselyte might have been addressed in the words of Paul: "Circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law." â– * His imitation of the Pharisees in not keeping the law made him a child of hell. And he was twofold more than they, probably because of his neglecting to fulfil what he voluntarily undertook, when, not being born a Jew, he chose to become a Jew.

30. Your scoff is very inappropriate, when you say that Moses discusses like a glutton what should be eaten, and commands some things to be freely used as clean, and other things as unclean to be not even touched. A glutton makes no distinction, except in choosing the sweetest food. Perhaps you wish to commend to the admiration of the uninitiated the innocence of your abstemious habits, by appearing not to know, or to have forgotten, that swine's flesh tastes better than mutton. But as this too was written by Moses of Christ in figurative prophecy, in which the flesh of animals signifies those who are to be united to the body of Christ, which is the Church, or who are to be cast out, you are typified by the unclean animals; for your disagreement with 1 Kom. iv. 11. 2; Matt. xxiii. 15. * Matt, xxiii. 2, 3. * Eom. ii. 26.

312 "REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICIIiEAN. [BOOK XVI.]

the Catholic faith shows that you do not ruminate on the word of wisdom, and that you do not divide the hoof, in the sense of making a correct distinction between the Old Testament and the New. But you show still more audacity in adopting the erroneous opinions of Adimantus.

31. You follow Adimantus in saying that Christ made no distinction in food, except in entirely j^"^hibiting the use of animal food to his disciples, while he allowed the laity to eat anything that is eatable; and declared that they were not polluted by ichat enters
into the 77iouth, hit that the unseemly things which come out of the mouth are the things which defile a man.

These words of yours are unseemly indeed, for they express notorious falsehood. If Christ taught that the evil things which come out of the mouth are the only things that defile a man, why should they not be the only things to defile His disciples, so as to make it unnecessary that any food should be forbidden or unclean? Is it only the laity that are not polluted by what goes into the mouth, but by what comes out of it? In that case, they are better protected from impurity than the saints, who are polluted both by what goes in and by what comes out. But as Christ, comparing Himself with John, who came neither eating nor drinking, says that He came eating and drinking, I should like to know what He ate and drank. When exposing the perversity which found fault with both. He says: " John came neither eating nor drinking; and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of man Cometh eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners."^ We know what John ate and drank. For it is not said that he drank nothing, but that he drank no wine or strong drink; so he must have drunk water. He did not live without food, but his food was locusts and wild honey.^ When Christ says that John did not eat or drink. He means that he did not use the food which the Jews used. And because the Lord used this food, He is spoken of, in contrast with John, as eating and drinking. Will it be said that it was bread and vegetables which the Lord ate, and which John did not eat? It would be strange if one was said not to eat, because he used locusts

1 Matt. xi. 18, 19. ^j^x^tt. iii. 4.
and lioney, while the other is said to eat simply because lie used bread and vegetables. But whatever may be thought of the eating, certainly no one could be called a wine-bibber unless he used win a. Why then do you call wine unclean ? It is not in order to subdue the body by abstinence that you prohibit these things, but because they are unclean, for you say that they are the poisonous filth of the race of darkness; whereas the apostle says, " To the pure all things are pure." ^

Christ, according to this doctrine, taught that all food was alike, but forbade His disciples to use what the Manicha^ans call unclean. Where do you find this prohibition ? You are not afraid to deceive men by falsehood; but in God's righteous providence, you are so blinded that you provide us with the means of refuting you. For I cannot resist quoting for examination the whole of that passage of the Gospel which Faustus uses against Moses; that we may see from it the falsehood of what was said first by Adimantus, and here by Faustus, that the Lord Jesus forbade the use of animal food to His disciples, and allowed it to the laity. After Christ's reply to the accusation that His disciples ate with unwashen hands, we read in the Gospel as follows: " And He called the multitude, and said unto them. Hear and understand. N'ot that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man: but that which Cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man. Then came His disciples, and said unto Him, Knowest Thou that the Pharisees were offended after they heard this saying ?" Here, when addressed by His disciples. He ought certainly, according to the Manichseans, to have given them special instructions to abstain from animal food, and to show that His words, " Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which goeth out of the mouth," applied to the multitude only. Let us hear, then, what, according to the evangelist, the Lord replied, not to the multitude, but to His disciples: " But He answered and said, Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." The reason of this was, that in their desire to observe their own

1 Tit. i. 15.

314 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÂAX. [BOOK XVI.]

traditions, they did not understand the commandments of God. As yet the disciples had not asked the Master how they were to understand what He had said to the multitude. But now they do so; for the evangelist adds: " Then answered Peter and said unto Him, Declare unto us this parable." This shows that Peter thought that when the Lord said, " Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which goeth out of the mouth," He did not speak plainly and literally, but, as usual, wished to convey some instruction under the guise of a parable. "Mien His disciples, then, put this question in private, does He tell them, as the ]ManichÂ£eans say, that all animal food is unclean, and that they must never touch it ? Instead of this. He rebukes them for not understanding
His plain language, and for thinking it a parable when it was not. We read: "And Jesus said, Are ye also yet without understanding? Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? But those tilings which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies. These are the things which defile a man: but to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man."^32

32. Here we have a complete exposure of the falsehood of the Manichseans: for it is plain that the Lord did not in this matter teach one thing to the multitude, and another in private to His disciples. Here is abundant evidence that the error and deceit are in the Manich^eans, and not in Moses, nor in Christ, nor in the doctrine taught figuratively in one Testament and plainly in the other, â€” prophesied in one, and fulfilled in the other. How can Faustus say that the Catholics regard none of the things that Moses wrote, when in fact they observe them all, not now in the figures, but in what the figures were intended to foretell! No one would say that one who reads the Scripture subsequently to its being written does not observe it because he does not form the letters which he reads. The letters are the figures of the sounds which he utters; and though he does not form the letters, he cannot

1 ï†reitt. XV. 16-20.
read without examining them. The reason why the Jews did not believe in Christ, because they did not observe even the plain literal precepts of Moses, So Christ says to them:

"Ye pay tithe of mint and cummin, and omit the weightier matters of the law, mercy and judgment. Ye strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." So also He told them that by their traditions they made of none effect the commandment of God to give honour to parents. On account of this pride and perversity in neglecting what they understood, they were justly blinded, so that they could not understand the other things.

33. You see, my argument is not that if you are a Christian you must believe Christ when He says that Moses wrote of Him, and that if you do not believe this you are no Christian. The account you give of yourself in asking to be dealt with as a Jew or a Gentile is your own affair. My endeavour is to leave no passage to error open to you. I have shut you out, too, from that precipice to which you rush as a last resort, when you say that these are spurious passages in the Gospel; so that, freed from the pernicious influence of this opinion, you may be reduced to the necessity of believing in Christ. You say you wish to be taught like the Christian Thomas, whom Christ did not spurn from Him because he doubted of Him, but, in order to heal the wounds of his mind, shoioed him the marks of the wounds in His own body. These are your own words. It is well that you desire to be taught as Thomas was. I feared you would make out this passage too to be spurious. Believe, then, the marks of Christ's wounds. For if the marks were real, the wounds must have been real. And the wounds could not have been real, unless His body had been capable of real wounds; which upsets at once the doctrine of the Manichseans. If you say that the marks were unreal which Christ showed to His doubting disciple, it follows that He must be a deceitful teacher, and that you wish to be deceived in being taught by Him. But as no one wishes to be deceived, while many wish to deceive, it is probable that you would rather imitate the teaching

1 Matt, xxiii. 23, 24.

3 G KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XVII.]

which you ascribe to Christ than the learning you ascribe to Thomas. If, then, you believe that Christ deceived a doubting inquirer by false marks of wounds, you must yourself be regarded, not as a safe teacher, but as a dangerous impostor. On the other hand, if Thomas touched the real marks of Christ's wounds, you must confess that Christ had a real body. So, if you believe as Thomas did, you are no more a Manichsean. If you do not believe even with Thomas, you must be left to your infidelity.
BOOK XVIL

1. Faiistus. You ask why we do not receive the law and the prophets, when Christ said that he came not to destroy them, but to fulfil them. Where do we learn that Jesus said this?
From Matthew, who declares that he said it on the mount.
In whose presence was it said? In the presence of Peter, Andrew, James, and John â€” only these four; for the rest, including Matthew himself, were not yet chosen. Is it not the case that one of these four â€” John, namely â€” wrote a Gospel?
It is. Does he mention this saying of Jesus? ISTo. How, then, does it happen that what is not recorded by John, who was on the mount, is recorded by Matthew, who became a follower of Christ long after he came down from the mount? In the first place, then, we must doubt whether Jesus ever said these words, since the proper witness is silent on the matter, and we have only the authority of a less trustworthy witness.
But, besides this, we shall find that it is not Matthew that has imposed upon us, but someone else under his name, as is evident from the indirect style of the narrative. Thus we read: "As Jesus passed by, he saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, and called him; and he immediately rose up, and followed him." ISTo one writing of himself would say. He saw a man, and called him, and he followed him; but. He saw me, and called me, and I followed him.
Evidently this was "written not by Matthew himself, but by someone else under his name. Since, then, the passage

Â» Matt. ix. 9.
already quoted would not be true even if it had been written by Matthew, since he was not present when Jesus spoke on the mount; much more is its falsehood evident from the fact that the writer was not Matthew himself, but some one borrowing the names both of Jesus and of Matthew.

2. The passage itself, in which Christ tells the Jews not to think that he came to destroy the law, rather shows that he did destroy it. For, had he not done something of the kind, the Jews would not have suspected him. His words are: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law." Suppose the Jews had replied. What actions of thine might lead us to suspect this? Is it because thou exposest circumcision, breakest the Sabbath, discardest sacrifices, makest no distinction in food? this would be the natural answer to the words. Think not. The Jews had the best possible reason for thinking that Jesus destroyed the law. If this was not to destroy law, what is? But, indeed, the law and the prophets consider themselves already so faultlessly perfect, that they have no desire to be fulfilled. Their author and father condemns adding to them as much as taking away anything from them; as we read in Deuteronomy: "These precepts which I deliver unto thee this day, Israel, thou shalt observe to do; thou shalt not turn aside from them to the right hand or to the left; thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it, that thy God may bless thee." Whether, therefore, Jesus turned aside to the right by adding to the law and the prophets in order to fulfil them, or to the left in taking away from them to destroy them, either way he offended the author of the law. So this verse must either have some other meaning, or be spurious.

3. Augustine. What amazing folly, to disbelieve what Matthew records of Christ, while you believe Manicheeus! If Matthew is not to be believed because he was not present when Christ said, "I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil," was Manichaeus present, was he even born, when Christ appeared among men? According, then, to your rule, you should not believe anything that Manichseus says of Christ. On the other hand, we refuse to believe what Manichasus says of Christ; not because he was not present

1 Deut. xii. 32.

as a witness of Christ's words and actions, but because he contradicts Christ's disciples, and the Gospel which rests on their authority. The apostle, speaking in the Holy Spirit, tells us that such teachers would arise. With reference to such, he says to believers: "If any man preaches to you another gospel than that ye have received, let him be accursed." If no one can say what is true of Christ unless he has himself seen and heard Him, no one now can be trusted. But if believers can now say what is true of Christ because the
truth has been handed down in word or writing by those who saw and heard, why might not Matthew have heard the truth from his fellowdisciple John, if John was present and he himself was not, as from the writings of John both we who are born so long after and those who shall be born after us can learn the truth about Christ? In this way, the Gospels of Luke and Mark, who were companions of the disciples, as well as the Gospel of Matthew, have the same authority as that of John. Besides, the Lord Himself might have told Matthew what those called before him had already been witnesses of. Your idea is, that John should have recorded this saying of the Lord, as he was present on the occasion. As if it might not happen that, since it was impossible to write all that he heard from the Lord, he set himself to write some, omitting this among others. Does he not say at the close of his Gospel: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written" ?^ This proves that he omitted many things intentionally. But if you choose John as an authority regarding the law and the prophets, I ask you only to believe his testimony to them. It is John who writes that Isaiah saw the glory of Christ. ^ It is in his Gospel we find the text already treated of: "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me; for he wrote of me." * Your evasions are met on every side. You ought to say plainly that you do not believe the gospel of Christ. For to believe what you please, and not to believe what you please, is to believe yourselves, and not the gospel.

4. Faustus thinks himself wonderfully clever in proving

^ Gal. i. 9. \(^2\) Jo xxi. 25. ^ Jo xii. 41. * Jo v. 46.

BOOK xvii] indirect construction. 319

that Matthew was not the writer of this. Gospel, because, when speaking of his own election, he says not, He saw me, and said to me, Follow me; but. He saw him, and said to him, Follow me. This must have been said not so much in ignorance as from a design to mislead. Faustus can hardly be so ignorant as not to have read or heard that narrators, when speaking of themselves, often use a construction as if speaking of another. It is more probable that Faustus wished to bewilder those more ignorant than himself, in the hope of getting hold on not a few unacquainted with these things. It is needless to resort to other writings to quote examples of this construction from profane authors for the information of our friends, and for the refutation of Faustus. We find examples in passages quoted above from Moses by Faustus himself, without any denial, or rather with the assertion, that they were written by Moses, only not written of Christ. "When Moses, then, writes of himself, does he say, I said this, or I did that, and not rather, Moses said, and Moses did ? Or does he say, The Lord called me. The Lord said to me, and not rather. The Lord called Moses, The Lord said to Moses, and so on ? So Matthew, too, speaks of himself in the third person. And John does the same; for towards the end of his book he says:
"Peter, turning, saw the disciple whom Jesus loved, who also lay on His breast at supper, and who said to the Lord, Who is it that shall betray Thee?" Does he say, Peter, turning, saw me? Or will you argue from this that John did not write this Gospel? But he adds a little after: "This is the disciple that testifies of Jesus, and has written these things; and we know that his testimony is true." Does he say, I am the disciple who testify of Jesus, and who have written these things, and we know that my testimony is true? Evidently this style is common in writers of narratives. There are innumerable instances in which the Lord Himself uses it. "When the Son of man," He says, "cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" When I come, shall I find? Again, "The Son of man came eating and drinking;" not, I came. Again, "The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live;"

1 John xxi. 20-24. 2 l[^] 2^!!!! g^ 3 j^jatt. xi. 19. < John v. 25.

320 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AX. [BOOK XVII.]

not, My voice. And so in many other places. This may suffice to satisfy inquirers and to refute scoffers.

5. Every one can see the weakness of the argument that Christ could not have said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil," unless He had done something to create a suspicion of this kind. Of course, we grant that the unenlightened Jews may have looked upon Christ as the destroyer of the law and the prophets; but their very suspicion makes it certain that the true and truthful One, in saying that He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, referred to no other law than that of the Jews. This is proved by the words that follow: "Verily, verily, I say unto you. Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven. But whosoever shall do and teach them, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

This applied to the Pharisees, who taught the law in word, while they broke it in deed. Christ says of the Pharisees in another place, "What they say, that do; but do not after their works: for they say, and do not." So here also He adds, "For I say unto you, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;" that is. Unless ye shall both do and teach what they teach without doing, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. This law, therefore, which the Pharisees taught without keeping it, Christ says He came not to destroy, but to fulfil; for this was the law connected with the seat of Moses in which the Pharisees sat, who, because they said without doing, are to be heard, but not to be imitated.
6. Faustus does not understand, or pretends not to understand, what it is to fulfil the law. He supposes the expression to mean the addition of words to the law, regarding which it is written that nothing is to be added to or taken away from the Scriptures of God. From this Faustus argues that there can be no fulfilment of what is spoken of as so perfect that nothing

1 Matt, xxiii. 3. ^j^Iatt. v. 17-20.

BOOK XYIII.] THE LAW FULFILLED. 321

can be added to it or taken from it. Faustus requires to be told that the law is fulfilled by living as it enjoins. "Love is the fulfilling of the law," as the apostle says. The Lord has vouchsafed both to manifest and to impart this love, by sending the Holy Spirit to His believing people. So it is said by the same apostle: "The love of God is shed abroad in our heart by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." And the Lord Himself says: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." The law, then, is fulfilled both by the observance of its precepts and by the accomplishment of its prophecies. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. The law itself, by being fulfilled, becomes grace and truth. Grace is the fulfilment of love, and truth is the accomplishment of the prophecies. And as both grace and truth are by Christ, it follows that He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it; not by supplying any defects in the law, but by obedience to what is written in the law. Christ's own words declare this. For He does not say, One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till its defects are supplied, but "till all be fulfilled."

BOOK XVII

1. Faust. "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." If these are Christ's words, unless they have some other meaning, they are as much against you as against me. Your Christianity as well as mine is based on the belief that Christ came to destroy the law and the prophets. Your actions prove this, even though in words you deny it. It is on this ground that you disregard the precepts of the law and the prophets. It is on this ground that we both acknowledge Jesus as the founder of the New Testament, in which is implied the acknowledgment that the Old Testament is destroyed. How, then, can we believe that Christ said these words without first confessing that hitherto we have been wholly in error, and without showing our repentance by entering on a course of

^ Kom. xiii. 10. 2 ^mi. v. 5. 3 John xiii. 35, ^ Jolin i. 7.

5 X
obedience to the law and the prophets, and of careful observance of their requiements, whatever they may be? This done, we may honestly believe that Jesus said that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. As it is, you accuse me of not believing what you do not believe yourselves, and what therefore is false.

2. But o-rant that we have been in the wronge hitherto. What is to be done now? Shall we come under the law, since Christ has not destroyed, but fulfilled it? Shall we by circumcision add shame to shame, and believe that God is pleased with such sacraments? Shall we observe the rest of the Sabbath, and bind ourselves in the fetters of Saturn?
Shall we glut the demon of the Jews, for he is not God, with the slaughter of bulls, rams, and goats, not to say of men; and adopt, only with greater cruelty, in obedience to the law and the prophets, the practices on account of which we abandoned idolatry? Shall we, in fine, call the flesh of some animals clean, and that of others unclean, among which, according to the law and the prophets, s^ine's flesh has a particular defilement? Of course you will allow that as Christians we must not do any of these things, for you remember that Christ says that a man when circumcised becomes twofold a child of hell.

It is plain also that Christ neither observed the Sabbath himself, nor commanded it to be observed. And regarding food, he says expressly that man is not defiled by anything that goes into his mouth, but rather by the things which come out of it. Eegarding sacrifices, too, he often says that God desires mercy, and not sacrifice. "What becomes, then, of the statement that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it? If Christ said this, he must have meant something else, or, what is not to be thought of, he told a lie, or he never said it. "No Christian will allow that Jesus spoke falsely; therefore he must either not have said this, or said it with another meaning.

3. For my part, as a Llanichsean, this verse has little difficulty for me, for at the outset I am taught to believe that many things which pass in Scripture under the name of the Saviour are spurious, and that they must therefore be tested.

It is plain also that Christ neither observed the Sabbath himself, nor commanded it to be observed. And regarding food, he says expressly that man is not defiled by anything that goes into his mouth, but rather by the things which come out of it. Eegarding sacrifices, too, he often says that God desires mercy, and not sacrifice. "What becomes, then, of the statement that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it? If Christ said this, he must have meant something else, or, what is not to be thought of, he told a lie, or he never said it. "No Christian will allow that Jesus spoke falsely; therefore he must either not have said this, or said it with another meaning.

For my part, as a Llanichsean, this verse has little difficulty for me, for at the outset I am taught to believe that many things which pass in Scripture under the name of the Saviour are spurious, and that they must therefore be tested.

difficulty can there be for you, who receive everything without examination, condemning the use of reason, which is the prerogative of human nature, and thinking it impiety to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and as much afraid of separating between what is good and what is not as children are of ghosts? For suppose a Jew or any one acquainted with these words should ask you why you do not keep the precepts of the law and the prophets, since Christ says that he came not to destroy, but to fulfil them: you will be obliged either to join in the superstitious follies of the Jews, or to declare this verse false, or to deny that you are a follower of Christ.

4. Augustine. Since you continue repeating what has been so often exposed and refuted, we must be content to repeat the refutation. The things in the law and the prophets which Christians do not observe, are only the types of what they do observe. These types were figures of things to come, and are necessarily removed when the things themselves are fully revealed by Christ, that in this very removal the law and the prophets may be fulfilled. So it is written in the prophets that God would give a new covenant, "not as I gave to their fathers." ^ Such was the hardness of heart of the people under the Old Testament, that many precepts were given to them, not so much because they were good, as because they suited the people. Still, in all these things the future was foretold and prefigured, although the people did not understand the meaning of their own observances. After the manifest appearance of the things thus signified, we are not required to observe the types; but we read them to see their meaning. So, again, it is foretold in the prophets, "I will take away their stony heart, and will give them a heart of

^ Jer. xxxi. 32.

324 EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.-EAX. [BOOK XVIII.]

flesh/' -^ â€” that is, a sensible heart, instead of an insensible one. To this the apostle alludes in the words: "Xot in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart." ^ The fleshy tables of the heart are the same as the heart of flesh.

Since, then, the removal of these observances is foretold, the law and the prophets could not have been fulfilled but by this removal. Xow, however, the prediction is accomplished, and the fulfilment of the law and the prophets is found in what at first sight seems the very opposite.

5. We are not afraid to meet your scoff at the Sabbath, when you call it the fetters of Saturn. It is a silly and unmeaning expression, which occurred to you only because you are in the habit of worshipping the sun on what you call Sunday. What you call Sunday we call the Lord's day, and on it we do not worship the sun, but commemorate the Lord's resurrection. And in the same way, the fathers observed the rest of the Sabbath, not because they worshipped Saturn, but because it was incumbent at that time; for it was a shadow of things to come, as the apostle testifies." The Gentiles, of whom the apostle says that they "worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator," ^ gave the names of their gods to the days of the week. And so far you do the same, except that you
worship only the two brightest luminaries, and not the rest of the stars, as the Gentiles did. Besides, the Gentiles gave the names of their gods to the months.

In honour of Piomulus, whom they believed to be the son of Mars, they dedicated the first month to Mars, and called it March. The next month, April, is named not from any god, but from the word for opening, because the buds generally open in this month. The third month is called May, in honour of Maia the mother of Mercury. The fourth is called June, from Juno. The rest to December used to be named according to their number. The fifth and sixth, however, got the names of July and August from men to whom divine honours were decreed; while the others, from September to December, continued to be named from their number.

January, again, is named from Janus, and February from the rites of the Luperci called Februce. 

1 Ezek. xi. 19. 2 Cor. ii. 3. ^QqI^:i 17^ 4 j^om. i. 25.
worship the god Mars in the month of March? But that is the month in which you hold the feast you call Bema with great pomp. But if you think it allowable to observe the month of March without thinking of Mars, why do you try to bring in the name of Saturn in connection with the rest of the seventh day enjoined in Scripture, merely because the Gentiles call the day Saturday? The Scripture name for the day is Sabbath, which means rest. Your scoff is as unreasonable as it is profane.

6. As regards animal sacrifices, every Christian knows that they were enjoined as suitable to a perverse people, and not because God had any pleasure in them. Still, even in these sacrifices there were types of what we enjoy; for we cannot obtain purification or the propitiation of God without blood. The fulfilment of these types is in Christ, by whose blood we are purified and redeemed. In these figures of the divine oracles, the bull represents Christ, because with the horns of His cross He scatters the wicked; the lamb, from His matchless innocence; the goat, from His being made in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin. Whatever kind of sacrifice you choose to specify, I will show you a prophecy of Christ in it. Thus we have shown regarding circumcision, and the Sabbath, and the distinction of food, and the sacrifice of animals, that all these things were our examples, and our prophecies, which Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil, by fulfilling what was thus foretold. Your opponent is the apostle, whose opinion I give in his own words: "All these things were our examples."

7. If you have learned from Manichaeus the wilful impiety of admitting only those parts of the Gospel which do not contradict your errors, while you reject the rest, we have learned from the apostle the pious caution of looking on every one as accursed that preaches to us another gospel than that which we have received. Hence Catholic Christians look upon you as among the tares; for, in the Lord's exposition of the meaning of the tares, they are not falsehood mixed with truth in the Scriptures, but children of the wicked one, â€” that is, people who imitate the deceitfulness of the devil. It is

1 Rom. viii. 3. 2 i Cor. x. 6.

not true that Catholic Christians believe everything; for they do not believe Manichaeus or any of the heretics. Nor do they condemn the use of human reason; but what you call
reasoning they prove to be fallacious. ISTor do they think it profane to distinguish truth from falsehood; for they distinguish between the truth of the Catholic faith and the falsehood of your doctrines. 'Not do they fear to separate good from evil; but they contend that evil, instead of being natural, is unnatural. They know nothing of your race of darkness, which, you say, is produced from a principle of its own, and fights against the kingdom of God, and of which your god seems really to be more frightened than children are of ghosts; for, according to you, he covered himself with a veil, that he might not see his own members taken and plundered by the assault of the enemy. To conclude, Catholic Christians are in no difficulty regarding the words of Christ, though in one sense they may be said not to observe the law and the prophets; for by the grace of Christ they keep the law by their love to God and man; and on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."^ Besides, they see in Christ and the Church the fulfilment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament, whether in the form of actions, or of symbolic rites, or of figurative language. So we neither join in superstitious follies, nor declare this verse false, nor deny that we are followers of Christ; for on those principles which I have set forth to the best of my power, the law and the prophets which Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil, are no other than those recognised by the Church.

BOOK XIX.

1. FoAtstus. I will grant that Christ said that he came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. But why did Jesus say this? Was it to pacify the Jews, who were enraged at seeing their sacred institutions trampled upon by Christ, and regarded him as a wild blasphemer, not to be listened to, much less to be followed? Or was it for our

^ Matt. xxii. 40.
instruction as Gentile believers, that we might learn meekly and patiently to bear the yoke of commandment laid on our necks by the law and the prophets of the Jews? You yourself can hardly suppose that Christ's words were intended to bring us under the authority of the law and the prophets of the Hebrews. So that the other explanation which I have given of the words must be the true one. Every one knows that the Jews were always ready to attack Christ, both with words and with actual violence. Naturally, then, they would be enraged at the idea that Christ was destroying their law and their prophets; and, to appease them, Christ might very well tell them not to think that he came to destroy the law, but that he came to fulfil it. There was no falsehood or deceit in this, for he used the word law in a general sense, not of any particular law.

2. There are three laws. One is that of the Hebrews, which the apostle calls the law of sin and death. The second is that of the Gentiles, which he calls the law of nature. "For the Gentiles," he says, "do by nature the things contained in the law; and, not having the law, they are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written on their hearts." The third law is the truth of which the apostle speaks when he says, "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Since, then, there are three laws, we must carefully inquire which of the three Christ spoke of when he said that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. In the same way, there are prophets of the Jews, and prophets of the Gentiles, and prophets of truth. With the prophets of the Jews, of course, every one is acquainted. If any one is in doubt about the prophets of the Gentiles, let him hear what Paul says when writing of the Cretans to Titus: "A prophet of their own has said. The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies." This proves that the Gentiles also had their prophets. The truth also has its prophets, as we learn from Jesus as well as from Paul. Jesus says: "Behold, I send unto you wise men and prophets, and some of them ye shall kill in divers places." And Paul says: "The Lord Himself appointed first apostles, and then prophets."

3. As "the law and the prophets" may have three different meanings, it is uncertain in what sense the words are used by Jesus, though we may form a conjecture from what follows.
For if Jesus had gone on to speak of circumcision, and Sabbaths, and sacrifices, and the observances of the Hebrews, and had added something as a fulfilment, there could have been no doubt that it was the law and the prophets of the Jews of which he said that he came not to destroy, but to fulfil them.

But Christ, without any allusion to these, speaks only of commandments which date from the earliest times: "Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not bear false witness." These, it can be proved, were of old promulgated in the world by Enoch and Seth, and the other righteous men, to whom the precepts were delivered by angels of lofty rank, in order to tame the savage nature of men.

From this it appears that Jesus spoke of the law and the prophets of truth. And so we find him giving a fulfilment of those precepts already quoted. "Ye have heard," he says, "that it was said by them of old time. Thou shalt not kill; but I say unto you. Be not angry." This is the fulfilment. Again: "Ye have heard that it was said. Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you. Do not lust even."

This is the fulfilment. Again: "It has been said, Thou shalt not bear false witness; but I say unto you. Swear not." This too is the fulfilment. He thus both confirms the old precepts and supplies their defects. "Where he seems to speak of some Jewish precepts, instead of fulfilling them, he substitutes for them precepts of an opposite tendency. He proceeds thus:

"Ye have heard that it has been said. An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." This is not fulfilment, but destruction. Again: "It has been said. Thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you. Love your enemies, and pray for your persecutors." This too is destruction. Again: "It has been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing

1 Matt, xxiii. 34. ^ Eph. ir. 11,
of divorcement; but I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery, and is himself an adulterer if he afterwards marries another woman." ^ These precepts are evidently destroyed because they are the precepts of Moses; while the others are fulfilled because they are the precepts of the righteous men of antiquity. If you agree to this explanation, we may allow that Jesus said that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. If you disapprove of this explanation, give one of your own. Only beware of making Jesus a liar, and of making yourself a Jew, by binding yourself to fulfil the law because Christ did not destroy it.

4. If one of the Nazareans, or Symmachians, as they are sometimes called, were arguing with me from these words of Jesus that he came not to destroy the law, I should find some difficulty in answering him. For it is undeniable that, at his coming, Jesus was both in body and mind subject to the influence of the law and the prophets. Those people, moreover, whom I allude to, practise circumcision, and keep the Sabbath, and abstain from swine's flesh and such like things, according to the law, although they profess to be Christians. They are evidently misled, as well as you, by this verse in which Christ says that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. It would not be easy to reply to such opponents without first getting rid of this troublesome verse. But with you I have no difficulty, for you have nothing to go upon; and instead of using arguments, you seem disposed, in mere mischief, to induce me to believe that Christ said what you evidently do not yourself believe him to have said. On the strength of this verse you accuse me of dulness and evasiveness, without yourself giving any indication of keeping the law instead of destroying it. Do you too, like a Jew or a Nazarean, glory in the obscure distinction of being circumcised ? Do you pride yourself in the observance of the Sabbath ? Can you congratulate yourself on being innocent of swine's flesh ? Or can you boast of having gratified the appetite of the Deity by the blood of sacrifices and the incense of Jewish offerings ? If not, why do you contend that Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it ?

1 Matt. V. 21-44.

330 EEPY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHIEAN. [BOOK XIX.]

5. I give unceasing thanks to my teacher, who prevented me from falling into this error, so that I am still a Christian. For I, like you, from reading this verse Avithout sufficient consideration, had almost resolved to become a Jew. And with reason; for if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, and as a vessel in order to be filled full must not be empty, but partly filled already, I concluded that no one could become a Christian but an Israelite, ' nearly filled already with the law and the prophets, and coming to Christ to be filled to the full extent of his capacity. I concluded, too, that in thus coming he must not destroy what he already
possesses; otherwise it would be a case, not of fulfilling, but of emptying. Then it appeared that I, as a Gentile, could get nothing by coming to Christ, for I brought nothing that he could fill up by his additions. This preparatory supply is found, on inquiry, to consist of Sabbaths, circumcision, sacrifices, new moons, baptisms, feasts of unleavened bread, distinctions of food, drink, and clothes, and other things, too many to specify. This, then, it appeared, was what Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. Naturally it must appear so: for what is a law without precepts, or prophets without predictions? Besides, there is that terrible curse pronounced upon those who abide not in all thine-3 that are written in the book of the law to do them.\(^{\text{a}}\)

\(^{\text{a}}\) Deut. xxvii. 15.

"With the fear of this curse appearing to come from God on the one side, and with Christ on the other side, seeming, as the Son of God, to say that he came not to destroy these things, but to fulfil them, what was to prevent me from becoming a Jew? The wise instruction of Manichseus saved me from this dangler.

6. But how can you venture to quote this verse against me? Or why should it be against me only, when it is as much against you\(\prime\)self? If Christ does not destroy the law and the prophets, neither must Christians do so. Why then do you destroy them? Do you begin to perceive that you are no Christian? How can you profane with all kinds of work the day pronounced sacred in the law and in all the prophets, on which they say that God, the maker of the world, himself rested, without dreading the penalty of death pronounced against Sabbath-breakers, or the curse on the transgressor?
How can you refuse to receive in your person the unseemly mark of circumcision, which the law and all the prophets declare to be honourable, especially in the case of Abraham, after what was thought to be his faith; for does not the God of the Jews proclaim that whosoever is without this mark of infamy shall perish from his people? How can you neglect the appointed sacrifices, which were made so much of both by Moses and the prophets under the law, and by Abraham in his faith? And how can you defile your souls by making no distinction in food, if you believe that Christ came not to destroy these things, but to fulfil them? Why do you discard the annual feast of unleavened bread, and the appointed sacrifice of the lamb, which, according to the law and the prophets, is to be observed for ever? Why, in a word, do you treat so lightly the new moons, the baptisms, and the feast of tabernacles, and all the other carnal ordinances of the law and the prophets, if Christ did not destroy them? I have therefore good reason for saying that, in order to justify your neglect of these things, you must either abandon your profession of being Christ's disciple, or acknowledge that Christ himself has already destroyed them; and from this acknowledgment it must follow, either that this text is spurious in which Christ is made to say that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, or that the words have an entirely different meaning from what you suppose.

7. Augustine. If you allow, in consideration of the authority of the Gospel, that Christ said that He came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, you should show the same consideration to the authority of the apostle, when he says, "All these things were our examples;" and again of Christ, "He was not yea and nay, but in Him was yea; for all the promises of God are in Him yea;"^ that is, they are set forth and fulfilled in Him. In this way you will see in the clearest light both what law Christ fulfilled, and how He fulfilled it. It is a vain attempt that you make to escape by your three kinds of law and your three kinds of prophets. It is quite plain, and the New Testament leaves no doubt on the matter, what law and what prophets Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. The law given by Moses is that which by Jesus Christ became grace and truth.—^ The law given by Moses is that of which Christ says, "He wrote of me."^ For undoubtedly this is the law which entered that the offence might abound; ^ words which you often ignorantly quote as a reproach to the law. Eead what is there said of this law:
"The law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good." The entrance of the law made the offence abound, not because the law required what was wrong, but because the proud and self-confident incurred additional guilt as transgressors after their acquaintance with the holy, and just, and good commandments of the law; so that, being thus humbled, they might learn that only by grace through faith could they be freed from subjection to the law as transgressors, and be reconciled to the law as righteous. So the same apostle says: "For before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which was afterwards revealed. Therefore the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus; but after faith came, we are no longer under a schoolmaster." That is, we are no longer subject to the penalty of the law, because we are set free by grace.

Before we received in humility the grace of the Spirit, the letter was only death to us, for it required obedience which we could not render. Thus Paul also says: "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Again, he says: "For if a law had been given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law; but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." And once more: "What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, that by sin He might condemn sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Here we see Christ


7 Gal. iii. 21, 22. Â« Rom. viii. 3, 4.
coming not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. As the law brought the proud under the
guilt of transgression, increasing their sin by commandments which they could not obey,
so the righteousness of the same law is fulfilled by the grace of the Spirit in those who
learn from Christ to be meek and lowly in heart; for Christ came not to destroy the law,
but to fulfil it. Moreover, because even for those who are under grace it is difficult in this
mortal life perfectly to keep what is written in the law. Thou shalt not covet, Christ, by
the sacrifice of His flesh, as our Priest obtains pardon for us.
And in this also He fulfils the law; for what we fail in through weakness is supplied by
His perfection, who is the Head, while we are His members. Thus John says: " My little
children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not; and if any man sin, we have an
Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: He is the propitiation for our sins."

8. Christ also fulfilled the prophecies, because the promises of God were made good in
Him. As the apostle says in the verse quoted above, " The promises of God are in Him
yea."
Again, he says: " Now I say that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the
truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers." Whatever, then, was
promised in the prophets, whether expressly or in figure, whether by words or by actions,
was fulfilled in Him who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil
them. You do not perceive that if Christians were to continue in the use of acts and
observances by which things to come were prefigured, the only meaning would be that
the things prefigured had not yet come. Either the thing prefigured has not come, or if it
has, the figure becomes superfluous or misleading. Therefore, if Christians do not
practise some things enjoined in the Hebrews by the prophets, this, so far from showing,
as you think, that Christ did not fulfil the prophets, rather shows that He did. So
completely did Christ fulfil what these types prefigured, that it is no longer prefigured. So
the Lord Himself says: " The law and the prophets were until John." For the law which
shut up transgressors in increased guilt, and to the faith which was

^1 John ii. 1, 2. 2 j^v. 8. 3 Luke xvi. 16.

afterwards revealed, became grace through Jesus Christ, by whom grace superabounded.
Thus the law, which was not fulfilled in the requirement of the letter, was fulfilled in the
liberty of grace. In the same way, everything in the law that was prophetic of the
Saviour's advent, whether in words or in typical actions, became truth in Jesus Christ. For
the law
(/ was given by !Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." At Christ's advent
the kingdom of God began to be preached; for the law and the prophets were until John:
the law, that its transgressors might desire salvation; the prophets, that they might foretell the Saviour. No doubt there have been prophets in the Church since the ascension of Christ.

Of these prophets Paul says: "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers,"

and so on." It is not of these prophets that it was said,

"The law and the prophets were until John," but of those who prophesied the first coming of Christ, which evidently cannot be prophesied now that it has taken place.

9. Accordingly, when you ask why a Christian is not circumcised if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, my reply is, that a Christian is not circumcised precisely for this reason, that what was prefigured by circumcision is fulfilled in Christ. Circumcision was the type of the removal of our fleshly nature, which was fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ, and which the sacrament of baptism teaches us to look forward to in our own resurrection. The sacrament of the new life is not wholly discontinued, for our resurrection from the dead is still to come; but this sacrament has been improved by the substitution of baptism for circumcision, because now a pattern of the eternal life which is to come is afforded us in the resurrection of Christ, whereas formerly there was nothing of the kind. So, when you ask why a Christian does not keep the Sabbath, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, my reply is, that a Christian does not keep the Sabbath precisely because what was prefigured in the Sabbath is fulfilled in Christ. For we have our

Sabbath in Tititi who said, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my

* John i. 17. ^1 Cor. xii. 28.*
yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."^ 

10. When you ask why a Christian does not observe the distinction in food as enjoined in the law, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, I reply, that a Christian does not observe this distinction precisely because what was thus prefigured is now fulfilled in Christ, who admits into His body, which in His saints He has predestined to eternal life, nothing which in human conduct corresponds to the characteristics of the forbidden animals. When you ask, again, why a Christian does not offer sacrifices to God of the flesh and blood of slain animals, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, I reply, that it would be improper for a Christian to offer such sacrifices, now that what was thus prefigured has been fulfilled in Christ's offering of His own body and blood. When you ask why a Christian does not keep the feast of unleavened bread as the Jews did, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, I reply, that a Christian does not keep this feast precisely because what was thus prefigured is fulfilled in Christ, who leads us to a new life by purging out the leaven of the old life." When you ask why a Christian does not keep the feast of the paschal lamb, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, my reply is, that he does not keep it precisely because what was thus prefigured has been fulfilled in the sufferings of Christ, the Lamb without spot. When you ask why a Christian does not keep the feasts of the new moon appointed in the law, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, I reply, that he does not keep them precisely because what was thus prefigured is fulfilled in Christ. For the feast of the new moon prefigured the new creature, of which the apostle says: "If therefore there is any new creature in Christ Jesus, the old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." When you ask why a Christian does not observe the washings for various kinds of uncleanness according to the law, if Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, I reply, that he does not observe them precisely because they were figures of things to come, which Christ has fulfilled.

i Matt. xi. 28, 29. 2 i Cor. v. 7. ^ 2 Cor. v. 17.

336 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆA. [BOOK XIX.]

For He came to bury us with Himself by baptism into death, that as Christ rose again from the dead, so ^ve also should ^alk in newness of life.^ When you ask why Christians do not keep the feast of tabernacles, if the law is not destroyed, but fulfilled by Christ, I reply that believers are God's tabernacle, in whom, as they are united and built together in love, God condescends to dwell, so that Christians do not keep this feast precisely because what was thus prefigured is now fulfilled by Christ in His Church.
11. I touch upon these things merely in passing with the utmost brevity, rather than omit them altogether. The subjects, taken separately, have filled many large volumes, written to prove that these observances were typical of Christ. So it appears that all the things in the Old Testament which you think are not observed by Christians because Christ destroyed the law, are in fact not observed because Christ fulfilled the law. The very intention of the observances was to prefigure Christ. Now that Christ has come, instead of its being strange or absurd that what was done to prefigure His advent should not be done any more, it is perfectly right and reasonable. The typical observances intended to prefigure the coming of Christ would be observed still, had they not been fulfilled by the coming of Christ; so far is it from being the case that our not observing them now is any proof of their not being fulfilled by Christ's coming. There can be no religious society, whether the religion be true or false, without some sacrament or visible symbol to serve as a bond of union. The importance of these sacraments cannot be overstated, and only scoffers will treat them lightly. For if piety requires them, it must be impiety to neglect them.

12. It is true, the imgodly may partake in the visible sacraments of godliness, as we read that Simon Magus received holy baptism. Such are they of whom the apostle says that "they have the form of godliness, but deny the power of it." The power of godliness is the end of the commandment, that is, love out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned. So the Apostle Peter, speaking of the sacrament of the ark, in which the family of Israel was saved from

1 Rom. vi. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 5. ^ i Tim. i. 5*
the deluge, says, "So by a similar figure baptism also saves you." And lest they should rest content with the visible sacrament, by which they had the form of godliness, and should deny its power in their lives by profligate conduct, he immediately adds, "Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience."^  

13. Thus the sacraments of the Old Testament, which were celebrated in obedience to the law, were types of Christ who was to come; and when Christ fulfilled them by His advent they were done away, and were done away because they were fulfilled. For Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. And now that the righteousness of faith is revealed, and the children of God are called into liberty, and the yoke of bondage which was required for a carnal and stiffnecked people is taken away, other sacraments are instituted, greater in efficacy, more beneficial in their use, easier in performance, and fewer in number.  

14. And if the righteous men of old, who saw in the sacraments of their time the promise of a future revelation of faith, which even then their piety enabled them to discern in the dim light of prophecy, and by which they lived, for the just can live only by faith:^ if, then, these righteous men of old were ready to suffer, as many actually did suffer, all trials and tortures for the sake of those typical sacraments which prefigured things in the future; if we praise the three children and Daniel, because they refused to be defiled by meat from the king's table, from their regard for the sacrament of their day; if we feel the strongest admiration for the Maccabees, who refused to touch food which Christians lawfully use:^ how much more should a Christian in our day be ready to suffer all things for Christ's baptism, for Christ's Eucharist, for Christ's sacred sign, since these are proofs of the accomplishment of what the former sacraments only pointed forward to in the future! For what is still promised to the Church, the body of Christ, is both clearly made known, and in the Saviour Himself, the Head of the body, the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, has already been accomplished. Is not the promise of eternal life by resurrection

1 1 Pet, iii. 21. 2 ^Q^ i 17^ 32 Mace. vii.  

Y

338 BEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XIX.]  

from the dead? This we see fulfilled in the flesh of Him of whom it is said, that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.^- In former days faith was dim, for the saints and righteous men of those times all believed and hoped for the same things, and all these sacraments and ceremonies pointed to the future; but now we have the revelation of the faith to which the people were shut up under the law^- and what is now promised to
believers in the judgment is already accomplished in the example of Him who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them.

15. It is a question among the students of the sacred Scriptures, whether the faith in Christ before His passion and resurrection, which the righteous men of old learned by revelation or gathered from prophecy, had the same efficacy as faith has now that Christ has suffered and risen; or whether the actual shedding of the blood of the Lamb of God, which was, as He Himself says, for the remission of the sins of many,^ conferred any benefit in the way of purifying or adding to the purity of those who looked forward in faith to the death of Christ, but left the world before it took place; whether, in fact, Christ's death reached to the dead, so as to effect their liberation. To discuss this question here, or to prove what has been ascertained on the subject, would take too long, besides being foreign from our present purpose.

16. Meanwhile it is sufficient to prove, in opposition to Eustus' ignorant cavils, how greatly they mistake who conclude, from the change in signs and sacraments, that there must be a difference in the things which were prefigured in the rites of a prophetic dispensation, and which are declared to be accomplished in the rites of the gospel; or those, on the other hand, who think that as the things are the same, the sacraments which announce their accomplishment should not differ from the sacraments which foretold that accomplishment.

For if in language the form of the verb changes in the number of letters and syllables according to the tense, as done signifies the past, and to he, done the future, why should not the symbols which declare Christ's death and resurrection to be accomplished, differ from those which predicted their ac-

accomplishment, as we see a difference in the form and sound of the words, past and future, suffered and to suffer, risen and to rise? For material symbols are nothing else than visible speech, which, though sacred, is changeable and transitory.

For while God is eternal, the water of baptism, and all that is material in the sacrament, is transitory: the very word "God," which must be pronounced in the consecration, is a sound which passes in a moment. The actions and sounds pass away, but their efficacy remains the same, and the spiritual gift thus communicated is eternal. To say, therefore, that if Christ had not destroyed the law and the prophets, the sacraments of the law and the prophets would continue to be observed in the congregations of the Christian Church, is the same as to say that if Christ had not destroyed the law and the prophets. He would still be predicted as about to be born, to suffer, and to rise again; whereas, in fact, it is proved that He did not destroy, but fulfil those things, because the prophecies of His birth, and passion, and resurrection, which were represented in these ancient sacraments, have ceased, and the sacraments now observed by Christians contain the announcement that He has been born, has suffered, has risen.

He who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them, by this fulfilment did away with those things which foretold the accomplishment of what is thus shown to be now accomplished. Precisely in the same way, he might substitute for the expressions, "He is to be born, is to suffer, is to rise," which were in these times appropriate, the expressions, "He has been born, has suffered, has risen," which are appropriate now that the others are accomplished, and so done away.

17. Corresponding to this change in words is the change which naturally took place in the substitution of new sacraments instead of those of the Old Testament. In the case of the first Christians, who came to the faith as Jews, it was by degrees that they were brought to change their customs, and to have a clear perception of the truth; and permission was given them by the apostle to preserve their hereditary worship and belief, in which they had been born and brought up: and those who had to do with them were required to make allowance for this reluctance to accept new customs. So the apostle circumcised Timothy, the son of a Jewish mother and a Greek father, when they went among people of this kind; and he himself accommodated his practice to theiil's, not hypocritically, but for a wise purpose. For these practices were harmless in the case of those born and brought up in them, though they were no longer required to prefigure things to come. It would have done more harm to condemn them as hurtful in the case of those to whose time it was intended that they should continue. Christ, who came to fulfil all these prophecies, found those people trained in their own religion.
But in the case of those who had no such training but were brought to Christ, the corner-
stone, from the opposite wall of circumcision, there was no obligation to adopt Jewish
customs. If, indeed, like Timothy, they chose to accommodate themselves to the -VT-Cws of those
of the circumcision who were still wedded to their old sacraments, they were free to do
so. But if they supposed that their hope and salvation depended on these works of the
law, they were warned against them as a fatal danger. So the apostle says: "Behold, I
Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing;" that is, if they were circumcised, as they were intending to be, in compliance with some
corrupt teachers, who told them that without these works of the law they could not be
saved. For when, chiefly through the preaching of the Apostle Paul, the Gentiles were coming to
the faith of Christ, as it was proper that they should come, without being burdened with
Je$$ish observances, for those who were gTOwn up were deterred from the faith by
fear of ceremonies to which they were not accustomed, especially of circumcision; and if
they who had not been trained from their birth to such observances had been made
proselytes in the usual way, it would have implied that the coming of Christ still required
to be predicted as a future event; when, then, the Gentiles were admitted without
these ceremonies, those of the circumcision who believed, not understanding why the
Gentiles were not required to adopt their customs, nor why they themselves were still
allowed to retain them, began to disturb the Church.

1 Gal. V. 2.
with carnal contentions, because the Gentiles were admitted into the people of God without being made proselytes in the usual way by circumcision and the other legal observances.

Some also of the converted Gentiles were bent on these ceremonies, from fear of the Jews among whom they lived. Against these Gentiles the Apostle Paul often wrote; and when Peter was carried away by their hypocrisy, he corrected him with a brotherly rebuke. Afterwards, when the apostles, met in council, decreed that these works of the law were not obligatory in the case of the Gentiles, some Christians of the circumcision were displeased, because they failed to understand that these observances were permissible only in those who had been trained in them before the revelation of faith, to bring to a close the prophetic life in those who were engaged in it before the prophecy was fulfilled, lest by a compulsory abandonment it should seem to be condemned rather than closed; while to lay these things on the Gentiles would imply either that they were not instituted to prefigure Christ, or that Christ was still to be prefigured. The ancient people of God, before Christ came to fulfill the law and the prophets, were required to observe all these things by which Christ was prefigured. It was freedom to those who understood the meaning of the observance, but it was bondage to those who did not. But the people in those latter times who come to believe in Christ as having already come, and suffered, and risen, in the case of those whom this faith found trained to those sacraments, are neither required to observe them, nor prohibited from doing so; while there is a prohibition in the case of those who were not bound by the ties of custom, or by any necessity, to accommodate themselves to the practice of others, so that it might become manifest that these things were instituted to prefigure Christ, and that after His coming they were to cease, because the promises had been fulfilled.

Some believers of the circumcision who did not understand this were displeased with this tolerant arrangement which the Holy Spirit effected through the apostle, and stubbornly insisted on the Gentiles becoming Jews. These are the people of whom Faustus speaks under the name of Sym-

1 Gal. ii. 14. 2 Acts xv. 6-11.

342 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XIX.]

macliians or Nazareans. Their number is now very small, but the sect still continues.

18. The Manichseans, therefore, have no ground for saying, in disparagement of the law and the prophets, that Christ came to destroy rather than to fulfil them, because Christians do not observe what is there enjoined: for the only things which they do not observe are those that prefigured Christ, and these are not observed because their fulfilment is in Christ, and what is fulfilled is no longer prefigured; the typical observances having
properly come to a close in the time of those who, after being trained in such things, had come to believe in Christ as their fulfilment. Do not Christians observe the precept of Scripture, "Hear, Israel; the Lord thy God is one God; "'Thou shalt not make unto thee an image," and so on? Do Christians not observe the precept, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain"?

Do Christians not observe the Sabbath, even in the sense of a true rest? Do Christians not honour their parents, according to the commandment? Do Christians not abstain from adultery, and murder, and theft, and false witness, from coveting their neighbour's wife, and from coveting his property, â€” all of which things are written in the law? These moral precepts are distinct from typical sacraments: the former are fulfilled by the aid of divine grace, the latter by the accomplishment of what they promise. Both are fulfilled in Christ, who has ever been the bestower of this grace, which is also now revealed in Him, and who now makes manifest the accomplishment of what He in former times promised; for "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."^ Again, these things which concern the keeping of a good conscience are fulfilled in the faith which worketh by love;^ while types of the future pass away when they are accomplished. But even the types are not destroyed, but fulfilled; for Christ, in bringing to light what the types signified, does not prove them vain or illusory.

19. Faustus, therefore, is wrong in supposing that the Lord Jesus fulfilled some precepts of righteous men who lived before the law of Moses, such as, "Thou shalt not kill," which

1 John i. 17. 2 Gal. v. 6.
Christ did not oppose, but rather confirmed by His prohibition of anger and abuse; and that He destroyed some things apparently peculiar to the Hebrew law, such as, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," which Christ seems rather to abolish than to confirm, when He says, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but if any one smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," and so on. But we say that even these things which Faustus thinks Christ destroyed by enjoining the opposite, were suitable to the times of the Old Testament, and were not destroyed, but fulfilled by Christ.

20. In the first place, let me ask our opponents if these ancient righteous men, Enoch and Seth, whom Faustus mentions particularly, and any others who lived before Moses, or even, if you choose, before Abraham, were angry with their brother without a cause, or said to their brother, Thou fool. If not, why may they not have taught these things as well as preached them? And if they taught these things, how can Christ be said to have fulfilled their righteousness or their teaching, any more than that of Moses, by adding, "But I say unto you, if any man is angry with his brother, or if he says Eacha, or if he says, Thou fool, he shall be in danger of the judgment, or of the council, or of hell-fire," since these men did these very things themselves, and enjoined them upon others?

Will it be said that they were ignorant of its being the duty of a righteous man to restrain his passion, and not to provoke his brother with angry abuse; or that, knowing this, they were unable to act accordingly? In that case, they deserved the punishment of hell, and could not have been righteous. But no one will venture to say that in their righteousness there was such ignorance of duty, and such a want of self-control, as to make them liable to the punishment of hell. How, then, can Christ be said to have fulfilled the law, by which these men lived by means of adding things without which they could have had no righteousness at all? "Will it be said that a hasty temper and bad language are sinful only since the time of Christ, while formerly such qualities of the heart and speech were allowable; as we find some institutions vary according to the times, so that what is proper at one time is

1 Matt. V. 38, 39.

improper at another, and vice versa? You will not be so foolish as to make this assertion. But even were you to do so, the reply will be that, according to this idea, Christ came not to fulfil what was defective in the old law, but to institute a law which did not previously exist; if it is true that with the righteous men of old it was not a sin to say to their brother, Thou fool, which Christ pronounces so sinful, that whoever does so is in danger of hell. So, then, you have not succeeded in finding any law of which it can be said that Christ supplied its defect by these additions,
21. Will it be said that the law in these early times was incomplete as regards not committing adultery, till it was completed by the Lord, who added that no one should look on a woman to lust after her? This is what you imply in the way you quote the words, "Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, Do not lust even." "Here," you say, "is the fulfilment."

But let us take the words as they stand in the Gospel, without any of your modifications, and see what character you give to those righteous men of antiquity. The words are: "Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." In your opinion, then, Enoch and Seth, and the rest, committed adultery in their hearts; and either their heart was not the temple of God, or they committed adultery in the temple of God. But if you dare not say this, how can you say that Christ, when He came, fulfilled the law, which was already in the time of those men complete?

22. As regards not swearing, in which also you say that Christ completed the law given to these righteous men of antiquity, I cannot be certain that they did not swear, for we find that Paul the apostle swore. With you, swearing is still a common practice, for you swear by the light, which you love as flies do; for the light of the mind which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, as distinct from mere natural light, you know nothing of. You swear, too, by your master Manichaeus, whose name in his own tongue was Manes. As

1 Matt. V. 27, 28.
the name Manes seemed to be connected with the Greek word for madness, you have changed it by adding a suffix, which only makes matters worse, by giving the new meaning of pouring forth madness. One of your own sect told me that the name Manichæus was intended to be derived from the Greek words for pouring forth manna; for ἔχειν means to pour. But, as it is, you only express the idea of madness with greater emphasis. For by adding the two syllables, while you have forgotten to insert another letter in the beginning of the word, you make it not Mannicha3us, but Manichæus; which must mean that he pours forth madness in his long unprofitable discourses. Again, you often swear by the Paraclete, â€” not the Paraclete promised and sent by Christ to His disciples, but this same madness-pourer himself. Since, then, you are constantly swearing, I should like to know in what sense you make Christ to have fulfilled this part of the law, which is one you mention as belonging to the earliest times. And what do you make of the oaths of the apostle? Por as to your authority, it cannot weigh much with yourselves, not to speak of me or any other person. It is therefore evident that Christ's words, "I am come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it," have not the meaning which you give them. Christ makes no reference in these words to His comments on the ancient sayings which He quotes, and of which His discourse was an explanation, but not a fulfilment.

23. Thus, as regards murder, which was understood to mean merely the destruction of the body, by which a man is deprived of life, the Lord explained that every unjust disposition to injure our brother is a kind of murder. So John also says, "He that hateth his brother is a murderer." And as it was thought that adultery meant only the act of unlawful intercourse with a woman, the Master showed that the lust He describes is also adultery. Again, because perjury is a heinous sin, while there is no sin either in not swearing at all or in swearing truly, the Lord wished to secure us from departing from the truth by not swearing at all, rather than that we should be in danger of perjury by being in the habit of swearing truly. Por one who never swears is less in danger of swearing falsely

* 1 John iii. 15.
will also make it evident that the things which Faustus supposes to be peculiar to Moses were not destroyed by Christ, as he says they were.

2 4. To take, for instance, this saying of the ancients, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy," how does Faustus make out that this is peculiar to Moses? Does not the Apostle Paul speak of some men as hateful to God? And, indeed, in connection with this saying, the Lord enjoins on us that we should imitate God. His words are: "That ye may be the children of your Father in heaven, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." In one sense we must hate our enemies, after the example of God, to whom Paul says some men are hateful; while, at the same time, we must also love our enemies after the example of God, who makes the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust. If we understand this, we shall find that the Lord, in explaining to those who did not rightly understand the saying, Thou shalt hate thine enemy, made use of it to show that they should love their enemy, which was a new idea to them. It would take too long to show the consistency of the two things here. But when the Manicheans condemn without exception the precept, Thou shalt hate thine enemy, they may easily be met with the question whether their god loves the race of darkness. Or, if we should love our enemies now, because they have a part of good, should we not also hate them as having a part of evil? So even in this way it would appear that there is no opposition between the saying of ancient times, Thou shalt hate thine enemy, and that of the Gospel, Love your enemies. For every wicked man should be hated as far

1 Eom. i. 9, Pliil. i. 8, and 2 Cor. i. 23.  2^p^o^\^, i 30. 3;  Xatt. r. 45.
as lie is wicked; while he should be loved as a man. The vice which we rightly hate in him is to be condemned, that by its removal the human nature which we rightly love in him may be amended. This is precisely the principle we maintain, that we should hate our enemy for what is evil in him, that is, for his wickedness; while we also love our enemy for that which is good in him, that is, for his nature as a social and rational being. The difference between us and the Manichseans is, that we prove the man to be wicked, not by nature, either his own or any other, but by his own will; whereas they think that a man is evil on account of the nature of the race of darkness, which, according to them, was an object of dread to God when he existed entire, and by which also he was partly conquered, so that he cannot be entirely set free. The intention of the Lord, then, is to correct those who, from knowing without understanding what was said by them of old time. Thou shalt hate thine enemy, hated their fellow-men instead of only hating their wickedness; and for this purpose He says, Love your enemies. Instead of destroying Vvdiat is written about hatred of enemies in the law, of which He said, "I am come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." He would have us learn, from the duty of loving our enemies, how it is possible in the case of one and the same person, both to hate him for his sin, and to love him for his nature. It is too much to expect our perverse opponents to understand this.

But we can silence them, by showing that by their irrational objection they condemn their own god, of whom they cannot say that he loves the race of darkness; so that in enjoining on every one to love his enemy, they cannot quote his example. There would appear to be more love of their enemy in the race of darkness than in the god of the Manichaeans. The story is, that the race of darkness coveted the domain of light bordering on their territory, and, from a desire to possess it, formed the plan of invading it. Nor is there any sin in desiring true goodness and blessedness. For the Lord says, "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." This fabulous race of darkness, then, wished to take by force the good they desired, for its beautiful and attractive appear-

1 Matt. xi. 12.

348 r.EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICm^AN. [BOOK XIX

ance. But God, instead of returning the love of those who wished to possess Him, hated it so as to endeavour to annihilate them. If, therefore, the evil love the good in the desire to possess it, while the good hate the evil in fear of being defiled, I ask the Manich?eans which of these obeys the precept of the Lord, "Love your enemies"? If you insist on maldng these precepts opposed to one another, it will follow that your god obeyed what is written in the law of Moses, "Thou shalt hate thine enemy"; while the race of darkness obeyed what is
smtten in the Gospel, "Love your enemies." However, you have never succeeded in explaining the difference between the flies that fly in the day-time and the moths that fly at night; for both, according to you, belong to the race of darkness. How is it that one kind love the light, contrary to their nature; while the other kind avoid it, and jüefer the darkness from which they sprung? Strange, that filthy sewers should breed a cleaner sort than dark closets!

25. Xor, again, is there any opposition between that which was said by them of old time, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," and what the Lord says, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but if any one smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," and so on. The old precept as well as the new is intended to check the vehemence of hatred, and to curb the impetuosity of angry passion. For who will of his own accord be satisfied with a revenge equal to the injury? Do we not see men, only slightly hurt, eager for slaughter, thirsting for blood, as if they could never make their enemy suffer enough? If a man receives a blow, does he not summon his assailant, that he may be condemned in the court of law? Or if he prefers to return the blow, does he not fall upon the man with hand and heel, or perhaps with a weapon, if he can get hold of one? To put a restraint upon a revenge so unjust from its excess, the law established the principle of compensation, that the penalty should correspond to the injury inflicted. So the precept, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," instead of being a brand to kindle a fire that was quenched, was rather a covering to prevent the fire already kindled from spreading. For there is a just revenge

1 Ex. xxi. 24 and Matt. v. 39.
due to the injured person from his assailant; so that when we pardon, we give up what we might justly claim. Thus, in the Lord's prayer, we are taught to forgive others their debts, that God may forgive us our debts. There is no injustice in asking back a debt, though there is kindness in forgiving it.

But as, in swearing, one who swears, even though truly, is in danger of perjury, of which one is in no danger who never swears; and while swearing truly is not a sin, we are further from sin by not swearing; so that the command not to swear is a guard against perjury: in the same way, since it is sinful to wish to be revenged with an unjust excess, though there is no sin in wishing for revenge within the limits of justice, the man who wishes for no revenge at all is further from the sin of an unjust revenge. It is sin to demand more than is due, though it is no sin to demand a debt. And the best security against the sin of making an unjust demand, is to demand nothing, especially considering the danger of being compelled to pay the debt to Him who is indebted to none. Thus, I would explain the passage as follows: It has been said by them of old time. Thou shalt not take unjust revenge; but I say. Take no revenge at all: here is the fulfilment. It is thus that Faustus, after quoting, "It has been said, Thou shalt not swear falsely; but I say unto you, Swear not at all," adds: here is the fulfilment. I might use the same expression if I thought that by the addition of these words Christ supplied a defect in the law, and not rather that the intention of the law to prevent unjust revenge is best secured by not taking revenge at all, in the same way as the intention to prevent perjury is best secured by not swearing at all. Tor if "an eye for an eye" is opposed to "If any one smite thee on the cheek, turn to him the other also," is there not as much opposition between "Thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oath," and "Swear not at all"?^ If Faustus thinks that there is not destruction, but fulfilment, in the one case, he ought to think the same of the other. For if "Swear not" is the fulfilment of "Swear truly," why should not "Take no revenge" be the fulfilment of "Take revenge justly"? So, according to my interpretation, there is in both cases a guard against sin,

^ Matt. V. 33, 34.

350 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICHIEAN. [BOOK XIX.]

either of false swearing or of unjust revenge; tliougli, as regards giving up the right to revenge, there is the additional consideration that, by forgiving such debts, we shall obtain the forgiveness of our debts. The old precept was required in the case of a self-willed people, to teach them not to be extravagant in their demands. Thus, when the rase, easer for unrestrained vengeance, was subdued, there would be leisure for any one so disposed to consider the desirableness of having his own debt cancelled by the Lord, and so to be led by this consideration to forgive the debt of his fellow-senant.
26. Again, we shall find on examination, that there is no opposition between the precept of the Lord about not putting away a wife, and what was said by them of old time: "Whosoever putteth away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement." The Lord explains the intention of the law, which required a bill of divorce in every case where a wife was put away. The precept not to put away a wife is the opposite of saying that a man may put away his wife if he pleases; which is not what the law says. On the contrary, to prevent the wife from being put away, the law required this intermediate step, that the eagerness for separation might be checked by the writing of the bill, and the man might have time to think of the evil of putting away his wife; especially since, as it is said, among the Hebrews it was unlawful for any but the scribes to write Hebrew: for the scribes claimed the possession of superior wisdom; and if they were men of upright and pious character, their pursuits might justly entitle them to make this claim. In requiring, therefore, that in putting away his wife, a man should give her a writing of divorcement, the design was that he should be obliged to have recourse to those from whom he might expect to receive a cautious interpretation of the law, and suitable advice against separation. Having no other way of getting the bill written, the man should be obliged to submit to their direction, and to allow of their endeavours to restore peace and harmony between him and his wife. In a case where the hatred could not be overcome or checked, the bill would of course be written. A wife might with reason be

^ Dent. xxiv. 1 and Matt. v. 31, 32.
put away when wise counsel failed to restore the proper feelings and affection in the mind of her husband. If the wife is not loved, she is to be put away. And that she may not be put away, it is the husband's duty to love her. 'Now, while a man cannot be forced to love against his will, he may be influenced by advice and persuasion. This was the duty of the scribe, as a wise and upright man; and the law gave him the opportunity, by requiring the husband in all cases of quarrel to go to him, to get the bill of divorcement written. No good or prudent man would write the bill unless it were a case of such obstinate aversion as to make reconciliation impossible.

But according to your impious notions, there can be nothing in putting away a wife; for matrimony, according to you, is a criminal indulgence. The word "matrimony" shows that a man takes a wife in order that she may become a mother, which would be an evil in your estimation. According to you, this would imply that part of your god is overcome and captured by the race of darkness, and bound in the fetters of flesh.

27. But, to explain the point in hand: If Christ, in adding the words, "But I say unto you," to the quotations He makes of ancient sayings, neither fulfilled the law of primitive times by His additions, nor destroyed the law given to Moses by opposite precepts, but rather paid such deference to the Hebrew law in all the quotations He made from it, as to make His own remarks chiefly explanatory of what the law stated less distinctly, or a means of securing the design intended by the law, it follows that from the words, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it," we are not to understand that Christ by His precepts filled up what was wanting in the law; but that what the literal command failed in doing from the pride and disobedience of men, is accomplished by grace in those who are brought to repentance and humility. The fulfilment is not in additional words, but in acts of obedience.

So the apostle says, "Faith worketh by love;"^-^ and again, "He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law."^-^ This love, by which also the righteousness of the law can be fulfilled, was bestowed in its full significance by Christ in His coming, through the Spirit which He sent according to His promise;

1 Gal. V. 6. 2^-^ Qj^-^ xiii. 8.

352 EPELY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XIX.]

and therefore He said, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." This is the New Testament in which the promise of the kingdom of heaven is made to this love: which was typified in the Old Testament, suitably to the times of that dispensation. So Christ says again: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." ^
28. So we find in the Old Testament all or nearly all the counsels and precepts which Christ introduces with the words, *"But I say unto you."* Against anger it is written, "Mine eye is troubled because of anger;" and again, "Better is he that conquers his anger, than he that taketh a city." Against hard words, "The stroke of a whip maketh a wound; but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones."* Against adultery in the heart, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife."^ It is not, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" but, "Thou shalt not covet." The apostle, in quoting this, says: "I had not known lust, unless the law had said, Thou shalt not covet."^ Regarding patience in not offering resistance, a man is praised who "giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him, and who is filled full with reproach." Of love to enemies it is said: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." This also is quoted by the apostle. In the Psalm, too, it is said, "I was a peacemaker among them that hated peace;"^ and in many similar passages. In connection also with our imitating God in refraining from taking revenge, and in loving even the wicked, there is a passage containing a full description of God in this character; for it is written: "To Thee alone ever belongeth great strength, and who can withstand the power of Thine arm? For the whole world before Thee is as a little grain of the balance; yea, as a drop of the morning dew that falleth down upon the earth. But Thou hast mercy upon all, for Thou canst do all things, and winkest at the sins of men, because they should amend. For Thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest nothing which Thou hast made; for never wouldest Thou have made anything if Thou hadst hated it. And how could anything have endured, if it had not been Thy will? or been preserved, if not called by Thee? But Thou sparest all; for they are Thine, Lord, Thou lover of souls. For Thy good Spirit is in all things; therefore chastenest Thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended, that, learning their wickedness, they may believe in Thee, Lord."^ Christ exhorts us to imitate this longsuffering goodness of God, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust; that we may not be careful to revenge, but may do good to them that hate us, and so may be perfect, even as our Father in heaven is perfect.^ From another passage in these ancient books we learn that, by not exacting the vengeance due to "US, we obtain the remission of our own sins; and that by not forgiving the debts of others, we incur the danger of being refused forgiveness when we pray for

* John xiii. 34. ^ pg. yj. 7. 3 pi-ov. xvi. 32. â– â€¢ Ecclus. xxviii. 21.  
5 Ex. XX. 17. ^ Rom. vii. 7. ^ Lam. iii. 30. ^ Prov. xxv. 21.  
8 Rom. xii. 20. ^0 Ps. cxx. 6.  

BOOK XIX. J FOEGIVENESS TAUGHT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. 353

not been Thy will? or been preserved, if not called by Thee? But Thou sparest all; for they are Thine, Lord, Thou lover of souls. Tor Thy good Spirit is in all things; therefore chastenest Thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have offended, that, learning their wickedness, they may believe in Thee, Lord."^ Christ exhorts us to imitate this longsuffering goodness of God, who maketh the sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust; that we may not be careful to revenge, but may do good to them that hate us, and so may be perfect, even as our Father in heaven is perfect.^ From another passage in these ancient books we learn that, by not exacting the vengeance due to "US, we obtain the remission of our own sins; and that by not forgiving the debts of others, we incur the danger of being refused forgiveness when we pray for
the remission of our own debts: " He that, revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and He will surely keep his sin in remembrance. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done to thee; so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest.

One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon of the Lord? He showeth no mercy to a man who is like himself; and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?

If he that is but flesh nourish hatred, and asks for favour from the Lord, who will entreat for the pardon of his sins?"

29. As regards not putting away a wife, there is no need to quote any other passage of the Old Testament than that referred to most appropriately in the Lord's reply to the Jews when they questioned Him on this subject. For when they asked whether it is lawful for a man to put away his wife for any reason, the Lord answered: "Have ye not read, that He that made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said: For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh? Therefore they are no longer twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined, let no man put asunder."* Here the Jews, who thought that they acted

1 Wisd. xi. 21-xii. 2. 2 Matt. v. 44, 48.


5 Z

354 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAK [BOOK XIX.]

according to the intention of the law of Moses in putting away their wives, are made to see from the book of Moses that a wife should not be put away. And, by the way, we learn here, from Christ's own declaration, that God made and joined male and female; so that by denying this, the Manichaeans are guilty of opposing the gospel of Christ as well as the writings of Moses. And supposing their doctrine to be true, that the devil made and joined male and female, we see the diabolical cunning of Faustus in finding fault with Moses for dissohing marriages by granting a bill of divorce, and praising Christ for strengthening the union by the precept in the Gospel. Instead of this, Faustus, consistently with his own foolish and impious notions, should have praised Moses for separating what was made and joined by the devil, and should have blamed Christ for ratifying a bond of the devil's workmanship. To return, let us hear the good Master explain how Moses, who wrote of the conjugal chastity in the first union of male and female as so holy and inviolable, afterwards allowed the people to put away their wives. For when the Jews replied, "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" Christ said unto them, "Moses, because of the hardness of your heart, suffered you to put away your wives." This passage we have already explained. The hardness must have been great indeed which could not be induced to admit the restoration of wedded love, even though by means of the writing an opportunity was afforded for advice to be given to this effect by wise and upright men. Then the Lord quoted the same
law, to show both what was enjoined on the good and what was permitted to the hard; for, from what is written of the union of male and female. He proved that a wife must not be put away, and pointed out the divine authority for the union; and shows from the same Scriptures, that a bill of divorcement was to be given because of the hardness of the heart, which might be subdued or might not.

30. Since, then, all these excellent precepts of the Lord, which Faustus tries to prove to be contrary to the old books of the Hebrews, are found in these very books, the only sense

THE NEWNESS OF THE SPIRIT. 355

in which the Lord came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, is this, that besides the fulfilment of the prophetic types, which are set aside by their actual accomplishment, the precepts also, in which the law is holy, and just, and good, are fulfilled in us, not by the oldness of the letter which commands, and increases the offence of the proud by the additional guilt of transgression, but by the newness of the Spirit, who aids us, and by the obedience of the humble, through the saving grace which sets us free. For, while all these sublime precepts are found in the ancient books, still the end to which they point is not there revealed; although the holy men who foresaw the revelation lived in accordance with it, either veiling it in prophecy as suited the time, or themselves discovering the truth thus veiled.

31. I am disposed, after careful examination, to doubt whether the expression so often used by the Lord, "the kingdom of heaven," can be found in these books. It is said, indeed, "Love wisdom, that ye may reign for ever." And if eternal life had not been clearly made known in the Old Testament, the Lord would not have said, as He did even to the unbelieving Jews: "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think that ye have eternal life, and they are they that testify of me." And to the same effect are the words of the Psalmist: "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." And again: "Enlighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death." Again, Ave read, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of the Lord, and pain shall not touch them;" and immediately following: "They are in peace; and if they have suffered torture from men, their hope is full of immortality; and after a few troubles, they shall enjoy many rewards." Again, in another place: "The righteous shall live for ever, and their reward is with the Lord, and their concern with the Highest; therefore shall they receive from the hand of the Lord a kingdom of glory and a crown of beauty." These and many similar declarations of eternal life, in more or less explicit terms, are found in these writings. Even the resurrection of the body is spoken of by the prophets. The Pharisees, accordingly, were fierce oppo-

1 Wisd. vi. 22. 2 JqI. v. 39. ^ Ps. cxviii. 16.

* Ps. xii. 3. 5 Wisd. iii. 1-5. Â« "wisd. v. 16, 17.

356 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AK [BOOK XX.]

nents of the Sadducees, who disbelieved the resurrection. This we learn not only from the canonical Acts of the Apostles, which the Manichaeans reject, because it tells of the advent of the Paraclete promised by the Lord, but also from the Gospel, when the Sadducees question the Lord about the woman who married seven brothers, one dying after the other, whose wife she would be in the resurrection. Â^ As regards, then, eternal life and the resurrection of the dead, numerous testimonies are to be found in these Scriptures. But I do not find there the expression, "the kingdom of heaven." This
expression belongs properly to the revelation of the New Testament, because in the resurrection our earthly bodies shall, by that change which Paul fully describes, become spiritual bodies, and so heavenly, that thus we may possess the kingdom of heaven. And this expression was reserved for Him whose advent as King to govern and Priest to sanctify His believing people, was ushered in by all the symbolism of the old covenant, in its genealogies, its typical acts and words, its sacrifices and ceremonies and feasts, and in all its prophetic utterances and events and figures. He came full of grace and truth, in His grace helping us to obey the precepts, and in His truth securing the accomplishment of the promises. He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.

BOOK XX.

1. Faustus. You ask why we worship the sun, if we are a sect or separate religion, and not Pagans, or merely a schism of the Gentiles. It may therefore be as well to inquire into the matter, that we may see whether the name of Gentiles is more applicable to you or to us. Perhaps, in giving you in a friendly way this simple account of my faith, I shall appear to be making an apology for it, as if I were ashamed, which God forbid, of doing homage to the divine luminaries. You may take it as you please; but I shall not regret what I have done if I succeed in conveying to some at least this much knowledge, that our religion has nothincr in common with that of the Gentiles.

2. "We worship, then, one deity under the threefold appella-

tion of the Almighty God the Father, and his son Christ, and the Holy Spirit. While these are one and the same, we believe also that the Father properly dwells in the highest or principal light, which Paul calls "light inaccessible," and the Son in his second or visible light. And as the Son is himself twofold, according to the apostle, who speaks of Christ as the power of God and the wisdom of God, we believe that his power dwells in the sun, and the wisdom in the moon. We also believe that the Holy Spirit, the third majesty, has his seat and his home in the whole circle of the atmosphere. By his influence and spiritual infusion, the earth conceives and brings forth the mortal Jesus, who, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men.

Though you oppose these doctrines so violently, your religion resembles ours in attaching the same sacredness to the bread and wine that we do to everything. This is our belief, which you will have an opportunity of hearing more of, if you wish to do so. Meanwhile there is some force in the consideration that you or any one that is asked where his God dwells, will say that he dwells in light; so that the testimony in favour of my worship is almost universal.

3. As to your calling us a schism of the Gentiles, and not a sect, I suppose the word schism applies to those who have the same doctrines and worship as other people, and only choose to meet separately. The word sect, again, applies to those whose doctrine is quite unlike that of others, and who have made a form of divine worship peculiar to themselves.

If this is what the words mean, in the first place, in our doctrine and worship we have no resemblance to the Pagans. We shall see presently whether you have. The Pagan doctrine is, that all things good and evil, mean and glorious, fading and unfading, changeable and unchangeable, material and divine, have only one principle. In opposition to this, my belief is that God is the principle of all good things, and Hyle of the opposite. Hyle is the name given by our master in divinity to the principle or nature of evil. The Pagans accordingly think it right to worship God with altars, and shrines, and images, and sacrifices, and incense. Here also

1 1 Tim. vi. 16. â€œ 2 i Cor. i. 24.

358 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH. AX. [BOOK XX.]

my practice differs entirely from theirs: for I look upon myself as a reasonable temple of God, if I am worthy to be so; and I consider Christ his Son as the living image of his living majesty; and I hold a mind well cultivated to be the true altar, and pure and simple prayers to be the true way of paying divine honours and of offering sacrifices. Is this being a schism of the Pagans?
4. As regards the worship of the Almighty God, you might call us a schism of the Jews, for all Jews are bold enough to profess this worship, were it not for the difference in the form of our worship, though it may be questioned whether the Jews really worship the Almighty. But the doctrine I have mentioned is common to the Pagans in their worship of the sun, and to the Jews in their worship of the Almighty. Even in relation to you, we are not properly a schism, though we acknowledge Christ and worship him; for our worship and doctrine are different from yours. In a schism, little or no change is made from the original; as, for instance, you, in your schism from the Gentiles, have brought with you the doctrine of a single principle, for you believe that all things are of God. The sacrifices you change into love-feasts, the idols into martyrs, to whom you pray as they do to their idols. You appease the shades of the departed with wine and food. You keep the same holidays as the Gentiles; for example, the calends and the solstices. In your way of living you have made no change. Plainly you are a mere schism; for the only difference from the original is that you meet separately. In this you have followed the Jews, who separated from the Gentiles, but differed only in not having images. For they used temples, and sacrifices, and altars, and a priesthood, and the whole round of ceremonies the same as those of the Gentiles, only more superstitious. Like the Pagans, they believe in a single principle; so that both you and the Jews are schisms of the Gentiles, for you have the same faith, and nearly the same worship, and you call yourselves sects only because you meet separately. The fact is, there are only two sects, the Gentiles and ourselves. "We and the Gentiles are as contrary in our belief as truth and falsehood, day and night, poverty and wealth, health and sickness. You, again, are not
a sect in relation either to truth or to error. You are merely a schism, and a schism not of truth, but of error.

5. Augustine. hateful mixture of ignorance and cunning! Why do you put arguments in the mouth of your opponent, which no one that knows you would use? We do not call you Pagans, or a schism of Pagans; but we say that you resemble them in worshipping many gods. But you are far worse than Pagans, for they worship things which exist, though they should not be worshipped: for idols have an existence, though for salvation they are nought. So, to worship a tree with prayers, instead of improving it by cultivation, is not to worship nothing, but to worship in a wrong way. When the apostle says that "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons, and not to God," ^ he means that these demons exist to whom the sacrifices are made, and with whom he wishes us not to be partakers. So, too, heaven and earth, the sea and air, the sun and moon, and the other heavenly bodies, are all objects which have a sensible existence. When the Pagans worship these as gods, or as parts of one great God (for some of them identify the universe with the Supreme Deity), they worship things which have an existence. In arguing with Pagans, we do not deny the existence of these things, but we say that they should not be worshipped; and we recommend the worship of the invisible Creator of all these things, in whom alone man can find the happiness which all allow that he desires. To those, again, who worship what is invisible and immaterial, but still is created, as the soul or mind of man, we say that happiness is not to be found in the creature even under this form, and that we must worship the true God, who is not only invisible, but unchangeable; for He alone is to be worshipped, in the enjoyment of whom the worshipper finds happiness, and without whom the soul must be wretched, whatever else it possesses. ^You, on the other hand, who worship things which have no existence at all except in your fictitious legends, would be nearer true piety and religion if you were Pagans, or if you were worshippers of what has an existence, though not a proper object of worship. In fact,

1 1 Cor. X. 20.

360 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AX. [BOOK XX.]

you do not properly worship the sun, though he carries your prayers with him in his course round the heavens.

6. Your statements about the sun himself are so false and absurd, that if he were to repay you for the injury done to him, he would scorch you to death. First of all, you call the sun a ship, so that you are not only astray worlds off, as the sapng is, but adrift. ISText, while every one sees that the sun is round, which is the form corresponding from its perfection
to his position among the heavenly bodies, you maintain that he is triangular, that is, that
his light shines on the earth through a triangular window in heaven. Hence it is that you
bend and bow your heads to the sun, while you worship not this visible sun, but some
imaginary ship which you suppose to be shining through a triangular opening. Assuredly
this ship would never have been heard of, if the words required for the composition of
heretical fictions had to be paid for, like the wood required for the beams of a ship. All
this is comparatively harmless, however ridiculous or pitiable. Very different is your
wicked fancy about youths of both sexes proceeding from this ship, whose beauty excites
eager desire in the princes and princesses of darkness; and so the members of your god
are released from this humiliating confinement in the members of the race of darkness,
by means of sinful passion and sensual appetite. And to these filthy rags of yours you
would unite the mystery of the Trinity; for you say that the Father dwells in a secret light,
the power of the Son in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon, and the Holy Spirit in the
air.

7. As for this threefold or rather fourfold fiction, what shall I say of the secret light of the
Father, but that you can think of no light except what you have seen? From your
knowledge of visible light, with which beasts and insects as well as men are familiar, you
form some vague idea in your mind, and call it the light in which God the Father dwells
with His subjects. / How can you distinguish between the light by which we see, and that
by which we understand, when, according to your ideas, to understand truth is nothing
else than to form the conception of material forms, either finite or in some cases infinite;
and you actually believe in these wild fancies? It is manifest that the act of my mind in
thinking of your region of light which has no existence, is entirely different from my conception of Alexandria, which exists, though I have not seen it. And, again, the act of forming a conception of Alexandria, which I have never seen, is very different from thinking of Carthage, which I know.

But this difference is insignificant as compared with that between my thinking of material things which I know from seeing them, and my understanding justice, chastity, faith, truth, love, goodness, and things of this nature. Can you describe this intellectual light, which gives us a clear perception of the distinction between itself and other things, as well as of the distinction between those things themselves? And yet even this is not the sense in which it can be said that God is light. For this light is created, whereas God is the Creator; the light is made, and He is the Maker; the light is changeable. For the intellect changes from dislike to desire, from ignorance to knowledge, from forgetfulness to recollection; whereas God remains the same in will, in truth, and in eternity. From God we derive the beginning of existence, the principle of knowledge, the law of affection. From God all animals, rational and irrational, derive the nature of their life, the capacity of sensation, the faculty of emotion. From God all bodies derive their subsistence in extension, their beauty in number, and their order in weight. This light is one divine being, in an inseparable triune existence; and yet, without supposing the assumption of any bodily form, you assign to separate places parts of the immaterial, spiritual, and unchangeable substance. And instead of three places for the Trinity, you have four: one, the light inaccessible, which you know nothing about, for the Father; two, the sun and moon, for the Son; and again one, the circle of the atmosphere, for the Holy Spirit. Of the inaccessible light of the Father I shall say nothing further at present, for orthodox believers do not separate the Son and the Spirit from the Father in relation to this light.

8. It is difficult to understand how you have been taken with the absurd idea of placing the power of the Son in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon. For, as the Son remains inseparably in the Father, His wisdom and power cannot be separated from one another, so that one should be in the sun and the other in the moon. Only material things can be thus assigned to separate places. If you only understood this, it would have prevented you from taking the productions of a diseased fancy as the material for so many fictions. But there is inconsistency and improbability as well as falsehood in your ideas. For, according to you, the seat of wisdom is inferior in brightness to the seat of power. Now energy and productiveness are the qualities of power, whereas light teaches and manifests; so that if the sun had the greater heat, and the moon the greater light, these absurdities might appear to have some likelihood to men of carnal minds, who know nothing except through material conceptions. From the connection
between great heat and motion, they might identify power with heat; while light from its brightness, and as making things discernible, might represent wisdom. But what folly as well as profanity, in placing power in the sun, which excels so much in light, and wisdom in the moon, which is so inferior in brightness! And while you separate Christ from Himself, you do not distinguish between Christ and the Holy Spirit; whereas Christ is one, the power of God, and the wisdom of God, and the Spirit is a distinct person. But according to you, the air, which you make the seat of the Spirit, fills and pervades the universe. So the sun and moon in their course are always united to the air. But the moon approaches the sun at one time, and recedes from it at another. So that, if we may believe you, or rather, if we may allow ourselves to be imposed on by you, wisdom recedes from power by half the circumference of a circle, and again approaches it by the other half. And when wisdom is full, it is at a distance from power. For when the moon is full, the distance between the two bodies is so great, that the moon rises in the east while the sun is setting in the west. But as the loss of power produces weakness, the fuller the moon is, the weaker must wisdom be. If, as is certainly true, the wisdom of God is unchangeable in power, and the power of God unchangeable in wisdom, how can you separate them so as to assign them to different places? And how can the place be different when the substance is the same? Is this not the infatuation
of subjection to material fancies; showing such a want of power and wisdom, that your wisdom is as weak as your power is foolish? This execrable absurdity would divide Christ between the sun and the moon, Æ” His power in one, and His wisdom in the other; so that He would be incomplete in both, lacking Avisdom in the sun, and power in the moon, while in both He supplies youth, male and female, to excite the affection of the princes and princesses of darkness. Such are the tenets which you learn and profess. Such is the faith which directs your conduct. And can you wonder that you are regarded with abhorrence!

9. But besides your errors regarding these conspicuous and familiar luminaries, which you worship not for what they are, but for what your wild fancy makes them to be, your other absurdities are still worse than this. Your illustrious Worldbears, and Atlas who helps to hold him up, are unreal beings. Like innumerable other creatures of your fancy, they have no existence, and yet you worship them. For this reason we say that you are worse than Pagans, while you resemble them in worshipping many gods. You are worse, because, while they worship things which exist though they are not gods, you worship things which are neither gods nor anything else, for they have no existence. The Pagans, too, have fables, but they know them to be fables; and either look upon them as amusing poetical fancies, or try to explain them as representing the nature of things, or the life of man. Thus they say that Vulcan is lame, because flame in common fire has an irregular motion: that Fortune is blind, because of the uncertainty of what are called fortuitous occurrences: that there are three Pates, with distaff, and spindle, and fingers spinning wool into thread, because there are three times, Æ” the past, already spun and wound on the spindle; the present, which is passing through the fingers of the spinner; and the future, still in wool bound to the distaff, and soon to pass through the fingers to the spindle, that is, through the present into the future: and that Venus is the wife of Vulcan, because pleasure has a natural connection with heat; and that she is the mistress of Mars, because pleasure is not properly the companion of warriors: and that Cupid is a boy with wings and a bow, from

364 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK XX.]

the wounds inflicted by thoughtless, inconstant passion in the hearts of unhappy beings: and so with many other fables. The great absurdity is in their continuing to worship these beings, after giving such explanations; for the worship without the explanations, though criminal, would be a less heinous crime. The very explanations prove that they do not worship that God, the enjoyment of whom can alone give happiness, but things which He has created. And even in the creature they worship not only the virtues, as in Minerva, who sprang from the head of Jupiter, and who represents prudence, Æ” a quality of reason which, according to
Plato, has its seat in the head, ì” but their vices, too, as in Cupid. Thus one of their
dramatic poets says, " Sinful passion, in favour of vice, made Love a god."^ Even bodily
evils had temples in Eonie, as in the case of pallor and fever. Not to dwell on the sin of
the worshippers of these idols, who are in a certain way affected by the bodily forms, so
that they pay homage to them as deities, when they see them set up in some lofty place,
and treated with great honour and reverence, there is greater sin in the very explanations
which are intended as apologies for these dumb, and deaf, and blind, and lifeless objects.
Still, though, as I have said, these things are nothing in the way of salvation or of
usefulness, both they and the things they are said to represent are real existences. But
your First Man, warring with the five elements; and your Mighty Spirit, who constructs
the world from the captive bodies of the race of darkness, or rather from the members of
your god in subjection and bondage; and your World-holder, who has in his hand the
remains of these members, and who bewails the capture and bondage and pollution of the
rest; and your giant Atlas, who keeps up the World-holder on his shoulders, lest he
should from weariness throw away his burden, and so prevent the completion of the
final limitation of the mass of darkness, which is to be the last scene in your drama; ì”
these and countless other absurdities are not represented in painting or sculpture, or in
any explanation; and yet you believe and worship things which have no existence, while
you taunt the Christians with being credulous for believing in realities with a faith

1 Sen. Hipp. vv. 194, 195.
which pacifies the mind under its influence. The objects of your worship can be shown to have no existence by many proofs, which I do not bring forward here, because, though I could without difficulty discourse philosophically on the construction of the world, it would take too long to do so here.

One proof suffices. If these things are real, God must be subject to change, and corruption, and contamination; a supposition as blasphemous as it is irrational. All these things, therefore, are vain, and false, and unreal. Thus you are much worse than those Pagans, with whom all are familiar, and who still preserve traces of their old customs, of which they themselves are ashamed; for while they worship things which are not gods, you worship things which do not exist.

10. If you think that your doctrines are true because they are unlike the errors of the Pagans, and that we are in error because we perhaps differ more from you than from them, you might as well say that a dead man is in good health because he is not sick; or that good health is undesirable, because it differs less from sickness than from death. Or if the Pagans should be viewed in many cases as rather dead than sick, you might as well praise the ashes in the tomb because they have no longer the human shape, as compared with the living body, which does not differ so much from a corpse as from ashes. It is thus we are reproached for having more resemblance to the dead body of Paganism than to the ashes of Manichaeanism.

But in division, it often happens that a thing is placed in different classes, according to the point of resemblance on which the division proceeds. For instance, if animals are divided into those that fly and those that cannot fly, in this division men and beasts are classed together as distinct from birds, because they are both unable to fly. But if they are divided into rational and irrational, beasts and birds are classed together as distinct from men, for they are both destitute of reason. Paust did not think of this when he said: There are in fact only two sects, the Gentiles and ourselves, for we are directly opposed to them in our belief. The opposition he means is this, that the Gentiles believe in a single principle, whereas the Manichaeans believe also in the principle of the race of darkness.

Certainly, according to this division, we agree in general with the Pagans. But if we divide all who have a religion into those who worship one God and those who worship many gods, the Manichaeans must be classed along with the Pagans, and we along with the Jews. This is another distinction which may be said to make only two sects. Perhaps you will say that you hold all your gods to be of one substance, which the Pagans do not. But you at least resemble them in assigning to your gods different powers, and functions, and employments. One does battle with the race of darkness; another constructs the world from the part which is captured; another, standing above, has the world in his hand; another holds him up from below; another
turns the wheels of the fires and winds and waters beneath; another, in his circuit of the heavens, gathers with his beams the members of your god from cesspools. Indeed, your gods have innumerable occupations, according to your fabulous descriptions, which you neither explain nor represent in a visible form. But again, if men were divided into those who believe that God takes an interest in human affairs and those who do not, the Pagans and Jews, and you and all heretics that have anything of Christianity, will be classed together, as opposed to the Epicureans, and any others holding similar views. As this is a principle of great importance, here again we may say that there are only two sects, and you belong to the same sect as we do. You will hardly venture to dissent from us in the opinion that God is concerned in human affairs, so that in this matter your opposition to the Epicureans makes you side with us. Thus, according to the nature of the division, what is in one class at one time, is in another at another time: things joined here are separated there: in some things we are classed with others, and they with us; in other things we are classed separately, and stand alone. If Faust thought of this, he would not talk such eloquent nonsense.

11. But what are we to make of these words of Faust: The Holy Spirit, by his influence and spiritual infusion, makes the earth conceive and bring forth the mortal Jesus, icho, as hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men? Letting pass for a moment the absurdity of this statement, we observe the folly of believing that the mortal Jesus can be conceived
through the power of the Holy Spirit by the earth, but not by the Virgin Mary. Dare you compare the holiness of that chaste virgin's womb with any piece of ground where trees and plants grow? Do you pretend to look with abhorrence upon a pure virgin, while you do not shrink from believing that Jesus is produced in gardens watered by the filthy drains of a city?

For plants of all kinds spring up and are nourished in such moisture. You will have Jesus to be born in this way, while you cry out against the idea of His being born of a virgin. Do you think flesh more unclean than the excrements which its nature rejects? Is the filth cleaner than the flesh which expels it? Are you not aware how fields are manured in order to make them productive? Your folly comes to this, that the Holy Spirit, who, according to you, despised the womb of Mary, makes the earth conceive more fruitfully in proportion as it is carefully enriched with animal offscourings. Do you reply that the Holy Spirit preserves his incorruptible purity everywhere? I ask again. Why not also in the virgin's womb? Passing from the conception, you maintain in regard to the mortal Jesus who, as you say, is born from the earth, which has conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit that he hangs in the shape of fruit from every tree: so that, besides this pollution, he suffers additional defilement from the flesh of the countless animals that eat the fruit; except, indeed, the small amount that is purified by your eating it. While we believe and confess Christ the Son of God, and the Word of God, to have become flesh without suffering defilement, because the divine substance is not defiled by flesh, as it is not defiled by anything, your fanciful notions would make Jesus to be defiled even as hanging on the tree, before entering the flesh of any animal; for if he were not defiled, there would be no need of his being purified by your eating him. And if all trees are the cross of Christ, as Faust seems to imply when he says that Jesus hangs from every tree, why do you not pluck the fruit, and so take Jesus down from hanging on the tree to bury him in your stomach, which would correspond to the good deed of Joseph of Arimathea, when he took down the true Jesus from the cross to bury Him? Why should it be

1 John xix. 38.

impious to take Christ from the tree, while it is pious to lay Him in the tomb? Perhaps you wish to apply to yourselves the words quoted from the prophet by Paul, "Their throat is an open sepulchre; " and so you wait with open mouth till some one comes to use your throat as the best sepulchre for Christ. Once more, how many Christs do you make? Is there one whom you call the mortal Christ, whom the earth conceives and brings forth by the power of the Holy Spirit; and another crucified by the Jews under Pontius Pilate; and a third whom you divide between the sun and the moon? Or is it one and the same person, part of whom is confined in the trees, to be released by the help of the other part which is not confined? If this is the case, and you allow that Christ suffered under
Pontius Pilate, though it is difficult to see how he could have suffered without flesh, as you say he did, the great question is, with whom he left those ships you speak of, that he might come down and suffer these things, which he certainly could not have suffered without having a body of some kind. A mere spiritual presence could not have made him liable to these sufferings, and in his bodily presence he could not be at the same time in the sun, in the moon, and on the cross. So, then, if he had not a body, he was not crucified; and if he had a body, the question is, where he got it: for, according to you, all bodies belong to the race of darkness, though you cannot think of the divine substance except as being material. Thus you must say either that Christ was crucified without a body, which is utterly absurd; or that he was crucified in appearance and not in reality, which is blasphemy; or that all bodies do not belong to the race of darkness, but that the divine substance has also a body, and that not an immortal body, but liable to crucifixion and death, which, again, is altogether erroneous; or that Christ had a mortal body from the race of darkness, so that, while you will not allow that Christ's body came from the Virgin Mary, you derive it from the race of demons. Finally, as in Faustus' statement, in which he alludes in the briefest manner possible to the lengthy stories of Manichaean invention, the earth by the power of the Holy Spirit conceives and brings forth the mortal

1 Kom. iii. 13.
Jesus, who, hanging from every tree, is the life and salvation of men, why should this Saviour be represented by whatever is hanging, because he hung on the tree, and not by whatever is born, because he was born? But if you mean that the Jesus on the trees, and the Jesus crucified under Pontius Pilate, and the Jesus divided between the sun and the moon, are all one and the same substance, why do you not give the name of Jesus to your whole host of deities? Why should not your World-holder be Jesus too, and Atlas, and the King of Honour, and the Mighty Spirit, and the First Man, and all the rest, with their various names and occupations?

12. So, with regard to the Holy Spirit, how can you say that he is the third person, when the persons you mention are innumerable? And why does Faust mislead people, in trying to make out an agreement between himself and true Christians, from whom he differs only too widely, by saying. We worship one God under the threelfold appellation of Almighty God the Father, Christ his Son, and the Holy Spirit? Why is the appellation only threelfold, instead of being manifold? And why is the distinction in appellation only, and not in reality, if there are as many persons as there are names? For it is not as if you gave three names to the same thing, as the same weapon may be called a short sword, a dagger, or a dirk; or as you give the name of moon, and the lesser ship, and the luminary of night, and so on, to the same thing. For you cannot say that the First Man is the same as the Mighty Spirit, or as the World-holder, or as the giant Atlas. They are all distinct persons, and you do not call any of them Christ. How can there be one Deity with opposite functions? Or why should not Christ himself be the single person, if in one substance Christ hangs on the trees, and was persecuted by the Jews, and exists in the sun and moon? The fact is, your fancies are all astray, and are no better than the dreams of insanity.

13. How can Faustus think that we resemble the Manichseans in attaching sacredness to bread and wine, when they consider it sacrilege to taste wine? They acknowledge their god in the grape, but not in the cup; perhaps they are shocked at his being trampled on and bottled. It is not any bread and wine that we hold sacred as a natural production, as if Christ were confined in corn or in vines, as the Manichasans fancy, but what is truly consecrated as a symbol. What is not consecrated, though it is bread and wine, is only nourishment or refreshment, with no sacredness about it; although we bless and thank God for every gift, bodily as well as spiritual According to your notion, Christ is confined in everything you eat, and is
released by digestion from the additional confinement of your intestines. So, when you eat, your god suffers; and when you digest, you suffer from his recovery. When he fills you, your gain is his loss. This might be considered kindness on his part, because he suffers in you for your benefit, were it not that he gains freedom by escaping and leaving you empty. There is not the least resemblance between our reverence for the bread and wine, and your doctrines, which have no truth in them. To compare the two is even more foolish than to say, as some do, that in the bread and wine we worship Ceres and Bacchus. I refer to this now, to show where you got your silly idea that our fathers kept the Sabbath in honour of Saturn. Tor as there is no connection with the worship of the Pagan deities Ceres and Bacchus in our observance of the sacrament of the bread and wine, which you approve so highly that you wish to resemble us in it, so there was no subjection to Saturn in the case of our fathers, who observed the rest of the Sabbath in a manner suitable to prophetic times.

14. You might have found a resemblance in your religion to that of the Pagans as regards Hyle, which the Pagans often speak of. You, on the contrary, maintain that you are directly opposed to them in your belief in the evil principle, which your teacher in theology calls Hyle. But here you only show your ignorance, and, with an affectation of learning, use this word without knowing what it means. The Greeks, when speaking of nature, give the name Hyle to the subject-matter of things, which has no form of its own, but admits of all bodily forms, and is known only through these changeable phenomena, not being itself an object of sensation or perception. Some Gentiles, indeed, erroneously make this matter co-eternal with God, as not being derived from Him, though
the bodily forms are. In this manifest error you resemble the Pagans, for you hold that Hyle has a principle of its own, and does not come from God. It is only ignorance that leads you to deny this resemblance. In saying that Hyle has no form of its own, and can take its forms only from God, the Pagans come near to the truth which we believe in contradistinction from your errors. Not knowing what Hyle or the subjectmatter of things is, you make it the race of darkness, in which you place not only innumerable bodily forms of five different kinds, but also a formative mind. Such, indeed, is your ignorance or insanity, that you call this mind Hyle, and make it give forms instead of taking them. If there were such a formative mind as you speak of, and bodily elements capable of form, the word Hyle would properly be applicable to the bodily elements, which would be the matter to be formed by the mind, which you make the principle of evil. Even this would not be a quite accurate use of the word Hyle, which has no form of any kind; whereas these elements, although capable of new forms, have already the form of elements, and belong to different kinds. Still this use of the word would not be so much amiss, notwithstanding your ignorance: for it would thus be applied, as it properly is, to that which takes form, and not to that which gives it. Even here, however, your folly and impiety would appear in tracing so much that is good to the evil principle, from your not knowing that all natures of every kind, all forms in their proportion, and all weights in their order, can come only from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. As it is, you know neither what Hyle is, nor what evil is. Would that I could persuade you to refrain from misleading people still more ignorant than yourselves!

15. Every one must see the folly of your boasting of superiority to the Pagans because they use altars and temples, images and sacrifices and incense, in the worship of God, which you do not. As if it were not better to build an altar and offer sacrifice to a stone, which has some kind of existence, than to employ a heated imagination in worshippings things which have no existence at all. And what do you mean by saying that you are a rational temple of God? Can

372 EEPLOYEE TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AX. [BOOK XX.

that be God's temple which is partly the construction of the devil? / And is this not true of you, as you say that all your members and your whole body was formed by the evil principle which you call Hyle, and that part of this formative mind dwells in the body along with part of your god? And as this part of your god is bound and confined, you should be called the prison of God rather than his temple. Perhaps it is your soul that is the temple of God, as you have it from the region of light. But you generally call your soul not a temple, but a part or member of God. So, when you say you are the temple of God, it must be in your body, which you say, was formed by the devil. Thus you blaspheme the temple of God, calling it not only the workmanship of Satan, but the
prison-house of God. The apostle, on the other hand, says: 'â€œ The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.'*

And to show that this refers not merely to the soul, he says expressly: "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?" ^

You call the workmanship of devils the temple of God, and there, to use Faustus' words, you place Christ, the Son of God, the living image of living majesty. Your impiety may well contrive a fabulous temple for a fabulous Christ. The image you speak of must be so called, because it is the creature of your imagination.

IG. If your mind is an altar, you see whose altar it is.
You may see from the very doctrines and duties in which you say you are trained. You are taught not to give food to a beggar; and so your altar smokes with the sacrifice of cruelty. Such altars the Lord destroys; for in words quoted from the law. He tells us what offering pleases God: "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice." Observe on what occasion the Lord uses these words. It was when, in passing through a field, the disciples plucked the ears of corn because they were hungry. Your doctrine would lead you to call this murder. Your mind is an altar, not of God, but of lying devils, by whose doctrines the evil conscience is seared as with a hot iron." Then you call murder what the truth calls innocence. For in His words to the Jews, Christ by anticipation deals a fatal blow to you:

Â» 1 Cor. iii. 17 and vi. 19. ^ITim. iv. 2.
* If ye had known what this meaneth, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless."

17. !N'or can you say that you honour God with sacrifices in the shape of pure and simple prayers: for, in your low, dishonouring notions about the divine nature and substance, you make your god to be the victim in the sacrifices of Pagans; so far are you from pleasing the true God with your sacrifices.

"For you hold that God is confined not only in trees and plants, or in the human body, but also in the flesh of animals, which contaminates him with its impurity. And how can your soul give praise to God, when you actually reproach him by calling your soul a particle of his substance taken captive by the race of darkness; as if God could not maintain the conflict except by this corruption of his members, and this dishonourable captivity? Instead of honouring God in your prayers, you insult him. For what sin did you commit, when you belonged to him, that you should be thus punished by the god you cry to, not because you left him sinfully of your own choice; (for he himself gave you to his enemies, to obtain peace for his kingdom? You are not even given as hostages to be honourably treated. ISTor is it as when a shepherd lays a snare to catch a wild beast: for he does not put one of his own members in the snare, but some animal from his flock; and generally, so that the wild beast is caught before the animal is hurt. You, though you are the members of your god, are given to the enemy, whose ferocity you keep off from your god only by being contaminated with their impurity, infected with their corruptions, without any fault of your own. You cannot in your prayer use the words: "Free us, Lord, for the glory of Thy name; and for Thy name's sake pardon our sins." Your prayer is: â€¢ Free us by thy skill, for we suffer here oppression, and torture, and pollution, only that thou mayest mourn unmolested in thy kingdom." These are words of reproach, not of entreaty. Nor can you use the words taught us by the Master of truth: "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." For who are the debtors who have sinned against you? If it is the race of darkness, you do not forgive their debts, but make them be utterly cast out and shut up in eternal imprisonment, and how can God forgive your debts, when he rather sinned against you by sending you into such a state, than you against him, whom you obeyed by going? If this was not a sin in him, because he was compelled to do it, this excuse must apply to you, now that you have been overthrown in the conflict, more than to him before the conflict began. You suffer now from the mixture of evil, which was not the case with him when nevertheless he was compelled to send you. So either he requires that you
should forgive him his debt; or, if he is not in debt to you, still less are you to hinL It appears that your sacrifices and your pure and simple prayers are pure and simple blasphemies.

18. How is it, by the way, that you use the words temple, altai', sacrifice, for the purpose of commending your own practices? If such things can be spoken of as properly belono'incr to true reliGfion, they must constitute the true worship of the true God. And if there is such a thing as true sacrifice to the true God, which is implied in the expression diAdne honours, there must be some one true sacrifice of which the rest are imitations. On the one hand, we have the spurious imitations in the case of false and Ipng gods, that is, of de"ils, who proudly demand divine honoiu's from their deluded votaries, as is or was the case in the temples and idols of the Gentiles. On the other hand, we have the prophetic intimations of one most true sacrifice to be offered for the sins of all believers, as in the sacrifices enjoined by God on our fathers; along ^ith which there was also the S}mbolical anointing typical of Chiist, as the name Christ itsKe means anointed. The animal sacrifices, therefore, presumptuously claimed by de\ils, were an imitation of the true sacrifice, which is due only to the one true God, and which Christ alone offered on His altar. Thus the apostle says:
" The sacrifices which the Gentiles offer, they offer to devils, and not to God." ^ He does not find fault with sacrifice, but Tith offering to devils. The Hebrews, again, in their animal sacrifices, which they offered to God in many varied forms, suitably to the significance of the institution, t^-pified the sacrifice offered by Christ. This sacrifice is also commemo-

1 1 Cor. X. 30.
rated by Christians, in the sacred offering and participation of the body and blood of Christ. The Manichseans understand neither the sinfulness of the Gentile sacrifices, nor the importance of the Hebrew sacrifices, nor the use of the ordinance of the Christian sacrifice. Their own errors are the offering they present to the devil who has deceived them. And thus they depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and to doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy.

19. It may be well that Faustus, or at least that those who are charmed with Faustus' writings, should know that the doctrine of a single principle did not come to us from the Gentiles; for the belief in one true God, from whom every kind of nature is derived, is a part of the original truth retained among the Gentiles, notwithstanding their having fallen away to many false gods. For the Gentile philosophers had the knowledge of God, because, as the apostle says, "the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse." But, as the apostle adds, "when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things." These are the idols of the Gentiles, which they cannot explain except by referring to the creatures made by God; so that this very explanation of their idolatry, on which the more enlightened Gentiles were wont to pride themselves as a proof of their superiority, shows the truth of the following words of the apostle: "They worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever." Where you differ from the Gentiles, you are in error; where you resemble them, you are worse than they. You do not believe, as they do, in a single principle; and so you fall into the impiety of believing the substance of the one true God to be liable to subjugation and corruption. As regards the worship of a plurality of gods, the

Ä» Rom. i. 20-23. 2 p^Qi^ i 25-

376 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÉAN. [BOOK XX.]

document of lying devils has led the Gentiles to worship many idols, and you to worship many phantasms.

20. We do not turn the sacrifices of the Gentiles into lovefeasts, as Faustus says we do. Our love-feasts are rather a substitute for the sacrifice spoken of by the Lord, in the words already quoted: "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." At our love-feasts the poor obtain vegetable or animal food; and so the creature of God is used, as far as it is suitable, for the nourishment of man, who is also God's creature. You have been led by lying devils, not in self-denial, but in blasphemous error, "to abstain from meats which God
hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. 
For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with 
thanksgiving."  

"In return for the bounties of the Creator, you ungratefully insult Him 
with your impiety; and because in our love-feasts flesh is often given to the poor, you 
compare Christian charity to Pagan sacrifices. This, indeed, is another point in which you 
resemble some Pagans. You ' consider it a crime to kill animals, because you think that 
the souls of men pass into them; which is an idea found in the writings of some Gentile 
philosophers, although their successors appear to have thought differently. But here 
again you are most in error: for they dreaded slaughtering a relative in the animal: but 
you dread the slaughter of your god, for you hold even the souls of animals to be his 
members.

21. As to our paying honour to the memory of the martyrs, and the accusation of Faustus, 
that we worship them instead of idols, I should not care to answer such a charge, were it 
not for the sake of showing how Faustus, in his desire to cast reproach on us, has 
overstepped the Manichæan inventions, and has fallen heedlessly into a popular notion 
found in Pagan poetry, although he is so anxious to be distinguished from the Pagans. For 
in saying that we have turned the idols into martyrs, he speaks of our worshipping them 
with similar rites, and appeasing the shades of the departed with wine and food. 
Do you, then, believe in shades ? (We never heard you speak of such things, nor have we 
read of them in your books. In

1 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4.
fact, you generally oppose such ideas:; for you tell us that the souls of the dead, if they are wicked, or not purified, are made to pass through various changes, or suffer punishment still more severe; while the good souls are placed in ships, and sail through heaven to that imaginary region of light which they died fighting for. According to you, then, no souls remain near the burying-place of the body; and how can there be any shades of the departed? What and where are they? Faustus' love of evil-speaking has made him forget his own creed; or perhaps he spoke in his sleep about ghosts, and did not wake up even when he saw his words in writing.

It is true that Christians pay religious honour to the memory of the martyrs, both to excite us to imitate them, and to obtain a share in their merits, and the assistance of their prayers. But we build altars not to any martyr, but to the God of martyrs, although it is to the memory of the martyrs.

"No one officiating at the altar in the saints' burying-place ever says, We bring an offering to thee, Peter or Paul! or Cyprian! The offering is made to God, who gave the crown of martyrdom, while it is in memory of those thus crowned. The emotion is increased by the associations of the place, and love is excited both towards those who are our examples, and towards Him by whose help we may follow such examples.

We regard the martyrs with the same affectionate intimacy that we feel towards holy men of God in this life, when we know that their hearts are prepared to endure the same suffering for the truth of the gospel. There is more devotion in our feeling towards the martyrs, because we know that their conflict is over; and we can speak with greater confidence in praise of those already victors in heaven, than of those still combating here. What is properly divine worship, which the Greeks call latria, and for which there is no word in Latin, both in doctrine and in practice, we give only to God. To this worship belongs the offering of sacrifices; as we see in the word idolatry, which means the giving of this worship to idols. Accordingly we never offer, or require any one to offer, sacrifice to a martyr, or to a holy soul, or to any angel. Any one falling into this error is instructed by sound doctrine, either in the way of correction or of caution. For holy beings themselves, "lier saints or angels, refuse to accept what they know to be due to God alone. "We see this in Paul and Barnabas, when the men of Lycaonia wished to sacrifice to them as gods, on account of the miracles they performed. They rent their clothes, and restrained the people, crying out to them, and persuading them that they were not gods. We see it also in the angels, as we read in the Apocalypse that an angel would not allow himself to be worshipped, and said to his worshipper, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren."^
Those who claim this worship are proud spirits, the devil and his angels, as we see in all the temples and rites of the Gentiles. Some proud men, too, have copied their example; as is related of some kings of Babylon. Thus the holy Daniel was accused and persecuted, because when the king made a decree that no petition should be made to any god, but only to the king, he was found worshipping and praying to his own God, that is, the one true God." As for those who drink to excess at the feasts of the martyrs, we of course condemn their conduct; for to do so even in their own houses would be contrary to sound doctrine. But we must try to amend what is bad as well as prescribe what is good, and must of necessity bear for a time with some things that are not according to our teaching. The rules of Christian conduct are not to be taken from the indulgences of the intemperate or the infirmities of the weak. Still, even in this, the guilt of intemperance is much less than that of impiety. To sacrifice to the martyrs, even fasting, is worse than to go home intoxicated from their feast: to sacrifice to the martyrs, I say, which is a different thing from sacrificing to God in memory of the martyrs, as we do constantly, in the manner required since the revelation of the New Testament; for this belongs to the worship or latria which is due to God alone. But it is vain to try to make these heretics understand the full meaning of these words of the Psalmist: "He that offereth the sacrifice of praise glorifieth me, and in this way will I show him my salvation."^ Before the comincer of Christ, the flesh and blood of this sacrifice were foreshadowed in the animals slain; in the passion of Christ the types were fulfilled by the true sacrifice; after the

^ Rev. xix. 10. * Dan. vL Â» Ps. 1. 23.
ascension of Christ, this sacrifice is commemorated in the sacrament. Between the sacrifices of the Pagans and of the Hebrews there is all the difference that there is between a false imitation and a typical anticipation. We do not despise or denounce the virginity of holy women because there were vestal virgins. And, in the same way, it is no reproach to the sacrifices of our fathers that the Gentiles also had sacrifices. The difference between the Christian and vestal virginity consists wholly in the being to whom the vow is made and paid; and yet the difference is a wide one. And so the difference in the being to whom the sacrifices of the Pagans and Hebrews are made and offered makes a wide difference between them. In the one case they are offered to devils, who presumptuously make this claim in order to be held as gods, because sacrifice is a divine honour. In the other case they are offered to the one true God, as a type of the true sacrifice which also was to be offered to Him in the passion of the body and blood of Christ.

22. Faustus is wrong in saying that our Jewish forefathers, in their separation from the Gentiles, retained the temple, and sacrifices, and altars, and priesthood, and abandoned only graven images or idols; for they might have sacrificed, as some do, without any graven image, to trees and mountains, or even to the sun and moon and the stars. If they had thus rendered to these objects the worship called latria, they would have served the creature instead of the Creator, and so would have fallen into the serious error of heathenish superstition; and even without idols, they would have found devils ready to take advantage of their error, and to accept their offerings. For these proud and wicked spirits feed not, as some foolishly suppose, on the smell of the sacrifice, and the smoke, but on the errors of men. They enjoy not bodily refreshment, but a malevolent gratification, when they in any way deceive people, or when, with a bold assumption of borrowed majesty, they boast of receiving divine honours. It was not, therefore, only the idols of the Gentiles that our Jewish forefathers abandoned. They sacrificed neither to the earth nor to any earthly thing, nor to the sea, nor to heaven, nor to the host of heaven, but laid the victims on the altar of the one God,

3S0 PiEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHAN. [BOOK XX.]

Creator of all, who required these offerings as a means of foreshadowing the true victim, by whom He has reconciled us to Himself in the remission of sins through our Lord Jesus Christ. So Paul, addressing believers, who are made the body of which Christ is the Head, says: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God."^-^ The Manichseans, on the other hand, say that
human bodies are the workmanship of the race of darkness, and the prison in which the captive deity is confined. Thus Faustus' doctrine is very different from Paul's. But since whosoever preaches to you another gospel than that ye have received must be accursed, what Christ says in Paul is the truth, while Manichseus in Faustus is accursed.

23. Faustus says also, without knowing what he says, that we have retained the manners of the Gentiles. But seeing that the just lives by faith, and that the end of the commandment is love out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, and that these three, faith, hope, and love, abide to form the life of believers, it is impossible that there should be similarity in the manners of those who differ in these three things. Those who believe differently, and hope differently, and love differently, must also live differently. And if we resemble the Gentiles in our use of such things as food and drink, and houses and clothes and baths, and those of us who marry, in taking and keeping wives, and in begetting and bringing up children as our heirs, there is still a great difference between the man who uses these things for some end of his own, and the man who, in using them, gives thanks to God, having no unworthy or erroneous ideas about God. For as you, according to your own heresy, though you eat the same bread as other men, and live upon the produce of the same plants and the water of the same fountain, and are clothed like others in wool and linen, yet lead a different life, not because you eat or drink, or dress differently, but because you differ from others in your ideas and in your faith, and in all these things have in view an end of your own, the end, namely, set forth in your false doctrines; in the same way we, though we resemble the Gentiles in the use of this and other

^ Eom. xii. 1.
thinfrs, do not resemble them in our life; for while the thing\'s are the same, the end is
different: for the end we have in view is, according to the just commandment of God,
love out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned; from which some
having erred, are turned to vain jangling. In this vain jangling you bear the palm, for you
do not attend to the fact that so great is the difference of life produced by a different faith,
even when the things in possession and use are the same, that though; your followers
have wives, and in spite of themselves get children, for whom they gather and store up
wealth; though they eat flesh, drink wine, bathe, reap harvests, gather vintages, engage in
trade, and occupy high official positions, you nevertheless reckon them as belonging to
you, and not to the Gentiles, though in their actions they approach nearer to the Gentiles
than to you. And though some of the Gentiles in some things resemble you more than
your own followers, â€”
those, for instance, who in superstitious devotion abstain from flesh, and wine, and
marriage, â€” you still count your own followers, even though they use all these things,
and so are unlike you, as belonging to the flock of Manichseus rather than those who
resemble you in their practices. You consider as belonging to you a woman that believes
in Manichseus, though she is a mother, rather than a Sibyl, though she never marries. â€”
but you will say that many who are called Catholic Christians are adulterers, robbers,
misers, drunkards, and whatever else is contrary to sound doctrine. I ask if none such are
to be found in your company, which is almost too small to be called a company.
And because there are some among the Pagans who are not of this character, do you
consider them as better than yourselves? And yet, in fact, your heresy is so blasphemous, that even your followers who are not of
such a character are worse than the Pagans who are. It is therefore no impeachment to
sound doctrine, which alone is Catholic, that many wish to take its name, who will not
yield to its beneficial influence.
We must bear in mind the true meaning of the contrast which the Lord makes between
the little company and the mass of mankind as spread over all the world; for the company
of saints and believers is small, as the amount of grain is small when compared with the
heap of chaff; and yet the good

382 EEPLOY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AK [BOOK XXI.]

gi\'ain is quite sufficient far to outnumber you, good and bad together, for good and bad
are both strangers to the truth.
In a word, we are not a schism of the Gentiles, for we differ from them greatly for the
better; nor are you, for you differ from them greatly for the worse.
1. Faustus. Do we believe in one God or in two? In one, of course. If we are accused of making two gods, I reply that it cannot be shown that we ever said anything of the kind. Why do you suspect us of this? Because, you say, you believe in two principles, good and evil. It is true, we believe in two principles; but one we call God, and the other Hyle, or, to use common popular language, the devil. If you think this means two gods, you may as well think that the health and sickness of which doctors speak are two kinds of health, or that good and evil are two kinds of good, or that wealth and poverty are two kinds of wealth. If I were describing two things, one white and the other black, or one hot and the other cold, or one sweet and the other bitter, it would appear like idiocy or insanity in you to say that I was describing two white things, or two hot things, or two sweet things. So, when I assert that there are two principles, God and Hyle, you have no reason for saying that I believe in two gods. Do you think that we must call them both gods because we attribute, as is proper, all the power of evil to Hyle, and all the power of good to God? If so, you may as well say that a poison and the antidote must both be called antidotes, because each has a power of its own, and certain effects follow from the action of both. So also, you may say that a physician and a poisoner are both physicians; or that a just and an unjust man are both just, because both do something. If this is absurd, it is still more absurd to say that God and Hyle must both be gods, because they both produce certain effects. It is a very childish and impotent way of arguing, when you cannot refute my statements, to make a quarrel about names. I grant that we, too, sometimes call the hostile nature God; not that we believe it to be God, but that this name is already adopted by the worshippers of this nature, who in their error suppose it to be God. Thus the apostle says: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of them that believe not." He calls him God, because he would be so called by his worshippers; adding that he blinds their minds, to show that he is not the true God.

2. Augustine. You often speak in your discourses of two gods, as indeed you acknowledge, though at first you denied it. And you give as a reason for thus speaking the words of the apostle: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of them that believe not." Most of us punctuate this sentence differently, and explain it as meaning that the true God has blinded the minds of unbelievers. They put a stop after the word God, and read the following words together. Or without this punctuation you may, for the sake of exposition, change the order of the words, and read, "In whom God has blinded the minds of unbelievers of this world," which gives the same sense. The act of blinding the minds of unbelievers may in one sense be ascribed to God, as the effect not of malice, but of justice. Thus Paul himself says elsewhere, "Is God unjust, who taketh vengeance?" and again, "What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For Moses saith, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." Observe what he adds, after asserting the
undeniable truth that there is no unrighteousness with God: " But what if God, willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, and that He might manifest the riches of His grace towards the vessels of mercy, which He hath before prepared unto glory?" etc. Here it evidently cannot be said that it is one God who shows his wrath, and makes known his power in the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, and another God who shows his riches in the vessels of mercy. According to the apostle's doctrine, it is one and the same God who does both. Hence he says again, " For this cause God gave them up to the lusts of their own heart, to uncleanness, to dishonour their own bodies between

J 2 Cor. iv, 4. ^ Rom. iii. 5. ^ i^^^ j^. 14, 15, 22, 23.

384 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE ^IANICHiEAX. [BOOK XXI.]

themselves;" and immediately after, "For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections; " and again, " And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind." -^ Here we see how the true and just God blinds the minds of unbelievers. For in all these words quoted from the apostle no other God is understood than He whose Son, sent by Him, came saying, " For judgment am I come into this world, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind." ^

Here, again, it is plain to the minds of believers how God blinds the minds of unbelievers. For among: the secret thie^s, which contain the righteous principles of God's judgment, 4- there is a secret which determines that the minds of some shall be blinded, and the minds of some enlightened. Ptegarding this, it is well said of God, " Thy judgments are a great deep." ^ The apostle, in admiration of the unfathomable depth of this abyss, exclaims: " the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God ! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out ! " ^

3. You cannot distinguish between what God does in mercy and what He does in judgment, because you can neither understand nor use the words of our Psalter: " I will sing of mercy and judgment unto Thee, Lord." ^ Accordingly, whatever in the feebleness of your frail humanity seems amiss to you, you separate entirely from the will and judgment of God: for you are provided with another evil god, not by a discovery of truth, but by an invention of folly; and to this god you attribute not only what you do unjustly, but also what you suffer justly. Thus you assign to God the bestowal of blessings, and take from Him the infliction of judgments, as if He of whom Christ says that He has prepared everlasting fire for the wicked were a different being from Him who makes His sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. Why do you not understand that this great goodness and great severity belong to one God, but because you have not learned to sing of mercy and judgment ? Is not He who causes the sun to rise
on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust, the same who also breaks off the natural branches, and engrafts contrary to nature the wild olive tree? Does not the apostle, in reference to this, say of this one God: "Thou seest, then, the goodness and severity of God: to them which were broken off, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in His goodness"? Here it is to be observed how the apostle takes away neither judicial severity from God, nor free-will from man. It is a profound mystery, impenetrable by human thought, how God both condemns the ungodly and justifies the ungodly; for both these things are said of Him in the truth of the Holy Scriptures. But is the mysteriousness of the divine judgments any reason for taking pleasure in cavilling against them? How much more becoming, and more suitable to the limitation of our powers, to feel the same awe which the apostle felt, and to exclaim, "the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How unspeakable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!" How much better thus to admire what you cannot explain, than to try to make an evil god in addition to the true God, simply because you cannot understand the one good God! For it is not a question of names, but of actions.

4. Faustus glibly defends himself by saying, "We speak not of two gods, but of God and Hyle." But when you ask for the meaning of Hyle, you find that it is in fact another god. If the Manichasans gave the name of Hyle, as the ancients did, to the unformed matter which is susceptible of bodily forms, we should not accuse them of making two gods. But it is pure folly and madness to give to matter the power of forming bodies, or to deny that what has this power is God. When you give to some other being the power which belongs to the true God of making the qualities and forms, by which bodies, elements, and animals exist, according to their respective modes, whatever name you choose to give to this being, you are chargeable with making another god. There are indeed two errors in this blasphemous doctrine. In the first place, you ascribe the acts of God to a being whom you are ashamed to call god; though you must call him god as long

Rom. xi. 17-24.
5 2 B
as you make him do tilings which only God can do. In the second place, the good things done by a good God you call bad, and ascribe to an evil god, because you feel a childish horror of whatever shocks the frailty of fallen humanity, and a childish pleasure in the opposite. So you think snakes are made by an evil being; while you consider the sun so great a good, that you believe it to be not the creature of God, but an emission from His substance. You must know that the true God, in whom, alas, you have not yet come to believe, made both the snake along with the lower creatures, and the sun along with other exalted creatures. Moreover, among still more exalted creatures, not heavenly bodies, but spiritual beings. He has made what far surpasses the light of the sun, and what no carnal man can perceive, much less you, who, in your condemnation of flesh, condemn the very principle by which you determine good and evil. For your only idea of evil is from the disagreeableness of some things to the fleshly sense; and your only idea of good is from sensual gratification.

5. When I consider the things lowest in the scale of nature, which are within our view, and which, though earthly, and feeble, and mortal, are still the works of God, I am lost in admiration of the Creator, who is so great in the great, and no less great in the small. For the divine skill seen in the formation of all creatures in heaven and earth is always like itself, even in those things that differ from one another; for it is everywhere perfect, in the perfection which it gives to everything in its own kind. We see each creature made not as a whole by itself, but in relation to the rest of the creation; so that the whole divine skill is displayed in the formation of each, arranging each in its proper place and order, and providing what is suitable for all, both separately and unitedly.

See here, lowest in the scale, the animals which fly, and swim, and walk, and creep. These are mortal creatures, whose life, as it is written, "is as a vapour which appeareth for a little time."Â–Â– Each of these, according to the capacity of its kind, contributes the measure appointed in the goodness of the Creator to the completeness of the whole, so that the

^ Jas. iv. 15.
lowest partake in the good which the highest possess in a greater degree. Show me, if you can, any animal, however despicable, whose soul hates its own flesh, and does not rather nourish and cherish it, by its vital motion minister to its growth and direct its activity, and exercise a sort of management over a little universe of its own, which it makes subservient to its own preservation. Even in the discipline of his own body by a rational being, who brings his body under, that earthly passion may not hinder his perception of wisdom, there is love for his own flesh, which he then reduces to obedience, which is its proper condition. Indeed, you yourselves, although your heresy teaches you a fleshly abhorrence of the flesh, cannot help loving your own flesh, and caring for its safety and comfort, both by avoiding all injury from blows, -and falls, and inclement weather, and by seeking for the means of keeping it in health. Thus the law of nature is too strong for your false doctrine.

6 Looking at the flesh itself, do we not see in the construction of its vital parts, in the symmetry of form, in the position and arrangement of the limbs of action and the organs of sensation, all acting in harmony; do we not see in the adjustment of measures, in the proportion of numbers, in the order of weights, the handiwork of the true God, of whom it is truly said, "Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight"? If your heart was not hardened and corrupted by falsehood, you would understand the invisible things of God from the things which He has made, even in these feeble creatures of flesh. For who is the author of the things I have mentioned, but He whose unity is the standard of all measure, whose wisdom is the model of all beauty, and whose law is the rule of all order? If you are blind to these things, hear at least the words of the apostle.

7. For the apostle, in speaking of the love which husbands ought to have for their wives, gives, as an example, the love of the soul for the body. The words are: "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself: for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ the Church." Look at the whole animal creation, and you find

1 Wisd. xi. 21. 2 Epii. y. 28, 29.
too, nourish and cherish their own flesh. "For no one ever yet," says the apostle, "hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ the Church." See where the apostle begins, and to what he ascends. Consider, if you can, the greatness which creation derives from its Creator, embracing as it does the whole extent from the host of heaven down to flesh and blood, with the beauty of manifold form, and the order of successive gradations.

8. The same apostle again, when speaking of spiritual gifts as diverse, and yet tending to harmonious action, to illustrate a matter so great, and divine, and mysterious, makes a comparison with the human body, â€” thus plainly intimating that this flesh is the handiwork of God. The whole passage, as found in the Epistle to the Corinthians, is so much to the point, that though it is long, I think it not amiss to insert it all: " !N'ow concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant. Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led. "Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed; and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Xow there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another
the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say. Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased Him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. For our comely parts have no need; but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.\(^\text{11 Cor. xii. 1-26.}\)

390 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAIS\^CH\^AN. [BOOK XXI, 9. Whoever, then, denies that our body and its members, which the apostle so approves and extols, are the handiwork of God, you see whom he contradicts, preaching contrary to what you have received. So, instead of refuting his opinions, I may leave him to be accursed of all Christians. The apostle says, God tempered the body. (Faustus says, Not God, but Hyle. Anathemas are more suitable than argument to such contradictions. You cannot say that God is here called the God of this world. And if any one understands the passage where this expression does occur to mean that the devil blinds the minds of unbelievers, we grant that he does so by his evil suggestions, from yielding to which, men lose the light of righteousness in God's righteous retribution. This is all in accordance with sacred Scripture. The apostle himself speaks of temptation from without: " I fear
lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and purity that is in Christ."^1

To the same purpose are the words, "Evil communications corrupt good manners;"^2 and when he speaks of a man deceiving himself, "Whoever thinketh himself to be anything, when he is nothing, deceiveth himself;"^3 or again, in the passage already quoted of the judgment of God, "God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient."^4 Similarly, in the Old Testament, after the words, "God did not create death, nor hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living," we read, "By the envy of the devil death entered into the world."^5 And again of death, that men may not put the blame from themselves, "The wicked invite her with hands and voice; and thinking her a friend, they are drawn down."^6 Elsewhere, however, it is said, "Good and evil, life and death, riches and poverty, are from the Lord God."^7 This seems perplexing to people who do not understand that, apart from the manifest judgment to follow hereafter upon every evil work, there is an actual judgment at the time; so that in one action, besides the craft of the deceiver and the wickedness of the voluntary agent, there is also the just penalty of the judge: for while the

i 2 Cor. xi. 3. ^ 1 Cor. xv. 33. ^ Gal. vi. 3. * Rom. i. 28.
5 Wisd. i. 13 and ii. 24. ^ Wisd. i. 16. ^ Ecclus. xi. 14.
devil suggests, and man consents, God abandons. So, if you join the words, God of this world, and understand that the devil blinds unbelievers by his mischievous delusions, the meaning is not a bad one. For the word God is not used by itself, but with the qualification of this world, that is, of wicked men, who seek to prosper only in this world. In this sense the world is also called evil, where it is written, "that He might deliver us from this present evil world." ^ In the same way, in the expression, "whose god is their belly," it is only in connection with the word whose that the belly is called god. So also, in the Psalms, the devils would not be called gods without adding "of the nations." ^

But in the passage we are now considering it is not said. The god of this world, or, Whose god is their body, which can be understood only of the true God, the Creator of all. There is no disparaging addition here, as in the other cases. But perhaps Faustus will say that God tempered the body, not as the maker of it, in the arrangement of its members, but by mixing His light with it. \ Thus Faustus would attribute to some other being than God the construction of the body, and the arrangement of its members, while God tempered the evil of the construction by the mixture of His goodness.

Such are the inventions with which the Manichseans cram feeble minds. But God, in aid of the feeble, by the mouth of the sacred writers rebukes this opinion. For we read a few verses before: "God has placed the members every one of them in the body, as it has pleased Him." Evidently, God is said to have tempered the body, because He has constructed it of many members, which in their union preserve the variety of their respective functions.

10. Do the Manichaeans suppose that the animals which, according to their wild notions, were constructed by Hyle in the race of darkness, had not this harmonious action of their members, commended by the apostle, before God mixed His light with them; so that then the head did say to the feet, or the eye to the hand, I have no need of thee? This is not and cannot be the Manichaean doctrine, for they describe the

1 Gal. i. 4. - 2 ps. xcvi. 5.

392 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK XXI.]
Faust speaks disparagingly as the works of Hyle, could not be done without that harmonious arrangement which the apostle praises and ascribes to God. Is it not now plain who is to be followed, and who is to be pronounced accursed? Indeed, the Manichaeans tell us of animals that could speak; and their speeches were heard and understood and approved of by all creatures, whether creeping things, or quadrupeds, or birds, or fish. Amazing and supernatural eloquence! Especially as they had no grammarian or elocutionist to teach them, and had not passed through the painful experience of the cane and the birch. Why, Faust himself began late in life to learn oratory, that he might discourse eloquently on these absurdities; and with all his cleverness, after ruining his health by study, his preaching has gained a mere handful of followers. What a pity that he was born in the light, and not in that region of darkness! If he had discoursed there against the light, the whole animal creation, from the biped to the centipede, from the dragon to the shellfish, would have listened eagerly, and obeyed at once; whereas, when he discourses here against the race of darkness, he is oftener called eloquent than learned, and oftener still a false teacher of the worst kind. And among the few Manichaeans who extol him as a great teacher, he has none of the lower animals as his disciples; and not even his horse is any the wiser for his master's instructions, so that the mixture of a part of deity seems only to make the animals more stupid. What absurdity is this! When will these deluded beings have the sense to compare the description in the Manichasan fiction of what the animals were formerly in their own region, with what they are now in this world? Then their bodies were strong, now they are feeble; then their power of vision was such that they were induced to invade the region of God on account of the beauty which they saw, now it is too weak
GOOD AND EVIL. 393

to face the rays of the sun; then they had intelligence sufficient to understand a discourse addressed to them, now they have no ability of the kind; then this astonishing and effective eloquence was natural, now eloquence of the most meagre kind requires diligent study and preparation. How many good things did the race of darkness lose by the mixture of good I

11. Faustus has displayed his ingenuity, in the remarks to which I am now replying, by making for himself a long list of opposites—health and sickness, riches and poverty, white and black, cold and hot, sweet and bitter. We need not say much about black and white. Or, if there is a character for good or evil in colours, so that white must be ascribed to God and black to Hyle; if God threw a white colour on the wings of birds, when Hyle, as the Manichaeans say, created them, where had the crows gone to when the swans got dyed? Now need we discuss heat and cold, for both are good in moderation, and dangerous in excess. With regard to the rest, Taust probably intended that good and evil, which he might as well have put first, should be understood as including the rest, so that health, riches, white, hot, sweet, should belong to good; and sickness, poverty, black, cold, bitter, to evil. The ignorance and folly of this is obvious. It might look like reviling if I were to take up separately white and black, hot and cold, sweet and bitter, health and sickness. For if white and sweet are both good, and black and bitter evil, how is it that most grapes and all olives become black as they become sweet, and so get good by getting evil? And if heat and health are both good, and cold and sickness evil, why do bodies become sick when heated? Is it healthy to have fever? But I let these things pass, for they may have been put down hastily, or they may have been given as merely instances of opposition, and not as being good and bad, especially as it is nowhere stated that the fire among the race of darkness is cold, so that heat in this case must unquestionably be evil.

12. We pass on, then, to health, riches, sweetness, which Faustus evidently accounts good in his contrasts. Was there no health of body in the race of darkness where animals were born and grew up and brought forth, and had such vitality.

394 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AK [BOOK XXI.]

that when some that were with child were taken, as the story is, and were put in bonds in heaven, even the abortive offspring of a premature birth, falling from heaven to earth, nevertheless lived, and grew, and produced the innumerable kinds of animals which now exist? Or were there no riches where trees could grow not only in water and wind, but in smoke and fire, and could bear such a rich produce, that animals, according to their several kinds, sprang from the fruit, and were provided with the means of subsistence from those fertile trees, and showed how well fed they were by a numerous progeny?
And all this where there was no toil in cultivation, and no inclement change from summer to winter, for there was no sun to give variety to the seasons by his annual course. There must have been perennial productiveness where the trees were not only born in their own element, but had a supply of appropriate nourishment to make them constantly fertile; as we see orange-trees bearing fruit all the year round if they are well watered. The riches must have been abundant, and they must have been secure from harm; for there could be no fear of hailstorms when there were no light-

gatherers who, in your fable, set the thunder in motion.

13, Nor would the beings in this race of darkness have sought for food if it had not been sweet and pleasant, so that they would have died from want. For we find that all bodies have their peculiar wants, according to which food is either agreeable or offensive. If it is agreeable, it is said to be sweet or pleasant; if it is offensive, it is said to be bitter or sour, or in some way disagreeable. In human beings we find that one desires food which another dislikes, from a difference in constitution or habit or state of health. Still more, animals of quite different make can find pleasure in food which is disagreeable to us. Why else should the goats feed so eagerly on the wild olives? This food is sweet to them, as in some sicknesses honey tastes bitter to us. To a thoughtful inquirer these things suggest the beauty of the arrangement in which each finds what suits it, and the greatness of the good which extends from the lowest to the highest, and from the material to the spiritual. As for the race of darkness, if an animal sprung from any element fed on what was produced
by that element, doubtless the food must have been sweet from its appropriateness. Again, if this animal had found food of another element, the want of appropriateness would have appeared in its offensiveness to the taste. Such offensiveness is called sourness, or bitterness, or disagreeableness, or something of the kind; or if its adverse nature is such as to destroy the harmony of the bodily constitution, and so take away life or reduce the strength, it is called poison, simply on account of this want of appropriateness, while it may nourish the kind of life to which it is appropriate. So, if a hawk eat the bread which is our daily food, it dies; and we die if we eat hellebore, which cattle often feed on, and which may itself in a certain form be used as a medicine. If Faustus had known or thought of this, he would not have given poison and antidote as an example of the two natures of good and evil, as if God were the antidote and Hyle the poison. For the same thing, of one and the same nature, kills or cures, as it is used appropriately or inappropriately. In the Manichæan legends, their god might be said to have been poison to the race of darkness; for he so injured their bodies, that from being strong, they became utterly feeble. But then again, as the light was itself taken, and subjected to loss and injury, it may be said to have been poison to itself.

14. Instead of one good and one evil principle, you seem to make both good or both evil, or rather two good and two evil; for they are good in themselves, and evil to one another. We may see afterwards which is the better or the worse; but meanwhile we may think of them as both good in themselves. Thus God reigned in one region, while Hyle reigned in the other. There was health in both kingdoms, and rich produce in both; both had a numerous progeny, and both tasted the sweetness of pleasures suitable to their respective natures. But the race of darkness, say the Manichæans, excepting the part which was evil to the light which it bordered on, was also evil to itself. As, however, I have already pointed out many good things in it, if you can point out its evils, there will still be two good kingdoms, though the one where there are no evils will be the better of the two. What, then, do you call its evils? They plundered, and killed, and devoured one another, according to Faustus. But if they did nothing else than this, how could such numerous hosts be born and grow up to maturity? They must have enjoyed peace and tranquility too. But, allowing the kingdom where there is no discord to be the better of the two, still they should both be called good, rather than one good and the other bad. Thus the better kingdom will be that where they killed neither themselves nor one another; and the worse, or less good, where, though they fought with one another, each separate animal preserved its own nature in health and safety. But we cannot make much difference between your god and the prince of darkness, whom no one opposed, whose reign was acknowledged by all, and whose proposals were unanimously agreed to. All
this implies great peace and harmony. Those kingdoms are happy where all agree heartily in obedience to the king. Moreover, the rule of this prince extended not only to his own species, or to bipeds whom you make the parents of mankind, but to all kinds of animals, who waited in his presence, obeying his commands, and believing his declarations. Do you think people are so stupid as not to recognise the attributes of deity in your description of this prince, or to think it possible that you can have another? If the authority of this prince rested on his resources, he must have been very powerful; if on his fame, he must have been renowned; if on love, the regard must have been universal; if on fear, he must have kept the strictest order. If some evils, then, were mixed so many good things, who that knows the meaning of words would call this the nature of evil? Besides, if you call this the nature of evil, because it was not only evil to the other nature, but was also evil in itself, was there no evil, think S'ou, in the dire necessity to which your god was subjected before the mixture with the opposite nature, so that he was compelled to fight with it, and to send his own members to be swallowed up so mercilessly as to be beyond the hope of complete recovery? This was a great evil in that nature before its mixture with the only thing you allow to be evil. Your god must either have had it in his power not to be injured and sullied by the race of darkness, in which case his own folly must have brought him into trouble; or if his sub-

BOOK XXL evils IN THE CHIEF GOOD. 397

stance was liable to corruption, the object of your worship is not the incorruptible God of whom the apostle speaks. Does not, then, this liability to corruption, even apart from the actual experience, seem to you to be an evil in your god?

15. It is plain, moreover, that either he must have been destitute of prescience, a great defect, surely, in the Deity, not to know what is coming; or if he had prescience, he can never have felt secure, but must have been in constant terror, which you must allow to be a serious evil. There must have been the fear at every moment, that the time might be come for that conflict in which his members suffered such loss and contamination, that to liberate and purify them costs infinite labour, and, after all, can be done only partially. If it is going too far to attribute this state of alarm to the Deity himself, his members at least must have dreaded the prospect of suffering all these evils. Then, again, if they were ignorant of what was to happen, the substance of your god must have been so far wanting in prescience. How many evils do you reckon in your chief good? Perhaps you will say that they had no fear, because they foresaw, along with the suffering, their ultimate liberation and triumph. But still they must have feared for their companions, if they knew that they were to be cut off from their own kingdom, and bound for ever in the mass of darkness.

16. Had they not the charity to feel a kindly sympathy for those who were doomed to suffer eternal punishment, without having committed any sin? These souls that were to be bound up with the mass, were not they too part of your god? Were they not of the same origin, the same substance?
They at least must have felt grief or fear in the prospect of their own eternal bondage. To say that they did not know what was to happen, while the others did, is to make one and the same substance partly acquainted with the future, and partly ignorant. How can you call this substance the pure, and perfect, and supreme good, if there were such evils in it, even before its mixture with the evil principle? You will have to call your two principles either both good or both evil. If you make two evils, you may make either of them the

Â» 1 Tim. i. 17.

398 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHIEAN. [BOOK XXT.

Tvorse, as you please. But if you make two goods, we shall have to inquire which you make the better. Meanwhile there is an end to your doctrine of two principles, one good and the other evil, which are in fact two gods, one good and the other evil. But if hurting another is evil, they both hurt one another. Perhaps the greater evil was in the principle that first began the attack. But if one began the injury, the other returned it; and not by the law of compensation, an eye for an eye, which you are foolish enough to find fault with, but with far greater severity. You must choose which you will call the worse, â€” the one that began the injury, or the one that had the will and the power to do still greater injury. The one tried to get a share in the enjoyment of light; the other effected the entire overthrow of its opponent. If the one had got what it desired, it would certainly have done no harm to itself. But the other, in the discomfiture of its adversary, did great mischief to part of itself; reminding us of the well known passionate exclamation, which is on record as having been actually used, "Perish our friends, if that will rid us of our enemies." â€” For part of your god was sent to suffer hopeless contamination, that there might be a covering for the mass in which the enemy is to be buried for ever alive. So much will he continue to be dreaded even when conquered and bound, that the security, such as it is, of one part of the deity must be purchased by the eternal misery of the other parts. Such is the harmlessness of the good principle! Your god, it appears, is guilty of the crime with which you charge the race of darkness â€” of injuring both friends and enemies. The charge is proved in the case of your god, by that final mass in which his enemies are confined, while his own subjects are involved in it. In fact, the principle that you call god is the more injurious of the two, both to friends and to enemies. In the case of Hyle, there was no desire to destroy the opposite kingdom, but only to possess it; and though some of its subjects were put to death by the violence of others, they appeared again in other forms, so that in the alternation of life and death they had intervals of enjoyment in their history. But your god, with all the omnipotence and perfect excellence

^ Quoted Cic. jpro Dejor. Â§ 9.
that you ascribe to him, dooms his enemies to eternal destruction, and his friends to eternal punishment. And the height of insanity is in believing that while internal contest occasions the injury of the members of Hyle, victory brings punishment to the members of God. What means this folly? To use Faustus' comparison of God and Hyle to the antidote and poison, the antidote seems to be more mischievous than the poison. We do not hear of Hyle shutting up God for ever in a mass of darkness, or driving its own members into it; or, which is worst of all, slandering this unfortunate remnant, as an excuse for not effecting its purification. For Manichseus, in his Foundation Epistle, says that these souls deserved to be thus punished, because they allowed themselves to be led away from their original brightness, and became enemies of holy light; whereas it was God himself that sent them to lose themselves in the region of darkness, that light might be opposed to light: which was unjust, if he forced them against their will; while, if they went willingly, he is ungrateful in punishing them. These souls can never have been happy, if they were tormented with fear before the conflict, from knowing that they were to become enemies to their original principle, and then in the conflict were hopelessly contaminated, and afterwards eternally condemned. On the other hand, they can never have been divine, if before the conflict they were unaware of what was coming, from want of prescience, and then showed feebleness in the conflict, and suffered misery afterwards. And what is true of them must be true of God, since they are of the same substance. Is there any hope of your seeing the folly of these blasphemies? You attempt, indeed, to vindicate the goodness of God, by asserting that Hyle when shut up is prevented from doing any more injury to itself Hyle, it seems, is to get some good, when it has no longer any good mixed with it. Perhaps, as God before the conflict had the evil of necessity, when the good was unmixed with evil, so Hyle after the conflict is to have the good of rest, when the evil is unmixed with good. Your principles are thus either two evils, one worse than the other; or two goods, both imperfect, but one better than the other. The better, however, is the more miserable; for if the issue of this great conflict is
BOOK XXII.

1. Faust us. You ask why we blaspheme the law and the prophets. We are so far from professing or feeling any hostility to the law and the prophets, that we are ready, if you will allow us, to declare the falsehood of all the \Titings which make the law and the j\drophets appear objectionable. But this you refuse to admit, and by maintaining the authority of your writers, you bring a perhaps unmerited reproach upon the prophets; you slander the patriarchs, and dishonour the law. You are so unreasonable as to deny that your writers are false, while you uphold the piety and sanctity of those who are described in these writings as guilty of the worst crimes, and as leading wicked lives. These opinions are inconsistent; for either these were bad characters, or the writers were untruthful.

2. Supposing, then, that we agree in condemning the writers, we may succeed in vindicating the law and the prophets. By the law must be understood not circumcision, or Sabbaths, or sacrifices, or the other Jewish observances, but the true law, viz.. Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not bear false witness, and so on. To this law, promulgated throughout the world, that is, at the commencement of the present constitution of the world, the Hebrew writers did violence, by infecting it with the pollution of their disgusting precepts about circumcision and sacrifice. As a
friend of the law, you should join with me in condemning the Jews for injuring the law by this mixture of unsuitable precepts. Plainly, you must be aware that these precepts are not the law, or any part of the law, since you claim to be righteous, though you make no attempt to keep the precepts. In seeking to lead a righteous life, you pay great regard to the commandments which forbid sinful actions, while you take no notice of the Jewish observances; which would be unjustifiable if they were one and the same law. You resent as a foul reproach being called negligent of the precept, "Thou shalt not kill," or "Thou shalt not commit adultery." And if you showed the same resentment at being called uncircumcised, or negligent of the Sabbath, it would be evident that you considered both to be the law and the commandment of God. In fact, however, you consider the honour and glory of keeping the one no way endangered by disregard of the other. It is plain, as I have said, that these observances are not the law, but a disfigurement of the law. If we condemn them, it is not as being genuine, but as spurious. In this condemnation there is no reproach of the law, or of God its author, but only of those who published their shocking superstitions under these names. If we sometimes abuse the venerable name of law in attacking the Jewish precepts, the fault is yours, for refusing to distinguish between Hebrew observances and the law. Only restore to the law its proper dignity, by removing these foul Israelitish blots; grant that these writers are guilty of disfiguring the law, and you will see at once that we are the enemies not of the law, but of Judaism. You are misled by the word law; for you do not know to what that name properly belongs.

3. For my part, I see no reason for your thinking that we blaspheme your prophets and patriarchs. There would indeed be some ground for the charge, if we had been directly or remotely the authors of the account given of their actions. But as this account is written either by themselves, in a criminal desire to be famous for their misdeeds, or by their companions and coevals, why should you blame us? We condemn them in abhorrence of the wicked actions of which they have voluntarily declared themselves guilty, though there

402 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICHAEAX. [BOOK XXII.]

was no occasion for such a confession. Or if the narrative is only a malicious fiction, let its authors be punished, let the books be condemned, let the prophetic name be cleared from this foul reproach, let the patriarchs recover the respect due to their simplicity and purity of manners.

4. These books, moreover, contain shocking calumnies against God himself. 'We are told that he existed from eternity in darkness, and admired the light when he saw it; that he
was so ignorant of the future, that he gave Adam a command, not foreseeing that it would be broken; that his perception was so limited that he could not see Adam when, from the knowledge of his nakedness, he hid himself in a corner of Paradise; that envy made him afraid lest his creature man should taste of the tree of life, and Kve for ever; that afterwards he was greedy for blood, and fat from all kinds of sacrifices, and jealous if they were offered to any one but himself; that he was enraged sometimes against his enemies, sometimes against his friends; that he destroyed thousands of men for a slight offence, or for nothing; that he threatened to come with a sword and spare nobody, righteous or wicked. The authors of such bold libels against God might very well slander the men of God. You must join with us in laying the blame on the writers, if you wish to vindicate the prophets.

5. Again, we are not responsible for what is said of Abraham, that in his irrational craving to have children, and not believing God, who promised that his wife Sara should have a son, he defiled himself with a mistress, with the knowledge of his wife, which only made it worse; or that, in sacrilegious profanation of his marriage, he on different occasions, from avarice and greed, sold his wife Sara for the gratification of the kings Abimelech and Pharas, telling them that she was his sister, because sl was very fair. The narrative is not ours, which tells how TLot, Abraham's brother, after his escape from Sodom, lay with his two daughters on the mountain (better for him to have perished in the conflagration of Sodom, than to have burned with incestuous passion); or how Isaac imitated his father's conduct, and called his wife Picbecca his sister.

1 Gen. xvi. 2-4. - Gen. xiL 13 and xx. 2. ^ Qqj^ix. 33-35.
that Ije might gain a shameful livelihood by her; or how his Sony acob, husband of four wives â€” two full sisters, Eachel and Leah, and their handmaids â€” led the life of a goat among them, so that there was a daily strife among his women who should be the first to lay hold of him when he came from the field, ending sometimes in their hirinâ€” him from one another for the night; or, again, how his son Judah slept with his daughter-in-law Tamar, after she had been married to two of his sons, deceived, we are told, by the harlot's dress which Tamar put on, knowing that her father-in-law was in the habit of associating with such characters; or how/ David, after having a number of wives, seduced the wife of his soldier Uria, and made Uria himself be killed in the battle; or how his son Solomon had three hundred wives, and seven hundred concubines, and princesses without number; or how the first prophet Hosea got children from a prostitute, and, what is worse, it is said that this disgraceful conduct was enjoined by God; or how Moses committed murder, and plundered Egypt, and waged wars, and commanded, or himself perpetrated, many cruelties. And he too was not content with one wife. We are neither directly nor remotely the authors of these and similar narratives, which are found in the books of the patriarchs and the prophets. Either your writers forged these things, or the fathers are really guilty. Choose which you please; the crime in either case is detestable, for vicious conduct and falsehood are equally hateful.

6. Augustine. You understand neither the symbols of the law nor the acts of the prophets, because you do not know what holiness or righteousness means. We have repeatedly shown at great length, that the precepts and symbols of the Old Testament contained both what was to be fulfilled in obedience through the grace bestowed in the New Testament, and what was to be set aside as a proof of its having been fulfilled in the truth now made manifest. For in the love of God and of our neighbour is secured the accomplishment of the precepts of the law, while the accomplishment of its promises is shown


* 2 Sam. xi. 4, 15. ^ j ^ings xi. 1-3. ^ gog^ i 2, 3,

7 Ex. ii. 12. 8 Ex. xii. 35, 36. Ex. xvii. 9.

404 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AN. [BOOK XXIL

in the abolition of circumcision, and of other typical observances formerly practised. By the precept men were led, through a sense of guilt, to desire salvation; by the promise they were led to find in the typical observances the assurance that the Saviour would come. The salvation desired was to be obtained through the grace bestowed on the appearance of the New Testament; and the fulfilment of the expectation rendered the
types no longer necessary. The same law that was given by Moses became grace and truth in Jesus Christ. By the grace in the pardon of sin, the precept is kept in force in the case of those supported by divine help. By the truth the symbolic rites are set aside, that the promise might, in those who trust in the divine faithfulness, be brought to pass.

7. Those, accordingly, who, finding fault with what they do not understand, call the typical institutions of the law disfigurements and excrescences, are like men displeased with things of which they do not know the use. As if a deaf man, seeing others move their lips in speaking, were to find fault with the motion of the mouth as needless and unsightly; or as if a blind man, on hearing a house commended, were to test the truth of what he heard by passing his hand over the surface of the wall, and on coming to the windows were to cry out against them as flaws in the level, or were to suppose that the wall had fallen in.

8. How shall I make those whose minds are full of vanity understand that the actions of the prophets were also mystical and prophetic? The vanity of their minds is shown in their thinking: that we believe God to have once existed in darkness, because it is written, "Darkness was over the deep." ^ As if we called the deep God, where there was darkness, because the light did not exist there before God made it by His word. From their not distinguishing between the light which is God, and the light which God made, they imagine that God must have been in darkness before He made light, because darkness was over the deep before God said, "Let there be light, and there was light." In the New Testament both these things are ascribed to God. For we read, "God is

Â» Gen. i. 2.
light, and in Him is no darkness at all;"^ and again, "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts." ^ So also, in the Old Testament, the name "Brightness of eternal light"^ is given to the wisdom of God, which certainly was not created, for by it all things were made; and of the light which exists only as the production of this wisdom it is said, "Thou wilt light my candle, Lord; my God, Thou, wilt enlighten my darkness." * In the same way, in the beginning, when darkness was over the deep, God said, "Let there be light, and there was light," which only the light-giving light, which is God Himself, could have made.

9. For as God is His own eternal happiness, and is besides the bestower of happiness, so He is His own eternal light, and is also the bestower of light. He envies the good of none, for He is Himself the source of happiness to all good beings; He fears the evil of none, for the loss of all evil beings is in their being abandoned by Him. He can neither be benefited by those on whom He Himself bestows happiness, nor is He afraid of those whose misery is the doom awarded by His own justice. Very different, Manicheeus, is the object of your worship. You have departed from God in the pursuit of your own fancies, which of all kinds have increased and multiplied in your foolish roving hearts, drinking in through the sense of sight the light of the heavenly bodies. This light, though it too is made by God, is not to be compared to the light created in the minds of the pious, whom God brings out of darkness into light, as He brings them out of sinfulness into righteousness. Still less can it be compared to that inaccessible light from which all kinds of light are derived. Nor is this light inaccessible to all; for "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." ^ "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all;" but the wicked shall not see light, as is said in Isaiah.^ To them the light-giving light is inaccessible. From the light comes not only the spiritual light in the minds of the pious, but also the material light, which is not denied to the wicked, but is made to rise on the evil and on the good.

10. So, when darkness was over the deep. He who was

Â» 1 John i. 5. 2 2 Cor. iv. 6. ^ ^jgj ^^^ 26

* Ps. xviii. 28. s j^jatt. v. 8. Â« Isa. viii. 20.
some material light which exists in the higher regions of the universe beyond our ken. For on the fourth day He made the visible luminaries of heaven. And it is also a question whether these bodies were made at the same time as their light, or were somehow kindled from the light made already. But whoever reads the sacred writings in the pious spirit which is required to understand them, must be convinced that whatever the light was which was made when, at the time that darkness was over the deep, God said, "Let there be light," it was created light, and the creating Light was the maker of it.

11. Kor does it follow that God, before He made light, abode in darkness, because it is said that darkness was over the deep, and then that the Spirit of God moved on the waters. The deep is the unfathomable abyss of the waters. And the carnal mind might suppose that the Spirit abode in the darkness which was over, the deep, because it is said that He moved on the waters. ^ This is from not understanding how the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not, till by the word of God those who were darkness are made light, and it is said to them, "Ye were once darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." ^ But if rational minds which are in darkness through a sinful will cannot comprehend the light of the wisdom of God, though it is present everywhere, because they are separated from it not in place, but in disposition; why may not the Spirit of God have moved on the darkness of the waters, when He moved on the waters, though at an immeasurable distance from it, not in place, but in nature ?

12. In all this I know I am singing to deaf ears; but God, from whom is the truth which we speak, can open some ears to catch the strain. But what shall we say of those critics of the Holy Scriptures who object to God's being pleased with

1 Epli. V. 8.

BOOK xxil] god astonished. 407

His own works, and find fault with the words, "God saw the light that it was good," as if this meant that God admired the light as something new ? God's seeing His works that they were good, means that the Creator approved of His own works as pleasing to Himself For God cannot be forced to do anything against His will, so that He should not be pleased with His own work; nor can He do anything by mistake, so that He should regret having done it. Why should the Manichaeans object to our God seeing His work that it was good, when their god placed a covering before himself when he mingled his own members with the darkness ? For instead of seeing his work that it is good, he refuses to look at it because it is evil.

13. Faustus speaks of God as astonished, which is not said in Scripture; nor does it follow that one must be astonished when he sees anything to be good. There are many good things which we see without being astonished, as if they were better than we expected; we merely approve of them as being what they ought to be. We can, however, give an
instance of God being astonished, not from the Old Testament, which the Manichaeans assail with undeserved reproach, but from the New Testament, which they profess to believe in order to entrap the unwary. For they acknowledge Christ as God, and use this as a bait to entice Christ's followers into their snares.

God, then, was astonished when Christ was astonished. For we read in the Gospel, that when Christ heard the faith of a certain centurion. He was astonished, and said to His disciples, "Verily I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel."-^ We have already given our explanation of the words, " God saw that it was good." Better men may give a better explanation. Meanwhile let the Manichseans explain Christ's being astonished at what He foresaw before it happened, and knew before He heard it. For though seeing a thing to be good is quite different from being astonished at it, in this case there is some resemblance, for Jesus was astonished at the light of faith which He Himself had created in the heart of the centurion; for Jesus is the true light, which ... enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

Â» Matt. viii. 10.

=Vi

408 r.EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

1-i. Thus an irreligious Pag^an might brills the same reproaches against Christ in the Gospel, as Faustus brings against God in the Old Testament. He might say that Christ lacked foresight, not only because He was astonished at the faith of the centurion, but because He chose Judas as a disciple who proved disobedient to His commands; as Faustus objects to the precept given in Paradise, which, as it turned out, was not obeyed. He might also cavil at Christ's not knowing who touched Him, when the woman suffering from an issue of blood touched the hem of His garment; as Faustus blames God for not knowing where Adam had hid himseK If this ignorance is implied in God's saying, "Where art thou, Adam ?" -^ the same may be said of Christ's asking, " Who touched me ? " ^

The Pagans also might call Clmst timid and envious, in not wishing five of the ten virgins to gain eternal life by entering into His kingdom, and in shutting them out, so that they knocked in vain in their entreaty to have the door opened, as if forgetful of His own promise, " Knock, and it shall be opened unto you; " ^ as Faustus charges God with fear and envy in not admitting man after his sin to eternal life. Aii^ain, he mic^ht call Cluist greedy of the blood, not of beasts, but of men, because he said, " He that loseth his life for my sake, shall keep it unto life eternal; " ^ as Faustus reproaches God in reference to those animal sacrifices which prefigured the sacrifice of bloodshedding by which we are redeemed. He might also accuse Christ of jealousy, because in narrating His driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, the evangelist quotes as applicable to Him the words, " The jealousy of Thine house hath eaten me up; " ^ as Faustus accuses God of
jealousy in forbidding sacrifices to be offered to other gods. He might say that Christ was angry with both His friends and His enemies: with His friends, because He said, " The servant that knows his lord's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes;" and with His enemies, because He said, " K any one shall not receive you, shake off against him the dust of your shoes; verily I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment than for that city; "


Faustus accuses God of being angry at one time with His friends, and at another with His enemies; both of whom are spoken of thus by the apostle: " They that have sinned without law shall perish without law, and they that have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law." ^ Or he might say that Christ shed the blood of many without mercy, for a slight offence or for nothing. For to a Pagan there would appear to be little or no harm in not having a wedding garment at the marriage feast, for which our King in the Gospel commanded a man to be bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness; ^ or in not wishing to have Christ for a king, which is the sin of which Christ says, " Those that would not have me to reign over them, bring hither and slay before me; " ^ as Faustus blames God in the Old Testament for slaughtering thousands of human beings for slight offences, as Faustus calls them, or for nothing. Again, if Faustus finds fault with God's threatening to come with the sword, and to spare neither the righteous nor the wicked, might not the Pagan find as much fault with the words of the Apostle Paul, when he says of our God, " He spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all;" ^ or of Peter, when, in exhorting the saints to be patient in the midst of persecution and slaughter, he says, " It is time that judgment begin from the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that believe not the gospel of the Lord ? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear ? " ^ What can be more righteous than the Only-Begotten, whom nevertheless the Father did not spare ? And what can be plainer than that the righteous also are not spared, but chastised with manifold affections, as is clearly implied in the words, " If the righteous scarcely are saved " ^ As it is said in the Old Testament, " Whom the Lord loveth He correcteth, and chastiseth every son whom He receiveth;" ^ and, "If we receive good at the hand of the Lord, shall we not also receive evil ?" ^ So we read also in the New Testament, " Whom I love I rebuke and chasten;" ^ and, " If we judge ourselves, we shall not be judged of the Lord; but when we are judged, we are corrected of the Lord,


wrong to unbelievers, from their ignorance, should be believed to be right by pious readers even when they also are ignorant?

15. Perhaps our opponents will maintain that these parallel passages quoted from the New Testament are themselves neither authoritative nor true: for they claim the impious liberty of holding and teaching, that whatever they deem favourable to their heresy was said by Christ and the apostles; while they have the profane boldness to say, that whatever in the same writings is unfavourable to them is a spurious interpolation. I have already at some length, as far as the intention of the present work required, exposed the unreasonableness of this assault upon the authority of the whole of Scripture.

16. At present I would call attention to the fact, that when the Manichaeans, although they disguise their blasphemous absurdities under the name of Christianity, bring such objections against the Christian Scriptures, we have to defend the authority of the divine record in both Testaments against the Manichasans as much as against the Parians. A Pasjan might find fault with passages in the New Testament in the same way as Faustus does with what he calls unworthy representations of God in the Old Testament; and the Pagan might be answered by the quotation of similar passages from his own authors, as in Paul's speech at Athens. Even in Pagan writings we might find the doctrine that God created and constructed the world, and that He is the giver of light, which does not imply that before light was made He abode in darkness; and that when His work was finished He was elated with joy, which is more than saying that He saw that it was good; and that He made a law with rewards for obedience, and punisli-

1 Cor. xi. 31, 32. ^ ^cts xvii. 28.
ments for disobedience, by which they do not mean to say that God was ignorant of the
future, because He gave a law to those by whom it was to be broken. \( \lor \) or could they
make asking questions a proof of a want of foresight even in a human being; for in their
books many questions are asked only for the purpose of using the answers for the
conviction of the persons addressed: for the questioner knows not only what answer he
desires, but what will actually be given. Again, if the Pagan tried to make out God to be
envious of any one, because He will not give happiness to the wicked, he would find
many passages in the writings of his own authors in support of this principle of the divine
government.

17. The only objection that a Pagan would make on the subject of sacrifice would refer to
our reason for finding fault with Pagan sacrifices, when in the Old Testament God is
described as requiring men to offer sacrifice to Him. If I were to reply at length on this
subject, I might prove to him that sacrifice is due only to the one true God, and that this
sacrifice was offered by the one true Priest, the Mediator of God and man; and that it was
proper that this sacrifice should be prefigured by animal sacrifices, in order to
foreshadow the flesh and blood of the one sacrifice for the remission of sins contracted
by flesh and blood, which shall not inherit the kingdom of God:
for the natural body will be endowed with heavenly attributes, as the fire in the sacrifice
typed the swallowing up of death in victory. Those observances properly belonged to
the people whose kingdom and priesthood were prophetic of the King and Priest who
should come to govern and to consecrate believers in all nations, and to lead them into
the kingdom of heaven, and the holy society of angels and eternal life. And as this true
sacrifice was piously set forth in the Hebrew observances, so it was impiously
caricatured by the Pagans, because, as the apostle sa\( s \), what they offer they offer to
devils, and not to God.\(^{11} \) Cor. X. 20. 2 Qyn. iv. 4.

\(^{11} \) The typical rite of blood-shedding in sacrifice dates from the
earliest ages, pointing forward from the outset of human history to the passion of the
Mediator. For Abel is mentioned in the sacred Scripture as the first who offered such
sacrifices.\(^{1} \) We need not therefore wonder that fallen angels

who occupy the air, and whose chief sins are pride and falsehood, should demand from
their worshippers by whom they wished to be considered as gods what they knew to be
due to God only. This deception was favoured by the folly of the human heart, especially
when regret for the dead led to the making of likenesses, and so to the use of images.\(^{1} \) By
the increase of this homage, divine honours came to be paid to the dead as dwelling in
heaven, while devils took their place on earth as the objects of worship, and required that
their deluded and degraded votaries should present sacrifices to them. Thus the nature of
sacrifice as due only to God appears not only when God righteously claims it, but also when a false god proudly arrogates it. If the Pagan was slow to believe these things, I should argue from the prophecies, and point out that, though uttered long ago, they are now fulfilled. If he still remained in unbelief, this is rather to be expected than to be wondered at; for the prophecy itself intimates that all would not believe.

18. If the Pagan, in the next place, were to find fault with both Testaments as attributing jealousy to God and Christ, he would only show his own ignorance of literature, or his forgetfulness. For though their philosophers distinguish between desire and passion, joy and gratification, caution and fear, gentleness and tender-heartedness, prudence and cunning, boldness and daring, and so on, giving the first name in each pair to what is good, and the second to what is bad, their books are notwithstanding full of instances in which, by the abuse of these words, virtues are called by the names which properly belong to vices; as passion is used for desire, gratification for joy, fear for caution, tender-heartedness for gentleness, cunning for prudence, daring for boldness. The cases are innumerable in which speech exhibits similar inaccuracies. Moreover, each language has its own idioms. For in religious writings I remember no instance of the word tender-heartedness being used in a bad sense. And common usage affords examples of similar peculiarities in the use of words. In Greek, one word stands for two distinct things, labour and pain; while we have a separate name for each. Again, we use the word in two

* Wisd. xiv. 15.
senses, as when we say of what is not dead, that it has life; and again, of any one that he is a man of good life, whereas in Greek each of these meanings has a word of its own. So that, apart from the abuse of words which prevails in all languages, it may be an Hebrew idiom to use jealousy in two senses, as a man is called jealous when he suffers from a diseased state of mind caused by distress on account of the faithlessness of his wife, in which sense the word cannot be applied to God; or as when diligence is manifested in guarding conjugal chastity, in which sense it is profitable for us not only unhesitatingly to admit, but thankfully to assert, that God is jealous of His people when He calls them His wife, and warns them against committing adultery with a multitude of false gods. The same may be said of the anger of God. For God does not suffer perturbation when He visits men in anger; but either by an abuse of the word, or by a peculiarity of idiom, anger is used in the sense of punishment.

19. The slaughter of multitudes would not seem strange to the Pagan, unless he denied the judgment of God, which Pagans do not; for they allow that all things in the universe, from the highest to the lowest, are governed by God's providence. But if he would not allow this, he would be convinced either by the authority of Pagan writers, or by the more tedious method of demonstration; and if still obstinate and perverse, he would be left to the judgment which he denies. Then, if he were to give instances of the destruction of men for no offence, or for a very slight one, we should show that these were offences, and that they were not slight. For instance, to take the case already referred to of the wedding garment, we should prove that it was a great crime in a man to attend the sacred feast, seeking not the bridegroom's glory, but his own, or whatever the garment may be found on better interpretation to signify. And in the case of the slaughter before the Idng of those who would not have him to reign over them, we might perhaps easily prove that, though it may be no sin in a man to refuse to obey his fellow-man, it is both a fault and a great one to reject the reign of Him in whose reign alone is there righteousness, and happiness, and continuance.

20. Lastly, as regards Paustus' crafty insinuation, that the

414 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [bOOK XXIT,

Old Testament misrepresents God as threatening to come with a sword which will spare neither the righteous nor the wicked, if the words were explained to the Pagan, he would perhaps disagree neither with the Old Testament nor with the JNew; and he might see the beauty of the parable in the Gospel, which people who pretend to be Christians either misunderstand from their blindness, or reject from their perversity.

The great husbandman of the vine uses his pruning-hook differently in the fruitful and in the unfruitful branches; yet he spares neither good nor bad, pruning one and cutting off
the other.-^ There is no man so just as not to require to be tried by affliction to advance, or to establish, or to prove his virtue. Do the Manichaeans not reckon Paul as righteous, who, while confessing humbly and honestly his past sins, still gives thanks for being justified by faith in Jesus Christ?

Was Paul then spared by Him whom fools misunderstand, when He says, "I will spare neither the righteous nor the sinner"? Hear the apostle himself: "Lest I should be exalted above measure by the abundance of the revelation, there was given me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me. For this I besought the Lord thrice, that He would remove it from me; and He said unto me. My grace is sufficient for thee: for strength is perfected in weakness." ^ Here a just man is not spared that his strength might be perfected in weakness by Him who had given him an angel of Satan to buffet him. If you say that the devil gave this angel, it follows that the devil sought to prevent Paul's being exalted above measure by the abundance of the revelation, and to perfect his strength. This is impossible. Therefore He who gave up this righteous man to be buffeted by the messenger of Satan, is the same as He who, through Paul, gave up to Satan himself the Avicked persons of whom Paul says: "I have delivered them to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."^ Do you see now how the Most High spares neither the righteous nor the wicked? Or is it the sword that frightens you? For to be buffeted is not so bad as to be put to death. But did not the thousands of martyrs suffer death in various forms? And could their persecutors have had this power against them

1 John XV. 1-3. 2 Cor. xii. 7-9. ^ ixim. i. 20.
except it had been given them by God, who thus spared neither the righteous nor the wicked? For the Lord Himself, the chief martyr, says expressly to Pilate: "Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." Paul also, besides recording his own experience, says that the afflictions and persecutions of the righteous exhibit the judgment of God. This truth is set forth at length by the Apostle Peter in the passage already quoted, where he says: "It is time that judgment should begin at the house of God. And if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of those that believe not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely are saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" Peter also explains how the wicked are not spared, for they are branches broken off to be burnt; while the righteous are not spared, because their purification is to be brought to perfection. He ascribes these things to the will of Him who says in the Old Testament, I will spare neither the righteous nor the wicked; corrects the one as a son, and punishing the other as a transgressor.

21. I have thus shown, to the best of my power, that the God we worship did not abide from eternity in darkness, but is Himself light, and in Him is no darkness at all; and in Himself dwells in light inaccessible; and the brightness of this light is His coeternal wisdom. From what we have said, it appears that God was not taken by surprise by the unexpected appearance of light, but that light owes its existence to Him as its Creator, as it owes its continued existence to His approval. Neither was God ignorant of the future, but the author of the precept as well as the punisher of disobedience; that by showing His righteous anger against transgression. He might provide a restraint for the time, and a

1 Jolm xix. 11. 2 2 Thiess. i. 5. ^ Pet. iv. 17, 18. * i p^^; i/^j^ 17^
thousands of men for trifling offences, or for nothing, but manifests to the world the
benefit to be obtained from fearing Him, by the temporal death of those already mortal.
Nor does He punisb the righteous and sinners indiscriminately, but chastises the righteous
for their good, in order to perfect them, and gives to sinners the punishment justly due to
them. Thus, ye Manichaeans, do your suspicions lead you astray, when, by
misunderstanding our Scriptures, or by hearing bad interpreters, you form a mistaken
judgment of Catholics. Hence you leave sound doctrine, and turn to impious fables; and
in your perversity and estrangement from the society of saints, you reject the instruction
of the New Testament, which, as we have shown, contains statements similar to those
which you condemn in the Old Testament. So we are obliged to defend both Testaments
against you as well as against the Pagan.

22. But supposing that there is some one so deluded by carnality as to worship not the
God whom we worship, but the fiction of your suspicions or your slanders, whom you
say we worship, is not even this god better than yours ? Observe, I
beseech you, what must be plain to the feeblest understanding; for here there is no need
of great perspicacity. I address all, wise and unwise. I appeal to the common sense and
judgment of all alike. "Would it not have been better for your god to have remained in
darkness from eternity, than to have buried himself in darkness conjoined with him from
eternity ? Would it not have been better to have expressed admiration in surprise at the
appearance of a new light coming to scatter the darkness, than to have been unable to
baffle the assault of darkness except by the concession of his own light ?
Unhappy if he did this in alarm, and cruel if there was no need of it. Surely it would have
been better to see light, and to admire it as good, than to make his own light evil; better
than that his own light should become hostile to himself in repelling the forces of
darkness. For this will be the accusation against those who will be condemned for ever to
the mass of darkness, that they suffered themselves to lose their original brightness, and
became the enemies of sacred light. If they did not know from eternity that they would be
thus condemned, they must have suffered the darkness of eternal ignorance; or if they did
know, the darkness of eternal fear.
Thus part of the substance of your god really did remain from eternity in its own
darkness; and instead of admiring new light on its appearance, it only met with another
and a hostile darkness, of which it had always been in fear. Indeed, God himself must
have in the darkness of fear for this part of himself, if he was dreading the evil
coming upon it. If he did not foresee the evil, he must have been in the darkness of
ignorance. If he foresaw it, and was not in fear, the darkness of such cruelty is worse than
the darkness either of ignorance or of fear. Your god appears to be destitute of the quality
which the apostle commends in the body, which you insanely believe to be made not by
God, but by Hyle: " If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it." ^ But suppose
he did suffer; he foresaw, he feared, he suffered, but he could not help himself. Thus he
remained from eternity in the darkness of his own misery; and then, instead of admiring a

BOOK XXIL] the god OF THE MANICH.EANS. 417

energy ? Would it not have been better to have expressed admiration in surprise at the
appearance of a new light coming to scatter the darkness, than to have been unable to
baffle the assault of darkness except by the concession of his own light ?
Unhappy if he did this in alarm, and cruel if there was no need of it. Surely it would have
been better to see light, and to admire it as good, than to make his own light evil; better
than that his own light should become hostile to himself in repelling the forces of
darkness. For this will be the accusation against those who will be condemned for ever to
the mass of darkness, that they suffered themselves to lose their original brightness, and
became the enemies of sacred light. If they did not know from eternity that they would be
thus condemned, they must have suffered the darkness of eternal ignorance; or if they did
know, the darkness of eternal fear.
Thus part of the substance of your god really did remain from eternity in its own
darkness; and instead of admiring new light on its appearance, it only met with another
and a hostile darkness, of which it had always been in fear. Indeed, God himself must
have in the darkness of fear for this part of himself, if he was dreading the evil
coming upon it. If he did not foresee the evil, he must have been in the darkness of
ignorance. If he foresaw it, and was not in fear, the darkness of such cruelty is worse than
the darkness either of ignorance or of fear. Your god appears to be destitute of the quality
which the apostle commends in the body, which you insanely believe to be made not by
God, but by Hyle: " If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it." ^ But suppose
he did suffer; he foresaw, he feared, he suffered, but he could not help himself. Thus he
remained from eternity in the darkness of his own misery; and then, instead of admiring a
new light which was to drive away the darkness, he came in contact, to the injury of his own light, with another darkness which he had always dreaded. Again, would it not have been much better, I say, not to have given a commandment like God, but even to have received a commandment like Adam, which he would be rewarded for keeping and punished for breaking, acting either way by his own free-will, than to

1 1 Cor. xii. 26.
5 2D

418 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^AX. [BOOK XXII.]

be forced by inevitable necessity to admit darkness into Ms light in spite of himseK? Surely it would have been better to have given a precept to human nature, not knowing that it would become sinful, than to have been driven by necessity to sin contrary to his own di^dne nature. Think for a moment, and say how darkness could be conquered by one who was himseK conquered by necessity. Conquered already by this greater enemy, he fought under his conqueror's orders against a less formidable opponent. Would it not have been better not to know where Adam had hid himself, than to have been himseK destitute of any means of escape, first from a hard and hateful necessity, and then from a dissimilar and hostile race? Would it not have been better to grudge eternal life to human nature, than to consign to misery the divine nature; to desire the blood and fat of sacrifices, than to be himseK slaughtered in so many forms, on account of his mixture with the blood and fat of every victim; to be disturbed by jealousy at these sacrifices being offered to other gods as weU as to himseK, than to be himseK offered on aU altars to aU devils, as mixed up not only with all fruits, but also with aU animals? Would it not have been much better to be affected even with human anger, so as to be enraged against both his friends and his enemies for their sins, than to be himseK influenced by fear as well as by anger wherever these passions exist, or than to share in aU the sin that is committed, and in aU punishment that is suffered? For this is the doom of that part of your god which is in confinement everywhere, condemned to this by himseK, not as guilty, but in order to conquer his dreaded enemy. Doomed himseK to such a fatal necessity, the part of himself which he has given over to condemnation might pardon him, K he were as humble as he is miserable. But how can you pretend to find fault with God for His anger against both friends and enemies when they sin, when the god of your fancies first under compulsion compels his own members to go to be devoured by sin, and then condemns them to remain in darkness? Though he does this, you say that it wiU not be in anger. But wiU he not be ashamed to punish, or to appear to punish, those from whom he should ask pardon in words such as these: " Forgive

BOOK xxil] the lost membees. 419
me, I "beseech you. You are my members; could I treat you thus, except from necessity? You know yourselves, that you were sent here because a formidable enemy had arisen; and now you must remain here to prevent his rising again"? Again, is it not better to slay thousands of men for trifling faults, or for nothing, than to cast into the abyss of sin, and to condemn to the punishment of eternal imprisonment, God's own members, his substance â€” in fact, God himself? It cannot properly be said of the real substance of God that it has the choice of sinning or not sinning, for God's substance is absolutely unchangeable. God cannot sin, as He cannot deny Himself. Man, on the contrary, can sin and deny God, or he can choose not to do so. But suppose the members of your god had, like a rational human soul, the choice of sinning or not sinning; they might perhaps be justly punished for heinous offences by confinement in the mass of darkness.

But you cannot attribute to these parts a liberty which you deny to God himself. For if God had not given them up to sin, he would have been forced to sin himself, by the prevalence of the race of darkness. But if there was no danger of being thus forced, it was a sin to send these parts to a place where they incurred this danger. To do so, indeed, from free choice is a crime deserving the torment which your god unnaturally inflicts upon his own parts, more than the conduct of these parts in going by his command to a place where they lost the power of living in righteousness. But if God himself was in danger of being forced to sin by invasion and capture, unless he had secured himself first by the misconduct and then by the punishment of his own parts, there can have been no free-will either in your god or in his parts. Let him not set himself up as judge, but confess himself a criminal.

For though he was forced against his own will, he professes to pass a righteous sentence in condemning those whom he knows to have suffered evil rather than done it; making this profession that he may not be thought of as having been conquered; as if it could do a beggar any good to be called prosperous and happy. Surely it would have been better for your god to have spared neither righteous nor wicked in indiscriminate punishment (which is Faustus' last charge against

420 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAX. [BOOK XXII.]

our God), than to have been so cruel to his own members, â€” first giving them up to incurable contamination, and then, as if that was not enough, accusing them falsely of misconduct. Faustus declares that they justly suffer this severe and eternal punishment, because they allowed themselves to be led astray from their original brightness, and became hostile to sacred light. But the reason of this, as Faustus says, was that they were so greedily devoured in the first assault of the princes of darkness, that they were unable to recover themselves, or to separate themselves from the hostile principle. These souls, therefore, did no evil themselves, but in all this were innocent sufferers. The real agent was he who sent them away from himself into this wretchedness. They suffered more from their father than from their enemy.
Their father sent them into all this misery; while their enemy desired them as something
good, wishing not to hurt them, but to enjoy them. The one injured them knowingly, the
other in ignorance. This god was so weak and helpless that he could not otherwise secure
himself first against an enemy threatening attack, and then against the same enemy in
confinement. Let him, then, not condemn those parts whose obedience defended him, and
whose death secures his safety. If he could not avoid the conflict, why slander his
defenders? When these parts allowed themselves to be led astray from their original
brightness, and became hostile to sacred light, this must have been from the force of the
enemy; and if they were forced against their will, they are innocent; while, if they could
have resisted if they had chosen, there is no need of the origin of evil in an imaginary evil
nature, since it is to be found in free-will. Their not resisting, when they could have done
so, is plainly their own fault, and not owing to any force from without. For, supposing
them able to do a thing, to do which is right, while not to do it is great and heinous sin,
their not doing it is their own choice. So, then, if they choose not to do it, the fault is in
their will, not in necessity. The origin of sin is in the will; therefore in the will is also the
origin of evil, both in the sense of acting against a just precept, and in the sense of
suffering under a just sentence. There is thus no reason why, in your search
for the origin of evil, you should fall into so great an evil as that of calling a nature so rich in good things the nature of evil, and of attributing the terrible evil of necessity to the nature of perfect good, before any commixture with evil. The cause of this erroneous belief is your pride, which you need not have unless you choose; but in your wish to defend at all hazards the error into which you have fallen, you take away the origin of evil from free-will, and place it in a fabulous nature of evil. And thus you come at last to say, that the souls which are to be doomed to eternal confinement in the mass of darkness became enemies to sacred light not from choice, but by necessity; and to make your god a judge with whom it is of no use to prove, in behalf of your clients, that they were under compulsion, and a king who will make no allowance for your brethren, his own sons and members, whose hostility against you and against himself you ascribe not to choice, but to necessity. What shocking cruelty!

unless you proceed in the next place to defend your god, as also acting not from choice, but by necessity. So, if there could be found another judge free from necessity, who could decide the question on the principles of equity, he would sentence your god to be bound to this mass, not by being fastened on the outside, but by being shut up inside along with the formidable enemy. The first in the guilt of necessity ought to be first in the sentence of condemnation.

Would it not be much better, then, in comparison with such a god as this, to choose the god whom we indeed do not worship, but whom you think or pretend to think we worship? Though he spares not his servants, whether righteous or sinful, making no proper separation, and not distinguishing between punishment and discipline, is he not better than the god who spares not his own members though innocent, if necessity is no crime, or guilty from their obedience to him, if necessity itself is criminal; so that they are condemned eternally by him, along with whom they should have been released, if any liberty was recovered by the victory, while he should have been condemned along with them if the victory reduced the force of necessity even so far as to give this small amount of force to justice? Thus the

422 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICILEAN. [BOOK XXII.]

god whom you represent us as worshipping, though he is not the one true God whom we really worship, is far better than your god. Neither, indeed, has any existence; but both are the creatures of your imaginations. But, according to your own representations, the one whom you call our^s, and find fault with, is better than the one whom you call your own, and whom you worship.

23. So also the patriarchs and prophets whom you cry out against are not the men whom we honour, but men whose characters are drawn from your fancy, prompted by ill-will. And yet even thus as you paint them, I will not be content with showing them to be superior to your elect, who keep all the precepts of Manich^eus, but will prove their
superiority to your god himself. Before pro^osing this, however, I must, with the help of God, defend our holy fathers the patriarchs and prophets against your accusations, by a clear exposition of the truth as opposed to the carnality of your hearts. As for you Manichaffians, it would be enough to say that the faults you impute to our fathers are preferable to what you praise in your own, and to complete your shame by adding that your god can be proved far inferior to our fathers as you describe them. This would be a sufficient reply for you. But as, even apart from your perversities, some minds are of themselves disturbed when comparing the life of the prophets in the Old Testament with that of the apostles in the New, â€” not discerning between the manner of the time when the promise was under a veil, and that of the time when the promise is revealed, â€” I must first of all reply to those who either have the boldness to pride themselves as superior in temperance to the prophets, or quote the prophets in defence of their own bad conduct.

24. First of all, then, not only the speech of these men, but their life also, was prophetic; and the whole kingdom of the Hebrews was like a great prophet, corresponding to the greatness of the Person prophesied. So, as regards those Hebrews who were made wise in heart by divine instruction, we may discover a prophecy of the coming of Christ and of the Church, both in what they said and in what they did; and the same is true as regards the divine procedure towards the
whole nation as a body. For, as the apostle says, " all these things were our examples."

25. Those who find fault with the prophets, accusing them of adultery for instance, in actions which are above their comprehension, are like those Pagans who profanely charge Christ with folly or madness because He looked for fruit from a tree out of the season; or with childishness, because He stooped down and wrote on the ground, and, after answering the people who were questioning Him, began writing again. Such critics are incapable of understanding that certain virtues in great minds resemble closely the vices of little minds, not in reality, but in appearance. Such criticism of the great is like that of boys at school, whose learning consists in the important rule, that if the nominative is in the singular, the verb must also be in the singular; and so they find fault with the best Latin author, because he says. Pars in frusta secant. He should have written, say they, secaf. And again, knowing that religio is spelt with one I, they blame him for writing relligio, when he says, Belligiom ^patriim^ Hence it may with reason be said, that as the poetical usage of words differs from the solecisms and barbarisms of the unlearned, so, in their own way, the figurative actions of the prophets differ from the impure actions of the vicious. Accordingly, as a boy guilty of a barbarism would be whipped if he pled the usage of Virgil; so any one quoting the example of Abraham begetting a son from Hagar, in defence of his own sinful passion for his wife's handmaid, ought to be corrected not by caning only, but by severe scourging, that he may not suffer the doom of adulterers in eternal punishment. This indeed is a comparison of great and important subjects with trifles; and it is not intended that a peculiar usage in speech should be put on a level with a sacrament, or a solecism with adultery. Still, allowing for the difference in the character of the subjects, what is called learning or ignorance in the proprieties and improprieties of speech, resembles wisdom or the want of it in reference to the grand moral distinction between virtue and vice.

26. Instead of entering on a discussion on the distinctions

1 Matt. xxi. 19. 2 jo\]^n viii. 6-8. JEn. i. 212. JEn. ii. 715.

424: EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAX. [BOOK XXII.]

between the praiseworthy and the blameworthy, the criminal and the innocent, the dangerous and the harmless, the guilty and the guiltless, the desirable and the undesirable, which are all illustrations of the distinction between sin and righteousness, we must first consider what sin is, and then examine the actions of the saints as recorded in the holy books, that, if we find these saints described as sinning, we may if possible discover the true reason for keeping these sins in memory by putting them on record. Again, if we find things recorded which, though they are not sins, appear so to the foolish and the malevolent, and in fact do not exhibit any virtues, here also we have to see why these
things are put into the Scriptures which we believe to contain wholesome doctrine as a

oruide in

the present life, and a title to the inheritance of the future.
As regards the examples of righteousness found among the acts of the saints, the
propriety of recording these must be plain even to the ignorant. The question is about
those actions the mention of which may seem useless if they are neither righteous nor
sinful, or even dangerous if the actions are really sinful, as leading people to imitate
them, because they are not condemned in these books, and so may be supposed not to be
sinful, or because, though they are condemned, men may copy them from the idea that
they must be venial if saints did them.

27. Sin, then, is any transgression in deed, or word, or desire, of the eternal law. And the
eternal law is the divine order or will of God, which requires the preservation of natural
order, and forbids the breach of it. But what is this natural order in man? Man, we know,
consists of soul and body; but so does a beast. Again, it is plain that in the order of nature
the soul is superior to the body. Moreover, in the soul of man there is reason, which is not
in a beast.
Therefore, as the soul is superior to the body, so in the soul itseK the reason is superior
by the law of nature to the other parts which are found also in beasts; and in reason itself,
which is partly contemplation and partly action, contemplation is unquestionably the
superior part. The object of contemplation is the image of God, by which we are renewed
through faith to sight. Kational action ought therefore to be subject
to the control of contemplation, which is exercised through faith while we are absent from the Lord, as it will be hereafter through sight, when we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is. Then in a spiritual body we shall by His grace be made equal to angels, when we put on the garment of immortality and incorruption, with which this mortal and corruptible shall be clothed, that death may be swallowed up of victory, when righteousness is perfected through grace.

For the holy and lofty angels have also their contemplation and action. They require of themselves the performance of the commands of Him whom they contemplate, whose eternal government they freely because sweetly obey. We, on the other hand, whose body is dead because of sin, till God quicken also our mortal bodies by His Spirit dwelling in us, live righteously in our feeble measure, according to the eternal law in which the law of nature is preserved, when we live by that faith unfeigned which works by love, having in a good conscience a hope of immortality and incorruption laid up in heaven, and of the perfecting of righteousness to the measure of an inexpressible satisfaction, for which in our pilgrimage we must hunger and thirst, while we walk by faith and not by sight.

28. A man, therefore, who acts in obedience to the faith which obeys God, restrains all mortal affections, and keeps them within the natural limit, regulating his desires so as to put the higher before the lower. If there was no pleasure in what is unlawful, no one would sin. To sin is to indulge this pleasure instead of restraining it. And by unlawful is meant what is forbidden by the law in which the order of nature is preserved. It is a great question whether there is any rational creature for which there is no pleasure in what is unlawful.

If there is such a class of creatures, it does not include man, nor that angelic nature which abode not in the truth. These rational creatures were so made, that they had the potentiality of restraining their desires from the unlawful; and in not doing this they sinned. Great, then, is the creature man, for he is restored by this potentiality, by which, if he had so chosen, he could not have fallen. And great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, who created man. For He created also inferior

^ 1 John iii. 2.

426 EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MA^CH^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

natures which cannot sin, and superior natures which will not sin. Beasts do not sin, for their nature agrees with the eternal law from being subject to it, without being in possession of it. And again, angels do not sin, because their heavenly nature is so in possession of the eternal law that God is the only object of its desire, and they obey His will without any experience of temptation. But man, whose life on this earth is a trial on account of sin, subdues to himself what he has in common with beasts, and subdues to
God what he has in common with angels; till, when righteousness is perfected and immortality attained, he shall be raised from among beasts and ranked with angels.

29. The exercise or indulgence of the bodily appetites is intended to secure the continued existence and the indulg:oration of the indi^T-dual or of the species. If the appetites go beyond this, and carry the man, no longer master of himself, beyond the limits of temperance, they become unla^'ful and shameful lusts, which severe discipline must subdue. But if this unbridled course ends in plunging the man into such a depth of evil habits that he supposes that there will be no pimishment of his sinful passions, and so refuses the wholesome discipline of confession and repentance by which he might be rescued; or, from a still worse insensibility, justifies his own indulgences in profane opposition to the eternal law of Providence; and if he dies in this state, that unerring law sentences him now not to correction, but to damnation.

30. Eeferring, then, to the eternal law which enjoins the presentation of natural order and forbids the breach of it, let us see Aiow our father Abraham sinned, that is, how he broke this law7-in the things which Faustus has charged him with as highly criminal. In his irrational craving to have children, says Faustus, and not believing God, who 2>Tomised that his wife So/ra sJwould have a. son, he d.esfiled himself icith a mistress. But here Faustus, in his irrational desire to find fault, both discloses the impiety of his heresy, and in his error and ignorance praises Abraham's intercourse with the handmaid. For as the eternal law â€” that is, the will of God the Creator of all â€” for the preservation of the natural order, permits the indulgence of the bodily appetite under the guidance of reason in

BOOK XXIL] ABRAHAM'S CONDUCT. 427

sexual intercourse, not for the gratification of passion, but for the continuance of the race through the procreation of children; so, on the contrary, the unrighteous law of the Manichseans, in order to prevent their god, whom they bewail as confined in all seeds, from suffering still closer confinement in the womb, requires married people not on any account to have children, their great desire being to liberate their god. Instead, therefore, of an irrational craving in Abraham to have children, we find in Manichseus an irrational fancy against having children. So the one preserved the natural order by seeking in marriage only the production of a child; while the other, influenced by his heretical notions, thought no evil could be greater than the confinement of his god.

31. So, again, when Faustus says that the wife's being privy to her husband's conduct made the matter worse, while he is prompted only by the uncharitable wish to reproach Abraham and his wife, he really, without intending it, speaks in praise of both. For Sara did not connive at any criminal action in her husband for the gratification of his unlawful passions; but from the same natural desire for children that he had, and knowing her o^vn barrenness, she warrantably claimed as her own the fertility of her handmaid; not consenting with sinful desires in her husband, but requesting of him what it was proper in
him to grant. Nor was it the request of proud assumption; for every one knows that the duty of a wife is to obey her husband. But in reference to the body, we are told by the apostle that the wife has power over her husband's body, as he has over hers; so that, while in all other social matters the wife ought to obey her husband, in this one matter of their bodily connection as man and wife their power over one another is mutual, â€” the man over the woman, and the woman over the man. So, when Sara could not have children of her own, she wished to have them by her handmaid, and of the same seed from which she herself would have had them, if that had been possible. No woman would do this if her love for her husband were merely an animal passion; she would rather be jealous of a mistress than make her a mother. So here the pious desire for the

^ 1 Cor. vii. 4

428 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [bO OK XXII.

procreation of children was an indication of the absence of criminal indulgence.

32. Abraham, indeed, cannot be defended, if, as Faustus says, he wished to get children by Hagar, because he had no faith in God, who promised that he should have children by Sara. But this is an entire mistake: this promise had not yet been made. Any one who reads the preceding chapters will find that Abraham had already got the promise of the land with a countless number of inhabitants;^ but that it had not yet been made known to him how the seed spoken of was to be produced, whether by generation from his own body, or from his choice in the adoption of a son, or, in the case of its being from his own body, whether it would be by Sara or another. Whoever examines into this will find that Faustus has made either an imprudent mistake or an impudent misrepresentation. Abraham, then, when he saw that he had no children, though the promise was to his seed, thought first of adoption. This appears from his saying of his slave, when speaking to God, "This is mine heir;" as much as to say. As Thou hast not given me a seed of my own, fulfil Thy promise in this man. For the word seed may be applied to what has not come out of a man's own body, else the apostle could not call us the seed of Abraham: we cease^:ainly are not his descendants in the flesh; but we are his seed in following his faith, by believing in Christ, whose flesh did spring from the flesh of Abraham. Then Abraham was told by the Lord: "This shall not be thine heir; but he that cometh out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir." The thought of adoption was thus removed; but it still remained uncertain whether the seed which was to come from himseK would be by Sara or another. And this God was pleased to keep concealed, till a figure of the Old Testament had been supplied in the handmaid. We may thus easily understand how Abraham, seeing that his wife was barren, and that she desired to obtain from her husband and her handmaid the offspring which she herself could not produce, acted not in compliance with carnal appetite, but in obedience to conjugal authority, believing that Sara had the sanction of God for her wish: be-

1 Gen. xii. 3. ^ Gen. xv. 3, 4.
caiTse God had already promised him an heir from his own body, but had not foretold who was to be the mother. Thus, when Faustus shows his own infidelity in accusing Abraham of unbelief, his groundless accusation only proves the madness of the assailant. In other cases, Faustus’ infidelity has prevented him from understanding; but here, in his love of slander, he has not even taken time to read.

33. Again, when Faustus accuses a righteous and faithful man of a shameless profanation of his marriage from avarice and greed, by selling his wife Sara at different times to the two kings Abimelech and Pharao, telling them that she was his sister, because she was very fair, he does not distinguish justly between right and wrong, but unjustly condemns the whole transaction. Those who think that Abraham sold his wife cannot discern in the light of the eternal law the difference between sin and righteousness; and so they call perseverance obstinacy, and confidence presumption, as in these and similar cases men of wrong judgment are wont to blame what they suppose to be wrong actions. Abraham did not become partner in crime with his wife by selling her to others: but as she gave her handmaid to her husband, not to gratify his passion, but for the sake of offspring, in the authority she had consistently with the order of nature, requiring the performance of a duty, not complying with a sinful desire; so in this case, the husband, in perfect assurance of the chaste attachment of his wife to himself, and knowing her mind to be the abode of modest and virtuous affection, called her his sister, without saying that she was his wife, lest he himself should be killed, and his wife fall into the hands of strangers and evil-doers: for he was assured by his God that He would not allow her to suffer violence or disgrace. Nor was he disappointed in his faith and hope; for Pharao, terrified by strange occurrences, and after enduring many evils on account of her, when he was informed by God that Sara was Abraham's wife, restored her with honour uninjured. Abimelech also did the same, after learning the truth in a dream.

34. Some people, not scoffers and evil-speakers like Faustus, but men who pay due honour to the Scriptures, which Faustus finds fault with because lie does not understand them, or which he fails to understand because of his fault-finding, in commenting on this act of Abraham, are of opinion that he stumbled from weakness of faith, and denied his wife from fear of death, as Peter denied the Lord. If this is the correct view, we must allow that Abraham sinned; but the sin should not cancel or obliterate all his merits, any more than in the case of the apostle. Besides, to deny his wife is not the same as to deny the Sa\dour. But when there is another explanation, why not abide by it, instead of giving blame without cause, since there is no proof that Abraham told a lie from fear? He did not deny that Sara was his...
wife in answer to any question on the subject; but when asked who she was, he said she was his sister, without denying her to be his wife: he concealed part of the truth, but said nothing false.

35. It is waste of time to observe Faustus' remark, that Abraham falsely called Sara his sister; as if Faustus had discovered the family of Sara, though it is not mentioned in Scripture. In a matter which Abraham knew, and we do not, it is surely better to believe the patriarch when he says what he knows, than to believe Manichaeus when he finds fault with what he knows nothing about. Since, then, Abraham lived at that period in human history, when, though marriage had become unlawful between children of the same parents, or of the same father or mother, no law or authority interfered with the custom of marriage between the children of brothers, or any less degree of consanguinity, why should he not have had as wife his sister, that is, a woman descended from his father? For he himself told the king, when he restored Sara, that she was his sister by his father, and not by his mother.

And on this occasion he could not have been led to tell a falsehood from fear, for the king knew that she was his wife, and was restoring her with honour, because he had been warned by God. We learn from Scripture that, among the ancients, it was customary to call cousins brothers and sisters. Thus Tobias says in his prayer to God, before having intercourse with his wife, "And now, Lord, Thou knowest that not in wantonness I take to wife my sister;" though she was

1 Tob, viii. 9.

BOOK XXIL] use of MEANS. 431

not sprung immediately from the same father or the same mother, but only belonged to the same family. And Lot is called the brother of Abraham, though Abraham was his uncle." And, by the same use of the word, those called in the Gospel the Lord's brothers are certainly not children of the Virgin Mary, but all the blood relations of the Lord.

36. Some may say, Why did not Abraham's confidence in God prevent his being afraid to confess his wife? God could have warded off from him the death which he feared, and could have protected both him and his wife while among strangers, so that Sara, although very fair, should not have been desired by any one, nor Abraham killed on account of her. Of course, God could have done this; it would be absurd to deny it. But if, in reply to the people, Abraham had told them that Sara was his wife, his trust in God would have included both his own life and the chastity of Sara.

Now it is part of sound doctrine, that when a man has any means in his power, he should not tempt the Lord his God.

So it was not because the Saviour was unable to protect His disciples that He told them, "When ye are persecuted in one city, flee to another." And He Himself set the example. For though He had the power of laying down His own life, and did not lay it down till He chose to do so, still when an infant He fled to Egypt, carried by His parents; and when
He went up to the feast. He went not openly, but secretly, though at other times He spoke openly to the Jews, who in spite of their rage and hostility could not lay hands on Him, because His hour was not come;^ â€” not the hour when He would be obliged to die, but the hour when He would consider it seasonable to be put to death. Thus He who displayed divine power by teaching and reproving openly, without allowing the rage of his enemies to hurt Him, did also, by escaping and concealing Himself, exhibit the conduct becoming the feebleness of men, that they should not tempt God when they have any means in their power of escaping threatened danger. So also in the apostle, it was not from despair of divine assistance and protection, or from loss of

1 Gen. xiii. 8 and xi. 31. 2 jyjatt. xii. 46. ^;^att. x. 23.


432 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.ÂK [BOOK XXII.]

faith, that he was let down over the wall in a basket, in order to escape being taken by his enemies: ^ not from want of faith in God did he thus escape, but because not to escape, when this escape was possible, would have been tempting God. Accordingly, when Abraham was among strangers, and when, on account of the remarkable beauty of Sara, both his life and her chastity were in danger, since it was in his power to protect not both of these, but one only, â€” his life, namely, â€” to avoid tempting God he did what he could; and in what he could not do, he trusted to God. Unable to conceal his being a man, he concealed his being a husband, lest he should be put to death; trusting to God to preserve his wife's purity.

37. There might also be a difference of opinion on the nice point whether Sara's chastity would have been violated even if some one had had intercourse with her, since she submitted to this to save her husband's life, both with his knowledge and by his authority. In this there would be no desertion of conjugal fidelity or rebellion against her husband's authority; in the same way as Abraham was not an adulterer, when, in submission to the lawful authority of his wife, he consented to be made a father by his wife's handmaid. But, from the nature of the relationship, for a wife to have two husbands, both in life, is not the same thing as for a man to have two wives: so that we regard the explanation already given of Abraham's conduct as the most correct and unobjectionable; that our father Abraham avoided tempting God by taking what measures he could for the preservation of his own life, and that he showed his hope in God by entrusting to Him the chastity of his wife.

38. But a pleasure which all must feel is obtained from this narrative so faithfully recorded in the Holy Scriptures, when we examine into the prophetic character of the action, and knock with pious faith and diligence at the door of the mystery, that the Lord may open, and show us who was prefigured in the ancient personage, and whose wife this
is, who, while in a foreign land and among strangers, is not allowed to be stained or defiled, that she may be brought to her own

1 Acts ix. 25.

BOOK XXIL| ABRAHAM A TYPE OF CHRIST. 433

husband without spot or wrinkle. Thus we find that the righteous life of the Church is for the glory of Christ, that her beauty may bring honour to her husband, as Abraham was honoured on account of the beauty of Sara among the inhabitants of that foreign land. To the Church, to whom it is said in the Song of Songs, " thou fairest among women," ^ kings offer gifts in acknowledgment of her beauty; as king Abimelech offered gifts to Sara, admiring the grace of her appearance; all the more that, while he loved, he was not allowed to profane it. The holy Church, too, is in secret the spouse of the Lord Jesus Christ. For it is secretly, and in the hidden depths of the Spirit, that the soul of man is joined to the word of God, so that they two are one flesh; of which the apostle speaks as a great mystery in marriage, as referring to Christ and the Church.^

Again, the earthly kingdom of this world, typified by the kings which were not allowed to defile Sara, had no knowledge or experience of the Church as the spouse of Christ, that is, of how faithfully she maintained her relation to her Husband, till it tried to violate her, and was compelled to yield to the divine testimony borne by the faith of the martyrs, and in the person of later monarchs was brought humbly to honour with gifts the Bride whom their predecessors had not been able to humble by subduing her to themselves. What, in the type, happened in the reign of one and the same king, is fulfilled in the earlier monarchs of this era and their successors.

39. Again, when it is said that the Church is the sister of Christ, not by the mother but by the father, we learn the excellence of the relation, which is not of the temporary nature of earthly descent, but of divine grace, which is everlasting.

By this grace we shall no longer be a race of mortals when we receive power to become sons of God. This grace we obtain not from the synagogue, which is the mother of Christ after the flesh, but from God the Father. And when Christ calls us into another life where there is no death. He teaches us, instead of acknowledging, to deny the earthly relationship, where death soon follows upon birth; for He says to His disciples, " Call no man your father upon earth: for you have one

1 Cant. i. 7. 2 Ep^v, 31^ 32.

5 2 E

â– 434 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [bO OK XXII.
Earlier, who is in heaven." And He set us an example of this when He said, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth His hand to His disciples. He said. These are my brethren." And lest any one should think that He referred to an earthly relationship. He added, "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother;" as much as to say, I derive this relationship from God my Father, not from the Synagogue my mother; I call you to eternal life, where I have an immortal birth, not to earthly life, for to call you away from this life I have taken mortality.

40. As for the reason why, though it is concealed among strangers whose wife the Church is, it is not hidden whose sister she is, it is plainly because it is obscure and hard to understand how the human soul and the Word of God are united or mingled, or whatever word may be used to express this connection between God and the creature. It is from this connection that Christ and the Church are called bridegroom and bride, or husband and wife. The other relationship, in which Christ and all the saints are brethren by divine grace and not by earthly consanguinity, or by the father and not by the mother, is more easily expressed in words, and more easily understood. For the same grace makes all the saints to be also brethren of one another; while in their society no one is the bridegroom of all the rest. So also, notwithstanding the surpassing justice and wisdom of Christ, His manhood was much more plainly and readily recognised by strangers, who, indeed, were not wrong in believing Him to be man, but they did not understand His being God as well as man. Hence Jeremiah says: "He is both a man, and who shall know Him?" He is a man, for it is made manifest that He is a brother. And who shall know Him? for it is concealed that He is a husband. This must suffice as a defence of our father Abraham against Faustus' impudence and ignorance and malice.

41. Lot also, the brother of Abraham, was just and hospitable in Sodom, and was found worthy to escape the conflagration which prefigured the future judgment; for he was free from all participation in the corruption of the people of Sodom. He was a type of the body of Christ, which in the person of all the saints both groans now among the ungodly and wicked, to whose evil deeds it does not consent, and will at the end of the world be rescued from their society, when they are doomed to the punishment of eternal fire. Lot's wife was the type of a different class of men, â€” of those, namely, who, when called by the grace of God, look back, instead of, like Paul, forgetting the things that are behind, and looking forward to the things that are before." The Lord Himself says: "No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God." Nor did He omit to mention the case of Lot's wife; for she, for our warning, was turned into a pillar of salt, that being thus seasoned we might not trifle thoughtlessly with this danger.

but be on our guard against it. So, when the Lord was admonishing every one to get rid of the things that are behind by the most strenuous endeavour to reach the things that are before. He said, "Remember Lot's wife." And, in addition to these, there is still a third type in Lot, when his daughters lay with him. For here Lot seems to prefigure the future law; for those who spring from the law, and are placed under the law, by misunderstanding it, stupefy it, as it were, and bring forth the works of unbelief by an unlawful use of the law. " The law is good," says the apostle, " if a man use it lawfully."*

42. It is no excuse for this action of Lot or of his daughters that it represented the perversity which was afterwards in certain cases to be displayed. The purpose of Lot's daughters is one thing, and the purpose of God is another, in allowing this to happen that He might make some truth manifest; for God both pronounces judgment on the actions of the people of those times, and arranges in His providence for the prefigurement of the future. As a part of Scripture, this action is a prophecy; as part of the history of those concerned, it is a crime.

43. At the same time, there is in this transaction no reason for the torrent of abuse which Faustus' blind hostility discharges on it. By the eternal law which requires the preservation of

- 1 Phn. iii. 13. 2 L^je ^g. 3 ^ke xvii. 32. * 1 Tim. i. 8.

436 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [bOOK XXIT.

the order of nature and condemns its violation, the judgment in this case is not what it would have been if Lot had been prompted by a criminal passion to commit incest with his daughters, or if they had been inflamed with unnatural desires.
In justice, we must ask not only what was done, but with what motive, in order to obtain a fair view of the action as the effect of that motive. The resolution of Lot's daughters to lie with their father was the effect of the natural desire for offspring in order to preserve the race; for they supposed that there were no other men to be found, thinking that the whole world had been consumed in that conflagration, which, for all they knew, had left no one alive but themselves. It would have been better for them never to have been mothers, than to have become mothers by their own father. But still, the fulfilment of a desire like this is very different from the accursed gratification of lust.

44. Knowinof that their father would condemn their design.
Lot's daughters thought it necessary to fulfil it without his knowledge. We are told that they made him drunk, so that he was unaware of what happened. His guilt therefore is not that of incest, but of drunkenness. This, too, is condemned by the eternal law, which allows meat and drink only as requi-ed by nature for the preservation of health. There is, indeed, a great difference between a drunk man and an habitual drunkard; for the drunkard is not always drunk, and a man may be drunk on one occasion without being a drunkard.
However, in the case of a righteous man, we require to account for even one instance of drunkenness. What can have made Lot consent to receive from his daughters all the cups of wine which they went on mixing for him, or perhaps giving him unmixed? Did they feign excessive grief, and did he resort to this consolation in their loneliness, and in the loss of their mother, thinking that they were drinking too, while they only pretended to drink? But this does not seem a proper method for a righteous man to take in consoling his friends when in trouble. Had the daughters learned in Sodom some vile art which enabled them to intoxicate their father with a few cups, so that in his ignorance he might sin, or rather be sinned against? But it is not likely that the Scripture would have
omitted all notice of this, or that God would have allowed His servant to be thus abused without any fault of his own.

45. But we are defending the sacred Scriptures, not man's sins. Nor are we concerned to justify this action, as if our God had either commanded it or approved of it; or as if, when men are called just in Scripture, it meant that they could not sin if they chose. And as, in the books which those critics find fault with, God nowhere expresses approval of this action, what thoughtless folly it is to bring a charge from this narrative against these writings, when in other places such actions are condemned by express prohibitions! In the story of Lot's daughters the action is related, not commended. And it is proper that the judgment of God should be declared in some cases, and concealed in others, that by its manifestation our ignorance may be enlightened, and that by its concealment our minds may be improved by the exercise of recalling what we already know, or our indolence stimulated to seek for an explanation. Here, then, God, who can bring good out of evil, made nations arise from this origin, as He saw good, but did not bring upon His own Scriptures the guilt of man's sin.

It is God's writing, but not His doing; He does not propose these things for our imitation, but holds them up for our warning.

46. Taustus' effrontery appears notably in his accusing Isaac also, the son of Abraham, of pretending that his wife Eebecca was his sister. For the family of Eebecca is told us, and it appears that she was his sister in the well-known sense of the word. His concealing that she was his wife is not surprising, nor is it insignificant, if he did it in imitation of his father, so that he can be justified on the same grounds. We need only refer to the answer already given to Faustus' charge against Abraham, as being equally applicable to Isaac. Perhaps, however, some inquirer will ask what typical significance there is in the foreign king discovering Eebecca to be the wife of Isaac by seeing him playing with her; for he would not have known, had he not seen Isaac playing with Eebecca as it would have been improper to do with a woman not his wife.

When holy men act thus as husbands, they do it not foolishly,

* Gen. xxvi. 7.

438 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [bO OK XXII.

but designedly: for they accommodate themselves to the nature of the weaker sex in words and actions of gentle playfulness; not in effeminaacy, but in subdued manliness. But such behaviour towards any woman except a wife would be disgraceful. This is a question in good manners, which is referred to only in case some stern advocate of insensibility should find fault with the holy man even for playing with his wife. For if these men without humanity see a sedate man chatting playfully with children that he
may adapt himself to the childish understanding with kindly sympathy, they think that he is insane; forgetting that they themselves were once children, or unthankful for their maturity. The typical meaning, as regards Christ and His Church, which is to be found in this great patriarch playing with his wife, and in the conjugal relation being thus discovered, will be seen by every one who, to avoid offending the Church by erroneous doctrine, carefully studies in Scripture the secret of the Church's Bridegroom. He will find that the Husband of the Church concealed for a time in the form of a servant the majesty in which He was equal to the Father, as being in the form of God, that feeble humanity might be capable of union with Him, and that so He might accommodate Himself to His spouse. So far from being absurd, it has a symbolic suitableness that the prophet of God should use a playfulness which is of the flesh to meet the affection of his wife, as the Word of God Himself became flesh that He might dwell among us.

47. Again, Jacob the son of Isaac is charged with having committed a great crime because he had four wives. But here there is no ground for a criminal accusation: for a plurality of wives was no crime when it was the custom; and it is a crime now, because it is no longer the custom. There are sins against nature, and sins against custom, and sins against the laws. In which, then, of these senses did Jacob sin in having a plurality of wives? As regards nature, he used the women not for sensual gratification, but for the procreation of children. For custom, this was the common practice at that time in those countries. And for the laws, no prohibition existed. The only reason of its being a crime now to do this, is because custom and the laws forbid it.
Whoever despises these restraints, even though he uses his wives only to get children, still commits sin, and does an injury to human society itself, for the sake of which it is that the procreation of children is required. In the present altered state of customs and laws, men can have no pleasure in a plurality of wives, except from an excess of lust; and so the mistake arises of supposing that no one could ever have had many wives but from sensuality and the vehemence of sinful desires. Unable to form an idea of men whose force of mind is beyond their conception, they compare themselves with themselves, as the apostle says, and so make mistakes. Conscious that, in their intercourse though with one wife only, they are often influenced by mere animal passion instead of an intelligent motive, they think it an obvious inference that, if the limits of moderation are not observed where there is only one wife, the infirmity must be aggravated where there are more than one.

48. But those who have not the virtues of temperance must not be allowed to judge of the conduct of holy men, any more than those in fever of the sweetness and wholesomeness of food. Nourishment must be provided not by the dictates of the sickly taste, but rather by the judgment and direction of health, so as to cure the sickness. If our critics, then, wish to attain not a spurious and affected, but a genuine and sound moral health, let them find a cure in believing the Scripture record, that the honourable name of saint is given not without reason to men who had several wives; and that the reason is this, that the mind can exercise such control over the flesh as not to allow the appetite implanted in our nature by Providence to go beyond the limits of deliberate intention. By a similar misunderstanding, this criticism, which consists rather in dishonest slander than in honest judgment, might accuse the holy apostles too of preaching the gospel to so many people, not from the desire of begetting children to eternal life, but from the love of human praise. There was no lack of renown to these our fathers in the gospel, for their praise was spread in numerous tongues through the churches of Christ. In fact, no greater honour and glory could have

\[2\ Cor.\ X.\ 12.\]

440 EEPY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH\^AN. [bOOK XXIT.

been paid by men to their fellow-creatures. It was the sinful desire for this glory in the Church which led the reprobate Simon in his blindness to wish to purchase for money what was freely bestowed on the apostles by divine grace.\[^]{2}\ There must have been this desire of glory in the man whom the Lord in the Gospel checks in his desire to follow Him, saying,

"The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head."\[^]{3}\ The Lord saw that his mind was darkened by false appearances and elated by sudden emotion, and that there was no ground of faith to afford a lodging to
the Teacher of humility; for in Christ's discipleship the man sought not Christ's grace, but his own glory. By this love of glory those were led away whom the Apostle Paul characterizes as preaching Christ not sincerely, but of contention and envy; and yet the apostle rejoices in their preaching, knowing that it might happen that, while the preachers gratified their desire for human praise, believers might be born among their hearers, not as the result of the envious feeling which made them wish to rival or surpass the fame of the apostles, but by means of the gospel which they preached, though not sincerely; so that God might bring good out of their evil. So a man may be induced to marry by sensual desire, and not to beget children; and yet a child may be born, a good work of God, due to the natural power, not to the misconduct of the parent. As, therefore, the holy apostles were gratified when their doctrine met with acceptance from their hearers, not because they were greedy for praise, but because they desired to spread the truth; so the holy patriarchs in their conjugal intercourse were actuated not by the love of pleasure, but by the intelligent desire for the continuance of their family. Thus the number of their hearers did not make the apostles ambitious; nor did the number of their wives make the patriarchs licentious. But why defend the husbands, to whose character the divine word bears the highest testimony, when it appears that the wives themselves looked upon their connection with their husbands only as a means of getting sons? So, when they found themselves barren, they gave their handmaids to their husbands; so that while the handmaids had the fleshly motherhood, the wives were mothers in intention.

BOOK XXII] JACOB'S WIVES. 441

49. Faustus makes a most groundless statement when he accuses the four women of quarrelling like abandoned characters for the possession of their husband. Where Faustus read this I know not, unless it was in his own heart, as in a book of impious delusions, in which Faustus himself is seduced by that serpent with regard to whom the apostle feared for the Church, which he desired to present as a chaste virgin to Christ; lest, as the serpent had deceived Eve by his subtlety, so he should also corrupt their minds by turning them away from the simplicity of Christ. The Manichaeans are so fond of this serpent, that they assert that he did more good than harm. From him Faustus must have got his mind corrupted with the lies instilled into it, which he now reproduces in these infamous calumnies, and is even bold enough to put down in writing. It is not true that one of the handmaids carried off Jacob from the other, or that they quarrelled about possessing him. There was arrangement, because there was no licentious passion; and the law of conjugal authority was all the stronger that there was none of the lawlessness of fleshly desire. His being hired by one of his wives proves what is here said, in plain opposition to the libels of the Manichgeans. Why should one have hired him, unless by the arrangement he was to have gone in to the other? It does not follow that he would never have gone in to Leah unless she had hired him. He must have gone to her always in her turn, for he had many children by her; and in obedience to her he had children by her handmaid, and afterwards, without any hiring, by herself. On this occasion it was Eachel's turn, so that she had the
power so expressly mentioned in the New Testament by the apostle, "The husband hath not power over his own body, but the wife." Eachel had a bargain with her sister, and, being in her sister's debt, she referred her to Jacob, her own debtor. For the apostle uses this figure when he says, "Let the husband render unto the wife what is due." Eachel gave what was in her power as due from her husband, in return for what she had chosen to take from her sister.

i 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3. 1 Cor. vii. 4. 3 i Qq^yH^.

442 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAX. [bOOK XXIT.

50. If Jacob had been of such a character as Faistus in his incurable blindness supposes, and not a servant of righteousness rather than of concupiscence, would he not have been looking forward eagerly all day to the pleasure of passing the night with the more beautiful of his wives, whom he certainly loved more than the other, and for whom he paid the price of twice seven years of gratuitous service? How, then, at the close of the day, on his way to his beloved, could he have consented to be turned aside, if he had been such as the ignorant Manichaeans represent him? Would he not have disregarded the wish of the women, and insisted upon going to the fair Eachel, who belonged to him that night not only as his lawful wife, but also as coming in regular order? He would thus have used his power as a husband, for the wife also has not power over her own body, but the husband; and having on this occasion the arrangement in their obedience in favour of the gratification of his love of beauty, he might have enforced his authority the more successfully. In that case it would be to the credit of the women, that while he thought of his own pleasure they contended about having a son. As it was, this virtuous man, in manly control of sensual appetite, thought more of what was due from him than to him, and instead of using his power for his own pleasure, consented to be only the debtor in this mutual obligation. So he consented to pay the debt to the person to whom it was due wished him to pay it. "Then, by this private bargain of his wives, Jacob was suddenly and unexpectedly forced to turn from the beautiful wife to the plain one, he did not give way either to anger or to disappointment, nor did he try to persuade his wives to let him have his own way; but, like a just husband and an intelligent parent, seeing his wives concerned about the production of children, which was all he himself desired in marriage, he thought it best to yield to their authority, in desiring that each should have a child: for, since all the children were his, his own authority was not impaired. As if he had said to them: Arrange as you please among yourselves which is to be the mother; it matters not to me, since in any case I am the father. This control over the appetites, and simple desire to beget children, Faustus would have been clever
enough to see and approve, unless his mind had been corrupted by the shocking tenets of his sect, which lead him to find fault with everything in the Scripture, and, moreover, teach him to condemn as the greatest crime the procreation of children, which is the proper design of marriage.

51. ISTow, having defended the character of the patriarch, and refuted an accusation arising from these detestable errors, let us avail ourselves of the opportunity of searching out the symbolical meaning, and let us knock with the reverence of faith, that the Lord may open to us the typical significance of the four wives of Jacob, of whom two were free, and two slaves. We see that, in the wife and bond-slaves of Abraham, the apostle understands the two Testaments."^ But there, one represents each; here, the application does not suit so well, as there are two and two. There, also, the son of the bond-slave is disinherited; but here the sons of the slaves receive the land of promise along with the sons of the free women: so that this type must have a different meaning.

52. Supposing that the two free Avives point to the N'ev^ Testament, by which we are called to liberty, what is the meaning of there being two? Perhaps because in Scripture, as the attentive reader will find, we are said to have two lives in the body of Christ, â€” one temporal, in which we suffer pain, and one eternal, in which we shall behold the blessedness of God. "We see the one in the Lord's passion, and the other in His resurrection. The names of the women point to this meaning. It is said that Leah means Suffering, and Eachel the First Principle made visible, or the Word which makes the First Principle visible. The action, then, of our mortal human life, in which we live by faith, doing many painful tasks without knowing what benefit may result from them to those in whom we are interested, is Leah, Jacob's first wife. And thus she is said to have had weak eyes. For the purposes of mortals are timid, and our plans uncertain. Again, the hope of the eternal contemplation of God, accompanied with a sure and delightful perception of truth, is Eachel. And on this account she is described as fair and well-formed. This is the beloved of every pious student, and for this he serves the grace


444 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

of God, by which our sins, though like scarlet, are made white as snow. ^ For Laban means making white; and we read that Jacob served Laban for Eachel." No man turns to serve righteousness, in subjection to the grace of forgiveness, but that he may live in peace in the Word which makes visible the First Principle, or God; that is, he serves for Rachel, not for Leah. For what a man loves in the works of righteousness is not the toil of doing and suffering. No one desires this life for its own sake; as Jacob desired not
Leah, who yet was brought to him, and became his wife, and the mother of children. Though she could not be loved of herself, the Lord made her be borne with as a step to Eachel; and then she came to be approved of on account of her children. Thus every useful servant of God, brought into His grace by which his sins are made white, has in his mind, and heart, and affection, when he thus turns to God, nothing but the knowledge of wisdom. This we often expect to attain as a reward for practising the seven precepts of the law which concern the love of our neighbour, that we injure no one: namely. Honour thy father and mother; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's wife; Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's property. When a man has obeyed these to the best of his ability, and, instead of the bright joys of truth which he desired and hoped for, finds in the darkness of the manifold trials of this world that he is bound to painful endurance, or has embraced Leah instead of Eachel, if there is perseverance in his love, he bears with the one in order to attain the other; and as if it were said to him, Serve seven other years for Eachel, he hears seven new commands, â€” to be poor in spirit, to be meek, to be a mourner, to hunger and thirst after righteousness, to be merciful, pure, and a peacemaker. A man would desire, if it were possible, to obtain at once the joys of lovely and perfect wisdom, without the endurance of toil in action and suffering; but this is impossible in mortal life. This seems to be meant, when it is said to Jacob: " It is not the custom in our country to marry the younger before the elder."* The elder may very well

mean the first in order of time. So, in the discipline of man, the toil of doing the work of righteousness precedes the delight of understanding the truth.

53. To this purpose it is written: "Thou hast desired wisdom; keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give it thee." The commandments are those concerning righteousness, and the righteousness is that which is by faith, surrounded with the uncertainty of temptations; so that understanding is the reward of a pious belief of what is not yet understood.

The meaning I have given to these words, "Thou hast desired wisdom; keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give it thee," I find also in the passage, "Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand;" showing that as righteousness is by faith, understanding comes by wisdom. Accordingly, in the case of those who eagerly demand evident truth, we must not condemn the desire, but regulate it, so that beginning with faith it may proceed to the desired end through good works.

The life of virtue is one of toil; the end desired is unclouded wisdom. Why should I believe, says one, what is not clearly proved? Let me hear some word which will disclose the first principle of all things. This is the one great craving of the rational soul in the pursuit of truth. And the answer is.

What you desire is excellent, and well worthy of your love; but Leah is to be married first, and then Eachel. The proper effect of your eagerness is to lead you to submit to the right method, instead of rebelling against it; for without this method you cannot attain what you so eagerly long for. And when it is attained, the possession of the lovely form of knowledge will be in this world accompanied with the toils of righteousness. For however clear and true our perception in this life may be of the unchangeable good, the mortal body still is a weight on the mind, and the earthly tabernacle is a clog on the intellect in its manifold activity. The end, then, is one, but many things must be gone through for the sake of it.

54. Thus Jacob has two free wives; for both are daughters of the remission of sins, or of whitening, that is, of Laban.

One is loved, the other is borne. But she that is borne is the most and the soonest fruitful, that she may be loved, if not

^ Eccius. i. 33. 2 Isa. vii. 9, Vulg.

446 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

for herself, at least for her children. Por the toil of the righteous is specially fruitful in those whom they beget for the kingdom of God, by preaching the gospel amid many trials and temptations; and they call those their joy and crown ^ for whom they are in labours more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths often.^ â€” for whom they have
fightings without and fears within.\textsuperscript{1} Such births result most easily and plentifully from the word of faith, the preaching of Christ crucified, which speaks also of His human nature as far as it can be easily understood, so as not to hurt the weak eyes of Leah. Eachel, again, with clear eye, is beside herself to God,\textsuperscript{*} and sees in the beginning the Word of God with God, and wishes to bring forth, but cannot; for who shall declare His generation? So the life devoted to contemplation, in order to see with no feeble mental eye things invisible to flesh, but understood by the things that are made, and to discern the ineffable manifestation of the eternal power and divinity of God, seeks leisure from all occupation, and is therefore barren.

In this habit of retirement, where the fire of meditation burns bright, there is a want of sympathy with human weakness, and with the need men have of our help in their calamities. This life also burns with the desire for children (for it wishes to teach what it knows, and not to go with the corruption of envy\textsuperscript{2}), and sees its sister-life fully occupied with work and with bringing forth; and it grieves that men run after that virtue which cares for their wants and weaknesses, instead of that which has a divine imperishable lesson to impart. This is what is meant when it is said, "Eachel envied her sister."\textsuperscript{3}

Moreover, as the pure intellectual perception of that which is not matter, and so is not the object of the bodily sense, cannot be expressed in words which spring from the flesh, the doctrine of wisdom prefers to get some lodging for divine truth in the mind by whatever material figures and illustrations occur, rather than to give up teaching these things; and thus Rachel preferred that her husband should have children by her handmaid, rather than that she should be without any children.

Bilhah, the name of her handmaid, is said to mean old; and

\textsuperscript{1} Phil. iv. 1. 2 2 Cor. xi. 23. \textsuperscript{2} 2 Cor. vii. 5. 2 Cor. vii. 5. \textsuperscript{3} 2 Cor. V. 13. 5 Wisd. vi. 23. \textsuperscript{4} Qen. xxx. 1.

\textsuperscript{*} 2 Cor. V. 13. 5 Wisd. vi. 23. \textsuperscript{4} Qen. xxx. 1.
SO, even when we speak of the spiritual and inchangeable nature of God, ideas are suggested relating to the old life of the bodily senses.

55. Leah, too, got children by her handmaid, from the desire of having a numerous family. Zilpah, her handmaid, is, interpreted, an open mouth. So Leah's handmaid represents those who are spoken of in Scripture as engaging in the preaching of the gospel with open mouth, but not with open heart. Thus it is written of some: "This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." ^ To such the apostle says: "Thou that preachest that a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery?" ^ But that even by this arrangement the free wife of Jacob, the type of labour or endurance, might obtain children to be heirs of the kingdom, the Lord says: "What they say, do; but do not after their works." ^ And again, the apostolic life, when enduring imprisonment, says: "Whether Christ is preached in pretence or in truth, I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." * It is the joy of the mother over her numerous family, though born of her handmaid.

56. In one instance Leah owed her becoming a mother to Eachel, who, in return for some mandrakes, allowed her husband to give her night to her sister. Some, I know, think that eating this fruit has the effect of making barren women productive; and that Eachel, from her desire for children, was thus bent on getting the fruit from her sister. But I should not agree to this, even had Eachel conceived at the time. As Leah then conceived, and, besides, had two other children before God opened Eachel's womb, there is no reason for supposing any such quality in the mandrake, without any experience to prove it. I will give my explanation; those better able than I may give a better. Though this fruit is not often met with, I had once, to my great satisfaction, on account of its connection with this passage of Scripture, an opportunity of seeing it. I examined the fruit as carefully as I could, not with the help of any recondite knowledge of the nature of roots or the virtues of plants, but only as to what I or any one

1 Isa. xxix. 13. 2 j^oj^ & 21, 22. ^ jyiatt. xxiii. 3. ^ pj^ i ^s.
success of good men in their endeavours to benefit their fellow-men. So the apostle says, that it is proper to have a good report of those that are without; for though they are not infallible, the lustre of their praise and the odour of their good opinion are a great help to the efforts of those who seek to benefit them. And this popular renown is not obtained by those that are highest in the Church, unless they expose themselves to the toils and hazards of an active life. Thus the son of Leah found the mandrakes when he went out into the field, that is, when walking honestly towards those that are without. The pursuit of wisdom, on the other hand, retired from the busy crowd, and lost in calm meditation, could never obtain a particle of this public approval, except through those who take the management of public business, not for the sake of being leaders, but in order to be useful. These men of action and business exert themselves for the public benefit, and by a popular use of their influence gain the approval of the people even for the quiet life of the student and inquirer after truth; and thus through Leah the mandrakes come into the hands of Eachel. Leah herself got them from her first-born son, that is, in honour of her fertility, which represents all the useful result of a laborious life exposed to the common vicissitudes; a life which many avoid on account of its troublesome engagements, because, although they might be able to take the lead, they are bent on study, and devote all their powers to the quiet pursuit of knowledge, in love with the beauty of Eachel.

1 1 Tim. iii. 7.

LOOK XXII.] RETIREMENT AND RENOWN. 449

5 7. But as it is right that this studious life should gain public approval by letting itself be known, while it cannot rightly gain this approval if it keeps its follower in retirement, instead of using his powers for the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and so prevents his being generally useful; to this purpose Leah says to her sister, " Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? " The husband represents all those who, though fit for active life, and able to govern the Church, in administering to believers the mystery of the faith, from their love of learning and of the pursuit of wisdom, desire to relinquish all troublesome occupations, and to bury themselves in the class-room. Thus the words, " Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband? and wouldest thou take away my son's mandrakes also? " mean, " Is it a small matter that the life of study keeps in retirement men required for the toils of public life? and does it ask for popular renown as well? "

5 8. To get this renown justly, Eachel gives her husband to her sister for the night; that is, those who, by a talent for business, are fitted for government, must for the public benefit consent to bear the burden and suffer the hardships of public life; lest the pursuit of wisdom, to which their leisure is devoted, should be evil spoken of, and should not gain from the multitude the good opinion, represented by the fruit, which is necessary for the encouragement of their pupils. But the life of business must be forced upon them. This is clearly shown by Leah's meeting Jacob when coming from the field, and laying hold of him, saying, " Thou shalt come in to me; for I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes."
' As if she said, Dost thou wish the knowledge which thou lovest to be well thought of?
Do not shirk the toil of business. The same thing happens constantly in the Church. What we read is explained by what we meet with in our own experience.
Do we not everywhere see men coming from secular employments, to seek leisure for the study and contemplation of truth, their beloved Eachel, and intercepted mid-way by ecclesiastical affairs, which require them to be set to work, as
1 Gen. XXX. 15. 2 Gen. xxx. 16.

6 2 F

450 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH\^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

if Leah said to them, You must come in to me? When such men minister in sincerity the mystery of God, so as in the night of this world to heget sons in the faith, popular approval is gained also for that life, in love for which they were led to abandon worldly pursuits, and from the adoption of which they were called away to undertake the benevolent task of government. In all their labours they aim chiefly at this,
7 that their chosen way of life may have greater and wider renown, as having supplied the people with such leaders; as Jacob consents to go with Leah, that Eachel may obtain the sweet-smelling and good-looking fruit. Eachel, too, in course of time, by the mercy of God, brings forth a child herself, but not till after some time; for it seldom happens that there is a sound, though only partial, apprehension, without fleshly ideas, of such sacred lessons of wisdom as this: " In the beginning was the "Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

5 9. This must suffice as a reply to the false accusations brought by Faust against the three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from whom the God whom the Catholic Church worship was pleased to take His name. Tlis is not the place to discourse on the merits and piety of these three men, or on the dignity of their prophetic character, which is beyond the comprehension of carnal minds. It is enough in this treatise to defend them against the calumnious attacks of malevolence and falsehood, in case those who read the Scriptures in a carping and hostile spirit should fancy that they have proved anytliing against the sacredness and the profitableness of these books, by their attempts to blacken the character of men who are there mentioned so honourably.

6 0. It should be added that Lot, the brother, that is, the blood relation, of Abraham, is not to be ranked as equal to those of whom God says, " I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob;" nor does he belong to those testified to in Scripture as having continued righteous to the end, although in Sodom he lived a pious and virtuous life, and showed a praiseworthy hospitality, so that he was rescued from the fire, and a land was given by God to his seed to dwell in, for the sake of his

1 John i. 1.
uncle Abraham. On these accounts he is commended in Scripture â€” not for intemperance or incest. But when we find bad and good actions recorded of the same person, we must take warning from the one, and example from the other. As, then, the sin of Lot, of whom we are told that he -was righteous previous to this sin, instead of bringing a stain on the character of God, or the truth of Scripture, rather calls on us to approve and admire the record in its resemblance to a faithful mirror, which reflects not only the beauties and perfections, but also the faults and deformities, of those who approach it; still more, in the case of Judah, who lay with his daughter-in-law, we may see how groundless are the reproaches cast on the narrative. The sacred record has an authority which raises it far above not merely the cavils of a handful of Manichseans, but the determined enmity of the whole Gentile world; for, in confirmation of its claims, we see that already it has brought nearly all people from their idolatrous superstitions to the worship of one God, according to the rule of Christianity. It has conquered the world, not by violence and warfare, but by the resistless force of truth.

Where, then, is Judah praised in Scripture? Where is anything good said of him, except that in the blessing pronounced by his father he is distinguished above the rest, because of the prophecy that Christ would come in the flesh from his tribe?^ 61. Judah, as Faust says, committed fornication; and besides that, we can accuse him of selling his brother into Egypt.

Is it any disparagement to light, that in revealing all things it discloses what is unsightly? So neither is the character of Scripture affected by the evil deeds of which we are informed by the record itself. Undoubtedly, by the eternal law, which requires the preservation of natural order, and forbids the transgression of it, conjugal intercourse should take place only for the procreation of children, and after the celebration of marriage, so as to maintain the bond of peace. Therefore, the prostitution of women, merely for the gratification of sinful passion, is condemned by the divine and eternal law. To purchase the degradation of another, disgraces the purchaser; so that, though the sin would have been greater if

1 Gen. xlix. 8-12.
craft in getting a child by their father; and the reward which she got was kept, not as an ornament, but as a pledge. It would certainly have been better to have remained childless than to become a mother without marriage. Still, her desire to have her father-in-law as the father of her children was very different from having a criminal affection for him. And when, by his order, she was brought out to be killed, on her producing the staff and necklace and ring, saving that the father of the child was the man who had given her those pledges, Judah acknowledged them, and said, "She hath been more righteous than I," not praising; her, but condemning himself. He blamed her desire to have children less than his own unlawful passion, which had led him to one whom he thought to be an harlot. In a similar sense, it is said of some that they justified Sodom; that is, their sin was so great, that Sodom seemed righteous in comparison. And even allowing that this woman is not spoken of as comparatively less guilty, but is actually praised by her father-in-law, while, on account of her not observing the established rites of marriage, she is a criminal in the eye of the eternal law of right, which forbids the transgression of natural order, both as regards the body, and first and chiefly as regards the mind, what wonder though one sinner should praise another?

62. The mistake of Faust and of Manichseism generally, is in supposing that these objections prove anything against us, as if our reverence for Scripture, and our profession of regard for its authority, bound us to approve of all the evil actions mentioned in it; whereas the greater our homage for the Scripture, the more decided must be our condemnation of what the

1 Matt. xix. 6. 2 Ezek. xvi. 52.
truth of Scripture itself teaches us to condemn. In Scripture all fornication and adultery are condemned by the divine law; accordingly, when actions of this kind are narrated, without being expressly condemned, it is intended not that we should praise them, but that we should pass judgment on them ourselves. Every one execrates the cruelty of Herod in the Gospel, when, in his uneasiness on hearing of the birth of Christ, he commanded the slaughter of so many infants. But this is merely narrated without being condemned. Or if Manichaean absurdity is bold enough to deny the truth of this narrative, since they do not admit the birth of Christ, which was what troubled Herod, let them read the account of the blind fury of the Jews, which is related without any expression of reproach, although the feeling of abhorrence is the same in all.

63. But, it is said, Judah, who lay with his daughter-in-law, is reckoned as one of the twelve patriarchs. And was not Judas, who betrayed the Lord, reckoned among the twelve apostles? And was not this one of them, who was a devil, sent along with them to preach the gospel? In reply to this, it will be said that after his crime Judas hanged himself, and was removed from the number of the apostles; while Judah, after his evil conduct, was not only blessed along with his brethren, but got special honour and approval from his father, who is so highly spoken of in Scripture. But the main lesson to be learned from this is, that this prophecy refers not to Judah, but to Christ, who was foretold as to come in the flesh from his tribe; and the very reason for the mention of this crime of Judah is to be found in the desirableness of teaching us to look for another meaning in the words of his father, which are seen not to be applicable to him in his misconduct, from the praise which they express.

64. Doubtless, the intention of Faust's calumnies is to damage this very assertion, that Christ was born of the tribe of Judah. Especially, as in the genealogy given by Matthew we find the name of Zara, whom this woman Tamar bore to Judah. Had Faust wished to reproach Jacob's family merely, and not Christ's birth, he might have taken the case of Eeuben the first-born, who committed the unnatural crime of defiling his father's bed, of which fornication the apostle says, that it was not so much as named among the Gentiles. Jacob also mentions this in his blessing, charging his son with the infamous deed. Faust might have brought up this, as Eeuben seems to have been guilty of deliberate incest, and there was no harlot's disguise in this case, were it not that Tamar's
conduct in desiring nothing but to have children is more odious to Faust than if she had acted from criminal passion, and did he not wish to discredit the incarnation, by bringing reproach on Christ's progenitors. Faust unhappily is not aware that the most true and truthful Saviour is a teacher, not only in His words, but also in His birth. In His fleshly origin there is this lesson for those who should believe on Him from all nations, that the sins of their fathers need be no hindrance to them. Besides, the Bridegroom, who was to call good and bad to His marriage, was pleased to assimilate Himself to His guests, in being born of good and bad. He thus confirms as typical of Himself the symbol of the Passover, in which it was commanded that the lamb to be eaten should be taken from the sheep or from the goats "that is, from the righteous or the wicked." Preserver throughout the indication of divinity and humanity, as man He consented to have both bad and good as His parents, while as God He chose the miraculous birth from a virgin.

65. The impiety, therefore, of Faust's attacks on Scripture can injure no one but himself; for what he thus assails is now deservedly the object of universal reverence. As has been said already, the sacred record, like a faithful mirror, has no flattery in its portraits, and either itself passes sentence upon human actions as worthy of approval or disapproval, or leaves the reader to do so. And not only does it distinguish men as blameworthy or praiseworthy, but it also takes notice of cases where the blameworthy deserve praise, and the praiseworthy blame. Thus, although Saul was blameworthy, it was not the less praiseworthy in him to examine so carefully who had eaten food during the curse, and to pronounce the stern sentence in obedience to the commandment of God. So, too, he was right in banishing those that had familiar spirits and

1 1 Cor. V. 1. 2 Matt. xxii. 10. ^Ex^ 3, 5, 4 i g^m. xiv.
wizards out of the land. — And although David was praiseworthy, we are not called on to approve or imitate his sins, which God rebukes by the prophet. And so Pontius Pilate was not wrong in pronouncing the Lord innocent, in spite of the accusations of the Jews; nor was it praiseworthy in Peter to deny the Lord thrice; nor, again, was he praiseworthy on that occasion when Christ called him Satan, because, not understanding the things of God, he wished to withhold Christ from his passion; that is, from our salvation. Here Peter, immediately after being called blessed, is called Satan. Which character most truly belonged to him, we may see from his apostleship, and from his crown of martyrdom.

66. In the case of David also, we read of both good and bad actions. But where David's strength lay, and what was the secret of his success, is sufficiently plain, not to the blind malevolence with which Faust assails holy writings and holy men, but to pious discernment, which bows to the divine authority, and at the same time judges correctly of human conduct. The Manichgeans will find, if they read the Scriptures, that God rebukes David more than Faust does.* But they will read also of the sacrifice of his penitence, of his surpassing gentleness to his merciless and bloodthirsty enemy, whom David, pious as he was brave, dismissed unhurt when now and again he fell into his hands. They will read of his memorable humility under divine chastisement, when the king's neck was so bowed under the Master's yoke, that he bore with perfect patience bitter taunts from his enemy, though he was armed, and had armed men with him. And when his companion was enraged at such things being said to the king, and was on the point of requiting the insult on the head of the scoffer, he mildly restrained him, appealing to the fear of God in support of his own royal order, and saying that this had happened to him as a punishment from God, who had sent the man to curse him. They will read how, with the love of a shepherd for the flock entrusted to him, he was willing to die for them, when, after he had numbered the people, God saw good to punish his sinful pride by lessening the number

1 Sam. xxviii. 3. " John xix. 4, 6. ^ Matt. xvi. 17, 22, 23.

^ 2 Sam. xii. ^ 1 Sam. xxiv. and xxvi. ^ 2 Sam. xvi.

456 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

lie boasted of. In this destruction, God, with whom there is no iniquity, in His secret judgment, both took away the lives of those whom He knew to be unworthy of life, and by this diminution cured the vainglory which had prided itself on the number of the people. They will read of that scrupulous fear of God in his regard for the emblem of Christ in the sacred anointing, which made David's heart smite him with regret for having secretly cut off a small piece of Saul's garment, that he might prove to him that he had no wish to kill him, when he might have done it. They will read of his judicious
behaviour as regards his children, and also of his tenderness toward them: how, when one was sick, he entreated the Lord for him with many tears and with much self-abasement, but when he died, an innocent child, he did not mourn for him; and again, how, when his youthful son was carried away with unnatural hostility to an infamous violation of his father's bed, and in a parricidal war, he wished him to live, and wept for him when he was killed; for he thought of the eternal doom of a soul guilty of such crimes, and desired that he should live to escape this doom by being brought to submission and repentance.

These, and many other praiseworthy and exemplary things, may be seen in this holy man by a candid examination of the Scripture narrative, especially if in humble piety and unfeigned faith we regard the judgment of God, who knew the secrets of David's heart, and who, in His infallible inspection, so approves of David as to commend him as a pattern to his sons.

6 7. It must have been on account of this inspection of the depths of David's heart by the Spirit of God that, when on being reproved by the prophet, he said, I have sinned, he was considered worthy to be told, immediately after this brief confession, that he was pardoned; that is, that he was admitted to eternal salvation. For he did not escape the correction of the fatherly rod, of which God spoke in His threatening, that, while by his confession he obtained eternal exemption, he might be tried by temporal chastisement. And it is a remarkable evidence of the strength of David's faith, and of his meek and submissive spirit, that, when he had been told by the prophet that God had forgiven him, although the threatened consequences were still permitted to follow, he did not
accuse the prophet of having deluded him, or murmur against God as having mocked him with a declaration of forgiveness.

This deeply holy man, whose soul was lifted up unto God, and not against God, knew that had not the Lord mercifully accepted his confession and repentance, his sins would have deserved eternal punishment. So when, instead of this, he was made to smart under temporal correction, he saw that, while the pardon remained good, wholesome discipline was also provided. Saul, too, when he was reproved by Samuel, said, I have sinned. Why, then, was he not considered fit to be told, as David was, that the Lord had pardoned his sin? Is there acceptance of persons with God? Far from it. While to the human ear the words were the same, the divine eye saw a difference in the heart. The lesson for us to learn from these things is, that the kingdom of heaven is within us,^ and that we must worship God from our inmost feelings, that out of the abundance of the heart the mouth may speak, instead of honouring Him with our lips, like the people of old, while our hearts are far from Him. We may learn also to judge of men, whose hearts we cannot see, only as God judges, who sees what we cannot, and who cannot be biassed or misled. Having, on the high authority of sacred Scripture, the plainest announcement of God's opinion of David, we may regard as absurd or deplorable the rashness of men who hold a different opinion. The authority of Scripture, as regards the character of these men of ancient times, is supported by the evidence from the prophecies which they contain, and which are now receiving their fulfilment.

68. We see the same thing in the Gospel, where the devils confess that Christ is the Son of God in the words used by Peter, but with a very different heart. So, though the words were the same, Peter is praised for his faith, while the impiety of the devils is checked. For Christ, not by human sense, but by divine knowledge, could inspect and infallibly discriminate the sources from which the words came. Besides, there are multitudes who confess that Christ is the Son of the living God, without meriting the same approval as Peter â€” not only of those who shall say in that day, " Lord, Lord," and

1 1 Sam. XV. 2i. 2 L^j^g ^vii. 28.

4:0S REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHiEAN. [BOOK XXII.]

shall all receive the sentence, " Depart from me" but also of those who shall be placed on the right hand. They may probably never have denied Christ even once; they may never have opposed His suffering for our salvation; they may never have forced the Gentiles to do as the Jews; ^ and yet they shall not be honoured equally with Peter, who, though he did all these things, will sit on one of the twelve thrones, and judge not only the twelve tribes, but the angels. So, again, many who have never desired another man's wife, or procured the death of the husband, as David did, will never reach the place with which David nevertheless held in the divine favour.
There is a vast difference between what is in itself so undesirable that it must be utterly rejected, and the rich and plenteous harvest which may afterwards appear. For farmers are best pleased with the fields from which, after weeding them, it may be, of great thistles, they receive an hundred-fold; not with fields which have never had any thistles, and hardly bear thirty-fold.

69. So Moses, too, who was so faithful a servant of God in all his house; the minister of the holy, just, and good law; of whose character the apostle speaks in the words here quoted;^ the minister also of the symbols which, though not conferring salvation, promised the Saviour, as the Saviour Himself shows, when He says, "If ye believed Moses, ye would also believe me, for he wrote of me," â€” from which passage we have already sufficiently answered the presumptuous cavils of the \lanichaeans: â€” this Moses, the servant of the living, the true, the most high God, that made heaven and earth, not of a foreign substance, but of nothing â€” not from the \ressure of necessity, but from plenitude of goodness â€” not by the suffering of His members, but by the power of His word; â€” this \Moses, who humbly put from him this high ministry, but obediently accepted it, and faithfully kept it, and diligently fulfilled it; who ruled the people with vigilance, reproved them with vehemence, loved them with fervour, and bore with them in patience, standing for his subjects before God to receive His counsel, and to appease His wrath; â€” this great and good man is not to be judged of from Faustus' malicious representations, but from

1 Gal. ii. 14. 2 geb. iii. 5.
what is said by God, whose word is a true expression of His true opinion of this man, whom He knew because He made him. For the sins of men are also known to God, though He is not their author; but He takes notice of them as a judge in those who refuse to own them, and pardons them as a father in those who make confession. His servant Moses as thus described, we love and admire, and to the best of our power imitate, coming indeed far short of his merits, though we have killed no Egyptian, nor plundered any one, nor carried on any war; which actions of Moses were in one case prompted by the zeal of the future champion of his people, and in the other cases commanded by God.

70. It might be shown that, though Moses slew the Egyptian, without being commanded by God, the action was divinely permitted, as, from the prophetic character of Moses, it prefigured something in the future. Now, however, I do not use this argument, but view the action as having no symbolical meaning. In the light, then, of the eternal law, it was wrong for one who had no legal authority to kill the man, even though he was a bad character, besides being the aggressor. But in minds where great virtue is to come, there is often an early crop of vices, in which we may still discern a disposition for some particular virtue, which will come when the mind is duly cultivated. For as farmers, when they see land bringing forth huge crops, though of weeds, pronounce it good for corn; or when they see wild creepers, which have to be rooted out, still consider the land good for useful vines; and when they see a hill covered with wild olives, conclude that with culture it will produce good fruit: so the disposition of mind which led Moses to take the law into his own hands, to prevent the wrong done to his brother, living among strangers, by a wicked citizen of the country from being unrequited, was not unfit for the production of virtue, but from want of culture gave signs of its productiveness in an unjustifiable manner. He who afterwards, by His angel, called Moses on Mount Sinai, with the divine commission to liberate the people of Israel from Egypt, and who trained him to obedience by the miraculous appearance in the bush burning but not consumed, and by instructing him in his ministry, was the same who, by the call addressed from heaven to Saul when persecuting the Church, humbled him, raised him up, and animated him; or in figurative words, by this stroke He cut off the branch, grafted it, and made it fruitful. For the fierce energy of Paul, when in his zeal for hereditary traditions he persecuted the Church, chiding that he was doing God service, was like a crop of weeds showing great signs of productiveness. It was the same in Peter, when he took his sword out of its sheath to defend the Lord, and cut off the right ear of an assailant, when the Lord rebuked him with something like a threat, saying, ” Put up thy sword into its sheath; for he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.” To take the sword is to use weapons against a man's life, without the sanction of the constituted authority. The Lord, indeed, had told
His disciples to carry a sword; but He did not tell them to use it. But that after this sin Peter should become a pastor of the Church was no more improper than that Moses, after smiting the Egyptian, should become the leader of the congregation. In both cases the trespass originated not in inveterate cruelty, but in a hasty zeal which admitted of correction. In both cases there was resentment against injury, accompanied in one case by love for a brother, and in the other by love, though still carnal, of the Lord. Here was evil to be subdued or rooted out; but the heart with such capacities needed only, like good soil, to be cultivated to make it fruitful in virtue.

71. Then, as for Faustus' objection to the spoiling of the Egyptians, he knows not what he says. In this Moses not only did not sin, but it would have been sin not to do it. It was by the command of God, who, from His knowledge both of the actions and of the hearts of men, can decide on what every one should be made to suffer, and through whose agency. The people at that time were still carnal, and engrossed with earthly affection; while the Egyptians were in open rebellion against God, for they used the gold, God's creature, in the service of idols, to the dishonour of the Creator, and they had grievously oppressed strangers by making them work without pay. Thus the Egyptians deserved the punishment,

Â» Matt. xxvi. 51, 52. £x. iii. 21, 22; xi. 2; xii. 35, 36.

BOOK XXIL] what god COMMANDS IS RIGHT. 461

and the Israelites were suitably employed in inflicting it.

Perhaps, indeed, it was not so much a command as a permission to the Hebrews to act in the matter according to their own inclinations; and God, in sending the message by Moses, only wished that they should thus be informed of His permission. There may also have been mysterious reasons for what God said to the people on this matter. At any rate, God's commands are to be submissively received, not to be argued against. The apostle says, " Who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who hath been His counsellor ? " Whether, then, the reason was what I have said, or whether, in the secret appointment of God, there was some unknown reason for His telling the people by Moses to borrow things from the Egyptians, and to take them away with them, this remains certain, that this was said for some good reason, and that Moses could not lawfully have done otherwise than God told him, leaving to God the reason of the command, while the servant's duty is to obey.

72. But, says Faustus, it cannot be admitted that the true God, who is also good, ever gave such a command. I answer, such a command can be rightly given by no other than the true and good God, who alone knows the suitable command in every case, and who alone is incapable of inflicting unmerited suffering on any one. This ignorant and spurious goodness of the human heart may as well deny what Christ says, and object to the wicked being made to suffer by the good God, when He shall say to the angels, " Gather first the tares into bundles to burn them." The servants, however, were stopped when they wished
to do this prematurely: "Lest by chance, when ye would gather the tares, ye root up the wheat also with them." Thus the true and good God alone knows when, to whom, and by whom to order anything, or to permit anything. In the same way, this human goodness, or folly rather, might object to the Lord's permitting the devils to enter the swine, which they asked to be allowed to do with a mischievous intent. especially as the Manichaeans believe that not only pigs, but the vilest insects, have human souls. But setting aside these absurd notions, this is undeniable, that

Rom. xi. 34. 2, xiii. 29, 30.

462 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆX. [BOOK XXII.]

our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, and therefore the true and good God, permitted the destruction of swine belonging to strangers, implying loss of life and of a great amount of property, at the request of devils. No one can be so insane as to suppose that Christ could not have driven the devils out of the men without gratifying their malice by the destruction of the swine. If, then, the Creator and Governor of all natures, in His superintendence, which, though mysterious, is ever just, indulged the violent and unjust inclination of those lost spirits already doomed to eternal fire, why should not the Egyptians, who were unrighteous oppressors, be spoiled by the Hebrews, a free people, who could claim payment for their enforced and painful toil, especially as the earthly possessions which they thus lost were used by the Egyptians in their impious rites, to the dishonour of the Creator? Still, if Moses had originated this order, or if the people had done it spontaneously, undoubtedly it would have been sinful; and perhaps the people did sin, not in doing what God commanded or permitted, but in some desire of their own for what they took. The permission given to this action by divine authority was in accordance with the just and good counsel of Him who uses punishments both to restrain the wicked and to educate His own people; who knows also how to give more advanced precepts to those able to bear them, while He begins on a lower scale in the treatment of the feeble. As for Moses, he can be blamed neither for coveting the property, nor for disputing, in any instance, the divine authority.

73. According to the eternal law, which requires the preservation of natural order, and forbids the transgression of it, some actions have an indifferent character, so that men are blamed for presumption if they do them without being called upon, while they are deservedly praised for doing them when required. The act, the agent, and the authority for the action are all of great importance in the order of nature. For Abraham to sacrifice his son of his own accord is shocking madness. His doing so at the command of God proves him faithful and submissive. This is so loudly proclaimed by the very voice of truth, that Faustus, eagerly rummaging for some fault, and reduced at last to slanderous charges, has not the

BOOK XXII] the WAES OF MOSES. 463
boldness to attack this action. It is scarcely possible that he can have forgotten a deed so
famous, that it recurs to the mind of itself without any study or reflection, and is in fact
repeated by so many tongues, and portrayed in so many places, that no one can pretend to
shut his eyes or his ears to it. If, therefore, while Abraham's killing his son of his own
accord would have been unnatural, his doing it at the command of God shows not only
guiltless but praiseworthy compliance, why does Faustus blame Moses for spoiling the
Egyptians?
Your feeling of disapproval for the mere human action should be restrained by a regard
for the divine sanction.
Will you venture to blame God Himself for desiring such actions? Then "Get thee
behind me, Satan, for thou understandest not the things which be of God, but those which
be of men." Would that this rebuke might accomplish in you what it did in Peter, and that
you might hereafter preach the truth concerning God, which you now, judging by feeble
sense, find fault with! as Peter became a zealous messenger to announce to the Gentiles
what he objected to at first, when the Lord spoke of it as His intention.

74. JSTow, if this explanation suffices to satisfy human obstinacy and perverse
misinterpretation of right actions of the vast difference between the indulgence of
passion and presumption on the part of men, and obedience to the command of God, who
knows what to permit or to order, and also the time and the persons, and the due action or
suffering in each case, the account of the wars of Moses will not excite surprise or
abhorrence, for in wars carried on by divine command, he showed not ferocity but
obedience; and God, in giving the command, acted not in cruelty, but in righteous
retribution, giving to all what they deserved, and warning those who needed warning.
What is the evil in war? Is it the death of some who will soon die in an
any case, that others
may live in peaceful subjection? This is mere cowardly dislike, not any religious feeling.
The real evils in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable
enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power, and such like; and it is generally to punish
these things, when force is required to inflict the punishment, that, in obedience to God or
some

464 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICIL-EAN. [BOOK XXII.]

lawful authority, good men undertake wars, when they find themselves in such a position
as regards the conduct of human affairs, that right conduct requires them to act, or to
make others act, in this way. Otherwise, John, when the soldiers who came to be baptized
asked, What shall we do? would have replied, Throw away your arms; give up the
service; never strike, or wound, or disable any one. But knowing that such actions in
battle were not murderous, but authorized by law, and that the soldiers did not thus
avenge themselves, but defend the public safety, he replied, "Do violence to no man,
accuse no man falsely, and be content with your wages." But as the Manichseans are in
the habit of running down John, let them hear the Lord Jesus Christ Himself ordering this
money to be given to Caesar, which John tells the soldiers to be content with. "Give," He
says, " to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." ^ For tribute-money is given on purpose to pay the soldiers required for war. Again, in the case of the centurion who said, " I am a man under authority, and have soldiers under me: and I say to one. Go, and he goeth; and to another. Come, and he cometh; and to my servant. Do this, and he doeth it," Christ gave due praise to his faith: ^ He did not tell him to leave the service. But there is no need here to enter on the Ion 2^ discussion of just and unjust wars.

75. A great deal depends on the causes for which men undertake wars, and on the authority they have for doing so; for the natural order which seeks the peace of mankind, ordains that the monarch should have the power of undertaking w^ar if he thinks it advisable, and that the soldiers should perform their military duties in behalf of the peace and safety of the community. When war is undertaken in obedience to God, who would rebuke, or humble, or crush the pride of man, it must be allowed to be a righteous war; for even the wars which arise from human passion cannot harm the eternal wellbeing of God, nor even hurt His saints; for in the trial of their patience, and the chastening of their spirit, and in bearing fatherly correction, they are rather benefited than injured.

!N"o one can have any power against them but what is given


BOOK XXIL] EIGHTEOUS WARS. 465

him from above. For there is no power but of God/ who either orders or permits. Since, therefore, a righteous man, serving it may be under an ungodly king, may do the duty belonging to his position in the State in fighting by the order of his sovereign, â€” for in some cases it is plainly the will of God that he should fight, and in others, where this is not so plain, it may be an unrighteous command on the part of the king, while the soldier is innocent, because his position makes obedience a duty, â€” how much more must the man be blameless who carries on war on the authority of God, of whom every one who serves Him knows that He can never require what is wrong ?

76. If it is supposed that God could not enjoin warfare, because in after times it was said by the Lord Jesus Christ,

" I say unto you. That ye resist not evil: but if any one strike thee on the right cheek, turn to him the left also," ^
the answer is, that what is here required is not a bodily action, but an inward disposition. The- sacred seat of virtue is the heart, and such were the hearts of our fathers, the righteous men of old. But order required such a regulation of events, and such a distinction of times, as to show first of all that even earthly blessings (for so temporal kingdoms and victory over enemies are considered to be, and these are the things which the community of the ungodly all over the world are continually begging from idols and devils) are entirely under the control and at the disposal of the one true God. Thus, under the Old Testament, the secret of the kingdom of heaven, which was to be disclosed in due time, was veiled, and so far obscured, in the disguise of earthly promises.
But when the fulness of time came for the revelation of the New Testament, which was hidden under the types of the Old, clear testimony was to be borne to the truth, that there is another life for which this life ought to be disregarded, and another kingdom for which the opposition of all earthly kingdoms should be patiently borne. Thus the name martyrs, which means witnesses, was given to those who, by the will of God, bore this testimony, by their confessions, their sufferings, and their death. The number of such witnesses is so great, that if it pleased Christ who called Saul by a voice from 
\(^*^\text{Rom. xiii. 1. 2}^*\) ^\text{att. v. 39.}

5 2G

4G6 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH\^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

lieaven, and having changed him from a woK to a sheep, sent him into the midst of wolves â€” to unite them all in one army, and to give them success in battle, as He gave to the Hebrews, what nation could withstand them? what kingdom would remain unsubdued? But as the doctrine of the New Testament is, that we must serve God not for temporal happiness in this life, but for eternal felicity hereafter, this truth was most strikingly confirmed by the patient endurance of what is commonly called adversity for the sake of that felicity. So in fulness of time the Son of God, made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that were under the law, made of the seed of David according to the flesh, sends His disciples as sheep into the midst of wolves, and bids them not fear those that can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, and promises that even the body will be entirely restored, so that not a hair shall be lost.-\(^\text{Peter's sword He orders back into its sheath, restoring as it was before the ear of His enemy that had been cut off.}^*\) He says that He could obtain legions of angels to destroy His enemies, but that He must drink the cup which His Father's will had given Him. He sets the example of drinking this cup, then hands it to His followers, manifesting thus, both in word and deed, the grace of patience. Therefore God raised Him from the dead, and has given Him a name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and of things in earth, and of things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.\(^\text{The patriarchs and prophets, then, have a kingdom in this world, to show that these kingdoms, too, are given and taken away by God: the apostles and martyrs had no kingdom here, to show the superior desirableness of the kingdom of heaven. The prophets, however, could even in those times die for the truth, as the Lord Himself says, "From the blood of Abel to the blood of Zacharia;}\(^\text{and in these days, since the commencement of the fulfilment of what is prophesied in the psalm of Christ, under the figure of Solomon, which means the peace-}

1 Matt. X. 16, 28, 30. \(^\text{Matt. xxvi. 52, 53; Luke xxii. 42, 51; John xviii. 11.}\)
3 rhil. ii. 9-11. \(*\text{Matt. xxiii. 35.}\)
maker, as Christ is our peace/ " All kings of the earth shall bow to Him, all nations shall serve Him/" we have seen Christian emperors, who have put all their confidence in Christ, gaining splendid victories over ungodly enemies, whose hope was in the rites of idolatry and devil-worship. There are public and undeniable proofs of the fact, that on one side the prognostications of devils were found to be fallacious, and on the other, the predictions of saints were a means of support; and we have now writings in which those facts are recorded.

77. If our foolish opponents are surprised at the difference between the precepts given by God to the ministers of the Old Testament, at a time when the grace of the Kew was still undisclosed, and those given to the preachers of the New Testament, now that the obscurity of the Old is removed, they will find Christ Himself saying one thing at one time, and another at another. " When I sent you," He says, " without scrip, or purse, or shoes, did ye lack anything? And they said, Nothing. Then saith He to them. But now, he that hath a scrip, let him take it, and also a purse; and he that hath not a sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one." If the Manichaeans found passages in the Old and New Testaments differing in this way, they would proclaim it as a proof that the Testaments are opposed to each other. But here the difference is in the utterances of one and the same person. At one time He says, " I sent you without scrip, or purse, or shoes, and ye lacked nothing; " at another, " Now let him that hath a scrip take it, and also a purse; and he that hath not a sword, let him sell his garments, and buy one." Does not this show how, without any inconsistency, precepts and counsels and permissions may be changed, as different times require different arrangements? If it is said that there was a symbolical meaning in the command to take a scrip and purse, and to buy a sword, why may there not be a symbolical meaning in the fact, that one and the same God commanded the prophets in old times to make war, and forbade the apostles? And we find in the passage that we have quoted from the Gospel, that the words spoken by the Lord were carried into effect by His disciples. For, besides going at first without scrip or purse, and yet lacking nothing, as from the Lord's question and their answer it is plain they did, now that He speaks of buying a sword, they say, " Lo, here are two swords;" and He replied, " It is enough." Hence we find Peter with a weapon when he cut off the assailant's ear, on which occasion his spontaneous boldness was checked, because, although he had been told to take a sword, he had not been told to use it/ Doubtless, it was mysterious that the Lord should require them to carry weapons, and forbid the use of them. But it was His part to give the suitable precepts, and it was their part to obey without reserve.
78. It is therefore mere groundless calumny to charge Moses with making war, for there would have been less harm in making war of his own accord, than in not doing it when God commanded him. And to dare to find fault with God Himself for giving such a command, or not to believe it possible that a just and good God did so, shows, to say the least, an inability to consider that in the view of divine providence, which pervades all things from the highest to the lowest, time can neither add anything nor take away; but all things go, or come, or remain according to the order of nature or desert in each separate case, while in men a right will is in union with the divine law, and ungoverned passion is restrained by the order of divine law; so that a good man wills only what is commanded, and a bad man can do only what he is permitted, at the same time that he is punished for what he wiUs to do unjustly. Thus, in all the things which appear shocking and terrible to human feebleness, the real evil is the injustice; the rest is only the result of natural properties or of moral demerit. This injustice is seen in every case where a man loves for their own sake things which are desirable only as means to an end, and seeks for the sake of something else thiuG^s which ouoht to be loved for themselves. Tor thus, as far as he can, he disturbs in himself the natural order which the eternal law requires us to observe. Again, a man is just when he seeks to use things only for the end for which God appointed them, and to enjoy God as the end of all, while he enjoys himself and his friend in God and for God. For to love in a friend the love of God is to love the friend for

God. Now both justice and injustice, to be acts at all, must be voluntary; otherwise, there can be no just rewards or punishments; which no man in his senses will assert. The ignorance and impotence which prevent a man from knowing his duty, or from doing all he wishes to do, belong to God's secret penal arrangement, and to His unfathomable judgments, for with Him there is no iniquity. Thus we are informed by the sure word of God of Adam's sin; and Scripture truly declares that in him all die, and that by him sin entered into the world, and death by sin. And our experience gives abundant evidence, that in punishment for this sin our body is corrupted, and weighs down the soul, and the clay tabernacle clogs the mind in its manifold activity; and we know that we can be freed from this punishment only by gracious interposition. So the apostle cries out in distress, "wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord." So much we know; but the reasons for the distribution of divine judgment and mercy, why one is in this condition, and another in that, though just, are unknown. Still, we are sure that all these things are due either to the mercy or the judgment of God, while the measures and numbers and weights by which the Creator of all natural productions arranges all things are concealed from our view. For God is not the author, but He is the controller, of sin; so that sinful actions, which are sinful because they are against nature, are judged and controlled, and assigned to their proper place and condition, in order that they may not bring discord and disgrace on universal nature. This being the case, and as the judgments of God and the movements of man's will contain the hidden reason why the same prosperous circumstances which some make a right use of are the ruin of others, and the same afflictions under which some give way are profitable to others, and since the whole mortal life of man upon earth is a trial, who can tell whether it may be good or bad in any particular case in time of peace, to reign or to serve, or to be at ease or to die in time of war, to command or to fight, or to conquer or to be killed? At the same time, it remains true, that everything is good is so by the divine blessing, and whatever is bad is so by the divine judgment.

79. Let no one, then, be so daring as to make rash charges against men, not to say against God. If the service of the ministers of the Old Testament, who were also heralds of the New, consisted in putting sinners to death, and that of the ministers of the New Testament, who are also interpreters of the Old, in being put to death by sinners, the service in both cases is rendered to one God, who, varying the lesson to suit the times, teaches both that temporal blessings are to be sought from Him, and that they are to be
forsaken for Him, and that temporal distress is both sent by Him and should be endured for Him. There was, therefore, no cruelty in the command, or in the action of Moses, when, in his holy jealousy for his people, whom he wished to be subject to the one true God, on learning that they had fallen away to the worship of an idol made by their own hands, he impressed their minds at the time with a wholesome fear, and gave them a warning for the future, by using the sword in the punishment of a few, whose just punishment God, against whom they had sinned, appointed in the depth of His secret judgment to be immediately inflicted. That Moses acted as he did, not in cruelty, but in great love, may be seen from the words in which lie prayed for the sins of the people: 'If Thou wilt forgive their sin, forgive it; and if not, blot me out of Thy book.'\(^\text{1}\) The pious inquirer who compares the slaughter with the prayer will find in this the clearest evidence of the awful nature of the injury done to the soul by prostitution to the images of devils, since such love is roused to such anger. We see the same in the apostle, who, not in cruelty, but in love, delivered a man up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.\(^\text{2}\)

Others, too, he delivered up, that they might learn not to blaspheme.\(^\text{3}\) In the apocrj-phal books of the Manichoeans there is a collection of fables, published by some unknown authors under the name of the apostles. The books would no doubt have been sanctioned by the Church at the time of their publication, if holy and learned men then in life, and competent to determine the matter, had thought the contents to be true. One of the stories is, that the Apostle Thomas was once at a marriage feast in a country where he was unknown, when one of the servants struck him, and that he forthwith by his curse brought a terrible punishment on this man. For when he went out to the fountain to provide water for the guests, a lion fell on him and killed him, and the hand with which he had given a slight blow to the apostle was torn off, in fulfilment of the imprecation, and brought by a dog to the table at which the apostle was reclining. "What could be more cruel than this? And yet, if I mistake not, the story goes on to say, that the apostle made up for the cruelty by obtaining for the man the blessing of pardon in the next world; so that, while the people of this strange country learned to fear the apostle as being so dear to God, the man's eternal welfare was secured in exchange for the loss of this mortal life. It matters not whether the story is true or false. At any rate, the Manicheans, who regard as genuine and authentic books which the canon of the Church rejects, must allow, as shown in the story, that the virtue of patience, which the Lord enjoins when He says, "If any one smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him thy left also," may be in the inward disposition, though it is not exhibited in bodily action or in words. For when the apostle was struck, instead of turning his other side to the man, or telling him to repeat the blow, he prayed to God to pardon his assailant in the next world, but not to leave the injury unpunished at the time. Inwardly he preserved a kindly feeling, while outwardly he

\(^{1}\) Ex. xxxii. 32. \(^{2}\) 1 Cor. v. 5. \(^{3}\) 1 Tim. i. 20.
wished the man to be punished as an example. As the Manichseans believe this, rightly or wrongly, they may also believe that such was the intention of Moses, the servant of God, when he cut down with the sword the makers and worshippers of the idol; for his own words show that he so entreated for pardon for their sin of idolatry as to ask to be blotted out of God's book if his prayer was not heard. There is no comparison between a stranger being struck with the hand, and the dishonour done to God by forsaking Him for an idol, when He had brought the people out of the bondage of Egypt, had led them through the sea, and had covered with the waters the enemy.

4V2 IJEPLOY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AX. [BOOK XXII.]

pursuing them. Nor, as regards the punishment, is there any comparison between being killed with the sword and being torn in pieces by wild beasts. For judges in administering the law condemn to exposure to wild beasts worse criminals than are condemned to be put to death by the sword.

80. Another of Faustus' malicious and impious charges which has to be answered, is about the Lord's saying to the prophet Hosea, "Take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms." As regards this passage, the impure mind of our adversaries is so blinded that they do not understand the plain words of the Lord in His gospel, when He says to the Jews, "The publicans and harlots shall go into the kingdom of heaven before you." There is nothing contrary to the mercifulness of truth, or inconsistent with Christian faith, in a harlot leaving fornication, and becoming a chaste wife. Indeed, nothing could be more unbecoming in one professing to be a prophet than not to believe that all the sins of the fallen woman were pardoned when she changed for the better. So when the prophet took the harlot as his wife, it was both good for the woman to have her life amended, and the action symbolized a truth of which we shall speak presently. But it is plain what offends the Manichseans in this case; for their great anxiety is to prevent harlots from being with child. It would have pleased them better that the woman should continue a prostitute, so as not to bring their god into confinement, than that she should become the wife of one man, and have children.

81. As regards Solomon, it need only be said that the condemnation of his conduct in the faithful narrative of holy Scripture is much more serious than the childish vehemence of Faustus' attacks. The Scripture tells us with faithful accuracy both the good that Solomon had at first, and the evil actions by which he lost the good he began with; while Faustus, in his attacks, like a man closing his eyes, or with no eyes at all, seeks no guidance from the light, but is prompted only by violent animosity. To pious and discerning readers of the sacred Scriptures evidence of the chastity of the holy men who are said to have had several wives is found in this, that Solomon, who by his polygamy gratified his passions, instead of seeking

1 Hos. i. 2. ' Matt. xxi. 31.
for offspring, is expressly noted as chargeable with being a lover of women. This, as we are informed by the truth which accepts no man's person, led him down into the abyss of idolatry.

8 2. Having now gone over all the cases in which Faustus finds fault with the Old Testament, and having attended to the merit of each, either defending men of God against the calumnies of carnal heretics, or, where the men were at fault, showing the excellence and the majesty of Scripture, let us again take the cases in the order of Faustus' accusations, and see the meaning of the actions recorded, what they testify, and what they foretell. This we have already done in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of whom God said that He was their God, as if the God of universal nature were the God of none besides them; not honouring them with an unmeaning title, but because He, who could alone have a full and perfect knowledge, knew the sincere and remarkable charity of these men; and because these three patriarchs unitedly formed a notable type of the future people of God, in not only having free children by free women, as by Sarah, and Rebecca, and Leah, and Eachel, but also bond children, as of this same Ebebecca was born Esau, to whom it was said, "Thou shalt serve thy brother:" and in having by bond women not only bond children, as by Hagar, but also free children, as by Bilhali and Zilphah. Thus also in the people of God, those spiritually free not only have children born into the enjoyment of liberty, like those to whom it is said, "Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ," but they have also children born into guilty bondage, as Simon was born of Philip. Again, from carnal bondmen are born not only children of guilty bondage, who imitate them, but also children of happy liberty, to whom it is said, "What they say, do; but do not after their works." Whoever rightly observes the fulfilment of this type in the people of God, keeps the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, by continuing to the end in union with some, and in patient endurance of others. Of Lot, also, we have already spoken, and have shown what the Scripture mentions as praiseworthy in him, and what as blameworthy, and the meaning of the whole narrative.

83. We have next to consider the prophetic significance of

1 Gen. xxvii. 40. ¹ 1 Cor. iv. 16. Â« Acts viii. 13. â€¢* Matt, xxiii. 3.

474 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XXII.]

the action of Judai in lying with his daughter-in-law. But, for the sake of those whose understanding is feeble, we shall begin with observing, that in sacred Scripture evil actions are sometimes prophetic not of evil, but of good. Divine providence preserves throughout its essential goodness, so that, as in the example given above, from adulterous
intercourse a man-child is born, a good work of God from the evil of man, by the power of nature, and not due to the misconduct of the parents; so in the prophetic Scriptures, where both good and evil actions are recorded, the narrative being itself prophetic, foretells something good even by the record of what is evil, the credit being due not to the evil-doer, but to the writer. Judah, when, to gratify his sinful passion, he went in to Tamar, had no intention by his licentious conduct to typify anything connected with the salvation of men, any more than Judas, who betrayed the Lord, intended to produce any result connected with the salvation of men. So then, if from the evil deed of Judas the Lord brought the good work of our redemption by His own passion, why should not His prophet, of whom He Himself says, " He wrote of me," for the sake of instructing us, make the evil action of Judah significant of something good ? Under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the prophet has compiled a narrative of actions so as to make a continuous prophecy of the things he designed to foretell. In foretelling good, it is of no consequence whether the typical actions are good or bad. If it is written in red ink that the Ethiopians are black, or in black ink that the Gauls are white, this circumstance does not affect the information which the writing conveys. !N"o doubt, if it was a painting instead of a writing, the wrong colour would be a fault; so, when human actions are represented for example or for warning, much depends on whether they are good or bad. But when actions are related or recorded as types, the merit or demerit of the agents is a matter of no importance, as long as there is a true typical relation between the action and the thing signified. So, in the case of Caiaphas in the Gospel, as regards his iniquitous and mischievous intention, and even as regards his words, in the sense in which he used them, that a just man should be put to death unjustly, assuredly they were bad;

BOOK XXIL] bad typical OF GOOD. 475

and yet there was a good meaning in his words, which he did not know of, when he said, " It is expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." So it is written of him, " This he spake not of himself; but being the high priest, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the people."" In the same way, the action of Judah was bad as regards his sinful passion, but it typified a great good he knew nothing of. Of himself he did evil, while it was not of himself that he typified good. These introductory remarks apply not only to Judah, but also to all the other cases where in the narrative of bad actions is contained a prophecy of good.

84. In Tamar, then, the daughter-in-law of Judah, we see the people of the kingdom of Judah, whose kings, answering to Tamar's husbands, were taken from this tribe. Tamar means bitterness; and the meaning is suitable, for this people gave the cup of gall to the Lord." The two sons of Judah represent two classes of kings who governed ill â€” those who did harm, and those who did no good. One of these sons was evil or cruel before the Lord; the other spilled the seed on the ground, that Tamar might not become a mother. There are only those two kinds of useless people in the world â€” the injurious, and those who will not give the good they have, but lose it, or spill it on the ground. And as injury
is worse than not doing good, the evil-doer is called the elder, and the other the younger. Er, the name of the elder, means, a preparer of skins, which were the coats given to our first parents when they were punished with expulsion from paradise. Onan, the name of the younger, means, their grief; that is, the grief of those to whom he does no good, wasting the good he has on the earth. The loss of life implied in the name of the elder is a greater evil than the want of help implied in the name of the younger. Both being killed by God typifies the removal of the kingdom from men of this character. The meaning of the third son of Judah not being joined to the woman, is that for a time the Idngs of Judah were not of that tribe. So this third son did not become the husband of Tamar; as Tamar represents the tribe of Judah, which continued to exist, although the people received no king from it. Hence the name of this son,

1 John xi. 50, 51. 2 Matt, xxvii. 34. ^ Qg^v^i 21.

4*76 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHv^IA. [bO OK XXII.

Selom, means, his dismission. Xome of those t}73es apply to the holy and righteous men ^vho, like David, though they lived in those times, belong properly to the New Testament, which they served by their enlightened predictions. Again, in the time when Judah ceased to have a kins^ of its own tribe, the elder Herod does not count as one of the kine^s typified by the husbands of Tamar; for he was a foreigner, and his union with the people was never consecrated with the holy oil. His was the power of a stranger, given him by the Ptomans and by Caesar. And it was the same with his sons, the tetrarchs, one of whom, called Herod like his father, agreed with Pilate at the time of the Lord's passion.-^ So plainly were these foreisjners considered as distinct from the sacred monarchy of Judah, that the Jews themselves, when raging against Christ, exclaimed openly, " We have no king but Caesar."^ Nor was Caesar properly their king, except in the sense that all the world was subject to Piome. The Jews thus condemned themselves, only to express their rejection of Christ, and to flatter Csesar.

85. The time when the kingdom was removed from the tribe of Judah was the time appointed for the coming of Christ our Lord, the true Saviour, who should come not for harm, but for great good. Thus was it prophesied, " A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, till He come for whom it is reserved: He is the desire of nations,"

^ Not only the kingdom, but all government, of the Jews had ceased, and also, as prophesied by Daniel, the sacred anointing from which the name Christ or Anointed is derived. Then came He for whom it was reserved, the desire of nations; and the holy of holies was anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows.* Christ was born in the time of the elder Herod, and suffered in the time of Herod the tetrarch. He who thus came to the lost sheep of the house of Israel was typified by Judah when he went to shear his sheep in Thamna, which means, failing. For then the prince had failed from Judah, with all the government and anointing of the Jews, that He might come for whom it was reserved.
BOOK XXII.] TAMAR TYPIFIES THE JEWS. 477

Judah, we are told, came with his Adullamite shepherd, whose name was Iras; and Adullamite means, a testimony in water. So it was with this testimony that the Lord came, having indeed greater testimony than that of John; but for the sake of his feeble sheep he made use of the testimony in water. The name Iras, too, means, vision of my brother. So John saw his brother, a brother in the family of Abraham, and from the relationship of Mary and Elisabeth; and the same person he recognised as his Lord and his God, for, as he himself says, he received of His fulness. On account of this vision, among those born of woman, there has arisen no greater than he; because, of all who foretold Christ, he alone saw what many righteous men and prophets desired to see and saw not. He saluted Christ from the womb; he knew Him more certainly from seeing the dove; and therefore, as the Adullamite, he gave testimony by water. The Lord came to shear His sheep, in releasing them from painful burdens, as it is said in praise of the Church in the Song of Songs, that her teeth are like a flock of sheep after shearing.

86. IText, we have Tamar changing her dress; for Tamar also means changing. Still, the name of bitterness must be retained not that bitterness in which gall was given to the Lord, but that in which Peter wept bitterly. For Judah means confession; and bitterness is mingled with confession as a type of true repentance. It is this repentance which gives fruitfulness to the Church established among all nations. For "it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead, and that repentance and the remission of sins be preached among all nations in His name, beginning at Jerusalem." In the dress Tamar put on there is a confession of sins; and Tamar sitting in this dress at the gate of Enam or zEnaim, which means fountain, is a type of the Church called from among the nations. She ran as a hart to the springs of water, to meet with the seed of Abraham; and there she is made fruitful by one who knows her not, as it is foretold, "A people whom I have not known shall serve me." Tamar received

1 John V. 36. 2 John i. g. 3 Matt. xi. 11.

^ Luke i. 44. s Cant. iv. 2. ^ att. xxvi. 75.

" Luke xxiv. 46, 47. ^ Ps. xviii. 43.
under her disguise a ring, a bracelet, a staff; she is sealed in her calling, adorned in her justification, raised in her glorification. For "whom He predestinated, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified." This was while she was still disguised, as I have said; and in the same state she conceives, and becomes fruitful in holiness. Also the kid promised is sent to her as to a harlot. The kid represents rebuke for sin, and it is sent by the Adullamite already mentioned, who, as it were, uses the reproachful words, "generation of vipers!" But this rebuke for sin does not reach her, for she has been changed by the bitterness of confession. Afterwards, by exhibiting the pledges of the ring and bracelet and staff, she prevails over the Jews in their hasty judgment of her, who are now represented by Judah himself; as at this day we hear the Jews saying that we are not the people of Christ, and have not the seed of Abraham. But when we exhibit the sure tokens of our calling and justification and glorification, they will immediately be confounded, and will acknowledge that we are justified rather than they. I should enter into this more particularly, taking, as it were, each limb and joint separately, as the Lord might enable me, were it not that such minute inquiry is prevented by the necessity of bringing this work to a close, for it is already longer than is desirable.

8*7. As regards the prophetic significance of David's sin, a single word must suffice. The names occurring in the narrative show what it typifies. Da\'id means, strong of hand, or desirable; and what can be stronger than the Lion of the tribe of Judah, who has conquered the world, or more desirable than He of whom the prophet says, "The desire of all nations shall come"? Bersabee means, well of satisfaction, or seventh well: either of these interpretations will suit our purpose. So, in the Song of Songs, the spouse, who is the Church, is called a well of living water;* or again, the number seven represents the Holy Spirit, as in the number of days in Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit came from heaven. We learn also from the book

1 Eom. viii. 30. -\ratt. iii. 7.

3 Hag. ii. 8. * Cant. iv. 15.
of Tobit, that Pentecost was the feast of seven weeks. To forty-nine, which is seven times seven, one is added to denote unity. To this effect is the saying of the apostle: "Bearing with one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." The Church becomes a well of satisfaction by this gift of the Spirit, the number seven denoting its spirituality; for it is in her a fountain of living water springing up unto everlasting life, and he who has it shall never thirst. Uriah, Bersabee's husband, must, from the meaning of his name, be understood as representing the devil. It is in union to the devil that all are bound whom the grace of God sets free, that the Church without spot or wrinkle may be married to her true Saviour. Uriah means, my light of God; and Hittite means, cut off, referring either to his not abiding in the truth, when he was cut off on account of his pride from the celestial light which he had of God, or to his transforming himself into an angel of light, because, after losing his real strength by his fall, he still dares to say. My light is of God. The literal David, then, was guilty of a heinous crime, which God by the prophet condemned in the rebuke addressed to David, and which David atoned for by his repentance. On the other hand. He who is the desire of all nations loved the Church when washing herself on the roof, that is, when cleansing herself from the pollution of the world, and in spiritual contemplation mounting above her house of clay, and trampling upon it; and after commencing an acquaintance. He puts to death the devil, whom He first entirely removes from her, and joins her to Himself in perpetual union. While we hate the sin, we must not overlook the prophetical significance; and while we love, as is His due, that David who in His mercy has freed us from the devil, we may also love the David who by the humility of his repentance healed the wound made by his transgression.

88. Little need be said of Solomon, who is spoken of in Holy Scripture in terms of the strongest disapproval and condemnation, while nothing is said of his repentance and restoration to the divine favour. 'Nov can I find in his lamentable fall even a symbolical connection with anything.

1 Tob. ii. 1.. 2 Epii^ i^ - 2, 3. Â« j^i^ \ 13^ ^4^
good in Solomon represents, I think, the good members of the Church; and what was bad
in him represents the bad members. Both are in one man, as the bad and the good are in
the chaff and grain of one floor, or in the tares and wheat of one field. A closer inquiry
into what is said of Solomon in Scripture might disclose, either to me or to others of
greater learning and greater worth, some more probable interpretation. But as we are
now engaged on a different subject, we must not allow this matter to break the connection
of our discourse.

89. As regards the prophet Hosea, it is unnecessary for me to explain the meaning of the
command, or of the prophet's conduct, when God said to him, "Go and take unto thee a
wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms," for the Scripture itself informs us of
the origin and purpose of this direction.

It proceeds thus: "For the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the
Lord. So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; which conceived, and bare
him a son.

And the Lord said unto him. Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge
the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Judah, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the
house of Israel. And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel in
the valley of Jezreel. And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And God said unto
him, Call her name No-mercy: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel;
but I will utterly take them away. But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and
weU save them by the Lord their God, and weU not save them

BOOK xxii] hosea. 481

by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen. Now when she had
weaned jN'o-mercy, she conceived, and bare a son. Then said God, Call his name Is'ot-
m.y-people:
for ye are not my people,, and I will not be your God. Yet the number of the children of
Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured for multitude; and it shall
come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, there it
shall be said unto them, Ye are the sons of the living God. Then shall the children of
Israel and the children of Judah be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head,
and they shall come up out of the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel. Say ye unto
your brethren. My people; and to your sister. She hath found mercy." -^ Since the typical
meaning of the command and of the prophet's conduct is thus explained in the same book
by the Lord Himself, and since the writings of the apostles declare the fulfilment of this
prophecy in the preaching of the N"ew Testament, every one must accept the explanation
thus given of the command and of the action of the prophet as the true explanation. Thus
it is said by the Apostle Paul, " That He might make known the riches of His glory on the
vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared unto glory, even us, whom He hath called,
not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. As He saith also in Osee, I will call them
my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved. And it
shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them. Ye are not my people, there shall they be called the children of the living God." ^

Here Paul applies the prophecy to the Gentiles. So also Peter, writing to the Gentiles, without naming the prophet, borrows his expressions when he says, " But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye might show forth the praises of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light: which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy." ^

From this it is plain that the words of the prophet, " And the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, ^'liicli cannot be measured for multitude," and the words immediately following, " And it shall be that in the place where it was said unto them. Ye are not my people, there they shall be called the children of the living God," do not apply to that Israel which is after the flesh, but to that of which the apostle says to the Gentiles, " Ye therefore are the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise." -^ But, as many Jews who were of the Israel after the flesh have believed, and will yet believe; for of these were the apostles, and all the thousands in Jerusalem of the company of the apostles, as also the churches of which Paul speaks, when he says to the Galatians, " I was unknown by face to the churches of Judaea which were in Christ; " ^ and again, he explains the passage in the Psalms, where the Lord is called the cornerstone,^ as referring to His uniting in Himself the two walls of circumcision and uncircumcision, "that He might make in Himself of twain one new man, so maling peace; and that He might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby: . and that He might come and preach peace to them that are far off, and to them that are nigh," that is, to the Gentiles and to the Jews; " for He is our peace, who hath made of both one; " "^ to the same purpose we find the prophet speaking of the Jews as the children of Judah, and of the Gentiles as children of Israel, where he says, " The children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and shall make to themselves one head, and shall go up from the land." Therefore, to speak against a prophecy thus confirmed by actual events, is to speak against the writings of the apostles as well as those of the prophets; and not only to speak against writings, but to impugn in the most reckless manner the evidence clear as noonday of established facts. In the case of the narrative of Judah, it is perhaps not so easy to recognise, under the disguise of the woman called Tamar, the harlot representing the Church gathered from among the corruption of Gentile superstition; but here, where Scripture explains itself, and where the explanation is
confirmed by the writings of the apostles, instead of dwelling longer on this, we may proceed at once to
1 Gal. iii. 29. =* Gal. i. 22. Â» pg^ cxviii. 22. -* Eph. ii. 11-22.
inquire into the meaning of the very things to which Faustus objects in Moses the servant of God.

90. Moses killing the Egyptian in defending one of his brethren, reminds us naturally of the destruction of the devil, our assailant in this land of strangers, by our defender the Lord Christ. And as Moses hid the dead body in the sand, even so the devil, though slain, remains concealed in those who are not firmly settled. The Lord, we know, builds the Church on a rock; and those who hear His word and do it, He compares to a wise man who builds his house upon a rock, and who does not yield or give way before temptation; and those who hear and do not. He compares to a foolish man who builds on the sand, and when his house is tried its ruin is great.

91. Of the prophetic significance of the spoiling of the Egyptians, which was done by Moses at the command of the Lord his God, who commands nothing but what is most just, I remember to have set down what occurred to me at the time in my book entitled On Christian Doctrine; to the effect that the gold and silver and garments of the Egyptians typified certain branches of learning which may be profitably learned or taught among the Gentiles. This may be the true explanation; or we may suppose that the vessels of gold and silver represent the precious souls, and the garments the bodies, of those from among the Gentiles who join themselves to the people of God, that along with them they may be freed from the Egypt of this world. Whatever the true interpretation may be, the pious student of the Scriptures will feel certain that in the command, in the action, and in the narrative there is a purpose and a symbolic meaning.

92. It would take too long to go through all the wars of Moses. It is enough to refer to what has already been said, as sufficient for the purpose in this reply to Faustus, of the prophetic and symbolic character of the war with Amalek. There is also the charge of cruelty made against Moses by the enemies of the Scriptures, or by those who have never read anything, Faustus does not make any specific charge, but speaks of Moses as commanding and doing many cruel things.

1 Matt. vii. 24-27.
reaward to relationship. It is easy to see that the slaughter of these men represents the warfare against the evil principles which led the people into idolatry. Against such evils we are commanded to wage war in the words of the psalm, "Be ye angry, and sin not." And a similar command is given by the apostle, when he says, "Mortify your members which are on earth; fornication, uncleanness, luxury, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry."

93. It requires a closer examination to see the meaning of the first action of Moses in burning the calf in fire, and grinding it to powder, and sprinkling it in the water for the people to drink. The tables given to him, written with the finger of God, that is, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, he may have broken, because he judged the people unworthy of having them read to them; and he may have burned the calf, and ground it, and scattered it so as to be carried away by the water, in order to let nothing of it remain among the people. But why should he have made them drink it? Every one must feel anxious to discover the typical significance of this action. Pursuing the inquiry, we may find that in the calf there was an embodiment of the devil, as there is in men of all nations who have the devil as their head or leader in their impious rites. The calf is gold, because there is a semblance of wisdom in the institution of idolatrous worship. Of this the apostle says, "Knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, nor were thankful; but they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became foolish, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, from this so-called wisdom came the golden calf, which was one of the forms of idolatry among the chief men and professed sages of Egypt. The calf, then, represents every body or society of Gentile idolaters. This impious society the Lord Christ burns with that fire of which He says in the Gospel, "I am come to send fire on the earth;" for, as there is nothing hid from His heat, when the Gentiles believe in Him they lose the form of the devil in the fire of divine influence. Then all the body is ground, that is, after the dissolution of the combination in the membership of iniquity comes humiliation under the word of truth. Then the dust is sprinkled in the water, that the Israelites, that is, the preachers of the gospel, may in baptism admit those formerly idolaters into their own body, that is, the body of Christ. To Peter, who was one of those Israelites, it was said of the Gentiles, "Kill, and eat." To kill and eat is much the same as to grind and drink. So this calf, by the fire of zeal, and the keen penetration of the word, and the water of baptism, was swallowed up by the people, instead of their being swallowed up by it.
Thus, when the very passages on which the heretics found their objections to the Scriptures are studied and examined, the more obscure they are the more wonderful are the secrets which we discover in reply to our questions; so that the mouths of blasphemers are completely stopped, and the evidence of the truth so stifles them that they cannot even utter a sound. The unhappy men who will not receive into their hearts the sweetness of the truth must feel its force as a gag in their mouths. All those passages speak of Christ. The head now ascended into heaven along with the body still suffering on earth is the full development of the whole purpose of the authors of Scripture, which is well called Sacred Scripture. Every part of the narrative in the prophetical books should be viewed as having a figurative meaning, except what serves merely as a framework for the literal or figurative predictions of this king and of his people. Ever as in harps and other musical instruments the musical sound does not come from all parts of the instrument, but from the strings, and the

Rom. i. 21-23. Lukexii. 49. pg. xix. 6. cts x. 13.

rest is only for fastening and stretching the strings so as to tune them, that when they are struck by the musician they may give a pleasant sound; so in these prophetical narratives, the circumstances selected by the prophetic spirit either predict some future event, or if they have no voice of their own, they serve to connect together other significant utterances.

Should the heretics reject our exposition of those allegorical narratives, or even insist on understanding them only in a literal sense, to dispute about such a difference of understanding would be as useless as to dispute about a difference of taste. Only, the fact that the didne precepts have either a moral and religious character or a prophetic meaning must be believed, whether intelligently or not. Moreover, the figurative interpretations must all be in the interest of morality and religion. So, if the Manichaeans or any others disagree with our interpretation, or differ from us in method or in any particular opinion, suffice it that the character of the fathers whom God commends for their conduct and obedience to His precepts is vindicated on a principle which all but those inveterate in their hostility will acknowledge to be true; and that the purity and dignity of Scripture are maintained in reference to those passages which the enemies of the truth find fault with, where certain actions are either praised or blamed, or merely narrated for us to form a judgment of them.

In fact, nothing could have been devised more likely to instruct and benefit the pious reader of sacred Scripture than that, besides describing praiseworthy characters as examples, and blameworthy characters as warnings, it should also narrate cases where good men have gone back and fallen into sin, whether they are restored to the right path or continue irreclaimable; and also where bad men have changed, and have attained to
goodness, whether they persevere in it or relapse into evil; in order that the righteous may be not lifted up in the pride of security, nor the wicked hardened in despair of cure. And even those passages in Scripture which contain no examples or warnings are either required for connection, so as to pass on to essential matters, or, from the very appearance of superfluity, indicate the presence of some secret symbolical meaning. For in the books we speak of, so far
from there being a want or a scarcity of prophetic announcements, such announcements are numerous and distinct; and now that the fulfilment has actually taken place, the testimony thus borne to the divine authority of the books is irresistibly strong, so that it is mere madness to suppose that there can be any useless or unmeaning passages in books to which all classes of men and of minds do homage, and which themselves predict what we see thus actually coming to pass.

9 7. If, then, any one reading of the action of David, of which he repented when the Lord rebuked and threatened him, finds in the narrative an encouragement to sin, is Scripture to be blamed for this? Is not the man's own guilt in proportion to the abuse which he makes for his own injury or destruction of what was written for his recovery and release? David is set forth as a great example of repentance, because men who fall into sin either proudly disregard the cure of repentance, or lose themselves in despair of obtaining salvation or of meriting pardon. The example is for the benefit of the sick, not for the injury of those in health. If madmen destroy themselves, or if evil-doers destroy others, with surgical instruments, it is not the fault of surgery.

9 8. Even supposing that our fathers the patriarchs and prophets, of whose devout and religious habits so good a report is given in that Scripture which every one who knows it, and has not lost entirely the use of his reason, must admit to have been provided by God for the salvation of men, were as lustful and cruel as the Manichseans falsely and fanatically allege, they might still be shown to be superior not only to those whom the Manichaeans call the elect, but also to their god himself. Is there in the licentious intercourse of man with woman anything so bad as the self-abasement of unclouded light by mixture with darkness? Here, is a man prompted by avarice and greed to pass off his wife as his sister and sell her to her lover; but worse still and more shocking, that one should disguise his own nature to gratify criminal passion, and submit gratuitously to pollution and degradation. Why, even one who knowingly lies with his own daughters is not equally criminal with one who lets his members share in the defilement of all sensuality as gross as this, or grosser. And

488 PÆPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [BOOK XXII.

is not the Manichisean god a partaker in the contamination of the most atrocious acts of uncleanness? Again, if it were true, as Faustus says, that Jacob—sent from one to another of his four wives, not desiring offspring, but resembKng a he-goat in licentiousness, he would still not be sunk so low as your god, who must not only have shared in this degradation, from his being confined in the bodies of Jacob and his wives so as to be mixed up with all their movements, but also, in union with this very he-goat of Faustus' coarse comparison, must have endured all the pains of animal appetite, incurring fresh
defilement at every step, as partaking in the passion of the male, the conception of the female, and the birth of the kid.
And, in the same way, supposing Judah to have been guilty not only of fornication, but of incest, a share in the heats and impurities of this incestuous passion would also belong to your god. David repented of his sin in loving the wife of another, and in ordering the death of her husband; but when will your god repent of giving up his members to the wanton passion of the male and female chiefs of the race of darkness, and of putting to death not the husband of his mistress, but his own children, whom he confines in the members of the very devils who were his own lovers? Even if David had not repented, nor been thus restored to righteousness, he would still have been better than your god. David may have been defiled by this one act, or to the extent to which one man is capable of such defilement; but your god suffers the pollution of his members in all such actions by whomsoever committed. The prophet Hosea, too, is accused by Faustus; and, supposing him to have taken the harlot to wife because he had a criminal affection for her, if he is licentious and she a prostitute, their souls, according to your own assertion, are parts and members of your god and of his nature.
In plain language, the harlot herself must be your god. You cannot pretend that your god is not confined in the contaminated body, or that he is only present, while preserving entire the purity of his own nature: and you acknowledge that the members of your god are so defiled as to require a special purification. This harlot, then, for whom you venture to find fault with the man of God, even if she had not been changed
for the better by becoming a chaste wife, would still have been your god; at least you
must admit her soul to have been a part, however small, of your god. But one single
harlot is not so bad as your god, for he on account of his mixture with the race of
darkness shares in every act of prostitution; and wherever such impurities are perpetrated,
he goes through the corresponding experiences of abandonment, of release, and of
confinement, and this from generation to generation, till his most corrupt part reaches its
final state in the mass of darkness, like an irreclaimable harlot. Such are the evils and
such the shameful abominations which your god could not ward off from his members,
and to which he was brought irresistibly by his merciless enemy; for only by the sacrifice
of his own subjects, or rather his own parts, could he effect the destruction of his
formidable assailant. Surely, there was nothing so bad as this in killing an Egyptian so as
to preserve uninjured a fellow-countryman. Yet Faustus finds fault with this most
absurdly, while with amazing infatuation he overlooks the case of his own god. Would it
not have been better for him to have carried off the gold and silver vessels of the
Egyptians, than to let his members be carried off by the race of darkness? And yet the
worshippers of this unfortunate god find fault with the servant of our God for carrying on
wars, in which he with his followers were always victorious, so that, under the leadership
of Moses, the children of Israel carried captive their enemies, men and women, as your
god would have done too, if he had been able. You profess to accuse Moses of doing
wrong, while in fact you envy his success. There was no cruelty in punishing with the
sword those who had sinned grievously against God. Indeed, Moses entreated pardon for
this sin, even offering to bear himself in their stead the divine anger. But even had he
been cruel instead of compassionate, he would still have been better than your god. For
if any of his followers had been sent to break the force of the enemy and had been taken
captive, he would never, if victorious, have condemned him when he had done no wrong,
but acted in obedience to orders.
And yet this is what your god is to do with the part of himself which is to be fastened in
the mass of darkness.

because it obeyed orders, and advanced at the risk of its own life in defence of his
kingdom against the body of the enemy.
But, says the Manichsean, this part, after mixture and combination with evil during the
course of ages, has not been obedient. But why? If the disobedience was voluntary, the
guilt is real, and the punishment just. But from this it would follow that there is no nature
opposed to sin; otherwise it would not sin voluntarily; and so the whole system of
Manichaeanism falls at once. If, again, this part suffers from the power of this enemy
against whom it was sent, and is subdued by a force it was "unable to resist, the
punishment is unjust, and flagrantly cruel. The god who is defended on the plea of
necessity is a fit object of worship to those who refuse to worship the one true God. Still,
it must be allowed that, however debasing the worship of this god may be, the worshippers are so far better than their deity, that they have an existence, while he is nothing more than a fabulous invention. Proceed we now to the rest of Faustus' vagaries.

BOOK XXIII.

1. Faustus. On one occasion, when addressing a large audience, I was asked by one of the crowd. Do you believe that Jesus was born of Mary? I replied. Which Jesus do you mean? for in the Hebrew it is the name of several people. One was the son of Nun, the follower of Moses; another was the son of Josedech the high priest; again, another is spoken of as the son of David; and another is the Son of God.* Of which of these do you ask whether I believe him to have been born of Mary? His answer was, The Son of God, of course.

On what evidence, said I, oral or written, am I to believe this? He replied, On the authority of Matthew. What, said I, did Matthew write? He replied, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt. i. 1). Then said I, I was afraid you were going to say, The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and I was prepared to correct you. Kow that you have quoted the

Â» Ex. xxiii. 11. 2 Ha'.-, i. 1. ^ p^_____ j^ i^_.^ 4 Mark i. 1.

BOOK XXIII] was JESUS BORN OF MAEY ? 491

verse accurately, you must nevertheless be advised to pay attention to the words. Matthew does not profess to give an account of the generation of the Son of God, but of the son of David.

2. I will, for the present, suppose that this person was right in saying that the son of David was born of Mary.

It still remains true, that in this whole passage of the generation no mention is made of the Son of God till we come to the baptism; so that it is an injurious misrepresentation on your part to speak of this writer as making the Son of God the inmate of a womb. The writer, indeed, seems to cry out against such an idea, and in the very title of his book to clear himself of such blasphemy, asserting that the person whose birth he describes is the son of David, not the Son of God. And if you attend to the writer's meaning and purpose, you will see that what he wishes us to believe of Jesus the Son of God is not so much that He was born of Mary, as that He became the Son of God by baptism at the river Jordan. He tells us that the person of whom he spoke at the outset as the son of David was baptized by John, and became the Son of God on this particular occasion, when about thirty years old, according to Luke, when also the voice was heard saying to Him, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee." It appears from this, that what was
born, as is supposed, of Mary thirty years before, was not the Son of God, but what was afterwards made so by baptism at Jordan, that is, the new man, the same as in us when we were converted from Gentile error, and believe in God. This doctrine may or may not agree with what you call the Catholic faith; at all events, it is what Matthew says, if Matthew is the real author. The words. Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten Thee, or. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, do not occur in connection with the story of Mary's motherhood, but with the putting away of sin at Jordan. This is what is written; and if you believe this doctrine, you must be called a Matthaean, for you will no longer be a Catholic. The Catholic doctrine is well known; and it is as unlike Matthew's representations as it is unlike the truth. In the words of your creed, you declare that you believe in

1 Luke iii. 22, 23.

492 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XXIII.

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary. According to you, therefore, the Son of God comes from Mary; according to Matthew, from the Jordan; while we believe Him to come from God. Thus the doctrine of Matthew, if we are right in assigning the authorship to him, is as different from yours as from ours; only we acknowledge that he is more cautious than you in ascribing the being born of a woman to the son of David, and not to the Son of God. As for you, your only alternative is to deny that those statements were made, as they appear to be, by Matthew, or to allow that you have abandoned the faith of the apostles.

3. For our part, while no one can alter our conviction that the Son of God comes from God, we might indulge a credulous disposition, to the extent of admitting the fiction, that Jesus became the Son of God at Jordan, but not that the Son of God was born of a woman. Then, again, the son said to have been born of Mary cannot properly be called the son of David, unless it is ascertained that he was begotten by Joseph. You say he was not, and therefore you must allow him not to have been the son of David, even though he were the son of Mary. The genealogy proceeds in the line of Hebrew fathers from Abraham to David, and from David to Joseph; and as we are told that Joseph was not the real father of Jesus, Jesus cannot be said to be the son of David. To begin with calling Jesus the son of David, and then to go on to tell of his being born of Mary before her marriage with Joseph, is pure madness. And if the son of Mary cannot be called the son of David, on account of his not being the son of Joseph, still less can the name be given to the Son of God.

4. Moreover, the Virgin herself appears to have belonged not to the tribe of Judah, to which the Jewish kings belonged, and which all agree was David's tribe, but to the priestly tribe of Levi. This appears from the fact that the Virgin's father Joachim was a priest; and his name does not occur in the genealogy. How, then, can Mary be brought within the pale of relationship to David, when she has neither father nor husband
belonging to it? Consequently, Mary's son cannot possibly be the son of David, unless you can bring

5. Augustine. The Catholic, which is also the apostolic, doctrine, is, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is both the Son of God in His divine nature, and the Son of David after the flesh. This we prove from the writings of the evangelists and apostles, so that no one can reject our proofs without also rejecting these writings. Faustus' plan is to represent some one as saying a few words, without bringing forward any evidence in answer to Faustus' fertile sophistry. But with all his ingenuity, the proofs I have to give will leave Faustus no reply, but that these passages are spurious interpolations in the sacred record, a reply which serves as a means of escaping, or of trying to escape, the force of the plainest statements in Holy Scripture. We have already in this treatise sufficiently exposed the irrational absurdity, as well as the daring profanity, of such criticism; and not to exceed all limits, we must avoid repetition. It cannot be necessary that we should bring together all the passages scattered throughout Scripture, which show, in answer to Faustus, that in the books of the highest and most sacred authority He who is called the only-begotten Son of God, even God with God, is also called the Son of David, on account of His taking the form of a servant from the Virgin Mary, the wife of Joseph. To instance only Matthew, since Faustus' argument refers to this Gospel, as the whole book cannot be quoted here, let whoever choose read it, and see how Matthew carries on to the passion and the resurrection the narrative of Him whom He calls the Son of David in the introduction to the genealogy. Of this same Son of David he speaks as being conceived and born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost. He also applies to this the declaration of the prophet, " Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel, which is being interpreted, God with us." ^ Again, He who was called, even from the Virgin's womb, God-with-us, is said to have heard, when He was baptized by John, a voice from heaven, saying, " This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." ^ Will Faustus say that to be called God 1 Isa. vii. 14 and Matt. i. 23. 2 ^latt. iii. 17.

494 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHiEAN. [BOOK XXIII.

is less than to be called the Son of God? He seems to think so, for he tries to prove that because this voice came from heaven at the time of the baptism, therefore, according to Matthew, He must then have become the Son of God; whereas the same evangelist, in a
previous passage, quotes the sacred announcement made by the prophet, in which the child born of the Virgin is called God-with-us.

6. It is remarkable how, amid his wild irrelevancies, this wretched trifler loses no available opportunity of darkening the declarations of Scripture by the fabulous creations of his own fancy. Thus he says of Abraham, that when he took his handmaid to wife, he disbelieved God's promise that he should have a child by Sarah; whereas, in fact, this promise had not at that time been given. Then he accuses Abraham of falsehood in calling Sarah his sister, not having read what may be learned on the authority of Scripture about the family of Sarah. Abraham's son Isaac also he accuses of falsely calling his wife his sister, though a distinct account is given of her family. Then he accuses Jacob of there being a daily quarrel among his four wives, which should be the first to appropriate him on his return from the field, while nothing of this is said in Scripture. And this is the man who pretends to hate the writers of the sacred books for their falsehood, and who has the effrontery so to misrepresent even the gospel record, though its authority is admitted by all as possessing the most abundant confirmation, as to try to make it appear, not indeed that Matthew himself, â€” for in that case he would have been forced to yield to apostolic authority, â€” but that some one under the name of Matthew, has written about Christ what he refuses to believe, and attempts to refute with a contumelious ingenuity!

7. The voice from heaven at the Jordan should be compared with the voice heard on the Mount. In neither case do the words, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," imply that He was not the Son of God before; for He who from the Virgin's womb took the form of a servant was in the form of God, and thought it no robbery to be equal with God." And the same Apostle Paul himself says

1 Matt, xvii 5. ^ pïµi. ii. 6.

BOOK XXIII.] SON OF DAVID AND SON OF GOD. 495

distinctly elsewhere, "But in the fulness of time, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law; " that is, a woman in the Hebrew sense, not a wife, but one of the female sex. The Son of God is both Lord of David in His divine nature, and Son of David as being of the seed of David after the flesh. And if it were not profitable for us to believe this, the same apostle would not have made it so prominent as he does, when he says to Timothy, "Remember that Christ Jesus, of the seed of David, rose from the dead, according to my gospel." And he carefully enjoins believers to regard as accursed whoever preaches another gospel contrary to this.

8. This assailant of the holy Gospel need find no difficulty in the fact that Christ is called the Son of David, though He was born of a virgin, and though Joseph was not His real father; while the genealogy is brought down by the evangelist Matthew, not to Mary, but to Joseph. First of all, the husband, as the man, is the more honourable; and Joseph was
Mary's husband, though she did not live with him, for Matthew himself mentions that she was called Joseph's wife by the angel; as it is also from Matthew that we learn that Mary conceived not by Joseph, but by the Holy Spirit. But if this, instead of being a true narrative written by Matthew the apostle, was a false narrative written by some one else under his name, is it likely that he would have contradicted himself in such an apparent manner, and in passages so immediately connected, as to speak of the Son of David as born of Mary without conjugal intercourse, and then, in giving His genealogy, to bring it down to the very man with whom the Virgin is expressly said not to have had intercourse, unless he had some reason for doing so? Even supposing there were two writers, one calling Christ the Son of David, and giving an account of Christ's progenitors from David down to Joseph; while the other does not call Christ the Son of David, and says that He was born of the Virgin Mary without intercourse with any man; those statements are not irreconcilable, so as to prove that one or both writers must be false. It will appear on reflection that both accounts might be true; for 1 Gal. iv. 4. 2 2 Tim. ii. 8.

496 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE IMANICH^AX. [BOOK XXIII.

Joseph might be called the husband of Mary, though she was his wife only in affection, and in the intercourse of the mind, which is more intimate than that of the body. In this way it might be proper that the husband of the virgin-mother of Christ should have a place in the list of Christ's ancestors. It might also be the case that some of David's blood flowed in Mary herself, so that the flesh of Christ, although produced from a virgin, still owed its origin to David's seed. But as, in fact, both statements are made by one and the same writer, who informs us both that Joseph was the husband of Mary and that the mother of Christ was a virgin, and that Christ was of the seed of David, and that Joseph is in the list of Christ's progenitors in the line of David, those who prefer the authority of the sacred Gospel to that of heretical fiction must conclude that Mary was not unconnected with the family of Da^^.d, and that she was properly called the wife of Joseph, because being a woman she was in spiritual alliance with him, though there was no bodily connection. Joseph, too, it is plain, could not be omitted in the genealogy; for, from the superiority of his sex, such an omission would be equivalent to a denial of his relation to the woman with whom he was inwardly united; and believers in Christ are taught not to think carnal connection the chief things in marriage, as if without this they could not be man and wife, but to imitate in Christian wedlock as closely as possible the parents of Christ, that so they may have the more intimate union with the members of Christ.

9. We believe that Mary, as well as Joseph, was of the family of David, because we believe the Scriptures, which assert both that Christ was of the seed of David after the flesh, and that His mother was the Virgin Mary, He having no father. Therefore, whoever denies the relationship of Mary to David, evidently opposes the pre-eminent authority of these passages of Scripture; and to maintain this opposition he must bring evidence in support of his statement from writings acknowledged by the Church as canonical and
catholic, not from any waitings he pleases. In the matters of which we are now treating, only the canonical writings have any weight with us; for they only are received and acknowledged.

BOOK XXIII. APOCRYPHAL SCRIPTURE. 497

by the Church spread over all the world, which is itself a fulfilment of the prophecies regarding it contained in these writings. Accordingly, I am not bound to admit the uncanonical account of Mary's birth which Faustus adopts, that her father was a priest of the tribe of Levi, of the name of Joachim. But even were I to admit this account, I should still contend that Joachim must have in some way belonged to the family of David, and had somehow been adopted from the tribe of Judah into that of Levi; or if not he, one of his ancestors; or, at least, that while born in the tribe of Levi, he had still some relation to the line of David; as Faustus himself acknowledges that Mary, though belonging to the tribe of Levi, could be given to a husband of the tribe of Judah; and he expressly says that if Mary were Joseph's daughter, the name Son of David would be applicable to Christ. In this way, by the marriage of Joseph's daughter in the tribe of Levi, her son, though born in the tribe of Levi, might not improperly be called the Son of David. And so, if the mother of that Joachim, who in the passage quoted by Faustus is called the father of Mary, married in the tribe of Levi while she belonged to the tribe of Judah and to the family of David, there would thus be a sufficient reason for speaking of Joachim and Mary and Mary's son as belonging to the seed of David. If I felt obliged to pay any regard to the apocryphal scripture in which Joachim is called the father of Mary, I should adopt some such explanation as the above, rather than admit any falsehood in the Gospel, where it is written both that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and our Saviour, was of the seed of David after the flesh, and that He was born of the Virgin Mary. It is enough for us that the enemies of these Scriptures, which record these truths and which we believe, cannot prove against them any charge of falsehood.

10. Faustus cannot pretend then I am unable to prove that Mary was of the family of David, as I have shown him unable to prove that she was not. I produce the strongest evidence from Scriptures of established authority, which declare that Christ was of the seed of David, and that He was born without a father of the Virgin Mary. Faustus expresses what he considers a most becoming indignation against impropriety.

498 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE ]IANICH^AN. [BOOK XXIV.

when he says. It is an injurious risrqrcsmtation of the winter to make hirii speak of the Son of God as the inmate of a yjomh.
Of course, the Catholic doctrine which teaches that Christ the Son of God was born in the flesh of a virgin, does not make the Son of God the inmate of her womb in the sense of having no existence beyond it, as if He had abandoned the government of heaven and earth, or as if He had left the presence of the Father. The mistake is with the Manichseans, whose understanding is so incapable of forming a conception of anything except what is material, that they cannot comprehend how the Word of God, who is the virtue and wisdom of God, while remaining in Himself and with the Father, and while governing the universe, reaches from end to end in strength, and sweetly orders all things. In the faultless procedure of this adorable providence. He appointed for Himself an earthy mother; and to free His servants from the bondage of corruption He took in this mother the form of a servant, that is, a mortal body; and this body which He took He showed openly, and when it had been exposed, even to suffering and death, He raised it again from the dead, and built again the temple which had been destroyed. You who shrink from this doctrine as blasphemous, make the members of your god to be confined not in a virgin's womb, but in the wombs of all female animals, from elephants down to flies. Perhaps you think the less of the true Christ, because the Word is said so to have become incarnate in the Virgin's womb as to provide a temple for Himself in human nature, while His own nature continued unaltered in its integrity; and, on the other hand, you think the more of your god, because in the bonds and pollution of his confinement in flesh, in the part which is to be made fast to the mass of darkness, he seeks for help to no purpose, or is even rendered powerless to ask for help.

BOOK XXIV.

1. Faustus. We are asked the reason of our denial that man is made by God. But we do not assert that man is in no sense made by God; we only ask in what sense, and when, and how. For, according to the apostle, there are two men, one of whom he calls sometimes the outer man, generally the earthy, sometimes, too, the old man: the other he calls the inner or heavenly or new man. The question is. Which of these is made by God? For we have likewise two births; one, when nature brought us forth into this light, binding us in the bonds of flesh; and the other, when the truth regenerated us on our conversion from error and our entrance into the faith. It is this second birth of which Jesus speaks in the Gospel, when He says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Mcodemus, not knowing what Christ meant, was at a loss, and inquired how this could be, for an old man could not enter into his mother's Avomb and be born a second time. Jesus said in reply, "

BOOK XXIV.] TWO BIRTHS. 499

made by God; we only ask in what sense, and when, and how. For, according to the apostle, there are two men, one of whom he calls sometimes the outer man, generally the earthy, sometimes, too, the old man: the other he calls the inner or heavenly or new man. The question is. Which of these is made by God? For we have likewise two births; one, when nature brought us forth into this light, binding us in the bonds of flesh; and the other, when the truth regenerated us on our conversion from error and our entrance into the faith. It is this second birth of which Jesus speaks in the Gospel, when He says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Mcodemus, not knowing what Christ meant, was at a loss, and inquired how this could be, for an old man could not enter into his mother's Avomb and be born a second time. Jesus said in reply, "
Except a man be born of water and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

Then He adds, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Hence, as the birth in which our bodies originate is not the only birth, but there is another in which we are born again in spirit, an important question arises from this distinction as to which of those births it is in which God makes us. The manner of birth also is twofold. In the humiliating process of ordinary generation, we spring from the heat of animal passion; but when we are brought into the faith, we are formed under good instruction in honour and purity in Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit. For this reason, in all religion, and especially in the Christian religion, young children are invited to membership. This is hinted at in the words of His apostle: "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you."^ The question, then, is not whether God makes man, but what man He makes, and when, and how.

For if it is when we are fashioned in the womb that God forms us after His own image, which is the common belief of Gentiles and Jews, and which is also your belief, then God makes the old man, and produces us by means of sensual passion, which does not seem suitable to His divine nature. But if it is when we are converted and brought to a better life that we are formed by God, which is the general doctrine of Christ and His apostles, and which is also our doctrine, in this case God makes the new man, and produces us in honour and purity, which would agree perfectly with His sacred and adorable majesty. If you do not reject Paul's authority, we will prove to you from him what man God makes, and when, and how. He says to the Ephesians, "That ye put off according to your former conversation the old man, which is corrupt through deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and holiness of truth."^ This shows that in the creation of man after the image of God, it is another man that is spoken of, and another life, and another manner of birth. The putting off and putting on of which he speaks, point to the time of the reception of the truth; and the assertion that the new man is created by God implies that the old man is created neither by God nor after God. And when he adds, that this new man is made in holiness and righteousness and truth, he thus points to another manner of birth of which this is the character, and which, as I have said, differs widely from the manner in which bodily generation is effected. And as he declares that only the former is of God, it follows that the latter is not. Again, writing to the Colossians, he uses words to the same effect: "Put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new man, which is renewed in the knowledge of God according to the image of Him who created Him in you." Here he not only shows that it is the new man that God makes, but he declares the time and manner of the formation, for the words in the knowledge of God point to the time of

^ John iii. 3. 2 q^I. iv. 19.
believing. Then he adds, according to the image of Him who created him, to make it clear that the old man is not the image of God, nor formed by God. Moreover, the following words,
"Where there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian," show more plainly still that the birth by which we are made male and female, Greeks and Jews, Scythians and Barbarians, is not the birth in which God effects the formation of man; but that the birth with which God has to do is that in which we lose the difference of nation and sex and condition, and become one like Him who is one, that is, Christ. So the same apostle says again, "As many as have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ: there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither male nor female, there is neither bond nor free; but all are one in Christ." Man, then, is made by God, not when from one he is divided into many, but when from many he becomes one. The division is in the first birth, or that of the body; union comes by the second, which is immaterial and divine. This affords sufficient ground for our opinion, that the birth of the body should be ascribed to nature, and the second birth to the Supreme Being. So the same apostle says again to the Corinthians, "I have begotten you in Christ Jesus by the gospel;" and, speaking of himself, to the Galatians, "When it pleased Him, who separated me from my mother's womb, to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the Gentiles, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood."^ It is plain that everywhere he speaks of the second or spiritual birth as that in which we are made by God, as distinct from the indecency of the first birth, in which we are on a level with other animals as regards dignity and purity, as we are conceived in the maternal womb, and are formed, and brought forth. You may observe that in this matter the dispute between us is not so much about a question of doctrine as of interpretation. For you think that it is the old or outer or earthy man that is said to have been made by God; while we apply this to the heavenly man, giving the superiority to the inner or new man. And our opinion is not rash or groundless, for we have learned it from Christ and His apostles, who are proved to have been the first in the world who thus taught.

2. Augustine. The Apostle Paul certainly uses the expression the inner man for the spirit of the mind, and the outer man for the body and for this mortal life; but we nowhere find him making these two different men, but one, which is all made by God, both the inner and the outer. However, it is made in the image of God only as regards the inner, which, besides being immaterial, is rational, and is not possessed by the lower animals. God, then, did not make

1 Gal. iii. 27, 28. ^q^j.. iv. 15. 2 Qal. i. 15, 16.
one man after His own image, and another man not after that image; but the one man, which includes both the inner and the outer. He made after His own image, not as regards the possession of a body and of mortal life, but as regards the rational mind with the power of knowing God, and with the superiority as compared with all irrational creatures which the possession of reason implies. Faustus allows that the inner man is made by God, when, as he says, it is renewed in the knowledge of God after the image of Him that created it.

I readily admit this on the apostle's authority. Why does not Taustus admit on the same authority that " God has placed the members every one in the body, as it has pleased Him " ? -^ Here w^e learn from the same apostle that God is the framer of the outer man too. Why does Faustus take only what he thinks to be in his own favour, while he leaves out or rejects what upsets the follies of the Manichaeans ?

Moreover, in treating of the earthy and the heavenly man, and making the distinction between the mortal and the immortal, between that which we are in Adam and that which we shall be in Christ, the apostle quotes the declaration of the law regarding the earthy or natural body, referring to the very book and the very passage where it is written that God made the earthy man too. Speaking of the manner in which the dead shall rise again, and of the body with which they shall come, after using the similitude of the seeds of corn, that they are sown bare grain, and that God gives them a body as it pleases Him, and to every seed his own body, â€” thus, by the way, overthrowing the error of the Manichæans, who say that grains and plants, and all roots and shoots, are created by the race of darkness, and not by God, who, according to them, instead of exerting power in the production of these objects, is Himself subject to confinement in them, â€” he goes on, after this refutation of Manichean impieties, to describe the different kinds of flesh. " All flesh," he says, " is not the same flesh." Then he speaks of celestial and terrestrial bodies, and then of the change of our body by which it will become spiritual and heavenly. " It is sown," he says, " in dishonour, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is

1 1 Cor. xii. 18.

BOOK XXIV.] MAN MADE AND EEMADE. 503

sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body." Then, in order to show the origin of the natural body, he says, " There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body; as it is written, The first man, Adam, was made a living soul." ^

Now this is written in Genesis, where it is related how God made man, and animated the body which He had formed of the earth. By the old man the apostle simply means the old life, which is a life in sin, and is after the manner of Adam, of whom it is said, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned." ^ Thus the whole of this man, both the inner and the outer part, has become old by sin, and liable to the punishment of mortality. There is, however, a restoration of the inner man, when it is renewed after the image of its Creator, in the
putting off of unrighteousness â€“ that is, the old man, and putting on righteousness â€“ that is, the new man.

But when that which is sown a natural body shall rise a spiritual body, the outer man too shall attain the dignity of a celestial character; so that all that has been created may be created anew, and all that has been made be remade by the Creator and IMaker Himself. This is briefly explained in the words: "The body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you. He that raised up Christ from the dead will also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit dwelling in you."* N"o one instructed in the Catholic doctrine but knows that it is in the body that some are male and some female, not in the spirit of the mind, in which we are renewed after the image of God. But elsewhere the apostle teaches that God is the Maker of both; for he says, "Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord; for as the woman is of the man, so is the man by the woman; but all things are of God." ^ The only reply given to this, by the perverse stupidity of those who are alienated from the life of God by the ignorance which is in them, on account of the blindness of their heart, is, that whatever pleases them in the apostolic

1 1 Cor. XV. 33-45. - Gen. ii. 7. ^q^ ^ i^.

^ « Rom. viii. 10, 11. ^1 Cor. xi. 11, 12.

504 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICHIEAN. [BOOK XXY.

writings is true, and ^Yhatever displeases them is false. This is the insanity of the jManichaeans, who will be wise if they cease to be Manicheans. As it is, if they are asked whether it is He that remakes and renews the inner man (which they acknowledge to be renewed after the image of God, and they themselves quote the passage in support of this; and, according to Faustus, God makes man when the inner man is renewed in the image of God), they will answer, yes. And if we then go on to ask when God made what He now renews, they must devise some subterfuge to prevent the exposure of their absurdities. For, according to them, the inner man is not formed or created or originated by God, but is part of His own substance sent aoinst His enemies; and instead of becoming old by sin, it is through necessity captured and damaged by the enemy. Not to repeat all the nonsense they talk, the first man they speak of is not the man of the earth earthly that the apostle speaks of,^ but an invention proceeding from their own magazine of untruths. Faustus, though he chooses man as a subject for discussion, says not a word of this first man; for he is afraid that his opponents in the discussion mio^ht come to know somethincf about him.

o o
BOOK XXV.

1. Faustus. Is God finite or infinite? He must be finite unless you are mistaken in addressing Him as the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob; unless, indeed, the being thus addressed is different from the God you call infinite. In the case of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the mark of circumcision, which separated these men from fellowship with other people, marked also the limit of God's power as extending only to them. And a being whose power is finite cannot himself be infinite. Moreover, in this address, you do not mention even the ancients before Abraham, such as Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and others like them, whom you allow to have been righteous though in uncircumcision; but because they lacked this distinguishing mark, you will not call God their

^ 1 Cor. XV. 47.

BOOK XXV.] IS GOD INFINITE? 505

God, but only of Abraham and his seed. Now, if God is one and infinite, what need of such careful particularity in addressing Him, as if it was not enough to name God, Avithout adding whose God He is â€” Abraham's, namely, and Isaac's and Jacob's; as if Abraham were a landmark to steer by in your invocation, to escape shipwreck among a shoal of deities? The Jews, who are circumcised, may very properly address this deity, as having a reason for it, because they call God the God of circumcision, in contrast to the gods of uncircumcision. But why should you do the same, it is difficult to understand; for you do not pretend to have Abraham's sign, though you invoke his God. If we understand the matter rightly, the Jews and their God seem to have set marks upon one another for the purpose of recognition, that they might not lose each other. So God gave them the disgusting mark of circumcision, that, in whatever land or among whatever people they might be, they might by being circumcised be known to be His. They again marked God by calling Him the God of their fathers, that, wherever He might be, though among a crowd of gods. He might, on hearing the name God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, know at once that He was addressed. So we often see, in a number of people of the same name, that no one answers till called by his surname. In the same way the shepherd or herdsman makes use of a brand to prevent his property being taken by others. In thus marking God by calling Him the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, you show not only that He is finite, but also that you have no connection with Him, because you have not the mark of circumcision by which He recognises His own. Therefore, if this is the God you worship, there can be no doubt of His being finite. But if you say that God is infinite, you must first of all give up this finite deity, and by altering your invocation, show your penitence for your past errors. We have thus proved God to be finite, taking you on your own ground. But to determine whether the one true God is infinite or not, we need only refer to the opposition between good and evil. If evil does
not exist, then certainly God is infinite; otherwise He must be finite. Evil, however, undoubtedly exists; therefore God is not infinite. It is where good stops that evil begins.

506 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [BOOK XXV.

2. Augustine. No one that knows you would dream of asking you about the infinitude of God, or of discussing the matter with you. For, before there can be any degree of spirituality in any of your conceptions, you must first have your minds cleared by simple faith, and by some elementary knowledge, from the illusions of carnal and material ideas. This your heresy prevents you from doing, for it invariably represents the body and the soul and God as extended in space, either finite or infinite, while the idea of space is applicable only to the body. As long as this is the case, it will be better for you to leave this matter alone; for you can teach no truth regarding it, any more than in other matters; and in this you are unfit for learning, as you might do in other things, if you were not proud and quarrelsome. For in such questions as how God can be finite, when no space can contain Him; how He can be infinite, when the Son knows Him perfectly; how He can be finite, and yet unbounded; how He can be infinite, and yet perfect; how He can be finite, who is without measure; how He can be infinite, who is the measure of all things; all carnal ideas go for nothing; and if the carnality is to be removed, it must first become ashamed of itself. Accordingly, your best way of ending the matter you have brought forward of God as finite or infinite, is to say no more about it till you cease going so far astray from Christ, who is the end of the law. Of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob we have already said enough to show why He who is the true God of all creatures wished to be familiarly known by His people under this name. On circumcision, too, we have already spoken in several places in answer to ignorant reproaches. The Manichaeans would find nothing to ridicule in this sign if they would view it as appointed by God, to be an appropriate symbol of the putting off of the flesh. They ought thus to consider the rite with a Christian instead of a heretical mind; as it is written, "To the pure all things are pure." But, considering the truth of the following words, "To the unclean and unbelieving nothing is pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled," we must remind our witty opponents, that if circumcision is indecent as they say it is,

1 Tit. i. 15.

BOOK xxvi] did JESUS die? 50*7

they should rather weep than laugh at it; for their god is exposed to restraint and contamination in conjunction both with the skin which is cut and with the blood which is shed.
BOOK XXVI.

1. Faustus. You ask, If Jesus was not born, how did He die?
Well, this is a probability, such as one makes use of in want of proofs. We will, however,
answer the question by examples taken from what you generally believe. If they are true,
they will prove our case; if they are false, they will help you no more than they will us.
You say then, How could Jesus die, if He were not man? In return, I ask you. How did
Elias not die, though he was a man? Could a mortal encroach upon the limits of
immortality, and could not Christ add to His immortality whatever experience of death
was required? If Elias* contrary to nature, lives for ever, why not allow that Jesus, with
no greater contrariety to nature, could remain in death for three days? Besides that, it is
not only Elias, but Moses and Enoch you believe to be immortal, and to have been taken
up with their bodies to heaven. Accordingly, if it is a good argument that Jesus was a man
because He died, it is an equally good argument that Elias was not a man because he did
not die. But as it is false that Elias was not a man, notwithstanding his supposed
immortality, so it is false that Jesus was a man, though He is considered to have died.
The truth is, if you will believe it, that the Hebrews were in a mistake regarding both the
death of Jesus and the immortality of Elias. For it is equally untrue that Jesus died and
that Elias did not die. But you believe whatever you please; and for the rest, you appeal to
nature. And, allowing this appeal* nature is against both the death of the immortal and
the immortality of the mortal. And if we refer to the power of effecting their purpose as
possessed by God and by man, it seems more possible for Jesus to die than for Elias not
to die; for the power of Jesus is greater than that of Elias. But if you exalt the weaker to
heaven, though nature is against it, and, forgetting his condition as a mortal, endow him
with

508 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AX. [BOOK XXVI.

eternal felicity, why should I not admit that Jesus could die if He pleased, even though I
were to grant His death to have been real, and not a mere semblance? For, as from the
outset of His taking the likeness of man He underwent in appearance all the experiences
of humanity, it was quite consistent that He should complete the system by appearing to
die.

2. Moreover, it is to be remembered that this reference to what nature grants as possible,
should be made in connection with all the history of Jesus, and not only with His death.
According to nature, it is impossible that a man blind from his birth should see the light;
and yet Jesus appears to have performed a miracle of this kind, so that the Jews
themselves exclaimed that from the beginning of the world it was not seen that one
opened the eyes of a man born blind.* So also healing a withered hand, giving the power
of utterance and expression to those born dumb, restoring animation to the dead, with the
recovery of their bodily frame after dissolution had begun, produce a feeling of
amazement, and must seem utterly incredible in view of what is naturally possible and
impossible. And yet, as Christians, we believe all the things to have been done by the
same person; for we regard not the law of nature, but the powerful operation of God. There is a story, too, of Jesus having been cast from the brow of a hill, and having escaped unhurt. If, then, when thrown down from a height He did not die, simply because He chose not to die, why should He not have had the power to die when He pleased? We take this way of answering you, because you have a fancy for discussion, and affect to use logical weapons not properly belonging to you. As regards our own belief, it is no more true that Jesus died than that Elias is immortal.

3. Augustine. As to Enoch and Elias and Moses, our belief is determined not by Faustus' suppositions, but by the declarations of Scripture, resting as they do on foundations of the strongest and surest evidence. People in error, as you are, are unfit to decide what is natural, and what contrary to nature.

We admit that what is contrary to the ordinary course of human experience is commonly spoken of as contrary to nature. Thus the apostle uses the words, "If thou art cut out

^ Joliu ix.

BOOK XXVL| nature AND MIRACLE. 509

of the wild olive, and engrafted contrary to nature in the good olive." ^ Contrary to nature is here used in the sense of contrary to human experience of the course of nature; as that a wild olive engrafted in a good olive should bring forth the fatness of the olive instead of wild berries. But God, the Author and Creator of all natures, does nothing contrary to nature; for whatever is done by Him who appoints all natural order and measure and proportion must be natural in every case. And man himself acts contrary to nature only when he sins; and then by punishment he is brought back to nature again. The natural order of justice requires either that sin should not be committed or that it should not go unpunished.

In either case, the natural order is preserved, if not by the soul, at least by God. For sin pains the conscience, and brings grief on the mind of the sinner, by the loss of the light of justice, even should no physical sufferings follow, which are inflicted for correction, or are reserved for the incorrigible.

There is, however, no impropriety in saying that God does a thing contrary to nature, when it is contrary to what we know of nature. For we give the name nature to the usual common course of nature; and whatever God does contrary to this, we call a prodigy, or a miracle. But against the supreme law of nature, which is beyond the knowledge both of the ungodly and of weak believers, God never acts, any more than He acts against Himself. As regards spiritual and rational beings, to which class the human soul belongs, the more they partake of this unchangeable law and light, the more clearly they see what is possible, and what impossible; and again, the greater their distance from it, the less their perception of the future, and the more frequent their surprise at strange occurrences./

4. Thus of what happened to Elias we are ignorant; but still we believe the truthful declarations of Scripture regarding him. Of one thing we are certain, that what God willed happened, and that except by God's will nothing can happen to any one. So, if I am
told that it is possible that the flesh of a certain man shall be changed into a celestial body, I allow the possibility, but I cannot tell whether it will be done; and the reason of my ignorance is, that I am not acquainted with

1 Rom. xi. 24.

510 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICHyEAN. [BOOK XXVI.

the will of God in the matter. That it will be done if it is God's will, is perfectly clear and indubitable. Again, if I am told that something would happen if God did not prevent it from happening, I reply confidently that what is to happen is the action of God, not the event which might otherwise have happened. For God knows His o^vn future action, and therefore He knows also the effect of that action in preventing the happening of what would otherwise have happened; and, beyond all question, what God knows is more certain than what man thinks. Hence it is as impossible for what is future not to happen, as for what is past not to have happened; for it can never be God's will that am-thing should, in the same sense, be both true and false. Therefore all that is properly future cannot but happen; what does not happen never was future; even as all things which are properly in the past did indubitably take place.

5. Accordingly, to say, if God is almighty, let Him make what has been done to be undone, is in fact to say, if God is almighty, let Him make a thing to be in the same sense both true and false. God can put an end to the existence of anything, when the thing to be put an end to has a present existence: as when He puts an end by death to the existence of any one who has been brought into existence in birth: for in this case there is an actual existence which may be put a stop to. But when a thing does not exist, the existence cannot be put a stop to. I^ow, what is past no longer exists, and whatever has an existence which can be put an end to cannot be past. ^Miat is truly past is no longer present; and the truth of its past existence is in our judgment, not in the thing itself which no longer exists. The proposition asserting an}i:hing to be past is true when the thing no longer exists. God cannot make such a proposition false, because He cannot contradict the truth. The truth in this case, or the true judgment, is fii^st of all in our own mind, when we know and give expression to it. But should it disappear from our minds by our forgetting it, it would still remain as truth. It will always be true that the past thing which is no longer present had an existence; and the truth of its past existence after it has stopped is the same as the truth of its future existence before it began to be. This truth

BOOK XXVI.] OMNIPOTENCE. 511

cannot be contradicted by God, in whom abides the supreme and unchangeable truth, and whose illumination is the source of all the truth to be found in any mind or understanding.
TTow God is not omnipotent in the sense of being able to die; nor does this inability prevent His being omnipotent. True omnipotence belongs to Him who truly exists, and who alone is the source of all existence, both spiritual and corporeal. The Creator makes what use He pleases of all His creatures; and His pleasure is in harmony with true and unchangeable justice, by which, as by His own nature. He, Himself unchangeable, brings to pass the changes of all changeable things according to the desert of their natures or of their actions. No one, therefore, would be so foolish as to deny that Elias being a creature of God could be changed either for the worse or for the better; or that by the will of the omnipotent God he could be changed in a manner unusual among men. So we can have no reason for doubting what on the high authority of Scripture is related of him, unless we limit the power of God to things which we are familiar with.

6. Faustus' argument is. If Elias who was a man could escape death, why might not Christ have the power of dying, since He was more than man? This is the same as to say. If human nature can be changed for the better, why should not the divine nature be changed for the worse? â€” a weak argument, seeing that human nature is changeable, while the divine nature is not. Such a method of inference would lead to the glaring absurdity, that if God can bestow eternal glory on man, â– He must also have the power of consigning Himself to eternal misery. Faustus will reply that his argument refers only to three days of death for God, as compared with eternal life for man. Well, if you understood the three days of death in the sense of the death of the flesh which God took as a part of our mortal nature, you would be quite correct; for the truth of the gospel makes known that the death of Christ for three days was for the eternal life of men. But in arguing that there is no impropriety in asserting a death of three days of the divine nature itself, without any assumption of mortality, because human nature can be endowed with immortality, you display the folly of one who knows neither God nor the gifts of God. And indeed, since you make part of your god to be fastened to the mass of darkness for ever, how can you escape the absurd conclusion already mentioned, that God consigns Himself to eternal misery? You will then require to prove that part of light is light, while part of God is not God. To give you in a word, without argument, the true reason of our faith, as regards Elias having been caught up to heaven from the earth, though only a man, and as regards Christ being truly born of a virgin, and truly dying on the cross, our belief in both cases is grounded on the declaration of Holy Scripture,"^ which it is pieties to believe, and impiety to disbelieve. What is said of Elias you pretend to deny, for you will pretend anything. Eegarding Christ, although even you do not go the length of saying that He could not die, though He could be born, still you deny His birth from a virgin, and assert His death on the cross to have been feigned, which is equivalent to denying it too, except as a mockery for the delusion of men; and you allow so much merely to obtain indulgence for your own falsehoods from the believers in these fictions.
7. The question which Faustus makes it appear that he is asked by a Catholic, *If Jesus was not born, how could He die?* could be asked only by one who overlooked the fact that Adam died, though he was not born. Who will venture to say that the Son of God could not, if He had pleased, have made for Himself a true human body in the same way as He did for Adam; for all things were made by Him? or who will deny that He who is the Almighty Son of the Almighty could, if He had chosen, have taken a body from a heavenly substance, or from air or vapour, and have so changed it into the precise character of a human body, as that He might have lived as a man, and have died in it? Or, once more, if He had chosen to take a body of none of the material substances which He had made, but to create for Himself from nothing real flesh, as all things were created by Him from nothing, none of us will oppose this by saying that He could not have done it. The reason of our believing Him to have been born of the Virgin Mary, is not that He could not otherwise have appeared among men in a true body, but because it is so written in the Scripture, which we must believe in order to be Christians, or to be saved. We believe, then, that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, because it is so written in the Gospel; we believe that He died on the cross, because it is so written in the Gospel; we believe that both His birth and death were real, because the Gospel is no fiction. Why He chose to suffer all these things in a body taken from a woman is a matter known only to Himself. Perhaps He took this way of giving importance and honour to both the sexes which He had created, taking the form of a man, and being born of a woman; or there may have been some other reason, we cannot tell. But this may be confidently affirmed, that what took place was exactly as we are told in the Gospel narrative, and that what the wisdom of God determined upon was exactly what ought to have happened. We place the authority of the Gospel above all heretical discussions; and we admire the counsel of divine wisdom more than any counsel of any creature.

8. Faustus calls upon us to believe him, and says, *The truth is, if you will believe it, that the Hebreios were in a mistake regarding to both the death of Jesus and the immortality of Elias.*
And a little after he adds, *As from the outset of His alking the likeness of man He underwent in appearance all the experiences of humanity, it was quite consistent that He*
should complete the system by appearing to die. How can this infamous liar, who declares that Christ feigned death, expect to be believed?

Did Christ utter falsehood when He said, "It behoves the Son of man to be killed, and to rise the third day"? And do you tell us to believe what you say, as if you uttered no falsehoods? In that case, Peter was more truthful than Christ when he said to Him, "Be it far from Thee, Lord: this shall not be unto Thee;" for which it was said to him, "Get thee behind me, Satan." This rebuke was not lost upon Peter, for, after his correction and full preparation, he preached even to his own death the truth of the death of Christ. But if Peter deserved to be called Satan for thinkings that Christ would not die, what should you be called, when you not only deny that Christ died, but assert that He feigned death? You give, as a reason for Christ's appearing to die, that He underwent


2 K

514 r.EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICIL^AN. [BOOK XXVII.

in appearance all the experiences of humanity. But that He feigned all the experiences of humanity is only your opinion in opposition to the Gospel. In reality, when the evangelist says that Jesus slept/ that He was hungry/ that He was thirsty/ that He was sorrowful* or glad, and so on, â€” these things are all true in the sense of not being feigned but actual experiences; only that they were undergone, not from a mere natural necessity, but in the exercise of a controlling will, and of divine power. In the case of a man, anger, sorrow, sleeping, being hungry and thirsty, are often involuntary; in Christ they were acts of His own will. So also men are born without any act of their own will, and suffer against their will; while Christ was born and suffered by His own will. Stni, the things are true; and the accurate narrative of them is intended to instruct whoever believes in Christ's gospel in the truth, not to delude him with falsehoods.

BOOK XXVII.

1. Faustus. If Jesus was not born, He cannot have suffered; but since He did suffer, He must have been born. I advise you not to have recourse to logical inference in these matters, or else your whole faith will be shaken. For, even according to you, Jesus was born miraculously of a virgin; which the argument from consequents to antecedents shows to be false. For your argument might thus be turned against you: If Jesus was born of a woman. He must have been begotten by a man; but He was not begotten by a man, therefore He was not born of a woman.
If, as you believe. He could be born without being begotten, why could He not also suffer without being brought forth?

2. Augustine. The argument which you here reply to is one which could be used only by such ignorant people as you succeed in misleading, not by those who know enough to refute you. Jesus could both be born without being begotten and suffer without being brought forth. His being one and not the other was the effect of His own will. He chose to be born without being begotten, and not to suffer without being brought forth.


BOOK XXVIII.] WAS CHRIST BORX? 515

And if you ask how I know that He was brought forth, and that He suffered, I read this in the faithful Gospel narrative. If I ask how you know what you state, you bring forward the authority of Manichseus, and charge the Gospel with falsehood. Even if Manichceus did not set forth falsehood as an excellence in Christ, I should not believe his statements. His praise of falsehood comes from nothing that he found in Christ, but from his own moral character.

BOOK XXVIII.

1. Faustus. Christ, you say, could not have died, had He not been born. I reply, If He was born. He cannot have been God; or if He could both be God and be born, why could He not both be born and die? Plainly, arguments and necessary consequences are not applicable to those matters, where the question is of the account to be given of Jesus. The answer must be obtained from His own statements, or from the statements of His apostles regarding Him. The genealogy must be examined as regards its consistency with itself, instead of arguing from the supposition of Christ's death to the fact of His birth; for He might have suffered without having been born, or He might have been born, and yet never have suffered; for you yourselves acknowledge that with God nothing is impossible, which is inconsistent with the denial that Christ could have suffered without having been born.

2. Augustine. You are always answering arguments which no one uses, instead of our real arguments, which you cannot answer. No one says that Christ could not die if He had not been born; for Adam died though he had not been born. What we say is, Christ was born, because this is said not by this or that heretic, but in the holy Gospel; and He died, for this too is written, not in some heretical production, but in the holy Gospel. You set aside argument on the question of the true account to be given of Jesus, and refer to what He says of Himself, and what His apostles say of Him; and
yet, when I begin to quote the Gospel of His apostle Matthew, where we have the whole
classifications of Christ's birth,

516 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÆAN. [BOOK XXVIII.

you forthwith deny that Matthew wrote the narrative, though this is affirmed by the
continuous testimony of the whole Church, from the days of apostolic presidency to the
bishops of our own time. What authority will you quote against this?
Perhaps some book of Manichaeus, where it is denied that Jesus was born of a virgin. As,
then, I believe your book to be the production of Manichaeus, since it has been kept and
handed down among the disciples of Manichaeus, from the time when he lived to the
present time, by a regular succession of your presidents, so I ask you to believe the book
which I quote to have been written by Matthew, since it has been handed down from the
days of Matthew in the Church, without any break in the connection between that time
and the present.
The question then is, whether we are to believe the statements of an apostle who was in
the company of Christ while He was on earth, or of a man away in Persia, born long after
Christ.
But perhaps you will quote some other book bearing the name of an apostle known to
have been chosen by Christ; and you will find there that Christ was not born of Mary.
Since, then, one of the books must be false, the question in this case is, whether we are to
yield our belief to a book acknowledged and approved as handed down from the
beginning in the Church founded by Christ Himself, and maintained through the apostles
and their successors in an unbroken connection all over the world to the present day; or to
a book which this Church condemns as unknown, and which, moreover, is brought
forward by men who prove their veracity by praising Christ for falsehood.

3. Here you will say. Examine the crenealoo as criven in the two Gospels, and see if it is
consistent with itself. The answer to this has been given already. Your difficulty is how
Joseph could have two fathers. But even if you could not have thought of the explanation,
that one was his own father, and the other adopted, you should not have been so ready to
put yourself in opposition to such high authority.
Now that this explanation has been given you, I call upon you to acknowledge the truth
of the Gospel, and above all to cease your mischievous and unreasonable attacks upon the
truth.

4. Faustus most plausibly refers to what Jesus said of

1 III. 3.
Himself. But how is this to be known except from the narratives of His disciples? And if we do not believe them when they tell us that Christ was born of a virgin, how shall we believe what they record as said by Christ of Himself?

For, as regards any writing professing to come immediately from Christ Himself, if it were really His, how is it not read and acknowledged and regarded as of supreme authority in the Church, which, beginning with Christ Himself, and continued by His apostles, who were succeeded by the bishops, has been maintained and extended to our own day, and in which is found the fulfilment of many former predictions, while those concerning the last days are sure to be accomplished in the future? In regard to the appearance of such a writing, it would require to be considered from what quarter it issued. Supposing it to have issued from Christ Himself, those in immediate connection with Him might very well have received it, and have transmitted it to others. In this case, the authority of the writing would be fully established by the traditions of various communities, and of their presidents, as I have already said. Who, then, is so infatuated as in our day to believe that the Epistle of Christ issued by Manichaeus is genuine, or to disbelieve Matthew's narrative of Christ's words and actions? Or, if the question is of Matthew being the real author, who would not, in this also, believe what he finds in the Church, which has a distinct history in unbroken connection from the days of Matthew to the present time, rather than a Persian interloper, who comes more than two hundred years after, and wishes us to believe his account of Christ's words and actions rather than that of Matthew; whereas, even in the case of the Apostle Paul, who was called from heaven after the Lord's ascension, the Church would not have believed him, had there not been apostles in life with whom he might communicate, and compare his gospel with theirs, so as to be recognised as belonging to the same society?

When it was ascertained that Paul preached what the apostles preached, and that he lived in fellowship and harmony with them, and when God's testimony was added by Paul's working miracles like those done by the apostles, his authority became so great, that his words are now received in the Church, as if.

518 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÉAN. [BOOK XXVIII.

to use his own appropriate words, Christ were speaking in him.^^ Manichceus, on the other hand, thinks that the Church of Christ should believe what he says in opposition to the Scriptures, which are supported by such strong and continuous evidence, and in which the Church finds an emphatic injunction, that whoever preaches to her differently from what she has received must be anathema.

5. Faustus tells us that he has good grounds for concluding that these Scriptures are unworthy of credit. And yet he speaks of not using arguments. But the argument too shall be refuted. The end of the whole argument is to brings the soul to believe that the reason of its misery in this world is, that it is the means of preventing God from being deprived of His kingdom, and that God's substance and nature is so exposed to change, corruption, injury, and contamination, that part of it is incurably defiled, and is consigned by Himself to eternal punishment in the mass of darkness, though, when it was in harmless union
with Himself, and guilty of no crime, He knowingly sent it where it was to suffer defilement.
This is the end of all your arguments and fictions; and would that there were an end of them as regards your heart and your lips, that you might sometime desist from believing and uttering those horrible profanities! But, says Faustus, I prove from the writings themselves that they cannot be in all points trustworthy, for they contradict one another. Why not say, then, that they are wholly untrustworthy, if their testimony is inconsistent and self-contradictory? But, says Faustus, I say what I think to be in accordance with truth. With what truth? The truth is only your own fiction, which begins with God's battle, goes on to His contamination, and ends with His damnation. ISTo one, saj's Faustus, believes writings which contradict themselves. But if you think they do this, it is because you do not understand them; for your ignorance has been manifested in regard to the passages you have quoted in support of your opinion, and the same will appear in regard to any quotations you may still make. So there is no reason for our not believing these writings, supported as they are by such weighty testimony; and this is itself the best reason for

1 2 Cor. xiii. 3. ^ (jgi. i. s, 9.

BOOK XXIX.] WAS CHRIST'S BIRTH NECESSARY? 519

pronouncing accursed those whose preaching differs from what is there written.

BOOK XXIX.

1. Faustus. If Christ was visible, and suffered without having been born, this was sorcery. This argument of yours may be turned against you, by replying that it was sorcery if He was conceived or brought forth without being begotten. (jLi is not in accordance with the law of nature that a virgin should bring forth, and still less that she should still be a virgin after bringing forth. Why, then, do you refuse to admit that Christ, in a preternatural manner, suffered without submitting to the condition of birth? Believe me: in substance, both our beliefs are contrary to nature; but our belief is decent, and yours is not. We give an explanation of Christ's passion which is at least probable, while the only explanation you give of His birth is false. In fine, we hold that He suffered in appearance, and did not really die; you believe in an actual birth, and conception in the womb. If it is not so, you have only to acknowledge that the birth too was a delusion, and our whole dispute will be at an end. As to what you frequently allege, that Christ could not have appeared or spoken to men without having been born, it is absurd; for, as our teachers have shown, angels have often appeared and spoken to men.

2. Augustine. We do not say that to die without having been born is sorcery; for, as we have said already, this happened in the case of Adam. But, though it had never happened,
who will venture to say that Christ could not, if He had so pleased, have come without taking His body from a virgin, and yet appearing in a true body to redeem us by a true death? However, it was better that He should be, as He actually was, born of a virgin, and, by His condescension, do honour to both sexes, for whose deliverance He was to die, by taking a man's body born of a woman. In this He testifies emphatically against you, and refutes your doctrine, which makes the sexes the work of the devil. "What we call sorcery in your doctrine is your making Christ's passion and death to

520 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN. [BOOK XXIX.

have been only in appearance, so that, by a spectral illusion, He seemed to die when He did not. Hence you must also make His resurrection spectral and illusory and false; for if there was no true death, there could not be a real resurrection. Hence also the marks which He showed to His doubting disciples must have been false; and Thomas was not assured by truth, but cheated by a lie, when he exclaimed, "My Lord, and my God." And yet you would have us believe that your tongue utters truth, though Christ's whole body was a falsehood. Our argument against you is, that the Christ you make is such that you cannot be His true disciple unless you too practise deceit. The fact that Christ's body was the only one born of a virgin does not prove that there was sorcery in His birth, any more than there is sorcery in its being the only body to rise again on the third day, never to die any more. Will you say that there was sorcery in all the Lord's miracles because they were unusual? They really happened, and their appearance, as seen by men, was true, and not an illusion; and when they are said to be contrary to nature, it is not that they oppose nature, but that they transcend the method of nature to which we are accustomed. May God keep the minds of His people who are still babes in Christ from being influenced by Faustus, when he recommends as a duty that we should acknowledge Christ's birth to have been illusory and not real, that so we may end our dispute 1 Nay, verily, rather let us continue to contend for the truth against them, than agree with them in falsehood.

3. But if we are to end the controversy by saying this, why do not our opponents themselves say it? While they assert the death of Christ to have been not real but feigned, why do they make out that He had no birth at all, not even of the same kind as His death? If they had so much regard for the authority of the evangelist as to oblige them to admit that Christ suffered, at least in appearance, it is the same authority which testifies to His birth. Two evangelists, indeed, give the story of the birth; but in all we read of Jesus having a mother. Perhaps Faustus was unwilling to make the birth


3 Matt. ii. 11: Mark iii. 32; Luke ii. 33; John ii. 1.
an illusion, because the difference of the genealogies given in Matthew and Luke causes an apparent discrepancy. But, supposing a man ignorant, there are many things also relating to the passion of Christ in which he will think the evangelists disagree; suppose him instructed, he finds entire agreement.

Can it be right to feign death, and wrong to feign birth? And yet Faustus will have us acknowledge the birth to be feigned, in order to put an end to the dispute. It will appear presently in our reply to another objection what we think to be the reason why Faustus will not admit of any birth, even a feimed one.

4. We deny that there is anything disgraceful in the bodies of saints. Some members, indeed, are called uncomely, because they have not so pleasing an appearance as those constantly in view. But attend to what the apostle says, when from the unity and harmony of the body he enjoins charity on the Church: "Much more those members of the body, which seem to be feeble, are necessary: and those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. For our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked: that there should be no schism in the body." ^ The licentious and intemperate use of those members is disgraceful, but not the members themselves; for they are preserved in purity not only by the unmarried, but also by wedded fathers and mothers of holy life, in whose case the natural appetite, as serving not lust, but an intelligent purpose in the production of children, is in no way disgraceful. Still more, in the holy Virgin Mary, who by faith conceived the body of Christ, there was nothing disgraceful in the members which served not for a common natural conception, but for a miraculous birth. In order that we might conceive Christ in sincere hearts, and, as it were, produce Him in confession, it was meet that His body should

^ In the Retractations, ii. sec. 7, Augustine refers in connection of this remark to his Reply to the Second Answer of Julian, iv. sec. 36, where he makes uncomeliness the effect of sin.

2 1 Cor. xii. 22-25.

522 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^.,^JN'. [BOOK XXX.

come from the substance of His mother, with injury to her bodily purity. We cannot suppose that the mother of Christ suffered loss by His birth, or that the gift of productiveness displaced the grace of virginity. If these occurrences, which were real and no illusion, are new and strange, and contrary to the common course of nature, the reason is, that they are great, and amazing, and divine; and all the more on this account are they
true, and firm, and sure. Angels, says Faustus, appeared and spoke without having been born. As if we held that Christ could not have appeared or spoken without having been born of a woman! He could, but He chose not; and what He chose was best. And that He chose to do what He did is plain, because He acted, not like your god, from necessity, but voluntarily. That He was born we know, because we put faith not in a heretic, but in Christ's gospel.

\r\n
BOOK

1. Faustus. You apply to us the words of Paul: "Some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their consciences seared as with a hot iron; forbidding to marry; abstaining from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by believers." (I refuse to admit that the apostle said this, unless you first acknowledge that Moses and the prophets taught doctrines of devils, and were the interpreters of a lying and malignant spirit; since they enjoin with great emphasis abstinence from swine's flesh and other meats, which they call unclean. This case must first be settled; and you must consider long and carefully how their teaching is to be viewed: whether they said these things from God, or from the devil. As regards these matters, either Moses and the prophets must be condemned along with us, or we must be acquitted along with them. (You are unjust in condemning us, as you do now, as followers of the doctrine of devils, because we require the priestly class to abstain from animal food; for we limit the prohibition to the priesthood, while you hold that your pro-

i 1 Tim. iv. 1-3.

BOOK XXX.] OX ABSTIXEXCE. 523

phets, and Moses himself, who forbade all classes of men to eat the flesh of swine, and hares, and conies, besides all varieties of cuttle-fish, and all fish wanting scales, said this not in a lying spirit, nor in the doctrine of devils, but from God, and in the Holy Spirit. Even supposing, then, that Paul said these words, you can convince me only by condemning Moses and the prophets; and so, though you will not do it for reason or truth, you will contradict Moses for the sake of your belly.
2. Besides, you have in your Book of Daniel the account of the three youths, which you will find it difficult to reconcile with the opinion that to abstain from meats is the doctrine of devils. For we are told that they abstained not only from what the law forbade, but even from what it allowed; and you are wont to praise them, and count them as martyrs; though they too followed the doctrine of devils, if this is to be taken as the apostle's opinion. And Daniel himself declares that he fasted for three weeks, not eating flesh or drinking wine, while he prayed for his people. How is it that he boasts of this doctrine of devils, and glories in the falsehood of a lying spirit?

3. Again, what are we to think of you, or of the better class of Christians among you, some of whom abstain from swine's flesh, some from the flesh of quadrupeds, and some from all animal food, while all the Church admires them for it, and regards them with profound admiration, as only not gods? You obstinately refuse to consider that if the words quoted from the apostle are true and genuine, these people too are misled by doctrines of devils. And there is another observance which no one will venture to explain away or to deny, for it is known to all, and is practised yearly with particular attention in the congregation of Catholics all over the world — I mean the fast of forty days, in the due observance of which a man must abstain from all the things which, according to this verse, were created by God that we might receive them, while at the same time he calls his abstinence a doctrine of devils. So, my dear friends, shall we say that you too, during this fast, while celebrating the mysteries of Christ's passion, live after the manner of devils, and are deluded by a

1 Dan. i. 12. 2 pan. x. 2, 3.

524 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.AN. [BOOK XXX-

...seducing spirit, and speak lies in hypocrisy, and have your conscience seared with a hot iron? If this does not apply to you, neither does it apply to us. What is to be thought of this verse, or its author; or to whom does it apply, since it agrees neither with the traditions of the Old Testament, nor with the institutions of the New? As regards the New Testament, the proof is from your own practice; and though the Old requires abstinence only from certain things, still it requires abstinence. On the other hand, this opinion of yours makes all abstinence from animal food a doctrine of devils. If this is your belief, once more I say it, you must condemn Moses, and reject the prophets, and pass the same sentence on yourselves; for, as they always abstained from certain kinds of food, so you sometimes abstain from all food.

4. But if you think that in making a distinction in food, Moses and the prophets established a divine ordinance, and not a doctrine of devils; if Daniel in the Holy Spirit observed a fast of three weeks; if the youths Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael, under divine guidance, chose to live on cabbage or pulse; if, again, those among you who abstain, do it not at the instigation of devils; if your abstinence from wine and flesh for forty days is not superstitious, but by divine command, consider, I beseech you, if it is not perfect
madness to suppose these words to be Paul's, that abstinence from food and forbidding to marry are doctrines of devils. Paul cannot have said that to dedicate virgins to Christ is a doctrine of devils. But you read the words, and inconsiderately, as usual, apply them to us, without seeing that this stamps your virgins too as led away by the doctrine of devils, and that you are the functionaries of the devils in your constant endeavours to induce virgins to make this profession, so that in all your churches the virgins nearly outnumber the married women. Why do you still adhere to such practices? Why do you ensnare wretched young women, if it is the will of devils, and not of Christ, that they fulfil? But, first of all, I wish to know if making virgins is, in all cases, the doctrine of devils, or only the prohibition of marriage. If it is the prohibition, it does not apply to us, for we too hold it equally foolish to prevent one who wishes, as it is criminal and impious

BOOK XXX.] PAUL AND THECLA. 525

to force one who has some reluctance. But if you say that to encourage the proposal, and not to resist such a desire, is all the doctrine of devils, to say nothing of the consequence as regards you, the apostle himself will be thus brought into danger, if he must be considered as having introduced the doctrines of devils into Iconium, when Thecla, after having been betrothed, was by his discourse inflamed with the desire of perpetual virginity. And what shall we say of Jesus, the Master Himself, and the source of all sanctity, who is the unwedded spouse of the virgins who make this profession, and who, when specifying in the Gospel three kinds of eunuchs, natural, artificial, and voluntary, gives the palm to those who have "made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," meaning the youths of both sexes who have extirpated from their hearts the desire of marriage, and who in the Church act as eunuchs of the King's palace? Is this also the doctrine of devils? Are those words, too, spoken in a seducing spirit? And if Paul and Christ are proved to be priests of devils, is not their spirit the same that speaks in God? I do not mention the other apostles of our Lord, Peter, Andrew, Thomas, and the example of celibacy, the blessed John, who in various ways commended to young men and maidens the excellence of this profession, leaving to us, and to you too, the form for making virgins. I do not mention them, because you do not admit them into the canon, and so you will not scruple impiously to impute to them doctrines of devils. But will you say the same of Christ, or of the Apostle Paul, who, we know, everywhere expressed the same preference for unmarried women to the married, and gave an example of it in the case of the saintly Thecla? But if the doctrine preached by Paul to Thecla, and which the other apostles also preached, was not the doctrine of devils, how can we believe that Paul left on record his opinion, that the very exhortation to sanctity is the injunction and the doctrine of devils? To make virgins simply by exhortation, without forbidding to marry, is not peculiar to you. That is our principle too; and he must be not only a fool, but a madman, who thinks that a private law can forbid what the public law allows. As regards mar-

riage, therefore, we too encourage virgins to remain as they are when they are willing to do so; we do not make them virgins against their will. For we know the force of will and of natural appetite when opposed by public law; much more when the law is only private, and every one is at liberty to disobey it. If, then, it is no crime to make virgins in this manner, we are guiltless as well as you. If it is wrong to make virgins in any way, you are guilty as well as we. So that what you mean, or intend, by quoting this verse against us, it is impossible to say.

5. Augustine. Listen, and you shall hear what we mean and intend by quoting this verse against you, since you say that you do not know. It is not that you abstain from animal food; for, as you observe, our ancient fathers abstained from some kinds of food, not, however, as condemning them, but with a typical meaning, which you do not understand, and of which I have said already in this work all that appeared necessary. Besides, Christians, not heretics, but Catholics, in order to subdue the body, that the soul may be more humbled in prayer, abstain not only from animal food, but also from some vegetable productions, without, however, believing them to be unclean. A few do this always; and at certain seasons or days, as in Lent, almost all, more or less, according to the choice or ability of individuals. You, on the other hand, deny that the creature is good, and call it unclean, saying that animals are made by the devil of the worst impurities in the substance of evil; and so you reject them with horror, as being the most cruel, and loathsome places of confinement of your god. You, as a concession, allow your followers, as distinct from the priests, to eat animal food; as the apostle allows, in certain cases, not marriage in the general sense, but the indulgence of passion in marriage." It is only sin which is thus made allowance for. This is the feeling you have toward all animal food; you have learned it from your heresy, and you teach it to your followers. You make allowance for your followers, because, as I said before, they supply you with necessaries; but you grant them indulgence without saying that it is not sinful. For yourselves, you shun contact with

^ 1 Cor. vii. 5, 6.

BOOK XXX.] EVERY CREATURE IS GOOD. 527

this evil and impurity; and hence our reason for quoting this verse against you is found in the words of the apostle which follow those with which you end the quotation. Perhaps it was for this reason that you left out the words, and then say that you do not know what we mean or intend by the quotation; for it suited you better to omit the account of our intention than to express it. For, after speaking of abstaining from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by believers, the apostle goes on, " And by them
who know the truth; for every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." ^ This you deny; for your idea, and motive, and belief in abstaining from such food is, that they are not typically, but naturally, evil and impure. In this assuredly you blaspheme the Creator; and in this is the doctrine of devils. You need not be surprised that, so long before the event, this prediction regarding you was made by the Holy Spirit.

6. So, again, if your exhortations to virginity resembled the teaching of the apostle, "He who giveth in marriage doeth well, and who giveth not in marriage doeth better;" ^ if you taught that marriage is good, and virginity better, as the Church teaches which is truly Christ's Church, you would not have been described in the Spirit's prediction as forbidding to marry. What a man forbids he makes evil; but a good thing may be placed second to a better thing without being forbidden. Moreover, the only honourable kind of marriage, or marriage entered into for its proper and legitimate purpose, is precisely that you hate most. So, though you may not forbid sexual intercourse, you forbid marriage; for the peculiarity of marriage is, that it is not merely for the gratification of passion, but, as is written in the contract, for the procreation of children. And, though you allow many of your followers to retain their connection with you in spite of their refusal, or their inability, to obey you, you cannot deny that you make the prohibition. The prohibition is part of your false doctrine, while the toleration is only for the interests of the society. And here we see the reason, which I have delayed till now to mention, for your making not the birth but only the death of Christ feigned and illusory. Death being the separation of the soul, that is, of the nature of your god, from the body which belongs to his enemies, for it is the work of the devil, you uphold and approve of it; and thus, according to your creed, it was meet that Christ, though He did not die, should commend death by appearing to die. In birth, again, you believe your god to be bound instead of released; and so you will not allow that Christ was born even in this illusory fashion. You would have thought better of Mary had she ceased to be a "STrigin without being a mother, than as being a mother without ceasins; to be a virgifin. You see, then, that there is a great difference between exhorting to virginity as the better of two good things, and forbidding to marry by denouncing the true purpose of marriage; between abstaining from food as a symbolic observance, or for the mortification of the body, and abstaining from food which God has created for the reason that God did not create it. In one case, we have the doctrine of the prophets and apostles; in the other, the doctrine of Iving; devils.

BOOK XXXI.
1. Faustus. "To the pure all things are pure. But to the impure and defiled is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience are defiled." As regards this verse, too, it is very doubtful whether, for your own sake, you should believe it to have been written by Paul. For it would follow that Moses and the prophets were not only influenced by devils in making so much in their laws of the distinctions in food, but also that they themselves were impure and defiled in their mind and conscience, so that the following words also might properly be applied to them: "They profess to know God, but in works deny Him." 

This is applicable to no one more than to Moses and the prophets, who are known to have lived very differently from what was becoming in men knowing God. Up to this time I have thought only of adulteries and frauds

1 Tit. i. 16.

BOOK XXXI.] MERIT OF ABSTINENCE. 529

and murders as defiling the conscience of Moses and the prophets; but now, from what this verse says, it is plain that they were, also defiled, because they looked upon something as defiled. (How, then, can you persist in thinking that the vision of the divine majesty can have been bestowed on such men, when it is written that only the pure in heart can see God? Even supposing that they had been pure from unlawful crimes, this superstitious abstinence from certain kinds of food, if it defiles the mind, is enough to debar them from the sight of deity. Gone for ever, too, is the boast of Daniel, and of the three youths, who, till now that we are told that nothing is unclean, have been regarded among the Jews as persons of great purity and excellence of character, because, in observance of hereditary customs, they carefully avoided defiling themselves with Gentile food, especially that of sacrifices. 

Now it appears that they were defiled in mind and conscience most of all when they were closing their mouth against blood and idol-feasts.

2. But perhaps their ignorance may excuse them; for, as this Christian doctrine of all things being pure to the pure had not then appeared, they may have thought some things impure. But there can be no excuse for you in the face of Paul's announcement, that there is nothing which is not pure, and that abstinence from certain food is the doctrine of devils, and that those who think anything defiled are polluted in their mind, if you not only abstain, as we have said, but make a merit of it, and believe that you become more acceptable to Christ in proportion as you are more abstemious, or, according to this new doctrine, as your minds are defiled and your conscience polluted. It should also be observed that, while there are three religions in the world which, though in a very different manner, appoint chastity and abstinence as the means of purification of the mind, the religions, namely, of the Jews, the Gentiles, and the Christians, the opinion that everything is pure cannot have come from any one of the three. It is certainly not from Judaism, nor from Paganism, which also makes a distinction of food; the only difference being, that the Hebrew classification of animals
does not harmonize with the Pagan. Then as to the Christian faith, if you think it peculiar to Christianity to consider nothing defiled, you must first of all confess that there are no Christians among you. For things offered to idols, and what dies of itself, to mention nothing else, are regarded by you all as great defilement. If, again, this is a Christian practice, on your part, the doctrine which is opposed to all abstinence from impurities cannot be traced to Christianity either. How, then, could Paul have said what is not in keeping with any religion? In fact, when the apostle from a Jew became a Christian, it was a change of customs more than of religion. As for the writer of this verse, there seems to be no religion which favours his opinion.

3. Be sure, then, whenever you discover anything else in Scripture to assail our faith with, to see, in the first place, that it is not against you, before you commence your attack on us. For instance, there is the passage you continually quote about Peter, that he once saw a vessel let down from heaven in which were all kinds of animals and serpents, and that, when he was surprised and astonished, a voice was heard, saying to him, Peter, kill and eat whatsoever thou seest in the vessel, and that he replied, Lord, I will not touch what is common or unclean. On this the voice spoke again. What I have cleansed, call not unclean. This, indeed, seems to have an allegorical meaning, and not to refer to the absence of distinction in food. But as you choose to give it this meaning, you are bound to feed upon all wild animals, and serpents, and reptiles in general, in compliance with this vision of Peter's. In this way, you will show that you are really obedient to the voice which Peter is said to have heard. But you must never forget that you at the same time condemn Moses and the prophets, who considered many things polluted, which, according to this utterance, God has cleansed.

4. Augustine. When the apostle says, "To the pure all things are pure," he refers to the natures which God had created, as it is written by Moses in Genesis, "And God made all things; and behold they were very good," not to the typical meanings, according to which God, by the same Moses, dis-

1 Acts X. 11-15. 2 Gen. i. 31.
tino-nished the clean from the unclean. Of this we have already spoken at length more than once, and need not dwell on it here. It is clear that the apostle called those impure who, after the revelation of the NEw Testament, still advocated the observance of the shadows of things to come, as if without them the Gentiles could not obtain the salvation which is in Christ, because in this they were carnally minded; and he called them unbelieving, because they did not distinguish between the time of the law and the time of grace. To them, he says, nothing is pure, because they made an erroneous and sinful use both of what they received and of what they rejected; which is true of all unbelievers, but especially of you Manichasans, for to you nothing whatever is pure. /For, although you take great care to keep the food which you use separate from the contamination of flesh, still it is not pure to you, for the only creator of it you allow is the devil. And you hold that, by eating it, you release your god, who suffers confinement and pollution in it. One would think you might consider yourselves pure, since your stomach is the proper place for purifying your god. But even your own bodies, in your opinion, are of the nature and handiwork of the race of darkness; while your souls are still affected by the pollution of your bodies. What, then, is pure to you? 'Not the things you eat; not the receptacle of your food; not yourselves, by whom it is purified. Thus you see against whom the words of the apostle are directed; he expresses himself so as to include all who are impure and unbelieving, but first and chiefly to condemn you. To the pure, therefore, all things are pure, in the nature in which they were created; but to the ancient Jewish people all things were not pure in their typical significance; and, as regards bodily health, or the customs of society, all things are not suitable to us. But when things are in their proper places, and the order of nature is preserved, to the pure all things are pure; but to the impure and unbelieving, among whom you stand first, nothing is pure. You might make a wholesome application to yourselves of the following words of the apostle, if you desired a cure for your seared consciences. The words are: "Their very mind and conscience are defiled."

532 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.-EAN. [BOOK XXXII.

BOOK XXXII.

1. Faustus. You say, that if we believe the Gospel, we must believe everything that is written in it. Why, then, since you believe the Old Testament, do you not believe all that is found in any part of it? Instead of that, you cull out only the prophecies telling of a future King of the Jews, for you suppose this to be Jesus, along with a few precepts of common morality, such as, Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery; and all the rest you pass over, thinking of the other things as Paul thou2:ht of the things which he held to be

0 0 0
dung. Why, then, should it seem strange or singular in me that I select from the Xew Testament whatever is purest, and helpful for my salvation, while I set aside the interpolations of your predecessors, which impair its dignity and grace?

2. If there are parts of the Testament of the Father which we are not bound to observe (for you attribute the Jewish law to the Father, and it is well laiown that many things in it shock you, and make you ashamed, so that in heart you no longer regard it as free from corruption, though, as you believe, the Father Himself partly wrote it for you with His own finger, while part was written by Moses, who was faithful and trustworthy), the Testament of the Son must be equally liable to corruption, and may equally well contain objectionable things; especially as it is allowed not to have been written by the Son Himself, nor by His apostles, but long after, by some unknown men, who, lest they should be suspected of writing of things they knew nothing of, gave to their books the names of the apostles, or of those who were thought to have followed the apostles, declaring the contents to be according to these originals. In this, I think, they do grievous wrong to the disciples of Christ, by quoting their authority for the discordant and contradictory statements in these writings, saying that it was according to them that they wrote the Gospels, which are so full of errors and discrepancies, both in facts and in opinions, that they can be harmonized neither with them-

1 Phil. iii. 8.

BOOK XXXII.] OLD TESTAMENT NOT ACCEPTED. 533

selves nor with one another. This is nothing else than to slander good men, and to bring the charge of dissension on the brotherhood of the disciples. In reading the Gospels, the clear intention of our heart perceives the errors, and, to avoid all injustice, we accept whatever is useful, in the way of building up our faith, and promoting the glory of the Lord Christ, and of the Almighty God, His Father, while we reject the rest as unbecoming the majesty of God and Christ, and inconsistent with our belief.

3. To return to what I said of your not accepting everythinci; in the Old Testament. You do not admit carnal circumcision, though that is what is written / nor resting from all occupation on the Sabbath, though that is enjoined; and instead of propitiating God, as Moses recommends, by offerings and sacrifices, you cast these things aside as utterly out of keeping with Christian worship, and as having nothing at all to recommend them. In some cases, however, you make a division, and while you accept one part, you reject the other. Thus, in the Passover, which is also the annual feast of the Old Testament, while it is written that in this observance you must slay a lamb to be eaten in the evening, and that you must abstain from leaven for seven days, and be content with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, you accept the feast, but pay no attention to the rules for its observance. It is the same with the feast of Pentecost, or seven weeks, and the accompaniment of a certain kind and number of sacrifices which Moses enjoins: * you observe the feast, but you
condemn the propitiatory rites, which are part of it, because they are not in harmony with Christianity. As regards the command to abstain from Gentile food, you are zealous believers in the uncleanness of things offered to idols, and of what has died of itself; but you are not so ready to believe the prohibition of swine's flesh, and hares, and conies, and mullets, and cuttlefish, and all the fish that you have a relish for, although Moses pronounces them all unclean.

4. I do not suppose that you will consent, or even listen, to such things as that a father-in-law should lie with his daughter, as Judah did; or a father with his daughters, like


534 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH^EAY. [BOOK XXXII.

Lot; or prophets with harlots, like Hosea; or that a husband should sell his wife for a night to her lover, like Abraham; or that a man should marry two sisters, like Jacob; or that the rulers of the people and the men you consider as most inspired should keep their mistresses by hundreds and thousands; or, according to the provision made in Deuteronomy about wives, that the wife of one brother, if he dies without children, should marry the surviving brother, and that he should raise up seed from her instead of his brother; and that if the man refuses to do this, the fair plaintiff should bring her case before the elders, that the brother may be called and admonished to perform this religious duty; and that, if he persists in his refusal, he must not go unpunished, but the woman must loose his shoe from his right foot, and strike him in the face, and send him away, spat upon and accursed, to perpetuate the reproach in his family.-^ These, and such as these, are the examples and precepts of the Old Testament. If they are good, why do you not practise them? If they are bad, why do you not condemn the Old Testament, in which they are found? But if you think that these are spurious interpolations, that is precisely what we think of the New Testament. You have no right to claim from us an acknowledgment for the New Testament which you yourselves do not make for the Old.

5. Since you hold to the divine authorship of the Old as well as of the New Testament, it would surely be more consistent and more becoming, as you do not obey its precepts, to confess that it has been corrupted by improper additions, than to treat it so contumuously, if it is genuine and uncorrupted. Accordingly, my explanation of your neglect of the requirements of the Old Testament has always been, and still is, that you are either wise enough to reject them as spurious, or that you have the boldness and irreverence to disregard them if they are true. At any rate, when you would oblige me to believe everything contained in the documents of the New Testament because I receive the Testament itself, you should consider that, though you profess to receive the Old Testament, you in your heart disbelieve many things in it. Thus, you do not admit as true or authoritative the declaration of the Old
BOOK XXXII] AUTHOEITY OF OLD TESTAMENT. 535

Testament, that every one that hangeth on a tree is accursed/ for this would apply to Jesus; or that every man is accursed who does not raise up seed in Israel/ for that would include all of both sexes devoted to God: or that whoever is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin will be cut off from among his people/ for that would apply to all Christians; or that whoever breaks the Sabbath must be stoned to death:^

or that no mercy should be shown to the man who breaks a single precept of the Old Testament. If you really believe these things as certainly enjoined by God, you would, in the time of Christ, have been the first to assail Him, and you would now have no quarrel with the Jews, who, in persecuting Christ with heart and soul, acted in obedience to their own God.

6. I am aware that instead of boldly pronouncing these passages spurious, you make out that these things were required of the Jews till the coming of Jesus; and that now that He is come, according, as you say, to the predictions of this Old Testament, He Himself teaches what we should receive, and what we should set aside as obsolete. Whether the prophets predicted the coming of Jesus we shall see presently. Meanwhile, I need say no more than that if Jesus, after being predicted in the Old Testament, now subjects it to this sweeping criticism, and teaches us to receive a few things and to throw over many things, in the same way the Paraclete who is promised in the New Testament teaches us what part of it to receive, and what to reject; as Jesus Himself says in the Gospel, when promising the Paraclete, " He shall guide you into all truth, and shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance."^ So then, with the help of the Paraclete, we may take the same liberties with the New Testament as Jesus enables you to take with the Old, unless you suppose that the Testament of the Son is of greater value than that of the Father, if it is really the Father's; so that while many parts of the one are to be condemned, the other must be exempted from all disapproval; and that, too, when we know, as I said before, that it was not written by Christ or by His apostles.

1 Deut. xxi. 23. ^ jjg ^ y... 5... ; xo. ^ q... ^ vii. 14.


536 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MAXICH.^AX. [BOOK XXXn.

7. Hence, as you receive notliing in the Old Testament except the prophecies and the common precepts of practical morality, which we quoted above, while you set aside circumcision, and sacrifices, and the Sabbath and its observance, and the feast of
unleavened bread, why should not we receive nothing in the New Testament but what we find said in honour and praise of the majesty of the Son, either by Himself or by His apostles, with the proviso, in the case of the apostles, that it was said by them after reaching perfection, and when no longer in unbelief; while we take no notice of the rest, which, if said at the time, was the utterance of ignorance or inexperience, or, if not, was added by crafty opponents with a malicious intention, or was stated by the writers without due consideration, and so handed down as authentic? Take as example, the shameful birth of Jesus from a woman, His being circumcised like the Jews, His offering sacrifice like the Gentiles, His being baptized in a humiliating manner, His being led about by the devil in the wilderness, and His being tempted by him in the most distressing way. With these exceptions, besides whatever has been inserted under the pretence of being a quotation from the Old Testament, we believe the whole, especially the mystic nailing to the cross, emblematic of the wounds of the soul in its passion; as also the sound moral precepts of Jesus, and His parables, and the whole of His immortal discourse, which sets forth especially the distinction of the two natures, and therefore must undoubtedly be His. There is, then, no reason for your thinking it obligatory in me to believe all the contents of the Gospels; for you, as has been proved, take so dainty a sip from the Old Testament, that you hardly, so to speak, wet your lips with it.

8. Augustine. "Ye give to the whole Old Testament Scriptures their due praise as true and divine; you impugn the Scriptures of the New Testament as having been tampered with and corrupted. Those things in the Old Testament which we do not observe we hold to have been suitable appointments for the time and the people of that dispensation, besides being symbolical to us of truths in which they have still a spiritual use, though the outward observance is abolished; and

BOOK XXXII] function OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. 537

this opinion is proved to be the doctrine of the apostolic writings. You, on the other hand, find fault with everything in the New Testament which you do not receive, and assert that these passages were not spoken or written by Christ or His apostles. In these respects there is a manifest difference between us. When, therefore, you are asked why you do not receive all the contents of the New Testament, but, while you approve of some things, reject a great many in the very same books as false and spurious interpolations, you must not pretend to imitate us in the distinction which we make, reverently and in faith, but must give account of your own presumption.

9. If we are asked why we do not worship God as the Hebrew fathers of the Old Testament worshipped Him, we reply that God has taught us differently by the JSTew Testament fathers, and yet in no opposition to the Old Testament, but as that Testament itself predicted. For it is thus foretold by the prophet: " Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by
the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt." ^ Thus it was foretold that that covenant
would not continue, but that there would be a new one. And to the objection that we do
not belong to the house of Israel or to the house of Judah, we answer according to the
Teaching of the apostle, who calls Christ the seed of Abraham, and says to us, as
belonging to Christ's body, "Therefore ye are Abraham's seed."^ Again, if we are asked
why we regard that Testament as authoritative when we do not observe its ordinances, we
find the answer to this also in the apostolic writings; for the apostle says, " Let no man
judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a holiday, or a new moon, or of Sabbaths,
which are a shadow of things to come."^ Here we learn both that we ought to read of
these observances, and acknowledge them to be of divine institution, in order to preserve
the memory of the prophecy, for they were shadows of things to come; and also that we
need pay no regard to those who would judge us for not con-

Â» Jer. xxxi. 31, 32. ^ Gal. iii. 29. ' Col. ii. 16, 17.

538 EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAN. [BOOK XXXII.

tinning the outward observance; as the apostle says elsewhere to the same purpose, "
These things happened to them for an example; and they are written for our admonition,
on whom the ends of the world are come."^-^ So, when we read anything in the books of
the Old Testament which we are not required to obser^'e in the Xew Testament, or which
is even forbidden, instead of finding fault with it, we should ask what it means; for the
xerj discontinuance of the observance proves it to be, not condemned, but fulfilled. On
this head we have already spoken repeatedly.

10. To take, for example, this requirement on which Faustus ignorantly grounds hi
charge against the Old Testament, that a man should take his brother's wife to raise up
seed for his brother, to be called by his name; what does this prefigure, but that every
preacher of the gospel should so labour in the Church as to raise up seed to his deceased
brother, that is, Christ, who died for us, and that this seed should bear His name ?
Moreover, the apostle fulfils this requirement not now in the t\'ical observance, but in
the" spiritual reality, when he reproves those of whom he says that he had begotten them
in Christ Jesus by the gospel,' and points out to them their error in wishing to be of Paul.
" Was Paul," he says, "crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"^ As
if he should say, I have begotten you for my deceased brother; you" name is
Christian, not Paulian. Then, too, whoever refuses the ministry of the gospel when chosen
by the Church, justly deserves the contempt of the Church. So we see that the spitting in
the face is accompanied with a sign of reproach in loosing a shoe from one foot, to
exclude the man from the company of those to whom the apostle says,
" Let your feet be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;"^* and of whom the
prophet thus speaks, "How beautiful are the feet of them who publish peace, who bring
good tidings of good!"^ The man who holds the faith of the gospel so as both to profit
himself and to be ready when called to serve the Church, is properly represented as shod
on both feet. But the man who thinks it enough to secure his own safety by
believing, and shirks the duty of benefiting others, has the reproach of being unshod, not in type, but in reality.

11. Faustus needlessly objects to our observance of the passover, taunting us with differing from the Jewish observance: for in the gospel Ave have the true Lamb, not in shadow, but in substance; and instead of prefiguring the death, we commemorate it daily, and especially in the yearly festival. Thus also the day of our paschal feast does not correspond with the Jewish observance, for we take in the Lord's day, on which Christ rose. And as to the feast of unleavened bread, all Christians sound in the faith keep it, not in the leaven of the old life, that is, of wickedness, but in the truth and sincerity of the faith; not for seven days, but always, as was typified by the number seven, for days are always counted by sevens. And if this observance is somewhat difficult in this world, since the way which leads to life is strait and narrow, the future reward is sure; and this difficulty is typified in the bitter herbs, which are a little distasteful.

12. The Pentecost, too, we observe, that is, the fiftieth day from the passion and resurrection of the Lord, for on that day He sent to us the Holy Spirit whom He had promised; as was prefigured in the Jemsh passover, for on the fiftieth day after the slaying of the lamb, Moses on the mount received the law written with the finger of God. If you read the Gospel, you will see that the Spirit is there called the finger of God.*

Eenmarkable events which happened on certain days are annually commemorated in the Church, that the recurrence of this festival may preserve the recollection of things so important and salutary. If you ask, then, why we keep the passover, it is because Christ was then sacrificed for us. If you ask why we do not retain the Jewish ceremonies, it is because they prefigured future realities which we commemorate as past; and the difference between the future and the past is seen in the different words we use for them. Of this we have already said enough.

13. Again, if you ask why, of all the kinds of food prohibited in the former typical dispensation, we abstain only from food offered to idols and from what dies of itself, you

* Eph. vi. 15. 5 js^\_ l\_i^\_ J

BOOK XXXII.] TYPICAL NATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. 539
shall hear, if for once you will prefer the truth to idle calumnies. The reason why it is not expedient for a Christian to eat food offered to idols is given by the apostle: "I would not," he says, "that ye should have fellowship with devils." So that he finds fault with sacrifice itself, as offered by the fathers to identify the blood of the sacrifice with which Christ has redeemed us. For he first says, "The things which the Gentiles offer, they offer to devils, and not to God;" and then adds these words: "I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." If the uncleanness were in the nature of sacrificial flesh, it would necessarily pollute even when eaten in ignorance. But the reason for not partaking knowingly is not in the nature of the food, but for conscience' sake, not to seem to have fellowship with devils. As regards what dies of itself, I suppose the reason why such food was prohibited was that the flesh of animals which have died of themselves is diseased, and is not likely to be wholesome, which is the chief thing in food. The observance of pouring out the blood which was enjoined in ancient times to Xoali himself after the deluge, the meaning of which we have already explained, is thought by many to be what is meant in the Acts of the Apostles, where we read that the Gentiles were required to abstain from fornication, and from things sacrificed, and from blood, that is, from flesh of which the blood has not been poured out. Others give a different meaning to the words, and think that to abstain from blood means not to be polluted with the crime of murder. It would take too long to settle this question, and it is not necessary. Yox, allowing that the apostles did on that occasion require Christians to abstain from the blood of animals, and not to eat of things strangled, they seem to me to have consulted the time in choosing an easy observance that could not be burdensome to any one, and which the Gentiles might have in common with the Israelites, for the sake of the Cornerstone, who makes both one in Himself;* while at the same time they would be reminded how the Church of all nations was prefigured by the ark of N'ohah, when God gave this command, â€” a t}^e which began to be fulfilled in the time of the apostles by the accession of the Gentiles to the faith. But

1 1 Cor. X. 20. 2 Gen. Lx. 6. ^ Acts xv. 29. ^ Eph. ii. 11-22.

BOOK XXXII.] ON ABSTAINING FROM BLOOD. 541

since the close of that period during which the two walls of the circumcision and the uncircumcision, although united in the Corner-stone, still retained some distinctive peculiarities, and now that the Church has become so entirely Gentile that none who are outwardly Israelites are to be found in it, no Christian feels bound to abstain from thrushes or small birds because their blood has not been poured out, or from hares because they are killed by a stroke on the neck without shedding their blood. Any who still are afraid to touch these things are laughed at by the rest: so general is the conviction of the truth, that " not what entereth into the mouth defileth you, but what cometh out of
that evil lies in the commission of sin, and not in the nature of any food in ordinary use.

4. As regards the deeds of the ancients, both those which seem sinful to foolish and ignorant people, when they are not so, and those which really are sinful, we have already explained why they have been written, and how this rather adds to than impairs the dignity of Scripture. So, too, about the curse on him who hangeth on a tree, and on him who raises not up seed in Israel, our reply has already been given in the proper place, when meeting Faustus' objections. And in reply to all objections whatsoever, whether we have already answered them separately, or whether they are contained in the remarks of Faustus which we are now considering, we appeal to our established principles, on which we maintain the authority of sacred Scripture. The principle is this, that all things written in the books of the Old Testament are to be received with approval and admiration, as most true and most profitable to eternal life; and that those precepts which are no longer observed outwardly are to be understood as having been most suitable in those times, and are to be viewed as having been shadows of things to come, of which we may now perceive the fulfilsments. Accordingly, whoever in those times neglected the observance of these symbolical precepts was righteously condemned to suffer the punishment required by the divine statute, as any one would be now if he were impiously to profane the sacraments of the New Testament, which differ from the old observances only as this time differs from that.

1 Matt. XV. 11. 2 Boo^ XXII.

542 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICm^AX. [BOOK XXXII.

For as praise is due to the righteous men of old who refused not to die for the Old Testament sacraments, so it is due to the martyrs of the New Testament. And as a sick man should not find fault with the medical treatment, because one thing is prescribed to-day and another to-morrow, and what was at first required is afterwards forbidden, since the method of cure depends on this; so the human race, sick and sore as it is from Adam to the end of the world, as long as the corrupted body weighs down the mind, should not find fault with the divine statute, as any one would be now if he were impiously to profane the sacraments of the New Testament, which differ from the old observances only as this time differs from that.

15. Hence there is no force in the analogy which Faustus institutes between Christ's pointing out to us what to believe and what to reject in the Old Testament, in which He Himself is predicted, and the Paraclete's doing the same to you as regards the New Testament, where there is a similar prediction of Him. There might have been some plausibility in this, had there been anything in the Old Testament which we denounced as a mistake, or as not of divine authority, or as untrue. "We do nothing of the kind; we receive everything, both what we observe as rules of conduct, and what we no longer observe, but still recognise as having been prophetical observances, once enjoined and now fulfilled. And besides, the promise of the Paraclete is found in those books, all the
contents of which you do not accept; and His mission is recorded in the book which you
shrink from even naming. For, as is stated above, and has been said repeatedly, there is a
distinct narrative in the Acts of the Apostles of the mission of the Spirit on the day of
Pentecost, and the effect produced showed who it was. For all who first received Him
spoke with tongues:^and in this sign there was a promise that in all tongues, or in all nations, the Church of
after times would faithfully proclaim the doctrine of the Spirit as well as of the Father and
of the Son.

16. ^Tiy, then, do you not accept everything in the ISTew Testament ? Is it because the
books have not the authority of

1 "Wisd. ix. 15. 8 Acts ii.

BOOK XXXII.] THE PÆACLETE. 543

Christ's apostles, or because the apostles taught ^vllat was wrong ? You reply that the
books have not the authority of the apostles. That the apostles were wrong in their
teaching is what Pagans say. But w^hat can you say to prove that the publication of these
books cannot be traced to the apostles ?
You reply that in many things they contradict themselves and one another. Nothing could
be more untrue; the fact is, you do not understand. In every case where Faustus has
brought forward what you think a discrepancy, we have shown that there was none; and
we will do the same in every other case.
It is intolerable that the reader or learner should dare to lay the blame on Scriptures of
such high authority, instead of confessing his own stupidity. Did the Paraclete teach you
that these writings are not of the apostles' authorship, but written by others under their
names ? But where is the proof that it was the Paraclete from whom you learned this ?
If you say that the Paraclete was promised and sent by Christ, we reply that your
Paraclete was neither promised nor sent by Christ; and we also show you when He sent
the Paraclete whom He promised. What proof have you that Christ sent your Paraclete ?
Where do you get the evidence in support of your informant, or rather misinformant ?
You reply that you find the proof in the Gospel. In what Gospel ? You do not accept all
the Gospel, and you say that it has been tampered with. Will you first accuse your witness
of corruption, and then call for his evidence ? To believe him when you wish it, and then
disbelieve him when you wish it, is to believe nobody but yourself If we were prepared to
believe you, there would be no need of a witness at all. Moreover, in the promise of the
Holy Spirit as the Paraclete, it is said, " He shall lead you into all truth;" ^ but how can
you be led into all truth by one who teaches you that Christ was a deceiver ? And again, if
you were to prove that all that is said in the Gospel of the promise of the Paraclete could
apply to no one but Manicheeus, as the predictions of the prophets are applicable to
Christ; and if you quoted passages from those manuscripts which you say are genuine, we
might say that on this very point, as proving Manichseus to be the only person intended,
544 EEPLOY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^AN^]. [BOOK XXXII.

tlie passages have been altered in the interest of your sect.
Your only answer to this would be, that you could not possibly alter documents already in
the possession of all Christians; for at the very outset of such an attempt, it would be met
by an appeal to older copies. But if this proves that the books could not be corrupted by
you, it also proves that they could not be corrupted by any one. The first person who
ventured to do such a thing would be convicted by a comparison of older manuscripts;
especially as the Scripture is to be found not in one language only, but in many. As it is,
false readings are sometimes corrected by comparing older copies or the original
language. Hence you must either acknowledge these documents as genuine, and then
your heresy cannot stand a moment; or if they are spurious, you cannot use their authority
in support of your doctrine of the Paraclete, and so you refute yourselves.

17. Further, what is said in the promise of the Paraclete show^s that it cannot possibly
refer to Llanichseus, who came so many years after. For it is distinctly said by John, that
the Holy Spirit was to come immediately after the resurrection and ascension of the Lord:
" For the Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." -^ ISTow, if
the reason why the Spirit was not given ^vas, that Jesus was not glorified. He would
necessarily be given immediately on the glorification of Jesus. In the same way, the
Cataphrygians said that they had received the promised Paraclete; and so they fell away
from the Catholic faith, forbidding what Paul allowed, and condemning second
marriages, which he made lawful. They turned to their own use the words spoken of the
Spirit, " He shall lead you into all truth," as if, forsooth, Paul and the other apostles had
not taught all the truth, but had left room for the Paraclete of the Cataphrygians. The
same meaning they forced from the words of Paul: " We know in part, and we prophesy
in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done
away;" ^ making out that the apostle knew and prophesied in part, when he said, " Let
him do what he w^ill; if he marries, he sinneth not,"^ and that this is done away by the
perfection of
1 John vii. 39. " 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10. "1 Cor. vii. 36.

BOOK XXXII.] HERETICAL PRETENSIONS. 545

the Phrygian Paraclete.^ And if they are told that they are condemned by the authority of
the Church, which is the subject of such ancient promises, and is spread all over the
world, they reply that this is in exact fulfilment of what is said of the Paraclete, that the
world cannot receive Him.^ And are not those passages, " He shall lead you into all
truth," and, " When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done
away," and, " The world cannot receive Him," precisely those in which you find a
prediction of Manichseus? And so every heresy arising under the name of the Paraclete will have the boldness to make an equally plausible application to itself of such texts. For there is no heresy but will call itself the truth; and the prouder it is, the more likely it will be to call itself perfect truth: and so it will profess to lead into all truth; and since that which is perfect has come by it, it will try to do away with the doctrine of the apostles, to which its own errors are opposed. And as the Church holds by the earnest admonition of the apostle, that "whoever preaches another gospel to you than that which ye have received, let him be accursed;" when the heretical preacher begins to be pronounced accursed by all the world, will he not forthwith exclaim. This is what is written, "The world cannot receive Him"?

18. Where, then, will you find the proof required to show that it is from the Paraclete that you have learned that the Gospels were not written by the apostles? On the other hand, we have proof that the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, came immediately after the glorification of Jesus. For "He was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." We have proof also that He leads into all truth; for the only way to truth is by love, and "the love of God," says the apostle, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given unto us." * We show, too, that in the words, "when that which is perfect is come," Paul spoke of the perfection in the enjoyment of eternal life. For in the same place he says: "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face." You cannot reasonably maintain that we see God face to face here.

Montanus. 2 Jq]jj iv. 17. * q\j 9_

4 Rom. V. 5. 1 Cor. xiii. 1 2.

52 il

546 KEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHIEAN. [BOOK XXXII.

Therefore that which is perfect has not come to us. It is thus clear what the apostle thought on this subject. This perfection will not come to the saints till the accomplishment of what John speaks of: "Now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when it shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." Then we shall be led into all truth by the Holy Spirit, of which we have now received the pledge. Again, the words, "The world cannot receive Him," plainly point to those who are usually called the world in Scripture â€“ the lovers of the world, the wicked, or carnal; of whom the apostle says: "The natural man perceiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God." Those are said to be of this world who can understand nothing beyond material things, which are the objects of sense in this world; as is the case with you, when, in your admiration of the sun and moon, you suppose all divine things to resemble them. Deceivers, and being deceived, you call the author of this silly theory the Paraclete.
But as you have no proof of his being the Paraclete, you have no reliable ground for the statement that the Gospel writings, which you receive only in part, are not of apostolic authorship.

Thus your only remaining argument is, that these writings contain things disparaging to the glory of Christ; such as, that He was born of a virgin, that He was circumcised, that the customary sacrifice was offered for Him, that He was baptized, that He was tempted of the devil.

19. With those exceptions, including also the testimonies quoted from the Old Testament, you profess, to use the words of Pausus, to receive all the rest, especially the mystic nailiny to the cross, embleniatice of the wounds of the soul in its 2^<:ission; as o2so the sound moral 'precepts of Jesus, and the whole of His immortal discourse, which sets forth especially the distinction of the two natures, and therefore must ^indouUedly he His. Your design clearly is to deprive Scripture of all authority, and to make every man's mind the judge what passage of Scripture he is to approve of, and what to disapprove of. This is not to be subject to Scripture in matters of faith, but to make Scripture subject to you. Instead of making the high autho-

BOOK XXXII.] COMPAREISON OF AUTHORITIES. 547

rity of Scripture the reason of approval, every man makes his approval the reason for thinking a passage correct. If, then, you discard authority, to what, poor feeble soul, darkened by the mists of carnality, to what, I beseech you, will you betake yourself ? Set aside authority, and let us hear the reason of your beliefs. Is it by a logical process that your long story about the nature of God concludes necessarily with this startling announcement, that this nature is subject to injury and corruption ? And how do you know that there are eight continents and ten heavens, and that Atlas bears up the world, and that it hangs from the great world-holder, and innumerable things of the same kind ? Who is your authority ? Manicheus, of course, you will say. But, unhappy being, this is not sense, but faith. If, then, you submit to receive a load of endless fictions at the bidding of an obscure and irrational authority, so that you believe all those things because they are written in the books which your misguided judgment pronounces trustworthy, though there is no evidence of their truth, why not rather submit to the authority of the Gospel, which is so well founded, so confirmed, so generally acknowledged and admired, and which has an unbroken series of testimonies from the apostles down to our own day, that so you may have an intelligent belief, and may come to know that all your objections are the fruit of folly and perversity; and that there is more truth in the opinion that the unchangeable nature of God should take part of mortality, so as, without injury to itself from this union, to do and to suffer not feignedly, but really, whatever it behoved the mortal nature to do and to suffer for the salvation of the human race from which it was taken, than in the belief that the nature of God is subject to injury and corruption, and that, after suffering
pollution and captivity, it cannot be wholly freed and purified, but is condemned by a supreme divine necessity to eternal punishment in the mass of darkness?

20. You say, in reply, that you believe in what Manichgeus has not proved, because he has so clearly proved the existence of two natures, good and evil, in this world. But here is the very source of your unhappy delusion; for as in the Gospels, so in the world, your idea of what is evil is derived entirely

548 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHIAN. [BOOK XXXII.

from the effect on your senses of such disagreeable things as serpents, fire, poison, and so on; and the only good you know of is what has an agreeable effect on your senses, as pleasant flavour's, and sweet smells, and sunlight, and whatever else recommends itself strongly to your eyes, or your nostrils, or your palate, or any other organ of sensation. But had you begun with looking on the book of nature as the production of the Creator of all, and had you believed that your own finite understanding might be at fault wherever anything seemed to be amiss, instead of venturing to find fault with the works of God, you would not have been led into these impious follies and blasphemous fancies with which, in your ignorance of what evil really is, you heap all evils upon God.

21. We can now answer the question, how we know that these books were written by the apostles. In a word, we know this in the same way that you know that the books whose authority you are so deluded as to prefer were written by Manichaeus. For, suppose some one should raise a question on this point, and should contend, in arguing with you, that the books which you attribute to Manichaeus are not of his authorship; your only reply would be, to ridicule the absurdity of thus gratuitously calling in question a matter confirmed by successive testimonies of such wide extent. As, then, it is certain that these books are the production of Manichaeus, and as it is ridiculous in one born so many years after to start objections of his own, and so raise a discussion on the point; with equal certainty may we pronounce it absurd, or rather pitiable, in Manichseus or his followers to bring such objections against writings originally well authenticated, and carefully handed down from the times of the apostles to our own day through a constant succession of custodiers.

22. We have now only to compare the authority of Manichaeus with that of the apostles. The genuineness of the writings is equally certain in both cases. But no one will compare Manichseus to the apostles, unless he ceases to be a follower of Christ, who sent the apostles. AVho that did not misunderstand Christ's words ever found in them the doctrine of two natures opposed to one another, and having each its own principle? Again, the apostles, as becomes the

BOOK XXXIII] MANICH^US VERSUS THE APOSTLES. 549
disciples of truth, declare the birth and passion of Christ to have been real events; while Manichsen, who boasts that he leads into all truth, would lead us to a Christ whose very passion he declares to have been an illusion. The apostles say that Christ was circumcised in the flesh which He took of the seed of Abraham; Manichseus says that God, in his own nature, was cut in pieces by the race of darkness. The apostles say that a sacrifice was offered for Christ as an infant in our nature, according to the institutions of the time; Manichaeus, that a member, not of humanity, but of the divine substance itself, must be sacrificed to the whole host of demons by being introduced into the nature of the hostile race. The apostles say that Christ, to set us an example, was baptized in the Jordan; Manichseus, that God immersed himself in the pollution of darkness, and that he will never wholly emerge, but that the part which cannot be purified will be condemned to eternal punishment. The apostles say that Christ, in our nature, was tempted by the chief of the demons; Manichseus, that part of God was taken captive by the race of demons. And in the temptation of Christ He resists the tempter; while in the captivity of God, the part taken captive cannot be restored to its origin even after victory. To conclude, Manichseus, under the guise of an improvement, preaches another gospel, which is the doctrine of devils; and the apostles, after the doctrine of Christ, enjoin that whoever preaches another gospel shall be accursed.

BOOK XXXIII.

1. Faustus. You quote from the Gospel the words, "Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven," and ask why we do not acknowledge the patriarchs. Now, we should be the last to grudge to any human being that God should have compassion on him, and bring him out of perdition to salvation. At the same time, we should acknowledge in such a case the clemency shown in this act of compassion, and not the merit of the person whose life is undoubtedly blameworthy. Thus, in the case of the Jewish fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, who are mentioned by Christ in this verse, supposing it to be genuine, although they led wicked lives, as we may learn from their descendant Moses, or whoever was the author of the history called Genesis, which describes their conduct as having been most shocking: and detestable; we are ready to allow that they may, after all, be in the kingdom of heaven, in the place which they neither believed in, nor hoped for, as is plain enough from their books. But then it must be kept in mind that, as you yourselves confess, if they
did attain to what is spoken of in this verse, it was something very different from the
tether duncresons of woe to which their own deserts consisigned them, and that their
deliverance was the work of our Lord Christ, and the result of His mystic passion. "Who
would grudge to the thief on the cross that deliverance was granted to him by the same
Lord, and that Christ said that on that very day he should be with Him in the paradise of
His Father ?^ Who is so hard-hearted as to disapprove of this act of benevolence ?
Still, it does not follow that, because Jesus pardoned a thief, we must approve of the
habits and practices of thieves; any more than of the publicans and harlots, whose faults
Jesus pardoned, declaring that they would go into the kingdom of heaven before those
who behaved proudly.^ For, when He acquitted the woman accused by the Jews as sinful,
and as having been caught in adultery. He told her to sin no more.^ If, then, He has done
something of the same kind in the case of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, all the praise is
His; for such actions towards souls are becoming in Him who maketh His sun to rise
upon the evil and upon the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. ^ One
thing perplexes me in your doctrine: why you limit your statements to the fathers of the
Jews, and are not of opinion that the Gentile patriarchs had also a share in this grace of
our Redeemer; especially as the Christian Church consists of their children more than of
the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. You will say that the Gentiles worshipped idols,
and the Jews the Almighty


BOOK XXXIII.] AEE THE PATRJARCHS IN HEAVEN ? 551

God, and that therefore Jesus had regard only to the Jews.
It would seem from this that the worship of the Almighty God is the sure way to hell, and
that the Son must come to the aid of the worshipper of the Father. That is as you please.
For my part, I am ready to join you in the belief that the fathers reached heaven, not by
any merit of their own, but by that divine mercy which is stronger than sin.

2. However, there is a difficulty in deciding as regards this verse too, whether the words
were really spoken to Christ, for there is a discrepancy in the narratives. For while two
evangelists, Matthew and Luke, both alike tell of the centurion whose servant was sick,
and to whom these words of Jesus are supposed to have applied, that He had not seen so
great faith, no, not in Israel, as in this man, though a Gentile and a Pagan, because he said
that he was not worthy that Jesus should come under his roof, but wished Him only to
speak the word, and his servant should be healed; Matthew alone adds that Jesus went on
to say, " Verily I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and from the west, and
shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the
children of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness." By the many who should come
are meant the Pagans, on account of the centurion, in whom, although he was a Gentile,
so great faith was found; and the children of the kingdom are the Jews, in whom there
was no faith found.
Luke, again, though he too mentions the occurrence in his Gospel as part of the narrative of the miracles of Christ, says nothing of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. If it is said that he omitted it because it had been already said by Matthew, why does he tell the story at all of the centurion and his servant, since that, too, has the advantage of being recorded at length in Matthew’s ingenious narrative? But the passage is corrupt. For, in describing the centurion’s application to Jesus, Matthew says that he came himself to ask for a cure; while Luke says he did not, but sent elders of the Jews, and that they, in case Jesus should despise the centurion as a Gentile (for they will have Jesus to be a thorough Jew), set about persuading Him, by saying that he was worthy for whom He should do this, because he loved their nation, and had built

552 P. EPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHIEAN. [BOOK XXXIII.

3. It is not without reason that we bring a critical judgment to the study of Scriptures where there are such discrepancies and contradictions. By thus examining everything, and comparing one passage with another, we determine which contains Christ’s actual words, and what may or may not be genuine. For your predecessors have made many interpolations in the words of our Lord, which thus appear under His name, while they disagree with His doctrine. Besides, as we have proved again and again, the writings are not the produc-

tion of Christ or of His apostles, but a compilation of rumours and beliefs made, long after their departure, by some obscure semi-Jews, not in harmony even with one another, and published by them under the name of the apostles, or of those considered the followers of the apostles, so as to give the appearance of apostolic authority to all these blunders and falsehoods. But whatever you make of that, as regards this verse, I repeat that I do not insist on rejecting it. It is enough for my position, that, as I said before, and as you are obliged to confess, before the coming of our Lord all the patriarchs and prophets of Israel lay in infernal darkness for their sins. Even though they may have been restored to light and liberty by Christ, that has nothing to do with the hateful character of their lives. We hate and eschew not their persons, but their characters; not as they are now, when they are purified, but as they were, when impure. So, whatever you think of this verse, it does not affect us: for if it is genuine, it only illustrates Christ's goodness and compassion; and if it is spurious, those who wrote it are to blame. Our cause is as safe as it always is.

4. Augustine. Poor safety, indeed! when you contradict yourself by hating the patriarchs as impure, at the same time that you grieve for your impure god. You allow that, since the advent of the Saviour, the patriarchs have had purity restored, and have enjoyed the rest of the blessed; while your god, even after the Saviour's advent, still lies in darkness, is still sunk in the ocean of iniquity, still wallows in the mire of all uncleanness. These men, therefore, were not only better than your god in their lives, but also happier in their death. Where was the abode of the just who departed from this life before Christ's coming in the flesh, and whether their condition also was improved by the passion of Christ, in whom they had believed as to come, and to suffer, and to rise again, and had, moreover, foretold this in suitable language under the guidance of the Spirit of prophecy, is to be discovered from the Holy Scriptures, if any clear discovery in this matter is possible; we are not called on to adopt the crude notions of all and sundry, still less the heretical opinions of men who have gone astray into such egregious errors. There is a vain attempt here on

554 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH^EAN. [BOOK XXXIII.

the part of Faustus to introduce by a side-door the idea that we may obtain something after this life besides the due reward of our conduct in this life. It will be better for you to abandon your error while you are still alive, and to embrace and hold the truths of the Catholic faith. Otherwise the expectations of the unrighteous will be sadly disappointed when God begins to fulfil His threatenings to the unrighteous.
5. I have already given what I considered a sufficient answer to Faustus' calumnies of the lives of the patriarchs. That they were punished at their death, or that they were justified after the Lord's passion, is not what we learn from His commendation of them, when He admonished the Jews that, if they were Abraham's children, they should do the works of Abraham, and said that Abraham desired to see His day, and was glad when he saw it; and that it was into his bosom, that is, some deep recess of blissful repose, that the angels carried the poor sufferer who was despised by the proud rich man. And what are we to make of the Apostle Paul? Is there any idea of justification after death in his praise of Abraham, when he says that before he was circumcised he believed God, and that it was counted to him for righteousness? And so much importance does he attach to this, that the single ground which he specifies for our becoming Abraham's children, though not descended from him in the flesh, is, that we follow the footsteps of his faith.

6. You are so hardened in your errors against the testimonies of Scripture, that nothing can be made of you; for whenever anything is quoted against you, you have the boldness to say that it is written not by the apostle, but by some pretender under his name. The doctrine of devils which you preach is so opposed to Christian doctrine, that you could not continue, as professing Christians, to maintain it, unless you denied the truth of the apostolic writings. How can you thus do injury to your own souls? Where will you find any authority, if not in the Gospel and apostolic writings? How can we be sure of the authorship of any book, if we doubt the apostolic origin of those books which are attributed to the apostles by the Church which the apostles themselves founded, and which


BOOK XXXIII.] AUTHORSHIP ASCERTAINED. 555

occupies so conspicuous a place in all lands, and if at the same time we acknowledge as the undoubted production of the apostles what is brought forward by heretics in opposition to the Church, whose authors, from whom they derive their name, lived long after the apostles? And do we not see in profane literature that there are well-known authors under whose names many things have been published after their time which have been rejected, either from inconsistency with their ascertained writings, or from their not having been known in the lifetime of the authors, so as to be handed down with the confirmatory statement of the authors themselves, or of their friends? To give a single example, were not some books published lately under the name of the distinguished physician Hippocrates, which were not received as authoritative by physicians? And this decision remained unaltered in spite of some similarity in style and matter: for, when compared to the genuine writings of Hippocrates, these books were found to be inferior; besides that they were not recognised as his at the time when his authorship of his genuine productions was ascertained. Those books, again, from a comparison with which
the productions of questionable origin were rejected, are with certainty attributed to Hippocrates; and any one who denies their authorship is answered only by ridicule, simply because there is a succession of testimonies to the books from the time of Hippocrates to the present day, which makes it unreasonable either now or hereafter to have any doubt on the subject. How do we know the authorship of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and other similar writers, but by the unbroken chain of evidence? So also with the numerous commentaries on the ecclesiastical books, which have no canonical authority, and yet show a desire of usefulness and a spirit of inquiry. How is the authorship ascertained in each case, except by the author's having brought his work into public notice as much as possible in his own lifetime, and, by the transmission of the information from one to another in continuous order, the belief becoming more certain as it becomes more general, up to our own day; so that, when we are questioned as to the authorship of any book, we have no difficulty in answering? But why speak of old books? Take the

556 REPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICH.EAX. [BOOK XXXIII.

books now before us: should any one, after some years, deny that this book was -Written by me, or that Faustus' was

^Titten by him, where is evidence for the fact to be found but'
in the information possessed by some at the present time, and transmitted by them through successive generations even to distant times? From all this it follows, that no one who has not yielded to the malicious and deceitful suggestions of lying devils, can be so blinded by passion as to deny the ability of the Church of the apostles â€” a community of brethren as numerous as they were faithful â€” to transmit their writings unaltered to posterity, as the original seats of the apostles have been occupied by a continuous succession of bishops to the present day, especially when we are accustomed to see this happen in the case of ordinary writings both in the Church and out of it.

7. But Faustus finds contradictions in the Gospels. Say, rather, that Faustus reads the Gospels in a wrong spirit, that he is too foolish to understand, and too blind to see. If you were animated with piety instead of being misled by party spirit, you might easily, by examining these passages, discover a wonderful and most instructive harmony among the writers.

VTho, in reading two narratives of the same event, would think of charcrinf:^ one or both of the authors with error or falsehood, because one omits what the other mentions, or one tells concisely, but with substantial agreement, what the other relates in detail, so as to indicate not only what was done, but also how it was done? This is what Faustus does in his attempt to impeach the truth of the Gospels; as if Lu.Ke's omitting some saying of Christ recorded in Matthew implied a denial on the part of Luke of Matthew's statement. There is no real difficulty in the case; and to make a difficulty shows want of thought, or of the ability to think. There is, indeed, a point in the narrative of the centurion which is discussed among believers, and on which objections are raised by unbelievers of no great learning, who prove their quarrelsome nature, when, after being instructed, they do not give
up their errors. The point is, that Matthew says that the centurion came to Jesus "beseeching Him, and saying; " while Luke says that he sent to Jesus the elders of the Jews with this same request, that He

BOOK XXXIII.] HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. 557

would heal his servant who was sick; and that when He came near the house he sent others, through whom he said that he was not worthy that Jesus should come into his house, and that he was not worthy to come himself to Jesus. How, then, do we read in Matthew, "He came to Him, beseeching Him, and saying. My servant lieth at home, sick of the palsy, and grievously tormented " ? ^ The explanation is, that Matthew's narrative is correct, but brief, mentioning the centurion's coming to Jesus, without saying whether he came himself or by others, or whether the words about his servant were spoken by himself or through others. But is it not common to speak of a person as coming near to a thing, although he may not reach it ? And even the word reach, which is the strongest form of expression, is frequently used in cases where the person spoken of acts through others, as when we say he took his case to court, he reached the presence of the judge; or, again, he reached the presence of some man in power, although it may probably have been through his friends, and the person may not have seen him whose presence he is said to have reached. And from the word for to reach we give the name of Perventors to those who by ambitious arts gain access, either personally or through friends, to the, so to speak, inaccessible minds of the great.
Are we, then, in reading to forget the common usage of speech ?
Or must the sacred Scripture have a language of its own ?
The cavils of forward critics are thus met by a reference to the usual forms of speech.

8. Those who examine this matter not in a disputatious but in a calm believing spirit are invited to come to Jesus, not outwardly but in heart, not in bodily presence but in the power of faith, as the centurion did, and then they will better understand Matthew's narrative. To such it is said in the Psalm, "Come unto Him, and be enlightened; and your faces shall not be ashamed." ^ Hence we learn that the centurion, whose faith was so highly spoken of, came to Christ more truly than the people who carried his message. We find an analogous case in the woman with the issue of blood, who was healed by touching the hem of Christ's garment, when Christ said, "Some one hath touched me." The disciples

^ Matt. viii. 5-13; Luke vii. 2-10. 2 pg^ xxxiv. 5.

558 EEPLY TO FAUSTUS THE MANICHÈEAX. [BOOK XXXIII.
wondered what Christ meant by saying, "Who hath touched me?" "Some one hath touched me," when the crowd was thronging Him. In fact, they made this reply: "The crowd throngeth Thee, and sayest Thou, Who hath touched me?"

Now, as the people thronged Christ while the woman touched Him, so the messengers were sent to Christ, but the centurion really came to Him. In Matthew we have a not infrequent form of expression, and at the same time a symbolical import; while in Luke there is a simple narrative of the whole event, such as to draw our attention to the manner in which Matthew has recorded it. I wish one of those people who found their silly objections to the Gospels on such trifling difficulties would himself tell a story twice over, honestly giving a true account of what happened, and that his words were written down and read over to him. We should then see whether he would not say more or less at one time than at another; and whether the order would not be changed, not only of words, but of things; and whether he would not put some opinion of his own into the mouth of another, because, though he never heard him say it, he knew it perfectly well to be in his mind; and whether he would not sometimes put in a few words what he had before related at length. In these and other ways, which might perhaps be reduced to rule, the narratives of the same thing by two persons, or two narratives by the same person, might differ in many things without being opposed, might be unlike without being contradictory. Thus are undone all the bandages with which poor Manichaeans stifle themselves to keep in the spirit of error, and to keep out all that might lead to their salvation.

9. Now that all Faustus' calumnies have been refuted, those at least on the subjects here treated of at large and explained fully as the Lord has enabled me, I close with a word of counsel to you who are implicated in those shocking and damnable errors, that, if you acknowledge the supreme authority of Scripture, you should recognise that authority which from the time of Christ Himself, through the ministry of His apostles, and through a regular succession of bishops in the seats of the apostles, has been preserved to our own day.

1 Luke viii. 43, 46.

Book XXXIII. A WORD OF COUNSEL. 559

throughout the whole world, with a reputation known to all. There the Old Testament too has its difficulties solved, and its predictions fulfilled. If you ask for demonstration, consider first what you are, how unfit for comprehending the nature of your own soul, not to speak of God; I mean an intelligent comprehension, such as you profess to desire, or to have once desired, and not the notions of a credulous fancy. Admitting this incompetency, which must continue while you remain as you are, you may at least be referred to the natural conviction of every human mind, unless it is corrupted by error, of the perfect unchangeableness and incorruptibility of the nature and substance of God. Admit this, or believe it, and you will no longer be Manichaeans, so that in course of time you may become Catholics.
INDEXES.

I.INDEX OF PEINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Abkaram, defended against Faustus, 426, etc.; and Hagar, 427; his denial of his wife, 429, 430; the prophetic and typical character of, 433, 434.

Abraham and Isaac, types, 222.

Abstinence, from meats and drinks, 44, etc.; of the Manichsean, 67, etc.; reasons for, 69, etc., 72, etc.; view of Faustus respecting, 522, etc.; refutation of Faustus on the question of, 526, etc.

Actions, how to be judged, 67.

Adam and his wife, types, 209.

Adimantus and his doctrine referred to, 176, 312, 313.

Adoption, symbolism of, and its application to the genealogy of Christ, 153, 154.

Anchorites and Coenobites, the the continence of, set off against the continence of the Manichaeans, 40, etc.

Angel, the, wrestling with Jacob, 222.

Animals, the power ascribed to, by the Manichseans, 391, 392.

Anthropomorphites, the, not so bad as the Manichæans, 119.

Appetites, the, 426.

Ark, the, of Noah, its typical signification, 214, 215, 21(5, 217; the raven and the dove sent out of, 218; how Noah and his family entered and left, 219; and baptism, 3.36, 337.
Athenian female criminals, 58, 59.

Authority, the, of Scripture, 546, 547, 548.

Authorship of books, how ascertained, 555.

Babylon, the captivity in, and return from, 228, 229.
Baptism and the ark, 336, 337.

Bema, the, of Manichseus, 105.
Bersabee, Uriah's wife, a type, 478, 479.
Bilhah and Zilpah, 447.
Birth of Jesus, the â€” the absurd statement of Faustus respecting,

366, 367, 368.
Blood, abstinence from, 540, 541.
Body, the human, man's heaviest bond, 27; God's handiwork, 388.

390. â–
Body and soul, the, 5, 6.
Breast, the, Manichsean symbol of,

89, etc.

Caiaphas, his prophecy, 303.

Cain, Abel's offering preferred to the offering of, 209, 210; counselled by God, 210; questioned by God respecting Abel, ZIl; cursed, t11, ^12; a mourner and an abject, 212, 213; the mark set on, 213.

Calf, the golden â€” significance of the grinding to powder, and burning of,
Captivity, the, of the Jews, 228, 229.

Christ, the birth of, denied by the Manichseans, â€” but defended, 191, 192, 194, 198, 199-202; knowing, after the flesh, what it means, ibid.; types of, 209, etc., 219, etc.; prophecies of, 232, etc.; plain prophecies of, 234, 235; the death of, real, 260, 261; did Moses write of? 284, etc., 288, etc.; what Moses wrote of, 290, etc.; the Prophet like to Moses, 295; never sought to turn Israel from their God, 304; broke no command, 305; Manichaean notions of, 357, 361, 362; the power and wisdom of, 362, 363; curious statement of Faustus respecting, 366, etc.; why descended from Zara of Tamar, 453, 454; Son of 2 N

INDEX OF PEINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

David and Son of God, 493, 495; son of Mary â€” Faustus' objections refuted, 495, etc. [See Jesus.]

Christians, the Church not to be blamed for bad, 46, 47; semi and pseudo, 146; why Jewish laws are not observed by, 334, etc.; Jewish and Gentile, their relation respectively to the law, 339-341; observe the moral precepts of the law, 342; the morals of, 350, 351.

Church, the Catholic, the perfect truth is to be found only in, 22; the teacher of wisdom, 350, 351; conspicuouslj visible, 250.

Circumcision, a prophecy of Christ, 109.

Clean and unclean food, 176, 177, ISI.

Clergâ€™, praise of the, 43.

Cloud and pillar of fire, types, 225,

Coenobites and Anchorites, their abstinence as compared with that of the Manichfeans, 40, etc., 43, etc.

Compassionate, 33.

Corruption, 55; counteracted by God, 56; e\Ti is, 136; the source of, 137; comes from nothing, 140; what it tends to, 141; is by God's permission, and comes from us, 142.

Covetousness, the root of all evils, 23, 24.

Cow dung used as fuel, 77.

Criticism, biblical, the true, 192, 193; unfair, of Faustus, 493, 494.

Critics, childish, severely censured, 423.

*' Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," 256, 258, etc.

Curses, prophetic, 302, 303.

Darkness, the Manichcean kingdom of, 113; five natures in the, 126; refutation of the theory of, 126.

127; the Manichaen race of, 179.

Dad\dd, his virtues and his faults, 455-457; and Saul, 457; prophetic significance of the sin of, 47S.

Death, the, the effect of sin, 258, 259.

Death of Christ, the, a real death, 260, 261.

Decalogue, the, against the Manichseans, 275, etc.

Deities, false, 273.

Discipline, 34; what it implies, 35.

Divorce, a bill of, 350, 351; the law
of Christ respecting, 353, 354.
Doce'-ism, the, of Faustus, 513, 519,
520.

Egyptian, Moses killing the, 483.

Egyptians, spoiling the, 460-463, 483.

Elijah, fed by ravens, etc., 227, 228; the translation of â€” Faustus' objections to,
answered, 507, 508, 511.

Elisha, the miracles of, 223.

Enoch, 214.

Er and Onan, sons of Tamar, types,
475.

Erangelists, the authority of the, 184,
185.

Evidence, the use of, 236, 237.

Evil, what ? first answer, 52; second answer, 53; third answer, 55; not a substance, but a
disagreement hostile to substance, 57, etc.; Manichasan fictions about, 60, etc.; is
corruption, 136; the sou'ce of,
137; origin of, 420, 421.

E% and good, 395, 396, 397.

Exodus, the, of Israel from Egypt, a type, 224.

"Eye for an eye," etc., 348, 349.

Faith, the Catholic, jDroofs of, 99, 100.

Faustus the Manichteans, who, 145; his praise of himself, 159; the hypocrisy of, 165;
would fail to satisfy an inquirer, 253, 254; his lode, 3'J6, 307; his Docetism, 513,
5r9, 520.

First man. the, of the Manichfeans,
148; different from Paul's, 149,
Flesh, why the use of, is prohibited by the Manicha^ans, 73, 74; as clean as fruits, 180, 181.

Flesh, knowing Christ after the â€” refutation of Faustus respecting the question, 191-196, 198, 199-202.

Flood, the, its sj^mbolic import, 216.

Food, clean and unclean, 176, 177;

various kinds of, prohibited in the

Old Testament, 539, 540; the laws

I of ^Moses and of Ch'i^ist respecting,

311, 312.

I Forgiveness, taught in the Old Testament, 352, 353.

Fortitude, 27; Scripture precepts respecting, and examples of, 28.

, Fulfilling the law, what it means, 320, etc., 331, etc.

Genealogy of Christ, objections of Faustus the Manichcean to, and replj", 152-156, 183, etc.

Gentiles, the, never under the Jewish law, 340, etc.; Christians accused of retaining the manners of, 380, 381.

Glorification of Christ, the, 107.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

50"^
God, following, 7; the knowledge of, whence obtained, 7, 8; the chief good, 9; what the Church teaches about, 11, 12; the one object of love, 13, 24, 25; nothing better than, 13; nothing can separate us from; 13, 14; we are invited to, by love, 14; we are joined inseparably to, by Christ and His Spirit, 15; we cleave to, by love, 16; absurd Manichæan notions about, 74, etc.,
119, 120; has no extension, 116; alone perfectly good, 138; nature made by, 140; in what sense evils are from, 140, 141; the belief in one, part of the original truth, 375; the same who punishes and blesses, 183, 184; the works of, 386, etc.; the eternal light, and the source of light, 405, etc.; astonished, 407; Old Testament representations of, vindicated, 407-409; jealous, 412, 413; the omnipotence of, 510, 511.

God, the, of the Jews, how Faustus speaks of, 322, 402.


God of this world, the, 383, 391.

Good, the chief, two conditions of, 3, 4, 5; God the, 13, 51; a twofold, 54; exhortation to seek the, 143.

Good and evil, 395, 396, 397.

Good, doing, to our neighbour, 33, 34.

Gospel, the, on what authority Augustine received, 101; what â€” refutation of Manichæanism respecting, 146-148.

Gospels, the harmony of, 556, 557.

Hagar and Sarah, 427.

Hand, the, as a Manichæan symbol, 82, etc.

Happiness, true, 3, etc.

Harmony, the, of the Old and New Testaments, 9, IS, 33, 34; of the Gospels, 556, 557.
Hebrews and Pagans, the difference between the worship of, 379.
Heretics, better to restore than to destroy, 97.
Huly Spirit, the, when sent, 105, 106; twice given, 107.
Hosea, commanded to take to him a "wife of whoredoms," 472, 480, 481.
t^yle, 357, 370, 371; and God, 382, 383, 398, 399.
Idolatky, the result of apostacy, 375.

Incarnation of Christ, the, objections of Faustus to, 152, 498.
Indirect construction, instances of, 319.
Infinity of God, the, questions about, 506.
Inquirer, the heathen, how answered and instructed, 244-248; a difficulty of, met, 248; satisfied, 251.
Inquisitiveness condemned in Scripture, 25.
Iras, 477.
Isaac and Rebecca, 437, 438.
Jacob, sets up a stone for a memorial pillar, 222; his vision of the ladder, 223; his polygamy, 438-440; his wives, and the typical or symbolical meaning of, 441-447.
Jericho, the capture of, 226.
Jesus, was He born of Mary? â€” cavils of Faustus, 490, etc.; both Son of David and Son of God â€” Faustus refuted, 493, etc.; did He die? â€”
objections of Faustus refuted, 507-514; was He born? â€” reply to Faustus, 515; both the birth and death of, real, not illusory, 519, 520. [See Christ.]

Jewish books, learning the Christian faith from, 300; laws and observances â€” why Christians do not observe, 334, etc.; observed by Jewish but not by Gentile Christians, 339-341.

Jews, the, typified by Cain, 210-214; their unbelief foretold, 248, 249.

Joachim, a priest, alleged by Faustus to be the father of the Virgin Mary, 492, 496, 497.

John the Baptist, 477.

Joseph, a type, 224.

Joshua and Jesus, 298, 299.

Judah, the blessing of, its prophetic import, 2, 32, 233; the incest of, with Tamar, 451, 452; and Judas, 453; the prophetic significance of his incest with Tamar, 474, etc.


Justice towards God, 29.

"Kingdom of heaven," 356.

Kingdom of light, the Manichsean, 110, etc., 118.

Ladder, Jacob's vision of the, 223.

Latvia, Sll, 378.

Law, the, and grace, 278, 279.

Law and the prophets, Jesus came not to destroy, but to fulfill â€” genu-

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

iaeness of the words, 316, 317, etc.; why Christians do not keep the,
223; Faustus' explanation of the words, 326, etc.; reply to Faustus respecting, 331, etc., 333, etc.; and Judaism, distinguished between by Faustus, 400, etc.

Law, the eternal, 426.

Leah and Eachel, 441-447.

Lex tallonis, the, 348, 349.

"Life, thy, thou shalt see hanging," etc., 301.

Light, God is, and the source of, 405, 406.

Lis^ht, the Manichasan kingdom of, 110, etc., 118.


Lord's day, the, and Sunday, 324.

Lot, and his daughters, 434r-437; not equal to Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, 450.

Love, to God, 9; we are united to God by, 14, 16; the fourfold division of, 17; the guiding influence of, 21; of ourselves and our neighbour, 31, 32, 33.

Love-feasts, 376.

Loving and hating, 346, 347.

Max, what, 4; the chief good of, 5; wholly created by God â€” refutation of Faustus respecting, 498-504.

Mandrakes, description of, and the supposed virtues and typical import of, explained, 447, 448.

Manichgeanism explained by Faustus, 356, etc.; exposed, 359, etc.

Manichseans, the, two tricks of, for catching the unwary, 2; the two gods of, 11; fictions of, about things good and evil, 50, etc.; three moral symbols devised by, 63, etc., 82, etc., 89, etc.; fables of, about God,
04; the abstinence of, 67; why they prohibit the use of flesh, 73, etc.; absurd tenets of, relating to God, 74, etc.; views of, relating to souls, 81; notions of, respecting marriage, 89, 90; serious charges of immorality brought against, 89-96; to be gently dealt with, 98; their kingdom of darkness, 113, 126, 127; worse than the Anthropomorphists, 119; the first man of, 148, 149; their perverse method of dealing with Scripture evidence in controversy, 192, 193; the idolatry of, 263; impeached of great errors and sins, 272, etc.; the Decalogue against, 275, etc.; beguiled by the

serpent, 280, 281, 282; are tares, 325; the oath used by, 344, 345; the worship of, 363-365, 373; the trinity of, 356, 369; the two principles of, 395, etc.; the God of, 416, 417, 418, 487, 488; apocryphal gospels of, 470, 471.

Manichseus, or Manes, claims to be an apostle â€” the claim refuted, 100, 101, etc., 241; why he called himself an apostle, 102; in what sense his followers believe him to be the Holy Spirit, 103, 104; the festival of the birthday of, 104; promises truth, but fails to fulfil his word, 108; wild fancies of, 109, 110; the two substances of his kingdom of light, 110; promises knowledge, 111, 112; his absurd fancy of a land and race of darkness, 113; refutation of his absurd ideas of two territories, 117, etc.; the number of natures in the System of, 121, etc.; his five natures in the region of darkness â€” refutation of the fiction, 126, 127; sworn by, 344; derivation of the name, ,345; which is, he or Matthew, to be believed ? 517; versus the apostles, 548, 549.

Mark, the, set on Cain, 213.

Marriage, allowed to the baptized by the apostles, 48-50; among the Manichseans, 89, 90; with sisters, 430.

^Slarry, forbidding to, 522, etc., 526, etc.

Martyrs, honours paid to, 376-378; the numbers of, 465, 466.

Marj', the Virgin, did she belong to the tribe of Judah ? â€” assertion of Faustus, and refutation of the same, 492, 496.

jNMatthew, the call of, 317, 319; the genuineness of the Gospel of, 516; or jSiAnichceus, which to be believed, 517, 518.
Means, the use of, 431, 432.

Meats and drinks, abstinence from, or the reverse, 44-46, 526.

Memory, 115.

Mind has no material extension, 116.

Miracle and nature, 508-510.

Months, origin of the names of, 324.

Morals, the, of the Christians, 380, 381.

Closes, the rod of, a type, 224; censured by Faustus for using the word "cursed," and defended, 256, 258, etc.; did he write of Christ? 283, etc., 288, etc.; is his law pure paganism? 289, etc.; what he wrote

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

565

of Christ, 290, etc., 293, etc.; like to Christ, 295; defended against Faustus, 296, 311; his virtues, 458; slays the Egyptian, 459, 483; spoils the Egyptians, 460-463, 483; slaughters the idolatrous Israelites, 470, 484; burns and grinds to powder the golden calf, 484.

Mouth, the, the value of the Manichoean symbol of, 63, etc.

Nature, every, as such, good, 113; cannot be without good, 134; corruption is not, 136; made by God, 140; and miracle, 508, 509.

Neighbour, the love of, 31, 32; doing good to, 33, 34.

New Testament, the Manichsean treatment of the, 532, 537.

Noah, and the ark, 214-216; age of, at the flood, 217; God's covenant with, 219; his drunkenness, 219, 220; conduct of the sons of, 220.
Obedience to the gospel, the Manichæan representation of, 159, etc.; reply to Faustus' statement respecting, 162, etc.; unavailing without faith, 163.

Old man, the, and the new, 24.

Old Testament, the, and the New, the harmony of, 9, etc., 18, etc., 35, 36, 465, 466, 467, 468.

Old Testament, the, Faustus' objections to, and charges against, answered, 157, etc., 169, etc., 187, 189, etc., 266, etc., 268, etc., 401, 402, 403, etc., 410, etc., 532, etc., 536, etc.; the function of, 537; the typical nature of, 538, 539.

Olive tree, the good, 188, 189.

Omnipotence of God, the, 510, 511.

Only-begotten, the, of God, 138.

Origin of evil, the, 420, 421.

Paganism, imputed to the Catholics by Faustus, 358; the charge of, retorted, 359, etc.; Christians vindicated from the charge of, 376, 380.

Paraclete, Manichæus not the apostle of the, 101, 102; when sent forth, 105, 106; the mission of the, 542, 543; the promise of, refers not to Manichæus, 544; sent immediately after the resurrection of Jesus, 544, 545.

Partridge, the, a type of heretics, 249.

Passover, the, 225.

"Patience of Israel, the," 252, 253.

Patriarchs, the, with all their faults,

superior to the Manichæan elect, and even the ISianichosan god, 422; Faustus' opinion of, 549, etc.; defended against the attacks of Faustus, 553.

Paul, did he change his opinions respecting Christ? 191, 192-196; harmony of his teaching, 198, 199; the naturally fierce energy of, made use of by God, 460.
Paul and Thecla, the apocryphal book of, referred to, 525.

Periods of the world, six, 208, 209.

Peter, 460.

Philo, his interpretation of Scripture, 230, 231.

Polygamy, 438, 440.

Principles, the two, of Manichæanism, 395, etc.

Prophecies of Christ, 204, 232, 23.3, 234, 235; the fulfilment of, its evidential power, 244-247.


Prophet, the, like unto Moses, 294, 295.

Prophets, the Hebrew, and their prophecies respecting Christ, defended against the, assaults of Faustus, 203, 204, etc., 237, 238.

Prudence, 29.

"Pure, all things pure to the," 528, etc., 530, etc.

Rachel and Leah, 441-450.

Paven and the dove, the, sent forth

from the ark, 218.

Reason, the weakness of, in relation

to God, 8.

Precord of faith, the, 254, 255.

Report, common, 242, 243.

Ptesurrection of the dead, the, 195.

Rod of Moses, the, a type, 224.

Sabbath, the Jewish, 172, 173, 308,
309.
Sacraments, the, of the Old Testament,
337; of the Old Testament and the
New, 338, 339; relation of Gentile
and Jewish Christians to the Old,
339-341.
Sacrifice, the one true, and imitations
of, 374.
Sacrifices of the Old Testament, 174,
175; typical, 325, 411.
Samson and the lion, 226, 227.
Sarah, her conduct towards Hagar,
427; Abraham's denial of, as his
wife, 429; and Abraham, types,
432, etc.
Saul, 454, 455, 457.

566

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Saturn, the fetters of, 324, 325.

Schism, as explained by Faustus, 357,
538.

Scriptures, the, authority of, 36, 546,
547; Manichjean mode of dealing with, in controversy, 192, 193; and other good books,
197; the record of faith, 254, 255; how the record of the deeds of evil men in, is to be
regarded, 451, 454, 455; the principle of interpretation to be applied to,
485, 486; all, profitable, 486, 487; Faustus would subject thy, to himself, not be subject to, 546, 547; the genuineness of, 554, 555.

Sect and schism, 357.

Self-denial, Catholic, 166, 167.

Sensible objects, not to be loved, 24, 25.

Serpent, the brazen, 225.

Sin, what it is, 424.

Sins of the Old Testament fathers as set forth by Faustus, 402, etc.; treated of, on right principles, 424, etc.

Solomon, 472.

Son of Da\-id and Son of God, Christ the, denied b\)'- Faustus, 490, etc.; proved against Faustus, 493, etc.

Soul, the, has no material form, and is present in every part of the body, 113, 114; has no material extension, 116.

Soul and bod\)'-, 5, 6; virtue gives perfection to, 6.

Souls, absurd Manichean notions respecting, 81, etc., 83, etc.

Star of the Magi, the, 149, 150, 151.

Sun, the, ^Manichtean worship of, explained by Faustus, 356, etc.; absurd statements of Faustus exposed, 360, etc.

Sunday, and the Lord's day, 324.

Symbolic precepts of the Old Testament, 170, 171.

Symbols, three moral, devised by the Manichajans, 63, etc., 82, etc., 89, etc.

Tables of stone, the, 270, 271.

Tamar and Judah, 451, 452, 453, 454;

a type, 475, 477.

Teacher, the Great, 137.
Temperance, the duties of, 23.

"Thieves and robbers," all who came before me are â€” who? 291.

Thomas, how taught by Jesus, 315, 316; apocryphal story of, 471.

Trinity, the, 19, 20; absurd views of Faustus respecting, 356, 369.

Truth, how to be sought, 99.

Two men, the witness of, 292.

Type and testimony, 182.

Types, Adam and Eve, 209; Cain and Abel, 209, 210; the ark, 215; the flood, 216, 217; the raven and dove, 218; Noah's drunkenness, 219, 220; Noah's sons, 220; Abraham and Isaac, 222; the angel wrestling with Jacob, 222; Jacob's stone, 222; Jacob's ladder, 223; Joseph, 224; the rod of Moses, 224; the Exodus, 224; in the wilderness, 225; the conquest of Jericho, 226; events during the time of the Judges, 226, 227; events in the time of the Kings, 227, 228; the Church, in captivity, and the return from captivity, 228, 229; must be acknowledged, 230, 231; sacrifices, 320; other observances besides sacrifices, 333; fulfilled in Christ, 334, etc.; actions and persons, 473; Judah's incest, 474, etc.; Tamar, Er, and Onan, 475-478; David's crime, 478; Solomon, 479, 480; various, 538, 539.

UxLEAN and clean food, 176, 177, 181.

Uriah the Hittite, 479.

Vanity of the world, the, 26.


Virtue, gives perfection to the soul, 7, 8; the fourfold division of, 17, 30.

Wars, the real evils of, 463, 464;

ordered by God, 463, 464, 405, 468.
Wilderness, the, typical occurrences
in, 225.
Wine, the old and the new, 78.
Wisdom, 21.

Witness, the, of two men, 292.
Words, on what the value of, depends,
475.
Works of God, the, 386, etc.
World, the, to be despised, 24, 25;
the vanity of, 26.
ZiLPAH and Bilhah, 447.

INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

567

ILâ€” INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Genesis

i. 2, .
i. 31, .
ii. 7, .
ii. 32, .
iii. 21, .
iv. 4, ix. 6, xi. 31, .
xii. 3, .
xii. 8, .
xii. 13, .
XX. 3, 4, xvi. 2-4, xvii. 9-14, xvii. 14, xix. 33-35, Xx. 2, .
XX. ii. 18, xxiv. 2, XX vi. 4, xxvi. 7, xxvii. 40, xxviii. 11-18, xxviii. 14, xxix. 26, xxix.,
XXX. 1, .
XXX. 15, XXX. 16, xxxvii. 9, xxxix. 17, xl. 1, 2, 8-:
xlix. 8-12, xlix. 10,

28

Exodus.
i. 12, .
iii. 21, 22, xi. 2, .
xii.,
xii. 3-5, xii. 35, 36, xvii. 9, xix.-xxxi., XX. 17, xxi. 24, xxiii. 11, xxiii. 20, 21, xxxi. 13,
xxxii. 32,

PAGE

4U4
530
503
194
475
411
540
431
428
431
402
428
402
533
435
402
402
232
232
232
Leviticus.

PAGE

xix. 18, . . 35
xxi., . . . 183
xxiii., . . . 533

Numbers.

ix. 10-12, . . 296
xiii. 9, . . 298
xiv. 6, . . 298
XV. 35, . . . 535

Deuteronomy.

iv. 6, iv. 24, .
vi. 4, vi. 5, vi. 13, .
xii, 32, .
xiii. 5, .
xviii. 15, xix. 15, xix. 18, xxi. 23, xxiv. 1, XXV. 5-10, xxvii. 15, xxvii. 16, xxviii. 66,

. 273
. 39
. 20
9

. 29
. 312
. 286
285, 294
. 292
. 35
1 Samuel.
xiv.,

XV. 24,
xxiv., xxvi., xxviii. 3,

2 Samuel.
xi. 4, 15,
xii., xvi.,

xi. 1-3,

1 Kings.

2 Kings.

i. 11,

Job.

i. 2,
ii. 7, 8, ii. 8, 9, ii. 10,
xxii.
. 234

XXX. 6, 7,
. 214

XXX. 11, 12,
. 229

xxxi. 19,
. 270

xxxiv. 5,
. 557

xxxvi. 6,
. 384

XXX vi. 11,
. 214

xxxvii. 23,
. 145
Ixxii. 10,
. 214

Ixxii. 11,
. 245

Ixxiii. 28,
18, 140

Ixxix. 9,
. 373

Ixxxiv. 4,
. 282

Ixxxix. 8,
. 20

ci. 1,
. 384
Proverbs.
iii. 12, . .409
xvi. 32, . 29, 352
xxi. 20, . .178
XXV. 21, . . 352
XXX. 30, . . 233

Ecclesiastes.
i. 2, 3, . . . 26

Song of Solomon.
i. 7, . . . 433
ii. 2, . . . 252
iv. 2, . . . 477
iv. 15, . . . 478
ii. 17-20,

vi. 3, .

ee. 10, .

vii. 9, . 158, 237,

viii. 20,

444

247

238

^e. 10, .

248

vii. 9, . 158, 237,

445

viii. 20,
xi. 2, 3,

216

xi. 10, .

241

xlv. 7, .

57

xlv. 23, 24, .

70

Iii. 7, .

538

liii. ,

234
Ivi. 4, 5,

266

Ixv. 2, .

248

Jeremiah.

X. 11, .

,

245

xvi. 19-21, .

.

245

xvii. 5-8,

^.
246

xvii. 9,

. 246

.434

xvii. 14,

Â»

253

xviii. 12,

,

250

xxx. 31, 32,

â€œ

537

xxx. 32,

â€œ
LAMKNTii

LTIONS.

iii. 30, .

352

EZEKIEL.

ix. 1, . . 252
xi. 19, . . 270, 324
xvi. 52, . . 452

Daniel.
i. 12, . . 522, 529
ii. 34, 35, . . 250
vi., . . 378
vii. 13, 14, . . 235
ix. 24, . . 476
ix. 24r-27, . . 235
X. 2, 3, . . 522

HOSEA.
i. 2, . . 472
i. 2, 3, . . . 403
i. 2; ii. 1, . . 481

Habakkuk.
ii. 4, . . . 310

Haggai.
i. 1, . . . 490
ii. 8, . . . 478

Malachi.
iv. 2, . . . 98

APOCRYPHA.

Wisdom.
i. 5, .
i. 13, .
i. 16, .
ii. 18-21, ii. 24, .
iii. 1-5, V. 16, 17, vi. 12-20, vi. 22, .
vi. 23, .
vii. 24, 25, vii. 36, .
viii. 1, .
viii. 3, â¬³
ix. 9, .
ix. 15, .
ix. 17, .
ix. 17-19, xi. 14, .
xi. 21, .
xi. 21; xii. 2
xiv. 15,
ECCLESIASTICUS.

i. 33,

. 444

ii. 4, 5,

. 29

xix. 1,

. 30

xxvii. 6,

. 29

xxviii. 1-5,

. 353
XX viii. 21,

, 352

TOBIT.

ii. 1,

. 479

viii. 9, .

. 430

Baruch

iii, 37, 38, .

. 235

2 Maccabees.

vii., NEW

â€¢

28, 337
TESTAMENT.

Matthew.

i. 23, .

. 493

i. 25,

512, 520

ii. 11,

. 520

ii. 14,

. 431

ii. 16,
. 453

iii. 4,

. 312

iii. 7,

. 478

iii. 10,

. 228

iii. 13,

. 47
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRiTURE.

5G9

P^OR 1

PAGK

PAGE

xiii. 52, 15S, 18G, 2G8 |

ii. 33, .
. 520

vii. 39, .

107, 544

xiii. 57,

. 298

iii. 14, .

. 464

viii. 3-11, .

. 550

xiv. 30,

. 296

iii. 22, 23, ,

, 491

viii. 6-8,

. 423
XV. 2, .
.
69

V. 14, .
.
175

viii. 13-18, .
.
203

XV. 3-G, 
.
305

vi. 13-18, .
.
102

viii. 13, 17, L

3, . 284

XV. 11, . A

t4, 322, 541

vii. 2-10,

552, 570
viii. 34, 36, .

. 210

XV. I G-20,

. 314

viii. 43-46, .

. 558

viii. 36,

. 65

xvi. 7, .

. 161

viii. 44, 45, .

. 408

viii. 39, 56, .

. 554

xvi. 11,
ix. 62, 
. 435
ix..
. 508
xvi. 22, 23,
297, 513
xi. 8, 
. 539
ix. 31, 
. 210
xvi. 23,
. 187
xi. 20, 
. 226
xiii. 24-29

. 552

xi. 49, 51

. 303

xix. 7, 8

. 354

xvi. 16

. 333

xi. 50, 51

. 475

xix. 12

302, 525

xvi. 23

. 554

xii. 35
xvii. 32,
  . 435

xiii. 35,
  . 321

xxi. 31,
  472, 559

xviii. 8,
  . 319

xiv. 3, .
  . 298

xxii. 10,
  . 454

XX. 37, 38,
  . 304

xiv. 6, .

16, 20, 301
xxii. 11-15,
. 409

XX. 35-38,
. 51, 468

xiv. 16, .
. 102

xxii. 21,
. 464

xxii. 42, 51,
. 466

xiv. 17, .
92, 545

xxii. 23-38,
. 356

xxiii. 12,
xiv. 26, 

. 535

xxii. 31, 32,

. 304

xxiii. 43,

. 550

XV. 1-3,

. 414

xxii. 37,

9

xxiv. 7,

. 513

XV. 10, 

. 161
xxii. 37-39,
. 35

xxiv. 39,
. 198

XV. 14, .
. 161

xxii. 37-40,
2

xxiv. 44,
158, 206

XV. 18, .
. 92

xxii. 39,
. 31

xxiv. 46, 47,
. 477
xvi. 28, 
. 203
xxii. 40, 
. 36, 326
xvi. 33, 
. 227
xxii. 42-44, 
. 241
Joii
N.
xxvii. 3, .
. 31
xxiii. 2, 3, 
. 311
i. 1, .

247, 450

xvii. 18,

. 292

xxiii. 3, 3^v

>0, 447, 473

i. 1-5, .

. 185

xviii. 11,

. 466

xxiii. 9,

184, 434

i. 3, .

. 512

xix. 4, 6,
. 223

xxi. 20-24,

. 319

xxvi. 37,

. 514

li. 17,

. 408

xxi. 25,

. 318

xxvi. 52, 53,

. 466

ii. 19,

. 289

xxvi. 57, 52,
iii. 32, .

. 520

V. 39, .

. 355

ix.. 

. 102

V. 46, .

. 206, 290,

ix. 25, .

. 432

LuĂ£

: e.

318, 332
X. 11-15,
. 530
i. 35,
. 296
vi. 53,
. 209
X. 13,
. 485
i. 44,
. 477
vi. 54,
. 252
XV. 6-11,
. 341
ii. 7,
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

i. 1-3, i. 2, 3, i. 9, i. 14, i. 17,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EOMAN'S.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>204, 268</td>
<td>. 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310, 337</td>
<td>. 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>. 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, . . 354</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, 263, 324,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375, 490</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| i. 28, .                |            |
| i. 30, .                |            |
| ii. 12, .               |            |
| ii. 14, 15, ii. 21, 22, ii. 26, . | |
| iii. 5, iii. 12, .     |            |
| iii. 13, .             |            |
| iii. 21, .             |            |
| iv. 3, .               |            |
| iv. 11, .              |            |
| iv. 11, 12             |            |
iv. 15,  
iv. 25,  
V. 3, 4, V. 5,

249, 390  
. 346

V. 12,  
V. 12, 19, V. 14, V. 20, vi. 4, vi. 6, vi. 9, vii. 2, 3  
vii. 5, vii. 7, vii. 7-13, vii. 12, 13, vii. 24, 25, viii. 2,  
viii. 3,  
viii. 3, 4, viii. 8, 9, viii. 10, 11, viii. 20, viii. 23, viii. 28, viii. 28, 35, viii. 29, viii. 30, viii. 32, viii. 36, viii. 38, 39, ix. 1-5,

. 409  
. 327  
. 447  
. 311  
. 383  
. 205  
. 368  
. 207  
. 554  
. 311  
. 238  
. 278

162, 310  
28  
16, 20, 215, 321,  
545  
. 503  
. 469  
. 209

278, 332  
. 336

259, 265  
. 199
ICOR

i. 19, 20, i. 23, 24, i. 23, 35, i. 24, ii. 8, ii. 13, ii. 14, iii. 1-3, iii. 9, iii. 17,

iii. 21, iv. 10, iv. 15, iv. 16, V. 1, V. 5, V. 6, V. 7, V. 8, vi. 7, 4, vi. 11-20, vi. 12, .

vi. 13, .

vi. 19, .  


vii. 4, vii. 5, 6,

INTniANS.

. 331

15, 297
viii. 8, .
ix. 9, 10,
X. 1-4, .
X. 4, .
X. 6, .
X. 6, 11,
X. 10, 6,
X. 11, 174, 181
X. 19-25, 28,

0,

X. 20, X. 30, xi. 1, xi. 5, xi. 11, 12, xi. 19, .
xi. 21, 22, xii. 1-20, xii. 18, .
 xii. 22-25, xii. 26, .
 xiii. 28, .
xiii. 3, .
xiii. 9, .
 xiii. 9, 10, xiii. 11, xiii. 12, xiv. 2-21, XV. 3, 4, 12
XV. 11, .
XV. 22, .
XV. 33, .
XV. 47, .
XV. 50-53, XV. 50-59, XV. 54, 55, XV. 56, .

359,

20,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308, 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.186, 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>411, 540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221, 268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii. 5, G, iii. 6,

ii. 15, 16,

ii. 16, .

V. 4, .

V. 6, .

v. 16, .

, 391
, 207
, 346
, 324
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

71

PAGE

PAGE

PAGE

iv. 18, .

â€œ
iii. 14-19

iv. 1-4, . . 282

V. 13, .

^

. 446

iv. 2, 3,

*. 479

iv. 2, . . 372

V. 13-15,

, . 223

iv. 2-7,
. 202

iv. 3, 4, . . 376

V. 14-18,

,

. 200

iv. 3,

. 216

iv. 3-5, . . 527

V. 16, .

,

. 191

iv. 11, .

. 328
iv. 4, . . . 263

V. 17, .

, . 335

iv. 22-24, . 500

iv. 8, . . . 46

V. 21, . ^

260, 265

V. 8, . . 406

V. 23, . . . 46

vi. 11, .
v. 25-27,

vi. 4, . . . 336

vii. 5, .

V. 28, 29,

vi. 10, . . . 22

ix. 7, .

. 228
V. 31, 32,

209, 433

vi. 16, . . . 357

X. 12, .

. 439

vi. 15, .

. 538

xi. 2, 3,

2G9,

281, 441
2 Timothy.

xi. 3, .

. 390

Philippians.

ii. 8, 147, 162, 194, 495

xi. 23, .

,.

, .

. 446

i. 8, .

. 346

ii. 16-18, . 158

xii. 7-9,

,.

. 414
i. 18, .

- 447

ii. 24, 25, . . 98

xiii. 3, .

- 518

ii. 6, . 154,

- 247, 494

iii. 8, . . 249

xiii. 4, .

àéçè

- 212

ii. 6, 7, ii. 9-11,

- 209

- 466
iv. 4, . 149, 273
iv. 14, . 302

Galatians.

iii. 8, .

. 532

i. 8, .

, .

. 549

iii. 13, .

. 435

Titus.

i. 8, 9, .

148,

162, 518
313, 506

i. 15, 16,

. 501

i. 16, . . . 528

i. 22, .

. 482

Colossi Ays.

iii. 5, . . . 199

ii. 14, .

. 458

ii. 5,
. 146

ii. 20, .

. 297

ii. 8, .

. 25

Hebeew.

iii. 6-8,

. 238

ii. 15, .

. 309

i. 3, . .19
iii. 8, .

. 305

ii. 16, 17, 1

71

, 308, 537

iii. 5, . . 458

iii. 10, .

211, 258

ii. 17, .

. 324

iii. 16, .

. 208
iii. 1, 2,

. 199

James.

iii. 19, .

. 278

iii. 5,

. 484

iv. 15, . . 386

iii. 21, 22,

. 332

iii. 9, 10,

. 24
iii. 23, 25,

. 338

iii. 9-11,

. 500

1 Peter.

iii. 23, 25,

. 3.32

iii. 10, 209

. 209

ii. 4-8, 271

iii. 27, 28,

. 501
ii. 9, 10, . . 481

iii. 29, .

482, 537

1 Thessalonians.

iii. 17, . . . 415

iv. 4,

. 495

iii. 10, .

. 146

iii. 21, . . 337

iv. 4, 5,
154,

194, 205

iv. 17, 18, . 400, 415

iv. 9, .

. 186

2 Thessalonians.

iv. 19, .

. 499

i. 5, .

. 415

1 John.
iv. 22-24,

. 443

i. 5, . . . 405

V. 2, .

. 341

1 Timothy,

i. 9, . . .98

V. 6, .

342, 351

i. 5, .
164, 336

ii. 1, 2, . . 333

V. 12, .

. 302

i. 8, .

. 435

ii. 15, . . . 26

V. 13, .

. 65

i. 15, .

. 296

iii. 2, . . 425, 546

vi. 3, .
Ephesians.

ii. 1-4, .

. 229

V. 20, . . 163

ii. 11-22,

. .

482, 540

ii. 5,
ii. 12, 19, 20,

. 221

iii. 7, .

. 448

Revelation.

ii. 14, .

. 467

iv. 1, 2, .

. 268

iii. 19, . . 409
iii. 7, .

, .

. 23

iv. 1-3,

. 522

xix. 10, . . 378

OpVji to On

H.

c

C C

M

C CQ

Aiogustihus, Aurelius, S.
THE WORKS

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE.

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. VI.

THE LETTERS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXII.

Source (of this Volume):
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
www.archive.org/details/worksofaurelius06augu

----------------------
LETTERS

OF

SAINT AUGUSTINE

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

THE REV. J. G. CUNNINGHAM, M.A.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXII.

IWE INSTITUTI' STUDIES

10
TOI

:DEC-j ]

5f18(}
PREFACE.

THE importance of the letters of eminent men, as illustrations of their life, character, and times, is too well understood to need remark. The Letters of Cicero and Pliny have given us a more vivid conception of Roman life than the most careful history could have given; the Letters of Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin furnish us with the most trustworthy material for understanding the rapid movement and fierce conflict of their age; when we read the voluminous correspondence of Pope and his compeers, or the unstudied beauties of Cowper's letters of friendship, we seem to be in the company of living men; and modern history has in nothing more distinctly proved its sagacity, than by its diligence in publishing the Letters of Cromwell, of Washington, of Chatham, and of other historical personages.

For biography, familiar letters are the most important material. In a man's published writings we see the general character of his mind, and we ascertain his opinions in so far as he deemed it safe or advisable to lay these before a perhaps unsympathizing public; in his letters he reveals his whole character, his feelings as well as his judgments, his motives, his personal history, and the various ramifications of his interest. In his familiar correspondence we see the man as he is known to his intimate friends, in his times of relaxation and unstudied utterance. 1 Few men, in writing for the public, can resist the tendency towards a constrained attitudinizing, or throw off the fixed expression of one sitting for his portrait; and it is only in conversation, spoken or written, that we get the whole man revealed in a series of constantly varying and unconstrained expressions. And even where, as in Augustine's case, we have an autobiography, we derive from the letters many additional traits of character, much valuable illustration of opinions and progress. 1

In their function of appendices to history they are equally valuable. It was a characteristic remark of Horace Walpole's, that cf nothing gives so just an idea of an age as genuine letters; nay, history waits for its last seal from them. " A still greater authority, Bacon, in his marvellous distribution of all knowledge, gives to letters the highest place among the...
"Appendices to History." "Letters," he says, "are, according to all the variety of occasions, advertisements, advices, directions, propositions, petitions commendatory, expostulatory, satisfactory; of compliment, of pleasure, of discourse, and all other passages of action. And such as are written from wise men are, of all the words of man, in my judgment, the best; for they are more natural than orations and public speeches, and more advised than conferences or present speeches. So, again, letters of affairs from such as manage them, or are privy to them, are of all others the best instructions for history, and to a diligent reader the best histories in themselves." 2 This is especially true of the Letters of Augustine. A large number of them are ecclesiastical and theological, and would in our day have appeared as pamphlets, or would have been delivered as lectures. There are none of his writings which do not receive some supplementary light from his letters. The subjects of his more elaborate writings are here handled in an easier manner, and their sources, motives, and origin are disclosed. Difficulties which his published works had occasioned are here removed, new illustrations are noted, further developments and fresh complications of heresy are alluded to, and the whole theological movement of the time is here reflected in a vivid and interesting shape. ~No controversy of his age was settled without his voice, and it is in his letters we chiefly see the vastness of his empire, the variety of subjects on which appeal was made to him, and the deference with which his judgment was received. Inquiring philosophers, puzzled statesmen, angry heretics, pious ladies, all found their way to the Bishop of Hippo. And while he continually complains of want of leisure, of the multifarious business of his episcopate, of the unwarranted demands made upon him, he yet carefully answers all. Sometimes he writes with the courier who is to carry his letter impatiently chafing outside the door; sometimes a promptly written reply is carried round the whole known world by some faithless messenger before it reaches his anxious correspondent; but, amidst difficulties unthought of under a postal system, his indefatigable diligence succeeds in diffusing intelligence and counsel to the most distant inquirers.

In the present volume we have, as usual, followed the Benedictine edition. Among the many labours which the Benedictine Fathers encountered in editing the works of Augustine, they undertook the onerous task of rearranging the Epistles in chronological order.
order. The manner in which this task has been executed is eminently characteristic of their unostentatious patience and skill. Their order has been universally adopted; it is to this order that reference is made when any writer cites a letter of Augustine's; and therefore it matters less whether in each case the date assigned by the

X PREFACE.

Benedictine editors can be accepted as accurate. It will be seen that we have not considered it desirable to translate all the letters. Of those addressed to Augustine we have omitted a few which were neither important in themselves nor indispensable for the understanding of his replies; and, when any of his own letters is a mere repetition of what he has previously written to another correspondent, we have contented ourselves, and, we hope, shall satisfy our readers, with a reference to the former letter in which the arguments and illustrations now repeated may be found.

Xo English translation of these Letters has previously appeared. The French have in this, as in other patristic studies, been before us. Two hundred years ago a translation into the French tongue was published, and this has lately been superseded by M. Poujoulat's four readable and fairly accurate volumes.

THE EDITOR.
CONTENTS.

To Hermogenianus, To Zenobius, To Nebridius, To Nebridius, Nebridius to Augustine, Nebridius to Augustine, To Nebridius, Nebridius to Augustine, Nebridius to Augustine, Nebridius to Augustine, Nebridius to Augustine,

9. To Nebridius,

10. To Nebridius,

11. To Nebridius,

13. To Nebridius,

14. To Nebridius,

15. To Romanianus,

16. Maximus to Augustine,

17. To Maximus,

18. To Ccelestinus,

19. To Gaius, .

20. To Antoninus,

21. To Bishop Yalerius,

22. To Bishop Aurelius,

23. To Maximin,

25. Paulinus and Therasia to Augustine

26. To Licentius,

27. To Paulinus,

28. To Jerome, .

29. To Alypius, .

30. Paulinus and Therasia to Augustine
31. To Paulinus and Therasia,
33. To Proculeianus,
34. To Eusebius,
35. To Eusebius,
36. To Casulanus,
37. To Simplicianus,
38. To Profuturus,
39. Jerome to Augustine
40. To Jerome,
41. To Aurelius,
42. To Paulinus and Therasia,
43. To Glorius, Eleusius, etc.,
CONTENTS.

LETTER

44. To Eleusius, Glorius, and the two Felixes,

46. Publicola to Augustine,

47. To Publicola,

48. To Eudoxius,

50. To the Magistrates of Suffectum,

51. To Crispinus,

53. To Generosus,

54. To Januarius,

55. To Januarius,

58. To Pammachius,
59. To Victorinus,
60. To Aurelius,
61. To Theodaras,
62. To Severus,
63. To Sererus,
64. To Quintianus,
65. To Xantippus,
66. To Crispinus,
67. To Jerome,
68. Jerome to Augustine
69. To Castorius,
71. To Jerome,
72. Jerome to Augustine
73. To Jerome,
74. To Prsesidius,
75. Jerome to Augustine,
76. To the Donatists,
77. To Felix and Hilarinus
78. To the Clergy, etc., of the Church of Hippo,
79. A Challenge to a Manichsean Teacher,
81. Jerome to Augustine,
82. To Jerome,
83. To Alypius,
LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

LETTER I.

(a.d. 386.)

to hebmogenianus I Augustine sends greeting.

1. "WOULD not presume, even in playful discussion, to JL attack the philosophers of the Academy; for when could the authority of such eminent men fail to move me, did I not believe their views to be widely different from those commonly ascribed to them? Instead of confuting them, which is beyond my power, I have rather imitated them to the best of my ability. For it seems to me to have been suitable enough to the times in which they nourished, that whatever issued pure from the fountainhead of Platonic philosophy should be rather conducted into dark and thorny thickets for the refreshment of a very few men, than left to flow in open meadow-land, where it would be impossible to keep it clear and pure from the inroads of the vulgar herd. I use the word herd advisedly; for what is more brutish than the opinion that the soul is material? For defence against the men who held this, it appears to me that such an art and method of concealing the truth 2 was wisely contrived by the New Academy. But in
this age of ours, when we see none who are philosophers, â€” for I do not consider those who merely wear the cloak of a philosopher to be worthy of that

1 Hermogenianus was one of the earliest and most intimata friends of Augustine, and his associate in literary and philosophical studies.

2 We follow the reading " tegendi veri."

VOL. I. A

2 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. I.

venerable name, â€” it seems to me that men (those, at least, whom the teaching of the Academicians has, through the subtlety of the terms in which it was expressed, deterred from attempting to understand its actual meaning) should be brought back to the hope of discovering the truth, lest that which was then for the time useful in eradicating obstinate error, should begin now to hinder the casting in of the seeds of true knowledge.

2. In that age the studies of contending schools of philosophers were pursued with such ardour, that the one thing to be feared was the possibility of error being approved. For every one who had been driven by the arguments of the sceptical philosophers from a position which he had supposed to be impregnable, set himself to seek some other in its stead, with a perseverance and caution corresponding to the greater industry which was characteristic of the men of that time, and the strength of the persuasion then prevailing, that truth, though deep and hard to be deciphered, does lie hidden in the nature of things and of the human mind. Now, however, such is the indisposition to strenuous exertion, and the indifference to the liberal arts, that so soon as it is noised abroad that, in the opinion of the most acute philosophers, truth is unattainable, men send their minds to sleep, and cover them up for ever. For they presume not, forsooth, to imagine themselves to be so superior in discernment to those great men, that they shall find out what, during his singularly long life, Carneades, with all his diligence, talents, and leisure, besides his extensive and varied learning, failed to discover.
And if, contending somewhat against indolence, they rouse themselves so far as to read those books in which it is, as it were, proved that the perception of truth is denied to man, they relapse into lethargy so profound, that not even by the heavenly trumpet can they be aroused.

3. Wherefore, although I accept with the greatest pleasure your candid estimate of my brief treatise, and esteem you so much as to rely not less on the sagacity of your judgment than on the sincerity of your friendship, I beg you to give more particular attention to one point, and to write me again concerning it, â€” namely, whether you approve of that which, in
LET. II.] TO ZENOBIUS.

the end of the third book/ I have given as my opinion, in a tone perhaps of hesitation rather than of certainty, but in statements, as I think, more likely to be found useful than to be rejected as incredible. But whatever be the value of those treatises [the books against the Academicians], what I most rejoice in is, not that I have vanquished the Academicians, as you express it (using the language rather of friendly partiality than of truth), but that I have broken and cast away from me the odious bonds by which I was kept back from the nourishing breasts of philosophy, through despair of attaining that truth which is the food of the soul.

LETTER II.

(a.d. 386.)

TO ZENOBIUS 2 AUGUSTINE SENDS GEEETING.

1. We are, I suppose, both agreed in maintaining that all things with which our bodily senses acquaint us are incapable of abiding unchanged for a single moment, but, on the contrary, are moving and in perpetual transition, and have no present reality, that is, to use the language of Latin philosophy, do not exist. 3 Accordingly, the true and divine philosophy admonishes us to check and subdue the love of these things as most dangerous and disastrous, in order that the mind, even while using this body, may be wholly occupied and warmly interested in those things which are ever the same, and which owe their attractive power to no transient charm. Although this is all true, and although my mind, without the aid of the senses, sees you as you really are, and as an object which may be loved without disquietude, nevertheless I must own that when you are absent in body, and separated by distance, the pleasure of meeting and seeing you is one which I miss, and which, therefore, while it is attain-

1 Augustine’s work, De Academicis, b. iii. c. 20.

2 Zenobius was the friend to whom Augustine dedicated his books De Ordine. In book i. ch. 1 and 2, we have a delightful description of the character of Zenobius.

3 Ut latine loquar, non esse.

4 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. III.

able, I earnestly covet. This my infirmity (for such it must be) is one which, if I know you aright, you are well pleased to find in me; and though you wish every good thing for your
best and most loved friends, you rather fear than desire that they should be cured of this infirmity. If, however, your soul has attained to such strength that you are able both to discern this snare, and to smile at those who are caught therein, truly you are great, and different from what I am.

For my part, as long as I regret the absence of any one from me, so long do I wish him to regret my absence. At the same time, I watch and strive to set my love as little as possible on anything which can be separated from me against my will. Regarding this as my duty, I remind you, in the meantime, whatever be your frame of mind, that the discussion which I have begun with you must be finished, if we care for each other. For I can by no means consent to its being finished with Alypius, even if he wished it. But he does not wish this; for he is not the man to join with me now in endeavouring, by as many letters as we could send, to detain you with us, when you decline this, under the pressure of some necessity to us unknown.

LETTEE III.

(a.d. 387.)

to nebridius I augustine sends greeting.

1. Whether I am to regard it as the effect of what I may call your flattering language, or whether the thing be really so, is a point which I am unable to decide. For the impression was sudden, and I am not yet resolved how far it deserves to be believed. You wonder what this can be. What do you think? You have almost made me believe, not indeed that I am happy “for that is the heritage of the wise alone” but that I am at least in a sense happy: as we apply the designation man to beings who deserve the name only in a sense if compared with Plato's ideal man, or speak of things

1 The character of Nebridius, and the intimacy of friendship between him and Augustine, may be seen in the Conessions, b. ix. c. 3.

LET. III.] TO NEBEIDIUS.

which we see as round or square, although they differ widely from the perfect figure which is discerned by the mind of a few. I read your letter beside my lamp after supper: immediately after which I lay down, but not at once to sleep; for on my bed I meditated long, and talked thus with myself “
Augustine addressing and answering Augustine: "Is it not true, as Nebridius affirms, that I am happy?" "Absolutely true it cannot be, for that I am still far from wise he himself would not deny." "But may not a happy life be the lot even of those who are not wise?" "That is scarcely possible; because, in that case, lack of wisdom would be a small misfortune, and not, as it actually is, the one and only source of unhappiness." "How, then, did Nebridius come to esteem me happy? Was it that, after reading these little books of mine, he ventured to pronounce me wise? Surely the vehemence of joy could not make him so rash, especially seeing that he is a man to whose judgment I well know so much weight is to be attached. I have it now: he wrote what he thought would be most gratifying to me, because he had been gratified by what I had written in those treatises; and he wrote in a joyful mood, without accurately weighing the sentiments entrusted to his joyous pen. What, then, would he have said if he had read my Soliloquies? He would have rejoiced with much more exultation, and yet could find no loftier name to bestow on me than this which he has already given in calling me happy. All at once, then, he has lavished on me the highest possible name, and has not reserved a single word to add to my praises, if at any time he were made by me more joyful than he is now. See what joy does."

2. But where is that truly happy life? where? ay, where?
Oh! if it were attained, one would spurn the atomic theory of Epicurus. Oh! if it were attained, one would know that there is nothing here below but the visible world. Oh! if it were attained, one would know that in the rotation of a globe on its axis, the motion of points near the poles is less rapid than of those which lie half way between them, â€” and other such like things which we likewise know. But now, how or in what sense can I be called happy, who know not why the world is such in size as it is, when the proportions of the figures according to which it is framed do in no way hinder its being enlarged to any extent desired? Or how might it not be said to me â€” nay, might we not be compelled to admit that matter is infinitely divisible; so that, starting from any given base (so to speak), a definite number of corpuscles must rise to a definite and ascertainable quantity?
Wherefore, seeing that we do not admit that any particle is so small as to be insusceptible of further diminution, what compels us to admit that any assemblage of parts is so great that it cannot possibly be increased? Is there perchance some important truth in what I once suggested confidentially to Alypius, that since number, as cognisable by the understanding, is susceptible of infinite augmentation, but not of infinite diminution, 1 because we cannot reduce it lower than to the units, number, as cognisable by the senses (and this, of course, just means quantity of material parts or bodies), is on the contrary susceptible of infinite diminution, but has a limit to its augmentation? This may perhaps be the reason why philosophers justly pronounce riches to be found in the things about which the understanding is exercised, and poverty in those things with which the senses have to do.
For what is poorer than to be susceptible of endless diminution? and what more truly rich than to increase as much as you will, to go whither you will, to return when you will and as far as you will, and to have as the object of your love that which is large and cannot be made less? For whoever understands these numbers loves nothing so much as the unit; and no wonder, seeing that it is through it that all the other numbers can be loved by him. But to return: Why is the world the size that it is, seeing that it might have been greater or less? I do not know: its dimensions are what they are, and I can go no further. Again: Why is the world in the place it now occupies rather than in another? Here, I Had Augustine been acquainted with the decimal notation, he would not have made this remark to Alypius; for in the decimal scale, when the point is inserted, fractional parts go on diminishing according to the number of cyphers between them and the point (e.g. '001), precisely as the integers increase according to the number of cyphers between them and the decimal point (e.g. 100"), â€” there being no limit to the descending series on the right hand of the decimal point, any more than to the ascending series on the left hand of the same point.

.LET. III.] TO NEBRIDIUS.

too, it is better not to put the question; for whatever the answer might be, other questions would still remain. This one thing greatly perplexed me, that bodies could be infinitely subdivided. To this perhaps an answer has been given, by setting over against it the converse property of abstract number [viz. its susceptibility of infinite multiplication].

3. But stay: let us see what is that indefinable object 1 which is suggested to the mind. This world with which our senses acquaint us is surely the image of some world which the understanding apprehends. Now it is a strange phenomenon which we observe in the images which mirrors reflect to us, â€” that however great the mirrors be, they do not make the images larger than the objects placed before them, be they ever so small; but in small mirrors, such as the pupil of the eye, although a large surface be placed over against them, a very small image is formed, proportioned to the size of the mirror. 2 Therefore if the mirrors be reduced in size, the images reflected in them are also reduced; but it is not possible for the images to be enlarged by enlarging the mirrors. Surely there is in this something which might reward further investigation; but meanwhile, I must sleep. 3 Moreover, if I seem to Nebridius to be happy, it is not because I seek, but because perchance I have found something. What, then, is that something? Is it that
chain of reasoning which I am wont so to caress as if it were my sole treasure, and in
which perhaps I take too much delight?

4. "Of what parts do we consist?" "Of soul and body."
"Which of these is the nobler?" "Doubtless the soul."
"What do men praise in the body?" "Nothing that I see but comeliness." "And what is
comeliness of body?" "Harmony of parts in the form, together with a certain
agreableness of colour." "Is this comeliness better where it is true or where it is illusive?
"Unquestionably it is better where it is true."
"And where is it found true?" "In the soul." "The soul,

1 Nescio quid.

2 Augustine's acquaintance with the first principles of optics, and with the properties of
reflection possessed by convex, plane, and concave mirrors, must have
been lamentably limited.

3 Wisely resolved.

8 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. III.

therefore, is to be loved more than the body; but in what part of the soul does this truth
reside? "In the mind and understanding. " "With what has the understanding to
contend? " "With the senses." "Must we then resist the senses with all our might?" "
Certainly." "What, then, if the things with which the senses acquaint us give us pleasure?
" "We must prevent them from doing so." "How?"
"By acquiring the habit of doing without them, and desiring better things." "But if the
soul die, what then?" "Why, then truth dies, or intelligence is not truth, or
intelligence is not a part of the soul, or that which has some part immortal is liable to die:
conclusions all of which I demonstrated Ions; a?o in my Soliloquies to be absurd
because impossible; and I am firmly persuaded that this is the case, but somehow through
the influence of custom in the experience of evils we are terrified, and hesitate. But even
granting, finally, that the soul dies, which I do not see to be in any way possible, it
remains nevertheless true that a happy life does not consist in the evanescent joy which
sensible objects can yield: this I
have pondered deliberately, and proved."

Perhaps it is on account of reasonings such as these that I
have been judged by my own Xebridius to be, if not absolutely happy, at least in a sense
happy. Let me also judge myself to be happy: for what do I lose thereby, or why should I
grudge to think well of my own estate? Thus I talked with myself, then prayed according
to my custom, and fell asleep.
5. These things I have thought good to write to you. For it gratifies me that you should thank me when I write freely to you whatever crosses my mind; and to whom can I more willingly write nonsense than to one whom I cannot displease? But if it depends upon fortune whether one man love another or not, look to it, I pray you, how can I be justly called happy when I am so elated with joy by fortune's favours, and avowedly desire that my store of such good things may be largely increased? For those who are most truly wise, and whom alone it is right to pronounce happy, have maintained that fortune's favours ought not to be the objects of either fear or desire.

1 Ineptiam.

LET. IV.] TO NEBRIDIUS. 9

Now here I used the word "cupi:" I will you tell me whether it should be "cupi" or "cupiri?" And I am glad this has come in the way, for I wish you to instruct me in the inflexion of this verb "cupio," since, when I compare similar verbs with it, my uncertainty as to the proper inflexion increases. For "cupio" is like "fugio," "sapio," "jacio," "capio;" but whether the infinitive mood is "fugiri" or "fugi," "sapiri" or "sapi," I do not know. I might regard "jaci" and "capi" 2 as parallel instances answering my question as to the others, were I not afraid lest some grammarian should "catch" and "throw" me like a ball in sport wherever he pleased, by reminding me that the form of the supines "jactum" and "capturn" is different from that found in the other verbs "fugitum," "cupitum," and "sapitum."

As to these three words, moreover, I am likewise ignorant whether the penultimate is to be pronounced long and with circumflex accent, or without accent and short. I would like to provoke you to write a reasonably long letter. I beg you to let me have what it will take some time to read. For it is far beyond my power to express the pleasure which I find in reading what you write.

LET. TEE IV.

(a.d. 387.)

to nebridius augustine sends greeting.

1. It is very wonderful how completely I was taken by surprise, when, on searching to discover which of your letters still remained unanswered, I found only one which held me as your debtor, â€” that, namely, in which you request me to tell you how far in this my leisure, which you suppose to be great, and which you desire to share with me, I am making progress in learning to discriminate those things in nature with which the senses are conversant, from those about which the understanding is employed. But I suppose it is not unknown to you, that if one becomes more and more fully imbued with false opinions,
1 Present infinitive passive of cupere, to desire.

2 Infinitive passive of verbs signifying respectively to "throw" and to "catch."

1 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. IV.

the more fully and intimately one exercises himself in them, the corresponding effect is still more easily produced in the mind by contact with truth. Nevertheless my progress, like our physical development, is so gradual, that it is difficult to define its steps distinctly, just as though there is a very great difference between a boy and a young man, no one, if daily questioned from his boyhood onward, could at any one date say that now he was no more a boy, but a young man.

2. I would not have you, however, so to apply this illustration as to suppose that, in the vigour of a more powerful understanding, I have arrived as it were at the beginning of the soul's manhood. For I am yet but a boy, though perhaps, as we say, a promising boy, rather than a good-for-nothing.

For although the eyes of my mind are for the most part perturbed and oppressed by the distractions produced by blows inflicted through things sensible, they are revived and raised up again by that brief process of reasoning: " The mind and intelligence are superior to the eyes and the common faculty of sight; which could not be the case unless the things which we perceive by intelligence were more real than the things which we perceive by the faculty of sight." I pray you to help me in examining whether any valid objection can be brought against this reasoning. By it, meanwhile, I find myself restored and refreshed; and when, after calling upon God for help, I begin to rise to Him, and to those things which are in the highest sense real, I am at times satisfied with such a grasp and enjoyment of the things which eternally abide, that I sometimes wonder at my requiring any such reasoning as I have above given to persuade me of the reality of those things which in my soul are as truly present to me as I am to myself.

Please look over your letters yourself, for I own that you will be in this matter at greater pains than I, in order to make sure that I am not perchance unwittingly still owing an answer to any of them: for I can hardly believe that I have so soon got from under the burden of debts which I used to reckon as so numerous; albeit, at the same time, I cannot doubt that you have had some letters from me to which I have as yet received no reply.

LET. V. VI. J NEBRIDIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 11

LETTER V.
TO AUGUSTINE NEBRIDIUS SENDS GREETING.

Is it true, my beloved Augustine, that you are spending your strength and patience on the affairs of your fellow-citizens (in Thagaste), and that the leisure from distractions which you so earnestly desired is still withheld from you? Who, I would like to know, are the men who thus take advantage of your good nature, and trespass on your time? I believe that they do not know what you love most and long for. Have you no friend at hand to tell them what your heart is set upon? Will neither Eomanianus nor Lucinianus do this?

Let them hear me at all events. I will proclaim aloud; I will protest that God is the supreme object of your love, and that your heart's desire is to be His servant, and to cleave to Him. Fain would I persuade you to come to my home in the country, and rest here; I shall not be afraid of being denounced as a robber by those countrymen of yours, whom you love only too well, and by whom you are too warmly loved in return.

LETTEE VI.

(a.d. 389.)

to augustine nebridius sends greeting.

1. Your letters I have great pleasure in keeping as carefully as my own eyes. For they are great, not indeed in length, but in the greatness of the subjects discussed in them, and in the great ability with which the truth in regard to these subjects is demonstrated. They shall bring to my ear the voice of Christ, and the teaching of Plato and of Plotinus. To me, therefore, they shall ever be pleasant to hear, because of their eloquent style; easy to read, because of their brevity; and profitable to understand, because of the wisdom which they contain. Be at pains, therefore, to teach me everything which, to your judgment, commends itself as holy or good.

12 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. VI.

As to this letter in particular, answer it when you are ready to discuss a subtle problem in regard to memory, and the images presented by the imagination. 1 My opinion is, that although there can be such images independently of memory, there is no exercise of memory independently of such images. 2 You will say, "What, then, takes place when memory is exercised in recalling an act of understanding or of thought? I answer this objection by saying, that such acts can be recalled by memory for this reason, that in the supposed act of understanding or of thought we gave birth to something conditioned by space or by time, which is of such a nature that it can be reproduced by the imagination:
for either we connected the use of words with the exercise of the understanding and with the thoughts, and words are conditioned by time, and thus fall within the domain of the senses or of the imaginative faculty; or if we did not join words with the mental act, our intellect at all events experienced in the act of thinking something which was of such a nature as could produce in the mind that which, by the aid of the imaginative faculty, memory could recall. These things I have stated, as usual, without much consideration, and in a somewhat confused manner: do you examine them, and, rejecting what is false, acquaint me by letter with what you hold as the truth on this subject.

2. Listen also to this question: "Why, I should like to know, do we not affirm that the phantasy [imaginative faculty] derives all its images from itself, rather than say that it receives these from the senses? For it is possible that, as the intellectual faculty of the soul is indebted to the senses, not for the objects upon which the intellect is exercised, but rather for the admonition arousing it to see these objects, in the same manner the imaginative faculty may be indebted to the senses, not for the images which are the objects upon which it is exercised, but rather for the admonition arousing it to contemplate these images. And perhaps it is in this way that we are to explain the fact that the imagination per-

1 Phantasia.

* Quamvis non omnis phantasia cum memoria sit, omnis tamen memoria, sine phantasia esse non possit.

LET. VII.] TO NEBEIDIUS. 13

ceives some objects which the senses never perceived, whereby it is shown that it has all its images within itself, and from itself. You will answer me what you think of this question also.

LETTER VII.

(a.d. 389.)

to nebeidius augustine sends geeeting.

Chap. i. â€” Memory may be exercised independently of such images as are presented by the imagination.

1. I shall dispense with a formal preface, and to the subject on which you have for some time wished to hear my opinion I shall address myself at once; and this I do the more willingly, because the statement must take some time.
It seems to you that there can be no exercise of memory without images, or the apprehension of some objects presented by the imagination, which you have been pleased to call "phantasioe." For my part, I entertain a different opinion.

In the first place, we must observe that the things which we remember are not always things which are passing away, but are for the most part things which are permanent. Wherefore, seeing that the function of memory is to retain hold of what belongs to time past, it is certain that it embraces on the one hand things which leave us, and on the other hand things from which we go away. When, for example, I remember my father, the object which memory recalls is one which has left me, and is now no more; but when I remember Carthage, the object is in this case one which still exists, and which I have left. In both cases, however, memory retains what belongs to past time. For I remember that man and this city, not by seeing them now, but by having seen them in the past.

2. You perhaps ask me at this point, Why bring forward these facts? And you may do this the more readily, because you observe that in both the examples quoted the object remembered can come to my memory in no other way than by the apprehension of such an image as you affirm to be always necessary. For my purpose it suffices meanwhile to have proved in this way that memory can be spoken of as embracing also those things which have not yet passed away: and now mark attentively how this supports my opinion. Some men raise a groundless objection to that most famous theory invented by Socrates, according to which the things that we learn are not introduced to our minds as new, but brought back to memory by a process of recollection; supporting their objection by affirming that memory has to do only with things which have passed away, whereas, as Plato himself has taught, those things which we learn by the exercise of the understanding are permanent, and being imperishable, cannot be numbered among things which have passed away: the mistake into which they have fallen arising obviously from this, that they do not consider that it is only the mental act of apprehension by which we have discerned these things which belongs to the past; and that it is because we have, in the stream of mental activity, left these behind, and begun in a variety of ways to attend to other things, that we require to return to them by an effort of recollection, that is, by memory. If, therefore, passing over other examples, we fix our thoughts upon eternity itself as something which is for ever permanent, and consider, on the one hand, that it does not require any image fashioned by the imagination as the vehicle by which it may be introduced into the mind; and, on the other hand, that it could never enter the mind otherwise than by our remembering it, â€” we shall see that, in regard to some things at least, there can be an exercise of memory without any image of the thing remembered being presented by the imagination.
Chap. ii. “The mind is destitute of images presented by the imagination, so long as it has not been informed by the senses of external things.

3. In the second place, as to your opinion that it is possible for the mind to form to itself images of material things independently of the services of the bodily senses, this is refuted by the following argument: “If the mind is able, before it uses the body as its instrument in perceiving material objects, to form to itself the images of these; and if, as no sane man can doubt, the mind received more reliable and correct impressions before it was involved in the illusions which the senses produce, it follows that we must attribute greater value to the impressions of men asleep than of men awake, and of men insane than of those who are free from such mental disorder: for they are, in these states of mind, impressed by the same kind of images as impressed them before they were indebted for information to these most deceptive messengers, the senses; and thus, either the sun which they see must be more real than the sun which is seen by men in their so and judgment and in their waking hours, or that which is an illusion must be better than what is real. But if these conclusions, my dear Nebridius, are, as they obviously are, wholly absurd, it is demonstrated that the image of which you speak is nothing else than a blow inflicted by the senses, the function of which in connection with these images is not, as you write, the mere suggestion or admonition occasioning their formation by the mind within itself, but the actual bringing in to the mind, or, to speak more definitely, impressing upon it of the illusions to which through the senses we are subject. The difficulty which you feel as to the question how it comes to pass that we can conceive in thought, faces and forms which we have never seen, is one which proves the acuteness of your mind. I shall therefore do what may extend this letter beyond the usual length; not, however, beyond the length which you will approve, for I believe that the greater the fulness with which I write to you, the more welcome shall my letter be.

4. I perceive that all those images which you as well as many others call piantasice, may be most conveniently and accurately divided into three classes, according as they originate with the senses, or the imagination, or the faculty of reason. Examples of the first class are when the mind forms within itself and presents to me the image of your face, or of Carthage, or of our departed friend Verecundus, or of any other thing at present or formerly existing, which I have myself seen and perceived. Under the second class come all things which we imagine to have been, or to be so and so: e.g. when, for the sake of illustration in discourse, we ourselves suppose things which have no existence, but which are not . prejudicial to

16 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. VII.
truth.; or when we call up to our own minds a lively conception of the things described
while we read history, or hear, or compose, or refuse to believe fabulous narrations. Thus,
according to my own fancy, and as it may occur to my own mind, I picture to myself the
appearance of iEneas, or of Medea with her team of winged dragons, or of Chremes, or
Parmeno. 1 To this class belong also those things which have been brought forward as
true, either by wise men wrapping up some truth in the folds of such inventions, or by
foolish men building up various kinds of superstition; e.g. the Phlegeton of Tartarus, and
the five caves of the nation of darkness, 2 and the jSTorth Pole supporting the heavens,
and a thousand other prodigies of poets and of heretics. Moreover, we often say, when
carrying on a discussion, " Suppose that three worlds, such as the one which we inhabit,
were placed one above another;" or, " Suppose the earth to be enclosed within a four-
sided figure," and so on: for all such things we picture to ourselves, and imagine
according to the mood and direction of our thoughts. As for the third class of images, it
has to do chiefly with numbers and measure; which are found partly in the nature of
things, as when the figure of the entire world is discovered, and an image consequent
upon this discovery is formed in the mind of one thinking upon it; and partly in sciences,
as in geometrical figures and musical harmonies, and in the infinite variety of numerals:
which, although they are, as I think, true in themselves as objects of the understanding,
are nevertheless the causes of illusive exercises of the imagination, the misleading
tendency of which reason itself can only with difficulty withstand; although it is not easy
to preserve even the science of reasoning free from this evil, since in our logical divisions
and conclusions we form to ourselves, so to speak, calculi or counters to facilitate the
process of reasoning.

5. In this whole forest of images, I believe that you do not think that those of the first
class belong to the mind previous to the time when they find access through the senses.
On this we need not argue any further. As to the other two classes a question might
reasonably be raised, were it not manifest that the

1 Dramatis persona in Terence. 2 Referring to Manichsean notions.

LET. VII.] TO NEBRIDIUS. 17

mind is less liable to illusions when it has not yet been subjected to the deceptive
influence of the senses, and of things sensible; and yet who can doubt that these images
are much more unreal than those with which the senses acquaint us ?
For the things which we suppose, or believe, or picture to ourselves, are in every point
wholly unreal; and the things which we perceive by sight and the other senses, are, as you
see, far more near to the truth than these products of imagination. As to the third class,
whatever extension of body in space I figure to myself in my mind by means of an image
of this class, although it seems as if a process of thought had produced this image by
scientific reasonings which did not admit of error, nevertheless I prove it to be deceptive,
these same reasonings serving in turn to detect its falsity. Thus it is wholly impossible for
me to believe [as, accepting your opinion, I must believe] that the soul, while not yet
using the bodily senses, and not yet rudely assaulted through these fallacious instruments by that which is mortal and fleeting, lay under such ignominious subjection to illusions.

Chap. hi. â€” Objection answered.

6. Whence then comes our capacity of conceiving in thought things which we have never seen?" What, think you, can be the cause of this, but a certain faculty of diminution and addition which is innate in the mind, and which it cannot but carry with it whithersoever it turns (a faculty which may be observed especially in relation to numbers)? By the exercise of this faculty, if the image of a crow, for example, which is very familiar to the eye, be set before the eye of the mind, as it were, it may be brought, by the taking away of some features and the addition of others, to almost any image such as never was seen by the eye. By this faculty also it comes to pass, that when men’s minds habitually ponder such things, figures of this kind force their way as it were unbidden into their thoughts. Therefore it is possible for the mind, by taking away, as has been said, some things from objects which the senses have brought within its knowledge, and by adding some things, to produce in the exercise of imagination that which, as a whole, was never within the observation of any of the senses; but the parts of it had all been within such observation, though found in a variety of different things: e.g., when we were boys, born and brought up in an inland district, we could already form some idea of the sea, after we had seen water even in a small cup; but the flavour of strawberries and of cherries could in no wise enter our conceptions before we tasted these fruits in Italy. Hence it is also, that those who have been born blind know not what to answer when they are asked about light and colours. For those who have never perceived coloured objects by the senses are not capable of having the images of such objects in the mind.

7. And let it not appear to you strange, that though the mind is present in and intermingled with all those images which in the nature of things are figured or can be pictured by us, these are not evolved by the mind from within itself before it has received them through the senses from without. For we also find that, along with anger, joy, and other such emotions, we produce changes in our bodily aspect and complexion, before our thinking faculty even conceives that we have the power of producing such images [or indications of our feeling]. These follow upon the experience of the emotion in those wonderful ways (especially deserving your attentive consideration), which consist in the repeated action and reaction of hidden numbers 1 in the soul, without the intervention of any image of illusive material things. Whence I would have you understand â€” perceiving as you do that so many movements of the mind go on wholly independently of the images in question â€” that of all the movements of the mind by which it may conceivably attain to the knowledge of bodies, every other is more likely than the process of creating forms of sensible things by
unaided thought, because I do not think that it is capable of any such conceptions before it uses the body and the senses.

Wherefore, my well beloved and most amiable brother, by the friendship which unites us, and by our faith in the divine law itself, 2 I would warn you never to link yourself in friendship with those shadows of the realm of darkness, and to break off without delay whatever friendship may have been begun

1 Numeri actitantur occulti. 2 Pro ipsius divini juris fide.

LET. VIII.] NEBRIDIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 19

between you and them. That resistance to the sway of the bodily senses which it is our most sacred duty to practise, is wholly abandoned if we treat with fondness and flattery the blows and wounds which the senses inflict upon us.

LETTEE VIII.

(a.d. 389.)

TO AUGUSTINE NEBRIDIUS SENDS GREETING.

1. As I am in haste to come to the subject of my letter, I dispense with any preface or introduction. When at any time it pleases higher (by which I mean heavenly) powers to reveal anything to us by dreams in our sleep, how is this done, my dear Augustine, or what is the method which they use ?

What, I say, is their method, i.e. by what art or magic, by what agency or enchantments, do they accomplish this ? Do they by their thoughts influence our minds, so that we also have the same images presented in our thoughts ? Do they bring before us, and exhibit as actually done in their own body or in their own imagination, the things which we dream ? But if they actually do these things in their own body, it follows that, in order to our seeing what they thus do, we must be endowed with other bodily eyes beholding what passes within while we sleep. If, however, they are not assisted by their bodies in producing the effects in question, but frame such things in their own imaginative faculty, and thus impress our imaginations, thereby giving visible form to what we dream; why is it, I ask, that I cannot compel your imagination to reproduce those dreams which I have myself first formed by my imagination ? I have undoubtedly the faculty of imagination, and it is capable of presenting to my own mind the picture of whatever I please; and yet I do not thereby cause any dream in you, although I see that even our bodies have the power of originating dreams in us. Eor by means of the bond of sympathy uniting it to the soul, the body compels us in strange ways to repeat or reproduce by imagination anything
which it has once experienced. Thus often in sleep, if we are thirsty, we dream that we
drink; and if we are hungry, we seem to

20 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. IX.

ourselves to be eating; and many other instances there are in which, by some mode of
exchange, so to speak, things are transferred through the imagination from the body to the
soul.
Be not surprised at the want of elegance and subtlety with which these questions are here
stated to you; consider the obscurity in which the subject is involved, and the
inexperience of the writer; be it yours to do your utmost to supply his deficiencies.

LETTER IX.

(a.d. 389.)

TO NEBRIDIUS AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. Although you know my mind well, you are perhaps not aware how much I long to
enjoy your society. This great blessing, however, God will some day bestow on me. C I
have read your letter, so genuine in its utterances, in which you complain of your being in
solitude, and, as it were, forsaken by your friends, in whose society you found the
sweetest charm of life. But what else can I suggest to you than that which I am persuaded
is already your exercise ? Commune with your own soul, and raise it up, as far as you are
able, unto God. For in Him you hold us also by a firmer bond, not by means of bodily
images, which we must meanwhile be content to use in remembering each other, but by
means of that faculty of thought through which we realize the fact of our separation from
each other.

2. In considering your letters, in answering all of which I
have certainly had to answer questions of no small difficulty and importance, I was not a
little stunned by the one in which you ask me by what means certain thoughts and dreams
are put into our minds by higher powers or by superhuman agents. 1 The question is a
great one, and, as your own prudence must convince you, would require, in order to its
being satisfactorily answered, not a mere letter, but a full oral discussion or a whole
treatise. I shall try, however, knowing as I do your talents, to throw out a few germs of
thought which may shed light on this question, in order that you may

1 Deomonibus.

LET. IX.] TO NEBRIDIUS. 21
either complete the exhaustive treatment of the subject by your own efforts, or at least not
despair of the possibility of this important matter being investigated with satisfactory
results.

3. It is my opinion that every movement of the mind affects in some degree the body. We
know that this is patent even to our senses, dull and sluggish though they are, when the
movements of the mind are somewhat vehement, as when we are angry, or sad, or joyful.
Whence we may conjecture that, in like manner, when thought is busy, although no
bodily effect of the mental act is discernible by us, there may be some such effect
discernible by beings of aerial or ethereal essence whose perceptive faculty is in the
highest degree acute, â€” so much so, that, in comparison with it, our faculties are
scarcely worthy to be called perceptive. Therefore these footprints of its motion, so to
speak, which the mind impresses on the body, may perchance not only remain, but
remain as it were with the force of a habit; and it may be that, when these are secretly
stirred and played upon, they bear thoughts and dreams into our minds, according to the
pleasure of the person moving or touching them: and this is done with marvellous
facility. For if, as is manifest, the attainments of our earth-born and sluggish bodies in the
department of exercise, e.g. in the playing of musical instruments, dancing on the tight-
rope, etc., are almost incredible, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that beings
which act with the powers of an aerial or ethereal body upon our bodies, and are by the
constitution of their natures able to pass unhindered through these bodies, should be
capable of much greater quickness in moving whatever they wish, while we, though not
perceiving what they do, are nevertheless affected by the results of their activity. We
have a somewhat parallel instance in the fact that we do not perceive how it is that
superfluity of bile impels us to more frequent outbursts of passionate feeling; and yet it
does produce this effect, while this superfluity of bile is itself an effect of our yielding to
such passionate feelings.

4. If, however, you hesitate to accept this example as a parallel one, when it is thus
cursorily stated by me, turn it over in your thoughts as fully as you can. The mind, if it

22 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. X.

"be continually obstructed by some difficulty in the way of doing and accomplishing
what it desires, is thereby made continually angry. For anger, so far as I can judge of its
nature, seems to me to be a tumultuous eagerness to take out of the way those things
which restrict our freedom of action. Hence it is that usually we vent our anger not only
on men, but on such a thing, for example, as the pen with which we write, bruising or
breaking it in our passion; and so does the gambler with his dice, the artist with his
pencil, and every man with the instrument which he may be using, if he thinks that he is
in some way thwarted by it. Now medical men themselves tell us that by these frequent
fits of anger bile is increased. But, on the other hand, when the bile is increased, we are
easily, and almost without any provocation whatever, made angry. Thus the effect which
the mind has by its movement produced upon the body, is capable in its turn of movins; the mind again.

5. These things might be treated at very great length, and our knowledge of the subject might be brought to greater certainty and fulness by a large induction from relevant facts. But take along with this letter the one which I sent you lately concerning images and memory, and study it somewhat more carefully; for it was manifest to me, from your reply, that it had not been fully understood. When, to the statements now before you, you add the portion of that letter in which I spoke of a certain natural faculty whereby the mind does in thought add to or take from any object as it pleases, you will see that it is possible for us both in dreams and in waking thoughts to conceive the images of bodily forms which we have never seen.

LETTER X.

(a.d. 389.)

TO NEBRIDIUS AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. No question of yours ever kept me so disturbed while reflecting upon it, as the remark which I read in your last letter,

1 See Letter VII.

LET. X.] TO NEBRIDIUS. 23

in which you chide me for being indifferent as to makingarrangements by which it may be possible for us to live together. A grave charge, and one which, were it not unfounded, would be most perilous. But since satisfactory reasons seem to prove that we can live as we would wish to do better here than at Carthage, or even in the country, I am wholly at a loss, my dear Nebridius, what to do with you. Shall such a conveyance as may best suit your state of health be sent from us to you? Our friend Lucinianus informs me that you can be carried without injury in a palanquin. But I consider, on the other hand, how your mother, who could not bear your absence from her when you were in health, will be much less able to bear it when you are ill. Shall I myself then come to you? This I cannot do, for there are some here who cannot accompany me, and whom I would think it a crime for me to leave. For you already can pass your time agreeably when left to the resources of your own mind; but in their case the object of present efforts is that they may attain to this. Shall I go and come frequently, and so be now with you, now with them? But this is neither to live together, nor to live as we would wish to do. For the journey is not a short one, but so great at least that the attempt to perform it frequently would prevent our gaining the wishedfor leisure. To this is added the bodily weakness through which, as you know, I cannot accomplish what I wish, unless I cease wholly to wish what is beyond my strength.
2. To occupy one's thoughts throughout life with journeyings which you cannot perform tranquilly and easily, is not the part of a man whose thoughts are engaged with that last journey which is called death, and which alone, as you understand, really deserves serious consideration. God has indeed granted to some few men whom He has ordained to bear rule over churches, the capacity of not only awaiting calmly, but even desiring eagerly, that last journey, while at the same time they can meet without disquietude the toils of those other journeyings; but I do not believe that either to those who are urged to accept such duties through desire for worldly honour, or to those who, although occupying a private station, covet a busy life, so great a boon is given as that amid bustle and agitating meetings, and journeyings hither and thither, they should acquire that familiarity with death which we seek: for both of these classes had it in their power to seek edification in retirement. Or if this be not true, I am, I shall not say the most foolish of all men, but at least the most indolent, since I find it impossible, without the aid of such an interval of relief from care and toil, to taste and relish that only real good. Believe me, there is need of much withdrawal of oneself from the tumult of the things which are passing away, in order that there may be formed in man, not through insensibility, not through presumption, not through vainglory, not through superstitious blindness, the ability to say, "I fear nought." By this means also is attained that enduring joy with which no pleasurable excitement found elsewhere is in any degree to be compared.

3. But if such a life does not fall to the lot of man, how is it that calmness of spirit is our occasional experience? "Wherefore is this experience more frequent, in proportion to the devotion with which any one in his inmost soul worships God? Why does this tranquillity for the most part abide with one in the business of life, when he goes forth to its duties from that sanctuary? Why are there times in which, speaking, we do not fear death, and, silent, even desire it? I say to you â€” for I would not say it to every one â€” to you whose visits to the upper world I know well, Will you, who have often felt how sweetly the soul lives when it dies to all mere bodily affections, deny that it is possible for the whole life of man to become at length so exempt from fear, that he may be justly called wise? Or will you venture to affirm that this state of mind on which reason leans has ever been your lot, except when you were shut up to commune with your own heart? Since these things are so, you see that it remains only for you to share with me the labour of devising how we may arrange to live together. You know much better than I do what is to be done in regard to your mother, whom your brother Victor, of course, does not leave alone. I will write no more, lest I turn your mind away from considering this proposal.

1 Text, "deificari" for "sedificari" (??).
to nebrldius augustine sends greeting.

1. When the question, which has long been brought before me by you with something even of friendly chiding, as to the way in which we might live together, was seriously disturbing my mind, and I had resolved, to write to you, and to beg an answer from you bearing exclusively on this subject, and to employ my pen on no other theme pertaining to our studies, in order that the discussion of this matter between us might be brought to an end, the very short and indisputable conclusion stated in your letter lately received at once delivered me from all further solicitude; your statement being to the effect that on this matter there ought to be no further deliberation, because as soon as it is in my power to come to you, or in your power to come to me, we shall feel alike constrained to improve the opportunity. My mind being thus, as I have said, at rest, I looked over all your letters, that I might see what yet remained unanswered. In these I have found so many questions, that even if they were easily solved, they would by their mere number more than exhaust the time and talents of any man. But they are so difficult, that if the answering of even one of them were laid upon me, I would not hesitate to confess myself heavily burdened. The design of this introductory statement is to make you desist for a little from asking new questions until I am free from debt, and that you confine yourself in your answer to the statement of your opinion of my replies. At the same time, I know that it is to my own loss that I postpone for even a little while the participation of your divine thoughts.

2. Hear, therefore, the view which I hold concerning the mystery of the Incarnation which the religion wherein we have been instructed commends to our faith and knowledge as having been accomplished in order to our salvation; which question I have chosen to discuss in preference to all the rest, although it is not the most easily answered. For those questions which are proposed by you concerning this world do not appear to me to have a sufficiently direct reference to the obtaining of a happy life; and whatever pleasure they
yield when investigated, there is reason to fear lest they take up time which ought to be
devoted to better things. With regard, then, to the subject which I have at this time
undertaken, first of all I am surprised that you were perplexed by the question why not
the Father, but the Son, is said to have become incarnate, and yet were not also perplexed
by the same question in regard to the Holy Spirit. For the union of Persons in the Trinity
is in the Catholic faith set forth and believed, and by a few holy and blessed ones
understood, to be so inseparable, that whatever is done by the Trinity must be regarded as
being done by the Father, and by the Son, and by the Holy Spirit together; and that
nothing is done by the Father which is not also done by the Son and by the Holy Spirit;
and nothing done by the Holy Spirit which is not also done by the Father and by the Son;
and nothing done by the Son which is not also done by the Father and by the Holy Spirit.
From which it seems to follow as a consequence, that the whole Trinity assumed human
nature; for if the Son did so, but the Father and the Spirit did not, there is something in
which they act separately. 1 Why, then, in our mysteries, and sacred symbols, is the
Incarnation ascribed only to the Son? This is a very great question, so difficult, and on a
subject so vast, that it is impossible either to give a sufficiently clear statement, or to
support it by satisfactory proofs. I
venture, however, since I am writing to you, to indicate rather than explain what my
sentiments are, in order that you,» from your talents and our intimacy, through which
you thoroughly know me, may for yourself fill up the outline.

3. There is no nature, Nebridius â€” and, indeed, there is no substance â€” which does not
contain in itself and exhibit these three things: first, that it is; next, that it is this or that;
and third, that as far as possible it remains as it is. The f
irst these three presents the
original cause of nature from w I all things exist; the second presents the form 2 accordii
which all things are fashioned and formed in a

1 Aliquid prs eter invicem faciunt.

LET. XL] TO NEBEIDIUS. 27

way; the third presents a certain permanence, so to speak, in which all things are. ".Now,
if it be possible that a thing can he, and yet not be this or that, and not remain in its own
generic form; or that a thing can be this or that, and yet not he, and not remain in its own
generic form, so far as it is possible for it to do so; or that a thing can remain in its own
generic form according to the force belonging to it, and yet not he, and not be this or that,
â€” then it is also possible that in that Trinity one Person can do something in which the
others have no part. But if you see that whatever is must forthwith be this or that, and
must remain so far as possible in its own generic form, you see also that these Three do
nothing in which all have not a part. I see that as yet I have only treated a portion of this
question, which makes its solution difficult. But I wished to open up briefly to you â€” if,
indeed, I have succeeded in this â€” how great in the system of Catholic truth is the
doctrino of the inseparability of the Persons of the Trinity, and how difficult to be understood.

4. Hear now how that which disquiets your mind may disquiet it no more. The mode of existence (Species " the second of the three above named) which is properly ascribed to the Son, has to do with training, and with a certain art, if I may use that word in regard to such things, and with the exercise of intellect, by which the mind itself is moulded in its thoughts upon things. Therefore, since by that assumption of human nature the work accomplished was the effective presentation to us of a certain training in the right way of living, and exemplification of that which is commanded, under the majesty and perspicuousness of certain sentences, it is not without reason that all this is ascribed to the Son. For in many things which I leave your own reflection and prudence to suggest, although the constituent elements be many, some one nevertheless stands out above the rest, and therefore not unreasonably claims a right of possession, as it were, of the whole for itself: as, e.g., in the three kinds of questions above mentioned, although the question raised be whether a thing is or not, this involves necessarily also both ivhat it is (this or that), for of course it cannot he at all unless it be something,

1 An sit, quid sit, quale sit.

28 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XL

and whether it ought to be approved or disapproved of, for whatever is is a fit subject for some opinion as to its quality; in like manner, when the question raised is what a thing is, this necessarily involves both that it is, and that its quality may be tried by some standard; and in the same way, when the question raised is what is the quality of a thing, this necessarily involves that that thing is, and is something, since all things are inseparably joined to themselves: " nevertheless, the question in each of the above cases takes its name not from all the three, but from the special point towards which the inquirer directed his attention. Now there is a certain training necessary for men, by which they might be instructed and formed after some model. "We cannot say, however, regarding that which is accomplished in men by this training, either that it does not exist, or that it is not a thing to be desired [i.e. we cannot say what it is, without involving an affirmation both of its existence and of its quality]; but we seek first to know what it is, for in knowing this we know that by which we may infer that it is something, and in which we may remain. Therefore the first thing necessary was, that a certain rule and pattern of training be plainly exhibited; and this was done by the divinely appointed method of the Incarnation, which is properly to be ascribed to the Son, in order that from it should follow both our knowledge, through the Son, of the Father Himself, i.e. of the one first principle whence all things have their being, and a certain inward and ineffable charm and sweetness of remaining in that knowledge, and of despising all mortal things, " a gift and work which is properly ascribed to the Holy Spirit. "Wherefore, although in all things the Divine Persons act perfectly in common, and without possibility of separation, nevertheless their operations behaved to be exhibited in such a way as to be
distinguished from each other, on account of the weakness which is in us, who have fallen from unity into variety. For no one ever succeeds in raising another to the height on which he himself stands, unless he stoop somewhat towards the level which that other occupies.

You have here a letter which may not indeed put an end to your disquietude in regard to this doctrine, but which may

LET. XIII.] TO NEBKIDIUS. 29

set your own thoughts to work upon a kind of solid foundation; so that, with the talents which I well know you to possess, you may follow, and, by the piety in which especially we must be stedfast, may apprehend that which still remains to be discovered.

LETTEE XII.

(A.D. 389.)

Omitted, as only a fragment of the text of the letter is preserved.

LETTER XIII.

(a.d. 389.)

to nebridius augustine sends greeting.

1. I DO not feel pleasure in writing of the subjects which I was wont to discuss; I am not at liberty to write of new themes. I see that the one would not suit you, and that for the other I have no leisure. Eor, since I left you, neither opportunity nor leisure has been given me for taking up and revolving the things which we are accustomed to investigate together. The winter nights are indeed too long, and they are not entirely spent in sleep by me; but when I have leisure, other subjects [than those which we used to discuss] present themselves as having a prior claim on my consideration. 1 What, then, am I to do ? Am I to be to you as one dumb, who cannot speak, or as one silent, who will not speak ?
Neither of these things is desired, either by you or by me.
Come, then, and hear what the end of the night succeeded in eliciting from me during the time in which it was devoted to following out the subject of this letter.

2. You cannot but remember that a question often agitated between us, and which kept us agitated, breathless, and excited, was one concerning a body or kind of body, which be-
We leave untranslated the words "quae dijirimando sunt otio necessaria," the text here "being evidently corrupt.

30 LETTERS OE ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XIII.

longs perpetually to the soul, and which, as you recollect, is called by some its vehicle. It is manifest that this thing, if it moves from place to place, is not cognisable by the understanding. But whatever is not cognisable by the understanding cannot be understood. It is not, however, utterly impossible to form an opinion approximating to the truth concerning a thing which is outside the province of the intellect, if it lies within the province of the senses. But when a thing is beyond the province of the intellect and of the senses, the speculations to which it gives rise are too baseless and trifling; and the thing of which we treat now is of this nature, if indeed it exists. Why, then, I ask, do we not finally dismiss this unimportant question, and with prayer to God raise ourselves to the supreme serenity of the Highest existing nature?

3. Perhaps you may here reply: "Although bodies cannot be perceived by the understanding, we can perceive with the understanding many things concerning material objects; e.g. we know that matter exists. For who will deny this, or affirm that in this we have to do with the probable rather than the true? Thus, though matter itself lies among things probable, it is a most indisputable truth that something like it exists in nature. Matter itself is therefore pronounced to be an object cognisable by the senses; but the assertion of its existence is pronounced to be a truth cognisable by the intellect, for it cannot be perceived otherwise. And so this unknown body, about which we inquire, upon which the soul depends for its power to move from place to place, may possibly be cognisable by senses more powerful than we possess, though not by ours; and at all events, the question whether it exists is one which may be solved by our understandings."

4. If you intend to say this, let me remind you that the mental act we call understanding is done by us in two ways: either by the mind and reason within itself, as when we understand that the intellect itself exists; or by occasion of suggestion from the senses, as in the case above mentioned, when we understand that matter exists. In the first of these two kinds of acts we understand through ourselves, i.e. by asking instruction of God concerning that which is within us; but in the

LET. XIV.] TO NEBPJDIUS. 31

second we understand by asking instruction of God regarding that of which intimation is given to us by the body and the senses. If these things be found true, no one can by his
understanding discover whether that body of which you speak exists or not, but the person to whom his senses have given some intimation concerning it. If there be any living creature to which the senses give such intimation, since we at least see plainly that we are not among the number, I regard the conclusion established which I began to state a little ago, that the question [about the vehicle of the soul] is one which does not concern us. I wish you would consider this over and over again, and take care to let me know the product of your consideration.

LETTER XIV.
(a.d. 389.)

TO NEBEIDIUS AUGUSTINE SENDS GREEEING.

1. I have preferred to reply to your last letter, not because I undervalued your earlier questions, or enjoyed them less, but because in answering you I undertake a greater task than you think. For although you enjoined me to send you a superlatively long I letter, I have not so much leisure as you imagine, and as you know I have always wished to have, and do still wish. Ask not why it is so: for I could more easily enumerate the things by which I am hindered, than explain why I am hindered by them.

2. You ask why it is that you and I, though separate individuals, do many things which are the same, but the sun does not the same as the other heavenly bodies. Of this thing I must attempt to explain the cause. Now, if you and I do the same things, the sun also does many things which the other heavenly bodies do: if in some things it does not the same as the others, this is equally true of you and me. I walk, and you walk; it is moved, and they are moved: I keep awake, and you keep awake; it shines, and they shine: I dis-

1 The phrase used by Nebridius had been "longior quam longissirna, " which Augustine here quotes, and afterwards playfully alludes to in sec. 3.

32 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XIV.

cuss, and you discuss; it goes its round, and they go their rounds. And yet there is no fitness of comparison between mental acts and things visible. If, however, as is reasonable, you compare mind with mind, the heavenly bodies, if they have any mind, must be regarded as even more uniform than men in their thoughts or contemplations, or whatever term may more conveniently express such activity in them. Moreover, as to the movements of the body, you will find, if you reflect on this with your wonted attention, that it is impossible for precisely the same thing to be done by two persons.
When we walk together, do you think that we both necessarily do the same thing? Far be such thought from one of your wisdom! For the one of us who walks on the side towards the north, must either, in taking the same step as the other, get in advance of him, or walk more slowly than he does. Neither of these things is perceptible by the senses; but you, if I am not mistaken, look to what we know by the understanding rather than to what we learn by the senses.

If, however, we move from the pole towards the south, joined and clinging to each other as closely as possible, and treading on a sheet of marble or even ivory smooth and level, a perfect identity is as unattainable in our motions as in the throbings of our pulses, or in our figures and faces. Put us aside, and place in our stead the sons of Glaucus, and you gain nothing by this substitution: for even in these twins so perfectly resembling each other, the necessity for the motions of each being peculiarly his own, is as great as the necessity for their birth as separate individuals.

3. You will perhaps say: "The difference in this case is one which only reason can discover; but the difference between the sun and the other heavenly bodies is to the senses also patent." If you insist upon my looking to their difference in magnitude, you know how many things may be said as to the distances by which they are removed from us, and into how great uncertainty that which you speak of as obvious may thus be brought back. I may, however, concede that the actual size corresponds with the apparent size of the heavenly bodies, for I myself believe this; and I ask you to show me any one whose senses were incapable of remarking

Q

the prodigious stature of Nsevius, exceeding by a foot that of the tallest man. 1 By the way, I think you have been just too eager to discover some man to match him; and when you did not succeed in the search, have resolved to make me stretch out my letter so as to rival his dimensions. 2 If therefore even on earth such variety in size may be seen, I think that it need not surprise us to find the like in the heavens. If, however, the thing which moves your surprise is that the light of no other heavenly body than the sun fills the day, who, I ask you, has ever been manifested to men so great as that Man whom God took into union with Himself, in another way entirely than He has taken all other holy and wise men who ever lived? for if you compare Him with other men who were wise, He is separated from them by superiority greater far than that which the sun has above the other heavenly bodies.
This comparison let me charge you by all means attentively to study; for it is not impossible that to your singularly gifted mind I may have suggested, by this cursory remark, the solution of a question which you once proposed to me concerning the humanity of Christ.

4. You also ask me whether that highest Truth and highest Wisdom and Form (or Archetypal) of things, by whom all things were made, and whom our credos confess to be the only-begotten Son of God, contains the idea of mankind in general, or also of each individual of our race. A great question. My opinion is, that in the creation of man there was in Him the idea only of man generally, and not of you or me as individuals; but that in the cycle of time the idea of each individual, with all the varieties distinguishing men from each other, lives in that pure Truth. This I grant is very obscure; yet I know not by what kind of illustration light may be shed upon it, unless perhaps we betake ourselves to those sciences which lie wholly within our minds. In geometry, the idea of an angle is one thing, the idea of a square is another. As often, therefore, as I please to describe an angle, the idea of the angle, and that alone, is present to my mind; but I can never

1 The text contains the word "sex" here, which is omitted in the translation. The reading is uncertain.

2 See note on sec. 1. 3 Ratio.

VOL. I. C

34 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XV.

describe a square unless I fix my attention upon the idea of four angles at the same time. In like manner, every man, considered as an individual man, has been made according to one idea proper to himself; but in the making of a nation, although the idea according to which it is made be also one, it is the idea not of one, but of many men collectively. If, therefore, Nebridius is a part of this universe, as he is, and the whole universe is made up of parts, the God who made the universe could not but have in His plan the idea of all the parts. Wherefore, since there is in this the idea of a very great number of men, it does not belong to man himself as such; although, on the other hand, all the individuals are in wonderful ways reduced to one. But you will consider this at your convenience. I beg you meanwhile to be content with what I have written, although I have already outdone Naevius himself.

LETTEE XV.

(a.d. 390.)
to eomanianus augustine sends greeting.

1. This letter indicates a scarcity of paper, but not so as to testify that parchment is plentiful here. My ivory tablets I used in the letter which I sent to your uncle. You will more readily excuse this scrap of parchment, because what I wrote to him could not be delayed, and I thought that not to write to you for want of better material would be most absurd. But if any tablets of mine are with you, I request you to send them to meet a case of this kind. I have written something, as the Lord has deigned to enable me, concerning the Catholic religion, which before my coming I wish to send to you, if my paper does not fail me in the meantime. For you will receive with indulgence any land of writing from the office of the brethren who are with me. As to the manuscripts of which you speak, I have entirely forgotten them, except the books de Oratore; but I could not have written anything better than that you should take such of them as

1 Charta.

LET. XVI.] MAXIMUS TO AUGUSTINE. 35

you please, and I am still of the same mind; for at this distance I know not what else I can do in the matter.

2. It gave me very great pleasure that in your last letter you desired to make me a sharer of your joy at home; but

"Wouldst thou have me forget how soon the deep, So tranquil now, may wear another face, And rouse these slumbering waves?"

Yet I know you would not have me forget this, nor are you yourself unmindful of it. Wherefore, if some leisure is granted you for more profound meditation, improve this divine blessing. For when these things fall to our lot, we should not only congratulate ourselves, but show our gratitude to those to whom we owe them; for if in the stewardship of temporal blessings we act in a manner that is just and kind, and with the moderation and sobriety of spirit which befits the transient nature of these possessions, if they are held by us without laying hold on us, are multiplied without entangling us, and serve us without bringing us into bondage, such conduct entitles us to the recompense of eternal blessings. For by Him who is the Truth it was said: "If ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who will give you that which is your own?" Let us therefore disengage ourselves from care about the passing things of time; let us seek the blessings that are imperishable and sure; let us soar above our worldly possessions. The bee does
not the less need its wings when it has gathered an abundant store; for if it sink in the honey, it dies.

LETTER XVI.
(A.D. 390.)

FROM MAXIMUS OF MADAURA TO AUGUSTINE.

1. Desiring to be frequently made glad by communications from you, and by the stimulus of your reasoning with which in a most pleasant way, and without violation of good feeling, you recently attacked me, I have not forborne from replying to you in the same spirit, lest you should call my silence an acknowledgment of being in the wrong. But I beg you to give these sentences an indulgent kindly hearing, if you judge them to give evidence of the feebleness of old age.

Grecian mythology tells us, but without sufficient warrant for our believing the statement, that Mount Olympus is the dwelling-place of the gods. But we actually see the marketplace of our town occupied by a crowd of beneficent deities; and we approve of this. Who could ever be so frantic and infatuated as to deny that there is one supreme God, without beginning, without natural offspring, who is, as it were, the great and mighty Father of all? The powers of this Deity, diffused throughout the universe which He has made, we worship under many names, as we are all ignorant of His true name, the name God being common to all lands of religious belief. Thus it comes, that while in diverse supplications we approach separately, as it were, certain parts of the Divine Being, we are seen in reality to be the worshippers of Him in whom all these parts are one.

2. Such is the greatness of your delusion in another matter, that I cannot conceal the impatience with which I regard it. For who can bear to find Mygdo honoured above that Jupiter who hurls the thunderbolt; or Sanae above Juno, Minerva, Venus, and Vesta; or the arch-martyr Namphanio (oh horror!) above all the immortal gods together? Among the immortals, Lucitas also is looked up to with no less religious reverence, and others in an endless list (having names abhorred both by gods and by men), who, when they met the ignominious end which their character and conduct had deserved, put the crowning act upon their criminal career by affecting to die nobly in a good cause, though conscious of the infamous deeds for which they were condemned. The tombs of these men
(it is a folly almost beneath our notice) are visited by crowds of simpletons, who forsake our temples and despise the memory of their ancestors, so that the prediction of the indignant bard is notably fulfilled: "Ptome shall, in the temples of the gods, swear by the shades of men."  2 To me it almost seems

1 Dens.

2 Inque Deum templis juravit Roma per umbras.

Lucax, Pharsalia, vii. 459

LET. XVII.] TO MAXIMUS. 37

at this time as if a second campaign of Actium had begun, in which Egyptian monsters, doomed soon to perish, dare to brandish their weapons against the gods of the Eomans.

3. But, man of great wisdom, I beseech you, lay aside and reject for a little while the vigour of your eloquence, which has made you everywhere renowned; lay down also the arguments of Chrysippus, which you are accustomed to use in debate; leave for a brief season your logic, which aims in the forthputting of its energies to leave nothing certain to any one; and show me plainly and actually who is that God whom you Christians claim as belonging specially to you, and pretend to see present among you in secret places. For it is in open day, before the eyes and ears of all men, that we worship our gods with pious supplications, and propitiate them by acceptable sacrifices; and we take pains that these things be seen and approved by all.

4. Being, however, infirm and old, I withdraw myself from further prosecution of this contest, and willingly consent to the opinion of the rhetorician of Mantua, "Each one is drawn by that which pleases himself best."  1

After this, excellent man, who hast turned aside from my faith, I have no doubt that this letter will be stolen by some thief, and destroyed by fire or otherwise. Should this happen, the paper will be lost, but not my letter, of which I will always retain a copy, accessible to all religious persons. May you be preserved by the gods, through whom we all, who are mortals on the surface of this earth, with apparent discord but real harmony, revere and worship Him who is the common Father of the gods and of all mortals.

LETTEE XVII.

(a.d. 390.)

to maximus of madauea.
1. Are we engaged in serious debate with each other, or is it your desire that we merely amuse ourselves? For, from the language of your letter, I am at a loss to know whether it is

1 Virg. Eclog. ii. 65: Trahit sua quemque voluptas.

2. As to your collecting of certain Carthaginian names of deceased persons, by which you think reproach may be cast, in what seems to you a witty manner, against our religion, I do not know whether I ought to answer this taunt, or to pass it by in silence. For if to your good sense these things appear as trifling as they really are, I have not time to spare for such pleasantry. If, however, they seem to you important, I am surprised that it did not occur to you, who are apt to be disturbed by absurdly-sounding names, that your religionists
have among their priests Eucaddires, and among their deities Abaddires. I do not suppose that these were absent from your mind when you were writing, but that, with your courtesy and genial humour, you wished for the unbending of our minds, to recall to our recollection what ludicrous things are in your superstition. For surely, considering that you are an African, and that we are both settled in Africa, you could not have so forgotten yourself when writing to Africans as to think that Punic names were a fit theme for censure. For if we interpret the signification of these words, what else does Namphanio mean than "man of the good foot," i.e. whose coming brings with it some good fortune, as we are wont to say of one whose coming to us has been followed by some prosperous event, that he came with a lucky foot? And if the Punic language is rejected by you, you virtually deny what has been admitted by most learned men, that many things have been wisely preserved from oblivion in books written in the Punic tongue. Nay, you ought even to be ashamed of having been born in the country in which the cradle of this language is still warm, i.e. in which this language was originally, and until very recently, the language of the people. If, however, it is not reasonable to take offence at the mere sound of names, and you admit that I have given correctly the meaning of the one in question, you have reason for being dissatisfied with your friend Virgil, who gives to your god Hercules an invitation to the sacred rites celebrated by Evander in his honour, in these terms, "Come to us, and to these rites in thine honour, with auspicious foot." x He wishes him to come "with auspicious foot;" that is to say, he wishes Hercules to come as a Namphanio, the name about which you are pleased to make much mirth at our expense. But if you have a penchant for ridicule, you have among yourselves ample material for witticisms â€” the god Stercutius, the goddess Cloacina, the Bald Venus, the gods Fear and Pallor, and the goddess Fever, and others of the same kind without number, to whom the ancient Eoman idolaters erected temples, and judged it right to offer worship; which if you neglect, you are neglecting Eoman gods, thereby making it manifest that

1 Virg. JEneid, viii. 302: Et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.

40 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XVII.

you are not thoroughly versed in the sacred rites of Eome; and yet you despise and pour contempt on Punic names, as if you were a devotee at the altars of Eoman deities.

3. In truth, however, I believe that perhaps you do not value these sacred rites any more than we do, but only take from them some unaccountable pleasure in your time of passing through this world: for you have no hesitation about taking refuge under Virgil's wing, and defending yourself with a line of his:

"Each one is drawn by that which pleases himself best." 1

If, then, the authority of Maro pleases you, as you indicate that it does, you will be pleased with such lines as these:
"First Saturn came from lofty Olympus, fleeing before the arms of Jupiter, an exile bereft of his realms," and other such statements, by which he aims at making it understood that Saturn and your other gods like him were men. For he had read much history, confirmed by ancient authority, which Cicero also had read, who makes the same statement in his dialogues, in terms more explicit than we would venture to insist upon, and labours to bring it to the knowledge of men so far as the times in which he lived permitted.

4. As to your statement, that your religious services are to be preferred to ours because you worship the gods in public, but we use more retired places of meeting, let me first ask you how you could have forgotten your Bacchus, whom you consider it right to exhibit only to the eyes of the few who are initiated. You, however, think that, in making mention of the public celebration of your sacred rites, you intended only to make sure that we would place before our eyes the spectacle presented by your magistrates and the chief men of the city when intoxicated and raging along your streets; in which solemnity, if you are possessed by a god, you surely see of what nature he must be who deprives men of their reason. If, however, this madness is only feigned, what say you to this keeping of things hidden in a service which you boast of as

1 Trahit sua quemque voluptas.

2 Primus ab aithereo venit Saturnus Olympo Anna Jovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.

uÆf. viii. 319, 320.

LET. XVII.] TO MAXIMUS. 41

public, or what good purpose is served by so base an imposition? Moreover, why do you not foretell future events in your songs, if you are endowed with the prophetic gift? or why do you rob the bystanders, if you are in your sound mind?

5. Since, then, you have recalled to our remembrance by your letter these and other things which I think it better to pass over meanwhile, why may not we make sport of your gods, which, as every one who knows your mind, and has read your letters, is well aware, are made sport of abundantly by yourself? Therefore, if you wish us to discuss these subjects in a way becoming your years and wisdom, and, in fact, as may be justly required of us, in connection with our purpose, by our dearest friends, seek some topic worthy of being debated between us; and be careful to say on behalf of your gods such things as may prevent us from supposing that you are intentionally betraying your own cause, when we find you rather bringing to our remembrance things which may be said against them than alleging anything in their defence. In conclusion, however, lest this should be unknown to you, and you might thus be brought unwittingly into jestings which are profane, let me assure you that by the Christian Catholics (by whom a church has been set up in your
own town also) no deceased person is worshipped, and that nothing, in short, which has been made and fashioned by God is worshipped as a divine power. This worship is rendered by them only to God Himself, who framed and fashioned all things.

These things shall be more fully treated of, with the help of the one true God, whenever I learn that you are disposed to discuss them seriously.

1 "We give the original of this important sentence: 'Scias a Christianis catholicis (quorum in vestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est) nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari quod sit factum et conditum a Deo, sed unum ipsum Deum qui fecit et condidit omnia.'"
LET. XIX.] TO GAIUS. 43

greater than the lowest, but coming short of the highest. That highest is essential blessedness; the lowest, that which cannot be either blessed or wretched; and the intermediate nature lives in wretchedness when it stoops towards that which is lowest, and in blessedness when it turns towards that which is highest. He who believes in Christ does not sink his affections in that which is lowest, is not proudly self-sufficient in that which is intermediate, and thus he is qualified for union and fellowship with that which is highest; and this is the sum of the active life to which we are commanded, admonished, and by holy zeal impelled to aspire.

LETTIE XIX.

(a.d. 390.)

TO GAIUS AUGUSTINE SENDS GEEETING.

1. Words cannot express the pleasure with which the recollection of you filled my heart after I parted with you, and has often filled my heart since then. For I remember that, notwithstanding the amazing ardour which pervaded your inquiries after truth, the bounds of proper moderation in debate were never transgressed by you. I shall not easily find any one who is more eager in putting questions, and at the same time more patient in hearing answers, than you approved yourself.

Gladly therefore would I spend much time in converse with you; for the time thus spent, however much it might be, would not seem long. But what avails it to discuss the hindrances on account of which it is difficult for us to enjoy such converse? Enough that it is exceedingly difficult. Perhaps at some future period it may be made very easy; may God grant this! Meanwhile it is otherwise. I have given to the brother by whom I have sent this letter the charge of submitting all my writings to your eminent wisdom and charity, that they may be read by you. For nothing written by me will find in you a reluctant reader; for I know the goodwill which you cherish towards me. Let me say, however, that if, on reading these things, you approve of them, and perceive them to be true, you must not consider them to be mine otherwise than as given to me; and you are at liberty to turn to that same source whence proceeds also the power given you to appreciate their truth. For no one discerns the truth of that which he reads from anything which is in the mere manuscript, or in the writer, but rather by
something within himself, if the light of truth, shining with a clearness beyond what is men's common lot, and very far removed from the darkening influence of the body, has penetrated his own mind. If, however, you discover some things which are false and deserve to be rejected, I would have you know that these things have fallen as dew from the mists of human frailty, and these you are to reckon as truly mine. I would exhort you to persevere in seeking the truth, were it not that I seem to see the mouth of your heart already opened wide to drink it in. I would also exhort you to cling with manly tenacity to the truth which you have learned, were it not that you already manifest in the clearest manner that you possess strength of mind and fixedness of purpose. For all that lives within you has, in the short time of our fellowship, revealed itself to me, almost as if the bodily veil had been rent asunder. And surely the merciful providence of our God can in no wise permit a man so good and so remarkably gifted as you are to be an alien from the flock of Christ.

LETTER XX.

(a.d. 390.)

TO ANTONINUS AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. As letters are due to you by two of us, a part of our debt is repaid with very abundant usury when you see one of the two in person; and since by his voice you, as it were, hear my own, I might have refrained from writing, had I not been called to do it by the urgent request of the very person whose journey to you seemed to me to make this unnecessary. Accordingly I now hold converse with you even more satisfactorily than if I were personally with you, because you both read my letter, and you listen to the words of one in whose heart you know that I dwell. I have with great joy studied

LET. XX.] TO ANTONINUS. 45

and pondered the letter sent by your Holiness, because it exhibits both your Christian spirit unsullied by the guile of an evil age, and your heart full of kindly feeling towards myself.

2. I congratulate you, and I give thanks to our God and Lord, because of the hope and faith and love which are in you; and I thank you, in Him, for thinking so well of me as to believe me to be a faithful servant of God, and for the love which with guileless heart you cherish towards that which you commend in me; although, indeed, there is occasion rather for congratulation than for thanks in acknowledging your goodwill in this thing. For it is profitable for yourself that you should love for its own sake that goodness which he of course loves who loves another because he believes him to be good, whether that other be or be not what he is supposed to be. One error only is to be carefully avoided in this matter, that we do not think otherwise than truth demands, not of the individual, but of that which is true goodness in man. But, my brother well-beloved, seeing that you are not in any degree mistaken either in
believing or in knowing that the great good for men is to serve God cheerfully and purely, when you love any man because you believe him to share this good, you reap the reward, even though the man be not what you suppose him to be. Wherefore it is fitting that you should on this account be congratulated; but the person whom you love is to be congratulated, not because of his being for that reason loved, but because of his being truly (if it is the case) such an one as the person who for this reason loves him esteems him to be.

As to our real character, therefore, and as to the progress we may have made in the divine life, this is seen by Him whose judgment, both as to that which is good in man, and as to each man's personal character, cannot err. For your obtaining the reward of blessedness so far as this matter is concerned, it is sufficient that you embrace me with your whole heart because you believe me to be such a servant of God as I ought to be. To you, however, I also render many thanks for this, that you encourage me wonderfully to aspire after such excellence, by your praising me as if I had already attained it. Many more thanks still shall be yours, if you not only claim an interest in my prayers, but also cease not to pray for me.

46 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXI.

For intercession on behalf of a brother is more acceptable to God when it is offered as a sacrifice of love.

3. I greet very kindly your little son, and I pray that he may grow up in the way of obedience to the salutary requirements of God's law. I desire and pray, moreover, that the one true faith and worship, which alone is catholic, may prosper and increase in your house; and if you think any labour on my part necessary for the promotion of this end, do not scruple to claim my service, relying upon Him who is our common Lord, and upon the law of love which we must obey. This especially would I recommend to your pious discretion, that by reading the word of God, and by serious conversation with your partner, 1 you should either plant the seed or foster the orowth in her heart of an intelligent fear of God. For it is scarcely possible that any one who is concerned for the soul's welfare, and is therefore without prejudice resolved to know the will of the Lord, should fail, when enjoying the guidance of a good instructor, to discern the difference which exists between every form of schism and the one Catholic Church.

LETTEK XXI.

(A.D. 391.)

TO MY LORD BISHOP VALERIUS, MOST BLESSED AND VENERABLE, MY FATHER MOST WARMLY CHERISHED WITH TRUE LOVE IN THE SIGHT OF THE LORD, AUGUSTINE, PRESBYTER, SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.
1. Before all things I ask your pious wisdom to take into consideration that, on the one hand, if the duties of the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, be discharged in a perfunctory and time-serving manner, no work can be in this life more easy, agreeable, and likely to secure the favour of men, especially in our day, but none at the same time more miserable, deplorable, and worthy of condemnation in the sight of God; and, on the other hand, that if in the office of bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, the orders of the Captain of our salvation be observed, there is no work in this life more difficult, toil-

1 Infirmiori vasi tuo.

LET. XXI.] TO BISHOP VALERIUS. 47

some, and hazardous, especially in our day, but none at the same time more blessed in the sight of God. But what the proper mode of discharging these duties is, I did not learn either in boyhood or in the earlier years of manhood; and at the time when I was beginning to learn it, I was constrained as a just correction for my sins (for I know not what else to think) to accept the second place at the helm, when as yet I knew not how to handle an oar.

2. But I think that it was the purpose of my Lord hereby to rebuke me, because I presumed, as if entitled by superior knowledge and excellence, to reprove the faults of many sailors before I had learned by experience the nature of their work. Therefore, after I had been sent in among them to share their labours, then I began to feel the rashness of my censures; although even before that time I judged this office to be beset with many dangers. And hence the tears which some of my brethren perceived me shedding in the city at the time of my ordination, and because of which they did their utmost with the best intentions to console me, but with words which, through their not knowing the causes of my sorrow, did not reach my case at all. 1 But my experience has made me realize these things much more both in degree and in measure than I had done in merely thinking of them: not that I have now seen any new waves or storms of which I had not previous knowledge by observation, or report, or reading, or meditation; but because I had not known my own skill or strength for avoiding or encountering them, and had estimated it to be of some value instead of none. The Lord, however, laughed at me, and was pleased to show me by actual experience what I am.

3. But if He has done this not in judgment, but in mercy, as I confidently hope even now, when I have learned my infirmity, my duty is to study with diligence all the remedies which the Scriptures contain for such a case as mine, and to make it my business by prayer and reading to secure that my soul be endued with the health and vigour necessary for labours so responsible. This I have not yet done, because I have not

1 They thought Augustine was disappointed at "being made only presbyter and not colleague of Valerius as bishop. See Possidius, Aug. Vita, c. 4.
had time; for I was ordained at the very time when I was thinking of having, along with others, a season of freedom from all other occupation, that we might acquaint ourselves with the divine Scriptures, and was intending to make such arrangements as would secure unbroken leisure for this great work. Moreover, it is true that I did not at any earlier period know how great was my unfitness for the arduous work which now disquiets and crushes my spirit. But if I have by experience learned what is necessary for a man who ministers to a people in the divine sacraments and word, only to find myself prevented from now obtaining what I have learned that I do not possess, do you bid me perish, father Valerius? Where is your charity? Do you indeed love me? Do you indeed love the Church to which you have appointed me, thus unqualified, to minister? I am well assured that you love both; but you think me qualified, whilst I know myself better; and yet I would not have come to know myself if I had not learned by experience.

4. Perhaps your Holiness replies: I wish to know what is lacking to fit you for your office. The things which I lack are so many, that I could more easily enumerate the things which I have than those which I desire to have. I may venture to say that I know and unreservedly believe the doctrines pertaining to our salvation. But my difficulty is in the question how I am to use this truth in ministering to the salvation of others, seeking what is profitable not for myself alone, but for many, that they may be saved. And perhaps there may be, nay, beyond all question there are, written in the sacred books, counsels by the knowledge and acceptance of which the man of God may so discharge his duties to the Church in the things of God, or at least so keep a conscience void of offence in the midst of ungodly men, whether living or dying, as to secure that that life for which alone humble and meek Christian hearts sigh is not lost. But how can this be done, except, as the Lord Himself tells us, by asking, seeking, knocking, that is, by praying, reading, and weeping? For this I have by the brethren made the request, which in this petition I now renew, that a short time, say till Easter, be granted me by your unfeigned and venerable charity.

5. For what shall I answer to the Lord my Judge? Shall I say, "I was not able to acquire the things of which I stood in need, because I was engrossed wholly with the affairs of the Church"? What if He thus reply: "Thou wicked servant, if property belonging to the Church (in the collection of the fruits of which great labour is expended) were suffering loss under some oppressor, and it was in thy power to do something in defence of her rights at the bar of an earthly judge, wouldst thou not, leaving the field which I have watered with my blood, go to plead the cause with the consent of all, and even with the
urgent commands of some? And if the decision given were against the Church, wouldst thou not, in prosecuting an appeal, go across the sea; and would no complaint be heard summoning thee home from an absence of a year or more, because thy object was to prevent another from taking possession of land required not for the souls, but for the bodies of the poor, whose hunger might nevertheless be satisfied in a way much easier and more acceptable to me by my living trees, if these were cultivated with care? Wherefore, then, dost thou allege that thou hadst not time to learn how to cultivate my field? "Tell me, I beseech you, what could I reply? Are you perchance willing that I should say, "The aged Valerius is to blame; for, believing me to be instructed in all things necessary, he declined, with a determination proportioned to his love for me, to give me permission to learn what I had not acquired"?

6. Consider all these things, aged Valerius; consider them, I beseech you, by the goodness and severity of Christ, by His mercy and judgment, by Him who has inspired you with such love for me that I dare not displease you, even when the advantage of my soul is at stake. You, moreover, appeal to God and to Christ to bear witness to me concerning your innocence and charity, and the sincere love which you bear to me, just as if all these were not things about which I may myself willingly take my oath. I therefore appeal to the love and affection which you have thus avouched. Have pity on me, and grant me, for the purpose for which I have asked it, the time which I have asked; and help me with your prayers, that my desire may not be in vain, and that my absence may not be without fruit to the Church of Christ, and

VOL. I. d

50 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXII.

to the profit of my brethren and fellow-servants. I know that the Lord will not despise your love interceding for me, especially in such a cause as this; and accepting it as a sacrifice of sweet savour, He will restore me to you, perhaps, within a period shorter than I have craved, thoroughly furnished for His service by the profitable counsels of His written word.

LETTEE XXII.

(a.d. 392.)

TO BISHOP AUEELIUS, AUGUSTINE, PRESBYTER, SENDS GREETING.

Chap. i. â€” 1. When, after long hesitation, I knew not how to frame a suitable reply to the letter of your Holiness (for all attempts to express my feelings were baffled by the strength of affectionate emotions which, rising spontaneously, were by the reading of
your letter much more vehemently inflamed), I cast myself at last upon God, that He might, according to my strength, so work in me that I might address to you such an answer as should be suitable to the zeal for the Lord and the care of His Church which we have in common, and in accordance with your dignity and the respect which is due to you from me. And, first of all, as to your belief that you are aided by my prayers, I not only do not decline this assurance, but I do even willingly accept it. For thus, though not through my prayers, assuredly in yours, our Lord will hear me. As to your most benignant approval of the conduct of brother Alypius in remaining in connection with us, to be an example to the brethren who desire to withdraw themselves from this world's cares, I thank you more warmly than words can declare. May the Lord recompense this to your own soul!

The whole company, therefore, of brethren which has begun to grow up together beside me, is bound to you by gratitude for this great favour; in bestowing which, you, being far separated from us only by distance on the surface of the earth, have consulted our interest as one in spirit very near to us. Wherefore, to the utmost of our power we give ourselves to prayer that the Lord may be pleased to uphold along with you the flock which has been committed to you, and may never anywhere forsake you, but be present as your help in all times of need, showing in His dealings with His Church, through your discharge of priestly functions, such mercy as spiritual men with tears and groanings implore Him to manifest.

2. Know, therefore, most blessed lord, venerable for the superlative fulness of your charity, that I do not despair, but rather cherish lively hope that, by means of that authority which you wield, and which, as we trust, has been committed to your spirit, not to your flesh alone, our Lord and God may be able, through the respect due to councils and to yourself, to bring healing to the many carnal blemishes and disorders which the African Church is suffering in the conduct of many, and is bewailing in the sorrow of a few of her members.

For whereas the apostle had in one passage briefly set forth as fit to be hated and avoided three classes of vices, from which there springs an innumerable crop of vicious courses, only one of these “that, namely, which he has placed second “is very strictly punished by the Church; but the other two, viz. the first and third, appear to be tolerable in the estimation of men, and so it may gradually come to pass that they shall even cease to be regarded as vices. The words of the chosen vessel are these: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." 2

3. Of these three, then, chambering and wantonness are regarded as crimes so great, that any one stained with these sins is deemed unworthy not merely of holding office in the Church, but also of participation in the sacraments; and rightly so. But why restrict such
censure to this form of sin alone? For rioting and drunkenness are so tolerated and allowed by public opinion, that even in services designed to honour the memory of the blessed martyrs, and this not only on the annual festivals (which itself must be regarded as deplorable by every one who looks with a spiritual eye upon these things), but every day, they are openly practised. Were

1 We adopt the conjectural reading "conciliorcim." Compare sec. 4, p. 53.

2 Rom. xiii. 13, 14.

52 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXII.

this corrupt practice objectionable only because of its being disgraceful, and not on the ground of impiety, we might consider it as a scandal to be tolerated with such amount of forbearance as is within our power. And yet, even in that case, what are we to make of the fact that, when the same apostle had given a long list of vices, among which he mentioned drunkenness, he concluded with the warning that we should not even eat bread with those who are guilty of such things? * But let us, if it must be so, bear with these things in the luxury and disorder of families, and of those convivial meetings which are held within the walls of private houses; and let us take the body of Christ in communion with those with whom we are forbidden to eat even the bread which sustains our bodies; but at least let this outrageous insult be kept far away from the tombs of the sainted dead, from the scenes of sacramental privilege, and from the houses of prayer. For who may venture to forbid in private life excesses which, when they are practised by crowds in holy places, are called an honouring of the martyrs?

4. If Africa were the first country in which an attempt were made to put down these things, her example would deserve to be esteemed worthy of imitation by all other countries; 2 but when, both throughout the greater part of Italy and in all or almost all the churches beyond the sea, these practices either, as in some places, never existed, or, as in other places where they did exist, have been, whether they were recent or of long standing, rooted out and put down by the diligence and the censures of bishops who were holy men, entertaining true views concerning the life to come; â€” when this, I say, is the case, do we hesitate as to the possibility of removing this monstrous defect in our morals, after an example has been set before us in so many lands?

Moreover, we have as our bishop a man belonging to those parts, for winch we give thanks earnestly to God; although he is a man of such moderation and gentleness, in fine, of such prudence and zeal in the Lord, that even had he been

1 1 Cor. v. 11.

2 Manifestly the correct punctuation here is: Hsec si prima Africa tentaret auferre, a ceteris ten-is imitatione digna esse deberet.
a native of Africa, the persuasion would have been wrought in him by the Scriptures, that a remedy must be applied to the wound which this loose and disorderly custom has inflicted. But so wide and deep is the plague caused by this wickedness, that, in my opinion, it cannot be completely cured without interposition of a council's authority. If, however, a beginning is to be made by one church, it seems to me, that as it would be presumptuous for any other church to attempt to change what the Church of Carthage still maintained, so would it also be the height of effrontery for any other to wish to persevere in a course which the Church of Carthage had condemned. And for such a reform in Carthage, what better bishop could be desired than the prelate who, while he was a deacon, solemnly denounced these practices?

5. But that over which you then sorrowed you ought now to suppress, not harshly, but as it is written, " in the spirit of meekness." * Pardon my boldness, for your letter revealing to me your true brotherly love gives me such confidence, that I am encouraged to speak as freely to you as I would to myself. These offences are taken out of the way, at least in my judgment, by other methods than harshness, severity, and an imperious mode of dealing, â€” namely, rather by teaching than by commanding, rather by advice than by denunciation. 2 Thus at least we must deal with the multitude; in regard to the sins of a few, exemplary severity must be used. And if we do employ threats, let this be done sorrowfully, supporting our threatenings of coming judgment by the texts of Scripture, so that the fear which men feel through our words may be not of us in our own authority, but of God Himself. Thus an impression shall be made in the first place upon those who are spiritual, or who are nearest to that state of mind; and then by means of the most gentle, but at the same time most importunate exhortations, the opposition of the rest of the multitude shall be broken down. 3

6. Since, however, these drunken revels and luxurious feasts in the cemeteries are wont to be regarded by the ignorant and

1 Gal. vi. 1. 2 Magis monendo quam minando.

3 One may see in Letter XXIX. how admirably Augustine illustrated in his own practice the directions here given.

54 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXII.

carnal multitude as not only an honour to the martyrs, but also a solace to the dead, it appears to me that they might be more easily dissuaded from such scandalous and unworthy practices in these places, if, besides showing that they are forbidden by
Scripture, we take care, in regard to the offerings for the spirits of those who sleep, which
indeed we are bound to believe to be of some use, that they be not sumptuous beyond
what is becoming respect for the memory of the departed, and that they be distributed
without ostentation, and cheerfully to all who ask a share of them; also that they be not
sold, but that if any one desires to offer any money as a religious act, it be given on the
spot to the poor. Thus the appearance of neglecting the memory of their deceased friends,
which might cause them no small sorrow of heart, shall be avoided, and that which is a
pious and honourable act of religious service shall be celebrated as it should be in the
Church. This may suffice meanwhile in regard to rioting and drunkenness.

Chap. ii. â€” 7. As to " strife and deceit;" 1 what right have I
to speak, seeing that these vices prevail more seriously among our own order than among
our congregations ? Let me, however, say that the source of these evils is pride, and a
desire for the praises of men, which also frequently produces hypocrisy.
This is successfully resisted only by him who is penetrated with love and fear of God,
through the multiplied declarations of the divine books; provided, however, that such a
man exhibit in himself a pattern both of patience and of humility, by assuming as his due
less praise and honour than is offered to him: at the same time neither accepting all nor
refusing all that is rendered to him by those who honour him; and as to the portion which
he does accept, receiving it not for Ms own sake, seeing that he ought to live wholly in
the sight of God and to despise human applause, but for the sake of those whose welfare
he cannot promote if by too great self-abasement he lose his place in their esteem. For to
this pertains that word, "Let no man despise thy youth;" 2 while he who said this says
also in another place, " If I yet pleased men, I
should not be the servant of Christ." 3

1 "De contentione et dolo " is Augustine's translation of the words in Rom.
xiii. 13. 2 1 Tim. iv. 12. s Gal. i. 10.

LET. XXII.] TO BISHOP AURELIUS. 55

8. It is a great matter not to exult in the honours and praises which come from men, but to
reject all vain pomp; and, if some of this be necessary, to make whatever is thus retained
contribute to the benefit and salvation of those who confer the honour. For it has not been
said in vain, " God will break the bones of those who seek to please men." 1
For what could be feebler, what more destitute of the firmness and strength which the
bones here spoken of figuratively represent, than the man who is prostrated by the tongue
of slanderers, although he knows that the things spoken against him are false? The pain
arising from this thing would in no wise rend the bowels of his soul, if its bones had not
been broken by the love of praise. I take for granted your strength of mind: therefore it is
to myself that I say those things which I am now stating to you. Nevertheless you are
willing, I believe, to consider along with me how important and how difficult these things
are. For the man who has not declared war against this enemy has no idea of its power;
for if it be comparatively easy to dispense with praise so long as it is denied to him, it is
difficult to forbear from being captivated with praise when it is offered. And yet the hanging of our minds upon God ought to be so great, that we would at once correct those with whom we may take that liberty, when we are by them undeservedly praised, so as to prevent them from either thinking us to possess what is not in us, or regarding that as ours which belongs to God, or commending us for things which, though we have them, and perhaps have them in abundance, are nevertheless in their nature not worthy of commendation, such as are all those good things which we have in common with the lower animals or with wicked men.

If, however, we are deservedly praised on account of what God has given us, let us congratulate those to whom what is really good yields pleasure; but let us not congratulate ourselves on the fact of our pleasing men, but on the fact of our being (if it is the case) such in the sight of God as we are in their esteem, and because praise is given not to us, but to God, who is the giver of all things which are truly and justly praised.

These things are daily repeated to me by myself, or rather by

1 Ps. Hi. 6, Sept.

56 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXII.

Him from whom proceed all profitable instructions, whether they are found in the reading of the divine word or are suggested from within to the mind; and yet, although strenuously contending with my adversary, I often receive wounds from him when I am unable to put away from myself the fascinating power of the praise which is offered to me.

9. These things I have written, in order that, if they are not now necessary for your Holiness (your own thoughts suggesting to you other and more useful considerations of this kind, or your Holiness being above the need of such remedies), my disorders at least may be known to you, and you may know that which may move you to deign to plead with God for me as my infirmity demands: and I beseech you, by the humanity of Him who hath commanded us to bear each other's burdens, that you offer such intercession most importunately on my behalf. There are many things in regard to my life and conversation, of which I will not write, which I would confess with tears if we were so situated that nothing was required but my mouth and your ears as the means of communication between my heart and your heart. If, however, the aged Saturninus, venerated by us and beloved by all here with unreserved and unfeigned affection, whose brotherly love and devotion to you I observed when I was with you, â€” if he, I say, is pleased to visit us so soon as he finds it convenient, whatever converse we may be able to enjoy with that holy and spiritually-minded man shall be esteemed by us very little, it at all, different from personal conference with your Excellency. With entreaties too earnest for words to express their urgency, I beg you to condescend to join us in asking and obtaining from him this favour. For the people of Hippo fear much, and far more than they ought, to let me go to so great a distance from them, and will on no account trust me by myself so far as to permit me to see the field given by your care
and generosity to the brethren, of which, before your letter came, we had heard through our brother and fellow-servant Parthenius, from whom we have also learned many other things which we longed to know. The Lord will accomplish the fulfilment of all the other things which we still desiderate.

LET. XXIII.] TO MAXIMIN. 57

LETTTEE XXIII.

(a.d. 392.)

TO MAXIMIN, MY WELL-BELOVED LORD AND BROTHER, WORTHY OF HONOUR, AUGUSTINE, PRESBYTER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Before entering on the subject on which I have resolved to write to your Grace, I shall briefly state my reasons for the terms used in the title of this letter, lest these should surprise either yourself or any other person. I have written " to my lord," because it is written: " Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another." 1 Seeing, therefore, that in this duty of writing to you I am actually by love serving you, I do only what is reasonable in calling you " my lord," for the sake of that one true Lord who gave us this command. Again, as to my having written " well-beloved," God knoweth that I not only love you, but love you as I love myself; for I am well aware that I desire for you the very blessings which I am fain to make my own. As to my adding the words " worthy of honour," I did not mean, by adding this, to say that I honour your episcopal office, for to me you are not a bishop; and this I trust you will take as spoken with no intention to give offence, but from the conviction that in our mouth Yea should be Yea, and Nay, Nay: for neither you nor any one who knows us can fail to know that you are not my bishop, and I am not your presbyter. " Worthy of honour " I therefore willingly call you on this ground, that I know you to be a man; and I know that man was made in the image and likeness of God, and is placed in honour by the very order and law of nature, if by understanding the things which he ought to understand he retain his honour. For it is written, " Man being placed in honour did not understand: he is compared to the brutes devoid of reason, and is made like unto them." 2 Why then may I not address you as worthy of honour, inasmuch as you are a man, especially since I dare not despair of your repentance and salvation so long as

1 Gal. v. 13. 2 Ps. xlix. 12, version of the LXX.
you are in this life? Moreover, as to my calling you "brother"
you are well acquainted with the precept divinely given to us, according to which we are
to say, "Ye are our brethren," even to those who deny that they are our brethren; and this
has much to do with the reason which has made me resolve to write to you, my brother.
Now that the reason for my making such an introduction to my letter has been given, I
bespeak your calm attention to what follows.

2. When I was in your district, and was with all my power expressing my abhorrence
of the sad and deplorable custom followed by men who, though they boast of the name of
Christians, do not hesitate to rebaptize Christians, there were not wanting some who said
in praise of you, that you do not conform to this custom. I confess that at first I did not
believe them; but afterwards, considering that it was possible for the fear of God to take
possession of a human soul exercised in meditation upon the life to come, in such a way
as to restrain a man from most manifest wickedness, I
believed their statement, rejoicing that by holding such a resolution you showed yourself
averse to complete alienation from the Catholic Church. I was even on the lookout for an
opportunity of conversing with you, in order that, if it were possible, the small difference
which still remained between us might be taken away, when, behold, a few days ago it
was reported to me that you had rebaptized a deacon of ours belonging to Mutugenna! I
was deeply grieved both for his melancholy fall and for your sin, my brother, which
surprised and disappointed me. For I know what the Catholic Church is. The nations are
Christ's inheritance, and the ends *of the earth-are His possession. You also know what
the Catholic Church is; or if you do not know it, apply your attention to discern it, for it
may be very easily known by those who are willing to be taught. Therefore, to rebaptize
even a heretic who has received in baptism the seal of holiness which the practice 1 of the
Christian Church has transmitted to us, is unquestionably a sin; but to rebaptize a
Catholic is one of the worst of crimes. As I did not, however, believe the report, because I
still retained my favourable impression of

1 Disciplina.

LET. XXIII.] TO MAXIMIN. 59

you, I went in person to Mutugenna. The miserable man himself I did not succeed in
finding, but I learned from his parents that he had been made one of your deacons.
Nevertheless I still think so favourably of you, that I will not believe that he has been
rebaptized.

3. Wherefore, my beloved brother, I beseech you, by the divine and human natures of our
Lord Jesus Christ, have the kindness to reply to this letter, telling me what has been done,
and so to write as knowing that I intend to read your letter aloud to our brethren in the
church. This I have written, lest, by afterwards doing that which you did not expect me to do, I should give offence to your Charity, and give you occasion for making a just complaint against me to our common friends.

What can reasonably prevent you from answering this letter I do not see. For if you do rebaptize, you have nothing to apprehend from your colleagues when you write that you are doing that which they would command you to do even if you were unwilling; and if you, moreover, defend this by the best arguments known to you, as a thing which ought to be done, your colleagues, so far from being displeased on this account, will praise you. But if you do not rebaptize, hold fast your Christian liberty, my brother Maximin; hold it fast, I implore you: fixing your eye on Christ, fear not the censure, tremble not before the power of any man. Fleeting is the honour of this world, and fleeting are all the objects to which earthly ambition aspires. Neither thrones ascended by flights of steps, 1 nor canopied pulpits, 2 nor processions and chantings of crowds of consecrated virgins, shall be admitted as available for the defence of those who have now these honours, when at the judgment-seat of Christ conscience shall begin to lift its accusing voice, and He who is the Judge of the consciences of men shall pronounce the final sentence. What is here esteemed an honour shall then be a burden: what uplifts men here, shall weigh heavily on them in that day.

Those things which meanwhile are done for the Church's welfare as tokens of respect to us, shall then be vindicated, it may be, by a conscience void of offence; but they will avail nothing as a screen for a guilty conscience.

1 Absidæ gradatæ. 2 Cathedrae velatee.

60 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXIII.

4. If, then, it be indeed the case that, under the promptings of a devout and pious mind, you abstain from dispensing a second baptism, and rather accept the baptism of the Catholic Church as the act of the one true Mother, who to all nations both offers a welcome to her bosom, that they may be regenerated, and gives a mother's nourishment to them when they are regenerated, and as the token of admission into Christ's one possession, which reaches to the ends of the earth; if, I say, you indeed do this, why do you not break forth into a joyful and independent confession of your sentiments? Why do you hide under a bushel the lamp which might so profitably shine? Why do you rend and cast from you the old sordid livery of your craven-hearted bondage, and go forth clad in the panoply of Christian boldness, saying, "I know but one baptism consecrated and sealed with the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost: this sacrament, wherever I find it, I am bound to acknowledge and approve; I do not destroy what I discern to be my Lord's; I do not treat with dishonour the banner of my King"? Even the men who parted the raiment of Christ among them did not rudely rend in pieces the seamless robe; 1 and they were men who had not then any faith in Christ's resurrection; nay, they were witnessing His death. If, then, persecutors forbore from rending the vesture of Christ when He was hanging upon the cross, why should Christians destroy the sacrament of His institution now when He is sitting in heaven upon
His throne? Had I been a Jew in the time of that ancient people, when there was nothing better that I could be, I would undoubtedly have received circumcision. That "seal of the righteousness* which is by faith" was of so great importance in that dispensation before it was abrogated 2 by the Lord’s coming, that the angel would have strangled the infant-child of Moses, had not the child’s mother, seizing a stone, circumcised the child, and by this sacrament averted impending death. 3 This sacrament also arrested the waters of the Jordan, and made

1 John xix. 24. 2 Evacuaretur.

3 Ex. iv. 24, 25. Augustine believes that the angel sought to slay, not Moses, but the child, for which he gives reasons in his Quæstiones in Exodum. See Rosenmüller, Scholia.

LET. XXIII.] TO MAXIMIN. 61

them flow back towards their source. This sacrament the Lord Himself received in infancy, although He abrogated it when He was crucified. For these signs of spiritual blessings were not condemned, but gave place to others which were more suitable to the later dispensation. For as circumcision was abolished by the first coming of the Lord, so baptism shall be abolished by His second coming. For as now, since the liberty of faith has come, and the yoke of bondage has been removed, no Christian receives circumcision in the flesh; so then, when the just are reigning with the Lord, and the wicked have been condemned, no one shall be baptized, but the reality which both ordinances prefigure—namely, circumcision of the heart and cleansing of the conscience—shall be eternally abiding. If, therefore, I had been a Jew in the time of the former dispensation, and there had come to me a Samaritan who was willing to become a Jew, abandoning the error which the Lord Himself condemned when He said, "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews;" 1 if, I say, a Samaritan whom Samaritans had circumcised had expressed his willingness to become a Jew, there would have been no scope for the boldness which would have insisted on the repetition of the rite; and instead of this, we would have been compelled to approve of that which God had commanded, although it had been done by heretics. But if, in the flesh of a circumcised man, I could not find place for the repetition of the circumcision, because there is but one member which is circumcised, much less is place found in the one heart of man for the repetition of the baptism of Christ. Ye, therefore, who wish to baptize twice, must seek as subjects of such double baptism men who have double hearts.

5. Publish frankly, therefore, that you are doing what is right, if it be the case that you do not rebaptize; and write me to that effect, not only without fear, but with joy. Let no Councils of your party deter you, my brother, from this step: for if this displease them, they are not worthy to have you among them; but if it please them, we trust that there shall soon be peace between you and us, through the mercy of our Lord, who never forsakes those who fear to displease Him,
and who labour to do what is acceptable in His sight; and let not our honours a dangerous burden, of which an account must yet be given a hindrance, making it unhappily impossible for our people who believe in Christ, and who share with one another in daily bread at home, to sit down at the same table of Christ. Do we not grievously lament that husband and wife do in most cases, when marriage makes them one flesh, vow mutual fidelity in the name of Christ, and yet rend asunder Christ's own body by belonging to separate communions? If, by your moderate measures and wisdom, and by your exercise of that love which we all owe to Him who shed His blood for us, this schism, which is such a grievous scandal, causing Satan to triumph and many souls to perish, be taken out of the way in these parts, who can adequately express how illustrious is the reward which the Lord prepares for you, in that from you should proceed an example which, if imitated, as it may so easily be, would bring health to all His other members, which throughout the whole of Africa are lying now miserably exhausted? How much I fear lest, since you cannot see my heart, I appear to you to speak rather in irony than in the sincerity of love!

But what more can I do than present my words before your eye, and my heart before God?

6. Let us put away from between us those vain objections which are wont to be thrown at each other by the ignorant on either side. Do not on your part cast up to me the persecutions of Macarius. I, on mine, will not reproach you with the excesses of the Circumcelliones. If you are not to blame for the latter, neither am I for the former; they pertain not to us.

The Lord's floor is not yet purged it cannot be without chaff; be it ours to pray, and to do what in us lies that we may be good grain. I could not pass over in silence the rebaptizing of our deacon; for I know how much harm my silence might do to myself.

If I do not propose to spend my time in the empty enjoyment of ecclesiastical dignity; but I propose to act as mindful of this, that to the one Chief Shepherd I must give account of the sheep committed unto me.

If you would rather that I should not thus write to you, you must, my brother, excuse me on the ground of my fears; for
belong to our communion may know how far apart from heresy and schism is the position of the Catholic Church, and with what care they should guard against the destruction which awaits the tares and the branches cut off from the Lord's vine. If you willingly accede to such conference with me, by consenting to the public reading of the letters of both, I shall unspeakably rejoice. If this proposal is displeasing to you, what can I do, my brother, but read our letters, even without your consent, to the Catholic congregation, with a view to its instruction? But if you do not condescend to write me a reply, I am resolved at least to read my own letter, that, when your misgivings as to your procedure are known, others may be ashamed to be rebaptized.

7. I shall not, however, do this in the presence of the soldiery, lest any of you should think that I wish to act in a violent way, rather than as the interests of peace demand; but only after their departure, that all who hear me may understand, that I do not propose to compel men to embrace the communion of any party, but desire the truth to be made known to persons who, in their search for it, are free from disquieting apprehensions. On our side there shall be no appeal to men's fear of the civil power; on your side, let there be no intimidation by a mob of Circumcelliones. Let us attend to the real matter in debate, and let our arguments appeal to reason and to the authoritative teaching of the Divine Scriptures, dispassionately and calmly, so far as we are able; let us ask, seek, and knock, that we may receive and find, and that to us the door may be opened, and thereby may be achieved, by God's blessing on our united efforts and prayers, the first step towards the entire removal from our district of that impiety which is such a disgrace to Africa. If you do not believe that I am willing to postpone the discussion until after the soldiery have left, you may delay your answer until they have gone; and if, while they are still here, I should wish to read my own letter to the people, the production of the letter will of itself convict me of breaking my word. May the Lord in His mercy prevent me from acting in a way so contrary to morality, and to the good resolutions with which, by laying His yoke on me, He has been pleased to inspire me!

8. My bishop would perhaps have preferred to send a letter himself to your Grace, if he had been here; or my letter would have been written, if not by his order, at least with his sanction. But in his absence, seeing that the rebaptizing of this deacon is said to have occurred recently, I have not by delay allowed the feelings caused by the action to cool down, being moved by the promptings of the keenest anguish on account of what I regard as really the death of a brother. This my grief the compensating joy of reconciliation between us and you may perhaps be appointed to heal, through the help of the mercy and providence of our Lord. May the Lord our God grant thee a calm and conciliatory spirit, my dearly beloved lord and brother!
LETTER XXIV.

This letter, written in 394 to Alypius by Paulinus, owes its place in the collection of Augustine's letters to the notice of the treatises written by Augustine against the Manichseans, and its connection with the following letter addressed by Paulinus to Augustine himself. It is obviously one of those which, in making a selection of letters, may be safely omitted.

LETTER XXV.

(a.d. 394)

to augustine, our lord and brother beloved and venerable, from paulinus and therasia, sinners.

1. The love of Christ which constrains us, and which unites us, though separated by distance, in the bond of a common faith, has itself emboldened me to dismiss my fear and address a letter to you; and it has given you a place in my inmost heart by means of your writings “so full of the stores of learning, so sweet with celestial honey, the medicine and the nourishment of my soul. These I at present have in five books, which, through the kindness of our blessed and venerable Bishop Alypius, I received, not only as a means of my own instruction, but for the use of the Church in many towns. These books I am now reading: in them I take great delight: in them I find food, not that which perisheth, but that which imparts the substance of eternal life through our faith, whereby we are in our Lord Jesus Christ made members of His body; for the writings and examples of the faithful do greatly strengthen that faith which, not looking at things seen, longs after things not seen with that love which accepts implicitly all things which are according to the truth of the omnipotent God. true salt of the earth, by which our hearts are preserved from being corrupted by the errors of the world!

light worthy of your place on the candlestick of the Church, diffusing widely in the Catholic towns the brightness of a flame fed by the oil of the seven-branched lamp of the upper sanctuary, you also disperse even the thick mists of heresy, and rescue the light of truth from the confusion of darkness by the beams of your luminous demonstrations.

2. You see, my brother beloved, esteemed, and welcomed in Christ our Lord, with what intimacy I claim to know you, with what amazement I admire and with what love
embrace you, seeing that I enjoy daily converse with you by the medium of your writings, and am fed by the breath of your mouth. For your mouth I may justly call a pipe conveying living water, and a channel from the eternal fountain; for Christ has become in you a fountain of "living water springing up into eternal life." * Through desire for this my soul thirsted within me, and my parched ground longed to be flooded with the fulness of your river. Since, therefore, you have armed me completely by this your Pentateuch against the Manichaeans, if you have prepared any treatises in defence of the Catholic faith against other enemies (for our enemy, with his thousand pernicious stratagems, must be defeated by weapons as various as the artifices by which he assails us), I beg you to bring these forth from your armoury for me, and not refuse to furnish me with the "armour of righteousness."  

1 John iv. 14.

VOL. I. B

66 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXV.

For I am oppressed even now in my work with a heavy burden, being, as a sinner, a veteran in the ranks of sinners, but an untrained recruit in the service of the King eternal. The wisdom of this world I have unhappily hitherto regarded with admiration, and, devoting myself to literature which I now see to be unprofitable, and wisdom which I now reject, I was in the sight of God foolish and dumb. "When I had become old in the fellowship of my enemies, and had laboured in vain in my thoughts, I lifted mine eyes to the mountains, looking up to the precepts of the law and to the gifts of grace, whence my help came from the Lord, who, not requiting me according to mine iniquity, enlightened my blindness, loosed my bonds, humbled me who had been sinfully exalted, in order that He might exalt me when graciously humbled.

3. Therefore I follow, with halting pace indeed as yet, the great examples of the just, if I may through your prayers apprehend that for which I have been apprehended by the compassion of God. Guide, therefore, this infant creeping on the ground, and by your steps teach him to walk. Tor I would not have you judge of me by the age which began with my natural birth, but by that which began with my spiritual new birth. For as to the natural life, my age is that which the cripple, healed by the apostles by the power of their word at the gate Beautiful, had attained. 1 But with respect to the birth of my soul, mine is as yet the age of those infants who, being sacrificed by the death-blows which were aimed at Christ, preceded with blood worthy of such honour the offering of the Lamb, and were the harbingers of the passion of the Lord. 2 Therefore, as I am but a babe in the word of God, and as to spiritual age a sucking child, satisfy my vehement desire by nourishing me with your words, the breasts of faith, and wisdom, and love. If you consider only the office which we both hold, you are my brother; but if you consider the ripeness of your understanding
and other powers, you are, though my junior in years, a father to me; because the possession of a venerable wisdom has promoted you, though young, to a maturity of worth, and to the honour which belongs to those who are old. Foster and strengthen me, 1 Acts iii. 7 and iv. 22. 2 Matt. ii. 16.

LET. XXV.] PAULINUS AND THERASIA TO AUGUSTINE. 67

then, for I am, as I have said, but a child in the sacred Scriptures and in spiritual studies; and seeing that, after long contempings and frequent shipwreck, I have but little skill, and am even now with difficulty rising above the waves of this world, do you, who have already found firm footing on the shore, receive me into the safe refuge of your bosom, that, if it please you, we may together sail towards the harbour of salvation. Meanwhile, in my efforts to escape from the dangers of this life and the abyss of sin, support me by your prayers, as by a plank, that from this world I may escape as one does from a shipwreck, leaving all behind.

4. I have therefore been at pains to rid myself of all baggage and garments which might impede my progress, in order that, obedient to the command and sustained by the help of Christ, I may swim, unhindered by any clothing for the flesh or care for the morrow, across the sea of this present life, which, swelling with waves and echoing with the barking of our sins, like the dogs of Scylla, separates between us and God. I do not boast that I have accomplished this: even if I might so boast, I would glory only in the Lord, whose it is to accomplish what it is our part to desire; but my soul is in earnest that the judgments of the Lord be her chief desire. You can judge how far he is on the way to efficiently performing the will of God, who is desirous that he may desire to perform it. Nevertheless, so far as in me lies, I have loved the beauty of His sanctuary, and, if left to myself, would have chosen to occupy the lowest place in the Lord's house. But to Him who was pleased to separate me from my mother's womb, and to draw me away from the friendship of flesh and blood to His grace, it has seemed good to raise me from the earth and from the gulf of misery, though destitute of all merit, and to take me from the mire and from the dunghill, to set me among the princes of His people, and appoint my place in the same rank with yourself; so that, although you excel me in worth, I should be associated with you as your equal in office.

5. It is not therefore by my own presumption, but in accordance with the pleasure and appointment of the Lord, that I appropriate the honour of which I own myself unworthy,

68 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXVI.

claiming for myself the bond of brotherhood with you; for I
am persuaded, from the holiness of your character, that you are taught by the truth "not to mind high things, but to condescend to men of low estate." Therefore I hope that you will readily and kindly accept the assurance of the love which in humility we bear to you, and which, I trust, you have already received through the most blessed priest Alypius, whom (with his permission) we call our father. For he doubtless has himself given you an example of loving us both while we are yet strangers, and above our desert; for he has found it possible, in the spirit of far-reaching and self-diffusing genuine love, to behold us by affection, and to come in contact with us by writing, even when we were unknown to him, and severed by a wide interval both of land and sea.

He has presented us with the first proofs of his affection to us, and evidences of your love, in the above-mentioned gift of books. And as he was greatly concerned that we should be constrained to ardent love for you, when known to us, not by his testimony alone, but more fully by the eloquence and the faith seen in your own writings; so do we believe that he has taken care, with equal zeal, to bring you to imitate his example in cherishing a very warm love towards us in return.

brother in Christ, beloved, venerable, and ardently longed for, we desire that the grace of God, as it is with you, may abide for ever. We salute, with the utmost affection of cordial brotherhood, your whole household, and every one who is in the Lord a companion and imitator of your holiness. "We beg you to bless, in accepting it, one loaf which we have sent to your 'Charity, in token of our oneness of heart with you."»

LETTER XXVI.

(ad. 395.)

to licentius * from augustine.

1. I have with difficulty found an opportunity for writing to

1 Licentius, son of Romanianus, had been a pupil of Augustine when he was in retirement at Cassiacum. In this letter and in the next we see proofs of Augustine's pious solicitude for his welfare.

LET. XXVI.] TO LICENTIUS. 69

you: who would believe it? Yet Licentius must take my word for it. I do not wish you to search curiously for the causes and reasons of this; for though they could be given, your confidence in me acquits me of obligation to furnish them. Moreover, I received your letters by messengers who were not available for the carrying back of my reply. And as to the thing which you asked me to ask, I attended to it by letter as far as it seemed to me right to bring it forward; but with what result you may have seen. If I have not yet succeeded, I will press the matter more earnestly, either when the result comes to my knowledge, or when you yourself remind me of it. Thus far I have spoken to you of the things in which we hear the sound of the chains of this life. I pass from them. Eceive
now in a few words the utterance of my heart's anxieties concerning your hope for
eternity, and the question how a way may be opened for you to God.

2. I fear, my dear Licentius, that you, while repeatedly rejecting and dreading the
restraints of wisdom, as if these were bonds, are becoming firmly and fatally in bondage
to mortal things. For wisdom, though at first it restrains men, and subdues them by some
labours in the way of discipline, gives them presently true freedom, and enriches them,
when free, with the possession and enjoyment of itself; and though at first it educates
them by the help of temporary restraints, it folds them afterwards in its eternal embrace,
the sweetest and strongest of all conceivable bonds. I admit, indeed, that these initial
restraints are somewhat hard to bear; but the ultimate restraints of wisdom I cannot call
grievous, because they are most sweet; nor can I call them easy, because they are most
firm: in short, they possess a quality which cannot be described, but which can be the
object of faith, and hope, and love. The bonds of this world, on the other hand, have a
real harshness and a delusive charm, certain pain and uncertain pleasure, hard toil and
troubled rest, an experience full of misery, and a hope devoid of happiness. And are you
submitting neck and hands and feet to these chains, desiring to be burdened with honours
of this kind, reckoning your labours to be in vain if they are not thus rewarded, and
spontaneously aspiring to become fixed in that to which neither persuasion

70 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXVI.

nor force ought to have induced you to go? Perhaps you answer, in the words of the
slave in Terence,

** So ho, you are pouring out wise words here."

Receive my words, then, that I may pour them out without wasting them. But if I sing,
while you prefer to dance to another tune, even thus I do not regret my effort to give
advice; for the exercise of singing yields pleasure even when the song fails to stir to
responsive motion the person for whom it is sung with loving care. There were in your
letters some verbal mistakes which attracted my attention, but I judge it trifling to discuss
these when solicitude about your actions and your whole life disturbs me.

4. If your verses were marred by defective arrangement, or violated the laws of prosody,
or grated on the ears of the hearer by imperfect rhythm, you would doubtless be ashamed,
and you would lose no time, you would take no rest, until you arranged, corrected,
remodelled, and balanced your composition, devoting any amount of earnest study and
toil to the acquisition and practice of the art of versification: but when you yourself are
marred by disorderly living, when you violate the laws of God, when your life accords
neither with the honourable desires of friends on your behalf, nor with the light given by
your own learning, do you think this is a trifle to be cast out of sight and out of mind? As
if, forsooth, you thought yourself of less value than the sound of your own voice, and
esteemed it a smaller matter to displease God by ill-ordered life, than to provoke the
censure of grammarians by ill-ordered syllables.

You write thus: K Oh that the morning light of other days could with its gladdening
chariot bring back to me bright* hours that are gone, which we spent together in the heart
of Italy and among the high mountains, when proving the generous leisure and pure
privileges which belong to the good! Neither stern winter with its frozen snow, nor the
rude blasts of Zephyrs and raging of Boreas, could deter me from following your
footsteps with eager tread. You have only to express your wish."

Woe be to me if I do not express this wish, nay, if I do not compel and command, or
beseech and implore you to follow me. If, however, your ear is shut against my voice, let
it be

1 Extract from a long poem, by Licentius, forming Â§ 3 of the textÂ»

LET. XXVI.] TO LICENTIUS. 71

open to your own voice, and give heed to your own poem:
listen to yourself, friend, most unyielding, unreasonable, and unimpressible. What care I
for your tongue of gold, while your heart is of iron? How shall I, not in verses, but in
lamentations, sufficiently bewail these verses of yours, in which I
discover what a soul, what a mind that is which I am not permitted to seize and present as
an offering to our God?
You are waiting for me to express the wish that you should become good, and enjoy rest
and happiness: as if any clay could shine more pleasantly on me than that in which I shall
enjoy in God your gifted mind, or as if you did not know how I hunger and thirst for you,
or as if you did not in this poem itself confess this. Eeturn to the mind in which you wrote
these things; say to me now again, "You have only to express your wish." Here then is
my wish, if my expression of it be enough to move you to comply:
Give yourself to me â€” give yourself to my Lord, who is the Lord of us both, and who has endowed you with
your faculties: for what am I but through Him your servant, and under Him your fellow-
servant?

5. Nay, has not He given expression to His will? Hear the gospel: it declares, "Jesus
stood and cried." I "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give
you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: so
shall ye find rest to your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." 2 If these
words are not heard, or are heard only with the ear, do you, Licentius, expect Augustine
to issue his command to his fellow-servant, and not rather complain that the will of his
Lord is despised, when He orders, nay invites, and as it were entreats all who labour to
seek rest in Him? But to your strong and proud neck, forsooth, the yoke of the world
seems easier than the yoke of Christ; yet consider, in regard to the yoke which He
imposes, by whom and with what recompense it is imposed. Go to Campania, learn in the
case of Paulinus, that eminent and holy servant of God, how great worldly honours he shook off, without hesitation, from neck truly noble because humble, in order that he might place it, as he has done, beneath the yoke of Christ; and now, with his mind at rest, he meekly rejoices in

1 John vii. 37. 2 Matt. xi. 28-30.

72 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXVII.

Him as the guide of his way. Go, learn with what wealth of mind he offers to Him the sacrifice of praise, rendering unto Him all the good which he has received from Him, lest, by failing to store all that he has in Him from whom he received it, he should lose it all.

6. Why are you so excited? why so wavering? why do you turn your ear away from us, and lend it to the imaginations of fatal pleasures? They are false, they perish, and they lead to perdition. They are false, Licentius. "May the truth," as you desire, "be made plain to us by demonstration, may it flow more clear than Eridanus." The truth alone declares what is true: Christ is the truth; let us come to Him that we may be released from labour. That He may heal us, let us take His yoke upon us, and learn of Him who is meek and lowly in heart, and we shall find rest unto our souls: for His yoke is easy, and His burden is light. The devil desires to wear you as an ornament. Now, if you found in the earth a golden chalice, you would give it to the Church of God. But you have received from God talents that are spiritually valuable as gold; and do you devote these to the service of your lusts, and surrender yourself to Satan? Do it not, I entreat you. May you at some time perceive with what a sad and sorrowful heart I have written these things; and I pray you, have pity on me if you have ceased to be precious in your own eyes.

LETTIE XXVII.

(a.d. 395.)

to my beloved, holy and venerable, and worthy of highest praise in Christ, my brother Paulinus, Augustine sends

GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. excellent man and excellent brother, there was a time when you were unknown to my mind; and I charge my mind to bear patiently your being still unknown to my eyes, but it almost nay, altogether refuses to obey. Does it indeed bear this patiently? If so, why then does a longing for your presence rack my inmost soul? For if I were suffering bodily infirmities, and these did not interrupt the serenity of my
mind, I might be justly said to bear them patiently; but when I cannot bear with
equanimony the privation of not seeing you, it would be intolerable were I to call my state
of mind patience.
Nevertheless, it would perhaps be still more intolerable if I
were to be found patient while absent from you, seeing that you are such an one as you
are. It is well, therefore, that I
am unsatisfied under a privation which is such that, if I were satisfied under it, every one
would justly be dissatisfied with me. What has befallen me is strange, yet true: I grieve
because I do not see you, and my grief itself comforts me; for I
neither admire nor covet a fortitude easily consoled under the absence of good men such
as you are. For do we not long for the heavenly Jerusalem ? and the more impatiently we
long for it, do we not the more patiently submit to all things for its sake ? Who can so
withhold himself from joy in seeing you, as to feel no pain when you are no longer seen?
I
at least can do neither; and seeing that if I could, it could only be by trampling on right
and natural feeling, I rejoice that I cannot, and in this rejoicing I find some consolation.
It is therefore not the removal, but the contemplation, of this sorrow that consoles me.
Blame me not, I beseech you, with that devout seriousness of spirit which so eminently
distinguishes you; say not that I do wrong to grieve because of my not yet knowing you,
when you have disclosed to my sight your mind, which is the inner man. Tor if, when
sojourning in any place, or in the city to which you belong, I had come to know you as
my brother and friend, and as one so eminent as a Christian, so noble as a man, how
could you think that it would be no disappointment to me if I were not permitted to know
your dwelling ? How, then, can I but mourn because I have not yet seen your face and
form, the dwelling-place of that mind which I have come to know as if it were my own?

2. For I have read your letter, which flows with milk and honey, which exhibits the
simplicity of heart wherewith, under the guidance of piety, you seek the Lord, and which
brings glory and honour to Him. The brethren have read it also, and find unwearied and
ineffable satisfaction in those abundant and excellent gifts with which God has endowed
you. As

many as have read it carry it away with them, because, while they read, it carries them
away. Words cannot express how sweet is the savour of Christ which your letter breathes.
How strong is the wish to be more fully acquainted with you which that letter awakens by
presenting you to our sight! for it at once permits us to discern and prompts us to desire
you. Tor the more effectually that it makes us in a certain sense realize your presence, the
more does it render us impatient under your absence. All love you as seen therein, and
wish to be loved by you. Praise and thanksgiving are offered to God, by whose grace you
are what you are. In your letter, Christ is awakened that He may be pleased to calm the
winds and the waves for you, directing your steps towards His perfect stedfastness. 1 In it the reader beholds a wife 2 who does not bring her husband to effeminacy, but by union to him is brought herself to share the strength of his nature; and unto her in you, as completely one with you, and bound to you by spiritual ties which owe their strength to their purity, we desire to return our salutations with the respect due to your Holiness. In it, the cedars of Lebanon, levelled to the ground, and fashioned by the skilful craft of love into the form of the Ark, cleave the waves of this world, fearless of decay. In it, glory is scorned that it may be secured, and the world given up that it may be gained. In it, the little ones, yea, the mightier sons of Babylon, the sins of turbulence and pride, are dashed against the rock.

3. These and other such most delightful and hallowed spectacles are presented to the readers of your letter, â€” that letter which exhibits a true faith, a good hope, a pure love. How it breathes to us your thirst, your longing and fainting for the courts of the Lord! With what holy love it is inspired! How it overflows with the abundant treasure of a true heart! What thanksgivings it renders to God! What blessings it procures from Him! Is it elegance or fervour, light or life-giving power, which shines most in your letter? For how can it at once soothe us and animate us? how can it combine fertilizing rains with the brightness of a cloudless sky? How is this? I ask; or how shall I repay you, except

1 Compare end of sec. 3 in Letter XXV. p. 67. 2 Therasia.

LET. XXVII.] to paulinus. 75

by giving myself to be wholly yours in Him whose you wholly are? If this be little, it is at least all I have to give. But you have made me think it not little, by your deigning to honour me in that letter with such praises, that when I requite you by giving myself to you, I would be chargeable if I counted the gift a small one, with refusing to believe your testimony. I am ashamed, indeed, to believe so much good spoken of myself, but I am yet more unwilling to refuse to believe you. I have one way of escape from the dilemma: I shall not credit your estimate of my character, because I do not recognise myself in the portrait you have drawn; but I shall believe myself to be beloved by you, because I perceive and feel this beyond all doubt. Thus I shall be found neither rash in judging of myself, nor ungrateful for your esteem.

Moreover, when I offer myself to you, it is not a small offering; for I offer one whom you very warmly love, and one who, though he is not what you suppose him to be, is nevertheless one for whom you are praying that he may become such. And your prayers I now beg the more earnestly, lest, thinking me to be already what I am not, you should be less solicitous for the supply of that which I lack.
4. The bearer of this letter 1 to your Excellency and most eminent Charity is one of my dearest friends, and most intimately known to me from early years. His name is mentioned in the treatise Be Religione, which your Holiness, as you indicate in your letter, has read with very great pleasure, doubtless because it was made more acceptable to you by the recommendation of so good a man as he who sent it to you. 2

I would not wish you, however, to give credence to the statements which, perchance, one who is so intimately my friend may have made in praise of me. For I have often observed, that, without intending to say what was untrue, he was, by the bias of friendship, mistaken in his opinion concerning me, and that he thought me to be already possessed of many things, for the gift of which my heart earnestly waited on the Lord. And if he did such things in my presence, who may not conjecture that out of the fulness of his heart he may utter many things more excellent than true concerning me when

1 Romanianus. See De Religione, ch. vii. n. 12. 2 Alypius.

5. There is yet another thing which may move you to love more warmly the brother who bears my letter; for he is a kinsman of the venerable and truly blessed bishop Alypius,
whom you love with your whole heart, and justly: for whoever thinks highly of that man, thinks highly of the great
1 Ps. xxxvi. 10. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

LET. XXVII.] TO PAULINUS. 77

mercy and wonderful gifts which God has bestowed on him.
Accordingly, when he had read your request, desiring him to write for you a sketch of his history, and, while willing to do it because of your kindness, was yet unwilling to do it because of his humility, I, seeing him unable to decide between the respective claims of love and humility, transferred the burden from his shoulders to my own, for he enjoined me by letter to do so. I shall therefore, with God's help, soon place in your heart Alypius just as he is: for this I chiefly feared, that he would be afraid to declare all that God has conferred on him, lest (since what he writes would be read by others besides you) he should seem to any who are less competent to discriminate to be commending not God's goodness bestowed on men, but his own merits; and that thus you, who know what construction to put on such statements, would, through his regard for the infirmity of others, be deprived of that which to you as a brother ought to be imparted. This I would have done already, and you would already be reading my description of him, had not my brother suddenly resolved to set out earlier than we expected. Tor him I bespeak a welcome from your heart and from your lips as kindly as if your acquaintance with him was not beginning now, but of as long standing as my own. For if he does not shrink from laying himself open to your heart, he will be in great measure, if not completely, healed by your lips; for I desire him to be often made to hear the words of those who cherish for their friends a higher love than that which is of this world.

6. Even if Eomanianus had not been going to visit your Charity, I had resolved to recommend to you by letter his son [Licentius], dear to me as my own (whose name you will find also in some of my books), in order that he may be encouraged, exhorted, and instructed, not so much by the sound of your voice, as by the example of your spiritual strength. I desire earnestly, that while his life is yet in the green blade, the tares may be turned into wheat, and he may believe those who know by experience the dangers to which he is eager to expose himself. From the poem of my young friend, and my letter to him, your most benevolent and considerate wisdom may perceive my grief, fear, and care on his account. I am not without hope that, by the Lord's favour, I may through your means be set free from such disquietude regarding him.
As you are now about to read much that I have written, your love will be much more gratefully esteemed by me, if, moved by compassion, and judging impartially, you correct and reprove whatever displeases you. For you are not one whose oil anointing my head would make me afraid. 1

The brethren, not those only who dwell with us, and those who, dwelling elsewhere, serve God in the same way as we do, but almost all who are in Christ our warm friends, send you salutations, along with the expression of their veneration and affectionate longing for you as a brother, as a saint, and as a man. 2 I dare not ask; but if you have any leisure from ecclesiastical duties, you may see for what favour all Africa, with myself, is thirsting.

LETTÉE XXVIII.

(a.d. 394 or 395.)

to jerome, his most beloved lord, and brother and fellowpresbyter, worthy of being honoured and embraced with the sincerest affectionate devotion, augustine

SENDS GREETING.

Chap. i. 1. Never was the face of any one more familiar to another, than the peaceful, happy, and truly noble diligence of your studies in the Lord has become to me. For although I long greatly to be acquainted with you, I feel that already my knowledge of you is deficient in respect of nothing but a very small part of you, namely, your personal appearance; and even as to this, I cannot deny that since my most blessed brother Alypius (now invested with the office of bishop, of which he was then truly worthy) has seen you, and has on his return been seen by me, it has been almost completely imprinted on my mind by his report of you; nay, I may say that before his return, when he saw you there, I was seeing you myself with his eyes. For any one who knows us may say of him and me, that in body only, and not in mind, we are two, so great is the union of heart, so firm the intimate friendship subsisting between us; though in merit we are not alike, for his is far above mine. Seeing, therefore, that you love me, both of old through the communion of spirit by
which we are knit to each other, and more recently through what you know of me from the mouth of my friend, I feel that it is not presumptuous in me (as it would be in one wholly unknown to you) to recommend to your brotherly esteem the brother Profuturus, in whom we trust that the happy omen of his name (Good-speed) may be fulfilled through our efforts furthered after this by your aid; although, perhaps, it may be presumptuous on this ground, that he is so great a man, that it would be much more fitting that I should be commended to you by him, than he by me. I ought perhaps to write no more, if I were willing to content myself with the style of a formal letter of introduction; but my mind overflows into conference with you, concerning the studies with which we are occupied in Christ Jesus our Lord, who is pleased to furnish us largely through your love with many benefits, and some helps by the way, in the path which He has pointed out to His followers.

Chap. ii. 2. We therefore, and with us all that are devoted to study in the African churches, beseech you not to refuse to devote care and labour to the translation of the books of those who have written in the Greek language most able commentaries on our Scriptures. You may thus put us also in possession of these men, and especially of that one whose name you seem to have singular pleasure in sounding forth in your writings [Origen]. But I beseech you not to devote your labour to the work of translating into Latin the sacred canonical books, unless you follow the method in which you have translated Job, viz. with the addition of notes, to let it be seen plainly what differences are between this version of yours and that of the LXX., whose authority is worthy of highest esteem.

80 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXVIII.

For my own part, I cannot sufficiently express my wonder that anything should at this date be found in the Hebrew mss. which escaped so many translators perfectly acquainted with the language. I say nothing of the LXX., regarding whose harmony in mind and spirit, surpassing that which is found in even one man, I dare not in any way pronounce a decided opinion, except that in my judgment, beyond question, very high authority must in this work of translation be conceded to them. I am more perplexed by those translators who, though enjoying the advantage of labouring after the LXX. had completed their work, and although well acquainted, as it is reported, with the force of Hebrew words and phrases, and with Hebrew syntax, have not only failed to agree among themselves, but have left many things which, even after so long a time, still remain to be discovered and brought to light. Now these things were either obscure or plain: if they were obscure, it is believed that you are as likely to have been mistaken as the others; if they were plain, it is not believed that they [the LXX.] could possibly have been mistaken. Having stated the grounds of my perplexity, I appeal to your kindness to give me an answer regarding this matter.
I have been reading also some writings, ascribed to you, on the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. In reading your exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, that passage came to my hand in which the Apostle Peter is called back from a course of dangerous dissimulation. To find there the defence of falsehood undertaken, whether by you, a man of such weight, or by any author (if it is the writing of another), causes me, I must confess, great sorrow, until at least those things* which decide my opinion in the matter are refuted, if indeed they admit of refutation. For it seems to me that most disastrous consequences must follow upon our believing that anything false is found in the sacred books: that is to say, that the men by whom the Scripture has been given to us, and committed to writing, did put down in these books anything false.

It is one question whether it may be at any time the duty of a good man to deceive; but it is another question whether it can have been the duty of a writer of Holy Scripture to deceive: nay, it is not another question â€“ it is no question at all. For if you once admit into such a high sanctuary of authority one false statement as made in the way of duty, there will not be left a single sentence of those books which, if appearing to any one difficult in practice or hard to believe, may not by the same fatal rule be explained away, as a statement in which, intentionally, and under a sense of duty, the author declared what was not true.

4. For if the Apostle Paul did not speak the truth when, finding fault with the Apostle Peter, he said: "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" if, indeed, Peter seemed to him to be doing what was right, and if, notwithstanding, he, in order to soothe troublesome opponents, both said and wrote that Peter did what was wrong; 2 if we say thus, what then shall be our answer when perverse men such as he himself prophetically described arise, forbidding marriage, 3 if they defend themselves by saying that, in all which the same apostle wrote in confirmation of the lawfulness of marriage, he was, on account of men who, through love for their wives, might become troublesome opponents, declaring what was false, â€“ saying these things, forsooth, not because he believed them, but because their opposition might thus be averted? It is unnecessary to quote many parallel examples.

For even things which pertain to the praises of God might be represented as piously intended falsehoods, written in order that love for Him might be enkindled in men who were slow of heart; and thus nowhere in the sacred books shall the authority of pure truth stand sure. Do we not observe the great care with which the same apostle commends the truth to us, when he says: "And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain: yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ; whom He raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not." 5 If any one said to him,

---

LET. XXVIII.] TO JEROME. 81

ceive: nay, it is not another question â€“ it is no question at all.
For if you once admit into such a high sanctuary of authority one false statement as made in the way of duty, there will not be left a single sentence of those books which, if appearing to any one difficult in practice or hard to believe, may not by the same fatal rule be explained away, as a statement in which, intentionally, and under a sense of duty, the author declared what was not true.

4. For if the Apostle Paul did not speak the truth when, finding fault with the Apostle Peter, he said: "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" if, indeed, Peter seemed to him to be doing what was right, and if, notwithstanding, he, in order to soothe troublesome opponents, both said and wrote that Peter did what was wrong; 2 if we say thus, what then shall be our answer when perverse men such as he himself prophetically described arise, forbidding marriage, 3 if they defend themselves by saying that, in all which the same apostle wrote in confirmation of the lawfulness of marriage, he was, on account of men who, through love for their wives, might become troublesome opponents, declaring what was false, â€“ saying these things, forsooth, not because he believed them, but because their opposition might thus be averted? It is unnecessary to quote many parallel examples.

For even things which pertain to the praises of God might be represented as piously intended falsehoods, written in order that love for Him might be enkindled in men who were slow of heart; and thus nowhere in the sacred books shall the authority of pure truth stand sure. Do we not observe the great care with which the same apostle commends the truth to us, when he says: "And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain: yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ; whom He raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not." 5 If any one said to him,
"Why are you so shocked by this falsehood, when the thing which you have said, even if it were false, tends very greatly

1 Officiosum mendacmm. 2 Gal. ii. 11-14. 3 1 Tim. iv. 3.

4 1 Cor. vii. 10-16. 5 1 Cor. xv. 14, 15.

82 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXVIII.

to the glory of God?" would he not, abhorring the madness of such a man, with every word and sign which could express his feelings, open clearly the secret depths of his own heart, protesting that to speak well of a falsehood uttered on behalf of God, was a crime not less, perhaps even greater, than to speak ill of the truth concerning Him? We must therefore be careful to secure, in order to our knowledge of the divine Scriptures, the guidance only of such a man as is imbued with a high reverence for the sacred books, and a profound persuasion of their truth, preventing him from flattering himself in any part of them with the hypothesis of a statement being made not because it was true, but because it was expedient, and making him rather pass by what he does not understand, than set up his own feelings above that truth. For, truly, when he pronounces anything to be untrue, he demands that he be believed in preference, and endeavours to shake our confidence in the authority of the divine Scriptures.

5. For my part, I would devote all the strength which the Lord grants me, to show that every one of those texts which are wont to be quoted in defence of the expediency of falsehood ought to be otherwise understood, in order that everywhere the sure truth of these passages themselves may be consistently maintained. For as statements adduced in evidence must not be false, neither ought they to favour falsehood. This, however, I leave to your own judgment. For if you apply more thorough attention to the passage, perhaps you will see it much more readily than I have done. To this more careful study that piety will move you, by which you discern that the authority of the divine Scriptures becomes unsettled (so that every one may believe what he wishes, and reject what he does not wish) if this be once admitted, that the men by whom these things have been delivered unto us, could in their writings state some things which were not true, from considerations of duty; I unless, perchance, you purpose to furnish us with certain rules by which we may know when a falsehood might or might not become a duty. If this can be done, I beg you to set forth these rules with reasonings which may be neither equivocal nor precarious; and I beseech you by our Lord, in

1 Aliqua officioso mentiri.
whom Truth was incarnate, not to consider me burdensome or presumptuous in making this request. For a mistake of mine which is in the interest of truth cannot deserve great blame, if indeed it deserves blame at all, when it is possible for you to use truth in the interest of falsehood without doing wrong.

Chap. iv. 6. Of many other things I would wish to discourse with your most ingenuous heart, and to take counsel with you concerning Christian studies; but this desire could not be satisfied within the limits of any letter. I may do this more fully by means of the brother bearing this letter, whom I rejoice in sending to share and profit by your sweet and useful conversation. Nevertheless, although I do not reckon myself superior in any respect to him, even he may take less from you than I would desire; and he will excuse my saying so, for I confess myself to have more room for receiving from you than he has. I see his mind to be already more fully stored, in which unquestionably he excels me. Therefore, when he returns, as I trust he may happily do by God's blessing, and when I become a sharer in all with which his heart has been richly furnished by you, there will still be a consciousness of void unsatisfied in me, and a longing for personal fellowship with you. Hence of the two I shall be the poorer, and he the richer, then as now. This brother carries with him some of my writings, which if you condescend to read, I implore you to review them with candid and brotherly strictness. For the words of Scripture, " The righteous shall correct me in compassion, and reprove me; but the oil of the sinner shall not anoint my head," * I understand to mean that he is the truer friend who by his censure heals me, than the one who by flattery anoints my head. I find the greatest difficulty in exercising a right judgment when I read over what I have written, being either too cautious or too rash. For I sometimes see my own faults, but I prefer to hear them reproved by those who are better able to judge than I am; lest after I have, perhaps justly, charged myself with error, I begin again to flatter myself, and think that my censure has arisen from an undue mistrust of my own judgment.

1 Ps. cxli. 5, translated from the Septuagint.

LETTER XXIX.

(a.d. 395.)

a letter from the presbyter of the district of hippo to alypius the bishop of thagaste, concerning the anniversary of the birth of leontius, I formerly bishop of
HIPPO.

1. In the absence of brother Macharius, I have not been able to write anything definite concerning a matter about which I could not feel otherwise than anxious: it is said, however, that he will soon return, and whatever can be with God's help done in the matter shall be done. Although also our brethren, citizens of your town, who were with us, might sufficiently assure you of our solicitude on their behalf when they returned, nevertheless the thing which the Lord has granted to me is one worthy to be the subject of that epistolary intercourse which ministers so much to the comfort of us both; it is, moreover, a thing in the obtaining of which I believe that I have been greatly assisted by your own solicitude regarding it, seeing that it could not but constrain you to intercession on our behalf.

2. Therefore let me not fail to relate to your Charity what has taken place; so that, as you joined us in pouring out prayers for this mercy before it was obtained, you may now join us in rendering thanks for it after it has been received. When I was informed after your departure that some were becoming openly violent, and declaring that they could not submit to the prohibition (intimated while you were here) of that feast which they call Laetitia, vainly attempting to disguise their revels under a fair name, it happened most opportunely for me, by the hidden fore-ordination of the Almighty God, that on the fourth holy day that chapter of the Gospel fell to be expounded in ordinary course, in which the words occur: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine." 2 I discoursed therefore

1 Leontius was Bishop of Hippo in the latter part of the second century. He "built a church which was called after him, and in which some of the sermons of Augustine were delivered. 2 Matt. vii. 6.

LET. XXIX.] TO ALYPIUS. 35

cconcerning dogs and swine in such a way as to compel those who clamour with obstinate barking against the divine precepts, and who are given up to the abominations of carnal pleasures, to blush for shame; and followed it up by saying, that they might plainly see how criminal it was to do, under the name of religion, within the walls of the church, that which, if it were practised by them in their own houses, would make it necessary for them to be debarred from that which is holy, and from the privileges which are the pearls of the Church.

3. Although these words were well received, nevertheless, as few had attended the meeting, all had not been done which so great an emergency required. When, however, this discourse was, according to the ability and zeal of each, made known abroad by those who had heard it, it found many opponents. But when the morning of Quadragesima came round, and a great multitude had assembled at the hour of exposition of Scripture,
that passage in the Gospel was read in which our Lord said, concerning those sellers who were driven out of the temple, and the tables of the money-changers which He had overthrown, that the house of His Father had been made a den of thieves instead of a house of prayer. 1 After awakening their attention by bringing forward the subject of immoderate indulgence in wine, I myself also read this chapter, and added to it an argument to prove with how much greater anger and vehemence our Lord would cast forth drunken revels, which are everywhere disgraceful, from that temple from which He thus drove out merchandise lawful elsewhere, especially when the things sold were those required for the sacrifices appointed in that dispensation; and I asked them whether they regarded a place occupied by men selling what was necessary, or one used by men drinking to excess, as bearing the greater resemblance to a den of thieves.

4. Moreover, as passages of Scripture which I had prepared were held ready to be put into my hands, I went on to say that the Jewish nation, with all its lack of spirituality in religion, never held feasts, even temperate feasts, much less feasts disgraced by intemperance, in their temple, in which at

1 Matt. xxi. 12.

86 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXIX.

that time the body and blood of the Lord were not yet offered' and that in history they are not found to have been excited by wine on any public occasion bearing the name of worship, except when they held a feast before the idol which they had made. 1 While I said these things I took the manuscript from the attendant, and read that whole passage. Reminding them of the words of the apostle, who says, in order to distinguish Christians from the obdurate Jews, that they are his epistle written, not on tables of stone, but on the fleshly tables of the heart, 2 I asked further, with the deepest sorrow, how it was that, although Moses the servant of God broke both the tables of stone because of these rulers of Israel, I could not break the hearts of those who, though men of the New Testament dispensation, were desiring in their celebration of saints' days to repeat often the public perpetration of excesses of which the people of the Old Testament economy were guilty only once, and that in an act of idolatry.

5. Having then given back the manuscript of Exodus, I proceeded to enlarge, so far as my time permitted, on the crime of drunkenness, and took up the writings of the Apostle Paul, and showed among what sins it is classed by him, reading the text, "If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one (ye ought) not even to eat;" 3 pathetically reminding them how great is our danger in eating with those who are guilty of intemperance even in their own houses. I read also what is added, a little further on, in the same epistle: "Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor
drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." 4 After reading these, I charged them to consider how believers could hear these words, " but ye are washed," if they still tolerated in their own hearts â€“ that is, in God's inner temple â€“ the abominations of such lusts as these against which the kingdom of heaven is shut.

1 Ex. xxxii. G. - 2 Cor. iii. 3 1 Cor. v. 11. 4 1 Cor. vi. 9-11.

LET. XXIX.] TO ALYPIUS. 87

Then I went on to that passage: " When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper: for in eating, every one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What ! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in, or despise ye the church of God V 1 After reading which, I more especially begged them to remark that not even innocent and temperate feasts were permitted in the church: for the apostle said not, " Have ye not houses of your own in which to be drunken V* â€“ as if it was drunkenness alone which was unlawful in the church; but, " Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in ?"â€“ things lawful in themselves, but not lawful in the church, insomuch as men have their own houses in which they may be recruited by necessary food: whereas now, by the corruption of the times and the relaxation of morals, we have been brought so low, that, no longer insisting upon sobriety in the houses of men, all that we venture to demand is, that the realm of tolerated excess be restricted to their own homes.

6. I reminded them also of a passage in the Gospel which I had expounded the day before, in which it is said of the false prophets: "Ye shall know them by their fruits." 2 I also bade them remember that in that place our works are signified by the word fruits. Then I asked among what kind of fruits drunkenness was named, and read that passage in the Epistle to the Galatians: " Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murder, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." 3 After these words, I asked how, when God has commanded that Christians be known by their fruits, we could be known as Christians by this fruit of drunkenness ? I added also, that we must read what follows there: " But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." 4 And I pled with them to consider how shameful and lamentable

1 1 Cor. si. 20-22. 2 Matt. vii. 16. 3 Gal. v. 19-21. 4 Gal. v. 22, 23.
it would be, if, not content with living at home in the practice of these works of the flesh, they even wished by them, forsooth, to honour the church, and to fill the whole area of so large a place of worship, if they were permitted, with crowds of revellers and drunkards: and yet would not present to God those fruits of the Spirit which, by the authority of Scripture, and by my groans, they were called to yield, and by the offering of which they would most suitably celebrate the saints' days.

7. This being finished, I returned the manuscript; and being asked to speak, I set before their eyes with all my might, as the danger itself constrained me, and as the Lord was pleased to give strength, the danger shared by them who were committed to my care, and by me, who must give account to the Chief Shepherd, and implored them by His humiliation, by the unparalleled insults, the buffetings and spitting on the face which He endured, by His pierced hands and crown of thorns, and by His cross and blood, to have pity on me at least, if they were displeased with themselves, and to consider the inexpressible love cherished towards me by the aged and venerable Valerius, who had not scrupled to assign to me for their sakes the perilous burden of expounding to them the word of truth, and had often told them that in my coming here his prayers were answered; not rejoicing, surely, that I had come to share or to behold the death of our hearers, but rejoicing that I had come to share his labours for their eternal life. In conclusion, I told them that I was resolved to trust in Him who cannot lie, and who has given us a promise by the mouth of the prophet, saying of our «Lord Jesus Christ, "If His children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes: nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from Him." 2 I declared, therefore, that I put my trust in Him, that if they despised the weighty words which had now been read and spoken to them, He would visit them with the rod and

1 Imperata oratione. 2 Ps. lxxxix. 30-33.

LET. XXIX.] TO ALYPIUS. 89

with stripes, and not leave them to he condemned with the world. In this appeal I put forth all the power in thought and utterance which, in an emergency so great and hazardous, our Saviour and Euler was pleased to supply. I did not move them to weep hy first weeping myself; but while these things were being spoken, I own that, moved by the tears which they began to shed, I myself could not refrain from following their example. And when we had thus wept together, I concluded my sermon with full persuasion that they would be restrained by it from the abuses denounced.

8. Next morning, however, when the day dawned, which so many were accustomed to devote to excess in eating and drinking, I received notice that some, even of those who
were present when I preached, had not yet desisted from complaint, and that so great was
the power of detestable custom with them, that, using no other argument, they asked,
"Wherefore is this now prohibited? Were they not Christians who in former times did not
interfere with this practice?" On hearing this, I knew not what more powerful means for
influencing them I could devise; but resolved, in the event of their judging it proper to
persevere, that after reading in Ezekiel's prophecy that the watchman has delivered his
own soul if he has given warning, even though the persons warned refuse to give heed to
him, I would shake my garments and depart. But then the Lord showed me that He leaves
us not alone, and taught me how He encourages us to trust Him; for before the time at
which I had to ascend the pulpit, 1 the very persons of whose complaint against
interference with Ion^-established custom I had heard came to me.
Eeceiving them kindly, I by a few words brought them round to a right opinion; and
when it came to the time for my discourse, having laid aside the lecture which I had
prepared as now unnecessary, I said a few things concerning the question mentioned
above, "Wherefore now prohibit this custom?"
saying that to those who might propose it the briefest and best answer would be this: "
Let us now at last put down what ought to have been earlier prohibited."

9. Lest, however, any slight should seem to be put by us

1 Exhedra.

90 LETTEES OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXIX.

on those who, before our time, either tolerated or did not dare to put down such manifest
excesses of an undisciplined multitude, I explained to them the circumstances out of
which this custom seems to have necessarily risen in the Church, â€” namely, that when,
in the peace which came after such numerous and violent persecutions, crowds of heathen
who wished to assume the Christian religion were kept back, because, having been
accustomed to celebrate the feasts connected with their worship of idols in revelling and
drunkenness, they could not easily refrain from pleasures so hurtful and so habitual, it
had seemed good to our ancestors, making for the time a concession to this infirmity, to
permit them to celebrate, instead of the festivals which they renounced, other feasts in
honour of the holy martyrs, which were observed, not as before with a profane design,
but with similar self-indulgence.
I added that now upon them, as persons bound together in the name of Christ, and
submissive to the yoke of His august authority, the wholesome restraints of sobriety were
laid â€”
restraints with which the honour and fear due to Him who appointed them should move
them to comply â€” and that therefore the time had now come in which all who did not
dare to cast off the Christian profession should begin to walk according to Christ's will;
and being now confirmed Christians, should reject those concessions to infirmity which were made only for a time in order to their becoming such.

10. I then exhorted them to imitate the example of the churches beyond the sea, in some of which these practices had never been tolerated, while in others they had been already put down by the people complying with the counsel of good ecclesiastical rulers; and as the examples of daily excess in the use of wine in the church of the blessed Apostle Peter were brought forward in defence of the practice, I said in the first place, that I had heard that these excesses had been often forbidden, but because the place was at a distance from the bishop's control, and because in such a city the multitude of carnally-minded persons was great, the foreigners especially, of whom there is a constant influx, clinging to that practice with an obstinacy proportioned to their ignorance, the suppression of so great an evil had not yet been possible. If, however, I continued, we would honour the Apostle Peter, we ought to hear his words, and look much more to the epistles by which his mind is made known to us, than to the place of worship, by which it is not made known; and immediately taking the manuscript, I read his own words: "Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind: for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin; that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God. For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries." 1

After this, when I saw that all were with one consent turning to a right mind, and renouncing the custom against which I had protested, I exhorted them to assemble at noon for the reading of God's word and singing of psalms; stating that we had resolved thus to celebrate the festival in a way much more accordant with purity and piety; and that, by the number of worshippers who should assemble for this purpose, it would plainly appear who were guided by reason, and who were the slaves of appetite. With these words the discourse concluded.

11. In the afternoon a greater number assembled than in the forenoon, and there was reading and praise alternately up to the hour at which I went out in company with the bishop; and after our coming two psalms were read. Then the old man [Valerius] constrained me by his express command to say something to the people; from which I would rather have been excused, as I was longing for the close of the anxieties of the day. I delivered a short discourse in order to express our gratitude to God. And as we heard the noise of the feasting, which was going on as usual in the church of the heretics, who still prolonged their revelry while we were so differently engaged, I remarked that the beauty of day is enhanced by contrast with the night, and that when anything black is near, the purity of white is the more pleasing; and that, in like manner, our meeting for a spiritual feast might perhaps have been somewhat less sweet to us, but for the
contrast of the carnal excesses in which the others indulged; and I exhorted them to desire eagerly such feasts as we then enjoyed, if they had tasted the goodness of the Lord. At the same time, I said that those may well be afraid who seek anything which shall one day be destroyed as the chief object of their desire, seeing that every one shares the portion of that which he worships; a warning expressly given by the apostle to such, when he says of them their "god is their belly," 1 inasmuch as he has elsewhere said, "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall destroy both it and them." 2 I added that it is our duty to seek that which is imperishable, which, far removed from carnal affections, is obtained through sanctification of the spirit; and when those things which the Lord was pleased to suggest to me had been spoken on this subject as the occasion required, the daily evening exercises of worship were performed; and when with the bishop I retired from the church, the brethren said a hymn there, a considerable multitude remaining in the church, and engaging in praise 3 even till daylight failed.

12. I have thus related as concisely as I could that which I am sure you longed to hear. Pray that God may be pleased to protect our efforts from giving offence or provoking odium in any way. In the tranquil prosperity which you enjoy we do with lively warmth of affection participate in no small measure, when tidings so frequently reach us of the gifts possessed by the highly spiritual church of Thagaste. The ship bringing our brethren has not yet arrived. At Hasna, where our brother Argentius is presbyter, the Circumcelliones, entering our church, demolished the altar. The case is now in process of trial; and we earnestly ask your prayers that it "may be decided in a peaceful way, and as becomes the Catholic Church, so as to silence the tommes of turbulent heretics. I have sent a letter to the Asiarch. 4

Brethren most blessed, may ye persevere in the Lord, and remember us. * Amen.

1 Phil. iii. 19. 2 1 Cor. vi. 13. 3 Psallente.

4 A magistrate who was also charged with the affairs pertaining to the protection of religion. The title belonged primarily to those who in the province of Asia had charge of the games. â€” Codex Theodosianus, xv. 9.
This letter of Paulinus was written before receiving a reply to his former letter, No. 27, p. 72.

TO AUGUSTINE, OUR LORD AND HOLY AND BELOVED BROTHER, PAULINUS AND THERASIA, SINNERS, SEND GREETING.

My brother beloved in Christ the Lord, having through your holy and pious works come to know you without your knowledge, and to see you though absent long ago, my mind embraced you with unreserved affection, and I hastened to secure the gratification of hearing you through familiar brotherly exchange of letters. I believe also that by the Lord's hand and favour my letter has reached you; but as the youth whom, before winter, we had sent to salute you and others equally loved in God's name, has not returned, we could no longer either put off what we feel to be our duty, or restrain the vehemence of our desire to hear from you. If, then, my former letter has been found worthy to reach you, this is the second; if, however, it was not so fortunate as to come to your hand, accept this as the first.

2. But, my brother, judging all things as a spiritual man, do not estimate our love to you by the duty which we render, or the frequency of our letters. For the Lord, who everywhere, as one and the same, worketh His love in His own, is witness that, from the time when, by the kindness of the venerable bishops Aurelius and Alypius, we came to know you through your writings against the Manichseans, love for you has taken such a place in us, that we seemed not so much to be acquiring a new friendship as reviving an old affection. Now at length we address you in writing; and though we are novices in expressing, we are not novices in feeling love to you; and by communion of the spirit, which is the inner man, we are as it were acquainted with you. Nor is it strange that though distant we are near, though unknown we are well known to each other; for we are members of one body, having one Head, enjoying the effusion of the same grace, living by the same bread, walking in the same way, and dwelling in

the same home. In short, in all that makes up our being, â€” in the whole faith and hope by which we stand in the present life, or labour for that which is to come, â€” we are both in the spirit and in the body of Christ so united, that if we fell from this union we would cease to be.

3. How small a thing, therefore, is that which our bodily separation denies to us ! â€” for it is nothing more than one of those fruits that gratify the eyes, which are occupied only with the things of time. And yet, perhaps, we should not number this pleasure which in the body we enjoy among the blessings which are only in time the portion of spiritual men, to whose bodies the resurrection will impart immortality; as we, though in ourselves
unworthy, are bold to expect, through the merit of Christ and the mercy of God the Father. Wherefore I pray that the grace of God by our Lord Jesus Christ may grant unto us this favour too, that we may yet see your face. Not only would this bring great gratification to our desires; but by it illumination would be brought to our minds, and our poverty would be enriched by your abundance. This indeed you may grant to us even while we are absent from you, especially on the present occasion, through our sons Eomanus and Agilis, beloved and most dear to us in the Lord (whom as our second selves we commend to you), when they return to us in the Lord's name, after fulfilling the labour of love in which they are engaged; in which work we beg that they may especially enjoy the goodwill of your Charity. For you know what high rewards the Most High promises to the brother who gives his brother help. If you are pleased to impart to me any gift of the grace that has been bestowed on you, you may safely do it through them; for, believe me, they are of one heart and of one mind with us in the Lord. May the grace of God always abide as it is with you, brother beloved, venerable, most dear, and longed for in Christ the Lord! Salute on our behalf all the saints in Christ who are with you, for doubtless such attach themselves to your fellowship; commend us to them all, that they may, along with yourself, remember us in prayer.

LET. XXXI.] TO PAULINUS AND THEEASIA. 95

SECOND DIVISION.


LETTEK XXXI.

(a.d. 396.)

TO BROTHER PAULINUS AND TO SISTER THEEASIA, MOST BELOVED AND SINCERE, TEULY MOST BLESSED AND MOST EMINENT FOE THE VEEY ABUNDANT GEACE OF GOD BESTOWED ON THEM, AUGUSTINE SENDS GEEETING IN THE LOED.

1. Although in my longing to be without delay near you in one sense, while stiH remote in another, I wished much that what I wrote in answer to your former letter (if, indeed, any letter of mine deserves to be called an answer to yours)
should go with all possible expedition to your Grace, my delay has brought me the advantage of a second letter from you. The Lord is good, who often withholds what we desire, that He may add to it what we would prefer. For it is one pleasure to me that you will write me on receiving my letter, and it is another that, through not receiving it at once, you have written now. The joy which I have felt in reading this letter would have been lost to me if my letter to your Holiness had been quickly conveyed to you, as I intended and earnestly desired. But now, to have this letter, and to expect a reply to my own, multiplies my satisfaction. The blame of the delay cannot be laid to my charge; and the Lord, in His more abundant kindness, has done that which He judged to be more conducive to my happiness.

2. We welcomed with great gladness in the Lord the holy brothers Komanus and Agilis, who were, so to speak, an additional letter from you, capable of hearing and answering our voices, whereby most agreeably your presence was in part enjoyed by us, although only to make us long the more eagerly to see you. It would be at all times and in every way impossible for you to give, and unreasonable for us to ask, as much information from you concerning yourself by letter as we received from them by word of mouth. There was manifest also in them (what no paper could convey) such delight in telling us of you, that by their very countenance and eyes while they spoke, we could with unspeakable joy read you written on their hearts. Moreover, a sheet of paper, of whatever kind it be, and however excellent the things written upon it may be, enjoys no benefit itself from what it contains, though it may be unfolded with great benefit to others; but, in reading this letter of yours, namely, the minds of these brethren when conversing with them, we found that the blessedness of those upon whom you had written was manifestly proportioned to the fulness with which they had been written upon by you. In order, therefore, to attain to the same blessedness, we transcribed in our own hearts what was written in theirs, by most eager questioning as to everything concerning you.

3. Notwithstanding all this, it is with deep regret that we consent to their so soon leaving us, even to return to you. For observe, I beseech you, the conflicting emotions by which we are agitated. Our obligation to let them go without delay was increased according to the vehemence of their desire to obey you; but the greater the vehemence of this desire in them, the more completely did they set you forth as almost present with us, because they let us see how tender, your affections are. Therefore our reluctance to let them go increased with our sense of the reasonableness of their urgency to be permitted to go. Oh insupportable trial, were it not that by such partings we are not, after all, separated from each other, were
it not that we are "members of one body, having one Head, enjoying the effusion of the seme grace, living by the same bread, walking in the same way, and dwelling in the same home!" * You recognise these words, I suppose, as quoted from your own letter; and why should not I also use

1 Letter XXX. p. 93.

LET. XXXI. ] TO PAULINUS AND THERASIA. 97

them? Why should they be yours any more than mine, seeing that, inasmuch as they are true, they proceed from communion with the same Head? And in so far as they contain something that has been specially given to you, I have so loved them the more on that account, that they have taken possession of the way leading through my breast, and would suffer no words to pass from my heart to my tongue until they went first, with the priority which is due to them as yours. My brother and sister, holy and beloved in God, members of the same body with us, who could doubt that we are animated by one spirit, except those who are strangers to that affection by which we are bound to each other?

4. Yet I am curious to know whether you bear with more patience and ease than I do this bodily separation. If it be so, I do not, I confess, take any pleasure in your fortitude in this respect, unless perhaps because of its reasonableness, seeing that I confess myself much less worthy of your affectionate longing than you are of mine. At all events, if I found in myself a power of bearing your absence patiently, this would displease me, because it would make me relax my efforts to see you; and what could be more absurd than to be made indolent by power of endurance? But I beg to acquaint your Charity with the ecclesiastical duties by which I am kept at home, inasmuch as the blessed father Valerius (who with me salutes you, and thirsts for you with a vehemence of which you will hear from our brethren), not content with having me as his presbyter, has insisted upon adding the greater burden of sharing the episcopate with him. This office I was afraid to decline, being persuaded, through the love of Valerius and the importunity of the people, that it was the Lord's will, and being precluded from excusing myself on other grounds by some precedents of similar appointments. The yoke of Christ, it is true, is in itself easy, and His burden light; * yet, through my perversity and infirmity, I may find the yoke vexatious and the burden heavy in some degree; and I cannot tell how much more easy and light my yoke and burden would become if I were comforted by a visit from you, who live, as I am informed, more disengaged and

1 Matt. xi. 30.

VOL. I. G

93 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXI.
free from such cares. I therefore feel warranted in asking, nay, demanding and imploring you to condescend to come over into Africa, which is more oppressed with thirst for men such as you are than even by the well-known aridity of her soil.

5. God knoweth that I long for your visiting this country, not merely to gratify my own desire, nor merely on account of those who through me, or by public report, have heard of your pious resolution; I long for it for the sake of others also who either have not heard, or, hearing, have not believed the fame of your piety, but who might be constrained to love excellence of which they could then be no longer in ignorance or doubt. For although the perseverance and purity of your compassionate benevolence is good, more is required of you; namely, u Let your light so shine before men, that they may behold your good works, and may glorify your Father which is in heaven." 4 The fishermen of Galilee found pleasure not only in leaving their ships and their nets at the Lord's command, but also in declaring that they had left all and followed Him. 5 And truly he despises all who despises not only all that he was able, but also all that he was desirous to possess.

What may have been desired is seen only by the eyes of God; what was actually possessed is seen also by the eyes of men. Moreover, when things trivial and earthly are loved by us, we are somehow more firmly wedded to what we have than to what we desire to have. For whence was it that he who sought from the Lord counsel as to the way of eternal life, went away sorrowful upon hearing that, if he would be perfect, he must sell all, and distribute to the poor, and have treasure in heaven, unless because, as the Gospel tells us, he had great possessions? 6 For it is one thing to forbear from appropriating what is wanting to us; it is another thing to rend away that which has become a part of ourselves: the former action is like declining food, the latter is like cutting

1 Paulinus was then at Nola, having gone thither from Barcelona in a.d. 393 or 394. He became Bishop of Nola in 409.

2 Nobilitate siccitatis.

3 This refers to the voluntary poverty which Paulinus and Therasia, though of high rank and great wealth, embraced, selling all that they had in order to give to the poor.

* Matt. v. 16. 5 Matt. xix. 27. 6 Luke xviii. 22, 23.

LET. XXXI.] TO PAULINUS AND THERASIA. 99

off a limb. How great and how full of wonder is the joy with which Christian charity beholds in our day a sacrifice cheerfully made in obedience to the Gospel of Christ, which that rich man grieved and refused to make at the bidding of Christ Himself!
6. Although language fails to express that which my heart has conceived and labours to utter, nevertheless, since you perceive with your discernment and piety that the glory of this is not yours, that is to say, not of man, but the glory of the Lord in you (for you yourselves are most carefully on your guard against your Adversary, and most devoutly strive to be found as learners of Christ, meek and lowly in heart; and, indeed, it were better with humility to retain than with pride to renounce this world's wealth); â€” since, I say, you are aware that the glory here is not yours, but the Lord's, you see how weak and inadequate are the things which I have spoken.

For I have been speaking of the praises of Christ, a theme transcending the tongue of angels. "We long to see this glory of Christ brought near to the eyes of our people; that in you, united in the bonds of wedlock, there may be given to both sexes an example of the way in which pride must be trodden under foot, and perfection hopefully pursued. I know not any way in which you could give greater proof of your benevolence, than in resolving to be not less willing to permit your worth to be seen, than you are zealous to acquire and retain it.

7. I recommend to your kindness and charity this boy Vetustinus, whose case might draw forth the sympathy even of those who are not religious: the causes of his affliction and of his leaving his country you will hear from his own lips.

As to his pious resolution â€” his promise, namely, to devote himself to the service of God â€” it will be more decisively known after some time has elapsed, when his strength has been confirmed, and his present fear is removed. Perceiving the warmth of your love for me, and encouraged thereby to believe that you will not grudge the labour of reading what I have written, I send to your Holiness and Charity three books: would that the size of the volumes were an index of the completeness of the discussion of so great a subject; for the question of free-will is handled in them! I know that these

100 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXI.

books, or at least some of them, are not in the possession of our brother Eomanianns; but almost everything which I have been able for the benefit of any readers to write is, as I have intimated, accessible to your perusal through him, because of your love to me, although I did not charge him to carry them to you. For he already had them all, and was carrying them with him: moreover, it was by him that my answer to your first letter was sent, I suppose that your Holiness has already discovered, by that spiritual sagacity which the Lord has given you, how much that man bears in his soul of what is good, and how far he still comes short through infirmity. In the letter sent through him you have, as I trust, read with what anxiety I commended himself and his son to your sympathy and love, as well as how close is the bond by which they are united to me. May the Lord build them up by your means!

This must be asked from Him rather than from you, for I know how much it is already your desire.
8. I have heard from the brethren that you are writing a treatise against the Pagans: if we have any claim on your heart, send it at once to us to read. For your heart is such an oracle of divine truth, that we expect from it answers which shall satisfactorily and clearly decide the most prolix debates. I understand that your Holiness has the books of the most blessed father 1 Ambrose, of which I long greatly to see those which, with much care and at great length, he has written against some most ignorant and pretentious men, who affirm that our Lord was instructed by the writings of Plato. 2

9. Our most blessed brother Severus, formerly of our community, now president 3 of the church in Milevis, and well known by the brethren in that city, joins me in respectful salutation to your Holiness. The brethren also who are with me serving the Lord salute you as warmly as they long to see you: they long for you as much as they love you; and they love you as your eminent goodness merits. The loaf which we send you will become more rich as a blessing through the love with which your kindness receives it. May the Lord keep you for ever from this generation, 4 my brother

1 Beatissiini papae. 2 These books of Ambrose are lost.
3 Antistes. 4 See Ps. xii. 7.

LET. XXXIII.| TO PROCULEIANUS. 101

and sister most beloved and sincere, truly benevolent, and most eminently endowed with abundant grace from the Lord.

LETTER XXXII.

This letter from Paulinus to Romanianus and Licentius expresses the satisfaction with which he heard of the promotion of Augustine to the episcopate, and conveys both in prose and in verse excellent counsels to Licentius: it is one which in this selection may without loss be omitted.

LETTEE XXXIII.

(a.d. 396.)

to peoculeianus, my lord, honourable and most beloved, augustine sends greeting.

1. The titles prefixed to this letter I need not defend or explain at any length to you, though they may give offence to the vain prejudices of ignorant men. Eor I rightly address you as lord, seeing that we are both seeking to deliver each other from error, although to some it may seem uncertain which of us is in error before the matter has been fully debated; and therefore we are mutually serving one another, if we sincerely labour
that we may both be delivered from the perversity of discord. That I labour to do this with a sincere heart, and with the fear and trembling of Christian humility, is not perhaps to most men manifest, but is seen by Him to whom all hearts are open. What I without hesitation esteem honourable in you, you readily perceive. For I do not esteem worthy of any honour the error of schism, from which I desire to have all men delivered, so far as is within my power; but yourself I do not for a moment hesitate to regard as worthy of honour, chiefly because you are knit to me in the bonds of a common humanity, and because there are conspicuous in you some indications of a more gentle disposition, by which I am encouraged to hope that you may readily embrace the truth when it has been demonstrated to you.

As for my love to you, I owe not less than He commanded who so loved us as to bear the shame of the cross for our sakes.

102 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXIII.

2. Be not, however, surprised that I have so long forborne from addressing your Benevolence: for I did not think that your views were such as were with great joy declared to me by brother Evodius, whose testimony I cannot but believe. For he tells me that, when you met accidentally at the same house, and conversation began between you concerning our hope, that is to say, the inheritance of Christ, you were kindly pleased to say that you were willing to have a conference with me in the presence of good men. I am truly glad that you have condescended to make this proposal; and I can in no wise forego so important an opportunity, given by your kindness, of using whatever strength the Lord may be pleased to give me in considering and debating with you what has been the cause, or source, or reason of a division so lamentable and deplorable in that Church of Christ to which He said:
" Peace I give unto you, my peace I leave unto you." x

3. I heard from the brother aforesaid that you had complained of his having said something in answer to you in an insulting manner; but, I pray you, do not regard it as an insult, for I am sure it did not proceed from an overbearing spirit, as I know my brother well. But if, in disputing in defence of his own faith and the Church's love, he spoke perchance with a degree of warmth something which you regarded as wounding your dignity, that deserves to be called, not contumacy, but boldness. For he desired to debate and discuss the question, not to be merely submitting to you and flattering you. For such flattery is the oil of the sinner, with which the prophet does not desire to have Iris head anointed; for he saith: " The righteous shall correct me in compassion, and rebuke me; but the oil of the sinner shall not anoint my head." 2 For he prefers to be corrected by the stern compassion of the righteous, rather than to be commended with the soothing oil of flattery. Hence also the saying of the prophet: " They who pronounce you happy cause you to err." 3 Therefore also it is commonly and justly said of a man whom false compliments have made proud, " his head has grown;" 4 for it has been increased by the oil of the sinner, that is, not of one
1 John xiv. 27. 2 Ps. cxli. 5.

3 Isa. iii. 12, according to the LXX. version. * Crevit caput.

LET. xxxiil] to proculeianus. 103

correcting with stern truth, but of one commending with smooth flattery. Do not, however, suppose me to mean by this, that I wish it to be understood that you have been corrected by brother Evodius, as by a righteous man; for I fear lest you should think that anything is spoken by me also in an insulting manner, against which I desire to the utmost of my power to be on guard. But He is righteous who hath said, "I am the truth." 1 When, therefore, any true word has been uttered, though it may be somewhat rudely, by the mouth of any man, we are corrected not by the speaker, who may perhaps be not less a sinner than ourselves, but by the truth itself, that is to say, by Christ who is righteous, lest the unction of smooth but pernicious flattery, which is the oil of the sinner, should anoint our head. Although, therefore, brother Evodius, through undue excitement in defending the communion to which he belongs, may have said something too vehemently through strong feeling, you ought to excuse him on the ground of his age, and of the importance of the matter in his estimation.

4. I beseech you, however, to remember what you have been pleased to promise; namely, to investigate amicably with me a matter of so great importance, and so closely pertaining to the common salvation, in the presence of such spectators as you may choose (provided only that our words are not uttered so as to be lost, but are taken down with the pen; so that we may conduct the discussion in a more calm and orderly manner, and anything spoken by us which escapes the memory may be recalled by reading the notes taken). Or, if you prefer it, we may discuss the matter without the interference of any third party, by means of letters or conference and reading, wherever you please, lest perchance some hearers, unwisely zealous, should be more concerned with the expectation of a conflict between us, than the thought of our mutual profit by the discussion. Let the people, however, be afterwards informed through us of the debate, when it is concluded; or, if you prefer to have the matter discussed by letters exchanged, let these letters be read to the two congregations, in order that they may yet come to be no longer divided, but

1 John xiv. 6.

104 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXIII.

one. In fact, I willingly accede to whatever terms you wish, or prescribe, or prefer. And as to the sentiments of my most blessed and venerable father Valerius, who is at present from home, I undertake with fullest confidence that he will hear of this with great joy; for
I know how much he loves peace, and how free he is from being influenced by any paltry regard for vain parade of dignity.

5. I ask you, what have we to do with the dissensions of a past generation? Let it suffice that the wounds which the bitterness of proud men inflicted on our members have remained until now; for we have, through the lapse of time, ceased to feel the pain to remove which the physician’s help is usually sought. You see how great and miserable is the calamity by which the peace of Christian homes and families is broken. Husbands and wives, agreeing together at the family hearth, are divided at the altar of Christ. By Him they pledge themselves to be at peace between themselves, yet in Him they cannot be at peace. Children have the same home, but not the same house of God, with their own parents. They desire to be secure of the earthly inheritance of those with whom they wrangle concerning the inheritance of Christ. Servants and masters divide their common Lord, who took on Him the form of a servant that He might deliver all from bondage. Your party honours us, and our party honours you. Your members appeal to us by our episcopal insignia, 1 and our members show the same respect to you. We receive the words of all, we desire to give offence to none. Why then, finding cause of offence in none besides, do we find it in Christ, whose members we rend asunder? When we may be serviceable to men that are desirous of terminating through our help disputes concerning secular affairs, they address us as saints and servants of God, in order that they may have their questions as to property disposed of by us: let us at length, unsolicited, take up a matter which concerns both our own salvation and theirs. It is not about gold or silver, or land, or cattle, 1 matters concerning which we are daily saluted with lowly respect, in order that we may bring disputes to a peaceful termination, 1 but it is concerning our

1 Corona.

LET. XXXIV.] TO EUSEBIUS. 105

Head Himsely that this dissension, so unworthy and pernicious, exists between us. However low they bow their heads who salute us in the hope that we may make them agree together in regard to the things of this world, our Head stooped from heaven even to the cross, and yet we do not agree together in Him.

6. I beg and beseech you, if there be in you that brotherly feeling for which some give you credit, let your goodness be approved sincere, and not feigned with a view to passing honours, by this, that your bowels of compassion be moved, so that you consent to have this matter discussed; joining with me in persevering prayer, and in peaceful discussion of every point. Let not the respect paid by the unhappy people to our dignities be found, in the judgment of God, aggravating our condemnation; rather let them be recalled along with us, through our unfeigned love, from errors and dissensions, and guided into the ways of truth and peace.
My lord, honourable and most beloved, I pray that you may be blessed in the sight of God.

LETTEE XXXIV.

(a.d. 396.)

to eusebius, my excellent lord and brother, worthy of affection and esteem, augustine sends greeting.

1. God, to whom the secrets of the heart of man are open, knoweth that it is because of my love for Christian peace that I am so deeply moved by the profane deeds of those who basely and impiously persevere in dissenting from it. He knoweth also that this feeling of mine is one tending towards peace, and that my desire is, not that any one should against his will be coerced into the Catholic communion, but that to all who are in error the truth may be openly declared, and being by God's help clearly exhibited through my ministry, may so commend itself as to make them embrace and follow it. 2. Passing many other things unnoticed, what could be more worthy of detestation than what has just happened? A young man is reproved by his bishop for frequently beating his mother like a madman, and not restraining his impious hands from wounding her who bore him, even on those days on which the sternness of law shows mercy to the most guilty criminals. He then threatens his mother that he would pass to the party of the Donatists, and that he would kill her whom he is accustomed to beat with incredible ferocity. He utters these threats, then passes over to the Donatists, and is rebaptized while filled with wicked rage, and is arrayed in white vestments while he is burning to shed his mother's blood. He is placed in a prominent and conspicuous position within the railing in the church; and to the eyes of sorrowful and indignant beholders, he who is purposing matricide is exhibited as a regenerate man.

3. I appeal to you, as a man of most mature judgment, can these things find favour in your eyes? I do not believe this of you: I know your wisdom. A mother is wounded by her son in the members of that body which bore and nursed the ungrateful wretch; and when the Church, his spiritual mother, interferes, she too is wounded in those sacraments by which, to the same ungrateful son, she ministered life and nourishment. Do you not seem to hear the young man gnashing his teeth in rage for a parent's blood, and saying, "What shall I do to the Church which forbids my wounding my mother? I
have found out what to do: let the Church herself be wounded by such blows as she can suffer; let that be done in me which may cause her members pain. Let me go to those who know how to despise the grace with which she gave me spiritual birth, and to mar the form which in her womb I received.

Let me vex both my natural and my spiritual mother with cruel tortures: let the one who was the second to give me birth be the first to give me burial; for her sorrow let me seek spiritual death, and for the other's death let me prolong my natural life." Oh, Eusebius! I appeal to you as an honourable man, what else may we expect than that now he shall feel himself, as a Donatist, so armed as to have no fear in assailing that unhappy woman, decrepit with age and helpless in her widowhood, from wounding whom he was restrained while he remained a Catholic? For what else had he pur-

1 During Lent and the Easter holidays.

LET. XXXIV.] TO EUSEBIUS. . 107

posed in his passionate heart when he said to his mother, " I will pass over to the party of Donatus, and I will drink your blood?" Behold, arrayed in white vestments, but with conscience crimson with blood, he has fulfilled his threat in part; the other part remains, viz. that he drink his mother's blood.

If, therefore, these things find favour in your eyes, let him be urged by those who are now his clergy and his sanctifiers to fulfil within eight days the remaining portion of his vow.

4. The Lord's right hand indeed is strong, so that He may keep back this man's rage from that unhappy and desolate widow, and, by means known unto His own wisdom, may deter him from his impious design; but could I do otherwise than utter my feelings when my heart was pierced with such grief?

Shall they do such things, and am I to be commanded to hold my peace? When He commands me by the mouth of the apostle, saying that those who teach what they ought not must be rebuked by the bishop, I shall I be silent through dread of their displeasure? The Lord deliver me from such folly! As to my desire for having such an impious crime recorded in our public registers, it was desired by me chiefly for this end, that no one who may hear me bewailing these proceedings, especially in other towns where it may be expedient for me to do so, may think that I am inventing a falsehood, and the rather, because in Hippo itself it is already affirmed that Proculeianus did not issue the order which was in the official report ascribed to him.

5. In what more temperate way could we dispose of this important matter than through the mediation of such a man as you, invested with most illustrious rank, and possessing calmness as well as great prudence and goodwill? I beg, therefore, as I have already done by our brethren, good and honourable men, whom I sent to your Excellency, that you will condescend to inquire whether it is the case that the presbyter Victor did not receive from his bishop the order which the public official records reported; or whether, since Victor
himself has said otherwise, they have in their records laid a thing falsely to his charge, though they belong to the same communion with him. Or, if he consents to our calmly discussing the whole question of our differences, in order that the error which is already manifest may become yet more so, I willingly embrace the opportunity. For I have heard that he proposed that without popular tumult, in the presence only of ten esteemed and honourable men from each party, we should investigate what is the truth in this matter according to the Scriptures. As to another proposal which some have reported to me as made by him, that I should rather go to Constantina, 1 because in that town his party was more numerous; or that I should go to Milevis, because there, as they say, they are soon to hold a council; â€” these things are absurd, for my special charge does not extend beyond the Church of Hippo. The whole importance of this question to me, in the first place, is as it affects Proculeianus and myself; and if, perchance, he thinks himself not a match for me, let him implore the aid of any one whom he pleases as his colleague in the debate. For in other towns we interfere with the affairs of the Church only so far as is permitted or enjoined by our brethren bearing the same priestly office with us, the bishops of these towns.

6. And yet I cannot comprehend what there is in me, a novice, that should make him, who calls himself a bishop of so many years' standing, unwilling and afraid to enter into discussion with me. If it be my acquaintance with liberal studies, which perhaps he did not pursue at all, or at least not so much as I have done, what has this to do with the question in debate, which is to be decided by the Holy Scriptures or by ecclesiastical or public documents, with which he has for so many years been conversant, that he ought to be more skilled in them than I am ? Once more, I have here my brother and colleague Samsucius, bishop of the Church of Tunis, 2 who has not learned any of those branches of culture of which he is said to be afraid: let him attend in my place, and let the debate be between them. I will ask him, and, as I trust in the name of Christ, he will readily consent to take my place in this matter; and the Lord will, I trust, give aid to him when contending for the truth: for although unpolished in language, he is well instructed in the true faith. There is therefore no reason for his referring me to others whom I do not know, instead of

1 Constantina, a chief city of Kumidia. 2 Turris, a town in Numidia.

LET. XXXV.] TO EUSEBIUS. 109

letting us settle between ourselves that which concerns ourselves. However, as I have said, I will not decline meeting them if he himself asks their assistance.
LETTER XXXV.

(a.d. 396.)

(Another letter to Eusebius on the same subject.)

TO EUSEBIUS, MY EXCELLENT LORD AND BROTHER, WORTHY OF AFFECTION AND ESTEEM, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. I did not impose upon you, by importunate exhortation or entreaty in spite of your reluctance, the duty, as you call it, of arbitrating between bishops. Even if I had desired to move you to this, I might perhaps have easily shown how competent you are to judge between us in a cause so clear and simple; nay, I might show how you are already doing this, inasmuch as you, who are afraid of the office of judge, do not hesitate to pronounce sentence in favour of one of the parties before you have heard both. But of this, as I have said, I do not meanwhile say anything. For I had asked nothing else from your honourable good-nature, â€” and I beseech you to be pleased to remark it in this letter, if you did not in the former, â€” than that you should ask Proculeianus whether he himself said to his presbyter Victor that which the public registers have by official report ascribed to him, or whether those who were sent have written in the public registers not what they heard from Victor, but a falsehood; and further, what his opinion is as to our discussing the whole question between us. I think that he is not constituted judge between parties, who is only requested by the one to put a question to the other, and condescends to write what reply he has received. This also I now again ask you not to refuse to do, because, as I know by experiment, he does not wish to receive a letter from me, otherwise I would not employ your Excellency's mediation. Since, therefore, he does not wish this, what could I do less likely to give offence, than to apply through you, so good a man and such a

110 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXV.

friend of his, for an answer concerning a matter about which the burden of my responsibility forbids me to hold my peace?
Moreover, you say (because the son's beating of his mother is disapproved by your sound judgment), " If Proculeianus had known this, he would have debarred that man from communion with his party." I answer in a sentence, " He knows it now, let him now debar him."

2. Let me mention another thing. A man who was formerly a subdeacon of the church at Spana, Primus by name, when, having been forbidden such intercourse with nuns as contravened the laws of the Church, 1 he treated with contempt the established and wise
regulations, was deprived of his clerical office, â€” this man also, being provoked by the divinely warranted discipline, went over to the other party, and was by them rebaptized. Two nuns also, who were settled in the same lands of the Catholic Church with him, either taken by him to the other party, or following him, were likewise rebaptized: and now, among bands of Circumcelliones and troops of homeless women, who have declined matrimony that they may avoid restraint, he proudly boasts himself in excesses of detestable revelry, rejoicing that he now has without hindrance the utmost freedom in that misconduct from which in the Catholic Church he was restrained. Perhaps Proculeianus knows nothing about this case either. Let it therefore through you, as a man of grave and dispassionate spirit, be made known to him; and let him order that man to be dismissed from his communion, who has chosen it for no other reason than that he had, on account of insubordination and dissolute habits, forfeited his clerical office in the Catholic Church.

3. For my own part, if it please the Lord, I purpose to adhere to this rule, that whoever, after being deposed among them by a sentence of discipline, shall express a desire to pass over into the Catholic Church, must be received on condition of submitting to give the same proofs of penitence as those which, perhaps, they would have constrained him to give if he had remained among them. But consider, I beseech you, how worthy of abhorrence is their procedure in regard to those

1 Accessus indisciplinatus sanctimonialium.

LET. XXXV.] TO EUSEBIUS. III

OJ

whom we check by ecclesiastical censures for unholy living persuading them first to come to a second baptism, in order to their being qualified for which they declare themselves to be pagans (and how much blood of martyrs has been poured out rather than that such a declaration should proceed from the mouth of a Christian !); and thereafter, as if renewed and sanctified, but in truth more hardened in sin, to defy with the impiety of new madness, under the guise of new grace, that discipline to which they could not submit. If, however, I am wrong in attempting to obtain the correction of these abuses through your benevolent interposition, let no one find fault with my causing them to be made known to Proculeianus by the public registers, â€” a means of notification which in this Koman city cannot, I believe, be refused to me.

For, since the Lord commands us to speak and proclaim the truth, and in teaching to rebuke what is wrong, and to labour in season and out of season, as I can prove by the
words of the Lord and of the apostles, let no man think that I am to be persuaded to be silent concerning these things. If they meditate any bold measures of violence or outrage, the Lord, who has subdued under His yoke all earthly kingdoms in the bosom of His Church spread abroad through the whole world, will not fail to defend her from wrong.

4. The daughter of one of the cultivators of the property of the Church here, who had been one of our catechumens, had been, against the will of her parents, drawn away by the other party, and after being baptized among them, had assumed the profession of a nun. Now her father wished to compel her by severe treatment to return to the Catholic Church; but I was unwilling that this woman, whose mind was so perverted, should be received by us unless with her own will, and choosing, in the free exercise of judgment, that which is better: and when the countryman began to attempt to compel his daughter by blows to submit to his authority, I immediately forbade his using any such means. Notwithstanding, after all, when I was passing through the Spanian district, a presbyter of Proculeianus, standing in a field belonging to an excellent Catholic woman, shouted after me

1 2 Tim. iv. 2 and Tit. i. 9-11.

112 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVI.

with a most insolent voice that I was a Tractator and a persecutor; and he hurled the same reproach against that woman, belonging to our communion, on whose, property he was standing. But when I heard his words, I not only refrained from pursuing the quarrel, but also held back the numerous company which surrounded me. Yet if I say, Let us inquire and ascertain who are or have been indeed Traditors and persecutors, they reply, * We will not debate, but we will rebaptize. Leave us to prey upon your flocks with crafty cruelty, like wolves; and if you are good shepherds, bear it in silence." For what else has Proculeianus commanded but this, if indeed the order is justly ascribed to him: "If thou art a Christian," said he, "leave this to the judgment of God; whatever we do, hold thou thy peace." The same presbyter, moreover, dared to utter a threat against a countryman who is overseer of one of the farms belonging to the Church.

5. I pray you to inform Proculeianus of all these things. Let him repress the madness of his clergy, which, honoured Eusebius, I have felt constrained to report to you. Be pleased to write to me, not your own opinion concerning them all, lest you should think that the responsibility of a judge is laid upon you by me, but the answer which they give to my questions. May the mercy of God preserve you from harm, my excellent lord and brother, most worthy of affection and esteem.

LETTER XXXVI.

(a.d. 396.)
TO MY BEOther AXD EELLOW-PRESBYTER CASULANUS, MOST BEO-
LOVED AXD LOXGED FOE, AUGUSTIXE SEXDS GREETIXG IX
THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. I know not how it was that I did not reply to your first letter; but I know that
my neglect was not owing to want of esteem for you. For I take pleasure in your studies,
and even in the words in which you express your thoughts; and it is my desire as well as
advice that you make great attainments in your early years in the word of

LET. XXXVI.] TO CASULANUS. 113

God, for the edification of the Church. Having now received a second letter from you, in
which you plead for an answer on the most just and amiable ground of that brotherly love
in which we are one, I have resolved no longer to postpone the gratification of the desire
expressed by your love; and although in the midst of most engrossing business, I address
myself to discharge the debt due to you.

2. As to the question on which you wish my opinion,
"whether it is lawful to fast on the seventh day of the week," * I answer, that if it were
wholly unlawful, neither Moses nor Elijah, nor our Lord Himself, would have fasted for
forty successive days. But by the same argument it is proved that even on the Lord's day
fasting is not unlawful. And yet, if any one were to think that the Lord's day should be
appointed a day of fasting, in the same way as the seventh day is observed by some, such
a man would be regarded, and not unjustly, as bringing a great cause of offence into the
Church.

For in those things concerning which the divine Scriptures have laid down no definite
rule, the custom of the people of God, or the practices instituted by their fathers, are to be
held as the law of the Church. 2 If we choose to fall into a debate about these things, and
to denounce one party merely because their custom differs from that of others, the
consequence must be an endless contention, in which the utmost care is necessary lest the
storm of conflict overcast with clouds the calmness of brotherly love, while strength is
spent in mere controversy which cannot adduce on either side any decisive testimonies of
truth. This danger the author has not been careful to avoid, whose prolix dissertation you
deemed worth sending to me with your former letter, that I might answer his arguments.

Chap. ii. 3. I have not at my disposal sufficient leisure to enter on the refutation of his
opinions one by one: my time is demanded by other and more important work. But if you
devote a little more carefully to this treatise of an anonymous

1 Sabbato.

2 We give the ipsissima verba of this canon: " In his enim rebus de quibus nihil certi
statuit Scriptura divina mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt."
Eoman author, 1 the talents which by your letters you prove yourself to possess, and which I greatly love in you as God's gift, you will see that he has not hesitated to wound by his most injurious language almost the whole Church of Christ, from the rising of the sun to its going down. Nay, I may say not almost, but absolutely, the whole Church. For he is found to have not even spared the Eoman Christians, whose custom he seems to himself to defend; but he is not aware how the force of his invectives recoils upon them, for it has escaped his observation. For when arguments to prove the obligation to fast on the seventh day of the week fail him, he enters on a vehement blustering protest against the excesses of banquets and drunken revelries, and the worst licence of intoxication, as if there were no medium between fasting and rioting. Now if this be admitted, what good can fasting on Saturday do to the Eomans? since on the other days on which they do not fast they must be presumed, according to his reasoning, to be gluttonous, and given to excess in wine.

If, therefore, there is any difference between loading the heart with surfeiting and drunkenness, which is always sinful, and relaxing the strictness of fasting, with due regard to selfrestraint and temperance on the other, which is done on the Lord's day without censure from any Christian, â€” if, I say, there is a difference between these two things, let him first mark the distinction between the repasts of saints and the excessive eating and drinking of those whose god is their belly, lest he charge the Eomans themselves with belonging to the latter class on the days on which they do not fast; and then let him inquire, not whether it is lawful to indulge in drunkenness on the seventh day of the week, which is not lawful on the Lord's day, but whether it is incumbent on us to fast on the seventh day of the week, which we are not wont to do on the Lord's day.

4. This question I would wish to see him investigate, and resolve in such a manner as would not involve him in the guilt of openly speaking against the whole Church diffused throughout the world, with the exception of the Eoman Christians, and hitherto a few of the Western communities. Is it, I ask, to

1 In the text the name is Urbicus, from Urbs Roma.

be endured among the entire Eastern Christian communities, and many of those in the West, that this man should say of so many and so eminent servants of Christ, who on the seventh day of the week refresh themselves soberly and moderately with food, that they are in the flesh, and cannot please God;"
and that of them it is written, "Let the wicked depart from me, I will not know their way; " and that they make their belly their god, that they prefer Jewish rites to those of the Church, and are sons of the bondwoman; that they are governed not by the righteous law of God, but by their own good pleasure, consulting their own appetites instead of submitting to salutary restraint; also that they are carnal, and savour of death, and other such charges, which if he had uttered against even one servant of God, who would listen to him, who would not be bound to turn away from him ? But now, when he assails with such reproachful and abusive language the Church bearing fruit and increasing throughout the whole world, and in almost all places observing no fast on the seventh day of the week, I warn him, whoever he is, to beware. Tor in wishing to conceal from me his name, you plainly showed your unwillingness that I should judge him.

Chap. hi. 5. " The Son of man," he says, u is Lord of the Sabbath, and in that day it is by all means lawful to do good rather than do evil." 1 If, therefore, we do evil when we break our fast, there is no Lord's day upon which we live as we should. As to his admission that the apostles did eat upon the seventh day of the week, and his remark upon this, that the time for their fasting had not then come, because of the Lord's own words, " The days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall the children of the Bridegroom fast; " 2 since there is " a time to rejoice, and a time to mourn." 3 he ought first to have observed, that our Lord was speaking there of fasting in general, but not of fasting upon the seventh day. Again, when he says that by fasting grief is signified, and that by food joy is represented, why does he not reflect what it was which God designed to signify by that which is written, "that He rested on the seventh day from all His works," â€” namely, that joy, and not

1 Matt. xii. 8-12. 2 Matt. ix. 15. 3 Eccles. iii. 4.

116 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVI.

sorrow, was set forth in that rest? Unless, perchance, he intends to affirm that in God's resting and hallowing of the Sabbath, joy was signified to the Jews, but grief to the Christians. But God did not lay down a rule concerning fasting or eating on the seventh day of the week, either at the time of His hallowing that day because in it He rested from His works, or afterwards, when He gave precepts to the Hebrew nation concerning the observance of that day. The only thing enjoined on man there is, that he abstain from doing work himself, or requiring it from his servants. And the people of the former dispensation, accepting this rest as a shadow of things to come, obeyed the command by such abstinence from work as we now see practised by the Jews; not, as some suppose, through their being carnal, and misunderstanding what the Christians rightly understand. ISTor do we understand this law better than the prophets, who, at the time when this was still binding, observed such rest on the Sabbath as the Jews believe ou'hût to be observed to this day. Hence also it was that God commanded them to stone to death a man who had gathered sticks on the Sabbath; x but we nowhere read of any one being stoned, or deemed worthy of any punishment whatever, for either fasting or eating on the Sabbath.
Which of the two is more in keeping with rest, and which with toil, let our author himself decide, who has regarded joy as the portion of those who eat, and sorrow as the portion of those who fast, or at least has understood that these things were so regarded by the Lord, when, giving answer concerning fasting, He said: "Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn as long as the Bridegroom is with them?" 2

6. Moreover, as to his assertion, that the reason of the apostles eating on the seventh day (a thing forbidden by the tradition of the elders) was, that the time for their fasting on that day had not come; I ask, if the time had not then come for the abolition of the Jewish rest from work on that day? Did not the tradition of the elders prohibit fasting on the one hand, and enjoin rest on the other? and yet the disciples of Christ, of whom we read that they did eat on the Sabbath, did on the

1 Num. xv. 35. 2 Matt. ix. 15.

LET. XXXVI. ] TO CASULANUS. 117

same day pluck the ears of corn, which was not then lawful, because forbidden by the tradition of the elders. Let him therefore consider whether it might not with more reason be said in reply to him, that the Lord desired to have these two things, the plucking of the ears of corn and the taking of food, done in the same day by His disciples, for this reason, that the former action might confute those who would prohibit all work on the seventh day, and the latter action confute those who would enjoin fasting on the seventh day; since by the former action He taught that the rest from labour was now, through the change in the dispensation, an act of superstition; and by the latter He intimated His will, that under both dispensations the matter of fasting or not was left to every man's choice. I do not say this by way of argument in support of my view, but only to show how, in answer to him, things much more forcible than what he has spoken might be advanced.

Chap. iv. 7. "How shall we," says our author, "escape sharing the condemnation of the Pharisee, if we fast twice in the week?" * As if the Pharisee had been condemned for fasting twice in the week, and not for proudly vaunting himself above the publican. He might as well say that those also are condemned with that Pharisee, who give a tenth of all their possessions to the poor, for he boasted of this among his other works; whereas I would that it were done by many Christians, instead of a very small number, as we find. Or let him say, that whosoever is not an unjust man, or adulterer, or extortioner, must be condemned with that Pharisee, because he boasted that he was none of these; but the man who could think thus is, beyond question, beside himself. Moreover, if these things which the Pharisee mentioned as found in him, being admitted by all to be good in themselves, are not to be retained with the haughty boastfulness which was manifest in him, but are to be retained with the lowly piety which was not in him; by the same rule, to fast twice in the week is in a man such as the Pharisee unprofitable, but is in one who has humility and faith a religious service. Moreover, after all, the Scripture does not say that the Phari-
1 Luke xviii. 11, 12.

118 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVI.

see was condemned, but only that the publican was "justified rather than the other."

8. Again, when our author insists upon interpreting, in connection with this matter, the words of the Lord, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," 1 and thinks that we cannot fulfill this precept unless we fast oftener than twice in the week, let him mark well that there are seven days in the week. If, then, from these any one subtract two, not fasting on the seventh day nor on the Lord's day, there remain five days in which he may surpass the Pharisee, who fasts but twice in the week. For I think that if any man fast three times in the week, he already surpasses the Pharisee who fasted but twice. And if a fast is observed four times, or even so often as five times, passing over only the seventh day and the Lord's day without fasting, â€” a practice observed by many through their whole lifetime, especially by those who are settled in monasteries, â€” by this not the Pharisee alone is surpassed in the labour of fasting, but that Christian also whose custom is to fast on the fourth, and sixth, and seventh days, as the Eoman community does to a large extent. And yet your nameless metropolitan disputant calls such an one carnal, even though for five successive days of the week, excepting the seventh and the Lord's day, he so fast as to withhold all refection from the body; as if, forsooth, food and drink on other days had nothing to do with the flesh, and condemns him as making a god of his belly, as if it was only the seventh day's repast which entered into the belly.

We have no compunction in passing over about eight columns here of this letter, in which Augustine exposes, with a tedious minuteness and with a waste of rhetoric, other feeble and irrelevant puerilities of the Eoman author whose work Casulanus had submitted to his review. Instead of accompanying him into the shallow places into which he was drawn while pursuing such an insignificant foe, let us resume the translation at the point at which Augustine gives his own opinion regarding the question whether it is binding on Christians to fast on Saturday.

Chap, x1 25. As to the succeeding paragraphs with which

1 Matt. v. 21.

LET. XXXVI.] TO CASULANUS. 119

lie concludes his treatise, they are, like some other things in it which I have not thought worthy of notice, even more irrelevant to a discussion of the question whether we should
Having now to the best of my ability, and as I think sufficiently, replied to the reasonings of this author, if I be asked what is my own opinion in this matter, I answer, after carefully pondering the question, that in the Gospels and Epistles, and the entire collection of books for our instruction called the New Testament, I see that fasting is enjoined. But I do not discover any rule definitely laid down by the Lord or by the apostles as to days on which we ought or ought not to fast. And by this I am persuaded that exemption from fasting on the seventh day is more suitable, not indeed to obtain, but to foreshadow, that eternal rest in which the true Sabbath is realized, and which is obtained only by faith, and by that righteousness whereby the daughter of the King is all glorious within.

26. In this question, however, of fasting or not fasting on the seventh day, nothing appears to me more safe and conducive to peace than the apostle's rule: "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: "1 "for neither if we eat are we the better, neither if we eat not are we the worse; "2 our fellowship with those among whom we live, and along with whom we live in God, being preserved undisturbed by these things. For as it is true that, in the words of the apostles, "it is evil for that man who eateth with offence," 3 it is equally true that it is evil for that man who fasteth with offence. Let us not therefore be like those who, seeing John the Baptist neither eating nor drinking, said, "He hath a devil; " but let us equally avoid imitating those who said, when they saw Christ eating and drinking, "Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." 4 After mentioning these sayings, the Lord subjoined a most important truth in the words, "But Wisdom is justified

1 Rom. xiv. 3 2 1 Cor. viii. 8. 3 Rom. xiv. 20. 4 Matt. xi. 19.

120 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVI.

of her children; "and if you ask who these are, read what is written, "The sons of Wisdom are the congregation of the righteous: " * they are they who, when they eat, do not despise others who do not eat; and when they eat not, do not judge those who eat, but who do despise and judge those who, with offence, either eat or abstain from eating.

Chap. xii. 27. As to the seventh day of the week there is less difficulty in acting on the rule above quoted, because both the Pioman Church and some other churches, though few, near to it or remote from it, observe a fast on that day; but to fast on the Lord's day is a great offence, especially since the rise of that detestable heresy of the Manichaeans, so manifestly and grievously contradicting the Catholic faith and the divine Scriptures: for the Manichaeans have prescribed to their followers the obligation of fasting upon that day; whence it has resulted that the fast upon the Lord's day is regarded with the greater abhorrence. Unless, perchance, some one be able to continue an unbroken fast for more
than a week, so as to approach as nearly as may be to the fast of forty days, as we have known some do; and we have even been assured by brethren most worthy of credit, that one person did attain to the full period of forty days. For as, in the time of the Old Testament fathers, Moses and Elijah did not do anything against liberty of eating on the seventh day of the week, when they fasted forty days; so the man who has been able to go beyond seven days in fasting has not chosen the Lord's day as a day of fasting, but has only come upon it in course among the days for which, so far as he might be able, he had vowed to prolong his fast. If, however, a continuous fast is to be concluded within a week, there is no day upon which it may more suitably be concluded than the Lord's day; but if the body is not refreshed until more than a week has elapsed, the Lord's day is not in that case selected as a day of fasting, but is found occurring within the number of days for which it had seemed good to the person to make a vow.

28. Be not moved by that which the Priscillianists 2 (a

1 Ecclus. iii. 1.

2 Priscillian, Bishop of Avila in Spain, adopted Gnostic and Manichaean

sect very like the Manichaens) are wont to quote as an argument from the Acts of the Apostles, concerning what was done by the Apostle Paul in Troas. The passage is as follows: " Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight." 1 Afterwards, when he had come down from the supper chamber where they had been gathered together, that he might restore the young man who, overpowered with sleep, had fallen from the window and was taken up dead, the Scripture states further concerning the apostle: " When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed." 2 Far be it from us to accept this as affirming that the apostles were accustomed to fast habitually on the Lord's day. For the day now known as the Lord's day was then called the first of the week, as is more plainly seen in the Gospels; for the day of the Lord's resurrection is called by Matthew /j.ta aa3fdrccov, and by the other three evangelists 7) iila (rtov) craft fiAcov, 3 and it is well ascertained that the same is the day which is now called the Lord's day. Either, therefore, it was after the close of the seventh day that they had assembled, â€” namely, in the beginning of the night which followed, and which belonged to the Lord's day, or the first day of the week, â€” and in this case the apostle, before proceeding to break bread with them, as is done in the sacrament of the body of Christ, continued his discourse until midnight, and also, after celebrating the sacrament, continued still speaking again to those who were assembled, being much pressed for time in order that he might set out at dawn upon the Lord's day; or if it was on the first day of the week, at an hour before sunset on the Lord's day, that they had assembled, the words
of the text, "Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow," themselves expressly state

errors and practices. He was condemned by the Synod of Saragossa in 381 a.d., and beheaded, along with his principal followers, by order of Maximus in 385 a.d.

1 Acts xx. 7. 2 Acts xx. 11.

3 "Prima Sabbati a Matthseo, a ceteris autem tribus una Sabbati dicitur. "
Matt, xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1.

122 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVI.

the reason for his prolonging his discourse, â€” namely, that he was about to leave them, and wished to give them ample instruction. The passage does not therefore prove that they habitually fasted on the Lord's day, but only that it did not seem meet to the apostle to interrupt, for the sake of taking refreshment, an important discourse, which was listened to with the ardour of most lively interest by persons whom he was about to leave, and whom, on account of his many other journeyings, he visited but seldom, and perhaps on no other occasion than this, especially because, as subsequent events prove, he was then leaving them without expectation of seeing them again in this life. Nay, by this instance, it is rather proved that such fasting on the Lord's day was not customary, because the writer of the history, in order to prevent this being thought, has taken care to state the reason why the discourse was so prolonged, that we might know that in an emergency dinner is not to stand in the way of more important work. But indeed the example of these most eager listeners goes further; for by them all bodily refreshment, not dinner only, but supper also, was disregarded when thirsting vehemently, not for water, but for the word of truth; and considering that the fountain was about to be removed from them, they drank in with unabated desire whatever flowed from the apostle's lips.

29. In that age, however, although fasting upon the Lord's day was not usually practised, it was not so great an offence to the Church when, in any similar emergency to that in which Paul was at Troas, men did not attend to the refreshment of the body throughout the whole of the Lord's day until midnight, or even until the dawn of the following morning. But now, since heretics, and especially these most impious Manichseans, have begun not to observe an occasional fast upon the Lord's day, when constrained by circumstances, but to prescribe such fasting as a duty binding by sacred and solemn institution, and this practice of theirs has become well known to Christian communities; even were such an emergency arising as that which the apostle experienced, I verily think that what he then did should not now be done, lest the harm done by the offence given should be
greater than the good received from the words spoken. Whatever necessity may arise, or good reason, compelling a Christian to fast on the Lord's day, "as we find, e.g., in the Acts of the Apostles, that in peril of shipwreck they fasted on board of the ship in which the apostle was for fourteen days successively, within which the Lord's day came round twice, 1 â€” we ought to have no hesitation in believing that the Lord's day is not to be placed among the days of voluntary fasting, except in the case of one vowing to fast continuously for a period longer than a week.

Chap. xiii. 30. The reason why the Church prefers to appoint the fourth and sixth days of the week for fasting, is found by considering the gospel narrative. There we find that on the fourth day of the week 2 the Jews took counsel to put the Lord to death. One day having intervened, â€” on the evening of which, at the close, namely, of the day which we call the fifth day of the week, the Lord ate the passover with His disciples, â€” He was thereafter betrayed on the night which belonged to the sixth day of the week, the day (as is everywhere known) of His passion. This day, beginning with the evening, was the first day of unleavened bread. The evangelist Matthew, however, says that the fifth day of the week was the first of unleavened bread, because in the evening following it the paschal supper was to be observed, at which they began to eat the unleavened bread, and the lamb offered in sacrifice. From which it is inferred that it was upon the fourth day of the week that the Lord said, "You know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified; " 3 and for this reason that day has been regarded as one suitable for fasting, because, as the evangelist immediately adds: " Then assembled together the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people unto the palace of the high priest, who is called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill Him." 4 After the intermission of one day, â€” the day, namely, of which the evangelist writes: 5 "Now, on the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto

1 Acts xxvii. 33. 2 Commonly called quarta feria. 3 Matt. xxvi. 2,
4 Matt. xxvi. 3, 4. 5 Matt. xxvi. 17.

124 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVI.

Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the passover? " â€” the Lord suffered on the sixth day of the week, as is admitted by all: wherefore the sixth day also is rightly reckoned a day for fasting, as fasting is symbolical of humiliation; whence it is said, "I humbled my soul with fasting." 1
31. The next day is the Jewish Sabbath, on which day Christ's body rested in the grave, as in the original fashioning of the world God rested on that day from all His works. Hence originated that variety in the robe of His bride which we are now considering: some, especially the Eastern communities, preferring to take food on that day, that their action might be emblematic of the divine rest; others, namely the Church of Rome, and some churches in the West, preferring to fast on that day because of the humiliation of the Lord in death. Once in the year, namely at Easter, all Christians observe the seventh day of the week by fasting, in memory of the mourning with which the disciples, as men bereaved, lamented the death of the Lord (and this is done with the utmost devoutness by those who take food on the seventh day throughout the rest of the year); thus providing a symbolical representation of both events, â€” of the disciples' sorrow on one seventh day in the year, and of the blessing of repose on all the others. There are two things which make the happiness of the just and the end of all their misery to be confidently expected, viz. death and the resurrection of the dead. In death is that rest of which the prophet speaks: "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overcast." 3 In resurrection blessedness is consummated in the whole man, both body and soul. Hence it came to be thought that both of these things [death and resurrection] should be symbolized, not by the hardship of fasting, but rather by the cheerfulness of refreshment with food, excepting only the Easter Saturday, on which, as I have said, it had been resolved to commemorate by a more protracted fast the mourning of the disciples, as one of the events to be had in remembrance.

Chap. xiv. 32. Since, therefore (as I have said above), we do not find in the Gospels or in the apostolical writings, belonging properly to the revelation of the New Testament, that any law was laid down as to fasts to be observed on particular days; and since this is consequently one of many things, difficult to enumerate, which make up a variety in the robe of the King's daughter, I that is to say, of the Church, â€” I will tell you the answer given to my questions on this subject by the venerable Ambrose Bishop of Milan, by whom I was baptized. When my mother was with me in that city, I, as being only a catechumen, felt no concern about these questions; but it was to her a question causing anxiety, whether she ought, after the custom of our own town, to fast on the Saturday, or, after the custom of the Church of Milan, not to fast. To deliver her from perplexity, I put the question to the man of God whom I have just named. He answered, "What else can I recommend to others than what I do myself?" When I thought that by this he intended simply to prescribe to us that we should take food on Saturdays â€” for I knew this to be his own practice â€” he, following me, added these words: "When I am here I do not fast on Saturday; but when I am at Rome I do: whatever church you may come to, conform to its custom, if you would avoid either receiving or giving offence."

LET. XXXVI.] TO CASULANUS. 125

not find in the Gospels or in the apostolical writings, belonging properly to the revelation of the New Testament, that any law was laid down as to fasts to be observed on particular days; and since this is consequently one of many things, difficult to enumerate, which make up a variety in the robe of the King's daughter, I that is to say, of the Church, â€” I will tell you the answer given to my questions on this subject by the venerable Ambrose Bishop of Milan, by whom I was baptized. When my mother was with me in that city, I, as being only a catechumen, felt no concern about these questions; but it was to her a question causing anxiety, whether she ought, after the custom of our own town, to fast on the Saturday, or, after the custom of the Church of Milan, not to fast. To deliver her from perplexity, I put the question to the man of God whom I have just named. He answered, "What else can I recommend to others than what I do myself?" When I thought that by this he intended simply to prescribe to us that we should take food on Saturdays â€” for I knew this to be his own practice â€” he, following me, added these words: "When I am here I do not fast on Saturday; but when I am at Rome I do: whatever church you may come to, conform to its custom, if you would avoid either receiving or giving offence."
This reply I reported to my mother, and it satisfied her, so that she scrupled not to comply with it; and I have myself followed the same rule.

Since, however, it happens, especially in Africa, that one church, or the churches within the same district, may have some members who fast and others who do not fast on the seventh day, it seems to me best to adopt in each congregation the custom of those to whom authority in its government has been committed. Wherefore, if you are quite willing to follow my advice, especially because in regard to this matter I have spoken at greater length than was necessary, do not in this resist your own bishop, but follow his practice without scruple or debate.

1 Ps. xlv. 13.

126 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XXXVII.

LETTER XXXVII.

(a.d. 397.)

to simpliciaxus, 1 my lord most blessed, axd my father most worthy of being cherished with respect axd sincere affection, augustine sends greeting in the lord.

1. I received the letter which, your Holiness kindly sent, â€” a letter full of occasions of much joy to me, because assuring me that you remember me, that you love me as you used to do, and that you take great pleasure in every one of the gifts which the Lord has in His compassion been pleased to bestow on me.

In reading that letter, I have eagerly welcomed the fatherly affection which flows from your benignant heart towards me:

and this I have not found for the first time, as something shortlived and new, but long ago proved and well known, my lord, most blessed, and most worthy of being cherished with respect and sincere love.

2. Whence comes so great a recompense for the literary labour given by me to the writing of a few books as this, that your Excellency should condescend to read them ? Is it not that the Lord, to whom my soul is devoted, has purposed thus to comfort me under my anxieties, and to lighten the fear with which in such labour I cannot but be exercised, lest, notwithstanding the evenness of the plain of truth, I stumble through want either of knowledge or of caution ? For when what I write meets your approval, I know by whom it is approved, for I know who dwells in you; and the Giver and Dispenser of all spiritual gifts designs by your approbation to confirm my obedience to Him. For whatever in these writings of mine merits your approbation is from God, who has by me as His instrument said, " Let it be done," and it was done; and in your approval God has pronounced that what was done is " good." 2
3. As for the questions which you have condescended to command me to resolve, even if through the dulness of my

1 Simpliciamis succeeded Ambrose in the see of Milan in 397 a.d. This letter is the preface to the two books addressed to Simpliciamis, and contained in vol. vi. of the Benedictine edition of Augustine. 2 Gen. i. 3, 4.

LET. XXXVIII.] TO PROFUTURUS. 127

mind I did not understand them, I might through the assistance of your merits find an answer to them. This only I ask, that on account of my weakness you intercede with God for me, and that whatever writings of mine come into your sacred hands, whether on the topics to which you have in a manner so kind and fatherly directed my attention, or on any others, you will not only take pains to read them, but also accept the charge of reviewing and correcting them; for I acknowledge the mistakes which I myself have made, as readily as the gifts which God has bestowed on me.

LETTEB XXXVIII.

(a.d. 397.)

to his brother profuturus augustine sends greeting.

1. As for my spirit, I am well, through the Lord's good pleasure, and the strength which He condescends to impart; but as for my body, I am confined to bed. I can neither walk, nor stand, nor sit, because of the pain and swelling of a boil or tumour. But even in such a case, since this is the will of the Lord, what else can I say than that I am well? For if we do not wish that which He is pleased to do, we ought rather to take blame to ourselves than to think that He could err in anything which He either does or suffers to be done. All this you know well; but what shall I more willingly say to you than the things which I say to myself, seeing that you are to me a second self? I commend therefore both my days and my nights to your pious intercessions. Pray for me, that I may not waste my days through want of self-control, and that I may bear my nights with patience; pray that, though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, the Lord may so be with me that I shall fear no evil.

2. You have heard, doubtless, of the death of the aged Megalius, 2 for it is now twenty-four days since he put off this

1 Rhagas vel exochas.
mortal body. I wish to know, if possible, whether you have seen, as you proposed, his successor in the primacy. We are not delivered from offences, but it is equally true that we are not deprived of our refuge; our griefs do not cease, but our consolations are equally abiding. And well do you know, my excellent brother, how, in the midst of such offences, we must watch lest hatred of any one gain a hold upon the heart, and so not only hinder us from praying to God with the door of our chamber closed, but also shut the door against God Himself; for hatred of another insidiously creeps upon us, while no one who is angry considers his anger to be unjust.

For anger habitually cherished against any one becomes hatred, since the sweetness which is mingled with what appears to be righteous answer makes us detain it longer than we ought in the vessel, until the whole is soured, and the vessel itself is spoiled. Wherefore it is much better for us to forbear from anger, even when one has given us just occasion for it, than, beginning with what seems just anger against any one, to fall, through this occult tendency of passion, into hating him. We are wont to say that, in entertaining strangers, it is much better to bear the inconvenience of receiving a bad man than to run the risk of having a good man shut out, through our caution lest any bad man be admitted; but in the passions of the soul the opposite rule holds true. For it is incomparably more for our soul's welfare to shut the recesses of the heart against anger, even when it knocks with a just claim for admission, than to admit that which it will be most difficult to expel, and which will rapidly grow from a mere sapling to a strong tree. Anger dares to increase with boldness more suddenly than men suppose, for it does not blush in the dark, when the sun has gone down upon it. You will understand with how great care and anxiety I write these things, if you consider the things which lately on a certain journey you said to me.

3. I salute my brother Severus, and those who are with him. I would perhaps write to them also, if the limited time

gested by the remembrance of an incident in the life of that bishop. "While Augustine was a presbyter, Megalius had written in anger a letter to him for which he afterwards apologized, formally retracting calumny which it contained.


LET. XXXIX.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 129
before the departure of the bearer permitted me. I beseech you also to assist me in persuading our brother Victor (to whom I desire through your Holiness to express my thanks for his informing me of his setting out to Constantina) not to refuse to return by way of Calama, on account of a business known to him, in which I have to bear a very heavy burden in the importunate urgency of the elder Nectarius concerning it; he gave me his promise to this effect. Farewell!

LETTÉE XXXIX.

(a.d. 397.)

to my lord Augustine, a father truly holy and most blessed, Jerome sends greeting in Christ.

Chap. i. 1. Last year I sent by the hand of our brother, the sub-deacon Asterius, a letter conveying to your Excellency a salutation due to you, and readily rendered by me; and I think that my letter was delivered to you. I now write again, by my holy brother the deacon Prsesidius, begging you in the first place not to forget me, and in the second place to receive the bearer of this letter, whom I commend to you with the request that you recognise him as one very near and dear to me, and that you encourage and help him in whatever way his circumstances may demand; not that he is in need of anything (for Christ has amply endowed him), but that he is most eagerly desiring the friendship of good men, and thinks that in securing this he obtains the most valuable blessing. His design in travelling to the West you may learn from his own lips.

Chap. ii. 2. As for us, established here in our monastery, we feel the shock of waves on every side, and are burdened with the cares of our lot as pilgrims. But we believe in Him who hath said, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world," 2 and are confident that by His grace and guidance we shall prevail against our adversary the devil.

I beseech you to give my respectful salutation to the holy and venerable brother, our father Alypius. The brethren

1 [Papa.] 2 John xvi. 33.

VOL. I. I

130 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XL.

who, with me, devote themselves to serve the Lord in this monastery, salute you warmly. May Christ our Almighty God guard you from harm, and keep you mindful of me, my lord and father truly holy and venerable.

LETTÉEK XL
to my lord much beloved, and brother worthy of being honoured and embraced with the most sincere devotion of charity, my fellow-presbyter jerome, augustine sends greeting.

Chap. i. 1. I thank you that, instead of a mere formal salutation, you wrote me a letter, though it was much shorter than I would desire to have from you; since nothing that comes from you is tedious, however much time it may demand. Wherefore, although I am beset with great anxieties about the affairs of others, and that, too, in regard to secular matters, I would find it difficult to pardon the brevity of your letter, were it not that I consider that it was written in reply to a yet shorter letter of my own. Address yourself, therefore, I entreat you, to that exchange of letters by which we may have fellowship, and may not permit the distance which separates us to keep us wholly apart from each other; though we are in the Lord bound together by the unity of the Spirit, even when our pens rest and we are silent. The books in which you have laboured to bring treasures from the Lord's storehouse give me almost a complete knowledge of you.

For if I may not say, "I know you," because I have not seen your face, it may with equal truth be said that you do not know yourself, for you cannot see your own face. If, however, it is this alone which constitutes your acquaintance with yourself, that you know your own mind, we also have no small knowledge of it through your writings, in studying which we bless God that to yourself, to us, to all who read your works, He has given you as you are.

Chap. il 2. It is not long since, among other things, a certain book of yours came into my hands, the name of which

LET. XL.] TO JEROME. 131

I do not yet know, for the manuscript itself had not the title written, as is customary, on the first page. The brother with whom it was found said that its title is Ejoiatplium, a name which we might believe you to have approved, if we found in the work a notice of the lives or writings of those only who are deceased. Inasmuch, however, as mention is there made of the works of some who were, at the time when it was written, or are even now, alive, we wonder why you either gave this title to it, or permitted others to believe that you had done so.

The book itself has our complete approval as a useful work.

Chap. hi. 3. In your exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians I have found one thing which causes me much concern. For if it be the case that statements untrue in themselves, but made, as it were, out of a sense of duty in the interest of religion, I have been admitted into the Holy Scriptures, what authority will be left to them? If this be conceded, what sentence can be produced from these Scriptures, by the weight of which the wicked obstinacy of error can be broken down? For as soon as you have produced it, if it be disliked by him who contends with you, he will reply that, in the passage alleged,
the writer was uttering a falsehood under the pressure of some honourable sense of duty. And where will any one find this way of escape impossible, if it be possible for men to say and believe that, after introducing his narrative with these words, "The things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not," 2 the apostle lied when he said of Peter and Barnabas, "I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel"? 3 For if they did walk uprightly, Paul wrote what was false; and if he wrote what was false here, when did he say what was true? Shall he be supposed to say what is true when his teaching corresponds with the predilection of his reader, and shall everything which runs counter to the impressions of the reader be reckoned a falsehood uttered by him under a sense of duty? It will be impossible to prevent men from finding reasons for thinking that he not only might have uttered a falsehood, but was bound to do so, if we admit this canon of interpretation. There is no need for many

1 [Velut officiosa mendacia.] 2 Gal. i. 20. 3 Gal. ii. 14.

132 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XL.

words in pursuing this argument, especially in writing to you, for whose wisdom and prudence enough has already been said. I would by no means be so arrogant as to attempt to enrich by my small coppers 1 your mind, which by the divine gift is golden; and none is more able than yourself to revise and correct that work to which I have referred.

Chap. iv. 4. You do not require me to teach you in what sense the apostle says, "To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews," 2 and other such things in the same passage, which are to be ascribed to the compassion of pitying love, not the artifices of intentional deceit. For he that ministers to the sick becomes as if he were sick himself; not, indeed, falsely pretending to be under the fever, but considering, with the mind of one truly sympathizing, what he would wish done for himself if he were in the sick man's place.

Paul was indeed a Jew; and when he had become a Christian, he had not abandoned those Jewish sacraments which that people had received in the right way, and for a certain appointed time. Therefore, even although he was an apostle of Christ, he took part in observing these; but with this view, that he might show that they were in no wise hurtful to those who, even after they had believed in Christ, desired to retain the ceremonies which by the law they had learned from their fathers; provided only that they did not build on these their hope of salvation, since the salvation which was foreshadowed in these has now been brought in by the Lord Jesus. For the same reason, he judged that these ceremonies should by no means be made binding on the Gentile converts, because, by imposing a heavy and superfluous burden, they might turn aside from the faith those who were unaccustomed to them.

5. The thing, therefore, which he rebuked in Peter was not his observing the customs handed down from his fathers
â€” which Peter, if he wished, might do without being chargeable with deceit or inconsistency, for, though now superfluous, these customs were not hurtful to one who had been accustomed to them â€” but his compelling the Gentiles to observe Jewish ceremonies, 3 which he could not do otherwise than by so acting in regard to them as if their observance
1 [Obolis meis.] 2 1 Cor. ix. 20. 3 Gal. ii. 14.

LET. XL.] TO JEROME. 133

was, even after the Lord's coming, still necessary to salvation, against which truth protested through the apostolic office of Paul. Nor was the Apostle Peter ignorant of this, but he did it through fear of those who were of the circumcision. Manifestly, therefore, Peter was truly corrected, and Paul has given a true narrative of the event, unless, by the admission of a falsehood here, the authority of the Holy Scriptures given for the faith of all coming generations is to be made wholly uncertain and wavering. For it is neither possible nor suitable to state within the compass of a letter how great and how unutterably evil must be the consequences of such a concession. It might, however, be shown seasonably, and with less hazard, if we were conversing together.

6. Paul had forsaken everything peculiar to the Jews that was evil, especially this: " That, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they had not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." 1 In this, moreover, he differed from them: that after the passion and resurrection of Christ, in whom had been given and made manifest the mystery of grace, according to the order of Melchizedek, they still considered it binding on them to celebrate, not out of mere reverence for old customs, but as necessary to salvation, the sacraments of the old economy, which were indeed at one time necessary, else had it been unprofitable and vain for the Maccabees to suffer martyrdom, as they did, for their adherence to them. 2 Lastly, in this also Paul differed from the Jews: that they persecuted the Christian preachers of grace as enemies of the law. These and all similar errors and sins he declares that he " counted but loss and dung that he might win Christ; " 8 but he does not, in so saying, disparage the ceremonies of the Jewish law, if only they were observed after the custom of their fathers, in the way in which he himself observed them, without regarding them as necessary to salvation, and not in the way in which the Jews affirmed that they must be observed, nor in the exercise of deceptive dissimulation such as he had rebuked in Peter. For if Paul observed these sacraments in order, by pretending to be a Jew, to gain the
1 Rom. x. 3. 2 2 Mace. vii. 1. 3 Phil. iii. 8.
Jews, why did he not also take part with the Gentiles in heathen sacrifices, when to them that were without law he became as without law, that he might gain them also? The explanation is found in this, that he took part in the Jewish sacrifices, as being himself by birth a Jew; and that when he said all this which I have quoted, he meant, not that he pretended to be what he was not, but that he felt with true compassion that he must bring such help to them as would be needful for himself if he were involved in their error. Herein he exercised not the subtlety of a deceiver, but the sympathy of a compassionate deliverer. In the same passage the apostle has stated the principle more generally: "To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some," 1 the latter clause of which guides us to understand the former as meaning that he showed himself one who pitied the weakness of another as much as if it had been his own. For when he said, "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" 2 he did not wish it to be supposed that he pretended to suffer the infirmity of another, but rather that he showed it by sympathy.

7. Wherefore I beseech you, apply to the correction and emendation of that book a frank and truly Christian severity, and chant what the Greeks call iraXivcoLA. For incomparably more lovely than the Grecian Helen is Christian truth. In her defence, our martyrs have fought against Sodom with more courage than the heroes of Greece displayed against Troy for Helen's sake. I do not say this in order that you may recover the faculty of spiritual sight, 3 far be it from me to say that you have lost it! but that, having eyes both clear and quick in discernment, you may turn them towards that from which, in unaccountable dissimulation, you have turned them away, refusing to see the calamitous consequences which would follow on our once admitting that a writer of the divine books could in any part of his work honourably and piously utter a falsehood.

1 1 Cor. ix. 22. 2 2 Cor. xi. 29.

3 The reference here is to the story of the poet Stesichorus, who, having lost his sight as a judgment for writing an attack on Helen, was miraculously healed when he wrote a poem in retractation.

LET. XL. J TO JEROME. 135

Char v. 8. I had written some time ago a letter to you on this subject, which was not delivered to you, because the bearer to whom it was entrusted did not finish his journey to you. From it I may quote a thought which occurred to me while I was dictating it, and which I ought not to omit in this letter, in order that, if your opinion is still different from
mine, and is better, you may readily forgive the anxiety which has moved me to write. It is this: If your opinion is different, and is according to truth (for only in that case can it be better than mine), you will grant that "a mistake of mine, which is in the interest of truth, cannot deserve great blame, if indeed it deserves blame at all, when it is possible for you to use truth in the interest of falsehood without doing wrong." 2

9. As to the reply which you were pleased to give me concerning Origen, I did not need to be told that we should, not only in ecclesiastical writers, but in all others, approve and commend what we find right and true, but reject and condemn what we find false and mischievous. What I craved from your wisdom and learning (and I still crave it), was that you should acquaint us definitely with the points in which that remarkable man is proved to have departed from the belief of the truth. Moreover, in that book in which you have mentioned all the ecclesiastical writers whom you could remember, and their works, it would, I think, be a more convenient arrangement if, after naming those whom you know to be heretics (since you have chosen not to pass them without notice), you would add in what respect their doctrine is to be avoided. Some of these heretics also you have omitted, and I would fain know on what grounds. If, however, perchance it has been from a desire not to enlarge that volume unduly that you refrained from adding to a notice of heretics, the statement of the things in which the Catholic Church has authoritatively condemned them, I beg you not to grudge bestowing on this subject, to which with humility and brotherly love I direct your attention, a portion of that literary labour by which already, by the grace of the Lord our God, you have in no small measure stimulated and

1 [Epist. XXVIII.] 2 See Letter XXVIII. sec. 5.

136 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLI.

assisted the saints in the study of the Latin tongue, and publish in one small book (if your other occupations permit you) a digest of the perverse dogmas of all the heretics who up to this time have, through arrogance, or ignorance, or selfwill, attempted to subvert the simplicity of the Christian faith; a work most necessary for the information of those who are prevented, either by lack of leisure or by their not knowing the Greek language, from reading and understanding so many things. I would urge my request at greater length, were it not that this is commonly a sign of misgivings as to the benevolence of the party from whom a favour is sought. Meanwhile I cordially recommend to your goodwill in Christ our brother Paulus, to whose high standing in these regions I bear before God willing testimony.

LETTEE XLI.

(ad. 397.)
to father aurelius, our lord most blessed and worthy of veneration, our brother most sincerely beloved, and our partner in the sacerdotal office, alypius and augustine send greeting in the lord.

1. " Our mouth is filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing," 1 by your letter informing us that, by the help of that God whose inspiration guided you, you have carried into effect your pious purpose concerning all our brethren in orders, and especially concerning the regular delivering of a sermon to the people in your presence by the presbyters, through whose tongues thus engaged your love sounds louder in the hearts than their voice does in the ears of men. Thanks be unto God ! Is there anything better for us to have in our heart, or utter with our lips, or record with our pen, than this ? Thanks be unto God ! No other phrase is more easily spoken, and nothing more pleasant in sound, profound in significance, and profitable in practice, than this. Thanks be unto God, who has endowed you with a heart so true to the interests of your sons, and who has brought to light what you had

1 Ps. cxxvi. 1.

LET. XL1.J TO AURELIUS. 137

latent in the inner soul, beyond the reach of human eye, giving you not only the will to do good, but the means of realizing your desires. So be it, certainly so be it ! let these works shine before men, that they may see them, and rejoice and glorify your Father in heaven. 1 In such things delight yourself in the Lord; and may your prayers for these presbyters be graciously heard on their behalf by Him whose voice you do not consider it beneath you to hear when He speaks by them !

May they go on, and walk, yea, run in the way of the Lord !

May the small and the great be blessed together, being made glad by those who say unto them, " Let us go into the house of the Lord ! " 2 Let the stronger lead; let the weaker imitate their example, being followers of them, as they are of Christ.

May we all be as ants pursuing eagerly the path of holy industry, as bees labouring amidst the fragrance of holy duty; and may fruit be brought forth in patience by the saving grace of stedfastness unto the end ! May the Lord " not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, but with the temptation may He make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it"! 3

2. Pray for us: we value your prayers as worthy to be heard, since you go to God with so great an offering of unfeigned love, and of praise brought to Him by your works. Pray that in us also these works may shine, for He to whom you pray knows with what fulness of joy we behold them shining in you. Such are our desires; such are the abounding comforts which in the multitude of our thoughts within us delight our souls. 4

It is so now because such is the promise of God; and as He hath promised, so shall it be in the time to come. We beseech you, by Him who hath blessed you, and has by you
bestowed this blessing on the people whom you serve, to order any of the presbyters' sermons which you please to be transcribed, and after revisal sent to us. Por I on my part am not neglecting what you required of me; and as I have written often before, I am still longing to know what you think of Tychonius' seven Eules or Keys. 5

1 Matt. v. 16. 2 Ps. cxxii. 1. 3 1 Cor. ix. 13. 4 Ps. xciv. 19.

5 On this work of Tychonius, see Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, b. iii., in which these seven keys for the opening of Scripture are stated and examined.

138 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIL

"We warmly commend to you our brother Hilarinus, leading physician and magistrate of Hippo. As to our brother Eomanus, we know how actively you are exerting yourself on his behalf, and that we need ask nothing but that God may prosper your endeavours.

LETTEE XLIL

(ad. 397.)

to paulinus and theeasia, my brother and sister in christ, worthy of respect and praise, most eminent for piety, augustine sends greeting in the lord.

Could this have been hoped or expected by us, that now by our brother Severus we should have to claim the answer which your love has not yet written to us, so long and so impatiently desiring your reply? Why have we been doomed through two summers (and these in the parched land of Africa) to bear this thirst? What more can I say? generous man, who art daily giving away what is your own, be just, and pay what is a debt to us. Perhaps the reason of your long delay is your desire to finish and transmit to me that book against heathen worship, in writing which I had heard that you were engaged, and for which I had expressed a very earnest desire. that you might by so rich a feast satisfy the hunger which has been sharpened by fasting (so far as your pen was concerned) for more than a year! but if this be not yet prepared, our complaints will not cease unless meanwhile you prevent us from being famished before that is finished. Salute our brethren, especially Epmanus and Agilis. 1 From this place all who are with me salute you, and they would be less provoked by your delay in writing if they loved you less than they do.

1 See Epistle XXXI. p. 95.

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOEIUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 139
LETTER XLIII.

(a J). 397.)

TO GLOMUS, ELEUSIUS, THE TWO FELIXES, GRAMMATICUS, AND ALL OTHERS TO WHOM THIS MAY BE ACCEPTABLE, MY LORDS MOST BELOVED AND WORTHY OF PRAISE, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

Chap. i. 1. The Apostle Paul hath said: "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject, knowing that he that is such is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself." * But though the doctrine which men hold be false and perverse, if they do not maintain it with passionate obstinacy, especially when they have not devised it by the rashness of their own presumption, but have accepted it from parents who had been misguided and had fallen into error, and if they are with anxiety seeking the truth, and are prepared to be set right when they have found it, such men are not to be counted heretics. Were it not that I believe you to be such, perhaps I would not write to you. And yet even in the case of a heretic, however puffed up with odious conceit, and insane through the obstinacy of his wicked resistance to truth, although we warn others to avoid him, so that he may not deceive the weak and inexperienced, we do not refuse to strive by every means in our power for his correction. On this ground I wrote even to some of the chief of the Donatists, not indeed letters of communion, which on account of their perversity they have long ceased to receive from the undivided Catholic Church which is spread throughout the world, but letters of a private kind, such as we may send even to pagans. These letters, however, though they have sometimes read them, they have not been willing, or perhaps it is more probable, have not been able, to answer. In these cases, it seems to me that I have discharged the obligation laid on me by that love which the Holy Spirit teaches us to render, not only to our own, but to all, saying by the apostle: " The Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men." 2 In another place we are warned that those who are of a different opinion from us must be corrected with meekness, "if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will." 1

1 Tit. iii. 10, 11. 2 1 Thess. iii. 12.

2. I have said these things by way of preface, lest any one should think, because you are not of our communion, that I
have been influenced by forwardness rather than consideration in sending this letter, and in desiring thus to confer with you regarding the welfare of the soul; though I believe that, if I were writing to you about an affair of property, or the settlement of some dispute about money, no one would find fault with me. So precious is this world in the esteem of men, and so small is the value which they set upon themselves! This letter, therefore, shall be a witness in my vindication at the bar of God, who knows the spirit in which I write, and who has said: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the sons of God." 2

Chap. ii. 3. I beg you, therefore, to call to mind that, when I was in your town, 3 and was discussing with you a little concerning the communion of Christian unity, certain Acts were brought forward by you, from which a statement was read aloud that about seventy bishops condemned Caecilianus, formerly our Bishop of Carthage, along with his colleagues, and those by whom he was ordained. In the same Acts was given a full account of the case of Felix of Aptunga, as one singularly odious and criminal. When all these had been read, I answered that it was not to be wondered at if the men who then caused that schism, and who did not scruple to tamper with Acts, thought that it was right to condemn those against whom they had been instigated by envious and wicked men, although the sentence was passed without deliberation, in the absence of the parties condemned, and without acquainting them with the matter laid to their charge. I added that we have other ecclesiastical Acts, according to which Secundus of Tigisis, who was for the time Primate of Numidia, left those who, being there present, confessed themselves traditors to the judgment of God, and permitted them.

1 2 Tim. ii. 25, 26. 2 Matt. v. 9.

3 Tubursi, a town recently identified, half-way between Calama and Madaura.

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOMUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 141

to remain in the episcopal sees which they then occupied; and I stated that the names of these men are in the list of those who condemned Caecilianus, and that this Secundus himself was president of the Council in which he secured the condemnation of those who, being absent, were accused as traditors, by the votes of those whom he pardoned when, being present, they confessed the same crime.

4. I then said that some time after the ordination of Majorinus, whom they with impious wickedness set up against Caecilianus, raising one altar against another, and rending with infatuated contentiousness the unity of Christ, they applied to Constantine, who was then emperor, to appoint bishops to act as judges and arbiters concerning the questions which, having arisen in Africa, disturbed the peace of the Church. 1 This having been done, Caecilianus and those who had sailed from Africa to accuse him being present, and the case tried by Melchiades, who was then Bishop of Eome, along with the assessors whom at the request of the Donatists the Emperor had sent, nothing could be proved
against Cascilianus; and thus, while he was confirmed in his episcopal see, Donatus, who was present as his opponent, was condemned. After all this, when they all still persevered in the obstinacy of their most sinful schism, the Emperor being appealed to, took pains to have the matter again more carefully examined and settled at Aries. They, however, declining an ecclesiastical decision, appealed to Constantine himself to hear their cause. When this trial came on, both parties being present, Csecilianus was pronounced innocent, and they retired vanquished; but they still persisted in the same perversity. At the same time the case of Eelix of Aptunga was not forgotten, and he too was acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge, after an investigation by the proconsul at the order of the same prince.

5. Since, however, I was only saying these things, not

They asked judges from Gaul, as a country in which none had been guilty of surrendering the sacred books under pressure of persecution. The bishops appointed were Maternus of Agrippina, Eheticius of Augustodunum, and Marinus of Aries. They were sent to Rome with fifteen Italian bishops; Melchiades, Bishop of Rome, presided in their meeting in A. D. 313, and acquitted Csecilianus.

142 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIII.

reading from the record, I seemed to you to be doing less than my earnestness had led you to expect. Perceiving this, I sent at once for that which I had promised to read. While I went on to visit the Church at Gelizi, intending to return thence to you, all these Acts were brought to you before two days had passed, and were read to you, as you know, so far as time permitted, in one day. We read first how Secundus of Tigisis did not dare to depose his colleagues in office who confessed themselves to be traditors; but afterwards, by the help of these very men, dared to condemn, without their confessing the crime, and in their absence, Caecilianus and others who were his colleagues. And we next read the proconsular Acts in which Felix was, after a most thorough investigation, proved innocent. These, as you will remember, were read in the forenoon. In the afternoon I read to you their petition to Constantine, and the ecclesiastical record of the proceedings in Rome of the judges whom he appointed, by which the Donatists were condemned, and Caecilianus confirmed in his episcopal dignity. In conclusion, I read the letters of the Emperor Constantine, in which the evidence of all these things was established beyond all possibility of dispute.

Chap. hi. 6. What more do you ask, sirs? what more do you ask? The matter in question here is not your gold and silver; it is not your land, nor property, nor bodily health that is at stake. I appeal to your souls concerning their obtaining eternal life, and escaping eternal death. At length awake! I am not handling an obscure question, nor searching into some hidden mystery, for the investigation of which capacity is found in no human intellect, or at least in only a few: the thing is clear as day. Is anything more obvious?
could anything be more quickly seen? I affirm that parties innocent and absent were condemned by a Council, very numerous indeed, but hasty in their decisions. I prove this by the proconsular Acts, in which that man was wholly cleared from the charge of being a traditor, whom the Acts of the Council which your party brought forward proclaimed as most specially guilty. I affirm further, that the sentence against those who were said to be traditors was passed by men who had confessed themselves guilty of that

LET. XLIII. TO GLOEIUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 143

very crime. I prove this by the ecclesiastical Acts in which the names of those men are set forth, to whom Secundus of Tigisis, professing a desire to preserve peace, granted pardon of a crime which he knew them to have committed, and by whose help he afterwards, notwithstanding the destruction of peace, passed sentence upon others of whose crime he had no evidence; whereby he made it manifest that in the former decision he had been moved, not by a regard for peace, but by fear for himself. For Purpurius, Bishop of Limata, had alleged against him that he himself, when he had been put in custody by a curator and his soldiers, in order to compel him to give up the Scriptures, was let go, doubtless not without paying a price, in either giving up something, or ordering others to do so for him. He, fearing that this suspicion might be easily enough confirmed, having obtained the advice of Secundus the younger, his own kinsman, and having consulted all his colleagues in the episcopal office, remitted crimes which required no proof to be judged by God, and in so doing appeared to be protecting the peace of the Church: which was false, for he was only protecting himself.

7. For if, in truth, regard for peace had any place in his heart, he would not afterwards at Carthage have joined those traditors whom he had left to the judgment of God when they were present, and confessed their fault, in passing sentence for the same crime upon others who were absent, and against whom no one had proved the charge. He was bound, moreover, to be the more afraid on that occasion of disturbing the peace, inasmuch as Carthage was a great and famous city, from which any evil originating there might extend, as from the head of the body, throughout all Africa. Carthage was also near to the countries beyond the sea, and distinguished by illustrious renown, so that it had a bishop of more than ordinary influence, who could afford to disregard even a number of enemies consiring against him, because he saw himself united by letters of communion both to the Roman Church, in which the supremacy of an apostolic chair has always flourished, 1 and to all other lands from

1 " In qua semper apostolicoe cathedrae viguit principatus. " The use in the translation of the indefinite article, "an apostolic chair," is vindicated by the
which Africa itself received the gospel, and was prepared to defend himself before these Churches if his adversaries attempted to cause an alienation of them from him. Seeing, therefore, that Csecilianus declined to come before his colleagues, whom he perceived or suspected (or, as they affirm, pretended to suspect) to be biassed by his enemies against the real merits of his case, it was all the more the duty of Secundus, if he wished to be the guardian of true peace, to prevent the condemnation in their absence of those who had wholly declined to compear at their bar. For it was not a matter concerning presbyters or deacons or clergy of inferior order, but concerning colleagues who might refer their case wholly to the judgment of other bishops, especially of apostolical churches, in which the sentence passed against them in their absence would have no weight, since they had not deserted their tribunal after having compereared before it, but had always declined comppearance because of the suspicions which they entertained.

8. This consideration ought to have weighed much with Secundus, who was at that time Primate, if his desire, as president of the Council, was to promote peace; for he might perhaps have quieted or restrained the mouths of those who were raging against men who were absent, if he had spoken thus: " Ye see, brethren, how after so great havoc of persecution peace has been given to us, through God's mercy, by the princes of this world; surely we, being Christians and bishops, ought not to break up the Christian unity which even pagan enemies have ceased to assail. Either, therefore, let us leave to God, as Judge, all those cases which the calamity of a most troublous time has brought upon the Church*; or if there be some among you who have such certain knowledge of the guilt of other parties, that they are able to bring against them a definite indictment, and prove it if they plead not guilty, and who also shrink from having communion with such persons, let them hasten to our brethren and peers, the bishops of the churches beyond the sea, and present to them in the

language of Augustine in sec. 26 of this letter regarding Carthage, and by the words in Letter CCXXXII. sec. 3: "Christiana? societatis quae per sedes apostolorum et successiones episcoporum certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur."

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOMUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 145

first place a complaint concerning the conduct and contumacy of the accused, as having through consciousness of guilt declined the jurisdiction of their peers in Africa, so that by these foreign bishops they may be summoned to compear and answer before them regarding the things laid to their charge.
If they disobey this summons, their criminality and obduracy will become known to those other bishops; and by a synodical letter sent in their name to all parts of the world throughout which the Church of Christ is now extended, the parties accused will be excluded from communion with all churches, in order to prevent the springing up of error in the see of the Church at Carthage. When that has been done, and these men have been separated from the whole Church, we shall without fear ordain another bishop over the community in Carthage; whereas, if now another bishop be ordained by us, communion
will most probably be withheld from him by the Church beyond the sea, because they will not recognise the validity of the deposition of the bishop, whose ordination was everywhere acknowledged, and with whom letters of communion had been exchanged; and thus, through our undue eagerness to pronounce without deliberation a final sentence, the great scandal of schism within the Church, when it has rest from without, may arise, and we may be found presuming to set up another altar, not against Csecilianus, but against the universal Church, which, uninformed of our procedure, would still hold communion with him.

9. If any one had been disposed to reject sound and equitable counsels such as these, what could he have done? or how could he have procured the condemnation of any one of his absent peers, when he could not have any decisions with the authority of the Council, seeing that the Primate was opposed to him? And if such a serious revolt against the authority of the Primate himself arose, that some were resolved to condemn at once those whose case he desired to postpone, how much better would it have been for him to separate himself by dissent from such quarrelsome and factious men, than from the communion of the whole world!

But because there were no charges which could be proved at the bar of foreign bishops against Caecilianus and those who

VOL. L K

146 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIII.

took part in his ordination, those who condemned them were not willing to delay passing sentence; and when they had pronounced it, were not at any pains to intimate to the Church beyond the sea the names of those in Africa with whom, as condemned traditors, she should avoid communion.

For if they had attempted this, Csecilianus and the others would have defended themselves, and would have vindicated their innocence against their false accusers by a most thorough trial before the ecclesiastical tribunal of bishops beyond the sea.

10. Our belief concerning that perverse and unjust Council is, that it was composed chiefly of traditors whom Secundus Æco of Tigisis had pardoned on their confession of guilt; and who, when a rumour had gone abroad that some had been guilty of delivering up the sacred books, sought to turn aside suspicion from themselves by bringing a calumny upon others, and to escape the detection of their crime, through surrounding themselves with a cloud of lying rumours, when men throughout all Africa, believing their bishops, said what was false concerning innocent men, that they had been condemned at Carthage as traditors. Whence you perceive, my beloved friends, how that which some of your party affirmed to be improbable could indeed happen, viz. that the very men who had confessed their own guilt as traditors, and had obtained the remission of their case to the divine tribunal, afterwards took part in judging and condemning others who, not being present to defend themselves, were accused of the same crime.
For their own guilt made them more eagerly embrace an opportunity by which they might overwhelm others with a groundless accusation, and by thus finding occupation to screen their own misdeeds from investigation. Moreover, if it were inconceivable that a man should condemn in another the wrong which he had himself done, the Apostle Paul would not have had occasion to say: * Therefore thou art inexcusable, man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things." 1 This is exactly what these men did, so that the words of the apostle may be fully and appropriately applied to them.

1 Rom. ii. 1.

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOMUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 147

11. Secundus, therefore, was not acting in the interests of peace and unity when he remitted to the divine tribunal the crimes which these men confessed: for, if so, he would have been much more careful to prevent a schism at Carthage, when there were none present to whom he might be constrained to grant pardon of a crime which they confessed; when, on the contrary, all that the preservation of peace demanded was a refusal to condemn those who were absent. They would have acted unjustly to these innocent men, had they even resolved to pardon them, when they were not proved guilty, and had not confessed the guilt, but were actually not present at all. For the guilt of a man is established beyond question when he accepts a pardon. How much more outrageous and blind were they who thought that they had power to condemn for crimes which, as unknown, they could not even have forgiven! In the former case, crimes that were known were remitted to the divine arbitration, lest others should be inquired into; in the latter case, crimes that were not known were made ground of condemnation, that those which were known might be concealed. But it will be said, the crime of Csecilianus and the others was known. Even if I were to admit this, the fact of their absence ought to have protected them from such a sentence. For they were not chargeable with deserting a tribunal before which they had never stood; nor was the Church so exclusively represented in these African bishops, that in refusing to appear before them they could be supposed to decline all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For there remained thousands of bishops in countries beyond the sea, before whom it was manifest that those who seemed to distrust their peers in Africa and "Numidia could be tried. Have you forgotten what Scripture commands: " Blame no one before you have examined him; and when you have examined him, let your correction be just" V- If, then, the Holy Spirit has forbidden us to blame or correct any one before we have questioned him, how much greater is the crime of not merely blaming or correcting, but actually condemning men who, being absent, could not be examined as to the charges brought against them!

1 Ecclus. xi. 7.
12. Moreover, as to the assertion of these judges, that though the parties accused were absent, having not fled from trial, but always avowed their distrust of that faction, and declined to appear before them, the crimes for which they condemned them were well known; I ask, my brethren, how did they know them? You reply, "We cannot tell, since the evidence is not stated in the public Acts. But I will tell you how they knew them. Observe carefully the case of Felix of Aptunga, and first read how much more vehement they were against him; for they had just the same grounds for their knowledge in the case of the others as in his, who was afterwards proved most completely innocent by a thorough and severe investigation. How much greater the justice and safety and readiness with which we are warranted in believing the innocence of the others whose indictment was less serious, and their condemnation less severe, seeing that the man against whom they raged much more furiously has been proved innocent!

Chap. iv. 13. Some one may perhaps make an objection which, though it was disapproved by you when it was brought forward, I must not pass over, for it has been made by others, viz.: It was not meet that a bishop should be acquitted by trial before a proconsul: as if the bishop had himself procured this trial, and it had not been done by order of the Emperor, to whose care this matter, as one concerning which he was responsible to God, especially belonged. For they themselves had constituted the Emperor the arbiter and judge in this question regarding the surrender of the sacred books, and regarding the schism, by their sending petitions to him, and afterwards appealing to him; and nevertheless they refuse to acquiesce in his decision. If, therefore, he is to be blamed whom the magistrate absolved, though he had not himself applied to that tribunal, how much more worthy of blame are those who desired an earthly king to be the judge of their cause!

For if it be not wrong to appeal to the Emperor, it is not wrong to be tried by the Emperor, and consequently not wrong to be tried by him to whom the Emperor refers the case. One of your friends was anxious to make out a ground of complaint on the fact that, in the case of the bishop Felix, one witness was suspended on the rack, and another tortured with pincers. 1 But was it in the power of Felix to prevent the prosecution of the inquiry with diligence, and even severity, when the case regarding which the advocate was labouring to discover the truth was his own? For what else would such a resistance to investigation have been construed to signify, than a confession of his crime? And yet this proconsul, surrounded with the awe-inspiring voices of heralds, and the blood-stained hands of executioners at his service, would not have condemned one of his peers in absence, who
declined to come before his tribunal, if there was any other place where Iris cause could be disposed of. Or if he had in such circumstances pronounced sentence, he would himself assuredly have suffered the due and just award prescribed by civil law.

Chap. v. 14. If, however, you repudiate the Acts of a proconsul, submit yourselves to the Acts of the Church. These have been all read over to you in their order. Perhaps you will say that Melchiades, bishop of the Eoman Church, along with the other bishops beyond the sea who acted as his colleagues, had no right to usurp the place of judge in a matter which had been already settled by seventy African bishops, over whom the bishop of Tigisis as Primate presided. But what will you say if he in fact did not usurp this place? For the Emperor, being appealed to, sent bishops to sit with him as judges, with authority to decide the whole matter in the way which seemed to them just. This we prove, both by the petitions of the Donatists and the words of the Emperor himself, both of which were, as you remember, read to you, and are now accessible to be studied or transcribed by you. Eead and ponder all these. See with what scrupulous care for the preservation or restoration of peace and unity everything was discussed; how the legal standing of the accusers was inquired into, and what defects were proved in this matter against some of them; and how it was clearly proved by the testimony of those present that they had nothing to say against Csecilianus, but wished to transfer the whole matter to the people belonging to the party of Majorinus, 2 that is, to the seditious multitude who were opposed to the peace of the Church, in order, forsooth,

1 Ungulae, mentioned in Codex Justinianus, ix. 18. 7.

2 Ordained by the Donatists bishop of Carthage in room of Csecilianus.

that Csecilianus might be accused by that crowd which they believed to be powerful enough to bend aside to their views the minds of the judges by mere turbulent clamour, without any documentary evidence or examination as to the truth; unless it was likely that true accusations should be brought against Csecilianus by a multitude infuriated and infatuated by the cup of error and wickedness, in a place where seventy bishops had with insane precipitancy condemned, in their absence, men who were their peers, and who were innocent, as was proved in the case of Felix of Aptunga. They wished to have Csecilianus accused by a mob such as that to which they had given way themselves, when they pronounced sentence upon parties who were absent, and who had not been examined. But assuredly they had not come to judges who could be persuaded to such madness.

15. Your own prudence may enable you to remark here both the obstinacy of these men, and the wisdom of the judges, who to the last persisted in refusing to admit accusations against Caecilianus from the populace who were of the faction of Majorinus, who had no legal standing in the case. You will also remark how they were required to bring forward
the men who had come with them from Africa as accusers or witnesses, or in some other connection with the case, and how it was said that they had been present, but had been withdrawn by Donatus. The said Donatus promised that he would produce them, and this promise he made repeatedly; yet, after all, declined to appear again in presence of that tribunal before which he had already confessed so much, that it seemed as if by his refusal to return he desired only to avoid being present to hear himself condemned; but the things for which he was to be condemned had been proved against him in his own presence, and after examination. Besides this, a libel bringing charges against Csecilianus was handed in by some parties. How the inquiry was thereupon opened anew, what persons brought up the libel, and how nothing after all could be proved against Csecilianus, I need not state, seeing that you have heard it all, and can read it as often as you please.

16. As to the fact that there were seventy bishops in the Council [which condemned Caecilianus], you remember what

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOMUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 151

was said in the way of pleading against him the venerable authority of so great a number. Nevertheless these most venerable men resolved to keep their judgment unembarrassed by endless questions of hopeless intricacy, and did not care to inquire either what was the number of those bishops, or whence they had been collected, when they saw them to be blinded with such reckless presumption as to pronounce rash sentence upon their peers in their absence, and without having examined them. And yet what a decision was finally pronounced by the blessed Melchiades himself; how equitable, how complete, how prudent, and how fitted to make peace! For he did not presume to depose from his own rank those peers against whom nothing had been proved; and, laying blame chiefly upon Donatus, whom he had found the cause of the whole disturbance, he gave to all the others restoration if they chose to accept it, and was prepared to send letters of communion even to those who were known to have been ordained by Majorinus; so that wherever there were two bishops, through this dissension doubling their number, he decided that the one who was prior in the date of ordination should be confirmed in his see, and a new congregation found for the other. excellent man!

son of Christian peace, father of the Christian people!

Compare now this handful with that multitude of bishops, not counting, but weighing them: on the one side you have moderation and circumspection; on the other, precipitancy and blindness. On the one side, clemency has not wronged justice, nor has justice been at variance with clemency; on the other side, fear was hiding itself under passion, and passion was goaded to excess by fear. In the one case, they assembled to clear the innocent from false accusations by discovering where the guilt really lay; in the other, they had met to screen the guilty from true accusations by bringing false charges against the innocent.
Chajp. vi. 17. Could Csecilianus leave himself to be tried and judged by these men, when he had such others before whom, if his case were argued, he could most easily prove his innocence? He could not have left himself in their hands even had he been a stranger recently ordained over the Church at Carthage, and consequently not aware of the power in per-

152 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLTII.

verting the minds of men, either worthless or unwise, which was then possessed by a certain Lucilla, a very wealthy woman, whom he had offended when he was a deacon, by rebuking her in the exercise of church discipline; for this evil influence was also at work to bring about that iniquitous transaction. For in that Council, in which men absent and innocent were condemned by persons who had confessed themselves to be traditors, there were a few who wished, by defaming others, to hide their own crimes, that men, led astray by unfounded rumours, might be turned aside from inquiring into the truth. The number of those who were especially interested in this was not great, although the preponderating authority was on their side; because they had with them Secundus himself, who, yielding to fear, had pardoned them. But the rest are said to have been bribed and instigated specially against Caecilianus by the money of Lucilla. There are Acts in the possession of Zenophilus, a man of consular rank, according to which one JSTundinarius, a deacon who had been (as we learn from the same Acts) deposed by Sylvanus, bishop of Cirta, having failed in an attempt to recommend himself to that party by the letters of other bishops, in the heat of passion revealed many secrets, and brought them forward in open court; amongst which we read this on the record, that the rearing of rival altars in the Church of Carthage, the chief city of Africa, was due to the bishops being bribed by the money of Lucilla. I am aware that I did not read these Acts to you, but you remember that there was not time. Besides these influences, there was also some bitterness arising from mortified pride, because they had not themselves ordained Caecilianus bishop of Carthage.

18. "When Caecilianus knew that these men had assembled, not as impartial judges, but hostile and perverted through all these things, was it possible that either he should consent, or the people over whom he presided should allow him, to leave the church and go into a private dwelling, where he was not to be tried fairly by his peers, but to be slain by a small faction, urged on by a woman's spite, especially when he saw that his case might have an unbiased and equitable hearing before the Church beyond the sea, which was uninfluenced by

rr o
private enmities on either side in the dispute? If his adversaries declined pleading before that tribunal, they would thereby cut themselves off from that communion with the whole world which innocence enjoys. And if they attempted there to bring a charge against him, then he would comppear for himself, and defend his innocence against all their plots, as you have learned that he afterwards did, when they, already guilty of schism, and stained with the atrocious crime of having actually reared their rival altar, applied â€” but too late â€” for the decision of the Church beyond the sea. For this they would have done at first, if their cause had been supported by truth; but their policy was to come to the trial after false rumours had gained strength by lapse of time, and public report of old standing, so to speak, had prejudged the case; or, which seems more likely, having first condemned Csecilianus as they pleased, they relied for safety upon their number, and did not dare to open the discussion of so bad a case before other judges, by whom, as they were not influenced by bribery, the truth might be discovered.

Chap. vii. 19. But when they actually found that the communion of the whole world with Csecilianus continued as before, and that letters of communion from churches beyond the sea were sent to him, and not to the man whom they had flagitiously ordained, they became ashamed of being always silent; for it might be objected to them: Why did they suffer the Church in so many countries to go on in ignorance, communicating with men that were condemned; and especially why did they cut themselves off from communion with the whole world, against which they had no charge to make, by their bearing in silence the exclusion from that communion of the bishop whom they had ordained in Carthage? They chose, therefore, as it is reported, to bring their dispute with Caecilianus before the foreign churches, in order to secure one of two things, either of which they were prepared to accept: if, on the one hand, by any amount of craft, they succeeded in making good the false accusation, they would abundantly satisfy their lust of revenge; if, however, they failed, they might remain as stubborn as before, but would now have, as it were, some excuse for it, in alleging that they had suffered at the hands of an unjust tribunal, â€” the common outcry of all worthless litigants, though they have been defeated by the clearest light of truth, â€” as if it might not have been said, and most justly said, to them: "Well, let us suppose that those bishops who decided the case at Eome were not good judges; there still remained a plenary Council of the universal Church, in which these judges themselves might be put on their defence; so that, if they were convicted of mistake, their decisions might be reversed."

Whether they have done this or not, let them prove: for we easily prove that it was not done, by the fact that the whole world does not communicate with them; or if it was done,
they were defeated there also, of which their state of separation from the Church is a proof.

20. What they actually did afterwards, however, is sufficiently shown in the letter of the Emperor. For it was not before other bishops, but at the bar of the Emperor, that they dared to bring the charge of wrong judgment against ecclesiastical judges of so high authority as the bishops by whose sentence the innocence of Ctecilianus and their own guilt had been declared. He granted them the second trial at Aries, before other bishops; not because this was due to them, but only as a concession to their stubbornness, and from a desire by all means to restrain so great effrontery. For this Christian Emperor did not presume so to grant their unruly and groundless complaints as to make himself the judge of the decision pronounced by the bishops who had sat at Rome; but he appointed, as I have said, other bishops, from whom, however, they preferred again to appeal to the Emperor himself; and you have heard the terms in which he disapproved of this. Would that even then they had desisted from their most insane contentions, and had yielded at last to the truth, as he yielded to them when (intending afterwards to apologize for this course to the reverend prelates) he consented to try their case after the bishops, on condition that, if they did not submit to his decision, for which they had themselves appealed, they should thenceforward be silent! For he ordered that both parties should meet him at Rome to argue the case.

When Caecilianus, for some reason, failed to compear there, he, at their request, ordered all to follow him to Milan. Then

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOElius, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 155

some of their party began to withdraw, perhaps offended that Constantine did not follow their example, and condemn Csecilianus in his absence at once and summarily. When the prudent Emperor was aware of this, he compelled the rest to come to Milan in charge of his guards. Csecilianus having come thither, he brought him forward in person, as he has written; and having examined the matter with the diligence, caution, and prudence which his letters on the subject indicate, he pronounced Csecilianus perfectly innocent, and them most criminal.

Chap. viii. 21. And to this day they administer baptism outside of the communion of the Church, and, if they can, they rebaptize the members of the Church: they offer sacrifice in discord and schism, and salute in the name of peace communities which they pronounce beyond the bounds of the peace of salvation. The unity of Christ is rent asunder, the heritage of Christ is reproached, the baptism of Christ is treated with contempt; and they refuse to have these errors corrected by constituted human authorities, applying penalties of a temporal kind in order to prevent them from being doomed to eternal punishment for such sacrilege. We blame them for the rage which has driven them to schism, the madness which makes them rebaptize, and for the sin of separation from the heritage of Christ, which has been spread abroad through all lands. In using manuscripts which are in their hands as well as in ours, we mention churches, the names of which are now read by
them also, but with which they have now no communion; and when these are pronounced in their conventicles, they say to the reader, "Peace be with thee; " and yet they have no peace with those to whom these letters were written. They, on the other hand, blame us for crimes of men now dead, making charges which either are false, or, if true, do not concern us; not perceiving that in the things which we lay to their charge they are all involved, but in the things which they lay to our charge the blame is due to the chaff or the tares in the Lord's harvest, and the crime does not belong to the good grain; not considering, moreover, that within our unity those only have fellowship with the wicked who take pleasure in their being such, whereas those

156 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIII.

who are displeased with their wickedness yet cannot correct them, â€” as they do not presume to root out the tares before the harvest, lest they root out the wheat also/ â€” have fellowship with them, not in their deeds, but in the altar of Christ; so that not only do they avoid being defiled by them, but they deserve commendation and praise according to the word of God, because, in order to prevent the name of Christ from being reproached by odious schisms, they tolerate in the interest of unity that which in the interest of righteousness they hate.

22. If they have ears, let them hear what the Spirit saith to the churches. Tor in the Apocalypse of John we read:
"Unto the angel of the Church of Ephesus write: These things saith He that holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks; I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars: and hast borne, and hast patience, and for My name's sake hast tolerated them, 2 and hast not fainted." 3 Now, if He wished this to be understood as addressed to a celestial angel, and not to those invested with authority in the Church, He would not go on to say: "Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." 4

This could not be said to the heavenly angels, who retain their love unchanged, as the only beings of their order that have departed and fallen from their love are the devil and his angels. The first love here alluded to is that which was proved in their tolerating for Christ's name's sake the false apostles. To this He commands them to return, and to do "their first works." Now we are reproached with the crimes of bad men, not done by us, but by others; and some of them,

1 Matt. xiii. 29.
moreover, not known to us. Nevertheless, even if they were actually committed, and that under our own eyes, and we bore with them for the sake of unity, letting the tares alone on account of the wheat, whosoever with open heart receives the Holy Scriptures would pronounce us not only free from blame, but worthy of no small praise.

23. Aaron bears with the multitude demanding, fashioning, and worshipping an idol. Moses bears with thousands murmuring against God, and so often offending His holy name. David bears with Saul his persecutor, even when forsaking the things that are above by his wicked life, and following after the things that are beneath by magical arts, avenges his death, and calls him the Lord's anointed, 1 because of the venerable rite by which he had been consecrated. Samuel bears with the reprobate sons of Eli, and his own perverse sons, whom the people refused to tolerate, and were therefore rebuked by the warning and punished by the severity of God. Lastly, he bears with the nation itself, though proud and despising God. Isaiah bears with those against whom he hurls so many merited denunciations. Jeremiah bears with those at whose hands he suffers so many things. Zechariah bears with the scribes and Pharisees, as to whose character in those days Scripture informs us. I know that I have omitted many examples: let those who are willing and able read the divine records for themselves: they will find that all the holy servants and friends of God have always had to bear with some among their own people, with whom, nevertheless, they partook in the sacraments of that dispensation, and in so doing not only were not defiled by them, but were to be commended for their tolerant spirit, "endeavouring to keep," as the apostle says, "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." 2 Let them also observe what has occurred since the Lord's coming, in which time we would find many more examples of this toleration in all parts of the world, if they could all be written down and authenticated: but attend to those which are on record. The Lord Himself bears with Judas, a devil, a thief, His own betrayer; He permits him, along with the innocent disciples, to receive Christum Domini. 2 Eph. iv. 3.

that which believers know as our ransom. 1 The apostles bear with false apostles; and in the midst of men who sought their own things, and not the things of Jesus Christ, Paul, not seeking his own, but the things of Christ, lives in the practice of a most noble
toleration. In fine, as I mentioned a little while ago, the person presiding under the title of Angel over a Church, is commended, because, though he hated those that were evil, he yet bore with them for the Lord's name's sake, even when they were tried and discovered.

24. In conclusion, let them ask themselves: Do they not bear with the murders and devastations by fire which are perpetrated by the Circumcelliones, who treat with honour the dead bodies of those who cast themselves down from dangerous heights? Do they not bear with the misery which has made all Africa groan for years beneath the incredible outrages of one man, Optatus [bishop of Thamugada]? I forbear from specifying the tyrannical acts of violence and public depredations in districts, towns, and properties throughout Africa; for it is better to leave you to speak of these to each other, whether in whispers or openly, as you please. For wherever you turn your eyes, you will find the things of which I speak, or, more correctly, refrain from speaking. Nor do we on this ground accuse those whom, when they do such things, you love. What we dislike in that party is not their bearing with those who are wicked, but their intolerable wickedness in the matter of schism, of raising altar against altar, and of separation from the heritage of Christ now spread, as was so long ago promised, throughout the world. We behold with grief and lamentation peace broken, unity rent asunder, baptism administered a second time, and contempt poured on the sacraments, which are holy even when ministered and received by the wicked. If they regard these things as trifles, let them observe those examples by which it has been proved how they are esteemed by God. The men who made an idol perished by a common death, being slain with

1 Augustine holds that Judas was present at the institution of the Lord's Supper. See Letter XLIV. sec. 10, p. 169.

LET. XLIII.] TO GLOMUS, ELEUSIUS, ETC. 159

the sword; * but when men endeavoured to make a schism in Israel, the leaders were swallowed up by the opening earth, and the crowd of their accomplices was consumed by fire. 2 In the difference between the punishments, the different degrees of demerit may be discerned.

Chap. ix. 25. These, then, are the facts: In time of persecution, the sacred books are surrendered to the persecutors. Those who were guilty of this surrender confess it, and are remitted to the divine tribunal; those who were innocent are not examined, but condemned at once by rash men. The integrity of that one who, of all the men thus condemned in their absence, was the most vehemently accused, is afterwards vindicated before unimpeachable judges. Prom the decision of bishops an appeal is made to the Emperor; the Emperor is chosen judge; and the sentence of the Emperor, when pronounced, is set at naught. What was then done you have read; what is now being done you have before your eyes. If, after all that you have read, you are still in doubt, be convinced by what you see. By all means let us give up arguing from ancient manuscripts, public archives, or the acts of courts, civil or
ecclesiastical. We have a greater book, the world itself. In it I read the
accomplishment of that of which I read the promise in the Book of God: "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son,
this day have I begotten Thee:
ask of Me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost
parts of the earth for Thy possession." 3
He that has not communion with this inheritance may know himself to be disinherited,
whatever books he may plead to the contrary. He that assails this inheritance is plainly
equal declared to be an outcast from the family of God. The question is raised as to the
parties guilty of surrendering the divine books in which that inheritance is promised. Let
him be believed to have delivered the testament to the flames, who is resisting the
intentions of the testator. faction of Donatus, what has the Corinthian Church done
against you? In speaking of this one Church, I wish to be understood as asking the same
question in regard to all similar churches remote from you. What have these churches
done against you, which
1 Ex. xxxii. 27, 28. 2 Num. xvi. 31, 35. 3 Ps. ii. 7, 8.

160 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIII.

could not know even what you had done, or the names of the men whom you branded
with condemnation? Or is it so, that because Caecilianus gave offence to Lucilla in
Africa, the light of Christ is lost to the whole world? *

26. Let them at last become sensible of what they have done; for in the lapse of years, by
a just retribution, their work has recoiled upon themselves. Ask by what woman's
instigation Maximianus 2 (said to be a kinsman of Donatus)
withdrew himself from the communion of Primianus, and how, having gathered a faction
of bishops, he pronounced sentence against Primianus in his absence, and had himself
ordained as a rival bishop in his place, precisely as Majorinus, under the influence of
Lucilla, assembled a faction of bishops, and, having condemned Caecilianus in his
absence, was ordained bishop in opposition to him. Do you admit, as I suppose you do,
that when Primianus was delivered by the other bishops of his communion in Africa from
the sentence pronounced by the faction of Maximianus, this decision was valid and
sufficient?
And will you refuse to admit the same in the case of Caecilianus, when he was released
by the bishops of the same one Church beyond the sea from the sentence pronounced by
the faction of Majorinus? Pray, my brethren, what great thing do I ask of you? What
difficulty is there in comprehending what I bring before you? The African Church, if it
be compared with the churches in other parts of the world, is very different from them,
and is left far behind both in numbers and in influence; and even if it had retained its
unity, is far smaller when compared with the universal Church in other nations, than was
the faction of Maximianus when compared with that of Primianus. I ask, however, only
this and I
believe it to be just â€” that you give no more weight to the Council of Secundus of Tigisis, which Lucilla stirred up against Caecilianus when absent, and against an apostolic see and the whole world in communion with Caecilianus, than you give to the Council of Maximianus, which in like manner some other woman stirred up against Primianus when absent, and against

1 The original has a play on the words Lucillam and Lucem.

2 A deacon in the Donatist communion at Carthage. This matter is more fully gone into by Augustine in his second sermon on Ps. xxxvi

LET. XLIV.] TO ELEUSIUS, GLOPJUS, AND THE TWO FELIXES. 161

the rest of the multitude throughout Africa which was in communion with him. What case could be more transparent?
what demand more just?

27. You see and know all these things, and you groan over them; and yet God at the same time sees that nothing compels you to remain in such fatal and impious schism, if you would but subdue the lust of the flesh in order to win the spiritual kingdom; and in order to escape from eternal punishment, have courage to forfeit the friendship of men, whose favour will not avail at the bar of God. Go now, and take counsel together: find what you can say in reply to that which I have written. If you bring forward manuscripts on your side, we do the same; if your party say that our documents are not to be trusted, let them not take it amiss if we retort the charge.

No one can erase from heaven the divine decree, no one can efface from earth the Church of God. His decree has promised the whole world, and the Church has filled it; and it includes both bad and good. On earth it loses none but the bad, and into heaven it admits none but the good.

In writing this discourse, God is my witness with what sincere love to peace and to you I have taken and used that which He has given. It shall be to you a means of correction if you be willing, and a testimony against you whether you will or not.

LETT EE XLIV.

(a.d. 398.)

to my lords most beloved, and brethren worthy of all

PRAISE, ELEUSIUS, GLORIUS, AND THE TWO FELIXES, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.
Chap. i. 1. In passing through Tubursi on my way to the church at Cirta, though pressed for time, I visited Fortunius, your bishop there, and found him to be, in truth, just such a man as you were wont most kindly to lead me to expect. When I sent him notice of your conversation with me concerning him, and expressed a desire to see him, he did not decline the visit. I therefore went to him, because I thought it due to vol. i. L

162 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIV.]

his age that I should go to him, instead of insisting upon his first coming to me. I went, therefore, accompanied by a considerable number of persons, who, as it happened, were at that time beside me. When, however, we had taken our seats in his house, the thing becoming known, a considerable addition was made to the crowd assembled; but in that whole multitude there appeared to me to be very few who desired the matter to be discussed in a sound and profitable manner, or with the deliberation and solemnity which so great a question demands. All the others had come rather in the mood of playgoers, expecting a scene in our debates, than in Christian seriousness of spirit, seeking instruction in regard to salvation. Accordingly they could neither favour us with silence when we spoke, nor speak with care, or even with due regard to decorum and order, â€” excepting, as I have said, those few persons about whose pious and sincere interest in the matter there was no doubt. Everything was therefore thrown into confusion by the noise of men speaking loudly, and each according to the unchecked impulse of his own feelings; and though both Fortunius and I used entreaty and remonstrance, we utterly failed in persuading them to listen silently to what was spoken.

2. The discussion of the question was opened notwithstanding, and for some hours we persevered, speeches being delivered by each side in turn, so far as was permitted by an occasional respite from the voices of the noisy onlookers. In the beginning of the debate, perceiving that things which had been spoken were liable to be forgotten by myself, or by those about whose salvation I was deeply concerned; being desirous also that our debate should be managed with caution and self-restraint, and that both you and other brethren who were absent might be able to learn from a record what passed in the discussion, I demanded that our words should be taken down by reporters. This was for a long time resisted, either by Fortunius or by those on his side. At length, however, he agreed to it; but the reporters who were present, and were able to do the work thoroughly, declined, for some reason unknown to me, to take notes. I urged then, that at least the brethren who accompanied me, though not so expert in the work, should take notes, and promised that I would leave the
dictated and recorded. After that, the reporters, not being able to endure the disorderly interruptions vociferated by the opposing party, and the increased vehemence with which under this pressure our side maintained the debate, gave up their task. This, however, did not close the discussion, many things being still said by each as he obtained an opportunity. This discussion of the whole question, or at least so much of all that was said as I can remember, I have resolved, my beloved friends, that you shall not lose; and you may read this letter to Portunius, that he may either confirm my statements as true, or himself inform you, without hesitation, of anything which his more accurate recollection suggests.

Chap. ii. 3. He was pleased to begin with commending my manner of life, which he said he had come to know through your statements (in which I am sure there was more kindness than truth), adding that he had remarked to you that I might have done well all the things which you had told him of me, if I had done them within the Church. I thereupon asked him what was the Church within which it was the duty of a man so to live; whether it was that one which, as Sacred Scripture had long foretold, was spread over the whole world, or that one which a small section of Africans, or a small part of Africa, contained. To this he at first attempted to reply, that his communion was in all parts of the earth. I asked him whether he was able to issue letters of communion, which we call regular, 1 to places which I might select; and I affirmed, what was obvious to all, that in this way the question might be most simply settled. In the event of his agreeing to this, my intention was that we should send such letters to those churches which we both knew, on the authority of the apostles, to have been already founded in their time.

4. As the falsity of his statement, however, was apparent, a hasty retreat from it was made in a cloud of confused words, in the midst of which he quoted the Lord's words: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits." * When I said that these words of the Lord might also be applied by us to them, he went on to magnify the persecution which he affirmed that his party had often suffered; intending thereby to prove that his party were Christians because they endured persecution. When I was preparing, as he went on with this, to answer him from the Gospel, he himself anticipated me in bringing forward the passage in which the Lord says: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." 2 Thanking him for the apt quotation, I immediately added that this behoved therefore to be inquired into, whether they had indeed suffered persecution for righteousness' sake. In following up this inquiry I wished this to be ascertained, though indeed it was patent to all, whether the persecutions under Macarius 3 fell upon them while they were within the unity of the Church, or after they had been severed from it by schism; so that those who wished to see

1 Formats.
whether they had suffered persecution for righteousness' sake might turn rather to the
prior question, whether they had done rightly in cutting themselves off from the unity of
the whole world. For if they were found in this to have done wrong, it was manifest that
they suffered persecution for unrighteousness' sake rather than for righteousness' sake, and could not therefore be numbered among
those of whom it is said, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake."
Thereupon mention was made of the surrender of the sacred books, a matter about which
much more has been spoken than has ever been proved true. On our side it was said in
reply, that their leaders rather than ours had been traditdrs; but that if they would not
believe the documents with which we supported this charge, we could not be compelled
to accept those which they brought forward.

Chap. hi. 5. Having therefore laid aside that question as

1 Matt. vii. 15, 16. 2 Matt. v. 10.

3 Macarius was sent in a.d. 348 by the Emperor Constans to Africa, to exhort all to
cherish the unity of the Catholic Church, and at the same time to collect for the relief of
the poor. The vehement opposition with which the Donatists met him led to conflicts and
bloodshed, the Donatists claiming the honour of martyrdom for all of their party—who fell
in fighting with the imperial soldiers.

LET. XLIV.] TO ELEUSIUS, GLOMUS, AND THE TWO FELIXES. 165

one on which there was a doubt, I asked how they could justify their separation of
themselves from all other Christians who had done them no wrong, who throughout the
world preserved the order of succession, and were established in the most ancient
churches, but had no knowledge whatever as to who were traditors in Africa; and who" assuredly could not hold communion with others than those whom they had heard of as
occupying the episcopal sees. He answered that the foreign churches had done them no
wrong, up to the time when they had consented to the death of those who, as he had said,
had suffered in the Macarian persecution.
Here I might have said that it was impossible for the innocence of the foreign churches to
be affected by the offence given in the time of Macarius, seeing that it could not be
proved that he had done with their sanction what he did. I
preferred, however, to save time by asking whether, supposing that the foreign churches
had, through the cruelties of Macarius, lost their innocence from the time in which they
were said to have approved of these, it could even be proved that up to that time the
Donatists had remained in unity with the Eastern churches and other parts of the world.

6. Thereupon he produced a certain volume, by which he wished to show that a Council
at Sardica had sent a letter to African bishops who belonged to the party of Donatus.
When this was read aloud, I heard the name Donatus among the bishops to whom the writing had been sent. I therefore insisted upon being told whether this was the Donatus from whom their faction takes its name; as it was possible that they had written to some bishop named Donatus belonging to another section [heresy], especially since in these names no mention had been made of Africa. How then, I asked, could it be proved that we must believe the Donatus here named to be the Donatist bishop, when it could not even be proved that this letter had been specially directed to bishops in Africa? For although Donatus is a common African name, there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that either some one in other countries should be found bearing an African name, or that a native of Africa should be made a bishop there. We found, moreover, no day or name of consul

166 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLIV.

given in the letter, from which any certain light might have been furnished by comparison of dates. I had indeed once heard that the Arians, when they had separated from the Catholic communion, had endeavoured to ally the Donatists in Africa with themselves; and my brother Alypius recalled this to me at the time in a whisper. Having then taken up the volume itself, and glancing over the decrees of the said Council, I read that Athanasius, Catholic bishop of Alexandria, who was so conspicuous as a debater in the keen controversies with the Arians, and Julius, bishop of the Eoman Church, also a Catholic, had been condemned by that Council of Sardica; from which we were sure that it was a Council of Arians, against which heretics these Catholic bishops had contended with singular fervour. I therefore wished to take up and carry with me the volume, in order to give more pains to find out the date of the Council. He refused it, however, saying that I could get it there if I wished to study anything in it. I asked also that he would allow me to mark the volume; for I feared, I confess, lest, if perchance necessity arose for my asking- to consult it, another should be substituted in its room. This also he refused.

Chap. iv. 7. Thereafter he began to insist upon my answering categorically this question: Whether I thought the persecutor or the persecuted to be in the right? To which I answered, that the question was not fairly stated: it might be that both were in the wrong, or that the persecution might be made by the one who was the more righteous of the two parties; and therefore it was not always right to infer that one is on the better side because he suffers persecution, although that is almost always the case. "When I perceived that he still laid great stress upon this, wishing to have the justice of the cause of Ins party acknowledged as beyond dispute because they had suffered persecution, I asked him whether he believed Ambrose, bishop of the Church of Milan, to be a righteous man and a Christian | He was compelled to deny expressly that that man was a Christian and a righteous man; for if he had admitted this, I would at once have objected to him that he esteemed it necessary for him to be rebaptized. When, therefore, he was compelled to pronounce
concerning Ambrose that he was not a Christian nor a righteous man, I related the persecution which he endured when his church was surrounded with soldiers. I also asked whether Maximianus, who had made a schism from their party at Carthage, was in his view a righteous man and a Christian. He could not but deny this. I therefore reminded him that he had endured such persecution that his church had been razed to the foundations. By these instances I laboured to persuade him, if possible, to give up affirming that the suffering of persecution is the most infallible mark of Christian righteousness.

8. He also related that, in the infancy of their schism, his predecessors, being anxious to devise some way of hushing up the fault of Csecilianns, lest a schism should take place, had appointed over the people belonging to his communion in Carthage an interim bishop before Majorinus was ordained in opposition to Csecilianus. He alleged that this interim bishop was murdered in his own meeting-house by our party. This, I confess, I had never heard before, though so many charges brought by them against us have been refuted and disproved, while by us greater and more numerous crimes have been alleged against them. After having narrated this story, he began again to insist on my answering whether in this case I thought the murderer or the victim the more righteous man; as if he had already proved that the event had taken place as he had stated. I therefore said that we must first ascertain the truth of the story, for we ought not to believe without examination all that is said; and that even were it true, it was possible either that both were equally bad, or that one who was bad had caused the death of another yet worse than himself. For, in truth, it is possible that his guilt is more heinous who rebaptizes the whole man than his who kills the body only.

9. After this there was no occasion for the question which he afterwards put to me. He affirmed that even a bad man should not be killed by Christians and righteous men; as if we called those who in the Catholic Church do such things righteous men: a statement, moreover, which it is more easy for them to affirm than to prove to us, so long as they themselves, with few exceptions, bishops, presbyters, and clergy of all kinds, go on gathering mobs of most infatuated men, and causing, wherever they are able, so many violent massacres, and devastations to the injury not of Catholics only, but sometimes even of their own partisans. In spite of these facts, Fortunius, affecting ignorance of their most villanous doings, which were better known by him than by me, insisted upon my giving an example of a righteous man putting even a bad man to death. This was, of course, not relevant to the matter in hand: for I conceded that wherever such
crimes were committed by men having the name of Christians, they were not the actions of good men. Nevertheless, in order to show him what was the true question before us, I answered by inquiring whether Elijah seemed to him to be a righteous man; to which he could not but assent. Thereupon I reminded him how many false prophets Elijah slew with Ms own hand. 1 He saw plainly herein, as indeed he could not but see, that such things were then lawful to righteous men. For they did these things as prophets guided by the Spirit and sanctioned by the authority of God, who knows infallibly to whom it may be even a benefit to be put to death. 2 He therefore required me to show him one who, being a righteous man, had in the New Testament times put any one, even a criminal and impious man, to death.

Chap. v. 10. I then returned to the argument used in my former letter, 3 in which I laboured to show that it was not right either for us to reproach them with atrocities of which some of their party had been guilty, or for them to reproach us if any such deeds were found by them to have been done on our side. For I granted that no example could be produced from the New Testament of a righteous man putting any one to death; but I insisted that by the example of our Lord Himself, it could be proved that the wicked had been tolerated by the innocent. For His own betrayer, who had already received the price of His blood, He suffered to remain undistinguished from the innocent who were with Him, even up to that last kiss of peace. He did not conceal from the disciples the fact that in the midst of them was one capable

1 1 Kings xviii. 40. 2 Qui novit cui etiam prosit occidi.

3 Let. XLIII. pp. 157, 158.

LET. XLIV.] TO ELEUSIUS, GLOMUS, AND THE TWO FELIXES. 169

of such a crime; and, nevertheless, He administered to them all alike, without excluding the traitor, the first sacrament of His body and blood. 1 When almost all felt the force of this argument, Fortunius attempted to meet it by saying, that before the Lord's Passion that communion with a wicked man did no harm to the apostles, because they had not as yet the baptism of Christ, but the baptism of John only. When he said this, I asked him to explain how it was written that Jesus baptized more disciples than John, though Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples, that is to say, baptized by means of His disciples? 2 How could they give what they had not received (a question often used by the Donatists themselves)? Did Christ baptize with the baptism of John? I was prepared to ask many other questions in connection with this opinion of Fortunius; such as â€” how John himself was interrogated as to the Lord's baptizing, and replied that He had the bride, and was the Bridegroom? 3 Was it, then, lawful for the Bridegroom to baptize with the baptism of him who was but a friend or servant? Again, how could they receive the Eucharist if not previously baptized? or how could the Lord in that case have said in reply to Peter, who was willing to be wholly washed by Him, " He that is washed
needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit" 4 For perfect cleansing is by
the baptism, not of John, but of the Lord, if the person receiving it be worthy; if,
however, he be unworthy, the sacraments abide in him, not to his salvation, but to his
perdition. When I was about to put these questions, Fortunius himself saw that he ought
not to have mooted the subject of the baptism of the disciples of the Lord.

11. From this we passed to something else, many on both sides discoursing to the best of
their ability. Among other things it was alleged that our party was still intending to
persecute them; and he [Fortunius] said that he would like to see how I would act in the
event of such persecution, whether I
would consent to such cruelty, or withhold from it all countenance. I said that God saw
my heart, which was unseen by them; also that they had hitherto had no ground for
apprehending such persecution, which if it did take place would be the

1 Matt. xxvi. 20-2S. 2 John iv. 1, 2. 3 John iii. 29. 4 John xiii. 10.
with the most manifest reluctance and sincere regret. When he himself most frankly bemoaned many of the evil deeds of his party, making evident, as was further proved by the testi-

1 Eph. iv. 2, 3.

LET. XLIV.] TO ELEUSIUS, GLOMUS, AND THE TWO FELIXES. 171

mony of the whole community, how far he was from sharing in such transactions, and told us what he was wont to say in mild expostulation to those of his own party; when also I had quoted the words of Ezekiel â€” "As the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die" 1 â€” in which it is written that the son's fault is not to be reckoned to his father, nor the father's fault reckoned to his son, it was agreed by all that, in such discussions the excesses of bad men ought not to be brought forward by either party against the other. There remained, therefore, only the question as to schism. I therefore exhorted him that again and again he should with tranquil and undisturbed mind join me in an effort to bring to a satisfactory end, by diligent research, the examination of so important a matter. When he kindly replied that I myself sought this with a single eye, but that others who were on my side were averse to such examination of the truth, I left him with this promise, that I would bring to him more of my colleagues, ten at least, who desire this question to be sifted with the same good-will and calmness and pious care which I saw that he had discovered and now commended in myself. He gave me a similar promise regarding a like number of his colleagues.

Chap. vl 13. Wherefore I exhort you, and by the blood of the Lord implore you, to put him in mind of his promise, and to insist urgently that what has been begun, and is now, as you see, nearly finished, may be concluded. For, in my opinion, you will have difficulty in finding among your bishops another whose judgment and feelings are so sound as we have seen that old man's to be. The next day he came to me himself, and we began to discuss the matter again. I could not, however, remain long with him, as the ordination of a bishop required my departing from the place. I had already sent a messenger to the chief man of the Coelicolae, 2 of whom I had heard that he had introduced a new baptism among them, and had by this impiety led many astray, intending, so far as my limited time permitted, to confer with him. Fortunius, when he learned

1 Ezek. xviii. 4.

2 The Coelicolae are mentioned in some laws of Honorius as heretics whose heresy, if they refused to abandon it, involved them in civil penalties.

172 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLVI.
that he was coming, perceiving that I was to be otherwise engaged, and having himself some other duty calling him from home, bade me a kind and friendly farewell.

14. It seems to me that if we would avoid the attendance of a noisy crowd, rather hindering than helping the debate, and if we wish to complete by the Lord's help so great a work begun in a spirit of unfeigned good-will and peace, we ought to meet in some small village in which neither party has a church, and which is inhabited by persons belonging to both churches, such as Titia. Let this or any other such place be agreed upon in the region of Tubursi or of Thagaste, and let us take care to have the canonical books at hand for reference. Let any other documents be brought thither which either party may judge useful; and laying all other things aside, uninterrupted, if it please God, by other cares, devoting our time for as many days as we can to this one work, and each imploring in private the Lord's guidance, we may, by the help of Him to whom Christian peace is most sweet, bring to a happy termination the inquiry which has been in such a good spirit opened. Do not fail to write in reply what you or Eoitunius think of this.

LETTEE XLV.

A short letter to Panlinus and Therasia repeating the request made in Letter XLIL, and again complaining of the long silence of his friend.

LETTER XLVI.

(a.d. 398.)

A letter propounding several cases of conscience.

TO MY BELOVED AND VENERABLE FATHER THE BISHOP AUGUSTINE,
PUBLICOLA SENDS GREETING.

It is written: "Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee." 1 I have therefore judged it right to "seek the law at the mouth of the priest" in regard to a certain case which I shall state in this letter, desiring at the same time to be instructed in regard to several other matters. I have distinguished the several questions by stating each in

1 Deut. xxxii. 7.
I. In the country of the Arzuges it is customary, as I have heard, for the barbarians to take an oath, swearing by their false gods, in the presence of the decurion stationed on the frontier or of the tribune, when they have come under engagement to carry baggage to any part, or to protect the crops from depredation; and when the decurion certifies in writing that this oath has been taken, the owners or farmers of land employ them as watchmen of their crops; or travellers who have occasion to pass through their country hire them, as if assured of their now being trustworthy. Now a doubt has arisen in my mind whether the landowner who thus employs a barbarian, of whose fidelity he is persuaded in consequence of such an oath, does not make himself and the crops committed to that man's charge to share the defilement of that sinful oath; and so also with the traveller who may employ his services.

I should mention, however, that in both cases the barbarian is rewarded for his services with money. Nevertheless in both transactions there comes in, besides the pecuniary remuneration, this oath before the decurion or tribune involving mortal sin.

I am concerned as to whether this sin does not defile either him who accepts the oath of the barbarian, or at least the things which are committed to the barbarian's keeping. For whatever other terms be in the arrangement, even such as the payment of gold, and giving of hostages in security, nevertheless this sinful oath has been a real part of the transaction. Be pleased to resolve my doubts definitely and positively. For if your answer indicate that you are in doubt yourself, I may fall into greater perplexity than before.

II. I have also heard that my own land-stewards receive from the barbarians hired to protect the crops an oath in which they appeal to their false gods. Does not this oath so defile these crops, that if a Christian uses them or takes the money realized by their sale, he is himself defiled? Do answer this.

III. Again, I have heard from one person that no oath was taken by the barbarian in making agreement with my steward, but another has said to me that such an oath was taken.

Suppose now that the latter statement were false, tell me if I am bound to forbear from using these crops, or the money obtained for them, merely because I have heard the statement made, according to the scriptural rule: "If any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not, for his sake that showed it." Is this case parallel to the case of meat offered to idols; and if it is, what am I to do with the crops, or with the price of them?

IV. In this case ould I to examine both him who said that no oath was taken before my steward, and the other who said that the oath was taken, and bring witnesses to prove which of the two spoke truly, leaving the crops or their price untouched so long as there is uncertainty in the matter?
V. If the barbarian who swears this sinful oath were to require of the steward or of the tribune stationed on the frontier, that he, being a Christian, should give him assurance of his faithfulness to his part of the engagement about watching the crops, by the same oath which he himself has taken, involving mortal sin, does the oath pollute only that Christian man? Does it not also pollute the things regarding which he took the oath? Or if a pagan who has authority on the frontier thus give 10 a barbarian this oath in token of acting faithfully to him, does he not involve in the defilement of his own sin those in whose interest he swears? If I send a man to the Arzus:es, is it lawful for him to take from a barbarian that sinful oath? Is not the Christian who takes such an oath from him also defiled by his sin?

VI. Is it lawful for a Christian to use wheat or beans from the threshing-floor, wine or oil from the press, if, with his knowledge, some part of what has been taken thence was offered in sacrifice to a false god?

VII. May a Christian use for any purpose wood which he knows to have been taken from one of their idols' groves?

VIII. If a Christian buy in the market meat which has not been offered to idols, and have in his mind conflicting doubts as to whether it has been offered to idols or not, but eventually adopt the opinion that it was not, does he sin if he partake of this meat?

IX. If a man does an action good in itself, about which he

1 1 Cor. x. 28.

LET. XL VI.] PUBLICOLA TO AUGUSTINE. 175

has some misgivings as to whether it is good or bad, can it be reckoned as a sin to him if he does it believing it to be good, although formerly he may have thought it bad?

X. If any one has falsely said that some meat has been offered to idols, and afterwards confess that it was a falsehood, and this confession is believed, may a Christian use the meat regarding which he heard that statement, or sell it, and use the price obtained?

XI. If a Christian on a journey, overpowered by want, having fasted for one, two, or several days, so that he can no longer endure the privation, should by chance, when in the last extremity of hunger, and when he sees death close at hand, find food placed in an idol's temple, where there is no man near him, and no other food to be found; whether should he die or partake of that food?

XII. If a Christian is on the point of being killed by a barbarian or a Eoman, ought he to kill the aggressor to save his own life? or ought he even, without killing the assailant, to drive him back and fight with him, seeing it has been said,
"Eesist not evil"? 1

XIII. May a Christian put a wall for defence against an enemy round his property? and if some use that wall as a place from which to fight and kill the enemy, is the Christian the cause of the homicide?

XIV. May a Christian drink at a fountain or well into which anything from a sacrifice has been cast? May he drink from a well found in a deserted temple? If there be in a temple where an idol is worshipped a well or fountain which nothing has defiled, may he draw water thence, and drink of it?

XV. May a Christian use baths in places in which sacrifice is offered to images? May he use baths which are used by pagans on a feast-day, either while they are there or after they have left?

XVI. May a Christian use the same sedan-chair as has been used by pagans coming down from their idols on a feast-day, if in that chair they have performed any part of their idolatrous service, and the Christian is aware of this?

1 Matt. v. 39. 2 Balneis vel thermis.

3 The Benedictine Fathers translate this, in their note, sitz-bath.

176 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLVII.

XVII. If a Christian, being the guest of another, has forborne from using meat set before him, concerning which it was said to him that it had been offered in sacrifice, but afterwards by some accident finds the same meat for sale and buys it, or has it presented to him at another man's table, and then eat of it, without knowing that it is the same, is he guilty of sin?

XVIII. May a Christian buy and use vegetables or fruit which he knows to have been brought from the garden of a temple or of the priests of an idol?

That you may not be put to trouble in searching the Scriptures concerning the oath of which I have spoken and the idols, I resolved to set before you those texts which, by the Lord's help, I have found; but if you have found anything better or more to the purpose in Scripture, be so good as let me know. For example, when Laban said to Jacob, "The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor judge betwixt us," Scripture does not declare which god is meant. Again, when Abimelech came to Isaac, and he and those who were with him sware to Isaac, we are not told what kind of oath it was. 2

As to the idols, Gideon was commanded by the Lord to make a whole burnt-offering of the bullock which he killed. 3 And in the book of Joshua the son of Nun, it is said of Jericho that all the silver, and gold, and brass should be brought into the treasures of the
Lord, and the things found in the accursed city were called sacred. 4 Also we read in Deuteronomy: 5
" Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it."

May the Lord preserve thee. I salute thee. Pray for me.

LETTER XLVII.

(ad. 398.)

to the honourable publicola, my much beloved son, augustine sends greeting in the lord.

1. Your perplexities have, since I learned them by your letter, become mine also, not because all those things by which you tell me that you are disturbed, disturb my mind: but I have been much perplexed, I confess, by the question how your perplexities were to be removed; especially since you require me to give a conclusive answer, lest you should fall into greater doubts than you had before you applied to me to have them resolved. For I see that I cannot give this, since, though I may write things which appear to me most certain, if I do not convince you, you must be beyond question more at a loss than before; and though it is in my power to use arguments which weigh with myself, I may fail of convincing another by these. However, lest I should refuse the small service which your love claims, I have resolved after some consideration to write in reply.

2. One of your doubts is as to using the services of a man who has guaranteed his fidelity by swearing by his false gods. In this matter I beg you to consider whether, in the event of a man failing to keep his word after having pledged himself by such an oath, you would not regard him as guilty of a twofold sin. For if he kept the engagement which he had confirmed by this oath, he would be pronounced guilty in this only, that he swore by such deities; but no one would justly blame him for keeping his engagement. But in the case supposed, seeing that he both swore by those whom he should not worship, and did, notwithstanding his promise, what he should not have done, he was guilty of two sins: whence it is obvious that in using, not for an evil work, but for some good and lawful end, the service of a man whose fidelity is known to have been confirmed by an oath in the name of false gods, one participates, not in the sin of swearing by the false gods, but in the good faith with which
he keeps his promise. The faith which I here speak of as kept is not that on account of which those who are baptized in Christ are called faithful: that is entirely different and far removed from; the faith desiderated in regard to the arrangements and compacts of men. Nevertheless it is, beyond all doubt, worse to swear falsely by the true God than to swear truly by the false gods; for the greater the holiness of that by which we swear, the greater is the sin of perjury. It is therefore a different question whether he is not guilty who requires another to pledge

VOL. i. M

178 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLVII.

himself by taking an oath in the name of his gods, seeing that he worships false gods. In answering this question, we may accept as decisive those examples which you yourself quoted of Laban and of Abimelech (if Abimelech did swear by his gods, as Laban swore by the god of Xahor). This is, as I have said, another question, and one which would perplex me, were it not for those examples of Isaac and Jacob, to which, for aught I know, others might be added. It may be that some scruple might yet be suggested by the precept in the New Testament, "Swear not at all;" 1 words which were in my opinion spoken, not because it is a sin to swear a true oath, but because it is a heinous sin to forswear oneself: from which crime our Lord would have us keep at a great distance, when He charged us not to swear at all. I know, however, that your opinion is different: wherefore it should not be discussed at present; let us rather treat of that about which you have thought of asking my advice. On the same ground on which you forbear from swearing yourself, you may, if such be your opinion, regard it as forbidden to exact an oath from another, although it is expressly said, Swear not; but I do not remember reading anywhere in Holy Scripture that we are not to take another's oath. The question whether we ought to take advantage of the concord which is established between other parties by their exchange of oaths is entirely different. If we answer this in the negative, I know not whether we could find any place on earth in which we could live. For not only on the frontier, but throughout all the provinces, the security of peace rests on the oaths of barbarians. And from this it would follow, that not only the crops which are guarded by men who have sworn fidelity in the name of their false gods, but all things which enjoy the protection secured by the peace which a similar oath has ratified, are defiled. If this be admitted by you to be a complete absurdity, dismiss with it your doubts on the cases which you named.

3. Again, if from the threshing-floor or wine-press of a Christian anything be taken, with his knowledge, to be offered to false gods, he is guilty in permitting this to be done, if it be in his power to prevent it. If he finds that it has been

1 Matt. v. 34, 36.
done, or has not the power to prevent it, he uses without scruple the rest of the grain or wine, as uncontaminated, just as we use fountains from which we know that water has been taken to be used in idol-worship. The same principle decides the question about baths. For we have no scruple about inhaling the air into which we know that the smoke from all the altars and incense of idolaters ascends. From which it is manifest, that the thing forbidden is our devoting anything to the honour of the false gods, or appearing to do this by so acting as to encourage in such worship those who do not know our mind, although in our heart we despise their idols. And when temples, idols, groves, etc., are thrown down by permission from the authorities, although our taking part in this work is a clear proof of our not honouring, but rather abhorring, these things, we must nevertheless forbear from appropriating any of them to our own personal and private use; so that it may be manifest that in overthrowing these we are influenced, not by greed, but by piety. When, however, the spoils of these places are applied to the benefit of the community or devoted to the service of God, they are dealt with in the same manner as the men themselves when they are turned from impiety and sacrilege to the true religion. We understand this to be the will of God from the examples quoted by yourself: the grove of the false gods from which He commanded wood to be taken [by Gideon] for the burnt-offering; and Jericho, of which all the gold, silver, and brass was to be brought into the Lord's treasury. Hence also the precept in Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therein; for it is an abomination to the Lord thy God. Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou become a cursed thing like it: but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing." *

From which it appears plainly, that either the appropriation of such spoils to their own private use was absolutely forbidden, or they were forbidden to carry anything of that kind into their own houses with the intention of giving to it honour; for then this would be an abomination and accursed in the sight of God; whereas the honour impiously given to such idols is, by their public destruction, utterly abolished.

4. As to meats offered to idols, I assure you we have no duty beyond observing what the apostle taught concerning them. Study, therefore, his words on the subject, which, if they were obscure to you, I would explain as well as I could. He does not sin who, unwittingly, afterwards partakes of food which he formerly refused because it had been offered to an idol. A kitchen-herb, or any other fruit of the ground,
belongs to Him who created it; for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," and "every creature of God is good." 1

But if that which the earth has borne is consecrated or offered to an idol, then we must reckon it among the things offered to idols. We must beware lest, in pronouncing that we ought not to eat the fruits of a garden belonging to an idol-temple, we be involved in the inference that it was wrong for the apostle to take food in Athens, since that city belonged to Minerva, and was consecrated to her as the guardian deity.

The same answer I would give as to the well or fountain enclosed in a temple, though my scruples would be somewhat more awakened if some part of the sacrifices be thrown into the said well or fountain. But the case is, as I have said before, exactly parallel to our using of the air which receives the smoke of these sacrifices; or, if this be thought to make a difference, that the sacrifice, the smoke whereof mingles with the air, is not offered to the air itself, but to some idol or false sod, whereas sometimes offerings are cast into the water with the intention of sacrificing to the waters themselves, it is enough to say that the same principle would preclude us from using the light of the sun, because wicked men continually worship that luminary wherever they are tolerated in doing so.

Sacrifices are offered to the winds, which we nevertheless use for our convenience, although they seem, as it were, to inhale and swallow greedily the smoke of these sacrifices. If any one be in doubt regarding meat, whether it has been offered to an idol or not, and the fact be that it has not, when he eats that meat under the impression that it has not been offered to an idol, he by no means does wrong; because neither in fact, nor now in his judgment, is it food offered to an idol, although he formerly thought it was. For surely it is lawful to correct false impressions by others that are true. But if any one believes that to be good which is evil, and acts accordingly, he sins in entertaining that belief; and these are all sins of ignorance, in which one thinks that to be right which it is wrong for him to do.

5. As to killing others in order to defend one's own life, I do not approve of this, unless one happen to be a soldier or public functionary acting, not for himself, but in defence of others or of the city in which he resides, if he act according to the commission lawfully given him, and in the manner becoming his office. 1 When, however, men are prevented, by being alarmed, from doing wrong, it may be said that a real service is done to themselves. The precept, "Eesist not evil," 2 was given to prevent us from taking pleasure in revenge, in which the mind is gratified by the sufferings of others, but not to make us neglect the duty of restraining men from sin. From this it follows that one is not guilty of homicide, because he has put up a wall round his estate, if any one is killed by the wall falling upon him when he is throwing it down. For a Christian is not guilty of homicide though his ox may gore or his horse kick a man, so that he dies. On such a principle, the oxen of a Christian should have no horns, and his horses no hoofs, and his dogs no teeth. On such a principle, when the Apostle Paul took

LET. XLVII.] TO PUBLICOLA. 181
care to inform the chief captain that an ambush was laid for him by certain desperadoes, and received in consequence an armed escort. If the villains who plotted his death had thrown themselves on the weapons of the soldiers, Paul would have had to acknowledge the shedding of their blood as a crime with which he was chargeable. God forbid that we should be blamed for accidents which, without our desire, happen to others through things done by us or found in our possession, which are in themselves good and lawful. In that event, we ought to have no iron implements

1 For Augustine's mature view on this subject, see his work, De Libero Arbitrio, i. 5. 13: "That it is wrong to shed the blood of our fellow-men in defence of those things which ought to be despised by us."


182 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XLVIII.

for the house or the field, lest some one should by them lose his own life or take another's; no tree or rope on our premises, lest some one hang himself; no window in our house, lest some one throw himself down from it. But why mention more in a list which must be interminable? For what good and lawful thing is there in use among men which may not become chargeable with being an instrument of destruction?

6. I have now only to notice (unless I am mistaken) the case which you mentioned of a Christian on a journey overcome by the extremity of hunger; whether, if he could find nothing to eat but meat placed in an idol's temple, and there was no man near to relieve him, it would be better for him to die of starvation than to take that food for his nourishment?

Since in this question it is not assumed that the food thus found was offered to the idol (for it might have been left by mistake or designedly by persons who, on a journey, had turned aside there to take refreshment; or it might have been put there for some other purpose), I answer briefly thus:

Either it is certain that this food was offered to the idol, or it is certain that it was not, or neither of these things is known.

If it is certain, it is better to reject it with Christian fortitude.

In either of the other alternatives, it may be used for his necessity without any conscientious scruple.

LETTEE XLVIII.

(a.d. 398.)

to my lord eudoxius, my brother and fellow-presbyter, beloved and longed for, and to the brethren w t ho
1. "When we reflect upon the undisturbed rest which you enjoy in Christ, we also, although engaged in labours manifold and arduous, find rest with you, beloved. We are one body under one Head, so that you share our toils, and we share your repose: for "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or

1 The monastery of these brethren was in the island of Capraria â€” the same, I suppose, with Caprera â€” now so widely famous as Garibaldi's home.

LET. XL VIII. ] TO EUDOXIUS. 183

if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." 1 Therefore we earnestly exhort and beseech you, by the deep humility and most compassionate majesty of Christ, to be mindful of us in your holy intercessions; for we believe you to be more lively and undistracted in prayer than we can be, whose prayers are often marred and weakened by the darkness and confusion arising from secular occupations: not that we have these on our own account, but we can scarcely breathe for the pressure of such duties imposed upon us by men compelling us, so to speak, to go with them one mile, with whom we are commanded by our Lord to go farther than they ask. 2 We believe, nevertheless, that He before whom the sighing of the prisoner comes 3 will look on us persevering in the ministry in which He was pleased to put us, with promise of reward, and, by the assistance of your prayers, will set us free from all distress.

2. We exhort you in the Lord, brethren, to be steadfast in your purpose, and persevere to the end; and if the Church, your Mother, calls you to active service, guard against accepting it, on the one hand, with too eager elation of spirit, or declining it, on the other, under the solicitations of indolence; and obey God with a lowly heart, submitting yourselves in meekness to Him who governs you, who will guide the meek in judgment, and will teach them His way. 4 Do not prefer your own ease to the claims of the Church; for if no good men were willing to minister to her in her bringing forth of her spiritual children, the beginning of your own spiritual life would have been impossible. As men must keep the way carefully in walking between fire and water, so as to be neither burned nor drowned, so must we order our steps between the pinnacle of pride and the whirlpool of indolence; as it is written, "declining neither to the right hand nor to the left." 5 For some, while guarding too anxiously against being lifted up and raised, as it were, to the dangerous heights on the right hand, have fallen and been engulfed in the depths on the left. Again, others, while turning too eagerly from the danger on the left hand of being immersed in the torpid effeminacy of inaction, are, on the other

1 1 Cor. xii. 26. 2 Matt. v. 41. 3 Ps. lxxix. 11.
hand, so destroyed and consumed by the extravagance of self-conceit, that they vanish into ashes and smoke. See then, beloved, that in your love of ease you restrain yourselves from all mere earthly delight, and remember that there is no place where the fowler who fears lest we fly back to God may not lay snares for us; let us account him whose captives we once were to be the sworn enemy of all good men; let us never consider ourselves in possession of perfect peace until iniquity shall have ceased, and "judgment shall have returned unto righteousness." 1

3. Moreover, when you are exerting yourselves with energy and fervour, whatever you do, whether labouring diligently in prayer, fasting, or almsgiving, or distributing to the poor, or forgiving injuries, "as God also for Christ's sake hath forgiven us," 2 or subduing evil habits, and chastening the body and bringing it into subjection, 3 or bearing tribulation, and especially bearing with one another in love (for what can he bear who is not patient with his brother ?), or guarding against the craft and wiles of the tempter, and by the shield of faith averting and extinguishing his fiery darts, 4 or "singing and making melody to the Lord in your hearts," 5 or with voices in harmony with your hearts; 5 αὐτὸν ἀλήθειαν ἀλήθειαν, whatever you do, I say, * do all to the glory of God," 6 who "works all in all," 7 and be so "fervent in spirit" 8 that your "soul may make her boast in the Lord." 9

Such is the course of those who walk in the "straight way," whose "eyes are ever upon the Lord, for He shall pluck their feet out of the net." 10 Such a course is neither interrupted by business, nor benumbed by leisure, neither boisterous nor languid, neither presumptuous nor desponding, neither reckless nor supine. "These things do, and the God of peace shall be with you." 11

4. Let your charity prevent you from accounting me for reward in wishing to address you by letter. I remind you of these things, not because I think you come short in them, but because I thought that I would be much commended unto God by you, if, in doing your duty to Him, you do it with a

1 Ps. lvii. 1 and xci. 15. 2 Epli. iv. 32. 3 1 Cor. ix. 27.

4 Eph. vi. 16. 5 Eph. v. 19. 6 1 Cor. x. 31.

7 1 Cor. xii. 6. 8 Eom. xii. 11. 9 Ps. xxxiv. 2.

10 Ps. xxv. 15. 11 Phil. iv. 9.
remembrance of my exhortation. For good report, even before the coming of the brethren Eustasius and Andreas from you, had brought to us, as they did, the good savour of Christ, which is yielded by your holy conversation. Of these, Eustasius has gone before us to that land of rest, on the shore of which beat no rude waves such as those which encompass your island home, and in which he does not regret Caprera, for the homely raiment 1 with which it furnished him he wears no more.

LETTER XLIX.

This letter, written to Honoratus, a Donatist bishop, contains nothing on the Donatist schism which is not already found in Letters XLIII. and XLIV., or supplied in Letter LIII.

LETTEE L. 2

(a.d. 399.)

to the magistrates and leading men, or elders, of the colony of suffectum, bishop augustine sends greeting.

Earth reels and heaven trembles at the report of the enormous crime and unprecedented cruelty which has made your streets and temples run red with blood, and ring with the shouts of murderers. You have buried the laws of Eome in a dishonoured grave, and trampled in scorn the reverence due to equitable enactments. The authority of emperors you neither respect nor fear. In your city there has been shed the innocent blood of sixty of our brethren; and whoever approved himself most active in the massacre, was rewarded with your applause, and with a high place in your Council.

Come now, let us arrive at the chief pretext for this outrage.

If you say that Hercules belonged to you, by all means we will

1 Cilicium, the garment of goats' hair worn by the brethren. These were the staple article of manufacture in Caprera, ' ' the goat-island. ''

2 This letter is found only in the Vatican MS. On this ground, and because of its tone and style, its composition has been ascribed to another hand than Augustine's. The reader may judge for himself. The sixty Christians of Suffectum (a town in the territory of Tunis), whose death is here mentioned, are commemorated in the martyrology of the Roman Catholic Church. Their day in the Calendar is Aug. 30.
make good your loss: we have metals at hand, and there is no lack of stone; nay, we have several varieties of marble, and a host of artisans. Fear not, your god is in the hands of his makers, and shall he with all diligence hewn out and polished and ornamented. We will give in addition some red ochre, to make him blush in such a way as may well harmonize with your devotions. Or if you say that the Hercules must be of your own making, we will raise a subscription in pennies, 1 and buy a god from a workman of your own for you. Only do you at the same time make restitution to us; and as your god Hercules is given back to you, let the lives of the many men whom your violence has destroyed be given back to us.

LETTER LI.

(a.d. 399 or 400.)

An invitation to Crispinus, Donatist bishop at Calama, to discuss the whole question of the Donatist schism.

(No salutation at the beginning of the letter.)

1. I have adopted this plan in regard to the heading of this letter, because your party are offended by the humility which I have shown in the salutations prefixed to others. I might be supposed to have done it as an insult to you, were it not that I trust that you will do the same in your reply to me.

"Why should I say much regarding your promise at Carthage, and my urgency to have it fulfilled? Let the manner in which we then acted to each other be forgotten with the past, lest it should obstruct future conference. Now, unless I am mistaken, there is, by the Lord's help, no obstacle in the way: we are both in Numidia, and located at no great distance from each other. I have heard it said that you are still willing to examine, in debate with me, the question which separates us from communion with each other. See how promptly all ambiguities may be cleared away: send me an answer to this letter if you please, and perhaps that may be enough, not only for us, but for those also who desire to hear us; or if it is not, let us exchange letters again and again until the dis-

1 Singulis numniis.

LET. II] to crispinus. 187

cussion is exhausted. For what greater benefit could be secured to us by the comparative nearness of the towns which we inhabit? I have resolved to debate with you in no other way than by letters, in order both to prevent anything that is said from escaping from our memory, and to secure that others interested in the question, but unable to be present at a
debate, may not forfeit the instruction. You are accustomed, not with any intention of falsehood, but by mistake, to reproach us with charges such as may suit your purpose, concerning past transactions, which we repudiate as untrue. Therefore, if you please, let us weigh the question in the light of the present, and let the past alone. You are doubtless aware that in the Jewish dispensation the sin of idolatry was committed by the people, and once the book of the prophet of God was burned by a defiant king 1 the punishment of the sin of schism would not have been more severe than that with which these two were visited, had not the guilt of it been greater. You remember, of course, how the earth opening swallowed up alive the leaders of a schism, and fire from heaven breaking forth destroyed their accomplices. 2 Neither the making and worshipping of an idol, nor the burning of the Holy Book, was deemed worthy of such punishment.

2. You are wont to reproach us with a crime, not proved against us, indeed, though proved beyond question against some of your own party, â€” the crime, namely, of yielding up, through fear of persecution, the Scriptures 3 to be burned. Let me ask, therefore, why you have received back men whom you condemned for the crime of schism by the " unerring voice of your plenary Council Â” (I quote from the record), and replaced them in the same episcopal sees as they were in at the time when you passed sentence against them ? I refer to Felicianus of Musti and Prsetextatus of Assuri. 4 These were not, as you would have the ignorant believe, included among those to whom your Council appointed and intimated a certain

1 Jer. xxxvi. 23. 2 Num. xvi. 31-35. 3 Dominici libri.

* Felicianus and Prsetextatus were two of the twelve bishops by whom Maximianus was ordained. They were condemned by the Donatist Council of Bagae; but finding it impossible to eject them from their sees, the Donatists yielded after a time, and restored them to their office. See Letter LIU. p. 195.

18S LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LI.

time, after the lapse of which, if they had not returned to your communion, the sentence would become final; but they were included among the others whom you condemned, without delay, on the day on which you gave to some, as I have said, a respite. I can prove this, if you deny it. Your own Council is witness. "We have also the proconsular Acts, in which you have not once, but often, affirmed this. Provide, therefore, some other line of defence if you can, lest, denying what I can prove, you cause loss of time. If, then, Felicianus and Prsetextatus were innocent, why were they thus condemned ? If they were guilty, why were they thus restored ? If you prove them to have been innocent, can you object to our believing that it was possible for innocent men, falsely charged with being traditors, to be condemned by a much smaller number of your predecessors, if it is found possible for innocent men, falsely charged with being schismatics, to be condemned by three hundred and ten of their successors, whose
decision is magniloquently described as proceeding from "the unerring voice of a plenary Council"? If, however, you prove them to have been justly condemned, what can you plead in defence of their being restored to office in the same episcopal sees, unless, magnifying the importance and benefit of peace, you maintain that even such things as these should be tolerated in order to preserve unbroken the bond of unity? "Would to God that you would urge this plea, not with the lips only, but with the whole heart! You could not fail then to perceive that no calumnies whatever could justify the breaking up of the peace of Christ throughout the world, if it is lawful in Africa for men, once condemned for impious schism, to be restored to the same office which they held, rather than break up the peace of Donatus and his party.

3. Again, you are wont to reproach us with persecuting you by the help of the civil power. In regard to this, I do not draw an argument either from the demerit involved in the enormity of so great an impiety, nor from the Christian meekness moderating the severity of our measures. I take up this position: if this be a crime, why have you harshly persecuted the Maximianists by the help of judges appointed by those emperors whose spiritual birth by the gospel was due to our Church? Why have you driven them, by the din of controversy, the authority of edicts, and the violence of soldiery, from those buildings for worship which they possessed, and in which they were when they seceded from you? The wrongs endured by them in that struggle in every place are attested by the existing traces of events so recent. Documents declare the orders given. The deeds done are notorious throughout regions in which also the sacred memory of your leader Optatus is mentioned with honour.

4. Again, you are wont to say that we have not the baptism of Christ, and that beyond your communion it is not to be found. On this I would enter into a more lengthened argument; but in dealing with you this is not necessary, seeing that, along with Felicianus and Prætextatus, you admitted also the baptism of the Maximianists as valid. For all whom these "bishops baptized so long as they were in communion with Maximianus, while you were doing your utmost in a protracted contest in the civil courts to expel these very men [Felicianus and Prætextatus] from their churches, as the Acts testify, â€“ all those, I say, whom they baptized during that time, they now have in fellowship with them and with you; and though these were baptized by them when excommunicated and in the guilt of schism, not only in cases of extremity through dangerous sickness, but also at the Easter services, in the large number of churches belonging to their cities, and in these important cities themselves, â€“ in the case of none of them has the rite of baptism been repeated. And I wish you could prove that those whom Felicianus and Praetextatus had baptized, as it were, in vain, when they were excommunicated and in the guilt of schism, were satisfactorily baptized again by them when they were restored. For if the renewal of baptism was necessary for the people, the renewal of ordination was not less necessary
for the bishops. For they had forfeited their episcopal office by leaving you, if they could not baptize beyond your communion; because, if they had not forfeited their episcopal office by leaving you, they could still baptize. But if they had forfeited their episcopal office, they should have received ordination when they returned, so that what they had lost might be restored. Let not this, however, alarm you.

190 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LI.

As it is certain that they returned with the same standing as bishops with which they had gone forth from you, so is it also certain that they brought back with themselves to your communion, without any repetition of their baptism, all those whom they had baptized in the schism of Maximianus.

5. How can we weep enough when we see the baptism of the Maximianists acknowledged by you, and the baptism of the Church universal despised? Whether it was with or without hearing their defence, whether it was justly or unjustly, that you condemned Felicianus and Prætextatus, I do not ask; but tell me what bishop of the Corinthian Church ever defended himself at your bar, or received sentence from you? or what bishop of the Galatians has done so, or of the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Thessalonians, or of any of the other cities included in the promise: "All the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee"? 1 Yet you accept the baptism of the former, while that of the latter is despised; whereas baptism belongs neither to the one nor to the other, but to Him of whom it was said: "This same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." 2 I do not, however, dwell on this in the meantime: take notice of the things which are beside us—behold what might make an impression even on the blind! Where do we find the baptism which you acknowledge? With those, forsooth, whom you have condemned, but not with those who were never even tried at your bar! â€” with those who were denounced by name, and cast forth from you for the crime of schism, but not with those who, unknown to you, and dwelling in remote lands, never were accused or condemned by you! â€” with those who are but a fraction of the inhabitants of a fragment of Africa, but not with those from whose country the gospel first came to Africa! Why should I add to your burden? Let me have an answer to these things. Look to the charge made by your Council against the Maximianists as guilty of impious schism: look to the persecutions by the civil courts to which you appealed against them: look to the fact that you restored some of them without re-ordination, and accepted their baptism as valid: and answer, if you can, whether it is in your

1 Ps. xxii. 27. 2 John i. 33.
power to hide, even from the ignorant, the question why you have separated yourselves from the whole world, in a schism much more heinous than that which you boast of having condemned in the Maximianists? May the peace of Christ triumph in your heart! Then all shall be well. 1

LETTER LII.

This letter to his kinsman Severinus, exhorting him to withdraw from the Donatists, contains no new argument.

LETTER LIII.

(A.D. 400.)

TO GENEROSUS, OUR MOST LOVED AND HONOURABLE BROTHER, FORTUNATUS, ALYPIUS, AND AUGUSTINE SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. Since you were pleased to acquaint us with the letter sent to you by a Donatist presbyter, although, with the spirit of a true Catholic, you regarded it with contempt, nevertheless, to aid you in seeking his welfare if his folly be not incurable, we beg you to forward to him the following reply. He wrote that an angel had enjoined him to declare to you the episcopal succession 2 of the Christianity of your town; to you, forsooth, who hold the Christianity not of your own town only, nor of Africa only, but of the whole world, the Christianity which has been published, and is now published to all nations. This proves that they think it a small matter that they themselves are not ashamed of being cut off, and are taking no measures, while they may, to be engrafted anew; they are not content unless they do their utmost to cut others off, and bring them to share their own fate, as withered branches fit for the flames. Wherefore, even if you had yourself been visited by that angel whom he affirms to have appeared to him, â€” a statement which we regard as a

1 We conjecture this to be the meaning of the elliptical expression ETYxns with which the letter ends.

2 "Orclo." The phrase is afterwards given (sec. 2) more fully, "ordo episcoporum sibi succedentium."

192 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LILT.]
cunning fiction; and if the angel had said to you the very words which he, on the warrant of the alleged command, repeated to you, â€” even in that case it would have been your duty to remember the words of the apostle: * Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." 1 For to you it was proclaimed by the voice of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, that His "gospel shall be preached unto all nations, and then shall the end come." 2 To you it has moreover been proclaimed by the writings of the prophets and of the apostles, that the promises were given to Abraham and to his seed, which is Christ, 3 when God said unto him:
" In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed."
Having then such promises, if an angel from heaven were to say to thee, " Let go the Christianity of the whole earth, and cling to the faction of Donatus, the episcopal succession of which is set forth in a letter of their bishop in your town," he ought to be accursed in your estimation; because he would be endeavouring to cut you off from the whole Church, and thrust you into a small party, and make you forfeit your interest in the promises of God.

2. For if the lineal succession of bishops is to be taken into account, with how much more certainty and benefit to the Church do we reckon back till we reach Peter himself, to whom, as bearing in a figure the whole Church, 4 the Lord said: " Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it !" 5 The successor of Peter was Linus, and his successors in unbroken continuity were these: â€” Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Iginus, Anicetus, Pius, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor, Zephirinus, Calixtus, Urbanus, Pontianus, Antherus, Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanas, Xystus, Dionysius, Felix, Eutychianus, Gaius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Eusebius, Miltiades, Sylvester, Marcus, Julius Liberius, Damasus, and Siricius, whose successor is the present Bishop Anastasius. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found. But, reversing the natural course of things, the Donatists sent to

1 Gal. i. 8. 2 Matt. xxiv. 14. 3 Gal. iii. 16.
4 Totius Ecclesiae figuram gerenti. 5 Matt. xvi. 18.

LET. liil] to generous. 193

Borne from Africa an ordained bishop, who, putting himself at the head of a few Africans in the great metropolis, gave some notoriety to the name of " mountain men/ or Cutzupits, by which they were known.

3. Now, even although some traditor had in the course of these centuries, through inadvertence, obtained a place in that order of bishops, reaching from Peter himself to
Anastasius, who now occupies that see, "this fact would do no harm to the Church and to Christians having no share in the guilt of another: for the Lord, providing against such a case, says, concerning officers in the Church who are wicked: " All whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not." 1

Thus the stability of the hope of the faithful is secured, inasmuch as being fixed, not in man, but in the Lord, it never can be swept away by the raging of impious schism; whereas they themselves are swept away who read in the Holy Scriptures the names of churches to which the apostles wrote, and in which they have no bishop. For what could more clearly prove their perversity and their folly, than their saying to their clergy, when they read these letters, " Peace be with thee," 2 at the very time that they are themselves disjoined from the peace of those churches to which the letters were originally written?

Chap. ii. 4. Lest, however, he should congratulate himself too much on the succession of bishops in Constantina, your own city, read to him the records of proceedingsbefore Munatius Felix, the resident Plamen [heathen priest], who was governor of your city in the consulship of Diocletian for the eighth time, and Maximian for the seventh, on the eleventh day before the calends of June. By these records it is proved that the bishop Paulus was a traditor; the fact being that Sylvanus was then one of his sub-deacons, and, along with him, produced and surrendered certain things belonging to the Lord's house, which had been most carefully concealed, namely a box 3 and a lamp of silver, upon seeing which a certain Victor

1 Matt, xxiii. 3.

2 Compare the allusion to the same custom in Letter XLIII. sec. 21, p. 155.

3 Capitulata.

VOL. I. N

194 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LIII.

is reported to have said, " You would have been put to death if you had not found these." Your Donatist priest makes great account of this Sylvanus, this clearly convicted traditor, in the letter which he writes you, mentioning him as then ordained to the office of bishop by the Primate Secundus of Tigisis. Let them keep their proud tongues silent, let them admit the charges which may truly be brought against themselves, and not utter foolish calumnies against others. Eead to him also, if he permits it, the ecclesiastical records of the proceedings of this same Secundus of Tigisis in the house of Urbanus Donatus, in which he remitted to God, as judge, men who confessed themselves to have been traditors â€” Donatus of Masculi, Marinus of Aquae Tibilitaneae, Donatus of Calama, with whom as his colleagues, though they were confessed traditors, he ordained their bishop Sylvanus, of whose guilt in the same matter I have given the history above. Eead to him
also the proceedings before Zenophilus, a man of consular rank, in the course of which a
certain deacon of theirs, JNundinarius, being angry with Sylvanus for having
excommunicated him, brought all these facts into court, proving them incontestably b>y
authentic documents, and the questioning of witnesses, and the reading of public records
and many letters.

5. There are many other things which you might read in his hearing, if he is disposed not
to dispute angrily, but to listen prudently, such as: the petition of the Donatists to
Constantine, begging him to send from Gaul bishops who should settle this controversy
which divided the African bishops; the Acts recording what took place in Eome, when
the case was taken up and decided by the bishops whom he sent thither: also you might
read in other letters how the Emperor aforesaid* states that they had made a complaint to
him against the decision of their peers â€” the bishops, namely, whom he had sent to
Eome; how he appointed other bishops to try the case over again at Aries; how they
appealed from that tribunal also to the Emperor again; how at last he himself investigated
the matter; and how he most emphatically declares that they were vanquished by the
innocence of Caecilianus. Let him listen to these things if he be willing, and he will be
silent and desist from plotting against the truth.

LET. LIII.J TO GENEROSUS. 19

Chap. hi. 6. We re
ly, however, not so much on these documents as on the Holy
Scriptures, wherein a dominion extending to the ends of the earth among all nations is
promised as the heritage of Christ, separated from which by their sinful schism they
reproach us with the crimes which belong to the chaff in the Lord's threshing-floor, which
must be permitted to remain mixed with the good grain until the end come, until the
whole be winnowed in the final judgment.
From which it is manifest that, whether these charges be true or false, they do not belong
to the Lord's wheat, 1 which must grow until the end of the world throughout the whole
field, i.e. the whole earth; as we know, not by the testimony of a false angel such as
confirmed your correspondent in his error, but from the words of the Lord in the Gospel.
And because these unhappy Donatists have brought the reproach of many false and
empty accusations against Christians who were blameless, but who are throughout the
world mingled with the chaff or tares, i.e. with Christians unworthy of the name,
therefore God has, in righteous retribution, appointed that they should, by their universal
Council, condemn as schismatics the Maximianists, because they had condemned
Primianus, and baptized while not in communion with Primianus, and re baptized those
whom he had baptized, and then after a short interval should, under the coercion of
Optatus the minion of Gildo, reinstate in the honours of their office two of these, the
bishops Felicianus of Musti and Praetextatus of Assuri, and acknowledge the baptism of
all whom they, while under sentence and excommunicated, had baptized. If, therefore,
they are not defiled by communion with the men thus restored again to their office, â€”
men whom with their own mouth they had condemned as wicked and impious, and whom they compared to those first heretics whom the earth swallowed up alive, 2 â€” let them at last awake and consider how great is their blindness and folly in pronouncing the whole world defiled by unknown crimes of Africans, and the heritage of Christ (which according to the promise has been shown unto all nations) destroyed through the sins of these Africans by the maintenance of communion with them; while they refuse to 1 Matt. xiii. 30. 2 Num. xvi. 31-33.

196 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LIV.

acknowledge themselves to be destroyed and denied by communicating with men whose crimes they had both known and condemned.

7. Wherefore, since the Apostle Paul says in another place, that even Satan transforms himself into an angel of light, and that therefore it is not strange that his servants should assume the guise of ministers of righteousness i 1 if your correspondent did indeed see an angel, teaching him error, and desiring to separate Christians from the Catholic unity, he has met with an ansrel of Satan transforming himself into an angel of light. If, however, he has lied to you, and has seen no such vision, he is himself a servant of Satan, assuming the guise of a minister of righteousness. And yet, if he be not incorrigibly obstinate and perverse, he may, by considering all the things now stated, be delivered both from misleading others, and from being himself misled. For, embracing the opportunity which you have given, we have met him without any rancour, remembering in regard to him the words of the apostle: " The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will" 2 If, therefore, we have said anything severe, let him know that it arises not from the bitterness of controversy, but from love vehemently desiring his return to the right path. May you live safe in Christ, most beloved and honourable brother!

LETTEELIV.

Styled also Book I. of Replies to Questions of Januarius.
(A.D. 400.)

TO HIS BELOVED SON JANUARIUS, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING

IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. In regard to the questions which you have asked

me, I would like to have known what your own answers
LET. LIV.] TO JANUAFJUS. 197

would have been; for thus I might have made my reply in fewer words, and might most
easily confirm or correct your opinions, by approving or amending the answers which
you had given. This I would have greatly preferred. But desiring to answer you at once, I
think it better to write a long letter than incur loss of time. I desire you therefore, in the
first place, to hold fast this as the fundamental principle in the present discussion, that our
Lord Jesus Christ has appointed to us a " light yoke " and an " easy burden," as He
declares in the Gospel:" in accordance with which He has bound His people under the
new dispensation together in fellowship by sacraments, which are in number very few, in
observance most easy, and in significance most excellent, as baptism solemnized in the
name of the Trinity, the communion of His body and blood, and such other things as are
prescribed in the canonical Scriptures, with the exception of those enactments which
were a yoke of bondage to God's ancient people, suited to their state of heart and to the
times of the prophets, and which are found in the five books of Moses. As to those other
things which we hold on the authority, not of Scripture, but of tradition, and which are
observed throughout the whole world, it may be understood that they are held as
approved and instituted either by the apostles themselves, or by plenary Councils, whose
authority in the Church is most useful, e.g.,
the annual commemoration, by special solemnities, of the Lord's passion, resurrection,
and ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit from heaven, and whatever else is in
like manner observed b) >- the whole Church wherever it has been established.

Chap. ii. 2. There are other things, however, which are different in different places and
countries: e.g., some fast on Saturday, others do not; some partake daily of the body and
blood of Christ, others receive it on stated days: in some places no day passes without the
sacrifice being offered; in others it is only on Saturday and the Lord's day, or it may be
only on the Lord's day. In regard to these and all other variable observances which may
be met anywhere, one is at liberty to comply with them or not as he chooses; and there

1 Matt. xi. 30.

198 LETTEES OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LIV.

is no better rule for the wise and serious Christian in this matter, than to conform to the
practice which he finds prevailing in the Church to which it may be his lot to come. For
such a custom, if it is clearly not contrary to the faith nor to sound morality, is to be held
as a thing indifferent, and ought to be observed for the sake of fellowship with those
among whom we live.
3. I think you may have heard me relate before, 1 what I will nevertheless now mention. When my mother followed me to Milan, she found the Church there not fasting on Saturday. She began to be troubled, and to hesitate as to what she should do; upon which I, though not taking a personal interest then in such things, applied on her behalf to Ambrose, of most blessed memory, for his advice. He answered that he could not teach me anything but what he himself practised, because if he knew any better rule, he would observe it himself. When I supposed that he intended, on the ground of his authority alone, and without supporting it by any argument, to recommend us to give up fasting on Saturday, he followed me, and said: "When I visit Rome, I fast on Saturday; when I am here, I do not fast. On the same principle, do you observe the custom prevailing in whatever Church you come to, if you desire neither to give offence by your conduct, nor to find cause of offence in another's." When I reported this to my mother, she accepted it gladly; and for myself, after frequently reconsidering his decision, I have always esteemed it as if I had received it by an oracle from heaven. For often have I perceived, with extreme sorrow, many disquietudes caused to weak brethren by the contentious pertinacity or superstitious vacillation of some who, in matters of this kind, which do not admit of final decision by the authority of Holy Scripture, or by the tradition of the universal Church, or by their manifest good influence on manners, raise questions, it may be, from some crotchet of their own, or from attachment to the custom followed in one's own country, or from preference for that which one has seen abroad, supposing that wisdom is increased in proportion to the distance to which men travel from home, and agitate these questions with such keenness, that they think all is wrong except what they do themselves.

Chap. hi. 4. Some one may say, "The Eucharist ought not to be taken every day." You ask, "On what grounds?" He answers, "Because, in order that a man may approach worthily to so great a sacrament, he ought to choose those days upon which he lives in more special purity and self-restraint; for 'whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.' " * Another answers, cf Certainly; if the wound inflicted by sin and the violence of the soul's distemper be such that the use of these remedies must be put off for a time, every man in this case should be, by the authority of the bishop, forbidden to approach the altar, and appointed to do penance, 2 and should be afterwards restored to privileges by the same authority; for this would be partaking unworthily, if one should partake of it at a time when he ought to be doing penance; and it is not a matter to be left to one's own judgment to withdraw himself from the communion of the Church, or restore himself, as he pleases. If, however, his sins are not so great as to bring him justly under sentence of excommunication, he ought not to withdraw himself from the daily use of the Lord's

1 Compare Letter XXXVI. sec. 32, p. 125.

LET. LIV.] TO JANUAPJUS. 199
body for the healing of his soul." Perhaps a third party interposes with a more just
decision of the question, reminding them that the principal thing is to remain united in the
peace of Christ, and that each should be free to do what, according to his belief, he
conscientiously regards as his duty. For neither of them lightly esteems the body and
blood of the Lord; on the contrary, both are contending who shall most highly honour the
sacrament fraught with blessing. There was no controversy between those two mentioned
in the Gospel, Zacchæus and the Centurion; nor did either of them think himself better
than the other, though, whereas the former received the Lord joyfully into his house, 3 the
latter said, "I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof," 4 â€” both
honouring the Saviour, though in ways diverse and, as it were, mutually opposed; both
miserable through sin, and both obtaining the mercy they required. We may further
borrow an illustration

1 1 Cor. xi. 29. 2 Agere pcenitentiam. 3 Luke xix. 6. 4 Matt. viii. 8.

200 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LIV.

here, from the fact that the manna given to the ancient people of God tasted in each man's
mouth as he desired that it misht. 1
It is the same with this world-subduing sacrament in the heart of each Christian. For he
that dares not take it every day, and he who dares not omit it any day, are both alike
moved by a desire to do it honour. That sacred food will not submit to be despised, as the
manna could not be loathed with impunity. Hence the apostle says that it was unworthily
partaken of by those who did not distinguish between this and all other meats, by yielding
to it the special veneration which was due; for to the words quoted already, "eateth and
drinketh judgment to himself," he has added these, "not discerning the Lord's body;" and
this is apparent from the whole of that passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, if it
be carefully studied.

Chap. iv. 5. Suppose some foreigner visit a place in which during Lent it is customary to
abstain from the use of the bath, and to continue fasting on Thursday. * I will not fast to
today," he says. The reason being asked, he says, "Such is not the custom in my own
country." Is not he, by such conduct, attempting to assert the superiority of his custom
over theirs? For he cannot quote a decisive passage on the subject from the Book of God;
nor can he prove his opinion to be right by the unanimous voice of the universal Church,
wherever spread abroad; nor can he demonstrate that they act contrary to the faith, and he
according to it, or that they are doing what is prejudicial to sound morality, and he is
defending its interests. Those men injure their own tranquillity and peace by quarrelling
on an unnecessary question. I would rather recommend that, in matters of this kind, each
man should, when sojourning in a country in which he finds a custom different from his
own, consent to do as others do. If, on the other hand, a Christian, when travelling abroad
in some region where the people of God are more numerous, and more easily

1 In his Retractations, b. ii. ch. xx., Augustine remarks on this statement: "I
do not recollect any passage by which it could be substantiated, except from the book of Wisdom (ch. xvi. 21), which the Jews do not admit to be of canonical authority." He says, in the same place, that this peculiarity of the manna must have been enjoyed only by the pious in Israel, not by the murmurers who said, "Our soul loatheth this light bread" (Num. xxi. 5).

LE. LIV.] TO JANUAFJUS. 201

assembled together, and more zealous in religion, has seen, e.g., the sacrifice twice offered, both morning and evening, on the Thursday of the last week in Lent, and therefore, on his coming back to his own country, where it is offered only at the close of the day, protests against this as wrong and unlawful, because he has himself seen another custom in another land, this would show a childish weakness of judgment against which we should guard ourselves, and which we must bear with in others, but correct in all who are under our influence.

Chap. v. 6. Observe now to which of these three classes the first question in your letter is to be referred. You ask, "What ought to be done on the Thursday of the last week of Lent? Ought we to offer the sacrifice in the morning, and again after supper, on account of the words in the Gospel, 1 Likewise also . . . after supper'? Or ought we to fast and offer the sacrifice only after supper? Or ought we to fast until the offering has been made, and then take supper as we are accustomed to do?" I answer, therefore, that if the authority of Scripture has decided which of these methods is right, there is no room for doubting that we should do according to that which is written; and our discussion must be occupied with a question, not of duty, but of interpretation as to the meaning of the divine institution. In like manner, if the universal Church follows any one of these methods, there is no room for doubt as to our duty; for it would be the height of arrogant madness to discuss whether or not we should comply with it. But the question which you propose is not decided either by Scripture or by universal practice.

It must therefore be referred to the third class â€“ as pertaining, namely, to things which are different in different places and countries. Let every man, therefore, conform himself to the usage prevailing in the Church to which he may come. For none of these methods is contrary to the Christian faith or the interests of morality, as favoured by the adoption of one custom more than the other. If this were the case, that either the faith or sound morality were at stake, it would be necessary either to change what was done amiss, or to appoint the doing of what had been neglected. But mere change of custom, even

1 Luke xxii. 20.

202 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LIV.
though it may be of advantage in some respects, unsettles men by reason of the novelty: therefore, if it brings no advantage, it does much harm by unprofitably disturbing the Church.

7. Let me add, that it would be a mistake to suppose that the custom prevalent in many places, of offering the sacrifice on that day after partaking of food, is to be traced to the words, "Likewise after supper," etc. For the Lord might give the name of supper to what they had received, in already partaking of His body, so that it was after this that they partook of the cup: as the apostle says in another place, "When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat 1 the Lord's Supper," 2 giving to the receiving of the Eucharist to that extent (i.e. the eating of the bread) the name of the Lord's Supper.

Chap. vi. As to the question whether upon that day it is right to partake of food before either offering or partaking of the Eucharist, these words in the Gospel might go far to decide our minds, " As they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it;" taken in connection with the words in the preceding context, u When the even was come, He sat down with the twelve: and as they did eat, He said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me." For it was after that that He instituted the sacrament; and it is clear that when the disciples first received the body and blood of the Lord, they had not been fasting.

8. Must we therefore censure the universal Church because the sacrament is everywhere partaken of by persons fasting ?
Kay, verily, for from that time it pleased the Holy Spirit to appoint, for the honour of so great a sacrament, that the body of the Lord should take the precedence of all other food entering the mouth of a Christian; and it is for this reason that the custom referred to is universally observed. For the fact that the Lord instituted the sacrament after other food had been partaken of, does not prove that brethren should come together to partake of that sacrament after having dined or supped, or imitate those whom the apostle reproved and corrected for not distinguishing between the Lord's Supper and an ordinary meal. The Saviour, indeed, in order to com-

1 Manducare. 2 1 Cor. xi. 20.

LET. LIV.] TO JANUAPJUS. 203

mend the depth of that mystery more affectingly to His disciples, was pleased to impress it on their hearts and memories by making its institution His last act before going from them to His Passion. And therefore He did not prescribe the order in which it was to be observed, reserving this to be done by the apostles, through whom He intended to arrange all things pertaining to the Churches. Had He appointed that the sacrament should be always partaken of after other food, I believe that no one would have departed from that practice. But when the apostle, speaking of this sacrament, says, "Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another: and if any man hunger, let
him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation," he immediately adds, "and the rest will I set in order when I come." 2 Whence we are given to understand that, since it was too much for him to prescribe completely in an epistle the method observed by the universal Church throughout the world, it was one of the things set in order by him in person, for we find its observance uniform amid all the variety of other customs.

Chap. vii. 9. There are, indeed, some to whom it has seemed right (and their view is not unreasonable), that it is lawful for the body and blood of the Lord to be offered and received after other food has been partaken of, on one fixed day of the year, the day on which the Lord instituted the Supper, in order to give special solemnity to the service on that anniversary. I think that, in this case, it would be more seemly to have it celebrated at such an hour as would leave it in the power of any who have fasted to attend the service before 2 the repast which is customary at the ninth hour. Wherefore we neither compel nor do we dare to forbid any one to break his fast before the Lord's Supper on that day. I believe, however, that the real ground upon which this custom rests is, that many, nay, almost all, are accustomed in most places to use the bath on that day. And because some continue to fast, it is offered in the morning, for those who

1 1 Cor. xi. 33, 34.

2 "Ante " is the reading of seven mss. The Benedictine edition gives "post " in the text. We think the former gives better sense.

204 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LY.

take food, because they cannot bear fasting and the use of the bath at the same time; and in the evening, for those who have fasted all day.

10. If you ask me whence originated the custom of using the bath on that day, nothing occurs to me, when I think of it, as more likely than that it was to avoid the offence to decency which must have been given at the baptismal font, if the bodies of those to whom that rite was to be administered were not washed on some preceding day from the uncleanness consequent upon their strict abstinence from ablutions during Lent; and that this particular day was chosen for the purpose because of its being the anniversary of the institution of the Supper. And this being granted to those who were about to receive baptism, many others desired to join them in the luxury of a bath, and in relaxation of their fast.

Having discussed these questions to the best of my ability, I exhort you to observe, in so far as you may be able, what I have laid down, as becomes a wise and peace-loving son of the Church. The remainder of your questions I purpose, if the Lord will, to answer at another time.
LETTEE LV.

Or Book II. of Replies to Questions of Jarraarins.  
(A.D. 400.)

Chap. i. 1. Having read the letter in which you have put me in mind of my obligation to give answers to the remainder of those questions which you submitted to me a long time ago, I cannot bear to defer any longer the gratification of that desire for instruction which it gives me so much pleasure and comfort to see in you; and although encompassed by an accumulation of engagements, I have given the first place to the work of supplying you with the answers desired. I will make no further comment on the contents of your letter, lest my doing so should prevent me from paying at length what I owe.

2. You ask, "Wherefore does the anniversary on which

LET. LV.] TO JANUARIUS. 205

we celebrate the Passion of the Lord not fall, like the day which tradition has handed down as the day of His birth, on the same day every year?" and you add, "If the reason of this is connected with the week and the month, what have we to do with the day of the week or the state of the moon in this solemnity?" The first thing which you must know and remember here is, that the observance of the Lord's natal day is not sacramental, but only commemorative of His birth, and that therefore no more was in this case necessary, than that the return of the day on which the event took place should be marked by an annual religious festival.

The celebration of an event becomes sacramental in its nature, only when the commemoration of the event is so ordered that it is understood to be significant of something which is to be received with reverence as sacred. 1 Therefore we observe Easter 2 in such a manner as not only to recall the facts of the death and resurrection of Christ to remembrance, but also to find a place for all the other things which, in connection with these events, give evidence as to the import of the sacrament. For since, as the apostle wrote, "He was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification," 3 a certain transition from death to life has been consecrated in that Passion and Resurrection of the Lord. For the word Pascha itself is not, as is commonly thought, a Greek word: those who are acquainted with both languages affirm it to be a Hebrew word. It is not derived, therefore, from the Passion, because of the Greek word irda^eiv, signifying to suffer, but it takes its name from the transition, of which I have spoken, from death to life; the meaning of the Hebrew word Pascha being, as those who are acquainted with it assure us, 4 a passing over or transition. To this the Lord Himself designed to allude, when He said, r,c He that believeth in Me is passed from death to life." 5 And the same evangelist who records that saying is to be

Had Augustine not been obliged to take his Hebrew at second hand, he might have seen that the word j"iD3 does not bear out his interpretation. Ex. xii. 13, 27.

6 John v. 24.

206 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

understood as desiring to give emphatic testimony to this, when, speaking of the Lord as about to celebrate with His disciples the passover, at which He instituted the sacramental supper, he says, " When Jesus knew that His hour was come, that He should depart 1 from this world unto the Father." 2

This passing over from this mortal life to the other, the immortal life, that is, from death to life, is set forth in the Passion and Eesurrection of the Lord.

Chap. n. 3. This passing from death to life is meanwhile wrought in us by faith, which we have for the pardon of our sins and the hope of eternal life, when we love God and our neighbour; " for faith worketh by love," 3 and " the just shall live by his faith;" 4 u and hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." 5 According to this faith and hope and love, by which we have begun to be " under grace," we are already dead together with Christ, and buried together with Him by baptism into death; 6 as the apostle hath said, " Our old man is crucified with Him;" 7 and we have risen with Him, for " He hath raised us up together, and made us sit with Him in heavenly places." 8 Whence also he gives this exhortation: " If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.

In the next words, " For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory," 10 he plainly gives us to understand that our passing in this present time from death to life by faith is accomplished in-the hope of that future final resurrection and glory, when " this corruptible," that is, this flesh in which we now groan, " shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality." u For now, indeed, we have by faith " the first-fruits of the Spirit f but still we " groan within ourselves, waiting

1 Transiret. - John xiii. 1. 3 Gal. v. 6.

4 Hab. ii. 4. 5 Bom. viii. 24, 25. 6 Col. ii. 12 and Rom. vi. 4.

Â» Rom. vi. 6. 8 Eph. ii. 6. 9 Col. iii. 1, 2.
for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body: for we are saved by hope." While we are in this hope, " the body indeed is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness." Now mark what follows: " But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you." * The whole Church, therefore, while here in the conditions of pilgrimage and mortality, expects that to be accomplished in her at the end of the world which has been shown first in the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is " the first-begotten from the dead," seeing that the body of which He is the Head is none other than the Church. 2

Chap. hi. 4. Some, indeed, studying the words so frequently used by the apostle, about our being dead with Christ and raised together with Him, and misunderstanding the sense in which they are used, have thought that the resurrection is already past, and that no other is to be hoped for at the end of time: " Of whom," he says, " are Hymenseus and Philetus; who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some." a The same apostle who thus reproves and testifies against them, teaches nevertheless that we are risen with Christ. How is the apparent contradiction to be removed, unless he means that this is accomplished in us by faith and hope and love, according to the first-fruits of the Spirit ? But because " hope which is seen is not hope," and therefore "if we hope for that we see not, we do with patience wait for it," it is beyond question that there remains, as still future, the redemption of the body, in longing for which we " groan within ourselves." Hence also that saying, " Eejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation." 4

5. This renewal, therefore, of our life is a kind of transition from death to life which is made first by faith, so that we rejoice in hope and are patient in tribulation, while still " our outward man perisheth, but the inward man is renewed day by day." ’ It is because of this beginning of a new life,

1 Rom. viii. 23, 24, 10, 11. 2 Col. i. 18. s 2 Tim. ii. 17.

4 Rom. xii. 12. 5 2 Cor. iv. 16.

203 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

because of the new man which we are commanded to put on, putting off the old man/ " purging out the old leaven, that we may be a new lump, because Christ our passover is sacrificed for us;" 2 it is, I say, because of this newness of life in us, that the first of the
months of the year has been appointed as the season of this solemnity. This very name is
given to it, the month Abib, or beginning of months. 3 Again, the resurrection of the Lord
was upon the third day, because with it the third epoch of the world began. The first
Epoch was before the Law, the second under the Law, the third under Grace, in which
there is now the manifestation of the mystery, 4
which was formerly hidden under dark prophetic sayings.
This is accordingly signified also in the part of the month appointed for the celebration;
for, since the number seven is usually employed in Scripture as a mystical number,
indicating perfection of some kind, the day of the celebration of Easter is within the third
week of the month, namely, between the fourteenth and the twenty-first day.

Chap. iv. 6. There is in this another mystery, 4 and you are not to be distressed if perhaps
it be not so readily perceived by you, because of your being less versed in such studies;
nor are you to think me any better than you, because I learned these things in early years:
for the Lord saith, * Let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth
Me, that I am the Lord." 5 Some men who give attention to such studies, have
investigated many things concerning the numbers and motions of the heavenly bodies.
And those who have done this most ably have found that the waxing and waning of the
moon are due to the turning of its globe, and not to any such actual addition to or
diminution of its substance as is supposed by the foolish Manichseans, who say that as a
ship is filled, so the moon is filled with a fugitive portion of the Divine Being, which
they, with impious heart and lips, do not hesitate to believe and to declare to have become
mingled with the rulers of darkness, and contaminated with their pollution. And they
account for the waxing of the moon by saying that it takes place when that lost portion

1 Col. iii. 9, 10. 2 1 Cor. v. 7. 3 Ex. xxiii. 15.
4 Sacramentum. e Jer. ix. 24.

LET. LV.J TO JANUAPJUS. 209

of the Deity, being purified from contamination by great labours, escaping from the
whole world, 1 and from all foul abominations, 2 is restored to the Deity, who mourns till
it returns; that by this the moon is filled with a fugitive portion of the Divine Being, which
they, with impious heart and lips, do not hesitate to believe and to declare to have become
mingled with the rulers of darkness, and contaminated with their pollution. And they
account for the waxing of the moon by saying that it takes place when that lost portion

1 Col. iii. 9, 10. 2 1 Cor. v. 7. 3 Ex. xxiii. 15.
4 Sacramentum. e Jer. ix. 24.

V. Those, however, to whom I refer have inquired into these things with trustworthy
calculations, so that they can not only state the reason of eclipses, both solar and lunar,
but also predict their occurrence long before they take place, and are able to determine by
mathematical computation the precise intervals at which these must happen, and to state
the results in treatises, by reading and understanding which any others may foretell as well as they the coming of these eclipses, and find their prediction verified by the event. Such men, â€” and they deserve censure, as Holy Scripture teaches, because " though they had wisdom enough to measure the periods of this world, they did not much more easily come," as by humble piety they might have done, " to the knowledge of its Lord," 3 â€” such men, I say, have inferred from the horns of the moon, which both in waxing and in waning are turned from the sun, either that the moon is illuminated by the sun, and that the farther it recedes from the sun the more fully does it lie exposed to its rays on the side which is visible from the earth; but that the more it approaches the sun, after the middle of the month, on the other half of its orbit, it becomes more fully illuminated on the upper part, and less and less open to receive the sun's rays on the side which is turned to the earth, and seems to us accordingly to decrease: or, that if the moon has light in itself, it has this light in the hemisphere on one side only, which side it gradually turns more to the earth as it recedes from the sun, until 1 Mundus. 2 Cloacis. 3 "Wisd. xiii. 9.

VOL. I.

210 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

it is fully displayed, thereby exhibiting an apparent increase, not by the addition of what was deficient, but by disclosing what was already there; and that, in like manner, going towards the sun, the moon again gradually turns from our view that which had been disclosed, and so appears to decrease. Whichever of these two theories be correct, this at least is plain, and is easily discovered by any careful observer, that the moon does not to our eyes increase except when it is receding from the sun, nor decrease except when returning towards the sun.

Chap. v. 8. Now mark what is said in Proverbs: " The wise man is fixed like the sun; but the fool changes like the moon." *

And who is the wise that has no changes, but that Sun of Righteousness of whom it is said, "The sun of righteousness has risen upon me," and of which the wicked shall say, when mourning in the day of judgment that it has not risen upon them, "The light of righteousness hath not shone upon us, and the sun hath not risen upon us"? 2 For that sun which is
visible to the eye of sense, God makes to rise upon the evil
and the good alike, as He sendeth rain upon the just and the
unjust; 3 but apt similitudes are often borrowed from things
visible to explain things invisible. Again, who is the " fool "
who " changes like the moon," if not Adam, in whom all have
sinned ? For the soul of man, receding from the Sun of
Eighteousness, that is to say, from the internal contemplation
of unchangeable truth, turns all its strength towards external
things, and becomes more and more darkened in its deeper and
nobler powers; but when the soul begins to return to that
unchangeable wisdom, the more it draws near to it with pious
desire, the more does the outward man perish, but the inward
man is renewed day by day, and all that light of the soul
which was inclining to things that are beneath is turned to
the things that are above, and is thus withdrawn from the
things of earth; so that it dies more and more to this world,
and its life is hid with Christ in God.

9. It is therefore for the worse that the soul is changed when it moves in the direction of
external things, and throws aside that which pertains to the inner life; and to the earth,
1 Ecclus. xxvii. 12. 2 Wisd. v. 6. 3 Matt. v. 45.

i.e. to those who miud earthly things, the soul looks better in such a case, for by them the
wicked is commended for his heart's desire, and the unrighteous is blessed. 1 But it is for
the better that the soul is changed, when it gradually turns away its aims and ambition
from earthly things, which appear important in this world, and directs them to things nobler and unseen; and to the earth, i.e. to men who mind earthly things, the soul in such a case seems worse. Hence those wicked men who at last shall in vain repent of their sins, will say this among other things: "These are the men whom once we derided and reproached; we in our folly esteemed their way of life to be madness." 2 Now the Holy Spirit, drawing a comparison from things visible to things invisible, from things corporeal to spiritual mysteries, has been pleased to appoint that the feast symbolical of the passing from the old life to the new, which is signified by the name Pascha, should be observed between the 14th and 21st days of the month, â€” after the 14th, in order that a twofold illustration of spiritual realities might be gained, both with respect to the third epoch of the world, which is the reason of its occurrence in the third week, as I have already said, and with respect to the turning of the soul from external to internal things, â€” a change corresponding to the change in the moon when on the wane; not later than the 21st, because of the number 7 itself, which is often used to represent the notion of the universe, and is also applied to the Church on the ground of her likeness to the universe.

Chap. vi. 10. For this reason the Apostle John writes in the Apocalypse to seven churches. The Church, moreover, while it remains under the conditions of our mortal life in the flesh, is, on account of her liability to change, spoken of in Scripture by the name of the moon; e.g., "They have made ready their arrows in the quiver, that they may, while the moon is obscured, wound those who are upright in heart." 3 For before that comes to pass of which the apostle says, "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear 1 Ps. x. 3, as rendered by Aug. 2 Wisd. v. 3, 4.

3 Ps. xi. 3; in the LXX. version, rod nccruro^ivtrxi lv ffxorouwv?) rovs svhTs <rn Kttfhl,

212 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LY.

with Him in glory," the Church seems in the time of her pilgrimage obscured, groaning under many iniquities; and at such a time, the snares of those who deceive and lead astray are to be feared, and these are intended by the word "arrows" in this passage. Again, we have another instance in Psalm lxxxix., 2 where, because of the faithful witnesses which she everywhere brings forth on the side of truth, the Church is called "the moon, a faithful witness in heaven." And when the Psalmist sang of the Lord's kingdom, he said, "In His days shall be righteousness and abundance of peace, until the moon be destroyed;" 3 i.e. abundance of peace shall increase so greatly, until He shall at length take away all the changeableness incidental to this mortal condition. Then shall death, the last enemy, be destroyed; and whatever obstacle to the perfection of our peace is due to the infirmity of our flesh shall be utterly consumed when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality. 4 We have
another instance in this, that the walls of the town named Jericho which in the Hebrew tongue is said to signify "moon" fell when they had been compassed for the seventh time by the ark of the covenant borne round the city. For what else is conveyed by the promise of the coming of the heavenly kingdom, which was symbolized in the carrying of the ark round Jericho, than that all the strongholds of this mortal life, i.e. every hope pertaining to this world which resists the hope of the world to come, must be destroyed, with the soul’s free consent, by the sevenfold gift of the Holy Spirit. Therefore it was, that when the ark was going round, those walls fell, not by violent assault, but of themselves. There are, besides these, other passages in Scripture which, speaking of the moon, impress upon us under that figure the condition of the Church while here, amid cares and labours, she is a pilgrim under the lot of mortality, and far from that Jerusalem of which the holy angels are the citizens.

11. Those foolish men who refuse to be changed for the better have no reason, however, to imagine that worship is

1 Col. iii. 4. 2 Ver. 39.

3 Ps. lxxii. 7, Septuagint version. 4 1 Cor. xv, 26, 53, 54.

LET. LV.] TO JANUAPIUS. 213

due to those heavenly luminaries because a similitude is occasionally borrowed from them for the representation of divine mysteries; for such are borrowed from every created thing. Nor is there any reason for our incurring the sentence of condemnation which is pronounced by the apostle on some who worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. 1 We do not adore sheep or cattle, although Christ is called both a Lamb, 2 and by the prophet a young bullock; 3 nor any beast of prey, though He is called the Lion of the tribe of Judah; 4 nor a stone, although Christ is called a Bock; 5 nor Mount Zion, though in it there was a type of the Church. 6 And, in like manner, we do not adore the sun or the moon, although, in order to convey instruction in holy mysteries, figures of sacred things are borrowed from these celestial works of the Creator, as they are also from many of the things which He hath made on earth.

Chap. vii. 1 2. We are therefore bound to denounce with abhorrence and contempt the ravings of the astrologers, who, when we find fault with the empty inventions by which they cast other men down into the delusions whereinto they themselves have fallen, imagine that they answer well when they say, "Why, then, do you regulate the time of the observance of Easter by calculation of the positions of the sun and moon?" as if that with which we find fault was the arrangements of the heavenly bodies, or the succession of the seasons, which are appointed by God in His infinite power and goodness, and not their perversity in abusing, for the support of the most absurd opinions, those things which God has ordered in perfect wisdom. If the astrologer may on this ground forbid us from drawing comparisons from the heavenly bodies for the mystical
representation of sacramental realities, then the augurs may with equal reason prevent the use of these words of Scripture, "Be harmless as doves;" and the snake-charmers may forbid that other exhortation, "Be wise as serpents;" 7 while the play-actors may interfere with our mentioning the harp in the book of Psalms. Let them therefore say, if they please, that, because similitudes for the exhibition of the mysteries of God's word

1 Eom. i. 25. 2 John i. 29. 3 Ezek. xliii. 19. * Kev. v. 5.
5 1 Cor. x. 4. Â«1 Pet. ii. 4. * Matt. x. 16.

214 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

are taken from the things which I have named, we are chargeable either with consulting the omens given by the night of birds, or with concocting the poisons of the charmer, or with taking pleasure in the excesses of the theatre, â€” a statement which would be the climax of absurdity.

13. We do not forecast the issues of our enterprises by studying the sun and moon, and the times of the year or of the month, lest in the most trying emergencies of life, we, being dashed against the rocks of a wretched bondage, shall make shipwreck of our freedom of will; but with the most pious devoutness of spirit, we accept similitudes adapted to the illustration of holy things, which these heavenly bodies furnish, just as from all other works of creation, the winds, the sea, the land, birds, fishes, cattle, trees, men, etc., we borrow in our discourses manifold figures; and in the celebration of sacraments, the very few things which the comparative liberty of the Christian dispensation has prescribed, such as water, bread, wine, and oil. Under the bondage, however, of the ancient dispensation many rites were prescribed, which are made known to us only for our instruction as to their meaning.

"We do not now observe years, and months, and seasons, lest the words of the apostle apply to us, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." I For he blames those who say, "I will not set out to-day, because it is an unlucky day, or because the moon is so and so;" or, M I will go to-day, that things may prosper with me, because the position of the stars is this or that; I will do no business this month, because a particular star rules it;" or, "I will do business, because another star has succeeded in its place ^ I will not plant a vineyard this year, because it is leap year." No man of ordinary sense would, however, suppose that those men deserve reproof for studying the seasons, who say, e.g., "I will not set out to-day, because a storm has begun;" or, "I will not put to sea, because the winter is not yet past;" or, "It is time to sow my seed, for the earth has been saturated with the showers of autumn;" and so on, in regard to any other natural effects of the motion and moisture of the atmosphere which have been observed in connection with that consum-

1 Gal. iv. 11.
mately ordered revolution of the heavenly bodies concerning which it was said when they were made, "Let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years." 1 And in like manner, whensoever illustrative symbols are borrowed, for the declaration of spiritual mysteries, from created things, not only from the heaven and its orbs, but also from meaner creatures, this is done to give to the doctrine of salvation an eloquence adapted to raise the affections of those who receive it from things seen, corporeal and temporal, to things unseen, spiritual and eternal.

Chap. viii. 14. None of us gives any consideration to the circumstance that, at the time at which we observe Easter, the sun is in the Earn, as they call a certain region of the heavenly bodies, in which the sun is, in fact, found at the beginning of the months; but whether they choose to call that part of the heavens the Earn or anything else, we have learned this from the Sacred Scriptures, that God made all the heavenly bodies, and appointed their places as it pleased Him; and whatever the parts may be into which astronomers divide the regions set apart and ordained for the different constellations, and whatever the names by which they distinguish them; the place occupied by the sun in the first month is that in which the celebration of this sacrament behoved to find that luminary, because of the illustration of a holy mystery in the renovation of life, of which I have already spoken sufficiently. If, however, the name of Earn could be given to that portion of the heavenly bodies because of some correspondence between their form and the name, the word of God would not hesitate to borrow from anything of this kind an illustration of a holy mystery, as it has done not only from other celestial bodies, but also from terrestrial things, e.g. from Orion and the Pleiades, Mount Zion, Mount Sinai, and the rivers of which the names are given, Gihon, Pison, Tigris, Euphrates, and particularly from the river Jordan, which is so often named in the sacred mysteries.

15. But who can fail to perceive how great is the difference between useful observations of the heavenly bodies in connection with the weather, such as farmers or sailors make; or in order to mark the part of the world in which they are, and the course which they should follow, such as are made by pilots of ships or men going through the trackless sandy deserts of southern Africa; or in order to present some useful doctrine under a figure borrowed from some facts concerning heavenly bodies; â€” and the vain hallucinations of men who observe the heavens not to know the weather, or their course, or to make scientific calculations, or to find illustrations of spiritual things, but merely to pry into the future and learn now what fate has decreed?
Chap. ix. 16. Let us now direct our minds to observe the reason why, in the celebration of Easter, care is taken to appoint the day so that Saturday precedes it: for this is peculiar to the Christian religion. The Jews keep the Passover from the 14th to the 21st of the first month, on whatever day that week begins. But since at the Passover at which the Lord suffered, it was the case that the Jewish Sabbath came in between His death and His resurrection, our fathers have judged it right to add this specialty to their celebration of Easter, both that our feast might be distinguished from the Jewish Passover, and that succeeding generations might retain in their annual commemoration of His Passion that which we must believe to have been done for some good reason, by Him who is before the times, by whom also the times have been made, and who came in the fulness of the times, and who, when He said, Mine hour is not yet come, had the power of laying down His life and taking it again, and was therefore waiting for an hour not fixed by blind fate, but suitable to the holy mystery which He had resolved to commend to our observation.

1 7. That which we here hold in faith and hope, and to which by love we labour to come, is, as I have said above, a certain holy and perpetual rest from the whole burden of every kind of care; and from this life unto that rest we make a transition which our Lord Jesus Christ condescended to exemplify and consecrate in His Passion. This rest, however, is not a slothful inaction, but a certain ineffable tranquillity caused by work in which there is no painful effort. For the repose on which one enters at the end of the toils of this life is of such a nature as consists with lively joy in the active exercises of the better life. Forasmuch, however, as this activity is exercised in praising God without bodily toil or mental anxiety, the transition to that activity is not made through a repose which is to be followed by labour, i.e. a repose which, at the point where activity begins, ceases to be repose: for in these exercises there is no return to toil and care; but that which constitutes rest is namely, exemption from weariness in work and from uncertainty in thought which is always found in them. Now, since through rest we get back to that original life which the soul lost by sin, the emblem of this rest is the seventh day of the week. But that original life itself which is restored to those who return from their wanderings, and receive in token of welcome the robe which they had at first, 1 is represented by the first day of the week, which we call the Lord's day. If, in reading Genesis, you search the record of the seven days, you will find that there was no evening of the seventh day, which signified that the rest of which it was a type was eternal. The life originally bestowed was not eternal, because man sinned; but the final rest, of which the seventh day was an emblem, is eternal, and hence the eighth day also will have eternal blessedness, because that rest, being eternal, is taken up by the eighth day, not destroyed by it; for if it were thus destroyed, it would not be eternal. Accordingly the eighth day, which is the first day of the week, represents to us that original life, not taken away, but made eternal.
Chap. x. 18. Nevertheless the seventh day was appointed to the Jewish nation as a day to be observed by rest of the body, that it might be a type of sanctification to which men attain through rest in the Holy Spirit. We do not read of sanctification in the history given in Genesis of all the earlier days: of the Sabbath alone it is said that " God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it." 2 Now the souls of men, whether good or bad, love rest, but how to attain to that which they love is to the greater part unknown; and that which bodies seek for their weight, is precisely what souls seek for their love, namely, a resting-place. For as, according

1 Primam stolam. a Gen. ii. 3.

2 Now the souls of men, whether good or bad, love rest,

19. Because, therefore, " the love of God 3 is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us," 4 sanctification was associated with the seventh day, the day in which rest was enjoined. But inasmuch as we neither are able to do any good work, except as helped by the gift of God, as the apostle says, " For it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure," 5 nor will be able to rest, after all the good works which engage us in this life, except as sanctified and perfected by the same gift to eternity; for this reason it is said of God Himself, that when He had made all things " very good," He rested " on the seventh day from all His works which He had made." 6 For He, in so doing, presented a type of that future rest which He purposed to bestow on us men after our good works are done. For as in our good works He is said to work in us, by whose gift we

1 Jas. iv. 6. - Ps. xxxvii. 4.

3 Augustine interprets the "love of God" here as meaning our love to Him, and equivalent to delighting in Him.

4 Rom. v. 5. 5 Phil. ii. 13. 6 Gen. i. 31, ii. 2.
are enabled to work what is good, so in our rest He is said to rest by whose gift we rest.

Chap. xi. 20. This, moreover, is the reason why the law of the Sabbath is placed third among the three commandments of the Decalogue which declare our duty to God (for the other seven relate to our neighbour, that is, to man; the whole Law hanging on these two commandments). 1 The first commandment, in which we are forbidden to worship any likeness of God made by human contrivance, we are to understand as referring to the Father: this prohibition being made, not because God has no image, but because no image of Him but that One which is the same with Himself, ought to be worshipped; and this One not in His stead, but along with Him.

Then, because a creature is mutable, and therefore it is said,
"The whole creation is subject to vanity," 2 since the nature of the whole is manifested also in any part of it, lest any one should think that the Son of God, the Word by whom all things were made, is a creature, the second commandment is,
"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." 3
And because God sanctified the seventh day, on which He rested, the Holy Spirit — in whom is given to us that rest which we love everywhere, but find only in loving God, when
* His love is shed abroad in us, by the Holy Ghost given unto us"4â€”is presented to our minds in the third commandment, which was written concerning the observance of the Sabbath, not to make us suppose that we attain to rest in this present life, but that all our labours in what is good may point towards nothing else than that eternal rest. For I would specially charge you to remember the passage quoted above:
"We are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope." 5

21. For the feeding and fanning of that ardent love by which, under a law like that of gravitation, we are borne upwards or inwards to rest, the presentation of truth by emblems has a great power: for, thus presented, things move and kindle our affection much more than if they were set forth in bald statements, not clothed with sacramental symbols. Why this should be, it is hard to say; but it is the

1 Matt. xxii. 10. 2 Rom. viii. 20. 3 Ex. xx. 7; Deut. v. 11.
4 Eom. v. 5. 5 Rom. viii. 24.

220 LETTEES OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.
fact that anything which we are taught by allegory or emblem affects and pleases us more, and is more highly esteemed by us, than it would be if most clearly stated in plain terms. I believe that the emotions are less easily kindled while the soul is wholly involved in earthly things; but if it be brought to those corporeal things which are emblems of spiritual things, and then taken from these to the spiritual realities which they represent, it gathers strength by the mere act of passing from the one to the other, and, like the flame of a lighted torch, is made by the motion to burn more brightly, and is carried away to rest by a more intensely glowing love.

Chap. xii. 22. It is also for this reason, that of all the ten commandments, that which related to the Sabbath was the only one in which the thing commanded was typical; 1 the bodily rest enjoined being a type which we have received as a means of our instruction, but not as a duty binding also upon us. For while in the Sabbath a figure is presented of the spiritual rest, of which it is said in the Psalm, "Be still, and know that I am God," 2 and unto which men are invited by the Lord Himself in the words, "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: so shall ye find rest unto your souls;" 3 as to all the things enjoined in the other commandments, we are to yield to them an obedience in which there is nothing typical. For we have been taught literally not to worship idols; and the precepts enjoining us not to take God's name in vain, to honour our father and mother, not to commit adultery, or kill, or steal, or bear false witness, or covet our neighbour's wife, or covet anything that is our neighbour's, 4 are all devoid of typical or mystical meaning, and are to be literally observed. But we are not commanded to observe the day of the Sabbath literally, in resting from bodily labour, as it is observed by the Jews; and even their observance of the rest as prescribed is to be deemed worthy of contempt, except as signifying another, namely, spiritual rest. From this we may reasonably conclude, that all those

1 Figurate observandum prsecipitur. 2 Ps. xlvi. 11.
3 Matt. xi. 28, 29. 4 Ex. xx. 1-17; Deut. v. 6-21.

LET. LV.] TO JANUAPJUS. 221

things which are figuratively set forth in Scripture, are powerful in stimulating that love by which we tend towards rest; since the only figurative or typical precept in the Decalogue is the one in which that rest is commended to us, which is desired everywhere, but is found sure and sacred in God alone.

Chap. xiii. 23. The Lord's day, however, has been made known not to the Jews, but to Christians, by the resurrection of the Lord, and from Him it began to have the festive character which is proper to it. 1 For the souls of the pious dead are, indeed, in a state of
repose before the resurrection of the body, but they are not engaged in the same active exercises as shall engage the strength of their bodies when restored. Now, of this condition of active exercise the eighth day (which is also the first of the week) is a type, because it does not put an end to that repose, but glorifies it. For with the reunion of the body no hindrance of the soul's rest returns, because in the restored body there is no corruption: for "this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." 2 Wherefore, although the sacramental import of the 8th number, as signifying the resurrection, was by no means concealed from the holy men of old who were filled with the spirit of prophecy (for in the title of Psalms [vi. and xii.] we find the words "for the eighth," and infants were circumcised on the eighth day; and in Ecclesiastes it is said, with allusion to the two covenants, "Give a portion to seven, and also to eight " 3 ); nevertheless, before the resurrection of the Lord, it was reserved and hidden, and the Sabbath alone was appointed to be observed, because before that event there was indeed the repose of the dead (of which the Sabbath rest was a type), but there was not any instance of the resurrection of one who, rising from the dead, was no more to die, and over whom death should no longer have dominion; this being done in order that, from the time when such a resurrection did take place in the Lord's own body (the Head of the Church being the first to experience that which His body, the Church, expects at the end of time), the day upon which He rose, the

1 Ex illo habere ccepit festivitatem suam. * 1 Cor. xv. 53.

3 Eccles. xi. 2, which Aug. translates, "Da illis septem, et illis octo."

222 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

eighth day namely (which is the same with the first of the week), should begin to be observed as the Lord's day. The same reason enables ns to understand why, in regard to the day of keeping the passover, on which the Jews were commanded to kill and eat a lamb, which was most clearly a foreshadowing of the Lord's Passion, there was no injunction given to them that they should take the day of the week into account, waiting until the Sabbath was past, and making the beginning of the third week of the moon coincide with the beìninnìn of the third week of the first month; the reason being, that the Lord might rather in His own Passion declare the significance of that day, as He had come also to declare the mystery of the day now known as the Lord's day, the eighth namely, which is also the first of the week.

Chap. xrv. 24. Consider now with attention these three most sacred days, the days signalized by the Lord's crucifixion, rest in the grave, and resurrection. Of these three, that of which the cross is the symbol is the business of our present life: those things which are symbolized by His rest in the grave and His resurrection we hold by faith and hope. For now the command is given to each man, "Take up thy cross, and follow me." 1 But the flesh is crucified, when our members which are upon the earth are mortified, such as fornication, uncleanness, luxury, avarice, etc., of which the apostle says in another
passage: "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." 2 Hence also he says of himself: "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." 3 And again: "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." 4 The period during which our labours tend to the weakening and destruction of the body of sin, during which the outward man is perishing, that the inward man may be renewed day by day, â€” that is the period of the cross.

25. These are, it is true, good works, having rest for their recompense, but they are meanwhile laborious and painful; therefore we are told to be "rejoicing in hope," that while we


LET. LY.] TO JANUAPJUS. 223

contemplate the future rest, we may labour with cheerfulness in present toil. Of this cheerfulness the breadth of the cross in the transverse beam to which the hands were nailed is an emblem: for the hands we understand to be symbolical of working, and the breadth to be symbolical of cheerfulness in him who works, for sadness straitens the spirit. In the height of the cross, against which the head is placed, we have an emblem of the expectation of recompense from the sublime justice of God, "who will render to every man according to his deeds; to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life." 1 Therefore the length of the cross, along which the whole body is extended, is an emblem of that patient continuance in the will of God, on account of which those who are patient are said to be long-suffering. The depth also, i.e. the part which is fixed in the ground, represents the occult nature of the holy mystery. For you remember, I suppose, the words of the apostle, which in this description of the cross I aim at expounding: "That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height." 2

Those things which we do not yet see or possess, but hold in faith and hope, are the things represented in the events by which the second and third of the three memorable days above mentioned were signalized [viz. the Lord's rest in the grave, and His resurrection]. But the things which keep us occupied in this present life, while we are held fast in the fear of God by the commandments, as by nails driven through the flesh (as it is written, "Make my flesh fast with nails by fear of Thee" 3 ), are to be reckoned among things necessary, not among those which are for their own sakes to be desired and coveted. Hence Paul says that he desired, as something far better, to depart and to be with Christ: u nevertheless," he adds, "to remain in the flesh is expedient for you" 4 â€”
necessary for your welfare. This departing and being with Christ is the beginning of the rest which is not interrupted, but glo-

1 Rom. ii. 6, 7. 2 Eph. iii. 17, 18.

s Ps. cxix. 120; Septliagint version, KaSviXuffov Ik tou Qofiov <rov ru$ ffd.pxa; fjLoa.

4 Phil. i. 23, 24.

224 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

rified by the resurrection; and this rest is now enjoyed by faith, " for the just shall live by faith." x " Know ye not/
saith the same apostle, " that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death ? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism unto death." 2 How ? By faith. For this is not actually completed in us so long as we are still " groaning within ourselves, and waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body: for we are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth why doth he yet hope for ? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it."

26. Remember how often I repeat this to you, that we are not to think that we ought to be made happy and free from all difficulties in this present life, and are therefore at liberty to murmur profanely against God when we are straitened in the things of this world, as if He were not performing what He promised. He hath indeed promised the things which are necessary for this life, but the consolations which mitigate the misery of our present lot are very different from the joys of those who are perfect in blessedness. " In the multitude of my thoughts within me," saith the believer, " Thy comforts, Lord, delight my soul." 4 Let us not therefore murmur because of difficulties; let us not lose that breadth of cheerfulness, of which it is written, " Eejoicing in hope," because this follows, â€” " patient in tribulation." 5 The new life, therefore, is meanwhile begun in faith, and maintained by hope:

for it shall only then be perfect when this mortal shall be swallowed up in life, and death swallowed up in victory; when the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed; when we shall be changed, and made like the angels: for " we shall all rise again, but we shall not all be changed." 6 Again, the Lord saith, " They shall be equal unto the angels." 7 We now are apprehended by Him in fear by faith: then we shall apprehend Him in love by sight. For " whilst we are at home in

1 Hab. ii. 4. 2 Rom. vi. 3, 4. 3 Rom. viii. 23, 25.

4 Ps. xciv. 19. 5 Rom. xii. 12.
6 1 Cor. xv. 54, 26, 51 â€” the last of these verses being rendered by Augustine here, not as in the English version, but as given above.

7 Luke xx. 36.

LET. LV.] TO JANUAEIUS. 225

the body, we are absent from the Lord: for we walk by faith, not by sight." 1 Hence the apostle himself, who says, " I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus," confesses frankly that he has not attained to it. " Brethren," he says, " I count not myself to have apprehended." 2 Since, however, our hope is sure, because of the truth of the promise, when he said elsewhere, " Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death," he adds these words, " that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." 3 "We walk, therefore, in actual labour, but in hope of rest, in the flesh of the old life, but in faith of the new. For he says again: " The body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you."

27. Both the authority of the Divine Scriptures and the consent of the whole Church spread throughout the world have combined to ordain the annual commemoration of these things at Easter, by observances which are, as you now see, full of spiritual significance. From the Old Testament Scriptures we are not taught as to the precise day of holding Easter, beyond the limitation to the period between the 14th and 21st days of the first month; but because we know from the Gospel beyond doubt which days of the week were signalized in succession by the Lord's crucifixion, His resting in the grave, and His resurrection, the observance of these days has been enjoined in addition by Councils of the Fathers, and the whole Christian world has arrived unanimously at the persuasion that this is the proper mode of observing Easter.

Chap. xv. 28. 4 The Fast of Forty Days has its warrant both in the Old Testament, from the fasting of Moses 5 and of

1 2 Cor. v. 6, 7. 2 Phil. iii. 12, 13. 3 Rom. vi. 4.

4 In translating, we have ventured to take this title of Chap. xv. out of the place which the Benedictines have given to it, in the middle of a sentence of the preceding paragraph. There it almost hopelessly bewildered the reader. Here it prepares him for a new topic. 6 Ex. xxxiv. 28.

VOL. I, p
Elijah/ and in the Gospel from the fact that our Lord fasted the same number of days; proving thereby that the Gospel is not at variance with the Law and the Prophets. For the Law and the Prophets are represented in the persons of Moses and Elijah respectively; between whom also He appeared in glory on the Mount, that what the apostle says of Him, that He is " witnessed unto both by the Law and the Prophets," 3 might be made more clearly manifest. Now, in what part of the year could the observance of the Fast of Forty Days be more appropriately placed, than in that which immediately precedes and borders on the time of the Lord's Passion? For by it is signified this life of toil, the chief work in which is to exercise self-control, in abstaining from the world's friendship, which never ceases deceitfully caressing us, and scattering profusely around us its bewitching allurements.

As to the reason why this life of toil and self-control is symbolized by the number 40, it seems to me that the number ten (in which is the perfection of our blessedness, as in the number eight, because it returns to the unit) has a like place in this number [as the unit has in giving its significance to eight]; 4 and therefore I regard the number forty as a fit symbol for this life, because in it the creature (of which the symbolical number is seven) cleaves to the Creator, in whom is revealed that unity of the Trinity which is to be published while time lasts throughout this whole world, "a world swept by four winds, constituted of four elements, and experiencing the changes of four seasons in the year. Now four times ten [seven added to three] are forty; but the number forty reckoned in along with [one of] its parts adds the number ten, [as seven reckoned in along with one of its parts adds the unit.] and the total is fifty, the symbol, as it were, of the reward of the toil and self-control. 5 For it is not without

1 1 Kings xix. 8. 2 Matt. iv. 2. 3 Rom. iii. 21.

4 Compare "octavus qui et primus," and the remarks on the meaning of the number 8 in 4§ 23.

5 We give the original of this very obscure paragraph: "ISumero autem quadragesimario vitam istam propter ea figurari arbitror, quia denarius in quo est perfectio beatitudinis nostra?, sicut in octonario, quia redit ad primum, ita in hoc mihi videtur exprimi: quia creatura, quae septenario figuratur adhseret Creatori in quo declaratur unitas Trinitatis per universum mundum tempora-

LET. LV.] TO JANUAPJUS. 227
reason that the Lord Himself continued for forty days on this earth and in this life in fellowship with His disciples after His resurrection, and, when He ascended into heaven, sent the promised Holy Spirit, after an interval of ten days more, when the day of Pentecost was fully come. This fiftieth day, moreover, has wrapped up in it another holy mystery: *

for 7 times 7 days are 49. And when we return to the beginning of another seven, and add the eighth, which is also the first day of the week, we have the 50 days complete; which period of fifty clays we celebrate after the Lord's resurrection, as representing not toil, but rest and gladness. For this reason we do not fast in them; and in praying we stand upright, which is an emblem of resurrection.

Hence, also, every Lord's day during the fifty days, this usage is observed at the altar, and the Alleluia is sung, which signifies that our future exercise shall consist wholly in praising God, as it is written: "Blessed are they who dwell in Thy house, Lord: they will be still (i.e. eternally) praising Thee." 2

Chap. xvi. 29. The fiftieth day is also commended to us in Scripture; and not only in the Gospel, by the fact that on that day the Holy Spirit descended, but also in the books of the Old Testament. For in them we learn, that after the Jews observed the first passover with the slaying of the lamb as appointed, 50 days intervened between that day and the day on which upon Mount Sinai there was given to Moses the Law written with the finger of God; 3 and this "finger of God" is in the Gospels most plainly declared to signify the Holy Spirit: for where one evangelist quotes our Lord's words thus, "I with the finger of God cast out devils," 4 another quotes them thus, "I cast out devils by the Spirit of God." 5

Who would not prefer the joy which these divine mysteries impart, when the light of healing truth beams from them on the

liter annuntianda; qui mundus et a quatuor ventis delirnatur et quatuor ele. mentis erigitur, et quatuor anni temporum vicibus variatur. Decern autem quater in quadraginta consummatur, quadragenarius autem partibus suis computatus, addit ipsum denarium et fiunt quinquaginta tanquam merces laboris et continentise."

1 Sacramentum. 2 Ps. lxxxiv. 5. 3 Ex. xii. xix. xx. xxxi.
4 Luke xi. 20. 6 Matt. xii. 28.

228 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

soul to all the kingdoms of this world, even though these were held in perfect prosperity and peace? May we not say, that as the two seraphim answer each other in singing the praise of the Most High, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Hosts," I so the Old Testament and the New, in perfect harmony, give forth their testimony to sacred truth? The lamb is slain, the passover is celebrated, and after 50 days the Law is given, which inspires fear, written by the finger of God.
Christ is slain, being led as a lamb to the slaughter, as Isaiah testifies; 2 the true Passover is celebrated; and after 5 days is given the Holy Spirit, who is the finger of God, and whose fruit is love, and who is therefore opposed to men who seek their own, and consequently bear a grievous yoke and heavy burden, and find no rest for their souls; for love "seeketh not her own." 3 Therefore there is no rest in the unloving spirit of heretics, whom the apostle declares guilty of conduct like that of the magicians of Pharaoh, saying, "Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly shall be manifest to all men, as theirs also was." 4 For because through this corruptness of mind they were utterly disquieted, they failed at the third miracle, confessing that the Spirit of God which was in Moses was opposed to them: for in owning their failure, they said, "This is the finger of God." 5 The Holy Spirit, who shows Himself reconciled and gracious to the meek and lowly in heart, and gives them rest, shows Himself an inexorable adversary to the proud and haughty, and vexes them with disquiet. Of this disquiet those despicable insects were a figure, under which Pharaoh's magicians owned themselves foiled, saying, "This is the finger of God."

30. Read the book of Exodus, and observe the number of days between the first passover and the giving of the Law.

God speaks to Moses in the desert of Sinai on the first day of the third month. Mark, then, this as one day of the month, and then observe what (among other things) the Lord said on that day: "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and be ready against the third day; for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai." * The Law was accordingly given on the third day of the month. Now reckon the days between the 14th day of the first month, the day of the passover, and the 3d day of the third month, and you have 1 7 days of the first month, 3 of the second, and 3 of the third â€“ 50 in all. The Law in the Ark of the Testimony represents holiness in the Lord's body, by whose resurrection is promised to us the future rest; for our receiving of which, love is breathed into us by the Holy Spirit. But the Spirit had not then been given, for Jesus had not yet been glorified.* Hence that prophetic song, "Arise, Lord, into Thy rest, Thou and the ark of Thy strength " [holiness, LXX.]. 3 Where there is rest, there is holiness. Wherefore we have now received a pledge of it, that we may love and desire it.

For to the rest belonging to the other life, whereunto we are brought by that transition from this life of which the passover is a symbol, all are now invited in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.
Chap. xvii. 31. Hence also, in the number of the large fishes which our Lord after His resurrection, showing this new life, commanded to be taken on the right side of the ship, there is found the number 50 three times multiplied, with the addition of three more [the symbol of the Trinity] to make the holy mystery more apparent; and the disciples' nets were not broken, 4 because in that new life there shall be no schism caused by the disquiet of heretics. Then [in this new life] man, made perfect and at rest, purified in body and in soul by the pure words of God, which are like silver purged from its dross, seven times refined, 5 shall receive his reward, the denarius; 6 so that with that reward the numbers 10 and 7 meet in him. For in this number [17] there is found, as in other numbers representing a combination of symbols, a wonderful mystery. !Nor is it without good reason that the seventeenth Psalm 7 is the only one which is

1 Ex. xix. 10, 11. 2 John vii. 39. 3 Ps. cxxxii. 8.

4 John xxi. 6, 11. 5 Ps. xii. 6. 6 Matt. xx. 9, 10.

7 The eighteenth in the English Bible.

230 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LV.

given complete in the book of Kings, 1 because it signifies that kingdom in which we shall have no enemy. For its title is, u A Psalm of David, in the day that the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul." For of whom is David the type, but of Him who, according to the flesh, was born of the seed of David ? 2 He in His Church, that is, in His body, still endures the malice of enemies. Therefore the words which from heaven fell upon the ear of that persecutor whom Jesus slew by His voice, and whom He transformed into a part of His body (as the food which we use becomes a part of ourselves), were these, " Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me ?" 3 And when shall this His body be finally delivered from enemies ? Is it not when the last enemy, Death, shall be destroyed ? It is to that time that the number of the 153 fishes pertains. For if the number 17 itself be the side of an arithmetical triangle, 4 formed by placing above each other rows of units, increasing in number from 1 to 17, the whole sum of these units is 153: since 1 and 2 make 3; 3 and 3, 6; 6 and 4, 1; 10 and 5, 15; 15 and 6, 21; and so on: continue this up to 17, the total is 153.

32. The celebration of Easter and Pentecost is therefore most firmly based on Scripture. As to the observance of the forty days before Easter, this has been confirmed by the practice of the Church; as also the separation of the eight days of the neophytes, in such
order that the eighth of these coincides with the first. The custom of singing the Alleluia on those 5 days only in the Church is not universal; for in other places it is sung also at various other times, but on these days it is sung everywhere. Whether the custom of standing at prayer on these days, and on all the Lord's days,

1 2 Sam. xxii.2-51. The title of that hook is in the LXX. the 2d hook of Kings.

2 Rom. i. 3. 3 Acts ix. 4.
4 Such a triangle as this:

LET. LV.] TO JANUARIUS. 231

is everywhere observed or not, I do not know; nevertheless, I have told you what guides the Church in this usage, and it is in my opinion sufficiently obvious. 1

Chap. xviii. 33. As to the feet-washing, since the Lord recommended this because of its being an example of that humility which He came to teach, as He himself afterwards explained, the question has arisen at what time it is best, by literal performance of this work, to give public instruction in the important duty which it illustrates, and this time [of Lent] was suggested in order that the lesson taught by it might make a deeper and more serious impression. Many, however, have not accepted this as a custom, lest it should be thought to belong to the ordinance of baptism; and some have not hesitated to deny it any place among our ceremonies. Some, however, in order to connect its observance with the more sacred associations of this solemn season, and at the same time to prevent its being confounded with baptism in any way, have selected for this ceremony either the eighth day itself, or that on which the third eighth day occurs, because of the great significance of the number three in many holy mysteries.

34. I am surprised at your expressing a desire that I should write anything in regard to those ceremonies which are found different in different countries, because there is no necessity for my doing this; and, moreover, one most excellent rule must be observed in regard to these customs, when they do not in any way oppose either true doctrine or sound morality, but contain some incentives to the better life, viz., that wherever we see them observed, or know them to be established, we should not only refrain from finding fault with them, but even recommend them by our approval and imitation, unless restrained by fear of doing greater harm than good by this course, through the infirmity of others. We are not, however, to be restrained by this, if more good is to be expected from our consenting with those who are zealous for the ceremony, than loss to be feared from our displeasing those who protest against it. In such a case we

1 He refers to the significance of the standing upright as an emblem of resurrection.
ought by all means to adopt it, especially if it be something in defence of which Scripture can be alleged: as in the singing of hymns and psalms, for which we have on record both the example and the precepts of the Lord and of His apostles. In this religious exercise, so useful for inducing a devotional frame of mind and inflaming the strength of love to God, there is diversity of usage, and in Africa the members of the Church are rather too indifferent in regard to it; on which account the Donatists reproach us with our grave chanting of the divine songs of the prophets in our churches, while they inflame their passions in their revels by the singing of psalms of human composition, which rouse them like the stirring notes of the trumpet on the battlefield. But when brethren are assembled in the church, why should not the time be devoted to singing of sacred songs, excepting of course while reading or preaching 1 is going on, or while the presiding minister prays aloud, or the united prayer of the congregation is led by the deacon's voice \ At the other intervals not thus occupied, I do not see what could be a more excellent, useful, and holy exercise for a Christian congregation.

Chap, xix. 2 35. I cannot, however, sanction with my approbation those ceremonies which are departures from the custom of the Church, and are instituted on the pretext of being symbolical of some holy mystery; although, for the sake of avoiding offence to the piety of some and the pugnacity of others, I do not venture to condemn severely many things of this kind. But this I deplore, and have too much occasion to do so, that comparatively little attention is paid to many of the most wholesome rites which Scripture has enjoined; and that so many false notions everywhere prevail, that more severe rebuke would be administered to a man who should touch the ground with his feet bare during the octaves (before his baptism), than to one who drowned his intellect in drunkenness. My opinion therefore is, that wher-

1 Preaching. The word in the original is "dispuiatur," something much more lively and entertaining.

2 I have taken the liberty here of putting the beginning of the chapter and paragraph a sentence further on than in the Benedictine edition, so as to finish in sec. 34 the remarks on psalm-singing.

ever it is possible, all those things should be abolished without hesitation, which neither have warrant in Holy Scripture, nor are found to have been appointed by councils of bishops, nor are confirmed by the practice of the universal Church, but are so infinitely various, according to the different customs of different places, that it is with difficulty, if at all, that the reasons which guided men in appointing them can be discovered. For even
although nothing be found, perhaps, in which they are against the true faith; yet the Christian religion, which God in His mercy made free, appointing to her sacraments very few in number, and very easily observed, is by these burdensome ceremonies so oppressed, that the condition of the Jewish Church itself is preferable: for although they have not known the time of their freedom, they are subjected to burdens imposed by the law of God, not by the vain conceits of men. The Church of God, however, being meanwhile so constituted as to enclose much chaff and many tares, bears with many things; yet if anything be contrary to the faith or to holy life, she does not approve of it either by silence or by practice.

Chap. xx. 36. Accordingly, that which you wrote as to certain brethren abstaining from the use of animal food, on the ground of its being ceremonially unclean, is most clearly contrary to the faith and to sound doctrine. If I were to enter on anything like a full discussion of this matter, it might be thought by some that there was some obscurity in the precepts of the apostle in this matter; whereas he, among many other things which he said on this subject, expressed his abhorrence of this opinion of the heretics in these words:
"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanks giving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." 1 1 Ti. iv. 1-5.

Again, in another place, he says, concerning these things:
"Unto the pure all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled." 1 Ead the rest for yourself, and read these passages to others â€” to as many as you can â€” in order that, seeing that they have been called to liberty, they may not make void the grace of God toward them; only let them not use their liberty for an occasion to serve the flesh: let them not refuse to practise' the purpose of curbing carnal appetite, abstinence from some kinds of food, on the pretext that it is unlawful to do so under the promptings of superstition or unbelief.

37. As to those who read futurity by taking at random a text from the pages of the Gospels, although it is better that they should do this than go to consult spirits of divination, nevertheless it is, in my opinion, a censurable practice to try to turn to secular affairs and the vanity of this life those divine oracles which were intended to teach us concerning the higher life.
Chap. xxi. 38. If you do not consider that I have now
â– written enough in answer to your questions, you must have little knowledge of my
capacities or of my engagements.
For so far am I from being, as you have thought, acquainted with everything, that I read
nothing in your letter with more sadness than this statement, both because it is most
manifestly untrue, and because I am surprised that you should not be aware, that not only
are many things unknown to me in countless other departments, but that even in the
Scriptures themselves the things which I do not know are many more than the things
which I know. But I cherish a hope in the name of Christ, which is not without its reward,
because I
have not only believed the testimony of my God that " on these two commandments hang
all the Law and the Prophets;" 2
but I have myself proved it, and daily prove it, by experience.
For there is no holy mystery, and no difficult passage of the word of God, in which, when
it is opened up to me, I do not find these same commandments: for " the end of the
commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience,
1 Tit. i. 15. 8 Matt xxii. 40.

LET. LVIII.] TO PAMMACHIUS. 235

and of faith unfeigned;" 1 and "love is the fulfilling of the law." 2

39. I beseech you therefore also, my dearly beloved, whether studying these or other
writings, so to read and so to learn as to bear in mind what hath been most truly said, "
Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;" 3 but charity vaunteth not itself, is not
puffed up. Let knowledge therefore be used as a kind of scaffolding by which may be
erected the building of charity, which shall endure for ever when knowledge faileth. 4
Knowledge, if applied as a means to charity, is most useful; but apart from this high end,
it has been proved not only superfluous, but even pernicious. I know, however, how holy
meditation keeps you safe under the shadow of the wings of our God. These things I have
stated, though briefly, because I know that this same charity of yours, which " vaunteth
not itself," will prompt you to lend and read this letter to many.

LETTEES LVI. and LVIL

are addressed (a.d. 400) to Celer, exhorting him to forsake the Donatist schismatics. They
may be omitted, being brief, and containing no new argument.

LETTEEE LVIII.
TO MY NOBLE AND WORTHY LORD PAMMACHIUS, MY SON, DEARLY BELOVED IN THE BOWELS OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. The good works which spring from the grace of Christ in you have given you a claim to be esteemed by us His members, and have made you as truly known and as much beloved by us as you could be. For even were I daily seeing your face, this could add nothing to the completeness of the acquaintance with you which I now have, when in the shining light of one of your actions I have seen your inner being, fair with the loveliness of peace, and beaming with the brightness of

1 1 Tim. i. 5. 2 Rom. xiii. 10. 3 1 Cor. viii. 1. 4 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 8.

2. Embracing you, therefore, as known to me by this transaction, I am moved by joyful feelings to congratulate you in Christ Jesus our Lord, and to send you this letter as a proof of my heart's love towards you; for I cannot do more. I beseech you, however, not to measure the amount of my love by this letter; but by means of this letter, when you have read it, pass on by the unseen inner passage which thought opens up into my heart, and see what is there felt towards you. For to the eye of love that sanctuary of love shall be unveiled which we shut against the disquieting trifles of this world when we worship God; and there you will see the ecstasy of my joy in your good work, an ecstasy which I cannot describe with tongue or pen, glowing and burning in the offering of praise to Him by whose inspiration you were made willing, and
by whose help you were made able to serve Him in this way. " Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift!" 2

3. Oh how we desire in Africa to see such work as this by which you have gladdened us done by many, who are, like

1 Coloni. 2 1 Cor. ix. 15.

LET. LIX.] TO VICTORINUS. 237

yourself, senators in the State, and sons of the holy Church!
It is, however, hazardous to give them this exhortation: they may refuse to follow it, and the enemies of the Church will take advantage of this to deceive the weak, as if they had gained a victory over us in the minds of those who disregarded our counsel. But it is safe for me to express gratitude to you; for you have already done that by which, in the emancipation of those who were weak, the enemies of the Church are confounded. I have therefore thought it sufficient to ask you to read this letter with friendly boldness to any to whom you can do so on the ground of their Christian profession. For thus learning what you have achieved, they will believe that, about which as an impossibility they are now indifferent, can be done in Africa. As to the snares which these heretics contrive in the perversity of their hearts, I have resolved not to speak of them in this letter, because I have been only amused at their imagining that they could gain any advantage over your mind, which Christ holds as His possession. You will hear them, however, from my brethren, whom I earnestly commend to your Excellency: they fear lest you should disdain some things which to you might seem unnecessary in connection with the great and unlooked for salvation of those men over whom, in consequence of your work, their Catholic Mother rejoices.

Lettee LIX.

(a.d. 401.)

to my most blessed lord and venerable father victorinus, my brother in the priesthood, augustine sends greeting in the lord.

1. Your summons to the Council reached me on the fifth day before the Ides of November, in the evening, and found me very much indisposed, so that I could not possibly attend. However, I submit to your pious and wise judgment whether certain perplexities which the summons occasioned were due to my own ignorance or to sufficient grounds. I read in that summons that it was written also to the districts of Mauri-
tarda, which, as we know, have their own primates. Now, if these provinces were to be represented in a Council held in Numidia, it was by all means proper that the names of some of the more eminent bishops who are in Mauritania should be attached to the circular letter; and not finding this, I have been greatly surprised. Moreover, to the bishops of Numidia it has been addressed in such a confused and careless manner, that my own name I find in the third place, although I know my proper order to be much further down in the roll of bishops.

This wrongs others, and grieves me. Moreover, our venerable father and colleague, Xantippus of Tagosa, says that the primacy belongs to him, and by very many he is regarded as the primate, and he issues such letters as you have sent. Even supposing that this be a mistake, which your Holiness can easily discover and correct, certainly his name should not have been omitted in the summons which you have issued. If his name had been placed in the middle of the list, and not in the first line, I would have wondered much; how much greater, then, is my surprise, when I find in it no mention whatever made of him who, above all others, behoved to be present in the Council, that by the bishops of all the Numidian churches this question of the order of the primacy might be debated before any other!

2. For these reasons, I might even hesitate to come to the Council, lest the summons in which so many flagrant mistakes are found should be a forgery; even were I not hindered both by the shortness of the notice, and manifold other important engagements standing in the way. I therefore beg you, most blessed prelate, to excuse me, and to be pleased to give attention, in the first instance, to bring about between your Holiness and the aged Xantippus a cordial mutual understanding as to the question which of you ought to summon the Council; or at least, as I think would be still better, let both of you, without prejudging the claim of either, conjointly call together our colleagues, especially those who have been nearly as long in the episcopate as yourselves, who may easily discover and decide which of you has truth on his side, 1 that

1 The primacy in Numidia belonged not to the bishop of the most important town, but to the oldest bishop.

LET. LX.] TO AURELIUS. 239

this question may be settled first among a few of you; and then, when the mistake has been rectified, let the younger bishops be gathered together, who, having no others whom it would be either possible or right for them to accept as witnesses in this matter but yourselves, are meanwhile at a loss to know to which of you the preference is to be given.

I have sent this letter sealed with a ring which represents a man's profile.

LETTEE LX.
TO FATHER AURELIUS, MY LORD MOST BLESSED, AND REVERED
WITH MOST JUSTLY MERITED RESPECT, MY BROTHER IN THE
PRIESTHOOD, MOST SINCERELY BELOVED, AUGUSTINE SENDS
GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I have received no letter from your Holiness since we parted; but I have now read a
letter of your Grace concerning Donatus and his brother, and I have long hesitated as to
the reply which I ought to give. After frequently reconsidering what is in such a case
conducive to the welfare of those whom we serve in Christ, and seek to nourish in Him,
nothing has occurred to me which would alter my opinion that it is not right to give
occasion for God's servants to think that promotion to a better position is more readily
given to those who have become worse. Such a rule would make monks less careful of
falling, and a most grievous wrong would be done to the order of clergy, if those who
have deserted their duty as monks be chosen to serve as clergy, seeing that our custom is
to select for that office only the more tried and superior men of those who continue
faithful to their calling as monks; unless, perchance, the common people are to be taught
to joke at our expense, saying "a bad monk makes a good clerk," as they are wont to say
that "a poor flute-player makes a good singer." It would be an intolerable calamity if we
were to encourage the monks to such fatal pride, and were to consent to brand with so
grievous disgrace the clerical order to which we ourselves belong: seeing that sometimes
even a good monk

is scarcely qualified to be a good clerk; for though he be proficient in self-denial, he may
lack the necessary instruction, or be disqualified by some personal defect.

2. I believe, however, that your Holiness understood these monks to have left the
monastery with my consent, in order that they might rather be useful to the people of
their own district; but this was not the case: of their own accord they departed, of their
own accord they deserted us, notwithstanding my resisting, from a regard to their welfare,
to the utmost of my power. As to Donatus, seeing that he has obtained ordination before
we could arrive at any decision in the Council I as to his case, do as your wisdom may
guide you; it may be that his proud obstinacy has been subdued. But as to his brother,
who was the chief cause of Donatus leaving the monastery, I know not what to write,
since you know what I

think of him. I do not presume to oppose what may seem best to one of your wisdom,
rank, and piety; and I hope with all my heart that you will do whatever you judge most
profitable for the members of the Church.

LETTER LXI.
TO HIS WELL-BELOVED AND HONOURABLE BROTHER THEODORUS, BISHOP AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I have resolved to commit to writing in this letter what I said when you and I were conversing together as to the terms on which we would welcome clergy of the party of Donatus desiring to become Catholics, in order that, if any one asked you what are our sentiments and practice in regard to this, you might exhibit these by producing what I have written with my own hand. Be assured, therefore, that we detest nothing in the Donatist clergy but that which renders them schismatics and heretics, namely, their dissent from the unity and truth of the Catholic Church, in their not remaining in peace with the people of God, which is spread abroad throughout the world, and in their refusing to recognise the baptism of Christ in those who have received it. This their grievous error, therefore, we reject; but the good name of God which they bear, and His sacrament which they have received, we acknowledge in them, and embrace it with reverence and love. But for this very reason we grieve over their wandering, and long to gain them for God by the love of Christ, that they may have within the peace of the Church that holy sacrament for their salvation, which they meanwhile have beyond the pale of the Church for their destruction. If, therefore, there be taken away from between us the evil things which proceed from men, and if the good which comes from God and belongs to both parties in common be duly honoured, there will ensue such brotherly concord, such amiable peace, that the love of Christ shall gain the victory in men's hearts over the temptation of the devil.

2. When, therefore, any come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not welcome the evil which belongs to them, viz. their error and schism: these, the only obstacles to our concord, are removed from between us, and we embrace our brethren, standing with them, as the apostle says, in " the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace," * and acknowledging in them the good things which are divine, as their holy baptism, the blessing conferred by ordination, their profession of self-denial, their vow of celibacy, their faith in the Trinity, and such like; all which things were indeed theirs before, but " profited them nothing, because they had not charity." For what truth is there in the profession of Christian charity by him who does not embrace Christian unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic Church, they gain thereby not what they already possessed, but something which they had not before, â€” namely, that those things which they possessed begin then to be profitable to them. For in the Catholic Church they obtain the root of charity in the bond of peace and in the fellowship of unity: so that all the sacraments of truth which they hold serve not to
condemn, but to deliver them. The branches ought not to boast that their wood is the wood of the vine, not of the thorn; for if they do not live by union to the root, they shall, notwithstanding-

1 Eph. iv. 3.

VOL. I. Q

242 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXII.

ing their outward appearance, be cast into the fire. But of some branches which were broken off the apostle says that " God is able to graff them in again." Wherefore, beloved brother, if you see any one of the Donatist party in doubt as to the place into which they shall be welcomed by us, show them this writing in my own hand, which is familiar to you, and let them have it to read if they desire it; for I call God for a record upon my soul," that I will welcome them on such terms as that they shall retain not only the baptism of Christ which they have received, but also the honour due to their vow of holiness and to their self-denying virtue.

LETTER LXII.

(a.d. 401.)

alypius, augustine, and samsucius, and the brethren who are with them, send greeting in the lord to severus, 2 their lord most blessed, and with all reverence most beloved, their brother in truth, and partner in the priestly opeice, and to all the brethren who are WITH HIM.

1. When we came to Subsana, and inquired into the things which had been done there in our absence and against our will, we found some things exactly as we had heard reported, and some things otherwise, but all things calling for lamentation and forbearance; and we endeavoured, in so far as the Lord gave His help, to put them right by reproof, admonition, and prayer. What distressed us most, since your departure from the place, was that the brethren who went tlfence to you were allowed to go without a guide, which we beg you to excuse, as having taken place not from malice, but from an excessive caution. For, believing as they did that these men were sent by our son Timotheus in order to move you to be displeased with us, and being anxious to reserve the whole matter untouched until we should come (when they
1 Rom. xi. 23.

2 Severus, bishop of Milevi in Numidia, had at one time been an inmate of the monastery of Augustine, and was held by him in the highest esteem.

LET. lxil] to severus. 243

hoped to see you along with us), they thought that the departure of these men would be prevented if they were not furnished with a guide. That they did wrong in thus attempting to detain the brethren we admit, â€” nay, who could doubt it? Hence also arose the story which was told to Fossor, I that Timotheus had already gone to you with these same brethren. This was wholly false, but the statement was not made by the presbyter; and that Carcedonius our brother was wholly unaware of all these things, was most clearly proved to us by all the ways in which such things are susceptible of proof.

2. But why spend more time on these circumstances? Our son Timotheus, being greatly disturbed because he found himself, altogether in spite of his own wish, in such unlooked for perplexity, informed us that, when you were urging him to serve God at Subsana, he broke forth vehemently, and swore that he would never on any account leave you. And when we questioned him as to his present wish, he replied that by this oath he was precluded from going to the place which we had previously wished him to occupy, even though his mind were set at rest by the evidence given as to his freedom from restraint. When we showed him that he would not be guilty of violating his oath if a bar was put in the way of his being with you, not by him, but by you, in order to avoid a scandal; seeing that he could by his oath bind only his own will, not yours, and he admitted that you had not bound yourself reciprocally by your oath; at last he said, as it became a servant of God and a son of the Church to say, that he would without hesitation agree to whatever should seem good to us, along with your Holiness, to appoint concerning him. We therefore ask, and by the love of Christ implore you, in the exercise of your sagacity, to remember all that we spoke to each other in this matter, and to make us glad by your reply to this letter. For "we that are strong" (if, indeed, amid so great and perilous temptations, we may presume to claim this title) are bound, as the apostle says, to "bear the infirmities of the weak." 2 Our brother Timotheus has not written to your Holiness, because your venerable brother has reported all to

1 Tillemont suggests that this may be "the sexton," and not a proper name.

2 Eom. xv. 1.
you. May you be joyful in the Lord, and remember us, our lord most blessed, and with all reverence most beloved, our brother in sincerity.

LETTER LXIII.

(a.d. 401.)

to Severus, my lord most blessed and venerable, a brother worthy of being embraced with unfeigned love, and partner in the priestly office, and to the brethren that are with him, Augustine and the brethren with him send greeting in the Lord.

1. If I frankly say all that this case compels me to say, you may perhaps ask me where is my concern for the preservation of charity; but if I may not thus say all that the case demands, may I not ask you where is the liberty conceded to friendship? Hesitating between these two alternatives, I have chosen to write so much as may justify me without accusing you. You wrote that you were surprised that we, notwithstanding our great grief at what was done, acquiesced in it, when it might have been remedied by our correction; as if when things wrongly done have been afterwards, so far as possible, corrected, they are no longer to be deplored; and more particularly, as if it were absurd for us to acquiesce in that which, though wrongly done, it is impossible for us to undo. Wherefore, my brother, sincerely esteemed as such, your surprise may cease. For Timotheus was ordained a subdeacon at Subsana against my advice and desire, at the time when the decision of his case was still pending as the subject of deliberation and conference between us. Behold me still grieving over this, although he has now returned to you; and we do not regret that in our consenting to his return we obeyed your will.

2. May it please you to hear how, by rebuke, admonition, and prayer, we had, even before he went away from this place, corrected the "wrong which had been done, lest it should appear to you that up to that time nothing had been corrected by us because he had not returned to you. By rebuke, addressing ourselves first to Timotheus himself, because lie did not obey you, but went away to your Holiness without consulting our brother Carcedonius, to which act of his the origin of this affliction is to be traced; and afterwards censuring the presbyter (Carcedonius) and Verinus, through whom we found that the ordination of Timotheus had been managed. When all of these admitted, under our rebuke, that in all the things alleged they had done wrong and begged forgiveness, we would have acted with undue haughtiness if we had refused to believe that they were sufficiently corrected. For they could not make that to
be not done which had been done; and we by our rebuke were not expecting or desiring to do more than bring them to acknowledge their faults, and grieve over them.
By admonition: first, in warning all never to dare again to do such things, lest they should incur God's wrath; and then especially charging Timotheus, who said that he was bound only by his oath to go to your Grace, that if your Holiness, considering all that we had spoken together on the matter, should, as we hoped might be the case, decide not to have him with you, out of regard for the weak for whom Christ died, who might be offended, and for the discipline of the Church, which it is perilous to disregard, seeing that he had begun to be a reader in this diocese, â€” he should then, being free from the bond of his oath, devote himself with undisturbed mind to the service of God, to whom we are to give an account of all our actions. By such admonitions as we were able to give, we had also persuaded our brother Carcedonius to submit with perfect resignation to whatever might be seen to be necessary in regard to him for the preservation of the discipline of the Church. By prayer, moreover, we had laboured to correct ourselves, commending both the guidance and the issues of our counsels to the mercy of God, and seeking that if any sinful anger had wounded us, we might be cured by taking refuge under His healing right hand. Behold how much we had corrected by rebuke, admonition, and prayer!

3. And now, considering the bond of charity, that we may not be possessed by Satan, â€” for we are not ignorant of his devices, â€” what else ought we to have done than obey your wish, seeing that you thought that what had been done could be remedied in no other way than by our giving back to your authority him in whose person you complained that wrong had been done to you. Even our brother Carcedonius himself consented to this, not indeed without much distress of spirit, on account of which I entreat you to pray for him, but eventually without opposition, believing that he submitted to Christ in submitting to you. Kay, even when I still thought it might be our duty to consider whether I should not write a second letter to you, my brother, while Timotheus still remained here, he himself, with filial reverence, feared to displease you, and cut my deliberations short by not only consenting, but even urging, that Timotheus should be restored to you.

4. I therefore, brother Severus, leave my case to be decided by you. For I am sure that Christ dwells in your heart, and by Him I beseech you to ask counsel from Him, submitting your mind to His direction regarding the question whether, when a man had begun to be a Header in the Church confided to my care, having read, not once only, but a second and a third time, at Subsana, and in company with the presbyter of the Church of Subsana had done the same also at Turrres and Ciza and Verbalis, it is either possible or right that he be pronounced to have never been a Header. And as we have, in obedience to God, corrected that which was afterwards clone contrary to our will, do you also, in obedience to Him, correct in like manner that which was formerly, through your not knowing the facts of the case, wrongly done. For I have no fear of your failing to
perceive what a door is opened for breaking down the discipline of the Church, if, when a
clergyman of any church has sworn to one of another church that he will not leave him,
that other encourage him to remain with him, alleging that he does so that he may not be
the occasion of the breaking of an oath; seeing that he who forbids this, and declines to
allow the other to remain with him
(because that other could by his vow bind only his own conscience), unquestionably
preserves the order which is necessary to peace in a way which none can justly censure.

LET. LXIV.] TO QUINTIANUS. 247

Lettee LXIV.
(a.d. 401.)
to my lord quintianus, my most beloved brother and fellow-presbyter, augustine sends
greeting in the

LORD.

1. We do not disdain to look upon bodies which are defective in beauty, especially seeing
that our souls themselves are not yet so beautiful as we hope that they shall be when He
who is of ineffable beauty shall have appeared, in whom, though now we see Him not,
we believe; for then "we shall be like Him," when "we shall see Him as He is." 1 If you
receive my counsel in a kindly and brotherly spirit, I exhort you to think thus of your
soul, as we do of our own, and not presumptuously imagine that it is already perfect in
beauty; but, as the apostle enjoins, " rejoice in hope," and obey the precept which he
annexes to this, when he says, " E rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation: " 2 " for we are
saved by hope," as he says again; " but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man
seeth, why doth he yet hope for ? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with
patience wait for it." 3 Let not this patience be wanting in thee, but with a good
conscience " wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thine heart:
wait, I say, on the Lord." 4

2. It is, of course, obvious that if you come to us while debarred from communion with
the venerable bishop aurelius, you cannot be admitted to communion with us; but we
would act towards you with that same charity which we are assured shall guide his
conduct. Your coming to us, however, should not on this account be embarrassing to us,
because the duty of submission to this, out of regard to the discipline of the Church,
ought to be felt by yourself, especially if you have the approval of your own conscience,
which is known to yourself and to God. For if aurelius has deferred the examination of
your case, he has done this not from dislike to you, but from the pressure of other
engagements; and if you knew his circumstances as well as you know your own, the
delay would
1 1 John iii. 2. 2 Rom. xii. 12. 3 Rom. viii. 24, 25. * Ps. xxvii. 14.
cause you neither surprise nor sorrow. That it is the same with myself, I entreat you to believe on my word, as you are equally unable to know how I am occupied. But there are other bishops older than I am, and both in authority more worthy and in place more convenient, by whose help you may more easily expedite the affairs now pending in the Church committed to your charge. I have not, however, failed to make mention of your distress, and of the complaint in your letter to my venerable brother and colleague the aged Aurelius, whom I esteem with the respect due to his worth; I took care to acquaint him with your innocence of the things laid to your charge, by sending him a copy of your letter. It was not until a day, or at the most two, before Christmas, 1 that I received the letter in which you informed me of his intention to visit the Church at Badesile, by which you fear lest the people be disturbed and influenced against you. I do not therefore presume to address by letter your people; for I could write a reply to any who had written to me, but how could I put myself forward unasked to write to a people not committed to my care?

3. Nevertheless, what I now say to you, who alone have written to me, may, through you, reach others who should hear it. I charge you then, in the first place, not to bring the Church into reproach by reading in the public assemblies those writings which the Canon of the Church has not acknowledged; for by these, heretics, and especially the ManichaBans (of whom I hear that some are lurking, not without encouragement, in your district), are accustomed to subvert the minds of the inexperienced. I am amazed that a man of your wisdom should admonish me to forbid the reception into the monastery of those who have come from you to us, in order that a decree of the Council may be obeyed, and at the same time should forget another decree 2 of the same Council, declaring what are the canonical Scriptures which ought to be read to the people. Bead again the proceedings of the Council, and commit them to memory: you will there find that the Canon which you refer to 1 as prohibiting the indiscriminate reception of applicants for admission to a monastery, was not framed in regard to laymen, but applies to the clergy alone. It is true there is no mention of monasteries in the canon; but it is laid down in general, that no one may receive a clergyman belonging to another diocese.

1 Pridie Natalis Domini.

Moreover, it has been enacted in a recent Council, 2 that any who desert a monastery, or are expelled from one, shall not be elsewhere admitted either to clerical office or to the charge of a monastery. If, therefore, you are in any measure disturbed regarding Privatio, let me inform you that he has not yet been received by us into the monastery; but that I have submitted his case to the aged Aurelius, and will act according to his decision. For it seems strange to me, if a man can be reckoned a reader who has read only once in public, and on that occasion read writings which are not canonical. If for this reason he is regarded as an ecclesiastical reader, it follows that the writing which he read must be esteemed as sanctioned by the Church. But if the writing be not sanctioned by the Church as canonical, it follows that, although a man may have read it to a congregation, he is not thereby made an ecclesiastical reader, [but is, as before, a layman]. Nevertheless I must, in regard to the young man in question, abide by the decision of the arbiter whom I have named.

4. As to the people of Vigesile, who are to us as well as to you beloved in the bowels of Christ, if they have refused to accept a bishop who has been deposed by a plenary Council in Africa, 3 they act wisely, and cannot be compelled to yield, nor ought to be. And whoever shall attempt to compel them by violence to receive him, will show plainly what is his character, and will make men well understand what his real character was at an earlier time, when he would have had them believe no evil of him. For no one more effectually discovers the worthlessness of his cause, than the man who, employing the secular power, or any other kind of violent means, endeavours by agitating and complaining to recover the ecclesiastical rank which he has forfeited. For his desire

1 Ibid. Can. 21. 2 Council of Carthage, 13th Sept. 401. 3 The same.

250 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXV.

is not to yield to Christ service which He claims, but to usurp over Christians an authority which they disown. Brethren, be cautious; great is the craft of the devil, but Christ is the wisdom of God.

LETTER LXV.

(a.d. 402.)

to the aged * xantippus, my lord most blessed and worthy of veneration, and my father and colleague in the priestly office, augustine sends greeting in the lord.

1. Saluting your Excellency with the respect due to your worth, and earnestly seeking an interest in your prayers, I
beg to submit to the consideration of your wisdom the case of a certain Abundantius, ordained a presbyter in the domain of Strabonia, belonging to my diocese. He had begun to be unfavourably reported of, through his not walking in the way which becomes the servants of God; and I being on this account alarmed, though not believing the rumours without examination, was made more watchful of his conduct, and devoted some pains to obtain, if possible, indisputable evidences of the evil courses with which he was charged. The first thing which I ascertained was, that he had embezzled the money of a countryman, entrusted to him for religious purposes, and could give no satisfactory account of his stewardship.

The next thing proved against him, and admitted by his own confession, was, that on Christmas day, on which the fast was observed by the Church of Gippe as by all the other Churches, after taking leave of his colleague the presbyter of Gippe, as if going to his own church about 11 a.m., he remained, without having any ecclesiastic in his company, in the same parish, and dined, supped, and spent the night in the house of a woman of ill fame. It happened that lodging in the same place was one of our clergy of Hippo, who had gone thither; and as the facts were known beyond dispute to this witness, Abundantius could not deny the charge. As to the things

1 This title in the African Church seems equivalent to Primate when applied to a "bishop. See Letter LIX.

LET. LXV.] TO XANTIPPLUS. 251

which he did deny, I left them to the divine tribunal, passing sentence upon him only in regard to those things which he had not been permitted to conceal. I was afraid to leave him in charge of a Church, especially of one placed as his was, in the very midst of rabid and barking heretics. And when he begged me to give him a letter with a statement of his case to the presbyter of the parish of Armenia, in the district of Bulla, from which he had come to us, so as to prevent any exaggerated suspicion there of his character, and in order that he might there live, if possible, a more consistent life, having no duties as a presbyter, I was moved by compassion to do as he desired. At the same time, it was very specially incumbent on me to submit to your wisdom these facts, lest any deception should be practised upon you.

2. I pronounced sentence in his case one hundred days before Easter Sunday, which falls this year on the 7th of April. I have taken care to acquaint you with the date, because of the decree of Council, 1 which I also did not conceal from him, but explained to him the law of the Church, that if he thought anything could be done to reverse my decision, unless he began proceedings with this view within a year, no one would, after the lapse of that time, listen to his pleading. For my own part, my lord most blessed, and father worthy of all veneration, I assure you that if I did not think that these instances of vicious conversation in an ecclesiastic, especially when accompanied with an evil reputation, deserved to be visited with the punishment appointed by the Council, I would be compelled now to attempt to sift things which cannot be known, and either to condemn
the accused upon doubtful evidence, or acquit him for want of proof. When a presbyter, upon a day of fasting which was observed as such also in the place in which he was, having taken leave of his colleague in the ministry in that place, and being unattended by any ecclesiastic, ventured to tarry in the house of a woman of ill fame, and to dine and sup and spend the night there, it seemed to me, whatever others might think, that he behoved to be deposed from his office, as I durst not commit to his charge a Church of God. If

1 Held at Carthage, 13th Sept. 401.

252 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXVI.

it should so happen that a different opinion be held by the ecclesiastical judges to whom he may appeal, seeing that it has been decreed by the Council 1 that the decision of six bishops be final in the case of a presbyter, let who will commit to him a Church within his jurisdiction, I confess, for my own part, that I fear to entrust any congregation whatever to persons like him, especially when nothing in the way of general good character can be alleged as a reason for excusing these delinquencies; lest, if he were to break forth into some more ruinous wickedness, I should be compelled with sorrow to blame myself for the harm done by his crime.

LETTLE LXVI.
(a.d. 402.)

ADDRESS, WITHOUT SALUTATION, TO CRISPUS, THE DONATIST BISHOP OF CALAMA.

1 . You ought to have been influenced by the fear of God; but since, in your work of rebaptizing the Mappalians, 2 you have chosen to take advantage of the fear with which as man you could inspire them, let me ask you what hinders the order of the sovereign from being carried out in the province, when the order of the governor of the province has been so fully enforced in a village ? If you compare the persons concerned, you are but a vassal in possession; he is the Emperor. If you compare the positions of both, you are in a property, he is on a throne; if you compare the causes maintained by both, his aim is to heal division, and yours is to rend unity in twain. But we do not bid you stand in awe of man: though we might take steps to compel you to pay, according to the imperial decree, ten pounds of gold as the penalty of your outrage. Perhaps you might be unable to pay the fine imposed upon those who rebaptize members of the Church, having been involved in so much expense in buying

1 Held at Carthage, a.d. 318 or 319, Can. 11.
2 About eighty persons, on a property which he had acquired, were compelled by Crispinus to undergo submersion, notwithstanding their groaning and protesting against this tyrannical act of their new landlord.

LET. LXVI.] TO CRISPINUS. 253

people whom you might compel to submit to the rite. But, as I have said, we do not bid you be afraid of man: rather let Christ fill you with fear. I should like to know what answer you could give Him, if He said to you: "Crispinus, was it a great price which you paid in order to buy the fear of the Mappalian peasantry; and does My death, the price paid by Me to purchase the love of all nations, seem little in your eyes? Was the money which was counted out from your purse in acquiring these serfs in order to their being rebaptized, a more costly sacrifice than the blood which flowed from My side in redeeming the nations in order to their being baptized?"

I know that, if you would listen to Christ, you might hear many more such appeals, and might, even by the possession which you have obtained, be warned how impious are the things which you have spoken against Christ. For if you think that your title to hold what you have bought with money is sure by human law, how much more sure, by divine law, is Christ's title to that which He hath bought with His own blood? And it is true that He of whom it is written,

"He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth,"

shall hold with invincible might all which He has purchased; but how can you expect with any assurance to retain that which you think you have made your own by purchase in Africa, when you affirm that Christ has lost the whole world, and been left with Africa alone as His portion?

2. But why multiply words? If these Mappalians have passed of their own free will into your communion, let them hear both you and me on the question which divides us, and the words of each of us being written down, and translated into the Punic tongue after having been attested by our signatures; and then, all pressure through fear of their superior being removed, let these vassals choose what they please. For by the things which we shall say it will be made manifest whether they remain in error under coercion, or hold what they believe to be truth with their own consent. They either understand these matters, or they do not: if they do not, how could you dare to transfer them in their ignorance to your communion? and if they do, let them, as I have said, hear

254 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXVII}
both sides, and act freely for themselves. If there be any communities that have passed
over from you to us, which you believe to have yielded to the pressure of their superiors,
let the same be done in their case; let them hear both sides, and choose for themselves.

ISTow, if you reject this proposal, who can fail to be convinced that your reliance is not
upon the force of truth? But you ought to beware of the wrath of God both here and
hereafter. I adjure you by Christ to give a reply to what I have written.

LETTUE LXVII

(ad. 402.)
to my lord most beloved and longed foe, my honoured

BROTHER IN CHRIST, AND FELLOW-PRESBYTER, JEROME, AUGUSTINE
SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. I 1. I have heard that my letter has come to your hand.
I have not yet received a reply, but I do not on this account question your affection;
doubtless something has hitherto prevented you. Wherefore I know and avow that my
prayer should be, that God would put it in your power to forward your reply, for He has
already given you power to prepare it, seeing that you can do so with the utmost ease if
you feel disposed.

Chap. ii. 2. I have hesitated whether to give credence or not to a certain report which has
reached me; but I felt that I
ought not to hesitate as to writing a few lines to you regarding the matter. To be brief, I
have heard that some brethren have told your Charity that I have written a book against
you and have sent it to Rome. Be assured that this is false:
I call God to witness that I have not done this. But if perchance there be some things in
some of my writings in which I am found to have been of a different opinion from you, I
think you ought to know, or if it cannot be certainly known, at least to believe, that such
things have been written not with a view of contradicting you, but only of stating my own
views. In saying this, however, let me assure you that not only am I most ready to hear in
a brotherly spirit the objections which you may entertain to any tiling in my writings

LETT. LXVIII.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 255

which has displeased you, but I entreat, nay implore you, to acquaint me with them; and
thus I shall be made glad either by the correction of my mistake, or at least by the
expression of your goodwill.

3. Oh that it were in my power, by our living near each other, if not under the same roof,
to enjoy frequent and sweet conference with you in the Lord I Since, however, this is not
granted, I beg you to take pains that this one way in which we can be together in the Lord
be kept up; nay, more improved and perfected. Do not refuse to write me in return, however seldom.

Greet with my respects our holy brother Paulinianus, and all the brethren who with you, and because of you, rejoice in the Lord. May you, remembering us, be heard by the Lord in regard to all your holy desires, my lord most beloved and longed for, my honoured brother in Christ.

LETTEE LXVIII.

(a.d. 402.)

to Augustine, my lord, truly holy and most blessed father, Jerome sends greeting in Christ.

1. "When my kinsman, our holy son Asterius, subdeacon, was just on the point of beginning his journey, the letter of your Grace arrived, in which you clear yourself of the charge of having sent to Rome a book written against your humble servant. 2 I had not heard that charge; but by our brother Sysinnius, deacon, copies of a letter addressed by some one apparently to me have come hither. In the said letter I am exhorted to sing the irakivw^ia, confessing mistake in regard to a paragraph of the apostle’s writing, and to imitate Stesichorus, who, vacillating between disparagement and praises of Helen, recovered, by praising her, the eyesight which he had forfeited by speaking against her. 3 Although the style and the method of argument appeared to be yours, I must frankly confess to your Excellency that I did not think it right to assume without examination the authenticity of a letter of 1 Papae. 2 Parvitas mea. 3 See Letter XL. sec. 7, page 134.

256 LETTEES OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXVIII.

which I had only seen copies, lest perchance, if offended by my reply, you should with justice complain that it was my duty first to have made sure that you were the author, and only after that was ascertained, to address you in reply.

Another reason for my delay was the protracted illness of the pious and venerable Paula. For, while occupied long in attending upon her in severe illness, I had almost forgotten your letter, or more correctly, the letter written in your name, remembering the verse, “Like music in the day of mourning is an unseasonable discourse.” 1 Therefore, if it is your letter, write me frankly that it is so, or send me a more accurate copy, in order that without any passionate rancour we may devote ourselves to discuss scriptural truth; and I may either correct my own mistake, or show that another has without good reason found fault with me.

2. Far be it from me to presume to attack anything which your Grace has written. For it is enough for me to prove my own views without controverting what others hold. But it is
well known to one of your wisdom, that every one is satisfied with his own opinion, and
that it is puerile self-sufficiency to seek, as young men have of old been wont to do, to
gain glory to one's own name by assailing men who have become renowned. I am not so
foolish as to think myself insulted by the fact that you give an explanation different from
mine; since you, on the other hand, are not wronged by my views being contrary to those
which you maintain.
But that is the kind of reproof by which friends may truly benefit each other, when each,
not seeing his own bag of faults, observes, as Persius has it, the wallet borne by the other.
2 Let me say further, love one who loves you, and do not because you are young
challenge a veteran in the field of Scripture. I have had my time, and have run my course
to the utmost of my strength. It is but fair that I should rest, while you in your turn run
and accomplish great distances; at the same time (with your leave, and without intending
any
1 Ecclus. xxii. 6.
2 " Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere, nemo;
Sed prsecedenti spectatur mantica tergo." â€” Sat. iv. 29. See also Phcedrus, iv. 10.

LET. LXIX.] TO CASTOPJUS. 257

disrespect), lest it should seem that to quote from the poets is a thing which you alone can
do, let me remind you of the encounter between Dares and Entellus, 1 and of the proverb,
" The tired ox treads with a firmer step." With sorrow I
have dictated these words. Would that I could receive your embrace, and that by converse
we might aid each other in learning!

3. With his usual effrontery, Calphurnius, surnamed Lanarius, 2 has sent me his execrable
writings, which I understand that he has been at pains to disseminate in Africa also. To
these I have replied in part, and shortly; and I have sent you a copy of my treatise,
intending by the first opportunity to send you a larger work, when I have leisure to
prepare it.
In this treatise I have been careful not to offend Christian feeling in any, but only to
confute the lies and hallucinations arising from his ignorance and madness.

Eemember me, holy and venerable father. See how sincerely I love thee, in that I am
unwilling, even when challenged, to reply, and refuse to believe you to be the author of
that which in another I would sharply rebuke.
Our brother Communis sends his respectful salutation.

LETTEE LXIX.

(a.d. 402.)
to their justly beloved lord castorius, their truly wel-
COMED AND WORTHILY HONOURED SON, ALYPIUS AND AUGUS-
TINE SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. An attempt was made by the enemy of Christians to cause, by occasion of our very
dear and sweet son your brother, the agitation of a most dangerous scandal within the
Catholic Church, which as a mother welcomed you to her affectionate embrace when you
fled from a disinherited and separated fragment into the heritage of Christ; the desire of
that enemy being evidently to becloud with unseemly melancholy the calm beauty of joy
which was imparted to us by the blessing of your conversion. But the Lord our God, who
is
1 Virgil, jEncid, v. 369 seq. 2 Rufinus.

VOL. L R

258 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXIX.

compassionate and merciful, who comforttech them that are cast down, nourishing the
infants, and cherishing the infirm, permitted him to gain in some measure success in this
design, only to make us rejoice more over the prevention of the calamity than we grieved
over the danger. For it is a far more magnanimous thing to have resigned the onerous
responsibilities of the bishop's dignity in order to save the Church from danger, than to
have accepted these in order to have a share in her government. He truly proves that he
was worthy of holding that office, had the interests of peace permitted him to do so, who
does not insist upon retaining it when he cannot do so without endangering the peace of
the Church. It has accordingly pleased God to show, by means of your brother, our
beloved son Maximianus, unto the enemies of His Church, that there are within her those
who seek not their own things, but the things of Jesus Christ. For in laying down that
ministry of stewardship of the mysteries of God, he was not deserting his duty under the
pressure of some worldly desire, but acting under the impulse of a pious love of peace,
lest, on account of the honour conferred upon him, there should arise among the members
of Christ an unseemly and dangerous, perhaps even fatal, dissension. For could anything
have been more infatuated and worthy of utter reprobation, than to forsake schismatics
because of the peace of the Catholic Church, and then to trouble that same Catholic peace
by the question of one's own rank and preferment? On the other hand, could anything be
more praiseworthy, and more in accordance with Christian charity, than that, after having
forsaken the frenzied pride of the Donatists, he should, in the manner of his cleaving to
the heritage of Christ, give such a signal proof of humility under the power of love for the
unity of the Church? As for him, therefore, we rejoice indeed that he has been proved of
such stability that the storm of this temptation has not cast down what divine truth had
built in his heart; and therefore we desire and pray the Lord to grant that, by his life and
conversation in the future, he may make it more and more manifest how well he would
have discharged the responsibilities of that office which he would have accepted if that had been his.

LET. LXIX.] TO CASTOEIUS. 259

duty. May that eternal peace which is promised to the Church be given in recompense to him, who discerned that the things which were not compatible with the peace of the Church were not expedient for him!

2. As for you, our dear son, in whom we have great joy, since you are not restrained from accepting the office of bishop by any such considerations as have guided your brother in declining it, it becomes one of your disposition to devote to Christ that which is in you by His own gift. Your talents, prudence, eloquence, gravity, self-control, and everything else which adorns your conversation, are the gifts of God. To what service can they be more fittingly devoted than to His by whom they were bestowed, in order that they may be preserved, increased, perfected, and rewarded by Him? Let them not be devoted to the service of this world, lest with it they pass away and perish. We know that, in dealing with you, it is not necessary to insist much on your reflecting, as you may so easily do, upon the hopes of vain men, their insatiable desires, and the uncertainty of life. Away, therefore, with every expectation of deceptive and earthly felicity which your mind had grasped: labour in the vineyard of God, where the fruit is sure, where so many promises have already received so large measure of fulfilment, that it would be the height of madness to despair as to those which remain. We beseech you by the divinity and humanity of Christ, and by the peace of that heavenly city where we receive eternal rest after labouring for the time of our pilgrimage, to take the place as the bishop of the Church of Vagina which your brother has resigned, not under ignominious deposition, but by magnanimous concession. Let that people for whom we expect the richest increase of blessings through your mind and tongue, endowed and adorned by the gifts of God, â€” let that people, we say, perceive through you, that in what your brother has done, he was consulting not his own indolence, but their peace.

We have given orders that this letter be not read to you until those to whom you are necessary hold you in actual possession. For we hold you in the bond of spiritual love.

1 It would seem that there was some reason to fear lest Castorius should elsewhere devote his talents to some other calling, and that a deputation from Vagina

260 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXX.

because to us also you are very necessary as a colleague. Our reason for not coming in person to you, you shall afterwards learn.
LETTEE LXX.

(a.d. 402.)

This letter is addressed by Alypius and Augustine to Naucelio, a person through whom they had discussed the question of the Donatist schism with Clarentius, an aged Donatist bishop (probably the same with the Nuinidian bishop of Tabraca, who took part in the Conference at Carthage in 411 a.d.). The ground traversed in the letter is the same as in pages 186 to 191, in Letter L.I., regarding the inconsistencies of the Donatists in the case of Felicianus of Musti. We therefore leave it untranslated.

LETTEE LXXI.

(a.d. 403.)

to my venerable lord jerome, my esteemed and holy brother and fellow-presbyter, augustine sends greeting in

THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. Xever since I began to write to vou, and to long for your writing in return, have I met with a better opportunity for our exchanging communications than now, when my letter is to be carried to you by a most faithful servant and minister of God, who is also a very dear friend of mine, namely, our son Cyprian, deacon. Through him I expect to receive a letter from you with all the certainty which is in a matter of this kind possible. For the son whom I have named will not be found wanting in respect of zeal in asking, or persuasive influence in obtaining a reply from you; nor will he fail in diligently keeping, promptly bearing, and faithfully delivering the same. I only pray that if I be in any way worthy of this, the Lord may give His help and favour to your heart and to my desire, so that no higher will may hinder that which your brotherly goodwill inclines you to do.

had been sent to seek him and bring him to that place. Alypius and Augustine for some reason did not accompany the deputation, but sent this letter with them.

LET. LXXI.] TO JEROME. 261

2. As I have sent you two letters already to which I have received no reply, I have resolved to send you at this time copies of both of them, for I suppose that they never
reached you. If they did reach you, and your replies have failed, as may be the case, to reach me, send me a second time the same as you sent before, if you have copies of them preserved: if you have not, dictate again what I may read, and do not refuse to send to these former letters the answer for which I have been waiting so long. My first letter to you, which I had prepared while I was a presbyter, was to be delivered to you by a brother of ours, Profuturus, who afterwards became my colleague in the episcopate, and has since then departed from this life; but he could not then bear it to you in person, because at the very time when he intended to begin his journey, he was prevented by his ordination to the weighty office of bishop, and shortly afterwards he died. This letter I have resolved also to send at this time, that you may know how long I have cherished a burning desire for conversation with you, and with what reluctance I submit to the remote separation which prevents my mind from having access to yours through our bodily senses, my brother, most amiable and honoured among the members of the Lord.

Chap. ii. 3. In this letter I have further to say, that I have since heard that you have translated Job out of the original Hebrew, although in your own translation of the same prophet from the Greek tongue we had already a version of that book. In that earlier version you marked with asterisks the words found in the Hebrew but wanting in the Greek, and with obelisks the words found in the Greek but wanting in the Hebrew; and this was done with such astonishing exactness, that in some places we have every word distinguished by a separate asterisk, as a sign that these words are in the Hebrew, but not in the Greek. Now, however, in this more recent version from the Hebrew, there is not the same scrupulous fidelity as to the words; and it perplexes any thoughtful reader to understand either what was the reason for marking the asterisks in the former version with so much care that they indicate the absence from the Greek version of even the smallest grammatical particles which have not been rendered from the Hebrew, or what is the reason for so much less care having been taken in this recent version from the Hebrew to secure that these same particles be found in their own places. I would have put down here an extract or two in illustration of this criticism; but at present I have not access to the MS. of the translation from the Hebrew. Since, however, your quick discernment anticipates and goes beyond not only what I have said, but also what I meant to say, you already understand, I think, enough to be able, by giving the reason for the plan which you have adopted, to explain what perplexes me.

4. For my part, I would much rather that you would furnish us with a translation of the Greek version of the canonical Scriptures known as the work of the Seventy translators. For if your translation begins to be more generally read in many churches, it will be a grievous thing that, in the reading of Scripture, differences must arise between the Latin
Churches and the Greek Churches, especially seeing that the discrepancy is easily condemned in a Latin version by the production of the original in Greek, which is a language very widely known; whereas, if any one has been disturbed by the occurrence of something to which he was not accustomed in the translation taken from the Hebrew, and alleges that the new translation is wrong, it will be found difficult, if not impossible, to get at the Hebrew documents by which the version to which exception is taken may be defended. And when they are obtained, who will submit to have so many Latin and Greek authorities pronounced to be in the wrong? Besides all this, Jews, if consulted as to the meaning of the Hebrew text, may give a different opinion from yours: in which case it will seem as if your presence were indispensable, as being the only one who could refute their view; and it would be a miracle if one could be found capable of acting as arbiter between you and them.

Chap. hi. 5. A certain bishop, one of our brethren, having introduced in the church over which he presides the reading of your version, came upon a word in the book of the prophet Jonah, of which you have given a very different rendering from that which had been of old familiar to the senses and memory of all the worshippers, and had been chanted for so many generations in the church. Thereupon arose such a tumult in the congregation, especially among the Greeks, correcting what had been read, and denouncing the translation as false, that the bishop was compelled to ask the testimony of the Jewish residents (it was in the town of Oea). These, whether from ignorance or from spite, answered that the words in the Hebrew mss. were correctly rendered in the Greek version, and in the Latin one taken from it. What further need I say? The man was compelled to correct your version in that passage as if it had been falsely translated, as he desired not to be left without a congregation, a calamity which he narrowly escaped. From this case we also are led to think that you may be occasionally mistaken. You will also observe how great must have been the difficulty if this had occurred in those writings which cannot be explained by comparing the testimony of languages now in use.

LET. LXXI.] TO JEROME. 263

generations in the church. Thereupon arose such a tumult in the congregation, especially among the Greeks, correcting what had been read, and denouncing the translation as false, that the bishop was compelled to ask the testimony of the Jewish residents (it was in the town of Oea). These, whether from ignorance or from spite, answered that the words in the Hebrew mss. were correctly rendered in the Greek version, and in the Latin one taken from it. What further need I say? The man was compelled to correct your version in that passage as if it had been falsely translated, as he desired not to be left without a congregation, a calamity which he narrowly escaped. From this case we also are led to think that you may be occasionally mistaken. You will also observe how great must have been the difficulty if this had occurred in those writings which cannot be explained by comparing the testimony of languages now in use.

Chap. iv. 6. At the same time, we are in no small measure thankful to God for the work in which you have translated the Gospels from the original Greek, because in almost every passage we have found nothing to object to, when we compared it with the Greek Scriptures. By this work, any disputant who supports an old false translation is either convinced or confuted with the utmost ease by the production and collation of mss. And if, as indeed very rarely happens, something be found to which exception may be taken, who would be so unreasonable as not to excuse it readily in a work so useful that it cannot be too highly praised? I wish you would have the kindness to open up to me what you think to be the reason of the frequent discrepancies between the text supported by the Hebrew codices and the Greek Septuagint version. For the latter has no mean authority,
seeing that it has obtained so wide circulation, and was the one which the apostles used, as is not only proved by looking to the text itself, but has also been, as I remember, affirmed by yourself.

You would therefore confer upon us a much greater boon if you gave an exact Latin translation of the Greek Septuagint version: for the variations found in the different codices of the Latin text are intolerably numerous; and it is so justly open

1 Jonali iv. 6.

264 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXIL

to suspicion as possibly different from what is to be found in the Greek, that one has no confidence in either quoting it or proving anything by its help.

I thought that this letter was to be a short one, but it has somehow been as pleasant to me to go on with it as if I were talking with you. I conclude with entreating you by the Lord kindly to send me a full reply, and thus give me, so far as is in your power, the pleasure of your presence.

LETTEE LXXIL

(ad. 404.)
to augustine, my lord truly holy, and most blessed father,

JEROME SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. You are sending me letter upon letter, and often urging me to answer a certain letter of yours, a copy of which, without your signature, had reached me through our brother Sysinnius, deacon, as I have already written, which letter you tell me that you entrusted first to our brother Profuturus, and afterwards to some one else; but that Profuturus was prevented from finishing his intended journey, and having been ordained a bishop, was removed by sudden death; and the second messenger, whose name you do not give, was afraid of the perils of the sea, and gave up the voyage which he had intended. These things being so, I am at a loss to express my surprise that the same letter is reported to be in the possession of most of the Christians in Eome, and throughout Italy, and has come to every one but myself, to whom alone it was ostensibly sent. I wonder at this all the more, because the brother Sysinnius aforesaid tells me that he found it among the rest of your published works, not in Africa, not in your possession, but in an island of the Adriatic some five years ago.

2. True friendship can harbour no suspicion; a friend must speak to his friend as freely as to his second self. Some of my acquaintances, vessels of Christ, of whom there is a very large number in Jerusalem and in the holy places, suggested to me that this had not been
done by you in a guileless spirit, but through desire for praise and celebrity, and éclat in
the

LET. LXXII.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 265

eyes of the people, intending to become famous at my expense; that many might know
that you challenged me, and I feared to meet you; that you had written as a man of
learning, and I
had by silence confessed my ignorance, and had at last found one who knew how to stop
my garrulous tongue. I, however, let me say it frankly, refused at first to answer your
Excellency, because I did not believe that the letter, or as I may call it (using a proverbial
expression), the honeyed sword, was sent from you. Moreover, I was cautious lest I
should seem to answer uncourteously a bishop of my own communion, and to censure
anything in the letter of one who censured me, especially as I judged some of its
statements to be tainted with heresy. 1 Lastly, I was afraid lest you should have reason to
remonstrate with me, saying, "What! had you seen the letter to be mine, â€” had you
discovered in the signature attached to it the autograph of a hand well known to you,
when you so carelessly wounded the feelings of your friend, and reproached me with that
which the malice of another had conceived?"

Chap. ii. 3. Wherefore, as I have already written, either send me the identical letter in
question subscribed with your own hand, or desist from annoying an old man, who seeks
retirement in his monastic cell. If you wish to exercise or display your learning, choose as
your antagonists, young, eloquent, and illustrious men, of whom it is said that many are
found in Eome, who may be neither unable nor afraid to meet you, and to enter the lists
with a bishop in debates concerning the Sacred Scriptures. As for me, a soldier once, but
a retired veteran now, it becomes me rather to applaud the victories won by you and
others, than with my worn-out body to take part in the conflict; beware lest, if you persist
in demanding a reply, I call to mind the history of the way in which Quintus Maximus by
his patience defeated Hannibal, who was, in the pride of youth, confident of success. 2

"Omnia fert setas, animum quoque. Srepe ego longos Cantando puerum memini me
condere soles:

1 I have taken the liberty of making chap. ii. begin at the end instead of the beginning of
this sentence, where its interruption of the paragraph bewilders the reader.

2 Livy, book xxii.

266 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXII.

Kunc oblita mihi tot carmina: vox quoque Merin Jain fugit ipsa."1
Or rather, to quote an instance from Scripture: Barzillai of Gilead, when he declined in favour of his youthful son the kindnesses of King David and all the charms of his court, taught us that old age ought neither to desire these things, nor to accept them when offered.

4. As to your calling God to witness that you had not written a book against me, and of course had not sent to Rome what you had never written, adding that, if perchance some things were found in your works in which a different opinion from mine was advanced, no wrong had thereby been done to me, because you had, without any intention of offending me, written only what you believed to be right; I beg you to hear me with patience. You never wrote a book against me: how then has there been brought to me a copy, written by another hand, of a treatise containing a rebuke administered to me by you? How comes Italy to possess a treatise of yours which you did not write? Nay, how can you reasonably ask me to reply to that which you solemnly assure me was never written by you? So am I so foolish as to think that I am insulted by you, if in anything your opinion differs from mine. But if, challenging me as it were to single combat, you take exception to my views, and demand a reason for what I have written, and insist upon my correcting what you judge to be an error, and call upon me to recant it in a humble sort, and speak of your curing me of blindness; in this I maintain that friendship is wounded, and the laws of brotherly union are set at nought. Let not the world see us quarrelling like children, and giving material for angry contention between those who may become our respective supporters or adversaries. I write what I have now written, because I desire to cherish towards you pure and Christian love, and not to hide in my heart anything which does not agree with the utterance of my lips. For it does not become me, who have spent my life from youth until now, sharing the arduous labours of pious brethren in an obscure monastery, to presume to write anything against a bishop of my own communion, especially

1 Virgil, Eclogue ix.

LET. LXXII.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 267

against one whom I had begun to love before I knew him, who also sought my friendship before I sought his, and whom I rejoiced to see rising as a successor to myself in the careful study of the Scriptures. Wherefore either disown that book, if you are not its author, and give over urging me to reply to that which you never wrote; or if the book is yours, admit it frankly; so that if I write anything in self-defence, the responsibility may lie on you who gave, not on me who am forced to accept, the challenge.

Chap. hi. 5. You say also, that if there be anything in your writings which has displeased me, and which I would wish to correct, you are ready to receive my criticism as a brother; and you not only assure me that you would rejoice in such proof of my goodwill toward
you, but you earnestly ask me to do this. I tell you again, without reserve, what I feel: you are challenging an old man, disturbing the peace of one who asks only to be allowed to be silent, and you seem to desire to display your learning. It is not for one of my years to give the impression of enviously disparaging one whom I ought rather to encourage by approbation. And if the ingenuity of perverse men finds something which they may plausibly censure in the writings even of evangelists and prophets, are you amazed if, in your books, especially in your exposition of passages in Scripture which are exceedingly difficult of interpretation, some things be found which are not perfectly correct? This I say, however, not because I can at this time pronounce anything in your works to merit censure. For, in the first place, I have never read them with attention; and in the second place, we have not beside us a supply of copies of what you have written, excepting the books of Soliloquies and Commentaries on some of the Psalms; which, if I were disposed to criticise them, I could prove to be at variance, I shall not say with my own opinion, for I am nobody, but with the interpretations of the older Greek commentators.

Farewell, my very dear friend, my son in years, my father in ecclesiastical dignity; and to this I most particularly request your attention, that henceforth you make sure that I be the first to receive whatever you may write to me.

268 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXIII.

LETTTE LXXIII.

(A.D. 404.)

TO JEROME, MY VENERABLE AND MOST ESTEEMED BROTHER AND FELLOW-PRESBYTER, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap, l 1. Although I suppose that, before this reaches you, you have received through our son the deacon Cyprian, a servant of God, the letter which I sent by him, from which you would be apprised with certainty that I wrote the letter of which you mentioned that a copy had been brought to you; in consequence of which I suppose that I have begun already, like the rash Dares, to be beaten and belaboured by the missiles and the merciless fists of a second Entellus in the reply which you have written; nevertheless I answer in the meantime the letter which you have deigned to send me by our holy son Asterius, in which I have found many proofs of your most kind goodwill to me, and at the same time some signs of your having in some measure felt aggrieved by me. In reading it, therefore, I was no sooner soothed by one sentence than I was buffeted in another; my wonder being especially called forth by this, that after alleging, as your reason for not rashly accepting as authentic the letter from me of which you had a copy, the fact that, offended by your reply, I might justly remonstrate with you, because you ought first to have ascertained that it was mine before answering it, you go on to command me to acknowledge the letter frankly if it is mine, or send a more reliable copy of it, in order that we may, without any bitterness of feeling, address ourselves to the discussion of scriptural doctrine. For how can we engage in such discussion without
bitterness of feeling, if you have made up your mind to offend me? or, if your mind is not made up to this, what reason could I have had, when you did not offend me, for justly complaining as having been offended by you, that you ought first to have made sure that the letter was mine, and only then to have replied, that is to say, only then to have offended me? For if there had been nothing to offend me in your reply, I could have had no just ground of
1 See Jerome's Letter, LXYIIl, sec. 2, p. 257.

LET. LXXIII.] TO JEROME. 269

complaint. Accordingly, when you write such a reply to that letter as must offend me, what hope is left of our engaging without any bitterness in the discussion of scriptural doctrine?
Far be it from me to take offence if you are willing and able to prove, by incontrovertible argument, that you have apprehended more correctly than I have the meaning of that passage in Paul's Epistle [to the Galatians], or of any other text in Holy Scripture: nay, more, far be it from me to count it aught else than gain to myself, and cause of thankfulness to you, if in anything I am either informed by your teaching or set right by your correction.

2. But, my very dear brother, you could not think that I could be offended by your reply, had you not thought that you were offended by what I had written. For I could never have entertained concerning you the idea that you had not felt yourself offended by me if you so framed your reply as to offend me in return. If, on the other hand, I have been supposed by you to be capable of such preposterous folly as to take offence when you had not written in such a way as to give me occasion, you have in this already wronged me, that you have entertained such an opinion of me. But surely you who are so cautious, that although you recognised my style in the letter of which you had a copy, you refused to believe its authenticity, would not without consideration believe me to be so different from what your experience has proved me to be. For if you had good reason for seeing that I might justly complain had you hastily concluded that a letter not written by me was mine, how much more reasonably may I complain if you form, without consideration, such an estimate of myself as is contradicted by your own experience! You would not therefore go so far astray in your judgment as to believe, when you had written nothing by which I could be offended, that I would nevertheless be so foolish as to be capable of being offended by such a reply.
Chap. ii. 3. There can therefore be no doubt that you were prepared to reply in such a way as would offend me, if you had only indisputable evidence that the letter was mine. Accordingly, since I do not believe that you would think it right to offend me unless you had just cause, it remains for me to confess, as I now do, my fault as having been the first

270 LETTEES OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXIII.
to offend by writing that letter which I cannot deny to be mine. Why should I strive to
swim against the current, and not rather ask pardon? I therefore entreat you by the mercy
of Christ to forgive me wherein I have injured you, and not to render evil for evil by
injuring me in return. For it will be an injury to me if you pass over in silence anything
which you find wrong in either word or action of mine. If, indeed, you rebuke in me that
which merits no rebuke, you do wrong to yourself, not to me; for far be it from one of
your life and holy vows to rebuke merely from a desire to give offence, using the tongue
of malice to condemn in me that which by the truth-revealing light of reason you know to
deserve no blame. Therefore either rebuke kindly him whom, though he is free from
fault, you think to merit rebuke; or with a father's kindness soothe him whom you cannot
bring to agree with you. For it is possible that your opinion may be at variance with the
truth, while notwithstanding your actions are in harmony with Christian charity; for I also
shall most thankfully receive your rebuke as a most friendly action, even though the thing
censured be capable of defence, and therefore ought not to have been censured; or else I
shall acknowledge both your kindness and my fault, and shall be found, so far as the Lord
enables me, grateful for the one, and corrected in regard to the other.

4. Why, then, shall I fear your words, hard, perhaps, like the boxing-gloves of Entellus,
but certainly fitted to do me good? The blows of Entellus were intended not to heal, but
to harm, and therefore his antagonist was conquered, not cured.
But I, if I receive your correction calmly as a necessary medicine, shall not be pained by
it. If, however, "through weakness, either common to human nature or peculiar to myself,
I cannot help feeling some pain from rebuke, even when I am justly reproved, it is far
better to have a tumour in one's head cured, though the lance cause pain, than to escape
the pain by letting the disease go on. This was clearly seen by him who said that, for the
most part, our enemies who expose our faults are more useful than friends who are afraid
to reprove us. For the former, in their angry recriminations, sometimes charge us with
what we indeed require to correct;

LET. LXXIII.] TO JEROME. 271

but the latter, through fear of destroying the sweetness of friendship, show less boldness
on behalf of right than they ought. Since, therefore, you are, to quote your own
comparison, an ox * worn out, perhaps, as to your bodily strength by reason of years, but
unimpaired in mental vigour, and toiling still assiduously and with profit in the Lord's
threshingfloor; here am I, and in whatever I have spoken amiss, tread firmly on me: the
weight of your venerable age should not be grievous to me, if the chaff of my fault be so
bruised under foot as to be separated from me.

5. Let me further say, that it is with the utmost affectionate yearning that I read or
recollect the words at the end of your letter, "Would that I could receive your embrace,
and that by converse we might aid each other in learning." For my part, I say, â€” "Would
that we were even dwelling in parts of the earth less widely separated; so that if we could
not meet for converse, we might at least have a more frequent exchange of letters. For as it is, so great is the distance by which we are prevented from any kind of access to each other through the eye and ear, that I remember writing to your Holiness regarding these words in the Epistle to the Galatians when I was young; and behold I am now advanced in age, and have not yet received a reply, and a copy of my letter has reached you by some strange accident earlier than the letter itself, about the transmission of which I took no small pains. For the man to whom I entrusted it neither delivered it to you nor returned it to me. So great in my esteem is the value of those of your writings which we have been able to procure, that I should prefer to all other studies the privilege, if it were attainable by me, of sitting by your side and learning from you. Since I cannot do this myself, I propose to send to you one of my sons in the Lord, that he may for my benefit be instructed by you, in the event of my receiving from you a favourable reply in regard to the matter. For I have not now, and I can never hope to have, such knowledge of the Divine Scriptures as I see you possess. Whatever abilities I may have for such study, I devote entirely to the instruction of the people whom God has entrusted to me; and I am wholly

1 See p. 257.

272 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXIII.

precluded by my ecclesiastical occupations from having leisure for any further prosecution of my studies than is necessary for my duty in public teaching.

Chap. hi. 6. I am not acquainted with the writings speaking injuriously of you, which you tell me have come into Africa.
I have, however, received the reply to these which you have been pleased to send. After reading it, let me say frankly, I have been exceedingly grieved that the mischief of such painful discord has arisen between persons once so loving and intimate, and formerly united by the bond of a friendship which was well known in almost all the Churches. In that treatise of yours, any one may see how you are keeping yourself under restraint, and holding back the stinging keenness of your indignation, lest you should render railing for railing. If, however, even in reading this reply of yours, I faint with grief and shuddered with fear, what would be the effect produced in me by the things which he has -written against you, if they should come into my possession! "Woe unto the world because of offences!" 1 Behold the complete fulfilment of that which He who is Truth foretold: " Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold." 2 For what trusting hearts can now pour themselves forth with any assurance of their confidence being reciprocated? Into whose breast may confiding love now throw itself without reserve? In short, where is the friend who may not be feared as possibly a future enemy, if the breach that we deplore could arise between Jerome and Paifinus? Oh, sad and pitiable is our portion!
"Who can rely upon the affection of his friends because of what he knows them to be now, when he has no foreknowledge of what they shall afterwards become? But why
should I reckon it cause for sorrow, that one man is thus ignorant of what another may become, when no man knows even what he himself is afterwards to be? The utmost that he knows, and that he knows but imperfectly, is his present condition; of what he shall hereafter become he has no knowledge.

7. Do the holy and blessed angels possess not only this knowledge of their actual character, but also a foreknowledge of what they shall afterwards become? If they do, I cannot
1 Matt, xviii. 7. 2 Matt. xxiv. 12.

LET. LXXIII.] TO JEROME. 273

see how it was possible for Satan â€¢ ever to have been happy, even while he was still a good angel, knowing, as in this case he must have known, his future transgression and eternal punishment. I would wish to hear what you think as to this question, if indeed it be one which it would be profitable for us to be able to answer. But mark here what I suffer from the lands and seas which keep us, so far as the body is concerned, distant from each other. If I were myself the letter which you are now reading, you might have told me already what I have just asked; but now, when will you write me a reply? when will you get it sent away? when will it come here? when shall I receive it? And yet, would that I were sure it would come at last, though meanwhile I must summon all the patience which I can command to endure the unwelcome but unavoidable delay!
Wherefore I come back to those most delightful words of your letter, filled with your holy longing, and I in turn appropriate them as my own:
" Would that I might receive your embrace, and that by converse we might aid each other in learning," â€” if indeed there be any sense in which I could possibly impart instruction to you.

8. When by these words, now mine not less than yours, I am gladdened and refreshed, and when I am comforted not a little by the fact that in both of us a desire for mutual fellowship exists, though meanwhile unsatisfied, it is not long before I am pierced through by darts of keenest sorrow when I consider Bufhms and you, to whom God had granted in fullest measure and for a length of time that which both of us have longed for, so that in most close and endearing fellowship you feasted together on the honey of the Holy Scriptures, and think how between you the blight of such exceeding bitterness has found its way, constraining us to ask when, where, and in whom the same calamity may not be reasonably feared; seeing that it has befallen you at the very time when, unencumbered, having cast away secular burdens, you were following the Lord and were living together in that very land which was trodden by the feet of our Lord, when He said, " Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you;" 1 being, moreover, men of mature age, whose life was devoted to the study of the word of God.

1 Jolm xiv. 27.
Truly man's life on earth is a period of trial." 1 If I could anywhere meet you both together, which, alas, I cannot hope to do so strong are my agitation, grief, and fear, that I think I would cast myself at your feet, and there weeping till I could weep no more, would, with all the eloquence of love, appeal first to each of you for his own sake, then to both for each other's sake, and for the sake of those, especially the weak, "for whom Christ died." 2 whose salvation is in peril, as they look on you who occupy a place so conspicuous on the stage of time; imploring you not to write and scatter abroad these hard words against each other, which, if at any time you who are now at variance were reconciled, you could not destroy, and which you could not then venture to read lest strife should be kindled anew.

9. But I say to your Charity, that nothing has made me tremble more than your estrangement from Eufinus, when I read in your letter some of the indications of your being displeased with me. I refer not so much to what you say of Entellus and of the wearied ox, in which you appear to me to use genial pleasantry rather than angry threat, but to that which you have evidently written in earnest, of which I have already spoken perhaps more than was fitting, but not more than my fears compelled me to do, namely, the words, "lest perchance, being offended, you should have reason to remonstrate with me." If it be possible for us to examine and discuss anything by which our hearts may be nourished, without any bitterness of discord, I entreat you let us address ourselves to this. But if it is not possible for either of us to point out what he may judge to demand correction in the other's writings, without being suspected of envy and regarded as wounding friendship, let us, having regard to our spiritual life and health, leave such conference alone. Let us content ourselves with smaller attainments in that knowledge which puffeth up, if we can thereby preserve unharmed that charity which edifieth. 3 I feel that I come fax short of that perfection of which it is written, "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man;" 4 but through God's mercy I truly believe myself able to ask your forgiveness for that in which I have offended you: and this you ought to make plain to me, that through my hearing you, you may gain your

1 Job vii. 1, according to the LXX., and more correctly than in E. V.

2 1 Cor. viii. 11. 3 1 Cor. viii. 1. 4 Jas. iii. 2.

LET. LXXIII.] TO JEROME. 275
brother. Nor should you make it a reason for leaving me in error, that the distance
between us on the earth's surface makes it impossible for us to meet face to face. As
concerns the subjects into which we inquire, if I know, or believe, or think that I have got
hold of the truth in a matter in which your opinion is different from mine, I shall by all
means endeavour, as the Lord may enable me, to maintain my view without injuring you.
And as to any offence which I may give to you, so soon as I perceive your displeasure, I
shall unreservedly beg your forgiveness.

10. I think, moreover, that your reason for being displeased with me can only be, that I
have either said what I ought not, or have not expressed myself in the manner in which I
ought:
for I do not wonder that we are less thoroughly known to each other than we are to our
most close and intimate friends.
Upon the love of such friends I readily cast myself without reservation, especially when
chafed and wearied by the scandals of this world; and in their love I rest without any
disturbing care: for I perceive that God is there, on whom I
confidingly cast myself, and in whom I confidingly rest. Nor in this confidence am I
disturbed by any fear of that uncertainty as to the morrow which must be present when
we lean upon human weakness, and which I have in a former paragraph bewailed. For
when I perceive that a man is burning with Christian love, and feel that thereby he has
been made a faithful friend to me, whatever plans or thoughts of mine I
entrust to him I regard as entrusted not to the man, but to Him in whom his character
makes it evident that he dwells:
for " God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwell eth in God, and God in him; " 2 and
if he cease to dwell in love, his forsaking it cannot but cause as much pain as his abiding
in it caused joy. Nevertheless, in such a case, when one who was an intimate friend has
become an enemy, it is better that he should search out what ingenuity may help him to
fabricate to our prejudice, than that he should find what anger may
1 Matt, xviii. 15. 2 1 John iv. 16.

276 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXIV.

provoke him to reveal. This every one most easily secures, not by concealing what he
does, but by doing nothing which he would wish to conceaL And this the mercy of God
grants to good and pious men: they go out and in among their friends in liberty and
without fear, whatever these friends may afterwards become: the sins which may have
been committed by others within their knowledge they do not reveal, and they themselves
avoid doing what they would fear to see revealed. For when any false charge is fabricated
by a slanderer, either it is disbelieved, or, if it is believed, our reputation alone is injured,
our spiritual wellbeing is not affected. But when any sinful action is committed, that
action becomes a secret enemy, even though it be not revealed by the thoughtless or
malicious talk of one acquainted with our secrets. "Wherefore any person of discernment
may see in your own example how, by the comfort of a good conscience, you bear what
would otherwise be insupportable â€” the incredible enmity of one who was formerly
your most intimate and beloved friend; and how even what he utters against you, even what may to your disadvantage be believed by some, you turn to good account as the armour of righteousness on the left hand, which is not less useful than armour on the right hand in our warfare with the devil. But truly I would rather see him less bitter in his accusations, than see you thus more fully armed by them. This is a great and a lamentable wonder, that you should have passed from such amity to such enmity: it would be a joyful and a much greater event, should you come back from such enmity to the friendship of former days.

LETTER LXXIV.

(a.d. 404.)

TO MY LORD PPJESIDIUS, MOST BLESSED, MY BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, TRULY ESTEEMED, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I write to remind you of the request which I made to you as a sincere friend when you were here, that you would

i 2 Cor. vi. 7.

LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 277

not refuse to send a letter of mine to our holy brother and fellow-presbyter Jerome; in order, moreover, to let your Charity know in what terms you ought to write to him on my behalf. I have sent a copy of my letter to him, and of his to me, by reading which your pious wisdom may easily see both the moderation of tone which I have been careful to preserve, and the vehemence on his part by which I have been not unreasonably filled with fear. If, however, I have written anything which I ought not to have written, or have expressed myself in an unbecoming way, let it not be to him, but to myself, in brotherly love, that you send your opinion of what I have done, in order that, if I am convinced of my fault by your rebuke, I may ask his forgiveness.

LETTEE LXXV.

(a.d. 404.)

Jerome's answer to Letters XXVIII., XL., and LXXI.

TO AUGUSTINE, MY LORD TRULY HOLY, AND MOST BLESSED FATHER, JEROME SENDS GREETING IN CHRIST.
Chap. 11. I have received by Cyprian, deacon, three letters, or rather three little books, at the same time, from your Excellency, containing what you call sundry questions, but what I feel to be animadversions on opinions which I have published, to answer which, if I were disposed to do it, would require a pretty large volume. Nevertheless I shall attempt to reply without exceeding the limits of a moderately long letter, and without causing delay to our brother, now in haste to depart, who only three days before the time fixed for his journey asked earnestly for a letter to take with him, in consequence of which I am compelled to pour out these sentences, such as they are, almost without premeditation, answering you in a rambling effusion, prepared not in the leisure of deliberate composition, but in the hurry of extemporaneous dictation, which usually produces a discourse that is more the offspring of chance than the parent of instruction; just as unexpected attacks throw into confusion even the bravest soldiers, and

278 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

they are compelled to take to flight before they can gird on their armour.

2. Bat our armour is Christ; it is that which the Apostle Paul prescribes when, writing to the Ephesians, he says, " Take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day;" and again, " Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked: and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." 1 Armed with these weapons, King David went forth in his day to battle; and taking from the torrent's bed five smooth rounded stones, he proved that, even amidst all the eddying currents of the world, his feelings were free both from roughness and from defilement; drinking of the brook by the way, and therefore lifted up in spirit, he cut off the head of Goliath, using the proud enemy's own sword as the fittest instrument of death, 2 smiting the profane boaster on the forehead and wounding him in the same place in which Uzziah was smitten with leprosy when he presumed to usurp the priestly office; 3 the same also in which shines the glory that makes the saints rejoice in the Lord, saying, u The light of Thy countenance is sealed upon us, Lord." 4 Let us therefore also say, "My heart is fixed, God, my heart is fixed: I will sing and give praise: awake up, my glory; awake, psaltery and harp; I myself will awake early;" 5 that in us may be fulfilled that word, " Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it;" 6 and, "The Lord shall give the word with great power to them that publish it." 7 I am well assured that your prayer as well as mine is, that in our contendings the victory may remain with the truth. For you seek Christ's glory, not your own: if you are victorious, I also gain a victory if I discover my error. On the other hand, if I win the day, the gain is yours; for " the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents
for the children." 1 We read, moreover, in Chronicles, that the children of Israel went to
battle with their minds set upon peace, 2 seeking even amid swords and bloodshed and
the prostrate slain a victory not for themselves, but for peace.
Let me therefore, if it be the will of Christ, give an answer to all that you have written,
and attempt in a short dissertation to solve your numerous questions. I pass by the
conciliatory phrases in your courteous salutation: I say nothing of the compliments by
which you attempt to take the edge off your censure: let me come at once to the matters
in debate.

Chap. ii. 3. You say that you received from some brother a book of mine, in which I have
given a list of ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, but which had no title; and that
when you asked the brother aforesaid (I quote your own statement) why the title-page had
no inscription, or what was the name by which the book was known, he answered that it
was called "Epitaphium," i.e. "Obituary Notices:" upon which you display your
reasoning powers, by remarking that the name Epitaphium would have been properly
given to the book if the reader had found in it an account of the lives and writings of
deceased authors, but that inasmuch as mention is made of the works of many who were
living when the book was written, and are at this day still living, you wonder why I
should have given the book a title so inappropriate. I think that it must be obvious to your
own common sense, that you might have discovered the title of that book from its
contents, without any other help. For you have read both Greek and Latin biographies of
eminent men, and you know that they do not give to works of this land the title
Epitaphium, but simply
"Illustrious Men," e.g. "Illustrious Generals," or "philosophers, orators, historians,
poets," etc., as the case may be. An Epitaphium is a work written concerning the dead;
such as I remember having composed long ago after the decease of the presbyter
JSTepotianus, of blessed memory. The book, therefore, of which you speak ought to be
entitled, "Concerning Illustrious Men," or properly, "Concerning Ecclesiastical
Writers," although it is said that by many who were not

1 2 Cor. xii. 14. 2 1 Chron. xii. 17, 18.
qualified to make any correction of the title, it has been called "Concerning Authors."

Chap. hi. 4. You ask, in the second place, my reason for saying, in my commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, that Paul could not have rebuked Peter for that which he himself had done, 1 and could not have censured in another the dissimulation of which he was himself confessedly guilty; and you affirm that that rebuke of the apostle was not a manoeuvre of pious policy, 2 but real; and you say that I ought not to teach falsehood, but that all things in Scripture are to be received literally as they stand.

To this I answer, in the first place, that your wisdom ought to have suggested the remembrance of the short preface to my commentaries, saying of my own person, "What then? Am I so foolish and bold as to promise that which he could not accomplish? By no means; but I have rather, as it seems to me, with more reserve and hesitation, because feeling the deficiency of my strength, followed the commentaries of Ork'en in this matter. Tor that illustrious man wrote five volumes on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, and has occupied the tenth volume of his Stromata with a short treatise upon his explanation of the epistle. He also composed several treatises and fragmentary pieces upon it, which, if they even had stood alone, would have sufficed. I pass over my revered instructor Didymus 3 (blind, it is true, but quicksighted in the discernment of spiritual things), and the bishop of Laodicea, 4 who has recently left the Church, and the early heretic Alexander, as well as Eusebius of Emesa and Theodoras of Heraclea, who have also left some brief disquisitions upon this subject. Erom these works if I were to extract even a few passages, a work which could not be altogether despised would be produced. Let me therefore frankly say that I have

1 Gal. ii. 14. 2 Dispensatoria.

3 "Videntem meum Didymum," â€” Didymus of Alexandria, who, at the time when Jerome wrote his book on ecclesiastical writers (a.d. 392), was above ninety-three years of age. He became blind when he was five years old, but by perseverance attained extraordinary learning, and was much esteemed.

4 The younger Apollinarius, who in 380 was excommunicated for error regarding the Incarnation. His works were valuable, but have been almost all lost, being not transcribed because of his lapsing into heresy.

LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 281

read all these; and storing up in my mind very many things which they contain, I have dictated to my amanuensis sometimes what was borrowed from other writers, sometimes what was my own, without distinctly remembering the method, or the words, or the opinions which belonged to each. I look now to the Lord in His mercy to grant that my
want of skill and experience may not cause the things which others have well spoken to be lost, or to fail of finding among foreign readers the acceptance with which they have met in the language in which they were first written. If, therefore, anything in my explanation has seemed to you to demand correction, it would have been seemly for one of your learning to inquire first whether what I had written was found in the Greek writers to whom I have referred; and if they had not advanced the opinion which you censured, you could then with propriety condemn me for what I gave as my own view, especially seeing that I have in the preface openly acknowledged that I had followed the commentaries of Origen, and had dictated sometimes the view of others, sometimes my own, and have written at the end of the chapter with which you find fault: "If any one be dissatisfied with the interpretation here given, by which it is shown that neither did Peter sin, nor did Paul rebuke presumptuously a greater than himself, he is bound to show how Paul could consistently blame in another what he himself did." By which I have made it manifest that I did not adopt finally and irrevocably that which I had read in these Greek authors, but had propounded what I had read, leaving to the reader's own judgment whether it should be rejected or approved.

5. You, however, in order to avoid doing what I had asked, have devised a new argument against the view proposed; maintaining that the Gentiles who had believed in Christ were free from the burden of the ceremonial law, but that the Jewish converts were under the law, and that Paul, as the teacher of the Gentiles, rightly rebuked those who kept the law; whereas Peter, who was the chief of the "circumcision," * was justly rebuked for commanding the Gentile converts to do that which the converts from among the Jews were alone

1 Gal. ii. 8.

232 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

under obligation to observe. If this is your opinion, or rather since it is your opinion, that all from among the Jews who believe are debtors to do the whole law, you ought, as being a bishop of great fame in the whole world, to publish your doctrine, and labour to persuade all other bishops to agree with you. As for me in my humble cell, I along with the monks my fellow-sinners, I do not presume to dogmatize in regard to things of great moment; I only confess frankly that I read the writings of the Fathers, 2 and, complying with universal usage, put down in my commentaries a variety of explanations, that each may adopt from the number given the one which pleases him. This method, I think, you have found in your reading, and have approved in connection with both secular literature and the Divine Scriptures.

6. Moreover, as to this explanation which Origen first advanced, 3 and which all the other commentators after him have adopted, they bring forward, chiefly for the purpose of answering, the blasphemies of Porphyry, who accuses Paul of presumption because he
dared to reprove Peter and rebuke him to his face, and by reasoning convict him of having done wrong; that is to say, of being in the very fault which he himself, who blamed another for transgressing, had committed.

What shall I say also of John, who has long governed the Church of Constantinople, and holding pontifical rank, has composed a very large book upon this paragraph, and has followed the opinion of Origen and of the old expositors? If, therefore, you censure me as in the wrong, suffer me, I pray you, to be mistaken in company with such men; and when you perceive that I have so many companions in my error, you will require to produce at least one partisan in defence of your truth. So much on the interpretation of one paragraph of the Epistle to the Galatians.

7. Lest, however, I should seem to rest my answer to your reasoning wholly on the number of witnesses who are on my side, and to use the names of illustrious men as a means of escaping from the truth, not daring to meet you in argument, I shall briefly bring forward some examples from the Scriptures.

In the Acts of the Apostles, a voice was heard by Peter, saying unto him, "Eise, Peter, slay and eat," when all manner of four-footed beasts, and creeping things, and birds of the air, were presented before him; by which saying it is proved that no man is by nature ceremonially unclean, but that all men are equally welcome to the gospel of Christ. To which Peter answered, "Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean." And the voice spake unto him again the second time, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." Therefore he went to Caesarea, and having entered the house of Cornelius, a he opened his mouth and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." Thereafter "the Holy Ghost fell on all them which believed, and they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord." * " And the apostles and brethren that were in Judea heard that the Gentiles also received the word of God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men
uncircumcised, and didst eat with them." To whom he gave a full explanation of the reasons of his conduct, and concluded with these words: " Forasmuch then as God gave them the like gift as He did unto us who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what was I, that I could withstand God ? When they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." 2

Again, when, long after this, Paul and Barnabas had come to Antioch, and " having gathered the
1 Acts x. 13-48. 2 Acts xi. 1-18. -

284 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

Church together, rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles, certain men which came down from Judea taught the brethren, and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputat

8. These quotations should not be tedious to the reader, but useful both to him and to me, as proving that, even before the Apostle Paul, Peter had come to know that the law was not to be in force after the gospel was given; nay more, that Peter was the prime mover in issuing the decree by which this was affirmed. Moreover, Peter was of so great authority, that Paul has recorded in his epistle: " Then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days." 2 In the following context, again, he adds: " Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles;" proving that he had not
1 Acts xiv. 27, and xv. 1-12. 2 Gal. i. 1S.

LET. LXXV. ] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 285
had confidence in his preaching of the gospel if he had not been confirmed by the consent of Peter and those who were with him. The next words are, "but privately to them that were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain." Why did he this privately rather than in public? Lest offence should be given to the faith of those who from among the Jews had believed, since they thought that the law was still in force, and that they ought to join observance of the law with faith in the Lord as their Saviour. Therefore also, when at that time Peter had come to Antioch (although the Acts of the Apostles do not mention this, but we must believe Paul's statement), Paul affirms that he "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision.

And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw," he says, "that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" 1 etc. No one can doubt, therefore, that the Apostle Peter was himself the author of that rule with deviation from which he is charged. The cause of that deviation, moreover, is seen to be fear of the Jews. For the Scripture says, that "at first he did eat with the Gentiles, but when certain had come from James he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision." Now he feared the Jews, to whom he had been appointed apostle, lest by occasion of the Gentiles they should go back from the faith in Christ; imitating the Good Shepherd in his concern lest he should lose the flock committed to him.

9. As I have shown, therefore, that Peter was thoroughly aware of the abrogation of the law of Moses, but was compelled by fear to pretend to observe it, let us now see whether Paul, who accuses another, ever did anything of the same kind himself. We read in the same book: "Paul passed through

1 Gal. ii. 1, 2, 14.

286 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.]

Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches. Then came he to Derbe and Lystra: and, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek: which was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconimn. Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and he took and circumcised him, because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek." 1 blessed Apostle Paul, who hadst rebuked Peter for dissimulation, because he withdrew himself from the Gentiles through fear of the Jews who came from James, why art thou, notwithstanding thine own doctrine, compelled to circumcise Timothy, the son of a Gentile, nay more, a Gentile himself (for
he was not a Jew, having not been circumcised) ? Thou wilt answer, " Because of the Jews which are in these quarters ? " If, then, thou forgivest thyself the circumcision of a disciple coming from the Gentiles, forgive Peter also, who has precedence above thee, his doing some things of the same kind through fear of the believing Jews. Again, it is written: " Paul after this tarried there yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchrea, for he had a vow." 2 Be it granted that he was compelled through fear of the Jews in the other case to do what he was unwilling to do; wherefore did he let his hair grow in accordance with a vow of his own making, and afterwards, when in Cenchrea, shave his head according to the law, as the Xazarites, who had given themselves by vow to God, were wont to do, according to the law of Moses ?

10. But these things are small when compared with what follows. The sacred historian Luke further relates: " And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly;" and the day following, James, and all the elders who were with him, having expressed their approbation of his gospel, said to Paul: " Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake

1 Acts xy. 41, xvi. 1-3. 2 Acts xviii. 18.

LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 287

Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore ? The multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, and he at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them, entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until an offering should be offered for every one of them."

1 Paul, here again let me question thee: Why diclst thou shave thy head, why didst thou walk barefoot according to Jewish ceremonial law, why didst thou offer sacrifices, why were victims slain for thee according to the law ? Thou wilt answer, doubtless, " To avoid giving offence to those of the Jews who had believed." To gain the Jews, thou didst pretend to be a Jew; and James and all the other elders taught thee this dissimulation. But thou didst not succeed in escaping, after all. For when thou wast on the point of being killed in a tumult which had arisen, thou wast rescued by the chief captain of the band, and was sent by him to Csesarea, guarded by a careful escort of soldiers, lest the Jews should kill thee as a dissembler, and a destroyer of the law; and from Caesarea coming to
Eome, thou didst, in thine own hired house, preach Christ to both Jews and Gentiles, and thy testimony was sealed under Nero's sword. 2

11. We have learned, therefore, that through fear of the Jews both Peter and Paul alike pretended that they observed the precepts of the law. How could Paul have the assurance and effrontery to reprove in another what he had done himself? I at least, or, I should rather say, others before me, have given such explanation of the matter as they deemed best, not defending the use of falsehood in the interest of religion, as you charge them with doing, but teaching the


3 Officiosum ruendaciuin.

28 S LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

honourable exercise of a wise discretion; I seeking both to show the wisdom of the apostles, and to restrain the shameless blasphemies of Porphyry, who says that Peter and Paul quarrelled with each other in childish rivalry, and affirms that Paul had been inflamed with envy on account of the excellences of Peter, and had written boastfully of things which he either had not done, or, if he did them, had done with inexcusable presumption, reproving in another that which he himself had done. They, in answering him, gave the best interpretation of the passage which they could find; what interpretation have you to propound? Surely you must intend to say something better than they have said, since you have rejected the opinion of the ancient commentators.

Chap. iv. 12. You say in your letter: 2 "You do not require me to teach you in what sense the apostle says, ' To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews;' 3 and other such things in the same passage, which are to be ascribed to the compassion of pitying love, not to the artifices of intentional deceit. For he that ministers to the sick becomes as if he were sick himself, not indeed falsely pretending to be under the fever, but considering with the mind of one truly sympathizing what he would wish done for himself if he were in the sick man's place. Paul was indeed a Jew; and when he had become a Christian, he had not abandoned those Jewish sacraments which that people had received in the right way, and for a certain appointed time. Therefore, even when he was an apostle of Christ, he took part in observing these, but with this view, that he might show that they were in no wise hurtful to those who, even after they had believed in Christ, desired to retain the ceremonies* which by the law they had learned from their fathers; provided only that they did not build on these their hope of salvation, since the salvation which was foreshadowed in these has now been brought in by the Lord Jesus." The sum of your whole argument, which you have expanded into a most prolix dissertation, is this, that Peter did not err in supposing that the law was binding on those who from among the Jews had believed, but departed from the right course in this, that he compelled the
LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 289

Gentile converts to conform to Jewish observances. ISTow, if he compelled them, it was not by use of authority as a teacher, but by the example of his own practice. And Paul, according to your view, did not protest against what Peter had done personally, but asked wherefore Peter would compel those who were from among the Gentiles to conform to Jewish observances.

13. The matter in debate, therefore, or I should rather say your opinion regarding it, is summed up in this: that since the preaching of the gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well in observing the precepts of the law, i.e. in offering sacrifices as Paul did, in circumcising their children, as Paul did in the case of Timothy, and keeping the Jewish Sabbath, as all the Jews have been accustomed to do. If this be true, we fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who, though believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers for this one error, that they mixed up the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ, and professed their faith in that which was new, without letting go what was old. Why do I speak of the Ebionites, who make pretensions to the name of Christian? In our own day there exists a sect among the Jews throughout all the synagogues of the East, which is called the sect of the Minei, and is even now condemned by the Pharisees. The adherents to this sect are known commonly as Nazarenes; they believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; and they say that He who suffered under Pontius Pilate and rose again, is the same as the one in whom we believe. But while they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither the one nor the other. I therefore beseech you, who think that you are called upon to heal my slight wound, which is no more, so to speak, than a prick or scratch from a needle, to devote your skill in the healing art to this grievous wound, which has been opened by a spear driven home with the impetus of a javelin. For there is surely no proportion between the culpability of him who exhibits the various opinions held by the fathers in a commentary on Scripture, and the guilt of him who reintroduces within the Church a most pestilential heresy. If, however, there is for us no alternative but to receive the Jews into the Church, along with the usages prescribed by their law; if, in short, it shall be declared lawful for them to continue in the Churches of Christ what they have been accustomed to practise in the synagogues of Satan, I will tell you my opinion of the matter: they will not become Christians, but they will make us Jews.
14. For what Christian will submit to hear what is said in your letter? " Paul was indeed a Jew; and when he had become a Christian, he had not abandoned those Jewish sacraments which that people had received in the right way, and for a certain appointed time. Therefore, even when he was an apostle of Christ, he took part in observing these; but with this view, that he might show that they were in no wise hurtful to those who, even after they had believed in Christ, desired to retain the ceremonies which by the law they had learned from their fathers." Now I implore you to hear patiently my complaint. Paul, even when he was an apostle of Christ, observed Jewish ceremonies; and you affirm that they are in no wise hurtful to those who wish to retain them as they had received them from their fathers by the law. I, on the contrary, shall maintain, and, though the world were to protest against my view, I may boldly declare that the Jewish ceremonies are to Christians both hurtful and fatal; and that whoever observes them, whether he be Jew or Gentile originally, is cast into the pit of perdition. "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," 1 that is, to both Jew and Gentile; for if the Jew be excepted, He is not the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. Moreover, we read in the Gospel, "The law and the prophets were until Jiftm the Baptist." 2 Also, in another place: " Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He had not only broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God." 3 Again: " Of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace; for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." 4 Instead of the grace of the law which has passed away, we have

1 Eom. x. 4. 2 Matt. xi. 13 and Luke xvi. 16.
3 John v. 18. 4 John i. 16, 17.

LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 291

received the grace of the gospel which is abiding; and instead of the shadows and types of the old dispensation, the truth has come by Jesus Christ. Jeremiah also prophesied thus in God's name: " Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt." 1

Observe what the prophet says, not to Gentiles, who had not been partakers in any former covenant, but to the Jewish nation. He who has given them the law by Moses, promises in place of it the new covenant of the gospel, that they might no longer live in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit. Paul himself, moreover, in connection with whom the discussion of this question has arisen, delivers such sentiments as these frequently, of which I subjoin only a few, as I desire to be brief: " Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." Again:
"Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." Again:
"If ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law." 2
From which it is evident that he has not the Holy Spirit who submits to the law, not, as our fathers affirmed the apostles to have done, feignedly, under the promptings of a wise discretion, 3 but, as you suppose to have been the case, sincerely.
As to the quality of these legal precepts, let us learn from God's own teaching: "I gave them," He says, "statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live." 4
I say these things, not that I may, like Manichaeus and Marcion, destroy the law, which I know on the testimony of the apostle to be both holy and spiritual; but because when "faith came," and the fulness of times, "God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons," 5 and might live no longer under the law as our schoolmaster, but under the Heir, who has now attained to full age, and is Lord.

1 Jer. xxxi. 31, 32. 2 Gal. v. 2, 4, 18. 3 Dispensative.
4 Ezek. xx. 25. 5 Gal. iv. 4.

292 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

15. It is further said in your letter: "The thing, therefore, which he rebuked in Peter was not his observing the customs handed down from his fathers, which Peter, if he wished, might do without being chargeable with deceit or inconsistency." 1 Again I say: Since you are a bishop, a teacher in the Churches of Christ, if you would prove what you assert, receive any Jew who, after having become a Christian, circumcises any son that may be born to him, observes the Jewish Sabbath, abstains from meats which God has created to be used with thanksgiving, and on the evenina; of the fourteenth day of the first month slays a paschal lamb; and when you have done this, or rather, have refused to do it (for I know that you are a Christian, and will not be guilty of a profane action), you will be constrained, whether willingly or unwillingly, to renounce your opinion; and then you will know that it is a more difficult work to reject the opinion of others than to establish your own. Moreover, lest perhaps we should not believe your statement, or, I should rather say, understand it (for it is often the case that a discourse unduly extended is not intelligible, and is less censured by the unskilled in discussion because its weakness is not so easily perceived), you inculcate your opinion by reiterating the statement in these words: "Paul had forsaken everything peculiar to the Jews that was evil, especially this, that 'being ignorant of God's righteousness, and ^oino; about to establish their own righteousness, they had not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God/ 2 In this, moreover, he differed from them, that after the passion and resurrection of Christ, in whom had been given and made manifest the mystery of grace, according to the order of Melchizedek, they still considered it T5inding on them to celebrate, not out of mere reverence for old customs, but as necessary to salvation, the sacraments of the old
dispensation; which were indeed at one time necessary, else had it been unprofitable and vain for the Maccabees to suffer martyrdom as they did for their adherence to them. Lastly, in this also Paul differed from the Jews, that they persecuted the Christian preachers of grace as enemies of the law. These, and all similar errors and sins, he declares

1 Letter XL. sec. 5, p. 132. 2 Eoni. x. 3. 3 2 Mace. vii. 1.

LET. LXXV.] JEEOME TO AUGUSTINE. 293

that he counted but loss and dung, that he might win Christ." 1

16. We have learned from you what evil things peculiar to the Jews Paul had abandoned; let us now learn from your teaching what good things which were Jewish he retained. You will reply: " The ceremonial observances in which they continue to follow the practice of their fathers, in the way in which these were complied with by Paul himself, without believing them to be at all necessary to salvation." I do not fully understand what you mean by the words, "without believing them to be at all necessary to salvation." For if they do not contribute to salvation, why are they observed? And if they must be observed, they by all means contribute to salvation; especially seeing that, because of observing them, some have been made martyrs: for they would not be observed unless they contributed to salvation. For they are not things indifferent — neither good nor bad, as philosophers say. Self-control is good, self-indulgence is bad: between these, and indifferent, as having no moral quality, are such things as walking, blowing one's nose, expectorating phlegm, etc. Such an action is neither good nor bad: for whether you do it or leave it undone, it does not affect your standing as righteous or unrighteous. But the observance of legal ceremonies is not a thing indifferent; it is either good or bad:

You say it is good. I affirm it to be bad, and bad not only, when done by Gentile converts, but also when done by Jews who have believed. In this passage you fall, if I am not mistaken, into one error while avoiding another. For while you guard yourself against the blasphemies of Porphyry, you become entangled in the snares of Ebion; pronouncing that the law is binding on those who from among the Jews have believed. Perceiving, again, that what you have said is a dangerous doctrine, you attempt to qualify it by words which are only superfluous: viz., " The law must be observed not from any belief, such as prompted the Jews to keep it, that this is necessary to salvation, and not in any misleading dissimulation such as Paul reproved in Peter."

1 7. Peter therefore pretended to keep the law; but this

1 Phil. iii. 8. Letter XL. sec. 6, p. 133.
censor of Peter boldly observed the things prescribed by the law. The next words of your letter are these: "For if Paul observed these sacraments in order, by pretending to be a Jew, to gain the Jews, why did he not also take part with the Gentiles in heathen sacrifices, when to them that were without law he became as without law, that he might gain them also? The explanation is found in this, that he took part in the Jewish rites as being himself a Jew; and that when he said all this which I have quoted, he meant not that he pretended to be what he was not, but that he felt with true compassion that he must bring such help to them as would be needful for himself if he were involved in their error. 1

Herein he exercised not the subtlety of a deceiver, but the sympathy of a compassionate deliverer." A triumphant vindication of Paul! You prove that he did not pretend to share the error of the Jews, but was actually involved in it; and that he refused to imitate Peter in a course of deception, dissembling through fear of the Jews what he really was, but without reserve freely avowed himself to be a Jew. Oh, unheard-of compassion of the apostle! In seeking to make the Jews Christians, he himself became a Jew! For he could not have persuaded the luxurious to become temperate if he had not himself become luxurious like them; and could not have brought help, in his compassion, as you say, to the wretched, otherwise than by experiencing in his own person their wretchedness! Truly wretched, and worthy of most compassionate lamentation, are those who, carried away by vehemence of disputation, and by love for the law which has been abolished, have made Christ's apostle to be a Jew. *Xor is there, after all, a great difference between my opinion and yours: for I say that both Peter and Paul, through fear of the believing Jews, practised, or rather pretended to practise, the precepts of the Jewish law; whereas you maintain that they did this out of pity, * not with the subtlety of a deceiver, but with the sympathy of a compassionate deliverer."

But by both this is equally admitted, that (whether from fear or from pity) they pretended to be what they were not. As to your argument against our view, that he ought to have become to the Gentiles a Gentile, if to the Jews he became a Jew, this favours our opinion rather than yours: for as he did not actually become a Jew, so he did not actually become a heathen; and as he did not actually become a heathen, so he did not actually become a Jew. His conformity to the Gentiles consisted in this, that he received as Christians the uncircumcised who believed in Christ, and left them free to use without scruple meats which the Jewish law prohibited; but not, as you suppose, in taking part in their worship of idols. For "in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but the keeping of the commandments of God." *

1 Letter XL. 6, p. 133.
18. I ask you, therefore, and with all urgency press the request, that you forgive me this humble attempt at a discussion of the matter; and wherein I have transgressed, lay the blame upon yourself who compelled me to write in reply, and who made me out to be as blind as Stesichorus. And do not bring the reproach of teaching the practice of lying upon me who am a follower of Christ, who said, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' It is impossible for me, who am a worshipper of the Truth, to bow under the yoke of falsehood.

Moreover, refrain from stirring up against me the unlearned crowd who esteem you as their bishop, and regard with the respect due to the priestly office the orations which you deliver in the church, but who esteem lightly an old decrepit man like me, courting the retirement of a monastery far from the busy haunts of men; and seek others who may be more fitly instructed or corrected by you. For the sound of your voice can scarcely reach me, who am so far separated from you by sea and land. And if you happen to write me a letter, Italy and Borne are sure to be acquainted with its contents long before it is brought to me, to whom alone it ought to be sent.

Chap. v. 19. In another letter you ask why a former translation which I made of some of the canonical books was carefully marked with asterisks and obelisks, whereas I afterwards published a translation without these. You must pardon my saying that you seem to me not to understand the matter: for the former translation is from the Septuagint; and wher-

1 Gal. v. 6 and vi. 15. 2 John xiv, 6.

296 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

ever obelisks are placed, they are designed to indicate that the Seventy have said more than is found in the Hebrew. But the asterisks indicate what has been added by Origen from the version of Theodotion. In that version I was translating from the Greek: but in the later version, translating from the Hebrew itself, I have expressed what I understood it to mean, being careful to preserve rather the exact sense than the order of the words. I am surprised that you do not read the books of the Seventy translators in the genuine form in which they were originally given to the world, but as they have been corrected, or rather corrupted, by Origen, with his obelisks and asterisks; and that you refuse to follow the translation, however feeble, which has been given by a Christian man, especially seeing that Origen borrowed the things which he has added from the edition of a man who, after the passion of Christ, was a Jew and a blasphemer. Do you wish to be a true admirer and partisan of the Seventy translators? Then do not read what you find under the asterisks; rather erase them from the volumes, that you may approve yourself indeed a follower of the ancients. If, however, you do this, you will be compelled to find fault with all the libraries of the Churches; for you will scarcely find more than one MS. here and there which has not these interpolations.

Chap, vl 20. A few words now as to your remark that I
ought not to have given a translation, after this had been already done by the ancients; and the novel syllogism which you use: "The passages of which the Seventy have given an interpretation were either obscure or plain. If they were obscure, it is believed that you are as likely to have been mistaken as the others; if they were plain, it is not believed that the Seventy could possibly have been mistaken." 1

All the commentators who have been our predecessors in the Lord in the work of expounding the Scriptures, have expounded either what was obscure or what was plain. If some passages were obscure, how could you, after them, presume to discuss that which they were not able to explain? If the passages were plain, it was a waste of time for you to have undertaken to treat of that which could not possibly have

1 Letter XXVIII. ch. ii. p. 80.

LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 297

escaped them. This syllogism applies with peculiar force to the book of Psalms, in the interpretation of which Greek commentators have written many volumes: viz. 1st, Origen;
2d, Eusebius of Csesarea; 3d, Theodorus of Heraclea; 4th, Asterius of Scythopolis; 5th, Apollinaris of Laodicea; and,
6th, Didymus of Alexandria. There are said to be minor works on selections from the Psalms, but I speak at present of the whole book. Moreover, among Latin writers the Bishops Hilary of Poitiers, and Eusebius of Verceil, have translated Origen and Eusebius of Csesarea, the former of whom has in some things been followed by our own Ambrose. Now, I put it to your wisdom to answer why you, after all the labours of so many and so competent interpreters, differ from them in your exposition of some passages? If the Psalms are obscure, it must be believed that you are as likely to be mistaken as others; if they are plain, it is incredible that these others could have fallen into mistake. In either case, your exposition has been, by your own showing, an unnecessary labour; and on the same principle, no one would ever venture to speak on any subject after others have pronounced their opinion, and no one would be at liberty to write anything regarding that which another has once handled, however important the matter might be.

It is, however, more in keeping with your enlightened judgment, to grant to all others the liberty which you tolerate in yourself; for in my attempt to translate into Latin, for the benefit of those who speak the same language with myself, the corrected Greek version of the Scriptures, I have laboured not to supersede what has been long esteemed, but only to bring prominently forward those things which have been either omitted or tampered with by the Jews, in order that Latin readers might know what is found in the original Hebrew.

If any one is averse to reading it, none compels him against his will. Let him drink with satisfaction the old wine, and despise my new wine, i.e. the sentences which I have published in explanation of former writers, with the design of making more obvious by my remarks what in them seemed to me to be obscure.
As to the principles which ought to be followed in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, they are stated in the book which I have "written, and in all the introductions to the divine books which I have in my edition prefixed to each; and to these I think it sufficient to refer the prudent reader.
And since you approve of my labours in revising the translation of the New Testament, as you say, â€” giving me at the same time this as your reason, that very many are acquainted with the Greek language, and are therefore competent judges of my work, â€” it would have been but fair to have given me credit for the same fidelity in the Old Testament; for I have not followed my own imagination, but have rendered the divine words as I found them understood by those who speak the Hebrew language. If you have any doubt of this in any passage, ask the Jews what is the meaning of the original.

21. Perhaps you will say, "What if the Jews decline to answer, or choose to impose upon us ?" Is it conceivable that the whole multitude of Jews will agree together to be silent if asked about my translation, and that none shall be found that has any knowledge of the Hebrew language ? Or will they all imitate those Jews whom you mention as having, in some little town, conspired to injure my reputation ? For in your letter you put together the following story: â€” * A certain bishop, one of our brethren, having introduced in the Church over which he presides the reading of your version, came upon a word in the book of the prophet Jonah, of which you have given a very different rendering from that which had been of old familiar to the senses and memory of all the worshippers, and had been chanted for so many generations in the Church. Thereupon arose such a tumult in the congregation, especially among the Greeks, correcting what had been read, and denouncing the translation as false, that the bishop was compelled to ask the testimony of the Jewish residents (it was in the town of Oea). These, whether from ignorance or from spite, answered that the words in the Hebrew MSB. were correctly rendered in the Greek version, and in the Latin one taken from it. "What further need I say ? The man was compelled to correct your version in that passage as if it had been falsely translated, as he desired not to be left without a

1 De optimo genere interpretandi.

298 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXV.

LET. LXXV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 299

congregation, â€” a calamity which he narrowly escaped. From this case we also are led to think that you may be occasionally mistaken."
Chap. vii. 22. You tell me that I have given a wrong translation of some word in Jonah, and that a worthy bishop narrowly escaped losing his charge through the clamorous tumult of his people, which was caused by the different rendering of this one word. At the same time, you withhold from me what the word was which I have mistranslated; thus taking away the possibility of my saying anything in my own vindication, lest my reply should be fatal to your objection. Perhaps it is the old dispute about the gourd which has been revived, after slumbering for many long years since the illustrious man, who in that day combined in his own person the ancestral honours of the Corneli and of Asinius Pollio, 2 brought against me the charge of giving in my translation the word “ivy” instead of “gourd.” I have already given a sufficient answer to this in my commentary on Jonah. At present, I deem it enough to say that in that passage, where the Septuagint has "gourd," and Aquila and the others have rendered the word "ivy" (klggos), the Hebrew MS. has "ciceion" which is in the Syriac tongue, as now spoken, "ciceia." It is a kind of shrub having large leaves like a vine, and when planted it quickly springs up to the size of a small tree, standing upright by its own stem, without requiring any support of canes or poles, as both gourds and ivy do. If, therefore, in translating word for word, I had put the word "ciceia," no one would know what it meant; if I had used the word "gourd," I would have said what is not found in the Hebrew. I therefore put down "ivy," that I might not differ from all other translators. But if your Jews said, either through malice or ignorance, as you yourself suggest, that the word is in the Hebrew text which is found in the Greek and Latin versions, it is evident that they were either unacquainted with Hebrew,

1 Letter LXXI. sec. 5, p. 262.

2 The critic here referred to was Canthelius, whom Jerome abuses in his commentary on the passage, insinuating that the reason why the gourds found in this scion of a noble house a champion so devoted, was that they had often rendered him a service which ivy could not have done, screening his secret potations from public notice.

300 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXVI.

or have been pleased to say what was not true, in order to make sport of the gourd-planters.

In closing this letter, I beseech you to have some consideration for a soldier who is now old and has long retired from active service, and not to force him to take the field and again expose his life to the chances of war. Do you, who are young, and who have been appointed to the conspicuous seat of pontifical dignity, give yourself to teaching the people, and enrich Home with new stores from fertile Africa. 1 I am contented to make but little noise in an obscure corner of a monastery, with one to hear me or read to me.
LETTÉE LXXXVL

(a.d. 402.)

1. Hear, Donatists, what the Catholic Church says to you:
"ye sons of men, how long will ye be slow of heart? why will ye love vanity, and follow after lies?" 2 Why have you severed yourselves, by the heinous impiety of schism, from the unity of the whole world? You give heed to the falsehoods concerning the surrendering of the divine books to persecutors, which men who are either deceiving you, or are themselves deceived, utter in order that you may die in a state of heretical separation: and you do not give heed to what these divine books themselves proclaim, in order that you may live in the peace of the Catholic Church. Wherefore do you lend an open ear to the words of men who tell you things which they have never been able to prove, and are deaf to the voice of God speaking thus: "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession"? 3 "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, 'And to seeds/ as of many, but as of one, 'And to thy seed,' which is Christ." 4 And the promise to which the apostle refers is this: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." * Therefore lift up the eyes of your souls, and see how in the whole world all nations are blessed in Abraham's seed. Abraham, in his day, believed what was not yet seen; but you who see it refuse to believe what has been fulfilled. 2 The Lord's death was the ransom of the world; He paid the price for the whole world; and you do not dwell in concord with the whole world, as would be for your advantage, but stand apart and strive contentiously to destroy the whole world, to your own loss. Hear now what is said in the Psalm concerning this ransom: "They pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones; they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture." Wherefore will you be guilty of dividing the garments of the Lord, and not hold in common with the whole world that coat of charity, woven from above throughout, which even His executioners did not rend? In the same Psalm we read that the whole world holds this, for he says: "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is the Governor among the nations." 4 Open the ears of your soul, and hear: "The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken, and called the earth, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof; out of Zion, the perfection of beauty." 5 If you do not wish to understand this, hear the gospel from the Lord's own lips, how He said: "All

1 Alluding to the extent to which Rome was indebted to Africa for corn.
2 Ps. iv. 2. 3 Ps. ii. 7, 8. 4 Gal. iii. 16.

LET. lxxvl] to the donatists. 301

all the nations of the earth be blessed." * Therefore lift up the eyes of your souls, and see how in the whole world all nations are blessed in Abraham's seed. Abraham, in his day, believed what was not yet seen; but you who see it refuse to believe what has been fulfilled. 2 The Lord's death was the ransom of the world; He paid the price for the whole world; and you do not dwell in concord with the whole world, as would be for your advantage, but stand apart and strive contentiously to destroy the whole world, to your own loss. 4 The Lord's death was the ransom of the world; He paid the price for the whole world; and you do not dwell in concord with the whole world, as would be for your advantage, but stand apart and strive contentiously to destroy the whole world, to your own loss. Hear now what is said in the Psalm concerning this ransom: "They pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones; they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture." Wherefore will you be guilty of dividing the garments of the Lord, and not hold in common with the whole world that coat of charity, woven from above throughout, which even His executioners did not rend? In the same Psalm we read that the whole world holds this, for he says: "All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is the Governor among the nations." 4 Open the ears of your soul, and hear: "The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken, and called the earth, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof; out of Zion, the perfection of beauty." 5 If you do not wish to understand this, hear the gospel from the Lord's own lips, how He said: "All
things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning Him; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." 6 The words in the Psalm, "I will give thanks to thee, O Lord, with my whole heart: I will therefore tell of all thy marvellous works." correspond to these in the Gospel, "among all nations:" and as He said in the Psalm, "from Zion, the perfection of beauty," He has said in the Gospel, "beginning at Jerusalem."

1 Gen. xxii. 18.
2 The original here is antithetical: "jam vos videtis, et adhnc invidetis."
3 Ps. xxii. 16, 17, 18. 4 Ps. xxii. 27, 28. 6 Ps. 1. 1, 2.
6 Luke xxiv. 44, 47.

302 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXVI.

2. Your imagination that you are separating yourselves, before the time of the harvest, from the tares which are mixed with the wheat, proves that you are only tares. For if you were wheat, you would bear with the tares, and not separate yourselves from that which is growing in Christ's field. Of the tares, indeed, it has been said, "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold;" but of the wheat it is said, "He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved." 1 What grounds have you for believing that the tares have increased and filled the world, and that the wheat has decreased, and is found now in Africa alone ? You claim to be Christians, and you disclaim the authority of Christ. He said, "Let both grow together till the harvest;" He said not, "Let the wheat decrease, and let the tares multiply." He said, "The field is the world;" He said not, "The field is Africa." He said, "The harvest is the end of the world;" He said not, "The harvest is the time of Donatus." He said, "The reapers are the angels;" He said not, "The reapers are the captains of the Circumcelliones."

2 But you, by charging the good wheat with being tares, have proved yourselves to be tares; and what is worse, you have prematurely separated yourselves from the wheat. For some of your predecessors, in whose impious schism you obstinately remain, delivered up to persecutors the sacred mss. and the vessels of the Church (as may be seen in municipal records 3); others of them passed over the fault which these men confessed, and remained in communion with them; and both parties having come together to Carthage as an infatuated faction, condemned others without a hearing, on the charge of that fault which they had agreed, so far as they themselves were concerned, to forgive, and then set up a bishop against the ordained bishop, and erected an altar against the altar already recognised. Afterwards they sent to the Emperor Constantine a letter begging that bishops of churches beyond the sea should be appointed to arbitrate between the bishops of Africa. "When the judges whom they sought were granted, and at Borne had given their decision, they refused to submit to it, and complained to the
Emperor against the bishops as having judged unrighteously. From the sentence of another bench of bishops sent to Aries to try the case, they appealed to the Emperor himself. When he had heard them, and they had been proved guilty of calumny, they still persisted in their wickedness. Awake to the interests of your salvation! love peace, and return to unity! Whencesoever you desire it, we are ready to recite in detail the events to which we have referred.

3. He is the associate of wicked men who consents to the deeds of wicked men; not he who suffers the tares to grow in the Lord's field unto the harvest, or the chaff to remain until the final winnowing time. If you hate those who do evil, shake yourselves free from the crime of schism. If you really feared to associate with the wicked, you would not for so many years have permitted Optatus * to remain among you when he was living in the most flagrant sin. And as you now give him the name of martyr, you must, if you are consistent, give him for whom he died the name of Christ. Finally, wherein has the Christian world offended you, from which you have insanely and wickedly cut yourselves off? and what claim upon your esteem have those followers of Maximianus, whom you have received back with honour after they had been condemned by you, and violently cast forth by warrant of the civil authorities from their churches? Wherein has the peace of Christ offended you, that you resist it by separating yourselves from those whom you calumniate? and wherein has the peace of Donatus earned your favour, that to promote it you receive back those whom you condemned? Eelianianus of Musti is now one of you. We have read concerning him, that he was formerly condemned by your council, and afterwards accused by you at the bar of the proconsul, and in the town of Musti was attacked as is stated in the municipal records.

4. If the surrendering of the sacred books to destruction is a crime which, in the case of the king who burned the book of Jeremiah, God punished with death as a prisoner of

1 Optatus, Donatist "bishop of Thamugada, was cast into prison A.D. 397, and died there. He was a partisan of Gildo in his rebellion against Honorius, and shared the misfortunes, as he had participated in the crimes, of his chief.
war, I how much greater is the guilt of schism! For those authors of schism to whom you have compared the followers of Maximianus, the earth opening, swallowed up alive. 2 Why, then, do you object against us the charge of surrendering the sacred books which you do not prove, and at the same time both condemn and welcome back those among yourselves who are schismatics? If you are proved to be in the right by the fact that you have suffered persecution from the Emperor, a still stronger claim than yours must be that of the followers of Maximianus, whom you have yourselves persecuted by the help of judges sent to you by Catholic emperors. If you alone have baptism, what weight do you attach to the baptism administered by followers of Maximianus in the case of those whom Eelicianus baptized while he was under your sentence of condemnation, who came along with him when he was afterwards restored by you? Let your bishops answer these questions to your laity at least, if they will not debate with us; and do you, as you value your salvation, consider what kind of doctrine that must be about which they refuse to enter into discussion with us. If the wolves have prudence enough to keep out of the way of the shepherds, why have the flock so lost their prudence, that they go into the dens of the wolves?

LETTEE LXXVII

(a.d. 404.)

to felix and hilarinus, my lords most beloved, and bre-
THREN WORTHY OF ALL HONOUR, AUGUSTINE SENDS* GREET-
ING IN THE LORD.

1. I do not wonder to see the minds of believers disturbed by Satan, whom resist, continuing in the hope which rests on the promises of God, who cannot lie, who has not only condescended to promise in eternity rewards to us who believe and hope in Him, and who persevere in love unto the end, but has also foretold that in time offences by which our faith 1 Jer. xxxvi. 23, 30. 2 Num. xvi. 31-33.

LET. LXXVII.] TO FELIX AND HILARINUS. 305

must be tried and proved shall not be wanting; for He said, "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold;" but He added immediately, "and he that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved." 1 Why,
therefore, should it seem strange that men bring calumnies against the servants of God, and being unable to turn them aside from an upright life, endeavour to blacken their reputation, seeing that they do not cease uttering blasphemies daily against God, the Lord of these servants, if they are displeased by anything in which the execution of His righteous and secret counsel is contrary to their desire? Wherefore I appeal to your wisdom, my lords most beloved, and brethren worthy of all honour, and exhort you to exercise your minds in the way which best becomes Christians, setting over against the empty calumnies and groundless suspicions of men the written word of God, which has foretold that these things should come, and has warned us to meet them with fortitude.

2. Let me therefore say in a few words to your Charity, that the presbyter Boniface has not been discovered by me to be guilty of any crime, and that I have never believed, and do not yet believe, any charge brought against him. How, then, could I order his name to be deleted from the roll of presbyters, when filled with alarm by that word of our Lord in the gospel: "With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged"? For, seeing that the dispute which has arisen between him and Spes has by their consent been submitted to divine arbitration in a way which, if you desire it, can be made known to you, 3 who am I, that I should presume to anticipate the divine award by deleting or passing over his name? As a bishop, I ought not rashly to suspect him; and as being only a man, I cannot decide infallibly concerning things which are hidden from me. Even in secular matters, when an appeal has been made to a higher authority, all procedure is stayed while the case awaits the decision from which there is no appeal; because if anything were changed while

1 Matt. xxiv. 12, 13. 2 Matt. vii. 2.

3 He refers to their visiting the tomb of Felix of Nola, in the hope that by some miracle there the innocent and the guilty would be distinguished. See Letter LXXVIII. sec. 3, p. 308.

VOL. I. U

306 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXVIII.

the matter is depending on his arbitration, this would be an insult to the higher tribunal. And how great the distance between even the highest human authority and the divine!

May the mercy of the Lord our God never forsake you, my lords most beloved, and brethren worthy of all honour.

LETTRE LXXVIII.
to my most beloved brethren, the clergy, elders, and people of the church of hippo, whom
i serve in the

LOVE OF CHRIST, I, AL'GUSTIXE, SEXD GREETIXG IX THE
LORD.

1. Would that you, giving earnest heed to the word of God, did not require counsel of
mine to support you under whatsoever offences may arise! Would that your comfort
rather came from Him by whom we also are comforted: who has foretold not only the
good things which He designs to give to those who are holy and faithful, but also the evil
things in which this world is to abound; and has caused these to be written, in order that
we may expect the blessings which are to follow the end of this world with a certainty not
less complete than that which attends our present experience of the evils which had been
predicted as coming before the end of the world! Wherefore also the apostle says, "
Whosoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through
patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." 1 And wherefore did our Lord
Himself judge it necessary not only to say, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the
sun in the kingdom of their Father," 2 which shall come to pass after the end of the world,
but also to exclaim,
"Woe unto the world because of offences!" 3 if not to prevent us from flattering
ourselves with the idea that we can reach the mansions of eternal felicity, unless we have
overcome the temptation to yield when exercised by the afflictions of time?
Why was it necessary for Him to say, "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many
shall wax cold," if not in order that
1 Rom. xv. 4. 2 Matt. xiii. 43. 3 Matt, xviii 7.

2. Wherefore, beloved, in regard to that scandal by which some are troubled concerning
the presbyter Boniface, I do not say to you that you are not to be grieved for it; for in men
who do not grieve for such things the love of Christ is not, whereas those who take
pleasure in such things are filled with the malice of the devil. Not, however, that anything
has come to our knowledge which deserves censure in the presbyter aforesaid, but that

(a.d. 404.)
two in our house are so situated that one of them must be regarded as beyond all doubt wicked; and though the conscience of the other be not defiled, his good name is forfeited in the eyes of some, and suspected by others. Grieve for these things, for they are to be lamented; but do not so grieve as to let your love grow cold, and yourselves be indifferent to holy living. Let it rather burn the more vehemently in the exercise of prayer to God, that if your presbyter is guiltless (which I am the more inclined to believe, because, when he had discovered the immoral and vile proposal of the other, he would neither consent to it nor conceal it), a divine decision may speedily restore him to the exercise of his official duties with his innocence vindicated; and that if, on the other hand, knowing himself to be guilty, which I dare not suspect, he has deliberately tried to destroy the good name of another when he could not corrupt his morals, as he charges his accuser with having done, God may not permit him to hide his wickedness, so that the thing which men cannot discover may be revealed by the judgment of God, to the conviction of the one or of the other.

1 Matt. xxiv. 12, 13.

308 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXYIII.

3. For when this case had long disquieted me, and I could find no way of convicting either of the two as guilty, although I rather inclined to "believe the presbyter innocent, I had at first resolved to leave both in the hand of God, without deciding the case, until something should be done by the one of whom I had suspicion, giving just and unquestionable reasons for his expulsion from our house. But when he was labouring most earnestly to obtain promotion to the rank of the clergy, either on the spot from myself, or elsewhere through letter of recommendation from me, and I could on no account be induced either to lay hands in the act of ordination upon one of whom I thought so ill, or to consent to introduce him through commendation of mine to any brother for the same purpose, he began to act more violently, demanding that if he was not to be promoted to clerical orders, Boniface should not be permitted to retain his status as a presbyter. This demand having been made, when I perceived that Boniface was unwilling that, through doubts as to his holiness of life, offence should be given to any who were weak and inclined to suspect him, and that he was ready to suffer the loss of his honour among men rather than vainly persist even to the disquieting of the Church in a contention the very nature of which made it impossible for him to prove his innocence (of which he was conscious) to the satisfaction of those who did not know him, or were in doubt or prone to suspicion in regard to him, I fixed upon the following as a means of discovering the truth.

Both pledged themselves in a solemn compact to go to a holy place, where the more awe-inspiring works of God might much more readily make manifest the evil of which either of them was conscious, and compel the guilty to confess, either by judgment or through fear of judgment. God is everywhere, it is true, and He that made all things is not contained or confined to dwell in any place; and He is to be worshipped in spirit and in
truth by His true worshippers, 1 in order that, as He heareth in secret, He may also in
secret justify and reward.
But in regard to the answers to prayer which are visible to men, who can search out His
reasons for appointing some places rather than others to be the scene of miraculous inter-

1 1 John iv. 24.

positions ? To many the holiness of the place in which the body of the blessed Felix is
buried is well known, and to this place I desired them to repair; because from it we may
receive more easily and more reliably a written account of whatever may be discovered in
either of them by divine interposition.
For I myself knew how, at Milan, at the tomb of the saints, where demons are brought in
a most marvellous and awful manner to confess their deeds, a thief who had come thither
intending to deceive by perjuring himself, was compelled to own his theft, and to restore
what he had taken away; and is not Africa also full of the bodies of holy martyrs ? Yet we
do not know of such things being done in any place here.
Even as the gift of healing and the gift of discerning of spirits are not given to all saints, 1
as the apostle declares; so it is not at all the tombs of the saints that it has pleased Him
who divideth to each severally as He will, to cause such miracles to be wrought.

4. Wherefore, although I had purposed not to let this most heavy burden on my heart
come to your knowledge, lest I
should disquiet you by a painful but useless vexation, it has pleased God to make it
known to you, perhaps for this reason, that you may along with me devote yourselves to
prayer, beseeching Him to condescend to reveal that which He knoweth, but which we
cannot know in this matter. For I did not presume to suppress or erase from the roll of his
colleagues the name of this presbyter, lest I should seem to insult the Divine Majesty,
upon whose arbitration the case now depends, if I were to forestall His decision by any
premature decision of mine: for even in secular affairs, when a perplexing case is referred
to a higher authority, the inferior judges do not presume to make any change while the
reference is pending. Moreover, it was decreed in a Council of bishops 2
that no clergyman who has not yet been proved guilty be suspended from communion,
unless he fail to present himself for the examination of the charges against him. Boniface,
however, humbly agreed to forego his claim to a letter of commendation, by the use of
which on his journey he might

1 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10, 30.

2 Third Council of Carthage, a.d. 397, Can. 7, 8.
have secured the recognition of his rank, preferring that both should stand on a footing of equality in a place where both were alike unknown. And now, if you prefer that his name should not be read, that we "may cut off occasion," as the apostle says, from those that desire occasion to justify their unwillingness to come to the Church, this omission of his name shall be not our deed, but theirs on whose account it may be done. For what does it harm any man, that men through ignorance refuse to have his name read from that tablet, so long as a guilty conscience does not blot his name out of the Book of Life?

5. Wherefore, my brethren who fear God, remember what the Apostle Peter says: "Your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." 2 When he cannot devour a man through seducing him into iniquity, he attempts to injure his good name, that if it be possible, he may give way under the reproaches of men and the calumnies of slandering tongues, and may thus fall into his jaws. If, however, he be unable even to sully the good name of one who is innocent, he tries to persuade him to cherish unkindly suspicions of his brother, and judge him harshly, and so become entangled, and be an easy prey. And who is able to know or to tell all his snares and wiles?

Nevertheless, in reference to those three, which belong more especially to the case before us; in the first place, lest you should be turned aside to wickedness through following bad examples, God gives you by the apostle these warnings: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness?" 3 and in another place: "Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners: awake to righteousness, 4 and sin not." 5 Secondly, that ye may not give way under the tongues of slanderers, He saith by the prophet, "Hearken unto Me, ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart is My law: fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings. 6 For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool"; but My righteousness shall be for ever." 1 And thirdly, lest you should be undone through groundless and malevolent suspicions concerning any servants of God, remember that word of the
apostle, "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man have praise of God;" 2 and this also, " The things which are revealed belong to you, but the secret things belong unto the Lord your God." 3

6. It is indeed manifest that such things do not take place in the Church without great sorrow on the part of saints and believers; but let Him be our Comforter who hath foretold all these events, and has warned us not to become cold in love through abounding iniquity, to endure to the end that we may be saved. For, as far as I am concerned, if there be in me a spark of the love of Christ, who among you is weak, and I am not weak? who among you is offended, and I burn not? 4 Do not therefore add to my distresses, by your yielding either by groundless suspicions or by occasion of other men's sins.

Do not, I beseech you, " They have added to the pain of my wounds." 5 For it is much more easy to bear the reproach of those who take open pleasure in these our pains, of whom it was foretold in regard to Christ Himself, " They that sit in the gate speak against Me, and I was the song of the drunkards," 6 for whom also we have been taught to pray, and to seek their welfare. For why do they sit at the gate, and what do they watch for, if it be not for this, that so soon as any bishop or clergyman or monk or nun has fallen, they may have ground for believing, and boasting, and maintaining that all are the same as the one that has fallen, but that all cannot be convicted and unmasked? Yet these very men do not straightway cast forth their wives, or bring accusation against their mothers, if some married woman

1 Isa. li. 7, 8. 2 1 Cor. iv. 5.

3 Deut. xxix. 29. This verse is the nearest I can find to the words here quoted by the apostle. The reference in the Bened. edition to 1 Cor. v. 12 must be a mistake.

4 2 Cor. xi. 29. 5 Ps. bribe 26, as translated by Aug. 6 Ps. Ixix. 12.

312 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXVIII.

has been discovered to be an adulteress. But the moment that any crime is either falsely alleged or actually proved against any one who makes a profession of piety, these men are incessant and unwearied in their efforts to make this charge be believed against all religious men. Those men, therefore, who eagerly find what is sweet to their malicious tongues in the things which grieve us, we may compare to those dogs (if, indeed, they are to be understood as increasing his misery) which licked the sores of the beggar who lay before the rich man's gate, and endured with patience every hardship and indignity until he should come to rest in Abraham's bosom. 1
7. Do not add to my sorrows, ye who have some hope toward God. Let not the wounds which these lick be multiplied by you, for whom we are in jeopardy every hour, having fightings without and fears within, and perils in the city, perils in the wilderness, perils by the heathen, and perils by false brethren. 2 I know that you are grieved, but is your grief more poignant than mine? I know that you are disquieted, and I fear lest by the tongues of slanderers some weak one for whom Christ died should perish. Let not my grief be increased by you, for it is not through my fault that this grief was made yours. For I used the utmost precautions to secure, if it were possible, both that the steps necessary for the prevention of this evil should not be neglected, and that it should not be brought to your knowledge, since this could only cause unavailing vexation to the strong, and dangerous disquietude to the weak, among you. But may He who hath permitted you to be tempted by knowing this, give you strength to bear the trial, and " teach you out of His few, and give you rest from the days of adversity, until the pit be digged for the wicked." 3

8. I hear that some of you are more cast down with sorrow by this event, than by the fall of the two deacons who had joined us from the Donatist party, as if they had brought reproach upon the discipline of Proculeianus; 4 whereas this checks your boasting about me, that under my discipline no

1 Luke xvi. 21-23. 2 2 Cor. vii. 5 and xi. 26.

3 Ps. xciv. 12, 13. 4 Donatist bishop of Hippo.
"All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not." 3 Pray by all means for me, lest perchance " when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway; " 4 but when you glory, glory not in me, but in the Lord. For however watchful the discipline of my house may be, I am but a man, and I live among men; and I do not presume to pretend that my house is better than the ark of Noah, in which among eight persons one was found a castaway; 5 or better than the house of Abraham, regarding which it was said, " Cast out the bondwoman and her son; " 6 or better than the house of Isaac, regarding whose twin sons it was said, " I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau; " 7 or better than the house of Jacob himself, in which Eeuben defiled his father's bed; 8 or better than the house of David, in which one son wrought folly with his sister, 9 and another rebelled against a father of such holy clemency;

1 Cor. i. 31. 2 Eph. iv. 20, 21. 3 Matt, xxiii. 3.

* 1 Cor. ix. 27. 6 Gen. ix. 27. 6 Gen. xxi. 10.

7 Mai. i. 2. 8 Gen. xlix. 4. 9 2 Sam. xiii. 14.

314 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXIX.

or better than the band of companions of Paul the apostle, who nevertheless would not have said, as above quoted, u Without are fightings, and within are fears," if he had dwelt with none but good men; nor would have said, in speaking of the holiness and fidelity of Timothy, " I have no man like-minded who will naturally care for your state; for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's; " * or better than the band of the disciples of the Lord Christ Himself, in which eleven good men bore with Judas, who was a thief and a traitor; or, finally, better than heaven itself, from which the angels fell.

9. I frankly avow to your Charity, before the Lord our God, whom- I have taken, since the time when I began to serve Him, as a witness upon my soul, that as I have hardly found any men better than those who have done well in monasteries, so I have not found any men worse than monks who have fallen; whence I suppose that to them applies the word written in the Apocalypse, " He that is righteous, let him be still more righteous; and he that is filthy, let him be still more filthy." 2 "Wherefore, if we be grieved by some foul blemishes, we are comforted by a much larger proportion of examples of an opposite kind. Let not, therefore, the dregs which offend your eyes cause you to hate the oil-presses whence the Lord's storehouses are supplied to their profit with a more brightly illuminating oil

May the mercy of our Lord keep you in His peace, safe from all the snares of the enemy, my dearly beloved brethren.
LETTER LXXIX.
(a.d. 404.)

A short and stern challenge to some Manichsean teacher who had succeeded Fortunatus (supposed to be Felix).

Your attempts at evasion are to no purpose: your real character is patent even a long way off. My brethren have reported to me their conversation with you. You say that you do not fear death; it is well: but you ought to fear that
1 Phil. ii. 20, 21. 2 Rev. xxii. 11.

LET. LXXIX.J A CHALLENGE TO A MANICI-LEAN TEACHER. 315

death which you are bringing upon yourself by your blasphemous assertions concerning God. As to your understanding that the visible death which all men know is a separation between soul and body, this is a truth which demands no great grasp of intellect. But as to the statement which you annex to this, that death is a separation between good and evil, do you not see that, if the soul be good and the body be evil, he who joined them together is not good? But you affirm that the good God has joined them together; from which it follows that He is either evil, or swayed by fear of one who is evil. Yet you boast of your having no fear of man, when at the same time you conceive God to be such that, through fear of Darkness, He would join together good and evil. Be not uplifted, as your writing shows you to be, by supposing that I magnify you, by my resolving to check the outflowing of your poison, lest its insidious and pestilential power should do harm: for the apostle does not magnify those whom he calls "dogs," saying to the Philippians, "Beware of dogs;" 2 nor does he magnify those of whom he says that their word doth eat as a canker. 3 Therefore, in the name of Christ, I demand of you to answer, if you are able, the question which baffled your predecessor Fortunatus. 4 For he went from the scene of our discussion declaring that he would not return, unless, after conferring with his party, he found something by which he could answer the arguments used by our brethren.

And if you are not prepared to do this, begone from this place, and do not pervert the right ways of the Lord, ensnaring and infecting with your poison the minds of the weak, lest, by the Lord's right hand helping me, you be put to confusion in a way which you did not expect.

1 Commiscuit. 2 Phil. iii. 2. 3 2 Tim. ii. 17.

4 In his Retractations, i. 16, Augustine mentions his having defeated Fortunatus in discussion before he was made bishop of Hippo.

JD!Â£3
LETTER LXXX.

(ad. 404.)

A letter to Paulinus, asking him to explain more fully how we may know what is the will of God and rule of our duty in the ordinary course of providence. This letter may be omitted as merely propounding a question, and containing nothing specially noticeable.

LETTER LXXXI.

(ad. 405.)

TO AUGUSTINE, MY LORD TRULY HOLY, AND MOST BLESSED FATHER, JEROME SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Haying anxiously inquired of our holy brother Firmus regarding your state, I was glad to hear that you are well. I expected him to bring, or, I should rather say, I insisted upon his giving me, a letter from you; upon which he told me that he had set out from Africa without communicating to you his intention. I therefore send to you my respectful salutations through this brother, who clings to you with a singular warmth of affection; and at the same time, in regard to my last letter, I beg you to forgive the modesty which made it impossible for me to refuse you, when you had so long required me to write you in reply. That letter, moreover, was not an answer from me to you, but a confronting of my arguments with yours. And if it was a fault in me to send a reply (I beseech you hear me patiently), the fault of him who insisted upon it was still greater. But let us be done with such quarrelling; let there be sincere brotherliness between us; and henceforth let us exchange letters, not of controversy, but of mutual charity.

The holy brethren who with me serve the Lord send you cordial salutations. Salute from us the holy brethren who with you bear Christ's easy yoke; especially I beseech you to convey my respectful salutation to the holy father Alypius, worthy of all esteem. May Christ, our almighty God, preserve you safe, and not unmindful of me, my lord truly holy, and most blessed father. If you have read my commentary on Jonah, I think you will not recur to the ridiculous gourd-

LET. LXXXIL] TO JEROME. 317

debate. If, moreover, the friend who first assaulted me with his sword has been driven back by my pen, I rely upon your good feeling and equity to lay blame on the one who
brought, and not on the one who repelled, the accusation. Let us, if you please, exercise ourselves 1 in the field of Scripture without wounding each other.

---

LETTER LXXXIL
(a.d. 405.)

A Reply to Letters LXXIL, LXXV., and LXXXI.

TO JEROME, MY LORD BELOVED AND HONOURED IN THE BOWELS OF CHRIST, MY HOLY BROTHER AND FELLOW-PRESBYTER, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Long ago I sent to your Charity a long letter in reply to the one which you remember sending to me by your holy son Asterius, who is now not only my brother, but also my colleague. Whether that reply reached you or not I do not know, unless I am to infer this from the words in your letter brought to me by our most sincere friend Firmus, that if the one who first assaulted you with his sword has been driven back by your pen, you rely upon my good feeling and equity to lay blame on the one who brought, not on the one who repelled, the accusation. From this one indication, though very slight, I infer that you have read my letter. In that letter I expressed indeed my sorrow that so great discord had arisen between you and Eufinus, over the strength of whose former friendship brotherly love was wont to rejoice in all parts to which the fame of it had come; but I did not in this intend to rebuke you, my brother, whom I dare not say that I have found blameable in that matter. I only lamented the sad lot of men in this world, in whose friendships, depending as they do on the continuance of mutual regard, there is no stability, however great that regard may sometimes be. I would rather, however, have been informed by your letter whether you have granted me the pardon which I begged, of which I now desire

1 Ludamus.

318 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

you to give me more explicit assurance; although the more genial and cheerful tone of your letter seems to signify that I have obtained what I asked in mine, if indeed it was despatched after mine had been read by you, which is, as I have said, not clearly indicated.

2. You ask, or rather you give a command with the confiding boldness of charity, that we should amuse ourselves 1 in the field of Scripture without wounding each other. For my part, I am by all means disposed to exercise myself in earnest much rather than in mere amusement on such themes. If, however, you have chosen this word because of its
suggesting easy exercise, let me frankly say that I desire something more from one who has, as you have, great talents under the control of a benignant disposition, together with wisdom enlightened by erudition, and whose application to study, hindered by no other distractions, is year after year impelled by enthusiasm and guided by genius: the Holy Spirit not only giving you all these advantages, but expressly charging you to come with help to those who are engaged in great and difficult investigations; not as if, in studying Scripture, they were amusing themselves on a level plain, but as men panting and toiling up a steep ascent. If, however, perchance, you selected the expression " ludamus " [let us amuse ourselves] because of the genial kindliness which befits discussion between loving friends, whether the matter debated be obvious and easy, or intricate and difficult, I beseech you to teach me how I may succeed in securing this; so that when I am dissatisfied with anything which, not through want of careful attention, but perhaps through my slowness of apprehension, has not been demonstrated to me, if I should, in attempting to make good an opposite opinion, express myself with a measure of unguarded frankness, I may not fall under the suspicion of childish conceit and forwardness, as if I sought to bring my own name into renown by assailing illustrious men; 2 and that if, when something harsh has been demanded by the exigencies of argument, I attempt to make it less hard to bear by stating it

1 Ludamus. Letter LXXXI. On this unfortunate word of Jerome's Augustine lingers with most provoking ingenuity.

2 See Letter LXXII. sec. 2.

LET. LXXXII] TO JEROME. 319

in mild and courteous phrases, I may not be pronounced guilty of wielding a " honeyed sword." The only way which I can see for avoiding both these faults, or the suspicion of either of them, is to consent that when I am thus arguing with a friend more learned than myself, I must approve of everything which he says, and may not, even for the sake of more accurate information, hesitate before accepting his decisions.

3. On such terms we might amuse ourselves without fear of offending each other in the field of Scripture, but I might well wonder if the amusement was not at my expense. For I confess to your Charity that I have learned to yield this respect and honour only to the canonical books of Scripture:

of these alone do I most firmly believe that the authors were completely free from error. And if in these writings I am perplexed by anything which appears to me opposed to truth, I do not hesitate to suppose that either the MS. is faulty, or the translator has not caught the meaning of what was said, or I myself have failed to understand it. As to all other writings, in reading them, however great the superiority of the authors to myself in sanctity and learning, I do not accept their teaching as true on the mere ground of the opinion being held by them; but only because they have succeeded in convincing my judgment of its truth either by means of these canonical writings themselves, or by
arguments addressed to my reason. I believe, my brother, that this is your own opinion as well as mine. I do not need to say that I do not suppose you to wish your books to be read like those of prophets or of apostles, concerning which it would be wrong to doubt that they are free from error. Far be such arrogance from that humble piety and just estimate of yourself which I know you to have, and without which assuredly you would not have said, "Would that I could receive your embrace, and that by converse we might aid each other in learning!"

Chap. ii. 4. Now if, knowing as I do your life and conversation, I do not believe in regard to you that you have spoken anything with an intention of dissimulation and deceit, how much more reasonable is it for me to believe, in regard to the Apostle Paul, that he did not think one

1 Letter LXVIII. sec. 2.

320 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

thing and affirm another when he wrote of Peter and Barnabas: "When I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, 'If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?'" I For whom can I confide in, as assuredly not deceiving me by spoken or written statements, if the apostle deceived his own "children," for whom he "travailed in birth again until Christ (who is the Truth) were formed in them"? 2 After having previously said to them, "The things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not," v could he in writing to these same persons state what was not true, and deceive them by a fraud which was in some way sanctioned by expediency, when he said that he had seen Peter and Barnabas not walking uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, and that he had withstood Peter to the face because of this, that he was compelling the Gentiles to live after the manner of the Jews?

5. But you will say it is better to believe that the Apostle Paul wrote what was not true, than to believe that the Apostle Peter did what was not right. On this principle, we must say (which far be it from us to say), that it is better to believe that the gospel history is false, than to believe that Christ was denied by Peter; 4 and better to charge the book of Kings [second book of Samuel] with false statements, than believe that so great a prophet, and one so signally chosen by the Lord God as David was, committed adultery in lusting after and taking away the wife of another, and committed such detestable homicide in procuring the death of her husband. 5 Better far that I should read with certainty and persuasion of its truth the Holy Scripture, placed on the highest (even the heavenly) pinnacle of authority, and should, without questioning the trustworthiness of its statements, learn from it that men have been either commended, or corrected, or condemned, than that, through fear of believing that by
men, who, though of most praiseworthy excellence, were no more than men, actions deserving rebuke might sometimes be done,

1 Gal. ii. 14. 2 Gal. iv. 19. 3 Ch. i. 21.

4 Matt. xxvi. 75. 5 2 Sam. xi. 4, 17.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 321

I should admit suspicions affecting the trustworthiness of the whole " oracles of God."

6. The Manichaeans maintain that the greater part of the Divine Scripture, by which their wicked error is in the most explicit terms confuted, is not worthy of credit, because they cannot pervert its language so as to support their opinions; yet they lay the blame of the alleged mistake not upon the apostles who originally wrote the words, but upon some unknown corrupters of the manuscripts. Forasmuch, however, as they have never succeeded in proving this by more numerous and by earlier manuscripts, or by appealing to the original language from which the Latin translations have been drawn, they retire from the arena of debate, vanquished and confounded by truth which is well known to all. Does not your holy prudence discern how great scope is given to their malice against the truth, if we say not (as they do) that the apostolic writings have been tampered with by others, but that the apostles themselves wrote what they knew to be untrue?

7. You say that it is incredible that Paul should have rebuked in Peter that which Paul himself had done. I am not at present inquiring about what Paul did, but about what he wrote. This is most pertinent to the matter which I have in hand, namely, the confirmation of the universal and unquestionable truth of the Divine Scriptures, which have been delivered to us for our edification in the faith, not by unknown men, but by the apostles, and have on this account been received as the authoritative canonical standard. For if Peter did on that occasion what he ought to have done, Paul falsely affirmed that he saw him walking not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel. For whoever does what he ought to do, walks uprightly. He therefore is guilty of falsehood, who, knowing that another has done what he ought to have done, says that he has not done uprightly. If, then, Paul wrote what was true, it is true that Peter was not then walking uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel. He was therefore doing what he ought not to have done; and if Paul had himself already done something of the same land, I would prefer to believe that, having been himself corrected, he could not omit the correction of his brother apostle, than to believe that he

vol. I. X

322 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII-
put down any false statement in his epistle; and if in any epistle of Paul this would be
strange, how much more in the one in the preface of which he says, "The things which I
write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not"!

8. For my part, I believe that Peter so acted on this occasion as to compel the Gentiles to
live as Jews: because I read that Paul wrote this, and I do not believe that he lied.
And therefore Peter was not acting uprightly. For it was contrary to the truth of the
gospel, that those who believed in Christ should think that without those ancient
ceremonies they could not be saved. This was the position maintained at Antioch by
those of the circumcision who had believed; against whom Paul protested constantly and
vehemently. As to Paul's circumcising of Timothy, 1 performing a vow at Cenchrea, 2
and undertaking on the suggestion of James at Jerusalem to share the performance of the
appointed rites with some who had made a vow, 3 it is manifest that Paul's design in
these things was not to give to others the impression that he thought that by these
observances salvation is given under the Christian dispensation, but to prevent men from
believing that he condemned as no better than heathen idolatrous worship, those rites
which God had appointed in the former dispensation as suitable to it, and as shadows of
things to come. For this is what James said to him, that the report had gone abroad
concerning him that he taught men "to forsake Moses." 4 This would be by all means
wrong for those who believe in Christ, to forsake him who prophesied of Christ, as if they
detested and condemned the teaching of him of whom Christ said, "Had ye believed
Moses, ye would have believed Me; for he wrote of Me."

9. For mark, I beseech you, the words of James: "Thou seest, brother, how many
thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they
are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to
forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk
after the customs. What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they
will hear that thou art come. Do

1 Acts xvi. 3. 2 Acts xviii. 18. 3 Acts xxi. 26. 4 Acts xxi. 21.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 323

therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men which have a vow on them; them
take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their
heads:
and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are
nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. As touching the
Gentiles which have believed, we have written and concluded that they observe no such
thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood,
and from things strangled, and from fornication." I It is., in my opinion, very clear that
the reason why James gave this advice was, that the falsity of what they had heard
concerning him might be known to those Jews, who, though they had believed in Christ, were jealous for the honour of the law, and would not have it thought that the institutions which had been given by Moses to their fathers were condemned by the doctrine of Christ as if they were profane, and had not been originally given by divine authority. For the men who had brought this reproach against Paul were not those who understood the right spirit in which observance of these ceremonies should be practised under the Christian dispensation by believing Jews, “namely, as a way of declaring the divine authority of these rites, and their holy use in the prophetic dispensation, and not as a means of obtaining salvation, which was to them already revealed in Christ and ministered by baptism. On the contrary, the men who had spread abroad this report against the apostle were those who would have these rites observed, as if without their observance there could be no salvation to those who believed the gospel. For these false teachers had found him to be a most zealous preacher of free grace, and a most decided opponent of their views, teaching as he did that men are not justified by these things, but by the grace of Jesus Christ, which these ceremonies of the law were appointed to foreshadow. This party, therefore, endeavouring to raise odium and persecution against him, charged him with being an enemy of the law and the divine institutions; and there was no more fitting way in which he could turn aside the odium caused by this false accusation, than by himself celebrating those rites which he  

1 Acts xxi. 20-25.

324 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

was supposed to condemn as profane, and thus showing that, on the one hand, the Jews were not to be debarred from them as if they were unlawful, and on the other hand, that the Gentiles were not to be compelled to observe them as if they were necessary.

10. For if he did in truth condemn these things in the way in which he was reported to have done, and undertook to perform these rites in order that he might, by dissembling, disguise his real sentiments, James would not have said to him, "and all shall know," but, "all shall think that those things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing;" 1 especially seeing that in Jerusalem itself the apostles had already decreed that no one should compel the Gentiles to adopt Jewish ceremonies, but had not decreed that no one should then prevent the Jews from living according to their customs, although upon them also Christian doctrine imposed no such obligation. Wherefore, if it was after the apostle's decree that Peter's dissimulation at Antioch took place, whereby he was compelling the Gentiles to live after the manner of the Jews, which he himself was not compelled to do, although he was not forbidden to use Jewish rites in order to declare the honour of the oracles of God which were committed to the Jews; â€” if this, I say, were the case, was it strange that Paul should exhort him to declare freely that decree which he remembered to have framed in conjunction with the other apostles at Jerusalem?
11. If, however, as I am more inclined to think, Peter did this before the meeting of that council at Jerusalem, in that case also it is not strange that Paul wished him not to conceal timidly, but to declare boldly, a rule of practice in regard to which he already knew that they were both of the same mind; whether he was aware of this from having conferred with him as to the gospel which both preached, or from having heard that, at the calling of the centurion Cornelius, Peter had been divinely instructed in regard to this matter, or from having seen him eating with Gentile converts before those whom he feared to offend had come to Antioch. For we do not deny that Peter was already of the same opinion.

1 Acts xxi. 24.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 325

in regard to this question as Paul himself was. Paul, therefore, was not teaching Peter what was the truth concerning that matter, but was reproving his dissimulation as a thing by which the Gentiles were compelled to act as Jews did; for no other reason than this, that the tendency of all such dissembling was to convey or confirm the impression that they taught the truth who held that believers could not be saved without circumcision and other ceremonies, which were shadows of things to come.

12. For this reason also he circumcised Timothy, lest to the Jews, and especially to his relations by the mother's side, it should seem that the Gentiles who had believed in Christ abhorred circumcision as they abhorred the worship of idols; whereas the former was appointed by God, and the latter invented by Satan. Again, he did not circumcise Titus, lest he should give occasion to those who said that believers could not be saved without circumcision, and who, in order to deceive the Gentiles, openly declared that this was the view held by Paul. This is plainly enough intimated by himself, when he says: "But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you." 1 Here we see plainly what he perceived them to be eagerly watching for, and why it was that he did not do in the case of Titus as he had done in the case of Timothy, and as he might otherwise have done in the exercise of that liberty, by which he had shown that these observances were neither to be demanded as necessary to salvation, nor denounced as unlawful.

13. You say, however, that in this discussion we must beware of affirming, with the philosophers, that some of the actions of men lie in a region between right and wrong, and are to be reckoned, accordingly, neither among good actions nor among the opposite; 2 and it is urged in your argument that the observance of legal ceremonies cannot be a thing in-
i Gal. ii. 3-5. 2 See Jerome's Letter, LXXV. sec. 16, p. 293.

326 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

different, but either good or bad; so that if I affirm it to be good, I acknowledge that we also are bound to observe these ceremonies; but if I affirm it to be bad, I am bound to believe that the apostles observed them not sincerely, but in a way of dissimulation. I, for my part, would not be so much afraid of defending the apostles by the authority of philosophers, since these teach some measure of truth in their dissertations, as of pleading on their behalf the practice of advocates at the bar, in sometimes serving their clients' interests at the expense of truth. If, as is stated in your exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, this practice of barristers may be in your opinion with propriety quoted as resembling and justifying dissimulation on the part of Peter and Paul, why should I fear to allege to you the authority of philosophers whose teaching we account worthless, not because everything which they say is false, but because they are in most things mistaken, and wherein they are found affirming truth, are notwithstanding strangers to the grace of Christ, who is the Truth?

14. But why may I not say regarding these institutions of the old economy, that they are neither good nor bad: not good, since men are not by them justified, they having been only shadows predicting the grace by which we are justified; and not bad, since they were divinely appointed as suitable both to the time and to the people? Why may I not say this, when I am supported by that saying of the prophet, that God gave unto His people M statutes that were not good? * For we have in this perhaps the reason of his not calling them "bad," but calling them "not good," i.e. not such that either by them men could be made good, or that without them men could not possibly become good. I would esteem it a favour to be informed by your Sincerity, whether any saint, coming from the East to Rome, would be guilty of dissimulation if he fasted on the seventh day of each week, excepting the Saturday before Easter. For if we say that it is wrong to fast on the seventh day, we shall condemn not only the Church of Rome, but also many other churches, both neighbouring and more remote, in which the same custom continues to be observed. If, on the other hand, we pronounce

1 Ezek. xx. 25.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 327

it wrong not to fast on the seventh day, how great is our presumption in censuring so many churches in the East, and by far the greater part of the Christian world! Or do you prefer to say of this practice, that it is a thing indifferent in itself, but commendable in him who conforms with it, not as a dissembler, but from a seemly desire for the
fellowship and deference for the feelings of others. No precept, however, concerning this practice is given to Christians in the canonical books. How much more, then, may I shrink from pronouncing that to be bad which I cannot deny to be of divine institution! This fact being admitted by me in the exercise of the same faith by which I know that not through these observances, but by the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, I am justified.

15. I maintain, therefore, that circumcision, and other things of this kind, were, by means of what is called the Old Testament, given to the Jews with divine authority, as signs of future things which were to be fulfilled in Christ; and that now, when these things have been fulfilled, the laws concerning these rites remained only to be read by Christians in order to their understanding the prophecies which had been given before, but not to be of necessity practised by them, as if the coming of that revelation of faith which they prefigured was still future. Although, however, these rites were not to be imposed upon the Gentiles, the compliance with them, to which the Jews had been accustomed, was not to be prohibited in such a way as to give the impression that it was worthy of abhorrence and condemnation. Therefore slowly, and by degrees, all this observance of these types was to vanish away through the power of the sound preaching of the truth of the grace of Christ, to which alone believers would be taught to ascribe their justification and salvation, and not to those types and shadows of things which till then had been future, but which were now newly come and present, as at the time of the calling of those Jews whom the personal coming of our Lord and the apostolic times had found accustomed to the observance of these ceremonial institutions. The toleration, for the time, of their continuing to observe these was enough to declare their excellence as things which, though they were

323 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIL

...
Christian, I neither compel nor permit him to imitate Paul's example, and go on with the sincere observance of Jewish rites, any more than you, who think that Paul dissembled when he practised these rites, would compel or permit such an one to follow the apostle in that dissimulation.

16. Shall I also sum up "the matter in debate, or -rather your opinion concerning it" 1 (to quote your own expression) ? It seems to me to be this: that after the gospel of Christ has been published, the Jews who believe do rightly if they offer sacrifices as Paul did, if they circumcise their children as Paul circumcised Timothy, and if they observe the "seventh day of the week, as the Jews have always done, provided only that they do all this as dissemblers and deceivers." If this is your doctrine, we are now precipitated, not into the heresy of Ebion, or of those who are commonly called Nazarenes, or any other known heresy, but into some new error, which is all the more pernicious because it originates not in mistake, but in deliberate and designed endeavours to deceive.

1 See Letter LXXV. sec. 13, p. 259.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 329

heresy of Ebion, or of those who are commonly called Nazarenes, or any other known heresy, but into some new error, which is all the more pernicious because it originates not in mistake, but in deliberate and designed endeavours to deceive.
If, in order to clear yourself from the charge of entertaining such sentiments, you answer that the apostles were to be commended for dissimulation in these instances, their purpose being to avoid giving offence to the many weak Jewish believers who did not yet understand that these things were to be rejected, but that now, when the doctrine of Christ's grace has been firmly established throughout so many nations, and when, by the reading of the Law and the Prophets throughout all the churches of Christ, it is well known that these are not read for our observance, but for our instruction, any man who should propose to feign compliance with these rites would be regarded as a madman. What objection can there be to my affirming that the Apostle Paul, and other sound and faithful Christians, were bound sincerely to declare the worth of these old observances by occasionally honouring them, lest it should be thought that these institutions, originally full of prophetic significance, and cherished sacredly by their most pious forefathers, were to be abhorred by their posterity as profane inventions of the devil? For now, when the faith had come, which, previously foreshadowed by these ceremonies, was revealed after the death and resurrection of the Lord, they became, so far as their office was concerned, defunct.
But just as it is seemly that the bodies of the deceased be carried honourably to the grave by their kindred, so was it fitting that these rites should be removed in a manner worthy of their origin and history, and this not with pretence of respect, but as a religious duty, instead of being forsaken at once, or cast forth to be torn in pieces by the reproaches of
their enemies, as by the teeth of dogs. To carry the illustration further, if now any Christian (though he may have been converted from Judaism) were proposing to imitate the apostles in the observance of these ceremonies, like one who disturbs the ashes of those who rest, he would be not piously performing his part in the funeral obsequies, but impiously violating the sepulchre.

330 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

17. I acknowledge that in the statement contained in my letter, to the effect that the reason why Paul undertook (although he was an apostle of Christ) to perform certain rites, was that he might show that these ceremonies were not pernicious to those who desired to continue that which they had received by the Law from their fathers, I have not explicitly enough qualified the statement, by adding that this was the case only in that time in which the grace of faith was at first revealed; for at that time this was not pernicious. These observances were to be given up by all Christians step by step, as time advanced; not all at once, lest, if this were done, men should not perceive the difference between that which God by Moses appointed to His ancient people, and the rites which the unclean spirit taught men to practise in the temples of heathen deities. I grant, therefore, that in this your censure is justifiable, and my omission deserved rebuke. Nevertheless, long before the time of my receiving your letter, when I wrote a treatise against Faustus the Manichaean, I did not omit to insert the qualifying clause which I have just stated, in a short exposition which I gave of the same passage, as you may see for yourself if you kindly condescend to read that treatise; or you may be satisfied in any other way that you please by the bearer of this letter, that I had long ago published this restriction of the general affirmation. And I now, as speaking in the sight of God, beseech you by the law of charity to believe me when I say with my whole heart, that it never was my opinion that in our time, Jews who become Christians were either required or at liberty to observe in any manner, or from any motive whatever, the ceremonies of the ancient dispensation; although I have always held, in regard to the Apostle Paul, the opinion which you call in question, from the time that I became acquainted with his writings. Nor can these two things appear incompatible to you; for you do not think that it is the duty of any one in our day to feign compliance with these Jewish observances, although you believe that the apostles did this.

18. Accordingly, as you in opposing me affirm, and, to quote your own words, "though the world were to protest against it, boldly declare that the Jewish ceremonies are to
Jew or Gentile, is on his way to the pit of perdition, not only if he is sincerely observing them, but also if he is observing them with dissimulation." What more do you ask? But as you draw a distinction between the dissimulation which you hold to have been practised by the apostles, and the rule of conduct befitting the present time, I do the same between the course which Paul, as I think, sincerely followed in all these examples then, and the matter of observing in our day these Jewish ceremonies, although it were done, as by him, without any dissimulation, since it was then to be approved, but is now to be abhorred. Thus, although we read that "the law and the prophets were until John," 2 and that "therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God," 3 and that "we have received grace for grace; for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ;" and although it was promised by Jeremiah that God would make a new covenant with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant which He made with their fathers; 5 nevertheless I do not think that the circumcision of our Lord by His parents was an act of dissimulation. If any one object that He did not forbid this because He was but an infant, I go on to say that I do not think that it was with intention to deceive that He said to the leper, "Offer for thy cleansing those things which Moses commanded for a testimony unto them," 6 â€“ thereby adding His own precept to the authority of the law of Moses regarding that ceremonial usage. Nor was there dissimulation in His going up to the feast/ as there was also no desire to be seen of men; for He went up, not openly, but secretly.

19. But the words of the apostle himself may be quoted

3 John v. 18. 4 John i. 16, 17. 6 Jer. xxxi. 31.
6 Mark i. 44. 7 j i m Y n iq.

332 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

against me: "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." 1 It follows from this that he deceived Timothy, and made Christ profit him nothing, for he circumcised Timothy. Do you answer that this circumcision did Timothy no harm, because it was done with an intention to deceive? I reply that the apostle has not made any such exception. He does not say, If ye be circumcised without dissimulation, any more than, If ye be circumcised with dissimulation. He says unreservedly, "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." As, therefore, you insist upon finding room for your interpretation, by proposing to supply the words, "unless it be done as an act of dissimulation," I make no unreasonable demand in asking you to permit me to understand the words, "if ye be circumcised," to be in that passage addressed to those who demanded circumcision, for this reason, that they thought it impossible for them to be otherwise saved by Christ. "Whoever was then circumcised
because of such persuasion and desire, and with this design, Christ assuredly profited him nothing, as the apostle elsewhere expressly affirms, "If righteousness come by the law, Christ is dead in vain." 2 The same is affirmed in words which you have quoted: "Christ is become of no effect to you, whosoever of you is justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." 3 His rebuke, therefore, was addressed to those who believed that they were to be justified by the law, â€” not to those who, knowing well the design with which the le^al ceremonies were instituted as foreshadowing truth, and the time for which they were destined to be in force, observed them in order to honour Him who appointed them at first. Wherefore also he says elsewhere, " If ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law," 4 â€” a passage from which you infer, that evidently " he has not the Holy Spirit who submits to the Law, not, as our fathers affirmed the apostles to have done, feignedly under the promptings of a wise discretion, but " â€” as I suppose to have been the case â€” " sincerely." 5

20. It seems to me important to ascertain precisely what


LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 333

is that submission to the law which the apostle here condemns; for I do not think that he speaks here of circumcision merely, or of the sacrifices then offered by our fathers, but now not offered by Christians, and other observances of the same nature. I rather hold that he includes also that precept of the law, "Thou shalt not covet," 1 which we confess that Christians are unquestionably bound to obey, and which we find most fully proclaimed by the light which the Gospel has shed upon it. 2 "The law," he says, "is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good;" and then adds, "Was, then, that which is good made death unto me? God forbid." "But sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death in me by that which is good; that sin, by the commandment, might become exceeding sinful." 3 As he says here, "that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful," so elsewhere, "The law entered that the offence might abound; but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." 4 Again, in another place, after affirming, when speaking of the dispensation of grace, that grace alone justifies, he asks, "Wherefore then serve th the law?" and answers immediately, "It was added because of transgressions, until the Seed should come to whom the promises were made." The persons, therefore, whose submission to the law the apostle here pronounces to be the cause of their own condemnation, are those whom the law brings in guilty, as not fulfilling its requirements, and who, not understanding the efficacy of free grace, rely with self-satisfied presumption on their own strength to enable them to keep the law of God; for " love is the fulfilling of the law." 6 Now <: the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts," not by our own power, but
"by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." 7 The satisfactory discussion of this, however, would require too long a digression, if not a separate volume. If, then, that precept of the law, "Thou shalt not covet," holds under it as guilty the man whose human weakness is not assisted by the grace

* Ex. xx. 17 and Dent. v. 21.

2 Evangelica maxime illnstratione prsedicari.

3 Rom. vii. 13. 4 Rom. v. 20. 5 Gal. iii. 19.
6 Rom. xiii. 10. 7 Rom. v. 5.

33-i LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

of God, and instead of acquitting the sinner, condemns him as a transgressor, how much more was it impossible for those ordinances which were merely typical, circumcision and the rest, which were destined to be abolished when the revelation of grace became more widely known, to be the means of justifying any man! Nevertheless they were not on this ground to be immediately shunned with abhorrence, like the diabolical impieties of heathenism, from the first beginning of the revelation of the grace which had been by these shadows prefigured; but to be for a little while tolerated, especially among those who joined the Christian Church from that nation to whom these ordinances had been given. "When, however, they had been, as it were, honourably buried, they were thenceforward to be finally abandoned by all Christians.

21. Now, as to the words which you use, "non dispensative, ut nostri voluere majores," 1 â€” "not in a way justifiable by expediency, the ground on which our fathers were disposed to explain the conduct of the apostles," â€” pray what do these words mean? Surely nothing else than that which I call " officiosum mendacium," the liberty granted by expediency being equivalent to a call of duty to utter a falsehood with pious intention. I at least can see no other explanation, unless, of course, the mere addition of the words "permitted by expediency" be enough to make a lie cease to be a lie; and if this be absurd, why do you not openly say that a lie spoken in the way of duty is to be defended? Perhaps the name offends you, because the word "officium" is not common in ecclesiastical books; but this did not deter our Ambrose from its use, for he has chosen the title " De Officiis " for some of his books that are full of useful rules. i)o you mean to say, that whoever utters a lie from a sense of duty is to be blamed, and whoever does the same on the ground of expediency is to be approved? I beseech you, consider that the man who thinks this may lie whenever he thinks fit, because this involves the whole important question whether to say what is false be at any time the duty of a good man, especially of a Christian man, to whom it has been said, " Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay, lest ye fall into
LET. LXXXII. TO JEROME. 335

condemnation," 1 and who believes the Psalmist's word, "Thou wilt destroy all them that speak lies." 2

22. This, however, is, as I have said, another and a weighty question; I leave him who is of this opinion to judge for himself the circumstances in which he is at liberty to utter a lie: provided, however, that it be most assuredly believed and maintained that this way of lying is far removed from the authors who were employed to write holy writings, especially the canonical Scriptures; lest those who are the stewards of Christ, of whom it is said, "It is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful," 3 should seem to have proved their fidelity by learning as an important lesson to speak what is false when this is expedient for the truth's sake, although the word fidelity itself, in the Latin tongue, is said to signify originally a real correspondence between what is said and what is done. 4 Now, where that which is spoken is actually done, there is assuredly no room for falsehood. Paul therefore, as a "faithful steward," doubtless is to be regarded as approving his fidelity in his writings; for he was a steward of truth, not of falsehood. Therefore he wrote the truth when he wrote that he had seen Peter walking not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, and that he had withstood him to the face because he was compelling the Gentiles to live as the Jews did. And Peter himself received, with the holy and loving humility which became him, the rebuke which Paul, in the interests of truth, and with the boldness of love, administered. Therein Peter left to those that came after him an example, that, if at any time they deviated from the right path, they should not think it beneath them to accept correction from those who were their juniors, â€” an example more rare, and requiring greater piety, than that which Paul's conduct on the same occasion left us, that those who are younger should have courage even to withstand their seniors if the defence of evangelical truth required it, yet in such a way as to preserve unbroken brotherly love. For while it is better for one to succeed in

1 Jas. v. 12; Matt. v. 37. 2 Ps. v. 6. 3 1 Cor. iv. 2.

4 Cum ipsa fides in latino sermone ab eo dicatnr appellata quia fit quod dicitur.

336 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

perfectly keeping the right path, it is a thing much more worthy of admiration and praise to receive admonition meekly, than to admonish a transgressor boldly. On that occasion, therefore, Paul was to be praised for upright courage, Peter was to be praised for holy humility; and so far as my judgment enables me to form an opinion, this ought rather to have been asserted in answer to the calumnies of Porphyry, than further occasion given to
him for finding fault, by putting it in his power to bring against Christians this much more damoisin^ accusation, that either in writing their letters or in complying with the ordinances of God they practised deceit.

Chap. hi. 23. You call upon me to bring forward the name of even one whose opinion I have followed in this matter, and at the same time you have quoted the names of many who have held before you the opinion which you defend. I You also say that if I censure you for an error in this, you beg to be allowed to remain in error in company with such great men. I have not read their writings; but although they are only six or seven in all, you have yourself impugned the authority of four of them. For as to the Laodicean author, whose name you do not give, you say that he has lately forsaken the Church; Alexander you describe as a heretic of old standing; and as to Origen and Didymus, I read in some of your more recent works, censure passed on their opinions, and that in no measured terms, nor in regard to insignificant questions, although formerly you gave Origen marvellous praise. I suppose, therefore, that you would not even yourself be contented to be in error with these men; although the language which I refer to is equivalent to an assertion that in this matter they have not erred. For who is there that would consent to be knowingly mistaken, with whatever company he might share his errors? Three of the seven therefore alone remain, Eusebius of Emesa, Theodorus of Heraclea, and John, whom you afterwards mention, who formerly presided as pontiff over the Church of Constantinople.

24. However, if you inquire or recall to memory the

1 Jerome's Letter, LXXY. sec. 6, p. 282. 2 Ibid, sec. 4, p. 280.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 337

opinion of our Ambrose, 1 and also of our Cyprian, 2 on the point in question, you will perhaps find that I also have not been without some whose footsteps I follow in that which I have maintained. At the same time, as I have said already, it is to the canonical Scriptures alone that I am bound to yield such implicit subjection as to follow their teaching, without admitting the slightest suspicion that in them any mistake or any statement intended to mislead could find a place.

Wherefore, when I look round for a third name that I may oppose three on my side to your three, I might indeed easily find one, I believe, if my reading had been extensive; but one occurs to me whose name is as good as all these others, nay, of greater authority â€” I mean the Apostle Paul himself.

To him I betake myself; to himself I appeal from the verdict of all those commentators on his writings who advance an opinion different from mine. I interrogate him, and demand from himself to know whether he wrote what was true, or under some plea of expediency wrote what he knew to be false, when he wrote that he saw Peter not walking uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, and withstood him to his face because by that
dissimulation he was compelling the Gentiles to live after the manner of the Jews. And I hear him in reply proclaiming with a solemn oath in an earlier part of the epistle, where he began this narration, "The things that I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not." 3

25. Let those who think otherwise, however great their names, excuse my differing from them. The testimony of so great an apostle using, in his own writings, an oath as a confirmation of their truth, is of more weight with me than the opinion of any man, however learned, who is discussing the writings of another. Nor am I afraid lest men should say that, in vindicating Paul from the charge of pretending to conform to the errors of Jewish prejudice, I affirm him to have actually so conformed. For as, on the one hand, he was not guilty of pretending conformity to error when, with the liberty of an apostle, such as was suitable to that period of

1 In his Commentary on Galatians.

2 In his letter, LXX., to Quintus; Clark's Ante-Nicene Library, vol. i. p. 255.

3 Gal. i. 20.

VOL. I. V

338 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

transition, he did, by practising those ancient holy ordinances, when it was necessary to declare their original excellence as appointed not by the wiles of Satan to deceive men, but by the wisdom of God for the purpose of typically foretelling things to come; so, on the other hand, he was not guilty of real conformity to the errors of Judaism, seeing that he not only knew, but also preached constantly and vehemently, that those were in error who thought that these ceremonies were to be imposed upon the Gentile converts, or were necessary to the justification of any who believed.

26. Moreover, as to my saying that to the Jews he became as a Jew, and to the Gentiles as a Gentile, not with the subtlety of intentional deceit, but with the compassion of pitying love, I it seems to me that you have not sufficiently considered my meaning in the words; or rather, perhaps, I have not succeeded in making it plain. For I did not mean by this that I supposed him to have practised in either case a feigned conformity; but I said it because his conformity was sincere, not less in the things in which he became to the Jews as a Jew, than in those in which he became to the Gentiles as a Gentile, â€” a parallel which you yourself suggested, and by which I thankfully acknowledge that you have materially assisted my argument. For when I had in my letter asked you to explain how it could be supposed that Paul's becoming to the Jews as a Jew involved the supposition that he must have acted deceitfully in conforming to the Jewish observances, seeing that no such deceptive
conformity to heathen customs was involved in his becoming as a Gentile to the Gentiles; your answer was, that his becoming to the Gentiles as a Gentile meant no more than his* receiving the uncircumcised, and permitting the free use of those meats which were pronounced unclean by Jewish law. If, then, when I ask whether in this also he practised dissimulation, such an idea is repudiated as palpably most absurd and false; it is an obvious inference, that in his performing those things in which he became as a Jew to the Jews, he was using a wise liberty, not yielding to a degrading compulsion, nor doing what would be still more unworthy of him,

1 Letter XL. sec. 4, p. 132; quoted also by Jerome, LXXV. sec. 12, p. 288.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 339

viz. stooping from integrity to fraud out of a regard to expediency.

2 7. For to believers, and to those who know the truth, as the apostle testifies (unless here too, perhaps, he is deceiving his readers), " every creature of God is good, and nothing to be ret used, if it be received with thanksgiving." 1 Therefore to Paul himself, not only as a man, but as a steward eminently faithful, not only as knowing, but also as a teacher of the truth, every creature of God which is used for food was not feignedly but truly good. If, then, to the Gentiles he became as a Gentile, by holding and teaching the truth concerning meats and circumcision, although he feigned no conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the Gentiles, why say that it was impossible for him to become as a Jew to the Jews, unless he practised dissimulation in performing the rites of their religion? Why did he maintain the true faithfulness of a steward towards the wild olive branch that was engrafted, and yet hold up a strange veil of dissimulation, on the plea of expediency, before those who were the natural and original branches of the olive tree? Why was it that, in becoming as a Gentile to the Gentiles, his teaching and his conduct 2 are in harmony with his real sentiments; but that, in becoming as a Jew to the Jews, he shuts up one thing in his heart, and declares something wholly different in his words, deeds, and writings? But far be it from us to entertain such thoughts of him. To both Jews and Gentiles he owed " charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned;" 3 and therefore he became all things to all men, that he might gain all, 4 not with the subtlety of a deceiver, but with the love of one filled with compassion; that is to say, not by pretending himself to do all the evil things which other men did, but by using the utmost pains to minister with all compassion the remedies required by the evils under which other men laboured, as if their case had been his own.

28. When, therefore, he did not refuse to practise some of these Old Testament observances, he was not led by his com-

1 1 Tim. iv. 4.
2 We follow here the reading of fourteen mss., "agit" instead of "ait."

3 1 Tim. i. 5. * 1 Cor. ix. 19-22.

340 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIL

passion for Jews to feign this conformity, but unquestionably was acting sincerely; and by this course of action declaring his respect for those things which in the former dispensation had been for a time enjoined by God, he distinguished between them and the impious rites of heathenism. At that time, moreover, not with the subtlety of a deceiver, but with the love of one moved by compassion, he became to the Jews as a Jew, when, seeing them to be in error, which either made them unwilling to believe in Christ, or made them think that by these old sacrifices and ceremonial observances they could be cleansed from sin and made partakers of salvation, he desired so to deliver them from that error as if he saw not them, but himself, entangled in it; thus truly loving his neighbour as himself, and doing to others as he would have others do to him if he required their help, â€” a duty to the statement of which our Lord added these words, " This is the law and the prophets." 1

29. This compassionate affection Paul recommends in the same Epistle to the Galatians, saying: u If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." 2 See whether he has not said, "Make thyself as he is, that thou mayest gain him." Not, indeed, that one should commit or pretend to have committed the same fault as the one who has been overtaken, but that in the fault of that other he should consider what might happen to himself, and so compassionately render assistance to that other, as he would wish that other to do to him if the case were his; that is, not with the subtlety of a deceiver, but with the love of one filled with compassion. Thus, whatever the error or fault in which Jew or Gentile or any man was found by Paul, to all men he became all things, â€” not by feigning what was not true, but by feeling, because the case might have been his own, the compassion of one who put himself in the other's place, â€” that he might gain all.

Chap. iv. 30. I beseech you to look, if you please, for a little into your own heart, â€” I mean, into your own heart as it stands affected towards myself, â€” and recall, or if you have it in writing beside you, read again, your own words in that letter (only too brief) which you sent to me by Cyprian our brother, now my colleague. Read with what sincere brotherly and loving earnestness you have added to a serious complaint of what I had done to you these words: " In this friendship is wounded, and the laws of brotherly union

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 341

have it in writing beside you, read again, your own words in that letter (only too brief) which you sent to me by Cyprian our brother, now my colleague. Read with what sincere brotherly and loving earnestness you have added to a serious complaint of what I had done to you these words: " In this friendship is wounded, and the laws of brotherly union
are set at naught. Let not the world see us quarrelling like children, and giving material for angry contention between those who may become our respective supporters or adversaries. 1 These words I perceive to be spoken by you from the heart, and from a heart kindly seeking to give me good advice. Then you add, what would have been obvious to me even without your stating it: "I write what I have now written, because I desire to cherish towards you pure and Christian love, and not to hide in my heart anything which does not agree with the utterance of my lips." pious man, beloved by me, as God who seeth my soul is witness, with a true heart I believe your statement; and just as I do not question the sincerity of the profession which you have thus made in a letter to me, so do I by all means believe the Apostle Paul when he makes the very same profession in his letter, addressed not to any one individual, but to Jews and Greeks, and all those Gentiles who were his children in the gospel, for whose spiritual birth he travailed, and after them to so many thousands of believers in Christ, for whose sake that letter has been preserved. I believe, I say, that he did not "hide in his heart anything which did not agree with the utterance of his lips."

31. You have indeed yourself done towards me this very thing, â€” becoming to me as I am, â€” "not with the subtlety of deception, but with the love of compassion," when you thought that it behoved you to take as much pains to prevent me from being left in a mistake, in which you believed me to be, as you would have wished another to take for your deliverance if the case had been your own. Wherefore, gratefully acknowledging this evidence of your goodwill towards me, I also claim that you also be not displeased with me, if, when anything in your treatises disquieted me, I acquainted you with my distress, desiring the same course to be followed by all.

1 Letter LXXII. sec. 4.

342 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXH.

towards me as I have followed towards you, that whatever they think worthy of censure in my writings, they would neither flatter me with deceitful commendation nor "blame me before others for that of which they are silent towards myself; thereby, as it seems to me, more seriously "wounding friendship and setting at nought the laws of brotherly union." For I would hesitate to give the name of Christian to those friendships in which the common proverb, " Flattery makes friends, and truth makes enemies," 1 is of more authority than the scriptural proverb, " Faithful are the wounds of a friend, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." 2

32. Wherefore let us rather do our utmost to set before our beloved friends, who most cordially wish us well in our labours, such an example that they may know that it is possible for the most intimate friends to differ so much in opinion, that the views of the one may be contradicted by the other without any diminution of their mutual affection,
and without hatred being kindled by that truth which is due to genuine friendship, whether the contradiction be in itself in accordance with truth, or at least, whatever its intrinsic value is, be spoken from a sincere heart by one who is resolved not "to hide in his heart anything which does not agree with the utterance of his lips." Let therefore our brethren, your friends, of whom you bear testimony that they are vessels of Christ, believe me when I say that it was wholly against my will that my letter came into the hands of many others before it reached your own, and that my heart is filled with no small sorrow for this mistake. How it happened would take long to tell, and this is now, if I am not mistaken, unnecessary; since, if my word is to be taken at all in regard to this, it suffices for me to say that it was not done by me with the sinister intention which is supposed by some, and that it was not by my wish, or arrangement, or consent, or design that this has taken place. If they do not believe this, which I affirm in the sight of God, I can do no more to satisfy them. Far be it, however, from me to believe that they made this suggestion to your Holiness with the malicious desire to kindle enmity between you and me, from which may God in His

1 Terence, Andria, Act i. Sc. 1. 2 Prov. xxvii. 6.

LET. LXXXII.] TO JEROME. 343

mercy defend us I Doubtless, without any intention of doing me wrong, they readily suspected me, as a man, to be capable of failings common to human nature. For it is right for me to believe this concerning them, if they be vessels of Christ appointed not to dishonour, but to honour, and made meet by God for every good work in His great house. 1 If, however, this my solemn protestation come to their knowledge, and they still persist in the same opinion of my conduct, you will yourself see that in this they will do wrong.

33. As to my having written that I had never sent to Eome a book against you, I wrote this because, in the first place, I did not regard the name "book" as applicable to my letter, and therefore was under the impression that you had heard of something else entirely different from it; in the second place, I had not sent the letter in question to Eome, but to you; and in the third place, I did not consider it to be against you, because I knew that I had been prompted by the sincerity of friendship, which should give liberty for the exchange of suggestions and corrections between us. Leaving out of sight for a little your friends of whom I have spoken, I implore yourself, by the grace whereby we have been redeemed, not to suppose that I have been guilty of artful flattery in anything which I have said in my letters concerning the good gifts which have been by the Lord's goodness bestowed on you. If, however, I have in anything wronged you, forgive me. As to that incident in the life of some forgotten bard, which, with perhaps more pedantry than good taste, I quoted from â€œ classic literature, I beg you not to carry the application of it to yourself further than my words warranted; for I immediately added: "I do not say this in order that you may recover the faculty of spiritual sight â€” far be it from me to say that you
have lost it! â€” but that, having eyes both clear and quick in discernment, you may turn
them to this matter.” 2
I thought a reference to that incident suitable exclusively in connection with the
TrakivaiSia, in which we ought all to imitate Stesichorus if we have written anything
which it becomes our duty to correct in a writing of later date, and not at all in connection
with the blindness of Stesichorus, which


344 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXII.

I neither ascribed to your mind, nor feared as likely to befall you. And again, I beseech
you to correct boldly whatever you see needful to censure in my writings. For although,
so far as the titles of honour which prevail in the Church are concerned, a bishop's rank is
above that of a presbyter, nevertheless in many things Augustine is inferior to Jerome;
albeit correction is not to be refused nor despised, even when it comes from one who in
all respects may be an inferior.

Chap. v. 34. As to your translation, you have now convinced me of the benefits to be
secured by your proposal to translate the Scriptures from the original Hebrew, in order
that you may bring to light those things which have been either omitted or perverted by
the Jews. But I beg you to be so good as state by what Jews this has been done, whether
by those who before the Lord's advent translated the Old Testament â€” and if so, by
what one or more of them â€” or by the Jews of later times, who may be supposed to
have mutilated or corrupted the Greek mss., in order to prevent themselves from being
unable to answer the evidence given by these concerning the Christian faith. I cannot find
any reason which should have prompted the earlier Jewish translators to such
unfaithfulness. I beg of you, moreover, to send us your translation of the Septuagint,
which I did not know that you had published. I am also longing to read that book of yours
which you named De optimo genere interior etandi, and to know from it how to adjust the
balance between the product of the translator's acquaintance with the original language,
and the conjectures of those who are able commentators on the Scripture; who,
notwithstanding their common loyalty to the one true faith, must often bring forward
various opinions on account of the obscurity of many passages; 1
although this difference of interpretation by no means involves departure from the unity
of the faith; just as one commentator may himself give, in harmony with the faith which
he holds, two different interpretations of the same passage, because the obscurity of the
passage makes both equally admissible.

35. I desire, moreover, your translation of the Septuagint,

1 An important sentence, as indicating the estimation in which Augustine held the
"consensus patrum " as an authority in the interpretation of Scripture.
in order that we may be delivered, so far as is possible, from the consequences of the notable incompetency of those who, whether qualified or not, have attempted a Latin translation; and in order that those who think that I look with jealousy on your useful labours, may at length, if it be possible, perceive that my only reason for objecting to the public reading of your translation from the Hebrew in our churches was, lest, bringing forward anything which was, as it were, new and opposed to the authority of the Septuagint version, we should trouble by serious cause of offence the flocks of Christ, whose ears and hearts have become accustomed to listen to that version to which the seal of approbation was given by the apostles themselves. Wherefore, as to that shrub in the book of Jonah, if in the Hebrew it is neither "gourd" nor "ivy," but something else which stands erect, supported by its own stem without other props, I would prefer to call it "gourd" in all our Latin versions; for I do not think that the Seventy would have rendered it thus at random, had they not known that the plant was something like a gourd.

36. I think I have now given a sufficient answer (perhaps more than sufficient) to your three letters; of which I received two by Cyprian, and one by Firmus. In replying, send whatever you think likely to be of use in instructing me and others. And I shall take more care, as the Lord may help me, that any letter which I may write to you shall reach yourself before it falls into the hand of any other, by whom its contents may be published abroad; for I confess that I would not like any letter of yours to me to meet with the fate of which you justly complain as having befallen my letter to you. Let us, however, resolve to maintain between ourselves the liberty as well as the love of friends; so that in the letters which we exchange, neither of us shall be restrained from frankly stating to the other whatever seems to him open to correction, provided always that this be done in the spirit which does not, as inconsistent with brotherly love, displease God. If, however, you do not think that this can be done between us without endangering that brotherly love, let us not do it: for the love which I should like to see maintained

i Ch. iv. 6.

346 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIII.

between us is assuredly the greater love which would make this mutual freedom possible; but the smaller measure of it is better than none at all. I
(a.d. 405.)

TO MY LORD ALYPIUS MOST BLESSED, MY BROTHER AND COLLEAGUE, BELOVED AND LONGED FOR WITH SINCERE VENERATION, AND TO THE BRETHREN THAT ARE WITH HIM, AUGUSTINE AND THE BRETHREN WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. The sorrow of the members of the Church at Thiave prevents my heart from having any rest until I hear that they have been brought again to be of the same mind towards you as they formerly were; which must be accomplished without delay. For if the apostle was concerned about one individual, "lest perhaps such an one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow," adding in the same context the words, â€” lest Satan should get an advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devices/ 2 how much more does it become us to act with caution, lest we cause similar grief to a whole flock, and especially one composed of persons who have lately been reconciled to the Catholic Church, and whom I can upon no account forsake!

As, however, the short time at our disposal did not permit us so to take counsel together as to arrive at a mature and satisfactory decision, may it please your Holiness to accept in this letter the finding which commended itself most to me when I had long reflected upon the matter since we parted; and if you approve of it, let the enclosed letter/

1 It is interesting to know that Jerome afterwards admitted the soundness of the view so ably and reasonably defended by Augustine in this letter concerning the rebuke of Peter at Antioch. In Letter CLXXX., addressed to Oceanus, we have these words: "This question the venerable Father Jerome and I have discussed fully in letters which we exchanged; and in the last work which he has published against Pelagius, under the name of Critobulus, he has maintained the same opinion concerning that event, and the sayings of the apostles, as I myself had adopted, following the blessed Cyprian." See Jerome, book i., against the Pelagians and Cyprian, Letter LXX., to Quintus.

2 2 Cor. ii. 7, 11. 3 This letter has not been preserved.

LET. LXXXIII.] TO ALYPIUS. 347

which I have written to them in the name of both of us, be sent to them without delay.

2. You proposed that they should have the one half [of the property left by Honoratus], and that the other half should be made up to them by me from such resources as might be at my disposal. I think, however, that if the whole property had been taken from them, men might reasonably have said that we had taken the great pains in this matter which we have done, for the sake of justice, not for pecuniary advantage. But when we concede to them one half, and in that way settle with them by a compromise, it will be manifest that
our anxiety has been only about the money; and you see what harm must follow from this. For, on the one hand, we shall be regarded by them as having taken away one half of a property to which we had no claim; and, on the other hand, they will be regarded by us as dishonourably and unjustly consenting to accept aid from one half of a property of which the whole belonged to the poor. For your remark, "We must beware lest, in our efforts to obtain a right adjustment of a difficult question, we cause more serious wounds," applies with no less force if the half be conceded to them. For those whose turning from the world to monastic life we desire to secure, will, for the sake of this half of their private estates, be disposed to find some excuse for putting off the sale of these, in order that their case may be dealt with according to this precedent. Moreover, would it not be strange, if, in a question like this, where much may be said on both sides, a whole community should, through our not avoiding the appearance of evil, be offended by the impression that their bishops, whom they hold in high esteem, are smitten with sordid avarice?

3. For when any one is turned to adopt the life of a monk, if he is adopting it with a true heart, he does not think of that which I have just mentioned, especially if he be admonished of the sinfulness of such conduct. But if he be a deceiver, and is seeking "his own things, not the things which are Jesus Christ's," 1 he has not charity; and without this, what does it profit him, "though he bestow all his goods to feed the poor, and though he give his body to be burned" ? 2

1 Phil. ii. 21. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

343 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIII.

Moreover, as we agreed when conversing together, this may be henceforth avoided, and an arrangement made with each individual who is disposed to enter a monastery, if he cannot be admitted to the society of the brethren before he has relieved himself of all these encumbrances, and comes as one at leisure from all business, because the property which belonged to him has ceased to be his. But there is no other way in which this spiritual death of weak brethren, and grievous obstacle to the salvation of those for whose reconciliation with the Catholic Church we so earnestly labour, can be avoided, than by our giving them most clearly to understand that we are by no means anxious about money in such cases as this. And this they cannot be made to understand, unless we leave to their use the estate which they always supposed to belong to their late presbyter; because, even if it was not his, they ought to have known this from the beginning.

4. It seems to me, therefore, that in matters of this kind, the rule which ought to hold is, that whatever belonged, according to the ordinary civil laws regarding property, to him who is an ordained clergyman in any place, belongs after his death to the Church over which he was ordained. Now, by civil law, the property in question belonged to the presbyter Honoratus; so that not only on account of his being ordained elsewhere, but even had he remained in the monastery of Thagaste, if he had died without having either
sold his estate or handed it over by express deed of gift to any one, the right of succession to it would belong only to his heirs: as brother yEmilianus inherited those thirty shillings I left by the brother Privatus. This, therefore, behaved to be considered and provided for in time; but if no provision was made for it, we must, in the disposal of the estate, comply with the laws which have been appointed to regulate in civil society the holding or not holding of property; that we may, so far as is in our power, abstain not only from the reality, but also from all appearance of evil, and preserve that good name which is so necessary to our office as stewards. How truly this procedure has the appearance of evil, I beseech your wisdom to observe.

For having heard of their sorrow, which we ourselves wit-

1 Solidi.

LET. LXXXIII.] to alypius. 349

nessed at Thiave, fearing lest, as frequently happens, I should myself be mistaken through partiality for my own opinion, I stated the facts of the case to our brother and colleague Samsucius, without telling him at the time my present view of the matter, but rather stating the view taken up by both of us when we were resisting their demands. He was exceedingly shocked, and wondered that we had entertained such a view; being moved by nothing else but the ugly appearance of the transaction, as one wholly unworthy not only of us, but of any man.

5. Wherefore I implore you to subscribe and transmit without delay the letter which I have written to them in name of both of us. And even if, perchance, you discern the other course to be a just one in the matter, let not these brethren who are weak be compelled to learn now what I myself cannot understand; rather let this word of the Lord be remembered in dealing with them: " I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." * For He Himself, out of condescension to such weakness, said on another occasion (it was in reference to the payment of tribute), " Then are the children free; notwithstanding lest we offend them," etc.; and sent Peter to pay the didrachmase which were then exacted. 2 For He knew another law according to which He was not bound to make any such payment; but He made the payment which was imposed upon Him by that law according to which, as I have said, succession to the estate of Honoratus behaved to be regulated, if he died before either giving away or selling his property. Nay, even in regard to the law of the Church, Paul showed forbearance towards the weak, and did not insist upon his receiving the money due to him, although fully persuaded in his conscience that he might with perfect justice insist upon it; waiving his claim, however, only because he thereby avoided a suspicion of his motives which would mar the sweet savour of Christ among them, and abstained from the appearance of evil in a region in which he knew that this was his duty, and probably even before he had known by experience the sorrow which it would occasion.

Let us now, though we are somewhat behindhand, and have
been admonished by experience, correct that which we ought to have foreseen.

6. I remember that you proposed when we parted that the brethren at Thagaste should hold me responsible to make up the half of the sum claimed; let me say in conclusion, that as I fear everything which may make my attempt unsuccessful, if you clearly perceive that proposal to be a just one, I do not refuse to comply with it, on this condition, however, that I am to pay the amount only when I have it in my power, i.e. when something so considerable falls to our monastery at Hippo that this can be done without unduly straitening us, â€” the amount remaining after the subtraction of so large a sum being still such as to provide for our monastery here an equal share in proportion to the number of resident brethren.

LETTER LXXXIV.

(a.d. 405.)

TO MY LORD NOVATUS, MOST BLESSED, MY BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, ESTEEMED AND LONGED FOR, AND TO THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM, AUGUSTINE AND THE BRETHREN WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I myself feel how hard-hearted I must appear to you, and I can scarcely excuse to myself my conduct in not consenting to send to your Holiness my son the deacon Lucillus, your own brother. But when your own time comes to surrender to the claims of Churches in remote places some of those whom you have educated, and who are most dear and sweet to you, then, and not till then, will you know the pangs of longing which pierce me through and through for some who, once united to me in the strongest and most pleasing intimacy, are no more beside me. Let me submit to your thoughts the case of one who is far away. However strong be the bond of kindred between brothers, it does not surpass the bond by which my brother Severus and I are united to each other, and yet you know how rarely I have the happiness of seeing him. And this has been caused neither by his wish nor by mine, but because of our giving to the claims of our mother the Church precedence above the claims of this present world, out of regard to that coming eternity in which we shall dwell together and part no more. How much more reasonable, therefore, is it for you to submit for the sake of the Church's
welfare to the absence of that brother, with whom you have not shared the food which the Lord our Shepherd provides for nearly so long a period as I did with my most amiable fellow-townsman Severus, who now only with an effort and at long intervals converses with me by means of brief letters, â€” letters, moreover, which are for the most part burdened with the cares and affairs of other men, instead of bearing to me any reminiscence of those green pastures in which we were wont to lie down under Christ's loving care!

2. You will perhaps reply, "What then? May not my brother be of service to the Church here also? Is it for any other end than usefulness to the Church that I desire to have him with me? Truly, if his being beside you seemed to me to be as important for the gathering in or ruling of the Lord's flock as his presence here is for these ends, every one might justly blame me for being not merely hard-hearted, but unjust. But since he is conversant with the Punic 1 language, through want of which the preaching of the gospel is greatly hindered in these parts, whereas the use of that language is general with you, do you think that we would be doing our duty in consulting for the welfare of the Lord's flocks, if we were to send this talent to a place where it is not specially needful, and remove it from this region, where we thirst for it with such parched spirits? Forgive me, therefore, when I do, not only against your will, but also against my own feeling, what the care of the burden imposed upon me compels me to do. The Lord, to whom you have given your heart, will grant you such aid in your labours that you shall be recompensed for this kindness; for we acknowledge that you have with a good grace rather than of necessity conceded the deacon Lucillus to the burning thirst of the regions in which our lot is cast.

1 The text here gives latina. All that we know of the languages then spoken in Hippo would lead us to suppose that punica must have been written here by Augustine.

352 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXV-

For you will do me no small favour if you do not burden me with any further request upon this subject, lest I should have occasion to appear anything more than somewhat hard-hearted to you, whom I revere for your holy benignity of disposition.

LETTER LXXXV.

(a.d. 405.)

TO MY LORD PAULUS, MOST BELOVED, MY BROTHER AND COLLEAGUE IN THE PRIESTHOOD, WHOSE HIGHEST WELFARE IS SOUGHT BY ALL MY PRAYERS, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.
1. You would not call me so inexorable if you did not think me also a dissembler. For what else do you believe concerning my spirit, if I am to judge by what you have written, than that I cherish towards you dislike and antipathy which merit blame and detestation; as if in a matter about which there could be but one opinion I was not careful lest, while warning others, I myself should deserve reproof, 1 or were wishing to cast the mote out of your eye while retaining and fostering the beam in my own? 2 It is by no means as you suppose. Behold ! I repeat this, and call God to witness, that if you were only to desire for yourself what I desire on your behalf, you would now be living in Christ free from all disquietude, and would make the whole Church rejoice in glory brought by you to His name. Observe, I pray you, that I have addressed you not only as my brother, but also as my colleague. For it cannot be that any bishop whatsoever of the Catholic Church should cease to be my colleague, so long as he has not been condemned by any ecclesiastical tribunal. As to my refusing to hold communion with you, the only reason for this is that I cannot matter you. For inasmuch as I have begotten you in Christ, I am under very special obligation to render to you the salutary severity of love in faithful admonition and reproof. It is true that I rejoice in the numbers who have been, by God's blessing on your work, gathered into the Catholic Church; but this does not make me less bound to weep that a greater number are being by you scattered from the Church. For you have so wounded the Church of Hippo, 1 that unless the Lord make you disengage yourself from all secular cares and burdens, and recall you to the manner of living and deportment which become the true bishop, the wound may soon be beyond remedy.

2. Seeing, however, that you continue to involve yourself more and more deeply in these affairs, and have, notwithstanding your vow of renunciation, entangled yourself again with the things which you had solemnly laid aside, â€” a step which could not be justified even by the laws of ordinary human affairs; seeing also that you are reported to be living in a style of extravagance which cannot be maintained by the slender income of your church, â€” why do you insist upon communion with me, while you refuse to hear my rebuke of your faults? Is it that men whose complaints I cannot bear, may justly blame me for whatever you do? You are, moreover, mistaken in suspecting that those who find fault with you are persons who have always been against you even in your earlier life. It is not so: and you have no reason to be surprised that many things escape your observation. But even were this the case, it is your duty to secure that they find nothing in your conduct which they might reasonably blame, and for which they might bring reproach against the Church. Perhaps you think that my reason for saying these things is, that I have not accepted what you urged in your defence. Nay, rather my reason is, that if I were to say nothing regarding these things, I would be guilty of that for which I could urge nothing in my defence before God. I
know your abilities; but even a man of dull mind is kept from disquietude if he sets his affections on heavenly things, whereas a man of acute mind has this gift in vain if he set his affections on earthly things. The office of a bishop is not designed to enable one to spend a life of vanity. The Lord God, who has closed against you all the ways by which you were disposed to make Him minister to your gain, in order that He may guide you, if you but understand Him, into that way, with a view to the pursuit of which that holy respon-

1 Cataqua (?).

VOL. I. Z

354 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVI.

sibility was laid upon you. will Himself teach you what I now say.

LETTETE LXXXVI

(A.D. 405.)

TO MT NOBLE LORD C^ECILIANUS, MY SON TRULY AND JUSTLY HONOURABLE AND ESTEEMED IN THE LOVE OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE, BISHOP, SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

The renown of your administration and the fame of your virtues, as well as the praiseworthy zeal and faithful sincerity of your Christian piety, â€” gifts of God which make you rejoice in Him from whom they came, and from whom you hope to receive yet greater things, â€” have moved me to acquaint your Excellency by this letter with the cares which agitate my mind. As our joy is great that throughout the rest of Africa you have taken measures with remarkable success on behalf of Catholic unity, our sorrow is proportionately great because the district of Hippo 1 and the neighbouring regions on the borders of Xumidia have not enjoyed the benefit of the vigour with which as a magistrate you have enforced your proclamation, my noble lord, and my son truly and justly honourable and esteemed in the love of Christ. Lest this should be regarded rather as due to the neglect of duty by me who bear the burden of the episcopal office at Hippo, I have considered myself bound to mention it to your Excellency. If you condescend to acquaint yourself with the extremities to which the effrontery of the heretics has proceeded in the region of Hippo, as you may do by questioning my brethren and colleagues, who are able to furnish your Excellency with information, or the presbyter whom I have sent with this letter, I am sure you will so deal with this tumour of impious presumption, that it shall be healed by warning rather than painfully removed afterwards by punishment.

1 Regionem Hipponensium Regiorum.
LET. LXXXVII. TO EMERITUS. 355

LETTEE LXXXVII

(a.d. 405.)

to his brother emeritus, beloved and longed for,

AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. I know that it is not on the possession of good talents and a liberal education that the salvation of the soul depends; but when I hear of any one who is thus endowed holding a different view from that which truth imperatively insists upon on a point which admits of very easy examination, the more I wonder at such a man, the more I burn with desire to make his acquaintance, and to converse with him; or if that be impossible, I long to bring his mind and mine into contact by exchanging letters, which wing their flight even between places far apart. As I have heard that you are such a man as I have spoken of, I grieve that you should be severed and shut out from the Catholic Church, which is spread abroad throughout the whole world, as was foretold by the Holy Spirit. What your reason for this separation is I do not know. For it is not disputed that the party of Donatus is wholly unknown to a great part of the Roman world, not to speak of the barbarian nations (to whom also the apostle said that he was a debtor 1) whose communion in the Christian faith is joined with ours, and that in fact they do not even know at all when or upon what account the dissension began. Now, unless you admit these Christians to be innocent of those crimes with which you charge the Christians of Africa, you must confess that all of you are denied by participation in the wicked actions of all worthless characters, so long as they succeed (to put the matter mildly) in escaping detection among you. For you do occasionally expel a member from your communion, in which case his expulsion takes place only after he has committed the crime for which he merited expulsion. Is there not some intervening time during which he escapes detection before he is discovered, convicted, and condemned by you? I ask, therefore, whether he involved you in his defilement so long as he was not discovered by

1 Rom. i. 14.

356 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVII.

you? You answer, " By no means." If, then, he were not to be discovered at all, he would in that case never involve you in his defilement; for it sometimes happens that the crimes committed by men come to light only after their death, yet this does not bring guilt upon those Christians who communicated with them while they were alive. Why, then, have you severed yourselves by so rash and profane schism from the communion of
innumerable Eastern Churches, in which all that you truly or falsely affirm to have been
done in Africa has been and still is utterly unknown?

2. For it is quite another question whether or not there be truth in the assertions made by
you. These assertions we disprove by documents much more worthy of credit than those
which you bring forward, and we further find in your own documents more abundant
proof of those positions which you assail. But this is, as I have said, another question
altogether, to be taken up and discussed when necessary.
Meanwhile, let your mind give special attention to this: that no one can be involved in the
guilt of unknown crimes committed by persons unknown to him. Whence it is manifest
that you have been guilty of impious schism in separating yourselves from the
communion of the whole world, to which the things charged, whether truly or falsely, by
you against some men in Africa have been and still are wholly unknown; although this
also should not be forgotten, that even when known and discovered, bad men do not harm
the good who are in a Church, if either the power of restraining them from communion be
wanting, or the interests of the Church's peace forbid this to be done. For who were those
who, according to the prophet Ezekiel, 1 obtained the reward of being "marked before the
destruction of the wicked, and of escaping unhurt when they were destroyed, but those
who sighed and cried for the sins and iniquities of the people of God which were done in
the midst of them? Now who sighs and cries for that which is unknown to him? On the
same principle, the Apostle Paul bears with false brethren. For it is not of persons
unknown to him that he says, "All seek their own, not the things which are Jesus
Christ's;" yet these persons he

1 CL ix. 4-6.

LET. LXXXVII.] TO EMERITUS. 357

shows plainly to have been beside him. And to what class do the men belong who have
chosen rather to burn incense to idols or surrender the divine books than to suffer death,
if not to those who "seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ"?

3. I omit many proofs which I might give from Scripture, that I may not make this letter
longer than is needful; and I
leave many more things to be considered by yourself in the light of your own learning.
But I beseech you mark this, which is quite enough to decide the whole question: If so
many transgressors in the one nation, which was then the Church of God, did not make
those who were associated with them to be guilty like themselves; if that multitude of
false brethren did not make the Apostle Paul, who was a member of the same Church
with them, a seeker not of the things of Jesus Christ, but of his own, â€” it is manifest that
a man is not made wicked by the wickedness of any one with whom he goes to the altar
of Christ, even though he be not unknown to him, provided only that he do not encourage
him in his wickedness, but by a good conscience disallowing his conduct keep himself
apart from him. It is therefore obvious that, to be art and part with a thief, one must either help him in the theft, or receive with approbation what he has stolen. This I say in order to remove out of the way endless and unnecessary questions concerning the conduct of men, which are wholly irrelevant when advanced against our position.

4. If, however, you do not agree with what I have said, you involve the whole of your party in the reproach of being such men as Optatus was, while, notwithstanding your knowledge of his crimes, he was tolerated in communion with you; and far be it from me to say this of such a man as Emeritus, and of others of like integrity among you, who are, I am sure, wholly averse to such deeds as disgraced him. For we do not lay any charge against you but the one of schism, which by your obstinate persistence in it you have now made heresy. How great this crime is in the judgment of God Himself, you may see by reading what without doubt you have read ere now. You will find that Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up by an opening of the earth beneath them, 1 and that

1 Num. xvi. 31-35.

358 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVIL

all the others who had conspired with them were devoured by fire breaking forth in the midst of them. As a warning to men to shun this crime, the Lord God signalized its commission with this immediate punishment, that He might show what He reserves for the final recompense of persons guilty of a similar transgression, whom His great forbearance spares for a time. We do not, indeed, find fault with the reasons by which you excuse your tolerating Optatus among you. We do not blame you, because at the time when he was denounced for his furious conduct in the mad abuse of power, when he was impeached by the groans of all Africa, â€” groans in which you also shared, if you are what good report declares you to be, â€” a report which, God knows, I most willingly believe, â€” you forbore from excommunicating him, lest he should under such sentence draw away many with him, and rend your communion asunder with the frenzy of schism. But this is the thing which is itself an indictment against you at the bar of God, brother Emeritus, that although you saw that the division of the party of Donatus was so great an evil, that it was thought better that Optatus should be tolerated in your communion than that division should be introduced among you, you nevertheless perpetuate the evil which was wrought in the division of the Church of Christ by your forefathers.

5. Here perhaps you will be disposed, under the exigencies of debate, to attempt to defend Optatus. Do not so, I beseech you; do not so, my brother: it would not become you; and if it would perchance be seemly for any one to do it (though, in fact, nothing is seemly which is wrong), it assuredly would be unseemly for Emeritus to defend Optatus. Perhaps you reply that it would as little become you to accuse him. Granted, by all means. Take,
then, the course which lies between defending and accusing him. Say, "Every man shall
bear his own burden;" 1 "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" 2 If, then,
notwithstanding the testimony of all Africa, â€” nay more, of all regions to which the
name of Gildo was carried, for Optatus was not less notorious than he, â€” you have not
dared to pronounce judgment concerning Optatus, lest you should rashly decide in regard
to one unknown to
1 Gal. vi. 5. " Rom. xiv. 4.

LET. LXXXVII.] TO EMERITUS. 359

you, is it, I ask, either possible or right for us, proceeding solely on your testimony, to
pronounce sentence rashly upon persons whom we do not know? Is it not enough that
you should charge them with things of which you have no certain knowledge, without our
pronouncing them guilty of things of which we know as little as yourselves? For even
though Optatus were in peril through the falsehood of detractors, you defend not him, but
yourself, when you say, "I do not know what his character was." How much more
obvious, then, is it that the Eastern world knows nothing of the character of those
Africans with whom, though much less known to you than Optatus, you find fault! Yet
you are disjoined by scandalous schism from Churches in the East, the names of which
you have and you read in the sacred books. If your most famous and most scandalously
notorious Bishop of Thamugada 1 was at that very time not known to his colleague, I
shall not say in Cscesarea, but in Sitifa, so close at hand, how was it possible for the
Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Colosse, Philippi, Thessalonica, Antioch, Pontus, Galatia,
Cappadocia, and others which were founded in Christ by the apostles, to know the case of
these African traditors, whoever they were; or how was it consistent with justice that they
should be condemned by you for not knowing it? Yet with these Churches you hold no
communion. You say they are not Christian, and you labour to rebaptize their members.
What need I say?
What complaint, what protest is necessary here? If I am addressing a right-hearted man, I
know that with you I share the keenness of the indignation which I feel. For you
doubtless see at once what I might say if I would.

6. Perhaps, however, your forefathers formed of themselves a council, and placed the
whole Christian world except themselves under sentence of excommunication. Have you
come so to judge of things, as to affirm that the council of the followers of Maximianus
who were cut off from you, as you were cut off from the Church, was of no authority
against you, because their number was small compared with yours; and yet claim for your
council an authority against the nations, which are the inheritance of Christ, and the ends
of the earth, which

1 Optatus.
are His possession? I wonder if the man who does not blush at such pretensions has any blood in his body. Write me, I beseech you, in reply to this letter; for I have heard from some, on whom I could not but rely, that you would write me an answer if I were to address a letter to you. Some time ago, moreover, I sent you a letter; but I do not know whether you received it or answered it, and perhaps your reply did not reach me. Now, however, I beg you not to refuse to answer this letter, and state what you think. But do not occupy yourself with other questions than the one which I have stated, for this is the leading point of a well-ordered discussion of the origin of the schism.

7. The civil powers defend their conduct in persecuting schismatics by the rule which the apostle laid down: "Whoso resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." 2 The whole question therefore is, whether schism be not an evil work, or whether you have not caused schism, so that your resistance of the powers that be is in a good cause and not in an evil work, whereby you would bring judgment on yourselves. Wherefore with infinite wisdom the Lord not merely said, "Blessed are they who are persecuted," but added, "for righteousness' sake." 3 I desire therefore to know from you, in the light of what I have said above, whether it be a work of righteousness to originate and perpetuate your state of separation from the Church. I desire also to know whether it be not rather a work of unrighteousness to condemn unheard the whole Christian world, either because it has not heard what you have heard, or because no proof has been furnished to it of charges which were rashly believed, or without sufficient evidence advanced by you, and to propose on this ground to baptize a second time the members of

1 Ps. ii. 8. 2 Rom. xiii. 2-4. 3 Matt. v. 10.

so many churches founded by the preaching and labours either of the Lord Himself while He was on earth, or of His apostles; and all this on the assumption that it is excusable for you either not to know the wickedness of your African colleagues who are living beside you, and are using the same sacraments with you, or even to tolerate their misdeeds when known, lest the party of Donatus should be divided, but that it is inexcusable for them, though they reside in most remote regions, to be ignorant of what you either know, or believe, or have heard, or imagine, concerning men in Africa.
How great is the perversity of those who cling to their own unrighteousness, and yet find fault with the severity of the civil powers!

8. You answer, perhaps, that Christians ought not to persecute even the wicked. Be it so; let us admit that they ought not: but is it lawful to lay this objection in the way of the powers which are ordained for this very purpose? Shall we erase the apostle's words? Or do your mss. not contain the words which I mentioned a little while ago? But you will say that we ought not to communicate with such persons. What then? Did you withdraw, some time ago, from communion with the deputy Flavianus, on the ground of his putting to death, in his administration of the laws, those whom he found guilty? Again, you will say that the Eoman emperors are incited against you by us. Nay, rather blame yourselves for this, seeing that, as was long ago foretold in the promise concerning Christ, " Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him," 1 they are now members of the Church; and you have dared to wound the Church by schism, and still presume to insist upon rebaptizing her members. Our brethren indeed demand help from the powers which are ordained, not to persecute you, but to protect themselves against the lawless acts of violence perpetrated by individuals of your party, which you yourselves, who refrain from such things, bewail and deplore; just as, before the Eoman Empire became Christian, the Apostle Paul took measures to secure that the protection of armed Eoman soldiers should be Granted him against the Jews who had conspired to kill him. But these emperors,

1 Ps. lxii. 11.

362 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVII.

whatever the occasion of their becoming acquainted with the crime of your schism might be, frame against you such decrees as their zeal and their office demand. For they bear not the sword in vain; they are the ministers of God to execute wrath upon those that do evil. Finally, if some of our party transgress the bounds of Christian moderation in this matter, it displeases us; nevertheless, we do not on their account forsake the Catholic Church because we are unable to separate the wheat from the chaff before the final winnowing, especially since you yourselves have not forsaken the Donatist party on account of Optatus, when you had not courage to excommunicate him for his crimes.

9. You say, however, "Why seek to have us joined to you, if we be thus stained with guilt? I reply: Because you still live, and may, if you are willing, be restored. For when you join yourselves to us, i.e. to the Church of God, the heritage of Christ, who has the ends of the earth as His possession, you are restored so that you live in vital union with the Eoot. For the apostle says of the branches which were broken off: "God is able to graff them in again." 1 We exhort you to change, in so far as concerns your dissent from the Church; although, as to the sacraments which you had, we admit that they are holy, since they are the same in all.
Wherefore we desire to see you changed from your obstinacy, that is, in order that you who have been cut off may be vitally united to the Eoot again. For the sacraments which you have not changed are approved by us as you have them; else, in our attempting to correct your sin, we should do impious wrong to those mysteries of Christ which have not been deprived of their worth by your unworthiness. For even Saul did not, with all his sins, destroy the efficacy of the anointing which he received; to which anointing David, that pious servant of God, showed so great respect. We therefore do not insist upon rebaptizing you, because we only wish to restore to you connection with the Eoot: the form of the branch which has been cut off we accept with approval, if it has not been changed; but the branch, however perfect in its form, cannot bear fruit, except it be united to the root. As

1 Rom. xi. 23.

LET. LXXXVII.] TO EMERITUS. 363

to the persecution, so gentle and tempered with clemency, which you say you suffer at the hands of our party, while unquestionably your own party inflict greater harm in a lawless and irregular way upon us, â€” this is one question: the question concerning baptism is wholly distinct from it; in regard to it, we inquire not where it is, but where it profits.
For wherever it is, it is the same; but it cannot be said of him who receives it, that wherever he is, he is the same.
We therefore detest the impiety of which men as individuals are guilty in a state of schism; but we venerate everywhere the baptism of Christ. If deserters carry with them the imperial standards, these standards are welcomed back again as they were, if they have remained unharmed, when the deserters are either punished with a severe sentence, or, in the exercise of clemency, restored. If, in regard to this, any more particular inquiry is to be made, that is, as I have said, another question; for in these things, the practice of the Church of God is the rule of our practice.

10. The question between us, however, is, whether your Church or ours is the Church of God. To resolve this, we must begin with the original inquiry, why you became schismatics. If you do not write me an answer, I believe that before the bar of God I shall be easily vindicated as having done my duty in this matter; because I have sent a letter in the interests of peace to a man of whom I have heard that, excepting only his adherence to schismatics, he is a good and well-educated man. Be it yours to consider how you shall answer Him whose forbearance now demands your praise, as His judgment shall in the end demand your fears. If, however, you write a reply to me with as much care as you see me to have bestowed upon this, I believe that, by the mercy of God, the error which now keeps us apart shall perish before the love of peace and the logic of truth. Observe that I have said nothing about the followers of Eogatus, 1 who call you Firmiani, as you call us Macariani. Nor have I spoken
1 Eogatus, bishop of Cartenna in Mauritania, who left the Donatists and suffered much persecution at the hands of Firmus, a brother of Gildo; hence the Donatists were named by the Rogatists Firmiani. See Augustine, Contra Liter as Petilianii, book ii. ch. 83.

364 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVIII.

of your bishop of Eucata (or Eusicada), who is said to have made an agreement with Firmus, promising, on condition of the safety of all his adherents, that the gates should be opened to him, and the Catholics given up to slaughter and pillage. Many other such things I pass unnoticed. Do you therefore in like manner desist from the commonplaces of rhetorical exaggeration concerning actions of men which you have either heard of or known; for you see how I am silent concerning deeds of your party, in order to confine the debate to the question upon which the whole matter hinges, â€” namely, the origin of the schism.

My brother, beloved and longed for, may the Lord our God breathe into you thoughts tending towards reconciliation.

LETTEE LXXXVIII.
(a.d. 406.)

TO JANUARIUS, 1 THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF THE DISTRICT OF HIPPO 2 SEND THE FOLLOWING.

1. Your clergy and your Circumcelliones are venting against us their rage in a persecution of a new kind, and of unparalleled atrocity. Were we to render evil for evil, we should be transgressing the law of Christ. But now, when all that has been done, both on your side and on ours, is impartially considered, it is found that we are suffering what is written, "They rewarded me evil for good;" and (in another Psalm), " My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace: but when I speak, they are for war." Foreseeing that you have arrived at so great age, we suppose you to know perfectly well that the party of Donatus, which at first was called at Carthage the party of Majorinus, did of their own accord accuse Caecilianus, then bishop of Carthage, before the famous Emperor Constantine. Lest, however, you should have forgotten this, venerable sir, or should pretend not to know, or perhaps (which we scarcely think possible) may.

1 Bishop of Casse Nigrse in Numidia, and at that time the Donatist primate, as the oldest of their bishops.

2 Hipponensium Regiorum. 3 Ps. xxxv. 12. 4 Ps. cxx. 6, 7.
never have known it, we insert here a copy of the narrative of Anulinus, then proconsul, to whom the party of Majorinus appealed, requesting that by him as proconsul a statement of the charges which they brought against Caecilianus should be sent to the Emperor aforesaid: æ’’

2. To Constantine Augustus, from Anulinus, a man of consular rank, proconsul of Africa, these: x

The welcome and adored celestial writing sent by your Majesty to Caecilianus, and those over whom he presides, who are called clergy, have been, by the care of your Majesty's most humble servant, engrossed in his Records; and he has exhorted these parties that, heartily agreeing among themselves, since they are seen to be exempted from all other burdens by your Majesty's clemency, they should, preserving Catholic unity, devote themselves to their duties with the reverence due to the sanctity of law and to divine things. After a few days, however, there arose some persons to whom a crowd of people joined themselves, who thought that proceedings should be taken against Caecilianus, and presented to me a sealed packet wrapped in leather, and a small document without seal, and earnestly besought me to transmit them to your Majesty's sacred and venerable court, which your Majesty's most humble servant has taken care to do, Caecilianus continuing meanwhile as he was. The Acts pertaining to the case are subjoined, in order that your Majesty may be able to arrive at a decision concerning the whole matter. The documents sent are two: the one in a leathern envelope, with this title, "A document of the Catholic Church containing charges against Caecilianus, and furnished by the party of Majorinus;" the other attached without a seal to the same leathern envelope.

Given on the 17th day before the Calends of May,

1 The actual heading of the Report stands thus: "A. GGG. NNK Anulinus r C. proconsul Africce." For the interpretation we are indebted to the marginal note on the Codex Gervasianus.

2 Dicationi mese. 8 Parvitas mea.

366 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVIII.

in the third consulship of our lord Constantine Augustus [i.e. April 15, a.d. 313].

3. After this report had been sent to him, the Emperor summoned the parties before a tribunal of bishops to be constituted at Rome. The ecclesiastical records show how the case was there argued and decided, and Csecilianus pronounced innocent. Surely now, after the peacemaking decision of the tribunal of bishops, all the pertinacity of strife and
bitterness should have given way. Your forefathers, however, appealed again to the Emperor, and complained that the decision was not just, and that their case had not been fully heard. Accordingly, he appointed a second tribunal of bishops to meet in Aries, a town of Gaul, where, after sentence had been pronounced against your worthless and diabolical schism, many of your party returned to a good understanding with Caecilianus; some, however, who were most obstinate and contentious, appealed to the Emperor again. Afterwards, when, yielding to their importunity, he personally interposed in this dispute, which belonged properly to the bishops to decide, having heard the case, he gave sentence against your party, and was the first to pass a law that the properties of your congregations should be confiscated; of all which things we could insert the documentary evidence here, if it were not for making the letter too long. We must, however, by no means omit the investigation and decision in open court of the case of Eelix of Aptunga, whom, in the Council of Carthage, under Secundus of Tigisis, primate, your fathers affirmed to be the original cause of all these evils. For the Emperor aforesaid, in a letter of which we annex a copy, bears witness that in this trial your party were before him as accusers and most strenuous prosecutors: â€”

4. The Emperors Flavins Constantinus, Maximus Cccsar, and Valerius Licinius Cozsar, to Probianus, proconsul of Africa:

Your predecessor iElianus, who acted as substitute for Verus, the superintendent of the prefects, when that most excellent magistrate was by severe illness laid aside in that part of Africa which is under our sway, consi-

LET. LXXXVIII.] to jaxitapjus. 36 7

dered it, and most justly, to be his duty, amongst other things, to bring again under his investigation and decision the matter of CaBcilianus, or rather the odium which seems to have been stirred up against that bishop of the Catholic Church. Wherefore, having ordered the compearance of Superius, centurion, Csecilianus, magistrate of Aptunga, and Saturninus, the ex-president of police, and his successor in the office, Calibius the younger, and Solon, an official belonging to Aptunga, he heard the testimony of these witnesses; x the result of which was, that whereas objection had been taken to Csecilianus on the ground of his ordination to the office of bishop by Felix, against whom it seemed that the charge of surrendering and burning the sacred books had been made, the innocence of Felix in this matter was clearly established. Moreover, when Maximus affirmed that Ingentius, a decurion of the town of Ziqua, had forged a letter of the ex-magistrate Caecilianus, we found, on examining the Acts which were before us, that this same Ingentius had been put on the rack 2 for that offence, and that the infliction of torture on him was not, as alleged, on the ground of his affirming that he was a decurion of Ziqua. Wherefore we desire you to send under a suitable guard to the court of Augustus Constantine the said Ingentius, that in the presence and hearing of those who are now pleading in this case, and who day after day persist in their complaints, it may be made manifest and fully known that they labour in vain to excite odium against the
bishop Csecilianus, and to clamour violently against him. This, we hope, will bring the people to desist, as they should do, from such contentions, and to devote themselves with becoming

1 The value of the evidence of these witnesses is apparent when we remember that they were all in a position to speak from personal knowledge of the persecution in A.D. 303 (under Diocletian and Maximian), and had in their public capacity some share in enforcing the demand made in that persecution for the surrender of the sacred books. These could tell whether Felix the Bishop of Aptunga was guilty or not of the unfaithfulness to his religion with which the faction of Majorinus reproached him.

2 Suspensum.

368 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXVIII.

reverence to their religious duties, undistracted by dissension among themselves.

5. Since you see, therefore, that these things are so, win do you provoke odium against us on the ground of the imperial decrees which are in force against you, when you have yourselves done all this before we followed your example? If emperors ought not to use their authority in such cases, if care of these matters lies beyond the province of Christian emperors, who urged your forefathers to remit the case of Csecilianus, by the proconsul, to the Emperor, and a second time to bring before the Emperor accusations against a bishop whom you had somehow condemned in absence, and on his acquittal to invent and bring before the same Emperor other calumnies against Eelix, by whom the bishop aforesaid had been ordained? And now, what other law is in force against your party than that decision of the elder Constantine, to which your forefathers of their own choice appealed, which they extorted from him by their importunate complaints, and which they preferred to the decision of an episcopal tribunal?

If you are dissatisfied with the decrees of emperors, who were the first to compel the emperors to set these in array against you? For you have no more reason for crying out against the Catholic Church because of the decrees of emperors against you, than those men would have had for crying out against Daniel, who, after his deliverance, were thrown in to be devoured by the same lions by which they first sought to have him destroyed; as it is written: "The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion." 1 These slanderous enemies insisted that Daniel should be thrown into the den of lions: his innocence prevailed over their malice; he was taken from the den unharmed, and they, being cast into it, perished. In like manner, your forefathers cast Csecilianus and his companions to be destroyed by the king's wrath; and when, by their innocence, they were delivered from this, you yourselves now suffer from these kings what your party wished them to suffer; as it is written: "Whoso diggeth a pit for his neighbour, shall himself fall therein." 2
LET. LXXXVIII. TO JANUAPJUS. 369

6. You have therefore no ground for complaint against us: nay more, the clemency of the Catholic Church would have led us to desist from even enforcing these decrees of the emperors, had not your clergy and Circumcellionones, disturbing our peace, and destroying us by their most monstrous crimes and furious deeds of violence, compelled us to have these decrees revived and put in force again. For before these more recent edicts of which you complain had come into Africa, these desperadoes laid ambush for our bishops on their journeys, abused our clergy with savage blows, and assaulted our laity in the same most cruel manner, and set fire to their habitations. A certain presbyter who had of his own free choice preferred the unity of our Church, was for so doing dragged out of his own house, cruelly beaten without form of law, rolled over and over in a miry pond, covered with a matting of rushes, and exhibited as an object of pity to some and of ridicule to others, while his persecutors gloried in their crime; after which they carried him away where they pleased, and reluctantly set him at liberty after twelve days. When Proculeianus 1 was challenged by our bishop concerning this outrage, at a meeting of the municipal courts, he at first endeavoured to evade inquiry into the matter by pretending that he knew nothing of it; and when the demand was immediately repeated, he publicly declared that he would say nothing more on the subject. And the perpetrators of that outrage are at this day among your presbyters, continuing moreover to keep us in terror, and to persecute us to the utmost of their power.

7. Our bishop, however, did not complain to the emperors of the wrongs and persecution which the Catholic Church in our district suffered in those days. But when a Council had been convened, 2 it was agreed that you should be invited to meet our party peaceably, in order that, if it were possible, you [i.e. the bishops on both sides, for the letter is written by the clergy of Hippo] might have a conference, and the error being taken out of the way, brotherly love might rejoice in the bond of peace between us. You may learn from your own records


2 At Carthage, a.d. 403.

VOL. I. 2 A

370 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVIII.

the answer which Proculeianus made at first on that occasion, that you would call a Council together, and would there see what you ought to answer; and how afterwards,
when he was again publicly reminded of his promise, he stated, as the Acts bear witness, that he refused to have any conference with a view to peace. After this, when the notorious atrocities of your clergy and Circumcelliones continued, a case was brought to trial; and Crispinus being condemned as a heretic, although he was through the forbearance of the Catholics exempted from the fine which the imperial edict imposed on heretics of ten pounds of gold, nevertheless thought himself warranted in appearing to the emperors. As to the answer which was made to that appeal, was it not extorted by the preceding wickedness of your party and by his own appeal? And yet, even after that answer was given, he was permitted to escape the infliction of that fine, through the intercession of our bishops with the Emperor on his behalf. From that Council, however, our bishops sent deputies to the court, who obtained a decree that not all your bishops and clergy should be held liable to this fine of ten pounds of gold, which the decree had imposed.

<on all heretics, but only those in whose districts the Catholic Church suffered violence at the hands of your party. But by the time that the deputation came to Rome, the wounds of the Catholic bishop of Bagae, who had just then been dreadfully injured, had moved the Emperor to send such edicts as were actually sent. When these edicts came to Africa, seeing especially that strong pressure had begun to be brought upon you, not to any evil thing, but for your good, what should you have done but invited our bishops to meet you, as they had invited yours to meet them, that by a conference the truth might be brought to light?

8. Not only, however, have you failed to do this, but your party go on inflicting yet greater injuries upon us. Not contented with beating us with bludgeons and killing some with the sword, they even, with incredible ingenuity in crime, throw lime mixed with acid [? vitriol] into our people's eyes to blind them. For pillaging our houses, moreover, they have fashioned huge and formidable implements, armed with which they wander here and there, breathing out threats of slaughter, rapine, burning of houses, and blinding of our eyes; by which things we have been constrained in the first instance to complain to you, venerable sir, begging you to consider how, under these so-called terrible laws of Catholic emperors, many, nay all of you, who say that you are the victims of persecution, are settled in peace in the possessions which were your own, or which you have taken from others, while we suffer such unheard-of wrongs at the hands of your party. You say that you are persecuted, while we are killed with clubs and swords by your armed men. You say that you are persecuted, while our houses are pillaged by your armed robbers. You say that you are persecuted, while many of us have our eyesight destroyed by the lime and acid with

LET. LXXXVIII.] TO JANUAEIUS. 371

them. For pillaging our houses, moreover, they have fashioned huge and formidable implements, armed with which they wander here and there, breathing out threats of slaughter, rapine, burning of houses, and blinding of our eyes; by which things we have been constrained in the first instance to complain to you, venerable sir, begging you to consider how, under these so-called terrible laws of Catholic emperors, many, nay all of you, who say that you are the victims of persecution, are settled in peace in the possessions which were your own, or which you have taken from others, while we suffer such unheard-of wrongs at the hands of your party. You say that you are persecuted, while we are killed with clubs and swords by your armed men. You say that you are persecuted, while our houses are pillaged by your armed robbers. You say that you are persecuted, while many of us have our eyesight destroyed by the lime and acid with
which your men are armed for the purpose. Moreover, if their course of crime brings some of them to death, they make out that these deaths are justly the occasion of odium against us, and of glory to them. They take no blame to themselves for the harm which they do to us, and they lay upon us the blame of the harm which they bring upon themselves. They live as robbers, they die as Circumcelliones, they are honoured as martyrs! Nay, I do injustice to robbers in this comparison, for we have never heard of robbers destroying the eyesight of those whom they have plundered: they indeed take away those whom they kill from the light, but they do not take away the light from those whom they leave in life.

9. On the other hand, if at any time we get men of your party into our power, we keep them unharmed, showing great love towards them; and we tell them everything by which the error which has severed brother from brother is refuted. We do as the Lord Himself commanded us, in the words of the prophet Isaiah: "Hear the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at His word; say, Ye are our brethren, to those who hate you, and who cast you out, that the name of the Lord may be glorified, and that He may appear to them with joy; but let them be put to shame." * And thus some of them we

1 Isa. Ixvi. 5, as given by Augustine.

372 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXVIII.

persuade, through their considering the evidences of the truth and the beauty of peace, not to be baptized anew for this sign of allegiance to our king they have already received (though they were as deserters), but to accept that faith, and love of the Holy Spirit, and union to the body of Christ, which formerly they had not. For it is written, "Purifying their hearts by faith; " * and again, u Charity covereth a multitude of sins." 2 If, however, either through too great obduracy, or through shame making them unable to bear the taunts of those with whom they were accustomed to join so frequently in falsely reproaching us and contriving evil against us, or perhaps more through fear lest they should come to share along with us such injuries as they were formerly wont to inflict on us, â€” if, I say, from any of these causes, they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of Christ, they are allowed to depart, as they were detained, without suffering any harm. We also exhort our laity as far as we can to detain them without doing them any harm, and bring them to us for admonition and instruction. Some of them obey us and do this, if it is in their power: others deal with them as they would with robbers, because they actually suffer from them such things as robbers are wont to do. Some of them strike their assailants in protecting their own bodies from their blows: while others apprehend them and bring them to the magistrates; and though we intercede on their behalf, they do not let them off, because they are very much afraid of their savage outrages. Yet all the while, these men, though persisting in the practices of
robbers, claim to be honoured as martyrs when they receive the due reward of their deeds!

10. Accordingly our desire, which we lay before, you, venerable sir, by this letter and by the brethren whom we have sent, is as follows. In the first place, if it be possible, let a peaceable conference be held with our bishops, so that an end may be put to the error itself, not to the men who embrace it, and men corrected rather than punished; and as you formerly despised their proposals for agreement, let them now proceed from your side. How much better for you to have such a conference between your bishops and ours, the proceedings of which may be written down and sent with signa-

1 Acts xv. 9. 2 1 Pet. iv. 8.

LET. LXXXVIII.] TO JANUARIUS. 373

ture of the parties to the Emperor, than to confer with the civil magistrates, who cannot do otherwise than administer the laws which have been passed against you! For your colleagues who sailed from this country said that they had come to have their case heard by the prefects. They also named our holy father the Catholic bishop Valentinus, who was then at court, saying that they wished to be heard along with him. This the judge could not concede, as he was guided in his judicial functions by the laws which were passed against you: the bishop, moreover, had not come on this footing, or with any such instructions from his colleagues. How much better qualified therefore will the Emperor himself be to decide regarding your case, when the report of that conference has been read before him, seeing that he is not bound by these laws, and has power to enact other laws instead of them; although it may be said to be a case upon which final decision was pronounced long ago! Yet, in wishing this conference with you, we seek not to have a second final decision, but to have it made known as already settled to those who meanwhile are not aware that it is so. If your bishops be willing to do this, what do you thereby lose? Do you not rather gain, inasmuch as your willingness for such conference will become known, and the reproach, hitherto deserved, that you distrust your own cause will be taken away? Do you, perchance, suppose that such conference would be unlawful?

Surely you are aware that Christ our Lord spoke even to the devil concerning the law, 1 and that by the Apostle Paul debates were held not only with Jews, but even with heathen philosophers of the sect of the Stoics and of the Epicureans. 2 Is it, perchance, that the laws of the Emperor do not permit you to meet our bishops? If so, assemble together in the meantime your bishops in the region of Hippo, in which we are suffering such wrongs from men of your party. For how much more legitimate and open is the way of access to us for the writings which you might send to us, than for the arms with which they assail us!

11. Finally, we beg you to send back such writings by our brethren whom we have sent to you. If, however, you will
not do this, at least hear us as well as those of your own party, at whose hands we suffer such wrongs. Show us the truth for which you allege that you suffer persecution, at the time when we are suffering so great cruelties from your side. For if you convict us of being in error, perhaps you will concede to us an exemption from being rebaptized by you, because we were baptized by persons whom you have not condemned; and you granted this exemption to those whom Felicianus of Musti, and Prsetextatus of Assuri, had baptized during the long period in which you were attempting to cast them out of their churches by legal interdicts, because they were in communion with Maximianus, along with whom they were condemned explicitly and by name in the Council of Bagae. All which things we can prove by the judicial and municipal transactions, in which you brought forward the decisions of this same Council of yours, when you wished to show the judges that the persons whom you were expelling from your ecclesiastical buildings were persons by schism separated from you. Nevertheless, you who have by schism severed yourselves from the seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth are blessed, 1 refuse to be expelled from our ecclesiastical buildings, when the decree to this effect proceeds not from judges such as you employed in dealing with schismatics from your sect, but from the kings of the earth themselves, who worship Christ as the prophecy had foretold, and from whose bar you retired vanquished when you brought accusation against Csecilianus.

12. If, however, you will neither instruct us nor listen to us, come yourselves, or send into the district of Hippa some of your party, with some of us as their guides, that they may see your army equipped with their weapons; nay, more fully equipped than ever army was before, for no soldier when fightin"- against barbarians was ever known to add to his other weapons lime and acid to destroy the eyes of his enemies. If you refuse this also, we beg you at least to write to them to desist now from these things, and refrain from murdering, plundering, and blinding our people. We will not say, condemn them; for it is for yourselves to see how no contami-

1 Gen. xxii. 18.

LET. LXXXIX.] TO FESTUS. 375

nation is brought to yon by the toleration within your communion of those whom we prove to be robbers, while contamination is brought to us by our having members against whom you have never been able to prove that they were traditors.
If, however, you treat all our remonstrances with contempt, we shall never regret that we desired to act in a peaceful and orderly way. The Lord will so plead for His Church, that you, on the other hand, shall regret that you despised our humble attempt at conciliation.

LETTER LXXXIX.

(a.d. 406.)

TO FESTUS, MY LOVED WELL BELOVED, MY SON HONOURABLE AND WORTHY OF ESTEEM, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. If, on behalf of error and inexcusable dissension, and falsehoods which have been in every way possible disproved, men are so presumptuous as to persevere in boldly assailing and threatening the Catholic Church, which seeks their salvation, how much more is it reasonable and right for those who maintain the truth of Christian peace and unity, “truth which commends itself even to those who profess to deny it or attempt to resist it,” to labour constantly and with energy, not only in the defence of those who are already Catholics, but also for the correction of those who are not yet within the Church!

For if obstinacy aims at the possession and exercise of indomitable strength, how great should be the strength of constancy which devotes persevering and unwearied labours to a cause which it knows to be both pleasing to God, and beyond all question necessarily approved by the judgment of wise men!

2. Could there, moreover, be anything more lamentable as an instance of perversity, than for men not only to refuse to be humbled by the correction of their wickedness, but even to claim commendation for their conduct, as is done by the Donatists, when they boast that they are the victims of persecution; either through incredible blindness not knowing, or through inexcusable passion pretending not to know, that men

376 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIX.

are made martyrs not by trie amount of their suffering, but by the cause in which they suffer? This I would say even were I opposing men who were only involved in the darkness of error, and suffering penalties on that account most truly merited, and who had not dared to assault any one with insane violence. But what shall I say "against those whose fatal obstinacy is such that it is checked only by fear of losses, and is taught only by exile how universal (as had been foretold) is the diffusion of the Church, which they prefer to attack rather than to acknowledge? And if the things which they suffer under this most gentle discipline be compared with those things which they in reckless fury perpetrate, who does not see to which party the name of persecutors more truly belongs? Nay, even though wicked sons abstain from violence, they do, by their abandoned way of life, inflict upon their affectionate parents a much more serious wrong than their father
and mother inflict upon them, when, with a sternness proportioned to the strength of their love, they endeavour without dissimulation to compel them to live uprightly.

3. There exist the strongest evidences in public documents, which you can read if you please, or rather, which I beseech and exhort you to read, by which it is proved that their predecessors, who originally separated themselves from the peace of the Church, did of their own accord dare to bring accusation against Caecilianus before the Emperor by means of Anulinus, who was proconsul at that time. Had they gained the day in that trial, what else would Caecilianus have suffered at the hands of the Emperor than that which, when they were defeated, he awarded to them? But truly, if they having accused him had prevailed, and Caecilianus and his colleagues had been expelled from their sees, or, through persisting in their conspiracy, had exposed themselves to severer punishments (for the imperial censure could not pass unpunished the resistance of persons who had been defeated in the civil courts), they would then have published as worthy of all praise the Emperor's wise measures and anxious care for the good of the Church. But now, because they have themselves lost their case, being wholly unable to prove the charges which they advanced, if they suffer anything for their iniquity, they call it persecution; and not only set no bounds to their wicked violence, but also claim to be honoured as martyrs: as if the Catholic Christian emperors were following in their measures against their most obstinate wickedness any other precedent than the decision of Constantine, to whom they of their own accord appealed as the accusers of Caecilianus, and whose authority they so esteemed above that of all the bishops beyond the sea, that to him rather than to them they referred this ecclesiastical dispute. To him, again, they protested against the first judgment given against them by the bishops whom he had appointed to examine the case in Rome, and to him also they appealed against the second judgment given by the bishops at Arles: yet when at last they were defeated by his own decision, they remained unchanged in their perversity.

I think that even the devil himself would not have had the assurance to persist in such a cause, if he had been so often overthrown by the authority of the judge to whom he had of his own will chosen to appeal.

4. It may be said, however, that these are human tribunals, and that they might have been cajoled, misguided, or bribed.

Why, then, is the Christian world libelled and branded with the crime laid to the charge of some who are said to have surrendered to persecutors the sacred books? For surely it was neither possible for the Christian world, nor incumbent upon it, to do otherwise than believe the judges whom the plaintiffs had chosen, rather than the plaintiffs against whom, these judges pronounced judgments. These judges are responsible to God for their opinion, whether just or unjust; but what has the Church, diffused throughout the world, done that it should be deemed necessary for her to be rebaptized by the Donatists upon no other ground than because, in a case in which she was not able to decide as to the truth,
she has thought herself called upon to believe those who were in a position to judge it rightly, rather than those who, though defeated in the civil courts, refused to yield? weighty indictment against all the nations to which God promised that they should be blessed in the seed of Abraham, and has now made His promise good! "When they with one voice demand, Why do you wish to rebaptize us? the answer given is, Be-

378 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIX.

cause you do not know what men in Africa were guilty of surrendering the sacred books; and being thus ignorant, accepted the testimony of the judges who decided the case as more worthy of credit than that of those by whom the accusation was brought. No man deserves to be blamed for the crime of another; what, then, has the whole world to do with the sin which some one in Africa may have committed? "No man deserves to be blamed for a crime about which he knows nothing; and how could the whole world possibly know the crime in this case, whether the judges or the party condemned were guilty? Ye who have understanding, judge what I say. Here is the justice of heretics: the party of Donatus condemns the whole world unheard, because the whole world does not condemn a crime unknown. But for the world, truly, it suffices to have the promises of God, and to see fulfilled in itself what prophets predicted so long ago, and to recognise the Church by means of the same Scriptures by which Christ her King is recognised. For as in them are foretold concerning Christ the things which we read in gospel history to have been fulfilled in Him, so also in them have been foretold concerning the Church the things which we now behold fulfilled in the world.

5. Possibly some thinking people might be disturbed by what they are accustomed to say regarding baptism, viz. that it is the true baptism of Christ only when it is administered by a righteous man, were it not that on this subject the Christian world holds what is most manifestly evangelical truth as taught in the words of John: "He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." 1 Wherefore the Church calmly declines to place her hope in man, lest she fall under the curse pronounced in Scripture, "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man," 2 but places her hope in Christ, who so took upon Him the form of a servant as not to lose the form of God, of whom it is said, "The same is He which baptizeth." Therefore, whoever the man be, and whatever office he bear who administers the ordinance, it is not he who baptizes, â€” that is the work of Him upon whom the dove

1 John i. 33. â– Jer. xvii. 5.
descended. So great is the absurdity in which the Donatists are involved in consequence of these foolish opinions, that they can find no escape from it. For when they admit the validity and reality of baptism when one of their sect baptizes who is a guilty man, but whose guilt is concealed, we ask them, Who baptizes in this case? and they can only answer, God; for they cannot affirm that a man guilty of sin (say of adultery) can sanctify any one. If, then, when baptism is administered by a man known to be righteous, he sanctifies the person baptized; but when it is administered by a wicked man, whose wickedness is hidden, it is not he, but God, who sanctifies. Those who are baptized ought to wish to be baptized rather by men who are secretly bad than by men manifestly good, for God sanctifies much more effectually than any righteous man can do. If it be palpably absurd that one about to be baptized ought to wish to be baptized by a hypocritical adulterer rather than by a man of known chastity, it follows plainly, that whoever be the minister that dispenses the rite, the baptism is valid, because He Himself baptizes upon whom the dove descended.

6. Notwithstanding the impression which truth so obvious should produce on the ears and hearts of men, such is the whirlpool of evil custom by which some have been engulfed, that rather than yield, they will resist both authority and argument of every kind. Their resistance is of two kinds â€“ either with active rage or with passive immobility. What remedies, then, must the Church apply when seeking with a mother's anxiety the salvation of them all, and distracted by the frenzy of some and the lethargy of others? Is it right, is it possible, for her to despise or give up any means which may promote their recovery? She must necessarily be esteemed burdensome by both, just because she is the enemy of neither. For men in frenzy do not like to be bound, and men in lethargy do not like to be stirred up; nevertheless the diligence of charity perseveres in restraining the one and stimulating the other, out of love to both. Both are provoked, but both are loved; both, while they continue under their infirmity, resent the treatment as vexatious; both express their thankfulness for it when they are cured.

380 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. LXXXIX.

7. Moreover, whereas they think and boast that we receive them into the Church just as they were, it is not so. "We receive them completely changed, because they do not begin to be Catholics until they have ceased to be heretics. For their sacraments, which we have in common with them, are not the objects of dislike to us, because they are not human, but Divine. That which must be taken from them is the error, which is their own, and which they have wickedly imbibed; not the sacraments, which they have received like ourselves, and which they bear and have, â€“ to their own condemnation, indeed, because they use them so unworthily; nevertheless, they truly have them. Wherefore, when their error is forsaken, and the perversity of schism corrected in them, they pass over from heresy into the peace of the Church, which they formerly did not possess, and without which all that they did possess was only doing them harm."
If, however, in thus passing over they are not sincere, this is a matter not for us, but for God, to judge. And yet, some who were suspected of insincerity because they had passed over to us through fear, have been found in some subsequent temptations so faithful as to surpass others who had been originally Catholics. Therefore let it not be said that nothing is accomplished when strong measures are employed. For when the entrenchments of stubborn custom are stormed by fear of human authority, this is not all that is done, because at the same time faith is strengthened, and the understanding convinced, by authority and arguments which are Divine.

8. These things being so, be it known to your Grace that your men in the region of Hippo are still Donatists, and that your letter has had no influence upon them. The reason why it failed to move them I need not write; but send some one, either a servant or a friend of your own, whose fidelity you can entrust with the commission, and let him come not to them in the first place, but to us without their knowledge; and when he has carefully consulted with us as to what is best to be done, let him do it with the Lord's help. For in these measures we are acting not only for their welfare, but also on behalf of our own men who have become Catholics, to whom the vicinity of these Donatists is so dangerous, that it cannot be looked upon by us as a small matter.

I could have written much more briefly; but I wished you to have a letter from me, by which you might not only be yourself informed of the reason of my solicitude, but also be provided with an answer to any one who might dissuade you from earnestly devoting your energies to the correction of the people who belong to you, and might speak against us for wishing you to do this. If in this I have done what was unnecessary, because you had yourself either learned or thought out these principles, or if I have been burdensome to you by inflicting so long a letter upon one so engrossed with public affairs, I beg you to forgive me. I only entreat you not to despise what I have brought before you and requested at your hands. May the mercy of God be your safeguard!

LET. XC] NECTARIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 381

whom the vicinity of these Donatists is so dangerous, that it cannot be looked upon by us as a small matter.

I could have written much more briefly; but I wished you to have a letter from me, by which you might not only be yourself informed of the reason of my solicitude, but also be provided with an answer to any one who might dissuade you from earnestly devoting your energies to the correction of the people who belong to you, and might speak against us for wishing you to do this. If in this I have done what was unnecessary, because you had yourself either learned or thought out these principles, or if I have been burdensome to you by inflicting so long a letter upon one so engrossed with public affairs, I beg you to forgive me. I only entreat you not to despise what I have brought before you and requested at your hands. May the mercy of God be your safeguard!

LETTER XC.

(a.d. 408.)

to my noble lord and brother, worthy of all esteem,
BISHOP AUGUSTINE, NECTARIUS SENDS GREETING.

I do not dwell upon the strength of the love men bear to their native land, for you know it. It is the only emotion which has a stronger claim than love of kindred. If there were any limit or time beyond which it would be lawful for right-hearted men to withdraw themselves from its control, I have by this time well earned exemption from the burdens which it imposes. But since love and gratitude towards our country gain strength every day, and the nearer one comes to the end of life, the more ardent is his desire to leave his country in a safe and prosperous condition, I rejoice, in beginning this letter, that I am addressing myself to a man who is versed in all kinds of learning, and therefore able to enter into my feelings.

There are many things in the colony of Calama which justly bind my love to it. I was born here, and I have (in the opinion of others) rendered great services to this community. Now, my lord most excellent and worthy of all esteem, this town has fallen disastrously by a grievous misdemeanour on the part of her citizens, which must be punished with very great severity, if we are dealt with according to the rigour of the civil law. But a bishop is guided by another law. His duty is to promote the welfare of men, to interest himself in any case only with a view to the benefit of the parties, and to obtain for other men the pardon of their sins at the hand of the Almighty God. Wherefore I beseech you with all possible urgency to secure that, if the matter is to be made the subject of a prosecution, the guiltless be protected, and a distinction drawn between the innocent and those who did the wrong. This, which, as you see, is a demand in accordance with your own natural sentiments, I pray you to grant. An assessment to compensate for the losses caused by the tumult can be easily levied. We only deplore the severity of revenge. May you live in the more full enjoyment of the Divine favour, my noble lord, and brother worthy of all esteem.

382 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCL

ester, this town lias fallen disastrously by a grievous misdemeanour on the part of her citizens, which must be punished with very great severity, if we are dealt with according to the rigour of the civil law. But a bishop is guided by another law. His duty is to promote the welfare of men, to interest himself in any case only with a view to the benefit of the parties, and to obtain for other men the pardon of their sins at the hand of the Almighty God. Wherefore I beseech you with all possible urgency to secure that, if the matter is to be made the subject of a prosecution, the guiltless be protected, and a distinction drawn between the innocent and those who did the wrong. This, which, as you see, is a demand in accordance with your own natural sentiments, I pray you to grant. An assessment to compensate for the losses caused by the tumult can be easily levied. We only deplore the severity of revenge. May you live in the more full enjoyment of the Divine favour, my noble lord, and brother worthy of all esteem.

LETTEE XCL

(a.d. 408.)

to my noble lord and justly honoured brother nectarius, augustine sends greeting.

1. I do not wonder that, though your limbs are chilled by age, your heart still glows with patriotic fire. I admire this, and, instead of grieving, I rejoice to learn that you not only remember, but by your life and practice illustrate, the maxim that there is no limit either in measure or in time to the claims which their country has upon the care and service of right-hearted men. Wherefore we long to have you enrolled in the service of a higher and nobler country, through holy love, to which (up to the measure of our capacity) we are
sustained amid the perils and toils which we meet with among those whose welfare we seek in urging them to make that country their own. Oh that we had you such a citizen of

1 He refers to a riot in which the Pagans, after celebrating a heathen festival, attacked the Christians on June 1, 408 a.d.

LET. XCI.] TO NECTAEIUS. 383

that country, that you would. think that there ought to be no limit either in measure or in time to your efforts for the good of that small portion of her citizens who are on this earth pilgrims! This would be a better loyalty, because you would be responding to the claims of a better country; and if you resolved that in your time on earth your labours for her welfare should have no end, you would in her eternal peace be recompensed with joy that shall have no end.

2. But till this be done, â€” and it is not beyond hope that you should be able to gain, or should even now be most wisely considering that you ought to gain, that country to which your father has gone before you, â€” till this be done, I say, you must excuse us if, for the sake of that country which we desire never to leave, we cause some distress to that country which you desire to leave in the full bloom of honour and prosperity. As to the flowers which thus bloom in your country, if we were discussing this subject with one of your wisdom, we have no doubt that you would be easily convinced, or rather, would yourself readily perceive, in what way a commonwealth should flourish. The foremost of your poets has sung of certain flowers of Italy; but in your own country we have been taught by experience, not how it has blossomed with heroes, so much as how it has gleamed with weapons of war: nay, I ought to write how it has burned rather than how it has gleamed; and instead of the weapons of war, I should write the fires of incendiaries. If so great a crime were to remain unpunished, without any rebuke such as the miscreants have deserved, do you think that you would leave your country in the full bloom of honour and prosperity? blooming flowers, yielding not fruit, but thorns! Consider now whether you would prefer to see your country flourish by the piety of its inhabitants, or by their escaping the punishment of their crimes; by the correction of their manners, or by outrages to which impunity emboldens them. Compare these things, I say, and judge whether or not you love your country more than we do; whether its prosperity and honour are more truly and earnestly sought by you or by us.

3. Consider for a little those books, Be Repiblica, from which you imbibed that sentiment of a most loyal citizen,

384 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCI.
that there is no limit either in measure or in time to the claims which their country has upon the care and service of right-hearted men. Consider them, I beseech you, and observe how great are the praises there bestowed upon frugality, self-control, conjugal fidelity, and those chaste, honourable, and upright manners, the prevalence of which in any city entitles it to be spoken of as flourishing. Now the Churches which are multiplying throughout the world are, as it were, sacred seminaries of public instruction, in which this sound morality is inculcated and learned, and in which, above all, men are taught the worship due to the true and faithful God, who not only commands men to attempt, but also gives grace to perform, all those things by which the soul of man is furnished and fitted for fellowship with God, and for dwelling in the eternal heavenly kingdom. For this reason He hath both foretold and commanded the casting down of the images of the many false gods which are in the world. For nothing so effectually renders men depraved in practice, and unfit to be good members of society, as the imitation of such deities as are described and extolled in pagan writings.

4. In fact, those most learned men (whose heau ideal of a republic or commonwealth in this world was, by the way, rather investigated or described by them in private discussions, than established and realized by them in public measures) were accustomed to set forth as models for the education of youth the examples of men whom they esteemed eminent and praiseworthy, rather than the example given by their gods.

And there is no question that the young man in Terence, 1 who, beholding a picture upon a wall in which was portrayed the licentious conduct of the king of the gods, fanned the flame of the passion which mastered him, by the encouragement which such high authority gave to wickedness, would not have fallen into the desire, nor have plunged into the commission, of such a shameful deed if he had chosen to imitate Cato instead of Jupiter; but how could he make such a choice, when he was compelled in the temples to worship Jupiter rather than Cato? Perhaps it may be said that we should not bring forward from a comedy arguments to put to shame the wanton-

1 Eunuchus Act iii. Sc. 5.

LET. XCI.] to nectaeius. 385

ness and the impious superstition of profane men. But read or recall to mind how wisely it is argued in the books above referred to, that the style and the plots of comedies would never be approved by the public voice if they did not harmonize with the manners of those who approved them; wherefore, by the authority of men most illustrious and eminent in the commonwealth to which they belonged, and engaged in debating as to the conditions of a perfect commonwealth, our position is established, that the most degraded of men may be made yet woroe if they imitate their gods, â€” gods, of course, which are not true, but false and invented.
5. You will perhaps reply, that all those things which were written long ago concerning the life and manners of the gods are to be far otherwise than literally understood and interpreted by the wise. Nay, we have heard within the last few days that such wholesome interpretations are now read to the people when assembled in the temples. Tell me, is the human race so blind to truth as not to perceive things so plain and palpable as these? When, by the art of painters, founders, hammermen, sculptors, authors, players, singers, and dancers, Jupiter is in so many places exhibited in flagrant acts of lewdness, how important it was that in his own Capitol at least his worshippers might have read a decree from himself prohibiting such crimes! If, through the absence of such prohibition, these monsters, in which shame and profanity culminate, are regarded with enthusiasm by the people, worshipped in their temples, and laughed at in their theatres; if, in order to provide sacrifices for them, even the poor must be despoiled of their flocks; if, in order to provide actors who shall by gesture and dance represent their infamous achievements, the rich squander their estates, can it be said of the communities in which these things are done, that they flourish? The flowers with which they bloom owe their birth not to a fertile soil, nor to a wealthy and bounteous virtue; for them a worthy parent is found in that goddess Flora, 1 whose dramatic games are celebrated with a profligacy

1 Here culminates in the original a play upon words, towards which Augustine has been working with the ingenuity of a rhetorician from the beginning of the second paragraph; but the zest of his wit is necessarily lost in translation, be-

386 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCI.

so utterly dissolute and shameless, that any one may infer from them what kind of demon that must be which cannot be appeased unless â€” not birds, nor quadrupeds, nor even human life â€” but (oh, greater villany!) human modesty and virtue, perish as sacrifices on her altars.

6. These things I have said, because of your having written that the nearer you come to the end of life, the greater is your desire to leave your country in a safe and flourishing condition. Away with all these vanities and follies, and let men be converted to the true worship of God, and to chaste and pious manners: then will you see your country flourishing, not in the vain opinion of fools, but in the sound judgment of the wise; when your fatherland here on earth shall have become a portion of that Fatherland into which we are born not by the flesh, but by faith, and in which all the holy and faithful servants of God shall bloom in the eternal summer, when their labours in the winter of time are done. "We are therefore resolved, neither on the one hand to lay aside Christian gentleness, nor on the other to leave in your city that which would be a most pernicious example for all others to follow. For success in this dealing we trust to the help of God, if His indignation against the evil-doers be not so great as to make Him withhold His blessing. For certainly both the gentleness which we desire to maintain, and the discipline which we shall endeavour without passion to administer, may be hindered, if God in His
hidden counsels order it otherwise, and either appoint that this so great wickedness be punished with a more severe chastisement, or in yet greater displeasure leave the sin without punishment in this world, its guilty authors being neither reproved nor reformed.

V. You have, in the exercise of your judgment, laid down the principles by which a bishop should be influenced; and after saying that your town has fallen disastrously by a grievous misdemeanour on the part of your citizens, which must be punished with great severity if they are dealt with according to the rigour of the civil law, you add: " But a cause in our language the words " flower " and " flourish " are not so immediately suggestive of each other as the corresponding noun and verb in Latin (flos and fiorere).

LET. xcl] to nectaeius. 387

bishop is guided by another law; his duty is to promote the welfare of men, to interest himself in any case only with a view to the benefit of the parties, and to obtain for other men the pardon of their sins at the hand of the Almighty God." 1 This we by all means labour to secure, that no one be visited with undue severity of punishment, either by us or by any other who is influenced by our interposition; and we seek to promote the true welfare of men, which consists in the blessedness of well-doing, not in the assurance of impunity in evil-doing. We do also seek earnestly, not for ourselves alone, but on behalf of others, the pardon of sin: but this we cannot obtain, except for those who have been turned by correction from the practice of sin. You add, moreover: " I beseech you with all possible urgency to secure that if the matter is to be made the subject of a prosecution, the guiltless be protected, and a distinction drawn between the innocent and those who did the wrong."

8. Listen to a brief account of what was done, and let the distinction between innocent and guilty be drawn by yourself.

In defiance of the most recent laws, 2 certain impious rites were celebrated on the Pagan feast-day, the calends of June, no one interfering to forbid them, and with such unbounded effrontery that a most insolent multitude passed along the street in which the church is situated, and went on dancing in front of the building, â€” an outrage which was never committed even in the time of Julian. When the clergy endeavoured to stop this most illegal and insulting procedure, the church was assailed with stones. About eight days after that, when the bishop had called the attention of the authorities to the well-known laws on the subject, and they were preparing to carry out that which the law prescribed, the church was a second time assailed with stones. When, on the following day, our people wished to make such complaint as they deemed necessary in open court, in order to make these villains afraid, their rights as citizens were denied them. On the same day there was a storm of hailstones, that they might be made afraid, if not by men, at

1 Letter XC. p. 382.
2 The law of Honorius, passed on Nov. 24, 407, forbidding the celebration of public heathen solemnities and festivals (quidquam solemnitatis agitare).

388 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCI.

least by the divine power, thus requiting them for their showers of stones against the church; but as soon as this was over they renewed the attack for the third time with stones, and at last endeavoured to destroy both the buildings and the men in them by fire: one servant of God who lost his way and met them they killed on the spot, all the rest escaping or concealing themselves as they best could; while the bishop hid himself in some crevice into which he forced himself with difficulty, and in which he lay folded double while he heard the voices of the ruffians seeking him to kill him, and expressing their mortification that through his escaping them their principal design in this grievous outrage had been frustrated. These things went on from about the tenth hour until the night was far advanced. ISTo attempt at resistance or rescue was made by those whose authority might have had influence on the mob. The only one who interfered was a stranger, through whose exertions a number of the servants of God were delivered from the hands of those who were trying to kill them, and a great deal of property was recovered from the plunderers by force: whereby it was shown how easily these riotous proceedings might have been either prevented wholly or arrested, if the citizens, and especially the leading men, had forbidden them, either from the first or after they had begun.

9. Accordingly you cannot in that community draw a distinction between innocent and guilty persons, for all are guilty; but perhaps you may distinguish degrees of guilt. Those are in a comparatively small fault, who, being kept back by fear, especially by fear of offending those whom they knew to have leading influence in the community and to be hostile to the Church, did not dare to render assistance to the Christians; but all are guilty who consented to these outrages, though they neither perpetrated them nor instigated others to the crime: more guilty are those who perpetrated the wrong, and most guilty are those who instigated them to it. Let us, however, suppose that the instigation of others to these crimes is a matter of suspicion rather than of certain knowledge, and let us not investigate those things which can be found out in no other way than by subjecting witnesses to torture. Let us also forgive those who through fear thought

LET. xcl] to nectaries. 389

it better for them to plead secretly with God for the bishop and His other servants, than openly to displease the powerful enemies of the church. What reason can you give for holding that those who remain should be subjected to no correction and restraint? Do you really think that a case of such cruel rage should be held up to the world as passing
unpunished'? We do not desire to gratify our anger by vindictive retribution for the past, but we are concerned to make provision in a truly merciful spirit for the future. Now, wicked men have something in respect to which they may be punished, and that by Christians, in a merciful way, and so as to promote their own profit and well-being. For they have these three things: the life and health of the body, the means of supporting that life, and the means and opportunities of living a wicked life. Let the two former remain untouched in the possession of those who repent of their crime: this we desire, and this we spare no pains to secure. But as to the third, upon it God will, if it please Him, inflict punishment in His great compassion, dealing with it as a decaying or diseased part, which must be removed with the pruning-knife. If, however, He be pleased either to go beyond this, or not to permit the punishment to go so far, the reason for this higher and doubtless more righteous counsel remains with Him: our duty is to devote pains and use our influence according to the light which is granted to us, beseeching His approval of our endeavours to do that which shall be most for the good of all, and praying Him not to permit us to do anything which He who knoweth all things much better than we do sees to be inexpedient both for ourselves and for His Church.

10. When I went recently to Calama, that under so grievous sorrow I might either comfort the downcast or soothe the indignant among our people, I used all my influence with the Christians to persuade them to do what I judged to be their duty at that time. I then at their own request admitted to an audience the Pagans also, the source and cause of all this mischief, in order that I might admonish them what they should do if they were wise, not only for the removal of present anxiety, but also for the obtaining of everlasting salvation. They listened to many things which I said, and they preferred many requests to me; but far be it from me to be such a servant as to find pleasure in being petitioned by those who do not humble themselves before my Lord to ask from Him. With your quick intelligence, you will readily perceive that our aim must be, while preserving Christian gentleness and moderation, to act so that we may either make others afraid of imitating their perversity, or have cause to desire others to imitate their profiting by correction. As for the loss sustained, this is either borne by the Christians or remedied by the help of their brethren. What concerns us is the gaining of souls, which even at the risk of life we are impatient to secure; and our desire is, that in your district we may have larger success, and that in other districts we may not be hindered by the influence of your example. May God in His mercy grant to us to rejoice in your salvation!

390 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCII.

and they preferred many requests to me; but far be it from me to be such a servant as to find pleasure in being petitioned by those who do not humble themselves before my Lord to ask from Him. With your quick intelligence, you will readily perceive that our aim must be, while preserving Christian gentleness and moderation, to act so that we may either make others afraid of imitating their perversity, or have cause to desire others to imitate their profiting by correction. As for the loss sustained, this is either borne by the Christians or remedied by the help of their brethren. What concerns us is the gaining of souls, which even at the risk of life we are impatient to secure; and our desire is, that in your district we may have larger success, and that in other districts we may not be hindered by the influence of your example. May God in His mercy grant to us to rejoice in your salvation!

LETTIEE XCIL

(a.d. 408.)

TO THE NOBLE AND JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED LADY ITALICA, A
DAUGHTER WORTHY OF HONOUR IN THE LOVE OF CHRIST, BISHOP
AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I have learned, not only by your letter, but also by the statements of the person who
brought it to me, that you earnestly solicit a letter from me, believing that you may derive
from it very great consolation. What you may gain from my letter it is for yourself to
judge; I at least felt that I should neither refuse nor delay compliance with your request.
May your own faith and hope comfort you, and that love which is shed abroad in the
hearts of the pious by the Holy Ghost, 1 whereof we have now a portion as an earnest of
the whole, in order that we may learn to desire its consummate fulness. For you ought not
to consider yourself desolate while you have Christ dwelling in your heart by faith; nor
ought you to sorrow as those heathens who have no hope, seeing that in regard to those
friends, who are not lost, but only called earlier than ourselves to the

1 Rom. v. 5.

LET. XCII.] TO THE LADY ITALICA. 391

country whither we shall follow them, we have hope, resting on a most sure promise, that
from this life we shall pass into that other life, in which they shall be to us more beloved
as they shall be better known, and in which our pleasure in loving them shall not be
alloyed by any fear of separation.

2. Your late husband, by whose decease you are now a widow, was truly well known to
you, but better known to himself than to you. And how could this be, when you saw his
face, which he himself did not see, if it were not that the inner knowledge which we have
of ourselves is more certain, since no man "knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of
man which is in man " ?* but when the Lord cometh, " who both will bring to light the
hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts," 2 then shall
nothing in any one be concealed from his neighbour; nor shall there be anything which
any one might repeal to his friends, but keep hidden from strangers, for no stranger shall
be there. What tongue can describe the nature and the greatness of that light by which all
those things which are now in the hearts of men concealed shall be made manifest ? who
can with our weak faculties even approach it ? Truly that Light is God Himself, for "God
is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all;" 3 but He is the Light of purified minds, not of
these bodily eyes.
And the mind shall then be, what meanwhile it is not, able to see that light.

3. But this the bodily eye neither now is, nor shall then be, able to see. For everything
which can be seen by the bodily eye must be in some place, nor can be everywhere in its
totality, but with a smaller part of itself occupies a smaller space, and with a larger part a
larger space. It is not so with God, who is invisible and incorruptible, " who only hath
immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath
seen nor can see." 4 For He cannot be seen by men through the bodily organ by which
men see corporeal things. For if He were inaccessible to the minds also of the saints, it
would not be said, "They looked unto Him, and were lightened" [translated by Aug.,
"Draw near

1 1 Cor. ii. ii. 2 x Cor iv 5

3 1 John i. 5. 4 1 Tim. vi. 16.

392 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCII.

unto Him, and be enlightened"]; and if He was invisible to the minds of the saints, it
would not be said, "We shall see Him as He is:" for consider the whole context there in
that Epistle of John: "Beloved," he says, "now are we the sons of God; and it doth not
yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like
Him; for we shall see Him as He is.

2 We shall therefore see Him according to the
measure in which we shall be like Him; because now the measure in which we do not see
Him is according to the measure of our unlikeness to Him. We shall therefore see Him by
means of that in which we shall be like Him. But who would be so infatuated as to assert
that we either are or shall be in our bodies like unto God?
The likeness spoken of is therefore in the inner man, "which is renewed in knowledge
after the image of Him that created him." 3 And we shall become the more like unto Him,
the more we advance in knowledge of Him and in love; because
"though our outward man perish, our inward man is renewed day by day," 4 yet so as
that, however far one may have become advanced in this life, he is far short of that
perfection of likeness which is fitted for seeing God, as the apostle says,
"face to face." 5 If by these words we were to understand the bodily face, it would follow
that God has a face such as ours, and that between our face and His there must be a space
intervening when we shall see Him face to face. And if a space intervene, this
presupposes a limitation and a definite conformation of members and other things, absurd
to utter, and impious even to think of, by which most empty delusions the natural man,
which receives not the things of the Spirit of God," 6 is deceived.

4. For some of those who talk thus foolishly affirm, as I
am informed, that we see God now by our minds, but shall then see Him by our bodies;
yea, they even say that the wicked shall in the same manner see Him. Observe how far
they have gone from bad to worse, when, unpunished for their foolish speaking, they talk
at random, unrestrained by either fear or shame. They used to say at first, that Christ
derowed

1 Ps. xxxiv. 5. 2 1 John iii. 2. 3 Col. iii. 10.

* 2 Cor. iv. 6. 5 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 6 1 Cor. ii. 14.
only His own flesh with this faculty of seeing God with the bodily eye: then they added to this, that all the saints shall see God in the same way when they have received their bodies again in the resurrection; and now they have granted that the same thing is possible to the wicked also. Well, let them grant what gifts they please, and to whom they please:

for who may say anything against men giving away that which is their own? for he that speaketh a lie, speaketh of his own. *

Be it yours, however, in common with all who hold sound doctrine, not to presume to take in this way from your own any of these errors; but when you read, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," 2 learn from it that the impious shall not see Him: for the impious are neither blessed nor pure in heart. Moreover, when you read, "Now we see through a glass darkly, 3 but then face to face," 4 learn from this that we shall then see Him face to face by the same means by which we now see Him through a glass darkly. In both cases alike, the vision of God belongs to the inner man, whether when we walk in this pilgrimage still by faith, in which it uses the glass and the alvcy/JLs, or when, in the country which is our home, we shall perceive by sight, which vision the words "face to face" denote.

5. Let the flesh raving with carnal imaginations hear these words: "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." 5 If this be the manner of worshipping Him, how much more of seeing Him! For who durst affirm that the Divine essence is seen in a corporal manner, when He has not permitted it to be worshipped in a corporal manner? They think, however, that they are very acute in saying and in pressing as a question for us to answer:

Was Christ able to endow His flesh so as that He could with His eyes see the Father, or was He not? If we reply that He was not, they publish abroad that we have denied the omnipotence of God; if, on the other hand, we grant that He was able, they affirm that their argument is established by our reply. How much more excusable is the folly of those who maintain that the flesh shall be changed into the Divine substance, and shall be what God Himself is, in order that thus

1 John viii. 44. 2 Mcitt. v. 8. 3 h ttmyp.tt.ru
4 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 6 John iv. 24.

they may endow with fitness for seeing God that which is meanwhile removed by so great diversity of nature from likeness to Him! Yet I believe they reject from their creed, perhaps also refuse to hear, this error. Nevertheless, if they were in like manner pressed with the question above quoted, as to whether God can or cannot do this [viz. change our flesh into the Divine substance], which alternative will they choose? Will they limit His
power by answering that He cannot; or if they concede that He can, will they by this concession grant that it shall be done? Let them get out of the dilemma which they have proposed to others as above, in the same way by which they get out of this dilemma proposed to others by them. Moreover, why do they contend that this gift is to be attributed only to the eyes, and not to all the other senses of Christ? Shall God then be a sound, that He may be perceived by the ear? and an exhalation, that He may be discerned by the sense of smell? and a liquid of some kind, that He may be also imbibed? and a solid body, that He may be also touched? No, they say. What then? we reply; can God be this, or can He not? If they say He cannot, why do they derogate from the omnipotence of God? If they say He can, but is not willing, why do they show favour to the eyes alone, and grudge the same honour to the other senses of Christ? Do they carry their folly just as far as they please? How much better is our course, who do not prescribe limits to their folly, but would fain prevent them from entering into it at all!

6. Many things may be brought forward for the confutation of that madness. Meanwhile, however, if at any time they assail your ears, read this letter to the supporters of such error, and do not count it too great a labour to write back to me as well as you can what they say in reply. Let me add that our hearts are purified by faith, because the vision of God is promised to us as the reward of faith. Now, if this vision of God were to be through the bodily eyes, in vain are the souls of saints exercised for receiving it; nay, rather, a soul which cherishes such sentiments is not exercised in itself, but is wholly in the flesh. For where will it dwell more resolutely and fixedly than in that by means of which it ex-

LET. XCIII.| TO VINCENTIUS. 395

pects that it shall see God? How great an evil this would be I rather leave to your own intelligence to observe, than labour to prove by a long argument.

May your heart dwell always under the Lord's keeping, noble and justly distinguished lady, and daughter worthy of honour in the love of Christ! Salute from me, with the respect due to your worth, your sons, who are along with yourself honourable, and to me dearly beloved in the Lord.

LETTTE XCIII.

(a.d. 408.)
to vincentiuis, my brother dearly beloved, augustine

SENDS GREETING.

Chap. I. 1. I have received a letter which I believe to be from you to me: at least I have not thought this incredible, for the person who brought it is one whom I know to be a
Catholic Christian, and who, I think, would not dare to impose upon me. But even though
the letter may perchance not be from you, I have considered it necessary to write a reply
to the author, whoever he may be. You know me now to be more desirous of rest, and
earnest in seeking it, than when you knew me in my earlier years at Carthage, in the
lifetime of your immediate predecessor Eogatus. But we are precluded from this rest by
the Donatists, the repression and correction of whom, by the powers which are ordained
of God, appears to me to be labour not in vain. For we already rejoice in the correction of
many who hold and defend the Catholic unity with such sincerity, and are so glad to have
been delivered from their former error, that we admire them with great thankfulness and
pleasure. Yet these same persons, under some indescribable bondage of custom, would in
no way have thought of being changed to a better condition, had they not, under the
shock of this alarm, directed their minds earnestly to the study of the truth; fearing lest, if
without profit, and in vain, they suffered hard things at the hands of men, for the sake not
of righteousness, but of their own obstinacy and presumption, they should afterwards re-

396 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIIL

ceive nothing else at the hand of God than the punishment due to wicked men who
despised the admonition which He so gently gave and His paternal correction; and being
by such reflection made teachable, they found not in mischievous or frivolous human
fables, but in the promises of the divine books, that universal Church which they saw
extending according to the promise throughout all nations: just as, on the testimony of
prophecy in the same Scriptures, they believed without hesitation that Christ is exalted
above the heavens, though He is not seen by them in His glory. Was it my duty to be
displeased at the salvation of these men, and to call back my colleagues from a fatherly
diligence of this kind, the result of which has been, that we see many blaming their
former blindness? For they see that they were blind who believed Christ to have been
exalted above the heavens although they saw Him not, and yet denied that His glory is
spread over all the earth although they saw it; whereas the prophet has with so great
plainness included both in one sentence, * Be Thou exalted, God, above the heavens, and
Thy glory above all the earth." 1

2. Wherefore, if we were so to overlook and forbear with those cruel enemies who
seriously disturb our peace and quietness by manifold and grievous forms of violence and
treachery, as that nothing at all should be contrived and done by us with a view to alarm
and correct them, truly we would be rendering evil for evil. For if any one saw his enemy
running headlong to destroy himself when he had become delirious through a dangerous
fever, would he not in that case be much more truly rendering evil for evil if he permittted
him to run on thus, than if he took measures to have him seized and bound? 
And yet he would at that moment appear to the other to be most vexatious, and most like
an enemy, when, in truth, he had proved himself most useful and most compassionate;
although, doubtless, when health was recovered, he would express to him his gratitude
with a warmth proportioned to the measure in which he had felt his refusal to indulge him
in his time of phrenzy. Oh, if I could but show you how many we have even from the
Circumcelliones, who are now approved Catholics, and condemn their former life, and the wretched delusion under

1 Ps. cviii. 5.

LET. XCIII.] TO VINCENTIUS. 397

which they believed that they were doing in behalf of the Church of God whatever they did under the promptings of a restless temerity, who nevertheless would not have been brought to this soundness of judgment had they not been, as persons beside themselves, bound with the cords of those laws which are distasteful to you! As to another form of most serious distemper, â€” that, namely, of those who had not, indeed, a boldness leading to acts of violence, but were pressed down by a kind of inveterate sluggishness of mind, and would say to us:

"What you affirm is true, nothing can be said against it; but it is hard for us to leave off what we have received by tradition from our fathers," â€” why should not such persons be shaken up in a beneficial way by a law bringing upon them inconvenience in worldly things, in order that they might rise from their lethargic sleep, and awake to the salvation which is to be found in the unity of the Church? How many of them, now rejoicing with us, speak bitterly of the weight with which their ruinous course formerly oppressed them, and confess that it was our duty to inflict annoyance upon them, in order to prevent them from perishing under the disease of lethargic habit, as under a fatal sleep!

3. You will say that to some these remedies are of no service. Is the art of healing, therefore, to be abandoned, because the malady of some is incurable? You look only to the case of those who are so obdurate that they refuse even such correction. Of such it is written, "In vain have I smitten your children: they received no correction:" â€” and yet I suppose that those of whom the prophet speaks were smitten in love, not from hatred. But you ought to consider also the very large number over whose salvation we rejoice. For if they were only made afraid, and not instructed, this might appear to be a kind of inexcusable tyranny. Again, if they were instructed only, and not made afraid, they would be with more difficulty persuaded to embrace the way of salvation, having become hardened through the inveteracy of custom: whereas many whom we know well, when arguments had been brought before them, and the truth made apparent by testimonies from the word of God, answered us that they desired

1 Jer. ii. 30.

398 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.
to pass into the communion of the Catholic Church, but were in fear of the violence of
worthless men, whose enmity they would incur; which violence they ought indeed by all
means to despise when it was to be borne for righteousness' sake, and for the sake of
eternal life. Nevertheless the weakness of such men ought not to be regarded as hopeless,
but to be supported until they gain more strength. Nor may we forget what the Lord
Himself said to Peter when he was yet weak: "Thou canst not follow Me now, but thou
shalt follow Me afterwards." 1 When, however, wholesome instruction is added to means
of inspiring salutary fear, so that not only the light of truth may dispel the darkness of
error, but the force of fear may at the same time break the bonds of evil custom, we are
made glad, as I have said, by the salvation of many, who with us bless God, and render
thanks to Him, because by the fulfilment of His covenant, in which He promised that the
kings of the earth should serve Christ, He has thus cured the diseased and restored health
to the weak.

Chap. ii. 4. Not every one who is indulgent is a friend; nor is every one an enemy who
smites. Better are the wounds of a friend than the proffered kisses of an enemy. 2 It is
better with severity to love, than with gentleness to deceive.
More good is done by taking away food from one who is hungry, if, through freedom
from care as to his food, he is forgetful of righteousness, than by providing bread for one
who is hungry, in order that, being thereby bribed, he may consent to unrighteousness. He
who binds the man who is in a phrenzy, and he who stirs up the man who is in a lethargy,
are alike vexatious to both, and are in both cases alike prompted by love for the patient.
Who can love us more than God does? And yet He not only gives us sweet instruction,
but also quickens us by salutary fear, and this unceasingly. Often adding to the soothing
remedies by which He comforts men the sharp medicine of tribulation, He afflicts with
famine even the pious and devout patriarchs, 3 disquiets a rebellious people by more
severe chastisements, and refuses, though thrice besought, to take away the thorn in the
flesh of the apostle, that He may make His strength perfect in weak-

1 John xiii. 36. 2 Pro v. xxvii. 6. 3 Gen. xii., xxvi., xlii., andxliii.

LET. XCIII.] TO VINCENTIUS. 399

ness. 1 Let us by- all means love even our enemies, for this is right, and God commands
us so to do, in order that we may be the children of our Father who is in heaven, " who
maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the
unjust." 2 But as we praise these His gifts, let us in like manner ponder His correction of
those whom He loves.

5. You are of opinion that no one should be compelled to follow righteousness; and yet
you read that the householder said to his servants, "Whosoever ye shall find, compel
them to come in." 3 You also read how he who was at first Saul, and afterwards Paul, was
compelled, by the great violence with which Christ coerced him, to know and to embrace
the truth; for you cannot but think that the light which our eyes enjoy is more precious to men than money or any other possession.

This light, lost suddenly by him when he was cast to the ground by the heavenly voice, he did not recover until he became a member of the Holy Church. You are also of opinion that no coercion is to be used with any man in order to his deliverance from the fatal consequences of error; and yet you see that, in examples which cannot be disputed, this is done by God, who loves us with more real regard for our profit than any other can; and you hear Christ saying, "No man can come to me except the Father draw him," 4 which is done in the hearts of all those who, through fear of the wrath of God, betake themselves to Him. You know also that sometimes the thief scatters food before the flock that he may lead them astray, and sometimes the shepherd brings wandering sheep back to the flock with his rod.

6. Did not Sarah, when she had the power, choose rather to afflict the insolent bondwoman? And truly she did not cruelly hate her whom she had formerly by an act of her own kindness made a mother; but she put a wholesome restraint upon her pride. 5 Moreover, as you well know, these two women, Sarah and Hagar, and their two sons Isaac and Ishmael, are figures representing spiritual and carnal persons.

And although we read that the bondwoman and her son

1 2 Cor. xii. 7-9. 2 Matt. v. 45. 3 Luke xiv. 23.

4 John vi. 44. 5 Gen. xvi. 5.

400 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

suffered great hardships from Sarah, nevertheless the Apostle Paul says that Isaac suffered persecution from Ishmael:

"But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now;" 1 whence those who have understanding may perceive that it is rather the Catholic Church which suffers persecution through the pride and impiety of those carnal men whom it endeavours to correct by afflictions and terrors of a temporal kind. Whatever therefore the true and rightful Mother does, even when something severe and bitter is felt by her children at her hands, she is not rendering evil for evil, but is applying the benefit of discipline to counteract the evil of sin, not with the hatred which seeks to harm, but with the love which seeks to heal. When good and bad do the same actions and suffer the same afflictions, they are to be distinguished not by what they do or suffer, but by the causes of each: e.g.

Pharaoh oppressed the people of God by hard bondage: Moses afflicted the same people by severe correction when they were guilty of impiety: 2 their actions were alike; but they were not alike in the motive of regard to the people's welfare, â€“ the one being inflated by the lust of power, the other inflamed by love. Jezebel slew prophets, Elijah slew false prophets; 3 I
suppose that the desert of the actors and of the sufferers respectively in the two cases was wholly diverse.

7. Look also to the New Testament times, in which the essential gentleness of love was to be not only kept in the heart, but also manifested openly: in these the sword of Peter is called back into its sheath by Christ, and we are taught that it ought not to be taken from its sheath even in Christ's defence. 4 We read, however, not only that the Jews beat the Apostle Paul, but also that the Greeks beat Sosthenes, a Jew, on account of the Apostle Paul. 5 Does not the similarity of the events apparently join both; and, at the same time, does not the dissimilarity of the causes make a real difference? Again, God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up 6 for us all. 7 Of the Son also it is said, " who loved me, and gave Himself * for me;" 2 and it is also said of Judas that Satan entered into him that he might betray 3 Christ. 4

Seeing, therefore, that the Father delivered up His Son, and Christ delivered up His own body, and Judas delivered up his Master, wherefore is God holy and man guilty in this delivering up of Christ, unless that in the one action which both did, the reason for which they did it was not the same? Three crosses stood in one place: on one was the thief who was to be saved; on the second, the thief who was to be condemned; on the third, between them, was Christ, who was about to save the one thief and condemn the other. What could be more similar than these crosses? what more unlike than the persons who were suspended on them? Paul was given up to be imprisoned and bound, 5 but Satan is unquestionably worse than any gaoler: yet to him Paul himself gave up one man for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. 6 And what say we to this? Behold, both deliver a man to bondage; but he that is cruel consigns his prisoner to one less severe, while he that is compassionate consigns his to one who is more cruel. Let us learn, my brother, in actions which are similar to distinguish the intentions of the agents; and let us not, shutting our eyes, deal in groundless reproaches, and accuse those who seek men's welfare as if they did them wrong. In like manner, when the same apostle says that he had delivered certain persons unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme, 7 did he render to these men evil for evil, or did he not rather esteem it a good work to correct evil men by means of the evil one?
8. If to suffer persecution were in all cases a praiseworthy thing, it would have sufficed for the Lord to say, "Blessed are they which are persecuted," without adding "for righteousness' sake." Moreover, if to inflict persecution were in all cases blameworthy, it would not have been written in the sacred books, "Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I persecute [cut off, E. V.]." In some cases, therefore, both he that suffers persecution is in the wrong, and he that inflicts.

1 vrupadovros. 2 Gal. ii. 20. 3 Txpccbto.

4 John xiii. 2. 5 Acts xxi. 23, 24. 6 1 Cor. v. 5.

^ 1 Tim. i. 20. 8 Matt. v. 10. 9 Ps. ci. 5.

VOL. I. 2 C

it is in the right. But the truth is, that always both the bad have persecuted the good, and the good have persecuted the bad: the former doing harm by their unrighteousness, the latter seeking to do good by the administration of discipline; the former with cruelty, the latter with moderation; the former impelled by lust, the latter under the constraint of love. For he whose aim is to kill is not careful how he wounds, but he whose aim is to cure is cautious with his lancet; for the one seeks to destroy what is sound, the other that which is decaying. The wicked put prophets to death; prophets also put the wicked to death. The Jews scourged Christ; Christ also scourged the Jews. The apostles were given up by men to the civil powers; the apostles themselves gave men up to the power of Satan. In all these cases, what is important to attend to but this: who were on the side of truth, and who on the side of iniquity; who acted from a desire to injure, and who from a desire to correct what was amiss?

Chap. hi. 9. You say that no example is found in the writings of evangelists and apostles, of any petition presented on behalf of the Church to the kings of the earth against her enemies. Who denies this? None such is found. But at that time the prophecy, "Be wise now, therefore, ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth: serve the Lord with fear," was not yet fulfilled. Up to that time the words which we find at the beginning of the same Psalm were receiving their fulfilment, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against His Anointed." * Truly, if past events recorded in the prophetic books were figures of the future, there was given under King Nebuchadnezzar a figure both of the time which the Church had under the apostles, and of that which she has now. In the age of the apostles and martyrs, that was fulfilled which was prefigured when the aforesaid king compelled pious and just men to bow down to his
image, and cast into the flames all who refused. Now, however, is fulfilled that which
was prefigured soon after in the same king, when, being converted to the worship of the
true God, he made a decree throughout

1 Ps. ii. 10, 11, 1, 2.

LET. XCIIL] to vincentius. 403

his empire, that whosoever should speak against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and
Abednego, should suffer the penalty which their crime deserved. The earlier time of that
king represented the former age of emperors who did not believe in Christ, at whose
hands the Christians suffered because of the wicked; but the later time of that king
represented the age of the successors to the imperial throne, now believing in Christ, at
whose hands the wicked suffer because of the Christians.

10. It is manifest, however, that moderate severity, or rather clemency, is careiully
observed towards those who, under the Christian name, have been led astray by perverse
men, in the measures used to prevent them who are Christ's sheep from wandering, and to
bring them back to the flock, when by punishments, such as exile and fines, they are
admonished to consider what they suffer, and wherefore, and are taught to prefer the
Scriptures which they read to human legends and calumnies. For which of us, yea, which
of you, does not speak well of the laws issued by the emperors against heathen sacrifices
? In these, assuredly, a penalty much more severe has been appointed, for the punishment
of that impiety is death. But in repressing and restraining you, the thing aimed at has been
rather that you should be admonished to depart from evil, than that you should be
punished for a crime. For perhaps what the apostle said of the Jews may be said of you:

I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowl

1 Rom. x. 2, 3.

404 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIIL.
exactly like them, excepting only those among you who know what is the truth, and who in the wilfulness of their perversity continue to fight against truth which is perfectly well known to them. The impiety of these men is perhaps even a greater sin than idolatry. Since, however, they cannot be easily convicted of this (for it is a sin which lies concealed in the mind), you are all alike restrained with a comparatively gentle severity, as being not so far alienated from us. And this I may say, both concerning all heretics without distinction, who, while retaining the Christian sacraments, are dissenters from the truth and unity of Christ, and concerning all Donatists without exception.

11. But as for you, who are not only, in common with these last, styled Donatists, from Donatus, but also specially named Eogatists, from Eogatus, you indeed seem to be more gentle in disposition, because you do not rage up and down with bands of these savage Circumcelliones; but no wild beast is said to be gentle if, because of its not having teeth and claws, it wounds no one. You say that you have no wish to be cruel: I think that power, not will, is wanting to you. For you are in number so few, that even if you desire it, you dare not move against the multitudes which are opposed to you. Let us suppose, however, that you do not wish to do that which you have not strength to do; let us suppose that the gospel rule, "If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," is so understood and obeyed by you that resistance to those who persecute you is unlawful, whether they have right or wrong on their side. Eogatus, the founder of your sect, either did not hold this view, or was guilty of inconsistency; for he fought with the keenest determination in a lawsuit about certain things which, according to your statement, belonged to you. If to him it had been said, Which of the apostles ever defended his property in a matter concerning faith by appeal to the civil courts ? as you have put the question in your letter, "Which of the apostles ever invaded the property of other men in a matter concerning faith?" he could not find any example of this in the Divine writings; but he might per-

1 Matt. v. 40.

LET. XCIIL] to vincentius. 405

haps have found some true defence if he had not separated himself from the true Church, and then audaciously claimed to hold in the name of the true Church the disputed possession.

Chap. iv. 12. As to the obtaining or putting in force of edicts of the powers of this world against schismatics and heretics, those from whom you separated yourselves were very active in this matter, both against you, so far as we have heard, and against the followers of Maximianus, as we prove by the indisputable evidence of their own records; but you had not yet separated yourselves from them at the time when in their petition they said to the Emperor Julian that "nothing but righteousness found a place with him," a man whom all the while they knew to be an apostate, and whom they saw to be so given over to idolatry, that they must either admit idolatry to be righteousness, or be unable to deny
that they had wickedly lied when they said that nothing but righteousness had a place with him with whom they saw that idolatry had so large a place. Grant, however, that that was a mistake in the use of words, what say you as to the deed itself? If not even that which is just is to be sought by appeal to an emperor, why was that which was by you supposed to be just sought from Julian?

13. Do you reply that it is lawful to petition the Emperor in order to recover what is one's own, but not lawful to accuse another in order that he may be coerced by the Emperor? I may remark, in passing, that in even petitioning for the recovery of what is one's own, the ground covered by apostolic example is abandoned, because no apostle is found to have ever done this. But apart from this, when your predecessors brought before the Emperor Constantine, by means of the proconsul Anulinus, their accusations against Csecilianus, who was then bishop of Carthage, with whom as a guilty person they refused to have communion, they were not endeavouring to recover something of their own which they had lost, but were by calumnies assailing one who was, as we think, and as the issue of the judicial proceedings showed, an innocent man; and what more heinous crime could have been perpetrated by them than this? If, however, as you erroneously suppose, they did in his case deliver up to the judgment of the civil powers a man who was indeed guilty, why do you object to our doing that which your own party first presumed to do, and for doing which we would not find fault with them, if they had done it not with an envious desire to do harm, but with the intention of reproving and correcting what was wrong. But we have no hesitation in finding fault with you, who think that we are criminal in bringing any complaint before a Christian emperor against the enemies of our communion, seeing that a document given by your predecessors to Anulinus the proconsul, to be forwarded by him to the Emperor Constantine, bore this superscription: "Libellus Ecclesiae Catholicae, criminum Cseciliani, traditus a parte Majorini." 1 We find fault, moreover, with them more particularly, because when they had of their own accord gone to the Emperor with accusations against Csecilianus, which they ought by all means to have in the first place proved before those who were his colleagues beyond the sea, and when the Emperor, acting in a much more orderly way than they had done, referred to bishops the decision of this case pertaining to bishops which had been brought before him, they, even when defeated by a decision against them, would not come to peace with their brethren. Instead of this, they next accused at the bar of the temporal sovereign, not Caeccilianus only, but also the bishops who had been appointed judges; and finally, from a second episcopal tribunal they appealed to the Emperor again. Nor did they consider it their duty to yield either to truth or to peace when he himself inquired into the case and gave his decision.
14. Now what else could Constantine have decreed against Caecilianus and his friends, if they had been defeated when your predecessors accused them, than the things decreed against the very men who, having of their own accord brought the accusations, and having failed to prove what they alleged, refused even when defeated to acquiesce in the truth? The Emperor, as you know, in that case decreed for the first time that the property of those who were convicted of schism and obstinately resisted the unity of the Church should be confiscated. If, however, the issue had been that your predecessors who brought the accusations had gained their case, and the Emperor had made some such decree against the communion to which Caecilianus belonged, you would have wished the emperors to be called the friends of the Church's interests, and the guardians of her peace and unity. But when such things are decreed by emperors against the parties who, having of their own accord brought forward accusations, were unable to substantiate them, and who, when a welcome back to the bosom of peace was offered to them on condition of their amendment, refused the terms, an outcry is raised that this is an unworthy wrong, and it is maintained that no one ought to be coerced to unity, and that evil should not be requited for evil to any one. What else is this than what one of yourselves wrote: "What we wish is holy"? x And in view of these things, it was not a great or difficult thing for you to reflect and discover how the decree and sentence of Constantine, which was published against you on the occasion of your predecessors so frequently bringing before the Emperor charges which they could not make good, should be in force against you; and how all succeeding emperors, especially those who are Catholic Christians, necessarily act according to it as often as the exigencies of your obstinacy make it necessary for them to take any measures in regard to you.

15. It was an easy thing for you to have reflected on these things, and perhaps some time to have said to yourselves: Seeing that Caecilianus either was innocent, or at least could not be proved guilty, what sin has the Christian Church spread so far and wide through the world committed in this matter? On what ground could it be unlawful for the Christian world to remain ignorant of that which even those who made it matter of accusation against others could not prove? Why should those whom Christ has sown in His field, that is, in this world, and has commanded to grow alongside of the tares until the harvest, 2 â€” those many thousands of believers in all nations, whose multitude the Lord compared to the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea, to whom He promised of old, and has now given, the blessing in the seed of Abraham, â€”

1 Quod volumus sanctum est. â€” Tychonius.
why, I ask, should the name of Christians be denied to all these, because, forsooth, in regard to this case, in the discussion of which they took no part, they preferred to believe the judges, who under grave responsibility gave their decision, rather than the plaintiffs, against whom the decision was given? Surely no man's crime can stain with guilt another who does not know of its commission. How could the faithful, scattered throughout the world, be cognisant of the crime of surrendering the sacred books as committed by men, whose guilt their accusers, even if they knew it, were at least unable to prove? Unquestionably this one fact of ignorance on their part most easily demonstrates that they had no share in the guilt of this crime. Why then should the innocent be charged with crimes which they never committed, because of their being ignorant of crimes which, justly or unjustly, are laid to the charge of others? What room is left for innocence, if it is criminal for one to be ignorant of the crimes of others? Moreover, if the mere fact of their ignorance proves, as has been said, the innocence of the people in so many nations, how great is the crime of separation from the communion of these innocent people! For the deeds of guilty parties which either cannot be proved to those who are innocent, or cannot be believed by them, bring no stain upon any one, since, even when known, they are borne with in order to preserve fellowship with those who are innocent. For the good are not to be deserted for the sake of the wicked, but the wicked are to be borne with for the sake of the good; as the prophets bore with those against whom they delivered such testimonies, and did not cease to take part in the sacraments of the Jewish people; as also our Lord bore with guilty Judas, even until he met the end which he deserved, and permitted him to take part in the sacred supper along with the innocent disciples; as the apostles bore with those who preached Christ through envy, a sin peculiarly satanic; 1 as Cyprian bore with colleagues guilty of avarice, which, after the example of the apostle, 2 he calls idolatry. In fine, whatever was done at that time among these bishops, although perhaps it was known by some of them, is, unless there be respect of persons in judgment, un-

1 Phil. i. 15, 18. 2 Col. iii. 5.
Chap. v. 16. You now see therefore, I suppose, that the thing to be considered when any one is coerced, is not the mere fact of the coercion, but the nature of that to which he is coerced, whether it be good or bad: not that any one can be good in spite of his own will, but that, through fear of suffering what he does not desire, he either renounces his hostile prejudices, or is compelled to examine truth of which he had been contentedly ignorant; and under the influence of this fear repudiates the error which he was wont to defend, or seeks the truth of which he formerly knew nothing, and now willingly holds what he formerly rejected. Perhaps it would be utterly useless to assert this in words, if it were not demonstrated by so many examples. We see not a few men here and there, but many cities, once Donatist, now Catholic, vehemently detesting the diabolical schism, and ardently loving the unity of the Church; and these became Catholic under the influence of that fear which is to you so offensive by the laws of emperors, from Constantine, before whom your party of their own accord impeached Cæcilianus, down to the emperors of our own time, who most justly decree that the decision of the judge whom your own party chose, and whom they preferred to a tribunal of bishops, should be maintained in force against you.

17. I have therefore yielded to the evidence afforded by these instances which my colleagues have laid before me. For originally my opinion was, that no one should be coerced into the unity of Christ, that we must act only by words, fight only by arguments, and prevail by force of reason, lest we should have those whom we knew as avowed heretics feigning themselves to be Catholics. But this opinion of mine was overcome not by the words of those who controverted it, but by the conclusive instances to which they could point. For,

in the first place, there was set over against my opinion my own town, which, although it was once wholly on the side of Donatus, was brought over to the Catholic unity by fear of the imperial edicts, but which we now see filled with such detestation of your ruinous perversity, that it would scarcely be believed that it had ever been involved in your error. There were so many others which were mentioned to me by name, that, from facts themselves, I was made to own that to this matter the word of Scripture might be understood as applying: “Give opportunity to a wise man, and he will be yet wiser.” 1 For how many were already, as we assuredly know, willing to be Catholics, being moved by the indisputable plainness of truth, but daily putting off their avowal of this through fear of offending their own party! How many were bound, not by truth — for you never pretended to that as yours — but by the heavy chains of inveterate custom, so that in them was fulfilled the divine saying: “A servant (who is hardened) will not be corrected by words; for though he understand, he will not answer.” 2 How many supposed the sect of Donatus to be the true Church, merely because ease had made them too listless, or conceited, or sluggish, to take pains to examine Catholic truth! How many would have entered earlier had not the calumnies of slanderers, who declared that we offered something else than what we do upon the altar of God, shut them out! How many, believing
that it mattered not to which party a Christian might belong, remained in the schism of Donatus only because they had been born in it, and no one was compelling them to forsake it and pass over into the Catholic Church!

18. To all these classes of persons the dread of those laws in the promulgation of which kings serve the Lord in fear has been so useful, that now some say we were willing for this some time ago; but thanks be to God, who has given us occasion for doing it at once, and has cut off the hesitancy of procrastination! Others say: We already knew this to be true, but we were held prisoners by the force of old custom: thanks be to the Lord, who has broken these bonds asunder, and has brought us into the bond of peace! Others say: We knew

1 Prov. ix. 9. 2 Prov. xxix. 19.

LET. XCIII.] TO VINCENTIUS. 411

not that the truth was here, and we had no wish to learn it; but fear made us become earnest to examine it when we became alarmed, lest, without any gain in things eternal, we should be smitten with loss in temporal things: thanks be to the Lord, who has by the stimulus of fear startled us from our negligence, that now being disquieted we might inquire into those things which, when at ease, we did not care to know! Others say: We were prevented from entering the Church by false reports, which we could not know to be false unless we entered it; and we would not enter unless we were compelled: thanks be to the Lord, who by His scourge took away our timid hesitation, and taught us to find out for ourselves how vain and absurd were the lies which rumour had spread abroad against His Church: by this we are persuaded that there is no truth in the accusations made by the authors of this heresy, since the more serious charges which their followers have invented are without foundation.

Others say: We thought, indeed, that it mattered not in what communion we held the faith of Christ; but thanks to the Lord, who has gathered us in from a state of schism, and has taught us that it is fitting that the one God be worshipped in unity.

19. Could I therefore maintain opposition to my colleagues, and by resisting them stand in the way of such conquests of the Lord, and prevent the sheep of Christ which were wandering on your mountains and hills â€” "that is, on the swellings of your pride" from being gathered into the fold of peace, in which there is one flock and one Shepherd? Was it my duty to obstruct these measures, in order, forsooth, that you might not lose what you call your own, and might without fear rob Christ of what is His: that you might frame your testaments according to Roman law, and might by calumnious accusations break the Testament made with the sanction of Divine law to the fathers, in which it was written, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed": that you might have freedom in your transactions in the way of buying and selling, and might be emboldened to divide and claim as your own that which Christ bought by giving Himself as its
price: that any gift made over by one of you to another might remain unchallenged, and that the gift which the God of gods has bestowed upon His children, called from the rising of the sun to the joiner down thereof, might become invalid:

that you might not be sent into exile from the land of your natural birth, and that you might labour to banish Christ from the kingdom bought with His blood, which extends from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth? 2 Nay verily: let the kings of the earth serve Christ by making laws for Him and for His cause. Your predecessors exposed CaBcilianus and his companions to be punished by the kings of the earth for crimes with which they were falsely charged:

let the lions now be turned to break in pieces the bones of the calumniators, and let no intercession for them be made by Daniel when he has been proved innocent, and set free from the den in which they meet their doom; 3 for he that prepareth a pit for his neighbour shall himself most justly fall into it. 4

Chap. vl 20. Save yourself therefore, my brother, while you have this present life, from the wrath which is to come on the obstinate and the proud. The formidable power of the authorities of this world, when it assails the truth, gives glorious opportunity of probation to the strong, but puts dangerous temptation before the weak who are righteous; but when it assists the proclamation of the truth, it is the means of profitable admonition to the wise, and of unprofitable vexation to the foolish among those who have gone astray. "For there is no power but of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same." 5 For if the power be on the side of the truth, and correct any one who was in error, he that is put right by the correction has praise from the power.

If, on the other hand, the power be unfriendly to the truth, and cruelly persecute any one, he who is crowned victor in this contest receives praise from the power which he resists.

i Ps. 1. 1. 2 Ps. lxxii. 8. 3 Dan. vi. 23, 24.

4 Prov. xxvi. 27. 5 Rom. xiii. 1-3.

LET. xciil] to vincentius. 413

But you do not that which is good, so as to avoid being afraid of the power; unless perchance this is good, to sit and speak against not one brother, 1 but against all your brethren that are found among all nations, to whom the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles bear witness in the words of Scripture, " In thy seed shall all the nations of the
earth be blessed;" 2 and again, "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, a pure offering shall be offered unto My name; for My name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord." 8 Mark this: " saith the Lord;" not saith Donatus, or Bogatus, or Vincentius, or Ambrose, or Augustine, but " saith the Lord;" and again, " All tribes of the earth shall be blessed in Him, and all nations shall call Him blessed. Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be His glorious name for ever, and the whole earth shall be filled with His glory: so let it be, so let it be." 4 And you sit at Cartennae, and with a remnant of half a score of Bogatists you say, " Let it not be ! Let it not be!"

21. You hear Christ speaking thus in the Gospel: "All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning Me. Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." 5 You read also in the Acts of the Apostles how this gospel began at Jerusalem, where the Holy Spirit first filled those hundred and twenty persons, and went forth thence into Judaea and Samaria, and to all nations, as He had said unto them when He was about to ascend into heaven, "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth;" G for " their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." 7 And you contra-

1 Ps. 1. 20. 2 Gen. xxvi. 4. 3 Mai. i. 11.
4 Ps. lxxii. 17-19. 5 Luke xxiv. 44-47. 6 Acts i. 15, 8, and ii.
1 Ps. xix. 4; Kom. x. 18.

414 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCTII.

diet the Divine testimonies so firmly established and so clearly revealed, and attempt to bring about such an absolute confiscation of Christ's heritage, that although repentance is preached, as He said, in His name to all nations, whosoever may be in any part of the earth moved by that preaching, there is for him no possibility of remission of sins, unless he seek and discover Vincentius of Cartennae, or some one of his nine or ten associates, in their obscurity in the imperial colony of Mauritania. What will the arrogance of insignificant mortals 1 not dare to do ? To what extremities will the presumption of flesh and blood not hurry men ? Is this your well-doing, on account of which you are not afraid of the power ? You place this grievous stumbling-block in the way of your own mother's son, 2 for whom Christ died, 3 and who is yet in feeble infancy, not ready to use strong meat, but requiring to be nursed on a mother's milk; 4 and you quote against me the works of Hilary, in order that you may deny the fact of the Church's increase among all nations, even unto the end.
of the world, according to the promise which God, in order to subdue your unbelief, confirmed with an oath! And although you would by all means be most miserable if you stood against this when it was promised, you even now contradict it when the promise is fulfilled.

Chap. vii. 22. You, however, through your profound erudition, have discovered something which you think worthy to be alleged as a great objection against the Divine testimonies.

For you say, "If we consider the parts comprehended in the whole world, it is a comparatively small portion in which the Christian faith is known: "either refusing to see, or pretending not to know, to how many barbarous nations the gospel has already penetrated, within a space of time so short, that not even Christ's enemies can doubt that in a little while that shall be accomplished which our Lord foretold, when, answering the question of His disciples concerning the end of the world, He said, *This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come." 5 Meanwhile do all you can to pro-

1 Typhus morticinse pellicula. 2 Ps. L 20. 3 1 Cor. viii. 11.

4 1 Cor. iii. 2. 5 Matt. xxiv. 14.

LET. XCIII.] to vincentius. 415

claim and to maintain, that even though the gospel be published in Persia and India, as indeed it has been for a long time, no one who hears it can be in any degree cleansed from his sins, unless he come to Cartennae, or to the neighbourhood of Cartennae! If you have not expressly said this, it is evidently through fear lest men should laugh at you; and yet when you do say this, do you refuse that men should weep for you?

23. You think that you make a very acute remark when you affirm the name Catholic to mean universal, not in respect to the communion as embracing the whole world, but in respect to the observance of all Divine precepts and of all the sacraments, as if we (even accepting the position that the Church is called Catholic because it honestly holds the whole truth, of which fragments here and there are found in some heresies) rested upon the testimony of this word's signification, and not upon the promises of God, and so many indisputable testimonies of the truth itself, our demonstration of the existence of the Church of God in all nations. In fact, however, this is the whole which you attempt to make us believe, that the Kogatists alone remain worthy of the name Catholics, on the ground of their observing all the Divine precepts and all the sacraments; and that you are the only persons in whom the Son of man when He cometh shall find faith. 1 You must excuse me for saying we do not believe a word of this. For although, in order to make it possible for that faith to be found in you which the Lord said that He would not find on the earth, you may perhaps presume even to say that you are to be regarded as in heaven, not on earth, we at least have profited by the apostle's warning, wherein he has taught us
that even an angel from heaven must be regarded as accursed if he were to preach to us any other gospel than that which we have received. But how can we be sure that we have indisputable testimony to Christ in the Divine Word, if we do not accept as indisputable the testimony of the same Word to the Church? For as, however ingenious the complex subtleties which one may contrive against the simple truth, and however great the mist of artful fallacies with which he may obscure the text, any one who shall proclaim that Christ has not suffered, and has not risen from the dead on the third day, must be accursed — because we have learned in the truth of the gospel, "that it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead on the third day; "*â€” on the very same grounds must that man be accursed who shall proclaim that the Church is outside of the communion which embraces all nations: for in the next words of the same passage we learn also that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and we are bound to hold firmly this rule, "If any preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." 4

Chap. viii. 24. If, moreover, we do not listen to the claims of the entire sect of Donatists when they pretend to be the Church of Christ, seeing that they do not allege in proof of this anything from the Divine Books, how much less, I ask, are we called upon to listen to the Eogatists, who will not attempt to interpret in the interest of their party the words of Scripture: "Where Thou feestest, where Thou dost rest in the south"! 5 For if by this the southern part of Africa is to be understood, â€” the district, namely, which is occupied by Donatists, because it is under a more burning portion of the heavens, â€” the Maximianists must excel all the rest of your party, as the flame of their schism broke forth in Byzantium and in Tripoli. Let the Arzuges, if they please, dispute this point with them, and contest that to them more properly this text applies; but how shall the imperial province of Mauritania, lying rather to the west than to the south, since it refuses to be called Africa, â€” how shall it, I say, find in the word "the south" a ground for boasting, I do not say against the world, but against even that sect of Donatus from which the sect of Ptoagatus, a very small fragment of that other and larger fragment, has been broken off? For what else is it than superlative impudence for one to interpret in his own favour any allegorical statements, unless he has also plain

1 Luke xxiv. 46. 2 Prater. 8 Luke xxiv. 47.

4 Gal. i. 9. 5 Meridie; at noon, E. V. Cant. i. 7.

6 Now Tunis. 7 Meridie.
testimonies, by the light of which the obscure meaning of the former may be made manifest.

25. With how much greater force, moreover, may we say to you what we are accustomed to say to all the Donatists:
If any can have good grounds (which indeed none can have) for separating themselves from the communion of the whole world, and calling their communion the Church of Christ, because of their having withdrawn warrantably from the communion of all nations, â€” how do you know that in the Christian society, which is spread so far and wide, there may not have been some in a very remote place, from which the fame of their righteousness could not reach you, who had already, before the date of your separation, separated themselves for some just cause from the communion of the whole world? How could the Church in that case be found in your sect, rather than in those who were separated before you? Thus it comes to pass, that so long as you are ignorant of this, you cannot make with certainty any claim: which is necessarily the portion of all who, in defending the cause of their party, appeal to their own testimony instead of the testimony of God. For you cannot say, If this had happened, it could not have escaped our knowledge; for, not going beyond Africa itself, you cannot tell, when the question is put to you, how many subdivisions of the party of Donatus have occurred: in connection with which we must especially bear in mind that in your view the smaller the number of those who separate themselves, the greater is the justice of their cause, and this paucity of numbers makes them undoubtedly more likely to remain unnoticed. Hence, also, you are by no means sure that there may not be some righteous persons, few in number, and therefore unknown, dwelling in some place far remote from the south of Africa, who, long before the party of Donatus had withdrawn their righteousness from fellowship with the unrighteousness of all other men, had, in their remote northern region, separated themselves in the same way for some most satisfactory reason, and now are, by a claim superior to yours, the Church of God, as the spiritual Zion which preceded all your sects in the matter of warrantable secession, and who interpret in their favour the words of the Psalm, "Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the Great King," 1 with much more reason than the party of Donatus interpret in their favour the words, "Where Thou feedest, where Thou dost rest in the south." 2

418 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

VOL. I. 2D
26. You profess, nevertheless, to be afraid lest, when you are compelled by imperial edicts to consent to unity, the name of God be for a longer time blasphemed by the Jews and the heathen: as if the Jews were not aware how their own nation Israel, in the beginning of its history, wished to exterminate by war the two tribes and a half which had received possessions beyond Jordan, when they thought that these had separated themselves from the unity of their nation. 3 As to the Pagans, they may indeed with greater reason reproach us for the laws which Christian emperors have enacted against idolaters; and yet many of these have thereby been, and are now daily, turned from idols to the living and true God. In fact, however, both Jews and Pagans, if they thought the Christians to be as insignificant in number as you are, â€” who maintain, forsooth, that you alone are Christians, â€” would not condescend to say anything against us, but would never cease to treat us with ridicule and contempt. Are you not afraid lest the Jews should say to you, " If your handful of men be the Church of Christ, what becomes of the state- ment of your Apostle Paul, that your Church is described in the words, 'Piejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which hath an husband;' 4 in which he plainly declares the multitude of Christians to surpass that of the Jewish Church ?" Will you say to them, " We are the more righteous because our number is not large;" and do you expect them not to reply, " Whoever 5 you claim to be, you are not those of whom it is said, f She that was desolate hath many children,' if you are reduced to so small a number " ?

27. Perhaps you will quote against this the example of that righteous man, who along with his family was alone found worthy of deliverance when the flood came. Do you see then how far you still are from being righteous ? Most assuredly

1 Ts. xlviii. 2. 2 Cant. i. 7. 3 Josh. xxii. 9-12.

4 Gal. iv. 27. 5 Quoslibet is obviously the true reading.

LET. XCIIL] TO VINCENTIUS. 419

we do not affirm you to be righteous on the ground of this instance until your associates be reduced to seven, yourself being the eighth person: provided always, however, that no other has, as I was saying, anticipated the party of Donatus in snatching up that righteousness, by having, in some far distant spot, withdrawn himself along with seven more, under pressure of some good reason, from communion with the whole world, and so saved himself from the flood by which it is overwhelmed. Seeing, therefore, that you do not know whether this may not have been done, and been as entirely unheard of by you as the name of Donatus is unheard of by many nations of Christians in remote countries, you are unable to say with certainty where the Church is to be found. For it must be in that place in which what you have now done may happen to have been at an earlier date done by others, if there could possibly be any just reason for your separating yourselves from the communion of the whole world.
Chap. ix. 28. We, however, are certain that no one could ever have been warranted in
separating himself from the communion of all nations, because every one of us looks for
the marks of the Church not in his own righteousness, but in the Divine Scriptures, and
beholds it actually in existence, according to the promises. For it is of the Church that it is
said,
"As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters;" 1
which could be called on the one hand "thorns" only by reason of the wickedness of their
manners, and on the other hand
* daughters " by reason of their participation in the same sacraments. Again, it is the
Church which saith, " From the end of the earth have I cried unto Thee when my heart
was overwhelmed;" 2 and in another Psalm, " Horror hath kept me back from 3 the
wicked that forsake Thy law; " and, " I
beheld the transgressors, and was grieved." 4 It is the same which says to her Spouse: "
Tell me where Thou feedest, where Thou dost rest at noon: for why should I be as one
veiled beside the flocks of Thy companions ?" 5 This is the same as is said in another
place: " Make known to me Thy

1 Cant. ii. 2. 2 Ps. lxi. 2.
3 In this and the other passages quoted, Augustine translates from the LXX.
4 Ps. cxix. 53 and 158. 5 Cant. i. 7.

420 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

right hand, and those who are in heart taught in wisdom;" 1
in whom, as they shine with light and glow with love, Thou dost rest as in noontide; lest
perchance, like one veiled, that is, hidden and unknown, I should run, not to Thy flock,
but to the flocks of Thy companions, i.e. of heretics, whom the bride here calls
companions, just as He called the thorns 2
" daughters," because of common participation in the sacraments: of which persons it is
elsewhere said: " Thou wast a man, mine equal, my guide, my acquaintance, who didst
take sweet food together with me; we walked unto the house of God in company. Let
death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into hell," 3 like Dathan and Abiram,
the authors of an impious schism.

29. It is to the Church also that the answer is given immediately after in the passage
quoted above: " If thou know not thyself, 4 thou fairest among women, go thy way forth
by the footsteps of the flocks, 5 and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents." 6 Oh,
matchless sweetness of the Bridegroom, who thus replied to her question: M If thou
knowest not thyself," He says; as if He said, " Surely the city which is set upon a
mountain cannot be hid; ' and therefore, ' Thou art not as one veiled, that thou shouldst
run to the flocks of my companions.' For I am the mountain established upon the top of
the mountains, unto which all nations shall come. 8 ' If thou knowest not thyself/ by the knowledge which thou mayest gain, not in the words of false witnesses, but in the testimonies of My book; ' if thou knowest not thyself,' from such testimony as this concerning thee: ' Lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes: for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. Fear not, for thou shalt not be ashamed; neither be thou confounded, for thou shalt not be put to shame: for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth, and shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood any more: for thy Maker is thine husband, the Lord of hosts is His name, and thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel; the God of the whole earth shall He be called.' ' If thou knowest

1 Ps. xc. 12. 2 Cant. ii. 2. 3 Ps. lv. 1 4, 1 5. 4 Nisi cognoveris temetipsam.

LET. XCIII.] to vincentius. 421

not thyself/ O thou fairest among women, from this which hath been said of thee, ' The King hath greatly desired thy beauty/ and ' instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes upon the earth:' 1 if, therefore, ' thou know not thyself/ go thy way forth: I do not cast thee forth, but ' go thy way forth/ that of thee it may be said.

* They went out from us, but they were not of us.' 2 ' Go thy way forth ' by the footsteps of the flocks, not in My footsteps, but in the footsteps of the flocks; and not of the one flock, but of flocks divided and going astray. ' And feed thy kids/ not as Peter, to whom it is said, * Feed My sheep; ' 3 but, ' Feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents/ not beside the tent of the Shepherd, where there is ' one fold and one Shepherd.' " 4

But the Church knows herself, and thereby escapes from that lot which has befallen those who did not know themselves to be in her.

30. The same [Church] is spoken of, when, in regard to the fewness of her numbers as compared with the multitude of the wicked, it is said: " Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." 5 And again, it is of the same Church that it is said with respect to the multitude of her members: " I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore." 6 For the same Church of holy and good believers is both small if compared with the number of the wicked, which is greater, and large if considered by itself;

" for the desolate hath more sons than she which hath an husband," and " many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God." 7 God, moreover, presents unto Himself a " numerous people, zealous of good works." 8 And in the Apocalypse, many thousands " which no man can number," from every tribe and tongue, are seen clothed in white robes, and with palms of victory. 9 It is the same Church which is occasionally obscured, and, as it were, beclouded by
1 Ps. xlv. 11-16. 2 1 John ii. 19. 3 John xxi. 17. 4 John x. 16.


8 Tit. ii. 14; Tptova-ious being translated by Augustine "abundans," where our version has "peculiar." 9 Evv. vii 9.

422 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

the multitude of offences, when sinners bend the "bow that they may shoot under the
darkened moon l at the upright in heart. 2 But even at such a time the Church shines in
those who are most firm in their attachment to her. And if, in the Divine promise above
quoted, any distinct application of its two clauses should be made, it is perhaps not
without reason that the seed of Abraham was compared both to the
" stars of heaven," and to " the sand which is by the seashore; " that by " the stars " may
be understood those who, in number fewer, are more fixed and more brilliant; and that by
" the sand on the sea-shore " may be understood that great multitude of weak and carnal
persons within the Church, who at one time are seen at rest and free while the weather is
calm, but are at another time covered and troubled under the waves of tribulation and
temptation.

31. Now, such a troublous time was the time at which Hilary wrote in the passage which
you have thought fit artfully to adduce against so many Divine testimonies, as if by it you
could prove that the Church has perished from the earth. 3
You may just as well say that the numerous churches of Galatia had no existence at the
time when the apostle wrote to them: " foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you," that,
" having begun in the Spirit, ye are now made perfect in the flesh ? " 4 Tor thus you
would misrepresent that learned man, who (like the apostle) was sternly rebuking the
slow of heart and the timid, for whom he was travailing in birth a second time, until
Christ should be formed in them. 5 For who does not know that many persons of weak
judgment were at that time deluded by ambiguous phrases, so that they thought that the
Arians believed the same doctrines as they themselves held; and that others, through fear,
had yielded and feigned consent, not walking uprightly according to the truth of the
gospel, to whom you would have denied that forgiveness which, when they had been
turned from their error,

1 IV ffKOTOjLYtVr., LXX. -tS. XI. 2.

3 Vincentius had quoted from Hilary's work, De Synodis adversum Arianos, a sentence to
the effect that, with the exception of a very small remnant, the ten provinces of Asia in
which he was settled were truly ignorant of God.

* Gal. iii. 1, 3. 5 Gal. iv. 19.
was extended to them? But in refusing such pardon, you prove yourselves wholly ignorant of the word of God. For read what Paul has recorded concerning Peter, I and what Cyprian has expressed as his view on the ground of that statement, and do not blame the compassion of the Church, which does not scatter the members of Christ when they are gathered together, but labours to gather His scattered members into one. It is true that those who then stood most resolute, and were able to understand the treacherous phrases used by the heretics, were few in number when compared with the rest; but some of them it is to be remembered were then bravely enduring sentence of banishment, and others were hiding themselves for safety in all parts of the world. And thus the Church, which is increasing throughout all nations, has been preserved as the Lord's wheat, and shall be preserved unto the end, yea, until all nations, even the barbarous tribes, are within its embrace. For it is the Church which the Son of man has sown as good seed, and of which He has foretold that it should grow among the tares until the harvest. For the field is the world, and the harvest is the end of time.

32. Hilary, therefore, either was rebuking not the wheat, but the tares, in those ten provinces of Asia, or was addressing himself to the wheat, because it was endangered through some unfaithfulness, and spoke as one who thought that the rebuke would be useful in proportion to the vehemence with which it was given. For the canonical Scriptures contain examples of the same manner of rebuke in which what is intended for some is spoken as if it applied to all. Thus the apostle, when he says to the Corinthians, "How say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead?" 3 proves clearly that all of them were not such; but he bears witness that those who were such were not outside of their communion, but among them. And shortly after, lest those who were of a different opinion should be led astray by them, he gave this warning: "Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners. Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame." 4 But when he says, "Whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and

1 Gal. ii. 11-21. 2 Matt. xiii. 24-39. 3 1 Cor. xv. 12. 4 1 Cor. xv. 33, 34.

424 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?" 1 he speaks as if it applied to all, and you see how grave a charge he makes. Wherefore, if it were not that we read in the same epistle, 'â€œI thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; that in everything ye are enriched by Him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge; even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you: so that ye come
behind in no gift," 2 we would think that all the Corinthians had been carnal and natural, not perceiving the things of the Spirit of God, 3 fond of strife, and full of envy, and "walking as men." In like manner it is said, on the one hand, "the whole world lieth in wickedness," 4 because of the tares which are throughout the whole world; and, on the other hand, Christ "is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world," 5 because of the wheat which is throughout the whole world.

33. The love of many, however, waxes cold because of offences, which abound increasingly the more that, within the communion of the sacraments of Christ, there are gathered to the glory of His name even those who are wicked, and who persist in the obstinacy of error; whose separation, however, as chaff from the wheat, is to be effected only in the final purging of the Lord's threshing-floor. 6 These do not destroy those who are the Lord's wheat â€” few, indeed, when compared with the others, but in themselves a great multitude; they do not destroy the elect of God, who are to be gathered at the end of the world from the four winds, from the one end of heaven to the other. 7 For it is from the elect that the cry comes, "Help, Lord! for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men;" 8 and it is of them that the Lord saith, "He that shall endure to the end (when iniquity shall abound), the same shall be saved." 9 Moreover, that the psalm quoted is the language not of one man, but of many, is shown by the following context: *Thou shalt keep us, Lord; Thou shalt preserve us from this generation for ever." 10 On account of this abounding iniquity which the Lord foretold, it is said

1 1 Cor. iii. 3. 2 1 Cor. i. 4-7. 3 1 Cor. ii. 14. * 1 John v. 19.
5 1 John ii. 2. 6 Matt. iii. 12. - Matt xxiv. 31. 8 Ps. xii. 1.
9 Matt. xxiv. 12, 13. 10 Ps. xii. 7.

LET. XCIII.] to vincentius. 425

in another place: "When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" This doubt expressed by Him who knoweth all things prefigured the doubts which in Him we entertain, when the Church, being often disappointed in many from whom much was expected, but who have proved very different from what they were supposed to be, is so alarmed in regard to her own members, that she is slow to believe good of any one. Nevertheless it would be wrong to cherish doubt that those whose faith He shall find on the earth are growing along with the tares throughout the whole field.

34. Therefore it is the same Church also which within the Lord's net is swimming along with the bad fishes, but is in heart and in life separated from them, and departs from them, that she may be presented to her Lord a "glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle." 1 But the actual visible separation she looks for only on the sea-shore, i.e. at the end of the world, â€” meanwhile correcting as many as she can, and bearing with those
whom she cannot correct; but she does not abandon the unity of the good because of the wickedness of those whom she finds incorrigible.

Chap. x. 35. Wherefore, my brother, refrain from gathering together against divine testimonies so many, so perspicuous, and so unchallenged, the calumnies which may be found in the writings of bishops either of our communion, as Hilary, or of the undivided Church itself in the age preceding the schism of Donatus, as Cyprian or Agrippinus; 2 because, in the first place, this class of writings must be, so far as authority is concerned, distinguished from the canon of Scripture. For they are not read by us as if a testimony brought forward from them was such that it would be unlawful to hold any different opinion, for it may be that the opinions which they held were different from those to which truth demands our assent.

Tor we are amongst those who do not reject what has been taught us even by an apostle: "If in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you; nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule," 3 â€” in that way, namely, which Christ is; of which way

i Eph. v. 27. 2 Agrippinus, successor of Cyprian in the see of Carthage.

3 Phil. iii. 15, 16.

426 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

the Psalmist thus speaks: "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause His face to shine upon us: that Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health among all nations." 1

36. In the next place, if you are charmed by the authority of that bishop and illustrious martyr St. Cyprian, which we indeed regard, as I have said, as quite distinct from the authority of canonical Scripture, why are you not charmed by such things in him as these: that he maintained with loyalty, and defended in debate, the unity of the Church in the world and in all nations; that he censured, as full of self-sufficiency and pride, those who wished to separate themselves as righteous from the Church, holding them up to ridicule for assuming to themselves that which the Lord did not concede even to apostles, â€” namely, the gathering of the tares before the harvest, â€” and for attempting to separate the chaff from the wheat, as if to them had been assigned the charge of removing the chaff and cleansing the threshing-floor; that he proved that no man can be stained with guilt by the sins of others, thus sweeping away the only ground alleged by the authors of schism for their separation; that in the very matter in regard to which he was of a different opinion from his colleagues, he did not decree that those who thought otherwise than he did should be condemned or excommunicated; that even in his letter to Jubaianus 2 (which was read for the first time in the Council, 3 the authority of which you are wont to plead in defence of the practice of rebaptizing), although he admits that in time past persons who had been baptized in other communions had been received into the Church
without being a second time baptized, on which ground they were regarded by him as having had no baptism, nevertheless he considers the use and benefit of peace within the Church to be so great, that for its sake he holds that these persons (though in his judgment unbaptized) should not be excluded from office in the Church?

3 7. And by this you will very readily perceive (for I know the acuteness of your mind) that your cause is completely subverted and annihilated. For if, as you suppose, the


3 Held at Carthage, a.d. 256.

LET. XCIII.| TO VINCENTIUS. 427

Church which had been spread abroad throughout the world perished through her admitting sinners to partake in her sacraments (and this is the ground alleged for your separation), it had wholly perished long before, â€” at the time, namely, when, as Cyprian says, men were admitted into it without baptism, â€” and thus Cyprian himself had no Church within which to be born; and if so, how much more must this have been the case with one who, like Donatus, the author of your schism, and the father of your sect, belonged to a later age!

But if at that time, although persons were being admitted into the Church without baptism, the Church nevertheless remained in being, so as to give birth to Cyprian and afterwards to Donatus, it is manifest that the righteous are not defiled by the sins of other men when they participate with them in the sacraments. And thus you have no excuse by which you can wash away the guilt of the schism whereby you have gone forth from the unity of the Church; and in you is fulfilled that saying of Holy Writ: "There is a generation that esteem themselves right, and have not cleansed themselves from the guilt of their going forth." *

38. The man who, out of regard to the sameness of the sacraments, does not presume to insist on the second administration of baptism even to heretics, is not, by thus avoiding Cyprian's error, placed on a level with Cyprian in merit, any more than the man who does not insist upon the Gentiles conforming to Jewish ceremonies is thereby placed on a level in merit with the Apostle Peter. In Peter's case, however, the record not only of his halting, but also of his correction, is contained in the canonical Scriptures; whereas the statement that Cyprian entertained opinions at variance with those approved by the constitution and practice of the Church is found, not in canonical Scripture, but in his own writings, and in those of a Council; and although it is not found in the same records that he corrected that opinion, it is nevertheless by no means an unreasonable supposition that he did correct it, and that this fact may perhaps have been suppressed by those who were too much pleased with the error

Prov. XXX. 12, 'Ixyçvoi xukov ^ixaiov lavrov x.fivn, <r*!V V 'i^ohov alrov ouk
into which he fell, and were unwilling to lose the patronage of so great a name. At the same time, there are not wanting some who maintain that Cyprian never held the view ascribed to him, but that this was an unwarrantable forgery passed off by liars under his name. For it was impossible for the integrity and authenticity of the writings of any one bishop, however illustrious, to be secured and preserved as the canonical Scriptures are through translation into so many languages, and through the regular and continuous manner in which the Church has used them in public worship. Even in the face of this, some have been found forging many things under the names of the apostles. It is true, indeed, that they made such attempts in vain, because the text of canonical Scripture was so well attested, and so generally used and known; but this effort of an unholy boldness, which has not forborne to assail writings which are defended by the strength of such notoriety, has proved what it is capable of essaying against writings which are not established upon canonical authority.

39. We, however, do not deny that Cyprian held the views ascribed to him: first, because his style has a certain peculiarity of expression by which it may be recognised; and secondly, because in this case our cause rather than yours is proved victorious, and the pretext alleged for your schism “namely, that you might not be defiled by the sins of other men” is in the most simple manner exploded; since it is manifest from the letters of Cyprian that participation in the sacraments was allowed to sinful men, when those who, in your judgment (and as you will have it, in his judgment also), were unbaptized were as such admitted to the Church, and that nevertheless the Church did not perish, but remained in the dignity belonging to her nature as the Lord's wheat scattered throughout the world. And, therefore, if in your consternation you thus betake yourselves to Cyprian's authority as to a harbour of refuge, you see the rock against which your error dashes itself in this course; if, on the other hand, you do not venture to flee thither, you are wrecked without any struggle for escape.

40. Moreover, Cyprian either did not hold at all the opinions which you ascribe to him, or did subsequently correct his mistake by the rule of truth, or covered this blemish, as we may call it, upon his otherwise spotless mind by the abundance of his love, in his most amply defending the unity of the Church growing throughout the whole world, and in his most stedfastly holding the bond of peace; for it is written," Charity [love] covereth a multitude of sins." To this was also added, that in him, as a most fruitful branch, the Father removed by the pruning-knife of suffering whatever may
have remained in him requiring correction: " For every branch in me," saith the Lord, "that beareth fruit He purgeth, that it may bring forth more fruit." 2 And whence this care of him, if not because, continuing as a branch in the far-spreading vine, he did not forsake the root of unity? " For though he gave his body to be burned, if he had not charity, it would profit him nothing." 3

41. Attend now a little while to the letters of Cyprian, that you may see how he proves the man to be inexcusable who desires ostensibly on the ground of his own righteousness to withdraw himself from the unity of the Church (which God promised and has fulfilled in all nations), and that you may more clearly apprehend the truth of the text quoted by me shortly before: " There is a generation that esteem themselves righteous, and have not cleansed themselves from the guilt of their going forth." In a letter which he wrote to Antonianus 4 he discusses a matter very closely akin to that which we are now debating; but it is better for us to give his very words: " Some of our predecessors," he says, " in the episcopal office in this province were of opinion that the peace of the Church should not be given to fornicators, and finally closed the door of repentance against those who had been guilty of adultery. They did not, however, withdraw themselves from fellowship with their colleagues in the episcopate; nor did they rend asunder the unity of the Catholic Church, by such harshness and obstinate perseverance in their censure as to separate themselves from the Church because others granted while they themselves refused to adulterers the peace of the Church.

1 1 Pet. iv. 8. 2 John xv. 2. 3 1 Cor. xiii. 3.


430 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

The bond of concord remaining unbroken, and the sacrament of the Church continuing undivided, each bishop arranges and orders his own conduct as one who shall give account of his procedure to his Lord." What say you to that, brother Vincentius? Surely you must see that this great man, this peace-loving bishop and dauntless martyr, made nothing more earnestly his care than to prevent the sundering of the bond of unity. You see him travailing in birth for the souls of men, not only that they might, when conceived, be born in Christ, but also that, when born, they might not perish through their being shaken out of their mother's bosom.

42. Now give attention, I pray you, further to this thing which he has mentioned in protesting against impious schismatics. If those who granted peace to adulterers, who repented of their sin, shared the guilt of adulterers, were those who did not so act defiled by fellowship with them as colleagues in office? If, again, it was a right thing, as truth asserts and the Church maintains, that peace should be given to adulterers who repented
of their sin, those who utterly closed against adulterers the door of reconciliation through repentance were unquestionably guilty of impiety in refusing healing to the members of Christ, in taking away the keys of the Church from those who knocked for admission, and in opposing with heartless cruelty God's most compassionate forbearance, which permitted them to live in order that, repenting, they might be healed by the sacrifice of a contrite spirit and broken heart. Nevertheless this their heartless error and impiety did not defile the others, compassionate and peaceloving men, when these shared with them in the Christian sacraments, and tolerated them within the net of unity, until the time when, brought to the shore, they should be separated from each other; or if this error and impiety of others did defile them, then the Church was already at that time destroyed, and there was no Church to give Cyprian birth. But if, as is beyond question, the Church continued in existence, it is also beyond question that no man in the unity of Christ can be stained by the guilt of the sins of other men if he be not consenting to the deeds of the wicked, and thus defiled by actual participation in their crimes, but only, for the sake of

LET. XCIII.] TO VINCENTIUS. 431

the fellowship of the good, tolerating the wicked, as the chaff which lies until the final purging of the Lord's threshing-floor.

These things being so, where is the pretext for your schism?

Are ye not an "evil generation, esteeming yourselves righteous, yet not washed from the guilt of your going forth" [from the Church]?

43. If, now, I were disposed to quote anything against you from the writings of Tychonius, a man of your communion, who has written rather in defence of the Church and against you than the reverse, in vain disowning the communion of African Christians as traditors (by which one thing Parmenianus silences him), what else can you say in reply than what Tychonius himself said of you as I have shortly before reminded you: "That which is according to our will is holy"? For this Tychonius â€” a man, as I have said, of your communion â€” writes that a Council was held at Carthage by two hundred and seventy of your bishops; in which Council, after seventytive days of deliberation, all past decisions on the matter being set aside, a carefully revised resolution was published, to the effect that to those who were guilty of a heinous crime as traditors, the privilege of communion should be granted as to blameless persons, if they refused to be baptized. He says further, that Deutertius of Macriana, a bishop of your party, added to the Church a whole crowd of traditors, without making any distinction between them and others, making the unity of the Church open to these traditors, in accordance with the decree of the Council held by these two hundred and seventy of your bishops, and that after that transaction Donatus continued unbroken his communion with the said Deutertius, and not only with him, but also with all the Mauritanian bishops for forty years, who, according to the statement of Tychonius, admitted the traditors to communion without insisting on their being rebaptized, up to the time of the persecution made by Macarius.
44. You will say, "What has that Tychonius to do with me?" It is true that Tychonius is the man whom Parmenianus checked by his reply, and effectually warned not to write such things; but he did not refute the statements them-

1 P. 407. 2 This Council at Carthage is not elsewhere mentioned.

432 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

selves, but, as I have said above, silenced him by this one thing, that while saying such things concerning the Church which is diffused throughout the world, and while admitting that the faults of other men within its unity cannot defile one who is innocent, he nevertheless withdrew himself from the contagion of communion with African Christians because of their being traditors, and was an adherent of the party of Donatus. Parmenianus, indeed, might have said that Tychonius had in all these things spoken falsely; but, as Tychonius himself observes, many were still living at that time by whom these things might be proved to be most unquestionably true and generally known.

45. Of these things, however, I say no more: maintain, if you choose, that Tychonius spoke falsely; I bring you back to Cyprian, the authority which you yourself have quoted. If, according to his writings, every one in the unity of the Church is defiled by the sins of other members, then the Church had utterly perished before Cyprian's time, and all possibility of Cyprian's own existence (as a member of the Church) is taken away. If, however, the very thought of this is impiety, and it be beyond question that the Church continued in being, it follows that no one is defiled by the guilt of the sins of other men within the Catholic unity; and in vain do you, "an evil generation," maintain that you are righteous, when you are "not washed from the guilt of your going forth."

Chap. xi. 46. You will say, "Why then do you seek us? Why do you receive those whom you call heretics?" Mark how simple and short is my reply. We seek you because you are lost, that we may rejoice over you when found, as over you while lost we grieved. Again we call you heretics; but the name applies to you only up to the time of your being turned to the peace of the Catholic Church, and extricated from the errors by which you have been ensnared. For when you pass over to us, you entirely abandon the position you formerly occupied, so that, as heretics no longer, you pass over to us. You will say, "Then baptize me." I would, if you were not already baptized, or if you had received the baptism of Donatus, or of Eogatus only, and not of Christ. It is not the Christian sacraments, but the crime of schism, which

LET. xciil] to vincentius. 433
makes you a heretic. The evil which has proceeded from yourself is not a reason for our
deny ing the good that is permanent in you, but which you possess to your own harm if
you have it not in that Church from which proceeds its power to do good. For from the
Catholic Church are all the sacraments of the Lord, which you hold and administer in the
same way as they were held and administered even before you went forth from her. The
fact, however, that you are no longer in that Church from which proceeded the
sacraments which you have, does not make it tho less true that you still have them.
We therefore do not change in you that wherein you are at one with ourselves, for in
many things you are at one with us; and of such it is said, " For in many things they were
with me: MI but we correct those things in which you are not with us, and we wish you to
receive those things which you have not where you now are. You are at one with us in
baptism, in creed, and in the other sacraments of the Lord.
But in the spirit of unity and bond of peace, in a word, in the Catholic Church itself, you
are not with us. If you receive these things, the others which you already have will then
not begin to be yours, but begin to be of use to you. We do not therefore, as you think,
receive your men of your party as still belonging to you, but in the act of receiving them
we incorporate with ourselves those who forsake you that they may be received by us;
and in order that they may belong to us, their first step is to renounce their connection
with you. Nor do we compel into union with us those who industriously serve an error
which we abhor; but our reason for wishing those men to be united to us is, that they may
no longer be worthy of our abhorrence.

47. But you will say, " The Apostle Paul baptized after John." 2 Did he then baptize after
a heretic ? If you do presume to call that friend of the Bridegroom a heretic, and to say
that he was not in the unity of the Church, I beg that you will put this in writing. But if
you believe that it would be the height of folly to think or to say so, it remains for your
own wisdom to resolve the question why the Apostle Paul baptized after John. For if he
baptized after one who

1 Ps. lv. 18, Septuagint. 8 Acts xix. 5.

VOL. I. 2 E

434 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIIL

was his equal, you ought all to baptize after one another. If after one who was greater
than himself, you ought to baptize after Rogatus; if after one who was less than himself,
Eogatus ought to have baptized after you those whom you, as a presbyter, had baptized.
If, however, the baptism which is now administered is in all cases of equal value to those
who receive it, however unequal in merit the persons may be by whom it is administered,
because it is the baptism of Christ, not of those who administer the rite, I think you must
already perceive that Paul administered the baptism of Christ to certain persons because
they had received the baptism of John only, and not of Christ; for it is expressly called the
baptism of John, as the Divine Scripture bears witness in many passages, and as the Lord
Himself calls it, saying: "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men
V 1
But the baptism which Peter administered was the baptism, not of Peter, but of
Christ; that which Paul administered was the baptism, not of Paul, but of Christ; that
which was administered by those who, in the apostle's time, preached Christ not
sincerely, but of contention, 2 was not their own, but the baptism of Christ; and that
which was administered by those who, in Cyprian's time, either by artful dishonesty
obtained their possessions, or by usury, at exorbitant interest, increased them, was not
their own baptism, but the baptism of Christ.

And because it was of Christ, therefore, although there was very great disparity in the
persons by whom it was administered, it was equally useful to those by whom it was
received. For if the excellency of baptism in each case is according to the excellency of
the person by whom one is baptized, it was wrong in the apostle to give thanks that he
had baptized 3 none of the Corinthians, but Crispus, and Gaius, and the house of
Stephanas; 3 for the baptism of the converts in Corinth, if administered by himself, would
have been so much more excellent as Paul himself was more excellent than other men.
Lastly, when he says, "I have planted, and Apollos watered," 4 he seems to intimate that
he had preached the gospel, and that Apollos had baptized. Is Apollos better than John?

1 Matt. xxi. 25. 2 Phil. i. 15, 17.
3 1 Cor. i. 14. 4 1 Cor. iii. 6.

LET. XCIII.] TO VINCENTIUS. 435

Why then did he, who baptized after John, not baptize after Apollos? Surely because, in
the one case, the baptism, by whomsoever administered, was the baptism of Christ; and
in the other case, by whomsoever administered, it was, although preparing the way for
Christ, only the baptism of John.

48. It seems to you an odious thing to say that baptism was given to some after John had
baptized them, and yet that baptism is not to be given to men after heretics have baptized
them; but it may be said with equal justice to be an odious thing that baptism was given
to some after John had baptized them, and yet that baptism is not to be given to men after
intemperate persons have baptized them. I name this sin of intemperance rather than
others, because those in whom it reigns are not able to hide it: and yet what man, even
though he be blind, does not know how many addicted to this vice are to be found
everywhere? And yet among the works of the flesh, of which it is said that they who do
them shall not inherit the kingdom of God, the apostle places this in an enumeration in
which heresies also are specified: "Now the works of the flesh," he says, "are manifest,
which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft,
hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders,
drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told
you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." 1

Baptism, therefore, although it was administered after John, is not administered after a heretic, on the very same principle according to which, though administered after John, it is not administered after an intemperate man:

for both heresies and drunkenness are among the works which exclude those who do them from inheriting the kingdom of God. Does it not seem to you as if it were a thing intolerably unseemly, that although baptism was repeated after it had been administered by him who, not even moderately drinking wine, but wholly refraining from its use, prepared the way for the kingdom of God, and yet that it should not be repeated after being administered by an intemperate man, who shall not inherit the kingdom of God?

What can be

1 Gal. v. 19-21.

436 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

said in answer to this, but that the one was the baptism of John, after which the apostle administered the baptism of Christ; and that the other, administered by an intemperate man, was the baptism of Christ? Between John Baptist and an intemperate man there is a great difference, as of opposites; between the baptism of Christ and the baptism of John there is no contrariety, but a great difference. Between the apostle and an intemperate man there is a great difference; but there is none between the baptism of Christ administered by an apostle, and the baptism of Christ administered by an intemperate man. In like manner, between John and a heretic there is a great difference, as of opposites; and between the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ which a heretic administers there is no contrariety, but there is a great difference. But between the baptism of Christ which an apostle administers, and the baptism of Christ which a heretic administers, there is no difference. For the form of the sacrament is acknowledged to be the same even when there is a great difference in point of worth between the men by whom it is administered.

49. But pardon me, for I have made a mistake in wishing to convince you by arguing from the case of an intemperate man administering baptism; for I had forgotten that I am dealing with a Eogatist, not with one bearing the wider name of Donatist. For among your colleagues who are so few, and in the whole number of your clergy, perhaps you cannot find one addicted to this vice. For you are persons who hold that the name Catholic is given to the faith not because communion of those who hold it embraces the whole world, but because they observe the whole of the Divine precepts and the whole of the sacraments; you are the persons in whom alone the Son of man when He cometh shall find faith, when on the earth He shall find no faith, forasmuch as you are not earth and on the earth, but heavenly and dwelling in heaven! Do you not fear, or do you not observe that "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble"? 1 Does not that very passage in the Gospel startle you, in which the Lord saith, "When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith in the
earth? " 1 Immediately thereafter, as if foreseeing that some would proudly arrogate to themselves the possession of this faith, He spake to some who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others, the parable of the two men who went up to the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The words which follow I leave for yourself to consider and to answer. Nevertheless examine more minutely your small sect, to see whether not so much as one who administers baptism is an intemperate man. For so widespread is the havoc wrought among souls by this plague, that I am greatly surprised if it has not reached even your infinitesimal flock, although it is your boast that already, before the coming of Christ, the one good Shepherd, you have separated between the sheep and the goats.

Chap. xii. 50. Listen to the testimony which through me is addressed to you by those who are the Lord's wheat, suffering meanwhile until the final winnowing, 2 among the chaff in the Lord's threshing-floor, i.e. throughout the whole world, because " God hath called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof," 3 and throughout the same wide field the " children praise Him." 4 We disapprove of every one who, taking advantage of this imperial edict, persecutes you, not with loving concern for your correction, but with the malice of an enemy. Moreover, although, since every earthly possession can be rightly retained only on the ground either of divine right, according to which all things belong to the righteous, or of human right, which is in the jurisdiction of the kings of the earth, you are mistaken in calling those things yours which you do not possess as righteous persons, and which you have forfeited by the laws of earthly sovereigns, and plead in vain, w We have laboured to gather them," seeing that you may read what is written, " The wealth of the sinner is laid up for the just;" 5 nevertheless we disapprove of any one who, availing himself of this law which the kings of the earth, doing homage to Christ, have published in order to correct your impiety, covetously seeks to possess himself of your property. Also we disapprove of any one who, on the ground

1 Luke xviii. 8. 2 Matt. iii. 12. 3 Ps. 1. 1.
4 Ps. cxiii. 1-3. 6 Prov. xiii. 22.

438 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIII.

not of justice, but of avarice, seizes and retains the provision pertaining to the poor, or the chapels * in which you meet for worship, which you once occupied in the name of the
Church, and which are by all means the rightful property only of that Church which is the true Church of Christ. We disapprove of any one who receives a person that has been expelled by you for some disgraceful action or crime, on the same terms on which those are received who have lived among you chargeable with no other crime beyond the error through which you are separated from us. But these are things which you cannot easily prove; and although you can prove them, we bear with some whom we are unable to correct or even to punish; and we do not quit the Lord's threshing-floor because of the chaff which is there, nor break the Lord's net because of bad fishes enclosed therein, nor desert the Lord's flock because of goats which are to be in the end separated from it, nor go forth from the Lord's house because in it there are vessels destined to dishonour.

Chap. xiii. 51. But, my brother, if you forbear seeking the empty honour which comes from men, and despise the reproach of fools, who will be ready to say, " Why do you now destroy what you once laboured to build up ?" it seems to me to be beyond doubt that you will now pass over to the Church which I perceive that you acknowledge to be the true Church:

the proofs of which sentiment on your part I find at hand.

For in the beginning of your letter which I am now answering you have these words: " I knew you, my excellent friend, as a man devoted to peace and uprightness, when you were still far removed from the Christian faith, and were in these earlier days occupied with literary pursuits; but since your conversion at a more recent time to the Christian faith, you give your time and labour, as I am informed by the statements of many persons, to theological controversies." 2 These words are undoubtedly your own, if you were the person who sent me that letter. Seeing, therefore, that you confess that I have been converted to the Christian faith, although I have not been converted to the sect of the Donatists or of the Bogatists, you unquestionably uphold the truth that beyond the pale of

1 Basilicae. 2 Disputationibus legalibus.

LET. XCIIL] TO VINCENTIUS. 439

Eogatists and Donatists the Christian faith exists. This faith therefore is, as we say, spread abroad throughout all nations, which are according to God's testimony blessed in the seed of Abraham. 1 Why therefore do you still hesitate to adopt what you perceive to be true, unless it be that you are humbled because at some former time you did not perceive what you now see, or maintained some different view, and so, while ashamed to correct an error, are not ashamed (where shame would be much more reasonable) of remaining wilfully in error?

52. Such conduct the Scripture has not passed over in silence; for we read, " There is a shame which bringeth sin, and there is a shame which is graceful and glorious." 2 Shame brings sin, when through its influence any one forbears from changing a wicked opinion, lest he be supposed to be fickle, or be held as by his own judgment convicted of having
been long in error: such persons descend into the pit alive, that is, conscious of their perdition; whose future doom the death of Dathan and Abiram and Korah, swallowed up by the opening earth, long ago prefigured. 3 But shame is graceful and glorious when one blushes for his own sin, and by repentance is changed to something better, which you are reluctant to do because overpowered by that false and fatal shame, fearing lest by men who know not whereof they affirm, that sentence of the apostle may be quoted against you: " If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." 4 If, however, this sentence admitted of application to those who, after being corrected, preach the truth which in their perversity they opposed, it might have been said at first against Paul himself, in regard to whom the churches of Christ glorified God when they heard that he now "preached the faith which once he destroyed." 5

53. Do not, however, imagine that one can pass from error to truth, or from any sin, be it great or small, to the correction of his sin, without giving some proof of his repentance. It is, however, an error of intolerable impertinence for men to blame the Church, which is proved by so many Divine testimonies to

1 Gen. xxii. 18. 2 Ecclus. iv. 21-3 Num. xvi. 31-33.

4 Gal. ii. 18. 5 Gal. i. 23, 24.

440 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCILT.

be the Church of Christ, for dealing in one way with those who forsake her, receiving them back on condition of correcting this fault by some acknowledgment of their repentance, and in another way with those who never were within her pale, and are receiving welcome to her peace for the first time; her method being to humble the former more fully, and to receive the latter upon easier terms, cherishing affection for both, and ministering with a mother's love to the health of both.

You have here perhaps a longer letter than you desired. It would have been much shorter if in my reply I had been thinking of you alone; but as it is, even though it should be of no use to yourself, I do not think that it can fail to be of use to those who shall take pains to read it in the fear of God, and without respect of persons. Amen.

END OF VOL. I.

MURRAY AND GIDB, EDINBURGH.
PRINTERS TO HER MAJESY’S STATIONERY OFFICE.
(TEMPORARY) CHEAP RE-ISSUE

OF

STIER'S WORDS OF THE
LORD JESUS.

To meet a very general desire that the now well-known Work of Dr. Stier,

THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS,

should be brought more within the reach of all classes, both Clergy and Laity, Messrs. Clark have resolved to issue the Eight Volumes, handsomely bound in Four, for

TWO GUINEAS.

This can be only offered for a limited period; and as the allowance to the trade must necessarily be small, orders sent either direct, or through booksellers, must in every case be accompanied with a Post Office Order for the above amount.

' We know no work that contains, within anything like the same compass, so many pregnant instances of what true genius under chastened submission to the control of a sound philology, and gratefully accepting the seasonable and suitable helps of a wholesome erudition, is capable of doing in the spiritual exegesis of the sacred volume. Every page is fretted and studded with lines and forms of the most alluring beauty. At every step the reader is constrained to pause and ponder, lest he should overlook one or other of the many precious blossoms that, in the most dazzling profusion, are scattered around his path.
"We venture to predict that his Words of Jesus are destined to produce a great and happy revolution in the interpretation of the New Testament in this country.' â€” British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.
CHEAP RE-ISSUE,

In 24 Volumes, Demy 8vo, price Â£4, 4s.,

OF THE WHOLE

WORKS OF DR. JOHN OWEN.

WITH LIFE BY REV. ANDREW THOMSON, D.D.

With Two Portraits of Dr. Owen.

Several years have now elapsed since the first publication of this edition of the Works of the greatest of Puritan Divines. Time has tested its merits; and it is now admitted on all hands to be the only correct and complete edition.

At the time of publication it was considered â€” as it really was â€” a miracle of cheapness, having been issued, by Subscription, for Five Guineas.

As there are above Fourteen Thousand Pages in all, each Volume therefore averages Five Hundred and Ninety Pages.

1 You will find that in John Owen the learning of Lightfoot, the strength of Charnock, the analysis of Howe, the savour of Leighton, the raciness of Heywood, the glow of Baxter, the copiousness of Barrow, the splendour of Bates, are all combined. We should quickly restore the race of great divines if our candidates were disciplined in such lore. â€” The Late Dr. Haughton of Leeds.

Contents.

Vols.

I. Life, by Rev. Dr. Thomson; Christologia," or a Declaration of the glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ; Meditations on the Glory of Christ; Two Short Catechisms.
II. Of Communion with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
III. and IV. On the Holy Spirit.
V. On the Doctrine of Justification by Faith.
VI. Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers; the Nature, Power, etc., of the Remainders of Sin in Believers; Practical Exposition of the cxxx. Psalm.
VII. Nature and Causes of Apostasy from the Gospel; the Grace and Duty of being Spiritually Minded; of the Dominion of Sin and Grace.
VIII. and IX. Sermons.

X. A Display of Arminianism; the Death of Death in the Death of Christ; of the Death of Christ; Dissertation on Divine Justice.
XL Doctrine of the Saints' Perseverance explained.
XII. Mystery of the Gospel vindicated and Socinianism examined.

XIII. Duty of Pastors and People distinguished; Eshcol; of Schism, etc.

XIV. On a Treatise, 'Fiat Lux;' the Church of Rome no Safe Guide, etc.
XV. Discourse concerning Liturgies and their Imposition; concerning Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity; Inquiry into the Original, Nature, Institution, Power, Order, and Communion of Evangelical Churches, etc.
XVI. The True Nature of a Gospel Church, etc.; Three Treatises concerning the Scriptures.
XVII. Theologumena, sive de natura, ortu, progressu, et studio veree Theologias.
XVIII. to XXIV. Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

*** Separate Volumes may he had, price 8s. 6d. each.

T. and T. Clark's Ptublications.

JOHN ALBERT BENGENL'S
GNOMON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

fiofo df tvÅ£t CranSlateti into SBnglteij.

WITH ORIGINAL NOTES, EXPLAINATOY AND ILLUSTRATIVE.
The Translation is comprised in Five Large Volumes, demy 8vo, of (on an average)
fully 550 pages each.

Subscription, 31s. 6d.; or free by Post, 35s.
The very large demand for Bengel's Gnomon enables the Publishers still to supply it at the Subscription Price.

The whole work is issued under the Editorship of the Rev. Andrew R. Fausset, M.A., Rector of St. Cuthbert's, York, late University and Queen's Scholar, and Senior Classical and Gold Medallist, T.C.D.

'There are few devout students of the Bible who have not long held Bengel in the highest estimation, — nay, revered and loved him. It was not, however, without some apprehension for his reputation with English readers, that we saw the announcement of a translation of his work. We feared that his sentences, terse and condensed as they are, would necessarily lose much of their pointedness and force by being clothed in another garb. But we confess gladly to a surprise at the success the translators have achieved in preserving so much of the spirit of the original. We are bound to say that it is executed in the most scholarlike and able manner. The translation has the merit of being faithful and perspicuous. Its publication will, we are confident, do much to bring back readers to the devout study of the Bible, and at the same time prove one of the most valuable of exegetical aids. The "getting up" of those volumes, combined with their marvellous cheapness, cannot fail, we should hope, to command for them a large sale.' — Eclectic Review.

THE COMMENTARIES, ETC., OF JOHN CALVIN,

In 48 Volumes, Demy 8vo.

Messrs. CLARK beg respectfully to announce that the whole Stock and Copyrights of the WORKS OF CALVIN, published by the Calvin Translation Society, are now their property, and that this valuable Series will be issued by them on the following very favourable terms: â€“

1. Complete Sets of Commentaries, 45 vols., Â£7, 17s. 6d.

2. The 'Letters,' edited by Dr. Bonnet, 2 vols., 10s. 6d. additional.

3. A Selection of Six Volumes (or more at the same proportion) for 21s., with the exception of the Institutes, 3 vols.; Psalms, vol. 5; and Habakkuk.

4. Any Separate Volume, 6s.

The Contents of the Series are as follow
Tracts on the Reformation, 3 vols.
Commentary on Genesis, 2 vols.
Harmony of the last Four Books of the Pentateuch, 4 vols.
Commentary on Joshua, 1 vol.
// on the Psalms, 5 vols.
// on Isaiah, 4 vols.
// on Jeremiah and Lamentations, 5 vols.
// on Ezekiel, 2 vols.
// on Daniel, 2 vols.
// on Hosea, 1 vol.
// on Joel, Amos, and Obadiah, 1 vol.
// on Jonah, Micah, and Nahum, 1 vol.
// on Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Haggai,

Commentary on Zechariah and Malachi,

Harmony of the Synoptical Evangelists,

3 vols.
Commentary on John's Gospel, 2 vols.
// on Romans, 1 vol.
// on Corinthians, 2 vols.
// on Galatians and Ephesians, 1 vol.
// on Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, 1 vol.
// on Timothy, Titus, and Philemon,

// on Hebrews, 1 vol.
// on Peter, John, James, and Jude, 1 vol.
MESSRS CLARK &CLARK a Selection of Eight Volumes from the following List of Works (chiefly forming the Biblical Cabinet, the first series of translations published by them),

For One Guinea, remitted with order.

The price affixed is that at which they can be had separately which is also much reduced.


Philological Tracts. 3 vols., 4s. each.


Tholuck's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. 2 vols., 8s.

Pareau on the Interpretation of Old Testament. 2 vols., 8s.

Stuart's Syntax of the New Testament. 4s.

Umbrecht's Exposition of the Book of Job. 2 vols., 8s.

Steiger's Commentary on First Peter. 2 vols., 8s.

Billroth's Commentary on the Corinthians. 2 vols.Â» 8s.

Krummacher's Cornelius the Centurion. 3s.

Witsius' Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. 4s.

Rosenmuller's Biblical Geography of Central Asia. 2 vols., 8a.

Rosenmuller's Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phoznicia, & Arabia. 4s.
Rosenmuller's Biblical Mineralogy and Botany. 4s.

Wemyss' Clavis Symbolical or, Key to Symbolical Language of Scripture. 4s.

Calvin on the Epistles to Galatians and Ephesians. 4s.

Gess on the Revelation of God in His "Word. 3s.

ROSENMULLER ON THE MESSIANIC PSALMS. 4s.

Covard's Life of Christians during first Three Centuries. 4s.


Calvin and Storr on the Philippians and Colossians. 4s.

Semisch's Life, Writings, and Opinions of Justin Martyr. 2 vols., 8s?

Rohr's Historico-Geographical Account of Palestine in the Time of Christ. 4s.

Tittmann's Exegetical, Critical, and Doctrinal Commentary on St John's Gospel. 2 vols., 8s.

Barbacovis' Literary History of Modern Italy. 2s. 6d.

My Old House; or, The Doctrine of Changes. 4s.

Negris' Edition of Herodotus, with English Notes. 4s. 6d.

â€ž â€ž Pindar, â€ž â€ž 4s. 6d.

â€ž â€ž Xenophon, â€ž â€ž 2s.

Welsh's Elements of Church History. 5s.

Neander on the Epistle to the Philippians and on the Epistle of St James. 3s.

Edersheim's History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. 6Â».

Recently published, in crown 8vo, price 7s. 6d.,
LECTURES, EXEGETICAL AND PRACTICAL, ON THE

'It is undoubtedly one of the most scholarly of all the helps yet furnished to the understanding of the epistle; while, by the plan which the author has adopted, it meets the wants of the general reader. . . . The work is really a valuable one, and has our heartiest recommendation.' â€“ Scottish Congregational Magazine.

'Mr. Johnstone, with the true instinct of the scholar, searches every matter to the bottom, and lays under contribution a very wide range of theological learning. . . . The book is a truly valuable contribution to exegetical homiletics.' â€“ British Quarterly Review.

Just published, in crown 8vo, price 6s.,

FIVE HUNDRED OUTLINES OP SERMONS. By the Rev.

George Brooks, Johnstone, Author of ' Five Hundred Plans of Sermons.'

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

FIVE HUNDRED PLANS OF SERMONS. Second Edition,
crown 8vo, 4s. 6d.
'We have been struck with their simplicity and natural sequence of idea, as well as the brief but comprehensive terms the author employs throughout the volume in his initiatory thoughts.' â€“ Witness.

In crown 8vo, price 7s. 6d.,

HOMILETICS AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
The work will be found to be an admirable guide and stimulus in whatever pertains to this department of theology. The student finds himself in the hands of a master able to quicken and enlarge his scope and spirit. The homiletical precepts are well illustrated by the author's own style, which is muscular, while quivering with nervous life. Nowadays one rarely reads such good English writing, elevated and clear, sinewy and flexible, transparent for the thought. Each topic is handled in a true progressive method. Our young ministers may well make a study of this book.' â€“ Theological Review.

THE LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART. By the Rev.

George Gilfillan, of Dundee. In neat crown 8vo, with beautiful Steel Frontispiece and Vignette, price 5s. Cheap Edition, price 2s. 6d.
'It is a healthy, natural, and vigorous piece of literary workmanship, not overloaded with details, giving prominence to the main characteristics of the novelist as a writer and as a man, and presenting to us Scott, not from a professional, but from a genuinely human standpoint.' — Edinburgh Courant.

THOMAS CHALMERS: A Biographical Study. By James Dodds, Esq., Author of 'The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters.' In crown 8vo, price 5s.
'The writer has seized with remarkable ability the salient points in his hero's character; and although the portrait is in miniature, it is thoroughly effective.' — Pall Mall Gazette.

'A book rare in these times — a volume of genuine poetry so admirable in its presentation of Scripture story in melodious verse, that most readers, when they finish its 242 pages, will wish there had been more of them.' — Reformed Presbyterian Magazine.

'Dr. Edmond is endowed with a fine poetical taste, if not in a high sense himself a poet, and is among the most gifted of the teachers of youth.' — Scottish Congregational Magazine.

Just published, price 3s.,

CHILDREN VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF SCRIPTURE.
By the Rev. William Keid, Edinburgh.

Also, by the same Author, price 4s. 6d.,

THINGS TO COME.
'Solid and sober teaching.' — Sword and Trowel.

'We can commend very heartily.' — Scottish Congregational Magazine.

EDINBURGH: WILLIAM OLIPHANT & CO.

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.
A COMMENTARY ON THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING
to St. John. Compared with the Sinaitic, Vatican, and Alexandrine Manuscripts, and also
with Dean Alford's Revised Translation. By Rev. F. H. Dunwell, Hensail. 15s., postage
9d.

A YEAR WITH GREAT PREACHERS; or, Fifty-two Sermons on the Sunday Gospels.
Edited from the Latin, by Rev. J. M. Ashley, B.C.L., St. Peter's, Vere Street.
In Two Vols. I. Advent to Whitsunday. II. Trinity-tide. Each Vol. os., by post os. 4d.
' If compared with sketches of sermons such as those recently put forth, admirable as
hose are, these will take superior rank as sermon-helps.' â€” Church Review.

THE VALIDITY OF THE ORDERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAINTAINED.
By Rev. Dr. Lee, All Saints', Lambeth. 16s., by post 17s.
1 Bristles with facts and references.' â€” Church Review.
â€” A precious contribution to re-union.' â€” Church Herald.
' The standard book.' â€” Catholic Opinion.
'Puts the question on its right footing,' â€” Guardian.
'No other work to compare it with.' â€” Union Review.

THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH: Its History, Doctrine, etc. Prefaced by Dr.
Littledale. 3s. 6d., by post 3s. lOd.
' Most sexwiceable.' â€” Literary Churchman.
'A supplement to more elaborate treatises.' â€” Church Review.

ONLY A GHOST. By Irenseus the Deacon. Is., by post Is. Id.
'A very amusing jeu d'etprit.' â€” Literary Churchman.
' It well repays perusal.' â€” Church Herald.

PHARISAIC PROSELYTISM: A Forgotten Chapter in Early Church History. By Dr.
Littledale. Is., by post Is. Id.
' Positively sparkles with fun: the fun of a gentleman, a wit, and a scholar." â€” Church Times.

THE CHURCH'S BROKEN UNITY. Edited by Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, Froome. In Five
Vols. I. Irvingism and Presbyterianism. II. Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers. III.
Methodists and Stredenborgians. (Each of these Three Vols. 3s. 6d., by post 3s. 10d.). IV. and V. On Romanism. (These two 4s. 6d. each, by post 4s. 10d.).
'They will instruct Church people as to the distinguishing tenets of separatists, and so enable Churchmen to point out to candid Dissenters the precise errors under which they labour.' — Literary Churchman.

THE RITUAL REASON WHY: Being 450 Ritual Explanations. By Charles Walker. 4s., by post 4s. 4d.
'By far the best book we have seen. Especially valuable.' — Church Review.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS ON THE INCARNATION. 6s., by post 6s. 4d.
'Entirely* to be commended.' — Church Review.

'By a careful, competent hand.' — Literary Churchman.

THE MORAL CONCORDANCES OF ST. ANTONY OF PADUA. By Dr. Neale. A Sermon-Help. 3s., by post 3s. 2d.
'Contains the pith of more skeleton sermons in 100 pages than are in the score of volumes of Simeon's Horse Homileticx! — Guardian.

A NEW VOLUME OF SERMONS, BY DR. NEALE, ON THE PSALMS. 5s., by post 5s. 4d.
'Are truly very lovely. — Literary Churchman.

'It needs almost only to say that it is Dr. Xeale's to enable any one familiar with his sermons to know its character and merits.' — Guardian.

NEALE'S SERMONS (NEW) ON PORTIONS OF THE APOCALYPSE, THE HOLY NAME, and the Last Chapter of Proverbs, os., by post 5s. 4d.
'Fuller than usual of Dr. Xeale's peculiar beauties. The very poetry of theology, and full of the most suggestive sermon thoughts. — Literary Churchman.

NEALE ON CHURCH DIFFICULTIES. With Introduction, by Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, on the still greater Difficulties that have arisen since the work was first published. 6s., by post 6s. 6d.
'The book itself, vigorous and outspoken as it is, is remarkable for honesty and balanced fairness of its views.' — Guardian.
HAYES' PUBLICATIONS—Continued.

'SONG OF SONGS:' A Choice Volume of Sermons thereon. By Dr. Neale. 6s., by post 6s. 4d.
1 A perfect mine of thought.' â€” Literary Churchman.
'Peculiar, forcible, attractive, epigrammatic, and thoroughly original.' â€” Union Review.

NEALE'S SERMONS ON THE BLESSED SACRAMENT. Third Edition. 2s. 6d.,
postage 2d.
'Abounding in originality.' â€” Church Herald.
'This is a gem.' â€” Literary Churchman.
'Shows both the doctrinal and the literary characteristics of the -writer perhaps more unreservedly than any other volumes of his.' â€” Guardian.

SERMONS ON RE-UNION. By Members of the English, Roman, and Greek Churches.
First and Second Series. Two Volumes, each 5s., by post 5s. 4d.
'Emphatically the sermons of the day.' â€” Church Review.
'Are strikingly beautiful.' â€” Ecclesiastic.

ESSAYS ON RE-UNION. By Contributors of the English, Roman, and Greek Churches. Introduction by Dr. Pusey. 6s., by post 6s. 4d.
'Essays of considerable ability.' â€” Guardian.
'The best part, because most scholarly, is Dr. Pusey's.' â€” Christian Remembrancer.
'A very taking collection.' â€” Literary Churchman.

THE BIBLE AND ITS INTERPRETERS: Its Miracles and Prophecies. By Rev. Dr. Irons. 6s., by post 6s. 6d.
'Eefutes the modern literary and critical method of dealing with Holy Writ.' â€” Union Review.
'A good deal of valuable information, and not a little valuable thought.' â€” Church Times.
'A very remarkable book.' â€” Church Review.
REV. J. B. WILKINSON ON THE PARABLES. Preface by Rev. T. Carter. 6s., by post 6s. 6d.

'The preface commends, but not too highly, their devout, practical character.' â€” Church Times.

1 Very good, plain preaching.' â€” Literary Churchman.

SERMONS ON DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE. By Dr. Oldknow, Bordesley. 4s., by post 4s. 3d.

'Scholarly, sober, devout.' â€” British Quarterly.

'Earnest, elaborate, clear.' â€” Birmingham Post.

'Thoughtful; thoroughly Catholic' â€” Church Review.

'There is a quiet sobriety of tone which belongs to the school of Keble.' â€” Guardian.

BENNETT'S 1869 * MISSION * SERMONS at Knightsbridge. 7s. 6d., by post 8s.

'Each sermon has its one idea â€” quite enough for a sermon that is a sermon.' â€” Literary Churchman.

Tew could have listened to them without being touched with the spirit of compunction.' â€” Church Times.

NEALE'S PRIMITIVE LITURGIES. (In Greek.) 6s., by post 6s. 4d.

'With these so cheaply to their hands, there is no excuse for our rising race of clergy â€” their seniors, for the matter of that â€” being in the general ignorance of even well-read men of thirty years ago.' â€” Literary Churchman.

THE LITURGICAL REASON WHY: A Series of Papers on the Prayer Book. By Rev. A. Williams, Culmington. 4s., by post 4s. 4d.

'Good and useful.' â€” Contemporary Review.

'Useful for prizes; village libraries.' â€” Union Review.

'Sensible and compact.' â€” Literary Churchman.

'Condenses our best authorities.' â€” Ecclesiastic.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE LITURGIES. By Dr. Neale. 4s., by post 4s. 4d.

'The concise results of a profound knowledge of the subject.' â€” Guardian.

LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF SARUM. Translated by C. Walker. 5s., by post 5s. 5d.
'The first complete version into English: that is, of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, as it was used in England from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation.' — Christian Remembrancer.

J. T. HAYES, LYALL PLACE, EATON SQUARE, AND 4 HENRIETTA STREET,

COVENT GARDEN.

JAMES HS BET & OQ.'S PUBLICATIONS,

i.

Second Edition, small crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth,

The Beatitudes of the Kingdom. By the Rev. J. Osuald Dykes, M.A.  
1 The purity of Mr. Dykes' language, and the purity of thought and expression, combine to render this one of the choicest contributions to Christology which we have lately met with.' â€” Nonconformist.

ii.

Fourth Edition, Two Volumes, demy 8vo, 24s. cloth,

An Explanatory and Practical Commentary on the New Testa-

MKNT. Intended chiefly as a help to Family Devotion. Edited and Continued by the Rev. W. Dalton, B.D.

iii.

Published Quarterly, demy 8vo, price 3s. 6d.,

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review. Edited by the

Eev. J. Oswald Dykes, M.A.

IV.

Post 8vo, 6s. cloth,

The Atonement: In its Relations to the Covenant, the Priesthood,
and the Intercession of our Lord. By the Rev. Hugh Martix, D.D.
'We record our fervent admiration, and we believe that no reader of any way of thinking
can rise from the perusal of it without being sensibly stimulated and instructed, in a
measure far beyond what is ordinaril[y the result of such studies.' â€” Presbyterian.

v.

Crown 8vo, each 6s. cloth,

Sermons Preached at King's Lynn. By the late Rev. E. L.

Hi/ll, B.A.
â€¢ We do not know where we have met with sermons in which fervent eloquence and
sobriety of judgment were more happily combined.' â€” Contemporary Review.

VI.

Crown 8vo, 6s. cloth,

Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Holy Scripture. First Series

â€” Genesis to Song of Songs. By the Rev. Doxald Fraser, D.D.
'A good plan, well executed.' â€” British and Foreign Evangelical Review.
'Much homiletic material condensed into small space.' â€” Evangelical Christendom.

vn.
Crown 8vo, each 5s. cloth,

Light and Truth: Bible Thoughts and Themes. By the Rev.

HoRA|rs Boxar, D.D.

Vol. 5. The Revelation of St. John.

VIII.

Small crown 8vo, 5s. cloth.

Moses the Man of God. A Series of Lectures by the late James

Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S.
'Graceful description, imaginative reconstruction, unconventional, and often very ingenious, sometimes learned, disquisition, with the light, graceful touch of poetic style and delicate fancy.' — British Quarterly Review.

IX.

Small crown 8vo, 5s. cloth,

The Lord's Prayer. Lectures by the Rev. Adolph Saphir, B.A.,

Author of 'Conversion,' etc.

'One of the best of the many expositions which have been written on the Lord's Prayer by learned and pious expositors.' — British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

x.

New Edition, imperial 8vo, 12s. cloth,

An Expository and Practical Commentary on the Books of Scripture. Arranged in Chronological Order. Being a Bible Manual for the Use of Families, Schools, and Students of the "Word of God. Translated from the German Work edited by the late Dr. C. G. Barth, of Calw.

LOXDOX: JAMES XISBET & CO., 21 BERXERS STREET. W.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

New and Cheaper Edition of Lange's

Life of Christ.

Now complete, in Four Volumes, demy 8vo, price 28s. (Subscription price),

THE LIFE OF THE LORD
JESUS CHRIST:

A COMPLETE CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ORIGIN, CONTENTS, AND CONNECTION OF THE GOSPELS.
This valuable Work has been out of print for some time, but has been much in demand. The Six Volumes now occupy Four; and whilst the whole matter is retained, it is published at a little cheaper price.

The work of Dr. Lange, translated in the accompanying volumes, holds among books the honourable position of being the most complete Life of our Lord. There are other works which more thoroughly investigate the authentication of the Gospel records, some which more satisfactorily discuss the chronological difficulties involved in this most important of histories, and some which present a more formal and elaborate exegetical treatment of the sources; but there is no single work in which all these branches are so fully attended to, or in which so much matter bearing on the main subject is brought together, or in which so many points are elucidated. The immediate object of this comprehensive and masterly work was to refute those views of the life of our Lord which had been propagated by Negative Criticism, and to substitute that authentic and consistent history which a truly scientific and enlightened criticism educes from the Gospels.

T. and T. Clark’s Publications.

A COLLECTION OF ALL THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF NIOEA.

EDITED BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

Author of 'Discussions on the Gospels,' etc.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.,

Rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and Author of
'Early Christian Literature and Doctrine.'

MESSES. CLAERK are now happy to announce the completion of this Series. It has been received with marked approval by all sections of the Christian Church in this country and in the United States, as supplying what has long been felt to be a want, and also on account of the impartiality, learning, and care with which Editors and Translators have executed a very difficult task.

Each work is supplied with a good and full Index; but, to add to the value of the completed Series, an Index Volume is preparing for the whole Series, which will be sold separately to those who may desire it, at a moderate price.

The Publishers, however, do not bind themselves to continue to supply the Series at the Subscription price.

Single Tears cannot be had separately, unless to complete sets; but any Volume may be had separately, price 10s. 6d., Û€” with the exception of Oeigen, VoL II., 12s.; and the Early Liturgies, 9s.

The Homilies of Origen are not included in the Series, as the Publishers have received no encouragement to have them translated.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY Û” continued.

The "Works are arranged as follow: Û”

FIRST YEAR.
APOSTOLIC FATHERS, comprising Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians; Polycarp to the Ephesians; Martyrdom of Polycarp; Epistle of Barnabas; Epistles of Ignatius (longer and shorter, and also the Syriac version); Martyrdom of Ignatius; Epistle to Diognetus; Pastor of Hermas; Papias; Spurious Epistles of Ignatius. In One Volume.

JUSTIN MARTYR; ATHENAGORAS. In One Volume.

TATIAN; THEOPHILUS; THE CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS. In One Volume.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Volume First, comprising Exhortation to Heathen; The Instructor; and a portion of the Miscellanies.

SECOND YEAR.

HIPPOLYTUS, Volume First; Refutation of all Heresies and Fragments from his Commentaries.
IRENÆUS, Volume First.
TERTULLIAN AGAINST MARCION.
CYPRIAN, Volume First; the Epistles and some of the Treatises.

THIRD YEAR.

IRENÆUS (completion); HIPPOLYTUS (completion); Fragments of Third Century. In One Volume.
ORIGEN: De Principiis; Letters; and portion of Treatise against Celsus.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Volume Second; Completion of Miscellanies.
TERTULLIAN, Volume First: To the Martyrs; Apology; To the Nations, etc.

FOURTH YEAR.
CYPRIAN, Volume Second (completion); Novatian; Minucius Felix; Fragments.
METHODIUS; ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS; PETER OF ALEXANDRIA;

Anatolius; Clement on Virginity; and Fragments.
TERTULLIAN, Volume Second.
APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS; ACTS AND REVELATIONS, comprising all the very curious Apocryphal Writings of the first Three Centuries.

FIFTH YEAR.

TERTULLIAN, Volume Third (completion).

CLEMENTINE HOMILIES; APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS. In One Volume.
LANG E'S
COMMENTARIES ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Messrs. CLARK have now pleasure in intimating their arrangements, under the Editorship of Dr. Philip Schaff, for the Publication of Translations of the Commentaries of Dr. Lange and his Collaborators, on the Old and New Testaments.

Of the Old Testament, they have published the

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS, One Volume,
imperial 8vo, to which is prefixed a Theological and Homiletical Introduction to the Old Testament, and a Special Introduction to Genesis, by Professor Tayler Lewis, LL.D., comprising Excursus on all the chief subjects of Controversy.

COMMENTARY ON PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, AND
THE SONG OF SOLOMON, in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS,
in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON JOSHUA, JUDGES, AND RUTH, in One
Volume.

Other Volumes on the Old Testament are in active preparation, and will be announced as soon as ready.


They had resolved to issue that on St. John only in the imperial 8vo form; but at the request of many of their Subscribers they will publish it (without Dr. Schaff’s Additions) in Two Volumes, demy 8vo, uniform with the Foreign Theological Library, which will be supplied to Subscribers at 10s. 6d.

There are now ready (in imperial 8vo, double column),

COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE EOMANS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE GALATIANS, EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS, and COLOSSIANS. In One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS, TIMOTHY, TITUS, PHILEMON, and HEBREWS. In One Vol.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF JAMES, PETER, JOHN, and JUDE. In One Volume.

The New Testament is thus complete, with the exception of the Commentary on the Book of Revelation, which is in progress.

The Commentaries on Matthew, in one vol.; Mark and Luke, in one vol.; and on Acts, in one vol., may be had uniform with the above if desired.
Each of the above volumes (four on Old Testament and five on Epistles) will be supplied to Subscribers to the Foreign Theological Library and Ante-Nicexe Library, or to Purchasers of complete sets of Old Testament (so far as published), and of Epistles, at 15s. The price to others will be 21s. each volume.

BQ 5676 1871 v. 6 IMS cop. 2

St. Augustine Letters, vol. 1

[*End: Vol. VI (Scan 1)*]

[*Beg: Vol. VII*]
THE WORKS

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the

REY. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. VII.

ON THE TRINITY.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLAEEK, 38, GEOEGE STEEET.

MDCCCLXXIII.

---------------------
Source (of this Volume):
---------------------
PRINTED BY MURRAY AND GIBB,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON, .... HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.

DUBLIN, .... JOHN ROBERTSON AND CO.

NEW YORK, ... C. SCRIBNER AND CO.
ON THE TRINITY.

Cranfilateir by t]e REV. ARTHUR WEST HAD DAN, B.D.,
HON. CAKON OF WORCESTER, AND RECTOR OF BARTON-ON-THE-HEATH,
WARWICKSHIRE.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLAEK, 38, GEORGE STEEET.

MDCCCLXXIII.
While the last sheet of this volume was passing through the press, the labours of the accomplished translator were terminated by death. Mr. Haddan is mourned by all who knew him as an accurate and careful scholar, and an able and earnest man.

A JX. J>. JJ<

%à– . TFECLOGI:?iL.
THE history of St. Augustine's treatise on the Trinity, as gathered by Tillemont and others from his own allusions to it, may be briefly given. It is placed by him in his Retractations among the works written (which in the present case, it appears, must mean begun) in a.d. 400. In letters of a.d. 410, 414, and the end of a.d. 415 (Ad Consentium, Ep. 120, and two Ad Evodium, Epp. 162, 169), it is referred to as still unfinished and unpublished. But a letter of A.D. 412 (Ad Marcellinum, Ep. 143) intimates that friends were at that time importuning him, although without success, to complete and publish it. And the letter to Aurelius, which was sent to that bishop with the treatise itself when actually completed, informs us that a portion of it, while it was still unreviced and incomplete, was in fact surreptitiously made public, a proceeding which the letters above cited postpone apparently until at least after a.d. 415. It was certainly still in hand in A.D. 416, inasmuch as in Book XIII. a quotation occurs from the 12th Book of the Dg Civitate Dei; and another quotation in Book XV., from the 90th lecture on St. John, indicates most probably a date of at least a year later, viz. A.D. 417. The Retractations, which refer to it, are usually dated not later than k.t. 428. The letter to Bishop Aurelius also informs us that the work was many years in progress, and was begun in St. Augustine's early manhood, and finished in his old age. We may infer from this evidence that it was written by him between a.d. 400, when he was forty-sLx years old, and had been Bishop of Hippo about four years, and a.d. 428 at the latest; but probably it was published ten or twelve years before this date. He writes of it, indeed, himself, as if the " nonum prematur in annum " very inadequately represented the amount of deliberate and patient thought which a subject so profound and so sacred demanded, and which he had striven to give to it; and as if, even at the very last, he shrank from publishing his work, and was only driven to do so in order to remedy the mischief of its partial and unauthorized publication. /^ His motive for writing on the subject may be learned from the treatise itself It was not directed against any individual antagonist, or occasioned by any particular controversial emergency. In fact, his labours upon it were, he says, continually interrupted by the distraction of such controversies. Certain ingenious and subtle theories respecting types or resemblances of the Holy Trinity, traceable in human nature as being the image of God, seemed to him to supply, not indeed a logical proof, but a strong rational presumption, of the truth of the doctrine itself; and thus to make it incumbent upon him to expound and unfold them in order to meet rationalizing objectors upon (so to say) their
own ground. He is careful not to deal with these analogies or images as if they either constituted a purely argumentative proof or exhausted the full meaning of the doctrine, upon both which assumptions such speculations have at all times been the fruitful parent both of presumptuous theorizing and of grievous heresy. But he nevertheless employs them more affirmatively than would perhaps have been the case. While modern theologians would argue negatively, from the triplicity of independent faculties, "united, nevertheless, in the unity of a single human person," that any presumption of reason against the Trinity of persons in the Godhead is thereby, if not removed, at least materially and enormously lessened, St. Augustine seems to argue positively from analogous grounds, as though they constituted a direct intimation of the doctrine itself. But he takes especial pains, at the same time, to dwell upon the incapacity of human thought to fathom the depths of the nature of God; and he carefully prefaces his reasonings by a statement of the Scripture evidence of the catholic doctrine as a matter of faith and not of reason, and by an explanation of difficult texts upon the subject. One of the most valuable portions, indeed, of the treatise is the eloquent and profound exposition given in this part of it of the rule of interpretation to be applied to Scripture.

TEANSLATORS PREFACE. VII

language respecting the person of our Lord. It should be noticed, however, that a large proportion of St. Augustine's scriptural exegesis is founded upon a close verbal exposition of the old Latin version, and is frequently not borne out by the original text. And the rule followed in rendering Scripture texts in the present translation has been, accordingly, wherever the argument in the context rests upon the variations of the old Latin, there to translate the words as St. Augustine gives them, while adhering otherwise to the language of the authorized English version. The reader's attention may allowably be drawn to the language of Book V. c. 10, and to its close resemblance to some of the most remarkable phrases of the Athanasian Creed, and again to the striking passage respecting miracles in Book III. c. 5, and to that upon the nature of God at the beginning of Book V.; the last named of which seems to have suggested one of the profoundest passages in the profoundest of Dr. ISTewman's University Sermons (p. 353, ed. 1843). It may be added, that the writings of the Greek Fathers on the subject were, if not wholly unknown, yet unfamiliar to Augustine, who quotes directly only the Latin work of Hilary of Poictiers.

It remains to say, that the translation here printed was made about four years since by a friend of the writer of this preface, and that the latter's share in the work has been that of thoroughly revising and correcting it, and of seeing it through the press. He is therefore answerable for the work as now published.

A. W. H.
Nov. 5, 1872.
In the Retractations (ii. 15) Augustine speaks of this work in the following terms: â€”

"I spent some years in writing fifteen books concerning the Trinity, which is God. When, however, I had not yet finished the thirteenth Book, and some who were exceedingly anxious to have the work were kept waiting longer than they could bear, it was stolen from me in a less correct state than it either could or would have been liable to appear when I intended. And as soon as I discovered this, having other copies of it, I had determined at first not to publish it myself, but to mention what had happened in the matter in some other work; but at the urgent request of brethren, whom I could not refuse, I corrected it as much as I thought fit, and finished and published it, "with the addition, at the beginning, of a letter that I had written to the venerable Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, in which I set forth, in the way of preface, what had happened, what I had intended to do of myself, and what love of my brethren had forced me to do."

The letter to which he here alludes is the following: â€”

"To the most blessed Lord, whom he reveres with most sincere love, to his holy brother and fellow - priest, Pope Aurelius, Augustine sends health in the Lord.

"I began as a very young man, and have published in my old age, some books concerning the Trinity, who is the supreme and true God. I had in truth laid the work aside, upon discovering that it had been prematurely, or rather surreptitiously, stolen from me before I had completed it, and before I had revised and put the finishing touches to it, as had been my intention. For I had not designed to publish the Books one by one, but all together, inasmuch as the progress of the inquiry led me to add the later ones to those which preceded them. When, therefore, these people had hindered the fulfilment of my purpose (in that some of them had obtained access to the work before I intended), I had given over dictating it, with the idea of making my complaint public in some other work that I might write, in order that whoso could might know that the Books had not been published by myself, but had been taken away from my possession before they were in my own judgment fit for publication. Compelled, however, by the eager demands of many of my brethren, and above all by your command, I have taken the pains, by God's help, to complete the work, laborious as it is; and as now corrected (not as I wished, but as I could, lest the Books should differ very widely from those which had surreptitiously got into people's hands), I have sent them to your Eeverence by my very dear son and fellow - deacon, and have allow^ed them
to be heard, copied, and read by every one that pleases.
Doubtless, if I could have fulfilled my original intention, although they would have contained the same sentiments, they would have been worked out much more thoroughly and clearly, so far as the difficulty of unfolding so profound a subject, and so far, too, as my own powers, might have allowed.
There are some persons, however, who have the first four, or rather five. Books, without the prefaces, and the twelfth with no small part of its later chapters omitted. But these, if they please and can, will amend the whole, if they become acquainted with the present edition. At any rate, I have to request that you will order this letter to be prefixed separately, but at the beginning of the Books. Farewell. Pray for me.
CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

PAGE

The unity and equality of the Trinity are demonstrated out of the Scriptures; and the true interpretation is given of those texts which are wrongly alleged against the equality of the Son, 1

BOOK XL

The equality of the Trinity maintained against objections drawn from those texts which speak of the sending of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, , 42

BOOK III.

The appearances of God to the Old Testament saints are discussed, , 79

BOOK IV.

Augustine explains for what the Son of God was sent; but, however, that the Son of God, although made less by being sent, is not therefore less because the Father sent Him; nor yet the Holy Spirit less because both the Father sent Him and the Son, 107

BOOK V.

He proceeds to refute those arguments which the heretics put forward, not out of the Scriptures, but from their own conceptions. And first he refutes the objection, that to beget and to be begotten, or that to be begotten and not-begotten, being different, are therefore different substances, and shows that these things are spoken of God relatively, and not according to substance, 145

BOOK VI.

In reply to the argument alleged against the equality of the Son from the apostle's words, saying that Christ is the "power of God and the wisdom of God," he propounds the question whether the Father Himself is not wisdom. But deferring for a while the answer to this, he adduces
further proof of the unity and equality of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that God ought to be said and believed to be a Trinity, not threefold. And he adds an explanation of the saying of Hilary — Eternity in the Father, Appearance in the Image, and Use in the Gift, 165

BOOK VII.

He resolves the question he had deferred, and teaches us that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one power and one wisdom, no other wise than one God and one essence. And he then inquires how it is that, in speaking of God, the Latins say. One essence, three persons; but the Greeks, One essence, three substances or hypostases, . . 179

BOOK VIII.

He advances reasons to show not only that the Father is not greater than the Son, but that neither are both together anything greater than the Holy Spirit, nor any two together in the same Trinity anything greater than one, nor all three together anything greater than each singly. 
He also intimates that the nature of God may be understood from our understanding of truth, from our knowledge of the supreme good, and from our implanted love of righteousness; but above all, that our knowledge of God is to be sought through love, in which he notices a trio of things which contains a trace of the Trinity, .... 201

BOOK IX.

^ He instructs us that there is a kind of trinity discernible in man, who is the image of God, viz. the mind, and the knowledge by which the mind knows itself, and the love wherewith it loves both itself and its own knowledge; these three being mutually equal and of one essence, . 222

BOOK X.

' That there is yet another and a more manifest trinity to be found in the mind of man, viz. in his memory, understanding, and will, . . 241

BOOK XL

? That even in the outer man some traces of a trinity may be detected, as e.g. in the bodily sight, and in the recollection of objects seen with the bodily sight, 261
BOOK XI L

After premising the difference between wisdom and knowledge, he points out a kind of trinity in that which is properly called knowledge; but one which, although we have reached in it the inner man, is not yet to be called the image of God, 284

CONTENTS. XIII

BOOK XIII.

He expounds this trinity that he has found in knowledge by commending Christian faith, .307

BOOK XIV.

He speaks of the true wisdom of man, viz. that by which he remembers, understands, and loves God; and shows that it is in this very thing that the mind of man is the image of God, although his mind, which is here renewed in the knowledge of God, will only then be made the perfect likeness of God in that image when there shall be a perfect sight of God, 344

BOOK XV.

He embraces in a brief compendium the contents of the precedent books; and finally shows that the Trinity, in the perfect sight of which consists the blessed life that is promised us, is here seen by us as in a glass and in an enigma, so long as it is seen through that image of God which we ourselves are, . . .â€¢ 377
THE FIFTEEN BOOKS OF
AURELIDS AUGUSTINUS,
BISHOP OF HIPPO,
ON THE TRINITY.
BOOK I.

IN WHICH THE TRINITY AND EQUALITY OF THE SUPREME TRINITY IS ESTABLISHED FROM THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, AND SOME TEXTS ALLEGED AGAINST THE EQUALITY OF THE SON ARE EXPLAINED.

Chap. 1. 'Tis this work is written against those who sophistically assail the faith of the Trinity, through misuse of reason. They who demne concerning God err from a threefold cause. Holy Scripture, removing what is false, leads us on by degrees to things divine.

What true immortality is. We are nourished by faith, that we may be enabled to apprehend things divine.

1. The following dissertation concerning the Trinity, as the JL reader ought to be informed, has been written in order to guard against the sophistries of those who disdain to begin with faith, and are deceived by a crude and perverse love of reason. Now one class of such men endeavour to transfer to things incorporeal and spiritual the ideas they have formed, whether through experience of the bodily senses, or by natural human wit and diligent quickness, or by the aid of art, from things corporeal; so as to seek to measure and conceive of the former by the latter. Others, again, frame whatever sentiments they may have concerning God according to the nature or affections of the human mind; and through this error they govern their discourse, in disputing concerning God, by distorted and fallacious rules. While yet a third class strive indeed to transcend the whole creation, which doubtless is

DE TPJN. A

ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

changeable, in order to raise their thought to the immovable substance, which is God; but being weighed down by the burden of mortality, whilst they both would seem to know what they do not, and cannot know what they would, preclude themselves from entering the very path of understanding, by an over-bold affirmation of their own presumptuous judgments; choosing rather not to correct their own opinion when it is perverse, than to change that which they have once defended.

And, indeed, this is the common disease of all the three classes which I have mentioned, viz., both of those who frame their thoughts of God according to things corporeal, and of those who do so according to the spiritual creature, such as is the soul; and of those who neither regard the body nor the spiritual creature, and yet think falsely about God; and are indeed so much the further from the truth, that nothing can be found answering to their conceptions, either in the body, or in the made or created spirit, or in the Creator Himself. For he who thinks, for instance, that God is white or red, is in error;
and yet these things are found in the body. Again, he who thinks of God as now
forgetting and now remembering, or anything of the same kind, is none the less in error;
and yet these things are found in the mind. But he who thinks that God is of such power
as to have generated Himself, is so much the more in error, because not only does God
not so exist, but neither does the spiritual nor the bodily creature; for there is nothing
whatever that generates its own existence. -4_

2. In order, therefore, that the human mind might be purged from falsities of this kind.
Holy Scripture, which suits itself to babes, has not avoided words drawn from any class
of things really existing, through which, as by nourishment, our understanding might rise
gradually to things divine and transcendent. For, in speaking of God, it has both used
words taken from things corporeal, as when it says, " Hide me under the shadow of Thy
wings; " ^ and it has borrowed many things from the spiritual creature, whereby to
signify that which indeed is not so, but must needs so be said: as, for instance, "I the Lord
thy God am a jealous God;" ^ and, "It repenteth me that I have made man." ^ But it has
drawn
1 Ps. xvii. 8. 2 Ex. XX. 5. Â« Gen. vi. 7.

CHAP. I.] ANTHrOPOMOEPHISM.

no words whatever, whereby to frame either figures of speech or enigmatic sayings, from
things which do not exist at all.
And hence it is that they who are shut out from the truth by that third kind of error are
more mischievously and emptily vain than their fellows; in that they surmise respecting
God, what can neither be found in Himself nor in any creature.
For divine Scripture is wont to frame, as it were, allurements for children, from the things
which are found in the creature; whereby, according to their measure, and as it were by
steps, the affections of the weak may be moved to seek those things that are above, and to
leave those things that are below. But the same Scripture rarely employs those things
which are spoken properly of God, and are not found in any creature; as, for instance, that
which was said to Moses, " I am that I
am; " and, " I Am hath sent me to you," -^ For since both body and soul also are said in
some sense to be, Holy Scripture certainly would not so express itself unless it meant to
be understood in some special sense of the term. So, too, that which the apostle says, " Who only hath immortality." ^
Since the soul also both is said to be, and is, in a certain manner immortal. Scripture
would not say " only hath," unices because true immortality is unchangeableness; which
no creature can possess, since it belongs to the Creator alone.
So also James says, " Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh
down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of
turning." ^ So also David, " Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed; but Thou
art the same." *
3. Further, it is difficult to contemplate and fully know the substance of God; who fashions things changeable, yet without any change in Himself, and creates things temporal, yet without any temporal movement in Himself. And it is necessary, therefore, to purge our minds, in order to be able to see ineffably that which is ineffable; whereto not having yet attained, we are to be nourished by faith, and led by such ways as are more suited to our capacity, that we may be rendered apt and able to comprehend it. And hence the apostle says, that "in Christ indeed are hid all the treasures of wisdom and know-

1 Ex. iii. 14. 2 1 T-jj vi 16^ 3 jas. i. 17. * Ps. cii. 26, 27.

ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

leclge; "^ and yet has commended Him to us, as to baloes in Christ, who, although already born again by His grace, yet are still carnal and psychical, not by that divine virtue wherein He is equal to the Father, but by that human infirmity whereby He was crucified. For he says, "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified; "^ and then he continues, "And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling." And a little after he says to them, "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat:

for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able." ^ There are some who are angry at language of this kind, and think it is used in slight to themselves, and for the most part prefer rather to believe that they who so speak to them have nothing to say, than that they themselves cannot understand what they have said. And sometimes, indeed, we do allege to them, not certainly that account of the case which they seek in their inquiries about God, â€” because neither can they themselves receive it, nor can we perhaps either apprehend or express it, â€” but such an account of it as to demonstrate to them how incapable and utterly unfit they are to understand that which they require of us. But they, on their parts, because they do not hear what they desire, think that we are either playing them false in order to conceal our own ignorance, or speaking in malice because we grudge them knowledge; and so go away indignant and perturbed.

Chap. ii, â€” In what manner this work proposes to discourse concerning the Trinity.

4. Wherefore, our Lord God helping, we will undertake to render, as far as we are able, that very account which they so importunately demand: viz., that the Trinity is the one and only and true God, and also how the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are rightly said, believed, understood, to be of one and the same substance or essence; in such wise that they may not fancy themselves mocked by excuses on our part, but may find by actual trial, both that the highest good is that which is discerned by the most purified minds, and that for
this reason it cannot be discerned or understood by themselves, because the eye of the human mind, being weak, is dazzled in that so transcendent light, unless it be invigorated by the nourishment of the righteousness of faith. First, however, we must demonstrate, according to the authority of the Holy Scriptures, whether the faith be so. Then, if God be willing and aid us, we may perhaps at least so far serve these talkative arguers as to enable them to find something which they are not able to doubt, that so, in that case where they cannot find the like, they may be led to lay the fault to their own minds, rather than to the truth itself or to our reasonings; and thus, if there be anything in them of either love or fear towards God, they may return and begin from faith in due order: perceiving at length how healthful a medicine has been provided for the faithful in the holy Church, whereby a heedful piety, healing the feebleness of the mind, may render it able to perceive the unchangeable truth, and hinder it from falling headlong, through disorderly rashness, into pestilent and false opinion. Either will I myself shrink from inquiry, if I am anywhere in doubt; nor be ashamed to learn, if I am anywhere in error.

Chap. iii. What Augustine requests from his readers. The errors of readers dull of comprehension not to be ascribed to the author.

5. Further let me ask of my reader, wherever, alike with myself, he is certain, there to go on with me; wherever, alike with myself, he hesitates, there to join with me in inquiring; wherever he recognises himself to be in error, there to return to me; wherever he recognises me to be so, there to call me back: so that we may enter together upon the path of charity, and advance towards Him of whom it is said, "Seek His face evermore." And I would make this pious and safe agreement, in the presence of our Lord God, with all who read my writings, as well in all other cases as, above all, in the case of those which inquire into the unity of the Trinity, of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; because in no other subject is error more dangerous, or inquiry more laborious, or the discovery of truth more profitable. If, then, any reader shall say, This is nob well said, because I do not understand it; such an one finds fault with my language, not with my faith: and it might perhaps in very truth have been
put more clearly; yet no man ever so spoke as to be understood in all things by all men. Let him, therefore, who finds this fault with my discourse, see whether he can understand other men who have handled similar subjects and questions, when he does not understand me: and if he can, let him put down my book, or even, if he pleases, throw it away; and let him spend labour and time rather on those whom he understands. Yet let him not think on that account that I ought to have been silent, because I have not been able to express myself so smoothly and clearly to him as those do whom he understands. For neither do all things, which all men have written, come into the hands of all. And possibly some, who are capable of understanding even these our writings, may not find those more lucid works, and may meet with ours only. And therefore it is useful that many persons should write many books, differing in style but not in faith, concerning even the same questions, that the matter itself may reach the greatest number some in one way, some in another. But if he who complains that he has not understood these things has never been able to comprehend any careful and exact reasonings at all upon such subjects, let him in that case deal with himself by resolution and study, that he may know better; not with me by quarrellings and wranglings, that I may hold my peace. Let him, again, who says, when he reads my book, Certainly I understand what is said, but it is not true, assert, if he pleases, his own opinion, and refute mine if he is able. And if he do this with charity and truth, and take the pains to make it known to me (if I am still alive), I shall then receive the most abundant fruit of this my labour. And if he cannot inform myself, most willing and glad should I be that he should inform those whom he can. Yet, for my part, "I meditate in the law of the Lord," if not "day and night," at least such short times as I can; and I commit my meditations to writing, lest they should escape me through forgetfulness; hoping by the mercy of God that He will make me hold steadfastly all

1 Ps. i. 2.

CHAP. IY. ] CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. 7

truths of which I feel certain; "but if in anything I he otherwise minded, that He will Himself reveal even this to me;" whether through secret inspiration and admonition, or through His own plain utterances, or through the reasonings of my brethren. This I pray for, and this my trust and desire I commit to Him, who is sufficiently able to keep those things which He has given me, and to render those which He has promised.

6. I expect, indeed, that some, who are more dull of understanding, will imagine that in some parts of my books I have held sentiments which I have not held, or have not held those which I have. But their error, as none can be ignorant, ought not to be attributed to me, if they have deviated into false doctrine through following my steps without apprehending me, whilst I am compelled to pick my way through a hard and obscure subject: seeing that neither can any one, in any way, rightly ascribe the numerous and various errors of heretics to the holy testimonies themselves of the divine books; although
all of them endeavour to defend out of those same Scriptures their own false and
erroneous opinions. The law of Christ, that is, charity, admonishes me clearly, and
commands me with a sweet constraint, that when men think that I have held in my books
something false which I have not held, and that same falsehood displeases one and
pleases another, I should prefer to be blamed by him who reprehends the falsehood,
rather than praised by him who praises it. For although I, who never held the error, am
not rightly blamed by the former, yet the error itself is rightly censured; whilst by the
latter neither am I rightly praised, who am thought to have held that which the truth
censures, nor the sentiment itself, which the truth also censures. Let us therefore essay the
work which we have undertaken in the name of the Lord

Chap. iv. â€” What is the doctrine of the Catholic faith is concerning the Trinity.

7. All those Catholic expounders of the divine Scriptures, both Old and New, whom I
have been able to read, who have written before me concerning the Trinity, Who is God,
have purposed to teach, according to the Scriptures, this doctrine, that the
-Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit intimate a divine unity

1 Phil. iii. 10.

8 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK 1.]

of one and the same substance in an indivisible equality; and therefore that they are not
three Gods, but one God: although the Father hath begotten the Son, and so He who is the
Father is not the Son; and the Son is begotten by the Father, and so He who is the Son is
not the Father; and the Holy Spirit is neither the Father nor the Son, but only the Spirit of
the Father and of the Son, Himself also co-equal with the Father and the Son, and
pertaining to the unity of the Trinity. / Yet not that this Trinity was born of the Virgin
Mary, and crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, and rose again the third day, and
ascended into heaven, but only the Son. JSTOR, again, that this Trinity descended in the
form of a dove upon Jesus when He was baptized; -^ nor that, on the day of Pentecost,
after the ascension of the Lord, when " there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing
mighty wind," ^ the same Trinity
" sat upon each of them with cloven tongues like as of fire,"
but only the Holy Spirit. Nor yet that this Trinity said from heaven, " Thou art my Son," ^
whether when He was baptized by John, or when the three disciples were with Him in the
mount,* or when the voice sounded, saying, " I have both glorified it, and will glorify it
again;" ^ but that it was a word of the Father only, spoken to the Son; although the Father,
and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as they are indivisible, so work indivisibly. ^^ This is
also my faith, since it is the Catholic faith.

Chap. v. â€” Of difficulties concerning the Trinity: in vjlicit manner three are one Godf
and liow, loooking indivisihly, they yet â€œperform some things severally.
8. Some persons, however, find a difficulty in this faith; when they hear that the Father is God, and the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, and yet that this Trinity is not three Gods, but one God; and they ask how they are to understand this: especially when it is said that the Trinity works indivisibly in everything that God works, and yet that a certain voice of the Father spoke, which is not the voice of the Son; and that none except the Son was born in the flesh, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended into heaven; and that none except

â€¢ 1:Matt. iii. 16. ^cts ii. 2, 4. ^i^j.^] i. n.

* Matt. xvii. 5. ^ johu xii. 28.

CHAP, v.] DIFFICULTIES OF THE DOCTRINE. 9

the Holy Spirit came in the form of a dove. They wish to understand how the Trinity uttered that voice which was only of the Father; and how the same Trinity created that flesh in which the Son only was born of the Virgin; and how the very same Trinity itself wrought that form of a dove, in which the Holy Spirit only appeared. Yet, otherwise, the Trinity does not work indivisibly, but the Father does some things, the Son other things, and the Holy Spirit yet others; or else, if they do some things together, some severally, then the Trinity is not indivisible. It is a difficulty, too, to them, in what manner the Holy Spirit is in the Trinity, whom neither the Father nor the Son, nor both, have begotten, although He is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son. Since, then, men weary us with asking such questions, let us unfold to them, as we are able, whatever wisdom God's gift has bestowed upon our weakness on this subject; neither " let us go on our way with consuming envy." Should we say that we are not accustomed to think about such things, it would not be true; yet if we acknowledge that such subjects commonly dwell in our thoughts, carried away as we are by the love of investigating the truth, then they require of us, by the law of charity, to make known to them what we have herein been able to find out. " ISTot as though I had already attained, either were already perfect " (for, if the Apostle Paul, how much more must I, who lie far beneath his feet, count myself not to have apprehended !); but, according to my measure, " if I forget those things that are behind, and reach forth unto those things which are before, and press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling," ^ I am requested to disclose so much of the road as I have already passed, and the point to which I have reached, whence the course yet remains to bring me to the end. And those make the request, whom a generous charity compels me to serve.

Needs must too, and God will grant that, in supplying them with matter to read, I shall profit myself also; and that, in seeking to reply to their inquiries, I shall myself likewise find that for which I was inquiring. Accordingly I have undertaken the task, by the bidding and help of the Lord my God, not so much of discoursing with authority respecting things I

> Wisd. vi. 23. 2 pi^ij^ -^i 12 -14.
know already, as of learning those things by piously discoursing of them.

Chap. vi. â€” That the Son is very God, of the same substance with the Father. Not only the Father, but the Trinity, is affirmed to be immortal. All things are not from the Father alone, but also from the Son. That the Holy Spirit is very God, equal with the Father and the Son.

9. Those who have said that our Lord Jesus Christ is not God, or not very God, or not with the Father the One and only God, or not truly immortal because changeable, are proved wrong by the most plain and unanimous voice of divine testimonies; as, for instance, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." For it is plain that we are to take the Word of God to be the only Son of God, of whom it is afterwards said, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," on account of that birth of His incarnation, which was wrought in time of the Virgin. "But herein is declared, not only that He is God, but also that He is of the same substance with the Father; because, after saying, "And the Word was God," it is said also, "The same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made." Not simply, "all things;" but only all things that were made, that is, the whole creature. From which it appears clearly, that He Himself was not made, by whom all things were made. And if He was not made, then He is not a creature; but if He is not a creature, then He is of the same substance with the Father, "â€”or all substance that is not God is creature; and all that is not creature is God. And if the Son is not of the same substance with the Father, then He is a substance that was made: and if He is a substance that was made, then all things were not made by Him; but "all things were made by Him," therefore He is of one and the same substance with the Father. /And so He is not only God, but also very God. , And the same John most expressly affirms this in his epistle: "For we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know the true God, and that we may be in His true Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life."^ 1 John i. 1, 14, 2, 3. 2 joim v. 20.

CHAP. VI.] DIVINITY OF THE SON. 11

10. Hence also it follows by consequence, that the Apostle Paul did not say, "Who alone has immortality/ of the Father merely; but of the One and only God, which is the Trinity itself For that which is itself eternal life is not mortal according to any changeableness;
and hence the Son of God, because "He is Eternal Life," is also Himself understood with the Father, where it is said, "Who only hath immortality."

For Ave, too, are made partakers of this eternal life, and become, in our own measure, immortal. But the eternal life itself, of which we are made partakers, is one thing; we ourselves, who, by partaking of it, shall live eternally, are another.

For if he had said, "Whom in His own time the Father will show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality;" not even so would it be necessarily understood that the Son is excluded.

For neither has the Son separated the Father from Himself, because He Himself, speaking elsewhere with the voice of wisdom (for He Himself is the Wisdom of God), says, "I alone compassed the circuit of heaven." And therefore so much the more is it not necessary that the words, "Who hath immortality," should be understood of the Father alone, omitting the Son; when they are said thus: "That thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ: whom in His own time He will show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting.

Amen." In which words neither is the Father specially named, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit; but the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; that is, the One and only and true God, the Trinity itself.

11. But perhaps what follows may interfere with this meaning; because it is said, "Whom no man hath seen, nor can see:" although this may also be taken as belonging to Christ according to His divinity, which the Jews did not see, who yet saw and crucified Him in the flesh; whereas His divinity can in no wise be seen by human sight, but is seen

1 1 Cor. i. 24. 2 Ecelus. xxiv. 5. ^j^iip^, yi 14-16.

0:S' THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

Aviti that sight with which they who see are no longer men, but beyond men. Eightly, therefore, is God Himself, the Trinity, understood to be the "blessed and only Potentate," who "shows the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in His own time." For the words, "Who only hath immortality," are said in the same way as it is said, "Who only doeth wondrous things," "And I should be glad to know of whom they take these words to be said. If only of the Father, how then is that true which the Son Himself says, "For what things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise"? Is there any, among wonderful works, more wonderful than to raise up and quicken the dead? Yet the same Son saith, "As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will." How, then, does the Father alone "do wondrous things," when these
words allow us to understand neither the Father only, nor the Son only, but assuredly the one only true God, that is, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit?

1 2. Also, when the same apostle says, "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him," who can doubt that he speaks of all things which are created; as does John, when he says, " All things were made by Him " ? I ask, therefore, of whom he speaks in another place: " For of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen." * For if of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so as to assign each clause severally to each person: of Him, that is to say, of the Father; through Him, that is to say, through the Son; in Him, that is to say, in the Holy Spirit, â€” it is manifest that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one God, inasmuch as the words continue in the singular number, " To whom be glory for ever." For at the beginning of the passage he does not say, " the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge " of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, but " of the wisdom and knowledge of God I " How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding

1 Ps. Ixxii. 18. 2 John v. 19, 21. ^ i Cor. viii. 6.

* Rom. xi. 36. ^ ipgi.

CHAP. YI.] DIVINITY OF THE HOLY GHOST. 13

out ! For who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who hath been His counsellor ? Or who hath first given to Him and it shall be recompensed unto him again ? For of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen." * But if they will have this to be understood only of the Father, then in what way are all things by the Father, as is said here; and all things by the Son, as where it is said to the Corinthians, "And one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things," ^ and as in the Gospel of John, " All things were made by Him " ? For if some things were made by the Father, and some by the Son, then all things were not made by the Father, nor all things by the Son; but if all things were made by the Father, and all things by the Son, then the same things were made by the Father and by the Son. The Son, therefore, is equal with the Father, and the working of the Father and the Son is indivisible. Because if the Father made even the Son, whom certainly the Son Himself did not make, then all things were not made by the Son; but all things were made by the Son: therefore He Himself was not made, that with the Father He might make all things that were made. And the apostle has not refrained from using the very word itself, but has said most expressly,

" Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; " ^ using here the name of God specially of the Father; as elsewhere, " But the head of Christ is God." ^
13. Similar evidence has been collected also concerning the Holy Spirit, of which those who have discussed the subject before ourselves have most fully availed themselves, that He too is God, and not a creature. But if not a creature, then not only God (for men likewise are called gods), but also very God; and therefore absolutely equal with the Father and the Son, and in the unity of the Trinity consubstantial and co-eternal. "Ut that the Holy Spirit is not a creature is made quite plain by that passage above all others, where we are commanded not to serve the creature, but the Creator not in the sense in which we are commanded to "serve" one another by love, which is in Greek BoXevecv, but in that in

Â» Rom. xi. 33-36. ^ i Qq, y^q^i q^ 3 pj^q^j^ [i q^ 4 i Cor. xi. 3.

fi Ps. lxxxii. 6. 6 jiQ^ 25. 7 Gal. v. 13.

14 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

which God alone is served, which is in Greek Xarpevetv. From whence they are called idolaters who tender that service to imasfes which is due to God. For it is this service concerning which it is said, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." For this is found also more distinctly in the Greek Scriptures, which have Xarpevaecq. "^Now if we are forbidden to serve the creature with such a service, seeing that it is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve" (and hence, too, the apostle repudiates those who worship and serve the creature more than the Creator), then assuredly the Holy Spirit is not a creature, to whom such a service is paid by all the saints;
as says the apostle, "For we are the circumcision, which serve the Spirit of God," which is in the Greek Xarpevovre^;

For even most Latin copies also have it thus, "We who serve the Spirit of God;" but all Greek ones, or almost all, have it so. Although in some Latin copies we find, not "We worship the Spirit of God," but, "We worship God in the Spirit." But let those who err in this case, and refuse to give up to the more weighty authority tell us whether they find this text also varied in the mss. /" Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?" Yet what can be more senseless or more profane, than that any one should dare to say that the members of Christ are the temple of one who, in their opinion, is a creature inferior to Christ? For the apostle says in another place, "Your bodies are members of Christ." But if the members of Christ are the temple of the Holy Spirit, then the Holy Spirit is not a creature; because we must needs owe to Him, from whom our body is the temple, that service wherewith God only is to be served which in Greek is called Xarpela. And accordingly the apostle says, "Therefore glorify God in your body." ^

CiiAP. VII. â€” In what manner the Son is less than the Father, and than Himself.
14. In these and like testimonies of the divine Scriptures, by free use of which, as I have said, our predecessors exploded such sophistries or errors of the heretics, the unity and equality of the Trinity are intimated to our faith. But because, on account of the incarnation of the Word of God for the working out of our salvation, that the man Christ Jesus might be the Mediator between God and men, many things are so said in the sacred books as to signify, or even most expressly declare, the Father to be greater than the Son; men have erred through a want of careful examination or consideration of the whole tenor of the Scriptures, and have endeavoured to transfer those things which are said of Jesus Christ according to the flesh, to that substance of His which was eternal before the incarnation, and is eternal. They say, for instance, that the Son is less than the Father, because it is written that the Lord Himself said, "My Father is greater than I." But the truth shows that after the same sense the Son is less also than Himself; for how was He not made less than Himself, who emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant? For He did not so take the form of a servant as that He should lose the form of God, in which He was equal to the Father. If, then, the form of a servant was so taken that the form of God was not lost, since both in the form of a servant and in the form of God He Himself is the same only-begotten Son of God the Father, in the form of God equal to the Father, in the form of a servant the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; is there any one who cannot perceive that He Himself in the form of God is also greater than Himself, but yet likewise in the form of a servant less than Himself? And not, therefore, without cause the Scripture says both the one and the other, both that the Son is equal to the Father, and that the Father is greater than the Son. For there is no confusion when the former is understood as on account of the form of God, and the latter as on account of the form of a servant. And, in truth, this rule for clearing the question through all the sacred Scriptures is set forth in one chapter of an epistle of the Apostle Paul — where this distinction is commended to us plainly enough, yea or He says, "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and was found in fashion as a man." The Son of God, then, is equal to God the Father in nature, but less in "fashion." For in the form of a servant which He took He is less than the Father; but in the form of God, in which also He was before He
took the form of a servant. He is equal to the Father. In the form of God He is the Word, "by whom all things are made;" * but in the form of a servant He was "made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law." ^ In like manner, in the form of God He made man; in the form of a servant He was made man./ For if the Father alone had made man without the Son, it would not have been written, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." ^/Therefore, because the form of God took the form of a servant, both is God and both is man; but both God, on account of God who takes; and both man, on account of man who is taken.

For neither by that taking is the one of them turned and changed into the other: the Divinity is not changed into the creature, so as to cease to be Divinity; nor the creature into Divinity, so as to cease to be creature./

Chap. viii. â€” The texts of Scripture explained respecting the subjection of the Son to the Father, which have been misunderstood. Christ will not so give up the kingdom to the Father, as to take it away from Himself. The beholding Him is the promised end of all actions. The Holy Spirit is sufficient to our blessedness equally with the Father.

15. As for that which the apostle says, "And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him:" either the text has been so turned, lest any one should think that the "fashion " ^ of Christ, which He took according to the human creature, was to be transformed hereafter into the Divinity, or (to express it more precisely) the Godhead itself, who is not a creature, but is the unity of the Trinity, â€” a nature incorporeal, and unchangeable, and consubstantial, and co-eternal with itself; or if any one contends, as some have thought, that the text, "Then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him," is so turned

1 Habitu. 2 Phil, ii, 6^ 7. 3 Habitu. ^ John i. 3.


CHAP. VIII.] SUCEOEDINATION OF THE SOX. 17

in order that one may believe that very "subjection " to be a change and conversion hereafter of the creature into the substance or essence itself of the Creator, that is, that that which had been the substance of a creature shall become the substance of the Creator; â€” such an one at any rate admits this, of which in truth there is no possible doubt, that this had not yet taken place, when the Lord said, "My Father is greater than I." For He said this not only before He ascended into heaven, but also before He had suffered, and had risen from the dead. But they who think that the human nature in Him is to be changed and converted into the substance of the Godhead, and that it was so said, "Then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him," â€” as if to say, Then also the Son of man Himself, and the human nature taken by the Word of God, shall be changed into the nature of Him who put all things under Him, â€”
must also think that this will then take place, when, after the day of judgment, "He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father." And hence even still, according to this opinion, the Father is greater than that form of a servant which was taken of the Virgin. But if some affirm even further, that the man Christ Jesus has already been changed into the substance of God, at least they cannot deny that the human nature still remained, when He said before His passion, "For my Father is greater than I;" whence there is no question that it was said in this sense, that the Father is greater than the form of a servant, to whom in the form of God the Son is equal. Nor let any one, hearing what the apostle says, "But when He saith all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted which did put all things under Him," think the words, that He hath put all things under the Son, to be so understood of the Father, as that He should not think that the Son Himself put all things under Himself. For this the apostle plainly declares, when he says to the Philippians, "For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able even to

1 1 Cor. XV. 28, 24, 27.
DE THIN. B

18 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

subdue all things unto Himself." For the working of the Father and of the Son is indivisible. Otherwise, neither hath the Father Himself put all things under Himself, but the Son hath put all things under Him, who delivers the kingdom to Him, and puts down all rule and all authority and power. For these words are spoken of the Son: "When He shall have delivered up," says the apostle, "the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and all power." For the same that puts down, also makes subject.

16. Neither may we think that Christ shall so give up the kingdom to God, even the Father, as that He shall take it away from Himself. For some vain talkers have thought even this. For when it is said, "He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," He Himself is not excluded; because He is one God together with the Father. But that word "until" deceives those who are careless readers of the divine Scriptures, but eager for controversies. For the text continues, "For He must reign, until He hath put all enemies under His feet:" as though, when He had so put them. He would no more reign. I neither do they deceive that this is said in the same way as that other text, "His heart is established: He shall not be afraid, until He see His desire upon His enemies." For He will not then be afraid when He has seen it. What then means, "When He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," as though God and the Father has not the kingdom now? But because He is hereafter to bring all the just, over whom now, living by faith, the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, reigns, to that sight which the same apostle calls
" face to face;" ^ therefore the Avords, " When He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," are as much as to say. When He shall have brought believers to the contemplation of God, even the Father. For He says, " All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." ^ The Father will then be revealed by the Son,

1 Subjicere. - Phil. iii. 20, 21. ^ Evaciaverit. ^ 1 Cor, xv. 24, 25.

^ Ps. cxii. 8. 6 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 7 Matt. xi. 27.

CHAP. YIII.] SUBOEDINATION OF THE SON. 19

" when He shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and all power;" that is, in such wise that there shall be no more need of any economy of similitudes, by means of angelic rulers, and authorities, and powers. Of whom that is not unfitly understood, which is said in the Song of Songs to the bride, " We will make thee borders ^ of gold, with studs of silver, while the King sitteth at His table;" ^ that is, as loner as Christ is in His secret place: since " your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our^ life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." "^ Before which time, " we see now through a glass, in an enigma/ that is, in similitudes, " but then face to face." ^

17. For this contemplation is held forth to us as the end of all actions, and the everlasting fulness of joy. For " we are the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is." ^ Tor that which He said to His servant Moses, " I am that I am; thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me to you;"^ this it is which we shall contemplate when we shall live in eternity. For so it is said, "'And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." ^ This shall be when the Lord shall have come, and *^ shall have brought to light the hidden things of darkness;" ^ when the darkness of this present mortality and corruption shall have passed away. Then will be our morning, which is spoken of in the Psalm, " In the morning will I direct my prayer unto Thee, and wiU contemplate Thee." ^^ Of this contemplation I understand it to be said, " "When He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father;" that is, when He shall have brought the just, over whom now, living by faith, the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, reigns, to the contemplation of God, even the Father. If herein I am foolish, let him who knows better correct me; to me at least the case seems as I have said. For we shall not seek anything else, when we

^ Similitudines. ^ In recubiti. Cant. i. 11; seeLXX. ^ Yestra.

4 Col. iii. 3, 4. ^1 Cor. xiii. 12. Â« 1 John iii. 2. 7 Ex. iii. 14.
shall have come to the contemplation of Him. But that contemplation is not yet, so long as our joy is in hope. For "hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." \(^{\text{viz. }}\) "as long as the King sitteth at His table." \(^{\text{^1 Cor. iv. 5. ^0 Ps. v. 5.}}\) Then will take place that which is written, "In Thy presence is fulness of joy." \(^{\text{^20 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.}}\) Nothing more than that joy will be required; because there will be nothing more than can be required. For the Father will be manifested to us, and that will suffice for us. And this much Philip had well understood, so that he said to the Lord, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." But he had not yet understood that he himself was able to say this very same thing in this way also: Lord, show Thyself to us, and it sufficeth us. For, that he might understand this, the Lord replied to him, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me hath seen the Father." But because He intended him, before he could see this, to live by faith. He went on to say, "Believeth thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" \(^{\text{* John xiv. 8, 10. ^2 Ccr. v. C, 7. ^7 Matt. V. 8. 8 Ps. sci. IG. ^John x. 30.}}\) For "while we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord: for we walk by faith, not by sight." \(^{\text{\text{^pg. xvi. 11.}}\) For contemplation is the recompense of faith, for which recompense our hearts are purified by faith; as it is written, "Purifying their hearts by faith." \(^{\text{^3 Cant. i. 12.}}\) And that our hearts are to be purified for this contemplation, is proved above all by this text, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." \(^{\text{^1 Rom. viii. 24, 25. ^* John xiv. 8, 10. ^2 Ccr. v. C, 7. ^Acts xv. 9.}}\) And that this is life eternal, God says in the Psalm, "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation." \(^{\text{^4 John x. 30.}}\) Whether, therefore, we hear, Show us the Son; or whether we hear, Show us the Father; it is even all one, since neither can be manifested without the other. For they are one, as He also Himself says, "My Father and I are one." \(^{\text{^5 Finally, on account of this very indivisibility, it suffices that sometimes the Father alone, or the Son alone, should be named, as hereafter to fill us with the joy of His countenance.}}\)
Spirit is sometimes spoken of as if He alone sufficed to our blessedness: and He does alone so suffice, because He cannot be divided from the Father and the Son; as the Father alone is sufficient, because He cannot be divided from the Son and the Holy Spirit; and the Son alone is sufficient, because He cannot be divided from the Father and the Holy Spirit... For wdiat does He mean by saying, " If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive," "^ that is, the lovers of the world? For " the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." \(^^*\) But it may perhaps seem, further, as if the words, " And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter," were so said as if the Son alone were not sufficient. And that place so speaks of the Spirit, as if He alone were altogether sufficient: " "Wlien He, the Spirit of truth, is come. He will guide you into all truth." \(^^*\) Pray, therefore, is the Son here excluded, as if He did not teach all truth, or as if the Holy Spirit were to fill up that which the Son could not fully teach? Let them say then, if it pleases them, that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Son, whom they are wont to call less. Or is it, forsooth, because it is not said. He alone, â€” or, No one else except Himself â€” will guide you into all truth, that they allow that the Son also maybe believed to teach together with Him? In that case the apostle has excluded the Son from knowing those things which are of God, where he says, "Even so the things of God knoweth no one, but the Spirit of God:" \(^^*\) so that these perverse men might upon this ground go on to say that none but the Holy Spirit teaches even the Son the things of God, as the greater teaches the less; to whom the

1 John xiv. 17. \(^^*\) joj\(^^*\) xiv. 15-17. \(^^*\) i Cor. ii. 14.

\(^*\) John xvi. 13. 5 \(^^*\) i Cor. ii. 11.

22 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

Son Himself ascribes so much as to say, " But because I have said these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart. Nevertheless I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you." \(^^*\)

\(^^*\) Chap. ix. â€” All are sometimes understood in One Person.

But this is said, not on account of any inequality of the Word of God and of the Holy Spirit, but as though the presence of the Son of man with them would be a hindrance to the coming of Him, who was not less, because He did not " empty Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant," \(^^*\) as the Son did. It was necessary, then, that the form of a servant should be taken away from their eyes, because, through gazing upon it, they thought that alone which they saw to be Christ. Hence also is that which is said, " If ye loved me, ye would rejoice because I said, I go unto the Father; for my Father is greater than I; " \(^^*\) that is, on that account it is
necessary for me to go to the Father, because, whilst you see me thus, you hold me to be less than the Father, through that which you see; and so, being taken up with the creature and the "fashion" which I have taken upon me, you do not perceive the equality which I have with the Father. Hence, too, is this: "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father." * For touch, as it were, puts a limit to their conception, and He therefore would not have the thought of the heart, directed towards Himself, to be so limited as that He should be held to be only that which He seemed to be. But the "ascension to the Father" meant, so to appear as He is equal to the Father, that the limit of the sight which sufficeth us midit be attained there. Sometimes also it is said of the Son alone, that He himself sufficeth, and the whole reward of our love and longing is held forth as in the sight of Him. For so it is said, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." ^ Pray, because He has not here said. And I

1 John xvi. 0, 7. â— " Phil. ii. 7. ^ JqI^i^ ^iv. 28.


CILVr. IX.] ONE PERSON STANDS FOR ALL. 23

will show the Father also to him, has He therefore excluded the Father ? On the contrary, because it is true, "I and my Father are one/ when the Father is manifested, the Son also, who is in Him, is manifested; and when the Son is manifested, the Father also, who is in Him, is manifested. As, therefore, when it is said, "And I will manifest myself to him," it is understood that He manifests also the Father; so likewise in that which is said, "When He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," it is understood that He does not take it away from Himself; since, when He shall bring believers to the contemplation of God, even the Father, doubtless He will bring them to the contemplation of Himself, who has said, "And I will manifest myself to him." And so, consequently, when Judas had said to Him, "Lord, how is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world?" Jesus answered and said to him, "If a man love me, he will kee^D my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."^-Behold, that He manifests not only Himself to him by whom He is loved, because He comes to him together- with the Father, and abides with him.

19. Will it perhaps be thought, that when the Father and the Son make their abode with him who loves them, the Holy Spirit is excluded from that abode ? What, then, is that which is said above of the Holy Spirit: "Whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not: but ye know Him; for He abideth with you, and is in you" ? He, therefore, is not excluded from that abode, of whom it is said, "He abideth with you, and is in you;" unless, perhaps, any one be so senseless as to think, that when the Father and the Son have come that they may make their abode with him who loves them, the Holy Spirit will
depart thence, and (as it were) give place to those who are greater. But the Scripture itself meets this carnal idea; for it says a little above: "I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever." ^ He will not therefore depart when the Father and the Son come, but will be in the same abode with them eternally; because neither

1 Jolm xiv. 22, 23. 2 Jolm xiv. 16-23.

24 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

â– vwill He come without them, nor they without Him. But in order to intimate the Trinity, some things are separately affirmed, the Persons being also each severally named; and yet are not to be understood as though the other Persons were excluded, on account of the unity of the same Trinity and the One substance and Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

Chap. x. â€” In loliat manner Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father. The kingdom having been delivered to God, even the Father, Christ will not then make intercession for us.

20. Our Lord Jesus Christ, therefore, will so deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father, Himself not being thence excluded, nor the Holy Spirit, when He shall bring believers to the contemplation of God, wherein is the end of all good actions, and everlasting rest, and joy which never will be taken from us. For He signifies this in that which He says: " I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice; and your joy no man taketh from you." ^ Mary, sitting at the feet of the Lord, and earnestly listening to His Avord, foreshowed a similitude of this joy; resting as she did from all business, and intent upon the truth, according to that manner of which this life is capable, by which, however, to prefigure that which shall be for eternity. For while Martha, her sister, was cumbered about necessary business, which, although good and useful, yet, when rest shall have succeeded, is to pass away, she herself was resting in the word of the Lord. And so the Lord replied to Martha, when she complained that her sister did not help her: " Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her." ^ He did not say that Martha was acting a bad part; but that " best part that shall not be taken away." For that part which is occupied in the ministering to a need shall be " taken away" when the need itself has passed away. Since the reward of a good work that will pass away is rest that will not pass away. In that contemplation, therefore, God will be all in all; because nothing else but Himself will be required, but it will be sufficient to be enlightened by and to enjoy Him alone. And so he in whom " the Spirit maketh intercession with groanings which cannot

1 John xvi. 22. ^ L^x. x. 39-42.
be uttered,"^ says, "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that I will seek after; that I may
dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to contemplate the beauty of the
Lord." ^ For we shall then contemplate God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,
when the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, shall have delivered up
the kingdom to God, even the Father, so as no longer to make intercession for us, as our
Mediator and Priest, Son of God and Son of man; but that He Himself too, in so far as He
is a Priest that has taken the form of a servant for us, shall be put under Him who has put
all things under Him, and under whom He has put all things: so that, in so far as He is
God, He with Him will have put us under Himself; in so far as He is a Priest, He with us
will be put under Him."^ And therefore, as the Son is both God and man, it is rather to be said that the manhood in
the Son is another substance [from the Son], than the Son in the Father [is from the
Father]; just as the carnal nature of my soul is another substance in relation to my soul
itself, although in one and the same man, more than the soul of another man is in relation
to my soul.

21. When, therefore, He "shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father,"â€”that is, when He shall have brought those who believe and live by faith, for whom
now as Mediator He maketh intercession, to that contemplation, for the obtainings: of
which we sigh and groan, and when labour and groaning shall have passed away, â€”then, since the kingdom will have been delivered up to God, even the Father, He will no more make intercession for us. And this He signifies, when He says: " These things have I spoken unto you in similitudes; * but the
time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in similitudes,"* but I shall declare to ^
you plainly of the Father: " that is, they will not then be " similitudes," when the sight
shall be " face to face." For this it is which He says,
* But I will declare to you plainly of the Father; " as if He said, I will
" declare " to you, because He is His Word. For He goes on to say, " At that day ye shall ask in my name; and I say not

1 Eom. viii. 26. ^ Ps. xxvii. 4. ' 1 Cor. xv. 24-23.

* Proverbsâ€”A. Y. * Showâ€”A. V.

26 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]
unto you, that I will pray the Father for you: for the Father Himself loveth you, because je have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father." -^ What is meant by " I came forth from the Father," unless this, that I have not appeared in that form in which I am equal to the Father, but otherwise, that is, as less than the Father, in the creature which I have taken upon me ? And what is meant by " I am come into the world," unless this, that I have manifested to the eyes even of sinners who love this world, the form of a servant which I took, making myself of no reputation ? And what is meant by "Again, I leave the world," unless this, that I take away from the sight of the lovers of this world that which they have seen ? And what is meant by " I go to the Father," unless this, that I teach those who are my faithful ones to understand me in that being in which I am equal to the Father ?

Those who believe this will be thought worthy of being brought by faith to sight, that is, to that very sight, in bringing them to which He is said to " deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father." For His faithful ones, whom He has redeemed with His blood, are called His kingdom, for whom He now intercedes; but then, making them to abide in Himself there, where He is equal to the Father, He will no longer pray the Father for them. " For," He says, " the Father Himself loveth you." For indeed He " prays," in so far as He is less than the Father; but as He is equal with the Father, He with the Father grants. Wherefore He certainly does not exclude Himself from that which He says, " The Father Himself loveth you; " but He means it to be understood after that manner which I have above spoken of, and sufficiently intimated, â€” namely, that for the most part each Person of the Trinity is so named, that the other Persons also may be understood. Accordingly, " For the Father Himself loveth you," is so said, that by consequence both the Son and the Holy Spirit also may be understood: not that He does not now love us, who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; ^ but God loves us, such as we shall be, not such as we are.


CHAP. XI.] EQUALITY OF FATHER AND SOX. 27

For such as they are whom He loves, such are they whom He keeps eternally; which shall then be, when He who now maketh intercession for us shall have " delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," so as no longer to ask the Father, because the Father Himself loveth us. But for what deservenof, except of faith, by which we believe before we see that which is promised ? For by this faith we shall arrive at sight; so that He may love us, being such, as He loves us in order that we may become; and not such, as He hates us because we are, and exhorts and enables us to wish not to be always.

Chap. xi. â€” By icJiot rule in the Scriptures it is understood tliat the Son is now equal and noiv less.
22. Wherefore, having mastered this rule for interpreting the Scriptures concerning the Son of God, that we are to distinguish in them what relates to the form of God, in which He is equal to the Father, and what to the form of a servant which He took, in which He is less than the Father; we shall not be disquieted by apparently contrary and mutually repugnant sayings of the sacred books. For both the Son and the Holy Spirit, according to the form of God, are equal to the Father, because neither of them is a creature, as we have already shown: but according to the form of a servant He is less than the Father, because He Himself has said, "My Father is greater than I;" "^ and He is less than Himself, because it is said of Him, "He emptied Himself;" "^ and He is less than the Holy Spirit, because He Himself says, "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven Him."^ And in the Spirit too He wrought miracles, saying: "But if I with the Spirit of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you."* And in Isaiah He says, â€” in the lesson which He Himself read in the synagogue, and showed without a scruple of doubt to be fulfilled concerning Himself, â€” "The Spirit of the Lord God," He says, "is upon me: because He hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek. He hath sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives/ and etc.: for the doing of which things He therefore declares Himself to be "sent" because the Spirit of God is upon Him. According to the form of God, all things were made by Him;^ according to the form of a servant, He was Himself made of a woman, made under the law. According to the form of God, He and the Father are one; according to the form of a servant, He came not to do His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him. According to the form of God, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself;"^ according to the form of a servant, His "soul is sorrowful even unto death;" and, "my Father/ He says, "if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."^ According to the form of God, "He is the true God, and eternal life;"^ according to the form of a servant, "He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."^ â€” 23. According to the form of God, all things that the Father hath are His,^ and "All mine/ He says, "are Thine, and Thine are mine;"^ according to the form of a servant, the doctrine is not His own, but His that sent Him.^ 

1 John xiv. 2S. "Phil. ii. 7.

3 Usitt xii. 32. *Matt. xii. 28.

28 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

claim liberty to the captives/ etc.: for the doing of which things He therefore declares Himself to be "sent" because the Spirit of God is upon Him. According to the form of God, all things were made by Him; according to the form of a servant, He was Himself made of a woman, made under the law. According to the form of God, He and the Father are one; according to the form of a servant, He came not to do His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him. According to the form of God, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself;"^ according to the form of a servant, His "soul is sorrowful even unto death;" and, "my Father/ He says, "if it be possible, let this cup pass from me."^ According to the form of God, "He is the true God, and eternal life;"^ according to the form of a servant, "He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."^ â€” 23. According to the form of God, all things that the Father hath are His,^ and "All mine/ He says, "are Thine, and Thine are mine;"^ according to the form of a servant, the doctrine is not His own, but His that sent Him.^

Chap. xii. â€” In what manner the Son is said not to know the day and the hour in which the Father Jcnoivs. Some titings said of Christ according to the form of God, other things according to the form of a servant. In what ivay it is of Christ to give the kingdom, in ivhat not of Christ. Christ loill both judge and not judge.
Again, "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven; neither the Son, but the Father." ^^ For He is ignorant of this, as making others ignorant; that is, in that He did not so know as at that time to show His disciples: as it was said to Abraham, "Now I know that thou fearest God," that is, now I have caused thee to know it; because he himself, being tried in that temptation, became known to himself. For He was certainly going to tell this same thing to His disciples at the fitting time; speak-

Â» Isa. Ixi. 1; Luke iv. 18, 19. 2 j^i^i^i. 3. ^ q^]j^j^ 4,

* John X. 30. * John vi. 3S. ^ Jq^l^v_ o^v

7 Matt. xxvi. 38, 39. " 1 John v. 20. Â» Phil ii. 8.


13 Mark xiii. 32. ^^ Gen. xxii. 12.

CHAP. XIL] the nescience OF CHRIST. 29

ing of wliicli yet future as if past, He says, " Hencefortli I call you not servants, but friends; for the servant knowetli not what his Lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you;" which He had not yet done, but spoke as though He had already done it, because He certainly would do it. For He says to the disciples themselves, "I have yet many things to say unto you; but ye cannot bear them now."-

Among which is to be understood also, "Of the day and hour." For the apostle also says, "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified;" because he was speaking to those who were not able to receive higher things concerning the Godhead of Christ. To whom also a little while after he says, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal." * He was "ignorant," therefore, among them of that which they were not able to know from him. And that only he said that he knew, which it was fitting that they should know from him. In short, he knew among the perfect what he knew not among babes; for he there says: "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect." ^ For a man is said not to know what he hides, after that kind of speech, after which a ditch is called blind which is hidden. For the Scriptures do not use any other kind of speech than may be found in use among men, because they speak to men.

24. According to the form of God, it is said, "Before all the hills He begat me," that is, before all the loftinesses of things created; and, "Before the dawn I begat Thee," that is, before all times and temporal things: but according to the form of a servant, it is said, "}
The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways." ^ Because, according to the form of God, He said, " I am the truth; " and according to the form of a servant, " I am the way." ^ For, because He Himself, being the first-begotten of the dead," ^ made a passage to the kingdom of God to life eternal for His Church, to which He 33 so the Head as to make the body also immortal, therefore

1 John XV. 15. 2 john xvi. 12. ^1 Cor. ii. 2. ^ i Qq^.. ij^ i_  

^ 1 Cor. ii. 6. ^ Piov. viii. 25. ^ Ps. ex. 3, Vulgate.  

* Prov. viii. 22. ^ Jolm xiv. 6. ^o ^ poc. i. 5.  

30 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]  

He was " created in the beginning of the ways " of God in His work. For, according to the form of God, He is the beginning/ that also speaketh unto us, in which " beginning " God created the heaven and the earth; ^ but according to the form of a servant, " He is a bridegroom coming out of His chamber." ^  

According to the form of God, " He is the first-born of every creature, and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist; " according to the form of a servant, " He is the head of the body, the Church." * According to the form of God, " He is the Lord of glory." ^ From which it is evident that He Himself glorifies His saints: for, " Whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." ^ Of Him accordingly it is said, that He justifieth the ungodly; ^ of Him it is said, that He is just and a justifier. ^  

If, therefore. He has also glorified those whom He has justified. He who justifies. Himself also glorifies; who is, as I have said, the Lord of glory. Yet, according to the form of a servant. He replied to His disciples, when inquiring about their own glorification: " To sit on my right hand and on my left is not mine to give, but [it shall be given to them] for whom it is prepared by my Father." ^  

25. But that which is prepared by His Father is prepared also by the Son Himself, because He and the Father are one. ^ ^  

For we have already shown, by many modes of speech in the divine Scriptures, that, in this Trinity, what is said of each is also said of all, on account of the indivisible working of the one and same substance. As He also says of the Holy Spirit, " If I depart, I will send Him unto you." ^ ^ He did not say. We will send; but in such way as if the Son only should send Him, and not the Father; while yet He says in another place, " These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you; but the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, He shall teach you all things." ^ ^ Here again it is so said as if the Son also would not send Him, but the Father only. As therefore in these texts,

1 Jolm viii. 25. ^ Qen. i. 1. ^ pg, xix. 5. * Col. i. 15, 17, 18.
CHAP. XII.] HAILTATION OF THE SOX. 31

. SO also where He says, " But for them for whom it is prepared by my Father," He meant it to be understood that He Himself, with the Father, prepares seats of glory for those for whom He will. But some one may say: There, when He spoke of the Holy Spirit, He so says that He Himself will send Him, as not to deny that the Father will send Him; and in the other place. He so says that the Father will send Him, as not to deny that He will do so Himself; but here He expressly says, " It is not mine to give," and so goes on to say that these things are prepared by the Father. But this is the very thing which we have already laid down to be said according to the form of a servant: viz., that we are so to understand " It is not mine to give," as if it were said, This is not in the power of man to give; that so He may be understood to give it through that wherein He is God equal to the Father. " It is not mine," He says, " to give; " that is, I do not give these things by human power, but "to those for whom it is prepared by my Father; " but then take care you understand also, that if "all things which the Father hath are mine," then this certainly is mine also, and I with the Father have prepared these things.

26. For I ask again, in what manner this is said, "If any man hear not my words, I will not judge him"? For perhaps He has said here, " I will not judge him," in the same sense as there, " It is not mine to give." But what follows here?
" I came not," He says, " to judge the world, but to save the world; " and then He adds, " He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him." Now here we should understand the Father, unless He had added, " The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day." Well, then, will neither the Son judge, because He says, " I wiU not judge him; " nor the Father, but the word which the Son hath spoken ? ISTay, but hear what yet follows: " For I," He says, " have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me. He gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak; and I know that His commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak." If there-

^ John xvi. 15. " Jolin xii. 47-50.

ON THE TIUXITY. [BOOK I.]
fore the Son judges not, but "the word which the Son hath spoken," and the word which the Son hath spoken therefore judges, because the Son "hath not spoken of Himself, but the Father who sent Him gave Him a commandment what He should say, and what He should speak: "then the Father assuredly judges, whose word it is which the Son hath spoken; and the same Son Himself is the very Word of the Father.

For the commandment of the Father is not one thing, and the word of the Father another; for He hath called it both a word and a commandment. Let us see, therefore, whether perchance, when He says, "I have not spoken of myself," He meant to be understood thus, â€” I am not born of myself For if He speaks the word of the Father, then He speaks Himself,^ because He is Himself the Word of the Father. For ordinarily He says, "The Father gave to me:" by which He means it to be understood that the Father begat Him: not that He gave anything to Him, already existing and not possessing it; but that the very meaning of. To have given that He might have, is. To have begotten that He might be. For it is not, as with the creature, so with the Son of God before the incarnation and before He took upon Him our flesh, the Onlybegotten by whom all things were made; that He is one thing, and has another: but He is in such way as to he what He lias. And this is said more plainly, if any one is fit to receive it, in that place where He says: "For as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself" ^ For He did not give to Him, already existing and not having life, that He should have life in Himself; inasmuch as, in that He is, He is life. Therefore "He gave to the Son to have life in Himself" means. He begat the Son to be unchangeable life, which is life eternal. Since, therefore, the Word of God is the Son of God, and the Son of God is "the true God and eternal life," ^ as John says in his Epistle; so here, what else are we to acknowledge when the Lord says, "The word which I have spoken, the same shall judge him at the last day," ^ and calls that very word the word of the Father and the commandment of the Father, and that very command-


3 1 John V. 20. â€” * John xii. 48.

CHAP. XII.] THE TWO NATURES OF THE SON. 33

ment everlasting life "I "And I know," He says, "that His commandment is life everlasting."

27. I ask, therefore, how we are to understand, "I will not judge him; but the Word which I have spoken shall judge him:" which appears from what follows to be so said, as if He would say, I will not judge; but the Word of the Father will judge. But the Word of the Father is the Son of God Himself Is it to be so understood: I will not judge, but I will judge? How can this be true, unless in this way: viz. I will not judge by human power, because I am the Son of man; but I will judge by the power of the Word, because I
am the Son of God? Or if it still seems contradictory and inconsistent to say, I will not judge, but I will judge; what shall we say of that place where He says, "My doctrine is not mine"? How "mine," when "not mine"? For He did not say. This doctrine is not mine, but "My doctrine is not mine:" that which He called His own, the same He called not His own. How can this be true, unless He has called it His own in one relation; not His own, in another? According to the form of God, His own; according to the form of a servant, not His own. For when He says, "It is not mine, but His that sent me," He makes us recur to the Word itself: For the doctrine of the Father is the Word of the Father, which is the Only Son. And what, too, does that mean, "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me"? How believe on Him, yet not believe on Him? How can so opposite and inconsistent a thing be understood? "Who so believeth on me," He says, "believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me;" unless you so understand it, Whoso believeth on me believeth not on that which He sees, lest our hope should be in the creature; but on Him who took the creature, whereby He might appear to human eyes, and so might cleanse our hearts by faith, to contemplate Himself as equal to the Father? So that in turning the attention of believers to the Father, and saying, "Believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me," He certainly did not mean Himself to be separated from the Father, that is, from Him that sent Him; but that men might so believe on Himself, as they believe on the Father.

^ John vii. 16. - John xii. 44.

DE TPJX. C

34 01^ THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

to whom He is equal. And this He says in express terms in another place, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me:" that is, in the same way as you believe in God, so also believe in me; because I and the Father are One God. As therefore, here. He has as it were withdrawn the faith of men from Himself, and transferred it to the Father, by saying, "Believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me," from whom nevertheless He certainly did not separate Himself; so also, when He says, "It is not mine to give, but [it shall be given to them] for whom it is prepared by my Father," it is I think plain in what relation both are to be taken. For that other also is of the same kind, "I will not judge;" whereas He Himself shall judge the quick and dead. But because He will not do so by human power, therefore, reverting to the Godhead, He raises the hearts of men upwards; which to lift up, He Himself came down.

Chap. xiii. â€” Diverse tilings are spoTcen concerning the same Christ, on account of the diverse natures of the one hypostasis. Why it is said that the Father will not judge, but has given judgment to the Son.
28. Yet unless the very same were the Son of man on account of the form of a servant which He took, who is the Son of God on account of the form of God in which He is; Paul the apostle would not say of the princes of this world, "For had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." ^ For He was crucified after the form of a servant, and yet "the Lord of glory" was crucified. For that "taking" was such as to make God man, and man God. Yet what is said on account of what, and what according to what, the thoughtful, diligent, and pious reader discerns for himself, the Lord being his helper. For instance, we have said that He glorifies His own, as being God, and certainly then as being the Lord of glory; and yet the Lord of glory was crucified, because even God is rightly said to have been crucified, not after the power of the divinity, but after the weakness of the flesh: * just as we say, that He judges as God, that is, by divine power, not by human; and yet the man Himself will judge, just as the Lord of glory was crucified: for so He expressly says, " When the Son of man shall come in His glory,

1 Jolm xiv. 1. 2 2 Tim. iv. 1. ^ i Cor. ii. 8. * 2 Cor. xiii. 4.

CHAP. XIII.] THE TWO NATURES OF THE SON. 35

and all the holy angels with Him, and before Him shall be gathered all nations; " -^ and the rest that is foretold of the future judgment in that place even to the last sentence. And the Jews, inasmuch as they will be punished in that judgment for persisting in their wickedness, as it is elsewhere written,

" shall look upon Him whom they have pierced."^ For whereas both good and bad shall see the Judge of the quick and dead, without doubt the bad will not be able to see Him, except after the form in which He is the Son of man; but yet in the glory wherein He will judge, not in the lowliness wherein He was judged. But the ungodly without doubt will not see that form of God in which He is equal to the Father. For they are not pure in heart; and "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."^ And that sight is face to face,* the very sight that is promised as the highest reward to the just, and which will then take place when He " shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father;" and in this "kingdom"

He means the sight of His own form also to be understood, the whole creature being made subject to God, including that wherein the Son of God was made the Son of man. Because, according to this creature, " The Son also Himself shall be subject unto Him, that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all." ^ Otherwise if the Son of God, judging in the form in which He is equal to the Father, shall appear when He judges to the ungodly also; what becomes of that which He promises, as some great thing, to him who loves Him, saying, " And I will love him, and will manifest myself to him"?^ Wherefore He will judge as the Son of man, yet not by human power, but by that whereby He is the Son of God; and on the other hand. He will judge as the Son of God, yet not appearing in that form in which He is God equal to the Father, but in that in which He is the Son of man.
29. Therefore both ways of speaking maybe used; the Son of man will judge, and, the Son of man will not judge: since the Son of man will judge, that the text may be true which says, "When the Son of man shall come, then before Him shall be gathered all nations;" and the Son of man will not

1 Matt. XXV. 31, 32. ^ Zecli. xii. 10. Â» Matt. v. 8.

4 1 Cor. xiii. 12. Â« 1 Cor. xv. 24-28. ^ joim xiv. 21.

36 ON THE TRINITY. [cOOK I.

judge, that the text may he true which says, " I will not judge him; " ^ and, " I seek not mine own glory: there is One that seeketh and judgeth." ^ For in respect to this, that in the judgment, not the form of God, but the form of the Son of man will appear, the Father Himself will not judge; for according to this it is said, " For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." Whether this is said after that mode of speech which we have mentioned above, where it is said, " So hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself," ^ that it should signify that so He begat the Son; or, whether after that of which the apostle speaks, saying, " Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name:" â€” (For this is said of the Son of man, in respect to whom the Son of God was raised from the dead: since He, being in the form of God equal to the Father, wherefrom He " emptied" Himself by taking the form of a servant, both acts and suffers, and receives, in that same form of a servant, what the apostle goes on to mention: " He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, in the glory of God the Father:"^) â€” whether then the words, " He hath committed all judgment unto the Son," are said according to this or that mode of speech; it sufficiently appears from this place, that if they were said according to that sense in which it is said, " He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself," it certainly would not be said, " The Father judgeth no man." For in respect to this, that the Father hath begotten the Son equal to Himself, He judges with Him. Therefore it is in respect to this that it is said, that in the judgment, not the form of God, but the form of the Son of man will appear. Not that He will not judge, who hath committed all judgment unto the Son, since the Son saith of Him, " There is One that seeketh and judgeth; " but it is so said, " The Father judgeth no man, Â» John xii. 47. - John viii. 50. ^ jolm v. 22, 26. ^ Phil. ii. 8-11.

CHAP. XIII.] JUDGMENT COMMITTED TO THE SON. 37
but hath committed all judgment unto the Son;" as if it were said, Xo one will see the
Father in the judgment of the quick and the dead, but all will see the Son: because He is
also the Son of man, so that He can be seen even by the ungodly, since they too shall see
Him whom they have x^ierced.

30. Lest, however, we may seem to conjecture this rather than to prove it clearly, let us
produce a certain and plain sentence of the Lord Himself, by which we may show that
this was the cause why He said, " The Lather judgeth no man, but hath committed all
judgment unto the Son," viz. because He will appear as Judge in the form of the Son of
man, which is not the form of the Father, but of the Son; nor yet that form of the Son in
which He is equal to the Lather, but that in which He is less than the Lather; in order that,
in the judgment. He may be visible both to the good and to the bad.
For a little while after He says, " Verily, verily, I say unto you. He that heareth my word,
and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into
condemnation; but shall pass ^ from death unto life. Xow this life eternal is that sight
which does not belonc^ to the bad. Then follows, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, The
hour is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and
they that hear shall live." ^ And this is proper to the godly, who so hear of His
incarnation, as to believe that He is the Son of God; that is, who so receive Him, as made
for their sakes less than the Lather, in the form of a servant, that they believe Him equal
to the Lather, in the form of God. And thereupon He continues, enforcing this very point,
" Lor as the Lather hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in
Himself." ^ And then He comes to the sight of His own glory, in which He shall come to
judgment; wdiich sight will be common to the ungodly and to the just.
For He goes on to say, " And hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, because
He is the Son of man." ^ I
think nothing can be more clear. For inasmuch as the Son of God is equal to the Father,
He does not receive this power of executing judgment, but He has it with the Father in
secret; but He receives it, so that the good and the bad may see Him


38 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

judging, inasniLicli as He is the Son of man. Since the sight of the Son of man will be
shown to the bad also: for the sight of the form of God will not be shown except to the
XDure in heart, for they shall see God; that is, to the godly only, to whose love He
promises this very thing, that He will show Himself to them. And see, accordingly, what
follows: " ]Marvel not at this," He says. Why does He forbid us to marvel, unless it be
that, in truth, every one marvels who does not understand, that therefore He said the
Father gave Him power also to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man;
whereas, it might rather have been anticipated that He would say, since He is the Son of
God ? But because the wicked are not able to see the Son of God as He is in the form of
God equal to the Father, but yet it is necessary that both the just and the wicked should
see the Judge of the quick and dead, when they will be judged in His presence; " Marvel not at this," He says,
" for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." ^ For this purpose, then, it was necessary that He should therefore receive that power, because He is the Son of man, in order that all in rising again might see Him in the form in which He can be seen by all, but by some to damnation, by others to life eternal. And what is life eternal, unless that sight which is not granted to the ungodly ? " That they might know Thee," He says, " the One true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." ^ And how are they to know Jesus Christ Himself also, unless as the One true God, who will show Himself to them; not as He will show Himself, in the form of the Son of man, to those also that shall be punished ?

31. He is " good," according to that sight, according to which God appears to the pure in heart; for " truly God is good unto Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart." ^ But when the wicked shall see the Judge, He will not seem good to them; because they will not rejoice in their heart to see Him, but all " kindreds of the earth shall then wail because of Him," * namely, as being reckoned in the number of all the wicked and unbelievers. On this account also He replied to him, who had called Him Good Master, when seeldntfj advice of Him how he might attain eternal life, " Why askest thou me about good % there is none good but One, that is, God." ^
And yet the Lord Himself, in another place, calls man good:
" A good man," He says, 'â€œ' out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things: and an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth evil things." ^ But because that man was seeking eternal life, and eternal life consists in that contemplation in which God is seen, not for punishment, but for everlasting joy; and because he did not understand with whom he was speaking, and thought Him to be only the Son of man: Why, He says, askest thou me about good ? that is, with respect to that form which thou seest, why askest thou about good, and calleth me, according to what thou seest. Good Master ? This is the form of the Son of man, the form which has been taken, the form that will appear in judgment, not only to the righteous, but also to the ungodly; and the sight of this form will not be for good to those who are wicked. But there is a sight of that form of mine, in which when I was, I thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but in order to take this form I emptied myself. ^
That one God, therefore, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who will not appear, except for joy which cannot be taken away from the just; for which future joy he sighs, who says, " One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I

1 John V. 22-29. ^ John xvii. 3. ^ ps_ ixxiii. 1. ^ Apoc. i. 7.

CHAP. XII] judgment COMMITTED TO THE SON. 39

wicked and unbelievers. On this account also He replied to liim, who had called Him Good Master, when seeldntfj advice of Him how he might attain eternal life, " Why askest thou me about good % there is none good but One, that is, God." ^
And yet the Lord Himself, in another place, calls man good:
" A good man," He says, 'â€œ' out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things: and an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, bringeth forth evil things." ^ But because that man was seeking eternal life, and eternal life consists in that contemplation in which God is seen, not for punishment, but for everlasting joy; and because he did not understand with whom he was speaking, and thought Him to be only the Son of man: Why, He says, askest thou me about good ? that is, with respect to that form which thou seest, why askest thou about good, and calleth me, according to what thou seest. Good Master ? This is the form of the Son of man, the form which has been taken, the form that will appear in judgment, not only to the righteous, but also to the ungodly; and the sight of this form will not be for good to those who are wicked. But there is a sight of that form of mine, in which when I was, I thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but in order to take this form I emptied myself. ^
That one God, therefore, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who will not appear, except for joy which cannot be taken away from the just; for which future joy he sighs, who says, " One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I
seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord: "\(^*\) that one God, therefore. Himself, I say, is alone good, for this reason, that no one sees Him for sorrow and wailing, but only for salvation and true joy. If you understand me after this latter form, then I am good; but if according to that former only, then why askest thou me about good? If thou art among those who " shall look upon Him whom they have pierced," \(^*\) that very sight itself will be evil to them, because it will be penal. That after this meaning, then, the Lord said, " Why askest thou me about good? there is none good but One,

1 Matt. xix. 17. - ]\textit{ratt.} xii. 35. \(^\wedge\) ii. 6, 7.

\(^*\) Ps. xxvii. 4. \(^\wedge\) Zecli. xii. 10.

40 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK I.]

that is, God\(^*\) is probable upon those proofs which I have alleged, because that sight of God, whereby we shall contemplate the substance of God unchangeable and invisible to human eyes (which is promised to the saints alone; which the Apostle Paul speaks of, as " face to face;" \(^*\) and of which the Apostle John says, " We shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is; " \(^\wedge\) and of which it is said, " One thing have I desired of the Lord, that I may behold the beauty of the Lord," and of which the Lord Himself says, " I will both love him, and will manifest myself to him; " \(^\wedge\) and on account of which alone we cleanse our hearts by faith, that we may be those " pure in heart who are blessed, for they shall see God: " \(^\wedge\) and whatever else is spoken of that sight: which, whosoever turns the eye of love to seek it, may find most copiously scattered through all the Scriptures), \(^\wedge\) that sight alone, I say, is our chief good, for the attaining of which we are directed to do whatever we do aright. But that sight of the Son of man which is foretold, when all nations shall be gathered before Him, and shall say to Him, " Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, or thirsty, etc.? " will neither be a good to the ungodly, who shall be sent into everlasting fire, nor the chief good to the righteous. Tor He still goes on to call these to the kingdom which has been prepared for them from the foundation of the world. For, as He will say to those, " Depart into everlasting fire; so to these, " Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you." And as those will go into everlasting burning; so the righteous will go into life eternal. But what is life eternal, except " that they may know Thee," He says, " the One true God, and -Jesus \(\wedge\) Christy whom Thou hast sent " \(^\wedge\) but know Him now in that glory of which He says to the Father, " Which I had with Thee before the world was." \(^\wedge\) For then He will deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father,\(^\wedge\) that the good servant may enter into the joy of his Lord,\(^\wedge\) and that He may hide those whom God keeps in the hiding of His countenance from the confusion of men, namely, of those men who shall then be

1 1 Cor. xiii. 12. M John iii. 2. 3 jolm xiv. 21.
confounded by hearing this sentence; of which evil hearing
"the righteous man shall not be afraid,"^ if only he be kept in "the tabernacle" that is, in the true faith of the Catholic Church, from "the strife of tongues,"^ that is, from the sophistries of heretics. But if there is any other explanation of the words of the Lord, where He says, "Why askest thou me about good? there is none good, but One, that is, God;"^ provided only that the substance of the Father be not therefore believed to be of greater goodness than that of the Son, according to which He is the Word by whom all things were made; and if there is nothing in it abhorrent from sound doctrine; let us securely use it, and not one explanation only, but as many as we are able to find. For so much the more powerful are the heretics proved wrong, the more outlets are open for avoiding their snares. But let us now start afresh, and address ourselves to the consideration of that which still remains.

1 Ps. cxii. 7. 2 pg. xxx. 21.

42 ON THE TRINITY. BOOK II.

BOOK SECOND.


Preface. â€” When men seek to know God, and bend their minds according to the capacity of human weakness to the understanding of the Trinity; learning, as they must, by experience, the wearisome difficulties of the task, whether from the sight itself of the mind striving to gaze upon light unapproachable, or, indeed, from the manifold and various modes of speech employed in the sacred writings (wherein, as it seems to me, the
mind is nothing else but roughly exercised, in order that it may find sweetness when glorified by the grace of Christ); such men, I say, when they have dispelled every ambiguity, and arrived at something certain, ought of all others most easily to make allowance for those who err in the investigation of so deep a secret. But there are two things most hard to bear with, in the case of those who are in error: hasty assumption before the truth is made plain; and, when it has been made plain, defence of the falsehood thus hastily assumed.

From which two faults, inimical as they are to the finding out of the truth, and to the handling of the divine and sacred books, should God, as I pray and hope, defend and protect me with the shield of His good will, and with the grace of His mercy, I will not be slow to search out the substance of God, whether through His Scripture or through the creature. For both of these are set forth for our contemplation to this end, that He may Himself be sought, and Himself be loved, who inspired the one, and created the other.

Nor shall I be afraid

1 Ps. V. 12.

CHAP. I.] RULES OF INTERPRETATION. 43

of giving my opinion, in which I shall more desire to be examined by the upright, than fear to be carped at by the perverse. For charity, most excellent and unassuming, gratefully accepts the dovelike eye; but for the dog's tooth nothing remains, save either to shun it by the most cautious humility, or to blunt it by the most solid truth; and far rather would I be censured by any one whatsoever, than be praised by either the erring or the flatterer. For the lover of truth need fear no one's censure. For he that censures, must needs be either enemy or friend. And if an enemy reviles, he must be borne with: but a friend, if he errs, must be taught; if he teaches, listened to.

But if one who errs praises you, he confirms your error; if one who flatters, he seduces you into error. "Let the righteous," therefore, "smite me, it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me; but the oil of the sinner shall not anoint my head."^ 

Chap. i. â€” There is a double rule for understanding the scriptural modes of speech concerning the Son of God. These modes of speech are of a threefold kind.

2. Wherefore, although we hold most firmly, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, what may be called the canonical rule, as it is both disseminated through the Scriptures, and has been demonstrated by learned and catholic handlers of the same Scriptures, namely, that the Son of God is both understood to be equal to the Father according to the form of God in which He is, and less than the Father according to the form of a servant which He took; in which form He was found to be not only less than the Father, but also less than the Holy Spirit; and not only so, but less even than Himself, â€” not than Himself who was,
but than Himself who is; because, by taking the form of a servant, He did not lose the
form of God, as the testimonies of the Scriptures taught us, to which we have referred in
the former book: yet there are some things in the sacred text so put as to leave it
ambiguous to which rule they are rather to be referred; whether to that by which we
understand the Son as less, in that He has taken upon Him the creature, or to that by
which we understand that the Son is not indeed less than, but equal to the Father, but yet
that He is from Him, God of God, Light of Light. For we call the Son
1 Ps. cxli. 5. 2 Phil. ii. 7. 7, 8.

44 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

God of God; but the Father, God only; not of God. Whence it is plain that the Son has
another of whom He is, and to whom He is Son; but that the Father has not a Son of
whom He is, but only to whom He is Father. For every son is what he is, of his father,
and is son to his father; but no father is what he is, of his son, but is father to his son.

3. Some things, then, are so put in the Scriptures concerning the Father and the Son, as to
intimate the unity and equality of their substance; as, for instance, " I and the Father are
one;"^ and, " Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God;"^ and
whatever other texts there are of the kind. And some, again, are so put that they show the
Son as less on account of the form of a servant, that is, of His having taken upon Him the
creation of a changeable and human substance; as, for instance, that which says, " For my
Father is greater than I;"^ and, " The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all
judgment unto the Son." For a little after He goes on to say, " And hath given Him
authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man." And further, some are
so put, as to show Him at that time neither as less nor as equal, but only to intimate that
He is of the Father; as, for instance, that which says, " For as the Father hath life in
Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself" and that other: "The Son
can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do."^ For if we shall take this to
be therefore so said, because the Son is less in the form taken from the creature, it will
follow that the Father must have walked on the water, or opened the eyes with clay and
spittle of some other one born blind, and have done the other things which the Son
appearing in the flesh did among men, before the Son did them; ^ in order that He might
be able to do those things, who said that the Son was not able to do anything of Himself,
except what He hath seen the Father do. Yet who, even though he were mad, would think
this ?

It remains, therefore, that these texts are so expressed, because the life of the Son is
unchangeable as that of the Father is, and yet He is of the Father; and the working of the
Father

Â» John X. 30. 2 Phil. II 6. 3 John xiv. 28.

* John V. 22, 27, 26, 19. Â† Matt. xiv. 26, and John ix. 6, 7.
and of the Son is indivisible, and yet so to work is given to the Son from Him, of whom He Himself is, that is, from the Father; and the Son so sees the Father, as that He is the Son in the very seeing Him. For to be of the Father, that is, to be born of the Father, is to Him nothing else than to see the Father; and to see Him working, is nothing else than to work with Him: but therefore not from Himself, because He is not from Himself. And, therefore, those things which "He sees the Father do, these also doeth the Son likewise," because He is of the Father. For He neither does other things in like manner, as a painter paints other pictures, in the same way as he sees others to have been painted by another man; nor the same things in a different manner, as the body expresses the same letters, which the mind has thought; but " whatsoever thinizs," saith He, "the Father doeth, these same things also doeth the Son likewise." ^ He has said both " these same things," and " likewise;" and hence the working of both the Father and the Son is indivisible and equal, but it is from the Father to the Son. Therefore the Son cannot do anything of Himself, except what He seeth the Father do. From this rule, then, whereby the Scriptures so speak as to mean, not to set forth one as less than another, but only to show which is of which, some have drawn this meaning?, as if the Son were said to be less. And some among ourselves who are more unlearned and least instructed in these things, endeavouring to take these texts according to the form of a servant, and so misinterpreting them, are troubled. And to prevent this, the rule in question is to be observed, whereby the Son is not less, but it is simply intimated that He is of the Father, in which words not His inequality but His birth is declared.

Chap. ii. â€” That some ways of speaking concerning the Son are to he understood according to either rule.

4. There are, then, some things in the sacred books, as I began by saying, so put, that it is doubtful to which they are to be referred: whether to that rule whereby the Son is less on account of His having taken the creature; or whether to that whereby it is intimated that although equal, yet He is of the Father. And in my opinion, if this is in such way doubtful,

Â» John V. 19.

46 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

that which it really is can neither be explained nor discerned, then such passages may without danger be understood according to either rule, as that, for instance, " My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me." ^ For this may both be taken according to the form of
a servant, as we have already treated it in the former book; or according to the form of God, in which He is in such way equal to the Father, that He is yet of the Father. For according to the form of God, as the Son is not one and His life another, but the life itself is the Son; so the Son is not one and His doctrine another, but the doctrine itself is the Son. And hence, as the text, " He hath given life to the Son," is no otherwise to be understood than. He hath begotten the Son, who is life; so also when it is said. He hath given doctrine to the Son, it may be rightly understood to mean. He hath begotten the Son, who is doctrine; so that, when it is said, " My doctrine is not mine, but His who sent me," it is so to be understood as if it were, I am not from myself, but from Him who sent me.

Chap. hi. â€” Some tilings concerning the Holy Spirit are to he understood according to the one rule only.

5. For even of the Holy Spirit, of whom it is not said, " He emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant;" yet the Lord Himself says, " Howbeit, when He the Spirit of Truth is come. He will guide you into all truth. For He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak; and He will show you things to come. He shall glorify me; for He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you." And except He had immediately gone on to say after this, " All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that He shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you;" ^ it might, perhaps, have been believed that the Holy Spirit was so born of Christ, as Christ is of the Father. Since He had said of Himself, " My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me;" but of the Holy Spirit, "For He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak;" and, " For He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you." But because He has rendered the reason why He said, " He shall receive of mine " (for He says, " All things 1 Jolm vii. 16. s See above, Bk. i. c. 12. ^q\^xvi. 13-15. ^

CHAP. IV.] Pr.OCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. 47

that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that He shall take of mine "); it remains that the Holy Spirit be understood to have of that which is the Father's, as the Son also hath. And how can this be, unless according to that which we have said above, " But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of me "?^- He is said, therefore, not to speak of Himself, in that He proceedeth from the Father; and as it does not follow that the Son is less because He said, " The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do " (for He has not said this according o the form of a servant, but according- to the form of God, as we have already shown, and these words do not set Him forth as less than, but as of the Father), so it is not brought to pass that the Holy Spirit is less, because it is said of Him, " For He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak; " for the words belong to Him as proceeding from the Father. But
whereas both the Son is of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, why both are not called sons, and both not said to be begotten, but the former is called the one only-begotten Son, and the latter, viz. the Holy Spirit, neither son nor begotten, because if begotten, then certainly a son, we will discuss in another place, if God shall grant, and so far as He shall grant.

Chap. iv. â€” The glorification of the Son by the Father does not prove inequality.

6. But here also let them wake up if they can, who have thought this, too, to be a testimony on their side, to show that the Father is greater than the Son, because the Son hath said,
" Father, glorify me." Why, the Holy Spirit also glorifies Him.
Pray, is the Spirit, too, greater than He ? Moreover, if on that account the Holy Spirit glorifies the Son, because He shall receive of that which is the Son's, and shall therefore receive of that which is the Son's because all things that the Father has are the Son's also; it is evident that when the Holy Spirit glorifies the Son, the Father glorifies the Son. A Vhence it may be perceived that all things that the Father hath are not only of the Son, but also of the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit is able to glorify the Son, whom the Father glorifies. But if
^ John XV. 26. 2 Below, Bk. xv. c. 25.

48 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

lie who glorifies is greater than he whom he glorifies, let them allow that those are equal who mutually glorify each other.
But it is written, also, that the Son glorifies the Father; for He says, "I have glorified Thee on the earth." ^ Truly let them beware lest the Holy Spirit be thought greater than both, because He glorifies the Son whom the Father glorifies, while it is not written that He Himself is glorified either by the Father or by the Son.

Chap. v. â€” The Son and Holy Spirit are not therefore less because sent. The Son is sent also by Himself. Of the sending of the Holy Spirit.

7. But being proved wrong so far, men betake themselves to saying, that he who sends is greater than he who is sent: therefore the Father is greater than the Son, because the Son continually speaks of Himself as being sent by the Father; and the Father is also greater than the Holy Spirit, because Jesus has said of the Spirit, " Whom the Father will send in my name;"^ and the Holy Spirit is less than both, because both the Father sends Him, as we have said, and the Son, when He says, " But if I depart, I will send Him unto you."* y I first ask, then, in this inquiry, whence and whither the Son was sent. " I," He says, " came forth from the Father, and am come into the world."^ Therefore, to be sent, is to come forth from the Father, and to come into the world. What, then, is that which the same evangelist says concerning Him,
" He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not; " and then he adds, " He came unto His own " ?* Certainly He was sent thither, whither He
came; but if He was sent into the world, because He came forth from the Father, then He both came into the world and was in the world. He was sent therefore thither, where He already was. For consider that, too, which is written in the prophet, that God said, "Do not I fill heaven and earth?"

If this is said of the Son (for some will have it understood that the Son Himself spoke either by the prophets or in the prophets), whither was He sent except to the place where He already was? For He who says, "I fill heaven and earth," was everywhere. But if it is said of the Father, where could


* John i. 10, 11. 5 Jer. xxiii. 24.

CHAP. v.] THE "SENDING" OF CHRIST AT HIS INCARNATION. 49

He be without His own word and without His own wisdom, which "reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly ordereth all things"? But He cannot be anywhere without His own Spirit. Therefore, if God is everywhere, His Spirit also is everywhere. Therefore, the Holy Spirit, too, was sent thither, where He already was. For he, too, who finds no place to which he might go from the presence of God, and who says, "If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I shall go down into hell, behold, Thou art there;" wishing it to be understood that God is present everywhere, named in the previous verse His Spirit; for he says, "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?"

8. For this reason, then, if both the Son and the Holy Spirit are sent thither where they were, we must inquire, how that sending, whether of the Son or of the Holy Spirit, is to be understood; for of the Father alone, we nowhere read that He is sent. ISTow, of the Son, the apostle writes thus: "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law." ^ "He sent," he says, "His Son, made of a woman." And by this term, woman, what Catholic does not know that he did not wish to signify the privation of virginity; but, according to a Hebraism, the difference of sex? When, therefore, he says, "God sent His Son, made of a woman," he sufficiently shows that the Son was "sent" in this very way, in that He was "made of a woman." Therefore, in that He was born of God, He was in the world; but in that He was as born of Mary, He was sent and came into the world.

Moreover, He could not be sent by the Father without the Holy Spirit, not only because the Father, when He sent Him, that is, when He made Him of a woman, is certainly understood not to have so made Him without His own Spirit; but also because it is most plainly and expressly said in the Gospel in answer to the Virgin Mary, when she asked of the angel, "How shall this be?" "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." ^ And Matthew says, "She was found with child of
50 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

the Holy Ghost." Although, too, in the prophet Isaiah, Christ Himself is understood to say of His own future advent, " And now the Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me."

9. Perhaps some one may wish to drive us to say, that the Son is sent also by Himself, because the conception and childbirth of Mary is the working of the Trinity, by whose act of creating all things are created. And how, he will go on to say, has the Father sent Him, if He sent Himself? To whom I answer first, by asking him to tell me, if he can, in what manner the Father hath sanctified Him, if He hath sanctified Himself? For the same Lord says both; " Say ye of Him," He says, " whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God;" while in another place He says, " And for their sake I sanctify myself." I ask, also, in what manner the Father delivered Him, if He delivered Himself? For the Apostle Paul says both: " Who," he says, " spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all;" while elsewhere he says of the Saviour Himself, " Who loved me, and delivered Himself for me." He will reply, I suppose, if he has a right sense in these things. Because the will of the Father and the Son is one, and their working indivisible. In like manner, then, let him understand the incarnation and nativity of the Virgin, wherein the Son is understood as sent, to have been wrought by one and the same operation of the Father and of the Son indivisibly; the Holy Spirit certainly not being thence excluded, of whom it is expressly said, " She was found with child by the Holy Ghost." For perhaps our meaning will be more plainly unfolded, if we ask in what manner God sent His Son. He commanded that He should come, and He, complying with the commandment, came. Did He then request, or did He only suggest? But whichever of these it was, certainly it was done by a word, and the Word of God is the Son of God Himself. Wherefore, since the Father sent Him by a word. His being sent was the work of both the Father and His Word; therefore the same Son was sent by the Father and the Son, because the Son Himself is the Word.

â€¢ Matt. i. 18. ' Isa. xlviii. 16. ^ jolm x. 36.

of the Father. For who would embrace so impious an opinion as to think the Father to have uttered a word in time, in order that the eternal Son might thereby be sent and might appear in the flesh in the fulness of time? But assuredly it was in that Word of God itself which was in the beginning with God and was God, namely, in the wisdom itself of God, apart from time, at what time that wisdom must needs appear in the flesh. Therefore, since without any commencement of time, the Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, it was in the Word itself without any time, at what time the Word was to be made flesh and dwell among us. And when this fulness of time had come,
"God sent His Son, made of a woman," that is, made in time, that the Incarnate Word might appear to men; while it was in that Word Himself, apart from time, at what time this was to be done; for the order of times is in the eternal wisdom of God without time. Since, then, that the Son should appear in the flesh was wrought by both the Father and the Son, it is fitly said that He who appeared in that flesh was sent, and that He who did not appear in it, sent Him; because those things which are transacted outwardly before the bodily eyes have their existence from the inward machinery of the spiritual nature, and on that account are fitly said to be sent.

Further, that form of man which He took is the person of the Son, not also of the Father; on which account the invisible Father, together with the Son, who with the Father is invisible, is said to have sent the same Son by making Him visible. But if He became visible in such way as to cease to be invisible with the Father, that is, if the substance of the invisible Word were turned by a change and transition into a visible creature, then the Son would be so understood to be sent by the Father, that He would be found to be only sent; not also, with the Father, sending. But since He so took the form of a servant, as that the unchangeable form of God remained, it is clear that that which became apparent in the Son was done by the Father and the Son not being apparent; that is, that by the invisible Father, with the invisible Son, the same Son Himself was sent so as to be visible. Why, therefore,

Â» John i. 1, 2, 14. 2 Qal. iv. 4.

52 ON THE TRINITY. [UOOK II.

does He say, "Neither came I of myself"? This, we may now say, is said according to the form of a servant, in the same way as it is said, "I judge no man."^  

10. If, therefore, He is said to be sent, in so far as He appeared outwardly in the bodily creature, who inwardly in His spiritual nature is always hidden from the eyes of mortals, it is now easy to understand also of the Holy Spirit why He too is said to be sent. For in due time a certain outward appearance of the creature was wrought, wherein the Holy Spirit might be visibly shown; whether when He descended upon the Lord Himself in a bodily shape as a dove, or when, ten days having past since His ascension, on the day of Pentecost a sound came suddenly from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and cloven tongues like as of fire were seen upon them, and it sat
This operation, visibly exhibited, and presented to mortal eyes, is called the sending of the Holy Spirit; not that that His very substance appeared, in which He himself also is invisible and unchangeable, like the Father and the Son, but that the hearts of men, touched by things seen outwardly, might be turned from the manifestation in time of Him as coming to His hidden eternity as ever present, y

Chap. vi. â€” The creature is not so taJcen by the Holy Sj^rit asfleshis by the Wo7'd.

11. It is, then, for this reason nowhere written, that the "^ Father is greater than the Holy Spirit, or that the Holy Spirit is less than God the Father, because the creature in which the Holy Spirit was to appear was not taken in the same way as the Son of man w\as taken, as the form in which the person of the Word of God Himself should be set forth; not that He might possess the word of God, as other holy and wise men have possessed it, but " above His fellows; "* not certainly that He possessed the word more than they, so as to be of more surpassing wisdom than the rest were, but that He was the very Word Himself. For the word in the flesh is one thing, and "^ the Word made flesh is another; i.e. the word in man is one thing, the Word that is man is another. For flesh is put for man, where it is said, " The Word was made flesh;"^ and again,

" And all flesh shall see the salvation of God." ^ For it does


CHAP. VI.] THE HOLY SPIRIT NOT IXCAEXATE IX THE DOVE. 53

not mean flesh ^without soul and without mind; but " all flesh," is the same as if it were said, every man. The creature, then, x" in which the Holy Spirit should appear, was not so taken, as that flesh and human form were taken, of the Virgin Mary. For the Spirit did not beatify the dove, or the wind, or the fire, and join them for ever to Himself and to His person in unity and " fashion.** Nor, again, is the nature of the Holy Spirit mutable and changeable; so that these things were not made of the creature, but He himself was turned and changed first into ^ one and then into another, as water is changed into ice. But these things appeared at the seasons at which they ought to have appeared, the creature serving the Creator, and being changed and converted at the command of Him who remains immutably in Himself, in order to signify and manifest Him in such way as it w^as fit He should be signified and manifested to mortal men. Accordingly, although that dove is called the Spirit;^ and in speaking of that fire, "There appeared unto them," he says, " cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them; and they began to speak with other tongues, as the
Spirit gave them utterance: "^ in order to show that the Spirit was manifested by that fire, as by the dove; yet we cannot call the Holy Spirit both God and a dove, or both God and fire, in the same way as we call the Son both God and man; nor as we call the Son the Lamb of God; which not only John the Baptist says, " Behold the Lamb of God," ^ but also John the Evangelist sees the Lamb slain in the Apocalypse.* For that prophetic vision was not shown to bodily eyes through bodily forms, but in the spirit through spiritual images of bodily things. But whosoever saw that dove and that fire, saw them with their eyes. Although it may perhaps be disputed concerning the fire, whether it was seen by the eyes or in the spirit, on account of the form of the sentence. For the text does not say. They saw cloven tongues like fire, but, " There appeared to them." But we are not wont to say with the same meaning, It appeared to me; as we say, I saw. And in those spiritual visions of corporeal images the usual expressions are, both. It appeared to me;


3 John i. 29. * Apoc. v. G.

54 ON THE TRINITY, [BOOK II.]

and, I saw: but in those things which are shown to the eyes through express corporeal forms, the common expression is not. It appeared to me; but, I saw. There may, therefore, be a question raised respecting that fire, how it was seen; whether within in the spirit as it were outwardly, or really outwardly before the eyes of the flesh. But of that dove, which is said to have descended in a bodily form, no one ever doubted that it was seen by the eyes. ISTor, again, as we call the Son a Eock (for it is written, " And that Eock was Christ " â€¢), can we so call the Spirit a dove or fire. Por that rock w^as a thing already created, and after the mode of its action was called by the name of Christ, whom it signified; like the stone placed under Jacob's head, and also anointed, which he took in order to signify the Lord;^ or as Isaac was Christ, when he carried the wood for the sacrifice of himself^ A particular significative action was added to those already existing things; they did not, as that dove and fire, suddenly come into being in order simply so to signify. The dove and the fire, indeed, seem to me more like that flame which appeared to Moses in the bush,* or that pillar which the people followed in the wilderness/ or the thunders and lightnings which came when the Law was given in the mount.^ For the corporeal form of these things came into being for the very purpose, that it might signify something, and then pass away.

Chap. vii. â€” A doubt raised about divine appariances.

12. The Holy Spirit, then, is also said to be sent, on account of these corporeal forms which came into existence in time, in order to signify and manifest Him, as He must needs be manifested, to human senses; yet He is not said to be less than the Father, as the Son, because He was in the form of a servant, is said to be; because that form of a servant
inherited in the unity of the person of the Son, but those corporeal forms appeared for a

time, in order to show what was necessary to be shown, and then ceased to be. Why, then,
is not the Father also said to be sent, through those corporeal forms, the fire of the bush,
and the pillar of cloud or of fire, and the lightnings in the mount, and whatever other
things of the

1 1 Cor. X. 4. 2 Gen. xxviii. 18. ^ Gen. xxii. 6.

* Ex. iii. 2. ^ Ex. xiii. 21, 22. ^ Ex. xix. IG.

CHAP. VII.] HOW GOD APPEARED TO THE FATHERS. 55

kind appeared at that time, as we have learned from Scripture testimony) He spake
face to face with the fathers, if He Himself was manifested by those modes and forms of
the creature, as exhibited and presented corporeally to human sight? But if the Son was
manifested by them, why is He said to be sent so long after, when He was made of a
woman, as the apostle says, "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth
His Son, made of a woman," seeing that He was sent also before, when He appeared to the fathers by those changeable
forms of the creature? Or if He cannot rightly be said to be sent, unless when the Word
was made flesh, why is the Holy Spirit said to be sent, of whom no such incarnation was
ever wrought? But if by those visible things, which are put before us in the Law and in
the
23prophets, neither the Father nor the Son but the Holy Spirit was manifested, why also is
He said to be sent now, when He was sent also before after these modes?

13. In the perplexity of this inquiry, the Lord helping us, we must ask, first, whether the
Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit; or whether, sometimes the Father, sometimes the
Son, sometimes the Holy Spirit; or whether it was without any distinction of persons, in
such way as the one and only God is spoken of, that is, that the Trinity itself appeared to
the fathers by those forms of the creature. Next, whichever of these alternatives shall
have been found or thought true, whether for this purpose only the creature was
fashioned, wherein God, as He judged it suitable at that time, should be shown to human
sight; or whether angels, who already existed, were so sent, as to speak in the person of
God, taking a corporeal form from the corporeal creature, for the purpose of their
ministry, as each had need; or else, according to the power the Creator has given them,
changing and converting their own body itself, to which they are not subject, but govern
it as subject to themselves, into whatever appearances they would that were suited and
apt to their several actions. Lastly, we shall discern that which it was our purpose to ask,
viz. whether the Son and the Holy Spirit were also sent before; and, if they were so sent,
what difference there is between that sending, and the

1 Gal. iv. 4.
one which we read of in the Gospel; or whether in truth neither of them were sent, except when either the Son was made of the Virgin Mary, or the Holy Spirit appeared in a visible form, whether in the dove or in tongues of fire.

Chap, viii, â€” The entire Trinity invisible.

14. Let US therefore say nothing of those who, with an over carnal mind, have thought the nature of the Word of God, and the Wisdom, which, "remaining in herself, maketh all things new," ^ whom we call the only Son of God, not only to be changeable, but also to be visible. For these, with more audacity than religion, bring a very dull heart to the inquiry into divine things. For whereas the soul is a spiritual substance, and whereas itself also was made, yet could not be made by any other than by Him by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing is made,^ it, although changeable, is yet not visible; and this they have believed to be the case with the Word Himself and with the Wisdom of God itself, by which the soul was made; whereas this Wisdom is not only invisible, as the soul also is, but likewise unchangeable, which the soul is not. It is in truth the same unchangeable-

O

ness in it, which is referred to when it was said, "Remaining in herself she maketh all things new." Yet these people, endeavouring, as it were, to prop up their error in its fall by testimonies of the divine Scriptures, adduce the words of the Apostle Paul; and take that, which is said of the one only God, in whom the Trinity itself is understood, to be said only of the Father, and neither of the Son nor of the Holy Spirit: "Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever; "^ and that other passage, "The blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see." * How these passages are to be understood, I think we have already discourse sufficiently.

CiiAP. IX. â€” Against those who believed the Father only to be immortal and invisible. The truth to be sought by peaceful study.

15. But they who will have these texts understood only of the Father, and not of the Son or the Holy Spirit, declare the

Â» WisJ. vii. 27. ^ John i. 3. ^ i Tim. i. 17. ^1 Tim. vi. 15, 16.
Son to be visible, not by having taken flesh of the Virgin, but aforetime also in Himself 
For He Himself, they say, appeared to the eyes of the fathers. And if you say to them, In 
whatever manner, then, the Son is visible in Himself, in that manner also He is mortal in 
Himself; so that it plainly follows that you would have this saying also understood only 
of the Father, viz. " Who only hath immortality, " for if the Son is mortal from having 
taken upon Him our flesh, then allow that it is on account of this flesh that He is also 
visible: they reply, that it is not on account of this flesh that they say that the Son is 
mortal; but that, just as He was also before visible, so He was also before mortal. For if 
they say the Son is mortal from having taken our flesh, then it is not the Father alone 
without the Son who hath immortality; because His Word also has immortality, by which 
all things were made. For He did not therefore lose His immortality, because He took 
mortal flesh; seeing that it could not happen even to the human soul, that it should die 
with the body, when the Lord Himself says, 
" Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul." ^ Or, forsooth, also 
the Holy Spirit took flesh:
concerning whom certainly they would, without doubt, be troubled to say â€” if the Son is 
mortal on account of taking our flesh â€”
in what manner they understand that the Father only has immortality without the Son and 
the Holy Spirit, since, indeed, the Holy Spirit did not take our flesh; and if He has not 
immortality, then the Son is not mortal on account of taking our flesh; but if the Holy 
Spirit has immortality, then it is not said only of the Father. " Who only hath 
immortality."
And therefore they think they are able to prove that the Son in Himself was mortal also 
before the incarnation, because changeableness itself is not unfitly called mortality, 
according to which the soul also is said to die; not because it is changed and turned into 
body, or into some substance other than itself, but because, whatever in its own self-
same substance is now after another mode than it once was, is discovered to be mortal, in 
so far as it has ceased to be what it was. Because then, say they, before the Son of God 
was born of the Virgin Mary, He Himself appeared to our fathers, not in one and the 

1 Matt. X. 28.

58 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

same form only, but in many forms; first in one form, then in another; He is both visible 
in Himself, because His substance was visible to mortal eyes, when He had not yet taken 
our flesh, and mortal, inasmuch as He is changeable. And so also the Holy Spirit, who 
appeared at one time as a dove, and another time as fire. Whence, they say, these texts do 
not belong to the Trinity, but singularly and properly to the Father only: " ISTow unto the 
King eternal, immortal, and invisible, the only wise God; " and, " Who only hath 
immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath 
seen, nor can see."
16. Passing by, then, these reasoners, who are unable to know the substance even of the soul, which is invisible, and therefore are very far indeed from knowing that the substance of the one and only God, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, remains ever not only invisible, but also unchangeable, and that hence it possesses true and real immortality; let us, who deny that God, whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, ever appeared to bodily eyes, unless through the corporeal creature made subject to His own power; let us, I say â€” ready to be corrected, if we are reproved in a fraternal and upright spirit, ready to be so, even if carped at by an enemy, so that he speak the truth â€” in catholic peace and with peaceful study inquire, whether God indiscriminately appeared to our fathers before Christ came in the flesh, or whether it was any one person of the Trinity, or whether severally, as it were by turns.

Chap. x. â€” Whether God the Trinity indiscriminately appeared to the Fathers, or any one person of the Trinity. The appearing of God to Adam.
Of the same appearance. The Vision to Abraham.

17. And first, in that which is written in Genesis, viz. that God spake with man whom He had formed out of the dust; if we set a part the figurative meaning, and treat it so as to place faith in the narrative even in the letter, it should appear that God then spake with man in the appearance of a man. This is not indeed expressly laid down in the book, but the general tenor of its reading sounds in this sense, especially in that which is written, that Adam heard the voice of the Lord God, walking in the garden in the cool of the evening, and hid himself among the trees of the garden; and when God said, "Adam, where art thou?" He replied, "I heard Thy voice, and I was afraid because I was naked, and I hid myself from Thy face." For I do not see how such a walking and conversation of God can be understood literally, except He appeared as a man. For it can neither be said that a voice only of God was framed, when God is said to have walked, or that He who was walking in a place was not visible; while Adam, too, says that he hid himself from the face of God. Who then was He? "Whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit? Whether altogether indiscriminately did God the Trinity Himself speak to man in the form of man? The context, indeed, itself of the Scripture nowhere, it should seem, indicates a change from person to person; but He seems still to speak to the first man, who said, "Let there be light," and, "Let there be a firmament," and so on through each of those days; whom we usually take to be God the Father, making by a word whatever He willed to make. For He made all things by His word, which Word we know, by the right rule of faith, to be His only Son.
If, therefore, God the Father spake to the first man, and Himself was walking in the garden in the cool of the evening, and if it was from His face that the sinner hid himself among the trees of the garden, why are we not to go on to understand that it was He
also who appeared to Abraham and to Moses, and to whom He would, and how He would, through the changeable and visible creature, subjected to Himself, while He Himself remains in Himself and in His own substance, in which He is unchangeable and invisible? But, possibly, it might be that the Scripture passed over in a hidden way from person to person, and while it had related that the Father said "Let there be light," and the rest which it mentioned Him to have done by the Word, went on to indicate the Son as speaking to the first man; not unfolding this openly, but intimating it to be understood by those who could understand it.

18. Let him, then, who has the strength whereby he can penetrate this secret with his mind's eye, so that to him it appears clearly, either that the Father also is able, or that only the Son and Holy Spirit are able, to appear to human eyes through a visible creature; let him, I say, proceed to examine these things if he can, or even to express and handle them in words; but the thing itself, so far as concerns this testimony of Scripture, where God spake with man, is, in my judgment, not discoverable, because it does not evidently appear even whether Adam usually saw God with the eyes of his body; especially as it is a great question what manner of eyes it was that were opened when they tasted the forbidden fruit; for before they had tasted, these eyes were closed. Yet I would not rashly assert, even if that scripture implies Paradise to have been a material place, that God could not have walked there in any way except in some bodily form. For it might be said, that only words were framed for the man to hear, without seeing any form. Neither, because it is written, "Adam hid himself from the face of God," does it follow forthwith that he usually saw His face. For what if he himself indeed could not see, but feared to be himself seen by Him whose voice he had heard, and had felt His presence as he walked? For Cain, too, said to God, "From Thy face I will liide myself;" yet we are not therefore compelled to admit that he was wont to behold the face of God with his bodily eyes in any visible form, although he had heard the voice of God question ing and speaking with him of his sin. But what manner of speech it was that God then uttered to the outward ears of men, especially in speaking to the first man, it is both difficult to discover, and we have not undertaken to say in this discourse. But if words alone and sounds were wrought, by which to bring about some sensible presence of God to those first men, I do not know why I should not there understand the person of God the Father, seeing that His person is manifested also in that voice, when Jesus appeared in glory on the mount before the three disciples; and in that when the dove descended upon Him at His baptism; and in that where He cried to the Father concerning His own glorification, and it was answered Him, "I have both glorified, and will glorify again." Not that the voice could be wrought without the work of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (since the Trinity works indivisibly), but that such a voice
was wrought as to manifest the person of the Father only; just as the Trinity wrought that human form from the Virgin Mary, yet it is the person of the Son alone; for the invisible Trinity wrought the visible person of the Son alone. Neither does anything forbid us, not only to understand those words spoken to Adam as spoken by the Trinity, but also to take them as manifesting the person of that Trinity. For we are compelled to understand of the Father only, that which is said, "This is my beloved Son." For Jesus can neither be believed nor understood to be the Son of the Holy Spirit, or even His own Son. And where the voice uttered, "I have both glorified, and will glorify again," we confess it was only the person of the Father; since it is the answer to that word of the Lord, in which He had said, "Father, glorify thy Son," which He could not say except to God the Father only, and not also to the Holy Spirit, whose Son He was not. But here, where it is written, "And the Lord God said to Adam," no reason can be given why the Trinity itself should not be understood.

19. Likewise, also, in that which is written, "Now the Lord had said unto Abraham, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and thy father's house," it is not clear whether a voice alone came to the ears of Abraham, or whether anything also appeared to his eyes. But a little while after, it is somewhat more clearly said, "And the Lord appeared unto Abraham, and said. Unto thy seed will I give this land." But neither there is it expressly said in what form God appeared to him, or whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit appeared to him. Unless, perhaps, they think that it was the Son who appeared to Abraham, because it is not written, God appeared to him, but "the Lord appeared to him." For the Son seems to be called the Lord as though the name was appropriated to Him; as e.g. the apostle says, "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." But since it is found that God the Father also is called Lord in many places, â€“ for instance, "The Lord hath

1 Matt. iii. 17. Gen. xii. 1, 7. n Cor. viii. 5, 6.

62 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]
said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee; "^ and again, " The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand; "^ since also the Holy Spirit is found to be called Lord, as where the apostle says, " ISTow the Lord is that Spirit; " and then, lest any one should think the Son to be signified, and to be called the Spirit on account of His incorporeal substance, has gone on to say, " And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty; "^ and no one ever doubted the Spirit of the Lord to be the Holy Spirit: therefore, neither here does it appear plainly whether it was any person of the Trinity that appeared to Abraham, or God Himself the Trinity, of which one God it is said, " Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." ^ But under the oak at Mam re he saw three men, whom he invited, and hospitably received, and ministered to them as they feasted. Yet Scripture at the beginning of that narrative does not say, three men appeared to him, but, " The Lord appeared to him." And then, setting forth in due order after what manner the Lord appeared to him, it has added the account of the three men, whom Abraham invites to his hospitality in the plural number; and afterwards speaks to them in the singular number as one; and as one He promises him a son by Sara, viz. the one whom the Scripture calls Lord, as in the beginning of the same narrative, " The Lord," it says, " appeared to Abraham." He invites them then, and washes their feet, and leads them forth at their departure, as though they were men; but he speaks as with the Lord God, whether when a son is promised to him, or when the destruction is shown to him that was impending over Sodom.^
Chap. xi. â€” Of the same appearance.

20. That place of Scripture demands neither a slight nor a passing consideration. For if one man had appeared, what else would those at once cry out, who say that the Son was visible also in His own substance before He was born of the Virgin, but that it was Himself? since it is said, they say, of the Father, "To the only invisible God." ^ And yet, I could still go on to demand, in what manner " He was found in fashion as a man," before He had taken our flesh, seeing

1 Ps. ii. 7. 2 pg. ex. ] . 3 2 Cor. iii. 17.

4 Dent. vi. 13. ^Gen. xviii. '^1 Tim. i. 17.

CHAP. XII.| OF THE THREE WHO ArPEAEED TO ABKAIIAM. 63

that liis feet were washed, and that He fed upon earthly food ?
How could that be, when He was still " in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God " ? ^ For, pray, had He already " emptied Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant, and made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man " ? when we know when it was that He did this through His birth of the Virgin. How, then, before He had done this, did He appear as one man to Abraham ? or, was not that form a reality ? I could put these questions, if it had been one man that appeared to Abraham, and if that one were believed to be the Son of God. But since three men appeared, and no one of them is said to be greater than the rest either in form, or age, or power, why should
we not here understand, as visibly intimated by the visible creature, the equality of the
Trinity, and one and the same substance in three persons?

21. Tor, lest any one should think that one among the three is in this way intimated to
have been the greater, and that this one is to be understood to have been the Lord, the Son
of God, while the other two were His angels; because, whereas three appeared, Abraham
there speaks to one as the Lord: Holy Scripture has not forgotten to anticipate, by a
contradiction, such future cogitations and opinions, when a little while after it says that
two angels came to Lot, among whom that just man also, who deserved to be freed from
the burning of Sodom, speaks to one as to the Lord. For so Scripture goes on to say, "And
the Lord went His way, as soon as He left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned to his place." ^

Chap. xii. â€” The appearance to Lot is examined.
"But there came two angels to Sodom at even." Here, what I have begun to set forth must
be considered more attentively. Certainly Abraham was speaking with three, and called
that one, in the singular number, the Lord. Perhaps, some one may say, he recognised one
of the three to be the Lord, but the other two His angels. What, then, does that mean
which Scripture goes on to say, "And the Lord went His way, as soon as He had left
communing with Abraham; and Abraham returned to his place: and there came two

1 Phil. ii. 6, 7. 2 Gen. xviii. 33.

64 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK 11.

angels to Sodom at even "? Are we to suppose that the one who, among the three, was
recognised as the Lord, had departed, and had sent the two angels that were with Him to
destroy Sodom? Let us see, then, what follows. "There came," it is said, "two angels to
Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot seeing them, rose up to meet
them; and he bowed himself with his face toward the ground; and he said, Behold now,
my lords, turn in, I pray you, into your servant's house." Here it is clear, both that there
were two angels, and that in the plural number they were invited to partake of hospitality,
and that they were honourably designated lords, when they perchance were thought to be
men.

22. Yet, again, it is objected that except they were known to be angels of God, Lot would
not have bowed himself with his face to the ground. Why, then, is both hospitality and
food offered to them, as though they wanted such human succour? But whatever may
here lie hid, let us now pursue that which we have undertaken. Two appear; both are
called angels; they are invited plurally; he speaks as with two plurally, until the departure
from Sodom. And then Scripture goes on to say, "And it came to pass, when they had
brought them forth abroad, that they said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee,
neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountain, and there thou shalt be saved," ^
lest thou be consumed. And Lot said unto them, Oh ! not so, my lord: behold now, thy
servant hath found grace in thy sight," etc. What is meant by his saying to them, "Oh !
not so, my lord," if He who was the Lord had already departed, and had sent the angels? Why is it said,
"Oh! not so, my lord," and not, "Oh! not so, my lords"? Or if he wished to speak to one of them, why does Scripture say,
"But Lot said to them, Oh! not so, my lord; behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight," etc.? Are we here, too, to understand two persons in the plural number, but when the two are addressed as one, there the one Lord God of one substance? But which two persons do we here understand? â€” of the Father and of the Son, or of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, or of the Son and of the Holy Spirit? The last, perhaps, is the more suitable; for they said of themselves

^ This clause is not in the Hebrew. ^ Gen. xix. 1-19.

CHAP. XIIT.] THE APPEARANCE TO MOSES IN THE BUSH. 65

that they were sent, which is that which we say of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. For we find nowhere in the Scriptures that the Father was sent.

Chap. xiir. â€” The appearance in the bush.

23. But when Moses was sent to lead the children of Israel out of Egypt, it is written that the Lord appeared to him thus: "Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back side of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.

And the Angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush; and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.

And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.

And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." ^

He is here also first called the Angel of the Lord, and then God. Was an angel, then, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? Therefore He may be rightly understood to be the Saviour Himself, of whom the apostle says, "Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever." "He, therefore, "who is over all, God blessed for ever," is not unreasonably here understood also to be Himself the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. But why is He previously called the Angel of the Lord, when He appeared in a flame of fire out of the bush? Was it because it was one of many angels, who by an economy bare the person of his Lord? or was something of the creature assumed by Him in order to bring about a visible appearance for the business in hand, and that words might thence be audibly uttered, whereby the presence of the Lord might be shown, in such a way as was fitting, to the corporeal senses of man, by means of the creature made
subject? For if he was one of the angels, who could easily affirm whether it was the

person of the Son which was imposed upon him to announce, or that

Ex. iii. 1-6. = Ptom. ix. 5.

DE TRIN. B

66 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK 11.

of the Holy Spirit, or that of God the Father, or altogether of the Trinity itself, who is the

one and only God, in order that he might say, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of

Isaac, and the God of Jacob"? For we cannot say that the Son of God is the God of

Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and that the Father is not; nor will

any one dare to deny that either the Holy Spirit, or the Trinity itself, whom we believe

and understand to be the one God, is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the

God of Jacob. For he who is not God, is not the God of those fathers. Furthermore, if not

only the Father is God, as all, even heretics, admit; but also the Son, which, whether they

will or not, they are compelled to acknowledge, since the apostle says, "Who is over all,

God blessed for ever;" and the Holy Spirit, since the same apostle says, "Therefore

glorify God in your body;" when he had said above, "Know ye not that your body is the

temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?"â—'*â—

and these three are one God, as catholic soundness believes:

it is not sufficiently apparent which person of the Trinity that angel bare, if he was one of

the rest of the angels, and whether any person, and not rather that of the Trinity itself. But

if the creature was assumed for the purpose of the business in hand, whereby both to

appear to human eyes, and to sound in human ears, and to be called the Angel of the

Lord, and the Lord, and God; then cannot God here be understood to be the Father, but

either the Son or the Holy Spirit. Although I

cannot call to mind that the Holy Spirit is anywhere else called an angel, which yet may

be understood from His work; for it is said of Him, "And He will show you things to

come;" and "angel" in Greek is certainly equivalent to "messenger" in Latin: but we read most evidently of the Lord Jesus Christ in the prophet, that He is

called "the Angel of Great Counsel," while both the Holy Spirit and the Son of God is

God and Lord of the angels.

Chap. xiv. â€” Of the appearance in the pillar of cloud and of fire.

24. Also in the going forth of the children of Israel from

1 1 Cor. vi. 20, 19. ^AnmuitiaMt. ^j^ij^n xvi. 13.

Egypt it is written, "And the Lord went before them, by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people." Who here, too, would doubt that God appeared to the eyes of mortal men of the creature made subject to Him, and that corporeal, not by His own substance? But it is not similarly apparent whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, or the Trinity itself, the one God. ITor is this distinguished there either, in my judgment, where it is written, "The glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud, and the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel," etc.

Chap. xv. &c” Of the appearance on Sinai. Whether the Trinity spake in that appearance or some one Person specially.

25. But now of the clouds, and voices, and lightnings, and the trumpet, and the smoke on Mount Sinai, when it was said, "And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire, and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace; and all the people that was in the camp trembled; and when the voice of the trumpet sounded long and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice." And a little after, when the Law had been given in the ten commandments, it follows in the text, "And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking." And a little after, "And [when the people saw it,] they removed and stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was, and the Lord said unto Moses," etc. What shall I say about this, save that no one can be so insane as to believe the smoke, and the fire, and the cloud, and the darkness, and whatever there was of the kind, to be the substance of the word and wisdom of God which is Christ, or of the Holy Spirit? For not even the Arians ever dared to say that they were the substance of God the Father.

x411 these things, then, were wrought through the creature serving the Creator, and were presented in a suitable economy to human senses; unless, perhaps, because it is said, "And

1 Ex. iii. 21, 22. - 2 Ex. xvi. 10-12. 3 e^\. xix. 18, 19.

4 Nebulam. ^ Ex. xx. 18, 21.

08 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

Moses drew near to the cloud where God was," carnal thoughts must needs suppose that the cloud was indeed seen by the people, but that within the cloud Moses with the eyes of the flesh saw the Son of God, whom doting heretics will have to be seen in His own
substance. Eorsooth, Moses may have seen Him with the eyes of the flesh, if not only the wisdom of God which is Christ, but even that of any man you please and howsoever wise, can be seen with the eyes of the flesh; or if, because it is written of the elders of Israel, that " they saw the place where the God of Israel had stood," and that " there was under His feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness," â–’â– therefore we are to believe that the word and wisdom of God in His own substance stood within the space of an earthly place, who indeed " reacheth firmly from end to end, and sweetly ordereth all things;"^ and that the Word of God, by whom all things were made/ is in such wise changeable, as now to contract, now to expand Himself; (may the Lord cleanse the hearts of His faithful ones from such thoughts !) But indeed all these visible and sensible things are, as we have often said, exhibited through the creature made subject in order to signify the invisible and intelligible God, not only the Father, but also the Son and the Holy Spirit, " of whom are all things, and through whom are all things, and in whom are all things;'' although " the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead." ^

26. But as far as concerns our present undertaking, neither on Mount Sinai do I see how it appears, by aU those things which were fearfully displayed to the senses of mortal men, whether God the Trinity spake, or the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit severally. But if it is allowable, without rash assertion, to venture upon a modest and hesitating conjecture from this passage, if it is possible to understand it of one person of the Trinity, why do we not rather understand the Holy Spirit to be spoken of, since the Law itself also, which was given there, is said to have been written upon tables of

Ex. xxiv, 10. 2 y^is^, viii. 1. 3 joi^i i 3^  
* Kom. xi. 36. ^ Eom. i. 20.

CHAP. XVI.] IN WHAT MANNER MOSES SAW GOD. 69

stone with the finger of God/ by which name we know the Holy Spirit to be signified in the Gospel.^ And fifty days are numbered from the slaying of the lamb and the celebration of the Passover until the day in which these things began to be done in Mount Sinai; just as after the passion of our Lord fifty days are numbered from His resurrection, and then came the Holy Spirit which the Son of God had promised. And in that very coming of His, which we read of in the Acts of the Apostles, there appeared cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them:^ which agrees with Exodus, where it is written, " And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire;" and a little after,  
" And the sight of the glory of the Lord," he says, " was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel."^* Or if these things were therefore wrouÂ£^ht because neither the Father nor the Son could be there presented in that mode
without the Holy Spirit, by whom the Law itself must needs be written; then we know doubtless that God appeared there, not by His own substance, which remains invisible and unchangeable, but by the appearance above mentioned of the creature; but that some special person of the Trinity appeared, distinguished by a proper mark, as far as my capacity of understanding reaches, we do not see.

Chap. xvi. â€” In that manner Moses saw God.

26. There is yet another difficulty which troubles most people, viz. that it is written, "And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend;" whereas a little after, the same Moses says, "Now therefore, I pray Thee, if I have found grace in Thy sight, show me now Thyself plainly, that I may see Thee, that I may find grace in Thy sight, and that I may consider that this nation is Thy people;" and a little after Moses again said to the Lord, "Show me Thy glory." What means this then, that in everything which was done, as above said, God was thought to have appeared by His own substance; whence the Son of God has been believed by these miserable people to be visible not by the creature, but by Himself; and that Moses, entering into the cloud, appeared to have had this

1 Ex. xxxi. 18. 2 L\^e xi, 20. "^\^g \^i l^\^e xxiv. 17.

70 ON THE TRINITY. ' [BOOK II.]

very object in entering, that a cloudy darkness indeed might be shown to the eyes of the people, but that Moses within might hear the words of God, as though he beheld His face; and, as it is said, "And the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend;" and yet, behold, the same Moses says, "If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me Thyself plainly." Assuredly he knew that he saw corporeally, and he sought the true sight of God spiritually. And that mode of speech accordingly which was wrought in words, was so modified, as if it were of a friend speaking to a friend. Yet who sees God the Father with the eyes of the body? And that Word, which was in the beginning, the Word which was with God, the Word which was God, by which all things were made, who sees Him with the eyes of the body? And the Spirit of wisdom, again, who sees with the eyes of the body? Yet what is "Show me now Thyself plainly, that I may see Thee," unless Show me Thy substance? But if Moses had not said this, we must indeed have borne with those foolish people as we could, who think that the substance of God was made visible to his eyes through those things which, as above mentioned, were said or done. But when it is here demonstrated most evidently that this was not granted to him, even though he desired it; who will dare to say, that by the like forms which had appeared visibly to him also, not the creature serving God, but that itself which is God, appeared to the eyes of a mortal man?

28. Add, too, that which the Lord afterwards said to Moses,
'â€¢ Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see my face, and live. And the Lord said, Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shall stand upon a rock: and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I will put thee into a watch-tower of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by: and I will take away my hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen."

^ John i. 1, 3.

2 Clift â€” A. V. Spelunca is one reading in S. Aug., but the Benedictines read sjJecula = watch-tower, which the context proves to be certainly right.

3 Ex. xxxiii. 11-23.

CHAP. XVII] OF THE FACE, AND OF THE BACK PAIITS, OF GOD. 71

Chap. xxilâ€”Ifow the back parts of God loere seen. Tlie faith of the resurrection of Christ. The Catholic Church only is the place from whence the back parts of God are seen. The back j^arts of God wei-e seen by the Israelites. It is a rash opinion to think that God the Father only vjas never seen by the fathers.

NOT unfitly is it commonly understood to be prefigured from the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, that His " back parts " are to be taken to be His flesh, in which He was born of the Virgin, and died, and rose again; whether they are called back parts ^ on account of the posteriority of mortality, or because it was almost in the end of the world, that is, at a late period,^ that He deigned to take it: but that His face was that form of God, in which He " thought it not robbery to be equal with God,"^ which no one certainly can see and live; whether because after this life, in which we are absent from the Lord,* and where the corruptible body presseth down the soul;^ we shall see "face to face,"^ as the apostle says â€” (for it is said in the Psalms of this life, " Verily every man living is altogether vanity;"^ and again, 'Tor in Thy sight shall no man living be justified;"^ and in this life also, according to John, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know," he says, 'â€¢ that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is,"^ which he certainly intended to be understood as after this life, when we shall have paid the debt of death, and shall have received the promise of the resurrection); â€” or whether that even now, in whatever degree we spiritually understand the wisdom of God, by which all things were made, in that same degree we die to carnal affections, so that, considering this world dead to us, we also ourselves die to this world, and say what the apostle says, " The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." -^^ For it was of this death that he also says, " AVherefore, if ye be dead with Christ, why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances V^\^ Not therefore without cause will no one be able to see the face, that is, the manifestation itself of the wisdom of God, and live. For it is this very appearance, for the
contemplation of which every one sighs who strives to love God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind; to the contemplation of which, he who loves his neighbour, too, as himself builds up his neighbour also as far as he may; on which two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

And this is signified also in Moses himself. For when he had said, on account of the love of God with which he was specially inflamed, " If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me now Thyself plainly, that I may find grace in Thy sight;" he immediately subjoined, on account of the love also of his neighbour, " And that I may know that this nation is Thy people."

It is therefore that appearance which hurries away every rational soul with the desire of itself, and the more ardently the more pure that soul is; and it is the more pure the more it rises to spiritual things; and it rises the more to spiritual things the more it dies to carnal things. But whilst we are absent from the Lord, and walk by faith, not by sight, we ought to see the back parts of Christ, that is His flesh, by that very faith, that is, standing on the solid foundation of faith, which the rock signifies, and beholding it from such a safe watch-tower, namely, in the Catholic_Church, of which it is said, " And upon this rock I will build my Church." For so much the more certainly we love that face of Christ, which we earnestly desire to see, as we recognise in His back parts (I how much first Christ loved us.

29. But in that flesh itself the faith of His resurrection saves and justifies us. For, " If thou shalt believe," he says, "in thine heart, that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved;" and again, "Who was delivered," he says, "for our offences, and was raised again for our justification." So that the reward of our faith is the resurrection of the body of our Lord. For even His enemies believe that that flesh died on the cross of His passion, but they do not believe it to have risen again. Which we believing most firmly, gaze upon it as from the solidity of a rock: whence we wait with certain hope for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body; because we hope for that in the members of

1 Matt. xxii. 37-40. â€œ 2 Cor. v. 6, 7. ^IMatt. xvi. 18.
Christ, that is, in ourselves, which by a sound faith we acknowledge to be perfect in Him as in our Head. Thence it is that He would not have His back parts seen, unless as He passed by, that His resurrection may be believed. For that which is Pascha in Hebrew, is translated Passover. Whence John the Evangelist also says, "Before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew that His hour was come, that He should pass out of this world unto the Father."

But they who believe this, but believe it not in the Catholic Church, but in some schism or in heresy, do not see the back parts of the Lord from "the place that is by Him."

For what does that mean which the Lord says, "Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock"? What earthly place is "by" the Lord, unless that is "by" Him "which touches Him spiritually? For what place is not "by" the Lord, who "reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly doth order all things;" and of whom it is said, "Heaven is His throne, and earth is His footstool;" and who said, "Where is the house that ye build unto me, and where is the place of my rest? For has not my hand made all those things?" But manifestly the Catholic Church itself is understood to be "the place by Him," wherein one stands upon a rock, where he healthfully sees the "Pascha Domini," that is, the "Passing by" of the Lord, and His back parts, that is, His body, who believes in His resurrection. "And thou shalt stand," He says, "upon a rock while my glory passeth by."

For in reality, immediately after the majesty of the Lord had passed by in the glorification of the Lord, in which He rose again and ascended to the Father, we stood firm upon the rock. And Peter himself then stood firm, so that he preached Him with confidence, whom, before he stood firm, he had thrice from fear denied; although, indeed, already before placed in predestination upon the watch-tower of the rock, but with the hand of the Lord still held over him that he might not see. For he was to see His back parts, and the Lord had not yet "passed by," namely, from death to life; He had not yet been glorified by the resurrection.


31. Por as to that, too, which follows in Exodus, "I will cover thee with mine hand while I pass by, and I will take away my hand and thou shalt see my back parts;" many Israelites, of whom Moses was then a figure, believed in the Lord after His resurrection, as if His hand had been taken off from their eyes, and they now saw His back parts. And hence the evangelist also mentions that prophecy of Isaiah, "Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes." Lastly, in the Psalm, that is not unreasonably understood to be said in their person, "For day and night Thy hand was heavy upon me." "By day," perhaps, when He performed manifest miracles, yet was not acknowledged by them; but "by night," when He died in suffering, when they thought still more certainly that, like any one among men. He was cut off and brought to an end. But since, when He had already passed by, so that His back parts were seen, upon the preaching to them by the Apostle Peter that it behoved Christ to suffer and rise again, they were pricked in their hearts with the grief of repentance, that might come to pass among the baptized which is said in the beginning of that Psalm, "Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered;" therefore, after it had been said, "Thy hand is heavy upon me," the Lord, as it were, passing by, so that now He removed His hand, and His back parts were seen, there follows the voice of one who grieves and confesses and receives remission of sins by faith in the resurrection of the Lord: "My moisture," he says, "is turned into the drought of summer. I acknowledged my sin unto Thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." For we ought not to be so wrapped up in the darkness of the flesh, as to think the face indeed of God to be invisible, but His back visible, since both appeared visibly in the form, of a servant; but far be it from us to think anything of the kind in the form of God; far be it from us to think that the Word of God and the Wisdom of God has a face on one side, and on the other a back, as a human body.

1 Isa. vi. 10; Matt. xiii. 15. ^^ts ii. 37, 41. ^ ps_ xxxii. 4, 5.

CHAP. XYIII.] now GOD APPEARED TO DANIEL. 75

lias, or is at all changed either in place or time by any appearance or motion.

32. Wherefore, if in those words which were wrought in Exodus, or in all those corporeal appearances, the Lord Jesus Christ was manifested; or if in some cases Christ was manifested, as the consideration of this passage persuades us, in others the Holy Spirit, as that which we have said above admonishes us; at any rate no such result follows, as that God the Father never appeared in any such form to the fathers. For many such appearances happened in those times, without either the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit being expressly named and designated in them; but yet with some intimations
given through certain very probable interpretations, so that it would be too rash to say that God the Father never appeared by any visible forms to the fathers or the prophets. For they gave birth to this opinion who were not able to understand in the unity of the Trinity such texts as, "Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God; "^ and, " Whom no man hath seen, nor can see."^ Which texts are understood by a sound faith of that substance itself, the highest, and in the hidiest de^ee divine and unchanc^eable, wherein both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is the one and only God. But those visions were wrought through the changeable creature, made subject to the unchangeable God, and did not manifest God properly as He is, but by intimations such as suited the causes and times of the several circumstances.

â– Chap, xviii. â€” The Vision of Daniel

33. Although I do not know in what manner these men understand that the Ancient of Days appeared to Daniel, from whom the Son of man, which He deigned to be for our sakes, is understood to have received the kingdom; namely, from Him who says to Him in the Psalms, " Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee; ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance; "^ and who has " put all things under His feet." * If, therefore, both the Father giving the kingdom, and the Son receiving it, appeared to

1 1 Tim. i. 17. - 1 Tim. vi. 16. 3 p., n 7 8. * Ps. viii. 8.

76 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

Daniel in bodily form, how can those men say that the Father never appeared to the prophets, and, therefore, that He only ought to be understood to be invisible whom no man has seen, nor can see ? For Daniel has told us thus: " I beheld," he says, " till the thrones were set,^ and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like the pure wool: His throne was like the fiery flame, and His wheels as burning fire; a fiery stream issued and came forth from before Him: thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened," etc.

And a little after, " I saw," he says, " in the night visions, and behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."^ Behold the Father giving, and the Son receiving, an eternal kingdom; and both are in the sight of him who prophesies, in a visible form. It is not, therefore, unsuitably believed that God the Father also was wont to appear in that manner to mortals.
34. Unless, perhaps, some one shall say, that the Father is therefore not visible, because He appeared within the sight of one who was dreaming; but that therefore the Son and the Holy Spirit are visible, because Moses saw all those things being awake; as if, forsooth, Moses saw the Word and the Wisdom of God with fleshly eyes, or that even the human spirit which quickens that flesh can be seen, or even that corporeal thing which is called wind; â€“ how much less can that Spirit of God be seen, who transcends the minds of all men, and of angels, by the ineffable excellence of the divine substance? Or can any one fall headlong into such an error as to dare to say, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are visible also to men who are awake, but that the Father is not visible except to those who dream? How, then, do they understand that of the Father alone, "Whom no man hath seen, nor..."^ Cast downâ€“ A. Y. ^ Dan. vii. 9-H.

CHAP. XVIII.] WHETHER TEIXITY OR ONE PERSON APPEARED. 77

see "? When men sleep, are they then not men? Or cannot He, who can fashion the likeness of a body to signify Himself through the visions of dreamers, also fashion that same bodily creature to signify Himself to the eyes of those who are awake? Whereas His own very substance, whereby He Himself is that which He is, cannot be shown by any bodily likeness to one who sleeps, or by any bodily appearance to one who is awake; but this not of the Father only, but also of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And certainly, as to those who are moved by the visions of waking men to believe that not the Father, but only the Son, or the Holy Spirit, appeared to the corporeal sight of men, â€“ to omit the great extent of the sacred pages, and their manifold interpretation, such that no one of sound reason ought to affirm that the person of the Father was nowhere shown to the eyes of waking men by any corporeal appearance; â€“ but, as I said, to omit this, what do they say of our father Abraham, who was certainly awake and ministering, when, after Scripture had premised, ë– The Lord appeared unto Abraham,ë not one, or two, but three men appeared to him; no one of whom is said to have stood prominently above the others, no one more than the others to have shone with greater glory, or to have acted more authoritatively? ^

35. Wherefore, since in that our threefold division we determined to inquire,ë first, whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit; or whether sometimes the Father, sometimes the Son, sometimes the Holy Spirit; or whether, without any distinction of persons, as it is said, the one and only God, that is, the Trinity itself, appeared to the fathers through those forms of the creature: now that we have examined, so far as appeared to be sufficient, what places of the Holy Scriptures we could, a modest and cautious consideration of divine mysteries leads, as far as I can judge, to no other conclusion, unless that we may not rashly affirm which person of the Trinity appeared to this or that of the fathers or the prophets in some body or likeness of body, unless when the context attaches to the narrative some probable intimations on the subject. For the nature itself, or substance, or essence, or
ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK II.]

by whatever other name that very thing, which is God, whatever it be, is to be called, cannot be seen corporeally: but we must believe that by means of the creature made subject to Him, not only the Son, or the Holy Spirit, but also the Father, may have given intimations of Himself to mortal senses by a corporeal form or likeness. And since the case stands thus, that this second book may not extend to an immoderate length, let us consider what remains in those which follow.

CHAP. L] "WHY AUGUSTINE WHITES OF THE TRINITY. 79

BOOK THIED.

THE QUESTION IS DISCUSSED WITH RESPECT TO THE APPEARANCES OF GOD SPOKEN OF IN THE PREVIOUS BOOK, WHICH WERE MADE UNDER BODILY FORMS, WHETHER ONLY A CREATURE WAS FORMED, FOR THE PURPOSE OF MANIFESTING GOD TO HUMAN SIGHT IN SUCH WAY AS HE AT EACH TIME JUDGED fitting; OR WHETHER ANGELS, ALREADY EXISTING, WERE SO SENT AS TO SPEAK IN THE PERSON OF GOD; AND THIS, EITHER BY ASSUMING A BODILY APPEARANCE FROM THE BODILY CREATURE, OR BY CHANGING THEIR OWN BODIES INTO WHATEVER FORMS THEY WOULD, SUITABLE TO THE PARTICULAR ACTION, ACCORDING TO THE POWER GIVEN TO THEM BY THE CREATOR; WHILE THE ESSENCE ITSELF OF GOD WAS NEVER SEEN IN ITSELF.

Preface. Why Augustine writes of the Trinity. What he claims from readers. What has been said in the previous hool:

1. I would have them believe, who are willing to do so, that I had rather bestow labour in reading, than in dictating what others may read. But let those who will not believe this, but are both able and willing to make the trial, grant me whatever answers may be gathered from reading, either to my own inquiries, or to those interrogations of others, which for the character I bear in the service of Christ, and for the zeal with which I burn
that our faith may be fortified against the error of carnal and psychical men, I must needs bear with; and then let them see how easily I would refrain from this labour, and with how much even of joy I would give my pen a holiday. But if what we have read upon these subjects is either not sufficiently set forth, or is not to be found at all, or at any rate cannot easily be found by us, in the Latin tongue, while we are not so familiar with the Greek tongue as to be found in any way competent to read and understand therein the books that treat of such topics, in which class of writings, to judge by the little which has been translated for us, I do not doubt that everything is contained that we can profitably seek; while yet I cannot resist my brethren when they exact of me, by that law by which I am made their servant, that I

80 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

should minister above all to their praiseworthy studies in Christ by my tongue and by my pen, of which two yoked together in me, Love is the charioteer; and while I myself confess that I have by writing learned many things which I did not know: if this be so, then this my labour ought not to seem superfluous to any idle, or to any very learned reader; while it is needful in no small part, to many who are busy, and to many who are unlearned, and among these last to myself supported, then, very greatly, and aided by the writings we have already read of others on this subject, I have undertaken to inquire into and to discuss, whatever it seems to my judgment can be reverently inquired into and discussed, concerning the Trinity, the one supreme and supremely good God; He himself exhorting me to the inquiry, and helping me in the discussion of it; in order that, if there are no other writings of the kind, there may be something for those to have and read who are willing and capable; but if any exist already, then it may be so much the easier to find some such writings, the more there are of the kind in existence.

2. Assuredly, as in all my writings I desire not only a pious reader, but also a free corrector, so I especially desire this in the present inquiry, which is so important that I would there were as many inquirers as there are objectors. But as I do not wish my reader to be bound down to me, so I do not wish my corrector to be bound down to himself. Let not the former love me more than the Catholic faith, let not the latter love himself more than the Catholic verity. As I say to the former. Do not be willing to yield to my writings as to the canonical Scriptures; but in these, when thou hast discovered even what thou didst not previously believe, believe it unhesitatingly; while in those, unless thou hast understood with certainty what thou didst not before hold as certain, be unwilling to hold it fast: so I say to the latter. Do not be willing to amend my writings by thine own opinion or disputation, but from the divine text, or by unanswerable reason. If thou apprehendest anything of truth in them, its being there does not make it mine, but by understanding and loving it, let it be both thine and mine; but if thou convicted anything of falsehood, though it have once been mine, in that I
was guilty of the error, yet now by avoiding it let it be neither thine nor mine.

3. Let this third book, then, take its beginning at the point to which the second had reached. For after we had arrived at this, that we desired to show that the Son was not therefore less than the Father, because the Father sent and the Son was sent; nor the Holy Spirit therefore less than both, because we read in the Gospel that He was sent both by the one and by the other; we undertook then to inquire, since the Son was sent thither, where He already was, for He came into the world, and "was in the world;" i.e. since also the Holy Spirit was sent thither, where He already was, for "the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice;" i.e. whether the Lord was therefore "sent" because He was born in the flesh so as to be no longer hidden, and, as it were, came forth from the bosom of the Father, and appeared to the eyes of men in the form of a servant; and the Holy Spirit also was therefore "sent," because He too was seen as a dove in a corporeal form, and in cloven tongues, like as of fire; i.e. so that, to be sent, when spoken of them, means to go forth to the sight of mortals in some corporeal form from a spiritual hiding-place; which, because the Father did not. He is said only to have sent, not also to be sent. Our next inquiry was. Why the Father also is not sometimes said to be sent, if He Himself was manifested through those corporeal forms which appeared to the eyes of the ancients. But if the Son was manifested at these times, why should He be said to be "sent" so long after, when the fulness of time was come that He should be born of a woman since, indeed, He was sent before also, viz. when He appeared corporeally in those forms? Or if He were not rightly said to be "sent," except when the Word was made flesh; i.e. why should the Holy Spirit be read of as "sent," of whom such an incarnation never took place? But if neither the Father, nor the Son, but the Holy Spirit was manifested through these ancient appearances; why should He too be said to be "sent" now, when He was also sent before in these various

1 John i. 10. 2 vii. i. 7. 3 xiii. iii. 16.

* Acts ii. 3. 5 Gal. iv. 4. Â» John i. 14.

DE TRIN. S

82 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

manner? Next we subdivided the subject, that it might be handled most carefully, and we made the question threefold, of which one part was explained in the second book, and two remain, which I shall next proceed to discuss. For we have already inquired and determined, that not only the Father, nor only the Son, nor only the Holy Spirit appeared in those ancient corporeal forms and visions, but either indifferently the Lord God, who is
understood to be the Trinity itself, or some one person of the Trinity, whichever the text of the narrative might signify, through intimations supplied by the context.

Chap. i. â€” What is to be said thereupon.

4. Let us, then, continue our inquiry now in order. For under the second head in that division the question occurred, whether the creature was formed for that work only, wherein God, in such way as He then judged it to be fitting, might be manifested to human sight; or whether angels, who already existed, were so sent as to speak in the person of God, assuming a corporeal appearance from the corporeal creature for the purpose of their ministry; or else changing and turning their own body itself, to which they are not subject, but govern it as subject to themselves, into whatever forms they would, that were appropriate and fit for their actions, according to the power given to them by the Creator. And when this part of the question shall have been investigated, so far as God permit, then, lastly, we shall have to see to that question with which we started, viz. whether the Son and the Holy Spirit were also "sent" before; and if it be so, then what difference there is between that sending and the one of which we read in the Gospel; or whether neither of them were sent, except when either the Son was made of the Virgin Mary, or when the Holy Spirit appeared in a visible form, whether as a dove or in tongues of fire.

5. I confess, however, that it reaches further than my purpose can carry me to inquire whether the angels, secretly working by the spiritual quality of their body abiding still in them, assume somewhat from the inferior and more bodily elements, which, being fitted to themselves, they may change and turn like a garment into any corporeal appearances they will, and those appearances themselves also real, as real water was changed by our Lord into real wine; or whether they transform their own bodies themselves into that which they would, suitably to the particular act. But it does not signify to the present question which of these it is. And although I be not able to understand these things by actual experience, seeing that I am a man, as the angels do who do these things, and know them better than I know them, viz. how far my body is changeable by the operation of my will; whether it be by my own experience of myself, or by that which I have gathered from others; yet it is not necessary here to say which of these alternatives I am to believe upon the authority of the divine Scriptures lest I be compelled to prove it, and so my discourse become too long upon a subject which does not concern the present question.

G. Our present inquiry then is, whether the angels were then the agents both in showing those bodily appearances to the eyes of men, and in sounding those words in their ears,
when the sensible creature itself, serving the Creator at His beck, was turned for the time
into whatever was needful; as it is written in the book of Wisdom, "For the creature that
serveth Thee, who art the Maker, increaseth his strength against the unrighteous for their
punishment, and abateth his strength for the benefit of such as put their trust in Thee.
Therefore, even then Avas it altered into all fashions, and was obedient to Thy grace, that
nourisheth all thincrs accordino; to the desire of them that longed for Thee." ^ For the
power of the will of God reaches through the spiritual creature even to visible and
sensible effects of the corporeal creature. For where does not the wisdom of the
omnipotent God work that which He wills, which
"reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly doth order all thincrs " ? ^

^ CuAP. ir. â€” The will of God is the higher cause of all corporeal cha.ivje. This is
shovm by an example.

7. But there is one kind of natural order in the conversion and changeableness of bodies,
which, although itself also serves the bidding of God, yet by reason of its unbroken
continuity
1 Jolui ii. 9. "Wisd. xvi. 24, 25. 3 "VYisd. viii. 1.

84 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

has ceased to cause wonder; as is the case, for instance, with those things which are
changed either in very short, or at any rate not long, intervals of time, in heaven, or earth,
or sea; whether it be in rising, or in setting, or in change of appearance from time to time;
while there are other things, which, although arising from that same order, yet are less
familiar on account of longer intervals of time. And these things, although the many
stupidly wonder at them, yet are understood by those who inquire into this present world,
and in the progress of generations become so much the less w^onderful, as they are the
more often repeated and known by more people.
Such are the eclipses of the sun and moon, and some kinds of stars, appearing seldom,
and earthquakes, and unnatural births of living creatures, and other similar things; of
which not one takes place without the will of God; yet, that it is so, is to most people not
apparent. And so the vanity of philosophers has found licence to assign these things also
to other causes, true causes perhaps, but proximate ones, while they are not able to see at
all the cause that is higher than all others, that is, the will of God; or again to false causes,
and to such as are not even put forward out of any diligent investigation of corporeal
things and motions, but from their own guess and error.

8. I will bring forward an example, if I can, that this may be plainer. There is, we know,
in the human body a certain bulk of flesh, and an outward form, and an arrangement and
distinction of limbs, and a temperament of health; and a soul breathed into it governs this body, and that soul a rational one; which, therefore, although changeable, yet can be partaker of that inchangeable wisdom, so that "it may partake thereof in itself;" as it is written in the Psalm concerning all saints, of whom as of living stones is built that Jerusalem which is the mother of us all, eternal in the heavens. For so it is sung, "Jerusalem is builded as a city, that is partaker thereof in itself."^ For "itself" in that place is understood of that chiepest and unchangeable good, which is God, and of His own wisdom and will. To whom is sung in another place, "Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same."^ 

1 Ps. cxxii. 3. 2 Ps. cii. 26, 27.

CHAP. III.[ HOW GOD IS THE FIRST CAUSE. 85

Chap. hi. â€” Of the same argument.

Let US take, then, the case of a wise man, such that his rational soul is already partaker of the unchangeable and eternal truth, so that he consults it about all his actions, nor does anything at all, which he does not by it know ought to be done, in order that by being subject to it and obeying it he may do rightly. Suppose now that this man, upon counsel with the highest reason of the divine righteousness, which he hears with the ear of his heart in secret, and by its bidding, should weary his body by toil in some office of mercy, and should contract an illness; and upon consulting the physicians, were to be told by one that the cause of the disease was overmuch dryness of the body, but by another that it was overmuch moisture; one of the two no doubt would allege the true cause and the other would err, but both would pronounce concerning proximate causes only, that is, corporeal ones. But if the cause of that dryness were to be inquired into, and found to be the self-imposed toil, then we should have come to a yet higher cause, which proceeds from the soul so as to affect the body which the soul governs. Yet neither would this be the first cause, for that doubtless was a hio'her cause still, and lay in the unchangeable wisdom itself, by serving which in love, and by obeying its ineffable commands, the soul of the wise man had undertaken that self-imposed toil; and so nothing else but the will of God would be found most truly to be the first cause of that illness. But suppose noAV in that office of pious toil this wise man had employed the help of others to co-operate in the good work, who did not serve God with the same will as himself, but either desired to attain the reward of their own carnal desires, or shunned merely carnal unpleasantnesses; â€” suppose, too, he had employed beasts of burden, if the completion of the work required such a provision, which beasts of burden would be certainly irrational animals, and would not therefore move their limbs under their burdens because they at all thought of that good work, but from the natural appetite of their own liking, and for the avoiding of annoyance; â€” suppose, lastly, he had employed bodily things themselves that lack all sense, but were necessary for that work, as e.g. corn, and wine, and oil, clothes, or
money, or a book, or anything of the kind; â€” certainly, in all these bodily things thus employed in this work, whether animate or inanimate, whatever took place of movement, of wear and tear, of reparation, of destruction, of renewal, or of change in one way or another, as places and times affected them; pray, could there be, I say, any other cause of all these visible and changeable facts, except the invisible and unchangeable will of God, using all these, both bad and irrational souls, and lastly bodies, whether such as were inspired and animated by those souls, or such as lacked all sense, by means of that upright soul as the seat of His wisdom, since primarily that good and holy soul itself employed them, which His wisdom had subjected to itself in a pious and religious obedience?

Chap. iv. â€” God uses all creatures as He will, and makes visible things for the manifestation of Himself.

9. What, then, we have alleged by way of example of a single wise man, although of one still bearing a mortal body and still seeing only in part, may be allowably extended also to a family, where there is a society of such men, or to a city, or even to the whole world, if the chief rule and government of human affairs were in the hands of the wise, and of those who were piously and perfectly subject to God; but because this is not the case as yet (for it behoves us first to be exercised in this our pilgrimage after mortal fashion, and to be taught with stripes by force of gentleness and patience), let us turn our thoughts to that country itself that is above and heavenly, from which we here are pilgrims. For there the will of God, "who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire," presiding among spirits which are joined in perfect peace and friendship, and combined in one will by a kind of spiritual fire of charity, as it were in an elevated and holy and secret seat, as in its own house and in its own temple, thence diffuses itself through all things by certain most perfectly ordered movements of the creature; first spiritual, then corporeal; and uses all according to the unchangeable pleasure of its own purpose, whether incorporeal things or things corporeal, whether rational or irrational.

1 Ps. civ. 4.

CHAP. IV.] ALL CREATION A MANIFESTATION OF GOD. 87

spirits, whether good by His grace or evil through their own will. But as the more gross and inferior bodies are governed in due order by the more subtle and powerful ones, so all bodies are governed by the living spirit; and the living spirit devoid of reason, by the reasonable living spirit; and the reasonable living spirit that makes default and sins, by the living and reasonable spirit that is pious and just; and that by God Himself, and so the universal creature by its Creator, from whom and through whom and in whom it is also created and established.â€”And so it comes to pass that the will of God is the first and the
highest cause of all corporeal appearances and motions. For nothing is done visibly or sensibly, unless either by command or permission from the interior palace, invisible and intelligible, of the supreme Governor, according to the unspeakable justice of rewards and punishments, of favour and retribution, in that far-reachinoj and boundless commonwealth of the whole creature.

10. If, therefore, the Apostle Paul, although he still bare the burden of the body, which is subject to corruption and presseth down the soul,\(^\text{^* Col. i. 16. 2 ^isd^ ij}^{15} 3 1\) Cor. xiii. 12.\) and although he still saw only in part and in an enigma,\(^\text{^* Phil. i. 23. s Eom. viii. 2?}^{*}\) wishing to depart and be with Christ,\(^\text{^* Col. i. 16. 2 ^isd^ ij}^{15} 3 1\) Cor. xiii. 12.\) and groaning within himself, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of his body,\(^\text{^* Phil. i. 23. s Eom. viii. 2?}^{*}\) yet was able to preach the Lord Jesus Christ significantly, in one way by liis tongue, in another by epistle, in another by the sacrament of His body and blood (since, certainly, we do not call either the tongue of the apostle, or the parchments, or the ink, or the significant sounds which his tongue uttered, or the alphabetical signs written on skins, the body and blood of Christ; but that only which we take of the fruits of the earth and consecrate by mystic prayer, and then receive duly to our spiritual health in memory of the passion of our Lord for us: and this, although it is brought by the hands of men to that visible form, yet is not sanctified to become so great a sacrament, except by the Spirit of God working invisibly; since God works everything that is done in that work through corporeal movements, by .setting in motion primarily the invisible things of His servants, whether

\(^\text{^* Col. i. 16. 2 ^isd^ ij}^{15} 3 1\) Cor. xiii. 12.\)

8S ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

the souls of men, or the services of hidden spirits subject to Himself): what wonder if also in the creature of heaven and earth, of sea and air, God works the sensible and visible things which He wills, in order to signify and manifest Himself in them, as He Himself knows it to be fitting, without any appearing of His very substance itself, whereby He is, which is altogether unchangeable, and more inwardly and secretly exalted than all spirits whom He has created?

Chap. v. â€” Why miracles are not usual icorbs.

11. For since the divine power administers the whole spiritual and corporeal creature, the waters of the sea are summoned and poured out upon the face of the earth on certain days of every year. But when this was done at the prayer of the holy Elijah; in that so continued and long a course of fair weather had gone before, that men were famished; and because at that very hour, in which the servant of God prayed, the air itself had not, by any moist aspect, put forth signs of the coming rain; the divine power was apparent in the great and rapid showers that followed, and by which that miracle was granted and
dispensed.\footnote{1 Kings xviii. 45. \footnote{Ex. xix. 6.} \footnote{1 Cor. iii. 7.}} In like manner, God works ordinarily through thunders and lightnings: but because these were wrought in an unusual manner on Mount Sinai, and those sounds were not uttered with a confused noise, but so that it appeared by most sure proofs that certain intimations were given by them, they were miracles.\footnote{1 John ii. 9. \footnote{Num. xvii. 8.}} Who draws up the sap through the root of the vine to the bunch of grapes, and makes the wine, except God; who, while man plants and waters, Himself giveth the increase?\footnote{1 Cor. iii. 7.} But when, at the command of the Lord, the water was turned into wine with an extraordinary quickness, the divine power was made manifest, by the confession even of the foolish.* Who ordinarily clothes the trees with leaves and flowers except God? Yet, when the rod of Aaron the priest blossomed, the Godhead in some way conversed with doubting humanity.\footnote{Num. xvii. 8.} Again, the earthy matter certainly serves in common to the production and formation both of all kinds of wood and of the flesh of all ani-

\footnote{1 Kings xviii. 45. \footnote{Ex. xix. 6.} \footnote{1 Cor. iii. 7.}}

\footnote{1 John ii. 9. \footnote{Num. xvii. 8.}}

CHAP. TIT.] WHAT CONSTITUTES A MIRACLE. 89

... and who makes these things, but He who said, Let the earth bring them forth; \footnote{1 Kings xviii. 45.} and who governs and guides by the same word of His, those things which He has created? Yet, when He changed the same matter out of the rod of Moses into the flesh of a serpent, immediately and quickly, that change, which was unusual, although of a thing which was changeable, was a miracle.\footnote{1 John ii. 9.} But who is it that gives life to every living thing at its birth, unless He who gave life to that serpent also for the moment, as there was need?

Chap. vi. â€” Diversity alone makes a miracle.

And who is it that restored to the corpses their proper souls when the dead rose again?\footnote{1 John ii. 9.} unless He who gives life to the flesh in the mother's womb, in order that they may come into being who yet are to die? But when such things happen in a continuous kind of river of ever-flowing succession, passing from the hidden to the visible, and from the visible to the hidden, by a regular and beaten track, then they are called natural; when, for the admonition of men, they are thrust in by an unusual changeableness, then they are called miracles.

Chap. vii. â€” Great miracles wrought by magical arts.

12. I see here what may occur to a weak judgment, namely, why such miracles are wrought also by magic arts; for the wise men of Pharaoh likewise made serpents, and did other like things. Yet it is still more a matter of wonder, how it was that the power of
those magicians, which was able to make serpents, when it came to very small flies, failed altogether.

For the lice, by which third plague the proud people of Egypt were smitten, are very short-lived little flies; yet there certainly the magicians failed, saying, "This is the finger of God."* And hence it is given us to understand that not even those angels and powers of the air that transgressed, who have been thrust down into that lowest darkness, as into a peculiar prison, from their habitation in that lofty ethereal purity, through whom magic arts have whatever power they have, can do anything except by power given from above. ISTow that power is given either to deceive the deceitful, as it was


9 Â» ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

given against the Egyptians, and against the magicians also themselves, in order that in the seducing of those spirits they might seem admirable by whom they were wrought, but to be condemned by the truth of God; or for the admonishing of the faithful, lest they should desire to do anything of the kind as though it were a great thing, for which reason they have been handed down to us also by the authority of Scripture; or lastly, for the exercising, proving, and manifesting of the patience of the righteous. For it was not by any small power of visible miracles that Job lost all that he had, and both his children and his bodily health itself.^

CHAr. VIII. â€” God alone creates those things which are chanrjeed by magic art.

13. Yet it is not on this account to be thought that the matter of visible things is subservient to the bidding of those wicked angels; but rather to that of God, by whom this power is given, just so far as He, who is unchangeable, determines in His lofty and spiritual abode to give it. For water and fire and earth are subservient even to wicked men, who are condemned to the mines, in order that they may do therewith what they will, but only so far as is permitted. ISTor, in truth, are those evil angels to be called creators, because by their means the magicians, withstanding the servant of God, made frogs and serpents; for it was not they who created them. But, in truth, some hidden seeds of all things that are born corporeally and visibly, are concealed in the corporeal elements of this world.

For those seeds that are visible at once to our eyes from fruits and living things, are quite distinct from the hidden seeds of those former seeds; whence, at the bidding of the Creator, the water produced the first swimming creatures and fowl, and the earth the first buds after their kind, and the first livings: creatures after their kind.^ For neither at that time were those seeds so drawn forth into products of these several kinds, as that the power of production was exhausted in those products; but for the most part, suitable combinations of circumstances are wanting, whereby they may be enabled to burst forth and complete their species. For, consider, the very least shoot is a seed; for, if fitly consigned to the earth, it produces
a tree. But of this shoot there is a yet more subtle seed in some grain of the same species, and this so far visible to us.

But of this grain also there is further still a seed, which, although we are unable to see with our eyes, yet we can conjecture its existence from our reason; because, except there were some such power in those elements, there would not so generally be produced from the earth things which had not been sown there; nor yet so many animals, without any previous commixture of male and female; whether on the land, or in the water, which yet grow, and by commingling bring forth others, while themselves sprang up without any union of parents. And certainly bees do not conceive the seeds of their young by commixture, but gather them as they lie scattered over the earth with their mouth. For the Creator of these invisible seeds is the Creator of all things Himself:

since whatever comes forth to our sight by being born, receives the first beginnings of its course from hidden seeds, and takes the successive increments of its proper size and its distinctive forms from these as it were original rules. As therefore we do not call parents the creators of men, nor farmers the creators of corn, although it is by the outward application of their actions that the goodness of God operates within for the creating these things; so it is not right to think not only the bad but even the good angels to be creators, if, through the subtlety of their perception and body, they know the seeds of things which to us are more hidden, and scatter them secretly through fit temperings of the elements, and so furnish opportunities of producing things, and of accelerating their increase. But neither do the good angels do these things, except as far as God commands, nor do the evil ones do them wrongfully, except as far as He righteously permits. For the malice of the wicked one makes his own will wrongful; but the power he receives he receives rightfully, whether for his own punishment, or, in the case of others, for the punishment of the wicked, or for the praise of the good.

14. Accordingly, the Apostle Paul, distinguishing God creating and forming within, from the works of the creature which are applied from without, and drawing a similitude

from agriculture, says, "I planted, ApoUsos watered; but God gave the increase." As, therefore, in the case of life itself, no one except God can work justification in our minds, yet men also are able to preach the gospel as an outward means, not only the good in sincerity, but also the evil by accident; so in the creation of visible things it is God that works from within; but the exterior operations, whether of good or bad, of angels or men, or even of any kind of animal, according to His own absolute power, and to the distribution of faculties, and the several
appetites for things pleasant, which He Himself has imparted, are applied by Him to that nature of things wherein He creates all things, in like manner as agriculture is to the soil. Wherefore I can no more call the bad angels, evoked by magic arts, the creators of the frogs and serpents, than I can say that bad men were creators of the corn crop, which I see to have sprung up through their labour.

15. Just as Jacob, again, was not the creator of the colours in the flocks, because he placed the various coloured rods for the several mothers, as they drank, to look at in conceiving. Yet neither were the cattle themselves creators of the variety of their own offspring; because the variegated image, impressed through their eyes by the contemplating of the varied rods, clave to their soul, but could only affect the body that was animated by the spirit thus affected through sympathy with this commingling, so far as to stain with colour the tender beginnings of their offspring. For that they are so affected from themselves, whether the soul from the body, or the body from the soul, arises in truth from suitable reasons, which immutably exist in that highest wisdom of God Himself, which no extent of place contains; and which, while it is itself unchangeable, yet quits not one even of those things which are changeable, because there is not one of them that is not created by itself For it was the unchangeable and invisible reason of the wisdom of God, by which all things are created, which caused not rods, but cattle, to be born from cattle; but that the colour of the cattle conceived should be in any degree influenced by the variety of the rods, came to pass through the 1 Cor. iii. 6. 2 Pj^Q. n.\ 3 Geu. xxx. 41.

CHAP. IX.] GOD THE FIRST CAUSE. 93

soul of the pregnant cattle being affected through their eyes from without, and so according to its own measure drawing inwardly within itself the rule of formation, which it received from the innermost power of its own Creator. How great, however, may be the power of the soul in affecting and changing corporeal substance (although certainly it cannot be called the creator of the body, because every cause of changeable and sensible substance, and all its measure and number and weight, by which are brought to pass both its being at all and its being of such and such a nature, arise from the intelligible and unchangeable life, which is above all things, and which reaches even to the most distant and earthly things), is a very copious subject, and one not now necessary. But I thought the act of Jacob about the cattle should be noticed, for this reason, viz. in order that it might be perceived that, if the man who thus placed those rods cannot be called the creator of the colours in the lambs and kids; nor yet even the souls themselves of the mothers, which coloured the seeds conceived in the flesh by the image of variegated colour, conceived through the eyes of the body, so far as nature permitted it; much less can it be said that the creators of the frogs and serpents were the bad angels, through whom the magicians of Pharaoh then made them.

Chap. ix. â€” The original cause of all things is from God.
16. Eor it is one thing to make and administer the creature from the innermost and highest turning-point of causation, which He alone does who is God the Creator; but quite another thing to apply some operation from without in proportion to the strength and faculties assigned to each by Him, that that which is created may come forth into being at this time or at that, and in this or that way. For all these things in the way of original and beginning have already been created in a kind of texture of the elements, but they come forth when they get the opportunity. For as mothers are pregnant with young, so the world itself is pregnant with the causes of things that are born; which are not created in it, except from that highest essence, where nothing either springs up or dies, either begins to be or ceases. But the applying from without of adventitious

ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

causes, which, although they are not natural, yet are to be applied according to nature, in order that those things which are contained and hidden in the secret bosom of nature may break forth and be outwardly created in some way by the unfolding of the proper measures and numbers and weights which they have received in secret from Him " who has ordered all things in measure and number and weight: " -^ this is not only in the power of bad angels, but also of bad men, as I have shown above by the example of agriculture.

17. But lest the somewhat different condition of animals should trouble any one, in that they have the breath of life with the sense of desiring those things that are according to nature, and of avoiding those things that are contrary to it; we must consider also, how many men there are who know from what herbs or flesh, or from what juices or liquids you please, of whatever sort, whether so placed or so buried, or so bruised or so mixed, this or that animal is commonly born; yet who can be so foolish as to dare to call himself the creator of these animals? Is it, therefore, to be wondered at, if just as any, the most worthless of men, can know whence such or such worms and flies are produced; so the evil angels in proportion to the subtlety of their perceptions discern in the more hidden seeds of the elements whence frogs and serpents are produced, and so through certain and known opportune combinations applying these seeds by secret movements, cause them to be created, but do not create them? Only men do not marvel at those things that are usually done by men. But if any one chance to wonder at the quickness of those growths, in that those living beings were so quickly made, let him consider how even this may be brought about by men in proportion to the measure of human capability. For whence is it that the same bodies generate worms more quickly in summer than in winter, or in hotter than in colder places? Only these things are applied by men with so much the more difficulty, in proportion as their earthly and sluggish members are wanting in subtlety of perception, and in rapidity of bodily motion. And hence it arises that in the case of any kind of angels, in proportion as it is easier for them to draw out the proximate
1 Wisd. xi. 20.

CHAP. IX.] THE ANGELS HAVE THEIR POWER FROM GOD ONLY. 9 5

causes from the elements, so much the more marvellous is their rajDidity in works of this kind.

18. But He only is the creator who is the chief former of these things. Neither can any one be this, unless He with whom primarily rests the measure, number, and weight of all things existing; and He is God the one Creator, by whose unspeakable power it comes to pass, also, that what these angels were able to do if they were permitted, they are therefore not able to do because they are not permitted. For there is no other reason why they who made frogs and serpents were not able to make the most minute flies, unless because the greater power of God was present prohibiting them, through the Holy Spirit; which even the magicians themselves confessed, saying, "This is the finger of God." But what they are able to do by nature, yet cannot do, because they are prohibited; and what the very condition of their nature itself does not suffer them to do; it is difficult, nay, impossible, for man to search out, unless through that gift of God which the apostle mentions when he says, "To another the discerning of spirits."^ For we know that a man can walk, yet that he cannot do so if he is not permitted; but that he cannot fly, even if he be permitted. So those angels, also, are able to do certain things if they are permitted by more powerful angels, according to the supreme commandment of God; but cannot do certain other things, not even if they are permitted by them; because He does not permit from whom they have received such and such a measure of natural powers: who, even by His angels, does not usually permit what He has given them power to be able to do.

19. Excepting, therefore, those corporeal things which are done in the order of nature in a perfectly usual series of times, as e.g. the rising and setting of the stars, the generations and deaths of animals, the innumerable diversities of seeds and buds, the vapours and the clouds, the snow and the rain, the lightnings and the thunder, the thunderbolts and the hail, the winds and the fire, cold and heat, and all like things; excepting also those which in the same order of nature occur rarely, such as eclipses, unusual appearances of stars, and

1 E^. vii. 12, and viii. 7, 18, 19. 2 i Cor. xii. 10.

96 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

monsters, and earthquakes, and such like; â€” excepting, I say,
all these, of which indeed the first and chief cause is only the will of God; whence also in the Psalm, when some things of this kind had been mentioned, "Fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind;" lest any one should think those to be brought about either by chance or only from corporeal causes, or even from such as are spiritual, but exist apart from the will of God, it is added immediately, " fulfilling His word." ^

Chap. x. â€” In Jioio many ivays the creature is to he taJcen by way of sign. The Eucharist.

Omitting, however, all these things as I just now said, there are some also of another kind; which, although from the same corporeal substance, are yet brought within reach of our senses in order to announce something from God, and these are properly called miracles and signs; yet is not the person of God Himself assumed in all things which are announced to us by the Lord God. When, however, that person is assumed, it is sometimes made manifest as an angel; sometimes in that form which is not an angel in his own proper being, although it is ordered and ministered by an angel. Again, when it is assumed in that form which is not an angel in his own proper being; sometimes in this case it is a body itself already existing, assumed after some kind of change, in order to make that message manifest; sometimes it is one that comes into being for the purpose, and that being accomplished, is discarded.

Just as, also, when men are the messengers, sometimes they speak the words of God in their own person, as when it is premised, "The Lord said," or, "Thus saith the Lord,"^ or any other such phrase, but sometimes without any such prefix, they take upon themselves the very person of God, as e.g.: " I will instruct thee, and teach thee in the way wherein thou shalt go: "^ so, not only in word, but also in act, the signifying of the person of God is imposed upon the prophet, in order that he may bear that person in the ministering of the prophecy; just as he, for instance, bore that person who divided his garment into twelve parts, and gave ten of them to the servant of King Solomon, to the future king of Israel.*

Sometimes, also, a thing which was not a prophet in his own 1 Ps. cxlvi. 8. 2 jei-. xxxi. 1, 2. ^ ps_. ^xxii. 8. * 1 Kings xi. 30, 31.

CHAP. X.] APPEARANCES OF ANGELS. 97
proper self, and which existed already among earthly things, was assumed in order to signify this; as Jacob, when he had seen the dream, upon waking did with the stone, which when asleep he held under his head. Sometimes a thing is made in the same kind, for the mere purpose; so as either to continue a little while in existence, as that brazen serpent was able to do which was lifted up in the wilderness, and as written records are able to do likewise; or so as to pass away after having accomplished its ministry, as the bread made for the purpose is consumed in the receiving of the sacrament.

20. But because these things are known to men, in that they are done by men, they may well meet with reverence as being holy things, but they cannot cause wonder as being miracles. And therefore those things which are done by angels are the more wonderful to us, in that they are more difficult and more unknown; but they are known, and easy to them as being their own actions. An angel speaks in the person of God to man, saying, " I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob;" the Scripture having said just before, " The angel of the Lord appeared to him." And a man also speaks in the person of God, saying, " Hear, my people, and I will testify unto thee, Israel: I am the Lord thy God." A rod was taken to serve as a sign, and was changed into a serpent by angelical power; but although that power is wanting to man, yet a stone was taken also by man for a similar sign. There is a wide difference between the deed of the angel and the deed of the man. The former is both to be wondered at and to be understood, the latter only to be understood. That which is understood from both, is perhaps one and the same; but those things from which it is understood, are different. Just as if the name of God were written both in gold and in ink; the former would be the more precious, the latter the more worthless; yet that which is signified in both is one and the same. And although the serpent that came from Moses' rod signified the same thing as Jacob's stone, yet Jacob's stone signified something better than did the serpents of the magicians. Tor as the anointing

1 Gen. xxviii. IS. - Num. xxi. 9. ^ Ex. iii. 6, 2.

* Ps. Ixxxii. 8, 10. 5 Ex. vii. 10. c q'.'.* xxviii. 18.

DE TPvIN. G

98 ON THE TPJNITY. [BOOK III.]

of the stone signified Christ in the flesh, in wliicli He was anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows; so the rod of Moses, turned into a serpent, signified Christ Himself made obedient unto death, even the " death of the cross? Whence it is said, "And as Moses lifted the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" just as by gazing on that serpent which was lifted up in the wilderness, they did not perish by the bites of the serpents. For " our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed." For by the serpent death is understood, which was wrought by the serpent in paradise/ the mode of speech expressing the effect by the
efficient. Therefore the rod passed into the serpent, Christ into death; and the serpent
again into the rod, whole Christ with His body into the resurrection; which body is the
Church and this shall be in the end of time, signified by the tail, which Moses held, in
order that it might return into a rod. But the serpents of the magicians, like those who
are dead in the world, unless by believing in Christ they shall have been as it were
swallowed up by, and have entered into. His body, will not be able to rise again in Him.
Jacob's stone, therefore, as I said, signified something better than did the serpents of the
magicians; yet the deed of the magicians was much more wonderful. But these things in
this way are no hindrance to the understanding of the matter; just as if the name of a man
were written in gold, and that of God in ink.

21. What man, again, knows how the angels made or took those clouds and fires in order
to signify the message they were bearing, even if we supposed that the Lord or the Holy
Spirit was manifested in those corporeal forms? Just as infants do not know of that which
is placed upon the altar and consumed after the performance of the holy celebration,
whence or in what manner it is made, or whence it is taken for religious use. And if they
were never to learn from their own experience or that of others, and never to see that
species

1 Ps. xlv. 7. ã– 2 Phil. ii. 9. 3 jo\n iii. 14, 15. * Kom. vi. 6.

5 Gen. iii. e Col. i. 24. ' Ex. iv. 4. Â» Ex. vii. 12.

CHAP. X.] ArrEAKAXCES OF ANGELS. 9 9

of thing except during the celebration of the sacrament, when it is being offered and
given; and if it were told them by the most weighty authority whose body and blood it is;
they will believe nothing else, except that the Lord absolutely appeared in this form to the
eyes of mortals, and that that liquid actually flowed from the piercing of a side, which
resembled this. But it is certainly a useful caution to myself, that I should remember what
my own powers are, and admonish my brethren that they also remember what theirs are,
lest human infirmity pass on beyond what is safe. For how the angels do these things, or
rather, how God does these things by His angels, and how far He wills them to be done
even by the bad angels, whether by permitting, or commanding, or compelling, from the
hidden seat of His own supreme power; this I can neither penetrate by the sight of the
eyes, nor make clear by assurance of reason, nor be carried on to comprehend it by reach
of intellect, so as to speak thereupon to all questions that may be asked respecting these
matters, as certainly as if I were an angel, or a prophet, or an apostle. " For the thoughts
of mortal men are miserable, and our devices are but uncertain. Tor the corruptible body
presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind, that museth
upon many things.

And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find
the things that are before us; but the things that are in heaven, who hath searched out?"
But because it goes on to say, " And Thy counsel who hath known, except Thou give
wisdom, and send Thy Holy Spirit from above;"^ therefore we refrain indeed from searching out the things which are in heaven, under which kind are contained both angelical bodies according to their proper dignity, and any corporeal action of those bodies; yet, according to the Spirit of God sent to us from above, and to His grace imparted to our minds, I dare to say confidently, that neither God the Father, nor His Word, nor His Spirit, which is the one God, is in any way changeable in regard to that which He is, and whereby He is that which He is; and much less is in this regard visible. Since there are no doubt some things changeable, yet not visible, as are our thoughts, and memories, and 1 John xix. 34. 2 ^isd. ix. 14-17.

100 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

wills, and the whole incorporeal creature; but there is nothing that is visible that is not also changeable.

Chap. xi. â€” The Essence of God never appeared in itself. Divine a^jpearances to the fathers wrought by the ministry of angels. An objection drawn from the mode of speech removed. That the appearing of God to Abraham himself, just as that to Moses, ivas wrought by angels. The same thing is proved by the Law being given to Moses by angels. What has been said in this book, and what remains to be said in the next.

Wherefore the substance, or, if it is better so to say, the essence of God, wherein we understand, in proportion to our measure, in however small a degree, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, since it is in no way changeable, can in no way in its proper self be visible.

22. It is manifest, accordingly, that all those appearances to the fathers, when God was presented to them according to His own dispensation, suitable to the times, were wrought through the creature. And if we cannot discern in what manner He wrought them by ministry of angels, yet we say that they were wrought by angels; but not from our own power of discernment, lest we should seem to any one to be wise beyond our measure, whereas we are wise so as to think soberly, as God hath dealt to us the measure of faith;^ and we believe, and therefore speak.^ For the authority is extant of the divine Scriptures, from which our reason ought not to turn aside; nor by leaving the solid support of the divine utterance, to fall headlong over the precipice of its own surmisings, in matters wherein neither the perceptions of the body rule, nor the clear reason of the truth shines forth. JSTow, certainly, it is written most clearly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, when the dispensation of the New Testament was to be distinguished from the dispensation of the Old, according to the fitness of ages and of times, that not only those visible things, but also the word itself, was wrought by angels. For it is said thus: " But to which of the angels said He at any time. Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool ? Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them
who shall be heirs of salvation?" Whence it appears that all those things were not only wrought by angels, but wrought by our account, that is, on account of the people of God, to whom is promised the inheritance of eternal life. As it is written also to the Corinthians, " Now all these things happened unto them in a figure: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come." And then, demonstrating by plain consequence that as at that time the word was spoken by the angels, so now by the Son: " Therefore," he says, " we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?" And then, as though you asked, What salvation? in order to show that he is now speaking of the New Testament, that is, of the word which was spoken not by angels, but by the Lord, he says, " Which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard Him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to His own will."^  

23. But some one may say. Why then is it written, "The Lord said to Moses;" and not, rather, The angel said to Moses? Because, when the crier proclaims the words of the judge, it is not usually written in the record, so and so the crier said, but so and so the judge. In like manner also, when the holy prophet speaks, although we say, The prophet said, we mean nothing else to be understood than that the Lord said; and if we were to say. The Lord said, we should not put the prophet aside, but only intimate who spake by him. And, indeed, these Scriptures often reveal the angel to be the Lord, of whose speaking it is from time to time said, " the Lord said," as we have shown already. But on account of those who, since the Scripture in that place specifies an angel, will have the Son of God HimseK and in Himself to be understood, because He is called an angel by the prophet, as announcing the will of His Father and of Himself; I have therefore thought fit to produce a plainer testimony from this epistle, where it is not said by an angel, but " by angels."

1 1 Cor. X. 11. 2 Heb. ii. 1-4.

102 ON" THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]
24. For Stephen, too, in the Acts of the Apostles, relates these things in that manner in which they are also written in the Old Testament: " Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken, " he says; " The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia." â€” But lest any one should think that the God of glory appeared then to the eyes of any mortal in that which He is in Himself, he goes on to say that an angel appeared to Moses. " Then fled Moses," he says, " at that saying, and was a stranger in the land of Midian, where he begat two sons. And when forty years were expired, there appeared to him in the wilderness of mount Sinai an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush. When Moses saw it, he wondered at the sight: and as he drew near to behold it, the voice of the Lord came unto him, saying, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Then Moses trembled, and durst not behold.

Then said the Lord to him, Put off thy shoes from thy feet," ^ etc. Here, certainly, he speaks both of angel and of Lord; and of the same as the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; as is written in Genesis.

25. Can there be any one who will say that the Lord appeared to Moses by an angel, but to Abraham by Himself ?

Let us not ask this question from Stephen, but from the book itself, whence Stephen took his narrative. For, pray, because it is written, " And the Lord God said unto Abraham; "^ and a little after, " And the Lord God appeared unto Abraham; " ^ were these things, for this reason, not done by angels ?

Whereas it is said in like manner in another place, " And the Lord appeared to him in the plains of Mamre, as he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day; " and yet it is added immediately, " And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: " ^ of whom we have already spoken.

For how will these people, who either will not rise from the words to the meaning, or easily throw themselves down from the meaning to the words, â€” how, I say, will they be able to explain that God was seen in three men, except they confess that they were angels, as that which follows also shows ?

1 Acts vii. 2. 2 Ex. ii. 15 and iii. 7, and Acts vii. 29-33.

3 Gen. xii. 1. * Gen. xvii. 1. ^^gn. xviii. 1, 2.

CHAP. XL] THE APPEARANCE TO ABEHAH:*.!. 103

Because it is not said an angel spoke or appeared to him, will they therefore venture to say that the vision and voice granted to Moses was wrought by an angel because it is so written, but that God appeared and spake in His own substance to Abraham because there is no mention made of an angel ? What of the fact, that even in respect to Abraham an angel is not left unmentioned ? For when his son was ordered to be offered up as a sacrifice, we read thus: " And it came to pass after these things that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham:
and he said. Behold, here I am. And He said. Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains that I will tell thee of." Certainly God is here mentioned, not an angel. But a little afterwards Scripture hath it thus: " And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the Lord called into him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said. Here am I. And he said. Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him." What can be answered to this? Will they say that God commanded that Isaac should be slain, and that an angel forbade it? and further, that the father himself, in opposition to the decree of God, who had commanded that he should be slain, obeyed the angel, who had bidden him spare him? Such an interpretation is to be rejected as absurd. Yet not even for it, gross and abject as it is, does Scripture leave any room, for it immediately adds: " For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, on account of me." ^ What is "on account of me," except on account of Him who had commanded him to be slain? Was then the God of Abraham the same as the angel, or was it not rather God by an angel? Consider what follows. Here, certainly, already an angel has been most clearly spoken of; yet notice the context: " And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called the name of that place. The Lord saw:" as it is

^ Propter me. ^ Dominus vidit.

104 ON THE TRINITY. V [BOOK III.]

said to this day, In the mount the Lord was seen." ^ Just as that which a little before God said by an angel, " For now I know that thou fearest God; " not because it was to be understood that God then came to know, but that He brought it to pass that through God Abraham himself came to know what strength of heart he had to obey God, even to the sacrificing of his only son: after that mode of speech in which the effect is signified by the efficient, â€” as cold is said to be lazy, because it makes men lazy; so that He was therefore said to know, because He had made Abraham himself to know, who might well have not discerned the firmness of his own faith, had it not been proved by such a trial. So here, too, Abraham called the name of the place " The Lord saw," that is, caused Himself to be seen. For he goes on immediately to say, " As it is said to this day. In the mount the Lord was seen." Here you see the same angel is called Lord: wherefore, unless because the Lord spake by the angel? But if we pass on to that which follows, the angel altogether speaks as a prophet, and reveals expressly that God is speaking by the angel. " And the angel of the Lord," he says, " called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time, and said. By myself I have sworn, saith the Lord; for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, on account of me," ^ etc. Certainly these words, viz. that he by whom the Lord speaks should say, " Thus saith the Lord," are commonly used by the prophets also. Does the Son of God say of the Father, " Tlie Lord saith," while He Himself is that
Angel of the Father? What then? Do they not see how hard pressed they are about these three men who appeared to Abraham, when it had been said before, "The Lord appeared to him?"

Were they not angels because they are called men? Let them read Daniel, saying, "Behold the man Gabriel."^  

26. But why do we delay any longer to stop their mouths by another most clear and most weighty proof, where not an angel in the singular nor men in the plural are spoken of, but simply angels; by whom not any particular word was wrought, but the Law itself is most distinctly declared to be given; which certainly none of the faithful doubts that God gave to Moses for

1 Dominus visus est. ^ Qq^^ ^xii. ^ Dan, ix. 21.

CHAP. XL] HOW THE LAW WAS GIVEN BY ANGELS. 105  

the control of the children of Israel, or yet, that it was given by angels. So Stephen speaks: "Ye stiff-necked," he says, "and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers: who have received the Law by the disposition of angels,^ and have not kept it."^ What is more evident than this? What more strong than such an authority? The Law, indeed, was given to that people by the disposition of angels; but the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ was by it prepared and pre-announced; and He Himself, as the Word of God, was in some wonderful and unspeakable manner in the angels, by whose disposition the Law itself was given. And hence He said in the Gospel, "For had ye believed Moses, ye w^ould have believed me; for he wrote of me."^ Therefore then the Lord was speaking by the angels; and the Son of God, who was to be the Mediator of God and men, from the seed of Abraham, was preparing His own advent by the angels, that He might find some by whom He would be received, confessing themselves guilty, whom the Law unfulfilled had made transgressors. And hence the apostle also says to the Galatians, "Wherefore then serveth the Law? It was added because of transOTessions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made, which [seed] was ordered * through angels in the hand of a mediator; "^ that is, ordered through angels in His own hand. For He was not born by limitation, but by power. But you learn in another place that he does not mean any one of the angels as a mediator, but the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, in so far as He deigned to be made man: "For there is one God," he says, "and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."^ Hence that passover in the killing of the lamb: ^
hence all those things which are figuratively spoken in the Law, of Christ to come in the flesh, and to suffer, but also to rise again, which Law was given by the disposition of angels;

^ In edictis angelorum. 2 j^g^g yn 5i_53,


e 1 Tim. ii. 5. 7 Ex. xii.

106 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK III.]

ill wliicli angels was certainly the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and in which sometimes the Father, sometimes the Son, and sometimes the Holy Spirit, sometimes, without any distinction of person, God was figuratively signified by them, although appearing in visible and sensible forms, yet by His own creature, not by His substance, in order to the seeing of which hearts are cleansed through all those things which are seen by the eyes and heard by the ears.

27. But now, as I think, that which we had undertaken to show in this book has been sufficiently discussed and demonstrated, according to our capacity; and it has been established, both by probable reason, so far as a man, or rather, so far as I am able, and by strength of authority, so far as the divine declarations from the Holy Scriptures have been made clear, that those words and bodily appearances which were given to these ancient fathers of ours before the incarnation of the Saviour, when God was said to appear, were wrought by angels: whether themselves speaking or doing something in the person of God, as we have shown that the prophets also were wont to do, or assuming from the creature that which they themselves were not, wherein God might be shown in a figure to men; which manner of figure also, Scripture teaches by many examples, that the prophets, too, did not omit. It remains, therefore, now for us to consider, â€” since both in the Lord as born of a virgin, and in the Holy Spirit descending in a corporeal form like a dove,^ and in the tongues like as of fire, which appeared with a sound from heaven on the day of Pentecost, after the ascension of the Lord,^ it was not the Word of God Himself by His own substance, in which He is equal and co-eternal with the Father, nor the Spirit of the Father and of the Son by His own substance, in which He Himself also is equal and co-eternal with both, but assuredly a creature, such as could be formed and exist in these fashions, which appeared to corporeal and mortal senses, â€” it remains, I say, to consider what difference there is between these manifestations and those which were proper to the Son of God and to the Holy Spirit, although wrought by the visible creature; which subject we shall more conveniently begin in another book.

^Matt. iii. 16. 2j^ctsii. 1-4
BOOKFOUETH.

EXPLAINS FOR WHAT THE SOX OF GOD WAS SENT, VIZ. THAT BY CHFwIST'S DYING FOR SINNERS, WE WERE TO BE CONVINCED HOW GREAT IS GOD'S LOVE FOR FS, AND ALSO WHAT MANNER OF MEN WE ARE WHOM HE LOVED. THAT THE WORD CAME IN THE FLESH, TO THE PURPOSE ALSO OF ENABLING US TO BE SO CLEANSED AS TO CONTEMPLATIVE AND CLEAVE TO GOD. THAT OUR DOUBLE DEATH WAS ABOLISHED BY HIS DEATH, BEING ONE AND SINGLE. AND HERE-UPON IS DISCUSSED, HOW THE SINGLE OF OUR SAVIOUR HARMONIZES TO SALVATION WITH OUR DOUBLE; AND THE PERFECTION IS TREATED AT LENGTH OF THE SENARY NUMBER, TO WHICH THE RATIO ITSELF OF SINGLE TO DOUBLE IS REDUCIBLE, THAT ALL ARE GATHERED TOGETHER FROM MANY INTO ONE Â»J]. BY THE ONE MEDIATOR OF LIFE, VIZ. CHRIST, THROUGH WHOM ALONE IS WROUGHT THE TRUE CLEANSING OF THE SOUL. FURTHER IT IS DEMONSTRATED THAT THE SON OF GOD, ALTHOUGH MADE LESS BY BEING SENT, ON ACCOUNT OF THE FORM OF A SERVANT WHICH HE TOOK, IS NOT THEREFORE LESS THAN THE FATHER ACCORDING TO THE FORM OF GOD, BECAUSE HE WAS SENT BY HIMSELF; AND THAT THE SAME ACCOUNT IS TO BE GIVEN OF THE SENDING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Preface. â€” The knowledge of God is to he sovglitfroii God.
1. The knowledge of things terrestrial and celestial is commonly thought much of by men. Yet those doubtless judge better who prefer to that knowledge, the knowledge of themselves; and that mind is more praiseworthy which knows even its own weakness, than that which, without regard to this, searches out, and even comes to know, the ways of the stars, or which holds fast such knowledge already acquired, while ignorant of the way by which itself to enter into its own proper health and strength. But if any one has
already become awake towards God, kindled by the warmth of the Holy Spirit, and in the love of God has become vile in his own eyes; and through wishing, yet not having strength to come in unto Him, and through the light He gives, has given heed to himself, and has found himself, and has learned that his own sickness cannot mingle with His purity; and feels it sweet to weep and to entreat Him, that again and again He will have compassion, until lie have put off all his wretched-

108 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

ness; and to pray confidently, as having already received of free gift the pledge of salvation through his only Saviour and Enlightener of man: such an one, so acting, and so lamenting, knowledge does not puff up, because charity edifieth;^ for he has preferred knowledge to knowledge, he has preferred to know his own weakness, rather than to know the walls of the world, the foundations of the earth, and the pinacles of heaven. And by obtaining this knowledge, he has obtained also sorrow;^ but sorrow for his own straying away from the desire of reaching his own proper country, and the Creator of it, his own blessed God. And if among men such as these, in the family of Thy Christ, Lord my God, I groan among Thy poor, give me out of Thy bread to answer men who do not hunger and thirst after righteousness, but are sated and abound.^ But it is the vain image of those things that has sated them, not Thy truth, which they have repelled and shrunk from, and so fall into their own vanity. I for my part feel to how many figments the human heart gives birth. And what is my own heart but a human heart? But for this I pray the God of my heart that I may not cast forth into these writings any of these figments for solid truths, but that there may pass into them whatever could so pass by my means, from thence, whence the breath of His truth is breathed upon me; cast out though I am from the sight of His eyes,* and striving from afar to return by the way which the divinity of His only-begotten Son has made by His humanity. And this truth, changeable though I am, I so far drink in, as far as in it I see nothing changeable: neither in place and time, as is the case with bodies; nor in time alone, and in a certain sense place, as with the thoughts of our own spirits; nor in time alone, and not even in any semblance of place, as with some of the reasonings of our own minds. For the essence of God, whereby He is, has altogether nothing changeable, neither in eternity, nor in truth, nor in will; since there truth is eternal, love eternal; and there love is true, eternity true; and there eternity is loved, and truth is loved.

1 1 Cor. viii. 1. ^ Eccles. i. 18. ^ ji^jj^tt. v. 6. ^ Vs. xxxi. 22.

CHAP. I.] HOW OUR WEAKNESS IS MADE PERFECT. 109

Chap. i. â€” We are made perfect by acknowledgment of our own weakness. The Incarnate Word dispels our darkness.
2. But whereas we are exiled from the unchangeable joy, yet neither cut off nor torn away from it, so that we should not seek eternity, truth, blessedness, even in those changeable and temporal things (for we wish neither to die, nor to be deceived, nor to be troubled); visions have been sent to us from heaven suitable to our state of pilgrimage, in order to remind us that what we seek is not here, but that from this pilgrimage we must return thither, whence unless we depended we should not here seek these things. And first we have had to be persuaded how much God loved us, lest from despair we should not dare to be lifted up to Him. And we needed to be shown also what manner of men we are whom He loved, lest being proud, as if of our own merits, we should recoil the more from Him, and fail the more in our own strength. And hence He so dealt with us, that we might the rather profit by His strength, and that so in the weakness of humility the virtue of charity might be perfected. And this is intimated in the Psalm, where it is said, "Thou, O God, didst send a spontaneous rain, whereby Thou didst make Thine inheritance perfect, when it was weary." For by "spontaneous rain" nothing else is meant than grace, not rendered to merit, but given freely; whence also it is called grace; for He gave it, not because we were worthy, but because He willed. And knowing this, we shall not trust in ourselves; and this is to be made weak. But He Himself makes us perfect, who says also to the Apostle Paul, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness." Man, then, was to be persuaded how much God loved us, and what manner of men we were whom He loved; the former, lest we should despair; the latter, lest we should be proud. And this most necessary topic the apostle thus explains: "But God commendeth," he says, "His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified by His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son; much

^Ps. Ixviii. 9. â€” Pluviam voluntarium. * Gratis. ^ 2 Cor. xii. 9.

110 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life." Also in another place: "What, he says, "shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how has He not with Him also freely given us all things?"

Now that which is declared to us as already done, was shown also to the ancient righteous as about to be done; that through the same faith they themselves also might be humbled, and so made weak; and might be made weak, and so perfected.

3. Because therefore the Word of God is One, by which all things were made, which is the unchangeable truth, all things are together therein by way of principle and unchangeably; not only those things which are now in this whole creation, but also those which have been and those which shall be. And therein they neither have been, nor shall be, but only are; and all things are life, and all things are one; or rather it is one being and one life. For all things were so made by
Him, that whatsoever was made in them, in Him is life, and not made. Since, " in the beginning," the Word was not made, but " the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and all things were made by Him;" neither had all things been made by Him, unless He had Himself been before all things, and not made. But in those things which were made by Him, even body, which is not life, would not have been made by Him, except it had been life in Him before it was made.

For " that which was made was already life in Him," and not life of any kind soever: for the soul also is the life of the body, but this too is made, for it is changeable; and by what was it made, except by the unchangeable Word of God ? For " all things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made." " What, therefore, was made was already life in Him;" and not any kind of life, but " the life was the light of men;" the light certainly of rational minds, by which men differ from beasts, and therefore are men. Therefore not corporeal light, which is the light of the flesh, whether it shine from heaven, or whether it be lighted by earthly fires; nor that of human flesh only, but also that of beasts, and down even to the minutest of worms. For all

1 Ptom. V. 8-10.â€” Donavit. 2 jiq^—^—^—^ y^ 31 32.

CHAP. II.] now WE AEE CLEANSED BY THE IXCAENATE WOEvD. Ill

these tilings see that light: but that life was the light of men; nor is it far from any one of us, for in it " we live, and move, and have our being." ^

Chap. ii. â€” Hoio iwe are rendered apt for the perception of truth through the Incarnate Word.

4. But " the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Now the 'â—'darkness " is the foolish minds of men, made blind by vicious desires and unbelief.
And that the AWord, by whom all things were made, might care for these and heal them, "The "Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." For our enlightening is the partaking of the Word, namely, of that life which is the light of men.
But for this partaking we were utterly unfit, and fell short of it, on account of the uncleanness of sins. Therefore we were to be cleansed. And further the one cleansing of the unrighteous and of the proud is the blood of the Ptighteous One, and the humbling of God Himself;^ that we might be cleansed through Him, made as He was what we are by nature, and what we are not by sin, that we might contemplate God, which by nature we are not. For by nature we are not God:
by nature we are men, by sin we are not righteous. Wherefore God, made a righteous man, interceded with God for man the sinner. For the sinner answers not to the righteous, but man answers to man. By joining therefore to us the likeness of His humanity, He took away the unlikeness of our unrighteousness; and by being made partaker of our mortality. He made us partakers of His divinity. For the death of the sinner springing from the necessity of condemnation is deservedly abolished by the death of the Eighteous One
springing from the free choice of His compassion, while His single answers to our double. For this answerableness, or suitableness, or concord, or consonance, or whatever more appropriate word there may be, whereby one is to two, is of great weight in all compacting, or better, perhaps, co-adaptation, of the creature. For (as it just occurs to me) what I mean is precisely that coadaptation which the Greeks call apixovla. However this is not the place to set forth the power of that consonance of single to double which is found especially in us, and which is


112 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

naturally so implanted in ns (and by whom, except by Him who created us ? ), that not even the ignorant can fail to perceive it, whether when singing themselves or hearing others. For by this it is that treble and bass voices are in harmony, so that any one who in his note departs from it, offends extremely, not trained skill, of which the most part of men are devoid, the very sense of hearing. To demonstrate this, needs no doubt a long discourse; but any one who knows it, may make it plain to the very ear in a rightly ordered monochord.

Chap. hi. â€“ The one death and resurrection of the body of Christ harmonizes with our double death and resurrection of body and soul, to the effect of salvation. In what way the single death of Christ is bestowed upon our double death.

5. But for our present need we must discuss, so far as God gives us power, in what manner the single of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ answers to, and is, so to say, in harmony with our double to the effect of salvation. We certainly, as no Christian doubts, are dead both in soul and body: in soul, because of sin; in body, because of the punishment of sin, and through this also in body because of sin. And to both these parts of ourselves, that is, both to soul and to body, there was need both of a medicine and of resurrection, that what had been changed for the worse might be renewed for the better. Now the death of the soul is ungodliness, and the death of the body is corruptibility, through which comes also a departure of the soul from the body. For as the soul dies when God leaves it, so the body dies when the soul leaves it; whereby the former becomes foolish, the latter lifeless. For the soul is raised up again by repentance, and the renewing of life is begun in the body still mortal by faith, by which men believe on Him who justifies the ungodly; and it is increased and strengthened by good habits from day to day, as the inner man is renewed more and more. But the body, being as it were the outward man, the longer this life lasts is so much the more corrupted, either by age or by disease, or by various afflictions, until it come to that last affliction which all call death. And its resurrection is delayed until the end; when also our justification itself shall be perfected unutterably.
CHAP. III.] OF THE DEATH OF THE SOUL AND BODY. 113

For then we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is. But now, so long as the corruptible body presseth down the soul/ and human life upon earth is all temptation, in His sight shall no man living be justified, in comparison of the righteousness in which we shall be made equal with the angels, and of the glory which shall be revealed in us. But why mention more proofs respecting the difference between the death of the soul and the death of the body, when the Lord in one sentence of the Gospel has made either death easily distinguishable by any one from the other, where He says, "Let the dead bury their dead"? For burial was the fitting disposal of a dead body. But by those who were to bury it He meant those who were dead in soul by the impiety of unbelief, such, namely, as are awakened when it is said, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." And there is a death which the apostle denounces, saying of the widow, " But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth." Therefore the soul, which was before ungodly and is now godly, is said to have come alive again from the dead and to live, on account of the righteousness of faith. But the body is not only said to be about to die, on account of that departure of the soul which will be; but on account of the great infirmity of flesh and blood it is even said to be now dead, in a certain place in the Scriptures, namely, where the apostle says, that " the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness," IsTow this life is wrought by faith, " since the just shall live by faith." ^ But what follows ? " But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you. He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit which dwelleth in you."^^

6. Therefore on this double death of ours our Saviour bestowed His own single death; and to cause both our resurrections. He appointed beforehand and set forth in mystery and type His own one resurrection. For He was not a sinner or ungodly, that, as though dead in spirit. He should need to be

1 1 John iii. 1. ^ Wisd. ix. 15. ^ Ps. cxi. 2.
8 Rom. viii. 10. ^ Rom. i. 17. ^ Rom. viii. 10, 11.

DE TEIN. H

114 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]
renewed in the inner man, and to be recalled as it were to the life of righteousness by repentance; but being clothed in mortal flesh, and in that alone dying, in that alone rising again, in that alone did He answer to both for us; since in it was wrought a mystery as regards the inner man, and a type as regards the outer. For it was in a mystery as regards our inner man, so as to signify the death of our soul, that those words were uttered, not only in the Psalm, but also on the cross: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" A

To which words the apostle agrees, saying, "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin;"

since by the crucifixion of the inner man are understood the pains of repentance, and a certain wholesome agony of self-control, by which death the death of ungodliness is destroyed, and in which death God has left us. And so the body of sin is destroyed through such a cross, that now we should not yield our members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin. A Because, if even the inner man certainly is renewed day by day, A yet undoubtedly it is old before it is renewed. For that is done inwardly of which the same apostle speaks: "Put off the old man, and put on the new;" which he goes on to explain by saying, "Wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth." A But where is lying put away, unless inwardly, that he who speaketh the truth from his heart may inhabit the holy hill of God? A But the resurrection of the body of the Lord is shown to belong to the mystery of our own inner resurrection, where, after He had risen. He says to the woman, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father;" A with which mystery the apostle's words agree, where he says, "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God; set your thoughts A on things above." A For not to touch Christ, unless when He had ascended to the Father, means not to have thoughts A of Christ after a fleshly manner.

Again, the death of the flesh of our Lord contains a type of the

1 Ps. xxii. 1, and Matt. xxvi. 46.

2 Rom. vi. 6, 13.

3 2 Cor. iv. 16.

4 Epli. iv. 22-25,

^ Ps. XV. 1, 3.

G Jolm XX. 17.
CHAP. III.] HOW OUR LORD'S OXED DEATH ANSWERS TO OUR TWO.

clearly of our outer man, since it is by such suffering most of all that He exhorts His servants that they should not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul. Wherefore the apostle says, " That I may fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh." And the resurrection of the body of the Lord is found to contain a type of the resurrection of our outward man, because He says to His disciples, " Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And one of the disciples also, handling His scars, exclaimed, "My Lord and my God !" And whereas the entire integrity of that flesh was apparent, this was shown in that which He had said when exhorting His disciples: " There shall not a hair of your head perish." For how comes it that first is said, " Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father;" and how comes it that before He ascends to the Father, He actually is touched by the disciples; unless because in the former the mystery of the inner man was intimated, in the latter a type was given of the outer man ? Or can any one possibly be so without understanding, and so turned away from the truth, as to dare to say that He was touched by men before He ascended, but by women when He had ascended ? It was on account of this type, which went before in the Lord, of our future resurrection in the body, that the apostle says, " Christ the first-fruits; afterward they that are Christ's." For it was the resurrection of the body to which this place refers, on account of which he also says, " ^r^io has changed our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body." The one death therefore of our Saviour brougit Salvation to our double death, and His one resurrection wrought for us two resurrections; since His body in both cases, that is, both in His death and in His resurrection, was ministered to us by a kind of healing suitableness, both as a mystery of the inner man, and as a type of the outer.

1 |att. X. 2S. ' Col. i. 24. 3 L^j^e xxiv. 39.


7 1 Cor. XV. 23. s piiH. m 21.
Chap. iv. ã€” The ratio of the single to the double comes from the perfection of the senary number. The perfection of the senary number is commended in the Scriptures. The year abounds in the senary number.

7. How this ratio of the single to the double arises, no doubt, from the ternary number, since one added to two makes three; but the whole which these make reaches to the senary, for one and two and three make six. And this number is on that account called perfect, because it is completed in its own parts: for it has these three, sixth, third, and half; nor is there any other part found in it, which we can call an aliquot part. The sixth part of it, then, is one; the third part, two; the half, three. But one and two and three complete the same six. And Holy Scripture commends to us the perfection of this number, especially in this, that God finished His works in six days, and on the sixth day man was made in the image of God. And the Son of God came and was made the Son of man, that He might re-create us after the image of God, in the sixth age of the human race.

For that is now the present age, whether a thousand years apiece are assigned to each age, or whether we trace out memorable and remarkable eras or turning-points of time in the divine Scriptures, so that the first age is to be found from Adam until Noah, and the second thence onwards to Abraham, and then next, after the division of Matthew the evangelist, from Abraham to David, from David to the carrying away to Babylon, and from thence to the travail of the Virgin, which three ages joined to those other two make five. Accordingly, the nativity of the Lord began the sixth, which is now going onwards until the hidden end of time. We recognise also in this senary number a kind of figure of time, in that threefold mode of division, by which we compute one portion of time before the Law; a second, under the Law; a third, under grace. In which last time we have received the sacrament of renewal, that we may be renewed also in the end of time, in every part, by the resurrection of the flesh, and so may be made whole from our entire infirmity, not only of soul, but also of body. And thence that woman is understood to be a type of the church, who was made whole and upright by the Lord,

1 Gen. i. 27. * Matt. i. 17.
Adced also by the third year of its miserable barrenness. But intercession was made for it, that it might be let alone that year, that if it bore fruit, well; if otherwise, it should be cut down. For both three years belong to the same threefold division, and the months of three years make the square of six, which is six times six.

8. A single year also, if the whole twelve months are taken into account, which are made up of thirty days each (for the month that has been kept from of old is that which the revolution of the moon determines), abounds in the number six. For that which six is, in the first order of numbers, which consists of units up to ten, that sixty is in the second order, which consists of tens up to a hundred. Sixty days, then, are a sixth part of the year. Further, if that which stands as the sixth of the second order is multiplied by the sixth of the first order, then we make six times sixty, i.e. three hundred and sixty days, which are the whole twelve months.

But since, as the revolution of the moon determines the month for men, so the year is marked by the revolution of the sun; and five days and a quarter of a day remain, that the sun may fulfil its course and end the year; for four quarters make one day, which must be intercalated in every fourth year, which they call bissextile, that the order of time may not be disturbed: if we consider, also, these five days and a quarter themselves, the number six prevails in them. First, because, as it is usual to compute the whole from a part, we must not call it five days, but rather six, taking the quarter day for one day. Next, because five days themselves are the sixth part of a month; while the quarter of a day contains six hours. For the entire day, i.e. including its night, is twenty-four hours, of which the fourth part, which is a quarter of a day, is 1 Ps. Ivii. 6. 2 Luke xiii. 6-17.-

118 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

found to be six liours. So miicli in tlie course of the year does the sixth number prevail.

Chap. v. â€” The number six is also commended in the building iq- of the body of Christ and of the temple at Jerusalem.

9. And not "without reason is the number six understood to be put for a year in the building up of the body of the Lord, as a figure of which He said that He would raise up in three days the temple destroyed by the Jews. For they said, " Forty and six years was this temple in building." â– "â– And six times forty-six makes two hundred and seventy-six. And this number of days completes nine months and six days, which are reckoned, as it were, ten months for the travail of women; not because all come to the sixth day after the ninth month, but because the perfection itself of the body of the Lord is found to have been brought in so many days to the birth, as the authority of the church maintains upon the tradition of the elders. For He is believed to have been conceived on the 25 th of March, upon which day also He suffered; so the womb of the Virgin, in which He was conceived, where no one of mortals was begotten, corresponds
to the new grave in which He was buried, wherein was never man laid; neither before nor since. But He was born, according to tradition, upon December the 25th. If, then, you reckon from that day to this, you find two hundred and seventy-six days, which is forty-six times six. And in this number of years the temple was built, because in that number of sixes the body of the Lord was perfected; which being destroyed by the suffering of death, He raised again on the third day. For "He spake this of the temple of His body," as is declared by the most clear and solid testimony of the Gospel; where He said, "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." "^n

Chap. vi. â€“ The three days of the resurrection, in which also the ratio of single to double is apparent.

10. Scripture again witnesses that the space of those three days themselves was not whole and entire, but the first day is counted as a whole from its last part, and the third day is itself also counted as a whole from its first part; but the intervening day, i.e. the second day, was absolutely a whole with its twenty-four hours, twelve of the day and twelve of the night.

For He was crucified first by the voices of the Jews in the third hour, when it was the sixth day of the week. Then He hung on the cross itself at the sixth hour, and yielded up His spirit at the ninth hour. But He was buried, "now when the even was come," as the words of the evangelist express it; which means, at the end of the day. Wheresoever then you begin, â€“ even if some other explanation can be given, so as not to contradict the Gospel of John, but to understand that He was suspended on the cross at the third hour, â€“ still you cannot make the first day an entire day. It will be reckoned then an entire day from its last part, as the third from its first part. For the night up to the dawn, when the resurrection of the Lord was made known, belongs to the third day; because God (who commanded the light to shine out of darkness,* that through the grace of the New Testament and the partaking of the resurrection of Christ the words might be spoken to us, "For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord " ^) intimates to us in some way that the day takes its beginning from the night. For as the first days of all were reckoned from light to night, on account of the future fall of man; ^ so these, on account of the restoration of man, are reckoned from darkness to light. From the hour, then, of His death to the dawn of the resurrection are forty hours, counting in also the ninth hour itself. And with this number agrees also His life upon earth of forty days after His resurrection. And this number is most frequently used in Scripture to express the mystery of perfection in the fourfold world. For the number ten has a certain perfection, and that multiplied by four makes forty. But from the evening of the burial to the dawn of the resurrection are thirty-

1 Jolm ii. 20. - Jolm xix. 41, 42. ^ Jolm^ ii. 19-21. ^ n^^^^ xii. 40.
six hours, which is six squared. And this is referred to that ratio of the single to the
double, wherein there is the greatest consonance of co-adaptation. For twelve added to
twenty-four suits the ratio of single added to double, and makes thirty-

120 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

six: namely, a whole night with a whole day and a whole night, and this not without the
mystery which I have noticed above. For not unfitly do we liken the spirit to the day, and
the body to the night. For the body of the Lord in His death and resurrection was a figure
of our spirit and a type of our body. In this way, then, also that ratio of the single to the
double is apparent in the thirty-six hours, when twelve are added to twenty-four. As to
the reasons, indeed, why these numbers are so put in the Holy Scriptures, other people
may trace out other reasons, either such that those which I have given are to be preferred
to them, or such as are equally probable with mine, or even more probable than they are;
but there is no one surely so foolish or so absurd as to contend that they are so put in the
Scriptures for no purpose at all, and that there are no mystical reasons why those numbers
are there mentioned. But those reasons which I have here given, I have either gathered
from the authority of the church, according to the tradition of our forefathers, or from the
testimony of the divine Scriptures, or from the nature itself of numbers and of similitudes.
No sober person will decide against reason, no Christian against the Scriptures, no
peaceable person against the church.

Chap. vii. â€” In what manner we are gathered from many into one through one

Mediator,

11. This mystery, this sacrifice, this priest, this God, before He was sent and came, being
made of a woman â€” of Him, all those things which appeared to our fathers in a sacred
and mystical way by angelical miracles, or which were done by the fathers themselves,
were similitudes; in order that every creature by its acts might speak in some way of that
One who was to be, in whom there was to be salvation in the recovery of all from death.
For because by the wickedness of ungodliness we had recoiled and fallen away in discord
from the one true and supreme God, and had in many things become vain, being
distracted through many things and cleaving fast to many things; it was needful, by the
decree and command of God in His mercy, that those same many things should join in
proclaiming the One that should come, and that One should come so proclaimed by these
many things, and that these
many things should join in witnessing that this One had come; and that so, freed from the burden of these many things, we should come to that One, and dead as we were in our souls by many sins, and destined to die in the flesh on account of sin, that we should love that One, who, without sin, died in the flesh for us; and by believing in Him now raised again, and by rising again with Him in the spirit through faith, that we should be justified by being made one in the one righteous One; and that we should not despair of our own resurrection in the flesh itself, when we consider that the one Head had gone before us the many members; in whom, being now cleansed through faith, and then renewed by sight, and through Him as mediator reconciled to God, we are to cleave to the One, to feast upon the One, to continue one.

Chap. viii. â€” In what manner Christ loills that all shall he one in Himself.

12. So the Son of God Himself, the Word of God, Himself also the Mediator between God and men, the Son of man,^ equal to the Father through the unity of the Godhead, and partaker with us by the taking upon Him of humanity, interceding for us with the Father in that He was man.^ yet not concealing that He was God, one with the Father, among other things speaks thus: " Neither pray I for these alone," He says, " but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me. And the glory which Thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one." ^

Chap. ix. â€” The same argument continued.

He did not say, I and they are one thing; ^ although, in that He is the head of the church, which is His body,^ He might have said, I and they are, not one thing, *^ but one person," because the head and the body is one Christ; but in order to show His own Godhead consubstantial with the Father (for which reason He says in another place, " I and my Father are one") 1 Tim. ii. 5. 2 i^o^i. viii. 34. * John xvii. 20-22. * Uiiuni.

122 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

one " ^), in His own kind, that is, in the consubstantial parity of the same nature, He wills His own to be one/ but in Himself; since they could not be so in themselves, separated as they are one from another by divers pleasures and desires and uncleannesses of sin; whence they are cleansed through the Mediator, that they may be one^ in Him, not only
through the same nature in which all become from mortal men equal to the angels, but also through the same will most harmoniously conspiring to the same blessedness, and fused in some way by the fire of charity into one spirit. For to this His words come, "That they may be one, even as we are one;" namely, that as the Father and Son are one, not only in equality of substance, but also in will, so those also may be one, between whom and God the Son is mediator, not only in that they are of the same nature, but also through the same union of love. And then He goes on thus to intimate the truth itself, that He is the Mediator, through whom we are reconciled to God, by saying, "I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." *

Chap. x. â€” As Christ is the Mediator of life, so the devil is the mediator of death.

13. Therein is our true peace and firm bond of union with our Creator, that we should be purified and reconciled through the Mediator of life, as we had been polluted and alienated, and so had departed from Him, through the mediator of death. For as the devil through pride led man through pride to death; so Christ through lowliness led back man through obedience to life. Since, as the one fell through being lifted up, and cast down [man] also who consented to him; so the other was raised up through being abased, and lifted up [man] also who believed in Him. For because the devil had not himself come thither whither he had led the way (inasmuch as he bare indeed in his ungodliness the death of the spirit, but had not undergone the death of the flesh, because he had not assumed the covering of the flesh), he appeared to man to be a mighty chief among the legions of devils, through whom he exercises his reign of deceits; so puffing up man the more, who is eager for power more than righteousness, through the


CHAP. XIL] of miracles DONE BY DEMONS. 123

pride of elation, or through false philosophy; or else entangling him through sacrilegious rites, in which, while casting down headlong by deceit and illusion the minds of the more curious and prouder sort, he holds him captive also to magical trickery; promising too the cleansing of the soul, through those initiations which they call Tekeral, by transforming himself into an angel of light,^ through divers machinations in signs and prodigies of lying.

Chap. xi. â€” 2Hracles loMch are done by demons are to he spurned.

14. For it is easy for the most worthless spuits to do many things by means of aerial bodies, such as to cause wonder to souls which are weighed down by earthly bodies, even
though they be of the better affected. For if earthly bodies themselves, when trained by a
certain skill and practice, exhibit to men so great marvels in theatrical spectacles, that
they who never saw such things scarcely believe them when told; why should it be hard
for the devil and his angels to make out of corporeal elements, through their own aerial
bodies, things at which the flesh marvels; or even by hidden inspirations to contrive
fantastic appearances to the deluding of men's senses, whereby to deceive them, whether
awake or asleep, or to drive them into frenzy? But just as it may happen that one who is
better than they in life and character may gaze at the most worthless of men, either
walking on a rope, or doing by various motions of the body many things difficult of
belief, and yet he may not at all desire to do such things, nor think those men on that
account to be preferred to himself; so the faithful and pious soul, not only if it sees, but
even if on account of the frailty of the flesh it shudders at, the miracles of demons, yet
will not for that either deplore its own want of power to do such things, or judge them on
this account to be better than itself; especially since it is in the company of the holy, who,
whether they are men or good angels, accomplish, through the power of God, to whom all
things are subject, wonders which are far greater and the very reverse of deceptive.

Chap. xii. æ” The devil the mediator of death, Christ of life.

15. In no wise therefore are souls cleansed and reconciled to God by sacrilegious
imitations, or curious arts that are impious,

æ€¢ 2 Cor. xi. ] 4.

124 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

or magical incantations; since the false mediator does not translate them to higher things,
but rather blocks and cuts off the way thither through the affections, malignant in
proportion as they are proud, which he inspires into those of his own company; which are
not able to nourish the wings of virtues so as to fly upwards, but rather to heap up the
weight of vices so as to press downwards; since the soul will fall down the more heavily,
the more it seems to itself to have been carried upwards. Accordingly, as the Magi did
when warned of God,^ whom the star led to adore the low estate of the Lord; so we also ought to return to our
country, not by the way by which we came, but by another way which the lowly King has
taught, and which the proud king, the adversary of that lowly King, cannot block up. For
to us, too, that we may adore the lowly Christ, the "heavens have declared the glory of
God, when their sound went into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world." ^
A way was made for us to death through sin in Adam. For, " By one man sin entered into
the w^orld, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have
sinned."^ Of this way the devil was the mediator, the persuader to sin, and the caster
down into death. For he, too, applied his one death to work out our double death. Since
he indeed died in the spirit through ungodliness, but certainly did not die in the flesh: yet
both persuaded us to ungodliness, and thereby brought it to pass that we deserved to
come into the death of the flesh. We desired therefore the one through wicked persuasion, the other followed us by a just condemnation; and therefore it is written, "God made not death," since He was not Himself the cause of death; but yet death was inflicted on the sinner, through His most just retribution. Just as the judge inflicts punishment on the guilty; yet it is not the justice of the judge, but the desert of the crime, which is the cause of the punishment. Whither, then, the mediator of death caused us to pass, yet did not come himself, that is, to the death of the flesh; there our Lord God introduced for us the medicine of correction, which He deserved not, by a hidden and exceeding mysterious decree of divine and profound justice. In order


CHAP. XIII.] THE DEATH OF CHRIST VOLUNTARY. 125

therefore, that as by one man came death, so by one man might come also the resurrection of the dead;^ because men strove more to shun that which they could not shun, viz. the death of the flesh, than the death of the spirit, i.e. punishment more than the desert of punishment (for not to sin is a thing about which either men are not solicitous or are too little solicitous; but not to die, although it be not within reach of attainment, is yet eagerly sought after); the Mediator of life, making it plain that death is not to be feared, which by the condition of humanity cannot now be escaped, but rather ungodliness, which can be guarded against through faith, meets us at the end to which we have come, but not by the way by which we came. For we, indeed, came to death through sin; He through righteousness: and, therefore, as our death is the punishment of sin, so His death was made a sacrifice for sin.


16. Wherefore, since the spirit is to be preferred to the body, and the death of the spirit means that God has left it, but the death of the body that the spirit has left it; and since herein lies the punishment in the death of the body, that the spirit leaves the body against its will, because it left God willingly; so that, whereas the spirit left God because it would, it leaves the body although it would not; nor leaves it when it would, unless it has offered violence to itself, whereby the body itself is slain: the spirit of the Mediator showed, how it was through no punishment of sin that He came to the death of the flesh, because He did not leave it against His will, but because He willed, when He willed, as He willed. For in that He is so Gommingled [with the flesh] by the word of God as to be one, lience He says: " I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay down my life that I might take it again." ^ And, as the Gospel tells us, they who were present were most astonished at this, that after that word, in which He set forth the figure of our sin, He immediately gave up His spirit. For they who are hung on the cross are commonly tortured by a pro-

1 1 Cor. XV. 21, 22. 2 joj^n x. 17, 18.
126 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

longed death. AVlience it was that the legs of the thieves were broken, in order that they might die directly, and be taken down from the cross before the Sabbath. And that He was found to be dead already, caused wonder. And it was this also, at which, as we read, Pilate marvelled, when the body of the Lord was asked of him for burial.^

17. Because that deceiver then, "who was a mediator to death for man, and feignedly puts himself forward as to life, under the name of cleansing by sacrilegious rites and sacrifices, by which the proud are led away, "can neither share in our death, nor rise again from his own: he has indeed been able to apply his single death to our double one; but he certainly has not been able to apply a single resurrection, which should be at once a mystery of our renewal, and a type of that waking up which is to be in the end. He then who being alive in the spirit raised again His own flesh that was dead, the true Mediator of life, has cast out him, who is dead in the spirit and the mediator of death, from the spirits of those who believe in Himself, so that he should not reign within, but should assault from without, and yet not prevail.
And to him, too. He offered Himself to be tempted, in order that He might be also a mediator to overcome his temptations, not only by succour, but also by example. Eut when the devil, from the first, although striving through every entrance to creep into His inward parts, was thrust out, having finished all his alluring temptation in the wilderness after the baptism;^
because, being dead in the spirit, he forced no entrance into Him who was alive in the spirit, he betook himself, through eagerness for the death of man in any way whatsoever, to effecting that death which he could, and was permitted to effect it upon that mortal element which the living Mediator had received from us. And where he could do anything, there in every respect he was conquered; and wherein he received outwardly the power of slaying the Lord in the flesh, therein his inward power, by which he held ourselves, was slain.
For it was brought to pass that the bonds of many sins in many deaths were loosed, through the one death of One which no sin had preceded. Which death, though not due, the

iMark xv. 37, 39, 43, 44, and John xix. 30-34. ^Matt. iv. 1-11.

CHAP. xiii] the two mediate. 127

Lord therefore rendered for us, that the death which was due might work us no hurt. For He was not stripped of the flesh by obligatioji of any authority, but He stripped Himself.
Eor doubtless He who was able not to die, if He would not, did die because He would: and so He made a show of principalities and powers, openly triumphing over them in Himself.^

For whereas by His death the one and most real sacrifice was offered up for us, whatever fault there was, whence principalities and powers held us fast as of right to pay its penalty, He cleansed, abolished, extinguished; and by His own resurrection He also called us whom He predestinated to a new life; and whom He called, them He justified; and whom He justified, them He glorified.^

And so the devil, in that very death of the flesh, lost man, whom he was possessing as by an absolute right, seduced as he was by his own consent, and over whom he ruled, himself impeded by no corruption of flesh and blood, through that frailty of man's mortal body, whence he was both too poor and too weak; he who was proud in proportion as he was, as it were, both richer and stronger, ruling over him who was, as it were, both clothed in rags and full of troubles. For whither he drove the sinner to fall, himself not following, there by following he compelled the Eedeemer to descend. And so the Son of God deigned to become our friend in the fellowship of death, to which because he came not, the enemy thought himself to be better and greater than ourselves. For our Eedeemer says, " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.""

Wherefore also the devil thought himself superior to the Ldrd Himself, inasmuch as the Lord in His sufferings |delded to him; for of Him, too, is understood what is read in the Psalm,

" For Thou hast made Him a little lower than the angels:"*

so that He, being Himself put to death, although innocent, by the unjust one acting against us as it were by just right, might by a most just right overcome him, and so might lead captive the captivity wrought through sin,^ and free us from a captivity that was just on account of sin, by blotting out the handwriting, and redeeming us who were to be justified

1 Col. ii. 15. 2 uoin. viii. 30. 3 JqI^v xv. 13.

*Ps. viii. 5. ^Epli. iv. 8.

128 ON THE TPtNITY. [BOOK IV.]

although sinners, through His own righteous blood unrighteously poured out.

18. Hence also the devil mocks those who are his own until this very day, to whom he presents himself as a false mediator, as though they would be cleansed or rather entangled and drowned by his rites, in that he very easily persuades the proud to ridicule and despise the death of Christ, from which the more he himself is estranged, the more is he believed by them to be the holier and more divine. Yet those who have remained with him are very few, since the nations acknowledge and with pious humility imbibe the price paid for themselves, and in trust upon it abandon their enemy, and gather tosjether to their Eedeemer. For the devil does not know how the most excellent wisdom of God
makes use of both his snares and his fury to bring about the salvation of His own faithful ones, beginning from the former end, which is the beginning of the spiritual creature, even to the latter end, which is the death of the body, and so "reaching from the one end to the other, mightily and sweetly ordering all things."^ Tor wisdom "passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness, and no defiled thing can fall into her." ^ And since the devil has nothing to do with the death of the flesh, whence comes his exceeding pride, a death of another kind is prepared in the eternal fire of hell, by which not only the spirits that have earthly, but also those who have aerial bodies, can be tormented. But proud men, by whom Christ is despised, because He died, wherein He bought us with so great a price,^ both bring back the former death together with men to that miserable condition of nature, which is derived from the first sin, and will be cast down into the latter death with the devil. And they on this account preferred the devil to Christ, because the former cast them into that former death, whither he himself fell not through the difference of his nature, and whither on account of them Christ descended through His great mercy: and yet they do not hesitate to believe themselves better than the devils, and do not cease to assail and denounce them with every sort of malediction, while they know them at any rate to have nothing to do with the suffering nWisd. viii. 1. ^Wisd. vii. 24, 25. n Cor. vi. 20.

CHAP. XIV.] CHRIST THE MOST PERFECT VICTIM. 129

of this kind of death, on account of which they despise Christ. Either will they take into account that the case may possibly be, that the Word of God, remaining in Himself, and in Himself in no way changeable, may yet, through the taking upon Him of a lower nature, be able to suffer somewhat of a lower kind, which the unclean spirit cannot suffer, because he has not an earthly body. And so, whereas they themselves are better than the devils, yet, because they bear a body of flesh, they can so die, as the devils certainly cannot die, who do not bear such a body. They presume much on the deaths of their own sacrifices, which they do not perceive that they sacrifice to deceitful and proud spirits; or if they have come to perceive it, think their friendship to be of some good to themselves, treacherous and envious although they are, whose purpose is bent upon nothing else except to hinder our return.

Chap. xiv. â€” Christ the most perfect victim for cleansing our faults. In every sacrifice four things are to be considered.

19. They do not understand, that not even the proudest of spirits themselves could rejoice in the honour of sacrifices, unless a true sacrifice was due to the one true God, in whose stead they desire to be worshipped: and that this cannot be rightly offered except by a holy and righteous priest; nor unless that which is offered be received from those for whom it is offered; and unless also it be without fault, so that it may be offered for cleansing the faulty. This at least all desire who wish sacrifice to be offered for themselves to God. Who then is so righteous and holy a priest as the only Son of God, who had no need to purge His own sins by sacrifice,^ neither original sins, nor those
which are added by human life? And what could be so fitly chosen by men to be offered for them as human flesh? And what so fit for this immolation as mortal flesh?
And what so clean for cleansing the faults of mortal men as the flesh born in and from the womb of a virgin, without any infection of carnal concupiscence? And what could be so acceptably offered and taken, as the flesh of our sacrifice, made the body of our priest?
In such wise that, whereas four things are to be considered in every sacrifice, â€” to whom it is

^Heb. vii.
DE TPjy. I

130 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

offered, by whom it is offered, what is offered, for whom it is offered, â€” the same One and true Mediator Himself, reconciling lis to God by the sacrifice of peace, might remain one with Him to whom He offered, might make those one in Himself for whom He offered. Himself might be in one both the offerer and the offering.

Chap. xv. â€” They are able, by their own righteousness y to be cleansed so as to see God.

20. There are, however, some who think themselves capable of being cleansed by their own righteousness, so as to contemplate God, and to dwell in God; whom their very pride itself stains above all others. For there is no sin to which the divine law is more opposed, and over which that proudest of spirits, who is a mediator to things below, but a barrier against things above, receives a greater right of mastery; unless either his secret snares be avoided by going another way, or if he rage openly by means of a sinful people (which Amalek, being interpreted, means), and forbid by fighting the passage to the land of promise, he be overcome by the cross of the Lord, which is prefigured by the holding out of the hands of Moses.^

For these persons promise themselves cleansing by their own righteousness for this reason, because some of them have been able to penetrate with the eye of the mind beyond the whole creature, and to touch, though it be in ever so small a part, the light of the unchangeable truth; a thing which they deride many Christians for being not yet able to do, who, in the meantime, live by faith alone. But of what use is it for the proud man, who on that account is ashamed to embark upon the ship of wood, to behold from afar his country beyond the sea? Or how can it hurt the humble man not to behold it from so great a distance, when he is actually coming to it by that wood upon which the other disdains to be borne?

Chap. xvi. â€” The old philosophers are not to be consulted concerning the resurrection and concerning things to come.
21. These people also blame us for believing the resurrection of the flesh, and rather wish us to believe themselves concerning these things. As though, because they have been able to understand the high and unchangeable substance by

1 Ex. xvii. 8-16.

CHAP. XVII.] TRASCENDENTAL PHILOSOPHY. 131

the things which are made/ for this reason they had a claim to be consulted concerning the revolutions of mutable things, or concerning the connected order of the ages. For pray, because they dispute most truly, and persuade us by most certain proofs, that all things temporal are made after a science that is eternal, are they therefore able to see clearly in the matter of this science itself, or to collect from it, how many kinds of animals there are, what are the seeds of each in their beginnings, what measure in their increase, what numbers run through their conceptions, births, ages, settings; what motions in desiring things according to their nature, and in avoiding the contrary? Have they not sought out all these things, not through that unchangeable wisdom, but through the actual history of places and times, or have trusted the written experience of others? Wherefore it is the less to be wondered at, that they have utterly failed in searching out the succession of more lengthened ages, and in finding any goal of that course, down which, as though down a river, the human race is sailing, and the transition thence of each to its own appropriate end. For these are subjects which historians could not describe, inasmuch as they are far in the future, and have been experienced and related by no one. Nor have those philosophers, who have profited better than others in that high and eternal science, been able to grasp such subjects with the understanding; otherwise they would not be inquiring as they could into past things of the kind, such as are in the province of historians, but rather would foreknow also things future; and those who are able to do this are called by them soothsayers, but by us prophets:

Chap. xvii. "In how many ways things future are foreknown. Neither philosophers, nor those who were distinguished among the ancients, are to be consulted concerning the resurrection of the dead.

22. "although the name of prophets, too, is not altogether foreign to their writings. But it makes the greatest possible difference, whether things future are conjectured by experience of things past (as physicians also have committed many things to writing in the way of foresight, which they themselves have noted by experience; or as again husbandmen, or sailors,
too, foretell many things; for if such predictions are made a long while before, they are thought to be divinations), or whether such things have already started on their road to come to us, and being seen coming far off, are announced in proportion to the acuteness of the sense of those who see them, by doing which the aerial powers are thought to divine (just as if a person from the top of a mountain were to see far off some one coming, and were to announce it beforehand to those who dwelt close by in the plain); or whether they are either fore-announced to certain men, or are heard by them and again transmitted to other men, by means of holy angels, to whom God shows those things by His Word and His Wisdom, wherein both things future and things past consist; or whether the minds of certain men themselves are so far borne upwards by the Holy Spirit, as to behold, not through the angels, but of themselves, the inmoveable causes of things future, in that very highest pinnacle of the universe itself. [And I say, behold,] for the aerial powers, too, hear these things, either by message through angels, or through men; and hear only so much as He judges to be fitting, to whom all things are subject. Many things, too, are foretold by a kind of instinct and inward impulse of such as know them not: as Caiaphas did not know what he said, but being the high priest, he prophesied.

23. Therefore, neither concerning the successions of ages, nor concerning the resurrection of the dead, ought we to consult those philosophers, who have understood as much as they could, the eternity of the Creator, in whom "we live, and move, and have our being." Since, knowing God through those things which are made, they have not glorified Him as God, neither were thankful; but professing themselves wise, they became fools. And whereas they were not fit to fix the eye of the mind so firmly upon the eternity of the spiritual and unchangeable nature, as to be able to see, in the wisdom itself of the Creator and Governor of the universe, those revolutions of the ages, which in that wisdom were already and were always, but here were about to be so that as yet they were not; or, again, to see therein those changes for the better, not 1 John xi. 61. ts xvii. 28. ^ ^om. i. 21, 22.

CHAP. XVIII.] DIFFERENT KINDS OF PEPHECY. 133

of the souls only, but also of the bodies of men, even to the perfection of their proper measure; whereas then, I say, they were in no way fit to see these things therein, they were not even judged worthy of receiving any announcement of them by the holy angels;
whether externally through the senses of the body, or by interior revelations exhibited in the spirit; as these things actually were manifested to our fathers, who were gifted with true piety, and who by foretelling them, obtaining credence either by present signs, or by events close at hand, which turned out as they had foretold, earned authority to be believed respecting things remotely future, even to the end of the world. But the proud and deceitful powers of the air, even if they are found to have said through their soothsayers some things of the fellowship and citizenship of the saints, and of the true Mediator, which they heard from the holy prophets or the angels, did so with the purpose of seducing even the faithful ones of God, if they could, by these alien truths, to revolt to their own proper falsehoods. But God did this by those who knew not what they said, in order that the truth might sound abroad from all sides, to aid the faithful, to be a witness against the ungodly.

Chap. xviii. â€” The Son of God became incarnate in order that ice being cleansed by faith may be raised to the unchangeable truth.

24. Since, then, we were not fit to take hold of thingsâ€™s eternal, and since the foulness of sins weighed us down, which we had contracted by the love of temporal things, and which were implanted in us as it were naturally, from the root of mortality, it was needful that we should be cleansed. But cleansed we could not be, so as to be tempered together with things eternal, except it were through things temporal, wherewith we were already tempered together and held fast. For health is at the opposite extreme from disease; but the intermediate process of healing does not lead us to perfect health, unless it has some congruity with the disease. Things temporal that are useless merely deceive the sick; things temporal that are useful take up those that need healing, and pass them on healed, to things eternal. And the rational mind, as when cleansed it owes contemplation to things eternal; so, when needing cleansing, owes faith to things temporal. One

134 â€œ ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

even of those who were formerly esteemed wise men among the Greeks has said, The truth stands to faith in the same relation in which eternity stands to that which has a beginning. And he is no doubt right in saying so. For what we call temporal, he describes as having had a beginning. And we also ourselves come under this kind, not only in respect to the body, but also in respect to the changeableness of the soul. For that is not properly called eternal which undergoes any degree of change. Therefore, in so far as we are changeable, in so far we stand apart from eternity. But life eternal is promised to us through the truth, from the clear knowledge of which, again, our faith stands as far apart as mortality does from eternity. We then now put faith in things done in time on our account, and by that faith itself we are cleansed; in order that when we have come to sight, as truth follows faith, so eternity may follow upon mortality. And therefore, since our faith will become truth, when we have attained to that which is promised to us who believe: and that which is promised us is eternal life; and the Truth
(not that which shall come to be according as our faith shall be, but that truth which is always, because in it is eternity, â€” the Truth then) has said, "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent: "^when our faith by seeing shall come to be truth, then eternity shall possess our now changed mortality. And until this shall take place, and in order that it may take jolace, â€” because we adapt the faith of belief to things which have a beginning, as in things eternal we hope for the truth of contemplation, lest the faith of mortal life should be at discord with the truth of eternal life, â€” the Truth itself, co-eternal with the Father, took a beginning from earth,^when the Son of God so came as to become the Son of man, and to take to Himself our faith, that He might thereby lead us on to His own truth, who so undertook our mortality, as not to lose His own eternity. For truth stands to faith in the relation in which eternity stands to that which has a beginning. Therefore, we must needs so be cleansed, that w^e may come to have such a beginning as remains eternal, that we may not have one be-

* Jolm xvii. 3. ^ Ps. Ixxxv. 11.

CHAP. XIX.] OF THE SENDING OF THE SOX OF GOD. 135

oimiino; in faith, and another in truth. ISTEither could we pass to things eternal from the condition of having 'a beginning, unless we were transferred, by union of the eternal to ourselves through our own beginning, to His own eternity.
Therefore our faith has, in some measure, now followed thither, whither He in whom we have believed has ascended; born,^ dead, risen again, taken up. Of these four things, we knew the first two in ourselves. For we know that men both have a beginning and die. But the remaining two, that is, to be raised, and to be taken up, we rightly hope will be in us, because we have believed them done in Him. Since, therefore, in Him that, too, which had a beginning has passed over to eternity, in ourselves also it will so pass over, when faith shall have arrived at truth. For to those who thus believe, in order that they might remain in the word of faith, and being thence led on to the truth, and through that to eternity, might be freed from death, He speaks thus: " If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed." And as though they would ask, With what fruit ? He proceeds to say, " And ye shall know the truth." And again, as though they would say.
Of what good is truth to mortal men ? " And the truth," He says, " shall make you free." ^ From what, except from death, from corruption, from changeableness ? Since truth remains immortal, incorrupt, unchangeable. But true immortality, true incorruptibility, true unchangeableness, is eternity itself.

Chap. xix. â€” In what manner the Son was sent and 'proclaimed beforeJiand.
How in the sending of His birth in the flesh He tvas made less without detriment to His equality with the Father.
25. Behold, then, why the Son of God was sent; nay, rather behold what it is for the Son of God to be sent. Whatever things they were which were wrought in time, with a view to produce faith, whereby we might be cleansed so as to contemplate truth, in things that have a beginning, which have been put forth from eternity, and are referred back to eternity; these were either testimonies of this mission, or they were the mission itself of the Son of God. But some of these testimonies announced Him beforehand as to come, some testified that He had come already. For that He was made

1 Ortus. 2 John viii. 31^ 32.

136 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

a creature, by whom the whole creation was made, must needs find its witness in the whole creation. For except one were preached by the sending of many, one would not be held fast to the sending away of many. And unless there were such testimonies as should seem to be great to those who are mean, it would not be believed, that He being great should make men great, who as mean was sent to the mean. For the heaven and the earth and all things in them are incomparably greater works of the Son of God, since all things were made by Him, than the signs and the portents which broke forth in testimony of Him. But yet men, in order that, being mean, they might believe these great things to have been wrought by Him, trembled at those mean things, as if they had been great.

26. " When, therefore, the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law; " ^ to such a degree mean, that He was " made; " in this way therefore sent, in that He was made. If, therefore, the greater sends the less, we, too, acknowledge Him to have been made less; and in so far less, in so far as made; and in so far made, in so far as sent. For " He sent forth His Son made of a woman." And yet, because all things were made by Him, not only before He was made and sent, but before all things were at all, we confess the same to be equal to the sender, whom we call less, as having been sent. In what way, then, could He be seen by the fathers, when certain angelical visions were shown to them, before that fulness of time at which it was fitting He should be sent, and so before He was sent, at a time when not yet sent He was seen as He is equal with the Father ? For how does He say to Philip, by whom He was certainly seen as by all the rest, and even by those by whom He was crucified in the flesh, " Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? he that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also; " unless because He was both seen and yet not seen ? He was seen, as He had been made in being sent; He was not seen, as by Him all things were made. Or how does He say this too, " He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth

1 Gal. iv. 4.
me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him," at a time when He was manifest before the eyes of men; unless because He was offering that flesh, which the Word was made in the fulness of time, to be accepted by our faith; but was keeping back the Word itself, by whom all things were made, to be contemplated in eternity by the mind when cleansed by faith?

Chap. xx. ã€” The sender and the sent equal. Why the Son is said to be sent by the Father. Of the mission of the Holy Spirit. How and by whom He was sent. The Father the beginning of the whole Godhead.

2 7. But if the Son is said to be sent by the Father on this account, that the one is the Father, and the other the Son, this does not in any manner hinder us from believing the Son to be equal, and consubstantial, and co-eternal with the Father, and yet to have been sent as Son by the Father. Not because the one is greater, the other less; but because the one is Father, the other Son; the one begetter, the other begotten; the one, He from whom He is who is sent; the other, He who is from Him who sends. For the Son is from the Father, not the Father from the Son. And according to this manner we can now understand that [the Son is not only said to have been sent because "the Word was made flesh," but therefore sent that the Word might be made flesh, and that He might perform through His bodily presence those things which were written] that is, that not only is He understood to have been sent as man, which the Word was made, but the Word, too, was sent that it might be made man; because He was not sent in respect to any inequality of power, or substance, or anything that in Him was not equal to the Father; but in respect to this, that the Son is from the Father, not the Father from the Son; for the Son is the Word of the Father, which is also called His Wisdom. What wonder, therefore, if He is sent, not because He is unequal with the Father, but because He is "a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty God?" For there, that which flows, and that from which it flows, is of one and the same substance. For it does not flow as water flows from an aperture of earth or of stone, but as light flows from light. For the words, "For she is the

* John xiv. 9, 21. 2 j^hn i. 3^ is, 14.

138 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

brightness of the everlasting light/ what else are they than, she is light of everlasting light? For what is the brightness of light, except light itself? and so co-eternal with the light, from which the light is. But he preferred to say, "the brightness of light," rather than the
light of light; lest that which flows should be thought to be more dark than that from which it flows. For when one hears of the brightness of it being itself, it is more easy to believe that the one shines through the other, than that this shines less. But because there was no need of warning men not to think that light to be less, which begat the other (for no heretic ever dared say this, neither is it to be believed that any one will dare to do so), Scripture meets that other thought, whereby that light which flows might seem darker than that from which it flows; and it has removed this surmise by saying, "It is the brightness of that light," namely, of eternal light, and so shows it to be equal. For if it were less, then it would be its darkness, not its brightness; but if it were greater, then it could not flow from it, for it could not surpass that from which it is produced. Therefore, because it flows from it, it is not greater than it is; and because it is not its darkness, but its brightness, it is not less than it is: therefore it is equal.

"Now ought this to trouble us, that it is called a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty God, as if itself were not omnipotent, but an influence flowing from the Omnipotent; for soon after it is said of it, "And being but one, she can do all things." But who is omnipotent, unless He who can do all things? It is sent, therefore, by Him from whom it flows; for so she is sought after by him who loved and desired her. "Send her," he says, "out of Thy holy heavens, and from the throne of Thy glory, that, being present, she may labour with me;" that is, may teach me to labour, in order that I may not labour. For her labours are virtues. But she is sent in one way that she may be with man; she has been sent in another way that she herself may be man. For, "entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets;" so she also fills the holy angels, and works all things fitting for such ministries by them. But when the fulness of time was come, she was sent/ not to fill angels, nor to be an angel, except in so far as she announced the counsel of the Father, which was her own also; nor, again, to he with men or in men, for this too took place before, both in the fathers and in the prophets; but that the Word itself should be made flesh, that is, should be made man. In which future mystery, when revealed, was to be the salvation of those wise and holy men also, who, before He was born in another way that she herself may be man. For, "the great mystery of godliness, which was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." ^

1 Wisd. vii. 25-27. - AVisd. ix. 10. ^risd. vii. 27.

CHAP. XX.] WHAT THE SENDING OF THE SON MEANS. 139

time was come, she was sent/ not to fill angels, nor to be an angel, except in so far as she announced the counsel of the Father, which was her own also; nor, again, to he with men or in men, for this too took place before, both in the fathers and in the prophets; but that the Word itself should be made flesh, that is, should be made man. In which future mystery, when revealed, was to be the salvation of those wise and holy men also, who, before He was born of the Virgin, were born of women; and in which, when done and made known, is the salvation of all who believe, and hope, and love. For this is "the great mystery of godliness, which was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." ^

28. Therefore the Word of God is sent by Him, of whom He is the Word; He is sent by Him, from whom He was born; He sends who begot. That is sent which is begotten. And He is then sent to each one, when He is apprehended and perceived by each, in so far as He can be apprehended and perceived, in proportion to the comprehension of the rational soul, either advancing towards God, or already perfect in God. The Son,
therefore, is not properly said to have been sent in that He is born of the Father; but either in that the Word made flesh appeared to the world, whence He says, "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world;" or in that from time to time He is perceived by the mind of each, according to the saying, "Send her, that, being present with me, she may labour with me." What then is born from eternity is eternal, "for it is the brightness of the everlasting light;" but what is sent from time to time, is that which is apprehended by each. But when the Son of God was made manifest in the flesh. He was sent into this world in the fulness of time, made of a woman. "For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God" (since "the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not"), it "pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe," that the Word should be made flesh, and dwell among us. But when from time to time He comes

^ Gal. iv. 4. 2 Qnod, scil. sacramentum. ^ i Tim. iii. 16.

4 John xvi. 28. ^ Wisd. ix. 10. ^ i Q^^Y^ i 21. 7 John i. 5, 14.

140 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IV.]

forth and is perceived by the mind of each, He is said indeed to be sent, but not into this world; for He does not appear sensibly, that is, He does not present Himself to the corporeal senses. For we ourselves, too, are not in this world, in respect to our grasping with the mind as far as we can that which is eternal; and the spirits of all the righteous are not in this world, even of those who are still living in the flesh, in so far as they have discernment in things divine. But the Father is not said to be sent, when from time to time He is apprehended by any one, for He has no one of whom to be, or from whom to proceed; since Wisdom says, "I came out of the mouth of the Most High," and it is said of the Holy Spirit, "He proceedeth from the Father," but the Father is from jio one.

29."s, therefore, the Father begat, the Son is begotten; so the Father sent, the Son was sent. But in like manner as He who begat and He who was begotten, so[loyd He who sent and He who was sent, are one, since the Father and the Son are one.^ So also the Holy Spirit is one with thenij since these three are one. For as to be born, in respect to the Son, means to be from the Father; so to be sent, in respect to the Son, means to be known to be from the Father. And as to be the gift of God in respect to the Holy Spirit, means to proceed from the Father; so to be sent, is to be known to proceed from the Father. Neither can we say that the Holy Spirit does not also proceed from the Son, for the same Spirit is not without reason said to be the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son. / Nor do I see what else He intended to signify, when He breathed on the face of the disciples, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." * For that bodily breathing, proceeding from the body with the feeling of bodily touching, was not the substance of the Holy Spirit, but a declaration by a fitting sign, that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father, but also from the
Son. For the veriest of madmen would not say, that it was one Spirit which He gave when He breathed on them, and another which He sent after His ascension.

For the Spirit of God is one, the Spirit of the Father and of

1 Ecclus. xxiv. 3. 2 John xv. 26. John x. 30.

* John XX. 22. 5 Acts ii. 1-4.

CHAP. XX.] OF THE SENDING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. 141

the Son, the Holy Spirit, who worketh all in all. But that He was given twice was certainly a significant economy, which we will discuss in its place, as far as the Lord may grant.

That then which the Lord says, " Whom I will send unto you from the Father," shows the Spirit to be both of the Father and of the Son; because, also, when He had said, " Whom the Father will send," He added also, " in my name." Yet He did not say, " Whom the Father will send from me, as He said, " Whom I will send unto you from the Father," showing, namely, that the Father is the beginning of the whole divinity, or if it is better so expressed. Deity. He, therefore, who proceeds from the Father and from the Son, is referred back to Him from whom the Son was born. And that which the evangelist says, " For the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified;" how is this to be understood, unless because the special giving or sending of the Holy Spirit after the glorification of Christ was to be such as it had never been before? For it was not previously none at all, but it had not been such as this. For if the Holy Spirit was not given before, wherewith were the prophets who spoke filled? Whereas the Scripture plainly says, and shows in many places, that they spake by the Holy Spirit. Whereas, also, it is said of John the Baptist, " And he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb." And his father Zacharias is found to have been filled with the Holy Ghost, so as to say such things of him. And Mary, too, was filled with the Holy Ghost, so as to foretell such things of the Lord, whom she was bearing in her womb. And Simeon and Anna were filled with the Holy Spirit, so as to acknowledge the greatness of the little child Christ. How, then, was " the Spirit not yet given, since Jesus was not yet glorified," unless because that giving, or granting, or mission of the Holy Spirit was to have a certain speciality of its own in its very advent, such as never was before? For we read nowhere that men spoke in tongues which they did not know, through the Holy Spirit coming upon them; as happened then, when it was needful that His coming should be made plain by visible


signs, in order to show that the whole world, and all nations constituted with different tongues, should believe in Christ through the gift of the Holy Spirit, to fulfil that which is sung in the Psalm, " There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard; their sound is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." 

30. Therefore man was united, and in some sense commingled, with the Word of God, so as to be One Person, when the fulness of time was come, and the Son of God, made of a woman, was sent into this world, that He might be also the Son of man for the sake of the sons of men. And this person angelic nature could prefigure beforehand, so as to pre-announce, but could not appropriate, so as to be that person itself.

Chap. xxi. Â” Of the sensible showing of the Holy Spirit, and of the co-eternity of the Trinity. What has been said, and what remains to be said.

But with respect to the sensible showing of the Holy Spirit, whether by the shape of a dove,^ or by fiery tongues,^ when the subjected and subservient creature by temporal motions and forms manifested His substance co-eternal with the Father and the Son, and alike with them unchangeable, while it was not united so as to be one person with Him, as the flesh was which the Word was made;^ I do not dare to say that nothing of the kind was done aforetime. But I would boldly say, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, of one and the same substance, God the Creator, the Omnipotent Trinity, work indivisibly; but that this cannot be indivisibly manifested by the creature, which is far inferior, and least of all by the bodily creature; just as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit cannot be named by our words, which certainly are bodily sounds, except in their own proper intervals of time, divided by a distinct separation, which intervals the proper syllables of each word occupy. Since in their proper substance wherein they are, the three are one, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the very same, by no temporal motion, above the whole creature, without any interval of time and place, and at once one and the same from eternity to eternity, as it were eternity itself, which is not without truth and charity. But, in my words, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are separated.

1 Ps. xix. 3, 4. 2 Matt. iii. 16. ^^^ts ii. 3. ^ Jolm i. 14.

CHAP. XXL] the TRINITY WORKS INDIVISIBLY. 143

and cannot be named at once, and occupy their own proper places separately invisible letters. And as, when I name my memory, and intellect, and will, each name refers to each severally, but yet each is uttered by all three; for there is no one of these three names that is not uttered by both my memory and my intellect and my will together; so the Trinity together wrought both the voice of the Father, and the flesh of the Son, and the dove of the Holy Spirit, while each of these things is referred severally to each person. And by this similitude it is in some degree discernible, that the Trinity, which is
inseparable in itself, is manifested separably by the appearance of the visible creature; and that the operation of the Trinity is also inseparable in each severally of those things which are said to pertain properly to the manifesting of either the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit.

31. If then I am asked, in what manner either words or sensible forms and appearances were wrought before the incarnation of the Word of God, which should prefigure it as about to come, I reply that God wrought those things by the angels; and this I have also shown sufficiently, as I think, by testimonies of the Holy Scriptures. And if I am asked how the incarnation itself was brought to pass, I reply that the Word of God itself was made flesh, that is, was made man, yet not turned and changed into that which was made; but so made, that there should be there not only the Word of God and the flesh of man, but also the rational soul of man, and that this whole should both be called God on account of God, and man on account of man. And if this is understood with difficulty, the mind must be purged by faith, by more and more abstaining from sins, and by doing good works, and by praying with the groaning of holy desires; that by profiting through the divine help, it may both understand and love.

And if I am asked, how, after the incarnation of the Word, either a voice of the Father was produced, or a corporeal appearance by which the Holy Spirit was manifested: I do not doubt indeed that this was done through the creature; but whether only corporeal and sensible, or whether by the employment also of the spirit rational or intellectual (for this is the term by which some choose to call what the Greeks name voepov), not certainly so as to form one person (for who could possibly say that whatever creature it was by which the voice of the Father sounded, is in such sense God the Father; or whatever creature it was by which the Holy Spirit was manifested in the form of a dove, or in fiery tongues, is in such sense the Holy Spirit, as the Son of God is that man who was made of a virgin ?), but only to the ministry of bringing about such intimations as God judged needful; or whether anything else is to be understood: is difficult to discover, and not expedient rashly to affirm. Yet I see not how those things could have been brought to pass without the rational or intellectual creature. But it is not yet the proper place to explain, as the Lord may give me strength, why I so think; for the arguments of heretics must first be discussed and refuted, which they do not produce from the divine books, but from their own reasons, and by which, as they think, they forcibly compel us so to understand the testimonies of the Scriptures which treat of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as they themselves will.

32. But now, as I think, it has been sufficiently shown, that the Son is not therefore less because He is sent by the Father, nor the Holy Spirit less because both the Father sent Him and the Son. For these things are perceived to be laid down in the Scriptures, either on account of the visible creature, or rather on account of commending to our thoughts the principle
[of the Godhead], but not on account of inequality, or imparity, or unlikeness of substance; since, even if God the Father had willed to appear visibly through the subject creature, yet it would be most absurd to say that He was sent either by the Son, whom He begot, or by the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from Him. Let this, therefore, be the limit of the present book. Henceforth in the rest we shall see, the Lord helping, of what sort are those crafty arguments of the heretics, and in what manner they may be confuted.

CITAP. I.] THE AUTHOR'S ENTREATY. 145

BOOK FIFTIT.

PP. OCEEDS TO TREAT OF THE ARGUMENTS PUT FORWARD BY THE HERETICS, NOT FROM SCRIPTURE, BUT FROM THEIR OWN REASON. THOSE ARE REFUTED, /, WHO THINK THE SUBSTANCE OF THE FATHER AND OF THE SON TO BE NOT /, THE SAME, BECAUSE EVERYTHING PREDICATED OF GOD IS, IN THEIR OPINION, PREDICATED OF HIM ACCORDING TO SUBSTANCE; AND THEREFORE IT FOLLOWS, THAT TO BEGET AND TO BE BEGOTTEN, OR TO BE BEGOTTEN AND UNBEGOTTEN, BEING DIVERSE, ARE DIVERSE SUBSTANCES; WHEREAS IT IS HERE DEMONSTRATED THAT NOT EVERYTHING PREDICATED OF GOD IS PREDICATED ACCORDING TO SUBSTANCE, IN SUCH MANNER AS HE IS CALLED GOOD AND GREAT ACCORDING TO SUBSTANCE, OR ANYTHING ELSE THAT IS PREDICATED OF HIM IN RESPECT TO HIMSELF; BUT THAT SOME THINGS ARE ALSO PREDICATED OF HIM RELATIVELY, i.e. NOT IN RESPECT TO HIMSELF, BUT TO SOMETHING NOT HIMSELF, AS HE IS CALLED FATHER IN RESPECT TO THE SON, AND LORD IN RESPECT TO THE CREATURE THAT SEEVETH HIM; IN WHICH CASE, IF ANYTHING THUS PREDICATED RELATIVELY, i.e. IN RESPECT TO SOMETHING NOT HIMSELF, IS EVEN PREDICATED AS HAPPENING IN TIME, AS e.g. "lord, thou HAST BECOME OUR REFUGE," YET NOTHING HAPPENS TO GOD SO AS TO WORK A CHANGE IN HIM, BUT HE HIMSELF REMAINS ABSOLUTELY UNCHANGEABLE IN HIS OWN NATURE OR ESSENCE.

Chap. i. â€” What the author entreats from God, ichat from the reader. In God nothing is to he thought corporeal or changeable.
1. Beginning, as I now do henceforwards, to speak of subjects which cannot altogether be spoken as they are thought, either by any man, or, at any rate, not by myself; although even our very thought, when we think of God the Trinity, falls (as we feel) very far short of Him of whom we think, nor comprehends Him as He is; but He is seen, as it is written, even by those who are "so great as was the Apostle Paul, through a glass and in an enigma: "^ first, I pray to our Lord God Himself, of whom we ought always to think, and of whom we are not able to think worthily, in praise of whom blessing is at all times to be rendered/ and whom no speech is sufficient to declare, that He will grant me both help for understanding and explaining that which I design, and pardon if in anything I offend. For I bear in mind, not only my desire, ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 2 pg. xxxiv. 1.

DE TKIN. K

146 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK V.]

but also my infirmity. I ask also of my readers to pardon me, where they may perceive me to have had the desire rather than the power to speak, what they either understand better themselves, or fail to understand through the obscurity of my language, just as I myself pardon them what they cannot understand through their own dulness.

2. And we shall mutually pardon one another the more easily, if we know, or at any rate firmly believe and hold, that whatever is said of a nature, unchangeable, invisible, and having life absolutely and sufficient to itself, must not be measured after the custom of things visible, and changeable, and mortal, or not self-sufficient. But although we labour, and yet fail, to grasp and know even those things which are within the scope of our corporeal senses, or what we are ourselves in the inner man; yet it is with no shamelessness that faithful piety burns after those divine and unspeakable things which are above: piety, I say, not inflated by the arrogance of its own power, but inflamed by the grace of its Creator and Saviour Himself. For with what understanding can man apprehend God, who does not yet apprehend that very understanding itself of his own, by which he desires to apprehend Him? And if he does already apprehend this, let him carefully consider that there is nothing in his own nature better than it; and let him see whether he can there see any outlines of forms, or brightness of colours, or greatness of space, or distance of parts, or extension of size, or any movements through intervals of place, or any such thing at all. Certainly we find nothing of all this in that, than which we find nothing better in our own nature, that is, in our own intellect, by which we apprehend wisdom according to our capacity. What, therefore, we do not find in that which is our own best, we ought not to seek in Him who is far better than that best of ours; that so we may understand God, if we are able, and as much as we are able, as good without quality, great without quantity, a creator though He lack nothing, ruling but from no position, sustaining all things without "having" them, in His wholeness everywhere, yet without place, eternal without time, making things that are changeable, without
change of Himself, and without passion. Whoso thus thinks of God, although he cannot yet

CHAP. III.] OF THE ESSENCE OR BEING OF GOD. 147

find out in all ways what He is, yet piously takes heed, as much as he is able, to think nothing of Him that He is not.

Chap. ir. â€” God the only unchangeable essence.

3. He is, however, without doubt, a substance, or, if it be better so to call it, an essence, which the Greeks call ovo-â’. For as wisdom is so called from the being wise, and knowledge from knowing; so from being -^ comes that which we call essence. And who is there that is, more than He who said to His servant Moses, " I am that I am; " and, " Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, He who is hath sent me unto you " ^ ? ^ But other things that are called essences or substances admit of accidents, whereby a change, whether great or small, is produced in them. But there can be no accident of this kind in respect to God; and therefore He who is God is the only unchangeable substance or essence, to whom certainly BEING itself, whence comes the name of essence, most especially and most truly belongs. For that which is changed does not retain its own being; and that which can be changed, although it be not actually changed, is able not to be that which it had been; and hence that which not only is not changed, but also cannot at all be changed, alone falls most truly, without difficulty or hesitation, under the category of

BEING.

Chap. hi. â€” The argument of the Arians is refuted, ivhich is draicnfrom the words begotten and unbegotten.

4. Wherefore, â€” to begin now to answer the adversaries of our faith, respecting those things also, which are neither said as they are thought, nor thought as they really are: â€” among the many things which the Arians are wont to dispute against the Catholic faith, they seem chiefly to set forth this, as their most crafty device, namely, that whatsoever is said or understood of God, is said not according to accident, but according to substance: and therefore, to be unbegotten belongs to the Father according to substance, and to be begotten belongs to the Son according to substance; but to be unbegotten and to be begotten are different; therefore the substance of the Father and that of the Son are different. To whom we

reply. If whatever is spoken of God is spoken according to substance, then that which is said, "I and the Father are one," is spoken according to substance. Therefore there is one substance of the Father and the Son. Or if this is not said according to substance, then something is said of God not according to substance, and therefore we are no longer compelled to understand unbegotten and begotten according to substance. It is also said of the Son, "He thought it not robbery to be equal with God." We ask, equal according to what? For if He is not said to be equal according to substance, then they admit that something may be said of God not according to substance. Let them admit, then, that unbegotten and begotten are not spoken according to substance.

And if they do not admit this, on the ground that they will have all things to be spoken of God according to substance, then the Son is equal to the Father according to substance.

Chap. iv. "The accidental always implies some change in the thing.

5. That which is accidental commonly implies that it can be lost by some change of the thing to which it is an accident. For although some accidents are said to be inseparable, which in Greek are called α"wpto-ra, as the colour black is to the feather of a raven; yet the feather loses that colour, not indeed so long as it is a feather, but because the feather is not always. "Wherefore the matter itself is changeable; and whenas that animal or that feather ceases to be, and the whole of that body is changed and turned into earth, it loses certainly that colour also. Although the kind of accident, which is called separable, may likewise be lost, not by separation, but by change; as, for instance, blackness is called a separable accident to the hair of men, because hair continuing to be hair can grow white; but, if carefully considered, it is sufficiently apparent, that it is not as if anything departed by separation away from the head when it grows white, as though blackness departed thence and went somewhere, and whiteness came in its place, but that the quality of colour there is turned and changed. Therefore there is nothing accidental in God, because there is nothing changeable or that may be lost. But if you

1 John X. 30. " riiil. ii. 6.

CHAP, v.] NOTHING ACCIDENTAL TO GOD. 140

choose to call that also accidental, which, although it may not be lost, yet can be decreased or increased, â€” as, for instance, the life of the soul: for as long as it is a soul, so long it lives, and because the soul is always, it always lives; but because it lives more when it is wise, and less when it is foolish, here, too, some change comes to pass, not such that life is absent, as wisdom is absent to the foolish, but such that it is less; â€” nothing of this kind, either, happens to God, because He remains altogether unchangeable.
Chap. v. â€” Nothing is spoken of God according to accident, but according to substance or according to relation.

6. Wherefore nothing in Him is said in respect to accident, since nothing is accidental to Him, and yet all that is said is not said according to substance. For in created and changeable things, that which is not said according to substance, must, by necessary alternative, be said according to accident. For all things are accidents to them, which can be either lost or diminished, whether magnitudes or qualities; and so also is that which is said in relation to something, as friendships, relationships, services, likenesses, equalities, and anything else of the kind; so also positions and conditions, places and times, acts and passions. But in God nothing is said to be according to accident, because in Him nothing is changeable; and yet everything that is said, is not said according to substance. For it is said in relation to something, as the Father in relation to the Son, and the Son in relation to the Father, which is not accident; because both the one is always Father, and the other is always Son: yet not in such sense always, as though from the time when the Son was born, so that the Father for this reason ceases not to be the Father, because the Son never ceases to be the Son, but because the Son was always born, and never began to be the Son. But if He had begun to be at any time, or were at any time to cease to be, the Son, then He would be called Son according to accident. But if the Father, in that He is called the Father, were so called in relation to Himself, not to the Son; and the Son, in that He is called the Son, were so called in relation to Himself, not to the Father; then both the one would be called Father, and the other Son, according to substance. But because the Father is not called the Father except in that He has a Son, and the Son is not called Son except in that He has a Father, these things are not said according to substance; because each of them is not so called in relation to Himself, but the terms are used reciprocally and in relation each to the other; nor yet according to accident, because both the being called the Father, and the being called the Son, is eternal and unchangeable to them. Wherefore, although to be the Father and to be the Son is different, yet their substance is not different; because they are so called, not according to substance, but according to relation, which relation, however, is not accident, because it is not changeable.

1 Habitus.

150 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK V.]

Chap. vi. â€” Reply is made to the cavils of the heretics in respect to the same words begotten and unbegotten.

7. But if they think they can answer this reasoning thus, â€” that the Father indeed is so called in relation to the Son, and the Son in relation to the Father, but that they are said to be unbegotten and begotten in relation to themselves, not in relation each to the other; for that it is not the same thing to call Him unbegotten as it is
to call Him the Father, because there would be nothing to hinder our calling Him unbegotten even if He had not begotten the Son; and if any one beget a son, he is not therefore himself unbegotten, for men, who are begotten by other men, themselves also beget others; and therefore they say the Father is called Father in relation to the Son, and the Son is called Son in relation to the Father, but unbegotten is said in relation to Himself, and begotten in relation to Himself; and therefore, if whatever is said in relation to oneself is said according to substance, while to be unbegotten and to be begotten are different, then the substance is different: â€” if this is what they say, then they do not understand that they do indeed say something that requires more careful discussion in respect to the term unbegotten, because neither is any one therefore a father because unbegotten, nor therefore unbegotten because he is a father, and on that account he is supposed to be called unbegotten, not in relation to anything else, but in respect to himself; but, on the other hand, with a wonderful blindness, they do not perceive that no one

CHAP, YL] begotten AND UNBEGOTTEN, IHOW RELATIVES. 151

can be said to be begotten, except in relation to something. For he is therefore a son, because begotten; and because a son, therefore certainly begotten. And as is the relation of son to father, so is the relation of the begotten to the begetter; and as is the relation of father to son, so is the relation of the begetter to the begotten. And therefore any one is understood to be a begetter under one notion, but understood to be unbegotten under another. For though both are said of God the Father, yet the former is said in relation to the begotten, that is to the Son, which, indeed, they do not deny; but that He is called unbegotten, they declare to be said in respect to Himself. They say then, If anything is said to be a father in respect to itself, which cannot be said to be a son in respect to itself, and whatever is said in respect to self is said according to substance; and He is said to be unbegotten in respect to Himself, which the Son cannot be said to be; therefore He is said to be unbegotten according to substance, because the Son cannot be so said; therefore He is not of the same substance. This subtlety is to be answered by compelling them to say themselves according to what it is that the Son is equal to the Father; whether according to that which is said in relation to Himself, or according to that which is said in relation to the Father. For it is not according to that which is said in relation to the Father, since in relation to the Father He is said to be Son, and the Father is not Son, but Father. Since Father and Son are not so called in relation to each other in the same way as friends and neighbours are; for a friend is so called relatively to his friend, and if they love each other equally, then the same friendship is in both; and a neighbour is so called relatively to a neighbour, and because they are equally neighbours to each other (for each is neighbour to the other, in the same degree as the other is neighbour to him), there is the same neighbourhood in both. But because the Son is not so called relatively to the Son, but to the Father, it is not according to that which is said in relation to the Father that the Son is equal to the Father; and it remains that He is equal according to that which is said
in relation to Himself. But whatever is said in relation to self is said according to substance: it remains therefore that He is equal

152 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK V.]

according to substance; therefore the substance of both is the same. But when the Father is said to be unbegotten, it is not said what He is, but what He is not; and when a rehative term is denied, it is not denied according to substance, since the relative itself is not affirmed according to substance.

Chap. vii. "The addition of a negative does not change the predicament.

8. This is to be made clear by examples. And first we must notice, that by the word begotten is signified the same thing as is signified by the word son. For therefore a son, because begotten, and because a son, therefore certainly begotten. By the word unbegotten, therefore, it is declared that he is not son. But begotten and unbegotten are both of them terms suitably employed; whereas in Latin we can use the word " filius," but the custom of the language does not allow us to speak of " infilius." It makes no difference, however, in the meaning if he is called " non filius;" just as it is precisely the same thing if he is called " non genus," instead of " ingenitus." For so the terms of both neighbour and friend are used relatively, yet we cannot speak of " invicinus " as we can of " inimicus." Wherefore, in speaking of this thing or that, we must not consider what the usage of our own language either allows or does not allow, but what clearly appears to be the meaning of the things themselves. Let us not therefore any longer call it unbegotten, although it can be so called in Latin; but instead of this let us call it not begotten, which means the same. Is this then anything else than saying that he is not a son? Now the prefixing of that negative particle does not make that to be said according to substance, Avhich, without it, is said relatively; but that only is denied, which, without it, was affirmed, as in the other predicaments. When we say he is a man, we denote substance. He therefore who says he is not a man, enunciates no other kind of predicament, but only denies that. As therefore I affirm according to substance in saying he is a man, so I deny according to substance in saying he is not a man. And when the question is asked, how great he is? and I say he is quadrupedal, that is, four feet in measure, I affirm according to quantity; and he who says he

CHAP. VII.] THE NEGATIVE ARTICLE. 153

is not quadrupedal, denies according to quality. I say he is white, I affirm according to quality; if I say he is not white, I deny according to quality. I say he is near, I affirm according to relation; if I say he is not near, I deny according to relation. I affirm according to position, when I say he lies down; I deny according to position, when I say he does not lie down. I speak according to condition.^

^ when I say he is armed; I deny
according to condition, when I say he is not armed; and it comes to the same thing as if I should say he is unarmed. I affirm according to time, when I say he is of yesterday; I deny according to time, when I say he is not of yesterday. And when I say he is at Eome, I affirm according to place; and I deny according to place, when I say he is not at Eome. I affirm according to the predicament of action, when I say he smites; but if I say he does not smite, I deny according to action, so as to declare that he does not so act. And when I say he is smitten, I affirm according to the predicament of passion; and I deny according to the same, when I say he is not smitten. And, in a word, there is no kind of predicament according to which we may please to affirm anything, without being proved to deny according to the same predicament, if we prefix the negative particle. And since this is so, if I were to affirm according to substance, in saying son, I should deny according to substance, in saying not son. But because I affirm relatively when I say he is a son, for I refer to the father; therefore I deny relatively if I say he is not a son, for I refer the same negation to the father, in that I wish to declare that he has not a parent. But if to be called son is precisely equivalent to the being called begotten (as we said before), then to be called not begotten is precisely equivalent to the being called not son. But we deny relatively when we say he is not son, therefore we deny relatively when we say he is not begotten. Further, what is imbegotten, unless not begotten? We do not escape, therefore, from the relative predicament, when he is called unbegotten.

For as begotten is not said in relation to self, but in that he is of a begetter; so when one is called unbegotten, he is not so called in relation to himself, but it is declared that he is not

\[\text{\^ Habititus.}\]

154 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK V.]

of a begetter. Both meanings, however, turn upon the same predicament, which is called that of relation. But that which is asserted relatively does not denote substance; and accordingly, although begotten and unbegotten are diverse, they do not denote a different substance; because, as son is referred to father, and not son to not father, so it follows inevitably that begotten must be referred to begetter, and not begotten to not begetter.

Chap. viii. â€“ Whatever is spolcen of God according to substance, is spolcen of each person severally, and together of the Trinity itself. One essence in God, and three, in Greek, hypostases, in Latin, persons.

9. Wherefore let us hold this above all, that whatsoever is said of that most eminent and divine loftiness in respect to itself, is said in respect to substance, but that which is said in relation to anything, is not said in respect to substance, but relatively; and that the effect of the same substance in Father and Son and Holy Spirit is, that whatsoever is said of each in respect to themselves, is to be taken of them, not in the plural in sum, but in the singular. For as the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, which no one doubts to be said in respect to substance, yet we do not say that the very supreme
Trinity itself is three Gods, but one God. So the Father is great, the Son great, and the Holy Spirit great; yet not three greats, but one great. For it is not written of the Father alone, as they perversely suppose, but of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, "Thou art great: Thou art God alone." ^ And the Father is good, the Son good, and the Holy Spirit good; yet not three goods, but one good, of whom it is said, "There is none good, save one, that is, God." For the Lord Jesus, lest He should be understood as man only by him who said, "Good Master," as addressing a man, does not therefore say. There is none good, save the Father alone; but, "None is good, save one, that is, God." ^ For the Father by Himself is declared by the name of Father; but by the name of God, both Himself and the Son and the Holy Spirit, because the Trinity is one God. But position, and condition, and places, and times, are not said to be in God properly, but metaphorically and through similitudes. For He is both said to dwell between the cherubins, which is spoken in respect to position;

1 Ps. Ixxxvi. 10. 2 L^e xviii. 18, 19. ^ ps_j^xx. 1.

CHAP. IX. — THE THREE PERSONS ONE SUBSTANCE. 155

and to be covered with the deep as with a garment, which is said in respect to condition; and "Thy years shall have no end," which is said in respect of time; and, "If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there," which is said in respect to place. And as respects action (or making), perhaps it may be said most truly of God alone, for God alone makes and Himself is not made. Nor is He liable to passions as far as belongs to that His substance whereby He is God. So the Father is omnipotent, the Son omnipotent, and the Holy Spirit is omnipotent; yet not three omnipotents, but one omnipotent: "For of Him are all things, and through Him are all things, and in Him are all things; to whom be glory." ^ Whatever, therefore, is spoken of God in respect to Himself, is both spoken singly of each person, that is, of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and together of the Trinity itself, not plurally but in the singular. For inasmuch as to God it is not one thing to be, and another thing to be great, but to Him it is the same thing to be, as it is to be great; therefore, as we do not say three essences, so we do not say three greatnesses, but one essence and one greatness. I say essence, which in Greek is called ovala, and which we call more usually substance.

10. They indeed use also the word hypostasis; but they intend to put a difference, I know not what, between ovala and hypostasis: so that most of ourselves who treat these things in the Greek language, are accustomed to say, [Jblav ovcrav] rpeL^ viroaTdaeL^, or, in Latin, one essence, three substances.

Chap. ix. â€” The three persons not properly so called.-

But because with us the usage has already obtained, that by essence we understand the same thing which is understood by substance; we do not dare to say one essence, three substances, but one essence or substance and three persons: as many writers in Latin, who
treat of these things, and are of authority, have said, in that they could not find any other more suitable way by which to enunciate in words that which they understood without words. For, in truth, as the Father is not the Son, and the Son is not the Father, and that Holy Spirit, who is also called the gift of God, is neither the Father

1 Ps. civ. 6. 2 pg_ Q^i 27. 3 ps^ cxxxix. 8. Â« Rom. xi. 36.

150 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK V.]

nor the Son, certainly they are three. And so it is said plurally, " I and my Father are one." ^ For He has not said,

" Is one/ as the Sabellians say; but, " are one." Yet, when the question is asked, What three ? human language labours altogether under great poverty of speech. The answer, however, is given, three persons, not that it might be spoken, but that it might not be left unspoken.

^ Chap, x. â€” Those things which absolutely belong to God as His essence, are ( spoken of the Trinity in the singular, not in the 'plural.

11. As, therefore, we do not say three essences, so we do not say three greatnesses, or three who are great. For in things which are great by partaking of greatness, to which it is one thing to be, and another to be great, as a great house, and a great mountain, and a great mind; in these things, I say, greatness is one thing, and that which is great from greatness is another, and absolutely that is not greatness which is a great house. But that is true greatness by which not only a great house is great, and any great mountain is great, but also by which every other thing whatsoever is great, which is called great; so that greatness itself is one thing, and those things are another which are called great from it. And this greatness certainly is primarily great, and in a much more excellent way than those things which are great by partaking of it. But since God is not great with that greatness which is not Himself, so that God, being great, is, as it were, partaker of that greatness; â€” otherwise that will be a greatness greater than God, whereas there is nothing greater than God; â€” therefore. He is great with that greatness by which He Himself is that same greatness. And, therefore, as we do not say three essences, so neither do we say three greatnesses; for it is the same thing to God to be, and to be great. For the same reason neither do we say three greats, but one who is great; since God is not great by partaking of greatness, but He is great by Himself being great, because He Himself is His own greatness. Let the same be said also of the goodness, and of the eternity, and of the omnipotence of God, and, in short, of all the predicaments which can be predicated of God, as He is spoken of in respect to Himself, not metaphorically and by similitude, but

^ John X. 30.
properly, if indeed anything can be spoken of Him properly, by the mouth of man.

Chap. xi. â€” What is said relatively in the Trinity.

12. But whereas, in the same Trinity, some things severally are specially predicated, these are in no way said in reference to themselves in themselves, but either in mutual reference or in respect to the creature; and, therefore, it is manifest that such things are spoken relatively, not in the way of substance.

For the Trinity is called one God, great, good, eternal, omnipotent; and the same God Himself may be called His own deity. His own magnitude, His own goodness, His own eternity.

His own omnipotence: but the Trinity cannot in the same way be called the Father, except perhaps metaphorically, in respect to the creature, on account of the adoption of sons.

For that which is written, "Hear, Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord," ought certainly not to be understood as if the Son were excepted, or the Holy Spirit were excepted; which one Lord our God we rightly call also our Father, as regenerating us by His grace. Neither can the Trinity in any wise be called the Son, but it can be called, in its entirety, the Holy Spirit, according to that which is written, "God is a Spirit;" because both the Father is a spirit and the Son is a spirit, and the Father is holy and the Son is holy.

Therefore, since the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one God, and certainly God is holy, and God is a spirit, the Trinity can be called also the Holy Spirit. But yet that Holy Spirit, who is not the Trinity, but is understood as in the Trinity, is spoken of in His proper name of the Holy Spirit relatively, since He is referred both to the Father and to the Son, because the Holy Spirit is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son.

But the relation is not itself apparent in that name, but it is apparent when He is called the gift of God; for He is the gift of the Father and of the Son, because "He proceeds from the Father," * as the Lord says; and because that which the apostle says, "Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His," * he says certainly of the Holy Spirit Him-

1 Dent. vi. 4. 2 joi^ts viii. 24. 3 ^ts viii. 20.


158 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK V.]

self. When we say, therefore, the gift of the giver, and the giver of the gift, we speak in both cases relatively in reciprocal reference. Therefore the Holy Spirit is a certain unutterable communion of the Father and the Son; and on that account, perhaps, He is so called, because the same name is suitable to both the Father and the Son. For He Himself is called specially that which they are called in common; because both the Father is a
spirit and the Son a spirit, both the Father is holy and the Son holy. In order, therefore, that the communion of both may be signified from a name which is suitable to both, the Holy Spirit is called the gift of both. And this Trinity is one God, alone, good, great, eternal, omnipotent; itself its own unity, deity, greatness, goodness, eternity, omnipotence.

Chap. xii. â€” In relative things that are reciprocal, names are sometimes imnting.

13. Neither ought it to influence us â€” since we have said that the Holy Spirit is so called relatively, not the Trinity itself, but He who is in the Trinity â€” that the designation of Him to whom He is referred, does not seem to answer in turn to His designation. For we cannot, as we say the servant of a master, and the master of a servant, the son of a father and the father of a son, because these things are said relatively, so also say here. For we speak of the Holy Spirit of the Father; but, on the other hand, we do not speak of the Father of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit should be understood to be His Son. So also we speak of the Holy Spirit of the Son; but we do not speak of the Son of the Holy Spirit, lest the Holy Spirit be understood to be His Father. For it is the case in many relatives, that no designation is to be found by which those things which bear relation to each other may [in name] mutually correspond to each other. For what is more clearly spoken relatively than the word earnest? Since it is referred to that of which it is an earnest, and an earnest is always an earnest of something. Can we, then, as we say, the earnest of the Father and of the Son, say in turn, the Father of the earnest or the Son of the earnest? But, on the other hand, when we say the gift of the Father and of the

1 2 Cor. V. 5, and Epli. i. 14.

CHAP. XIII.] THE WORD "BEGINNING." 159

Son, we cannot indeed say the Father of the gift, or the Son of the gift; but that these may correspond mutually to each other, we say the gift of the giver and the giver of the gift; because here a word in use may be found, there it cannot.

Chap. xiii. â€” How the ivord heglnnlng is spoken relatively in the Trinity.

14. He is called the Father, therefore, relatively, and He is also relatively said to be the Beginning, and whatever else there may be of the kind; but He is called the Father in relation to the Son, the Beginnings in relation to all thinc^s. which are from Him. So the Son is relatively so called; He is called also relatively the Word and the Image. And in all these appellations He is referred to the Father, but the Father is called by none of them. And the Son is also called the Beginning; for when it was said to Him, " Who art Thou? " He replied, " Even the Beginning, who also speak to you." -^ But is He, pray, the Beginning of the Father? For He intended to show Himself to be the Creator when He said that He was the Beginnings, as the Father also is the
besrinninff of the creature in that all things are from Him. For creator, too, is spoken relatively to creature, as master to servant. And so, when we say, both that the Father is the Beginning, and that the Son is the Beginning, we do not speak of two beginnings of the creature; since both the Father and the Son together is one beginning in respect to the creature, as one Creator, as one God. But if whatever remains within itself and produces or works anything is a beginning to that thing which it produces or works; then we cannot deny that the Holy Spirit also is rightly called the Beginning, since we do not separate Him from the appellation of Creator: and it is written of Him that He works; and assuredly, in working, He remains within Himself; for He Himself is not changed and turned into any of the things which He works. And see what it is that He works:

" But the manifestation of the Spirit," he says, "is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will; " certainly as God " for who can work such great things but God ? " but " it is the same God which worketh all in all." ^ For if we are asked point by point concerning the Holy Spirit, we answer most truly that He is God; and with the Father and the Son together He is one God. Therefore, God is spoken of as one beginning in respect to the creature, not as two or three beginnings.

* John viii. 25.

160 ON THE TrINITY. [BOOK V.]

the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will; " certainly as God " for who can work such great things but God ? " but " it is the same God which worketh all in all." ^ For if we are asked point by point concerning the Holy Spirit, we answer most truly that He is God; and with the Father and the Son together He is one God. Therefore, God is spoken of as one beginning in respect to the creature, not as two or three beginnings.

CiiAP, XIV. â€” The Father and the Son the only beginning of the Holy Spirit.

15. But in their mutual relation to one another in the Trinity itself, if the begetter is a beginning in relation to that which he begets, the Father is a beginning in relation to the Son, because He begets Him; but whether the Father is also a beginning in relation to the Holy Spirit, since it is said,

" He proceeds from the Father," is no small question. Because, if it is so. He will not only be a beginning to that thing which He begets or makes, but also to that which He gives. And here, too, that question comes to light, as it can, which is wont to trouble many. Why the Holy Spirit is not also a son, since He, too, comes forth from the Father, as it is read in the Gospel."^ For the Spirit came forth, not as born, but as given; and so He is not called a son, because He was neither born, as the Only-begotten, nor made, so that by the grace of God He might be born into adoption, as we are. For that which is born of the Father, is referred to the Father only when called Son, and so the Son is the Son of the Father, and not also our Son; but that which is given is referred both to Him who gave, and to those to whom He
gave; and so the Holy Spirit is not only the Spirit of the Father and of the Son who gave Him, but He is also called ours, who have received Him: as "The salvation of the Lord," who gives salvation, is said also to be our salvation, who have received it. Therefore, the Spirit is both the Spirit of God who gave Him, and ours who have received Him. Not, indeed, that spirit of ours by which we

1 1 Cor. xii. 6-11. ^ joim xv. 26. ^ pg. iii. 8.

CHAP. XV.] OF THE HOLY SPIRIT AS THE GIFT. IGI

are, because that is the spirit of a man which is in him; but this Spirit is ours in another mode, viz. that in which we also say, "Give us this day our bread." ^ Although certainly we have received that spirit also, which is called the spirit of a man. "For what hast thou," he says, "which thou didst not receive?" ^ But that is one thing, which we have received that we might be; another, that which we have received that we might be holy. Whence it is also written of John, that he "came in the spirit and power of Elias;" ^ by the spirit of Elias is meant the holy Spirit, whom Elias received. And the same thing is to be understood of Moses, when the Lord says to him, "And I will take of thy spirit, and will put it upon them;" * that is, I will give to them of the Holy Spirit, which I have already given to thee. If, therefore, that also which is given has him for a beginning by whom it is given, since it has received from no other source that which proceeds from him; it must be admitted that the Father and the Son are a beginning of the Holy Spirit, not two beginnings; but as the Father and Son are one God, and one Creator, and one Lord relatively to the creature, so are they one beginning relatively to the Holy Spirit. But the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one beginning in respect to the creature, as also one Creator and one God.

Chap. xy. â€” Whether the Holy Spirit was a gift before as well as after He

loas given.

16. But it is asked further, whether, as the Son, by being born, has not only this, that He is the Son, but absolutely that He is; and so also the Holy Spirit, by being given, has not only this, that He is given, but absolutely that He is â€” whether therefore He was, before He was given, but was not yet a gift; or whether, for the very reason that God was about to give Him, He was already a gift also before He was given. But if He does not proceed unless when He is given, and assuredly could not proceed before there was one to whom He might be given; how, in that case, was He in His very substance, if He is not unless because He is given? just as the Son, by being born, not only has this, that He is a Son, which is said relatively, but absolutely His very substance, so that

1 Matt. vi. 11. 2 1 Cor. iv. 7. ^ l^j^l^i. 17. * Num. xi. 17.
He is. Does the Holy Spirit proceed always, and proceed not in time, but from eternity, but because He so proceeded that He was capable of being given, was already a gift even before there was one to whom He might be given? For there is a difference in meaning between a gift and a thing that has been given. For a gift may exist even before it is given; but it cannot be called a thing that has been given unless it has been given.

Chap. xvi. What is said of God in time, is said relatively, not accidentally.

17. Let it trouble us that the Holy Spirit, although He is co-eternal with the Father and the Son, yet is called something which exists in time; as, for instance, this very thing which we have called Him, a thing that has been given. For the Spirit is a gift eternally, but a thing that has been given in time. For if a lord also is not so called unless when he begins to have a slave, that appellation likewise is relative and in time to God; for the creature is not from all eternity, of which He is the Lord. How then shall we make it good that relative terms themselves are not accidental, since nothing happens accidentally to God in time, because He is incapable of change, as we have argued in the beginning of this discussion? Behold! to be the Lord is not eternal to God; otherwise we should be compelled to say that the creature also is from eternity, since He would not bear rule from all eternity unless the creature also was a servant from all eternity. But as he cannot be a slave who has not a lord, neither can he be a lord who has not a slave. And if there be any one who says that God, indeed, is alone eternal, and that times are not eternal on account of their variety and changeableness, but that times nevertheless did not begin to be in time (for there was no time before times began, and therefore it did not happen to God in time that He should be Lord, since He was Lord of the very times themselves, which assuredly did not begin in time): what will he reply respecting man, who was made in time, and of whom assuredly He was not the Lord before he was of whom He was to be Lord? Certainly to be the Lord of man happened to God in time. And that all dispute may seem to be taken away, certainly to be your Lord, or mine, who have only lately begun to be, happened to God in time. Or if this, too, seems uncertain on account of the obscure question respecting the soul, what is to be said of His being the Lord of the people of Israel? since, although the nature of the soul already existed, which that people had (a matter into which we do not now inquire), yet that people existed not as yet, and the time is apparent when it began to exist. Lastly, that He should be Lord of this or that tree, or of this or that corn crop, which only lately began to be, happened in time; since,
although the matter itself already existed, yet it is one thing to be Lord of the matter, another to be Lord of the already created nature.

For man, too, is lord of the wood at one time, and at another he is lord of the chest, although fabricated of that same wood; which he certainly was not at the time when he was already the lord of the wood. How then shall we make it good that nothing is said of God according to accident, except because nothing happens to His nature by which He may be changed, so that those things are relative accidents which happen in connection with some change of the things of which they are spoken. As a friend is so called relatively: for he does not begin to be one, unless when he has begun to love: therefore some change of will takes place, in order that he may be called a friend. And money, when it is called a price, is spoken of relatively, and yet it was not changed when it began to be a price; nor, again, when it is called a pledge, or any other thing of the kind. If, therefore, money can so often be spoken of relatively with no change of itself, so that neither when it begins, nor when it ceases to be so spoken of, does any change take place in that nature or form of it, whereby it is money; how much more easily ought we to admit, concerning that unchangeable substance of God, that something may be so predicated relatively in respect to the creature, that although it begin to be so predicated in time, yet nothing shall be understood to have happened to the substance itself of God, but to that creature in respect to which it is predicated? "Lord," it is said, "Thou hast been made our refuge." ^ God, therefore, is said to be our refuge relatively, for He is referred to us, and He then becomes our refuge when we flee to Him; pray

' Ps. xc. 1.

164 ON THE TRINITY. [cOOK V.

does anything come to pass then in His nature, which, before we fled to Him, was not? In us therefore some change does take place; for we were worse before we fled to Him, and we become better by fleeing to Him: but in Him there is no change. So also He begins to be our Father, when we are regenerated through His grace, since He gave us power to become the sons of God. ^ Our substance therefore is changed for the better, when we become His sons; and He at the same time begins to be our Father, but without any change of His own substance. Therefore that which begins to be spoken of God in time, and which was not spoken of Him before, is manifestly spoken of Him relatively; yet not according to any accident of God, so that anything should have happened to Him, but clearly according to some accident of that, in respect to which God begins to be called something relatively. When a righteous man begins to be a friend of God, he himself is changed; but far be it from us to say, that God loves any one in time with as it were a new love, which was not in Him before, with whom things gone by have not passed away and things future have been already done.

Therefore He loved all His saints before the foundation of the world, as He predestinated them; but when they are converted and find Him, then they are said to begin to be loved by Him, that what is said may be said in that way in which it can be comprehended by
human affections. So also, when He is said to be wroth with the unrighteous, and gentle with the good, they are changed, not He: just as the light is troublesome to weak eyes, pleasant to those that are strong; namely, by their change, not its own.

1 Jolmi. 12.

CHAP. I.] CHFJST THE POAYEK AXD WISDOM OF GOD. IC

BOOK SIXTH.

THE QUESTION IS mOPOSED, HOW THE APOSTLE CALLS CHPJST "THE POWEPv OF GOD, AND THE WISDOM^^OI^GOD. " AND AN ARGUMENT IS EAISED, WHETHER THE FATHEP>, IS NOT WISDOM HIMSELF, BUT ONLY THE FATHER OF WISDOM; OR WHETHER WISDOM BEGAT WISDOM. BUT THE ANSWER TO THIS IS DE-
FERRED FOR A LITTLE, WHILE THE UNITY AND EQUALITY OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST, ARE PROVED: AND THAT WE OUGHT TO BELIEVE IN A TRINITY, NOT IN A THREEFOLD GOD. LASTLY, THAT SAYING OF HILARY IS EXPLAINED, ETERNITY IN THE FATHER, APPEARANCE IN THE IMAGE, USE IN THE GIFT.

Chap. i. â€” The Son, according to the apostle, Is the p)ower and wisdom of the Father. Hence the reasoning of the Catholics against the earlier Arians. A difficulty is raised, whether the Father is not Wisdom Himself, but only the Father of Wisdom.

1. Some think themselves hindered from admitting the equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, because it is written, "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God;" in that, on this ground, there does not appear to be equality; because the Father is not Himself power and wisdom, but the begetter of power and wisdom. And, in truth, the question is usually asked with no common earnestness, in what way God can be called the Father of power and wisdom. For the apostle says, "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." And hence some on our side have reasoned in this way against the Arians, at least against those who at first set themselves up against the Catholic faith. For Arius himself is reported to have said, that if He is a Son, then He was born; if He was born, there was a time when the Son was not: not understanding that even to be born is, to God, from all eternity; so that the Son is co-
eternal with the Father, as the beditness which is produced and is spread around by fire is coeval with it, and would be co-eternal, if fire were eternal. And therefore some of the later Arians have abandoned that opinion, and have

1 1 Cor. i. 24.

166 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VI.]

confessed that the Son of God did not begin to be in time. But among the arguments which those on our side used to hold against them who said that there was a time when the Son was not, some were also wont to introduce such an argument as this: If the Son of God is the power and wisdom of God, and God was never without power and wisdom, then the Son is co-eternal with God the Father; but the apostle says, "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God;" and a man must be senseless to say that God at any time had not power or wisdom; therefore there was no time when the Son was not.

2. JSTow this argument compels us to say that God the Father is not wise, except by having the wisdom which He begat, not by the Father in Himself being wisdom itself. Further, if it be so, just as the Son also Himself is called God of God, Light of Light, we must consider whether He can be called wisdom of wisdom, if God the Father is not wisdom itself, but only the begetter of wisdom. And if we hold this, why is He not the begetter also of His own greatness, and of His own goodness, and of His own eternity, and of His own omnipotence; so that He is not Himself His own greatness, and His own goodness, and His own eternity, and His own omnipotence; but is great with that greatness which He begat, and good with that goodness, and eternal with that eternity, and omnipotent with that omnipotence, which was born of Him; just as He Himself is not His own wisdom, but is wise with that wisdom which was born of Him? For we need not be afraid of being compelled to say that there are many sons of God, over and above the adoption of the creature, co-eternal with the Father, if He be the begetter of His own greatness, and goodness, and eternity, and omnipotence. For it is easy to reply to this cavil, that it does not at all follow, because many things are named, that He should be the Father of many sons of God; just as it does not follow that He is the Father of two, because Christ is said to be the power of God, and the wisdom of God. For that certainly is the power which is the wisdom, and that is the wisdom which is the power; and in like manner, therefore, of the rest also; so that that is the greatness which is the power, or any other of those things

CIL VI. II.] WHAT IS SAID OF THE TRINITY AXD 8027. 167

either have been mentioned above, or may hereafter be mentioned.

3. But if nothing is spoken of Him in His own substance, except that which is spoken of Him in relation to the Son, that is, that He is His Father, or begetter, or beginning; if also the begetter is by consequence a beginning to that which he begets of himself; but whatever else is spoken of Him is so spoken as with the Son, or rather in the Son; whether that He is great with that greatness which He begat, or just with that justice which He begat, or good with that goodness which He begat, or powerful with that force or power which He begat, or wise with that wisdom which He begat: whereas the Father is not said to be greatness itself, but the begetter of greatness; but the Son, as He is called the Son in His own substance, which He is not called with the Father but in relation to the Father, so is not great in His own substance, but with the Father, of whom He is the greatness; and so also is called wise with the Father, of whom He Himself is the wisdom; just as the Father is called wise with the Son, because He is Avise with that wisdom which He beo-at: therefore the one is not called without the other, whatever they are called in respect to themselves; that is, whatever they are called that manifests their substance, both are so called together; if these things are so, then the Father is not God without the Son, nor the Son God without the Father, but both together are God. And that which is said, " In the beginning was the "Word," means that the Word was in the Father. Or if " In the beginning" is intended to mean, Before all things; then in that which follows, " And the Word was with God," the Son alone is understood to be the Word, not the Father and Son together, as though both were one Word (for He is the Word in the same way as He is the Image, but the Father and Son are not both together the Image, but the Son alone is the Image of the Father: just as He is also the Son of the Father, for both together are not the Son). But in that which is added, " And the Word was with God," there is much reason to understand thus: " The Word," which is the Son alone, " was

168 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VI.]

"vitli God," wliich is not the Father alone, but God the Father and the Son together. But what wonder is there, if this can be said in the case of some twofold things widely different from each other? For what are so different as soul and body?
Yet we can say the soul was with a man, that is, in a man; although the soul is not the body, and man is both soul and body together. So that what follows in the Scripture, " And the Word was God," may be understood thus: The Word, which is not the Father, was God together with the Father.
Are we then to say thus, that the Father is the begetter of His own greatness, that is, the begetter of His own power, or the begetter of His own wisdom; and that the Son is greatness, and power, and wisdom; but that the great, omnipotent, and wise God, is both together? How then God of God, Light of Light? For not both together are God of God, but only the Son is of God, that is to say, of the Father; nor are both together Light of Light, but the Son only is of Light, that is, of the Father. Unless, perhaps, it was in order to intimate and inculcate briefly that the Son is co-eternal with the Father, that it is said,
God of God, and Light of Light, or anything else of the like kind, as if to say. This which is not the Son without the Father, of this which is not the Father without the Son; that is, this Light which is not Light without the Father, of that Light, viz. the Father, which is not Light without the Son; so that, when it is said, God which is not the Son without the Father, and of God which is not the Father without the Son, it may be perfectly understood that the Begetter did not precede that which He begot. And if this be so, then this alone cannot be said of them, namely, this or that of this or that, which they are not both together. Just as the Word cannot be said to be of the Word, because both are not the Word together, but only the Son; nor image of image, since they are not both together the image; nor Son of Son, since both together are not the Son, according to that which is said, "I and my Father are one." For "we are one" means, what Lie is, that am I also; according to essence, not according to relation.

^ Jolm i. 1. "Jolm x. 30.

CHAP. III.] HOW THE FATHER AXD THE SOX ARE ONE. 169

Chap. iir. â€” That the unity of the essence of the Father and the Son is to be gathered from the words, "We are one." The Son is equal to the Father both in wisdom and in all other things.

4. And I know not whether the words, "They are one," are ever found in Scripture as spoken of things of which the nature is different. But if there are more things than one of the same nature, and they differ in sentiment, they are not one, and that so far as they differ in sentiment. For if the disciples were already one by the fact of being men, He would not say, "That they may be one, as we are one," when commending them to the Father. But because Paul and ApoUos were both alike men, and also of like sentiments, "He that planteth," he says, "and he that watereth are one." When, therefore, anything is so called one, that it is not added in what it is one, and yet more things than one are called one, then the same essence and nature is signified, not differing nor disagreeing. But when it is added in what it is one, it may be meant that something is made one out of thin things more than one, though they are different in nature. As soul and body are assuredly not one; for what are so different? unless there be added or understood in what they are one, that is, one man, or one animal. Thence the apostle says, "He who is joined to a harlot, is one body;" he does not say, they are one, or he is one; but he has added "body," as though it were one body composed by being joined together of two different bodies, masculine and feminine. And, "He that is joined unto the Lord," he says, "is one spirit:" he did not say, he that is joined unto the Lord is one, or they are one; but he added, "spirit."
For the spirit of man and the Spirit of God are different in nature; but by being joined they become one spirit of two different spirits, so that the Spirit of God is blessed and perfect without the human spirit, but the spirit of man cannot be blessed without God. ISTor is it without cause, I think, that when the Lord said so much in the Gospel according to John, and so often, of unity itself, whether of His own with the Father, or of ours interchangeably with ourselves; He has nowhere said, that we are also one with Himself, but, " that they may be one as we also are one."* Therefore the Father and the

1 Jolin svii. 11. 2 1 Cor. iii. 8. n Cor. vi. 16, 17. ^Jolm xvii. 11.

170 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VI.]

Son are one, undoubtedly according to unity of substance; and there is one God, and one great, and one wise, as we have argued.

5. Whence then is the Father greater ? For if greater. He is greater by greatness; but whereas the Son is His greatness, neither assuredly is the Son greater than He who begat Him, nor is the Father greater than that greatness, whereby He is great; therefore they are equal. For whence is He equal, if not in that which He is, to whom it is not one thing to be, and another to be great ? Or if the Father is greater in eternity, the Son is not equal in anything whatsoever. For whence equal ? If you say in greatness, that greatness is not equal which is less eternal, and so of all things else. Or is He perhaps equal in power, but not equal in wisdom ? But how is that power which is less wise, equal ? Or is He equal in wisdom, but not equal in power ? But how is that wisdom equal which is less powerful ? It remains, therefore, that if He is not equal in anything, He is not equal in all. But Scripture proclaims, that " He thought it not robbery to be equal with God."^ Therefore any adversary of the truth whatever, provided he feels bound by apostolical authority, must needs confess that the Son is equal with God in every one thing whatsoever. Let him choose that which he will; from it he will be shown, that He is equal in all things which are said of His substance.

Chap. iv. â€” The same argument continued.

6. For in like manner the virtues which are in the human mind, although each has its own several and different meaning, yet are in no way mutually separable; so that, for instance, whosoever were equal in courage, are equal also in prudence, and temperance, and justice. For if you say that such and such men are equal in courage, but that one of them is greater in prudence, it follows that the courage of the other is less prudent, and so neither are they equal in courage, since the courage of the former is more prudent. And so you will find it to be the case with the other virtues, if you consider them one by one. For the question is not of the strength of the body, but of the courage of the mind. How much more

iPhil. ii. 6.
therefore is this the case in that unchangeable and eternal substance, which is incomparably more simple than the human mind is? Since, in the human mind, to be is not the same as to be strong, or prudent, or just, or temperate; for a mind can exist, and yet have none of these virtues. But in God to be is the same as to be strong, or to be just, or to be wise, or whatever is said of that simple multiplicity, or multifold simplicity, whereby to signify His substance. Wherefore, whether we say God of God in such way that this name belongs to each, yet not so that both together are two Gods, but one God; for they are in such way united with each other, as according to the apostle's testimony may take place even in diverse and differing substances; for both the Lord alone is a Spirit, and the spirit of a man alone is assuredly a spirit; yet, if it cleave to the Lord, "it is one spirit: "how much more there, where there is an absolutely inseparable and eternal union, so that He may not seem absurdly to be called as it were the Son of both, when He is called the Son of God, if that which is called God is only said of both together. Or perhaps it is that whatever is said of God so as to indicate His substance, is not said except of both together, nay of the Trinity itself together? Whether therefore it be this or that (which needs a closer inquiry), it is enough for the present to see from what has been said, that the Son is in no respect equal with the Father, if He is found to be unequal in anything which has to do with intimating His substance, as we have already shown. But the apostle has said that He is equal. Therefore the Son is equal with the Father in all things, and is of one and the same substance.

Chap. V. â€” The Holy Spirit also is equal to the Father and the Son in all things.

Y. Wherefore also the Holy Spirit consists in the same unity of substance, and the same equality. For whether He is the unity of both, or the holiness, or the love, or therefore the unity because the love, and therefore the love because the holiness, it is manifest that He is not one of the two, through whom both are joined, through whom the Begotten is loved by the Begetter, and loves Him that begat Him, and through whom, not by participation, but by their own essence, neither

172 ON THE TIIINITY. [BOOK VI.]

by the gift of any superior, but by their own, they are "keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace:" which we are commanded to imitate by grace, both towards God and towards ourselves. "On which two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." So those three are God, one, alone, great, wise, holy, blessed But we are blessed from Him, and through Him, and in Him; because we ourselves are one by His gift, and one spirit with Him, because our soul cleaves to Him so as to follow Him. And it
is good for us to cleave to God, since He will destroy every man who is estranged from Him. Therefore the Holy Spirit, whatever it is, is something common both to the Father and Son. But that communion itself is consubstantial and co-eternal; and if it may fitly be called friendship, let it be so called; but it is more aptly called love. And this is also a substance, since God is a substance, and "God is love," as it is written. But as He is a substance together with the Father and the Son, so that substance is together with them great, and together with them good, and together with them holy, and whatsoever else is said in reference to substance; since it is not one thing to God to be, and another to be great or to be good, and the rest, as we have shown above. For if love is less great therein [i.e. in God] than wisdom, then wisdom is loved in less degree than according to what it is; love is therefore equal, in order that wisdom may be loved according to its being; but wisdom is equal with the Father, as we have proved above; therefore also the Holy Spirit is equal; and if equal, equal in all things, on account of the absolute simplicity which is in that substance. And therefore they are not more than three; One who loves Him who is from Himself, and One who loves Him from whom He is, and Love itself. And if this last is nothing, how is "God love"? If it is not substance, how is God substance?

CHAR. VI. â€” Hoiv God is a substance hotU simple and maivfdd.

8. But if it is asked how that substance is both simple

and manifold; consider, first, why the creature is manifold,

but in no way really simple. And first, all that is body is

1 Epli. iv. 3. 2 Mj^tt^ xxii. 37-40. ^ ps_ixxvii. 28, 27. ^ 1 Joliu iv. 16.

CHAP. YII.] now THE CREATUEEE IS MANIFOLD. 173

composed certainly of parts; so that therein one part is greater, another less, and the whole is greater than any part whatever or how great soever. For the heaven and the earth are parts of the whole bulk of the world; and the earth alone, and the heaven alone, is composed of innumerable parts; and its third part is less than the remainder, and the half of it is less than the whole; and the whole body of the world, which is usually called by its two parts, viz. the heaven and the earth, is certainly greater than the heaven alone or the earth alone.

And in each several body, size is one thing, colour another, shape another; for the same colour and the same shape may remain with diminished size; and the same shape and the same size may remain with the colour changed; and the same shape not remaining, yet the thing may be just as great, and of the same colour. And whatever other things are predicated together of body can be changed either together, or the more part of them without the rest. And hence the nature of body is conclusively proved to be manifold, and in no respect simple.
The spiritual creature also, that is, the soul, is indeed the more simple of the two if compared with the body; but if we omit the comparison with the body, it is manifold, and itself also not simple. For it is on this account more simple than the body, because it is not diffused in bulk through extension of place, but in each body, it is both whole in the whole, and whole in each several part of it; and, therefore, when anything takes place in any small particle whatever of the body, such as the soul can feel, although it does not take place in the whole body, yet the whole soul feels it, since the whole soul is not unconscious of it. But, nevertheless, since in the soul also it is one thing to be skilful, another to be indolent, another to be intelligent, another to be of retentive memory; since cupiditv is one thing, fear another, joy another, sadness another; and since things innumerable, and in innumerable ways, are to be found in the nature of the soul, some without others, and some more, some less; it is manifest that its nature is not simple, but manifold. For nothing simple is changeable, but every creature is changeable.

Chap. vii. â€” God is a Trinity, but not threefold.
But God is truly called in manifold ways, great, good, wise.

174 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK VI.

blessed, true, and whatsoever other thing seems to be said of Him not unworthily: but His greatness is the same as His wisdom; for He is not great by bulk, but by power; and His goodness is the same as His wisdom and greatness, and His truth the same as all those things; and in Him it is not one thing to be blessed, and another to be great, or wise, or true, or good, or in a word to be Himself.

9. Neither, since He is a Trinity, is He therefore to be thought threefold; otherwise the Father alone, or the Son alone, will be less than the Father and Son together. Although, indeed, it is hard to see how we can say, either the Father alone, or the Son alone; since both the Father is with the Son, and the Son with the Father, always and inseparably: not that both are the Father, or both are the Son; but because they are always one in relation to the other, and neither the one nor the other alone.
But because we call even the Trinity itself God alone, although He is always with holy spirits and souls, but say that He only is God, because they are not also God with Him; so we call the Father the Father alone, not because He is separate from the Son, but because they are not both together the Father.

Chap. viii. â€” No addition can he made to the nature of God.

Since, therefore, the Father alone, or the Son alone, or the Holy Spirit alone, is as great as is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit together, in no manner is He to be called threefold. Forasmuch as bodies increase by union of themselves. For although he who cleaves to his wife is one body; yet it is a greater body than if it were that of the husband alone, or of the wife alone. But in spiritual things, when the less adheres to the greater, as the creature to the Creator, the former becomes greater than it was, not the latter. For in
those things which are not great by bulk, to be greater is to be better. And the spirit of any creature becomes better, when it cleaves to the Creator, than if it did not so cleave; and therefore also greater because better. "He," then, "that is joined nnto the Lord is one spirit: "^ but yet the Lord does not therefore become greater, although he who is joined to the Lord does so. In God Himself, therefore, when the equal Son,

ncor. vi. 17.

CILVr. IX.] WHO IS THE OXE TEUE GOD. 175

or the Holy Spirit equal to the Father and the Son, is joined to the equal Father, God does not become greater than each of them severally; because that perfectness cannot increase. But whether it be the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, He is perfect, and God the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit is peEfect; and therefore He is a Trinity rather than threefold.

Chap, ix. — Wheilier one or Hie iJiree persons together are called the only God. 10. And since we are showing how we can say the Father alone, because there is no Father in the Godhead except Himself, we must consider also the opinion which holds that the only true God is not the Father alone, but the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. For if any one should ask whether the Father alone is God, how can it be replied that He is not, unless perhaps we were to say that the Father indeed is God, but that He is not God alone, but that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are God alone ? But then what shall we do with that testimony of the Lord ? For He was speaking to the Father, and had named the Father as Him to whom He was speaking, when He says, " And this is life eternal, that they may know Thee the one true God." -^ And this the Arians indeed usually take, as if the Son were not true God. Passing them by, however, we must see whether, when it is said to the Father, " That they may know Thee the one true God," we are forced to understand it as if He wished to intimate that the Father alone is also the true God; lest we should not understand any to be God, except the three together, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Are we therefore, from the testimony of the Lord, both to call the Father the one true God, and the Son the one true God, and the Holy Spirit the one true God, and the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit together, that is, the Trinity itself together, not three true Gods, but one true God ? Or because He added, " And Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent," are we to supply " the one true God;" and that the order of the words is this, "That they may know Thee, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent, the one true God " ? Why then did He omit to mention the

* John xvii. 3.

176 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VI.]
Holy Spirit? Is it because it follows, that wheresoever we name One who cleaves to One by a harmony so great, that through this harmony both are one, forthwith from this that harmony itself must be understood also, although it is not mentioned? For in that place, too, the apostle seems as it were to pass over the Holy Spirit; and yet there, too. He is understood, where he says, "All are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." ^

And again, " The head of the woman is the man, the head of the man is Christ, and the head of Christ is God." ^ But again, if God is only all three together, how can God be the head of Christ, that is, the Trinity the head of Christ, since Christ is in the Trinity in order that it may be the Trinity? Is that which is the Father with the Son, the head of that which is the Son alone? For the Father with the Son is God, but the Son alone is Christ: especially since it is the Word already made flesh that speaks; and according to this His humiliation also, the Father is greater than He, as He says, " for my Father is greater than I;" ^ so that the very being of God, which is one to Him with the Father, is itself the head of the man who is mediator, which He is alone.* For if we rightly call the mind the chief thing of man, that is, as it were the head of the human substance, although the man himself together with the mind is man; why is not the "Word with the Father, which together is God, much more suitably and much more the head of Christ, although Christ as man cannot be understood except with the Word which was made flesh? But this, as we have already said, we shall consider somewhat more carefully hereafter. At present the equality and one and the same substance of the Trinity has been demonstrated as briefly as possible, that in whatever way that other question be determined, the more rigorous discussion of which we have deferred, nothing may hinder us from confessing the absolute equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

CHAP. X. Of the attributes assigned by Hilai-y to each person. The Trinity is represented in things that are made.

11. A certain writer, when he would briefly intimate the special attributes of each of the persons in the Trinity, tells us that " Eternity is in the Father, form in the Image, use in the

Â» 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. ^ i Cor. xi. 3. = Jolm xiv. 28. * 1 Tim. ii. 5.

CHAP. X.] OF A SAYING OF HIL ART'S. 177

Gift" And since he was a man of no mean authority in handling the Scriptures, and in the assertion of the faith, for it is Hilary who put this in his book {On the Trinity, ii.}; I have searched into the hidden meaning of these words as far as I can, that is, of the Father, and the Image, and the Gift, of eternity, and of form, and of use. And I do not think that he intended more by the word eternity, than that the Father has not a father from whom He is; but the Son is from the Father, so as to be, and so as to be co-eternal with Him. For if an image perfectly fills the measure of that of which it is the image, then the image is made equal to that of which it is the image, not the latter to its own image. And in respect
to this image he has named form, I believe on account of the quality of beauty, where
there is at once such great fitness, and prime equality, and prime likeness, differing in
nothing, and unequal in no respect, and in no part unlike, but answering exactly to Him
whose image it is: where there is prime and absolute life, to whom it is not one thing to
live, and another to be, but the same thing to be and to live; and prime and absolute
intellect, to whom it is not one thing to live, another to understand, but to understand is to
live, and is to be, and all things are one: as though a perfect word, to which nothing is
wanting, and a certain skill of the omnipotent and wise God, full of all living,
unchangeable sciences, and all one in it, as itself is one from one, with whom it is one.
Therein God knew all things which He made by it; and therefore, while times pass away
and succeed, nothing passes away or succeeds to the knowledge of God. For things
which are created are not therefore known by God, because they have been made; and
not rather have been therefore made, even although changeable, because they are known
unchangeably by Him. Therefore that unspeakable conjunction of the Father and His
image is not without fruition, without love, without joy. Therefore that love, delight,
felicity, or blessedness, if indeed it can be worthily expressed by any human word, is
called by him, in short. Use; and is the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, not begotten, but the
sweetness of the begetter and of the begotten, filling all creatures according to their
capacity with abundant bountifulness and copiousness, that they may keep their proper
order and rest satisfied in their proper place.

DE TRIN. M

178 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK YI.

12. Therefore all these things which are made by divine skill, show in themselves a
certain unity, and form, and order; for each of them is both some one thing, as are the
several natures of bodies and dispositions of souls; and is fashioned in some form, as are
the figures or qualities of bodies, and the various learning or skill of souls; and seeks or
preserves a certain order, as are the several weights or combinations of bodies, and the
loves or delights of souls. When therefore we regard the Creator, who is understood by
the things that are made,-^ we must needs understand the Trinity, of whom there appear
traces in the creature, as is fitting. For in that Trinity is the supreme source of all things,
and the most perfect beauty, and the most blessed delight. Those three, therefore, both
seem to be mutually determined to each other, and are in themselves infinite. But here in
corporeal things, one thing alone is not as much as three together, and two are something
more than one; but in that highest Trinity one is as much as the three together, nor are
two anything more than one. And They are infinite in themselves. So both each are in
each, and all in each, and each in all, and all in all, and all are one.
Let him who sees this, whether in part, or "through a glass and in an enigma," ^ rejoice in
knowing God; and let him honour Him as God, and give thanks; but let him who does not
see it, strive to see it through piety, not to cavil at it through blindness. Since God is one,
but yet is a Trinity. ISTEither are we to take the words as used indiscriminately, " of
whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things;" nor yet to many gods, but "to Him, be glory for ever and ever. Amen."^  

1 Rom. i. 20. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 12. Darkly, A.V. s p,om. xi. 36, in A.Y.

CHAP. I.] WHICH OF THE PEESOXS IS WISDOM. 179

BOOK SEVENTH.

THE QUESTION IS EXPLAINED, WHICH HAD BEEN DEFERRED IN THE PREVIOUS BOOK, VIZ. THAT GOD THE FATHER, WHO BEGAT THE SON HIS POWER AND WISDOM, IS NOT ONLY THE FATHER OF POWER AND WISDOM, BUT ALSO HIMSELF POWER AND WISDOM; AND SIMILARLY THE HOLY SPIRIT: YET THAT THERE ARE NOT THREE POWERS OR THREE WISDOMS, BUT ONE POWER AND ONE WISDOM, AS THERE IS ONE GOD AND ONE ESSENCE. INQUIRY IS THEN MADE, WHY THE LATINS SAY ONE ESSENCE, THREE PERSONS, IN GOD; BUT THE GREEKS, ONE ESSENCE, THREE SUBSTANCES OR HYPOSTASES: AND BOTH MODES OF EXPRESSION ARE SHOWN TO ARISE FROM THE NECESSITIES OF SPEECH, THAT WE MIGHT HAVE AN ANSWER TO GIVE WHEN ASKED, WHAT THREE, WHILE TRULY CONFESSING THAT THERE ARE THREE, VIZ. THE FATHER, AND THE SON, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Chap. i. â€” Augustine returns to the question, whether each person of the Trinity by itself is wisdom. With what difficulty, or in what way, the proposed question is to be solved.

1. Let us now inquire more carefully, so far as God grants, into that which a little before we deferred; whether each / person also in the Trinity can also by Himself and not with the other two be called God, or great, or wise, or true, or omnipotent, or just, or anything else that can be said of God, not relatively, but in respect to substance; or whether these things cannot be said except when the Trinity is understood. -j- Eor the question is raised, â€” because it is written, " Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God, "^- â€” whether He is so the Father of His own wisdom and His own power, as that He is wise with that wisdom which He begat, and powerful with that power which He begat; and whether, since He is always powerful and wise. He always begat power and wisdom.
Eor if it be so, then, as we have said, why is He not also the Eather of His own greatness by which He is great, and of His own goodness by which He is good, and of His own justice by which He is just, and whatever else there is? Or if all these things are understood, although under more names than

1 1 Cor. i. 24.

180 ON THE TRIXTY. [BOOK VII.]

one, to be in the same wisdom and power, so that that is greatness which is power, that is goodness which is wisdom, and that again is wisdom which is power, as we have already argued; then let us remember, that when I mention any one of these, I am to be taken as if I mentioned all. It is asked, then, whether the Father also by Himself is wise, and is Himself His own wisdom itself; or whether He is wise in the same way as He speaks. For He speaks by the Word which He begat, not by the word which is uttered, and sounds, and passes away, but by the Word which was with God, and the Word was God, and all things were made by Him: by the Word which is equal to Himself, by whom He always and unchangeably utters Himself. For He is not Himself the Word, as He is not the Son nor the image. But in speaking (putting aside those words of God in time which are produced in the creature, for they sound and pass away, â€” in speaking then) by that co-eternal Word, He is not understood singly, but with that Word itself, without whom certainly He does not speak. Is He then in such way wise as He is one who speaks, so as to be in such way wisdom, as He is the Word, and so that to be the Word is to be wisdom, that is, also to be power, so that power and wisdom and the Word may be the same, and be so called relatively as the Son and the image:

and that the Father is not singly powerful or wise, but together with the power and wisdom itself which He created; just as He is not singly one who speaks, but by that Word and together with that Word which He begat; and in like way great by that and together with that greatness which He begat?

And if He is not great by one thing, God by another, but great by that whereby He is God, because it is not one thing to Him to be great and another to be God; it follows that neither is He God singly, but by that and together with that Godhead which He begat; that so the Son is the Godhead of the Father, as He is the wisdom and power of the Father, and as He is the Word and image of the Father: and that because it is not one thing to Him to be, another to be God, the Son therefore is also the essence of the Father, as He is His word and image; and that hence also â€” except that He is

â– > Jolui i. 1, 3.

CHAP. I.] GOD THE FATHER IS HIMSELF POWER AND WISDOM. 181
the Father is not anything, unless because He has the Son; that not only that which is meant by Father (which it is manifest that He is not called relatively to Himself but to the Son, and therefore is the Father because He has the Son), but altogether that He is that which He is in respect to His substance, He therefore is, because He begat His own essence.

For as He is great, only with that greatness which He begat, so also He is, only with that essence which He begat; because it is not one thing to Him to be, and another to be great. Is He therefore the Father of His own essence, in the same way as He is the Father of His own greatness, as He is the Father of His own power and wisdom? since His greatness is the same as His power, and His essence the same as His greatness.

2. This discussion has arisen from that which is written, that "Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God."

Wherefore our discourse is compressed into these narrow limits, while we desire to speak things unspeakable; that either we must say that Christ is not the power of God and the wisdom of God, and so shamelessly and impiously resist the apostle; or we must acknowledge that Christ is indeed the power of God and the wisdom of God, but that His Father is not the Father of His own power and wisdom, which is not less impious; for so neither will He be the Father of Christ, because Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God; or that the Father is not powerful with His own power, or wise with His own wisdom: and who shall dare to say this? Or yet, again, that the Father is not anything in respect to His own substance; and that not only that He is the Father, but altogether that He is, is said relatively to the Son. How then can the Son be of the same essence as the Father, seeing that the Father, in respect to Himself, is neither His own essence, nor is at all in respect to Himself, but even His essence is in relation to the Son? But, on the contrary, much more is He of one and the same essence, since the Father and Son

182 on THE TRINITY. [BOOK VII.]

are one and the same essence; seeing that the Father has His being itself not in respect to Himself, but to the Son, which essence He begat, and by which essence He is whatever He is.

Therefore neither is in respect to Himself and both are said relatively the one to the other. Or is the Father alone not only called Father, but altogether whatever He is called, relatively to the Son, but the Son is predicated of also in reference to Himself? And if it be so, what is predicated of Him in reference to Himself? Is it His essence itself? But the Son is the essence of the Father, as He is the power and wisdom of the Father, as He is the Word of the Father, and the image of the Father. Or if the Son is called essence in reference to Himself, but the Father is not essence, but the begetter of the essence, and is not in respect to Himself, but by that very essence which He begat; as He is great by that greatness which He begat: therefore the Son is also called greatness in respect to Himself;
therefore. He is also called, in like manner, power, and wisdom, and word, and image. But what can be more absurd than that He should be called image in respect to Himself? Or if image and word are not the very same with power and wisdom, but the former are spoken relatively, and the latter in respect to self, not to another; then we get to this, that the Father is not wise with that wisdom which He begat, because He Himself cannot be spoken relatively to it, and it cannot be spoken relatively to Him. For all things which are said relatively are said reciprocally; therefore it remains that even in essence the Son is spoken of relatively to the Father. But from this is deduced a most unexpected sense: that essence itself is not essence, or at least that, when it is called essence, not essence but something relative is intimated. As when we speak of a master, essence is not intimated, but a relative which has reference to a slave; but when we speak of a man, or any such thing which is said in respect to self, not to anything else, then essence is intimated.

Therefore when a man is called a master, man himself is essence, but he is called master relatively; for he is called man in respect to himself, but master in respect to his slave. But in the point from which we started, if essence itself is spoken relatively, essence itself is not essence. Add further.

CHAP, 1] EELATIOX PRESUPPOSES ESSENCE. 183

that all essence which is spoken relatively, is also something, although the relation be taken away; as e.g. in the case of a man who is a master, and a man who is a slave, and a horse that is a beast of burden, and money that is a pledge, the man, and the horse, and the money are spoken in respect to themselves, and are substances or essences; but master, and slave, and beast of burden, and pledge, are spoken relatively to something. But if there were not a man, that is, some substance, there would be none who could be called relatively a master; and if there were no horse having a certain essence, there would be nothing that could be called relatively a beast of burden; so if money were not some kind of substance, it could not be called relatively a pledge. Wherefore, if the Father also is not something in respect to Himself, then there is no one at all that can be spoken of relatively to something. For it is not as it is with colour. The colour of a thing is referred to the thing coloured, and colour is not spoken at all in reference to substance, but is always of something that is coloured; but that thing of which it is the colour, even if it is referred to colour in respect to its being coloured, is yet, in respect to its being a body, spoken of in respect to substance. But in no way may we think in like manner that the Father cannot be called anything in respect to His own substance, but that whatever He is called, He is called in relation to the Son; while the same Son is spoken of both in respect to His own substance and in relation to the Father, when He is called great greatness, and powerful power, plainly in respect to Himself, and the greatness and power of the great and powerful Father, by which the Father is great and powerful. It is not therefore so, but both are substance, and both are one substance. And as it is absurd to say that whiteness is not white, so is it absurd to say that Avisdom is not wise; and as whiteness is called white in respect to
itself, so also wisdom is called wise in respect to itself. But the whiteness of a body is not an essence, since the body itself is the essence, and that is a quality of it; and hence also a body is said from that quality to be white, to which body to be is not the same thing as to be white. For the form in it is one thing, and the colour another; and both are not in themselves, but in a certain bulk.

184 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VII.]

which bulk is neither form nor colour, but is formed and coloured. True wisdom is both wise, and wise in itself. And since in the case of every soul that becomes wise by partaking of wisdom, if it again becomes foolish, yet wisdom in itself remains; nor when that soul was changed into folly is the wisdom likewise so changed; therefore wisdom is not in him who becomes wise by it, in the same manner as whiteness is in the body which is by it made white. For when the body has been changed into another colour, that whiteness will not remain, but will altogether cease to be. But if the Father also who begat wisdom is made wise by it, and to be is not to Him the same as to be wise, then the Son is His quality, not His offspring; and there will no longer be absolute simpleness in the Godhead. But far be it from being so, since in truth in the Godhead is absolutely simple essence, and therefore to be is there the same as to be wise. But if to be is there the same as to be wise, then the Father is not wise by that wisdom which He begat; otherwise He did not beget it, but it begat Him. For what else do we say when we say, that to Him to be is the same as to be wise, unless that He is by that whereby He is wise ? Wherefore, that which is the cause to Him of being wise, is itself also the cause to Him that He is; and accordingly, if the wisdom which He begat is the cause to Him of being wise, it is also the cause to Him that He is; and this cannot be the case, except either by begetting or by creating Him. But no one ever said in any sense that wisdom is either the begetter or the creator of the Father; for what could be more senseless ? Therefore both the Father Himself is wisdom, and the Son is in such way called the wisdom of the Father, as He is called the light of the Father; that is, that in the same manner as light from light, and yet both one light, so we are to understand wisdom of wisdom, and yet both one wisdom; and therefore also one essence, since there to be is the same as to be wise. For what to be wise is to wisdom, and to be able is to power, and to be eternal is to eternity, and to be just to justice, and to be great to greatness, that being itself is to essence. And since in that simpleness to be wise is nothing else than to be, therefore wisdom there is the same as essence.

CHAP. IL] the father and the SOX TOGETHER ONE AVISDOM. 18^
3. Therefore the Father and the Son together are one
d essence, and one greatness, and
one truth, and one wisdom.+

But the Father and Son both together are not one Word, because both together are not one Son. For as the Son is referred to the Father, and is not so called in respect to Himself, so also the word is referred to him whose word it is, when it is called the word. Since He is the Son in that He is the Word, and He is the Word in that He is the Son. Inasmuch, therefore, as the Father and the Son together are certainly not one Son, it follows that the Father and the Son together are not the one Word of both. And therefore He is not the Word in that He is wisdom; since He is not called the Word in respect to Himself, but only relatively to Him whose Word He is, as He is called the Son in relation to the Father; but He is wisdom by that whereby He is essence. And therefore, because one essence, one wisdom. But since the Word is also wisdom, yet is not thereby the Word in that it is wisdom; for He is understood to be the Word relatively, but wisdom essentially: let us understand, that when He is called the Word, it is as much as to say, wisdom that is born, so as to be both the Son and the image; and that when these two words are used, namely wisdom (is) horn, in one of the two, namely ho7ii, both word, and image, and Son, are understood, and in all these names essence is not expressed, since they are spoken relatively; but in the other word, namely wisdom, since it is spoken also in respect to substance, for wisdom is wise in itself, essence also is expressed, and that being of His which is to be wise.

Whence the Father and Son together are one wisdom, because one essence, and singly wisdom of wisdom, as essence of essence.

And hence they are not therefore not one essence, because the Father is not the Son, and the Son is not the Father, or because the Father is unbegotten, but the Son is begotten: since by these names their relative attributes are expressed. But both together are one wisdom and one essence, wherein to be is the same as to be wise. And both together are not the Word or the Son, since to be is not the same as to be the Word or the Son,

186 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK YII.

as we have already sufficiently shown that these terms are spoken relatively.

Chap. hi. â€” Why the Son chiefly is intimated in the Scriptures by the name of wisdom, ivhile hath the Father and the Holy Spirit are tuisdom. Tha the Holy Spirit, together with the Father and the Son, is one wisdom.

4. Why, then, is scarcely anything ever said in the Scriptures of wisdom, unless to show that it is begotten or created of God?

â€” begotten in the case of that wisdom by which all things are made; but created or made, as in men, when they are converted to that wisdom which is not created and made but begotten, and are so enlightened; for in these men themselves there comes to be something which may be called their wisdom:
even as the Scriptures foretell or narrate, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;" for in this way Christ was made wisdom, because He was made man. Is it on this account that wisdom does not speak in these books, nor is anything said of it, except to declare that it is born of God, or made by Him, although the Father is Himself wisdom; because that wisdom ought to be commended and imitated by us, by the imitation of which we are fashioned? For the Father speaks it, that it may be His word: yet not as a word producing a sound proceeds from the mouth, or is thought before it is pronounced. For this word is completed in certain spaces of time, but that is eternal, and speaks to us by enlightening us, what ought to be spoken to men, both of itself and of the Father.

And therefore He says, "'No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him: "' since the Father reveals by the Son, that is, by His Word. For if that word which we utter, and which is temporal and transitory, declares both itself, and that of which we speak, how much more the Word of God, by which all things are made? For this Word so declares the Father as He is the Father; because both itself so is, and is that which is the Father, in so far as it is wisdom and essence. For in so far as it is the Word, it is not what the Father is; because the Word is not the Father, and word is spoken relatively, as is also Son, which assuredly is not the Father. And therefore Christ is the power

* Jolm i. 14. 2 jiatt. xi. 27.

CHAP. III.] THE SON CHIEFLY MEANT BY WISDOM.

and wisdom of God, because He Himself, being also power and wisdom, is from the Father, who is power and wisdom; as He is light of the Father, who is light, and the fountain of life with God the Father, who is Himself assuredly the fountain of life. For "with Thee," He says, "is the fountain of life, and in Thy light shall we see light." -^ Because, "as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself: " and, "He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:" and this light, "the Word," was "with God;" but "the Word also was God:" and "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all:" but a light that is not corporeal, but spiritual; yet not in such way spiritual, that it was wrought by illumination, as it was said to the apostles, "Ye are the light of the world," ^ but "the light which lighteth every man," that very supreme wisdom itself who is God, of whom we now treat. The Son therefore is Wisdom of wisdom, namely the Father, as He is Light of light, and God of God; so that both the Father singly is light, and the Son singly is light; and the Father singly is God, and the Son singly is God: therefore the Father also singly is wisdom, and the Son singly is wisdom. And as both together are one light and one God, so both are one wisdom. But the Son is "by God made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification;" ^ because we turn ourselves to Him in time, that is, from some particular time, that we may remain with Him for ever. And He Himself from a certain time was "the Word made flesh, and dwelt among us."
5. On this account, then, when anything concerning wisdom is declared or narrated in the Scriptures, whether as itself speaking, or where anything is said of it, the Son chiefly is intimated to us. And by the example of Him who is the image, let us also not depart from God, since we also are the image of God: not indeed that which is equal to Him, since we are made so by the Father through the Son, and not born of the Father, as that is. And we are so, because we are enlightened with lidit; but that is so, because it is the lidit that enlightens; and which, therefore being without pattern,

1 Ps. xxxvi. 9. - John v. 2C. = Jolm i. 9, 1.

* 1 John i. 5. ^ Matt. y. 14. <^ 1 Cor. i. 30.

188 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VII.]

is to IIS a pattern. For He does not imitate any one going before Him, in respect to the Father, from whom He is is never separable at all, since He is the very same substance with Him from whom He is. But we by striving imitate Him who abides, and follow Him who stands still, and walking in Him, reach out towards Him; because He is made for us a way in time by His humiliation, which is to us an eternal abiding-place by His divinity. For since to pure intellectual spirits, who have not fallen through pride. He gives an example in the form of God and as equal with God and as God; so, in order that He might also give Himself as an example of returning to fallen man, who on account of the uncleanness of sins and the punishment of mortality cannot see God, " He emptied Himself;" not by changing His own divinity, but by assuming our changeableness: and " taking upon Him the form of a servant," -^ " He came to us into this world," ^ who " was in this world," because " the world was made by Him;"^ that He might be an example upwards to those who see God, an example downwards to those who admire man, an example to the sound to persevere, an example to the sick to be made whole, an example to those who are to die that they may not fear, an example to the dead that they may rise again, " that in all things He might have the pre-eminence." * So that, because man ought not to follow any except God to blessedness, and cannot perceive God; by following God made man, he might follow at once Him whom he could perceive, and whom he ought to follow. Let us then love Him and cleave to Him, by charity spread abroad in our hearts, through the Holy Spirit which is given unto us.^ It is not therefore to be wondered at, if, on account of the example which the image, which is equal to the Father, gives to us, in order that we may be refashioned after the image of God, Scripture, when it speaks of wisdom, speaks of the Son, whom we follow by living wisely; although the Father also is wisdom, as He is both light and God.

6. The Holy Spirit also, whether we are to call Him that absolute love which joins together Father and Son, and joins

' Phil. ii. 7. 2 1 Tim. i. 15. ^ John i. 10.
US also from beneath, that so that is not unfitly said which is written, " God is love;" ^ how is He not also Himself wisdom, since He is light, because " God is light"? or whether after any other way the essence of the Holy Spirit is to be singly and properly named; then, too, since He is God, He is certainly light; and since He is light, He is certainly wisdom.

But that the Holy Spirit is God, Scripture proclaims by the apostle, who says, " Know ye not that ye are the temple of God? " and immediately subjoins, " And the Spirit of God dwelleth in you:"^ for God dwelleth in His own temple. For the Spirit of God does not dwell in the temple of God as a servant, since he says more plainly in another place, " Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, and which ye have of God, and ye are not your own? For ye are bought with a great price: therefore glorify God in your body." ^ But what is wisdom, except spiritual and unchangeable light? For yonder sun also is light, but it is corporeal; and the spiritual creature also is light, but it is not unchangeable. Therefore the Father is light, the Son is light, and the Holy Spirit is light; but together not three lights, but one light. And so the Father is wisdom, the Son is wisdom, and the Holy Spirit is wisdom, and together not three wisdoms, but one wisdom: and because in the Trinity to be is the same as to be wise, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are one essence.

Either in the Trinity is it one thing to be and another to be God; therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are one God.

For the sake, then, of speaking of things that cannot be uttered, that we may be able in some way to utter what we are able in no way to utter fully, our Greek friends have spoken of one essence, three substances; but the Latins of one essence or substance, three persons; because, as we have already said,* essence usually means nothing else than substance in our language, that is, in Latin. And provided that what is said is understood only in a mystery, such a way of speaking was ^ 1 John iv. 8. ^ i Cor, iii. 16. ^i Cor. vi. 19, 20. * Bk. v. c. 28.

sufficient, in order that there might be something to say when it was asked what the three are, which the true faith pronounces to be three, when it both declares that the Father is not the Son, and that the Holy Spirit, which is the gift of God, is neither the Father nor the Son. When, then, it is asked what the three are, or who the three are, we betake ourselves
to the finding out of some special or general name under which we may embrace these
three; /and no such name occurs to the mind, because the supereminen
cence of the Godhead surpasses the power of customary speech. For God is more truly thought than He is
uttered, and exists more truly than He is thought. For when we say that Jacob was not the
same as Abraham, but that Isaac was neither Abraham nor Jacob, certainly we confess
that they are three, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But when it is asked what three, we reply
three men, calling them in the plural by a specific name; but if we were to say three
animals, then by a generic name; for man, as the ancients have defined him, is a rational,
mortal animal: or again, as our Scriptures usually speak, three souls, since it is fitting to
call the whole from the better part, that is, to call both body and soul, which is the whole
man, from the soul; for so it is said that seventy-five souls went down into Egypt with
Jacob, instead of saying so many men.\^ Again, when we say that your horse is not mine,
and that a third belonging to some one else is neither mine nor yours, then we confess
that there are three; and if any one ask what three, we answer three horses by a specific
name, but three animals by a generic one. And yet again, when we say that an ox is not a
horse, but that a dog is neither an ox nor a horse, we speak of a three;
and if any one
questions us what three, we do not speak now by a specific name of three horses, or three
oxen, or three dogs, because the three are not contained under the same species, but by a
generic name, three animals; or if under a higher genus, three substances, or three
creatures, or three natures. But whatsoever things are expressed in the plural number
specifically by one name, can also be expressed generically by one name.
But all things which are generically called by one name cannot also be called specifically
by one name. For three horses,

1 Gen. xlvi. 27, and Dent. x. 22.

CHAP. IV.] WHY THREE POSOXS BUT ONE GOD. 191

which is a specific name, we also call three animals; but a horse, and an ox, and a dog,
we call only three animals or substances, which are generic names, or anything else that
can be spoken generically concerning them; but we cannot speak of them as three horses,
or oxen, or, dogs, which are specific names; for we express those things by one name,
although in the plural number, which have that in common that is signified by the name.
For Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, have in common that which is man; therefore they
are called three men: a horse also, and an ox, and a dog, have in common that which is
animal; therefore they are called three animals. So three several laurels we also call three
trees; but a laurel, and a myrtle, and an olive, we call only three trees, or three substances,
or three natures: and so three stones we call also three bodies; but stone, and wood, and
iron, we call only three bodies, or by any other higher generic name by which they can be
called. ' Of the Father, therefore, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, seeing that they are three,
let us ask what three they are, and what they have in common./ For the being the Father is
not common to them, so that they should be interchangeably fathers to one another: as
friends, since they are so called relatively to each other, can be called three friends,
because they are so mutually to each other. But this is not the case in the Trinity, since
the Father only is there father; and not Father of two, but of the Son only. ISTeither are they three Sons, since the Father there is not the Son, nor is the Holy Spirit. IN'either three Holy Spirits, because the Holy Spirit also, in that proper meaning by which He is also called the gift of God, is neither the Father nor the Son. What three therefore ? 'or if three persons, then that which is meant by person is common to them; therefore that name is either specific or generic to them, if we regard the custom of speech./ But where there is no difference of nature, there things that are more in number are so expressed generically, that they can also be expressed specifically. For the difference of nature causes, that a laurel, and a myrtle, and an olive, and a horse, and an ox, and a dog, are not called by the specific name, the former of three laurels, or the latter of three oxen, but by the generic name, the former of three trees, and the latter of three animals. But here, where

192 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK VII.]

there is no difference of essence, it is necessary that these three should have a specific name, which yet is not to be found.

Tor person is a generic name, insomuch that man also can be so called, although there is so great a difference between man and God^  

8. Further in that very generic word, if on this account we say three persons, because that which person means is common to them (otherwise they can in no way be so called, just as they are not called three sons, because that which son means is not common to them); why do we not also say three Gods ? For certainly, since the Father is a person, and the Son a person, and the Holy Spirit a person, therefore there are three persons: since then the Father is God, and the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God, why not three Gods ? Or else, since on account of their ineffable union these three are together one God, why not also one person; that so we could not say three persons, although we call each a person singly, just as we cannot say three Gods, although we call each singly God, whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit ? Is it because Scripture does not say three Gods ? But neither do we find that Scripture anywhere mentions three persons. Or is it because Scripture does not call these three, either three or one person (for we read of the person of the Lord, but not of the Lord as a person), that therefore it was lawful through the mere necessity of speaking and reasoning to say three persons, not because Scripture says it, but because Scripture does not contradict it: whereas, if we were to say three Gods, Scripture would contradict it, which says, " Hear, Israel; the Lord thy God is one God " ? ^ Why then is it not also lawful to say three essences; which, in like manner, as Scripture does not say, so neither does it contradict ? For if essence is a specific name common to three, why are They not to be called three essences, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called three men, because man is the specific name common to all men ? But if essence is not a specific name, but a generic one, since man, and cattle, and tree, and constellation, and angel, are called essences; why are not these called three essences, as three horses are called three animals, and three laurels are
called three trees, and three stones three bodies? Or if they are not called three essences, but one essence, on account of the unity of the Trinity, why is it not the case, that on account of the same unity of the Trinity they are not to be called three substances or three persons, but one substance and one person? For as the name of essence is common to them, so that each singly is called essence, so the name of either substance or person is common to them. For that which must be understood of persons according to our usage, this is to be understood of substances according to the Greek usage; for they say three substances, one essence, in the same way as we say three persons, one essence or substance.

9. What therefore remains, except that we confess that these terms sprang from the necessity of speaking, when copious reasoning was required against the devices or errors of the heretics? For when human weakness endeavoured to utter in speech to the senses of man what it grasps in the secret places of the mind in proportion to its comprehension respecting the Lord God its creator, whether by devout faith, or by any discernment whatsoever; it feared to say three essences, lest any difference should be understood to exist in that absolute equality. Again, it could not say that there were not three somewhats, for it was because Sabellius said this that he fell into heresy, or it must be devoutly believed, as most certainly known from the Scriptures, and must be grasped by the eye of the mind with undoubting perception, that there is both Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit; and that the Son is not the same with the Father, nor the Holy Spirit the same with the Father or the Son. It sought then what three it should call them, and answered substances or persons; by which names it did not intend diversity to be meant, but singleness to be denied: that not only unity might be understood therein from the being called one essence, but also Trinity from the being called three substances or persons. For if it is the same thing with God to be as to subsist, they were not to be called three substances, in such sense as they are not called three essences; just as, because it is the same thing with God to be as to be wise, as we do not say three essences, so neither three

DE TEIN. N

194 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK VII.]

to be God as to be, it is not right to say three essences, as it is not right to say three Gods. But if it is one thing to God to be, another to subsist, as it is one thing to God to be, another to be the Father or the Lord; for that which He is, is spoken in respect to Himself, but He is called Father in relation to the Son, and Lord in relation to the creature which
serves Him; therefore He subsists relatively, as He begets relatively, and bears rule relatively: so then substance will be no longer substance, because it will be relative. For as from being He is called essence, so from subsisting we speak of substance. But it is absurd that substance should be spoken relatively, for everything subsists in respect to itself; how much more God?

Chap. v. â€” In God, substance is spoken improperly, essence properly.

10. If, however, it is fitting that God should be said to subsist â€” (For that word is rightly understood of those things, in which as subjects those things are, which are said to be in a subject, as colour or shape in body. For body subsists, and so is substance; but those things are in the body, which subsists and is their subject, and they are not substances, but are in a substance: and so, if either that colour or that shape ceases to be, it does not deprive the body of being a body, because it is not of the being of body, that it should retain this or that shape or colour; therefore neither changeable nor simple things are properly called substances.) â€” But if God subsists so that He can be properly called a substance, then there is something in Him as it were in a subject, and He is not simple, i.e. such that to Him to be is the same as is anything else that is said concerning Him in respect to Himself; as, for instance, great, omnipotent, good, and whatever of this kind is not unfitly said of God. But it is an impiety to say that God subsists, and is a subject to His own goodness, and that this goodness is not a substance or rather essence, and that God Himself is not His own goodness, but that it is in Him as in a subject. And hence it is clear that God is improperly called substance, in order that He may be understood to be by the more usual name essence, which He is truly and properly called; so that perhaps it is right that God alone should be called essence. For He is truly alone, because He is unchangeable; and

CHAP. VI.] SUBSTANCE NOT PROPERLY SPOKEN OF GOD. 195

declared this to be His own name to His servant Moses, when He says, "I am that I am;" and, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: He who is hath sent me unto you." ^ However, whether He be called essence, which He is properly called, or substance, which He is called improperly. He is called both in respect to Himself, not relatively to anything; whence to God to be is the same thing as to subsist; and so the Trinity, if one essence, is also one substance. Perhaps therefore they are more conveniently called three persons than three substances.

Chap. vi. â€” Whj we do not in the TrlnUy speaTc of one person, and three essences. What lie ought to believe concerning the Trinity ivho does not receive ivhat is said above. If an both is after the image, and is the image of God.

11. But lest I should seem to favour ourselves, let us make this further inquiry. Although they also, if they pleased, as they call three substances three hypostases, so might call three persons three "prosopa." But they preferred that word which, perhaps, was more in accordance with the usage of their language. For the case is the same with the word
persons also; for to God it is not one thing to be, another to be a person, but it is absolutely the same thing. For if to be is said in respect to Himself, but person relatively; in this way we should say three persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; just as we speak of three friends, or three relations, or three neighbours, in that they are so mutually, not that each one of them is so in respect to himself Wherefore any one of these is the friend of the other two, or the relation, or the neighbour, because these names have a relative simification. What then?

Are we to call the Father the person of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, or the Son the person of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit the person of the Father and of the Son?

But neither is the word person commonly so used in any case; nor in this Trinity, when we speak of the person of the Father, do we mean anything else than the substance of the Father. Wherefore, as the substance of the Father is the Father Himself, not as He is the Father, but as He is, so also the person of the Father is not anything else than the Father Himself; for He is called a person in respect to Himself, not in respect to the Son, or the Holy Spirit:

just as He is called in respect to Himself both God, and great, and good, and just, and anything else of the kind; and just as to Him to be is the same as to be God, or as to be great, or as to be good, so it is the same thing to Him to be, as to be a person. Why, therefore, do we not call these three together one person, as one essence and one God, but say three persons, while we do not say three Gods or three essences; unless it be because we wish some one word to serve for that meaning whereby the Trinity is understood, that we might not be altogether silent, when asked, what three, while we confessed that they are three? For if essence is the genus, and substance or person the species, as some think, then I must omit what I just now said, that they ought to be called three essences, as they are called three substances or persons; as three horses are called three horses, and the same are called three animals, since horse is the species, animal the genus.

But if they say that the name of substance or person does not signify species, but something singular and individual; so that any one is not so called a substance or person as he is called a man, for man is common to all men, but in the same manner as he is called this or that man, as Abraham, as Isaac, as Jacob, or any one else who, if present, could be pointed out with the finger: so will the same reason reach these too. For as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called three individuals, so are they called three men, and three souls. Why then are both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, if we are to reason about them also according to genus
and species and individual, not so called three essences, as they are called three substances or persons? But this, as I said, I pass over: but I do affirm, that if essence is a genus, then a single essence has no species; just as, because animal is a genus, a single animal has no species. Therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not three species of one essence. But if essence is a species, as man is a species, but those are three which we call substances or persons, then they have the same species in common, in such way as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

CHAP, vl] person and essence. 197

have in common the species which is called man; not as man is subdivided into Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so can one man also be subdivided into several single men; for this is altogether impossible, since one man is already a single man. Why then is one essence subdivided into three substances or persons?

For if essence is a species, as man is, then one essence is as one man is: or do we, as we say that any three human beings of the same sex, of the same constitution of body, of the same mind, are one nature, so also say in the Trinity three substances one essence, or three persons one substance or essence? But this is somehow a parallel case, since the ancients also who spoke Latin, before they had these terms, which have not long come into use, that is, essence or substance, used for them to say nature. We do not therefore use these terms according to genus or species, but as if according to a matter that is common and the same. Just as if three statues were made of the same gold, we should say three statues one gold, yet should neither call the gold genus, and the statues species; nor the gold species, and the statues individuals. For no species goes beyond its own individuals, so as to comprehend anything external to them. For when I define what man is, which is a specific name, every several man that exists is contained in the same individual definition, neither does anything belonging to it which is not a man. But when I define gold, not statues alone, if they be gold, but rings also, and anything else that is made of gold, will belong to gold; and even if nothing were made of it, it would still be called gold; since, even if there were no gold statues, there will not therefore be no statues at all. Likewise no species goes beyond the definition of its genus. For when I define animal, since horse is a species of this genus, every horse is an animal; but every statue is not gold. So, although in the case of three golden statues we should rightly say three statues, one gold; yet we do not so say it, as to understand gold to be the genus, and the statues to be species. Therefore neither do we so call the Trinity three persons or substances, one essence and one God, as though three somethings subsisted out of one matter; although whatever that is, it is unfolded in these three. For there is
nothing else of that essence besides the Trinity. Yet we say three persons of the same essence, or three persons one essence; but we do not say three persons out of the same essence, as though therein essence were one thing, and person another, as we can say three statues out of the same gold; for there it is one thing to be gold, another to be statues. And when we say three men one nature, or three men of the same nature, they also can be called three men out of the same nature, since out of the same nature there can be also three other such men. But in that essence of the Trinity, in no way can any other person whatever exist out of the same essence. Further, in these things, one man is not as much as three men together; and two men are something more than one man: and in equal statues, three together amount to more of gold than each singly, and one amounts to less of gold than two. But in God it is not so; for the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit together is not a greater essence than the Father alone or the Son alone: but these three substances or persons, if they must be so called, together are equal to each singly: which the natural man does not comprehend. For he cannot think except under the conditions of bulk and space, either small or great, since phantasms or as it were images of bodies flit about in his mind.

12. And until he be purged from this uncleanness, let him believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God, alone, great, omnipotent, good, just, merciful. Creator of all things visible and invisible, and whatsoever can be worthily and truly said of Him in proportion to human capacity. And when he is told that the Father only is God, let him not separate from Him the Son or the Holy Spirit; for together with Him He is the only God, together with whom also He is one God; because, when we are told that the Son also is the only God, we must needs take it without any separation of the Father or the Holy Spirit. And let him so say one essence, as not to think one to be either greater or better than, or in any respect differing from, another. Yet not that the Father Himself is both Son and Holy Spirit, or whatever else each is singly called in relation to either of the others; as word, which is not said except of the Son, or gift, which is not said except of the Holy Spirit.

CHAP. TL] how man is THE IMAGE OF GOD. 199

And on this account also they admit the plural number, as it is written in the Gospel, " I and my Father are one." ^ He has both said " one" ^ and " i ve are ^ one/" according to essence, because they are the same God; "we are," according to relation, because the one is Father, the other is Son. Sometimes also the unity of the essence is left unexpressed, and the relatives alone are mentioned in the plural number: " My Father and I will come unto him, and make our abode with him." ^ We loill come, and lue ivill mccke our abode, is the plural number, since it was said before, " I and my Father," that is, the Son and the Father, which terms are used relatively to one another. Sometimes the meaning is altogether latent, as in Genesis: " Let us make man after our image and likeness." ^ Both let lis Qnake and our is said in the plural, and ought not to be received except as of relatives. For it was not that gods might make, or make after the image and likeness of gods; but that the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit might make after the image of the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, that
man might subsist as the image of God. And God is the Trinity. But because that image of God was not made altogether equal to Him, as being not born of Him, but created by Him; in order to signify this, he is in such way the image as that he is " after the image," that is, he is not made equal by parity, but approaches to Him by a sort of likeness. For approach to God is not by intervals of place, but by likeness, and withdrawal from Him is by unlikeness. For there are some who draw this distinction, that they will have the Son to be the image, but man not to be the image, but " after the image." But the apostle refutes them, saying, " For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God." He did not say after the image, but the image.

And this image, since it is elsewhere spoken of as after the image, is not as if it were said relatively to the Son, who is the image equal to the Father; otherwise he would not say after our image. For how our, when the Son is the image of the Father alone? But man is said to be " after the image," on account, as we have said, of the inequality of the likeness;

' Jolin X. 30. - Uniiin. ^ Sumus.

4 Jolin xiv. 23. ^ Gen. i. 20. 6 i Cor. xl 7.

200 ON THE TRINITY. [cOOK VII.

and therefore after our image, that man might be the image of the Trinity; not equal to the Trinity as the Son is equal to the Father, but approaching to it, as has been said, by a certain likeness; just as nearness may in a sense be signified in things distant from each other, not in respect of place, but of a sort of imitation. For it is also said, " Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind; " ^ to whom he likewise says, " Be ye therefore imitators of God, as dear children." ^ For it is said to the new man, " which is renewed to the knowledge of God, after the image of Him that created him." ^ Or if we choose to admit the plural number, in order to meet the needs of argument, even putting aside relative terms, that so we may answer in one term when it is asked what three, and say three substances or three persons; then /let no one think of any bulk or interval, or of any distance of howsoever little unlikeness, so that in the Trinity any should be understood to be even a little less than another, in whatsoever way one thing can be less than another: in order that there may be neither a confusion of persons, nor such a distinction as that there should be any inequality. And if this cannot be grasped by the understanding, let it be held by faith, until He shall dawn in the heart who says by the prophet, " If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not understand." ^/^
BOOK EIGHTH.

EXPLAINS AND PROVES THAT NOT ONLY THE FATHER IS NOT GREATER THAN THE
SON, BUT NEITHER ARE BOTH TOGETHER ANYTHING GREATER THAN THE
HOLY SPIRIT, NOR ANY TWO TOGETHER IN THE SAME TRINITY ANYTHING
GREATER THAN ONE, NOR ALL THREE TOGETHER ANYTHING GREATER THAN
EACH SEVERALLY. "^ IT IS THEN SHOWN HOW THE NATURE ITSELF OF GOD
MAY BE UNDERSTOOD FROM OUR UNDERSTANDING OF TRUTH, AND
FROM OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUPREME GOOD, AND FROM THE INNATE LOVE
OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, WHEREBY A RIGHTEOUS SOUL IS LOVED EVEN BY A
SOUL THAT IS ITSELF NOT YET RIGHTEOUS. BUT IT IS URGED ABOVE ALL, THAT
THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD IS TO BE SOUGHT BY LOVE, WHICH GOD IS
SAID TO BE IN THE SCRIPTURES; AND IN THIS LOVE IS ALSO POINTED OUT THE
EXISTENCE OF SOME TRACE OF A TRINITY.

Preface. â€” The conclusion of what has been said above. The rule to be observed in the
more difficult questions of the faith.

We have said elsewhere, that those things are predicated specially in the Trinity as
belonging severally to each person, which are predicated relatively the one to the other,
as Father and Son, and the gift of both, the Holy Spirit; for the Father is not the Trinity,
nor the Son the Trinity, nor the gift the Trinity: but that whenever each is singly spoken
of in respect to themselves, then they are not spoken of as three in the plural number, but
one, the Trinity itself, as the Father God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God;
the Father good, the Son good, and the Holy Spirit good; and the Father omnipotent, the Son
omnipotent, and the Holy Spirit omnipotent:
yet neither three Gods, nor three goods, nor three omnipotents, but one God, good,
omnipotent, the Trinity itself; and whatsoever else is said of them not relatively in
respect to each other, but severally in respect to themselves. For they are thus spoken of
according to essence, since in them to be is the same as to be great, as to be good, as to be
wise, and whatever else is said of each person severally therein, or of the Trinity itself, in
respect to themselves. And that therefore they are called three persons, or three
substances, not in order that any

202 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOLt nil
difference of essence may be understood, but that ve may be able to answer by some one word, should any one say what three, or what three things? And that there is so great an equality in that Trinity, that not only the Father is not greater than the Son, as regards divinity, but neither are the Father and Son together greater than the Holy Spirit; nor is each several person, whichever it be of the three, less than the Trinity itself This is what we have said; and if it is handled and repeated frequently, it becomes, no doubt, more familiarly known: yet some limit, too, must be put to the discussion, and we must supplicate God with most devout piety, that He will open our understanding, and take away the inclination of disputing, in order that our minds may discern the essence of the truth, that has neither bulk nor moveableness. Now, therefore, so far as the Creator Himself aids us in His marvellous mercy, let us consider these subjects, into which we will enter more deeply than we entered into those which preceded, although they are in truth the same; preserving the while this rule, that what has not yet been made clear to our intellect, be nevertheless not loosened from the firmness of our faith.

Chap. i. “It is sliown hy reason that in God three are not anything gr eat er than one person.

2. For we say that in this Trinity two or three persons are not anything greater than one of them; which carnal associations do not receive, for no other reason except because they perceive as they can the true things which are created, but cannot discern the truth itself by which they are created; for if they could, then the very corporeal light would in no way be more clear than this which we have said. For in the substance of truth, since it alone truly is, nothing is greater, unless because it more truly is. But in whatsoever is intelligible and unchangeable, nothing is more truly than another, since all alike are unchangeably eternal; and that which therein is called great, is not great from any other source than from that by which it truly is. Wherefore, where greatness itself is truth, whatsoever has more of greatness must needs have more of truth; whatsoever therefore has not more of truth, has not also more of greatness. Further, whatsoever has more of truth is certainly more true, just as that is greater which

CHAP. II.] CORPOREAL COXCEPTIOXS OF GOD TO BE REJECTED. 203

has more of greatness; therefore in the substance of truth that is more great which is more true. But the Father and the Son together are not more truly than the Father singly, or the Son singly. Both together, therefore, are not anything greater than each of them singly. And since also the Holy Spirit equally is truly, the Father and Son together are not anything greater than He, since neither are they more truly. The Father also and the Holy Spirit together, since they do not surpass the Son in truth (for they are not more truly), do not surpass Him either in greatness. And so the Son and the Holy Spirit together are just as great as the Father alone, since they are as truly. So also the Trinity itself is as great as each several person therein. For there, where truth itself is greatness, that is not more great which is not more true: since in the essence of truth to be true is the same as to be,
and to be is the same as to be great; therefore to be great is the same as to be true. And in it, therefore, what is equally true must needs also be equally great.

Chap. ir. “Every corporeal conception must he rejected, in order that God may he understood, as God is truth,

3. But in bodies it may be the case that this gold and that may be equally true, but this may be greater than that, since greatness is not the same thing there as truth; and it is one thing for it to be gold, another to be great. So also in the nature of the soul; a soul is not called great in the same relation in which it is called true. For he, too, has a true soul who has not a great soul; since the essence of body and soul is not the essence of the truth itself; as is the Trinity, one God, alone, great, true, truthful, the truth. Of whom if we endeavour to think, so far as He Himself permits and grants, let us not think of any touch or embrace in local space, as if of three bodies, or of any compactness of conjunction, as fables tell of three-bodied Geryon; but let whatsoever may occur to the mind, that is of such sort as to be greater in three than in each singly, and less in one than in two, be rejected without any doubt; for so everything corporeal is rejected. But also in spiritual things let nothing changeable that may have occurred to the mind be thought of God. For when we aspire from this depth to that

204 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK VIII.]

height, it is a step towards no small knowledge, if, before we can know what God is, we can already know what He is not.

For certainly He is neither earth nor heaven; nor, as it were, earth and heaven; nor any such thing as we see in the heaven; nor any such thing as we do not see, but which perhaps is in heaven. Neither if you were to magnify in the imagination of your thought the light of the sun as much as ou are able, either that it may be greater, or that it may be brighter, a thousand times as much, or times without number; neither is this God. Neither as we think of the pure angels as spirits
animating celestial bodies, and changing and dealing with them after the will by which they serve God; not even if all, and there are "thousands of thousands," were brought together into one, and became one; neither is any such thing God. Neither if you were to think of the same spirits as without bodies â€” a thing indeed most difficult for carnal thought to do. Behold and see, if thou canst, soul pressed down by the corruptible body, and weighed down by earthly thoughts, many and various; behold and see, if thou canst, God is truth. Tor it is written that "God is light;" not in such way that these eyes see, but in such way as the heart sees, when it is said, He is truth. Ask not what is truth; for immediately the darkness of corporeal images and the clouds of phantasms will put themselves in the way, and will disturb that calm which at the first twinkling shone forth to thee, when I said truth. See that thou remainest, if thou canst, in that first twinkling with which thou art dazzled, as it were, by a flash, when it is said to thee. Truth. But thou canst not; thou wilt glide back into those usual and earthly things. And what weight, pray, is it that will cause thee so to glide back, unless it be the bird-lime of the stains of appetite thou hast contracted, and the errors of thy wandering from the right path?

Chap. hi. â€” How God may he hiown to he the cidef good. The mind does not become good unless by turning to God.
4. Behold again, and see if thou canst. Thou certainly dost not love anything except what is good, since good is the earth, with the loftiness of its mountains, and the due measure of

^ Read si for sicut, i/Tor as. Bened. ed. ^ Apoc. v. 11.

' Wisd. ix. 15. * 1 John i. 5.

CHAP. III.] THE GOOD, AND GOOD THINGS, TO BE DISTINGUISHED. 205

its hills, and the level surface of its plains; and good is an estate that is pleasant and fertile; and good is a house that is arranged in due proportions, and is spacious and bright; and good are animal and animate bodies; and good is air that is temperate and salubrious; and good is food that is agreeable and fit for health; and good is health, without pains or lassitude; and good is the countenance of man that is disposed in fit proportions, and is cheerful in look, and bright in colour; and good is the mind of a friend, with the sweetness of agreement, and with the confidence of love; and good are riches, since they are readily useful; and good is the heaven, with its sun, and moon, and stars; and good are the angels, by their holy obedience; and good is discourse that sweetly teaches and suitably admonishes the hearer; and good is a poem that is harmonious in its numbers and weighty in its sense. And why add yet more and more ?

This thing is good and that good, but take away this and that, and regard good itself if thou canst; so wilt thou see-Gixl, not good by a good that is other than Himself, but the good of all good. For in all these good things, whether those which I have mentioned, or any else that are to be discerned or thought, we could not say that one was better than another, when we judge truly, unless a conception of the good itself had been impressed upon us, such that according to it we might both approve some things as good, and prefer one good to another.

So God is to be loved, not this and that good, but the good itself. For the good that must be sought for the soul is not one above which it is to fly by judging, but to which it is to cleave by loving; and what can this be except God ? Not a good mind, or a good angel, or the good heaven, but the good good. For perhaps what I wish to say may be more easily perceived in this way. For when, for instance, a mind is called good, as there are two words, so from these words I understand two things ã€” one whereby it is mind, and another whereby it is good. And itself had no share in making itself a mind, for there was nothing as yet to make itself to be anything; but to make itself to be a good mind, I see, must be brought about by the will: not because that by which it is mind is not itself anything good; ã€” for how else is it already
called, and most truly called, better than the body? but it is not yet called a good mind, for this reason, that the action of the will still is wanted, by which it is to become more excellent; and if it has neglected this, then it is justly blamed, and is rightly called not a good mind. Tor it then differs from the mind which does perform this; and since the latter is praiseworthy, the former doubtless, which does not perform it, is blamable. But when it does this of set purpose, and becomes a good mind, it yet cannot attain to being so unless it turn itself to something which itself is not. And to what can it turn itself that it may become a good mind, except to the good which it loves, and seeks, and obtains? And if it turns itself back again from this, and becomes not good, then by the very act of turning away from the good, unless that good remain in it from which it turns away, it cannot again turn itself back thither if it should wish to amend.

5. Wherefore there would be no changeable goods, unless there were the unchangeable good. Whenever then thou art told of this good thing and that good thing, which things can also in other respects be called not good, if thou canst put aside those things which are good by the participation of the good, and discern that good itself by the participation of which they are good (for when this or that good thing is spoken of, thou understandest together with them the good itself also): if, then, I say thou canst remove these things, and canst discern the good in itself, then thou wilt have discerned God. And if thou shalt cleave to Him with love, thou shalt be forthwith blessed. But whereas other things are not loved, except because they are good, be ashamed, in cleaving to them, not to love the good itself whence they are good. That also, which is a mind, only because it is a mind, while it is not yet also good by the turning itself to the unchangeable good, but, as I said, is only a mind; whenever it so pleases us, as that we prefer it even, if we understand aright, to all corporeal light, does not please us in itself, but in that skill by which it was made. For it is thence approved as made, wherein it is seen to have been to be made. This is truth, and simple good: for it is nothing else than the good itself, and for this reason also the chief good. For no good can be diminished or increased, ex-

CHAP. IV.] GOD IS TO BE KNOWN BY FAITH. 207

ccept that which is good from some other good. Therefore the mind turns itself, in order to be good, to that by which it comes to be a mind. Therefore the will is then in harmony with nature, so that the mind may be perfected in good, when that good is loved by the turning of the will to it, whence that other good also comes which is not lost by the turning away of the will from it. For by turning itself from the chief good, the mind loses the being a good mind; but it does not lose the being a mind. And this, too, is a good already, and one better than the body. The will, therefore, loses that which the will obtains. For the mind already was, that could wish to be turned to that from which it was: but that as yet was not, that could wish to be before it was. And herein is our good, when we see whether a thing ought to be or to have been, of which we comprehend that it ought to be or to have been, and when we see that a thing could not have been unless it
ought to have been, of which we also do not comprehend in what manner it ought to have been. This good then is not far from every one of us: for in it we live, and move, and have our being. 

Chap. iv. â€” God must first he known by an unerring faith, that He may be loved.

6. But it is by love that we must stand firm to this and cleave to this, in order that we may enjoy the presence of that by which we are, and in the absence of which we could not be at all. For as "we walk as yet by faith, and not by sight," ^ we certainly do not yet see God, as the same [apostle] saith, "face to face:"^ whom however we shall never see, unless now already we love. But who loves what he does not know? For it is possible something may be known and not loved: but I ask whether it is possible that what is not known can be loved; since if it cannot, then no one loves God before he knows Him. And what is it to know God except to behold Him and steadfastly perceive Him with the mind? For He is not a body to be searched out by carnal eyes. But before also that we have power to behold and to perceive God, as He can be beheld and perceived, which is permitted to the pure in heart; for "blessed are the pure in heart, for 1 Acts xvii. 27, 28. 2 2 Cor. v. 7. ^1 Cor. xiii. 12.

208 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK VIII.]

they shall see God;"^ except He is loved by faith, it will not be possible for the heart to be cleansed, in order that it may be apt and meet to see Him. For where are there those three, in order to build up which in the mind the whole apparatus of the divine Scriptures has been raised up, namely Faith, Hope, and Charity,^ except in a mind believing what it does not yet see, and hoping and loving what it believes? Even He therefore who is not known, but yet is believed, can be loved. But indisputably we must take care, lest the mind believing that which it does not see, feign to itself something which is not, and hope for and love that which is false. For in that case, it will not be charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, which is the end of the commandment, as the same apostle says.^

7. But it must needs be, that, when by reading or hearing of them we believe in any corporeal things which we have not seen, the mind frames for itself something under bodily features and forms, just as it may occur to our thoughts; which either is not true, or even if it be true, which can most rarely happen, yet this is of no benefit to us to believe in by faith, but it is useful for some other purpose, which is intimated by means of it. For who is there that reads or hears what the Apostle Paul has written, or what has been written of him, that does not imagine to himself the countenance both of the apostle himself, and of all those whose names are there mentioned? And whereas, among such a multitude of men to whom these books are known, each imagines in a different way those
bodily features and forms, it is assuredly uncertain which it is that imagines them more nearly and more like the reality. ISTor, indeed, is our faith busied therein with the bodily countenance of those men; but only that by the grace of God they so lived and so acted as that Scripture witnesses: this it is which it is both useful to believe, and which must not be despaired of, and must be sought. For even the countenance of our Lord Himself in the flesh is variously fancied by the diversity of countless imaginations, which yet was one, whatever it was. Nor in our faith which we have of our Lord Jesus Christ, is that wholesome which the mind imagines for

^Matt. V. 8. =1 Cor. xiii. 13. ^1 Tim. i. 5.

CHAP. v.] HOW WE KNOW WHAT WE HAVE NOT SEEN. 209

itself, perhaps far other than the reality, but that which we think of man according to his kind: for we have a notion of human nature implanted in us, as it were by rule, according to which we know forthwith, that whatever such thing we see is a man or the form of a man.

Chap. v. â€” How the Trinity may he loved though unhiovm.
Our conception is framed according to this notion, when we believe that God was made man for us, as an example of humility, and to show the love of God towards us. For this it is which it is good for us to believe, and to retain firmly and unshakenly in our heart, that the humility by which God was born of a woman; and was led to death through contumelies so great by mortal men, is the chiefest remedy by which the swelling of our pride may be cured, and the profound mystery by which the bond of sin may be loosed. So also, because we know what omnipotence is, we believe concerning the omnipotent God in the power of His miracles and of His resurrection, and we frame conceptions respecting actions of this kind, according to the species and genera of things that are either ingrafted in us by nature, or gathered by experience, that our faith may not be feigned. For neither do we know the countenance of the Virgin Mary; from whom, untouched by a husband, nor tainted in the birth itself. He was womie^^

fully born. I^eitheFHave we^een what were the lineaments of the body of Lazarus; nor yet Bethany; nor the sepulchre, and that stone which He commanded to be removed when He raised him from the dead; nor the new tomb cut out in the rock, whence He Himself arose; nor the Mount of Olives, from whence He ascended into heaven. And, in short, whoever of lis have not seen these things, know not whether they are as Ave conceive them to be, nay judge them more probably not to be so. For when the aspect either of a place, or a man, or of any other body, which we happened to imagine before we saw it, turns out to be the same when it occurs to our sight as it was when it occurred to our mind, we are moved "with no little wonder. So scarcely and hardly ever does it happen. And yet we believe those things most stedfastly, because we imagine them according to a special and general notion, of

DE TEIN.
210 ON THE TRINITY. [LOOK YIII.

which we are certain. For we believe our Lord Jesus Christ to be born of a virgin who was called Mary. But what a virgin is, or what it is to be born, and what is a proper name, we do not believe, but certainly know. And whether that was the countenance of Mary which occurred to the mind in speaking of those things or recollecting them, we neither know at all, nor believe. It is allowable, then, in this case to say without violation of the faith, perhaps she had such or such a countenance, perhaps she had not: but no one could say without violation of the Christian faith, that perhaps Christ was born of a virgin.

8. Wherefore, since we desire to understand the eternity, and equality, and unity of the Trinity, as much as is permitted us, but ought to believe before we understand; and since we must watch carefully, that our faith be not feigned; since we must have the fruition of the same Trinity, that we may live blessedly; but if we have believed anything false of it, our hope would be worthless, and our charity not pure: how then can we love, by believing, that Trinity which we do not know? Is it according to the special or general notion, according to which we love the Apostle Paul? In whose case, even if he was not of that countenance which occurs to us when we think of him (and this we do not know at all) yet we know what a man is. For not to go far away, this we are; and it is manifest he, too, was this, and that his soul joined to his body lived after the manner of mortals. Therefore we believe this of him, which we find in ourselves, according to the species or genus under which all human nature alike is comprised. What then do we know, whether specially or generally, of that most excellent Trinity, as if there were many such trinities, some of which we had learned by experience, so that we may believe that Trinity, too, to have been such as they, through the rule of similitude, impressed upon us, whether a special or a general notion; and thus love also that thing which we believe and do not yet know, from the parity of the thing which we do know? But this certainly is not so. Or is it that, as we love in our Lord Jesus Christ, that He rose from the dead, although we never saw any one rise from thence, so we can believe in and love the Trinity which we do not see.

CHAP. VI.] HOW WE BELIEVE IN GOD BEFORE WE KNOW HDI. 211

and the life of which we never have seen? But we certainly know what it is to die, and what it is to live; because we both live, and from time to time have seen and experienced both dead, and dying persons. And what else is it to rise again, except; to live again, that is, to return to life from death? When, therefore, we say and believe that there is a Trinity, we know what a Trinity is, because we know what three are; but this is not what we love. For we can easily have this whenever we will, to pass over other things, by just holding up three fingers. Or do we
indeed love, not every trinity, but the Trinity, that is God? We love then in the Trinity, that it is God: but we never saw or knew any other God, because God is One; He alone whom we have not yet seen, and whom we love by believing. But the question is, from what likeness or comparison of known things can we believe, in order that we may love God, whom we do not yet know?

Chap. vi. â€” Hoio the man not yet righteous can hioio the righteous man lohom he loves.

9. Eeturn then with me, and let us consider why we love the apostle. Is it at all on account of his human kind, which we know right well, in that we believe him to have been a man? Assuredly not; for if it were so, he now is not that we may love him, since he is no longer that man, for his soul is separated from his body. But we believe that which we love in him to be still living now, for we love his righteous mind. From what general or special measure then, except that we know both what a mind is, and what it is to be righteous? And we say indeed, not unfitly, that we therefore know what a mind is, because we too have a mind. For neither did we ever see it with our eyes, and gather a special or general notion from the resemblance of more minds than one, which we had seen; but rather, as I have said before, because we too have it. For what is known so intimately, and so perceives itself to be itself, as that by which also all other things are perceived, that is, the mind itself? For W3 recognise the movements of bodies also, by which we perceive that others live besides ourselves, from the resemblance of ourselves; since we also so move our body in living as we observe those bodies to be moved. For even when a living

212^ ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VIII.]

body is moved, there is no way opened to our eyes to see the mind, a thing which cannot be seen by the eyes; but we perceive something to be contained in that bulk, such as is contained in ourselves, so as to move in like manner our own bulk, which is the life and the soul. Neither is this, as it were, the property of human foresight and reason, since brute animals also perceive that not only they themselves live, but also other brute animals interchangeably, and the one the other, and that we ourselves do so. Neither do they see our souls, save from the movements of the body, and that immediately and most easily by some natural agreement. Therefore we both know the mind of any one from our own, and believe also from our own of him whom we do not know. Por not only do we perceive that there is a mind, but we can also know what a mind is, by reflecting upon our own: for we have a mind. But whence do we know what a righteous man is? For we said above that we love the apostle for no other reason except that he is a righteous mind. We know, then, what a righteous man also is, just as we know what a mind is. But what a mind is, as has been said, we know from ourselves, for there is a mind in us. But whence do we know what a righteous man is, if we are not righteous?
But if no one but he who is righteous knows what is a righteous man, no one but a righteous man loves a righteous man; for one cannot love him whom one believes to be righteous, for this very reason that one does believe him to be righteous, if one does not know what it is to be righteous; according to that which we have shown above, that no one loves what he believes and does not see, except by some rule of a general or special notion. And if for this reason no one but a righteous man loves a righteous man, how will any one wish to be a righteous man who is not yet so ? For no one wishes to be that which he does not love. But he certainly must wish to be righteous, who, not yet being righteous, means to be so; and in order that he may wish to be so, he loves the righteous man. Therefore, even he who is not yet righteous loves the righteous man. But he cannot love the righteous man, who is ignorant what a righteous man is. Accordingly, even he who is not yet righteous, knows what a righteous man is. Whence

CHAP. VI.] WHENCE OUR KNOWLEDGE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. 213

then does lie know this ? Does he see it with his eyes ?
Is any corporeal thing righteous, as it is white, or black, or square, or round ? Who could say this ! Yet with one's eyes one has seen nothing except corporeal things. But there is nothing righteous in a man except the mind; and when a man is called a righteous man, he is called so from the mind, not from the body. For righteousness is in some sort the beauty of the mind, by which men are beautiful, very many too, who are misshapen and deformed in body. And as the mind is not seen with the eyes, so neither is its beauty. From whence then does he who is not yet righteous know what a righteous man is, and love the righteous man that he may become righteous ? Do certain signs shine forth by the motion of the body, by which this or that man is manifested to be righteous ? But whence does any one know that these are the signs of a righteous mind, when he is wholly ignorant what it is to be righteous ? Therefore he does know. But whence do we know what it is to be righteous, even when we are not yet righteous ? If we know from without ourselves, we know it by some bodily thing. But this is not a thing of the body. Therefore we know in ourselves what it is to be righteous.
For I find this nowhere else when I seek to utter it, except within myself; and if I ask another what it is to be righteous, he seeks within himself what to answer; and whosoever hence can answer truly, he has found within himself what to answer. And when indeed I wish to speak of Carthage, I seek within myself what to speak, and I find within myself a notion or image of Carthage; but I have received this through the body, that is, through the perception of the body, since I have been present in that city in the body, and I saw and perceived it, and retained it in my memory, that I might find within myself a word concerning it, whenever I might wish to speak of it. For its word is the image itself of it in my memory, not that sound of two syllables when Carthage is named, or even when that name itself is thought of silently from time to time, but that which I discern in my mind, when I utter that syllable with my voice, or even before I utter it. So also, when I wish to speak of Alexandria, which I never saw, an image of it is present with me. For whereas I had heard from
many and had believed that city to be great, in such way as it could be told me, I formed
an image of it in my mind as I was able; and this is with me its word when I wish to
speak of it, before I utter with my voice the five syllables which make the name that
almost every one knows. And yet if I could bring forth that image from my mind to the
eyes of men who know Alexandria, certainly all either would say. It is not it; or if they
said. It is, I should greatly wonder; and as I gazed at it in my mind, that is, at the image
which was as it were its picture, I
should yet not now it to be it, but should believe those who retained an image they had
seen. But I do not so ask what it is to be righteous, nor do I so find it, nor do I so gaze
upon it, when I utter it; neither am I so approved when I am heard, nor do I so approve
when I hear; as though I have seen such a thing with my eyes, or learned it by some
perception of the body, or heard it from those who had so learned it. For when I say, and
say knowingly, that mind is righteous which knowingly and of purpose assigns to every
one his due in life and behaviour, I do not think of anything absent, as Carthage, or
imagine it as I am able, as Alexandria, whether it be so or not; but I discern something
present, and I discern it within myself, though I myself am not that which I discern:
and many if they hear "will approve it. And whoever hears me and knowingly approves,
he too discerns this same thing within himself, even though he himself be not what he
discerns. But when a righteous man says this, he discerns and says that which he himself
is. And whence also does he discern it, except within himself ? But this is not to be
wondered at; for whence should he discern himself except within himself ? The
wonderful thing is, that the mind should see within itself that which it has seen nowhere
else, and should see truly, and should see the very true righteous mind, and should itself
be a mind, and yet not a righteous mind, which nevertheless it sees within itself Is there
another mind that is righteous in a mind that is not yet righteous ? Or if there is not, what
does it there see when it sees and says what is a righteous mind, nor sees it anywhere else
but in itself, when itself is not a righteous mind ? Is that which it sees an inner truth
present to the mind which has power to behold it ?

Yet all have not that power; and they who have power to behold it, are not all also that
which they behold, that is, they "^
but to love one another. And whence can any one cleave to that form but by loving it? Why then do we love another whom we believe to be righteous, and do not love that form where we see what is a righteous mind, that we also may be able to be righteous? Is it that unless we loved that also, we should not love him at all, whom through it we love; but whilst we are not righteous, we love that form too little to allow of our being able to be righteous? The man therefore who is believed to be righteous, is loved through that form and truth which he who loves discerns and understands within himself; but that very form and truth itself cannot be loved from any other source than itself. For we do not find any other such thing besides itself, so that by believing we might love it when it is unknown, in that we here already know another such thing. For whatsoever of such a kind one may have seen, is itself; and there is not any other such thing, since itself alone is such as itself is. He therefore who loves men, ought to love them either because they are righteous, or that they may become righteous. For so also he ought to love himself, either because he is righteous, or that he may be righteous; for in this way he loves his neighbour as himself without any risk. For he who loves himself otherwise, loves himself Tongfully, since he loves himself to this end that he may be unrighteous; therefore to this end that he may be wicked; and hence it follows next that he does not love himself; for, "He who loveth iniquity, hateth his own soul."  

1 Piom. xiii. S. 2 Violenceâ”” A. Y. 3 Ps_ ^\^ q^  

216 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VIII.]  

CHAP. VII. — Of true love, by which we arrive at the knowledge of the Trinity. God is to be sought, not outwardly, by seeking to do wonderful things with the angels, but inwardly, by imitating the piety of good angels.  

10. No other thing, then, is chiefly to be regarded in this inquiry, which we make concerning the Trinity and concerning knowing God, except what is true love, nay, rather what is love. For that is to be called love which is true, otherwise it is desire; and so those who desire are said improperly to love, just as they who love are said improperly to desire. But this is true love, that cleaving to the truth we may live righteously, and so may despise all mortal things in comparison with the love of men, whereby we wish them to live righteously. For so we should be prepared also to die profitably for our brethren, as our Lord Jesus Christ taught us by His example. For as there are two commandments on which hang all the Law and the prophets, love of God and love of our neighbour; not without cause the Scripture mostly puts one for both: whether it be of God only, as is that text, "For we know that all things work together for good to them that love God;" and again, "But if any man love God, the same is known of Him;" and that, "Because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us;" and many other passages; because he who loves God must both needs do what God has
commanded, and loves Him just in such proportion as he does so; therefore he must needs also love his neighbour, because God has commanded it: or whether it be that Scripture only mentions the love of our neighbour, as in that text, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ;" ^ and again, "For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself:"^ and in the Gospel, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the Law and the prophets."^ And many other passages occur in the sacred writings, in which only the love of our neighbour seems to be commanded for perfection, while the love of God is passed over in silence; whereas the Law and the prophets hang on both precepts. But this, too, is because he who loves his

1 Matt. xxii. 37-40. 2 p^om. viii. 2S. ^ 1 Cor. viii. 3. * Rom. v. 5.

CHAP, vii] god must be sought feo:m within ouuselves. 217

neighbour must needs also love above all else love itself.
But " God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God."^-^ Therefore he must needs above all else love God.

11. Wherefore they who seek God through those powers which rule over the world, or parts of the world, are removed and cast away far from Him; not by intervals of space, but by difference of affections: for they endeavour to find a path outwardly, and forsake their own inward things, within which ^ is God. Therefore, even although they may either have heard some holy heavenly power, or in some way or another may have thought of it, yet they rather covet its deeds at which human weakness marvels, but do not imitate the piety by / which divine rest is acquired. For they prefer, through pi'ide, to be able to do that which an angel does, more than, through devotion, to be that which an angel is. For no holy being rejoices in his own power, but in His from whom he has the power which he fitly can have; and he knows it to be more a mark of power to be united to the Omnipotent by a pious will, than to be able, by his own power and will, to do what they may tremble at who are not able to do such things.

Therefore the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, in doing such things, in order that He might teach better things to those who marvelled at them, and might turn those who were intent and in doubt about unusual temporal things to eternal and inner things: " Come," He says, " unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you." And He does not say. Learn of me, because I raise those who have been dead
four days; but He says, "Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart." For humility, which is most solid, is more powerful and safer than pride, that is most inflated. And so He goes on to say, "And ye shall find rest unto your souls," * for " Love is not puffed up;" * and " God is Love;" * and " such as be faithful in love shall rest in " Him," * called back from the din which is without to silent joys. Behold, "God is Love:" why do we go forth and run to the heights of the heavens and the lowest parts of the earth, seeking Him who is within us, if we wish to be with Him ?

1 1 John iv. 6. - Matt. xi. 28, 29. ^ Charity. â€” A. V. ^ 1 Cor. xiii, 4. 5 1 John iv. 8. ^ Abide with. â€” A. Y. 7 Wisd. iii. 9.

218 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VIII.]

Chap. viii. â€” That lie rvho loves Ms brother, loves God; because he loves love itself f which is of God, and is God.

12. Let no one say, I do not know what I love. Let liim love his brother, and he will love the same love. For he knows the love with which he loves, more than the brother whom he loves. So now he can know God more than he knows his brother: clearly known more, becau'se more present; known more, because more within him; known more, because more certain. Embrace the love of God, and by love embrace God. That is love itself, which associates together all good angels and all the servants of God by the bond of sanctity, and joins together us and them mutually with ourselves, and joins us subordinately to Himself. In proportion, therefore, as we are healed from the swelling of pride, in such proportion are we more filled with love; and with what is he full, who is full of love, except with God ? "Well, but you will say, I see love, and, as far as I am able, I gaze upon it with my mind, and I be l i e the Scripture, saying, that " God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God; " ^ but when I see love, I do not see in it the Trinity. ISTay, but thou dost see the Trinity if thou seest love. But if I can I will put you in mind, that thou mayest see that thou seest it; only let itself be j3resent, that we may be moved by love to something good. Since, when we love love, we love one who loves something, and that on account of this very thing, that he does love something; therefore what does love love, that love itself also may be loved ? For that is not love which loves nothing. But if it loves itself it must love something, that it may love itself as love. For as a word indicates something, and indicates also itself, but does not indicate itself to be a word, unless it indicates that it does indicate something; so love also loves indeed itself, but except it love itself as loving something, it loves itself not as love. What therefore does love love, except that which we love with love ? But this, to begin from that which is nearest to us, is our brother. And
listen how greatly the Apostle John commends brotherly love: " He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him."^ It is manifest that he placed the perfection of righteousness in the love of our brother; for he certainly is perfect in whom " there is no occasion of stumbling."

And yet he seems to have passed by the love of God in silence; which he never would have done, unless because he intends God to be understood in brotherly love itself. For in this same epistle, a little further on, he says most plainly thus:

" Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." And this passage declares sufficiently and plainly, that this same / brotherly love itself (for that is brotherly love by which we love each other) is set forth by so great authority, not only to be from God, but also to be God. When, therefore, we love our brother from love, we love our brother from God; neither can it be that we do not love above all else that same love by which we love our brother: whence it may be gathered that y

these two commandments cannot exist unless interchangeably.

For since " God is love," he who loves love certainly loves y God; but he must needs love love, who loves his brother.

And so a little after he says, " For he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? " -^ because the reason that he does not see God is, that he does not love his brother. For he who does not love his brother, abideth not in love; and he who abideth not in love, abideth not in God, because God is love. Further, he who abideth not in God, abideth not in light; for

" God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all." ^ He therefore who abideth not in light, what wonder is it if he does not see light, that is, does not see God, because he is in darkness? But he sees his brother with human sight, with which God cannot be seen. But if he loved with spiritual love him whom he sees with human sight, he would see God, who is love itself, with the inner sight by which He can be seen. Therefore he who does not love his brother whom he sees, how can he love God, whom on that account he does not see, because God is love, which he has not who does not love his brother? Neither let that further question disturb us, how much of love we ought to spend upon our brother, and

1 1 John iv. 7, 8, 20. - 1 John i. 5.
220 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK VIII.]

how much upon God: incomparably more upon God than upon ourselves, but upon our brother as much as upon ourselves; and we love ourselves so much the more, the more we love God. Therefore we love God and our neighbour from one and the same love; but we love God for the sake of God, and ourselves and our neighbours for the sake of God.

Chap. ix. â€” Our love of the righteous is kindled from love itself of the unchangeable form of righteousness.

13. For why is it, pray, that we burn when we hear and read, " Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation: giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed: but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things? "^ Why is it that we are inflamed with love of the Apostle Paul, when we read these things, unless that we believe him so to have lived? But we do not believe that the ministers of God ought so to live because we have heard it from any one, but because we behold it inwardly within ourselves, or rather above ourselves, in the truth itself. Him, therefore, whom we believe to have so lived, we love for that which we see. And except we loved above all else that form which we discern as always steadfast and unchangeable, we should not for that reason love him, because we hold fast in our belief that his life, when he was living in the flesh, was adapted to, and in harmony with, this form. But somehow we are stirred up the more to the love of this form itself, through the belief by which we believe some one to have so lived; and to the hope by which we no more at all despair, that we,

^2 Cor. vi. 2-10.

CHAP. X.] THREE THINGS IN LOVE, A TEACE OF THE TRINITY. 221
too, are able so to live; we who are men, from this fact itself, that some men have so lived, so that we both desire this more ardently, and pray for it more confidently. So both the love of that form, according to which they are believed to have lived, makes the life of these men themselves to be loved by us; and their life thus believed stirs up a more burning love towards that same form; so that the more ardently we love God, the more certainly and the more calmly do we see Him, because we behold in God the unchangeable form of righteousness, according to which we judge that man ought to live.

Therefore faith avails to the knowledge and to the love of God, not as though of one altogether unknown, or altogether not loved; but so that thereby He may be known more clearly, and loved more steadfastly.

Chap. x. ã€” There, are three things in love, as it were a trace of the Trinity.

14. But what is love or charity, which divine Scripture so greatly praises and proclaims, except the love of good ?

Eut love is of some one that loves, and with love something is loved. Behold, then, there are three things: he that loves, and that which is loved, and love. What, then, is love, except a certain life which couples or seeks to couple together some two things, namely, him that loves, and that which is loved ? And this is so even in outward and carnal loves. But that we may drink in something more pure and clear, let us tread down the flesh and ascend to the mind. What does the mind love in a friend except the mind ? There, then, also are three things: he that loves, and that which is loved, and love. It remains to ascend also from hence, and to seek those things which are above, as far as is given to man. But here for a little while let our purpose rest, not that it may think itself to have found already what it seeks; but just as usually the place has first to be found where anything is to be sought, while that thing itself is not yet found, but we have only found already where to look for it; so let it suffice to have said thus much, that we may have, as it were, the hinge of some starting-point, whence to weave the rest of our discourse.

222 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK IX.]

BOOK ISRINTH.

THAT A KIND OF TRINITY EXISTS IN MAN, WHO IS THE IMAGE OF GOD, VIZ. THE MIND, AND THE KNOWLEDGE WHEREWITH THE MIND KNOWS ITSELF, AND THE LOVE WHEREWITH IT LOVES BOTH ITSELF AND ITS OWN KNOWLEDGE; AND THESE THREE ARE SHOWN TO BE MUTUALLY EQUAL, AND OF ONE ESSENCE.
Chap. i. — In what ivaij we must inquire concerning the Trinity.
1. We certainly seek a trinity, â€” not any trinity, but that Trinity which is God, and the true and supreme and only God.
Let my hearers then wait, for we are still seeking. And no one justly finds fault with such a search, if at least he who seeks that, which either to know or to utter is most difficult, is stedfast in the faith. But whosoever either sees or teaches better, finds fault quickly and justly with any one who confidently affirms concerning it. " Seek God," he says, " and your heart shall live; " "^ and lest any one should rashly rejoice that he has, as it were, apprehended it, " Seek," he says, " His face evermore." ^ And the apostle: " If any man," he says, " think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know. But if any man love God, the same is known of Him." ^ He has not said, has known Him, which is dangerous presumption, but "is known of Him." So also in another place, when he had said, " But now after that ye have known God;" immediately correcting himself, he says, " or rather are known of God." * And above all in that other place, " Brethren," he says, " I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press in purpose ^ toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded." ^ Perfection in this life, he tells

iPs. Ixix'. 32. 2pg cv. 4. ^1 Cor. viii. 2.


us, is nothing else than to forget those things which are behind, and to reach forth and press in purpose toward those things which are before. For he that seeks has the safest purpose, until that is taken hold of whither we are tending, and for which w^e are reaching forth. But that is the right purpose which starts from faith. For a certain faith is in some way the starting-point of knowledge; but a certain knowledge will not be made perfect, except after this life, when we shall see face to face.-^ Let us therefore be thus minded, so as to know that the disposition to seek the truth is more safe than that which presumes things unknown to be known. Let us therefore so seek as if we should find, and so find as if we were about to seek. Eor " when a man hath done, then he beginneth." ^ Let us doubt without unbelief of things to be believed; let us affirm without rashness of things to be understood: authority must be held fast in the former, truth sought out in the latter.
As regards this question, then, let us believe that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one God, the Creator and Euler of the whole creature; and that the Father is not the Son, nor the Holy Spirit either the Father or the Son, but a trinity of persons mutually interrelated, and a unity of an equal essence. And let us seek to understand this, praying for help from Himself, whom we wish to understand; and as much as He grants, desiring
to explain what we understand with so much pious care and anxiety, that even if in any case we say one thing for another, we may at least say nothing unworthy. As, for the sake of example, if we say anything concerning the Father that does not properly belong to the Father, or does belong to the Son, or to the Holy Spirit, or to the Trinity itself; and if anything of the Son which does not properly suit with the Son, or at all events which does suit with the Father, or with the Holy Spirit, or with the Trinity; or if, again, anything concerning the Holy Spirit, which is not fitly a property of the Holy Spirit, yet is not alien from the Father, or from the Son, or from the one God the Trinity itself. Even as now our wish is to see whether the Holy Spirit is properly that love which is most excellent; which if He is not, either the Father is love, or the Son, or the Trinity itself; since we

^1 Cor. xiii. 12. - Ecclus. xviii. 7.

224 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK IX.]

cannot withstand the most certain faith and weighty authority of Scripture, saying, "God is love." ^ And yet we ought not to deviate into profane error, so as to say anything of the Trinity which does not suit the Creator, but rather the creature, or which is feigned outright by mere empty thought.

CnAr. II. â€” The three things which are found in love must he considered.

2. And this being so, let us direct our attention to those three things which we fancy we have found. We are not yet speaking of heavenly things, nor yet of God the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, but of that inadequate image, which yet is an image, that is, man; for our feeble mind perhaps can gaze upon this more familiarly and more easily. Well then, when I, who make this inquiry, love anything, there are three things concerned: myself, and that which I love, and love itself. For I do not love love, except I love a lover; for there is no love where nothing is loved. Therefore there are three things he who loves, and that which is loved, and love. But what if I love none except myself? Will there not then be two things that which I love, and love? For he who loves and that which is loved are the same when any one loves himself, just as to love and to be loved, in the same way, is the very same thing when any one loves himself. Since the same thing is repeated, when it is said, he loves himself, and he is loved by himself. For in that case to love and to be loved are not two different things, just as he who loves and he who is loved are not two different persons. But yet, even so, love and what is loved are still two things. For there is no love when any one loves himself, except when love itself is loved. And it is one thing to love one's self, another to love one's own love. For love is not loved, unless as already loving something; since where nothing is loved there is no love. Therefore there are two things when any one loves himself â€” love, and that which is loved. For then he that loves and that which is loved are one. Whence it seems that it does not follow that three things are to be understood wherever
love is. For let us put aside from the inquiry all the other many things of which a man consists;

1 1 John iv. 16.

CLAP, III.] THE THINGS THAT ARE TO BE FOUND IN LOVE. 225

and in order that we may discover clearly what we are now seeking, as far as in such a subject is possible, let us treat of mind alone. The mind, then, when it loves itself, discloses a substance, and the mind also is not body, but spirit. Yet love and mind are not two spirits, but one spirit; nor yet two essences, but one: and yet here are two things that are one, he that loves and love; or, if you like so to put it, that which is loved and love. And these two, indeed, are mutually said relatively. Since he who loves is referred to love, and love to him who loves. For he who loves, loves with some love, and love is the love of some one who loves. But mind and spirit are not said relatively, but express essence. For mind and spirit do not therefore exist because the mind and spirit of any man exists. For if we withdraw that which is man, which is so called with the conjunction of body; if then we withdraw the body, the mind and spirit remain. But if we withdraw him that loves, then there is no love; and if we withdraw love, then there is no one that loves. And therefore, in so far as they are mutually referred to one another, they are two; but whereas they are spoken in respect to themselves, each are spirit, and both together also are one spirit; and each are mind, and both together one mind.

Where, then, is the trinity? Let us attend as much as we can, and let us invoke the everlasting light, that He may illuminate our darkness, and that we may see in ourselves, as much as we are permitted, the image of God.

Chap. hi. The image of the Trinity in the mind of man who knows himself and loves himself. The mind knows itself through itself

3. For the mind cannot love itself, except also it know itself; for how can it love what it does not know? Or if

auvobody says that the mind, from either general or special

Iviic iwledire, believes itself of such a character as it has by

rei exp rience found others to be, and therefore loves itself, he

speaiv g foolishly. For violence does a mind know another
mind, if it does not know itself? For the mind does not know other minds and not know itself, as the eye of the man sees other eyes and does not see itself; for we see both through the eyes of the body, because, unless we are looking into a mirror, we cannot refract and reflect the rays through themselves, which shine forth through those eyes, and toil whatever we discern, a subject, indeed, which is treated of most subtly and obscurely, until somehow it may be clearly demonstrated whether the fact be so, or whether it be not.

But whatever is the nature of the power by which we discern through the eyes, certainly, whether it be rays or anything else, we cannot discern with the eyes that power itself; but we inquire into it with the mind, and if it may be so, understand even this with the mind. As the mind, then, itself gathers the knowledge of corporeal things through the senses of the body, so of incorporeal things through itself Therefore it knows itself also through itself, since it is incorporeal; for if it does not know itself, it does not love itself.

Chap. iv. The three are one, and also equal, viz. the mind itself, and the love, and the knowledge of it. That the same three exist substantially, and are predicated relatively. That the same three are inseparable. That the same three are not joined and commingled like 'parts, but that they are of one essence and are relatives.

4. But as there are two things, the mind and the love of it, when it loves itself; so there are two things, the mind and the knowledge of it, when it knows itself. Therefore the mind itself, and the love of it, and the knowledge of it, are three things, and these three are one; and when they are perfect they are equal. For if one loves himself less than as he is, â€” as for example, suppose that the mind of a man only loves itself as much as the body of a man ought to be loved, whereas the mind is more than the body, â€” then it is in fault, and its love is not perfect. Again, if it loves itself more than as it is, â€” as if, for instance, it loves itself as much as God is to be loved, whereas the mind is incomparably less than God, â€” here also it is exceedingly in fault, and its love of self is not perfect. But it is in fault more perversely and wrongly still, whether it loves the body as much as God is to be loved. Also, if knowledge is less than that which is known, and which {c

V IAP. IV.J ESSENTIAL EXISTENCE OF LOVE AND KNOWLEDGE. 227

\*ully known, then knowledge is not perfect; but if it is greater, then the nature which knows is above that which is known, as the knowledge of the body is greater than the body itself, which is known by that knowledge. For knowledge is a land of life in the
reason of the knower; but the body is not life; and any life is greater than any body, not in bulk, but in power. But when the mind knows itself, its own knowledge does not rise above itself, because itself knows, and itself is known. When, therefore, it knows itself entirely, and no other thing with itself, then its knowledge is equal to itself; because its knowledge is not from another nature, since it knows itself. And when it perceives itself entirely, and nothing more, then it is neither less nor greater. We said therefore rightly, that these three things, when they are perfect, are by consequence equal.

5. Similar reasoning suggests to us, if indeed we can any way understand the matter, that these things exist in the soul, and that, being as it were involved in it, they are so evolved from it as to be perceived and reckoned up substantially, or, so to say, essentially. JSTot as though in a subject, as colour, or shape, or any other quality or quantity, are in the body. For anything of this kind does not go beyond the subject in which it is; for that colour or shape of this particular body cannot be also those of another body. But the mind can also love something besides itself, with that love with which it loves itself. And further, the mind does not know itself only, but also many other things. Wherefore love and knowledge are not contained in the mind as in a subject, but these also exist substantially, as the mind itself does; because, even if they are mutually predicated relatively, yet they exist each severally in their own substance. JSTor are they so mutually predicated relatively as colour and the coloured subject are; so that colour is in the coloured subject, but has not any proper substance in itself, since coloured body is a substance, but colour is in a substance; but as two friends are also two men, which are substances, while they are said to be men not relatively, but friends relatively.

6. But, further, although one who loves or one who knows is a substance, and knowledge is a substance, and love is a

228 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK ix]
7. And even if there are some bodies which cannot be wholly separated and divided, yet they would not be bodies unless they consisted of their own proper parts. A part then is predicated relatively to a whole, since every part is a part of some whole, and a whole is a whole by having all its parts.

But since both part and whole are bodies, these things are not only predicated relatively, but exist also substantially. Perhaps, then, the mind is a whole, and the love with which it loves itself, and the knowledge with which it knows itself, are as if its parts, of which two parts that whole consists. Or are there three equal parts which make up the one whole? But no part embraces the whole, of which it is a part; whereas, when the mind knows itself as a whole, that is, knows itself perfectly, then the knowledge of it extends through the whole of it; and when it loves itself perfectly, then it loves itself as a whole, and the love of it extends through the whole of it.

Is it, then, as one drink is made from wine and water and honey, and each single part extends through the whole, and yet they are three things (for there is no part of the drink

CHAP. v. ] TIEY EXIST SEVERALLY, YET ALL IN ALL. 229

wliicl does not contain these three things; for they are not joined as if they were water and oil, but are entirely commingled: and they are all substances, and the whole of that liquor which is composed of the three is one substance), â€” is it, I say, in some such way as this we are to think these three to be together, mind, love, and knowledge? But water, wine, and honey are not of one substance, although one substance results in the drink made from the commingling of them. And I cannot see how those other three are not of the same substance, since the mind itself loves itself, and itself knows itself; and these three so exist, as that the mind is neither loved nor known by any other thing at all.

These three, therefore, must needs be of one and the same essence; and for that reason, if they were confounded together as it were by a commingling, they could not be in any way three, neither could they be mutually referred to each other.

Just as if you were to make from one and the same gold three similar rings, although connected with each other, they are mutually referred to each other, because they are similar. For everything similar is similar to something, and there is a trinity of rings, and one gold. But if they are blended with each other, and each mingled with the other through the whole of their own bulk, then that trinity will fall through, and it will not exist at all; and not only will it be called one gold, as it was called in the case of those three rings, but now it will not be called three things of gold at all.

Chap. v. â€” That these three are several in themselves, and mutually all In all.

8. But in these three, when the mind knows itself and loves itself, there remains a trinity, mind, love, knowledge; and this is not confounded together by any commingling: although they are both each severally in themselves and mutually all in all, or whether each severally in each two, or each two in each.

Therefore all are in all. For certainly the mind is in itself, since it is called mind in respect to itself: although it is said to be knowing, or known, or knowable, relatively to its own
knowledge; and although also as loving, and loved, or lovable, it is referred to love, by which it loves itself. And knowledge, although it is referred to the mind that knows or is known, nevertheless is also predicated both as known and knowing in respect to itself: for the knowledge by which the mind knows itself, is not unknown to itself. And although love is referred to the mind that loves, whose love it is; nevertheless it is also love in respect to itself, so as to exist also in itself: since love too is loved, yet cannot be loved with anything except with love, that is with itself. So these things are severally in themselves. But so are they in each other, because both the mind that loves is in love, and love is in the knowledge of him that loves, and knowledge is in the mind that knows. And each severally is in like manner in each two, because the mind which knows and loves itself, is in its own love and knowledge: and the love of the mind that loves and knows itself, is in the mind and in its knowledge: and the knowledge of the mind that knows and loves itself is in the mind and in its love, because it loves itself that knows, and knows itself that loves. And hence also each two is in each severally, since the mind which knows and loves itself, is together with its own knowledge in love, and together with its own love in knowledge; and love too itself and knowledge are together in the mind, which loves and knows itself. But in what way all are in all, we have already shown above; since the mind loves itself as a whole, and knows itself as a whole, and knows its own love wholly, and loves its own knowledge wholly, when these three things are perfect in respect to themselves. Therefore these three things are marvellously inseparable from each other, and yet each of them is severally a substance, and all together are one substance or essence, whilst they are mutually predicated relatively.

Chap. vi. “One knowledge of the thing in the thing itself and another in eternal truth itself. That corporeal things, too, are to be judged by the rules of eternal truth.

9. But when the human mind knows itself and loves itself, it does not know and love anything unchangeable: and each individual man declares his own mind by one manner of speech, when he considers what takes place in himself; but defines the human mind in another by special or general knowledge. And so, when he speaks to me of his own individual mind, as to whether he understands this or that, or

CHAP. yl] soukces and kinds of knowledge. 231

does not understand it, or whether he wishes or does not wish this or that, I believe; but when he speaks the truth of the mind of man generally or specially, I recognise and approve.

Whence it is manifest, that each sees one thing in himself, such that another person may believe what he says of it, yet may not see it; but another in the truth itself, such that
another person also can gaze upon it; of which the former undergoes changes at successive times, the latter consists in an unchangeable eternity. For we do not gather a generic or specific knowledge of the human mind by means of resemblance, by seeing many minds with the eyes of the body: but we gaze upon indestructible truth, from which to define perfectly, as far as we can, not of what sort is the mind of any one man, but of what sort it ought to be upon the eternal plan.

10. Whence also, even in the case of the images of things corporeal which are drawn in through the bodily sense, and in some way infused into the memory, from which also those things which have not been seen are thought under a fancied image, whether otherwise than they really are, or even by chance as they are; â€” even here too, we are proved either to accept or reject, within ourselves, by other rules which remain altogether unchangeable above our mind, when we approve or reject anything rightly. For both when I recall the walls of Carthage which I have seen, and imagine to myself the walls of Alexandria which I have not seen, and, in preferring this to that among forms which in both cases are imaginary, make that preference upon grounds of reason; the judgment of truth from above is still strong and clear, and rests firmly upon the utterly indestructible rules of its own right; and if it is covered as it were by cloudiness of corporeal images, yet is lot wrapt up and confounded in them.

11. But it makes a difference, whether, under that or in that darkness, I am shut off as it were from the clear heaven; or whether (as usually happens on lofty mountains), enjoying the free air between both, I at once look up above to the calmest light, and down below upon the densest clouds. For whence is the ardour of brotherly love kindled in me, when I hear that some man has borne bitter torments for the excellence and stedfastness of faith? And if that man is shown to me with the finger, I am eager to join myself to him, to become acquainted with him, to bind him to myself in friendship. And accordingly, if opportunity offers, I draw near, I address him, I converse with him, I express my goodwill towards him in what words I can, and wish that in him too in turn should be brought to pass and expressed goodwill towards me; and I endeavour after a spiritual embrace in the way of belief, since I cannot search out so quickly and discern altogether his innermost heart. I love therefore the faithful and courageous man with a pure and genuine love. But if he were to confess to me in the course of conversation, or were through unguardedness to reveal about himself in any way, that either he believes anything unseemly of God, and desires too somewhat carnal in Him, and that he bore these torments on behalf of such an error, or from the desire of money for which he hoped, or from empty greediness of human praise: immediately it follows that the love with which I was borne towards him, displeased, and as it were repelled, and taken avray from an unworthy man, remains in that form, after which, believing him such as I did, I had loved him; unless perhaps I have come to love him to this end, that he may become such, while I have found him not to be such in fact.

232 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK IX.]

sliown to me with the finger, I am eager to join myself to him, to become acquainted with him, to bind him to myself in friendship. And accordingly, if opportunity offers, I draw near, I address him, I converse with him, I express my goodwill towards him in what words I can, and wish that in him too in turn should be brought to pass and expressed goodwill towards me; and I endeavour after a spiritual embrace in the way of belief, since I cannot search out so quickly and discern altogether his innermost heart. I love therefore the faithful and courageous man with a pure and genuine love. But if he were to confess to me in the course of conversation, or were through unguardedness to reveal about himself in any way, that either he believes anything unseemly of God, and desires too somewhat carnal in Him, and that he bore these torments on behalf of such an error, or from the desire of money for which he hoped, or from empty greediness of human praise: immediately it follows that the love with which I was borne towards him, displeased, and as it were repelled, and taken avray from an unworthy man, remains in that form, after which, believing him such as I did, I had loved him; unless perhaps I have come to love him to this end, that he may become such, while I have found him not to be such in fact.
And in that man, too, nothing is changed: although it can be changed, so that he may become that which I had believed him to be already. But in my mind there certainly is something changed, viz. the estimate I had formed of him, which was before of one sort, and now is of another: and the same love, at the biddinr from above of unchangeable righteousness, is turned aside from the purpose of enjoying, to the purpose of taking counsel. But the form itself of unshaken and stable truth, wherein I should have enjoyed the fruition of the man, believing him to be good, and wherein likewise I take counsel that he may be good, sheds in an immovable eternity the same light of incorruptible and most sound reason, both upon the sight of my mind, and upon that cloud of images, which I discern from above, when I think of the said man whom I had seen. Again, when I call back to my mind some arch, turned beautifully and symmetrically, which; let us say, I saw at Carthage; a certain reality that had been made known to the mind through

CHAP. VII] eternal TRUTH AND THE WORD WITHIN US. 233

the eyes, and transferred to the memory, causes the imaginary view. But I behold in my mind yet another thing, according to which that work of art pleases me; and whence also, if it displeased me, I should correct it. We judge therefore of those particular things according to that [form of eternal truth], and discern that form by the intuition of the rational mind. But those things themselves we either touch if present by the bodily sense, or if absent remember their images as fixed in our memory, or picture, in the way of likeness to them, such things as we ourselves also, if we wished and were able, would laboriously build up: figuring in the mind after one fashion the images of bodies, or seeing bodies through the body; but after another, grasping by simple intelligence what is above the eye of the mind, viz. the reasons and the unspeakably beautiful skill of such forms.

Chap. vii. â€” We conceive and beget the word within, from the things we have held in the eternal truth. The word, xohether of the creature or of the Creator, is conceived by love.

12. We behold, then, by the sight of the mind, in that eternal truth from which all things temporal are made, the form according to which we are, and according to which we do anything by true and right reason, either in ourselves, or in things corporeal; and we have the true knowledge of things, thence conceived, as it were as a word within us, and by speaking we beget it from within; nor by being born does it depart from us. And when we speak to others, we apply to the word, remaining within us, the ministry of the voice or of some bodily sign, that by some kind of sensible remembrance some similar thing may be wrought also in the mind of him that hears, â€” similar, I say, to that which does not depart from the mind of him that speaks. We do nothing, therefore, through the members of the body in our words and actions, by which the
behaviour of men is either approved or blamed, which we do not anticipate by a word uttered within ourselves. For no one willingly does anything, which he has not first said in his heart.

13. And this word is conceived by love, either of the creature or of the Creator, that is, either of changeable nature or of unchangeable truth.

234 ON THE TRINITY. [eOOK IX.

Chap. viii. â€” In ichat desire and love differ.

Therefore, either by desire or by love: not that the creature ought not to be loved; but if that love is referred to the Creator, then it will not be desire, but love. For it is then desire when the creature is loved for itself. And then it does not help a man through making use of it, but corrupts him in the enjoying it. When, therefore, the creature is either equal to us or inferior, we must use the inferior in order to God, but we must enjoy the equal only in God. For as thou oughtest to enjoy thyself, not in thyself, but in Him who made thee, so also him whom thou lovest as thyself. Let us enjoy, therefore, both ourselves and our brethren in the Lord; and hence let us not dare to yield, and as it were to relax, ourselves to ourselves in the direction downwards. ISTow a word is born, when, being thought out, it pleases us either to the effect of sinning, or to that of doing right. Therefore love, as it were a mean, conjoins our word and the mind from which it is conceived, and without any confusion binds itself as a third with them, in an incorporeal embrace.

Chap. ix. â€” In the love of spiritual things the loord horn is the same as the word conceived. It is otherwise in the love of carnal things.

14. But the word conceived and the word born are the very same when the will finds rest in knowledge itself, as is the case in the love of spiritual things. For instance, he who knows righteousness perfectly, and loves it perfectly, is already righteous; even if no necessity exist of working according to it outwardly through the members of the body. But in the love of carnal and temporal things, as in the offspring itself of animals, the conception of the word is one thing, the bringing forth another. For here what is conceived by desiring is born by attaining. Since it does not suffice to avarice to know and to love gold, except it also have it; nor to know and love to eat, or to lie with any one, unless also one does it; nor to know and love honours and power, unless they actually come to pass. Nay, all these things, even if obtained, do not suffice.

" Whosoever drinketh of this water," He says, " shall thirst again." ^ And so also the Psalmist, " He that hath conceived pain and brought forth iniquity." ^ And he speaks of pain

1 Joliniv. 13. 2 Ps. vii. 15.
or labour as conceived, when those things are conceived which it is not sufficient to know and will, and when the mind burns and grows sick with want, until it arrives at those things, and, as it were, brings them forth. Whence in the Latin language we have the word "parta" used elegantly for both "reperta" and "comperta," which words sound as if derived from bringing forth. Since "lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin."^ Wherefore the Lord proclaims,
"Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden;"^ and in another place, "Woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days!"^ And when therefore He referred all either right actions or sins to the bringing forth of the word, "By thy mouth," He says, "thou shalt be justified, and by thy mouth thou shalt be condemned,"^ intending thereby not the visible mouth, but that which is within and invisible, of the thought and of the heart.

Chap. x. â€” Whether only knowledge that is loved is the word of the mind.

15. It is rightly asked then, whether all knowledge is a word, or only knowledge that is loved. For we also know the things which we hate; but what we do not like, cannot be said to be either conceived or brought forth by the mind. For not all things which in any way touch it, are conceived by it; but some only reach the point of being known, but yet are not spoken as words, as for instance those of which we speak now. For those are called words in one way which occupy spaces of time by their syllables, whether they are pronounced or only thought; and in another way all that is known is called a word imprinted on the mind, as long as it can be brought forth from the memory and defined, even though we dislike the thing itself; and in another way still, when we like that which is conceived in the mind. And that which the apostle says, must be taken according to this last kind of word, "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost;"^ since those also say this, but according to another meaning of the term "word," of whom the Lord Himself says, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." -^ Nay, even in the case of things which we hate, when we rightly dislike and rightly censure them, we approve and like the censure bestowed upon them, and it becomes a word. Nor is it the knowledge of vices that displeases us, but the vices themselves. For I like to know and define what intemperance is; and this is its word.
Just as there are known faults in art, and the knowledge of them is rightly approved, when a connoisseur discerns the species or the privation of excellence, as to affirm and deny that it is or that it is not; yet to be without excellence and to fall away into fault, is worthy of condemnation. And to define intemperance, and to say its word, belongs to the art of morals; but to be intemperate belongs to that which that art censures. Just as to know and define what a solecism is, belongs to the art of speaking; but to be guilty of one, is a fault which the same art reprehends. A word, then, which is the point we wish now to discern and intimate, is knowledge together with love. "Whenever, then, the mind knows and loves itself, its word is joined to it by love. And since it loves knowledge and knows love, both the word is in love and love is in the word, and both are in him who loves and speaks.

Chap. xi. â€” That the image or begotten word of the mind that hioius itself is equal to the mind itself.

16. But all knowledge according to species is like the thing which it knows. For there is another knowledge according to privation, according to which we speak a word only when we condemn. And this condemnation of a privation is equivalent to praise of the species, and so is approved. The mind, then, contains some likeness to a known species, whether when liking that species or when disliking its privation. And hence, in so far as we know God, we are like Him, but not like to the point of equality, since we do not know Him to the extent of His own being. And as, when we speak of bodies by means of the bodily sense, there arises in our mind some likeness of them, which is a phantasm of the memory; for the bodies themselves are not at all in the mind, when we think them, but only the likenesses of those bodies; therefore, when we approve the latter for the former, we err, for the

1 Matt. vii. 21.

CHAP. XII] why love IS NOT THE OFFSPPJ^G OF THE MIND. 237

approving of one thing for another is an en-or; yet the image of the body in the mind is a thing of a better sort than the species of the body itself, inasmuch as the former is in a better nature, viz. in a living substance, as the mind is: so when we know God, although we are made better than we were before we knew Him, and above all when the same knowledge being also liked and worthily loved becomes a word, and so that knowledge becomes a kind of likeness of God; yet that knowledge is of a lower kind, since it is in a lower nature; for the mind is creature, but God is Creator. And from this it may be inferred, that when the mind knows and approves itself, this same knowledge is in such way its word, as that it is altogether on a par and equal with it, and the same; because it is neither the knowledge of a lover essence, as of the body, nor of a higher, as of God. And whereas knowledge bears a likeness to that which it knows, that is, of which it is the knowledge; in this case it has perfect and equal likeness, when the mind itself, which knows, is known. And so it is both image and word; because it is
uttered concerning that mind to which it is equalled in knowing, and that which is begotten is equal to the begetter.

Chap. xir. â€” Why love is not the offspring of the mind, as knowledge is so. The solution of the question. The mind with the knowledge of itself and the love of itself is the image of the Trinity.

1 7. What then is love? Will it not be an image? Will it not be a word? Will it not be begotten? For why does the mind beget its knowledge when it knows itself, and not beget its love when it loves itself? For if it is the cause of its own knowing, for the reason that it is knowable, it is also the cause of its own love because it is lovable. It is hard, then, to say why it does not beget both. For there is a further question also respecting the supreme Trinity itself, the omnipotent God the Creator, after whose image man is made, which troubles men, whom the truth of God invites to the faith by human speech; viz. why the Holy Spirit is not also to be either believed or understood to be begotten by God the Father, so that He also may be called a Son. And this question we are endeavouring in some way to investigate in the human mind, in order that from a lower image, in which our own nature itself as it

were answers, upon being questioned, in a way more familiar to ourselves, Ave may be able to direct a more practised mental vision from the enlightened creature to the unchangeable light; assuming, however, that the truth itself has persuaded us, that as no Christian doubts the Word of God to be the Son, so that the Holy Spirit is love. Let us return, then, to a more careful questioning and consideration upon this subject of that image which is the creature, that is, of the rational mind; wherein the knowledge of some things coming into existence in time, but which did not exist before, and the love of some things which were not loved before, opens to us more clearly what to say: because to speech also itself, which must be disposed in time, that thing is easier of explanation which is comprehended in the order of time.

18. First, therefore, it is clear that a thing may possibly be knowable, that is, such as can be known, and yet that it may be unknown: but that it is not possible for that to be known which is not knowable. Wherefore it must be clearly held that everything whatsoever that we know begets at the same time in us the knowledge of itself; for knowledge is brought forth from both, from the knower and from the thing known. When, therefore, the mind knows itself, it alone is the parent of its own knowledge; for it is itself both the thing known and the knower of it. But it was knowable to itself also before it knew itself, only the knowledge of itself was not in itself so long as it did not know itself. In knowing itself, then, it begets a knowledge of itself equal to itself; since it does not know itself as less than itself is, nor is its knowledge the knowledge of the essence of some one else, not only because itself knows, but also because it knows itself, as we have said above.
What then is to be said of love; why, when the mind loves itself, it should not seem also to have begotten the love of itself? For it was lovable to itself even before it loved itself, since it could love itself; just as it was knowable to itself even before it knew itself, since it could know itself.

For if it were not knowable to itself, it never could have known itself; and so, if it were not lovable to itself, it never could have loved itself. Why therefore may it not be said by loving itself to have begotten its own love, as by knowing itself.

CHAP. XIL] how an image OF THE TPJXITY IS IN THE |

it has begotten its own knowledge? Is it because it is thereby indeed plainly shown that this is the principle of love, whence it proceeds? for it proceeds from the mind itself, which is lovable to itself before it loves itself, and so is the principle of its own love by which it loves itself: but that this love is not therefore rightly said to be begotten by the mind, as is the knowledge of itself by which the mind knows itself, because in the case of knowledge the thing has been found already, which is what we call brought forth or discovered:

and this is commonly preceded by an inquiry such as to find rest when that end is attained. For inquiry is the desire of finding, or, what is the same thing, of discovering. But those things which are discovered are as it were brought forth, whence they are like offspring; but wherein, except in the case itself of knowledge? For in that case they are as it were uttered and fashioned. For although the things existed already which we found by seeking, yet the knowledge of them did not exist, which knowledge we regard as an offspring that is born.

Further, the desire which there is in seeking proceeds from him who seeks, and is in some way in suspense, and does not rest in the end whither it is directed, except that which is sought be found and conjoined with him who seeks. And this desire, that is, inquiry, although it does not seem to be love, by which that which is known is loved, for in this case we are still striving to know, yet it is something of the same kind.

For we have come to be able to call it wish, since every one who seeks wishes to find: and if that is sought which belongs to knowledge, every one who seeks wishes to know. But if he wishes ardently and earnestly, he is said to study: a word that is most commonly employed in the case of pursuing and obtaining any branches of learning. Therefore, the bringing forth of the mind is preceded by some desire, by which, through seeking and finding what we wish to know, the offspring, viz.

knowledge itself, is born. And for this reason, that desire by which knowledge is conceived and brought forth, cannot rightly be called the bringing forth and the offspring; and the same desire which led us to long for the knowing of the thing, becomes the love of the thing when known, while it holds and

^ "Partum." or "repertiim." * "Eeperiendi."
embraces its accepted offspring, that is, knowledge, and unites it to its begetter. And so there is a kind of image of the Trinity in the mind itself, and the knowledge of it, which is its offspring and its word concerning itself, and love as a third, and these three are one, and one substance. Neither is the offspring less, since the mind knows itself according to the measure of its own being; nor is the love less, since it loves itself according to the measure both of its own knowledge and of its own being.

CHAP. I] THE LOVE OF THE STUDIOUS MIND. 241

BOOK TENTH.

IX WHICH THERE IS ShOWN TO BE ANOTHER TRINITY IN THE MIND OF MAN, AND ONE THAT APPEARS MUCH MORE EVIDENTLY, VIZ. IN HIS MEMORY, UNDERSTANDING, AND WILL.

Chap. i. â€“ The love of the studious mind, that is, of one desirous to know is not the love of a thing which it does not know.

1. Let us now proceed, then, in due order, with a more exact purpose, to explain this same point more thoroughly. And first, since no one can love at all a thing of which he is wholly ignorant, we must carefully consider of what sort is the love of those who are studious, that is, of those who do not already know, but are still desiring to know any branch of learning. Now certainly, in those things whereof the word study is not commonly used, love often arises from hearsay, when the reputation of anything for beauty inflames the mind to the seeing and enjoying it; since the mind knows generically wherein consist the beauties of corporeal things, from having seen them very frequently, and since there exists within a faculty of approving that which outwardly is longed for. And when this happens, the love that is called forth is not of a thing wholly unknown, since its genus is thus known. But when we love a good man whose face we never saw, we love him from the knowledge of his virtues, which values we know in the truth itself. But in the case of learning, it is for the most part the authority of others who praise and commend it that kindles our love of it; although nevertheless we could not burn with any zeal at all for the study of it, unless we had already in our mind at least a slight impression of the knowledge of each kind of learning. For who, for instance, would devote any care and labour to the learning of rhetoric, unless he knew before that it was the science of speaking? Sometimes, again, we marvel at the results of learning itself, which we have heard of or experienced; and hence burn to obtain, by learning.

DE TEIN. Q
the power of attaining these results. Just as if it were said to one who did not know his letters, that there is a kind of learning which enables a man to send words, wrought with the hand in silence, to one who is ever so far absent, for him in turn to whom they are sent to gather these words, not with his ears, but with his eyes; and if the man were to see the thing actually done, is not that man, since he desires to know how he can do this thing, altogether moved to study with a view to the result which he already knows and holds? So it is that the studious zeal of those who learn is kindled: for that of which any one is utterly ignorant, he can in no way love.

2. So also, if any one hear an unknown sign, as, for instance, the sound of some word of which he does not know the signification, he desires to know what it is; that is, he desires to know what thing it is which it is agreed shall be brought to mind by that sound: as if he heard the word temetum^ uttered, and not knowing, should ask what it is. He must then know already that it is a sign, i.e. that the word is not an empty sound, but that something is signified by it; for in ether respects this trisyllabic word is known to him already, and has already impressed its articulate form upon his mind through the sense of hearing. And then what more is to be required in him, that he may go on to a greater knowledge of that of which all the letters and all the spaces of its several sounds are already known, unless that it shall at the same time have become known to him that it is a sign, and shall have also moved him with the desire of knowing of what it is the sign? The more, then, the thing is known, yet not fully known, the more the mind desires to know concerning it what remains to be known. For if he knew it to be only such and such a spoken word, and did not know that it was the sign of something, he would seek nothing further, since the sensible thing is already perceived as far as it can be by the sense. But because he knows it to be not only a spoken word, but also a sign, he wishes to know it perfectly; and no sign is known perfectly, except it be known of what it is the sign. He then who with ardent carefulness seeks to know this, and inflamed by studious zeal perseveres in the search; can such an one be said to be without love? What

CHAP. I.] THE EXCELLENCE OF HUMAN SPEECH. 243

tliep does he love? Tor certainly nothing can he loved unless it is known. For that man does not love those three syllables which he knows already. But if he loves this in them, that he knows them to signify something, this is not the point now in question, for it is not this which he seeks to know. But we are now asking what it is he loves, in that which he is desirous to know, but which certainly he does not yet know; and we are therefore wondering why he loves, since we know most assuredly that nothing can be loved unless
it be known. What then does he love, except that he knows and perceives in the reasons of things what excellence there is in learning, in which the knowledge of all signs is contained; and what benefit there is in the being skilled in these, since by them human fellowship mutually communicates its own perceptions, lest the assemblies of men should be actually worse than utter solitude, if they were not to mingle their thoughts by conversing together? The soul, then, discerns this fitting and serviceable species, and knows it, and loves it; and he who seeks the meaning of any words of which he is ignorant, studies to render that species perfect in himself as much as he can: for it is one thing to behold it in the light of truth, another to desire it as within his own capacity. For he beholds in the light of truth how great and how good a thing it is to understand and to speak all tongues of all nations, and so to hear no tongue and to be heard by none as from a foreigner. The beauty, then, of this knowledge is already discerned by thought, and the thing being known is loved; and that thing is so regarded, and so stimulates the studious zeal of learners, that they are moved with respect to it, and desire it eagerly in all the labour which they spend upon the attainment of such a capacity, in order that they may also embrace in practice that which they know beforehand by reason. And so every one, the nearer he approaches that capacity in hope, the more fervently desires it with love; for those branches of learning are studied the more eagerly, which men do not despair of being able to attain; for when any one entertains no hope of attaining his end, then he either loves lukewarmly or does not love at all, howsoever he may see the excellence of it. Accordingly, because the knowledge of all languages is almost universally felt to be

244 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

hopeless, every one studies most to know that of his own nation; but if he feels that he is not sufficient even to comprehend this perfectly, yet no one is so indolent in this knowledge as not to wish to know, when he hears an unknown word, what it is, and to seek and learn it if he can. And while he is seeking it, certainly he has a studious zeal of learning, and seems to love a thing he does not know; but the case is really otherwise. For that species touches the mind, which the mind knows and thinks, wherein the fitness is clearly visible which accrues from the associating of minds with one another, in the hearing and returning of known and spoken words.

And this species kindles studious zeal in him who seeks what indeed he knows not, but gazes upon and loves the unknown form to which that pertains. If then, for example, any one were to ask. What is tcmim (for I had instanced this word already), and it were said to him. What does this matter to you? he will answer. Lest perhaps I hear some one speaking, and understand him not; or perhaps I read the word somewhere, and know not what the writer meant. Who, pray, would say to such an inquirer. Do not care about understanding what you hear; do not care about knowing what you read? For almost every rational soul quickly discerns the beauty of that knowledge, through which the thoughts of men are mutually made known by the enunciation of significant words; and it is on account of this fitness thus known, and because known therefore loved, that such an unknown word is studiously sought out. When then he hears and learns that wine was called "temetum" by our forefathers, but that the word is already quite obsolete in our
present usage of language, he will think perhaps that he has still need of the word on
account of this or that book of those forefathers. But if he holds these also to be
superfluous, perhaps he does now come to think the word not worth remembering, since
he sees it has nothing to do with that species of learning which he knows with the mind,
and gazes upon, and so loves.

3. Wherefore in all cases the love of a studious mind, that is, of one that wishes to know
what it does not know, is not the love of that thing which it does not know, but of that
which it knows; on account of which it wishes to know what

CHAP. II.] WE LOVE ONLY WHAT WE KNOW. 245

it does not know. Or if it is so inquisitive as to be carried away, not for any other cause
known to it, but by the mere love of knowing things unknown; then such an inquisitive
person is, doubtless, distinguishable from an ordinary student, yet does not, any more
than he, love things he does not know; nay, on the contrary, he is more fitly said to hate
things he knows not, of which he wishes that there should be none, in wishing:
to know everything. But lest any one should lay before us a more difficult question, by
declaring that it is just as impossible for any one to hate what he does not know, as to
love what he does not know, we will not withstand what is true; but it must be
understood that it is not the same thing to say he loves to know things unknown, as to say
he loves things unknown. For it is possible that a man may love to know things unknown;
but it is not possible that he should love things unknown. For the word to know is not
placed there without meaning; since he who loves to know things unknown, does not love
the unknown things themselves, but the knowing of them. And unless he knew what
knowing means, no one could say confidently, either that he knew, or that he did not
know. For not only he who says I know, and says so truly, must needs know what
knowing is; but he also who says, I do not know, and says so confidently and truly, and
knows that he says so truly, certainly knows what knowing is; for he both distinguishes
him who does not know from him who knows, when he looks into himself, and says truly
I
do not know; and whereas he knows that he says this truly, whence should he know it, if
he did not know what knowing is?

Chap. ii â€“ No one at all loves things unhioion.

4. No studious person, then, no inquisitive person loves things he does not know, even
while he is urgent with the most vehement desire to know what he does not know. For he
either knows already generically what he loves, and longs to know it also in some
individual or individuals, which perhaps are praised, but not yet known to him; and he
pictures in his mind an imaginary form by which he may be stirred to love.
And whence does he picture this, except from those things which he has already known? And yet perhaps he will not
love it, if he find that form which was praised to "be unlike that other form which was
figured and in thought most fullyknown to his mind. And if he has loved it, he will begin
to love it from that time when he learned it; since a little before, that form which was
loved was other than that, which the mind that formed it, had been wont to exhibit to
itself.
But if he shall find it similar to that form which report had proclaimed, and to be such
that he could truly say I was already loving thee; yet certainly not even then did he love a
form he did not know, since he had known it in that likeness.
Or else we see somewhat in the species of the eternal reason, and therein love it; and
when this is manifested in some image of a temporal thing, and we believe the praises of
those who have made trial of it, and so love it, then we do not love anything unknown,
according to that which we have already sufficiently discussed above. Or else, again, we
love something known, and on account of it seek something unknown; and so it is by no
means the love of the thing unknown that possesses us, but the love of the thing known,
to which we know the unknown thing belongs, so that we know that too which we seek
still as unknown; as a little before I said of an unknown word. Or else, again, every one
loves the very knowing itself, as no one can fail to know who desires to know anything.
For these reasons they seem to love things unknown who wish to know anything which
they do not know, and who, on account of their vehement desire of inquiry, cannot be
said to be without love. But how different the case really is, and that nothing at all can be
loved which is not known, I think I must have persuaded every one who carefully looks
upon truth. But since the examples which we have given belong to those who desire to
know something which they themselves are not, we must take thought lest perchance
some new notion appear, when the mind desires to know itself.

Chap. hi. â€” That when the mind loves itself, it is not unhown to itself.

5. What, then, does the mind love, when it seeks ardently to know itself, whilst it is still
unknown to itself? For, behold, the mind seeks to know itself, and is excited thereto by
studious zeal. It loves, therefore; but what does it love?

CHAP. III.] THE MIND THAT LOVES ITSELF, KNOWS ITSELF. 247

Is it itself? But how can this be when it does not yet know itself, and no one can love
what he does not know? Is it that report has declared to it its own species, in like way as
we commonly hear of people who are absent? Perhaps, then, it does not love itself, but
loves that which it imagines of itself, which is perhaps widely different from what itself
is:
or if the phantasy in the mind is like the mind itself, and so when it loves this fancied
image, it loves itself before it knew itself, because it gazes upon that which is like itself;
then it knew other minds from which to picture itself, and so is known to itself
generically. Why, then, when it knows other minds, does it not know itself, since nothing can possibly be more present to it than itself? But if, as other eyes are more known to the eyes of the body, than those eyes are to themselves; then let it not seek itself, because it never will find itself. For eyes can never see themselves except in looking-glasses; and it cannot be supposed in any way that anything of that kind can be applied also to the contemplation of incorporeal things, so that the mind should know itself, as it were, in a looking-glass. Or does it see in the reason of eternal truth how beautiful it is to know one's self, and so loves this which it sees, and studies to bring it to pass in itself? because, although it is not known to itself, yet it is known to it how good it is, that it should be known to itself.

And this, indeed, is very wonderful, that it does not yet know itself, and yet knows already how excellent a thing it is to know itself. Or does it see some most excellent end, viz. its own serenity and blessedness, by some hidden remembrance, which has not abandoned it, although it has gone far onwards, and believes that it cannot attain to that same end unless it know itself? And so while it loves that, it seeks this; and loves that which is known, on account of which it seeks that which is unknown. But why should the remembrance of its own blessedness be able to last, and the remembrance of itself not be able to last as we? that so it should know itself which wishes to attain, as well as know that to which it wishes to attain? Or when it loves to know itself, does it love, not itself, which it does not yet know, but the very act of knowing; and feel the more annoyed that itself is wanting to its

248 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

own knowledge wherewith it wishes to embrace all things? And it knows what it is to know; and whilst it loves this, which it knows, desires also to know itself. Whereby, then, does it know its own knowing, if it does not know itself? For it knows that it knows other things, but that it does not know itself; for it is from hence that it knows also what knowing is. In what way, then, does that which does not know itself, know itself as knowing anything? For it does not know that some other mind knows, but that itself does so. Therefore it knows itself. Further, when it seeks to know itself, it knows itself now as seeking. Therefore again it knows itself. And hence it cannot altogether not know itself, when certainly it does so far know itself as that it knows itself as not knowing itself. But if it does not know itself not to know itself, then it does not seek to know itself. And therefore, in the very fact that it seeks itself, it is clearly convicted of being more known to itself than unknown. For it knows itself as seeking and as not knowing itself, in that it seeks to know itself.

Chap. iv. â€” How the mind knows itself, not in part, but as a whole.

6. "What then shall we say? Does that which knows itself in part, not know itself in part? But it is absurd to say, that it does not as a whole know what it knows. I do not say, it knows wholly; but what it knows, it as a whole knows.
When therefore it knows anything about itself, which it can only know as a whole, it knows itself as a whole. But it does know that itself knows something, while yet except as a whole it cannot know anything. Therefore it knows itself as a whole.

Further, what in it is so known to itself, as that it lives?
And it cannot at once be a mind, and not live, while it has also something over and above, viz. that it understands: for the souls of beasts also live, but do not understand. As therefore a mind is a whole mind, so it lives as a whole. But it knows that it lives. Therefore it knows itself as a whole. Lastly, when the mind seeks to know itself, it already knows that it is a mind: otherwise it knows not whether it seeks itself, and perhaps seeks one thing while intending to seek another.

For it might happen that itself was not a mind, and so, in

CHAP, v.] THE MIND KNOWS ITSELF AS A WHOLE. 249

seeking to know a mind, that it did not seek to know itself.
Wherefore since the mind, when it seeks to know what mind is, knows that it seeks itself, certainly it knows that itself is a mind. Furthermore, if it laiows this in itself, that it is a mind, and a whole mind, then it knows itself as a whole. But suppose it did not know itself to be a mind, but in seeking itself only knew that it did seek itself. For so, too, it may possibly seek one thing for another, if it does not know this: but that it may not seek one thing for another, without doubt it knows what it seeks. But if it knows what it seeks, and seeks itself, then certainly it knows itself. What therefore more does it seek? But if it knows itself in part, but still seeks itself in part, then it seeks not itself, but part of itself.

For when we speak of the mind itself, we speak of it as a whole. Further, because it knows that it is not yet found by itself as a whole, it knows how much the whole is. And so it seeks that which is wanting, as we are wont to seek to recall to the mind something that has slipped from the mind, but has not altogether gone away from it; since we can recognise it, when it has come back, to be the same thing that we were seeking. But how can mind come into mind, as though it were possible for the mind not to be in the mind?

Add to this, that if, having found a part, it does not seek itself as a whole, yet it as a whole seeks itself. Therefore as a whole it is present to itself, and there is nothing left to be sought: for that is wanting which is sought, not the mind which seeks. Since therefore it as a whole seeks itself, nothing of it is wanting. Or if it does not as a whole seek itself, but the part which has been found seeks the part which has not yet been found; then the mind does not seek itself, of which no part seeks itself. For the part which has been found, does not seek itself; nor yet does the part itself which has not yet been found, seek itself; since it is sought by that part which has been already found. Wherefore, since neither the mind as a whole seeks itself, nor does any part of it seek itself, the mind does not seek itself at all.

Chap. y. â€” Wlnj the soul is enjoined to know itself. Whence come the errors of the mind concerning its own substance.
7. Why therefore is it enjoined upon it, that it should know itself? I suppose, in order that it may consider itself,

250 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

and live according to its own nature; that is, seek to be regulated according to its own nature, viz. under Him to whom it ought to be subject, and above those things to which it is to be preferred; under Him by whom it ought to be ruled, above those things which it ought to rule. For it does many things through vicious desire, as though in forgetfulness of itself.

For it sees some things intrinsically excellent, in that more excellent nature which is God: and whereas it ought to remain stedfast that it may enjoy them, it is turned away from Him, by wishing to appropriate those things to itself, and not to be like to Him by His gift, but to be what He is by its own, and it begins to move and slip gradually down into less and less, which it thinks to be more and more; for it is neither sufficient for itself, nor is anything at all sufficient for it, if it withdraw from Him who is alone sufficient: and so throudi want and distress it becomes too intent upon its own actions and upon the unquiet delights which it obtains through them: and thus, by the desire of acquiring knowledge from those things that are without, the nature of which it knows and loves, and which it feels can be lost unless held fast with anxious care, it loses its security, and thinks of itself so much the less, in proportion as it feels the more secure that it cannot lose itself.

So, whereas it is one thing not to know oneself, and another not to think of oneself (for we do not say of the man that is skilled in much learning, that he is ignorant of grammar, when he is only not thinking of it, because he is thinking at the time of the art of medicine); whereas, then, I say it is one thing not to know oneself, and another not to think of oneself, such is the strength of love, that the mind draws in with itself those things which it has long thought of with love, and has grown into them by the close adherence of diligent study, even when it returns in some way to think of itself. And because these things are corporeal which it loved without through the carnal senses; and because it has become entangled with them by a kind of daily familiarity, and yet cannot carry those corporeal things themselves with itself inwardly as it were into the region of incorporeal nature; therefore it combines certain images of them, and thrusts them thus made from itself into itself. For it uives to the forming; of them

CHAP. VII.] OPINIONS OF PHILOSOPHERS RESPECTING THE SOUL. 251

somewhat of its own substance, yet preserves the while something by which it may judge freely of the species of those images; and this something is more properly the mind, that is, the rational understanding, which is preserved that it may judge. For we feel that we have those parts of the soul, which are shaped by the likenesses of corporeal things, in common also with beasts.
Chap. vi. "The opinion which the mind has of itself is deceitful.

8. But the mind errs, when it so lovingly and intimately connects itself with these images, as even to consider itself to be something of the same kind. For so it is conformed to them to some extent, not by being this, but by thinking it is so: not that it thinks itself to be an image, but outright that very thing itself of which it entertains the image. For there still lives in it the power of distinguishing the corporeal thing which it leaves without, from the image of that corporeal thing which it contains therefrom within itself: except when these images are so projected as if felt without and not thought within, as in the case of people who are asleep, or mad, or in a trance.

Chap. vii. "The opinions of philosophers respecting the substance of the soul.

The error of those who are of opinion that the soul is corporeal, does not arise from defective knowledge of the soul, but from their adding thereto something foreign to it.

What is meant by finding.

9. When, therefore, it thinks itself to be something of this kind, it thinks itself to be a corporeal thing; and since it is perfectly conscious of its own superiority, by which it rules the body, it has hence come to pass that the question has been raised what part of the body has the greater power in the body; and the opinion has been held that this is the mind, nay, that it is even the whole soul altogether. And some accordingly think it to be the blood, others the brain, others the heart; not as the Scripture says, "I will praise Thee, Lord, with my whole heart;" and, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart;" but for this word by misapplication or metaphor is transferred from the body to the soul; but they have simply thought it to be that small part itself of the body, which we see when the inward parts are rent asunder. Others, again,

^Ps. ix., cxi., and cxxxviii., Deut. vi. 5, and Matt. xxii. 37.

252 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

have believed the soul to "be made up of very minute and individual corpuscles, which they call atoms, meeting in themselves and cohering. Others have said that its substance is air, others fire. Others have been of opinion that it is no substance at all, since they could not think any substance unless it is body, and they did not find that the soul was body; but it was in their opinion the tempering together itself of our body, or the combining together of the elements, by which that flesh is as it were conjoined. And hence all of these have held the soul to be mortal; since, whether it were body, or some combination of body, certainly it could not in either case continue always without death. But they who have held its substance to be some kind of life the reverse of corporeal, since they have found it to be a life that animates and quickens every living body, have by consequence striven also, according as each was able, to prove it immortal, since life cannot be without life. For as to that fifth kind of body, I know not what, which some
have added to the four well-known elements of the world, and have said that the soul was made of this, I do not think we need spend time in discussing it in this place. For either they mean by body what we mean by it, viz. that of which a part is less than the whole in extension of place, and they are to be reckoned among those who have believed the mind to be corporeal: or if they call either all substance, or all changeable substance, body, whereas they know that not all substance is contained in extension of place by any length and breadth and height, we need not contend with them about a question of words.

10. Now, in the case of all these opinions, any one who sees that the nature of the mind is at once substance, and yet not corporeal, â€” that is, that it does not occupy a less extension of place with a less part of itself, and a greater with a greater, â€” must needs see at the same time that they who are of opinion that it is corporeal, do not err from defect of knowledge concerning mind, but because they associate with it qualities without which they are not able to conceive any nature at all. For if you bid them conceive of existence that is without corporeal phantasms, they hold it merely nothing. And so the mind would not seek itself, as thou dost want inr to itself.

CHAP. VIII.] WHAT IS meant by finding. 253

For what is so present to knowledge as that which is present to the mind? Or what is so present to the mind as the mind itself? And hence what is called "invention," if we consider the origin of the word, what else does it mean, unlessthat to find out is to "come into" that which is sought? Those things accordingly which come into the mind as it were of themselves, are not usually said to be found out, although they may be said to be known; since we did not endeavour by seeking to come into them, that is, to invent or find them out. And therefore, as the mind itself really seeks those things which are sought by the eyes or by any other sense of the body (for the mind directs even the carnal sense, and then finds out or invents, when that sense comes to the things which are sought); so, too, it finds out or invents other things which it ought to know, not with the medium of corporeal sense, but through itself, when it "comes into" them; and this, whether in the case of the higher substance that is in God, or of the other parts of the soul; just as it does when it judges of bodily images themselves, for it finds these within, in the soul, impressed through the body.

Chap. yiii. â€” How the soul inquires into itself. Whence comes the error of the soul concerning itself.

11. It is then a wonderful question, in what manner the soul seeks and finds itself; at what it aims in order to seek, or whither it comes, that it may come into or find out. For what is so much in the mind as the mind itself? But because it is in those things which it thinks of with love, and is wont to be in sensible, that is, in corporeal things with love, it is unable
to be in itself without the images of those corporeal things. And hence shameful error arises to block its way, whilst it cannot separate from itself the images of sensible things, so as to see itself alone. For they have marvellously cohered with it by the close adhesion of love. And herein consists its uncleanness; since, while it strives to think of itself alone, it fancies itself to be that, without which it cannot think of itself. When, therefore, it is bidden to become acquainted with itself, let it not seek itself as though it were withdrawn from itself; but let it withdraw that which it has

* Invenire. ^ Inventa.

254 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

added to itself. For itself lies more deeply within, not only than those sensible things, which are clearly without, but also than the images of them; which are indeed in some part of the soul, viz. that which beasts also have, although these want understanding, which is proper to the mind. As therefore the mind is within, it goes forth in some sort from itself, when it exerts the affection of love towards these, as it were, footprints of many acts of attention. And these footprints are, as it were, imprinted on the memory, at the time when the corporeal things which are without are perceived in such way, that even when those corporeal things are absent, yet the images of them are at hand to those who think of them. Therefore let the mind become acquainted with itself, and not seek itself as if it were absent; but fix upon itself the act of attention of the will, by which it was wandering among other things, and let it think of itself. So it will see that at no time did it ever not love itself, at no time did it ever not know itself; but by loving another thing together with itself it has confounded itself with it, and in some sense has grown one with it. And so, while it embraces diverse things, as though they were one, it has come to think those things to be one which are diverse.

Chap. ix. â€” The mind knows itself by the very act of understanding the precept of knowing itself.

12. Let it not therefore seek to discern itself as though absent, but take pains to discern itself as present. For let it take knowledge of itself as if it did not know itself, but let it distinguish itself from that which it knows to be another. For how will it take pains to perform that very precept which is given it, " Know thyself," if it knows not either what " know " means or what " thyself " means? But if it knows both, then it knows also itself. Since " know thyself " is not so said to the mind as is " Know the cherubim and the seraphim; " for they are absent, and we believe concerning them, and according to that belief they are declared to be certain celestial powers. Nor yet again as it is said. Know the will of that man: for this it is not within our reach to perceive at all, either by sense or understanding, unless by corporeal signs actually set forth; and this in such a way that we rather believe than understand. Nor again as it is said to a man.
Behold thy own face; which he can only do in a looking-glass. For even our own face itself is out of the reach of our own seeing it; because it is not there where our look can be directed. But when it is said to the mind. Know thyself; then it knows itself by that very stroke by which it understands the word "thyself;" and this for no other reason than that it is present to itself. But if it does not understand what is said, then certainly it does not do as it is bid to do. And therefore it is bidden to do that, which it does, when it understands the very precept that bids it.

Chap. x. â€” Every mind knows certainly three things concerning itself â€” that it understands, that it is, and that it lives.

13. Let it not then add anything to that which it knows itself to be, when it is bidden to know itself. For it knows, at any rate, that this is said to itself; namely, to itself, that is, and that lives, and that understands. But a dead body also is, and cattle live; but neither a dead body nor cattle understand. Therefore it so knows that it so is, and that it so lives, as an understanding is and lives. When, therefore, for example's sake, the mind thinks itself air, it thinks that air understands; it knows, however, that itself understands, but it does not know itself to be air, but only thinks so. Let it separate that which it thinks itself; let it discern that which it knows; let this remain to it, about which not even have they doubted who have thought the mind to be this corporeal thing or that. For certainly every mind does not consider itself to be air; but some think themselves fire, others the brain, and some one kind of corporeal thing, others another, as I have mentioned before; yet all know that they themselves understand, and are, and live; but they refer understanding to that which they understand, but to be, and to live, to themselves. And no one doubts, either that no one understands who does not live, or that no one lives of whom it is not true that he is; and that therefore by consequence that which understands both is and lives; not as a dead body is which does not live, nor as a soul lives which does not understand, but in some proper and more excellent manner. Further, they know that they will, and they equally know that no one can will who is not and who does not live; and they also refer that will itself to something.

256 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

...
Therefore the knowledge and science of many things are contained in two of these three, memory and understanding; but will must be present, that we may enjoy or use them. For we enjoy things known, in which things themselves the will finds delight for their own sake, and so reposes; but we use those things, which we refer to some other thing which we are to enjoy. Neither is the life of man vicious and culpable in any other way, than as wrongly using and wrongly enjoying. But it is no place here to discuss this.

14. But since we treat of the nature of the mind, let us remove from our consideration all knowledge which is received from without, through the senses of the body; and attend more carefully to the position which we have laid down, that all minds know and are certain concerning themselves. For men certainly have doubted whether the power of living, of remembering, of understanding, of willing, of thinking, of knowing, of judging, be of air, or of fire, or of the brain, or of the blood, or of atoms, or besides the usual four elements of a fifth kind of body, I know not what; or whether the combining or tempering together of this our flesh itself has power to accomplish these things. And one has attempted to establish this, and another to establish that. Yet who ever doubts that he himself knows, and remembers, and understands, and wills, and thinks, and knows, and judges ? Seeing that even if he doubts, he lives; if he doubts, he remembers why he doubts; if he doubts, he understands that he doubts; if he doubts, he wishes to be certain: if he doubts, he thinks; if he doubts, he knows that he does not know; if he doubts, he judges that he ought not to assent rashly. Whosoever therefore doubts about anything else, ought not to doubt of all these things; which if they were not, he would not be able to doubt of anything.

15. They who think the mind to be either a body or the combination or tempering of the body, will have all these things to seem to be in a subject, so that the substance is air, or fire, or
16. And all these do not perceive that the mind knows itself, even when it seeks for itself, as we have already shown. But nothing is at all rightly said to be known while its substance is not known. And therefore, when the mind knows itself, it knows its own substance; and when it is certain about itself, it is certain about its own substance. But it is certain about itself, as those things which are said above prove convincingly; although it is not at all certain whether itself is air, or fire, or some body, or some function of body. Therefore it is not any of these. And that whole which is bidden to know itself, belongs to this, that it is certain that it is not any of those things of which it is uncertain, and is certain that it is that only, which only it is certain that it is. For it thinks in this way of fire, or air, and whatever else of the body it thinks of. ISTeither can it in any way be brought to pass that it should so think that which itself is, as it thinks that which itself is not. Since it thinks all these things through an imaginary phantasy, whether fire, or air, or this or that body, or that part or combination and tempering together of the body: nor assuredly is it said to be all those things, but some one of them. But if it were any one of them, it would think this one in a different manner from the rest, viz. not through an imaginary phantasy, as absent things are thought, which either themselves or some of like kind have been touched by the bodily sense; but by some

DE TKIN. K

258 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK X.]

inward, not feigned, but true presence (for nothing is more present to it than itself); just as it thinks that itself lives, and remembers, and understands, and wills. Eor it knows these things in itself, and does not imagine them as though it had touched them by the sense outside itself, as corporeal things are touched. And if it attaches nothing to itself from the thought of these things, so as to think itself to be something of the kind, then whatsoever remains to it from itself, that alone is itself.

Chap. xi. â€” In memory understanding, and will, we have to note ability, learning, and use. Memory, understanding, and will are one essentially, and three relatively.

17. Putting aside, then, for a little while all other things, of which the mind is certain concerning itself, let us especially consider and discuss these three â€” memory, understanding, will.
For we may commonly discern in these three the character of the abilities of the young also; since the more tenaciously and easily a boy remembers, and the more acutely he understands, and the more ardently he studies, the more praiseworthy is he in point of ability. But when the question is about any one's learning, then we ask not how solidly and easily he remembers, or how shrewdly he understands; but what it is that he remembers, and what it is that he understands. And because the mind is regarded as praiseworthy, not only as being learned, but also as being good, one gives heed not only to what he remembers and what he understands, but also to what he wishes; not how
ardently he wishes, but first what it is he wishes, and then how greatly he wishes it. For the mind that loves eagerly is then to be praised, when it loves that which ought to be loved eagerly. Since, then, we speak of these three "ability, knowledge, use" the first of these is to be considered under the three heads, of what a man can do in memory, and understanding, and will. The second of them is to be considered in regard to that which any one has in his memory and in his understanding, whither he has attained by a studious will. But the third, viz. use, lies in the will, which handles those things that are contained in the memory and understanding, whether it refer them to anything further, or rest satisfied with them as an end.

For to use, is to take up something into the power of the will;

CHAP. XL] MEMORY, UNDERSTANDING, AND WILL. 259

and to enjoy, is to use with joy, not any longer of hope, but of the actual thing.
Accordingly, every one who enjoys, uses; for he takes up something into the power of the will, wherein he also is satisfied as with an end. But not every one who uses, enjoys, if he has sought after that, which he takes up into the power of the will, not on account of the thing itself, but on account of something else.

18. Since, then, these three, memory, understanding, will, are not three lives, but one life; nor three minds, but one mind; it follows certainly that neither are they three substances, but one substance. Since memory, which is called life, and mind, and substance, is so called in respect to itself; but it is called memory, relatively to something. And I should say the same also of understanding and of will, since they are called understanding and will relatively to something; but each in respect to itself is life, and mind, and essence.

And hence these three are one, in that they are one life, one mind, one essence; and whatever else they are severally called in respect to themselves, they are called also together, not plurally, but in the singular number. But they are three, in that wherein they are mutually referred to each other; and if they were not equal, and this not only each to each, but also each to all, they certainly could not mutually contain each other; for not only is each contained by each, but also all by each. For I remember that I have memory, and understanding, and will; and I understand that I understand, and will, and remember; and I will that I will, and remember, and understand; and I remember together my whole memory, and understanding, and will. For that of my memory which I do not remember, is not in my memory; and nothing is so much in the memory as memory itself. Therefore I remember the whole memory. Also, whatever I understand I know that I understand, and I know that I will whatever I will; but whatever I know I remember. Therefore I remember the whole of my understanding, and the whole of my will.

Likewise, when I understand these three things, I understand them together as whole. For there is none of things intelligible which I do not understand, except what I do not know; but what I do not know, I neither remember, nor will. Therefore,
whatever of things intelligible I do not understand, it follows also that I neither remember nor will. And whatever of things intelligible I remember and will, it follows that I understand. My will also embraces my whole understanding and my whole memory, whilst I use the whole that I understand and remember. And, therefore, while all are mutually comprehended by each, and as wholes, each as a whole is equal to each as a whole, and each as a whole at the same time to all as wholes; and these three are one, one life, one mind, one essence.

Chap. xii. â€” The mind is an image of the Trinity in its own memory, and understanding and will.

19. Are we, then, now to go upward, with whatever strength of purpose we may, to that chiefest and highest essence, of which the human mind is an inadequate image, yet an image? Or are these same three things to be yet more distinctly made plain in the soul, by means of those things which we receive from without, through the bodily sense, wherein the knowledge of corporeal things is impressed upon us in time?

Since we found the mind itself to be such in its own memory, and understanding, and will, that since it was understood always to know and always to will itself, it was understood also at the same time always to remember itself, always to understand and love itself, although not always to think of itself as separate from those things which are not itself; and hence its memory of itself, and understanding of itself, are with difficulty discerned in it. For in this case, where these two things are very closely conjoined, and one is not preceded by the other by any time at all, it looks as if they were not two things, but one called by two names; and love itself is not so plainly felt to exist when the sense of need does not disclose it, since what is loved is always at hand. And hence these things may be more lucidly set forth, even to men of duller minds, if such topics are treated of as are brought within reach of the mind in time, and happen to it in time; while it remembers what it did not remember before, and sees what it did not see before, and loves what it did not love before. But this discussion demands now another beginning, by reason of the measure of the present book.

CHAP. I.] A TEACE OF THE TRINITY IN THE OUTER MAN. 2 C 1

BOOK ELEVENTH.
A KIND OF IMAGE OF THE TRINITY IS POINTED OUT, EVEN IN THE OUTEP.
3IAN; FIEST OF ALL, IN THOSE THINGS "WHICH AEE TEHCEIVED FPOM
WITH-
OUT, VIZ. IN THE BODIL Y OBJECT TH AT IS SEEN, AND IN THE FORM THAT
IS IMPRESSED BY IT UPON^THE SIGHT OF THE SEEP, AND IN THE PURPOSE
OF THE WILL THAT COMBINES THE TWO; ALTHOUGH THESE THREE ARE
NEITHER MUTUALLY EQUAL, NOR OF ONE SUBSTANCE. NEXT, A KIND OF
TRINITY, IN THREE SOMEWHTS OF ONE SUBSTANCE, IS OBSERVED TO
EXIST IN THE MIND ITSELF, AS IT WEPE INTRODUCED THERE FROM THOSE
THINGS THAT ARE PERCEIVED FROM WITHOUT; VIZ. THE IMAGE OF THE BODILY
OBJECT WHICH IS IN THE MEMORY, AND THE IMPRESSION FORMED THERE-
FROM WHEN THE mind's EYE OF THE THINKER IS TURNED TO IT, AND THE
PURPOSE OF THE WILL COMBINING BOTH. AND THIS LATTER TRINITY IS
ALSO SAID TO PERTAI
N TO THE OUTER MAN. IN THAT IT IS INTRODUCED INTO
THE MIND FROM BODILY OBJECTS, WHICH ARE PERCEIVED FROM
WITHOUT.

Chap. j. â€” A trace of ilie Trinity also In the outer man.

1. jSTo one doubts that, as the inner man is endued with understanding, so is the outer
with bodily sense. Let us try, then, if we can, to discover in this outer man also, some
trace, however slight, of the Trinity, not that itself also is in the same manner the image
of God. For the opinion of the apostle is evident, which declare
s the inner man to be
renewed in the knowledfre of God after the image of Him that created him â€¢} whereas
he says also in another place, " But though our outer man perish, yet the inward man is
renewed day by day."^ Let us seek, then, as we can, in that which perishes, some image
of the Trinity, if not so express, yet perhaps more easy to be discerned. Eor that outer
man also is not called man to no purpose, but because there is in it some likeness of the
inner man. And owing to that very order of our condition whereby Ave are made mortal
and fleshly, we handle things visible more easily and more familiarly than things
intelligible; since the former are outward, the latter inward; and the former are perceived
by the bodily sense, the latter are

1 Col. iii. 10. 2 2 Cor. iv. 16.

2G2 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XI.]

â– understood by the mind; and we ourselves, i.e. our minds, are not sensible things, that
is, bodies, but intelligible things, since we are life. And yet, as I said, we are so familiarly
occupied with bodies, and our thought has projected itself outwardly with so wonderful a
proclivity towards bodies, that, when it has been withdrawn from the uncertainty of things corporeal,
that it may be fixed with a much more certain and stable knowledge in that which is spirit, it flies back to those bodies, and seeks rest there whence it has drawn weakness. And to this its feebleness we must suit our argument; so that, if we would endeavour at any time to distinguish more aptly, and intimate more readily, the inward spiritual thing, we must take examples of likenesses from outward things pertaining to the body. The outer man, then, endued as he is with the bodily sense, is conversant with bodies. And this bodily sense, as is easily observed, is fivefold; seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching. But it is both a good deal of trouble, and is not necessary, that we should inquire of all these five senses about that which we seek. For that which one of them declares to us, holds also good in the rest. Let us use, then, principally the testimony of the eyes. For this bodily sense far surpasses the rest; and in proportion to its difference of kind, is nearer to the sidit of the mind.

Chap. ii. â€” A certain trinity in the sight. That there are three things in sight, which differ in their own nature. In what manner from a visible thing vision is produced, or the image of that thing which is seen. The matter is shown more clearly by an example. Iloio these three combine in one.

2. When, then, we see any corporeal object, these three things, as is most easy to do, are to be considered and distinguished: First, the object itself which we see; whether a stone, or flame, or any other thing that can be seen by the eyes; and this certainly might exist also already before it was seen; next, vision or the act of seeing, which did not exist before we perceived the object itself which is presented to the sense; in the third place, that which keeps the sense of the eye in the object seen, so long as it is seen, viz. the attention of the mind. In these three, then, not only is there an evident distinction, but also a diverse nature. For, first, that visible body is of a far different nature from the sense of the eyes, through the incidence of which sense upon it vision arises. And what plainly is vision itself other than perception informed by that thing which is perceived? Although there is no vision, if the visible object be withdrawn, nor could there be any vision of the kind at all if there were no body that could be seen; yet the body by which the sense of the eyes is informed, when that body is seen, and the form itself which is imprinted by it upon the sense, which is called vision, are by no means of the same substance. For the body that is seen is, in its own nature, separable; but the sense, which was already in the living subject, even before it saw what it was able to see, when it fell in with something visible, â€” or the vision which comes to be in the sense from the visible body when now brought into connection with it and seen, â€”
the sense, then, I say, or the vision, that is, the sense informed from without, belongs to
the nature of the Kving subject, which is altogether other than that body which we
perceive by seeing, and by which the sense is not so formed as to be sense, but as to be
vision. For unless the sense were also in us before the presentation to us of the sensible
object, we should not differ from the blind, at times when we are seeing nothing, whether
in darkness, or when our eyes are closed.
But we differ from them in this, that there is in us, even when we are not seeing, that
whereby we are able to see, which is called the sense; whereas this is not in them, nor are
they called blind for any other reason than because they have it not. Further also, that
attention of the mind which keeps the sense in that thing which we see, and connects
both, not only differs from that visible thing in its nature; in that the one is mind, and the
other body; but also from the sense and the vision itself: since this attention is the act of
the mind alone; but the sense of the eyes is called a bodily sense, for no other reason than
because the eyes themselves also are members of the body; and although an inanimate
body does not perceive, yet the soul commingled with the body perceives through a
corporeal instrument, and that instrument is called sense. And this sense, too, is cut off
and extinguished by suffering on the part of the body, when any one is blinded; while the
mind remains the same; and its

264 ON THE TRINITY. [cOOK XI.

attention, since the eyes are lost, has not, indeed, the sense of the body which it may join
by seeing to the body without it, and so fix its look thereupon and see it, yet by the very
effort shows that, although the bodily sense be taken away, itself can neither perish nor
be diminished. For there remains unimpaired a desire of seeing, whether it can be carried
into effect or not. These three, then, the body that is seen, and vision itself, and the
attention of mind which joins both together, are manifestly distinguishable, not only on
account of the properties of each, but also on account of the difference
of their natures.

3. And since, in this case, the perception does not proceed from that body which is seen,
but from the body of the living being that perceives, with which the soul is tempered
together in some wonderful way of its own; yet vision is produced, that is, the sense itself
is informed, by the body which is seen; so that now, not only is there the power of sense,
which can exist also unimpaired even in darkness, provided the eyes are sound, but also a
sense actually informed, which is called vision. Vision, then, is produced from a thing
that is visible; but not from that alone, unless there be present also one who sees.
Therefore vision is produced from a thing that is visible, together with one who sees; in
such way that, on the part of him who sees, there is the sense of seeing and the intention
of looking and gazing at the object; while yet that information of the sense, which is
called vision, is imprinted only by the body which is seen, that is, by some visible thing;
which being taken away, that form remains no more which was in the sense so long as
that which was seen was present:
yet the sense itself remains, which existed also before anything was perceived; just as the
trace of a thing in water remains so long as the body itself, which is impressed on it, is in
the water; but if this has been taken away, there will no longer be any such trace, although the water remains, which existed also before it took the form of that body. And therefore we cannot, indeed, say that a visible thing produces the sense; yet it produces the form, which is, as it were, its own likeness, which comes to be in the sense, when we perceive anything by seeing. But we do not distinguish, through the same

CHAP. II.] THE FORM OF THE OBJECT IMPRINTED ON THE SENSE. 265

sense, the form of the body which, we see, from the form which is produced by it in the sense of him who sees; since the union of the two is so close that there is no room for distinguishing them. But we gather by reason that we could not perceive at all, unless some similitude of the body seen was wrought in our own sense. For when a ring is imprinted on wax, it does not follow that no image is produced, because we cannot discern it, unless when it has been separated. But since, after the wax is separated, what was made remains, so that it can be seen; we are on that account easily persuaded that there was already also in the wax a form impressed from the ring before it was separated from it. But if the ring were imprinted upon a fluid, no image at all would appear when it was withdrawn; and yet none the less for this ought the reason to discern that there was in that fluid before the ring was withdrawn a form of the ring produced from the ring, which is to be distinguished from that form which is in the ring, whence that form was produced which ceases to be when the ring is withdrawn, although that in the ring remains, whence the other was produced. And so the perception of the eyes may not be supposed to contain no image of the body, which is seen as long as it is seen; because, when that is withdrawn, the image does not remain. And hence it is very difficult to persuade men of duller mind that an image of the visible thing is formed in our sense, when we see it, and that this same form is vision.

4. But if any perhaps attend to what I am about to mention, they will find no such trouble in this inquiry. Commonly, when we have looked for some little time at a light, and then shut our eyes, there seem to play before our eyes certain bright colours variously changing themselves, and shining less and less until they wholly cease; and these we must understand to be the remains of that form which was wrought in the sense, while the shining body was seen, and that these variations take place in them as they slowly and step by step fade away. For the lattices, too, of windows, should we happen to be gazing at them, appear often in these colours; so that it is evident that our sense is affected by such impressions from that thing which is seen. That form

266 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XL

therefore existed also while we were seeing, and at that time it was more clear and express. But it was then closely joined with the species of that thing which was being perceived, so that it could not be at all distinguished from it; and this was vision itself.
Why, even when the little flame of a lamp is in some way, as it were, doubled by the divergent rays of the eyes, a twofold vision comes to pass, although the thing which is seen is one. For the same rays, as they shoot forth each from its own eye, are affected severally, in that they are not allowed to meet evenly and conjointly, in regarding that corporeal thing, so that one combined view might be formed from both. And so, if we shut one eye, we shall not see two flames, but one as it really is. But why, if we shut the left eye, that appearance ceases to be seen, which was on the right; and if, in turn, we shut the right eye, that drops out of existence which was on the left, is a matter both tedious in itself, and not necessary at all to our present subject to inquire and discuss. For it is enough for the business in hand to consider, that unless some image, precisely like the thing we perceive, were produced in our sense, the appearance of the flame would not be doubled according to the number of the eyes; since a certain way of perceiving has been employed, which could separate the union of rays. Certainly nothing that is really single can be seen as if it were double by one eye, draw it down, or press, or distort it as you please, if the other is shut.

5. The case then being so, let us remember how these three things, although diverse in nature, are tempered together into a kind of unity; that is, the form of the body which is seen, and the image of it impressed on the sense, which is vision or sense informed, and the will of the mind which applies the sense to the sensible thing, and retains the vision itself in it.

The first of these, that is, the visible thing itself, does not belong to the nature of the living being, except when we discern our own body. But the second belongs to that nature to this extent, that it is wrought in the body, and through the body in the soul; for it is wrought in the sense, which is neither without the body nor without the soul. But the third is of the soul alone, because it is the will. Although then the substances of these three are so different, yet they coalesce into such a unity that the two former can scarcely be distinguished, even with the intervention of the reason as judge, namely the form of the body which is seen, and the image of it which is wrought in the sense, that is, vision.

And the will so powerfully combines these two, as both to apply the sense, in order to be informed, to that thing which is perceived, and to retain it when informed in that thing. And if it is so vehement that it can be called love, or desire, or lust, it vehemently affects also the rest of the body of the living being- and where a duller and harder matter does not resist, changes it into like shape and colour. One may see the little body of a chameleon vary with ready change, according to the colours which it sees. And in the case of other animals, since their grossness of flesh does not easily admit change, the offspring, for the most part, betray the particular fancies of the mothers, whatever it is that they have beheld with special delight. For the more tender, and so to say, the more formable, are the primary seeds, the more effectually and capably they follow the bent of the soul of the mother, and the phantasy that is wrought in it through that body, which it
that trinity is produced from memory, from internal vision, and from the will which
unites "both. And when these three things are combined into one, from that combination^ itself they are called thought.^ And in these three there is no longer any diversity of
substance. For neither is the sensible body there, which is altogether distinct from the
nature of the living being, nor is the bodily sense there informed so as to produce vision,
nor does the will itself perform its office of applying the sense, that is to be informed, to
the sensible body, and of retaining it in it when informed: but in place of that bodily
species which was perceived from without, there comes the memory retaining that
species which the soul has imbibed through the bodily sense; and in place of that vision
which was outward when the sense was informed through the sensible body, there comes
a similar vision within, Awhile the eye of the mind is informed from that which the
memory retains, and the corporeal things that are thought of are absent; and the will
itself, as before it applied the sense yet to be informed to the corporeal thing presented
from without, and united it thereto when informed, so now turns the sight of the mind that
recollects, to the memory, in order that the mental sight may be informed by that which
the memory has retained, and so there may be in the thought a like vision.
And as it was the reason that distinguished the visible appearance by which the bodily
sense was informed, from the similitude of it, which was wrought in the sense when
informed in order to produce vision (otherwise they had been so united as to be thought
altogether one and the same); so, although that phantasy also, which arises from the mind
thinking of the appearance of a body that it has seen, consists of the similitude of the
body which the memory retains, together with that which is thence formed in the eye of
the mind that recollects; yet it so seems to be one and single, that it can only be
discovered to be two by the judgment of reason, by which we
â€” understand that which remains in the memory, even when we think it from some other source, to be a different thing from that which is brought into being when we remember, that is, come back again to the memory, and there find the same ap-

* Coactus. 2 Co;;citatio.

**CHAP. IV.** now this unity comes to pass. 269

pearance. And if this were not now there, we should say that we had so forgotten as to be altogether unable to recollect.

And if the eye of him who recollects were not informed from that thing which was in the memory, the vision of the thinker could in no way take place; but the conjunction of both, that is, of that which the memory retains, and of that which is thence expressed so as to inform the eye of him who recollects, makes them appear as if they were one, because they are exceedingly like. But when the eye of the thinker is turned away thence, and has ceased to look at that which was perceived in the memory, then nothing of the form that was impressed thereon will remain in that eye, and it will be informed by that to which it had again been turned, so as to bring about another thought. Yet that remains which it has left in the memory, to which it may again be turned when we recollect it, and being turned thereto may be informed by it, and become one with that whence it is informed.

Chap. iv. â€” Hoio this unity conies toioass.

7. But if that will which moves to and fro, hither and thither, the eye that is to be informed, and unites it when formed, shall have wholly converged to the inward phantasy, and shall have absolutely turned the mind's eye from the presence of the bodies which lie around the senses, and from the very bodily senses themselves, and shall have wholly turned it to that image, which is perceived within; then so exact a liveness of the bodily species expressed from the memory is presented, that not even reason itself is permitted to discern whether the body itself is seen without, or only something of the kind thought of within. For men sometimes, either allured or frightened by over-much thinking of visible tilings, have even suddenly uttered words accordingly, as if in real fact they were engaged in the very midst of such actions or sufferings. And I remember some one telling me that he was wont to perceive in thought, so distinct and as it were solid, a form of a female body, as to be moved, as though it were a reality. Such power has the soul over its own body, and such influence has it in turning and changing the quality of its garment; just as a man may be affected when clothed who

270 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XI.]

sticks to liis clothing. It is the same kind of affection, too, with which we are beguiled through imaginations in sleep.
But it makes a very great difference, whether the senses of the body are lulled to torpor, as in the case of sleepers, or disturbed from their inward structure, as in that of madmen, or distracted in some other mode, as in that of diviners or prophets; and so from one or other of these causes, the intention of the mind is forced by a kind of necessity upon those images which occur to it, either from memory, or by some other hidden force through certain spiritual commixtures of a similarly spiritual substance: or whether, as sometimes happens to people in health and awake, that the will occupied by thought turns itself away from the senses, and so forms the eye of the mind by various images of sensible things, as though those sensible things themselves were actually perceived. But these impressions of images not only take place when the will is directed upon such things by desiring them, but also when, in order to avoid and guard against them, the mind is carried away to look upon these very things so as to flee from them.

And hence, not only desire, but fear, carries on both the sense to be informed by the sensible things themselves, and the eye of the mind by the images of those sensible things. Accordingly, the more vehement has been either fear or desire, the more distinctly is the eye informed, whether in the case of him who perceives by means of the body that which lies close to him in place, or in the case of him who thinks from the image of the body which is contained in the memory. What then a body in place is to the bodily sense, that the similitude of a body in memory is to the eye of the mind; and what the vision of one who looks at a thing is to that appearance of the body from which the sense is informed, that the vision of a thinker is to the image of the body established in the memory, from which the eye of the mind is informed; and what the intention of the will is towards a body seen and the vision to be combined with it, in order that a certain unity of three things may therein take place, although their nature is diverse, that the same intention of the will is towards combining the image of the body which is in the memory, and the vision of the thinker, that is, the form which

CHAP. v.] THE EXTERNAL TRINITY NOT AN IMAGE OF GOD. 271

the eye of the mind has taken in returning to the memory, in order that here too a certain unity may take place of three things, not now distinguished by diversity of nature, but of one and the same substance; because this whole is within, and the whole is one mind.

Chap. v. â€” The trinity of the outer man, or of external vision, is not an image of God. The likeness of God is desired even in sins. In external vision the form of the corporeal thing is as it were the parent, vision the offspring; but the enmity that unites these intimates the Holy Spirit.

8. Eut as, when the form and species of a body have perished, the will cannot recall to it the sense of perceiving; so, when the image which memory bears is blotted out by forgetfulness, the will will be unable to force back the eye of the mind by recollection, so as to be formed thereby. But because the mind has great power to imagine not only things forgotten, but also things that it never perceived, or experienced, either by increasing, or diminishing, or changing, or compounding, after its pleasure, those which have not
dropped out of its remembrance, it often imagines things to be such as either it knows they are not, or does not know that they are. And in this case we have to take care, lest it either speak falsely that it may deceive, or hold an opinion so as to be deceived. And if it avoid these two evils, then imagined phantasms do not hinder it: just as sensible things experienced or retained by memory do not hinder it, if they are neither passionately sought for when pleasant, nor basely shunned when unpleasant. But when the will leaves better things, and greedily wallows in these, then it becomes imclean; and they are so thought of hurtfully, when they are present, and also more hurtfully when they are absent. And he therefore lives badly and degenerately who lives according to the trinity of the outer man; because it is the purpose of using things sensible and corporeal, that has begotten also that trinity, which although it imagines within, yet imagines things without. For no one could use those things even well, unless the images of things perceived by the senses were retained in the memory. And unless the will for the greatest part dwells in the higher and interior things, and unless that will itself, which is accommodated either to bodies without, or to the images of them within.

272 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XL

refers whatever it receives in them to a better and truer life, and rests in that end by gazing at which it judges that those things ought to be done; what else do we do, but that which the apostle prohibits us from doing, when he says, " Be not conformed to this world"? And therefore that trinity is not an image of God: since it is produced in the mind itself through the bodily senses, from the lowest, that is, the corporeal creature, than which the mind is higher. Yet neither is it altogether dissimilar: for what is there that has not a likeness of God, in proportion to its kind and measure, seeing that God made all things very good, and for no other reason except that He Himself is supremely good? In so far, therefore, as anything that is, is good, in so far plainly it has still some likeness of the supreme good, at however great a distance; and if a natural likeness, then certainly a right and well-ordered one; but if a faulty likeness, then certainly a debased and perverse one. For even souls in their very sins strive after nothing else but some kind of likeness of God, in a proud and preposterous, and, so to say, slavish liberty. So neither could our first parents have been persuaded to sin unless it had been said, " Ye shall be as gods." Yet everything in the creatures which is in any way like God, is not also to be called His image; but that alone than which He Himself alone is higher. For that only is in all points copied from Him, between which and Himself no nature is interposed.

9. Of that vision then, that is, of the form which is wrought in the sense of him who sees, the form of the bodily thing from which it is wrought, is, as it were, the parent. But it is not a true parent; whence neither is that a true offspring; for it is not altogether born therefrom, since something else is applied to the bodily thing in order that it may be formed from it, namely, the sense of him who sees. And for this reason, to love this, is to be estranged.* Therefore the will which unites both, viz. the quasi-parent and the quasichild, is more spiritual than either of them. For that
bodily thing which is discerned, is not spiritual at all. But the vision which comes into existence in the sense, has something spiritual mingled with it, since it cannot come into existence without the soul. But it is not wholly spiritual; since that which is formed is a sense of a body. Therefore the will which unites both, is confessedly more spiritual, as I have said; and so it begins to intimate, as it were, the person of the Spirit in that trinity. But it belongs more to the sense that is formed, than to the bodily thing whence it is formed. 'Or the sense and will of an animate being belongs to the soul, not to the stone or other bodily thing that is seen. It does not therefore proceed from that bodily thing as from a parent; yet neither does it proceed from that other as it were offspring, namely, the vision and form that is in the sense. For the will existed before the vision came to pass, which will applied the sense that was to be formed to the bodily thing that was to be discerned; but it was not yet satisfied. For how could that which was not yet seen satisfy? And satisfaction means a will that rests content. And, therefore, we can neither call the will the quasi-offspring of vision, since it existed before vision; nor the quasi-parent, since that vision was not formed and expressed from the will, but from the bodily thing that was seen.

Chap. vi. — Of what hind we are to reckon the rest and end of the will in vision.

10. Perhaps we can rightly call vision the end and rest of the will, only with respect to this one object [that is, the bodily thing that is to be seen]. For it will not therefore will nothing else, because it sees something which it was willing. It is not therefore the will itself of man altogether, of which the end is nothing else than blessedness; but the will provisionally directed to this one object, which has as its end in seeing nothing but vision, whether it refer the thing seen to any other thing or not. For if it does not refer the vision to anything further, but willed only to see it, there can be no question made about showing that the end of the will is the vision; for it is manifest. But if it does refer it to anything further, then certainly it does will something else, and it will not be now a will to see; or if to see, not one to see the par-
ticular thing. Just as if any one wished to see the scar, that from the nee he might learn
that there had been a wound; or wished to see the window, that through the window he
might see the passers-by: all these and other such acts of will have their own proper ends,
which are referred to the end of that will, by which we will to live blessedly, and to attain
to that life which is not referred to anything else, but suffices of itself to him who loves it.
The will then to see, has as its end visi(g«
and the will to see this particular thing, has
as its end th^ vision of this particular thing. Therefore the will to see
^ the scar, desires its own end, that is, the vision of the scar, and does not reach beyond
it; for the will to prove that there had been a wound, is a distinct will, although dependent
upon that, of which the end also is to prove that there had been a wound. And the will to
see the window, has as its end the vision of the window; for that is another and further
will which depends upon it, viz. to see the passers-by through the window, of which also
the end is the vision of the passers-by.
But all the several wills that are bound to each other, are at once right, if that one is good,
to which all are referred; and if that is bad, then all are bad. And so the connected series
of right wills is a sort of road which consists as it were of certain steps, whereby to
ascend to blessedness; but the entanglement of depraved and distorted wills is a bond by
which he will be bound who thus acts, so as to be cast into outer darkness.^ Blessed
therefore are they who in act and character sing the song of the steps:^ and woe to those
that draw sin, as it were a long rope.^ And it is just the same to speak of the will being in
repose, which we call its end, if it is still referred to something further, as if we should
say that the foot is at rest in walking, when it is placed there, whence yet another foot
may be planted in the direction of the man's steps. But if something so satisfies, that the
will acquiesces in it with a certain delight
; it is nevertheless not yet that to which the man
ultimately tends; but this too is referred to something farther, so as to be regarded not as
the native country of a citizen, but as a place of refreshment, or even of stopping, for a
traveller.


CITAP. YIL] a TrJXITY IX THE MEMOR.Y. 275

CiiAP. VII. â€” There is another trinity in the memorj of him luho thinks over again
what he has seen.

11. But yet again, take the case of another trinity, more inward indeed than that which is
in things sensible, and in the senses, but which is yet conceived from thence; while now it
is no longer the sense of the body that is informed from the body, but the eye of the mind
that is informed from the memory, since the species of the body which we perceived from
without has inhered in the memory itself. And that species, which is in the memory, we
call the quasi-parent of that which is wrought in the phantasy of one who thinks. For it
was in the memory also, before we thought it, just as the body was in place also before
we perceived it, in order that vision might take place. But when it is thought, then from
that form which the memory retains, there is copied in the eye of the mind of him who
thinks, and by remembrance is formed, that species, which is the quasi-offspring of that which the memory retains. But neither is the one a true parent, nor the other a true offspring. For the sight of the mind which is formed from memory when we think anything by recollection, does not proceed from that species which we remember as seen; since we could not indeed have remembered those things, unless we had seen them; yet the eye of the mind, which is formed by the recollection, existed also before we saw the body that we remember; and therefore how much more before we committed it to memory? Although therefore the form which is wrought in the eye of the mind of him who remembers, is wrought from that form which is in the memory; yet the eye of the mind itself does not exist from thence, but existed before it. And it follows, that if the one is not a true parent, neither is the other a true offspring. But both that quasi-parent and that quasi-offspring insinuate something, where the inner and truer things may appear more practically and more certainly.

12. Further, it is more difficult to discern clearly, whether the will which combines the vision to the memory is not either the parent or the offspring of some one of them; and the likeness and equality of the same nature and substance cause this difficulty of distinguishing. For it is not possible

276 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XI.]

to do in this case, as with the sense that is formed, which is easily discerned from the sensible body without, and again the will from both, on account of the difference of nature which is mutually in all three, and of which we have treated sufficiently above. For although this trinity, of which we at present speak, is introduced into the mind from without; yet it is transacted within, and there is no part of it without the nature of the mind itself. In what way, then, can it be demonstrated that the will is neither the quasi-parent, nor the quasi-offspring, either of the corporeal likeness which is contained in the memory, or of that which is copied thence in recollecting; when it so unites both in the act of thinking, as that they appear singly as one, and cannot be discerned except by reason? It is then first to be considered that there cannot be any will to remember, unless we retain in the recesses of the memory either the whole, or some part, of that thing which we wish to remember. For the very will to remember cannot arise in the case of a thing which we have forgotten altogether and absolutely; since we have already remembered that the thing which we wish to remember is, or has been, in our memory. For example, if I wish to remember what I supped on yesterday, either I have already remembered that I did sup, or if not yet this, at least I have remembered something about that time itself, if nothing else; at all events, I have remembered yesterday, and that part of yesterday in which people usually sup, and what supping is. For if I had not remembered anything at all of this land, I could not wish to remember what I supped on yesterday. Whence we may perceive that the will of remembering proceeds, indeed, from those things which are retained in the memory, with the addition also of those which, by the act of discerning, are copied thence through
recollection; that is, from the combination of something which we have remembered, and of the vision which was thence wrought, when we remembered, in the mind's eye of him who thinks. But the will itself which unites both requires also some other thing, which is, as it were, close at hand, and adjacent to him who remembers. There are, then, as many trinities of this kind as there are remembrances; because there is no one of them wherein there are not these three

CHAP. viii] thought more varied than memory. 277

things, \iz. that which was stored up in the memory also before it was thought, and that which takes place in the thought when this is discerned, and the will that unites both, and from both and itself as a third, completes one single thing. Or is it rather that we so recognise some one trinity in this kind as that we are to speak generally, of whatever corporeal species lie hidden in the memory, as of a single unity, and again of the general vision of the mind which remembers and thinks such things, as of a single unity, to the combination of which two there is to be joined as a third the will that combines them, that this whole may be a certain unity made up from three?

Chap. viii. â€” Different modes of thinking.

But since the eye of the mind cannot look at all things together, in one glance, which the memory retains, these trinities of thought alternate in a series of withdrawals and successions, and so that trinity becomes most innumerably numerous; and yet not infinite, if it pass not beyond the number of things stored up in the memory. For, although we begin to reckon from the earliest perception which any one has of material things through any bodily sense, and even take in also those things which he has forgotten, yet the number would undoubtedly be certain and determined, although innumerable. For we not only call infinite things innumerable, but also those, which, although finite, exceed any one's power of reckoning.

13. But we can hence perceive a little more clearly that what the memory stores up and retains is a different thing from that which is thence copied in the thought of the man who remembers, although, when both are combined together, they appear to be one and the same; because we can only remember just as many species of bodies as we have actually perceived, and so great, and such as we have actually perceived; for the mind imbibes them into the memory from the bodily sense; whereas the things seen in thought, although drawn from those things which are in the memory, yet are multiplied and varied innumerably, and altogether without end. For I remember, no doubt, but one sun, because, according to the fact, I have seen but one; but if I please, I think of two, or three, or as many as I will; but the sight of my mind, when I think of many, is formed from the same memory

278 ON THE TRINITY. , [BOOK XI.]
by wliicli I remember one. And I remember it just as large as I saw it. For if I remember it as larger or smaller than I saw it, then I no longer remember what I saw, and so I do not remember it. But because I remember it, I remember it as large as I saw it; yet I think of it as greater or as less according to my will. And I remember it as I saw it; but I think of it as running its course as I will, and as standing still where I will, and as coming whence I will, and whither I will. For it is in my power to think of it as square, although I remember it as round; and again, of what colour I please, although I have never seen, and therefore do not remember, a green sun; and as the sun, so all other things. But owing to the corporeal and sensible nature of these forms of things, the mind falls into error when it imagines them to exist without, in the same mode in which it thinks them within, either when they have already ceased to exist without, but are still retained in the memory, or when in any other way also, that which we remember is formed in the mind, not by faithful recollection, but after the variations of thought.

14. Although it very often happens that we believe also a true narrative, told us by others, of things which the narrators have themselves perceived by their senses. And in this case, when we think the things narrated to us, as we hear them, the eye of the mind does not seem to be turned back to the memory, in order to bring up visions in our thoughts; for we do not think these things from our own recollection, but upon the narration of another; and that trinity does not here seem to come to its completion, which is made when the species lying hid in the memory, and the vision of the man that remembers, are combined by will as a third. For I do not think that which lay hid in my memory, but that which I hear, when anything is narrated to me. I am not speaking of the words themselves of the speaker, lest any one should think that I have gone off to that other trinity, which is transacted without, in sensible things, or in the senses.; but I am thinking of those species of material things, which the narrator signifies to me by words and sounds; which species certainly I think of not by remembering, but by hearing. But if we consider the matter more carefully, even in this case, the limit

CHAP. VIII.] HOW WE EEMEMBER WHAT WE ARE TOLD. 270

of the memory is not overstepped. For I could not even understand the narrator, if I did not remember generically the individual things of which he speaks, even although I then hear them for the first time as connected together in one tale.

For he who, for instance, describes to me some mountain stripped of timber, and clothed with olive trees, describes it to me who remember the species both of mountains, and of timber, and of olive trees; and if I had forgotten these, I should not know at all of what he was speaking, and therefore could not think that description. And so it comes to pass, that every one who thinks things corporeal, whether he himself imagine anything, or hear, or read, either a narrative of things past, or a foretelling of things future, has recourse to his memory, and finds there the limit and measure of all the forms at which he gazes in his thought. For no one can think at all, either- a colour or a form of body, which he never
saw, or a sound which he never heard, or a flavour which he never tasted, or a scent which he never smelt, or any touch of a corporeal thing which he never felt. But if no one thinks anything corporeal except what he has perceived, because no one remembers anything corporeal except what he has perceived, then, as is the limit of perceiving in bodies, so is the limit of thinking in the memory. For the sense receives the species from that body which we perceive, and the memory from the sense; but the eye of the mind of the thinker, from the memory.

15. Further, as the will applies the sense to the body, so it applies the memory to the sense, and the eye of the mind of the thinker to the memory. But that which harmonizes those things and unites them, itself also disjoins and separates them, that is, the will. But it separates the bodily senses from the bodies that are to be perceived, by movement of the body, either to hinder our perceiving the thing, or that we may cease to perceive it: as when we avert our eyes from that which we are unwilling to see, or shut them; so, again, the ears from sounds, or the nostrils from smells. So also we turn away from tastes, either by shutting the mouth, or by casting the thing out of the mouth. In touch, also, we either remove the bodily thing, that we may not touch what we do not wish, or

280 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XI.]

if we were already touching it, we fling or push it away. So the will acts by movement of the body, lest the bodily sense should be joined to the sensible things. And it does this according to its power; for when it endures hardship in so doing, on account of the condition of slavish mortality, then torment is the result, in such wise that nothing remains to the will save endurance. But the will averts the memory from the sense; when, through its being intent on something else, it does not suffer things present to cleave to it. As any one may see, when often we do not seem to ourselves to have heard some one who was speaking to us, because we were thinking of some thing else. But this is a mistake; for we did hear, but we do not remember, because the words of the speaker presently slipped out of the perception of our ears, through the bidding of the will being diverted elsewhere, by which they are usually fixed in the memory. Therefore, we should say more accurately in such a case, we do not remember, than, we did not hear; for it happens even in reading, and to myself very frequently, that when I have read through a page or an epistle, I do not know what I have read, and I begin it again. For the purpose of the will being fixed on something else, the memory was not so applied to the bodily sense, as the sense itself was applied to the letters. So, too, any one who walks with the will intent on something else, does not know where he has got to; for if he had not seen, he would not have walked thither, or would have felt his way in walking with greater attention, especially if he was passing through a place he did not know; yet, because he walked easily, certainly he saw; but because the memory was not applied to the sense itself in the same way as the sense of the eyes was applied to the places through which he was passing, he could not remember at all even the last thing he saw. Now, to will to turn away the eye of the mind from that which is in the memory, is nothing else but not to think thereupon.
Chap. ix. “Species is produced by species in succession.
16. In this arrangement, then, while we begin from the bodily species and arrive finally at the species which comes to be in the gaze of the thinker, we find four species born, as

CHAP. X.] POWER OF THE IMAGINATION. 281

it were, step by step one from the other, the second from the first, the third from the second, the fourth from the third:

since from the species of the body which is perceived, there arises that which comes to be in the sense of the perceiver; and from this, that which comes to be in the memory; and from this, that which comes to be in the eye of the mind of the thinker.

And the will, therefore, thrice combines as it were parent with offspring: first the species of the body with that to which it gives birth in the sense of the body; and that again itself with that which from it comes to be in the memory; and this also, thirdly, with that which is born from it in the gaze of the thinker's mind. But the intermediate combination which is the second, although it is nearer to it, is yet not so like the first as the third is. For there are two kinds of vision, the one of perception, the other of thinking. But in order that the vision of the thinker may come to be, there is wrought for the purpose in the memory from the vision of perception something like it, to which the eye of the mind may so turn itself in thinking, as the sight of the eyes turns itself in perceiving to the bodily object. I have, therefore, chosen to put forward two trinities in this kind: one when the vision of perception is formed from the bodily object, the other when the vision of a thinker is formed from the memory. But I have refrained from commending an intermediate one; because we do not commonly call it vision, when the form which comes to be in the sense of him who perceives, is entrusted to the memory. Yet in all cases the will does not appear, unless as the combiner as it were of parent and offspring; and so, proceed from whence it may, it can be called neither parent nor offspring.

Chap. x. “The wiangincUion also adds even to tilings we have not seen^ those things xwhich we Jiave seen elsewhere.

17. But if we do not remember except what we have perceived, nor think except what we remember; why do we commonly think things that are false, when certainly we do not remember falsely those things which we have perceived; unless it be because that will, which I have already taken pains to show as much as I can to be the uniter and the separator of things of this kind, leads the sight of the thinker, that is to be formed, after its own will and pleasure, through the hidden

282 ON THE TPJNITY. [BOOK XL
stores of the memory; and, in order to think those things which we do not remember, impels it to take one thing from hence, and another from thence, from those which we do remember; and these things combining into one vision make something, which is therefore called false, because it either does not exist without in the nature of corporeal things, or does not seem copied from the memory, in that we do not remember that we ever perceived such a thing. For who ever saw a black swan? And therefore no one remembers a black swan; yet who is there that cannot think it? For it is easy to apply to that shape which we have come to know by seeing it, a black colour, which we have not the less seen in other bodies; and because we have perceived both, we remember both. Neither do I remember a bird with four feet, because I never saw one; but I contemplate such a phantasy very easily, by adding to some winged shape such as I have seen, two other feet, such as I have likewise seen. And therefore, in thinking conjointly, what we remember to have perceived singly, we seem not to think that which we remember; while we really do this under the rule of the memory, whence we take everything which we join together after our own pleasure in manifold and diverse ways. For we do not think even the very magnitudes of bodies, which magnitudes we never saw, without help of the memory; for the measure of space to which our gaze commonly reaches through the magnitude of the world, is the measure also to which we enlarge the bulk of bodies, whatever they may be, when we think them as great as we can. And reason, indeed, proceeds still beyond, but phantasy does not follow her; as when reason announces the infinity of number also, which no vision of him who thinks according to corporeal things, can apprehend. The same reason also teaches that the most minute atoms are infinitely divisible; yet when we have come to those slight and minute particles which we remember to have seen, then we can no longer behold phantasms more slender and more minute, although reason does not cease to continue to divide them. So we think no corporeal things, except either those we remember, or from those things which we remember.

* Vid. Retract, ii, 15. 2.

CHAP. XI.] NUMBEE, WEIGHT, AND MEASURE. 283

Chap. xi.â€”Number, xo'e'liglit, measure.

18. But because those things which are impressed on the memory singly, can be thought according to number, measure seems to belong to the memory, but number to the vision; because, although the multiplicity of such visions is innumerable, yet a limit not to be transgressed is prescribed for each in the memory. Therefore, measure appears in the memory, number in the vision of things: as there is some measure in visible bodies themselves, to which measure the sense of those who see is most numerous adjusted, and from one visible object is formed the sight of many beholders, so that even a single person sees commonly a single thing under a double appearance, on account of the number of his two eyes, as we have laid down above. Therefore there is some measure in those things whence visions are copied, but in the visions themselves there is number.
But the will which unites and regulates these things, and combines them into a certain unity, and does not quietly rest its desire of perceiving or of thinking, except in those things from whence the visions are formed, resembles weight. And therefore I would just notice by way of foretaste these three things, measure, number, weight, which are to be perceived in all other things also. In the meantime, I have now shown as much as I can, and to whom I can, that the will is the uniter of the visible thing and of the vision, as it were, of parent and of offspring, whether in perceiving or in thinking, and that it cannot be called either parent or offspring. Wherefore time admonishes us to seek for this same trinity in the inner man, and to strive to pass inwards from that animal and carnal and (as he is called) outward man, of whom I have so long spoken. And here we hope to be able to find an image of God according to the Trinity, He Himself helping our efforts, who as things themselves show, and as Holy Scripture also witnesses, has regulated all things in measure, and number, and weight.  

1 Wisd. xi. 21.

284 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

BOOK TWELFTH.

COMMENCING WITH A DISTINCTION BETWEEN WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE, POINTS OUT A KIND OF TRINITY, OF A PECULIAR SORT, IN THAT WHICH IS PROPERLY CALLED KNOWLEDGE, AND WHICH IS THE LOWER OF THE TWO; AND THIS TRINITY, ALTHOUGH IT CERTAINLY PERTAINS TO THE INNER MAN, IS STILL NOT YET TO BE CALLED OR THOUGHT AN IMAGE OF GOD.

Chap. i.—Of what Und are the outer and the inner man.

1. Come now, and let us see where lies, as it were, the boundary line between the outer and inner man. For whatever we have in the mind common with the beasts, thus much is rightly said to belong to the outer man. For the outer man is not to be considered to be the body only, but with the addition also of a certain peculiar life of the body, whence the structure of the body derives its vigour, and all the senses with which he is equipped for the perception of outward things; and when the images of these outward things already perceived, that have been fixed in the memory, are seen again by recollection, it is still a matter pertaining to the outer man. And in all these things we do not differ from the beasts, except that in shape of body we are not prone, but upright.
And we are admonished through this, by Him who made us, not to be like the beasts in that which is our better part; that is, the mind, while we differ from them by the upright nature of the body. Not that we are to throw our mind into those bodily things which are exalted; for to seek rest for the will, even in such things, is to prostrate the mind. But as the body is naturally raised upright to those bodily things which are the most elevated, that is, to things celestial; so the mind, which is a spiritual substance, must be raised upright to those things which are most elevated in spiritual things, not by the elation of pride, but by the dutifulness of righteousness.

Chap. i. Man alone of anhinate creatures perceives the eternal reasons of things certain to the body.

2. And the beasts, too, are able both to perceive things corporeal from without, through the seuses of the body, and to fix them in the memory, and remember them, and in them to seek after things suitable, and shun things inconvenient. But to note these things, and to retain them not only as caught up naturally but also as deliberately committed to memory, and to imprint them again by recollection and thought when now just slipping away into forgetfulness; in order that as thought is formed from that which the memory contains, so also the contents themselves of the memory may be fixed firmly by thought: to combine again imaginary objects of sight, by taking this or that of what the memory remembers, and, as it were, tacking them to one another: to examine after what manner it is that in this kind things like the true are to be discerned from the true, and this not in things spiritual, but in corporeal things themselves; these and the like, although transacted in things sensible, and conversant with them, and with those which the mind has drawn thence through the senses of the body, yet, as they are not devoid of reason, so are not common to men and beasts. But it is the part of the higher reason to judge of these corporeal things according to incorporeal and eternal reasons; which, unless they were above the human mind, would certainly not be unchangeable; and yet, unless something of our own were subjoined to them, we should not be able to employ them as our measures by which to judge of corporeal things. But we judge of corporeal things from the rule of dimensions and figures, which the mind knows to remain unchangeably.

Chap. hi. The higher reason which belongs to contemplation, and the lower which belongs to action, are in one mind.
3. But that of our own which thus has to do with the handling of corporeal and temporal things, is indeed rational, in that it is not common to us with the beasts; but it is drawn, as it were, out of that rational substance of our mind, by which we depend upon and cleave to the intelligible and unchangeable truth, and is deputed to handle and direct the inferior things. For as among all the beasts there was not found for the man a help like unto him, unless one were taken from himself, and formed to be his consort: so for that mind, by which we consult the supernal and inward truth.

286 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

there is no like help for such employment as man's nature requires among things corporeal out of those parts of the soul which we have in common with the beasts. And so a certain part of our reason, not separated so as to sever unity, but, as it were, diverted so as to be a help to fellowship, is parted off for the performing of its proper work. And as the twain is one flesh in the case of male and female, so in the mind one nature embraces our intellect and action, or our counsel and performance, or our reason and rational appetite, or whatever other more significant terms there may be by which to express them; so that, as it was said of the former, "And they two shall be in one flesh," & it may be said of these, they two are in one mind.

Chap. iv. â€” The trinity and the image of God is in that part of the mind alone which belongs to the contemplation of eternal things.

4. When, therefore, we discuss the nature of the human mind, we discuss a single subject, and do not double it into those two which I have mentioned, except in respect to its functions. Therefore, when we seek the trinity in the mind, we seek it in the whole mind, without separating the action of the reason in things temporal from the contemplation of things eternal, so as to have further to seek some third thing, by which a trinity may be completed. But this trinity must needs be so discovered in the whole nature of the mind, as that even if action upon temporal things were to be withdrawn, for which work that help is necessary, with a view to which some part of the mind is diverted in order to deal with these inferior things, yet a trinity would still be found in the one mind that is nowhere parted off; and that when this distribution has been already made, not only a trinity may be found, but also an image of God, in that alone which belongs to the contemplation of eternal things; while in that other which is diverted from it in the dealing with temporal things, although there may be a trinity, yet there cannot be found an image of God.

Chap. v. â€” The opinion which devises an image of the Trinity in the marriage of male and female, and in their offspring.

5. Accordingly they do not seem to me to advance a pro-

iGen. ii. 24.
bible opinion, who lay it down that a trinity of the image of God in three persons, so far as regards human nature, can so be discovered as to be completed in the marriage of male and female and in their offspring; in that the man himself, as it were, indicates the person of the Father, but that which has so proceeded from him as to be born, that of the Son; and so the third person as of the Spirit, is, they say, the woman, who has so proceeded from the man as not herself to be either son or daughter, although it was by her conception that the offspring was born. For the Lord hath said of the Holy Spirit that He proceedeth from the Father, and yet He is not a son. In this erroneous opinion, then, the only point probably alleged, and indeed sufficiently shown according to the faith of Holy Scripture, is this, that in the account of the original creation of the woman, what so comes into existence from some person as to make another person, cannot in every case be called a son; since the person of the woman came into existence from the person of the man, and yet she is not called his daughter. All the rest of this opinion is in truth so absurd, nay indeed so false, that it is most easy to refute it. For I pass over such a thing, as to think the Holy Spirit to be the mother of the Son of God, and the wife of the Father; since perhaps it may be answered that these things offend us in carnal things, because we think of bodily conceptions and births. Although these very things themselves are most chastely thought of by the pure, to whom all things are pure; but to the defiled and unbelieving, of whom both the mind and conscience are polluted, nothing is pure; so that even Christ, born of a virgin according to the flesh, is a stumblingblock to some of them. But yet in the case of those supreme spiritual things, after the likeness of which those kinds of the inferior creature also are made although most remotely, and where there is nothing that can be injured and nothing corruptible, nothing born in time, nothing formed from that which is formless, or whatever like expressions there may be; yet they ought not to disturb the sober prudence of any one, lest in avoiding empty disgust he run into pernicious error. Let him accustom himself so to find in corporeal things the traces of

iGen. ii. 22. 2 John xv. 26. 8 Tit. i. 15.

288 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

tilings spiritual, that when he begins to ascend upwards from thence, under the guidance of reason, in order to attain to the unchangeable truth itself through which these things were made, he may not draw with himself to things above what he despises in things below. For no one ever blushed to choose for himself wisdom as a wife, because the name of wife puts into a man's thoughts the corruptible connection which consists in becfettin jel children; or because in truth wisdom itself is a woman in sex, since it is expressed in both Greek and Latin tongues by a word of the feminine gender.
Chap. vi. â€” Why this opinion is to be rejected,

6. We do not therefore reject this opinion, because we fear to think of that holy and inviolable and unchangeable charity, as the spouse of God the Father, existing as it does from Him, but not as an offspring in order to beget the Word by which all things are made; but because divine Scripture evidently shows it to be false. For God said, " Let us make man in our image, after our likeness;" and a little after it is said, " So God created man in the image of God."^ Certainly, in that it is of the plural number, the word " our " would not be rightly used if man were made in the image of one person, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit; but because he was made in the image of the Trinity, on that account it is said, "After our image." But again, lest we should think that three Gods were to be believed in the Trinity, whereas the same Trinity is one God, " So God created man," he says, " in the image of God," as though instead of saying, " In His own image."

7. For such expressions are customary in the Scriptures; and yet some persons, while maintaining the Catholic faith, do not carefully attend to them, in such wise that they think the words, " God made in the image of God," to mean the Father made after the image of the Son; and they thus desire to assert that the Son also is called God in the divine Scriptures, as if there were not other most true and clear proofs wherein the Son is called not only God, but also the true God. For whilst they aim at explaining another difficulty in this

1 Gen. i. 26, 27.

CHAP. VI.] MADE AFTER THE IMAGE OF THE TRINITY. 289

text, they become so entangled that they cannot extricate themselves. For if the Father made man after the image of the Son, so that he is not the image of the Father, but of the Son, then the Son is unlike the Father. But if a pious faith teaches us, as it does, that the Son is like the Father after an equality of essence, then that which is made in the likeness of the Son must needs also be made in the likeness of the Father. Further, if the Father made man not in His own image, but in the image of His Son, why does He not say, " Let us make man after Thy image and likeness," whereas He does say, " our;" unless it be because the image of the Trinity was made in man, that in this way man should be the image of the one true God, because the Trinity itself is the one true God? Such expressions are innumerable in the Scriptures, but it will suffice to have produced these. It is so said in the Psalms, " Salvation belongeth unto the Lord; Thy blessing is upon Thy people;"^ as if the words were spoken to some one else, not to Him of whom it had been said, " Salvation belongeth unto the Lord." And again, " For by Thee," he says, " I shall be delivered from temptation, and by hoping in my God I shall leap over the wall;"^ as if he said to some one else, "By Thee I shall be delivered from temptation."
And again, "In the heart of the king's enemies; whereby the people fall under Thee;" as if he were to say, in the heart of Thy enemies. For he had said to that King, that is, to our Lord Jesus Christ, "The people fall under Thee," whom he intended by the word King, when he said, "In the heart of the king's enemies." Things of this kind are found more rarely in the IStew Testament. But yet the apostle says to the Piomans, "Concerning His Son who was made to Him of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead of Jesus Christ our Lord;" as though he were speaking above of some one else. For what is meant by the Son of God declared by the resurrection of the dead of Jesus Christ, except of the same Jesus Christ who was declared to be Son of God with power? And as then in this passage, when we are told, "the Son of God with power of Jesus

Â» Ps. iii. 8. " Ps. xviii. 29. ^ pg. xlv. 5. â€¢Â» Pem. i. 3, 4.

DE TPJN. T

290 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

Christ," or "the Son of God according to the spirit of holiness of Jesus Christ" or "the Son of God by the resurrection of the dead of Jesus Christ" whereas it might have been expressed in the ordinary way, In His own power, or according to the spirit of His own holiness, or by the resurrection of His dead, or of their dead; as, I say, we are not compelled to understand another person, but one and the same, that is, the person of the Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ; so, when we are told that "God made man in the image of God," although it might have been more usual to say, after His own image, yet we are not compelled to understand any other person in the Trinity, but the one and self-same Trinity itself, who is one God, and after whose image man is made.

8. And since the case stands thus, if we are to accept the same image of the Trinity, as not in one, but in three human beings, father and mother and son, then the man was not made after the image of God before a wife was made for him, and before they procreated a son; because there was not yet a trinity. Will any one say there was already a trinity, because, although not yet in their proper form, yet in their original nature, both the woman was already in the side of the man, and the son in the loins of his father? Why then, when Scripture had said, "God made man after the image of God;" did it go on to say, "God created him; male and female created He them: and God blessed them"? (Or if it is to be so divided, "And God created man;" so that thereupon is to be added, "in the image of God created He him/"

and then subjoined in the third place, "male and female created He them;" for some have feared to say, He made him male and female, lest something monstrous, as it were, should be understood, as are those whom they call hermaphrodites, although even so both
might be understood not falsely in the singular number, on account of that which is said, "Two in one flesh.") Why then, as I began by saying, in the nature of man made after the image of God, does Scripture specify nothing except male and female? Certainly, in order to complete the image of the Trinity, it ought to have added also son, although still placed in the loins of his father,

I Gen. i. 27, 28.

CHAP. YII.] HOW MAX THE DTAGE OF GOD. 291

as the woman was in his side. Or was it perhaps that the woman also had been already made, and that Scripture had combined in a short and comprehensive statement, that of which it was going to explain afterwards more carefully, how it was done; and that therefore a son could not be mentioned, because no son was yet born? As if the Holy Spirit could not have comprehended this, too, in that brief statement, while about to narrate the birth of the son afterwards in its own place; as it narrated afterwards in its own place, that the woman was taken from the side of the man/ and yet has not omitted here to name her.

CHAr. VII. â€” Hoio man is the image of God. Wlietlier the woman is not also the image of God. How the saying of the apostle, that the man is the image of God, hut the luoman is the glory of the man, is to be understood figuratively and mystically.

9. We ought not therefore so to understand that man is made in the image of the supreme Trinity, that is, in the imao'e of God, as that the same imaoje should be understood to be in three human beings; especially when the apostle says that the man is the image of God, and on that account removes the covering: from his head, which he warns the woman to use, speaking thus: "For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man." What then shall we say to this? If the woman fills up the image of the trinity after the measure of her own person, why is the man still called that imao'e after she has been taken out of his side ?

Or if even one person of a human being out of three can be called the image of God, as each person also is God in the supreme Trinity itself, why is the woman also not the image of God? For she is instructed for this very reason to cover her head, which he is forbidden to do because he is the image of God.

10. But we must notice how that which the apostle says, that not the woman but the man is the image of God, is not contrary to that which is written in Genesis, "God created man: in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them: and He
blessed them." For this text says that human nature itself, which is complete in both sexes,

1 Gen. ii. 2-1, 22. Â» i Cor. xi. 7, 5.

292 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIL

was made in the image of God; and it does not separate the woman from the image of God which it signifies. For after saying that God made man in the image of God, " He created him" it says, " male and female," or at any rate, stopping the words otherwise, " male and. female created He them." How then did the apostle tell us that the man is the image of God, and therefore he is forbidden to cover his head; but that the woman is not so, and therefore is commanded to cover hers ? Unless, forsooth, according to that which I have said already, when I was treating of the nature of the human mind, that the woman to2gether with her own husband is the image of God, so that that whole substance may be one image; but when she is referred separately to her quality of help-meet, which regards the woman herself alone, then she is not the image of God; but as regards the man alone, he is the image of God as fully and completely as when the woman too is joined with him in one. As we said of the nature of the human mind, that both in the case when as a whole it contemplates the truth it is the image of God; and in the case when anything is divided from it, and diverted in purpose to the dealing with temporal things; nevertheless on that side on which it beholds and consults truth, here also it is the image of God, but on that side whereby it is directed to the dealing with the lower things, it is not the image of God. And since it is so much the more formed after the image of God, the more it has extended itself to that which is eternal, and is on that account not to be restrained, so as to withhold and refrain itself from thence; therefore the man ought not to cover his head. But because too great a progression towards inferior things is dangerous to that rational dealing, that is conversant with things corporeal and temporal; this ought to have power on its head, which the covering indicates, by which it is signified that it ought to be restrained. For a holy and pious meaning is pleasing to the holy angels. For God sees not after the way of time, neither does anything new take place in His vision and knowledge, when anything is done in time and transitorily, after the way in which such things affect the senses, whether the carnal senses of animals and men, or even the heavenly senses of the angels.

CHAP. VII.] MYSTICAL ^IEAXING OF COVENiXG THE HEAD. 293

11. For that the Apostle Paul, when speaking outwardly of the sex of male and female, figured the mystery of some more hidden truth, may be understood from this, that when he says in another place that she is a widow indeed who is desolate, without children and nephews, and yet that she ought to trust in God, and to continue in prayers night and
day,* he here indicates, that the woman having been brought into the transgression by being deceived, is brought to salvation by childbearing; and then he has added, "If they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness, with sobriety." As if it could possibly hurt a good widow, if either she had not sons, or if those whom she had did not choose to continue in good works. But because those things which are called good works are, as it were, the sons of our life, according to that sense of life in which it answers to the question. What is a man's life? that is. How does he act in these temporal things? which life the Greeks do not call "(ot], but "lo<; and because these good works are chiefly performed in the way of offices of mercy, while works of mercy are of no profit, either to Pagans, or to Jews who do not believe in Christ, or to any heretics or schismatics whatsoever in whom faith and charity and sober holiness are not found: what the apostle meant to signify is plain, and in so far figuratively and mystically, because he was speaking of covering the head of the woman, which will remain mere empty words, unless referred to some hidden sacrament.

12. For, as not only most ti-ue reason but also the authority of the apostle himself declares, man was not made in the image of God according to the shape of his body, but according to his rational mind. For the thought is a debased and empty one, which holds God to be circumscribed and limited by the lineaments of bodily members. But further, does not the same blessed apostle say, "Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, which is created after God; "^ and in another place more clearly, "Putting off the old man," he says, "with his deeds; put on the new man, which is renewed to the knowledge of God after the image of Him that created him."* If, then, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, 1 1 Tim. V. 5. 2 1 Tim. ii. 15. ^Ep|^, i^, 23, 24. " Col. iii. 9, 10.

294 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

and he is the new man who is renewed to the knowledge of God after the image of Him that created him; no one can doubt, that man was made after the image of Him that created him, not according to the body, nor indiscriminately according to any part of the mind, but according to the rational mind, wherein the knowledge of God can exist. And it is according to this renewal, also, that we are made sons of God by the baptism of Christ; and putting on the new man, certainly put on Christ through faith. Who is there, then, who will hold women to be alien from this fellowship, whereas they are fellow-heirs of grace with us; and whereas in another place the same apostle says, "Eor ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus; for as many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ: there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus"? ^ Pray, have faithful women then lost their bodily sex? But because they are there renewed after the image of God, where there is no sex; man is there made after the image of God, where there is no sex, that is, in the spirit of his mind. Why, then, is the man on that account not bound to cover
his head, because he is the image and glory of God, while the woman is bound to do so, because she is the glory of the man; as though the woman were not renewed in the spirit of her mind, which spirit is renewed to the knowledge of God after the image of Him who created him? But because she differs from the man in bodily sex, it was possible rightly to figure under her bodily covering that part of the reason which is diverted to the government of temporal things; so that the image of God may not remain, except on that side of the mind of man on which it cleaves to the beholding or the consulting of the eternal reasons of things; and this, it is clear, not men only, but also women have.

Chap. viii. â€” Turning aside from the image of God.

13. A common nature, therefore, is recognised in their minds, but in their bodies a division of that one mind itself is figured. As we ascend, then, by certain steps of thought within, along the succession of the parts of the mind, there

1 Gal. iii. 26-28.

CHAr. IX. TUr.NING ASIDE THE IMAGE OF GOD. 295

where something first meets us, which is not common to ourselves with the beasts, reason begins, so that here the inner man can now be recognised. And if this inner man himself, through that reason to which the administering of things temporal has been delegated, slips on too far by over-much progress into outward things, that which is his head moreover consenting, that is, the (so to call it) masculine part which presides in the watch-tower of counsel not restraining or bridling it: then he waxeth old because of all his enemies, viz. the demons with their prince the devil, who are envious of virtue; and that vision of eternal things is withdrawn also from the head himself, eating with his spouse that which was forbidden, so that the light of his eyes is gone from him; and so both being naked from that enlightenment of truth, and with the eyes of their conscience opened to behold how they were left shameful and unseemly, like the leaves of sweet fruits, but without the fruits themselves, they so weave together good words without the fruit of good works, as while living wickedly to cover over their disgrace as it were by speaking well.

Chap. ix. â€” The same argument is continued.

14. For the soul loving its own power, slips onw^ards from the whole which is common, to a part, which belongs especially to itself. And that apostatizing pride, which is called "the beginning of sin," whereas it might have been most excellently governed by the laws of God, if it had followed Him as its ruler in the universal creature, by seeking
something more than the whole, and struggling to govern this by a law of its own, is thrust on, since nothing is more than the whole, into caring for a part; and thus by lusting after something more, is made less; whence also covetousness is called "the root of all evil." And it administers that whole, wherein it strives to do something of its own against the laws by which the whole is governed, by its own body, which it possesses only in part; and so being delighted by corporeal forms and motions, because it has not the things themselves within itself, and because it is wrapped up in their

Ps. vi. 7. - Ps. xxxviii. 10. ^ Gen. iii. 4.

*Ecclus. X. 15. siTim. vi. 10.

296 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

images, which it has fixed in the memory, and is fouly polluted by fornication of the phantasy, while it refers all its functions to those ends, for which it curiously seeks corporeal and temporal things through the senses of the body, either it affects with swelling arrogance to be more excellent than other souls that are given up to the corporeal senses, or it is plunged into a foul whirlpool of carnal pleasure.

CiiAr. X, â€” The lowest degradation is reached by degrees.

15. When the soul then consults either for itself or for others with a good will towards perceiving the inner and higher things, such as are possessed in a chaste embrace, without any narrowness or envy, not individually, but in common by all who love such things; then even if it be deceived in anything, through ignorance of things temporal (for its action in this case is a temporal one), and if it does not hold fast to that mode of acting which it ought, the temptation is but one common to man. And it is a great thing so to pass through this life, on which we travel, as it were, like a road on our return home, that no temptation may take us, but what is common to man. For this is a sin without the body, and must not be reckoned fornication, and on that account is very easily pardoned. But when the soul does anything in order to attain those things which are perceived through the body, through lust of proving or of surpassing or of handling them, in order that it may place in them its final good, then whatever it does, it does wickedly, and commits fornication, sinning against its own body: and while snatching from within the deceitful images of corporeal things, and combining them by vain thought, so that nothing seems to it to be divine, unless it be of such a kind as this; by selfish greediness it is made fruitful in errors, and by selfish prodigality it is emptied of strength. Yet it would not leap on at once from the commencement to such shameless and miserable fornication, but, as it is written, " He that contemneth small things, shall fall by little and little." ^

Chap. xr. â€” The image of the least In man.

IG. For as a snake does not creep on with open steps, but
by the very minutest efforts to advance of its several scales; so the slippery motion of falling away [from what is good] takes possession of the negligent only gradually, and beginning from a perverse desire for the likeness of God, arrives in the end at the likeness of beasts. Hence it is that being naked of their first garment, they earned by mortality coats of skins. For the true honour of man is the image and likeness of God, which is not preserved except it be in relation to Him by whom it is impressed. The less therefore that one loves what is one's own, the more one cleaves to God. But through the desire of making trial of his own power, man by his own bidding falls down to himself as to a sort of intermediate grade. And so, while he wishes to be as God is, under no one, he is thrust on, even from his own middle grade, by way of punishment, to that which is lowest, that is, to those things in which beasts delight: and thus, while his honour is the likeness of God, but his dishonour is the likeness of the beast, "Man being in honour abideth not: he is compared to the beasts that are foolish, and is made like to them." By what path, then, could he pass so great a distance from the highest to the lowest, except through his own intermediate grade? For when he neglects the love of wisdom, which remains always after the same fashion, and lusts after knowledge by experiment upon things temporal and mutable, that knowledge puffeth up, it does not edify: so the mind is overweighed and thrust out, as it were, by its own weight from blessedness; and learns by its own punishment, through that trial of its own intermediateness, what the difference is between the good it has abandoned and the bad to which it has committed itself; and having thrown away and destroyed its strength, it cannot return, unless by the grace of its Maker calling it to repentance, and forgiving its sins. For who will deliver the unhappy soul from the body of this death, unless the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord? Of which grace we will discourse in its place, so far as He Himself enables us.

Chap. xii. â€“ There is a kind of hidden wedlock in the inner man. Unlawful thoughts. 17. Let us now complete, so far as the Lord helps us, the

discussion which we have undertaken, respecting that part of reason to which knowledge belongs, that is, the cognizance of things temporal and changeable, which is necessary for managing the affairs of this life. For as in the case of that visible wedlock of the two human beings who were made first, the serpent did not eat of the forbidden tree, but only persuaded them to eat of it; and the woman did not eat alone, but gave to her husband, and they eat together; although she alone spoke with the serpent, and she alone was led away by him: 

so also in the case of that hidden and secret kind of wedlock, which is transacted and discerned in a single human being, the carnal, or as I may say, since it is directed to the senses of the body, the sensuous movement of the soul, which is common to us with beasts, is shut off from the reason of wisdom. For certainly bodily things are perceived by the sense of the body; but spiritual things, which are eternal and unchangeable, are understood by the reason of wisdom. But the reason of knowledge has appetite very near to it: seeing that what is called the science or knowledge of actions, reasons of the bodily things themselves, which are perceived by the bodily sense; if well, in order that it may refer that knowledge to the end of the chief good; but if ill, in order that it may enjoy them as being such good things as those wherein it reposes with a false blessedness. Whenever, then, that carnal or animal sense introduces into this purpose of the mind, which is conversant in things temporal and corporeal, with a view to the offices of a man's actions, by the living force of reason, some inducement to enjoy itself, that is, to enjoy itself as if it were some private good of its own, not as the public and common, which is the unchangeable, good; then, as it were, the serpent discourses with the woman. And to consent to this allurement, is to eat of the forbidden tree. But if that consent is satisfied by the pleasure of thought alone, but the members are so restrained by the authority of higher counsel that they are not yielded as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; this, I think, is to be considered as if the woman alone should have eaten the forbidden food. But if, in this consent to use wickedly the things which are

1 Gen. iii. 1-6. 2 ^o^. vi. 13.

CHAP. XII.] OF UNLAWFUL THOUGHTS. 299

IDerceived through the senses of the body, any sin at all is so determined upon, that if there is the power, it is also fulfilled by the body; then that woman must be understood to have given the unlawful food to her husband with her, to be eaten together. For it is not possible for the mind to determine, that a sin is not only to be thought of with pleasure, but also effectually committed, unless also that intention of the mind yields, and serves the bad action, with which rests the chief power of applying the members to an outward act, or of restraining them from one.
18. And yet, certainly, when the mind is pleased in thought alone with unlawful things, while not indeed determining that they are to be done, but yet holding and pondering gladly things which ought to have been rejected the very moment they touched the mind, it cannot be denied to be a sin, but far less than if it were also determined to accomplish it in outward act. And therefore pardon must be sought for such thoughts too, and the breast must be smitten, and it must be said, "Eorc^ive us our debts;" and what follows must be done, 

do

and must be joined in our prayer, " As we also forgive our debtors." -^ For it is not as it was with those two first human beings, of which each one bare his own person; and so, if the woman alone had eaten the forbidden food, she certainly alone would have been smitten with the punishment of death: it cannot, I say, be so said also in the case of a single human being now, that if the thought, remaining alone, be gladly fed with unlawful pleasures, from which it ought to turn away directly, while yet there is no determination that the bad actions are to be done, but only that they are retained with pleasure in remembrance, the woman as it were can be condemned without the man. Far be it from us to believe this. For here is one person, one human being, and he as a whole will be condemned, unless those things which, as lacking the will to do, and yet having the will to please the mind with them, are perceived to be sins of thought alone, are pardoned through the grace of the Mediator. 

19. This reasoning, then, whereby we have sought in the mind of each several human being a certain rational wedlock

1 Matt. vi. 12.

300 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.] 

of contemplation and action, with functions distributed through each severally, yet with the unity of the mind preserved in both; saving meanwhile the truth of that history, which divine testimony hands down respecting the first two human beings, that is, the man and his wife, from whom the human species is propagated; â€” this reasoning, I say, must be listened to only thus far, that the apostle may be understood to have intended to signify something to be sought in one individual man, by assigning the image of God to the man only, and not also to the woman, although in the merely different sex of two human beings.

Chap. xiii. â€” The opinion of those icho have thought that the mind ivas sirjnijied hy the man, the bodily sense hy the xooman.
20. Nor does it escape me, that some who before us were eminent defenders of the Catholic faith and expounders of the word of God, while they looked for these two things in one human being, whose entire soul they perceived to be a sort of excellent paradise, asserted that the man was the mind, but that the woman was the bodily sense. And according to this distribution, by which the man is assumed to be the mind, but the woman the bodily sense, all things seem aptly to agree together if they are handled with due attention: unless that it is written, that in all the beasts and flying things there was not found for man an helpmate like to himself; and then the woman was made out of his side. And on this account I, for my part, have not thought that the bodily sense should be taken for the woman, which we see to be common to ourselves and to the beasts; but I have desired to find something which the beasts had not; and I have rather thought the bodily sense should be understood to be the serpent, whom we read to have been more subtle than all beasts of the field. For in those natural good things which we see are common to ourselves and to the irrational animals, the sense excels by a kind of living power; not the sense of which it is written in the epistle addressed to the Hebrews, where we read, that "strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil;" for these "senses" belong to the rational

1 Gen. ii. 20-22. *Qg*. iii. l. 3 Heb. v. 14.

CHAP. XIV.] DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE. 301

nature and pertain to the understanding; but that sense which is divided into five parts in the body, through which corporeal species and motion is perceived not only by ourselves, but also by the beasts.

21. But whether that the apostle calls the man the image and glory of God, but the woman the glory of the man/ is to be received in this, or that, or in any other way; yet it is clear, that when we live according to God, our mind which is intent on the invisible things of Him ought to be fashioned with proficiency from His eternity, truth, charity; but that something of our own reasonable purpose, that is, of the same mind, must be directed to the using of changeable and corporeal things, without which this life does not go on; not that we may be conformed to this world, by placing our end in such good things, and by forcing aside the desire of blessedness towards them, but that whatever we do rationally in the using of temporal things, we may do it with the contemplation of attaining eternal things, passing through the former, but cleaving to the latter.

Chap, xiv. â€” Jliiat is the difference between ivisdom and knowledge. The worship of God is the love of Him. How the intellectual cognizance of eternal things comes to pass through wisdom.

For knowledge also has its own good measure, if that in it which puffs up, or is wont to puff up, is conquered by love of eternal things, which does not puff up, but, as we know,
Certainly without knowledge the virtues themselves, by which one lives rightly, cannot be possessed, by which this miserable life may be so governed, that we may attain to that eternal life which is truly blessed.

22. Yet action, by which we use temporal things well, differs from contemplation of eternal things; and the latter is reckoned to wisdom, the former to knowledge. For although that which is wisdom can also be called knowledge, as the apostle too speaks, where he says, "Now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known;"* when doubtless he meant his words to be understood of the knowledge of the contemplation of God, which will be the highest reward of the saints; yet where he says, "For to one is given by the

1 1 Cor. xi. 7. 2 p^om. xii. 2. ^ i Cor. viii. 1. ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

302 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit/^ certainly he distinguishes without doubt these two things, although he does not there explain the difference, nor in what way one may be discerned from the other. But having examined a great number of passages from the Holy Scriptures, I find it written in the Book of Job, that holy man being the speaker, "Behold, piety, that is wisdom; but to depart from evil is knowledge."^ In thus distinguishing, it must be understood that wisdom belongs to contemplation, knowledge to action. For in this place he meant by piety the worship of God, which in Greek is called OeoaijSeta. For the sentence in the Greek MSS. has that word. And what is there in eternal things more excellent than God, of whom alone the nature is unchangeable? And what is the worship of Him except the love of Him, by which we now desire to see Him, and we believe and hope that we shall see Him; and in proportion as we make progress, see now through a glass in an enigma, but then in clearness? For this is what the Apostle Paul means by "face to face."^ This is also what John says, "Beloved, now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is."* Discourse about these and the like subjects seems to me to be the discourse itself of wisdom. But to depart from evil, which Job says is knowledge, is without doubt of temporal things. Since it is according to time that we are in evil, from which we ought to abstain, that we may come to those good eternal things. And therefore, whatsoever we do prudently,, boldly, temperately, and justly, belongs to that knowledge or discipline wherewith our action is conversant in avoiding evil and desiring good; and so also, whatsoever we gather by the knowledge that comes from inquiry, in the way of examples either to be guarded against or to be imitated, and in the way of necessary proofs respecting any subject, accommodated to our use.

23. When a discourse then relates to these things, I hold it to be a discourse belonging to knowledge, and to be distinguished from a discourse belonging to wisdom, to which
those things belong, which neither have been, nor shall be, but are; and on account of that eternity in which they are, are said to have been, and to be, and to be about to be, without any changeableness of times. For neither have they been in such way as that they should cease to be, nor are they about to be in such way as if they were not now; but they have always had and always will have that very absolute being. And they abide, but not as if fixed in some place as are bodies; but as intelligible things in incorporeal nature, they are so at hand to the glance of the mind, as things visible or tangible in place are to the sense of the body. And not only in the case of sensible things posited in place, there abide also intelligible and incorporeal reasons of them apart from local space; but also of motions that pass by in successive times, apart from any transit in time, there stand also like reasons, themselves certainly intelligible, and not sensible. And to attain to these with the eye of the mind is the lot of few; and when they are attained as much as they can be, he himself who attains to them does not abide in them, but is as it were repelled by the rebounding of the eye itself of the mind, and so there comes to be a transitory thought of a thing not transitory. And yet this transient thought is committed to the memory through the instructions by which the mind is taught; that the mind which is compelled to pass from thence, may be able to return thither again; although, if the thought should not return to the memory and find there what it had committed to it, it would be led thereto like an uninstructed person, as it had been led before, and would find it where it had first found it, that is to say, in that incorporeal truth, whence yet once more it may be as it were written down and fixed in the mind. For the thought of man, for example, does not so abide in that incorporeal and unchangeable reason of a square body, as that reason itself abides: if, to be sure, it could attain to it at all without the phantasy of local space. Or if one were to apprehend the rhythm of any artificial or musical sound, passing through certain intervals of time, as it rested without time in some secret and deep silence, it could at least be thought as long as that song could be heard; yet what the glance of the mind, transient though it was, caught

304 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

from thence, and absorbing as it were into the belly, so laid up in the memory, over this it will be able to ruminate in some measure by recollection, and to transfer what it has thus learned into systematic knowledge. But if this has been blotted out by absolute forgetfulness, yet once again, under the guidance of teaching, one will come to that which had altogether dropped away, and it will be found such as it was.
Chap. xv. â€” In opposition to the reminiscence of Plato and Pythagoras. Pythagoras the Samian. Of the difference between wisdom and knowledge, and of seeking the Trinity in the knowledge of temporal things.

24. And hence that noble philosopher Plato endeavoured to persuade us that the souls of men lived here even before they bore these bodies; and that hence those things which are learnt, are rather remembered as having been known already, than taken into knowledge as things new. For he has told us that a boy, when questioned I know not what respecting geometry, replied as if he were perfectly skilled in that branch of learning. For being questioned step by step and skilfully, he saw what was to be seen, and said that which he saw. But if this had been a recollecting of things previously known, then certainly every one, or almost every one, would not have been able so to answer when questioned. For not every one was a geometrician in the former life, since geometricians are so few among men that scarcely one can be found anywhere. But we ought rather to believe, that the intellectual mind is so formed in its nature as to see those things, which by the disposition of the Creator are subjoined to things intelligible in a natural order, by a sort of incorporeal light of an unique kind; as the eye of the flesh sees things adjacent to itself in this bodily light, of which light it is made to be receptive, and adapted to it. For none the more does this fleshy eye, too, distinguish black things from white without a teacher, because it had already known them before it was created in this flesh.

Why, lastly, is it possible only in intelligible things that any one properly questioned should answer according to any branch of learning, although ignorant of it? Why can no one do this with things sensible, except those which he has seen in this his present body, or has believed the information of others who knew them, whether somebody's writings or words? For we

CHAP. XV.] THE TcEMIXISCEXCES OF PLATO AXD PYTHAGOPAS. 305

must not acquiesce in their story, who assert that the Samian Pythagoras recollected some things of this kind, which he had experienced when he was previously here in another body; and others tell yet of others, that they experienced something of the same sort in their minds: but it may be conjectured that these were untrue recollections, such as we commonly experience in sleep, when we fancy we remember, as though we had done or seen it, what we never did or saw at all; and that the minds of these persons, even though awake, were affected in this way at the suggestion of malignant and deceitful spirits, whose care it is to confirm or to sow some false belief concerning the changes of souls, in order to deceive men. This, I say, may be conjectured from this, that if they truly remembered those things which they had seen here before, while occupying other bodies, the same thing would happen to many, nay to almost all; since they suppose that as the dead from the living, so, without cessation and continually, the living are coming into
existence from the dead; as sleepers from those that are awake, and those that are awake from them that sleep.

25. If therefore this is the right distinction between wisdom and knowledge, that the intellectual cognizance of eternal things belongs to wisdom, but the rational cognizance of temporal things to knowledge, it is not difficult to judge which is to be preferred or postponed to which. But if we must employ some other distinction by which to know these two apart, which without doubt the apostle teaches us are different, saying, "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, by the same Spirit;" still the difference between those two which we have laid down is a most evident one, in that the intellectual cognizance of eternal things is one thing, the rational cognizance of temporal things another; and no one doubts but that the former is to be preferred to the latter. As then we leave behind those things which belong to the outer man, and desire to ascend within from those things which we have in common with beasts, before we come to the cognizance of things intelligible and supreme, which are eternal, the rational cognizance of temporal things presents itself. Let us then find a trinity in this also, if we

DE TRIN. U

306 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XII.]

can, as we found one in the senses of the body, and in those things which through them entered in the way of images into our soul or spirit; so that instead of corporeal things which we touch by corporeal sense, placed as they are without us, we might have resemblances of bodies impressed within on the memory from which thought might be formed, while the will as a third united them; just as the sight of the eyes was formed from without, which the will applied to the visible thing in order to produce vision, and united both, while itself also added itself thereto as a third. But this subject must not be compressed into this book; that in that which follows, if God help, it may be suitably examined, and the conclusions to which we come may be unfolded.

CHAP. I.] WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE. 307

BOOK THIETEENTH.

THE INQUIRY IS TEOSECUTED RESPECTING KNOWLEDGE, IN WHICH, AS DISTIN-
GUISHED FROM WISDOM, AUGUSTINE HAD BEGUN IN THE FORMER BOOK TO LOOK FOR A KIND OF TRINITY. AND OCCASION IS TAKEN OF COMMENDING CHRISTIAN FAITH, AND OF EXPLAINING HOW THE FAITH OF BELIEVERS IS ONE AND COMMON. NEXT, THAT ALL DESIRE BLESSEDNESS, YET THAT ALL HAVE NOT THE FAITH WHEREBY WE ARRIVE AT BLESSEDNESS; AND THAT THIS FAITH IS DEFINED IN CHRIST, WHO IN THE FLESH ROSE FROM THE DEAD; AND THAT NO ONE IS SET FREE FROM THE DOMINION OF THE DEVIL THROUGH FORGIVENESS OF SINS, SAVE THROUGH HIM. IT IS SHOWN ALSO AT LENGTH THAT IT WAS NEEDFUL THAT THE DEVIL SHOULD BE CONQUERED BY CHRIST, NOT BY POWER, BUT BY RIGHTEOUSNESS. FINALLY, THAT WHEN THE WORDS OF THIS FAITH ARE COMMITTED TO MEMORY, THERE IS IN THE MIND A KIND OF TRINITY, SINCE THERE ARE, FIRST, IN THE MEMORY THE SOUNDS OF THE WORDS, AND THIS EVEN WHEN THE MAN IS NOT THINKING OF THEM; AND NEXT, THE MIND'S EYE OF HIS RECOLLECTION IS FORMED THEREUPON WHEN HE THINKS OF THEM; AND, LASTLY, THE WILL, WHEN HE SO THINKS AND REMEMBERS, COMBINES BOTH.

Chap. i. â€” The attempt is made to distinguish out of the Scriptures the offices of wisdom and of knowledge. That in the beginning of John some things that are said belong to wisdom, some to knowledge. Some things there are only known by the help of faith. How loe see the faith that is in us. In the same narrative of John, some things are known by the sense of the body, others only by the reason of the mind.

1. In the book before this, viz. the twelfth of this work, we have done enough to distinguish the office of the rational mind in temporal things, wherein not only our knowing but our action is concerned, from the more excellent office of the same mind, which is employed in contemplating eternal things, and is limited to knowing alone. But I think it more convenient that I should insert somewhat out of the Holy Scriptures, by which the two may more easily be distinguished.

2. John the Evangelist has thus begun his Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light
There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through Him might believe. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

He came into the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth. "^ This entire passage, which I have here taken from the Gospel, contains in its earlier portions what is immutable and eternal, the contemplation of which makes us blessed; but in those which follow, eternal things are mentioned in conjunction with temporal things. And hence some things there belong to knowledge, some to wisdom, according to our previous distinction in the twelfth book. For the words, â€” In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of menL And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not: " ^ require a contemplative life, and must be discerned by the intellectual mind; and the more any one has profited in this, the wiser without doubt will he become. But on account of the verse, " The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not," faith certainly was necessary, whereby that which was not seen might be believed. For by " darkness" he intended to signify the hearts of mortals turned away from light of this kind, and hardly able to behold it; for which reason he subjoins, " There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through Him might believe." But here we come to a thing that was done in time, and belongs to knowledge, which is comprised in the cognizance of facts. And we think of the man John under that phantasy which is impressed on our memory from the notion of human nature. And whether men believe or not, they think this in the same manner. For both alike know what man is, the outer part of whom, that is, his body, they have learned through the eyes of the body; but of the inner, that is, the soul, they possess the knowledge in themselves, because they also themselves are men, and through intercourse with men; so that they are able to think what is said, " There was a man, whose name was John," because they know the names also by interchange of speech. But that which is there also, viz. " sent from
God," they who hold at all, hold by faith; and they who do not hold it by faith, either hesitate through doubt, or deride it through unbelief. Yet both, if they are not in the number of those over-foolish ones, who say in their heart " There is no God," ^ when they hear these words, think both things, viz. both what God is, and what it is to be sent from God; and if they do not do this as the things themselves really are, they do it at any rate as they can.

3. Further, we know from other sources the faith itself which a man sees to be in his own heart, if he believes, or not to be there, if he does not believe: but not as we know bodies, which we see with the bodily eyes, and think of even when absent through the images of themselves which we retain in memory; nor yet as those things which we have not seen, and which we frame howsoever we can in thought from those which we have seen, and commit them to memory, that we may recur to them when we will, in order that therein we may similarly by recollection discern them, or rather discern the images of them, of what sort soever these are which we have fixed there; nor again as a living man, whose soul we do not indeed see, but conjecture from our own, and from corporeal motions gaze also in thought upon the living man, as we have learnt him by sight. Faith is not so seen in the heart in which it is, by him whose it is; but most certain knowledge holds it fast, and conscience proclaims it. Although therefore

iPs. xiv. 1.

310 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

we are bidden to believe on this account, because we cannot see what we are bidden to believe; nevertheless we see faith itself in ourselves, when that faith is in us; because faith even in absent things is present, and faith in things which are without us is within, and faith in things which are not seen is itself seen, and itself none the less conies into the hearts of men in time; and if any cease to be faithful and become unbelievers, then it perishes from them. And sometimes faith is accommodated even to falsehoods; for we sometimes so speak as to say, I put faith in him, and he deceived me. And this kind of faith, if indeed it too is to be called faith, perishes from the heart without blame, when truth is found and expels it. But faith in things that are true, passes, as one should wish it to pass, into the things themselves. For we must not say that faith perishes, when those things which were believed are seen. For is it indeed still to be called faith, when faith, according to the definition in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is the evidence of things not seen ? -^  

4. In the words which follow next, "The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe;" the action, as we have said, is one done in time. For to bear witness even to that which is eternal, as is that light that is intelligible, is a thing done in time. And of this it was that John came to bear witness, who " was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light." For he adds,
"That was the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not." Now they who know the Latin language, understand all these words, from those things which they know: and of these, some have become known to us through the senses of the body, as man, as the world itself, of which the greatness is so evident to our sight; as again the sounds of the words themselves, for hearing also is a sense of the body; and some through the reason of the mind, as that which is said, "And His own received Him not;" for this means, that they did not believe in Him; and what belief is, we do not know by any sense of the body, but

iHeb. xi. 1.

CHAP. I. ] BY WHAT FVNCULTIES AVF UNDERSTAND WOEDS. 311

by the reason of the mind. We have learned, too, not the sounds, but the meanings of the words themselves, partly through the sense of the body, partly through the reason of the mind. "Not have we now heard those words for the first time, but they are words we had heard before. And we were retaining in our memory as things known, and we here recognised, not only the words themselves, but also what they meant. For when the bisyllabic word mundus is uttered, then something that is certainly corporeal, for it is a sound, has become known through the body, that is, through the ear. But that which it means also, has become known through the body, that is, through the eyes of the flesh. For so far as the world is known to us at all, it is known through sight. But the quadrisyllable word crediderunt reaches us, so far as its sound, since that is a corporeal thing, through the ear of the flesh; but its meaning is discoverable by no sense of the body, but by the reason of the mind. For unless we knew through the mind what the word crediderunt meant, we should not understand what they did not do, of whom it is said, "And His own received Him not." The sound then of the word rings upon the ears of the body from without, and reaches the sense which is called hearing. The species also of man is both known to us in ourselves, and is presented to the senses of the body from without, in other men; to the eyes, when it is seen: to the ears, when it is heard; to the touch, when it is held and touched; and it has, too, its image in our memory, incorporeal indeed, but like the body. Lastly, the wonderful beauty of the world itself is at hand from without, both to our gaze, and to that sense which is called touch, if we come in contact with any of it: and this also has its image within in our memory, to which we revert, when we think of it either in the enclosure of a room, or again in darkness. But we have already sufficiently spoken in the eleventh book of these images of corporeal things; incorporeal indeed, yet having the likeness of bodies, and belonging to the life of the outer man. But we are treating now of the inner man, and of his knowledge, namely, that knowledge which is of things temporal and changeable; into the purpose and scope of which, when anything is assumed, even of things belonging to the outer man, it must be assumed
for this end, that something may thence be taught which mayhelp rational knowledge. And hence the rational use of those things which we have in common with irrational animals belongs to the inner man; neither can it rightly be said that this is common to us with the irrational animals.

Chap. ir. â€” Faith a thing of the heart, not of the hochj; how it is common and one and the same in all believers. The faith of believers is one, no otherwise than the will of those who will is one.

5. But faith, of which we are compelled, by reason of the arrangement of our subject, to dispute somewhat more at length in this book; faith I say, which they who have are called the faithful, and they who have not, unbelievers, as were those who did not receive the Son of God coming to His own; although it is wrought in us by hearing, yet does not belong to that sense of the body which is called hearing, since it is not a sound; nor to the eyes of this our flesh, since it is neither colour nor bodily form; nor to that which is called touch, since it has nothing of bulk; nor to any sense of the body at all; since it is a thing of the heart, not of the body; nor is it without apart from us, but deeply seated within us; nor does any man see it in another, but each one in himself. Lastly, it is a thing that can both be feigned by pretence, and be thought to be in him in whom it is not. Therefore every one sees his own faith in himself; but does not see, but believes, that it is in another; and believes this the more firmly, the more he knows the fruits of it, which faith is wont to work by love. And therefore this faith is common to all of whom the evangelist subjoins, " But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God; " common I say, not as any form of a bodily object is common, as regards sight, to the eyes of all to whom it is present, for in some way the gaze of all that behold it is informed by the same one form; but as the human countenance can be said to be common to all men; for this is so said, that yet each certainly has his own. We say certainly with perfect truth, that the faith of believers is impressed from one

1 Gal. V. 6.

CHAP. III.] ONE AND THE SAME FAITH IN ALL BELIEVERS. 313

doctrine upon the heart of each several person who believes the same thing. But that which is believed is a different thing from the faith by which it is believed. For the former is in things which are said either to be, or to have been, or to be about to be; but the latter is in the mind of the believer, and is visible to him only whose it is; although not indeed itself, but a faith like it, is also in others. For it is not one in number, but in kind; yet on account of the likeness, and the absence of all difference, we rather call it one than many.
For when, too, we see two men exceedingly alike, we wonder, and say that both have one
countenance. It is therefore more easily said that the souls were many, â€” a several soul,
of course, for each several person â€” of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that
they were of one soul, â€” â€” than it is, where the apostle speaks of " one faith," â€” for any
one to venture to say that there are as many faiths as there are faithful. And yet He who
says, " O w^oman, great is thy faith;" â€” and to another, " thou of little faith, wherefore
didst thou doubt ?" â€” intimates that each has his own faith. But the like faith of believers is said to be one, in
the same way as a like will of those who wiU is said to be one; since in the case also of
those who have the same will, the will of each is visible to himself, but that of the other is
not visible, although he wills the same thing; and if it intimate itself by any signs, it is
believed rather than seen.
But each being conscious of his own mind certainly does not believe, but manifestly sees
outright, that this is his own will.

Chap. hi. â€“ Some desires being the same in all, are hioion to each. The poet

Ennius.

6. There is, indeed, so closely conspiring a harmony in the same nature living and using
reason, that although one knows not what the other wishes, yet there are some wills of all
which are also known to each; and although each man does not know what any other one
man wills, yet in some things he may know what all will. And hence comes that story of
the comic actor's witty joke, who promised that he would say in the theatre, in some other
play, what all had in their minds, and what all willed; and when a still greater crowd had
come together on the day appointed, with great expecta-

Î»Actsiv. 32. 2Epli. iv. 5. ^j^Iatt. xv. 28. ^j^iatt. xiv. 31.

314 ox THE TRmiTY. [book xiii

tion, all being in suspense and silent, is affirmed to have said:
You will to buy cheap, and sell dear. And mean actor though he was, yet all in his words
recognised what themselves were conscious of, and applauded him with wonderful
goodwill, for saying before the eyes of all what was confessedly true, yet what no one
looked for. And why was so great expectation raised by his promising that he would say
what was the will of all, unless because no man knows the wills of other men ?
But did not he know that will ? Is there any one who does not know it ? Yet why, unless
because there are some things which not unfitly each conjectures from himself to be in
others, through the sympathy or the agreement of either fault or nature ? But it is one
thing to see one's own will; another to conjecture, however certainly, what is another's.
For, in human affairs, I am as certain that Eome was built as that Constantinople was,
although I have seen Eome with my eyes, but know nothing of the other city, except what
I have believed on the testimony of others. And truly that comic actor believed it to be
common to all to will to buy cheap and sell dear, either by observing himself or by making experiment also of others. But since such a will is in truth a fault, every one can attain the counter virtue, or run into the mischief of some other fault which is contrary to it, whereby to resist and conquer it. For I myself know a case where a manuscript was offered to a man for purchase, who perceived that the vendor was ignorant of its price, and was therefore asking something very small, and who thereupon gave him, though not expecting it, the just price, which was much more. Suppose even the case of a man possessed with wickedness so great as to sell cheap what his parents left to him, and to buy dear, in order to waste it on his own lusts? Such wanton extravagance, I fancy, is not incredible; and if such men are sought, they may be found, or even fall in one’s way although not sought; who, by a wickedness more than that of the theatre, make a mock of the theatrical proposition or declaration, by buying dishonour at a great price, while selling lands at a small one.

We have heard, too, of persons that, for the sake of distribution, have bought corn at a higher price, and sold it to their fellowcitizens at a lower one. And note also what the old poet Ennius

CHAP. IV.] ALL MEN DESIREE BLESSEDNESS. 315

has said: that " all mortals wish themselves to be praised; " wherein, doubtless, he conjectured what was in others, both by himself, and by those whom he knew by experience; and so seems to have declared what it is that all men will. Lastly, if that comic actor himself, too, had said. You all will to be praised, no one of you wills to be abused; he would have seemed in like manner to have expressed what all will. Yet there are some who hate their own faults, and do not desire to be praised by others for that for which they are displeased with themselves; and who thank the kindness of those who rebuke them, when the purpose of that rebuke is their own amendment. But if he had said, You all will to be blessed, you do not will to be wretched; he would have said something which there is no one that would not recognise in his own will. For whatever else a man may will secretly, he does not withdraw from that will, which is well known to all men, and well known to be in all men.

Chap. iy. â€” The ivlU to possess hixedness is one in all, hut the variety of loills is very great concerning that blessedness itself.

7. It is wonderful, however, since the will to obtain and retain blessedness is one in all, whence comes, on the other hand, such a variety and diversity of wills concerning that blessedness itself; not that any one is unwilling to have it, but that all do not know it. For if all knew it, it would not be thought by some to be in goodness of mind; by others, in pleasure of body; by others, in both; and by some in one thing, by others in another. For as men find special delight in this thing or that, so have they placed in it their idea of a blessed life. How, then, do all love so warmly what not all know? AVho can love what he does not know? â€” a subject which I have already discussed in the preceding books. Why, therefore, is blessedness loved by all, when it is not known by all? Is it perhaps
that all know what it is itself, but all do not know wdiere it is to be found, and that the
dispute arises from this? as if, forsooth, the business was about some place in this
world, where every one ought to will to live who wills to live blessedly; and as if the
question where blessedness is were not implied in the question what it is.

* Bks. viii. c. 4, etc., x. c. 1.

316 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

For certainly, if it is in tlie x^leasure of the body, he is blessed who enjoys the pleasure of
the body; if in goodness of mind, he has it who enjoys this; if in both, he who enjoys
both.
When, therefore, one says, to live blessedly is to enjoy the pleasure of the body; but
another, to live blessedly is to enjoy goodness of mind; is it not, that either both know, or
both do not know, what a blessed life is? How, then, do both love it, if no one can love
what he does not know? Or is that perhaps false which we have assumed to be most true
and most certain, viz. that all men will to live blessedly? For if to live blessedly is, for
argument's sake, to live according to goodness of mind, how does he will to live
blessedly who does not will this? Should we not say more truly, That man does not will
to live blessedly, because he does not Avish to live according to goodness, which alone is
to live blessedly? Therefore all men do not will to live blessedly; on the contrary, few
wish it; if to live blessedly is nothing else but to live according to goodness of mind,
which many do not will to do. Shall we, then, hold that to be false of which the Academic
Cicero himself did not doubt (aliftliough Academics doubt everything), who, when he
wanted in the dialogue Hortcnsius to find some certain thing, of which no one doubted,
from which to start his argument, says. We certaiiy all will to be blessed. Far be it
from me to say this is false. But what then? Are we to say that, although there is no other
way of living blessedly than living according to goodness of mind, yet even he who does
not will this, wills to live blessedly? This, indeed, seems too absurd. For it is much as if
we should say. Even he who does not will to live blessedly, wills to live blessedly. Who
could listen to, who could endure, such a contradiction? And yet necessity thrusts us into
this strait, if it is both true that all will to live blessedly, and yet all do not will to live in
that way in which alone one can live blessedly.

Chap. v. â€” Of the same thing.

8. Or is, perhaps, the deliverance from our difficulties to be found in this, that, since we
have said that every one places his idea of a blessed life in that which has most pleased
him, as pleasure pleased Epicurus, and goodness Zeno, and something else pleased other
people, we say that to live blessedly

CHAP. v.] BLESSEDNESS WILLS NOTHIXG EVIL. 317
is nothing else but to live according to one's own pleasure; so that it is not false that all will to live blessedly, because all will that which pleases each? For if this, too, had been proclaimed to the people in the theatre, all would have found it in their own wills. But when Cicero, too, had propounded this in opposition to himself, he so refuted it as to make them blush who thought so. For he says: "But, behold! people who are not indeed philosophers, but who yet are prompt to dispute, say that all are blessed, whoever live as they will;"
which is what we mean by, as pleases each. But by and by he has subjoined: "But this is indeed false. For to will what is not fitting, is itself most miserable; neither is it so miserable not to obtain what one wills, as to will to obtain what one ought not." Most excellently and altogether most truly does he speak. For who can be so blind in his mind, so alienated from all light of decency, and wrapped up in the darkness of indecency, as to call him blessed, because he lives as he will, who lives wickedly and disgracefully; and with no one restraining him, no one punishing, and no one daring even to blame him, nay more, too, with most people praising him, since, as divine Scripture says, "The wicked is praised in his heart's desire; and he who works iniquity is blessed," gratifies all his most criminal and flagitious desires; when, doubtless, although even so he would be wretched, yet he would be less wretched, if he could have had nothing of those things which he had wrongly willed! For every one is made wretched by a wicked will also, even though it stop short with will; but more wretched by the power by which the longing of a wicked will is fulfilled. And, therefore, since it is true that all men will to be blessed, and that they seek for this one thing with the most ardent love, and on account of this seek everything which they do seek; nor can any one love that of which he does not know at all what or of what sort it is, nor can be ignorant what that is which he knows that he wills; it follows that all know a blessed life. But all that are blessed have what they will, although not all who have what they will are forthwith blessed. But they are forthwith wretched, who either have not what they will, or have that which they

1 Ps. X. 3.

318 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

do not rightly will. Therefore lie only is a blessed man, who both has all things which he wills, and wills nothing ill.

Chap. yi. â€” Wh7j, ivhen all will to he blessed, that is rather chosen by which one withdraws from being so.

9. Since, then, a blessed life consists of these two things, and is known to all, and dear to all; what can we think to be the cause why, when they cannot have both, men choose, out of these two, to have all things that they will, rather than to will all things well, even although they do not have them?
Is it the depravity itself of the human race, in such wise that, while they are not unaware that neither is he blessed who has not what he wills, nor he who has what he wills
wrongly, but he who both has whatsoever good things he wills, and wills no evil ones, yet, when both are not granted of those two things in which the blessed life consists, that is rather chosen by which one is withdrawn the more from a blessed life (since he certainly is further from it who obtains things which he wickedly desired, than he who only does not obtain the things which he desired); whereas the good will ought rather to be chosen, and to be preferred, even if it do not obtain the things which it seeks? For he comes near to being a blessed man, who wills well whatsoever he wills, and wills things, which when he obtains, he will be blessed. And certainly not bad things, but good, make men blessed, when they do so make them. And of good things he already has something, and that, too, a something not to be lightly esteemed, â€” namely, the very good will itself; who longs to rejoice in those good things of which human nature is capable, and not in the performance or the attainment of any evil; and who follows diligently, and attains as much as he can, with a prudent, temperate, courageous, and right mind, such good things as are possible in the present miserable life; so as to be good even in evils, and when all evils have been put an end to, and all good things fulfilled, then to be blessed.

Chap. vii. â€” Faith is necessary, that man may at some time he blessed, ivhich he will only attain in the future life. The blessedness of proud philosophers ridiculous and pitiable.

10. And on this account, faith, by which men believe in God, is above all things necessary in this mortal life, most full

CHAP. VII.] PERFECT BLESSEDNESS ONLY IN THE LIFE TO COME. 319

as it is of errors and hardships. For there are no good things whatever, and above all, not those by which any one is made good, or those by which he will become blessed, of which any other source can be found whence they come to man, and are added to man, unless it be from God. But when he who is good and faithful in these miseries shall have come from this life to the blessed life, then will truly come to pass what now is absolutely impossible, â€” namely, that a man may live as he will. For he will not wiU to live badly in the midst of that felicity, nor will he will anything that will be wanting, nor will there be wanting anything which he shall have willed. Whatever shaU be loved, will be present; nor will that be longed for, which shall not be present. Everything which will be there will be good, and the supreme God will be the supreme good, and will be present for those to enjoy who love Him; and what altogether is most blessed, it will be certain that it will be so for ever. But now, indeed, philosophers have made for themselves, according to the pleasure of each, their own ideals of a blessed life; that they might be able, as it were by their own power, to do that, which by the common condition of mortals they were not able to do, â€” namely, to live as they would. For they felt that no one could be blessed otherwise than by having what he would, and by suffering nothing which he would not. And who would not will, that the life, whatsoever it be, with which he is delighted, and which he therefore calls blessed, were
so in his own power, that he could have it continually? And yet who is in this condition? Who wills to suffer troubles in order that he may endure them manfully, although he both wills and is able to endure them if he does suffer them? Who would will to live in torments, even although he is able to live laudably by holding fast to righteousness in the midst of them through patience? They who have endured these evils, either in wishing to have or in fearing to lose what they loved, whether wickedly or laudably, have thought of them as transitory. For many have stretched boldly through transitory evils to good things which will last. And these, doubtless, are blessed through hope, even while actually suffering such transitory evils, through which they arrive at good tilings

320 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

which will not be transitory. But he who is blessed through hope is not yet blessed: for he expects, through patience, a blessedness which he does not yet grasp. Whereas he, on the other hand, who is tormented without any such hope, without any such reward, let him use as much endurance as he pleases, is not truly blessed, but bravely miserable. For he is not on that account not miserable, because he would be more so if he also bore misery impatiently. Further, even if he does not suffer those things which he would not will to suffer in his own body, not even then is he to be esteemed blessed, inasmuch as he does not live as he wills. Tor to omit other things, which, while the body remains unhurt, belong to those annoyances of the mind, without which we should will to live, and which are innumerable; he would will, at any rate, if he were able, so to have his body safe and sound, and so to suffer no inconveniences from it, as to have it within his own control, or even to have it with an imperishableness of the body itself; and because he does not possess this, and hangs in doubt about it, he certainly does not live as he wills. For although he may be ready from fortitude to accept, and bear with an equal mind, whatever adversities may happen to him, yet he had rather they should not happen, and hinders them if he is able; and he is in such way ready for both alternatives, that, as much as is in him, he wishes for the one and shuns the other; and if he have fallen into that which he shuns, he therefore bears it willingly, because that could not happen which he willed. He bears it, therefore, in order that he may not be crushed; but he would not willingly be even burdened. How, then, does he live as he wills? Is it because he is willingly strong to bear what he would not will to be put upon him? Then he only wills what he can, because he cannot have what he wills. And here is the sum-total of the blessedness of proud mortals, I know not whether to be laughed at, or not rather to be pitied, who boast that they live as they will, because they willingly bear patiently what they are unwilling should happen to them. For this, they say, is like Terence's wise saying, â€”

"Since that cannot be which you will, will that which thou canst." ^

^ Andreiaf Act ii. Scene 1, v. 6, 6.
CHxVP. YIII.] BLESSEDNESS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT IMMORTALITY. 321

That this is aptly said, who denies? But it is advice given to the miserable man, that he may not be more miserable.
And it is not rightly or truly said to the blessed man, such as all wish themselves to be, That cannot be which you will.
For if he is blessed, whatever he wills can be; since lie does not will that which cannot be. But such a life is not for this mortal state, neither will it come to pass unless when immortality also shall come to pass. And if this could not be given at all to man, blessedness too would be soudit in vain, since it cannot be without immortality.

Chap. viii. â€” Blessedness cannot const icWiout immortality.

11. As, therefore, all men will to be blessed, certainly, if they will truly, they will also to be immortal; for otherwise they could not be blessed. And further, if questioned also concerning immortality, as before concerning blessedness, all reply that they will it. But blessedness of what quality soever, such as is not so, but rather is so called, is sought, nay indeed is feigned in this life, whilst immortality is despairsed of, without which true blessedness cannot be. Since he lives blessedly, as we have already said before, and have sufficiently proved and concluded, who lives as he wills, and wills nothing wrongly. But no one willingly wishes immortality, if human nature is by God's gift capable of it; and if it is not capable of it, it is not capable of blessedness. For, that a man may live blessedly, he must needs live. And if life quits him by his dying, how can a blessed life remain with him? And when it quits him, without doubt it either quits him unwillingly, or willingly, or neither. If unwillingly, how is the life blessed which is so within his will as not to be within his power? And whereas no one is blessed who does not have, how much less is he blessed who is quitted against his will, not by honour, nor by possessions, nor by any other thing, but by the blessed life itself, since he will have no life at all? And hence, although no feeling is left for his life to be thereby miserable (for the blessed life quits him, because life altogether quits him), yet he is wretched as long as he feels, because he knows that against his will that is being destroyed for the sake of which he loves all else, and

DE TKIN. X

322 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

whicli lie loves beyond all else. A life therefore cannot both be blessed, and yet quit a man against his will, since no one becomes blessed against his will; and hence how much more does it make a man miserable by quitting him against his will, when it would make him miserable if he had it against his will! But if it quit him Avith his will, even so how was that a blessed life, which he who had it willed should perish?
It remains for them to say that neither of these is in the mind of the blessed man; that is, that he is neither unwilling nor willing to be quitted by a blessed life, when through death
life quits him altogether; for that he stands firm with an even heart, prepared alike for either alternative. But neither is that a blessed life which is such as to be unworthy of his love whom it makes blessed. For how is that a blessed life which the blessed man does not love? Or how is that loved, of which it is received indifferently, whether it is to flourish or to perish? Unless perhaps the virtues, which we love in this way on account of blessedness alone, venture to persuade us that we do not love blessedness itself. Yet if they did this, we should certainly leave off loving the virtues themselves, when we do not love that on account of which alone we loved them. And further, how will that opinion be true, which has been so tried, and sifted, and thoroughly strained, and is so certain, viz. that all men will to be blessed, if they themselves who are already blessed neither will nor do not will to be blessed? Or if they will it, as truth proclaims, as nature constrains, in which indeed the supremely good and unchangeably blessed Creator has implanted that will; if, I say, they will to be blessed who are blessed, certainly they do not will to be not blessed. But if they do not will not to be blessed, without doubt they do not will to be annihilated and perish in regard to their blessedness. But they cannot be blessed except they are alive; therefore they do not will so to perish in regard to their life. Therefore, whoever are either truly blessed or desire to be so, will to be immortal. But he does not live blessedly who has not that which he wills. Therefore it follows that in no way can life be truly blessed unless it be eternal.

CHAP. IX.] WE BELIEVE IN IMMORTALITY THROUGH FAITH. 323

Chap. ix. "We say that future blessedness is truly eternal, not through human reasonings, but by the help of faith. The immortality of blessedness becomes credible from the incarnation of the Son of God.

12. Whether human nature can receive this, which yet it confesses to be desirable, is no small question. But if faith be present, which is in those to whom Jesus has given power to become the sons of God, then there is no question. Assuredly, of those who endeavour to discover it from human reasonings, scarcely a few, and they endured with great abilities, and abounding in leisure, and learned with the most subtle learning, have been able to attain to the investigation of the immortality of the soul alone. And even for the soul they have not found a blessed life that is stable—, that is, true; since they have said that it returns to the miseries of this life even after blessedness. And they among them who are ashamed of this opinion, and have thought that the purified soul is to be placed in eternal happiness without a body, hold such opinions concerning the backward eternity of the world, as to confute this opinion of theirs concerning the soul: a thing which here it is too long to demonstrate; but it has been, as I think, sufficiently explained by us in the twelfth book of the City of God] But that faith promises, not by human reasoning, but by divine authority, that the whole man, who certainly consists of soul and body, shall be immortal, and on this account truly blessed. And so, when it had been said in the Gospel, that Jesus has given " power to become the sons of God to them who received Him; " and what it is to have received Him had been shortly explained by saying, " To them that believe on His name;" and it was further
added in what way they are to become sons of God, viz., "Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God;" â€” lest that infirmity of men which we all see and bear should despair of attaining so great excellence, it is added in the same place, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;" ^ that, on the contrary, men might be convinced of that which seemed incredible. For if He who is by nature the Son of God was made the Son of man through mercy for the sake of the sons of men, â€” for this is what is 1 C. 20. 2 join i. 12-14.

324 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.

meant by "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us" men, â€” how much more credible is it that the sons of men by nature should be made the sons of God by the grace of God, and should dwell in God, in whom alone and from whom alone the blessed can be made partakers of that immortality; of which that we might be convinced, the Son of God was made partaker of our mortality?

Chap. x. â€” There was no other more suitable way of freeing man from the misery of mortality than the incarnation of the ^Yord. The merits which are called ours are the gifts of God.

13. Those then who say. What, had God no other way by which He might free men from the misery of this mortality, that He should will the only-begotten Son, God co-eternal with Himself, to become man, by putting on a human soul and flesh, and being made mortal to endure death? â€” these, I say, it is not enough so to, refute, as to assert that that mode by which God deigns to free us through the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, is good and suitable to the dignity of God; but we must show also, not indeed that no other mode was possible to God, to whose power all things are equally subject, but that there neither was nor need have been any other mode more appropriate for curing our misery. For what was so necessary for the building up of our hope, and for the freeing the minds of mortals cast down by the condition of mortality itself, from despair of immortality, than that it should be demonstrated to us at how great a price God rated us, and how greatly He loved us? But what is more manifest and evident in this so great proof hereof, than that the Son of God, unchangeably good, remaining what He was in Himself, and receiving from us and for us what He was not, apart from any loss of His own nature, and deigning to enter into the fellowship of ours, should first, without any evil desert of His own, bear our evils; and so with un-owed munificence should bestow His own gifts upon us, who now believe how much God loves us, and who now hope that of which we used to despair, without any good deserts of our own, nay, with our evil deserts too going before?

14. Since those also which are called our deserts, are His
gifts. For, that faith may work by love/ " the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by
the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."^ And He was then given, when Jesus was
glorified by the resurrection. For then He promised that He Himself would send Him, and
He sent Him f because then, as it was written and foretold of Him, " He ascended up on
high. He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men."^ These gifts are our deserts, by
which we arrive at the chief good of an immortal blessedness. " But God," says the
apostle, " commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ
died for us. Much more, then, being now justified by His blood, we shall be saved from
wrath through Him." To this he goes on to add, " For if, when we were enemies, we were
reconciled to God by the death of His Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be
saved by His life." Those whom he first calls sinners he afterwards calls the enemies of
God; and those whom he first speaks of as justified by His blood, he afterwards speaks of
as reconciled by the death of the Son of God; and those whom he speaks of first as saved
from wrath through Him, he afterwards speaks of as saved by His life. We were not,
therefore, before that grace merely anyhow sinners, but in such sins that we were enemies
of God. But the same apostle calls us above several times by two appellations, viz.
sinners and enemies of God, â€” one as if the most mild, the other plainly the most harsh,
â€” saying, " For if, when we were yet weak, in due time Christ died for the ungodly."^\nThose whom he called weak, the same he called ungodly. Weakness seems something
slight; but sometimes it is such as to be called impiety. Yet except it were weakness, it
would not need a physician, who is in the Hebrew Jesus, in the Greek ^corrj, but in our
speech Saviour. And this word the Latin language had not previously, but could have,
seeing that it could have it when it wanted it. And this foregoing sentence of the apostle,
Avhere he says, " For when we were yet weak, in due time He died for the ungodly,"
coheres with those two following sentences; in the one of which he spoke of sinners, in
the other of enemies

* Eph. iv. 8 and Ps. lxviil 18. ^ p^Qj^ y^ q_iq

326 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

of God, as though he referred each severally to each, viz.
sinners to the weak, the enemies of God to the ungodly.

Chap. xi. â€” A difficulty, liowe we arejustified in the blood of the Son of God.

15. But what is meant by "justified in His Mood"?
What power is there in this blood, I beseech you, that they who believe should be
justified in it? And what is meant by "being reconciled by the death of His Son"? Was it
indeed so, that when God the Father was wroth with us. He saw the death of His Son for us, and was appeased towards us? Was then His Son already so far appeased towards us, that He even deigned to die for us; while the Father was still so far wroth, that except His Son died for us. He would not be appeased? And what, then, is that which the same teacher of the Gentiles himself says in another place: " What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; how has He not with Him also freely given us all things?" ^ Pray, unless the Father had been already appeased, would He have delivered up His own Son not sparing Him for us? Does not this opinion seem to be as it were contrary to that? In the one, the Son dies for us, and the Father is reconciled to us by His death; in the other, as though the Father first loved us. He Himself on our account does not spare the Son. He Himself for us delivers Him up to death. But I see that the Father loved us also before, not only before the Son died for us, but before He created the world; the apostle himself being witness, who says, " According as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world." ^ Nor was the Son delivered up for us as it were unwillingly, the Father Himself not sparing Him; for it is said also concerning Him, "Who loved me, and delivered up Himself for me." ^ Therefore together both the Father and the Son, and the Spirit of both, work all things equally and harmoniously; yet we are justified in the blood of Christ, and we are reconciled to God by the death of His Son. And I wiU explain, as I shall be able, here also, how this was done, as much as may seem sufficient.

Rom. viii. 31, 32. ^Ei>\i. i. 4. ^ Gal. ii. 20.

CHAP. XII.] HOW WE ARE JUSTIFIED. 327

Chap. xii. â€” All, on account of the sin of Adam, were delivered into the power of the devil.

16. By the justice of God in some sense, the human race was delivered into the power of the devil; the sin of the first man passing over originally into all of both sexes in their birth through conjugal union, and the debt of our first parents binding their whole posterity. This delivering up is first signified in Genesis, where, when it had been said to the serpent, " Dust shalt thou eat," it was said to the man, " Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." ^ In the words, " Unto dust shalt thou return," the death of the body is fore-announced, because he would not have experienced that either, if he had continued to the end upright as he was made; but in that it is said to him whilst still living, " Dust thou art," it is shown that the whole man was changed for the worse. For " Dust thou art " is much the same as, " My spirit shall not always remain in these men, for that they also are flesh." ^ Therefore it was at that time shown, that he was delivered to him, in that it had been said to him, " Dust shalt thou eat." But the apostle declares this more clearly, where he says: " And you who were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of unfaithfulness; among whom we also
had our conversation in times past^ in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." ^ The "children of unfaithfulness " are the unbelievers; and who is not this before he becomes a believer? And therefore all men are originally under the prince of the power of the air, "who worketh in the children of unfaithfulness."

And that which I have expressed by "originally" is the same that the apostle expresses when he says, themselves who "by nature" were as others; viz. by nature, as it has been depraved by sin, not as it was created upright from the beginning. But the way in which man was thus delivered into the power of the devil, ought not to be so understood as if God did this, or commanded it to be done; but that He only permitted it, yet that justly. For when He abandoned the sinner, the author


328 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

of the sin immediately entered. Yet God did not certainly so abandon His own creature as not to show Himself to him as God creating and quickening, and among penal evils bestowing also many good things upon the evil. For He hath not in anger shut up His tender mercies.^ Nor did He dismiss man from the law of His own power, when He permitted him to be in the power of the devil; since even the devil himself is not estranged from the power of the Omnipotent, as neither from His goodness. For whence do even the evil angels subsist in whatever manner of life they have, except through Him who quickens all things ? If, therefore, the commission of sins through the just anger of God subjected man to the devil, doubtless the remission of sins through the merciful reconciliation of God rescues man from the devil.

Chap. xiii. â€” Man was to be rescued from, the j"ower of the devils not hy m'ljlhtf but hy righteousness.

17. But the devil was to be overcome, not by the might of God, but by His righteousness. For what is more mighty than the Omnipotent ? Or what creature is there of which the power can be compared to the power of the Creator ? But since the devil, by the fault of his own perversity, was made a lover of might, and a foraker and assailant of righteousness, â€” for thus also men imitate him so much the more in proportion as they set their hearts on might, to the neglect or even hatred of righteousness, and as they either rejoice in the attainment of might, or are inflamed by the lust of it, â€” it pleased God, that in order to the rescuing of man from the power of the devil, the devil should be conquered, not by might, but by righteousness; and that so also men, imitating Christ, should seek to conquer the devil by righteousness, not by might. Not that might is to be shunned as though it were something evil; but the order must be preserved, whereby righteousness is before it. For how great can be the might of mortals ?
Therefore let mortals cleave to righteousness; might will be given to immortals. And compared to this, the might, how great soever, of those men who are called mighty on earth, is found to be ridiculous weakness, and a pitfall is dug there for the sinner, where the wicked seem to be most powerful. And the

* Ps. Ixxvii. 9.

CHAP. XII] man justified THROUGH EIGHTEOUSNESS. 329

righteous man says in his song, "Blessed is the man whom Thou chastenest, Lord, and teachest him out of Thy law: that Thou mayest give him rest from the days of adversity, until the pit be digged for the wicked. For the Lord will not cast off His people, neither will He forsake His inheritance, until righteousness return unto judgment, and all who follow it are upright in heart." ^ At this present time, then, in which the might of the people of God is delayed, "the Lord will not cast off His people, neither will He forsake His inheritance," how bitter and unworthy things soever it may suffer in its humility and weakness; "until the righteousness," which the weakness of the pious now possesses, "shall return to judgment," that is, shall receive the power of judging; which is preserved in the end for the righteous, when might in its due order shall have followed after righteousness.

For might joined to righteousness, or righteousness added to might, constitutes a judicial authority. But righteousness belongs to a good will; whence it was said by the angels when Christ was born: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will." ^ But might ought to follow righteousness, not to go before it; and accordingly it is placed in "second," that is, prosperous fortune; and this is called "second" ^ from "following." For whereas two things make a man blessed, as we have argued above, to will well, and to be able to do what one wills, people ought not to be so perverse, as has been noted in the same discussion, as that a man should choose from the two things which make him blessed, the being able to do what he wills, and should neglect to will what he ought; whereas he ought first to have a good will, but great power afterwards. Further, a good will must be purged from vices, by which if a man is overcome, he is in such wise overcome as that he wills evil; and then how will his will be still good ? It is to be wished, then, that power may now be given, but power against vices, to conquer which men do not wish to be powerful, while they wish to be so in order to conquer men; and why is this, unless that, being in truth conquered, they feignedly conquer, and are conquerors not in truth, but in opinion ? Let a man will to be prudent,


330 ON THE TRINITY. BOOK XII
will to be strong, will to be temperate, will to be just; and that he may be able to have these things truly, let him certainly desire power, and seek to be powerful in himself, and (strange though it be) against himself for himself. But all the other things which he wills rightly, and yet is not able to have, as, for instance, immortality, and true and full felicity, let him not cease to long for, and let him patiently expect.

Chap. xiv. â€” The unvived death of Christ has freed those who were liable to death.

18. What, then, is the righteousness by which the devil was conquered? What, except the righteousness of Jesus Christ?
And how was he conquered? Because, when he found in Him nothing worthy of death, yet he slew Him. And certainly it is just, that we whom he held as debtors, should be dismissed free by believing in Him whom he slew without any debt.
In this way it is that we are said to be justified in the blood of Christ.— For so that innocent blood was shed for the remission of our sins. Whence He calls Himself in the Psalms,
"Free among the dead."— For he only that is dead is free from the debt of death. Hence also in another psalm He says, "Then I restored that which I -seized not;"— meaning sin by the thing seized, because sin is laid hold of against what is lawful. Whence also He says, by the mouth of His own Flesh, as is read in the Gospel: "For the prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me," that is, no sin; but "that the world may know," He says, "that I do the commandment of the Father; arise, let us go hence."— And thence He proceeds to His passion, that He might pay for us debtors that which He Himself did not owe. Would then the devil be conquered by this most just right, if Christ had willed to deal with him by might, not by righteousness? But He held back what was possible to Him, in order that He might first do what was fitting. And hence it was necessary that He should be both man and God. For unless He had been man, He could not have been slain; unless He had been God, men would not have believed that He would not do what He could, but that He could not do what He would; nor should we have thought that righteousness was preferred by Him to might, but that He

1 Eom. V. 9. 2 pg^ Ixxxviii. 5. ^ pg. ixxix. 4. ^ John xiv. 30, 31.

CHAP. XV.] THE DEATH OF CHEIST FREES FROM DEATH. 331

lacked might. But now He suffered for us things belonging to man, because He was man; but if He had been unwilling, it would have been in His power too not so to suffer, because He was also God. And righteousness was therefore made more acceptable in humility, because so great might as was in His Divinity, if He had been unwilling, would have been able not to suffer humility; and thus by Him who died, being thus mighty, both righteousness was commended, and might promised, to us weak mortals. For He did one of these two things by dying, the other by rising again. For what is more righteous, than to come even to the death of the cross for righteousness? And
what more mighty, than to rise from the dead, and to ascend into heaven with that very flesh in which He was slain?
And therefore He conquered the devil first by righteousness, and afterwards by might: namely, by righteousness, because He had no sin, and was slain by him most unjustly; but by might, because having been dead He lived again, never afterwards to die. But He would have conquered the devil by might, even although He could not have been slain by him:
although it belongs to a greater might to conquer death itself also by rising again, than to avoid it by living. But the reason is really a different one, why we are justified in the blood of Christ, when we are rescued from the power of the devil through the remission of sins: it pertains to this, that the devil is conquered by Christ by righteousness, not by might. For Christ was crucified, not through immortal might, but through the weakness which He took upon Him in mortal flesh; of which weakness nevertheless the apostle says, "that the weakness of God is stronger than men."

Chap. xv. — Of the same subject.
19. It is not then difficult to see that the devil was conquered, when He who was slain by him rose again. It is something more, and more profound of comprehension, to see that the devil was conquered when he thought himself to have conquered, that is, when Christ was slain. For then that blood, since it was His who had no sin at all, was poured out for the remission of our sins; that, because the devil deservedly held
1 Rom. vi. 9. 2 I coj. i 05^
God the Father, says: "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son: in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins." * In this redemption, the blood of Christ was given, as it were, as a price for us, by accepting which the devil was not enriched, but bound: that we might be loosened from his bonds, and that he might not with himself involve in the meshes of sins, and so deliver to the destruction of the second and eternal death, any one of those whom Christ, free from all debt, had redeemed by pouring out His own blood unindebtedly; but that they who belong to the grace of Christ, foreknown, and predestinated, and elected before the foundation of the world, should only so far die as Christ Himself died for them, i.e. only by the death of the flesh, not of the spirit.

* Mark iii. 27. ^p^Q^i. ix, 22, 23. ^ ^cts xxvi. IG-IS.

^Col. i. 13, U. 5 _^poc. xxi. 8. eipet. i. 20.

CHAP. XVI.] WHY DEATH AND EVILS STILL EXIST. 333

Chap. xyi. â€” The remains of death and the evil things of this world turn to good for the elect. Hoio fitly the death of Christ was chosen, that xoe might be justified in His blood. What the anger of God is.

20. For although the death, too, of the flesh itself came originally from the sin of the first man, yet the good use of it has made most glorious martyrs. And so not only that death itself, but all the evils of this world, and the griefs and labours of men, although they come from the deserts of sins, and especially of original sin, whence life itself too became bound by the bond of death, yet have fitly remained, even when sin is forgiven; that man might have wherewith to contend for truth, and whereby the goodness of the faithful might be exercised; in order that the new man through the new covenant might be made ready among the evils of this world for a new world, by bearing wisely the misery which this condemned life deserved, and by rejoicing soberly because it will be finished, but expecting faithfully and patiently the blessedness which the future life, being set free, will have for ever. For the devil being cast forth from his dominion, and from the hearts of the faithful, in the condemnation and faithlessness of whom he, although himself also condemned, yet reigned, is only so far permitted to be an adversary according to the condition of this mortality, as God knows to be expedient for them: concerning which the sacred writings speak through the mouth of the apostle: *â€¢ God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it."^-^ And those evils which the faithful endure piously, are of profit either for the correction of sins, or for the exercising and proving of righteousness, or to manifest the misery of this life, that the life where will be that true and perpetual blessedness may be desired more ardentely, and sought out more earnestly. But it is on their account that these evils are still kept in being, of whom the apostle says: "For we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called to be holy according to His purpose.
For whom He did foreknow. He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many

\(^{1}\text{Cor. X. 13.}\)

334 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." It is of these who are predestinated, that not one shall perish with the devil; not one shall remain even to death under the power of the devil. And then follows what I have already cited above: \(^{1}\) "What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; how has He not with Him also freely given us all things?"^\(^{2}\)

21. Why then should the death of Christ not have come to pass? Nay, rather, why should not that death itself have been chosen above all else to be brought to pass, to the passing by of the other innumerable ways which He who is omnipotent could have employed to free us; that death, I say, wherein neither was anything diminished or changed from His divinity, and so great benefit was conferred upon men, from the humanity which He took upon Him, that a temporal death, which was not due, was rendered by the eternal Son of God, who was also the Son of man, whereby He might free them from an eternal death which was due? The devil was holding fast our sins, and through them was fixing us deservedly in death. He discharged them, who had none of His own, and who was led by him to death undeservedly. That blood was of such price, that he who even slew Christ for a time by a death which was not due, can as his due detain no one, who has put on Christ, in the eternal death which was due. Therefore "God commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified in His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him." Justified, he says, in His blood, \(^{3}\) : justified plainly, in that we are freed from all sin; and freed from all sin, because the Son of God, who knew no sin, was slain for us. Therefore "we shall be saved from wrath through Him;" from the wrath certainly of God, which is nothing else but just retribution. For the wrath of God is not, as is that of man, a perturbation of the mind; but it is the wrath of Him to whom Holy Scripture says in another place, "But Thou, O Lord, mastering Thy power, judgest with calmness."^\(^{4}\) If,

\(^{1}\text{C. 2. 2 p\text{om. viii. 28-32.} ^{3}\text{-v\text{risd. xii. 18.}\}^4}}\)

CHAP. XVII.] HOW SAVED BY THE SECOND ADAM. 335

certainly the just retribution of God has received such a name, what can be the right understanding also of the reconciliation of God, unless that then such wrath comes to an end? Neither were we enemies to God, except as sins are enemies to righteousness;
which being forgiven, such enmities come to an end, and they whom He Himself justifies are reconciled to the Just One. And yet certainly He loved them even while still enemies, since "He spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all," when we were still enemies. And therefore the apostle has rightly added: "For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son," by which that remission of sins was made, "much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved in His life." Saved in life, who were reconciled by death. For who can doubt that He will give His life for His friends, for whom, when enemies, He gave His death? "And not only so," he says, "but we also joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement." "Not only," he says, "shall we be saved," but "we also joy;" and not in ourselves, but "in God;" nor through ourselves, "but through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement," as we have argued above. Then the apostle adds, "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned," etc.: in which he disputes at some length concerning the two men; the one the first Adam, through whose sin and death we, his descendants, are bound by, as it were, hereditary evils; and the other the second Adam, who is not only man, but also God, by whose payment for us of what He owed not, we are freed from the debts both of our first father and of ourselves. Further, since on account of that one the devil held all who were begotten through his corrupted carnal concupiscence, it is just that on account of this one he should loose all who are regenerated through His immaculate spiritual grace.

Chap. xvii. "Other advantages of the incarnation.
22. There are many other things also in the incarnation of Christ, displeasing as it is to the proud, that are to be observed

^ Rom. V. 8, 12.

ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

and thought of advantageously. And one of them is, that it has been demonstrated to man what place he has in the things which God has created; since human nature could so be joined to God, that one person could be made of two substances, and thereby indeed of three: God, soul, and flesh: so that those proud malignant spirits, who interpose themselves as mediators to deceive, although as if to help, do not therefore dare to place themselves above man, because they have not flesh; and chiefly because the Son of God deigned to die also in the same flesh, lest they, because they seem to be immortal, should therefore succeed in getting themselves worshipped as gods. Further, that the grace of God might be commended to us in the man Christ without any precedent merits; because not even He Himself obtained by any precedent merits that He should be joined in such great unity with the true God, and should become the Son of God, one Person with Him; but from the time when He began to be man, from that time He is also God; whence it is
said, "The Word was made flesh." Then, again, there is this, that the pride of man, which is the chief hindrance against his cleaving to God, can be confuted and healed through such great humility of God. Man learns also how far he has gone away from God; and what it is worth to him as a pain to cure him, when he returns through such a Mediator, who both as God assists men by His divinity, and as man agrees with men by His weakness. For what greater example of obedience could be given to us, who had perished through disobedience, than God the Son obedient to God the Father, even to the death of the cross? Nay, wherein could the reward of obedience itself be better shown, than in the flesh of so great a Mediator, which rose again to eternal life? It belonged also to the justice and goodness of the Creator, that the devil should be conquered by the same rational creature which he rejoiced that he himself had conquered, and by one that came from the same race, which by the corruption of its origin through one, he held altogether.

1 Jolm i. 14. 2 Phil, ii. 8.

CHAP. XVIII.] WHY CHRIST TOOK FLESH OF A VIRGIN, 337

Chap, xviii. â€” Why the Son of God took man upon Himself from the race of Adam, and from a virgin.

23. For assuredly God could have taken upon Himself to be man, that in that manhood He might be the Mediator of God and men, from some other source, and not from the race of that Adam who bound the human race by his sin; as He did not create him whom He first created, of the race of some one else. Therefore He was able, either so, or in any other mode that He would, to create yet one other, by whom the conqueror of the first might be conquered. But God judged it better both to take upon Him man through whom to conquer the enemy of the human race, from the race itself that had been conquered; and yet to do this of a virgin, whose conception, not flesh but spirit, not lust but faith, preceded.—^ Nor did the concupiscence of the flesh intervene, by which the rest of men, who derive original sin, are propagated and conceived; but holy virginity became pregnant, not by conjugal intercourse, but by belief, â€” lust being utterly absent, â€” that that which was born from the root of the first man might derive only the origination of race, not also of guilt. For there was born, not a nature corrupted by the contagion of transgression, but the one only remedy of all such corruptions. There was born, I say, a Man having nothing, and to have nothing, at all of sin; through whom they were to be born again so as to be freed from sin, who could not be born without sin. For although conjugal chastity makes a right use of the carnal concupiscence which is in our members; yet it is liable to motions not voluntary, by which it shows either that it could not have existed at all in paradise before sin, or if it did, that it was not then such as that sometimes it should resist the will. But now we feel it to be such, that in opposition to the law of the mind, and even if there is no question of begetting, it works in us the incitement of sexual intercourse; and if in this men yield to it, then it is satisfied by an act of sin; if they do not, then it is bridled by an act of refusal: which two things who could doubt to have been alien from paradise
before sin? For neither did the chastity that then was do anything indecorous, nor did the happiness that then was

DE TRIN. Y

338 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

suffer anything unquiet. It was necessary, therefore, that this carnal concupiscence should be entirely absent, when the offspring of the Virgin was conceived; in whom the author of death was to find nothing worthy of death, and yet was to slay Him in order that he might be conquered by the death of the Author of life: the conqueror of the first Adam, who held fast the human race, conquered by the second Adam, and losing the Christian race, freed out of the human race from human guilt, through Him who was not in the guilt, although He was of the race; that that deceiver might be conquered by that race which he had conquered by guilt. And this was so done, in order that man may not be lifted up, but "that he that glorieth should glory in the Lord." For he who was conquered was only man; and he was therefore conquered, because he lusted proudly to be a god. But He who conquered was both man and God; and therefore He so conquered, being born of a virgin, because God in humility did not, as He rules other saints, so rule that Man, but bare Him. These so great gifts of God, and whatever else there are, which it is too long for us now upon this subject both to inquire and to discuss, could not exist unless the Word had been made flesh.

Chap. xix. Â¢” IV7iat in the incarnate Word belongs to knowledge, what to loisdom.

24. And all these things which the Word made flesh did and bare for us in time and place, belong, according to the distinction which we have undertaken to demonstrate, to knowledge, not to wisdom. And as the Word is without time and without place, it is co-eternal with the Father, and in its wholeness everywhere; and if any one can, as much as he can, speak truly concerning this Word, then his discourse will pertain to wisdom. And hence the Word made flesh, which is Christ Jesus, has the treasures both of wisdom and of knowledge. For the apostle, writing to the Colossians, says: "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh; that their hearts might be comforted, being knit

1 2 Cor. X. 17.

CHAP. XIX.] WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE BOTH IN CHRIST. 339

together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of he mystery of God, which is Christ Jesus: in whom are hid all the
treasures of wisdom and knowledge." To what extent the apostle knew all those treasures, how much of them he had penetrated, and in them to how great things he had reached, who can know?

Yet, for my part, according to that which is written, "But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; for to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;" if these two are in such way to be distinguished from each other, that wisdom is to be assigned to divine things, knowledge to human, I acknowledge both in Christ, and so with me do all His faithful ones. And when I read, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," I understand by the Word the true Son of God, I acknowledge in the flesh the true Son of man, and both together joined into one Person of God and man, by an ineffable copiousness of grace. And on account of this, the apostle goes on to say, "And we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." If we refer grace to knowledge, and truth to wisdom, I think we shall not swerve from that distinction between these two things which we have commended. For in those things that have their origin in time, this is the highest grace, that man is joined with God in unity of person; but in things eternal the highest truth is rightly attributed to the Word of God. But that the same is Himself the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, this took place, in order that He Himself in things done for us in time should be the same for whom we are cleansed by the same faith, that we may contemplate Him stedfastly in things eternal.

And those distinguished philosophers of the heathen who have been able to understand and discern the invisible things of God by those things which are made, have yet, as is said of them, "held down the truth in iniquity;" because they philosophized without a Mediator, that is, without the man Christ, whom they neither believed to be about to come at the word

1 Col. ii. 1-3. 2 1 Cor. xii. 7, 8.
3 John i. 14. * Rom. i. 23; detiimerunt.

340 ON THE TERNITY. [BOOK XIII.]

of the prophets, nor to have come at that of the apostles. For, placed as they were in these lowest things, they could not but seek some media through which they might attain to those lofty things which they had understood; and so they fell upon deceitful spirits, through whom it came to pass, that "they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." For in such forms also they set up or worshipped idols. Therefore Christ is our knowledge, and the same Christ is also our wisdom. He Himself implants in us faith
concerning temporal things, He Himself shows forth the truth concerning eternal things. Through Him we reach on to Himself: we stretch through knowledge to wisdom; yet we do not withdraw from one and the same Christ, " in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge." But now we speak of knowledge, and will hereafter speak of wisdom as much as He Himself shall grant. And let us not so take these two things, as if it were not allowable to speak either of the wisdom which is in human things, or of the knowledge which is in divine. For after a laxer custom of speech, both can be called wisdom, and both knowledge. Yet the apostle could not in any way have written, " To one is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge," except also these several things had been properly called by the several names, of the distinction between which we are now treating.

Chap. xx. â€” What has been treated of in this book. Hoic we have reached hy steps to a certain trinity, which is found in practical knoikdge and true faith.

25. Now, therefore, let us see what this prolix discourse has effected, what it has gathered, whereto it has reached. It belongs to all men to will to be blessed; yet all men have not faith, whereby the heart is cleansed, and so blessedness is reached. And thus it comes to pass, that by means of the faith which not all men will, we have to reach on to the blessedness which there can be no one who does not will. All see in their own heart that they will to be blessed; and so great is the agreement of human nature on this subject.

â€» Kom. i. 18, 20.

CHAP. XX.] A TRINITY IN PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE. 341

that tie man is not deceived who conjectures this concerning another's mind, out of his own: in short, we know ourselves that all will this. But many despair that they themselves can be immortal, although no otherwise can any one be that which all will, that is, blessed. Yet they will also to be immortal if they could; but through not believing that they can, they do not so live that they can. Therefore faith is necessary, that we may attain blessedness in all the good things of human nature, that is, of both soul and body. But that same faith requires that this faith be limited in Christ, who rose in the flesh from the dead, not to die any more; and that no one is freed from the dominion of the devil, through the forgiveness of sins, save by Him; and that in the abiding place of the devil, life must needs be at once miserable and never-ending, which ought rather to be called death than life.

All which I have also argued, so far as space permitted, in this book, while I have already said much on the subject in the fourth book of this work as well;^ but in that place for one purpose, here for another, â€” namely, there, that I might show why and how Christ was sent in the fulness of time by the Father,^ on account of those who say that He who sent and He who was sent cannot be equal in nature; but here, in order to distinguish practical knowledge from contemplative wisdom.
26. For we wished to ascend, as it were, by steps, and to seek in the inner man, both in knowledge and in wisdom, a sort of trinity of its own special kind, such as we sought before in the outer man; in order that we may come, with a mind more practised in these lower things, to the contemplation of that Trinity which is God, according to our little measure, if indeed we can even do this, at least in a riddle and as through a glass. If, then, any one have committed to memory the words of this faith in their sounds alone, not knowing what they mean, as they commonly who do not know Greek hold in memory Greek words, or similarly Latin ones, or those of any other language of which they are ignorant, has not he a sort of trinity in his mind? because, first, those sounds of words are in his memory, even when he does not think there-

1 Cc. 19-21. s Gal. iv. 4. Â» 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

342 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIII.]

upon; and next, the mind's eye of his act of recollection is formed thence when he does think of them; and next, the will of him who remembers and thinks unites both. Yet we should by no means say that the man in so doing busies himself with a trinity of the interior man, but rather of the exterior; because he remembers, and when he wills, contemplates as much as he wills, that alone which belongs to the sense of the body, which is called hearing. !N"or in such an act of thouo^ht does he do anything else than deal with images of corporeal things, that is, of sounds. But if he holds and recollects what those words signify, now indeed something of the inner man is brought into action; not yet, however, ought he to be said or thought to live according to a trinity of the inner man, if he does not love those things which are there declared, enjoined, promised. For it is possible for him also to hold and think these things, supposing them to be false, in order that he may endeavour to disprove them. Therefore that will, which in this case unites those things which are held in the memory with those things which are thence impressed on the mind's eye of the thought, completes, indeed, some kind of trinity, since itself is a third added to two others; but the man does not live according to this, when those things which are thought are taken to be false, and are not accepted. But when those things are believed to be true, and those things which therein ought to be loved are loved, then at last the man does live according to a trinity of the inner man; for every one lives according to that which he loves. But how can things be loved which are not known, but only believed? This question has been already treated of in former books -^ and we found, that no one loves what he is wholly ignorant of, but that when things not known are said to be loved, they are loved from those things which are known. And now we so conclude this book, that we admonish the just to live by faith,^ which faith worketh by love,^ so that the virtues also themselves, by which one lives prudently, boldly, temperately, and justly, be all referred to the same faith; for not otherwise can they be true virtues. And yet these in this life are not of so great worth, as that the

^â€œ Bk. viii. cc. 8 seqq., and Bk. x. c. 1, etc.
remission of sins, of some kind or other, is not sometimes necessary here; and this
remission comes not to pass except through Him, who by His own blood conquered the
prince of sinners.
Whatsoever ideas are in the mind of the faithful man from this faith, and from such a life,
when they are contained in the memory, and are looked at by recollection, and please the
will, set forth a kind of trinity of its own sort. But the image of God, of which by His help
we shall afterwards speak, is not yet in that trinity; a thing which will then be more
apparent, when it shall have been shown where it is, which the reader may expect in a
succeeding book.

344 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

BOOK FOUKTEENTH.

THE TRUE WISDOM OF MAN IS TREATED OF; AND IT IS SHOWN THAT THE
IMAGE
OF GOD, WHICH MAN IS IN RESPECT TO HIS MIND, IS NOT PLACED
PROPERLY
IN TRANSITORY THINGS, AS IN MEMORY, UNDERSTANDING, AND LOVE,
WHETHER OF FAITH ITSELF AS EXISTING IN TIME, OR EVEN OF THE MIND
AS BUSIED WITH ITSELF, BUT IN THINGS THAT ARE PERMANENT; AND
THAT
THIS WISDOM IS THEN PERFECTED, WHEN THE MIND IS RENEWED IN THE
KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, ACCORDING TO THE IMAGE OF HIM WHO CREATED
MAN
AFTER HIS OWN IMAGE, AND THUS ATTAINS TO WISDOM, WHEREIN THAT
WHICH IS CONTEMPLATED IS ETERNAL.

Chap. i. â€” What the wisdom is of which we are here to treat. WJience the name of
philosopher arose. What has been already said concerning the distinction of knowledge
and wisdom.

1. We must now discourse concerning wisdom; not the wisdom of God, which without
doubt is God, for His onlybegotten Son is called the wisdom of God;â€”but we will speak
of the wisdom of man, yet of true wisdom, which is according to God, and is His true and
chief worship, which is called in Greek by one term, Oeoaeffeia. And this term, as we have already observed, when our own countrymen themselves also wished to interpret it by a single term, was by them rendered piety, whereas piety means more commonly what the Greeks call evai^eia. But because Oeoae/SETa cannot be translated perfectly by any one word, it is better translated by two, so as to render it rather by " the worship of God." That this is the wisdom of man, as we have already laid down in the twelfth book^ of this work, is shown by the authority of Holy Scripture, in the book of God's servant Job, where we read that the Wisdom of God said to man, " Behold piety, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is knowledge; " ^ or, as some have translated the Greek word iTTLarrjfiLTjv, " learning," * which certainly takes its name from learning,^ whence also it may be called knowledge. For every-

1 Ecclus. xxiv. 5 and 1 Cor. i. 24. 2 c. 14.

^ Job xxviii. 28. * Disciplina, disco.

CHAP. I.] OF THE NAME OF PHILOSOPHER. 345

thing is learned in order that it may be known. Although the same word, indeed,^ is employed in a different sense, where any one suffers evils for his sins, that he may be corrected. Whence is that in the Epistle to the Hebrews, " For what son is he to whom the father giveth not discipline ? " And this is still more apparent in the same epistle: "Now no chastening^ for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby." ^ Therefore God Himself is the chiefest wisdom; but the worship of God is the wisdom of man, of which we now speak. For " the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."^ It is in respect to tliis wisdom, therefore, which is the worship of God, that Holy Scripture says, " The multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world." ^

2. But if to dispute of wdsdom belongs to wise men, what shall we do ? Shall we dare indeed to profess wisdom, lest it should be mere impudence for ourselves to dispute about it ? Shall we not be alarmed by the example of Pythagoras ? â€” who dared not profess to be a wise man, but answered that he was a philosopher, i.e. a lover of wisdom; whence arose the name, that became thenceforth so much the popular name, that no matter how great the learning wherein any one excelled, either in his own opinion or that of others, in things pertaining to wisdom, he was still called nothing more than philosopher. Or was it for this reason that no one, even of such as these, dared to profess himself a wise man, â€” because they imagined that a wise man was one without sin ? But our Scriptures do not say this, which say, " Eebuke a wise man, and he will love thee."^ For doubtless he who thinks a man ought to be rebuked, judges him to have sin. However, for
my part, I dare not profess myself a wise man even in this sense; it is enough for me to assume, what they themselves cannot deny, that to dispute of wisdom belongs also to the philosopher, i.e. the lover of wisdom. For they have not given over so disputing, who have professed to be lovers of wisdom rather than wise men.

1 Disciplina. - Disciplina. 3 jjeb. xii, 7, 11.


346 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

3. In disputing, then, about wisdom, they have defined it thus: Wisdom is the knowledge of things human and divine.
And hence, in the last book, I have not withheld the admission, that the cognizance of both subjects, whether divine or human, may be called both knowledge and wisdom. - But according to the distinction made in the apostle's words, "To one is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge," this definition is to be divided, so that the knowledge of things divine shall be called wisdom, and that of things human appropriate to itself the name of knowledge; and of the latter I have treated in the thirteenth book, not indeed so as to attribute to this knowledge everything whatever that can be known by man about things human, wherein there is exceeding much of empty vanity and mischievous curiosity, but only those things by which that most wholesome faith, which leads to true blessedness, is begotten, nourished, defended, strengthened; and in this knowledge most of the faithful are not strong, however exceeding strong in the faith itself. For it is one thing to know only what man ought to believe in order to attain to a blessed life, which must needs be an eternal one; but another to know in what way this belief itself may both help the pious, and be defended against the impious, which last the apostle seems to call by the special name of knowledge. And when I was speaking of this knowledge before, my especial business was to commend faith, first briefly distinguishing things eternal from things temporal, and there discoursing of things temporal; but while deferring things eternal to the present book, I showed also that faith respecting things eternal is itself a thing temporal, and dwells in time in the hearts of believers, and yet is necessary in order to attain the things eternal themselves. - I argued also, that faith respecting the things temporal, which He that is eternal did and suffered for us as man, which manhood He bare in time and carried on to things eternal, is profitable also for the obtaining of things eternal; and that the virtues themselves, whereby in this temporal and mortal life men live prudently, bravely, temperately, and justly, are not true virtues, unless they are re-


CHAP. IL] faith in THINGS ETERNAL IS ITSELF TEMPORAL. 347
ferred to that same faith, temporal though it is, which leads on nevertheless to things eternal.

Chap. ii. â€” There is a kind of trinity in the looking, contemplating, and loving faith temporal, but one that does not yet attain to being properly an image of God.

4. Wherefore since, as it is written, "While we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by sight;" undoubtedly, so long as the just man lives by faith, howsoever he lives according to the inner man, although he aims at truth and reaches on to things eternal by this same temporal faith, nevertheless in the holding, contemplating, and loving this temporal faith, we have not yet reached such a trinity as is to be called an image of God; lest that should seem to be constituted in things temporal which ought to be so in things eternal. For when the human mind sees its own faith, whereby it believes what it does not see, it does not see a thing eternal. For that will not always exist, which certainly will not then exist, when this pilgrimage, whereby we are absent from God, in such way that we must needs walk by faith, shall be ended, and that sight shall have succeeded it whereby we shall see face to face; just as now, because we believe although we do not see, we shall deserve to see, and shall rejoice at having been brought through faith to sight. For then it will be no longer faith, by which that is believed which is not seen; but sight, by which that is seen which is believed. And then, therefore, although we remember this past mortal life, and call to mind by recollection that we once believed what we did not see, yet that faith will be reckoned among things past and done with, not among things present and always continuing. And hence also that trinity which now consists in the remembering, contemplating, and loving this same faith while present and continuing, will then be found to be done with and past, and not still enduring. And hence it is to be gathered, that if that trinity is indeed an image of God, then this image itself would have to be reckoned, not among things that exist always, but among things transient.

12 Cor. V. 6, 7. "Rom. i. 17. ^ Rom. XIII. 12.

348 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

Chap. hi. â€” A difficulty removed, which lies in the way of what has just been said.

But far be it from us to think, that while the nature of the soul is immortal, and from the first beginning of its creation thenceforward never ceases to be, yet that which is the best thing it has, should not endure for ever with its own immortality. Yet what is there in its nature as created, better than that it is made after the image of its Creator? We must find then what may be fittingly called the image of God, not in the holding, contemplating, and loving faith, which will not exist always, but in that which will exist always.
5. Shall we then scrutinize somewhat more carefully and deeply whether the case is really thus? For it may be said that this trinity does not perish even when faith itself shall have passed away: because, as now we both hold it by memory, and discern it by thought, and love it by will; so then also, when we shall both hold in memory, and shall recollect, that we once had it, and shall unite these two by the third, namely will, the same trinity will still continue. Since, if it have left in its passage as it were no trace in us, doubtless we shall not have ought of it even in our memory, whereto to recur when recollecting it as past, and by the third, viz. purpose, coupling both these, to wit, what was in our memory though we were not thinking about it, and what is formed thence by thought. But he who speaks thus, does not perceive, that when we hold, see, and love in ourselves our present faith, we are concerned with a different trinity as now existing, from that trinity which will exist, when we shall contemplate by recollection, not the faith itself, but as it were the imagined trace of it laid up in the memory, and shall unite by the will, as by a third, these two things, viz. that which was in the memory of him who retains, and that which is impressed thence upon the sight of the mind of him who recollects. And that we may understand this, let us take an example from things corporeal, of which we have sufficiently spoken in the eleventh book.* For as we ascend from lower to higher things, or pass inwards from outer to inner things, we first find a trinity in the bodily object which is seen, and in the sight of the seer, which, when he sees it, is formed thereby, and in the purpose of the will which combines both. Let us assume a trinity like this, when the faith which is now in ourselves is so established in our memory as the bodily object we spoke of was in place, from which faith is formed the thought in recollection, as from that bodily object was formed the sight of the beholder; and to these two, to complete the trinity, will is to be reckoned as a third, which connects and combines the faith established in the memory, and a sort of effigy of that faith impressed upon the sight of recollection; just as in that trinity of corporeal sight, the form of the bodily object that is seen, and the corresponding form wrought in the sight of the beholder, are combined by the purpose of the will. Suppose, then, that this bodily object which was beheld was dissolved and had perished, and that nothing at all of it remained anywhere, to the sight of which the gaze might have recourse; are we then to say, that because the image of the bodily object thus now past and done with remains in the memory, whence to form the contemplation in recollecting, and to have the two united by will as a third, therefore it is the same trinity as that former one, when the appearance of the bodily object posited in place was seen? Certainly not, but altogether a different one: for, not to say that that was from without, while this is from within; the former certainly was produced by the appearance of a present bodily object, the latter by the image of that object now past. So, too, in the case of which we are now treating, to illustrate which we have thought good to adduce this example, the faith which is even now in our mind, as that bodily object was in place, while held, looked at,
loved, produces a sort of trinity; but that trinity will exist no more, when this faith in the mind, like that bodily object in place, shall no longer exist. But that which will then exist, when we shall remember it to have been, not to be, in us, will doubtless be a different one. For that which now is, is wrought by the thing itself, present and attached to the mind of one who believes; but that which shall then be, will be wrought by the imagination of a past thing, left in the memory of one who recollects.

Chap. iv. â€” The image of God is to be sought in the immortality of the rational soul. How a trinity is demonstrated in the mind.

6. Therefore neither is that trinity an image of God, which is not now, nor is that other an image of God, which then will not be; but we must find in the soul of man, i.e. the rational or intellectual soul, that image of the Creator which is immortally implanted in its immortality. For as the immortality itself of the soul is spoken with a qualification; since the soul too has its proper death, when it lacks a blessed life, which is to be called the true life of the soul; but it is therefore called immortal, because it never ceases to live with some life or other, even when it is most miserable; â€” so, although reason or intellect is at one time torpid in it, at another appears small, and at another great, yet the human soul is never anything save rational or intellectual; and hence, if it is made after the image of God in respect to this, that it is able to use reason and intellect in order to understand and behold God, then from the moment when that nature so marvellous and so great began to be, whether this image be so worn out as to be almost none at all, or whether it be obscure and defaced, or bright and beautiful, certainly it always is. Further, too, pitying the defaced condition of its dignity, divine Scripture tells us, that "although man walks in an image, yet he disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them."^ It would not therefore attribute vanity to the image of God, unless it perceived it to have been defaced. Yet it sufficiently shows that such defacing does not extend to the taking away its being an image, by saying, "Although man walks in an image." Wherefore in both ways that sentence can be truly enunciated; in that, as it is said, "Although man walketh in an image, yet he disquieteth himself in vain," so it may be said, "Although man disquieteth himself in vain, yet he walketh in an image." For although the nature of the soul is great, yet it can be corrupted, because it is not the highest; and although it can be corrupted, because it is not the highest, yet because it is capable and can be partaker of the highest nature, it is a great nature. Let us seek, then, in this image of God a certain trinity of a special kind, with the aid of Him who Himself made us after His own image. For no otherwise can we healthfully investigate this subject, or arrive at any result according to the wisdom which is from Him.

* Ps. xxxix. 7.
But if the reader will either hold in remembrance and recollect what we have said of the human soul or mind in former books, and especially in the tenth, or will carefully re-peruse it in the passages wherein it is contained, he will not require here any more lengthy discourse respecting the inquiry into so great a thing.

7. We said, then, among other things in the tenth book, that the mind of man knows itself. For the mind knows nothing so much as that which is close to itself; and nothing is more close to the mind than itself. We adduced also other evidences, as much as seemed sufficient, whereby this might be most certainly proved.

Chap. v. â€” Whether the mind of infants knows itself.

What, then, is to be said of the mind of an infant, which is still so small, and buried in such profound ignorance of things, that the mind of a man which knows anything shrinks from the darkness of it? Is that too to be believed to know itself; but that, as being too intent upon those things which it has begun to perceive through the bodily senses, with the greater delight in proportion to their novelty, it is not able indeed to be ignorant of itself, but is also not able to think of itself? Moreover, how intently it is bent upon sensible things that are without it, may be conjectured from this one fact, that it is so greedy of sensible light, that if any one through carelessness, or ignorance of the possible consequences, place a light at night-time where an infant is lying down, on that side to which the eyes of the child so lying down can be bent, but its neck cannot be turned, the gaze of that child will be so fixed in that direction, that we have known some to have come to squint by this means, in that the eyes retained that form which habit in some way impressed upon them while tender and soft. In the case, too, of the other bodily senses, the souls of infants, as far as their age permits, so narrow themselves as it were, and are bent upon them, that they either vehemently detest or vehemently desire that only which offends or allures through the flesh, but do not think of their own inward self, nor can be made to do so by admonition; because they do not yet know the signs that express admonition, whereof words are the

352 ON THE TKINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

chief, of which as of other things they are wholly ignorant. And that it is one thing not to know oneself, another not to think of oneself, we have shown already in the same book.^

8. But let us pass by the infantine age, since we cannot question it as to what goes on within itself, while we have ourselves pretty well forgotten it. Let it suffice only for us
hence to be certain, that when man has come to be able to think of the nature of his own mind, and to find out what is the truth, he will find it nowhere else but in himself. And he will find, not what he did not know, but that of which he did not think. For what do we know, if we do not know what is in our own mind; when we can know nothing at all of what we do know, unless by the mind?

Chap. vi. â€” How a kind of trinity exists in the mind thinking of itself. What is the part of thought in this trinity.

The power of thought, however, is so great, that not even the mind itself can, so to say, place itself in its own sight, except when it thinks of itself; and hence it is so far the case, that nothing is in the sight of the mind, except that which is being thought of, that not even the mind itself, whereby we think whatever we do think, can be in its own sight otherwise than by thinking of itself. But in what way it is not in its own sight when it is not thinking of itself, while it can never be without itself, as though it were one thing, and the sight of itself another, it is not in my power to discover. For this is not unreasonably said of the eye of the body; for the eye itself of the body is fixed in its own: proper place in the body, but its sight extends to things external to itself, and reaches even to the stars. And the eye is not in its own sight, since it does not look at itself, unless by means of a mirror, as is said above; a thing that certainly does not happen when the mind places itself in its own sight by thinking of itself. Does it then see one part of itself by means of another part of itself, when it looks at itself in thought; as we look at some of our members, which can be in our sight, with other also our members, viz. with our eyes ? What can be said or thought more absurd? For by what is the mind removed, except by itself? or where is it placed so as to be in its own sight, except before itself?

1 Bk. X. c. 5. 2 Bk. X. c. 3.

CHAP. VI.] HOW THE MIND THINKS OF ITSELF. 353

Therefore it will not be there, where it was, when it was not in its own sight; because it has been put down in one place, after being taken away from another. But if it migrated in order to be beheld, where will it remain in order to behold? Is it as it were doubled, so as to be in this and in that place at the same time, viz. both where it can behold, and where it can be beheld; that in itself it may be beholding, and before itself beheld? If we ask the truth, it will tell us nothing of the sort, since it is but feigned images of bodily objects of which we think when we think thus; and that the mind is not such, is very certain to the few minds by which the truth on such a subject can be inquired. It remains, therefore, that the beholding of the mind is something pertaining to its nature, and is recalled to that nature when it thinks of itself, not as though by moving through space, but by an incorporeal conversion; but when it is not thinking of itself, that it is not indeed in its own sight, nor is its own gaze formed from it, but yet that it knows itself, as though it
were to itself a remembrance of itself. Like one who is skilled in many branches of learning:
the things which he knows are contained in his memory, but nothing thereof is in the sight of his mind except that of which he is thinking; while all the rest are stored up in a kind of secret knowledge, which is called memory. The trinity, then, which we were putting forward, was constituted in this way, that we placed in the memory the object by which the gaze of the thinker was formed, but the conformation itself as if it were the image which is impressed thereby, and love or will as that which combines the two. When the mind, then, beholds itself in thought, it understands and recognises itself; it begets, therefore, this its own understanding and recognition. For an incorporeal thing is beheld when it is understood, and is recognised by the understanding of it. Yet certainly the mind does not so beget this knowledge of itself, when it beholds itself as understood by thought, as though it had before been unknown to itself; but it was known to itself, in the way in which things are known, which are contained in the memory but of which one is not thinking; since we say that a man knows letters even when he is thinking of something; else, and not of letters. And these two, the begetter and the beotten, are

DE TKin. Z

354 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

coupled together by love, as by a third, which is nothing else than will, seeking or holding fast the enjoyment of something.
We held, therefore, that a trinity of the mind is to be intimated also by these three terms, memory, intelligence, will.

9. But since the mind, as we said near the end of the same tenth book, always remembers itself, and always understands and loves itself, although it does not always think of itself as distinguished from those things which are not itself; we must inquire in what way understanding belongs to thought, while the knowledge of each thing that is in the mind, even when one is not thinking of it, is said to belong only to the memory.
Tor if this is so, then the mind had not then these three things, viz. to remember, and to understand, and to love itself; but it only remembered itself, and afterwards, when it began to think of itself, then it understood and loved itself.

Chap. vii. â€” The tidng is made plain by an example. In lohat way the matter is handled in order to help the reader.

Wherefore let us consider more carefully that example which we have adduced, wherein it was shown that not knowing a thing is different from not thinking of it; and that it may so happen that a man knows something of which he is not thinlving, when he is thinking of something else, not of that. When any one, then, who is skilled in two or more branches of knowledge is thinldng of one of them, though he is not thinking of the other or others, yet he knows them.
But can we rightly say. This musician certainly knows music, but he does not now understand it, because he is not thinking of it; but he does now understand geometry, for of that he is now thinking? Such an assertion, as far as appears, is absurd. What, again, if we were to say, This musician certainly knows music, but he does not now love it, while he is not now thinking of it; but he does now love geometry, because of that he is now thinking; â€” is not this similarly absurd? But we say quite correctly. This person whom you perceive disputing about geometry is also a perfect musician, for he both remembers music, and understands and loves it; but although he both knows and loves it, he is not now thinking of it, since he is thinking of geometry, of which he is disputing. And hence we are warned that we have a

CHAP. YIL what is IMPLIED IN REMINDING. 355

kind of knowledge of certain things stored up in the recesses of the mind, and that this, when it is thought of, as it were steps forth in public, and is placed as if openly in the sight of the mind; for then the mind itself finds, that it both remembers, and understands, and loves itself, even although it was not thinking of itself, when it was thinking of something else. But in the case of that of which we have not thought for a long time, and cannot think of it unless reminded; that, if the phrase is allowable, in some wonderful way I know not how, we do not know that we know. In short, it is rightly said by him who reminds, to him whom he reminds. You know this, but you do not know that you know it; I will remind you, and you will find that you know what you had thought you did not know. Books, too, lead to the same result, viz. those that are written upon subjects which the reader under the guidance of reason finds to be true; not those subjects which he believes to be true on the faith of the narrator, as in the case of history; but those which he himself also finds to be true, either of himself, or in that truth itself which is the light of the mind. But he who cannot contemplate these things, even when reminded, is too deeply buried in the darkness of ignorance, through great blindness of heart, and too wonderfully needs divine help, to be able to attain to true wisdom.

10. For this reason I have wished to adduce some kind of proof, be it what it might, respecting the act of thinking, such as might serve to show in what way, out of the things contained in the memory, the mind's eye is informed in recollecting, and some such thing is begotten when a man thinks, as was in him when, before he thought, he remembered; because it is easier to distinguish things that take place at successive times, and where the parent precedes the offspring by an interval of time. For if we refer ourselves to the inner memory of the mind by which it remembers itself, and to the inner understanding by which it understands itself, and to the inner will by which it loves itself, where these three always are together, and always have been together since they began to be at all, whether they were being thought of or not; the image of this trinity will indeed appear to pertain even to
the memory alone; but because in this case a word cannot be without a thought (for we think all that we say, even if it be said by that inner word which belongs to no separate language), this image is rather to be discerned in these three things, viz. memory, intelligence, will. And I mean now by intelligence that by which we understand in thought, that is, when our thought is formed by the finding of those things, which had been at hand to the memory but were not being thought of; and I mean that will, or love, or preference, which combines this offspring and parent, and is in some way common to both. Hence it was that I tried also, viz. in the eleventh book, to lead on the slowness of readers by means of outward sensible things which are seen by the eyes of the flesh; and that I then proceeded to enter with them upon that power of the inner man whereby he reasons of things temporal, deferring the consideration of that which dominates as the higher power, by which he contemplates things eternal. And I discussed this in two books, distinguishing the two in the twelfth, the one of them being higher and the other lower, and that the lower ought to be subject to the higher; and in the thirteenth I discussed, with what truth and brevity I could, the office of the lower, in which the wholesome knowledge of things human is contained, in order that we may so act in this temporal life as to attain that which is eternal; since, indeed, I have cursorily included in a single book a subject so manifold and copious, and one so well known by the many and great arguments of many and great men, while manifesting that a trinity exists also in it, but not yet one that can be called an image of God.

Chap. viii. Â” The trinity which is the image of God is now to be sought in the noblest part of the mind.

11. But we have come now to that argument in which we have undertaken to consider the noblest part of the human mind, by which it knows or can know God, in order that we may find in it the image of God. For although the human mind is not of the same nature with God, yet the image of that nature than which none is better, is to be sought and found in us, in that than which our nature also has nothing better. But the mind must first be considered as it is in itself.

CHAP. VIII.] A TRINITY WHICH IS ALSO AN IMAGE OF GOD. 357
before it becomes partaker of God; and His image must be found in it. For, as we have said, although worn out and defaced by losing the participation of God, yet the image of God still remains. — For it is His image in this very point, that it is capable of Him, and can be partaker of Him; which so great good is only made possible by its being His image. Well, then, the mind remembers, understands, loves itself; if we discern this, we discern a trinity, not yet indeed God, but now at last an image of God. The memory does not receive from without that which it is to hold; nor does the understanding find without that which it is to regard, as the eye of the body does; nor has will joined these two from without, as it joins the form of the bodily object and that which is thence wrought in the sight of the beholder; nor has thought, in being turned to it, found an image of a thing seen without, which has been somehow seized and laid up in the memory, whence the gaze of him that recollects has been formed, will as a third joining the two: as we showed to take place in those trinities which were discovered in things corporeal, or which were somehow drawn within from bodily objects by the bodily sense; of all which we have discoursed in the eleventh book. — Nor, again, as it took place, or appeared to do so, when we went on further to discuss that knowledge, which had its place now in the workings of the inner man, and which was to be distinguished from wisdom; of which knowledge the subject-matter was, as it were, adventitious to the mind, and either was brought thither by historical information, â€” as deeds and words, which are performed in time and pass away, or which again are established in the nature of things in their own times and places, â€” or arises in the man himself not being there before, whether on the information of others, or by his own thinking, â€” as faith, which we commended at length in the thirteenth book, or as the virtues, by which, if they are true, one so lives well in this mortality, as to live blessedly in that immortality which God promises. These and other things of the kind have their proper order in time, and in that order we discerned more easily a trinity of memory, sight, and love. For some of such things anticipate the knowledge of learners. For they are knowable

* Supra, c. iv. ^ Cc. 2 s<\.

also before they are known, and beget in the learner a knowledge of themselves. And they either exist in their own proper places, or have happened in time past; although things that are past do not themselves exist, but only certain signs of them as past, the sight or hearing of which makes it known that they have been and have passed away. And these signs are either situate in the places themselves, as e.g. monuments of the dead or the like; or exist in written books worthy of credit, as is all history that is of weight and approved authority; or are in the minds of those who already know them; since what is already known to them is knowable certainly to others also, whose knowledge it has anticipated, and who are able to know it on the information of those who do know it. And all these things, both when they are learned, produce a certain land of trinity, viz. by their
own proper species, which was knowable also before it was known, and by the application to this of the knowledge of the learner, which then begins to exist when he learns them, and by will as a third which combines both; and when they are known, yet another trinity is x\textcircled*{a}rodued in the recollecting of them, and this now inwardly in the mind itself, from those images which, when they were learned, were impressed upon the memory, and from the informing of the thought when the look has been turned upon these by recollection, and from the will which as a third combines these two. But those things which arise in the mind, not having been there before, as faith and other things of that kind, although they appear to be adventitious, since they are implanted by teaching, yet are not situate without or transacted without, as are those things which are believed; but began to be altogether within in the mind itself. For faith is not that which is believed, but that by which it is believed; and the former is believed, the latter seen. Nevertheless, because it began to be in the mind, which was a mind also before these things began to be in it, it seems to be somewhat adventitious, and will be reckoned among things past, when sight shall have succeeded, and itself shall have ceased to be. And it makes now by its presence, retained as it is, and beheld, and loved, a different trinity from that which it will then make by means of some trace of itself, which in passing

CHAP. IX.] DO THE VIRTUES EXIST IN THE LIFE TO COME ? 359

it will have left in the memory: as has been already said above.

Chap. ix. â€” Whether justice and the other virtues cease to exist in the future life.

12. There is, however, some question raised, whether the virtues likewise by which one lives well in this present mortality, seeing that they themselves begin also to be in the mind, which was a mind none the less when it existed before without them, cease also to exist at that time when they have brought us to things eternal. For some have thought that they will cease, and in the case of three â€” prudence, fortitude, temperance â€” such an assertion seems to have something in it; but justice is immortal, and will rather than be made perfect in us than cease to be. Yet TuUius, the great author of eloquence, when arguing in the dialogue Hortensius, says of all four: "If we were allowed, when we migrated from this life, to live for ever in the islands of the blessed, as fables tell, what need were there of eloquence when there would be no trials, or what need, indeed, of the very virtues themselves? For we should not need fortitude when nothing of either toil or danger was proposed to us; nor justice, when there was nothing of anybody else's to be coveted; nor temperance, to govern lusts that would not exist; nor, indeed, should we need prudence, when there was no choice offered between good and evil. We should be blessed, therefore, solely by learning and knowing nature, by which alone also the life of the gods is praiseworthy. And hence we may perceive that everything else is a matter of necessity, but this is one of free choice."
This great orator, then, when proclaiming the excellence of philosophy, going over again all that he had learned from philosophers, and excellently and pleasantly explaining it, has affirmed all four virtues to be necessary in this life only, which we see to be full of troubles and mistakes; but not one of them when we shall have migrated from this life, if we are permitted to live there where is a blessed life; but that blessed souls are blessed only in learning and knowing, i.e. in the contemplation of nature, than which nothing is better and more lovable. It is that nature which created and appointed all other natures. And if it belongs to justice to be

360 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XI.] 

subject to the government of this nature, then justice is certainly immortal; nor will it cease to be in that blessedness, but will be such and so great that it cannot be more perfect or greater. Perhaps, too, the other three virtues are” prudence although no longer with any risk of error, and fortitude without the vexation of bearing evils, and temperance without the thwarting of lust will exist in that blessedness: so that it may be the part of prudence to prefer or equal no good thing to God; and of fortitude, to cleave to Him most steadfastly; and of temperance, to be pleased by no harmful defect. But that which justice is now concerned with in helping the wretched, and prudence in guarding against treachery, and fortitude in bearing troubles patiently, and temperance in controlling evil pleasures, will not exist there, where there will be no evil at all. And hence those acts of the virtues which are necessary to this mortal life, like the faith to which they are to be referred, will be reckoned among things past; and they make now a different trinity, whilst we hold, look at, and love them as present, from that which they will then make, when we shall discover them not to be, but to have been, by certain traces of them which they will have left in passing in the memory; since then, too, there will be a trinity, when that trace, be it of what sort it may, shall be retained in the memory, and truly recognised, and then these two be joined by will as a third.

Chap. x. â€” How a trinity is produced by the mind remembering, understanding, and loving itself.

13. In the knowledge of all these temporal things which we have mentioned, there are some knowable things which precede the acquisition of the knowledge of them by an interval of time, as in the case of those sensible objects which were already real before they were known, or of all those things that are learned through history; but some things begin to be at the same time with the knowing of them, just as, if any visible object, which did not exist before at all, were to rise up before our eyes, certainly it does not precede our knowing it; or if there be any sound made where there is some one to hear, no doubt the sound and the hearing that sound begin and end simultaneously. Yet none the less, whether preceding in time or beginning to exist simultaneouslyâ€”
knowable things generate knowledge, and are not generated by knowledge. But when knowledge has come to pass, whenever the things known and laid up in memory are reviewed by recollection, who does not see that the retaining them in the memory is prior in time to the sight of them in recollection, and to the uniting of the two things by will as a third?

In the mind, however, it is not so. For the mind is not adventitious to itself, as though there came to itself already existing, that same self not already existing, from somewhere else; or did not indeed come from somewhere else, but that in the mind itself already existing, there was born that same mind not already existing; just as faith, which before was not, arises in the mind which already was. Nor does the mind see itself, as it were, set up in its own memory by recollection subsequently to the knowing of itself, as though it was not there before it knew itself; whereas, doubtless, from the time when it began to be, it has never ceased to remember, to understand, and to love itself, as we have already shown. And hence, when it is turned to itself by thought, there arises a trinity, in which now at length we can discern also a word; since it is formed from thought itself, will uniting both. Here, then, we may recognise, more than we have hitherto done, the image of which we are in search.

Chap. xr. â€” Whether memory is also of things present.

14. But some one will say. That is not memory by which the mind, which is ever present to itself, is affirmed to remember itself; for memory is of things past, not of things present.

For there are some, and among them Cicero, who, in treating of the virtues, have divided prudence into these three â€” memory, understanding, forethought: to wit, assigning memory to things past, understanding to things present, forethought to things future; which last is certain only in the case of those who are prescient of the future; and this is no gift of men, unless it be granted from above, as to the prophets. And hence the book of Wisdom, speaking of men, "The thoughts of mortals," it says, "are fearful, and our forethought uncertain." ^ But memory of things past, and understanding of things present, are

iWisd. ix. 14.

362 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIY.

certain: certain, I mean, respecting things incorporeal, which are present; for things corporeal are present to the sight of the corporeal eye. But let any one who denies that there is any memory of things present, attend to the language used even in profane literature, where exactness of words was more looked for than truth of things. "ISTor did Ulysses suffer such things, nor did the Ithacan forget himself in so great a peril." ^ For
when Virgil said that Ulysses did not forget himself, what else did he mean, except that he remembered himself? And since he was present to himself, he could not possibly remember himself, unless memory pertained to things present. And, therefore, as that is called memory in things past which makes it possible to recall and remember them; so in a thing present, as the mind is to itself, that is not unreasonably to be called memory, which makes the mind at hand to itself, so that it can be understood by its own thought, and then both be joined together by love of itself.

Chap. xii. Æ” The trinity in the mind is the image of God, in that it remembers, understands, and loves God, lothich to do is wisdom.

15. This trinity, then, of the mind is not therefore the image of God, because the mind remembers itself, and understands and loves itself; but because it can also remember, understand, and love Him by whom it was made. And in so doing it is made wise itself. But if it does not do so, even when it remembers, understands, and loves itself, then it is foolish. Let it then remember its God, after whose image it is made, and let it understand and love Him. Or to say the same thing more briefly, let it worship God, who is not made, by whom because itself was made, it is capable and can be partaker of Him; wherefore it is written, "Behold, the worship of God, that is wisdom." And then it will be wise, not by its own light, but by participation of that supreme Light; and wherein it is eternal, therein shall reign in blessedness. For this wisdom of man is so called, in that it is also of God. For then it is true wisdom; for if it is human, it is vain. Yet not so of God, as is that wherewith God is wise. For He is not wise by partaking of Himself, as the mind is by partaking of God. But as we call it the righteousness of God, not only when we speak of 1 Ëneid, iii. 628, 629. " Job xxviii. 28.

CHAP. XIIIL] all natures HAVE THEIR BEING IN GOD. 363

that by which He Himself is righteous, but also of that which He gives to man when He justifies the ungodly, which latter righteousness the apostle commending, says of some, that "not knowing the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they are not subject to the righteous ness of God;"^ so also it may be said of some, that not knowing the wisdom of God, and going about to establish their own wisdom, they are not subject to the wisdom of God.

16. There is, then, a nature not made, which made all other natures, great and small, and is without doubt more excellent than those which it has made, and therefore also than that of which we are speaking; viz. than the rational and intellectual nature, which is the mind of man, made after the image of Him who made it. And that nature, more excellent than the rest, is God. And indeed "He is not far from every one of us," as the apostle says, who adds, "For in Him we live, and are moved, and have our being."^ And if this were said in respect to the body, it might be understood even of this corporeal world; for in it too, in respect to the body, we live, and are moved, and have our being. And therefore it
ought to be taken in a more excellent way, and one that is intelligible, not visible, in respect to the mind, which is made after His image. For what is there that is not in Him, of whom it is divinely written, " For of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things "?^ If, then, all things are in Him, in whom can any possibly live that do live, or be moved that are moved, except in Him in whom they are? Yet all are not with Him in that way in which it is said to Him, " I am continually with Thee." * Nor is He with all in that way in which we say, The Lord be with you. And so it is the especial wretchedness of man not to be with Him, without whom he cannot be. For, beyond a doubt, he is not without Him in whom he is; and yet if he does not remember, and understand, and love Him, he is not with Him. And when any one absolutely forgets a thing, certainly it is impossible even to remind him of it.

Chap. xiii. â€” How any one can forget and remember God.

17. Let us take an instance for the X3urpose from visible

Â» Eom. X. 3. 2_4ets xvii. 27, 28. ^ p^AAAAA ^i ^q^ 4 ps_ ixxiii. 23.

364 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

things. Somebody whom you do not recognise says to you, You know me; and in order to remind you, tells you where, when, and how he became known to you; and if, after the mention of every sign by which you might be recalled to remembrance, you still do not recognise him, then you have so come to forget, as that the whole of that knowledge is altogether blotted out of your mind; and nothing else remains, but that you take his word for it who tells you that you once knew him; or do not even do that, if you do not think the person who speaks to you to be worthy of credit. But if you do remember him, then no doubt you return to your own memory, and find in it that which had not been altogether blotted out by forgetfulness. Let us return to that which led us to adduce this instance from the intercourse of men.

Among other things, the 9th Psalm says, "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God;" -^ and again the 2 2d Psalm, "All the ends of the world shall be reminded, and turned unto the Lord." ^ These nations, then, will not so have forgotten God as to be unable to remember Him when reminded of Him; yet, by forgetting God, as though forgetting their own life, they had been turned into death, i.e. into hell. But when reminded they are turned to the Lord, as though coming to life again by remembering their proper life which they had forgotten. It is read also in the 9 4th Psalm, " Perceive now, ye who are unwise among the people; and ye fools, when will ye be wise? He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? " etc. ^ For this is spoken to those, who said vain things concerning God through not understanding Him.

Chap. xiv. â€” The mind loves God in rigidly loving itself; and if it love not Gody it must he said to Jiate itself. Even a weak and erring mind is always strong in remembering,
understanding, and loving itself. Let it be turned to God, that it may be blessed by remembering, understanding, and loving Him.

18. But there are yet more testimonies in the divine Scriptures concerning the love of God. For in it those other two are understood by consequence, inasmuch as no one loves that which he does not remember, or of which he is wholly ignorant. And hence is that well-known and primary command—
1 Ps. ix. 17. 2 Ps. xxii. 27. ^ pg. xciv. S, 9.

CHAP. XIV.] MAX LOVES GOD IN EIGHTLY LOVIXG HIMSELF. 365

iiient, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God." ^ The human mind, then, is so constituted, that at no time does it not remember, and understand, and love itself. But since he who hates any one is anxious to injure him, not undeservedly is the mind of man also said to hate itself when it injures itself. For it wills ill to itself through ignorancQ, in that it does not think that what it wills is prejudicial to it; but it none the less does will ill to itself, when it wills what would be prejudicial to it. And hence it is written, "He that loveth iniquity, hateth his own soul." ^ He, therefore, who knows how to love himself, loves God; but he who does not love God, even if he does love himself, â€” a thing implanted in him by nature, â€” yet is not unsuitably said to hate himself, inasmuch as he does that which is adverse to himself, and assails himself as though he were his own enemy. And this is no doubt a terrible delusion, that whereas all will to profit themselves, many do nothing but that which is most pernicious to themselves. When the poet was describing a like disease of dumb animals, "May the gods," says he, "grant better things to the pious, and assign that delusion to enemies. They were rending with bare teeth their own torn limbs." ^ Since it was a disease of the body he was speaking of, why has he called it a delusion, unless because, while nature inclines every animal to take all the care it can of itself, that disease was such that those animals rent those very limbs of theirs, which they desired should be safe and sound? But when the mind loves God, and by consequence, as has been said, remembers and understands Him, then it is rightly enjoined also to love its neighbour as itself; for it has now come to love itself rightly and not perversely when it loves God, by partaking of whom that image not only exists, but is also renewed so as to be no longer old, and restored so as to be no longer defaced, and beatified so as to be no longer unhappy. For although it so love itself, that, supposing the alternative to be proposed to it, it would lose all things which it loves less than itself rather than perish; still, by abandoning Him who is above it, in dependence upon whom alone it could guard its own strength, and enjoy Him as its light, to whom it is sung in the Psalm,
1 Deut. vi. 5. 'Vs. xi. 5. 'Yirg. Georg. iii. 513, 514.

366 ' ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]
"I will guard my strength in dependence upon Thee," and again, "Draw near to Him, and be enlightened," it has been made so weak and so dark, that it has fallen away unhappily from itself, too, to those things that are not what itself is, and which are beneath itself, by affections that it cannot conquer, and delusions from which it sees no way to return. And hence, when by God's mercy now penitent, it cries out in the Psalms, "My strength faileth me; as for the light of mine eyes, it also is gone from me." 

19. Yet, in the midst of these evils of weakness and delusion, great as they are, it could not lose its natural memory, understanding, and love of itself. And therefore what I quoted above can be rightly said, "Although man walketh in an image, surely he is disquieted in vain: he heapeth up treasures, and knoweth not who shall gather them." For why does he heap up treasures, unless because his strength has deserted him, through which he would have God, and so lack nothing? And why cannot he tell for whom he shall gather them, unless because the light of his eyes is taken from him? And so he does not see what the Truth saith, "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee. Then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?" Yet because even such a man walketh in an image, and the man's mind has remembrance, understanding, and love of itself; if it were made plain to it that it could not have both, while it was permitted to choose one and lose the other, viz. either the treasures it has heaped up, or the mind; who is so utterly without mind, as to prefer to have the treasures rather than the mind? For treasures commonly are able to subvert the mind, but the mind that is not subverted by treasures can live more easily and unencumbered without any treasures. But who will be able to possess treasures unless it be by means of the mind? For if an infant, born as rich as you please, although lord of everything that is rightfully his, yet possesses nothing if his mind be unconscious, how can any one possibly possess anything whose mind is wholly lost? But why say of treasures.

that anybody,

if

the

choice be

given

him, prefers
going

1 Ps. lix. 9.

- Ps. xxxiv. 5.

3 Ps. xxxviii.

10.

4 C. 4.

^ Ps. xxxix. 6.

6 Luke xii. 20

CHAP. XIV.] BLESSEDNESS OF CLEAVIXG TO GOD. 367
without them to going without a mind; when there is no one that prefers, nay, no one that compares them, to those lights of the body, by which not one man only here and there, as in the case of gold, but every man, possesses the very heaven? For every one possesses by the eyes of the body whatever he gladly sees. Who then is there, who, if he could not keep both, but must lose one, would not rather lose his treasures than his eyes? And yet if it were put to him on the same condition, whether he would rather lose eyes than mind, who is there with a mind that does not see that he would rather lose the former than the latter? For a mind without the eyes of the flesh is still human, but the eyes of the flesh without a mind are bestial. And who would not rather be a man, even though blind in fleshly sight, than a beast that can see?

20. I have said thus much, that even those who are slower of understanding, to whose eyes or ears this book may come, might be admonished, however briefly, how greatly even a weak and erring mind loves itself, in wrongly loving and pursuing things beneath itself. Now it could not love itself if it were altogether ignorant of itself, i.e. if it did not remember itself, nor understand itself; by which image of God within itself it has such power as to be able to cleave to Him whose image it is. For it is so reckoned in the order, not of place, but of natures, as that there is none above it save Him. When, finally, it shall altogether cleave to Him, then it will be one spirit, as the apostle testifies, saying, "But he who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit." And this by its drawing near to partake of His nature, truth, and blessedness, yet not by His increasing in His own nature, truth and blessedness. In that nature, then, when it happily has cleaved to it, it will live unchangeably, and will see as unchangeable all that it does see. Then, as divine Scripture promises, "His desire will be satisfied with good things," good things unchangeable, â€“ the very Trinity itself, its own God, whose image it is. And that it may not ever thenceforward suffer wrong, it will be in the hidden place of His presence, filled with so great fulness of Him, that sin thenceforth will never delight it.

1 1 Cor. vi. 17. 2 ps, ciii. 5. ^ pg. xxxi. 20.

368 ON THE TRINITY. [UOOK XIV.

But now, when it sees itself, it sees something not unchangeable.

CHAR. XV. â€“ Although the soul hopes for blessedness, yet it does not remember lost blessedness, but remembers God and the rules of righteousness. The unchangeable, rules of right living are known even to the ungodly.

21. And of this certainly it feels no doubt, that it is wretched, and longs to be blessed; nor can it hope for the possibility of this on any other ground than its own changeableness; for if it were not changeable, then, as it could not become wretched after being blessed, so neither could it become blessed after being wretched. And what could have made it wretched under an omnipotent and good God, except its own sin and the righteousness of its Lord? And what will make it blessed, unless its own merit and its Lord's reward? But its merit, too, is His grace, whose reward will be its blessedness; for it cannot give itself
the righteousness it has lost, and so has not. For this it received when man was created, and assuredly lost it by sinning. Therefore it receives righteousness, that on account of this it may deserve to receive blessedness; and hence the apostle truly says to it, when beginning to be proud as it were of its own good, " For what hast thou that thou didst not receive? JSTow if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it? " ^ But when it rightly remembers its own Lord, having received His Spirit, then, because it is so taught by an inward teaching, it feels wholly that it cannot rise save by His affection freely given, nor has been able to fall save by its own defection freely chosen. Certainly it does not remember its own blessedness; since that has been, but is not, and it has utterly forgotten it, and therefore cannot even be reminded of it. But it believes what the trustworthy Scriptures of its God tell of that blessedness, which were written by His prophet, and tell of the blessedness of Paradise, and hand down to us historical information of that first both good and ill of man. And it remembers the Lord its God; for He always is, nor has been and is not, nor is but has not been; but as He never will not be, so He never was not. And He is whole everywhere.
And hence it both lives, and is moved, and is in Him; ^ and so ^ I Cor. iv. 7. = Acts xvii. 28.

CHAP. XYI.] THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNRIGHTEOUS. 369

it can remember Him. Not because it recollects the having known Him in Adam, or anywhere else before the life of this present body, or when it was first made in order to be implanted in this body; for it remembers nothing at all of all this. Whatever there is of this, it has been blotted out by forgetfulness. But it is reminded that it be turned to God, as though to that light by which it was in some way touched, even when turned away from Him. For hence it is that even the ungodly think of eternity, and rightly blame and rightly praise many things in the morals of men. And by what rules do they thus judge, except by those wherein they see how men ought to live, even though they themselves do not so live?
And where do they see these rules? For they do not see them in their own nature, since no doubt these things are to be seen by the mind, and their minds are confessedly changeable, but these rules are seen as unchangeable by him who can see this too in them; nor yet in the character of their own mind, since these rules are rules of riditefulness, and their minds are confessedly unrighteous. Where indeed are these rules written, wherein even the unrighteous recognises what is righteous, wherein he discerns that he ought to have what he himself has not? Where, then, are they written, unless in the book of that light which is called Truth? whence every righteous law is copied and transferred, not by migrating thither, but by being as it were impressed upon it, to the heart of the man that worketh righteousness; as the impression from a ring passes into the wax, yet does not leave the ring.
But he who worketh not, and yet sees how he ought to work, he is the man that is turned away from that light, which yet touches him. But he who does not even see how he ought to live, sins indeed with more excuse, because he is not a transgressor of a law that he
knows; but even he too is just touched sometimes by the splendour of the everywhere present truth, when upon admonition he confesses.

Chap. xvi. â€” How the image of God is formed anew in man.

22. But those who, by being reminded, are turned to the Lord from that deformedness whereby they were through worldly lusts conformed to this world, are formed anew from

DE TPJN. 2 A

370 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIV.]

the world, when they hearken to the apostle, saying, " Be not conformed to this world, but be ye formed again in the renewing of your mind;" ^ that that image may begin to be formed again by Him by whom it had been formed at first. For that image cannot form itself again, as it could deform itself. He says again elsewhere: " Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind; and put ye on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." ^ That which is meant by " Created after God," is expressed in another place by " After the image of God." ^ But it lost righteousness and true holiness by sinning, through which that image became defaced and tarnished; and this it recovers when it is formed again and renewed. But when he says, " In the spirit of your mind," lie does not intend to be understood of two things, as though mind were one, and the spirit of the mind another; but he speaks thus, because all mind is spirit, but all spirit is not mind. For there is a Spirit also that is God,* which cannot be renewed, because it cannot grow old. And we speak also of a spirit in man distinct from the mind, to which spirit belong the images that are formed after the likeness of bodies; and of this the apostle speaks to the Corinthians, where he says, " But if I shall have prayed with a tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful." ^ For he speaks thus, when that which is said is not understood; since it cannot even be said, unless the images of the corporeal articulate sounds anticipate the oral sound by the thought of the spirit. The soul of man is also called spirit, whence are the words in the Gospel, " And He bowed His head, and gave up His spirit;" ^ by which the death of the body, through the spirit's leaving it, is signified.

We speak also of the spirit of a beast, as it is expressly written in the book of Solomon called Ecclesiastes; "Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth ?" ^ It is written too in Genesis, where it is said that by the deluge all flesh died which " had in it the spirit of life." ^ We speak also of the spirit, meaning the wind, a thing most manifestly corporeal; whence

1 Eom. xii. 2. ^ ph. iv. 23, 24. . ^ Gen. i. 27.

is that in the Psalms, "Fire and hail, snow and ice, the spirit of the storm." ^ Since spirit, then, is a word of so many meanings, the apostle intended to express by "the spirit of the mind " that spirit which is called the mind. As the same apostle also, when he says, " In putting off the body of the flesh," ^ certainly did not intend two things, as though flesh were one, and the body of the flesh another; but because body is the name of many things that have no flesh (for besides the flesh, there are many bodies celestial and bodies terrestrial), he expressed by the body of the flesh that body which is flesh. In like manner, therefore, by the spirit of the mind, that spirit which is mind. Elsewhere, too, he has even more plainly called it an imas^e, while enforcing^ the same thing? in other words. " Do you," he says, " putting off the old man with his deeds, put on the new man, which is renewed in the knowledge of God after the image of Him that created him." ^ Where the one passage reads, " Put ye on the new man, which is created after God," the other has, " Put ye on the new man, which is renewed after the image of Him that created him." In the one place he says, " After God; " in the other, " After the image of Him that created him." But instead of saying, as in the former passage, " In righteousness and true holiness," he has put in the latter, " In the knowledge of God." This renewal, then, and forming again of the mind, is wrought either after God, or after the image of God. But it is said to be after God, in order that it may not be supposed to be after any other creature; and to be after the image of God, in order that this renewing may be understood to take place in that wherein is the ima^e of God, i.e. in the mind. Just as we say, that he who has departed from the body a faithful and righteous man, is dead after the body, not after the spirit. For what do we mean by dead after the body, unless as to the body or in the body, and not dead as to the soul or in the soul ? Or if we want to say he is handsome after the body, or strong after the body, not after the mind; what else is this, than that he is handsome or strong in body, not in mind ? And the same is the case with numberless other instances. Let us not therefore so understand the words, " After the image 

1 Ps. cxlviii. 8. 2 Col. ii. 11. 3 Col. iii. 9, 10. 

372 ON THE TrJNITY. [BOOK XIV.] of Him that created liim/ as thoiodi it were a different imai^e after which he is renewed, and not the very same which is itself renewed.
Chap. xvii. Æ” Hoiv the image of God in the mind is renewed until the likeness of God is perfected in it in blessedness.

23. Certainly this renewal does not take place in the single moment of conversion itself, as that renewal in baptism takes place in a single moment by the remission of all sins; for not one, be it ever so small, remains unremitted. But as it is one thing to be free from fever, and another to grow strong again from the infirmity which the fever produced; and one thing again to pluck out of the body a weapon thrust into it, and another to heal the wound thereby made by a prosperous cure; so the first cure is to remove the cause of infirmity, and this is wrought by the forgiving of all sins; but the second cure is to heal the infirmity itself, and this takes place gradually by making progress in the renewal of that image: which two things are plainly shown in the Psalm, where we read, "Who forgiveth all thine iniquities," which takes place in baptism; and then follows, "and healeth all thine infirmities;" and this takes place by daily additions, while this image is being renewed. And the apostle has spoken of this most expressly, saying, "And though our outward man perish, yet the inner man is renewed day by day." And "it is renewed in the knowledge of God, i.e. in righteousness and true holiness," according to the testimonies of the apostle cited a little before.

He, then, who is day by day renewed by making progress in the knowledge of God, and in righteousness and true holiness, transfers his love from things temporal to things eternal, from things visible to things intelligible, from things carnal to things spiritual; and diligently perseveres in bridling and lessening his desire for the former, and in binding himself by love to the latter. And he does this in proportion as he is helped by God. For it is the sentence of God Himself, "Without me ye can do nothing." And when the last day of life shall have found any one holding fast faith in the Mediator in such progress and growth as this, he will be welcomed by the holy angels, to be led to God, whom he has worshipped, and to be made perfect by Him; and so will receive in the end of the world an incorruptible body, in order not to punishment, but to glory. For the likeness of God will then be perfected in this image, when the sight of God shall be perfected. And of this the Apostle Paul speaks: "Now we see through a glass, in an enigma, but then face to face." And again: "But we with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." And this is what happens from day to day in those that make good progress.

CHAP. XVIII.] Æ”VE AKE TO BE LIKE THE SON OF GOD. 373

made perfect by Him; and so will receive in the end of the world an incorruptible body, in order not to punishment, but to glory. For the likeness of God will then be perfected in this image, when the sight of God shall be perfected. And of this the Apostle Paul speaks: "Now we see through a glass, in an enigma, but then face to face." And again: "But we with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." And this is what happens from day to day in those that make good progress.

Chap. xviir. Æ” Whether the sentence of John is to be understood of our future likeness with the Son of God in the immortality itself also of the body.

24. But the Apostle John says, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be:
but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is."\(^\text{\ref{1 Cor. xiii. 12. = 2 Cor. iii. 18. ^1 John iii. 2.}}\) Hence it appears, that the full likeness of God is to take place in that image of God at that time when it shall receive the full sight of God.

And yet this may also possibly seem to be said by the Apostle John of the immortality of the body. For we shall be like to God in this too, but only to the Son, because He only in the Trinity took a body, in which He died and rose again, and which He carried with Him to heaven above. For this, too, is called an image of the Son of God, in which we shall have, as He has, an immortal body, being conformed in this respect not to the image of the Father or of the Holy Spirit, but only of the Son, because of Him alone is it read and received by a sound faith, that "the Word was made flesh."\(^\text{\ref{John i. 14. ^ Eom. viii. 29. 6 Col. i. 18.}}\) And for this reason the apostle says, "Whom He did foreknow. He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren."\(^\text{\ref{The firstborn" certainly "from the dead,"\(^\text{\ref{1 Thess. iv. 15.}}\) according to the same apostle; by which death His flesh was sown in dishonour, and rose again in glory. According to this image of the Son, to which we are conformed in the body by immortality, we also do that of which the same apostle speaks, "As we have borne the image of the earthy, so shall we also bear the image of the heavenly;"\(^\text{\ref{1 Thess. iv. 15.}}\) to wit, that we who are mortal after Adam, may hold by a true faith, and a sure and certain hope, that we shall he immortal after Christ. For so can we now hear the same image, not yet in sight, but in faith; not yet in fact, but in hope. For the apostle, when he said this, was speaking of the resurrection of the body.

Chap. xix. â€“ John is rather to he understood of our perfect likeness with the Trinity in life eternal. Wisdom is perfected in happiness.

25. But in respect to that image indeed, of which it is said, "Let us make man after our image and likeness,"\(^\text{\ref{we believe, â€”}}\) and, after the utmost search we have been able to make, understand, â€“ that man was made after the image of the Trinity, because it is not said. After my, or After thy image. And therefore that place too of the Apostle John must be understood rather according to this image, when he says, "We shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is;"\(^\text{\ref{because he spoke too of Him of whom he had said, "We are the sons of God."\(^\text{\ref{And the immortality of the flesh will be perfected in that moment of the resurrection, of which the Apostle Paul says, "In the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."* For in that very twinkling of an eye, before the judgment, the spiritual body shall rise again in power, in incorruption, in glory, which is now sown a natural body in weakness, in corruption, in dishonour. But the}}\)
image which is renewed in the spirit of the mind in the knowledge of God, not outwardly but inwardly, from day to day, shall be perfected by that sight itself; which then after the judgment shall be face to face, but now makes progress as through a class in an eniojma.\(^\text{1}\) And we must understand it to be said on account of this perfection, that "we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." For this gift will be given to us at that time, when it shall have been said, "^Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you."^ For then will the ungodly be taken away, so that he shall not see the glory of the Lord,\(^\text{2}\) when those on the left hand shall go into eternal punishment, while those on the right go into life eternal.\(^\text{3}\) But "this is eternal life," as the Truth

\(^1\) 1 Cor. XV. 43, 49.  \(^2\) Qin. i. 26.  \(^3\) Jqi\^\text{2} iii. 2.  \(^4\) 1 Cor, xv. 52.

\(^\text{1}\) Cor. xiii. 12.  \(^\text{2}\) Matt. xxv. 34.  \(^\text{3}\) isa, xxvi. 10.  \(^\text{4}\) Matt. xxv. 46.

CHAP. XIX.] CICEFO'S WORDS ABOUT WISDOM. 375

tells US; "to know Thee/ He says, "the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."\(^\text{1}\)

26. This contemplative wisdom, which I believe is properly called wisdom as distinct from knowledge in the sacred writings; but wisdom only of man, which yet man has not except from Him, by partaking of whom a rational and intellectual mind can be made truly wise;\(^\text{1}\) this contemplative wisdom, I say, it is that Cicero commends, in the end of the dialogue Hortensius, when he says: "While, then, we consider these things night and day, and sharpen our understanding, which is the eye of the mind, taking care that it be not ever dulled, that is, while we live in philosophy; we, I say, in so doing, have great hope that, if, on the one hand, this sentiment and wisdom of ours is mortal and perishable, we shall still, when we have discharged our human offices, have a pleasant setting, and a notJoainful extinction, and as it were a rest from life: or if, on the other, as ancient philosophers thought,\(^\text{2}\) and those, too, the greatest and far the most celebrated,\(^\text{3}\) we have souls eternal and divine, then must we needs think, that the more these shall have always kept in their own proper course, i.e. in reason and in the desire of inquiry, and the less they shall have mixed and entangled themselves in the vices and errors of men, the more easy ascent and return they will have to heaven." And then he says, adding this short sentence, and finishing his discourse by repeating it: "Wherefore, to end my discourse at last, if we wish either for a tranquil extinction, after living in the pursuit of these subjects, or if to migrate without delay from this present home to another in no little measure better, we must bestow all our labour and care upon these pursuits." And here I marvel, that a man of such great ability should promise to men living in philosophy, which makes man blessed by contemplation of truth,\(^\text{4}\) a pleasant setting after the discharge of human offices, if this our sentiment and wisdom is mortal and perishable;\(^\text{5}\) as if that which we did not love, or rather which we fiercely hated, were then to die and come to nothing, so that its setting would be pleasant to us! But indeed he had not learned
this from the philosophers, whom he extols with great praise; but this sentiment is redolent of that New Academy,

1 Jolin xvii. 3.

376 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XIY.

wherein it pleased him] to doubt of even the plainest things. But from the philosophers that were greatest and far most celebrated, as he himself confesses, he had learned that souls are eternal.
For souls that are eternal are not unsuitably stirred up by the exhortation to be found in "their own proper course," when the end of this life shall have come, i.e. "in reason and in the desire of inquiry," and to mix and entangle themselves the less in the vices and errors of men, in order that they may have an easier return to God. But that course which consists in the love and investigation of truth does not suffice for the wretched, i.e. for all mortals who have only this kind of reason, and are without faith in the Mediator; as I have taken pains to prove, as much as I could, in former books of this work, especially in the fourth and thirteenth.

CHAP, l] mind and soul. 377

BOOK FIFTEENTH.

BEGINS BY SETTING FOR THE BRIEFLY AND IN SUM THE CONTENTS OF THE PREVIOUS FOURTEEN BOOKS. THE ARGUMENT IS THEN SHOWN TO HAVE REACHED SO FAR AS TO ALLOW OF OUR NOW INQUIRING CONCERNING THE TRINITY, WHICH IS GOD, IN THOSE ETERNAL, INCORPOREAL, AND UNCHANGEABLE THINGS THEMSELVES, IN THE PERFECT CONTEMPLATION OF WHICH A BLESSED LIFE IS PROMISED TO US. BUT THIS TRINITY, AS HE SHOWS, IS HERE SEEN BY US AS BY A MIRROR AND IN AN ENIGMA, IN THAT IT IS SEEN BY MEANS OF THE IMAGE OF GOD, WHICH WE ARE, AS IN A LIKENESS THAT IS OBSCURE AND HARD OF DISCERNMENT. IN LIKE MANNER, IT IS SHOWN, THAT SOME KIND OF CONJECTURE AND EXPLANATION MAY BE GATHERED RESPECTING
THE GENERATION OF THE DIVINE WORD, FROM THE WORD OF OUR OWN MIND, BUT ONLY WITH DIFFICULTY, ON ACCOUNT OF THE EXCEEDING DISPARITY WHICH IS DISCERNIBLE BETWEEN THE TWO WORDS; AND, AGAIN, RESPECTING THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, FROM THE LOVE THAT IS JOINED THERETO BY THE WILL.

Chap. i. "God is above the mind.

1. Desiring to exercise the reader in the things that are made, in order that he may know Him by whom they are made, we have now advanced so far as to His image, which is man, in that wherein he excels the other animals, i.e. in reason or intelligence, and whatever else can be said of the rational or intellectual soul that pertains to what is called the mind. For by this name some Latin writers, after their own peculiar mode of speech, distinguish that which excels in man, and is not in the beast, from the soul, which is in the beast as well. If, then, we seek anything that is above this nature, and seek truly, it is God, namely, a nature not created, but creating.

And whether this is the Trinity, it is now our business to demonstrate not only to believers, by authority of divine Scripture, but also to such as understand, by some kind of reason, if we can. And why I say, if we can, the thing itself will show better when we have begun to argue about it in our inquiry.

* Mens or animus. * Anima.

378 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

Chap. u. "God, althogh incomprehensible, is ever to he sooiir/hit. The traces of the Trinity are not vainly sought in the creature.

2. For God Himself, whom we seek, will, as I hope, help our labours, that they may not be unfruitful, and that we may understand how it is said in the holy Psalm, " Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the Lord. Seek the Lord, and be strengthened: seek His face evermore." For that which is always being sought seems as though it were never found; and how then will the heart of them that seek rejoice, and not rather be made sad, if they cannot find what they seek ? For it is not said, The heart shall rejoice of them that find, but of them that seek, the Lord. And yet the prophet Isaiah testifies, that the Lord God can be found when He is sought, when he says: " Seek ye the Lord; and as soon as ye have found Him, call upon Him: and when He has drawn near to you, let the wicked man forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts." If, then, when sought. He can be found, why is it said, " Seek ye His face evermore " ? Is He perhaps to be sought even when found ? For things incomprehensible must so be investigated, as that no one may think he has four d nothing, when he has been able to find how incomprehensible that is which he was seeking. Why then does he so seek, if he comprehends that which he seeks to be incomprehensible, unless because he
may not give over seeking so long as he makes progress in the inquiry itself into things incomprehensible, and becomes ever better and better while seeking so great a good, which is both sought in order to be found, and found in order to be sought? For it is both sought in order that it may be found more sweetly, and found in order that it may be sought more eagerly. The words of Wisdom in the book of Ecclesiasticus may be taken in this meaning: "They who eat me shall still be hungry, and they who drink me shall still be thirsty." For they eat and drink because they find; and they still continue seeking because they are hungry and thirst.

Faith seeks, understanding finds; whence the prophet says, "Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand." And yet, again, understanding still seeks Him, whom it finds; for "God looked down upon the sons of men," as it is sung in the holy

Vs. cv. 3, 4. 2 js. 1 Ecclns. xxiv. 29. Isa. vii. 9.

CHAP. III.] TRACES OF THE TRINITY IN THE CREATURE.

Psalm, "to see if there were any that would understand, and seek after God." And man, therefore, ought for this purpose to have understanding, that he may seek after God.

3. We shall have tarried then long enough among those things that God has made, in order that by them He Himself may be known that made them. "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." And hence they are rebuked in the book of Wisdom, "who could not out of the good things that are seen know Him that is: neither by considering the works, did they acknowledge the workmaster; but deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world: with whose beauty if they, being delighted, took them to be gods, let them know how much better the Lord of them is; for the first Author of beauty hath created them. But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them how much mightier He is that made them. For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen." I have quoted these words from the book of Wisdom for this reason, that no one of the faithful may think me vainly and emptily to have sought first in the creature, step by step through certain trinities, each of their own appropriate kind, until I came at last to the mind of man, traces of that highest Trinity which we seek when we seek God.

Chap. hi. â€” A brief recapitulation of all the previous looJcs.

4. But since the necessities of our discussion and argument have compelled us to say a great many things in the course of fourteen books, which we cannot view at once in one glance, so as to be able to refer them quickly in thought to that which we desire to grasp, I will attempt, by the help of God, to the best of my power, to put briefly together,
without arguing, whatever I have established in the several books by argument as known, and to place, as it were, under one mental view, not the way in which we have been convinced of each point, but the points themselves of which we have been convinced; in

1 Ps. xiv. 2. - Rom. i. 20. ^ Wiscl, xiii. 1-5.

380 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

order that what follows may not be so far separated from that which precedes, as that the perusal of the former shall produce forgetfulness of the latter; or, at any rate, if it have produced such forgetfulness, that what has escaped the memory may be speedily recalled by reperusal.

5. In the first book, the unity and equality of that highest Trinity is shown from Holy Scripture. In the second, and third, and fourth, the same: but a careful handling of the question respecting the sending of the Son and of the Holy Spirit has resulted in three books; and we have demonstrated, that what follows may not be so far separated from that which precedes, as that the perusal of the former shall produce forgetfulness of the latter; or, at any rate, if it have produced such forgetfulness, that what has escaped the memory may be speedily recalled by reperusal.

5. In the first book, the unity and equality of that highest Trinity is shown from Holy Scripture. In the second, and third, and fourth, the same: but a careful handling of the question respecting the sending of the Son and of the Holy Spirit has resulted in three books; and we have demonstrated, that He who is sent is not therefore less than He who sends, because the one sent, the other was sent; since the Trinity, which is in all things equal, being also equally in its own nature unchangeable, and invisible, and everywhere present, works indivisibly. In the fifth, with a view to those who think that the substance of the Father and of the Son is therefore not the same, because they suppose everything that is predicated of God to be predicated according to substance, and therefore contend that to beget and to be begotten, or to be begotten and unbegotten, as being diverse, are diverse substances, it is demonstrated that not everything that is predicated of God is predicated according to substance, as He is called good and great according to substance, or anything else that is predicated of Him in respect to Himself, but that some things also are predicated relatively, i.e. not in respect to Himself, but in respect to something which is not Himself; as He is called the Father in respect to the Son, or the Lord in respect to the creature that serves Him; and that here, if anything thus relatively predicated, i.e. predicated in respect to something that is not Himself, is predicated also as in time, as, e.g., "Lord, Thou hast become our refuge," then nothing happens to Him so as to work a change in Him, but He Himself continues altogether unchangeable in His own nature or essence. In the sixth, the question how Christ is called by the mouth "of the apostle "the power of God and the wisdom of God," is so far argued that the more careful handling of that question is deferred, viz. whether He from whom Christ is begotten is not wisdom Himself, but only

1 Ps. xc. 1. * 1 Cor. i. 24.

CHAP. III] SUMMARY OF THE PEEVIOUS BOOKS. 381
the father of His own wisdom, or whether wisdom begat wisdom. But be it which it may, the equality of the Trinity became apparent in this book also, and that God was not threefold, but a Trinity; and that the Father and the Son are not, as it were, a double as opposed to the single Holy Spirit:

for therein three are not anything more than one. We considered, too, how to understand the words of Bishop Hilary,

"Eternity in the Father, form in the Image, use in the Gift."

In the seventh, the question is explained which had been deferred: in such way that God, who begat the Son, is not only Father of His own powder and wisdom, but is Himself also power and wisdom; so, too, the Holy Spirit; and yet that they are not three powers or three wisdoms, but one power and one wisdom, as one God and one essence. It was jiest inquired, in what way they are called one essence, three persons, or by some Greeks one essence, three substances; and we found that the words were so used through the needs of speech, that there might be one term by which to answer, when it is asked what the three are, whom we truly confess to be three, viz. Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. In the eighth, it is made plain by reason also to those who understand, that not only the Father is not greater than the Son in the substance of truth, but that both together are not anything greater than the Holy Spirit alone, nor that any two at all in the same Trinity are anything greater than one, nor all three together anything greater than each severally. 

Text, I have pointed out, that by means of the truth, which is believed by the understanding, and by means of the highest good, from which is all good, and by means of the righteousness for which a righteous mind is loved even by a mind not yet righteous, we might understand, so far as it is possible to understand, that not only incorporeal but also unchangeable nature, which is God; and by means, too, of love, which in the Holy Scriptures is called God,—by which, first of all, those who have understanding begin also, however feebly, to discern the Trinity, to wit, one that loves, and that which is loved, and love. In the ninth, the argument advances as far as to the image of God, viz. man in respect to his mind; and in this we found a kind of trinity,

\ 1 John iv. 16.

382 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

i.e. the mind, and the knowledge whereby the mind knows itself, and the love whereby it loves both itself and its knowledge of itself; and these three are shown to be mutually equal, and of one essence. In the tenth, the same subject is more carefully and subtly handled, and is brought to this point, that we found in the mind a still more manifest trinity of the mind, viz. in memory, and understanding, and will.

But since it turned out also, that the mind could never be in such a case as not to remember, understand, and love itself, although it did not always think of itself; but that when it did think of itself, it did not in the same act of thought distinguish itself from
things corporeal: the argument respecting the Trinity, of which this is an image, was deferred, in order to find a trinity also in the things themselves that are seen with the body, and to exercise the reader’s attention more distinctly in that. Accordingly, in the eleventh, we chose the sense of sight, wherein that which should have been there found to hold good might be recognised also in the other four bodily senses, although not expressly mentioned; and so a trinity of the outer man first showed itself in those things which are discerned from without, to wit, from the bodily object which is seen, and from the form which is thence impressed upon the eye of the beholder, and from the purpose of the will combining the two. But these three things, as was patent, were not mutually equal and of one substance. Next, we found yet another trinity in the mind itself, introduced into it, as it were, by the things perceived from without; wherein the same three things, as it appeared, were of one substance: the image of the bodily object which is in the memory, and the form thence impressed when the mind’s eye of the thinker is turned to it, and the purpose of the will combining the two. But we found this trinity to certain to the outer man, on this account, that it was introduced into the mind from bodily objects which are perceived from without. In the twelfth, we thought good to distinguish wisdom from knowledge, and to seek first, as being the lower of the two, a kind of appropriate and special trinity in that which is specially called knowledge; but that although we have got now in this to something pertaining to the inner man, yet it is not yet to be either called or thought an image.

CHAP. IV.] WHAT NATURE ITSELF TEACHES ABOUT GOD. 383

of God. And this is discussed in the thirteenth book by the commendation of Christian faith. In the fourteenth we discuss the true wisdom of man, viz. that which is granted him by God’s gift in the partaking of that very God Himself, which is distinct from knowledge; and the discussion reached this point, that a trinity is discovered in the image of God, which is man in respect to his mind, which mind is “renewed in the knowledge” of God, “after the image of Him that created man;” “after His own image;” and so obtains wisdom, wherein is the contemplation of things eternal.

Chap. iv. ”WHAT universal nature teaches tis concerning God.

6. Let us, then, now seek the Trinity which is God, in the things themselves that are eternal, incorporeal, and unchangeable; in the perfect contemplation of which a blessed life is promised us, which cannot be other than eternal. For not only does the authority of the divine books declare that God is; but the whole nature of the universe itself which surrounds us, and to which we also belong, proclaims that it has a most excellent Creator, who has given to us a mind and natural reason, whereby to see that things living are to be preferred to things that are not living; things that have sense to things that have not; things that have understanding to things that have not; things immortal to things mortal; things powerful to things impotent; things righteous to things
unrighteous; things beautiful to things deformed; things good to things evil; things incorruptible to things corruptible; things unchangeable to things changeable; things invisible to things visible; things incorporeal to things corporeal; things blessed to things miserable. And hence, since without doubt we place the Creator above things created, we must needs confess that the Creator both lives in the highest sense, and perceives and understands all things, and that He cannot die, or suffer decay, or be changed; and that He is not a body, but a spirit, of all the most powerful, most righteous, most beautiful, most good, most blessed.

Chap. y. Â” Hoio difficult it is to demonstrate the Trinity by natural reason.

7. But all that I have said, and whatever else seems to be

1 Col. iii. 10. 2 Qeii^ i 27.

384 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

worthily said of God after the like fashion of human speech, applies to the whole Trinity, which is one God, and to the several Persons in that Trinity. For who would dare to say either of the one God, which is the Trinity itself, or of the rather, or Son, or Holy Spirit, either that He is not living, or is without sense or intelligence; or that, in that nature in which they are affirmed to be mutually equal, any one of them is mortal, or corruptible, or changeable, or corporeal ? Or is there any one who would deny that any one in the Trinity is most powerful, most righteous, most beautiful, most good, most blessed ? If, then, these things, and all others of the kind, can be predicated both of the Trinity itself, and of each several one in that Trinity, where or how shall the Trinity manifest itself? Let us therefore first reduce these numerous predicates to some limited number. For that which is called life in God, is itself His essence and nature. God, therefore, does not live, unless by the life which He is to Himself. And this life is not such as that which is in a tree, wherein is neither understanding nor sense; nor such as is in a beast, for the life of a beast possesses the fivefold sense, but has no understanding. But the life which is God perceives and understands all things, and perceives by mind, not by body, because " God is a spirit."^ And God does not perceive through a body, as animals do, which have bodies, for He does not consist of soul and body. And hence that single nature perceives as it understands, and understands as it perceives, and its sense and understanding are one and the same.

Nor yet so, that at any time He should either cease or begin to be; for He is immortal.

And it is not said of Him in vain, that " He only hath immortality."^ For immortality is true immortality in His case whose nature admits no change.

That is also true eternity by which God is unchangeable, without beginning, without end; consequently also incorruptible. It is one and the same thing, therefore, to call God eternal, or immortal, or incorruptible, or unchangeable; and it is likewise one and the same thing to say that He is living, and that He is intelligent, that is, in truth, wise. For He did not receive wisdom whereby to be wise, but He is Himself
Chap. v. J the divine ATTRIBUTES. 385

wisdom. And this is life, and again is power or might, and yet again beauty, whereby He is called powerful and beautiful. For what is more powerful and more beautiful than wisdom, "which reaches from end to end mightily, and sweetly disposes all things"? Or do goodness, again, and righteousness, differ from each other in the nature of God, as they differ in His works, as though they were two diverse qualities of God â€” goodness one, and righteousness another? Certainly not; but that which is righteousness is also itself goodness; and that which is goodness is also itself blessedness. And God is therefore called incorporeal, that He may be believed and understood to be a spirit, not a body.

8. Further, if we say, Eternal, immortal, incorruptible, unchangeable, living, wise, powerful, beautiful, righteous, good, blessed, spirit; only the last of this list as it were seems to signify substance, but the rest to signify qualities of that substance; but it is not so in that ineffable and simple nature. For whatever seems to be predicated therein according to quality, is to be understood according to substance or essence. For far be it from us to predicate spirit of God according to substance, and good according to quality; but both according to substance. And so in like manner of all those we have mentioned, of which we have already spoken at length in the former books. Let us choose, then, one of the first four of those in our enumeration and arrangement, i.e. eternal, immortal, incorruptible, unchangeable; since these four, as I have argued already, have one meaning; in order that our aim may not be distracted by a multiplicity of objects. And let it be rather that which was placed first, viz. eternal Let us follow the same course with the four that come next, viz. living, wise, powerful, beautiful. And since life of some sort belongs also to the beast, which has not wisdom; while the next two, viz. wisdom and might, are so compared to one another in the case of man, as that Scripture says, "Better is he that is wise than he that is strong;"^ and beauty, again, is commonly attributed to bodily objects also: out of these four that we have chosen, let Wise be the one we take. Although these four are not to be called unequal in speaking of God; for they

1 Wisd. viii. I. ^^-yjg^j^ ^^i i.

DE TEIN. 2 B

386 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

are four names, but one thing. But of the third and last four,
â€” although it is the same thing in God to be righteous that it is to be good or to be blessed; and the same thing to be a spirit that it is to be righteous, and good, and blessed; yet, because in men there can be a spirit that is not blessed, and there can be one both righteous and good, but not yet blessed; but that which is blessed is doubtless both just, and good, and a spirit, â€” let us rather choose that one which cannot exist even in men without the three others, viz. blessed.

Chap. vi. â€” How there is a trinity in the very simplicity of God. Whether and how the Trinity that is God is manifested from the trinities which have been shown to be in men.

9. When, then, we say. Eternal, wise, blessed, are these three the Trinity that is called God ? We reduce, indeed, those twelve to this small number of three; but perhaps we can go further, and reduce these three also to one of them. For if wisdom and might, or life and wisdom, can be one and the same thing in the nature of God, why cannot eternity and wisdom, or blessedness and wisdom, be one and the same thing in the nature of God ? And hence, as it made no difference whether we spoke of these twelve or of those three when we reduced the many to the small number; so does it make no difference whether we speak of those three, or of that one, to the singularity of which we have shown that the other two of the three may be reduced. What fashion, then, of argument, what possible force and might of understanding, what liveliness of reason, what sharp-sightedness of thought, will set forth how (to pass over now the others) this one thing, that God is called wisdom, is a trinity ? For God does not receive wisdom from any one as we receive it from Him, but He is Himself His own wisdom; because His wisdom is not one thing, and His essence another, seeing that to Him to be wise is to be. Christ, indeed, is called in the Holy Scriptures, " the power of God, and the wisdom of God." ^ But we have discussed in the seventh book how this is to be understood, so that the Son may not seem to make the Father wise; and our explanation came to this, that the Son is wisdom of wisdom, in the same way as He is light of light, God of God. ISTor

1 1 Cor. i, 24.

CHAP. VI. | OF THE SEVERAL TEINITIES. 387

could we find the Holy Spirit to be in any other way than that He Himself also is wisdom, and all togetherness wise, as one God, one essence. How, then, do we understand this wisdom, which is God, to be a trinity ? I do not say. How doâ€”we believe this ? For among the faithful this ought to admit no question. But supposing there is any way by which we can see with the understanding what we believe, what is that way ?

10. For if we recall where it was in these books that a trinity first began to show itself to our understanding, the eighth book is that which occurs to us; since it was there that to the best of our power we tried to raise the aim of the mind to understand that most excellent and unchangeable nature, which our mind is not. And we so contemplated this
nature as to think of it as not far from us, and as above us, not in place, but by its own awful and wonderful excellence, and in such wise that it appeared to be with us by its own present light. Yet in this no trinity was yet manifest to us, because in that blaze of light we did not keep the eye of the mind stedfastly bent upon seeking it; only we discerned it in a sense, because there was no bulk wherein we must needs think the magnitude of two or three to be more than that of one. But when we came to treat of love, which in the Holy Scriptures is called God, then a trinity began to dawn upon us a little, i.e. one that loves, and that which is loved, and love. But because that ineffable light beat back our gaze, and it became in some degree plain that the weakness of our mind could not as yet be tempered to it, we turned back in the midst of the course we had begun and planned, to the (as it were) more familiar consideration of our own mind, according to which man is made after the image of God, in order to relieve our overstrained attention; and thereupon we dwelt from the ninth to the fourteenth book upon the consideration of the creature, which we are, that we might be able to understand and behold the invisible things of God by those things which are made. And now that we have exercised the understanding, as far as was needful, or perhaps more than was needful, in lower things, lo! we wish, but have not strength,

1 John iv. 16. 2 Gerf i. 27.

388 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

to raise ourselves to behold that highest Trinity which is God. For in such manner as we see most undoubted trinities, whether those which are wrought from without by corporeal things, or when these same things are thought of which were perceived from without; or when those things which take their rise in the mind, and do not pertain to the senses of the body, as faith, or as the virtues which comprise the art of living, are discerned by manifest reason, and held fast by knowledge; or when the mind itself, by which we know whatever we truly say that we know, is known to itself, or thinks of itself; or when that mind beholds anything eternal and unchangeable, which itself is not; â€“ in such way, then, I say, as we see in all these instances most undoubted trinities, because they are wrought in ourselves, or are in ourselves, when we remember, look at, or desire these things; â€“ do we, I say, in such manner also see the Trinity that is God; because there also, by the understanding, we behold both Him as it were speaking, and His Word, i.e.

the Father and the Son; and then, proceeding thence, the love common to both, namely, the Holy Spirit? These trinities that pertain to our senses or to our mind, do we rather see than believe them, but rather believe than see that God is a trinity? But if this is so, then doubtless we either do not at all understand and behold the invisible things of God by those things that are made, or if we behold them at all, we do not behold the Trinity in them; and there is therein somewhat to behold, and somewhat also which we ought to believe, even though not beheld. And as the eighth book showed that we behold the unchangeable good which we are not, so the fourteenth reminded us thereof, when we spoke of the wisdom that man has from God. Why, then, do we not recognise the Trinity
therein? Does that wisdom which God is said to be, not perceive itself, and not love itself?

Who would say this? Or who is there that does not see, that where there is no knowledge, there in no way is there wisdom? Or are we, in truth, to think that the Wisdom which is God knows other things, and does not know itself; or loves other things, and does not love itself? But if this is a foolish and impious thing to say or believe, then behold we have a trinity, â€” to wit, wisdom and the knowledge wherewith it loves itself. For so we find a trinity in man also, i.e. mind, and the knowledge wherewith mind knows itself and the love wherewith it loves itself.

CHAP. VII. THE DIVINE TRINITY DIFFERS FROM THAT IN MAN. 389

itself, and its love of itself. For so we find a trinity in man also, i.e. mind, and the knowledge wherewith mind knows itself and the love wherewith it loves itself.

Chap. tii. â€” That it is not easy to discover the Trinity that is God from the trinities we have spoken of.

11. But these three are in such way in man, that they are not themselves man. For man, as the ancients defined him, is a rational mortal animal. These things, therefore, are the chief things in man, but are not man themselves. And any one person, i.e. each individual man, has these three things in his mind. But if, again, we were so to define man as to say, Man is a rational substance consisting of mind and body, then without doubt man has a soul that is not body, and a body that is not soul. And hence these three things are not man, but belong to man, or are in man. If, again, we put aside the body, and think of the soul by itself, the mind is somewhat belonging to the soul, as though its head, or eye, or countenance; but these things are not to be regarded as bodies. It is not then the soul, but that which is chief in the soul, that is called the mind. But can we say that the Trinity is in such way in God, as to be somewhat belonging to God, and not itself God? And hence each individual man, who is called the image of God, not according to all things that pertain to his nature, but according to his mind alone, is one person, and is an image of the Trinity in his mind. But that Trinity of which he is the image is nothing else in its totality than God, is nothing else in its totality than the Trinity. Nor does anything pertain to the nature of God so as not to pertain to that Trinity; and the Three Persons are of one essence, not as each individual man is one person.

12. There is, again, a wide difference in this point likewise, that whether we speak of the mind in a man, and of its knowledge and love; or of memory, understanding, will, â€” we remember nothing of the mind except by memory, nor understand anything except by understanding, nor love anything except by will. But in that Trinity, who would dare to say that the Father understands neither Himself, nor the Son, nor the Holy Spirit, except by the Son, or loves them except by the Holy Spirit; and that He remembers only by Himself either Himself,
390 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

or the Son, or the Holy Spirit; and in the same way that the Son remembers neither Himself nor the Father, except by the Father, nor loves them except by the Holy Spirit; but that by Himself He only understands both the Father and Son and Holy Spirit: and in like manner, that the Holy Spirit by the Father remembers both the Father and the Son and Himself, and by the Son understands both the Father and the Son and Himself; but by Himself only loves both Himself and the Father and the Son: as though the Father were both His own memory, and that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; and the Son were the understanding of both Himself, and the Father and the Holy Spirit; but the Holy Spirit were the love both of Himself, and of the Father and of the Son? Who would presume to think or affirm this of that Trinity? For if therein the Son alone understands both for Himself and for the Father and for the Holy Spirit, we have returned to the old absurdity, that the Father is not wise from Himself, but from the Son, and that wisdom has not begotten wisdom, but that the Father is said to be wise by that wisdom which He begat. For where there is no understanding there can be no wisdom; and hence, if the Father does not understand Himself for Himself, but the Son understands for the Father, assuredly the Son makes the Father wise. But if to God to be is to be wise, and essence is to Him the same as wisdom, then it is not the Son that has His essence from the Father, which is the truth, but rather the Father from the Son, which is a most absurd falsehood. And this absurdity, beyond all doubt, we have discussed, disproved, and rejected, in the seventh book. Therefore God the Father is wise by that wisdom by which He is His own wisdom, and the Son is the wisdom of the Father from the wisdom which is the Father, from whom the Son is begotten; whence it follows that the Father understands also by that understanding by which He is His own understanding (for he could not be wise that did not understand); and that the Son is the understanding of the Father, begotten of the understanding which is the Father. And this same may not be unfitly said of memory also. For how is he wise, that remembers nothing, or does not remember himself? Accordingly, since the

CHAP, vil] god's ^wisdom incomprehensible. 391

Father is wisdom, and the Son is wisdom, therefore, as the Father remembers Himself, so does the Son also remember Himself; and as the Father remembers both Himself and the Son, not by the memory of the Son, but by His own, so does the Son remember both Himself and the Father, not by the memory of the Father, but by His own. Where, again, there is no love, who would say there was any wisdom? And hence we must infer that the Father is in such way His own love, as He is His own understanding and memory. And therefore these three, i.e. memory, understanding, love or will, in that highest and unchangeable essence which is God, are, we see, not the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, but the Father alone. And because the Son too is wisdom begotten of wisdom, as neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit understands for Him, but He understands for
Himself; so neither does the Father remember for Him, nor the Holy Spirit love for Him, but He remembers and loves for Himself: for He is Himself also His own memory. His own understanding, and His own love. But that He is so comes to Him from the Father, of whom He is born. And because the Holy Spirit also is wisdom proceeding from wisdom. He too has not the Father for a memory, and the Son for an understandings and Himself for love: for He would not be wisdom if another remembered for Him, and yet another understood for Him, and He only loved for Himself; but Himself has all three things, and has them in such way that they are Himself.

But that He is so comes to Him thence, whence He proceeds.

13. What man, then, is there who can comprehend that wisdom by which God knows all things, in such wise that neither what we call things past are past therein, nor what we call things future are therein waited for as coming, as though they were absent, but both past and future with things present are all present; nor yet are things thought severally, so that thought passes from one to another, but all things simultaneously are at hand in one glance; â€” what man, I say, is there that comprehends that wisdom, and the like prudence, and the like knowledge, since in truth even our OT wisdom is beyond our comprehension? For somehow we are able to behold the things that are present to our senses or to our understanding; but the things that are absent, and yet have once been present, we know by memory, if we have not forgotten them. And we conjecture, too, not the past from the future, but the future from the past, yet by an unstable knowledge. For there are some of our thoughts to which, although future, we, as it were, look onward with greater plainness and certainty as being very near; and we do this by the means of memory when we are able to do it, as much as we ever are able, although memory seems to belong not to the future, but to the past. And this may be tried in the case of any words or songs, the due order of which we are rendering by memory; for we certainly should not utter each in succession, unless we foresaw in thought what came next. And yet it is not foresight, but memory, that enables us to foresee it; for up to the very end of the words or the song, nothing is uttered except as foreseen and looked forward to. And yet in doing this, we are not said to speak or sing by foresight, but by memory; and if any one is more than commonly capable of uttering many pieces in this way, he is usually praised, not for his foresight, but for his memory. We know, and are absolutely certain, that all this takes place in our mind or by our mind; but how it takes place, the more attentively we desire to scrutinize, the more do both our very words break down, and our purpose itself fails, when by our understanding, if not our tongue, we would reach to something of clearness. And do such as we are, think, that in so great infirmity of mind we can comprehend whether the foresight of God is the same as His memory and His understanding, who does not regard in thought each several thing, but embraces all that He knows in one eternal and unchangeable and ineffable vision? In this difficulty, then, and strait, we may well cry out to the living God, " Such knowledge is too wonderful for me: it is high, I
cannot attain unto it." ^ For I understand by myself how wonderful and incomprehensible is Thy knowledge, by which Thou madest me, when I cannot even comprehend myself whom Thou hast made! And yet, " while I was musing, the fire burned," ^ so that " I seek Thy face evermore." ^

^ Ps. cxxxix. 6. ^ Ps. xxxix. 3. ^ Ps. cv. 4.

CHAP. VIII. ] OF SEEING GOD THROUGH A GLASS. 393

Chap. viii. â€” How the apostle says that God is now seen by us through a glass.

14. I know that wisdom is an incorporeal substance, and that it is the light by which those things are seen that are not seen by carnal eyes; and yet a man so great and so spiritual [as Paul] says, " We see now through a glass, in an enigma, but then face to face." ^ If we ask what and of what sort is this " glass," this assuredly occurs to our minds, that in a glass nothing is discerned but an image. We have endeavoured, then, so to do; in order that we might see in some way or other by this image which we are. Him by whom we are made, as by a glass.

And this is intimated also in the words of the same apostle: " But we with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." ^ " Beholding as in a glass," ^ he has said, i.e. seeing by means of a glass, not looking from a watch-tower: an ambiguity that does not exist in the Greek language, whence the apostolic epistles have been rendered into Latin. Por in Greek, a glass,* in which the images of things are visible, is wholly distinct in the sound of the word also from a watch-tower,^ from the height of which we command a more distant view. And it is quite plain that the apostle, in using the word " speculantes" in respect to the glory of the Lord, meant it to come from " speculum," not from " specula." But where he says, " We are transformed into the same image," he assuredly means to speak of the image of God; and by calling it " the same," he means that very image which we see in the glass, because that same image is also the glory of the Lord; as he says elsewhere, " For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God," ^ â€” a text already discussed in the twelfth book. He means, then, by " We are transformed," that we are changed from one form to another, and that we pass from a form that is obscure to a form that is bright: since the obscure form too is the image of God; and if an image, then assuredly also " glory," in which we are created as men, being better than the other animals. For it is said of human nature in itself, " The man ought not to cover his head, because he is the image and glory of God."

^ 1 Cor. xiii. 12. ^2 Cor. iii. 18. ^ Speculantes.

* SiDeculum. ^ Specula. ^ 1 Cor. xi. 7.
And this nature, being the most excellent among things created, is transformed from a form that is defaced into a form that is beautiful, when it is justified by its own Creator from ungodliness. Since even in ungodliness itself, the more the faultiness is to be condemned, the more certainly is the nature to be praised. And therefore he has added, "from glory to glory:" from the glory of creation to the glory of justification. Although these words, " from glory to glory," may be understood also in other ways; ã€” from the glory of faith to the glory of sight, from the glory whereby we are sons of God to the glory whereby we shall be like Him, because "we shall see Him as He is."^ Eut in that he has added, " as from the Spirit of the Lord," he declares, that the blessing of so desirable a transformation is conferred upon us by the grace of God.

Chap. ix. ã€” Of (he term " enigma," and of tropical modes of speech.

15. What has been said relates to the words of the apostle, that " we see now through a glass;" but whereas he has added, " in an enigma," the meaning of this addition is unknown to any who are unacquainted with the books that contain the doctrine of those modes of speech, Avhich the Greeks call Tropes, which Greek word we also use in Latin. Por as we more commonly speak of schemata than of figures, so we more commonly speak of tropes than of modes. And it is a very difficult and uncommon thing to express the names of the several modes or tropes in Latin, so as to refer its appropriate name to each. And hence some Latin translators, through unwillingness to employ a Greek word, wloere the apostle says, " Which things are an allegory," ^ have rendered it by a circumlocution â€” Which things signify one thing by another. But there are several species of this kind of trope that is called allegory, and one of them is that which is called enigma.

Now the definition of the generic term must necessarily embrace also all its species; and hence, as every horse is an animal, but not every animal is a horse, so every enigma is an allegory, but every allegory is not an enigma. What then is an allegory, but a trope wherein one thing is understood from another ? as in the Epistle to the Thessalonians,

1 1 John iii. 2. - Gal. iv. 24.

CHAP. IX.] OF SEEING GOD IN AN ENIGMA. 395

"Let US not tierefoje sleep, as do others; but let us watcli and be sober: for they who sleep, sleep in the night; and they who are drunken, are drunken in the night: but let us, who are of the day, be sober." ^ But this allegory is not an enigma, for here the meaning is patent to all but the very dull; but an enigma is, to explain it briefly, an obscure allegory, as, e.g., " The horse-leech had three daughters," ^ and other like instances. But
when the apostle spoke of an allegory, he does not find it in the words, but in the fact; since he has shown that the two Testaments are to be understood by the two sons of Abraham, one by a bond-maid, and the other by a free woman, which was a thing not said, but also done. And before this was explained, it was obscure; and accordingly such an allegory, which is the generic name, could be specifically called an enigma.

16. But because it is not only those that are ignorant of the books that contain the doctrine of tropes, who incluere the apostle’s meaning, when he said that we " see now in an enigma," but those, too, who are acquainted with the doctrine, but yet desire to know what that enigma is in which " we now see;" we must find a single meaning for the two phrases, viz. for that which says, " we see now through a glass," and for that which adds, " in an enigma." For it makes but one sentence, when the whole is so uttered, " We see now through a class in an enigma." Accordingly, as far as my judgment goes, as by the word glass he meant to signify an image, so by that of enigma any likeness you will, but yet one obscure, and difficult to see through. While, therefore, any likenesses whatever may be understood as signified by the apostle when he speaks of a glass and an enigma, so that they are adapted to the understanding of God, in such way as He can be understood; yet nothing is better adapted to this purpose than that which is not vainly called His image. Let no one, then, wonder, that we labour to see in any way at all, even in that fashion of seeing which is granted to us in this life, viz. through a glass, in an enigma. For we should not hear of an enigma in this place if sight were easy. And this is a yet greater enigma, that we do not see what we cannot but see.

1 Thess. V. 6-8. 2 p^ov. xxx. 15.

396 ON THE TRINITY. [cOOK XV.

For who does not see Ms own thought ? And yet who does see his own thought, I do not say with the eye of the flesh, but with the inner sight itself ? Who does not see it, and "vwho does see it ? Since thought is a kind of sight of the mind; whether those things are present which are seen also by the bodily eyes, or perceived by the other senses; or whether they are not present, but their likenesses are discerned by thought; or whether neither of these is the case, but things are thought of that are neither bodily things nor likenesses of bodily things, as the virtues and vices; or as, indeed, thought itself is thought of; or whether it be those things which are the subjects of instruction and of liberal sciences; or whether the higher causes and reasons themselves of all these things in the unchangeable nature are thought of; or whether it be even evil, and vain, and false things that we are thinking of, with either the sense not consenting, or erring in its consent.

Chap. x. â€” Concerning the ivord of the mind, in which we see the Word of God, as in a glass and an enigma.
17. But let us now speak of those things of which we think as known, and have in our knowledge even if we do not think of them; whether they belong to the contemplative knowledge, which, as I have argued, is properly to be called wisdom, or to the active, which is properly to be called knowledge. For both together belong to one mind, and are one image of God.

But when we treat of the lower of the two distinctly and separately, then it is not to be called an image of God, although even then, too, some likeness of that Trinity may be found in it; as we showed in the thirteenth book. We speak now, therefore, of the entire knowledge of man altogether, in which whatever is known to us is known; that, at any rate, which is true; otherwise it would not be known. For no one knows what is false, except when he knows it to be false; and if he knows this, then he knows what is true: for it is true that that is false. We treat, therefore, now of those things which we think as known, and which are known to us even if they are not being thought of. But certainly, if we would utter them in words, we can only do so by thinking them. For although there were no words spoken, at any rate, he who thinks

CHAP. X. OF THE WORD UTTERED IN THE HEART. 397

speaks in his heart. And hence that passage in the book of Wisdom: " They said within themselves, thinking not aright." -^ For the words, " They said within themselves," are explained by the addition of " thinking." A like passage to this is that in the Gospel, â€” that certain scribes, when they heard the Lord's words to the paralytic man, " Be of good cheer, my son, thy sins are forgiven thee," said within themselves, "This man blasphemeth." For how did they "say within themselves," except by thinking ? Then follows, " And when Jesus saw their thoughts. He said, Why think ye evil in your thoughts ? "^ So far Matthew. But Luke narrates the same thing thus: "The scribes and Pharisees began to think, saying, Who is this that speaketh blasphemies ? Who can forgive sins but God alone ? But when Jesus perceived their thoughts. He, answering, said unto them. What think ye in your hearts ? "^ That which in the book of Wisdom is, " They said, thinking," is the same here with, " They thought, saying." For both there and here it is declared, that they spake within themselves, and in their own heart, i.e. spake by thinking. For they " spake within themselves," and it was said to them, " What think ye ?" And the Lord Himself says of that rich man whose ground brought forth plentifully, " And he thought within himself, saying." *

18. Some thoughts, then, are speeches of the heart, wherein the Lord also shows that there is a mouth, when He says, " Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which proceedeth out of the mouth, that defileth a man." In one sentence He has comprised two diverse mouths of the man, one of the body, one of the heart. For assuredly, that from which they thought the man to be defiled, enters into the mouth of the body; but that from which the Lord said the man was defiled,
proceedeth out of the mouth of the heart. So certainly He Himself explained what He had said. For a little after. He says also to His disciples concerning the same thing: 
" Are ye also yet without understanding ? Do ye not understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth Â£oeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught ? " Here He most certainly pointed to the mouth of the body. But in that

1 Wisd. ii. ]; 2 ];att. ix. 2-4.

398 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

which follows He plainly speaks of the mouth of the heart, where He says, " But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts,"^ etc. What is clearer than this explanation ? And yet, when we call thoughts speeches of the heart, it does not follow that they are not also acts of sight, arising from the sight of knowledge, when they are true. For when these things are done outwardly by means of the body, then speech and sight are different things; but when we think inwardly, the two are one, â€” just as sight and hearing are two things mutually distinct in the bodily senses, but to see and hear are the same thing in the mind; and hence, while speech is not seen but rather heard outwardly, yet the inward speeches, i.e. thoughts, are said by the holy Gospel to have been seen, not heard, by the Lord. " They said within themselves, This man blasphemeth," says the Gospel; and then subjoined, "And when Jesus saw their thoughts." Therefore He saw, what they said. For by His own thought He saw their thoughts, which they supposed no one saw but themselves.

19. Whoever, then, is able to understand a word, not only before it is uttered in sound, but also before the images of its sounds are considered in thought, â€” for this it is which belongs to no tongue, to wit, of those which are called the tongues of nations, of which our Latin tongue is one; â€” whoever, I say, is able to understand this, is able now to see through this glass and in this enigma some likeness of that Word of whom it is said, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."^ For of necessity, when we speak what is true, i.e. speak what we know, there is born from the knowledge itself which the memory retains, a word that is altogether of the same kind with that knowledge from which it is born. For the thought that is formed by the thing which we know, is the word which we speak in the heart: which word is neither Greek nor Latin, nor of any other tongue. But when it is needful to convey this to the knowledge of those to whom we speak, then some sign is assumed whereby to signify it. And generally a sound, sometimes a nod, is exhibited, the former to the ears, the latter to the eyes, that the word which we

1 Matt. XV. 10-20. 2 John i. 1.
bear in our mind may become known also by bodily signs to the bodily senses. For what is to nod or beckon, except to speak in some way to the sight? And Holy Scripture gives its testimony to this; for we read in the Gospel according to John:

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. Then the disciples looked one upon another, doubting of whom He spake. Now there was leaning on Jesus' breast one of His disciples whom Jesus loved. Simon Peter therefore beckons to him, and says to him, Who is it of whom He speaks?" Here he spoke by beckoning what he did not venture to speak by sounds. But whereas we exhibit these and the like bodily signs either to ears or eyes of persons present to whom we speak, letters have been invented that we might be able to converse also with the absent; but these are signs of words, as words themselves are signs in our conversation of those things which we think.

Chap. xi. â€” The likeness of the Divine Word, juchasitis, is to he sought, oiotin our own outer and sensible ivord, hut m the inner and mental one. There is the greatest possible unlikeness between our word and knoioledge and the Divijie Word and hijowledge.

20. Accordingly, the word that sounds outwardly is the sign of the word that gives light inwardly; which latter has the greater claim to be called a word. For that which is uttered with the mouth of the flesh, is the articulate sound of a word; and is itself also called a word, on account of that to make which outwardly apparent it is itself assumed. For our word is so made in some v^ay into an articulate sound of the body, by assuming that articulate sound by which it may be manifested to men's senses, as the Word of God was made flesh, by assuming that flesh in which itself also might be manifested to men's senses. And as our word becomes an articulate sound, yet is not changed into one; so the Word of God became flesh, but far be it from us to say He was changed into flesh. For both that word of ours became an articulate sound, and that other Word became flesh, by assuming it, not by consuming itself so as ta be changed into it. And therefore whoever desires to arrive at any likeness, be it of what sort it may, of the Word of God, however in many respects unlike,

1 John xiii. 21-24.

M

400 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

must not regard the word of ours that sounds in the ears, either when it is uttered in an articulate sound or when it is silently thought. For the words of all tongues that are uttered
in sound are also silently thought, and the mind runs over verses while the bodily mouth is silent. And not only the numbers of syllables, but the tunes also of songs, since they are corporeal, and pertain to that sense of the body which is called hearing, are at hand by certain incorporeal images appropriate to them, to those who think of them, and who silently revolve all these things. But we must pass by this, in order to arrive at that word of man, by the likeness of which, be it of what sort it may, the Word of God may be somehow seen as in an enigma. Not that word which was spoken to this or that prophet, and of which it is said, "Kow the word of God grew and multiplied:" and again, "Faith then cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ:" and again, "* When ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God " ^ (and there are countless other like sayings in the Scriptures respecting the word of God, which is disseminated in the sounds of many and diverse languages through the hearts and mouths of men; and which is therefore called the word of God, because the doctrine that is delivered is not human, but divine); â€” but we are now seeking to see, in whatsoever way we can, by means of this likeness, that Word of God of which it is said, "The Word was God;" of which it is said, " All things were made by Him;" of which it is said, " The Word became iesh;" of which it is said, " The Word of God on high is the fountain of wisdom."* We must go on, then, to that word of man, to the word of the rational animal, to the word of that image of God, that is not born of God, but made by God; which is neither utterable in sound nor capable of being thought under the likeness of sound, such as must needs be with the word of any tongue; but which precedes all the signs by which it is signified, and is begotten from the knowledge that continues in the mind, when that same knowledge is spoken inwardly according as it really is. For the sight of thinking is exceedingly like the sight of knowledge. For when it is uttered by sound, or by any bodily sign, it is not uttered

1 Acts vi. 7. 2 Eom. x. 17. ^1 Tliess. ii. 13. * Ecclus. i. 5.

CHAP. XL] THE WORD OF GOD AND THAT OF MAN. 401

according as it really is, but as it can be seen or heard by the body. When, therefore, that is in the word which is in the knowledge, then there is a true word, and truth, such as is looked for from man: such that what is in the knowledge is also in the word, and what is not in the knowledge is also not in the word. Here may be recognised, " Yea, yea; nay, nay."^ And so this likeness of the image that is made, approaches as nearly as is possible to that likeness of the image that is born, by which God the Son is declared to be in all things like in substance to the Father. We must notice in this enigma also another likeness of the Word of God; viz. that, as it is said of that Word, " All things were made by Him," where God is declared to have made the universe by His only-begotten Son, so there are no works of man that are not first said in his heart: whence it is written, "A word is the beginning of every work."^ But here also, it is when the word is true, that then it is the beginning of a good work. And a word is true when it is begotten from the knowledge of working good works, so
that there too may be preserved the " yea yea, nay nay;" in order that whatever is in that knowledge by which we are to live, may be also in the word by which we are to work, and whatever is not in the one may not be in the other. Otherwise such a word will be a lie, not truth; and what comes thence will be a sin, and not a good work. There is yet this other likeness of the Word of God in this likeness of our word, that there can be a word of ours with no work following it, but there cannot be any work unless a word precedes; just as the Word of God could have existed though no creature existed, but no creature could exist unless by that Word by which all things are made. And therefore not God the Father, not the Holy Spirit, not the Trinity itself, but the Son only, which is the Word of God, was made flesh; although the Trinity was the maker: in order that we might live rightly through our word following and imitating His example, i.e. by having no lie in either the thought or the work of our word.

But this perfection of this image is one to be at some time hereafter. In order to attain this it is that the good master teaches us by Christian faith, and by pious doctrine, that


DE TFJN. 2 C

402 ON THE TRINITY. [COOK XV.

" with face unveiled " from the veil of the law, which is the shadow of things to come, " beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," i. e. gazing at it through a glass, " we may be transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord;" as we explained above.

21. When, therefore, this image shall have been renewed to perfection by this transformation, then we shall be like God, because we shall see Him, not through a glass, but " as He is;" which the Apostle Paul expresses by " face to face." But now, who can explain how great is the unlikeness also, in this glass, in this enigma, in this likeness such as it is ? Yet I will touch upon some points, as I can, by which to indicate it.

Chap. xir. â€” The Academic ^philosophy.

First, of what sort and how great is the very knowledge itself that a man can attain, be he ever so skilful and learned, by which our thought is formed with truth, when we speak what we know ? For to pass by those things that come into the mind from the bodily senses, among which so many are otherwise than they seem to be, that he who is overmuch pressed down by their resemblance to truth, seems sane to himself, but really is not sane; â€” Avhence it is that the Academic philosophy has so prevailed as to be still more wretchedly insane by doubting all things; â€” passing b} ^, then, those things that come into the mind by the bodily senses, how large a proportion is left of things which we know in such manner as we know that we live ? In this, indeed, we are absolutely without any fear lest perchance we are being deceived by some resemblance of the truth; since it is certain, that he too who is deceived, yet lives. And this again is not reckoned
among those objects of sight that are presented from without, so that the eye may be deceived in it; in such way as it is when an oar in the water looks bent, and towers seem to move as you sail past them, and a thousand other things that are otherwise than they seem to be: for this is not a thing that is discerned by the eye of the flesh. The knowledge by which we know that we live is the most inward of all knowledge, of which even the Academic cannot insinuate. Perhaps you are asleep, and do not know it, and you see things

1 2 Cor. iii. 17. " 1 John iii. 4. ^ i Cor. xiii. 12.

CHAP. XII.] SOME KNOWLEDGE IS CERTAIN. 403

in your sleep. For who does not know that what people see in dreams is precisely lively what they see when awake? But he who is certain of the knowledge of his own life, does not therein say, I know I am awake, but, I know I am alive; therefore, whether he be asleep or awake, he is alive. Nor can he be deceived in that knowledge by dreams; since it belongs to a living man both to sleep and to see in sleep. Nor can the Academic again say, in confutation of this knowledge, Perhaps you are mad, and do not know it: for what madmen see is precisely like what they also see who are sane; but he who is mad is alive. Nor does he answer the Academic by saying, I know I am not mad, but, I know I am alive. Therefore he who says he knows he is alive, can neither be deceived nor lie. Let a thousand kinds, then, of deceitful objects of sight be presented to him who says, I know I am alive; yet he will fear none of them, for he who is deceived yet is alive. But if such things alone pertain to human knowledge, they are very few indeed; unless that they can be so multiplied in each kind, as not only not to be few, but to reach in the result to infinity. For he who says, I know I am alive, says that he knows one single thing. Further, if he says, I know that I know I am alive, now there are two; but that he knows these two is a third thing to know. And so he can add a fourth and a fifth, and innumerable others, if he holds out. But since he cannot either comprehend an innumerable number by additions of units, or say a thing innumerable times, he comprehends this at least, and with perfect certainty, viz. that this is both true, and so innumerable that he cannot truly comprehend and say its infinite number. This same thing may be noticed also in the case of a will that is certain. For it would be an impudent answer to make to any one who should say, I will to be happy, that perhaps you are deceived. And if he should say, I know that I will this, and I know that I know it, he can add yet a third to these two, viz. that he knows these two; and a fourth, that he knows that he knows these two; and so on ad infinitum. Likewise, if any one were to say, I will not to be mistaken; will it not be true, whether he is mistaken or whether he is not, that nevertheless he does will not to be mistaken? Would it not be most impudent to

404 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]
say to him, Perhaps you are deceived ? when beyond doubt, whereinsoever he may be deceived, he is nevertheless not deceived in thinking that he wills not to be deceived. And if he says he knows this, he adds any number he chooses of things known, and perceives that number to be infinite. For he who says, I will not to be deceived, and I know that I will not to be so, and I know that I know it, is able now to set forth an infinite number here also, however awkward may be the expression of it. And other things too are to be found capable of refuting the Academics, who contend that man can know nothing. But we must restrict ourselves, especially as this is not the subject we have undertaken in the present work.

There are three books of ours on that subject,^ written in the early time of our conversion, which he who can and will read, and who understands them, will doubtless not be much moved by any of the many arguments which they have found out against the discovery of truth. For whereas there are two kinds of knowable things, â€” one, of those things which the mind perceives by the bodily senses; the other, of those which it perceives by itself, â€” these philosophers have babbled much against the bodily senses, but have never been able to throw doubt upon those most certain perceptions of things true, which the mind knows by itself, such as is that which I have mentioned, I know that I am alive. But far be it from us to doubt the truth of what we have learned by the bodily senses; since by them we have learned to know the heaven and the earth, and those things in them which are known to us, so far as He who created both us and them has willed them to be within our knowledge. Far be it from us too to deny, that we know what we have learned by the testimony of others: otherwise we know not that there is an ocean; we know not that the lands and cities exist which most copious report commends to us; we know not that those men were, and their works, which we have learned by reading history; we know not the news that is daily brought us from this quarter or that, and confirmed by consistent and conspiring evidence; lastly, we know not at what place or from whom we have been born: since in all these things we have believed the testimony of others. And if it is most absurd to say this, then we must confess, that not only our own senses, but those of other persons also, have added very much indeed to our knowledge.

^ Libri Tres contra Academicos.

CHAP. XIII.] OF KNOWLEDGE IN GOD. 405

absurd to say this, then we must confess, that not only our own senses, but those of other persons also, have added very much indeed to our knowledge.

22. All these things, then, both those which the human mind knows by itself, and those which it knows by the bodily senses, and those which it has received and knows by the testimony of others, are laid up and retained in the storehouse of the memory; and from these is begotten a word that is true, when we speak what we know, but a word that is before all sound, before all thought of a sound. For the word is then most like to the thing known, from which also its image is begotten, since the sight of thinking arises from the sight of knowledge; when it is a word belonging to no tongue, but is a true word
concerning a true thing, having nothing of its own, but wholly derived from that knowledge from which it is born.

'Nov does it signify when he learned it, who speaks what he knows; for sometimes he says it immediately upon learning it; provided only that the word is true, i.e. sprung from things that are known.

Chap. xui."Still further of the difference between the knowledge and word of our mind, and the knowledge and word of God.

But is it SO, that God the Father, from whom is born the Word that is God of God, â€“ is it so, then, that God the Father, in that wisdom which He is to Himself, has learned some things by His bodily senses, and others by Himself? Who could say this, who thinks of God, not as a rational animal, but as One above the rational soul? So far at least as He can be thought of, by those who place Him above all animals and all souls, although they see Him by conjecture through a glass and in an enigma, not yet face to face as He is. Is it that God the Father has learned those very things which He knows, not by the body, for He has none, but by Himself, from elsewhere from some one? or has stood in need of messengers or witnesses that He might know them? Certainly not; since His own perfection enables Him to know all things that He knows. No doubt He has messengers, viz. the angels; but not to announce to Him things that He knows not, for there is nothing He does not know. But their good lies in consulting the truth about their own works. And this it

40 6 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

is which is meant by saying that they bring Him word of some things, not that He may learn of them, but they of Him by His word without bodily sound. They bring Him word, too, of that which He wills, being sent by Him to whomever He wills, and hearing all from Him by that word of His, i.e. finding in His truth what themselves are to do: what, to whom, and when, they are to bring word. For we too pray to Him, yet do not inform Him what our necessities are. "For your Father knoweth," says His Word, "what things ye have need of, before you ask Him." ^ Nor did He become acquainted with them, so as to know them, at any definite time; but He knew beforehand, without any beginning, all things to come in time, and among them also both what we should ask of Him, and when; and to whom He would either listen or not listen, and on what subjects. And with respect to all His creatures, both spiritual and corporeal. He does not know them because they are, but they are because He knows them. For He was not ignorant what He was about to create; therefore He created because He knew; He did not know because He created. Nor did He know them when created in any other way than He knew them when still to be created, for nothing accrued to His wisdom from them; but that wisdom remained as it was, while they came into existence as it was fitting and when it was fitting. So, too, it is written in the book of Ecclesiasticus: "All things are known to Him ere ever they were created: so also after they were perfected." ^ "So,"
he says, not otherwise; so were they known to Him, both ere ever they were created, and after they were perfected. This knowledge, therefore, is far unlike our knowledge. And the knowledge of God is itself also His wisdom, and His wisdom is itself His essence or substance. Because in the marvellous simplicity of that nature, it is not one thing to be wise and another to be, but to be wise is to be; as we have often said already also in the earlier books. But our knowledge is in most things capable both of being lost and of being recovered, because to us to be is not the same as to know or to be wise; since it is possible for us to be, even although we know not, neither are wise in that which we have learned from else-

1 Matt. vi. 8. 2 Ecclus. xxiii. 20.

CHAP. XIV.] OF THE WORD OF GOD, EQUAL TO THE FATHER. 407

where. Therefore, as our knowledge is unlike that knowledge of God, so is our word also, which is born from our knowledge, unlike that Word of God which is born from the essence of the Father. And this is as if I should say, born from the Father's knowledge, from the Father's wisdom; or still more exactly, from the Father who is knowledge, from the Father who is wisdom.

Chap. xiv. æ"’ The Word of God is in all things equal to the Father, from toJiom it is.

23. The Word of God, then, the only-begotten Son of the Father, in all things like and equal to the Father, God of God; Light of Light, Wisdom of Wisdom, Essence of Essence, is altogether that which the Father is, yet is not the Father, because the one is Son, the other is Father. And hence He knows all that the Father knows; but to Him to know, as to be, is from the Father, for to know and to be is there one. And therefore, as to be is not to the Father from the Son, so neither is to know. Accordingly, as though uttering Himself, the Father begat the Word equal to Himself in all things; for He would not have uttered Himself wholly and perfectly, if there were in His Word anything more or less than in Himself. And here that is recognised in the highest sense, " Yea, yea; nay, nay." ^ And therefore this Word is truly truth, since whatever is in that knowledge from which it is born is also in itself, and whatever is not in that knowledge is not in the Word. And this Word can never have anything false, because it is unchangeable, as He is from whom it is. For " the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do." ^ Through power He cannot do this; nor is it infirmity, but strength, by which truth cannot be false. Therefore God the Father knows all things in Himself, knows all things in the Son; but in Himself as though Himself, in the Son as though His own Word, which Word is spoken concerning all those things that are in Himself. Similarly the Son knows all things, viz. in Himself, as things which are born of those which the Father knows in Himself, and in the Father, as those of which they are born, which the Son Himself knows in Himself. The Father, then, and the Son know mutually; but the one by begetting, the other by being born. And each of them
sees simultaneously all things that are in their knowledge, in their wisdom, in their essence: not by parts or singly, as though by alternately looking from this side to that, and from that side to this, and again from this or that object to this or that object, so as not to be able to see some things without at the same time not seeing others; but, as I said, sees all things simultaneously, whereof there is not one that He does not always see.

24. And that word, then, of ours which has neither sound nor thought of sound, but is of that thing in seeing which we speak inwardly, and which therefore belongs to no tongue; and hence is in some sort like, in this enigma, to that Word of God which is also God; since this too is born of our knowledge, in such manner as that also is born of the knowledge of the Father: such a word, I say, of ours, which we find to be in some way like that Word, let us not be slow to consider how unlike also it is, as it may be in our power to utter it.

Chap. xv. «How great is the unliheness between our word and the Divine Word. Our word cannot be or be called eternal.»

Is our word, then, born of our knowledge only? Do we not say many things also that we do not know? And say them not with doubt, but thinking them to be true; while if perchance they are true in the things themselves of which we speak, they are yet not true in our word, because a word is not true unless it is born of a thing that is known. In this sense, then, our word is false, not when we lie, but when we are deceived. And when we doubt, our word is not yet of the thing of which we doubt, but it is a word concerning the doubt itself. For although we do not know whether that is true of which we doubt, yet we do know that we doubt; and hence, when we say we doubt, we say a word that is true, for we say what we know. And what, too, of its being possible for us to lie? And when we do, certainly we both willingly and knowingly have a word that is false, wherein there is a word that is true, viz. that we lie, for this we know. And when we confess that we have lied, we speak that which is true; for we say what we know, for we know that we lied. But that Word which is God, and can do more than we, cannot do this. For it "can do nothing except what it sees the Father do; " and it "speaks not of itself," but it has

CHAP. XV.] OUR WORD IS NOT ETERNAL. 409

from the Father all that it speaks, since the Father speaks it in a special way; and the great might of that Word is that it cannot lie, because there cannot be there "yea and nay."
but "yea yea, nay nay." Well, but that is not even to be called a word, which is not true. I willingly assent, if so it be.

What, then, if our word is true, and therefore is rightly called a word? Is it the case that, as we can speak of sight of sight, and knowledge of knowledge, so we can speak of essence of essence, as that Word of God is especially spoken of, and is especially to be spoken of? Why so? Because to us, to be is not the same as to know; since we know many things which in some sense live by memory, and so in some sense die by being forgotten; and so, when those things are no longer in our knowledge, yet we still are; and while our knowledge has slipped away and perished out of our mind, we are still alive.

25. In respect to those things also which are so known that they can never escape the memory, because they are present, and belong to the nature of the mind itself, â€” as, e.g., the knowing that we are alive (for this continues so long as the mind continues; and because the mind continues always, this also continues always); â€” I say, in respect to this and to any other like instances, in which we are the rather to contemplate the image of God, it is difficult to make out in what way, although they are always known, yet because they are not always also thought of, an eternal word can be spoken respecting them, when our word is spoken in our thought.

For it is eternal to the soul to live; it is eternal to know that it lives. Yet it is not eternal to it to be thinking of its own life, or to be thinking of its own knowledge of its own life; since, in entering upon this or that occupation, it will cease to think of this, although it does not cease from knowing it.

And hence it comes to pass, that if there can be in the mind any knowledge that is eternal, while the thought of that knowledge cannot be eternal, and any inner and true word of ours is only said by our thought, then God alone can be understood to have a Word that is eternal, and co-eternal with Himself. Unless, perhaps, we are to say that the very possibility of thought â€” since that which is known is capable of being truly

1 2 Cor. i. 10.

410 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

thought, even at the time when it is not being thought â€” constitutes a word as perpetual as the knowledge itself is perpetual. But how is that a word which is not yet formed in the vision of the thought? How will it be like the knowledge of which it is born, if it has not the form of that knowledge, and is only now called a word because it can have it? For it is much as if one were to say that a word is to be so called because it can be a word. But what is this that can be a word, and is therefore already held worthy of the name of a word? What, I say, is this thing that is formable, but not yet formed, except a something in our mind, which we toss to and fro by revolving it this way or that, while we think of first one thing and then another, according as they are found by or occur to us? And the true word then comes into being, when, as I said, that which we toss to and fro by revolving it arrives at that which we know, and is formed by that, in taking its entire likeness; so that in what manner each thing is known, in that manner also it is thought, i.e. is said in this manner in the heart, without articulate
sound, without thought of articulate sound, such as no doubt belongs to some particular tongue. And hence if we even admit, in order not to dispute laboriously about a name, that this something of our mind, which can be formed from our knowledge, is to be already called a word, even before it is so formed, because it is, so to say, already formable, who would not see how great would be the unlikeness between it and that Word of God, which is so in the form of God, as not to have been formable before it was formed, or to have been capable at any time of being formless, but is a simple form, and simply equal to Him from whom it is, and with whom it is wonderfully co-eternal?

Chap. xvi. â€” Our word is never to be equalled to the Divine Word, not even when we shall be like God.

Wherefore that Word of God is in such wise so called, as not to be called a thought of God, lest we believe that there is anything in God which can be revolved, so that it at one time receives and at another recovers a form, so as to be a word, and as again can lose that form and be revolved in some sense formlessly. Certainly that excellent master of speech knew well the force of words, and had looked into the nature of thought, who said in his poem, "And revolves with himself the varying issues of war" i.e. thinks of them. That Son of God, then, is not called the Thought of God, but the Word of God. For our own thought, attaining to what we know, and formed thereby, is our true word. And so the Word of God ought to be understood without any thought on the part of God, so that it be understood as the simple form itself, but containing nothing formable that can be also unformed. There are, indeed, passages of Holy Scripture that speak of God's thoughts; but this is after the same mode of speech by which the forgetfulness of God is also there spoken of, whereas in strict propriety of language there is in Him certainly no forgetfulness.

26. Wherefore, since we have found now in this enigma so great an unlikeness to God and the Word of God, wherein yet there was found before some likeness, this, too, must be admitted, that even when we shall be like Him, when "we shall see Him as He is" (and certainly he who said this was aware beyond doubt of our present unlikeness), not even then shall we be equal to Him in nature. For that nature which is made is ever less than that which makes. And at that time our word will not indeed be false, because we shall neither lie nor be deceived. Perhaps, too, our thoughts will no longer revolve by passing and repassing from one thing to another, but we shall see all our knowledge at once, and at one glance.

Still, when even this shall have come to pass, if indeed it shall come to pass, the creature which was formable will indeed have been formed, so that nothing will be wanting of that form to which it ought to attain; yet nevertheless it will not be to be equalled to that simplicity wherein there is not anything formable, which has been formed or re-formed,

CHAP. XVII.] MAN WILL NEVER EQUAL GOD IN KNOWLEDGE. 411
but only form; and which being neither formless nor formed, itself is eternal and unchangeable substance.

Chap. xyii. â€” Hoio the Holy Spirit is called Love, and whether He alone is so called. That the Holy Spirit is in the Scriptures properly called by the name of Love.

27. We have sufficiently spoken of the Father and of the Son, so far as was possible for us to see through this glass and

1 uEn. X. 159, 160. â€¢ 2 1 John iii. 2.

412 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

in this enigma. We must now treat of the Holy/Spirit, so far as by God's gift it is permitted to see Him. "^nd the Holy Spirit, according to the Holy Scriptures, is neither of the Father alone, nor of the Son alone, but of both; and so intimates to us a mutual love, wherewith the Father and the Son reciprocally love one another. But the language of the Word of God, in order to exercise us, has caused those things to be sought into with the greater zeal, which do not lie on the surface, but are to be scrutinized in hidden depths, and to be drawn out from thence.

The Scriptures, accordingly, have not said. The Holy Spirit is Love. If they had said so, they would have done away with no small part of this inquiry. But they have said, " God is love;"^ so that it is uncertain and remains to be inquired, whether God the Father is love, or God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, or the Trinity itself which is God. For we are not going to say that God is not therefore called Love, in that love itself is a substance which is worthy of the name of God, but in that it is a gift of God, as it is said to God, " Thou art my patience." ^

For this is not said because our patience is God's substance, but in that He Himself gives it to us; as it is elsewhere read,

" Since from Him is my patience." ^ For the usage of words itself in Scripture sufficiently refutes this interpretation; for " Thou art my patience " is of the same kind as " Thou, Lord, art my hope," * and " The Lord my God is my mercy," ^ and many like texts. And it is not said, Lord my love, or, Thou art my love, or, God my love; but it is said thus, " God is love," as it is said, "God is a Spirit."^ And he who does not discern this, must ask understanding from the Lord, not an explanation from us; for we cannot say anything more clearly.

28. " God," then, " is love;" but the question is, whether the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, or the Trinity itself, because the Trinity is not three Gods, but one God. But I have already argued above in this book, that the Trinity, which is God, is not so to be understood from those three things which have been set forth in the trinity of our mind, as that the Father should be the memory of all three, and the Son the understanding of all three, and the Holy Spirit the love of all
three; as though the Father should neither understand nor love for Himself, but the Son should understand for Him, and the Holy Spirit love for Him, but He Himself should remember only both for Himself and for them; nor the Son remember nor love for Himself, but the Father should remember for Him, and the Holy Spirit love for Him, but He Himself understand only both for Himself and them; nor likewise that the Holy Spirit should neither remember nor understand for Himself, but the Father should remember for Him, and the Son understand for Him, while He Himself should love only both for Himself and for them; but rather in this way, that both all and each have all three each in His own nature. Nor that these things should differ in them, as in us memory is one thing, understanding another, love or charity another, but should be some one thing that is equivalent to all, as wisdom itself; and should be so contained in the nature of each, as that He who has it is that which He has, as being an unchangeable and simple substance. If all this, then, has been understood, and so far as is granted to us to see or conjecture in things so great, has been made patently true, I know not why both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit should not be called Love, and all together one love, just as both the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is called Wisdom, and all together not three, but one wisdom. For so also both the Father is God, and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and all three together one God.

29. And yet it is not to no purpose that in this Trinity the Son and none other is called the Word of God, and the Holy Spirit and none other the Gift of God, and God the Father alone is He from whom the Word is born, and from whom the Holy Spirit principally proceeds. And therefore I have added the word principally, because we find that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son also. But the Father gave Him this too, not as to one already existing, and not yet having it; but whatever He gave to the only-begotten Word, He gave by begetting Him. Therefore He so begat Him as that the common Gift should proceed from Him also, and the Holy Spirit should be the Spirit of both. This distinction, then, of the inseparable Trinity is not to be merely accepted in passing.

414 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

but to be carefully considered; for hence it was that the "Word of God was specially called also the Wisdom of God, although both Father and Holy Spirit are wisdom. If, then, any one of the three is to be specially called Love, what more fitting than that it
should be the Holy Spirit? namely, that in that simple and highest nature, substance should not be one thing and love another, but that substance itself should be love, and love itself should be substance, whether in the Father, or in the Son, or in the Holy Spirit; and yet that the Holy Spirit should be specially called Love.

30. Just as sometimes all the utterances of the Old Testament together in the Holy Scriptures are signified by the name of the Law. For the apostle, in alleging a text from the prophet Isaiah, where he says, "With divers tongues and with divers lips will I speak to this people," yet prefaced it by, "It is written in the Law." And the Lord Himself says, "It is written in their Law, They hated me without a cause," whereas this is read in the Psalm. And sometimes that which was given by Moses is specially called the Law: as it is said, "The Law and the Prophets were until John;" and, "On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets." Here, certainly, that is specially called the Law which was from Mount Sinai. And the Psalms, too, are signified under the name of the Prophets; and yet in another place the Saviour Himself says, "All things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the Law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms concerning me." Here, on the other side. He meant the name of Prophets to be taken as not including the Psalms. Therefore the Law with the Prophets and the Psalms taken together is called the Law universally, and the Law is also specially so called which was given by Moses. Likewise the Prophets are so called in common together with the Psalms, and they are also specially so called exclusive of the Psalms. And many other instances might be adduced to teach us, that many names of things are both put universally, and also specially applied to particular things, were it not that a long discourse is to be avoided in a plain case. I have said so much, lest any

^ Isa. xxviii. 11 and 1 Cor. xiv. 21. - John xv. 25.

3 Ps. XXXV. 19. 4 ]!^Xatt. xi. 13. ^ j^i^tt. xxii. do. ^ Luke xxiv. 44. .

CHAP. XVII.] THE HOLY SRIPJT ESPECIALLY IS LOVE. 415

one should think that it was therefore unsuitable for us to call the Holy Spirit Love, because both God the Father and God the Son can be called Love.

31. As, then, we call the only Word of God specially by the name of Wisdom, although universally both the Holy Spirit and the Father Himself is wisdom; so the Holy Spirit is specially called by the name of Love, although universally both the Father and the Son are love. But the Word of God, i.e. the only-begotten Son of God, is expressly called the Wisdom of God by the mouth of the apostle, where he says, "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." But where the Holy Spirit is called Love, is to be found by careful scrutiny of the language of John the apostle, who, after saying,
*â€¢ Beloved, let us love one another, for love is of God," has gone on to say, " And every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." Here, manifestly, he has called that love God, which he said was of God; therefore God of God is love.

But because both the Son is born of God. the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from God the Father, it is rightly asked which of them we ought here to think is the rather called the love that is God. For the Father only is so God as not to be of God; and hence the love that is so God as to be of God, is either the Son or the Holy Spirit. But when, in what follows, the apostle had mentioned the love of God, not that by which we love Him, but that by which He "loved us, and sent His Son to be a propitiator for our sins," and thereupon had exhorted us also to love one another, and that so God would abide in us, â€” because, namely, he had called God Love; immediately, in his wish to speak yet more expressly on the subject, "Hereby," he says, "know we that we dwell in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit.

Therefore the Holy Spirit, of whom He hath given us, makes us to abide in God, and Him in us; and this it is that love does. Therefore He is the God that is love. Lastly, a little after, when he had repeated the same thing, and had said " God is love," he immediately subjoined, " And he who abideth in love, abideth in God, and God abideth in him;" whence he had

1 1 Cor. i. 24. 2 1 ^Yiu iv. 10.

416 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

said above, " Hereby we know that we abide in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit." He therefore is signified, where we read that God is love. Therefore God the Holy Spirit, who proceedeth from the Father, when He has been given to man, inflames him to the love of God and of his neighbour, and is Himself love. For man has not whence to love God, unless from God; and therefore he says a little after, " Let us love Him, because He first loved us." 
The Apostle Paul, too, says, " The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." 

Chap, xviii. â€” No gift of God is more excellent than love.

32. There is no gift of God more excellent than this. It alone distinguishes the sons of the eternal kingdom and the sons of eternal perdition. Other gifts, too, are given by the Holy Spirit; but without love they profit nothing. Unless, therefore, the Holy Spirit is so far imparted to each, as to make him one who loves God and his neighbour, he is not removed from the left hand to the right. Nor is the Spirit specially called the Gift, unless on account of love. And he who has not this love, " though he speak with the tongues of men and angels, is sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal; and though he have the gift of prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and though he have all faith, so that he can remove mountains, he is nothing; and though he bestow all his goods to feed the
poor, and though he give his body to be burned, it profiteth him nothing."^ How great a
good, then, is that without which goods so great bring no one to eternal life!
But love or charity itself, â€” for they are two names for one thing,
â€” if he have it that does not speak with tongues, nor has the gift of prophecy, nor knows
all mysteries and all knowledge, nor gives all his goods to the poor, either because he has
none to give or because some necessity hinders, nor delivers his body to be burned, if no
trial of such a suffering overtakes him, brings that man to the kingdom, so that faith itself
is only rendered profitable by love, since faith without love can indeed exist, but cannot
profit. And therefore also the Apostle Paul says, " In Christ Jesus neither circumcision
availeth anything,
1 1 John iv. 7-19. 2 -^qj^ y, 5, 3 1 Cor. xiii. 1-3.

CHAP. XIX.] WHY THE SPIRIT IS CALLED THE GIFT OF GOD. 417

nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love:"^ so distinguishing it from that faith
by which even " the devils believe and tremble."^ Love, therefore, which is of God and is
God, is specially the Holy Spirit, by whom the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts,
by which love the whole Trinity dwells in us, And therefore most rightly is the Holy
Spirit, although He is God, called also the gift of God.^
And by that gift what else can properly be understood except love, which brings to God,
and without which any other gift of God whatsoever does not bring to God ?

Chap. xix. â€” The Holy Spirit is called the gift of God in the Scriptures. By the gift of
the Holy Spirit is meant the gift which is the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is specially
called love, although not only the Holy Spirit in the Trinity is love.

33. Is this too to be proved, that the Holy Spirit is called in the sacred books the gift of
God ? If people look for this too, we have in the Gospel according to John the words of
our Lord Jesus Christ, who says, " If any one thirst, let him come to me and drink: he that
believeth on me, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."^ And
the evangelist has gone on further to add, " And this He spake of the Spirit, which
they should receive who believe in Him."^ And hence Paul the apostle also says, "And
we have all been made to drink into one Spirit."^ The question then is, whether that
water is called the gift of God which is the Holy Spirit. But as we find here that this
water is the Holy Spirit, so we find elsewhere in the Gospel itself that this water is called the
gift of God. For when the same Lord was talking with the woman of Samaria at the well,
to whom He had said, " Give me to drink," and she had answered that the Jews " have no
dealings " with the Samaritans, Jesus answered and said unto her, " If thou hadst known
the gift of God, and who it is that says to thee. Give me to drink, thou wouldest have
asked of Him, and He would have given thee living water. The woman saith unto Him,
Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep: whence then hast thou this
living water, etc. ? Jesus answered and said

unto lier, Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whoso shall drink of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a fountain of water springing up unto eternal life."^ Because this living water, then, as the evangelist has explained to us, is the Holy Spirit, without doubt the Spirit is the gift of God, of which the Lord says here, " If thou hadst known the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of Him, and He would have given thee living water." For that which is in the one passage, " Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water," is in the other, " shall be in him a fountain of water springing up unto eternal life."

34. Paul the apostle also says, " To each of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ;" and then, that he might show that by the gift of Christ he meant the Holy Spirit, he has gone on to add, " Wherefore He saith, He hath ascended up on high. He hath led captivity captive, and hath given gifts to men."^ And every one knows that the Lord Jesus, when He had ascended into heaven after the resurrection from the dead, gave the Holy Spirit, with whom they who believed were filled, and spake with the tongues of all nations. And let no one object that he says gifts, not gift: for he quoted the text from the Psalm. And in the Psalm it is read thus, " Thou hast ascended up on high, Thou hast led captivity captive. Thou hast received gifts in men."^ For so it stands in many MSS., especially in the Greek MSS., and so we have it translated from the Hebrew. The apostle therefore said gifts, as the prophet did, not gift. But whereas the prophet said, " Thou hast received gifts in men," the apostle has preferred saying, "He gave gifts to men:" and this in order that the fullest sense may be gathered from both expressions, the one prophetic, the other apostolic; because both possess the authority of a divine utterance. For both are true, as well that He gave to men, as that He received in men. He gave to men, as the head to His own members; He Himself that gave, received in men, no doubt as in His own members; on account of which His own members He cried
1 John iv. 7-14. 2 Epist. iy. 7, 8. 3 -ps. Ixviii. 18.

from heaven, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"^ And of which His own members He says, " Since ye have done it to one of the least of these that are mine, ye have done it unto me."^ Christ Himself, therefore, both gave from heaven and received on earth. And
further, both prophet and apostle have said gifts for this reason, because many gifts, which are proper to each, are divided in common to all the members of Christ, by the gift, which is the Holy Spirit. For each severally has not all, but some have these and some have those; although all have the gift itself by which that which is proper to each is divided to Him, i.e. the Holy Spirit. For elsewhere also, when he had mentioned many gifts, " All these," he says, " worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to each severally as He will." And this word is found also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written, " God also bearing witness both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts* of the Holy Ghost." And so here, when he had said, "He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, He gave gifts to men," he says further, " But that He ascended, what is it but that He also first descended into the lower parts of the earth ? He who descended is the same also that ascended) far above all heavens, that He might fill all things. And He gave some apostles, some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and doctors." (This we see is the reason why gifts are spoken of; because, as he says elsewhere, " Are all apostles ? are all prophets ?" etc.) And here he has added, " For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ," " This is the house which, as the Psalm sings, is built up after the captivity; since the house of Christ, which house is called His Church, is built up of those who have been rescued from the devil, by whom they were held captive. But He Himself led this captivity captive, who conquered the devil. And that he might not draw with him into eternal punishment those who were to become the members of the Holy Head, He bound him first by the bonds of righteousness, and then by

those of might The devil himself, therefore, is called captivity, which He led captive who ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men, or received gifts in men.

35. And Peter the apostle, as we read in that canonical book, wherein the Acts of the Apostles are recorded, â€” when the hearts of the Jews were troubled as he spake of Christ, and they said, " Brethren, what shall we do ? tell us," â€” said to them, " Eepent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins: and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." And we read likewise in the same book, that Simon Magus desired to give money to the apostles, that he might receive power from them, whereby the Holy Spirit might be given by the laying on of his hands. And the same Peter said to him, " Thy money perish with thee: because thou hast thought to purchase for money the gift of God." And in another place of the same book, when Peter was speaking to Cornelius, and to those who were with him, and was
announcing and preaching Christ, the Scripture says, "While Peter was still speaking these words, the Holy Spirit fell upon all them that heard the word; and they of the circumcision that believed, as many as came with Peter, were astonished, because that upon the Gentiles also the gift of the Holy Spirit was poured out. For they heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God."^ And when Peter afterwards was giving an account to the brethren that were at Jerusalem of this act of his, that he had baptized those who were not circumcised, because the Holy Spirit, to cut the knot of the question, had come upon them before they were baptized, and the brethren at Jerusalem were moved when they heard it, he says, after the rest of his words, "And when I began to speak to them, the Holy Spirit fell upon them, as upon us in the beginning. And I remembered the word of the Lord, how He said, that John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit. If, therefore, He gave a like gift to them, as also to us who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I, that I could hinder God from giving to them the Holy Spirit?"^ And there are many other testimonies of the Scriptures, which unanimously attest that


CHAP. XIX.] THE SPIRIT IS EQUAL TO THE FATHER. 421

the Holy Spirit is the gift of God, in so far as He is given to those who by Him love God. But it is too long a task to collect them all. And what is enough to satisfy those who are not satisfied with those we have alleged?

36. Certainly they must be warned, since they now see that the Holy Spirit is called the gift of God, that when they hear of " the gift of the Holy Spirit," they should recognise therein that mode of speech which is found in the words, " In the spoiling of the body of the flesh." ^ For as the body of the flesh is nothing else but the flesh, so the gift of the Holy Spirit is nothing else but the Holy Spirit. He is then the gift of God, so far as He is given to those to whom He is given. But in Himself He is God, although He were given to no one, because He was God co-eternal with the Father and the Son before He was given to any one. Nor is He less than they, because they give, and He is given. For He is given as a gift of God in such way that He Himself also gives Himself as being God. For He cannot be said not to be in His own power, of whom it is said, " The Spirit bloweth where it listeth;"" and in the apostle, as I have already mentioned above, " All these things worketh that selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will." We have not here the creating of Him that is given, and the rule of them that give, but the concord of the given and the givers.

37. Wherefore, if Holy Scripture proclaims that God is love, and that love is of God, and works this in us that we abide in God and He in us, and that hereby we know this, because He has given us of His Spirit, then the Spirit Himself is God, who is love. Next, if there be among the gifts of God none greater than love, and there is no greater gift of
God than the Holy Spirit, what follows more naturally than that He is Himself love, who is called both God and of God?
And if the love by which the Father loves the Son, and the Son loves the Father, ineffably demonstrates the communion of both, what is more suitable than that He should be specially called love, who is the Spirit common to both? For this is the sounder thing both to believe and to understand, that the Holy Spirit is not alone love in that Trinity, yet is not

1 Col. ii. 11. 2 j^iji^ i^_ 6_

422 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

specially called love to no purpose, for the reasons we have alleged; just as He is not alone in that Trinity either a Spirit or holy, since both the Father is a Spirit, and the Son is a Spirit; and both the Father is holy, and the Son is holy, â€” as piety doubts not. And yet it is not to no purpose that He is specially called the Holy Spirit; for because He is common to both. He is specially called that which both are in common. Otherwise, if in that Trinity the Holy Spirit alone is love, then doubtless the Son too turns out to be the Son, not of the Father only, but also of the Holy Spirit. For He is both said and read in countless places to be so, â€” the onlybegotten Son of God the Father; as that what the apostle says of God the Father is true too: " Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His own love." He did not say, " of His own Son." If He had so said, He would have said it most truly, just as He did say it most truly, because He has often said it; but He says, "the Son of His own love." Therefore He is the Son also of the Holy Spirit, if there is in that Trinity no love in God except the Holy Spirit. And if this is most absurd, it remains that the Holy Spirit is not alone therein love, but is specially so called for the reasons I have sufficiently set forth; and that the words, " Son of His own love," mean nothing else than His own beloved Son, â€” the Son, in short, of His own substance. For the love in the Father, which is in His ineffably simple nature, is nothing else than His very nature and substance itself, â€” as we have already often said, and are not ashamed of often repeating.
And hence the " Son of His love" is none other than He who is born of His substance.

Chap. xx. â€” Against Eunomius, saying that the Son of God is the Son, not of His nature, but of His will. Epilogue to what has been said already.

38. Wherefore the logic of Eunomius, from whom the Eunomian heretics sprang, is ridiculous. For when he could not understand, and would not believe, that the onlybegotten Word of God, by which all things were made, is the Son of God by nature, â€” i.e. born of the substance of the Father, â€” he alleged that He was not the Son of His own

1 Col. i. 13.
nature or substance or essence, but the Son of the will of God; so as to mean to assert that the will by which he begat the Son was something that happened to God, â€” to wit, in that way that we ourselves sometimes will something which before we did not will, as though it was not for these very things that our nature is perceived to be changeable, â€” a thing which far be it from us to believe of God. For it is written for no other reason, "Many are the thoughts in the heart of man, but the counsel of the Lord abideth for ever," except that we may understand or believe that as God is eternal, so is His counsel for eternity, and therefore unchangeable, as He himself is. And what is said of thoughts can most truly be said also of the will: there are many wills in the heart of man, but the will of the Lord abideth for ever. Some, again, to escape saying that the only-begotten Word is the Son of the counsel or will of God, have affirmed the same Word to be the counsel or will itself of the Father. But it is better in my judgment to say counsel of counsel, and will of will, as substance of substance, wisdom of wisdom, that we may not be led into that absurdity, which we have refuted already, and say that the Son makes the Father wise or willing, if the Father has not in His own substance either counsel or will. It was certainly a sharp answer that somebody gave to the heretic, who most subtly asked him whether God begat the Son willingly or unwillingly, in order that if he said unwillingly, it would follow most absurdly that God was miserable; but if willingly, he would forthwith infer, as though by an invincible reason, that at which he was aiming, viz. that He was the Son, not of His nature, but of His will. But that other, with great watchfulness, demanded of him in turn, whether God the Father was God willingly or unwillingly; in order that if he answered unwillingly, that misery would follow, which to believe of God is sheer madness; and if he said willingly, it would be replied to him, Then He is God too by His own will, not by His nature. What remained, then, except that he should hold his peace, and discern that he was himself bound by his own question in an insoluble bond? But if any person in the Trinity is also to be specially called the will of God, this

1 Prov. xix. 21.

424 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

name, like love, is better suited to the Holy Spirit; for what else is love, except will?

39. I see that my argument in this book respecting the Holy Spirit, according to the Holy Scripture, is quite enough for faithful men who know already that the Holy Spirit is God, and not of another substance, nor less than the Father and the Son, â€” as we have shown to be true in the former Books, according to the same Scriptures. We have reasoned also from the creature which God made, and, as far as we could, have warned those who demand a reason on such subjects to behold and understand His invisible things, so far as
they could, by those things which are made, and especially by the rational or intellectual creature which is made after the image of God; through which glass, so to say, they might discern as far as they could, if they could, the Trinity which is God, in our own memory, understanding, will. Which three things, if any one intelligently regards as by nature divinely appointed in his own mind, and remembers by memory, contemplates by understanding, embraces by love, how great a thing that is in the mind, whereby even the eternal and unchangeable nature can be recollected, beheld, desired, doubtless that man finds an image of that highest Trinity. And he ought to refer the whole of his life to the remembering, seeing, loving that highest Trinity, in order that he may recollect, contemplate, be delighted by it. But I have warned him, so far as seemed sufficient, that he must not so compare this image thus wrought by that Trinity, and by his own fault changed for the worse, to that same Trinity as to think it in all points like to it, but rather that he should discern in that likeness, of whatever sort it be, a great unlikeness also.

Chap. xxi. Â“ Of the likeness of the Father and of the Son alleged to he in our memory and understanding. Of the likeness of the Holy Spirit in our will or love.

40. I have undoubtedly taken pains so far as I could, not indeed so that the thing might be seen face to face, but that it might be seen by this likeness in an enigma, in how small a degree soever, by conjecture, in our memory and understanding, to intimate God the Father and God the Son: i.e. God

1 Eom. i. 20. 2 l Cor. xiii. 12.

CHAP. XXI.] HUMAN LOVE AN BIAGE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. 425

the begetter, who has in some way spoken by His own coeternal Word all things that He has in His substance; and God His Word Himself, who Himself has nothing either more or less in substance than is in Him, who, not lyingly but truly, hath begotten the Word; and I have assigned to memory everything that we know, even if we were not thinking of it, but to understanding the formation after a certain special mode of the thought. For we are usually said to understand what, by thinking of it, we have found to be true; and this it is again that we leave in the memory. But that is a still more hidden depth of our memory, wherein we found this also first when we thought of it, and wherein an inner word is begotten such as belono-s to no tongue, Â“ as it were, knowledge of knowledge, vision of vision, and understanding which appears in thought; of understanding which had indeed existed before in the memory, but was latent there, although, unless the thought itseK had also some sort of memory of its own, it would not return to those things which it had left in the memory while it turned to think of other things.

41. But I have shown nothing in this enigma respecting the Holy Spirit such as might appear to be like Him, except our own will, or love, or affection, which is a stronger will, since our will which we have naturally is variously affected, according as various objects are adjacent or occur to it, by which we are attracted or offended. What, then, is this ?
Are we to say that our will, when it is right, knows not what to desire, what to avoid? Further, if it knows, doubtless then it has a kind of knowledge of its own, such as cannot be without memory and understanding. Or are we to listen to any one who should say that love knows not what it does, which does not do wrongly? As, then, there are both understanding and love in that primary memory wherein we find provided and stored up that to which we can come in thought, because we find also those two things there, when we find by thinking that we both understand and love anything; which things were there too when we were not thinking of them: and as there are memory and love in that understanding which is formed by thought, which true word we say inwardly without the tongue of any nation when we say what we know; for

426 ON THE TRINITY. [COOK XV.

The gaze of our thought does not return to anything except by remembering it, and does not care to return unless by loving it: so love, which combines the vision brought about in the memory, and the vision of the thought formed thereby, as if parent and offspring, would not know what to love rightly unless it had a knowledge of desiring, which it cannot have without memory and understanding.

Chap. xxii. ã€” How great the likeness is between the image of the Trinity which we have found in ourselves, and the Trinity Itself.

42. But since these are in one person, as man is, some one may say to us, These three things, memory, understanding, and love, are mine, not their own; neither do they do that which they do for themselves, but for me, or rather I do it by them. For it is I who remember by memory, and understand by understanding, and love by love: and when I direct the mind's eye of my thought to my memory, and so say in my heart the thing I know, and a true word is begotten of my knowledge, both are mine, both the knowledge certainly and the word. For it is I who know, and it is I who say in my heart the thing I know. And when I come to find in my memory by thinking that I understand and love anything, which understanding and love were there also before I thought thereon, it is my own understanding and my own love that I find in my own memory, whereby it is I that understand, and I that love, not those things themselves. Likewise, when my thought is mindful, and wills to return to those things which it had left in the memory, and to understand and behold them, and say them inwardly, it is my own memory that is mindful, and it is my own, not its will, wherewith it wills. When my very love itself, too, remembers and understands what it ought to desire and what to avoid, it remembers by my, not by its own memory; and understands that which it intelligently loves by my, not by its own, understanding. In brief, by all these three things, it is I that remember, I that understand, I that love, who am neither memory, nor understanding, nor love, but who have them. These things, then, can be said by a single person, which has these three,
but is not these three. But in the simplicity of that Highest Nature, which is God, although there is one God,

CHAR XXIII.] THE TRINITY IX MAX AX IMPER.FECT IMAGE. 427

there are three persons, the father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

Chap, xxiii. â€” Augustine dwells still further on the disparity between the trinity which is in man, and the Trinity which is God. The Trinity is noio seen through a glass by the help of faith, tlat it may hereafter be more clearly seen in the promised dghtface to face.

43. A thing itself, then, which is a trinity is different from the image of a trinity in some other thing; by reason of which image, at the same time that also in which these three things are is called an image; just as both the panel, and the picture painted on it, are at the same time called an image; but by reason of the picture painted on it, the panel also is called by the name of image. But in that Highest Trinity, which is incomparably above all things, there is a great and inability, that whereas a trinity of men cannot be called a man, in that there both is said to be and is one God, nor is that Trinity in one God, but it is one God. jSTor, again, as that image in the case of man has these three things but is one person, so is it with the Trinity; but therein are three persons, the Father of the Son, and the Son of the Father, and the Holy Spirit of both Father and Son. For although the memory of the case of man, and especially that memory which beasts have not — viz. the memory by which things intelligible are so contained as that they have not entered that memory through the bodily senses has in this image of the Trinity, in proportion to its own small measure, a likeness of the Father, incomparably unequal, yet of some sort, whatever it be: and likewise the understanding in the case of man, which by the purpose of the thought is formed thereby, when that which is known is said, and there is a word of the heart belonging to no tongue, has in its own great disparity some likeness of the Son; and love in the case of man proceeding from knowledge, and combining memory and understanding, as though common to parent and offspring, whereby it is understood to be neither parent nor offspring, has in that image, some, however exceedingly unequal, likeness of the Holy Spirit: it is nevertheless not the case, that, as in that image of the Trinity, these three are not one man, but belong to one man, so in the Highest Trinity itself, of which this is an image, these three

428 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XY.

belong to one God, but they are one God, and these are three persons, not one. A thing certainly wonderfully ineffable, or ineffably wonderful, that while this image of the Trinity is one person, but the Highest Trinity itself is three persons, yet that Trinity of
three persons is more indivisible than this of one. For that, in the nature of the Divinity, or perhaps better Deity, is that which it is, and is mutually and always unchangeably equal: and there was no time when it was not, or when it was otherwise; and there will be no time when it will not be, or when it will be otherwise. But these three that are in the inadequate image, although they are not separate in place, for they are not bodies, yet are now in this life mutually separate in magnitude. For that there are therein no several bulks, does not hinder our seeing that memory is greater than understanding in one man, but the contrary in another; and that in yet another these two are overpassed by the greatness of love; and this whether the two themselves are or are not equal to one another. And so each two by each one, and each one by each two, and each one by each one: the less are surpassed by the greater. And when they have been healed of all infirmity, and are mutually equal, not even then will that thing which by grace will not be changed, be made equal to that which by nature cannot change, because the creature cannot be equalled to the Creator, and when it shall be healed from all infirmity, will be changed.

44. But when the sight shall have come which is promised anew to us face to face, we shall see this not only incorporeal but also absolutely indivisible and truly unchangeable Trinity far more clearly and certainly than we now see its image which we ourselves are: and yet they who see through this glass and in this enigma, as it is permitted in this life to see, are not those who behold in their own mind the things which we have set in order and pressed upon them; but those who see this as if an image, so as to be able to refer what they see, in some way be it what it may, to Him whose image it is, and to see that also by conjecturing, which they see through the image by beholding, since they cannot yet see face to face. For the apostle does

CHAP. XXV.] THE PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT. 429

not say, We see now a glass, but, We see now through a glass.—

Chap. xxix. â€” The infirmity of the Jniman mind.

They, then, who see their own mind, in whatever way that is possible, and in it that Trinity of which I have treated as I could in many ways, and yet do not believe or understand it to be an image of God, see indeed a glass, but do not so fiir see through the glass Him who is now to be seen through the glass, that they do not even know the glass itself which they see to be a glass, i.e. an image. And if they knew this, perhaps they would feel that He too whose glass this is, should by it be sought, and somehow provisionally be seen, an unfeigned faith purging their hearts, that He who is now seen through a glass may be able to be seen face to face. And if they despise this faith that purifies the hearts, what do they accomplish by understanding the most subtle disputes concerning the nature of the human mind, unless that they be condemned also by the witness of their own understanding? And they w^ould certainly not so fail in understanding, and hardly arrive at anything certain, w^ere
they not involved in penal darkness, and burdened with the corruptible body that presses
down the souL^ And for what demerit save that of sin is this evil inflicted on them ?
Wherefore, being warned by the magnitude of so great an evil, they ought to follow the
Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world.*

Chap. xxv. â€” The question why the Holy Spirit is not begotten, and how He proceeds
from the Father and the Son, lo'dl only he ^nderstood when we are in hUs.

For if any belong to Him, although far duller in intellect than those, yet when they are
freed from the body at the end of this life, the envious powers have no right to hold them.
For that Lamb that was slain by them without any debt of sin has conquered them; but not
by the might of power before He had done so by the righteousness of blood. And free
accordingly from the power of the devil, they are borne up by holy angels, being set free
from all evils by the mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.^ Since by

1 L Cor. xiii. 12. n Tim. i. 5. ^ Wisd. L. 15.
4Johni. 29. ^ j Tim. ii. 5.

430 ox THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

The harmonious testimony of the Divine Scriptures, both Old and New, both those by
which Christ was foretold, and those by which He was announced, there is no other name
under heaven whereby men must be saved.^ And when purged from all contagion of
corruption, they are placed in j)eaceful abodes until they take their bodies again, their
own, but now incorruptible, to adorn, not to burden them. For this is the will of the best
and most wise Creator, that the spirit of a man, when piously subject to God, should have
a body happily subject, and that this happiness should last for ever.

45. There we shall see the truth without any difficulty, and shall enjoy it to the full, most
clear and most certain.
Nor shall we be inquiring into anything by a mind that reasons, but shall discern by a
mind that contemplates, why the Holy Spirit is not a Son, although He proceeds from the
Father. In that light there will be no place for inquiry: but here, by experience itself it has
appeared to me so difficult, â€” as beyond doubt it will likewise appear to them also who
shall carefully and intelligently read what I have written, â€” that although in the second
Book^ I promised that I would speak thereof in another place, yet as often as I have
desired to illustrate it by the creaturely image of it which we ourselves are, so often, let
my meaning be of what sort it might, did adequate utterance entirely fail me; nay, even in
my very meaning I felt that I had attained to endeavour rather than accomplishment. I had
indeed found in one person, such as is a man, an image of that Highest Trinity, and had
desired, especially in the ninth Book, to illustrate and render more intelligible the relation
of the Three Persons by that which is subject to time and change. But three things
belonging to one person cannot suit those Three Persons, as man's purpose demands; and
this we have demonstrated in this fifteenth Book.

Chap. xxvi. â€” The Holy Spirit twice given by Christ. The procession of the Holy Spirit
from the Father and from the Son is apart from time, nor can He be called the Son of
both.

Further, in that Highest Trinity which is God, there are no intervals of time, by which it
could be shown, or at least
1 Acts iv. 12. ^Q. 3.

CITAP. XXVI.] THE HOLY SPIRIT TWICE GIVEN BY CHRIST. 431

inquired, whether the Son was born of the Father first, and then afterwards the Holy
Spirit proceeded from both; since Holy Scripture calls Him the Spirit of both. For it is He
of whom the apostle says, " But because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His
Son into your hearts: " ^ and it is He of whom the. same Son says, " For it is not ye who
speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaketh in you." ^ And it is proved by many
other testimonies of the Divine Word, that the Spirit, who is specially called in the Trinity
the Holy Spirit, is of the Father and of the Son: of whom likewise the Son Himself says,
"Whom I will send unto you from the Father; " ^ and in another place, " Whom the Father
will send in my name." *

And we are so taught that He proceeds from both, because the Son Himself says. He
proceeds from the Father. And when He had risen from the dead, and had appeared to His
disciples, " He breathed upon them, and said, Eecieve the Holy Ghost," ^ so as to show
that He proceeded also from Himself And itself is that very " power that went out from
Him," as we read in the Gospel, " and healed them all." ^

46. But the reason why, after His resurrection. He both gave the Holy Spirit, first on
earth," and afterwards sent Him from heaven,^ is in my judgment this: that " love is shed
abroad in our hearts," ^ by that gift itself, whereby we love God and our neighbours,
accordinj to those two commandments, "on which hang all the law and the prophets." -
^ And Jesus Christ, in order to signify this, gave to them the Holy Spirit, once upon
earth, on account of the love of our neighbour, and a second time from heaven, on
account of the love of God. And if some other reason may perhaps be given for this
double gift of the Holy Spirit, at any rate we ought not to doubt that the same Holy Spirit
was given when Jesus breathed upon them, of whom He by and by says, " Go, baptize all
nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," where this
Trinity is especially commended to us. It is therefore He who was also given from heaven
on the day of Pentecost, i.e. ten days after the Lord


ascended into heaven. How, therefore, is He not God, who gives the Holy Spirit? Nay, how great a God is He who gives God! For no one of His disciples gave the Holy Spirit, since they prayed that He might come upon those upon whom they laid their hands: they did not give Him themselves.

And the Church preserves this custom even now in the case of her rulers. Lastly, Simon Magus also, when he offered the apostles money, does not say, "Give me also this power, that I may give the Holy Spirit; but, "that on whomsoever I may lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Spirit." Because neither had the Scriptures said before. And Simon, seeing that the apostles gave the Holy Spirit; but it had said, "And Simon, seeing that the Holy Spirit was given by the laying on of the apostles' hands." Therefore also the Lord Jesus Christ Himself not only gave the Holy Spirit as God, but also received it as man, and therefore He is said to be full of grace, and of the Holy Spirit. And in the Acts of the Apostles it is more plainly written of Him, "Because God anointed Him with the Holy Spirit." Certainly not with visible oil, but with the gift of grace, which is signified by the visible ointment wherewith the Church anoints the baptized. And Christ was certainly not then anointed with the Holy Spirit, when He, as a dove, descended upon Him at His baptism. For at that time He deigned to prefigure His body, i.e. His Church, in which especially the baptized receive the Holy Spirit. But He is to be understood to have been then anointed with that mystical and invisible unction, when the Word of God was made flesh, i.e. when human nature, without any precedent merits of good works, was joined to God the Word in the womb of the Virgin, so that with it it became one person. Therefore it is that we confess Him to have been born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary.

For it is most absurd to believe Him to have received the Holy Spirit when He was near thirty years old: for at that age He was baptized by John; but that He came to baptism as without any sin at all, so not without the Holy Spirit. For

1 Acts viii. 18, 19. 14. L\i^e ii. 52 and iv. 1.


7 Luke iii. 21-23.

CITAr. XXVI.] PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IS ETERNAL. 433

if it was written of His servant and forerunner John himself,
"He shall be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb," because, although generated by his father, yet he received the Holy Spirit when formed in the womb; what must be understood and believed of the man Christ, of whose flesh the very conception was not carnal, but spiritual?

Both natures, too, as well the human as the divine, are shown in that also that is written of Him, that He received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, and shed forth the Holy Spirit: seeing that He received as man, and shed forth as God. And we indeed can receive that gift according to our small measure, but assuredly we cannot shed it forth upon others; but, that this may be done, we invoke over them God, by whom this is accomplished.

47. Are we therefore able to ask whether the Holy Spirit had already proceeded from the Father when the Son was born, or had not yet proceeded, and when He was born, proceeded from both, wherein there is no such thing as distinct times: just as we have been able to ask, in a case where we do find'times, that the will proceeds from the human mind first, in order that that may be sought which, when found, may be called offspring; which offspring being already brought forth or born, that will is made perfect, resting in this end, so that what had been its desire when seeking, is its love when enjoying; which love now proceeds from both, i.e. from the mind that begets, and from the notion that is begotten, as if from parent and offspring? These things it is absolutely impossible to ask in this case, where nothing is begun in time, so as to be perfected in a time following. Wherefore let him who can understand the generation of the Son from the Father without time, understand also the procession of the Holy Spirit from both without time. And let him who can understand, in that which the Son says, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself," not that the Father gave life to the Son already existing without life, but that He so begat Him apart from time, that the life which the Father gave to the Son by begetting Him is co-eternal with the life of the Father who have it; let him, I say, under-

1 Luke i. 15. 2 Acts ii. 33. 3 John x. 26.

DE TEIN. 2 E

434 0"" THE TrNiTY. [BOOK XV.]

stand, that as the Father has in Himself that the Holy Spirit should proceed from Him, so has He given to the Son that the same Holy Spirit should proceed from Him, and be both apart from time; and that the Holy Spirit is so said to proceed from the Father as that it be understood that His proceeding also from the Son, is a property derived by the Son from the Father. For if the Son has of the Father whatever He has, then certainly He has of the Father, that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from Him. But let no one think of any times therein which imply a sooner and a later; because these things are not there at all. How, then, would it not be most absurd to call Him the Son of both: when, just as generation
from the Father, without any changeableness of nature, gives to the Son essence, without beginning of time; so procession from both, without any changeableness of nature, gives to the Holy Spirit essence without beginning of time? For while we do not say that the Holy Spirit is begotten, yet we do not therefore dare to say that He is unbegotten, lest any one suspect in this word either two Fathers in that Trinity, or two who are not from another. For /the Father alone is not from another, and therefore He alone is called unbegotten, not indeed in the Scriptures, but in the usage of disputants, who employ such language as they can on so great a subject. And the Son is born of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father principally, and the Father giving it, without any interval of time, in common from both. But He would be called the Son of the Father and of the Son, if â€” a thing abhorrent to the feeling of all sound minds â€” both had begotten Him. Therefore the Spirit of both is not begotten of both, but proceeds from both."

Chap, xxvii. â€” What it is that suffices here to solve the question why the Spirit is not said to be begotten, and why the Father alone is unbegotten. What they ought to do who do not understand these things.

48. But because it is most difficult to distinguish generation from procession in that coeternal, and equal, and incorporeal, and ineffably unchangeable and indivisible Trinity, let it suffice meanwhile to put before those who are not able to be drawn on further, what we said upon this subject in a sermon to be delivered in the ears of Christian people, and after saying

CHAP. XXVII. GENERATION AND PROCESSION. 435

wrote it down. For when, among other things, I had taught them by testimonies of the Holy Scriptures that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both, I continue: "If, then, the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father and from the Son, why did the Son say, 'He proceedeth from the Father'? Why, think you, except as He is wont to refer to Him, that also which is His own, from whom also He Himself is? Whence also is that which He saith, 'My doctrine is not mine own, but His that sent me'? If, therefore, it is His doctrine that is here understood, which yet He said was not His own, but His that s6nt Him, how much more is it there to be understood that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from Himself, where He so says. He proceedeth from the Father, as not to say. He proceedeth not from me? From Him, certainly, from whom the Son had his Divine nature, for He is God of God, He has also, that from Him too proceeds the Holy Spirit; and hence the Holy Spirit has from the Father Himself, that He should proceed from the Son also, as He proceeds from the Father.

Here, too, in some way may this also be understood, so far as it can be understood by such as we are, why the Holy Spirit is not said to be born, but rather to proceed; since if He, too, was called a Son, He would certainly be called the Son of both, which is most absurd, since no one is son of two, save of father and mother. But far be it from us to surmise any such thing as this between God the Father and God the Son.
Because not even the son of men proceeds at the same time from both father and mother; but when he proceeds from the father into the mother, he does not at that time proceed from the mother; and when he proceeds from the mother into this present light, he does not at that time proceed from the father.

But the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father into the Son, and from the Son proceed to sanctify the creature, but proceeds at once from both; although the Father has given this to the Son, that He should proceed, as from Himself, so also from Him. For we cannot say that the Holy Spirit is not life, while the Father is life, and the Son is life: and hence as the Father, while He has life in Himself, has given also to the Son to have life in Himself; so has He given also

1 John XV. 26. 2 jyju^ yH lg_

436 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

to Him that life should proceed from Him, as it also proceeds from Himself."^-^ I have transferred this from that sermon into this book, but I was speaking to believers, not to unbelievers. 49. But if they are not competent to gaze upon this image, and to see how true these things are which are in their mind, and yet which are not so three as to be three persons, but all three belong to a man who is one person; why do they not believe what they find in the sacred books respecting that highest Trinity which is God, rather than insist on the clearest reason being rendered them, which cannot be comprehended by the human mind, dull and infirm as it is ? And to be sure, when they have stedfastly believed the Holy Scriptures as most true witnesses, let them strive, by praying and seeking and living well, that they may understand, i.e. that so far as it can be seen, that may be seen by the mind which is held fast by faith. Who would forbid this ? Nay, who would not rather exhort them to it ? But if they think they ought to deny that these things are, because they, with their blind minds, cannot discern them, they, too, who are blind from their birth, ought to deny that there is a sun. The light then shineth in darkness; but if the darkness comprehend it not.^ let them first be illuminated by the gift of God, that they may be believers, and let them begin to be light in comparison with the unbelievers; and when this foundation is first laid, let them be built up to see what they believe, that at some time they may be able to see. For some things are so believed, that they cannot be seen at all. For Christ is not to be seen a second time on the cross; but unless this be believed which has been so done and seen, that it is not now to be hoped for as about to be and to be seen, there is no coming to Christ, such as without end He is to be seen. But as far as relates to the discerning in some way by the understanding that highest, ineffable, incorporeal, and unchangeable nature, the sight of the human mind can nowhere better exercise itself, so only that the rule of faith govern it, than in that which man himself has in his own nature better than the other animals, better also than the other parts of his own soul, which is the mind itself, to which has been assigned a certain sight
of things invisible, and to which, as though honourably presiding in a higher and inner place, the bodily senses also bring word of all things, that they may be judged, and than which there is no higher, to which it is to be subject, and by which it is to be governed, except God.

50. But amongst these many things which have now said, and of which there is nothing that I dare to profess myself to have said worthy of the ineffableness of that highest Trinity, but rather to confess that the wonderful knowledge of Him is too great for me, and that I cannot attain to it: thou, my soul, where dost thou feel thyself to be? where dost thou stand? where dost thou lie? where dost thou put? until all thy infirmities be healed by Him who has forgiven all thy iniquities. Thou perceivest thyself assuredly to be in that inn whither that Samaritan brought him whom he found with many wounds inflicted by thieves, half-dead. And yet thou hast seen many things that are true, not by those eyes by which coloured objects are seen, but by those for which he prayed who said, "Let mine eyes behold the things that are equal." Certainly, then, thou hast seen many things that are true, and hast distinguished them from that light by the light of which thou hast seen them.

Lift up thine eyes to the light itself, and fix them upon it if thou canst. For so thou wilt see how the birth of the Word of God differs from the procession of the Gift of God, on account of which the only-begotten Son did not say that the Holy Spirit is begotten of the Father, otherwise He would be His brother, but that He proceeds from Him. Whence, since the Spirit of both is a kind of consubstantial communion of Father and Son, He is not called, far be it from us to say so, the Son of both. But thou canst not fix thy sight there, so as to discern this lucidly and clearly; I know thou canst not. I say the truth, I say to myself, I know what I cannot do; yet that light itself shows to thee these three things in thyself, wherein thou mayest recognise an image of the highest Trinity itself, which thou canst not yet contemplate with steady eye. Itself shows to thee that there is in thee a true word, when it is born of thy knowledge, i.e. when we say what we know: although we neither utter nor think of any articulate

1 Ps. cxxxix. 5. - Ps. ciii. 3. s Luke x. 30, 34. ^ Ps. xvii. 2.

438 ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

word that is significant in any tongue of any nation, but our thought is formed by that which we know; and there is in the mind's eye of the thinker an image resembling that thought which the memory contained, will or love as a third combining these two as parent and offspring. And he who can, sees and discerns that this will proceeds indeed
from thought (for no one wills that of which he is absolutely ignorant what or of what sort it is), yet is not an image of the thought: and so that there is insinuated in this intelligible thing a sort of difference between birth and procession, since to behold by thought is not the same as to desire, or even to enjoy will. Thou, too, hast been able [to discern this], although thou hast not been, neither art, able to unfold with adequate speech what, amidst the clouds of bodily likenesses, which cease not to flit up and down before human thoughts, thou hast scarcely seen. But that light which is not thyself shows thee this too, that these incorporeal likenesses of bodies are different from the truth, which, by rejecting them, we contemplate with the understanding. These, and other things similarly certain, that light hath shown to thine inner eyes. What reason, then, is there why thou canst not see that light itself with steady eye, except certainly infirmity? And what has produced this in thee, except iniquity? Who, then, is it that healeth all thine infirmities, unless it be He that forgiveth all thine iniquities? And therefore I will now at length finish this book by a prayer better than by an argument.

"CHAP. XXVIII. The conclusion of the book with a prayer, and an apology for multitude of words.

51. Lord our God, we believe in Thee, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. For the truth would not say, Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, unless Thou wast a Trinity. Nor wouldest Thou, Lord God, bid us be baptized in the name of Him who is not the Lord God. Nor would the divine voice have said, Hear, Israel, the Lord thy God is one God, unless Thou wert so a Trinity as to be one Lord God. And if Thou, God, wert Thyself the Father, and wert Thyself the Son, Thy Word Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit your gift, we should not read in the book of truth, "God sent His Son;" nor wouldest Thou, Only-begotten, say of the Holy Spirit, "Whom the Father will send in my name;" and, "Whom I will send to you from the Father." Directing my purpose by this rule of faith, so far as I have been able, so far as Thou hast made me to be able, I have sought Thee, and have desired to see with my understanding what I believed; and I have argued and laboured much. Lord my God, my one hope, hearken to me, lest through weariness I be unwilling to seek Thee, "but that I may always ardently seek Thy face." Do Thou give strength to seek, who hast made me find Thee, and hast given the hope of finding Thee more and more. My strength and my infirmity are in Thy sight: preserve the one, and heal the other. My knowledge and my ignorance are in Thy sight; where Thou hast opened to me, receive me as I enter; where Thou hast closed, open to me as I knock. May I remember Thee, understand Thee, love Thee. Increase these things in me, until Thou renewest me wholly. I know it is written, "In the multitude of speech, thou shalt not escape sin." But that I might speak
only in preaching Thy word, and in praising Thee! Not only should I so flee from sin, but I should earn good desert, however much I so spake. For a man blessed of Thee would not enjoin a sin upon his own true son in the faith, to whom he wrote, "Preach the word: be instant in season, out of season."^ Are we to say that he has not spoken much, who was not silent about Thy word, Lord, not only in season, but out of season? But therefore it was not much, because it was only what was necessary. Set me free, God, from that multitude of speech which I suffer inwardly in my soul, wretched as it is in Thy sight, and flying for refuge to Thy mercy; for I am iiot silent in thoughts, even when silent in words. And if, indeed, I thought of nothing save what pleased Thee, certainly I would not ask Thee to set me free from such multitude of speech. But many are my thoughts, such as Thou knowest, "thoughts of man, since they


^ Ps. cv. 4. 5 Piov. X. 19. 6 2 Tim. iv. 2.

7 Ps. xciv. 11.

440 â”TM| ON THE TRINITY. [BOOK XV.]

they delight me, nevertheless to condemn them, and not to dwell in them, as though I slumbered. Nor let them so prevail in me, as that anything in my acts should proceed from them; but at least let my opinions, let my conscience, be safe from them, under Thy protection. When the wise man spake of Thee in his book, which is now called by the special name of Ecclesiasticus, "We speak," he said, "much, and yet come short; and in sum of words. He is all."^ When, therefore, we shall have come to Thee, these very many things that we speak, and yet come short, will cease; and Thou, as one, wilt remain "all in all." ^ And we shall say one thing without end, in praising Thee in one, ourselves also made one in Thee. Lord the one God, God the Trinity, whatever I have said in these books that is of Thine, may they acknowledge who are Thine; if anything of my own, may it be pardoned both by Thee and by those who are Thine. Amen.

1 Ecclus, xliii. 29. 2 i q^^. xv. 28.

INDEX,
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

Genesis.

1
. 295

i. 4, 5, . . . 119

iv. 4,

98

vii. 15, .

. 234

i. 20-25, . . 90

vii. 8, .

89

viii. 5, .

. 127

i. 24, . . 89

vii. 10, .

97

viii. 8, .
. 75

i. 26, 16, 199, 2SS, 374

vii. 12, .

95, 98

ix.

. 251

i. 27, 116, 288, 290, 348,

viii. 7, 18, 19,

95

ix. 17, .

. 364

370, 383, 387

xii.

105

X. 3, .

. 317
xiv. 1, .

. 309

ii. 24, .

286, 291

xix. 6, .

88

xiv. 2, .

. 379

iii.,

. 98

xix. 16,

54

XV. 1, 3,

. 114

iii. 1,
300

xix. IS, 19,

67

xvi. 11,

. 20

iii. 1-6,

298

XX. 5,

2

xvii. 2,

. 437

iii. 4,

295

XX. 18, 21,
xvii. 8,

2

iii. 5,

272

xxiv. 10,

68

xviii. 29,

! 289

iii. 7,

60

xxiv. 17,

69

xix. 1, 4,
. 124

iii. 8-10,

59

xxxi. 18,

69

xix. 3, 4,

. 142

iii. 14-19,

327

xxxiii. 11-23,

70

xix. 5,

. 30

iii. 21,
297

xxii. 1, .

. 114

iv. 14, .

60

Numbers.

xxii. 27,

. 364

vi. 3, .

327

xi. 17, .
102

vi. 5, .

. 365

xxxii. 4, 5,

. 74

xviii., .

62

vi. 13, .

14, 62

xxxii. 8,

. 96

xviii. 1,

77

X. 22, .
. 190

xxxiv. 1,

. 145

xviii. 33,

63

xxxiv, 5,

. 366

xix. 1-19,

64

1 Kings.

XXXV. 19,

. 414
xxxix. 3,
. 392

xxviii. 18,

54, 97

Job.

xxxix. 5,
. 71

XXX. 37-41,

267

i., ii., .

. 90
xxxix. 6,

. 366

xxx. 41,

92

vii. 1,

. 113

xiv. 5,

. 289

xlvi. 27,

. 190

xxviii. 8,

. 302

xiv. 7,

. 98
xxviii. 28, . 3^  

14, 362  

xlix. 12,  

. 297  

Exodus.  

Ivii. 6, .  

. 117  

ii. 15, . . 102  

Psalms.  

lix. 9, .  

. 366  

iii. 1-6,
Ixviii. 18, 325, 418

iii. 7, 102

iii. 8, 50, 289

Ixix. 4, 330

iii. 14, 19, 195

V. 5, 19

Ixix. 32,
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

Ixxi. 5, .
Ixxii. 6, Ixxii. 18, Ixxiii. 1, Ixxiii. 23, Ixxvii., .
Ixxvii. 9, Ixxviiii. 9, Ixxx. 1, Ixxxv. 11, Ixxxvi. 10, Ixxxviiii. 5, xc. 1, .
xc. 9, .
xc. 16, .
xciv. 8, 9, xciv. 11, xciv. 12-15, cii. 26, 27, cii. 27, .
ciii. 3, .
ciii. 5, .
civ. 4, .
civ. 6, .
cv. 3, 4, cv. 4, 5, 222, ex. 1, ex. 3, cxi.,

cxii. 5, .
cxii. 7, .
cxii. 8, .
cxxi., .
cxii. 3, cxxvi., .
cxxxviii., cxxxix. 5, cxxxix. 6, cxxxix. 8, cxxxix. 8, 7, cxliii. 2, cxlviii. 8,
Proverbs.

viii. 22, viii. 25,

IX. Â»,

X. 19, xix. 21, XXX. 15,
Canticles.

i. 11, i. 12.

ECCLESIASTES.

iii. 21, .

Isaiah.

V. 18.

29
29
345
439
423
395

370

274

vi. 10, .

vii. 9, .
ix. 6, XX vi. 10, xxviii. 11, xlviii. 16, Iv. 6, 7, Ixi. 1, .
Ixvi. 1, 2,

PAGE
.
74

200, 378

66

374

414

50

378

28

73

Jeremiah.
xxiii. 24, xxxi. 1, 2,

Ezekiel.
xxxvii. 1-10,

89

Daniel.
vii. 9-14, . . 76
ix. 21, . . 104

Zechariah.
xii. 10, . . 35, 39
Matthew.

i. 17, i. 18, ii. 12, iii. 16,

iii. 17, iv. 1-11
V. 6, v. 8, V. 14, V. 37, vi. 8, vi. 11, vi. 12, vii. 12, vii. 21, viii. 22, ix. 2-4, X. 20, .
X. 28, .
xi. 13, .
xi. 27, .
xi. 28, 29, xii. 28, .
xii. 32, .
xii. 35, .
xii. 37, .
xii. 40, .
xiii. 15, xiv. 26, xiv. 31, XV. 10-20
XV. 28, .
xvi. 18.

20,

. 116
. 50
. 124
8, 52, 106,
142, 432
60, 61
. 126
. 108
35, 40, 208
. 187
401, 407
. 406
. 161
. 299
. 216
. 236
. 113
. 397
. 431
57, 115
. 414
18, 186
217, 235
27
27
39
235
118
74
44
313
398
313
72

xvii. 5,

xix. 17, XX. 23,

xxii. 13, xxii. 14, xxii. 37, xxii. 37-40,

xxiv. 19, XXV. 21-23, XXV. 31, 32, XXV. 34, XXV. 40, XXV. 46, xxvi. 38, 39, xxvi. 70-74, xxvii. 23-50, xxvii. 46,

8, 60
37
30
274
414
251
72, 172,
216, 431
235
40
35
374
419
374
28
73
119
114
Târâlark.
i. 11, . . 8

iii. 27, . . 332

iv. 18, 19, . . 28

xiii. 32, . . 28

XV. 37, 39, 43, 44, 126

XV. 42-46, . . 119

i. 15, .
i. 15, 41-79, i. 17, .
i. 26-32, i. 34, 35, ii. 14, .
ii. 25-38, ii. 52, .
iii. 6, iii. 21-23, iv. .1, .
V. 21, 22, vi. 19, .
X. 30, 34, X. 39-42, xi. 20, .
xii. 17, .
xii. 20, .
xiii. 6-17, xviii. 18, 19, xxiv. 14, xxiv, 39,

John
i. 1, .
i. 1, 2, 14.
i. 1, 3, .
i. 1, 5, 14,
i. 1, 14,
i. 3, .
i. 3, 18, 14,
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCPJPTUIIE.
xi. 15-17, . . 420

i. 12, .

. 164

439

XV. 9, . . 20

i. 12-14,

. 323

xiv. 28, 15, 22, 26, 44,

XV. 26, . . 435

i. 14, . 52, 142, 186,

176

xvii. 27, 28, . Ill, 207,

339, 373

xiv. 30, 31, . . 330

363

i. 29, 53, 81, 429, 432
XV. 5, .

372

xvii. 28, . 132, 368

ii. 9, . S3, 88

XV. 13, .

127

xxvi. 16-18, . 332

ii. 19-21,

. 118

XV. 15, .

29

ii. 20, .
XV. 25, .

414

Romans.

iii. 2, .

374

XV. 26, 47, 140, 141,

i. 3, 4, . . . . 289

iii. 6, .

421

157, 160, 287,

i. 17, . 113, 342, 347

iii. 14, 15,
325, 431, 439

i. 18, 20, . . 340

iii. 17, .

439

xvi. 6, 7, . . 22

i. 20, 68, 131, 178, 379,

iv. 7-14,

418

xvi. 7, 28,

. 48

424

iv. 13, .
234

xvi. 12,

. 29

i. 21, 22, . . 132

iv. 16, .

387

xvi. 13,

21, 66

i. 23, .

. 339

. 339

iv. 24, . 157, 370, 384,

xvi. 13-15,

. 46

i. 25, .
xvii. 3, . 19, 38, 134,

V. 8-10,

. 110

V. 22-29,

. 38

175, 375

V. 8, 12,

. 335

V. 24, 25,

. 36

xvii. 3-5, . . 40

V. 9,

. 330

V. 25, 26,

. 36
xvii. 10,
 . 28

V. 12, .
 . 124

V. 26, 28, c
2, 187, 433

xvii. 19,

50

vi. 6, .
 . 98

V. 46, .
 . 105

xvii. 20-22, .

121

vi. 6, 13,
 . 114
vi. 38, 28

xix. 14, 119

vi. 9, 331

vii. 16, 28, 33, 46

xix. 24, 99

vi. 13, 298

vii. 37-39, 417

xix. 30,
370

vii. 24, 25, .

. 297

vii. 39, .

141, 325

xix. 30-34, .

126

viii. 9, .

. 157

viii. 25, .

. 30, 159

xix. 41, 42, .

118

viii. 10, .

. 113
122, 140, 148, 156, 168

ii. 2-4, ... 53

viii. 29,

. 373

X. 36, . . . 50

ii. 2, 4, . . 8

viii. 30,

. 30, 127

xi. 51, .

132

ii. 3, . .81, 142

viii. 31, 32,

. 110, 326

xii. 28, .
8,60

ii. 3, 4, . . . 53

viii. 32,

26, 50

xii. 44,

. 33

ii. 4, . . . 431

viii. 34,

. 121

xii. 47,

36

ii. 33, . . . 433

ix. 5,

. 65
xii. 47-50,

. 31

ii. 37, 38, . . 420

ix. 22, 23,

. 332

xii. 48, .

. 32

ii. 37, 41, . . 74

X. 3, .

. 363

xiii. 1, .

. 73

iv. 12, . . 430
x. 9,

. 72

xiii. 21-24,

399

iv. 32, . . . 313

X. 17, .

. 400

xiv. 1, .

. 34

vi. 7, . . . 400

xi. 33-36,

. 13

xiv. 6, .
29

vii. 2, . . . 102

xi. 36, 68, 155, 178, 363

xiv. 8, 10,

. 20

vii. 16, . . .433

xii. 2, 200, 272, 301,

xiv. 9, 21,

137

vii. 29-33, . . 102

370

xiv. 15-17,

21

vii. 51-53, . . 105
xii. 3, . . . 100

xiv. 16-23,

23

viii. 18, 19, . . 432

xiii. 8, . . . 215

xiv. 17,

21

viii. 18-20, . . 420

xiv. 21,

'. 22, 35, 40

viii. 20, . 157, 417

1 Corinthians.

xiv. 22, 23,
INDEX OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE.

i. 24, 11

, 165,

17<

), 344,

XV. 24,
. 40

380

, 380, 415

XV. 24, 25,

. 18

i. 25, .

. 331

XV. 24-28,

25, 35

i. SO, .

187

XV. 28, .

. 440
ii. 2, 3, .

29

XV. 28, 24,

27, . 17

ii. 2, 3, .

4

XV. 43, 49,

. 374

ii. 6, .

29

XV. 52, .
ii. S, .

30, 34

ii. 11, .

21

2 CORINTHIAISrS.

ii. 14, .

21

i. 19, .

. 407
iii. 1, 17, 62, 402, 1, 2, 4, 18, 393, 6, 92, 6, 29, 4, 18, 393, 6, 92, 6, 29, 4, 18, 393, 6, 92, 6,
158

iii. 19, 345

v. 6, v. 7, 20, 72, 347

v. 6, 176

V. 6, 7, 20, 72, 347

iv. 5, 19
V. 7, 207

iv. 7, 

161, 368

vi. 2-10, 220

vi. 17, 

174, 367

X. 17, 

. 338

vi. 18, 

. 296

xi. 14,
vi. 19, 20

. 189

xii. 9, .

. 109

vi. 19, 15

2o;

14

xiii. 4, .

. 34

vi. 20, .
vi. 20, 19, viii. 1, .

. 128
66

Galatians.

108
viii. 6, .

12, 13

139, 341

X. 4, .

. 54

iv. 4, 5,

16, 49

X. 11, .

. 101

iv. 5, .

. 439

X. 13, .
296, 333
iv. 6, .
. 431
xi. 3, .

13, 176
iv. 19, .
. 222
xi. 5, 
. 291
iv. 24, .
. 394
xi. 7, 199. 291
. 301, 393
V. 5, .
xii. 7, 8,

. 339

vi. 2, .

. 216

xii. 8, .

. 302

vi. 14, .

. 71

xii. 10, .

. 95

Ephestans.

xii. 11, .
xii. 13, .
. 419
. 417

i. 4, .
i. 14, .

. 326
. 158

xii. 29, .

. 419

i. 22, 23,

. 121

xiii. 1-3,

. 416

ii. 1-3, .

. 327
xiii. 4, .

. 217

iv. 3

172

xiii. 12,

18, 19, 35, 40,

iv. 5, .
iv. 7, 8,

*. 313
418

71, 87, 145, 178,

207,
302,
347,
223, 301, 341, 346, 373, 374,

iv. 7-12, iv. 8, .
iv. 22-25,

419
127, 325
114

xiii. 13,
393,
402, 423, 429
208

iv. 23, 24, V. 1, .
V. 8, .

293, 370
200
119

xiv. 14,
iii. 3, .

14

iii. 10, .

200

iii. 12-14,

9

iii. 13-15,

222

iii. 15, .

7

iii. 20, 21,

18
iii. 21, .

115

Colossians.
i. 13, .

. 422

i. 13, 14,

. 332

i. 15, 17, 18,

. 30

i. 16, .

. 87

i. 18, .

188, 373

i. 24, .
98, 115

ii. 1-3, .

. 339

ii. 11, .

371, 421

ii. 15, .

. 127

ii. 20, .

. 71

iii. 1, 2,

. 114

iii. 3, .

4

iii. 3, 4,

. 19

iii. 9, 10,
293, 371

iii. 10, .

. 383

iv. 16, .

. 261

1 Thessal

ONIANS.

ii. 13, .

. 400

V. 6, 8, .

. 395

1 TiMO

THY.

i. 5,

. 208, 429
i. 15, .

. 188

i. 17, .

62,75

ii. 5, 15, Li

Jl, 176, 429

ii. 6, .

. 105

ii. 15, .

293

ii. 17, .

56

iii. 16, .
INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

445

PAGE

PAOE

PAGE

Hebrews.
iv. 6, .

217

vii. 27, .

50, 138

i. 9, .

52

iv. 7, 8, 20, .

219

viii. 1, .49, 08, 73, 83, i. 13, 14,

100
iv. 7-19,

416

128, 385

ii. 1-4,

101

iv. 8, .

189, 217

ix. 10, .

. 138, 139

ii. 4,

419

iv. 10, .
415

ix. 14, 17

. 361

V. 14,

300

iv. 16, 172,

21 8^\circ

224,

ix. 14-17,

. 99

vii...

129^

381, 412
ix. 15, . 71,

87,113,204,

xi. 1,

310

V. 20, .

28

429

xii. 7,

11, '','

345

xi. 20, .

. 94
Revelation.

xi. 21, .

. 283

James.

i. 5,

29

xii. 18, .

. 3.34

i. 15,
235
i. 7,

38
xiii. 1, 5,
. 379
i. 17,

3
V. 6,

53
xvi. 24, 25,
. 83
ii. 19,
Ecclesiastes

1 Peter.

332
\.

i. 5,
i. 18, .
X. 15, .

. 400

i. 20,

APOCPvYPHi

. 108
. 295

1 John.

Wisdom.

xviii. 7,

. 223

i. 1-14
218

vi. 1, .

385

xxiv. 9,

. 378

iii. 1,

113

vi. 23, .

9

xxxvii. 20,

. 401

iii. 2,

.' 19, 40, 7i,
II. å€” INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Abraham, appearance of God to, 61, 62, 63, 101, 102.

Academic philosophy, the, criticised, 402, etc.

Adam, the appearing of God to, and how He spoke to, 58, 59; on account of his sin we are delivered into the power of the devil, 327.

Angels, how they ministered in the divine appearances, 8; how they work miracles, 91; have their power from God only, 96; appearing of, 97, 98; divine appearances wrought by, 100, etc.; how the law was given by, 104, 105.

Anthropomorphism, 2, 3.

Appearances of God to the fathers, 54, 55, 75; how angels ministered in, 83, 97, 98, 100.

Arians, the arguments of, derived from the words "begotten" and "unbegotten" refuted, 147.

Back parts, the, of God, 71, 73, 74. "Beginning," the word, spoken relatively in the Trinity, 159. "Begotten" and "unbegotten," the
words, 149; reply to cavils of heretics respecting, 150. 
Blessedness, desired by all, 315; perfect only in the life to come, 
319; cannot exist without immortality, 321. 

Christ, the mediation and intercession of, shall cease, 125; the sending of, at His 
incarnation, 49; the death and resurrection of, and their bearing on us, 112, 113; the 
Mediator gathers the many into one, 120, 121; the Mediator of life, 
122, 123; the death of, voluntary, 
125; how, as the Mediator of life, He subdued the mediator of death, 
125; the most perfect victim for cleansing faults, 129. 
Cicero, says all men will to be blessed, 
316; commends contemplative wisdom, 375. 

Creation, all, a manifestation of God, 
87. 
Daniel, the appearance of God to, 75. 
Death, the, of soul and body, and the 

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS. 

bearing of Christ's one death on, 
112-115. 
Degradation, the lowest, reached by degrees, 296. 
Demons, miracles wrought by, to be spurned, 123. 

Devil, the, the mediator of death, 
122, 123; how he leads his own to despise the death of Christ, 126; how he marks his 
own, 128; overcome not by might but by righteousness, 328. 

Divine appearances, a doubt raised about, 54, etc. 
Dove, the Holy Spirit manifested by a, 53, 432. 
Ennius, quotation from, 315.
Essence, substance, and person, 155, 194.

Eunomius, his error in saying that the Son of God is the son not of His nature but of His will, 422.

Faith, a thing of the heart, 812; necessary for man being blessed, 318.

Father, the, not alone immortal, 56, etc.; what is said of, and the Son together; and what not, 167, etc.; and Son, how one, 169, etc.; is Himself power and wisdom, 181, etc.; and the Son, together one wisdom as one essence, 185, etc.

Glass, seeing through darkly, explained, 393, etc.

God, how the Scriptures speak of, 2; why immortality ascribed exclusively to, 3; the substance of, how to know, 3; all in all, 124, 5; how He appeared to the fathers, 54, 55; whether God the Trinity, or one person of the Trinity, appeared to the fathers, 58; how He spake to Adam, 58; His appearance to Abraham, 61, etc., 101, 102; to Lot, 63; appearance of, to Moses, 65; in the pillar of cloud and fire, 66; of, at Sinai, 67; in what manner Moses saw, 69, etc.; the back parts of, 71; appears to Daniel, 75; the will of, the higher cause of all corporeal changes, 83; how, the first cause, 84; uses all His creatures as He will for His glory, 86; all creation a manifestation of, 87; the original cause of all things from, 93; the essence of, never appeared, 100; the appearances of, wrought by angels, 100, 101; the knowledge of, to be sought from Himself, 107, etc.; not corporeal nor changeable, 146; the only unchangeable essence, 147; what is spoken of, according to essence, is spoken of each person severally, and together of the Trinity itself, 154; of those things which belong absolutely to His essence, 156; what is said of, in time, said relatively, 162; how a substance, simple and manifold, 172; is a Trinity, but not threelfold, 173, 174; whether one person or the three together called the one God, 175; substance is spoken of improperly, essence properly, in, 194; nothing greater in, than one person, 203; corporeal conceptions of, to be rejected, 203; to be known by faith, that He may be loved, 207, etc.; likeness of, desired even in sin, 272; worship of, is the love of Him, 301; what His wrath is, 334.

Head, mystical meaning of covering the, 293.

Hilary quoted respecting the persons of the Trinity, 176, 177, 381.
Holy Spirit, the, is very God, 13; of truth, â€” relation to the Son, 21; in relation to the Son and the Father, 46, 47; the sending of, 48, 140, 141; not incarnate in the dove, 52, 53; the sensible showing of, 142; the Father and the Son the only beginning of, 160; whether He was a gift before as well as after He was given, 161; equal to the Father and the Son in all things, 171, etc.; is together with the Father and the Holy Spirit one wisdom, 188, 189; is properly called in Scripture by the name of love, 411, etc.; is God, and also the gift of God, 417; of the procession of the, 431, etc.

Hypostases and persons, how these words came into use in reference to the Trinity, the former among the Greeks, the latter among the Latins, 189, etc.

Image of God, how man is the, 199, 291; turning aside from, 294; to be found in the rational soul, 350; how formed anew in man, 369, 372.

Image of the beast in man, 296.

Imagination, the power of, 281.

Immortality, why ascribed exclusively to God, 311; credibility of our, 325.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

447

Incarnation of the Word, advantages of, 324, 335.

Infants, minds of, 351.

Kingdom, the, delivered by Christ to the Father, 16, etc., 24.

Knowledge of God, the, to be sought from God, 107, etc.

Law, the, given by angels, 104, 105.
Lot, the appearance of God to, G3.
Love, the true, by which we arrive at a knowledge of the Trinity, 216.

Magic, great miracles wrought by, 89; how far it extends, 90.

Man, is both after the image of God and is the image of God, 199; rescued not by might but by righteousness, 328.

Mary sitting at Jesus' feet, 24.

Mediator, the, making the many into one, 120, etc.

Mediatorship of Christ, the cessation of, 25.

Merits, our, are the gifts of God, 325.

Mind, the Trinity in, 241; knows itself not in part but in whole, 248; its opinion of itself deceitful, 251; what it knows of itself, 255, etc.; an image of the Trinity, 260; in what part of, alone is the Trinity the image of God, 286; how it thinks of itself, 353; loves God in right'- loving itself, 364, etc.; infirmity of the human, 429,

Miracles, why not usual works, 88; diversity alone makes, 89; great, wrought by magicians, 89, 90; how angels work, 91; signs, 96; wrought by demons, to be spurned, 123.

Moses, appearance of God to, 65; in what manner he saw God, 69; his rod changed into a serpent, its sign, 97, 98.

Xature, what it teaches us regarding

God, 383.
Kumbers, the senary and ternary, 116, etc., 118, etc.

Perfection, how God brings us to, 109.

Persons, the three, in the Godhead, 155; and H3^postases, how the word came into use, etc., 189-194; the Scriptures never speak of three, in one God, 192.

Pharaoh, the miracles wrought by the wise men of, 89.
Philosophers, not to be consulted respecting the resurrection, 130, 131; their blessedness ridiculous, 319; origin of the name, 345.

Pillar of cloud and fire, 66.

Plato's doctrine of reminiscences, 304.

Procession. See Holy Spirit.

Pythagoras, story regarding, 305.

Reminiscence, the, of Plato and Pythagoras, 304.

Resurrection of Christ, the, the faith of, saves, 72; the philosophers not to be consulted respecting, 130, 131, 132.

Righteous man, how the man not yet righteous can know the, 211; man rescued by, 328.

Rock, the, on which Moses stood to see God, 73.

Rod of Moses, the, made into a serpent, 97, 98.

Scripture, holy, the adaptation of, even to the simplest, 2, 3; has more meanings than one, 41; a double rule for understanding the various modes of speech used in, respecting the Son, 43.

Seeing God, 71, 72.

Senary number, the perfection of, 116-118.

Signs, the creature used as, 96, etc.
Sinai, appearance of God at, 67.

Son of God, the, is very God, 10; in what respects less than the Father, 14, etc.; the subjection of, to the Father, and delivers up the kingdom to the Father, 16, etc., 24, etc.; relation of, to the Holy Spirit, 21; how equal to, and how less than the Father, 27; how said not to know the clay nor the hour, 28, etc.; the nescience of, how to sit on His right hand and His left, not His to give, 30, 31; the two natures of, lays a foundation for opposite things being said of, 34, etc.; judgment committed to, 35, etc.; double rule for understanding theology of Scripture respecting, 43, etc.; glorification of, by the Father, 47; the sending of, 48; object of the incarnation of, 133; how sent and proclaimed beforehand, 135; how in His incarnation He was made less without detriment to His equality with the Father, 136; why said to be sent by the Father, 137; what the sending of, means, ISd; the wisdom and power of the Father,

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

165; what is said of the Father and, together, and what not, 167; and the Father, how one, 169; and the Father, one wisdom as one essence, 185, etc.; why He is chiefly intimated by the word wisdom, when both the Father and the Holy Spirit are wisdom, 186; the love by which we arrive at a knowledge of, 216; how we are justified by His blood, 326; why He took upon Himself man from the race of Adam and from a virgin, 337; we are to be like Him, 373.

Soul, opinions of philosophers regarding its substance, 251; whence comes its error concerning itself, 253; its power over the body, 269.

Species, produced by species in succession, 280.

Spirit, the Holy. See Holy Spirit.

Spirit, a word of many meanings, 371.

Terence, quotation from, 320.

Ternary number, the, in Christ's resurrection, 118, 119.
Thinking, different modes of, 277, etc.

Trinity, for what purpose the dissertation on, was written, 1; the Catholic faith respecting, 7, 8; the difficulties concerning, 8, etc.; affirmed to be immortal, 10; all sometimes understood in One Person, 22, etc.; the entire invisible, 56; whether the, spoke at Sinai, or some one person specially, 67, 77; the co-eternity of, 142, 143; the three persons of, and one essence, 154, 155; what is said relatively in, 157 j

the word "beginning" how spoken relatively in the Trinity, 159; God is a, but not threefold, 173, 174; whether one, or the three persons together is called the one God, 175; Hilary quoted respecting the persons of the, 176, 177; represented by things that are made, 178; whether each person of, is of itself wisdom, 179, etc.; the use of the words Hypostates and person in relation to, 187-194; why we do not speak of one person and three essences in, 195; how the, may be loved though unknown, 209; difficult to be demonstrated by natural reason, 384, etc.; disparity between the trinity which is in man and that which is in God, 427.

Trinity in man, three things in love, as it were a trace of, 221; a kind of, exists in man, 222; another, in the mind of man, 241, 258; a trace of, in the outer man, 261, etc.; man made after the image of the, 289.

Unity of the Father and the Son, 169, 288, etc.

Vision, how produced, 264.

Word, the Incarnate, dispels our darkness, 110; rendered apt for the perception of truth through, 111, 112; incarnation of, suitable for freeing man from mortality, 324; knowledge and wisdom of the incarnate, 338, etc.; of God, and word of man, 401; of God, equal to the Father, 407.
[*End: Vol. VII*]
THE WORKS

OF

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the

REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

VOL. VIII.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT,

AND

THE HARMONY OF THE EVANGELISTS.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXIII.

Source (of this Volume)
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
www.archive.org/details/worksofaureliu08augu

------------------------
THE

SERMON ON THE MOUNT

EXPOUNDED,

AND

THE HARMONY OF THE EVANGELISTS.

TRANSLATED RESPECTIVELY BY

THE REV. WILLIAM FINDLAY, M.A.,
LARKHALL, AND

THE REV. S. D. F. SALMOND, M.A.,
BARRY.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXIII.
CONTENTS.

OUR LORD'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

BOOK I. *<

PAGE

Explanation of the first part of the Sermon delivered by our Lord on the Mount, as contained in the Fifth Chapter of Matthew, . . 1

BOOK II.

On the latter half of the Sermon on the Mount, contained in the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of Matthew, . . . .67

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

Introductory Notice, . . . . .135

BOOK I.

The Treatise opens with a short statement on the subject of the authority of the Evangelists, their number, their order, and the different plans of their narratives. Augustine then prepares for the discussion of the questions relating to their Harmony, by joining issue in this book with those who raise a difficulty in the circumstance that Christ has left no writing of His own, or who falsely allege that certain books were composed by Him on the arts of Magic. He also meets the objections of those who, in opposition to the evangelical teaching, assert that the disciples of Christ at once ascribed more to their Master than He really was, when they affirmed that He was God, and inculcated what they had not been instructed in by Him, when they interdicted the worship of the gods. Against these antagonists He vindicates the teaching of the Apostles, by appealing to the utterances of the Prophets, and by showing that the God of Israel was to be the sole object of worship, who also, although He was the only Deity to whom acceptance was denied in former times by the Romans, and that for the very reason that He prohibited them from worshipping other gods along with Himself, has now in the end made the Empire of Rome subject to His name, and among all nations has broken their idols in pieces through the preaching of the Gospel, as He had promised by His Prophets that the event should be, . . .139
BOOK II.

TAOK

In this Book Augustine undertakes an orderly examination of the Gospel according to Matthew, on to the narrative of the Supper, and institutes a comparison between it and the other Gospels by Mark, Luke, and John, with the view of demonstrating a complete Harmony between the Four Evangelists throughout all these sections, . . .196

BOOK III. <*

This Book contains a demonstration of the Harmony of the Evangelists from the account of the Supper on to the end of the Gospel, the narratives given by the several writers being collated, and the whole arranged in one orderly connection, . . . . .367

BOOK IV.

This Book embraces a discussion of those passages which are peculiar to

Mark, Luke, or John, . . . . .481

OUR LORD'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

BOOK I.

EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST PART OF THE SERMON DELIVERED BY OUR LORD ON THE MOUNT, AS CONTAINED IN THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF MATTHEW.
CHAP. I. 1. If any one will piously and soberly consider the sermon which our Lord Jesus Christ spoke on the mount, as we read it in the Gospel according to Matthew, I think that he will find in it, so far as regards the highest morals, a perfect standard of the Christian life: and this we do not rashly venture to promise, but gather it from the very words of the Lord Himself. For the sermon itself is brought to a close in such a way, that it is clear there are in it all the precepts which go to mould the life. For thus He speaks: "Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it."

Since, therefore, He has not said, "Whosoever heareth my sayings," but has made an addition, saying, "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine," He has sufficiently indicated, as I think, that these sayings which He uttered on the mount so perfectly guide the life of those who will live according to them, that they may justly be compared to one building upon a rock. I have said this merely that it may be clear that the

SEKM. MT. A

2 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [book J.

sermon before us is perfect in all the precepts by which the Christian life is moulded; for as regards this section a more careful treatment will be given in its own place.

2. The beginning, then, of this sermon is introduced as follows: "And seeing the multitudes, He went up into a mountain: and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him: and He opened His mouth, and taught them, saying." If the question is asked what the mountain means, it may well be understood as meaning the greater precepts of righteousness; for there were lesser ones which were given to the Jews. Yet it is one God who, by means of His holy prophets and servants, according to a thoroughly arranged distribution of times, gave the lesser precepts to a people who as yet required to be bound by fear; and who, by means of His Son, gave the greater ones to a people whom it had now become suitable to set free by love. Moreover, when the lesser are given to the lesser, and the greater to the greater, they are given by Him who alone knows how to present to the human race the medicine suited to the occasion. Nor is it surprising that the greater precepts are given for the kingdom of heaven, and the lesser for an earthly kingdom, by that one and the same God who made heaven and earth. With respect, then, to that righteousness which is greater, it is said by the prophet, "Thy
righteousness is like the great mountains:" * and this may well mean that the One Master alone fit to teach matters of so great importance teaches on a mountain. Then He teaches sitting, as pertains to the dignity of the instructor's office; and His disciples come to Him, in order that they might be nearer in body for hearing His words, as they also approached in spirit to carry out His precepts. "And He opened His mouth, and taught them, saying." The circumlocution before us, which runs, "And He opened His mouth," perhaps gracefully intimates by the mere pause that the sermon will be somewhat longer than usual, unless, perchance, it should not be without meaning, that now He is said to have opened His own mouth, whereas under the old law He was accustomed to open the mouths of the prophets.

3. What, then, does He say? "Blessed are the poor in

1 Ps. xxxvi. 6.

CHAP. II. 1 FIRST AND SECOND BEATITUDES. 3

spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." We read in Scripture concerning the striving after temporal things, "All is vanity and presumption of spirit; " * but presumption of spirit means audacity and pride: usually also the proud are said to have great spirits; and rightly, since the wind also is called spirit. And hence it is written, "Fire, hail, snow, ice, spirit of tempest." 2 But who does not know that the proud are spoken of as puffed up, as if swelled out with wind? And hence also that expression of the apostle, "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth." 3 And "the poor in spirit" are rightly understood here as meaning the humble and God-fearing, i.e. those who have not a spirit which puffeth up. JSFor ought blessedness to begin at any other point whatever, if indeed it is to reach the highest wisdom. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" 4 whereas, on the other hand also, "pride" is entitled "the beginning of all sin." 5 Let the proud, therefore, seek after and love the kingdoms of the earth; but "blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Chap. ii. â€” 4. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth: "that earth, I suppose, of which it is said in the Psalm, "Thou art my refuge and my portion in the land (literally f the earth') of the living." G For it means a certain firmness and stability of perpetual inheritance, where the soul, by means of a good disposition, rests, as it were, in its own place, just as the body rests in the earth, and from which it is nourished with its own food, as the body from the earth: it is the very rest and life of the saints. Then, the meek are those who yield to acts of wickedness, and do not resist evil, but overcome evil with good. 7 Let those, then, who are not meek quarrel and fight for earthly and temporal things; but "blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," from which they cannot be driven out.
5. "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted." Mourning is sorrow arising from the loss of things

1 Eccles. i. 14. So Augustine renders it.

2 Ps. cxlviii. 8, according to the LXX. 3 1 Cor. viii. 1.
4 Ps. cxvi. 10. 3 Ecclus. x. 13. 6 Ps. cxlii. 5. 7 Rom. xii. 21.

4 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

that are dear. "Now, those who are converted to God lose those things which they were accustomed to embrace as dear in this world: for they do not rejoice in the things in which they formerly rejoiced; and until the love of eternal things he formed in them, they are wounded by some measure of grief:
they will therefore be comforted by the Holy Spirit, who on this account chiefly is called the Paraclete, i.e. the Comforter, in order that, while losing the temporal joy, they may enjoy to the full that which is eternal.

6. "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." Now He calls those parties lovers of a true and indestructible good. They will therefore be filled with that meat of which the Lord Himself says, "My meat is to do the will of my Father," which is righteousness; and with that water, of which whosoever "drinketh," as the same authority says, it "shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life." *

7. "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy."
He says that those are blessed who relieve the miserable, inasmuch as it is repaid to them in such a way that they are freed from misery.

8. "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."
How foolish, therefore, are those who seek God with these outward eyes, while He is seen with the heart! as it is written elsewhere, "And in simplicity of heart seek Him." 2
For that is a pure heart which is a single heart: and just as this light cannot be seen, unless with eyes that are pure; so neither is God seen, unless that is pure by which He can be seen.

9. "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." It is the perfection of peace, where nothing offers opposition; and the children of God are peacemakers, because nothing resists God, and surely children ought to have the likeness of their father. Now, they are peacemakers in themselves, inasmuch as by bringing into order all the passions of their soul, and subjecting them to reason â€” i.e. to the mind and spirit â€” and by having their carnal lusts thoroughly subdued, they become a kingdom of God: in which all things are so arranged, that that element which is chief and pre-
eminent in man rules without resistance over the others, which are common to us with the beasts; and that very element which is pre-eminent in man, i.e. mind and reason, is brought under subjection to something better still, which is the truth itself, the only-begotten Son of God. For neither is he able to rule over those things which are inferior, unless he himself yield subjection to what is superior. And this is the peace which is given on earth to men of goodwill j 1 this is the life of one completely and perfectly wise. From a kingdom of this sort brought to a condition of thorough peace and order, the prince of this world is cast out, who rules where there is perversity and disorder. When this peace has been inwardly established and strengthened, whatever persecutions he who has been cast out shall stir up from without, he only increases the glory which redounds to God; being unable to bring to the ground anything in that edifice, but by the failure of his machinations making it to be known with how great strength it has been built inwardly. Hence there follows: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Chap. hi. â€” 10. There are in all, then, these eight sentences. For now in what remains He speaks in the way of address to those who were present, saying: "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you." But to the previous sentences He was giving a mere general direction: for He did not say, Blessed are ye poor in spirit, for yours is the kingdom of heaven; but, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" nor, Blessed are ye meek, for ye shall inherit the earth; but, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." And so with the others up to the eighth sentence, where He says: "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." After that He now begins to speak in the way of address to those present, although what has been said before referred also to His present audience; and what follows, and which seems to be spoken specially to those present, refers also to those who were absent, or who would afterwards come into existence; and therefore the number of sentences before us is to be carefully considered. For the beatitudes begin with humility: "Blessed are the poor in spirit," i.e. those not puffed up, while the soul submits itself to divine authority, fearing lest after this life it go away to punishment, although perhaps in this life it seem to itself to be happy. Then it comes to the knowledge of the divine Scriptures, where it must show itself meek in its piety, lest it should venture to disparage
that which seems absurd to the unskilful, and should itself be rendered unteachable by obstinate disputations. After that, it now begins to know in what entanglements of this world it is held by means of carnal custom and sins: and so in this third stage, in which there is knowledge, the loss of the highest good is mourned over, because it sticks fast in what is lowest. Then, in the fourth stage there is labour, where vehement exertion is put forth, in order that the mind may wrench itself away from those things in which, by reason of their pestilential sweetness, it is entangled: here therefore righteousness is hungered and thirsted after, and fortitude is very necessary; because what is retained with delight is not abandoned without pain. Then, at the fifth stage, to those persevering in labour, counsel for getting rid of it is given; for unless each one is assisted by a superior, in no way is he fit in his own case to extricate himself from so great entanglements of miseries. But it is a just counsel, that he who wishes to be assisted by a stronger should assist him who is weaker in that in which he himself is stronger: therefore "blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." At the sixth stage there is purity of heart, able from a good conscience of good works to contemplate that highest good, which can be discerned by the pure and tranquil intellect alone. Lastly, there is, as the seventh, wisdom itself: i.e. the contemplation of the truth, tranquillizing the whole man, and assuming the likeness of God, which brings us to this conclusion: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." The eighth, as it were, returns to the starting-point, because it shows and expresses approval of what is complete and perfect: therefore in the first and in the eighth the kingdom of heaven is named. "Blessed are the

CHAP. IV.] SEVEN STAGES OF GRACE. 7

poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven;" and, u "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" as it is now said, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword V 1 Seven in number, therefore, are the things which bring perfection: for the eighth brings into light and shows what is perfect, as it were starting from the beginning again, so that the others also are perfected by means of these stages.

Chap. iv. â€” 11. Hence also the sevenfold operation of the Holy Ghost, of which Isaiah speaks, 2 seems to me to correspond to these stages and sentences. But there is a difference of order: for there the enumeration begins with the more excellent, but here with the inferior. For there it begins with wisdom, and closes with the fear of God: but "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And therefore, if we reckon as it were in a gradually ascending series, there the fear of God is first, piety second, knowledge third, fortitude fourth, counsel fifth, understanding sixth, wisdom seventh. The fear of God corresponds to the humble, of whom it is here said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," . i.e. those not puffed up, not proud: to whom the apostle says, "Be not highminded, but fear;" 3 i.e. be not lifted up. Piety 4 corresponds to the meek: for he who
inquires piously honours Holy Scripture, and does not censure what he does not yet understand, and on this account does not offer resistance; and this is to be meek: whence it is here said, "Blessed are the meek."

Fortitude corresponds to those hungering and thirsting: for they labour in earnestly desiring joy from things that are truly good, and in eagerly seeking to turn away their love from earthly and corporeal things: and of them it is here said, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness." Counsel corresponds to the merciful: for this is the one remedy for escaping from so great evils, that we forgive, as we wish to be ourselves forgiven; and that we assist others

1 Rom. viii. 35. 2 Isa. xi. 2, 3. 3 Rom. xi. 20.

4 Augustine follows the Septuagint, which has "piety" instead of "the fear of the Lord " in the last clause of Isa. xi. 2.

8 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.] where we are able, as we ourselves desire to be assisted where we are not able: and of them it is here said, "Blessed are the merciful." Understanding corresponds to the pure in heart, the eye being as it were purged, by which there may be beheld what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and what hath not entered into the heart of man: * and of them it is here said, "Blessed are the pure in heart." Wisdom corresponds to the peacemakers, in whom all things are now brought into order, and no passion is in a state of rebellion against reason, but all things together obey the spirit of man, while he himself also obeys God: and of them it is here said, "Blessed are the peacemakers."'" 2

12. Moreover, the one reward, which is the kingdom of heaven, is variously named according to these stages. In the first, just as ought to be the case, is placed the kingdom of heaven, which is the perfect and highest wisdom of the rational soul. Thus, therefore, it is said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" as if it were said, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

To the meek an inheritance is given, as it were the testament of a father to those dutifully seeking it: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." To the mourners comfort, as to those who know what they have lost, and in what evils they are sunk: "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." To those hungering and thirsting, a full supply, as it were a refreshment to those labouring and bravely contending for salvation: "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."

To the merciful mercy, as to those following a true and excellent counsel, so that this same treatment is extended toward them by one who is stronger, which they extend toward the weaker: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." To the pure in heart is given the power of seeing God, as to those bearing about with them a pure eye for beholding eternal things: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." To
the peacemakers the likeness of God is given, as being perfectly wise, and formed after the image

1 Isa. lxiv. 4 and 1 Cor. ii. 9.

2 This is guarded against misconstruction in the Retract. I. xix. 1.

CHAP. V.] MYSTERY OF THE EIGHTH BEATITUDE.

of God by means of the regeneration of the renewed man:
"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." And those promises can indeed be fulfilled in this life, as we believe them to have been fulfilled in the case of the apostles. For that all-embracing change into the angelic form, which is promised after this life, cannot be explained in words at all. "Blessed," therefore, "are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

This eighth sentence, which o;oes back to the starting-point, and makes manifest the perfect man, is perhaps set forth in its meaning both by the circumcision on the eighth day in the Old Testament, and by the resurrection of the Lord after the Sabbath, on the day which is certainly the eighth, and at the same time the first day; and by the celebration of the eight festival days which we celebrate in the case of the regeneration of the new man; and by the very number of Pentecost. For to the number seven seven times multiplied, by which we make forty-nine, as it were an eighth is added, so that fifty is made up, and we, as it were, return to the starting-point: on which day the Holy Spirit was sent, by whom we are led into the kingdom of heaven, and receive the inheritance, and are comforted; and are fed, and obtain mercy, and are purified, and are made peacemakers; and being thus perfect, we bear all troubles brought upon us from without for the sake of truth and righteousness.

Chap. v. â€” 13. "Blessed are ye," says He, "when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Eejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven." Let any one who is seeking after the delights of this world and the riches of temporal things under the Christian name, consider that our blessedness is within; as it is said of the soul of the Church 1 by the mouth of the prophet, "The king's daughter is all glorious within; " 2 for outwardly revilings, and persecutions, and disparagements are promised; and yet, from these things

1 Anima ecclesiastica.

2 Ps. xlv. 13. Augustine's rendering is, ' â€œ All the beauty of the king's daughter [is] "within. "'

1 OUR lord's sermon on tie mount. [BOOK I.]
there is' a great reward in heaven, which is felt in the heart of those enduring them, of those who can now say, " We glory in tribulations: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our heart by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." * For it is not simply the endurance of such things that is advantageous, but the bearing of such things for the name of Christ not only with tranquil mind, but even with exultation. For many heretics, deceiving souls by means of the Christian name, endure many such things; but they are excluded from the reward on this account, that it is not said merely, " Blessed are they which endure persecution; " but it is added, " for righteousness' sake." Now, where there is no soundness in the faith, there can be no righteousness, for the just [righteous] man lives by faith. 2 Neither let schismatics promise themselves anything of that reward; for similarly, where there is no love, there cannot be righteousness, for " love worketh no ill to his neighbour; " 3 and if they possessed it, they would not tear asunder His body, which is the Church. 4

14. But it may be asked, What is the difference between the expression, " when they shall revile you," and " when they shall say all manner of evil against you," since to revile 5 is just this, to say evil against ? 6 But it is one thing when the abusive word 7 is hurled with contumely in presence of him who is abused, as it was said to our Lord, "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil ? " 8 and another thing, when one's reputation is injured in his absence, as it is also written of Him, " Some said, He is a prophet; others said, Nay, but he deceiveth the people," 9 Then, further, to persecute is to inflict violence, or to assail with snares, as was done by him who betrayed Him, and by them who crucified Him. Certainly, as to the fact that this also is not put in a bare form, so that it should be said, " and shall say all manner of evil against you," but there is added the word " falsely," and also the expression "for my sake;" I think that the addition is made

1 Rom. v. 3-5. 2 Hab. ii. 4 and Rom. i. 17. 3 Rom. xiii. 10.

4 Col. i. 24. 5 Maleclicere. 6 Malum dicere.

T Maledictum. 8 John viii. 48. 9 Chap. vii. 12.

CHAR VI.] THE BEATITUDE OF THE PERSECUTED. 11

for the sake of those who wish to glory in persecutions, and in the baseness of their reputation; and to say that Christ belongs to them for this reason, that many bad things are said about them; while, on the one hand, the things said are true, when they are said respecting their error; and, on the other hand, if sometimes also some false charges are thrown out, which frequently happens from the rashness of men, yet they do not suffer such things for Christ's sake. For he is not a follower of Christ who is not called a Christian according to the true faith and the catholic discipline.
15. "Rejoice," says He, "and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven." I do not think that it is the higher parts of this visible world that are here called heaven. For our reward, which ought to be immoveable and eternal, is not to be placed in things fleeting and temporal. But I think the expression *in heaven* means in the spiritual firmament, where dwells everlasting righteousness: in comparison with which a wicked soul is called earth, as it is said to it when it sins, "Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt return." 1

Of this heaven the apostle says, "For our conversation is in heaven." 2 Hence they who rejoice in spiritual blessings are conscious of that reward now; but then it will be perfected in every part, when this mortal also shall have put on immortality. "For," says He, "so persecuted they the prophets also which were before you." In the present case He has used [the word] persecution in a general sense, as applying alike to abusive words and to the tearing in pieces of one’s reputation; and has well encouraged them by an example, because while saying things that are true, they are wont to suffer persecution: nor yet did the ancient prophets on this account, through fear of persecution, give over the preaching of the truth.

Chap. vi. 16. Hence there follows most justly the statement, "Ye are the salt of the earth;" showing that those parties are to be judged foolish, who, either in the eager pursuit after abundance of earthly blessings, or through the dread of wanting them, lose the eternal things which can neither be given nor taken away by men. "But if the salt have lost its savour, en. iii. 19. 2 Phil. iii. 20.

12 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

wherewith shall it be salted % i.e., If ye, by means of whom the nations in a measure are to be preserved [from corruption], through the dread of temporal persecutions shall have lost the kingdom of heaven, who will be the men left, by means of whom your error may be removed, since God has chosen you, in order that by your means He may remove the error of others? Hence the savourless salt is "good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men."

It is not therefore he who suffers persecution, but he who is rendered savourless by the fear of persecution, that is trodden under foot of men. For it is only one who is undermost that can be trodden under foot; but he is not undermost, who, however many things he may suffer in his body on the earth, yet has his heart fixed in heaven.

17. "Ye are the light of the world." In the same way as He said above, "the* salt of the earth," so now He says, "the light of the world." For in the former case that earth is not to be understood which we tread with our bodily feet, but the men who dwell, upon the earth, or even the sinners, for the preserving of whom and for the extinguishing of whose corruptions the Lord sent the apostolic salt. And here, by the world must be understood not the heavens and the earth, but the men who are in the world or love the world, for the
enlightening of whom the apostles were sent. " A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid," i.e. [a city] founded upon great and distinguished righteousness, which is also the meaning of the mountain itself on which our Lord is discoursing.

" Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel."

What view are we to take? That the expression " under a bushel" is so used that only the concealment of the candle is to be understood, as if He were saying, No one lights a candle and / conceals it? Or does the bushel also mean something, so that to place a candle under a bushel is this, to place the comforts of the body higher than the preaching of the truth; so that one does not preach the truth so long as he is afraid of suffering any annoyance in corporeal and temporal things? And it is well said a bushel, whether because of the recompense of measure, for each one receives the things done in his body, â€” " that every one," says the apostle, " may there receive the things done in

CHAIÂ». VII.] THE LIGHT UNDER A BUSHEL. 13

his body; " * and it is said in another place, as if of this measure 2 of the body, "For with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;" 3 â€” or because temporal good things, which are carried to completion in the body, are both begun and pass on to an end in a certain definite number of days, which is perhaps meant by the "bushel;" while eternal and spiritual things are confined within no such limit, " for God giveth not the Spirit by measure." 4 Every one, therefore, who obscures and covers up the light of good doctrine by means of temporal comforts, places his candle under a bushel. " But on a candlestick." Now it is placed on a candlestick by him who subordinates his body to the ministry of God, so that the preaching of the truth is the higher, and the serving of the body the lower; yet by means even of the service of the body the doctrine shines more conspicuously, inasmuch as it is insinuated into those who learn by means of bodily functions, i.e. by means of the voice and tongue, and the other movements of the body in good works. The apostle therefore puts his candle on a candlestick, when he says, " So fight I, not as one that beateth the air; but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway. " 5 When He says, however, " that it may give light to all who are in the house," I am of opinion that it is the abode of men which is called a house, i.e. the world itself, on account of what He says before,

" Ye are the light of the world;" or if any one chooses to understand the house as being the Church, this, too, is not out of place.

Chap. vii. â€” 18. " Let your light," says He, " so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." If He had merely said, " Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works," He would seem to have fixed an end in the praises of men, which hypocrites seek, and those who canvass for honours and catch at glory of the emptiest kind. Against such parties
it is said, " If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ f T and by the
prophet, " They who please men are put to shame, because God hath despised them;" and
again,
" God hath broken the bones of those who please men;" 2 and again the apostle, " Let us
not be desirous of vainglory:" 2 and still another time, " But let every man prove his own
work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another." 4 Hence our
Lord has not said merely, " that they may see your good works," but has added, " and
glorify your Father which is in heaven:" so that the mere fact that a man by means of
good works pleases men, does not there set it up as. an end that he should please men; but
let him subordinate this to the praise of God, and for this reason please men, that God
may be glorified in him. For this is expedient for them who offer praise, that they should
honour, not man, but God; as our Lord showed in the case of the man who was carried,
where, on the paralytic being healed, the multitude, marveling at His powers, as it is
written in the Gospel, " feared and glorified God, which had given such power unto men.
" 5 And His imitator, the Apostle Paul, says, " But they had heard only, that he which
persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed; and they
glorified God in me." 6

14 OUR LORD'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT. [BOOK I.]

19. And therefore, after He has exhorted His hearers that they should be prepared to bear
all things for truth and righteousness, and that they should not hide the good which they
were about to receive, but should learn with such benevolence as to teach others, aiming
in their good works not at their own praise, but at the glory of God, He begins now to
inform and to teach them what they are to teach;
as if they were asking Him, saying: Lo,
we are willing both to bear all things for Thy name, and not to hide Thy doctrine; but
what precisely is this which Thou forbiddest us to hide, and for which Thou commandest
us to bear all things ? Art Thou about to mention other things contrary to those which are
written in the law ? " No," says He; " for think not that I come to destroy the law, or
the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."

1 Gal. i. 10. 2 Ps. liii. 5. So Augustine renders it. 3 Gal. v. 26.

4 Chap. vi. 4. 5 Matt. ix. 8. 6 Gal. i. 23, 24.
Chap. viii. â€” 20. In this sentence the meaning is twofold. We must deal with it in both ways. For He who says, "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil," means it either in the way of adding what is wanting, or of doing what is in it. Let us then consider that first which I have put first: for he who adds what is wanting does not surely destroy what he finds, but rather confirms it by perfecting it; and accordingly He follows up with the statement, "Verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." For if even those things which are added for completion are fulfilled, much more are those things fulfilled which are sent in advance as a commencement. Then, as to what He says, "One jot (literally 'iota') or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the law," nothing else can be understood but a strong expression of perfection, since it is pointed out by means of single letters, among which letters "iota" is smaller than the others, for it is made by a single stroke; while a "tittle" is but a particle of some sort at the top of even that. And by these words He shows that in the law all the smallest particulars even are to be carried into effect. After that He subjoins: "Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven." Hence it is the least commandments that are meant by "one jot" and "one tittle." And therefore, "whosoever shall break and shall teach [men] so," â€” i.e. in accordance with what he breaks, not in accordance with what he finds and reads, â€” "shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven;" and therefore, perhaps, he will not be in the kingdom of heaven at all, where only the great can be.

"But whosoever shall do and teach [men] so," â€” i.e. who shall not break, and shall teach men so, in accordance with what he does not break, â€” "shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." But in regard to him who shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven, it follows that he is also in the kingdom of heaven, into which the great are admitted: for to this the following words refer.

Chap. ix. â€” 21. "For I say unto you, that except your

righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven;" i.e., unless ye shall fulfil not only those least precepts of the law which begin the man, but also those which are added by me, who am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But you say to me: If, when He was speaking above of those least commandments, He said that whosoever shall break one of them, and shall teach in accordance therewith, is called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but that whosoever
shall do them, and shall teach [men] so, is called great, and hence will be already in the kingdom of heaven, because he is great: what need is there for additions to the least precepts of the law, if he can be already in the kingdom of heaven, because whosoever shall do them, and shall teach [men] so, is great? And therefore that sentence is to be understood as follows: " But whosoever shall do and teach [men] so, the same shall be great in the kingdom of heaven," â€” i.e. not in accordance with those least commandments, but in accordance with those which I am about to mention. Now what are these? " That your righteousness," says He, " shall exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees; " for unless it shall exceed theirs, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever, therefore, shall break those least commandments, and shall teach [men] so, shall be called the least; but whosoever shall do those least commandments, and shall teach [men] so, is not necessarily to be reckoned great and meet for the kingdom of heaven; but yet he is not so much the least as the man who breaks them. But in order that he may be great and fit for that kingdom, he ought to do and teach as Christ now teaches, i.e. in order that his righteousness may exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees. The righteousness of the Pharisees is, that they shall not kill; the righteousness of those who are destined to enter into the kingdom of God, that they shall not be angry without a cause. The least commandment, therefore, is not to kill; and whosoever shall break that, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall fulfil that commandment not to kill, will not, as a necessary consequence, be great and meet for the kingdom of heaven, but yet

CHAP. IX.] THE DEGREES OF ANGER. 1 7

lie ascends a certain step. He will be perfected, however, if lie be not angry without a cause; and if he shall do this, he will be much further removed from murder. And therefore he who teaches that we should not be angry, does not break the law that we should not kill, but fulfils it rather; so that we preserve our innocence both outwardly while we do not kill, and in heart while we are not angry.

22. " Ye have heard " therefore, says He, " that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Eaca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the gehenna of fire." What is the difference between being in danger of the judgment, and being in danger of the council, and being in danger of the gehenna of fire? Tor this last sounds most severe, and reminds us that certain stages were passed over from lighter to more severe, until the gehenna of fire was reached. And, therefore, if it is a lighter thing to be in danger of the judgment than to be in danger of the council, and if it is also a lighter thing to be in danger of the council than to be in danger of the gehenna of fire, we must understand it to be a lighter thing to be angry with a brother without a cause than to say to him " Eaca; " and again, to
be a lighter thing to say "Eaca" than to say "Thou fool." For the danger would not have
gradations, unless the sins also were mentioned step by step.

23. But here one obscure word has found a place, for
"Eaca" is neither Latin nor Greek. The others, however, are current in our language.
Now, some have wished to derive the interpretation of this expression from the Greek,
supposing that a ragged person is called "Eaca," because a rag is called in Greek pd/cos;
yet, when one asks them what a ragged person is called in Greek, they do not answer "Eaca;"
and further, the Latin translator might have put the word ragged, and not have
used a word which, on the one hand, has no existence in the Latin language, and, on the
other, is rare in the Greek.
Hence the view is more probable which I heard from a certain

SEKM. MT. B

18 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

Hebrew whom I had asked about it; for he said that the v.
does not mean anything, but merely expresses the emotion of an angry mind.
Grammarians call those particles of speech which express an affection of an agitated
mind interjections; as when it is said by one who is grieved, "Alas," or by one who is
angry, "Hah." And these words in all languages are proper names, and are not easily
translated into another language; and this cause certainly compelled alike the Greek and
the Latin translators to put the word itself, inasmuch as they could find no way of
translating it.

24. There is therefore a gradation in the sins referred to, so that first one is angry, and
keeps that feeling unexpressed in his heart; but if now that emotion shall draw forth an
exclamation of anger not having any definite meaning, but giving evidence of that feeling
of the mind by the very fact of the outbreak wherewith he is assailed with whom one is
angry, this is certainly more than if the rising anger were restrained by silence; but if
there is heard not merely an exclamation of anger, but also a word by which the party
using it now indicates and signifies a distinct censure of him against whom it is directed,
who doubts but that this is something more than if merely an exclamation of anger were
uttered? Hence in the first there is one thing, i.e. anger alone; in the second two things,
both anger and a word that expresses anger; in the third three things, both anger and a
word that expresses anger, and in that word a distinct censure. Look now also at the three
degrees of liability, aç’” to the judgment, to the council, to the gehenna of fire. For in the
judgment an opportunity is still given for defence; in the council, however, although there
is also wont to be a judgment, yet because the very fact of a distinction being made
compels us to acknowledge that there is a certain difference in this passage, the
pronouncing of the sentence seems to belong to the council, inasmuch as it is not now the
case of the accused himself that is in question, whether he is to be condemned or not, but
a conferring with one another on the part of those who judge to what punishment they
ought to condemn him, who, it is clear, is to be condemned; but the gehenna of fire does not treat as a doubtful matter either the condemnation, like the judgment,

CHAP. X.] DEGREES OF PUNISHMENT. 19

or the punishment of him who is condemned, like the council; for in the gehenna of fire both the condemnation and the punishment of him who is condemned are certain. Thus there are seen certain degrees in the sins and in the liability to punishment; but who can tell in what ways they are invisibly shown in the punishments of souls? We are therefore to learn how great the difference is between the righteousness of the Pharisees and that greater righteousness which procures admission into the kingdom of heaven, because while it is a more serious crime to kill than to inflict reproach by means of a word, in the one case killing exposes one to the judgment, but in the other anger exposes one to the judgment, which is the least of those three sins; for in the former case they were discussing the question of murder among men, but in the latter all things are disposed of by means of a divine judgment, where the end of the condemned is the gehenna of fire. But whoever shall say that murder is punished by a more severe penalty under the greater righteousness if a reproach is punished by the gehenna of fire, compels us to understand that there are differences of gehennas.

25. Indeed, in the three statements before us, we must observe that some words are understood. For the first statement has all the words that are necessary. "Whosoever," says He, "is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment." But in the second, when He says, "and whosoever shall say to his brother, Baca," there is understood the expression without cause, and thus there is subjoined, "shall be in danger of the council." In the third, now, where He says, "but whosoever shall say, Thou fool," two things are understood, both to his brother and luithout cause. And in this way we defend the apostle when he calls the Galatians fools, 1 to whom he also gives the name of brethren; for he does not do it without cause. And here the word brother is to be understood for this reason, that the case of an enemy is spoken of afterwards, and how he also is to be treated under the greater righteousness.

Chap. x. â€” 26. Next there follows here: "Therefore, if thou

bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." From this surely it is clear that what is said above is said of a brother: inasmuch as the sentence which follows is connected by such a conjunction
that it confirms the preceding one; for He does not say, But if thou bring thy gift to the altar; but He says,
"Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar." For if it is not lawful to be angry with one's brother without a cause, or to say "Eaca," or to say "Thou fool," much less is it lawful so to retain anything in one's mind, as that indignation is turned into hatred. And to this belongs also what is said in another passage: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." * We are therefore commanded, when about to bring our gift to the altar, if we remember that our brother hath ought against us.
to leave the gift before the altar, and to go and be reconciled to our brother, and then to come and offer the gift. But if this is to be understood literally, one might perhaps suppose that such a thing ought to be done if the brother is present; for it cannot be delayed too long, since you are commanded to leave your gift before the altar. If, therefore, such a thing should come into your mind respecting one who is absent, and-, as may happen, even settled down beyond the sea, it is absurd to suppose that your gift is to be left before the altar until you may offer it to God after having traversed both lands and seas. And therefore we are under the necessity of having recourse to an altogether internal and spiritual interpretation, in order that what is said may be understood without absurdity.
2 7. And so we may interpret the altar spiritually, as being faith itself in the inner temple of God, whose emblem is the visible altar. For whatever offering we present to God, whether prophecy, or teaching, or prayer, or a psalm, or a hymn, and whatever other such like spiritual gift occurs to the mind, it cannot be acceptable to God, unless it be supported by sincerity of faith, and, as it were, placed on that fixedly and immoveably, so that what we utter may remain whole and uninjured. For many heretics, not having the altar,

CHAP. X.] RECONCILIATION OF ADVERSARIES. 21

i.e. true faith, have spoken blasphemies for praise; being weighed down, to wit, with earthly opinions, and thus, as it were, throwing down their offering on the ground. But there ought also to be purity of intention on the part of the offerer.
And therefore, when we are about to present any such offering in our heart, i.e. in the inner temple of God ("For," as it is said, "the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are; Ml and,
"That Christ may dwell in the inner man in your hearts by faith " "), if it occur to our mind that a brother hath ought against us, i.e. if we have injured him in anything (for then he has something against us; whereas we have something against him if he has injured us, and in that case it is not necessary to proceed to reconciliation: for you will not ask pardon of one who has done you an injury, but merely forgive him, as you desire to be forgiven by God what you have committed against Him), we are therefore to proceed to reconciliation, when it has occurred to our mind that we have perhaps injured our brother in anything; but this is to be done not with the bodily feet, but with the emotions of the
mind, so that you are to prostrate yourself with humble disposition before your brother, to whom you have hastened in affectionate thought, in the presence of Him to whom you are about to present your offering. For thus, even if he should be present, you will be able to soften him by a mind free from dissimulation, and to recall him to goodwill by asking pardon, if first you have done this before God, going to him not with a slow movement of the body, but with a very swift impulse of love; and then coming, i.e. recalling your attention to that which you were beginning to do, you will offer your gift.

28. But who acts in this way, so that he is neither angry with his brother without a cause, nor says "Baca" without a cause, nor calls him a fool without a cause, all of which are most proudly committed; or so that, if perchance he has fallen into any of these, adopting the only remedy, he asks pardon with supplicant mind; who but just the man that is not puffed up with the spirit of empty boasting? "Blessed" therefore "are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Let us look now at what follows.

1 1 Cor. iii. 17. 2 Eph. iii. 17.

22 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

Chap. xi. â€” 29. "Agree," says he, "with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing." I see clearly who the judge is: "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." I see clearly who the officer is: "And angels," as it is said, Íã ministered unto Him:" 2 and we believe that He will come with His angels to judge the quick and the dead. I see clearly what is meant by the prison: evidently the punishment of darkness, which He calls in another passage the outer darkness: 3 for this reason, I believe, that the joy of the divine rewards is something internal in the mind itself, or even if anything more hidden can be thought of, that joy of which it is said to the servant who deserved well, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord;" 4 just as also, under this republican government, one who is thrust into prison is sent out from the council chamber, or from the palace of the judge.

30. But now, with respect to paying the uttermost farthing, it may be understood without absurdity either as standing for this, that nothing is left unpunished; just as in common speech we also say "to the very dregs," when we wish to express that something is so drained out that nothing is left: or by the expression "the uttermost farthing" earthly sins may be meant. For as a fourth part of the separate component parts of this world, and in fact as the last, the earth is found; so that you begin with the heavens, you reckon the air the second, water the third, the earth the fourth. It may therefore seem to be suitably said, "till thou hast paid the last
fourth," in the sense of " till thou hast expiated thy earthly sins: " for this the sinner also heard, " Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return." 6 Then, as to the expression " till thou hast paid," I wonder if it does not mean that

1 John v. 22. 2 Matt. iv. 11. 3 Chap. viii. 12. 4 Chap. xxv. 23.

5 The word translated "farthing" means literally "a fourth part; " and on this wider sense Augustine's second interpretation is based.

6 Gen. iii. 19.

CHAP. XI.] ON PAYING THE UTTERMOST FARTHING. 23

punishment which is called eternal. For whence is that debt paid where there is now no opportunity given of repenting and of leading a better life? For perhaps the expression " till thou hast paid" stands here in the same sense as in that passage where it is said, " Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool;" 1 for not even when they have been put under His feet, will He cease to sit at the right hand: or that statement of the apostle, " For He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet; " 2 for not even when they have been put under His feet, will He cease to reign. Hence, as it is there understood of Him respecting whom it is said, "He must reign, till He hath put His enemies under His feet," that He will reign for ever, inasmuch as they will be for ever under His feet: so here it may be understood of him respecting whom it is said, " Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing," that he will never come out; for he is always paying the uttermost farthing, so long as he is suffering the everlasting punishment of his earthly sins. Nor would I say this in such a way as that I should seem to prevent a more careful discussion respecting the punishment of sins, as to how in the Scriptures it is called eternal; although in all possible ways it is to be avoided rather than known.

31. Lut let us now see who the adversary himself is, with whom we are enjoined to agree quickly, whiles we are in the way with him. For he is either the devil, or a man, or the flesh, or God, or His commandment. But I do not see how we should be enjoined to be on terms of goodwill, i.e. to be of one heart or of one mind, with the devil. For some have rendered the Greek word which is found here * of one heart," others " of one mind: " but neither are we enjoined to show goodwill to the devil (for where there is goodwill there is friendship: and no one would say that we are to make friends with the devil); nor is it expedient to come to an agreement with him, against whom we have declared war by once for all renouncing him, and on conquering whom we shall be crowned; nor ought we now to yield to him, to whom if we had never yielded, we should never have fallen into such miseries. Again,

1 Ps. ex. ] . 2 1 Cor. xv. 25.
as to the adversary being a man, although we are enjoined to live peaceably with all men, as far as lieth in us, where certainly goodwill, and concord, and consent may be understood; yet I do not see how I can accept the view, that we are delivered to the judge by a man, in a case where I understand Christ to be the judge, "before" whose "judgment-seat we must all appear," as the apostle says: 1 how then is he to deliver me to the judge, who will appear equally with me before the judge? Or if any one is delivered to the judge for this reason, that he has injured a man, although the party who has been injured does not deliver him, it is a much more suitable view, that the guilty party is delivered to the judge by that law against which he acted when he injured the man. And this for the additional reason, that if any one has injured a man by killing him, there will be no time now in which to agree with him; for he is not now in the way with him, i.e. in this life: and yet a remedy will not on that account be excluded, if one repents and flees for refuge with the sacrifice of a broken heart to the mercy of Him who forgives the sins of those who turn to Him, and who rejoices more over one penitent than over ninety-nine just persons. 2

But much less do I see how we are enjoined to bear goodwill towards, or to agree with, or to yield to, the flesh. For it is sinners rather who love their flesh, and agree with it, and yield to it; but those who bring it into subjection are not the parties who yield to it, but rather they compel it to yield to them.

32. Perhaps, therefore, we are enjoined to yield to God, and to be well-disposed towards Him, in order that we may be reconciled to Him, from whom by [our] sinning we have turned away, so that He may be called our adversary. For He is rightly called the adversary of those whom He resists, for " God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble;" 3 and " pride is the beginning of all sin," and " the beginning of man's pride is to depart from God;" 4 and the apostle says,

" For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life." 5 And from this it may be perceived that

1 2 Cor. v. 10. 2 Luke xv. 7. 3 Jas. iv. G.
4 Ecclus. x. 13, 12. 6 Rom. v. 10.

CHAP. XI.] WHO IS THE ADVERSARY ? 25

no nature [as being] bad is an enemy to God, inasmuch as the very parties who were enemies are being reconciled. Whoever, therefore, while in this way, i.e. in this life, shall
not have been reconciled to God by the death of His Son, will be delivered to the judge by Him, for "The Father judgeth no man, but hath delivered all judgment to the Son;" and so the other things which are described in this section follow, which we have already discussed. There is only one thing which creates a difficulty as regards this interpretation, viz. how it can be rightly said that we are in the way with God, if in this passage He Himself is to be understood as the adversary of the wicked, with whom we are enjoined to be reconciled quickly; unless, perchance, because He is everywhere, we also, while we are in this way, are certainly with Him. For as it is said,

"If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me." 1 Or if the view is not accepted, that the wicked are said to be with God, although there is nowhere where God is not present, â€” just as we do not say that the blind are with the light, although the light surrounds them, â€” there is one resource remaining: that we should understand the adversary here as being the commandment of God. For what is so much an adversary to those who wish to sin as the commandment of God, i.e. His law and divine Scripture, which has been given us for this life, that it may be with us in the way, which we must not contradict, lest it deliver us to the judge, but must submit to it quickly? For no one knows when he may depart out of this life. Now, who is it that submits to divine Scripture, save he who reads or hears it piously, recognising it as of supreme authority; so that what he understands he does not hate on this account, that he feels it to be opposed to his sins, but rather loves being reproved by it, and rejoices that his maladies are not spared until they are healed; and so that even in respect to what seems to him obscure or absurd, he does not therefore raise contentious contradictions, but prays that he may understand, yet remembering that goodwill and reverence are to be manifested towards so great an authority?

1 Ps. cxxxix. 8-10.

2G OUR LORD'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT. [BOOK I.

reverence are to be manifested towards so great an authority? But who does this, unless just the man who has come, not harshly threatening, but in the meekness of piety, for the purpose of opening and ascertaining the contents of a father's will? "Blessed," therefore, "are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." Let us see what follows.

Chap. xii. â€” 33. "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." The lesser righteousness, therefore, is not to commit adultery by carnal connection; but the greater righteousness of the kingdom of God is not to commit adultery in the heart. Now, the man who does not commit adultery in the heart, much more easily abstains from committing adultery in actual fact. Hence He who gave the later precept confirmed the earlier; for He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. It is well worthy of consideration that He has not said,
Whosoever lusteth after a woman, but, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her," i.e. turneth toward her with this aim and this intent, that he may lust after her; which, in fact, is not merely to be pleased * by fleshly delight, but fully to consent to lust; so that the forbidden appetite is not restrained, but is satisfied if opportunity should be given.

3 4. For there are three things which go to complete sin:
the suggestion of it, the taking pleasure in it, and the consenting to it. Suggestion takes place either by means of memory, or by means of the bodily senses, "when we see, or hear, or smell, or taste, or touch anything. And if it give us pleasure to enjoy this, this pleasure, if illicit, must be restrained. Just as when we are fasting, and on seeing food the appetite of the palate is stirred up, this is accompanied by pleasure; but we do not consent to this liking, and we repress it by the right of reason, which has the supremacy. But if consent shall take place, the sin will be complete, known to God in our heart, although it may not become known to men by deed. There are, then, these steps: the suggestion is made, as it were, by a serpent, that is

1 Lit. " to be tickled." 2 The reading " if " has been proposed by some.

(HAP. XII.] SIX COMPLETED BY THREE STEPS. 2 7

to say, by a fleeting and rapid, i.e. a temporary, movement of bodies: for if there are also any such images moving about in the soul, they have been derived from without from the body; and if any hidden sensation of the body besides those five senses touches the soul, that also is temporary and fleeting; and therefore the more hiddenly it glides in, so as to affect the process of thinking, the more aptly is it compared to a serpent. Hence these three stages, as I was beginning to say, resemble that transaction which is described in Genesis, so that the suggestion and a certain measure of suasion is put forth, as it were, by the serpent; then the taking pleasure in it lies in the carnal appetite, as it were in Eve; and the consent lies in the reason, as it were in the man: and these things having been completed, the man is driven forth, as it were, from paradise, i.e. from the most blessed light of righteousness, into death 1 â€” in all respects most righteously. For he who puts forth suasion does not compel. And all natures are beautiful in their order, according to their gradations; but we must not descend from the higher, among which the rational mind has its place assigned, to the lower. Nor is any one compelled to do this; and therefore, if he does it, he is punished by the just law of God, for he is not guilty of this unwillingly. But yet, previous to habit, either there is no pleasure, or it is so slight that there is hardly any; and to yield to it is a great sin, as such pleasure is unlawful. Now, when any one does yield, he commits sin in the heart. If, however, he also proceeds to action, the desire seems to be satisfied and extinguished; but afterwards, when the suggestion is repeated, a greater pleasure is kindled, which, however, is as yet much less than that which by continuous practice is converted into habit. For it is very difficult to overcome this; and yet even habit itself, if one does not prove untrue to himself, and does
not shrink back in dread from the Christian warfare, will be got the better of under His [i.e. Christ's] leadership and assistance; and thus, in accordance with primitive peace and order, both the man is subject to Christ, and the woman is subject to the man. 2

30. Hence, just as we arrive at sin by three steps, â€” sug-

1 Gen. iii. 2 1 Cor. xi. 3 and Eph. v. 23.

23 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [cook 1

estion, pleasure, consent, â€” so of sin itself there are three varieties, â€” in heart, in deed, in habit, â€” as it were, three deal lis:

one, as it were, in the house, i.e. when we consent to lust in the heart; a second now, as it were, brought forth outside the gate, when assent goes forward into action; a third, when the mind is pressed down by the force of bad habit, as if by a mound of earth, and is now, as it were, rotting in the sepulchre.

And whoever reads the Gospel perceives that our Lord raised to life those three varieties of the dead. And perhaps he reflects what differences may be found in the very word of Him who raises them, when He says on one occasion, " Damsel, arise;" 1 on another, "Young man, I say unto thee, Arise;" 2 and when on another occasion He groaned in the spirit, and wept, and again groaned, and then afterwards " cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth." 3

36. And therefore, under the category of the adultery mentioned in this section, it is necessary to understand all fleshly and sensual lust. For when Scripture so constantly speaks of idolatry as fornication, and the Apostle Paul gives to avarice the name of idolatry, 4 who doubts but that every evil lust is rightly called fornication, since the soul, neglecting the higher law by which it is ruled, and prostituting itself for the base pleasure of the lower nature as its reward (so to speak), is thereby corrupted ? And therefore let every one who feels carnal pleasure rebelling against right inclination in his own case through the habit of sinning, by whose unsubdued violence he is dragged into captivity, recall to mind as much as he can what kind of peace he has lost by sinning, and let him cry out, " wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death % I thank God through Jesus Christ." 5

For in this way, when he cries out that he is wretched, in the act of bewailing it he implores the help of a comforter. Nor is it a small approach to blessedness, when he has come to know his wretchedness; and therefore " blessed " also " are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

Chap. xiii. â€” 37. In the next place, He goes on to say:

1 Mark v. 41. 2 Luke vii. 14. 3 John xi. 33-44.
4 Col. iii. 5 and Eph. v. 5 Rom. vii. 24, 25.

CHAP. XIII.] PLUCKING OUT THE EIGHT EYE. 29

"And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell." Here, certainly, there is need of great courage in order to cut off one's members. For whatever it is that is meant by the " eye," undoubtedly it is some such thing as is ardently loved. For those who wish to express their affection strongly are wont to speak thus: I love him as my own eyes, or even more than my own eyes. Then, when the word " right " is added, it is meant perhaps to intensify the strength of the affection. For although these bodily eyes of ours are turned in a common direction for the purpose of seeing, and if both are turned they have equal power, yet men are more afraid of losing the right one. So that the sense in this case is: Whatever it is which thou so loveth that thou reckonest it as a right eye, if it offends thee, i.e. if it proves a hindrance to thee on the way to true happiness, pluck it out and cast it from thee. For it is profitable for thee, that one of these which thou so loveth that they cleave to thee as if they were members, should perish, rather than that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

38. But since He follows it up with a similar statement respecting the right hand, " If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell," He compels us to inquire more carefully what He has spoken of as an eye. And as regards this inquiry, nothing occurs to me as a more suitable explanation than a greatly beloved friend: for this, certainly, is something which we may rightly call a member which we ardently love; and this friend a counsellor, for it is an eye, as it were, pointing out the road; and that in divine things, for it is the right eye: so that the left is indeed a beloved counsellor, but in earthly matters, pertaining to the necessities of the body; concerning which as a cause of stumbling it was superfluous to speak, inasmuch as not even the right was to be spared. Now, a counsellor in divine things is a cause of stumbling, if he endeavours to lead one into any dangerous heresy under the guise of religion and science. Hence also

30 our lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

let the right hand be taken in the sense of a helper and assistant in divine works: for in like manner as contemplation is rightly understood as having its seat in the eye, so action in the hand; so that the left hand may be understood in reference to works which are necessary for this life, and for the body.
Chap. xiv. â€” 39. "It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement."

This is the lesser righteousness of the Pharisees, which is not opposed by what our Lord says: "But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery." For He who gave the commandment that a writing of divorcement should be given, did not give the commandment that a wife should be put away; but "whosoever shall put away," says He, "let him give her a writing of divorcement," in order that the thought of such a writing might moderate the rash anger of him who was getting rid of his wife. And, therefore, He who sought to interpose a delay in putting away, indicated as far as He could to hard-hearted men that He did not wish separation. And accordingly the Lord Himself in another passage, when a question was asked Him as to this matter, gave this reply: "Moses did so because of the hardness of your hearts." 1

For however hard-hearted a man might be who wished to put away his wife, when he reflected that, on a writing of divorcement being given her, she could now without risk marry another, he would be easily appeased. Our Lord, therefore, in order to confirm that principle, that a wife should not lightly be put away, made an exception in the case of fornication alone; but enjoins that all other annoyances, if any such should happen to spring up, be borne with fortitude for the sake of conjugal fidelity and for the sake of chastity; and that that man also be called an adulterer who shall marry her that has been divorced by her husband. And the Apostle Paul shows the limit of this state of matters, for he says it is to be observed as long as her husband liveth; but on the husband's death he gives permission to many. 1 For he himself also held by this rule, and therein brings forward not his own advice, as in the case of some of his admonitions, but a command enjoined by the Lord, when he says: "And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband: but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife." 2 I believe that, according to a similar rule, if he shall put her away, he is to remain unmarried, or be reconciled to his wife. For it may happen that he puts away his wife for the cause of fornication, which our Lord wished to make an exception of. But now, if she is not allowed to marry while the husband is living from whom she has departed, nor he to take another while the wife is living whom he has put away, much less is it right to commit unlawful acts of fornication with any parties whomsoever. More blessed indeed are those marriages to be reckoned, where the parties concerned, whether after the procreation of children, or even through contempt of such an earthly progeny, have been able with common consent to practise self-restraint toward each
other: both because nothing is done contrary to that precept whereby the Lord forbids a spouse to be put away (for he does not put her away, who lives with her not carnally, but spiritually), and because that principle is observed to which the apostle gives expression, "It remaineth, that they that have wives be as though they had none." 3

Chap. xv. â€” 40. But it is rather that statement which the Lord Himself makes in another passage which is wont to disturb the minds of the little ones, who nevertheless earnestly desire to live now according to the precepts of Christ: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." 4 For it may seem a contradiction to the less intelligent, that here He forbids the putting away of a wife saving for the case of fornication, but that elsewhere He affirms that no one can be a disciple of

1 Bom. vii. 2, 3. 2 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.


32 ouu lord's sermon on the mount. [book t.

His who does not hate his wife. Lut if He were speaking with reference to sexual intercourse, He would not place father, and mother, and brothers in the same category. But how true it is, that "the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force!" 1 For how great violence is necessary, in order that a man may love his enemies, and hate his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren! For both commands are given by Him who calls us to the kingdom of heaven. And how these commands do not contradict each other, it is easy to show under His guidance; but after they have been understood, it is difficult to carry them out, although this too is very easy when He Himself assists us. For in that eternal kingdom to which He has vouchsafed to call His disciples, to whom He also gives the name of brothers, there are no temporal relationships of this sort. For "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female;" "but Christ is all, and in all." 2 And the Lord Himself says: "For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." 3 Hence it is necessary that whoever wishes here and now to aim after the life of that kingdom, should hate not the persons themselves, but those temporal relationships by which this life of ours, which is destined to pass away, and which is comprised in being born and dying, is upheld; because he who does not hate them, does not yet love that life where there is no condition of being born and dying, which unites parties in earthly wedlock.

41. Therefore, if I were to ask any good Christian who has a wife, and even though he may still be having children by her, whether he would like to have his wife in that kingdom; mindful in any case of the promises of God, and of that life where this incorruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality; 4
[though] at present hesitating from the greatness, or at least from a certain degree of love, he would reply with execration that he is strongly averse to it. Were I to ask him again, whether he would like his wife to live with him there, after the resurrection, when she had undergone that angelic change which is promised to the saints, he would reply that he desires this as strongly as he dislikes the other. Thus a good Christian is found in one and the same woman to love the creature of God, whom he desires to be transformed and renewed; but to hate the corruptible and mortal conjugal connection and sexual intercourse: i.e. to love in her what is characteristic of a human being, to hate what belongs to her as a wife. So also he loves his enemy, not in as far as he is an enemy, but in as far as he is a man; so that he wishes the same prosperity to come to him as to himself, viz. that he may reach the kingdom of heaven rectified and renewed. This is to be understood both of father and of mother and the other ties of blood, that we hate in them what has fallen to the lot of the human race by being born and dying, but that we love what can be carried along with us to those realms where no one says, My Father; but all say to the one God, " Our Father: " and no one says, My mother; but all say to that other Jerusalem, Our mother: and no one says, My brother; but each says respecting every other, Our brother. But in fact there will be a marriage on our part as of one spouse (when we have been brought together into unity), with Him who hath delivered us from the pollution of this world by the shedding of His own blood. It is necessary, therefore, that the disciple of Christ should hate those things which pass away, in those whom he desires along with himself to reach those things which shall for ever remain; and that he should the more hate these things in them, the more he loves themselves.

42. A Christian may therefore live in concord with his wife, whether with her providing for a fleshly craving, a thing which the apostle speaks by permission, not by commandment; or providing for the procreation of children, which may be at present in some degree praiseworthy; or providing for a brotherly and sisterly fellowship, without any corporeal connection, having his wife as though he had her not, as is most excellent and sublime in the marriage of Christians: yet so that in her he hates the name of temporal relationship, and loves the hope of everlasting blessedness. For we hate, without doubt, that respecting which we wish at least, that at some

SERM. MT. C

34 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]
time hereafter it should not exist; as, for instance, this same life of ours in the present world, which if we were not to hate as being temporal, we would not long for the future life, which is not conditioned by time. For as a substitute for this life the soul is put, respecting which it is said in that passage, "If a man hate not his own soul 1 also, he cannot be my disciple."

For that corruptible meat is necessary for this life, of which the Lord Himself says, a Is not the soul 2 more than meat?"
i.e. this life to which meat is necessary. And when He says that He would lay down His soul 3 for His sheep, He undoubtedly means this life, as He is declaring that He is going to die for us.

Chap. xvi. â€” 43. Here there arises a second question, when the Lord allows a wife to be put away for the cause of fornication, in what latitude of meaning fornication is to be understood in this passage, â€” whether in the sense understood by all, viz. that we are to understand that fornication to be meant which is committed in acts of uncleanness; or whether, in accordance with the usage of Scripture in speaking of fornication (as has been mentioned above), as meaning all unlawful corruption, such as idolatry or covetousness, and therefore, of course, every transgression of the law on account of the unlawful lust [involved in it]. 4 But let us consult the apostle, that we may not say anything rashly. " And unto the married I command," says he, " yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband: but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband." For it may happen that she departs for that cause for which the Lord gives permission to do so. Or, if a woman is at liberty to put away her husband for other causes besides that of fornication, and the husband is not at liberty, what answer shall we give respecting this statement which he has made afterwards, " And let not the husband put away his wife " ? Wherefore did he not add, saving for the cause of fornication, which the Lord permits, unless because he wishes a similar rule to be understood, that if he shall put away his wife (which he is permitted to do for the cause of fornication), he is to remain without a wife, or be reconciled to his wife?

2 Eng. vers, "the life "â€”Matt. vi. 25.
3 Eng. vers, " His life "â€”John x. 15.
4 Augustine expresses himself (Retract. I. xix. 6) as dissatisfied with his own explanation of this matter.

CHAR XVI.] DIVORCE. 35

tion, which the Lord permits, unless because he wishes a similar rule to be understood, that if he shall put away his wife (which he is permitted to do for the cause of fornication), he is to remain without a wife, or be reconciled to his wife?
For it would not be a bad thing for a husband to be reconciled to such a woman as that to whom, when nobody had dared to stone her, the Lord said, "Go, and sin no more." * And for this reason also, because He who says, It is not lawful to put away one's wife saving for the cause of fornication, forces him to retain his wife, if there should be no cause of fornication: but if there should be, He does not force him to put her away, but permits him, just as when it is said, Let it not be lawful for a woman to marry another, unless her husband be dead; if she shall marry before the death of her husband, she is guilty; if she shall not marry after the death of her husband, she is not guilty, for she is not commanded to marry, but merely permitted. If, therefore, there is a like rule in the said law of marriage between man and woman, to such an extent that not merely of the woman has the same apostle said, " The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband;" but he has not been silent respecting him, saying, " And likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife; " â€” if, then, the rule is similar, there is no necessity for understanding that it is lawful for a woman to put away her husband, saving for the cause of fornication, as is the case also with the husband.

44. It is therefore to be considered in what latitude of meaning we ought to understand the word fornication, and the apostle is to be consulted, as we were beginning to do. For he goes on to say, " But to the rest speak I, not the Lord." Here, first, we must see who are " the rest," for he was speaking before on the part of the Lord to those who are married, but now, as from himself, he speaks to " the rest: " hence perhaps to the unmarried, but this does not follow. For thus he continues: " If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away." Hence, even now he is speaking to those who are married. What, then, is his object in saying " to the rest," unless that

1 John viii. 11.

36 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [book t.

lie was speaking before to those who were so united, that they were alike as to their faith in Christ; but that now he is speaking to " the rest," i.e. to those who are so united, that they are not both believers ? But what does he say to them ? " If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not put him away." If, therefore, he does not give a command as from the Lord, but advises as from himself, then this good result springs from it, that if any one act otherwise, he is not a transgressor of a command, just as he says a little after respecting virgins, that he has no command of the Lord, but that he gives his advice; 1 and he so praises virginity, that whoever will may avail himself of it; yet if he shall not do so, that he may not be judged to have acted contrary to a command. For there is one thing which is commanded, another respecting which advice is given, another still which is allowed. 2 A wife is commanded not to
depart from her husband; and if she depart, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband: therefore it is not allowable for her to act otherwise. But a believing husband is advised, if he has an unbelieving wife who is pleased to dwell with him, not to put her away: therefore it is allowable also to put her away, because it is no command of the Lord that he should not put her away, but only an advice of the apostle: just as a virgin is advised not to marry; but if she shall marry, she will not indeed adhere to the counsel, but she will not act in opposition to a command. Allowance is given when it is said, " But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment." And therefore, if it is allowable that an unbelieving wife should be put away, although it is better not to put her away, and yet not allowable, according to the commandment of the Lord, that a wife should be put away, saving for the cause of fornication, [then] unbelief itself also is fornication.

45. For what say est thou, apostle ? Surely, that a believing husband who has an unbelieving wife pleased to

*Eng. vers. " judgment." 2 Ignoscitur, lit. " is pardoned. "

3 Lit. "it is pardoned."

CHAP. XVI.] DIVORCE. 37

dwell with him is not to put her away ? Just so, says he. When, therefore, the Lord also gives this command, that a man should not put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, why dost thou say here, " I speak, not the Lord " ?

For this reason, viz. that the idolatry which unbelievers follow, and every other noxious superstition, is fornication. Now, the Lord permitted a wife to be put away for the cause of fornication; but in permitting, He did not command it: He gave opportunity to the apostle for advising that whoever wished should not put away an unbelieving wife, in order that, perchance, in this way she might become a believer. " For," says he, " the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the brother." 1 I suppose it had already occurred that some wives were embracing the faith by means of their believing husbands, and husbands by means of their believing wives; and although not mentioning names, he yet urged his case by examples, in order to strengthen his counsel. Then he goes on to say, " Else were your children unclean; but now are they holy." a For now the children were Christians, who were sanctified at the instance of one of the parents, or with the consent of both; which would not take place unless the marriage were broken up by one of the parties becoming a believer, and unless the unbelief of the spouse were borne with so far as to give an opportunity of believing. This, therefore, is the counsel of Him whom I regard as having spoken the words,
"Whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee." 3

46. Moreover, if unbelief is fornication, and idolatry unbelief, and covetousness idolatry, it is not to be doubted that covetousness also is fornication. Who, then, in that case can rightly separate any unlawful lust whatever from the category of fornication, if covetousness is fornication? And from this we perceive, that because of unlawful lusts, not only those of which one is guilty in acts of uncleanness with another's husband or wife, but any unlawful lusts whatever, which

1 So Augustine appears to have read the passage, and such is now the approved reading in the Greek text of the New Testament.

2 1 Cor. vii. 14. 3 Lukex. 35.

38 our lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

cause the soul making a bad use of the body to wander from the law of God, and to be ruinously and basely corrupted, a man may, without crime, put away his wife, and a wife her husband, because the Lord makes the cause of fornication an exception; which fornication, in accordance with the above considerations, we are compelled to understand as being general and universal.

47. But when He says, "saving for the cause of fornication," He has not said of which of them, whether the man or the woman. For not only is it allowed to put away a wife who commits fornication; but whoever puts away that wife even by whom he is himself compelled to commit fornication, puts her away undoubtedly for the cause of fornication. As, for instance, if a wife should compel one to sacrifice to idols, the man who puts away such an one puts her away for the cause of fornication, not only on her part, but on his own also:

on her part, because she commits fornication; on his own, that he may not commit fornication. Nothing, however, is more unjust than for a man to put away his wife because of fornication, if he himself also is convicted of committing fornication. For that passage occurs to one: "For wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things." 1 And for this reason, whosoever wishes to put away his wife because of fornication, ought first to be cleared of fornication; and a like remark I would make respecting the woman also.

48. But in reference to what He says, "Whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery," it may be asked whether she also who is married commits adultery in the same way as he does who marries her. For she also is commanded to remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband; but this in the case of her departing from her husband. There is, however, a great difference between her putting away and being put away. For if she put away her husband, and marry another, she seems to have left her former husband from a desire of changing her marriage connection, which is, without
doubt, an adulterous thought. But if she be put away by the husband, with whom she desired to be, he

5 Horn. ii. 1.

CHAP. XYI. STOKY OF ACYNDINUS' WIFE. 39

indeed who marries her commits adultery, according to the Lord's declaration; but whether she also be involved in a like crime is uncertain, â€” although it is much less easy to discover how, when a man and woman have intercourse one with another with equal consent, one of them should be chargeable with adultery, and the other not. To this is to be added the consideration, that if he commits adultery by marrying her who is divorced from her husband (although she does not put away, but is put away), she causes him to commit adultery, which nevertheless the Lord forbids. And hence we infer that, whether she has been put away, or has put away her husband, it is necessary for her to remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband.

49. Again, it is asked whether, if, with a wife's permission, either a barren one, or one who does not wish to submit to intercourse, a man shall take to himself another woman, not another man's wife, nor one separated from her husband, he can do so without being chargeable with fornication? And indeed an example is found in the Old Testament history; but now there are greater precepts which the human race has reached after having passed that stage: and those matters are to be investigated for the purpose of distinguishing the ages of the dispensation of that divine providence which assists the human race in the most orderly way; but not for the purpose of making use of the rules of living. But yet it may be asked whether what the apostle says, "The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife," can be carried so far, that, with the permission of a wife, who possesses the power over her husband's body, a man can have intercourse with another woman, who is neither another man's wife nor divorced from her husband; but such an opinion is not to be entertained, lest it should seem that a woman also, with her husband's permission, could do such a thing, which the instinctive feeling of every one prevents.

50. And yet some occasions may arise, where a wife also, with the consent of her husband, may seem under obligation to do this for the sake of that husband himself; as, for instance, is said to have happened at Antioch about fifty years ago. For Acyndinus, at that time prefect and also consul, when he demanded of a certain public debtor the payment of a poundweight of gold, impelled by I
know not what motive, did a thing which is often dangerous in the case of those
magistrates to whom anything whatever is lawful, or rather is thought to be lawful, viz.
threatened with an oath and with a vehement affirmation, that if he did not pay the
foresaid gold on a certain day which he had fixed, he would be put to death. Accordingly,
while he was being kept in cruel confinement, and was unable to rid himself of that debt,
the dread day began to impend and to draw near.

He happened, however, to have a very beautiful wife, but one who had no money
wherewith to come to the relief of her husband; and when a certain rich man had had his
desires inflamed by the beauty of this woman, and had learned that her husband was
placed in that critical situation, he sent to her, promising in return for a single night, if she
would consent to hold intercourse with him, that he would give her the pound of gold.
Then she, knowing that she herself had not power over her body, but her husband,
conveyed the intelligence to him, telling him that she was prepared to do it for the sake of
her husband, but only if he himself, the lord by marriage of her body, to whom all that
chastity was due, should wish it to be done, as if disposing of his own property for the
sake of his life. He thanked her, and commanded that it should be done, in no wise
judging that it was an adulterous embrace, because it was no lust, but great love for her
husband, that demanded it, at his own bidding and will. The woman came to the villa of
that rich man, did what the lewd man wished; but she gave her body only to her husband,
desiring as he did not his usual marriage rights, but life. She received the gold; but he
who gave it took away stealthily what he had given, and substituted a similar bag with
earth in it. When the woman, however, on reaching her home, discovered it, she rushed
forth in public in order to proclaim what she had done, animated by the same tender
affection for her husband by which she had been forced to do it; she goes to the prefect,
confesses everything, shows the fraud that had been

1 About the year 343; for Augustine wrote this treatise about the year 393.

CHAP, xvil] of oaths. 41

practised upon her. Then indeed the prefect first pronounces himself guilty, because the
matter had come to this by means of his threats, and, as if pronouncing sentence upon
another, deciding that a pound of gold should be brought into the treasury from the
property of Acyndinus; but that she (the woman) be installed as mistress of that piece of
land whence she had received the earth instead of the gold. I offer no opinion either way
from this story: let each one form a judgment as he pleases, for the history is not drawn
from divinely authoritative sources; but yet, when the story is related, man's instinctive
sense does not so revolt against what was done in the case of this woman, at her
husband's bidding, as we formerly shuddered when the thing itself was set forth without
any example. But in this section of the Gospel nothing is to be more steadily kept in
view, than that so great is the evil of fornication, that, while married people are bound to
one another by so strong a bond, this one cause of divorce is excepted; but as to what
fornication is, we have already discussed that topic.
"Again," says He, "ye have heard that it hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is His footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King.

Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." The righteousness of the Pharisees is not to forswear oneself; and this is confirmed by Him who gives the command not to swear, so far as relates to the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven. For just as he who does not speak at all cannot speakly falsely, so he who does not swear at all cannot swear falsely. But yet, since he who takes God to witness swears, this section must be carefully considered, lest it should seem to have been contrary to the Lord's precept that the apostle acted, who often swore in this way, when he says, 'â€¢' Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God

42 our lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

I lie not;" 1 and again, "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not." 2 Of like nature also is that asseveration, " For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of His Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers." 3 Unless, perchance, one were to say that it is to be reckoned swearing only when something is spoken of by which one swears; so that he has not used an oath, because he has not said, by God; but has said, " God is witness." It is ridiculous to think so; yet because of the contentious, or those very slow of apprehension, lest any one should think there is a difference, let him know that the apostle has used an oath in this way also, saying, " By your rejoicing, I die daily." 4 And let no one think that this is so expressed as if the meaning were, Your rejoicing makes me die daily; just as it is said, By his teaching he became learned, i.e. by his teaching it came about that he was perfectly instructed: the Greek copies decide the matter, where we find it written, Νρτλ ΚανΚεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκεναγκνκε

Thus, then, it is understood that the Lord gave the command not to swear in this sense, that no one should eagerly seek after an oath as a good thing, and by the constant use of oaths sink down through force of habit into perjury. And therefore let him who understands that swearing is to be reckoned not among things that are good, but among things that are necessary, refrain as far as he can from indulging in it, unless by necessity, when he sees men slow to believe what it is useful for them to believe, unless they are assured by an oath. To this, accordingly, reference is made when it is said, " Let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay;" this is good, and what is to be aimed at. " For whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil;" i.e., if you are compelled to swear, know that it comes of a necessity arising from the infirmity of those whom you are trying to persuade of something; which infirmity is certainly an evil, from which we daily pray to be delivered, when we say, "Deliver us from evil." 5 Hence He has not said, Whatsoever is more than these is evil; for you are
not doing what is evil when you make a good use of an oath, which, although not in itself
good, is yet necessary in order to persuade another of something which for some useful
end you are trying to urge upon him; but it "cometh of evil" on his part by whose
infirmity you are compelled to swear. But no one learns, unless by experience, how
difficult it is both to get rid of a habit of swearing, and never to do rashly what necessity
sometimes compels him to do.

52. But it may be asked why, when it was said, "But I
say unto you, Swear not at all," it was added, "neither by heaven, for it is God's throne,"
etc., up to "neither by thy head." I suppose it was for this reason, that the Jews did not
think they were bound by the oath, if they had sworn by such things: and since they had
heard it said, "Thou shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths," they did not think an oath
brought them under obligation to the Lord, if they swore by heaven, or earth, or by
Jerusalem, or by their head; and this happened not from the fault of Him who gave the
command, but because they did not rightly understand it. Hence the Lord teaches that
there is nothing so worthless among the creatures of God, as that any one should think
that he may swear falsely by it; since created things, from the highest down to the lowest,
becjinnii'jr with the throne of God and Gjoin^ down to a white or black hair, are ruled by
divine providence. "Neither by heaven," says He, "for it is God's throne; nor by the
earth, for it is His footstool:" i.e., when you swear by heaven or the earth, do not imagine
that your oath does not bring you under obligation to the Lord; for you are convicted of
swearing by Him who has heaven for His throne, and the earth for His footstool. "Neither
by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King;" a better expression than if He were to
say, "My
[city];" although, however, we understand Him to have meant this. And because he is
undoubtedly the Lord, the man who swears by Jerusalem is bound by his oath to the
Lord.
"Neither shalt thou swear by thy head." Now, what could any one suppose to belong
more to himself than his own head?
But how is it ours, when we have not the power of making one hair white or black?
Hence, whoever should wish to Bwear even by his own head, is bound by his oath to
God, who

44 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]
in an ineffable way keeps all things in His power, and is everywhere present. And here also all other things are understood, all of which could not of course be enumerated; just as that saying of the apostle we have mentioned, "By your rejoicing, I die daily." And to show that he was bound by this oath to the Lord, he has added, "which I have in Christ Jesus."

53. But yet (I make the remark for the sake of the carnal) we must not think that heaven is called God's throne, and the earth His footstool, because God has members placed in heaven and in earth, in some such way as we have when we sit down; but that seat means judgment. And since, in this organic whole of the universe, heaven has the greatest appearance, and earth the least, "as if the divine power were more present where the beauty excels, but still were regulating the least degree of it in the most distant and in the lowest regions," He is said to sit in heaven, and to tread upon the earth. But spiritually the expression heaven means holy souls, and earth sinful ones: and since the spiritual man judges all things, yet he himself is judged of no man, 1 he is suitably spoken of as the seat of God; but the sinner to whom it is said, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return," 2 because, in accordance with that justice which assigns what is suitable to men's deserts, he is placed among things that are lowest, and he who would not remain in the law is punished under the law, is suitably taken as His footstool.

Chap, xviii. â€” 54. But now, to conclude by summing up this passage, what can be named or thought of more laborious and toilsome, where the believing soul is straining every nerve of its industry, than the subduing of vicious habit? Let such an one cut off the members which come between him and the kingdom of heaven, 3 and not be overwhelmed by the pain: in conjugal fidelity let him bear with everything which, however grievously annoying it may be, is still free from the guilt of unlawful corruption, i.e. of fornication: as, for instance, if any one should have a wife either barren, or misshapen in body, or faulty in her members, either blind, or deaf, or lame, or having any other defect, or worn out by diseases and pains and weaknesses, and whatever else may be thought of exceeding horrible, fornication excepted, let him endure it for the sake of his plighted love and conjugal union; * and let him not only not put away such a wife, but even if he have her not, let him not marry one who has been divorced by her husband, though beautiful, healthy, rich, fruitful. And if it is not lawful to do such things, much less is he to deem it lawful for him to come near any other unlawful embrace; and let him so flee from fornication, as to withdraw himself from base corruption of every sort. Let him speak the truth, and let him commend it not by frequent oaths, but by the probity of his

1 1 Cor. ii. 15. 2 Gen. iii. 19.
3 Lit. "the members impeding the kingdom of heaven."
morals; and with respect to the innumerable crowds of all bad habits rising up in rebellion against him, of which, in order that all may be understood, a few have been mentioned, let him betake himself to the citadel of Christian warfare, and let him lay them prostrate, as if from a higher ground. But who would venture to enter upon labours so great, unless one who is so enflamed with the love of righteousness, that, as it were utterly consumed with hunger and thirst, and thinking there is no life for him till that is satisfied, he puts forth violence to obtain the kingdom of heaven? For otherwise he will not be able bravely to endure all those things which the lovers of this world reckon toilsome and arduous, and altogether difficult in getting rid of bad habits. "Blessed," therefore, "are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled."

55. But yet, when any one encounters difficulty in these toils, and advancing through hardships and roughnesses surrounded with various temptations, and perceiving the troubles of his past life rise up on this side and on that, becomes afraid lest he should not be able to carry through what he has undertaken, let him eagerly avail himself of the counsel that he may obtain assistance. But what other counsel is there than this, that he who desires to have divine help for his own infirmity should bear that of others, and should assist it as much as possible? And so, therefore, let us look at the pre-

1 Pro fide et societate.

45 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

cepts of mercy. The meek and the merciful man, however, seem to be one and the same: but there is this difference, that the meek man, of whom we have spoken above, from piety does not gainsay the divine sentences which are brought forward against his sins, nor those statements of God which he does not yet understand; but he confers no benefit on him whom he does not gainsay or resist. But the merciful man in such a way offers no resistance, that he does it for the purpose of correcting him whom he would render worse by resisting.

Chap. xix. â€” 56. Hence the Lord goes on to say: "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." It is the lesser righteousness of the Pharisees not to go beyond measure in revenge, that no one should give back more than he has received: and this is a great step. For it is not easy to find any one who, when he has received a blow, wishes merely to return the blow; and who, on hearing one word from a man who reviles him, is content to return only one, and that just an equivalent; but he avenges it more immoderately, either under the disturbing influence of anger, or because he thinks it just, that he who first
inflicted injury should suffer more severe injury than he suffered who had not inflicted injury. Such a spirit was in great measure restrained by the law, where it was written, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;" by which expressions a certain measure is intended, so that the vengeance should not exceed the injury. And this is the beginning of peace: but perfect peace is to have no wish at all for such vengeance.

5 7. Hence, between that first course which goes beyond the law, that a greater evil should be inflicted in return for a lesser, and this to which the Lord has given expression for the purpose of perfecting the disciples, that no evil at all should

CHAP. XIX.] LAW OF RETALIATION. 47

be inflicted in return for evil, a middle course holds a certain place, viz. that as much be paid back as has been received; by means of which enactment the transition is made from the highest discord to the highest concord, according to the distribution of times. See, therefore, at how great a distance any one who is the first to do harm to another, with the desire of injuring and hurting him, stands from him who, even when injured, does not pay back the injury. That man, however, who is not the first to do harm to any one, but who yet, when injured, inflicts a greater injury in return, either in will or in deed, has so far withdrawn himself from the highest injustice, and made so far an advance to the highest righteousness; but still he does not yet hold by what the law given by Moses commanded. And therefore he who pays back just as much as he has received already forgives something: for the party who injures does not deserve merely as much punishment as the man whom he has injured has innocently suffered. And accordingly this incomplete, by no means severe, but [rather] merciful justice, is carried to perfection by Him who came to fulfil the law, not to destroy it. Hence there are still two intervening steps which He has left to be understood, while He has chosen rather to speak of the very highest development of mercy. For there is still what one may do who does not come fully up to that magnitude of the precept which belongs to the kingdom of heaven; acting in such a way that he does not pay back as much, but less; as, for instance, one blow instead of two, or that he cuts off an ear instead of an eye that has been plucked out. He who, rising above this, pays back nothing at all, approaches the Lord's precept, but yet he does not reach it. For still it seems to the Lord not enough, if, instead of the evil which you may have received, you should merely inflict no evil in return, unless you be prepared to receive even more. And therefore He does not say, "But I say unto you," that you are not to return evil for evil; although even this would be a great precept: but He says, "that ye resist not evil;" so that not only are you not to pay back
what may have been inflicted on you, but you are not even to resist other infli-
ctions. For this is what He also goes on to explain: "But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right

48 our lord's sermon ox the mount. [book t.

cheek, turn to him the other also: " for He does not say,
"Whosoever shall smite thee, do not smite him [in return]; but, Make thyself ready for
him if he should go on to smite thee.
As regards compassion, they feel it most who minister to those whom they greatly love as
if they were their children, or some very dear friends in sickness, or little children, or
insane persons, at whose hands they often submit to many things; and if their welfare
should demand it, they even hold themselves ready to submit to more, until the weakness
either of age or of disease pass away. And so, as regards those whom the Lord, the
Physician of souls, was preparing for curing their neighbours, what else could He teach
them, than that they should endure quietly the infirmities of those whose welfare they
may wish to make a matter of consideration % For all wickedness arises from infirmity of
mind: because none is less disposed to do an injury than the man who is perfect in virtue.

58. But it may be asked what the right cheek means.
For this is the reading we find in the Greek copies, which are most worthy of confidence;
though many Latin ones have only the word " cheek," without the addition of " right."
Now the face is that by which any one is recognised; and we read in the apostle's
writings, " For ye suffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man
take of you, if a man exalt himself, if a man smite you on the face: " then immediately he
adds, " I speak as concerning reproach; " * so that he explains what striking on the face
is, viz. to be con-
temned and despised. Nor is this indeed said by the apostle for this
reason, that they should not bear with those parties; but that they should bear with himself
rather, who so loved them, that he was willing that he himself should be spent for them. 2
But since the face cannot be called right and left, and yet there may be worth both in the
estimation of God and in the estimation of this world, it is so distributed as it were into
the right and left cheek, that whatever disciple of Christ shall have to bear reproach
because he is a Christian, should be much more ready to be despised in himself, in as far
as he possesses any of the honours of this world; as, for
1 2 Cor. xi. 20, 21. 2 2 Cor. xii. 15.

CHAP. XIX.] PAUL AND THE HIGH PEIEST. 49
instance, that same apostle, if he had kept silence respecting the dignity which he had in the world, when men were persecuting in him the Christian name, would not have presented the other cheek to those that were smiting the right one.

For when he said, I am a Eoman citizen, 1 he was not unprepared to submit to be despised, in that which he reckoned as least, by those who had despised in him so precious and life-giving a name. For did he at all the less on that account afterwards submit to the chains, which it was not lawful to put on Eoman citizens, or did he wish to accuse any one of this injury? And if any spared him on account of the name of Eoman citizenship, yet he did not on that account refrain from offering an object they might strike at, since he wished by his patience to cure of so great perversity those whom he saw honouring in him what belonged to the left rather than the right. For that point only is to be attended to, in what spirit he did everything, how benevolently and mildly he acted toward those from whom he was suffering such things.

For what he seemed to say contumeliously on another occasion, viz. that of his being smitten with the hand by order of the high priest, when he affirms, "God shall smite thee, thou whitened wall," sounds like an insult to those who do not understand it; but to those who do, it is a prophecy. For a whitened wall is hypocrisy, i.e. pretence holding forth the sacerdotal dignity before itself, and under this name, as under a white covering, concealing an inner and as it were dirty baseness. For what belonged to humility he wonderfully preserved, when, on its being said to him, "Evil est thou the high priest?" he replied, "I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." 2 And here he showed with what calmness he had spoken that which he seemed to have spoken in anger, because he answered so quickly and so mildly, which cannot be done by those who are indignant and thrown into confusion. And in that very statement he spoke the truth to those who understood him, "I wist not that he was the high priest:" as if he said, I know another High Priest, for whose name I bear such things, whom it is not lawful to

1 Acts xxii. 25. 2 Acts xxiii. 3-5.

SEEM. MT. D

50 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [book t.

revile, and whom ye revile, since in me it is nothing else but His name that ye hate. Thus, therefore, it is necessary for one not to boast of such things in a hypocritical way, but to be prepared in the heart itself for all things, so that he can sing that prophetic word, uMy heart is prepared, 1 God, my heart is prepared." For many have learned how to offer the other cheek, but do not know how to love him by whom they are struck. But in truth, the Lord Himself, who certainly was the first to fulfil the precepts which He taught, did not offer the other cheek to the servant of the high priest when smiting Him thereon; but, so far from that, said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" 2 Yet was He not on that account unprepared in heart, for the salvation
of all, not merely to be smitten on the other cheek, but even to have His whole body crucified.

59. Hence also what follows, "And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," is rightly understood as a precept having reference to the preparation of heart, not to a vain show of outward deed. But what is said with respect to the coat and cloak is to be carried out not merely in such things, but in the case of everything which on any ground of right we speak of as being ours for time. For if this command is given with respect to what is necessary, how much more does it become us to contemn what is superfluous! But still, those things which I have called ours are to be included in that category under which the Lord Himself gives the precept, when He says, "If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat." Let all these things therefore be understood for which we may be sued at the law, so that the right to them may pass from us to him who sues, or for whom he sues; such, for instance, as clothing, a house, an estate, a beast of burden, and in general all kinds of property. But whether it is to be understood of slaves also is a great question. For a Christian ought not to possess a slave in the same way as a horse or money: although it may happen that a horse is valued at a greater price than a slave, and some article of gold or silver at much more. But with respect to that slave, if he is being

i Ens. vers. " fixed"â€” Ps. lvii. 7. 2 John xviii. 23.

CHAP. XIX.] UTILES FOR YIELDING. 51

educated and ruled by thee as his master, in a way more upright, and more honourable, and more conducing to the fear of God, than can be done by him who desires to take him away, I do not know whether any one would dare to say that he ought to be despised like a garment. For a man ought to love a fellow-man as himself, inasmuch as he is commanded by the Lord of all (as is shown by what follows) even to love his enemies.

60. It is carefully to be observed that every tunic is a garment, but that every garment is not a tunic. Hence the word garment means more than the word tunic. And therefore I think it is so expressed, "And if any one will sue thee at the law, and take away thy tunic, let him have thy garment also," as if the meaning were, Whoever wishes to take away thy tunic, let him have whatever other clothing belongs to thee. And so some have interpreted the Greek word which is used here. 3

61. "And whosoever," says He, "shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him other two." And this, certainly, not so much in the sense that thou shouldest do it on foot, as that thou shouldest be prepared in mind to do it. For in the Christian history itself, which is authoritative, you will find no such thing done by the saints, or by the Lord Himself when in His human nature, which He condescended to assume, He was showing us an example of how to live; while at the same time, in almost all places, you will find them prepared to bear with equanimity whatever may have been wickedly forced upon them. But are we to
suppose it is said for the sake of the mere expression, " Go with him other two; " or did He rather wish that three should be completed, â€” the number which has the meaning of perfection; so that every one should remember when he does this, that he is fulfilling perfect righteousness by compassionately bearing the infirmities of those whom he wishes to be made whole ? It may seem for this reason also that He has recommended these precepts by three examples: of which the first is, if any one shall smite thee on the cheek; the second, if any one shall wish to take away thy coat; the third, if any one shall compel thee to go a mile: in which third example twice as much is added to the original unit, so that in this way the triplet is completed. And if this number in the passage before us does not, as has been said, mean perfection, let this be understood, that in laying down His precepts, as it were beginning with what is more tolerable, He has gradually gone on, until He has reached as far as the enduring of twice as much more. Tor, in the first place, He wished the other cheek to be presented when the right had been smitten, so that you may be prepared to bear less than you have borne. For whatever the right means, it is at least something more valuable than what is meant by the left; and if one who has borne with something in what is more valuable, bears with it in what is less valuable, it is something less. Then, secondly, in the case of one who wishes to take away a coat, He enjoins that the garment also should be given up to him: which is either just as much, or not much more; not, however, twice as much. In the third place, with respect to the mile, to which He says that two miles are to be added, He enjoins that you should bear with even twice as much more: thus signifying that whether it be somewhat less than the original demand, or just as much, or more, that any wicked man shall wish to take from thee, it is to be borne with tranquil mind.

Chap. xx. â€” 62. And, indeed, in these three classes of examples, I see that no class of injury is passed over. For all matters in which we suffer any injustice are divided into two classes: of which the one is, where restitution cannot be made; the other, where "it can. But in that case where restitution cannot be made, a compensation in revenge is usually sought. For what does it profit, that on being struck you strike in return? Is that part of the body which was injured for that reason restored to its original condition? But an excited mind desires such alleviations. Things of that sort, however, afford no pleasure to a healthy and firm one; nay, such an one judges rather that the other's infirmity is to be compassionately borne with, than that his own (which has no existence) should be soothed by the punishment of another.

63. Nor are we thus precluded from inflicting such punish-
ment 1 as avails for correction, and as compassion itself dictates; nor does it stand in the way of that course proposed, where one is prepared to endure more at the hand of him whom he wishes to set right. But no one is fit for inflicting this punishment except the man who, by the greatness of his love, has overcome that hatred wherewith those are wont to be inflamed who wish to avenge themselves. For it is not to be feared that parents would seem to hate a little son when, on committing an offence, he is beaten by them that he may not go on offending. And certainly the perfection of love is set before us as consisting in the imitation of God the Father Himself, when it is said in what follows: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which persecute you;" and yet it is said of Him by the prophet, "For whom the Lord loveth He correcteth; yea, He scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." 3 The Lord also says, "The servant that knows not his lord's will, and does things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; but the servant that knows his lord's will, and does things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with many stripes." 4 No more, therefore, is sought for, except that he should punish to whom, in the natural order of things, the power is given; and that he should punish with the same goodwill which a father has towards his little son, whom by reason of his youth he cannot yet hate. For from this source the most suitable example is drawn, in order that it may be sufficiently manifest that sin can be punished in love rather than be left unpunished; so that one may wish him on whom he inflicts it not to be miserable by means of punishment, but to be happy by means of correction, yet be prepared, if need be, to endure with equanimity more injuries inflicted by him whom he wishes to be corrected, whether he may have the power of putting restraint upon him or not.

64. But great and holy men, although they at the time knew excellently well that that death which separates the soul from the body is not to be dreaded, yet, in accordance with the sentiment of those who might fear it, punished some sins with death, both because the living were struck with a salutary fear, and because it was not death itself that would injure those who were being punished with death, but sin, which might be increased if they should continue to live. They did not judge rashly on whom God had bestowed such a power of judging. Hence it is that Elijah inflicted death on many, both with his own hand - 1 and by calling down

1 Vindicta. * Lit. "paying back this vengeance."

3 Prov. iii. |12. So the LXX. Eng. vers.: "even as a father the son in whom he delighteth," following the Hebrew.

4 Luke xii. 48, 47.
fire from heaven; 2 as was done also without rashness by many other great and godlike men, in the same spirit of concern for the good of humanity. And when the disciples had quoted an example from this Elias, mentioning to the Lord what had been done by him, in order that He might give to themselves also the power of calling down fire from heaven to consume those who would not show Him hospitality, the Lord reproved in them, not the example of the holy prophet, but their ignorance in respect to taking vengeance, their knowledge being as yet elementary; 3 perceiving that their desire was not for correction in love, but for revenge in hatred. Accordingly, after He had taught them what it was to love one's neighbour as oneself, and when the Holy Spirit had been poured out, whom, at the end of ten days after His ascension, He sent from above, as He had promised, 4 there were not wanting such acts of vengeance, although much, more rarely than in the Old Testament. For there, for the most part, servants were kept down by fear; but here mostly children were nourished by love. For at the words of the Apostle Peter also, Ananias and his wife, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, fell down dead, and were not raised to life again, but buried.

65. But if the heretics who are opposed to the Old Testament 5 will not credit this book, let them contemplate the Apostle Paul, whose writings they read along with us, saying with respect to a certain sinner whom he delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, " that the spirit may be saved." 6 And if they will not here understand death (for perhaps it is uncertain), let them acknowledge that punishment 7 of some kind or other was inflicted by the apostle

1 1 Kings xviii. 40. " 2 Kings i. 10. 3 Luke ix. 52-5G. 4 Acts ii. 1-4. 5 i.e. The Manichcans. c 1 Cor. v. 5. 7 Vindicta.

CHAP. XX.] PUNISHMENT AND EESTITUTION. 55

through the instrumentality of Satan; and that he did this not in hatred, but in love, is made plain by that addition, ut that the spirit may be saved." Or let them notice what we say in those books to which they themselves attribute great authority, where it is written that the Apostle Thomas imprecated on a certain man, by whom he had been struck with the palm of the hand, the punishment of death in a very cruel form, while yet commending his soul to God, that it might be spared in the world to come, â€” whose hand, torn from the rest of his body after he had been killed by a lion, a dog brought to the table at which the apostle was feasting. It is allowable for us not to credit this writing, for it is not in the catholic canon; yet they both read it, and honour it as being thoroughly uncorrupted and thoroughly truthful, who rage very fiercely (with I know not what blindness) against the corporeal punishments which are in the Old Testament, being altogether ignorant in what spirit and at what stage in the orderly distribution of times they were inflicted.

Q6. Hence, in this class of injuries which is atoned for by punishment, such a measure will be preserved by Christians, that, on an injury being received, the mind will not
mount up into hatred, but will be ready, in compassion for the infirmity, to endure even more; nor will it neglect the correction, which it can employ either by advice, or by authority, or by [the exercise of] power. There is another class of injuries, where complete restitution is possible, of which there are two species: the one referring to money, the other to labour. And therefore examples are subjoined: of the former in the case of the coat and cloak, of the latter in the case of the compulsory service of one and two miles; for a garment may be given back, and he whom you have assisted by labour may also assist you, if it should be necessary. Unless, perhaps, the distinction should rather be drawn in this way: that the first case which is supposed, in reference to the cheek being struck, means all injuries that are inflicted by the wicked in such a way that restitution cannot be made except by punishment; and that the second case which is supposed, in reference to the garment, means all injuries where restitution can be made without punishment; and therefore, perhaps, it is added, "if

5G OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

any man will sue thee at the law," because what is taken away by means of a judicial sentence is not supposed to be taken away with such a degree of violence as that punishment is due; but that the third case is composed of both, so that restitution may be made both without punishment and with it. For the man who violently exacts labour to which he has no claim, without any judicial process, as he does who wickedly compels a man to go with him, and forces in an unlawful way assistance to be rendered to himself by one who is unwilling, is able both to pay the penalty of his wickedness and to repay the labour, if he who endured the wrong should ask it again. In all these classes of injuries, therefore, the Lord teaches that the disposition of a Christian ought to be most patient and compassionate, and thoroughly prepared to endure more.

67. But since it is a small matter merely to abstain from injuring, unless you also confer a benefit as far as you can, He therefore goes on to say, "Give to every one that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."
"To every one that asketh," says He; not, Everything to him that asketh: so that you are to give that which you can honourably and justly give. For what if he should ask money, wherewith he may endeavour to oppress an innocent man? what if, in short, he should ask something unchaste? But not to recount many examples, which are in fact innumerable, that certainly is to be given which may hurt neither thyself nor the other party, as far as can be known or supposed by man; and in the case of him to whom you have justly denied what he asks, justice itself is to be made known, so that you may not send him away empty. Thus you will give to every one that asketh you, although you will not always give what he asks; and you will sometimes give something better, when you have set him right who was making unjust requests.

68. Then, as to what He says, "From him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away," it is to be referred to the mind; for God loveth a cheerful giver. 1 Moreover, every one
who accepts anything borrows, even if he himself is not going to pay it; for inasmuch as God pays back more to the merciful, who-

1 2 Cor. ix. 7.

CHAP. XXI.] LOVE OF ENEMIES. 57

soever does a kindness lends at interest. Or if it does not seem good to understand the borrower in any other sense than of him who accepts of anything with the intention of repaying it. we must understand the Lord to have included those two methods of doing a favour. For we either give in a present what we give in the exercise of benevolence, or we lend to one who will repay us. And frequently men who, setting before them the divine reward, are prepared to give away in a present, become slow to give what is asked in loan, as if they were destined to get nothing in return from God, inasmuch as he who receives pays back the thing which is given him. Eightly, therefore, does the divine authority exhort us to this mode of bestowing a favour, saying, " And from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away:" i.e., do not alienate your goodwill from him who asks it, both because your money will be useless, and because God will not pay you back, inasmuch as the man has done so; but when you do that from a regard to God's precept, it cannot be unfruitful with him who gives these commands.

Chap. xxi. æ” 69. In the next place, He goes on to say, u Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, 1 ... do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which persecute you; x that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye % Do not even the publicans the same ? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others ? Do not even the publicans so ? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." For without this love, wherewith we are commanded to love even our enemies and persecutors, who can fully carry out those things which are mentioned above ? Moreover, the perfection of that mercy, wherewith most of all the soul that is in distress is cared for, cannot be stretched beyond the love of an enemy; and therefore the closing words

1 Augustine's rendering is slightly different from ours.

5 8 our lord's sermon on ti; mount. [BOOK I.]

are: " Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Yet in such a way that God is understood to be perfect as God, and the soul to be perfect as a soul.
70. That there is, however, a certain step [in advance] in the righteousness of the Pharisees, which belongs to the old law, is perceived from this consideration, that many men hate even those by whom they are loved; as, for instance, luxurious children hate their parents for restraining them in their luxury. That man therefore rises a certain step, who loves his neighbour, although as yet he hates his enemy. But in the kingdom of Him who came to fulfil the law, not to destroy it, he will bring benevolence and kindness to perfection, when he has carried it out so far as to love an enemy. For the former stage, although it is something, is yet so little that it may be reached even by the publicans as well. And as to what is said in the law, "Thou shalt hate thine enemy," it is not to be understood as the voice of command addressed to a righteous man, but rather as the voice of permission to a weak man.

71. Here indeed arises a question in no way to be blinked, that to this precept of the Lord, wherein He exhorts us to love our enemies, and to do good to those who hate us, and to pray for those who persecute us, many other parts of Scripture seem to those who consider them less diligently and soberly to stand opposed; for in the prophets there are found many imprecations against enemies, which are thought to be curses: as, for instance, that one, "Let their table become a snare," * and the other things which are said there; and that one, "Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow," 2 and the other statements which are made either before or afterwards in the same Psalm by the prophet, as bearing on the case of Judas. Many other statements are found in all parts of Scripture, which may seem contrary both to this precept of the Lord, and to that apostolic one, where it is said, "Bless, and curse not;" 3 while it is both written of the Lord, that He cursed the cities which received not His word; 4 and the above-men-

1 Ps. lxix. 22. 2 Ts. cix. 9. 3 Rom. xii. 14.


CHAP. XXI.] SCRIPTURE IMPRECA TIONS. HO

tioned apostle thus spoke respecting a certain man, "The Lord will reward him according to his works." 1

72. But these difficulties are easily solved, for the prophet predicted by means of imprecation what was about to happen, not as praying for what he wished, but in the spirit of one who saw it beforehand. So also the Lord, so also the apostle; although even in the words of these we do not find what they have wished, but what they have foretold. For when the Lord says, "Woe unto thee, Capernaum," He does not utter anything else than that some evil will happen to her as a punishment of her unbelief; and that this would happen the Lord did not malevolently wish, but saw by means of His divinity. And
the apostle does not say, "May [the Lord] reward; but, "The Lord will reward him according to his work;" 2 which is the word of one who foretells, not of one uttering an imprecation. Just as also, in regard to that hypocrisy of the Jews of which we have already spoken, whose destruction he saw to be impending, he said, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." 3 But the prophets especially are accustomed to predict future events under the figure of one uttering an imprecation, just as they have often foretold those things which were to come under the figure of past time: as is the case, for example, in that passage, "Why have the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things?" 4 For he has not said, Why will the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? although he was not mentioning those things as if they were already past, but was looking forward to them as yet to come. Such also is that passage, "They have parted my garments among them, and have cast lots upon my vesture:" 5 for here also he has not said, They will part my garments among them, and will cast lots upon my vesture.

And yet no one finds fault with these words, except the man who does not perceive that that variety of figures in speaking in no degree lessens the truth of facts, and adds very much to the impressions on our minds.

1 2 Tim. iv. 14. So Augustine read the passage, but erroneously. Our English version is correct.

2 But see the last note. 3 See above, Chap. xix. 58.

4 Ps. ii. 1. The English version employs the present tense.

5 Ps. xxii. 18.

60 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

Chap. xxii. â€” 73. But the question before us is rendered more urgent by what the Apostle John says: "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and the Lord shall give him life for him who sinneth not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it." 1 For he manifestly shows that there are certain brethren for whom we are not commanded to pray, although the Lord bids us pray even for our persecutors. Nor can the question in hand be solved, unless we acknowledge that there are certain sins in brethren which are more heinous than the persecution of enemies. Moreover, that brethren mean Christians can be proved by many examples from the divine Scriptures. Yet that one is plainest which the apostle thus states: "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the brother." 2 For he has not added the word our; but has thought it plain, as he wished a Christian who had an unbelieving wife to be understood by the expression "brother. And therefore he says a little after, "But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart: a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases." 3 Hence I am of opinion that the sin of a brother is unto death, when any one, after coming to the knowledge of
God through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, makes an assault on the brotherhood, and is impelled by the fires of envy to oppose that grace itself by which he is reconciled to God. But the sin is not unto death, if any one has not withdrawn his love from a brother, but through some infirmity of disposition has failed to perform the incumbent duties of brotherhood. And on this account our Lord also on the cross says, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." For, not yet having become partakers of the grace of the Holy Spirit, they had not yet entered the fellowship of the holy brotherhood. And the blessed Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles prays for those by whom he is being stoned because they had not yet believed on Christ, and were not fighting against that common grace. And the Apostle Paul on this account, I believe, does not pray for Alexander, because he was already a brother, and had sinned unto death, viz. by making an assault on the brotherhood through envy. But for those who had not broken off their love, but had given way through fear, he prays that they may be pardoned. For thus he expresses it: "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord will reward him according to his works. Of whom be thou ware also; for he hath greatly withstood our words." Then he adds for whom he prays, thus expressing it: "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge." 1

74. It is this difference in their sins which separates Judas the betrayer from Peter the denier: not that a penitent is not to be pardoned, for we must not come into collision with that declaration of our Lord, where He enjoins that a brother is to be pardoned, when he asks his brother to pardon him; 2 but that the ruin connected with that sin is so great, that he cannot endure the humiliation of asking for it, even if he should be compelled by a guilty conscience both to acknowledge and to divulge his sin. For when Judas had said, "I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood," yet it was easier for him in despair to run and hang himself, 4 than in humility to ask for pardon. And therefore it is of much consequence to know what sort of repentance God pardons. For many much more readily confess that they have sinned, and are so angry with themselves that they vehemently wish they had not sinned; but yet they do not condescend to humble the heart and to make it contrite, and to implore pardon: and this disposition of mind we must suppose them to have, as feeling themselves already condemned because of the greatness of their sin.

75. And this is perhaps the sin against the Holy Ghost, i.e. through malice and envy to act in opposition to brotherly love after receiving the grace of the Holy Ghost, a sin which our Lord says is not forgiven either in this world or in the world to come. And
hence it may be asked whether the Jews sinned against the Holy Ghost, when they said
that our Lord was casting out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils:

1 2 Tim. to. 14-1G. 2 Luke xvii. 3.

3 Lit. "bad." 4 Matt, xxvii. 4, 5.

whether we are to understand this as said against our Lord Himself, because He says of
Himself in another passage, " If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how
much more shall they call them of His household I" 1 or whether, inasmuch as they had
spoken from, great envy, being ungrateful for so manifest benefits, although they were
not yet Christians, they are, from the very greatness of their envy, to be supposed to have
sinned against the Holy Ghost ? This

[76. Let it be understood, therefore, that we are to love our enemies, and to do good to
those who hate us, and to pray for those who persecute us, in such a way, that it is at the
same time understood that there are certain sins of brethren for which we are not
commanded to pray; lest, through unskilfulness on our part, divine Scripture should seem
to contradict itself (a thing which cannot happen).

But whether, as we are not to pray for certain parties, so we are also to pray against some,
has not yet become sufficiently evident. For it is said in general, " Bless, and curse not; "
and again, " Becompose to no man evil for evil." 3 Moreover,

1 Matt. x. 25. 2 Matt. xii. 24-33. 3 Rom. xii. 14, 17.

CHAP. XXII.] AVENGING OF THE MARTYRS. Go
while you do not pray for one, you do not therefore pray against him: for you may see that his punishment is certain, and his salvation altogether hopeless; and you do not pray for him, not because you hate him, but because you feel you can profit him nothing, and you do not wish your prayer to be rejected by the most righteous Judge. But what are we to think respecting those parties against whom we have it revealed that prayers were offered by the saints, not that they might be turned from their error (for in this way prayer is offered rather for them), but that final condemnation might come upon them: not as it was offered against the betrayer of our Lord by the prophet; for that, as has been said, was a prediction of things to come, not a wish for punishment: nor as it was offered by the apostle against Alexander; for respecting that also enough has been already said: but as we read in the Apocalypse of John of the martyrs praying that they may be avenged while the well-known first martyr prayed that those who stoned him should be pardoned.

77. But we need not be moved by this circumstance. For who would venture to affirm, in regard to those white-robed saints, when they pleaded that they should be avenged, whether they pleaded against the men themselves or against the reign of sin? For of itself it is a genuine avenging of the martyrs, and one full of righteousness and mercy, that the reign of sin should be overthrown, under whose reign they were subjected to so great sufferings. And for its overthrow the apostle strives, saying, "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body." But the reign of sin is destroyed and overthrown, partly by the amendment of men, so that the flesh is brought under subjection to the spirit; partly by the condemnation of those who persevere in sin, so that they are righteous disposed of in such a way that they cannot be troublesome to the righteous who reign with Christ. Look at the Apostle Paul; does it not seem to you that he avenges the martyr Stephen in his own person, when he says: "So fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection"? For he was certainly laying prostrate, and weakening, and bringing into subjection, and regulating that principle in

64 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK I.]

himself whence he had persecuted Stephen and the other Christians. Who then can demonstrate that the holy martyrs were not asking from the Lord such an avenging of themselves, when at the same time, in order to their being avenged, they might lawfully wish for the end of this world, in which they had endured such martyrdoms? And they who pray for this, on the one hand pray for their enemies who are curable, and on the other hand do not pray against those who have chosen to be incurable: because God also, in punishing them, is not a malevolent Torturer, but a most righteous Disposer. Without any hesitation, therefore, let us love our enemies, let us do good to those that hate us, and let us pray for those who persecute us.

Chap, xxiii. â€” 78. Then, as to the statement which follows,
"that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven," it is to be understood according to that rule in virtue of which John also says, "He gave them power to become the sons of God." 1 For one is a Son by nature, who knows nothing at all of sin; but we, by receiving power, are made sons, in as far as we perform those things which are commanded us by Him. And hence, in apostolic teaching, that gets the name of adoption by which we are called to an eternal inheritance, that we may be joint-heirs with Christ. 2 We are therefore made sons by a spiritual regeneration, and we are adopted into the kingdom of God, not as aliens, but as being made and created by Him: so that it is one benefit, His having brought us into being through His omnipotence, when before we were nothing; another, His having adopted us, so that, as being sons, we might enjoy along with Him eternal life in the measure of our participation. Therefore He does not say, Do those things, because ye are sons; but, Do those things, that ye may be sons.

79. But when He calls us to this by means of the Onlybegotten Himself, He calls us to His own likeness. For He, as is said in what follows, "maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." Whether you are to understand His sun as being not that which 1 John i. 12. 2 Rom. viii. 17 and Gal. iv. 5.

CHAP. XXIII.] GOD'S SUN AND RAIN. G5

is visible to the fleshly eyes, but that wisdom of which it is said, "She is the brightness of the everlasting light;" 1 of which it is also said, "The Sun of righteousness has arisen upon me;" and again, " But unto you that fear the name of the Lord shall the Sun of righteousness arise:" 2 so that you would also understand the rain as being the watering with the doctrine of truth, because Christ hath appeared to the good and the evil, and is preached to the good and the evil. Or whether you choose rather to understand that sun which is set forth before the bodily eyes not only of men, but also of cattle; and that rain by which the fruits are brought forth, which have been given for the refreshment of the body, which I think is the more probable interpretation: so that that spiritual sun does not rise except on the good and holy; for it is this very thing which the wicked bewail in that book which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, "And the sun rose not upon us:" 3 and that spiritual rain does not water any except the good; for the wicked were meant by the vineyard of which it is said, " I will also command my clouds that they rain no rain upon it." 4 But whether you understand the one or the other, it takes place by the great goodness of God, which we are commanded to imitate, if we wish to be the children of God. For who is there so ungrateful as not to feel how great the comfort, so far as this life is concerned, which that visible light and the material rain bring? And this comfort we see bestowed in this life alike upon the righteous and upon sinners in common. But He does not say, " who maketh the sun to rise on the evil and on the good;" but He has added the word "His," i.e.
which He Himself made and set up, and for the making of which He took nothing from any one, as it is written in Genesis respecting all the luminaries \( \text{f} \) and He can properly say that all the things which He has created out of nothing are His own: so that we are hence admonished with how great liberality we ought, according to His precept, to give to our enemies those things which we have not created, but have received from His gifts.

80. But who can either be prepared to bear injuries from the weak, in as far as it is profitable for their salvation; and

1 Wisd. vii. 26. 2 Mai. iv. 2. 3 YVisd. v. 6. 4 Isa. v. 6. 5 Gen. i. 16.
SEEM. MT. E

66 our lord's sermon on the mount. [cook i.

to choose rather to suffer more injustice from another than to repay what he has suffered; to give to every one that asketh anything from him, either what he asks, if it is in his possession, and if it can rightly be given, or good advice, or to manifest a benevolent disposition, and not to turn away from him who desires to borrow; to love his enemies, to do good to those who hate him, to pray for those who persecute him; â€” who, I say, does these things, but the man who is fully and perfectly merciful? And with that counsel misery is avoided, by the assistance of Him who says, * I desire mercy, and not sacrifice." 1 "Blessed," therefore, "are the merciful: for they shall obtain money." But now I think it will be more convenient, that at this point the reader, fatigued with so long a volume, should breathe a little, and recruit himself for considering what remains in another book.

1 Hos. vi. 6.

CHAP. I.] CLEANSING OF THE HEAET. G7

BOOK II.

ON THE LATTER HALF OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT, CONTAINED IN THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS OF MATTHEW.
CHAP. I. â€” 1. The subject of mercy, with the treatment of which the first book came to a close, is followed by that of the cleansing of the heart, with which the present one begins.

The cleansing of the heart, then, is as it were the cleansing of the eye by which God is seen; and in keeping that single, there ought to be as great care as the dignity of the Object demands, which can be beheld by such an eye. But even when this eye is in great part cleansed, it is difficult to prevent certain defilements from creeping insensibly over it, from those things which are wont to accompany even our good actions, â€” as, for instance, the praise of men. If, indeed, not to live uprightly is hurtful: yet to live uprightly, and not to wish to be praised, what else is this than to be an enemy to the affairs of men, which are certainly so much the more miserable, the less an upright life on the part of men gives pleasure? If, therefore, those among whom you live shall not praise you when living uprightly, they are in error: but if they shall praise you, you are in danger; unless you have a heart so single and pure, that in those things in which you act uprightly you do not so act because of the praises of men; and that you rather congratulate those who praise what is right, as having pleasure in what is good, than yourself; because you would live uprightly even if no one were to praise you: and that you understand this very praise of you to be useful to those who praise you, only when it is not yourself whom they honour in your good life, but God, whose most holy temple every man is who lives well; so that what David says finds its fulfilment, " In the Lord shall my soul be praised; the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad." 1 It belongs therefore to the pure eye not to look at the praises of men in acting rightly, nor to have reference to these while you do what is right, i.e. to do anything rightly with this design, that you may please men. For thus you will be disposed also to counterfeit what is good, if nothing is kept in view except the praise of man; who, inasmuch as he cannot see the heart, may also praise things that are false. And they who do this, i.e. who counterfeit goodness, are of a double heart. No one therefore has a single, i.e. a pure heart, unless the man who rises above the praises of men; and when he lives well, looks at Him only, and strives to please Him who is the only Searcher of the conscience. And whatever proceeds from the purity of that conscience is so much the more praiseworthy, the less it desires the praises of men.

2. "Take heed, therefore," says He, "that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them: " i.e., take heed that ye do not live righteously with this design, and that ye do not place your happiness in this, that men may see you.

" Otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven: " not if ye should be seen by men; but if ye should live righteously with the design that ye may be seen by men.

For, [were it the former], what would become of the statement made in the beginning of this sermon, " Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.

G8 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [cook II.

praised; the humble shall hear thereof, and be glad." 1 It belongs therefore to the pure eye not to look at the praises of men in acting rightly, nor to have reference to these while you do what is right, i.e. to do anything rightly with this design, that you may please men. For thus you will be disposed also to counterfeit what is good, if nothing is kept in view except the praise of man; who, inasmuch as he cannot see the heart, may also praise things that are false. And they who do this, i.e. who counterfeit goodness, are of a double heart. No one therefore has a single, i.e. a pure heart, unless the man who rises above the praises of men; and when he lives well, looks at Him only, and strives to please Him who is the only Searcher of the conscience. And whatever proceeds from the purity of that conscience is so much the more praiseworthy, the less it desires the praises of men.
Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.
Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works"? But He has not set up that as the end; for He has added, " and glorify your Father which is in heaven." 2 But here, because he is rinding fault with this, if the end of our right actions is there, i.e. if we act rightly with this object, only that we may be seen of men; after He has said, " Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men," He has added nothing. And hereby it is evident that He has said this, not to prevent us from acting rightly before men, but lest perchan
cseen by them, i.e. should fix our eye on this, and make it the end of what we have set before us.
3. For the apostle also says, " If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ; MI while he says in another place,
" Please all men in all things, even as I also please all men in all things." 2 And they who do not understand this think it a contradiction; while the explanation is, that he has said he does not please men, because he was accustomed to act rightly, not with the design of pleasing men, but of pleasing God, to the love of whom he wished to turn men's hearts by that very thing in which he was pleasing men. Therefore he was both right in saying that he did not please men, because in that very thing he aimed at pleasing God: and right in authoritatively teaching that we ought to please men, not in order that this should be sought for as the reward of our good deeds; but because the man who would not offer himself for imitation to those whom he wished to be saved could not please God; but no man possibly can imitate one who has not pleased him. As, therefore, that man would not speak absurdly who should say, In this work of seeking a ship, it is not a ship, but my native country, that I am seeking: so the apostle also might fitly say, In this work of pleasing men, it is not men, but God, that I please; because I do not aim at pleasing men, but have it as my object, that those whom I wish to be saved may imitate me. Just as he says of an offering that is made for the saints, " Not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit;" 3 i.e., In seeking your gift, I seek not it, but your fruit. For by this proof it could appear how far they had advanced Godward, when they offered that willingly which was desired by him not for the sake of his own joy over their gifts, but for the sake of the communion of charity.
4. Although when He also goes on to say, "Otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven," He points out nothing else but that we ought to be on our guard against seeking man's praise as the reward of our deeds, i.e. against thinking we thereby attain to blessedness.

1 Gal. i. 10.

2 1 Cor. x. 32, 33; but the passage appears to be quoted from memory.

3 Phil. iv. 17.

70 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]

Chap. ii. â€” 5. "Therefore, when thou doest thine alms/ says He, u do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men." Do not, says He, desire to become known in the same way as the hypocrites. Now it is manifest that hypocrites have not that in their heart also which they hold forth before the eyes of men. For hypocrites are pretenders, as it were reciters of what belongs to other characters, just as in the plays of the theatre. For he who acts the part of Agamemnon in tragedy, for example, or of any other person belonging to the history or legend which is acted, is not really the person himself, but personates him, and is called a hypocrite. In like manner, in the Church, or in any phase of human life, whoever wishes to seem what he is not is a hypocrite. For he pretends, but does not show himself, to be a righteous man; because he places the whole fruit [of his acting] in the praise of men, which even pretenders may receive, while they deceive those to whom they seem good, and are praised by them. But such do not receive a reward from God the Searcher of the heart, unless it be the punishment of their deceit: from men, however, says He, " they have received their reward; " and most righteously will it be said to them, Depart from me, ye workers of deceit; ye had my name, but ye did not my works. Hence they have received their reward, who do their alms for no other reason than that they may have glory of men; not if they have glory of men, but if they do them for the purpose of having this glory, as has been discussed above. For the praise of men ought not to be sought by him who acts rightly, but ought to follow him who does so, so that they may profit who can also imitate what they praise, not that he whom they praise may think that they are profiting him anything.

6. "But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." If you should understand unbelievers to be meant by the left hand, then it will seem to be no fault to wish to please believers; while nevertheless we are altogether prohibited from placing the fruit and end of our good deed in the praise of any men whatever. But as regards this point, that those who have been pleased with your
CHAP. II.] THE LEFT HAND. 71

good deeds should imitate you, we are to act before the eyes not only of believers, but also of unbelievers, so that they may honour God in praising our good works, and may find salvation. But if you should be of opinion that the left hand means an enemy, so that your enemy is not to know when you do alms, why did the Lord Himself, when His enemies the Jews were standing round, mercifully heal men? why did the Apostle Peter, by healing the lame man whom he pitied at the gate Beautiful, bring also the wrath of the enemy upon himself and upon the other disciples of Christ? * Then, further, if it is necessary that the enemy should not know when we do our alms, how shall we do with the enemy himself so as to fulfil that precept, "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink"? 2

7. A third opinion is wont to be held by carnal people, so absurd and ridiculous, that I would not mention it had I not found that not a few are entangled in that error, who say that by the expression left hand a wife is meant; so that, inasmuch as in family affairs women are wont to be more close-fisted, it is to be kept hid from them when their husbands compassionately spend anything upon the needy, for fear of domestic quarrels. As if, forsooth, men alone were Christians, and this precept were not addressed to women also! From what left hand, then, is a woman enjoined to conceal her deed of mercy? Is a husband also the left hand of his wife? A statement most absurd. Or if any one thinks that they are left hands to each other; if any part of the family property be expended by the one party in such a way as to be contrary to the will of the other party, such a marriage will not be a Christian one; but whichever of them should choose to do alms according to the command of God, whomsoever he should find opposed, would inevitably be an enemy to the command of God, and therefore reckoned among unbelievers, â€” the command with respect to such parties being, that a believing husband should win his wife, and a believing wife her husband, by their good conversation and conduct; and therefore they ought not to conceal their good works from each other, by which they are to be mutually attracted, so that the one may be able to attract the other to communion in the Christian faith. Nor are thefts to be perpetrated in order that God may be rendered propitious. But if anything is to be concealed as long as the infirmity of the other party is unable to bear with equanimity what nevertheless is not done unjustly and unlawfully; yet, that the left hand is not meant in such a sense on the present occasion, readily appears from a consideration of the whole section, whereby it will at the same time be discovered what He calls the left hand.

1 Acts iii. iv. 2 Prov. xxv. 21.
8. "Take heed," says He, "that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them; otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven." Here He has mentioned righteousness generally, then He follows it up in detail. For a deed which is done in the way of alms is a certain part of righteousness, and therefore He connects the two by saying, "Therefore, when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men." In this there is a reference to what He says before, "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them." But what follows, "Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward," refers to that other statement which He has made above, "Otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven." Then follows, "But when thou doest alms." When He says, "But thou," what else does He mean but, Not in the same manner as they ? What, then, does He bid me do ? "But when thou doest alms," says He, "let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Hence those other parties so act, that their left hand knoweth what their right hand doeth. What, therefore, is blamed in them, this thou art forbidden to do. But this is what is blamed in them, that they act in such a way as to seek the praises of men. And therefore the left hand seems to have no more suitable meaning than just the delight in praise. But the right hand means the intention of fulfilling the divine commands. When, therefore, in the consciousness of him who does alms is mixed up the desire of man's praise, the left hand becomes conscious of the work of

CHAP. II.] ALMS IM SECRET. 73

the right hand: "Let not, therefore, thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth;" i.e., Let there not be mixed up in thy consciousness the desire of man's praise, when in doing alms thou art striving to fulfil a divine command.

9. "That thine alms may be in secret." What else is meant by "in secret," but just in a good conscience, which cannot be shown to human eyes, nor revealed by words? Since, indeed, the mass of men tell many lies. And therefore, if the right hand acts inwardly in secret, all outward things, which are visible and temporal, belong to the left hand. Let thine alms, therefore, be in thine own consciousness, where many do alms by their good intention, even if they have no money or anything else which is to be bestowed on one who is needy. But many give alms outwardly, and not inwardly, who either from ambition, or for the sake of some temporal object, wish to appear merciful, in whom the left hand only is to be reckoned as working. Others again hold, as it were, a middle place between the two; so that, with a design which is directed Godward, they do their alms, and yet there is mingled with this excellent wish also some desire after praise, or after a perishable and temporal object of some sort or other. But our Lord much more strongly prohibits the left hand alone being at work in us, when He even forbids its being mixed up with the works of the right hand: that is to say, that we are not only to beware of doing alms from the desire of temporal objects alone; but
that in this work we are not even to have regard to God in such a way as that there should be mingled up or united therewith the grasping after outward advantages. For the question under discussion is the cleansing of the heart, which, unless it be single, will not be clean. But how will it be single, if it serves two masters, and does not purge its vision by the striving after eternal things alone, but clouds it by the love of mortal and perishable things as well?

"Let thine alms," therefore, "be in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee." Altogether most righteously and most truly. For if you expect a reward from Him who is the only Searcher of the conscience, let conscience itself suffice thee for meritng a reward. Many Latin copies have it thus, "And thy Father which seeth in secret shall

74 OUR lord's sermon ox the mount. [BOOK II.]

reward thee openly;" but because we have not found the word "openly" in the Greek ones, which are earlier/ we have not thought that anything was to be said about it.

Chap. hi. â€“ 10. "And when ye pray," says He, "ye shall not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men." And here also it is not the being seen of men that is unlawful, but doing these things for the purpose of being seen of men; and it is superfluous to make the same remark so often, since there is just one rule to be kept, from which we learn that what we should dread and avoid is not that men know these things, but that they be done with this intention, that the fruit of pleasing men should be sought after in them. Our Lord Himself, too, preserves the same words, when He adds similarly, "Verily I say unto you, They have received their reward;" hereby showing that He forbids this, â€“ the striving after that reward in which fools delight when they are praised by men.

11. "But when ye pray," says He, "enter into your bedchambers." What are those bedchambers but just our hearts themselves, as is meant also in the Psalm, when it is said, "What ye say in your hearts, have remorse for even in your beds." And when ye have shut the doors," says He, "pray to your Father which is in secret." It is a small matter to enter into our bed-chambers if the door stand open to the unmannerly, through the things that are outside profanely rush in and assail our inner man. Now we have said that outside are all temporal and visible things, which make their way through the door, i.e. through the fleshly sense into our thoughts, and clamorously interrupt those who are praying by a crowd of vain phantoms. Hence the door is to be shut, i.e. the fleshly sense is to be resisted, so that spiritual prayer may be directed to the Father, which is done in the inmost heart, where prayer is offered to the Father which is in secret.

1 On the other hand, at the present day the word is found in the Greek, but not in the Latin copies.
2 Ps. iv. 4. The rendering of the Eng. ver. is, of course, quite different: 
"Commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still."

CHAP. III.] PRAYER. 75

"And your Father," says He, "which seeth in secret, shall reward you." And this had to be
wound up with a closing statement of such a kind; for here at the present stage the
admonition is not that we should pray, but as to how we should pray. Nor is what goes
before an admonition that we should give alms, but as to the spirit in which we should do
so, inasmuch as He is giving instructions with regard to the cleansing of the heart, which
nothing cleanses but the undivided and single-minded striving after eternal life from the
pure love of wisdom alone.

12. "But when ye pray," says He, "do not speak much, as the heathen do; for they think
that they shall be heard for their much speaking." As it is characteristic of the hypocrites
to exhibit themselves to the public gaze when praying, and their fruit is to please men, so
it is characteristic of the heathen, i.e. of the Gentiles, that they think they are heard for
their much speaking. And in reality, every kind of much speaking comes from the
Gentiles, who make it their endeavour to exercise the tongue rather than to cleanse the
heart. And this kind of useless exertion they endeavour to transfer even to the influencing
of God by prayer, supposing that the Judge, just like man, is brought over by words to a
certain way of thinking. "Be not ye, therefore, like unto them," says the only true Master.
"For your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask Him." For if many
words are made use of with the intent that one who is ignorant may be instructed and
taught, what need is there of them for Him who knows all things, to whom all things
which exist, by the very fact of their existence, speak, and show themselves as having
been brought into existence; and those things which are future do not remain concealed
from His knowledge and wisdom, in which both those things which are past, and those
things which will yet come to pass, are all present and cannot pass away?

13. But since, however few they may be, yet there are words which He Himself also is
about to speak, by which He would teach us to pray; it may be asked why even these few
words are necessary for Him who knows all things before they take place, and is
acquainted, as has been said, with what is

76 OUR lord's SERMON on the mount. [BOOK II.]

necessary for us before we ask Him? Here, in the first place, the answer is, that we ought
to urge our case with God, in order that we may obtain what we wish, not by words, but
by the ideas which we cherish in our mind, and by the direction of our thought, with pure
love and sincere desire; but that our Lord has taught us the very ideas in words, that by
committing them to memory we may recollect those ideas at the time we pray.
14. But again, it may be asked (whether we are to pray in ideas or in words) what need there is for prayer itself, if God already knows what is necessary for us; unless it be that the very effort involved in prayer calms and purifies our heart, and makes it more capacious for receiving the divine gifts, which are poured into us spiritually. For it is not on account of the urgency of our prayers that God listens to us, for He is always ready to give us His light, not of a material kind, but that which is intellectual and spiritual: but we are not always ready to receive, since we are inclined towards other things, and are involved in darkness through our desire for temporal things. Hence there is brought about in prayer a turning of the heart to Him, who is ever ready to give, if we would but take what He has given; and in the very act of turning there is effected a purging of the inner eye, inasmuch as those things of a temporal kind which were desired are excluded, so that the vision of the pure heart may be able to bear the pure light, divinely shining, without any setting or change: and not only to bear it, but even to remain in it; not merely without annoyance, but even with ineffable joy, in which a life truly and sincerely blessed is perfected.

Chap. iv. 15. But now we have to consider what things we are taught to pray for by Him, through whom we both learn what we are to pray for, and obtain what we pray for. "After this manner, therefore, pray ye," says He: "Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Seeing that in all prayer we have to conciliate the goodwill of him to whom we pray, then to say what we pray for; goodwill is usually conciliated by our offering praise to him to whom the prayer is directed, and this is usually put in the beginning of the prayer: and in this particular our Lord has bidden us say nothing else but "Our Father which art in heaven." For many things are said in praise of God, which, being scattered variously and widely over all the Holy Scriptures, every one will be able to consider when he reads them: yet nowhere is there found a precept for the people of Israel, that they should say "Our Father," or that they should pray to God as a Father; but as Lord He was made known to them, as being yet servants, i.e. still living according to the flesh. I say this, however, inasmuch as they received the commands of the law, which they were ordered to observe: for the prophets often show that this same Lord of ours might have been their Father also, if they had not strayed from His commandments: as, for instance, we have that statement, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me; "1 and that other, "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High: "2 and this again, "If then I be a Father, where is mine honour? and if I be a Master, where is my fear?"3 and very many other statements, where the Jews are accused of showing by their sin that they did not wish to become sons: those things being left out of
account which are said in prophecy of a future Christian people, that they would have God as a Father, according to that gospel statement, "To them gave He power to become the sons of God." 4 The Apostle Paul, again, says, "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant;" and mentions that we have received the Spirit of adoption, "whereby we cry, Abba, Father." 5

16. And since the fact that we are called to an eternal inheritance, that we should be fellow-heirs with Christ, and should attain to the adoption of sons, is not of our deserts, but of God's grace; we put this same grace in the beginning of our prayer, when we say "Our Father." And by that appel-

1 Isa. i. 2. 2 Ps. lxxxi. 6. 3 Mai. i. 6.

78 our lord's sermon on the mount. [book it.

lation both affection is stirred up â€” for what ought to be dearer to sons than a father? â€” and a suppliant disposition, when men say to God, "Our Father: " and a certain presumption of obtaining what we are about to ask; since, before we ask anything, we have received so great a gift as to be allowed to call God "Our Father." For what would He not now give to sons when they ask, when He has already given them this very position of sonship? Lastly, how great solicitude takes hold of the mind, that he who says "Our Father," should not prove unworthy of so great a Father! For if any plebeian should be permitted by the party himself to call a senator of more advanced age father; without doubt he would tremble, and would not readily venture to do it, reflecting on the meanness of his origin, and the scantiness of his resources, and the worthlessness of his plebeian person: how much more, therefore, ought we to tremble to call God Father, if there is so great a stain and so much baseness in our character, that God might much more justly drive forth these from contact with Himself, than that senator might the poverty of any mendicant whatever! Since, indeed, he (the senator) despises that in the mendicant to which even he himself may be reduced by the vicissitude of human affairs: but God never falls into baseness of character. And thanks be to the mercy of Him who requires this of us, that He should be our Father, â€” a relationship which can be brought about by no expenditure of ours, but solely by God's goodwill. Here also there is an admonition to the rich and to those of noble birth, so far as this world is concerned, that when they have become Christians they should not comport themselves proudly towards the poor and the mean; since together with them they address God as "Our Father," â€” an expression which they cannot truly and piously use, unless they learn that they themselves are brethren.

Chap. V. â€” 17. Let the new people, therefore, who are called to an eternal inheritance, use the word of the New Testament, and say, "Our Father which art in heaven," i.e. in the
holy and just. For God is not contained in space. For the heavens are indeed the higher material bodies of the

CHAP. V.] OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN. 79

world, but yet material, and therefore cannot exist except in some definite place; but if God's place is believed to be in the heavens, as meaning the higher parts of the world, the birds are of greater value than we, for their life is nearer to God.

But it is not written, The Lord is nigh unto tall men, or unto those who dwell on mountains; but it is written, "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart," 1 which refers rather to humility. But as a sinner is called earth, when it is said to him, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return;" 2 so, on the other hand, a righteous man may be called heaven. For it is said to the righteous, "For the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." 3 And therefore, if God dwells in His temple, and the saints are His temple, the expression "which art in heaven" is rightly used in the sense, which art in the saints. And most suitable is such a similitude, so that spiritually there may be seen to be as great a difference between the righteous and sinners, as there is materially between heaven and earth.

18. And for the purpose of showing this, when we stand at prayer, we turn to the east, whence the heaven rises: not as if God also were dwelling there, in the sense that He who is everywhere present, not as occupying space, but by the power of His majesty, 4 had forsaken the other parts of the world; but in order that the mind may be admonished to turn to a more excellent nature, i.e. to God, when its own body, which is earthly, is turned to a more excellent body, i.e. to a heavenly one. It is also suitable for the different stages of religion, and expedient in the highest degree, that in the minds of all, both small and great, there should be cherished worthy conceptions of God. And therefore, as regards those who as yet are taken up with the beauties that may be seen, and cannot think of anything incorporeal, inasmuch as they must necessarily prefer heaven to earth, their opinion is more passable, if, with respect to a God whom as yet they think of after a corporeal fashion, they believe Him to be in heaven rather than upon earth: so that when at any future time they have learned that the dignity of the soul exceeds even a

1 Ps. xxxiv. 13. 2 Gen. iii. 19. 3 1 Cor. iii. 17.

4 So the mss.; but the editors make it, "by the majesty of His x)ower."

80 ourit lord's sermon ox the mount. [BOOK II.]

celestial body, they may seek Him in the soul rather than in a celestial body even; and when they have learned how great a distance there is between the souls of sinners and of the righteous, just as they did not venture, when as yet they were wise only after a carnal
fashion, to place Him on earth, but in heaven, so afterwards with better faith or intelligence they may seek Him again in the souls of the righteous rather than in those of sinners. Hence, when it is said, "Our Father which art in heaven," it is rightly understood to be meant of the hearts of the righteous, as being His holy temple. And at the same time, in such a way that he who prays wishes Him whom he invokes to dwell in himself also; and when he strives after this, practises righteousness, a kind of service by which God is attracted to dwell in the soul.

19. Let us see now what things are to be prayed for. For it has been stated who it is that is prayed to, and where He dwells. First of all, then, of those things which are prayed for comes this petition, "Hallowed be Thy name." And this is prayed for, not as if the name of God were not holy already, but that it may be regarded as holy by men; i.e., that God may so become known to them, that there shall be nothing they reckon more holy, which they are more afraid of offending. For when it is said, "In Judah is God known; His name is great in Israel," we are not to understand the statement in this way, as if God were less in one place, greater in another; but there His name is great, where He is named according to the greatness of His majesty. And so there His name is said to be holy, where He is named with veneration and the fear of offending Him. And this is what is now going on, while the gospel, by becoming known everywhere throughout the different nations, commends the name of the one God by means of the administration of His Son.

Chap. vi. 20. In the next place there follows, "Thy kingdom come." Just as the Lord Himself teaches in the Gospel that the day of judgment will take place at the very time when the gospel shall have been preached among all nations: 1 a thing which belongs to the hallowing of God's name. For here also the expression "Thy kingdom come" is not used in such a way as if God were not now reigning. But some one perhaps might say the expression "come" meant upon earth; as if, indeed, He were not even now really reigning upon earth, and had not always reigned upon it from the foundation of the world. "Come," therefore, is to be understood in the sense of "manifested to men." For in the same way also as a light which is present is absent so far as regards the blind, and those who shut their eyes; so the kingdom of God, though it never departs from the earth, is yet absent as regards those who are ignorant of it. But no one will be allowed to be ignorant of the kingdom of God, when His Only-begotten shall come from heaven, not only in a way to be apprehended by the understanding, but also visibly in the person of the Divine Man, in order to judge the quick and the dead. And after that judgment, i.e. when the process of distinguishing and separating the righteous from the unrighteous has taken place, God will so dwell in the righteous, that there will
be no need for any one being taught by man, but all will be, as it is written, "taught of God." 2 Then will the blessed life in all its parts be perfected in the saints unto eternity, just as now the most holy and blessed heavenly angels are wise and blessed, from the fact that God alone is their light; because the Lord hath promised this also to His own: "In the resurrection," says He, "they will be as the angels in heaven." 3

21. And therefore, after that petition where we say, "Thy kingdom come," there follows, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: " i.e., just as Thy will is in the angels who are in heaven, so that they wholly cleave to Thee, and thoroughly enjoy Thee, no error beclouding their wisdom, no misery hindering their blessedness; so let it be done in Thy saints who are on earth, and made from the earth, so far as the body is concerned, and who, although it is into a heavenly habitation and exchange, are yet to be taken from the earth. To this there is a reference also in that doxology of the angels, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of


SEEM. MT. P

82 our lord's sermon ox the mount. [rook it.

goodwill: " * so that when our goodwill has gone before, which follows Him that calleth, the will of God is perfected in us, as it is in the heavenly angels; so that no adversity stands in the way of our blessedness: and this is peace.
"Thy will be done" is also rightly understood in the sense of, Let obedience be rendered to Thy precepts: "in earth as it is in heaven," i.e. by men as by the angels. For, that the will of God is done when His precepts are obeyed, the Lord Himself says, when He affirms, "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me;" 2 and often, "I came, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me;" 3 and when He says, u Behold my mother and my brethren ! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." 4 And therefore, in those at least who do the will of God, the will of God is done; not because they are the parties who cause God to will, but because they do what He wills, i.e. they do according to His will.

22. There is also that other interpretation, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven" â€” in sinners just as in the holy and just. And this, besides, may be understood in two ways: either that we should pray even for our enemies (for what else are they to be reckoned, in spite of whose will the Christian and Catholic name still spreads ?), so that it is said, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven," â€” as if the meaning were, As the righteous do Thy will, in like manner let sinners also do it, so that they maybe converted unto Thee; or in this sense, "Let Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven/
so that every one may get his own; which will take place at the last judgment, in the righteous being requited with a reward, sinners with condemnation: when the sheep shall be separated from the goats. 5

23. That other interpretation also is not absurd, nay, it is thoroughly accordant with both our faith and hope, that we are to take heaven and earth in the sense of spirit and flesh.

And since the apostle says, "With the mind I myself serve


2 John iv. 34. 3 John vi. 38.

4 Matt. xii. 49, 50. 6 Matt. xxv. 33, 46.

CHAP. VII.; OUR DAILY BREAD. 83

the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin: l we see that the will of God is done in the mind, i.e. in the spirit. But when death shall have been swallowed up in victory, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, which will happen at the resurrection of the flesh, and at that change which is promised to the righteous, according to the exultant statement of the same apostle, 2 let the will of God be done in earth, as it is in heaven; i.e., in such a way that, in like manner as the spirit does not resist God, but follows and does His will, so the body also may not resist the spirit or soul, which at present is harassed by the weakness of the body, and is prone to fleshly habit: and this will be an element in the perfection of peace in the life eternal, that not only will the will be present with us, but also the performance of that which is good. " For to will," says he, " is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not: " for not yet in earth as in heaven, I not yet in the flesh as in the spirit, is the will of God done.

For even in our misery the will of God is done, when we suffer those things through the flesh which are due to us in virtue of our mortality, which our nature has deserved because of its sin. But we are to pray for this, that the will of God may be done in earth, as it is in heaven; that in like manner as with the heart we delight in the law after the inward man, 3 so also, when the change in our body has taken place, no part of us may, on account of earthly griefs or pleasures, stand opposed to this our delight.

24. Nor is that view inconsistent with truth, that we are to understand the words, " Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven," as in our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, so also in the Church: as if one were to say, As in the man who fulfilled the will of the Father, so also in the woman who is betrothed to him. For heaven and earth are suitably understood as if they were man and wife; since the earth is fruitful from the heaven fertilizing it.
Chap. vii. â€” 25. The fourth petition is, "Give us this day our daily bread." Daily bread is put either for all those things which meet the wants of this life, in reference to 
1 Rom. vii. 25. 2 1 Cor. xv. 42, 55. 3 Rom. vii. 18, 22.

84 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]

which He says in His teaching, "Take no thought for the morrow: " so that on this account there is added, u Give us this day: " or, for the sacrament of the body of Christ, which we daily receive: or, for the spiritual food, of which the same Lord says, " Labour for the meat which perisheth not; " and again, "I am the bread of life, which came down from heaven," 1
But which of these three views is the more probable, is a question for consideration. For perhaps some one may wonder why we should pray that we may obtain the things which are necessary for this life, â€” such, for instance, as food and clothing, â€” when the Lord Himself says, " Be not anxious what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on." Can any one not be anxious for a thing which he prays that he may obtain; when prayer is to be offered with so great earnestness of mind, that to this refers all that has been said about shutting our closets, and also the command, " Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" ?
Certainly He does not say, Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and then seek those other things; but " all these things," says He, " shall be added unto you," that is to say, even though ye are not seeking them. But I know not whether it can be found out, how one is rightly said not to seek what he most earnestly pleads with God that he may receive.

26. But with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's body
(in order that a question may not be started by those in eastern parts, most of whom do not partake of the Lord's Supper daily, while this is called daily bread: in order, therefore, that they may be silent, and not defend their way of thinking about this matter even by the very authority of the Church, because they do such things without scandal, and are not prevented from doing them by those who preside over their churches, and when they do not obey are not condemned; whence it is proved that this is not understood as daily bread in these parts: for, if this were the case, they would be charged with the commission of a great sin, who do not on that account receive it daily; but, as has been said, not to argue at all to any extent from the case of such parties), this consideration at least ought to occur to those who reflect, that we have received

1 John vi. 27, 41.

CHAP. VII.] OUR DAILY BREAD. 85
a rule for prayer from the Lord, which we ought not to transgress, either by adding or omitting anything. And since this is the case, who is there who would venture to say that we ought only once to use the Lord's Prayer, or at least that, even if we have used it a second or a third time before the hour at which we partake of the Lord's body, afterwards we are assuredly not so to pray during the remaining hours of the day? For we shall no longer be able to say, "Give us this day," respecting what we have already received; or every one will be able to compel us to celebrate that sacrament at the very last hour of the day.

27. It remains, therefore, that we should understand the daily bread as spiritual, that is to say, divine precepts, which we ought daily to meditate and to labour after. For just with respect to these the Lord says, "Labour for the meat which perisheth not." That food, moreover, is called daily food at present, so long as this temporal life is measured off by means of days that depart and return. And, in truth, so long as the desire of the soul is directed by turns, now to what is higher, now to what is lower, i.e. now to spiritual things, now to carnal, as is the case with him who at one time is nourished with food, at another time suffers hunger; bread is daily necessary, in order that the hungry man may be recruited, and he who is falling down may be raised up. As, therefore, our body in this life, that is to say, before that great change, is recruited with food, because it feels loss; so may the soul also, since by means of temporal desires it sustains as it were a loss in its striving after God, be reinvigorated by the food of the precepts. Moreover, it is said, "Give us this day," as long as it is called to-day, i.e. in this temporal life. For we shall be so "abundantly provided with spiritual food after this life unto eternity, that it will not then be called daily bread; because there the flight of time, which causes days to succeed days, whence it may be called to-day, will not exist. But as it is said, "To day, if ye will hear His voice," 1 which the apostle interprets in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as long as it is called to-day; 2 so here also the expression is to be understood, "Give us this day." But if any one wishes to understand the sentence before us also of food necessary for the body, or of the sacrament of the Lord's body, we must take all three meanings conjointly; that is to say, that we are to ask for all at once as daily bread, both the bread necessary for the body, and the visible hallowed bread, and the invisible bread of the word of God.

Chap. viii. æ” 28. The fifth petition follows: "And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." It is manifest that by debts are meant sins, either from that statement which the Lord Himself makes, "Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing;" 1 or from the fact that He called those men debtors who were reported to Him as having been killed, either those on whom the tower fell, or those whose blood Herod had mingled with their sacrifice. For He said that men supposed it...

86 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]
was because they were debtors above measure, i.e. sinners, and added, i: I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." 2

Here, therefore, it is not a money claim that one is pressed to remit, but whatever sins another may have committed against him. For we are enjoined to remit a money claim by that precept rather which has been given above, " If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also;" 3 nor is it necessary to remit a debt to every money debtor, but only to him who is unwilling to pay, to such an extent that he wishes even to go to law. "Now the servant of the Lord," as says the apostle, " must not go to law." 4 And therefore to him who shall be unwilling, either spontaneously or when requested, to pay the money which he owes, it is to be remitted. For his unwillingness to pay will arise from one of two causes, either that he has it not, or that he is avaricious and covetous of the property of another; and both of these belong to a state of poverty: for the former is poverty of substance, the latter poverty of disposition.

Whoever, therefore, remits a debt to such an one, remits it to

1 Matt. v. 26. -

2 Luke xiii. 1-5. By a slip of memory Augustine lias written "Herod" instead of "Pilate."

3 Matt. v. 40. 4 2 Tim. ii. 24.

CHAP. VIII.] FORGIVE US OUR DEBTS. 87

one who is poor, and performs a Christian work; while that rule remains in force, that he should be prepared in mind to lose what is owing to him. For if he has used exertion in every way, quietly and gently, to have it restored to him, not so much aiming at a money profit, as that he may bring the man round to what is right, to whom without doubt it is hurtful to have the means of paying, and yet not to pay; not only will he be guiltless of sin, but he will even do a very great service, in trying to prevent that other, who is wishing to make gain of another's money, from making shipwreck of the faith; which is so much more serious a thing, that there is no comparison. And hence it is understood that in this fifth petition also, where we say, "Forgive us our debts," the words are spoken not indeed in reference to money, but in reference to all ways in which any one sins against us, and by consequence in reference to money also. For the man who refuses to pay you the money which he owes, when he has the means of doing so, sins against you. And if you do not forgive this sin, you will not be able to say, " Forgive us, as we also forgive;" but if you pardon it, you see how he who is enjoined to offer such a prayer is admonished also with respect to forgiving a money debt.

29. That may indeed be construed in this way, that when we say, " Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive," then only are we convicted of having acted contrary to this rule, if we do not forgive them who ask pardon, because we also wish to be forgiven by our most gracious Father when we ask His pardon. But, on the other hand, by that precept whereby we are enjoined to pray for our enemies, 1 it is not for those who ask pardon that we are
enjoined to pray. For those who are already in such a state of mind are no longer enemies.
By no possibility, however, could any one truthfully say that he prays for one whom he
has not pardoned. And therefore we must confess that all sins which are committed
against us are to be forgiven, if we wish those to be forgiven by our Father which we
commit against Him. For the subject of revenge has been sufficiently discussed already,
as I think. 2

1 Matt. v. 44.

2 See Book i. Chaps. 19, 20.

88 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]

Chap. ix. â€” 30. The sixth petition is, "And bring us not into temptation." Some [Latin]
manuscripts have the word
" lead," which is, I suppose, equivalent in meaning: for both translations have arisen from
the one Greek word which is used. But many parties in prayer express themselves thus,
" Sutler us not to be led into temptation;" that is to say, explaining in what sense the word
"lead" is used. For God does not Himself lead, but suffers that man to be led into
temptation whom He has deprived of His assistance, in accordance with a most hidden
arrangement, and with his deserts. Often, also, for manifest reasons, He judges him
worthy of being so deprived, and allowed to be led into temptation. But it is one thing to
be led into temptation, another to be tempted. For without temptation no one can be
proved, whether to himself, as it is written, " He that hath not been tempted, what manner
of things doth he know?" 1 or to another, as the apostle says,
" And your temptation in my flesh ye despised not:" 2 for from this circumstance he
learnt that they were stedfast, because they were not turned aside from charity by those
tribulations which had happened to the apostle according to the flesh.
For even before all temptations we are known to God, who knows all things before they
happen.

31. When, therefore, it is said, "The Lord your God tempteth (proveth) you, that He may
know if ye love Him," 3
the words " that He may know " are employed for what is the real state of the case, that
He may make you know: just as we speak of a joyful day, because it makes us joyful; of a
sluggish frost, because it makes us sluggish; and of innumerable things of the same sort,
which are found either in ordinary speech, or in the discourse of learned men, or in Holy
Scripture. And the heretics who are opposed to the Old Testament, not understanding
this, think that the brand of ignorance, as it were, is to be placed upon Him of whom it is
said, " The Lord your God tempteth you:" as if in the Gospel it were not written of the
Lord, "And this He said to tempt (prove)

1 Ecclus. xxxiv. 9, 11.
2 Gal. iv. 13, 14. The Eng. vers, renders "my temptation," but "your temptation " is the reading of the oldest mss.

3 Deut. xiii. 3.

CHAP. IX.] LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION. 89

him, for He Himself knew what He would do." 1 For if He knew the heart of him whom He was tempting, what is it that He wished to see by tempting him? But in reality, that was done in order that he who was tempted might become known to himself, and that he might condemn his own despair, on the multitudes being filled with the Lord's bread, while he had thought they had not enough to eat.

32. Here, therefore, the prayer is not, that we should not be tempted, but that we should not be brought into temptation: as if, were it necessary that any one should be examined by fire, he should pray, not that he should not be touched by the fire, but that he should not be consumed. For " the furnace proveth the potter's vessels, and the trial of tribulation righteous men." 2 Joseph therefore was tempted with the allurement of debauchery, but he was not brought into temptation. 3 Susanna was tempted, but she was not led or brought into temptation; 4 and many others of both sexes: but Job most of all, in regard to whose admirable stedfastness in the Lord his God, those heretical enemies of the Old Testament, when they wish to mock at it with sacrilegious mouth, brandish this above other weapons, that Satan begged that he should be tempted. 5 For they put the question to unskilful men by no means able to understand such things, how Satan could speak with God: not understanding (for they cannot, inasmuch as they are blinded by superstition and controversy) that God does not occupy space by the mass of His corporeity; and thus exist in one place, and not in another, or at least have one part here, and another elsewhere: but that He is everywhere present in His majesty, not divided by parts, but everywhere complete. But if they take a fleshly view of what is said, " The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool," 6 â€” to which passage our Lord also bears testimony, when He says, " Swear not at all: neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is His footstool," 7 â€” what wonder if the devil, being placed on earth, stood before the feet of God, and spoke something in His presence? For when will

1 John vi. 6. 2 Ecclus. xxvii. 5. 3 Gen. xxxix. 7-12.

4 Hist, of Sns. i. 19-22. 5 Job i. 11. c Isa. lxvi. 1.

7 Matt. v. 34, 35.
they "be able to understand, that there is no soul, however wicked, which can yet reason
in any way, in whose conscience God does not speak? For who but God has written the
law of nature in the hearts of men? â€” that law concerning which the apostle says: " For
when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law,
these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law
written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing them witness, and their thoughts the
meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another, in the day when God shall judge the
secrets of men." 1 And therefore, as in the case of every rational soul, which thinks and
reasons, even though blinded by passion, we attribute whatever in its reasoning is true,
not to itself but to the very light of truth by which, however faintly, it is according to its
capacity illuminated, so as to perceive some measure of truth by its reasoning; what
wonder if the depraved spirit of the devil, perverted though it be by lust, should be
represented as having heard from the voice of God Himself, i.e. from the voice of the
very Truth, whatever true thought it has entertained about a righteous man whom it was
proposing to tempt? But whatever is false is to be attributed to that lust from which he
has received the name of devil. Although it is also the case that God has often spoken by
means of a corporeal and visible creature whether to good or bad, as being Lord and
Governor of all, and Disposer according to the merits of every deed:
as, for instance, by means of angels, who appeared also under the aspect of men; and by
means of the prophets, saying, Thus saith the Lord. What wonder then, if, though not in
mere thought, at least by means of some creature fitted for such a work, God is said to
have spoken with the devil?  

33. And let them not imagine it unworthy of His dignity, and as it were of His
righteousness, that God spoke with him:
inasmuch as He spoke with an angelic spirit, although one foolish and lustful, just as if
He were speaking with a foolish and lustful human spirit. Or let such parties themselves
tell us how He spoke with that rich man, whose most foolish covetousness He wished to
censure, saying: " Thou fool, this night thy

1 Rom. ii. 14-16.

CHAP. IX.] TEMPTATIONS. 91

soul shall be required of thee: then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided
V' 1 Certainly the Lord Himself says so in the Gospel, to which those heretics, whether
they will or no, bend their necks. But if they are puzzled by this circumstance, that Satan
asks from God that a righteous man should be tempted; I do not explain how it happened,
but I compel them to explain why it is said in the Gospel by the Lord Himself to the
disciples, " Behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat;" and
He says to Peter,
"But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." 2 And when they explain this to me, they explain to themselves at the same time that which they question me about. But if they should not be able to explain this, let them not dare with rashness to blame in any book what they read in the Gospel without offence.

34. Temptations, therefore, take place by means of Satan not by his power, but by the Lord's permission, either for the purpose of punishing men for their sins, or of proving and exercising them in accordance with the Lord's compassion. And there is a very great difference in the nature of the temptations into which each one may fall. For Judas, who sold his Lord, did not fall into one of the same nature as Peter fell into, when, under the influence of terror, he denied Him. There are also temptations common to man, I believe, when every one, though well disposed, yet yielding to human frailty, falls into error in some plan, or is irritated against a brother in the earnest endeavour to bring him round to what is right, yet a little more than Christian calmness demands: concerning which temptations the apostle says, "There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man;" while he says at the same time, "But God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it." 3 And in that sentence he makes it sufficiently evident that we are not to pray that we may not be tempted, but that we may not be led into temptation. For we are led into temptation, if such temptations have happened to us as we are not able to bear. But when dangerous temptations,

1 Luke xii. 20. 2 Chap. xxii. 31, 32. 3 1 Cor. x. 13.

92 our lord's sermon on the mount. [hook II.

into which it is ruinous for us to be brought and led, arise either from prosperous or adverse temporal circumstances, no one is broken down by the irksomeness of adversity, who is not led captive by the delight arising from prosperity.

35. The seventh and last petition is, "But deliver us from evil." For we are to pray not only that we may not be led into the evil from which we are free, which is asked in the sixth place; but that we may also be delivered from that into which we have been already led. And when this has been done, nothing will remain terrible, nor will any temptation at all have to be feared. And yet in this life, so long as we carry about our present mortality, into which we were led by the persuasion of the serpent, it is not to be hoped that this can be the case; but yet we are to hope that at some future time it will take place: and this is the hope which is not seen, of which the apostle, when speaking, said, "But hope which is seen is not hope." 1 But yet the wisdom which is granted in this life also, is not to be despaired of by the faithful servants of God. And it is this, that we should with the most wary vigilance shun what we have understood, from the Lord's revealing it, is to be shunned; and that we should with the most ardent love seek after what we have understood, from the Lord's revealing it, is to be sought after. For thus, after the
remaining burden of this mortality has been laid down in the act of dying, there shall be perfected in every part of man at the fit time, the blessedness which has been begun in this life, and which we have from time to time strained every nerve to lay hold of and secure.

Chap. x. â€” 36. But the distinction among these seven petitions is to be considered and commended. For inasmuch as our temporal life is being spent now, and that which is eternal hoped for, and inasmuch as eternal things are superior in point of dignity, albeit it is only when we have done with temporal things that we pass to the other; although the three first petitions begin to be answered in this life, which is being spent in the present world (for both the hallowing of God's name begins to be carried on just with the coming of the Lord

1 Rom. viii. 24.

CHAP. X.] THE FOUR LAST PETITIONS. 93

of humility; and the coming of His kingdom, to which He will come in splendour, will be manifested, not after the end of the world, but in the end of the world; and the perfect doing of His will in earth as in heaven, whether you understand by heaven and earth the righteous and sinners, or spirit and flesh, or the Lord and the Church, or all these things together, will be brought to completion just with the perfecting of our blessedness, and therefore at the close of the world), yet all three will remain to eternity. For both the hallowing of God's name will go on for ever, and there is no end of His kingdom, and eternal life is promised to our perfected blessedness. Hence those three things will remain consummated and thoroughly completed in that life which is promised us.

37. But the other four things which we ask seem to me to belong to this temporal life. And the first of them is, " Give us this day our daily bread." For whether by this same thing which is called daily bread be meant spiritual bread, or that which is visible in the sacrament or in this sustenance of ours, it belongs to the present time, which He has called " to-day," not because spiritual food is not everlasting, but because that
which is called daily bread in the Scriptures is represented to
the soul either by the sound of the expression or by temporal
signs of any kind: things all of which will certainly no more
have existence when all shall be taught of God, 1 and thus shall
no longer be making known to others by movement of their
bodies, but drinking in each one for himself by the purity of
his mind the ineffable light of truth itself. For perhaps for
this reason also it is called bread, not drink, because bread is
converted into aliment by breaking and masticating it, just as
the Scriptures feed the soul by being opened up and made the
subject of discourse; but drink, when prepared, passes as it is
into the body: so that at present the truth is bread, when it
is called daily bread; but then it will be drink, when there
will be no need of the labour of discussing and discoursing, as
it were of breaking and masticating, but merely of drinking
unmingled and transparent truth. And sins are at present
forgiven us, and at present we forgive them; which is the
second petition of these four that remain: but then there will
1 Isa. liv. 13; John vi. 45.

94 our lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]

be no pardon of sins, because there will be no sins. And temptations molest this temporal
life; but they will have no existence when these words shall be fully realized, u Thou
shalt hide them in the secret of Thy presence." 1 And the evil from which we wish to be
delivered, and the deliverance from evil itself, belong certainly to this life, which as being
mortal we have deserved at the hand of God's justice, and from which we are delivered by His mercy.

Chap. xi. â€” 38. The sevenfold number of these petitions also seems to me to correspond to that sevenfold number out of which the whole sermon before us has had its rise. For if it is the fear of God through which the poor in spirit are blessed, inasmuch as theirs is the kingdom of heaven; let us ask that the name of God may be hallowed among men through that "fear which is clean, enduring for ever." 2 If it is piety through which the meek are blessed, inasmuch as they shall inherit the earth; let us ask that His kingdom may come, whether it be over ourselves, that we may become meek, and not resist Him, or whether it be from heaven to earth in the splendour of the Lord's advent, in which we shall rejoice, and shall be praised, when He says, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." 3 For "in the Lord," says the prophet, "shall my soul be praised; the meek shall hear thereof, and be glad." 4 If it is knowledge through which those who mourn are blessed, inasmuch as they shall be comforted; let us pray that His will may be done in earth as it is in heaven, because when the body, which is as it were the earth, shall agree in a final and complete peace with the soul, which is as it were heaven, we shall not mourn: for there is no other mourning belonging to this present time, except when these contend against each other, and compel us to say, "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind;" and to testify our grief with tearful voice, "wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" 5 If it is fortitude through which those are blessed, who hunger

1 Ps. xxxi. 20. 2 Ps. xix. 9. 3 Matt. xxv. 34.

4 Ps. xxxiv. 2. 5 Rom. vii. 23, 24.

CHAP. XII.] FASTING. 95

and thirst after righteousness, inasmuch as they shall be filled; let us pray that our daily bread may be given to us to-day, supported and sustained by which, we may be able to reach that most abundant fulness. If it is prudence through which the merciful are blessed, inasmuch as they shall obtain mercy; let us forgive their debts to our debtors, and let us pray that ours may be forgiven to us. If it is understanding through which the pure in heart are blessed, inasmuch as they shall see God; let us pray not to be led into temptation, lest we should have a double heart, in not seeking after a single good, to which we may refer all our actings, but at the same time pursuing things temporal and earthly. For temptations arising from those things which seem to men burdensome and calamitous, have no power over us, if those other temptations have no power which befall us through the enticements of such things as men count good and cause for rejoicing. If it is wisdom through which the peacemakers are blessed, inasmuch as they shall be called the children of God j 1 let us pray that we may be delivered from evil, for that very
deliverance will make us free, i.e. sons of God, so that we may cry in the spirit of adoption, "Abba, Father." 2

39. Nor are we indeed carelessly to pass by the circumstance, that of all those sentences in which the Lord has taught us to pray, He has judged that that one is chiefly to be commended which has reference to the forgiveness of sins: in which He would have us to be merciful, because it is the only method of escaping misery. For in no other sentence do we pray in such a way that we, as it were, strike a bargain with God: for we say, "Forgive us, as we also forgive." And if we lie in that bargain, the whole prayer is fruitless. For He speaks thus: "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses."

Citap. xii. â€” 40. There follows a precept concerning fasting, having reference to that same purification of heart which is at present under discussion. For in this work also we must be on our guard, lest there should creep in a certain ostentation

1 Matt, v. 3-9. 2 Rom. viii. 15 and Gal. iv. 6.

96 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [book it.

and hankering after the praise of man, which would make the heart double, and not allow it to be pure and single for apprehending God. " Moreover, when ye fast," says He, " be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee." It is manifest from these precepts that all our effort is to be directed towards inward joys, lest, seeking a reward from without, we should be conformed to this world, and should lose the promise of a blessedness so much the more solid and firm, as it is inward, in which God has chosen that we should become conformed to the image of His Son. 1

41. But in this section it is chiefly to be noticed, that there may be ostentatious display not merely in the splendour and pomp of things pertaining to the body, but also in doleful filth itself; and the more dangerous on this account, that it deceives under the name of serving God. And therefore he who is very conspicuous by immoderate attention to the body, and by the splendour of his clothing or other things, is easily convicted by the things themselves of being a follower of the pomp of the world, and misleads no one by a cunning semblance of sanctity; but in regard to him who, under a profession of Christianity, fixes the eyes of men upon himself by unusual squalor and filth, when he does it voluntarily, and not under the pressure of necessity, it may be conjectured from the rest of his actings whether he does this from contempt of superfluous attention to the body, or from a certain ambition: for the Lord has enjoined us to beware of wolves under a sheep's skin; but " by their fruits," says He, " shall ye know them."
For when by temptations of any kind those very things begin to be withdrawn from them or refused to them, which under that veil they either have obtained or desire to obtain, then of necessity it appears whether it is a wolf in a sheep's skin or a sheep in its own. For a Christian ought not to delight the eyes of men by superfluous ornament on this account, because

1 Rom. viii. 29.

CHAP. XII.] FASTING. 97

pretenders also too often assume that frugal and merely necessary dress, that they may deceive those who are not on their guard: for those sheep also ought not to lay aside their own skins, if at any time wolves cover themselves therewith.

42. It is usual, therefore, to ask what He means, when He says: " But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast." For it would not be right in any one to teach (although we may wash our face according to daily custom) that we ought also to have our heads anointed when we fast. If, then, all admit this to he most unseemly, we must understand this precept with respect to anointing the head and washing the face as referring to the inner man. Hence, to anoint the head refers to joy; to wash the face, on the other hand, refers to purity: and therefore that man anoints his head who rejoices inwardly in his mind and reason. For we lightly understand that as being the head which has the pre-eminence in the soul, and by which it is evident that the other parts of man are ruled and governed. And this is done by him who does not seek his joy from without, so as to draw his delight in a fleshly way from the praises of men. For the flesh, which ought to be subject, is in no way the head of the whole nature of man.

" No man," indeed, " ever yet hated his own flesh," as the apostle says, when giving the precept as to loving one's wife; 1 but the man is the head of the woman, and Christ is the head of the man. 2 Let him, therefore, rejoice inwardly in his fasting in this very circumstance, that by his fasting he so turns away from the pleasure of the world as to be subject to Christ, who according to this precept desires to have the head anointed. For thus also he will wash his face, i.e. cleanse his heart, with which he shall see God, no veil being interposed on account of the infirmity contracted from filth; but being firm and stedfast, inasmuch as he is pure and guileless.

: Wash you," says He, " make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes." 3 From the filth, therefore, by which the eye of God is offended, our face is to be washed. For we, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image. 4

1 Eph. v. 25-33. 2 1 Cor. xi. 3. 3 Isa. i. 16. 4 2 Cor. iii. 18.

SERM. MT. G
43. Often also the thought of things necessary belonging to this life wounds our inner eye; and frequently it makes the heart double, so that in regard to those things in which we seem to act rightly with our fellow-men, we do not act with that heart wherewith the Lord enjoins us; i.e., it is not because we love them, but because we wish to obtain some advantage from them for the necessity of the present life. But we ought to do them good for their eternal salvation, not for our own temporal advantage. May God, therefore, incline our heart to His testimonies, and not to covetousness. For "the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." But he who looks after his brother from a regard to his own necessities in this life, does not certainly do so from charity, because he does not look after him whom he ought to love as himself, but after himself; or rather not even after himself, seeing that in this way he makes his own heart double, by which he is hindered from seeing God, in the vision of whom alone there is certain and lasting blessedness.

Chap. xiii. â€” 44. Rightly, therefore, does he who is intent on cleansing our heart follow up what He has said with a precept, where He says: " Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." If, therefore, the heart be on earth, i.e. if one perform anything with a heart bent on obtaining earthly advantage, how will that heart be clean which wallows on earth? But if it be in heaven, it will be clean, because whatever things are heavenly are clean. For anything becomes polluted when it is mixed with a nature that is inferior, although not polluted of its kind; for gold is polluted even by pure silver, if it be mixed with it: so also our mind becomes polluted by the desire after earthly things, although the earth itself be pure of its kind and order. But we would not understand heaven in this passage as anything corporeal, because everything corporeal is to be reckoned as earth. For he who lays up treasure for himself in heaven ought to despise the whole world. Hence it is in that heaven of which it is said, " The heaven of heavens is the Lord's," i.e. in the spiritual firmament: for it is not in that which shall pass away that we ought to fix and place our treasure and our heart, but in that which ever abideth; but heaven and earth shall pass away.

1 Ps. cxix. 36. 2 1 Tim. i. 5.
45. And here He makes it manifest that He gives all these precepts with a view to the cleansing of the heart, when He says: "The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" And this passage we are to understand in such a way as to learn from it that all our works are pure and well-pleasing in the sight of God, when they are done with a single heart, i.e. with a heavenly intention, having that end of charity in view; for charity is also the fulfilling of the law. Hence we ought to take the eye here in the sense of the intention itself, wherewith we do whatever we are doing; and if this be pure and right, and looking at that which ought to be looked at, all our works which we perform in accordance therewith are necessarily good. And all those works He has called the whole body; for the apostle also speaks of certain works of which he disapproves as our members, and teaches that they are to be mortified, saying, "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, covetousness," and all other such things.

46. It is not, therefore, what one does, but the intention with which he does it, that is to be considered. For this is the light in us, because our doing with a good intention what we are doing is a thing manifest to ourselves; for everything which is made manifest is light. For the deeds themselves which go forth from us to human society, have an uncertain issue; and therefore He has called them darkness. For I do not know, when I present money to a poor man who asks it, either what he is to do with it, or what he is to suffer from it; and it may happen that he does some evil with it, or suffers some evil on account of it, which I did not wish to happen when I gave it to him, nor would I have given it with such an intention. If, therefore, I did it with a good intention, — a thing which was known to me when I was doing it, and is therefore called light, — my deed also is lighted up, whatever issue it shall have; but that issue, inasmuch as it is uncertain and unknown, is called darkness. But if I have done it with a bad intention, the light itself even is darkness. For it is spoken of as light, because every one knows with what intention he acts, even when he acts with a bad intention; but the light itself is darkness, because the aim is not directed singly to things above, but is turned downwards to things beneath, and makes, as it were, a shadow by means of a double heart. "If, therefore, the light that is in thee be

1 Ps. cxv. 16. 2 Matt. xxiv. 35.
3 Kom. xiii. 10. 4 Col. iii. 5.
8 Eph. v. 13. Augustine's rendering here is the true sense of the original.
darkness, how great is that darkness!" i.e., if the very intention of the heart with which you do what you are doing (which is known to you) is polluted by the hunger after earthly and temporal things, and blinded, how much more is the deed itself, whose issue is uncertain, polluted and full of darkness! Because, although what you do with an intention which is neither upright nor pure, may turn out for some one's good, it is the way in which you have done it, not how it has turned out for him, that is reckoned to you.

Chap. xiv. â€” 47. Then, further, the statement which follows, " No man can serve two masters," is to be referred to this very intention, as He goes on to explain, saying: " For either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will submit to the one, and despise the other." And these words are to be carefully considered; for who the two masters are He forthwith shows, when He says, " Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Eiches are said to be called mammon among the Hebrews. The Punic name also corresponds; for gain is called mammon in Punic. But he who serves mammon certainly serves him who, as being set over those earthly things in virtue of his perversity, is called by our Lord the

CHAP. XV.] CAUTION AGAINST WORLDLY ANXIETY. 101

prince of this world. 1 A man will therefore " either hate " this one, " and love the other/" i.e. God; " or he will submit to the one, and despise the other." For whoever serves mammon submits to a hard and ruinous master: for, being entangled by his own lust, he becomes a subject of the devil, and he does not love him; for who is there who loves the devil? But yet he submits to him; as in any large house he who is connected with another man's maid-servant submits to hard bondage on account of his passion, even though he does not love him whose maid-servant he loves.

48. But "he will despise the other," He has said; not, he will hate. For no one's conscience almost can hate God; but he despises, i.e. he does not fear Him, as if feeling himself secure in consideration of His goodness. From this carelessness and ruinous security the Holy Spirit recalls us, when He says by the prophet, " My son, do not add sin upon sin, and say, The mercy of God is great; " 2 and, " Knowest thou not that the patience of God leadeth thee to repentance? " 3 For whose mercy can be mentioned as being so great as His, who pardons all the sins of those who return, and makes the wild olive a partaker of the fatness of the olive? and whose severity as being so great as His, who spared not the natural 1 "ranches, but broke them off because of unbelief? 4 But let not the man, whoever he may be, who wishes to love God, and to beware of offending Him, suppose that he can serve two masters; and let him disentangle the upright intention of his heart from all
doubleness: for thus he will think of the Lord with a good heart, and in simplicity of heart will seek Him. 5

Chap. xv. æter” 49. "Therefore," says He, "I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." Lest perchance, although it is not now superfluities that are sought after, the heart should be made double by reason of necessaries themselves, and the aim should be wrenched aside to seek after those things of our own, when we are doing something as it were from compassion; i.e. so that when we wish to appear to be consulting for some

1 John xii. 31 and xiv. 30. 2 Ecclus. v. 5, 6. 3 Eom. ii. 4.

4 Horn. ad. 17-24. 5 Wisd. i. 1. c Lit. "your soul."

102 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. ["hook II.

one’s good, we are in that matter looking after our own profit rather than his advantage: and we do not seem to ourselves to be sinning for this reason, that it is not superfluities, but necessaries, which we wish to obtain. But the Lord admonishes us that we should remember that God, when He made and compounded us of body and soul, gave us much more than food and clothing, through care for which He would not have us make our hearts double. " Is not," says He, " the soul more than meat ? " So that you are to understand that He who gave the soul will much more easily give meat. " And the body than raiment," i.e. is more than raiment: so that similarly you are to understand, that He who gave the body will much more easily give raiment.

50. And in this passage the question is wont to be raised, whether the food spoken of has reference to the soul, since the soul is incorporeal, and the food in question is corporeal food.
But let us admit that the soul in this passage stands for the present life, whose support is that corporeal nourishment. In accordance with this signification we have also that statement: a He that loveth his soul shall lose it." 1 And here, unless we understand the expression of this present life, which we ought to lose for the kingdom of God, as it is clear the martyrs were able to do, this precept will be in contradiction to that sentence where it is said: " What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ? " 2

51. tt Behold," says He, " the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: are ye not much better than they ? " i.e. ye are of more value. For surely a rational being such as man has a higher rank in the nature of things than irrational ones, such as birds. " Which of you, by takingthought, can add one cubit unto his stature ? " That is to say, the providence of Him by whose power and sovereignty it has come about that your body was brought up to its present stature, can also give you raiment; but that it is not by your care that it has come
about that your body should arrive at this stature, may be understood from this circumstance, that if you should take thought, and should wish to

1 John xii. 25. 2 Matt. xvi. 26.

CHAP. XVI.] THE MAIN THING TO BE SOUGHT. 103

add one cubit to tins stature, you cannot. Leave, therefore, the care of protecting the body to Him by whose care you see it has come about that you have a body of such a stature.

52. But an example was to be given for the clothing too, just as one is given for the food. Hence He goes on to say, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven; shall He not much more clothe you, ye of little faith ? " But these examples are not to be treated as allegories, so that we should inquire what the fowls of heaven or the lilies of the field mean: for they stand here, in order that from smaller matters we may be persuaded respecting greater ones; just as is the case in regard to the judge who neither feared God nor regarded man, and yet yielded to the widow who often importuned him to consider her case, not from piety or humanity, but that he might be saved annoyance. For that unjust judge does not in any way allegorically represent the person of God; but yet as to how far God, who is good and just, cares for those who supplicate Him, our Lord wished the inference to be drawn from this circumstance, that not even an unjust man can despise those who assail him with unceasing petitions, even were his motive merely to avoid annoyance. 1

Chap. xvi. â€” 53. "Therefore be not anxious," says He, u saying, What shall we eat ? or, What shall we drink ? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed ? (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." Here He shows most manifestly that these things are not to be sought as if they were our blessings in such sort, that on account of them we ought to do well in all our actings, but yet that they are necessary. For what the difference is between a blessing which is to be sought, and a necessary which is to be taken for use, He has made plain by this

1 Luke xviii. 2-3.

104 oun lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]
sentence, when He says, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The kingdom and the righteousness of God therefore are our good; and this is to be sought, and there the end is to be set up, on account of which we are to do everything which we do. But because we serve as soldiers in this life, in order that we may be able to reach that kingdom, and because our life cannot be spent without these necessaries, " These things shall be added unto you," says He; "but seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness." For in using that word " first," He has indicated that this is to be sought later, not in point of time, but in point of importance: the one as being our good, the other as being something necessary for us; but the necessary on account of that good.

54. For neither ought we, for example, to preach the gospel with this object, that we may eat; but to eat with this object, that we may preach the gospel: for if we preach the gospel for this cause, that we may eat, we reckon the gospel of less value than food; and in that case our good will be in eating, but that which is necessary for us in preaching the gospel. And this the apostle also forbids, when he says it is lawful for himself even, and permitted by the Lord, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, i.e. should have from the gospel the necessaries of this life; but yet that he has not made use of this power. For there were many who were desirous of having an occasion for getting and selling the gospel, from whom the apostle wished to cut off this occasion, and therefore he submitted to a way of living by his own hands. 1 For concerning these parties he says in another passage, " That I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion." 2 Although even if, like the rest of the good apostles, by the permission of the Lord he should live of the gospel, he would not on that account place the end of preaching the gospel in that living, but would rather make the gospel the end of his living; i.e., as I have said above, he would not preach the gospel with this object, that he might get his food and all other necessaries; but he would take such things for this purpose, in order that he might carry out that other object,

1 Acts xx. 34. 2 2 Cor. xi. 12.

CHAP. XVI.] SEEKING FIRST THE KINGDOM OF GOD. 105

viz. that willingly, and not of necessity, he should preach the gospel. For this he disapproves of when he says, " Do ye not know, that they which minister in the temple eat the things which are of the temple ? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar ? Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.

But I have used none of these things." Hence he shows that it was permitted, not commanded; otherwise he will be held to have acted contrary to the precept of the Lord. Then he goes on to say: " Neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void."
This he said, as he had already resolved, because of some who were seeking occasion, to gain a living by his own hands.

"For if I preach the gospel," says he, "I have nothing to glory of:" i.e., if I preach the gospel in order that such things in any be done in my case, or, if I preach the gospel with this object, in order that I may obtain those things, and if I thus place the end of the gospel in meat and drink and clothing.

But wherfore has he nothing to glory of? "Necessity," says he, "is laid upon me;" i.e. so that I should preach the gospel for this reason, because I have not the means of living, or so that I should acquire temporal fruit from the preaching of eternal things; for thus, consequently, the preaching of the gospel will be a matter of necessity, not of free choice. "For woe is unto me," says he, "if I preach not the gospel!" But how ought he to preach the gospel? Evidently in such a way as to place the reward in the gospel itself, and in the kingdom of God: for thus he can preach the gospel, not of Constraint, but willingly. "For if I do this thing willingly," says he, "I have a reward: but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me:" 1 if, constrained by the want of those things which are necessary for temporal life, I preach the gospel, others will have through me the reward of the gospel, who love the gospel itself when I preach it; but I shall not have it, because it is not the gospel itself I love, but its price lying in those temporal things. And this is something sinful, that any one should minister the gospel not as a son, but as a servant to whom a stewardship of it has been committed; that he should, as it were, pay out what belongs to another, but should himself receive nothing from it except victuals, which are given not in consideration of his sharing in the kingdom, but from without, for the support of a miserable bondage. Although in another passage he calls himself also a steward. For a servant also, when adopted into the number of the children, is able faithfully to dispense to those who share with him that property in which he has acquired the lot of a fellow-heir. But in the present case, where he says, "But if against my will, a dispensation (stewardship) is committed unto me," he wished such a steward to be understood as dispenses what belongs to another, and from it gets nothing himself.

55. Hence anything whatever that is sought for the sake of something else, is doubtless inferior to that for the sake of which it is sought; and therefore that is first for the sake of which you seek such a thing, not the thing which you seek for the sake of that other. And for this reason, if we seek the gospel and the kingdom of God for the sake of food, we place food first, and the kingdom of God last; so that if food were not to fail us, we would not seek the kingdom of God: this is to seek food first, and then the kingdom of God. But if we seek food for this end, that we may gain the kingdom of God, we do what is said, "

1 1 Cor. ix. 13-17.

106 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]
Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."

Chap. xvii. â€” 56. For in the case of those who are seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, i.e. who are preferring this to all other things, so that for its sake they are seeking the other things, there ought not to remain behind the anxiety lest those things should fail which are necessary to this life for the sake of the kingdom of God. For He has said above, " Your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things." And therefore, when He had said, " Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," He did not say, Then seek such things, (although they are necessary), â€œ but He affirms "all these things shall be added unto you," i.e.

CHAP. XVII.] ANXIETY FOR THE MOREOW. 107

will follow, if ye seek the former, without any hindrance on your part: lest while ye seek such things, ye should be turned away from the other; or lest ye should set up two things to be aimed at, so as to seek both the kingdom of God for its own sake, and such necessaries: but these rather for the sake of that other; so shall they not be wanting to you. For ye cannot serve two masters. But the man is attempting to serve two masters, who seeks both the kingdom of God as a great good, and these temporal things. He will not, however, be able to have a single eye, and to serve the Lord God alone, unless lie take all other things, so far as they are necessary, for the sake of this one thin^, i.e. for the sake of the kino-dom of God.

But as all who serve as soldiers receive provisions and pay, so all who preach the gospel receive food and clothing. But all do not serve as soldiers for the welfare of the republic, but some do so for what they get: so also all do not minister to God for the welfare of the Church, but some do so for the sake of these temporal things, which they are to obtain in the shape as it were of provisions and pay; ( or both for the one thing and for the other. But it has been already said above, " Ye cannot serve two masters." Hence it is with a single heart and only for the sake of the kingdom of God that we ought to do good to all; and we ought not in doing so to think either of the temporal reward alone, or of that along with the kingdun of God: all which temporal things He has placed under the category of to-morrow, saying, " Take no thought for tomorrow." For to-morrow is not spoken of except in time, where the future succeeds the past. Therefore, when we do anything good, let us not think of what is temporal, but of what is eternal; then will that be a good and perfect work. " For the morrow," says He, "will be anxious for the things of

If;" i.e., so that, when you ought, you will take food, or drink, or clothing, that is to say, when necessity itself begins to urge you. For these things will be within reach, because our Father knoweth that we have need of all these things. For "sufficient unto the day," says He, "is the evil thereof;"

it is sufficient that necessity itself will urge us to take such things. And for this reason, I suppose, it is called evil, because for us it is penal: for it belongs to this frailty and
mortality which we have earned by sinning. Do not add, therefore, to this punishment of
temporal necessity anything more burdensome, so that you should not only suffer the
want of such things, but should also for the purpose of satisfying this want engage as a
soldier in God's service.

57. In the use of this passage, however, we must be very specially on our guard, lest
perchance, when we see any servant of God making provision that such necessaries shall
not be wanting either to himself or to those with whose care he has been entrusted, we
should decide that he is acting contrary to the Lord's precept, and is anxious for the
morrow. For the Lord Himself also, although angels ministered to Him, 1 yet for the sake
of example, that no one might afterwards be scandalized when he observed any of His
servants procuring such necessaries, condescended to have money bags, out of which
whatever might be required for necessary uses might be provided; of which bags, as it is
written, Judas, who betrayed Him, was the keeper and the thief. 2 In like manner, the
Apostle Paul also may seem to have taken thought for the morrow, when he said: " Now
concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the saints of Galatia,
even so do ye: upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store
what shall seem good unto him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I
come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your
liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go* with me. Now I
will come unto you when I shall pass through Macedonia: for I do pass through
Macedonia. And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring
me on my journey whithersoever I go. For I will not see you now by the way; but I trust
to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit. But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." 3

1 Matt. iv. 11. 2 John xii. 6. 3 1 Cor. xvi. 1-8.

CHAP. XVII.] PROVISION FOR THE FUTURE ALLOWABLE. 109
them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Caesar. Then the disciples, every one according to his ability, determined to send relief to the elders for the brethren which dwelt in Judea, which also they did by the hands of Barnabas and Saul."

1 And in the case of the necessaries presented to him, wherewith the same Apostle Paul when setting sail was laden, 2 food seems to have been furnished for more than a single day. And when the same apostle writes, "Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth;" 3 to those who misunderstand him he does not seem to keep the Lord's precept, which runs, "Behold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns;" and,

"Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin;" while he enjoins the parties in question to labour, working with their hands, that they may have something which they may be able to give to others also. And in what he often says of himself, that he wrought with his hands that he might not be burdensome; 4 and in what is written of him, that he joined himself to Aquila on account of the similarity of their occupation, in order that they might work together at that from which they might make a living; 5 he does not seem to have imitated the birds of the air and the lilies of the field. From these and such like passages of Scripture, it is sufficiently apparent that our Lord does not disapprove of it, when one looks after such things in the ordinary way that men do; but only when one engages in God's service for the sake of such things, so that in what he does he fixes his eye not on the kingdom of God, but on the acquisition of such things.

58. Hence this whole precept is reduced to the following rule, that even in looking after such things we should think of the kingdom of God, but in the service of the kingdom of God we should not think of such things. For in this way, although they should sometimes be wanting (a thing which

1 Acts xi. 27-30. 2 Acts xxviii. 10. 3 Eph. iv. 28.

4 1 Thess. ii. 9 and 2 Thess. iii. 8. 5 Acts xviii. 2, 3.

110 OUE LOBD'S SERMON ON THE' MOUNT. [BOOKIL

God often permits for the purpose of exercising us), they not only do not weaken our proposition, but even strengthen it, when it is examined and tested. For, says He, "we glory in tribulations also; knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope: And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." 1

Now, in the mention of his tribulations and labours, the same apostle mentions that he has had to endure not only prisons and shipwrecks and many such like annoyances, but also hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness. 2 But when we read this, let us not imagine that the promises of God have wavered, so that the apostle suffered hunger and thirst and
nakedness while seeking the kingdom and righteousness of God, although it is said to us, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you: " since that Physician to whom we have once for all entrusted ourselves wholly, and from whom we have the promise of life present and future, knows such things just as helps, when He sets them before us, when He takes them away, just as He judges it expedient for us; whom He rules and directs as parties who require both to be comforted and exercised in this life, and after this life to be established and confirmed in perpetual rest.

For man also, when he frequently takes away the fodder from his beast of burden, is not depriving it of his care, but rather does what he is doing in the exercise of care.

Chap. xviii. â€” 59. And inasmuch as when such things are either provided against the time to come, or reserved, if there is no cause wherefore you should expend them, it is uncertain with what intention it is done, since it may be done with a single heart, and also with a double one, He has seasonably added in this passage: "Judge not, that ye be not judged."

For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within V' I But concerning the kind of food, because every kind of human food can be taken indiscriminately with a good intention and a single heart, without the vice of concupiscence, the same apostle forbids the judging of those who ate flesh and drank wine by those who abstained from such kinds of sustenance: "Let not him that eateth," says he, * despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth." There also he says: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." 2 For in reference to such matters as can be done with a good and single and noble intention, although they may also be done with an intention the reverse of good, those parties wished, although they were [mere] men, to pronounce judgment upon the secrets of the heart, of which God alone is Judge.

CHAP. XVIII.] JUDGING OF OTHERS. III

to put the better construction on them. For when it is written, "By their fruits ye shall know them," the statement has reference to things which manifestly cannot be done with a good intention; such as debaucheries, or blasphemies, or thefts, or sottishness, and all such things, of which we are permitted to judge, according to the apostle's statement: "For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within V' I But concerning the kind of food, because every kind of human food can be taken indiscriminately with a good intention and a single heart, without the vice of concupiscence, the same apostle forbids the judging of those who ate flesh and drank wine by those who abstained from such kinds of sustenance: "Let not him that eateth," says he, * despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth." There also he says: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." 2 For in reference to such matters as can be done with a good and single and noble intention, although they may also be done with an intention the reverse of good, those parties wished, although they were [mere] men, to pronounce judgment upon the secrets of the heart, of which God alone is Judge.
60. To this category belongs also what he says in another passage: "Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God." 3 There are therefore certain ambiguous actions, respecting which we are ignorant with what intention they are performed, because they may be done both with a good or with an evil one, of which it is rash to judge, especially for the purpose of condemning.

Now the time for these being judged will come, when the Lord "will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts." In another passage also the same apostle says: "Some men's sins are manifest beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after." He calls those sins manifest, with regard to which it is clear with what intention they are done; these go

1 1 Cor. v. 12. = Rom. xiv. 3, 4. 3 1 Cor. iv. 5.

112 OUR LORD'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT. [BOOK H.

before to judgment, because if a judgment shall follow, it is not rash. But those which are concealed follow, because neither shall they remain hid in their own time. So we must understand with respect to good works also. For he adds to this effect: "Likewise also the good works of some are manifest beforehand; and they that are otherwise cannot be hid."

Let us judge, therefore, with respect to those which are manifest; but respecting those which are concealed, let us leave the judgment to God: for they also cannot be hid, whether they be good or evil, when the time shall come for them to be manifestly.

61. There are two things, moreover, in which we ought to beware of rash judgment; when it is uncertain with what intention anything is done; or when it is uncertain what sort of a person he is going to be, who at present is manifestly either good or bad. If, therefore, any one, for example, complaining of his stomach, would not fast, and you, not believing this, were to attribute it to the vice of gluttony, you would judge rashly. Likewise, if you were to come to know the gluttony and drunkenness as being manifest, and were so to administer reproof as if the man could never be amended and changed, you would nevertheless judge rashly. Let us not therefore reprove those things respecting which we are ignorant of the intention with which they are done; nor let us so reprove those things which are manifest, as that we should despair of a return to a right state of mind; and thus we shall avoid the judgment of which in the present instance it is said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged."

62. But what He says may cause perplexity: "For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." Is it the case, then, that if we shall judge anything with a rash judgment, God will also judge rashly with respect to us? or if we shall measure anything with an unjust measure, that there is also an unjust measure with God, according to which it shall be measured to us
again? (for by the expression measure also, I suppose the judgment itself is meant.) By no means does God either judge rashly, or recompense to any one with

I 1 Tim. v. 24, 25.

CHAP. XIX.] HASH JUDGMENTS. 113

an unjust measure; but it is so expressed, inasmuch as that very same rashness wherewith you punish another must necessarily punish yourself. Unless, perchance, it is to be imagined that injustice does harm in some way to him against whom it goes forth, but in no way to him from whom it goes forth; but nay, it often does no harm to him who suffers the injury, but it must necessarily do harm to him who inflicts it. For what harm did the injustice of the persecutors do to the martyrs? None; but very much to the persecutors themselves. For although some of them were turned from the error of their ways, yet at the time at which they were acting as persecutors, their wickedness was blinding them. So also a rash judgment frequently does no harm to him who is the object of the rash judgment; but to him who judges rashly, the rashness itself must necessarily do harm. According to such a rule, I judge of that saying also: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." 1 For how many take the sword, and yet do not perish with the sword, Peter himself being an instance! But lest any one should think that he escaped such punishment by the pardon of his sins (although nothing could be more absurd than to think that the punishment of the sword, which did not befall Peter, could have been greater than that of the cross, which actually overtook him), yet what would he say of the malefactors who were crucified with our Lord; for both he who got pardon, got it after he was crucified, and the other did not get it at all? 2 Or had they perhaps crucified all whom they had slain; and did they therefore themselves too deserve to suffer the same thing? It is ridiculous to think so. For what else is meant by the statement, "For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," but that the soul dies by that very sin, whatever it may be, which it has committed?

Chap. xix. â€” 63. And inasmuch as the Lord is admonishing us in this passage with respect to rash and unjust judgment, â€” for He wishes that whatever we do, we should do it with a heart that is single and directed toward God alone; and inasmuch as, with respect to many things, it is uncertain with what

1 Matt. xxvi. 52. 2 Luke xxiii. 33-43.

SERM. BIT. H

114 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]
intention they are done, regarding which it is rash to judge; inasmuch, moreover, as those parties especially judge rashly respecting things that are uncertain, and readily find fault, who love rather to censure and to condemn than to amend and to improve, which is a fault arising either from pride or from envy; therefore He has subjoined the statement: "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" So that if perchance, for example, he has transgressed in anger, you should find fault in hatred; there being, as it were, as much difference between anger and hatred as between a mote and a beam.

For hatred is inveterate anger, which, as it were simply by its long duration, has acquired so great strength as to be justly called a beam. Now, it may happen that, though you are angry with a man, you wish him to be turned from his error; but if you hate a man, you cannot wish to convert him.

64. "Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye;" i.e., first cast the hatred away from thee, and then, but not before, shalt thou be able to amend him whom thou lovest. And He well says, "Thou hypocrite." For to make complaint against vices is the duty of good and benevolent men; and when bad men do it, they are acting a part which does not belong to them: just like hypocrites, who conceal under a mask what they are, and show themselves off in a mask as what they are not. Under the designation hypocrites, therefore, you are to understand pretenders. And there is, in fact, a class of pretenders much to be guarded against, and troublesome, who, while they take up complaints against all kinds of faults from hatred and spite, also wish to appear counsellors. And therefore we must piously and cautiously watch, so that when necessity shall compel us to find fault with or rebuke any one, we may reflect first whether the fault is such as we have never had, or one from which we have now become free; and if we have never had it, let us reflect that we are men, and might have had it; but if we have had it, and are now free from it, let

CHAP. XIX.] BEARING WITH INFIRMITIES. 115

the common infirmity tonicl the memory, so that that faultfinding or administering of rebuke may be preceded not by hatred, but by pity: so that whether it shall serve for the conversion of him on whose account we do it, or for his perversion (for the issue is uncertain), we at least from the singleness of our eye may be free from care. If, however, on reflection, we find ourselves involved in the same fault as he is whom we were preparing to censure, let us not censure nor rebuke; but yet let us mourn deeply over the case, and let us invite him not to obey us, but to join us in a common effort.
65. For in regard also to what the apostle says, "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law (not being under the law), that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might gain all," he did not certainly so act in the way of pretence, as some wish it to be understood, in order that their detestable pretence may be fortified by the authority of so great an example; but he did so from charity, under the influence of which he thought of the infirmity of him whom he wished to help as if it were his own. For this he also lays as the foundation beforehand, when he says: " For although I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more." And that you may understand this as being done not in pretence, but in charity, under the influence of which we have compassion for men who are weak as if they were ourselves, he thus admonishes us in another passage, saying, "Brethren, ye have been called into liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another." And this cannot be done, unless each one reckon the infirmity of another as his own, so as to bear it with equanimity, until the party for whose welfare he is solicitous is freed from it.

66. Barely, therefore, and in a case of great necessity, are


116 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]

rebukes to be administered; yet in such a way that even in these very rebukes we may make it our earnest endeavour, not that we, but that God, should be served. For He, and none else, is the end: so that we are to do nothing with a double heart, removing from our own eye the beam of envy, or malice, or pretence, in order that we may see to cast the mote out of a brother's eye. For we shall see it with the dove's eyes, such eyes as are declared to belong to the spouse of Christ, 1 whom God hath chosen for Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, i.e. pure and guileless.

Chap. xx. 67. But inasmuch as the word guileless may mislead some who are desirous of obeying God's precepts, so that they may think it wrong to conceal the truth sometimes, in the same way as it is wrong sometimes to speak a falsehood, and in this way, by disclosing things which the parties to whom they are disclosed are unable to bear, may do more harm than if they were to conceal them altogether and always, He very rightly adds: "Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." For the Lord Himself, although He never told a lie, yet showed that He was concealing certain truths, when He said, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."
And the Apostle Paul, too, says: "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able. For ye are yet carnal." 4

68. Now, in this precept by which we are forbidden to give what is holy to the dogs, and to cast our pearls before swine, we must carefully inquire what is meant by a thing which is holy, what by pearls, what by dogs, what by swine. A holy thing is something which it is impious to violate and to corrupt; and the very attempt and wish to commit that crime is held to be criminal, although that holy thing should remain in its nature inviolable and incorruptible. By pearls, again, are meant whatever spiritual things we ought to set a high value.

1 Cant. iv. 1. 2 Eph. v. 27. 3 John xvi. 12. 4 I Cor. iii. 1, 2.

CHAP. XX.] CASTING PEARLS BEFORE SWINE. 117

upon, both because they lie hid in a secret place, are as it were brought up out of the deep, and are found in wrappings of allegory, as it were in shells that have been opened. We may therefore legitimately understand that one and the same thing may be called both holy and a pearl: but it gets the name of holy for this reason, that it ought not to be corrupted; of a pearl for this reason, that it ought not to be despised. Every one, however, endeavours to corrupt what he does not wish to remain uninjured: but he despises what he thinks worthless, and reckons to be as it were beneath himself; and therefore whatever is despised is said to be trampled on. And hence, inasmuch as dogs spring at a thing in order to tear it in pieces, and do not allow what they are tearing in pieces to remain in its original condition, "Give not," says He, "that which is holy unto the dogs; " for although it cannot be torn in pieces and corrupted, and remains unharmed and inviolable, yet we must think of what is the wish of those parties who bitterly and in a most unfriendly spirit resist, and, as far as in them lies, endeavour, if it were possible, to destroy the truth. But swine, although they do not, like dogs, fall upon an object with their teeth, yet by recklessly trampling on it defile it: "Do not therefore cast your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." We may therefore not unsuitably understand dogs as used to designate the assailants of the truth, swine the despisers of it.

69. But when He says, "they turn again and rend you," He does not say, they rend the pearls themselves. For by trampling on them, just when they turn in order that they may hear something more, they yet rend him by whom the pearls have just been cast before them which they have trampled on. For you would not easily find out what pleasure the man could have who has trampled pearls under foot, i.e.
has despised divine things whose discovery is the result of great labour. But in regard to
him who teaches such parties, I do not see how he would escape being rent in pieces
through their anger and wrathfulness. Moreover, both animals are unclean, the dog as
well as the swine. We must therefore be on our guard, lest anything should be opened up
to him who does not receive it: for it is better that he should seek

118 OUR lord's sermon on the mount. [BOOK II.]

for what is hidden, than that he should either attack or slight what is open. Neither, in
fact, is any other cause found why they do not receive those things which are manifest
and of importance, except hatred and contempt, the one of which gets them the name of
dogs, the other that of swine. And all this impurity is generated by the love of temporal
things, i.e. by the love of this world, which we are commanded to renounce, in order that
we may be able to be pure. The man, therefore, who desires to have a pure and single
heart, ought not to appear to himself blameworthy, if he conceals anything from him who
is unable to receive it. Nor is it to be supposed from this that it is allowable to lie: for it
does not follow that when truth is concealed, falsehood is uttered. Hence, steps are to be
taken first, that the hindrances which prevent his receiving it may be removed; for
certainly if pollution is the hindrance, he is to be cleansed either by word or by deed, as
far as we can possibly do it.

70. Then, further, when our Lord is found to have made certain statements which many
who were present did not accept, but either resisted or despised, He is not to be thought to
have given that which is holy to the dogs, or to have cast pearls before swine: for He did
not give such things to those who were not able to receive them, but to those who were
able, and were at the same time present; whom it was not meet that He should neglect on
account of the impurity of others.

And when tempters put questions to Him, and He answered them, so that they might have
nothing to gainsay, although they might pine away from the effects of their own poisons,
rather than be filled with His food, yet others, who were able to receive His teaching,
heard to their profit many things in consequence of the opportunity created by these
parties. I

have said this, lest any one, perhaps, when he is not able to reply to one who puts a
question to him, should seem to himself excused, if he should say that he is unwilling to
give that which is holy to the dogs, or to cast pearls before swine. For he who knows
what to answer ought to do it, even for the sake of others, in whose minds despair arises,
if they believe that the question proposed cannot be answered: and this in reference to
matters that are useful, and that belong to saving
instruction. For many things which may be the subject of inquiry on the part of idle
people are needless and vain, and often hurtful, respecting which, however, something
must be said; but this very point is to be opened up and explained, viz. why such things
ought not to form the subject of inquiry.
In reference, therefore, to things that are useful, we ought sometimes to give a reply to
what is asked of us: just as the Lord did, when the Sadducees had asked Him about the
woman who had seven husbands, to which of them she would belong in the resurrection.
For He answered that in the resurrection they will neither marry, nor be given in
marriage, but will be as the angels in heaven. But sometimes, he who asks is to be asked
something else, by telling which he would answer himself as to the matter he asked
about; but if he should refuse to make a statement, it would not seem to those who are
present unfair, if he himself should not hear anything as to the matter he inquired about.
For those who put the question, tempting Him, whether tribute was to be paid, were asked
another question, viz. whose image the money bore which was brought forward by
themselves; and because they told what they had been asked, i.e. that the money bore the
image of
-ar, they gave a kind of answer to themselves in reference to the question they had asked
the Lord: and accordingly from their answer He drew this inference, * Ender therefore
unto Coesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." 1
When, however, the chief priests and elders of the people had asked by what authority He
was doing those t i lings, He put a question to them about the baptism of John;
and when
they would not make a statement which they saw to be against themselves, and yet would
not venture to say anything bad about John, on account of the bystanders, " Neither tell I
you," says He, * by what authority I do these things;" 2
a refusal which appeared most just to the bystanders. For they said they were ignorant of
that which they really knew, but did not wish to tell. And, in truth, it was right that they
who wished to have an answer to what they asked, should themselves first do what they
required to be done toward thuni; and if they had done this, they w 7 ould certainly have

1 Matt xxii. 15-34. 2 Chap. xxi. 23-27.

answered themselves. For they themselves had sent to John, asking who he was; or rather
they themselves, being priests and Levites, had been sent, supposing that he was the very
Christ, but he said that he was not, and gave forth a testimony concerning the Lord: I a
testimony respecting which if they chose to make a confession, they would teach
themselves by what authority as the Christ He was doing those things; which as if
ignorant of they had asked, in order that they might find an avenue for calumny.

Chap. xxi. â€” 71. Since, therefore, a command had been given that what is holy should
not be given to dogs, and pearls should not be cast before swine, a hearer might object
and say, conscious of his own ignorance and weakness, and hearing a command addressed to him, that he should not give what he felt that he himself had not yet received, " ask" might (I say) object and say, What holy thing do you forbid me to give to the dogs, and what pearls do you forbid me to cast before swine, while as yet I do not see that I possess such things?

Most opportunely He has added the statement: " Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened." . The asking refers to the obtaining by request soundness and strength of mind, so that we may be able to discharge those duties which are commanded; the seeking, on the other hand, refers to the finding of the truth. For inasmuch as the blessed life is summed up in action and knowledge, action wishes for itself a supply of strength, contemplation desiderates that matters should be made clear: of these therefore the first is to be asked, the second is to be sought; so that the one may be given, the other found. But knowledge in this life belongs rather to the way than to the possession itself: but whoever has found the true way, will arrive at the possession itself, which, however, is opened to him that knocks.

72. In order, therefore, that these three things " ask" viz. asking, seeking, knocking " ask" may be made clear, let us suppose, for

1 John i. 19-27.

CHAP. XXI.] THE LORD HEARS PRAYER. 121

eexample, the case of one weak in his limbs, who cannot walk: in the first place, he is to be healed and strengthened so as to be able to walk; and to this refers the expression He has used, " Ask." But what advantage is it that he is now able to walk, or even run, if he should go astray by devious paths?

A second thing therefore is, that he should find the road that leads to the place at which he wishes to arrive; and when he has kept that road, and arrived at the very place where he wishes to dwell, if he find it closed, it will be of no use either that he has been able to walk, or that he has walked and arrived, unless it be opened to him: to this, therefore, the expression refers which has been used, " Knock."

73. Moreover, great hope has been given, and is given, by Him who does not deceive when He promises: for He says,

'Every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened." Hence there is need of perseverance, in order that we may receive what we ask, and find what we seek, and that we knock at may be opened. Now, just as He talked of the fowls of heaven and of the lilies of the field, that we might not despair of food and clothing being provided for us, so that our hopes might rise from lesser things to greater; so also in this passage, " Or what man is there of you," says He, "whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give
him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him? " How do the evil give good things? Now, He has given the name of evil to those who are as yet the lovers of this world and sinners. And, in fact, the good things are to be called good according to their feeling, because they reckon these to be good things. Although in the nature of things also such things are good, but temporal, and pertaining to this feeble life: and whoever that is evil gives them, does not give of his own; for the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, 1 who made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all that therein is. 2 How much reason, therefore, there is for the hope that God will give us good things when we ask Him,

1 Ps. xxiv. 1. 2 Ps. cxlvi. 6.

and that we cannot be deceived, so that we should get one thing instead of another, when we ask Him; since we even, although, we are evil, know how to give that for which we are asked? For we do not deceive our children; and whatever good things we give are not given of our own, but of what belongs to Him.

Chap. xxii. â€” 74. Moreover, a certain strength and vigour in walking along the path of wisdom lies in good moral?, which are made to extend as far as to purification and singleness of heart, â€” a subject on which He has now been speaking long, and thus concludes: " Therefore all good things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." 1 In the Greek copies we find the passage runs thus: " Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." But I think the word " good " has been added by the Latins to make the sentence clear. For the thought occurred, that if any one should wish something wicked to be done to him, and should ascribe such a meaning to this statement, â€” as, for instance, if one should wish to be challenged to drink immoderately, and to get drunk over his cups, and should first do this to the party by whom he wishes it to be done to himself, â€” it would be ridiculous to imagine that he had fulfilled the duty meant here. Inasmuch, therefore, as they were influenced by this consideration, as I suppose, one word was added to make the matter clear; so that in the statement,

" Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you," there was inserted the word " good." But if this is wanting in the Greek copies, they also ought to be corrected:

but who would venture to do this? It is to be understood, therefore, that the sentence is complete and quite perfect, even if this word be not added. For the expression used, " whatsoever ye would," ought to be understood as used not in a customary and random, but in a strict sense. For there is no will except in the good: for as regards deeds that are bad and wicked, desire properly is spoken of, not will. Not that the Scriptures always speak in a strict sense; but where it is neces-
sary, they so keep a word to its perfectly strict meaning, that they do not allow anything else to be understood.

75. Moreover, this precept seems to refer to the love of our neighbour, and not to the love of God also, seeing that in another passage He says that there are two precepts on which "hang all the law and the prophets." For if He had said, All things whatsoever ye would should be done to you, do ye even so; in this one sentence He would have embraced both those precepts: for it would soon be said that every one wishes that he himself should be loved both by God and by men; and so, when this precept was given, that what he wished done to himself he should himself do, that certainly would be equivalent to the precept that he should love God and men. But when it is said more expressly of men, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," nothing else seems to be meant than, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." But we must carefully attend to what He has added here: "for this is the law and the prophets." Now, in the case of these two precepts, He not merely says, The law and the prophets hang; but He has also made an addition, "all the law and the prophets," 1 which is the same as the whole of prophecy: and in not making the same addition here, He has kept a place for the other precept, which refers to the love of God. Here, then, inasmuch as He is following out the precepts with respect to a single heart, and it is to be dreaded lest any one should have a double heart toward those from whom the heart can be hid, i.e. toward men, a precept with respect to that very thing was to be given.

For there is nobody almost that would wish that any one of double heart should have dealings with himself. But no one can bestow anything upon a fellow-man with a single heart, unless he so bestow it that he expects no temporal advantage from him, and does it with the intention which we have sufficiently discussed above, when we were speaking of the single eye.

76. The eye, therefore, being cleansed and rendered single, will be adapted and suited to behold and contemplate its own inner light. For the eye in question is the eye of the heart,


Now, such an eye is possessed by him who, in order that his works may be truly good, does not make it the aim of his good works that he should please men; but even if it should turn out that he pleases them, he makes this tend rather to their salvation and to
the glory of God, not to his own empty boasting; nor does he do anything that is good tending to his neighbour's salvation for the purpose of gaining by it those things that are necessary for getting through this, present life; nor does he rashly condemn a man's intention and wish in that action in which it is not apparent with what intention and wish it has been done; and whatever kindnesses he shows to a man, he shows them with the same intention with which he wishes them shown to himself, viz. as not expecting any temporal advantage from him: thus will the heart be single and pure in which God is sought. "Blessed," therefore, "are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." 1

Chap, xxiii. â€” 77. But because this belongs to few, He now begins to speak of searching for and possessing wisdom, which is a tree of life; and certainly, in searching for and possessing, i.e. contemplating this wisdom, such an eye is led through all that precedes to a point where there may now be seen the narrow way and the strait gate. When, therefore, He says in continuation, "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it; " He does not say so for this reason, that the Lord's yoke is rough, or His burden heavy; but because few are willing to bring their labours to an end, giving too little credit to Him who cries, "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" 2 (hence, moreover, the sermon before us took as its starting-point the lowly and meek in heart): and this easy yoke and light burden many spurn, few submit to; and on that account the way becomes narrow which leadeth unto life, and the gate strait by which it is entered.

1 Matt. v. 8. 2 Matt. xi. 28-30.

CHAP. XXIV.] THE TREE KNOWN BY ITS FRUITS. 125

Chap. xxiv. â€” 78. Here, therefore, those who promise a wisdom and a knowledge of the truth which they do not possess are especially to be guarded against; as, for instance, heretics, who frequently commend themselves on account of their fewness. And hence, when He had said that there are few who find the strait gate and the narrow way, lest they should falsely substitute themselves under the pretext of their fewness, He immediately added, "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." But such parties do not deceive the single eye, which knows how to distinguish a tree by its fruits. For He says: "Ye shall know them by their fruits." Then He adds the similitudes: "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so, every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."
79. And in [the interpretation of] this passage we must be very much on our guard against the error of those who judge from these same two trees that there are two original principles, 1 the one of which belongs to God, but the other neither belongs to God nor springs from Him. And this error has both been already discussed in other books [of ours] very copiously, and if that is still too little, will be discussed again; but at present we have merely to show that the two trees before us do not help them. In the first place, because it is so clear that He is speaking of men, that whoever reads what goes before and what follows will wonder at their blindness. Secondly, they fix their attention on what is said, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit," and therefore think that neither can it happen that a bad soul should be changed into something better, nor a good one into something worse; as if it were said, A good tree cannot become bad, nor a bad tree good. But it is said, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." For

1 Naturas.

126 OUR lord's sermon ox the mount. [BOOK II.]

the tree is certainly the soul itself, i.e. the man himself, but the fruits are the works of the man; a bad man, therefore, cannot perform good works, nor a good man bad works. If a bad man, therefore, wishes to perform good works, let him first become good. So the Lord Himself says in another passage more plainly: "Either make the tree good, or make the tree bad." But if He were figuratively representing the two natures of such parties by these two trees, He would not say, "Make:" for who of the sons of men can make a nature? Then also in that passage, when He had made mention of these two trees, He added, "Ye hypocrites, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?" 1 As long, therefore, as any one is evil, he cannot bring forth good fruits; for if he were to bring forth good fruits, he would no longer be evil. So it might most truly have been said, snow cannot be warm; for when it begins to be warm, we no longer call it snow, but water. It may therefore come about, that what was snow is no longer so; but it cannot happen that snow should be warm. So it may come about, that he who was bad is no longer bad; it cannot, however, happen that a bad man should do good. And although he is sometimes useful, this is not the man's own doing; but it is done through him, in virtue of the arrangements of divine providence: as, for instance, it is said of the Pharisees, "What they bid you, do; but what they do, do not consent to do." This very circumstance, that they spoke things that were good, and that the things which they spoke were usefully listened to and done, was not a matter belonging to them: for, says He, "they sit in Moses' seat." 2 It was, therefore, when engaged through divine providence in preaching the law of God, that they were able to be useful to their hearers, although they were not so to themselves. Respecting such it is said in another place by the prophet, "They have sown wheat, but shall reap thorns; " 3 because they teach what is good, and
do what is bad. Those, therefore, who listened to them, and did what was said by them, did not gather grapes of thorns, but through the thorns gathered grapes of the vine: just as, were any one to thrust his hand through a hedge, or were at least to gather a grape from a vine which was entangled in a

1 Matt. xii. 33, 34. 2 Matt, xxiii. 3, 2. 3 Jer. xii. 13.

hedge, that would not be the fruit of the thorns, but of the vine.

80. The question, indeed, is most rightly put, What fruits would He wish us to attend to, in order that by them we might know the tree? For many reckon among the fruits certain things which belong to the sheep's clothing, and in this way are deceived by wolves: as, for instance, either fastings, or prayers, or almsgivings; but unless all of these things could be done even by hypocrites, He would not say above, "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them." And after prefixing this sentence, He goes on to speak of those very three things, almsgiving, prayer, fasting. For many give largely to the poor, not from compassion, but from vanity; and many pray, or rather seem to pray, while not keeping God in view, but desiring to please men; and many fast, and make a wonderful show of abstinence before those to whom such things appear difficult, and by whom they are reckoned worthy of honour: and catch them with artifices of this sort, while they hold up to view one thing for the purpose of deceiving, and put forth another for the purpose of preying upon or killing those who cannot see the wolves under that sheep's clothing. These, therefore, are not the fruits by which He admonishes us that the tree is known. For such things, when they are done with a good intention in sincerity, are the appropriate clothing of sheep; but when they are done in wicked deception, they cover nothing else but wolves. But the sheep ought not on this account to hate their own clothing, because the wolves often conceal themselves therein.

81. What the fruits are by the finding of which we may know a bad tree, the apostle tells us: " Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." And what the fruits are by which we may know a good tree, the very same apostle goes on to tell us: " But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness,
ness, faith, meekness, temperance." 1 It must be known, indeed, that "joy" stands here in a strict and proper sense; for bad men are not said to rejoice, but strictly speaking to make extravagant demonstrations of joy: just as we have said above, that "will" stands in a strict sense, in which the wicked do not posses it, where it is said, " All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

In accordance with that strict sense of the word, in virtue of which joy is spoken of only in the good, the prophet also speaks, saying: "Eejoicing is not for the wicked, saith the Lord." 2 So also "faith" stands, not certainly as meaning any kind of it, but true faith: and the other things which find a place here have certain resemblances of their own in bad men and deceivers; so that they entirely mislead, unless one has the pure and single eye by which he may know such things.

It is accordingly the best arrangement, that the cleansing of the eye is first discussed, and then mention is made of what things were to be guarded against.

Chap. xxv. â€” 82. But seeing that, however pure an eye one may have, i.e. with however single and sincere a heart one may live, he yet cannot look into the heart of another: whatever things could not become apparent in deeds or words, are disclosed by trials. Now trial is twofold; either in the hope of obtaining some temporal advantage, or in the terror of losing it. And especially must we be on our guard, lest, when striving after wisdom, which can be found in Christ alone, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and know T ledge; 3 â€” we must be on our guard, I say, lest, under the very name of Christ, we be deceived by heretics, or by any parties whatever defective in intelligence, and lovers of this world. For on this account He adds a warning, saying, " Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven, he shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: " lest we should think that the mere fact of one saying to our Lord, " Lord, Lord," belongs to those fruits; and from that he should

1 Gal. v. 19-23. 2 Isa. lvii. 21, according to the Septuagint.

3 Col. ii. 3.

CHAP. XXV.] WORDS NO SURE TEST. 129

seem to us a good tree. But those are the fruits, to do the will of the Father who is in heaven, in the doing of which He has condescended to exhibit Himself as an example.
83. But the question may fairly be started, how this sentence is to be reconciled with the statement of the apostle, where he says, "No man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed; and no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost:" 1 for neither can we say that any who have the Holy Spirit will not enter into the kingdom of heaven, if they persevere onwards to the end; nor can we affirm that those who say, "Lord, Lord," and yet do not enter into the kingdom of heaven, have the Holy Spirit. How then does no one say "that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost," unless in this way, that the apostle has used the word "say" here in a strict and proper sense, so that it implies the will and understanding of him who says? But the Lord has used the word which He employs in a general sense: "Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." For he also who neither wishes nor understands what he says, seems to say it; but he properly says it, who gives expression to his will and mind by the sound of his voice: just as, a little before, what is called "joy" among the fruits of the Spirit is called so in a strict and proper sense, not in the way in which the same apostle elsewhere uses the expression, " Rejoiceth not in iniquity:" 2 as if any one could rejoice in iniquity: for that transport of a mind making confused and boisterous demonstrations of joy is not joy; for this latter is possessed by the good alone. Hence those also seem to say it, who neither perceive with the understanding nor engage with the deliberate consent of the will in this which they utter, but utter it with the voice merely; and after this manner the Lord says, " Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." But truly and properly those parties say it whose utterance in speech really represents their will and intention; and it is in accordance with this signification that the apostle has said, " No one can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost."

1 1 Cor. xii. 3. 2 1 Cor< xiii 6#

130 oun lord's sermon on the mount. [hook it.

84. Aid besides, it belongs especially to the matter in hand, that we should not be deceived in striving after the contemplation of the truth: either, on the one hand, by the name of Christ, by means of those who have the name and have not the deeds; or, on the other, even by certain deeds and miracles, of the kind which the Lord performed for the sake of unbelievers, while yet He has warned us not to be deceived by such things, thinking that an invisible wisdom is present where we see a visible miracle. Hence He annexes the statement: " Many will say to Me on that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name, and in Thy name have cast out devils, and in Thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from Me, ye that worketh righteousness. For He forbade also His own disciples themselves to rejoice in such things, viz. that the spirits were subject unto them: " But rejoice," says He, " because
your names are written in heaven; "1 I suppose, in that city of Jerusalem which is in heaven, in which only the righteous and holy shall reign. " Know ye not," says the apostle, * that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God ? " 2

85. But perhaps some one may say that the unrighteous cannot perform those visible miracles, and may believe rather that those parties are telling a lie, who will be found saying, " We have prophesied in Thy name, and have cast out devils in Thy name, and have done many wonderful works." Let him therefore read what great things the magi of the Egyptians did in resisting Moses, the servant of God; 3 or if he will not read this, because they did not do them in the name of Christ, let him read what the Lord Himself says of the false prophets, speaking thus: " Then, if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. Tor there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that the very elect shall be deceived. Behold, I have told you before." 4

86. How much need, therefore, is there of the pure and

1 Luke x. 20. 2 1 Cor. vi. 9.
3 Ex. vii. and viii. 4 Matt. xxiv. 23-25.

CHAP. XXV.] THE TWO BUILDERS. 131

single eye, in order that the way of wisdom may be found, against which there is the clamour of so great deceptions and errors on the part of wicked and perverse men, to escape from all of which is indeed to arrive at the most certain peace, and the immovable stability of wisdom ! For it is greatly to be feared, lest, by eagerness in quarrelling and controversy, one should not see what can be seen by few, that small is the disturbance of gainsayers, unless one also disturbs himself. And in this direction, too, runs that statement of the apostle: " And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." 1 u Blessed," therefore, " are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." 2

87. Hence we must take special notice how terribly the conclusion of the whole sermon is introduced: " Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of Mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock." For no one confirms what he hears or understands, unless by doing. And if Christ is a rock, as many Scripture testimonies proclaim, 3 that man builds in Christ who does what he hears from Him. " The rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock." Such an one, therefore, is not afraid of any gloomy superstitions (for what else is understood by rain, when it is put in the sense
of anything bad ?), or of rumours of men, which I think are compared to winds; or of the river of this life, as it were flowing over the earth in carnal lusts. For it is the man who is seduced by the prosperity that is broken down by the adversities arising from these three things; none of which is feared by him who has his house founded upon a rock, i.e. who not only hears, but also does, the Lord's commands. And the man who hears and does them not is in dangerous proximity to all these, for he has no stable foundation; but by hearing and not doing, he builds a ruin. For He goes on to say: "And every one that heareth these sayings of Mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it. And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at His doctrine: for He taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes." This is what I said before was meant by the prophet in the Psalms, when he says: "I will act confidently in regard of him. The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times." 1 And from this number, I am admonished to trace back those precepts also to the seven sentences which He has placed in the beginning of this sermon, when He was speaking of those who are blessed; and to those seven operations of the Holy Spirit, which the prophet Isaiah mentions; 2 but whether the order before us is to be considered in these or some other, the things we have heard from the Lord are to be done, if we wish to build upon a rock.

1 Ps. xii. 5, 6. 2 ha. xi. 2, 3.

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

IN the remarkable work known as his Retractations, Augustine makes a brief statement on the subject of this treatise on the Harmony of the Evangelists. The sixteenth chapter of
the second book of that memorable review of his literary career, contains corrections of
certain points on which he believed that he had not been sufficiently accurate in these
discussions. In the same passage he informs us that this treatise was undertaken during
the years in which he was involved with his great work on the Trinity, and that, breaking in
upon the task which had been making gradual progress under his hand, he wrought
continuously at this new venture until it was finished. Its composition is assigned to about
the year 400 a.d. The date is determined in the following manner: In the first book there
is a sentence (§ 27) which appears to indicate that, by the time when Augustine engaged
himself with this effort, the destruction of the idols of the old religion was being carried
out under express imperial authority.

No law of that kind, however, affecting Africa, seems to be found expressed previous to
those to which he refers at the close of the eighteenth book of the City of God. There he
gives us to understand that such measures were put in force in Carthage, under
Gaudentius and Jovius, the associates of the Emperor Honorius, and states that for the
space of nearly thirty years from that time the Christian religion made advances large
enough to arrest general attention. Before that period, which must have been about the
year 399, the idols could not be destroyed, as Augustine elsewhere indicates lxii. 11, n.
17), but with the consent of the parties to whom they belonged. These considerations are
taken to fix the composition of this work to a date not earlier than the i 399 a.d.
Among Augustine's numerous theological productions, this

135

136 INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

one takes rank with the most toilsome and exhaustive. We find him expressing himself to
that effect now and again, when he has occasion to allude to it. Thus, in the 112th
Tractate on John (n. 1), he calls it a laborious piece of literature; and in the 117th
Tractate on the same evangelist, he speaks of the themes here dealt with as matters which
were discussed with the utmost painstaking. Its great object is to vindicate the Gospel
against the critical assaults of the heathen. Paganism, having tried persecution as its first
weapon, and seen it fail, attempted next to discredit the new faith by slandering its
doctrine, impeaching its history, and attacking with special persistency the veracity of the
gospel writers. In this it was aided by some of Augustine's heretical antagonists, who
endeavoured at times to establish a conspicuous inconsistency between the Jewish
Scriptures and the Christian, and at times to prove the several sections of the New
Testament to be at variance with each other. Many alleged that the original Gospels had
received considerable additions of a spurious character. And it was a favourite method of
argumentation, adopted both by heathen and by Manichean adversaries, to urge that the
evangelical historians contradicted each other. Thus, in the present treatise (i. 7),
Augustine speaks of this matter of the discrepancies between the evangelists as the
'palmary argument wielded by his opponents. Hence, as elsewhere he sought to
demonstrate the congruity of the Old Testament with the New, he set himself here to
exonerate Christianity from the charge of any defect of harmony, whether in the facts
recorded or in the order of their narration, between its four fundamental historical documents. The plan of the work is laid out in four great divisions. In the first book, he refutes those who asserted that Christ was only the wisest among men, and who aimed at detracting from the authority of the Gospels, by insisting on the absence of any written compositions proceeding from the hand of Christ Himself, and by affirming that the disciples went beyond what had been His own teaching both on the subject of His divinity, and on the duty of abandoning the worship of the gods. In the second, he enters upon a careful examination of Matthew's Gospel, on to the record of the supper, comparing it with

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE. 137

Mark, Luke, and John, and exhibiting the perfect harmony subsisting between them. In the third, he demonstrates the same consistency between the four evangelists, from the account of the supper on to the end. And in the fourth, he subjects to a similar investigation those passages in Mark, Luke, and John, which have no proper parallels in Matthew.

For the discharge of a task like this Augustine was gifted with much, but he also lacked much. The resources of a noble and penetrating intellect, profound spiritual insight, and reverent love for Scripture, formed high qualifications at his command. But he was deficient in exact scholarship.

Thoroughly versed in Latin literature, as is evinced here by the happy notices of Ennius, Cicero, Lucan, and others of its great writers, he knew little Greek, and no Hebrew. He refers more than once in the present treatise to his ignorance of the original language of the Old Testament; and while his knowledge of that of the New was probably not so unserviceable as has often been supposed, instances like that in which he solves the apparent difficulty in the two burdens, mentioned in Gal. vi., without alluding to the distinction between the Greek words, make it sufficiently plain that it was not at least his invariable habit to prosecute these studies with the original in his view. Hence we find him missing many explanations which would at once have suggested themselves, had he not so implicitly followed the imperfect versions of the sacred text.

An analysis of the contents of the work might show much that is of interest to the Biblical critic. Principles elsewhere theoretically enunciated are seen here in their free application. In some respects, this effort is one of a more severely scientific character than is often the case with Augustine. It displays much less digression than is customary with him. The tendency to extravagant allegorizing is also less frequently indulged in, although it does come to the surface at times, as in the notable example of the interpretation of the names Leah and Rachel. His inordinate dependence upon the Septuagint, however, is as broadly marked here as anywhere.

As he sometimes indicates an inclination to accept the story of Aristeas, in this composition he almost goes the length of
INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

claiming a special inspiration for these translators. On the other hand, in many passages we have the privilege of seeing his resolve to be no uncritical expositor. He pauses often to chronicle varieties of reading, sometimes in the Latin text and sometimes in the Greek. Thus he notices the occurrence of Zebbeus for Thaddeus, of Dalmanutha for Magedan, and the like, and mentions how some codices read woman for maid, in the sentence, The maid is not dead, but sleeppeth (Matt. ix. 24). His principles of harmonizing are ordinarily characterized by simplicity and good sense. In general, he surmounts the difficulty of what may seem at first sight discordant versions of one incident, by supposing different instances of the same circumstances, or repeated utterances of the same words. He holds emphatically by the position, that wherever it is possible to believe two similar incidents to have taken place, no contradiction can legitimately be alleged, although no evangelist may relate them both together. All merely verbal variations in the records of the same occurrence he regards as matters of too little consequence to create any serious perplexity to the student whose aim is honestly to reach the sense intended. Such narratives as those of the storm upon the lake, the healing of the centurion's servant, and the denials of Peter, furnish good examples of his method, and of the fair and fearless spirit of his inquiry. And however unsuccessful we may now judge some of his endeavours, when we consider the comparative poverty of his materials, and the untrodden field which he essayed to search, we shall not deny to this treatise the merit of grandeur in original conception, and exemplary faithfulness in actual execution.

S. D. F. S.

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

BOOK FIEST.

THE TREATISE OPENS WITH A SHORT STATEMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE EVANGELISTS, THEIR NUMBER, THEIR ORDER, AND THE DIFFER-
RENT PLANS OF THEIR NARRATIVES. AUGUSTINE THEN PREPARES FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTIONS RELATING TO THEIR HARMONY, BY JOINING E IN THIS BOOK "WITH THOSE WHO RAISE A DIFFICULTY IN THE CIRCUM-BTANCE THAT CHRIST HAS LEFT NO WRITING OF HIS OWN, OR WHO FALSELY ALLEGE THAT CERTAIN BOOKS WERE COMPOSED BY HIM ON THE ARTS OF MAGIC HE ALSO MEETS THE OBJECTIONS OF THOSE WHO, IN OPPOSITION TO THE EVANGELICAL TEACHING, ASSERT THAT THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AT ONCE ASCRIBED MORE TO THEIR MASTER THAN HE REALLY WAS, WHEN THEY AFFIRMED THAT HE WAS COD, AND INCULCATED WHAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED IN BY HIM, WHEN THEY INTERDICTED THE WORSHIP OF THE 8. AGAINST THESE ANTAGONISTS HE VINDICTATES THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES, BY APPEALING TO THE UTTERANCES OF THE PROPHETS, AND BY SHOWING THAT THE GOD OF ISRAEL WAS TO BE THE SOLE OBJECT OF WORSHIP, WHO ALSO, ALTHOUGH HE WAS THE ONLY DEITY TO WHOM ACCEPTANCE WAS DENIED IN FORMER TIMES BY THE ROMANS, AND THAT FOR THE VERY REASON THAT HE PROHIBITED THEM FROM WORSHIPPING OTHER GODS ALONG WITH HIMSELF, HAS NOW IN THE END MADE THE EMPIRE OF ROME SUBJECT TO HIS NAME, AND AMONG ALL NATIONS HAS BROKEN THEIR IDOLS IN PIECES THROUGH THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL, AS HE HAD PROMISED BY HIS PROPHETS THAT THE EVENT SHOULD BE.

Chap. i. â€” On the authority of the Gospels.

1. I–N the entire number of those divine records which are JL contained in the sacred writings, the gospel deservedly stands pre-eminent. For what the law and the prophets aforetime announced as destined to come to pass, is exhibited in the gospel in its realization 1 and fulfilment. The first preachers of this gospel were the apostles, who beheld our Lord

1 Reading rttdditum. Four mss. give revelatum - as brought to light. â€”

MIQNE.

189
and Saviour Jesus Christ in person when He was yet present in the flesh. And not only did these men keep in remembrance the words heard from His lips, and the deeds wrought by Him beneath their eyes; but they were also careful, when the duty of preaching the gospel was laid upon them, to make mankind acquainted with those divine and memorable occurrences which took place at a period antecedent to the formation of their own connection with Him in the way of discipleship, which belonged also to the time of His nativity, His infancy, or His youth, and with regard to which they were able to institute exact inquiry and to obtain information, either at His own hand or at the hands of His parents or other parties, on the ground of the most reliable intimations and the most trustworthy testimonies. Certain of them also—namely, Matthew and John—gave to the world, in their respective books, a written account of all those matters which it seemed needful to commit to writing concerning Him.

2. And to preclude the supposition that, in what concerns the apprehension and proclamation of the gospel, it is a matter of any consequence whether the enunciation comes by men who were actual followers of this same Lord here when He manifested Himself in the flesh and had the company of His disciples attendant on Him, or by persons who with due credit received facts with which they became acquainted in a trustworthy manner through the instrumentality of these former, divine providence, through the agency of the Holy Spirit, has taken care that certain of those also who were nothing more than followers of the first apostles should have authority given them not only to preach the gospel, but also to compose an account of it in writing. I refer to Mark and Luke. All those other individuals, however, who have attempted or dared to offer a written record of the acts of the Lord or of the apostles, failed to commend themselves in their own times as men of the character which would induce the Church to yield them its confidence, and to admit their compositions to the canonical authority of the Holy Books. And this was the case not merely because they were persons who could make no rightful claim to have credit given them in their narrations, but also

1 Instead of Qui non solum, as above, many mss. read Cujus, etc. â€” Migne.
because in a deceitful manner they introduced into their writings certain matters which are condemned at once "by the catholic and apostolic rule of faith, and by sound doctrine.

Chap. ii. â€” On the order of the evangelists, and the principles on which they wrote.

3. Now, those four evangelists whose names have gained the most remarkable circulation over the whole world, and whose number has been fixed as four, â€” it may be for the simple reason that there are four divisions of that world through the universal length of which they, by their number as by a kind of mystical sign, indicated the advancing extension of the Church of Christ, â€” are believed to have written in the order which follows: first Matthew, then Mark, thirdly Luke, lastly John. Hence, too, [it would appear that] these had one order determined among them with regard to the matters of their personal knowledge and their preaching [of the gospel], but a different order in reference to the task of giving the written narrative. As far, indeed, as concerns the acquisition of their own knowledge and the charge of preaching, those unquestionably came first in order who were actually followers of the Lord when He was present in the flesh, and who heard Him speak and saw Him act; and [with a commission received] from His lips they were despatched to preach the gospel. But as respects the task of composing that record of the gospel which is to be accepted as ordained by divine authority, there were (only) two, belonging to the number of those whom the Lord chose before the passover, that obtained places, â€” namely, the first place and the last. For the first place in order was held by Matthew, and the last by John. And thus the remaining two, who did not belong to the number referred to, but who at the same time had become followers of the Christ who spoke in these others, were supported on either side by the same, like sons who were to be embraced, and who in this way were set in the midst between these twain.

4. Of these four, it is true, only Matthew is reckoned to have written in the Hebrew language; the others in Greek. And however they may appear to have kept each of them a certain

1 Notissimi.

142 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

order of narration proper to himself, this certainly is not to be taken as if each individual writer chose to write in ignorance of what his predecessor had done, or left out as matters about which there was no information things which another nevertheless is discovered to have recorded. But the fact is, that just as they received each of them the gift of inspiration, they abstained from adding to their several labours any superfluous conjoint compositions. For Matthew is understood to have taken it in hand to construct the record of the incarnation of the Lord according to the royal lineage, and to give an account of most part of His deeds and words as they stood in relation to this present life of men. Mark follows him closely, and looks like his attendant and epitomizer. For in his
narrative he gives nothing in concert with John apart from the others: by himself separately, he has little to record; in conjunction with Luke, as distinguished from the rest, he has still less; but in concord with Matthew, he has a very large number of passages. Much, too, he narrates in words almost numerically and identically the same as those used by Matthew, where the agreement is either with that evangelist alone, or with him in connection with the rest. On the other hand, Luke appears to have occupied himself rather with the priestly lineage and character of the Lord. For although in his own way he carries the descent back to David, what he has followed is not the royal pedigree, but the line of those who were not kings. That genealogy, too, he has brought to a point in Nathan the son of David, which person likewise was no king. It is not thus, however, with Matthew. For in tracing the lineage along through Solomon the king, he has pursued with strict regularity the succession of the other kings; and in enumerating these, he has also conserved that mystical number of which we shall speak hereafter.

Chap. iii. â€” Of the fact that Matthew, together with Mark, had specially in view the kingly character of Christ, whereas Luke dealt with the priestly.

5. For the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the one true King and the one true Priest, the former to rule us, and the latter to make expiation for us, has shown us how His own figure bore these two parts together, which were only separately

1 Personam. 2 Luke iii. 31. 3 Matt. i. 6.

CHAP. III.] CHRIST'S KINGSHIP AND PRIESTHOOD. 143

commended [to notice] among the Fathers. 1 This becomes apparent if (for example) we look to that inscription which was affixed to His cross â€” King of the Jews: in connection also with which, and by a secret instinct, Pilate replied, What I have written, I have written? For it had been said aforetime in the Psalms, Destroy not the writing of the title? The same becomes evident, so far as the part of priest is concerned, if we have regard to what He has taught us concerning offering and receiving. For thus it is that He sent us beforehand a prophecy 4 respecting Himself, which runs thus, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech? And in many other testimonies of the divine Scriptures, Christ appears both as King and as Priest. Hence, also, even David himself, whose son He is, not without good reason, more frequently declared to be than he is said to be Abraham's son, and whom Matthew and Luke have both alike held by, â€” the one viewing him as the person from whom, through Solomon, His lineage can be traced down, and the other taking him for the person to whom, through Nathan, His genealogy can be carried up, â€” did represent the part of a priest, although he was patently a king, when he ate the shew-bread. For it was not lawful for any one to eat that, save the priests only. 6 To this it must
be added that Luke is the only one who mentions how Mary was discovered by the angel, and how she was related to Elizabeth, 7 who was the wife of Zacharias the priest. And of this Zacharias the same evangelist has recorded the fact, that the woman whom he had for wife was one of the daughters of Aaron, which is to say she belonged to the tribe of the priests. 8

6. Whereas, then, Matthew had in view the kingly character, and Luke the priestly, they have at the same time both

1 Some editions insert antiquos, the ancient Fathers; but the MSS. omit it. â€” MI ONE.

2 John xix. 19-22. 3 Ps. lxxv. 1.

â€¢ Two MSB. give proirfietam, prophet, instead of prophetiam, prophecy. â€” MIGNK.

5 Ps. ex. 4. e i g am> xxi> 6. Matt. xii. 3.

7 The reading supported by the manuscripts is: Mariam commemorat ah

'o manifestatam cognatam fiiisse Elisabeth. It is sometimes given thus:
Mariam commemorat manifeste cognatam, etc. = mentions that Mary was clearly related to Elizabeth.

8 Luke i. 36, 5.

144 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

set forth pre-eminently the humanity of Christ: for it was according to His humanity that Christ was made both King and Priest. To Him, too, God gave the throne of His father David, in order that of His kingdom there should be none end. 1 And this was done with the purpose that there might be a mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, 2 to make intercession for us. Luke, on the other hand, had no one connected with him to act as his summarist in the way that Mark was attached to Matthew. And it may be that this is not without a certain solemn significance. 3 For it is the right of kings not to miss the obedient following of attendants; and hence the evangelist, who had taken it in hand to give an account of the kingly character of Christ, had a person attached to him as his associate who was in some fashion to follow in his steps. But inasmuch as it was the priest's wont to enter all alone into the holy of holies, in accordance with that principle, Luke, whose object contemplated the priestly office of Christ, did not have any one to come after him as a confederate, who was meant in some way to serve as an epitomizer of his narrative.

Chap. iv. â€” Of the fact that John undertook the exposition of Christ's divinity.
7. These three evangelists, however, were for the most part engaged with those things which Christ did through the vehicle of the flesh of man, and after the temporal fashion. 4 But John, on the other hand, had in view that true divinity of the Lord in which He is the Father's equal, and directed his efforts above all to the setting forth of the divine nature in his Gospel in such a way as he believed to be adequate to men's needs and notions. 5 Therefore he is borne to loftier heights, in which he leaves the other three far behind him; so that, while in them you see men who have their conversation in a certain manner with the man Christ on earth, in him you perceive one who has passed beyond the cloud in which the whole earth is wrapped, and who has reached the liquid heaven from which, with clearest and steadiest mental eye, he is able to look upon God the Word, who was in the beginning with

1 Luke i. 32. 2 1 Tim. ii. 5. 3 Sine aliquo sacramento.

4 Temporaliter. s Quantum inter homines sufficere creditit.

CHAP. V.] JOHN THE EXPOUNDER OF CHRIST'S DIVINITY. 145

God, and by whom all things were made. 1 And there, too, he can recognise Him who was made flesh in order that He might dwell amongst us; 2 [that Word of whom we say,] that He assumed the flesh, not that He was changed into the flesh.

For had not this assumption of the flesh been effected in such a manner as at the same time to conserve the unchangeable Divinity, such a word as this could never have been spoken, â€”

namely, / and the Father are one. 3 For surely the Father and the flesh are not one. And the same John is also the only one who has recorded that witness which the Lord gave concerning Himself, when He said: He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also; and, / am in the Father, and the Father is in me;* that they may be one, even as we are one; 5 and, Whatevery the Father doeth, these same things doeth the Son likewise. 6 And whatever other statements there may be to the same effect, calculated to betoken, to those who are possessed of right understanding, that divinity of Christ in which He is the Father's equal, of all these we might almost say that we are indebted for their introduction into the Gospel narrative to John alone. For he is like one who has drunk in the secret of His divinity more richly and somehow more familiarly than others, as if he drew it from the very bosom of his Lord on which it was his wont to recline when He sat at meat. 7

Chap. v. â€” Concerning the two virtues, of which John is conversant with the contemplative, the other evangelists with the active.
8. Moreover, there are two several virtues (or talents) which have been proposed to the mind of man. Of these, the one is the active, and the other the contemplative: the one being that whereby the way is taken, and the other that whereby the goal is reached; the one that by which men labour in order that the heart may be purified to see God, and the other that by which men are disengaged and God is seen. Thus the former of these two virtues is occupied with the precepts for the right exercise of the temporal life, whereas the latter deals with the doctrine of that life which is everlasting. In this way, also, the one operates, the other rests; for the former

1 John i. 1, 3. 2 John i. 14. 3 John x. 30. 4 John xiv. 9, 10.
5 John xvii. 22. 6 John v. 19. 7 John xiii. 23.

Ilia qua itur, ista qua pervenitur. 9 Qua vacatur.

HARMONY. K

14G THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

finds its sphere in the purging of sins, the latter moves in the light of the purged. And thus, again, in this mortal life the one is engaged with the work of a good conversation; while the other subsists rather on faith, and is seen only in the person of the very few, and through the glass darkly, and only in part in a kind of vision of the unchangeable truth. Now these two virtues are understood to be presented emblematically in the instance of the two wives of Jacob. Of these I have discoursed already up to the measure of my ability, and as fully as seemed to be appropriate to my task, (in what I have written) in opposition to Faustus the Manichean. For Lia, indeed, by interpretation means labouring whereas Eachel signifies the first principle seen. And by this it is given us to understand, if one will only attend carefully to the matter, that those three evangelists who, with pre-eminent fulness, have handled the account of the Lord's temporal doings and those of His sayings which were meant to bear chiefly upon the moulding of the manners of the present life, were conversant with that active virtue; and that John, on the other hand, who narrates fewer by far of the Lord's doings, but records with greater carefulness and with larger wealth of detail the words which He spoke, and most especially those discourses which were intended to introduce us to the knowledge of the unity of the Trinity and the blessedness of the life eternal, formed his plan and framed his statement with a view to commend the contemplative virtue to our regard.

1 Reading lumine; but one of the Vatican mss. gives in ittuminatione, in the enlightenment of the purged.
2 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 3 Book xxii. 52. 4 Laborans.
5 Visum principium. In various editions it is given as visits principium. The mss. have visum principium. In the passage referred to in the treatise against Faustus the Manichean, Augustine appends the explanation, sive verbum ex quo videtur principium, = the first principle seen, or the word by which the first principle is seen. The etymologies on which Augustine proceeds may perhaps be these: for Leah, the Hebrew verb Laah, to be wearied (njo); and for Rachel the Hebrew forms Raah = see, and Chalal = begin (^n, i"IN=l). For another example of extravagant allegorizing on the two wives of Jacob, see Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, chap, cxxxix. â€” Tr.


Chap. vi. â€” Of the four living creatures in the Apocalypse, which have been taken by some in one application, and by others in another, as apt figures of the four evangelists.

9. For these reasons, it also appears to me, that of the various parties who have interpreted the living creatures in the Apocalypse as significant of the four evangelists, those who have taken the lion to point to Matthew, the man to Mark, the calf to Luke, and the eagle to John, have made a more reasonable application of the figures than those who have assigned the man to Matthew, the eagle to Mark, and the lion to John. For, in forming their particular idea of the matter, these latter have chosen to keep in view simply the beginnings of the books, and not the full design of the several evangelists in its completeness, which was the matter that should, above all, have been thoroughly examined. For
surely it is with much greater propriety that the one who has brought under our notice most largely the kingly character of Christ, should be taken to be represented by the lion. Thus is it also that we find the lion mentioned in conjunction with the royal tribe itself, in that passage of the Apocalypse where it is said, *The lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed*} For in Matthew's narrative the magi are recorded to have come from the east to inquire after the King, and to worship Him whose birth was notified to them by the star. Thus, too, Herod, who himself also was a king, is [said there to be] afraid of the royal child, and to put so many little children to death in order to make sure that the one might be slain. 2 Again, that Luke is intended under the figure of the calf, in reference to the pre-eminent sacrifice made by the priest, has been doubted by neither of the two [sets of interpreters]. For in that Gospel the narrator's account commences with Zacharias the priest. In it mention is also made of the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth. 3 In it, too, it is recorded that ceremonies proper to the earliest priestly service were iK.lcd to in the case of the infant Christ; 4 and a careful -iii nation brings a variety of other matters under our notice in this Gospel, by which it is made apparent that Luke's object I to deal with the part of the priest. In this way it follows
further, that Mark, who has set himself neither to give an account of the kingly lineage, nor to expound anything distinctive of the priesthood, whether on the subject of the relationship or on that of the consecration, and who at the same time comes before us as one who handles the things which the man Christ did, appears to be indicated simply under the figure of the man among those four living creatures. But again, those three living creatures, whether lion, man, or calf, have their course upon this earth; and in like manner, those three evangelists occupy themselves chiefly with the things which Christ did in the flesh, and with the precepts which He delivered to men, who also bear the burden of the flesh, for their instruction in the rightful exercise of this mortal life. Whereas John, on the other hand, soars like an eagle above the clouds of human infirmity, and gazes upon the light of the unchangeable truth with those keenest and steadiest eyes of the heart.

Chap. vii. — A statement of Augustine's reason for undertaking this work on the harmony of the evangelists, and an example of the method in which he meets those who allege that Christ wrote nothing Himself, and that His disciples made an unwarranted affirmation in proclaiming Him to be God.

10. Those sacred chariots of the Lord, however, in which He is borne throughout the earth and brings the peoples under His easy yoke and His light burden, are assailed with calumnious charges by certain persons who, in impious vanity or in ignorant temerity, think to rob of their credit as veracious historians those teachers by whose instrumentality the Christian religion has been disseminated all the world over, and through whose efforts it has yielded fruits so plentiful that unbelievers now scarcely dare so much as to mutter their slanders in private among themselves, kept in check by the faith of the Gentiles and by the devotion of all the peoples. Nevertheless, inasmuch as they still strive by their calumnious disputation to keep some from making themselves acquainted with the faith, and thus prevent them from becoming believers, while they also endeavour to the utmost of their power to excite agitations among others who have already attained to belief, and thereby give them trouble; and further, as there are some brethren See also Tract. 36, on John i. 5. 2 Has Domini sanctas quadrigas.

CHAP. VII.] THE AUTHOR'S DESIGN. 149
who, without detriment to their own faith, have a desire to ascertain what answer can be
given to such questions, either for the advantage of their own knowledge or for the
purpose of refuting the vain utterances of their enemies, with the inspiration and help of
the Lord our God (and would that it might prove profitable for the salvation of such
men), we have undertaken in this work to demonstrate the errors or the rashness of those
who deem themselves able to prefer charges, the subtilty of which is at least sufficiently
observable, against those four different books of the gospel which have been written by
these four several evangelists. And in order to carry out this design to a successful
conclusion, we must prove that the writers in question do not stand in any antagonism to
each other. For those adversaries are in the habit of adducing this as the palmary 1
allegation in all their vain objections, namely, that the evangelists are not in harmony
with each other.

11. But we must first discuss a matter which is apt to present a difficulty to the minds of
some. I refer to the question why the Lord has written nothing Himself, and why He has
thus left us to the necessity of accepting the testimony of other persons who have
prepared records of His history.
For this is what those parties â€” the pagans more than any 2 â€”
allege when they lack boldness enough to impeach or blaspheme the Lord Jesus Christ
Himself, and when they allow Him â€” only as a man, however â€” to have been
possessed of the most distinguished wisdom. In making that admission, they at the same
time assert that the disciples claimed more for their Master than He really was; so much
more indeed that they even called Him the Son of God, and the Word of God, by whom
all things were made, and affirmed that He and God are one. And in the same way they
dispose of all other kindred passages in the epistles of the apostles, in the light of which
we have been taught that He is to be worshipped as one God with the Father. For they are
of opinion ihat He is certainly to be honoured as the wisest of men; but they deny that He
is to be worshipped as God.

â€œ Reading either palmam suce vanitatis objicere, or with several mss. palmare, etc.
Vol maxime pagani.

150 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

12. Wherefore, when they put the question why He has not written in His own person, it
would seem as if they were prepared to believe regarding Him whatever He might have
written concerning Himself, but not what others may have given the world to know with
respect to His life, according to the measure of their own judgment. â€œWell, I ask them
in turn why, in the case of certain of the noblest of their own philosophers, they have
accepted the statements which their disciples left in the records they have composed,
while these sages themselves have given us no written accounts of their own lives ? For
Pythagoras, than whom Greece in those days 1
did not possess any more illustrious personage in the sphere of that contemplative virtue,
is believed to have written absolutely nothing, whether on the subject of his own personal
history or on any other theme whatsoever. And as to Socrates, to whom, on the other hand, they have adjudged a position of supremacy above all others in that active virtue by which the moral life is trained, so that they do not hesitate also to aver that he was even-pronounced to be the wisest of men by the testimony of their deity Apollo, â€” it is indeed true that he handled the fables of iEsop in some few short verses, and thus made use of words and numbers of his own in the task of rendering the themes of another. But this was all. And so far was he from having the desire to write anything himself, that he declared that he had done even so much only because he was constrained by the imperial will of his demon, as Plato, the noblest of all his disciples, tells us. That was a work, also, in which he sought to set forth in fair form not so much his own thoughts, as rather the ideas of another. What reasonable ground, therefore, have they for believing, with regard to those sages, all that their disciples have committed to record in respect of their history, while at the same time they refuse to credit in the case of Christ what His disciples have written on the subject of His life? And all the more may we thus argue, when we see how they admit that all other men have been excelled by Him in the matter of wisdom, although they decline to acknowledge Him to be God. Is it, indeed, the case that those persons whom they do not hesitate to allow to have been by far His inferiors, have had the faculty of making disciples who can be trusted in all that concerns the narrative of their careers, and that He failed in that capacity? But if that is a most absurd statement to venture upon, then in all that belongs to the history of that Person to whom they grant the honour of wisdom, they ought to believe not merely what suits their own notions, but what they read in the narratives of those who learned from this sage Himself those various facts which they have left on record on the subject of His life.

CHAP. VIII. — OF THE QUESTION WHY, IF CHRIST IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE WISEST OF MEN ON THE TESTIMONY OF COMMON NARRATIVE REPORT, HE SHOULD NOT BE BELIEVED TO BE GOD ON THE TESTIMONY OF THE SUPERIOR REPORT OF PREACHING.

have been by far His inferiors, have had the faculty of making disciples who can be trusted in all that concerns the narrative of their careers, and that He failed in that capacity? But if that is a most absurd statement to venture upon, then in all that belongs to the history of that Person to whom they grant the honour of wisdom, they ought to believe not merely what suits their own notions, but what they read in the narratives of those who learned from this sage Himself those various facts which they have left on record on the subject of His life.

Chap. viii. â€” Of the question why, if Christ is believed to have been the wisest of men on the testimony of common narrative report, He should not be believed to be God on the testimony of the superior report of preaching.

13. Besides this, they ought to tell us by what means they have succeeded in acquiring their knowledge of this fact that He was the wisest of men, or how it has had the opportunity of reaching their ears. If they have been made acquainted with it simply by current report, then is it the case that common report forms a more trustworthy informant on the subject of His history than those disciples of His who, as they have gone and preached of Him, have disseminated the same report like a penetrating savour throughout the whole world? 2

In fine, they ought to prefer the one kind of report to the other, and believe that account of His life which is the superior of the two. For this report, 3 indeed, which is spread abroad with a wonderful clearness from that Church catholic at whose extension
through the whole world those persons are so astonished, prevails in an incomparable fashion over the unsubstantial rumours with which men like them occupy themselves. This report, furthermore, which carries with it such weight and such currency, 5 that in dread of it they can only mutter their anxious and feeble snatches of paltry objections within their own breasts, as if they were more afraid now" of being heard than wishful to receive credit, proclaims Christ to be the only-begotten Son of God, and Himself God, 6 by whom all

1 Instead of de illo nuntia fama est, fourteen mss. give de illo fama nuntiata est = is it a more trustworthy report that has been announced. â€” Migne.

2 Quibus eum prsedicantibus ipsa per totum mundum fama fragravit ?

3 Fama. 4 De catholica ecclesia. 6 Celebris.

6 The words stand, as above, in the great majority of mss.: tarn Celebris, ut earn timendo isti trepidas et tepidas contradictiunculas in sinu suo rodant, jam

152 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

things were made. If, therefore, they choose report as their witness, why does not their choice fix on this special report, which is so pre-eminentely lustrous in its remarkable definiteness ? And if they desire the evidence of writings, why do they not take those evangelical writings which excel all others in their commanding authority ? On our side, indeed, we accept those statements about their deities which are offered at once in their most ancient writings and by most current report. But if these deities are to be considered proper objects for reverence, why then do they make them the subject of laughter in the theatres ? And if, on the other hand, they are proper objects for laughter, the occasion for such laughter must be all the greater when they are made the objects of worship in the theatres. It remains for us to look upon those persons as themselves minded to be witnesses concerning Christ, who, by speaking what they know not, divest themselves of the merit of knowing what they speak about. Or if, again, they assert that they are possessed of any books which they can maintain to have been written by Him, they ought to produce them for our inspection. For assuredly those books (if there are such) must be most profitable and most wholesome, seeing they are the productions of one whom they acknowledge to have been the wisest of men. If, however, they are afraid to produce them, it must be because they are of evil tendency; but if they are evil, then the wisest of men cannot have written them. They acknowledge Christ, however, to be the wisest of men, and consequently Christ cannot have written any such thing.

Chap. ix. â€” Of certain persons who pretend that Christ wrote books on the arts of magic.
14. But, indeed, these persons rise to such a pitch of folly as to allege that the books which they consider to have been written by Him contain the arts by which they think He

plus metuentes audiri quam volentes credi, Filium Dei Unigenitum et Deum praedicat Christum? In some mss. and editions the sense is altered by inserting "est after Celebris, and substituting nolentes for volentes, and prædicari for prædicat; so that it becomes = that report is of such distinguished currency, that in dread of it they can only mutter, etc. ... as now rather fearing to be heard than refusing to admit the belief that Christ is proclaimed to be the only-begotten Son of God, etc. See Migne.â€”Tr.

CHAP. X.] WRITINGS FALSELY ASCRIBED TO CHRIST. 153

wrought those miracles, the fame of which has become prevalent in all quarters. And this fancy of theirs betrays what they really love, and what their aims really are. For thus, indeed, they show us how they entertain this opinion that Christ was the wisest of men only for the reason that He possessed the knowledge of I know not what illicit arts, which are justly condemned, not merely by Christian discipline, but even by the administration of earthly government itself. And, in good sooth, if there are people who affirm that they have read books of this nature composed by Christ, then why do they not perform with their own hand some such works as those which so greatly excite their wonder when wrought by Him, by taking advantage of the information which they have derived from these books?

Chap. x. â€” Of some who are mad enough to suppose that the books were inscribed with the names of Peter and Paul.

15. Nay more, as by divine judgment, some of those who either believe, or wish to have it believed, that Christ wrote matter of that description, have even wandered so far into error as to allege that these same books bore on their front, in the form of epistolary superscription, a designation addressed to Peter and Paul. And it is quite possible that either the enemies of the name of Christ, or certain parties who thought that they might impart to this kind of execrable arts the weight of authority drawn from so glorious a name, may have written things of that nature under the name of Christ and the apostles. But in such most deceitful audacity they have been so utterly blinded as simply to have made themselves fitting objects for laughter, even with young people who as yet know Christian literature only in boyish fashion, and rank merely in the grade of readers.

16. For when they made up their minds to represent Christ to have written in such strain as that to His disciples, they bethought themselves of those of His followers who might best be taken for the persons to whom Christ might most readily be believed to have written, as the individuals who had kept by Him on the most familiar terms of friendship. And so Peter and Paul occurred to them, I believe, just because in many places they chanced to see these two
154 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

apostles represented in pictures as Loth in company with Him. 1 For Rome, in a specially honourable and solemn manner commends the merits of Peter and of Paul, for this reason among others, namely, that they suffered [martyrdom] on the same day. Thus to fall most completely into error was the due desert of men who sought for Christ and His apostles not in the holy writings, but on painted walls. Neither is it to be wondered at, that these fiction-limners were misled by the painters. 3 For throughout the whole period during which Christ lived in our mortal flesh in fellowship with His disciples, Paul had never become His disciple. Only after His passion, after His resurrection, after His ascension, after the mission of the Holy Spirit from heaven, after many Jews had been converted and had shown marvellous faith, after the stoning of Stephen the deacon and martyr, and when Paul still bore the name Saul, and was grievously persecuting those who had become believers in Christ, did Christ call that man [by a voice] from heaven, and made him His disciple and apostle. 4 How, then, is it possible that Christ could have written those books which they wish to have it believed that He did write before His death, and which were addressed to Peter and Paul, as those among His disciples who had been most intimate with Him, seeing that up to that date Paul had not yet become a disciple of His at all?

Chap. xi. â€” In opposition to those, who foolishly imagine that Christ converted the people to Himself by magical arts.

17. Moreover, let those who madly fancy that it was by the use of magical arts that He was able to do the great things which He did, and that it was by the practice of such rites that He made His name a sacred thing to the peoples who were to be converted to Him, give their attention to this question, â€” namely, whether by the exercise of magical arts, and before He was born on this earth, He could also have filled with the Holy Spirit those mighty prophets who aforetime declared those very things concerning Him as things

1 Sinmil eos cum illo pictos viderent.

2 The text gives diem celebrius solemniler, etc.; others give diem celebrius et solemniter; and three mss. have diem celeberr immam solemniter. â€” Migne.

3 A pingentibus fingentes decepti sunt. 4 Acts ix. 1-30.
destined to come to pass, which we can now read in their accomplishment in the gospel, and which we can see in their present realization in the world. For surely, even if it was by magical arts that He secured worship for Himself, and that, too, after His death, it is not the case that He was a magician before He was born. Nay, for the office of prophesying on the subject of His coming, one nation had been most specially deputed; and the entire administration of that commonwealth was ordained to be a prophecy of this King who was to come, and who was to found a heavenly state drawn out of all nations.

18. Furthermore, that Hebrew nation, which, as I have said, was commissioned to prophesy of Christ, had no other God but one God, the true God, who made heaven and earth, and all that therein is. Under His displeasure they were oftentimes given into the power of their enemies. And now, indeed, on account of their most heinous sin in putting Christ to death, they have been thoroughly rooted out of Jerusalem itself, which was the capital of their kingdom, and have been made subject to the Roman empire. Now the Romans were in the habit of propitiating the deities of those nations whom they conquered by worshipping these themselves, and they were accustomed to undertake the charge of their sacred rites. But they declined to act on that principle with regard to the God of the Hebrew nation, either when they made their attack or when they reduced the people. I believe that they perceived that, if they admitted the worship of this Deity, whose commandment was that He only should be worshipped, and that images should be destroyed, they would have to put away from them all those objects to which formerly they had undertaken to do religious service, and by the worship of which they believed their empire had grown. But in this the falseness of their demons mightily deceived them. For surely they ought to have apprehended the fact that it is only by the

1 Civitatem.

* The text gives deos...colendos propitiare. Five mss. give deos...colendo propitiare, â€” Migne.

156 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

hidden will of the true God, in whose hand resides the supreme power in all things, that the kingdom was given them and has been made to increase, and that their position was not due to the favour of those deities who, if they could have wielded any influence whatever in that matter, would rather have protected their own people from being
overmastered by the Komans, or would have brought the Eomans themselves into complete subjection to them.

19. Certainly they cannot possibly affirm that the kind of piety and manners exemplified by them became objects of love and choice on the part of the gods of the nations which they conquered. They will never make such an assertion, if they only recall their own early beginnings, the asylum for abandoned criminals and the fratricide of Eomulus. For when Kemus and Eomulus established their asylum, with the intention that whoever took refuge there, be the crime what it might be with which he stood charged, should enjoy impunity in his deed, they did. not promulgate any precepts of penitence for bringing the minds of such wretched men back to a right condition. By this bribe of impunity did they not rather arm the gathered band of fearful fugitives against the states to which they properly belonged, and the laws of which they dreaded? Or when Eomulus slew his brother, who had perpetrated no evil against him, is it the case that his mind was bent on the vindication of justice, and not on the acquisition of absolute power? And is it true that the deities did take their delight in manners like these, as if they were themselves enemies to their own states, in so far as they favoured those who were the enemies of these communities? Nay rather, neither did they by deserting them harm the one class, nor did they by passing over to their side in any sense help the other. For they have it not in their power to give kingship or to remove it. But that is done by the one true God, according to His hidden counsel. And it is not His mind to make those necessarily blessed to whom He may have given an earthly kingdom, or to make those necessarily unhappy whom He has deprived of that position. But He makes men blessed or wretched for other reasons and by other means, and either by permission or by actual gift distributes temporal and earthly kingdoms to whomsoever He pleases, and for whatsoever period He chooses, according to the fore-ordained order of the ages.

Cuap. xiii. â€” Of the question why God suffered the Jews to be reduced to subjection.

20. Hence also they cannot meet us fairly with this question: Why, then, did the God of the Hebrews, whom you declare to be the supreme and true God, not only not subdue the Eomans under their power, but even fail to secure those Hebrews themselves against subjugation by the Eomans?
For there were open sins of theirs that went before them, and on account of which the prophets so long time ago predicted that this very thing would overtake them; and above all, the reason lay in the fact, that in their impious fury they put Christ to death, in the commission of which sin they were made blind [to the guilt of their crime] through the deserts of other hidden transgressions. That His sufferings also would be for the benefit of the Gentiles, was foretold by the same prophetic testimony. Nor, in another point of view, did the fact appear clearer, that the kingdom of that nation, and its temple, and its priesthood, and its sacrificial system, and that mystical unction which is called ἁπιστία in Greek, from which the name of Christ takes its evident application, and on account of which that nation was accustomed to speak of its kings as anointed ones, were ordained with the express object of prefiguring Christ, than has the kindred fact become apparent, that after the resurrection of the Christ who was put to death began to be preached unto the believing Gentiles, all those things came to their end, all unrecognised as the circumstance was, whether by the Romans, through whose victory, or by the Jews, through whose subjugation, it was brought about that they did thus reach their conclusion.

Chap. xiv. Of the fact that the God of the Hebrews, although the people were conquered, proved Himself to be unconquered, by overthrowing the idols, and by turning all the Gentiles to His own service.

21. Here indeed we have a wonderful fact, which is not remarked by those few pagans who have remained such, namely, that this God of the Hebrews who was offended by the conquered, and who was also denied acceptance by the conquerors, is now preached and worshipped among all nations. This is that God of Israel of whom the prophet spake so long time since, when he thus addressed the people of God: And He who brought thee out, the God of Israel, shall be called (the God) of the whole earth. What was thus prophesied has been brought to pass through the name of the Christ, who comes to men in the form of a descendant of that very Israel who was the grandson of Abraham, with whom the race of the Hebrews began. For it was to this Israel also that it was said In thy seed shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed? Thus it is shown that the God of Israel, the true God who made heaven and earth, and who administers human affairs justly and mercifully in such wise that neither does justice exclude mercy with Him, nor does mercy hinder justice, was not overcome Himself when His Hebrew people suffered their overthrow, in virtue of His permitting the kingdom and priesthood of that nation to be seized and subverted by the Romans. For now, indeed, by the might of this gospel of Christ, the true King and Priest, the advent of which was prefigured by that kingdom and priesthood, the God of Israel

158 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

namely, that this God of the Hebrews who was offended by the conquered, and who was also denied acceptance by the conquerors, is now preached and worshipped among all nations. This is that God of Israel of whom the prophet spake so long time since, when he thus addressed the people of God: And He who brought thee out, the God of Israel, shall be called (the God) of the whole earth. What was thus prophesied has been brought to pass through the name of the Christ, who comes to men in the form of a descendant of that very Israel who was the grandson of Abraham, with whom the race of the Hebrews began. For it was to this Israel also that it was said In thy seed shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed? Thus it is shown that the God of Israel, the true God who made heaven and earth, and who administers human affairs justly and mercifully in such wise that neither does justice exclude mercy with Him, nor does mercy hinder justice, was not overcome Himself when His Hebrew people suffered their overthrow, in virtue of His permitting the kingdom and priesthood of that nation to be seized and subverted by the Romans. For now, indeed, by the might of this gospel of Christ, the true King and Priest, the advent of which was prefigured by that kingdom and priesthood, the God of Israel
Himself is everywhere destroying the idols of the nations. And, in truth, it was to prevent that destruction that the Eomans refused to admit the sacred rites of this God in the way that they admitted those of the gods of the other nations whom they conquered. Thus did He remove both kingdom and priesthood from the prophetic nation, because He who was promised to men through the agency of that people had already come. And by Christ the King He has brought into subjection to His own name that Eoman empire by which the said nation was overcome; and by the strength and devotion of Christian faith, He has converted it so as to effect a subversion of

1 Et qui emit te, Dens Israel, universse terrse vocabitur. Isa. liv. 5.

2 In his Retractations (ii. 16), Augustine alludes to this sentence, and says that the word Hebrews (Hebrozi) may be derived from Abraham, as if the original form had been Abrahcei, but that it is more correct to take it from Heber, so that Hebrozi is for Heberaei. He refers us also to his discussion in the City of God, xvi. 11.


CHAP. XIV. ] MAGICAL ARTS ASCRIBED TO CHRIST. 159

those idols, the honour ascribed to which precluded His worship from obtaining entrance.

22. I am of opinion that it was not by means of magical arts that Christ, previous to His birth among men, brought it about that those things which were destined to come to pass in the course of His history, were pre-announced by so many prophets, and prefigured also by the kingdom and priesthood established in a certain nation. For the people who are connected with that now abolished kingdom, and who in the wonderful providence of God are scattered throughout all lands, have indeed remained without any unction from the true King and Priest; in which anointing 1 the import of the name of Christ is plainly discovered. But notwithstanding this, they still retain remnants of some of their observances; while, on the other hand, not even in their state of overthrow and subjugation have they accepted those Koman rites which are connected with the worship of idols. Thus they still keep the prophetic books as the witness of Christ; and in this way in the documents of His enemies we find proof presented 2 of the truth of this Christ who is the subject of prophecy. What, then, do these unhappy men disclose themselves to be, by the unworthy method in which they laud 3 the name of Christ? If anything relating to the practice of magic has been written under His name, while the doctrine of Christ is so vehemently antagonistic to such arts, these men ought rather in the light of this fact to gather some idea of the greatness of that name, by the addition of which even persons who live in opposition to His precepts endeavour to dignify their nefarious practices. For just as, in the course of the diverse errors of men, many persons have set up their varied heresies against the truth under the cover of His name, so the very enemies of Christ think that, for the purposes of gaining acceptance for opinions which they
propound in opposition to the doctrine of Christ, they have no weight of authority at their service unless they have the name of Christ.

1 Chrism.

a The text gives probetur Veritas Christi, etc.; six MS8. give pro/ertur Veritas, etc. â€” Mi one.

3 Or adduceâ€” malt laudando.

160 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

Chap. xv. â€” Of the fact that the pagans, when constrained to laud Christ, have launched their insults against His disciples.

23. But what shall be said to this, if those vain eulogizers of Christ, and those crooked slanderers of the Christian religion, lack the daring to blaspheme Christ, for this particular reason that some of their philosophers, as Porphyry of Sicily 1 has given us to understand in his books, consulted their gods as to their response on the subject of [the claims of] Christ, and were constrained by their own oracles to laud Christ ? Nor should that seem incredible. For we also read in the Gospel that the demons confessed Him; 2 and in our prophets it is written in this wise: For the gods of the nations are demons?

Thus it happens, then, that in order to avoid attempting aught in opposition to the responses of their own deities, they turn their blasphemies aside from Christ, and pour them forth against His disciples. It seems to me, however, that these gods of the Gentiles, whom the philosophers of the pagans may have consulted, if they were asked to give their judgment on the disciples of Christ, as well as on Christ Himself, would be constrained to praise them in like manner.

Chap. xvi. â€” Of the fact that, on the subject of the destruction of idols, the apostles taught nothing different from what was taught by Christ or by the prophets.

24. Nevertheless these persons argue still to the effect that this demolition of temples, and this condemnation of sacrifices, and this shattering of all images, are brought about, not in virtue of the doctrine of Christ Himself, but only by the hand of His apostles, who, as they contend, taught something different from what He taught. They think by this device, while honouring and lauding Christ, to tear the Christian faith in pieces. For it is at least true, that it is by the disciples of Christ that at once the works and the words of Christ have been made known, on which this Christian religion is established, with which a very few

1 The philosopher of the Neo-Platonic school, better known as one of the earliest and most learned antagonists of Christianity. Though a native either of Tyre or Batanaea, he is called here, as also again in the Retractations, ii. 31, a Sicilian, because, according to
Jerome and Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. vi. 19), it was in Sicily that he wrote his treatise in fifteen books against the Christian religion. â€” Tr.

* Luke iv. 41. 3 Fa. xcvi. 5.

CHAP. XVII.] THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE ROMANS. 1G1

people of this character are still in antagonism, who do not now indeed openly assail it, but yet continue even in these days to utter their mutterings against it. But if they refuse to believe that Christ taught in the way indicated, let them read the prophets, who not only enjoined the complete destruction of the superstitions of idols, but also predicted that this subversion would come to pass in Christian times. And if these spoke falsely, why is their word fulfilled with so mighty a demonstration? But if they spoke truly, why is resistance offered to such divine power

Chap. xvii. â€” In opposition to the Romans, zoJio rejected the God of Israel alone.

25. However, here is a matter which should meet with more careful consideration at their hands, â€” namely, what they take the God of Israel to be, and why they have not admitted Him to the honours of worship among them, in the way that you have done with the gods of other nations that have been made subject to the imperial power of Borne? This question demands an answer all the more, when we see that they are of the mind that all the gods ought to be worshipped by the man of wisdom. Why, then, has He been excluded from the number of these others? If He is very mighty, why is He the only deity that is not worshipped by them? If He has little or no might, why are the images of other gods broken in pieces by all the nations, while He is now almost the only God that is worshipped among these peoples? From the grasp of this question these men shall never be able to extricate themselves, who worship both the greater and the lesser deities, whom they hold to be gods, and at the same time refuse to worship this God, who has proved Himself stronger than all those to whom they do service. If He is [a God] of great virtue, 2 why has He been deemed worthy only of rejection? And if He is [a God] of little or no power, why has He been able to accomplish so much, although rejected? If He is good, why is He the only one separated from the other good deities? And if He is evil, why is He, who stands thus alone, not bjugated by so many good deities? If He is truthful,

1 Or, to such power in interpreting the divine mindâ€” iantai divinitati

ittatur.

3 Or, powerâ€” virtutis.
why are His precepts scorned? Arid if He is a liar, why are His predictions fulfilled?

Chap, xviii. Ê” Of the fact that the God of the Hebrews is not received by the Romans, because His will is that lie alone should be worshipped.

26. In fine, they may think of Him as they please. Still, we may ask whether it is the case that the Romans refuse to consider evil deities as also proper objects of worship, Ê” those Romans who have erected fanes to Pallor and Fever, and who enjoin both that the good demons are to be entreated, 1 and that the evil demons are to be propitiated. Whatever their opinion, then, of Him may be, the question still is, Why is He the only Deity whom they have judged worthy neither of being called upon for help, nor of being propitiated ’? What God is this, who is either one so unknown, that He is the only one not discovered as yet among so many gods, or who is one so well known that He is now the only one worshipped by so many men ? There remains, then, nothing which they can possibly allege in explanation of their refusal to admit the worship of this God, except that His will was that He alone should be worshipped; and His command was, that those gods of the Gentiles that they were worshipping at the time should cease to be worshipped. But an answer to this other question is rather to be required of them, namely, what or what manner of deity they consider this God to be, who has forbidden the worship of those other gods for whom they erected temples and images, Ê” this God, who has also been possessed of might so vast, that His will has prevailed more in effecting the destruction of their images than theirs has availed to secure the non-admittance of His worship. And, indeed, the opinion of that philosopher of theirs is given in plain terms, whom, even on the authority of their own oracle, they have maintained to have been the wisest of all men. For the opinion of Socrates is, that every deity whatsoever ought to be worshipped just in the manner in which he may have ordained that he should be worshipped. Consequently it became a matter of the supremest necessity with them to refuse to worship the God of the Hebrews. For if they were minded to worship Him in a method different from the way in which

1 The text gives invitandos; others read imitandos, to be imitated.

CHAP. XIX.] THE GOD OF ISRAEL THE TRUE GOD. 163

He had declared that He ought to be worshipped, then assuredly they would have been worshipping not this God as He is, but some figment of their own. And, on the other
hand, if they were willing to worship Him in the manner which He had indicated, then they could not but perceive that they were not at liberty to worship those other deities whom He interdicted them from worshipping. Thus was it, therefore, that they rejected the service of the one true God, because they were afraid that they might offend the many false gods. For they thought that the answer of those deities would be more to their injury, than the goodwill of this God would be to their profit.

Chap. xix. 16” The proof that this God is the true God.

27. But that must have been a vain necessity and a ridiculous timidity. 1 We ask now what opinion regarding this God is formed by those men whose pleasure it is that all gods ought to be worshipped. For if He ought not to be worshipped, how are all worshipped when He is not worshipped? And if He ought to be worshipped, it cannot be that all others are to be worshipped along with Him. For unless He is worshipped alone, He is really not worshipped at all. Or may it perhaps be the case, that they will allege Him to be no God at all, while they call those gods who, as we believe, have no power to do anything except so far as permission is given them by His judgment, “have not merely no power to do good to any one, but no power even to do harm to any, except to those who are judged by Him, who possesses all power, to merit so to be harmed? But, as they themselves are compelled to admit, those deities have shown less power than He has done. For if those are held to be gods whose prophets, when consulted by men, have returned responses which, that I may not call them false, were at least most convenient for their private interests, how is not He to be regarded as God whose prophets have not only given the congruous answer on subjects regarding which they were consulted at the special time, but who also, in the case of subjects respecting which they were not consulted, and which related to the universal race of man and all nations, have announced prophetically so long time

1 Or, Away with that vain necessity and ridiculous timidity “Sed fuerit ista vana nectssitas, etc.

164 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.] before the event those very things of which we now read, and which indeed we now behold? If they gave the name of god to that being under whose inspiration the Sibyl sung of the fates 1 of the Romans, how is not He (to be called) God, who, in accordance with the announcement aforetime given, has shown us how the Romans and all nations are coming to believe in Himself through the gospel of Christ, as the one God, and to demolish all the images of their fathers? Finally, if they designate those as gods who have never dared through their prophets to say anything against this God, how is not He (to be designated) God, who not only commanded by the mouth of His prophets the destruction of their images, but who also predicted that among all the Gentiles they would be destroyed by those who should be enjoined to abandon their idols and to worship Him alone, and who, on receiving these injunctions, should be His servants?
Chap. xx. â€” Of the fact that nothing is discovered to have been predicted by the
prophets of the pagans in opposition to the God of the Hebrews.

28. Or let them aver, if they are able, that some Sibyl of theirs, or any one whatever
among their other prophets, announced long ago that it would come to pass that the God
of the Hebrews, the God of Israel, would be worshipped by all nations, declaring, at the
same time, that the worshippers of other gods before that time had rightly rejected Him;
and again, that the compositions of His prophets would be in such exalted authority, 2
that in obedience to them the Eoman government itself would command the destruction
of images, the said seers at the same time giving warning against acting upon such
ordinances;
â€” let them, I say, read out any utterances like these, if they can, from any of the books
of their prophets. For I stop not to state that those things which we can read in their books
repeat a testimony on behalf of our religion, that is, the Christian religion, which they
might have heard from the holy angels and from our prophets themselves; just as the very
devils were compelled to confess Christ when He was present in the flesh. But I pass by
these matters, regarding which, when we

1 Reading fata. Seven mss. give facta = deeds.

2 Reading futuras etiam litteras . . . in auctoritate ita sublimi. Six mss.
give futurum . . . sublimari, but with substantially the same sense.

CHAP. XXI.] EXCLUSIVE WORSHIP DUE TO GOD OF ISRAEL. 165

bring them forward, their contention is that they were invented by our party. Most
certainly, however, they may themselves be pressed to adduce anything which has been
prophesied by the seers of their own gods against the God of the Hebrews; as, on our
side, we can point to declarations so remarkable at once for number and for weight
recorded in the books of our prophets against their gods, in which also we can both note
the command and recite the prediction and demonstrate the event. And over the
realization of these things, that comparatively small number of heathens who have
remained such are more inclined to grieve than they are ready to acknowledge that God
who has had the power to foretell these things as events destined to be made good;
whereas in their dealings with their own false gods, who are genuine demons, they prize
nothing else so highly as to be informed by their responses of something which is to take
place with them. 1

CiiAr. xxr. â€” An argument for the exclusive worship of this God, who, while He
prohibits other deities from being worshipped, is not Himself interdicted by other
divinities from being worshipped.
29. Seeing, then, that these things are so, why do not these unhappy men rather apprehend the fact that this God is the true God, whom they perceive to be placed in a position so thoroughly separated from the company of their own deities, that, although they are compelled to acknowledge Him to be God, those very persons who profess that all gods ought to be worshipped are nevertheless not permitted to worship Him along with the rest? Now, since these deities and this God cannot be worshipped together, why is not He selected who forbids those others to be worshipped; and why are not those deities abandoned, who do not interdict Him from being worshipped? Or if they do indeed forbid His worship, let the interdict be read. For what has greater claims to be recited to their people in their temples, in which the sound of no such thing has ever been heard? And, in good sooth, the prohibition directed by so many against one ought to be more notable and more potent than the prohibition launched by one against so

Nihil aliud pro magno appetant quam cum aliquid eorum responsis sibi

Cesse didicerint.
ling notior; others give potior = preferable.

1GG THE U.YU.MONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BO<

many. For if the worship of this God is impious, then those gods are profitless, who do not interdict men from that impiety; but if the worship of this God is pious, then, as in that worship the commandment is given that these others are not to be worshipped, their worship is impious. If, again, those deities forbid His worship, but only so diffidently that they rather fear to be heard than dare to prohibit, who is so unwise as not to draw his own inference from the fact, who fails to perceive that this God ought to be chosen, who in so public a manner prohibits their worship, who commanded that their images should be destroyed, who foretold that demolition, who Himself effected it, in preference to those deities of whom we know not that they ordained abstinence from His worship, of whom we do not read that they foretold such an event, and in whom we do not see power sufficient to have it brought about? I put the question, let them give the answer: Who is this God, who thus harasses all the gods of the Gentiles, who thus betrays all their sacred rites, who thus renders them extinct?

Chap. xxii. â€” Of the opinion entertained by the Gentiles regarding our God.

30. But why do I interrogate men whose native wit has deserted them in answering the question as to who this God is?
Some say that He is Saturn. I fancy the reason of that is found in the sanctification of the Sabbath for those men assign that day to Saturn. But their own Varro, than whom they can point to no man of greater learning among them, thought that the God of the Jews was Jupiter, and he judged that it mattered not what name was employed, provided the same subject was understood under it; in which, I believe, we see how he was subdued by
His supremacy. For, inasmuch as the Bomans are not accustomed to worship any more exalted object than Jupiter, of which fact their Capitol is the open and sufficient attestation, and deem him to be the king of all gods; when he observed that the Jews worshipped the supreme God, he could not think of any object under that title other than Jupiter himself. But whether men call the God of the Hebrews Saturn,

1 Some read audere timeant = fear to dare. But the mss. give more correctly à– audiri timeant = fear to be heard; i.e., the demons were afraid that, if they interdicted His worship, the true God might be made known by their own hand. â€” Migne.

CHAP. XXIII.] THE WORSHIP OF SATUEX AND JUPITER. 167

or declare Him to be Jupiter, let them tell us when Saturn dared to prohibit the worship of a second deity. He did not venture to interdict the worship even of this very Jupiter, who is said to have expelled him from his kingdom, â€” the son thus expelling the father. And if Jupiter, as the more powerful deity and the conqueror, has been accepted by his worshippers, then they ought not to worship Saturn, the conquered and expelled. But neither, on the other hand, did Jove put his worship under the ban. Nay, that deity whom he had power to overcome, he nevertheless suffered to continue a god.

Chaiā\ xxiii. â€” Of the follies which the pagans have indulged in regarding Jupiter and Saturn.

3 1. These narratives of yours, say they, are but fables which have to be interpreted by the wise, or else they are fit only to be laughed at; but we revere that Jupiter of whom Maro says that

M All things are full of Jove " â€” Virgil's Eclogues, iii. v. 60;

that is to say, the spirit of life * that vivifies all things. It is not without some reason, therefore, that Varro thought that Jove was worshipped by the Jews; for the God of the Jews says by His prophet, I fill heaven and earth? But what is meant by that which the same poet names Ether ? How do they take the term ? For he speaks thus:

" Then the omnipotent father Ether, with fertilizing showers, Came down into the bosom of his fruitful spouse."

â€” Virgil's Georgics, ii. 325.

They say, indeed, that this Ether is not spirit, 3 but a lofty body in which the heaven is stretched above the air. 4 Is liberty conceded to the poet to speak at one time in the language of the followers of Plato, as if God was not body, but spirit, and at another time
in the language of the Stoics, as if God was a body? What is it, then, that they worship in
their Capitol?
If it is a spirit, or if again it is, in short, the corporeal heaven itself, then what does that
shield of Jupiter there which they style the iÅ£gis? The origin of that name, indeed, is
explained by the circumstance that a goat 5 nourished Jupiter when he

1 Or, the breathed air â€” spiritum. - Jer. xxiii. 24.

3 Sph-itum, breath. 4 Aerem.

5 Alluding to the derivation of the word JEGis = myif a goatskin, from the Greek
Â«*Â£ = a #oat.

1G8 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [liOOK I

was concealed by his mother. Or is this a fiction of the poets? But are the capitols of the
Romans, then, also the mere creations of the poets? And what is the meaning of that,
certainly not poetical, but unmistakeably farcical, variability of yours, in seeking your
gods according to the ideas of philosophers in books, and revering them according to the
notions of poets in your temples?

32. But was that Euhemerus also a poet, who declares both Jupiter himself, and his father
Saturn, and Pluto and Neptune his brothers, to have been men, in terms so exceedingly
plain that their worshippers ought all the more to render thanks to the poets, because their
inventions have not been intended so much to disparage them as rather to dress them up?
Albeit Cicero 1 mentions that this same Euhemerus was translated into Latin by the poet
Ennius. 2 Or was Cicero himself a poet, who, in counselling the person with whom he
debates in his Tusculan Disputations, addresses him as one possessing knowledge of
things secret, in the following terms: If, indeed, I were to attempt to search into antiquity,
and produce from thence the subjects which the writers of Greece have given to the
world, it would be found that even those deities who are reckoned gods of the higher
orders have gone from us into heaven. Ash whose sepulchres are pointed out in Greece:
call to mind, since you have been initiated, the things which are delivered in the
mysteries: then, doubtless, you will comprehend how loidely extended this belief is. 9
This author certainly makes ample acknowledgment of the doctrine that those gods of
theirs were originally men. He does, indeed, benevolently surmise that they made their
way into heaven.
But he did not hesitate to say in public, that even the honour thus given them in general
repute 4 was conferred upon them by men, when he spoke of Romulus in these words: By
good

1 See the first book of Ids De Natura Deorum, c. 42. Compare also Lactantius, De Falsa
Religione, i. 11; and Varro, De Re Rustica, i. 48.
2 The father of Roman literature, born B.C. 239 at Rudire in Calabria, both a poet and a man of learning, and well versed, among other things, in Oscan, Latin, and Greek, linguistic accomplishments beyond his day. Of his writings we now possess only fragments, preserved by Cicero, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, and others.

3 Tusculan Disputations, Book i. 13. 4 Honorem opinionis.

CHAP. XXIII.] THE HEATHEN GODS ONLY DEIFIED MEN. 169

luill and repute we have raised to the immortal gods that Romidus who founded this city} How should it be such a wonderful thing, therefore, to suppose that the more ancient men did with respect to Jupiter and Saturn and the others what the Romans have done with respect to Eomulus, and what, in good truth, they have thought of doing even in these more recent times also in the case of Caesar ? And to these same Virgil has addressed the additional flattery of song, saying:

11 Lo, the star of Caesar, descendant of Dione, arose."

â€” Eclogue, ix. ver. 47.

Let them see to it, then, that the truth of history do not turn out to exhibit to our view sepulchres erected for their false gods here upon the earth ! and let them take heed lest the vanity of poetry, instead of fixing, may be but feigning 2 stars for their deities there in heaven. For, in reality, that one is not the star of Jupiter, neither is this one the star of Saturn; but the simple fact is, that upon these stars, which were set from the foundation of the world, the names of those persons were imposed after their death by men who were minded to honour them as gods on their departure from this life. And with respect to these we may, indeed, ask how there should be such ill desert in chastity, or such good desert in voluptuousness, that Venus should have a star, and Minerva be denied one among those luminaries which revolve along with the sun and moon ?

33. But it may be said that Cicero, the Academic sage, who has been bold enough to make mention of the sepulchres of their gods, and to commit the statement to writing, is a more doubtful authority than the poets; although he did not presume to offer that assertion simply as his own personal opinion, but put it on record as a statement contained among the traditions of their own sacred rites. Well, then, can it also be maintained that Varro either gives expression merely to an invention of his own, as a poet might do, or puts the matter only dubiously, as might be the case with an Academician, because he declares that, in the instance of all such gods, the matters of their Avorship had their origin either in the life which they lived, or in the death which they died, among men ? Or was

1 From the Third Oration against Catiline, Â§ 1. 2 Non figat sed fiigat.
that Egyptian priest, Leon, either a poet or an Academician, who expounded the origin of those gods of theirs to Alexander of Macedon, in a way somewhat different indeed from the opinion advanced by the Greeks, but nevertheless so far accordant therewith as to make out their deities to have been originally men I

34. But what is all this to us? Let them assert that they worship Jupiter, and not a dead man; let them maintain that they have dedicated their Capitol not to a dead man, but to the Spirit that vivifies all things and fills the world. And as to that shield of his, which was made of the skin of a she-goat in honour of his nurse, let them put upon it whatever interpretation they please. What do they say, however, about Saturn? What is it that they worship under the name of Saturn? Is not this the deity that was the first to come down to us from Olympus (of whom the poet sings):

"Then from Olympus' height came down Good Saturn, exiled from his crown

By Jove, his mightier heir:
He brought the race to union first Erewhile on mountain-tops dispersed, And gave them statutes to obey, And willed the land wherein he lay Should Latium's title hear."

Vilgil's JEneid, viii. 320-324, Conington's translation.

Does not his very image, made as it is with the head covered, present him as one under concealment? Was it not he that made the practice of agriculture known to the people of Italy?

1 On this Leo or Leon, see also Augustine's City of God, viii. 5. Reference is often made to him by early Christian writers as a thinker agreeing so far with the principles of Euhemerus (in whose time, or perhaps somewhat before it, he flourished) as to teach that the gods of the old heathen world were originally men. He is mentioned by Arnobius, Adversus Gentes, iv. 29; Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, i. 23; Tertullian, De Corona, c. 7; Tatian, etc.

2 Beading, with Migne, Sed quid ad nos? Dicant se Jovem, etc. Others give, Sed quid ad nos si dicant, etc. = But what is it to us although they say that they worship, etc. The si, however, is wanting in the mss.

3 Eeading, with Migne, Quid dicunt de Saturno? Quern, etc. Others give, Quid dicunt de Saturno qui â€” What do those say about Saturn who worship Saturn? The mss. have quern.
4 Quasi latentem indicat, in reference to the story introduced in the Virgilian passage, that the country got its name, Latium, from the disappearance of the god.

CHAP. XXIII.] INTERPRETATIONS OF THE NAME SATURN. 171

â€” a fact which is expressed by the reaping-hook? 1 No, say they; for you may see whether the being of whom such things are recorded was a man/ and indeed one particular king: we, however, interpret Saturn to be universal Time, as is signified also by his name in Greek: for he is called Chronus, which word, with the aspiration thus given it, is also the vocable for time: whence, too, in Latin he gets the name of Saturn, as if it meant that he is sated* with years.

But now, what we are to make of people like these I know not, who, in their very effort to put a more favourable meaning upon the names and the images of their gods, make the confession that the very god who is their major deity, and the father of the rest, is Time.

For what else do they thus betray but, in fact, that all those gods of theirs are only temporal, seeing that the very parent of them all is made out to be Time?

35. Accordingly, their more recent philosophers of the Platonic school, who have nourished in Christian times, have been ashamed of such fancies, and have endeavoured to interpret Saturn in another way, affirming that he received the name Xpovos 5 in order to signify, as it were, the fulness of intellect; their explanation being, that in Greek fulness 6 is expressed by the term xÂ°P *?, an( ^ intellect or mind by the term 1/OO9; 8 which etymology seems to be favoured also by the Latin name, on the supposition that the first part of the word (Saturnus) came from the Latin, and the second part from the Greek: so that he got the title Saturnus as an equivalent to satur, vovs? For they saw how absurd it was to have that Jupiter regarded as a son of Time, whom they either considered, or wished to have considered, eternal deity.

Furthermore, however, according to this novel interpretation, which it is marvellous that Cicero and Varro should have

1 The statue of Saturn represented him with a sickle or pruning-knife in his hand.

- Migne'a text gives, on the authority of MBS., the reading, Nam videris si "<h homo, etc. Others edit, Nam tametsi fuerit ilk, etc. = For although he may have been a man ... yet we interpret, etc.

3 For Kronos. * Saturetur â€” saturated, abundantly furnished.

Choros, Kronos. 6 Or satiety. 7 Choros.

s Nous. 8 Full, mind.
suffered to escape their notice, if their ancient authorities really had it, they call Jupiter the son of Saturn, thus denoting him, it may be, as the spirit that proceedeth forth from that supreme mind â€” the spirit which they choose to look upon as the soul of this world, so to speak, filling alike all heavenly and all earthly bodies. Whence comes also that saying of Maro, which I have cited a little ago, namely, All things are full of Jove? Should they not, then, if they are possessed of the ability, alter the superstitions indulged in by men, just as they alter their interpretation; and either erect no images at all, or at least build capitol to Saturn rather than to Jupiter? For they also maintain that no rational soul can be produced gifted with wisdom, except by participation in that supreme and unchangeable wisdom of his; and this affirmation they advance not only with respect to the soul of a man, but even with respect to that same soul of the world which they also designate Jove. Now we not only concede, but even very particularly proclaim, that there is a certain supreme wisdom of God, by participation in which every soul whatsoever that is constituted truly wise acquires its wisdom. But whether that universal corporeal mass, which is called the world, has a kind of soul, or, so to speak, its own soul, that is to say, a rational life by which it can govern its own movements, as is the case with every sort of animal, is a question both vast and obscure. That is an opinion which ought not to be affirmed, unless its truth is clearly ascertained; neither ought it to be rejected, unless its falsehood is as clearly ascertained. And what will it matter to man, even should this question remain for ever unsolved, since, in any case, no soul becomes wise or blessed by drawing from any other soul but from that one supreme and immutable wisdom of God?

36. The Romans, however, who have founded a Capitol in honour of Jupiter, but none in honour of Saturn, as also these other nations whose opinion it has been that Jupiter ought to be worshipped pre-eminently and above the rest of the gods, have certainly not agreed in sentiment with the persons referred to; who, in accordance with that mad view of theirs, would dedicate their loftiest citadels 1 rather to Saturn, if they had any power in these things, and who most particularly would annihilate those mathematicians and nativity-spinners 1 by whom this Saturn, whom their opponents would designate the maker of the wise, has been placed with the character of a deity of evil among the other stars. But this opinion, nevertheless, has prevailed so mightily against them in the mind of humanity, that men decline even to name that god, and call him Ancient 2 rather than Saturn; and that in so fearful a spirit of superstition, that the Carthaginians have now gone very near to change the designation of their town, and call it the town of the Ancient 3 more frequently than the town of Saturn. 4
Of the fact that those persons who reject the God of Israel, in consequence fail to worship all the gods; and, on the other hand, that those who worship other gods, fail to worship Him.

3 7. It is well understood, therefore, what these worshippers of images are convicted in reality of revering, and what they attempt to colour over. 5 But even these new interpreters of Saturn must be required to tell us what they think of the God of the Hebrews. For to them also it seemed right to worship all the gods, as is done by the heathen nations, because their pride made them ashamed to humble themselves under Christ for the remission of their sins. What opinion, therefore, do they entertain regarding the God of Israel? For if they do not worship Him, then they do not worship all gods; and if they do worship Him, they do not worship Him in the way that He has ordained for His own worship, because they worship others also whose worship He has interdicted. Against such practices He issued His prohibition by the mouth of those same prophets by whom He also announced beforehand the destined occurrence of those very things which their images are now sustaining at the hands of the Christians. For whatever the explanation may be, whether it be that the angels were sent to those prophets to show them figuratively, and by the congruous forms of visible objects, the one true God, the Creator of all things, to whom the whole universe is made subject, and to indicate the method in which He enjoined His own

1 Genethliacos. 2 Senex. 3 Vicus Senis. 4 Vicus Saturni.

8 Leading colorare, as in the mss. Some editions give colere = revere.

worship to proceed; or whether it was that the minds of i among them were so mightily elevated by the Holy Spirit, as to enable them to see those things in that kind of vision in which the angels themselves behold objects: in either case it is the incontestable fact, that they did serve that God who has prohibited the worship of other gods; and, moreover, it is equally certain, that with the faithfulness of piety, in the kingly and in the priestly office, they ministered at once for the good of their country, and in the interest of those sacred ordinances which were significant of the coming of Christ as the true King and Priest.

Chap. xxv. â€” Of the fact that the false gods do not forbid others to be worshipped along with themselves. That the God of Israel is the true God, is proved by His works, both in prophecy and in fulfilment.

38. But further, in the case of the gods of the Gentiles (in their willingness to worship whom they exhibit their unwillingness to worship that God who cannot be worshipped together with them), let them tell us the reason why no one is found in the number of their deities who thinks of interdicting the worship of another; while they institute them
in different offices and functions, and hold them to preside each one over objects which pertain properly to his own special province. For if Jupiter does not prohibit the worship of Saturn, because he is not to be taken merely for a man, who drove another man, namely his father, out of his kingdom, but either for the body of the heavens, or for the spirit that fills both heaven and earth, and because thus he cannot prevent that supernal mind from being worshipped, from which he is said to have emanated: if, on the same principle also, Saturn cannot interdict the worship of Jupiter, because he is not [to be supposed to be merely] one who was conquered by that other in rebellion, â€” as was the case with a person of the same name, by the hand of some one or other called Jupiter, from whose arms he was fleeing when he came into Italy, â€” and because the primal mind favours the mind that springs from it: yet Vulcan at least might [be expected to] put under the ban the worship of Mars, the paramour of his wife, and Hercules [might be thought likely to interdict] the worship of Juno, his persecutor. What kind of foul consent must subsist among them, if even Diana, the chaste virgin, fails

CHAP. XXV.] THE WORKS OF THE GOD OF ISRAEL. 175

to interdict the worship, I do not say merely of Venus, but even of Priapus? For if the same individual decides to he at once a hunter and a farmer, he must be the servant of both these deities; and yet he will be ashamed to do even so much as erect temples for them side by side. But they may aver, i hat by interpretation Diana means a certain virtue, be it what they please; and they may tell us that Priapus really denotes the deity of fecundity, 1 â€” to such an effect, at any rate, that Juno may well be ashamed to have such a coadjutor in the task of making females fruitful. They may say what they please; they may put any explanation upon these things which in their wisdom they think fit: only, in spite of all that, the God of Israel will confound all their argumentations. For in prohibiting all those deities from being worshipped, while His own worship is hindered by none of them, and in at once commanding, foretelling, and effecting destruction for their images and sacred rites, He has shown with sufficient clearness that they are false and lying deities, and that He Himself is the one true and truthful God.

39. Moreover, to whom should it not seem strange that those worshippers, now become few in number, of deities both numerous and false, should refuse to do homage to Him of whom, when the question is put to them as to what deity He is, they dare not at least assert, whatever answer they may think to give, that He is no God at all? For if they deny His deity, they are very easily refuted by His works, both in prophecy and in fulfilment. I do not speak of those works which they deem themselves at liberty not to credit, such as His work in the beginning, when He made heaven and earth, and all that is in them. 2 Neither do I specify here those events which carry us back into the remotest antiquity, such as the translation of Enoch, 3 the destruction of the impious by the flood, and the saving of righteous Noah and his house from the deluge, by means of the [ark of] wood. 4 I begin the statement of His doings among men with Abraham. To this man,
indeed, was given by an angelic oracle an intelligible promise, which we now see in its realization. For to him it was said,

1 Reading fecunditats. Fceditatis, foulness, also occurs.

2 Gen. i. 3 Gen. v. 24. 4 Gen. vii.

17G THE HATIMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK T.

In thy seed shall all nations be Messed. 1 Of his seed, then, sprang the people of Israel, whence came the Virgin Mary, who was the mother of Christ; and that in Him all the nations are blessed, let them now be bold enough to deny if they can. This same promise was made also to Isaac the son of Abraham. 2 It was given again to Jacob the grandson of Abraham. This Jacob was also called Israel, from whom that whole people derived both its descent and its name, so that indeed the God of this people was called the God of Israel: not that He is not also the God of the Gentiles, whether they are ignorant of Him or now know Him; but that in this people He willed that the power of His promises should be made more conspicuously apparent. For that people, which at first was multiplied in Egypt, and after a time was delivered from a state of slavery there by the hand of Moses, with many signs and portents, saw most of the Gentile nations subdued under it, and obtained possession also of the land of promise, in which it reigned in the person of kings of its own, who sprang from the tribe of Judah. This Judah, also, was one of the twelve sons of Israel, the grandson of Abraham. And from him were descended the people called the Jews, who, with the help of God Himself, did great achievements, and who also, when He chastised them, endured many sufferings on account of their sins, until the coming of that Seed to whom the promise was given, in whom all the nations were to be blessed, and [for whose sake] they were willingly to break in pieces the idols of their fathers.

Chap. xxvi. â€” Of the fact that idolatry has been subverted by the name of Christ, and by the faith of Christians, according to the prophecies.

40. For truly what is thus effected by Christians is not a thing which belongs only to Christian times, but one which was predicted very long ago. Those very Jews who have remained enemies to the name of Christ, and regarding whose destined perfidy these prophetic writings have not been silent, do themselves possess and peruse the prophet who says: "

Lord my God, and my refuge in the day of evil, the Gentiles shall come unto Thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say Surely our fathers have worshipped mendacious idols, and

1 Gen. xxii. 18. 2 Gen. xxvi. 4.
there is no profit in them." * Behold, that is now being done; behold, now the Gentiles are coming from the ends of the earth to Christ, uttering things like these, and breaking their idols!

Of signal consequence, too, is this which God has done for His Church in its world-wide extension, in that the Jewish nation, which has been deservedly overthrown and scattered abroad throughout the lands, has been made to carry about with it everywhere the records of our prophecies, so that it might not be possible to look upon these predictions as concocted by ourselves; and thus the enemy of our faith has been made a witness to our truth. How, then, can it be possible that the disciples of Christ have taught what they have not learned from Christ, as those foolish men in their silly fancies object, with the view of getting the superstitious worship of heathen gods and idols subverted? Can it be said also that those prophecies which are still read in these days, in the books of the enemies of Christ, were the inventions of the disciples of Christ?

41. Who, then, has effected the demolition of these systems but the God of Israel? For to this people was the announcement made by those divine voices which were addressed to Moses: "Hear, Israel; the Lord thy God is one God." 2 "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath." And again, in order that this people might put an end to these things wherever it received power to do so, this commandment was also laid upon the nation: "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them; thou shalt not do after their works, but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images." 4 But who shall say that Christ and Christians have no connection with Israel, seeing that Israel was the grandson of Abraham, to whom first, as afterwards to his son Isaac, and then to his grandson Israel himself, that promise was given, which I have already mentioned, namely: In thy -cal shall all nations be blessed? That prediction we see now in its fulfilment in Christ. For it was of this line that the Virgin was born, concerning whom a prophet of the people of Israel and of the God of Israel sang in these terms: Behold,

1 Jer. xvi. 19. 2 Deut vi> 4# 3 Â£ x# xx> 4# 4 Â£ x> xxiii 04.

HARMONY. M

178 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [DOOR T.

a virgin shall conceive, and hear a son; and they shall call * His name Emmanuel. For by interpretation, Emmanuel means, God with us? This God of Israel, therefore, who has interdicted the worship of other gods, who has interdicted the making of idols, who has
commanded their destruction, who by His prophet has predicted that the Gentiles from the ends of the earth would say. Surely our fathers have worshipped mendacious idols, in which there is no profit; this same God is He who, by the name of Christ and by the faith of Christians, has ordered, promised, and exhibited the overthrow of all these superstitions. In vain, therefore, do these unhappy men, knowing that they have been prohibited from blaspheming the name of Christ, even by their own gods, that is to say, by the demons who fear the name of Christ, seek to make it out, that this kind of doctrine is something strange to Him, in the power of which the Christians dispute against idols, and root out all those false religions, wherever they have the opportunity.

Chap. xxvii. â€” An argument urging it upon the remnant of idolaters that they should at length become servants of this true God, who everywhere is subverting idols.

42. Let them now give their answer with respect to the God of Israel, to whom, as teaching and enjoining such things, witness is borne not only by the books of the Christians, but also by those of the Jews. Eegarding Him, let them ask the counsel of their own deities, who have prevented the blaspheming of Christ. Concerning the God of Israel, let them give a contumelious response if they dare. But whom are they to consult? or where are they to ask counsel now? Let them peruse the books of their own authorities. If they consider the God of Israel to be Jupiter, as Varro has written (that I may speak for the time being in accordance with their own way of thinking), why then do they not believe that the idols are to be destroyed by Jupiter? If they deem Him to be Saturn, why do they not worship Him? Or why do they not worship Him in that manner in which, by the voice of those prophets through whom He has made good the things which He has fore-

1 Voe.abunt. 2 Isa. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23.

3 Heading Si Saturnum putant. Others read, Si Saturnum Deum putant = if they deem Saturn to be God, etc.

CHAP. XXVIII.] THE VOICE OF PROPHECY. 179

told, He has ordained His worship to be conducted? Why do they not believe that images are to be destroyed by Him, and the worship of other gods forbidden? If He is neither Jove nor Saturn (and surely, if He were one of these, He would not speak out so mightily against the sacred rites of their Jove and Saturn), who then is this God, who, with all their consideration for other gods, is the only Deity not worshipped by them, and who, nevertheless, so manifestly brings it about that He shall Himself be the sole object of worship, to the overthrow of all other gods, and to the humiliation of everything proud and highly exalted, which has lifted itself up against Christ in behalf of idols, persecuting and slaying Christians? But, in good truth, men are now asking into what secret recesses these worshippers withdraw, when they are minded to offer sacrifice; or into what regions
of obscurity they thrust back these same gods of theirs, to prevent their being discovered and broken in pieces by the Christians. Whence comes this mode of dealing, if not from the fear of those laws and those rulers by whose instrumentality the God of Israel discovers His power, and who are now made subject to the name of Christ. And that it should be so He promised long ago, when He said by the prophet: Yea, all kings of the earth shall worship Him: all nations shall serve Hull.

Chap, xxviii. â€” Of the predicted rejection of idols.

43. It cannot be questioned that what was predicted at sundry times by His prophets is now being realized, â€” namely, the announcement that He would disclaim His impious people (not, indeed, the people as a whole, because even of the Israelites many have believed in Christ; for His apostles themselves belonged to that nation), and would humble every proud and injurious person, so that He should Himself alone be exalted, that is to say, alone be manifested to men as lofty and mighty; until idols should be cast away by those who believe, and be concealed by those who believe not; when the earth is broken by His fear, that is to say, when the men of earth are subdued by fear, to wit, by fearing His law, or the law of those who, being at once

1 Ps. lxxii. 14.

180 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

believers in His name and rulers anions the nations, shall interdict such sacrilegious practices.

44. For these things, which I have thus briefly stated in the way of introduction, and with a view to their readier apprehension, are thus expressed by the prophet: And now, house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord. For He has disclaimed His people the house of Israel, because the country was replenished, as from the beginning, with their soothsayings as with those of strangers, and many strange children were born to them. For their country was replenished with silver and gold, neither was there any numbering of their treasures; their land also is full of horses, neither was there any numbering of their chariots: their land also is full of the abominations of the works of their own hands, and they have worshipped that which their own fingers have made. And the mean man 1 has bowed himself, and the great man 2 has humbled himself, and I will not forgive it them. And now enter ye into the rocks, and hide yourselves in the earth from before the fear of the Lord, and from the majesty of His power, when He arises to crush the earth: for the eyes of the Lord are lofty, and man is low; and the haughtiness of men shall be humbled, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.
For the day of the Lord of Hosts shall be upon every one that is injurious and proud, and upon every one that is lifted up and humbled, 3 and they shall be brought low; and upon every cedar of Lebanon of the high ones and the lifted up, 4 and upon every tree of the Lebanon of Bashan, 5 and upon every mountain, and upon every high hill, 6 and upon every ship of the sea, and upon every spectacle of the beauty of ships. And the contumely of men shall be humbled and shall fall, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day; and all things made

1 Homo. 2 Vir.

3 The text gives humiliatum; but datum seems to be required, corresponding with the LXX. piriupov.

4 Reading cedi’um Libani excelsorum et elatorum, which is given by the mss., and is accordant with the LXX. lnxZv *eu ptneupuv. Some editions give cedrum Libani excelsam et elaiam = Every high and elevated cedar of Lebanon.

6 The LXX. here has *À«! in) wÀ«v Vtvlpov fia.Xa. vou Ba.o-dv = And upon every tree of the acorn of Bashan. For the fia.xd.vou Augustine adopts Libani, as if he read in the Greek Atfidvou.

6 The fifteenth verse of our version is wholly omitted.

CHAP. XXIX.] THE GOD OF ISRAEL DENIED WORSHIP. 181

by hands they shall hide in dens, and in holes of the rocks, and in caves of the earth, from before the fear of the Lord, and from the majesty of His power, when He arises to crush the earth: for in that day a man shall cast away the abominations of gold and silver, the vain and evil things which they made for worship, in order to go into the clefts of the solid rock, and into the holes of the rocks, from before the fear of the Lord, and from the majesty of His power, when He arises to break the earth in pieces. 1

Chap. xxix. â€” Of the question loliy the heathen should refuse to worship the God of Israel, even although they deem Him to he only the presiding divinity of the elements ?

45. What do they say of this God of Sabaoth, which term, by interpretation, means the God of powers or of armies, inasmuch as the powers and the armies of the angels serve Him ? What do they say of this God of Israel; for He is the God of that people from whom came the seed wherein all the nations were to be blessed ? Why is He the only deity excluded from worship by those very persons who contend that all the gods ought to be worshipped ? Why do they refuse their belief to Him who both proves other gods to be false gods, and also overthrows them ? I have heard one of them declare that he had read, in some philosopher or other, the statement that, from what the Jews did in their sacred
observances, he had come to know what God they worshipped. "He is the deity," said he, "that presides over those elements of which this visible and material universe is constructed;" when in the Holy Scriptures of His prophets it is plainly shown that the people of Israel were commanded to worship that God who made heaven and earth, and from whom comes all true wisdom. But what need is there for further disputation on this subject, seeing that it is quite sufficient for my present purpose to point out how they entertain any kind of presumptuous opinions regarding that God whom yet they cannot deny to be a God? If, indeed, He is the deity that presides over the elements of which this world consists, why is He not worshipped in preference to Neptune, who presides over the sea only? Why not, again, in preference to Silvanus, who

1 Isa. ii. 5-21.

182 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

presides over the fields and woods only? Why not in preference to the Sun, who presides over the day only, or who also rules over the entire heat of heaven? Why not in preference to the Moon, who presides over the night only, or who also shines pre-eminent for power over moisture? Why not in preference to Juno, who is supposed to hold possession of the air only? For certainly those deities, whoever they may be, who preside over the parts, must necessarily be under that Deity who wields the presidency over all the elements, and over the entire universe. But this Deity prohibits the worship of all those deities. Why, then, is it that these men, in opposition to the injunction of One greater than those deities, not only choose to worship them, but also decline, for their sakes, to worship Him? Not yet have they discovered any constant and intelligible judgment to pronounce on this God of Israel; neither will they ever discover any such judgment, until they find out that He alone is the true God, by whom all things were created.

Chap. xxx. Ç“ Of the fad that, as the prophecies have been fulfilled, the God of Israel has now been made known everywhere.

46. Thus it was with a certain person named Lucan, one of their great declaimers in verse. For a long time, as I believe, he endeavoured to find out, by his own cogitations, or by the perusal of the books of his own fellow-countrymen, 1 who the God of the Jews was; and failing to prosecute his inquiry in the way of piety, he did not succeed. Yet he chose rather to speak of Him as the uncertain God whom he did not find out, than absolutely to deny the title of God to that Deity of whose existence he perceived proofs so great. For he says:

1 ' And Judea, devoted to the worship Of an uncertain God."
And as yet this God, the holy and true God of Israel, had not done by the name of Christ among all nations works so great as those which have been wrought after Lucan's times up to our own day. But now who is so obdurate as not to be

1 Fer suorum libros.

CHAP. XXXI.] THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY. 183

turned, who so dull * as not to be inflamed, seeing that the saying of Scripture is fulfilled, For there is not one that is hid from the heat thereof; and seeing also that those other things which were predicted so long time ago in this same Psalm from which I have cited one little verse, are now set forth in their accomplishment in the clearest light? For under this term of the heavens the apostles of Jesus Christ were denoted, because God was to preside in them with a view to the publishing of the gospel. Now, therefore, the heavens have declared the glory of God, and the firmament has proclaimed the works of His hands.

Day unto day has given forth speech, and night unto night has shown knowledge. Now there is no speech or language where their voices are not heard. Their sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Now hath He set His tabernacle in the sun, that is, in manifestation; which tabernacle is His Church. For in order to do so (as the words proceed in the passage) He came forth from His chamber like a bridegroom; that is to say, the Word, wedded with the flesh of man, came forth from the Virgin's womb.

Now has He rejoiced as a strong man, and has run His race.

Now has His going forth been made from the height of heaven, and His return even to the height of heaven. And accordingly, with the completest propriety, there follows upon this the verse which I have already mentioned: And there is not one that is hid from the heat thereof [or His heat]. And still these men make choice of their little, weak, prating objections, which are like stubble to be reduced to ashes in that fire, rather than like gold to be purged of its dross by it; while at once the fallacious monuments of their false gods have been brought to nought, and the veracious promises of that uncertain God have been proved to be sure.

Chap. xxxi. â€” The fulfilment of the prophecies concerning Christ.

47. Wherefore let those evil applauders of Christ, who refuse to become Christians, desist from making the allegation that Christ did not teach that their gods were to be abandoned, and their images broken in pieces. For the God of Israel, regarding whom it was declared aforetime that He should be

1 Reading torpidus; for which others give tepidus, cool. 2 Ps. xix. 6.
called the God of the whole earth, is now indeed actually called the God of the whole earth. By the mouth of* His prophets He predicted that this would come to pass, and by Christ He did bring it eventually to pass at the fit time. Assuredly, if the God of Israel is now named the God of the whole earth, what He has commanded must needs be made good; for He who has given the commandment is now well known. But, further, that He is made known by Christ and in Christ, in order that His Church may be extended throughout the world, and that by its instrumentality the God of Israel may be named the God of the whole earth, those who please may read a little earlier in the same prophet. That paragraph may also be cited by me. It is not so long as to make it requisite for us to pass it by. Here there is much said about the presence, the humility, and the passion of Christ, and about the body of which He is the Head, that is, His Church, where it is called barren, like one that did not bear. For during many years the Church, which was destined to subsist among all the nations with its children, that is, with its saints, was not apparent, as Christ remained yet unannounced by the evangelists to those to whom He had not been declared by the prophets. Again, it is said that there shall be more children for her who is forsaken than for her who has a husband, under which name of a husband the Law was signified, or the King whom the people of Israel first received. For neither had the Gentiles received the Law at the period at which the prophet spake; nor had the King of Christians yet appeared to the nations, although from these Gentile nations a much more fruitful and numerous multitude of saints has now proceeded. It is in this manner, therefore, that Isaiah speaks, commencing with the humility * of Christ, and turning afterwards to an address to the Church, on to that verse which we have already instanced, where he says: And He who brought thee out, the same God of Israel, shall be called the God of the whole earth. 2 Behold, says he, my Servant shall deal prudently, and shall be exalted and honoured exceedingly. As many shall be astonished at Thee; so shall Thy marred visage,

1 Reading humilitate; some editions give humanitate, the humanity.

2 Isa. liv. 5.

CHAP. XXXI.] ISAIAH'S PROPHECY. 185

nevertheless, be seen by all, and Thine honour by men. For so shall many nations be astonished at Him, and the kings shall shut their mouths. For they shall see to whom it has not been told of Him; and those who have not heard shall understand. Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have proclaimed
before Him as a servant, 1 as a root in a thirsty soil; He hath no form nor comeliness. And we have seen Him, and He had neither beauty nor seemliness; but His countenance is despised, and His state rejected by all men: a man stricken, and acquainted with the bearing of infirmities; on account of which His face is turned aside, injured, and little esteemed. He bears our infirmities, and is in sorrows for us. And we did esteem Him to be in sorrows, and to be stricken and in punishment. But He was wounded for our transgressions, and He was enfeebled for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray, and the Lord hath given Him up for our sins. And whereas He was evil entreated, He opened not His mouth; He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before him who shears it is dumb, so He opened not His mouth. In humility was His judgment taken. Who shall declare His generation? For His life shall be cut off out of the land; by the iniquities of my people is He led to death. Therefore shall I give the wicked for His sepulture, and the rich on account of His death; because He did no iniquity, neither was any deceit in His mouth. The Lord is pleased to clear Him in regard to His stroke. 2 If ye shall give your soul for your offences, ye shall see the seed of the longest life. And the Lord is pleased to take away His soul from sorrows, to show Him the light, and to set Him forth in sight, 3 and to justify the righteous One who serves many well; and He shall bear their sins. Therefore shall He have many for His inheritance, and shall divide the spoils of the strong; for which reason His soul was delivered over to death, and He was numbered with the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and was delivered for their iniquities. Eejoice, barren,  

1 Puer. 2 Purgare deus ilium de plaga.  

3 Figurare per sensum = set forth in sensible figure.  

186 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]  

thou that dost not bear: exult, and cry aloud, thou that dost not travail with child; for more are the children of the desolate than those of her who has a husband. For the Lord hath said, Enlarge the place of thy tent, and fix thy courts; 2 there is no reason why thou shouldst spare: lengthen thy cords, and strengthen Thy stakes firmly. Yea, again and again break thou forth on the right hand and on the left. For thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and thou shalt inhabit the cities which were desolate. There is nothing for thee to fear. For thou shalt prevail, and be not thou confounded as if thou shalt be put to shame. For thou shalt forget thy confusion for ever: thou shalt not remember the shame of thy widowhood, since I who made thee am the Lord; the Lord is His name: and He who brought thee out, the very God of Israel, shall be called the God of the whole earth. 2  

48. What can be said in opposition to this evidence, and this expression of things both foretold and fulfilled? If they suppose that His disciples have given a false testimony on
the subject of the divinity of Christ, will they also doubt the passion of Christ? No: they are not accustomed to believe that He rose from the dead; but, at the same time, they are quite ready to believe that He suffered all that men are wont to suffer, because they wish Him to be held to be a man and nothing more. According to this, then, He was led like a sheep to the slaughter; He was numbered with the transgressors; He was wounded for our sins; by His stripes were we healed; His face was marred, and little esteemed, and smitten with the palms, and defiled with the spittle; His position was disfigured on the cross; He was led to death by the iniquities of the people Israel; He is the man who had no form nor comeliness when He was buffeted with the fists, when He was crowned with the thorns, when He was derided as He hung (upon the tree); He is the man who, as the lamb is dumb before its shearer, opened not His mouth, when it was said to Him by those who mocked Him, Prophesy to us, thou Christ?"

Now, however, He is exalted verily, now He is honoured exceedingly; truly many nations are now astonied at Him. Now the kings have shut their mouth, by which they were wont to promulgate the most ruthless laws against the Christians. Truly those now see to whom it was not told of Him, and those who have not heard understand. 1 For those Gentile nations to whom the prophets made no announcement, do now rather see for themselves how true these things are which were of old reported by the prophets; 2 and those who have not heard Isaiah speak in his own proper person, now understand from his writings the things which he spoke concerning Him. For even in the said nation of the Jews, who believed the report of the prophets, or to whom was that arm of the Lord revealed, which is this very Christ who was announced by them, 3 seeing that by their own hands they perpetrated those crimes against Christ, the commission of which had been predicted by the prophets whom they possessed? But now, indeed, He possesses many by inheritance; and He divides the spoils of the strong, since the devil and the demons have now been cast out and given up, and the possessions once held by them have been distributed by Him among the fabrics of His churches and for other necessary services.

Chap, xxxii. â€” A statement in vindication of the doctrine of the apostles as opposed to idolatry, in the words of the prophecies.

1 Reading aulas tuas covfige; others give caulas = thy folds.
2 Isa. lii. 13-liv. 5.
49. "What, then, do these men, who are at once the perverse applauders of Christ and the slanderers of Christians, say to these facts? Can it be that Christ, by the use of magical arts, caused those predictions to be uttered so long ago by the prophets? or have His disciples invented them?

Is it thus that the Church, in her extension among the Gentile nations, though once barren, has been made to rejoice now in the possession of more children than that synagogue had which, in its Law or its King, had received, as it were, a husband? or is it thus that this Church has been led to enlarge the place of her tent, and to occupy all nations and tongues, so that now she lengthens her cords beyond the

1 Pom. xv. 16, 21.

2 Magis ipsse vident quam vera nuntiata sint per prophetas.

3 John xii. 37, 38; Rom. x. 16.

188 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK I.]

limits to which the rights of the empire of Rome extend, yea, even on to the territories of the Persians and the Indians and other barbarous nations? or that, on the right hand by means of true Christians, and on the left hand by means of pretended Christians, His name is being made known among such a multitude of peoples? or that His seed is made to inherit the Gentiles, so as now to inhabit cities which had been left desolate of the true worship of God and the true religion? or that His Church has been so little daunted by the threats and furies of men, even at times when she has been covered with the blood of martyrs, like one clad in purple array, that she has prevailed over persecutors at once so numerous, so violent, and so powerful? or that she has not been confounded, like one put to shame, when it was a great crime to be or to become a Christian? or that she is made to forget her confusion for ever, because, where sin had abounded, grace did much more abound? or that she is taught not to remember the shame of her widowhood, because only for a little was she forsaken and subjected to opprobrium, while now she shines forth once more with such eminent glory? or, in fine, is it only a fiction concocted by Christ's disciples, that the Lord who made her, and brought her forth from the domination of the devil and the demons, the very God of Israel is now called the God of the whole earth; all which, nevertheless, the prophets, whose books are now in the hands of the enemies of Christ, foretold so long before Christ became the Son of man?

50. From this, therefore, let them understand that the matter is not left obscure or doubtful even to the slowest and dullest minds: from this, I say, let these perverse applauders of Christ and executors of the Christian religion understand that the disciples of Christ have learned and taught, in opposition to their gods, precisely what the doctrine of Christ contains. For the God of Israel is found to have enjoined in the books of the prophets that all these objects which those men are minded to worship should be held in abomination
and be destroyed, while He Himself is now named the God of the whole earth, through
the instrumentality of Christ and

1 Rom. v. 20.

CHAP. XXXII.] THE DEFECT OF HEATHEN PROPHECY. 189

the Church of Christ, exactly as He promised so long time ago. For if, indeed, in their
marvellous folly, they fancy that Christ worshipped their gods, and that it was only
through them that He had power to do things so great as these, we may well ask whether
the God of Israel also worshipped their gods, who has now fulfilled by Christ what He
promised with respect to the extension of His own worship through all the nations, and
with respect to the detestation and subversion of those other deities ? * Where are their
gods ? Where are the vaticinations of their fanatics, and the divinations of their prophets ?
2 Where are the auguries, or the auspices, or the soothsayings, 3 or the oracles of demons
? Why is it that, out of the ancient books which constitute the records of this type of
religion, nothing in the form either of admonition or of prediction is advanced to oppose
the Christian faith, or to controvert the truth of those prophets of ours, who have now
come to be so well understood anions all nations ? " We have offended our gods," they
say in reply, " and they have deserted us for that reason: that explains it also why the
Christians have prevailed against us, and why the bliss of human life, exhausted 4 and
impaired, goes to wreck among us." We challenge them, however, to take the books of
their own seers, and read out to us any statement purporting that the kind of issue which
has come upon them would be brought on them by the Christians: nay, we challenge
them to recite any passages in which, if not Christ (for they wish to make Him out to
have been a worshipper of their own gods), at least this God of Israel, who is allowed to
be the subverter of other deities, is held up as a deity destined to be rejected and worthy
of detestation. But never will they produce any such passage, unless, perchance, it be
some fabrication of their own.
And if ever they do cite any such statement, the fact that it is but a fiction of their own
will betray itself in the unnoticeable manner in which a matter of so grave importance is
found adduced; whereas, in good truth, before what has been predicted should have come
to pass, it behoved to have been proclaimed in the temples of the gods of all nations,

1 Dcut. vii. 5. 2 Pythomim. 3 Aruspicia.

4 Reading drfessa; others give depressa, crashed.
with a view to the timeous preparation and warning of all who are now minded ! to be Christians.

Chap, xxxur. â€” A statement in opposition to those who make the complaint that the bliss of human life has been impaired by the entrance of Christian times.

51. Finally, as to the complaint which they make with respect to the impairing of the bliss of human life by the entrance of Christian times, if they only peruse the books of their own philosophers, who reprehend those very things which are now being taken out of their way in spite of all their unwillingness and murmuring, they will indeed find that great praise is due to the times of Christ. For what diminution is made in their happiness, unless it be in what they most basely and luxuriously abused, to the great injury of their Creator ? or unless, perchance, it be the case that evil times originate in such circumstances as these, in which throughout almost all states the theatres are falling, and with them, too, the dens of vice and the public profession of iniquity: yea, altogether the forums and cities in which the demons used to be worshipped are falling. How comes it, then, that they are falling, unless it be in consequence of the failure of those very things, in the lustful and sacrilegious use of which they were constructed ? Did not their own Cicero, when commending a certain actor of the name of Eoscius, call him a man so clever as to be the only one worthy enough to make it due for him to come upon the stage; and yet, again, so good a man as to be the only one so worthy as to make it due for him not to approach it ? 2 What else did he disclose with such remarkable clearness by this saying, but the fact that the stage was so base there, that a person was under the greater obligation not to connect himself with it, in proportion as he was a better man than most? And yet their gods were pleased with such things of shame as he deemed fit only to be removed to a distance from good men. But we have also an open confession of the same Cicero, where he says that he had to appease Flora, the mother of sports, by frequent celebration; 3 in which sports such an excess of vice is wont to be exhibited, that, in comparison with them, others are respectable, from engaging in which, nevertheless, good men

1 Others read nolunt, who refuse.

2 See Cicero's Oration in behalf of Eoscius. 3 See Cicero, Against Verves, 5.
diminish these supplies, their anger yields us better services than their placability. Wherefore let these men either confute their own philosophers, who have reprehended the same practices on the side of wanton men; or else let them break in pieces those gods of theirs who have made such demands upon their worshippers, if indeed they still find any such deities either to break in pieces or to conceal. But let them cease from their blasphemous habit of charging Christian times with the failure of their true prosperity, â€” a prosperity, indeed, so used by them that they were sinking into all that is base and hurtful, â€” lest thereby they be only putting us all the more emphatically in mind of reasons for the ampler praise of the power of Christ.

Chap, xxxiv. â€” Epilogue to the preceding.

52. Much more might I say on this subject, were it not that the requirements of the task which I have undertaken compel me to conclude this book, and revert to the object originally proposed. When, indeed, I took it in hand to solve those problems of the Gospels which meet us where the four evangelists, as it seems to certain critics, fail to harmonize with each other, by setting forth to the best of my ability the particular designs which they severally have in view, I was met first by the necessity of discussing a question which some are accustomed to bring before us, â€” the question, namely, as to the reason why we cannot produce any writings composed by Christ Himself. For their aim is to get Him credited with the writing of some other composition, I know not of what sort, which may be suitable to their inclinations, and with having indulged in no sentiments of antagonism to their gods, but rather with having paid respect to them in a kind of magical worship; and their wish is also to get it believed that His disciples not only gave a false account of Him when they declared Him to be the God by whom all things were made, while He was really nothing more than a man, although certainly a man of the most exalted wisdom, but also that they taught with regard to these gods of theirs something different from what they had themselves learned from Him. This is how it happens that we have been engaged preferentially in pressing them with arguments concerning the God of Israel, who is now worshipped by all nations through the medium of the Church of the Christians, who is also subverting their sacrilegious vanities the whole world over, exactly as He announced by the mouth of the prophets so long ago, and who has now fulfilled those predictions by the name of Christ, in whom He had promised that all nations should be blessed. And from all this they ought to understand that Christ could neither have known nor taught anything else with regard to their gods than what was enjoined and foretold by the God of Israel through the agency of these prophets of His by whom He promised, and ultimately sent, this very Christ, in whose name, according to the promise given to the fathers, when all nations were pronounced blessed, it has come to pass that this same God of Israel should be called the God of the whole earth. By this, too, they ought to see that His disciples did not depart
from the doctrine of their Master when they forbade the worship of the gods of the Gentiles, with the view of preventing us from addressing our supplications to insensate images, or from having fellowship with demons, or from serving the creature rather than the Creator with the homage of religious worship.

Chap. xxxv. â€” Of the fact that the mystery of a Mediator was made known to those who lived in ancient times by the agency of prophecy, as it is now declared to us in the Gospel.

53. Wherefore, seeing that Christ Himself is that Wisdom of God by whom all things were created, and considering that no rational intelligences, whether of angels or of men, receive wisdom 'except by participation in this Wisdom wherewith we are united by that Holy Spirit through whom charity is shed

CHAT. XXXV.] THE MYSTERY OF A MEDIATOR. 193

abroad in our hearts I (which Trinity at the same time constitutes one God), Divine Providence, having respect to the interests of mortal men whose time-bound life was held encased in things which rise into being? and die, 2 decreed that this same Wisdom of God, assuming into the unity of His person the (nature of) man, in which He might be born according to the conditions of time, and live and die and rise again, should utter and perform and bear and sustain things congruous to our salvation; and thus, in exemplary fashion, show at once to men on earth the way for a return to heaven, and to those angeb who are above us, the way to retain their position in heaven. 3 For unless, also, in the nature of the reasonable soul, and under the conditions of an existence in time, something came newly into being, â€” that is to say, unless that began to be which previously was not, â€” there could never be any passing from a life of utter corruption and folly into one of wisdom and true goodness. And thus, as truth in the contemplative lives in the enjoyment of things eternal, while faith in the believing is what is due to things which are made, man is purified through that faith which is conversant with temporal things, in order to his being made capable of receiving the truth of things eternal. For one of their noblest intellects, the philosopher Plato, in the treatise which is named the Timccus, speaks also to this effect: As eternity is to that which is made, so truth to faith.

Those two belong to the things above, â€” namely, eternity and truth; these two belong to the things below, â€” namely, that which is made and faith. In order, therefore, that we may be called off from the lowest objects, and led up again to the highest, and in order also that what is made may attain to the eternal, we must come through faith to truth. And because all contraries are reduced to unity by some middle factor, and because also the iniquity of time alienated us from the righteousness of eternity, there was need of some mediatiorial righteousness of a temporal nature; which mediatizing factor might be temporal on the side of those lowest objects, but

1 I>om. v. 5. 2 In rebus ovientibus et occidentibus occupata tenebatur.
also righteous on the side of these highest/ and thus, by adapting itself to the former
without cutting itself off from the latter, might bring back those lowest objects to the
highest.
Accordingly, Christ was named the Mediator between God and men, who stood between
the immortal God and mortal man, as being Himself both God and man, who reconciled
man to God, who continued to be what He (formerly) was, but was made also what He
(formerly) was not. And the same Person is for us at once the (centre of the) said faith in
things that are made, and the truth in things eternal.

54. This great and unutterable mystery, this kingdom and priesthood, was revealed by
prophecy to the men of ancient time, and is now preached by the gospel to their
descendants.
For it behoved that, at some period or other, that should be made good among all nations
which for long time had been promised through the medium of a single nation.
Accordingly, He who sent the prophets before His own descent also despatched the
apostles after His ascension. Moreover, in virtue of the man 3 assumed by Him, He
stands to all His disciples in the relation of the head to the members of His body.
Therefore, when those disciples have written matters which He declared and spake to
them, it ought not by any means to be said that He has written nothing Himself; since the
truth is, that His members have accomplished only what they became acquainted with by
the repeated statements of the Head. For all that He was minded to give for our perusal on
the subject of His own doings and sayings, He commanded to be written by those
disciples, whom He thus used as if they were His own hands. Whoever apprehends this
 correspondence of unity and this concordant service of the members, all in harmony in
the discharge of diverse offices under the Head, will receive the account which he gets in
the Gospel through the narratives constructed by the disciples, in the same kind of spirit
in w T hich he might look upon the actual hand of the Lord Himself, which He bore in
that body which was made

1 Reading quo3 medietas temporalis esset de imis, justa de summis. Another version
gives quae medietas temporalis esset de imis mixta et summis = which temporal
mediatizing factor might be made up of the lowest and the highest objects together, or =
which might be a temporal mediatizing factor made up, etc.

2 1 Tim. ii. 5. 3 Hominem.
CHAP. XXXV.] THE OBJECT PROPOSED. 195

His own, were he to see it engaged in the act of writing. For this reason let us now rather proceed to examine into the real character of those passages in which these critics suppose the evangelists to have given contradictory accounts (a thing which only those who fail to understand the matter aright can fancy to be the case); so that, when these problems are solved, it may also be made apparent that the members in that body have preserved a befitting harmony in the unity of the body itself, not only by identity in sentiment, but also by constructing records consonant with that identity.

100 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

BOOK SECOND.

IN THIS BOOK AUGUSTINE UNDERTAKES AN ORDERLY EXAMINATION OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW, ON TO THE NARRATIVE OF THE SUPPER, AND INSTITUTES A COMPARISON BETWEEN IT AND THE OTHER GOSPELS EY MARK, LUKE, AND JOHN, WITH THE VIEW OF DEMONSTRATING A COMPLETE HARMONY BETWEEN THE FOUR EVANGELISTS THROUGHOUT ALL THESE SECTIONS.

THE PROLOGUE.

1. "'T'THEBEAS, in a discourse of no small length and of u imperative importance, which we have finished within the compass of one book, we have refuted the folly of those who think that the disciples who have given us these Gospel histories deserve only to be disparagingly handled, for the express reason that no writings are produced by us with the claim of being compositions which have proceeded immediately from the hand
of that Christ whom they refuse indeed to worship as God, but whom, nevertheless, they
do not hesitate to pronounce worthy to be honoured as a man far surpassing all other men
in wisdom; and as, further, we have confuted those who strive to make Him out to have
written in a strain suiting their perverted inclinations, but not in terms calculated, by their
perusal and acceptance, to set mei right, or to turn them from their perverse ways, let us
now look into the accounts which the four evangelists have given us of Christ, with the
view of seeing how self-consistent they are, and how truly in harmony with each other.
And let us do so in the hope that no offence, even of the smallest order, may be felt in this
line of things in the Christian faith by those who exhibit more curiosity than capacity, in
so far as they think that a study of the evangelical books, conducted not in the way of a
merely cursory perusal, but in the form of a more than ordinarily careful investigation,
has disclosed to

CHAP. I. THE GENEALOGY OF CHRIST. 10 7

them certain matters of an inapposite and contradictory nature, and in so far as their
notion is, that these things are to be held up as objections in the spirit of contention,
rather than pondered in the spirit of consideration.

Chat. i. â€” A statement of the reason why the enumeration of the ancestors of Christ was
carried down to Joseph, while Christ was not born of that man's seed, bid of the Virgin
Mary.

2. The evangelist Matthew has commenced his narrative in these terms: The book of the
generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. 1 By this exordium he
shows with sufficient clearness that his undertaking is to give an account of the
generation of Christ according to the flesh.
For, according to this, Christ is the Son of man, â€” a title which He also gives very
frequently to Himself, 2 thereby commending to our notice what in His compassion He
has condescended to be on our behalf. For that heavenly and eternal generation, in virtue
of which He is the only-begotten Son of God, before every creature, because all things
were made by Him, is so ineffable, that it is of it that the word of the prophet must be
understood when he says, Who shall declare His generation 1 3 Matthew therefore traces
out the human generation of Christ, mentioning His ancestors from Abraham downwards,
and carrying them on to Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom Jesus was born. For it was
not held allowable to consider him dissociated from the married estate which was entered
into with Mary, on the ground that she gave birth to Christ, not as the wedded wife of
Joseph, but as a virgin.
For by this example an illustrious recommendation is made to faithful married persons of
the principle, that even when by common consent they maintain their continence, the
relation can still remain, and can still be called one of wedlock, inasmuch as, although
there is no connection between the sexes
( f the body, there is the keeping of the affections of the mind; particularly so for this
reason, that in their case we see how the birth of a son was a possibility apart from
anything of that carnal intercourse which is to be practised with the purpose of the procreation of children only. Moreover, the mere fact that he had not begotten Him by act of his own, was no

1 Matt. i. 1. 2 Matt. viii. 20, ix. 6. 3 Isa. liii. S.

103 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

sufficient reason why Joseph should not be called the father of Christ; for indeed he could be in all propriety the father of one whom he had not begotten by his own wife, but had adopted from some other person.

3. Christ, it is true, was also supposed to be the son of Joseph in another way, as if He had been born simply of that man's seed. But this supposition was entertained by persons whose notice the virginity of Mary escaped. For Luke says: And Jesus Himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph; This Luke, however, instead of naming Mary His only parent, had not the slightest hesitation in also speaking of both parties as His parents, when he says: And, the boy grew and waxed strong, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was in Him: and His parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover? But lest any one may fancy that by the parents here are rather to be understood the blood relations of Mary along with the mother herself, what shall be said to that preceding word of the same Luke, namely, And His father and mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of Him? Since, then, he also makes the statement that Christ was born, not in consequence of Joseph's connection with the mother, but simply of Mary the virgin, how can he call him His father, unless it be that we are to understand him to have been truly the husband of Mary, without the intercourse of the flesh indeed, but in virtue of the real union of marriage; and thus also to have been in a much closer relation the father of Christ, in so far as He was born of his wife, than would have been the case had He been only adopted from some other party? And this makes it clear that the clause, as was supposed, is inserted with a view to those who are of opinion that He was begotten by Joseph in the same way as other men are begotten.

Chap. II. â€” An explanation of the sense in which Christ is the son of David, although He was not begotten in the way of ordinary generation by Joseph the son of David.

4. Thus, too,' even if one were able to demonstrate that no descent, according to the laws of blood, could be claimed from

CHAP. III.] THE TWO GENEALOGIES. 199

David for Mary, we should have warrant enough to hold Christ to be the son of David, on the ground of that same mode of reckoning by which also Joseph is called His father. But seeing that the Apostle Paul unmistakably tells us that Christ was of the seed of David according to the flesh) how much more ought we to accept without any hesitation the position that Mary herself also was descended in some way, according to the laws of blood, from the lineage of David? Moreover, since this woman's connection with the priestly family also is a matter not left in absolute obscurity, inasmuch as Luke inserts the statement that Elizabeth, whom he records to be of the daughters of Aaron, was her cousin, we ought most firmly to hold by the fact that the flesh of Christ sprang from both lines; to wit, from the line of the kings, and from that of the priests, in the case of which persons there was also instituted a certain mystical unction which was symbolically expressive among this people of the Hebrews. In other words, there was a chrism; which term makes the import of the name of Christ patent, and presents it as something indicated so longtime ago by an intimation so very intelligible.


5. Furthermore, as to those critics who find a difficulty in the circumstance that Matthew enumerates one series of ancestors, beginning with David and travelling downwards to Joseph, while Luke specifies a different succession, tracing it from Joseph upwards as far as to David, they might easily perceive that Joseph may have had two fathers, namely, one by whom he was begotten, and a second by whom he may have been adopted. For it was an ancient custom also

1 Rom. i. 3. 2 Luke i. 5. 3 Luke i. 36.
6 In the Retractations (ii. 16), Augustine alludes to this passage with the view of correcting his statement regarding the adoption. He tells us that, in speaking of the two several fathers whom Joseph may have had, he should not have said that there "was one by whom Joseph was begotten, and another by whom he may have been adopted," but should rather have put it thus: "one by whom he was begotten, and another unto whom he was adopted" (alteri instead of ab altero adoptatus). And the reason indicated for the correction is the probability that the father who begat Joseph was the mother's second
husband, who, according to the Levirate law, had married her on the death of his brother without issue.

200 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

among that people to adopt children with the view of making sons for themselves of those whom they had not begotten.

For, leaving out of sight the fact that Pharaoh's daughter l adopted Moses (as she was a foreigner), Jacob himself adopted his own grandsons, the sons of Joseph, in these very intelligible terms: Now, therefore, thy two sons which were horn unto thee before I came unto thee arc mine: Epjhrain and Manasseh shall be mine, as Reuben and Simeon: and thy issue which thato begettest after them shall be thine? Whence also it came to pass that there were twelve tribes of Israel, although the tribe of Levi was omitted, which did service in the temple; for along with that one the whole number was thirteen, the sons of Jacob themselves being twelve. Thus, too, we can understand how Luke, in the genealogy contained in his Gospel, has named a father for Joseph, not in the person of the father by whom he was begotten, but in that of the father by whom he was adopted, tracing the list of the progenitors upwards until David is reached. For, seeing that there is a necessity, as both evangelists give a true narrative, â€” to wit, both Matthew and Luke, â€” that one of them should hold by the line of the father who begat Joseph, and the other by the line of the father who adopted him, whom should we suppose more likely to have preserved the lineage of the adopting father, than that evangelist who has declined to speak of Joseph as begotten by the person whose son he has nevertheless reported him to be ?

For it is more appropriate that one should have been called the son of the man by whom he was adopted, than that he should be said to have been begotten by the man of whose flesh he was not descended. Now when Matthew, accordingly, used the phrases, Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob, and so on, keeping steadily by the term begat, until he said at the close, and Jacob begat Joseph, he gave us to know with sufficient clearness, that he had traced out the order 3 of ancestors on to that father by whom Joseph was not adopted, but begotten.

6. But even although Luke had said that Joseph was begotten by Heli, that expression ought not to disturb us to such an extent as to lead us to believe anything else than that by

1 Ex. ii. 10. 2 Gen. xlviii. 5, C.

3 Reading ordinem; others have originem, descent.
the one evangelist the father begetting was mentioned, and by the other the father
adopting. For there is nothing absurd in saying that a person has begotten, not after the
flesh, it may be, but in love, one whom he has adopted as a son. Those of us, to wit, to
whom God has given power to become His sons, He did not beget of His own nature and
substance, as was the case with His only Son; but He did indeed adopt us in His love.
And this phrase the apostle is seen repeatedly to employ just in order to distinguish from
us the only-begotten Son who is before every creature, by whom all things were made,
who alone is begotten of the substance of the Father; who, in accordance with the
equality of divinity, is absolutely what the Father is, and who is declared to have been
sent with the view of assuming to Himself the flesh proper to that race to which we too
belong according to our nature, in order that by His participation in our mortality, through
His love for us, He might make us partakers of His own divinity in the way of adoption.
For the apostle speaks thus: "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His
Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that
we might receive the adoption of sons." 2 And yet we are also said to be born of God, â€” that is to say, in
so far as we, who already were men, have received power to be made the sons of God,
â€” to be made such, moreover, by grace, and not by nature. For if we were sons by
nature, we never could have been aught else.
But when John said, To them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them
that believe on His name, he proceeded at once to add these words, which were born not
of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God? Thus, of the
same persons he said, first, that having received power they became the sons of God,
which is what is meant by that adoption which Paul mentions; and secondly, that they
were born of God. And in order the more plainly to show by what grace this is effected,
he continued thus: And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, 4 â€” as if he
meant to say, What wonder is it that those should have been made sons of God,
1 IIeiciperemas. Most of the older mss. give recipiamus, may receive.
2 Gal. iv. 4, 5. 3 John i. 12, 13. 4 John i. 14.

202 THE HARMONY OF THE COSÈL. [BOOK II.]

although they were flesh, on whose behalf the only Son was made flesh, although He was
the Word? Howbeit there is this vast difference between the two cases, that when we are
made the sons of God we are changed for the better; but when the Son of God was made
the son of man, He was not indeed changed into the worse, but He did certainly assume
to Himself what was below Him. James also speaks to this effect: Of His own will begat
He us by the word of truth, that we should be a land of first fruits 1 of His creatures. 2
And to preclude our supposing, as it might appear from the use of this term begat, that we
are made what He is Himself, he here points out very plainly, that what is conceded to us
in virtue of this adoption, is a kind of headship among the creatures.

V. It would be no departure from the truth, therefore, even had Luke said that Joseph was
begotten by the person by whom he was really adopted. Even in that way he did in fact
beget him, not indeed to be a man, but certainly to be a son; just as God has begotten us
to be His sons, whom He had previously made to the effect of being men. But He begat
only one to be not simply the Son, which the Father is not, but also God, which the Father
in like manner is. At the same time, it is evident that if Luke had employed that
phraseology, it would be altogether a matter of dubiety as to which of the two writers
mentioned the father adopting, and which the father begetting of his own flesh; just as, on
the other hand, although neither of them had used the word begat, and although the
former evangelist had called him the son of the one person, and the latter the son of the
other, it would nevertheless be doubtful which of them named the father by whom he was
begotten, and which the father by whom he was adopted. As the case stands now,
however, the one evangelist saying that Jacob begat Joseph, and the other speaking of
Joseph who was the son of Heli, by the very distinction which they have made
between the expressions, they have elegantly indicated the different objects which they
have taken in hand. But surely it might easily suggest itself, as I have said, to a man of
piety decided enough to make him consider it right to seek some worthier explanation
than that

1 Indium, beginning. 2 Jas. i. 18. 3 Principatum.

CITAP. IV.] MATTHEW'S NUMBER FORTY. 20

Q

of simply crediting the evangelist with stating what is false; it might, I repeat, readily
suggest itself to such a person to examine what reasons there might be for one man being
(supposed) capable of having two fathers. This, indeed, might have suggested itself even
to those detractors, were it not that they preferred contention to consideration.

Chap. IV. Of the reason why forty generations (not including Christ Himself)
are found in Matthew, although he divides them into three successions of fourteen each.

8. The matter next to be introduced, moreover, is one requiring, in order to its right
apprehension and contemplation, a reader of the greatest attention and carefulness. For it
has been acutely observed that Matthew, who had proposed to himself the task of
commending the kingly character in Christ, named, exclusive of Christ Himself, forty
men in the series of generations. Now this number denotes the period in which, in this age and on this earth, it behoves us to be ruled by Christ in accordance with that painful discipline whereby God scourgeth, as it is written, every son that He receiveth; and of which also an apostle says that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God? This discipline is also signified by that rod of iron, concerning which we read this statement in a Psalm: Thou shalt ride them with a rod of iron; which words occur after the saying, Yet I am set king by Him upon His holy hill of Zion! For the good, too, are ruled with a rod of iron, as it is said of them: The time is come that judgment should begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at this, what shall the end be to them that obey not the gospel of God? and if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear? To the same persons the sentence that follows also applies: Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. For the good, indeed, are ruled by this discipline, while the wicked are crushed by it. And these two different classes of persons are mentioned here as if they were the same, on account of the identity of the signs employed in reference to the wicked in common with the good.

1 Heb. xii. 6. 2 Acts xiv. 22. 3 Ps. ii. 9. 4 Ps. ii. 6. * 1 Pet. iv. 17, 18. 6 Sacramenta.

## 04 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.

9. That this number, then, is a sign of that laborious period in which, under the discipline of Christ the King, we have to fight against the devil, is also indicated by the fact that both the law and the prophets solemnized a fast of forty days, â€” that is to say, a humbling of the soul, â€” in the person of Moses and Elias, who fasted each for a space of forty days. And what else does the Gospel narrative shadow forth under the fast of the Lord Himself, during which forty days He was also tempted of the devil, than that condition of temptation which appertains to us through all the space of this age, and which He bore in the flesh which He condescended to take to Himself from our mortality? After the resurrection also, it was His will to remain with His disciples on the earth not longer than forty days, continuing to mingle for that space of time with this life of theirs in the way of human intercourse, and partaking along with them of the food needful for mortal men, although He Himself was to die no more; and all this was done with the view of signifying to them through these forty days, that although His presence should be hidden from their eyes, He would yet fulfil what He promised when He said, Lo, I am with you; even to the end of the world? And in explanation of the circumstance that this particular number should denote this temporal and earthly life, what suggests itself most immediately in the meantime, although there may be another and subtler method of accounting for it, is the consideration that the seasons of the years also revolve in four successive alternations, and that the world itself has its bounds determined by four divisions, which Scripture sometimes designates by the names of the winds, â€” East and West, Aquilo [or North] and Meridian [or South]. But the number forty is equivalent to
four times ten. Furthermore, the number ten itself is made up by adding the several
numbers in succession from one up to four together.

10. In this way, then, as Matthew undertook the task of presenting the record of Christ as
the King who came into this world, and into this earthly and mortal life of men, for the
purpose of exercising rule over us who have to struggle

1 Ex. xxxiv. 28; 1 Kings xix. 8. 2 Matt. iv. 1, 2. 3 Acts i. 3.
4 Matt, xxviii. 20. 5 Zech. xiv. 4.

CHAP. IV.] MATTHEW'S ENUMERATION. 205

with temptation, lie began with Abraham, and enumerated forty men. For Christ came in
the flesh from that very nation of the Hebrews, with a view to the keeping of which as a
people distinct from the other nations, God separated Abraham from his own country and
his own kindred. 1 And the circumstance that the promise contained an intimation of the
race from which He was destined to come, served very specially to make the prediction
and announcement concerning Him something all the clearer. Thus the evangelist did
indeed mark out fourteen generations in each of three several members, stating that from
Abraham until David there were fourteen generations, and from David until the carrying
away into Babylon other fourteen generations, and another fourteen from that period on
to the nativity of Christ. 2 But he did not then reckon them all up in one sum, counting
them one by one, and saying that thus they make up forty-two in all. For among these
progenitors there is one who is enumerated twice, namely Jechonias, with whom a kind
of deflection was made in the direction of extraneous nations at the time when the
transmigration into Babylon took place. When the enumeration, moreover, is thus bent
from the direct order of progression, and is made to form, if we may so say, a kind of
corner for the purpose of taking a different course, what meets us at that corner is
mentioned twice over, â€” namely, at the close of the preceding series, and at the head of
the deflection specified. And this, too, was a figure of Christ as the one who was, in a
certain sense, to pass from the circumcision to the uncircumcision, or, so to speak, from
Jerusalem to Babylon, and to be, as it were, the corner-stone to all who believe on Him,
whether on the one side or on the other. Thus was God making preparations then in a
figurative manner for things which were to come in truth.
For Jechonias himself, with whose name the kind of corner which I have in view was
prefigured, is by interpretation the preparation of God. 3 In this way, therefore, there are
really not forty-two distinct generations named here, which would be the proper sum of
three times fourteen; but, as there is a double enumeration of one of the names, we have
here forty generations in all, taking into account the fact that Christ

1 Gen. xii. 1, 2. 2 Matt. i. 17. 3 Praeparatio Dei.
Himself is reckoned in the number, who, like the kingly president over this [significant] number forty, superintends the administration of this temporal and earthly life of ours.

11. And inasmuch as it was Matthew's intention to set forth Christ as descending with the object of sharing this mortal state with us, he has mentioned those same generations from Abraham on to Joseph, and on to the birth of Christ Himself, in the form of a descending scale, and at the very beginning of his Gospel. Luke, on the other hand, details those generations not at the commencement of his Gospel, but at the point of Christ's baptism, and gives them not in the descending, but in the ascending order, ascribing to Him preferentially the character of a priest in the expiation of sins, as where the voice from heaven declared Him, and where John himself delivered his testimony in these terms: Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world I 1 Besides, in the process by which he traces the genealogy upwards, he passes Abraham and carries us back to God, to whom, purified and atoned for, we are reconciled. Of merit, too, He has sustained in Himself the origination of our adoption; for we are made the sons of God through adoption, by believing on the Son of God. Moreover, on our account the Son of God was pleased to be made the son of man by the generation which is proper to the flesh. And the evangelist has shown clearly enough that he did not name Joseph the son of Heli on the ground that he was begotten of him, but only on the ground that he was adopted by him. For he has spoken of Adam also as the son of God, who, strictly speaking, was made by God, but was also, as it may be said, constituted a son in paradise by the grace which afterwards he lost through his transgression.

12. In this way, it is the taking of our sins upon Himself by the Lord Christ that is signified in the genealogy of Matthew, while in the genealogy of Luke it is the abolition of our sins by the Lord Christ that is expressed. In accordance with these ideas, the one details the names in the descending scale, and the other in the ascending. For when the apostle says, God sent His Son in the likeness of the flesh of sin, 2 he refers to the taking of our sins upon Himself by Christ. But when he adds, for sin, to condemn sin in the flesh, 1 he expresses the expiation of sins. Consequently Matthew traces the succession downwards from David through Solomon, in connection with whose mother it was that he sinned; while Luke carries the genealogy upwards to the same David through Nathan, 2 by which prophet God took away 3 his sin. 4 The number, also, which Luke follows does most certainly best indicate the taking away of sins. For inasmuch as in Christ, who Himself had no sin, there is assuredly no

1 Jolm i. 29. 2 Rom. viii. 3. 207

chap, iv.] luke's genealogy.
inquity allied to the iniquities of men which He bore in His flesh, the number adopted by Matthew makes forty when Christ is excepted. On the contrary, inasmuch as, by clearing us of all sin and purging us, He places us in a right relation to His own and His Father's righteousness (so that the apostle's word is made good: But he that is joined to the Lord is one spirit?), in the number used by Luke we find included both Christ Himself, with whom the enumeration begins, and God, with whom it closes; and the sum becomes thus seventy-seven, which denotes the thorough remission and abolition of all sins. This perfect removal of sins the Lord Himself also clearly represented under the mystery of this number, when He said that the person sinning ought to be forgiven not only seven times, but even unto seventy times seven. 6

13. A careful inquiry will make it plain that it is not without some reason that this latter number is made to refer to the purging of all sins. For the number ten is shown to be, as one may say, the number of justice [righteousness] in the instance of the ten precepts of the law. Moreover, sin is the transgression of the law. And the transgression of the number ten is expressed suitably in the eleven; whence also we find instructions to have been given to the effect that there

1 Ut de peccato damnaret peccatum in came.

a 2 Sam. xii. 1-14. 3 Expiavit.

* In his Retractations (ii. 16) Augustine refers to this sentence in order to chronicle a correction. He tells us that, instead of saying that "Luke carries the genealogy upwards to the same David through Nathan, by which prophet God took away his sin," he should have said "by a prophet of which name," etc., because although the name was the same, the progenitor was a different person from the prophet Nathan.

5 1 Cor. vi. 17. c Matt, xviii. 22. 7 Transgressio, overstepping.

208 THE HARMONY OF THE COSFELS. [BOOK II.]

should be eleven curtains of haircloth constructed in the tabernacle j 1 for who can doubt that the haircloth has a bearing upon the expression of sin? Thus, too, inasmuch as all time in its revolution runs in spaces of days designated by the number seven, we find that when the number eleven is multiplied by the number seven, we are brought with all due propriety to the number seventy-seven as the sign of sin in its totality. In this enumeration, therefore, we come upon the symbol for the full remission of sins, as expiation is made for us by the flesh of our Priest, with whose name the calculation of this number starts here; and as reconciliation is also effected for us with God, with whose name the reckoning of this number is here brought to its conclusion by the Holy Spirit,
who appeared in the form of a dove on the occasion of that baptism in connection with which the number in question is mentioned. 2

Chap. v. â€” A statement of the manner in which Luke's procedure is proved to be in harmony with Matthew's in those matters concerning the conception and the infancy or boyhood of Christ, which are omitted by the one and recorded by the other.

14. After the enumeration of the generations, Matthew proceeds thus: Now the birth of Christ was on this wise. Whereas his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. 3 What Matthew has omitted to state here regarding the way in which that came to pass, has been set forth by Luke after his account of the conception of John. His narrative is to the following effect: And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David: and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art full of grace, 4 the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. And when she saw 5 these things, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said unto her: Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. Behold,

1 Ex. xxvi. 7. 2 Luke iii. 22. 3 Matt. i. 18. 4 Gratia plena.

5 Quc cum vidisset. Others read audisset, heard.

CHAP. V.] CHRIST'S BIRTH. 209

thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call His name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David: and He shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever; and of His kingdom there shall be no end. Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man ? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born * shall be called the Son of God; 2 and then follow matters not belonging to the question at present in hand. Now all this Matthew has recorded [summarily], when he tells us of Mary that she was found ivith child of the Holy Ghost. Neither is there any contradiction between the two evangelists, in so far as Luke has set forth in detail what Matthew has omitted to notice; for both bear witness that Mary conceived by the Holy Ghost. And in the same way there is no want of concord between them, when Matthew, in his turn, connects with the narrative something which Luke leaves out. For Matthew proceeds to give us the following statement: Then Joseph, her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord
appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son; and His name shall be called Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us. Then Joseph, being raised from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife; and knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born son; and he called His name Jesus. Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, and so forth. 1

1 Various editions insert ex te, of thee; "but the words are omitted in three Vatican mss., and most of the Gallican. See Migne's note.

2 Luke i. 26-34.

3 Vocab'dur. The mss. give vocabunt, they shall call; one MS. gives vocabis, thou shalt call.

HARMONY.

210 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

forth her first-born son; and he called His name Jesus. Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, and so forth. 1

15. With respect to the city of Bethlehem, Matthew and Luke are at one. But Luke explains in what way and for what reason Joseph and Mary came to it; whereas Matthew gives no such explanation. On the other hand, while Luke is silent on the subject of the journey of the magi from the east, Matthew furnishes an account of it. That narrative he constructs as follows, in immediate connection with what he has already offered: Behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is He that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him. Now, when Herod the king had heard these things, he was troubled. 2 And in this manner the account goes on, down to the passage where of these magi it is written that, being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country another way. 3 This entire section is omitted by Luke, just as Matthew fails to mention some other circumstances which are mentioned by Luke: as, for example, that the Lord was laid in a manger; and that an angel announced his birth to the shepherds; and that there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God; and that the shepherds came and saw that that was true which the angel had announced to them; and that on the day of His circumcision He received His name; as also the incidents reported by the same Luke to have occurred after the days of the purification of Mary were fulfilled, å€”
namely, their taking Him to Jerusalem, and the words spoken in the temple by Simeon or Anna concerning Him, when, filled with the Holy Ghost, they recognised Him. Of all these things Matthew says nothing.

16. Hence, a subject which deserves inquiry is the question concerning the precise time when these events took place which are omitted by Matthew and given by Luke, and those, on the other hand, which have been omitted by Luke and given by Matthew. For after his account of the return of the magi who had come from the east to their own country,


CHAT. V.] MATTHEW AND LUKE COMPARED. 211

Matthew proceeds to tell us how Joseph was warned by an angel to flee into Egypt with the young child, to prevent His being put to death by Herod; and then how Herod failed to find Him, but slew the children from two years old and under; thereafter, how, when Herod was dead, Joseph returned from Egypt, and, on hearing that Archelaus reigned in Judea instead of his father Herod, went to reside with the boy in Galilee, at the city Nazareth. All these facts, again, are passed over by Luke. Nothing, however, like a want of harmony can be made out between the two writers merely on the ground that the latter states what the former omits, or that the former mentions what the latter leaves unnoticed. But the real question is as to the exact period at which these things could have taken place which Matthew has linked on to his narrative; to wit, the departure of the family into Egypt, and their return from it after Herod's death, and their residence at that time in the town of Nazareth, the very place to which Luke tells us that they went back after they had performed in the temple all things regarding the boy according to the law of the Lord. Here, accordingly, we have to take notice of a fact which will also hold good for other like cases, and which will secure our minds against similar agitation or disturbance in subsequent instances. I refer to the circumstance that each evangelist constructs his own particular narrative on a kind of plan which gives it the appearance of being the complete and orderly record of the events in their succession. For, preserving a simple silence on the subject of those incidents of which he intends to give no account, he then connects those which he does wish to relate with what he has been immediately recounting, in such a manner as to make the recital seem continuous. At the same time, when one of them mentions facts of which the other has given no notice, the order of narrative, if carefully considered, will be found to indicate the point at which the writer by whom the omissions are made has en the leap in his account, and thus has attached the facts, which it was his purpose to introduce, in such a manner to the preceding context as to give the appearance of a connected series, in which the one incident follows immediately on the other, without the interposition of anything else.
212 THE HAKMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IE

On this principle, therefore, we understand that where he tells us how the wise men were warned in a dream not to return to Herod, and how they went back to their own country by another way, Matthew has simply omitted all that Luke has related respecting all that happened to the Lord in the temple, and all that was said by Simeon and Anna; while, on the other hand, Luke has omitted in the same place all notice of the journey into Egypt, which is given by Matthew, and has introduced the return to the city of Nazareth as if it were immediately consecutive.

17. If any one wishes, however, to make up one complete narrative out of all that is said or left unsaid by these two evangelists respectively, on the subject of Christ's nativity and infancy or boyhood, he may arrange the different statements in the following order: ‘Now the birth of Christ was on this wise. 1 There was, in the days of Herod the king of Judea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia; and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elizabeth. And they were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. And they had no child, because that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were well stricken in years. And it came to pass, that while he executed the priest's office before God, in the order of his course, according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord: and the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense. And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense. And when Zacharias saw him he was troubled, and fear fell upon him. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John. And thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord: and he shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb. And many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord then

1 Matt. i. 18 j Luke i. 5.

CHAP. V.] MATTHEW AND LUKE COMPARED. 213

God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people perfect 1 for the Lord. And Zacharias said unto the angel, Whereby shall I know this ? for I am an old man, and my wife w r ell stricken in years. And the angel, answering, said unto him, I am Gabriel, that stand in the presence of God; and am sent to speak unto thee, and to show thee these glad tidings. And, behold, thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed, because thou hast not believed my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season. And the people waited for Zacharias, and marvelled that he tarried in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak unto them: and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the temple: and he
beckoned unto them, and remained speechless. And it came to pass that, as soon as the
days of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his own house. And after
those days his wife Elizabeth conceived, and hid herself five months, saying, Thus hath
the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein He looked upon me, to take away my
reproach among men. And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a
city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph,
of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And the angel came in unto her,
and said, Hail, thou that art full of grace, 2 the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among
women. And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind
what manner of salutation this should be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for
thou hast found favour with God. Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring
forth a son, and shalt call His name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of
the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David: and
He shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever; and of His kingdom there shall be no end.
Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the
angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the

1 Perfectum. * Gratia plena.

214 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be
born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And, behold, thy cousin Elizabeth, she hath
also conceived a son in her old as-e: and this is the sixth month

with her, who is called 1 barren. For with God nothing shall be impossible. And Mary
said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the
angel departed from her. And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country
with haste, into a city of Juda; and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted
Elizabeth.

And it came to pass, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in
her womb; and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost: and she spake out with a loud
voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.
And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? for, lo, as
soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for
joy. And blessed art thou that didst believe, 2

for there shall be a performance of those things which were told thee from the Lord. And
Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my
Saviour. For He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaid: for, behold, from
henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. For He that is mighty hath done to me
great things, and holy is His name. And His mercy is on them that fear Him, from
generation to generation. He hath made strength with His arm; He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart. He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich He hath sent empty away. He hath holpen His servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy: as He spake to our fathers, to Abraham, and to his seed for ever. And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned to her own house. 5 Then it proceeds thus: â€” She was found with child of the Holy Ghost. 6 Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus: for He shall save His people from their sins. Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call His name Emmanuel; which, being interpreted, is, God with us. Then Joseph, being raised from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife, and knew her not. 1 Now 2 Elizabeth's full time came that she should be delivered, and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and her relatives 3 heard that the Lord magnified His mercy with her; and they congratulated her. And it came to pass, that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child; and they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. And his mother answered and said, Not so; but he shall be called John. And they made signs to his father, how he would have him called. And he asked for a writing table, and wrote, saying, His name is John. And they marvelled all. And his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue, and he spake and praised God. And fear came on all them that dwelt round about them: and all these sayings were noised abroad throughout all the hill country of Judea. And all they that had heard them laid them up in their heart, saying, What manner of child, thinkest thou, shall this be ? For the hand of the Lord was with him. And his father Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for He hath visited and redeemed His people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of His servant.
David; as He spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began: (to give) salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us; to perform mercy with our fathers, and to remember His holy covenant, the oath which He sware to Abraham our father that He would give to us; in order that, being saved out of the hand of our enemies, we might serve Him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Him, all our days. And thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways; to give knowledge of salvation unto His people, for the remission 1 of their sins, through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace. And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts until the day of his showing unto Israel. And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. 2 This first taxing 3 was made when Syrinus 4 was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, to be taxed 6 with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped Him in swaddling-clothes, and laid Him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn. And there were in the same country shepherds watching and keeping the vigils of the night over their flock. And, lo, the angel of the Lord stood by them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them; and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly...
host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of 
goodwill. 1 And it came to pass, as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, 
the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even into Bethlehem, and see this thing 
which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with 
haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger. And when they had 
seen it, they understood 2 the saying which had been told them concerning this child. 
And all they that heard it, wondered also at those things which were told them by the 
shepherds. But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart. And the 
shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and 
seen, as it was told unto them. And when eight days were accomplished for the 
circumcising of the child, His name was called Jesus, which was so named of the anâel 
before He was conceived in the womb. 3 And then it proceeds thus: 4 Behold, there came 
wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is He that is born King of the Jews ? 
for we have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him. Now when Herod the 
king had heard these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And when he 
had o-athered 

all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ 
should be born. And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea; for thus it is written by 
the prophet, And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes 
of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor that shall rule my people Israel. Then 
Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, inquired of them diligently th 
the time of 
the star which appeared unto them. 
And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; 
and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him 
also. 
When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star which they had seen in the 
est went before them, until it came and stood over where the young child was. And 

1 Hominibus bonre voluntatis. 2 Cognoverunt. 

218 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.] 

when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And when they were 
come into the house, they found 1 
the child with Mary His mother, and fell down and worshipped Him: and when they had 
opened their treasures, they presented unto Him gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And 
being warned of God in a dream that they should not return unto Herod, they departed
into their own country another way. 2 Then, after this account of their return, the narrative goes on thus: 3 When the days of her (His mother's) purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they brought Him to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord), and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons. And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was in him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple. And when His parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for Him after the custom of the law, then took he Him up in his arms, and said, Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word: for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And His father and mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of Him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary His mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be spoken against; and a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser: she was of a great age, and had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity; and she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served

1 Iavenerunt. 2 Matt. ii. 1-12. 3 Lulce ii. 22.
4 l'cspcnsum acceperat. 5 Pater ejus et mater.

CHAP V.] NARRATIVES OF THE NATIVITY. 219

God with fastings and prayers day and night. And she, coming in that instant, gave thanks also unto the Lord, and spake of Him to all them that looked for the redemption of Jerusalem. 2 And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, 3 behold, 4 the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and His mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child to destroy Him. When he arose, he took the young child and His mother by night, and departed into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my Son. Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently inquired of the wise men. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, In Eama was there a voice heard, lamentation and great mourning. Eachel weeping for her children, and would not
be comforted, because they are not. But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the
Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying, Arise, and take the young child and
His mother, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young
child's life. And he arose, and took the young child and His mother, and came into the
land of Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea, in the room of his
father Herod, he was afraid to go thither; and being warned of God in a dream, he turned
aside into the parts of Galilee; and he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it
might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene. 5
And G
the child grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom; and the
ace of God was in Him. And His parents went to Jerusalem every year, at the feast of the
passover. And when He was

1 Confilebatur, made acknowledgment.

2 Reading redemptionem Jerusalem; for which some editions gave redemptionem Israel.

3 Luke ii. 22-39. 4 Matt & 13#

220 THE HABMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem, after the custom of the feast. And when they
had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and
His parents I knew not of it. But they, supposing Him to have been in the company, went
a day's journey; and they sought Him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance. And when
they found Him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking Him. And it came to
pass, that after three days they found Him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the
doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And all that heard Him w r ere
astonished at His understanding and answers. And when they saw Him, they were
amazed. And his mother said to Him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us ? behold, thy
father and I sought thee sorrowing. And He said unto them, How is it that ye sought me ?
Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business ? 2 And they understood not the
saying which He spake unto them. And He went down with them, and came to Nazareth,
and was subject unto them; and His mother kept all these sayings in her heart. 3 And
Jesus increased in wisdom and age, 4 and in favour with God and

men. 5
Chap. vi. â€” On the position given to the preaching of John the Baptist in all the four evangelists.

18. Now at this point commences the account of the preaching of John, which is presented by all the four. For after the words which I have placed last in the order of his narrative thus far, â€” the words with which he introduces the testimony from the prophet, namely, He shall be called a Nazarene, â€” Matthew proceeds immediately to give us this recital: In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea etc. And Mark, who has told us nothing of the nativity or infancy or youth of the Lord, has made his Gospel begin with the same event, â€” that is to say, with the preaching of John. For it is thus that he sets out: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; as it is written

1 Parentes ejus. 2 In his quae Patris mei sunt.

3 Reading, with the mss. , conservabat omnia verba h&c in corde suo. Some editions insert conferens, pondering them.

4 iEtate. 6 Luke ii. 40-52. c Matt. iii. 1.

CHAP. VI.] THE PREACHING OF THE BAPTIST. 221

in the prophet Isaiah, 1 Behold, I send my messenger 2 before Thy face, which shall prepare Thy way before Thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. John was in the wilderness baptizing, and preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, 3 etc. Luke, again, follows up the passage in which he says, And Jesus increased in wisdom and age* and in favour xiiith God and man, by a section in which he speaks of the preaching of John in these terms: Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness, 5 etc. The Apostle John, too, the most eminent of the four evangelists, after discoursing of the Word of God, who is also the Son, antecedent to all the ages of creaturely existence, inasmuch as all things were made by Him, has introduced in the immediate context his account of the preaching and testimony of John, and proceeds thus: There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. 6 This will be enough at once to make it plain that the narratives concerning John the Baptist given by the four evangelists are not at variance with one another.
And there will be no occasion for requiring or demanding that to be done in all detail in this instance which we have already done in the case of the genealogies of the Christ who was born of Mary, to the effect of proving how Matthew and Luke are in harmony with each other, of showing how we might construct one consistent narrative out of the two, and of demonstrating on behalf of those of less acute perception, that although one of these evangelists may mention what the other omits, or omit what the other mentions, he does not thereby make it in any sense difficult to accept the veracity of the account given by the other. For when a single example [of this method of harmonizing] has been set before us, whether in the way in which it has been presented by me, or

1 In Isaia propheta. 2 Angelum. 3 Mark i. 1-4.

222 THE HAKMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

in some other method in which it may more satisfactorily be exhibited, every man can understand that, in all other similar passages, what he has seen done here may be done again.

19. Accordingly, let us now study, as I have said, the harmony of the four evangelists in the narratives regarding John the Baptist. Matthew proceeds in these terms: In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea. 1 Mark has not used the phrase In those days, because he has given no recital of any series of events at the head of his Gospel immediately before this narrative, so that he might be understood to speak in reference to the dates of such events under the terms, In those days. 2 Luke, on the other hand, with greater precision has denned those times of the preaching or baptism of John, by means of the notes of the temporal power. For he says: Now, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. 3 We ought not, however, to understand that what was actually meant by Matthew when he said, In those days, was simply the space of days literally limited to the specified period of these powers. On the contrary, it is apparent that he intended the note of time which was conveyed in the phrase In those days, to be taken to refer to a much longer period. For he first gives us the account of the return of Christ from Egypt after the death of Herod, â€” an incident, indeed, which took place at the time of His infancy or childhood, and with which, consequently, Luke's statement of what befell Him in the temple when He was twelve years of age is quite consistent. 4 Then, immediately after this narrative of the recall of the infant or boy out of Egypt, Matthew continues thus in due order: AW, in those days came John the Baptist.
And thus under that phrase he certainly covers not merely the days of His childhood, but all the days intervening between His nativity and this period at which John began to preach.

1 Matt. iii. 1. 2 Mark i. 4.

CHAP. Tin.] THE TWO HERODS. 223

and to baptize. At this period, moreover, Christ is found already to have attained to man's estate; x for John and he were of the same age; 2 and it is stated that He was about 3 thirty years of age when He was baptized by the former.

Chap. vii. â€” Of the two Herods.

20. But with respect to the mention of Herod, it is well understood that some are apt to be influenced by the circumstance that Luke has told us how, in the days of John's baptizing, and at the time when the Lord, being then a grown man, was also baptized, Herod was tetrarch of Galilee; 4 whereas Matthew tells us that the boy 5 Jesus returned from Egypt after the death of Herod. Now these two accounts cannot both be true, unless we may also suppose that there were two different Herods. But as no one can fail to be aware that this is a perfectly possible case, what must be the blindness in which those persons pursue their mad follies, who are so quick to launch false charges against the truth of the Gospels; and how miserably inconsiderate must they be, not to reflect that two men may have been called by the same name? Yet this is a thing of which examples abound on all sides. For this latter Herod is understood to have been the son of the former Herod: just as Archelaus also was, whom Matthew states to have succeeded to the throne of Judea on the death of his father; and as Philip was, who is introduced by Luke as the brother of Herod the tetrarch, and as himself tetrarch of Iturea. For the Herod who sought the life of the child Christ was kinsj; whereas this other Herod, his son, was not called king, but tetrarch, which is a Greek word, signifying etymologically one set over the fourth part of a kingdom.

Chat. viii. â€” An explanation of the statement made by Maltlicw, to the effect that Joseph was afraid to go with the infant Christ into Jerusalem on account of Archelaus, and yet was not afraid to go into Galilee, where Herod, that prince's brother, vms tetrarch.

21. Here again, however, it may happen that a difficulty will be found, and that some, seeing that Matthew has told us

1 Juvenilis eetas. For juvenilis aitas, the mss. give regularly juvenalis aitas.
224 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

how Joseph was afraid to go into Judea with the child on his return, expressly for the reason that Archelaus the son reigned there in place of his father Herod, may be led to ask how he could have gone into Galilee, where, as Luke bears witness, there was another son of that Herod, namely, Herod the tetrarch. But such a difficulty can only be founded on the fancy that the times indicated as those in which there was such apprehension on the child's account were identical with the times dealt with now by Luke: whereas it is conspicuously evident that there is a change in the periods, because we no longer find Archelaus represented as king in Judea; but in place of him we have Pontius Pilate, who also was not the king of the Jews, but only their governor, in whose times the sons of the elder Herod, acting under Tiberius Caesar, held not the kingdom, but the tetrarchy. And all this certainly had not come to pass at the time when Joseph, in fear of the Archelaus who was then reigning in Judea, betook himself, together with the child, into Galilee, where was also his city Nazareth.

Chap. ix. â€” An explanation of the circumstance that Matthew states that Joseph's reason for going into Galilee with the child Christ was his fear of Archelaus, who was reigning at that time in Jerusalem in place of his father, while Luke tells us that the reason for going into Galilee was the fact that their city Nazareth was there.

22. Or may a question perchance be raised as to how Matthew tells us that His parents went with the boy Jesus into Galilee, because they were unwilling to go into Judea in consequence of their fear of Archelaus; whereas it would rather appear that the reason for their going into Galilee was, as Luke has not failed to indicate, the consideration that their city was Nazareth of Galilee? Well, but we must observe, that when the angel said to Joseph in his dreams in Egypt, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel, 1 the words were understood at first by Joseph in a way that made him consider himself commanded to journey into Judea. For that was the first interpretation that could have been put upon the phrase, the land of Israel. But again, after ascertaining that Archelaus, the son of Herod, was reigning there, he declined to expose himself to such danger, inasmuch as this phrase, the land of Israel, was capable also of being so understood as to cover Galilee too, because the people of Israel were occupants of that

1 Matt. ii. 19, 20.
territory as well as the other. At the same time, this question also admits of being solved in another manner. For it might have appeared to the parents of Christ that they were called to take up their residence along with the boy, concerning whom such information had been conveyed to them through the responses of angels, just in Jerusalem itself, where was the temple of the Lord: and it may thus be, that when they came back out of Egypt, they would have gone directly thither in that belief, and have taken up their abode there, had it not been that they were terrified at the presence of Archelaus. And certainly they did not receive any such instructions from heaven to take up their residence there as would have made it their imperative duty to set at nought the fears they entertained of Archelaus.

Chap. x. “A statement of the reason why Luke tells us that His parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover along with the boy; while Matthew intimates that their dread of Archelaus made them afraid to go there on their return from Egypt.

23. Or does any one put to us this question, How was it, then, that His parents went up to Jerusalem every year during the boyhood of Christ, as Luke's narrative bears, if they were prevented from going there by the fear of Archelaus? Well, I should not deem it any very difficult task to solve this question, even although none of the evangelists has given us to understand how long Archelaus reigned there. For it might have been the case that, simply for that one day, and with the intention of returning forthwith, they went up on the day of the feast, without attracting any notice among the vast multitudes then assembled, to the city where, nevertheless, they were afraid to make their residence on other days. And thus they might at once have saved themselves from the appearance of being so irreligious as to neglect the observance of the feast, and have avoided drawing attention upon themselves by a continued sojourn. But further, although all the evangelists have omitted to tell us what was the length of the reign of Archelaus, we have still open to us this obvious method of explaining the matter, namely, to understand the

HARMONY. P

226 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

custom to which Luke refers, when he says that they were in the habit of going to Jerusalem every year, it as one prosecuted at a time when Archelaus was no more an object of fear. But if the reign of Archelaus should be made out to have lasted for a somewhat longer period on the authority of any extra-evangelical history which appears to deserve credit, the consideration which I have indicated above should still prove quite sufficient, " namely, the supposition that the fear which the parents of the child entertained of a residence in Jerusalem was, nevertheless, not of such a nature as to lead them to neglect the observance of the sacred festival to which they were under obligation in the fear of God, and which they might very easily go about in a manner that would not
attract public attention to them. For surely it is nothing incredible that, by taking
advantage of favourable opportunities, whether by day or by hour, men may (safely
venture to) approach places in which they nevertheless are afraid to be found tarrying.

Chap. xi. “An examination of the question as to how it was possible for them to go up,
according to Luke's statement, with Him to Jerusalem to the temple, when the days of the
purification of the mother of Christ were accomplished, in order to perform
the usual rites, if it is correctly recorded by Matthew, that Herod had already learned from the wise
men that the child was born in whose stead, when he sought for Him, he slew so many
children.

24. Hereby also we see how another question is solved, if any one indeed finds a
difficulty in it. I allude to the question as to how it was possible, on the supposition that
the elder Herod was already anxious (to obtain information regarding Him), and agitated
by the intelligence received from the wise men concerning the birth of the King of the
Jews, for them, when the days of the purification of His mother were accomplished, to go
up in any safety with Him to the temple, in order to see to the performance of those
things which were according to the law of the Lord, and which are specified by Luke. For
who can fail to perceive that this solitary day might very easily have escaped the notice of
a king, whose attention was engaged with a multitude of affairs? Or if it does not appear
probable that Herod, who was waiting in the extremest anxiety to see what report the
wise men would

1 Luke ii. 4.

CHAP. XT.] THE VISIT TO JERUSALEM. 227

bring back to him concerning the child, should have been so long in finding out how he
had been mocked, that, only after the mother's purification was already past, and the
solemnities proper to the first-born were performed with respect to the child in the
temple, nay more, only after their departure into Egypt, did it come into his mind to seek
the life of the child, and to slay so many little ones; “if, I say, any one finds a difficulty
in this, I shall not pause to state the numerous and important occupations by which the
king's attention may have been engaged, and for the space of many days either wholly
diverted from such thoughts, or prevented from following them out, Tor it is not possible
to enumerate all the cases which might have made that perfectly possible. No one,
however, is so ignorant of human affairs as either to deny or to question that there may
very easily have been many such matters of importance (to preoccupy the king). For to
whom will not the thought occur, that reports, whether true or false, of many other more
terrible things may possibly have been brought to the king, so that the person who had
been apprehensive of a certain real child, who after a number of years might prove an
adversary to himself or to his sons, might be so agitated with the terrors of certain more
immediate dangers, as to have his attention forcibly removed from that earlier anxiety,
and engaged rather with the devising of measures to ward off other more instantly
threatening perils? Wherefore, leaving all such considerations unspecified, I simply venture on the assertion that, when the wise men failed to bring back any report to him, Herod may have believed that they had been misled by a deceptive vision of a star, and that, after their want of success in discovering Him whom they had supposed to have been born, they had been ashamed to return to him; and that in this way the king, having his fears allayed, had given up the idea of asking after and persecuting the child. Consently, when they had gone with Him to Jerusalem after the purification of His mother, and when those things had been performed in the temple which are recounted by Luke, inasmuch as the words which were spoken by Simeon and Anna in their prophesying regarding Him, when publicity began to


228 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

be given to them by the persons who had heard them, were like to call back the king’s mind then to its original design. Joseph obeyed the warning conveyed to him in the dream, and fled with the child and His mother into Egypt. Afterwards, when the things which had been done and said in the temple were made quite public, Herod perceived that he had been mocked; and then, in his desire to get at the death of Christ, he slew the multitude of children, as Matthew records. 1 Chap. xii. â€” Concerning the words ascribed to John by all the four evangelists respectively.

25. Moreover, Matthew makes up his account of John in the following manner: â€” Now in those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. For this is He that is spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. 2 Mark also and Luke agree in presenting this testimony of Isaiah as one referring to John. 3 Luke, indeed, has likewise recorded some other words from the same prophet, which follow those already cited, when he gives his narrative of John the Baptist. The evangelist John, again, mentions that John the Baptist did also personally advance this same testimony of Isaiah regarding himself. 4 And, to a similar effect, Matthew here has given us certain words of John which are unrecorded by the other evangelists. For he speaks of him as watching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand; which words of John have been omitted by the others. In what follows, however, in immediate connection with that passage in Matthew’s Gospel, â€” namely, the sentence, Ilia voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight,
â€” the position is ambiguous; and it does not clearly appear whether this is something recited by Matthew in his own person, or rather a continuance of the words spoken by John himself, so as to lead us to understand the whole passage to be the reproduction of John's own utterance, in this way: Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand; for this is He that was

1 Matt. ii. 3-16. 2 Matt. iii. 1-3.

3 Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4. 4 John i. 23.

CITAP. XII.] THE BAPTIST'S TESTIMONY. 229

spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, and so on. For it ought to create no difficulty against this latter view, that he does not say, For I am He that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, but employs the phraseology, For this is He that was spoken of For that, indeed, is a mode of speech 1 which the evangelists Matthew and John are in the habit of using in reference to themselves. Thus Matthew has adopted the phrase, He found 2 a man sitting at the receipt of custom? instead of He found me. John, too, says, This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true? instead of I am, etc., or, My testimony is true. Yea, our Lord Himself very frequently uses the words, The Son of man, 5 or, The Son of God, 6 instead of saying, /. So, again, He tells us that it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, 7 instead of saying, It behoved me to suffer. Consequently it is perfectly possible that the clause, For this is He that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, which immediately follows the saying, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, may be but a continuation of what John the Baptist said of himself; so that only after these words cited from the speaker himself will Matthew's own narrative proceed, being thus resumed: And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat was locusts and wild honey. Mark also gives us this same statement almost in so many words. But the other two evangelists omit it.

26. Matthew then proceeds with his narrative, and says:

1 Reading solet quippe esse talis locutio, etc. Some codices give solet quippe esse quasi de aliis locutio = a mode of speech as if other persons were meant.

2 Invcdit. "Matt ix. 9. 4 John xxi. 24. 6 Matt ix. 6, xvi. 27.
Then went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized by him in Jordan, confessing their sins. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance; and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. For now the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn down and cast into the fire. I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but He that is to come after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit and fire: whose fan is in His hand, and He will throughly purge His floor, and gather His wheat into the garner; but He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. 1 This whole passage is also given by Luke, who ascribes almost the same words to John. And where there is any variation in the words, there is nevertheless no real departure from the sense. Thus, for example, Matthew tells us that John said, And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father, where Luke puts it thus: And begin not to say, We have Abraham to our father. Again, in the former we have the words, I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; whereas the latter brings in the questions put by the multitudes as to what they should do, and represents John to have replied to them with a statement of good works as the fruits of repentance, all which is omitted by Matthew. So, when Luke tells us what reply the Baptist made to the people when they were musing in their hearts concerning Him, and thinking whether He were the Christ, he gives us simply the words, I indeed baptize you with water, and does not add the phrase, unto repentance. Further, in Matthew the Baptist says, But He that is to come after me is mightier than I; while in Luke he is exhibited as saying, But one mightier than I cometh. In like manner, according to Matthew, he says, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; but

1 Matt. iii. 4-12.
â– worthy to stoop down and unloose: I have baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you in the Holy Spirit. In the notice of the shoes, therefore, he differs from Luke in so far as he has added the words, to stoop down; and in the account of the baptism he differs from both these others, in so far as he does not say, and, in fire, but only, in the Holy Spirit. For as in Matthew, so also in Luke, the words are the same, and they are given in the same order, He shall baptize you in the Spirit and in fire, â€” with this single exception, that Luke has not added the adjective Holy, while Matthew has given it thus: in the Holy Spirit and in fire. 2 The statements made by these three are attested by the evangelist John, when he says: John bears witness* of Him, and cries, saying, This was He of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for He was before me. For thus he indicates that the thing was spoken by John at the time at which those other evangelists record him to have uttered the words. Thus, too, he gives us to understand that John was repeating and calling into notice again something which he had already spoken, when he said, This was He of whom I spake, He that cometh after me.

27. If now the question is asked, as to which of the words we are to suppose the most likely to have been the precise words used by John the Baptist, whether those recorded as spoken by him in Matthew's Gospel, or those in Luke's, or those which Mark has introduced, among the few sentences which he mentions to have been uttered by him, while he omits notice of all the rest, it will not be deemed worth while creating any difficulty for oneself in a matter of that kind, by any one who wisely understands that the real requisite in order to get at the knowledge of the truth is just to make sure of

1 Greek and Latin Bibles now, however, add the word Holy in Luke.

2 Matt. iii. 3-12; Mark i. 6-8; Luke iii. 7-17.

5 Perhibet. 4 John i. 15.

232 THE IAHMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

the things really meant, whatever may be the precise words in which they happen to be expressed. For although one writer may retain a certain order in the words, and another present a different one, there is surely no real contradiction in that. Nor, again, need there be any antagonism between the two, although one may state what another omits. For it is evident that the evangelists have set forth these matters just in accordance with the recollection each retained of them, and just according as their several predilections prompted them to employ greater brevity or richer detail on certain points, while giving, nevertheless, the same account of the subjects themselves.

28. Thus, too, in what more pertinently concerns the matter in hand, it is sufficiently obvious that, since the truth of the Gospel, conveyed in that word of God which abides eternal and unchangeable above all that is created, but which at the same time has been
disseminated 1 throughout the world by the instrumentality of temporal symbols, and by
the tongues of men, has possessed itself of the most exalted height of authority, we ought
not to suppose that any one of the writers is giving an unreliable account, if, when several
persons are recalling some matter either heard or seen by them, they fail to follow the
very same plan, or to use the very same words, while describing, nevertheless, the self-
same fact. Neither should we indulge such a supposition, although the order of the words
may be varied; or although some words may be substituted in place of others, which
nevertheless have the same meaning; or although something may be left unsaid, either
because it has not occurred to the mind of the recorder, or because it becomes readily
intelligible from other statements which are given; or although, among other matters
which (may not bear directly on his immediate purpose, but which) he decides on
mentioning rather for the sake of the narrative, and in order to preserve the proper order
of time, one of them may introduce something which he does not feel called upon to
expound as a whole at length, but only to touch upon in part; or although, with the view
of illustrating his meaning, and making it thoroughly clear, the person to whom

1 Dispensato.

CHAP. XII.] VARIETY NOT NECESSARILY CONTRADICTION. 233

authority is given to compose the narrative makes some additions of his own, not indeed
in the subject-matter itself, but in the words by which it is expressed; or although, while
retaining a perfectly reliable comprehension of the fact itself, he may not be entirely
successful, however he may make that his aim, in calling to mind and reciting anew with
the most literal accuracy the very words which he heard on the occasion. Moreover, if
any one affirms that the evangelists ought certainly to have had that kind of capacity
imparted to them by the power of the Holy Spirit, which would secure them against all
variation the one from the other, either in the kind of words, or in their order, or in their
number, that person fails to perceive, that just in proportion as the authority of the
everlists [under their existing conditions] is made pre- eminent, the credit of all other
men who offer true statements of events ought to have been established on a stronger
basis by their instrumentality: so that when several parties happen to narrate the same
circumstance, none of them can by any means be rightly charged with untruthfulness if
he differs from the other only in such a way as can be defended on the ground of the
antecedent example of the evangelists themselves. For as we are not at liberty either to
suppose or to say that any one of the evangelists has stated what is false, so it will be
apparent that any other writer is as little chargeable with untruth, with whom, in the
process of recalling anything for narration, it has fared only in a way similar to that in
which it is shown to have fared with those evan^elists. And just as it belongs to the
highest morality to guard against all that is false, so ought we all the more to be ruled by
an authority so eminent, to the effect that we should not suppose ourselves to come upon
what must be false, when we find the narratives of any writers differ from each other in
the manner in which the records of the evangelists are proved to contain variations. At the
same time, in what most seriously concerns the faithfulness of doctrinal teaching, we
should also understand that it is not so much truth in mere words, as rather truth in the
facts themselves, that is to be sought and embraced; for as to writers who do not employ
precisely the same modes of statement, if they only do not present discrepancies with

234 THE HAKMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

respect to the facts and the sentiments themselves, we accept them as holding the same
position in veracity. 1

29. With respect, then, to those comparisons which I have instituted between the several
narratives of the evangelists, what do these present that must be considered to be of a
contradictory order? Are we to regard in this light the circumstance that one of them has
given us the words, vjJwse shoes I am not worthy to hear, whereas the others speak of the
unloosing of the latchet of the shoe? â€œ For here, indeed, the difference seems to be
neither in the mere words, nor in the order of the words, nor in any matter of simple
phraseology, but in the actual matter of fact, when in the one case the bearing of the shoe
is mentioned, and in the other the unloosing of the shoes latchet Quite fairly, therefore,
may the question be put, as to what it was that John declared himself unworthy to do â€”
whether to bear the shoes, or to unloose the shoe's latchet.
For if only the one of these two sentences was uttered by him, then that evangelist will
appear to have given the correct narrative who was in a position to record what was said;
while the writer who has given the saying in another form, although he may not indeed
have offered an [intentionally] false account of it, may at any rate be taken to have made
a slip of memory, and will be reckoned thus to have stated one things instead of

another. It is only seemly, however, that no charge of absolute unveracity should be laid
against the evangelists, and that, too, not only with regard to that kind of unveracity
which comes by the positive telling of what is false, but also with regard to that which
arises through forgetfulness. Therefore, if it is pertinent to the matter to deduce one sense
from the words to bear the shoes, and another sense from the words to unloose the shoe's
latchet, what should one suppose the correct interpretation to be put on the facts, but that
John did give utterance to both these sentences, either on two different occasions or in
one and the same connection? For he might very well have expressed himself thus,
whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose, and whose shoes I am not worthy to
bear:
and then one of the evangelists may have reproduced the one portion of the saying, and
the rest of them the other; while,

1 Or, as abiding by the same truth â€” an eadem veritate constitisse approbamus.
notwithstanding this, all of them have really given a veracious narrative. But further, if, when he spoke of the shoes of the Lord, John meant nothing more than to convey the idea of His supremacy and his own lowliness, then, whichever of the two sayings may have actually been uttered by him, whether that resjardins: the unloosing of the latchet of the shoes, or that respecting the bearing of the shoes, the self-same sense is still correctly preserved by any writer who, while making mention of the shoes in words of his own, has expressed at the same time the same idea of lowliness, and thus has not made any departure from the real mind [of the person of whom he writes]. It is therefore a useful principle, and one particularly worthy of being borne in mind, when we are speaking of the concord of the evangelists, that there is no divergence [to be supposed] from truth, even when they introduce some saying different from what was actually uttered by the person concerning whom the narrative is given, provided that, notwithstanding this, they set forth as his mind precisely what is also so conveyed by that one among them who reproduces the words as they were literally spoken. For thus we learn the salutary lesson, that our aim should be nothing else than to ascertain what is the mind and intention of the person who speaks.

Chap. xiii. Æ” Of the baptism of Jesus.

30. Matthew then continues his narrative in the following terms: "Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him. But John forbade Him, saying, I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me? And Jesus answering, said unto him, Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered Him." *

The others also attest the fact that Jesus came to John. The three also mention that He was baptized. But they omit all mention of one circumstance recorded by Matthew, namely, that John addressed the Lord, or that the Lord made answer to John. 2

Chap. xiv. Æ” Of the words of the voice that came from heaven upon Him when He had been baptized.

31. Thereafter Matthew proceeds thus: "And Jesus, when

1 Dimisit eum.

2 Matt. iii. 13-15; Mark i. 9; Luke iii. 21; John i. 32-34.
He was baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and, lo, the heavens were opened unto Him, and He saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon Him; and, lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." This incident is also recorded in a similar manner by two of the others, namely Mark and Luke.

But at the same time, while preserving the sense intact, they use different modes of expression in reproducing the terms of the voice which came from heaven. For although Matthew tells us that the words were, This is my beloved Son, while the other two put them in this form, Thou art my beloved Son, these different methods of speech serve but to convey the same sense, according to the principle which has been discussed above. For the heavenly voice gave utterance only to one of these sentences; but by the form of words thus adopted, namely, This is my beloved Son, it was the evangelist's intention to show that the saying was meant to intimate specially to the hearers there [and not to Jesus] the fact that He was the Son of God. With this view, he chose to give the sentence, Thou art my beloved Son, this turn, Thiis is my beloved Son, as if it were addressed directly to the people. For it was not meant to intimate to Christ a fact which He knew already; but the object was to let the people who were present hear it, for whose sakes indeed the voice itself was given. But furthermore now, with regard to the circumstance that the first of them puts the saying thus, In whom. I am well pleased; x the second thus, In Thee I am well pleased; x the third thus, In Thee it has pleased me; 3 â€“ if you ask which of these different modes represents what was actually expressed by the voice, you may fix on whichever you will, provided only that you understand that those of the writers who have not reproduced the self-same form of speech have still reproduced the identical sense intended to be conveyed. And these variations in the modes of expression are also useful in this way, that they make it possible for us to reach a more adequate conception of the saying than might have been the case with only one

1 In quo mild complacui â€“ well pleased with myself.

2 In te complacui.

8 In te complacuit mihi. Matt. iii. 16, 17; Mark i. 10, 11; Luke iii. 22.
form, and that they also secure it against being interpreted in a sense not consonant with the real state of the case. For as to the sentence, In whom I am well pleased} if any one thinks of taking it as if it meant that God is pleased with Himself in the Son, he is taught a lesson of prudence by the other turn which is given to the saying, In thee I am well pleased?

And on the other hand, if, looking at this last by itself, any one supposes the meaning to be, that in the Son the Father had favour with men, he learns something from the third form of the utterance, In thee it has pleased me? From this it becomes sufficiently apparent, that whichever of the evangelists may have preserved for us the words as they were literally uttered by the heavenly voice, the others have varied the terms only with the object of setting forth the same sense more familiarly; so that what is thus given by all of them might be understood as if the expression were: In Thee I have set my good pleasure; that is to say, by Thee to do what is my pleasure. 4 But once more, with respect to that rendering which is contained in some codices of the Gospel according to Luke, and which bears that the words heard in the heavenly voice were those that are written in the Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee; 5 although it is said not to be found in the more ancient Greek codices, yet if it can be established by any copies worthy of credit, what results but that we suppose both voices to have been heard from heaven, in one or other verbal order?

Chap. xv. â€” An explanation of the circumstance that, according to the evangelist John, John the Baptist says, I knew Him not; while, according to the others, it is found that he did already know Him.

32. Again, the account of the dove given in the Gospel according to John does not mention the time at which the incident happened, but contains a statement of the words of John the Baptist as reporting what he saw. In this section, the question rises as to how it is said, And I knew Him not: hut He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me,

1 In quo mihi complacui â€” as if = in whom I am well pleased with myself.

2 In te complacui. 3 In te complacuit mihi.

4 In te placitum meum constitui, hoc est, per te gerere quod mihi placet.

8 Ps. ii. 7.

238 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

Upon whom thou, shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Spirit

For if lie came to know Him only at the time when he saw the dove descending upon Him, the inquiry is raised as to how he could have said to Him, as He came to be baptized, /
ought rather to be baptized of Thee? For the Baptist addressed Him thus before the dove descended. From this, however, it is evident that, although he did know Him [in a certain sense] before this time, â€” for he even leaped in his mother's womb when Mary visited Elisabeth, 3 â€” there was yet something which was not known to him up to this time, and which he learned by the descending of the dove, â€” namely, the fact that He baptized in the Holy Spirit by a certain divine power proper to Himself; so that no man who received this baptism from God, even although he baptized some, should be able to say that that which he imparted was his own, or that the Holy Spirit was given by him.

Chap. xvi. â€” Of the temptation of Jesus.
33. Matthew proceeds with his narrative in these terms:
"Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil. And when He had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungered. And when the tempter came to Him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread. But He answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And so the account continues, until we come to the words, Then the devil left 4 him: and, behold, angels came and ministered unto Him." 5 This whole narrative is given also in a similar manner by Luke, although not in the same order. And this makes it uncertain which of the two latter temptations took place first: whether it was that the kingdoms of the world were shown Him first, and then that He Himself was taken up to the pinnacle of the temple thereafter; or whether it was that this latter act occurred first, and that the other scene followed it.
It is, however, a matter of no real consequence, provided it be clear that all these incidents did take place. And as Luke sets forth the same events and ideas in different words, atten-

1 John i. 33. 2 Matt. iii. 14. 3 Luke i. 41. 4 Reliquit. 5 Matt. iv. 1-11.

CHAP. XVII.] THE CALLING OF THE APOSTLES. 239

tion need not ever be called to the fact that no loss results thereby to truth. Mark, again, does indeed attest the fact that He was tempted of the devil in the wilderness for forty days and forty nights; but he gives no statement of what was said to Him, or of the replies He made. At the same time, he does not fail to notice the circumstance which is omitted by Luke, namely, that the angels ministered unto Him. 1 John, however, has left out this whole passage.

Chai\ xvii. â€” Of the calling of the apostles as they were fishing.

34. Matthew's narrative is continued thus: "Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, He departed into Galilee." 2 Mark states the same fact, as also does Luke, 3 only Luke says nothing in the present section as to John being cast into prison. The evangelist John, again, tells us that, before Jesus went into Galilee, Peter and Andrew
were with Him one day, and that on that occasion the former had this name, Peter, given him, while before that period he was called Simon. Likewise John tells us, that on the day following, when Jesus was now desirous of going forth unto Galilee, He found Philip, and said to him that he should follow Him.

Thus, too, the evangelist comes to give the narrative about Nathanael. 4 Further, he informs us that on the third day, when He was yet in Galilee, Jesus wrought the miracle of the turning of the water into wine at Cana. 5 All these incidents are left unrecorded by the other evangelists, who continue their narratives at once with the statement of the return of Jesus into Galilee. Hence we are to understand that there was an interval here of several days, during which those incidents took place in the history of the disciples which are inserted at this point by John. Neither is there anything contradictory here to that other passage where Matthew tells us how the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church. 6 But we are not to understand that that was the time when he first received this name; but we are rather to suppose that this took place on the occasion when it was said to him, as John mentions, Thou shalt be called


3 Mark i. 14; Luke iv. 14. 4 John i. 39, etc.

5 John ii. 1-11. 6 Matt. xvi. 18.

240 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

Cephas, which is, by interpretation, A stone. 1 Thus the Lord could address him at that later period by this very name, when He said, Thou art Peter. For He does not say then, Thou shalt be called Peter, but, Thou art Peter; because on a previous occasion he had already been spoken to in this manner, Thou shalt be called.

35. After this, Matthew goes on with his narrative in these terms: " And leaving the city of Nazareth, He came and dwelt in Capharnaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim;" and so forth, until we come to the conclusion of the sermon which He delivered on the mount.

In this section of the narrative, Mark agrees with him in attesting the calling of the disciples Peter and Andrew, and a little after that, the calling of James and John. But whereas Matthew introduces in this immediate context his account of that lengthened sermon which He delivered on the mount, after He cured a multitude, and when great crowds followed Him, Mark has inserted other matters at this point, touching His teaching in the synagogue, and the people's amazement at His doctrine. Then, too, he has stated what Matthew also states, although not till after that lengthened sermon has been given, namely, that He taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes. He has likewise given us the account of the man out of whom the unclean spirit was cast; and after that the story of Peter's mother-in-law. In these things, moreover, Luke is in accord
with him. 2 But Matthew has given us no notice of the evil spirit here. The story of Peter's mother-in-law, however, he has not omitted, only he brings it in at a later stage. 3

36. In this paragraph, moreover, which we are at present considering, the same Matthew follows up his account of the calling of those disciples to whom, when they were engaged in fishing, He gave the command to follow Him, by a narrative to the effect that He went about Galilee, teaching in the synagogues, and preaching the gospel, and healing all manner of sickness; and that when multitudes had gathered about Him, He went up into a mountain, and delivered that lengthened sermon [already alluded to]. Thus the evangelist gives us ground for understanding that those incidents which are recorded by Mark after the election of those same disciples, took place at the period when He was going about Galilee, and teaching in their synagogues. We are at liberty also to suppose that what happened to Peter's mother-in-law came in at this point; and that he has mentioned at a later stage what he has passed over here, although he has not indeed brought up at that later point, for direct recital, everything else which is omitted at the earlier.

37. The question may indeed be raised as to how John gives us this account of the calling of the disciples, which is to the effect that, certainly not in Galilee, but in the vicinity of the Jordan, Andrew first of all became a follower of the Lord, together with another disciple whose name is not declared; that, in the second place, Peter got that name from Him; and thirdly, that Philip was called to follow Him; whereas the other three evangelists, in a satisfactory concord with each other, Matthew and Mark in particular being remarkably at one here, tell us that the men were called when they were engaged in fishing. Luke, it is true, does not mention Andrew by name. Nevertheless, we can gather that he was in that same vessel, from the narrative of Matthew and Mark, who furnish a concise history of the manner in which the affair was gone about. Luke, however, presents us with a fuller and clearer exposition of the circumstances, and gives us also an account of the miracle which was performed there in the haul of fishes, and of the fact that previous to that the Lord spake to the multitudes when He was seated in the boat. There may also seem to be a discrepancy in this respect, that Luke records the saying, From henceforth thou shalt catch men, 1 as if it had been addressed by the Lord to Peter alone, while the others have exhibited it as spoken to both the brothers. 2

But it may very well be the case that these words were spoken to Peter himself, when he was seized with amazement at immense multitude of fishes which were caught, and this
will then be the incident introduced by Luke; and that they were addressed to the two together somewhat later, which

1 Luke v. 10. 2 Matt- j Vi 10. Mark i. 17.

HARMONY. Q

242 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [eOOK IT.

[second utterance] will be the one noticed by the other two evangelists. Therefore the circumstance which we have mentioned with regard to John's narrative deserves to be carefully considered; for it may indeed be supposed to bring before us a contradiction of no slight importance. For if it be the case that in the vicinity of the Jordan, and before Jesus went into Galilee, two men, on hearing the testimony of John the Baptist, followed Jesus; that of these two disciples the one was Andrew, who at once went and brought his own brother Simon to Jesus; and that on this occasion that brother received the name Peter, by which he was thereafter to be called, â€” how can it be said by the other evangelists that He found them engaged in fishing in Galilee, and called them there to be His disciples? 1 How can these diverse accounts be reconciled, unless it be that we are to understand that those men did not gain such a view of Jesus on the occasion connected with the vicinity of the Jordan as would lead them to attach themselves to Him for ever, but that they simply came to know who He was, and, after their first wonder at His Person, returned to their former engagements?

38. For [it is noticeable that] again in Cana of Galilee, after He had turned the water into wine, this same John tells us how His disciples believed on Him. The narrative of that miracle proceeds thus: "And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there. And both Jesus was called and his disciples to the marriage." 2 Now, surely, if it was on this occasion that they believed on Him, as the evangelist tells us a little further on, they were not yet His disciples at the time when they were called to the marriage. This, however, is a mode of speech of the same land with what is intended when we say that the Apostle Paul was born in Tarsus of Cilicia; 3 for certainly he was not an apostle at that period. In like manner are we told here that the disciples of Christ were invited to the marriage, by which we are to understand, not that they were already disciples, but only that they were to be His disciples. For, at the time when this narrative was prepared and committed to

1 Matt. iv. 13-23; Mark i. 16-20; Luke v. 1-11; John i. 35-44.

2 John ii. 1, 2. 3 Acts xxii. 3.
writing, they were the disciples of Christ in fact; and that is the reason why the evangelist, as the historian of past times, has thus spoken of them.

39. But further, as to John's statement, that after this He went down to Capharnaum, He and His mother, and His brethren and His disciples; and they continued there not many days; it is uncertain whether by this period these men had already attached themselves to Him, in particular Peter and Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee. For Matthew first of all tells us that He came and dwelt in Capharnaum, and then that He called them from their boats as they were engaged in fishing.

On the other hand, John says that His disciples came with Him to Capharnaum. Now it may be the case that Matthew has but gone over here something he had omitted in its proper order. For He does not say, After this, walking by the sea of Galilee, He saw two brethren, but, without any indication of the strict consecution of time, simply, And walking by the sea of Galilee, He saw two brethren and so forth: consequently it is quite possible that he has recorded at this later period not something which took place actually at that later time, but only something which he had omitted to introduce before; so that the men may be understood in this way to have come along with Him to Capharnaum, to which place John states that He did come, He and his mother and His disciples: or should we rather suppose that these were a different body of disciples, as He [may already have] had a follower in Philip, whom He called in this particular manner, by saying to him, Follow me?

For in what order all the twelve apostles were called is not apparent from the narratives of the evangelists. Indeed, not only is the succession of the various callings left unrecorded; but even the fact of the calling is not mentioned in the case of all of them; the only vocations specified being those of Philip, and Peter and Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee, and Matthew the publican, who was also called Levi. The first and only person, however, who received a separate name from Him was Peter. For He did not give the sons of Zebedee

1 John ii. 12. 2 Matt iv 3 3 Matt j v 18>

4 Matt. iv. 18-22, ix. 9; Mark i. 16-20, ii. 14; Luke v. 1-11; JoLm i. 35-44.

6 John i. 42.

244 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

their names individually, but He called them both together the sons of thunder. 1

40. Besides, we ought certainly to note the fact that the evangelical and apostolical Scriptures do not confine this designation of His disciples to those twelve alone, but give
the same appellation to all those who believed on Him, and were educated under His instruction for the kingdom of heaven.
Out of the whole number of such He chose twelve, whom He also named apostles, as Luke mentions. For a little further on he says: And He came down, with them, and stood in the plain, and the concourse of His disciples and a great multitude of people. And surely he would not speak of a concourse [or crowd] of disciples if he referred only to twelve men. In other passages of the Scriptures also the fact is plainly apparent, that all those were called His disciples who were instructed by Him in what pertained to eternal life.

41. But the question may be asked, how He called the fishermen from their boats two by two, namely, calling Peter and Andrew first, and then going forward a little and calling other two, namely the sons of Zebedee, according to the narratives of Matthew and Mark; whereas Luke's version of the matter is, that both their boats were filled with the immense haul of fishes. And his statement bears further, that Peter's partners, to wit, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were summoned to the men's help when they were unable to drag out their crowded nets, and that all who were there were astonished at the enormous draught of fishes which had been taken; and that when Jesus said to Peter, Fear not, from henceforth thou shall catch men, although the words had been addressed to Peter alone, they all nevertheless followed Him when they had brought their ships to land. Well, we are to understand by this, that what Luke introduces here was what took place first, and that these men were not called by the Lord on this occasion, but only that the prediction was uttered to Peter by himself, that he would be a fisher of men. That saying, moreover, was not intended to convey that they would never thereafter be catchers of fish. For we read that even after the Lord's resurrection they were engaged again in fishing. 1 The words, therefore, imported simply that thereafter he would catch men, and they did not bear that henceforth he would not catch fish. And in this way we are at perfect liberty to suppose that they returned to the catching of fish, according to their habit; so that those incidents which are related by Matthew and Mark might easily take place at a period subsequent to this. I refer to what occurred at the time when He called the disciples two by two, and Himself gave them the command to follow Him, at first addressing Peter and Andrew, and then the others, namely, the two sons of Zebedee. For on that occasion they did not follow Him only after they had drawn up their ships on shore, as with the intention of returning to them, but they went after Him immediately, as after one who summoned and commanded them to follow Him.

CHAP. XVIII.] THE DEPARTURE INTO GALILEE. 245

fishing. 1 The words, therefore, imported simply that thereafter he would catch men, and they did not bear that henceforth he would not catch fish. And in this way we are at perfect liberty to suppose that they returned to the catching of fish, according to their habit; so that those incidents which are related by Matthew and Mark might easily take place at a period subsequent to this. I refer to what occurred at the time when He called the disciples two by two, and Himself gave them the command to follow Him, at first addressing Peter and Andrew, and then the others, namely, the two sons of Zebedee. For on that occasion they did not follow Him only after they had drawn up their ships on shore, as with the intention of returning to them, but they went after Him immediately, as after one who summoned and commanded them to follow Him.

Chap, xviii. Æ” Of the date of His departure into Galilee.
42. Furthermore, we must consider the question how the evangelist John, before there is any mention of the casting of John the Baptist into prison, tells us that Jesus went into Galilee. For, after relating how He turned the water into wine at Cana of Galilee, and how He came down to Capernaum with His mother and His disciples, and how they abode there not many days, he tells us that He went up then to Jerusalem on account of the passover; that after this He came into the land of Judea along with His disciples, and tarried there with them, and baptized; and then in what follows at this point the evangelist says: And John also was baptizing in JEnon, near to Salim, because there was much ivater there; and they came, and were baptized: for John was not yet cast into prison? On the other hand, Matthew says: Now when He had heard that John was cast into prison, Jesus departed into Galilee. 3 In like manner, Mark's words are: Now, after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee* Luke, again, says nothing indeed about the imprisonment of John; but notwithstanding this, after his account of the baptism and temptation of Christ, he also makes a statement to the same effect with that of these other two, namely, that Jesus went into Galilee. For

John xxi. 3. 2 John ii. 13, iii. 22-24. 3 Matt. iv. 12. 4 Mark i. 14.

246 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

lie has connected the several parts of his narrative here in this way: And when all the temptation was ended, the devil departed from Him for a season; and Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and there went out a fame of Him through all the region round about} From all this, however, we may gather, not that these three evangelists have made any statement opposed to the evangelist John, but only that they have left unrecorded the Lord's first advent in Galilee after His baptism; on which occasion also He turned the water into wine there. For at that period John had not yet been cast into prison. And we are also to understand that these three evangelists have introduced into the context of these narratives an account of another journey of His into Galilee, which took place after John's imprisonment, regarding which return into Galilee the evangelist John himself furnishes the following notice: " When, therefore, Jesus knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus makes and baptizes more disciples than John (though Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples), he left Judea, and departed again into Galilee." 2 So, then, we perceive that by that time John had been already cast into prison; and further, that the Jews had heard that He was making and baptizing more disciples than John had made and baptized.

Chap. xix. â€” Of the lengthened sermon which, according to Matthew, He delivered on the mount.

43. Now, regarding that lengthened sermon which, according to Matthew, the Lord delivered on the mount, let us at present see whether it appears that the rest of the evangelists stand in no manner of antagonism to it. Mark, it is true, has not recorded it at
all, neither has he preserved any utterances of Christ's in any way resembling it, with the exception of certain sentences which are not given connectedly, but occur here and there, and which the Lord repeated in other places.

Nevertheless, he has left a space in the text of his narrative indicating the point at which we may understand this sermon to have been spoken, although it has been left unrecited. That is the place where he says: And He was preaching in their synagogues, and in all Galilee, and was casting out devils)

Under the head of this preaching, in which he says Jesus


CHAP. XIX.] THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. 247

engaged in all Galilee, we may also understand that discourse to be comprehended which was delivered on the mount, and which is detailed by Matthew. For the same Mark continues his account thus: " And there came a leper to Him, beseeching Him; and kneeling down to Him, said, If Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean." 1 And he goes on with the rest of the story of the cleansing of this leper, in such a manner as to make it intelligible to us that the person in question is the very man who is mentioned by Matthew as having been healed at the time when the Lord came down from the mount after the delivery of His discourse. For this is how Matthew gives the history there: Noiv, when He was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed Him; and, behold, there came a leper, and worshipped Him, saying, Lord, if Thou ivilt, Thou canst make me clean; 2 and so on.

44. This leper is also referred to by Luke, not indeed in this order, but after the manner in which the writers are accustomed to act, recording at a subsequent point things which have been omitted at a previous stage, or bringing in at an earlier point occurrences which took place at a later period, according as they had incidents suggested to their minds by the heavenly influence, with which indeed they had become acquainted before, but which they were afterwards prompted to commit to writing as they came up to their recollection. This same Luke, however, has also left us a version of his own of that copious discourse of the Lord, in a passage which he commences just as the section in Matthew begins. For in the latter the words run thus: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; 4 ' while in the former they are put thus: Blessed he ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God. 5 Then, too, much of what follows in Luke's narrative is similar to what we have in the other.

And finally, the conclusion given to the sermon is repeated in both Gospels in its entire identity, namely, the story of the wise man who builds upon the rock, and the foolish man who builds upon the sand; the only difference being, that Luke speaks only of the stream beating against the house, and does

1 Mark i. 40. 2 Matt. viii. 1,2. 3 Luke v. 12, 13.
not mention also the rain and the wind, as they occur in Matthew. Accordingly, it might very readily be believed that he has there introduced the self-same discourse of the Lord, but that at the same time he has omitted certain sentences which Matthew has inserted; that he has also brought in other sayings which Matthew has not mentioned; and that, in a similar manner, he has expressed certain of these utterances in somewhat different terms, but without detriment to the integrity of the truth.

45. This we might very well suppose to have been the case, as I have said, were it not that a difficulty is felt to attach to the circumstance that Matthew tells us how this discourse was delivered on a mount by the Lord in a sitting posture; while Luke says that it was spoken on a plain by the Lord in a standing posture. This difference, accordingly, makes it seem as if the former referred to one discourse, and the latter to another. And what should there be, indeed, to hinder [us from supposing] Christ to have repeated elsewhere some words which He had already spoken, or from doing a second time certain things which He had already done on some previous occasion? However, that these two discourses, of which the one is inserted by Matthew and the other by Luke, are not separated by a long space of time, is with much probability inferred from the fact that, at once in what precedes and in what follows them, both the evangelists have related certain incidents either similar or perfectly identical, so that it is not unreasonably felt that the narrations of the writers who introduce these things are occupied with the same localities and days. For Matthew's recital proceeds in the following terms:

"And there followed Him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan. And seeing the multitudes, He went up into a mountain; and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him: and He opened His mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; " I and so forth. Here it may appear that His desire was to free Himself from the great crowds of people, and that for this reason He went up into the mountain, as if

*Matt. iv. 25, etc.

CHAP. XIX.] THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. 249

He meant to withdraw Himself from the multitudes, and seek an opportunity of speaking with His disciples alone. And this seems to be certified also by Luke, whose account is to the following effect: " And it came to pass in those days, that He went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God. And when it was day, He called unto Him His disciples: and of them He chose twelve, whom also He named
apostles; Simon, whom He also named Peter, and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, James the son of Alpheus, and Simon, who is called Zelotes, Judas the brother of James, and Judas Scarioth, which was the traitor. And He came down with them, and stood in the plain, and the company of His disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judea and Jerusalem, and from the sea-coast of Tyre 1 and Sidon, which had come to hear Him, and to be healed of their diseases; and they that were vexed with unclean spirits were healed. 2 And the whole multitude sought to touch Him: for there went virtue out of Him, and healed them all. And He lifted up His eyes on His disciples, and said, Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of heaven; " 3 and so on. Here the relation permits us to understand that, after selecting on the mountain twelve disciples out of the larger body, whom He also named apostles (which incident Matthew has omitted), He then delivered that discourse which Matthew has introduced, and which Luke has left unnoticed, — that is to say, the one on the mount; and that thereafter, when He had now come down, He spoke in the plain a second discourse similar to the first, on which Matthew is silent, but which is detailed by Luke; and further, that both these sermons were concluded in the same manner.

46. But, again, as regards what Matthew proceeds to state after the termination of that discourse, â€” namely this, And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people 4, were astonished at His doctrine, 5 — it may appear that the speakers there were those multitudes of disciples out of whom He had chosen the twelve. Moreover, when the evangelist goes on immediately in these terms, And when He was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed Him; and, behold, there came a leper and worshipped Him, 1 we are at liberty to suppose that that incident took place subsequently to both discourses, â€” not only after the one which Matthew records, but also after the one which Luke inserts. For it is not made apparent what length of time elapsed after the descent from the mountain. But Matthew's intention was simply to indicate the fact itself, that after that descent there were great multitudes of people with the Lord on the occasion when He cleansed the leper, and not to specify what period of time had intervened. And this supposition may all the more readily be entertained, since [we find that] Luke tells us how the same leper was cleansed at a time when the Lord was now in a certain city, â€” a circumstance which Matthew has not cared to mention.

1 Various mss. and editions insert et before the Tyri = both of Tyre, although it is wanting in the Greek.

2 Qui vexabantur a spiritibus immundis curabatur.


250 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]
47. After all, however, this explanation may also be suggested, namely, that in the first instance the Lord, along with His disciples and no others, was on some more elevated portion of the mountain, and that during the period of His stay there He chose out of the number of His followers those twelve; that then He came down in company with them, not indeed from the mountain itself, but from that said altitude on the mountain, into the plain that is to say, into some level spot which was found on the slope of the mountain, and which was capable of accommodating great multitudes; and that thereafter, when He had seated Himself, His disciples took up their position next Him, and in these circumstances He delivered both to them and to the other multitudes who were present one discourse, which Matthew and Luke have both recorded, their modes of narrating it being indeed different, but the truth being given with equal fidelity by the two writers in all that concerns the facts and sayings which both of them have recounted. For we have already prefaced our inquiry with the position, which indeed ought of itself to have been obvious to all without the need of any one to give them

1 Matt. viii. 1, 2.

CHAP. XX.] THE CASE OF THE CENTURION. 251

counsel to that effect beforehand, that there is not [necessarily] any antagonism between writers, although one may omit something which another mentions; nor, again, although one states a fact in one way, and another in a different method, provided that the same truth is set forth in regard to the objects and sayings themselves. In this way, therefore, Matthew's sentence, Now when He was come down from the mountain, may at the same time be understood to refer also to the plain, which there might very well have been on the slope of the mountain.

And thereafter Matthew tells the story of the cleansing of the leper, which is also given in a similar manner by Mark and Luke.

Chap. xx. â€” An explanation of the circumstance that Matthew tells us how the centurion came to Jesus on behalf of his servant, while Luke's statement is that the centurion despatched friends to Him.

48. After these things, Matthew proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: "And when Jesus was entered into Capharnaum, there came unto Him a centurion, beseeching Him, and saying, Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, and he is grievously tormented:" and so forth, on to the place where it is said, "And his servant was healed in the self-same hour." 1 This case of the centurion's servant is related also by Luke; only Luke does not bring it in, as Matthew does, after the cleansing of the leper, whose story he has recorded as something suggested to his recollection at a later stage, but introduces it after the conclusion of that lengthened sermon already discussed. For he connects the two sections in this way:

"Now when He had ended all His sayings in the audience of the people, He entered into Capharnaum; and a certain centurion's servant, who was dear unto him, was sick and
ready to die;" and so forth, until we come to the verse where it is said that he was healed. 2 Here, then, we notice that it was not till after He had ended all His words in the hearing of the people that Christ entered Capharnaum; by which we are to understand simply that He did not make that entrance before He had brought these sayings to their conclusion; and we are not to take it as intimating the length of that period of time which intervened between the delivery of these discourses and the


252 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

entrance into Capharnaum. In this interval that leper was cleansed, whose case is recorded by Matthew in its own proper place, but is given by Luke only at a later point.

49. Accordingly, let us proceed to consider whether Matthew and Luke are at one in the account of this servant. Matthew's words, then, are these: " There came unto Him a centurion, beseeching Him, and saying, My servant lieth at home sick of the palsy." * Now this seems to be inconsistent with the version presented by Luke, which runs thus: u And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto Him the elders of the Jews, beseeching Him that He would come and heal his servant. And when they came to Jesus, they besought Him instantly, saying, That he was worthy for whom He should do this: for he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue. Then Jesus went with them. And when He was now not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to Him, saying unto Him, Lord, trouble not Thyself; for I am not worthy that Thou shouldest enter under my roof: wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto Thee: but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed." 2 For if this was the manner in which the incident took place, how can Matthew's statement, that there " came to Him a certain centurion," be correct, seeing that the man did not come in person, but sent his friends? The apparent discrepancy, however, will disappear if we look carefully into the matter, and observe that Matthew has simply held by a very familiar mode of expression. For not only are we accustomed to speak of one as coming 3 even before he actually reaches the place he is said to have approached, 4 whence, too, we speak of one as making small approach or making great approach 5 to what he is desirous of reaching; but we also not unfrequently speak of that access, 6 for the sake of getting at which the approach is made, as reached even although the person who is said to reach another may not himself see the individual whom he reaches, inasmuch as it may be through a friend that he reaches the person whose favour is necessary to him. This,


3 Accessisse, approaching. * Accessisse, come to.

5 Parum accessit vel multum accessit. * Perventio, arrival.
indeed, is a custom which has so thoroughly established itself, that even in the language of every-day life now those men are called Perventores 1 who, in the practice of canvassing, 2 get at the inaccessible ears, as one may say, of any of the men of influence, by the intervention of suitable personages. If, therefore, access 3 itself is thus familiarly said to be gained by the means of other parties, how much more may an approach 4 be said to take place, although it be by means of others, which always remains something short of actual access! For it is surely the case, that a person may be able to do very much in the way of approach, but yet may have failed to succeed in actually reaching what he sought to get at. Consequently it is nothing out of the way for Matthew, â€” a fact, indeed, which may be understood by any intelligence, â€” when thus dealing with an approach on the part of the centurion to the Lord, which was effected in the person of others, to have chosen to express the matter in this compendious method, "There came a centurion to Him."

5 0. At the same time, however, we must be careful enough to discern a certain mystical depth in the phraseology adopted by the evangelist, which is in accordance with these words of the Psalm, "Come ye to Him, and be ye lightened." 5 For in this way, inasmuch as the Lord Himself commended the faith of the centurion, in which indeed his approach was really made to Jesus, in such terms that He declared, "I have not found so great faith in Israel," the evangelist wisely chose to speak of the man himself as coming to Jesus, rather than to bring in the persons through whom he had conveyed his words. And furthermore, Luke has unfolded the whole incident to us just as it occurred, in a form constraining us to understand from his narrative in what manner another writer, who was also incapable of making any false statement, might have spoken of the man himself as coming. It is in this way, too, that the woman who suffered from the issue of blood, although she took hold merely of the hem of His garment, did yet touch the Lord more effectually than those

1 Reachers, comers at. 2 Ambitionis arte.

3 rerventio. 4 Coming at â€” accessus.

* AcceJite ad eum et illuminamini. Ps. xxxiv. 5.

multitudes did by whom He was thronged. 1 For just as she touched the Lord the more effectually, in so far as she believed the more earnestly, so the centurion also came the more really to the Lord, inasmuch as he believed the more thoroughly. And now, as regards the rest of this paragraph, it would be a superfluous task to go over in detail the
various matters which are recounted by the one and omitted by the other. For, according to the principle brought under notice at the outset, there is not to be found in these peculiarities any actual antagonism between the writers.

Chap. xxi. Æ” Of the order in which the narrative concerning Peter's mother-in-law is introduced.

51. Matthew proceeds in the following terms: "And when Jesus was come into Peter's house, He saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever. And He touched her hand, and the fever left her: and she arose, and ministered unto them." 2 Matthew has not indicated the date of this incident; that is to say, he has specified neither before what event nor after what occurrence it took place. For we are certainly under no necessity of supposing that, because it is recorded after a certain event, it must also have happened in actual matter of fact after that event. And unquestionably, in this case, we are to understand that he has introduced for record here something which he had omitted to notice previously. For Mark brings in this narrative before his account of that cleansing of the leper which he would appear to have placed after the delivery of the sermon on the mount; 3 which discourse, however, he has left unrelated. And thus, too, Luke 4 inserts this story of Peter's mother-in-law after an occurrence 5 which it follows likewise in Mark's version, but also before that lengthened discourse, which has been reproduced by him, and which may appear to be one with the sermon which Matthew states to have been delivered on the mount. For of what consequence

3 Cf. what is said above (chap. xix. 43) as to the note of time implied in the statement (Mark i. 39), that He preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee, and cast out devils.
5 Referring, apparently, to the casting out of the unclean spirit (Mark i. 23, etc.; Luke iv. 33, etc.).

CHAP. XXI.] THE CASE OF PETER'S MOTHER-IN-LAW. 255

is it ill what place any of them may give his account; or what difference does it make whether he inserts the matter in its proper order, or brings in at a particular point what was previously omitted, or mentions at an earlier stage what really happened at a later, provided only that he contradicts neither himself nor a second writer in the narrative of the same facts or of others? For as it is not in one's own power, however admirable and trustworthy may be the knowledge he has once obtained of the facts, to determine the order in which he will recall them to memory (for the way in which one thing comes into a person's mind before or after another is something which proceeds not as we will, but
simply as it is given to us), it is reasonable enough to suppose that each of the evangelists believed it to have been his duty to relate what he had to relate in that order in which it had pleased God to suggest to his recollection the matters he was engaged in recording. At least this might hold good in the case of those incidents with regard to which the question of order, whether it were this or that, detracted nothing from evangelical authority and truth.

52. But as to the reason why the Holy Spirit, who divideth j to every man severally as He will, 1 and who therefore undoubtedly, with a view to the establishing of their books on so distinguished an eminence of authority, also governs and rules the minds of the holy men themselves in the matter of suggesting the things they were to commit to writing, has left one historian at liberty to construct his narrative in one way, and another in a different fashion, that is a question which any one may look into with pious consideration, and for which, by divine help, the answer also may possibly be found. That, however, is not the object of the work which we have taken in hand at present. The task we have proposed to ourselves is simply to demonstrate that not one of the evangelists contradicts either himself or his fellow-historians, whatever be the precise order in which he may have had the ability or may have preferred to compose his account of matters belonging to the doings and sayings of Christ; and that, too, at once in the case of subjects identical with those recorded by others, and in the case of subjects different from these. For this reason, therefore, when the order of times is not apparent, we ought not to feel it a matter of any consequence what order any of them may have adopted in relating the events. But wherever the order is apparent, if the evangelist then presents anything which seems to be inconsistent with his own statements, or with those of another, we must certainly take the passage into consideration, and endeavour to clear up the difficulty.

Chap. xxii. — Of the order of the incidents which are recorded after this section, and of the question whether Matthew, Mark, and Luke are consistent with each other in these.

53. Matthew, accordingly, continues his narration thus:
" JSTow when the evens was come, they brought unto Him many that were possessed with devils; and He cast out the spirits with His word, and healed all that were sick: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses." 1 That this belongs in date to the same day, he
indicates with sufficient clearness by these words which he subjoins, "Now when the
even was come." In a similar manner, after concluding his account of the healing of
Peter's mother-in-law with the sentence, "And she ministered unto them," Mark has
appended the following statement: "And at even, when the sun did set, they brought unto
Him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils. And all the city
was gathered together at the door. And He healed many that were sick of divers diseases,
and cast out many devils; and suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew Him.
And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, He went out, and departed into a
solitary place." 2 Here Mark appears to have preserved the order in such wise, that after
the statement conveyed in the words "And at even," he gives this note of time: "And in
the morning, rising up a great while before day." And although there is no absolute
necessity for supposing either that, when we have the words "And at even," the reference
must be to the evening of the very same day, or that when the phrase "In the morning"
meets us, it must mean the morning 3 after the self-same night; still, however that may
be, this order in

1 Matt. viii. 16-18. 2 Mark i. 31-35. 3 Diluculum, dawn.

CHAP. XXIII. | THE CASE OF THE SCITBIB. 257

the occurrences may fairly appear to have been preserved with a view to an orderly
arrangement of the times. Moreover, Luke, too, after relating the story of Peter's mother-
in-law, while he does not indeed say expressly, "And at even," has at least used a phrase
which conveys the same sense. For he proceeds thus:
u Now when the sun had set, I all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought
them unto Him; and He laid His hands on every one of them, and healed them. And
devils also came out of many, crying out, and saying, Thou art Christ the Son of God.
And He, rebuking them, suffered them not to speak: for they knew that He was Christ.
And when it was day, He departed and went into a desert place." 2 Here, again, we see
precisely the same order of times preserved as we discovered in Mark. But Matthew, who
appears to have introduced the story of Peter's mother-in-law not according to the order
in which the incident itself took place, but simply in the succession in which he had it
suggested to his mind after previous omission, has first recorded what happened on that
same day, to wit, when even was come; and thereafter, instead of subjoining the notice of
the morning, goes on with his account in these terms: "Now when Jesus saw great
multitudes about Him, He gave commandment to depart unto the other side of the lake."
This, then, is something new, differing from what is given in the context by Mark and
Luke, who, after the notice of the even, bring in the mention of the morning.
Consequently, as regards this verse in Matthew,
"Now when Jesus saw great multitudes about Him, He gave commandment to depart
unto the other side of the lake," we ought simply to understand that he has introduced
here another fact which he has had brought to mind at this point, â€” namely, the fact that
on a certain day, when Jesus had seen great multitudes about Him, He gave instructions
to cross to the other side of the lake.
Chap, xxiii. Of the person who said to the Lord, "I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest;" and of other things connected therewith, and of the order in which they are recorded by Matthew and Luke.

54. He next appends the following statement: " And a certain scribe came and said unto Him, Master, I will follow Thee

1 Occidisset. 2 Luke iv. 40-42. 3 Matt. viii. 18.

HAKMONY. R

258 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

whithersoever Thou goest;" and so on, down to the words, " Let the dead bury their dead." 1 We have a narrative in similar terms also in Luke. But he inserts it only after a variety of other matters, and without any explicit note of the order of time, but after the fashion of one only bethinking himself of the incident at that point. He leaves us also uncertain whether he brings it in there as something previously omitted, or as an anticipatory notice of something which in actual fact took place subsequently to those incidents by which it is followed in the history. For he proceeds thus: " And it came to pass, that as they went in the way, a certain man said unto Him, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest." 2 And the Lord's answer is given here in precisely the same terms as we find recited in Matthew. Now, although Matthew tells us that this took place at the time when He gave commandment to depart unto the other side of the lake, and Luke, on the other hand, speaks of an occasion when they " went in the way," there is no necessary contradiction in that. For it may be the case that they went in the way just in order to come to the lake. Again, in what is said about the person who begged to be allowed first to bury his father, Matthew and Luke are thoroughly at one. For the mere fact that Matthew has introduced first the words of the man who made the request regarding his father, and that he has put after that the saying of the Lord, Follow me, whereas Luke puts the Lord's command, Follow me, first, and the declaration of the petitioner second, is a matter of no consequence to the sense itself. Luke has also made mention of yet another person, who said, " Lord, I will follow Thee, but let me first bid them farewell which are at home at my house;" 3 of which individual Matthew says nothing. And thereafter Luke proceeds to another subject altogether, and not to what followed in the actual order of time. The passage runs: "And after these things, the Lord appointed other seventy-two also." 4 That this occurred after these things is indeed manifest; but at what length of time after these things the Lord
did so is not apparent. Nevertheless, in this interval that took place which Matthew subjoins next in succession. For the same Matthew


CHAR XXIV.] THE STOEM ON THE LAKE. 259

still keeps up the order of time, and continues his narrative, as we shall now see.

Chap. xxiv. â€” Of the Lord's crossing the lake on that occasion on which He slept in the vessel, and of the casting out of those devils whom He suffered to go into the swine; and of the consistency of the accounts given by Matthew, Mark, and Luke of all that was done and said on these occasions.

55. "And when He was entered into a ship, His disciples followed Him. And, behold, there arose a great tempest in the sea." And so the story goes on, until we come to the words, "And He came into His own city." 1 Those two narratives which are told by Matthew in continuous succession, â€” namely, that regarding the calm upon the sea after Jesus was roused from His sleep and had commanded the winds, and that concerning the persons who were possessed with the fierce devil, and who brake their bands and were driven into the wilderness, â€” are given also in like manner by Mark and Luke. 2 Some parts of these stories are expressed, indeed, in different terms by the different writers, but the sense remains the same. This is the case, for example, when Matthew represents the Lord to have said, "Why are ye fearful, ye of little faith?" 3 while Mark's version is, "Why are ye fearful? Is it that ye have no faith?" 4 For Mark's word refers to that perfect faith which is like a grain of mustard seed; and so he, too, speaks in effect of the little faith. Luke, again, puts it thus: "Where is your faith?" 5 Accordingly, the whole utterance may perhaps have gone thus: Why are ye fearful? Where is your faith, ye of little faith? 6 And so one of them records one part, and another another part, of the entire saying. The same may be the case with the words spoken by the disciples when they awoke Him. Matthew gives us: 'Lord, save us: we perish.' G Mark has: "Master, carest Thou not that we perish?" 7 And Luke says simply, "Master, we perish." These different expressions, however, convey one and the same meaning on the part of those who were awaking the Lord, and who were wishful to secure their safety. Neither need we inquire which of these several forms


THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

is to be preferred as the one actually addressed to Christ.
For whether they really used the one or the other of these three phraseologies, or expressed themselves in different words, which are unrecorded by any one of the evangelists, but which were equally well adapted to give the like representation of what was meant, what difference does it make in the fact itself? At the same time, it may also possibly have been the case that, when several parties in concert were trying to awake Him, all these various modes of expression had been used, one by one person, and another by another. In the same way, too, we may deal with the exclamation on the stilling of the tempest, which, according to Matthew, was, "What manner of man is this, that the winds and the sea obey Him?" and according to Mark, "What man, thinkest thou, is this?" and according to Luke, "What man, thinkest thou, is this?" And where the words He commandeth both the winds and the sea obey Him. Who can fail to see that the sense in all these forms is quite identical? For the expression, "What man, thinkest thou, is this?" has precisely the same import with the other, "What manner of man is this?" And where the words He commandeth are omitted, it can at least be understood as a matter of course that the obedience is rendered to the person commanding.

Moreover, with respect to the circumstance that Matthew states that there were two men who were afflicted with the legion of devils which received permission to go into the swine, whereas Mark and Luke instance only a single individual, we may suppose that one of these parties was a person of some kind of superior notability and repute, whose case was particularly lamented by that district, and for whose deliverance there was special anxiety. With the intention of indicating that fact, two of the evangelists have judged it proper to make mention only of the one person, in connection with whom the fame of this deed had been spread abroad the more extensively and remarkably. Neither should any scruple be excited by the different forms in which the words uttered

1 Matt. viii. 27. 2 Quis putas est iste. 3 Mark iv. 41.
4 Quis putas hie est. 5 Mari. 6 Qualis est hie.

CHAP. XXV.] THE CASE OF THE PARALYTIC. 2G1

by the possessed 1 have been reproduced by the various evangelists. For we may either resolve them all into one and the same thing, or suppose them all to have been actually spoken.
Nor, again, should we find any difficulty in the circumstance that with Matthew the address is couched in the plural number, but with Mark and Luke in the singular. For these latter two tell us at the same time, that when the man was asked what was his name, he answered that he was Legion, because the devils were many. Nor, once more, is there any discrepancy between Mark's statement that the herd of swine was round about the mountain, 2 and Luke's, that they were on the mountain. 3 For the herd of swine was so great that one portion of it might be on the mountain, and another only round about it. For, as Mark has expressly informed us, there were about two thousand swine.

CnAP. xxv. "Of the man sick of the palsy to whom the Lord said, Thy sins are forgiven thee, and, Take up thy bed; and in especial, of the question whether Matthew and Mark are consistent with each other in their notice of the place where this incident took place, in so far as Matthew says it happened in His own city, while Mark says it teas in Caphamaum.

57. Hereupon Matthew proceeds with his recital, still preserving the order of time, and connects his narrative in the following manner: "And He entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into His own city. And, behold, they brought to Him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed;" and so on, down to where it is said, "But when the multitude saw it, they marvelled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men." 4 Mark and Luke have also told the story of this paralytic. Now, as regards Matthew's stating that the Lord said, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee;" while Luke makes the address run, not as son, but as man, "Man, be of good cheer:" this only helps to bring out the Lord's meaning more explicitly. For these sins were [thus said to be] forgiven to the man, inasmuch as the very fact that he was a man would make it impossible for him to say, / have not sinned; and at the same time, that mode of address served to indicate that He who forgave sins to man was Himself God. Mark, again,

1 Or, the devils Æ”demonum. 2 Circa montem. 3 Inmonte. 4 Matt. ix. 1-8.

262 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

has given the same form of words as Matthew, but he has left out the terms, " Be of good cheer." It is also possible, indeed, that the whole saying ran thus: " Man, be of good cheer: son, thy sins are forgiven thee; " or thus: * Son, be of good cheer: man, thy sins are forgiven thee; " or the words may have been spoken in some other congruous order.

58. A difficulty, however, may certainly arise when we observe how Matthew tells the story of the paralytic after this fashion: " And He entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into His own city. And, behold, they brought to Him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed;" whereas Mark speaks of the incident as taking place not in His own city,
which indeed is called Nazareth, but in Capharnaum. His narrative is to the following effect: “And again He entered into Capharnaum after some days; and it was noised that He was in the house. And straightway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, no, not so much as about the door: and He spake a word unto them. And they came unto Him, bringing one sick of the palsy, which was borne of four. And when they could not come nigh unto Him for the press, they uncovered the roof where He was: and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the sick of the palsy lay. And when Jesus saw their faith;” and so forth. 2 Luke, on the other hand, does not mention the place in which the incident happened, but gives the tale thus: ” And it came to pass on a certain day that He was sitting teaching, 3 and there were Pharisees and doctors of the law also sitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judea, and Jerusalem:

and the power of the Lord was present to heal them. And, behold, men brought in a bed a man which was taken with a palsy: and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before Him. And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the house-top, and let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Jesus. And when He saw their faith, He said, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee; " and

1 Lo\^uebatur verbum. - Mark ii. 1-12. 3 Et ipse sedebat doccns.

CHAP. XXV.] CHRIST'S "OWN CITY." 263

so forth. 1 The question, therefore, remains one between Mark and Matthew, in so far as Matthew writes of the incident as taking place in the Lord's city; 2 while Mark locates it in Capharnaum. This question would be more difficult to solve if Matthew mentioned Nazareth by name. But, as the case stands, when we reflect that the state of Galilee itself might have been called Christ's city, 3 because Nazareth was in Galilee, just as the whole region which was made up of so many cities 4 is yet called a Eoman state; 5 when, further, it is considered that so many nations are comprehended in that city, of which
it is written, "Glorious things are spoken of thee, city of God; "; and also that God's ancient people, though dwelling in so many cities, have yet been spoken of as one house, the house of Israel, 7 â€” who can doubt that [it may be fairly said that] Jesus wrought this work in His own city [or, state], inasmuch as He did it in the city of Capharnaum, which Y\T as a city of that Galilee to which He had returned when He crossed over again from the country of the Gerasenes, so that when He came into Galilee He might correctly be said to have come into His own city [or, state], in whichever town of Galilee He might happen to be? This explanation may be vindicated more particularly on the ground that Capharnaum itself held a position of such eminence in Galilee that it was reckoned to be a kind of metropolis. But even were it altogether illegitimate to take the city of Christ in the sense either of Galilee itself, in which Nazareth was situated, or of Capharnaum, which was distinguished as in a certain sense the capital of Galilee, we might still affirm that Matthew has simply passed over all that happened after Jesus came into His own city until he reached Capharnaum, and that he has simply tacked on the narrative of the healing of the paralytic at this point; just as the writers do in many instances, leaving unnoticed much that intervenes, and, without any express indication of the omissions
they are making, proceeding precisely as if what they subjoin,
followed actually in literal succession.

1 Luke v. 17-26. 2 Or, stateâ€” civitate. 3 Or, stateâ€” civilas.

4 Civitatil>us. 5 Civitas, city. G Ps. Ixxxvii. 3.
7 Isa. v. 7; Jer. iii. 20; Ezek. iii. 4.

264 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

Chap. xxvi.— Of the calling of Matthew, and of the question whether Matthew's own
account is in harmony with those of Mark and Luke when they speak of Levi the son of
Alpheus.

59. Matthew next continues his narrative in the following terms: â€” "And as Jesus
passed forth from thence, He saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom:
and He saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him." 1 Mark gives this
story also, and keeps the same order, bringing it in after the notice of the healing of the
man who was sick of the palsy. His version runs thus: " And He went forth again by the
sea-side; and all the multitude resorted unto Him, and He taught them. And as He passed
by, He saw Levi the son of Alpheus sitting at the receipt of custom, and said unto him,
Follow me. And he arose, and followed Him." 2 There is no contradiction here; for
Matthew is the same person with Levi. Luke also introduces this after the story of the
healing of the same man who was sick of the palsy. He writes in these terms: " And after
these things He went forth, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of
custom: and He said unto him, Follow me. And he left all, rose up, and followed Him." 3
Now, from this it will appear to be the most reasonable explanation to say that Matthew
records these things here in the form of things previously passed over, and now brought
to mind. For certainly we must believe that Matthew's calling took place before the
delivery of the sermon on the mount. For Luke tells us that on this mountain on that
occasion the election was made of all these twelve, whom Jesus also named apostles, out
of the larger body of the disciples. 4

Chap. xxvii. â€” Of the feast at which it ivas objected at once that Christ ate with sinners,
and that His disciples did not fast; of the circumstance that the evangelists seem to give
different accounts of the parties by whom these objections were alleged; and of the
question whether Matthew and Mark and Luke are also in harmony with each other in the
reports given of the words of these persons, and of the replies returned by the Lord.

60. Matthew, accordingly, goes on to say: "And it came to pass, as He sat at meat in the
house, behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with Jesus and His
disciples; " and so on, down to where we read, " But they put
new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved." 1 Here Matthew has not told us particularly in whose house it was that Jesus was sitting at meat along with the publicans and sinners. This might make it appear as if he had not appended this notice in its strict order here, but had introduced at this point, in the way of reminiscence, something which actually took place on a different occasion, were it not that Mark and Luke, who repeat the account in terms thoroughly similar, have made it plain that it was in the house of Levi â€” that is to say, Matthew â€” that Jesus sat at meat, and all these sayings were uttered which follow. For Mark states the same fact, keeping also the same order, in the following manner: " And it came to pass, as He sat at meat in his house, many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus." 2 Accordingly, when he says, " in his house," he certainly refers to the person of whom he was speaking directly before, and that was Levi. To the same effect, after the words, " He saith unto him, Follow me; and he left all, rose up, and followed Him," 3 Luke has appended immediately this statement: " And Levi made Him a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with them." And thus it is manifest in whose house it was that these things took place.

61. Let us next look into the words which these three evangelists have all brought in as having been addressed to the Lord, and also into the replies which were made by Him. Matthew says: " And when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto His disciples, Why eateth your master with publicans and sinners ? " 4 This reappears very nearly in the same words in Mark: " How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners ? " 5 Only we find thus that Matthew has omitted one thing which Mark inserts â€” namely, the addition " and drinketh." But of what consequence can that be, since the sense is fully given, the idea suggested being that they were partaking of a repast in company ? Luke, on the other hand, seems to have recorded this scene somewhat differently. For his version proceeds thus: " But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against His disciples, saying, "Why do ye eat

1 Matt. ix. 10-17. 2 Mark ii. 15. 3 Luke v. 27-29.

â€œ Matt. ix. 11. Â«Markii. 16.
and drink with publicans and sinners?" 1 But his intention in this certainly is not to indicate that their Master was not referred to on that occasion, but to intimate that the objection was levelled against all of them together, both Himself and His disciples; the charge, however, which was to be taken to be meant both of Him and of them, being addressed directly not to Him, but to them. For the fact is that Luke himself, no less than the others, represents the Lord as making the reply, and saying, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." 3 And He would not have returned that answer to them, had not their words, "Why do ye eat and drink?" been directed very specially to Himself. For the same reason, Matthew and Mark have told us that the objection which was brought against Him was stated immediately to His disciples, because, when the allegation was addressed to the disciples, the charge was thereby laid all the more seriously against the Master whom these disciples were imitating and following. One and the same sense, therefore, is conveyed; and it is expressed all the better in consequence of these variations employed in some of the terms, while the matter of fact itself is left intact. In like manner we may deal with the accounts of the Lord's reply. Matthew's runs thus:

"They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; but go ye and learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners." 4 Mark and Luke have also preserved for us the same sense in almost the same words, with this exception, that they both fail to introduce that quotation from the prophet, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." Luke, again, after the words, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners," has added the term, "unto repentance." This addition serves to bring out the sense more fully, so as to preclude any one from supposing that sinners are loved by Christ, purely for the very reason that they are sinners. For this similitude also of the side indicates clearly what God means by the calling of sinners, "that it is like the physician with the sick," and that its object verily is that men should be saved from their iniquity as from disease; which healing is effected by repentance.

62. In the same way, we may subject what is said about the disciples of John to examination. Matthew's words are these: "Then came to Him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft?" 1 The purport of Mark's version is similar: "And the disciples of John and the Pharisees 2 used to fast. 3 And they come and say unto Him, Why do the disciples of John and the Pharisees 4 fast, but thy disciples fast


2 Non utique magistrum eorum nolens illic intelligi, with most mss. The reading volens occurs in some = not meaning their Master to be referred to, he intimates, etc.

3 Luke v. 32. 4 Omitting in jioznitenliam â€” unto repentance.
not?" 5 The only semblance of a discrepancy that can be found here, is in the possibility of supposing that the mention of the Pharisees as having spoken along with the disciples of John is an addition of Mark's, while Matthew states only that the disciples of John expressed themselves to the above effect. But the words which were actually uttered by the parties, according to Mark's version, rather indicate that the speakers and the persons spoken of were not the same individuals. I mean, that the persons who came to Jesus were the guests who were then present, that they came because the disciples of John and the Pharisees were fasting, and that they uttered the above words with respect to these parties.

In this way, the evangelist's phrase, they come, would not refer to the persons regarding whom he had just thrown in the remark, "And the disciples of John and the Pharisees were fasting." But the case would be, that as those parties were fasting, some others here, who are moved by that fact, come to Him, and put this question to Him, " Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?" This is more clearly expressed by Luke. For, evidently with the same idea in his mind, after stating what answer the Lord returned in the words in which He spoke about the calling of sinners under the similitude of those who are sick, he proceeds thus: " And they said unto Him, Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise the disciples of the

1 Matt. iv. 11. 2 Pharisees not Phariseorum.

3 Or, as Augustine's reasoning implies that he understood it, were fasting â€”

trtmt jtjvmante*.

4 Phar'tHoiorum. 5 ^lark ii. 18.

2G8 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [ROOK IT.

Pharisees, but thine eat and drink?" ' Here, then, we see that, as was the case with Mark, Luke has mentioned one party as speaking to this intent in relation to other parties. How comes it, therefore, that Matthew says, " Then came to Him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast?"'

The explanation may be, that those individuals were also present, and that all these various parties were eager to advance this charge, as they severally found opportunity. And the sentiments which sought expression on this occasion have been conveyed by the three evangelists under varied terms, but yet without any divergence from a true statement of the fact itself.

63. Once more, we find that Matthew and Mark have given similar accounts of what was said about the children of the bridegroom not fasting as long as the bridegroom is with them, with this exception, that Mark has named them the children of the bridals, 2 while Matthew has designated them the children of the bridegroom. 3 That, however, is a matter of no moment. For by the children of the bridals we understand at once those
connected with the bridegroom, and those connected with the bride. The sense, therefore, is obvious and identical, and neither different nor contradictory. Luke, again, does not say, "Can the children of the bridegroom fast" but, "Can ye make the children of the bridegroom fast, while the bridegroom is with them?" By expressing it in this method, the evangelist has elegantly opened up the selfsame sense in a way calculated to suggest something else. For thus the idea is conveyed, that those very persons who were speaking would try to make the children of the bridegroom mourn and fast, inasmuch as they would [seek to] put the bridegroom to death. Moreover, Matthew's phrase, mourn, is of the same import as that used by Mark and Luke, namely, fast. For Matthew also says further on, "Then shall they fast," and not, "Then shall they mourn." But by the use of this phrase, he has indicated that the Lord spoke of that kind of fasting which pertains to the lowliness of tribulation. In the same way, too, the Lord may be understood to have pictured out a different kind of fasting, which stands related to the rapture of a mind dwelling in the heights of things spiritual, and for that reason

1 Luke v. 33. 2 Filios nuptiarum. 3 Filios sponsi.

CHAP. XXVIII.] THE RAISING OF THE RULER'S DAUGHTER. 2G9

estranged in a certain measure from the meats that are for the body, when He made use of those subsequent similitudes touching the new cloth and the new wine, by which He showed that this land of fasting is an incongruity for sensual and carnal people, who are taken up with the cares of the body, and who consequently still remain in the old mind. These similitudes are also embodied in similar terms by the other two evangelists. And it should be sufficiently evident that there need be no real discrepancy, although one may introduce something, whether belonging to the subject-matter itself, or merely to the terms in which that subject is expressed, which another leaves out; provided only that there be neither any departure from a genuine identity in sense, nor any contradiction created between the different forms which may be adopted for expressing the same thing.

Ciiap. xxviii. â€” Of the raising of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, and of the woman who touched the hem of His garment; of the question, also, as to whether the order in which these incidents are narrated exhibits any contradiction in any of the writers by whom they are reported; and in particular, of the words in which the ruler of the synagogue addressed his request to the Lord.

G4. Still keeping by the order of time, Matthew next continues to the following effect: "While He spake these things unto them, behold, there came a certain ruler, and worshipped Him, saying, My daughter is even now dead; but come and lay Thy hand upon her, and she shall live;" and so on, until we come to the words, "and the maid arose. And the fame hereof went abroad into all that land." 2 The other two, namely, Mark and Luke, in like manner give this same account, only they do not keep by the same order now. For they bring up this narrative in a different place, and insert it in another
connection; to wit, at the point where He crosses the lake and returns from the country of the Gerasenes, after casting out the devils and permitting them to go into the swine. Thus Mark introduces it, after he has related what took place among the Gerasenes, in the following manner: "And when Jesus was passed over again by ship unto the other side, much people gathered unto Him: and He was nigh unto the sea. And there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name; and when

1 Auinialibus. 2 Matt. ix. 18-26.

270 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

he saw Him, he fell at His feet," etc. 1 By this, then, we axe certainly to understand that the occurrence in connection with the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue did take place after Jesus had passed across the lake again in the ship. It does not, however, appear from the words themselves how long after that passage this thing happened. But that some time did elapse is clear. For had there not been an interval, no period would be left within which those circumstances might fall which Matthew has just related in the matter of the feast in his house. These, indeed, he has told after the fashion of the evangelists, as if they were the story of another person's doings. But they are the story really of what took place in his own case, and at his own house. And after that narrative, what follows in the immediate context is nothing else than this notice of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue. For he has constructed the whole recital in such a manner, that the mode of transition from one thing to the other has itself indicated with sufficient clearness that the words immediately following give the narrative of what actually took place in immediate consecution. For after mentioning, in connection with the former incident, those words which Jesus spake with respect to the new cloth and the new wine, he has subjoined these other words, without any interruption in the narrative, namely, " While He spake these things unto them, behold, there came a certain ruler." And this shows that, if the person approached Him while He was speaking these things, nothing else either done or said by Him could have intervened. In Mark's account, on the other hand, the place is quite apparent, as we have already pointed out, where other things [left unrecorded by him] might very well have come in. The case is much the same also with Luke, who, when he proceeds to follow up his version of the story of the miracle wrought among the Gerasenes, by giving his account of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, does not pass on to that in any such way as to place it in antagonism with Matthew's version, who, by his words, <( While He yet spake these things," gives us plainly to understand that the occurrence took place after those parables about the cloth and the wine. For when he

1 Mark v. 21-43.

CHAP. XXVIII.] THE RAISING OF THE RULER'S DAUGHTER. 271
has concluded his statement of what happened among the Gerasenes, Luke passes to the
next subject in the following manner: "And it came to pass that, when Jesus was returned,
the people gladly received Him; for they were all waiting for Him. And, behold, there
came a man named Jairus, and he was a ruler of the synagogue, and he fell down at Jesus' feet,"
and so on. 1 Thus we are given to understand that the crowd did indeed receive Jesus
forthwith on the said occasion: for He was the person for whose return they were waiting.
But what is conveyed in the words which are directly added, "And, behold, there came a
man whose name was Jairus," is not to be taken to have occurred literally in immediate
succession. On the contrary, the feast with the publicans, as Matthew records it, took
place before that. For Matthew connects this present incident with that feast in such a
way as to make it impossible for us to suppose that any other sequence of events can be
the correct order.

65. In this narrative, then, which we have undertaken to consider at present, all these
three evangelists indeed are unquestionably at one in the account which they give of the
woman who was afflicted with the issue of blood. Nor is it a matter of any real
consequence, that something which is passed by in silence by one of them is related by
another; or that Mark says, "Who touched my clothes %" while Luke says, "Who
touched me ?" For the one has only adopted the phrase in use and wont, whereas the
other has given the stricter expression. But for all that, both of them convey the same
meaning. For it is more usual with us to say, You are tearing me? than to say, You are
tearing my clothes; as, notwithstanding the term, the sense we wish to convey is obvious
enough.

66. At the same time, however, there remains the fact that Matthew represents the ruler of
the synagogue to have spoken to the Lord of his daughter, not merely as one likely to die,
or as dying, or as on the very point of expiring, but as even then dead; while these other
two evangelists report her

a now nigh unto death, but not yet really dead, and keep so
â– jictly to that version of the circumstances, that they tell us how the persons came at a
later stage with the intelligence of her actual death, and with the message that for this
reason

1 Luke viii. 40-56. 2 Conscindis.

272 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]
the Master ought not now to trouble Himself by coming, with the purpose of laying His hand upon her, and so preventing her from dying, â€” the matter not being put as if He was one possessed of ability to raise the once dead to life. It becomes necessary for us, therefore, to investigate this fact, lest it may seem to exhibit any contradiction between the accounts. And the way to explain it is to suppose that, by reason of brevity in the narrative, Matthew has preferred to express it as if the Lord had been really asked to do what it is clear He did actually do, namely, raise the dead to life. For what Matthew directs our attention to, is not the mere words spoken by the father about his daughter, but what is of more importance, his mind and purpose. Thus he has given words calculated to represent the father's real thoughts. For he had so thoroughly despaired of his child's case, that not believing that she whom he had left just dying, could possibly now be found yet in life, his thought rather was that she might be made alive again. Accordingly two of the evangelists have introduced the words which were literally spoken by Jairus. But Matthew has exhibited rather what the man secretly wished and thought. Thus both petitions were really addressed to the Lord; namely, either that He should restore the dying damsel, or that, if she was already dead, He might raise her to life again. But as it was Matthew's object to tell the whole story in short compass, he has represented the father as directly expressing in his request what, it is certain, had been his own real wish, and what Christ actually did. It is true, indeed, that if those two evangelists, or one of them, had told us that the father himself spake the words which the parties who came from his house uttered, â€” namely, that Jesus should not now trouble Himself, because the damsel had died, â€” then the words which Matthew has put into his mouth would not be in harmony with his thoughts. But, as the case really stands, it is not said that he gave his consent to the parties who brought that report, and who bade the Master no more think of coming now. And together with this, we have to observe, that when the Lord addressed him in these terms, " Fear not: believe only, and she shall be made whole," 1 He did not find

1 Luke viii. 50.

CHAP. XXVIII.] THE RAISING OF THE RULER'S DAUGHTER. 273

fault with him on the ground of his want of belief, but really encouraged him to a yet stronger faith. For this ruler had faith like that which was exhibited by the person who said,

" Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief." 1

6 7. Seeing, then, that the case stands thus, from these varied and yet not inconsistent modes of statement adopted by the evangelists, we evidently learn a lesson of the utmost utility, and of great necessity, â€” namely, that in any man's words the thing which we ought narrowly to regard is only the writer's thought which was meant to be expressed, and to which the words ought to be subservient; and further, that we should not suppose one to be giving an incorrect statement, if he happens to convey in different words what the person really meant whose words he fails to reproduce literally. And we ought not to
let the wretched cavillers at words fancy that truth must be tied somehow or other to the jots and tittles of letters; whereas the fact is, that not in the matter of words only, but equally in all other methods by which sentiments are indicated, the sentiment itself, and nothing else, is what ought to be looked at.

68. Moreover, as to the circumstance that some codices of Matthew's Gospel contain the reading, " For the woman 2 is not dead, but sleepeth," while Mark and Luke certify that she was a damsel of the age of twelve years, we may suppose that Matthew has followed the Hebrew mode of speech here.
For in other passages of Scripture, as well as here, it is found that not only those who had already known a man, but all females in general, including untouched virgins, are called women. 3 That is the case, for instance, where it is written of Eve, " He made it 4 into a woman;" 5 and again, in the book of Numbers, where the women 6 who have not known a man by lying with him, that is to say, the virgins, are ordered to be saved from being put to death. 7 Adopting the same phraseology, Paul, too, says of Christ Himself, that He was 'â– ’ made of a woman." 8 And it is better, therefore, to underbid the matter according to these analogies, than to suppose that this damsel of twelve years of age was already married, or had known a man.

1 Mark ix. 24.

2 Mulier.

3 Mulieres.

4 Earn, her.

5 Gen. ii. 22.
HARMONY.

6 Mulieres.

7 Num. xxxi. 18.
274 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

Chap. xxix. "Of the two blind men and the dumb demoniac whose stories are
related only by Matthew.

69. Matthew proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: "And when Jesus
departed thence, two blind men followed Him, crying and saying, Thou son of David,
have mercy on us;" and so on, down to the verse where we read,
"But the Pharisees said, He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils." *
Matthew is the only one who introduces this account of the two blind men and the dumb
demoniac. For those two blind men, whose story is given also by the others, 2 are not the
two before us here. Nevertheless there is such similarity in the occurrences, that if
Matthew himself had not recorded the latter incident as well as the former, it might have
been thought that the one which he relates at present has also been given by these other
two evangelists. There is this fact, therefore, which we ought to bear carefully in mind,
"namely, that there are some occurrences which resemble each other. For we have a
proof of this in the circumstance that the very same evangelist mentions both incidents
here. And thus, if at any time we find any such occurrences narrated individually by the
several evangelists, and discover some contradiction in the accounts, which seems not to
admit of being solved [on the principle of harmonizing], it may occur to us that the
explanation simply is, that this
[apparently contradictory] circumstance did not take place [on that particular occasion],
but that what did happen then was only something resembling it, or something which was
gone about in a similar manner.

Chap. xxx. "Of the section where it is recorded, that being moved with compas-
son for the multitudes, He sent His disciples, giving them power to work cures, and charged
them with many instructions, directing them how to live; and of the question concerning
the proof of Matthew's harmony here with Mark and Luke, especially on the subject of
the staff, which Matthew says the Lord told them they were not to carry, while according
to Mark it is the only thing they were to carry; and also of the wearing of the shoes and
coats.

70. As to the events next related, it is true that their exact order is not made apparent by
Matthew's narrative. For after the notices of the two incidents in connection with the

1 Matt. ix. 27-34. 2 Mark x. 46-52; Luke xviii. 35-43.
blind men and the dumb demoniac, he continues in the following manner: "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the kingdom of the gospel, and healing every sickness and every disease. But when He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion on them, because they were troubled and prostrate, as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith He unto His disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few: pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest. And when He had called unto Him His twelve disciples, He gave them power against unclean spirits;" and so forth, down to the words, "Verily I say unto you, He shall not lose his reward." 4 This whole passage which we have now mentioned shows how He gave many counsels to His disciples. But whether Matthew has subjoined this section in its historical order, or has made its order dependent only on the succession in which it came up to his own mind, as has already been said, is not made apparent. Mark appears to have handled this paragraph in a succinct method, and to have entered upon its recital in the following terms: "And He went round about the villages, teaching in their circuit: 5 and He called unto Him the twelve, and began to send them by two and two, and gave them power over unclean spirits;" and so on, down to where we read, c: Shake off the dust from your feet for a testimony against them."  (But before narrating this incident, Mark has inserted, immediately after the story of the raising of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, an account of what took place on that occasion on which, in His own country, the people were astonished at the Lord, and asked from whence He had such wisdom and such capabilities, 7 when they perceived His judgment: which account is given by Matthew after these counsels to the disciples, and after a number of other matters. 8 It is uncertain, therefore, whether what thus happened in His own country has been recorded by Matthew in the succession in

1 Regnum evangelii. 2 Vexati et jacentes.

3 The mss. read ejlcias: some editions have mittat, send.

4 Matt ix. 35-x. 42. 5 j n circuitu docens. 6 Mark vi. 6-11.
7 Virtutes. 8 Matt xiii> 54 _

276 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

which it came to mind, after having been omitted at first, or whether it has been introduced by Mark in the way of an anticipation; and which of them, in short, has kept the order of actual occurrence, and which of them the order of his own recollection. Luke,
again, in immediate succession to the mention of the raising of the daughter of Jairus to life, subjoins this paragraph, bearing on the power and the counsels given to the disciples, and that indeed with as great brevity as Mark. 1 This evangelist, however, does not, any more than the others, introduce the subject in such a way as to produce the impression that it comes in also in the strictly historical order. Moreover, with regard to the names of the disciples, Luke, who gives their names in another place, 2 â€” that is to say, in the earlier passage, where they are [represented as being] chosen on the mountain, â€” is not at variance in any respect with Matthew, with the exception of the single instance of the name of Judas the brother of James, whom Matthew designates Thaddeus, although some codices also read Lebbeus. 3 But who would ever think of denying that one man may be known under two or three names?

71. Another question which it is also usual to put is this: How comes it that Matthew and Luke have stated that the Lord said to His disciples that they were not to take a staff with them, whereas Mark puts the matter in this way: " And He commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only;" 4 and proceeds further in this strain, " no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse: " thereby making it quite evident that his narrative belongs to the same place and circumstances with which the narratives of those others deal who have mentioned that the staff was not to be taken? Now this question admits of being solved on the principle of understanding that the staff which, according to Mark, was to be taken, bears one sense, and that the staff which, according to Matthew and Luke, was not to be taken

2 The Ratisbon edition and nineteen mss. read alio nomine, by another name, instead of alio loco. â€” Migne.
3 In five mss. Lebdceum, Lebdeus, is given instead of Lebbeus, but wrongly, as appears from the Greek text of Matt. x. 3. â€” Migne.
4 Mark vi. 8.

CHAP. XXX.] THE STAFF ON THE JOURNEY. 277

with them, is to be interpreted in a different sense; just in the same way as we find the term temptation used in one meaning, when it is said, " God tempteth no man," 1 and in a different meaning where it is said, " The Lord your God tempteth [proveth] you, to know whether ye love Him." 2
For in the former case the temptation of seduction is intended; but in the latter the temptation of probation. Another parallel occurs in the case of the term judgment, which must be taken in one way, where it is said, "They that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment;" 3 and in another way, where it is said, "Judge me, God, and discern my cause, in respect of an ungodly nation." 5 For the former refers to the judgment of damnation, and the latter to the judgment of discrimination.

72. And there are many other words which do not retain one uniform signification, but are introduced so as to suit a variety of connections, and thus are understood in a variety of ways, and sometimes, indeed, are adopted along with an explanation. We have an example in the saying, "Be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye little children, that in understanding ye may be perfect." 7 For here is a sentence which, in a brief and pregnant form, might have been expressed thus: "Be ye not children; howbeit be ye children." The same is the case with the words, "If any man among you thinketh himself to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise." 8 For what else is the statement there but this: "Let him not be wise, that he may be wise"? Moreover, the sentences are sometimes so put as to exercise the judgment of the inquirer. An instance of this kind occurs in what is said in the Epistle to the Galatians: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so ye will fulfil the law of Christ. For if a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. But it is meet that every man should prove his own work; and then

1 Jas. i. 13. 2 Deut. xiii. 3. 3 I Ilt icii. John v. 29.
4 Disceme. 5 Ps. xliii. 1. 6 Pueri.
7 Parvuli ostote ut sensibus perfecti sitis. 1 Cor. xiv. 20.
8 1 Cop. iii. 18.

278 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [riOOK II.

shall he have rejoicing in himself, and not in another. For every man shall bear his own burden." 1 Now, unless the word burden can be taken in different senses, without doubt one would suppose that the same writer contradicts himself in what he says here, and that, too, when the words are placed
in such close neighbourhood in one paragraph. For when he has just said, "One shall bear another's burdens," after the lapse of a very brief interval he says, "Every man shall bear his own burden." But the one refers to the burdens which are to be borne in sharing in one's infirmity, the other to the burdens borne in the rendering of an account of our own actions to God: the former are burdens to be borne in our duties of fellowship with brethren; the latter are those peculiar to ourselves, and borne by every man for himself. And in the same way, once more, the rod of which the apostle spoke in the words, "Shall I come unto you with a rod?" 2 is meant in a spiritual sense; while the same term bears the literal meaning when it occurs of the rod applied to a horse, or used for some other purpose of the kind, not to mention, in the meantime, also other metaphorical significations of this phrase.

73. Both these counsels, therefore, must be accepted as having been spoken by the Lord to the apostles; namely, at once that they should not take a staff, and that they should take nothing save a staff only. For when He said to them, according to Matthew, "Provide neither gold nor silver, nor money in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet a staff," He added immediately, "for the workman is worthy of his meat." And by this He
makes it sufficiently obvious why it is that He would have them provide and carry none of these things. He shows that His reason was, not that these things are not necessary for the sustenance of this life, but because He was sending them in such a manner as to declare plainly that these things were due to them by those very persons who were to hear believably the gospel preached by them; just as wages are the soldier's due, and as the fruit of the vine is the right of the planters, and the milk of the flock the right of the shepherds. For which reason Paul also speaks in this wise: " Who goeth 1 Gal. vi. 2-5. 2 1 Cor. iv. 21.

a warfare any time at his own charges ? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof ? who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" 1 For under these figures he was speaking of those things which are necessary to the preachers of the gospel. And so, a little further on, he says: " If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things ? If others are partakers of this power over you, are not we rather ? Nevertheless we have not used this power." 2 This makes it apparent that by these instructions the Lord did not mean that the evangelists should not seek their support in any other way than by depending on what was offered them by those to whom they preached the gospel (otherwise this very apostle acted contrary to this precept when he acquired a livelihood for himself by the labours of his own hands, because he would not be chargeable to any of them 3 ), but that He gave them a power in the exercise of which they should know such things to be their due. Now, when any commandment is given by the Lord, there is the guilt of non-obedience if it is not observed; but when any power is given, any one is at liberty to abstain from its use, and, as it were, to recede from his right. Accordingly, when the Lord spake these things to the disciples, He did what that apostle expounds more clearly a little further on, when he says, " Do ye not know that they who minister in the temple 4 live of the things of the temple ? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar ?

CHAP. XXX.] THE COUNSELS TO THE APOSTLES. 279
Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel. But I have used none of these things." When he says, therefore, that the Lord ordained it thus, but that he did not use the ordinance, he certainly indicates that it was a power to use that was given him, and not a necessity of service that was imposed upon him.

74. Accordingly, as our Lord ordained what the apostle declares Him to have ordained, â€” namely, that those who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, â€” He gave these counsels to the apostles in order that they might be without the care

1 1 Cor. ix. 7. 2 1 Cor. ix. 11, 12. 3 1 Thess. ii. 9.

4 In templo operantur. 6 1 Cor. ix. 13-15.

280 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

of providing * or of carrying with them things necessary for this life, whether great or the very smallest; consequently He introduced this term, " neither a staff," with the view of showing that, on the part of those who were faithful to Him, all things were due to His ministers, who themselves, too, required nothing superfluous. And thus, when He added the words, " For the workman is worthy of his meat," He indicated quite clearly, and made it thoroughly plain, how and for what reason it was that He spake all these things. It is this kind of power, therefore, that the Lord denoted under the term staff, when He said that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only. For the sentence might also have been briefly expressed in this way: " Take with you none of the necessaries of life, neither a staff, save a staff only." So that the phrase neither a staff may be taken to be equivalent to not even the smallest things; while the addition, save a staff only, may be understood to mean that, in virtue of that power which they received from the Lord, and which was signified by the name staff [or, rod], even those things which were not carried with them would not be wanting to them. Our Lord therefore used both phrases. But inasmuch as one and the same evangelist has not recorded them both, the writer who has told us that the rod, as introduced in the one sense, was to be taken, is supposed to be in antagonism to him who has told us that the rod, as occurring again in the other sense, was not to be taken. After this explanation of the matter, however, no such supposition ought to be entertained.

75. In like manner, also, when Matthew tells us that the shoes were not to be carried with them on the journey, what is intended is the checking of that care which thinks that such things must be carried with them, because otherwise they might be unprovided. Thus, too, the import of what is said regarding the two coats is, that none of them should think of taking with him another coat in addition to the one in which he was clad, as if he was afraid that he might come to be in want, while all the time the power (which was received
from the Lord) made him sure of getting what was needful. To the same effect, when
Mark says that they were to be shod

1 Possiderent, possessing.

CHAP. XXX.] THE TWO COATS. 281

with sandals or soles, he gives us to understand that this matter of the shoe has some sort
of mystical significance, the point being that the foot is to be neither covered, nor yet left
bare to the ground; by which the idea may be conveyed that the gospel was neither to be
concealed, nor yet made to depend on the good things of earth. And as to the fact that
what is forbidden is neither the carrying nor the possessing of two coats, but more
distinctly the putting of them on, â€” the words being, and not put on two coats, â€” what
counsel is conveyed to them therein but this, that they ought to walk not in duplicity, but
in simplicity?

70. Thus it is not by any means to be made a matter of doubt that the Lord Himself spake
all these words, some of them with a literal import, and others of them with a figurative,
although the evangelists may have introduced them only in part into their writings, â€”
one inserting one section, and another giving a different portion. Certain passages, at the
same time, have been recorded in identical terms either by some two of them, or by some
three, or even by all the four together. And yet not even when this is the case can we take
it for granted that everything has been committed to writing which was either uttered or
done by Him. Moreover, if any one fancies that the Lord could not in the course of the
same discourse have used some expressions with a figurative application and others with
a literal, let him but examine His other addresses, and he will see how rash and
inconsiderate such a notion is. For, then (to mention but a single
instance which occurs
meantime to my mind), when Christ gives the counsel not to let the left hand know what
the right hand doeth, 1 he may suppose himself under the necessity of accepting in the
same figurative sense at once the almsgivings themselves referred to, and the other
instructions offered on that occasion.

77. In good truth, I must repeat here once more an admonition which it behoves the
reader to keep in mind, so as not to be requiring that kind of advice so very frequently,
namely, that in various passages of His discourses, the Lord has reiterated much which
He had uttered already on other occasions. It is

1 Matt. vi. 3.

282 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]
needful, indeed, to call this fact to mind, lest, when it happens that the order of such passages does not appear to fit in with the narrative of another of the evangelists, the reader should fancy that this establishes some contradiction between them; whereas he ought really to understand it to be due to the fact that something is repeated a second time in that connection which had been already expressed elsewhere. And this is a remark that should be held applicable not only to His words, but also to His deeds. For there is nothing to hinder us from believing that the same thing may have taken place more than once. But for a man to impeach the gospel simply because he does not believe in the repeated occurrence of some incident, which no one [at least] can prove to be an impossible event, betrays mere sacrilegious vanity.

Chap. xxxi. â€” Of the account given by Matthew and Luke of the occasion when John the Baptist was in prison, and despatched his disciples on a mission to the Lord.

78. Matthew proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: " And it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of commanding His twelve disciples, He departed thence to teach and to preach in their cities. Now, when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto Him, Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another? " and so on, until we come to the words, " And Wisdom is justified of her children." 1 This whole section relating to John the Baptist, touching the message which he sent to Jesus, and the tenor of the reply which those whom he despatched received, and the terms in which the Lord spoke of John after the departure of these persons, is introduced also by Luke. 2 The order, however, is not the same. But it is not made clear which of them gives the order of his own recollections, and which keeps by the historical succession of the things themselves.

Chap. xxxii. â€” Of the occasion on which He upbraided the cities because they repented not, which incident is recorded by Luke as well as by Matthew; and of the question regarding Matthew's harmony ivith Luke in the matter of the order.

79. Thereafter Matthew goes on as follows: " Then began


CHAP. XXXIII.] THE UPBRAIDING OF THE CITIES. 283

He to upbraid the cities wherein most of His mighty works were done, because they repented not; " and so on, down to where we read, " It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom at the day of judgment, than for you." 1 This section likewise is given by Luke, who reports it also as an utterance from the lips of the Lord in connection with a certain continuous discourse which He delivered. This circumstance makes it the rather appear that Luke has recorded these words in the strict consecution in which they were spoken by the Lord, while Matthew has kept by the order of his own recollections. Or if it is supposed that Matthew's words, " Then began He to upbraid the cities," must be taken in
such a way as to imply that the intention was to express, by the term then, the precise point of time at which the saying was uttered, and not to signify in a somewhat broader way the period at which many of these things were done and spoken, then I say that any one entertaining that idea may equally well believe these sentences to have been pronounced on two different occasions. For if it is the fact that even in one and the same evangelist some things are found which the Lord utters twice over, as is the case with this very Luke in the instance of the counsel not to take a scrip for the journey, and so with other things in like manner which we find to have been spoken by the Lord in two different places, 2 â€” why should it seem strange if some other word of the Lord, which was originally uttered on two separate occasions, may happen also to be recorded by two several evangelists, each of whom gives it in the order in which it was actually spoken, and if thus the order seems to be different in the two, simply because the sentences were uttered both on the occasion noticed by the one, and on that referred to by the other?

Chap, xxxiii. â€” Of the occasion on which He calls them to take His yoke and burden upon them, and of the question as to the absence of any discrepancy between Matthew and Luke in the order of narration.

80. Matthew proceeds thus: "At that time Jesus answered and said, I make my acknowledgment to Thee, 3 Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent," and so on, down to where

1 Matt xi. 20-24. 3 Luke ix. 3, x. 4. 3 Confiteor tibi.

234 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

we read, "For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." 1 This passage is also noticed by Luke, but only in part. For he does not give us the words, " Come unto me, all ye that labour," and the rest. It is, however, quite legitimate to suppose that all this may have been said on one occasion by the Lord, and yet that Luke has not recorded the whole of what was said on that occasion. For Matthew's phrase is, that " at that time Jesus answered and said," by which is meant the time after His upbraiding of the cities. Luke, on the other hand, interposes some matters, although they are not many, after that upbraiding of the cities; and then he subjoins this sentence: " In that hour He rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, 2 and said." 3 Thus, too, we see that even if Matthew's expression had been, not " at that time," but " in that very hour," still what Luke inserts in the interval is so little that it would not appear an unreasonable thing to give it as all spoken in the same hour.
Chap. xxxiv. â€” Of the passage in which it is said that the disciples plucked the ears of corn and ate them; and of the question as to how Matthew, Mark, and Luke are in harmony with each other with respect to the order of narration there.

81. Matthew continues his history in the following terms:
"At that time Jesus went on the Sabbath-day through the corn; and His disciples were an hungered, and began to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat;" and so forth, on to the words, "For the Son of man is Lord even of the Sabbath-day." 4 This is also given both by Mark and by Luke, in a way precluding any idea of antagonism. 5 At the same time, these latter do not employ the definition "at that time." That fact, consequently, may perhaps make it the more probable that Matthew has retained the order of actual occurrence here, and that the others have kept by the order of their own recollections; unless, indeed, this phrase "at that time" is to be taken in a broader sense, that is to say, as indicating the period at which these many and various incidents took place.


Chap. xxxv. â€” Of the man with the withered hand, who was restored on the Sabbath-day; and of the question as to how Matthew's narrative of this incident can be harmonized with those of Mark and Luke, either in the matter of the order of events, or in the report of the words spoken by the Lord and by the Jews.

82. Matthew continues his account thus: "And when He was departed thence, He went into their synagogue: and, behold, there was a man which had his hand withered;" and so on, down to the words, "And it was restored whole, like as the other." 1 The restoring of this man who had the withered hand is also not passed over in silence by Mark and Luke. 2 Now, the circumstance that this day is also designated a Sabbath might possibly lead us to suppose that both the plucking of the ears of corn and the healing of this man took place on the same day, were it not that Luke has made it plain that it was on a different Sabbath that the cure of the withered hand was wrought. Accordingly, when Matthew says, "And when He was departed thence, He came into their synagogue," the words do indeed import that the said coming did not take place until after He had departed from the previously mentioned locality; but, at the same time, they leave the question undecided as to the number of days which may have elapsed between His passing from the aforesaid corn-field and His coming into their synagogue; and they express nothing as to His going there in direct and immediate succession. And thus space is offered us for getting in the
narrative of Luke, who tells us that it was on another Sabbath that this man's hand was restored.

But it is possible that a difficulty may be felt in the circumstance that Matthew has told us how the people put this question to the Lord, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?" wishing thereby to find an occasion for accusing Him; and that in reply He set before them the parable of the sheep in these terms: "What man shall there be among you that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the Sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it and lift it out? How much, then, is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath-days;" whereas Mark and Luke rather represent the people to have had this question put

1 Matt. xii. 9-13. 2 Mark iii. 1-5; Luke vi. 6-10. 3 Matt. xii. 10-12.

286 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

to them by the Lord, "Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day, or to do evil? to save life, or to kill?" We solve this difficulty, however, by the supposition that the people in the first instance asked the Lord, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day?" that thereupon, knowing the thoughts of the men who were thus seeking an occasion for accusing Him, He set the man whom He had been on the point of healing in their midst, and addressed to them the interrogations which Mark and Luke mention to have been put; that, as they remained silent, He next put before them the parable of the sheep, and drew the conclusion that it was lawful to do good on the Sabbath-day; and that, finally, when He had looked round about on them with anger, as Mark tells us, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, He said to the man, "Stretch forth thine hand."

Chap. xxxvi. â€” Of another question which demands our consideration, namely, whether, in passing from the account of the man whose withered hand was restored, these three evangelists proceed to their next subjects in such a way as to create no contradictions in regard to the order of their narrations.

83. Matthew continues his narrative, connecting it in the following manner with what precedes: "But the Pharisees went out and held a council against Him, how they might destroy Him. But when Jesus knew it, He withdrew Himself from thence: and great multitudes followed Him, and He healed them all; and charged them that they should not make Him known: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Esaias, saying;" and so forth, down to where it is said, "And in His name shall the Gentiles trust." 2 He is the only one that records these facts. The other two have advanced to other themes. Mark, it is true, seems to some extent to have kept by the historical order: for he tells us how Jesus, on discovering the malignant disposition which was entertained toward Him by the Jews, withdrew to the sea along with His disciples, and that then vast multitudes flocked to Him, and He healed great numbers of them. 3 But, at the same time,
it is not quite clear at what precise point He begins to pass to a new subject, different from what would have followed in strict succession. He leaves it uncertain whether

1 Mark iii. 4; Luke vi. 9. 2 Matt. xii. 14-21. 3 Mark iii. 7-12.

CHAP. XXXVII.] THE DUMB AND BLIND DEMONIAC. 287

such a transition is made at the point where he tells us how the multitudes gathered about Him (for if that was the case now, it might equally well have been the case at some other time), or at the point where He says that "He goeth up into a mountain." It is this latter circumstance that Luke also appears to notice when he says, " And it came to pass in those days, that He went out into a mountain to pray." 1 For by the expression " in those days," he makes it plain enough that the incident referred to did not occur in immediate succession upon what precedes.

Chap. xxxvii. â€” Of the consistency of the accounts given by Matthew and Luke regarding the dumb and blind man who was possessed with a devil.

84. Matthew then goes on with his recital in the following fashion: " Then was brought unto Him one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb; and He healed him, insomuch that he both spake and saw." 2 Luke introduces this narrative, not in the same order, but after a number of other matters. He also speaks of the man only as dumb, and not as blind in addition. 3 But it is not to be inferred, from the mere circumstance of his silence as to some portion or other of the account, that he speaks of an entirely different person. For he has likewise recorded what followed [immediately after that cure], as it stands also in Matthew.

CHAP. XXXVIII. â€” Of the occasion on which it was said to Him that He cast out devils in the power of Beelzebub, and of the declarations drawn forth from Him by that circumstance in regard to the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, and with respect to the two trees; and of the question whether there is not some discrepancy in these sections between Matthew and the other two evangelists, and particularly between Matthew and Luke.

85. Matthew proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: " And all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David ? But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow doth not cast out devils but in Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. And Jesus knew their thoughts, and said unto them, Every kingdom divided against itself shall be

light to desolation;" and so on, down to the words, " By thy
ds thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be
condemned." 4 Mark does not bring in this allegation against Jesus, that He cast out devils in [the power of] Beelzebub, in


288 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

immediate sequence on the story of the dumb man; but after certain other matters, recorded by himself alone, he introduces this incident also, either because he recalled it to mind in a different connection, and so appended it there, or because he had at first made certain omissions in his history, and after noticing these, took up this order of narration again. 1 On the other hand, Luke gives an account of these things almost in the same language as Matthew has employed. 2 And the circumstance that Luke here designates the Spirit of God as the finger of God, does not betray any departure from a genuine identity in sense; but it rather teaches us an additional lesson, giving us to know in what manner we are to interpret the phrase " the finger of God " wherever it occurs in the Scriptures. Moreover, with regard to other matters which are left unmentioned in this section both by Mark and by Luke, no difficulty can be raised by these. Neither can that be the case with some other circumstances which are related by them in somewhat different terms, for the sense still remains the same.

Chap. xxxix. â€” Of the question as to the manner of Matthew's agreement with Luke in the accounts which are given of the Lord's reply to certain persons who sought a sign, when He spoke of Jonas the prophet, and of the Ninevites, and of the Queen of the South, and of the unclean spirit which, when it has gone out of the man, returns and finds the house garnished.

86. Matthew goes on and relates what followed thus:
" Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign of thee;" and so on, down to where we read, "Even so shall it be also unto this wicked generation." 3 These words are recorded also by Luke in this connection, although in a somewhat different order. 4 For he has mentioned the fact that they sought of the Lord a sign from heaven at an earlier point in his narrative, which makes it follow immediately on his version of the miracle wrought on the dumb man. He has not, however, recorded there the reply which was given to them by the Lord. But further on, after [telling us how] the people were gathered together, he states that this answer was returned to the persons who, as he gives us to understand, were mentioned by him in those earlier verses as seeking of Him a sign from heaven. And that reply
he also subjoins, only after introducing the passage regarding the woman who said to the
Lord, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee." 1 This notice of the woman, moreover, he
inserts after relating the Lord's discourse concerning the unclean spirit that goes out of
the man, and then returns and finds the house garnished. In this way, then, after the notice
of the woman, and after his statement of the reply which was made to the multitudes on
the subject of the sign which they sought from heaven, he brings in the similitude of the
prophet Jonas; and then, directly continuing the Lord's discourse, he next instances what
was said concerning the Queen of the South and the Ninevites. Thus he has rather related
something which Matthew has passed over in silence, than omitted any of the facts which
that evangelist has narrated in this place.
And furthermore, who can fail to perceive that the question as to the precise order in
which these words were uttered by the Lord is a superfluous one? For this lesson also we
ought to learn, on the unimpeachable authority of the evangelists, namely, that no offence against truth need be supposed on the part of a writer, although
he may not reproduce the discourse of some speaker in the precise order in which the
person from whose lips it proceeded might have given it; the fact being, that the mere
item of the order, whether it be this or that, does not affect the subject-matter itself. And
by his present version Luke indicates that this discourse of the Lord was of greater length
than we might otherwise have supposed; and he records certain topics handled in it,
which resemble those which are mentioned by Matthew in his recital of the sermon which
was delivered on the mount. 2 So that we take these words to have been spoken twice
over, to wit, on that previous occasion, and again on this one. But on the conclusion of
this discourse Luke proceeds to another subject, as to which it is uncertain whether, in the
account which he gives of it, he has kept by the order of actual occurrence. For he
connects it in this way: "And as He spake, a certain Pharisee besought Him to dine with
him." 3 He does not say, however, as He spake these words, but only as He spake. For if
he had said, as He spake these words, the expression would of course

IIAlimonY. T

290 THE IIAlimonY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

have compelled us to suppose that the incidents referred to, besides being recorded by
him in this order, also took place on the Lord's part in that same order.

Chap. xl. â€” Of the question as to whether there is any discrepancy between Matthew on
the one hand, and Mark and Luke on the other, in regard to the order in which the notice
is given of the occasion on which His mother and His brethren were announced to Him.
8 7. Matthew then proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: "While He yet talked to the people, behold, His mother and His brethren stood without, desiring to speak to Him;" and so on, down to the words, "For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." 1 Without doubt, we ought to understand this to have occurred in immediate sequence on the preceding incidents. For he has prefaced his transition to this narrative by the words, "While He yet talked to the people;" and what does this term yet refer to, but to the very matter of which He was speaking on that occasion? For the expression is not, "When He talked to the people, behold, His mother and His brethren;" but, "While He was yet speaking," etc. And that phraseology compels us to suppose that it was at the very time when He was still engaged in speaking of those things which were mentioned immediately above. For Mark has also related what our Lord said after His declaration on the subject of the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. He gives it thus: * And there came His mother and His brethren," 2 omitting certain matters which meet us in the context connected, with that discourse of the Lord, and which Matthew has introduced there with greater fulness than Mark, and Luke, again, with greater fulness than Matthew. On the other hand, Luke has not kept the historical order in the report which he offers of this incident, but has given it by anticipation, and has narrated it as he recalled it to memory, at a point antecedent to the date of its literal occurrence. But furthermore, he has brought it in in such a manner that it appears dissociated from any close connection either with what precedes it or with what follows it. For, after reporting certain of the Lord's parables, he has introduced his notice

1 Matt. xii. 46-50. 2 Mark iii. 31-35.

chap, xll] various parables. 201

of what took place with His mother and His brethren in the following manner: " Then came to Him His mother and His brethren, and could not come at Him for the press." 1 Thus he has not explained at what precise time it was that they came to Him. And again, when he passes off from this subject, he proceeds in these terms: " Now it came to pass on one of the days, that He went into a ship with His disciples." 2 And certainly, when he employs this expression, " it came to pass on one of the days," he indicates clearly enough that we are under no necessity of supposing that the day meant was the very day on which this incident took place, or the one following in immediate succession. Consequently, neither in the matter of the Lord's words, nor in that of the historical order of the occurrences related, does Matthew's account of the incident which occurred in connection with the mother and the brethren of the Lord, exhibit any want of harmony with the versions given of the same by the other two evangelists.

Chap. xlt. â€” Of the words which were spolcen out of the ship on the subject of the sower, whose seed, as he sowed it, fell partly on the wayside, etc.; and concerning the man who had tares sowed over and above his wheat; and concerning the grain of mustard seed and the leaven; as also of what He said in the house regarding the treasure hid in the
field, and the pearl, and the net cast into the sea, and the man that brings out of his
treasure tilings new and old; and of the method in which Matthew's harmony with Mark
and Luke is proved both with respect to the things which they have reported in common
with him, and in the matter of the order of narration.

88. Matthew continues thus: "In that day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea-
side: and great multitudes were gathered together unto Him, so that He went into a ship
and sat, and the whole multitude stood on the shore. And He spake many things unto
them in parables, saying;" and so on, down to the words, "Therefore every scribe which
is instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which
bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." 3 That the things narrated in this
passage took place immediately after the incident touching the mother and the brethren of
the Lord, and that Matthew has also retained that historical order in his version of these
events, is indicated by the circumstance that, in passing from

292 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [lOOK II.

the one subject to the other, he has expressed the connection by this mode of speech: "In
that day went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea-side; and great multitudes were
gathered together unto Him." For by adopting this phrase, in that day
(unless perchance the word day, in accordance with a use and wont of the Scriptures, may
signify simply time), he intimates clearly enough either that the thing now related took
place in immediate succession on what precedes, or that much at least could not have
intervened. This inference is confirmed by the fact that Mark keeps by the same order. 1
Luke, on the other hand, after his account of what happened with the mother and the
brethren of the Lord, passes to a different subject. But at the same time, in making that
transition, he does not institute any such connection as bears the appearance of a want of
consistency with this order. 2 Consequently, in all those passages in which Mark and
Luke have reported in common with Matthew the words which were spoken by the Lord,
there is no questioning their harmony with one another.
Moreover, the sections which are given by Matthew only are en much more beyond
the range of controversy. And in the matter of the order of narration, although it is
presented somewhat differently by the various evangelists, according as they have
proceeded severally along the line of historical succession, or along that of the succession
of recollection, I see as little reason for alleging any discrepancy of statement or any
contradiction between any of the writers.

Chap. xlii. â€” Of His coming into His own country, and of the astonishment of the
people at His doctrine, as they looked with contempt upon His lineage; of Matthew's
harmony with Mark and Luke in this section; and in particular, of the question whether
the order of narration which is presented by the first of these evangelists does not exhibit
some want of consistency with that of the other two.
89. Matthew then proceeds as follows: "And it came to pass that, when Jesus had finished these parables, He departed thence: and when He was come into His own country, He taught them in their synagogues;" 3 and so on, down to the words, "And He did not many mighty works there because of

1 Mark iv. 1-34. 2 Luke viii. 22.

3 Three MSS., however, give in synagogue eorumâ€”their synagogueâ€”as in our version.

CHAP. XLII.] THE ASTONISHMENT AT HIS DOCTRINE. 293

their unbelief." 1 Thus he passes from the above discourse containing the parables, on to this passage, in such a way as not to make it absolutely necessary for us to take the one to have followed in immediate historical succession upon the other. All the more may we suppose this to be the case, when we see how Mark passes on from these parables to a subject which is not identical with Matthew's directly succeeding theme, but quite different from that, and agreeing rather with what Luke introduces; and how he has constructed his narrative in such a manner as to make the balance of credibility rest on the side of the supposition, that what followed in immediate historical sequence was rather the occurrences which these two latter evangelists both insert in near connection [with the parables], â€” namely, the incidents of the ship in which Jesus was asleep, and the miracle performed in the expulsion of the devils in the country of the Gerasenes, 2 â€”

two events which Matthew has already recalled and introduced at an earlier stage of his record. 3 At present, therefore, we have to consider whether [Matthew's report of] what the Lord spoke, and what was said to Him in His own country, is in concord with the accounts given by the other two, namely, Mark and Luke. For, in widely different and dissimilar sections of his history, John mentions words, either spoken to the Lord or spoken by Him, 4 which resemble those recorded in this passage by the other three evangelists.

90. Now Mark, indeed, gives this passage in terms almost precisely identical with those which meet us in Matthew; with the one exception, that what he says the Lord was called by His fellow-townsmen is, the carpenter, and the son of Mary, 5 and not, as Matthew tells us, the carpenter's son. Neither is there anything to marvel at in this, since He might quite fairly
have been designated by both these names. For in taking
Him to be the son of a carpenter, they naturally also took Him
to be a carpenter. Luke, on the other hand, sets forth the
same incident on a wider scale, and records a variety of other
matters which took place in that connection. And this
account he brings in at a point not long subsequent to His
1 Matt. xiii. 53-58. 2 Mark iv 35j v# l7 . Llke v iii. 22-37.
3 Matt. viii. 23-34. * John vi. 42. 6 Mark vi. 1-6.

294 THE HAEMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]
baptism and temptation, thus unquestionably introducing by anticipation what really
happened only after the occurrence of a number of intervening circumstances. In this,
therefore, every one may see an illustration of a principle of prime consequence in
relation to this most weighty question concerning the harmony of the evangelists, which
we have undertaken to solve by the help of God, â€” the principle, namely, that it is not
by mere ignorance that these writers have been led to make certain omissions, and that it
is as little through simple ignorance of the actual historical order of events that they have
[at times] preferred to keep by the order in which these events were recalled to their own
memory. The correctness of this principle may be gathered most clearly from the fact
that, at a point antecedent to any account given by him of anything done by the Lord at
Capharnaum, Luke has anticipated the literal date, and has inserted this passage which we
have at present under consideration, and in which we are told how His fellow-citizens at
once were astonished at the might of the authority which was in Him, and expressed their
contempt for the meanness of His family. For he tells us that He addressed them in these
terms: " Ye will surely say unto me, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever w T e have heard
done in Capharnaum, do also here in thy country;" 1 while, so far as the narrative of this
same Luke is concerned, we have not yet read of Him as having done anything at
Capharnaum. Furthermore, as it will not take up much time, and as, besides, it is both a
very simple and a highly needful matter to do so, we insert here the whole context,
showing the subject from which and the method in which the writer has come to give the
contents of this section. After his statement regarding the Lord's baptism and temptation,
he proceeds in these terms: " And when the devil had ended all the temptation, he
departed from Him for a season. And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into
Galilee: and there went out a fame of Him through all the region round about. And He
taught in their synagogues, and was magnified of all. And He came to Nazareth, where
He had been brought up: and, as his custom was, He went into the synagogue on the
Sabbath-day, and stood up for

1 Luke iv. 23.

CHAP. XLIII. ] HEROD'S words. 295
to read. And there was delivered unto Him the book of the prophet Esaias: and when He
had opened the book, He found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is
upon me, because He hath anointed me. He hath sent me to preach the gospel to the poor,
to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that
are bruised, to proclaim the accepted year of the Lord, and the day of retribution. And
when He had closed the book, He gave it again to the minister, and sat down: and the
eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on Him.
And He began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all
bore Him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of His
mouth. And they said, Is not this Joseph's son? And He said unto them, Ye will surely
say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself: whatsoever we have heard done in
Caphamaum, do also here in thy country." * And so he continues with the rest, until this
entire section in his narrative is gone over. What, therefore, can be more manifest, than
that he has knowingly introduced this notice at a point antecedent to its historical date,
seeing it admits of no question that he knows and refers to certain mighty deeds done by
Him before this period in Caphamaum, which, at the same time, he is aware he has not as
yet narrated in detail? For certainly he has not made such an advance with his history
from his notice of the Lord's baptism, as that he should be supposed to have forgotten the
fact that up to this point he has not mentioned any of the things which took place in
Capphamaum; the truth being, that he has just begun here, after the baptism, to give us his
narrative concerning the Lord personally.

Chap, xliii. â€” Of the mutual consistency of the accounts which are given by rftthew,
Marie, and Luke of what teas said by Herod on hearing about the wonderful works of the
Lord, and of their concord in regard to the order of narration.

91. Matthew continues: "At that time Herod the tetrarch heard of the fame of Jesus, and
said unto his servants, This is John the Baptist: he is risen from the dead; and therefore


29 G THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [HOOK IT.
mighty works do show forth themselves in him." ! Mark gives the same passage, and in
the same manner, but not in the same order. 2 For, after relating how the Lord sent forth
the disciples with the charge to take nothing with them on the journey save a staff only,
and after bringing to its close so much of the discourse which was then delivered as has
been recorded by him, he has subjoined this section. He does not, however, connect it in
such a way as to compel us to suppose that what it narrates took place actually in
immediate sequence on what precedes it in the history. And in this, indeed, Matthew is at
one with him. For Matthew's expression is, " at that time," not " on that day," or " at that
hour." Only there is this difference between them, that Mark refers not to Herod himself
as the utterer of the words in question, but to the people, his statement being this: " They
said 3 that John the Baptist was risen from the dead; " whereas Matthew makes Herod
himself the speaker, the phrase being: " He said unto his servants." Luke, again, keeping
the same order of narration as Mark, and introducing it also indeed, like Mark, in no such
way as to compel us to suppose that his order must have been the order of actual
occurrence, presents his version of the same passage in the following terms: " Herod the
tetrarch heard of all that was done by Him: and he was perplexed, because that it was said
of some, that John was risen from the dead; and of some, that Elias had appeared; and of
others, that one of the old prophets was risen again. And Herod said, John have I
beheaded: but who is this of whom I hear such things ?
And he desired to see Him;' 4 In these words Luke also attests Mark's statement, at least
so far as concerns the affirmation that it was not Herod himself, but other parties, who
said that John was risen from the dead. But as regards his mentioning how Herod was
perplexed, and his bringing in thereafter those words of the same prince: " John have I
beheaded: but who is this of whom I hear such things ? " we must either understand that
after the said perplexity he be-

1 Matt. xiv. 1, 2. - Mark vi. 14-16.
3 Dlcebant; so that the reading 'ixiyov is followed instead of 'ikiyiv in Mark vi. 14. 4

CHAP. XLIV.] THE BAPTIST'S FATE. 297

came persuaded in his own mind of the truth of what was asserted by others, when he
spoke to his servants, in accordance with the version given by Matthew, which runs thus:
" And he said to his servants, This is John the Baptist: he is risen from the dead; and
therefore mighty works do show forth themselves in him;" or we must suppose that these
words were uttered in a manner betraying that he was still in a state of perplexity. For had
he said, " Can this be John the Baptist ? " or, " Can it chance that this is John the Baptist ?
" there would have been no need of saying anything about a mode of utterance by which
he might have revealed his dubiety and perplexity. But seeing that these forms of
expression are not before us, his words may be taken to have been pronounced in either
of two ways: so that we may either suppose him to have been convinced by what was
said by others, and so to have spoken the words in question with a real belief [in John's
reappearance]; or we may imagine him to have been still in that state of hesitancy of which mention is made by Luke. Our explanation is favoured by the fact that Mark, who had already told us how it was by others that the statement was made as to John having risen from the dead, does not fail to let us know also that in the end Herod himself spoke to this effect: "It is John whom I beheaded: he is risen from the dead." For these words may also be taken to have been pronounced in either of two ways, â€“ namely, as the utterances either of one corroborating a fact, or of one in doubt. Moreover, while Luke passes on to a new subject after the notice which he gives of this incident, those other two, Matthew and Mark, take occasion to tell us at this point in what way John was put to death by Herod.

CHAP. xlv. Of the order in which the accounts of John's imprisonment and death are given by these three evangelists.

92. Matthew then proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: "For Herod laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother's wife;" and so on, down to the words, "And his disciples came and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told Jesus." 1

Mark gives this narrative in similar terms. 2 Luke, on the other hand, does not relate it in the same succession, but introduces it in connection with his statement of the baptism wherewith the Lord was baptized. Hence we are to understand him to have acted by anticipation here, and to have taken the opportunity of recording at this point an event which took place actually a considerable period later. For he has first reported those words which John spake with regard to the Lord â€“ namely, that "His fan is in His hand, and that He will throughly purge His floor, and will gather the wheat into His garner; but the chaff He will burn up with fire unquenchable;" and immediately thereafter he has appended his statement of an incident which the evangelist John demonstrates not to have taken place in direct historical sequence.

For this latter writer mentions that, after Jesus had been baptized, He went into Galilee at the period when He turned the water into wine; and that, after a sojourn of a few days in Capharnaum, He left that district and returned to the land of Judea, and there baptized a multitude about the Jordan, previous to the time when John was imprisoned. 1 Now what reader, unless he were all the better versed 2 in these writings, would not take it to be implied here that it was after the utterance of the words with regard to the fan and the purged floor that Herod became incensed against John, and cast him into prison I Yet, that the incident referred to here did not, as matter of fact, occur in the order in which it is here recorded, we have already shown elsewhere; and, indeed, Luke himself puts the proof into our hands. 3 For if [he had meant that] John's incarceration took place
immediately after the utterance of those words, then what are we to make of the fact that in Luke's own narrative the baptism of Jesus is introduced subsequently to his notice of the imprisonment of John? Consequently it is manifest that, recalling the circumstance in connection with the present occasion, he has brought it in here by anticipation, and has thus inserted it in his history at a point antecedent to a number of incidents.

1Jo iii. 12, iii. 22-24.

2 The reading in the mss. and in Migne's text is, quis autem non putet qui minus in his Utteris eruditus est; for which some give, quis autem non putet ?iisi qui minus, etc.


CHAP. XLV.] THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES. 299

of which it was his purpose to leave us some record, and which, in point of time, were antecedent to this mishap that befell John. But it is as little the case that the other two evangelists, Matthew and Mark, have placed the fact of John's imprisonment in that position in their narratives which, as is apparent also from their own writings, belonged to it in the actual order of events. For they, too, have told us how it was on John's being cast into prison that the Lord went into Galilee; and then, after [relating] a number of things which He did in Galilee, they come to Herod's admonition or doubt as to the rising again from the dead of that John whom he beheaded; and in connection with this latter occasion, they give us the story of all that occurred in the matter of John's incarceration and death.

CiiAr. xlv. â€” Of the order and the method in which all the four evangelists come to the narration of the miracle of the five loaves.

93. After stating how the report of John's death was brought to Christ, Matthew continues his account, and introduces it in the following connection: "When Jesus heard of it, He departed thence by ship into a desert place apart: and when the people had heard thereof, they followed Him on foot out of the cities. And He went forth, and saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them, and He healed their sick." He mentions, therefore, that this took place immediately after John had suffered. Consequently it was after this that those things took place which have been previously recorded â€” namely, the circumstances which alarmed Herod, and induced him to say, "John have I beheaded." 4

For it must surely be understood that these incidents occurred subsequently which report carried to the ears of Herod, so that he became anxious, and was in perplexity as to who that person possibly could be of whom he heard things so remarkable, when he had himself put John to death. Mark, again, after relating how John suffered, mentions that the disciples
had been sent forth returned to Jesus, and told Him all that they had done and taught; and that the Lord (a fact which he alone records) directed them to rest for a little while

att. iv. 12; Mark i. 14. 2 Matt. xiv. 1, 2; Mark vi. 14-16.


300 THE IIATJMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

in a desert place, and that He went on board a vessel with them, and departed; and that the crowds of people, when they perceived that movement, went before them to that place; and that the Lord had compassion on them, and taught them many things; and that, when the hour was now advancing, it came to pass that all who were present were made to eat of the five loaves and the two fishes. 1 This miracle has been recorded by all the four evangelists. For in like manner, Luke, who has given an account of the death of John at a much earlier stage in his narrative, 2 in connection with the occasion of which we have spoken, in the present context tells us first of Herod's perplexity as to who the Lord could be, and immediately thereafter appends statements to the same effect with those in Mark, â€” namely, that the apostles returned to Him, and reported to Him all that they had done; and that then He took them with Him and departed into a desert place, and that the multitudes followed Him thither, and that He spake to them concerning the kingdom of God, and restored those who stood in need of healing. Then, too, he mentions that, when the day was declining, the miracle of the five loaves was wrought. 3

94. But John, again, who differs greatly from those three in this respect, that he deals more with the discourses which the Lord delivered than with the works which He so marvellously wrought, after recording how He left Judea and departed the second time into Galilee, which departure is understood to have taken place at the time to which the other evangelists also refer when they tell us that on John's imprisonment He went into Galilee, â€” after recording this, I say, John inserts in the immediate context of his narrative the considerable discourse which He spake as He was passing through Samaria, on the occasion of His meeting with the Samaritan woman whom He found at the well; and then he states that two days after this He departed thence and went into Galilee, and that thereupon He came to Cana of Galilee, where He had turned the water into wine, and that there He healed the son of a certain nobleman. 4 But as to other things which

1 Mark vi. 30-44. 2 Luke iii. 20.

the rest have told us He did and said in Galilee, John is silent. At the same time, however,
he mentions something which the others have left unnoticed, â€” namely, the fact that He
went up to Jerusalem on the day of the feast, and there wrought the miracle on the man
who had the infirmity of thirty-eight years' standing, and who found no one by whose
help he might be carried down to the pool in which people afflicted with various diseases
were healed. In connection with this, John also relates how He spake many things on that
occasion. He tells us, further, that after these events He departed across the sea of Galilee,
which is also the sea of Tiberias, and that a great multitude followed Him; that thereupon
He went away to a mountain, and there sat with His disciples, â€” the passover, a feast of
the Jews, being then nigh; that then, on lifting up His eyes and seeing a very great
company, He fed them with the five loaves and the two fishes; 1
which notice is given us also by the other evangelists. And this makes it certain that he
has passed by those incidents which form the course along which these others have come
to introduce the notice of this miracle into their narratives. Nevertheless, while different
methods of narration, as it appears, are prosecuted, and while the first three evangelists
have thus left unnoticed certain matters which the fourth has recorded, we see how those
three, on the one hand, who have been keeping nearly the same course, have found a
direct meeting-point with each other at this miracle of the five loaves; and how this fourth
writer, on the other hand, who is conversant above all with the profound teachings of the
Lord's discourses, in relating some other matters on which the rest are silent, has sped
round in a certain method upon their track, and, while about to soar off from their
pathway after a brief space again into the region of loftier subjects, has found a meeting-
point with them in the view of presenting this narrative of the miracle of the five loaves,
which is common to them all.

I HAP. xlvi. â€” Of the question as to how the four evangelists harmonize with each other
on this same subject of the miracle of the five loaves.

95. Matthew then proceeds and carries on his narrative in due consecution to the said
incident connected with the five

1 John v.-vi. 13.

302 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

loaves in the following manner: " And when it was evening, His disciples came to him,
saying, This is a desert place, and the time is now past; send the multitude away, that they
may go into the villages, and buy themselves victuals. But Jesus said unto them, They
need not depart: give ye them to eat; "
and so forth, down to where we read, "And the number of those who ate was five
thousand men, besides women and children." 1 This miracle, therefore, which all the four
evangelists record, 2 and in which they are supposed to betray certain discrepancies with
each other, must be examined and subjected to discussion, in order that we may also learn from this instance some rules which will be applicable to all other similar cases in the form of principles regulating modes of statement in which, however diverse they may be, the same sense is nevertheless retained, and the same veracity in the expression of matters of fact is preserved. And, indeed, this investigation ought to begin not with Matthew, although that would be in accordance with the order in which the evangelists stand, but rather with John, by whom the narrative in question is told with such particularity as to record even the names of the disciples with whom the Lord conversed on this subject. For he gives the history in the following terms: "When Jesus then lifted up His eyes, and saw a very great company come unto Him, He saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat? And this He said to prove him; for He Himself knew what He would do. Philip answered Him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little. One of His disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto Him, There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two fishes; but what are they among so many? Jesus said therefore, Make the men sit down. Now there was much grass in the place. So the men sat down, in number about five thousand. Jesus then took the loaves; and when He had given thanks, He distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would. And when they were filled, He said unto His disciples, Gather up the fragments that remain, that they be not lost. Therefore


CHAP. XLVI.] THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES. 303

they gathered them together, and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves, which remained over and above unto them that had eaten." 1

96. The inquiry which we have here to handle does not concern itself with a statement given by this evangelist, in which he specifies the kind of loaves; for he has not omitted to mention, what has been omitted by the others, that they were barley loaves. Neither does the question deal with what he has left unnoticed, ëîô” namely, the fact that, in addition to the five thousand men, there were also women and children, as Matthew tells us. And it ought now by all means to be a settled matter, and one kept regularly in view in all such investigations, that no one should find any difficulty in the mere circumstance that something which is unrecorded by one writer is related by another. But the question here is as to how the several matters narrated by these writers may be [shewn to be] all true, so that the one of them, in giving his own peculiar version, does not put out of court the account offered by the other. For if the Lord, according to the narrative of John, on seeing the multitudes before Him, asked Philip, with the view of proving him, whence bread might be got to be given to them, a difficulty may be raised
as to the truth of the statement which is made by the others, â€“ namely, that the disciples
first said to the Lord that He should send the multitudes away, in order that they might go
and purchase food for themselves in the neighbouring localities, and that He made this
reply to them, according to Matthew: " They need not depart; give ye them to eat." 2
With this last Mark and Luke also agree, only that they leave out the words, " They need
not depart." We are to suppose, therefore, that after these words the Lord looked at the
multitude, and spoke to Philip in the terms which John records, but which those others
have omitted. Then the reply which, according to John, was made by Philip, is mentioned
by Mark as having been given by the disciples, â€“ the intention being, that we should
understand Philip to have returned this answer as the mouthpiece of the rest; although
they may also have put the plural number in place of the singular, according to very
frequent usage. The words here actually ascribed to Philip â€“

1 John vi. 5-13. 2 Matt. xiv. 16.

304 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

namely, " Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of
them may take a little" 1 â€“ have their counterpart in this version by Mark, " Shall we go
and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat ? " ~
The expression, again, which the same Mark relates to have been used by the Lord,
namely, " How many loaves have ye?"
has been passed by without notice by the rest. On the other hand, the statement occurring
in John, to the effect that Andrew made the suggestion about the five loaves and the two
fishes, appears in the others, who use here the plural number instead of the singular, as a
notice referring the suggestion to the disciples generally. And, indeed, Luke has coupled
Philip's reply together with Andrew's answer in one sentence. For when he says, "We
have no more but five loaves and two fishes," he reports Andrew's response; but when he
adds,
" except we should go and buy meat for all this people," he seems to carry us back to
Philip's reply, only that he has left unnoticed the " two hundred pennyworth." At the same
time, that [sentence about the going and buying meat] may also be understood to be
implied in Andrew's own words. For after saying, " There is a lad here which hath five
barley loaves and two fishes," he likewise subjoined, " But what are they among so
many?" And this last clause really means the same 'as the expression in question, namely,
" except we should go and buy meat for all this people."

97. From all this variety of statement which is found in connection with a genuine
harmony in regard to the matters of fact and the ideas conveyed, it becomes sufficiently
clear that we have the wholesome lesson inculcated upon us, that what we have to look to
in studying a person's words is nothing else than the intention of the speakers; in setting
forth which intention all truthful narrators ought to take the utmost pains when they record anything, whether it may relate to man, or to angels, or to God. For the subjects' mind and intention admit of being expressed in words which should leave no appearance of any discrepancies as regards the matter of fact.

98. In this connection, it is true, we ought not to omit to direct the reader's attention to certain other matters which may

1 John vi. 7. 2 Mark vi. 37.

CHAP. XLVII.] THE WALKING UPON THE SEA. 305

turn out to be of a kindred nature with those already considered.
One of these is found in the circumstance that Luke has stated that they were ordered to sit down by fifties, whereas Mark's version is that it was by hundreds and by fifties. This difference, however, creates no real difficulty. The truth is, that the one has reported simply a part, and the other has given the whole. For the evangelist who has introduced the notice of the hundreds as well as the fifties has just mentioned something which the other has left unmentioned. But there, is no contradiction between them on that account. If, indeed, the one had noticed only the fifties, and the other only the hundreds, they might certainly have seemed to be in some antagonism with each other, and it might not have been easy to make it plain that both instructions were actually uttered, although only the one has been specified by the former writer, and the other by the latter. And yet, even in such a case, who will not acknowledge that when the matter was subjected to more careful consideration, the solution should have been discovered?
This I have instanced now for this reason, that matters of that kind do often present themselves, which, while they really contain no discrepancies, appear to do so to persons who pay insufficient attention to them, and pronounce upon them inconsiderately.

C.i at. xlvii. â€” Of His icalking upon the water, and of the questions regarding the harmony of the evangelists who have narrated that scene, and regarding the manner in which they pass off from the section recording the occasion on which He fed the multitudes ith the five loaves.

99. Matthew goes on with his account in the folio wingterms: " And when He had sent the multitudes away, He went up into a mountain apart to pray: and when the evening was come, He was there alone. But the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves: for the wind was contrary. And in the fourth watch of the night He came unto them, walking on the sea. And when the disciples saw Him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit;"
and so on, down to the words, "They came and worshipped Him, saying, Of a truth Thou art the Son of God." 1 In like manner, Mark, after narrating the miracle of the five loaves,

1 Matt. xiv. 23-33.
gives his account of this same incident in the following terms:

And when it was late, the ship was in the midst of the sea, and He alone on the land. And He saw them toiling in rowing: for the wind was contrary to them," and so on. 1 This is similar to Matthew's version, except that nothing is said as to Peter's walking upon the waters. But here we must see to it, that no difficulty be found in what Mark has stated regarding the Lord, namely, that, when He walked upon the waters, He would also have passed by them. For in what way could they have understood this, were it not that He was really proceeding in a different direction from them, as if minded to pass those persons by like strangers, who were so far from recognising Him that they took Him to be a spirit? Who, however, is so obtuse as not to perceive that this bears a mystical significance? At the same time, too, He came to the help of the men in their perturbation and outcry, and said to them, "Be of good cheer, it is I; be not afraid." What is the explanation, therefore, of His wish to pass by those persons whom nevertheless He thus encouraged when they were in terror, but that that intention to pass them by was made to serve the purpose of drawing forth those cries to which, it was meet to bear succour?  

Furthermore, John still tarries for a little space with these others. For, after his recital of the miracle of the five loaves, he also gives us some account of the vessel that laboured, and of the Lord's act in walking upon the sea. This notice he connects with his preceding narrative in the following manner:

"When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take Him by force and make Him a king, He departed again into a mountain Himself alone. And when it became late, His disciples went down unto the sea; and when they had entered into a ship, they came over the sea to Capharnaum: and it was now dark, and Jesus was not come to them. And the sea arose by reason of a great wind that blew," and so on. 2 In this there cannot appear to be anything contrary to the records preserved in the other Gospels, unless it be the circumstance that Matthew tells us how, when the multitudes were sent away, He went up into a mountain, in order that there He might pray alone; while 1 Mark vi. 47-54. 2 John vi. 15-21.

John states that He was on a mountain with those same multitudes whom He fed with the five loaves. 1 But seeing that John also informs us how He departed into a mountain after the said miracle, to preclude His being taken possession of by the multitudes, who wished to make Him a king, it is surely evident that they had come down from the mountain to
more level ground when those loaves were provided for the crowds. And consequently there is no contradiction between the statements made by Matthew and John as to His going up again to the mountain. The only difference is, that Matthew uses the phrase He went up, while John's term is He departed. And there would be an antagonism between these two, only if in departing He had not gone up. Nor, again, is any want of harmony betrayed by the fact that Matthew's words are, " He went up into a mountain apart to pray; " whereas John puts it thus: " When He perceived that they would come to make Him a king, He departed again into a mountain Himself alone." Surely the matter of the departure is in no way a thing antagonistic to the matter of prayer.

For, indeed, the Lord, who in His own person transformed the body of our humiliation in order that He might make it like unto the body of His own glory, hereby taught us also the truth that the matter of departure should be to us in like manner grave matter for prayer. Neither, again, is there any defect of consistency proved by the circumstance that [Matthew has told us first how He commanded His disciples to embark in the little ship, and to go before Him unto the other side of the lake until He sent the multitudes away, and then informs us that, after the multitudes were sent away, He Himself went up into a mountain alone to pray; while John mentions first that He departed unto a mountain alone, and then proceeds thus: " And when it became late, His disciples came down unto the sea; and when they had entered into a ship;' etc. For who will not perceive that, in recapitulating

1 Reading in monte fuisse cum eisdem turbis quas de quinque panibus pavit. According to Migne, this is the reading of several mss. of the better class; some twelve other mss. give in monte fuisse cum easdem turbas, etc. = "He was on a mountain when He fed," etc. Some editions have also in montem fugisse cum easdem, etc. = " He departed to a mountain when He fed," etc.

- Phil. iii. 21.

308 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

the facts, John has spoken of something as actually done at a later point by the disciples, which Jesus had already charged them to do before His own departure unto the mountain; just as it is a familiar procedure in discourse, to revert in some fashion or other to any matter which otherwise would have been passed over ? But inasmuch as it may not be specifically noted that a reversion, especially when done briefly and instantaneously, is made to something omitted, the auditors are sometimes led to suppose that the occurrence which is mentioned at the later stage also took place literally at the later period. In this way the evangelist's statement really is, that to those persons whom he had described as embarking in the ship and coming across the sea to Capharnaum, the Lord came, walking toward them upon the waters, as they were toiling in the deep; which approach of the Lord of course took place at the earlier point, during the said voyage in which they were making their way to Capharnaum.
101. On the other hand, Luke, after the record of the miracle of the five loaves, passes to another subject, and diverges from this order of narration. For he makes no mention of that little ship, and of the Lord's pathway over the waters. But after the statement conveyed in these words, "And they did all eat, and were filled, and there was taken up of fragments that remained to them twelve baskets," he has subjoined the following notice: "And it came to pass, as He was alone praying, His disciples were with Him; and He asked them, saying, Whom say the people that I am?" 1 Thus he relates in this succession something new, which is not given by those three who have left us the account of the manner in which the Lord walked upon the waters, and came to the disciples when they were on the voyage. It ought not, however, on this account, to be supposed that it was on that same mountain to which Matthew has told us He went up in order to pray alone, that He said to His disciples, "Whom say the people that I am?" For Luke, too, seems to harmonize with Matthew in this, because his words are, "as He was alone praying; " while Matthew's were, "He went up unto a mountain alone to pray." But it must by all means be held to

1 Luke ix. 17, 18.

CHAP, XLVIII.] the tradition of the elders. 309

have been on a different occasion that He put this question, since [it is said here, both that] He prayed alone, and [that] the disciples were with Him. Thus Luke, indeed, has mentioned only the fact of His being alone, but has said nothing of His being without His disciples, as is the case with Matthew and John, since [according to these latter] they left Him in order to go before Him to the other side of the sea. For with unmistakeable plainness Luke has added the statement that "His disciples also were with Him." Consequently, in saying that He was alone, he meant his statement to refer to the multitudes, who did not abide with Him.

Chap, xlviii. â€” Of the absence of any discrepancy between Matthew and Mark on the one hand, and John on the other, in the accounts which the three give together of what took place after the other side of the lake was reached.

102. Matthew proceeds as follows: "And when they were gone over, they came into the land of Genesar. And when the men of that place had knowledge of Him, they sent out unto all that country round about, and brought unto Him all that were diseased, and besought Him that they might only touch the hem of His garment: and as many as touched were made perfectly whole. Then came to Him scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem, saying, Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? for they wash not their hands when they eat bread," and so on, down to the words, "But to eat with unwashen hands defileth not a man." 1 This is also related by Mark, in a way which precludes the raising of any question about discrepancies. For anything expressed here by the one in a form differing from that used by the other, involves at least no departure
from identity in sense. John, on the other hand, fixing his attention, as his wont is, upon
the Lord's discourses, passes on from the notice of the ship, which the Lord reached by
walking upon the waters, to what took place after they disembarked upon the land, and
mentions that He took occasion from the eating of the bread to deliver many
"lis. dealing pre-eminently with divine things. After this address, too, his narrative is
again borne on to one subject after another, in a sublime strain. 2 At the same time, this
transition which he thus makes to different themes does not

1 Matt xiv. 31-xv. 20. 2 John vi. 22-72.

310 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

involve any real want of harmony, although he exhibits certain divergences from these
others, with the order of events presented by the rest of the evangelists. For what is there
to hinder us from supposing at once that those persons, whose story is given by Matthew
and Mark, were healed by the Lord, and that He delivered this discourse which John
recounts to the people who followed Him across the sea? Such a supposition is made all
the more reasonable by the fact that Capernaum, to which place they are said, according
to John, to have crossed, is near the lake of Genesar; and that, again, is the district into
which they came, according to Matthew, on landing

Chap. xlix. â€” Of the woman of Canaan who said, " Yet the dogs eat of the crumbs
which fall from their masters' tables," and of the harmony between the account given by
Matthew and that by Luke.

103. Matthew, accordingly, proceeds with his narrative, after the notice of that discourse
which the Lord delivered in the presence of the Pharisees on the subject of the unwashed
hands. Preserving also the order of the succeeding events, as far as it is indicated by the
transitions from the one to the other, he introduces this account into the context in the
following manner: " And Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and
Sidon. And, behold, a woman 'of Canaan came out of the same coasts, and cried unto
Him, saying, Have mercy on me, Lord, Thou son of David; my daughter is grievously
vexed with a devil. But He answered her not a word," and so on, down to the words, "
woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made
whole from that very hour." 1 This story of the woman of Canaan is recorded also by
Mark, who keeps the same order of events, and gives no occasion to raise any question as
to a want of harmony, unless it be found in the circumstance that he tells us how the Lord
was in the house at the time when the said woman came to Him with the petition on
behalf of her daughter. 2 Now we might readily suppose that Matthew has simply omitted
mention of the house, while nevertheless relating the same occurrence. But inasmuch as
he states that the disciples made the suggestion

to Him in these terms, "Send her away, for she crieth after us," he seems to imply distinctly that the woman gave utterance to these cries of entreaty behind the Lord as He walked on. In what sense, then, could it have "been " in the house," unless we are to take Mark to have intimated the fact, that she had gone into the place where Jesus then was, when he mentioned at the beginning of the narrative that He was in the house? But when Matthew says that "He answered her not a word," he has given us also to understand what neither of the two evangelists has related explicitly, â€” namely, the fact that during that silence which He maintained Jesus went out of the house. And in this manner all the other particulars are brought into a connection which from this point onwards presents no kind of appearance of discrepancy. For as to what Mark records with respect to the answer which the Lord gave her, to the effect that it was not meet to take the children's bread and cast it unto the dogs, that reply was returned only after the interposition of certain sayings which Matthew has not left unrecorded. That is to say, [we are to suppose that] there came in first the request which the disciples addressed to Him in regard to the woman's case, and the answer He gave them, to the effect that He was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel; that next there was her own approach, or, in other words, her coming after Him, and worshipping Him, saying, "Lord, help me;" and that then, after all these incidents, those words were spoken which have been recorded by both the evangelists.

Chap. l. â€” Of the occasion on which He fed the multitudes with the seven loaves, and of the question as to the harmony between Matthew and Mark in their accounts of that miracle.

104. Matthew proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: "And when Jesus had departed from thence, He came nigh unto the sea of Galilee; and went up into a mountain, and sat down there. And great multitudes came unto Him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet, and He healed them; insomuch that the multitudes wondered, when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the
recorded also by Mark, and that too in almost the same order; the exception being that he inserts before it a narrative given by no other, â€” namely, that relating to the deaf man whose ears the Lord opened, when He spat and said, Effeta, that is, Be opened. 2

105. In the case of this miracle of the seven loaves, it is certainly not a superfluous task to call attention to the fact that these two evangelists, Matthew and Mark, have thus introduced it into their narrative. For if one of them had recorded this miracle, who at the same time had taken no notice of the instance of the five loaves, he would have been judged to stand opposed to the rest. For in such circumstances, who would not have supposed that there was only the one miracle wrought in actual fact, and that an incomplete and unveracious version of it had been given by the writer referred to, or by the others, or by all of them together; [so that we must have imagined] either that the one evangelist, by a mistake on his own part, had been led to mention seven loaves instead of five; or that the other two, whether as having both presented an incorrect statement, or as having been misled through a slip of memory, had put the number five for the number seven.

In like manner, it might have been supposed that there was a contradiction between the twelve baskets 3 and the seven baskets, 4 and again, between the five thousand and the four thousand, expressing the numbers of those who were fed. But now, since those evangelists who have given us the account of the miracle of the seven loaves have also not failed to mention the other miracle of the five loaves, no difficulty can be felt by any one, and all can see that both works were really wrought. This, accordingly, we have instanced, in order that, if in any other passage we come upon some similar deed of the Lord's, which, as told by one evangelist, seems so utterly contrary to the version of it given by another that no method of solving the difficulty can possibly be found, we may understand the explanation to be simply this, that both incidents really took place, and that they were recorded separately by the two several writers. This is precisely what we have already recommended to attention in the matter of the seating of the multitudes by hundreds and by fifties. For were it not for the circumstance that both these numbers are found noted by the one historian, we might have supposed that the different writers had made contradictory statements. 1

CHAP. LI.] MAGEDAN OK DALMANUTIIA. 313

contrary to the version of it given by another that no method of solving the difficulty can possibly be found, we may understand the explanation to be simply this, that both incidents really took place, and that they were recorded separately by the two several writers. This is precisely what we have already recommended to attention in the matter of the seating of the multitudes by hundreds and by fifties. For were it not for the circumstance that both these numbers are found noted by the one historian, we might have supposed that the different writers had made contradictory statements. 1

Cii.vr. Li. â€” Of Matthew's declaration that, on leaving these parts, He came into the coasts of Magedan; and of the question as to his agreement with Marie in that intimation, as ivell as in the notice of the saying about Jonah, which was returned again as an answer to those who sought a sign.

106. Matthew continues as follows: "And he sent away the multitude, and took ship, and came into the coasts of Magedan;" and so on, down to the words, "A wicked and
adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given unto it but the sign of the prophet Jonas." 2

This has already been recorded in another connection by the same Matthew. 3 Hence again and again we must hold by the position that the Lord spake the same words on repeated occasions; so that when any completely irreconcilable difference appears between statements of His utterances, we are to understand the words to have been spoken twice over. In this case, indeed, Mark also keeps the same order; and after his account of the miracle of the seven loaves, subjoins the same intimation as is given us in Matthew, only with this difference, that Matthew's expression for the locality is not Dalmanutha, as is read in certain codices, but Magedan. 4

There is no reason, however, for questioning the fact that it is the same place that is intended under both names. For most codices, even of Mark's Gospel, give no other reading than that of Magedan. Neither should any difficulty be felt in the fact that Mark does not say, as Matthew does, that in the answer which the Lord returned to those who sought after a sign, He referred to Jonah, but mentions simply that He replied in these terms: "There shall no sign be given unto it."

For we are given to understand what kind of sign they asked namely, one from heaven. And he has simply omitted to specify the words which Matthew has introduced regarding Jonas.

Chap. lil â€” Of Matthew's agreement with Mark in the statement about the leaven of the Pharisees, as regards both the subject itself and the order of narrative.

107. Matthew proceeds: "And He left them, and departed. And when His disciples were come to the other side, they forgot to take bread. Then Jesus said unto them, Take heed, and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees;" and so forth, down to where we read, "Then understood they that He bade them not beware of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees." 1 These words are recorded also by Mark, and that likewise in the same order. 2

Chap. mil â€” Of the occasion on which He ashed the disciples whom men said that He was; and of the question whether, with regard either to the subject matter or the order, there are any discrepancies between Matthew, Marth; and Lulce.

108. Matthew continues thus: "And Jesus came into the coasts of Csesarea Philippi; and He asked His disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, 3 the Son of man, am? And
they said, Some say that Thou art John the Baptist; some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets;" and so on, down to the words, " And whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." 4 Mark relates this nearly in the same order. But he has brought in before it a narrative which is given by him alone, â€” namely, that regarding the giving of sight to that blind man who said to the Lord, " I see men as trees walking." 5 Luke, again, also records this incident, inserting it after his account of the miracle of the five loaves; c and, as we have already shown above, the order of recollection which is followed in his case is not antagonistic to the order

1 Matt. xvi. 5-12. 2 Mark viii. 13-21.

3 Some editions omit the me in quern me dicunt, etc., and make it = Whom do men say that the Son of man is ?


CHAP. LIV.] THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS PASSION. 315

adopted by these others. Some difficulty, however, may "be imagined in the circumstance that Luke's representation bears that the Lord put this question, as to whom men held Him to be, to His disciples at a time when He was alone praying, and when His disciples were also with Him; whereas Mark, on the other hand, tells us that the question was put by Him to the disciples when they were on the way. But this will be a difficulty only to the man who has never prayed on the way. 1

109. I recollect having already stated that no one should suppose that Peter received that name for the first time on the occasion when He said to Him, " Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." For the time at which he did obtain this name was that referred to by John, when he mentions that he was addressed in these terms: " Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is, by interpretation, Peter." 2 Hence, too, we are as little to think that Peter got this designation on the occasion to which Mark alludes, when he recounts the twelve apostles individually by name, and tells us how James and John were called the sons of thunder, merely on the ground that in that passage he has recorded the fact that He surnamed him Peter. 3 For that circumstance is noticed there simply because it was suggested to the writer's recollection at that particular point, and not because it took place in actual fact at that specific time.

Chap. liv. â€” Of the occasion on which He announced His coming passion to the disciples, and of the measure of concord between Matthew, Mark, and Luke in the accounts which they give of the same.

110. Matthew proceeds in the following strain: "Then charged He His disciples that they should tell no man that He was Jesus the Christ. From that time forth began Jesus to show unto His disciples how that He must go into Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the
elders, and chief priests, and scribes;" and so on, down to where we read, "Thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." 4

! opting, with the Ratisbon MSS., eummovet qui nunquam oravit in via. Another reading is, eum movet qui putat nunquam, etc. = a difficulty to the man who thinks He never prayed on the way.

- Johni. 42. 3 Markiii. 16-19. 4 2Iatt. xvi. 20-23.

316 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

Mark and Luke add these passages in the same order. Only Luke says nothing about the opposition which Peter expressed to the passion of Christ.

Chap. lv. â€” Of the harmony between the three evangelists in the notices which they subjoin of the manner in which the Lord charged the man to follow Him who wished to come after Him.

111. Matthew continues thus: "Then said Jesus unto His disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me;" and so on, down to the words, "And then He shall reward every man according to his work." 1 This is appended also by Mark, who keeps the same order. But he does not say of the Son of man, who was to come with His angels, that He is to reward every man according to his work. Nevertheless, he mentions at the same time that the Lord spoke to this effect: "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed when He comes in the glory of His Father with the holy angels." 2 And this may be taken to bear the same sense as is expressed by Matthew, when he says, that "He shall reward every man according to his work." Luke 3 also adds the same statements in the same order, slightly varying the terms indeed in which they are conveyed, but still showing a complete parallel with the others in regard to the truthful reproduction of the self-same ideas. 4

Chap. lvi. â€” Of the manifestation which the Lord made of Himself, in company with Moses and Elias, to His disciples on the mountain; and of the question concerning the harmony between the first three evangelists with regard to the order and the circumstances of that event; and in especial, the number of the days, in so far as Matthew and Mark state that it took place after six days, while Luke says that it was after eight days.

112. Matthew proceeds thus: "Verily I say unto you, There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom. And after six days, Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and brought them up into an high mountain;" and so on, down to where we read, "Tell the vision to no man
until the Son of man be risen again from the dead." This vision of the Lord upon the mount in the presence of the three disciples, Peter, James, and John, on which occasion also the testimony of the Father's voice was borne Him from heaven, is related by the three evangelists in the same order, and in a manner expressing the same sense completely. 1 And as regards other matters, they may be seen by the readers to be in accordance with those modes of narration of which we have given examples in many passages already, and in which there are diversities in expression without any consequent diversity in meaning.

113. But with respect to the circumstance that Mark, along with Matthew, tells us how the event took place after six days, while Luke states that it was after eight days, those who find a difficulty here do not deserve to be set aside with contempt, but should be enlightened by the offering of explanations. For when we announce a space of days in these terms, "after so many days," sometimes we do not include in the number the day on which we speak, or the day on which the thing itself which we intimate beforehand or promise is declared to take place, but reckon only the intervening days, on the real and full and final expiry of which the incident in question is to occur. This is what Matthew and Mark have done. Leaving out of their calculation the day on which Jesus spoke these words, and the day on which He exhibited that memorable spectacle on the mount, they have regarded simply the intermediate days, and thus have used the expression, "after six days." But Luke, reckoning in the extreme day at either end, that is to say, the first day and the last day, has made it "after eight days," in accordance with that mode of speech in which the part is put for the whole.

114. Moreover, the statement which Luke makes with regard to Moses and Elias in these terms, "And it came to pass, as they departed from Him, Peter said unto Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here," and so forth, ought not to be considered antagonistic to what Matthew and Mark have subjoined to the same effect, as if they made Peter offer this suggestion while Moses and Elias were still talking with the
Lord. For they have not expressly said that it was at that time, but rather they have simply left unnoticed the fact which Luke has added, namely, that it was as they went away that Peter made the suggestion to the Lord with respect to the making of three tabernacles. At the same time, Luke has appended the intimation that it was as they were entering the cloud that the voice came from heaven, a circumstance which is not affirmed, but which is as little contradicted, by the others.

Chap. lvii. Of the harmony between Matthew and Mark: in the accounts given of the occasion on which He spoke to the disciples concerning the coming of Elias.

115. Matthew goes on thus: "And His disciples asked Him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come and restore all things. But I say unto you, that Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of man suffer of them. Then the disciples understood that He spake unto them of John the Baptist." 1 This same passage is given also by Mark, who keeps also the same order; and although he exhibits some diversity of expression, he makes no departure from a truthful representation of the same sense. 2 He has not, however, added the statement, that the disciples understood that the Lord had referred to John the Baptist in saying that Elias was come already.

Chap. lviii. Of the man who brought before Him his son, whom the disciples were unable to heal; and of the question concerning the agreement between these three evangelists also in the matter of the order of narration here.

116. Matthew goes on in the following terms: "And when He was come to the multitude, there came to Him a certain man, kneeling down before Him, and saying, Lord, have mercy on my son; for he is lunatic, and sore vexed; " and so on, down to the words, " Howbeit this kind is not cast out but by prayer and fasting." 3 Both Mark and Luke record this incident, and that, too, in the same order, without any suspicion of a want of harmony. 4

1 Matt. xvii. 10-13. 2 Mark ix. 10-12. 3 Venisset.


CHAP. T.XI.] THE TRIBUTE MONEY, ETC. 319

Chap. Itx. Of the occasion on which the disciples were exceeding sorry when He spoke to them of His passion, as it is related in the same order by the three evangelists.

117. Matthew continues thus: "And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of men; and they shall kill Him, and the
third day He shall rise again. And they were exceeding sorry." 1 Mark and Luke record this passage in the same order. 2

Chap. lx. â€” Of His paying the tribute money out of the mouth of the fish, an incident which Matthew alone mentions.

118. Matthew continues in these terms: "And when they were come to Capharnaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter, and said to him, Doth not your master pay tribute ? He saith, Yes; " and so on, down to where we read: " Thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee." 3 He is the only one who relates this occurrence, after the interposition of which he follows again the order which is pursued also by Mark and Luke in company with him.

CHAP. lxi. â€” Of the little child whom He set before them for their imitation, and of the offences of the world; of the members of the body causing offences; of the angels of the little ones, who behold the face of the Father; of the one sheep out of the hundred sheep; of the reproving of a brother in private; of the loosing and the binding of sins; of the agreement of two, and the gathering together of three; of the forgiving of sins even unto seventy times seven; of the servant who had his own large debt remitted, and yet refused to remit the small debt which his fellow-servant owed to him; and of the question as to Matthew's harmony with the other evangelists on all these subjects.

119. The same Matthew then proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: " In that hour came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who, thinkest Thou, is the greater in the kingdom of heaven ? And Jesus called a little child unto Him, and set him in the midst of them, and said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven; " and so on, down to the words, " So likewise shall my heavenly Father do

1 Matt. xvii. 21, 22. 2 jfarfe ix# 29-31; Luke ix. 44, 45.


320 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOS II.

also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses." 1 Of this somewhat lengthened discourse which was spoken by the Lord, Mark, instead of giving the whole, has presented only certain portions, in dealing with which he follows meantime the same order. He has also introduced some matters which Matthew does not mention. 2 Moreover, in this complete discourse, so far as we have taken it under consideration, the only interruption is that which is made by Peter, when he inquires how often a brother ought to be forgiven. The Lord, however, w T as speaking in a strain which makes it
quite clear that even the question which Peter thus proposed, and the answer which was returned to him, belong really to the same address. Luke, again, records none of these things in the order here observed, with the exception of the incident with the little child whom He set before His disciples, for their imitation when they were thinking of their own greatness. 3 For if he has also narrated some other matters of a tenor resembling those which are inserted in this discourse, these are sayings which he has recalled for notice in other connections, and on occasions different from the present: just as John 4 introduces the Lord's words on the subject of the forgiveness of sins, â€” namely, those to the effect that they should be remitted to him to whom the apostles remitted them, and that they should be retained to him to whom they retained them, as spoken by the Lord after His resurrection; while Matthew mentions that in the discourse now under notice the Lord made this declaration, which, however, the self-same evangelist at the same time affirms to have been given on a previous occasion to Peter. 5 Therefore, to preclude the necessity of having always to inculcate the same rule, we ought to bear in mind the fact that Jesus uttered the same word repeatedly, and in a number of different places, â€” a principle which we have pressed so often upon your attention already; and this consideration should save us from feeling any perplexity, even although the order of the sayings may be thought to create some difficulty.

1 Matt, xviii. 2 Mark ix. 33-49. 3 Luke ix. 46-43.
4 John xx. 23. 5 Matt. xvi. 19.

CHAP. LXII.] THE QUESTION OF DIVORCE. 321

Chap. lxii. â€” Of the harmony subsisting between Matthew and Mark in the accounts which they offer of the time when He was asked whether it was lawful to put away one's wife, and especially in regard to the specific questions and replies which passed between the Lord and the Jews, and in which the evangelists seem to be, to some small extent, at variance.

120. Matthew continues giving his narrative in the following manner: " And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these sayings, He departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan; and great multitudes followed Him; and He healed them there. The Pharisees also came unto Him, tempting Him, and saying, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause? " And so on, down to the words, " He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." 1 Mark also records this, and observes the same order. At the same time, we must certainly see to it that no appearance of contradiction be supposed to arise from the circumstance that the same Mark tells us how the Pharisees were asked by the Lord as to what Moses commanded them, and that on His questioning them to that effect they returned the answer regarding the bill of divorcement which Moses suffered them to write; whereas, according to Matthew's
version, it was after the Lord had spoken those words in which He had shown them, out of the law, how God made male and female to be one flesh, and how, therefore, those [thus joined together of Him] ought not to be put asunder by man, that they gave the reply, "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" To this interrogation, also [as Matthew puts it], He says again in reply, "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so." There is no difficulty, I repeat, in this; for it is not the case that Mark makes no kind of mention of the reply which was thus given by the Lord, but he brings it in after the answer which was returned by them to His question relating to the bill of divorcement.

121. As far as the order or method of statement here adopted is concerned, we ought to understand that it in no way affects the truth of the subject itself, whether the question

1 Matt. xix. 1-12.

HARMONY. X

322 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK 1] regarding the permission to write a bill of divorcement given by the said Moses, by whom also it is recorded that God made male and female to be one flesh, I was addressed by these Pharisees to the Lord at the time when He was forbidding the separation of husband and wife, and confirming His declaration on that subject by the authority of the law; or whether the said question was conveyed in the reply which the same persons returned to the Lord, at the time when He asked them about what Moses had commanded them. For His intention was not to offer them any reason for the permission which Moses thus granted them until they had first mentioned the matter themselves; which intention on His part is what is indicated by the inquiry which Mark has introduced. On the other hand, their desire was to use the authority of Moses in commanding the giving of a bill of divorcement, for the purpose of stopping His mouth, so to speak, in the matter of forbidding, as they believed He undoubtedly would do, a man to put away his wife. For they had approached Him with the view of saying what would tempt Him. And this desire of theirs is what is indicated by Matthew, when, instead of stating how they were interrogated first themselves, he represents them as having of their own accord put the question about the precept of Moses, in order that they might thereby, as it were, convict the Lord of doing what was wrong in prohibiting the putting away of wives. Wherefore, since the mind of the speakers, in the service of which the words ought to stand, has been exhibited by both evangelists, it is no matter how the modes of narration adopted by the two may differ, provided neither of them fails to give a correct representation of the subject itself.

122. Another view of the matter may also be taken, namely, that, in accordance with Mark's statement, when these persons began by questioning the Lord on the subject of the
putting away of a wife, He questioned them in turn as to what Moses commanded them; and that, on their replying that Moses suffered them to write a bill of divorcement and put the wife away, He made His answer to them regarding the said law which was given by Moses, reminding them how God instituted

1 Gen. ii. 24.

CHAP. LXIII.] THE LITTLE CHILDREN. 323

the union of male and female, and addressing them in the words which are inserted by Matthew, namely, " Have ye not read that He which made them at the beginning made them male and female ? " and so on. On hearing these words, they repeated in the form of an inquiry what they had already uttered to when replying to His first interrogation, namely the expression, " Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away ? " Then Jesus showed that the reason was the hardness of their heart; which explanation Mark brings in, with a view to brevity, at an earlier point, as if it had been given in reply to that former response of theirs, which Matthew has passed over. And this he does as judging that no injury could be done to the truth at whichever point the explanation might be introduced, seeing that the words, with a view to which it was returned, had been uttered twice in the same form; and seeing also that the Lord, in any case, had offered the said explanation in reply to such words.

Chap, lxiii. â€” Of the Utile children on whom He laid His hands; of therichman to whom He said, "Sell all that thou hast; " of the vineyard in which the labourers were hired at different hours; and of the question as to the absence of any discrepancy between Matthew and the other two evangelists on these subjects.

123. Matthew proceeds thus: "Then were there brought unto Him little children, that He should put His hands on them, and pray; and the disciples rebuked them: " and so on, down to where we read, " For many are called, but few are chosen." ! Mark has followed the same order here as Matthew. 2 But Matthew is the only one who introduces the section relating to the labourers who were hired for the vineyard. Luke, on the other hand, first mentions what He said to those who were asking each other who should be the greatest, and next subjoins at once the passage concerning the man whom they had seen casting out devils, although he did not follow Him; then he parts company with the other two at the point where he tells us how He stedfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem; 3 and after the interposition of a number of subjects, he joins them again in giving the story of the rich man, to whom the

THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

word is addressed, " Sell all that thou hast," 1 which individual's case is related here by the other two evangelists, but still in the succession which is followed by all the narratives alike. For in the passage referred to in Luke, that writer does not fail to bring in the story of the little children, just as the other two do immediately before the mention of the rich man.

With regard, then, to the accounts which are given us of this rich person, who asks what good thing he should do in order to obtain eternal life, there may appear to be some discrepancy between them, because the words were, according to Matthew, " Why askest thou me about the good ? " while according to the others they were, u Why callest thou me good ? " The sentence, " Why askest thou me about the good ? " may then be referred more particularly to what was expressed by the man when he put the question, " What good thing shall I do ? "

For there we have both the name " good " applied to Christ, and the question put. 2 But the address " Good Master " does not of itself convey the question. Accordingly, the best method of disposing of it is to understand both these sentences to have been uttered, " Why callest thou me good ? " and, " Why askest thou me about the good ? "

Chap. lxiv. â€” Of the occasions on which He foretold His passion in private to His disciples; and of the time when the mother of Zebedee's children came with her sons, requesting that one of them should sit on His right hand, and the other on His left hand; and of the absence of any discrepancy between Matthew and the other two evangelists on these subjects.

124. Matthew continues his narrative in the following terms: " And Jesus, going up to Jerusalem, took the twelve disciples apart, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, and they shall condemn Him to death, and shall deliver Him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify Him; and the third day He shall rise again. Then came to Him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons, worshipping Him, and desiring a certain thing of Him; " and so on, down to the words, " Even as the Son of


2 The Latin version is followed here. In Matt. xix. 17, where the English version gives, " Why callest thou me good ? " the Vulgate has, Quid me interrogas de bono ?

CHAP. LXV.] THE INCIDENT AT JERICHO. 325
man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." 1 Here again Mark keeps the same order as Matthew, only he represents the sons of Zebedee to have made the request themselves; while Matthew has stated that it was preferred on their behalf not by their own personal application, but by their mother, as she had laid what was their wish before the Lord. Hence Mark has briefly intimated what was said on that occasion as spoken by them, rather than by her [in their name]. And to conclude with the matter, it is to them rather than to her, according to Matthew no less than according to Mark, that the Lord returned His reply. Luke, on the other hand, after narrating in the same order our Lord's predictions to the twelve disciples on the subject of His passion and resurrection, leaves unnoticed what the other two evangelists immediately go on to record; and after the interposition of these passages, he is joined by his fellow-writers again [at the point where they report the incident] at Jericho. 2 Moreover, as to what Matthew and Mark have stated with respect to the princes of the Gentiles exercising dominion over those who are subject to them, â€” namely, that it should not be so with them [the disciples], but that he who was greatest among them should even be a servant to the others, â€” Luke also gives us something of the same tenor, although not in that connection; 3 and the order itself indicates that the same sentiment was expressed by the Lord on a second occasion.

Chap. lxv. â€” Of the absence of any antagonism between Matthew and 21ark, or between Matthew and Luke, in the account offered of the giving of sight to the blind men of Jericho.

125. Matthew continues thus: " And as they departed from Jericho, a great multitude followed Him. And, behold, two blind men sitting by the wayside heard that Jesus passed by, and cried out, saying, Have mercy on us, Lord, thou Son of David; " and so on, down to the words, " And immediately their eyes received sight, and they followed Him." 4 Mark also records this incident, but mentions only one blind man. 5 This difficulty is solved in the way in which a former

4 Matt. xx. 29-34. 5 Mark x. 46-52.

326 THE HABMONT OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

difficulty was explained which met us in the case of the two persons who were tormented by the legion of devils in the territory of the Gerasenes. 1 For, that in this instance also of the two blind men whom he [Matthew] alone has introduced here, one of them was of pre-eminent note and repute in that city, is a fact made clear enough by the single consideration, that Mark has recorded both his own name and his father's; a circumstance which scarcely comes across us in all the many cases of healing which had been already performed by the Lord, unless that miracle be an exception, in the recital of which the
evangelist has mentioned by name Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter Jesus restored to life. 2 And in this latter instance this intention becomes the more apparent, from the fact that the said ruler of the synagogue was certainly a man of rank in the place. Consequently there can be little doubt that this Bartimeus, the son of Timeus, had fallen from some position of great prosperity, and was now regarded as an object of the most notorious and the most remarkable wretchedness, because, in addition to being blind, he had also to sit begging. And this is also the reason, then, why Mark has chosen to mention only the one whose restoration to sight acquired for the miracle a fame as widespread as was the notoriety which the man's misfortune itself had gained.

126. But Luke, although he mentions an incident altogether of the same tenor, is nevertheless to be understood as really narrating only a similar miracle which was wrought in the case of another blind man, and as putting on record its similarity to the said miracle in the method of performance. For he states that it was performed when He was coming nigh unto Jericho; 3 while the others say that it took place when He was departing from Jericho. Now the name of the city, and the resemblance in the deed, favour the supposition that there was but one such occurrence. But still, the idea that the evangelists really contradict each other here, in so far as the one says, " As He was come nigh unto Jericho," while the others put it thus, " As He came out of Jericho," is one which no one surely will be prevailed on to accept, unless those who would have it more readily credited that the gospel is unve-

1 See chap. xxiv. § 56. 2 Mark v. 22-43. 3 Luke xviii. 35-43.

CHAP. LXVI.] TnE ASS AND THE COLT. 327

racious, than that He wrought two miracles of a similar nature and in similar circumstances. But every faithful son of the gospel will most readily perceive which of these two alternatives is the more credible, and which the rather to be accepted as true; and, indeed, every gainsayer too, when he is advised concerning the real state of the case, will answer himself either by the silence which he will have to observe, or at least by the tenor of his reflections should he decline to be silent.

Chap. lxvi. Æ” Of the colt of the ass which is mentioned by Matthew, and of the consistency of his account with that of the other evangelists, who speak only of the ass.

127. Matthew goes on with his narrative in the following terms: " And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her;" and so on, down to the words, " Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest." 1 Mark also records this occurrence, and inserts it in the same order. 2 Luke, on the other hand, tarries a space by Jericho, recounting certain matters which these others have omitted,
â€” namely, the story of Zaccheus, the chief of the publicans, and some sayings which are couched in parabolic form. After instancing these things, however, this evangelist again joins company with the others in the narrative relating to the ass on which Jesus sat. 3 And let not the circumstance stagger us, that Matthew speaks both of an ass and of the colt of an ass, while the others say nothing of the ass. For here again we must bear in mind the rule which we have already introduced in dealing with the statements about the seating of the people by fifties and by hundreds on the occasion on which the multitudes were fed with the five loaves. 4 Now, after this principle has been brought into application, the reader should not feel any serious difficulty in the present case. Indeed, even had Matthew said nothing about the colt, just as his fellow-historians have taken no notice of the ass, the fact should not have created any such perplexity as to induce the idea of an insuperable contradiction between the two statements, when the one writer speaks only of the ass, and the others only of the colt of the ass. But how much less cause then for any disquietude ought there to be, when we see that the one writer has mentioned the ass to which the others have omitted to refer, in such a manner as at the same time not to leave unnoticed also the colt of which the rest have spoken! In fine, where it is possible to suppose both objects to have been included in the occurrence, there is no real antagonism, although the one writer may specify only the one thing, and another only the other. How much less need there be any contradiction, when the one writer particularizes the one object, and another instances both!

1 Matt. xxi. 1-9. 2 Mark xi. 1-10.
z Luke xix. 1-3S. 4 See above, chap. xlvi. Â§ 98.

328 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

idea of an insuperable contradiction between the two statements, when the one writer speaks only of the ass, and the others only of the colt of the ass. But how much less cause then for any disquietude ought there to be, when we see that the one writer has mentioned the ass to which the others have omitted to refer, in such a manner as at the same time not to leave unnoticed also the colt of which the rest have spoken! In fine, where it is possible to suppose both objects to have been included in the occurrence, there is no real antagonism, although the one writer may specify only the one thing, and another only the other. How much less need there be any contradiction, when the one writer particularizes the one object, and another instances both!

128. Again, although John tells us nothing as to the way in which the Lord despatched His disciples to fetch these animals to Him, nevertheless he inserts a brief allusion to this colt, and cites also the word of the prophet which Matthew makes use of. 1 In the case also of this testimony from the prophet, the terms in which it is reproduced by the evangelists, although they exhibit certain differences, do not fail to express a sense identical in intention. Some difficulty, however, may be felt in the fact that Matthew adduces this passage in a form which represents the prophet to have made mention of the ass; whereas this is not the case, either with the quotation as introduced by John, or with the version given in the ecclesiastical codices of the translation in common use. An explanation of this variation seems to me to be found in the fact that Matthew is understood to have written his Gospel in the Hebrew language. Moreover, it is manifest that the translation which bears the name of the Septuagint differs in some particulars from the text which is found in the Hebrew by those who know that tongue, and by the several scholars who have given us renderings of the same Hebrew books. And if an explanation is asked for this discrepancy, or for the circumstance that the weighty
authority of the Septuagint translation diverges in many passages from the rendering of the truth which is discovered in the Hebrew codices, I am of opinion that no more probable account of

1 John xii. 14, 15.

CHAP. LXVII.] THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION. 329

the matter will suggest itself, than the supposition that the Seventy composed their version under the influence of the very Spirit by whose inspiration the things which they were engaged in translating had been originally spoken. This is an idea which receives confirmation also from the marvellous consent which is asserted to have characterized them. Consequently, when these translators, while not departing from the real mind of God from which these sayings proceeded, and to the expression of which the words ought to be subservient, gave a different form to some matters in their reproduction of the text, they had no intention of exemplifying anything else than the very thing which we now admiringly contemplate in that kind of harmonious diversity which marks the four evangelists, and in the light of which it is made clear that there is no failure from strict truth, although one historian may give an account of some theme in a manner different indeed from another, and yet not so different as to involve an actual departure from the sense intended by the person with whom he is bound to be in concord and agreement. To understand this is of advantage to character, with a view at once to guard against what is false, and to pronounce correctly upon it; and it is of no less consequence to faith itself, in the way of precluding the supposition that, as it were with consecrated sounds, truth has a kind of defence provided for it which might imply God's handing over to us not only the thing itself, but likewise the very words which are required for its enunciation; whereas the fact rather is, that the theme itself which is to be expressed is so decidedly deemed of superior importance to the words in which it has to be expressed, 1 that we would be under no obligation to ask about them at all, if it were possible for us to know the truth without the terms, as God knows it, and as His angels also know it in Him.

Chap, lxvii. å€” Of the expulsion of the sellers and buyers from the temple, and of the question as to the harmony between the first three evangelists and John, i relates the same incident in a widely different connection.

129. Matthew goes on with his narrative in the following

1 Reading quaz dicenda est, sermonibus per quos dicenda. The Ratisbon edition and twelve mss. give in both instances discenda = to be learned, instead of dicenda = to be expressed. See Migne.
terms: "And when He was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this? And the multitude said, This
% is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple; " and so on, down to where we read,
"But ye have made it a den of thieves." This account of the multitude of sellers who were cast out of the temple is given by all the evangelists; but John introduces it in a remarkably different order. 1 For, after recording the testimony borne by John the Baptist to Jesus, and mentioning that He went into Galilee at the time when He turned the water into wine, and after he has also noticed the sojourn of a few days in Capharnaum, John proceeds to tell us that He went up to Jerusalem at the season of the Jews' passover, and when He had made a scourge of small cords, drove out of the temple those who were selling in it. This makes it evident that this act was performed by the Lord not on a single occasion, but twice over; but that only the first instance is put on record by John, and the last by the other three.

Chap. lxviii. "Of the withering of the fig-tree, and of the question as to the absence of any contradiction between Matthew and the other evangelists in the accounts given of that incident, as well as the other matters related in connection with it; and very specially as to the consistency between Matthew and Mark in the matter of the order of narration.

130. Matthew continues thus: "And the blind and the lame came to Him in the temple, and He healed them. And when the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that He did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the Son of David, they were sore displeased, and said unto Him, Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea; have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise? And He left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and He lodged there. Now in the morning, as He returned into the city, He hungered. And when He saw a single 2 fig-tree in the way, He came to it, and found nothing thereon but leaves only, and said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee hence-

1 Matt. xxi. 10-13; Mark xi. 15-17; Luke xix. 45, 46; Jolin ii. 1-17.

2 Unam.

CHAP. LXVIII.] THE WITHERING OF THE FIG-TREE. 331

forward for ever. And presently the fig-tree withered away.
And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How soon is the fig-tree withered away! But Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith,
and doubt not, ye shall not only do this which is done to the figtree; but also, if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea, it shall be done. And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive." *

131. Mark also records this occurrence in due succession. 2 He does not, however, follow the same order in his narrative. For, first of all, the fact which is related by Matthew, namely, that Jesus went into the temple, and cast out those who sold and bought there, is not mentioned at that point by Mark. On the other hand, Mark tells us that He looked round about upon all things, and, when the eventide was now come, went out into Bethany with the twelve. Next he informs us that on another day, 3 when they were coming from Bethany, He was hungry, and cursed the fig-tree, as Matthew also intimates. Then the said Mark subjoins the statement that He came into Jerusalem, and that, on going into the temple, He cast out those who sold and bought there, as if that incident took place not on the first day specified, but on a different day. 4 But inasmuch as Matthew puts the connection in these terms, * And He left them, and went out of the city into Bethany," 5 and tells us that it was when returning in the morning into the city that He cursed the tree, it is more reasonable to suppose that he, rather than Mark, has preserved the strict order of time so far as regards the incident of the expulsion of the sellers and buyers from the temple. For when he uses the phrase, " And He left them, and went out," who can be understood by those parties whom He is thus said to have left, but those with whom He was previously speaking, â€” namely, the persons who were so sore displeased because the children cried out, " Hosanna to the Son of David " ? It follows, then, that Mark has omitted what took place on the first day, when He went into the temple; and in mentioning that He found

nothing on the fig-tree but leaves, he has introduced what He called to mind only there, but what really occurred on the second day, as both evangelists testify. Then, further, his account bears that the astonishment which the disciples expressed at finding how the fig-tree had withered away, and the reply which the Lord made to them on the subject of faith, and the casting of the mountain into the sea, belonged not to this same second day on which He said to the tree, " No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever," but to a third day. For in connection with the second day, the said Mark has recorded the incident of the casting of the sellers out of the temple, which he had omitted to notice as belonging to the first day.

1 Matt. xxi. 14-22. 2 Consequenter. 3 Alia die.

4 Mark xi. 11-17. * Matt xxi. 17 .

332 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

...
Accordingly, it is in connection with this second day that he tells us how Jesus went out of the city, when even was come, and how, when they passed by in the morning, the disciples saw the fig-tree dried up from the roots, and how Peter, calling to remembrance, said unto Him, " Master, behold the fig-tree which Thou cursedst is withered away." 1 Then, too, he informs us that He gave the answer relating to the power of faith. On the other hand, Matthew recounts these matters in a manner importing that they all took place on this second day; that is to say, both the word addressed to the tree, " Let no fruit grow on thee from henceforward for ever," and the withering that ensued so speedily in the tree, and the reply which He made on the subject of the power of faith to His disciples when they observed that withering and marvelled at it. From this we are to understand that Mark, on his side, has recorded in connection with the second day what he had omitted to notice as occurring really on the first, â€” namely, the incident of the expulsion of the sellers and buyers from the temple. On the other hand, Matthew, after mentioning what was done on the second day, â€” namely, the cursing of the fig-tree as He was returning in the morning from Bethany into the city, â€” has omitted certain facts which Mark has inserted, namely, His coming into the city, and His going out of it in the evening, and the astonishment which the disciples expressed at finding the tree dried up as they passed by in the morning; and then to what had taken place on the second day, which was the day on

1 Mark xi. 20, 21.

CHAP. LXIX.] THE JEWS' QUESTION. 333

which the tree was cursed, he has attached what really took place on the third day, â€” namely, the amazement of the disciples at seeing the tree's withered condition, and the declaration which they heard from the Lord on the subject of the power of faith. These several facts Matthew has connected together in such a manner that, were we not compelled to turn our attention to the matter by Mark's narrative, we should be unable to recognise either at what point or with regard to what circumstances the former writer has left anything unrecorded in his narrative. The case therefore stands thus: Matthew first presents the facts conveyed in these words, " And He left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and He lodged there. Now in the morning, as He returned into the city, He hungered; and when He saw a single fig-tree in the way, He came to it, and found nothing thereon but leaves only, and said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee from henceforward for ever; and presently the fig-tree withered away." Then, omitting the other matters which belonged to that same day, he has immediately subjoined this statement, " And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How soon is it withered away !" although it was on another day that they saw this sight, and on another day that they thus marvelled. But it is understood that the tree did not wither at the precise time when they saw it, but presently when it was cursed. For what they saw was not the tree in the process of drying up, but the tree already dried completely up; and thus they learned that it had withered away immediately on the Lord's sentence.
Of the harmony between the first three evangelists in their accounts of the occasion on which the Jews asked the Lord by what authority He did these things.

132. Matthew continues his narrative in the following terms: "And when He was come into the temple, the chief priests and the elders of the people came unto Him as He was teaching, and said, By what authority doest thou these things? And who gave thee this authority? And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it?" and so on, down to the words, "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." 1 The other two, Mark and Luke, have also set forth this whole passage, and that, too, in almost as many words. 2 Neither does there appear to be any discrepancy between them in regard to the order, the only exception being found in the circumstance of which I have spoken above, namely, that Matthew omits certain matters belonging to a different day, and has constructed his narrative with a connection which, were our attention not called [otherwise] to the fact, might lead to the supposition that he was still treating of the second day, where Mark deals with the third. Moreover, Luke has not appended his notice of this incident, as if he meant to go over the days in orderly succession; but after recording the expulsion of the sellers and buyers from the temple, he has passed by without notice all that is contained in the statements above. 3 His going out into Bethany, and His returning to the city, and what was done to the fig-tree, and the reply touching the power of faith which was made to the disciples when they marvelled. And then, after all these omissions, he has introduced the next section of his narrative in these terms: "And He taught daily in the temple. But the chief priests, and the scribes, and the chief of the people sought to destroy Him; and could not find what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear Him. And it came to pass, that on one of these days, as He taught the people in the temple, and preached the gospel, the chief priests and the scribes came upon Him, with the elders, and spake unto Him, saying, Tell us, by what authority doest thou these things?" and so on; all which the other two evangelists record in like manner. From this it is apparent that he is in no antagonism with the others, even with regard to the order; since what he states to have taken place "on one of those days," may be understood to belong to that particular day on which they also have reported it to have occurred.

Chap. lxx. "Of the two sons who were commanded by their father to go into his
vineyard, and of the vineyard which was let out to other husbandmen; of the question
concerning the consistency of Matthew's version of these passages with those given by
the other two evangelists, with whom lie retains the same order; as also, in particular,
concerning the harmony of his version of the parable, which is recorded by all the three,
regarding the vineyard that was let out; and in reference specially to the reply made by
the persons to whom that parable was spoken, in relating which Matthew seems to differ
somewhat from the others.

133. Matthew goes on thus: "But what think ye? A
certain man had two sons; and he came to the first, and said, Son, go work to-day in my
vineyard. But he answered and said, I will not; but afterward he repented, and went. And
he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, I go, sir; and went
not; " and so on, down to the words, "And whosoever shall fall upon this stone shall be
broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." * Mark and Luke
do not mention the parable of the two sons to whom the order was given to go and labour
in the vineyard. But what is narrated by Matthew subsequently to that, â€” namely, the
parable of the vineyard which was let out to the husbandmen, who persecuted the
servants that were sent to them, and afterwards put to death the beloved son, and thrust
him out of the vineyard, â€” is not left unrecorded also by those two. And in detailing it
they likewise both retain the same order, that is to say, they bring it in after that
declaration of their inability to tell which was made by the Jews when interrogated
regarding the baptism of John, and after the reply which He returned to them in these
words:
" Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things." 2

134. Now no question implying any contradiction between these accounts rises here,
unless it be raised by the circumstance that Matthew, after telling us how the Lord
addressed to the Jews this interrogation, " When the lord, therefore, of the vineyard
cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen ? " adds, that they answered and said, "
He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other
husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons." For Mark does not
record these last words as if


33G THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

they constituted the reply returned by the men; but he introduces them as if they were
really spoken by the Lord immediately after the question which was put by Him, so that
in a certain way He answered Himself. For [in this Gospel] He speaks thus: " What shall
therefore the lord of the vineyard do ? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and
will give the vineyard unto others." But it is quite easy for us to suppose, either that the
men's words are subjoined here without the insertion of the explanatory clause "they said," or "they replied," that being left to be understood; or else that the said response is ascribed to the Lord Himself rather than to these men, because when they answered with such truth, He also, who is Himself the Truth, really gave the same reply in reference to the persons in question.

135. More serious difficulty, however, may be created by the fact that Luke not only does not speak of them as the parties who made that answer (for he, as well as Mark, attributes these words to the Lord), but even represents them to have given a contrary reply, and to have said, "God forbid." For his narrative proceeds in these terms: "What therefore shall the lord of the vineyard do unto them? He shall come and destroy these husbandmen, and shall give the vineyard to others. And when they heard it, they said, God forbid. And He beheld them, and said, What is this then that is written, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?" * How then is it that, according to Matthew's version, the men to whom He spake these words said, "He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out this vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their seasons;" whereas, according to Luke, they gave a reply inconsistent with any terms like these, when they said, "God forbid"? And, in truth, what the Lord proceeds immediately to say regarding the stone which was rejected by the builders, and yet was made the head of the corner, is introduced in a manner implying that by this testimony those were confuted who were gainsaying the real meaning of the parable. For Matthew, no less than Luke, records that passage as if it were intended to meet the gain*


CHAP. LXX.] THE STONE REJECTED. 337

sayers, when he says, "Did ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?" For what is implied by this question, "Did ye never read," but that the answer which they had given was opposed to the real intention [of the parable]? This is also indicated by Mark, who gives these same words in the following manner: "And have ye not read this scripture, The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner?" This sentence, therefore, appears to occupy in Luke, rather than the others, the place which is properly assignable to it as originally uttered. For it is brought in by him directly after the contradiction expressed by those men when they said, "God forbid." And the form in which it is cast by him, â€” namely, "What is this then that is written, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?" â€” is equivalent in sense to the other modes of statement. For the real meaning of the sentence is indicated equally well, whichever of the three phrases is used, "Did ye never read?" or, "And have ye not read?" or, "What is this, then, that is written?"
136. It remains, therefore, for us to understand that among the people who were listening on that occasion, there were some who replied in the terms related by Matthew, when he writes thus: "They say unto Him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen; " and that there were also some who answered in the way indicated by Luke, that is to say, with the words, "God forbid." Accordingly, those persons who had replied to the Lord to the former effect, were replied to by these other individuals in the crowd with the exclamation, "God forbid."

But the answer which was really given by the first of these two parties, to whom the second said in return, "God forbid," has been ascribed both by Mark and by Luke to the Lord Himself, on the ground that, as I have already intimated, the Truth Himself spake by these men, whether as by persons who knew not that they were wicked, in the same way that He spake also by Caiaphas, who when he was high priest prophesied without realizing what he said, 1 or as by persons who did understand, and who had come by this time both to knowledge and to belief. For there was also present on this occasion that multitude of people at whose hand the prophecy had already received a fulfilment, when they met Him in a mighty concourse on His approach, and hailed Him with the acclaim, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." 1

1 John xi. 49-51.

HABMOKY Y

338 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

who did understand, and who had come by this time both to knowledge and to belief. For there was also present on this occasion that multitude of people at whose hand the prophecy had already received a fulfilment, when they met Him in a mighty concourse on His approach, and hailed Him with the acclaim, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." 1

137. Neither should we stumble at the circumstance that the same Matthew has stated that the chief priests and the elders of the people came to the Lord, and asked Him by what authority He did these things, and who gave Him this authority, on the occasion when He too, in turn, interrogated them concerning the baptism of John, inquiring whence it was, whether from heaven or of men; to whom also, on their replying that they did not know, He said, "Neither do I tell you by what authority I do those things." For he has followed up this with the words introduced in the immediate context, "But what think ye? A certain man had two sons," and so forth. Thus this discourse is brought into a connection which is continued, uninterrupted by the interposition either of any thing or of any person, down to what is related regarding the vineyard which was let out to the husbandmen.

It may, indeed, be supposed that He spake all these words to the chief priests and the elders of the people, by whom He had been interrogated with regard to His authority. But then, if these persons had indeed questioned Him with a view to tempt Him, and with a hostile intention, they could not be taken for men who had believed, and who cited the remarkable testimony in favour of the Lord which was taken from a prophet; and surely it
is only if they had the character of those who believed, and not of those who were ignorant, that they could have given a reply like this: "He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen." This peculiarity [of Matthew's account], however, should not by any means so perplex us as to lead us to imagine that there were none who believed among the multitudes who listened at this time to the Lord's parables. For it is only for the sake of brevity that the same Matthew has passed over in silence what Luke does not fail to mention, — namely, the fact that the said parable was not spoken only to the parties who had interrogated Him on the subject of His authority, but to the people. For the latter evangelist puts it thus: "Then began He to speak to the people this parable; A certain man planted a vineyard," and so on. Accordingly, we may well understand that among the people then assembled there might also have been persons who could listen to Him as those did who before this had said, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; " and that either these, or some of them, were the individuals who replied in the words, "He will miserably destroy these wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen." The answer actually returned by these men, moreover, has been attributed to the Lord Himself by Mark and Luke, not only because their words were really His words, inasmuch as He is the Truth that oftentimes speaks even by the wicked and the ignorant, moving the mind of man by a certain hidden instinct, not in the merit of man's holiness, but by the right of His own proper power; but also because the men may have been of a character admitting of their being reckoned, not without reason, as already members in the true body of Christ, so that what was said by them might quite warrantably be ascribed to Him whose members they were. For by this time He had baptized more than John/ and had multitudes of disciples, as the same evangelists repeatedly testify; and from among these followers He also drew those five hundred brethren, to whom the Apostle Paul tells us that He showed Himself after His resurrection. 3 And this explanation of the matter is supported by the fact that the phrase which occurs in the version by this same Matthew, â€” namely, "They say unto Him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men," â€” is not put in a form necessitating us to take the pronoun illi in the plural number, as if it was intended to mark out the .ds expressly as the reply made by the persons who had craftily questioned Him on the subject of His authority; but the clause, "They say unto Him," 4 is so expressed that the

1 Ps. cxviii. 26; Matt. xxi. 9.


mention, â€” namely, the fact that the said parable was not spoken only to the parties who had interrogated Him on the subject of His authority, but to the people. For the latter evangelist puts it thus: "Then began He to speak to the people this parable; A certain man planted a vineyard," and so on. Accordingly, we may well understand that among the people then assembled there might also have been persons who could listen to Him as those did who before this had said, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; " and that either these, or some of them, were the individuals who replied in the words, "He will miserably destroy these wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen." The answer actually returned by these men, moreover, has been attributed to the Lord Himself by Mark and Luke, not only because their words were really His words, inasmuch as He is the Truth that oftentimes speaks even by the wicked and the ignorant, moving the mind of man by a certain hidden instinct, not in the merit of man's holiness, but by the right of His own proper power; but also because the men may have been of a character admitting of their being reckoned, not without reason, as already members in the true body of Christ, so that what was said by them might quite warrantably be ascribed to Him whose members they were. For by this time He had baptized more than John/ and had multitudes of disciples, as the same evangelists repeatedly testify; and from among these followers He also drew those five hundred brethren, to whom the Apostle Paul tells us that He showed Himself after His resurrection. 3 And this explanation of the matter is supported by the fact that the phrase which occurs in the version by this same Matthew, â€” namely, "They say unto Him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men," â€” is not put in a form necessitating us to take the pronoun illi in the plural number, as if it was intended to mark out the .ds expressly as the reply made by the persons who had craftily questioned Him on the subject of His authority; but the clause, "They say unto Him," 4 is so expressed that the

1 Keeping quia Veritas est, for which the reading qui Veritas est = "who is the truth," also occurs.

8 John iv. 1. 3 1 Cor. xv. 6. * Aiunt illi.
term illi should be taken for the singular pronoun, and not the plural, and should be held to signify unto Him, that is to say, unto the Lord Himself, as is made clear in the Greek codices, 1 without a single atom of ambiguity.

138. There is a certain discourse of the Lord which is given by the evangelist John, and which may help us more readily to understand the statement I thus make. It is to this effect: " Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed on Him, If ye continue in my word, then ye shall be my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. And they answered Him, We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be free ? 2 Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever; but the Son abideth for ever. If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. I know that ye are Abraham's seed; but ye seek to kill me, because my word hath no place in you." 3 Now surely it is not to be supposed that He spake these words, " Ye seek to kill me," to those persons who had already believed on Him, and to whom He had said, " If ye abide in my word, then shall ye be my disciples indeed." But inasmuch as He had spoken in these latter terms to the men who had already believed on Him, and as, moreover, there was present on that occasion a multitude of people, among whom there were many who were hostile to Him, even although the evangelist does not tell us explicitly who those parties were who made the reply referred to, the very nature of the answer which they gave, and the tenor of the words which thereupon were rightly directed to them by Him, make it sufficiently clear what specific persons were then addressed, and what words were spoken to them in particular. Precisely, therefore, as in the multitude thus alluded to by John there were some who had already believed on Jesus, and also some who sought to kill Him, in that other concourse which we are discussing at present there were some who had craftily questioned the Lord on the subject of the authority

1 That is to say, the aiunt illi is the rendering for x'syouo-iv alrZ.

2 Liberi eiitis. 3 John viii. 31-37.

CHAP. LXXI.] THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING'S SON. 341

by which He did these things; and there were also others who had hailed Him, not in deceit, but in faith, with the acclaim, " Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." And thus, too, there were persons present who could say, " He will destroy those men, and will give his vineyard to others." This saying, furthermore, may be rightly understood to have been the voice of the Lord
Himself, either in virtue of that Truth which in His own Person He is Himself, or on the ground of the unity which subsists between the members of His body and the head. There were also certain individuals present who, when these other parties gave that kind of answer, said to them, "God forbid," because they understood the parable to be directed against themselves.

CHAP. lxxi. "Of the marriage of the king's son, to which the multitudes were invited; and of the order in which Matthew introduces that section as compared with Luke, who gives us a somewhat similar narrative in another connection.

139. Matthew goes on as follows: "And when the chief priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they perceived that He spake of them: and when they sought to lay hands on Him, they feared the multitude, because they took Him for a prophet. And Jesus answered and spake unto them again by parables, and said, The kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding, and they would not come; " and so on, down to the words, "For many are called, but few are chosen." 1 This parable concerning the guests who were invited to the wedding is related only by Matthew. Luke also records something which resembles it. But that is really a different passage, as the order itself sufficiently indicates, although there is some similarity between the two. 2 The matters introduced, however, by Matthew immediately after the parable concerning the vineyard, and the killing of the son of the head of the house, namely, the Jews' perception that this whole discourse was directed against them, and their beginning to contrive treacherous schemes against Him, are attested likewise by Mark and Luke, who also keep the same order in inserting them. 3 But after this paragraph


342 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS, [BOOK II.]

they proceed to another subject, and immediately subjoin a passage which Matthew has also indeed introduced in due order, but only subsequently to this parable of the marriage, which he alone has put on record here.

Chap. lxxii. "Of the harmony characterizing the narratives given by these three evangelists regarding the duty of rendering to Caesar the coin bearing his image, and regarding the woman who had been married to the seven brothers.

140. Matthew then continues in these terms: "Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle Him in His talk. And they send out unto Him their disciples, with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men: tell us therefore, What thinkest thou ? Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not ?" and so on, down to the words,
"And when the multitude heard this, they were astonished at His doctrine." 1 Mark and Luke give a similar account of these two replies made by the Lord, "" namely, the one on the subject of the coin, which was prompted by the question as to the duty of giving tribute to Cæsar; and the other on the subject of the resurrection, which was suggested by the case of the woman who had married the seven brothers in succession. Neither do these two evangelists differ in the matter of the order. 2 For after the parable which told of the men to whom the vineyard was let out, and which also dealt with the Jews (against whom it was directed), and the evil counsel they were devising (which sections are given by all three evangelists together), these two, Mark and Luke, pass over the parable of the guests who were invited to the wedding (which only Matthew has introduced), and thereafter they join company again with the first evangelist, when they record these two passages which deal with Cæsar's tribute, and the woman who was the wife of seven different husbands, inserting them in precisely the same order, with a consistency which admits of no question.


CHAP. LXXIII.] THE LAWYER'S QUESTION. 343

"But when the Pharisees had heard that He had put the Sadducees to silence, they were gathered together. And one of them, which was a lawyer, asked Him a question, tempting Him, and saying, Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." 1 This is recorded also by Mark, and that too in the same order. Neither should there be any difficulty in the statement made by Matthew, to the effect that the person by whom the question was put to the Lord tempted Him; whereas Mark 2 says nothing about that, but tells us at the end of the paragraph how the Lord said to the man, as to one who answered discreetly, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." For it is quite possible that, although the man approached Him with the view of tempting Him, he may have been set right by the Lord's response. Or we need not at any rate take the tempting referred to in a bad sense, as if it were the device of one who sought to deceive an adversary; but we may rather suppose it to have been the result of caution, as if it were the act of one who wished to have further trial of a person who was unknown to him. For it is not without a
good purpose that this sentence has been written, "He that is hasty to give credit is light-minded, and shall be impaired." 3

142. Luke, on the other hand, not indeed in this order, but in a widely different connection, introduces something which resembles this. 4 But whether in that passage he is actually recording this same incident, or whether the person with

1 Matt. xxii. 34-40.

2 Another but evidently faulty reading is sometimes found here, â€” namely, Lucas autem hoc tacet et in fine Marcus, etc. = whereas Luke says nothing about that, and Mark tells us, etc.


344 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

whom the Lord [is represented to have] dealt in a similar manner there on the subject of those two commandments is quite another individual, is altogether uncertain. At the same time, it may appear right to regard the person who is introduced by Luke as a different individual from the one before us here, not only on the ground of the remarkable divergence in the order of narration, but also because he is there reported to have replied to a question which was addressed to him by the Lord, and in that reply to have himself mentioned those two precepts. The same opinion is further confirmed by the fact that, after telling us how the Lord said to him, "This do, and thou shalt live," â€” thus instructing him to do that great thing which, according to his own answer, was contained in the law, â€” the evangelist follows up what had passed with the statement, "But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?" 1 Thereupon, too [according to Luke], the Lord told the story of the man who was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among robbers. Consequently, considering that this individual is described at the outset as tempting Christ, and is represented to have repeated the two commandments in his reply; and considering, further, that after the counsel which was given by the Lord in the words, "This do, and thou shalt live," he is not commended as good, but, on the contrary, has this said of him, "But he, willing to justify himself," etc., whereas the person who is mentioned in parallel order both by Mark and by Luke received a commendation so marked, that the Lord spake to him in these terms, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God," â€” the more probable view is that which takes the person who appears on that occasion to be a different individual from the man who comes before us here.

Chap, lxxiv. â€” Of the passage in which the Jews are asked to say whose son they suppose Christ to be; and of the question whether there is not a discrepancy between Matthew and the other two evangelists, in so far as he states the inquiry to have been, "What think ye of Christ? whose son is He?"
and tells us that to this they replied, "The son of David;" whereas the others put it thus, "How say the scribes that Christ is David's son f n

143. Matthew goes on thus: "Now when the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think

1 Luke x. 29.

CHAP. LXXIV.] THE SON OF DAVID. 345

ye of Christ ? Whose son is He ? They say unto Him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in Spirit call Him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on my right hand, till I make Thine enemies Thy footstool ? If David then call Him Lord, how is He his son ? And no man was able to answer Him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask Him any more questions/ 1 This is given also by Mark in due course, and in the same order. 2

Luke, again, only omits mention of the person who asked the Lord which was the first commandment in the law, and, after passing over that incident in silence, observes the same order once more as the others, narrating just as these do this question which the Lord put to the Jews concerning Christ, as to how He was David's son. 3 Neither is the sense at all affected by the circumstance that, as Matthew puts it, when Jesus had asked them what they thought of Christ, and whose son He was, they [the Pharisees] replied, " The son of David," and then He proposed the further query as to how David then called Him Lord; whereas, according to the version presented by the other two, Mark and Luke, we do not find either that these persons were directly interrogated, or that they made any answer. For we ought to take this view of the matter, namely, that these two evangelists have introduced the sentiments which were expressed by the Lord Himself after the reply made by those parties, and have recorded the terms in which He spoke in the hearing of those whom He wished profitably to instruct in His authority, and to turn away from the teaching of the scribes, and whose knowledge of Christ amounted then only to this, that He was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, while they did not understand that He was God, and on that ground also the Lord even of David. It is in this way, therefore, that in the accounts given by these two evangelists, the Lord is mentioned in a manuer which makes it appear as if He was discoursing on the subject of these erroneous teachers to men whom He desired to see delivered from the errors in which these scribes were involved.

Thus, too, the question, which is presented by Matthew in the form, "What say ye?" is to be taken not as addressed directly

1 Matt. xxii. 41-46. 2 Mark xii. 35-37. 3 Luke xx. 41-44.
to these [Pharisees], but rather as expressed only with reference to those parties, and
directed really to the persons whom He was desirous of instructing.

Chap. lxxv. "Of the Pharisees who sit in the seat of Moses, and enjoin things which
they do not, and of the other words spoken by the Lord against these same Pharisees; of
the question whether Matthew's narrative agrees here with those which are given by the
other two evangelists, and in particular with that of Luke, who introduces a passage
resembling this one, although it is brought in not in this order, but in another connection.

144. Matthew proceeds with his account, observing the following order of narration: "
Then spake Jesus to the multitude, and to His disciples, saying, The scribes and the
Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe
and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not;" and so on, down to the words,
" Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name
of the Lord." 1 Luke also mentions a similar discourse which was spoken by the Lord in
opposition to the Pharisees and the scribes and the doctors of the law, but reports it as
delivered in the house of a certain Pharisee, who had invited Him to a feast. In order to
relate that passage, he has made a digression from the order which is followed by
Matthew, about the point at which they have both put on record the Lord's sayings
respecting the sign of the three days and nights in the history of Jonas, and the queen of
the south, and the unclean spirit that returns and finds the house swept. 2 And that
paragraph is followed up by Matthew with these words: " While He yet talked to the
people, behold, His mother and His brethren stood without, desiring to speak with Him."
But in the version which the third Gospel presents of the discourse then spoken by the
Lord, after the recital of certain sayings of the Lord which Matthew has omitted to notice,
Luke turns off from the order which he had been observing in concert with Matthew, so
that his immediately subsequent narrative runs thus: " And as He spake, a certain
Pharisee besought Him to dine with him; and He went in, and sat down to meat. And
when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that He had not first washed before dinner. And
the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the

1 Matt, xxiii. 2 Matt. xii. 39-46.
outside of the cup and platter." 1 And after this, Luke reports other utterances which were directed against the said Pharisees and scribes and teachers of the law, which are of a similar tenor to those which Matthew also recounts in this passage which we have taken in hand at present to consider. 2

"Wherefore, although Matthew records these things in a manner which, while it is true indeed that the house of that Pharisee is not mentioned by name, yet does not specify as the scene where the words were spoken any place entirely inconsistent with the idea of His having been in the house referred to; still the facts that the Lord by this time [i.e. according to Matthew's Gospel] had left Galilee and come into Jerusalem, and that the incidents alluded to above, on to the discourse which is now under review, 3 are so arranged in the context after His arrival as to make it only reasonable to understand them to have taken place in Jerusalem, whereas Luke's narrative deals with what occurred at the time when the Lord as yet was only journeying towards Jerusalem, are considerations which lead me to the conclusion that these are not the same, but only two similar discourses, of which the former evangelist has reported the one, and the latter the other.

145. This is also a matter which requires some consideration, â€” namely, the question how it is said here, " Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," 4 when, according to this same Matthew, they had already expressed themselves to this effect. 5 Besides, Luke likewise tells us that a reply containing these very words had previously been returned by the Lord to the persons who had counselled Him to leave their locality, because Herod sought to kill Him. That evangelist represents these self-same terms, which Matthew records here, to have been employed by Him in the declaration which He directed on that occasion against Jerusalem itself. For Luke's narrative proceeds in the following manner: " The same day there came certain of the Pharisees, saying unto Him, Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee. And He said unto them, Go ye and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out 1

1 Luke xi. 29-39. 2 Luke xi. 40-52. 3 i u M att _ xx {n
4 Matt, xxiii. 39. 5 Matt. xxi. 9.

348 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [iIOOK II.

devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected. Nevertheless, I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following; for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets,
and stonest them that are sent unto thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not!

Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate: and I say unto you, that ye shall not see me until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord."  

1 There does not seem, however, to be anything contradictory to the narration thus given by Luke in the circumstance that the multitudes said, when the Lord was approaching Jerusalem, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." For, according to the order which is followed by Luke, He had not yet come to the scene in question, and the words had not been uttered. But since he does not tell us that He did actually leave the place at that time, not to return to it until the period came when such words would be spoken by them (for He continues on His journey until he arrives at Jerusalem; and the saying, *Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected," is to be taken to have been uttered by Him in a mystical and figurative sense: for certainly He did not suffer at a time answering literally to the third day after the present occasion; nay, He immediately goes on to say, "Nevertheless, I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following "), we are indeed constrained also to put a mystical interpretation upon the sentence, "Ye shall not see me henceforth, until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord/ and to understand it to refer to that advent of His in which He is to come in His effulgent bright-

ness; 2 it being thereby also implied, that what He expressed in the declaration, "I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected," bears upon His body, which is the Church. For devils are cast out when the nations abandon their ancestral superstitions and believe on Him; and cures are wrought when men renounce the devil

1 Luke xiii. 31-35. 2 In claritate.

CHAP. LXXVI.] THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE. 349

and tins world, and live in accordance with His commandments, even unto the consummation of the resurrection, in which there shall, as it were, be realized that perfecting on the third day; that is to say, the Church shall be perfected up to the measure of the angelic fulness through the realized immortality of the body as well as the soul. Therefore the order followed by Matthew is by no means to be understood to involve a digression to another connection. But we are rather to suppose, either that Luke has antedated the events which took place in Jerusalem, and has introduced them at this point simply as they were here suggested to his recollection, before his narrative really brings the Lord to Jerusalem; or that the Lord, when drawing near the same city on that occasion, did actually reply to the persons who counselled Him to be on His guard against Herod, in terms resembling those in which Matthew represents Him to have
spoken also to the multitudes at a period when He had already arrived in Jerusalem, and when all these events had taken place which have been detailed above.

Chap. lxxvi. â€” Of the harmony in respect of the order of narration subsisting between Matthew and the other two evangelists in the accounts given of the occasion on which He foretold the destruction of the temple.

146. Matthew proceeds with his history in the following terms: "And Jesus went out and departed from the temple; and His disciples came to Him for to show Him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them, See ye all these things? Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down." 1 This incident is related also by Mark, and nearly in the same order. But he brings it in after a digression of some small extent, which is made with a view to mention the case of the widow who put the two mites into the treasury, 2 which occurrence is recorded only by Mark and Luke. For [in proof that Mark’s order is essentially the same as Matthew’s, we need only notice that] in Mark's version also, after the account of the Lord's discussion with the Jews on the occasion when He

1 Matt. xxiv. 1, 2. According to Migne, certain codices add here the clause, "when the disciples were asking the Lord privately what was the sign of His coming." 2 Mark xii. 41-xiii. 2.

350 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

asked them how they held Christ to be David's son, we have a narrative of what He said in warning them against the Pharisees and their hypocrisy, â€” a section which Matthew has presented on the amplest scale, introducing into it a larger number of the Lord's sayings on that occasion. Then after this paragraph, which has been handled briefly by Mark, and treated with great fulness by Matthew, Mark, as I have said, introduces the passage about the widow who was at once so extremely poor, and yet abounded so remarkably. And finally, without interpolating anything else, he subjoins a section in which he comes again into unison with Matthew, â€” namely, that relating to the destruction of the temple. In like manner, Luke first states the question which was propounded regarding Christ, as to how He was the son of David, and then mentions a few of the words which were spoken in cautioning them against the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. Thereafter he proceeds, as Mark does, to tell the story of the widow who cast the two mites into the treasury. And finally he appends the statement, 1 which appears also in Matthew and Mark, on the subject of the destined overthrow of the temple.

Chap. lxxvii. â€” Of the harmony subsisting between the three evangelists in their narratives of the discourse which He delivered on the Mount of Olives, when the disciples asked when the consummation should happen.
147. Matthew continues in the following strain: "And as He sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto Him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered, and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you. for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many;" and so on, down to where we read, "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." We have now, therefore, to examine this lengthened discourse as it meets us in the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. For they all introduce it in their narratives, and that, too, in the same order. 2 Here, as elsewhere, each of these writers gives some matters which are peculiar to himself, in which, never-

1 Luke xx. 16-xxi. 6.

2 Matt. xxiv. 3-xxv. 46; Mark xiii. 4-37; Luke xxi. 7-36.

CHAP. LXXYII.] the signs of the end. 351

theless, we have not to apprehend any suspicion of inconsistency. But what we have to make sure of is the proof that, in those passages which are exact parallels, they are nowhere to be regarded as in antagonism with each other. For if anything bearing the appearance of a contradiction meets us here, the simple affirmation that it is something wholly distinct, and uttered by the Lord in similar terms indeed, but on a totally different occasion, cannot be deemed a legitimate mode of explanation in a case like this, where the narrative, as given by all the three evangelists, moves in the same connection at once of subjects and of dates. Moreover, the mere fact that the writers do not all observe the same order in the reports which they give of the same sentiments expressed by the Lord, certainly does not in any way affect either the understanding or the communication of the subject itself, provided the matters which are represented by them to have been spoken by Him are not inconsistent the one with the other.

148. Again, what Matthew states in this form, "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come," 1 is given also in the same connection by Mark in the following manner: " And the gospel must first be published among all nations." 2 Mark has not added the words, â€¢ and then shall the end come;" but he indicates what they express, when he uses the phrase first in the sentence, * And the gospel must first be published among all nations." For they had asked Him about the end. And therefore, when He addresses them thus, " The gospel must first be published among all nations," the term first clearly suggests the idea of something to be done before the consummation should come.
149. In like manner, what Matthew states thus, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, whoso readeth, let him understand," 3 is put in the following form by Mark:

* But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, let him that readeth understand." 4 But though the phrase is thus altered, the sense conveyed is the same. For the point of the

1 Matt. xxiv. 14. 2 Mark xiii. 10. 3 Matt. xxiv. 15. 4 Mark xiii. 14.

352 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

clause, " where it ought not," is that the abomination of desolation ought not to be in the holy place. Luke's method of putting it, again, is neither, * And when ye shall see the abomination of desolation stand in the holy place," nor, " where it ought not," but, " And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with an army, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh." 1 At that time, therefore, will the abomination of desolation be in the holy place.

150. Again, what is given by Matthew in the following terms: " Then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains; and let him which is on the house-top not come down to take anything out of his house; neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes," 2 is reported also by Mark almost in so many words. On the other hand, Luke's version proceeds thus: " Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains." 3 Thus far he agrees with the other two. But he presents what is subsequent to that in a different form. For he goes on to say, " And let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto: for these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled."

Now these statements seem to present differences enough between each other. For the one, as it occurs in the first two evangelists, runs thus: " Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take anything out of his house; " whereas what is given by the third evangelist is to this effect: " And let them which are in the midst of it depart out." The import, however, may be, that in the great agitation which will arise in the face of so mighty an impending peril, those shut up in the state of siege (which is expressed by the phrase, " they which are in the midst of it") will appear upon the housetop [or wall], amazed and anxious to see what terror hangs over them, or what method of escape may open. Still the question rises, How does this third evangelist say here, " let them depart out," when he has already used these terms: " And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with an army " ? For what is brought in after this â€” namely, the sentence, " And let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto" â€” appears to
form part of one consistent admonition; and we can perceive how those who are outside
the city are not to enter into it; but the difficulty is to see how those who are in the midst
of it are to depart out, when the city is already compassed with an army. Well, may not
this expression, * in the midst of it," indicate a time when the danger will be so urgent as
to leave no opportunity open, so far as temporal means are concerned, for the
preservation of this present life in the body, and that the fact that this will be a time when
the soul ought to be ready and free, and neither taken up with, nor burdened by, carnal
desires, is imported by the phrase employed by the first two writers â€” namely, "on the
house-top,"
or, " on the wall " ? In this way the third evangelist's phraseology, " let them depart out "
(which really means, let them no more be engrossed with the desire of this life, but let
them be prepared to pass into another life), is equivalent in sense to the terms used by the
other two, " let him not come down to take anything out of his house " (which really
means, " let not his affections turn towards the flesh, as if it could yield him anything to
his advantage then "). And in like manner the phrase adopted by the one, " And let not
them that are in the countries enter thereunto " (which is to say, " Let not those who, with
good purpose of heart, have already placed themselves outside it, indulge again in any
carnal lust or longing after it "), denotes precisely what the other two evangelists embody
in the sentence, " Neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes,"
which is much the same as to state that he should not again involve himself in cares of
which he had been unburdened.

151. Moreover, Matthew proceeds thus: " But pray ye that your flight be not in the
winter, neither on the Sabbath-day."
Part of this is given and part omitted by Mark, when he says,
" And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter." Luke, on the other hand, leaves this
out entirely, and instead of it introduces something which is peculiar to himself, and by
which he appears to me to have cast light upon this very clause which has been set before
us somewhat obscurely by these others. For his version runs thus: " And take heed to
yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged

354 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and BO
that day come upon you unawares. For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on
the face of the whole earth.
Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these
things that shall come to pass." 1
This is to be understood to be the same flight as is mentioned by Matthew, which should not be taken in the winter or on the Sabbath-day. That "winter," moreover, refers to these "cares of this life" which Luke has specified directly; and the "Sabbath-day" refers in like manner to the "surfeiting and drunkenness." For sad cares are like a winter; and surfeiting and drunkenness drown and bury the heart in carnal delights and luxury an evil, which is expressed under the term "Sabbath-day," because of old, as is the case with them still, the Jews had the very pernicious custom of revelling in pleasure on that day, when they were ignorant of the spiritual Sabbath. Or, if something else is intended by the words which thus appear in Matthew and Mark, Luke's terms may also be taken to bear on something else, while no question implying any antagonism between them need be raised for all that. At present, however, we have not undertaken the task of expounding the Gospels, but only that of defending them against groundless charges of falsehood and deceit.

Furthermore, other matters which Matthew has inserted in this discourse, and which are common to him and Mark, present no difficulty. On the other hand, with respect to those sections which are common to him and Luke, it is to be remarked that these are not introduced into the present discourse by Luke, although in regard to the order of narration here they are at one. But he records sentences of like tenor in other connections, either reproducing them as they suggested themselves to his memory, and thus bringing them in by anticipation so as to relate at an earlier point words which, as spoken by the Lord, belong really to a later; or else, giving us to understand that they were uttered twice over by the Lord, once on the occasion referred to by Matthew, and on a second occasion, with which Luke himself deals.

1 Luke xxi. 34-36.

CHAP. LXXVIII.] THE VISIT TO BETHANY. 355

Chap, lxxviii. "Of the question whether there is any contradiction between Matthew and Mark on the one hand, and John on the other, in so far as the former state that after two days was to be the feast of the passover, and afterwards tell us that He was in Bethany, while the latter gives a parallel narrative of what took place at Bethany, but mentions that it was six days before the passover.

152. Matthew continues thus: "And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings, He said unto His disciples, Ye know that after two days will be the feast of the passover, and the Son of man shall be betrayed to be crucified." This is attested in like manner by the other two, namely, Mark and Luke, and that, too, with a thorough harmony on the subject of the order of narration. They do not, however, introduce the sentence as one spoken by the Lord Himself. They make no statement to that effect. At the same time, Mark, speaking in his own person, does tell us that "after two days was the feast of the passover and of unleavened bread."
And Luke likewise gives this as his own affirmation: " Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh, which is called the passover; " that is to say, it " drew nigh " in this sense, that it was to take place after two days' space, as the other two are more apparently at one in expressing it. John, on the other hand, has mentioned in three several places the nearness of this same feast-day. In the two earlier instances the intimation is made when he is engaged in recording certain matters of another tenor. But on the third occasion his narrative appears clearly to deal with those very times, in connection with which the other three evangelists also notice the subject, â€” that is to say, the times when the Lord's passion was now actually imminent. 3

153. But to those who look into the matter without sufficient care, there may seem to be a contradiction involved in the fact that Matthew and Mark, after stating that the passover was to be after two days, have at once informed us how Jesus was in Bethany on that occasion, on which the account of the precious ointment comes before us; whereas John, when he is about to give us the same narrative concerning the ointment, begins by telling us that Jesus came to Bethany six days before the passover. 1 'Now, the question is, how 1 passover could be spoken of by those two evangelists about to be celebrated two days after, seeing that we fi them, immediately after they have made this statement, company with John, giving us an account of the scene w the ointment in Bethany; while in that connection the la named writer informs us, that the feast of the passover was take place six days after. Nevertheless, those who are pplexed by this difficulty simply fail to perceive that Matth and Mark have brought in their account of the scene wh was enacted in Bethany really in the form of a recapitulati not as if the time of its occurrence was actually subsequ to the [time indicated in the] announcement made by them the subject of the two days' space, but as an event which 1 already taken place at a date when there was still a period six days preceding the passover. For neither of them ] appended his account of what took place at Bethany to statement regarding the celebration of the passover after t days' space in any such terms as these: " After these thir when He was in Bethany." But Matthew's phrase is tr. " Now when Jesus was in Bethany." And Mark's version simply this: " And being in Bethany," etc.; which is a met! of expression that may certainly be taken to refer to a per antecedent to the utterance of what was said two days bef the passover. The case, therefore, stands thus: As we gat from the narrative of John, Jesus came to Bethany six d before the passover; there the supper

1 Matt. xxvi. 1,2. 2 Mark xiv. 1; Luke xxii. 1.
3 John xi. 55, xii. 1, xiii. 1.

356 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK

days before the passover. 1 'Now, the question is, how 1 passover could be spoken of by those two evangelists about to be celebrated two days after, seeing that we fi them, immediately after they have made this statement, company with John, giving us an account of the scene w the ointment in Bethany; while in that connection the la named writer informs us, that the feast of the passover was take place six days after. Nevertheless, those who are pplexed by this difficulty simply fail to perceive that Matth and Mark have brought in their account of the scene wh was enacted in Bethany really in the form of a recapitulati not as if the time of its occurrence was actually subsequ to the [time indicated in the] announcement made by them the subject of the two days' space, but as an event which 1 already taken place at a date when there was still a period six days preceding the passover. For neither of them ] appended his account of what took place at Bethany to statement regarding the celebration of the passover after t days' space in any such terms as these: " After these thir when He was in Bethany." But Matthew's phrase is tr. " Now when Jesus was in Bethany." And Mark's version simply this: " And being in Bethany," etc.; which is a met! of expression that may certainly be taken to refer to a per antecedent to the utterance of what was said two days bef the passover. The case, therefore, stands thus: As we gat from the narrative of John, Jesus came to Bethany six d before the passover; there the supper
took place, in connection with which we get the account of the precious ointment leaving this
place, He came next to Jerusalem, sitting upon an ass; and thereafter happened those things which they relate to have occurred after this arrival of His in Jerusalem. Consequently, even although the evangelists do not mention fact, we understand that between the day on which He came to Bethany, and which witnessed the scene with the ointment and the day to which all these deeds and words which are present before us belonged, there elapsed a period of four days so that at this point might come in the day which the evangelists have defined by their statement as to the passover.

'John xii. 1.

CHAP. LXXVIII.] THE INCIDENT AT BETHANY. 357

being to be celebrated two days after. Further, when Luke says, "Now the feast of unleavened bread drew nigh," he does not indeed make any express mention of a two days' space; but still, the nearness which he has instanced ought to be accepted as made good by this very space of two days. Again, when John makes the statement that "the Jews' passover was nigh at hand," * he does not intend a two days' space to be understood thereby, but means that there was a period of six days before the passover. Thus it is that, on recording certain matters immediately after this affirmation, with the intention of specifying what measure of nearness he had in view when he spoke of the passover as nigh at hand, he next proceeds in the following strain: "Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus had died, whom Jesus raised from the dead; and there they made Him a supper."

This is the incident which Matthew and Mark introduce in the form of a recapitulation, after the statement that after two days would be the passover. In their recapitulation they thus come back upon the day in Bethany, which was yet a six days' space off from the passover, and give us the account which John also gives of the supper and the ointment. Subsequently to that scene, we are to suppose Him to come to Jerusalem, and then, after the occurrence of the other things recorded, to reach this clay, which was still a two days' space from the passover, and from which these evangelists have made this digression, with the object of giving a recapitulatory notice of the incident with the ointment in Bethany. And after the completion of that narrative, they return once more to the point from which they made the digression; that is to say, they now proceed to record the words spoken by the Lord two days before the passover. For if we remove the notice of the incident at Bethany, which they have introduced as a digression from the literal order, and have given in the form of a recollection and recapitulation inserted at a point subsequent to its actual historical position, and if we then set the narrative in its regular connection, the recital will go on as follows; â€” according to Matthew, the Lord's words coming.

1 John xi. 55. 2 Ubi fuerat Lazarus mortuus quem suscitavit Jesus.
3 John xii. 1, 2.

358 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

in thus: "Ye know that after two days shall be the feast of the passover, and the Son of man shall be betrayed to be crucified. Then assembled together the chief priests and the elders of the people unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill Him. But they said, Not on the feastday, lest there be an uproar among the people. Then one of the twelve, called Judas Scarioth, went unto the chief priests," 1 etc. For between the verse where it is said, " lest there be an uproar among the people," and the passage where we read, " then one of the disciples, called Judas, went," etc., that notice of the scene at Bethany intervenes, which they have introduced by way of recapitulation. Consequently, by leaving it out, we have established such a connection in the narrative as may make our conclusion satisfactory, that there is no contradiction here in the matter of the order of times. Again, if we deal with Mark's Gospel in like manner, and omit the account of the same supper at Bethany, which he also has brought in as a recapitulation, his narrative will proceed in the following order: " Now after two days was the feast of the passover, and of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take Him by craft, and put Him to death. For they said, 2 Not on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar of the people. And Judas Scariothes, one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests, to betray Him." 3 Here, again, the incident at Bethany which these evangelists have inserted, by way of recapitulation, is placed between the clause, " lest there be an uproar of the people," and the verse which we have attached immediately to that, namely, " And Judas Scarioth, one of the twelve." Luke, on the other hand, has simply omitted the said occurrence at Bethany.

This is the explanation which we give in reference to the six days before the passover, which is the space mentioned by John when narrating what took place at Bethany, and in reference to the two days before the passover, which is the period specified by Matthew and Mark when presenting their account, in direct sequence upon the statement thus made, of that same scene in Bethany which has been recorded also by John.

1 Matt. xxvi. 2-5, 14, etc. a Dicebant enim. 8 Mark xiv. 1, 2, 10.

CHAR LXXIX.] THE SUPPER AT BETHANY. 359

Chaï\ lxxix. â€” Of the concord between Matthew, Mark, and John in their notices of the supper at Bethany, at which the woman poured the precious ointment on the Lord, and of the method in which these accounts are to be harmonized with that of Luke, when he records an incident of a similar nature at a different period.
Matthew, then, continuing his narrative from the point up to which we had concluded its examination, proceeds in the following terms: "Then assembled together the chief priests and the elders of the people unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtlety and kill Him: but they said, Not on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people. Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, there came unto Him a woman having an alabaster box of precious ointment, and poured it on His head as He sat at meat;" and so on down to the words, "there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her." * The scene with the woman and the costly ointment at Bethany we have now to consider, as it is thus detailed. For although Luke records an incident resembling this, and although the name which he assigns to the person in whose house the Lord was supping might also suggest an identity between the two narratives (for Luke likewise names the host Simon), still, since there is nothing either in nature or in the customs of men to make the case an incredible one, that as one man may have two names, two men may with all the greater likelihood have one and the same name, it is more reasonable to believe that the Simon "in whose house [it is thus supposed, according to Luke's version, that] this scene at Bethany took place, was a different person from the Simon [named by Matthew]. For Luke, again, does not specify Bethany as the place where the incident which he records happened. And although it is true that he in no way particularizes the town or village in which that occurrence took place, still his narrative does not seem to deal with the same locality. Consequently, my opinion is, that there is but one interpretation to be put upon the matter. That is not, however, to suppose that the woman who appears in Matthew was

1 Matt. xxvi. 3-13.

360 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IT.

an entirely different person from the woman who approached the feet of Jesus on that occasion in the character of a sinner, and kissed them, and washed them with her tears, and wiped them with her hair, and anointed them with ointment, in reference to whose case Jesus also made use of the parable of the two debtors, and said that her sins, which were many, were forgiven her because she loved much. But my theory is, that it was the same Mary who did this deed on two separate occasions, the one being that which Luke has put on record, when she approached Him first of all in that remarkable humility, and with those tears, and obtained the forgiveness of her sins. 1 For John, too, although he has not given the kind of recital which Luke has left us of the circumstances connected with that incident, has at least mentioned the fact, in commending the same Mary to our notice, when he has just begun to tell the story of the raising of Lazarus, and before his narrative brings the Lord to Bethany itself. The history which he offers us of that transaction proceeds thus: "Now a certain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, the
town of Mary, and her sister Martha. It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped His feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick." 2 By this statement John attests what Luke has told us when he records a scene of this nature in the house of a certain Pharisee, whose name was Simon. Here, then, we see that Mary had acted in this way before that time. And what she did a second time in Bethany is a different matter, which does not belong to Luke's narrative, but is related by three of the evangelists in concert, namely, John, Matthew, and Mark. 3

155. Let us therefore notice how harmony is maintained here between these three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and John, regarding whom there is no doubt that they record the self-same occurrence at Bethany, on occasion of which the disciples also, as all three mention, murmured against the woman, ostensibly on the ground of the waste of the very precious ointment. Now the further fact that Matthew and Mark tell us that it was the Lord's head on which the ointment was poured, while John says it was His feet, can be shown to involve no contradiction, if we apply the principle which we have already expounded in dealing with the scene of the feeding of the multitudes with the five loaves. For as there was one writer who, in giving his account of that incident, did not fail to specify that the people sat down at once by fifties and by hundreds, although another spoke only of the fifties, no contradiction could be supposed to emerge. There might indeed have seemed to be some difficulty, if the one evangelist had referred only to the hundreds, and the other only to the fifties; and yet, even in that case, the correct finding should have been to the effect that they were seated both by fifties and by hundreds. And this example ought to have made it plain to us, as I pressed it upon my readers in discussing that section, that even where the several evangelists introduce only the one fact each, we should take the case to have been really, that both things were elements in the actual occurrence. 1 In the same way, our conclusion with regard to the passage now before us should be, that the woman poured the ointment not only upon the Lord's head, but also on His feet. It is true that some person may possibly be found absurd and artful enough to argue, that because Mark states that the ointment was poured out only after the alabaster vase was broken, there could not have remained in the shattered vessel anything with which she could anoint His feet. But while a person of that character, in his endeavours to disprove the veracity of the Gospel, may contend that the vase was broken, in a manner making it impossible that any portion of the contents could have been left in it, how much better and more accordant with piety must the position of a very different individual appear, whose aim will be to uphold the truthful ness of the Gospel, and who may therefore contend that the vessel was not broken in a manner involving the total outpouring of the ointment! Moreover, if that
calumniator is so persistently blinded as to attempt to shatter the harmony of the evangelists on this subject of the shattering of the vase, 2 he should rather accept the alternative, that the [Lord's] feet were anointed before the vessel itself was broken, and that it

1 See above, chap. xlvi. Â§ 98. 2 De alabastro fracto frangere couetur.

3G2 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

thus remained whole, and filled with ointment sufficient for the anointing also of the head, when, by the breakage referred to, the entire contents were discharged. For we allow that there is a due regard to the several parts of our nature when the act commences with the head, but [we may also say that] an equally natural order is preserved when we ascend from the feet to the head.

156. The other matters belonging to this incident do not seem to me to raise any question really involving a difficulty. There is the circumstance that the other evangelists mention how the disciples murmured about the [wasteful] outpouring of the precious ointment, whereas John states that Judas was the person who thus expressed himself, and tells us, in explanation of the fact, that he was a thief. But I think it is evident that this same Judas was the person referred to under the [general] name of the disciples, the plural number being used here instead of the singular, in accordance with that mode of speech of which we have already introduced an explanation in the case of Philip and the miracle of the five loaves. 1 It may also be understood in this way, that the other disciples either felt as Judas felt, or spoke as he did, or were brought over to that view of the matter by what Judas said, and that Matthew and Mark consequently have expressed in word what was really the mind of the whole company; but that Judas spoke as he did just because he was a thief, whereas what prompted the rest was their care for the poor; and further, that John has chosen to record the utterance of such sentiments only in the instance of that one [among the disciples] whose habit of acting the thief he believed it right to bring out in connection with this occasion.

Chap. lxxx. â€” Of the harmony characterizing the accounts to which are given by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, of the occasion on which He sent His disciples to make preparations for His eating the passover.

157. Matthew proceeds thus: " Then one of the twelve, who is called Judas [of] Scarioth, went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver Him unto you ? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver;" and so on down to the words, " And the disciples
did as Jesus had appointed them, and they made ready the passover." 1 Nothing in this section can be supposed to stand in any contradiction with the versions of Mark and Luke, who record this same passage in a similar manner. 2 For as regards the statement given by Matthew in these terms, " Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand: I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples," it just indicates the person whom Mark and Luke name the goodman of the house* or the master of the house, 5 in which the dining-room was shown them where they were to make ready the passover. And Matthew has expressed this by simply bringing in the phrase, to such a man, as a brief explanation introduced by himself with the view of succinctly giving us to understand who the person referred to was. For if he had said that the Lord addressed them in words like these: " Go into the city, and say unto him [or it], 6 The Master saith, My time is at hand, I will keep the passover at thy house," it might have been supposed that the terms were intended to be directed to the city itself. For this reason, therefore, Matthew has inserted the statement, that the Lord bade them go to such a man, not, however, as a statement made by the Lord, whose instructions he was recording, but simply as one volunteered by himself, with the view of avoiding the necessity of narrating the whole at length, when it seemed to him that this was all that required to be mentioned in order to bring out with sufficient accuracy what was really meant by the person who gave the order. For who can fail to see that no one naturally speaks to others in such an indefinite fashion as this, " Go ye to such a man " ? If, again, the words had been, " Go ye to any one whatsoever, or to any one you please" 7 the mode of expression might have been correct enough, but the person to whom the disciples were sent would have been left uncertain: whereas Mark and Luke present him as a certain definitely indicated individual, although


6 lie in civitatem et dicite ei. Turning on the identity of form retained by the Latin pronoun in all the genders of the dative case, this, of course, cannot be precisely represented in English.

7 Ad quemcunque aut ad quemlibet.

364 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]
they pass over his name in silence. The Lord Himself, we may be sure, knew to what person it was that He despatched them. And in order that those also whom He was thus sending might be able to discover the individual meant, He gave them, before they set out, a particular sign which they were to follow, â€” namely, the appearance of a man bearing a pitcher or a vessel of water, â€” and told them, that if they went after him, they would reach the house which He intended. Hence, seeing that it was not competent here to employ the phraseology, Go to any one you please, which is indeed legitimate enough, so far as the demands of linguistic propriety are concerned, but which an accurate statement of the matter dealt with here renders inadmissible in this passage, with how much less warrant could an expression like this have been used here (by the speaker Himself), Go to such a man, which the usage of correct language can never admit at all? But it is manifest that the disciples were sent by the Lord, plainly, not to any man they pleased, but to such a man, that is to say, to a certain definite individual. And that is a thing which the evangelist, speaking in his own person, could quite rightly have related to us, by putting it in this way: "He sent them to such a man, in order to say to him, I will keep the passover at thy house." He might also have expressed it thus: "He sent them to such a man, saying, Go, say to him, I will keep the passover at thy house." And thus it is that, after giving us the words actually spoken by the Lord Himself, namely, "Go into the city," he has introduced this addition of his own, to such a man, which he does, however, not as if the Lord had thus expressed Himself, but simply with the view of giving us to understand, although the name is left unrecorded, that there was a particular person in the city to whom the Lord's disciples were sent, in order to make ready the passover. Thus, too, after the two [or three] words brought in in that manner as an explanation of his own, he takes up again the order of the words as they were uttered by the Lord Himself, namely, "And say unto him, The Master saith." And if you ask now to whom they were to say this, the correct reply is given [at once] in these terms, To that particular man

1 Ad quendam.

CHAP. LXXX.] AUGUSTINE'S IGNORANCE OF HEBREW. 365

...
any ambiguity. Or again, if the terms were anything like these, "Go into the city to such a man, who resides in this or the other place, in such and such a house," then the note thus given of the place and the designation of the house would make it quite possible to understand the commission delivered, and to execute it. But when these instructions, and all others of a similar order, are left entirely untold, the person who in such circumstances uses this kind of address, Go to such a man, and say unto him, cannot possibly be listened to intelligently for this obvious reason, that when he employs the terms, to such a man, he intends a certain particular individual to be understood by them, and yet offers us no hint by which he may be identified. But if we are to suppose that the clause referred to is one introduced as an explanation by the evangelist himself, [we may find that] the requirements of brevity will render the expression somewhat obscure, without, however, making it incorrect. Moreover, as to the fact, that where Mark speaks of a pitcher 1 of water, Luke mentions a vessel, 2 the simple explanation is, that the one has used a word indicative of the kind of vessel, and the other a term indicative of its capacity, while both evangelists have nevertheless preserved the real meaning actually intended.

1 Lagenam, bottle. 2 A mphoram, large measure.

3 06 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK II.]

158. Matthew proceeds thus: "Now when the even was come, He sat down with the twelve disciples; and as they did eat, He said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say, Lord, is it I ? " and so on, down to where we read, "Then Judas, which betrayed Him, answered and said, Master, is it I ? He said unto him, Thou hast said." 1 In what we have now presented for consideration here, the other three evangelists, 2 who also record such matters, offer nothing calculated to raise any question of serious difficulty.

1 Matt. xxvi. 20-25.  

CHAP. I.] THE PLAN OF THE BOOK. 367

BOOK THIRD.

THIS BOOK CONTAINS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE HARMONY OF THE EVANGELISTS
FROM THE ACCOUNT OF THE SUPPER ON TO THE END OF THE GOSPEL, THE NARRATIVES GIVEN BY THE SEVERAL WRITERS BEING COLLATED, AND THE WHOLE ARRANGED IN ONE ORDERLY CONNECTION.

PROLOGUE.

1. rNASMUCH as we have now reached that point in the JL history at which all the four evangelists necessarily hold their course in company on to the conclusion, without presenting any serious divergence the one from the other, if it happens anywhere that one of them makes mention of something which another leaves unnoticed, it appears to me that we may demonstrate the consistency maintained by the various evangelists with greater expedition, if from this point onwards we now bring all the statements given by all the writers together into one connection, and arrange the whole in a single narration, and under one view. I consider that in this way the task which we have undertaken may be discharged with greater convenience and facility than otherwise might be the case. What we have now before us, therefore, is to attempt the construction of a single narrative, in which we shall include all the particulars, and for which we shall possess the attestation of those evangelists who, (each selecting for recital out of the whole number of facts those which he had either the ability or the desire to relate,) have prepared these records for us: this being done in such a manner, moreover, that all these state-

1 The text gives: et in unam narrationem faciemque digeramus. For fackrn the reading seriem, series, also occurs.

2 The text gives: ut aggrediamur narrationem omnia commemorantes, cum eorum evangelistarum altestatione qui ex his omnibus, etc. Some editions have cum eorundem evangelistarum attestatione quid ex his, etc. = the attestation of the same evangelists as to what, etc.

3G8 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK TTI.

ments, in regard to which we have to prove an entire freedom from contradictions, are taken as made by all the evangelists together.

Chap. i. â€” Of the method in which the four evangelists are shovm to be at one in the accounts given of the Lord's Supper and the indication of His betrayer.

2. Let us commence here, accordingly, with the notice presented by Matthew, [which runs thus]: "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body." 1
Both Mark and Luke also gave this section. It is true that Luke has made mention of the cup twice over: first before He gave the bread; and, secondly, after the bread has been given.

But the fact is, that what is stated in that earlier connection has been introduced, according to this writer's habit, by anticipation, while the words which he has inserted here in their proper order are left unrecorded in those previous verses, and the two passages when put together make up exactly what stands expressed by those other evangelists. John, on the other hand, has said nothing about the body and blood of the Lord in this context; but he plainly certifies that the Lord spake to that effect on another occasion, with much greater fulness than here. At present, however, after recording how the Lord rose from supper and washed the disciples' feet, and after telling us also the reason why the Lord dealt thus with them, in expressing which He had intimated, although still obscurely, and by the use of a testimony of Scripture, the fact that He was being betrayed by the man who was to eat of His bread, at this point John comes to the section in question, which the other three evangelists also unite in introducing. He presents it thus: "When Jesus had thus said, He was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, That one of you shall betray me. Then the disciples looked (as the same John subjoins) one on another, doubting of whom He spake." 4 "And (as Matthew and Mark tell us) they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say unto Him, Is it I ? And He answered and said (as Matthew proceeds to state), He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me." Matthew also goes on to make the following addition to the preceding: "The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of Him; but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man shall be betrayed ! it had been good for that man if he had not been born." 1 Mark, too, is at one with him here as regards both the words themselves and the order of narration. 2 Then Matthew continues thus: "Then Judas, which betrayed Him, answered and said, Master, is it I ? He said unto him, Thou hast said." Even these words did not say explicitly whether he was himself the man. For the sentence still admits of being understood as if its point was this, i" am not the person who has said so. All this, too, may quite easily have been uttered by Judas and answered by the Lord without its being noticed by all the others.

3. After this, Matthew proceeds to insert the mystery of His body and blood, as it was committed then by the Lord to the disciples. Here Mark and Luke act correspondingly. But after He had handed the cup to them, [we find that] He spoke again concerning His betrayer, in terms which Luke recounts, when he says. "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. And truly the Son of man goeth as it was

3 John vi. 32-64. 4 John xiii. 21, 22.

CHAP. I.] THE LORD'S SUPPER. 3G9
determined: but woe unto that man by whom He shall be betrayed." 3 At this point we must now suppose that to come in which is narrated by John while these others omit it, just as John has also passed by certain matters which they have detailed. In accordance with this, after the giving of the cup, and after the Lord's subsequent saying which has been brought in by Luke, â€” namely, "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table," etc., â€” the statement made by John is [to be taken as immediately] subjoined. It is to the following effect: "Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved. Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, and said unto him, 4 Who is he of whom He speaketh? He then, when he had laid himself on Jesus' breast, saith unto Him, Lord, who is it? Jesus answered, He it is to whom I shall give a

4 Innuit ergo huic Simon Petrus et dixit ei.


sop, when I have dipped it. And when He had dipped the sop, He gave it to Judas, the son of Simon [of] Scarioth. And after the sop Satan then entered into him." 1

4. Here we must take care not to let John underlie the appearance not only of standing in antagonism to Luke, who had stated before this, that Satan entered into the heart of Judas at the time when he made his bargain with the Jews to betray Him on receipt of a sum of money, but also of contradicting himself. For, at an earlier point, and previous to [his notice of] the receiving of this sop, he had made use of these terms: " And supper being ended, the devil having now put into the heart of Judas to betray Him." 2 And how does he enter into the heart, but by putting unrighteous persuasions into the thoughts of unrighteous men?

The explanation, however, is this. We ought to suppose Judas to have been more fully taken possession of by the devil now, just as on the other hand, in the instance of the good, those who had already received the Holy Spirit on that occasion, subsequently to His resurrection, when He breathed upon them and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," 3 also obtained a fuller gift of that Spirit at a later time, namely, when He was sent down from above on the day of Pentecost. In like manner, Satan then entered into this man after the sop. And (as John himself mentions in the immediate context) "Jesus saith unto him, What thou doest, do quickly. Now no man at the table knew for what intent He spake this unto him; for some of them thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast; or, that he should give something to the poor. He then, having received the sop, went immediately out; and it was night. Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus saith, Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him: and if God be glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him." 4
Chap. ii. â€” Of the proof of their freedom from any discrepancies in the notices given of the predictions of Peter's denials.

5. " Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye

1 John xiii. 23-27. 2 John xiii. 2.

3 John xx. 22. 4 John xiii. 23-32.

chap, ii.] peter's denials foretold. 371

shall seek me: and, as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so now I say unto you. A new commandment I
give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

Simon Peter saith unto Him, Lord, whither goest thou ? Jesus answered him, Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me afterwards. Peter saith unto Him, Lord, why cannot I follow Thee now ? I will lay down my life for Thy sake. Jesus answered him, Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake ? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, The cock shall not crow, until thou deniest me thrice." 1 John, from whose Gospel I have taken the passage introduced above, is not the only evangelist who details this incident of the prophetic announcement of his own denial to Peter. The other three also record the same thing. 2 They do not, however, take one and the same particular point in the discourses [of Christ] as their occasion for proceeding to this narration. For Matthew and Mark both introduce it in a completely parallel order, and at the same stage of their narrative, namely, after the Lord left the house in which they had eaten the passover; while Luke and John, on the other hand, bring it in before He left that scene. Still we might easily suppose, either that it has been inserted in the way of a recapitulation by the one couple of evangelists, or that it has been inserted in the way of an anticipation by the other; only such a supposition may be made more doubtful by the circumstance that there is so remarkable a diversity, not only in the Lord's words, but even in those sentiments of His by which the incident in question is introduced, and by which Peter was moved to venture his presumptuous asseveration that he would die with the Lord or for the Lord. These considerations may constrain us rather to understand the narratives really to import that the man uttered his presumptuous declaration thrice over, as it was called forth by different occasions in the series of Christ's discourses, and that also three several times the answer was returned him by the Lord, which intimated that before the cock crew he would deny Him thrice.

372 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]
6. And surely there is nothing incredible in supposing that Peter was moved to such an act of presumption on several occasions, separated from each other by certain intervals of time, as he was actually instigated to deny Him repeatedly.

Neither should it seem unreasonable to fancy that the Lord gave him a reply in similar terms at three successive periods, especially when [we see that] in immediate connection with each other, and without the interposition of anything else either in fact or word, Christ addressed the question to him three several times whether he loved Him, and that, when Peter returned the same answer thrice over, He also gave him thrice over the same charge to feed His sheep. 1 That it is the more reasonable thing to suppose that Peter displayed his presumption on three different occasions, and that thrice over he received from the Lord a warning with respect to his triple denial, is further proved, as we may see, by the very terms employed by the evangelists, which record sayings uttered by the Lord in diverse form and of diverse import.

Let us here call attention again to that passage which I introduced a little ago from the Gospel of John. There we certainly find that He had expressed Himself in this way -.

Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so now I say to you. A new commandment I give unto you. That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. Simon Peter saith unto Him, Lord, whither goest Thou? 2 Now, surely it is evident here that what moved Peter to utter this question, " Lord, whither goest Thou? " was the words which the Lord Himself had spoken. Por he had heard Him say, " Whither I go, ye cannot come." Then Jesus made this reply to the said Peter: " W r

hither I go, thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me afterwards." Thereupon Peter expressed himself thus: " Lord, why cannot I follow Thee now \ I will lay down my life for Thy sake." 3 And to this presumptuous declaration the Lord responded by predicting his denial. Luke, again, first mentions how the Lord said, 1 John xxi. 15-17. 2 John xiii. 33-36. 3 John xiii. 37. 

CHAP. II.] PETER'S DENIALS FORETOLD. 373

" Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and, when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:" next he proceeds immediately to tell us how Peter replied to this effect: " Lord, I am ready to go with Thee, both unto prison and to death; " and then he continues thus: " And He said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me." x Now, who can fail to perceive that this is an occasion by itself, and that the incident in connection with which Peter was incited to make the presumptuous declaration already referred to is an entirely different one? But, once more, Matthew presents us with the following passage: " And when they had sung an hymn," he says, " they went out into the Mount of Olives. Then saith Jesus unto them,
All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad. But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee." 2 The same passage is given in precisely the same form by Mark. 3 What similarity is there, however, in these words, or in the ideas expressed by them, either to the terms in which John represents Peter to have made his presumptuous declaration, or to those in which Luke exhibits him as uttering such an asseveration? And so we find that in Matthew's narrative the connection proceeds immediately thus: "Peter answered and said unto Him, Though all men shall be offended because of Thee, yet will I never be offended. Jesus saith unto him, Verily, I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. Peter saith unto him, Though I should die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee. Likewise also said all His disciples." 4

7. All this is recorded almost in the same language also by Mark, only that he has not put in so general a form what the Lord said with regard to the manner in which the event [of Peter's failure] was to be brought about, but has given it a more particular turn. For his version is this: " Verily I say unto thee, That this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice." 1 Thus it appears that all of them tell us how the Lord foretold that Peter would deny Him before the cock crew, but that they do not all mention how often the cock was to crow, and that Mark is the only one who has presented a more explicit notice of this incident in the narrative. Hence some are of opinion that Mark's statement is not in harmony with those of the others. But this is simply because they do not give sufficient attention to the facts of the case, and, above all, because they approach the question under the cloud of a prejudiced mind, in consequence of their being possessed by a hostile disposition towards the gospel. The fact is, that Peter's denial, when taken as a whole, is a threefold denial. For he remained in the same state of mental agitation, and harboured the same mendacious intention, until what had been foretold regarding him was brought to his mind, and healing came to him by bitter weeping and sorrow of heart. It is evident, however, that if this complete denial was to say, the threefold denial is taken to have commenced only after the first crowing of the cock, three of the evangelists will appear to have given an incorrect account of the matter. For Matthew's version is this: " Verily I say unto thee, That this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice;" and Luke puts it thus: " I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me; "

1 Luke xxii. 31-33. 2 Matt. xxvi. 30-32.
and John presents it in this form: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, the cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice." And thus, in different terms and with words introduced in diverse successions, these three evangelists have expressed one and the same sense as conveyed by the words which the Lord spake â€” namely, the fact that, before the cock should crow, Peter was to deny Him thrice. On the other hand, if [we suppose that] he went through the whole triple denial before the cock began to crow at all, then Mark will be made to underlie the charge of having given a superfluous statement when he puts these words into the Lord's mouth:

"Verily I say unto thee, That this day, before the cock crow

1 Mark xiv. 30.

CHAP. II.] PETER'S DENIALS FORETOLD. 3*75

twice, thou shalt deny me thrice." For to what purpose would it be to say, "before the cock crow twice," when, on the supposition that this entire threefold denial was gone through previous to the first crowing of the cock, it is self-evident that a negation, which would thus be proved to have been completed before the first cockcrow, must also, as matter of course, be understood to have been fully uttered before the second cockcrow and before the third, and, in short, before all the cockcrowings which took place on that same night? But, inasmuch as this threefold denial was begun previous to the first crowing of the cock, those three evangelists concerned themselves with noticing, not the time at which Peter was to complete it, but the extent to which it was to be carried, and the period at which it was to commence; that is to say, their object was to bring out the facts that it was to be thrice repeated, and that it was to begin previous to the cockcrowing. At the same time, so far as the man's own mind is concerned, we might also quite well understand it to have been engaged in, as a whole, previous to the first cockcrow. For although it is true that, so far as regards the actual utterance of the individual who was guilty of the denial, that threefold negation was only entered upon previous to the first cockcrow, and really finished before the second cockcrow, still it is equally true that, in so far as the disposition of mind and the apprehensions indulged by Peter were concerned, it was conceived, 2 as a whole, before the first cockcrow. Neither is it a matter of any consequence of what duration those intervals of delay were which elapsed between the several utterances of that thrice-recurring voice, if it is the case that the denial completely possessed his heart even previous to the first cockcrow, â€” in consequence, indeed, of his having imbibed a spirit of terror so abject as to make him capable of denying the Lord when he was questioned regarding Him, not only once, but a second time, and even a third time. Thus, a more correct and careful consideration of the matter might show us 3 that, pre-

1 Reading quanta futura esset. Quando also occurs for quanta, in which case the sense would be = the period at which it was to take place.

2 Adopting concepta est. There is another reading, coepta est = it was commenced.
3 The text gives simply: ut reclius diligentiusque attendentibus. Migne states

376 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

cisely as it is declared that the man who looketh on a woman to lust after her has committed adultery with her already in his heart, 1 so, in the present instance, inasmuch as in the words which he spoke, Peter merely expressed the apprehension which he had already conceived with such intensity in his mind as to make it capable of enduring even on to a third repetition of his denial of the Lord, this threefold negation is to be assigned as a whole to that particular period at which the fear that sufficed thus to carry him on to a threefold denial took possession of him. In this way, too, it may be made apparent that, even if the words in which the denial was couched began to break forth from him only after the first cockcrow, when his heart was smitten by the inquiries addressed to him, it would involve neither any absurdity nor any untruthfulness, although it were said that before the cock crow he denied Him thrice, seeing that, in any case, previous to the crowing of the cock, his mind had been assailed by an apprehension violent enough to be able to draw him 2 on even to a third denial. All the less, therefore, ought we to feel any difficulty in the matter, if it appears that the threefold denial, as expressed also in the thrice-recurring utterances of the person who made the denial, was entered upon previous to the crowing of the cock, although it was not completed before the first cockcrow. We may take a parallel case, and suppose an intimation to be made to the following effect to a person: "This night, before the cock crow, you will write a letter to me, in which you will revile me thrice." Well, surely in this instance, if the man began to write the letter before the cock had crowed at all, and finished it after the cock had crowed for the first time, that would be no reason for alleging that the intimation previously made was false. The fact, therefore, is that, in putting these words into the Lord's lips, "Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice," Mark has given us a plainer indication of the intervals of time which separated the utterances themselves. And when we come to that in six mss. videtur is added = it seems to those who consider the matter more correctly, etc.

1 Matt. v. 28.

2 The text gives turn. Another common reading is earn = it, i.e. his mind.
the said section of the evangelical narrative, we shall see that the circumstances are presented in a manner which exhibits, in that connection also, the harmony subsisting among the evangelists.

8. If, however, the demand is to get at the very words, literally and completely, which the Lord addressed to Peter, we answer that it is impossible to discover these; and further, that it is simply superfluous to ask them, inasmuch as the speaker's meaning "to intimate which was the object He had in view in uttering the words" admits of being understood with the utmost plainness, even under the diverse terms employed by the evangelists. And whether, then, it be the case that Peter, instigated at different occasions in the course of the Lord's sayings, made his presumptuous declaration three several times, and had his denial foretold him thrice over by the Lord, as is the more probable result to which our investigation points us; or whether it may appear that the accounts given by all the evangelists are capable of being reduced to a single statement, when a certain order of narration is adopted, so that it could be proved that it was only on one occasion that the Lord predicted to Peter, on the exhibition of his presumptuous spirit, the fact that he would deny Him; "in either case, any contradiction between the evangelists will fail to be detected, as nothing of that nature really exists.

Chap. hi. "Of the manner in which it can be shown that no discrepancies exist between them in the accounts which they give of the words which were spoken by the Lord, on to the time of His leaving the house in which they had supped.

9. At this point, therefore, we may now follow, as far as we can, the order of the narrative, as gathered from all the evangelists together. Thus, then, after the prediction in question had been made to Peter, according to John's version, the same John proceeds with his statement, and introduces in this connection the Lord's discourse, which was to the following effect: "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions;" 1 and so forth. He narrates at length the sayings, so memorable and so pre-eminently sublime, of which He delivered Himself in the course of that address, until, in due

1 John xiv. 1, 2.

I

378 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

connection, he comes to the passage where the Lord speaks as follows: "righteous Father, the world hath not known Thee: but I have known Thee, and these have known that Thou hast sent me. And I have declared unto them Thy name, and will declare it; that
the love wherewith Thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them." * Again we find, according to the narrative given by Luke, that there arose "a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest. And He said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve. For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am among you as he that serveth. And ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations: and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." 3 The said Luke also immediately subjoins to these words the following passage: "And the Lord said to Simon: Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren. And he said unto Him: Lord, I am ready to go with Thee, both into prison, and to death. And He said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me. And He said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. Then said He unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one. For I say unto you, this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, And He was reckoned among the transgressors: for the things concerning me have an end. And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And He said unto them, It is enough." 4 Next

1 John xvii. 25, 26. 2 Another reading is minor = as the less.


CHAP. IV.] THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE. 379

comes the passage, given both by Matthew and by Mark:
"And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives. Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad. But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee. Peter answered and said unto Him, Though all men shall be offended because of Thee, yet will I never be offended. Jesus saith unto him, Verily I say unto thee, That this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice Peter saith unto Him. Though I should die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee. Likewise also said all the disciples." * We have introduced the preceding section as it is presented by Matthew. But Mark also records it almost in so many and the same words, with the exception of the apparent discrepancy, which we have already cleared up above, on the subject of the crowing of the cock.
Chap. i v. — Of what took place in the piece of ground or garden to which they came on leaving the house after the supper; and of the method in which, in John's silence on the subject, a real harmony can be demonstrated between the other three evangelists — namely, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

10. Matthew then proceeds with his narrative in the same connection as follows: "Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane." 2 This is mentioned also by Mark. 3

Luke, too, refers to it, although he does not notice the piece of ground by name. For he says: "And He came out, and went, as was His wont, to the Mount of Olives; and His disciples also followed Him. And when He was at the place, He said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation." 4 That is the place which the other two have instanced under the name of Gethsemane. There, we understand, was the garden which John brings into notice when he gives the following narration: "When Jesus had spoken these words, He went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which He entered, and His disciples." 5 Then

Inng Matthew's record, we get this statement next in order: "He said unto His disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray

1 Matt. xxvi. 30-35. 2 Matt. xxvi. 36-46. 3 Mark xiv. 32-42.


380 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

yonder. And He took with Him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy. Then saith He unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me. And He went a little farther, and fell on His face, and prayed, saying, my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt. And He cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep, and saith unto Peter, What ! could ye not watch with me one hour ? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak. He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, Thy will be done. And He came and found them asleep again: for their eyes were heavy. And He left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words. Then cometh He to His disciples, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners. Praise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that shall betray me." 1

11. Mark also records these passages, introducing them quite in the same method and succession. Some of the sentences, however, are given with greater brevity by him, and
others are somewhat more fully explained. These sayings of our Lord, indeed, may seem in one portion to stand in some manner of contradiction to each other as they are presented in Matthew's version. I refer to the fact that [it is stated there that] He came to His disciples after His third prayer, and said to them, "Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners. Eise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that shall betray me." For what are we to make of the direction thus given above, "Sleep on now, and take your rest," when there is immediately subjoined this other declaration, "Behold, the hour is at hand," and thereafter also the instruction, "Arise, let us be going"? Those readers who perceive something like a contradiction here, seek to pronounce these words, "Sleep on now, and take your rest," in a way

1 Matt. xxvi. 36-46.

CII.YP. IV.] THE SLEEP OF THE DISCIPLES. 381

betokening that they were spoken in reproach, and not in permission. And this is an expedient which might quite fairly be adopted were there any necessity for it. Mark, however, has reproduced these sayings in a manner which implies that after He had expressed himself in the terms, "Sleep on now, and take your rest," He added the words, "It is enough," and then appended to these the further statement, "The hour is come; behold, the Son of man shall be betrayed." 1 Hence we may conclude that the case really stood thus: namely, that after addressing these words to them, "Sleep on now, and take your rest," the Lord was silent for a space, so that what He had thus given them permission to do might be [seen to be] really acted upon; and that thereafter He made the other declaration, "Behold, the hour is come." Thus it is that in Mark's Gospel we find those words [regarding the sleeping] followed immediately by the phrase, "It is enough;" that is to say, "the rest which you have had is enough now." But as no distinct notice is introduced of this silence on the Lord's part which intervened then, the passage comes to be understood in a forced manner, and it is supposed that a peculiar pronunciation must be given to these words.

12. Luke, on the other hand, has omitted to mention the number of times that He prayed. He has told us, however, a fact which is not recorded by the others â€” namely, that when He prayed He was strengthened by an angel, and that, as He prayed more earnestly, He had a bloody sweat, with drops falling down to the ground. Thus it appears that when he makes the statement, "And when He rose up from prayer, and was come to His disciples," he does not indicate how often He had prayed by that time. But still, in so doing, he does not stand in any kind of antagonism to the other two. Moreover, John does indeed mention how He entered into the garden along with His disciples. But he does not relate how He was occupied there up to the period when His betrayer came in along with the Jews to apprehend Him.
13. These three evangelists, therefore, have in this manner narrated the same incident, just as, on the other hand, one man might give three several accounts of a single occurrence, with

1 Mark xiv. 41.

382 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

a certain measure of diversity in his statements, and yet without any real contradiction. Luke, for example, has specified the distance to which He went forward from the disciples — that is to say, when He withdrew from them in order to pray — more definitely than the others. For he tells us that it was "about a stone's cast." Mark, again, states first of all in his own words how the Lord prayed that, "If it were possible, the hour might pass from Him," referring to the hour of His Passion, which he also expresses presently by the term cup. He then reproduces the Lord's own words, in the following manner: "Abba, Father, all things are possible to Thee: take away this cup from me." And if we connect with these terms the clause which is given by the other two evangelists, and for which Mark himself has also already introduced a clear parallel, presented as a statement made in his own person instead of the Lord's, the whole sentence will be exhibited in this form: "Father, if it be possible, (for) all things are possible unto Thee, take away this cup from me." And it will be so put just to prevent any one from supposing that He made the Father's power less than it is when He said, a If it be possible." For thus His words were not, "If Thou canst do it;"
but, "If it be possible." And anything is possible which He wills. Therefore, the expression, "If it be possible," has here just the same force as, "If thou wilt." For Mark has made the sense in which the phrase, "If it be possible," is to be taken quite plain, when he says, "All things are possible unto Thee." And further, the fact that these writers have recorded how He said, "Nevertheless, not what I will, but what Thou wilt" (an expression which means precisely the same as this other form, "Nevertheless, not my will but Thine be done "), shows us clearly enough that it was with reference not to any absolute impossibility on the Father's side, but only to His will, that these words, "If it be possible," were spoken. This is made the more apparent by the plainer statement which Luke has presented to the same effect. For his version is not, "If it be possible," but, "If Thou be willing." And to this clearer declaration of what was really meant we may add, with the effect of still greater clearness, the clause which Mark has inserted, so that the whole will proceed thus: "If Thou be

CHAP. IV.] ABBA, FATHER. 383
willing, (for) all things are possible unto Thee, take away this cup from me."

14. Again, as to Mark’s mentioning that the Lord said not only "Father," but "Abba, Father," the explanation simply is, that "Abba" is in Hebrew exactly what "Pater" is in Latin. And perhaps the Lord may have used both words with some kind of symbolical significance, intending to indicate thereby, that in sustaining this sorrow He bore the part of His body, which is the Church, of which He has been made the corner-stone, and which comes to Him [in the person of disciples gathered] partly out of the Hebrews, to whom He refers when He says "Abba," and partly out of the Gentiles, to whom He refers when He says "Pater" [Father]. 1 The Apostle Paul also makes use of the same significant expression. For he says, "In whom we cry, Abba, Father;" 2 and, in another passage, "God sent His Spirit into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." 3 For it was meet that the good Master and true Saviour, by sharing in the sufferings of the more infirm, 4 should in His own person illustrate the truth that His witnesses ought not to despair, although it might perchance happen that, through human frailty, sorrow might steal in upon their hearts at the time of suffering; seeing that they would overcome it if, mindful that God knows what is best for those whose well-being He regards, they gave His will the preference over their own. On this subject, however, as a whole, the present is not the time for entering on any more detailed discussion. For we have to deal simply with the question concerning the harmony of the evangelists, from whose varied modes of narration we gather the wholesome lesson that, in order to get at the truth, the one essential thing to aim at in dealing with the terms is simply the intention which the speaker had in view in using them. For the word "Father" means just the same as the phrase "Abba, Father."

But with a view to bring out the mystic significance, the expression, "Abba, Father," is the clearer form; while, for indicating the unity, the word "Father" is sufficient. And that the Lord did indeed employ this method of address,

1 See Eph. ii. 11-22. Â– Rom. viii. 15. 3 Gal. iv. 6.

Or = having compassion on the more infirm; infirmiorihts compatkns.

384 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK TIT.

"Abba, Father," must be accepted as matter of fact. But still His intention would not appear very obvious were there not the means (since others use simply the term "Father") to show that under such a form of expression those two Churches, which are constituted, the one out of the Jews, and the other out of the Gentiles, are presented as also really one. In this way, then, [we may suppose that] the phrase, "Abba, Father," was adopted in order to convey the same idea as was indicated by the Lord on another occasion, when He said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold." 1 In these words He certainly referred to the Gentiles, since He had sheep also among the people of Israel. But in that passage He goes on immediately to add the declaration, "Them also I must
bring, that there may be one fold and one Shepherd." And so we may say that, just as the phrase, "Abba, Father," contains the idea of [the two races,] the Israelites and the Gentiles, the word "Father," used alone, points to the one flock which these two constitute.

Chap. v. â€” Of the accounts which are given by all the four evangelists in regard to what was done and said on the occasion of His apprehension, and of the proof that these different narratives exhibit no real discrepancies.

15. When we follow the versions presented by Matthew and Mark, we find that the history now proceeds thus: "And while He yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude, with swords and staves, from the chief priests and elders of the people. Now he that betrayed Him, gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is He; hold Him fast. And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, Master; and kissed Him." 2 First of all, however, as we gather from Luke's statement, He said to the traitor, "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?" 3 Next, as we learn from Matthew, He spoke thus: "Friend, wherefore art thou come?" Thereafter He added certain words which are found in John's narrative, which runs in the following strain: "Whom seek ye? They answered Him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am He. And Judas also, which betrayed Him, stood with them. As

1 John x. 16. 2 Matt. xxvi. 47-56; Mark xiv. 43-50.


CHAP. V.] THE APPREHENSION. 385

soon then as He had said unto them, T am He, they went backward, and fell to the ground. Then asked He them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I have told you that I am He: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way; that the saying might be fulfilled which He spake, Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none." 1

16. Next comes in a passage, which is given by Luke as follows: "When they which were about Him saw what would follow, they said unto Him, Lord, shall we smite with the sword? And one of them smote the servant of the high priest," as is noticed by all the four historians, "and cut off his ear," which, as we are informed by Luke and John, was his "right ear." Moreover, we gather also from John that the person who smote the servant was Peter, and that the name of the man whom he thus struck was Malchus. Next we take what Luke mentions, namely, "Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far;" 2 with which we must connect the words appended by Matthew, namely, "Put up thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve
legions of angels? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be? 3 Along with these words we may also place the question to which John tells us He gave utterance on the same occasion, namely, "The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" 4 And then, as is recorded by Luke, He touched the ear of the person who had been struck, and healed him.

17. Neither should we let the idea disturb us, that some contradiction may be found in the circumstance that Luke tells us how, when the disciples ... I &d Him whether they should smite with the sword, the Lord replied in these words, "Suffer ye thus far," in a manner which might seem to imply that He thus expressed Himself, after the blow had been ck, in terms bearing that He was satisfied with what had been done so far, but desired nothing further to be clone;

1 John xviii. 4-9. 2 Luke xxii. 51.

3 Matt. xxvi. 52-55. 4 John xviii. 11.

HAEMONY. 2 B

386 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

whereas the language which is employed by Matthew might give us rather to understand that this whole incident of the use which Peter made of the sword was displeasing to the Lord. For it is more correct to suppose that when they put the question to Him, "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" He replied then, "Suffer ye thus far;" His meaning being this: "Let not what is about to take place agitate you. These men are to be suffered to go thus far; that is to say, so far as to apprehend me, and thus to effect the fulfilment of those things which are written of me." We have further to suppose, however, that during the time which passed in the interchange of the question addressed by them to the Lord, and the reply returned by Him to them, Peter was borne on by his intense desire to appear as defender, and by his stronger excitement in the Lord's behalf, to deal the blow. But while these two things might easily have happened at the same time, two different statements could not have been uttered by the same person in one breath. 1 For the writer would not have used the expression, "And Jesus answered and said," unless the words were a reply to the question which had been addressed by those who were about Him, and not a statement directed to Peter's act. For Matthew is the only one who has recorded the judgment passed by Jesus on Peter's act. And in that passage the phrase which Matthew has employed is also not in the form, "Jesus answered Peter thus, Put up thy sword;" but it runs in these terms: "Then said Jesus unto him, Put up thy sword;" from which it appears that it was after the deed that Jesus thus declared Himself. What is contained, again, in the phraseology used by Luke, namely, "And Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far," must be taken to have been the reply which was returned to the parties who had put the question to Him. But
inasmuch as, according to our previous explanation, the single blow with which the servant was struck was delivered just during the time when the terms of the said

1 That is to say, while Christ's answer to the disciples and Peter's act might easily have been synchronous, the Lord could not have addressed Himself in different senses to two distinct parties at the same time, namely, to the persons who put the question, and to Peter.

CHAP. V.] THE SWORD USED BY PETER. 387

question and answer were passing between these persons and the Lord, the writer has considered it right to record that act in the same particular order, so that it stands inserted between the words of the interrogation and those in which the response was couched. Consequently, there is nothing here in antagonism to the statement introduced by Matthew, namely, " For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," that is to say, those who may have used the sword. But there might appear to be some inconsistency here if the Lord's answer were taken in a sense which would show Him to have expressed approval on this occasion of the voluntary use of the sword, even although it was only to the effect of a single wound, and that, too, not a fatal one. The words, however, which were addressed to Peter may be understood, as a whole, in an application quite in harmony with the rest; so that, bringing in also what Luke and Matthew have reported, as I have stated above, we obtain the following connection:

* Suffer ye thus far. Put up thy sword into its place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," etc. In what way, moreover, this sentence, " Suffer ye thus far," is to be understood, I have explained already. And if there is any better method of interpreting it, be it so. Only let the veracity of the evangelists be maintained in any case.

18. After this, Matthew continues the narrative, and mentions that in that hour He addressed the multitude as follows:

" Are ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves for to take me ? I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me." 1 Then He added also certain words, which Luke introduces thus: " But this is your hour, and the power of darkness." 2 Next comes the sentence given by Matthew: " But all this was done that the Scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples forsook Him and fled." This last fact is recorded also by Mark. The same evangelist makes also the following addition: " And there followed Him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and when they laid hold on him, he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." 3

1 Matt. xxvi. 53. 2 Luke xxii. 53. 3 Mark xiv. 52.
Chap. vr. â€” Of the harmony characterizing the accounts which these evangelists give of what happened when the Lord was led away to the house of the high priest, as also of the occurrences which took place within the said house after He was conducted there in the night-time, and in particular of the incident of Peter's denial.

19. In the line of Matthew's narrative we come next upon this statement: "And they that laid hold on Jesus led Him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled." * We learn, however, from John that He was conducted first to Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas. 2 On the other hand, Mark and Luke omit all mention of the name of the high priest. 3 Moreover [we find that] He was led away bound. For, as John informs us, there were at hand there, in the multitude, a tribune and a cohort, and the servants of the Jews. 4 Then in Matthew we have these words: "But Peter followed Him afar off unto the high priest's palace, and went in and sat with the servants to see the end." 5 To this passage in the narrative Mark makes this addition: "And he warmed himself at the fire." 6 Luke also makes a statement which amounts to the same, thus: "Peter followed afar off: and when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were sat down together, Peter sat down among them." 7 And John proceeds in these terms: "And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so did another disciple. That; disciple (namely, that other) was known unto the high priest, and went in (as John also tells us) with Jesus into the palace of the high priest. But Peter (as the same John acides) stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter." 8 For the last fact we are thus indebted to John's narrative. And in this way we see how it came about that Peter also got inside, and was within the hall, as the other evangelists mention.

20. Then Matthew's report goes on thus: "Now the chief priests and elders and all the council sought false witness against Jesus, to put Him to death, but found none: yea,
though many false witnesses came, yet found they none." 1 Mark comes in here with the explanation, that " their witness agreed not together." 2 But, as Matthew continues, " At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days." 3 Mark states that there were also others who said, " We have heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands. And therefore (as Mark also observes in the same passage) their witness did not agree together." 4 Then Matthew gives us the following relation: " And the high priest arose and said unto Him, Answerest thou nothing ? What is it which these witness against thee ? But Jesus held His peace. And the high priest answered and said unto Him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said." 5 Mark reports the same passage in different terms, only he omits to mention the fact that the high priest adjured Him. He makes it plain, however, that the two expressions ascribed to Jesus as the reply to the high priest, â€” namely, " Thou hast said," and, " I am," 6 â€” really amount to the same. For, as the said Mark puts it, the narrative goes on thus: " And Jesus said, I am; and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven." 7 This is just as Matthew also presents the passage, with the solitary exception that he does not say that Jesus replied in the phrase " I am." Again, Matthew goes on further in this strain: " Then the high priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses ? Behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye ? And they answered and said, He is guilty of death." 8 Mark's version of this is entirely to the same effect. So Matthew continues, " Then did they spit in His face, and buffeted Him, and others smote Him with the palms of their hands, saying, Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee ?" 9 Mark reports these things in like manner. He also mentions

1 Matt. xxvi. 59, 60. 2 Mark xiv. 56. 3 Matt. xxvi. 61.

4 Mark xiv. 57-59. 5 Matt. xxvi. 62-64. 6° Mark xiv. 62.

7 Mark xiv. 62. 8 Matt. xxvi. 65, 66. 6° Matt. xxvi. 67, C8.

390 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

a further fact, namely, that they covered His face. 1 On these incidents we have likewise the testimony of Luke.
21. These things the Lord is understood to have passed through on to the early morning in the high priest's house, to which He was first conducted, and in which Peter was also tempted. With respect, however, to this temptation of Peter, which took place during the time that the Lord was enduring these injuries, the several evangelists do not present the same order in the recital of the circumstances. For Matthew and Mark first narrate the injuries offered to the Lord, and then this temptation of Peter. Luke, again, first describes Peter's temptation, and only after that the reproaches borne by the Lord; while John, on the other hand, first recounts part of Peter's temptation, then introduces some verses recording what the Lord had to bear, next appends a statement to the effect that the Lord was sent away thence (i.e. from Annas) to Caiaphas the high priest, and then at this point resumes and sums up the relation which he had commenced of Peter's temptation in the house to which he was first conducted, giving: a full account of that incident, thereafter reverting; to the succession of things befalling the Lord, and telling us how He was brought to Caiaphas.

22. Accordingly, Matthew proceeds as follows: "Now Peter sat without in the palace; and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee. But he denied before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest. And as he went out into the porch, another maid saw him, and said unto them that were there, This fellow was also with Jesus of Nazareth. And again he denied with an oath, I do not know the man. And after a while came unto him they that stood by, and said to Peter, Surely thou also art one of them, for thy speech bewrayeth thee. Then began he to curse and to swear, saying that he knew not the man. And immediately the cock crew." 2 Such is Matthew's version. But we are also given to understand that after he had gone outside, and when he had now denied the Lord once, the first cock crew, — a fact which Matthew does not specify, but which is intimated by Mark.

1 Mark xiv. 65. 2 Matt. xxvi. 69-74.

CHAP. VI.] PETER'S DENIALS. 391

23. But it was not when he was outside at the gate that he denied the Lord the second time. That took place after he had come back to the fire-place. There was no need, however, to mention the precise time at which he did thus return. Consequently Mark goes on with his narrative of the incident in these terms: "And he went out into the porch, and the cock crew. And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them. And he denied it again." 1 This is not the same maid, however, as the former one, but another, as Matthew tells us. Nay, we gather further that on the occasion of the second denial he was addressed by two parties, namely, by the maid who is mentioned by Matthew and Mark, and also by another person who is noticed by Luke. For Luke's account runs in this style: "And Peter followed afar off. And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were sat down together, Peter sat down among them. But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by the fire,
and earnestly looked upon him, and said, This man was also with him. And he denied Him, saying, Woman, I know Him not. And after a little while, another saw him, and said, Thou art also of them." 2 Now the clause, " And after a little while," which Luke introduces, covers the period during which [we may suppose that] Peter went out and the first cock crew. By this time, however, he had come in again; and thus we can understand the consistency of John's narrative, which informs us that he denied the Lord the second time as he stood by the fire. For in his version of Peter's first denial, John not only says nothing about the first crowing of the cock (which holds good of the other evangelists, too, with the exception of Mark), but also leaves unnoticed the fact that it was as he sat by the fire that the maid recognised him. For all that John says there is this, " Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art not thou also one of this man's disciples ? He saith, I am not." 3 Then he brings in the statement which he deemed it right to make on the subject of what took place with Jesus in that same house. His record of this is to the following effect: " And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals, for it was cold. And they


392 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

warmed themselves; and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself." 1 Here, therefore, we may suppose Peter to have gone out, and by this time to have come in again. For at first he was sitting by the fire; and after a space, as we gather, he had returned, and commenced to stand [by the hearth].

24. It may be, however, that some one will say to us: Peter had not actually gone out as yet, but had only risen with the purpose of going out. This may be the allegation of one who is of opinion that the second interrogation and denial took place when Peter was outside at the door. Let us therefore look at what follows in John's narrative. It is to this effect: "The high priest then asked Jesus of His disciples, and of His doctrine. Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me ? ask them which heard me what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said. And when He had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so ? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me ? And Annas sent Him bound to Caiaphas the high priest." 2 This certainly shows us that Annas was high priest. For Jesus had not been sent to Caiaphas as yet, when the question was thus put to Him, "Answerest thou the high priest so ?" Mention is also made of Annas and Caiaphas as high priests by Luke at the beginning of his Gospel. 3 After these statements, John reverts to the account which he had previously begun of Peter's denial. Thus he brings us back to
the house in which the incidents took place which he has recorded, and from which Jesus was sent away to Caiaphas, to whom He was being conducted at the commencement of this scene, as Matthew has informed us. Moreover, it is in the way of a recapitulation that John records the matters regarding Peter which he has introduced at this point. Palling back upon his narration of that incident with the view of making up a complete account of the threefold denial, he proceeds thus: "And Simon stood and warmed himself.

1 John xviii. 18. 2 John xviii. 19-24. 3 Luke iii. 2. 4 Matt, xxviii. 57

CHAP. VI.] PETER'S DENIALS. 393

They said therefore unto him, Art not thou also one of his disciples? He denied it, and said, I am not." * Here, therefore, we find that Peter's second denial occurred, not when he was at the door, but as he was standing by the fire. This, however, could not have been the case, had he not returned by this time after having gone outside. For it is not that by this second occasion he had actually gone out, and that the other maid who is referred to saw him there outside; but the matter is put as if it was on his going out that she saw him; or, in other words, it was when he rose to go out that she observed him, and said to those who were there, â€” that is, to those who were gathered by the fire inside, within the court, â€” "This fellow was also with Jesus of Nazareth." Then we are to suppose that the man who had thus gone outside, on hearing this assertion, came in again, and swore to those who were now inimically disposed, "I do not know the man." 2 In like manner, Mark also says of this same maid, that "she began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them." 3 For this damsel was speaking not to Peter, but to those who had remained there when he went out. At the same time, she spoke in such a manner that he heard her words; whereupon he came back and stood again by the fire, and met their words with a negative. Then we have the statement made by John in these terms: "They said, Art not thou also one of his disciples?" We understand this question to have been addressed to him on his return as he stood there; and we also recognise the harmony in which this stands with the position that on this occasion Peter had to do not only with that other maid who is mentioned by Matthew and Mark in connection with this second denial, but also with that other person who is introduced by Luke. This is the reason why John uses the plural, "They said." The explanation then may be, that when the maid said to those who were with her in the court as he went out, "This is one of them," he heard her words and returned with the purpose of clearing himself, as it were, by a denial. Or, in accordance with the more probable theory, we may suppose that he did not catch what was said about him as he went out, and that on his return the maid and the

} Jolm xviii. 25. 2 Matt, xxviii. 71. 3 Mark xiv. CO.
other person who is introduced by Luke addressed him thus, "Art not thou also one of his disciples?" that he met them with a denial, "and said, I am not;" and further, that when this other person of whom Luke speaks insisted more pertinaciously, and said, "Surely thou art one of them," Peter answered thus, "Man, I am not." Still, when we compare together all the statements made by the several evangelists on this subject, we come clearly to the conclusion, that Peter's second denial took place, not when he was at the door, but when he was within, by the fire in the court. It becomes evident, therefore, that Matthew and Mark, who have told us how he went without, have left the fact of his return unnoticed simply with a view to brevity.

25. Accordingly, let us next examine into the consistency of the evangelists so far as the third denial is concerned, which we have previously instanced in the statement given by Matthew only. Mark then goes on with his version in these terms: "And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art one of them; for thou art a Galilean. But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately the second time the cock crew." 1 Luke, again, continues his narrative, relating the same incident in this fashion: "And about the space of one hour after, another confidently affirmed, Of a truth this fellow also was with him; for he is a Galilean. And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately while he yet spake the cock crew." 2 John follows with his account of Peter's third denial, which is thus given: "One of the servants of the high priest, being his kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him? Peter then denied again; and immediately the cock crew." 3 Now what precise period of time is meant under the phrase, a little after, which is employed by Matthew and Mark, is made clear by Luke, when he says, "And about the space of one hour after." John, however, conveys no intimation of this space of time. Again, with respect to the circumstance that Matthew and Mark use the plural number instead of the singular, and speak of the persons who were engaged

1 Mark xiv. 70-72. 2 Luke xxii. 59, 60. 3 John xviii. 26, 27.

with. Peter, while Luke mentions only a single individual, and John, too, specifies but one, particularizing him further as kinsman to him whose ear Peter cut off; we may easily explain it either by understanding Matthew and Mark to have adopted a familiar method of speech here in employing the plural number simply instead of the singular, or by supposing that one of the persons present â€” one who knew Peter and had seen him â€” took the lead in making the declaration, and that the rest, imitating his confidence, joined him in pressing the assertion upon Peter. If this is the case, then two of the evangelists have given the general statement, using simply the plural number; while the other two have preferred to particularize only the one special individual who played the chief part
Matthew affirms that the words, "Surely thou also art one of them, for thy speech bewrayeth thee," were spoken to Peter himself. In like manner, John tells us that the question, "Did not I see thee in the garden with him?" was addressed directly to Peter. But Mark, on the other hand, gives us to understand that the sentence, "Surely he is one of them, for he is also a Galilean," was what those who stood by said to each other about Peter. And, in the same way, Luke indicates that the declaration uttered by the other person, who said, "Of a truth, this fellow also was with him, for he is a Galilean," was not addressed to Peter, but was made regarding Peter. These variations, however, may be explained either by understanding the evangelists, who speak of Peter as the person directly addressed, to have fairly reproduced the general sense, inasmuch as what was spoken about the man in his own presence was much the same as if it had been spoken immediately to him; or by supposing that both these methods of address were actually practised, and that the one has been noticed by the former evangelists, and the other by the latter. Moreover, we take the second cockcrow to have occurred after the third denial, as Mark has expressly informed us.

26. Matthew then proceeds with his narrative in these terms: "And Peter remembered the word of Jesus which He had said unto him, Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out and wept bitterly." Mark, again, gives it thus: "And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus had said unto him, Before the cock crow twice thou shalt deny me thrice. And he began to weep." Luke's version is as follows: "And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how He had said unto him, Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly." John says nothing about Peter's recollection and weeping. Now, the statement made here by Luke, to the effect that "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter," is one which requires more careful consideration, with a view to its correct acceptance. For although there are also inner halls (or courts), so named, it was in the outer court (or hall) that Peter appeared on this occasion among the servants, who were warming themselves along with him at the fire. And it is not a credible supposition, that Jesus was heard by the Jews in this place, so that we might also understand the look referred to to have been a look with the bodily eye. For Matthew presents us first with this narrative: "Then did they spit in His face and buffeted Him; and others smote Him with the palms of their hands, saying, Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, who is he that smote thee?" And then he follows this up immediately with the paragraph about Peter: "Now Peter sat without in the palace." He would not, however, have used this latter expression, had it not been the case that the things previously alluded to were done to the Lord inside the house. And, indeed, as we gather from Mark's version, these things took place not simply in the interior, but also in the upper parts of the house. For, after
recording the said circumstances, Mark goes on thus: * And as Peter was beneath in the palace." 6 Thus, as Matthew's words, " Now Peter sat without in the palace," show us that the things previously mentioned took place inside the house, so Mark's words, " And as Peter was beneath in the palace," indicate that they were done not only in the interior, but in the upper

1 Matt. xxvi. 75.
2 Mark xiv. 72: the words, " when he thought thereon," being omitted.
3 Luke xxii. 61, 62. 4 Matt. xxvi. 67, 68.
5 Atrio, court. 6 Mark xiv. 66.

CHAP. VII.] THE LOOK CAST UPON PETER. 397

parts of the house. But if this is the case, how could the Lord have looked on Peter with the actual glance of the bodily eye ? These considerations bring me to the conclusion, that the look in question was one cast upon Peter from Heaven, the effect of which was to bring up before his mind the number of times he had now denied [his Master], and the declaration which the Lord had made to him prophetically, and in this way (the Lord thus looking mercifully upon him 1 ), to lead him to repent, and to weep salutary tears. The expression, therefore, will be a parallel to other modes of speech which we employ daily, as when we thus pray, " Lord, look upon me;"
or as when, in reference to one who has been delivered by the divine mercy from some danger or trouble, we say that the
" Lord looked upon him." In the Scriptures, also, we find such words as these: " Look upon me and hear me;" 2 and
" Return, 3 Lord, and deliver my soul." 4 And, according to my judgment, a similar view is to be taken of the expression adopted here, when it is said that " the Lord turned and looked upon Peter; and Peter remembered the word of the Lord." Finally, we have to notice how, while it is the more usual practice with the evangelists to employ the name Jesus in preference to the word Lord in their narratives, Luke has used the latter term exclusively in the said sentence, saying expressly, " The Lord turned and looked upon Peter; and Peter remembered the word of the Lord: 1 " whereas Matthew and Mark have passed over this look in silence, and consequently have said that Peter remembered not the word of the Lord, but the word of Jesus. From this, therefore, we may gather that the look thus proceeding from Jesus was not one with the eyes of the human body, but a look cast from Heaven.

Chap. vii. â€“ Of the thorough harmony of the evangelists in the different accounts of what took place in the early morning, previous to the delivery of Jesus to Pilate; and of the question touching the passage which is quoted on the subject of the price set upon the Lord, and which is ascribed to Jeremiah by Matthew, although no such paragraph is found in the writings of that prophet.
Matthew next proceeds as follows: "When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus, to put Him to death; and when they had bound Him, they led Him away, and delivered Him to Pontius Pilate the governor." *Mark's version is to the like effect: * "And straightway in the morning, the chief priests held a consultation with the elders and scribes, and the whole council, and bound Jesus, and carried Him away, and delivered Him to Pilate." 2 Luke, again, after completing his account of Peter's denial, recapitulates what Jesus had to endure when it was now about daybreak, as it appears, and continues his narrative in the following connection: "And the men that held Jesus mocked Him, and smote Him; and when they had blindfolded Him, they struck Him on the face, and asked Him, saying, Prophesy, who is it that smote thee? And many other things blasphemously spake they against Him. And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people, and the chief priests, and the scribes came together, and led Him into their council, saying, Art thou the Christ? tell us. And He said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God. Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And He said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What need we further witness? For we ourselves have heard of His own mouth. And the whole multitude of them arose, and led Him unto Pilate." 3 Luke has thus recorded all these things. His statement contains certain facts which are also related by Matthew and Mark; namely, that the Lord was asked whether He was the Son of God, and that He made this reply, "I say unto you, hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." And we gather that these things took place when the day was now breaking, because Luke's expression is, "And as soon as it was day." Thus Luke's narrative is similar to those of the others, although he also introduces something which these others have left unnoticed. "We gather further, that when it was yet night, the Lord faced the ordeal of the false witnesses, â€” a fact which is recorded briefly by Matthew and Mark, and which is passed over in silence by Luke, who, however, has told the story of

1 Matt, xxvii. 1, 2. 2 Mark xv. 1, 2. 3 Luke xxii. 63-xxiii. 1.
what was done when the dawn was coming in. The former two—namely, Matthew and Mark—have given connected narratives of all that the Lord passed through until early morning.

After that, however, they have reverted to the story of Peter's denial; on the conclusion of which they have come back upon the events of the early morning, and have introduced the other circumstances which remained for recital with a view to the completion of their account of what befell the Lord. But up to this point they have given no account of the occurrences belonging specifically to the morning. In like manner John, after recording what was done with the Lord as fully as he deemed requisite, and after telling also the whole story of Peter's denial, continues his narrative in these terms: * Then lead they Jesus to Caiaphas, unto the hall of judgment. And it was early." Here we might suppose either that there had been something imperatively requiring Caiaphas' presence in the hall of judgment, and that he was absent on the occasion when the other chief priests held an inquiry on the Lord; or else that the hall of judgment was in his house; and that yet from the beginning of this scene they had thus only been leading Jesus away to the personage into whose presence He was at last actually conducted. But as they brought the accused person in the character of one already convicted, and as it had previously approved itself to Caiaphas' judgment that Jesus should die, there was no further delay in delivering Him over to Pilate, with a view to His being put to death. And thus it is that Matthew here relates what took place between Pilate and the Lord.

28. First, however, he makes a digression with the purpose of telling the story of Judas' end, which is related only by him. His account is in these terms: " Then Judas, which had betrayed Him, when he saw that He was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged
himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put
them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought
with them the potter's held, to bury strangers in.
Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day. Then was fulfilled
that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of
silver, the price of Him that was valued, whom the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." 2

29. Now, if any one finds a difficulty in the circumstance that this passage is not found in
the writings of the prophet Jeremiah, and thinks that damage is thus done to the veracity
of the evangelist, let him first take notice of the fact that this ascription of the passage to
Jeremiah is not contained in all the codices of the Gospels, and that some of them state
simply that it was spoken " by the prophet." It is possible, therefore, to affirm that those
codices deserve rather to be followed which do not contain the name of Jeremiah. For
these words were certainly spoken by a prophet, only that prophet was Zechariah.
In this way the supposition is, that those codices are faulty which contain the name of
Jeremiah, because they ought either to have given the name of Zechariah or to have
mentioned no name at all, as is the case with a certain copy, merely stating that it was
spoken " by the prophet, saying" which prophet would assuredly be understood to be
Zechariah. However, let others adopt this method of defence, if they are so minded.
For my part, I am not satisfied with it; and the reason is, that a majority of codices
contain the name of Jeremiah, and that those critics who have studied the Gospel with
more than usual care in the Greek copies, report that they have found it stand so in the
more ancient Greek exemplars. I look also to

1 The text gives filii Israel, instead of afil'ds Israel = they of the children of Israel.
2 Matt, xxvii. 3-10.

CHAP. VII.] JEREMIAH OR ZECHAR AII ? 401

this further consideration, namely, that there was no reason why this name should have
been added [subsequently to the true text"], and a corruption thus created; whereas there
was certainly an intelligible reason for erasing the name from so many of the codices. For
venturesome inexperience might readily have done that, when perplexed with the
problem presented by the fact that this passage could not be found in Jeremiah.

30. How, then, is the matter to be explained, but by supposing that this has been done in
accordance with the more secret counsel of that providence of God by which the minds of
the evangelists were governed ? For it may have been the case, that when Matthew was
engaged in composing his Gospel, the word Jeremiah occurred to his mind, in accordance
with a familiar experience, instead of Zechariah. Such an inaccuracy, however, he would
most undoubtedly have corrected
(having his attention called to it, as surely would have been the case, by some who might have read it while he was still alive in the flesh), had he not reflected that [perhaps] it was not without a purpose that the name of the one prophet had been suggested instead of the other in the process of recalling the circumstances (which process of recollection was also directed by the Holy Spirit), and that this might not have occurred to him had it not been the Lord's purpose to have it so written. If it is asked, however, why the Lord should have so determined it, there is this first and most serviceable reason, which deserves our most immediate consideration, namely, that some idea was thus conveyed of the marvellous manner in which all the holy prophets, speaking in one spirit, continued in perfect unison with each other in their utterances, "a circumstance certainly much more calculated to impress the mind than would have been the case had all the words of all these prophets been spoken by the mouth of a single individual.

The same consideration might also fitly suggest the duty of accepting unhesitatingly whatever the Holy Spirit has given expression to through the agency of these prophets, and of looking upon their individual communications as also those of the whole body, and on their collective communications as also those of each separately. If, then, it is the case that words spoken by Jeremiah are really as much Zechariah's as Jeremiah's, and, on the other hand, that words spoken by Zechariah are really as much Jeremiah's as Zechariah's, what necessity was there for Matthew to correct his text when he read over what he had written, and found that the one name had occurred to him instead of the other? Was it not rather the proper course for him to bow to the authority of the Holy Spirit, under whose guidance he certainly felt his mind to be placed in a more decided sense than is the case with us, and consequently to leave untouched what he had thus written, in accordance with the Lord's counsel and appointment, with the intent to give us to understand that the prophets maintain so complete a harmony with each other in the matter of their utterances that it becomes nothing absurd, but, in fact, a most consistent thing for us to credit Jeremiah with a sentence originally spoken by Zechariah? For if, in these days of ours, a person, desiring to bring under our notice the words of a certain individual, happens to mention the name of another by whom the words were not actually uttered, but who at the same time is the most intimate friend and associate of the man by whom they were really spoken; and if forthwith recollecting that he has given the one name instead of the other, he recovers himself and corrects the mistake, but does it nevertheless in some such way as this, "After all, what I said was not amiss; "what would we take to be meant by this, but just that there subsists so perfect a unison of sentiment between the two parties"" that is to say, the man whose words the individual in question intended to repeat, and the second person whose name occurred to him at the time instead of that of the other ""that it comes much to the same thing to represent the words to have been spoken by the former as to say that they were uttered by the latter? How much more, then, is this a usage which might well be
understood and most particularly commended to our attention in the case of the holy prophets, so that we might accept the books composed by the whole series of them, as if they formed but a single book written by one author, in which no discrepancy with regard to the subjects dealt with should be supposed to exist, as none would be found, and in which there would be a

1 Reading a quo non dicta sint. Most of the mss. omit the non.

CHAP. VII.] JEREMIAH OR ZECHARI All ? 403

more remarkable example of consistency and veracity than would have been the case had a single individual, even the most learned, been the enunciator of all these sayings? Therefore, while there are those, whether unbelievers or merely ignorant men, who endeavour to find an argument here to help them in demonstrating a want' of harmony between the holy evangelists, men of faith and learning, on the other hand, ought rather to bring this into the service of proving the unity which characterizes the holy prophets.

31. I have also another reason (the fuller discussion of which must be reserved, I think, for another opportunity, in order to prevent the present discourse from extending to larger limits than may be allowed by the necessity which rests upon us to bring this work to a conclusion) to offer in explanation of the fact that the name of Jeremiah has been permitted, or rather directed, by the authority of the Holy Spirit, to stand in this passage instead of that of Zechariah. It is stated in Jeremiah that he bought a field from the son of his brother, and paid him money for it. That sum of money is not given, indeed, under the name of the particular price which is found in Zechariah, namely, thirty pieces of silver; but, on the other hand, there is no mention of the buying of the field in Zechariah. Now, it is evident that the evangelist has interpreted the prophecy which speaks of the thirty pieces of silver as something which has received its fulfilment only in the Lord's case, so that it is made to stand for the price set upon Him. But again, that the words which were uttered by Jeremiah on the subject of the purchase of the field have also a bearing upon the same matter, may have been mystically signified by the selection thus made in introducing [into the evangelical narrative] the name of Jeremiah, who spoke of the purchase of the field, instead of that of Zechariah, to whom we are indebted for the notice of the thirty pieces of silver. In this way, on perusing first the Gospel, and finding the name of Jeremiah there, and then, again, on perusing Jeremiah, and failing there to discover the passage about the thirty pieces of silver, but seeing at the same time the section about the purchase of the field, the reader would be taught to compare the two paragraphs together, and get at the real meaning of the

404 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]
prophecy, and learn how it also stands in relation to this fulfilment of prophecy "which was exhibited in the instance of our Lord. For [it is also to be remarked that] Matthew makes the following addition to the passage cited, namely, " Whom the children of Israel did value; and gave them the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." Now, these words are not to be found either in Zechariah or in Jeremiah. Hence we must rather take them to have been inserted with a nice and mystical meaning by the evangelist, on his own responsibility, the Lord having given him to understand, by revelation, that a prophecy of the said tenor had a real reference to this occurrence, which took place in connection with the price set upon Christ. Moreover, in Jeremiah, the evidence of the purchase of the field is ordered to be cast into an earthen vessel. In like manner, we find in the Gospel that the money paid for the Lord was used for the purchase of a potter's field, which field also was to be employed as a burying-place for strangers. And it may be that all this was significant of the permanence of the repose of those who sojourn like strangers in this present world, and are buried with Christ by baptism.

For the Lord also declared to Jeremiah, that the said purchase of the field was expressive of the fact that in that land [of Judea] there would be a remnant of the people delivered from their captivity. 1 I judged it proper to give some sort of sketch 2 of these things, as I was calling attention to the kind of significance which a really careful and painstaking study should look for in these testimonies of the prophets, when they are reduced to a unity and compared with the evangelical narrative. These, then, are the statements which Matthew has introduced with reference to the traitor Judas.

Chap. viii. Æ” Of the absence of any discrepancies in the accounts which the evangelists give of what took place, in Pilate’s presence.

32. He next proceeds as follows: "And Jesus stood before the governor: and the governor asked Him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews ? Jesus saith unto him, Thou say est. And when He was accused of the chief priests and elders, He answered nothing. Then saith Pilate unto Him, Hearest thou

1 See Jer. xxxii.

2 Heading delineanda. Four mss. give delibanda = proper to touch upon.

CHAP. VIII.] JESUS BEFORE PILATE. 405

not how many things they witness against thee ? And He answered him to never a word; insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly. Now at that feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would. And they had then a notable prisoner, called Barabbas. Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them,

"Whom will ye that I release unto you ? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ ? For he knew that for envy they had delivered Him. But when he was set down on the
judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus. But the governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? And they said, Barabbas. Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say, Let him be crucified. The governor said to them, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children.

Then released he Barabbas unto them; and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered Him to them to be crucified." *

These are the things which Matthew has reported to have been done to the Lord by Pilate.

33. Mark also presents an almost entire identity with the above, both in language and in subject. The words, however, in which Pilate replied to the people when they asked him to release one prisoner according to the custom of the feast, are reported by this evangelist as follows: "But Pilate answered them, saying, Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews?" 2 On the other hand, Matthew o-ives them thus: "Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?" There need be no difficulty in the circumstance that Matthew says nothing about the people having requested that one should be released unto them. But it may fairly be asked, what were the words which Pilate actually uttered, whether these reported by Matthew, or those recited by Mark. For there seems to be some difference between these two forms of expression, namely, "Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?" and, "Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews?" Nevertheless, as they were in the habit of calling their kings anointed ones} and one might use the one term or the other, 2 it is evident that what Pilate asked them was whether they w r ould have the King of the Jews, that is, the Christ, released unto them. And it matters nothing to the real identity in meaning that Mark, desiring simply to relate what concerned the Lord Himself, has not mentioned Barabbas here. For, in the report which he gives of their reply, he indicates with sufficient clearness who the person was whom they asked to have released unto them. His version is this: "But the chief priests moved the people, that he should rather release Barabbas unto them." Then he proceeds to add the sentence, "And Pilate answered and said again unto them, What will ye then that I should do unto him whom ye call the King of the Jews?" This makes it plain enough now, that in speaking of the King of the Jews, Mark meant to express the very sense which Matthew intended to convey by using the term Christ. For kings were not called anointed ones s

406 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]
except among the Jews; and the form which Matthew gives to the words in question is this, " Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ ?" So Mark continues, " And they cried out again, Crucify him; " which appears thus in Matthew, " They all say unto him, Let him be crucified." Again Mark goes on, "Then Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done ? And they cried out the more exceedingly, Crucify him." Matthew has not recorded this passage; but he has introduced the statement, " When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made," and has also informed us how he washed

1 Or, Christs, Christos. 2 The text gives: et qui dixit ilium an ilium.

3 Or, Christs, Christos.

CHAP. VIII. J JESUS BEFORE PILATE. 407

his hands before the people with the view of declaring himself innocent of the blood of that just person (a circumstance not reported by Mark and the others). And thus he has also shown us with all due plainness how the governor dealt with the people with the intention of securing His release. This has been briefly referred to by Mark, when he tells us that Pilate said, " Why, what evil hath he done ? " And thereupon Mark also concludes his account of what took place between Pilate and the Lord in these terms: " And so Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged Him, to be crucified." The above is Mark's recital of what occurred in presence of the governor. 1

34. Luke gives the following version of what took place in presence of Pilate: " And they began to accuse Him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king." 2 The previous two evangelists have not recorded these words, although they do mention the fact that these parties accused Him. Luke is thus the one who has specified the terms of the false accusations which were brought against Him. On the other hand, he does not state that Pilate said to Him, " Answerest thou nothing ? behold, how many things they witness against thee." Instead of introducing these sentences, Luke goes on to relate other matters which are also reported by these two. Thus he continues: " And Pilate asked Him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews ? And He answered him and said, Thou sayest." Matthew and Mark have likewise inserted this fact, previous to the statement that Jesus was taken to task for not answering His accusers.

The truth, however, is not at all affected by the order in which Luke has narrated these things; and as little is it affected by the mere circumstance that one writer passes over some incident without notice, which another expressly specifies.
We have an instance in what follows; namely, "Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, I find no fault in this man. And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from

1 Mark xv. 2-15. 2 Luke xxiii. 2, 3.

408 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

Galilee to this place. But when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilean. And as soon as he knew that He belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent Him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time. And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad; for he was desirous to see Him of a long season, because he had heard many things of Him, and he hoped to see some miracle done by Him. Then he questioned with Him in many words; but He answered him nothing. And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused Him. And Herod with his men of war set Him at nought, and mockèd Him, and arrayed Him in a gorgeous robe, and sent Him again to Pilate. And the same day Herod and Pilate were made friends together: for before they were at enmity between themselves." 1 All these things are related by Luke alone, namely, the fact that the Lord was sent by Pilate to Herod, and the account of what took place on that occasion. At the same time, among the statements which he makes in this passage, there are some bearing a resemblance to matters which may be found reported by the other evangelists in connection with different portions of their narrations. But the immediate object of these others, however, was to recount simply the various things which were done in Pilate's presence on to the time when the Lord was delivered over to be crucified. In accordance with his own plan, however, Luke makes the above digression with the view of telling what occurred with Herod; and after that he reverts to the history of what took place in the governor's presence. Thus he now continues as follows: "And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him." 2 Here we notice that he has omitted to mention how Pilate asked the Lord what answer He had to make to His accusers. Thereafter he proceeds in these terms: "No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him:

and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will

1 Luke xxii. 4-12. 2 Luke xxiii. 13, 1L

CHAP. VIII.] JESUS BEFORE PILATE. 409
therefore chastise him and release him. For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast. And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas; who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. Pilate, therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done ? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that He might be crucified; and the voices of them I prevailed.” 2

The repeated effort which Pilate, in his desire to accomplish the release of Jesus, thus made to gain the people's consent, is satisfactorily attested by Matthew, although in a very few words, when he says, "But when Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made." For he would not have made such a statement at all, had not Pilate exerted himself earnestly in that direction, although at the same time he has not told us how often he made such attempts to rescue Jesus from their fury. Accordingly, Luke concludes his report of what took place in the governor's presence in this fashion: " And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required. And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they desired; but he delivered Jesus to their will." 3

35. Let us next take the account of these same incidents, that is to say, those in which Pilate was engaged as it is presented by John. He proceeds thus: " And they themselves went not into the judgment-hall, lest they should be denied; but that they might eat the passover. Pilate then went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring ye against this man ? They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee." 4 We must look into this passage in order to show that it contains nothing inconsistent with Luke's version, which states that certain charges were brought against Him,

1 The words, and of the chief priests, are omitted in the text.

4 John xviii. 28-30.

410 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

and also specifies their terms. For Luke's words are these: " And they began to accuse Him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ a king." On the other hand, according to the paragraph which I have now cited from John, the Jews seem to have been unwilling to state any specific accusations, when Pilate asked them, " What accusation bring ye against this man ? " For their reply was, " If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee; " the purport of which was, that he should accept their authority, cease to inquire what fault was alleged against Him, and believe Him guilty for the simple reason that He had been [reckoned] worthy of being delivered
up by them to him. This being the case, then, we ought to suppose that both these versions report words which were actually said, both the one before us at present, and the one given by Luke.

For among the multitude of sayings and replies which passed between the parties, these writers have made their own selections as far as their judgment allowed them to go, and each of them has introduced into his narrative just what he considered sufficient. It is also true that John himself mentions certain charges which were alleged against Him, and which we shall find in their proper connections. Here, then, he proceeds thus: " Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews, therefore, said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; that the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which He spake, signifying what death He should die. Then Pilate entered into the judgment-hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto Him, Art thou the King of the Jews ? And Jesus answered, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me ? " 1 This again may seem not to harmonize with what is recorded by the others, — namely, "Jesus answered, Thou sayest," â€” unless it is made clear in what follows that the one thing was said as well as the other. Hence he gives us to understand that the matters which he records next are [not to be regarded as] things never actually uttered by the Lord, but are rather to be considered things which have been

1 John xviii. 31-34.

passed over in silence by the other evangelists. Mark, therefore, what remains of his narrative. It proceeds thus: * Pilate answered, Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation, and the chief priests, have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done ? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate therefore said unto Him, Art thou a king then ? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king." 1 Behold, here is the point at which he comes to that which the other evangelists have reported. And then he goes on, the Lord being still the speaker, to recite other matters which the rest have not recorded. His terms are these: " To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate saith unto him, What is truth ? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find no fault in him. But ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the passover: will ye, therefore, that I release unto you the King of the Jews ? Then cried they all again, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber. Then Pilate, therefore, took Jesus, and scourged Him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on His head, and they put on Him a purple robe; and they came to Him
and said, Hail, King of the Jews! and they smote Him with their hands. Pilate went forth again, and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man! When the chief priests therefore and officers saw Him, they cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him, and crucify him; for I find no fault in him. The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." 2 This may fit in with what Luke reports to have been stated in the accusation brought by the Jews, â€” namely, " We found this fellow perverting our nation," â€” so that we might append here the reason given for it, " Because he made himself the Son of God." John then goes on in the following strain: "When Pilate, therefore, heard that saying, he was the more afraid, and went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto Him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin. From thenceforth Pilate sought to release Him: but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Caesar." * This may very well agree with what Luke records in connection with the said accusation brought by the Jews. For after the words, "We found this fellow perverting our nation," he has added the clause, "And forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king." This will also offer a solution for the difficulty previously referred to, namely, the occasion which might seem to be given for supposing John to have indicated that no specific charge was laid by the Jews against the Lord, when they answered and said unto him, " If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee." John then continues in the following strain: " When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour; and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! But they cried out, Away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified." 2 The above is John's version of what was done by Pilate.

1 John xvi. 35-37. 2 John xviii. 37-xix. 7.

412 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [HOOK III.

nation," â€” so that we might append here the reason given for it, " Because he made himself the Son of God." John then goes on in the following strain: "When Pilate, therefore, heard that saying, he was the more afraid, and went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer. Then saith Pilate unto Him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin. From thenceforth Pilate sought to release Him: but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Caesar." * This may very well agree with what Luke records in connection with the said accusation brought by the Jews. For after the words, "We found this fellow perverting our nation," he has added the clause, "And forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king." This will also offer a solution for the difficulty previously referred to, namely, the occasion which might seem to be given for supposing John to have indicated that no specific charge was laid by the Jews against the Lord, when they answered and said unto him, " If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee." John then continues in the following strain: " When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour; and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! But they cried out, Away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified." 2 The above is John's version of what was done by Pilate.

1 John xix. 8-12. 2 John xix. 13-16.
Chap. ix. Of the mockery which He sustained at the hands of Pilate's cohort, and of the harmony subsisting among the three evangelists who report that scene, namely, Matthew, Mark, and John.

36. We have now reached the point at which we may study the Lord's passion, strictly so called, as it is presented in the narrative of these four evangelists. Matthew commences his account as follows: " Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto Him the whole band of soldiers. And they stripped Him, and put on Him a scarlet robe. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon His head, and a reed in His right hand: and they bowed the knee before Him, and mocked Him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews ! " 1 At the same stage in the narrative, Mark delivers himself thus: " And the soldiers led Him away into the hall called Pretorium; and they called together the whole band. And they clothed Him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it on His head, and began to salute Him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews ! And they smote Him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon Him, and, bowing their knees, worshipped Him." 2 Here, therefore, we perceive that while Matthew tells us how they " put on Him a scarlet robe," Mark speaks of purple, with which He was clothed. The explanation may be that the said scarlet robe was employed instead of the royal purple by these scoffers. There is also a certain red-coloured purple which resembles scarlet very closely. And it may also be the case that Mark has noticed the purple which the robe contained, although it was properly scarlet. Luke has left this without mention. On the other hand, previous to stating how Pilate delivered Him up to be crucified, John has introduced the following passage: " Then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged Him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on His head, and they put on Him a purple robe, and said, Hail, King of the Jews ! And they smote Him with their hands." 3 This makes it evident that Matthew and Mark have reported this incident in the way of a recapitulation, and that it did not actually take place after Mate had delivered Him up to be crucified. For John informs us

1 Matt, xxvii. 27-31. 2 Mark xv. 16-20. 3 John xix. 1-3.

414 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK HI.

distinctly enough that these things took place when He yet was with Pilate. Hence we conclude that the other evangelists have introduced the occurrence at that particular point, just because, having previously passed it by, they recollected it there. This is also borne out by what Matthew proceeds next to relate. He continues thus: " And they spit upon
Him, and took the reed, and smote Him on the head. And after that they had mocked Him, they took the robe off from Him, and put His own raiment on Him, and led Him away to crucify Him." 1 Here we are given to understand that the taking the robe off Him and the clothing Him with His own raiment were done at the close, when He was being led away. This is given by Mark, as follows: " And when they had mocked Him, they took off the purple from Him, and put His own clothes on Him." 2

Chap. x. aë” Of the method in which we can reconcile the statement which is made by Matthew, Marie, and Luke, to the effect that another person was pressed into the service of carrying the cross of Jesus, with that given by John, who says that Jesus bore it Himself.

37. Matthew, accordingly, goes on with his narrative in these terms: " And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear His cross." 3 In like manner, Mark says: " And they led Him out to be crucified. And they compelled one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Eufus, to bear His cross." 4 Luke's version is also to this effect: " And as they led Him away, they laid hold upon one Simon a Cyrenian, coming out of the country; and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus." 5

On the other hand, John records the matter as follows: " And they took Jesus, and led Him away. And He bearing His cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew, Golgotha; where they crucified Him." 6

From all this we understand that Jesus was carrying the cross Himself as He went forth into the place mentioned. But on the way the said Simon, who is named by the other three evangelists, was pressed into the service, and got the

1 Matt, xxvii. 30, 31. 2 Mark xv. 20. 3 Matt, xxvii. 32.

CHAP. XII.] THE WINE AND MYRRH. 415

cross to carry for the rest of the course until the spot was reached. Thus we find that both circumstances really took place; namely, first the one noticed by John, and thereafter the one instanced by the other three.

Chap. xi. aë” Of the consistency of Matthew' s version with that of Mark in the account of the potion offered Him to drink, which is introduced before the narrative of His crucifixion.

38. Matthew then proceeds in these terms: "And they came unto a place called Golgotha; that is to say, a place of a skull." 7 So far as the place is concerned, they are most
unmistakeably at one. The same Matthew next adds, "and they gave Him wine to drink, mingled with gall; and when He had tasted thereof, He would not drink." 3 This is given by Mark as follows: "And they gave Him to drink wine mingled with myrrh; and He received it not." 4 Here we may understand Matthew to have conveyed the same sense as Mark, when he speaks of the wine being "mingled with gall."

For the gall is mentioned with a view to express the bitterness of the potion. And wine mingled with myrrh is remarkable for its bitterness. The fact also be that gall and myrrh together made the wine exceedingly bitter. Again, when Mark says that "He received it not," we understand the phrase to denote that He did not receive it so as actually to drink it. He did taste it, however, as Matthew certifies. Thus Mark's words, "He received it not," convey the same meaning as Matthew's version, "He would not drink." The former, however, has said nothing about His tasting the potion.

Chap. xii. â€” Of the concord preserved among all the four evangelists on the subject of the parting of His raiment.

39. Matthew goes on thus: "And after they crucified Him, they parted His garments, casting lots: and sitting down, they watched Him." 5 Mark reports the same incident, as follows:

* And crucifying Him, they parted His garments, casting lots

1 Matt, xxvii. 33. 2 Vinum.

3 Matt, xxvii. 34. * Mark xv. 23.

5 Matt, xxvii. 35, 36. The words, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots," are omitted.

4 1 G THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [DOOR III.

upon them, what every man should take." 1 In like manner Luke says: "And they parted His raiment, and cast lots. And the people stood beholding." 2 The occurrence is thus recorded briefly by the first three. But John gives us a more detailed narrative of the method in which the act was gone about. His version runs thus: "Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also His coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my garments, and for my vesture they did cast lots." 3
Chap. xiii. â€” Of the hour of the Lord's passion, and of the question concerning the absence of any discrepancy between Mark and John in the article of the third hour and the sixth.

40. Matthew continues thus: "And they set up over His head His accusation written, This is Jesus the King of the Jews." 4 Mark, on the other hand, before making any such statement, inserts these words: "And it was the third hour, and they crucified Him." 5 For he subjoins these terms immediately after he has told us about the parting of the garments.

This, then, is a matter which we must consider with special care, lest any serious error emerge. For there are some who entertain the idea that the Lord was certainly crucified at the third hour; and that thereafter, from the sixth hour on to the ninth, the darkness covered the land. According to this theory, we should have to understand three hours to have passed between the time when He was crucified and the time when the darkness occurred. And this view might certainly be held with all due warrant, were it not that John has stated that it was about the sixth hour when Pilate sat down on the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in Hebrew, Gabbatha. For his version goes on in this manner:

"And it was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! But they cried out, Away with him, away with him! crucify


4 Matt, xxvii. 37. 8 Mark xv. 25.

CHAP. XIII.] THE HOUR OF THE CRUCIFIXION. 417

him! Pilate said unto them, Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified." 1 If Jesus, therefore, was delivered up to the Jews to be crucified when it was about the sixth hour, and when Pilate was then sitting upon the judgment-seat, how could He have been crucified at the third hour, as some have been led to suppose, in consequence of a misinterpretation of the words of Mark?

41. First, then, let us consider what the hour really is at which He can have been crucified; and then we shall see how it happens that Mark has reported Him to have been crucified at the third hour. Now it was about the sixth hour when Pilate, who was sitting, as has been stated, at the time upon the judgment-seat, delivered Him up to be crucified. The expression is not that it was the sixth hour fully, but only that it was about the sixth hour; that is to say, the fifth hour was entirely gone, and so much of the sixth hour had also been entered upon. These writers, however, could not i naturally use such phraseologies as the fifth hour and a quarter, or the fifth hour and a third, or the fifth hour and a half, or anything of that kind. For the Scriptures have the well-known habit of
dealing simply with the round numbers, without mention of fractions, especially in matters of time. We have an example of this in the case of the eight days, after which, as they tell us, He went up into a mountain, 2 \( \text{a}\)’” a space which is given by Matthew and Mark as "six days after," 3 because they look simply at the days between the one from which the reckoning commences and the one with which it closes. This is particularly to be kept in view when we notice how measured the terms are which John employs here. For he says not "the sixth hour," but "about the sixth hour." And yet, even had he not expressed himself in that way, but had stated merely that it was the sixth hour, it would still be incompetent for us to interpret the phrase in accordance with the method of speech with which we are, as I said, familiar in Scripture, namely, the use of the round numbers. And thus we could still take the sense quite fairly to be that, on the completion of the fifth hour and the commencement of the

1 John xix. 13-16. 2 Luke ix. 28. 3 Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 1.

HARMONY. 2 D

418 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

sixth, those matters were going on which are recorded in connection with the Lord's crucifixion, until, on the close of the sixth hour, and when He was hanging on the cross, the darkness occurred which is attested by three of the evangelists, namely, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. 1

42. In due order, let us now inquire how it is that Mark, after telling us that they parted His garments when they were crucifying Him, casting lots upon them what every man should take, has appended this statement, "And it was the third hour, and they crucified Him." 2 Now here he had already made the declaration, "And crucifying Him, they parted His garments;" and the other evangelists also certify that, when He was crucified, they parted His garments. If, therefore, it was Mark's design to specify the time at which the incident took place, it would have been enough for him to say simply, "And it was the third hour." What reason, then, can be assigned for his having added these words, "And they crucified Him," but that, under the summary statement thus inserted, he intended significantly to suggest something which might be found a subject for consideration, when the Scripture in question was read in times in which the whole Church knew perfectly well what hour it was at which the Lord was hanged upon the tree, and the means were possessed for either correcting the writer's error or confuting his want of truth? But, inasmuch as he was quite aware of the fact that the Lord was suspended [on the cross] by the soldiers, and not by the Jews, as John most plainly affirms, 3 his hidden object [in bringing in the said clause] was to convey the idea that those parties who cried out that He should be crucified were the Lord's real crucifiers, rather than the men who simply discharged their service to their chief in accordance with their duty. We
understand, accordingly, that it was the third hour when the Jews cried out that the Lord should be crucified. And thus it is intimated most truly that these persons did really crucify Christ at the time when they cried out. All the more, too, did this merit notice, because they were unwilling to have the appearance of having done the deed.

1 Matt, xxvii. 45; Mark xv. 33; Luke xxiii. 44.
2 Mark xv. 25. 3 John xix. 23.

CHAP. XIII.] THE THIRD HOUR. 419

...and with that view delivered Him up unto Pilate, as their words indicate clearly enough in the report given by John. For, after stating how Pilate said to them, "What accusation bring ye against this man?" his version proceeds thus: "They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee. Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Consequently, what they were especially unwilling to have the appearance of doing, that Mark here shows that they actually did do at the third hour. For he judged most truly that the Lord's murderer was rather the tongue of the Jews than the hand of the soldiers.

43. Moreover, if any one alleges that it was not the third hour when the Jews cried out for the first time in the terms referred to, he simply displays himself most insanely to be an enemy to the Gospel; unless perchance he can prove himself able to produce some new solution of the problem. For he cannot possibly establish the position that it was not the third hour at the period alluded to. And, consequently, we surely ought rather to credit a veracious evangelist than the contentious suspicions of men. But you may ask, How can you prove that it was the third hour? I answer, Because I believe the evangelists; and if you also believe them, show me how the Lord can have been crucified both at the sixth hour and at the third. For, to make a frank acknowledgment, we cannot get over the statement of the sixth hour in John's narrative; and Mark records the third hour: and, therefore, if both of us accept the testimony of these writers, show me any other way in which both these notes of time can be taken as literally correct. If you can do so, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce. For what I prize is not my own opinion, but the truth of the Gospel. And I could wish, indeed, that more methods of clearing up this problem might be discovered by others. Until that be done, however, join me, if it please you, in taking advantage of the solution which I have propounded. For if no explanation can be found, this one will suffice of itself.
1 John xviii. 29-31.

420 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

But if another can be devised, when it is unfolded, we shall make our choice. Only don't consider it an inevitable conclusion that any one of all the four evangelists has stated what is false, or has fallen into error in a position of authority at once so elevated and so holy.

44. Again, if any one affirms his ability to prove it not to have been the third hour when the Jews cried out in the terms in question, because, after Mark's statement to this effect, " And Pilate answered and said again unto them, What will ye then that I shall do unto him whom ye call the King of the Jews? And they cried out again, Crucify him," we find no further details introduced into the narrative of the same evangelist, but are led on at once to the statement, that the Lord was delivered up by Pilate to be crucified â€” an act which John mentions to have taken place about the sixth hour: â€” I repeat, if any one adduces such an argument, let him understand that many things have been passed by without record here, which occurred in the interval when Pilate was engaged in looking out for some means by which he could rescue Jesus from the Jews, and was exerting himself most strenuously by every means in his power to withstand their maddened desires.

For Matthew says, " Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do, then, with Jesus, which is called Christ? They all say, Let him be crucified." Then we affirm it to have been the third hour. And when the same Matthew goes on to add the sentence, " But when Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made," we understand that a period of two hours had passed, during the attempts made by Pilate to effect the release of Jesus, and the tumults raised by the Jews in their efforts to defeat him, and that the sixth hour had then commenced, previous to the close of which those things took place which are related as happening between the time when Pilate delivered up the Lord and the oncoming of the darkness. Once more, as regards what Matthew records above, â€” namely, "And when he was set down on the judgmentseat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him," x â€” we remark, that Pilate really

1 Matt, xxvii. 19.

CHAP. XIII.] PILATE'S HESITANCY. 421
took his seat upon the tribunal at a later point, but that, among the earlier incidents which Matthew was recounting, the account given of Pilate's wife came into his mind, and he decided on inserting it in this particular connection, with the view of preparing us for understanding how Pilate had an especially urgent reason for wishing, even on to the last, not to deliver Him up to the Jews.

45. Luke, again, after mentioning how Pilate said, "I will therefore chastise him and let him go," tells us that the whole multitude then cried out, "Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas." 1 But perhaps they had not yet exclaimed, "Crucify him!" For Luke next proceeds thus: "Pilate therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying, Crucify him, crucify him!" 2 This is understood to have been at the third hour. Luke then continues in these terms: "And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices requiring that He might be crucified. And the voices of them prevailed." 3 Here, then, this evangelist also makes it quite evident that there was a great tumult. With sufficient accuracy for the purposes of my inquiry into the truth, we can further gather how long the interval was after which he spoke to them in these terms, "Why, what evil hath he done?" And when he adds thereafter, a They were instant with loud voices, requiring that He might be crucified, and the voices of them prevailed," who can fail to perceive that this clamour was made just because they saw that Pilate was unwilling to deliver the Lord up to them? And, inasmuch as he was exceedingly reluctant to give Him up, he did not certainly yield at present in a moment, but in reality two hours and something more were passed by him in that state of hesitancy.

46. Interrogate John in like manner, and see how strong this hesitancy was on Pilate's part, and how he shrank from so shameful a service. For this evangelist records these incidents much more fully, although even he certainly does not mention all the occurrences which took up these two hours


422 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

and part of the sixth hour. After telling us how Pilate scourged Jesus, and allowed the robe to be put on Him in derision by the soldiers, and suffered Him to be subjected to ill-treatment and many acts of mockery (all which was permitted by Pilate, as I believe, really with the view of mitigating their fury and keeping them from persevering in their maddened desire for His death), John continues his account in the following manner: "Pilate went forth again, and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man!" * The object of this was, that they might gaze upon that spectacle of ignominy and be appeased. But the evangelist proceeds again: "When the chief priests therefore and officers saw Him, they cried out,
saying, Crucify him, crucify him!" 2 It was then the third hour, as we maintain. Mark also what follows: "Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him, and crucify him; for I find no fault in him. The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he was the more afraid; and went again into the judgment-hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer.

Then saith Pilate unto Him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin. From thenceforth Pilate sought to release Him. 3 Now, when it is said here that "Pilate sought to release Him," how long a space of time may we suppose to have been spent in that effort, and how many things may have been omitted here among the sayings which were uttered by Pilate, or the contradictions which were raised by the Jews, until these Jews gave expression to the words which moved him, and made him yield? For the writer goes on thus:

"But the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king"

1 John xix. 4, 5. 2 John xix. 6. 3 John xix. 6-12.

CHAP. XIII.] THE SIXTH HOUR. 423

spaketh against Cæsar. When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment-seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the passover, about the sixth hour. 1 Thus, then, between that exclamation of the Jews when they first cried out, "Crucify him," at which period it was the third hour, and this moment when he sat down on the judgment-seat, two hours had passed, which had been taken up with Pilate's attempts to delay matters and the tumults raised by the Jews; and by this time the fifth hour was quite spent, and so much of the sixth hour had been entered. Then the narrative goes on thus: "He saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! But they cried out, Away with him, away with him! crucify him!" 2 But not even now was Pilate so overcome by the apprehension of their bringing a charge against himself as to be very ready to yield. For his wife had sent to him when he sitting at this time upon the judgment-seat, â€” an incident which Matthew, who is the only one that records it, has given by anticipation, introducing it before he comes to its proper place (according to the order of time) in his narrative, and bringing it in at another point which he judged opportune. In this way, Pilate, still continuing his efforts to prevent further advances, said then to them, "Shall I crucify your king?" Thereupon the chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified." 3 And in the time that passed when He was on the way, and when He was crucified along with the two robbers, and when His garments were parted and the possession of His coat was decided by lot, and the various deeds of contumely were done to Him (for, while these different
things were going on, gibes were also cast at Him), the sixth hour was fully spent, and the
darkness came on, which is mentioned by Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

47. Let such impious pertinacity therefore perish, and let it be believed that the Lord
Jesus Christ was crucified at once at the third hour by the voice of the Jews, and at the
sixth by the hands of the soldiers. For during these tumults on the part of the Jews, and
these agitations on the side of Pilate,

1 John xix. 12-14. 2 John xix. 15. 3 John xix. 15, 16.

424 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

upwards of two hours elapsed from the time when they burst out with the cry, "Crucify
Him." But again, even Mark, who studies brevity above all the other evangelists, has
been pleased to give a concise indication of Pilate's desire and of his efforts to save the
Lord's life. For, after giving us this statement,
"And they cried again, Crucify him" (in which he gives us to understand that they had
cried out before this, when they asked that Barabbas might be released to them), he has
 appended these words: "Then Pilate continued to say unto them, What evil hath he
done?" 1 Thus by one short sentence he has given us an idea of matters which took a
long time for their transaction. At the same time, however, keeping in view the correct
apprehension of his meaning, he does not say, "Then Pilate said unto them," but
expresses himself thus: "Then Pilate continued to say unto them, Why, what evil hath he
done?" For, if his phrase had been "said" 2
we might have understood him to mean that such words were uttered only once. But, by
adopting the terms, "continued to say" 3 he has made it clear enough to the intelligent
that Pilate spoke repeatedly, and in a number of ways. Let us therefore consider how
briefly Mark has expressed this as compared with Matthew, how briefly Matthew as
compared with Luke, how briefly Luke as compared with John, while at the same time
each of these writers has introduced now one thing and now another peculiar to himself.
In fine, let us also consider how brief is even the narrative given by John himself, as
compared with the number of things which took place, and the space of time occupied by
their occurrence. And let us give up the madness of opposition, and believe that two
hours, and something more, may quite well have passed in the interval referred to.

48. If any one, however, asserts that if this was the real state of the case, Mark might have
mentioned the third hour explicitly at the point at which it really was the third hour,
namely, when the voices of the Jews were lifted up demanding that the Lord should be
crucified; and, further, that he might have told us plainly there that those vociferators did
really crucify Him at that time, â€” such a reasoner is simply imposing laws upon the
historians of truth in his own overweening
1 Mark xv. 13, 14. 2 Dixit. 3 Dicebat.
pride. For he might as well maintain that if he were himself to be a narrator of these occurrences, they ought all to be recorded just in the same way and the same order by all other writers as they have been recorded by himself. Let him therefore be content to reckon his own notion inferior to that of Mark the evangelist, who has judged it right to insert the statement just at the point at which it was suggested to him by divine inspiration. For the recollections of those historians have been ruled by the hand of Him who rules the waters, as it is written, according to His own good pleasure. For the human memory moves through a variety of thoughts, and it is not in any man's power to regulate either the subject which comes into his mind or the time of its suggestion. Seeing, then, that those holy and truthful men, in this matter of the order of their narrations, committed the casualties of their recollections (if such a phrase may be used) to the direction of the hidden power of God, to whom nothing is casual, it does not become any mere man, in his low estate, removed far from the vision of God, and sojourning distantly from Him, to say, "This ought to have been introduced here;' for he is utterly ignorant of the reason which led God to will its being inserted in the place it occupies. The word of an apostle is to this effect: "But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost." 2 And again he says: "To the one indeed we are the savour of life unto life; to the other, the savour of death unto death;" and adds immediately, "And who is sufficient for these things?" 3 And so it is that to say, who is sufficient to comprehend how righteously that is done? The Lord Himself expresses the same when He says, "I am come that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind." 4 For it is in the depth of the riches of the knowledge and wisdom of God that it comes to pass that of the same lump one vessel is made unto honour, and another unto dishonour. 5 And to flesh and blood it is said, "Man, who art thou that repliest against God?" 6 Who, then, knows the mind of the Lord in the matter now under consideration? or who hath been His counsellor, 7 where He has in such wise ruled the hearts of these

1 Fluitat = floats. 2 2 Cor. iv. 3. a 2 Cor. ii. 16. 4 John ix. 39.
5 Rom. ix. 21. 6 Rom. ix. 20. 7 Rom. xi. 34.

426 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.

evangelists in their recollections, and has raised them to so commanding a position of authority in the sublime edifice of His Church, that those very things which are capable of presenting the appearance of contradictions in them become the means by which many are made blind, undeservedly given over to the lusts of their own heart, and to a reprobate mind; * and by which also many are exercised in the thorough cultivation of a pious understanding, in accordance with the hidden righteousness of the Almighty? For the
49. Moreover, I request and admonish those who read the statement which, with the help of the Lord, has thus been elaborated by us, to bear in mind this discourse, which I have thought it needful to introduce in the present connection, in every similar difficulty which may be raised in such inquiries, so that there may be no necessity for repeating the same thing over and over again. Besides, any one who is willing to clear himself of the hardness of impiety, and to give his attention to the subject, will easily perceive how opportune the place is in which Mark has inserted this notice of the third hour, so that every one may there be led to bethink himself of an hour at which the Jews really crucified the Lord, although they sought to transfer the burden of the crime to the Eomans, whether to the leaders among them or to the soldiers, [as we see] when we come here upon the record of what was done by the soldiers in the discharge of their duty. For this writer says here, "And crucifying Him, they parted His garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take." 3 And to whom can this refer but to the soldiers, as is made manifest in John's narrative? Thus, lest any one should leave the Jews out of account, and make the conception of so great a crime lie against those soldiers, Mark gives us here the statement, "And it was the third hour, and they crucified Him," 3 his object being to have those Jews rather discovered to be the real crucifiers, who will be found by the careful investigator in a position making it quite possible for them to have cried

1 Rom. i. 24-28. 2 Ps. xcii. 5, 6. 3 Mark xv. 24.

CHAP. XIII.] THE PREPARATION OF THE PASSOVER. 427

out for the Lord's crucifixion at the third hour, while he observes that what was done by the soldiers took place at the sixth hour.

50. At the same time, however, there are not wanting persons who would have the time of the preparation Â“ which is referred to by John, when he says, "And it was the preparation of the passover, about the sixth hour" 3 understood under this third hour of the day, which was also the period at which Pilate sat down upon the judgment-seat. In this way the completion of the said third hour would appear to be the time when He was crucified, and when He was now hanging on the tree. Other three hours must then be supposed to have passed, at the end of which He gave up the ghost. According to this idea, too, the darkness would have commenced with the hour at which He died Â“ that is to say, the sixth hour of the day Â”
and have lasted until the ninth. For these persons affirm that the preparation of the passover of the Jews was indeed on the day which was followed by the day of the Sabbath, because the days of unleavened bread began with the said Sabbath; but that, nevertheless, the true passover, which was being realized in the Lord's passion, the passover not of the Jews, but of the Christians, began to be prepared â€” that is, to have its parasceue â€” from the ninth hour of the night onwards, inasmuch as the Lord was then being prepared for being put to death by the Jews. For the term parasceue means by interpretation preparation. Between the said ninth hour of the night, therefore, and His crucifixion, the period occurs which is called by John the sixth hour of the parasceue, and by Mark the third hour of the day; so that, according to this view, Mark has not introduced by way of recapitulation into his record the hour at which the Jews cried out, "Crucify him, crucify him," but has expressly mentioned the third hour as the hour at which the Lord was nailed to the tree. What believer would not receive this solution of the problem with favour, were it only possible to find some point [in the narrative of incidents] in connection with the said ninth hour, at which we could suppose, in due consistency with other circumstances, the parasceue of our passover â€” that is to say, the preparation of the death of Christ â€” to have commenced. For, if we say

428 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

that it began at the time when the Lord was apprehended by the Jews, it was still but the first parts of the night. If we hold that it was at the time when He was conducted to the house of Caiaphas' father-in-law, where He was also heard by the chief priests, the cock had not crowed at all as yet, as we gather from Peter's denial, which took place only when the cock was heard. Again, if we suppose it was at the time when He was delivered up to Pilate, we have in the plainest terms the statement of Scripture, to the effect that by this time it was morning. Consequently, it only remains for us to understand that this parasceue of the passover â€” that is to say, the preparation for the death of the Lord â€” commenced at the period when all the chief priests, in whose presence He was first heard, answered and said, "He is guilty of death," an utterance which we find reported both by Matthew and by Mark â– so that they are taken to have introduced, in the form of a recapitulation, at a later stage, facts relating to the denial of Peter, which in point of historical order had taken place at an earlier point.

And it is nothing unreasonable to conjecture, that the time at which, as I have said, they pronounced Him guilty of death, may very well have been the ninth hour of the night, between which time and the hour at which Pilate sat down on the judgment-seat there came in this sixth hour, as it is called â€” not, however, the sixth hour of the day, but that of the parasceue â€” that is to say, the preparation for the sacrifice of the Lord, which is the true passover. And, on this theory, the Lord was suspended on the tree when the sixth hour of the same parasceue was completed, which occurred at the completion of the third hour of the day. We may make our choice, therefore, between this view and the other, which supposes Mark to have introduced the third hour by way of reminiscence, and to have had it especially in view, in mentioning the hour there, to suggest the fact of the condemnation brought upon the
Jews in the matter of the Lord's crucifixion, in so far as they are understood to have been in a position to raise the clamour for His crucifixion to such an effect that we may hold them to have been the persons who actually crucified Him, rather than the men by whose hands He was

1 Matt. xxvi. 66; Mark xiv. 64.

CHAP. XV.] THE TWO ROBBERS. 429

suspended on the tree; just as the centurion, already referred to, approached the Lord in a more genuine sense than could be said of those friends whom He sent [on the matter-of-fact mission]. 1 But whichever of these two views we adopt, unquestionably a solution is found for this problem on the subject of the hour of the Lord's passion, which is most remarkably apt at once to excite the impudence of the contentious and to agitate the inexperience of the weak.

Chap. xiv. â€” Of the harmony preserved among all the evangelists on the subject of the two robbers who were crucified along with Him.

51. Matthew continues his narrative in the following terms: "Then were there two robbers crucified with Him, one on the right hand, and another on the left." Mark and Luke give it also in a similar form. 3 Neither does John raise any question of difficulty, although he has made no mention of those robbers. For he says, " And two other with Him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst." 4 But there would have been a contradiction if John had spoken of these others as innocent, while the former evangelists called them robbers.

Chap. xv. â€” Of the consistency of the accounts given by Matthew, Mark, and Luke on the subject of the parties who insulted the Lord.

52. Matthew goes on in the following strain: "And they that passed by reviled Him, wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself: if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross." 6 Mark's statement agrees with this almost to the letter. Then Matthew continues thus: " Likewise also the chief priests, mocking Him, with the scribes and elders, said, He saved others; himself he cannot save: if he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him. He trusted in God; let Him deliver him now, if He will: for he said, I am the Son of God." 6 Mark and Luke, although they report the words differently, nevertheless agree in conveying the same meaning, although the one passes without notice something which the other mentions. 7 For they are both really at one on the subject of the

1 See above, book ii. ch. 20. 2 Matt, xxvii. 38.
chief priests, giving us to understand that they insulted the Lord when He was crucified. The only difference is, that Mark does not specify the elders, while Luke, who has instanced the rulers, has not added the designation "of the priests," and thus has rather comprehended the whole body of the leading men under the general designation; so that we may fairly take both the scribes and the elders to be included in his description.

Chap. xvi. "Of the derision ascribed to the robbers, and of the question regarding the absence of any discrepancy between Matthew and Mark on the one hand, and Luke on the other, when the last-named evangelist states that one of the two mocked Him, and that the other believed on Him.

53. Matthew continues his narrative in these terms: "The robbers also, which were crucified with Him, cast the same in His teeth." * Mark is quite in harmony with Matthew here, giving the same statement in different words. 2 On the other hand, Luke may be thought to contradict this, unless we be careful not to forget a certain mode of speech which is sufficiently familiar. For Luke's narrative runs thus: "And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on Him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us." 3 And then the same writer proceeds to introduce into the same context the following recital: "But the other answering, rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him, Verily, I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." * The question then is, how we can reconcile either Matthew's report, "The robbers also, which were crucified with Him, cast the same in His teeth," or Mark's, namely, "And they that were crucified with Him reviled Him," with Luke's testimony, which is to the effect that one of them reviled Christ, but that the other arrested him and believed on the Lord.

The explanation will be, that Matthew and Mark, presenting a concise version of the passage under review, have employed

1 Matt, xxvii. 44. 2 Mark xv. 32. 3 Luke xxiii. 39.

the plural number instead of the singular; as is the case in
the Epistle to the Hebrews, where we find the statement given
in the plural form, that "they stopped the mouths of lions," x
while Daniel alone is understood to be referred to. Again, the
plural number is adopted where it is said that they "were
sawn asunder," 2 while that manner of death is reported only
of Isaiah. In the same way, when it is said in the Psalm,
"The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers took
counsel together," etc., 3 the plural number is employed instead
of the singular, according to the exposition given of the passage
in the Acts of the Apostles. For those who have made use of
the testimony of the said Psalm in that book take the kings
to refer to Herod, and the princes to Pilate. 4 But further,
inasmuch as the pagans are in the habit of bringing such
slanderous charges against the Gospel, I would ask them to
consider how their own writers have spoken of Phaedras and
Medeas and Clytemnestras, when there really was but a single
individual reputed under each of these names. And what is
more common, for example, than for a person to say, "The rustics
also behave insolently to me," even although it should only be
one that acted rudely? In short, no real discrepancy would
be created by the restriction of Luke's report to one of the two
robbers, unless the other evangelists had declared expressly
that both the malefactors reviled the Lord; for in that case it would not be possible for us to suppose only one individual intended under the plural number. Seeing, however, that the phrase employed is "the robbers," or "those who were crucified with Him," and the term both is not added, the expression is one which might have been used if both these men had been engaged in the thing, but which might equally well be adopted if one of the two had been implicated in it, â€” that fact being then conveyed by the use of the plural number, according to a familiar method of speech.

Chap. xvii. â€” Of the harmony of the four evangelists in their notices of the draught of vinegar.

54. Matthew proceeds in the following terms: "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the

1 Heb. xi. 33. 2 Heb. xi. 37.
3 Ts. ii. 2. 4 Acts iv. 26, 27.

432 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

ninth hour." 1 The same fact is attested by two others of the evangelists. 2 Luke adds, however, a statement of the cause of the darkness, namely, that "the sun was darkened." Again, Matthew continues thus: "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani! that is to say, My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me? And some of them that stood there, when they heard that, said, This man calleth for Elias." 3 Mark's agreement with this is almost complete, so far as regards the words, and not only almost, but altogether complete, so far as the sense is concerned. Matthew next makes this statement: "And straightway one of them ran, and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave Him to drink." 4
Mark presents it in a similar form: "And one ran, and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave Him to drink, saying, Let alone; let us see whether Elias will come to take Him down." 5 Matthew, however, has represented these words about Elias to have been spoken, not by the person who offered the sponge with the vinegar, but by the rest. For his version runs thus: "But the rest said, Let be; let us see whether Elias will come to save Him; "6 â€” from which, therefore, we infer that both the man specially referred to and the others who were there expressed themselves in these terms.

Luke, again, has introduced this notice of the vinegar previous to his report of the robber's insolence. He gives it thus:

"And the soldiers also mocked Him, coming to Him, and offering Him vinegar, and saying, If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself." 7 It has been Luke's purpose to embrace in one statement what was done and what was said by the soldiers. And we ought to feel no difficulty in the circumstance that he has not said explicitly that it was one of them who offered the vinegar. For, adopting a method of expression which we have discussed above, 8 he has simply put the plural number for the singular. Moreover, John has also given us an account of the vinegar, where he says: "After this, Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture

1 Matt, xxvii. 45. 2 Mark xv. 33-36; Luke xxiii. 44, 45.
3 Matt, xxvii. 46, 47. * Matt, xxvii. 48. 5 Mark xv. 36.
6 Matt, xxvii. 49. 7 Luke xxiii. 36, 37. 8 See chap. xvi.

CHAP. XVIII.] THE VOICES FROM THE CROSS. 433

might be fulfilled, said, I thirst. Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to His mouth." 9 But although the said John thus informs us that Jesus said "I thirst," and also mentions that there was a vessel full of vinegar there, while the other evangelists leave these things unspecified, there is nothing to marvel at in this.

Chap. xviii. â€” Of the Lord's successive utterances when lie was about to die; and of the question whether Matthew and Mark are in harmony with Luke in their reports of these sayings, and also whether these three evangelists are in harmony with John.

55. Matthew proceeds as follows: "And Jesus, crying again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost." 2 In like manner, Mark says, "And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost." 3 Luke, again, has told us what He said when that loud voice was uttered. For his version is thus: "And Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said, Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit: and saying this, He gave up the ghost." 4
John, on the other hand, as he has left unnoticed the first voice, which Matthew and Mark have reported "Eli, Eli" namely, "Eli, Eli" has also passed over in silence the one which has been recited only by Luke, while the other two have referred to it under the designation of the "loud voice." I allude to the cry, "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Luke has also attested the fact that this exclamation was uttered with a loud voice; and hence we may understand this particular cry to be identified with the loud voice which Matthew and Mark have specified. But John has stated a fact which is noticed by none of the other three, namely, that He said "It is finished," after He had received the vinegar. This cry we take to have been uttered previous to the loud voice referred to. For these are John's words: "When Jesus, therefore, had received the vinegar, He said, It is finished; and He bowed His head, and gave up the ghost." In the interval elapsing between this cry, "It is finished," and what is referred to in the subsequent sentence, "and He bowed His head and gave up the ghost," the voice was uttered which John himself has

1 John xix. 28, 29. 2 Matt, xxvii. 50. 5 Mark xv. 37.
4 Luke xxiii. 46. 8 John xix. 30.

HARMONY. 2 E

434 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

passed over without record, but which the other three have noticed. For the precise succession appears to be this, namely, that He said first "It is finished," when what had been prophesied regarding Him was fulfilled in Him, and that thereafter "as if He had been waiting for this, like one, indeed, who died when He willed it to be so He commended His spirit [to His Father], and resigned it. But, whatever the order may be in which a person may consider it likely that these words were spoken, he ought above all things to guard against entertaining the notion that any one of the evangelists is in antagonism with another, when one leaves unmentioned something which another has repeated, or particularizes something which another has passed by in silence.

Chap. xix. "Of the rending of the veil of the temple, and of the question whether Matthew and Mark really harmonize with Luke with respect to the order in which that incident took place.

56. Matthew proceeds thus: "And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom." Mark's version is also as follows: "And the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom." Luke likewise gives a statement in similar terms: "And the veil of the temple was rent in the midst." He does not introduce it, however, in the same order. For, with the intention of attaching miracle to miracle, he has told us first how "the sun was darkened,"
and then has deemed it right to subjoin the said sentence in immediate succession, namely, "And the veil of the temple was rent in the midst." Thus it would appear that he has introduced at an earlier point this incident, which really took place when the Lord expired, so as to give us there a summary description of the circumstances relating to the drinking of the vinegar, and the loud voice, and the death itself, which are understood to have taken place previous to the rending of the veil, and after the darkness had come in. For Matthew has inserted this sentence, "And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent," in immediate succession to the statement, "And Jesus, crying again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost;" and has thus given us clearly to understand that the time when the veil was rent was after Jesus had given up His spirit.

1 Matt, xxvii. 51. 2 Mark xv. 38. 3 Luke xxiii. 45.

CHAP. XX. | THE centurion's fear. 435

however, he had not added the words, "And behold," but had said simply, "And the veil of the temple was rent," it would have been uncertain whether Mark and he had narrated the incident in the form of a recapitulation, while Luke had kept the exact order, or whether Luke had given the summary account of what these others had introduced in the correct historical succession.

Chap. xx. â€” Of the question as to the consistency of the several notices given by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, on the subject of the astonishment felt by the centurion and those who were with him.

5 7. Matthew proceeds thus: "And the earth did quake, and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after the resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." * There is no reason to fear that these facts, which have been related only by Matthew, may appear to be inconsistent with the narratives presented by any one of the rest. The same evangelist then continues as follows:

"Now when the centurion, and they that were with him watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God." 2 Mark offers this version: "And when the centurion which stood over against Him saw that He so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this was the Son of God." 3 Luke's report runs thus: "Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man." 4 Here Matthew says that it was when they saw the earthquake that the centurion and those who were with him were thus astonished, whereas Luke represents the man's amazement to have been drawn forth by the fact that Jesus uttered such a cry, and then gave up the ghost; thus making it clear how He had it in His own power to determine the time for His dying. But this involves no discrepancy. For I the said Matthew not only tells us how the centurion "saw the
earthquake," but also appends the words, " and those things that were done," he has indicated that there was room enough for Luke to represent the Lord's death as itself the

1 Matt, xxvii. 51-53. 2 Matt, xxvii. 54.

1 Mark xv. 39. 4 Luke xxiii. 47.

436 THE HAKMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

thing which called forth the centurion's wonder. For that event is also one of the things which were done in so marvellous a manner then. At the same time, even although Matthew had not added any such statement, it would still have been perfectly legitimate to suppose, that as many astonishing things did take place at that time, and as the centurion and those who were with him may well have looked upon them all with amazement, the historians were at liberty to select for narration any particular incident which they were severally disposed to instance as the subject of the man's wonder. And it would not be fair to impeach them with inconsistency, simply because one of them may have specified one occurrence as the immediate cause of the centurion's amazement, while another introduces a different incident. For all these events together had really been matters for the man's astonishment. Again, the mere fact that one evangelist tells us that the centurion said, " Truly this was the Son of God," while another informs us that the words were, " Truly this man was the Son of God," will create no difficulty to any one who has retained some recollection of the numerous statements and discussions bearing upon similar cases, which have already been given above. For these different versions of the words both convey precisely the same sense; and although one writer introduces the word " man" while another does not, that implies no kind of contradiction. A greater appearance of discrepancy may be supposed to be created by the circumstance, that the words which Luke reports the centurion to have uttered are not " This was the Son of God," but " This was a righteous man." But we ought to suppose either that both things were actually said by the centurion, and that two of the evangelists have recorded the one expression, and the third the other; or else perhaps that it was Luke's intention to bring out the exact idea which the centurion had in view when he said that Jesus was the Son of God. For it may be the case that the centurion did not really understand Him to be the Only-begotten, equal with the Father; but that he called Him the Son of God simply because he believed Him to be a righteous man, as many righteous men have been named sons of God. Moreover, when Luke says, " Now

CHAP. XXI. THE WOMEN NEAR THE CROSS. 437

when the centurion saw what was done," he has really used terms which cover all the marvellous things which occurred on that occasion, commemorating a single deed of
wonder, so to speak, of which all those miraculous incidents were, as we may say, members and parts. But, once more, as regards the circumstance that Matthew has also referred to those who were with the centurion, while the others have left these parties unnoticed, to whom will this not explain itself on the well-understood principle that there is no contradiction necessarily involved in the mere fact that one writer records what another passes by without mention? And, finally, as to Matthew's having told us that "they feared greatly," while Luke has said nothing about the man being afraid, but has informed us that "he glorified God," who can fail to understand that he glorified [God] just by the fear which he exhibited?

Chap. xxi. â€” Of the women who were standing there, and of the question whether Matthew, Mark, and Luke, who have stated that they stood afar off, are in antagonism with John, who has mentioned that one of them stood by the cross.

58. Matthew proceeds thus: "And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee: among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of Zebedee's children." * Mark gives it in this form: "There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the Less and of Joseph, and Salome (who also, when He was in Galilee, followed Him, and ministered unto Him); and many other women which came up with Him unto Jerusalem." 2 I see nothing which can be supposed to constitute a discrepancy between these writers here. For in what way can the truth be affected by the fact that some of these women are named in both lists, while others are referred to only in the one? Luke has likewise connected his narrations as follows: "And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned. And all His acquaintance and the women that followed Him from Galilee stood afar off behold-

1 Matt, xxvii. 55, 56. 2 Mark xv. 40, 41.

438 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

ing these things." 1 Here we perceive that he is quite in harmony with the former two as far as regards the presence of the women, although he does not mention any of them by name. On the subject of the multitude of people who were also present, and who, as they beheld the things which were done, smote their breasts and returned, he is in like manner at one with Matthew, although that evangelist has introduced into the context this distinct statement: "Now the centurion and they that were with him." Thus it simply appears that Luke is the only one who has spoken expressly of His acquaintance who stood afar off. For John has also noticed the presence of the women before the Lord gave up the ghost. His narrative runs thus: "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw His mother, and the disciple standing by whom He loved, He saith unto His mother,
Woman, behold thy son! Then saith He to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." 2 Now, as regards this statement, had not Matthew and Mark at the same time mentioned Mary Magdalene most explicitly by name, it might have been possible for us to say that there was one company of women afar off, and another near the cross. For none of these writers has mentioned the Lord's mother here but John himself. The question, therefore, which rises now is this, How can we understand the same Mary Magdalene both to have stood afar off along with other women, as the accounts of Matthew and Mark bear, and to have been by the cross, as John tells us, unless it be the case that these women were at such a distance as made it quite legitimate to say at once that they were near, because they were at hand there in the sight of Him, and also afar off in comparison with the crowd of people who were standing round about in closer vicinity along with the centurion and the soldiers? It is open for us, then, to suppose that those women who were present at the scene along with the Lord's mother, after He commended her to the disciple, began then to retire with the view of extricating themselves from the dense mass of people, and of looking on


CHAP. XXII. — JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA. 439

at what remained to be done from a greater distance. And in this way the rest of the evangelists, who have introduced their notices of these women only after the Lord's death, have properly reported them to be standing by that time afar off.

Chap. xxii. â€” Of the question whether the evangelists are all at one on the subject of the narrative regarding Joseph, who begged the Lord's body from Pilate, and whether John's version contains any statements at variance with each other.

59. Matthew proceeds as follows: "Now when the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple: he went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered." * Mark presents it in this form: " And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable councillor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus. And Pilate marvelled if He were already dead: and, calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether He had been any while dead. And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph." 2 Luke's report runs in these terms: " And, behold, there was a man named Joseph, a councillor; and he was a good man, and a just (the same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them): he was of Arimathea, a city of the Jews: who also himself waited for the kingdom of God. This man went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus." 3 John, on the other hand, first narrates the breaking of the legs of those who had been crucified with the Lord, and the piercing of the Lord's side with the lance (which whole passage has been recorded by him alone), and then subjoins a statement which is of the same tenor with what is given by the
other evangelists. It proceeds in these terms: "And after this, Joseph of Arimathea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus." 4 There is nothing here to give any

1 Matt, xxvii. 57, 58. 2 Mark xv. 42-45.
3 Luke xxiii. 50-52. 4 John xix. 38.

440 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

one of them the appearance of being in antagonism with another. But some one may perhaps ask whether John is not inconsistent with himself, when he at once unites with the rest in telling us how Joseph begged the body of Jesus, and comes forward as the only one who states here that Joseph had been a disciple of Jesus secretly for fear of the Jews. For the question may reasonably be raised as to how it happened that the man who had been a disciple secretly for fear had the courage to beg His body — a thing which not one of those who were His open followers was bold enough to do. We must understand, however, that this man did so in the confidence which his dignified position gave him, the possession of which rendered it possible for him to make his way on familiar terms into Pilate's presence. And we must suppose, further, that in the performance of that last service relating to the interment, he cared less for the Jews, however he tried in ordinary circumstances, when hearing the Lord, to avoid exposing himself to their enmity.

Chap, xxiii. Of the question whether the first three evangelists are quite in harmony with John in the accounts given of His burial.

60. Matthew proceeds thus: "And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed." 1 Mark's version is as follows: "And he bought fine linen, and took Him down, and wrapped Him in the linen, and laid Him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre." 2 Luke reports it in those terms: "And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid." 3 So far as these three narratives are concerned, no allegation of a want of harmony can possibly be raised. John, however, tells us that the burial of the Lord was attended to not only by Joseph, but also by M codemus. For he begins with M codemus in due connection with what precedes, and goes on with his narrative as follows: "And there came also M codemus (which at the first came to Jesus by night), and brought a mixture of myrrh

1 Matt, xxvii. 59, 60. 2 Mark xv. 46. 3 Luke xxiii. 53.
and aloes, about an hundred pound weight." l Then, introducing Joseph again at this point, he continues in these terms:  
"Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. 
Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand." 2 But there is really as little ground for supposing any discrepancy here as there was in the former case, if we take a correct view of the statement. For those evangelists who have left Nicodemus unnoticed have not affirmed that the Lord was buried by Joseph alone, although he is the only one introduced into their records. Neither does the fact, that these three are all at one in informing us how the Lord was wrapped in the linen cloth by Joseph, preclude us from entertaining the idea that other linen stuffs may have been brought by Nicodemus, and added to what was given by Joseph, so that John may be perfectly correct in his narrative, especially as what he tells us is that the Lord was wrapped not in a linen cloth, but in linen clothes. At the same time, when we take into account the handkerchief which was used for the head, and the bandages with which the whole body was swathed, and consider that all these were made of linen, we can see how, even although there was really but a single linen cloth [of the kind referred to by the first three evangelists] there, it could still have been stated with the most perfect truth that "they wound Him in linen clothes." For the phrase, linen clothes, is one applied generally to all textures made of flax.

Chap. xxiv. — Of the absence of all discrepancies in the narratives constructed by the four evangelists on the subject of the events which took place about the time of the Lord's resurrection.

61. Matthew proceeds thus: "And there was there Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre." : This is given by Mark as follows: "And Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Joseph, beheld where He was laid." 4 So far it is evident that there is no kind of inconsistency between the accounts.

'John xix. 39. 2 John xix. 40-42. 3 Matt, xxvii. 61. 4 Mark xv. 47.

442 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [1300K III.

62. Matthew continues in these terms: "Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we
have remembered that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: so the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch: go your way, make it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch." 1 This narrative is given only by Matthew. Nothing, however, is stated by any of the others which can have the appearance of contrariety.

63. Again, the same Matthew carries on his recital as follows: " Now, in the evening of the Sabbath, 2 when it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, 3 came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. And his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay: And go quickly, and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead: and, behold, He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see Him: lo, I have told you." 4 Mark is in harmony with this. It is possible, however, that some difficulty may be felt in the circumstance that, according to Matthew's version, the stone was already rolled away from the sepulchre, and the angel was sitting upon it. For Mark tells us that the women entered into the sepulchre, and there saw a young man sitting on the right side, covered

1 Matt, xxvii. 62-66. 2 Vespere autem Sabbati.

3 The editions often give, in prima Sabbati = on the first day of the week. The best mss. read, as above, in primam, etc.

4 Matt, xxviii. 1-7.

CHAP. XXIV.] THE ANGELS AT THE TOMB. 443

with a long white garment, and that they were affrighted. 1 But the explanation may be, that Matthew has simply said nothing about the angel whom they saw when they entered into the sepulchre, and that Mark has said nothing about the one whom they saw sitting outside upon the stone. In this way they would have seen two angels, and have got two separate angelic reports relating to Jesus, â€” namely, first one from the angel whom they saw sitting outside upon the stone, and then another from the angel whom they saw sitting on the right side when they entered into the sepulchre. Thus, too, the injunction given them by the angel who was sitting outside, and which was conveyed in the words, " Come, and see the place where the Lord lay," would have served to encourage them to go within the tomb; on coming to which, as has been said,
and venturing within it, we may suppose them to have seen the angel concerning whom Matthew tells us nothing, but of whom Mark discourses, sitting on the right side, from whom also they heard things of like tenor to those they had previously listened to. Or if this explanation is not satisfactory, we ought certainly to accept the theory that, as they entered into the sepulchre, they came within a section of the ground where, it is reasonable to suppose, a certain space had been by that time securely enclosed, extending a little distance in front of the rock which had been cut out in order to construct the place of sepulture; so that, according to this view, what they really beheld was the one angel sitting on the right side, in the space thus referred to, which same angel Matthew also represents to have been sitting upon the stone which he had rolled away from the mouth of the tomb when the earthquake took place, that is to say, from the place which had been dug out in the rock for a sepulchre.

64. It may also be asked how it is that Mark says: "And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they anything to any man; for they were afraid; " 2 whereas Matthew's statement is in these terms: " And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy, and did run to bring His disciples word." 3 The explanation, however, may be that the

1 Mark xvi. 5. 3 Mark xvi. 8. 3 Matt, xxviii. 8.

444 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

women did not venture to tell either of the angels themselves, â€” that is, they had not courage enough to say anything in reply to what they had heard from the angels. Or, indeed, it may be that they were not bold enough to speak to the guards whom they saw lying there; for the joy which Matthew mentions is not inconsistent with the fear of which Mark takes notice. Indeed, we ought to have supposed that both feelings had possession of their minds, even although Matthew himself had said nothing about the fear. But now, when this evangelist also particularizes it, saying, "They departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy," he allows nothing to remain which can occasion any question of difficulty on this subject.

65. At the same time, a question, which is not to be dealt with lightly, does arise here with respect to the exact hour at which the women came to the sepulchre. For when Matthew says, " Now, on the evening of the Sabbath, when it was dawning toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre," what are we to make of Mark's statement, which runs thus: " And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun" 1 1 It is to be observed that in this Mark states nothing inconsistent with the reports given by other two of the evangelists, namely, Luke and John. For when Luke says, " Very early in the morning," and when John puts it thus, " Early, when it was yet dark," they convey the same sense which Mark is understood to express when he says, " Very early, at the rising of the sun; " that is to say, they all refer to the
period when the heavens were now beginning to brighten in the east, which, of course, does not take place but when the sunrise is at hand. For it is the brightness which is diffused by the rising sun that is familiarly designated by the name of the dawn. Consequently, Mark does not contradict the other evangelist who uses the phrase, "When it was yet dark;" for as the day breaks, what remains of the darkness [of the night] passes away just in proportion as the sun continues to rise. And this phrase, "Very early in the morning," need not be taken to mean that the sun itself was

1 Mark xvi. 2. 2 Aurorse.

CHAP. XXIV.] THE RESURRECTION-MORNING. 445

actually seen by this time [blazing] over the lands; but it is rather to be taken as like the kind of expression which we are in the habit of employing when speaking to people to whom we wish to intimate that something should be done more betimes than usual. For when we have used the term,

"Early in the morning." * if we wish to keep the persons addressed from supposing that we refer directly to the time when the sun is already conspicuously visible over earth, we usually add the word "very," and say, "very early in the morning," in order that they may clearly understand that we allude to the time which is also called the daybreak. At the same time, it is also customary for men, after the cockcrow has been repeatedly heard, and when they begin to surmise that the day is now approaching, to say, "It is now early in the morning;" and when after this they weigh their words and observe that, as the sun now rises, the sky is just beginning to redden, or to brighten, those who said, "It is early in the morning," then amplify their expression and say, "It is very early in the morning." But what does it matter, provided only that, whichever method of explanation be preferred, we understand that what is meant by Mark, when he uses the terms "early in the morning," is just the same as is intended by Luke when he adopts the phrase, "in the morning;" and that the whole expression employed by the former amounts to the same as that which we find in Luke namely, "very early in the dawn," and as that which is chosen by John when he says, "early, when it was yet dark"? Moreover, when Mark speaks of the "rising of the sun," he just means that by its rising the sun was now beginning to bring the light in upon the sky. But the question now is this: how can Matthew be in harmony with these three when he says neither "in the early morning" nor "early in the morning," but "in the evening of the Sabbath, when it was beginning to dawn toward the first day of the week"? This is a matter which must be
carefully investigated. Now, under that first part of the night, which is [here called] the evening, Matthew intended to refer to this particular night, at the close of which the women came to the sepulchre. And we understand his reason for so referring to the said night to have been this: that by the time of the evening it was lawful for them to bring the spices, because the Sabbath was then indeed over. Consequently, as they were hindered by the Sabbath from doing so previously, he has given a designation of the night, taken from the time at which it began to be a lawful thing for them to do what they did at any period of the same night which pleased them. Thus, therefore, the phrase "in the evening of the Sabbath" is used, as if what was said had been "in the night of the Sabbath," or in other words, in the night which follows the day of the Sabbath. The express words which he employs thus indicate this with sufficient clearness. For his terms are these: "Now, in the evening of the Sabbath, when it began to dawn toward the first day of the week; " and that could not be the case if what we had to understand to be denoted by the mention of the evening was simply the first short space of the night, or in other words, only the beginning of the night. For what can be said "to begin to dawn toward the first day of the week " is not explicitly the beginning [of the night], but the night itself, as it commences to be brought to its close by the advance of the light. For the terminus of the first part of the night is just the beginning of the second part, but the terminus of the whole night is the light. Hence we could not speak of the evening as dawning toward the first day of the week unless under the term evening we should understand the night itself to be meant, which, as a whole, is brought to its close by the light. It is also a familiar method of speech in divine Scripture to express the whole under the part; and thus, under the word evening here, the evangelist has denoted the whole night, which finds its extreme point in the dawn. 1 For it was in the dawn that those women came to the sepulchre; and in this way they really came on the night, which is here indicated by the term evening. For, as I have said, the night as a whole is denoted by that word; consequently, at whatever

CHAP. XXIV.] CHKIST'S THREE DAYS IN THE STATE OF DEATH. 447

period of that night they might have come, they certainly did come in the said night. And, accordingly, if they came at the latest point in that night, it is still unquestionably the case
that they did come in the said night. But it could not be said to be on "the evening, when it began to dawn toward the first day of the week," unless the night as a whole can be understood under that expression. Accordingly, the women who came in the night referred to, came in the evening specified. And if they came at any period, even the latest during that night, they surely came in the night itself.

66. For the space of three days, which elapsed between the Lord's death and resurrection, cannot be correctly understood except in the light of that form of expression according to which the part is dealt with as the whole. 1 For He said Himself, "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." 2 Now, in whichever way we reckon the times, whether from the point when He yielded up the ghost, or from the date of His burial, the sum does not come out clearly, unless we take the intermediate day, that is to say, the Sabbath, as a complete day â€” in other words, a full day along with its night, â€” and, on the other hand, understand those days between which that one intervenes â€” that is to say, the day of the preparation and the first day of the week, which we designate the Lord's day â€” to be dealt with on the principle of the part standing for the whole. For of what avail is it that some, hard pressed by these difficulties, and not knowing the very large part which the mode of expression referred to â€” namely, that which takes the part as the whole â€” plays in the matter of solving the problems presented in the Holy Scriptures, have struck out the idea of reckoning as a distinct night those three hours, namely, from the sixth hour to the ninth, during which the sun was darkened, and as a distinct day the other three hours, during which the sun was restored again to the lands, that is to say, from the ninth hour on to its setting? For the night

1 A sentence is sometimes added here in the editions, namely, Nine magna redditur ratio verbi Domini = hence a large account is given of the Lord's word. It is omitted in the mss. 2 Matt. xii. 40.

448 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

connected with the coming Sabbath follows, and if we compute it along with its day, there will then be two days and two nights. But, further, after the Sabbath there comes in the night connected with the first day of the week, that is to say, with the dawning of the Lord's day, which was the time when the Lord arose. Consequently, the result to which this mode of calculation leads us will be just two days and two nights, and one night, even supposing it possible to take the last as a complete night, and taking it for granted that we were not to show that the said dawn was in reality the ultimate portion of the same. Thus it would appear that, even although we were to compute these six hours in that fashion, during three of which the sun was darkened, and during the other three of which it shone forth again, we would not establish a satisfactory reckoning of three days
and three nights. In accordance, therefore, with the usage which meets us so frequently in
the language of the Scriptures, and which deals with the part as the whole, it remains for
us to hold the time of the preparation to constitute the day at the one extremity, 1 on
which the Lord was crucified and buried, and, from that limit, to find one whole day
along with its night which was fully spent. In this way, too, we must take the intermediate
member, that is to say, the day of the Sabbath, not as calculated simply from the part, but
as a really complete day. The third day, again, must be computed from its first part; that
is to say, calculating from the night, we must look upon it as making up a whole day
when its day-portion is connected with it. Thus we shall get a space of three days, on the
analogy of a case already considered, namely, those eight days after which the Lord went
up into a mountain; with respect to which period we find that Matthew and Mark, fixing
their attention simply on the complete days intervening, have put it thus, "After six days,"
whereas Luke's representation of the same is this, "An eight days after." a

67. Let us now proceed, therefore, to look into the rest of this passage, and see how in
other respects these statements are

1 The text gives: extremum diem tempus parasceues. One of the Vatican mss.
reads, primum diem, etc. =the first day.

2 See above, Book n. chap. 56, Â§ 113.

CHAP. XXIV.] THE ANGELS IN THE TOMB. 449

quite consistent with what is given by Matthew. Eor Luke tells us, with the utmost
plainness, that two angels were seen by those women who came to the sepulchre. One of
these angels we have understood to be referred to by each of the first two evangelists; that
is to say, one of them is noticed by Matthew, namely, the one who was sitting outside
upon the stone, and a second by Mark, namely, the one who was sitting within the
sepulchre on the right side. But Luke's version of the scene is to the following effect: "
And that day was the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on. And the women which had
come with Him from Galilee beheld the sepulchre, and how His body was laid. And they
returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the Sabbath day, according to the
commandment. Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came
unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared. 1 And they found the
stone rolled away from the sepulchre. And they entered in, and found not the body of the
Lord Jesus.

And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by
them in shining garments; and as they were afraid, and bowed down their faces to the
earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is
risen: remember how He spake unto you when He was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of
man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day
rise again. And they remembered His words.
And they returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest." 2 The question, therefore, is this, how can these angels have been seen sitting each one separately, namely, one outside upon the stone, according to Matthew, and another within upon the right side, according to Mark, if Luke’s report of the same bears that the two stood beside those women, although the words ascribed to them are similar? Well, it is still possible for us to suppose that one angel was seen by the women in the position assigned by Matthew, and in the circumstances indicated by Mark, as we have already explained. In this way, we may understand the

1 The words, "and certain others with them," are omitted here.


HARMONY. 2 F

450 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

said women to have entered into the sepulchre, that is to say, into a certain space which had been fenced off within a kind of enclosure, in such a manner that an entrance might be said to be made when they came in front of the rocky place in which the sepulchre was constructed; and there we may take them to have beheld the angel sitting upon the stone which had been rolled away from the tomb, as Matthew tells us, or in other words, the angel sitting on the right side, as Mark expresses it. And then we may further surmise that the said women, after they had gone within, and when they were looking at the place where the body of the Lord lay, saw other two angels standing, as Luke informs us, by whom they were addressed in similar terms, with a view to animate their minds and edify their faith.

68. But let us also examine John’s version, and see whether or in what manner its consistency with these others is apparent. John, then, narrates these incidents as follows: " Now the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid Him. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and they came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. And he, stooping down, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie, and the napkin, that was about His head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed. For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that He must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home. But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping:
and, as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre, and seeth two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. They say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou?

CHAP. XXIV.] MARY AT THE SEPULCHRE. 451

She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him. And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing Him to be the gardener, saith unto Him, Sir, if thou have borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto Him, Eabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God. Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that He had spoken these things unto her." 1 In the narrative thus given by John, the statement of the day or time when the sepulchre was come to agrees with the accounts presented by the rest. Again, in the report of two angels who were seen, he is also at one with Luke. But when we observe how the one evangelist tells us that these angels were seen standing, while the other says that they were sitting; when we notice, also, that there are certain other things which are left unrecorded by these two writers; and, further, when we consider how questions are thus raised regarding the possibility of proving the consistency of the one set of historians with the other on these subjects, and of fixing the order in which those said things took place, â€” we see that, unless we submit the whole to a careful examination, there may easily appear to be contradictions here between the several narratives.

69. This being the case, therefore, let us, so far as the Lord may help us, take all these incidents, which took place about the time of the Lord's resurrection, as they are brought before us in the statements of all the evangelists together, and let us arrange them in one connected narrative, which will exhibit them precisely as they may have actually occurred. It was in the early morning of the first day of the week, as all the evangelists are at one in attesting, that the women came to the sepulchre. By that time, all that is recorded by Matthew

1 John xx. 1-18.

452 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

alone had already taken place; that is to say, in regard to the quaking of the earth, and the rolling away of the stone, and the terror of the guards, with which they were so stricken,
that in some part they lay like dead men. Then, as John informs us, came Mary Magdalene, who unquestionably was surpassingly more ardent in her love than these other women 1 who had ministered to the Lord; so that it was not unreasonable in John to make mention of her alone, leaving those others unnamed, who, however, were along with her, as we gather from the reports given by others of the evangelists. She came accordingly; and when she saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre, without pausing to make any more minute investigation, and never doubting but that the body of Jesus had been removed from the tomb, she ran, as the same John states, and told the state of matters to Peter and to John himself. For John is himself that disciple whom Jesus loved. They then set out running to the sepulchre; and John, reaching the spot first, stooped down and saw the linen clothes lying, but he did not go within. But Peter followed up, and went into the sepulchre, and saw the linen clothes lie, and the napkin, which had been about His head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.

Then John entered also, and saw in like manner, and believed what Mary had told him, namely, that the Lord had been taken away from the sepulchre.

"For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that He must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again unto their own home. But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping," 2 - â€” that is to say, before the place in the rock in which the sepulchre was constructed, but at the same time within that space into which they had now entered; for there was a garden there, as the same John mentions. 3 Then they saw the angel sitting on the right side, upon the stone which was rolled away from the sepulchre; of which angel both Matthew and Mark discourse. " Then he said unto

1 The text follows the mss. in reading sine dubio cceteris mulieribus . . . plurimum dilectione ferventior. Some editions insert cum before cceteris mulieribus; in which ease the sense would be = Mary Magdalene, unquestionably accompanied by the other women who had ministered to the Lord, but herself more ardent, etc.

2 John xx. 9, 10. 3 John xix. 41.

CHAP. XXIV.] MARY AT THE SEPULCHRE. 453

them, Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay; and go quickly, and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead; and, behold, He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see Him: lo, I have told you." 1 In Mark we also find a passage similar in tenor to the above. At these words, Mary, still weeping, bent down and looked forwards into the sepulchre, and beheld the two angels, who are introduced to us in John's narrative, sitting in white raiment, one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had been deposited. "They say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." 2 Here we are to suppose the angels to have risen up, so that they could be seen standing, as
Luke states that they were seen, and then, according to the narrative of the same Luke, to have addressed the women, as they were afraid and bowed down their faces to the earth. The terms were these: "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen: remember how He spake unto you when He was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise. And they remembered His words." 3 It was after this that, as we learn from John, "Mary turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing Him to be the gardener, saith unto Him, Sir, if thou have borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto Him, Eabboni; which is to say, Master. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God." 4 Then she departed from the sepulchre, that is to say, from the ground where there was space for the garden in front of the stone which had been dug out. Along with

1 Matt, xxviii. 5-7. 2 John xx. 13.


454 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

lier there were also those other women, who, as Mark tells "us, were surprised with fear and trembling. And they told nothing to any one. At this point we next take up what Matthew has recorded in the following passage: "Behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail! And they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him." 1 For thus we gather that, on coming to the sepulchre, they were twice addressed by the angels; and, again, that they were also twice addressed by the Lord Himself, namely, at the point at which Mary took Him to be the gardener, and a second time at present, when He meets them on the way, with a view to strengthen them by such a repetition, and to bring them out of their state of fear. "Then, accordingly, said He unto them, Be not afraid: go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me." 2 "Then came Mary Magdalene, and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that He had spoken these things unto her;" 3 â€” not herself alone, however, but with her also those other women to whom Luke alludes when he says, "Which told these things unto the eleven disciples, and all the rest. And their words seemed to them like madness, and they believed them not." 4 Mark also attests these facts; for, after telling us how the women went out from the sepulchre, trembling and amazed, and said nothing to any man, he subjoins the statement, that the Lord rose early the first day of the week, and appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom He had cast seven devils, and that she went and told them who had been with Him, as they mourned and wept, and that they, when they heard that He was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not. It is further to be observed, that Matthew has also introduced a notice to the effect that, as the women who
had seen and heard all these things were going away, there came likewise into the city some of the guards who had been lying like dead men, and that these persons reported to the chief priests all the things that were done, that is to say, those of them which they were themselves also in a position to observe. He tells us, moreover, that when they were assembled with the elders and

1 Matt, xxviii. 9. 2 Matt, xxviii. 10.
3 John xx. 18. 4 Luke xxiv. 10, 11.

CHAP. XXV.] THE APPEARANCES OF THE RISEN LORD. 455

had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers, and bade them say that His disciples came and stole Him away while they slept, promising at the same time to secure them against the governor, who had given those guards. Finally, he adds that they took the money, and did as they had been taught, and that this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day. 1

Chap. xxv. å” Of Christ' s subsequent manifestations of Himself to the disciples, and of the question whether a thorough harmony can be established between the different narratives when the notices given by the four several evangelists, as well as those presented by the Apostle Paul and in the Acts of the Apostles, are compared together.

70. We must take up the consideration of the manner in which the Lord showed Himself to the disciples after His resurrection, and that with the view not only of bringing out clearly the consistency of the four evangelists with each other on these subjects, but also of exhibiting their agreement with the Apostle Paul, who discourses of the theme in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. The statement by the latter runs in the following terms: "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: 2 after that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this day, but some are fallen asleep. After that, He was seen of James; then of all the apostles. And last of all He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." 3 Now this succession of the appearances is one which has been given by none of the evangelists.

Hence we must examine whether the order which they have put on record does not stand in antagonism to this. For neither has Paul related all, nor have the evangelists included everything in their reports. And the real subject for our investigation, therefore, is the question, whether, among the incidents which do come under our notice in these various narratives, there is anything fitted to establish a discrepancy

1 Matt, xxviii. 11-15. 2 Some editions read undecim = the eleven.
between the writers. Now Luke is the only one among the four evangelists who omits to tell us how the Lord was seen by the women, and confines his statement to the appearance of the angels. Matthew, again, informs us that He met them as they were returning from the sepulchre. Mark likewise mentions that He appeared first to Mary Magdalene; as also does John. Only Mark does not state how He manifested Himself to her, while John does give us an explanation of that. Moreover, Luke not only passes by in silence the fact that He showed Himself to the women, as I have already remarked, but also reports that two disciples, one of whom was Cleophas, talked with Him, before they recognised Him, in a strain which seems to imply that the women had related no other appearance seen by them than that of the angels who told them that He was alive. For Luke's narrative proceeds thus: "And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs. And they talked together of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass that, while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus Himself drew near, and went with them. But their eyes were hoi den, that they should not know Him. And He said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad? And the one of them, whose name was Cleophas, answering, said unto Him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days? And He said unto them, What things? And they said unto Him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people; and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered Him to be condemned to death, and have crucified Him. But we trusted that it had been He that should have redeemed Israel: and besides all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done. Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; and when they found not His body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that He was alive. And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre,

and found it even so as the women said; but Him they saw not." 2 All these things they relate, according to Luke's narrative, just as they were able to command their recollections and bethink themselves of what had been reported to them by the women, or by the disciples who had run to the sepulchre when the intelligence was conveyed to them that His body had been removed from the place. It is at the same time true that Luke himself reports only Peter to have run to the tomb, and there to have stooped down and seen the linen clothes laid by themselves, and then to have departed,
wondering in himself at that which was come to pass. This notice about Peter, moreover, is introduced previous to the narrative of these two disciples whom He found on the way, and subsequently to the story of the women who had seen the angels, and who had heard from them that Jesus had risen again; so that this position might seem to mark the period at which Peter ran to the sepulchre. But still we must suppose that Luke has inserted the passage about Peter here in the form, of a recapitulation. For the time when Peter ran to the sepulchre was also the time when John ran to it; and at that point all that they had heard was simply the statement conveyed to them by the women, and in particular by Mary Magdalene, to the effect that the body had been carried away. Furthermore, the period at which the said woman brought such tidings was just the occasion when she saw the stone rolled away from the sepulchre. And it was at a later point that these other things occurred, connected with the vision of the angels, and the appearance of the Lord Himself, who showed Himself twice over to the women, namely, once at the sepulchre, and a second time when He met them as they were returning from the tomb. This, however, took place previous to His being seen by those two upon the journey, one of whom was Cleophas. For, when this Cleophas was talking with the Lord, before he recognised who He was, he did not say expressly that Peter had gone to the sepulchre. But his words were these: "Certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women said;"

1 Another reading occurs here, non invenerunt = Him they found not.


458 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

which last statement is also to be understood as introduced in the form of a recapitulation. For the reference is to the report brought first of all by the women to Peter and John about the removal of the body. And thus, when Luke here informs us that Peter ran to the sepulchre, and also states how Cleophas mentioned that some of those who were with them went to the tomb, he is to be taken as attesting John's account, which bears that two persons proceeded to the sepulchre. But Luke has specified Peter alone in the first instance, just because it was to him that Mary had brought the earliest tidings. A difficulty, however, may also be felt in the circumstance that the same Luke does not say that Peter entered, but only that he stooped down and saw the linen clothes laid by themselves, and that thereupon he departed, wondering in himself; whereas John intimates that it was rather himself (for he is the disciple whom Jesus loved)
that looked at the scene in this fashion, not going within the sepulchre, which he was the first to reach, but simply bending down and beholding the linen clothes laid in their place; although he also adds that he did enter the tomb afterwards.

The explanation, therefore, is simply this, that Peter at first did stoop down and look in after the fashion which Luke specifies, but to which John makes no allusion; and that he went actually in somewhat later, but still before John entered.

And in this way we shall find that all these writers have given a true account of what occurred in terms which betray no discrepancies.

71. Taking, then, not only the reports presented by the four evangelists, but also the statement given by the Apostle Paul, we shall endeavour to bring the whole into a single connected narrative, and exhibit the order in which all these incidents may have taken place, comprehending all the Lord's appearances to the male disciples, and leaving out His earlier declarations to the women. Now, in the entire number of the men, Peter is understood to be the one to whom Christ showed Himself first. At least, this holds good so far as regards all the individuals who are actually mentioned by the four evangelists, and by the Apostle Paul. But, at the same time, who would be bold enough either to affirm or to deny that He
whom Luke presents us with a complete narrative, while Mark gives us only a very brief notice. The

1 The text has, Sive alios quosdam duodecim discipidos Paulus, etc. In the mss. other reading is found: Sive alios quosdam duodecim apostolus, etc. = it may be that the Apostle Paul intended some other twelve to be understood, etc.

2 For sacratum ilium numerum, five mss. give sacramentum illim numeri = the mystical symbol of that number.


460 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

latter evangelist 1 reports the same incident in these concise terms: "And after that He appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked and went to a country-seat." 2 For it is not unreasonable for us to suppose that the place of residence 3 referred to may also have been styled a country-seat; 4 just as Bethlehem itself, which formerly was called a city, is even at the present time also named a village, although its honour has now been made so much the greater since the name of this Lord, who was born in it, has been proclaimed so extensively throughout the Churches of all nations. In the Greek codices, indeed, the reading which we discover is rather estate 5 than country-seat. But that term was employed not only of residences, 6 but also of free towns 7 and colonies beyond the city, which is the head and mother of the rest, and is therefore called the metropolis.

72. Again, if Mark tells us that the Lord appeared to these persons in another form, Luke refers to the same when he says that their eyes were holden, that they should not know Him. For something had come upon their eyes which was suffered to remain until the breaking of the bread, in reference to a well-known mystery, so that only then was the different form in Him made visible to them, and they did not recognise Him, as is shown by Luke's narrative, until the breaking of the bread took place. And thus, in apt accordance with the state of their minds, which were still ignorant of the truth, that it behoved Christ to die and rise again, their eyes sustained something of a similar order; not, indeed, that the truth itself proved misleading, but that they were themselves incompetent to perceive the truth, and thought of the matter as something else than it was. The deeper significance of all which is this, that no one should consider himself to have attained the knowledge of Christ, if he is not a member in His body â€” that is to say, in His Church â€” the unity of which is commended to our notice under the sacramental symbol of the bread by an apostle, when he says: "We being many are one bread and one body." 8 So was it that, when He handed to

1 Mark xvi. 12. 2 In villain. 3 Castellum. 4 Villam.
5 Agrum = field, domain, as the equivalent for xypev. 6 Castella.

7 Municipia. 8 1 Cor. x. 17.

CHAP. XXV.] THE BREAKING OF BREAD. 461

them the bread which He had blessed, their eyes were opened, and they recognised Him, that is to say, their eyes were opened for such knowledge of Him, in so far as the impediment was now removed which had prevented them from recognising Him. For certainly they were not walking with closed eyes. But there was something in them which debared them from seeing correctly what was in their view, â€” a state of matters, indeed, which is the familiar result of darkness, or of a certain kind of humour. It is not meant by this, however, that the Lord could not alter the form of His flesh, so that His figure might be literally and actually different, and not the one which they were in the habit of beholding. For, indeed, even before His passion, He was transfigured on the mount so that His countenance did shine as the sun. 1 And He who made genuine wine out of genuine water can also transform any body whatsoever in all unquestionable reality into any other kind of body which may please Him. But what is meant is, that He had not acted so when He appeared in another form unto those two individuals. For He did not appear to be what He was 2 to these men, because their eyes were holden, so that they should not know Him. Moreover, not unsuitably may we suppose that this impediment in their eyes came from Satan, with the view of precluding their recognition of Jesus. But, nevertheless, permission that it should be so was given by Christ on to the point at which the mystery of the bread was taken up. And thus the lesson might be, that it is when we become participants in the unity of His body, that we are to understand the impediment of the adversary to be removed, and liberty to be given us to know Christ.

73. Besides, it is necessary to believe that these were the same persons to whom Mark also refers. For he informs us, that they went and told these things to the rest: just as Luke states, that the persons in question rose up the same hour and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together,

1 Matt. xvii. 2.

2 The text gives, Ifoe enim sicut erat, apparuit, etc. Some editions make it non enim aliter quam erat, sed sicut erat apparuit = for He did not really assume another form, but appeared in that which He had.

462 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

and them that were with them, saying, " The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." 1 And then he adds that these two also told what things were done on the way,
and how He was known of them in breaking of bread. 2 By this time, therefore, a report of the resurrection of Jesus had been conveyed by those women, and also by Simon Peter, to whom He had already shown Himself. For these two disciples found those to whom they came in Jerusalem talking of that very subject. Consequently, it may be the case that fear made them decline mentioning formerly, when they were on the way, that they had heard that He had risen again, so that they confined themselves to stating how the angels had been seen by the women. For, not knowing with whom they were conversing, they might reasonably be anxious not to let any word drop from them on the subject of Christ's resurrection, lest they should fall into the hands of the Jews. But again, we must remark that Mark states that "they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them:" 3 whereas Luke tells us that these others were already saying that the Lord was risen indeed, and had appeared unto Simon. Is not the explanation, however, simply this, that there were some of them there who refused to credit what was related? Moreover, to whom can it fail to be clear that Mark has just omitted certain matters which are fully set forth in Luke's narrative, â€’ that is to say, the subjects of the conversation which Jesus had with them before He recognised them, and the manner in which they came to know Him in the breaking of the bread? For, after recording how He appeared to them in another form, as they went towards a country-seat, Mark has immediately appended the sentence," And they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them;" as if men could tell of a person whom they had not recognised, or as if those to whom He had appeared only in another form could know Him! Without doubt, therefore, Mark has simply given us no explanation of the way in which they came to know Him, so as to be able to report the same to others. And this, then, is a thing which deserves to be imprinted on our memory, in order that we may accustom ourselves to keep


CHAP. XXV.] THE EISEN LOED WITH THE DISCIPLES. 463

in view the habit which these evangelists have of passing over those matters which they do not put on record, and of connecting the facts which they do relate in such a manner that, among those who fail to give due consideration to the usage referred to, nothing proves itself a more fruitful source of misapprehension than this, leading them to imagine the existence of discrepancies in the sacred writers.

74. Luke next proceeds with his narrative in the following terms: "And as they thus spake, Jesus Himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you: it is I; be not afraid. 1 But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit. And He said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have. And when He had thus spoken, He showed them His hands and His feet." 2 It is to this act, by which the Lord showed
Himself after His resurrection, that John is also understood to refer when he discourses as follows:
"Then, when it was late on the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when He had so said, He showed unto them His hands and His side." 3 Thus, too, we may connect with these words of John certain matters which Luke reports, but which John himself omits. For Luke continues in these terms: "And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, He said unto them, Have ye here any meat? And they gave Him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. And when He had eaten before them, He took what remained, 4 and gave it unto them." 6 Again, a passage which Luke omits, but which John presents, may next be connected with these words. It is to the following effect: "Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as

1 The words Ego sum, nolite timere, are thus inserted.
* Et cum manducasset coram eis, sumens reliquias dedit eia.

464 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." 1 Once more, we may attach to the above section another which John has left out, but which Luke inserts. It runs thus: "And He said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me. Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things. And I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be endued with power from on high." 2

Observe, then, how Luke has here referred to that promise of the Holy Spirit which we do not elsewhere find made by the Lord, save in John's Gospel. 3 And this deserves something more than a passing notice, in order that we may bear in mind how the evangelists attest each other's truth, even on subjects which some of them may not themselves record, but which they nevertheless know to have been reported. After these matters, Luke passes over in silence all else that happened, and introduces nothing into his narrative beyond the occasion when Jesus ascended into heaven. And at the same time he appends this [statement of the ascension], just as if it followed immediately upon these
words which the Lord spake, at the same time with those other transactions on the first
day of the week, that is to say, on the day on which the Lord rose again; whereas, in the
Acts of the Apostles, 4 the self-same Luke tells us that the event really took place on the
fortieth day after His resurrection. Finally, as regards the fact that John states that the
Apostle Thomas was not present with these others on the occasion under review,
whereas, according

1 John xx. 20-23. 2 Luke xxiv. 44-49.


CHAP. XXV.] THE RISEN LORD WITH THE DISCIPLES. 465
to Luke, the two disciples, of whom Cleophas was one, returned to Jerusalem., and found
the eleven assembled and those who were with them, it admits of little doubt that we
must suppose Thomas simply to have left the company before the Lord showed Himself
to the brethren when they were talking in the terms noticed above.

75. This being the case, John now records a second manifestation of Himself, which was
vouchsafed by the Lord to the disciples eight days after, on which occasion Thomas also
was present, who had not seen Him up to that time. The narrative proceeds thus: "And
after eight days again His disciples were within, and Thomas with them. Then came
Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then
saith He to Thomas, Each hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy
hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing. Thomas answered and
said unto Him, My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast
seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." 1
This second appearance of the Lord among the disciples â€” that is to say, the appearance
which John records in the second instance â€” we might also recognise as alluded to by
Mark in a section concisely disposing of it, according to that evangelist's habit. A
difficulty, however, is created by the circumstance that his terms are these: "Lastly, 2 He
appeared unto those eleven as they sat at meat." 3 The difficulty does not lie in the mere
fact that John says nothing about their sitting at meat, for he might well have omitted
that: but it does rest in the use of the word lastly, for that makes it seem as if He did not
show Himself to them after that occasion, whereas John still proceeds to record a third
appearance of the Lord by the sea of Tiberias. And then we have to keep in view the fact
that the same Mark tells us how Jesus "upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness
of heart, because they believed not them which had seen Him after He was risen."
In these words he refers to the two disciples to whom He appeared after He was risen, as
they went toward a countryseat, and to Peter, to whom the examination of Luke's narro-

1 John xx. 26-29. 2 Novissime. 3 Mark xvi. 14.

HARMONY. 2 G
tive has shown us that He manifested Himself first of all [among the apostles], â€” perhaps also to Mary Magdalene, and those other women who were along with her on the occasion when He was seen by them at the sepulchre, and again when He met them as they were returning on the way. For the said Mark has constructed his record in a manner which leads him first to insert his brief notice of the two disciples to whom He appeared as they went toward the country-seat, and of their giving a report to the residue and obtaining no credit, and then to subjoin in the immediate connection this statement: "Lastly, He appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen Him after He was risen." How, then, is this phrase "lastly" used, as if they did not see Him subsequently to this occasion? For the last time that the apostles saw the Lord upon the earth was really the time when He ascended into heaven, and that event took place on the fortieth day after His resurrection.

Now, is it likely that He would upbraid them at that period on the ground that they had not believed those who had seen Him after He was risen, when by that time they had seen Him themselves so often after His resurrection, and especially when they had seen Him on the very day of His resurrection, â€” â€” that is to say, on the first day of the week, when it was now about night, as Luke and John record? It remains for us, therefore, to suppose that, in the passage under review, it was Mark's intention to give a statement, in his own concise fashion, simply on the subject of the said day of the Lord's resurrection; that is to say, that first day of the week on which Mary and the other women who were along with her saw Him after daybreak, on which also Peter beheld Him, on which likewise He appeared to the two disciples, of whom Cleophas was one, and to whom Mark himself also seems to refer; on which, further, when it was now about night, He showed Himself to the eleven (Thomas, however, being excepted) and those who were with them; and on which, finally, the persons already instanced reported to the disciples the things which they had seen. Hence it is that he has employed the term "lastly" because the incident mentioned was

CHAP. XXV.] THE RISEN LORD WITH THE DISCIPLES. 467

the last that took place on this same day. For the night was now coming on by the time that the two disciples had returned from the place where they had recognised Him in the breaking of bread, and had made their way into Jerusalem and found the eleven, as Luke tells us, and those who were with them, speaking to each other about the Lord's resurrection and about His having appeared to Peter; to whom these two also related what
had occurred on the way, and how they came to know Him in the breaking of bread. But, assuredly, there were also there some who did not believe. Hence we see the truth of Mark's words, "Neither believed they them." When these, therefore, were now sitting at meat, as Mark informs us, and when they were talking of these subjects, as Luke tells us, the Lord stood in their midst, and said unto them, "Peace be unto you," as Luke and John both record. Moreover, the doors were shut when He entered among them, as John alone mentions. And thus, among the words which, as Luke and John have reported, the Lord spoke to the disciples on that occasion, this expostulation also comes in, which is instanced by Mark, and in which He upbraided them for not believing those who had seen Him after He was risen.

76. But, again, a difficulty may also be felt in understanding how Mark says that the Lord appeared to the eleven as they sat at meat, if the time referred to is really the beginning of the night of that Lord's day, as is indicated by Luke and John. For John, indeed, tells us plainly that the Apostle Thomas was not with them on that occasion; and we believe that he left them before the Lord entered among them, but after the two disciples who returned from the village had been conversing with the eleven, as we discover from Luke. Luke, it is true, presents a point in his narrative, at which we may fairly suppose, first, that Thomas went out while they were talking of these subjects, and then that the Lord came in.

Mark, however, who says, "Lastly, He appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat," compels us to admit that Thomas also was there. But it may be the case, perhaps, that he chose to style them the eleven, although one of the company was absent, because the same apostolic society was designated by this number at the time previous to the election of Matthias

4G8 THE HABMOXY OF THE GOSPELS. [LOOK III.

in the place of Judas. Or, if there is a difficulty in accepting this explanation, we may still suppose that, after the many manifestations in which He vouchsafed His presence to the disciples during the forty days, He also showed Himself on one final occasion to the eleven as they sat at meat, â€” that is to say, on the fortieth day itself; and that, as He was now on the point of leaving them and ascending into heaven, He was minded on that memorable day specially to upbraid them with their refusal to believe those who had seen Him after He had risen until they should first have seen Him themselves; and this particularly because it was the case that, when they preached the gospel subsequently to His ascension, the very Gentiles would be ready to believe what they did not see.

For, after mentioning this upbraiding, Mark at once proceeds to subjoin this passage: "And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." * If, therefore, they were charged to preach that he who believes not shall be condemned, when that indeed which he believes not is just what he has not seen, was it not meet that they should themselves first of all be thus reproved for their own refusal to
believe those to whom the Lord had shown Himself at an earlier stage until they should have seen Him with their own eyes?

77. In what follows we have a further recommendation to take this to have been the last manifestation of Himself in bodily fashion which the Lord gave to the apostles. For the same Mark continues in these terms: "And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." 2 Then he appends this statement: "So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, He was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word by signs following." 3 Now, when he says, "So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, He..."

1 Mark xvi. 15, 16. 2 Mark xvi. 17, 18. 3 Mark xvi. 19, 20.

CHAP. XXV.] THE APPEARANCE BY THE SEA OF TIBERIAS. 469

was received up into heaven," lie appears probably enough to indicate that this was the last discourse He held with them upon the earth. At the same time, the words do not seem to shut us up to that idea absolutely. For what he says is not, "after He had spoken these things unto them," but simply, "after He had spoken unto them;" and hence it would be quite admissible, were there any necessity for such a theory, to suppose that this was not the last discourse, and that that was not the last day on which He was present with them upon the earth, but that all the matters regarding which He spake with them in all these days may be referred to in the sentence, "After He had spoken unto them, He was received up into heaven." But, inasmuch as the considerations which we have detailed above lead us rather to conclude that this was the last day, than to suppose that the allusion is specifically to the eleven at a time when, in consequence of the absence of Thomas, they were only ten, we are of opinion that after this discourse which Mark mentions, and with which we have to connect in their proper order those other words, whether of the disciples or of the Lord Himself, which are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, 1 we must believe the Lord to have been received up into heaven, to wit, on the fortieth day after the day of His resurrection.

78. John, again, although he tells us plainly that he has passed over many of the things which Jesus did, has been pleased, nevertheless, to give us a narrative of a third manifestation of Himself, which the Lord granted to the disciples after the resurrection, namely, by the sea of Tiberias, and before seven of the disciples, â€” that is to say, Peter, Thomas, Xathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two others who are not mentioned by name. That is the occasion when they were engaged in fishing; when, in obedience to His command, they cast the nets on the right side, and drew to land great fishes, a hundred and fifty and three: when He also asked Peter three times whether He was loved by him,
and charged him to feed His sheep, and delivered a prophecy regarding what he would suffer, and said also, with reference to John, "Thus 2 I will

^cts. i. 4-8.

2 Some editions read si = if I will, etc. But the best editions and mss. give

470 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

that he tarry till I come." And with this John has brought his Gospel to its conclusion.

79. We have next to consider now what was the occasion of His first appearance to the disciples in Galilee. For this incident, which John narrates as the third in order, took place in Galilee by the sea of Tiberias. And one may perceive that the scene was in that district, if he calls to mind the miracle of the five loaves, the narrative of which the same John commences in these terms: " After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias." * And what should naturally be supposed to be the proper locality for His first manifestation to the disciples after His resurrection but Galilee ? This seems to be the conclusion to which we should be led when we recollect the words of the angel who, according to Matthew's Gospel, addressed the women as they came to the sepulchre. The words were these: " Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified.

He is not here; for He is risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay: and go quickly, and tell His disciples that He is risen from the dead; and, behold, He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see Him: lo, I have told you." 2 Mark presents a similar report, whether the angel of whom he speaks be the same one or a different. His version runs thus: " Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth which was crucified; He is risen; He is not here: behold the place w T here they laid Him. But go your way, tell His disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see Him, as He said unto you." 3 Now the impression which these words seem to produce is, that Jesus was not to show Himself to His disciples after His resurrection, but in Galilee. The appearance thus referred to, however, is not recorded even by Mark himself, who has informed us how He showed Himself first to Mary Magdalene in the early morning of the first day of the week; how she went and told them that had been with Him as they mourned and wept; how these persons refused to believe her; how, after this, He

sic, as above. And that Augustine read it so, is clear also from what occurs further on in Book iv. 20.

1 John vi. 1. 2 Matt, xxviii. 5-7. 3 Mark xvi. 6, 7.

CHAP. XXV.] THE APPEARANCE IN CALIPEE. 471
was next seen by the two disciples who were going to the residence in the country; how these twain reported what had occurred to them to the residue, which, as Luke and John agree in certifying, took place in Jerusalem on the very day of the Lord's resurrection, and when night was now coming on.

Thereafter the same evangelist comes next to that appearance which he calls His last, and which was vouchsafed to the eleven as they sat at meat; and when he has given us his account of that scene, he tells us how He was received up into heaven, which event took place, as we know, on the Mount Olivet, at no great distance from Jerusalem. Thus Mark nowhere relates the actual fulfilment of that which he declares to have been announced beforehand by the angel. Matthew, on the other hand, confines his statement to a single occurrence, and refers to no other locality whatsoever, whether earlier or later, where the disciples saw the Lord after He was risen, but the Galilee which was specified in the angel's prediction. This evangelist, in short, first introduces his notice of the terms in which the women were addressed by the angel; then he subjoins an account of what happened as they were going, and how the members of the watch were bribed to give a false report; and then he inserts his statement [of the appearance in Galilee], just as if that were the very event which followed immediately on what he has been relating. For, indeed, the angel's word's, "He is risen; and behold, He goeth before you into Galilee," were really such as might make it seem reasonable to suppose that nothing would intervene [before that manifestation in Galilee]. Matthew's version, accordingly, proceeds as follows: "Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw Him, they worshipped Him: but some doubted. And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." 1 In these terms has Matthew closed his Gospel.

Matt, xxviii. 16-20.

472 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS [BOOK III.]

80. Thus, then, were it not that the consideration of the narratives given by others of the evangelists led us inevitably to examine the whole subject with greater care, we might entertain the idea that the scene of the Lord's first manifestation of Himself to the disciples after His resurrection, could be nowhere else but in Galilee. In like manner, had Mark passed over the angel's announcement without notice, any one might have supposed that Matthew was induced to tell us how the disciples went away to a mountain in Galilee, and there worshipped the Lord, by his desire to show the actual fulfilment of the charge, and of the prediction which he had also recorded to have been conveyed by the angel. As the case now stands, however, Luke and John both certify with sufficient
clearness, that on the very day of His resurrection the Lord was seen by His disciples in Jerusalem, which is at such a distance from Galilee as makes it impossible for Him to have been seen by these same individuals in both places in the course of a single day. In like manner, Mark, while he does report in similar terms the announcement made by the angel, nowhere mentions that the Lord actually was seen in Galilee by His disciples after He was risen. These, therefore, are considerations which strongly force upon us an inquiry into the real import of this saying, " Behold, He goeth before you into Galilee ! there shall ye see Him." For if Matthew himself, too, had not stated that the eleven disciples went away into Galilee into a mountain, where Jesus had appointed them, and that they saw Him there and worshipped Him, we might have supposed that there was no literal fulfilment of the prediction in question, but that the whole announcement was intended to convey a figurative meaning. And a parallel to that we should then find in the words recorded by Luke, namely, " Behold I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected;" * which prediction certainly was not accomplished in the letter. In like manner, if the angel had said, " He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall ye see Him first; " or, " Only there shall ye see Him; " or, " Nowhere else but there shall ye see Him; " unquestionably, in that case, Matthew would have

1 Luke xiii, 32. See above, Book II. chap. 75, Â§ 145.

CHAP. XXV.] CHRIST'S APPEARANCE IN GALILEE. 473

been in antagonism with the rest of the evangelists. As the matter stands, however, the words are simply these: " Behold, He goeth before yon into Galilee; there shall ye see Him; "

and there is no statement of the precise time at which that meeting was to take place â€“ whether at the earliest opportunity, and before He was seen by them elsewhere, or at a later period, and after they had seen Him also in other places besides Galilee; and, further, although Matthew relates that the disciples went away into Galilee into a mountain, he neither specifies the day of that departure, nor constructs his narrative in an order which would force upon us the necessity of supposing that this particular event must have been actually the first appearance. Consequently, we may conclude that Matthew stands in no antagonism with the narratives of the other evangelists, but that he makes it quite competent for us, in due consistency with his own report, to understand the meaning and accept the truth of these other accounts. At the same time, as the Lord thus pointed, not to the place where He intended first to manifest Himself, but to the locality of Galilee, where undoubtedly He appeared afterwards; and as He conveyed these instructions about beholding Himself at once through the angel, who said, " Behold, He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see Him; " and by His own words, " Go, tell my brethren, that they go into Galilee, and there shall ye see me; " â€“ in these facts we
find considerations which make every believer anxious to inquire with what mystical significance all this may be understood to have been stated.

81. In the first place, however, we must also consider the question of the time at which He may thus have shown Himself in bodily form in Galilee, according to the statement given by Matthew in these terms: " Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them; and when they saw Him, they worshipped Him; but some doubted." That it was not on the day of His resurrection is manifest. For Luke and John agree in telling us most plainly that He was seen in Jerusalem that very day, when the night was coming on; while Mark is not so clear on the subject. When was it, then, that they saw

474 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [liOOK III.

the Lord in Galilee? I do not refer to the appearance mentioned by John, by the sea of Tiberias; for on that occasion there were only seven of them present, and they were found fishing. But I mean the appearance detailed by Matthew, when the eleven were on the mountain, to which Jesus had gone before them, according to the announcement made by the angel. For the import of Matthew's statement appears to be this, that they found Him there just because He had gone before them according to appointment. It did not take place, then, either on the day on which He rose, or in the eight days that followed, after which space John states that the Lord showed Himself to the disciples, when Thomas, who had not seen Him on the day of His resurrection, saw Him for the first time. For, surely, on the supposition that the eleven had really seen him on the mountain in Galilee within the period of these eight days, it may well be asked how Thomas, who had been of the number of these eleven, could be said to have seen Him for the first time at the end of these eight days. To that question there is no answer, unless, indeed, one could say that they were not the eleven, who by that time bore the specific designation of Apostles, but some other eleven disciples singled out of the numerous body of His followers. For those eleven were, indeed, the only persons who were yet called by the name of Apostles, but they were not the only disciples. It may perhaps be the case, therefore, that the apostles are really referred to; that not all but only some of them were there; that there were also other disciples with them, so that the number of persons present was made up to eleven; and that Thomas, who saw the Lord for the first time at the end of those eight days, was absent on this occasion. For when Mark mentions the said eleven, he does not use the general expression eleven, but says explicitly, " He appeared unto the eleven." 1 Luke, likewise, puts it thus:

" They returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them." There he gives us to understand that these were the eleven â€” that is to say, the apostles. For when he adds, " and those who were with them," he has surely indicated plainly enough, that those with

1 llis undecim = those eleven.
CHAP. XXV.] CHRIST'S APPEARANCE IN GALILEE. 475

whom these others were, were styled the eleven in some eminent sense; and this leads ns
to understand those to be meant who were now called distinctively Apostles.
Consequently, it is quite possible that, out of the body of apostles and other disciples, the
number of eleven disciples was made up who saw Jesus upon the mountain in Galilee,
within the space of these eight days.

82. But another difficulty in the way of this settlement arises here. For, when John has
recorded how the Lord was seen, not by the eleven on the mountain, but by seven of them
when they were fishing in the sea of Tiberias, he appends the following statement: " This
is now the third time that Jesus showed Himself to His disciples, after that He was risen
from the dead." 1 Now, if we accept the theory that the Lord was seen by the company of
the eleven disciples within the period of these eight days, and previous to His being seen
by Thomas, this scene by the sea of Tiberias will not be the third but the fourth time that
He showed Himself. Here, indeed, we must take care not to let any one suppose that, in
speaking of the third time, John meant that there were in all only three appearances of the
Lord. On the contrary, we must understand him to refer to the number of the days, and
not to the number of the manifestations themselves; and, further, it is to be observed that
these days are not presented as coming in immediate succession after each other, but as
separated by intervals in accordance with intimations given by the evangelist himself.
For, keeping out of view His appearance to the women, it is made perfectly plain in the
Gospel that He showed Himself three several times on the first day after He was risen;
namely, once to Peter; again to those two disciples, of whom Cleophas was one; and a
third time to the larger body, while they were conversing with each other as the night
came on. But all these John, looking to the fact that they took place on a single day,
reckons as one appearance. Then he identifies a second â€” that is to say, an appearance
on another day â€” with the occasion on which Thomas also saw Him; and he
particularizes a third by the sea of Tiberias, that is to say, not literally His third

1 John xx. 14.

476 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK III.]

appearance, but the third day of His self-manifestations.
Thus the result is, that after all these incidents, we are constrained to suppose this other
occasion to have occurred on which, according to Matthew, the eleven disciples saw Him
on the mountain in Galilee, to which He had gone before them according to appointment,
so that all that had been foretold, both by the angel and by Himself, should be fulfilled
even to the letter.

83. Consequently, in the four evangelists we find mention made of ten distinct
appearances of the Lord to different persons after His resurrection. First, to the women
near the sepulchre. 1 Secondly, to the same women as they were on the way returning
from the sepulchre. 2 Thirdly, to Peter. 3
Fourthly, to the two who were going to the place in the country. 4 Fifthly, to the larger
number in Jerusalem, when Thomas was not present. 5 Sixthly, on the occasion when
Thomas saw Him. 6 Seventhly, by the sea of Tiberias. 7
Eighthly, on the mountain in Galilee, of which Matthew speaks. 8 Ninthly, at the time to
which Mark refers in the words, "Lastly, as they sat at meat," thereby intimating that now
they were no more to eat with Him upon the earth. 9
Tenthly, on the same day, not now indeed upon the earth, but lifted up in the cloud, as He
ascended into heaven, as Mark and Luke record. This last appearance, indeed, is
introduced by Mark, directly after he has told us how the Lord showed Himself to them
as they sat at meat. For his narrative goes on connectedly as follows: "So then, after the
Lord had spoken unto them, He was received up into heaven." 10 Luke, on the other
hand, omits all that may have passed between Him and His disciples during the forty
days, and, after giving the history of the first day of His resurrection-life, when He
showed Himself to the larger number in Jerusalem, he silently connects therewith the
closing day on which He ascended up into heaven. His statement proceeds in this form: "
And He led them out as far as to Bethany; and He lifted up His


7 John xxi. 1. 8 Matt, xxviii. 16, 17. 9 Mark xvi. 14.
10 Mark xvi. 19.

84. At the same time, all is not recorded, as John plainly declares. 2 For He had frequent
intercourse with His disciples during the forty days which preceded His ascension into
heaven. 3 He had not, however, showed Himself to them throughout all these forty
days without interruption. For John tells us, that after the first day of His resurrection-life,
there elapsed other eight days, at the end of which space He appeared to them again. The appearance which is identified [in John] as the third â€” namely, the one by the sea of Tiberias â€” may perhaps have taken place on an immediately succeeding day; for there is nothing antagonistic to that. And then He showed Himself when it seemed the proper time to Him, as He had appointed with them (which appointment had also been conveyed in the previous prophetic announcement) to go before them into Galilee. And all throughout these forty days, He appeared on occasions, and to individuals, and in modes, just as He was minded. To these appearances Peter alludes when, in the discourse which he delivered before Cornelius and those who were with him, he says, "Even to us who did eat and drink with Him after He rose from the dead, for the space of forty days." 4 It is not meant, however, that they had eaten and drunk with Him daily throughout these forty days. For that would be contrary to John's statement, who has interposed the space of eight days, during which He was not seen, and makes His third appearance take place by the sea of Tiberias. At the same time, even although He [should be supposed to have] manifested Himself to them and lived with them every day after that period, that would not come into antagonism with anything in the narrative.

1 Luke xxiv. 50, 51. 2 John xxi. 25. 3 Acts i. 3.
4 Acts x. 41 â€” the words, per quadraginta dies, being added.

478 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELIA [BOOK III.]

And, perhaps, this expression, "for the space of forty days," which is equivalent to four times ten, and may thus sustain a mystical reference to the whole world or the whole temporal age, has been used just because those first ten days, within which the said eight fall, may not incongruously be reckoned, in accordance with the practice of the Scriptures, on the principle of dealing with the part in general terms as the whole.

85. Let us therefore compare what is said by the Apostle Paul with the view of deciding whether it raises any question of difficulty. His statement proceeds thus: "That He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures, and that He was seen of Cephas." 1 He does not say, "He was seen first of Cephas." For this would be inconsistent with the fact that it is recorded in the Gospel that he appeared first to the women. He continues thus: "then of the twelve; " and whoever the individuals may have been to whom He then showed Himself, and whatever the precise hour, this was at least on the very day of His resurrection. Again he goes on: "After that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once." And whether these were gathered together with the eleven when the doors were shut for fear of the Jews, and when Jesus came to them after Thomas had gone out from the company, or whether the reference is to some other appearance subsequent to these eight days, no discrepancy is created. Again he says, "after that He was seen of James." We ought not, however, to suppose this to mean that
this was the first occasion on which He was seen of James; but we may take it to allude to some special appearance to that apostle by himself. Next he adds, "then of all the apostles," which does not imply that this was the first time that He showed Himself to them, but that from this period He lived in more familiar intercourse with them on to the day of His ascension. Finally he says, "And last of all He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time." But that was a revelation of Himself from heaven some considerable time after His ascension.

86. Consequently, let us now take up the subject which we had postponed, and inquire what mystical meaning may underlie the report given by Matthew and Mark, namely, that on

1 1 Cor. xv. 4, 5.

CHAP. XXV.] THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF "GALILEE." 479

rising He made this statement, "I will go before you into Galilee: there shall ye see me." For this announcement, if it was fulfilled at all, was certainly not fulfilled till a considerable interval had elapsed; whereas it is couched in terms which seem to lead us (although such a conclusion is not an absolute necessity) most naturally to expect that the appearance referred to would be either the only one or the first that would ensue. We observe, however, that the words in question are not given as the words of the evangelist himself, in the form of a narrative of a past occurrence, but as the words of the angel, who spoke according to the Lord's commission, and subsequently also as the words of the Lord Himself; that is to say, the words are used by the evangelist in his narrative, but they are presented by him as a direct statement of what was spoken by the angel and by the Lord. This, therefore, unquestionably compels us to accept them as uttered prophetically. Now Galilee may be interpreted to mean either Transmigration or Revelation. Consequently, if we adopt the idea of Transmigration, what other sense occurs to us to put upon the sentence, "He goeth before you into Galilee, there shall you see Him," but just this, that the grace of Christ was to be transferred from the people of Israel to the Gentiles? That in preaching the gospel to these Gentiles, the apostles would meet with no acceptance unless the Lord prepared a way for them in the hearts of men, â€” this may be what is to be understood by the sentence, "He goeth before you into Galilee." And, again, that they would look with joy and wonder at the breaking down and removing of difficulties, and at the opening of a door for them in the Lord through the enlightenment of the believing, â€” this is what is to be understood by the words, "there shall ye see Him;" that is to say, there shall ye find His members, there shall ye recognise His living body in the person of those who shall receive you. Or, if we follow the second view, which takes Galilee to signify Revelation, the idea may be, that He was now no more to be in the form of a servant, but in that form in which He is equal with the Father; I as He promised to those who loved Him when He said, according to the testimony of John, "And I will love
him, and will manifest myself to him." * That is to say, He was afterwards to manifest Himself, not merely as they saw Him before, nor merely in the way in which, rising as He did with His wounds upon Him, He was to give Himself to be touched as well as seen by them, but in the character of that ineffable light, wherewith He enlightens every man that cometh into this world, and in virtue of which He shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehends Him not. 2 Thus has He gone before us to something from which He withdraws not, although He comes to us, and which does not involve His leaving us, although He has preceded us thither. That will be a revelation which may be spoken of as a true Galilee, when we shall be like Him; there shall we see Him as He is. 3 Then, also, will there be for us the more blessed transmigration, from this world into that eternity, if we embrace His precepts so as to be counted worthy of being set apart on His right hand.

For there, those on the left hand shall go away into eternal burning, but the righteous into life eternal. 4 Hence they shall pass thither, and there shall they see Him, as the wicked do not see Him. For the wicked shall be taken away, so that he shall not see the brightness of the Lord; 5 and the unrighteousness shall not see the light. For He says, "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent; " 6 even as He shall be known in that eternity to which He will bring His servants by the form of a servant, in order that in liberty they may contemplate the form of the Lord.

1 John xiv. 21. 2 John i. 5-9. 3 1 John iii. 2.

4 Matt. xxv. 33-46. 5 Isa. xxvi. 10. 6 John xviii. 3.
TO MARK, LUKE, OR JOHN.

PROLOGUE.

^1. i S we have examined Matthew's narrative in its complete â– A connection, and as the comparison which we have carried out between it and the other three on to its conclusion has established the fact, that not one of these evangelists contains anything either at variance with other statements in his own Gospel, or inconsistent with the accounts presented by his fellow-historians, let us now subject Mark to a similar scrutiny.

Our plan will be to omit those sections which he has in common with Matthew, which we have already investigated as far as seemed requisite and are now done with, and to take up those paragraphs which remain, with the view of submitting them to discussion and comparison, and of demonstrating their thorough harmony with what is related by the other evangelists on to the notice of the Lord's Supper. For we have already dealt with all the incidents which are reported in all the four Gospels from that point on to the end, and have considered the subject of their mutual consistency.

Chap. i. â€” Of the question regarding the proof that Mark's Gospel is in harmony with the rest in what is narrated (those passages which he has in common with Matthew being left out of account), from its beginning down to the section where it is said, "And they go into Capharnaum, and straightway on the Sabbath-day He taught them:" which incident is reported also by Luke.

2. Mark, then, commences as follows: u The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God: as it is written in the prophet Isaiah; " and so on, down to where it is said, "And they go into Capharnaum; and straightway on the Sabbath-day He entered into the synagogue and taught them." 1 In

1 Mark i. 1-21.

HARMONY. 2 H

482 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

this entire context, everything has been examined above in connection with Matthew. This particular statement, however, about His going into the synagogue at Capharnaum and teaching them on the Sabbath-day, is one which Mark has in common with Luke. 1 But it raises no question of difficulty.
Chap. ii. â€” Of the man out of whom the unclean spirit that was tormenting him was cast, and of the question whether Mark's version is quite consistent with that of Luke, who is at one with him in reporting the incident.

3. Mark proceeds with his narrative in the following terms:
"And they were astonished at His doctrine: for He taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes. And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit: and he cried out, saying, 2 What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us?" and so on, down to the passage where we read, "And He preached in the synagogues throughout all Galilee, and cast out devils." 3 Although there are some points here which are common only to Mark and Luke, the entire contents of this section have also been already dealt with when we were going over Matthew's narrative in its continuity. For all these matters came into the order of narration in such a manner that I thought they could not be passed over. But Luke says that this unclean spirit went out of the man in such a way as not to hurt him; whereas Mark's statement is to this effect: "And the unclean spirit cometh out of him, tearing him, and crying with a loud voice." There may seem, therefore, to be some discrepancy here. For how could the unclean spirit have been tearing him, or, as some codices have it, tormenting him, if, as Luke says, he hurt him not? Luke, however, gives the notice in full, thus:
"And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not." 4 Thus we are to understand that when Mark says, tormenting him, he just refers to what Luke expresses in the sentence, "When he had thrown him in the midst." And when the latter appends the words, "and hurt him not," the meaning simply is, that the said tossing of the man's limbs and tormenting him did not debilitate him, as is often the case with the exit of devils, when, at times, some

1 Mark iv. 31. 2 The words, Let us alone, are omitted.
3 Mark i. 22-39. 4 Luke iv. 35.

CHAP. III.] THE NAMING OF PETER. 483

of the members are even destroyed 1 in the process of removing the trouble.

Chap. hi. â€” Of the question whether Mark's reports of the repeated occasions on which the name of Peter was brought into prominence are not at variance with the statement which John has given us of the particular time at which the apostle received that name.
4. The same Mark continues as follows: "And there came a leper to Him, beseeching Him, and kneeling down to Him, and saying unto Him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean;"

and so on, down to where it is said, "And they cried out, saying, Thou art the Son of God: and He straightway charged them that they should not make Him known/ 2 Luke 3 also records something similar to the last passage which we have here adduced. But nothing emerges involving any discrepancy.

Mark proceeds thus: "And He goeth up into a mountain, and calleth unto Him whom He would: and they came unto Him. And He ordained twelve that they should be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach; and He gave them power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils. And Simon He surnamed Peter; " and so on, down to where it is said, " And he departed, and began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done: and all men did marvel." 4 I am aware that I have spoken already of the names of the disciples when following the order of Matthew's narrative. 5 Here, therefore, I repeat the caution, that no one should suppose Simon to have received the name Peter on this occasion for the first time, or fancy that Mark is here in any antagonism with John, who reports that disciple to have been addressed long before in these terms: " Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is, by interpretation, A stone." 6 For John has there recorded the very words in which the Lord gave him that name. Mark, on the other hand, has introduced the matter in the form of a recapitulation in this passage, when he says, "And Simon He surnamed Peter." For, as it was his intention to enumerate the names of the twelve apostles here,

1 Reading elisis. Various mss. give amputatis aut evulsis = amputated or torn off.

2 Mark i. 40-iii. 12. 3 Luke iv. 41. 4 Mark iii. 13-v. 20.
6 See above, Book u. chaps. 17 and 53. 6 John i. 42.

484 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

and it was necessary for him thus to mention Peter, he decided briefly to intimate the fact that the said name was not borne by that disciple all along, but was given him by the Lord, not, however, at the time with which Mark was immediately dealing, but on the occasion in connection with which John has introduced the very words employed by the Lord. The other matters embraced within this paragraph, present nothing inconsistent with any of the other Gospels, and they have also been discussed previously.

Chap. iv. â€” Of the words, "The more He charged them to tell no one, so much the more a great deal they published it;" and of the question whether that statement is not inconsistent with His 'prescience, which is commended to our notice in the Gospel.

5. Mark continues thus: "And when Jesus was passed over again by ship unto the other side, much people gathered unto Him: and He was nigh unto the sea; " and so on, down to where we read, " And the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus, and told
Him all things, both what they had done, and what they had taught." 1 This last portion Mark has in common with Luke, and there is no discrepancy between them. The rest of the contents of this section we have already discussed. Mark continues in these terms: "And He said unto them, Come ye apart into a desert place, and rest a while;" and so on, down to the words, "But the more He charged them, so much the more a great deal they published it; and were beyond measure astonished, saying, He hath done all things well: He maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak." 2 In all this there is nothing which presents the appearance of any want of harmony between Mark and Luke; and the whole of the above we have already considered, when we were comparing these evangelists with Matthew. At the same time, we must make sure that no one shall suppose that the last statement, which I have cited here from Mark's Gospel, is in antagonism with the entire body of the evangelists, who, in reporting most of His other deeds and words, make it plain that He knew what went on in men; that is to say, that their thoughts and desires could not be concealed from Him. Thus John puts it very clearly in the following

1 Mark v. 21-vi. 30. 2 Mark vi. 31-vii. 37.

CHAP. V.] CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE OF MAN. 485

passage: "But Jesus did not commit Himself unto them, because He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man; for He knew what was in man." * But what wonder is it that He should discern the present thoughts of men, if He announced beforehand to Peter the thought which he was to entertain in the future, 2 but which he certainly had not then, at the very time when he was boldly declaring himself ready to die for Him, or with Him? 3 This being the case, then, how can it fail to appear as if this knowledge and foreknowledge, which He possessed in so supreme a measure, is contradicted by Mark's statement, "He charged them that they should tell no man: but the more He charged them, so much the more a great deal they published it"? For if He, as one who held in His own knowledge all the intentions of men, both present and future, was aware that they would publish it all the more, the more He charged them not to publish it, what purpose could He have in giving them such a charge? Well, but may not the explanation be this, that He desired to give backward ones to understand how much more zealously and fervently they ought to preach on whom He lays the commission to preach, if even men who were interdicted were unable to keep silent?

Chap. v. â€” Of the statement which John made concerning the man who cast out devils although he did not belong to the circle of the disciples; and of the Lord's reply, "Forbid them not, for he that is not against you is on your part;" and of the question whether that response does not contradict the other sentence, in which He said, "He that is not with me is against me."
6. Mark proceeds as follows: "In those days again, the multitude being very great, and having nothing to eat;" and so on, down to the words, "John answered Him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name, and he followeth not us;" and we forbade him. But Jesus said, Forbid him not; for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me; for he that is not against

1 John ii. 24, 25.

2 The text gives simply: futuram Petro pramuntiavit to which cogitationem has to be supplied. Some editions insert negationem â€” his future denial.

y Matt. xxvi. 33-35. 4 Iter urn, inserted.

5 The words, "because he followeth not us," are omitted.

486 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

you is on your side." 1 Luke relates this in similar terms, with this exception, that he does not insert the clause, "for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name that can lightly speak evil of me." Consequently, there is nothing here to raise the question of any discrepancy between these two. We must see, however, whether this sentence must be supposed to stand in opposition to another of the Lord's sayings, namely, the one to this effect, "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." 2 For how was this man not against Him, who was not with Him, and of whom John reported that he did not unite with them in following Him, if he is against Him who is not with Him? Or if the man was against Him, how does He say to the disciples, "Forbid him not; for he that is not against you is on your side"? Will any one aver that it is of consequence to observe that here He says to the disciples, "He that is not against you is on your side;" whereas, in the other passage, He spoke of Himself in the terms, "He that is not with me is against me"? That would make it appear, indeed, as if it were possible for one not to be with Him, although he was associated with those disciples of His who are, so to speak, His very members. Besides, how would the truth of such sayings as these stand then: "He that receiveth you receiveth me;" "3 and "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of mine, ye have done it unto me"? 4 Or is it possible for one not to be against Him, although he may be against His disciples? Nay; for what shall we make then of words like these: "He that despiseth you, despiseth me;" "5 and, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of mine, ye did it not unto me;" 6 and, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me," 7 although it was His disciples that Saul was persecuting?

But, in good truth, the sense intended to be conveyed is just this, that, so far as a man is not with Him, so far is he against Him; and again, that, so far as a man is not against Him, so far is he with Him. For example, take this very case of the individual who was
working miracles in the name of Christ, and yet was not in the company of Christ's
disciples: so far as


5 Luke x. 16. 6 Matt. xxv. 45. 7 Acts ix. 4.

CHAP. VI.] SALT IN OURSELVES. 487

this man was working miracles in His name, so far was he with them, and so far he was
not against them. But, inasmuch as they had prohibited the man from doing a thing in
which, so far forth, he was really with them, the Lord said to them, " Forbid him not." For
what they ought to have forbidden was what was outside their fellowship, so that they
might bring him over to the unity of the Church, and not a thing like this, in which he was
at one with them, that is to say, so far as he commended the name of their Master and
Lord in the casting out of devils.
And this is the principle on which the Catholic Church acts, not condemning common
sacraments among heretics; for in these they are with us, and they are not against us. But
she condemns and forbids division and separation, or any sentiment adverse to peace and
truth. For therein they are against us, just because they are not with us in that, and
because, not gathering with us, they are consequently scattering.

Chap. vi. â€” Of the circumstance that Mark has recorded more than Luke as spoken by
the Lord in connection with the case of this man who was casting out devils in the name
of Christ, although he was not following with the disciples; and of the question how these
additional words can be shown to have a real bearing upon what Christ had in view in
forbidding the individual to be interdicted who was performing miracles in His name.

7. Mark proceeds with his narrative in these terms: " For whosoever shall give you a cup
of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall
not lose his reward. And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe on
me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into
the sea. And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life
maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched;
where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." And so on, down to where it is
said, " Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another." 1 These words Mark
represents to have been spoken by the Lord in the connection immediately following
what He said in forbidding the man to be interdicted who was casting out devils in His
name, and yet was not following Him along with the disciples. In this section, too, he
introduces some matters which are not found in
any of the other evangelists, but also some which occur in Matthew as well, and some which we come across in like manner both in Matthew and in Luke. Those other evangelists, however, bring in these matters in different connections, and in another order of facts, and not at this particular point when the statement was made to Christ about the man who did not follow Him along with the disciples, and yet was casting out devils in His name. My opinion, therefore, is, that the Lord did really utter sayings in this connection, according to Mark's attestation, of which he also delivered Himself on other occasions, and this for the simple reason, that they were sufficiently pertinent to this expression of His mind which he gave here, when He forbade the placing of any interdict upon the working of miracles in His name, even although that should be done by a man who did not follow Him along with His disciples.  
For Mark presents the relation of the one passage to the other thus: "For he that is not against us is on our part; for whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward." This makes it plain that even this man, whose case John had taken up, and thus had given occasion for the Lord to commence the discourse referred to, was not separating himself from the society of the disciples to any such effect as to scorn it like a heretic. But his position was something parallel to the familiar one of men who, while not going the length yet of receiving the sacraments of Christ, nevertheless favour the Christian name so far as even to receive Christians, and accommodate themselves to them for this very reason, and none other, that they are Christians; of which type of persons it is that He tells us that they do not lose their reward. This does not mean, however, that they ought at once to think themselves quite safe and secure on account of this kindness which they cherish towards Christians, while at the same time they are neither cleansed by Christ's baptism, nor incorporated into the unity of His body. But the import is, that they are now being guided by the mercy of God in such a way that they may also come to these higher things, and so quit this present world in safety. And

such persons assuredly are more profitable [servants], even before they become associated with the number of Christians, than those individuals who, while already bearing the Christian name and partaking in the Christian sacraments, recommend courses which are only fitted to drag others, whom they may persuade to adopt them,
along with themselves into eternal punishment. These are the persons to whom He refers under the figure of the members of the body, and whom He commands to be cast out from the body, like an offending hand or eye; that is to say, to be cut off from the fellowship of that unity, in order that they should seek rather to enter into life without such associates, than to go into hell in their company.

Moreover, they are separated from those from whom they separate themselves, just when no consent is yielded to their evil recommendations, that is to say, to the offences in which they indulge. And if, indeed, they are discovered in the character of their perversity to all good men with whom they have any fellowship, they are cut off completely from the fellowship of all, and also from participation in the divine sacraments. But if they are known in this character only to some, while their perversity is unknown to the majority, they must just be borne with, as the chaff is endured in the thrashing-floor previous to the winnowing; that is to say, they must be dealt with in a manner which will neither involve any agreement with them in the fellowship of unrighteousness, nor lead to a forsaking of the society of the good on their account. This is what is done by those who have salt in themselves, and who have peace one with another.

Chap. vii. â€” Of the fact that from this point on to the Lord's Supper, with which act the discussion of all the narratives of the four evangelists conjointly commenced, no question calling for special examination is raised by Mark's Gospel.

8. Mark continues as follows: "And He arose from thence, and cometh into the coasts of Judea by the farther side of Jordan: and the people resort unto Him again; and, as He was wont, He taught them again; " and so on, down to where it is said, " For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living." 1 In this entire context, all the above has been subjected to investigation already, with the view of removing the appearance of any contrariety, when we were comparing the other Gospels in due order with Matthew. This narrative, however, of the poor widow who cast two mites into the treasury, is reported only by two of them, namely, Mark and Luke. 2 But their harmony admits of no question. And from this point onwards to the Lord's Supper, which latter act formed the starting-point for our discussion of all the records of the four evangelists taken conjointly, Mark introduces nothing of a kind to make it necessary for us to institute a special comparison between it and any other statement, or to conduct an inquiry with the view of dispelling any appearance of discrepancy.

9. Next in succession, therefore, let us now go over the Gospel of Luke in regular order. We shall omit, however, those passages which he has in common with Matthew and Mark. For all these have been already handled. Luke, then, begins his narrative in the following fashion: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of these things which have been fulfilled 3 among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed." 4 This beginning does not pertain immediately to the narrative presented in the Gospel. But it suggests to us to be cognizant of the fact, that this same Luke is also the writer of the other book which bears the name of the Acts of the Apostles. Our ground for holding this opinion is not merely the circumstance that the name of Theophilus occurs there as well as here. For it might quite well happen that there was a second person with the name of Theophilus; and even if it was one and the same person that was referred to in both cases, still another composition might have been addressed to him by a different individual, just as the Gospel was written in his behoof by Luke. We base our view of the identity of authorship, however, on the fact that this second book commences in the following strain: "The former treatise have I made, Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until the day in which He/through the Holy Ghost, gave commandment unto the apostles whom He chose to preach the gospel." 2 This statement gives us to understand that, previous to this, he had written one of those four books of the gospel which are held in the loftiest authority in the Church. At the same time, when he tells us that he had composed a treatise of all that Jesus began both to do and teach until the day in which He gave commandment to the apostles, we are not to take this to mean that he actually has given us a full account in his Gospel of all that Jesus did and said when He lived with His apostles on earth. For that would be contrary to what John affirms when he says that there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, the world itself could not contain the books. 3 And besides, it is the admitted fact that not a few things have been narrated by the other evangelists, which Luke himself has not touched upon in his history. The sense therefore is, that he wrote a treatise of all these things, in so far as he made a selection out of the whole mass of materials for his narrative, and introduced

1 Mark x. 1-xii. 44. 2 Luke xxi. 1-4. 3 Completse sunt.


chap, viii.] luke's gospel. 491
those facts which he judged fit and suitable for the satisfactory discharge of the responsible duty laid upon him. Again, when he speaks of many who had " taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which have been fulfilled among us," he seems to refer to certain parties who had not been able to complete the task which they had assumed. Hence he also says that it seemed good to him also to " write carefully in order, forasmuch as many have taken in hand," etc. The allusion here, however, we ought to take to be to those writers who have attained to no authority in the Church, just because they were

1 Usque in diem quo apostolis quos elegit, etc. Some editions read quo apostolos elegit = on which He chose the apostles, giving them commandment, etc.

2 Acts i. 1, 2. 3 John xxi. 25.

492 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

utterly incompetent rightly to carry out what they took in hand. Moreover, the author at present before us lias not confined himself to the task of bringing down his narrative to the events of the Lord's resurrection and assumption; neither has it been his aim simply to have a place commensurate in honour with his labours in the company of the four writers of the Gospel Scriptures. But he has also undertaken a record of what was done subsequently by the hands of the apostles; and relating as many of those events as he believed to be needful and helpful to the edification of the faith of readers or hearers, he has given us a narrative so faithful, that his is the only book that has been reckoned worthy of acceptance in the Church as a history of the Acts of the Apostles; while all these other writers who attempted, although deficient in the trustworthiness which was the first requisite, to compose an account of the doings and sayings of the apostles, have met with rejection. And, further, Mark and Luke certainly wrote at a time when it was quite possible to put them to the test not only by the Church of Christ, but also by the apostles themselves who were still alive in the flesh.

Chap. ix. â€” Of the question how it can be shown that the narrative of the haul of fishes which Luke has given us is not to be identified with the record of an apparently similar incident which John has reported subsequently to the Lord's resurrection; and of the fact that from this point on to the Lord's Supper, from which event onwards to the end the combined accounts of all the evangelists have been examined, no difficulty calling for special consideration emerges in the Gospel of Luke any more than in that of Mark.

10. Luke, then, commences his Gospel in the following fashion: " There was, in the days of Herod the king of Judea, a certain priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abia: and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron, and her name was Elisabeth; " and so on, down to the passage where it is said,

" Now when He had left speaking, He said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught." 1 In this whole section, there is nothing to stir any
question as to discrepancies. It is true that John appears to relate something resembling the last passage. But what he gives is really something widely different. I refer to what took place by the sea of Tiberias after the Lord's resurrection. 2

1 Luke i. 5-v. 4. 2 John xxi. 1-11.

chap. x.] John's gospel. 493

In that instance, not only is the particular time extremely different, but the circumstances themselves are of quite another character. For there the nets were cast on the right side, and a hundred and fifty and three fishes were caught. It is added, too, that they were great fishes. And the evangelist, therefore, has felt it necessary to state, that "for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken," surely just because he had in view the previous case, which is recorded by Luke, and in connection with which the nets were broken by reason of the multitude of fishes. As for the rest, Luke has not recounted things like those which John has narrated, except in relation to the Lord's passion and resurrection. And this whole section, which comes in between the Lord's Supper and the conclusion, has already been handled by us in a manner which has yielded, as the result of a comparison of the testimonies of all the evangelists conjointly, the demonstration of an entire absence of discrepancies between them.

Ciiap. x. â€” Of the evangelist John, and the distinction between him and the other three.

11. John remains, between whom and others there is left no comparison to be instituted. For, however the evangelists may each have reported some matters which are not recorded by the others, it will be hard to prove that any question involving real discrepancy arises out of these. Thus, too, it is a clearly admitted position that the first three â€” namely, Matthew, Mark, and Luke â€” have occupied themselves chiefly with the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to which He is both king and priest. And in this way, Mark, who seems to answer to the figure of the man in the wellknown mystical symbol of the four living creatures, 1 either appears to be preferentially the companion of Matthew, as he narrates a larger number of matters in unison with him than with the rest, and therein acts in due harmony with the idea of the kingly character whose wont it is, as I have stated in the first book, 2 to be not unaccompanied by attendants; or else, in accordance with the more probable account of the matter, he holds a course in conjunction with both [the other Synoptists]. For although he is at one with Matthew in the larger

1 Apoc. iv. 6, 7. 2 See chap. m.
number of passages, he is nevertheless at one rather with Luke in some others. And this very fact shows him to stand related at once to the lion and to the steer, that is to say, to the kingly office which Matthew emphasizes, and to the sacerdotal which Luke introduces, wherein also Christ appears distinctively as man, as the figure which Mark sustains stands related to both these. On the other hand, Christ's divinity, in virtue of which He is equal to the Father, in accordance with which He is the Word, and God with God, and the "Word that was made flesh in order to dwell among us, 1 in accordance with which also He and the Father are one, 2 has been taken specially in hand by John with a view to its recommendation to our minds. Like an eagle, he abides among Christ's sayings of the sublimer order, and in no way descends to earth but on rare occasions. In brief, although he declares plainly his own knowledge of the Lord's mother, he nevertheless neither unites with Matthew and Luke in recording His nativity, nor associates himself with all the three in relating His baptism; but all that he does there is simply to present the testimony delivered by John in a lofty and sublime fashion, and then, quitting the company of these others, he proceeds with Him to the marriage in Cana of Galilee. And there, although the evangelist himself mentions His mother by that very name, He nevertheless addresses her thus: " Woman, what have I to do with thee ?"

In this, however, [it is to be understood that] He does not repel her of whom He received the flesh, but means to convey the conception of His divinity with special fitness at this time, when He is about to change the water into wine; which divinity, likewise, had made that woman, and had not itself been made in her.

12. Then, after noticing the few days spent in Capharnaum, the evangelist comes again to the temple, where he states that Jesus spoke of the temple of His body in these terms: " Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up:" 4 in which declaration emphatic intimation is given not only that God was in that temple in the person of the Word that was made flesh, but also that He Himself raised the said flesh to life, in the veritable exercise of that prerogative which He has in

1 John L 1, 14. 2 John x. 30. 3 John ii. 1-11. 4 John ii. 12-22.

chap. x.] Christ's godhead. 495

His oneness with the Father, and according to which He does not act separately from Him; whereas it will perhaps be found that, in all other passages, the phrase which Scripture employs is one to the effect that God raised Him: neither is there any such expression found anywhere else as that, when God raised Christ, Christ also raised Himself, because He is one God with the Father; which is the import of the passage now before us, in which He says, " Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."

13. Then how great and how divine are the words reported to have been spoken with Mcodemus ! From these the evangelist proceeds again to the testimony of John, and
brings before our notice the fact, that the friend of the bridegroom cannot but rejoice because of the bridegroom's voice. In this statement He gives us to understand that the soul of man neither has light derivable from itself, nor can have blessing, except by participation in the unchangeable wisdom. Thereafter he carries us on to the case of the woman of Samaria, in connection with which mention is made of the water, whereof if a man drinks, he shall never thirst again. Once more, he brings us again to Cana of Galilee, where Jesus had made the water wine. In that narrative he tells us how He spoke to the nobleman, whose son was sick, in these terms: "Except ye see signs and wonders ye believe not." * in which saying He aims at lifting the mind of the believer high above all things mutable, so that He would not have even the miracles themselves, which, however they may bear the impression of what is divine, are yet wrought in the instance of what is changeable in bodies, made objects of seeking on the part of the faithful.

14. Next he brings us back to Jerusalem, and tells the story of the healing of the man who had an infirmity of thirty-eight years' standing. What words are spoken on this occasion, and how ample is the discourse! Here we are met by the sentence, "The Jews sought to kill Him, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God." 2 In this passage it is made sufficiently plain that He did not speak of God as His Father in the ordinary sense in which holy men are in the habit of using the phrase, but that He meant that He is His equal. For, a little before this, He had said to those who were impeaching Him with violating the Sabbath-day, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." 1 Then their fury flamed forth, not merely because He said that God was His Father, but because He wished it to be understood that He was equal with God, when He used the phrase, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." In which utterance He also shows it to be matter of course that, as the Father works, the Son should work also; because the Father does not work without the Son. And this is in accordance with what He states a little further on in the same passage, when these parties were incensed at His declaration, namely, "For what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." 2

1 John iv. 48. 2 John v. 18.

496 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

in the ordinary sense in which holy men are in the habit of using the phrase, but that He meant that He is His equal. For, a little before this, He had said to those who were impeaching Him with violating the Sabbath-day, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." 1 Then their fury flamed forth, not merely because He said that God was His Father, but because He wished it to be understood that He was equal with God, when He used the phrase, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." In which utterance He also shows it to be matter of course that, as the Father works, the Son should work also; because the Father does not work without the Son. And this is in accordance with what He states a little further on in the same passage, when these parties were incensed at His declaration, namely, "For what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise." 2

15. Then at length John descends to bear company with the other three, whose course is with the same Lord, but upon the earth, and joins them in recording the feeding of the five thousand men with the five loaves. In this narrative, however, he is the only one who mentions, that when the people wished to make Him a king, Jesus departed into a mountain Himselp alone. 3 And in making that statement, his intention appears to me to have been just to communicate to the reasonable soul the truth, that Christ reigns over our mind and reason purely in a sphere in which He is exalted above us, in which He has no
community of nature with men, and in which He is verily by Himself alone, as He is the Father's only fellow.
This, however, is a mystical truth, which escapes the cognizance of carnal men, whose life creeps upon the lower soil of this earth, just because it is so sublime a mystery. Hence Christ Himself also departs into the mountain from the men whose habit is to seek for His kingdom with earthly conceptions of it. Thus is it that He expresses Himself elsewhere to this effect, "My kingdom is not of this world." 4 And this, again, is something which is reported only by John, who soars high over earth in a kind of ethereal flight, and delights himself in the light of the Sun of righteousness. Then, on passing from the narrative connected with this mountain, and from the

1 John v. 17. 2 John v. 19. 3 John vi. 15. 4 John xviii. 36.

CHAP. X.] THE SPIRIT THAT PROFITETH. 497

miracle of the five loaves, he still keeps company with the same three for a little while, until the notice of the crossing of the sea is reached, and the occasion on which Jesus walked upon the waters. But at this point he at once rises again to the region of the Lord's discourses, and relates those words, so grave, so lengthened, so sustainedly lofty and elevated, which had their occasion in the multiplying of the bread, when He addressed the multitudes to the following effect: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." * After which sayings, He continues to discourse in similar terms for a very long period, and in the most exalted strain. At that time, some fell away from the sublime teaching of such words, namely, those who walked no more with Him afterwards. But there were also those who did cleave to Him; and these were they who were able to receive the meaning of this saying, "It is the spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing." 2 For surely it is true, that even through the flesh it is the spirit that profiteth, 3 and the spirit alone that profiteth; whereas the flesh without the spirit profiteth nothing.

16. Next we come to the passage where His brethren â€” that is to say, His relations according to the flesh â€” urge Him to go up to the feast-day, in order that He may have an opportunity of making Himself known to the multitude. And here, again, how supremely elevated is the tone of His reply! "My time is not yet come, but your time is alway ready. The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it that the works thereof are evil." 4 So it is the case, then, that "your time is alway ready," because ye desire that kind of day to which the prophet refers when he says, "But I have not laboured following Thee, Lord; and the day of man
I have not desired, Thou knowest:" 5 that is to say, to soar to the light of the Word, and to desire that day which Abraham desired

1 John vi. 26, 27. 2 John vi. 63.

3 The text gives: el per carnem spiritus prodest. Some editions read et carni, etc. = the spirit profiteth even the flesh.

4 John vii. 6, 7. 6 Jer. xvii. 16.

HARMONY. 2 I

498 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

to see, and which he did see, and was glad. 1 And again, how wonderful, how divine, how sublime are the words which John represents Him to have spoken after He had gone up to the temple, at the time of the feast! They are such as these: that where He was about to go, thither they could not come; 2 that they both knew Him, and knew whence He was; 3 that He who sent Him is true, whom they knew not, 4 which is mud* the same as if He had said, " Ye both know whence I am, and know not whence I am." And what else did He wish to be understood by such utterances, but that it was possible for Him to be known to them according to the flesh, in respect of lineage and country, but that, so far as regarded His divinity, He was unknown to them? On this occasion, too, when He spoke of the gift of the Holy Spirit, He showed them who He was, inasmuch as He could hold the power of bestowing that highest boon.

17. Again, how weighty are the things which this evangelist reports Jesus to have spoken, when He came back to the temple from Mount Olivet, and after the forgiveness which He extended to the adulteress, who had been brought before Him by His tempters, as one deserving to be stoned: on which occasion He wrote with His finger upon the ground, as if He would indicate that people of the character of these men would be written on earth, and not in heaven, as He also admonished His disciples to rejoice that their names were written in heaven! 5 Or, it may be that He meant to convey the idea that it was by humbling Himself (which He expressed by bending down His head) that He wrought signs upon the earth; or, that the time was now come when His law should be written, not, as formerly, on the sterile stone, but on a soil which would yield fruit. Accordingly, after these incidents, He affirmed Himself to be the light of the world, and declared that he who followed Him would not walk in darkness, but would have the light of life. He said, also, that He was " the beginning which also discoursed to them." 6 By which desig-

1 John viii. 56. 2 John vii. 34. 3 John vii. 28.

4 John vii. 28. 5 Luke x. 20.
nation He clearly distinguished Himself from the light which He made, and presented Himself as the Light by which all things have been made. Consequently, when He said that He was the light of the world, we are not to take the words to bear simply the sense intended when He addressed the disciples in similar terms, saying, "Ye are the light of the world." For they are compared only to the kindled light, which is not to be put beneath a bushel, but to be set upon a candlestick; as He also says of John the Baptist, that "he was a burning and shining light." But He is Himself the beginning, of whom it is likewise declared, that "of His fulness have all we received." On the occasion presently under review, He asserted further that He, the Son, is the Truth, which will make us free, and without which no man will be free.

18. Next, after telling the story of the giving of sight to the man who was blind from his birth, John tarries for a space over the copious discourse to which that incident gave occasion, on the subject of the sheep, and the shepherd, and the door, and the power of laying down His life and taking it again, wherein He gave token of the supreme might of His divinity. Thereafter, he relates how, at the time when the feast of the dedication was being celebrated in Jerusalem, the Jews said to Him, "How long dost thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." And then he reports the sublime words which the Lord uttered when the opportunity thus arose for a discourse. It was on this occasion that He said, "I and my Father are one." After this, again, he brings before us the raising of Lazarus from the dead: in connection with which miracle the Lord said, "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." In these words what do we recognise but the sublimity of the Godhead of Him, in fellowship with whom we shall live for ever? Once more, John joins Matthew and Mark in what is recorded about Bethany, where the scene took place with the precious ointment which was poured upon

1 Matt. v. 14, 15. 2 John v. 35. 3 John i. 16.
4 John viii. 36. 6 John x. 24. 6 John x. 30.
7 John xi. 25, 26.
His feet and His head by Mary. 1 And then, on to the Lord's passion and resurrection, John keeps by the other three evangelists, but only in so far as his narrative engages itself with the same places.

19. Moreover, so far as regards the Lord's discourses, he does not cease to ascend to the sublimer and more extended utterances of which, from this point also, He delivered Himself. For he inserts a lofty address which the Lord spoke on the occasion when, through Philip and Andrew, the Gentiles expressed their desire to see Him, and which is introduced by none of the other evangelists. There, too, he reports the remarkable words which were spoken again on the subject of the light which enlightens and makes men the children of light. 2 Thereafter, in connection with the Supper itself, of which none of the evangelists has failed to give us some notice, how affluent and how lofty are those words of Jesus which John records, but which the others have passed over in silence ! I may instance not only His commendation of humility, when He washed the disciples' feet, but also that marvellously overpowering and pre-eminently copious discourse which the Lord delivered to the eleven who remained with Him after His betrayer had been indicated by the morsel of bread, and had gone out. It was in this discourse, over which John lingers long, that He said, " He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also." Â€ It was in it, too, that He expressed Himself so largely about the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, whom He was to send to them, and about His own glory, which He had with the Father before the world was, and about His making us i one in Himself, even , as He and the Father are one, â€” not that He and the Father and we should be one, but that we should be one as they are one. And many other things of a wonderfully sublime order did He utter in that connection.

But who can fail to see that to discuss such themes in any manner that would be worthy of them, even if we were competent to do so, is at least not the task which we have undertaken in the present effort ? For our object is to help those who are lovers of the Word of God and students of holy truth.

1 John xii. 1-9; Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9.

2 John xii. 20-50. 3 John xiv. 9.
also testified, and to whom the rest of the apostles likewise bore witness, who, although they did not take in hand the construction of written narratives, did at least discharge the kindred service in officially preaching of Him: but that, at the same time, he was borne to far loftier heights in the doctrine of Christ from the very beginning of his book, and that it was but on rare occasions that he kept to the level pursued by the others. These occasions were the following in particular, namely: first by the Jordan, in reference to the testimony of John the Baptist; secondly, on the other side of the sea of Tiberias, when the Lord fed the multitudes with the five loaves, and walked upon the waters; thirdly, in Bethany, where He had the precious ointment poured over Him by the devotion of a woman of faith. And so he proceeds, until he meets them at the time of the Passion, which, as matter of course, he had to relate in conjunction with them. But, even in that section, and on the particular subject of the Lord's Supper, which has been left unnoticed by none of them, he has presented us with a much more affluent statement, as if he drew his materials directly from the treasure-store of that bosom of the Lord on which it was his wont to recline. Then, again, [John shows us how] He astonishes Pilate with words of a sublimer import, declaring that His kingdom is not of this world, and that He was born a King, and that He came into the world for this purpose, that He might bear witness to the truth. 1 [It is in this Gospel also that] He withdraws Himself 2 from Mary with some deep mystical intention after His resurrection, and says to her, "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father." It is here, too, that He imparts the Holy Spirit to the disciples by breathing on them, 4 giving us thereby to understand that this Spirit who is consubstantial and co-eternal with the Trinity, should not be considered to be simply the Spirit of the Father, but should also be held to be the Spirit of the Son.

1 John xviii. 36, 37.

2 The text gives vitans. Many mss. and editions read visitans= coming to Mary.

3 John xx. 17. 4 John xx. 22.

502 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

20. Finally, He here commits His sheep to the care of Peter, who loves Him, and thrice confesses that love, and then He states that He wills this very John so to tarry until He comes. 1 In which utterance, again, He seems to me to have conveyed in a profound and mystical way the fact that this 2 evangelical stewardship of John's, in which he is borne aloft into the most liquid light of the Word, 3 where it is possible to behold the equality and unchangeableness of the Trinity, and in which, above all, we see at what a distance from all others in respect of essential character that humanity stands by whose assumption it occurred that the Word was made flesh, cannot be clearly discerned and recognised until the Lord Himself comes. Consequently, it will tarry thus until He comes. At present it will tarry in the faith of believers, but hereafter it will be possible to contemplate it face to face, 4 when He,
our Life, shall appear, and when we shall appear with Him in glory. 5 But if any one supposes that with man, living, as he still does, in this mortal life, it may be possible for a person to dispel and clear off every obscurity induced by corporal and carnal fancies, and to attain to the serenest light of changeless truth, and to cleave constantly and unswervingly to that with a mind thoroughly estranged from the course of this present life, that man understands neither what he asks, nor who he is that put such a supposition. Let such an individual rather accept the authority, at once lofty and free from all deceitfulness, which tells us that, as long as we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord, and that we walk by faith and not by sight. 6 And thus, with all perseverance keeping and guarding his faith and hope and charity, let him look forward to the sight which is promised, in accordance with that earnest which we have received of the Holy Ghost, who shall teach us all truth, 7 when God, who raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, shall also quicken our mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in us. 8 But before this

1 John xxi. 23. 2 Some mss. insert secreiam = secret.

3 Reading, lucem liquklissimam verbi sublimiter. But various mss. and editions give verbi subUmitate fertur, etc. = borne aloft in the sublimity of the word into the most liquid light.

4 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 5 Col. iii. 4. 6 2 Cor. v. 6, 7. 7 John xvi. 13. 8 Rom. viii. 10, 11.

CHAP. X.| JOHN TARRYING TILL CHRIST COMES. 503

body, which is dead by reason of sin, is quickened, it is without doubt corruptible, and presseth down the soul. 1 And if, in the body, man is ever helped to reach beyond the cloud with which the whole earth is covered, 2 â€” that is to say, beyond this carnal darkness with which the whole life of earth is covered, â€” it is simply as if he were touched with a rapid coruscation, only to sink swiftly into his natural infirmity, the desire surviving by which he may again be excited (to what is evil), and the purity being insufficient to establish him (in what is good).
The more, however, any one can do this, the greater is he; while the less he can do so, the less is he. And if the mind of a man has as yet had no such experience â€” in which mind nevertheless Christ dwells by faith â€” he ought to strive earnestly to diminish the lusts of this world, and to make an end of them by the exercise of moral virtue, walking, as it were, in the company of these three evangelists with Christ the Mediator. And, with the joy of large hope, let him in faith hold Him who is alway the Son of God, but who, for our sakes, became the Son of man, in order that His eternal power and Godhead might be united with 3 our weakness and mortality, and, on the basis of what is ours, make a way for us in Himself and to Himself. That a man may be kept from sinning, he should be ruled by Christ the King. If he happens to sin, he may obtain remission from Christ, who is also priest. And thus, nurtured in the exercise of a good conversation and life, and
borne out of the atmosphere of earth on the wings of a twofold love, as on a pair of strong
pinions, so may he be enlightened by the same Christ, who is also the Word, the Word
who was in the beginning, the Word who was with God, and the Word who was God; and
although that will still be through a glass darkly, it will be a sublime kind of illumination
far superior to every corporeal similitude. Wherefore, although it is the gifts of the active
virtue that shine pre-eminent in the first three evangelists, while it is the gift of the
contemplative virtue that discerns such subjects, nevertheless, this Gospel of John, in so
far as it also is in part, will so tarry until that which is perfect comes. 4 And to one,
indeed, is given by the

1 Wisd. of Sol. ix. 13. 3 Ecclus. xxiv. 3.
3 Contemperata = attempered to. 4 1 Cor. xiii. 12, 9, 10.

504 THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS. [BOOK IV.]

Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit. 1 One
man regardeth the day to the Lord; 2 another receives a clearer draught from the breast of
the Lord; another is caught up even to the third heaven, and hears unspeakable words. 3
But all, as long as they are in the body, are absent from the Lord. 4 And for all believers
living in the good hope, whose names are written in the book of life, there is still in
reserve that which is referred to in the words,
"And I will love him, and will manifest myself unto him."
Nevertheless, the greater the advance which a man may make in the apprehension and
knowledge of this theme during the time of this absence from the Lord, all the more
carefully should he guard against those devilish vices, pride and envy. Let him remember
that this very Gospel of John, which urges us so pre-eminently to the contemplation of
truth, gives a no less remarkable prominence to the inculcation of the sweet grace of
charity. Let him also consider that most true and wholesome precept which is couched in
the words, "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all." 6 For the evangelist
who presents Christ to us in a far loftier strain of teaching than all the others, is also the
one in whose narrative the Lord washes the disciples' feet. 7

1 1 Cor. xii. 8. 2 Rom. xiv. 6. 3 2 Cor. xii. 2-4. 4 2 Cor. v. 6.
5 John xiv. 21. 6 Ecclus. iii. 18. 7 John xiii. 5.

INDEXES.
INDEX OF TEXTS.

Genesis.
i. 1, i. 16, ii. 22, iii. 19, . 11, 22, v. 24, xii. 1, 2
xxii. 18
xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, xxxix. 7-12, xlviii. 5, 6,

Exodus.
i. 10, .
vii and viii.
xx. 4, .
xxiii. 24, xxvi. 7, xxxiv. 28,
Deuteronomy.
vi. 4, . 177
vii. 5, . 189
xiii. 3, . . 88, 277
1 Samuel.
xxi. 6, . . 143
2 Samuel.
 xii. 1-14, . . 207
1 Kings.
xviii. 40, . .54
 xix. 8, . . 204
i. 10,

2 Kings.
i. 11, .

Job.

Psalms.
Proverbs.
iii. 12, . . . 53
xxv. 21, . . . 71

Ecclesiastes.
i. 14, . . . 3

5Q5
Canticles.
iv. 1, . 116

Isaiah.
i. 2, .
i. 16, .
ii. 5-21, v. 6, .
v.7, .
vii. 14, .
xi. 2, 3, xxvi. 10, liii. 8, .
liii. 13-liv. 5, liv. 5, .
liv. 13, .
lvii. 21, lxiv. 4, .
lxvi. 1, .

77
97
181
65
263
178
7, 132
480
197
186
158, 184
81, 93
. 128
Jeremiah.
  iii. 20,
  xii. 13,
  xvi. 19, xvii. 16, xxiii. 24, xxxii.,
  iii. 4,
  vi. 6,

Ezekiel.

Hosea.

Habakkuk.
  ii. 4, . . .
  xiv. 4,
  i. 6, iv. 2,

Zechariah.
INDEX OF TEXTS.

Malachi.

263
126
177
497
167
404

Wisdom.

i. 1, 4, 101

50G

PAGE
vii. 28, 249
xxiii. 346
ix. 13, 503
vii. 29, 240
xxiii. 2, 3, 126
viii. 1, 2,
247, 250

xxiii. 39,

. 347

ECCLESIASTICUS.

viii. 5-13,

251-2

xxiv. 1, 2,

. 349

iii. 18, .

, 

504

viii. 14, 15,

240, 254

xxiv. 14, 18,81,
v. 5, 6, .

.  

101

viii. 16, 18,

. 256

xxiv. 20,

. 353

x. 13, .

. 3

. 24

viii. 18,

. 257

xxiv. 23-25, .

. 130
xix. 4, .

#

343

viii. 19-22,

. 258

xxiv. 35,

. 99

xxiv. 3,

#

503

viii. 20,

. 197

xxiv. 3 to xxv

. 350
xxvii. 5,

, 89

viii. 23-34,

. 259, 293

xxv. 33-35, .

. 480

xxxiv. 9, 11, .

, 88

viii. 27,

. 260

xxv. 33, 46, .

. 82
89

ix. 8, .

. 14

xxvi. 1-26, .

355-368

ix. 9, .

. 229, 264

xxvi. 6-13, .

. 500

Matthew.

ix. 10-42,

. 265-275
xxvi. 22-25,

. 369

LI,

#

197

x. 25,

. 62

xxvi. 30-35,

371, 373,

i. 1-16,

,

199

x. 40,

. 486
374, 485
i. 6, .

, 142
xi. 1-19,
. 282
xxvi. 30^6, .
. 379
i. 17, .

, 205
xi. 12, .
. 32
xxvi. 36-55, 380-384, i. 18, 208, 2i2, 214, 215, xi. 20-24, . 58, 283, xxvi. 52-55, 113, 385, i. 19-21, # 210, xi. 25-30, . 124, 284
387

i. 23,

% 178

xii. 1-38,

. 284-288

xxvi. 57-74,

388-390

ii. 1,

f 217

xii. 3,

. 143
xxvi. 57,

. 392

ii. 1-3, 12,

210

xii. 24-33,

. 62

xxvi. 66,

. 428

ii. 1-12,

218

xii. 30, .

. 486
xxvi. 67, 68, 75, . 39

ii. 1-18,

Â§

147

xii. 33, 34,

. 126

xxvi. 71,

. 393

ii. 3-16,

\[ t \]

228

xii. 38, .

. 313

xxvi. 59 to xxvii. 1, 399
iii. 1,

220,

222

xii. 46-50,

82, 290

xxvii. 4, 5, .

. 61

iii. 1-3,

. 228

xiii. 1-52,

. 291

xxvii. 19,

. 420
iii. 3-12,

230,

231

xiii. 53-58,

. 293

xxvii. 38-66,

429-442

iii. 13-15,

235,

238

xiii. 54,

. 275

xxvii. 45,

. 418
iii. 16, 17,

B

236

xiv. 1-33,

. 296-305

xxviii. 1-7, .

. 442

iv. 1, 2,

. 

204

xiv. 34 to xv

. 20, 309

xxviii. 5-15, .

443, 454,
iv. 1-11,

238

xv. 21 toxvi.

4, 310-313

455, 470

iv. 10, .

#

241

xvi. 5-27,

. 314-316

xxviii. 9, 16,

17, . 476

iv. 11, .
22,

108,

266

xvi. 18,

. 239

xxviii. 16-20,

204, 471

iv. 12,,

239,

245,

299

xvi. 19,

. 320

iv. 13,
240,
243
xvi. 26, .
. 102
Mark.
iv. 13-23,
242
xvi. 27, .
. 229
i. 1-4, . 221, 222, 228
iv. 18-22,
243
xvi. 28 to xvii. 9, . 311

i. 1-39, .

481, 482

iv. 25, etc.

j â€¢

248

xvii. 1, .

. 417

i. 6-20,

231-243

v. -vii. .

. 1

-132

289

xvii. 2, .
. 461

i. 14, .

245, 299

v. 3, .

247

xvii. 10-26,

. 318, 319

i. 31-35,

. 256

v. 3-9, .

95

xviii.
ii. 12-18,
262, 266
v. 14-16,
68
499
xix. 17,
. 324
ii. 14,
. 243
v. 26,
86
xix. 1 to xx.
16, . 323
ii. 23-28,
. 284
v. 2'8,

376
xx. 17-34,
. 325
iii. 1-35,
. 285-290
v. 34, 35,

89
xxi. 9,
. 338, 347
iii. 17,
v. 40, 

86

xxi. 23-27,

. 119

iv. 1-35,

. 292, 482

v. 44, 

87

xxi. 1 to xxii. 14, 32

iv. 36-41,

. 259, etc.

vi. 3, 

34

xxii. 15-46,

. 342-345

v. 21 to vi. 3

), . 484

vii. 2, .

13

xxii. 30,

32, 81

vi. 6-11, 2'

15, 276, 293

IXDEX OF TEXTS.

507
xiii. 31-35,

. 348, 472

vi. 30-54,

300-306

iii. 1-21,

. 223

xiv. 16-24,

. 341

vi. 31 to vii. 37

. 484

iii. 2,

. 392

xiv. 26,

31, 34

vii. 24-30,
. 310

iii. 4,

. 228

xv. 7,

. 24

vii. 31 to viii. Â£

1, . 312

iii. 7-17,

. 231

xvii. 3,

. 61

viii. 10-38,

313-316

iii. 15-21,

. 298
xviii. 2-8,
  . 103

viii. 39 to ix. 9,
  . 317

iii. 20, .
  . 300

xviii. 18-35,
  . 324, 325

ix. 1,
  . 417

iii. 21, .
  . 235

xviii. 35-43,
  . 326

ix. 1-10,
  . 327
iii. 22.

. 20«, 236

xix. 1-38,

. 327

ix. 10-49, 318-320, 487

iii. 23-38,

. 198, 199

xix. 45, 46,

. 330

ix. 24, .

. 273

iii. 31, .

. 142

xix. 14 to xx

. 8, . 334
x. 13-31,

. 323

iv. 1-14,

. 239, 246

xx. 9-18,

. 335

x. 46-52,

274, 325

iv. 13-23,

. 295

xx. 15-17,

. 336

xi. 11-33,

330-334

iv. 23,
iv. 40, 42,

. 257

xx. 16 to xxi

36, . 350

xiii. 10, 14,

. 351

iv. 41,

160, 483

xxi. 1-4,

. 490

xiv. 1, 2, 10,

355, 358

v. 1-11, 24

t2, 243, 244
xxi. 20, 21, 352
xiv. 3-9, 360, 500
v. 10, 241
xxi. 34-36, 354
xiv. 10-16, 363
v. 12, 13, 247
xxii. 1, 355
xiv. 17-21,
. 366, 369

dxii. 26, 31, 

371, 373

dii. 6-10,

. 285

dxii. 24-27,

. 325

dxii. 32-32,

. 379

dii. 9,

. 286

dxii. 24-46,

. 378, 379

dxii. 41,

. 381
vi. 12, .
. 287

xxii. 31-33,
91, 371, 373

xiv. 43-50, .
. 384

vi. 12-20, 24
1, 247, 249,

xxii. 49,

. 368

xiv. 52-72, .
387-396

264

xxii. 51,

. 385
xiv. 64,

. 398

vii. 1-10,

251, 252

xxii. 53-62,

. 387-396

xv. 1, 2,

. 398

vii. 14, .

. 28

xxii. 63 to xxiii. 1, 398

xv. 2-15,

. 407

vii. 18-35,

. 282
xxiii. 2, 3,

. 407

xv. 9, .

. 405

vii. 36-50,

. 360

xxiii. 13-25,

. 408, 409

xv. 13, 14, .

. 424

vii. 42-48,

. 254

xxiii. 16-23,

. 421

xv. 16-25, .
ix. 1-6,
276, 283

xxiii. 43, 45,
46, 418,

xvi. 5, 8,
. 443

ix. 9-17,
296-300

433, 434

xvi. 6, 7,
. 470

ix. 12-17,
. 302

xxiii. 47,
. 435
xvi. 12-20, 460-468, 476

ix. 17, 18, .

. 308

xxiii. 48-53,

438-440

ix. 18-51, .

314-323

xxiii. 54,

. 449


ix. 28, .

. 417

xxiv. 5-8,
xxiv. 13, 24, 457

i. 26-34, 209

x. 4, 283

xxiv. 15, 35, 476

i. 32, 144

x. 13-15, 58

xxiv. 33-49, 462-464

i. 41,
ii. 33, 40, 41,
. 198

xii. 47, 48, .

53, 384

i. 15, .

. 231

508

INDEX OF TEXTS.

i. 16, . . . 499
i. 19-27, 120, 143, 228, 229
i. 29, . . . 206
i. 32-34, . 235, 238
i. 35-44, 239, 242, 243
i. 42, 240, 243, 315, 483

ii. 1, 2, ii. 1, 12, ii. 1-11, ii. 1-22, ii. 24, 25, iii. 22-24
iii. 34, .
iv. 1-3,

iv. 3, 5, 43-54, iv. 14, 34, iv. 34, .
iv. 48, v. 17, 19, v. 18, .
v. 19, .
v. 22, .
v. 25, .
v. 29, .
v. 35, .
v. to vi. 13, vi. 1, .
vi. 5-13, vi. 6, .
vi. 15, .
vi. 22-72, vi. 26, 27, 63
vi. 27, 41, vi. 32-64, vi. 38, .
vi. 42, .
vi. 45, .
vii. 6, 7,
vii. 12,
vii. 28, 34,
viii. 11,
viii. 31-37,
viii. 36,
viii. 48,
viii. 56,
ix. 39, .
x. 15, .
x. 16, .
x. 24, 30,
xi. 1, 2,
xi. 25, 26,
xi. 33, 44,
xi. 55, .

xii. 1, 2,
xii. 1-9, 20-50,

xii. 6, 8

xii. 14, 15,

xii. 25,

xii. 31,
xii. 37, 38.
xii. 49-51, xiii. 1, .
xiii. 2, 23-32
xiii. 5, .
xiii. 21-27, xiii. 33-38, xiv. 1, 2, xiv. 9, 10, xiv. 21, xiv. 26, xiv. 30, xv. 26, xvi. 12, xvi.
13, xvii. 22, xvii. 25, 26, xviii. 1, xviii. 3, xviii. 4-9, 11
xviii. 12-18, xviii. 18-24, xviii. 25-27, xviii. 28, xviii. 28-34, xviii. 36, 37, xviii. 35 to xix.
1-3, xix. 4-12, xix. 8-16, xix. 16-18, xix. 23, 24, xix. 25, 27, xix. 26, xix. 28-30, xix. 39-
42, xx. 1-18, xx. 14, .
xxi. 1-11, xxi. 3, .
xxi. 15-17, xxi. 23, xxi. 24, xxi. 25,

145

409
Acts.

i. 1, 2, i. 2, 9, i. 3, i. 4-8, i. 26, ii. 1-4, iv. 26, 27,
vii. 60, 
ix. 1-30, ix. 4, x. 41, 
xi. 27-30, xiv. 22, xviii. 2, 3, xx. 34, xxii. 3, xxii. 25, xxiii. 3-5, xxviii. 10,

Romans.
i. 3, 
i. 9, 
i. 17, 
i. 24-28, ii. 1, 
ii. 4, 
ii. 14-16, v. 3-5, 10,
v. 10, 
v. 20, 
vi. 12, 
xi. 17-24, xi. 20, 
xi. 34, 
xii. 14, 17, xii. 20, xii. 21, 
xiii. 10, xiv. 3, 4, xiv. 6, 
xv. 16, 21,

rAOK
60
1 54
486
477
109
1 Corinthians
9,
15,
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

509

vi. 9, .
vi. 17, .
vii. 4, etc., vii. 10, 11, vii. 14, 15, vii. 29, .
viii. 1, .
ix. 7-15, ix. 13-17, ix. 19-22, ix. 26, 27, x. 4, .
x. 13, .
x. 17, .
x. 32, 33, xi. 3, .
xii. 3, .
xii. 8, .
xii. 11, .
xiii. 6, .
xiii. 9-12, xiii. 12, .
xiv. 20, .
xv. 3-8, xv. 4, 5, xv. 6, .
xv. 2."), .
xv. 31, .
xv. 42, 55, xv. 53, 54, xvi. 1-8,

PAGE
. 131)
. 207
. 35, etc.
. 31, 34
. 37, GO
. 31
. 3
. 279
. 105
. 115
. 13, 03
. 131
. 91
2 Corinthians.

ii. 16, .

iii. 18, .

iv. 3, .

v. 6, 7, .

v. 10, .

ix. 7, .

xi. 12, .

xi. 20, 21,
xi. 23-27, xi. 31,
xii. 2-4, xii. 15,

PAGE

110
42

504

48

Galatians.

i. 10,
i. 20,
i. 23, 24,
i) 4 > â€¢
iii. 1,

iii. 28,

iv. 1-6,

iv. 4, 5,

iv. 6,

iv. 14,

v. 13,

v. 19-23,
v. 26, .
vi. 2-5, .
vi. 4, 
Ephesians.
ii. 11-22, iii. 17, .
iv. 26, .
iv. 28, .
v. 5, .
v. 13, .
v. 23, .
v. 25-33, v. 27, .

14, 69
. 42
. 14
. 273
. 19
. 32
. 77
64, 201
95, 383

115
128
14
278
14

383
21
20
109
COLOSSIANS

i. 24, ii. 3,
i. 9, . . 109
ii. 9, . . 279

2 Thessalonians.
iii. 8, . 109

1 Timothy.
i. 5, . .98
ii. 5, . . 144, 194
v. 24, 25, . .112

2 Timothy.
ii. 24, 25, . 86, 131
iv. 14, . . 59, 61

Hebrews.
iii. 13, .
xi. 33, 37, .
xii. 6, .

James.
i. 13, .
i. 18, .
iv. 6,

1 Peter.
iv. 17, 18, .

1 John.

iii. 2, .
v. 16, .

85
431
203
II.â€”INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Abraham, promise to, and fulfilment, 17"), etc.

Acyndinus, story of, and a debtor, 40.

Adoption, nature of, 64, 200.

Alexander the coppersmith, 61.

Alms, to be given in secret, i.e. in a good conscience, 73.

Andrew, and another, the first followers of our Lord, 241.
Anger, degrees of, 17.

Annunciation, the, 208, 213.

Apostles, the, choosing of, 249; mission of, 275.

Archelaus, son of King Herod, explanation of statement regarding, 223, etc.

Ass, the, on which Christ rode, 327.

Barabbas preferred to Christ, 405.

Bethany, anointment of Christ in, 356, etc.

Blessedness, the, of Christians, is within, 9.

Cesar, of rendering tribute to, 312.

Canaan, woman of, 310.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Centurion, a, gives testimony to

Christ at His death, 435.

Child, children, little, an example of humility, 319; Christ lays hands on, 323; sing
hosanna in the temple, 331.

Christ, came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil, 15; concealed certain truths, 116; of
calling Him Lord, 129; kingship and priesthood of, 142; His divinity, 144; why He wrote nothing Himself, 149; the Catholic Church testifies
to His wisdom, 151; books on magic ascribed to, 152; derivation of the name, 157; magic
arts ascribed to,
idols subverted by His name,
fulfilment of prophecies concerning, mediator between God and men,
His genealogy,
birth of, visits Jerusalem when twelve years old,
temptation of, calls His first disciples,
leaves Nazareth and dwells in Capernaum, sets apart the twelve, His reply to the scribe who offered to follow Him, calls Matthew, His reply to questions about fasting, sends forth the twelve, upbraids the cities which repented not, comes to His own country, goes up unto a mountain to pray,
announces His passion, pays tribute, uttered the same saying repeatedly and in different places, lays His hands on little children, enters Jerusalem on an ass, expels the buyers and sellers from the temple, David's son and David's Lord, foretells the destruction of the temple, His discourse on the Mount of Olives, anointment of, in Bethany,
indicates the traitor, His last supper, discourse of, to the eleven, in Gethsemane, His arrest, led away to Caiaphas, His arrest, led away to Caiaphas, accused of blasphemy, spit upon, and buffeted, denied by Peter, delivered to Pilate, questioned by Pilate, accused by the chief priests, sent to Herod, who mocks Him, crowned with thorns, led away to be crucified, crucified, insults to, on the cross, last words of, on the cross, and death of, miracles at His death, women looked on at His crucifixion, body of, given to Joseph, His burial, resurrection of, announced by an angel to the women at the sepulchre, appearance of, to Mary Magdalene, manifests Himself to His disciples, eats after His resurrection, ascension of, appearances of, in Galilee, ten appearances of,
Christ, miracles of, at Cana, cure of multitudes, healing the leper, the centurion's servant, Peter's wife's mother, calming of the waters, casting out the legion of devils, healing the sick of the palsy, raising of Jairus' daughter, curing two blind men, restoring the withered hand, the five loaves, walking on the sea, curing the woman of Canaan's daughter, the seven loaves, curing the lunatic, making the fig-tree wither, casting out an unclean spirit, healing the infirm man at the pool of Siloam,
Church, the Catholic, testifies to the wisdom of Christ,
Cicero, speaks of the heathen gods as deified men, 168; his opinion of Eoscius the actor, 190.
Commandment, the great, 343.
Commandment, the, of God, is the adversary we are enjoined to agree with, 25.
Crucifixion of Christ, 415.

Degrees, of anger, 17; of liability, 18.

Devils are cast out when nations renounce their superstitions and believe on Christ, 348.

Disciples, calling of the first. 239, etc.; the designation not confined to the twelve, 244.

Divorce treated of, 30, etc., 321, etc.

Elders, tradition of the, 309.

Elijah, inflicted death on many, 54.

Emmaus, the walk to, 456.

Euhemerus declares the heathen gods to be only deified men, 168.

Evangelists, their number, order, and the principles on which they wrote, 141; apocalyptic symbols of the,

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

511

147; variety yet harmony of the,
231, etc.

Fasting, how rightly practised, 06,

etc.; Christ's reply to questions

about, 267.
Fatherhood of God, 77.
Fornication, every evil lust rightly so
called, 28.
Forty, the, mentioned by Matthew,
import of, 203.

Genealogy of Christ, 197-208.

God, fatherhood of, 77. See Jews, God of the.

Gods. See Pagans.

Gospels, authority of the, 139; Mark, Luke, and John, compared with Matthew, 139-480; passages peculiar to Mark, Luke, or John, 481-504.

Hebrews. See Jews.

Herod (the king), slaughter of the young children by, 211.

Herod (the tetrarch), son of Herod the king, 223; his opinion of Christ, 296; compared to a fox, 347; mocks Christ, 408.

Holy Spirit, why chiefly called the Comforter, 4; sevenfold operation of the, 7; sin against the, 61.

Hypocrite, meaning of the term, 70.

Idolaters, argued with, 178, etc.

Idols, subverted by the name of Christ, 176; predicted rejection of, 179.

Imprecations, Scripture, are prophecies, 59.

Israel a witness for the true God, 177.

Jairus, raising of his daughter, 269.

Jesus. See Christ.

Jews, had only one God, the true God, 155; why subjected to the Romans, 155; still reject idolatry, 159.

Jews, God of the, not worshipped by the Romans, 155; allowed the Jews to be conquered, but proved Himself to be unconquered, 157; proof that He is the true God, 163, etc.; exclusive worship due to the, 165; heathen opinions regarding, 166,
182; witnessed to by Israel, 177.

John (the apostle), specially sets forth Christ's divinity, 144; his contemplative character, 145; passages peculiar to his Gospel, 493-504.

John (the Baptist), his birth, 215; his preaching, 220, 228; testimony of, 230; his knowledge of Christ, 237;

his disciples and Christ, 267, 282;

his imprisonment and death, 297.

Joseph, why Christ's genealogy traced down to him and not to Mary, 197.

Joseph of Arimathea begs the body of Jesus, 439.

Judas, could not humble himself to ask pardon, 61; was a thief, 362;

covenants to betray Christ, 363;

entry of Satan into, 370; his kiss, 384; his repentance, despair, and death, 400.

Jupiter, thought by Varro to be the God of the Jews, 166; legends regarding, 167, etc.

Law, the, not destroyed but fulfilled by Christ, 15; of retaliation, 46.

Leon, an Egyptian priest, expounded the origin of the gods, 170.

Liability, three degrees of, 18.

Living creatures of the Apocalypse as symbols of the evangelists, 147.

Lucan speaks of the God of the Jews
as an uncertain God, 182.

Magic, books on, ascribed to Christ, 152; arts of, ascribed to Christ, 159.

Mark, follows Matthew closely, 142; passages peculiar to his Gospel, 481-490.

Martyrs, avenging of the, 63.

Mary, the Virgin, song of, 214.

Mary of Bethany anointed Christ, 360.

Mary Magdalene, appearance of Christ to, 451.

Matthew, wrote in Hebrew, 141; sets forth specially the kingly character of Christ, 142, 203; calling of, 264.

Mediator, mystery of a, made known to the ancients, 192.

Men-pleasing condemned, 14, 68.

Miracles, can be performed by unrighteous men, 130; accompanied Christ's death, 434. See Christ.

Nazareth, question regarding Christ's early residence in, 211.

Nicodemus brings spices to anoint the body of Jesus, 440.

Numbers (symbolic), 7, 94, 203, 207, 459.

Oaths, to be refrained from, unless by necessity, 42.
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Pagans, the, their opinion of Christ, 149; derided their own deities, 152; while lauding Christ, insulted His disciples, 160; their fables about Jupiter and Saturn, 167; their gods only deified men, 168, etc.; dilemma for, 173.

Parables, of the sower, etc., 291; of the labourers in the vineyard, 335, etc.; of the marriage feast, 341.

Passion, the, strictly so called, 413; hour of, 416, etc.

Paul, his conduct as illustrative of presenting the cheek to be smitten, 49; and Alexander the coppersmith, 61; bore with the infirmities of others, 115.

Passover, our Lord's last, 363.

Peace, given on earth to men, what it is, 5.

Peter, his denial of Christ foretold, 371; cuts off Malchus' right ear, 385; denies Christ, 390; his repentance, 396; his love to Christ, who commits His sheep to him, 502.

Pharisees, the, object to Christ's eating with publicans and sinners, 265; seek a sign, 288; leaven of the, 314; sit in Moses' seat, 346.

Pilate (Pontius), governor of the Jews, 224; Christ brought before, 398; questions Christ, 404; message from his wife, 420; seeks to release Christ, 421; gives Him up to be crucified, 423; gives His body to Joseph, 439.

Plato quoted, 193.

Potter's field, buying of the, 400; the words of the prophecy regarding, are as much Zechariah's as Jeremiah's, 401.

Prayer, the Lord's, expounded, 74, etc.; the Lord hears, 120, etc.
Prophecy, Scripture imprecations are, 59; against idols, 179; fulfilment of, 183; made known to the ancients the mystery of a Mediator, 192.

Prophecy (heathen), defect of, 189.

Punishment, for correction, to be inflicted, 53, etc. Pythagoras left no writings, 150.

Relationships, eternal, 32.

Repentance, what sort of, God pardons, 61.

Retaliation, law of, 46.

Righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, 16; compared with the greater righteousness, 19.

Robbers, the, crucified along with Christ, 429, etc.

Romans (the heathen), worshipped the gods of all conquered nations, except the Jews, 155; their reasons for this exception, 100, etc.

Romulus, fratricide of, 156.

Saturn, asserted by some to be the God of the Jews, 166; interpretation of the name, 171.

Scripture, deals with round numbers, omitting fractions, 417; often expresses the whole under the part, 446.

Septuagint, the, its authority, 329.

Sermon on the Mount, a perfect standard of Christian life, 1; questions regarding its delivery, 248.

Seven, in number, beatitudes and operations of the Holy Spirit, 7; petitions in the Lord's prayer, 94.

Simon the Pharisee, supper in his house, 359.
Simon the Cyrenian compelled to bear Christ's cross, 414.

Sin, three steps of, i.e. suggestion, pleasure, consent, 26; three varieties of, 28; unto death, 60.

Socrates versified iEsop, but left no original writings, 150.

Sonship, various orders of, 201.

Staff, the, on the journey, 274.

Supper, the Lord's last, 367.

Temple, the, buyers and sellers expelled from, 329; destruction of, foretold, 349; rending of the veil of, 434.

Temptation, takes place by means of Satan, not by his power, 91; of Christ, 238.

Ten, the number symbolic of justice,
207.

Thorns, the crown of, 411.

Tradition of the elders, 309.

Transfiguration of Christ, 316.

Tree, the, known by its fruits, 121.

Tribute, paying of, 319; to Caesar, 342.

Varro thought the God of the Jews was Jupiter, 166.

Vinegar, the draught of, given to

Christ on the cross, 431.

Virgil cited, 167, 169, 170.

Wise men, visit of the, 210, 217.

Word, the, assumed the flesh, was not changed into the flesh, 145.
T. and T. Clark's Publications.

BIBLICO-THEOLOGICAL LEXICON OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. Cremer.
Demy 8vo. Price lis.

GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. Winer.
(Translated by Rev. W. F. Moulton, one of the New Testament Revision Company.)
Demy 8vo. Price lbs.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN COUNCILS, TO A.D. 325. Hefele.

Three Volumes, Royal 8vo. Price Â£1, 16s.

TRIPARTITE NATURE OF MAN. Heard.

HISTORY OF PROTESTANT THEOLOGY. Dorner.
Two Volumes, Demy 8vo. Price Â£1, 1s.

TRAINING OF THE TWELVE. Bruce.
Demy 8vo. Price 10s. 6d.

COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS. Gloag.
Two Volumes, Demy 8vo. Price Â£1, 1s.

OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH. Killen.
Demy 8vo. Price Â§s.

ARGUMENT OF EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. Steward.
Demy 8vo. Price 10s. 6d.
KRUMMACHER: An Autobiography.

LIGHT FROM THE CROSS. Tholuck.

SINLESSNESS OF JESUS. Ullmann.

BIBLICAL STUDIES ON ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL. Besser.
Two Volumes, Crown 8vo. Price 12s.

OUR LORD'S SECOND ADVENT. Brown.
Sixth Edition, Crown 8vo. Price 1s. 6d.

METAPHYSIC OF ETHICS. Kant.

APOCALYPSE, TRANSLATED AND EXPOUNDED. Glasgow.
Demy 8vo. Price 1s.

CHURCH OF CHRIST. Bannerman.
Two Volumes, Demy 8vo. Price Â£1, Is.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

This day, in Two Volumes crown 8vo, price 12s. 6d.,
Christian Ethics. Translated from the
German of Dr. Adolf Wuttke, late Professor of Theology in Halle.
Vol. I. History of Ethics; Vol. II. Pure Ethics.
This work, so well known in Germany, has been translated at the recommendation of Dr. Tholuck; and all critics accord in testifying that the author was a man singularly endowed with keenness of philosophic insight and with devoutness of Christian faith.

'Wuttke's Ethics should have a place in every pastor's library.' â€“ Dr. Uengstenberg.

WORKS BY DR. C. E. LUTHARDT.

In One Volume crown 8vo (in the Press),
Apologetic Lectures on the Morality of Christianity.

CONTENTS.

Chapter I. The Nature of Christian Morality.
II. Man.

III. The Christian and the Christian Virtues.
IV. The Devotional Life of the Christian and his Attitude towards the Church.

Chapter V. Christian Marriage.
VI. The Christian Home.
VII. The State and Christianity.
VIII. The Life of the Christians in the State.
IX. Culture and Christianity.
X. Humanity and Christianity.

â€œIn One Volume crown 8vo, price 6s.,
Apologetic Lectures on the Saving Truths

'An eloquent and powerful exposition of the truth. . . . Whilst the author walks in the old trodden paths, there is, along with a remarkable clearness of apprehension and accuracy of judgment, a freshness and originality of thought and a singular beauty of language, under the spell of which we read these lectures with unflagging interest. . They traverse a wide field of theological inquiry.' â€” British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

'We commend his lectures as very able. His scholarship is adequate, his spirit evangelical and devout, and he speaks lucidly, pointedly, and tersely.' â€” British Quarterly Review.

In One Volume crown 8vo, Third Edition (in the Press),

Apologetic Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity.

'We have never met with a volume better adapted to set forth the evidences of Christianity in a form suited to the wants of our day. The whole of the vast argument is illustrated by various and profound learning; there is no obscurity in the thoughts or in the style; the language is simple, the ideas clear, and the argument logical, and generally, to our mind, conclusive.' â€” Guardian.

I Luthardt is the very man to help those entangled in the thickets of modern rationalism; we do not know just such another book as this; it is devout, scholarly, clear, forcible, penetrating, comprehensive, satisfactory, admirable.' â€” Evangelical Magazine.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

Just published, in Two Volumes, Demy 8vo, price 21s.,

History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament.

Translated from the German of E. W. Hengstenberg, late Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin.

' One of the very pleasauteest books to read we have met with for a very considerable time. In many respects it may be considered an Introduction to the Old Testament, so
comprehensive and so thorough is its treatment of the subject. . . . It is a most serviceable companion to the Old Testament.’ — literary Churchman.

In One Volume, Demy 8vo, price 10s. 6d.

The Prophecies of Ezekiel elucidated. By E. W. Hengstenberg, late Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin.

( Professor Hengstenberg was a man of boundless energy, of immense learning, ingenuity, and acuteness, and of an ardent, resolute, and persistent spirit. . . . No German writer has exerted a greater influence over English theological thought, and very few men have rendered greater service to Biblical truth. . . . The Commentary on Ezekiel, in breadth of research and accuracy of learning, in critical acumen and evangelical sentiment, is inferior to none of the author's well-known works.’ — British Quarterly Review.

In Two Volumes, Demy 8vo, price 21s.,


* The eminent learning and distinguished abilities of Professor Bleek make this work of rare value; and the more so as this was his favourite branch, to which he devoted many years of faithful toil. . . . The whole discussion is exceedingly instructive, and throws a most welcome light on the structure, relations, and characteristics of the several Gospels. The laborious research of the author, his vast stores of learning, and complete mastery of his subject, make it both profitable and delightful to prosecute these studies with such assistance.’ — Princeton Review.

In Two Volumes, Demy 8vo, price 21s.,


' This is a very careful and complete treatment of the matters discussed. Dr Rett's work will be invaluable to all theological students and biblical scholars.’ — English Independent.

' We heartily commend this valuable addition to the Foreign Theological Library.' — British Quarterly Review.
In One handsome Vol., Demy 8vo, price 12s., Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged,


1 A work of profound erudition, and written in a most candid spirit. It deals with the y of Christian Councils as far as and including the Great Council of Nice, to which, indeed, about half of the work is devoted. In so rich a matter of choice, it is not easy to select anything for mention, but we may say that the account of Arius and his views is peculiarly valuable and interesting. The book will be a standard authority. . . . Protestant readers may be satisfied that he puts them in a condition to form an independent judgment, by an exhaustive and scrupulously fair statement of facts.' Spectator.

Uishop Hefele's great work, the "Concilien Geschichte," is of standard rank and primary importance to historical students.' Union Review.

T. and T. Claries Publications.

Just Published, in Crown 8vo, Price 4s. 6d.,

THE WORDS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT,

AS ALTERED BY TRANSMISSION, AND ASCERTAINED BY MODERN CRITICISM.

FOR POPULAR USE.

BY REV. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM, ABERDEEN,

AND

REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF HUMANITY, ST. ANDREWS.
COMMENTARY ON THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

BY JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, D.D., PRINCETON,
AUTHOR OF COMMENTARIES ON THE PSALMS, MARK, ACTS, ETC.

New and Revised Edition.
EDITED, WITH A PREFACE, BY JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D.

'I regard Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander as incomparably the greatest man I ever knew, as incomparably the greatest man our Church has ever produced.'—Dr. Hodge.

Books Published by

WILLIAM OLIPHANT & CO
(R. ANDERSON AND T. ROBERTSON),
57 FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, by
the late Dr. Mackelvie, price (to subscribers only)
Belfrage's Sacramental Addresses, crown 8vo.
Brook's Five Hundred Plans of Sermons, crown 8vo
Do. Do. Outlines, crown 8vo
Brown's (Haddington) Dictionary, imperial 8vo.
Do. (late John, D.D.) Hebrews, 2 vols. 8vo
Do. Romans, 8vo.

Do. Sayings of our Lord, 3 vols. 8vo

Do. First Peter, 3 vols, crown 8vo

Do. Second Peter, crown 8vo.

Do. Lord's Supper, crown 8vo

Do. Resurrection of Life, crown 8vo

Do. Intercessory Prayer, crown 8vo

Johnston (Rev. Robt.) on James, crown 8vo Kitto's Daily Bible Illustrations, Porter's Notes,
crown 8vo Lawson's Life and Times.
Lillie on Thessalonians Lindsay on Hebrews, 2 vols.
Plumer on the Romans Shedd's Homiletics.

Smith's (Dr. Pye) Testimony to Messiah.
Do. Sacrifice and Priesthood

Do. (Thornley) Moses and his Times.

Do. do. Joshua and his Times.

Wallace's (Dr. Alex.) Desert and Holy Land
"Wardlaw on Ecclesiastes ...."
Preparing for Publication.
Memorials of the late Thomas Finlayson, D.D., Minister of Rose Street Congregation,
price (to subscribers only)

Â£0 10 6
6
4 6
6
10 6
18
14
1 11 6
18
8
8
6
6
5
7 6
7 6

2 8
3 6
9
1 1
14
Recently published, in Two Volumes, 8vo, price 21s.,

History of Protestant Theology, particularly in Germany,
viewed according to its Fundamental Government, and in connection with the Religious, Moral, and Intellectual Life. Translated from the German of Dr. J. A. Dorner, Professor of Theology at Berlin. "With a Preface to the Translation by the Author.

'Dr. Dorner is distinguished by a massive breadth of thought, . . . by scholarly research, general appreciation of all forms of culture, and a well-balanced judgment, swayed by a spirit of fairness to those who differ from him. ... The work is in every way deserving of careful examination now, as it is likely to be afterwards valued as one deserving the highest confidence as a book of reference, on account of its ample research amongst materials on which competent judgment must rest. . . . We regard with satisfaction the appearance of such a work. The highest interests are promoted by a treatise at once scholarly and eminently suggestive, which deals with theology at once scientifically and historically.' â€”

Contemporary Review.

Just published, in One thick Volume, price 14s.,

Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek. By
Hermann Cremer, Professor of Theology in the University of Greifswald. Translated from the German by D. W. Simon, Ph.D., and William Urwick, M.A.

This work comprises such words as have their ordinary classical meaning changed or modified in Scripture, tracing their history in their transference from the Classics into the Septuagint and thence into the New Testament, and the gradual deepening and elevation of their meaning till they reach the fulness of New Testament thought.

'A close inspection of many of the terms which are representative of the leading doctrines of the New Testament, enables us to offer the assurance that Professor Cremer's Lexicon may both safely and with high advantage be employed by students of theology for the formation of their doctrinal views, as well as for the other and more common uses of a New Testament dictionary. . . . It is distinguished by critical ability and exhaustive research.' â€“ Record.

Just published, in One Volume Demy 8vo, price 9s.,

The Old Catholic Church; or, The History, Doctrine, Worship, and Polity of the Christians, traced from the Apostolic Age to the Establishment of the Pope as a Temporal Sovereign, a.d. 755. By W. D. Killen, D.D., Belfast.

'This valuable work embraces about one half of the interval between the birth of Christ and the Reformation. The author has bestowed much pains in consulting authorities, has condensed the history very carefully, and has written with much clearness and vivacity . . . . We recommend Dr. Killen's work as a very admirable and useful compendium of the ecclesiastical period of which he treats.' â€“ Evangelical Magazine.

Just published, in One Volume, Handsomely Bound, crown 8vo, price 7s. 6d.,


'The papers are short, but not too short for a profitable devout meditation. They are admirably suited for that purpose; indeed, that is their sole aim and end. We close by simply recommending any and every reader, who may be in quest of a really fresh devotional volume, to stop here at this one.' â€“ Weekly Review.

'There is much deeply experimental truth and precious spiritual lore in Caspers' book. I do not always agree with his theology, but I own myself much profited by his devout utterances.' â€“ Kov. C. H. Spurgeon.
T. and T. Clark’s Publications.

In Twenty-four Handsome &vo Volumes, Subscription Price Â£6, 6s. od. }

&nte=Ntce efifjtsttian fLifcratg.

A COLLECTION OF ALL THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH PRIOR TO THE COUNCIL OF NIC2EA.

EDITED BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., AND JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.

MESSRS. CLARK are now happy to announce the completion of this Series.
It has been received with marked approval by all sections of the Christian Church in this country and in the United States, as supplying what has long been felt to be a want, and also on account of the impartiality, learning, and care with which Editors and Translators have executed a very difficult task.

The Publishers do not bind themselves to continue to supply the Series at the Subscription price.

The Works are arranged as follow: â€”

FIRST YEAR.

APOSTOLIC FATHERS, comprising Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians; Polycarp to the Ephesians; Martyrdom of Polycarp; Epistle of Barnabas; Epistles of Ignatius (longer and shorter, and also the Syriac version); Martyrdom of Ignatius; Epistle to Diognetus; Pastor of Hennis; Papias; Spurious Epistles of Ignatius. In One Volume.

JUSTIN MARTYR; ATHENAGORAS.
In One Volume.

TATIAN; THEOPHILUS; THE CLEmentineRecognitions. In One Volume.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Volume First, comprising Exhortation to Heathen; The Instructor; and a portion of the Miscellanies.
SECOND YEAR.

HIPPOLYTUS, Volume First; Refutation of all Heresies and Fragments from his Commentaries.

IRENUS, Volume First.

TERTULLIAN AGAINST MARCION.

CYPRIAN, Volume First; the Epistles, and some of the Treatises.

THIRD YEAR.

IRENUS (completion); HIPPOLYTUS (completion); Fragments of Third Century. In One Volume.

ORIGEN: De Principiis; Letters; and portion of Treatise against Celsus.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Volume Second; Completion of Miscellanies.

TERTULLIAN, Volume First: To the Martyrs; Apology; To the Nations, etc.

FOURTH YEAR.

CYPRIAN, Volume Second (completion);

Novatian; Minucius Felix; Fragments.

METHODIUS; ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS; Peter of Alexandria; ANATOLIUS; Clement on Virginity; and

Fragments.

TERTULLIAN, Volume Second.

APOCRYPHAL GOSPELS; ACTS AND Revelations, comprising all the very curious Apocryphal Writings of the first Three Centuries.

FIFTH YEAR.
TERTULLIAN, Volume Third (completion).

CLEMENTINE HOMILIES; APOSTOlical Constitutions. In One Volume.

ARNOBIIUS.

DIONYSIUS; GREGORY THAUMAturgus; Syrian Fragments. In One Volume.

SIXTH YEAR.

LACTANTIUS; Two Volumes.

ORIGEN, Volume Second (completion).
12s. to Non-Subscribers.

EARLY LITURGIES AND REMAINing Fragments. 9s. to Non-Subscribers.

Single Years cannot be had separately, unless to complete sets; but any Volume may be had separately, price 10s. 6d.,â€”with the exception of Ohigen, Vol. II., 12s.; and the Early Liturgies, 9s.

WORKS OF PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D.,
PRINCIPAL AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

In Two Volumes, demy 8vo, price 21s., Fifth Edition,

THE TYPOLOGY OP SCRIPTURE, Viewed in connection with the whole Series of the Divine Dispensations.

' As the product of the labours of an original thinker and of a sound theologian, who has at the same time scarcely left unexamined one previous writer on the subject, ancient or modern, this work will be a most valuable accession to the library of the theological
student. As a whole, we believe it may, with the strictest truth, be pronounced the best work on the subject that has yet been published.' â€” Record.

1 A work fresh and comprehensive, learned and sensible, and full of practical religious feeling.' â€” British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

In demy 8vo, price 10s. 6d., Third Edition,

EZEKIEL, AND THE BOOK OF HIS PROPHECY: An Exposition; With a New Translation.

* A work which was greatly wanted, and which will give the author no mean place among the Biblical expositors of his country and language, for in it he has cast considerable light on one of the obscurest portions of God's Word.' â€” Journal of Sacred Literature.

In demy 8vo, price 10s. 6d., Second Edition,

PROPHECY, Viewed in its Distinctive Nature, its Special Functions, and Proper Interpretation.

* We would express our conviction that if ever this state of things is to end, and the Church is blest with the dawn of a purer and brighter day, it will be through the sober and well-considered efforts of such a man as Dr. Fairbairn, and through the general acceptance of some such principles as are laid down for our guidance in this book.' â€” Christian Advocate.

In demy 8vo, price 10s. 6d.,


' Dr. Fairbairn has precisely the training which would enable him to give a fresh and suggestive book on Hermeneutics. Without going into any tedious detail, it presents the points that are important to a student. There is a breadth of view, a clearness and manliness of thought, and a ripeness of learning, which make the work one of peculiar freshness and interest. I consider it a very valuable addition to every student's library.'
The Revelation of Law in Scripture, considered with respect both to its own nature, and to its relative place in successive dispensations. (The Third Series of the ‘Cunningham Lectures.’)

'Dr. Fairbairn is well known as a learned and painstaking writer, and these lectures will bear out his reputation. . . . They are the writing of a man who is a laborious student of the Bible, and patient readers will find that they can learn something from him.'—Guardian.

'The tone and spirit of this volume are admirable. The lectures are carefully elaborated, the arguments and scriptural illustrations seem to have passed each one under the author’s scrutiny; so that, besides unity of purpose in the lectures as a whole, we mark the conscientiousness that has sought to verify each separate statement. . . . It is an excellent book.'—Nonconformist.

1

-p

P

O CO
Augustine - Sermon on the mount
(Dods tr.)

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 queen's park
Toronto 5, Canada

2285.

[*End: Vol VIII*]
THE WORKS

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,
BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.
Edited by the REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

VOL. IX.

ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE; THE ENCHIRIDION; ON CATECHISING; AND ON FAITH AND THE CREED.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

1873.

Source (of this Volume):
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
www.archive.org/details/worksofaureliu09augu

------------------
CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE;

THE ENCHIRIDION.

CraniSlatfO bij PROFESSOR J. F. SHAW,

LOXDOXDEEUY.

ON CATECHISING; ON FAITH AND THE CREED,

CranÂ«ilatc5 bp REV. S. D. S ALMOND,

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, GEORGE STREET.

1873.
CONTENTS.

PAGE

On Cheistiax Doctrixe, ...... 1

The Exchikidiox of Augustine, ..... 173

On the Catechising of the Unin.steucted, . . . 261

On Faith and the Cceed, ..... 337
FINDING that the books on Christian Doctrine were not finished, I thought it better to complete them before passing on to the revision of others. Accordingly, I completed the third book, which had been written as far as the place where a quotation is made from the Gospel about the woman who took leaven and hid it in three measures of meal till the whole was leavened.\(^\text{1}\) I added also the last book, and finished the whole work in four books [in the year 426]: the first three affording aids to the interpretation of Scripture, the last giving directions as to the mode of making known our interpretation. In the second book,\(^\text{2}\) I made a mistake as to the authorship of the book commonly called the Wisdom of Solomon. For I have since learnt that it is not a wellestablished fact, as I said it was, that Jesus the son of Sirach, who wrote the book of Ecclesiasticus, wrote this book also: on the contrary, I have ascertained that it is altogether more probable that he was not the author of this book. Again, when I said, 'The authority of the Old Testament is contained within the limits of these forty-four books,' \(^\text{3}\) I used the phrase 'Old Testament' in accordance with ecclesiastical usage. But the apostle seems to restrict the application of the name 'Old Testament' to the law which was given on Mount Sinai/ And in what I said as to Saint Ambrose having, by his knowledge of chronology, solved a great difficulty, when he showed that Plato and Jeremiah were contemporaries,\(^\text{4}\) my memory betrayed.

---

\(^1\) Bk. iii. chap. 25. \(^2\) Bk. ii. chap. 8. \(^3\) Chap. S. \(^4\) Bk. ii. chap. 8.
me. What that great bishop really did say upon this subject may be seen in the book which he wrote, 'On Sacraments or Philosophy.' "


^ This book is among the lost works of Ambrose.

ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

P E E F A C E,

SHOWING THAT TO TEACH RULES FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IS NOT A SUPERFLUOUS TASK.

1. I have certain rules for the interpretation of Scripture which I think might with great advantage be taught to earnest students of the word, that they may profit not only from reading the works of others who have laid open the secrets of the sacred writings, but also from themselves opening such secrets to others. These rules I propose to teach to those who are able and willing to learn, if God our Lord do not withhold from me, while I write, the thoughts He is wont to vouchsafe to me in my meditations on this subject.

But before I enter upon this undertaking, I think it well to meet the objections of those who are likely to take exception to the work, or who would do so, did I not conciliate them beforehand. And if, after all, men should still be found to make objections, yet at least they will not prevail with others (over whom they might have influence, did they not find them forearmed against their assaults), to turn them back from a useful study to the dull sloth of ignorance.

2. There are some, then, likely to object to this work of mine, because they have failed to understand the rules here laid down. Others, again, will think that I have spent my labour to no purpose, because, though they understand the rules, yet in their attempts to apply them and to interpret Scripture by them, they have failed to clear up the point they wish cleared up; and these, because they have received no assistance from this work themselves, will give it as their

CHR. DOCT. A

2 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [PREFACE.
opinion that it can be of no use to anybody. There is a third class of objectors who either really do understand Scripture well, or think they do, and who, because they know (or imagine) that they have attained a certain power of interpreting the sacred books without reading any directions of the kind that I propose to lay down here, will cry out that such rules are not necessary for any one, but that everything rightly done towards clearing up the obscurities of Scripture could be better done by the unassisted grace of God.

3. To reply briefly to all these. To those who do not understand what is here set down, my answer is, that I am not to be blamed for their want of understanding. It is just as if they were ravenous to see the new or the old moon, or some very obscure star, and I should point it out with my finger: if they had not sight enough to see even my finger, they would surely have no right to fly into a passion with me on that account. As for those who, even though they know and understand my directions, fail to penetrate the meaning of obscure passages in Scripture, they may stand for those who, in the case I have imagined, are just able to see my finger, but cannot see the stars at which it is pointed. And so both these classes had better give up blaming me, and pray instead that God would grant them the sight of their eyes.

For though I can move my finger to point out an object, it is out of my power to open men's eyes that they may see either the fact that I am pointing, or the object at which I point.

4. But now as to those who talk vauntingly of Divine Grace, and boast that they understand and can explain Scripture without the aid of such directions as those I now propose to lay down, and who think, therefore, that what I have undertaken to write is entirely superfluous. I would such persons could calm themselves so far as to remember that, however justly they may rejoice in God's great gift, yet it was from human teachers they themselves learnt to read. Now, they would hardly think it right that they should for that reason be held in contempt by the Egyptian monk Antony, a just and holy man, who, not being able to read himself, is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory through hearing them read by others, and by dint of wise meditation to have arrived at a thorough understanding of them; or by that barbarian slave Christianus, of whom I have lately heard from very respectable and trustworthy witnesses, who, without any teaching from man, attained a full knowledge of the art of reading simply through prayer that it might be revealed to him; after three days' supplication obtaining his request that he might read through a book presented to him on the spot by the astonished bystanders.

5. But if any one thinks that these stories are false, I do not strongly insist on them. For, as I am dealing with Christians who profess to understand the Scriptures without any
directions from man (and if the fact be so, they boast of a real advantage, and one of no ordinary kind), they must surely grant that every one of us learnt his own language by hearing it constantly from childhood, and that any other language we have learnt, â€” Greek, or Hebrew, or any of the rest, â€” we have learnt either in the same way, by hearing it spoken, or from a human teacher. Now, then, suppose we advise all our brethren not to teach their children any of these things, because on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the apostles immediately began to speak the language of every race; and warn every one who has not had a like experience that he need not consider himself a Christian, or may at least doubt whether he has yet received the Holy Spirit? No, no; rather let us put away false pride and learn whatever can be learnt from man; and let him who teaches another communicate what he has himself received without arrogance and without jealousy. And do not let us tempt Him in whom we have believed, lest, being ensnared by such wiles of the enemy and by our own perversity, we may even refuse to go to the churches to hear the gospel itself, or to read a book, or to listen to another reading or preaching, in the hope that we shall be carried up to the third heaven, "whether in the body or out of the body," as the apostle says, and there hear unspeakable words, such as it is not lawful for man to utter, or see the Lord Jesus Christ and hear the gospel from His own lips rather than from those of men.

6. Let us beware of such dangerous temptations of pride,

2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

4 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [PREFACE.

and let us rather consider the fact that the Apostle Paul himself, although stricken down and admonished by the voice of God from heaven, was yet sent to a man to receive the sacraments and he admitted into the Church; and that Cornelius the centurion, although an angel announced to him that his prayers were heard and his alms had in remembrance, was yet handed over to Peter for instruction, and not only received the sacraments from the apostle's hands, but was also instructed by him as to the proper objects of faith, hope, and love. And without doubt it was possible to have done everything through the instrumentality of angels, but the condition of our race would have been much more degraded if God had not chosen to make use of men as the ministers of His word to their fellow-men. For how could that be true which is written, " The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are," if God gave forth no oracles from His human temple, but communicated everything that He wished to be taught to men by voices from heaven, or through the ministration of angels? Moreover, love itself, which binds men together in the bond of unity, would have no means of pouring soul into soul, and, as it were, mingling them one with another, if men never learnt anything from their fellow-men,

7. And we know that the eunuch who was reading Isaiah the prophet, and did not understand what he read, was not sent by the apostle to an angel, nor was it an angel who explained to him what he did not understand, nor was he inwardly illuminated by the grace of God without the interposition of man; on the contrary, at the suggestion of God,
Philip, who did understand the prophet, came to him, and sat with him, and in human words, and with a human tongue, opened to him the Scriptures.* Did not God talk with Moses, and yet he, with great wisdom and entire absence of jealous pride, accepted the plan of his father-in-law, a man of an alien race, for ruling and administering the affairs of the great nation entrusted to him?^ For Moses knew that a wise plan, in whatever mind it might originate, was to be ascribed not to the man who devised it, but to Him who is the Truth, the unchangeable God.

PREFACE.] INSTRUCTION STILL NECESSARY, 5

8. In the last place, every one who boasts that he, through divine illumination^ understands the obscurities of Scripture, though not instructed in any rules of interpretation, at the same time believes, and rightly believes, that this power is not his own, in the sense of originating with himself, but is the gift of God. For so he seeks God's glory, not his own. But reading and understanding, as he does, without the aid of any human interpreter, why does he himself undertake to interpret for others? Why does he not rather send them direct to God, that they too may learn by the inward teaching of the Spirit without the help of man? The truth is, he fears to incur the reproach:
"Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have put my money to the exchangers." ^ Seeing, then, that these men teach others, either through speech or writing, what they understand, surely they cannot blame me if I likewise teach not only what they understand, but also the rules of interpretation they follow. For no one ought to consider anything as his own, except perhaps what is false. All truth is of Him who says, "I am the truth." ^ For what have we that we did not receive? and if we have received it, why do we glory, as if we had not received it? ^

9. He who reads to an audience pronounces aloud the words he sees before him: he who teaches reading, does it that others may be able to read for themselves. Each, however, communicates to others what he has learnt himself. Just so, the man who explains to an audience the passages of Scripture he understands is like one who reads aloud the words before him. On the other hand, the man who lays down rules for interpretation is like one who teaches reading, that is, shows others how to read for themselves. So that, just as he who knows how to read is not dependent on some one else, when he finds a book, to tell him what is written in it, so the man who is in possession of the rules which I here attempt to lay down, if he meet with an obscure passage in the books which he reads, will not need an interpreter to lay open the secret to him, but, holding fast by certain rules, and following up certain indications, will arrive at the hidden sense without any error, or at least without falling into any gross absurdity. And so, although

1 Matt. XXV. 26, 27. " John xiv. 6. ^ i Cor. iv. 7.
it will sufficiently appear in the course of the work itself that no one can justly object to this undertaking of mine, which has no other object than to be of service, yet as it seemed convenient to reply at the outset to any who might make preliminary objections, such is the start I have thought good to make on the road I am about to traverse in this book.

CHAP. I-I THE WORK DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS.

BOOK FIRST,

CONTAINING A GENERAL VIEW OF THE SUBJECTS TREATED IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

ARGUMENT.

THE AUTHOR DIVIDES HIS WORK INTO TWO PARTS, ONE RELATING TO THE DISCOVERY, THE OTHER TO THE EXPRESSION, OF THE TRUE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE. HE SHOWS THAT TO DISCOVER THE MEANING WE MUST ATTEND BOTH TO THINGS AND TO SIGNS, AS IT IS NECESSARY TO KNOW WHAT THINGS WE OUGHT TO TEACH TO THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE, AND ALSO THE SIGNS OF THESE THINGS, THAT IS, WHERE THE KNOWLEDGE OF THESE THINGS IS TO BE SOUGHT. IN THIS FIRST BOOK HE TREATS OF THINGS, WHICH HE DIVIDES INTO THREE CLASSES, "THINGS TO BE ENJOYED," "THINGS TO BE USED," AND "THINGS WHICH USE AND ENJOY." THE ONLY OBJECT WHICH OUGHT TO BE ENJOYED IS THE TRIUNE GOD, WHO IS OUR "HIGHEST GOOD AND OUR TRUE HAPPINESS. WE ARE PREVENTED BY OUR SINS FROM ENJOYING GOD; AND THAT OUR SINS MIGHT BE TAKEN AWAY, "THE WORD WAS MADE FLESH," OUR LORD SUFFERED, AND DIED, AND ROSE AGAIN, AND ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, TAKING TO HIMSELF AS HIS BRIDE THE CHURCH, IN WHICH WE RECEIVE REMISSION OF OUR SINS. AND IF OUR SINS ARE REMITTED AND OUR SOULS RENEWED BY GRACE, WE MAY AWAIT WITH HOPE THE
RESURRECTION OF THE BODY TO ETERNAL GLORY; IF NOT, WE SHALL BE RAISED TO EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT. THESE MATTERS RELATING TO FAITH HAVING BEEN EXPOUNDED, THE AUTHOR GOES ON TO SHOW THAT ALL OBJECTS, EXCEPT GOD, ARE FOR USE; FOR, THOUGH SOME OF THEM MAY BE LOVED, YET OUR LOVE IS NOT TO REST IN THEM, BUT TO HAVE REFERENCE TO GOD. AND WE OURSELVES ARE NOT OBJECTS OF ENJOYMENT TO GOD: HE USES US, BUT FOR OUR OWN ADVANTAGE. HE THEN GOES ON TO SHOW THAT LOVE â€” THE LOVE OF GOD FOR HIS OWN SAKE AND THE LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOUR FOR GOD's SAKE â€” IS THE FULFILMENT AND THE END OF ALL SCRIPTURE. AFTER ADDING A FEW WORDS ABOUT HOPE, HE SHOWS, IN CONCLUSION, THAT FAITH, HOPE, AND LOVE ARE GRACES ESSENTIALLY NECESSARY FOR HIM WHO WOULD UNDERSTAND AND EXPLAIN ARIGHT THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Chap. i. â€” The interpretation of Scripture depends on the discovery and enunciation of the meaning, and is to be undertaken in dependence on God's aid.

1. npHEEE are two tilings on whicli all interpretation of Scrip-

A ture depends: the mode of ascertaining the proper meaning, and the mode of making known the meaning when it is ascertained. We shall treat first of the mode of ascertainintr.

8 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTEINE. [BOOK I.]

next of the mode of making known, the meaning; â€” a great and arduous undertaking, and one that, if difficult to carry out, it is, I fear, presumptuous to enter upon. And presumptuous it would undoubtedly be, if I were counting on my own strength; but since my hope of accomplishing the work rests on Him who has already supplied me with many thoughts on this subject, I do not fear but that He will- go on to supply what is yet wanting when once I have begun to use what He has already given. For a possession which is not diminished by being shared with others, if it is possessed and not shared, is not yet possessed as it ought to be possessed. The Lord saith, " Whosoever hath, to him shall be given."^[ He will give, then, to those who have; that is to say, if they use freely and cheerfully what they have received. He will add to and perfect His gifts. The loaves in the miracle were only five and seven in number before the disciples began to divide them among the hungry people. But when once they
began to distribute them, though the wants of so many thousands were satisfied, they filled baskets with the fragments that were left.\(^\text{13}\) Now, just as that bread increased in the very act of breaking it, so those thoughts which the Lord has already vouchsafed to me with a view to undertaking this work will, as soon as I begin to impart them to others, be multiplied by His grace, so that, in this very work of distribution in which I have engaged, so far from incurring loss and poverty, I shall be made to rejoice in a marvellous increase of wealth.

Chap. ii. â€” What a tiling is, and what a sign,
2. All instruction is either about things or about signs; but things are learnt by means of signs. I now use the word "thing" in a strict sense, to signify that which is never employed as a sign of anything else: for example, wood, stone, cattle, and other things of that kind. Not, however, the wood which we read Moses cast into the bitter waters to "make them sweet,\(^\text{12}\) nor the stone which Jacob used as a pillow,\(^\text{11}\) nor the ram which Abraham offered tip instead of his son; \(^\text{13}\) for these, though they are things, are also signs of other things. There are signs of another kind, those which are 

\(^{1}\) Matt. xiii. 12. " Matt. xiv. 17, etc., xx. 34, etc. ' ^ Ex. xv. 25.


CHAP. i.v.] SOME THINGS AEE FOR USE, SOME FOE ENJ0Y:

never employed except as signs: for example, words. No one nses words except as signs of something else; and hence maybe understood what I call signs: those tiling, to wit, which are used to indicate something else. Accordingly, every sign is also a thing; for what is not a thing is nothing at all.

Every thing, however, is not also a sign. And so, in regard to this distinction between things and signs, I shall, when I speak of things, speak in such a way that even if some of them may be used as signs also, that will not interfere with the division of the subject according to which I am to discuss things first and signs afterwards. But we must carefully remember that what we have now to consider about things is what they are in themselves, not what other things they are signs of.

Chap. hi. â€” Some things are for use, some for enjoyment.

3. There are some things, then, which are to be enjoyed, others which are to be used, others still which enjoy and use. Those things which are objects of enjoyment make us happy. Those things which are objects of use assist, and (so to speak)
support us in our efforts after happiness, so that we can attain the things that make us happy and rest in them. We ourselves, again, who enjoy and use these things, being placed among both kinds of objects, if we set ourselves to enjoy those which we ought to use, are hindered in our course, and sometimes even led away from it; so that, getting entangled in the love of lower gratifications, we lag behind in, or even altogether turn back from, the pursuit of the real and proper objects of enjoyment.

Chap. iv. "Difference of use and enjoyment.

4. For to enjoy a thing is to rest with satisfaction in it for its own sake. To use, on the other hand, is to employ whatever means are at one's disposal to obtain what one desires, if it is a proper object of desire; for an unlawful use ought rather to be called an abuse. Suppose, then, we were wanderers in a strange country, and could not live happily away from our fatherland, and that we felt wretched in our wandering, and wishing to put an end to our misery, determined to return home. We find, however, that we must make use of some mode of conveyance, either by land or water, in order to reach that fatherland where our enjoyment is to commence.

But the beauty of the country through which we pass, and the very pleasure of the motion, charm our hearts, and turning these things—which we ought to use into objects of enjoyment, we become unwilling to hasten the end of our journey; and becoming engrossed in a factitious delight, our thoughts are diverted from that home whose delights would make us truly happy. Such is a picture of our condition in this life of mortality. We have wandered far from God; and if we wish to return to our Father's home, this world must be used, not enjoyed, that so the invisible things of God may be clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, that is, that by means of what is material and temporary we may lay hold upon that which is spiritual and eternal.

Chap. v. "The Trinity the true object of enjoyment.

5. The true objects of enjoyment, then, are the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, who are at the same time the Trinity, one Being, supreme above all, and common to all who enjoy Him, if He is an object, and not rather the cause of all objects, or indeed even if He is the cause of all. For it is not easy to find a name that will suitably express so great excellence, unless it is better to speak in this way: The Trinity, one God, of whom are all things, through whom are all things, in whom are all things. Thus the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and each of these by Himself, is God, and at the same time they are all one God; and each of them by Himself is a complete substance, and yet they are all one substance. The Father is not the Son nor the Holy Spirit; the Son is not the Father nor the Holy Spirit; the Holy Spirit is not the Father nor the Son: but the Father is only Father, the Son is only Son, and the Holy Spirit is only Holy Spirit. To all three belong the same eternity, the same unchangeableness, the same majesty, the same power. In the
Father is unity, in the Son equality, in the Holy Spirit the harmony of unity and equality; and these three attributes are all one because of the Father, all equal because of the Son, and all harmonious because of the Holy Spirit.

'Rom. i. 20. . 2 Eom. xi. 36.

**CHAP. VII.** GOD SUPREME IN EXCELLENCE AND POWER. 11

Chap. vi. ã€” In ivhat sense God is ineffable.

6. Have I spoken of God, or uttered His praise, in any worthy way? I say, I feel that I have done nothing more than desire to speak; and if I have said anything, it is not what I desired to say. How do I know this, except from the fact that God is unspeakable? But what I have said, if it had been unspeakable, could not have been spoken. And so God is not even to be called "unspeakable," because to say even this is to speak of Him. Thus there arises a curious contradiction of words, because if the unspeakable is what cannot be spoken of, it is not unspeakable if it can be called unspeakable. And this opposition of words is rather to be avoided by silence than to be explained away by speech. 'And yet God, although nothing worthy of His greatness can be said of Him, has condescended to accept the worship of men's mouths, and has desired us through the medium of our own words to rejoice in His praise. For on this principle it is that He is called Deus (God), For the sound of those two syllables in itselK conveys no true knowledge of His nature; but yet all who know the Latin tongue are led, when that sound reaches their ears, to think of a nature supreme in excellence and eternal in existence,

ChAP. viir. ã€” What all men understand by the term God.

7. For when the one supreme God of gods is thought of, even by those who believe that there are other gods, and who call them by that name, and worship them as gods, their thought takes the form of an endeavour to reach the conception of a nature, than which nothing more excellent or more exalted exists. And since men are moved by different kinds of pleasures, partly by those which pertain to the bodily senses, partly by those which pertain to the intellect and soul, those of them who are in bondage to sense think that either the heavens, or what appears to be most brilliant in the heavens, or the universe itself, is God of gods: or if they try to get beyond the universe, they picture to themselves something of dazzling brightness, and think of it vaguely as infinite, or of the most beautiful form conceivable; or they represent it in the form of the human body, if they think that superior

12 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTINE. [BOOK I.]

to all others. Or if they think that there is no one God supreme above the rest, but that there are many or even innumerable gods of equal rank, still these too they conceive as
possessed of shape and form, according to what each man thinks the pattern of excellence. Those, on the other hand, who endeavour by an effort of the intelligence to reach a conception of God, place Him above all visible and bodily natures, and even above all intelligent and spiritual natures that are subject to change. All, however, strive emulously to exalt the excellence of God: nor could any one be found to believe that any being to whom there exists a superior is God. And so all concur in believing that God is that which excels in dignity all other objects.

Chap. viii. â€” God to he esteemed above all else, because He is unchangeable wisdom.

8. And since all who think about God think of Him as living, they only can form any conception of Him that is not absurd and unworthy who think of Him as life itself; and, whatever may be the bodily form that has suggested itself to them, recognise that it is by life it lives or does not live, and prefer what is living to what is dead; who understand that the living bodily form itself, however it may outshine all others in splendour, overtop them in size, and excel them in beauty, is quite a distinct thing from the life by which it is quickened; and who look upon the life as incomparably superior in dignity and worth to the mass which is quickened and animated by it. Then, when they go on to look into the nature of the life itself, if they find it mere nutritive life, without sensibility, such as that of plants, they consider it inferior to sentient life, such as that of cattle; and above this, again, they place intelligent life, such as that of men. And, perceiving that even this is subject to change, they are compelled to place above it, again, that unchangeable life, which is not at one time foolish, at another time wise, but on the contrary is wisdom itself. For a wise intelligence, that is, one that has attained to wisdom, was, previous to its attaining wisdom, unwise. But wisdom itself never was unwise, and never can become so. And if men never caught sight of this wisdom, they could never with entire confidence prefer a life.

CHAP. XI.] TO SEE GOD, THE SOUL MUST BE I'UEIFIED.

which is unchangeably wise to one that is subject to change. This will be evident, if we consider that the very rule of truth by which they affirm the unchangeable life to be the more excellent, is itself unchangeable: and they cannot find such a rule, except by going beyond their own nature; for they find nothing in themselves that is not subject to change. I

Chap. is. â€” All acknowledfe the superiority of uncJiangeaUe wisdom to that ivhich is variable.
9. Now, no one is so egregiously silly as to ask, "How do you know that a life of unchangeable wisdom is preferable to one of change?" For that very truth about which he asks, how I know it? is unchangeably fixed in the minds of all men, and presented to their common contemplation. And the man who does not see it is like a blind man in the sun, whom it profits nothing that the splendour of its light, so clear and so near, is poured into his very eye-balls. The man, on the other hand, who sees, but shrinks from this truth, is weak in his mental vision from dwelling long among the shadows of the flesh. And thus men are driven back from their native land by the contrary blasts of evil habits, and pursue lower and less valuable objects in preference to that which they own to be more excellent and more worthy.

Chap. x. â€” To see God, the soul must be purified.

10. Wherefore, since it is our duty fully to enjoy the truth which lives unchangeably, and since the triune God takes counsel in this truth for the things which He has made, the soul must be purified that it may have power to perceive that light, and to rest in it when it is perceived. And let us look upon this purification as a kind of journey or voyage to our native land. For it is not by change of place that we can come nearer to Him who is in every place, but by the cultivation of pure desires and virtuous habits.

Chap. xi. â€” Wisdom becoming incarnate, a pattern to us of purification.

11. But of this we should have been wholly incapable, had not Wisdom condescended to adapt Himself to our weakness, and to show us a pattern of holy life in the form of our own humanity. Yet, since we when we come to Him do wisely^ He when He came to us was considered by proud men to have done very foolishly. And since we when we come to Him become strong, He when He came to us was looked upon as weak. But " the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men." ^

And thus, though Wisdom was Himself our home, He made Himself also the way by which we should reach our home.

Chap. xii. â€” In what sense the Wisdom of God came to us.

12. Not then in the sense of traversing space, but because He appeared to mortal men in the form of mortal flesh, He is said to have come to us. For He came to a place where He
had always been, seeing that "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him."
But, because men, who in their eagerness to enjoy the creature instead of the Creator had
grown into the likeness of this world, and are therefore most appropriately named "the
world," did not recognise Him, therefore the evangelist says, "and the world knew Him
not." ^ Thus, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God. Why then did
He come, seeing that He was already here, except that it pleased God through the
foolishness of preaching to save them that believe?

Chap. xiu.â€”The Word was made flesh.

In what way did He come but this, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us"?*
Just as when we speak, in order that what we have in our minds may enter through the
ear into the mind of the hearer, the word which we have in our hearts becomes an
outward sound and is called speech; and yet our thought does not lose itself in the sound,
but remains complete in itself, and takes the form of speech without being modified in its
own nature by the change: so

' 1 Cor. i. 25. 2 I Cor, i. 21. 3 join^ j, Jo. * Jolini. 14.

CHAP. XIVE.] HOW THE WISDOJI OF GOD HEALED MAN. 15

The Divine Word, though suffering no change of nature, yet became flesh, that He might
dwell among us.

Chap. xiv. â€” How the Wisdom of God healed man.

13. Moreover, as the use of remedies is the way to health, so this remedy took up sinner^,
to heal and restore them.
And just as surgeons, when they bind up wounds, do it not in a slovenly way, but
carefully, that there may be a certain degree of neatness in the binding, in addition to its
mere usefulness, so our medicine, "Wisdom, was by His assumption of humanity adapted
to our wounds, curing some of them by their opposites, some of them by their likes.
And just as he who ministers to a bodily hurt in some cases applies contraries, as cold to hot,
moist to dry, etc., and in other cases applies likes, as a round cloth to a round wound, or
an oblong cloth to an oblong wound, and does not fit the same bandage to all limbs, but
puts like to like; in the same way the Wisdom of God in healing man has applied Himself
to his cure, being Himself healer and medicine both in one. Seeing, then, that man fell
through pride. He restored him through humility.
We were ensnared by the wisdom of the serpent: we are set free by the foolishness of
God. Moreover, just as the former was called wisdom, but was in reality the folly of
those who despised God, so the latter is called foolishness, but is true wisdom in those
who overcome the devil. We used our immortality so badly as to incur the penalty of
death: Christ used His mortality so well as to restore us to life. The disease was brought
in through a woman's corrupted soul: the remedy came through a woman's virgin body.
To the same class of opposite remedies it belongs, that our vices are cured by the
example of His virtues. On the other hand, the following are, as it were, bandages made
in the same shape as the limbs and wounds to which they are applied: He was born of a
woman to deliver us who fell through a woman: He
came as a man to save us who are men, as a mortal to save us who are mortals, by death
to save us who were dead. And those who can follow out the matter more fully, who are
not hurried on by the necessity of carrying out a set undertaking, will find many other
points of instruction in considering the

16 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK I,
remedies, whether opposites or likes, employed in the medicine of Christianity.

Chap. xv. “Faith is buttressed by the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and is
stimulated by His coming to judgment.

14. The belief of the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, and of His ascension into
heaven, has strengthened our faith by adding a great buttress of hope. For it clearly shows
how freely He laid down His life for us when He had it in His power thus to take it up
again. With what assurance, then, is the hope of believers animated, when they reflect
how great He was who suffered so great things for them while they were still in unbelief?
And when men look for Him to come from heaven as the judge of quick and dead, it
strikes great terror into the careless, so that they betake themselves to diligent
preparation, and learn by holy living to long for His approach, instead of quaking at it on
account of their evil deeds. And what tongue can tell, or what imagination can conceive,
the reward He will bestow at the last, when we consider that for our comfort in this
earthly journey He has given us so freely of His Spirit, that in the adversities of this life
we may retain our confidence in, and love for, Him whom as yet we see not; and that He
has also given to each gifts suitable for the building up of His Church, that we may do
what He points out as right to be done, not only without a murmur, but even with delight?

Chap. xvi. “Christ purges His Church by medicinal afflictions.

15. For the Church is His body, as the apostle's teaching shows us; and it is even called
His spouse. His body, then, which has many members, and all performing different
functions. He holds together in the bond of unity and love, which is its true health.
Moreover He exercises it in the present time, and purges it with many wholesome
afflictions, that when He has transplanted it from this world to the eternal world, He may
take it to Himself as His bride, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.

Chap. xvii. “Christ, by forgiving our sins, opened the way to our home,
16. Further, when we are on the way, and that not a way
* Compare EijIi. i. 23 with Rom. sii, 5. ^ Rev, xix. 7, xxi. 9.

CHAP. XIX.] THE EEMISSON OF SINS. 17

that lies through space^ but through a change of affections, and one which the guilt of our past sins like a hedge of thorns barred against us, what could He, who was willing to lay Himself down as the way by which we should return, do that would be still gracious and more merciful, except to forgive us all our sins, and by being crucified for us to remove the stern decrees that barred the door against our return?

Chap. xviii. The keys given to the Church.

17. He has given, therefore, the keys to His Church, that whatsoever it should bind on earth might be bound in heaven, and whatsoever it should loose on earth might be loosed in heaven; ^ that is to say, that whosoever in the Church should not believe that his sins are remitted, they should not be remitted to him; but that whosoever should believe, and should repent, and turn from his sins, should be saved by the same faith and repentance on the ground of which he is received into the bosom of the Church. For he who does not believe that his sins can be pardoned, falls into despair, and becomes worse, as if no greater good remained for him than to be evil, when he has ceased to have faith in the results of his own repentance.

Chap. xix. Bodily and spiritual death and resurrection.

18. Furthermore, as there is a kind of death of the soul, which consists in the putting away of former habits and former ways of life, and which comes through repentance, so also the death of the body consists in the dissolution of the former principle of life. And just as the soul, after it has put away and destroyed by repentance its former habits, is created anew after a better pattern, so we must hope and believe that the body, after that death which we all owe as a debt contracted through sin, shall at the resurrection be changed into a better form; ^ Cor. xv. 50-53.

And thus the body, being the source of no uneasiness because it can feel no want, shall be animated by a spirit perfectly pure and happy, and shall enjoy unbroken peace.

1 Compare Matt. xvi. 19 with xviii. 18. ^ j Cor. xv. 50-53.

CHR. DOCT. B
18 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK I.]


19. Now lie whose soul does not die to this world and begin here to be conformed to the truth, falls when the body dies into a more terrible death, and shall revive, not to change his earthly for a heavenly habitation, but to endure the penalty of his sin.

Chap. xxi. "Neither body nor soul extinguished at death.

And so faith clings to the assurance, and we must believe that it is so in fact, that neither the human soul nor the human body suffers complete extinction, but that the wicked rise again to endure inconceivable punishment, and the good to receive eternal life.

Chap. xxii. "God alone to be enjoyed.

20. Among all these things, then, those only are the true objects of enjoyment which we have spoken of as eternal and unchangeable. The rest are for use, that we may be able to arrive at the full enjoyment of the former. We, however, who enjoy and use other things are things ourselves. For a great thing truly is man, made after the image and similitude of God, not as respects the mortal body in which he is clothed, but as respects the rational soul by which he is exalted in honour above the beasts. And so it becomes an important question, whether men ought to enjoy, or to use, themselves, or to do both. For we are commanded to love one another: but it is a question whether man is to be loved by man for his own sake, or for the sake of something else. If it is for his own sake, we enjoy him; if it is for the sake of something else, we use him. It seems to me, then, that he is to be loved for the sake of something else. For if a thing is to be loved for its own sake, then in the enjoyment of it consists a happy life, the hope of which at least, if not yet the reality, is our comfort in the present time. But a curse is pronounced on him who places his hope in man. *

21. Neither ought any one to have joy in himself, if you look at the matter clearly, because no one ought to love even himself for his own sake, but for the sake of Him who is the true object of enjoyment. For a man is never in so good a

* Jer. xvii. 5.

CHAP. XXIII.] GOD ALONE TO BE LOVED FOR HIS OWN SAKE. 19

state as when his whole life is a journey towards the unchangeable life, and his affections are entirely fixed upon that. If, however, he loves himself for his own sake, he does not look at himself in relation to God, but turns his mind in upon himself, and so is not occupied with anything that is unchangeable. And thus he does not enjoy himself at his best, because he is better when Ms mind is fully fixed upon, and his affections wrapped
up in, the unchangeable good, than when he turns from that to enjoy even himself. Wherefore if you ought not to love even yourself for your own sake, but for His in whom your love finds its most worthy object, no other man has a right to be angry if you love him too for God's sake. For this is the law of love that has been laid down by Divine authority: " Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" but, "Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: " so that you are to concentrate all your thoughts, your whole life, and your whole intelligence upon Him from whom you derive all that you bring. For when He says, " With all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind," He means that no part of our life is to be unoccupied, and to afford room, as it were, for the wish to enjoy some other object, but that whatever else may suggest itself to us as an object worthy of love is to be borne into the same channel in which the whole current of our affections flows. Whoever, then, loves his neighbour aright, ought to urge upon him that he too should love God with his whole heart, and soul, and mind. For in this way, loving his neighbour as himself, a man turns the whole current of his love both for himself and his neighbour into the channel of the love of God, which suffers no stream to be drawn off from itself by whose diversion its own volume would be diminished.

Chap, xxiii. Â” Man needs no injunction to love himself and Ids own body.

22. Those things which are objects of use are not all, however, to be loved, but those only which are either united with us in a common relation to God, such as a man or an angel, or are so related to us as to need the goodness of God through


20 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK I.]

our instrumentality, such as tie body. For assuredly the martyrs did not love the wickedness of their persecutors, although they used it to attain the favour of God. As, then, there are four kinds of things that are to be loved, Â” first, that which is above us; second, ourselves; third, that which is on a level with us; fourth, that which is beneath us, Â” no precepts need be given about the second and fourth of these. For, however far a man may fall away from the truth, he still continues to love himself, and to love his own body. The soul which flies away from the unchangeable Light, the Euler of all things, does so that it may rule over itself and over its own body; and so it cannot but love both itself and its own body.

23. Moreover, it thinks it has attained something very great if it is able to lord it over its companions, that is, other men. For it is inherent in the sinful soul to desire above all things, and to claim as due to itself, that which is properly due to God only. Now such love of itself is more correctly called hate. For it is not just that it should desire what is beneath it to be obedient to it while itself will not obey its own superior; and most justly has it been said, " He who loveth
iniquity hateth his own soul."^ And accordingly the soul becomes weak, and endures much suffering about the mortal body. For, of course, it must love the body, and be grieved at its corruption; and the immortality and incorruptibility of the body spring out of the health of the soul. Now the health of the soul is to cling steadfastly to the better part, that is, to the unchangeable God. But when it aspires to lord it even over those who are by nature its equals, â€” that is, its fellowmen, â€” this is a reach of arrogance utterly intolerable.

Chap. xxiv. â€” No man hates his own flesh, not even those who abuse it.

24. No man, then, hates himself. On this point, indeed, no question was ever raised by any sect. But neither does any man hate his own body. For the apostle says truly, " No man ever yet hated his own flesh." ^ And when some people say that they would rather be without a body altogether, they entirely deceive themselves. For it is not their body, but its corruptions and its heaviness, that they hate. And so it is not

iPs. X. 5 (LXX.). 2Eph. V. 29.

CHAP. XXIV.] NO MAN HATES HIS OWN BODY. 21'

no body, but an uncorrupted and very light body, that they want. But they think a body of that kind would be no body at all, because they think such a thing as that must be a spirit. And as to the fact that they seem in some sort to scourge their bodies by abstinence and toil, those who do this in the right spirit do it not that they may get rid of their body, but that they may have it in subjection and ready for every needful work. For they strive by a kind of toilsome exercise of the body itself to root out those lusts that are hurtful to the body, that is, those habits and affections of the soul that lead to the enjoyment of unworthy objects. They are not destroying themselves; they are taking care of their health.

25. Those, on the other hand, who do this in a perverse spirit, make war upon their own body as if it were a natural enemy. And in this matter they are led astray by a mistaken interpretation of what they read: " The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other." ^ For this is said of the carnal habit yet unsubdued, against which the spirit lusteth, not to destroy the body, but to eradicate the lust of the body â€” i.e. its evil habit â€” and thus to make it subject to the spirit, which is what the order of nature demands. For as, after the resurrection, the body, having become wholly subject to the spirit, will live in perfect peace to all eternity; even in this life we must make it an object to have the carnal habit changed for the better, so that its inordinate affections may not war against the soul. And until this shall take place, " the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh;" the spirit struggling, not in hatred, but for the mastery, because it desires that what it loves should be subject to the higher principle; and the flesh struggling, not in hatred, but because of the bondage of habit which it has derived from its parent stock, and which has grown in upon it by a law of nature till it has become inveterate. The spirit, then, in subduing the flesh, is working
as it were to destroy the ill-founded peace of an evil habit, and to bring about the real peace which springs out of a good habit. Nevertheless, not even those who, led astray by false notions, hate their bodies would be prepared to sacrifice one eye, even 1 Gal. V. 17.

22 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK I.]

supposing they could do so without suffering any pain, and that they had as much sight left in one as they formerly had in two, unless some object was to be attained which would overbalance the loss. This and other indications of the same kind are sufficient to show those who candidly seek the truth how well-founded is the statement of the apostle when he says, "No man ever yet hated his own flesh." He adds too, "but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church."

CiiAP. XXV. »A man may love somthing more than his hochj, hut does not therefore hate his body.

26. Man, therefore, ought to be taught the due measure of loving, that is, in what measure he may love himself so as to be of service to himself. For that he does love himself, and does desire to do good to himself, nobody but a fool would doubt. He is to be taught, too, in what measure to love his body, so as to care for it wisely and within due limits. For it is equally manifest that he loves his body also, and desires to keep it safe and sound. And yet a man may have something that he loves better than the safety and soundness of his body. For many have been found voluntarily to suffer both pains and amputations of some of their limbs that they might obtain other objects which they valued more higlily.

But no one is to be told not to desire the safety and health of his body because there is something he desires more. For the miser, though he loves money, buys bread for himself, "that is, he gives away money that he is very fond of and desires to heap up, but it is because he values more highly the bodily health which the bread sustains. It is superfluous to argue longer on a point so very plain, but this is just what the error of wicked men often compels us to do.

Chap. xxvi. »The covimand to love God and our neighbour includes a command to love ourselves.

27. Seeing, then, that there is no need of a command that every man should love himself and his own body, »seeing, that is, that we love ourselves, and what is beneath us but connected with us, through a law of nature which has never been violated, and which is common to us with the beasts (for even

1 Eph. V. 29.
the beasts love themselves and their own bodies), “it only remained necessary to lay injunctions upon us in regard to God above us, and our neighbour beside us. "Thou shalt love," He says, "the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Thus the end of the commandment is love, and that twofold, the love of God and the love of our neighbour. Now, if you take yourself in your entirety, "that is, soul and body together, "and your neighbour in his entirety, soul and body together (for man is made up of soul and body), you will find that none of the classes of things that are to be loved is overlooked in these two commandments. For though, when the love of God comes first, and the measure of our love for Him is prescribed in such terms that it is evident all other things are to find their centre in Him, nothing seems to be said about our love for ourselves; yet when it is said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," it at once becomes evident that our love for ourselves has not been overlooked.

Chap. xxvii. The order of love.

28. Now he is a man of just and holy life who forms an unprejudiced estimate of things, and keeps his affections also under strict control, so that he neither loves what he ought not to love, nor fails to love what lie ought to love, nor loves that more which ought to be loved less, nor loves that equally which ought to be loved either less or more, nor loves that less or more which ought to be loved equally. No sinner is to be loved as a sinner; and every man is to be loved as a man for God's sake; but God is to be loved for His own sake. And if God is to be loved more than any man, each man ought to love God more than himself. Likewise we ought to love another man better than our own body, because all things are to be loved in reference to God, and another man can have fellowship with us in the enjoyment of God, whereas our body cannot; for the body only lives through the soul, and it is by the soul that we enjoy God.


29. Further, all men are to be loved equally. But since you cannot do good to all, you are to pay special regard to those who, by the accidents of time, or place, or circumstance, are brought into closer connection with you. For, suppose that you had a great deal of some
commodity, and felt bound to give it away to somebody who had none, and that it could not be given to more than one person; if two persons presented themselves, neither of whom had either from need or relationship a greater claim upon you than the other, you could do nothing fairer than choose by lot to which you would give what could not be given to both. Just so among men: since you cannot consult for the good of them all, you must take the matter as decided for you by a sort of lot, according as each man happens for the time being to be more closely connected with you.

Chap. xxix. “We are to desire and endeavour that all men may love God.

30. Now of all who can with us enjoy God, we love partly those to whom we render services, partly those who render services to us, partly those who both help us in our need and in turn are helped by us, partly those upon whom we confer no advantage and from whom we look for none. We ought to desire, however, that they should all join with us in loving God, and all the assistance that we either give them or accept from them should tend to that one end. For in the theatres, dens of iniquity though they be, if a man is fond of a particular actor, and enjoys his art as a great or even as the very greatest good, he is fond of all who join with him in admiration of his favourite, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of him whom they admire in common; and the more fervent he is in his admiration, the more he works in every way he can to secure new admirers for him, and the more anxious he becomes to show him to others; and if he find any one comparatively indifferent, he does all he can to excite his interest by urging his favourite's merits: if, however, he meet with any one who opposes him, he is exceedingly displeased by such a man's contempt of his favourite, and strives in every way he can to remove it. Now, if this be so, what does it become us to do who live in the fellowship of the love of God, the enjoyment of whom is true happiness of life, to whom all who love Him owe both their own existence and the love they bear Him, concerning whom we have no fear that any one who comes to know Him will be disappointed in Him, and who desires our love, not for any gain to Himself, but that those who love Him may obtain an eternal reward, even Himself whom they love? And hence it is that we love even our enemies. For we do not fear them, seeing they cannot take away from us what we love; but we pity them rather, because the more they hate us the more are they separated from Him whom we love. For if they would turn to Him, they must of necessity love Him as the supreme good, and love us too as partakers with them in so great a blessing.

Chap. xxx. “Whether angels are to be reckoned our neighbours.

31. There arises further in this connection a question about angels. For they are happy in the enjoyment of Him whom we long to enjoy; and the more we enjoy Him in this life as
through a glass darkly, the more easy do we find it to bear our pilgrimage, and the more eagerly do we long for its termination.

But it is not irrational to ask whether in those two commandments is included the love of angels also. For that He who commanded us to love our neighbour made no exception, as far as men are concerned, is shown both by our Lord Himself in the Gospel, and by the Apostle Paul. For when the man to whom our Lord delivered those two commandments, and to whom He said that on these hang all the law and the prophets, asked Him, "And who is my neighbour?" He told him of a certain man who, going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves, and was severely wounded by them, and left naked and half dead. And He showed him that nobody was neighbour to this man except him who took pity upon him and came forward to relieve and care for him. And the man who had asked the question admitted the truth of this when he was himself interrogated in turn. To whom our Lord says, "Go and do thou likewise;" teaching us that he is our neighbour whom it is our duty to help in his need, or whom it would be our duty to help if he were in need. Whence it follows, that he whose duty it would he in turn to help us is our neighbour. For the name "neighbour" is a relative one, and no one can be neighbour except to a neighbour. And, again, who does not see that no exception is made of any one as a person to whom the offices of mercy may be denied when our Lord extends the rule even to our enemies? "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you." And so also the Apostle Paul teaches when he says: "For this. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour." Whoever then supposes that the apostle did not embrace every man in this precept, is compelled to admit, what is at once most absurd and most pernicious, that the apostle thought it no sin, if a man were not a Christian or were an enemy, to commit adultery with his wife, or to kill him, or to covet his goods. And as nobody but a fool would say this, it is clear that every man is to be considered our neighbour, because we are to work no ill to any man.

33. But now, if every one to whom we ought to show, or who ought to show to us, the offices of mercy is by right called a neighbour, it is manifest that the command to love our neighbour embraces the holy angels also, seeing that so great offices of mercy have been performed by them on our behalf, as may easily be shown by turning the attention to many passages of Holy Scripture. And on this ground even God Himself, our Lord, desired to be called our neighbour. For our Lord Jesus Christ points to Himself under the figure of the man who brought aid to him who was lying half dead on the road, wounded
and abandoned by the robbers. And the Psalmist says in his prayer, "I behaved myself as though he had been my friend or brother." But as the Divine nature is of higher excellence than, and far removed above, our nature, the command to love God is distinct from that to love our neighbour.

iHatt. V. 44. ^Eom. xiii. 9, 10. 3ps_ ^y j^

CHAP. XXXII.] IN WHAT SENSE GOD USES MAN. 27

For He shows us pity on account of His own goodness, but we show pity to one another on account of His; " that is. He pities us that we may fully enjoy Himself; we pity one another that we may fully enjoy Him.

Chap. xxxr. â€” God uses rather than enjoys us.

34. And on this ground, when we say that we enjoy only that which we love for its own sake, and that nothing is a true object of enjoyment except that which makes us happy, and that all other things are for use, there seems still to be something that requires explanation. For God loves us, and Holy Scripture frequently sets before us the love He has towards us. In what way then does He love us? As objects of use or as objects of enjoyment? If He enjoys us. He must be in need of good from us, and no sane man will say that; for all the good we enjoy is either Himself, or what comes from Himself. And no one can be ignorant or in doubt as to the fact that the light stands in no need of the glitter of the things it has itself lit up. The Psalmist says most plainly, "I said to the Lord, Thou art my God, for Thou needest not my goodness." He does not enjoy us then, but makes use of us.

For if He neither enjoys nor uses us, I am at a loss to discover in what way He can love us.

Chap. xxxii. â€” In what way God uses man.

35. But neither does He use after our fashion of using.

For when we use objects, we do so with a view to the full enjoyment of the goodness of God. God, however, in His use of us, has reference to His own goodness. For it is because He is good we exist; and so far as we truly exist we are good. And, further, because He is also just, we cannot with impunity be evil; and so far as we are evil, so far is our existence less complete. Now He is the first and supreme existence, who is altogether unchangeable, and who could say in the fullest sense of the words, "I am that I am," and "Thou shalt say to them, I AM hath sent me unto you;" so that all other things that exist, both owe their existence entirely to Him, and are good only so far as He has given it to them to

1 Ps. xvi. 2 (LXX.). , 2 Ex. iii. 14.
be so. That use, then, which God is said to make of us has no reference to His own
advantage, but to ours only; and, so far as He is concerned, has reference only to His
goodness.
When we take pity upon a man and care for him, it is for his advantage we do so; but
somehow or other our own advantage follows by a sort of natural consequence, for God
does not leave the mercy we show to him who needs it to go without reward.
Now this is our highest reward, that we should fully enjoy Him, and that all who enjoy
Him should enjoy one another in Him.

Chap, xxxiir. â€” In what way man should he enjoyed.

36. For if we find our happiness complete in one another, we stop short upon the road,
and place our hope of happiness in man or angel. Now the proud man and the proud
angel arrogate this to themselves, and are glad to have the hope of others fixed upon
them. But, on the contrary, the holy man and the holy angel, even when we are weary and
anxious to stay with them and rest in them, set themselves to recruit our energies with the
provision which they have received of God for us or for themselves; and then urge us
thus refreshed to go on our way towards Him, in the enjoyment of whom we find our
common happiness. For even the apostle exclaims,
" Was Paul crucified for you ? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul ? " ^ and again: 
Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the
increase." ^ And the angel admonishteth the man who is about to worship him, that he
should rather worship Him who is his Master, and under whom he himself is a fellow-
servant.^

37. But when you have joy of a man in God, it is God rather than man that you enjoy. For
you enjoy Him by whom you are made happy, and you rejoice to have come to Him in
whose presence you place your hope of joy.
And accordingly, Paul says to Philemon, " Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the
Lord." ^ For if he had not added " in the Lord," but had only said, " Let me have joy of
thee," he would have implied that he fixed his hope of happiness upon him, although
even in the immediate context to " enjoy " is used in the sense of to " use with delight." 
For when the

' ] Cor. i. 13, -IQQxAii.7. ^Eev. xix. 10. * Piilem. 20.

CHAP. XXXIV.] CHRIST THE WAY AND THE EXD. 29

thing that we love is near \\s, it is a matter of course that it should bring delight with it.
And if you pass beyond this delight, and make it a means to that which you are
permanently to rest in, you are using it, and it is an abuse of language to say that you enjoy it. But if you cling to it, and rest in it, finding your happiness complete in it, then you may be truly and properly said to enjoy it. And this we must never do except in the case of the Blessed Trinity, who is the Supreme and Unchangeable Good.

Chap, xxxit. â€” Christ the first way to God.

38. And mark that even when He who is Himself the Truth and the Word, by whom all things were made, had been made flesh that He might dwell among us, the apostle yet says:

"Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." ^ For Christ, desiring not only to give the possession to those who had completed the journey, but also to be Himself the way to those who were just setting out, determined to take a fleshly body. Whence also that expression, "The Lord created ^ me in the beginning of His way," ^ that is, that those who wished to come might begin their journey in Him. The apostle, therefore, although still on the way, and following after God who called him to the reward of His heavenly calling, yet forgetting those things which were behind, and pressing on towards, those things which were before,* had already passed over the beginning of the way, and had now no further need of it; yet by this way all must commence their journey who desire to attain to the truth, and to rest in eternal life. For He says: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; " ^ that is, by me men come, to me they come, in me they rest. For when we come to Him, we come to the Fattier also, because through an equal an equal is known; and the Holy Spirit binds, and as it were seals us, so that we are able to rest permanently in the supreme and unchangeable Good. And hence we may learn how essential it is that nothing should detain us on the way, when not even our Lord Himself, so far as He has condescended to be our way,

* 2 Cor. V. 16. 2 A. V. x>ossessed. ^ Prov. viii. 22.


30 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK I.]

is willing to detain ns, but wishes ns rather to press on; and, instead of weakly clinging to temporal things, even though these have been put on and worn by Him for onv salvation, to pass over them quickly, and to struggle to attain unto Himself, who has freed our nature from the bondage of temporal things, and has set it down at the right hand of His Father.

Chap. xxxv. â€” The fulfilment and end of Scripture is the love of God and our 7ieijhbour.

39. Of all, then, that has been said since we entered upon the discussion about things, this is the sum: that we should clearly understand that the fulfilment and the end of the Law,
and of all Holy Scripture, is the love of an object which is to be enjoyed, and the love of an object which can enjoy that other in fellowship with ourselves. For there is no need of a command that each man should love himself. The whole temporal dispensation for our salvation, therefore, was framed by the providence of God that we might know this truth and be able to act upon it; and we ought to use that dispensation, not with such love and delight as if it were a good to rest in, but with a transient feeling rather, such as we have towards the road, or carriages, or other things that are merely means. Perhaps some other comparison can be found that will more suitably express the idea that we are to love the things by which we are borne only for the sake of that towards which we are borne.

Chap, xxxvi. â€” That interpretation of Scripture which builds us up in love is not perniciously deceptive nor mendacious, even though it he faulty. The interpreter, however, should he corrected.

40. Whoever, then, thinks that he understands the Holy Scriptures, or any part of them, but puts such an interpretation upon them as does not tend to build up this twofold love of God and our neighbour, does not yet understand them as he ought. If, on the other hand, a man draws a meaning from them that may be used for the building up of love, even though he does not happen upon the precise meaning which the author whom he reads intended to express in that place, his error is not pernicious, and he is wholly clear from the charge of deception. For there is involved in deception the intention to say what is false; and

CHAP. XXXVII.] EDIFYING MISINTERPRETATIONS. 31

we find plenty of people who intend to deceive, but nobody who wishes to be deceived. Since, then, the man who knows practises deceit, and the ignorant man is practised upon, it is quite clear that in any particular case the man who is deceived is a better man than he who deceives, seeing that it is better to suffer than to commit injustice. Now every man who lies commits an injustice; and if any man thinks that a lie is ever useful, he must think that injustice is sometimes useful. For no liar keeps faith in the matter about which he lies. He wishes, of course, that the man to whom he lies should place confidence in him; and yet he betrays his confidence by lying to him. Now every man who breaks faith is unjust. Either, then, injustice is sometimes useful (which is impossible), or a lie is never useful.

41. Whoever takes another meaning out of Scripture than the writer intended, goes astray, but not through any falsehood in Scripture. Nevertheless, as I was going to say, if his mistaken interpretation tends to build up love, which is the end of the commandment, he goes astray in much the same way as a man who by mistake quits the high road, but yet reaches through the fields the same place to which the road leads. He is to be corrected, however, and to be shown how much better it is not to quit the straight road, lest, if he get into a habit of going astray, he may sometimes take cross roads, or even go in the wrong direction altogether.
Chap, xxxvii. "Dangers of mistaken interpretation.  
For if he takes up rashly a meaning which the author whom he is reading did not intend, he often falls in with other statements which he cannot harmonize with this meaning. And if he admits that these statements are true and certain, then it follows that the meaning he had put upon the former passage cannot be the true one: and so it comes to pass, one can hardly tell how, that, out of love for his own opinion, he begins to feel more angry with Scripture than he is with himself. And if he should once permit that evil to creep in, it will utterly destroy him. " For we walk by faith, not by sight." ^ Now faith will totter if the authority of Scripture

1 2 Cor. V. 7.

32 ON CHRISTIAN POCTEINE. [BOOK I. i]

begin to shake. And then, if faith totter, love itself will grow cold. For if a man has fallen from faith, he must necessarily also fall from love; for he cannot love what he does not believe to exist. But if he both believes and loves, then through good works, and through diligent attention to the precepts of morality, he comes to hope also that he shall attain the object of his love. And so these are the three things to which all knowledge and all prophecy are subservient: faith, hope, love.

Chap, xxxviii. "Love never faileth.

42. But sight shall displace faith; and hope shall be swallowed up in that perfect bliss to which we shall come: love, on the other hand, shall wax greater when these others fail. For if we love by faith that which as yet we see not, how much more shall we love it when we begin to see! And if we love by hope that which as yet we have not reached, how much more shall we love it when we reach it! For there is this great difference between things temporal and things eternal, that a temporal object is valued more before we possess it, and begins to prove worthless the moment we attain it, because it does not satisfy the soul, which has its only true and sure resting-place in eternity: an eternal object, on the other hand, is loved with greater ardour when it is in possession than while it is still an object of desire, for no one in his longing for it can set a higher value on it than really belongs to it, so as to think it comparatively worthless when he finds it of less value than he thought; on the contrary, however high the value any man may set upon it when he is on his way to possess it, he will find it, when it comes into his possession, of higher value still.

Chap, xxxix. "He who is mature in faith, hope, and love, needs Scripture no longer.
43. And thus a man who is resting upon faith, hope, and love, and who keeps a firm hold upon these, does not need the Scriptures except for the purpose of instructing others. Accordingly, many live without copies of the Scriptures, even in solitude, on the strength of these three graces. So that in their case, I think, the saying is already fulfilled:

CHAP. XL.] THE SPIRIT IN WHICH WE SHOULD READ SCRIPTURE. 33

"Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." ^ Yet by means of these instruments (as they may be called), so great an edifice of faith and love has been built up in them, that, holding to what is perfect, they do not seek for what is only in part perfect â€” of course, I mean, so far as is possible in this life; for, in comparison with the future life, the life of no just and holy man is perfect here. Therefore the apostle says: "Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity:"^ because, when a man shall have reached the eternal world, while the other two graces will fail, love will remain greater and more assured.

Chap. sl. â€” What manner of reader Scripture demands.

4:4:. And, therefore, if a man fully understands that "the end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned," ^ and is bent upon making all his understanding of Scripture to bear upon these three graces, he may come to the interpretation of these books with an easy mind. For while the apostle says "love," he adds "out of a pure heart," to provide against anything being loved but that which is worthy of love. And he joins with this "a good conscience," in reference to hope; for, if a man has the burden of a bad conscience, he despairs of ever reaching that which he believes in and loves. And in the third place he says: "and of faith unfeigned." For if our faith is free from all hypocrisy, then we both abstain from loving what is unworthy of our love, and by living uprightly we are able to indulge the hope that our hope shall not be in vain.

For these reasons I have been anxious to speak about the objects of faith, as far as I thought it necessary for my present purpose; for much has already been said on this subject in other volumes, either by others or by myself. And so let this be the end of the present book. In the next I shall discuss, as far as God shall give me light, the subject of signs.

1 1 Cor. xiii. 8, 2 j Cqj. xiii. 13. 3 j Tim. i. 5.

CHR. DOCT. C
BOOK SECOND.

ARGUMENT.

HAVING COMPLETED HIS EXPOSITION OF THINGS, THE AUTHOR NOW PROCEEDS TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF SIGNS. HE FIRST DEFINES WHAT A SIGN IS, AND SHOWS THAT THERE ARE TWO CLASSES OF SIGNS, THE NATURAL AND THE CONVENTIONAL. OF CONVENTIONAL SIGNS (WHICH ARE THE ONLY CLASS HERE NOTICED), WORDS ARE THE MOST NUMEROUS AND IMPORTANT, AND ARE THOSE WITH WHICH THE INTERPRETER OF SCRIPTURE IS CHIEFLY CONCERNED. THE DIFFICULTIES AND OBSCURITIES OF SCRIPTURE SPRING CHIEFLY FROM TWO SOURCES, UNKNOWN AND AMBIGUOUS SIGNS. THE PRESENT BOOK DEALS ONLY WITH UNKNOWN SIGNS, THE AMBIGUITIES OF LANGUAGE BEING RESERVED FOR TREATMENT IN THE NEXT BOOK. THE DIFFICULTY ARISING FROM IGNORANCE OF SIGNS IS TO BE REMOVED BY LEARNING THE GREEK AND HEBREW LANGUAGES, IN WHICH SCRIPTURE IS WRITTEN, BY COMPARING THE VARIOUS TRANSLATIONS, AND BY ATTENDING TO THE CONTEXT. IN THE INTERPRETATION OF FIGURATIVE EXPRESSIONS, KNOWLEDGE OF THINGS IS AS NECESSARY AS KNOWLEDGE OF WORDS; AND THE VARIOUS SCIENCES AND ARTS OF THE HEATHEN, SO FAR AS THEY ARE TRUE AND USEFUL, MAY BE TURNED TO ACCOUNT IN REMOVING OUR IGNORANCE OF SIGNS, WHETHER THESE BE DIRECT OR FIGURATIVE. WHilst EXPOSING THE FOLLY AND FUTILITY OF MANY HEATHEN SUPERSTITIONS AND PRACTICES, THE AUTHOR POINTS OUT HOW ALL THAT IS SOUND AND USEFUL IN THEIR SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY MAY BE TURNED TO A CHRISTIAN USE.
AND IN CONCLUSION, HE SHOWS THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT BEHOVES US TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THE STUDY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE SACRED BOOKS.

Chap. i. “Signs, their nature and variety.
1. A S when I was writing about things, I introduced the X-k. subject with a warning against attending to anything but what they are in themselves, even though they are signs of something else, so now, when I come in its turn to discuss the subject of signs, I lay down this direction, not to attend to what they are in themselves, but to the fact that they are signs, that is, to what they signify. For a sign is a thing which, over and above the impression it makes on the senses, causes something else to come into the mind as a consequence of itself: as when we see a footprint, we conclude that an animal whose footprint this is has passed by; and when we see smoke, we

Â» See Book i. 2.

I

CHAP. II.] THE KINDS OF SIGNS. 35

know that there is fire beneath; and when we hear the voice of a living man, we think of the feeling in his mind; and when the trumpet sounds, soldiers know that they are to advance or retreat, or do whatever else the state of the battle requires.

2. Now some signs are natural, others conventional. Natural signs are those which, apart from any intention or desire of using them as signs, do yet lead to the knowledge of something else, as, for example, smoke when it indicates fire. For it is not from any intention of making it a sign that it is so, but through attention to experience we come to know that fire is beneath, even when nothing but smoke can be seen. And the footprint of an animal passing by belongs to this class of signs. And the countenance of an angry or sorrowful man indicates the feeling in his mind, independently of his will: and in the same way every other emotion of the mind is betrayed by the tell-tale countenance, even though we do nothing with the intention of making it known. This class of signs, however, it is no part of my design to discuss at present. But as it comes under this division of the subject, I could not altogether pass it over. It will be enough to have noticed it thus far.

Chap. ii. “Of the kind of signs we are now concerned with.
3. Conventional signs, on the other hand, are those which living beings mutually exchange for the purpose of showing, as well as they can, the feelings of their minds, or their perceptions, or their thoughts. Nor is there any reason for giving a sign except the desire of drawing forth and conveying into another's mind what the giver of the sign has in his own mind. We wish, then, to consider and discuss this class of signs so far as men are concerned with it, because even the signs which have been given us of God, and which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, were made known to us through men who wrote the Scriptures. The beasts, too, have certain signs among themselves by which they make known the desires in their mind. For when the poultry-cock has discovered food, he signals with his voice for the hen to run to him, and the dove by cooing calls his mate, or is called by her in turn; and many signs of the same kind are matters of common observation. Now whether these signs, like the

expression or the cry of a man in grief, follow the movement of the mind instinctively and apart from any purpose, or whether they are really used with the purpose of signification, is another question, and does not pertain to the matter in hand. And this part of the subject I exclude from the scope of this work as not necessary to my present object.

Chap. iii. Among signs, words hold the chief place.

4. Of the signs, then, by which men communicate their thoughts to one another, some relate to the sense of sight, some to that of hearing, a very few to the other senses. For, when we nod, we give no sign except to the eyes of the man to whom we wish by this sign to impart our desire. And some convey a great deal by the motion of the hands: and actors by movements of all their limbs give certain signs to the initiated, and, so to speak, address their conversation to the eyes: and the military standards and flags convey through the eyes the will of the commanders. And all these signs are as it were a kind of visible words. The signs that address themselves to the ear are, as I have said, more numerous, and for the most part consist of words. For though the bugle and the flute and the lyre frequently give not only a sweet but a significant sound, yet all these signs are very few in number compared with words. For among men words have obtained far and away the chief place as a means of indicating the thoughts of the mind. Our Lord, it is true, gave a sign through the odour of the ointment which was poured out upon His feet; and ii) the sacrament of His body and blood He signified His will through the sense of taste; and when by touching the hem of His garment the woman was made whole, the act was not wanting in significance. But the countless multitude of the signs through which men express their thoughts consist of words. For I have been able to put into words all those signs, the various classes of which I have briefly touched upon, but I could by no effort express words in terms of those signs.


5. But because words pass away as soon as they strike
1 John xii. 3-7; Mark xiv. 8. Matt. ix. 20.

i

CHAP. VI.] THE OBSCURITIES OF SCRIPTURE. 37

upon the air, and last no longer than their sound, men have by means of letters formed signs of words. Thus the sounds of the voice are made visible to the eye, not of course as sounds, but by means of certain signs. It has been found impossible, however, to make those signs common to all nations owing to the sin of discord among men, which springs from every man trying to snatch the chief place for himself. And that celebrated tower which was built to reach to heaven was an indication of this arrogance of spirit; and the ungodly men concerned in it justly earned the punishment of having not their minds only, but their tongues besides, thrown into confusion and discordance.^

Chap. v. Scripture translated into various languages.

6. And hence it happened that even Holy Scripture, which brings a remedy for the terrible diseases of the human will, being at first set forth in one language, by means of which it could at the fit season be disseminated through the whole world, was interpreted into various tongues, and spread far and wide, and thus became known to the nations for their salvation. And in reading it, men seek nothing more than to find out the thought and will of those by whom it was written, and through these to find out the will of God, in accordance with which they believe these men to have spoken.

Chap. vi. Use of the obscurities in Scripture which arise from its figurative language.

7. But hasty and careless readers are led astray by many and manifold obscurities and ambiguities, substituting one meaning for another; and in some places they cannot hit upon even a fair interpretation. Some of the expressions are so obscure as to shroud the meaning in the thickest darkness. And I do not doubt that all this was divinely arranged for the purpose of subduing pride by toil, and of preventing a feeling of satiety in the intellect, which generally holds in small esteem what is discovered without difficulty. For why is it, I ask, that if any one says that there are holy and just men whose life and conversation the Church of Christ uses as a means of redeeming those who come to it from all kinds of superstitions, and making them through their imitation of
good men members of its own body; men who, as good and true servants of God, have come to the baptismal font laying down the burdens of the world, and who rising thence do, through the implanting of the Holy Spirit, yield the fruit of a twofold love, a love,—that is, of God and their neighbour; â€”

how is it, I say, that if a man says this, he does not please his hearer so much as when he draws the same meaning from that passage in Canticles, where it is said of the Church, when it is being praised under the figure of a beautiful woman, " Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are shorn, which came up from the washing, whereof every one bears twins, and none is barren among them " ? ^ Does the hearer learn anything more than when he listens to the same thought expressed in the plainest language, without the help of this figure? And yet, I don't know why, I feel greater pleasure in contemplating holy men, when I view them as the teeth of the Church, tearing men away from their errors, and bringing them into the Church's body with all their harshness softened down, just as if they had been torn off and masticated by the teeth. It is with the greatest pleasure, too, that I recognise them under the figure of sheep that have been shorn, laying down the burthens of the world like fleeces, and coming up from the washing, i.e. from baptism, and all bearing twins, i.e. the twin commandments of love, and none among them barren in that holy fruit.

8. But why I view them with greater delight under that aspect than if no such figure were drawn from the sacred books, though the fact would remain the same and the knowledge the same, is another question, and one very difficult to answer. Nobody, however, has any doubt about the facts, both that it is pleasanter in some cases to have knowledge communicated through figures, and that what is attended with difficulty in the seeking gives greater pleasure in the finding. For those who seek but do not find suffer from hunger. Those, again, who do not seek at all because they have what they require just beside them often grow languid from satiety. Now weakness from either of these causes is to be avoided. Accordingly the Holy Spirit has, with admirable wisdom and care for our welfare, so arranged the Holy Scriptures as by the plainer passages to satisfy our

1 Cant. iv. 2.

hunger, and by the more obscure to stimulate our appetite.

1 Cant. iv. 2.
For almost nothing is dug out of those obscure passages which may not be found set forth in the plainest language elsewhere.

Chap. vii. “Steps to wisdom: First, fear; second, piety; third, knowledge; fourth, resolution; fifth, counsel; sixth, imitation of heart; seventh, slop or termination, luismom.

9. First of all, then, it is necessary that we should be led by the fear of God to seek the knowledge of His will, what He commands us to desire and what to avoid. JSTow this fear will of necessity excite in us the thought of our mortality and of the death that is before us, and crucify all the motions of pride as if our flesh were nailed to the tree. Next it is necessary to have our hearts subdued by piety, and not to run in the face of Holy Scripture, whether when understood it strikes at some of our sins, or, when not understood, we feel as if we could be wiser and give better commands ourselves. We must rather think and believe that whatever is there written, even though it be hidden, is better and truer than anything we could devise by our own wisdom.

10. After these two steps of fear and piety, we come to the third step, knowledge, of which I have now undertaken to treat. For in this every earnest student of the Holy Scriptures exercises himself, to find nothing else in them but that God is to be loved for His own sake, and our neighbour for God's sake; and that God is to be loved with all the heart, and with all the soul, and with all the mind, and one's neighbour as one's self “that is, in such a way that all our love for our neighbour, like all our love for ourselves, should have reference to God.”

And on these two commandments I touched in the previous book when I was treating about things. It is necessary, then, that each man should first of all find in the Scriptures that he, through being entangled in the love of this world “i.e. of temporal things “has been drawn far away from such a love for God and such a love for his neighbour as Scripture enjoins.

Then that fear which leads him to think of the judgment of God, and that piety which gives him no option but to believe in and submit to the authority of Scripture, compel him to bewail his condition. For the knowledge of a good hope makes

' Comp. Matt. xxii. 37-40. 2 See Book i. c. 22.

40 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II

a man not boastful, but sorrowful. And in this frame of mind he implores with unremitting prayers the comfort of the Divine help that he may not be overwhelmed in despair, and so he gradually comes to the fourth step, “that is, strength and , resolution; in which he hungeres and thirsts after righteousness.

ness. For in this frame of mind he extricates himself from every form of fatal joy in transitory things, and turning away from these, fixes his affection on things eternal, to wit, the unchangeable Trinity in unity.
11. And when, to the extent of his power, he has gazed upon this object shining from afar, and has felt that owing to the weakness of his sight he cannot endure that matchless light, then in the fifth step he cleanses his soul, which is violently agitated, and disturbs him with base desires, from the filth it has contracted. And at this stage he exercises himself diligently in the love of his neighbour; and when he has reached the point of loving his enemy, full of hopes and unbroken in strength, he mounts to the sixth step, in which he purifies the eye itself which can see God so far as God can be seen by those who as far as possible die to this world. For men see Him just so far as they die to this world; and so far as they live to it they see Him not. But yet, although that light may begin to appear clearer, and not only more tolerable, but even more delightful, still it is only through a glass darkly that we are said to see, because we walk by faith, not by sight, while we continue to wander as strangers in this world, even though our conversation be in heaven. And at this stage, too, a man so purges the eye of his affections as not to place his neighbour before, or even in comparison with, the truth, and therefore not himself, because not him whom he loves as himself. Accordingly, that holy man will be so single and so pure in heart, that he will not step aside from the truth, either for the sake of pleasing men or with a view to avoid any of the annoyances which beset this life. Such a son ascends to wisdom, which is the seventh and last step, and which he enjoys in peace and tranquillity. For the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom.


* 1 Cor. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. v. 7. * Ps. cxi. 10.

CHAP. VIII.] THE CANONICAL BOOKS. 41

From that beginning, then, till we reach wisdom itself, our way is by the steps now described.

Chap. A'iii. â€” The canonical hoolcs.

12. But let us now go back to consider the third step here mentioned, for it is about it that I have set myself to speak and reason as the Lord shall grant me wisdom. The most skilful interpreter of the sacred writings, then, will be he who in the first place has read them all and retained them in his knowledge, if not yet with full understanding, still with such knowledge as reading gives, those of them, at least, that are called canonical. For he will read the others with greater safety when built up in the belief of the truth, so that they will not take first possession of a weak mind, nor, cheating it with dangerous falsehoods and delusions, fill it with prejudices adverse to a sound understanding. Now, in regard to the canonical Scriptures, he must follow the judgment of the greater number
of catholic churches; and among these, of course, a high place must be given to such as have been thought worthy to be the seat of an apostle and to receive epistles. Accordingly, among the canonical Scriptures he will judge according to the following standard: to prefer those that are received by all the catholic churches to those which some do not receive. Among those, again, which are not received by all, he will prefer such as have the sanction of the greater number and those of greater authority, to such as are held by the smaller number and those of less authority. If, however, he shall find that some books are held by the greater number of churches, and others by the churches of greater authority (though this is not a very likely thing to happen), I think that in such a case the authority on the two sides is to be looked upon as equal.

13. Now the whole canon of Scripture on which we say this judgment is to be exercised, is contained in the following books: â€” Five books of Moses, that is, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; one book of Joshua the son of Nun; one of Judges; one short book called Euth, which seems rather to belong to the beginning of Kings; next, four books of Kings, and two of Chronicles, â€” these last not following one another, but running parallel, so to speak, and going over the same ground. The books now mentioned are history, which contains a connected narrative of the times, and follows the order of the events. There are other books which seem to follow no regular order, and are connected neither with the order of the preceding books nor with one another, such as Job, and Tobias, and Esther, and Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, and the two of Ezra, â€” which last look more like a sequel to the continuous regular history which terminates with the books of Kings and Chronicles. Next are the Prophets, in which there is one book of the Psalms of David; and three books of Solomon, viz. Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. For two books, one called Wisdom and the other Ecclesiasticus, are ascribed to Solomon from a certain resemblance of style, but the most likely opinion is that, they were written by Jesus the son of Sirach.â€” Still they are to be reckoned among the prophetical books, since they have attained recognition as being authoritative. The remainder are the books which are strictly called the Prophets: twelve separate books of the prophets which are connected with one another, and having never been disjoined, are reckoned as one book; the names of these prophets are as follows: â€” Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; then there are the four greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel. The authority of the Old Testament â€” is contained within the limits of these forty-four books. That of the New Testament, again, is contained within the following: â€” Four books of the Gospel, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John; fourteen epistles of the Apostle Paul â€” one to the Eomans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, one to the Colossians, two to Timothy, one to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter;
three of John; one of Jude; and one of James; one book of the Acts of the Apostles; and one of the Eevelation of John.

' That is, Ezra and Nehemiah.

2 Augustine in his Retractations withdi-ew this opinion so far as regards the book of Wisdom.

* This application of the phrase "Old Testament" is Vi'ithdrawn and apologized for in the Retractations,

CHAP. X.] THE METHOD OF STUDY. * 43

Chap. ix. â€” How we should proceed in studying Scripture.

14. In all these books those who fear God and are of a meek and pious disposition seek the will of God. And in pursuing this search, the first rule to be observed is, as I said, to know these books, if not yet with the understanding, still to read them so as to commit them to memory, or at least so as not to remain wholly ignorant of them. Next, those matters that are plainly laid down in them, whether rules of life or rules of faith, are to be searched into more carefully and more diligently; and the more of these a man discovers, the more capacious does his understanding become. For among the things that are plainly laid down in Scripture are to be found all matters that concern faith and the manner of life, â€” hope, to wit, and love, of which I have spoken in the previous book. After this, when we have made ourselves to a certain extent familiar with the language of Scripture, we may proceed to open up and investigate the obscure passages, and in doing so draw examples from the plainer expressions to throw light upon the more obscure, and use the evidence of passages about which there is no doubt to remove all hesitation in regard to the doubtful passages. And in this matter memory counts for a great deal; but if the memory be defective, no rules can supply the want.

Chap. s. â€” Unknown or ambiguous signs prevent Scripture from being understood.

15. Now there are two causes which prevent what is written from being understood: its being veiled either under unknown, or under ambiguous signs. Signs are either proper or figurative. They are called proper when they are used to point out the objects they were designed to point out, as we say hos when we mean an ox, because all men who with us use the Latin tongue call it by this name. Signs are figurative when the things themselves which we indicate by the proper names are used to signify something else, as we say hos, and understand by that syllable the ox, which is ordinarily called by that name; but then further by that ox understand a preacher of the gospel, as Scripture signifies, according to the apostle's explanation, when it says: " Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn."^
CiiAP. XI. "Knowledge of languages, especially of Greek and Hebrew, necessary to remove ignorance of signs.

16. The great remedy for ignorance of proper signs is knowledge of languages. And men who speak the Latin tongue, of whom are those I have undertaken to instruct, need two other languages for the knowledge of Scripture, Hebrew and Greek, that they may have recourse to the original texts if the endless diversity of the Latin translators throw them into doubt. Although, indeed, we often find Hebrew words untranslated in the books, as for example. Amen, Halleluia, Eacha, Hosanna, and others of the same kind. Some of these, although they could have been translated, have been preserved in their original form on account of the more sacred authority that attaches to it, as for example. Amen and Halleluia.

Some of them, again, are said to be untranslatable into another tongue, of which the other two I have mentioned are examples.

For in some languages there are words that cannot be translated into the idiom of another language. And this happens chiefly in the case of interjections, which are words that express rather an emotion of the mind than any part of a thought we have in our mind. And the two given above are said to be of this kind, Eacha expressing the cry of an angry man, Hosanna that of a joyful man. But the knowledge of these languages is necessary, not for the sake of a few words like these which it is very easy to mark and to ask about, but, as has been said, on account of the diversities among translators.

For the translations of the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek can be counted, but the Latin translators are out of all number.

For in the early days of the faith every man who happened to get his hands upon a Greek manuscript, and who thought he had any knowledge, were it ever so little, of the two languages, ventured upon the work of translation.

Chap. xii. "A diversity of Interpretations is useful. Ei-rors arising from ambiguous ivords.

17. And this circumstance would assist rather than hinder the understanding of Scripture, if only readers were not careless. For the examination of a number of texts has often thrown light upon some of the more obscure passages; for
example, in that passage of the prophet Isaiah/ one translator reads: " And do not despise
the domestics of thy seed; " ^
another reads: "And do not despise thine own flesh." ^ Each of these in turn confirms the
other. For the one is explained by the other; because "flesh" may be taken in its literal
sense, so that a man may understand that he is admonished not to despise his own body;
and "the domestics of thy seed"
may be understood figuratively of Christians, because they are spiritually born of the
same seed as ourselves, namely, the Word. When now the meaning of the two translators
is compared, a more likely sense of the words suggests itself, viz.
that the command is not to despise our kinsmen, because when one brings the expression
"domestics of thy seed" into relation with "flesh," kinsmen most naturally occur to one's
mind, Whence, I think, that expression of the apostle, when he says,
"If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save
some of them;" * that is, that through emulation of those who had believed, some of them
might believe too. And he calls the Jews Ms "flesh," on account of the relationship of
blood. Again, that passage from the same prophet Isaiah: ^. "If ye will not believe, ye
shall not understand," ^ another has translated: "If ye wiU not believe, ye shall not
abide." ^ Now which of these is the literal translation cannot be ascertained without
reference to the text in the original tongue. And yet to those who read with knowledge, a
great truth is to be found in each. For it is difficult for interpreters to differ so widely as
not to touch at some point. Accordingly here, as understanding consists in sight, and is
abiding, but faith feeds us as babes, upon milk, in the cradles of temporal things (for now
we walk by faith, not by sight) - ^ as, moreover, unless we walk by faith, we shall not
attain to sight, which does not pass away, but abides, our understanding being purified by
holding to the truth; â€” for these

^ Isa. Iviii. 7, " And that thou liide not thyself from thine own flesh" (A. V.).
^ Et domesticos seminis tiii ne despexeris.


* Isa. vii. 9, "* If ye -will not believe, surely ye shall not be established "
(A. v.).

6 Nisi credideritis, non intelligitis. ^ Nisi credideritis, non permanebitis.

8 2 Cor. V. 7.

46 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II.]

reasons one says, " If ye will not believe, ye shall not understand;" but the other, " If ye
will not believe, ye shall not abide."
18. And very often a translator, to whom the meaning is not well known, is deceived by an ambiguity in the original language, and puts upon the passage a construction that is wholly alien to the sense of the writer. As for example, some texts read: "Their feet are sharp to shed blood;" the word ὀξυς among the Greeks means both sharp and swift. And so he saw the true meaning who translated: "Their feet are swift to shed blood." The other, taking the wrong sense of an ambiguous word, fell into error. Now translations such as this are not obscure, but false; and there is a wide difference between the two things. For we must learn not to interpret, but to correct texts of this sort. For the same reason it is, that because the Greek word γαλάτας means a calf, some have not understood that γαλάται are shoots of trees, and have translated the word "calves;" and this error has crept into so many texts, that you can hardly find it written in any other way. And yet the meaning is very clear; for it is made evident by the words that follow. For "the plantings of an adulterer will not take deep root," is a more suitable form of expression than the "calves;" because these walk upon the ground with their feet, and are not fixed in the earth by roots. In this passage, indeed, the rest of the context also justifies this translation.

Chap. xiii. â€” How faulty interpretations can be emended.

19. But since we do not clearly see what the actual thought is which the several translators endeavour to express, each according to his own ability and judgment, unless we examine it in the language which they translate; and since the translator, if he be not a very learned man, often departs from the meaning of his author, we must either endeavour to get a knowledge of those languages from which the Scriptures are translated into Latin, or we must get hold of the translations of those who keep rather close to the letter of the original.

1 Kom. iii. 15. ^wigd jy, 3_  
^ Adulterinse plantationes non clabunt radices altas. * Vitulaniina.

CHAP. XIII.] SOLECISJR5 AND BAEBAEISMS. 47

not because these are sufficient, but because we may use them to correct the freedom or the error of others, who in their translations have chosen to follow the sense quite as much as the words. For not only single words, but often whole phrases are translated, which could not be translated at all into the Latin idiom by any one who wished to hold by the usage of the ancients who spoke Latin. And though these sometimes do not interfere with the understanding of the passage, yet they are offensive to those who feel greater delight in things when even the signs of those things are kept in their own purity. For what is called a solecism is nothing else than the putting of words together according to a different rule from that which those of our predecessors who spoke with any authority followed. For whether we say inter homines (among men) or inter hominihis, is of no consequence to a man who only wishes to know the facts. And in the same way,
what is a harharism but the pronouncing of a word in a different way from that in which those who spoke Latin before us pronounced it? For whether the word ignoscere (to pardon)
should be pronounced with the third syllable long or short, is not a matter of much concern to the man who is beseeching God, in any way at all that he can get the words out, to pardon his sins. What then is purity of speech, except the preserving of the custom of language established by the authority of former speakers?

20. And men are easily offended in a matter of this kind, just in proportion as they are weak; and they are weak just in proportion as they wish to seem learned, not in the knowledge of things which tend to edification, but in that of signs, by which it is hard not to be puffed up, seeing that the knowledge of things even would often set up our neck, if it were not held down by the yoke of our Master. For how does it prevent our understanding it to have the following passage thus expressed: "Quce est terra in qua isti insidunt super earn, si bona est an nequam; et quce sunt civitates, in quibus ipsi inhabitant in ipsis?" And I am more disposed to think that

'Comp. 1 Cor. viii. 1.

'And what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in." â€” Num. xiii, 19 (A. V.).

48 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK 11.

this is simply the idiom of another language than that any deeper meaning is intended. Again, that phrase, which we cannot now take away from the lips of the people who sing it: "Super ipsum autem Jloriet sandification mca," surely takes away nothing from the meaning. Yet a more learned man would prefer that this should be corrected, and that we should say, not Jloriet, but fiorebit. Nor does anything stand in the way of the correction being made, except the usage of the sino-ers. Mistakes of this kind, then, if a man do not choose to avoid them altogether, it is easy to treat with indifference, as not interfering with a right understanding. But take, on the other hand, the saying of the apostle: "Quod stultum est Dei, sapientius est hominihus, et quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominihus." If any one should retain in this passage the Greek idiom, and say, "Quod stultum est Dei, sapientius est liominiiii et qiiod infirmimi est Dei fortius est hominiunm," a quick and careful reader would indeed by an effort attain to the true meaning, but still a man of slower intelligence either would not understand it at all, or would put an utterly false construction upon it. For not only is such a form of speech faulty in the Latin tongue, but it is ambiguous too, as if the meaning might be, that the folly of men or the weakness of men is wiser or stronger than that of God. But indeed even the expression sapientius est hominius (stronger than men) is not free from ambiguity, even though it be free from solecism.
For whether hominihus is put as the plural of the dative or as the plural of the ablative, does not appear, unless by reference to the meaning. It would be better then to say, sapientius est quam homines, and fo7iius est quam homines.

Chap. xiv. â€” Hold the meaning of unknown words and idioms is to be discovered. 21. About ambiguous signs, however, I shall speak afterwards. I am treating at present of unknown signs, of which, as far as the words are concerned, there are two kinds. For

^ " But upon himself shall my holiness flourish." â€” Ps. cxxxii. 18 (see LXX.).
" But upon himself shall his crown flourish" (A. V.).

* " Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men" (1 Cor. i. 25).

3 ' ' What is foolish of God is wiser of men, and what is weak of God is stronger of men."

CHAP. XV.] IGNOEANCE OF WORDS AND PHRASES. 49

either a word or an idiom, of which the reader is ignorant, brings him to a stop. Now if these belong to foreign tongues, we must either make inquiry about them from men who speak those tongues, or if we have leisure we must learn the tongues ourselves, or we must consult and compare several translators. If, however, there are words or idioms in our own tongue that we are unacquainted with, we gradually come to know them through being accustomed to read or to hear them. There is nothing that it is better to commit to memory than those kinds of words and phrases whose meaning we do not know, so that where we happen to meet either with a more learned man of whom we can inquire, or with a passage that shows, either by the preceding or succeeding context, or by both, the force and significance of the phrase we are ignorant of, we can easily by the help of our memory turn our attention to the matter and learn all about it. So great, however, is the force of custom, even in regard to learning, that those who have been in a sort of way nurtured and brought up on the study of Holy Scripture, are surprised at other forms of speech, and think them less pure Latin than those which they have learnt from Scripture, but which are not to be found in Latin authors. In this matter, too, the great number of the translators proves a very great assistance, if they are examined and discussed with a careful comparison of their texts. Only all positive error must be removed. For those who are anxious to know the Scriptures ought in the first place to use their skill in the correction of the texts, so that the uncorrected ones should give way to the corrected, at least when they are copies of the same translation.

Chap. xv. â€” Among versions a preference is given to the Septuagint and the Itala.

22. Now among translations themselves the Italian {ItcdaY
is to be preferred to the others, for it keeps closer to the words without prejudice to
clarity of expression. And to correct the Latin we must use the Greek versions, among
which the authority of the Septuagint is pre-eminent as far as the Old

The translation here referred to is the Vetus Latina, as revised by the Church of
Northern Italy in the fourth century, prior to the final recension of Jerome, commonly
called the Vulgate.

CHR. DOCT. D

50 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II.]

Testament is concerned; for it is reported through all the more learned churches that the
seventy translators enjoyed so much of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in their
work of translation, that among that number of men there was but one voice. And if, as is
reported, and as many not unworthy of confidence assert, they were separated during the
work of translation, each man being in a cell by himself, and yet nothing was found in the
manuscript of any one of them that was not found in the same words and in the same
order of words in all the rest, who dares put anything in comparison with an authority like
this, not to speak of preferring anything to it? And even if they conferred together with
the result that a unanimous agreement sprang out of the common labour and judgment of
them all; even so, it would not be right or becoming for any one man, whatever his
experience, to aspire to correct the unanimous opinion of many venerable and learned
men. Wherefore, even if anything is found in the original Hebrew in a different form
from that in which these men have expressed it, I think we must give way to the
dispensation of Providence which used these men to bring it about, that books which the
Jewish race were unwilling, either from religious scruple or from jealousy, to make
known to other nations, were, with the assistance of the power of King Ptolemy, made
known so long beforehand to the nations which in the future were to believe in the Lord.
And thus it is possible that they translated in such a way as the Holy Spirit, who worked
in them and had given them all one voice, thought most suitable for the Gentiles. But
nevertheless, as I said above, a comparison of those translators also who have kept most
closely to the words, is often not without value as a help to the clearing up of the
meaning. The Latin texts, therefore, of the Old Testament are, as I was about to say, to be
corrected if necessary by the authority of the Greeks, and especially by that of those who,
though they were seventy in number, are said to have translated as with one voice. As to
the books of the New Testament, again, if any perplexity arises from the diversities of the
Latin texts, we

Among these are Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Clemens Alexandrinus. Comp.
Augustine, De Civ. Dei, xviii. 43, and Epp. 71 and 75.
must of course yield to the Greek, especially those that are found in the churches of
greater learning and research.

CHAP. XVI. "The knowledge both of language and things is helpful for the
understanding of figurative expression.

23. In the case of figurative signs, again, if ignorance of any of them should chance to
bring the reader to a stand-still, their meaning is to be traced partly by the knowledge of
languages, partly by the knowledge of things. The pool of Siloam, for example, where the
man whose eyes our Lord had anointed with clay made out of spittle was commanded to
wash, has a figurative significance, and undoubtedly conveys a secret sense; but yet if the
evangelist had not interpreted that name,^ a meaning so important would lie unnoticed.
And we cannot doubt that, in the same way, many Hebrew names which have not been
interpreted by the writers of those books, would, if any one could interpret them, be of
great value and service in solving the enigmas of Scripture. And a number of men skilled
in that language have conferred no small benefit on posterity by explaining all these
words without reference to their place in Scripture, and telling us what Adam means,
what Eve, what Abraham, what Moses, and also the names of places, what Jerusalem
signifies, or Sion, or Sinai, or Lebanon, or Jordan, and whatever other names in that
language we are not acquainted with. And when these names have been investigated and
explained, many figurative expressions in Scripture become clear.

24. Ignorance of things, too, renders figurative expressions obscure, as when we do not
know the nature of the animals, or minerals, or plants, which are frequently referred to in
Scripture by way of comparison. The fact so well known about the serpent, for example,
that to protect its head it will present its whole body to its assailants â€” how much light
it throws upon the meaning of our Lord's command, that we should be wise as serpents;
that is to say, that for the sake of our head, which is Christ, we should willingly offer our
body to the persecutors, lest the Christian faith should, as it were, be destroyed in us, if to
save the body we deny our God! Or again, the statement that the serpent gets rid of
1 John ix. 7. = jyi^tt. x. 16.

52 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, [BOOK 11,

its old skin by squeezing itself through a narrow hole, and thus acquires new strength â€”
how appropriately it fits in with the direction to imitate the wisdom of the serpent, and to
put off the old man, as the apostle says, that we may put on the new;^ and to put it off,
too, by coming through a narrow place, according to the saying of our Lord, " Enter ye in
at the strait gate!" ^ As, then, knowledge of the nature of the serpent throws light upon
many metaphors which Scripture is accustomed to draw from that animal, so ignorance of
other animals, which are no less frequently mentioned by way of comparison, is a very great drawback to the reader. And so in regard to minerals and plants: knowledge of the carbuncle, for instance, which shines in the dark, throws light upon many of the dark places in books too, where it is used metaphorically; and ignorance of the beryl or the adamant often shuts the doors of knowledge. And the only reason why we find it easy to understand that perpetual peace is indicated by the olive branch which the dove brought with it when it returned to the ark, is that we know both that the smooth touch of olive oil is not easily spoiled by a fluid of another kind, and that the tree itself is an evergreen. Many, again, by reason of their ignorance of hyssop, not knowing the virtue it has in cleansing the lungs, nor the power it is said to have of piercing rocks with its roots, although it is a small and insignificant plant, cannot make out why it is said, "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean."*

25. Ignorance of numbers, too, prevents us from understanding things that are set down in Scripture in a figurative and mystical way. A candid mind, if I may so speak, cannot but be anxious, for example, to ascertain what is meant by the fact that Moses and Elijah, and our Lord Himself, all fasted for forty days. And except by knowledge of and reflection upon the number, the difficulty of explaining the figure involved in this action cannot be got over. For the number contains ten four times, indicating the knowledge of all things, and that knowledge interwoven with time. For both the diurnal and the annual revolutions are accomplished in periods numbering

1 Eph. iv. 22. ^ Matt. vii. 13. 3 Cen. viii. 11.

* Ps. li. 7. * Ex. xxiv. 18; 1 Kings xix. 8; Matt. iv. 2.

CHAP. XVI.] THE USE OF AEITHMETICAL KNOWLEDGE. 53

four each; the diurnal in the hours of the morning, the noontide, the evening, and the night; the annual in the spring, summer, autumn, and winter months. Now while we live in time, we must abstain and fast from all joy in time, for the sake of that eternity in which we wish to live; although by the passage of time we are taught this very lesson of despising time and seeking eternity. Further, the number ten signifies the knowledge of the Creator and the creature, for there is a trinity in the Creator; and the number seven indicates the creature, because of the life and the body. For the life consists of three parts, whence also God is to be loved with the whole heart, the whole soul, and the whole mind; and it is very clear that in the body there are four elements of which it is made up. In this number ten, therefore, when it is placed before us in connection with time, that is, when it is taken four times, we are admonished to live unstained by, and not partaking of, any delight in time, that is, to fast for forty days. Of this we are admonished by the law personified in Moses, by prophecy personified in Elijah, and by our Lord Himself, who, as if receiving the witness both of the law and the prophets, appeared on the mount between the other two, while His three disciples looked on in amazement. Xext, we have to inquire in the same way, how out of the number forty springs the number fifty, which
in our religion has no ordinary sacredness attached to it on account of the Pentecost, and
how this number taken thrice on account of the three divisions of time, before the law,
under the law, and under grace, or perhaps on account of the name of the Father, Son, and
Holy Spirit, and the Trinity itself being added over and above, has reference to the
mystery of the most Holy Church, and reaches to the number of the one hundred and
fifty-three fishes which were taken after the resurrection of our Lord, when the nets were
cast out on the right-hand side of the boat. And in the same way, many other numbers
and combinations of numbers are used in the sacred writings, to convey instruction under
a figurative guise, and ignorance of numbers often shuts out the reader from this
instruction.

26. Yet a few things, too, are closed against us and obscured

^ John xxi. 11.

54 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II.]

by ignorance of music. One man, for example, has not unskilfully explained some
metaphors from the difference between the psaltery and the harp. And it is a question
which it is not out of place for learned men to discuss, whether there is any musical law
that compels the psaltery of ten chords to have just so many strings; or whether, if there
be no such law, the number itself is not on that very account the more to be considered as
of sacred significance, either with reference to the ten commandments of the law (and if
again any question is raised about that number, we can only refer it to the Creator and the
creature), or with reference to the number ten itself as interpreted above. And the number
of years the temple was in building, which is mentioned in the gospel, viz. forty-six
has a certain undefinable musical sound, and when referred to the structure of our
Lord's body, in relation to which the temple was mentioned, compels many heretics to
confess that our Lord put on, not a false, but a true and human body.
And in several places in the Holy Scriptures we find both numbers and music mentioned
with honour.

Chap. xvii. "Origin of the legend of the nine Muses.

27. For we must not listen to the falsities of heathen superstition, which represent the
nine Muses as daughters of Jupiter and Mercury, Varro refutes these, and I doubt whether
any one can be found among them more curious or more learned in such matters. He says
that a certain state (I don't recollect the name) ordered from each of three artists a set of
statues of the Muses, to be placed as an offering in the temple of Apollo, intending that
whichever of the artists produced the most beautiful statues, they should select and
purchase from him.
It so happened that these artists executed their works with equal beauty, that all nine
pleased the state, and that all were bought to be dedicated in the temple of Apollo; and he
says that afterwards Hesiod the poet gave names to them all. It was not Jupiter, therefore,
that begat the nine Muses, but three artists created three each. And the state had originally given the order for three, not because it had seen them in visions, nor because they had presented themselves in that number to 1 Ps. xxxiii. 2. ^ John ii. 20.

CHAP. XIX.] THE USE OF HEATHEN LEARNING. 55

the eyes of any of the citizens, but because it was obvious to remark that all sound, which is the material of song, is by nature of three kinds. For it is either produced by the voice, as in the case of those who sing with the mouth without an instrument; or by blowing, as in the case of trumpets and flutes; or by striking, as in the case of harps and drums, and all other instruments that give their sound when struck.

Chap. xviii. æ”" No help is to be despised, even though it come from a profane source,

28. But whether the fact is as Varro has related, or is not so, still we ought not to give up music because of the superstition of the heathen, if we can derive anything from it that is of use for the understanding of Holy Scripture; nor does it follow that we must busy ourselves with their theatrical trumpery because we enter upon an investigation about harps and other instruments, that may help us to lay hold upon spiritual things. For we ought not to refuse to learn letters because they say that Mercury discovered them; nor because they have dedicated temples to Justice and Virtue, and prefer to worship in the form of stones things that ought to have their place in the heart, ought we on that account to forsake justice and virtue. Nay, but let every good and true Christian understand that wherever truth may be found, it belongs to his Master; and while he recognises and acknowledges the truth, even in their religious literature, let him reject the figments of superstition, and let him give over and avoid men who, " when they knew God, glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

Chap. xix. æ”” Tico Finds of heathen knowledge.

29. But to explain more fully this whole topic (for it is one that cannot be omitted), there are two kinds of knowledge which are in vogue among the heathen. One is the knowledge of things instituted by men, the other of things which they

> Rom. i. 21-23.
have noted, either as transacted in the past or as instituted by God. The former kind, that which deals with human institutions, is partly superstitious, partly not.

Chap. xx. ÿ” The superstitious nature of human institutions.

30. All the arrangements made by men for the making and worshipping of idols are superstitious, pertaining as they do either to the worship of what is created or of some part of it as God, or to consultations and arrangements about signs and leagues with devils, such, for example, as are employed in the magical arts, and which the poets are accustomed not so much to teach as to celebrate. And to this class belong, but with a bolder reach of deception, the books of the haruspices and augurs. In this class we must place also all amulets and cures which the medical art condemns, whether these consist in incantations, or in marks which they call claraders, or in hanging or tying on or even dancing in a fashion certain articles, not with reference to the condition of the body, but to certain signs hidden or manifest; and these remedies they call by the less offensive name of Physica, so as to appear not to be engaged in superstitious observances, but to be taking advantage of the forces of nature. Examples of these are the ear-rings on the top of each ear, or the rings of ostrich bone on the fingers, or telling you when you hiccup to hold your left thumb in your right hand.

31. To these we may add thousands of the most frivolous practices, that are to be observed if any part of the body should jump, or if, when friends are walking arm-in-arm, a stone, or a dog, or a boy, should come, between them. And the kicking of a stone, as if it were a divider of friends, does less harm than to cuff an innocent boy if he happens to run between men who are walking side by side. But it is delightful that the boys are sometimes avenged by the dogs; for frequently men are so superstitious as to venture upon striking a dog who has run between them, ÿ” not without impunity however, for instead of a superstitious remedy, the dog sometimes makes his assailant run in hot haste for a real surgeon. To this class, too, belong the following rules: To tread upon the threshold when you go out in front of the house; to go back to bed if any one should sneeze when you are putting on your slippers; to return home if you stumble upon going to a place; when your clothes are eaten by mice, to be more frightened at the prospect of coming misfortune than grieved by your present loss. Whence that witty saying of Cato, who, when consulted by a man who told him that the mice had eaten his boots, replied, ÿ” That is not strange, but it would have been very strange indeed if the boots had eaten the mice.”

Chap. xxi. ÿ” Superstition of astrologers.
32. Nor can we exclude from this kind of superstition those who were called genethliaci, on account of their attention to birthdays, but are now commonly called mathematici. For these, too, although they may seek with pains for the true position of the stars at the time of our birth, and may sometimes even find it out, yet in so far as they attempt thence to predict our actions, or the consequences of our actions, grievously err, and sell inexperienced men into a miserable bondage.

For when any freeman goes to an astrologer of this kind, he gives money that he may come away the slave either of Mars or of Venus, or rather, perhaps, of all the stars to which those who first fell into this error, and handed it on to posterity, have given the names either of beasts on account of their likeness to beasts, or of men with a view to confer honour on those men. And this is not to be wondered at, when we consider that even in times more recent and nearer our own, the Romans made an attempt to dedicate the star which we call Lucifer to the name and honour of Csesar. And this would, perhaps, have been done, and the name handed down to distant ages, only that his ancestress Venus had given her name to this star before him, and could not by any law transfer to her heirs what she had never possessed, nor sought to possess, in life. For where a place was vacant, or not held in honour of any of the dead of former times, the usual proceeding in such cases was carried out. For example, we have changed the names of the months Quintilis and Sextilis to July and August, naming them in honour of the men Julius Cesar and Augustus Csesar; and from this instance any one who cares can easily see that the stars spoken of above formerly wandered in the heavens without the names they now bear.

But as the men were dead whose memory people were either compelled by royal power or impelled by human folly to honour, they seemed to think that in putting their names upon the stars they were raising the dead men themselves to heaven. But whatever they may be called by men, still there are stars which God has made and set in order after His own pleasure, and they have a fixed movement, by which the seasons are distinguished and varied. And when any one is born, it is easy to observe the point at which this movement has arrived, by use of the rules discovered and laid down by those who are rebuked by Holy Writ in these terms: " For if they were able to know so much that they could weigh the world, how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof ? "

Chap. xxii. The folly of observing the stars' in order to predict the events of a life.

33. But to desire to predict the characters, the acts, and the fate of those who are born from such an observation, is a great delusion and great madness. And among those at least who have any sort of acquaintance with matters of this kind (which, indeed, are only fit to be unlearnt again), this superstition is refuted beyond the reach of doubt. For the observation is of the position of the stars, which they call constellations, at the time when the person was born about whom these wretched men are consulted by their still more wretched dupes. Now it may happen that, in the case of twins, one follows the other out
of the womb so closely that there is no interval of time between them that can be apprehended and marked in the position of the constellations. Whence it necessarily follows that twins are in many cases born under the same stars, while they do not meet with equal fortune either in what they do or what they suffer, but often meet with fates so different that one of them has a most fortunate life, the other a most unfortunate. As, for example, we are told that Esau and Jacob were born twins, and in such close succession, that Jacob, who was born last, was found to have laid hold with his hand upon the heel of his brother, who preceded
1 Wisd. xiii. 9.

CHAP. XXIII.] THE FOLLY OF DIVINATION EXPOSED. 59

him.—Now, assuredly, the day and hour of the birth of these two could not be marked in any way that would not give both the same constellation. But what a difference there was between the characters, the actions, the labours, and the fortunes of these two, the Scriptures bear witness, which are now so widely spread as to be in the mouth of all nations.

34. Nor is it to the point to say that the very smallest and briefest moment of time that separates the birth of twins, produces great effects in nature, and in the extremely rapid motion of the heavenly bodies. For, although I may grant that it does produce the greatest effects, yet the astrologer cannot discover this in the constellations, and it is by looking into these that he professes to read the fates. If, then, he does not discover the difference when he examines the constellations, which must, of course, be the same whether he is consulted about Jacob or his brother, what does it profit him that there is a difference in the heavens, which he rashly and carelessly brings into disrepute, when there is no difference in his chart, which he looks into anxiously but in vain? And so these notions also, which have their origin in certain signs of things being arbitrarily fixed upon by the presumption of men, are to be referred to the same class as if they were leagues and covenants with devils.

Chap, xxiii. â€” Why we repudiate arts of divination.

35. For in this way it comes to pass that men who lust after evil things are, by a secret judgment of God, delivered over to be mocked and deceived, as the just reward of their evil desires. For they are deluded and imposed on by the false angels, to whom the lowest part of the world has been put in subjection by the law of God's providence, and in accordance with His most admirable arrangement of things. And the result of these delusions and deceptions is, that through these superstitious and baneful modes of divination, many things in the past and future are made known, and turn out just as they are foretold; and in the case of those who practise superstitious observances, many things turn out agreeably to their observances, and ensnared by these successes, they become

* Gen. XXV. 24.
60 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II.]

more eagerly inquisitive, and involve themselves further and further in a labyrinth of most pernicious error. And to our advantage, the Word of God is not silent about this species of fornication of the soul; and it does not warn the soul against following such practices on the ground that those who profess them speak lies, but it says, "Even if what they tell you should come to pass, hearken not unto them." ^ For though the ghost of the dead Samuel foretold the truth to King Saul,

that does not make such sacrilegious observances as those by which his ghost was brought up the less detestable; and though the ventriloquist woman ^ in the Acts of the Apostles bore true testimony to the apostles of the Lord, the Apostle Paul did not spare the evil spirit on that account, but rebuked and cast it out, and so made the woman clean.^

36. All arts of this sort, therefore, are either nullities, or are part of a guilty superstition, springing out of a baleful fellowship between men and devils, and are to be utterly repudiated and avoided by the Christian as the covenants of a false and treacherous friendship. "Not as if the idol were anything," says the apostle; "but because the things which they sacrifice they sacrifice to devils and not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." ^

Now, what the apostle has said about idols and the sacrifices offered in their honour, that we ought to feel in regard to all fancied signs which lead either to the worship of idols, or to worshipping creation or its parts instead of God, or which are connected with attention to medicinal charms and other observances; for these are not appointed by God as the public means of promoting love towards God and our neighbour, but they waste the hearts of wretched men in private and selfish strivings after temporal things. Accordingly, in regard to all these branches of knowledge, we must fear and shun the fellowship of demons, who, with the Devil their prince, strive only to shut and bar the door against our return. As, then,


3 Ventriloqua femina. The woman with a familiar spirit to whom Saul resorted in his extremity is called in the Septuagint translation lyyas-r/i/jat%^f. See 1 Sam. xxviii. 7.

* Acts xvi. 16-18. 5 1 Cor. x. 19, 20.

CHAP. XXIV.] DEMONIACAL OPJGIN OF SOKCEPY. 61

from the stars which God created and ordained, men have drawn lying omens of their own fancy, so also from things that are born, or in any other way come into existence
under the government of God's providence, if there chance only to be something unusual in the occurrence, "as when a mule brings forth young, or an object is struck by lightning, "men have frequently drawn omens by conjectures of their own, and have committed them to writing, as if they had drawn them by rule.

Chap. sxiv. "The intercourse and agreement with demons which superstitious observances maintain.

37. And all these omens are of force just so far as has been arranged with the devils by that previous understanding in the mind which is, as it were, the common language, but they are all full of hurtful curiosity, torturing anxiety, and deadly slavery. For it was not because they had meaning that they were attended to, but it was by attending to and marking them that they came to have meaning. And so they are made different for different people, according to their several notions and prejudices. For those spirits which are bent upon deceiving, take care to provide for each person the same sort of omens as they see his own conjectures and preconceptions have already entangled Mm in. For, to take an illustration, the same figure of the letter X, which is made in the shape of a cross, means one thing among the Greeks and another among the Latins, not by nature, but by agreement and pre-arrangement as to its signification; and so, any one who knows both languages uses this letter in a different sense when writing to a Greek from that in which he uses it when writing to a Latin. And the same sound, beta, which is the name of a letter among the Greeks, is the name of a vegetable among the Latins; and when I say, lege, these two syllables mean one thing to a Greek and another to a Latin. Now, just as all these signs affect the mind according to the arrangements of the community in which each man lives, and affect different men's minds differently, because these arrangements are different; and as, further, men did not agree upon them as signs because they were already significant, but on the contrary they are now significant because men have agreed upon them; in the same way also, those signs by which the ruinous intercourse with devils is maintained have meaning just in proportion to each man's observations. And this appears quite plainly in the rites of the augurs; for they, both before they observe the omens and after they have completed their observations, take pains not to see the flight or hear the cries of birds, because these omens are of no significance apart from the previous arrangement in the mind of the observer.

Chap. sxv. "In human institutions which are not superstitious, there are some things sujKrJluous and some convenient and necessary.

38. But when all these have been cut away and rooted out of the mind of the Christian, we must then look at human institutions which are not superstitious, that is, such as are not set up in association with devils, but by men in association with one another. For all
arrangements that are in force among men, because they have agreed among themselves that they should be in force, are human institutions; and of these, some are matters of superfluity and luxury, some of convenience and necessity. For if those signs which the actors make in dancing were of force by nature, and not by the arrangement and agreement of men, the public crier would not in former times have announced to the people of Carthage, while the pantomime was dancing, what it was he meant to express, a thing still remembered by many old men from whom we have frequently heard it. And we may well believe this, because even now, if any one who is unaccustomed to such follies goes into the theatre, unless some one tells him what these movements mean, he will give his whole attention to them in vain.

Yet all men aim at a certain degree of likeness in their choice of signs, that the signs may as far as possible be like the things they signify. But because one thing may resemble another in many ways, such signs are not always of the same significance among men, except when they have mutually agreed upon them.

39. But in regard to pictures and statues, and other works of this kind, which are intended as representations of things, nobody makes a mistake, especially if they are executed by skilled artists, but every one, as soon as he sees the likenesses,

> See Tylor's Early History of Mankind, pp. 42, 43.

CHAP. XXVI.] HOW TO DEAL WITH HUMAN INSTITUTIONS. 63

recognises the things they are likenesses of. And this whole class are to be reckoned among the superfluous devices of men, unless when it is a matter of importance to inquire in regard to any of them, for what reason, where, when, and by whose authority it was made. Finally, the thousands of fables and fictions, in whose lies men take delight, are human devices, and nothing is to be considered more peculiarly man's own and derived from himself than anything that is false and lying.

Among the convenient and necessary arrangements of men with men are to be reckoned whatever differences they choose to make in bodily dress and ornament for the purpose of distinguishing sex or rank; and the countless varieties of signs without which human intercourse either could not be carried on at all, or would be carried on at great inconvenience; and the arrangements as to weights and measures, and the stamping and weighing of coins, which are peculiar to each state and people, and other things of the same kind. Now these, if they were not devices of men, would not be different in different nations, and could not be changed among particular nations at the discretion of their respective sovereigns.

40. This whole class of human arrangements, which are of convenience for the necessary intercourse of life, the Christian is not by any means to neglect, but on the contrary should pay a sufficient degree of attention to them, and keep them in memory.

Chap. sxvi. â€” What human contrivances we are to adopt, and ivhat we are to
avoid.

For certain institutions of men are in a sort of way representations and likenesses of natural objects. And of these, such as have relation to fellowship with devils must, as has been said, be utterly rejected and held in detestation; those, on the other hand, which relate to the mutual intercourse of men, are, so far as they are not matters of luxury and superfluity, to be adopted, especially the forms of the letters which are necessary for reading, and the various languages as far as is required â€” a matter I have spoken of above. To this class also belong shorthand characters, those who are acquainted with which are called shorthand writers. All these are useful.

64 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II.]

and there is nothing unlawful in learning them, nor do they involve us in superstition, or enervate us by luxury, if they only occupy our minds so far as not to stand in the way of more important objects to which they ought to be subservient.

Chap, xxvii. â€” Some departments of knowledge, not of mere human invention, aid us in interpreting Scripture.

41. But, coming to the next point, we are not to reckon among human institutions those things which men have handed down to us, not as arrangements of their own, but as the result of investigation into the occurrences of the past, and into the arrangements of God's providence. And of these, some pertain to the bodily senses, some to the intellect. Those which are reached by the bodily senses we either believe on testimony, or perceive when they are pointed out to us, or infer from experience.

Chap, xxviii. â€” To what extent history is an aid.

42. Anything, then, that we learn from history about the chronology of past times assists us very much in understanding the Scriptures, even if it be learnt without the pale of the Church as a matter of childish instruction. For we frequently seek information about a variety of matters by use of the Olympiads, and the names of the consuls; and ignorance of the consulship in which our Lord was born, and that in which He suffered, has led some into the error of supposing that He was forty-six years of age when He suffered, that being the number of years He was told by the Jews the temple (which He took as a symbol of His body) was in building. Now we know on the authority of the evangelist that He was about thirty years of age when He was baptized; but the number of years He lived afterwards, although by putting His actions together we can make it out, yet that
no shadow of doubt might arise from another source, can be ascertained more clearly and more certainly from a comparison of profane history with the gospel. It will still be evident, however, that it was not without a purpose it was said that the temple was forty and six years in building; so that, as this cannot be referred to our Lord's age, it may be referred to the more


CHAP. XXVIII.] THE UTILITY OF HISTORY. 65

44. And even when in the course of an historical narrative former institutions of men are described, the history itself is not to be reckoned among human institutions; because things that are past and gone and cannot be undone are to be reckoned as belonging to the course of time, of which God is the author and governor. For it is one thing to tell what has been done, another to show what ought to be done. History narrates what has been done, faithfully and with advantage; but the books of the haruspices, and all writings of the same kind, aim at teaching what ought to be done or observed, using the boldness of an adviser, not the fidelity of a narrator.

2 Augustine himself corrected this mistake. Retractions, ii. 4.
6Q ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [dOOK II.

CriAP. XXIX. ã€” To what extent natural science is an exegetical aid.

45. There is also a species of narrative resembling description, in which not a past but an existing state of things is made known to those who are ignorant of it. To this species belongs all that has been written about the situation of places, and the nature of animals, trees, herbs, stones, and other bodies. And of this species I have treated above, and have shown that this kind of knowledge is serviceable in solving the difficulties of Scripture, not that these objects are to be used conformably to certain signs as nostrums or the instruments of superstition; for that kind of knowledge I have already set aside as distinct from the lawful and free kind now spoken of. For it is one thing to say: If you bruise down this herb and drink it, it will remove the pain from your stomach; and another to say: If you hang this herb round your neck, it will remove the pain from your stomach. In the former case the wholesome mixture is approved of, in the latter the superstitious charm is condemned; although indeed, where incantations and invocations and marks are not used, it is frequently doubtful whether the thing that is tied or fixed in any way to the body to cure it, acts by a natural virtue, in which case it may be freely used; or acts by a sort of charm, in which case it becomes the Christian to avoid it the more carefully, the more efficacious it may seem to be. But when the reason why a thing is of virtue does not appear, the intention with which it is used is of great importance, at least in healing or in tempering bodies, whether in medicine or in agriculture.

46. The knowledge of the stars, again, is not a matter of narration, but of description. Very few of these, however, are mentioned in Scripture. And as the course of the moon, which is regularly employed in reference to celebrating the anniversary of our Lord’s passion, is known to most people; so the rising and setting and other movements of the rest of the heavenly bodies are thoroughly known to very few. And this knowledge, although in itself it involves no superstition, renders very little, indeed almost no assistance, in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and by engaging the attention unprofitably is a hindrance rather; and as it is closely related to the very pernicious error of the diviners of the fates, it is more

CHAP. XXXI.] OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS. 67

convenient and becoming to neglect it. It involves, moreover, in addition to a description of the present state of things, something like a narrative of the past also; because one may go back from the present position and motion of the stars, and trace by rule their past movements. It involves also regular anticipations of the future, not in the way of forebodings and omens, but by way of sure calculation; not with the design of drawing any information from them as to our own acts and fates, in the absurd fashion of the
genethliaci, but only as to the motions of the heavenly bodies themselves. For, as the man who computes the moon's age can tell, when he has found out her age to-day, what her age was any number of years ago, or what will be her age any number of years hence, in just the same way men who are skilled in such computations are accustomed to answer like questions about every one of the heavenly bodies. And I have stated what my views are about all this knowledge, so far as regards its utility.

Chap. xxx. "What the mechanical arts contribute to exegetics.

47. Further, as to the remaining arts, whether those by which something is made which, when the effort of the workman is over, remains as a result of his work, as, for example, a house, a bench, a dish, and other things of that kind; or those which, so to speak, assist God in His operations, as medicine, and agriculture, and navigation; or those whose sole result is an action, as dancing, and racing, and wrestling; "in all these arts experience teaches us to infer the future from the past. For no man who is skilled in any of these arts moves his limbs in any operation without connecting the memory of the past with the expectation of the future. Now of these arts a very superficial and cursory knowledge is to be acquired, not with a view to practising them (unless some duty compel us, a matter on which I do not touch at present), but with a view to forming a judgment about them, that we may not be wholly ignorant of what Scripture means to convey when it employs figures of speech derived from these arts.


48. There remain those branches of knowledge which per-
49. There are also valid processes of reasoning which lead to false conclusions, by following out to its logical consequences the error of the man with whom one is arguing; and these conclusions are sometimes drawn by a good and learned man, with the object of making the person from whose error these consequences result, feel ashamed of them, and of thus leading him to give up his error, when he finds that if he wishes to retain his old opinion, he must of necessity also hold other opinions which he condemns. For example, the apostle did not draw true conclusions when he said, "Then is Christ not risen," and again, "Then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain; " and further on drew other inferences which are all utterly false; for Christ has risen, the preaching of those who declared this fact was not in vain, nor was their faith in vain who had believed it. But all these false inferences followed legitimately from the opinion of those who said that there is no resurrection of the dead. These inferences, then, being repudiated as false, it follows that since they would be true if the dead rise not, there will be a resurrection of the dead. As, then, valid conclusions may be drawn not only from true but from false propositions, the laws of valid reasoning may easily be learnt in the schools, outside the pale of the Church. But the truth of propositions must be inquired into in the sacred books of the Church.

CHAP. XXXII.] OF LOGICAL RULES. 60

vain who had believed it. But all these false inferences followed legitimately from the opinion of those who said that there is no resurrection of the dead. These inferences, then, being repudiated as false, it follows that since they would be true if the dead rise not, there will be a resurrection of the dead. As, then, valid conclusions may be drawn not only from true but from false propositions, the laws of valid reasoning may easily be learnt in the schools, outside the pale of the Church. But the truth of propositions must be inquired into in the sacred books of the Church.

Chap, xxxii. Â” Valid logical sequence is not devised but only observed by man.

50. And yet the validity of logical sequences is not a thing devised by men, but is observed and noted by them that they may be able to learn and teach it; for it exists eternally in the reason of things, and has its origin with God. For as the man who narrates the order of events does not himself create that order; and as he who describes the situations of places, or the natures of animals, or roots, or minerals, does not describe arrangements of man; and as he who points out the stars and their movements does not point out anything that he himself or any other man has ordained; Â” in the same way, he who says, "When the consequent is false, the antecedent must also be false," says what is most true; but he does not himself make it so, he only points out that it is so.

And it is upon this rule that the reasoning I have quoted from the Apostle Paul proceeds. For the antecedent is, "There is no resurrection of the dead," Â” the position taken up by those whose error the apostle wished to overthrow. Next, from this antecedent, the assertion, viz., that there is no resurrection of the dead, the necessary consequence is, "Then Christ is not risen." But this consequence is false, for Christ has risen; therefore the antecedent is also false. But the antecedent is, that there is no resurrection of the dead. We conclude, therefore, that there is a resurrection of the dead. Now all this is briefly
expressed thus: If there is no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen; but Christ is risen, therefore there is a resurrection of the dead. This rule, then, that when the consequent is removed, the antecedent must also be removed, is not made by man, but only pointed out by Mm. And this rule has reference to the validity of the reasoning, not to the truth of the statements.

Chap, xxxiii. â€” False, inferences may be drawn from valid reasonings, and vice versa.

51. In this passage, however, where the argument is about the resurrection, both the law of the inference is valid, and the conclusion arrived at is true. But in the case of false conclusions, too, there is a validity of inference in some such way as the following. Let us suppose some man to have admitted: If a snail is an animal, it has a voice. This being admitted, then, when it has been proved that the snail has no voice, it follows (since when the consequent is proved false, the antecedent is also false) that the snail is not an animal. Now this conclusion is false, but it is a true and valid inference from the false admission. Thus, the truth of a statement stands on its own merits; the validity of an inference depends on the statement or the admission of the man with whom one is arguing. And thus, as I said above, a false inference may be drawn by a valid process of reasoning, in order that he whose error we wish to correct may be sorry that he has admitted the antecedent, when he sees that its logical consequences are utterly untenable. And hence it is easy to understand that as the inferences may be valid where the opinions are false, so the inferences may be unsound where the opinions are true. For example, suppose that a man propounds the statement, "If this man is just, he is good," and we admit its truth. Then he adds, " But he is not just; " and when we admit this too, he draws the conclusion, " Therefore he is not good." Now although every one of these statements may be true, still the principle of the inference is unsound. For it is not true that, as when the consequent is proved false the antecedent is also false, so when the antecedent is proved false the consequent is false. For the statement is true, " If he is an orator, he is a man." But if we add, " He is not an orator," the consequence does not follow, " He is not a man."

Chap, xxxiv. â€” It is one thing to know the laws of inference, another to know the truth of opinions.

52. Therefore it is one thing to know the laws of inference,
and another to know the truth of opinions. In the former case we learn what is consequent, what is inconsequent, and what is incompatible. An example of a consequent is, "If he is an orator, he is a man;" of an inconsequent, "If he is a man, he is an orator;" of an incompatible, "If he is a man, he is a quadruped." In these instances we judge of the connection.

In regard to the truth of opinions, however, we must consider propositions as they stand by themselves, and not in their connection with one another; but when propositions that we are not sure about are joined by a valid inference to propositions that are true and certain, they themselves, too, necessarily become certain. Now some, when they have ascertained the validity of the inference, plume themselves as if this involved also the truth of the propositions. Many, again, who hold the true opinions have an unfounded contempt for themselves, because they are ignorant of the laws of inference; whereas the man who knows that there is a resurrection of the dead is assuredly better than the man who only knows that it follows that if there is no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen.

Chap. xxxv. "The science of definition is not false, though it may he applied to falsities.

53. Again, the science of definition, of division, and of partition, although it is frequently applied to falsities, is not itself false, nor framed by man's device, but is evolved from the reason of things. For although poets have applied it to their fictions, and false philosophers, or even heretics "that is, false Christians "to their erroneous doctrines, that is no reason why it should be false, for example, that neither in definition, nor in division, nor in partition, is anything to be included that does not pertain to the matter in hand, nor anything to be omitted that does. This is true, even though the things to be defined or divided are not true. For even falsehood itself is defined when we say that falsehood is the declaration of a state of things which is not as we declare it to be; and this definition is true, although falsehood itself cannot be true. We can also divide it, saying that there are two kinds of falsehood, one in regard to things that cannot be true at all, the other in regard to things that are not, though it is possible they might be, true. For example, the man who says that seven and three are eleven, says what cannot be true under any circumstances; but he who says that it rained on the kalends of January, although perhaps the fact is not so, says what possibly might have been. The definition and division, therefore, of what is false may be perfectly true, although what is false cannot, of course, itself be true.
Chap, xxxvi. ‘The rules of eloquence are true, though sometimes used to persuade men of what is false.

54. There are also certain rules for a more copious kind of argument, which is called eloquence, and these rules are not the less true that they can be used for persuading men of what is false; but as they can be used to enforce the truth as well, it is not the faculty itself that is to be blamed, but the perversity of those who put it to a bad use. Nor is it owing to an arrangement among men that the expression of affection conciliates the hearer, or that a narrative, when it is short and clear, is effective, and that variety arrests men’s attention without wearying them. And it is the same with other directions of the same kind, which, whether the cause in which they are used be true or false, are themselves true just in so far as they are effective in producing knowledge or belief, or in moving men’s minds to desire and aversion. And men rather found out that these things are so, than arranged that they should be so.

Chap, xxxvii. ‘Use of rhetoric and dialectic.

55. This art, however, when it is learnt, is not to be used so much for ascertaining the meaning as for setting forth the meaning when it is ascertained. But the art previously spoken of, which deals with inferences, and definitions, and divisions, is of the greatest assistance in the discovery of the meaning, provided only that men do not fall into the error of supposing that when they have learnt these things they have learnt the true secret of a happy life. Still, it sometimes happens that men find less difficulty in attaining the object for the sake of which these sciences are learnt, than in going through the very intricate and thorny discipline of such rules. It is just as if a man wishing to give rules for walking should warn you not to lift the hinder foot before you set down the front one, and then should describe minutely the way you ought to move the hinges of the joints and knees. For what he says is true, and one cannot walk in any other way; but men find it easier to walk by executing these movements than to attend to them while they are going through them, or to understand when they are told about them. Those, on the other hand, who cannot walk, care still less about such directions, as they cannot prove them by making trial of them. And in the same way a clever man often sees that an inference is unsound more quickly than he apprehends the rules for it. A dull man, on the other hand, does not see the unsoundness, but much less does he grasp the rules. And in regard to all these laws, we derive more pleasure from them as exhibitions of truth, than assistance in arguing or forming opinions, except perhaps that they put the intellect in better training. We must take care, however, that they do not at the same time make it more inclined to mischief or vanity, ‘that is to say, that they do not give those who have learnt them an inclination to lead people astray by plausible speech and catching questions, or make them think that they have attained some great thing that gives them an advantage over the good and innocent.
Chap, sxxviii. “The science of numbers not created, but only discovered, by man.

56. Coming now to the science of number, it is clear to the dullest apprehension that this was not created by man, but was discovered by investigation. For, though Virgil could at his own pleasure make the first syllable of Italia long, while the ancients pronounced it short, it is not in any man's power to determine at his pleasure that three times three are not nine, or do not make a square, or are not the triple of three, nor one and a half times the number six, or that it is not true that they are not the double of any number because odd numbers^ have no half. "Whether, then, numbers are considered in themselves, or as applied to the laws of figures, or of sounds, or of other motions, they have fixed laws which were not made by man, but which the acuteness of ingenious men brought to light.

57. The man, however, who puts so high a value on these things as to be inclined to boast himself one of the learned,

^ Intelligibiles numeri.

74 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II.]

and who does not rather inquire after the source from which those things which he perceives to be true derive their truth, and from which those others which he perceives to be unchangeable also derive their truth and unchangeableness, and who, mounting up from bodily appearances to the mind of man, and finding that it too is changeable (for it is sometimes instructed, at other times uninstructed), although it holds a middle place between the unchangeable truth above it and the changeable things beneath it, does not strive to make all things redound to the praise and love of the one God from whom he knows that all things have their being; â€” the man, I say, who acts in this way may seem to be learned, but wise he cannot in any sense be deemed.

Chap, xxxix. â€” To which of the above-mentioned studies attention should be given, and in what spirit,

58. Accordingly, I think that it is well to warn studious and able young men, who fear God and are seeking for happiness of life, not to venture heedlessly upon the pursuit of the branches of learning that are in vogue beyond the pale of the Church of Christ, as if these could secure for them the happiness they seek; but soberly and carefully to discriminate among them. And if they find any of those which have been instituted by men varying by reason of the varying pleasure of their founders, and unknown by reason of erroneous conjectures, especially if they involve entering into fellowship with devils by means of leagues and covenants about signs, let these be utterly rejected and held in detestation. Let the young men also withdraw their attention from such institutions of men as are unnecessary and luxurious. But for the sake of the necessities of this life we
must not neglect the arrangements of men that enable us to carry on intercourse with those around us. I think, however, there is nothing useful in the other branches of learning that are found among the heathen, except information about objects, either past or present, that relate to the bodily senses, in which are included also the experiments and conclusions of the useful mechanical arts, except also the sciences of reasoning and of number. And in regard to all these we must hold by the maxim, "Not too much of anything; " especially in the case of those which, per-

CHAP. XL.] now fæ science is necessary. 75
taining as they do to the senses, are subject to the relations of space and time.^

59. What, then, some men have done in regard to all words and names found in Scripture, in the Hebrew, and Syriac, and Egyptian, and other tongues, taking up and interpreting separately such as were left in Scripture without interpretation; and what Eusebius has done in regard to the history of the past with a view to the questions arising in Scripture that require a knowledge of history for their solution; â€“ what, I say, these men have done in regard to matters of this kind, making it unnecessary for the Christian to spend his strength on many subjects for the sake of a few items of knowledge, the same, I think, might be done in regard to other matters, if any competent man were willing in a spirit of benevolence to undertake the labour for the advantage of his brethren. In this way he might arrange in their several classes, and give an account of the unknown places, and animals, and plants, and trees, and stones, and metals, and other species of things that are mentioned in Scripture, taking up these only, and committing his account to writing. This might also be done in relation to numbers, so that the theory of those numbers, and those only, which are mentioned in Holy Scripture, might be explained and written down. And it may happen that some or all of these things have been done already (as I have found that many things I had no notion of have been worked out and committed to writing by good and learned Christians), but are either lost amid the crowds of the careless, or are kept out of sight by the envious. And I am not sure whether the same thing can be done in regard to the theory of reasoning; but it seems to me it cannot, because this runs like a system of nerves through the whole structure of Scripture, and on that account is of more service to the reader in disentangling and explaining ambiguous passages, of which I shall speak hereafter, than in ascertaining the meaning of unknown signs, the topic I am now discussing.

Chap. xl. â€“ Whatever has been rightly said by the heathen, we must appropriate to our uses.

60. Moreover, if those who are called philosophers, and

'Xe quid nimis. â€“ Terence, Andria, act i. scene 1.
especially the Platonists, have said aught that is true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it. For, as the Egyptians had not only the idols and heavy burdens which the people of Israel hated and fled from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and garments, which the same people when going out of Egypt appropriated to themselves, designing them for a better use not doing this on their own authority, but by the command of God, the Egyptians themselves, in their ignorance, providing them with things which they themselves were not making a good use of; in the same way all branches of heathen learning have not only false and superstitious fancies and heavy burdens of unnecessary toil, which every one of us, when going out under the leadership of Christ from the fellowship of the heathen, ought to abhor and avoid; but they contain also liberal instruction which is better adapted to the use of truth, and some most excellent precepts of morality; and some truths in regard even to the worship of the One God are found among them. Now these are, so to speak, their gold and silver, which they did not create themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's providence which are everywhere scattered abroad, and are perversely and unlawfully prostituting to the worship of devils. These, therefore, the Christian, when he separates himself in spirit from the miserable fellowship of these men, ought to take away from them, and to devote their proper use in preaching the gospel. Their garments, also that is, human institutions such as are adapted to that intercourse with men which is indispensable in this life, we must take and turn to a Christian use.

61. And what else have many good and faithful men among our brethren done? Do we not see with what a quantity of gold and silver and garments Cyprian, that most persuasive teacher and most blessed martyr, was loaded when he came out of Egypt? How much Lactantius brought with him! Anc Victorinus, and Optatus, and Hilary, not to speak of living men! How much Greeks out of number have borrowed And prior to all these, that most faithful servant of God.

Ex. iii. 21, 22, xii. 35, 36.
Ioses, liad done the same thing; for of him it is written that lie was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. And to none of all these would heathen superstition (especially in those times when, kicking against the yoke of Christ, it was persecuting the Christians) have ever furnished branches of knowledge it held useful, if it had suspected they were about to turn them to the use of worshipping the One God, and thereby overturning the vain worship of idols. But they gave their gold and their silver and their garments to the people of God, as they were going out of Egypt, not knowing how the things they gave would be turned to the service of Christ. For what was done at the time of the exodus was no doubt a type prefiguring what happens now. And this I say without prejudice to any other interpretation that may be as good, or better.

Chap. xli. â€” What kind of spirit is required for the study of Holy Scripture.

62. But when the student of the Holy Scriptures, prepared in the way I have indicated, shall enter upon his investigations, let him constantly meditate upon that saying of the apostle's, " Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth." For so he will feel that, whatever may be the riches he brings with him out of Egypt, yet unless he has kept the passover, he cannot be safe. Now Christ is our passover sacrificed for us, and there is nothing the sacrifice of Christ more clearly teaches us than the call which He himself addresses to those whom He sees toiling in Egypt under Pharaoh: " Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." To whom is it light but to the meek and lowly in heart, whom knowledge doth not puff up, but charity edifieth? Let them remember, then, that those who celebrated the passover at that time in type and shadow, when they were ordered to mark their door-posts with the blood of the lamb, used hyssop to mark them with. Now this is a meek and lowly herb, and yet nothing is stronger and more penetrating than its roots; that being rooted and grounded

> Acts vii. 22. ' 1 Cor. viii. 1. ^ j Cor. v. 7.

* Matt. xi. 28-30. ^ Ex. xii. 22.

78 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTEINE. [BOOK II

in love, we may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height,â€”that is, to comprehend the cross of our Lord, the breadth of which is indicated by the transverse wood on which the hands are stretched, its length by the part from the ground up to the cross-bar on which the whole, body from the head downwards is fixed, its height by the part from the cross-bar to the top on which the head lies, and its depth by the part which is hidden, being fixed in the earth. And by this sign of the cross all Christian action is symbolized, viz. do good works in Christ, to cling with constancy to Him, to hope for heaven, and not to desecrate the sacraments. And
purified by this Christian action, we shall be able to know even "the love of Christ which passeth knowledge," who is equal to the Father, by whom all things were made, "that we may be filled with all the fulness of God."\(^1\) There is besides in hyssop a purgative virtue, that the breast may not be swoUen with that knowledge which puffeth up, nor boast vainly of the riches brought out from Egypt. "Purge me with hyssop," the psalmist says,\(^2\) "and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Make me to hear joy and gladness." Then he immediately adds, to show that it is purifying from pride that is indicated by hyssop, "that the bones which Thou hast broken\(^*\) may rejoice."

Chap. xlii. â€” Sacred Scripture compared with profane autJiors.

63. But just as poor as the store of gold and silver and garments which the people of Israel brought with them out of Egypt was in comparison with the riches which they afterwards attained at Jerusalem, and which reached their height in the reign of King Solomon, so poor is all the useful knowledge which is gathered from the books of the heathen when compared with the knowledge of Holy Scripture. For whatever man may have learnt from other sources, if it is hurtful, it is there condemned; if it is useful, it is therein contained. And while every man may find there all that he has learnt of useful elsewhere, he will find there in much greater abundance.

1 Eph. iii. 17, 18. " Eph. iii. 19.  
\(^{1}\) Ps. li. 7, 8. â– * Ossa humiliata, Vulgate. 

CHAP, xlii] conclusion. 79

iliino's that are to be found nowhere else, but can be learnt only in the wonderful sublimity and wonderful simplicity of the Scriptures.

"VMien, then, the reader is possessed of the instruction here pointed out, so that unknown signs have ceased to be a hindrance to him; when he is meek and lowly of heart, subji?ct to the easy yoke of Christ, and loaded with His light burden, rooted and grounded and built up in faith, so that knowledge cannot puff him up, let him then approach the consideration and discussion of ambiguous signs in Scripture. And about these I shall now, in a third book, endeavour to say what the Lord shall be pleased to vouchsafe.

80 ON CIIPJSTIA.N DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]
BOOK THE THIRD.

ARGUMENT.

THE AUTHOR, HAVING DISCUSSED IN THE PRECEDING BOOK THE METHOD OF DEALING WITH UNKNOWN SIGNS, GOKS ON IN THIS THIRD BOOK TO TREAT OF AMBIGUOUS SIGNS. SUCH SIGNS MAY BE EITHER DIRECT OR FIGURATIVE.

IN THE CASE OF DIRECT SIGNS AMBIGUITY MAY ARISE FROM THE PUNCTUATION, THE PRONUNCIATION, OR THE DOUBTFUL SIGNIFICATION OF THE WORDS, AND IS TO BE RESOLVED BY ATTENTION TO THE CONTEXT, A COMPARISON OF TRANSLATIONS, OR A REFERENCE TO THE ORIGINAL TONGUE.

IN THE CASE OF FIGURATIVE SIGNS WE NEED TO GUARD AGAINST TWO MISTAKES: â€” 1. THE INTERPRETING LITERAL EXPRESSIONS FIGURATIVELY
2. THE INTERPRETING FIGURATIVE EXPRESSIONS LITERALLY. THE AUTHOR LAYS DOWN RULES BY WHICH WE MAY DECIDE WHETHER AN EXPRESSION IS LITERAL OR FIGURATIVE; THE GENERAL RULE BEING, THAT WHATEVER CAN BE SHOWN TO BE IN ITS LITERAL SENSE INCONSISTENT EITHER WITH PURITY OF LIFE OR CORRECTNESS OF DOCTRINE MUST BE TAKEN FIGURATIVELY. HE THEN GOES ON TO LAY DOWN RULES FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF EXPRESSIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROVED TO BE FIGURATIVE; THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE BEING, THAT NO INTERPRETATION CAN BE TRUE WHICH DOES NOT PROMOTE THE LOVE OF GOD AND THE LOVE OF MAN.

THE AUTHOR THEN PROCEEDS TO EXPOUND AND ILLUSTRATE THE SEVEN RULES OF TICHONIUS THE DONATIST, WHICH HE COMMENDS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE STUDENT OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Chap. i. â€” Summary of the foregoing hooks, and scope of that which folloics.

1. rrâ€HE man who fears God seeks diligently in Holy Scrip- _B_ ture for a knowledge of His will. And when he has become meek through piety, so as to have no love of strife when furnished also with a knowledge of languages, so as not to be stopped by unknown words and forms of speech, and with the knowledge of certain necessary objects, so as not to be ignorant of the force and nature of those which are used figuratively; and assisted, besides, by accuracy in the texts, which has been secured by skill and care in the matter of correction; â€” when thus prepared, let him proceed to the examination and solution of the ambiguities of Scripture. And that he may not be led astray by ambiguous signs, so far as I
can give him instruction (it may happen, however, that either from the greatness of his intellect, or the greater clearness of

CHAP. II. ] a: ambiguity of punctuations. 8 1

the light he enjoys, he shall laugh at the methods I am going to point out as childish), â€” but yet, as I was going to say, so far as I can give instruction, let him who is in such a state of mind that he can be instructed by me know, that the ambiguity of Scripture lies either in proper words or in metaphorical, classes which I have already described in the second book.^

Chap. ii. â€” Rule for removing ambiguity by attending to punctuation.

2. But when proper words make Scripture ambiguous, we must see in the first place that there is nothing wrong in our punctuation or pronunciation. Accordingly, if, when attention is given to the passage, it shall appear to be uncertain in what way it ought to be punctuated or pronounced, let the reader consult the rule of faith which he has gathered from the plainer passages of Scripture, and from the authority of the Church, and of which I treated at sufficient length when I was speaking in the first book about things. But if both readings, or all of them (if there are more than two), give a meaning in harmony with the faith, it remains to consult the context, both what goes before and what comes after, to see which interpretation, out of many that offer themselves, it pronounces for and permits to be dovetailed into itself.

3. JSTow look at some examples. The heretical pointing," 
" In principio crat verbum, et verhum, erat aj)ud Beum, et Dens erat" * so as to make the next sentence run, " Verbum hoc erat in principio apud Deum" * arises out of unwillingness to confess that the Word was God. But this must be rejected by the rule of faith, which, in reference to the equality of the Trinity, directs us to say: " et Deus erat verhum; " ^ and then to add: " hoc erat in ijrincipio apud Beumr ^

4. But the following ambiguity of punctuation does not go against the faith in either way you take it, and therefore must be decided from the context. It is where the apostle says: " What I shall choose I wot not: for I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which

' See Book ii. ctp. x. 2 John i. 1, 2.

^ In the beginning was the "Word, and the "Word was with God, and God was.

* This Word was in the beginning with God.

' And the Word was God. ^ The same was in the beginning witli God.
is far better: nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you." \(^\text{1}\) Now it is uncertain whether we should read, " ex duobus conicitipientiam habens " [having a desire for two things], or " comioellor autcm ex duobus " [I am in a strait betwixt two]; and so to add: " conciupiscientiam habens dissolvi, et esse cum Christo " [having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ]. But since there follows " multo enim magis optimum " [for it is far better], it is evident that he says he has a desire for that which is better; so that, while he is in a strait betwixt two, yet he has a desire for one and sees a necessity for the other; a desire, viz., to be with Christ, and a necessity to remain in the flesh, Now this ambiguity is resolved by one word that follows, which is translated enim [for]; and the translators who have omitted this particle have referred the interpretation which makes the apostle seem not only in a strait betwixt two, but also to have a desire for two.\(^\text{2}\)

We must therefore punctuate the sentence thus: " ct quid eligam ignoro: comijellor autcm ex duobus " [what I shall choose I wot not: for I am in a strait betwixt two]; and after this point follows: " concitipientiam habens dissolvi, et esse cum Christo" [having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ]. And, as if he were asked why he has a desire for this in preference to the other, he adds: " Tnulto enim magis optimum " [for it is far better]. Why, then, is he in a strait betwixt the two ? Because there is a need for his remaining, which he adds in these terms: " manere in carne necessarium propter vos " [nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you].

5. Where, however, the ambiguity cannot be cleared up, either by the rule of faith or by the context, there is nothing to hinder us to point the sentence according to any method we choose of those that suggest themselves. As is the case in that passage to the Corinthians: " Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. Eceive us; we have wronged no man." \(^\text{3}\)

It is doubtful whether we should read, mundemus nos ah omni

\(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) Phil. i. 22-24.
\(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) The Vulgate reads, muUo magis melius, omitting the enim.

\(\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\)2Cor. vii. 1, 2.
coinquinatione carnis et spiritus " [let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit], in accordance with the passage, " that she may be holy both in body and in spirit," ^ or, " mundcmus nos ab omni coinquiinatione carnis " [let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh], so as to make the next sentence, " ct spiritus perjlcientncs sanctificationem in timore Dei capite nos " [and perfecting holiness of spirit in the fear of God, receive us]. Such ambiguities of punctuation, therefore, are left to the reader's discretion.

Chap. hi. â€” How pronunciation serves to remove ambiguity. Different kinds of interrogation.

6. And all the directions that I have given about ambiguous punctuations are to be observed likewise in the case of doubtful pronunciations. For these too, unless the fault lies in the carelessness of the reader, are corrected either by the rule of faith, or by a reference to the preceding or succeeding context] or if neither of these methods is applied with success, they will remain doubtful, but so that the reader will not be in fault in whatever way he may pronounce them. For example, if our faith that God will not bring any charges against His elect, and that Christ will not condemn His elect, did not stand in the way, this passage, " Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect ? " might be pronounced in such a way as to make what follows an answer to this question, " God who justifieth," and to make a second question, " Who is he that condemneth ? " with the answer, " Christ Jesus who died."^ But as it would be the height of madness to believe this, the passage will be pronounced in such a way as to make the first part a question of inquiry,^ and the second a rhetorical interrogative.* Now the ancients said that the difference between an inquiry and an interrogative was this, that an inquiry admits of many answers, but to an interrogative the answer must be either "No " or " Yes."^ The passage will be pronounced, then, in such a way that after the inquiry, " Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect ? " what follows will be put as an interrogative: " Shall

* 1 Cor. vii. 34, 2 ^^^^^^ yyjy^ 33^ 34_ 3 Percontatio. â– * Interrogatio.
^ The English language has no two words expressing the shades of meaning assigned by Augustine to percontatio and interrogatio respectively.

84 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

God who justifieth ? " â€” the answer " No " being understood. And in the same way we shall have the inquiry, " Who is he that condemneth ? " and the answer here again in the form of an interrogative, " Is it Christ who died ? yea, rather, who is risen again ? who is even at the right hand of God ? who also maketh intercession for us ? " â€” the answer " No " being understood to every one of these questions. On the
other hand, in that passage where the apostle says, "What shall we say then? That the Gentiles which followed not after righteousness have attained to righteousness;" unless after the inquiry, "What shall we say then?" what follows were given as the answer to this question: "That the Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness;" it would not be in harmony with the succeeding context. But with whatever tone of voice one may choose to pronounce that saying of Nathanael's, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" whether with that of a man who gives an affirmative answer, so that "out of Nazareth" is the only part that belongs to the interrogation, or with that of a man who asks the whole question with doubt and hesitation, â€” I do not see how a difference can be made. But neither sense is opposed to faith.

7. There is, again, an ambiguity arising out of the doubtful sound of syllables; and this of course has relation to pronunciation. For example, in the passage, "My bone os meum was not hid from Thee, which Thou didst make in secret," it is not clear to the reader whether he should take the word os as short or long. If he make it short, it is the singular of ossa [bones]; if he make it long, it is the singular of ora [mouths]. Now difficulties such as this are cleared up by looking into the original tongue, for in the Greek we find not arofia [mouth], but oareov [bone]. And for this reason the vulgar idiom is frequently more useful in conveying the sense than the pure speech of the educated. For I would rather have the barbarism, nosti est ahsconditum a te ossum mcum, than have

> Eom. ix. 30. ^ John i." 47.

2 Ps. cxxxix. 16. "My substance was not hid from Thee when I was made in secret" (A.V.).
* My bone was not hid from Thee,

CHAP. IV. AMBIGUITIES SOLVED BY THE CONTEXT. 85

the passage in better Latin, but the sense less clear. But sometimes when the sound of a syllable is doubtful, it is decided by a word near it belonging to the same sentence. As, for example, that saying of the apostle, "Of the which I tell you before [2yrccdico], as I have also told you in time past [prcedixi], that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." ^ ISTow if he had only said, "Of the which I tell you before [quce ijrccdico vobis]," and had not added, "as I have also told you in time past [sicut prcedixi]," Ave could not know without going back to the original whether in the word prccdico the middle, syllable should be pronounced long or short. But as it is, it is clear that it should be pronounced long; for he does not say, sicut lorccdicavi, but sicut iircedixi.

Chap. iv. â€” How ambiguities may be solved.
8. And not only these, but also those ambiguities that do not relate either to punctuation or pronunciation, are to be examined in the same way. For example, that one in the Epistle to the Thessalonians: *Proptcrea consolati sumus fratres in vdbis?* Now it is doubtful whether //Á¬x<s>-gs [brethren] is in the vocative or accusative case, and it is not contrary to faith to take it either way. But in the Greek language the two cases are not the same in form; and accordingly, when we look into the original, the case is shown to be vocative. Now if the translator had chosen to say, projitcrea consolationem hdbuimus fratres in vdbis, he would have followed the words less literally, but there would have been less doubt about the meaning; or, indeed, if he had added nostri, hardly any one would have doubted that the vocative case was meant when he heard proptereU consolati sumus fratres nostri in vdbis. But this is a rather dangerous liberty to take. It has been taken, however, in that passage to the Corinthians, where the apostle says, "I protest by your rejoicing \per vestram gloriaii\] which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily."^ For one translator has it, per vestram juro gloriam, the form of adjuration appearing in the Greek without any ambiguity. It is

1 Gal. V. 21.

^ 1 Thess. iii. 7. " Therefore, brethren, we were comforted over you" (A. V.).

=* 1 Cor. XV. 31.

86 OISr CHEISTIAN DOCTRINE, [BOOK III.]

therefore very rare and very difficult to find any ambiguity in the case of proper words, as far at least as Holy Scripture is concerned, which neither the context, showing the design of the writer, nor a comparison of translations, nor a reference to the original tongue, will suffice to explain.

Chap. v. â€” It is a wretched slavery wJdch takes the figurative expressions of Scripture in a literal sense.

9. But the ambiguities of metaphorical words, about which I am next to speak, demand no ordinary care and diligence.

In the first place, we must beware of taking a figurative expression literally. For the saying of the apostle applies in this case too: " The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."^ 

^ For when what is said figm\^atively is taken as if it were said literally, it is understood in a carnal manner. And nothing is more fittingly called the death of the soul than when that in it which raises it above the brutes, the intelligence namely, is put in subjection to the flesh by a blind adherence to the letter. For he who follows the letter takes figurative words as if they were proper, and does not carry out what is indicated by a proper word into its secondary signification; but, if he hears of the Sabbath, for example, thinks of
nothing but the one day out of seven which recurs in constant succession; and when he
hears of a sacrifice, does not carry his thoughts beyond the customary offerings of victims
from the flock, and of the fruits of the earth. Now it is surely a miserable slavery of the
soul to take signs for things, and to be unable to lift the eye of the mind above what is
corporeal and created, that it may drink in eternal light

Chap. vr. â€” Utility of the bondage of the Telots.

10. This bondage, however, in the case of the Jewish people, differed widely from what it
was in the case of the other nations; because, though the former were in bondage to
temporal things, it was in such a way that in all these the One God was put before their
minds. And although they paid attention to the signs of spiritual realities in place of the
realities themselves, not knowing to what the signs referred, still they had this conviction
rooted in their minds, that in subjecting themselves to

Â» 2 Cor. iii. G.

CILVr. VII.] BONDAGE TO THE LETTER. 87

such a bondage they were doing the pleasure of the one invisible God of all. And the
apostle describes this bondage as being like to that of boys under the guidance of a
schoolmaster.Â
And those who clung obstinately to such signs could not endure our Lord's neglect of
them when the time for their revelation had come; and hence their leaders brought it as a
charge against Him that He healed on the Sabbath, and the people, clinging to these signs
as if they were realities, could not believe that one who refused to observe them in the
way the Jews did was God, or came from God. But those who did believe, from among
whom the first Church at Jerusalem was formed, showed clearly how great an advantage
it had been to be so guided by the schoolmaster that signs, which had been for a season
imposed on the obedient, fixed the thoughts of those who observed them on the worship
of the One God v/ho made heaven and earth. These men, because they had been very near
to spiritual things (for even in the temporal and carnal offerings and types, though they
did not clearly apprehend their spiritual meaning, they had learnt to adore the One Eternal
God), were filled with such a measure of the Holy Spirit that they sold all their goods,
and laid then- price at the apostles' feet to be distributed among the needy,Â and
consecrated themselves wholly to God as a new temple, of which the old temple they
were serving was but the earthly type.

11. Now it is not recorded that any of the, Gentile churches did this, because men who
had for their gods idols made with hands had not been so near to spiritual things.

Chap. a"ii. â€” The useless bondage of the Gentiles.
And if ever any of them endeavoured to make it out that theu-idols were only signs, yet still they used them in reference to the worship and adoration of the creature. What difference does it make to me, for instance, that the imacre of Neptune is not itself to be considered a god, but only as representing the wide ocean, and all the other waters besides that spring out of fountains? As it is described by a jpoet of theirs,^ 

^Gal. iii. 24. The word vaitayuyco; means sti'ictly not a schoolmaster, but a servant who takes cliildi'en to school.

2 Acts iv. 34, 35. 3 ckudian.

88 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

who says, if I recollect aright, "Thou, Father Neptune, whose hoary temples are wreathed with the resounding sea, whose beard is the mighty ocean flowing forth unceasingly, and whose hair is the winding rivers." This husk shakes its rattling stones within a sweet covering, and yet it is not food for men, but for swine. He who knows the gospel knows what I mean.^ What profit is it to me, then, that the image of Neptune is used with a reference to this explanation of it, unless indeed the result be that I worship neither? For any statue you like to take is as much god to me as the wide ocean. I grant, however, that they who make gods of the works of man have sunk lower than they who make gods of the works of God, But the command is that we should love and serve the One God, who is the Maker of all those things, the images of which are worshipped by the heathen either as gods, or as signs and representations of gods. If, then, to take a sign which has been established for a useful end instead of the thing itself which it was designed to signify, is bondage to the flesh, how much more so is it to take signs intended to represent useless things for the things themselves! For even if you go back to the very things signified by such signs, and engage your mind in the worship of these, you will not be anything the more free from the burden and the livery of bondage to the flesh.

Chap. viii. â€” The Jews liberated from their bondage in one way, the Gentiles in another.

1 2. Accordingly the liberty that comes by Christ took those whom it found under bondage to useful signs, and who were (so to speak) near to it, and, interpreting the signs to which they were in bondage, set them free by raising them to the realities of which these were signs. And out of such were formed the churches of the saints of Israel. Those, on the other hand, whom it found in bondage to useless signs, it not only freed from their slavery to such signs, but brought to nothing and cleared out of the way all these Â«igns themselves, so that the Gentiles were turned from the corruption of a multitude of false gods, which Scripture frequently and
justly speaks of as fornication, to the worship of the One God: not that they might now fall into bondage to signs of a useful kind,


**CHAP. X] BONDAGE TO THE LETTER. 89**

but rather that they might exercise their minds in the spiritual understanding of such.

Chap. ix. â€” WJw is in londar/c to signs, and who not.

13. Now he is in bondage to a sign who rises, or pays homage to, any significant object without knowing what it signifies: he, on the other hand, who either uses or honours a useful sign divinely appointed, whose force and significance he understands, does not honour the sign which is seen and temporal, but that to which all such signs refer. Now such a man is spiritual and free even at the time of his bondage, when it is not yet expedient to reveal to carnal minds those signs by subjection to which their carnality is to be overcome. To this class of spiritual persons belonged the patriarchs and the prophets, and all those among the people of Israel through whose instrumentality the Holy Spirit ministered into us the aids and consolations of the Scriptures. But at the present time, after that the proof of our liberty has shone forth so clearly in the resurrection of our Lord, we are not oppressed with the heavy burden of attending even to those signs which we now understand, but our Lord Himself, and apostolic practice, have handed down to us a few rites in place of many, and these at once very easy to perform, most majestic in their significance, and most sacred in the observance; such, for example, as the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of the Lord. And as soon as any one looks upon these observances he knows to what they refer, and so reveres them not in carnal bondage, but in spiritual freedom. Now, as to follow the letter, and to take signs for the things that are signified by them, is a mark of weakness and bondage; so to interpret signs wrongly is the result of being misled by error. He, however, who does not understand what a sign signifies, but yet knows that it is a sign, is not in bondage. And it is better even to be in bondage to unknown but useful signs than, by interpreting them wrongly, to draw the neck from under the yoke of bondage only to insert it in the coils of error.

Chap. x. â€” fflow we are to discern whether a phrase is figurative.

14. But in addition to the foregoing rule, which guards us
against taking a metaphorical form of speech as if it were literal, we must also pay heed to that which tells us not to take a literal form of speech as if it were figurative. In the first place, then, we must show the way to find out whether a phrase is literal or figurative. And the way is certainly as follows: Whatever there is in the word of God that cannot, when taken literally, be referred either to purity of life or soundness of doctrine, you may set down as figurative. Purity of life has reference to the love of God and one's neighbour; soundness of doctrine to the knowledge of God and one's neighbour. Every man, moreover, has hope in his own conscience, so far as he perceives that he has attained to the love and knowledge of God and his neighbour. Now all these matters have been spoken of in the first book.

15. But as men are prone to estimate sins, not by reference to their inherent sinfulness, but rather by reference to their own customs, it frequently happens that a man will think nothing blameable except what the men of his own country and time are accustomed to condemn, and nothing worthy of praise or approval except what is sanctioned by the custom of his companions; and thus it comes to pass, that if Scripture either enjoins what is opposed to the customs of the hearers, or condemns what is not so opposed, and if at the same time the authority of the word has a hold upon their minds, they think that the expression is figurative. Now Scripture enjoins nothing except charity, and condemns nothing except lust, and in that way fashions the lives of men. In the same way, if an erroneous opinion has taken possession of the mind, men think that whatever Scripture asserts contrary to this must be figurative. Now Scripture asserts nothing but the catholic faith, in regard to things past, future, and present. It is a narrative of the past, a prophecy of the future, and a description of the present. But all these tend to nourish and strengthen charity, and to overcome and root out lust.

16. I mean by charity that affection of the mind which aims at the enjoyment of God for His own sake, and the enjoyment of one's self and one's neighbour in subordination to God; by lust I mean that affection of the mind which aims at enjoying one's self and one's neighbour, and other corporeal things, without reference to God. Again, what lust, when unsubdued, does towards corrupting one's own soul and body, is called vice; but what it does to injure another is called crime. And these are the two classes into which all sins may be divided. But the vices come first; for when these have exhausted the soul, and reduced it to a kind of poverty, it easily slides into crimes, in order to remove hindrances to, or to find assistance in, its vices. In the same way, what charity does with a view to one's own advantage is loverly; but what it does with a view to a neighbour's advantage is called lenove. And here prudence comes first; because no one can confer an advantage on another which he does not himself possess. Now in proportion as the dominion of lust is pulled down, in the same proportion is that of charity built up.

CHAP. XI.] THE INTERPRETATION OF FIGURES. 91
Chap. xi. â€” Rule for interpreting X^"^^"^^^ vJdch seem to ascribe severity to God
and the saints.

17. Every severity, therefore, and apparent cruelty, either in word or deed, that is ascribed
in Holy Scripture to God or His saints, avails to the pulling down of the dominion of lust.
And if its meaning be clear, we are not to give it some secondary reference, as if it were
spoken figuratively. Take, for example, that saying of the apostle: " But, after thy
hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath
and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man
according to his deeds: to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory,
and honour, and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not
obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish,
upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile." But
this is addressed to those who, being unwilling to subdue their lust, are themselves
involved in the destruction of their lust. When, however, the dominion of lust is
overturned in a man over whom it had held sway, this plain expression is used: " They
that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts." Only that, even
in these instances, some words are used figuratively, as for example, " the wrath of God "
and


92 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTEINE. [BOOK III.]

'â€¢ crucified." But tlliese are not so numerous, nor placed in sucli a way as to obscure
the sense, and make it allegorical or enigmatical, which is the kind of expression properly
called figurative. But in the saying addressed to Jeremiah, " See, I have this day set thee
over the nations, and over the kings, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy,
and to throw down," there is no doubt the whole of the language is figurative, and to be
referred to the end I have spoken of.

Chap. xii. â€” Rule for interpreting those sayings and actions ivhich are ascribed to God
and the saints, and which yet seem to the unskilful to he wicked.

18. Those things, again, whether only sayings or whether actual deeds, which appear to
the inexperienced to be sinful,
â€¢and which are ascribed to God, or to men whose holiness is put before us as an
example, are wholly figurative, and the hidden kernel of meaning they contain is to be
picked out as food for the nourishment of charity. Now, whoever uses transitory objects
less freely than is the custom of those among whom he lives, is either temperate or
superstitious; whoever, on the other hand, uses them so as to transgress the bounds of the
custom of the good men about him, either has a further meaning in what he does, or is
sinful. In all such matters it is not the use of the objects, but the lust of the user, that is to
blame. Nobody in his sober senses would believe, for example, that when our Lord's feet
were anointed by the woman with precious ointment,\(^\text{1}\) it was for the same purpose for which luxurious and profligate men are accustomed to have theirs anointed in those banquets which we abhor. For the sweet odour means the good report which is earned by a life of good works; and the man who wins this, while following in the footsteps of Christ, anoints His feet (so to speak) with the most precious ointment. And so that which in the case of other persons is often a sin, becomes, when ascribed to God or a prophet, the sign of some great truth. Keeping company with a harlot, for example, is one thing when it is the result of abandoned manners, another thing when done in the course of his prophecy by the prophet Hosea.\(^\text{2}\)

Because it is a shamefully wicked thing to strip the body naked at a banquet among the drunken and licentious, it does not follow that it is a sin to be naked in the baths.

19. "We must, therefore, consider carefully what is suitable to times and places and persons, and not rashly charge men with sins. For it is possible that a wise man may use the daintiest food without any sin of epicurism or gluttony, while a fool will crave for the vilest food with a most disgusting eagerness of appetite. And any sane man would prefer eating fish after the manner of our Lord, to eating lentiles after the manner of Esau, or barley after the manner of oxen. For there are several beasts that feed on commoner kinds of food, but it does not follow that they are more temperate than we are. For in all matters of this kind it is not the nature of the things we use, but our reason for using them, and our manner of seeking them, that make what we do either praiseworthy or blameable,

20. Now the saints of ancient times were, under the form of an earthly kingdom, foreshadowing and foretelling the kingdom of heaven. And on account of the necessity for a numerous offspring, the custom of one man having several wives was at that time blameless: and for the same reason it was not proper for one woman to have several husbands, because a woman does not in that way become more fruitful, but, on the contrary, it is base harlotry to seek either gain or offspring by promiscuous intercourse. In regard to matters of this sort, whatever the holy men of those times did without lust, Scripture passes over without blame, although they did things which could not be done at the present time, except through lust.

And everything of this nature that is there narrated we are to take not only in its historical and literal, but also in its figurative and prophetical sense, and to interpret as bearing ultimately upon the end of love towards God or our neighbour, or both. For as it was disgraceful among the ancient Romans to wear tunics reaching to the heels, and furnished with sleeves, but now it is disgraceful for men honourably born not to wear tunics of that description: so we must take heed in regard to other things also, that lust do not mix with

\(^\text{1}\) Jer. i. 10. 2 Johu xii. 3. ^jjos_ ^ 2. 

CHAP. XII.] THE OLD DISPENSATION FIGURATIVE. 93
our use of them; for lust not only abuses to wicked ends the customs of those among whom we live, but frequently also transgressing the

94 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

bounds of custom, betrays, in a disgraceful outbreak, its own hideousness, which was concealed under the cover of prevailing fashions.

Chap. xiii. â€” Same subject continued.

2 1. Whatever, then, is in accordance with the habits of those with whom we are either compelled by necessity, or undertake as a matter of duty, to spend this life, is to be turned by good and great men to some prudent or benevolent end, either directly, as is our duty, or figuratively, as is allowable to prophets.

Chap. xiv. â€” Error of those who taught that there is no absolute right and wrong.

22. But when men unacquainted with other modes of life than their own meet with the record of such actions, unless they are restrained by authority, they look upon them as sins, and do not consider that their own customs either in regard to marriage, or feasts, or dress, or the other necessities and adornments of human life, appear sinful to the people of other nations and other times. And, distracted by this endless variety of customs, some who were half asleep (as I may say) â€“ that is, who were neither sunk in the deep sleep of folly, nor were able to awake into the light of wisdom â€“ have thought that there was no such thing as absolute right, but that every nation took its own custom for right; and that, since every nation has a different custom, and right must remain unchangeable, it becomes manifest that there is no such thing as right at all. Such men did not perceive, to take only one example, that the precept, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," cannot be altered by any diversity of national customs. And this precept, when it is referred to the love of God, destroys all vices; when to the love of one's neighbour, puts an end to all crimes. For no one is willing to defile his own dwelling; he ought not, therefore, to defile the dwelling of God, that is, himself. And no one wishes an injury to be done him by another; he himself, therefore, ought not to do injury to another.


CHAP. XTI.] THE INTERPRETATION OF FIGURES. 95

Chap. xv. â€” Rule for interpreting figurative expressions.
23. The tyranny of lust being thus overthrown, charity reigns through its supremely just
laws of love to God for His own sake, and love to one's self and one's neighbour for
God's sake. Accordingly, in regard to figurative expressions, a rule such as the following
will be observed, to carefully turn over in our minds and meditate upon what we read till
an interpretation be found that tends to establish the reign of love.
Now, if when taken literally it at once gives a meaning of this kind, the expression is not
to be considered figurative.

Chap. xvi. â€” Rule for interpreting commands and prohibitions.

24. If the sentence is one of command, either forbidding a crime or vice, or enjoining an
act of prudence or benevolence, it is not figurative. If, however, it seems to enjoin a crime
or vice, or to forbid an act of prudence or benevolence, it is figurative. " Except ye eat the
flesh of the Son of man," says Christ, " and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." ^
This seems to enjoin a crime or a vice; it is therefore a figure, enjoining that we should
have a share in the sufferings of our Lord, and that we should retain a sweet and
profitable memory of the fact that His flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

Scripture says: " If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink;" and this is
beyond doubt a command to do a kindness. But in what follows, "for in so doing thou
shalt heap coals of fire on his head," ^ one would think a deed of malevolence was
enjoined. Do not doubt, then, that the expression is figurative; and, where it is possible to
interpret it in two ways, one pointing to the doing of an injury, the other to a display of
superiority, let charity on the contrary call you back to benevolence, and interpret the
coals of fire as the burning groans of penitence by which a man's pride is cured who
bewails that he has been the enemy of one who came to his assistance in distress. In the
same way, when our Lord says, " He who loveth his life shall lose it," ^ we are not to
think that He forbids the prudence with which it is a man's duty to care for his life, but
that He says in a figurative sense,

1 John vi. 53. 2 gom. xii. 20; Prov. xxv. 21, 22.


96 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

" Let him lose his life " â€” that is, let him destroy and lose that perverted and unnatural
use which he now makes of his life, and through which his desires are fixed on temporal
things so that he gives no heed to eternal. It is written: " Give to the godly man, and help
not a sinner." ^ The latter clause of this sentence seems to forbid benevolence; for it says,
" help not a sinner." Understand, therefore, that " sinner" is put figuratively for sin, so
that it is his sin you are not to help.

Chap. xvii. â€” Some commands are given to all in common, others to particular classes.
25. Again, it often happens that a man who has attained, or thinks he has attained, to a higher grade of spiritual life, thinks that the commands given to those who are still in the lower grades are figurative; for example, if he has embraced a life of celibacy and made himself a eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake, he contends that the commands given in Scripture about loving and ruling a wife are not to be taken literally, but figuratively; and if he has determined to keep his virgin unmarried, he tries to put a figurative interpretation on the passage where it is said, "Marry thy daughter, and so shalt thou have performed a weighty matter." Accordingly, another of our rules for understanding the Scriptures will be as follows, â€“ to recognise that some commands are given to all in common, others to particular classes of persons, that the medicine may act not only upon the state of health as a whole, but also upon the special weakness of each member. For that which cannot be raised to a higher state must be cared for in its own state.

Chap, xviii. â€“ We must take into consideration the time at which anything was enjoined or allowed.

26. We must also be on our guard against supposing that
what in the Old Testament, making allowance for the condition of those times, is not a crime or a vice even if we take it literally and not figuratively, can be transferred to the present time as a habit of life. For no one will do this except lust has dominion over him, and endeavours to find support for itself in the very Scriptures which were intended to overthrow it. And the wretched man does not perceive that such matters are recorded with this useful design, that men of good hope may learn the salutary lesson, both that the custom they spurn can be turned to a good use, and that which they embrace can be used to condemnation, if the use of the former be accompanied with charity, and the use of the latter with lust.

Ecclus. xii. 4. Comp. Tobit iv. 17.
Ecclus. vii. 27.

CHAP. XIX.] THE OLD DISPENSATION FIGURATIVE. 97

it. And the wretched man does not perceive that such matters are recorded with this useful design, that men of good hope may learn the salutary lesson, both that the custom they spurn can be turned to a good use, and that which they embrace can be used to condemnation, if the use of the former be accompanied with charity, and the use of the latter with lust.

27. For, if it was possible for one man to use many wives with chastity, it is possible for another to use one wife with lust. And I look with greater approval on the man who uses the fruitfulness of many wives for the sake of an idterior object, than on the man who
enjoys the body of one wife for its own sake. For in the former case the man aims at a useful object suited to the circumstances of the times; in the latter case he gratifies a lust which is engrossed in temporal enjoyments.

And those men to whom the apostle permitted as a matter of indulgence to have one wife because of their incontinence,^ were less near to God than those who, though they had each of them numerous wives, yet just as a wise man uses food and drink only for the sake of bodily health, used marriage only for the sake of offspring. And, accordingly, if these last had been still alive at the advent of our Lord, when the time not of casting stones away but of gathering them together had come,^ they would have immediately made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. For there is no difficulty in abstaining unless when there is lust in enjoying. And assuredly those men of whom I speak knew that wantonness even in regard to wives is abuse and intemperance, as is proved by Tobit's prayer when he was married to his wife. For he says: "Blessed art Thou, God of our fathers, and blessed is Thy holy and glorious name for ever; let the heavens bless Thee, and all Thy creatures. Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife for an helper and stay. . . . And now, O Lord, Thou knowest that I take not this my sister for lust, but uprightly: therefore have pity on us, Lord."^  

Chap. xix. â€” Wicked men judge others by themselves.

28. But those who, giving the reins to lust, either wander about steeping themselves in a multitude of debaucheries, or 1 1 Cor. vii. 1, 2, 9. 2 Eccles. iii. 5. ^ Tobit viii. 5-7.

CHH. DOCT. tr

98 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

even in regard to one wife not only exceed the measure necessary for the procreation of children, but with the shameless licence of a sort of slavish freedom heap up the filth of a still more beastly excess, such men do not believe it possible that the men of ancient times used a number of wives with temperance, looking to nothing but the duty, necessary in the circumstances of the time, of propagating the race; and what they themselves, who are entangled in the meshes of lust, do not accomplish in the case of a single wife, they think utterly impossible in the case of a number of wives.

29. But these same men might say that it is not right even to honour and praise good and holy men, because they themselves when they are honoured and praised, swell with pride, becoming the more eager for the emptiest sort of distinction the more frequently and the more widely they are blown about on the tongue of flattery, and so become so light that a breath of rumour, whether it appear prosperous or adverse, will carry them into the whirlpool of vice or dash them on the rocks of crime. Let them, then, learn how trying
and difficult it is for themselves to escape either being caught by the bait of praise, or pierced by the stings of insult; but let them not measure others by their own standard.

Chap. xx. “Consistency of good men in all outward circumstances.

Let them believe, on the contrary, that the apostles of our faith were neither puffed up when they were honoured b) men, nor cast down when they were despised. And certainly neither sort of temptation was wanting to those great men For they were both cried up by the loud praises of believers and cried down by the slanderous reports of their persecutors But the apostles used all these things, as occasion served, and were not corrupted; and in the same way the saints of old used their wives with reference to the necessities of their own times, and were not in bondage to lust as they are who refuse to believe these things.

30. For if they had been under the influence of any such passion, they could never have restrained themselves from implacable hatred towards their sons, by whom they knew that their wives and concubines were solicited and debauched.

CHAP. XXI.] THE CASE OF DAVID. 99

Chap. xxi. “David not lustful, though he fell into adultery.

But when King David had suffered this injury at the hands of his impious and unnatural son, he not only bore with him in his mad passion, but mourned over him in his death. He certainly was not caught in the meshes of carnal jealousy, seeing that it was not his own injuries but the sins of his son that moved him. For it was on this account he had given orders that his son should not be slain if he were conquered in battle, that he might have a place of repentance after he was subdued; and when he was baffled in this design, he mourned over his son’s death, not because of his own loss, but because he knew to what punishment so impious an adulterer and parricide had been hurried. For prior to this, in the case of another son who had been guilty of no crime, though he was dreadfully afflicted for him while he was sick, yet he comforted himself after his death.

31. And with what moderation and self-restraint those men used their wives appears chiefly in this, that when this same king, carried away by the heat of passion and by temporal prosperity, had taken unlawful possession of one woman, whose husband also he ordered to be put to death, he was accused of his crime by a prophet, who, when he had come to show him his sin, set before him the parable of the poor man who had but one ewe-lamb, and whose neighbour, though he had many, yet when a guest came to him spared to take of his own flock, but set his poor neighbour’s one lamb before his guest to eat.

And David’s anger being kindled against the man, he commanded that he should be put to death, and the lamb restored fourfold to the poor man; thus unwittingly condemning the sin he had wittingly committed. And when he had been shown this, and God's
punishment had been denounced against him, he wiped out his sin in deep penitence. But yet in this parable it was the adultery only that was indicated by the poor man's ewe-lamb; about the killing of the woman's husband, â€” that is, about the murder of the poor man himself who had the one ewe-lamb, â€” nothing is said in the parable, so that the sentence of condemnation is pronounced against the

' Comp. 2 Sam. x\ i. 22, xviii. 5, xix. 1. *2 Sam. xii. 19-23.

3 2 Sam. xii. 1-6.

100 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

adultery alone. And hence we may understand with what temperance he possessed a number of wives when he was forced to punish himself for transgressing in regard to one woman. But in his case - the immoderate desire did not take up its abode with him, but was only a passing guest. On this account the unlawful appetite is called even by the accusing prophet, a guest. For he did not say that he took the poor man's ewe-lamb to make a feast for his king, but for his guest. In the case of his son Solomon, however, this lust did not come and pass away like a guest, but reigned as a king. And about him Scripture is not silent, but accuses him of being a lover of strange women; for in the beginning of his reign he was inflamed with a desire for wisdom, but after he had attained it through spiritual love, he lost it through carnal lust. ^

Chap. xxii. â€” Rule regarding passages of Scripture in which approval is expressed of actions which are now condemned by good men.

32. Therefore, although all, or nearly all, the transactions recorded in the Old Testament are to be taken not literally only, but figuratively as well, nevertheless even in the case of those which the reader has taken literally, and which, though the authors of them are praised, are repugnant to the habits of the srood men who since our Lord's advent are the custodians of the divine commands, let him refer the figure to its interpretation, but let him not transfer the act to his habits of life. For many things which were done as duties at that time, cannot now be done except through lust.

Chap. xxiii. â€” Eule regarding the narrative of sins of great men.

S3. And when he reads of the sins of great men, although he may be able to see and to trace out in them a figure of things to come, let him yet put the literal fact to this use also, to teach him not to dare to vaunt himself in his own good deeds, and in comparison with his own righteousness, to despise others as sinners, when he sees in the case of men so eminent both the storms that are to be avoided and the shipwrecks that are to be wept over. For the sins of these men were recorded to this end, that men might everywhere and always tremble at that saying of the apostle: " Wherefore let him
that thinketh lie standeth, take heed lest he fall."^ For there is hardly a page of Scripture on which it is not clearly written that God resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble.^

Chap. xxiv. "The character of the expressions used is above all to have weight.

34. The chief thing to be inquired into, therefore, in regard to any expression that we are trying to understand is, whether it is literal or figurative. For when it is ascertained to be figurative, it is easy, by an application of the laws of things which we discussed in the first book, to turn it in every way until we arrive at a true interpretation, especially when we bring to our aid experience strengthened by the exercise of piety. Now we find out whether an expression is literal or figurative by attending to the considerations indicated above.

Chap. xxv. "The same word does not always signify the same thing.

And when it is shown to be figurative, the words in which it is expressed will be found to be drawn either from like objects or from objects having some affinity.

35. But as there are many ways in which things show a likeness to each other, we are not to suppose there is any rule that what a thing signifies by similitude in one place it is to be taken to signify in all other places. For our Lord used leaven both in a bad sense, as when He said, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees,"^ and in a good sense, as when He said, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened."^ 

36. Now the rule in regard to this variation has two forms. For things that signify now one thing and now another, signify either things that are contrary, or things that are only different.

They signify contraries, for example, when they are used metaphorically at one time in a good sense, at another in a bad, as in the case of the leaven mentioned above. Another example of the same is that a lion stands for Christ in the place where it is said, "The lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed;"^ and again, stands for the devil where it is ^written,

' 1 Cor. X. 12. 2 Comp. Jas. iv. 6 and 1 Pet. v. 6.

"Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour." In the same way the serpent is used in a good sense, "Be wise as serpents;" and again, in a bad sense, "The serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty." Bread is used in a good sense, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven;" in a bad, "Bread eaten in secret is pleasant." And so in a great many other cases. The examples I have adduced are indeed by no means doubtful in their signification, because only plain instances ought to be used as examples. There are passages, however, in regard to which it is uncertain in what sense they ought to be taken, as for example, "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red: it is full of mixture." Now it is uncertain whether this denotes the wrath of God, but not to the last extremity of punishment, that is, "to the very dregs;" or whether it denotes the grace of the Scriptures passing away from the Jews and coming to the Gentiles, because "He has put down one and set up another," certain observances, however, which they understand in a carnal manner, still remaining among the Jews, for "the dregs hereof is not yet wrung out." The following is an example of the same object being taken, not in opposite, but only in different significations: water denotes people, as we read in the Apocalypse,' and also the Holy Spirit, as for example, "Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water;" and many other things besides water must be interpreted according to the place in which they are found.

37. And in the same way other objects are not single in their signification, but each one of them denotes not two only but sometimes even several different things, according to the connection in which it is found.

Chap. xxvi. † Obscure passages are to be interpreted by those ivMchare clearer.

Now from the places where the sense in which they are used is more manifest we must gather the sense in which they are to be understood in obscure passages. For example, there is

1 1 Pet. V. 8. 2 Jiatt. X. 16. ^2 Cor. xi. 3.
Â» John vi. 51. ' Prov. ix. 17. Â« Ps. Ixxv. 8.
'Rev. xvii. 15. ' John vii. 38.

CHAP. XXVIT.] VArAOUS INTERPEETATIOXS ALLO-

no better way of understanding the words addressed to God,
"Take hold of shield and buckler and stand up for mine help," than by referring to the passage where we read, "Thou, Lord, hast crowned us with Thy favour as with a shield." And yet we are not so to understand it, as that wherever we meet with a shield put to indicate a protection of any kind, we must take it as signifying nothing but the favour of God. For we hear also of the shield of faith, "wherewith," says the apostle, "ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked." Nor ought we, on the other hand, in regard to spiritual armour of this kind to assign faith to the shield only; for we read in another place of the breastplate of faith: "putting on," says the apostle, "the breastplate of faith and love."

Chap, xxvii. â€” One passage susceptible of various interpretations.

38. When, again, not some one interpretation, but two or more interpretations are put upon the same words of Scripture, even though the meaning the writer intended remain undiscovered, there is no danger if it can be shown from other passages of Scripture that any of the interpretations put on the words is in harmony with the truth. And if a man in searching the Scriptures endeavours to get at the intention of the author through whom the Holy Spirit spake, whether he succeeds in this endeavour, or whether he draws a different meaning from the words, but one that is not opposed to sound doctrine, he is free from blame so long as he is supported by the testimony of some other passage of Scripture. For the author perhaps saw that this very meaning lay in the words which we are trying to interpret; and assuredly the Holy Spirit, who through him spake these words, foresaw that this interpretation would occur to the reader, nay, made provision that it should occur to him, seeing that it too is founded on truth. For what more liberal and more fruitful provision could God have made in regard to the Sacred Scriptures than that the same words might be understood in several senses, all of which are sanctioned by the concurring testimony of other passages equally divine?

Ps. XXXV. 2. 2 pg V 12.

104 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III

Chap, xxviii. â€” It is safer to explain a doubtful passage by other passages of Scripture than by reason.

39. When, however, a meaning is evolved of such a kind that what is doubtful in it cannot be cleared up by indubitable evidence from Scripture, it remains for us to make it clear: by the evidence of reason. But this is a dangerous practice For it is far safer to walk by the light of Holy Scripture; that when we wish to examine the passages that are obscure by metaphorical expressions, we may either obtain a meaning<
about which there is no controversy, or if a controversy arises, may settle it by the application of testimonies sought out in every portion of the same Scripture.

Chap. xxix. The knowledge of tropes is necessary.

40. Moreover, I would have learned men to know that the authors of our Scriptures use all those forms of expression which grammarians call by the Greek name tropes, and use them more freely and in greater variety than people who are unacquainted with the Scriptures, and have learnt them figures of speech from other writings, can imagine or believe. Nevertheless those who know these tropes recognise them in Scripture, and are very much assisted by their knowledge in understanding Scripture. But this is not the place to teach them to the illiterate, lest it might seem that I was teaching grammar. I certainly advise, however that they be learnt elsewhere, although indeed I have already given that advice above, in the second book namely, where I treated of the necessary knowledge of languages. For the written characters from which grammar itself gets its name (the Greek name for letters being ἰα/χ/χαρα) are the signs of sounds made by the articulate voice with which we speak. Now of some of these figures of speech we find in Scripture not only examples (which we have of them all), but the very names as well: for instance, allegory, enigma, and imitable. However, nearly all these tropes which are said to be learnt as a matter of liberal education are found even in the ordinary speech of men who have learnt no grammar, but are content to use the vulgar idiom. For who does not say "So may you flourish?" And this is the figure of speed called ἕδαπλιον. Who does not speak of a fish-pond in which there is no fish, which was not made for fish, and yet "sets its name from fish? And this is the figure called catachresis.

41. It would be tedious to go over all the rest in this way; for the speech of the vulgar makes use of them all, even of those more curious figures which mean the very opposite of what they say, as for example, those called irony and antiphrasis. Now in irony we indicate by the tone of voice the meaning we desire to convey; as when we say to a man who is behaving badly, "You are doing well." But it is not by the tone of voice that we make an antiphrasis to indicate the opposite of what the words convey; but either the words in which it is expressed are used in the opposite of their etymological sense, as a grove is called lucens from its want of light; or it is customary to use a certain form of expression, although it puts yes for no by a law of contraries, as when we ask in a place for what is not there, and get the answer, "There is plenty;" or we add words that make it plain we mean the opposite of what we say, as in the expression, "Beware of him, for he is a good man." And what illiterate man is there that does not use such expressions, although he knows nothing at all about either the nature or the names of
these figures of speech? And yet the knowledge of these is necessary for clearing up the difficulties of Scripture; because when the words taken literally give an absurd meaning, we ought forthwith to inquire whether they may not be used in this or that figurative sense which we are unacquainted with; and in this way many obscure passages have had light thrown upon them.

Chap. xxx. "The rules of Tichonius the Donatist examined.

42. One Tichonius, who, although a Donatist himself, has written most triumphantly against the Donatists (and herein showed himself of a most inconsistent disposition, that he was unwilling to give them up altogether), wrote a book which he

* The word, piscina (literally afsh-pond) was used in post- Augustan times for any pool of water, a swimming-pond, for instance, or a pond for cattle to drink from.

' Quod minima luceat.

1 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III

called the Book of Eules, because in it he laid down seven rules which are, as it were, keys to open the secrets of Scripture And of these rules, the first relates to the Lord and His body the second to the twofold division of the Lord's body, the thric to the promises and the law, the fourth to species and genus, the fifth to times, the sixth to recapitulation, the seventh to tht devil and his body. Now these rules, as expounded by thei; author, do indeed, when carefully considered, afford consider able assistance in penetrating the secrets of the sacred writings but still they do not explain all the difficult passages, for ther< are several other methods required, which are so far from bein< embraced in this number of seven, that the author himself ex jjlains many obscure passages without using any of his rules finding, indeed, that there was no need for them, as there wa no difficulty in the passage of the kind to which his rule apply. As, for example, he inquires what we are to under stand in the Apocaypse by the seven angels of the churche to whom John is commanded to write; and after much an( various reasoning, arrives at the conclusion that the angels ar the churches themselves. And throughout this long and ful discussion, although the matter inquired into is certainly ver obscure, no use whatever is made of the rules. This is enoug] for an example, for it would be too tedious and troublesome t( collect all the passages in the canonical Scriptures which pre sent obscurities of such a kind as require none of these sevei rules for their elucidation.

43. The author himself, however, when commending thes rules, attributes so much value to them that it would appea as if, when they were thoroughly known and duly applied, wi should be able to interpret all the obscure passages in the la^
that is, in the sacred books. For he thus commences this very book: "Of all the things that occur to me, I consider none so necessary as to write a little book of rules, and, as if we were, to make keys for, and put windows in, the secret place of the law. For there are certain mystical rules which hold the key to the secret recesses of the whole law, and render visible the treasures of truth that are to many invisible. And if this system of rules be received, as I communicate it, without jealousy, what is shut shall be laid open, and what is obscure shall be elucidated, so that a man travelling through the vast forest of prophecy shall, if he follow these rules as pathways of light, be preserved from going astray." Now, if he had said, "There are certain mystical rules which hold the key to some of the secrets of the law," or even "which hold the key to the great secrets of the law," and not what he does say, "the secret recesses of the whole law"; and if he had not said, "What is shut shall be laid open," but, "Many things that are shut shall be laid open," he would have said what was true, and he would not, by attributing more than is warranted by the facts to his very elaborate and useful work, have led the reader into false expectations. And I have thought it right to say thus much, in order both that the book may be read by the studious (for it is of very great assistance in understanding Scripture), and that no more may be expected from it than it really contains. Certainly it must be read with caution, not only on account of the errors into which the author falls as a man, but chiefly on account of the heresies which he advances as a Donatist. And now I shall briefly indicate what these seven rules teach or advise.

Chap. xxxi. â€” The first rule of Ticlionius, 4:4: The first is about the Lord and His body, and it is this, that, knowing as we do that the head and the body â€” that is, Christ and His Church â€” are sometimes indicated to us under one person (for it is not in vain that it is said to believers, "Ye then are Abraham's seed." ^ when there is but one seed of Abraham, and that is Christ), we need not be in a difficulty when a transition is made from the head to the body or from the body to the head, and yet no change made in the person spoken of. For a single person is represented as saying, "He hath decked me as a bridegroom with ornaments, and adorned me as a bride with jewels;" ^ and yet it is, of course, a matter for interpretation which of these two refers to the head and which to the body, that is, which to Christ and which to the Church.

'Gal. iii. 29.

^Isa. Ixi. 10 (LXX.). â€¢ As a Vridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, ami as a bride adorneth herself with jewels" (A. V.)
108 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK II

Chap, xxxii. â€” The second rule of Tichonius.

45. The second rule is about the twofold division of the body of the Lord; but this indeed is not a suitable name, for that is really no part of the body of Christ which will not be with Him in eternity. We ought, therefore, to say that the rule is about the true and the mixed body of the Lord, or the true and the counterfeit, or some such name; because, not to speak of eternity, hypocrites cannot even now be said to be in Him although they seem to be in His Church. And hence this rule might be designated thus: Concerning the mixed Church.

No^ this rule requires the reader to be on his guard when Scripture, although it has now come to address or speak of a different set of persons, seems to be addressing or speaking of the same persons as before, just as if both sets constituted one body in consequence of their being for the time united in common participation of the sacraments. An example of this is that passage in the Song of Solomon, "I am black, but comely, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.'

For it is not said, I was black as the tents of Kedar, but a] Quow comely as the curtains of Solomon. The Church declare itself to be at present both; and this because the good part and the bad are for the time mixed up in the one net. F( the tents of Kedar pertain to Ishmael, who "shall not be he with the son of the free woman." And in the same way, when God says of the good part of the Church, "I will bring to blind by a way that they knew not; I will lead them in path that they have not known; I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight: these things will I do unto them, and not forsake them;" He immediately adds in regard to the other part, the bad that is mixed with the good. "They shall be turned back." Now these words refer to set of persons altogether different from the former; but as the two sets are for the present united in one body. He speaks; if there were no change in the subject of the sentence. The will not, however, always be in one body; for one of them that wicked servant of whom we are told in the gospel, whoi

^ Cant. i. 5. ^ Matt. xiii. 47, 48.

' Gal. iv. 30. * Isa. xliii. 16.

CHAP. XXXIII.] THIRD RULE OF TICHONIUS. 109

lord, when he comes, "shall cut him asunder and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites."^

Chap, xxxiii. â€” The third rule of Tkhonius.
46. The third rule relates to the 2^>omiscs and the laio, and may be designated in other terms as relating to the spirit and the letter, which is the name I made use of when waiting a book on this subject. It may be also named, oi grace and the law. This, however, seems to me to be a great question in itself, rather than a rule to be applied to the solution of other questions. It was the want of clear views on this question that originated, or at least greatly aggravated, the Pelagian heresy. And the efforts of Tichonius to clear up this point were good, but not complete. For, in discussing the question about faith and works, he said that works were given us by God as the reward of faith, but that faith itself was so far our own that it did not come to us from God; not keeping in mind the saying of the apostle: " Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." ^ But he had not come into contact with this heresy, which has arisen in our time, and has given us much labour and trouble in defending against it the grace of God which is through our Lord Jesus Christ, and which (according to the saying of the apostle, "There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you " ^) has made us much more watchful and diligent to discover in Scripture what escaped Tichonius, who, having no enemy to guard against, was less attentive and anxious on this point, namely, that even faith itself is the gift of Him who " hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." ^ Whence it is said to certain believers: " Unto you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake." ^ Who, then, can doubt that each of these is the gift of God, when he learns from this passage, and believes, that each of them is given ? There are many other testimonies besides which prove this. But I am not now treating

2 1 Cor. xi. 19. " Kom. xiL 3,
5 Phil. i. 29.

110 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

of this doctrine. I have^ however, dealt with it, one place or another, very frequently.

Chap, xxxiv. â€” The fourth rule of Tlchonius.

47. The fourth rule of Tichonius is about species and genus.
For so he calls it, intending that by species should be understood a part, by genus the whole of which that which he calls species is a part: as, for example, every single city is a part of the great society of nations: the city he calls a species, all nations constitute the genus. There is no necessity for here applying that subtilty of distinction which is in use among logicians, who discuss with great acuteness the difference between a part and a species. The rule is of course the same, if anything of the kind referred to is found in Scripture, not in regard to a single city, but in regard to a single province, or tribe, or kingdom. Not only, for example, about Jerusalem, or some of the cities of the Gentiles, such as Tyre or Babylon, are things said in Scripture whose significance oversteps the
limits of the city, and which are more suitable when applied to all nations; but in regard to Judea also, and Egypt, and Assyria, or any other nation you choose to take which contains numerous cities, but still is not the whole world, but only a part of it, things are said which pass over the limits of that particular country, and apply more fitly to the whole of which this is a part; or, as our author terms it, to the genus of which this is a species. And hence these words have come to be commonly known, so that even uneducated people understand what is laid down specially, and what generally, in any given Imperial command. The same thing occurs in the case of men: things are said of Solomon, for example, the scope of which reaches far beyond him, and which are only properly understood when applied to Christ and His Church, of which Solomon is a part.^ 48. Now the species is not always overstepped, for things are often said of such a kind as evidently apply to it also, or perhaps even to it exclusively. But when Scripture, having up to a certain point been speaking about the species, makes a transition at that point from the species to the genus, the

' 2 Sam. vii. 14-16.

CILVP. XXXIV.] FOURTH EULE OF TICHONIUS. III

reader must then be carefully on his guard against seeking in the species what he can find much better and more surely in the genus. Take, for example, what the prophet Ezekiel says:

" When the house of Israel dwelt in their own land, they defiled it by their own way, and by their doings: their way was before me as the uncleanness of a removed woman. Wherefore I poured my fury upon them for the blood that they had shed upon the land, and for their idols wherewith they had polluted it: and I scattered them among the heathen, and they were dispersed through the countries: according to their way, and according to their doings, I judged them." ^ Now it is easy to understand that this applies to that house of Israel of which the apostle says, " Behold Israel after the flesh; " ^ because the people of Israel after the flesh did both perform and endure all that is here referred to. What immediately follows, too, may be understood as applying to the same people. But when the prophet begins to say,

" And I wiU sanctify my great name, which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord," ^ the reader ought now carefully to observe the way in which the species is overstepped and the genus taken in. For he goes on to say: " And I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes. For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and wiU bring you into your own land. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my commandments,
and do them. And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God. I will also save you from all your uncleannesses."  

Now that this is a prophecy of the New Testament, to which pertain not only the remnant of that one

'Ezek. xxxvi. 17-19, n Cor. x. 18.

* Ezek. xxxvi. 23. Â« jr^ek. xxxvi. 23-29,

112 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III

nation of which it is elsewhere said, " For though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet; remnant of them shall be saved,"  

but also the other nation which were promised to their fathers and our fathers; and that there is here a promise of that washing of regeneration which we see, is now imparted to all nations, no one who look into the matter can doubt. And that saying of the apostle when he is commending the grace of the New Testament an( its excellence in comparison with the Old, " Ye are ou epistle . . . written not with ink, but with the Spirit of th living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of th heart,"  

has an evident reference to this place where th prophet says, " A new heart also will I give you, and a ne\ spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the ston; heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh."  

Now the heart of flesh from which the apostle's expressio " the fleshy tables of the heart," is drawn, the prophet in tended to point out as distinguished from the stony heart b; the possession of sentient life; and by sentient he understo\ intelligent life. And thus the spiritual Israel is made up not of one nation, but of all the nations which were promisei to the fathers in their seed, that is, in Christ.

49. This spiritual Israel, therefore, is distinguished from the carnal Israel which is of one nation, by newness of grace not by nobility of descent, in feeling, not in race; but th prophet, in his depth of meaning, while speaking of the carnal Israel, passes on, without indicating the transition, to spea] of the spiritual, and although now speaking of the latter, seem to be still speaking of the former; not that he grudges us th clear apprehension of Scripture, as if we were enemies, but tha he deals with us as a physician, giving us a wholesome exercisi for our spirit. And therefore we ought to take this saying " And I will bring you into your own land," and what he say shortly afterwards, as if repeating himself, " And ye shall dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers," not literally, a if they referred to Israel after the flesh, but spiritually, a referring to the spiritual Israel. For the Church, without spo or wrinkle, gathered out of all nations, and destined to reigi

1 Isa. X. 22. 2 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3. ' Ezek. xxxviii. 26.
for ever with Christ, is itself the land of the blessed, the land of the living; and we are to understand that this was given to the fathers when it was promised to them in the sure and immutable purpose of God; for what the fathers believed would be given in its own time was to them, on account of the unchangeableness of the promise and purpose, the same as if it were already given; just as the apostle, writing to Timothy, speaks of the grace which is given to the saints:

" Not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began; but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour." He speaks of the grace as given at a time when those to whom it was to be given were not yet in existence; because he looks upon that as having been already done in the arrangement and purpose of God, which was to take place in its own time, and he himself speaks of it as now made manifest. It is possible, however, that these words may refer to the land of the age to come, when there will be a new heaven and a new earth, wherein the unrighteous shall be unable to dwell. And so it is truly said to the righteous, that the land itself is theirs, no part of which will belong to the unrighteous; because it is the same as if it were itself given, when it is firmly settled that it shall be given.

Chap. xxxv. " The fifth rule of Tkhonius.

50. The fifth rule Tichonius lays down is one he designates of times, " a rule by which we can frequently discover or conjecture quantities of time which are not expressly mentioned in Scripture. And he says that this rule applies in two ways: either to the figure of speech called synecdoche, or to legitimate numbers. The figure synecdoche either puts the part for the whole, or the whole for the part. As, for example, in reference to the time when, in the presence of only three of His disciples, our Lord was transfigured on the mount, so that His face shone as the sun, and His raiment was white as snow, one evangelist says that this event occurred " after eight days," while another says that it occurred " after six days." Now both of these statements about the number of days cannot be true, unless we suppose that the writer who says " after eigh
days," counted the latter part of the day on which Chrisi uttered the prediction and the first part of the day on which he showed its fulfilment as two whole days; while the writer who says "after six days," counted only the whole unbroken days between these two. This figure of speech, which puts the part for the whole, explains also the great question about the resurrection of Christ. For unless to the latter part of the day on which He suffered we join the previous night, and count it as a whole day, and to the latter part of the night in which He arose we join the Lord's day which was just dawning, and count it also a whole day, we cannot make out the three days and three nights during which He foretold that He would be in the heart of the earth.

51. In the next place, our author calls those numbers legitimate which Holy Scripture more highly favours, such as seven or ten, or twelve, or any of the other numbers which the diligent reader of Scripture soon comes to know. Now numbers of this sort are often put for time universal; as, for example 'â€¢' Seven times in the day do I praise Thee," means just the same as "His praise shall continually be in my mouth."
And their force is exactly the same, either when multiplied by ten, as seventy and seven hundred (whence the seventy year: mentioned in Jeremiah may be taken in a spiritual sense for the whole time during which the Church is a sojourner among aliens or for when multiplied into themselves, as ten into ten gives one hundred, and twelve into twelve gives one hundred and forty-four, which last number is used in the Apocalypse to signify the whole body of the saints.* Hence it appear that it is not merely questions about times that are to be settle(
by these numbers, but that their significance is of much wide application, and extends to many subjects. That number ii the Apocalypse, for example, mentioned above, has not reference to times, but to men. .

Chap. xxxvi. â€” The sixth rule of Tichon' ms.

52. The sixth rule Tichonius calls the recapitulation, which

' Matt. xii. 40. * Comp. Ps. cxix. 164 with xxxiv. 2.

3 Jer. XXV. 11. ^ Rev. vii. 4.

CHASE XXXVI.] SIXTH RULE OF TICHONIUS. 115

with sufficient watchfulness, is discovered in difficult parts of Scripture. For certain occurrences are so related, that the narrative appears to be following the order of time, or the continuity of events, when it really goes back without mentioning it to previous occurrences, which had been passed over in their proper place. And we make mistakes if we do not understand this, from applying the rule here spoken of. For example, in the
book of Genesis we read, "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there He put the man whom He had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food." Now here it seems to be indicated that the events last mentioned took place after God had formed man, and put him in the garden; whereas the fact is, that the two events having been briefly mentioned, viz. that God planted a garden, and there put the man whom He had formed, the narrative goes back, by way of recapitulation, to tell what had before been omitted, the way in which the garden was planted: that out of the ground God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food. Here there follows: "The tree of life also was in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Next the river is mentioned which watered the garden, and which was parted into four heads, the sources of four streams; and all this has reference to the arrangements of the garden. And when this is finished, there is a repetition of the fact which had been already told, but which in the strict order of events came after all this: "And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden." For it was after all these other things were done that man was put in the garden, as now appears from the order of the narrative itself: it was not after man was put there that the other things were done, as the previous statement might be thought to imply, did we not accurately mark and understand the recapitulation by which the narrative reverts to what had previously been passed over.

53. In the same book, again, when the generations of the sons of Noah are recounted, it is said: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations." And, again, when the sons of Shem are enumerated: "These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations." And it is added in reference to them all: "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood. And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech." Now the addition of this sentence, "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech," seems to indicate that at the time when the nations were scattered over the earth they had all one language in common; but this is evidently inconsistent with the previous words, "in their families, after their tongues." For each family or nation could not be said to have its own language if all had one language in common. And so it is by way of recapitulation it is added, "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech," the narrative here going back, without indicating the change, to tell how it was, that from having one language in common, the nations were divided into a multitude of tongues. And, accordingly, we are forthwith told of the building of the tower, and of this punishment being there laid upon them as the judgment of God upon their arrogance: and it was after this that they were scattered over the earth according to their tongues.
54. This recapitulation is found in a still more obscure form; as, for example, our Lord says in the gospel: "The same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire from heaven, and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed. In that day, he which shall be upon the house-top, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away; and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife." Is it when our Lord shall have been revealed that men are to give heed to these sayings, and not to look behind them, that is, not to long after the past life which they have renounced? Is not the present rather the time to give heed to them, that when the Lord shall have been revealed every man may receive his reward according to the things he has given heed to or despised? And yet because Scripture says, "In that day," the time of the revelation of the Lord will be thought the time for giving heed to these sayings, unless the reader be watchful and intelligent so as to understand the recapitulation, in which he will be assisted by that other passage of Scripture which even in the time of the apostles proclaimed: "Little children, it is the last time." The very time then when the gospel is preached, up to the time that the Lord shall be revealed, is the day in which men ought to give heed to these sayings: for to the same day, which shall be brought to a close by a day of judgment, belongs that very revelation of the Lord here spoken of:

Chap, xxxvii. â€” Tin, seventh rule of Tichonius.

55. The seventh rule of Tichonius and the last, is about the devil and his body. For he is the head of the wicked, who are in a sense his body, and destined to go with him into the punishment of everlasting fire, just as Christ is the head of the Church, which is His body, destined to be with Him in His eternal kingdom and glory. Accordingly, as the first rule, which is called of the Lord and His body, directs us, when Scripture speaks of one and the same person, to take pains to understand which part of the statement applies to the head and which to the body; so this last rule shows us that statements are sometimes made about the devil, whose truth is not so evident in regard to himself as in regard to his body; and his body is made up not only of those who are manifestly out of the way, but of those also who, though they really belong to him, are for a time mixed up with the Church, until they depart from this life, or until the chaff is separated from the wheat at the last great winnowing. For example, what is said in Isaiah, "How he is fallen from heaven, Lucifer, son of the morning!" and the other statements of the context which, under the figure of the king of Babylon, are made about the same person, are of course to be understood of the
118 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK III.]

death; and yet the statement which is made in the same place, "He is ground down on the earth, who sendeth to all nations," does not altogether fitly apply to the head himself. For, although the devil sends his angels to all nations, yet it is his body, not himself, that is ground down on the earth, except that he himself is in his body, which is beaten small like the dust which the wind blows from the face of the earth.

56. Now all these rules, except the one about the promises and the law, make one meaning to be understood where another is expressed, which is the peculiarity of figurative diction; and this kind of diction, it seems to me, is too widely spread to be comprehended in its full extent by any one.

For, wherever one thing is said with the intention that another should be understood we have a figurative expression, even though the name of the trope is not to be found in the art of rhetoric. And when an expression of this sort occurs where it is customary to find it, there is no trouble in understanding it; when it occurs, however, where it is not customary, it costs labour to understand it, from some more, from some less, just as men have got more or less from God of the gifts of intellect, or as they have access to more or fewer external helps. And, as in the case of proper words which I discussed above, and in which things are to be understood just as they are expressed, so in the case of figurative words, in which one thing is expressed and another is to be understood, and which I have just finished speaking of as much as I thought enough, students of these venerable documents ought to be counselled not only to make themselves acquainted with the forms of expression ordinarily used in Scripture, to observe them carefully, and to remember them accurately, but also, what is especially and before all things necessary, to pray that they may understand them. For in these very books on the study of which they are intent, they read, "The Lord giveth wisdom: out of His mouth cometh knowledge and understanding;" and it is from Him they have received

1 Isa. xiv. 12 (LXX.). "How art thou cut down to the ground, whicli didst weaken the nations!" (A. V.)

2 Prov. ii. 6.

(HAP. xxxvil] conclusion. 119
their very desire for knowledge, if it is wedded to piety. But about signs, so far as relates to words, I have now said enough.

It remains to discuss, in the following book, so far as God has given me light, the means of communicating our thoughts to others.

120 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

BOOK IV.

ARGUMENT.

PASSING TO THE SECOND PART OF HIS WORK, THAT WHICH TREATS OF EXPRESSION, THE AUTHOR PREMISES THAT IT IS NO PART OF HIS INTENTION TO WRITE A TREATISE ON THE LAWS OF RHETORIC. THESE CAN BE LEARNED ELSEWHERE, AND OUGHT NOT TO BE NEGLECTED, BEING INDEED SPECIALLY NECESSARY FOR THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER, WHOM IT BEHOVES TO EXCEL IN ELOQUENCE AND POWER OF SPEECH. AFTER DETAILING WITH MUCH CARE AND MINUTENESS THE VARIOUS QUALITIES OF AN ORATOR, HE RECOMMENDS THE AUTHORS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES AS THE BEST MODELS OF ELOQUENCE. FAR EXCELLING ALL OTHERS IN THE COMBINATION OF ELOQUENCE WITH WISDOM, HE POINTS OUT THAT PERSPICUITY IS THE MOST ESSENTIAL QUALITY OF STYLE, AND OUGHT TO BE CULTIVATED WITH ESPECIAL CARE BY THE TEACHER, AS IT IS THE MAIN REQUISITE FOR INSTRUCTION, ALTHOUGH OTHER QUALITIES ARE REQUIRED FOR DELIGHTING AND PERSUADING THE HEARER. ALL THESE GIFTS ARE TO BE SOUGHT IN EARNEST PRAYER FROM GOD, THOUGH WE ARE NOT TO FORGET TO BE ZEALOUS AND DILIGENT IN STUDY. HE SHOWS THAT THERE ARE THREE SPECIES OF STYLE, THE SUBDUE, THE ELEGANT, AND THE MAJESTIC; THE FIRST SERVING FOR INSTRUCTION, THE SECOND FOR PRAISE, AND THE THIRD FOR EXHORTATION: ANE OF EACH OF THESE HE GIVES EXAMPLES, SELECTED BOTH FROM SCRIPTURE AND FROM EARLY TEACHERS OF THE CHURCH, CYPRIAN AND AMBROSE. HE
SHOWS THAT THESE VARIOUS STYLES MAY BE MINGLED, AND WHEN AND
WHAT PURPOSES THEY ARE MINGLED; AND THAT THEY ALL HAVE THE
SAME END IN VIEW, TO BRING HOME THE TRUTH TO THE HEARER,. SO
THAT HE MAY UNDERSTAND IT, HEAR IT WITH GLADNESS, AND PRACTISE IT IN
HIS LIFE. FINALLY, HE EXHORTS THE CHRISTIAN TEACHER HIMSELF.
POINTING OUT THE DIGNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE OFFICE HE
HOLDS, TO LEAD A LIFE IN HARMONY WITH HIS OWN TEACHING, AND TO
SHOW I GOOD EXAMPLE TO ALL.

Chap. i. â€” This work not intended as a treatise on Rhetoric.

1. ril HIS work of mine, which is entitled On Christian Doc-
JL trine, was at the commencement divided into two parts. For, after a preface, in which I
answered by anticipation those who were likely to take exception to the work, I
said, " There are two things on which all interpretation o:
Scripture depends: the mode of ascertaining the proper meaning, and the mode of making
known the meaning when it ii

rilAP. II.] USE OF RHETORIC LAWFUL. 121

ascertained. I shall treat first of the mode of ascertaining, next of the mode of making
known, the meaning."^ As, then, I have already said a great deal about the mode of
ascertaining the meaning, and have given three books to this one part of the subject, I
shall only say a few things about the mode of making known the meaning, in order if
possible to bring them all within the compass of one book, and so finish the whole work
in four books.

2. In the first place, then, I wish by this preamble to put a stop to the expectations of
readers who may think that I am about to lay down rules of rhetoric such as I have learnt,
and taught too, in the secular schools, and to warn them that they need not look for any
such from me. Not that I think such rules of no use, but that whatever use they have is to
be learnt elsewhere; and if any good man should happen to have leisure for learning
them, he is not to ask me to teach them either in this work or any other.

Chap. ii. â€” It is lawful for a Christian teacher to use the art of Thetoric.

3. Now, the art of rhetoric being available for the enforcing either of truth or falsehood,
who will dare to say that truth in the person of its defenders is to take its stand unarmed
against falsehood? For example, that those who are trying to persuade men of what is
false are to know how to introduce their subject, so as to put the hearer into a friendly, or
attentive, or teachable frame of mind, while the defenders of the truth shall be ignorant of
that art? That the former are to tell their falsehoods briefly, clearly, and plausibly, while
the latter shall tell the truth in such a way that it is tedious to listen to, hard to understand, and in fine, not easy to believe it? That the former are to oppose the truth and defend falsehood with sophistical arguments, while the latter shall be unable either to defend what is true, or to refute what is false? That the former, while imbuing the minds of their hearers with erroneous opinions, are by their power of speech to awe, to melt, to enliven, and to rouse them, while the latter shall in defence of the truth be sluggish, and frigid, and somnolent? Who is such a fool as to think this wisdom? Since, then, the

' Book i. chap. 1.

122 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [cOOK IY.

faculty of eloquence is available for both sides, and is of very great service in the enforcing either of wrong or right) why do not good men study to engage it on the side of truth when bad men use it to obtain the triumph of wicked and worthless causes, and to further injustice and error?

Chap. hi. " The proper age and the proper means for acquiring rhetorical skill.

4. But the theories and rules on this subject (to which when you add a tongue thoroughly skilled by exercise and habit in the use of many words and many ornaments of speech you have what is called eloquence or oratory) may be learnt apart from these writings of mine, if a suitable space of time be sel aside for the purpose at a fit and proper age. But only bj those who can learn them quickly; for the masters of Eomar eloquence themselves did not shrink from saying that an} one who cannot learn this art quickly can never thoroughl} learn it at all." Whether this be true or not, why need we inquire? For even if this art can occasionally be in the enc mastered by men of slower intellect, I do not think it of sc much importance as to wish men who have arrived at mature age to spend time in learning it. It is enough that boys should give attention to it; and even of these, not all who are to be fitted for usefulness in the Church, but only those wh( are not yet engaged in any occupation of more urgent necessity, or which ought evidently to take precedence of it. Foi men of quick intellect and glowing temperament find it easiei to become eloquent by reading and listening to eloqueni speakers than by following rules for eloquence. And ever outside the canon, which to our great advantage is fixed in i place of secure authority, there is no want of ecclesiastica. writings, in reading which a man of ability will acquire i tinge of the eloquence with which they are written, even though he does not aim at this, but is solely intent on th( matters treated of; especially, of course, if in addition he practise himself in writing, or dictating, and at last also in speaking the opinions he has formed on grounds of piety and faith. If however, such ability be wanting, the rules of rhetoric ar( either not understood, or if, after great labour has been spem 'Cicero, de Oratore, iii. 31; Quinctil. Inst. Orat. i. 1, 2.
in enforcing them, they come to be in some small measure understood, they prove of no service. For even those who have learnt them, and who speak with fluency and elegance, cannot always think of them when they are speaking so as to speak in accordance with them, unless they are discussing the rules themselves. Indeed, I think there are scarcely any who can do both things — that is, speak well, and, in order to do this, think of the rules of speaking while they are speaking.

For we must be careful that what we have got to say does not escape us whilst we are thinking about saying it according to the rules of art. Nevertheless, in the speeches of eloquent men, we find rules of eloquence carried out which the speakers did not think of as aids to eloquence at the time when they were speaking, whether they had ever learnt them, or whether they had never even met with them. For it is because they are eloquent that they exemplify these rules; it is not that they use them in order to be eloquent.

5. And, therefore, as infants cannot learn to speak except by learning words and phrases from those who do speak, why should not men become eloquent without being taught any art of speech, simply by reading and learning the speeches of eloquent men, and by imitating them as far as they can? And what do we find from the examples themselves to be the case in this respect? We know numbers who, without acquaintance with rhetorical rules, are more eloquent than many who have learnt these; but we know no one who is eloquent without having read and listened to the speeches and debates of eloquent men. For even the art of grammar, which teaches correctness of speech, need not be learnt by boys, if they have the advantage of growing up and living among men who speak correctly. For without knowing the names of any of the faults, they will, from being accustomed to correct speech, lay hold upon whatever is faulty in the speech of any one they listen to, and avoid it; just as city-bred men, even when illiterate, seize upon the faults of rustics.

Chap. iv. The duty of the Christian teacher.

6. It is the duty, then, of the interpreter and teacher of Holy Scripture, the defender of the true faith and the opponent of error, both to teach what is right and to refute what is wrong, and in the performance of this task to conciliate the hostile, to rouse the careless, and to tell the ignorant both what is occurring at present and what is probable in the future. But once that his hearers are friendly, attentive, and ready to learn, whether he has found them so, or has himself made them so the remaining objects are to be carried out in whatever way.
the case requires. If the hearers need teaching, the matter treated of must be made fully known by means of narrative. On the other hand, to clear up points that are doubtful requires reasoning and the exhibition of proofs. If, however, the hearers require to be roused rather than instructed, in order that they may be diligent to do what they already know, and to bring their feelings into harmony with the truths they admit, greater vigour of speech is needed. Here entreaties and reproaches, exhortations and upbraidings, and all the other means of rousing the emotions, are necessary.

7. And all the methods I have mentioned are constantly used by nearly every one in cases where speech is the agency employed.

Chap. x. “Wisdom of more importance than eloquence to the Christian teacher.

But as some men employ these coarsely, inelegantly, and frigidly, while others use them with acuteness, elegance, and spirit, the work that I am speaking of ought to be undertaken by one who can argue and speak with wisdom, if not wit! eloquence, and with profit to his hearers, even though he profit them less than he would if he could speak with eloquence too. But we must beware of the man who abounds in eloquent nonsense, and so much the more if the hearer is pleased with what is not worth listening to, and thinks that because the speaker is eloquent what he says must be true. And this opinion is held even by those who think that the art of rhetoric should be taught: for they confess that "though wisdom without eloquence is of little service to states, yet eloquence without wisdom is frequently a positive injury, and is of service never." ^ If, then, the men who teach the principles of eloquence have been forced by truth to confess this in the very books which treat of eloquence, though they were ' Cicero, de Inveijttione Bhetorica, i. 1,

CHAP, v.] WISDOM BETTER THAN ELOQUENCE. 125

ignorant of the true, that is, the heavenly wisdom which comes down from the Father of Lights, how much more ought we to feel it who are the sons and the ministers of this higher wisdom! Now a man speaks with more or less wisdom just as he has made more or less progress in the knowledge of Scripture; I do not mean by reading them much and committing them to memory, but by understanding them aright and carefully searching into their meaning. For there are who read and yet neglect them; they read to remember the words, but are careless about knowing the meaning. It is plain we must set far above these the men who are not so retentive of the words, but see with the eyes of the heart into the heart of Scripture. Better than either of these, however, is the man who, when he wishes, can repeat the words, and at the same time correctly apprehends their meaning.

8. Now it is especially necessary for the man who is bound to speak wisely, even though he cannot speak eloquently, to retain in memory the words of Scripture. For the more he discerns the poverty of his own speech, the more he ought to draw on the riches of Scripture, so that what he says in his own words he may prove by the words of Scripture;
and he himself, though small and weak in his own words, may gain strength and power from the confirming testimony of great men. For his proof gives pleasure when he cannot please by his mode of speech. But if a man desire to speak not only with wisdom, but with eloquence also (and assuredly he will prove of greater service if he can do both), I would rather send him to read, and listen to, and exercise himself in imitating, eloquent men, than advise him to spend time with the teachers of rhetoric; especially if the men he reads and listens to are justly praised as having spoken, or as being accustomed to speak, not only with eloquence, but with wisdom also. For eloquent speakers are heard with pleasure; wise speakers with profit. And, therefore. Scripture does not say that the multitude of the eloquent, but " the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world." ^

And as we must often swallow wholesome bitters, so we must always avoid unwholesome sweets.

But what is better than wholesome sweetness or sweet whole-

^ Wisd. vi. 24.

126 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

someness ? For the sweeter we try to make such things, the easier it is to make their wholesomeness serviceable. And so there are writers of the Church who have expounded the Holy Scriptures, not only with wisdom, but with eloquence as well; and there is not more time for the reading of these than is sufficient for those who are studious and at leisure to exhaust them.

Chap. vi. â€” The sacred writers unite eloquence with wisdom.

9. Here, perhaps, some one inquires whether the authors whose divinely-inspired writings constitute the canon, which carries with it a most wholesome authority, are to be considered wise only, or eloquent as well. A question which to me, and to those who think with me, is very easily settled. For where I understand these writers, it seems to me not only that nothing can be wiser, but also that nothing can be more eloquent. And I venture to affirm that all who truly understand what these writers say, perceive at the same time that it could not have been properly said in any other way. For as there is a kind of eloquence that is more becoming in youth, and a kind that is more becoming in old age, and nothing can be called eloquence if it be not suitable to the jDerson of the speaker, so there is a kind of eloquence that is becoming in men who justly claim the highest authority, and who are evidently inspired of God. With this eloquence they spoke; no other would have been suitable for them; and this itself would be unsuitable in any other, for it is in keeping with their character, while it mounts as far above that of others (not from empty inflation, but from solid merit) as it seems to fall below them. Where, however, I do not understand these writers, though their eloquence is then less apparent, I have no doubt but that it is of the same kind as that I do understand. The very obscurity, too, of these divine and wholesome words was a necessary element in eloquence of a kind that was designed to
profit our understandings, not only by the discovery of truth, but also by the exercise of their powers.

10. I could, however, if I had time, show those men who cry up their own form of language as superior to that of our authors (not because of its majesty, but because of its inflation), that all those powers and beauties of eloquence which they make their boast, are to be found in the sacred writings which God in His goodness has provided to mould our characters, and to guide us from this world of wickedness to the blessed world above. But it is not the qualities which these writers have in common with the heathen orators and poets that give me such unspeakable delight in their eloquence; I am more struck with admiration at the way in which, by an eloquence peculiarly their own, they so use this eloquence of ours that it is not conspicuous either by its presence or its absence: for it did not become them either to condemn it or to make an ostentatious display of it; and if they had shunned it, they would have done the former; if they had made it prominent, they might have appeared to be doing the latter. And in those passages where the learned do note its presence, the matters spoken of are such, that the words in which they are put seem not so much to be sought out by the speaker as spontaneously to suggest themselves; as if wisdom were walking out of its house, — that is, the breast of the wise man, and eloquence, like an inseparable attendant, followed it without being called for.^

Chap. viii. — Examples of true eloquence drawn from the Epistles of Paul and the Prophecies of Amos.

11. For who would not see what the apostle meant to say, and how wisely he has said it, in the following passage: "We glory in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us" ?^ Now were any man unlearnedly learned (if I may use the expression) to contend that the apostle had here followed the rules of rhetoric, would not every Christian, learned or unlearned, laugh at him? And yet here we find the figure which is called in Greek /cXt/iaf (climax), and by some in Latin gradatio, for they do not care to call it scala (a ladder), when the words and ideas have a connection of dependency the one upon the other, as we see here that patience arises out of

^ Cf. Cicero, Orator. 21: "Sed est eloquentius, sicut reliquanim rerum, fundamentiim sapientia."
. -' Rom. V. 3-5.
tribulation, experience out of patience, and hope out of experience. Another ornament, too, is found here; for after certain statements finished in a single tone of voice, which we call clauses and sections (memhra et cccsa), but the Greeks /cwXq and Koybiiara} there follows a rounded sentence {amhitus sivt circuitus) which the Greeks call irepioho^^ the clauses of which are suspended on the voice of the speaker till the whole is completed by the last clause. For of the statements which precede the period, this is the first clause, " knowing that tribulation worketh patience;" the second, "and patience, experience;" the third, " and experience, hope." Then the period which is subjoined is completed in three clauses, of which the first is, "and hope maketh not ashamed;" the second, " because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts;" the third, "by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." But these and other matters of the same kind are taught in the art of elocution. As then I do not aÂ£&rm that the apostle was guided by the rules of eloquence, so I do not deny that his wisdom naturally produced, and was accompanied by, eloquence,

12. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, again, he refutes certain false apostles who had gone out from the Jews, and had been trying to injure his character; and being compelled to speak of himself, though he ascribes this as folly to himself, how wisely and how eloquently he speaks But wisdom is his guide, eloquence his attendant; he follows the first, the second follows him, and yet he does not spurr it when it comes after him. " I say again," he says, " Lei no man think me a fool: if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boast myself a little. That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting. Seeing that many glory after the flesh, I will glory also. For ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise. For ye suffer, if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take of you, if a man exalt himself, if a man smite you on the face. I speak as

1 Cf. Cicero, Orator. 62: " Qufe nescio cur, cum Grseci x'oy.iJLt.Ta. et y-Zxa. nominent, nos non recte incisa et membra dicamus."

^Cf. Cicero, de. Claris Oratorihus, 44: " Comprehensio et ambitus ille verborum (si sic periodum appellari placet)."

concerning reproach, as though we had been weak. Howbeit, whereinsoever any is bold (I speak foolishly), I am bold also.

Are they Hebrews ? so am I. Are they Israelites ? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham ? so am I. Are they ministers of Christ ? (I speak as a fool), I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one, thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I
stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things which are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak ? who is offended, and I burn not ? If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern my infirmities."

The thoughtful and attentive perceive how much wisdom there is in these words. And even a man sound asleep must notice what a stream of eloquence flows through them.

13. Further still, the educated man observes that those sections which the Greeks call Koixjiara, and the clauses and periods of which I spoke a short time ago, being intermingled in the most beautiful variety, make up the whole form and features (so to speak) of that diction by which even the unlearned are delighted and affected. For, from the place where I commenced to quote, the passage consists of periods: the first the smallest possible, consisting of two members; for a period cannot have less than two members, though it may have more: "I say again, let no man think me a fool." The next has three members: "if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boast myself a little." The third has four members: "That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting." The fourth has two: "Seeing that many glory after the flesh, I will glory also." And the fifth has two: "For ye suffer fools

1 2 Cor. xi. 16-30.

CIIE, DOCT. I

130 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV,

gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise." The sixth again has two members: "for ye suffer, if a man bring you into bondage.'

Then follow three sections (ccesa): "if a man devour you, U a man take of you, if a man exalt himself." Next three clauses (membra): "if a man smite you on the face. I speak as concerning reproach, as though we had been weak." Ther is subjoined a period of three members: "Howbeit, whereonsoever any is bold (I speak foolishly), I am bold also." After this, certain separate sections being put in the interrogatory form, separate sections are also given as answers, three to three: "Are they Hebrews ? so am I. Are they Israelites ? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham ? so am I." But in fourth section being put likewise in the interrogatory form, th( answer is given not in another section (cccs) but in a claus( (memhrum): "Are they the ministers of Christ ? (I speak a; a fool.) I am more." Then the next four sections are givei continuously, the interrogatory form being most elegantly
sup pressed: " in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft." Next is interposed i short period; for, by a suspension of the voice, " of the Jew; five times " is to be marked off as constituting one membei to which is joined the second, " received I forty stripes savi one." Then he returns to sections, and three are set down
" Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice suffered shipwreck." Next comes a clause: " a night and i day I have been in the deep." Next fourteen sections burs forth with a vehemence which is most appropriate: " In jour neyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in peril by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in peril in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, ii perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, ii watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, h cold and nakedness." After this comes in a period of thre members: " Besides those things which are without, tha which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.
And to this he adds two clauses in a tone of inquiry: " Wh
1 The only apparent difference between memhrum and ccesum is, that tli former is the longer of the two. It is impossible to express the difference i Enptlish.

CHAr. VII.] THE ELOQUENCE OF PAUL. 131

is weak, and I am not weak ? who is offended, and I burn not ? " In fine, this whole passage, as if panting for breath, winds up with a period of two members: " If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities." And I cannot sufficiently express how beautiful and deh'ghtful it is when after this outburst he rests himself, and gives the hearer rest, by interposing a slight narrative. For he goes on to say: " The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not." And then he teUs very briefly the danger he had been in, and the way he escaped it.

1 4. It would be tedious to pursue tTie matter further, or to point out the same facts in regard to other passages of Holy Scripture. Suppose I had taken the further trouble, at least in regard to the passages I have quoted from the apostle's writings, to point out figures of speech which are taught in the art of rhetoric ? Is it not more liciely that serious men would think I had gone too far, than that any of the studious would think I had done enough ? All these things when taught by masters are reckoned of great value; great prices are paid for them, and the vendors puff them magniloquently.
And I fear lest I too should smack of that puffery while thus descanting on matters of this kind. It was necessary, however, to reply to the ill-taught men who think our authors contemptible; not because they do not possess, but because they do not display, the eloquence wliich these men value so liightly.

15. But perhaps some one is thinldng that I have selected the Apostle Paul because he is our great orator. For when he says, "Though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge."^
he seems to speak as if granting so much to his detractors, not as confessing that he
recoons its truth.
If he had said, "I am indeed rude in speech, but not in knowledge," we could not in any
way have put another meaning upon it. He did not hesitate plainly to assert his
knowledge, because without it he could not have been the teacher of the Gentiles. And
certainly if we bring forward anything of his as a model of eloquence, we take it from those

' 2 Cor. xi. 6.

132 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

epistles which even his very detractors, who thought his bodily presence weak and his
speech contemptible, confessed to be weighty and powerful.^

I see, then, that I must say something about the eloquence of the prophets also, where
many things are concealed under a metaphorical style, which the more completely they
seem buried under figures of speech, give the greater pleasure when brought to light. In
this place, however, it is my duty to select a passage of such a kind that I shall not be
compelled to explain the matter, but only to commend the style. And I
shall do so, quoting principally from the book of that prophet who says that he was a
shepherd or herdsman, and was called by God from that occupation, and sent to prophesy
to the people of God.^ I shall not, however, follow the Septuagint translators, who, being
themselves under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their translation, seem to have altered
some passages with the view of directing the reader's attention more particularly to the
investigation of the spiritual sense; (and hence some passages are more obscure, because
more figurative in their translation;) but I shall follow the translation made from the
Hebrew into Latin by the presbyter Jerome, a man thoroughly acquainted with both
tongues.

16. When, then, this rustic, or quondam rustic prophet, was denouncing the godless, the
proud, the luxurious, and therefore the most neglectful of brotherly love, he called aloud
saying: " Woe to you who are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, who
are heads and chiefs of the people, entering with pomp into the house of Israel ! Pass ye
unto Calneh, and see; and from thence go ye to Hamatl the great; then go down to Gath
of the Philistines, and to all the best kingdoms of these: is their border greater than youi
border ? Ye that are set apart for the day of evil, and thai come near to the seat of
oppression; that lie upon beds oi ivory, and stretch yourselves upon couches; that eat the
laml of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd; thai chant to the sound of
the viol. They thought that they had instruments of music like David; drinking wine in
bowls, and anointing themselves with the costliest ointment: and thej

' 2 Cor. X. 10. ^ Amos i. 1, vii. 14.
CHAP. YII.] THE ELOQUENCE OF AMOS. 133

were not grieved for the affliction of Joseph." ^ Suppose those men who, assuming to be themselves learned and eloquent, despise our prophets as untaught and unskilful of speech, had been obliged to deliver a message like this, and to men such as these, would they have chosen to express themselves in any respect differently â€” those of them, at least, who would have shrunk from raving like madmen?

17. Tor what is there that sober ears could wish changed in this speech? In the first place, the invective itself; with what vehemence it throws itself upon the drowsy senses to startle them into wakefulness: "Woe to you who are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountains of Samaria, who are heads and chiefs of the people, entering with pomp into the house of Israel!" Next, that he may use the favours of God, who has bestowed upon them ample territory, to show their ingratitude in trusting to the mountain of Samaria, where idols were worshipped: "Pass ye unto Calneh," he says, "and see; and from thence go ye to Hamath the great; then go down to Gath of the Philistines, and to all the best kingdoms of these: is their border greater than your border?" At the same time also that these things are spoken of, the style is adorned with names of places as with lamps, such as "Zion," "Samaria," "Calneh," "Hamath the great," and "Gath of the Philistines." Then the words joined to these places are most appropriately varied: "ye are at ease," "ye trust," "pass on," "go," "descend."

18. And then the future captivity under an oppressive king is announced as approaching, when it is added: "Ye that are set apart for the day of evil, and come near to the seat of oppression." Then are subjoined the evils of luxury: "ye that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch yourselves upon couches; that eat the lamb from the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd." These six clauses form three periods of two members each. For he does not say: Ye who are set apart for the day of evil, who come near to the seat of oppression, who sleep upon beds of ivory, who stretch yourselves upon couches, who eat the lamb from the flock, and calves out of the herd." If he had so expressed it, this would have had its beauty: six separate clauses running on, the same pronoun being repeated each time, and each clause finished by a single effort of the speaker's voice. But it is more beautiful as it is, the clauses being joined in pairs under the same pronoun, and forming three sentences, one referring to the prophecy of the

* Amos vi. 1-6. The version given above, which is a literal translation of Jerome's Latin, as quoted by Augustine, differs slightly from the English authorized version.
captivity: "Ye that are set apart for the day of evil, and come near the seat of oppression:" the second to lasciviousness:
"ye that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch yourselves upon couches; "the third to gluttony; "who eat the lamb from the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd."
So that it is at the discretion of the speaker whether he finish each clause separately and make six altogether, or whether he suspend his voice at the first, the third, and the fifth, and by joining the second to the first, the fourth to the third, and the sixth to the fifth, make three most elegant periods of two members each: one describing the imminent catastrophe; another, the lascivious couch; and the third, the luxurious table.

19. Next he reproaches them with their luxury in seeking pleasure for the sense of hearing. And here, when he had said, "Ye who chant to the sound of the viol," seeing that wise men may practise music wisely, he, with wonderful skill of speech, checks the flow of his invective, and not now speaking to, but of, these men, and to show us that we must distinguish the music of the wise from the music of the voluptuary, he does not say, "Ye who chant to the sound of the viol, and think that ye have instruments of music like David;" but he first addresses to themselves what it is right the voluptuaries should hear, "Ye who chant to the sound of the viol;" and then, turning to others, he intimates that these men have not even skill in their art: "they thought that they had instruments of music like David; drinking wine in bowls, and anointing themselves with the costliest ointment."
These three clauses are best pronounced when the voice is suspended on the first two members of the period, and comes to a pause on the third.

20. But now as to the sentence which follows all these:

CHAP. VIII.] ELOQUENCE OF THE SACKED WJPITERS. 135

"and they were not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."
Whether this be pronounced continuously as one clause, or whether with more elegance we hold the words, "and they were not grieved," suspended on the voice, and then add, "for the affliction of Joseph," so as to make a period of two members; in any case, it is a touch of marvellous beauty not to say, "and they were not grieved for the affliction of their brother;" but to put Joseph for brother, so as to indicate brothers in general by the proper name of him who stands out illustrious from among his brethren, both in regard to the injuries he suffered and the good return he made. And, indeed, I do not know whether this figure of speech, by which Joseph is put for brothers in general, is one of those laid down in that art which I learnt and used to teach. But how beautiful it is, and how it comes home to the intelligent reader, it is useless to tell any one who does not himself feel it.

21. And a number of other points bearing on the laws of eloquence could be found in this passage which I have chosen as an example. But an intelligent reader will not be so much instructed by carefully analysing it as kindled by reciting it with spirit. ISTor was it
composed by man's art and care, but it flowed forth in wisdom and eloquence from the Divine mind; wisdom not aiming at eloquence, yet eloquence not shrinking from wisdom. For if, as certain very eloquent and acute men have perceived and said, the rules which are laid down in the art of oratory could not have been observed, and noted, and reduced to system, if they had not first had their birth in the genius of orators, is it wonderful that they should be found in the messengers of Him who is the author of all genius? Therefore let us acknowledge that the canonical writers are not only wise but eloquent also, with an eloquence suited to a character and position like theirs.

Chap. viii. â€” The obscurity of the sacred writers, though compatible with eloquence, not to be imitated by Christian teachers.

22. But although I take some examples of eloquence from those writings of theirs which there is no difficulty in understanding, we are not by any means to suppose that it is our duty to imitate them in those passages where, with a view to

exercise and train the minds of their readers, and to break in upon the satiety and stimulate the zeal of those who are willing to learn, and with a view also to throw a veil over the minds of the godless either that they may be converted to piety or shut out from a knowledge of the mysteries, from one or other of these reasons they have expressed themselves with a useful and wholesome obscurity. They have indeed expressed themselves in such a way that those who in after ages understood and explained them aright have in the Church of God obtained an esteem, not indeed equal to that with which they are themselves regarded, but coming next to it. The expositors of these writers, then, ought not to express themselves in the same way, as if putting forward their expositions as of the same authority; but they ought in all their deliverances to make it their first and chief aim to be understood, using as far as possible such clearness of speech that either he will be very dull who does not understand them, or that if what they say should not be very easily or quickly understood, the reason will lie not in their manner of expression, but in the difficulty and subtlety of the matter they are trying to explain.

Chap. ix. â€” How, and with whom, difficult passages are to be discussed.

23. For there are some passages which are not understood in their proper force, or are understood with great difficulty, at whatever length, however clearly, or with whatever eloquence the speaker may expound them; and these should never be brought before the people at all, or only on rare occasions when there is some urgent reason. In books, however, which are written in such a style that, if understood, they, so to speak, draw their own readers, and if not understood, give no trouble to those who do not care to read them, and in private conversations, we must not shrink from the duty of bringing the truth which we ourselves have reached within the comprehension of others, however difficult it may be to understand it, and whatever labour in the way of argument it may cost us.
Only two conditions are to be insisted upon, that our hearer or companion should have an earnest desire to learn the truth, and should have capacity of mind to receive it in whatever form it may be communicated, the teacher not being so anxious about the eloquence as about the clearness of his teaching.

CHAP. x.] THE NECESSITY FOR PERSPICUITY. 137

whatever form it may be communicated, the teacher not being so anxious about the eloquence as about the clearness of his teaching.

Chap. x. â€” The necessity for perspicuity of style.

24. Now a strong desire for clearness sometimes leads to neglect of the more polished forms of speech, and indifference about what sounds well, compared with what clearly expresses and conveys the meaning intended. Whence a certain author, when dealing with speech of this kind, says that there is in it "a kind of careful negligence." Yet while taking away ornament, it does not bring in negligency of speech; though good teachers have, or ought to have, so great an anxiety about teaching that they will employ a word (which cannot be made pure Latin without becoming obscure or ambiguous, but which when used according to the vulgar idiom is neither ambiguous nor obscure) not in the way the learned, but rather in the way the unlearned employ it. For if our translators did not shrink from saying, "Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus," because they felt that it was important for the sense to put a word here in the plural which in Latin is only used in the singular; why should a teacher of godliness who is addressing an unlearned audience shrink from using ossum instead of os, if he fear that the latter might be taken not as the singular of o'ssa, but as the singular of ora, seeing that African ears have no quick perception of the shortness or length of vowels? And what advantage is there in purity of speech which does not lead to understanding in the hearer, seeing that there is no use at all in speaking, if they do not understand us for whose sake we speak?

He, therefore, who teaches will avoid all words that do not teach; and if instead of them he can find words which are at once pure and intelligible, he will take these by preference; if, however, he cannot, either because there are no such words, or because they do not at the time occur to him, he will use words that are not quite pure, if only the

' Cicero, Orator. 23: "Qusedam etiam negligentia est diligens."
2 "I shall not assemble their assemblies of blood," Ps. xvi. 4. (Vulgate.) "Their drink-offerings of blood will I not offer." (A. V.)

138 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, [BOOK IV.]

substance of his thought be conveyed and apprehended in its integrity.
25. And this must be insisted on as necessary to our being understood, not only in conversations, whether with one person or with several, but much more in the case of a speech delivered in public: for in conversation any one has the power of asking a question; but when all are silent that one may be heard, and all faces are turned attentively upon him, it is neither customary nor decorous for a person to ask a question about what he does not understand; and on this account the speaker ought to be especially careful to give assistance to those who cannot ask it. Now a crowd anxious for instruction generally shows by its movements if it understands what is said; and until some indication of this sort be given, the subject discussed ought to be turned over and over, and put in every shape and form and variety of expression, a thing which cannot be done by men who are repeating words prepared beforehand and committed to memory. As soon, however, as the speaker has ascertained that what he says is understood, he ought either to bring his address to a close, or pass on to another point. For if a man gives pleasure when he throws light upon points on which people wish for instruction, he becomes wearisome when he dwells at length upon things that are already well known, especially when men's expectation was fixed on having the difficulties of the passage removed. For even things that are very well known are told for the sake of the pleasure they give, if the attention be directed not to the things themselves, but to the way in which they are told. Nay, even when the style itself is already well known, if it be pleasing to the hearers, it is almost a matter of indifference whether he who speaks be a speaker or a reader. For things that are gracefully written are often not only read with delight by those who are making their first acquaintance with them, but re-read with delight by those who have already made acquaintance with them, and have not yet forgotten them; nay, both these classes will derive pleasure even from hearing another man repeat them. And if a man has forgotten anything, when he is reminded of it he is taught. But I am not now treating of the mode of giving pleasure. I am speaking

CHAP. XII.] CICERO'S DEFINITION OF OEATORY. 139

of the mode in which men who desire to learn ought to be taught. And the best mode is that which secures that he who hears shall hear the truth, and that what he hears he shall understand. And when this point has been reached, no further labour need be spent on the truth itself, as if it required further explanation; but perhaps some trouble may be taken to enforce it so as to bring it home to the heart. If it appear right to do this, it ought to be done so moderately as not to lead to weariness and impatience.

Chap. xi. â€” The Christian teacher must speak clearly, but not inelegantly.

26. For teaching, of course, true eloquence consists, not in making people like what they disliked, nor in making them do

what they shrank from, but in making clear what was obscure; yet if this be done without grace of style, the benefit does not extend beyond the few eager students who are
anxious to know whatever is to be learnt, however rude and unpolished the form in which it is put; and who, when they have succeeded in their object, find the plain truth pleasant food enough. And it is one of the distinctive features of good intellects not to love words, but the truth in words. For of what service is a golden key, if it cannot open what we want it to open? Or what objection is there to a wooden one if it can, seeing that to open what is shut is all we want? But as there is a certain analogy between learning and eating, the very food without which it is impossible to live must be flavoured to meet the tastes of the majority.

Chap. xii. â€” The aim of the orator, according to Cicero, is to teach, to delight, and to move. Of these, teaching is the most essential.

27. Accordingly a great orator has truly said that "an eloquent man must speak so as to teach, to delight, and to persuade." ^ Then he adds: "To teach is a necessity, to delight is a beauty, to persuade is a triumph."^ Now of these three, the one first mentioned, the teaching, which is a matter of necessity, depends on what we say; the other two on the way we say it. He, then, who speaks with the purpose of

^ Cicero, Orator. 21: "Est igitur eloquens qui ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. " Not quoted accurately by Augustine.

2 "Probare, necessitatis est delectare, suavitatis; flectere, victorise."

140 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

teaching should not suppose that he has said what he has to say as long as he is not understood; for although what he has said be intelligible to himself, it is not said at all to the man who does not understand it. If, however, he is understood, he has said his say, whatever may have been his manner of saying it. But if he wishes to delight or persuade his hearer as well, he will not accomplish that end by putting his thought in any shape no matter what, but for that purpose the style of speaking is a matter of importance. And as the hearer must be pleased in order to secure his attention, so he must be persuaded in order to move him to action. And as he is pleased if you speak with sweetness and elegance, so he is persuaded if he be drawn by your promises, and awed by your threats; if he reject what you condemn, and embrace what you commend; if he grieve when you heap up objects for grief, and rejoice when you point out an object for joy; if he pity those whom you present to him as objects of pity, and shrink from those whom you set before him as men to be feared and shunned. I need not go over all the other things that can be done by powerful eloquence to move the minds of the hearers, not telling them what they ought to do, but urging them to do what they already know ought to be done.

28. If, however, they do not yet know this, they must of course be instructed before they can be moved. And perhaps the mere knowledge of their duty will have such an effect
that there will be no need to move them with greater strength of eloquence. Yet when this is needful, it ought to be done.
And it is needful when people, knowing what they ought to do, do it not. Therefore, to teach is a necessity. For what men know, it is in their own hands either to do or not to do. But who would say that it is their duty to do what they do not know? On the same principle, to persuade is not a necessity: for it is not always called for; as, for example, when the hearer yields his assent to one who simply teaches or gives pleasure. For this reason also to persuade is a triumph, because it is possible that a man may be taught and delighted, and yet not give his consent. And what will be the use of faininsc the first two ends if we fail in the third? Neither is

CHAP. XV.] BEAUTY AND FOECE OF STYLE. 141

it a necessity to give pleasure; for when, in the course of an address, the truth is clearly pointed out (and this is the true function of teaching), it is not the fact, nor is it the intention, that the style of speech should make the truth pleasing, or that the style should of itself give pleasure; but the truth itself,
â– when exhibited in its naked simplicity, gives pleasure, because it is the truth. And hence even falsities are frequently a source of pleasure when they are brought to light and exposed. It is not, of course, their falsity that gives pleasure; but as it is true that they are false, the speech which shows this to be true gives pleasure.

Chap. xiii. â€” The hearer must he moved as well as instructed.

29. But for the sake of those who are so fastidious that they do not care for truth unless it is put in the form of a pleasing discourse, no small place has been assigned in eloquence to the art of pleasing. And yet even this is not enough for those stubborn-minded men who both understand and are pleased with the teacher's discourse, without deriving any profit from it. For what does it profit a man that he both confesses the truth and praises the eloquence, if he does not yield his consent, when it is only for the sake of securing his consent that the speaker in urging the truth gives careful attention to what he says? If the truths taught are such that to believe or to know them is enough, to give one's assent implies nothing more than to confess that they are true. When, however, the truth taught is one that must be carried into practice, and that is taught for the very purpose of being practised, it is useless to be persuaded of the truth of what is said, it is useless to be pleased with the manner in which it is said, if it be not so learnt as to be practised. The eloquent divine, then, when he is urging a practical truth, must not only teach so as to give instruction, and please so as to keep up the attention, but he must also sway the mind so as to subdue the will. For if a man be not moved by the force of truth, though it is demonstrated to his own confession, and clothed in beauty of style, nothing remains but to subdue him by the power of eloquence.

Chap. xiv. â€” Beauty of diction to be in keeping toith the mattei'.
30. And so much labour has been spent by men on the

loecauty of expression here .spoken of, that not only is it not our duty to do, but it is our
duty to shun and abhor, many and heinous deeds of wickedness and baseness which
wicked and base men have with great eloquence recommended, not with a view to
gaining assent, but merely for the sake of being read with pleasure. But may God avert
from His Church what the prophet Jeremiah says of the synagogue of the Jews:
" A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land:
the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests applaud them with their hands;\textsuperscript{^1} and my
people love to have it so: and what will ye do in the end thereof?\textsuperscript{^2} O eloquence, which is
the more terrible from its purity, and the more crushing from its solidity! Assuredly it is
" a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces." For to this God Himself has by the same
prophet compared His own word spoken through His holy prophets.\textsuperscript{^3} God forbid, then,
God forbid that with us the priest should applaud the false prophet, and that God's people
should love to have it so. God forbid, I say, that with us there should be such terrible
madness! For what shall we do in the end thereof? And assuredly it is preferable, even
though what is said should be less intelligible, less pleasing, and less persuasive, that
truth be spoken, and that what is just, not what is iniquitous, be listened to with pleasure.
But this, of course, cannot be, unless what is true and just be expressed with elegance.

31. In a serious assembly, moreover, such as is spoken of when it is said, " I will praise
Thee among much people,"\textsuperscript{^4} no pleasure is derived from that species of eloquence which
indeed says nothing that is false, but which buries small and unimportant truths under a
frothy mass of ornamental words, such as would not be graceful or dignified even if used
to adorn great and fundamental truths. And something of this sort occurs in a letter of the
blessed Cyprian, which, I think, came there by accident, or else was inserted designedly
with this view, that posterity might see how the wholesome discipline of Christian
teaching had cured him of that redundancy of lan-
, guage, and confined him to a more dignified and modest form

\textsuperscript{^1} " And the priests bear rule by their means." (A. V.)

\textsuperscript{^2} 2 Jer. V. 30, 31 (LXX.). \textsuperscript{^3} jej.. xxii. 29. \textsuperscript{^4} Ps. xxxv. IS,

CHAP. XV.| NECESSITY FOR PEAYER. 143

of eloquence, such as we find in his subsequent letters, a style which is admired without
effort, is sought after with eagerness, but is not attained without great difficulty. He says,
then, in one place, " Let us seek this abode: the neighbouring solitudes afford a retreat
where, whilst the spreading shoots of the vine trees, pendulous and intertwined, creep
amongst the supporting reeds, the leafy covering has made a portico of vine."^ There is wonderful fluency and exuberance of language here; but it is too florid to be pleasing to serious minds. But people who are fond of this style are apt to think that men who do not use it, but employ a more chastened style, do so because they cannot attain the former, not because their judgment teaches them to avoid it. Wherefore this holy man shows both that he can speak in that style, for he has done so once, and that he does not choose, for he never uses it again.

Chap. sv. â€” The Christian teacher should pray before preaching.

32. And so our Christian orator, while he says what is just, and holy, and good (and he ought never to say anything else), does all he can to be heard with intelligence, with pleasure, and with obedience; and he need not doubt that if he succeed in this object, and so far as he succeeds, he will succeed more by piety in prayer than by gifts of oratory; and so he ought to pray for himself, and for those he is about to address, before he attempts to speak. And when the hour is come that he must speak, he ought, before he opens his mouth, to lift up his thirsty soul to God, to drink in what he is about to pour forth, and to be himself filled with what he is about to distribute. For, as in regard to every matter of faith and love there are many things that may be said, and many ways of saying them, who knows what it is expedient at a given moment for us to say, or to be heard saying, except God who knows the hearts of all? And who can make us say what we ought, and in the way we ought, except Him in whose hand both we and our speeches are? Accordingly, he who is anxious both to know and to teach should learn all that is to be taught, and acquire such a faculty of speech as is suitable for a divine. But when the hour for speech arrives, let him reflect upon that

1 Cyprian, ad Donat. Ep. L

144 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

saying of our Lord's, as better suited to the wants of a pious mind: "Take no thought how or what ye shall say; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."^ The Holy Spirit, then, speaks thus in those who for Christ's sake are delivered to the persecutors; why not also in those who deliver Christ's message to those who are willing to learn?

Chap. xvi. â€” Human directions not to be despised, though God makes the true teacher.

33. Now if any one says that we need not direct men how or what they should teach, since the Holy Spirit makes them teachers, he may as well say that we need not pray, since our Lord says, "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask
Him; or that the Apostle Paul should not have given directions to Timothy and Titus as to how or what they should teach others. And these three apostolic epistles ought to be constantly before the eyes of every one who has obtained the position of a teacher in the Church. In the First Epistle to Timothy do we not read: "These things command and teach"? What these things are, has been told previously. Do we not read there: "Eebeke not an elder, but entreat him as a father"? * Is it not said in the Second Epistle: "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me"? ^ And is he not there told: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth"? ^ And in the same place: "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." ^ And so in the Epistle to Titus, does he not say that a bishop ought to "hold fast the faithful word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers"? ^ There, too, he says: "But speak thou the things which become sound doctrine: that the aged men be sober," and so on. ^ And there, too: "These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee. Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers," ^ and so on. What then are we to think? Does the apostle in any way contradict himself, when, though he says that men are made teachers by the operation of the Holy Spirit, he yet himself gives them directions how and what they should teach? Or are we to understand, that though the duty of men to teach even the teachers does not cease when the Holy Spirit is given, yet that neither is he who planteth anything, nor he who watereth, but God who giveth the increase? ^ Wherefore though holy men be our helpers, or even holy angels assist us, no one learns aright the things that pertain to life with God, until God makes him ready to learn from Himself, that God who is thus addressed in the psalm: "Teach me to do Thy will; for Thou art my God." ^ And so the same apostle says to Timothy himself, speaking, of course, as teacher to disciple: "But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them." ^* For as the medicines which men apply to the bodies of their fellowmen are of no avail except God gives them virtue (who can heal without their aid, though they cannot without His), and yet they are applied; and if it be done from a Sense of duty, it is esteemed a work of mercy or benevolence; so the aids of teaching, applied through the instrumentality of man, are of advantage to the soul only when God works to make them of advantage, who could give the gospel to man even without the help or agency of men.

1 Matt. X. 19, 20. 2 Matt. vi. 8. ^ 1 Tim. iv. 11.

* 1 Tim. V. 1. so Tim. i. 13. Â«2 Tim. ii. 15.

7 2 Tim. iv. 2. ' Tit. i. 9. 9 Tit. ii. 1, 2.
Chap. xvii. 

Threefold division of the various styles of speech.

34. He then who, in speaking, aims at enforcing what is good, should not despise any of those three objects, either to teach, or to give pleasure, or to move, and should pray and strive, as we have said above, to be heard with intelligence, with pleasure, and with ready compliance. And when he does this with elegance and propriety, he may justly be called eloquent, even though he do not carry with him the assent of his hearer. For it is these three ends, viz. teaching, giving pleasure, and moving, that the great master of Eoman eloquence himself seems to have intended that the following three directions should subserve: "He, then, shall be eloquent, who can say little things in a subdued style, moderate things in a temperate style, and great things in a majestic style: "^ as if he had taken in also the three ends mentioned above, and had embraced the whole in one sentence thus: "He, then, shall be eloquent, who can say little things in a subdued style, in order to give instruction, moderate things in a temperate style, in order to give pleasure, and great things in a majestic style, in order to sway the mind."

1 Tit. ii. 15, iii. 1. 2 1 Cor. iii. 7. 3 Pg. cxliii, 10. * 2 Tim. iii. 14.

CHE. DOCT. K

146 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

himself seems to have intended that the following three directions should subserve: "He, then, shall be eloquent, who can say little things in a subdued style, moderate things in a temperate style, and great things in a majestic style: "^ as if he had taken in also the three ends mentioned above, and had embraced the whole in one sentence thus: "He, then, shall be eloquent, who can say little things in a subdued style, in order to give instruction, moderate things in a temperate style, in order to give pleasure, and great things in a majestic style, in order to sway the mind."

Chap. xviii. 

The Christian orator is constantly dealing with great matters.

35. Now the author I have quoted could have exemplified these three directions, as laid down by himself, in regard to legal questions: he could not, however, have done so in regard to ecclesiastical questions, the only ones that an address such as I wish to give shape to is concerned with. Tor of legal questions those are called small which have reference to pecuniary transactions; those great where a matter relating to man's life or liberty comes up. Cases, again, which have to do with neither of these, and where the intention is not to get the hearer to do, or to pronounce judgment upon anything, but only to give him pleasure, occupy as it were a middle place between the former two, and are on that account called middling, or moderate. For moderate things get their name from modus (a measure); and it is an abuse, not a proper use of the word moderate, to put it for little. In questions like ours, however, where all things, and especially those addressed to the people from the place of authority, ought to have reference to men's salvation, and that not their temporal but their eternal salvation, and where also the thing to be guarded against is eternal ruin, everything that we say is important; so much so, that even what the preacher says about pecuniary matters, whether it have reference to loss or gain, whether the amount be great or small, should not seem unimportant. For justice is never unimportant, and justice ought assuredly to be observed, even in small affairs of money, as our Lord says:
"He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much."

That which is least, then, is very little; but to be faithful in that which is least is great. For as the nature of the circle, viz. that all lines drawn from the centre to the circumference are equal, is the same in a great disk that it is in the smallest coin; so the greatness of justice is in no degree lessened, though the matters to which justice is applied be small.

36. And when the apostle spoke about trials in regard to secular affairs (and what were these but matters of money?), he says: "Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this life? If, then, ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church. I speak to your shame. Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers. Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another: why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?" Why is it that the apostle is so indignant, and that he thus accuses, and upbraids, and chides, and threatens? Why is it that the changes in his tone, so frequent and so abrupt, testify to the depth of his emotion? Why is it, in fine, that he speaks in a tone so exalted about matters so very trifling? Did secular matters deserve so much at his hands? God forbid. No; but this is done for the sake of justice, charity, and piety, which in the judgment of every sober mind are great, even when applied to matters the very least.

37. Of course, if we were giving men advice as to how they ought to conduct secular cases, either for themselves or for their connections, before the church courts, we would rightly advise them to conduct them quietly as matters of little importance.

1 Luke xvi. 10. 22 Cor. vi. 1-9.
moment. But we are treating of the manner of speech of the man who is to be a teacher of the truths which deliver us from eternal misery and bring us to eternal happiness; and wherever these truths are spoken of, whether in public or private, whether to one or many, whether to friends or enemies, whether in a continuous discourse or in conversation, whether in tracts, or in books, or in letters long or short, they are of great importance. Unless indeed we are prepared to say that, because a cup of cold water is a very trifling and common thing, the saying of our Lord that he who gives a cup of cold water to one of His disciples shall in no wise lose his reward, is very trivial and unimportant. Or that when a preacher takes this saying as his text, he should think his subject very unimportant, and therefore speak without either eloquence or power, but in a subdued and humble style. Is it not the case that when we happen to speak on this subject to the people, and the presence of God is with us, so that what we say is not altogether unworthy of the subject, a tongue of fire springs up out of that cold water which inflames even the cold hearts of men with a zeal for doing works of mercy in hope of an eternal reward?

CiiAP. XIX. â€” The Christian teacher must use different styles on different occasions.

38. And yet, while our teacher ought to speak of great matters, he ought not always to be speaking of them in a majestic tone, but in a subdued tone when he is teaching, temperately when he is giving praise or blame. When, however, something is to be done, and we are speaking to those who ought, but are not willing, to do it, then great matters must be spoken of with power, and in a manner calculated to sway the mind. And sometimes the same important matter is treated in all these ways at different times, quietly when it is being taught, temperately when its importance is being urged, and powerfully when we are forcing a mind that is averse to the truth to turn and embrace it. For is there anything greater than God Himself? Is nothing, then, to be learnt about Him? Or ought he who is teaching the Trinity in unity to speak of it otherwise than in the method of calm discussion,

' ]\att. X. 42.

CHAP. XX.] EXAMPLES FEOM SCPJPTUPxE. 149

SO that in regard to a subject which it is not easy to comprehend, we may understand as much as it is given us to understand? Are we in this case to seek out ornaments instead of proofs? Or is the hearer to be moved to do something instead of being instructed so that he may learn something? But when we come to praise God, either in Himself, or in His works, what a field for beauty and splendour of language opens up before man, who can task his powers to the utmost in praising Him whom no one can adequately praise, though there is no one who does not praise Him in some measure!
But if He be not worshipped, or if idols, whether they be demons or any created being whatever, be worshipped with Him or in preference to Him, then we ought to speak out with power and impressiveness, show how great a wickedness this is, and urge men to flee from it.

Chap. xx. "Examples of the various styles drawn from Scripture.

39. But now to come to something more definite. We have an example of the calm, subdued style in the Apostle Paul, where he says: "Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons; the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bond woman was born after the flesh; but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Hagar. For this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all:"-^ and so on. And in the same way where he reasons thus: "Brethren, I speak after the manner of men: Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth, or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not. And to seeds, as of many; but as of one. And to thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say, that the covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise

1 Gal. iv. 21-26.

150 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV,}

of none effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise."^  
And because it might possibly occur to the hearer to ask, If there is no inheritance by the law, why then was the law given? he himself anticipates this objection and asks, "Wherefore then serveth the law?" And the answer is given: "It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one." And here an objection occurs which he himself has stated: "Is the law then against the promises of God?" He answers: "God forbid." And he also states the reason in these words: "For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."^  
It is part, then, of the duty of the teacher not only to interpret what is obscure, and to unravel the difficulties of questions, but also, while doing this, to meet other questions which may chance to suggest themselves, lest these should cast doubt or discredit on what we say. If, however, the solution of these questions suggest itself as soon as the
questions themselves arise, it is useless to disturb what we cannot remove. And besides, when out of one question other questions arise, and out of these again still others; if these be all discussed and solved, the reasoning is extended to such a length, that unless the memory be exceedingly powerful and active, the reasoner finds it impossible to return to the original question from which he set out. It is, however, exceedingly desirable that whatever occurs to the mind as an objection that might be urged should be stated and refuted, lest it turn up at a time when no one will be present to answer it, or lest, if it should occur to a man who is present but says nothing about it, it might never be thoroughly removed.

40. In the following words of the apostle we have the temperate style: " Exhort not an elder, but entreat him as a father; and the younger men as brethren; the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters." And also in these:

" I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." And almost the whole of this hortatory passage is in the temperate style of eloquence; and those parts of it are the most beautiful in which, as if paying what was due, things that belong to each other are gracefully brought together. For example: " Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another; not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer; distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality. Bless them which persecute you: bless, and curse not. Eejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another." And how gracefully all this is brought to a close in a period of two members: " Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate!" And a little afterwards: " Eender therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour." And these also, though expressed in single clauses, are terminated by a period of two members: " Owe no man anything, but to love one another." And a little farther on: " The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof." Now if the passage
152 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

were translated thus, "et carnis providentiain ne in concupiscentiis feceritis/" the ear would no doubt be gratified with a more harmonious ending; but our translator, with more strictness, preferred to retain even the order of the words. And how this sounds in the Greek language, in which the apostle spoke, those who are better skilled in that tongue may determine. My opinion, however, is, that what has been translated to us in the same order of words does not run very harmoniously even in the original tongue.

41. And, indeed, I must confess that our authors are very defective in that grace of speech which consists in harmonious endings. Whether this be the fault of the translators, or whether, as I am more inclined to believe, the authors designedly avoided such ornaments, I dare not affirm; for I confess I do not know. This I know, however, that if any one who is skilled in this species of harmony would take the closing sentences of these writers and arrange them according to the law of harmony (which he could very easily do by changing some words for words of equivalent meaning, or by retaining the words he finds and altering their arrangement), he will learn that these divinely-inspired men are not defective in any of those points which he has been taught in the schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians to consider of importance; and he will find in them many kinds of speech of great beauty, "beautiful even in our language, but especially beautiful in the original, none of which can be found in those writings of which they boast so much. But care must be taken that, while adding harmony, we take away none of the weight from these divine and authoritative utterances. Now our prophets were so far from being deficient in the musical training from which this harmony we speak of is most fully learnt, that Jerome, a very learned man, describes even the metres employed by some of them, in the Hebrew language at least; though, in order to give an accurate rendering of the words, he has not preserved these in his translation.

I, however (to speak of my own feeling, which is better known

'Instead of " ne feceritis in conciupiscentiis," which is the translation as quoted by Augustine.

^ In his preface to Job.

153 THE MAJESTIC STYLE.

tri me than it is to others, and than that of others is to me),
42. The majestic style of speech differs from the temperate style just spoken of, chiefly in that it is not so much decked out with verbal ornaments as exalted into vehemence by mental emotion. It uses, indeed, nearly all the ornaments that the other does; but if they do not happen to be at hand, it does not seek for them. For it is borne on by its own vehemence; and the force of the thought, not the desire for ornament, makes it seize upon any beauty of expression that comes in its way. It is enough for its object that warmth of feeling should suggest the fitting words; they need not be selected by careful elaboration of speech. If a brave man be armed with weapons adorned with gold and jewels, he works feats of valour with those arms in the heat of battle, not because they are costly, but because they are arms; and yet the same man does great execution, even when anger furnishes him with a weapon that he digs out of the ground. The apostle in the following passage is urging that, for the sake of the ministry of the gospel, and sustained by the consolations of God's grace, we should bear with patience all the evils of this life. It is a great subject, and is treated with power, and the ornaments of speech are not wanting: "Behold," he says, "now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation. Giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed: but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in strifes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrow-

154 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

ful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things." See him still burning: "ye Corinthians, our mouth is opened unto you, our heart is enlarged," and so on; it would be tedious to go through it all.

43. And in the same way, writing to the Romans, he urges that the persecutions of this world should be overcome by charity, in assured reliance on the help of God. And he treats this subject with both power and beauty: "We know," he says, "that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose.
For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified. What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth; who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? (As it is written. For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.”

44. Again, in writing to the Galatians, although the whole epistle is written in the subdued style, except at the end, where it rises into a temperate eloquence, yet he interposes one passage of so much feeling that, notwithstanding the absence of any ornaments such as appear in the passages just quoted, it cannot be called anything but powerful: " Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how, through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth? They zealously affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that ye might affect them. But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you, I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of you." Is there anything here of contrasted words arranged antithetically, or of words rising gradually to a climax, or of sonorous clauses, and sections, and periods? Yet, notwithstanding, there is a glow of strong emotion that makes us feel the fervour of eloquence.
Chap. xxi. â€” Examples of the various styles, drawn from the teachers of the Church, especially Ambrose and Cyprian.

45. But these writings of the apostles, though clear, are yet profound, and are so written that one who is not content with a superficial acquaintance, but desires to know them thoroughly, must not only read and hear them, but must have an expositor.

Let us, then, study these various modes of speech as they are exemplified in the writings of men who, by reading the Scriptures, have attained to the knowledge of divine and saving truth, and have ministered it to the Church. Cyprian of blessed memory writes in the subdued style in his treatise on the sacrament of the cup. In this book he resolves the question, whether the cup of the Lord ought to contain water only, or water mingled with wine. But we must quote a passage

1 Gal. iv. 10-20.

156 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [cOOK IV.

by way of illustration. After the customary introduction, he proceeds to the discussion of the point in question. "Observe," he says, "that we are instructed, in presenting the cup, to maintain the custom handed down to us from the Lord, and to do nothing that our Lord has not first done for us: so that the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him should be mixed with wine. For, as Christ says, 'I am the true vine,' it follows that the blood of Christ is wine, not water; and the cup cannot appear to contain His blood by which we are redeemed and quickened, if the wine be absent; for by the wine is the blood of Christ typified, that blood which is foreshadowed and proclaimed in all the types and declarations of Scripture.

For we find that in the book of Genesis this very circumstance in regard to the sacrament is foreshadowed, and our Lord's sufferings typically set forth, in the case of Noah, when he drank wine, and was drunken, and was uncovered within his tent, and his nakedness was exposed by his second son, and was carefully hidden by his elder and his younger sons. It is not necessary to mention the other circumstances in detail, as it is only necessary to observe this point, that Noah, foreshadowing the future reality, drank, not water, but wine, and thus showed forth our Lord's passion. In the same way we see the sacrament of the Lord's supper prefigured in the case of Melchizedek the priest, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, where it says: 'And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God. And he blessed Abraham.' Now, that Melchizedek was a type of Christ, the Holy Spirit declares in the Psalms, where the Father addressing the Son says, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.' In this passage, and in all of the letter that follows, the subdued style is maintained, as the reader may easily satisfy himself

46. St. Ambrose also, though dealing with a question of very great importance, the equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, employs the subdued style,
because the object he has in view demands, not beauty of diction, nor the swaying of the mind by the stir of emotion, but facts and

1 John XV. 1. 2 Gen. ix. 20-24. 3 Gen. xiv. IS, 19,

* Ps. ex. 4. ^ Ad Ccecilium, Ep. 63. 1, 2.

CILVP. XXI.] CYPRIAN ON VIKGINITY. 157

proofs. Accordingly, in the introduction to his work, we find the following passage among others: "When Gideon was startled by the message he had heard from God, that, though thousands of the people failed, yet through one man God would deliver His people from their enemies, he brought forth a kid of the goats, and by direction of the angel laid it with unleavened cakes upon a rock, and poured the broth over it; and as soon as the angel of God touched it with the end of the staff that was in his hand, there rose up fire out of the rock and consumed the offering." Now this sign seems to indicate that the rock was a type of the body of Christ, for it is written, "They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ;" this, of course, referring not to Christ's divine nature, but to His flesh, whose overflowing fountain of blood has ever satisfied the hearts of His thirsting people. And so it was at that time declared in a mystery that the Lord Jesus, when crucified, should abolish in His flesh the sins of the whole world, and not their guilty acts merely, but the evil lusts of their hearts. For the kid's flesh refers to the guilt of the outward act, the broth to the allurement of lust within, as it is written, "And the mixed multitude that was among them fell a lusting; and the children of Israel also wept again and said. Who shall give us flesh to eat?" When the angel, then, stretched out his staff and touched the rock, and fire rose out of it, this was a sign that our Lord's flesh, filled with the Spirit of God, should burn up all the sins of the human race. Whence also the Lord says, 'I am come to send fire on the earth."* And in the same style he pursues the subject, devoting himself chiefly to proving and enforcing his point.^

47. An example of the temperate style is the celebrated encomium on virginity from Cyprian: "Now our discourse addresses itself to the virgins, who, as they are the objects of higher honour, are also the objects of greater care. These are the flower on the tree of the Church, the glory and ornament of spiritual grace, the joy of honour and praise, a work unbroken and unblemished, the image of God answering to the

Â» Judg. vi. 14-21. 2 1 Cor. x. 4. 3 j^um. si. 4.


158 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV,
lioliness of the Lord, the brighter portion of the flock of Christ. The glorious fruitfulness of their mother the Church rejoices in them, and in them flourishes more abundantly; and in proportion as bright virginity adds to her numbers, in the same proportion does the mother's joy increase. And at another place in the end of the epistle, 'As we have borne,' he says, 'the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' Virginity bears this image, integrity bears it, holiness and truth bear it; they bear it who are mindful of the chastening of the Lord, who observe justice and piety, who are strong in faith, humble in fear, stedfast in the endurance of suffering, meek in the endurance of injury, ready to pity, of one mind and of one heart in brotherly peace. And every one of these things ought ye, holy virgins, to observe, to cherish, and fulfil, who having hearts at leisure for God and for Christ, and having chosen the greater and better part, lead and point the way to the Lord, to whom you have pledged your vows. Ye who are advanced in age, exercise control over the younger. Ye who are younger, wait upon the elders, and encourage your equals; stir up one another by mutual exhortations; provoke one another to glory by emulous examples of virtue; endure bravely, advance in spirituality, finish your course with joy; only be mindful of us when your virginity shall begin to reap its reward of honour."

48. Ambrose also uses the temperate and ornamented style when he is holding up before virgins who have made their profession a model for their imitation, and says: "She was a virgin not in body only, but also in mind; not mingling the purity of her affection with any dross of hypocrisy; serious in speech; prudent in disposition; sparing of words; delighting in study; not placing her confidence in uncertain riches, but in the prayer of the poor; diligent in labour; reverent in word; accustomed to look to God, not man, as the guide of her conscience; injuring no one, wishing well to all; dutiful to her elders, not envious of her equals; avoiding boastfulness, following reason, loving virtue. When did she wound her parents even by a look? When did she quarrel with her neighbours? When did she mock the humble, laugh at the weak, or shun the indigent? She is accustomed to visit only those haunts of men that pity would not blush for, nor modesty pass by. There is nothing haughty in her eyes, nothing bold in her words, nothing wanton in her gestures: her bearing is not voluptuous, nor her gait too free, nor her voice petulant; so that her outward appearance is an image of her mind, and a picture of purity. For a good house ought to be known for such at the very threshold, and show at the very entrance that there is no dark recess within, as the light of a lamp set inside sheds its radiance on the outside. Why need I detail her sparingness in food, her superabundance in duty, "â€” the one falling beneath the demands of nature, the other

1 De hah'du Virginum, chap. vii. ^ 1 Cor. xv. 49.
3 De hahitu Vinjinmn, cliap. xviii.
ranging above its powers? The latter has no intervals of intermission, the former doubles the days by fasting; and when the desire for refreshment does arise, it is satisfied with food such as will support life, but not minister to appetite.\(^\text{1}\) Now I have cited these latter passages as examples of the temperate style, because their purpose is not to induce those who have not yet devoted themselves to take the vows of virginity, but to show of what character those who have taken vows ought to be. To prevail on any one to take a step of such a nature and of so great importance, requires that the mind should be excited and set on fire by the majestic style. Cyprian the martyr, however, did not write about the duty of taking up the profession of virginity, but about the dress and deportment of virgins. Yet that great bishop urges them to their duty even in these respects by the power of a majestic eloquence.

49. But I shall select examples of the majestic style from their treatment of a subject which both of them have touched. Eoth have denounced the women who colour, or rather discolour, their faces with paint. And the first, in dealing with this topic, says: "Suppose a painter should depict in colours that rival nature's the features and form and complexion of some man, and that, when the portrait had been finished with consummate art, another painter should put his hand over it, as if to improve by his superior skill the painting already completed; surely the first artist would feel deeply insulted, and his indignation would be justly roused. Dost thou, then, think that thou wilt carry off with impunity so audacious an act of wickedness, such an insult to God the great artificer of the world?" Eor, granting that thou art not immodest in thy behaviour towards men, and that thou art not polluted in mind by these meretricious deceits, yet, in corrupting and violating what is God's, thou provest thyself worse than an adulteress. The fact that thou considerest thyself adorned and beautified by such arts is an impeachment of God's handiwork, and a violation of truth. Listen to the warning voice of the apostle: 'Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.' \(^\text{2}\) Now can sincerity and truth continue to exist when what is sincere is polluted, and what is true is changed by meretricious colouring and the deceptions of quackery into a lie? Thy Lord says, 'Thou canst not make one hair white or black;\(^\text{3}\) and dost thou wish to have greater power so as to bring to nought the words of thy Lord?

"With rash and sacrilegious hand thou wouldst fain change the colour of thy hair: I would that, with a prophetic look to the future, thou shouldst dye it the colour of flame." \(^\text{4}\) It would be too long to quote all that follows.

\(^\text{1}\) Zepirijinihus, lib. ii. chap. i.

\(^\text{2}\) ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

\(^\text{3}\) And his indignation would be justly roused. Dost thou, then, think that thou wilt carry off with impunity so audacious an act of wickedness, such an insult to God the great artificer of the world?

\(^\text{4}\) and his indignation would be justly roused. Dost thou, then, think that thou wilt carry off with impunity so audacious an act of wickedness, such an insult to God the great artificer of the world?
50. Ambrose again, inveighing against such practices, says:
"Hence arise these incentives to vice, that women, in their fear that they may not prove attractive to men, paint their faces with carefully-chosen colours, and then from stains on their features go on to stains on their chastity. What folly it is to change the features of nature into those of a painting, and from fear of incurring their husband's disapproval, to proclaim openly that they have incurred their own! For the woman who desires to alter her natural appearance pronounces condemnation on herself; and her eager endeavours to please another prove that she has first been displeasing to herself. And what testimony to thine ugliness can we find, woman, that is more unquestionable than thine own, when thou art afraid to show thyself? If thou art comely, why dost thou not show thy comeliness? If thou art plain, why dost thou pretend to beauty, when thou canst not enjoy the pleasure of the lie either in thine own consciousness or in that of another? For he loves another woman, thou desirest to please another man; and thou art angry if he love another, though he is taught adultery in thee. Thou art the evil promptress of thine own injury. For even the woman who has been the victim of a pander shrinks from acting the pander's part, and though she be vile, it is herself she sins against and not another. The crime of adultery is almost more tolerable than thine; for adultery tampers with modesty, but thou with nature." It is sufficiently clear, I think, that this eloquence calls passionately upon women to avoid tampering with their appearance by deceitful arts, and to cultivate modesty and fear. Accordingly, we notice that the style is neither subdued nor temperate, but majestic throughout.

CHAP. XXII. USE OF VARIETY IN STYLE. 1 G 1

hide thy comeliness? If thou art plain, why dost thou pretend to be beautiful, when thou canst not enjoy the pleasure of the lie either in thine own consciousness or in that of another? For he loves another woman, thou desirest to please another man; and thou art angry if he love another, though he is taught adultery in thee. Thou art the evil promptress of thine own injury. For even the woman who has been the victim of a pander shrinks from acting the pander's part, and though she be vile, it is herself she sins against and not another. The crime of adultery is almost more tolerable than thine; for adultery tampers with modesty, but thou with nature." It is sufficiently clear, I think, that this eloquence calls passionately upon women to avoid tampering with their appearance by deceitful arts, and to cultivate modesty and fear. Accordingly, we notice that the style is neither subdued nor temperate, but majestic throughout. Now in these two authors whom I have selected as specimens of the rest, and in other ecclesiastical writers who both speak the truth and speak it well, "speak it, that is, judiciously, pointedly, and with beauty and power of expression, "many examples may be found of the three styles of speech, scattered through their various writings and discourses; and the diligent student may by assiduous reading, intermingled with practice on his own part, become thoroughly imbued with them all.

Chap. xxii. "The necessity of variety in style.

51. But we are not to suppose that it is against rule to mingle these various styles: on the contrary, every variety of style should be introduced so far as is consistent with good taste.' For when we keep monotonously to one style, we fail to retain the hearer's attention; but when we pass from one style to another, the discourse goes oft' more gracefully, even though it extend to greater length. Each separate style, again, has varieties of its own which prevent the hearer's attention from cooling or becoming languid. We can bear the subdued style, however, longer without variety than the
majestic style. For the mental emotion which it is necessary to stir up in order to carry the 
hearer's feelings with us, when
^ Ambrose, de Virginiehus, lib. ii.

CUE. DOCT. L

162 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

once it has been sufficiently excited, the higher the pitch to which it is raised, can be 
maintained the shorter time. And therefore we must be on our guard, lest, in striving to 
carry to a higher point the emotion we have excited, we rather lose what we have already 
gained. But after the interposition of matter that we have to treat in a quieter style, we can 
returns^ 
with good effect to that which must be treated forcibly, thus making the tide of eloquence 
to ebb and ilow like the sea. It follows from this, that the majestic style, if it is to be long 
continued, ought not to be unvaried, but should alternate at intervals with the other styles; 
the speech or writing as a whole, however, being referred to that style which is the 
prevailing one.

Chap. xxiii. æ”” Hoio the various styles should be mingled.

5 2. Now it is a matter of importance to determine what style should be alternated with 
what other, and the places where it is necessary that any particular style should be used. 
In the majestic style, for instance, it is always, or almost always, desirable that the 
introduction should be temperate. And the speaker has it in his discretion to use the 
subdued style even where the majestic would be allowable, in order that the majestic 
when it is used may be the more majestic by comparison, and may as it were shine out 
with greater brilliance from the dark background. Again, whatever may be the style of the 
speech or writing, when knotty questions turn up for solution, accuracy of distinction is 
required, and this naturally demands the subdued style. And accordingly this style must 
be used in alternation with the other two styles whenever questions of that sort turn up; 
just as we must use the temperate style, no matter what may be the general tone of the 
discourse, whenever praise or blame is to be given without any ulterior reference to the 
condemnation or acquittal of any one, or to obtaining the concurrence of any one in a 
course of action. In the majestic style, then, and in the quiet likewise, both the other two 
styless occasionally find place. 
The temperate style, on the other hand, not indeed always, but occasionally, needs the 
quiet style; for example, when, as I have said, a knotty question comes up to be settled, or 
when some points that are susceptible of ornament are left unadorned

I:iAP. XXIV.] THE author's experience in MAURITANIA. 1G3
and expressed in the quiet style, in order to give greater effect to certain exuberances (as they may be called) of ornament. But the temperate style never needs the aid of the majestic; for its object is to gratify, never to excite, the mind.

Chap. xxiv. â€” The effects produced by the majestic style.

53. If frequent and vehement applause follows a speaker, we are not to suppose on that account that he is speaking in the majestic style; for this effect is often produced both by the accurate distinctions of the quiet style, and by the beauties of the temperate. The majestic style, on the other hand, infrequently silences the audience by its impressiveness, but calls forth their tears. For example, when at C^sarea in ^Mauritania I was dissuading the people from that civil, or worse than civil, war which they called Caterva (for it was not fellow-citizens merely, but neighbours, brothers, fathers and sons even, who, divided into two factions and armed with -tones, fought annually at a certain season of the year for several days continuously, every one killing whomsoever he could), I strove with all the vehemence of speech that I could command to root out and drive from their hearts and lives an evil so cruel and inveterate; it was not, however, when I heard their applause, but when I saw their tears, that I thought I had produced an effect. For the applause showed that they were instructed and delighted, but the tears that they were subdued. And when I saw their tears I was confident, even before the event proved it, that this horrible and barbarous custom (which had been handed down to them from their fathers and their ancestors of generations long gone by, and which like an enemy was besieging their hearts, or rather had complete possession of them) was overthrown; and immediately that my sermon was finished I called upon them with heart and voice to give praise and thanks to God. And, lo, with the blessing of Christ, it is now eight years or more since anything of the sort was attempted there. In many other cases besides I have observed that men show the effect made on them by the powerful eloquence of a wise man, not by clamorous applause so much as by groans, sometimes even by tears, finally by change of life.

164 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

54. The quiet style, too, has made a change in many; but it was to teach them what they were ignorant of, or to persuade them of what they thought incredible, not to make them do what they knew they ought to do but were unwilling to do. To break down hardness of this sort, speech needs to be vehement. Praise and censure, too, when they are eloquently expressed, even in the temperate style, produce such an effect on some, that they are not only pleased with the eloquence of the encomiums and censures, but are led to live so as themselves to deserve praise, and to avoid living so as to incur blame. But no one would say that all who are thus delighted change their habits in consequence, whereas all who are moved by the majestic style act accordingly, and all who are taught by the quiet style know or believe a truth which they were previously ignorant of.
Chap. xxv. â€” How the temperate style is to be used.

55. From all this we may conclude, that the end arrived at by the two styles last mentioned is the one which it is most essential for those who aspire to speak with wisdom and eloquence to secure. On the other hand, what the temperate style properly aims at, viz. to please by beauty of expression, is not in itself an adequate end; but when what we have to say is good and useful, and when the hearers are both acquainted with it and favourably disposed towards it, so that it is not necessary either to instruct or persuade them, beauty of style may have its influence in securing their prompter compliance, or in making them adhere to it more tenaciously. For as the function of all eloquence, whichever of these three forms it may assume, is to speak persuasively, and its object is to persuade, an eloquent man will speak persuasively, whatever style he may adopt; but unless he succeeds in persuading, his eloquence has not secured its object. Now in the subdued style, he persuades his hearers that what he says is true; in the majestic style, he persuades them to do what they are aware they ought to do, but do not; in the temperate style, he persuades them that his speech is elegant and ornate. But what use is there in attaining such an object as this last? They may desire it who are vain of their eloquence and make a boast of panegyrics, and such-like performances, where the object is not to instruct the hearer, or to persuade him to any course of action, but merely to give him pleasure. We, however, ought to make that end subordinate to another, viz. the fleeting by this style of eloquence what we aim at effecting when we use the majestic style. For we may by the use of this style persuade men to cultivate good habits and give up evil ones, if they are not so hardened as to need the vehement style; or if they have already begun a good course, we may induce them to pursue it more zealously, and to persevere in it with constancy. Accordingly, even in the temperate style we must use beauty of expression not for ostentation, but for wise ends; not contenting ourselves merely with pleasing the hearer, but rather seeking to aid him in the pursuit of the good end which we hold out before him.

Chap. xxvi. â€” In every style the orator should aim at perspicuity, beauty, and persuasiveness.

56. Now in regard to the three conditions I laid down a little while ago ^ as necessary to be fulfilled by any one who wishes to speak with wisdom and eloquence, viz. perspicuity, beauty of style, and persuasive power, we are not to understand that these three qualities attach themselves respectively to the three several styles of speech, one to each, so that perspicuity is a merit peculiar to the subdued style, beauty to the temperate, and persuasive power to the majestic. On the contrary, all speech, whatever its style, ought constantly to aim at, and as far as possible to display, all these three merits.
For we do not like even what we say in the subdued style to pall upon the hearer; and therefore we would be listened to, not with intelligence merely, but with pleasure as well. Again, why do we enforce what we teach by divine testimony, except that we wish to carry the hearer with us, that is, to compel his assent by calling in the assistance of Him of whom it is said, "Thy testimonies are very sure"? And when any one narrates a story, even in the subdued style, what does he wish but to be believed? But who will listen to him if he do not arrest attention by some beauty of style? And if he be not intelligible, is it not plain that he can neither give pleasure nor enforce conviction? The subdued style, again, in its own naked simplicity, when it unravels questions of very great difficulty, and throws an unexpected light upon them; when it worms out and brings to light some very acute observations from a quarter whence nothing was expected; when it seizes upon and exposes the falsity of an opposing opinion, which seemed at its first statement to be unassailable; especially when all this is accompanied by a natural, unsought grace of expression, and by a rhythm and balance of style which is not ostentatiously obtruded, but seems rather to be called forth by the nature of the subject: this style, so used, frequently calls forth applause so great that one can hardly believe it to be the subdued style. For the fact that it comes forth without either ornament or defence, and offers battle in its own naked simplicity, does not hinder it from crushing its adversary by weight of nerve and muscle, and overwhelming and destroying the falsehood that opposes it by the mere strength of its own right arm. How explain the frequent and vehement applause that waits upon men who speak thus, except by the pleasure that truth so irresistibly established, and so victoriously defended, naturally affords? Wherefore the Christian teacher and speaker ought, when he uses the subdued style, to endeavour not only to be clear and intelligible, but to give pleasure and to bring home conviction to the hearer.

57. Eloquence of the temperate style, also, must, in the case of the Christian orator, be neither altogether without ornament, nor unsuitably adorned nor is it to make the giving of pleasure its sole aim, which is all it professes to accomplish in the hands of others; but in its encomiums and censures it should aim at inducing the hearer to strive after or hold more firmly by what it praises, and to avoid or renounce what it condemns. On the other hand, without perspicuity this style cannot give pleasure. And so the three qualities, perspicuity, beauty, and persuasiveness, are to be sought in this style also; beauty, of course, being its primary object.

58. Again, when it becomes necessary to stir and sway the hearer's mind by the majestic style (and this is always neces-
saify when he admits that what you say is both true and agreeable, and yet is unwilling to act accordingly), you must, of course, speak in the majestic style. But who can be moved if he does not understand what is said? and who will stay to listen if he receives no pleasure? Wherefore, in this style, too, when an obdurate heart is to be persuaded to obedience, you must speak so as to be both intelligible and pleasing, if you would be heard with a submissive mind.

Chap. xxvii. — The man whose life is in harmony with his teaching will teach with greater effect.

59. But whatever may be the majesty of the style, the life of the speaker will count for more in securing the hearer's compliance. The man who speaks wisely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may, it is true, instruct many who are anxious to learn; though, as it is written, he "is unprofitable to himself." Wherefore, also, the apostle says: "Whether in pretence or in truth Christ is preached." And we see that the truth can be preached, though not in truth, that is, what is right and true in itself may be preached by a man of perverse and deceitful mind. And thus it is that Jesus Christ is preached by those that seek their own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's. But since true believers obey the voice, not of any man, but of the Lord Himself, who says, "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do: but do not ye after their works; for they say and do not;" therefore it is that men who themselves lead unprofitable lives are heard with profit by others. For though they seek their own objects, they do not dare to teach their own doctrines, sitting as they do in the high places of ecclesiastical authority, which is established on sound doctrine. Wherefore our Lord Himself, before saying what I have just quoted about men of this stamp, made this observation: "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat." The seat they occupied, then, which was not theirs but Moses', compelled them to say what was good, though they did what was evil. And so they followed their own course in their lives, but were prevented by the seat they occupied.

'

60. Now these men do good to many by preaching what

168 ox CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]

which belonged to another, from preaching their own doctrines.
they themselves do not perform; but they would do good to very many more if they lived as they preach. For there are numbers who seek an excuse for their own evil lives in comparing the teaching with the conduct of their instructors, and who say in their hearts, or even go a little further, and say with their lips: Why do you not do yourself what you bid me do? And thus they cease to listen with submission to a man who does not listen to himself, and in despising the preacher they learn to despise the word that is preached.

Wherefore the apostle, writing to Timothy, after telling him, 
"Let no man despise thy youth," adds immediately the course by which he would avoid contempt: "but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity."

Chap, xxviii. â€” Truth is more important than expression. What is meant by strife about icords.

61. Such a teacher as is here described may, to secure compliance, speak not only quietly and temperately, but even vehemently, without any breach of modesty, because his life protects him against contempt. For while he pursues an upright life, he takes care to maintain a good reputation as well, providing things honest in the sight of God and men,^ fearing God, and caring for men. In his very speech even he prefers to please by matter rather than by words; thinks that a thing is well said in proportion as it is true in fact, and that a teacher should govern his words, not let the words govern him. This is what the apostle says: "Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect." ^ To the same effect also is what he says to Timothy: "Charging them before the Lord that they strive not about words to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers." * Now this does not mean that, when adversaries oppose the truth, we are to say nothing in defence of the truth. For where, then, would be what he says when he is describing the sort of man a

1 1 Tim. iv. 12. ^2 Cor. viii. 21.
bishop ought to be: "that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince the gainsayers"? To strive about words is not to be careful about the way to overcome error by truth, but to be anxious that your mode of expression should be preferred to that of another. The man who does not strive about words, whether he speak quietly, temperately, or vehemently, uses words with no other purpose than to make the truth plain, pleasing, and effective; for not even love itself, which is the end of the commandment and the fulfilling of the law,^ can be rightly exercised unless the objects of love are true and not false. For as a man with a comely body but an ill-conditioned mind is a more painful object than if his body too were deformed, so men who teach lies are the more pitiable if they happen to be eloquent in speech. To speak eloquently, then, and wisely as well, is just to express truths which it is expedient to teach in fit and proper words, ^words which in the subdued style are adequate, in the temperate, elegant, and in the majestic, forcible. But the man who cannot speak both eloquently and wisely should speak wisely without eloquence, rather than eloquently without wisdom.

Chap. xxix. ^It is permissible for a preacher to deliver to the people what has been written by a more eloquent man than himself.

If, however, he cannot do even this, let his life be such as shall not only secure a reward for himself, but afford an example to others; and let his manner of living be an eloquent sermon in itself.

63. There are, indeed, some men who have a good delivery, but cannot compose anything to deliver. Now, if such men take what has been written with wisdom and eloquence by others, and commit it to memory, and deliver it to the people, they cannot be blamed, supposing them to do it without deception. For in this way many become preachers of the truth (which is certainly desirable), and yet not many teachers; for all deliver the discourse which one real teacher has composed, and there are no divisions among them. Nor are such men to be alarmed by the words of Jeremiah the prophet, through whom God denounces those who steal His words every one from his neighbour.^ Tor those who steal take what

^Tit. i. 9. ^\Tim. i. 5 and Eom. xiii. 10. ^Jer. xxiii. 30.

170 ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. [BOOK IV.]
does not belong to them, but the word of God belongs to all who obey it; and it is the man who speaks well, but lives badly, who really takes the words that belong to another. For the good things he says seem to be the result of his own thought, and yet they have nothing in common with his manner of life. And so God has said that they steal His words who would appear good by speaking God's words, but are in fact bad, as they follow their own ways. And if you look closely into the matter, it is not really themselves who say the good things they say. For how can they say in words what they deny in deeds? It is not for nothing that the apostle says of such men: "They profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him." In one sense, then, they do say the things, and in another sense they do not say them; for both these statements must be true, both being made by Him who is the Truth. Speaking of such men, in one place He says, "Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works;" that is to say, what ye hear from their lips, that do; what ye see in their lives, that do ye not; "for they say and do not." And so, though they do not, yet they say. But in another place, upbraiding such men, He says, "generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?" And from this it would appear that even what they say, when they say what is good, it is not themselves who say, for in will and in deed they deny what they say. Hence it happens that a wicked man who is eloquent may compose a discourse in which the truth is set forth to be delivered by a good man who is not eloquent; and when this takes place, the former draws from himself what does not belong to him, and the latter receives from another what really belongs to himself. But when true believers render this service to true believers, both parties speak what is their own, for God is theirs, to whom belongs all that they say; and even those who could not compose what they say make it their own by composing their lives in harmony with it.

Chap. xxx. The preacher should commence his discourse with prayer to God. 63. But whether a man is going to address the people or to

1 Tit. i. 16. 2 Matt. xxiii. 3. ^ JIatt. xii. 3i.

CHAP. XXX].] END OF THE WORK. 171

dictate what others will deliver or read to the people, he ought to pray God to put into his mouth a suitable discourse. For if Queen Esther prayed, when she was about to speak to the king touching the temporal welfare of her race, that God would put fit words into her mouth, how much more ought he to pray for the same blessing who labours in word and doctrine for the eternal welfare of men? Those, again, who are to deliver what others compose for them ought, before they receive their discourse, to pray for those who are preparing it; and when they have received it, they ought to pray both that they themselves may deliver it well, and that those to whom they address it may give ear; and when the discourse has a happy issue, they ought to render thanks to Him from whom they know such blessings come, so that all the praise may be His "in whose hand are both we and our words."
CuAP. XXXI. "Apology for the length of the work.

64. This book has extended to a greater length than I expected or desired. But the reader or hearer who finds pleasure in it will not think it long. He who thinks it long, but is anxious to know its contents, may read it in parts. He who does not care to be acquainted with it need not complain of its length. I, however, give thanks to God that with what little ability I possess I have in these four books striven to depict, not the sort of man I am myself (for my defects are very many), but the sort of man he ought to be who desires to labour in sound, that is, in Christian doctrine, not for his own instruction only, but for that of others also.

' Esth. iv. 16 (LXX.). - Wisd. vii. 1G.

THE ENCHIRIDION OF AUGUSTINE,

ADRESSED TO LAURENTIUS;

BEING A TREATISE ON FAITH, HOPE, AND LOVE.

173

THE ENCHIRIDION OF AUGUSTINE,

ADRESSED TO LAURENTIUS;

BEING A TREATISE ON FAITH, HOPE, AND LOVE.

ARGUMENT.

LAURENTIUS HAVING ASKED AUGUSTINE TO FUKXISH HIll WITH A HAXDEOOK OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, CONTAINING IN BRIEF COMPASS ANS\T;RS TO SEVERAL QUESTIONS WHICH HE HAD PROPOSED, AUGUSTINE SHOWS HIJI THAT THESE QUESTIONS CAN BE FULLY ANSWERED BY ANY ONE WHO KNOWS THE PROPER OBJECTS OF FAITH, HOPE, AND LOVE. HE THEN PROCEEDS, IN THE FIRST
PART OF THE WORK (CHAP. IX.-CXIII.), TO EXPOUND THE OBJECTS OF
FAITH, TAKING AS HIS TEXT THE APOSTLES' CREED; AND IN THE COURSE
OF THIS
EXPOSITION, BESIDES REFUTING DIVERS HERESIES, HE THROWS OUT
MANY
OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF LIFE. THE SECOND PART OF THE
WORK
(CHAP. CXIV.-CXVI.) TREATS OF THE OBJECTS OF HOPE, AND CONSISTS OF
A
VERY BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE SEVERAL PETITIONS IN THE LORD'S
PRAYER.
THE THIRD AND CONCLUDING PART (CHAP. CXVII.-CXXII.) TREATS OF THE
OBJECTS OF LOVE, SHOWING THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THIS GRACE IN THE
GOSPEL SYSTEM, THAT IT IS THE END OF THE COMMANDMENT AND THE
FULFILLING OF THE LAW, AND THAT GOD HIMSELF IS LOVE.

Chap. i. â€” The author desires the gift of true wisdom for Laurent'ms.

I CANNOT express, my beloved son Laurentius, the delight with "which I witness your
progress in knowledge, and the earnest desire I have that you should be a wise man: not
one of those of whom it is said, " Where is the wise ? where is the scribe ? where is the
disputer of this world ? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world ?"^ but one
of those of whom it is said, " The multitude of the wise is the welfare of the world," ^ and
such as the apostle wishes
1 1 Cor. i. 20. Â« Wisd. vi. 24.

175

176 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. III.

those to become, whom he tells, " I would have you wise â€¢
unto that which is good, and simple concerning evil."^ Now, just as no one can exist of himself, so no one can he wise of himself, but only by
the enlightening influence of Him of whom it is written, " All wisdom cometh from the
Lord." 2

Chap. ii. â€” The fear of God is man's true wisdom.

The true wisdom of man is piety. You find this in the book of Job. For we read there what
wisdom itself has said to man: " Behold, the fear of the Lord [pictas], that is wisdom."^ If
you ask further what is meant in that place by
2nctas, the Greek calls it more definitely Oeoae^eia, that is, the worship of God. The
Greeks sometimes call piety evaejieCa, which signifies right worship, though this, of
course, refers specially to the worship of God. But when we are defining in what man's
true wisdom consists, the most convenient word to use is that which distinctly expresses the fear of God. And can you, who are anxious that I should treat of great matters in few words, wish for a briefer form of expression? Or perhaps you are anxious that this expression should itself be briefly explained, and that I should unfold in a short discourse the proper mode of worshipping God?

Chap. hi. â€” God is to be worshipped through faith, hope, and love. Now if I should answer, that God is to be worshipped with faith, hope, and love, you will at once say that this answer is too brief, and will ask me briefly to unfold the objects of each of these three graces, viz., what we are to believe, what we are to hope for, and what we are to love. And when I have done this, you will have an answer to all the questions you asked in your letter. If you have kept a copy of your letter, you can easily turn it up and read it over again: if you have not, you will have no difficulty in recalling it when I refresh your memory.


CHAP. v.] THE QUESTIONS OF LAUENTIUS. IV7

Chap. iv. â€” The questions propounded by Laurentius.

You are anxious, you say, that I should write a sort of handbook for you, which you might always keep beside you, containing answers to the questions you put, viz.: what ought to be man's chief end in life; what he ought, in view of the various heresies, chiefly to avoid; to what extent religion is supported by reason; what there is in reason that lends no support to faith, when faith stands alone; what is the starting-point, what the goal, of religion; what is the sum of the whole body of doctrine; what is the sure and proper foundation of the catholic faith. Now, undoubtedly, you will know the answers to all these questions, if you know thoroughly the proper objects of faith, hope, and love. For these must be the chief, nay, the exclusive objects of pursuit in religion. He who speaks against these is either a total stranger to the name of Christ, or is a heretic. These are to be defended by reason, which must have its starting-point either in the bodily senses or in the intuitions of the mind. And what we have neither had experience of through our bodily senses, nor have been able to reach through the intellect, must undoubtedly be believed on the testimony of those witnesses by whom the Scriptures, justly called divine, were written; and who by divine assistance were enabled, either through bodily sense or intellectual perception, to see or to foresee the things in question.

ChAP. V. â€” Brief answers to these questions.

Moreover, when the mind has been imbued with the first elements of that faith which worketh by love, it endeavours by purity of life to attain unto sight, where the pure and perfect in heart know that unspeakable beauty, the full vision of which is supreme happiness. Here surely is an answer to your question as to what is the starting-point, and
what the goal: we begin in faith, and are made perfect by sight. This also is the sum of the whole body of doctrine. But the sure and proper foundation of the catholic faith is Christ. "For other foundation," says the apostle, "can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."^ Nor are we to deny that this

À» Gal. V. 6. 2 1 Cor. iii. 11.

ENCHIR. M

173 THE ENCHIEIDION. [CHAP. VII.

is the proper foundation of the catholic faith, because it may be supposed that some heretics hold this in common with us.
For if we carefully consider the things that pertain to Christ, we shall find that, among those heretics who call themselves Christians, Christ is present in name only: in deed and in truth He is not among them. But to show this would occupy us too long, for we should require to go over all the heresies which have existed, which do exist, or which could exist, under the Christian name, and to show that this is true in the case of each, â€” a discussion which would occupy so many volumes as to be all but interminable.

Chap. vi. â€” Controversy out of place in a handbook like the present.
Now you ask of me a handbook, that is, one that can be carried in the hand, not one to load your shelves. To return, then, to the three graces through which, as I have said, God should be worshipped â€” faith, hope, and love: to state what are the true and proper objects of each of these is easy. But to defend this true doctrine against the assaults of those who hold an opposite opinion, requires much fuller and more elaborate instruction. And the true way to obtain this instruction is not to have a short treatise put into one's hands, but to have a great zeal kindled in one's heart.

Chap. vii. â€” The Creed and the Lord's Prayer demand the exercise of faith, hope, and love.

For you have the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. "What can be briefer to hear or to read? What easier to commit to memory? When, as the result of sin, the human race was groaning under a heavy load of misery, and was in urgent need of the divine compassion, one of the prophets, anticipating the time of God's grace, declared: "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered."^ Hence the Lord's Prayer. But the apostle, when, for the purpose of commending this very grace, he had quoted this prophetic testimony, immediately added: "How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed?"^ Hence the Creed. In these two you have those three graces exemplified: faith believes, hope and love pray. But without iJoelii. 32. 2 gojn, x. 14.
faith the two last cannot exist, and therefore we may say that faith also prays. Whence it is written: "How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed?"

Again, can anything be hoped for which is not an object of faith? It is true that a thing which is not an object of hope may be believed. What true Christian, for example, does not believe in the punishment of the wicked? And yet such an one does not hope for it. And the man who believes that punishment to be hanging over himself, and who shrinks in horror from the prospect, is more properly said to fear than to hope. And these two states of mind the poet carefully distinguishes, when he says: "Permit the fearful to have hope."

Another poet, who is usually much superior to this one, makes a wrong use of the word, when he says: "If I have been able to hope for so great a grief as this." And some grammarians take this case as an example of impropriety of speech, saying, "He said sperare [to hope] instead of timere [to fear]." Accordingly, faith may have for its object evil as well as good; for both good and evil are believed, and the faith that believes them is not evil, but good. Faith, moreover, is concerned with the past, the present, and the future, all three. We believe, for example, that Christ died, "an event in the past; we believe that He is sitting at the right hand of God, "a state of things which is present; "we believe that He will come to judge the quick and the dead, "an event of the future. Again, faith applies both to one's own circumstances and those of others. Every one, for example, believes that his own existence had a beginning, and was not eternal, and he believes the same both of other men and other things. Many of our beliefs in regard to religious matters, again, have reference not merely to other men, but to angels also. But hope has for its object only what is good, only what is future, and only what affects the man who entertains the hope. For these reasons, then, faith must be distinguished from hope, not merely as a matter of verbal propriety, but because they are essentially different. The fact that we do not see either what we believe or what we hope for,

^ Lucan, Paars. ii. 15. 2 Virgil, ^neid, iv. 419.

is all that is common to faith and hope. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, faith is defined (and eminent defenders of the catholic faith have used the definition as a standard) "the evidence of things not seen." Although, should any one say that he believes, that is, has grounded his faith, not on words, nor on witnesses, nor on any reasoning whatever, but on the direct evidence of his own senses, he would not be guilty of such an impropriety of speech as to be justly liable to the criticism, "You saw,
therefore you did not believe." And hence it does not follow that an object of faith is not an object of sight. But it is better that we should use the word " faith " as the Scriptures have taught us, applying it to those things which are not seen. Concerning hope, again, the apostle says: " Hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." ^

When, then, we believe that good is about to come, this is nothing else but to hope for it. Now what shall I say of love?

"Without it, faith profits nothing; and in its absence, hope cannot exist. The Apostle James says: " The devils also believe, and tremble," ^ that is, they, having neither hope nor love, but believing that what we love and hope for is about to come, are in terror. And so the Apostle Paul approves and commends the " faith that worketh by love;" * and this certainly cannot exist without hope. Wherefore there is no love without hope, no hope without love, and neither love nor hope without faith. M

Chap. ix. â€” IVJiat we are to believe. In regard to nature it is not necessary for the Christian to know more than that the goodness of the Creator is the cause of all things. M

When, then, the question is asked what we are to believe in' regard to religion, it is not necessary to probe into the nature of things, as was done by those whom the Greeks call physici; nor need we be in alarm lest the Christian should be ignorant of the force and number of the elements, â€” the motion, and order, and eclipses of the heavenly bodies; the form of the heavens; the species and the natures of animals, plants, stones,

1 Heb. xi. 1. 2 Kom. viii. 24, 25.

^ Jas. ii. 19. â™¦ Gal. v. 6.

CHAP, XI.] THE NATURE OF EVIL. 181

fountains, rivers, mountains; about chronology and distances; the signs of coming storms; and a thousand other tilings which those philosopthers either have found out, or think they have found out. For even these men themselves, endowed though they are with so much genius, burning with zeal, abounding in leisure, tracking some tilings by the aid of human conjecture, searching into others with the aids of history and experience, have not found out all things; and even their boasted discoveries are oftener mere guesses than certain knowledge. It is enough for the Christian to believe that the only cause of all created things, whether heavenly or earthly, whether visible or invisible, is the goodness of the Creator, the one true God; and that nothing exists but Himself that does not derive its existence from Him; and that He is the Trinity â€” to wit, the Father, and the Son
begotten of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceeding from the same Father, but one and the same Spirit of Father and Son.

Chap. x. ‘The supremely good Creator made all things good.

By the Trinity, thus supremely and equally and unchangeably good, all things were created; and these are not supremely and equally and unchangeably good, but yet they are good, even taken separately. Taken as a whole, however, they are very good, because their ensemble constitutes the universe in all its wonderful order and beauty.

Chap. xi. ‘What is called evil in the universe is but the absence of good.

And in the universe, even that which is called evil, when it is regulated and put in its own place, only enhances our admiration of the good; for we enjoy and value the good more when we compare it with the evil. For the Almighty God, who, as even the heathen acknowledge, has supreme power over all things, being Himself supremely good, would never permit the existence of anything evil among His works, if He were not so omnipotent and good that He can bring good even out of evil. For what is that which we call evil but the absence of good? In the bodies of animals, disease and wounds mean nothing but the absence of health; for when a cure is effected, that does not mean that the evils which were present

182 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XII.

‘namely, the diseases and wounds go away from the body and dwell elsewhere: they altogether cease to exist; for the wound or disease is not a substance, but a defect in the fleshly substance, the flesh itself being a substance, and therefore something good, of which those evils that is, privations of the good which we call health are accidents. Just in the same way, what are called vices in the soul are nothing but privations of natural good. And when they are cured, they are not transferred elsewhere: when they cease to exist in the healthy soul, they cannot exist anywhere else.

Chap. xii. ‘All beings were made good, but not being made perfectly good, are liable to corruption.

All things that exist, therefore, seeing that the Creator of them all is supremely good, are themselves good. But because they are not, like their Creator, supremely and unchangeably good, their good may be diminished and increased. But for good to be diminished is an evil, although, however much it may be diminished, it is necessary, if the being is to continue, that some good should remain to constitute the being. For however small or of whatever kind the being may be, the good which makes it a being cannot be destroyed without destroying the being itself. An uncorrupted nature is justly held in esteem. But if, still further, it be incorruptible, it is undoubtedly considered of still higher value. When it is corrupted, however, its corruption is an evil, because it is
deprived of some sort of good. For if it be deprived of no good, it receives no injury; but it does receive injury, therefore it is deprived of good. Therefore, so long as a being is in process of corruption, there is in it some good of which it is being deprived; and if a part of the being should remain which cannot be corrupted, this will certainly be an incorruptible being, and accordingly the process of corruption will result in the manifestation of this great good. But if it do not cease to be corrupted, neither can it cease to possess good of which corruption may deprive it. But if it should be thoroughly and completely consumed by corruption, there will then be no good left, because there will be no being. Wherefore corruption can consume the good only by consuming the being. Every being, therefore, is a good; a great good, if it cannot be cor-

CHAP. XIII. | EVIL ALWAYS CO-EXISTS WITH GOOD. 183

rupted; a little good, if it can: but in any case, only the foolish or ignorant will deny that it is a good. And if it be wholly consumed by corruption, then the corruption itself must cease to exist, as there is no being left in which it can dwell.

Chap. xiii. â€” There can be no evil where there is no good; and an evil man is an evil good.

Accordingly, there is nothing of what we call evil, if there be nothing good. But a good which is wholly without evil is a perfect good. A good, on the other hand, which contains evil is a faulty or imperfect good; and there can be no evil where there is no good. From all this we arrive at the curious result: that since every being, so far as it is a being, is good, when we say that a faulty being is an evil being, we just seem to say that what is good is evil, and that nothing but what is good can be evil, seeing that every being is good, and that no evil can exist except in a being. Nothing, then, can be evil except something which is good. And although this, when stated, seems to be a contradiction, yet the strictness of reasoning leaves us no escape from the conclusion. We must, however, beware of incurring the prophetic condemnation: " Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil:" And yet our Lord says: " An evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil."^ Now, what is an evil man but an evil being ? for a man is a being. Now, if a man is a good thing because he is a being, what is an evil man but an evil good ? Yet, when we accurately distinguish these two things, we find that it is not because he is a man that he is an evil, or because he is wicked that he is a good; but that he is a good because he is a man, and an evil because he is wicked. Whoever, then, says, " To be a man is an evil," or, "To be wicked is a good," falls under the prophetic denunciation: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil !" For he condemns the work of God, which is the man, and praises the defect of man, which is the wickedness. Therefore every being, even if it be a defective one, in so far as it is a being is good, and in so far as it is defective is evil.
Chap. xiv. â€” Good and evil are an exception to the rule that contrary attributes cannot be predicated of the same subject. Evil springs up in what is good, and cannot exist except in what is good.

Accordingly, in the case of these contraries which we call good and evil, the rule of the logicians, that two contraries cannot be predicated at the same time of the same thing, does not hold. No weather is at the same time dark and bright: no food or drink is at the same time sweet and bitter: no body is at the same time and in the same place black and white: none is at the same time and in the same place deformed and beautiful. And this rule is found to hold in regard to many, indeed nearly all, contraries, that they cannot exist at the same time in any one thing. But although no one can doubt that good and evil are contraries, not only can they exist at the same time, but evil cannot exist without good, or in anything that is not good. Good, however, can exist without evil. For a man or an angel can exist without being wicked; but nothing can be wicked except a man or an angel: and so far as he is a man or an angel, he is good; so far as he is wicked, he is an evil. And these two contraries are so far co-existent, that if good did not exist in what is evil, neither could evil exist; because corruption could not have either a place to dwell in, or a source to spring from, if there were nothing that could be corrupted; and nothing can be corrupted except what is good, for corruption is nothing else but the destruction of good. From what is good, then, evils arose, and except in what is good they do not exist; nor was there any other source from which any evil nature could arise. For if there were, then, in so far as this was a being, it was certainly a good: and a being which was incorruptible would be a great good; and even one which was corruptible must be to some extent a good, for only by corrupting what was good in it could corruption do it harm.

Chap. xv. â€” The preceding argument is in no wise inconsistent with the saying of our Lord: "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit."

But when we say that evil springs out of good, let it not be thought that this contradicts our Lord's saying: "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit." For, as He who is the Truth
CHAP. XVI] THE CAUSES OF GOOD AKT) EVIL. 185

says, you cannot gather grapes of thorns/ because grapes do not grow on thorns. But we see that on good soil both vines and thorns may be grown. And in the same way, just as an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, so an evil will cannot produce good works. But from the nature of man, which is good, may spring either a good or an evil will. And certainly there was at first no source from w^hich an evil will could spring, except the nature of angel or of man, which was good.

And our Lord Himself clearly shows this in the very same place where He speaks about the tree and its fruit. For He says: " Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt,"^ â€” clearly enough warning us that evil fruits do not grow on a good tree, nor good fruits on an evil tree; but that nevertheless the ground itself, by which He meant those whom He was then addressing, might grow either kind of trees.

Chap. xvi. â€” It is not essential to man's hamminess that he should know the causes of physical convulsions, but it is, that he should know the causes of good and evil.

Now, in view of these considerations, when we are pleased with that line of Maro, " Happy the man who has attained to the knowledge of the causes of things,"^ we should not suppose that it is necessary to happiness to know the causes of the great physical convulsions, causes which lie hid in the most secret recesses of nature's kingdom, " whence comes the earthquake whose force makes the deep seas to swell and burst their barriers, and again to return upon themselves and settle down."^* But we ought to know the causes of good and evil as far as man may in this life know them, in order to avoid the mistakes and troubles of which this life is so full.

For our aim must always be to reach that state of happiness in which no trouble shall distress us, and no error mislead us. If we must know the causes of physical convulsions, there are none which it concerns us more to know than those which affect our own health. But seeing that, in our ignorance of these, we are fain to resort to physicians, it would seem that we might bear with considerable patience our ignorance of the secrets that lie hid in the earth and heavens.

"Matt. vii. 16. =Matt. xii. 33. ^virgil, Georrjics, ii. 4'JO. ^ lb.

186 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XVII.

Chap. xvii. â€” The nature of error. All error is not hurtful, though it is man's duty as far as possible to avoid it.
For although we ought with the greatest possible care to avoid error, not only in great but even in little things, and although we cannot err except through ignorance, it does not follow that, if a man is ignorant of a thing, he must forthwith fall into error. That is rather the fate of the man who thinks he knows what he does not know. For he accepts what is false as if it were true, and that is the essence of error. But it is a point of very great importance what the subject is in regard to which a man makes a mistake. For on one and the same subject we rightly prefer an instructed man to an ignorant one, and a man who is not in error to one who is.

In the case of different subjects, however, that is, when one man knows one thing, and another a different thing, and when what the former knows is useful, and what the latter knows is not so useful, or is actually hurtful, who would not, in regard to the things the latter knows, prefer the ignorance of the former to the knowledge of the latter?

For there are points on which ignorance is better than knowledge. And in the same way, it has sometimes been an advantage to depart from the right way, in travelling, however, not in morals.

It has happened to myself to take the wrong road where two ways met, so that I did not pass by the place where an armed band of Donatists lay in wait for me. Yet I arrived at the place whither I was bent, though by a roundabout route; and when I heard of the ambush, I congratulated myself on my mistake, and gave thanks to God for it. Now, who would not rather be the traveller who made a mistake like this, than the highwayman who made no mistake? And hence, perhaps, it is that the prince of poets puts these words into the mouth of a lover in misery: "How I am undone, how I have been carried away by an evil error!" for there is an error which is good, as it not merely does no harm, but produces some actual advantage. But when we look more closely into the nature of truth, and consider that to err is just to take the false for the true, and the true for the false, or to hold what is certain as uncertain, and what is uncertain as certain, and that error in the soul is hideous and repulsive just in proportion as it appears fair and plausible when we utter it, or assent to it, saying, "Yea, yea; Nay, nay," surely this life that we live is wretched indeed, if only on this account, that sometimes, in order to preserve it, it is necessary to fall into error. God forbid that such should be that other life, where truth itself is the life of the soul, where no one deceives, and no one is deceived. But here men deceive and are deceived, and they are more to be pitied when they lead others astray than when they are themselves led astray by putting trust in liars. Yet so much does a rational soul shrink from what is false, and so earnestly does it struggle against error, that even those who love to deceive are most unwilling to be deceived. For the liar does not think that he errs, but that, he leads another who trusts him into error. And certainly he does not err in regard to the matter about which he lies, if he himself knows the truth; but he is deceived in this, that he thinks his lie does him no harm, whereas every sin is more hurtful to the sinner than to the sinned against.
Chap, xvii. â€“ It is never allowable to tell a lie; but lies differ very much in guilt, according to the intention and the subject.

But here arises a very difficult and very intricate question, about which I once wrote a large book, finding it necessary to give it an answer. The question is this: whether at any time it can become the duty of a good man to tell a lie? For some go so far as to contend that there are occasions on which it is a good and pious work to commit perjury even, and to say what is false about matters that relate to the worship of God, and about the very nature of God Himself. To me, however, it seems certain that every lie is a sin, though it makes a great difference with what intention and on what subject one lies. For the sin of the man who tells a lie to help another is not so heinous as that of the man who tells a lie to injure another; and the man who by his lying puts a traveller on the wrong road, does not do so much harm as the man who by false or misleading representations distorts the whole course of a life. No one, of course, is to be condemned as a liar who says what is false, believing it to be true, because such an one does not consciously deceive, but rather is himself deceived. And, on the same principle, a man is not to be accused of lying, though he may sometimes be open to the charge of rashness, if through carelessness he takes up what is false and holds it as true; but, on the other hand, the man who says what is true, believing it to be false, is, so far as his own consciousness is concerned, a liar. For in saying what he does not believe, he says what to his own conscience is false, even though it should in fact be true; nor is the man in any sense free from lying who with his mouth speaks the truth without knowing it, but in his heart wills to tell a lie. And, therefore, not looking at the matter spoken of, but solely at the intention of the speaker, the man who unwittingly says what is false, thinking all the time that it is true, is a better man than the one who unwittingly says what is true, but in his conscience intends to deceive. For the former does not think one thing and say another; but the latter, though his statements may be true in fact, has one thought in his heart and another on his lips: and that is the very essence of lying. But when we come to consider truth and falsehood in respect to the subjects spoken of, the point on which one deceives or is deceived becomes a matter of the utmost importance. For although, as far as a man's own conscience is concerned, it is a greater evil to deceive than to be deceived, nevertheless it is a far less evil to tell a lie in regard to matters that do not relate to religion, than to be led into error in regard to matters the knowledge and belief of which are essential to the right worship of God. To illustrate this by example: Suppose that one man should say of some one who is dead that he is still alive, knowing this to be untrue; and that another man should, being deceived, believe that Christ shall at the end of some time (make the time as long as you please) die; would it not be incomparably better to lie like the former, than to be deceived like the latter?
and would it not be a much less evil to lead some man into the former error, than to be led by any man into the latter?

Chap. xix. “Men's errors vary very much in the magnitude of the evils they produce; but yet every error is in itself an evil.

In some things, then, it is a great evil to be deceived; in some it is a small evil; in some no evil at all; and in some

CH.Vr. XIX.] EREOR ALWAYS AN EVIL. 189

it is an actual advantage. It is to his grievous injury that a man is deceived when he does not believe what leads to eternal life, or believes what leads to eternal death. It is a small evil for a man to be deceived, when, by taking falsehood for truth, he brings upon himself temporal annoyances; for the patience of the believer will turn even these to a good use, as when, for example, taking a bad man for a good, he receives injury from him. But one who believes a bad man to be good, and yet suffers no injury, is nothing the worse for being deceived, nor does he fall under the prophetic denunciation:

" Woe to those who call evil good! " ^ For we are to understand that this is spoken not about evil men, but about the things that make men evil. Hence the man who calls adultery good, falls justly under that prophetic denunciation. But the man who calls the adulterer good, thinking him to be chaste, and not knowing him to be an adulterer, falls into no error in regard to the nature of good and evil, but only makes a mistake as to the secrets of human conduct. He calls the man good on the ground of believing him to be what is undoubtedly good; he calls the adulterer evil, and the pure man good; and he calls this man good, not knowing him to be an adulterer, but believing him to be pure. Further, if by making a mistake one escape death, as I have said above once happened to me, one even derives some advantage from one's mistake. But when I assert that in certain cases a man may be deceived without any injury to himself, or even with some advantage to himself, I do not mean that the mistake in itself is no evil, or is in any sense a good; I refer only to the evil that is avoided, or the advantage that is gained, through making the mistake. For the mistake, considered in itself, is an evil: a great evil if it concern a great matter, a small evil if it concern a small matter, but yet always an evil. For who that is of sound mind can deny that it is an evil to receive what is false as if it were true, and to reject what is true as if it were false, or to hold what is uncertain as certain, and what is certain as uncertain? But it is one thing to think a man good when he is really bad, which is a mistake; it is another thing to suffer no viler injury in consequence of

1 Isa. V. 20.
the mistake, supposing that the bad man whom we think good inflicts no damage upon us. In the same way, it is one thing to think that we are on the right road when we are not; it is another thing when this mistake of ours, which is an evil, leads to some good, such as saving us from an ambush of wicked men.

Chap. xx. Every error is not a sin. An examination of the opinion of the Academic philosophers, that to avoid error we should in all cases suspend belief.

I am not sure whether mistakes such as the following, when one forms a good opinion of a bad man, not knowing what sort of man he is; or when, instead of the ordinary perceptions through the bodily senses, other appearances of a similar kind present themselves, which we perceive in the spirit, but think we perceive in the body, or perceive in the body, but think we perceive in the spirit (such a mistake as the Apostle Peter made when the angel suddenly freed him from his chains and imprisonment, and he thought he saw a vision); or when, in the case of sensible objects themselves, we mistake rough for smooth, or bitter for sweet, or think that putrid matter has a good smell; or when we mistake the passing of a carriage for thunder; or mistake one man for another, the two being very much alike, as often happens in the case of twins (hence our great poet calls it "a mistake pleasing to parents"), whether these, and other mistakes of this kind, ought to be called sins. Nor do I now undertake to solve a very knotty question, which perplexed those very acute thinkers, the Academic philosophers: whether a wise man ought to give his assent to anything, seeing that he may fall into error by assenting to falsehood: for all things, as they assert, are either unknown or uncertain. Now I wrote three volumes shortly after my conversion, to remove out of my way the objections which lie, as it were, on the very threshold of faith. And assuredly it was necessary at the very outset to remove this utter despair of reaching truth, which seems to be strengthened by the arguments of these philosophers. Now in their eyes every error is regarded as a sin, and they think that error can only be avoided by entirely suspending belief. For they say that the man who assents to what is uncertain

1 Acts xii. 9. 2 Virgil, Æn. x. 392.

CHAP. XXI.] EBROR NOT ALWAYS SIN. 191

falls into error; and they strive by the most acute, but most audacious arguments, to show that, even though a man's opinion should by chance be true, yet that there is no certainty of its truth, owing to the impossibility of distinguishing truth from falsehood. But with us, "the just shall live by faith."
Now, if assent be taken away, faith goes too; for without assent there can be no belief. And there are truths, whether we know them or not, which must be believed if we would attain to a happy life, that is, to eternal life. But I am not sure whether one ought to argue with men who not only do not know that there is an eternal life before them, but do not know whether they are living at the present moment; nay, say that they do not know what it is impossible they can be ignorant of. For it is impossible that any one should be ignorant that he is alive, seeing that if he be not alive it is impossible for him to be ignorant; for not knowledge merely, but ignorance too, can be an attribute only of the living. But, forsooth, they think that by not acknowledging that they are alive they avoid error, when even their very error proves that they are alive, since one who is not alive cannot err. As, then, it is not only true, but certain, that we are alive, so there are many other things both true and certain; and God forbid that it should ever be called wisdom, and not the height of folly, to refuse assent to these.

Chap. xxi. Æ’” Error, though not always a sin, is always an evil. But as to those matters in regard to which our belief or disbelief, and indeed their truth or supposed truth or falsity, are of no importance whatever, so far as attaining the kingdom of God is concerned: to make a mistake in such matters is not to be looked on as a sin, or at least as a very small and trifling sin. In short, a mistake in matters of this kind, whatever its nature and magnitude, does not relate to the way of approach to God, which is the faith of Christ that " worketh by love."^ For the " mistake pleasing to parents " in the case of the twin children was no deviation from this way; nor did the Apostle Peter deviate from this way, when, thinking that he saw a vision, he so mistook one thing for another, that, till the iRom. i. 17. *Gal. V. 6.

192 THE ENCHIEIDIOiV. [CHAP. XXII.

angel who delivered him had departed from him, he did not distinguish the real objects among which he was moving from the visionary objects of a dream;^ nor did the patriarch Jacob deviate from this way, when he believed that his son, who was really alive, had been slain by a beast.^^ In the case of these and other false impressions of the same kind, we are indeed deceived, but our faith in God remains secure. We go astray, but we do not leave the way that leads us to Him. But yet these errors, though they are not sinful, are to be reckoned among the evils of this life, which is so far made subject to vanity, that we receive what is false as if it were true, reject what is true as if it were false, and cling to what is uncertain as if it were certain. And although they do not trench upon that true and certain faith through which we reach eternal blessedness, yet they have much to do with that misery in which we are now living. And assuredly, if we were now in the enjoyment of the true and perfect happiness that lies before us, we should not be subject to any deception through any sense, whether of body or of mind.

Chap. xxii. Æ” A lie is not allowable, even to save another from injury. But every lie must be called a sin, because not only when a man knows the truth, but even when, as a man may be, he is mistaken and deceived, it is his duty to say what he thinks
in his heart, whether it be true, or whether he only think it to be true. But every liar says the opposite of what he thinks in his heart, with purpose to deceive. Now it is evident that speech was given to man, not that men might therewith deceive one another, but that one man might make known his thoughts to another. To use speech, then, for the purpose of deception, and not for its appointed end, is a sin. Nor are we to suppose that there is any lie that is not a sin, because it is sometimes possible, by telling a lie, to do service to another. For it is possible to do this by theft also, as when we steal from a rich man who never feels the loss, to give to a poor man who is sensibly benefited by what he gets. And the same can be said of adultery also, when, for instance, some woman appears likely to die of love unless we consent to her

\[\text{Acts xii. 9-11. 2 Gen. xix. 33.}\]

CHAP. XXIV.] SUMMARY OF KESULTS. 103

â– wishes, while if she lived she might piu-ifify herself by repentance; but yet no one will assert that on this account such an adultery is not a sin. And if we justly place so high a value upon chastity, what offence have we taken at truth, that, while no prospect of advantage to another will lead us to violate the former by adultery, we should be ready to violate the latter by lying? It cannot be denied that they have attained a very high standard of goodness who never lie except to save a man from injury; but in the case of men who have reached this standard, it is not the deceit, but their good intention, that is justly praised, and sometimes even rewarded. It is quite enough that the deception should be pardoned, without its being made an object of laudation, especially among the heirs of the new covenant, to whom it is said: "Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." And it is on account of this evil, which never ceases to creep in while we retain this mortal vesture, that the co-heirs of Christ themselves say, "Forgive us our debts."

Chap, xxiii. â€” Summary of the results of the preceding discussion.

As it is right that we should know the causes of good and evil, so much of them at least as will suffice for the way that leads us to the kingdom, where there will be life without the shadow of death, truth without any alloy of error, and happiness unbroken by any sorrow, I have discussed these subjects with the brevity which my limited space demanded. And I think there cannot now be any doubt, that the only cause of any good that we enjoy is the goodness of God, and that the only cause of evil is the falling away from the unchangeable good of a being made good but changeable, first in the case of an angel, and afterwards in the case of man.

Chap. xxiv. â€” The secondary causes of evil are ignorance and last.

, This is the first evil that befell the intelligent creation â€”
that is, its first privation of good. Following upon this crept
in, and now even in opposition to man's will, ignorance of
duty, and lust after what is hurtful: and these brought in their

^ Matt. V. 37. 2 jiatt. vi. 12.

ENCHIPw N

194 THE ENCHIPJDIO^^ [chap. XXVI.

train error and suffering, which, when they are felt to be imminent, produce that
shrinking of the mind which is called fear. Further, when the mind attains the objects of
its desire, however hurtful or empty they may be, error prevents it from perceiving their
true nature, or its perceptions are overborne by a diseased appetite, and so it is puffed up
with b, foolish joy. From these fountains of evil, which spring out of defect rather than
superfluity, flows every form of misery that besets a rational nature.

Chap. xxv,â€”God's judgments upon fallen men and angels. The death of the body is
man's peculiar punishment.

And yet such a nature, in the midst of all its evils, could not lose the craving after
happiness. Now the evils I have mentioned are common to all who for their wickedness
have been justly condemned by God, whether they be men or angels.
But there is one form of punishment peculiar to man â€” the death of the body. God had
threatened him with this punishment of death if he should sin,^ leaving him indeed to the
freedom of his own will, but yet commanding his obedience under pain of death; and He
placed him amid the happiness of Eden, as it were in a protected nook of life, with the
intention that, if he preserved his righteousness, he should thence ascend to a better place.

Chap. xxvi. â€” Through Adam's sin his whole posterity were corrupted, and were born
under the penalty of death, which he had incurred.

Thence, after his sin, he was driven into exile, and by his sin the whole race of which he
was the root was corrupted in him, and thereby subjected to the penalty of death. And so
it happens that all descended from him, and from the woman who had led him into sin,
and was condemned at the same time with him, â€” being the ofl"spring of carnal lust on
which the same punishment of disobedience was visited, â€” were tainted with the
original sin, and were by it drawn through divers errors and sufferings into that last and
endless punishment which they suffer in common with the fallen angels, their corrupters
and masters, and the partakers of their doom. And thus " by one man sin entered into the
world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have
sinned. By the world the apostle, of course, means in this place the whole human race.

Chap. xxvii. The state of misery to which Adam's sin reduced mankind, and the restoration effected through the mercy of God.

Thus, then, matters stood. The whole mass of the human race was under condemnation, was lying steeped and wallowing in misery, and was being tossed from one form of evil to another, and, having joined the faction of the fallen angels, was paying the well-merited penalty of that impious rebellion.

For whatever the wicked freely do through blind and unbridled lust, and whatever they suffer against their will in the way of open punishment, this all evidently pertains to the just wrath of God. But the goodness of the Creator never fails either to supply life and vital power to the wicked angels (without which their existence would soon come to an end); or, in the case of mankind, who spring from a condemned and corrupt stock, to impart form and life to their seed, to fashion their members, and through the various seasons of their life, and in the different parts of the earth, to quicken their senses, and bestow upon them the nourishment they need. For He judged it better to bring good out of evil, than not to permit any evil to exist. And if He had determined that in the case of men, as in the case of the fallen angels, there should be no restoration to happiness, would it not have been quite just, that the being who rebelled against God, who in the abuse of his freedom spurned and transgressed the command of his Creator when he could so easily have kept it, who defaced in himself the image of his Creator by stubbornly turning away from His light, who by an evil use of his free-will broke away from his wholesome bondage to the Creator's laws, would it not have been just that such a being should have been wholly and to all eternity deserted by God, and left to suffer the everlasting punishment he had so richly earned? Certainly so God would have done, had He been only just and not also merciful, and had He not designed that His unmerited mercy should shine forth the more brightly in contrast with the unworthiness of its objects.

1 Eom. V. 12.

196 THE ENCHIPJDIION. [CHAP. XXIX.

Chap. xxviii. When the rebellious angels were cast out, the rest remained in the enjoyment of eternal happiness with God.
Whilst some of the angels, then, in their pride and impiety rebelled against God, and were cast down from their heavenly abode into the lowest darkness, the remaining number dwelt with God in eternal and unchanging purity and happiness. For all were not sprung from one angel who had fallen and been condemned, so that they were not all, like men, involved by one original sin in the bonds of an inherited guilt, and so made subject to the penalty which one had incurred; but when he, who afterwards became the devil, was with his associates in crime exalted in pride, and by that very exaltation was with them cast down, the rest remained steadfast in piety and obedience to their Lord, and obtained, what before they had not enjoyed, a sure and certain knowledge of their eternal safety, and freedom from the possibility of fall.

Chap. xxix. Æ” The restored part of humanity shall, in accordance ivith the promises of God, succeed to the place which the rebellious angels lost.

And so it pleased God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, that, since the whole body of the angels had not fallen into rebellion, the part of them which had fallen should remain in perdition eternally, and that the other part, which had in the rebellion remained steadfastly loyal, should rejoice in the sure and certain knowledge of their eternal happiness; but that, on the other hand, mankind, who constituted the remainder of the intelligent creation, having perished without exception under sin, both original and actual, and the consequent punishments, should be in part restored, and should fill up the gap which the rebellion and fall of the devils had left in the company of the angels. For this is the promise to the saints, that at the resurrection they shall be equal to the angels of God. And thus the Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of us all, the city of God, shall not be spoiled of any of the number of her citizens, shall perhaps reign over even a more abundant population. We do not know the number either of the saints or of the devils; but we know that the children of the holy mother who was called barren on earth shall succeed to the place of the fallen

1 Luke XX. 36.

CHAr. XXX.] MAX SAVED BY GRACE. 197

angels, and shall dwell for ever in that peaceful abode from which they fell. But the number of the citizens, whether as it now is or as it shall be, is present to the thoughts of the great Creator, who calls those things which be not as though they were, and ordereth all things in measure, and number, and weight.

ChaP; sxx. Æ” Men are not saved by good works, nor by the free determination of their own will, but by the grace of God through faith.

But this part of the human race to which God has promised pardon and a share in His eternal kingdom, can they be restored through the merit of their own works ? God forbid.
For what good work can a lost man perform, except so far as he has been delivered from perdition? Can they do anything by the free determination of their own will? Again I say, God forbid. For it was by the evil use of his free-will that man destroyed both it and himself. For, as a man who kills himself must, of course, be alive when he kills himself, but after he has killed himself ceases to live, and cannot restore himself to life; so, when man by his own free-will sinned, then sin being victorious over him, the freedom of his will was lost. "For of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage." This is the judgment of the Apostle Peter. And as it is certainly true, what kind of liberty, I ask, can the bond-slave possess, except when it pleases him to sin? For he is freely in bondage who does with pleasure the will of his master. Accordingly, he who is the servant of sin is free to sin. And hence he will not be free to do right, until, being freed from sin, he shall begin to be the servant of righteousness. And this is true liberty, for he has pleasure in the righteous deed; and it is at the same time a holy bondage, for he is obedient to the will of God.

But whence comes this liberty to do right to the man who is in bondage and sold under sin, except he be redeemed by Him who has said, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed"? And before this redemption is wrought in a man, when he is not yet free to do what is right, how can he talk of the freedom of his will and his good works, except he be inflated by that foolish pride of boasting which the apostle restrain "when lie says, "By grace are ye saved, through faith."!

Chap. xxxi. ä¬” Faith itself is the gift of God; and good ic07Jcs will not icantlnj in those loho believe.

And lest men should arrogate to themselves the merit of their own faith at least, not understanding that this too is the gift of God, this same apostle, who says in another place that he had "obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful," here also adds: "and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast." And lest it should be thought that good works will be wanting in those who believe, he adds further: "For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."" We shall be made truly free, then, when God fashions us, that is, forms and creates us anew, not as men ä¬” for He has done that already ä€” but as good men, which His grace is now doing, that we may be a new creation in Christ Jesus, according as it is said: "Create in me a clean heart, God." For God had already created his heart, so far as the physical structure of the human heart is concerned; but the psalmist prays for the renewal of the life which was still lingering in his heart.
Chap. xxxir. â€” The freedom of the will is also the gift of God, for God worketh in us both to will and to do.

And further, should any one be inclined to boast, not indeed of his works, but of the freedom of his will, as if the first merit belonged to him, this very liberty of good action being given to him as a reward he had earned, let him listen to this same preacher of grace, when he says: "For it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of His own good pleasure;" and in another place: "So, then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." Now as, undoubtedly, if a man is of the age to use his reason, he cannot believe, hope, love, unless he will to do so, nor obtain the prize of the high calling of God unless he voluntarily run for it; in what sense is it "not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," except that, as it is written, "the preparation of the heart is from the Lord"? Otherwise, if it is said, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," because it is of both, that is, both of the will of man and of the mercy of God, so that we are to understand the saying, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," as if it meant the will of man alone is not sufficient, if the mercy of God go not with it, â€” then it will follow that the mercy of God alone is not sufficient, if the will of man go not with it; and therefore, if we may rightly say, "it is not of man that willeth, but of God that showeth mercy," because the will of man by itself is not enough, why may we not also rightly put it in the converse way: "It is not of God that showeth mercy, but of man that willeth," because the mercy of God by itself does not suffice? Surely, if no Christian will dare to say this, "It is not of God that showeth mercy, but of man that willeth," lest he should openly contradict the apostle, it follows that the true interpretation of the saying, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; but of God that showeth mercy," is that the whole work belongs to God, who both makes the will of man righteous, and thus prepares it for assistance, and assists it when it is prepared. For the man's righteousness of will precedes many of God's gifts, but not all; and it must itself be included among those which it does not precede. We read in Holy Scripture, both that God's mercy "shall prevent me," and that His mercy "shall follow me." It prevents the unwilling to make him willing; it follows the willing to make his will effectual. Why are we taught to pray for our enemies, who are plainly unwilling to lead a holy life, unless that God may work willingness in them? And why are we ourselves taught to ask that we may receive,
unless that He who has created in us the wish, may Himself satisfy the wish? We pray, then, for our enemies, that the mercy of God may prevent them, as it has prevented us: we pray for ourselves that His mercy may follow us.

' Prov. xvi. 1, 2 pg 2jx. 10. ∗ Ps. xxiii. 6.


200 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CIIAP. XXXIIIT.

Chap, xxxiii. â€” Men, being by nature the children of wrath, needed a Mediator. In what sense God is said to be angry.

And so the human race was lying under a just condemnation, and all men were the children of wrath. Of which wrath it is written: " All our days are passed away in Thy wrath; we spend our years as a tale that is told." ∗ Of which wrath also Job says: " Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble." ∗ Of which wrath also the Lord Jesus says: " He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." ∗ He does not say it will come, but it " abideth on him." For every man is born with it; wherefore the apostle says: " We were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." ∗ Now, as men were lying under this wrath by reason of their original sin, and as this original sin was the more heavy and deadly in proportion to the number and magnitude of the actual sins which were added to it, there was need for a Mediator, that is, for a reconciler, who, by the offering of one sacrifice, of which all the sacrifices of the law and the prophets were types, should take away this wrath. Wherefore the apostle says: " For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life." ∗ Now when God is said to be angry, we do not attribute to Him such a disturbed feeling as exists in the mind of an angry man; but we call His just displeasure against sin by the name " anger," a word transferred by analogy from human emotions. But our being reconciled to God through a Mediator, and receiving the Holy Spirit, so that we who were enemies are made sons (" For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God " ∗): this is the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Chap, xxxiv. â€” The ineffable mystery of the birth of Christ the Mediator through the Virgin Mary.

' Now of this Mediator it would occupy too much space to

1 Ps. xc. 9. 2 Job xiv. 1,
3 Jolin iii. 36. These words, attributed by the author to Christ, were really spoken by John the Baptist.


CHAP. XXXY.] THE BIRTH OF CHRIST. 201

say anything at all worthy of Him; and^ indeed, to say what is worthy of Him is not in the power of man. For who will explain in consistent words this single statement, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," ^ so that we may believe on the only Son of God the Father Almighty, born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary ? The meaning of the Word being made flesh, is not that the divine nature was changed into flesh, but that the divine nature assumed our flesh. And by "flesh" we are here to understand "man," the part being put for the whole, as when it is said: "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified," ^ that is, no man.

For we must believe that no part was wanting in that human nature which He put on, save that it was a nature wholly free from every taint of sin, â€” not such a nature as is conceived between the two sexes through carnal lust, which is born in sin, and whose guilt is washed away in regeneration; but such as it behoved a virgin to bring forth, when the mother's faith, not her lust, was the condition of conception. And if her virginity had been marred even in bringing Him forth. He would not have been born of a virgin; and it would be false

(which God forbid) that He was born of the Virgin Mary, as is believed and declared by the whole Church, which, in imitation of His mother, daily brings forth members of His body, and yet remains a virgin. Eead, if you please, my letter on the virginity of the holy Mary which I sent to that eminent man, whose name I mention with respect and affection, Volusianus.^

Chap. xxxv. â€” Jesiis Christ, being the only Son of God, is at the same time vian.

Wherefore Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is both God and man; God before all worlds; man in our world: God, because the Word of God (for " the Word was God " ^); and man, because in His one person the Word was joined with a body and a rational soul.
Wherefore, so far as He is God, He and the Father are one; so far as He is man, the Father is greater than He. For when He was the only Son of God, not by grace, but by nature, that He might be also full of grace, He became the Son of man; and He Himself unites both natures

1 John i. 14, 2 poni. iii. 20. ^ j;p_ i^j^ 4 j^j^^ ^ j^
in His own identity, and both natures constitute one Christ; because, "being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be," what He was by nature, "equal with God." ^

But He made Himself of no repitition, and took upon Himself the form of a servant, not losing or lessening the form of God.

And, accordingly. He was both made less and remained equal, being both in one, as has been said: but He was one of these as Word, and the other as man. As Word, He is equal with the Father; as man, less than the Father. One Son of God, and at the same time Son of man; one Son of man, and at the same time Son of God; not two Sons of God, God and man, but one Son of God: God without beginning; man with a beginning, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chap, xxxvi. â€” The grace of God is clearly and remarkably displayed in raising the man Christ Jesus to the dignity of the Son of God. Now here the grace of God is displayed with the greatest power and clearness. For what merit had the human nature in the man Christ earned, that it should in this unparalleled way be taken up into the unity of the person of the only Son of God? What goodness of will, what goodness of desire and intention, what good works, had gone before, which made this man worthy to become one person with God? Had He been a man previously to this, and had He earned this unprecedented reward, that He should be thought worthy to become God? Assuredly nay; from the very moment that He began to be man. He was nothing else than the Son of God, the only Son of God, the Word who was made flesh, and therefore He was God; so that just as each individual man unites in one person a body and a rational soul, so Christ in one person unites the Word and man. Now wherefore was this unheard of glory conferred on human nature, â€” a glory which, as there was no antecedent merit, was of course wholly of grace, â€” except that here those who looked at the matter soberly and honestly might behold a clear manifestation of the power of God's free grace, and might understand that they are justified from their sins by the same grace which made the man Christ Jesus free from the possibility of sin? And so the angel, when he announced to Christ's mother the coming birth, saluted her

1 Phil. ii. 6.

CHAP. XXXVII.] CHRIST BOEN OF THE HOLY SrIRIT, 203

thus: "Hail, thou that art full of grace; " ^ and shortly afterwards, "Thou hast found grace with God." ^ Now she was said to be full of grace, and to have found grace with God, because she was to be the mother of her Lord, nay, of the Lord of all flesh. But, speaking of Christ Himself, the evangelist John, after saying, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," adds, "and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." ^

When he says, "The Word was made flesh," this is "full of grace; " when he says, "the glory of the only-begotten of the Father," this is "full of truth." For the Truth Himself, who was the only-begotten of the Father, not by grace, but by nature, by grace took our
liumanity upon Him, and so united it with His own person that He HimseK became also the Son of man.

Chap, xxxvii. â€” The same grace is further clearly manifested in this, that the birth of Christ according to the flesh is of the Holy Ghost.

For the same Jesus Christ who is the only-begotten, that is, the only Son of God, our Lord, was born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary. And we know that the Holy Spirit is the gift of God, the gift being Himself indeed equal to the Giver. And therefore the Holy Spirit also is God, not inferior to the Father and the Son. The fact, therefore, that the nativity of Christ in His human nature was by the Holy Spirit, is another clear manifestation of grace. For when the Virgin asked the angel how this which he had announced should be, seeing she knew not a man, the angel answered, " The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." * And when Joseph was minded to put her away, suspecting her of adultery, as he knew she was not with child by himself, he was told by the angel, " Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost:"^ that is, what thou suspectest to be begotten of another man is of the Holy Ghost.

2 John i. 14. â€¢â€¢ Luke i. 35. ' Matt. i. 20.

204 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XXXVIII.

Chap, xxxviii. â€” Jesus Christ, according to the flesh, was not horn of the Holy Spirit in such a sense that the Holy Spirit is His father.

Nevertheless, are we on this account to say that the Holy Ghost is the father of the man Christ, and that as God the Father begat the Word, so God the Holy Spirit begat the man, and that these two natures constitute the one Christ; and that as the Word He is the Son of God the Father, and as man the Son of God the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit as His father begat Him of the Virgin Mary ? Who will dare to say so ? Nor is it necessary to show by reasoning how many other absurdities flow from this supposition, when it is itself so absurd that no believer's ears can bear to hear it. Hence, as we confess, " Our Lord Jesus Christ, who of God is God, and as man was born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, having both natures, the divine and the human, is the only Son of God the Father Almighty, from whom proceedeth the Holy Spirit."^ Now in what sense do we say that Christ was born of the Holy Spirit, if the Holy Spirit did not beget Him ? Is it that He made Him, since our Lord Jesus Christ, though as God " all things were made by Him," ^ yet as man was Himself made; as the apostle says, " who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh " ^ ? ^ But as that created thing which the Virgin conceived and brought forth, though it was united only to the person of the Son, was made by the whole
Trinity (for the works of the Trinity are not separable), why should the Holy Spirit alone be mentioned as having made it? Or is it that, when one of the Three is mentioned as the author of any work, the whole Trinity is to be understood as working? That is true, and can be proved by examples. But we need not dwell longer on this solution. For the puzzle is, in what sense it is said, "born of the Holy Ghost," when He is in no sense the Son of the Holy Ghost?

For though God made this world, it would not be right to say that it is the Son of God, or that it was born of God; we would say that it was created, or made, or framed, or ordered by Him, or whatever form of expression we can properly use.

^ A quotation from a form of the Apostles' Creed anciently in use in the Latin Church. 2 John i. 3. ' Kom. i. 3.

CHAP. XL.] CHRIST NOT THE SON OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. 205

Here, then, when we make confession that Christ was born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, it is difficult to explain how it is that He is not the Son of the Holy Ghost and is the Son of the Virgin Mary, when He was born both of Him and of her. It is clear beyond a doubt that He was not born of the Holy Spirit as His father, in the same sense that He was born of the Virgin as His mother.

Chap, xxxix. â€“ Not evenjthing that is born of another is to be called a son of that other.

We need not therefore take for granted, that whatever is born of a thing is forthwith to be declared the son of that thing. For, to pass over the fact that a son is born of a man in a different sense from that in which a hair or a louse is born of him, neither of these being a son; to pass over this, I say, as too mean an illustration for a subject of so much importance: it is certain that those who are born of water and of the Holy Spirit cannot with propriety be called sons of the wâ€”ater, though they are called sons of God the Father, and of the Church their mother. In the same way, then. He who was born of the Holy Spirit is the Son of God the Father, not of the Holy Spirit. For what I have said of the hair and the other things is sufficient to show us that not everything which is born of another can be called the son of that of which it is born, just as it does not follow that all who are called a man's sons were born of him, for some sons are adopted. And some men are called sons of hell, not as being born of heU, but as prepared for it, as the sons of the kingdom are prepared for the kingdom.

Chap, „i,. â€“ Christ's hirth through the Holy Spirit manifests to us the grace of God.

And, therefore, as one thing may be born of another, and yet not in such a way as to be its son, and as not every one who is called a son was born of him whose son he is called, it is clear that this arrangement by which Christ was born of the Holy Spirit, but not as His
son, and of the Virgin Mary as her son, is intended as a manifestation of the grace of God. For it was by this grace that a man, without any antecedent merit, was at the very commencement of His existence as man, so united in one person with the Word of

206 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XLI.

God, that the very person who was Son of man was at the same time Son of God, and the very person who was Son of God was at the same time Son of man; and in the adoption of His human nature into the divine, the grace itself became in a way so natural to the man, as to leave no room for the entrance of sin. Wherefore this grace is signified by the Holy Spirit; for He, though in His own nature God, may also be called the gift of God. And to explain all this sufficiently, if indeed it could be done at all, would require a very lengthened discussion.

Chap. xli. â€” Christ, who ivas Himself free from sin, teas made sin for us, that iwe might be reconciled to God.

Begotten and conceived, then, without any indulgence of carnal lust, and therefore bringing with Him no original sin, and by the grace of God joined and united in a wonderful and unspeakable way in one person with the Word, the Onlybegotten of the Father, a son by nature, not by grace, and therefore having no sin of His own; nevertheless, on account of the likeness of sinful flesh in which He came. He was called sin, that He might be sacrificed to wash away sin. For, under the Old Covenant, sacrifices for sin were called sins.\(^1\)

And He, of whom all these sacrifices were types and shadows, was Himself truly made sin. Hence the apostle, after saying, " We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God," forthwith adds: " for He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."\(^2\) He does not say, as some incorrect copies read, " He who knew no sin did sin for us," as if Christ had Himself sinned for our sakes; but he says, " Him who knew no sin," that is, Christ, God, to whom we are to be reconciled, " hath made to be sin for us," that is, hath made Him a sacrifice for our sins, by which we might be reconciled to God. He, then, being made sin, just as we are made righteous (our righteousness being not our own, but God's, not in ourselves, but in Him); He being made sin, not His own, but ours, not in Himself, but in us, showed, by the likeness of sinful flesh in which He was crucified, that though sin was not in Him, yet that in a certain sense He died to

1 Hos. iv. 8. 2 2 Cor. v. 20, 21.

CHAP. XLIV.] TveGEXERATION AND BAPTIS::!. 207
sin, by dying in the flesh which was the likeness of sin; and that although He Himself had never lived the old life of sin, yet by His resurrection He typified our new life springing up out of the old death in sin.

Chap. xlii. ã€” The sacrament of baptism indicates our death with Christ to sin, and our resurrection with Him to newness of life.

And this is the meaning of the great sacrament of baptism which is solemnized among us, that all who attain to this grace should die to sin, as He is said to have died to sin, because He died in the flesh, which is the likeness of sin; and rising from the font regenerate, as He arose alive from the grave, should begin a new life in the Spirit, whatever may be the age of the body.

Chap. xliii. ã€” Baptism and the grace which it typifies are open to all, both infants and adults.

For from the infant newly born to the old man bent with age, as there is none shut out from baptism, so there is none who in baptism does not die to sin. But infants die only to original sin; those who are older die also to all the sins which their evil lives have added to the sin which they brought with them.

Chap. xliii. ã€” In speaking of sin, the singular number is often put for the plural, and the plural for the singular.

But even these latter are frequently said to die to sin, though undoubtedly they die not to one sin, but to all the numerous actual sins they have committed in thought, word, or deed: for the singular number is often put for the plural, as when the poet says, "They fill its belly with the armed soldier."^ though in the case here referred to there were many soldiers concerned. And we read in our own Scriptures: "Pray to the Lord, that He take away the serpent from us."^ He does not say serpents, though the people were suffering from many; and so in other cases. When, on the other hand, the original sin is expressed in the plural number, as when we say that infants are baptized for the remission of sins, instead of saying for the remission of sin, this is the converse figure of speech, by which the plural number is

^ "Utemmque armato milite complent." ã€” Yikgil, uEn. ii. 20.
* Kum. xxi. 7 ("serpents," A.V.).
put in place of the singular; as in the Gospel it is said of the death of Herod, "for they are dead which sought the young child's life," ^ instead of saying, "he is dead." And in Exodus: "They have made them," Moses says, "gods of gold,"^ though they had made only one calf, of which they said: "These be thy gods, Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," ^ â€” here, too, putting the plural in place of the singular.

Chap. xlv. â€” In Adam's first sin, many kinds of sin were involved.

However, even in that one sin, which " by one man entered into the world, and so passed upon all men,"* and on account of which infants are baptized, a number of distinct sins may be observed, if it be analyzed as it were into its separate elements. For there is in it pride, because man chose to be under his own dominion, rather than under the dominion of God; and blasphemy, because he did not believe God; and murder, for he brought death upon himself; and spiritual fornication, for the purity of the human soul was corrupted by the seducing blandishments of the serpent; and theft, for man turned to his own use the food he had been forbidden to touch; and avarice, for he had a craving for more than should have been sufficient for him; and whatever other sin can be discovered on careful reflection to be involved in this one admitted sin.

Chap. xlvii. â€” It is probable that children are involved in the guilt not only of the first pair, but of their own immediate parents.

And it is said, with much appearance of probability, that
infants are involved in the guilt of the sins not only of the first air, but of their own immediate parents. For that divine judgment, "I shall visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children,"* certainly applies to them before they come under the new covenant by regeneration. And it was this new covenant that was prophesied of, when it was said by Ezeldel, that the sons should not bear the iniquity of the fathers, and that it should no longer be a proverb in Israel, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."* Here lies the necessity that each man should be born again, that he might be freed from the sin in which he was born. For the sins committed afterwards can be cured by penitence, as we see is the case after baptism. And therefore the new birth would not have been appointed only that the first birth was sinful, so sinful that even one who was legitimately born in wedlock says: "I was shapen in iniquities, and in sins did my mother conceive me."* He did not say in iniquity, or in sin, though he might have said so correctly; but he preferred to say "iniquities" and "sins," because in that one sin which passed upon all men, and which was so great that human nature was by it made subject to inevitable death, many sins, as I showed above, may be discriminated; and further, because there are other sins of the immediate parents, which, though they have not the same effect in producing a change of nature, yet subject the children to guilt unless the divine grace and mercy interpose to rescue them.

*Rom. V. 12. *Ex. xx. 5; Deut. v. 9.

CHAP. XLVII. ORIGINAL SIN. 209

teeth are set on edge."* Here lies the necessity that each man should be born again, that he might be freed from the sin in which he was born. For the sins committed afterwards can be cured by penitence, as we see is the case after baptism. And therefore the new birth would not have been appointed only that the first birth was sinful, so sinful that even one who was legitimately born in wedlock says: "I was shapen in iniquities, and in sins did my mother conceive me."* He did not say in iniquity, or in sin, though he might have said so correctly; but he preferred to say "iniquities" and "sins," because in that one sin which passed upon all men, and which was so great that human nature was by it made subject to inevitable death, many sins, as I showed above, may be discriminated; and further, because there are other sins of the immediate parents, which, though they have not the same effect in producing a change of nature, yet subject the children to guilt unless the divine grace and mercy interpose to rescue them.

Chap. xlvi. â€” It is difficult to decide toliether the sins of a man's other progenitors are imputed to him.

But about the sins of the other progenitors who intervene between Adam and a man's own parents, a question may very well be raised. Whether every one who is born is involved in all their accumulated evil acts, in all their multiplied original guilt, so that the later he
is born, so much the worse is his condition; or whether God threatens to visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations, because in His mercy He does not extend His wrath against the sins of the progenitors further than that, lest those who do not obtain the grace of regeneration might be crushed down under too heavy a burthen if they were compelled to bear as original guilt all the sins of all their progenitors from the very beginning of the human race, and to pay the penalty due to them; or whether any other solution of this great question may or may not be found in Scripture by a more diligent search and a more careful interpretation, I dare not rashly affirm.

' Ezek. xviii. 2.

* Ps. li. 5 (The A.V. lias the singular, " iniquity " and "sin ").

ENCHIR.

210 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XLVIII.

Chap. xlviii. â€” The guilt of the first sin is so great that it can he washed away only in the blood of the Mediator, Jesus Christ.

Nevertheless, that one sin, admitted into a place where such perfect happiness reigned, was of so heinous a character, that in one man the whole human race was originally, and as one may say, radically, condemned; and it cannot be pardoned and blotted out except through the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who only has had power to be so born as not to need a second birth.

Chap. xlix. â€” Christ was not regenerated in the baptism of John, but submitted to it to give us an example of humility, just as He submitted to death, not as the punishment of sin, but to take away the sin of the world.

Now, those who were baptized in the baptism of John, by whom Christ was Himself baptized,^ were not regenerated; but they were prepared through the ministry of His forerunner, who cried, " Prepare ye the way of the Lord," ^ for Him in whom only they could be regenerated. For His baptism is not with water only, as was that of John, but with the Holy Ghost also; ^ so that whoever believes in Christ is regenerated by that Spirit, of whom Christ being generated, He did not need regeneration. Whence that announcement of the Father which was heard after His baptism, " This day have I begotten Thee,"^ referred not to that one day of time on which He was baptized, but to the one day of an unchangeable eternity, so as to show that this man was one in person with the Only-begotten. For when a day neither begins with the close of yesterday, nor ends with the beginning of to-morrow, it is an eternal to-day. Therefore He asked to be baptized in water by John, not that any iniquity of His might be washed away, but that He might manifest the depth of His humility.
For baptism found in Him nothing to wash away, as death found in Him nothing to
punish; so that it was in the strictest justice, and not by the mere violence of power, that
the devil was crushed and conquered: for, as he had most unjustly put Christ to death,
though there was no sin in Him to deserve death, it was most just that through Christ he

> Matt. iii. 13-15. ^j]latt. iii. 3. ^jlatt. iii. 11.

* Ps. ii. 7; Heb. i. 5, v. 5. It is by a mistake that Angixstine quotes these words as
pronounced at our Lord's baptism.

CILVr. LII.] CHRIST TAKES AWAY SIN. 211

should lose Ins hold of those who by sin were justly subject to the bondage in which he
held them. Both of these, then, that is, both baptism and death, were submitted to by Him,
not through a pitiable necessity, but of His own free pity for us, and as part of an
arrangement by which, as one man brought sin into the world, that is, upon the whole
human race, so one man was to take away the sin of the world.

Chap. l. â€” Christ took away not only the one original sin, but all the other sins that have
been added to it.

With this difference: the first man brought one sin into the world, but this man took away
not only that one sin, but all that He found added to it. Hence the apostle says:
" And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to
condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification."^ Tor it is evident
that the one sin which we bring with us by na
ture would, even if it stood alone, bring us
under condemnation; but the free gift justifies man from many offences: for each man, in
addition to the one sin which, in common with all his kind, he brings with him by nature,
has committed many sins that are strictly his own.

Chap. li. â€” All. men horn of Adam are under condemnation, and only if new horn in
Christ are freed from condemnation.

But what he says a little after, "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon
all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all
men unto justification of life,"^ shows clearly enough that there is no one born of Adam
but is subject to condemnation, and that no one, unless he be new born in Christ, is freed
from condemnation.

Chap. lii. â€” In baptism, which is the similitude of the death and resurrection of Christ,
all, both infants and adults, die to sin that they may walk in newness of life.

And after he has said as much about the condemnation
through one man, and the free gift through one man, as he
deemed sufficient for that part of his epistle, the apostle goes
on to speak of the great mystery of holy baptism in the cross
of Christ, and to clearly explain to us that baptism in Christ
1 Rom. V. 16. 2 Kom. v. 18.

212 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LII.
is nothing else than a similitude of the death of Christ, and that the death of Christ on the
cross is nothing but a similitude of the pardon of sin: so that just as real as is His death, so
real is the remission of our sins; and just as real as is His resurrection, so real is our
justification. He says:
" What shall we say, then ? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?"^ For he
had said previously, "But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound."^ And
therefore he proposes to himself the question, whether it would be right to continue in sin
for the sake of the consequent abounding grace. But he answers, " God forbid; " and
adds,
" How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein ? "
Then, to show that we are dead to sin, " Know ye not," he says, " that so many of us as
were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death ? " If, then, the fact that we
were baptized into the death of Christ proves that we are dead to sin, it follows that even
infants who are baptized into Christ die to sin, being baptized into His death. For there is
no exception made: " So many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized
into His death." And this is said to prove that we are dead to sin. Now, to what sin do
infants die in their regeneration but that sin which they bring with them at birth ? And
therefore to these also applies what follows: " Therefore we are buried with Him by
baptism into death; that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the
Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted
together in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection:
knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be -
destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin.
Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him: knowing that
Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over
Him.
For in that He died, He died unto sin once; but in that He liveth. He liveth unto God.
Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God
through Jesus Christ our Lord." Now he had commenced with proving

1 Eora. vi. 1. - Rom. v. 20.
that we must not continue in sin that grace may abound, and had said: "How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein?" And to show that we are dead to sin, he added:
"Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death?" And so he concludes this whole passage just as he began it. For he has brought in the death of Christ in such a way as to imply that Christ Himself also died to sin. To what sin did He die if not to the flesh, in which there was not sin, but the likeness of sin, and which was therefore called by the name of sin? To those who are baptized into the death of Christ, then, â€”and this class includes not adults only, but infants as well, â€”he says: "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord."^ 

Chat. liii. â€” Christ's cross and burial, resurrection, ascension, and sitting down at the right hand of God, are images of the Christian life.

All the events, then, of Christ's crucifixion, of His burial, of His resurrection the third day, of His ascension into heaven, of His sitting down at the right hand of the Father, were so ordered, that the life which the Christian leads here might be modelled upon them, not merely in a mystical sense, but in reality. For in reference to His crucifixion it is said: "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts."^ And in reference to His burial: "We are buried with Him by baptism into death."^ In reference to His resurrection: "That, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."^ And in reference to His ascension into heaven and sitting down at the right hand of the Father:
"If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God."^ 

Chap. liv. â€” Christ's second coming does not belong to the past, but will take place at the end of the world.

But what we believe as to Christ's action in the future, when He shall come from heaven to judge the quick and the dead,

1 Rom. vi. 1-11. 2 Gal. y. 24. 3 Rom. vi. 4.

4 Rom. vL 5, * Col. iii. 1-3.
has no bearing upon the life which we now lead here; for it forms no part of what He did upon earth, but is part of what He shall do at the end of the world. And it is to this that the apostle refers in what immediately follows the passage quoted above: " When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory."^  

Chap. lv. â€“ The expression, " Christ shall judge the quick and the dead," may he understood in either of two senses.

ISTow the expression, " to judge the quick and the dead," may be interpreted in two ways: either we may understand by the " quick " those who at His advent shall not yet have died, but whom He shall find alive in the flesh, and by the " dead " those who have departed from the body, or who shall have departed before His coming; or we may understand the " quick " to mean the righteous, and the " dead " the unrighteous; for the righteous shall be judged as well as others.

Now the judgment of God is sometimes taken in a bad sense, as, for example, " They that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment;"^ sometimes in a good sense, as, " Save me, God, by Thy name, and judge me by Thy strength."^ This is easily understood when we consider that it is the judgment of God which separates the good from the evil, and sets the good at His right hand, that they may be delivered from evil, and not destroyed with the wicked; and it is for this reason that the Psalmist cried, " Judge me, God," and then added, as if in explanation, " and distinguish my cause from that of an ungodly nation."^  

Chap. lvi. â€“ The Holy Spirit and the Church. The Church is the temple of God.

And now, having spoken of Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord, with the brevity suitable to a confession of our faith, we go on to say that we believe also in the Holy Ghost,^ thus completing the Trinity which constitutes the Godhead.

Then we mention the Holy Church. And thus we are made to understand that the intelligent creation, which constitutes the free Jerusalem,^ ought to be subordinate in the order of
speech to the Creator, the Supreme Trinity: for all that is said of the man Christ Jesus has reference, of course, to the unity of the person of the Only-begotten. Therefore the true order of the Creed demanded that the Church should be made subordinate to the Trinity, as the house to Him who dwells in it, the temple to God who occupies it, and the city to its builder. And we are here to understand the whole Church, not that part of it only which wanders as a stranger on the earth, praising the name of God from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, and singing a new song of deliverance from its old captivity; but that part also which has always from its creation remained steadfast to God in heaven, and has never experienced the misery consequent upon a fall. This part is made up of the holy angels, who enjoy uninterrupted happiness; and (as it is bound to do) it renders assistance to the part which is still wandering among strangers: for these two parts shall be one in the fellowship of eternity, and now they are one in the bonds of love, the whole having been ordained for the worship of the one God.

Wherefore, neither the whole Church, nor any part of it, has any desire to be worshipped instead of God, nor to be God to any one who belongs to the temple of God â€” that temple which is built up of the saints who were created by the uncreated God. And therefore the Holy Spirit, if a creature, could not be the Creator, but would be a part of the intelligent creation. He would simply be the highest creature, and therefore would not be mentioned in the Creed before the Church; for He Himself would belong to the Church, to that part of it which is in the heavens. And He would not have a temple, for He Himself would be part of a temple. Now He has a temple, of which the apostle says: "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?" Of which body he says in another place: "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?" How, then, is He not God, seeing that He has a temple? and how can He be less than Christ, whose members are His temple? Nor has He one temple, and God another, seeing that the same apostle says: "Know ye not
that ye are the temple of God?"[^4] and adds, as proof of this, "and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."[^5] God, then, dwells in His temple: not the Holy Spirit only, but the Father also, and the Son, who says of His own body, through which He was made Head of the Church upon earth ("that in all things He might have the pre-eminence"[^6]): "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."[^7] The temple of God, then, that is, of the Supreme Trinity as a whole, is the Holy Church, embracing in its full extent both heaven and earth.

Chap. lvii. Â€” The condition of the Church in heaven.

But of that part of the Church which is in heaven what can we say, except that no wicked one is found in it, and that no one has fallen from it, or shall ever fall from it, since the time that "God spared not the angels that sinned," as the Apostle Peter writes "but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment"[^8]?

Chap. lviii. Â€” We have no certain knowledge of the organization of the angelic society.

Now, what the organization is of that supremely happy society in heaven: what the differences of rank are, which explain the fact that while all are called by the general name angels, as we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "But to which of the angels said God at any time. Sit on my right hand?"[^9] (this form of expression being evidently designed to embrace all the angels without exception), we yet find that there are some called archangels; and whether the archangels are the same as those called hosts, so that the expression, "Praise ye Him, all His angels: praise ye Him, all His hosts,"[^10] is the same as if it had been said, "Praise ye Him, all His angels: praise ye Him, all His archangels;"[^11] and what are the various significations of those four names under which the apostle seems to embrace the whole heavenly company without exception, "whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: "[^12] let those who are able answer

1 1 Cor. iii. IG. M Qq[^13] jij, ig_ s CqI i_ is. * John ii. 19.

5 2 Pet. ii. 4. Â« Heb. i. 13. ^ Ps. cxlviii. 2. Â» Col, i, 16.

CHAP. LX.] THE ANGELS. 217

these questions, if they can also prove their answers to be true; but as for me, I confess my ignorance. I am not even certain upon this point: whether the sun, and the moon, and all the stars, do not form part of this same society, though many consider them merely luminous bodies, without either sensation or intelligence.
Chap. lix. “The bodies assumed by angels raise a very difficult, and not very useful, subject of discussion.

Further, who will tell with what sort of bodies it was that the angels appeared to men, making themselves not only visible, but tangible; and again, how it is that, not through material bodies, but by spiritual power, they present visions not to the bodily eyes, but to the spiritual eyes of the mind, or speak something not into the ear from without, but from within the soul of the man, they themselves being stationed there too, as it is written in the prophet, "And the angel that spake in me said unto me" (he does not say, "that spake to me," but "that spake in me"); or appear to men in sleep, and make communications through dreams, as we read in the Gospel, "Behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying"? ^Por these methods of communication seem to imply that the angels have not tangible bodies, and make it a very difficult question to solve how the patriarchs "washed their feet," and how it was that Jacob wrestled with the angel in a way so unmistakeably material.* To ask questions like these, and to make such guesses as we can at the answers, is a useful exercise for the intellect, if the discussion be kept within proper bounds, and if we avoid the error of supposing ourselves to know what we do not know. For what is the necessity for affirming, or denying, or defining with accuracy on these subjects, and others like them, when we may without blame be entirely ignorant of them?

Chap. lx. “It is more necessary to be able to detect the wiles of Satan when he transforms himself into an angel of light.

It is more necessary to use all our powers of discrimination and judgment when Satan transforms himself into an angel of light.

â€Œ Zech. i. 9 ("The angel that talked with me," A.V.).

2 Matt. i. 20. 3 Gen. xviii. 4, xLx. 2. * Gen. xxxii. 2i, 25.

218 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LXI.

light/ lest by his wiles he should lead us astray into hurtful courses. For, while he only deceives the bodily senses, and does not pervert the mind from that true and sound judgment which enables a man to lead a life of faith, there is no danger to religion; or if, feigning himself to be good, he does or says the things that befit good angels, and we believe him to be good, the error is not one that is hurtful or dangerous to Christian faith. But when, through these means, which are alien to his nature, he goes on to lead us into courses of his own, then great watchfulness is necessary to detect, and refuse to follow, him. But how many men are fit to evade all his deadly wiles, unless God restrains and watches over them? The very difficulty of the matter, however, is useful in this respect, that it prevents men from trusting in themselves or in one another, and leads all to place
their confidence in God alone. And certainly no pious man can doubt that this is most expedient for us.

Chap. lxi. â€” The Church on earth has been redeemed from sin by the blood of a Mediator.

This part of the Church, then, which is made up of the holy angels and the hosts of God, shall become known to us in its true nature, when, at the end of the world, we shall be united with it in the common possession of everlasting happiness. But the other part, which, separated from it, wanders as a stranger on the earth, is better known to us, both because we belong to it, and because it is composed of men, and we too are men. This section of the Church has been redeemed from all sin by the blood of a Mediator who had no sin, and its song is: "If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all." Now it was not for the angels that Christ died. Yet what was done for the redemption of man through His death was in a sense done for the angels, because the enmity which sin had put between men and the holy angels is removed, and friendship is restored between them, and by the redemption of man the gaps which the great apostasy left in the angelic host are filled up.

2 Cor. xi. 11. 2 Piom. viii. 31.

I

CHAP. LXIII. ] EEDEMPTION AND THE ANGELS. 219

Chap. lxii. â€” By the sacrifice of Christ all things are restored, and peace is made between earth and heaven.

And, of course, the holy angels, taught by God, in the eternal contemplation of whose truth their happiness consists, know how great a number of the human race are to supplement their ranks, and fill up the full tale of their citizenship. Wherefore the apostle says, that "all things are gathered together in one in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth." The things which are in heaven are gathered together when what was lost therefrom in the fall of the angels is restored from among men; and the things which are on earth are gathered together, when those who are predestined to eternal life are redeemed from their old corruption. And thus, through that single sacrifice in which the Mediator was offered up, the one sacrifice of which the many victims under the law were types, heavenly things are brought into peace with earthly things, and earthly things with heavenly. Wherefore, as the same apostle says: "For it pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell: and, having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to
reconcile all things to Himself: by Him, I say, whether they be things in earth or things in heaven."

Chap. lxiii, â€” TJiejoeace of God, which reigneth in heaven, passetJi all understanding.

This peace, as Scripture saith, "passeth all understanding," and cannot be laiown by us until we have come into the full possession of it. For in what sense are heavenly things reconciled, except they be reconciled to us, viz. by coming into harmony with us? For in heaven there is unbroken peace, both between all the intelligent creatures that exist there, and between these and their Creator. And this peace, as is said, passeth all understanding; but this, of course, means our understanding, not that of those who always behold the face of their Father. We now, however great may be our human understanding, know but in part, and see through a glass darkly.* But when we shall be equal unto the angels of God,^ then we shall see face to face, as they do; and we

1 Eph. i. 10. 2 Col. i. 19, 20. Â» p]^Q_ iy_ 7,

* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. ^ L^^^g ^x. 36.

220 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LXIV.

shall have as great peace towards them as they have towards us, because we shall love them as much as we are loved by them. And so their peace shall be known to us: for our own peace shall be like to theirs, and as great as theirs, nor shall it then pass our understanding. But the peace of God, the peace which He cherisheth towards us, shall undoubtedly pass not our understanding only, but theirs as well. And this must be so: for every rational creature which is happy derives its happiness from Him; He does not derive His from it. And in this view it is better to interpret "all " in the passage, " The peace of God passeth all understanding," as admitting of no exception even in favour of the understanding of the holy angels: the only exception that can be made is that of God Himself For, of course, His peace does not pass His own understanding.

Chap. lxiv. â€” Pardon of sin extends over the whole mortal life of the saints, which, though free from crime, is not free from sin.

But the angels even now are at peace with us when our sins are pardoned. Hence, in the order of the Creed, after the mention of the Holy Church is placed the remission of sins. For it is by this that the Church on earth stands: it is through this that what had been lost, and was found, is saved from being lost again. For, setting aside the grace of baptism, which is given as an antidote to original sin, so that what our birth imposes upon us, our new birth relieves us from (this grace, however, takes away all the actual sins also that have been committed in thought, word, and deed): setting aside, then, this great act of favour, whence commences man's restoration, and in 'Yliich all our guilt, both original and actual, is washed away,
the rest of our life from the time that we have the use of reason provides constant 
ocasion for the remission of sins, however great may be our advance in righteousness. 
For the sons of God, as long as they live in this body of death, are in conflict with death. 
And although it is truly said of them, " As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are 
the sons of God,"^ yet they are led by the Spirit of God, and as the sons of God advance 
towards God under this drawback, that they are led also by their own spirit,


CHAP. LXVI.] PENITENCE AND PAEDON. 221

weighted as it is by the corruptible body; ^ and that, as the sons of men, under the 
influence of human affections, they fall back to their old level, and so sin. There is a 
difference, however. For although every crime is a sin, every sin is not a crime. And so 
we say that the life of holy men, as long as they remain in this mortal body, may be found 
without crime; but, as the Apostle John says, " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive 
ourselves, and the truth is not in us."^ 

Chap. lsv. â€” God pardons sins, but on condition of penitence, certain times for which 
have been fixed by the law of the Church.

But even crimes themselves, however great, may be remitted in the Holy Church; and the 
mercy of God is never to be despaired of by men who truly repent, each according to the 
measure of his sin. And in the act of repentance, where a crime has been committed of 
such a nature as to cut off the sinner from the body of Christ, we are not to take account 
so much of the measure of time as of the measure of sorrow; for a broken and a contrite 
heart God doth not despise.^ But as the grief of one heart is frequently hid from another, 
and is not made known to others by words or other signs, when it is manifest to Him of 
whom it is said, " My groaning is not hid from Thee,"* those who govern the Church 
have rightly appointed times of penitence, that the Church in which the sins are remitted 
may be satisfied; and outside the Church sins are not remitted. For the Church alone has 
received the pledge of the Holy Spirit, without which there is no remission of sins â€” 
such, at least, as brings the pardoned to eternal life.

Chap. lxvi. â€” The pardon of sin has reference chiefly to the future judgment.

Now the pardon of sin has reference chiefly to the future judgment. For, as far as this life 
is concerned, the saying of Scripture holds good: " A heavy yoke is upon the sons of 
Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother’s womb, till the day that they return 
to the mother of all things." ^ 
So that we see even infants, after baptism and regeneration, suffering from the infliction 
of divers evils: and thus we are

1 Wisd. ix. 15. 2 1 jojzn {_ 3. a Ps. li. 17.
given to understand, that all that is set forth in the sacraments of salvation refers rather to the hope of future good, than to the retaining or attaining of present blessings. For many sins seem in this world to be overlooked and visited with no punishment, whose punishment is reserved for the future (for it is not in vain that the day when Christ shall come as Judge of quick and dead is peculiarly named the day of judgment); just as, on the other hand, many sins are punished in this life, which nevertheless are pardoned, and shall bring down no punishment in the future life. Accordingly, in reference to certain temporal punishments, which in this life are visited upon sinners, the apostle, addressing those whose sins are blotted out, and not reserved for the final judgment, says: "For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world."  

Chap. lxvii. â€” Faith without works is dead, and cannot save a man.

It is believed, moreover, by some, that men who do not abandon the name of Christ, and who have been baptized in the Church by His baptism, and who have never been cut off from the Church by any schism or heresy, though they should live in the grossest sin, and never either wash it away in penitence nor redeem it by almsgiving, but persevere in it persistently to the last day of their lives, shall be saved by fire; that is, that although they shall suffer a punishment by fire, lasting for a time proportionate to the magnitude of their crimes and misdeeds, they shall not be punished with everlasting fire. But those who believe this, and yet are Catholics, seem to me to be led astray by a kind of benevolent feeling natural to humanity. For Holy Scripture, when consulted, gives a very different answer. I have written a book on this subject, entitled Of Faith and Works, in which, to the best of my ability, God assisting me, I have shown from Scripture, that the faith which saves us is that which the Apostle Paul clearly enough describes when he says: "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love."  

But if it worketh evil, and

1 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.  2 Qal. v. 6..
Paul means when he says, "But he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire;" then faith without works can save a man, and what his fellow- apostle James says must be false. And that must be false which Paul himself says in another place: "Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." For if those who persevere in these wicked courses shall nevertheless be saved on account of their faith in Christ, how can it be true that they shall not inherit the kingdom of God?

Chap. lxviii. â€” The true sense of the passage (1 Cor. iii. 11-15) about those who are saved, yet so as by fire.

But as these most plain and unmistakeable declarations of the apostles cannot be false, that obscure saying about those who build upon the foundation, Christ, not gold, silver, and precious stones, but wood, hay, and stubble (for it is these who, it is said, shall be saved, yet so as by fire, the merit of the foundation saving them), must be so interpreted as not to conflict with the plain statements quoted above. Now wood, hay, and stubble may, without incongruity, be understood to signify such an attachment to worldly things, however lawful these may be in themselves, that they cannot be lost without grief of mind. And though this grief burns, yet if Christ hold the place of foundation in the heart, â€” that is, if nothing be preferred to Him, and if the man, though burning with grief, is yet more willing to lose the things he loves so much than to lose Christ, â€” he is saved by fire. If, however, in time of temptation, he prefer to hold by temporal and earthly things rather than by Christ, he has not Christ as his foundation; for he puts earthly things in the first place, and in a building

1 Jas. ii. 17. 2 Jas. ii. 14. *1 Cor. iii. 15.

* 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. * 1 Cor. iii. 11-15.

224 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LXIX.

nothing comes before the foundation. Again, the fire of which the apostle speaks in this place must he such a fire as both men are made to pass through, that is, both the man who builds upon the foundation gold, silver, precious stones, and the man who builds wood, hay, stubble. For he immediately adds: "The fire shall try every man's work; of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." The fire then shall prove, not the work of one of them only, but of both. Now the trial of adversity is a kind of fire which is plainly spoken of in another place: "The furnace proveth the potter's vessels: and the furnace of adversity just men." And this fire does in the course of this life act exactly in the way the apostle says. If it come into contact with two believers, one "caring for the things that belong to the Lord, how he
may please the Lord," ^ that is, building upon Christ the foundation, gold, silver, precious stones; the other " caring for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife,"* that is, building upon the same foundation wood, hay, stubble, â€” the work of the former is not burned, because he has not given his love to things whose loss can cause him grief; but the work of the latter is burned, because things that are enjoyed with desire cannot be lost without pain. But since, by our supposition, even the latter prefers to lose these things rather than to lose Christ, and since he does not desert Christ out of fear of losing them, though he is grieved when he does lose them, he is saved, but it is so as by fire; because the grief for what he loved and has lost burns him. But it does not subvert nor consume him; for he is protected by his immoveable and incorruptible foundation.

Chap. lxix. â€” It is not impossible tliat some believers may pass through a purgatorial fire in the future life.

And it is not impossible that something of the same kind may take place even after this life. It is a matter that may be inquired into, and either ascertained or left doubtful,

â€œ 1 Cor. iii. 13-15. ^ Ecclus. xxvii. 5, ii. 5.

3 1 Cor. vii. 32. * 1 Cor. vii. 33.

CHAP, lxx[1] purgatory. 225

whether some believers shall pass through a kind of purgatorial fire, and in proportion as they have loved with more or less devotion the goods that perish, be less or more quickly delivered from it. This cannot, however, be the case of any of those of whom it is said, that they " shall not inherit the kingdom of God," ^ unless after suitable repentance their sins be forgiven them. When I say " suitable," I mean that they are not to be unfruitful in almsgiving; for Holy Scripture lays so much stress on this virtue, that our Lord tells us beforehand, that He will ascribe no merit to those on His right hand but that they abound in it, and no defect to those on His left hand but their want of it, when He shall say to the former, " Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom," and to the latter, " Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." '

Chap. lxx. â€” Almsgiving will not atone for sin zinless the life be changed.

We must beware, however, lest any one should suppose that gross sins, such as are committed by those who shall not inherit the kingdom of God, may be daily perpetrated, and daily atoned for by almsgiving. The life must be changed for the better; and almsgiving must be used to propitiate God for past sins, not to purchase impunity for the commission of such sins in the future. For He has given no man licence to sin,^ although in His mercy He may blot out sins that are already committed, if we do not neglect to make proper satisfaction.
The daily prayer of the believer makes satisfaction for the trivial sins that daily stain his life.

Now the daily prayer of the believer makes satisfaction for those daily sins of a momentary and trivial kind which are necessary incidents of this life. For he can say, "Our Father which art in heaven," seeing that to such a Father he is now born again of water and of the Spirit. And this prayer certainly takes away the very small sins of daily life. It takes away also those which at one time made the life of the believer very wicked, but which, now that he is changed for repentance, he has given up, provided that as truly as he says, "Forgive us our debts" (for there is no want of debts to be forgiven), so truly does he say, "as we forgive our debtors;" that is, provided he does what he says he does: for to forgive a man who asks for pardon, is really to give alms.

And on this principle of interpretation, our Lord's saying, "Give alms of such things as ye have, and, behold, all things are clean unto you," applies to every useful act that a man does in mercy. Not only, then, the man who gives food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, hospitality to the stranger, shelter to the fugitive, who visits the sick and the imprisoned, ransoms the captive, assists the weak, leads the blind, comforts the sorrowful, heals the sick, puts the wanderer on the right path, gives advice to the perplexed, and supplies the wants of the needy, not this man only, but the man who pardons the sinner also gives alms; and the man who corrects with blows, or restrains by any kind of discipline one over whom he has power, and who

226 THE ENCHIJDION. [CHAP. LXXII.

Chap. lxxi. The daily prayer of the believer makes satisfaction for the trivial sins that daily stain his life.

Now the daily prayer of the believer makes satisfaction for those daily sins of a momentary and trivial kind which are necessary incidents of this life. For he can say, "Our Father which art in heaven," seeing that to such a Father he is now born again of water and of the Spirit. And this prayer certainly takes away the very small sins of daily life. It takes away also those which at one time made the life of the believer very wicked, but which, now that he is changed for repentance, he has given up, provided that as truly as he says, "Forgive us our debts" (for there is no want of debts to be forgiven), so truly does he say, "as we forgive our debtors;" that is, provided he does what he says he does: for to forgive a man who asks for pardon, is really to give alms.

Chap. lxxii. There are many kinds of alms, the giving of which assists to procure pardon for our sins.

And on this principle of interpretation, our Lord's saying, "Give alms of such things as ye have, and, behold, all things are clean unto you," applies to every useful act that a man does in mercy. Not only, then, the man who gives food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, hospitality to the stranger, shelter to the fugitive, who visits the sick and the imprisoned, ransoms the captive, assists the weak, leads the blind, comforts the sorrowful, heals the sick, puts the wanderer on the right path, gives advice to the perplexed, and supplies the wants of the needy, not this man only, but the man who pardons the sinner also gives alms; and the man who corrects with blows, or restrains by any kind of discipline one over whom he has power, and who
at the same time forgives from the heart the sin by which he was injured, or prays that it may be forgiven, is also a giver of alms, not only in that he forgives, or prays for forgiveness for the sin, but also in that he rebukes and corrects the sinner: for in this too he shows mercy. Now much good is bestowed upon unwilling recipients, when their advantage and not their pleasure is consulted; and they themselves frequently prove to be their own enemies, while their true friends are those whom they take for their enemies, and to whom in their blindness they return evil for good. (A Christian, indeed, is not permitted to return evil even for evil.)^ And thus there are many kinds of alms, by giving of which we assist to procure the pardon of our sins.

Chap, lxiii. â€” The greatest of all alms is to forgive our debtors and to love our enemies.

But none of those is greater than to forgive from the heart a sin that has been committed against us. For it is a com-
Matt. vi. 12 Luke xi. 41. ^ r^o^ xii. 17; Matt. v. U.

CHAP. LXXIV.] FOEGIVINGNESS A CONDITION OF FORGIVENESS. 227

paratively small thing to wish well to, or even to do good to, a man who has done no evil to you. It is a much higher thing, and is the result of the most exalted goodness, to love your enemy, and always to wish well to, and when you have the opportunity, to do good to, the man who wishes you ill, and, when he can, does you harm. This is to obey the command of God: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which persecute you."^ But seeing that this is a frame of mind only reached by the perfect sons of God, and that though every believer ought to strive after it, and by prayer to God and earnest struggling with himself endeavour to bring his soul up to this standard, yet a degree of goodness so high can hardly belong to so great a multitude as we believe are heard when they use this petition, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; " in view of all this, it cannot be doubted that the implied undertaking is fulfilled if a man, though he has not yet attained to loving his enemy, yet, when asked by one who has sinned against him to forgive him his sin, does forgive him from his heart. For he certainly desires to be himself forgiven when he prays, " as we forgive our debtors," that is, Forgive us our debts when we beg forgiveness, as we forgive our debtors when they beg forgiveness from us.

Chap, lxxiv. â€” God does not pardon the sins of those who do not from the heart forgive others.
Now, he who asks forgiveness of the man against whom he has sinned, being moved by his sin to ask forgiveness, cannot be counted an enemy in such a sense that it should be as difficult to love him now as it was when he was engaged in active hostility. And the man who does not from his heart forgive him who repents of his sin, and asks forgiveness, need not suppose that his own sins are forgiven of God. For the Truth cannot lie. And what reader or hearer of the Gospel can have failed to notice, that the same person who said, "I am the Truth," taught us also this form of prayer; and in order to impress this particular petition deeply upon our minds, said, "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not i Matt. V. 44. * John xiv. 6.

228 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LXXV.

men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses " ? ^ The man whom the thunder of this warning does not awaken is not asleep, but dead; and yet so powerful is that voice, that it can awaken even the dead.

Chap. lxxv. â€” The wicked and the unbelieving are not made clean by the giving of alms, except they be born again.

Assuredly, then, those who live in gross wickedness, and take no care to reform their lives and manners, and yet amid all their crimes and vices do not cease to give frequent alms, in vain take comfort to themselves from the saying of our Lord: "Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you."^ Tor they do not understand how far this saying reaches. But that they may understand this, let them hear what He says. For we read in the Gospel as follows: "And as He spake, a certain Pharisee besought Him to dine with him; and He went in, and sat down to meat. And when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that He had not first washed before dinner. And the Lord said unto him, Now do ye Pharisees make clean the outside of the cup and the platter; but your inward part is full of ravening and wickedness. Ye fools, did not he that made that which is without, make that which is within also ? But rather give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you."^ Are we to understand this as meaning that to the Pharisees who have not the faith of Christ all things are clean, if only they give alms in the way these men count almsgiving, even though they have never believed in Christ, nor been born again of water and of the Spirit ? But the fact is, that all are unclean who are not made clean by the faith of Christ, according to the expression, "purifying their hearts by faith; " * and that the apostle says, "Unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled."^ How, then, could all things be clean to the Pharisees, even though they gave alms, if they were not believers ? And how could they be believers if they were not willing to have faith in Christ, and to be born again of His grace ? And yet what they heard is true:

"Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you."

For the man who wishes to give alms as he ought, should begin with himself, and give to himself first. For almsgiving is a work of mercy; and most truly is it said, "To have mercy on thy soul is pleasing to God." ^ And for this end are we born again, that we should be pleasing to God, who is justly displeased with that which we brought with us when we were born. This is our first alms, which we give to ourselves when, through the mercy of a pitying God, we find that we are ourselves wretched, and coniess the justice of His judgment by which we are made wretched, of which the apostle says, "The judgment was by one to condemnation; " ^ and praise the greatness of His love, of which the same preacher of grace says, "God commendeth His love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us: " Â® and thus, judging truly of our own misery, and loving God with the love which He has Himself bestowed, we lead a holy and virtuous life. But the Pharisees, while they gave as alms the tithe of all their fruits, even the most insignificant, passed over judgment and the love of God, and so did not commence their almsgiving at home, and extend their pity to themselves in the first instance. And it is in reference to this order of love that it is said, "Love thy neighbour as thyself."* * "When, then, our Lord had rebuked them because they made themselves clean on the outside, but within were full of ravening and wickedness. He advised them, in the exercise of that charity which each man owes to himself in the first instance, to make clean the inward parts. " But rather," He says, "give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you."^ Then, to show what it was that He advised, and what they took no pains to do, and to show that He did not overlook or forget their almsgiving, "But woe unto you, Pharisees ! " ^ He says; as if He meant to say: I indeed advise you to give alms which shall make all things clean

* Eccliis. xxs. 24. 2 YMm. v. 16. s r,om. v. 8.


unto you; " but woe unto you ! for ye tithe mint, and rue, and all manner of herbs; " as if He meant to say: I know these alms of yours, and ye need not think that I am now admonishing yovi in respect of such things; " and pass over judgment and the love of
God," an alms by which ye might have been made clean from all inward impurity, so that even the bodies which ye are now washing would have been clean to you. For this is the import of " all things," both inward and outward things, as we read in another place: " Cleanse first that which is within, that the outside may be clean also."^ But lest He might appear to despise the alms which they were giving out of the fruits of the earth. He says: " These ought ye to have done," referring to judgment and the love of God, " and not to leave the other undone," referring to the giving of the tithes.

Chap. lxxvii. â€” If we would give alms to ourselves, we must flee iniquity; for he who loveth iniquity liateth his soul.

Those, then, who think that they can by giving alms, however profuse, whether in money or in kind, purchase for themselves the privilege of persisting with impunity in their monstrous crimes and hideous vices, need not thus deceive themselves. For not only do they commit these sins, but they love them so much that they would like to go on for ever committing them, if only they could do so with impunity.

Now, he who loveth iniquity hateth his own soul; ^ and he who hateth his own soul is not merciful but cruel towards it. For in loving it according to the world, he hateth it according to God. But if he desired to give alms to it which should make all things clean unto him, he would hate it according to the world, and love it according to God. Now no one gives alms unless he receive what he gives from one who is not in want of it. Therefore it is said, " His mercy shall prevent me." ^

Chap. lxxviii. â€” What sins are trivial and what heinous is a matter for God's judgment.

Now, what sins are trivial and what heinous is not a matter to be decided by man's judgment, but by the judgment

1 Matt, xxiii. 36.

" Him that loveth violence, His (God's) soul liateth," A.V.).

3 Ps. li.x. 10.

CHAP. LXXVIII.] RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF SINS. 231

of God. For it is plain that the apostles themselves have given an indulgence in the case of certain sins: take, for example, what the Apostle Paul says to those who are married: " Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer:

and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency."^ Now it is possible that it might not have been considered a sin to have intercourse with a spouse, not with a view to the procreation of children, which is the great blessing of marriage, but for the sake of carnal pleasure, and to save the incontinent from being led by their
weakness into the deadly sin of fornication, or adultery, or another form of uncleanness
which it is shameful even to name, and* into which it is possible that they might be
drawn by lust under the temptation of Satan. It is possible, I say, that this might not have
been considered a sin, had the apostle not added:
'â€œ But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment."
"Who, then, can deny that it is a sin, when confessedly it is only by apostolic authority
that permission is granted to those who do it ? Another case of the same kind is where he
says:
" Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not
before the saints ? "^ And shortly afterwards: " If then ye have judgments of things
pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church. I speak to
your shame. Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you ? no, not one that shall be
able to judge between his brethren ? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that
before the unbelievers."* Now it might have been supposed in this case that it is not a sin
to have a quarrel with another, that the only sin is in wishing to have it adjudicated upon
outside the Church, had not the apostle immediately added: " Now therefore there is
utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law with one another."^ And lest any one
should excuse himself by saying that he had a just cause, and was suffering wrong, and
that he only wished the sentence of the judges to remove his wrong, the apostle
immediately anticipates such thoughts and excuses, and says:

1 1 Cor. vii. 5. 2 1 Coj.. vii. 6. 3 i Cor. vi. 1.

* 1 Cor. vi. 4-6. 6 j Qqj.^ yj, 7^

232 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LXXIX.

" Why do ye not rather take wrong ? Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be
defrauded ? " Thus bringing us back to our Lord's saying, " If any man will sue thee at the
law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also; "^ and again, " Of him that
taketh away thy goods, ask them not asain."^ Therefore our Lord has forbidden His
followers to go to law with other men about worldly affairs. And carrying out this
principle, the apostle here declares that to do so is " altogether a fault." But when,
notwithstanding, he grants his permission to have such cases between brethren decided in
the Church, other brethren adjudicating, and only sternly forbids them to be carried
outside the Church, it is manifest that here again an indulgence is extended to the
infirmities of the weak. It is in view, then, of these sins, and others of the same sort, and
of others again more trifling still, which consist of offences in words and thought (as the
Apostle James confesses, "In many things we offend all")^, that we need to pray every
day and often to the Lord, saying, " Forgive us our debts," and to add in truth and
sincerity, " as we forgive our debtors."

Chap, lxxix. â€“ Sins wJach appear very trifling, are sometimes in reality very
Again, there are some sins which would be considered very trifling, if the Scriptures did not show that they are really very serious. For who would suppose that the man who says to his brother, "Thou fool," is in danger of hell-fire, did not He who is the truth say so? To the wound, however, He immediately applies the cure, giving a rule for reconciliation with one's offended brother: Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. * Again, who would suppose that it was so great a sin to observe days, and months, and times, and years, as those do who are anxious or unwilling to begin anything on certain days, or in certain months or years, because the vain doctrines of men lead them to think such times lucky or unlucky, had we not the means of estimating the greatness


CHAP. LXXX.] BLINDING PO^VEE OF CUSTOM. 233

of the evil from the fear expressed by the apostle, who says to such men, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain" ?

Chap. lxxx. â€” Sins, however great and detestable, seem trivial when ice are accustomed to them.

Add to this, that sins, however great and detestable they may be, are looked upon as tri'dal, or as not sins at all, when men get accustomed to them; and so far does this go, that such sins are not only not concealed, but are boasted of, and published far and wide; and thus, as it is written, "The wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth." ^ Iniquity of this kind is in Scripture called a cry. You have an instance in the prophet Isaiah, in the case of the e'dl vineyard: "He looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry." ^ Whence also the expression in Genesis: "The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great,"* because in these cities crimes were not only not punished, but were openly committed, as if under the protection of the law. And so in our own times: many forms of sin, though not just the same as those of Sodom and Gomorrah, are now so openly and habitually practised, that not only dare we not excommimicate a lajTitian, we dare not even degrade a clergyman, for the commission of them. So that when, a few years ago, I was expounding the Epistle to the Galatians, in commenting on that very place where the apostle says, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed labour upon you in vain," I was compelled to exclaim, "Woe to the sins of men! for it is only when we
are not accustomed to them that we shrink from them: when once we are accustomed to
them, though the blood of the Son of God was poured out to wash them away, though
they are so great that the kingdom of God is wholly shut against them, constant
familiarity leads to the toleration of them all, and habitual toleration leads to the practice
of many of them. And grant, Lord, that we may not come to practise all that we have not
the power to hinder."
But I shall see whether the extravagance of gTief did not betray me into rashness of
speech.

1 GaL iv. 10, 11. 2 ps_ ^ 3_ s i^\_ v. 7. * Gen. xviii. 20.

234 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. LXXXI.

Chap, lxxxi. â€” There are two causes of sin, ignorance and weakness; and we need
divine help to overcome both.

I shall now say this, which I have often said before in other places of my works. There
are two causes that lead to sin: either we do not yet know our duty, or we do not perform
the duty that we know. The former is the sin of ignorance, the latter of weakness. Now
against these it is our duty to struggle; but we shall certainly be beaten in the fight, imless
we are helped by God, not only to see our duty, but also, when we clearly see it, to make
the love of righteousness stronger in us than the love of earthly things, the eager longing
after which, or the fear of losing which, leads us with our eyes open into known sin. In
the latter case we are not only sinners, for we are so even when we err through ignorance,
but we are also transgressors of the law; for we leave undone what we know we ought to
do, and we do what we know we ought not to do. Wherefore not only ought we to pray
for pardon when we have sinned, saying, " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our
debtors;" but we ought to pray for guidance, that we may be kept from sinning, saying, "
and lead us not into temptation." And we are to pray to Him of whom the Psalmist says, "
The Lord is my light and my salvation:"^ my light, for He removes my ignorance; my
salvation, for He takes away my infirmity.

Chap, lxxxii. â€” The mercy of God is necessary to true repentance.

Now even penance itself, when by the law of the Church there is sufficient reason for its
being gone through, is frequently evaded through infirmity; for shame is the fear of
losing pleasure when the good opinion of men gives more pleasure than the righteousness
which leads a man to humble himself in penitence. Wherefore the mercy of God is
necessary not only when a man repents, but even to lead him to repent. How else explain
what the apostle says of certain persons: " if God perad venture will give them
repentance" ?"
And before Peter wept bitterly, we are told by the evangelist,
" The Lord turned, and looked upon him." ^
CHAP. LXXXV. \ EESUERECTION OF THE BODY. 235

Chap, lxxxiii. â€” The man who despises the mercy of God is guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Now the man who, not believing that sins are remitted in the Church, despises this great gift of God's mercy, and persists to the last day of his life in his obstinacy of heart, is guilty of the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, in whom Christ forgives sins. But this difficult question I have discussed as clearly as I could in a book devoted exclusively to this one point.

Chap, lxxxiv. â€” The resurrection of the body gives rise to numerous questions.

Now, as to the resurrection of the body, â€” not a resurrection such as some have had, who came back to life for a time and died again, but a resurrection to eternal life, as the body of Christ Himself rose again, â€” I do not see how I can discuss the matter briefly, and at the same time give a satisfactory answer to all the questions that are ordinarily raised about it. Yet that the bodies of all men â€” both those who have been born and those who shall be born, both those who have died and those who shall die â€” shall be raised again, no Christian ought to have the shadow of a doubt.

Chap, lxxxv. â€” The case of abortive conceptions.

Hence in the first place arises a question about abortive conceptions, which have indeed been born in the mother's womb, but not so born that they could be born again. For if we shall decide that these are to rise again, we cannot object to any conclusion that may be drawn in regard to those which are fully formed. Now who is there that is not rather disposed to think that unformed abortions perish, like seeds that have never fructified? But who will dare to deny, though he may not dare to affirm, that at the resurrection every defect in the form shall be supplied, and that thus the perfection which time would have brought shall not be wanting, any more than the blemishes which time did bring shall be present: so that the nature shall neither want anything suitable and in harmony with it that length of days would have added, nor be debased by the presence of anything of an opposite kind that length

1 Matt xii. 32.

236 THE ENCHIPJDIOX. [CHAP. LXXXVI.
of days has added; but that what is not yet complete shall be completed, just as what has been injured shall be renewed.

Chap, lxxxvi. â€” If they have ever lived, they must of course have died, and therefore shall have a share in the resurrection of the dead.

And therefore the following question may be very carefully inquired into and discussed by learned men, though I do not know whether it is in man's power to resolve it: At what time the infant begins to live in the womb: whether life exists in a latent form before it manifests itself in the motions of the living being. To deny that the young who are cut out limb by limb from the womb, lest if they were left there dead the mother should die too, have never been alive, seems too audacious. Now, from the time that a man beQins to live, from that time it is possible for him to die. And if he die, wheresoever death may overtake him, I cannot discover on what principle he can be denied an interest in the resurrection of the dead.

Chap, lxxxvii. â€” The case of monstrous births.

We are not justified in affirming even of monstrosities, which are born and live, however quickly they may die, that they shall not rise again, nor that they shall rise again in their deformity, and not rather with an amended and perfected body. God forbid that the double-limbed man who was lately born in the East, of whom an account was brought by most trustworthy brethren who had seen him, â€” an account which the presbyter Jerome, of blessed memory, left in writing; â€” God forbid, I say, that we should think that at the resurrection there shall be one man with double limbs, and not two distinct men, as would have been the case had twins been born.

And so other births, which, because they have either a superfluity or a defect, or because they are very much deformed, are called monstrosities, shall at the resurrection be restored to the normal shape of man; and so each single soul shall possess its own body; and no bodies shall cohere together even though they were born in cohesion, but each separately

"Jerome, in liis Epistle to Vifalis: " Or because in our times a man was born at Lydda with two heads, four hands, one belly, and two feet, does it necessarily follow that all men are so born?"

Â«

CHAP. LXXXIX.] MATERIAL OF THE BODY RESTORED. 237

shall possess all the members which constitute a complete human body.
Chap. Lxxsviii. â€” The material of the body never perishes.

Nor does the earthly material out of which men's mortal bodies are created ever perish; but though it may crumble into dust and ashes, or be dissolved into vapours and exhalations, though it may be transformed into the substance of other bodies, or dispersed into the elements, though it should become food for beasts or men, and be changed into their flesh, it returns in a moment of time to that human soul which animated it at the first, and which caused it to become man, and to live and grow.

Chap. lxxxix. â€” But this material may he differently arranged in the resurrection body.

And this earthly material, which when the soul leaves it becomes a corpse, shall not at the resurrection be so restored as that the parts into which it is separated, and which under various forms and appearances become parts of other things (though they shall all return to the same body from which they were separated), must necessarily return to the same parts of the body in which they were originally situated. For otherwise, to suppose that the hair recovers all that our frequent clippings and shavings have taken away from it, and the nails all that we have so often pared off, presents to the imagination such a picture of ugliness and deformity, as to make the resurrection of the body all but incredible. But just as if a statue of some soluble metal were either melted by fire, or broken into dust, or reduced to a shapeless mass, and a sculptor wished to restore it from the same quantity of metal, it would make no difference to the completeness of the work what part of the statue any given particle of the material was put into, as long as the restored statue contained all the material of the original one; so God, the Artificer of marvellous and unspeakable power, shall with marvellous and unspeakable rapidity restore our body, using up the whole material of which it originally consisted. IS^ov will it affect the completeness of its restoration whether hairs return to hairs, and nails to nails, or whether the part of these that had

238 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XC.

perished be changed into flesh, and called to take its place in another part of the body, the great Artist taking careful heed that nothing shall be unbecoming or out of place.

Chap. xc. â€” If there be differences and inequalities among the bodies of those who rise again, there shall be nothing offensive or disjiportionate in any.

Nor does it necessarily follow that there shall be differences of stature among those who rise again, because they were of different statures during life; nor is it certain that the lean shall rise again in their former leanness, and the fat in their former fatness. But if it is part of the Creator's design that each should preserve his own peculiarities of feature, and retain a recognisable likeness to his former self, while in regard to other bodily advantages all should be equal, then the material of which each is composed may be so modified that none of it shall be lost, and that any defect may be supplied by Him who
can create at His will out of nothing. But if in the bodies of those who rise again there shall be a well-ordered inequality, such as there is in the voices that make up a full harmony, then the material of each man's body shall be so dealt with that it shall form a man fit for the assemblies of the angels, and one who shall bring nothing among them to jar upon their sensibilities. And assuredly nothing that is unseemly shall be there; but whatever shall be there shall be graceful and becoming: for if anything is not seemly, neither shall it be.

Chap. xci. â€” The bodies of the saints shall at the resurrection be spiritual bodies.

The bodies of the saints, then, shall rise again free from every defect, from every blemish, as from all corruption, weight, and impediment. For their ease of movement shall be as complete as their happiness. Whence their bodies have been called spiritual, though undoubtedly they shall be bodies and not spirits. For just as now the body is called animate, thouâ€”h it is a body, and not a soul â€œanimaâ€, so then the body shall be called spiritual, though it shall be a body, not a spirit.â€ Hence, as far as regards the corruption which now weighs down the soul, and the vices which urge the flesh to lust against the spirit,â€”it shall not then be flesh, but body; for there are bodies which are called celestial. Wherefore it is

1 1 Cor. XV. U. ^ Wisd. ix, 15; Gal. v. 17.

CHAP. xcii] the resurrection of the dead. 239

said, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; " and, as if in explanation of this, " neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." â€” What the apostle first called " flesh and blood," he afterwards calls " corruption; " and what he first called " the kingdom of God," he afterwards calls " incorruption." But as far as regards the substance, even then it shall be flesh. For even after the resurrection the body of Christ was called flesh.â€”The apostle, however, says: " It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body; "â€”because so perfect shall then be the harmony between flesh and spirit, the spirit keeping alive the subjugated flesh without the need of any nourishment, that no part of our nature shall be in discord with another; but as we shall be free from enemies without, so we shall not have ourselves for enemies within.

Chap. xcii] â€” The resurrection of the lost.

But as for those who, out of the mass of perdition caused by the first man's sin, are not redeemed through the one Mediator between God and man, they too shall rise again, each with his own body, but only to be punished with the devil and his angels. ISTow, whether they shall rise again with all their diseases and deformities of body, bringing with them the diseased and deformed limbs which they possessed here, it would be labour lost to inquire. For we need not weary ourselves speculating about their health or their beauty, which are matters uncertain, when their eternal damnation is a matter of certainty. Nor
need we inquire in what sense their body shall be incorruptible, if it be susceptible of pain; or in what sense corruptible, if it be free from the possibility of death. For there is no true life except where there is happiness in life, and no true incorruption except where health is unbroken by any pain. When, however, the unhappy are not permitted to die, then, if I may so speak, death itself dies not; and where pain without intermission afflicts the soul, and never comes to an end, corruption itself is not completed. This is called in Holy Scripture "the second death." ^

1 1 Cor. XV. 50. - Luke xxiv. 39, ^ j Cor. xv. U * Kev. ii. 2.

240 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. XCIII.

Chap. xciii. â€” Botli the first and the secoyid deaths are the consequence of sin. Punishment is proportioned to guilt.

And neither the first death, which takes place when the soul is compelled to leave the body, nor the second death, which takes place when the soul is not permitted to leave the suffering body, would have been inflicted on man had no one sinned. And, of course, the mildest punishment of all will fall upon those who have added no actual sin to the original sin they brought with them; and as for the rest who have added such actual sins, the punishment of each will be the more tolerable in the next world, according as his iniquity has been less in this world.

Chap. xciv. â€” The saints shall know more fully in the next world the benefits they have received by grace.

Thus, when reprobate angels and men are left to endure everlasting punishment, the saints shall know more fully the benefits they have received by grace. Then, in contemplation of the actual facts, they shall see more clearly the meaning of the expression in the psalms, " I will sing of mercy and judgment;" ^ for it is only of unmerited mercy that any is redeemed, and only in well-merited judgment that any is condemned.

CiTAP. xcv. â€” God's judgments shall then be explained.

Then shall be made clear much that is now dark. For example, when of two infants, whose cases seem in all respects alike, one is by the mercy of God chosen to Himself, and the other is by His justice abandoned (wherein the one who is chosen may recognise what was of justice due to himself, had not mercy intervened); why, of these two, the one should have been chosen rather than the other, is to us an insoluble problem. And again, why miracles were not wrought in the presence of men who would have repented at the working of the miracles, while they were wrought in the presence of others who, it was known, would not repent. For our Lord says most distinctly: " "Woe imto thee, Chorazin
woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have re-

. 1 Ps. ci. 1.

CHAP. xcvii.] god's permission of evil. 241

pented long ago in sackcloth and ashes." ^ And assuredly there was no injustice in God's not willing that they should be saved, though they could have been saved had He so willed it. Then shall be seen in the clearest light of wisdom what with the pious is now a faith, though it is not yet a matter of certain knowledge, how sure, how unchangeable, and how effectual is the will of God; how many things He can do which He does not will to do, though willing nothing which He cannot perform; and how true is the song of the psalmist,
" But our God is in the heavens; He hath done whatsoever He hath pleased."^ And this certainly is not true, if God has ever willed anything that He has not performed; and, still worse, if it was the will of man that hindered the Omnipotent from doing what He pleased. Nothing, therefore, happens but by the will of the Omnipotent, He either permitting it to be done, or Himself doing it.

Chap. xcvi. â€” The omnipotent God does loell even in the permission of evil.

Nor can we doubt that God does well even in the permission of what is evil. For He permits it only in the justice of His judgment. And surely all that is just is good. Although, therefore, evil, in so far as it is evil, is not a good; yet the fact that evil as well as good exists, is a good. For if it were not a good that evil should exist, its existence would not be permitted by the omnipotent Good, who without doubt can as easily refuse to permit what He does not wish, as bring about what He does wish. And if we do not believe this, the very first sentence of our creed is endangered, wherein we profess to believe in God the Father Almighty. For He is not truly called Almighty if He cannot do whatsoever He pleases, or if the power of His almighty will is hindered by the will of any creature whatsoever.

Chap. xcvii. â€” In what sense does the apostle say that " God will have all men to be saved," when, as a matter of fact, all are not saved?

Hence we must inquire in what sense is said of God what the apostle has mostly truly said: " Who will have all men to be saved." ^ For, as a matter of fact, not all, nor even a majority, are saved: so that it would seem that what God
wills is not done, man's will interfering with, and hindering the will of God. When we ask the reason why all men are not saved, the ordinary answer is: "Because men themselves are not willing." This, indeed, cannot be said of infants, for it is not in their power either to will or not to will. But if we could attribute to their will the childish movements they make at baptism, when they make all the resistance they can, we should say that even they are not willing to be saved. Our Lord says plainly, however, in the Gospel, when upbraiding the impious city: "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" as if the will of God had been overcome by the will of men, and when the weakest stood in the way with their want of will, the will of the strongest could not be carried out. And where is that omnipotence which hath done all that it pleased on earth and in heaven, if God willed to gather together the children of Jerusalem, and did not accomplish it? or rather, Jerusalem was not willing that her children should be gathered together? But even though she was unwilling, He gathered together as many of her children as He wished: for He does not will some things and do them, and will others and do them not; but "He hath done all that He pleased in heaven and in earth."

Chap, xcviir. â€” Predestination to eternal life is wholly of God's free grace.

And, moreover, who will be so foolish and blasphemous as to say that God cannot change the evil wills of men, whichever, whenever, and wheresoever He chooses, and direct them to what is good? But when He does this. He does it of mercy; when He does it not, it is of justice that He does it not; for "He hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth." And when the apostle said this, he was illustrating the grace of God, in connection with which he had just spoken of the twins in the womb of Rebecca, "who being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger." And in reference to this


matter he quotes another prophetic testimony: " Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." And perceiving how what he had said might affect those who could not penetrate by their understanding the depth of this grace: " What shall we
say then? " he says: " Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid." For it seems unjust that, in the absence of any merit or demerit from good or evil works, God should love the one and hate the other. Now, if the apostle had wished us to understand that there were future good works of the one, and evil works of the other, which of course God foreknew, he would never have said, " not of works," but, " of future works,"
and in that way would have solved the difficulty, or rather there would then have been no difficulty to solve. As it is, however, after answering, " God forbid; " that is, God forbid that there should be unrighteousness with God; he goes on to prove that there is no unrighteousness in God's doing this, and says: " For He saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion."^ Xow, who but a fool would think that God was unrighteous, either in inflicting penal justice on those who had earned it, or in extending mercy to the unworthy?

Then he draws his conclusion: "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." ^ Thus both the twins were born children of wrath, not on account of any works of their own, but because they were bound in the fetters of that original condemnation which came through Adam. But He who said, " I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy," loved Jacob of His undeserved grace, and hated Esau of His deserved judgment. And as this judgment was due to both, the former learnt from the case of the latter that the fact of the same punishment not falling upon himself gave him no room to glory in any merit of his own, but only in the riches of the divine grace; because " it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." And indeed the whole face, and, if I may use the expression, every lineament of the countenance of Scripture conveys by a very profound analogy this


^ Eom. ix. 15; Ex. xxxiii. 19. * Eom. ix. IG.

wholesome warning to every one who looks carefully into it, that he who glories should glory in the Lord."

Chap. xcix. â€” As God's mercy is free, so His judgments are just, and cannot he gainsaid.

ISTow after commending the mercy of God, saying, " So it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," that he might commend His justice also (for the man who does not obtain mercy finds, not iniquity, but justice, there being no iniquity with God), he immediately adds: ' â€œ For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee,
and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth." ^ And then he draws a conclusion that applies to both, that is, both to His mercy and His justice:
" Therefore hath He mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth." ^ " He hath mercy " of His great goodness, " He hardeneth " without any injustice; so that neither can he that is pardoned glory in any merit of his own, nor he that is condemned complain of anything but his own demerit. For it is grace alone that separates the redeemed from the lost, all having been involved in one common perdition through their common origin. Now if any one, on hearing this, should say, " Why doth He yet find fault ? for who hath resisted His will ? " ^ as if a man ought not to be blamed for being bad, because God hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth, God forbid that we should be ashamed to answer as we see the apostle answered: " Nay, but, man, who art thou, that repliest against God ? Shall the thing formed say to Him that formed it. Why hast Thou made me thus ? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour ? " ^

Now some foolish people think that in this place the apostle had no answer to give; and for want of a reason to render, rebuked the presumption of his interrogator. But there is great weight in this saying: " Nay, but, O man, who art thou ? " and in such a matter as this it suggests to a man in a

CHAP. C] god's purpose NEVER DEFEATED. 245

single word the limits of his capacity, and at the same time does in reality convey an important reason. For if a man does not understand these matters, who is he that he should reply against God ? And if he does understand them, he finds no further room for reply. For then he perceives that the whole human race was condemned in its rebellious head by a divine judgment so just, that if not a single member of the race had been redeemed, no one could justly have questioned the justice of God; and that it was right that those who are redeemed should be redeemed in such a way as to show, by the greater number who are unredeemed and left in their just condemnation, what the whole race deserved, and whither the deserved judgment of God would lead even the redeemed, did not His undeserved mercy interpose, so that every mouth might be stopped of those who wish to glory in their own merits, and that he that glorieth might glory in the Lord. ^

CuAP. c. â€” Tlce will of God is never defeated, though much is done that is contrary to His will.

These are the great works of the Lord, sought out according to all His pleasure, ^ and so wisely sought out, that when the intelligent creation, both angelic and human, sinned, doing not His will but their own. He used the very will of the creature which was working
in opposition to the Creator's will as an instrument for carrying out His will, the supremely Good thus turning to good account even what is evil, to the condemnation of those whom in His justice He has predestined to punishment, and to the salvation of those whom in His mercy He has predestined to grace. For, as far as relates to their own consciousness, these creatures did what God wished not to be done: but in view of God's omnipotence, they could in no wise effect their purpose. For in the very fact that they acted in opposition to His will. His will concerning them was fulfilled. And hence it is that " the works of the Lord are great, sought out according to all His pleasure," because in a way unspeakably strange and wonderful, even what is done in opposition to His will does not defeat His

1 Rom. iii. 19; 1 Cor. i. 31.

^ Ps. cxi. 2 (LXX.): "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasom-e therein." (A.V.)

246 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. CI.

will. For it would not be done did He not permit it (and of course His permission is not unwilling, but willing); nor would a Good Being permit evil to be done only that in His omnipotence He can turn evil into good.

Chap. ci. â€” The will of God, which is always good, is somefanes fulfilled through the evil will of man.

Sometimes, however, a man in the goodness of his will desires something that God does not desire, even though God's will is also good, nay, much more fully and more surely good (for His will never can be evil): for example, if a good son is anxious that his father should live, when it is God's good will that he should die. Again, it is possible for a man with evil will to desire what God wills in His goodness: for example, if a bad son wishes his father to die, when this is also the will of God. It is plain that the former wishes what God does not wish, and that the latter wishes what God does wish; and yet the filial love of the former is more in harmony with the good will of God, though its desire is different from God's, than the want of filial affection of the latter, though its desire is the same as God's. So necessary is it, in determining whether a man's desire is one to be approved or disapproved, to consider what it is proper for man, and what it is proper for God, to desire, and what is in each case the real motive of the will. For God accomplishes some of His purposes, which of course are all good, through the evil desires of wicked men: for example, it was through the wicked designs of the Jews, working out the good purpose of the Father, that Christ was slain; and this event was so truly good, that when the Apostle Peter expressed his unwillingness that it should take place, he was designated Satan by Him who had come to be slain.^ How good seemed the intentions of the pious
believers who were unwilling that Paul should go up to Jerusalem lest the evils which Agabus had foretold should there befall him! And yet it was God's purpose that he should suffer these evils for preaching the faith of Christ, and thereby become a witness for Christ. And this purpose of His, which was good, God did not fulfil through the good counsels of the Christians, but through the evil counsels of the Jews; so that

1 Matt. xvi. 21-23. Â« ^^^^s xxi. 10-12.

CHAP. cm.] INTERPRETATION OF 1 TUL II. 4. 247

those who opposed His purpose were more truly His servants than those who were the willing instruments of its accomplishment.

Chap. cii. â€” the will of the omnipotent God is never defeated, and is never evil.

But however strong may be the purposes either of angels or of men, whether of good or bad, whether these purposes fall in with the will of God or run counter to it, the will of the Omnipotent is never defeated; and His will never can be evil; because even when it inflicts evil it is just, and what is just is certainly not evil. The omnipotent God, then, whether in mercy He pitíeth whom He will, or in judgment hardeneth whom He will, is never unjust in what He does, never does anything except of His own free-will, and never wills anything that He does not perform.

Chap. cm. â€” Interpretation of the expression in 1 Tim. ii. 4: "Who will have all men to he saved." Accordingly, when we hear and read in Scripture that He "will have all men to be saved," ^ although we know well that all men are not saved, we are not on that account to restrict the omnipotence of God, but are rather to understand the Scripture, "Who will have all men to be saved," as meaning that no man is saved unless God wills his salvation: not that there is no man whose salvation He does not will, but that no man is saved apart from His will; and that, therefore, we should pray Him to will our salvation, because if He will it, it must necessarily be accomplished. And it was of prayer to God that the apostle was speaking when he used this expression. And on the same principle we interpret the expression in the Gospel: "The true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" ^ not that there is no man who is not enlightened, but that no man is enlightened except by Him. Or, it is said, "Who will have all men to be saved;" not that there is no man whose salvation He does not will (for how, then, explain the fact that He was unwilling to work miracles in the presence of some who. He said, would have repented if He had worked them ?), but that we are to understand by "all men," the human race in all

^ 1 Tim. 11. 4. â€¢ 8 John L 9.
its varieties of rank and circumstances, kings, subjects; noble, plebeian, high, low, learned, and unlearned; the sound in body, the feeble, the clever, the dull, the foolish, the rich, the poor, and those of middling circumstances; males, females, infants, boys, youths; young, middle-aged, and old men; of every tongue, of every fashion, of all arts, of all professions, with all the innumerable differences of will and conscience, and whatever else there is that makes a distinction among men. For which of all these classes is there out of which God does not will that men should be saved in all nations through His only-begotten Son, our Lord, and therefore does save them; for the Omnipotent cannot will in vain, whatsoever He may will? Now the apostle had enjoined that prayers should be made for all men, and had specially added, "For kings, and for all that are in authority," who might be supposed, in the pride and pomp of worldly station, to shrink from the humility of the Christian faith. Then saying, "For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour," that is, that prayers should be made for such as these, he immediately adds, as if to remove any ground of despair, "Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." God, then, in His great condescension has judged it good to grant to the prayers of the humble the salvation of the exalted; and assuredly we have many examples of this. Our Lord, too, makes use of the same mode of speech in the Gospel, when He says to the Pharisees: "Ye tithe mint, and rue, and every herb." For the Pharisees did not tithe what belonged to others, nor all the herbs of all the inhabitants of other lands. As, then, in this place we must understand by "every herb," every kind of herbs, so in the former passage we may understand by "all men," every sort of men. And we may interpret it in any other way we please, so long as we are not compelled to believe that the omnipotent God has willed anything to be done which was not done: for, setting aside all ambiguities, if "He hath done all that He pleased in heaven and in earth," "

1 1 Tim. ii. 1-4. Luke xi. 42. ("All manner of herbs." A.V.)

'Ps. cxv. 3. ("Our God is in the heavens: He hath done whatsoever He hath pleased." A.V.)

CHAP. cv. man's fee-will. 249

as the psalmist sings of Him, He certainly did not will to do anything that He hath not done.

CuAP. CIV. â€” God, foreknowing the sin of the first man, ordered His own purposes accordingly.
Wherefore, God would have been willing to preserve even
the first man in that state of salvation in which he was created,
and after he had begotten sons to remove him at a fit time,
without the intervention of death, to a better place, where he
should have been not only free from sin, but free even from
the desire of sinning, if He had foreseen that man would have
the steadfast will to persist in the state of innocence in which
he was created. But as He foresaw that man would make a
bad use of his free-will, that is, would sin, God arranged His
own designs rather with a view to do good to man even in his
sinfulness, that thus the good will of the Omnipotent might
not be made void by the evil will of man, but might be
fulfilled in spite of it.

Chap. cv. "Man was so created as to be able to choose either good or evil: in the future
life, the choice of evil will be impossible.

Now it was expedient that man should be at first so created, as to have it in his power
both to will what was right and to will what was wrong; not without reward if he willed
the former, and not without punishment if he willed the latter.
But in the future life it shall not be in his power to will evil; and yet this will constitute no
restriction on the freedom of his will. On the contrary, his will shall be much freer when
it shall be wholly impossible for him to be the slave of sin.
We should never think of blaming the will, or saying that it was no will, or that it was not
to be called free, when we so desire happiness, that not only do we shrink from misery,
but find it utterly impossible to do otherwise. As, then, the soul even now finds it
impossible to desire unhappiness, so in future it shall be wholly impossible for it to desire
sin. But God's arrangement was not to be broken, according to which He willed to show
how good is a rational being who is able even to refrain from sin, and yet how much
better is one who cannot sin at all; just as that was an inferior sort of immortality, and yet
it was immortality, when it was possible for man to avoid death, although there is
reserved for the
future a more perfect immortality, when it shall be impossible for man to die.

Chap. cvi. â€” The grace of God was necessary to man's salvation before the fall, as well as after it.

The former immortality man lost through the exercise of his free-will; the latter he shall obtain through grace, whereas, if he had not sinned, he should have obtained it by desert. Even in that case, however, there could have been no merit without grace; because, although the mere exercise of man's free-will was sufficient to bring in sin, his free-will would not have sufficed for his maintenance in righteousness, unless God had assisted it by imparting a portion of His unchangeable goodness. Just as it is in man's power to die whenever he will (for, not to speak of other means, any one can put an end to himself by simple abstinence from food), but the mere will cannot preserve life in the absence of food and the other means of life; so man in paradise was able of his mere will, simply by abandoning righteousness, to destroy himself; but to have maintained a life of righteousness would have been too much for his will, unless it had been sustained by the Creator's power. After the fall, however, a more abundant exercise of God's mercy was required, because the will itself had to be freed from the bondage in which it was held by sin and death. And the will owes its freedom in no degree to itself, but solely to the grace of God which comes by faith in Jesus Christ; so that the very will, through which we accept all the other gifts of God which lead us on to His eternal gift, is itself prepared of the Lord, as the Scripture says."^ 

Chap. cvii. â€” Eternal Life, though the reward of good works, is itself the gift of God.

Wherefore, even eternal life itself, which is surely the reward of good works, the apostle calls the gift of God. " For the wages of sin," he says, " is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."^ Wages (stipendium) is paid as a recompense for military service; it is not a gift:

1 Prov. xvi. 1. ("The preparation of the heart in man ... is from the Lord." A.V.)
"" Kom. vi. 23.
not a gift at all. We are to understand, then, that man's good deserts are themselves the gift of God, so that when these obtain the recompense of eternal life, it is simply grace given for grace. Man, therefore, was so made upright that, though unable to remain in his uprightness without divine help, he could of his own mere will depart from it. And whichever of these courses he had chosen, God's will would have been done, either by him, or concerning him. Therefore, as he chose to do his own will rather than God's, the will of God is fulfilled concerning him; for God, out of one and the same heap of perdition which constitutes the race of man, makes one vessel to honour, another to dishonour; to honour in mercy, to dishonour in judgment; that no one may glory in man, and consequently not in himself.

Chap. ciyi. A Mediator was necessary to reconcile us to God; and unless this Mediator had been God, He could not have been our Redeemer.

For we could not be redeemed, even through the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, if He were not also God. Now when Adam was created, he, being a righteous man, had no need of a mediator. But when sin had placed a wide gulf between God and the human race, it was expedient that a Mediator, who alone of the human race was born, lived, and died without sin, should reconcile us to God, and procure even for our bodies a resurrection to eternal life, in order that the pride of man might be exposed and cured through the humility of God; that man might be shown how far he had departed from God, when God became incarnate to bring him back; that an example might be set to disobedient man in the life of obedience of the God-Man; that the fountain of grace might be opened by the Onlybegotten taking upon Himself the form of a servant, a form which had no antecedent merit; that an earnest of that resurrection of the body which is promised to the redeemed might be given in the resurrection of the Redeemer; that the devil might be subdued by the same nature which it was his

* Comp. Eom. si. 6. 2 p^Q^j -^ ^ 21.

252 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. CIX.

boast to have deceived, and yet man not glorified, lest pride should again spring up; and, in fine, with a view to all the advantages which the thoughtful can perceive and describe, or perceive without being able to describe, as flowing from the transcendent mystery of the person of the Mediator.

Chap. cic. The state of the soul during the interval between death and the resurrection.

During the time, moreover, which intervenes between a man's death and the final resurrection, the soul dwells in a hidden retreat, where it enjoys rest or suffers affliction just in proportion to the merit it has earned by the life which it led on earth.
Chap. ex. "The benefit to the souls of the dead from the sacraments and alms of their living friends.

Nor can it be denied that the souls of the dead are benefited by the piety of their living friends, who offer the sacrifice of the Mediator, or give alms in the church on their behalf. But these services are of advantage only to those who during their lives have earned such merit, that services of this kind can help them. For there is a manner of life which is neither so good as not to require these services after death, nor so bad that such services are of no avail after death; there is, on the other hand, a kind of life so good as not to require them; and again, one so bad that when life is over they render no help. Therefore, it is in this life that all the merit or demerit is acquired, which can either relieve or aggravate a man's sufferings after this life. No one, then, need hope that after he is dead he shall obtain merit with God which he has neglected to secure here. And accordingly it is plain that the services which the church celebrates for the dead are in no way opposed to the apostle's words: "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad;" and for the merit which renders such services as I speak of profitable to a man, is earned while he lives in the body. It is not to every one that these services are profitable. And why are they not profitable to all, except because of the different kinds of lives that men lead in the body? When, then, sacrifices either of the altar or of alms are offered on behalf of all the baptized dead, they are thank-offerings for the very good, they are propitiatory offerings for the not very bad; and in the case of the very bad, even though they do not assist the dead, they are a species of consolation to the living. And where they are profitable, their benefit consists either in obtaining a full remission of sins, or at least in making the condemnation more tolerable.

Chap. cxii. "After the resurrection there shall be two distinct kingdoms, one of eternal happiness, the other of eternal misery.

After the resurrection, however, when the final, universal judgment has been completed, there shall be two kingdoms, each with its own distinct boundaries, the one Christ's, the other the Devil's; the one consisting of the good, the other of the bad, both, however, consisting of angels and men. The former shall have no will, the latter no power, to sin, and neither shall have any power to choose death; but the former shall live truly and happily in eternal life, the latter shall drag a miserable existence in eternal death without the power of dying; for the life and the death shall both be without end.
But among the former there shall be degrees of happiness, one being more pre-eminently happy than another; and among the latter there shall be degrees of misery, one being more endurably miserable than another.

Chap. cxii. â€” There is no ground in Scripture for the opinion of those who deny the eternity of future punishments.

It is in vain, then, that some, indeed very many, make moan over the eternal punishment, and perpetual, uninterrupted torments of the lost, and say they do not believe it shall be so; not, indeed, that they directly oppose themselves to Holy Scripture, but, at the suggestion of their own feelings, they soften down everything that seems hard, and give a milder turn to statements which they think are rather designed to terrify than to be received as literally true. For "Hath God," they say, "forgotten to be gracious? hath He in anger shut up His tender mercies?"^ Now, they read this in one of the holy psalms. But without doubt we are to understand it as spoken of those who are elsewhere called "vessels of mercy," because

^Ps. Ixxvii. 9. 2 p^ojjj_i^ 23.

254 THE EXCIIPJDION. [CHAP. CXIII.

even they are freed from misery not on account of any merit of their own, but solely through the pity of God. Or, if the men we speak of insist that this passage applies to all mankind, there is no reason why they should therefore suppose that there will be an end to the punishment of those of whom it is said, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment;" for this shall end in the same manner and at the same time as the happiness of those of whom it is said, "but the righteous unto life eternal."^ But let them suppose, if the thought gives them pleasure, that the pains of the damned are, at certain intervals, in some degree assuaged. For even in this case the wrath of God, that is, their condemnation (for it is this, and not any disturbed feeling in the mind of God that is called His wrath), abideth upon them —^ that is, His wrath, though it still remains, does not shut up His tender mercies; though His tender mercies are exhibited, not in putting an end to their eternal punishment, but in mitigating, or in granting them a respite from, their torments; for the psalm does not say, "to put an end to His anger," or, "when His anger is passed by," but "in His anger." Now, if this anger stood alone, or if it existed in the smallest conceivable degree, yet to be lost out of the kingdom of God, to be an exile from the city of God, to be alienated from the life of God, to have no share in that great goodness which God hath laid up for them that fear Him, and hath wrought out for them that trust in Him,* would be a punishment so great, that, supposing it to be eternal, no torments that we know of, continued through as many ages as man's imagination can conceive, could be compared with it.
Chap, cxiii. â€” The death of the wicked shall be eternal in the same sense as the life of the saints.

This perpetual death of the wicked, then, that is, their alienation from the life of God, shall abide for ever, and shall be common to them all, whatever men, prompted by their human affections, may conjecture as to a variety of punishments, or as to a mitigation or intermission of their woes; just as the eternal life of the saints shall abide for ever, and shall be common to them all, whatever grades of rank and

> Matt. XXV. 46. 2 Joliu iii. 36. ^ Ps. xxxi. 19.

CHAP CXV.] THE LOED'S PRAYER. 255

honour there may be among those who shine with an harmonious effulgence.

Chap, cxiv. â€” Having dealt with faith, we now come to speak of hope. Everything that pertains to hope is embraced in the Lord's Prayer.

Out of this confession of faith, which is briefly comprehended in the Creed, and which, carnally understood, is milk for babes, but, spiritually apprehended and studied, is meat for strong men, springs the good hope of believers; and this is accompanied by a holy love. But of these matters, all of which are true objects of faith, those only pertain to hope which are embraced in the Lord's Prayer. For, " Cursed be the man that trusteth in man " ^ is the testimony of holy writ; and, consequently, this curse attaches also â€¢ to the man who trusteth in himself. Therefore, except from God the Lord we ought to ask for nothing either that we hope to do well, or hope to obtain as a reward of our good works.

Chap. cxv. â€” The seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, according to Matthew.

Accordingly, in the Gospel according to Matthew the Lord's Prayer seems to embrace seven petitions, three of which ask for eternal blessings, and the remaining four for temporal; these latter, however, being necessary antecedents to the attainment of the eternal. For when we say, " Hallowed be Thy name: Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven " ^ (which some have interpreted, not unfairly, in body as well as in spirit), we ask for blessings that are to be enjoyed for ever; which are indeed begun in this world, and grow in us as we grow in grace, but in their perfect state, which is to be looked for in another life, shall be a possession for evermore. But when we say, " Give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors: and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," ^ who does not see that we ask for blessings that have reference to the wants of this present life? In that eternal life, where we hope to live for ever, the hallowing of God's name, and His kingdom, and His will in
our spirit and body, shall be brought to perfection, and shall endure to everlasting. But
our daily bread is so called because there is

Jer. xvii. 5. 2 Jjatt. vi. 9, 10. ^ Matt. vi. 11-13.

256 THE ENCHIRIDION. [CHAP. CXYI.

here constant need for as much nourishment as the spirit and the flesh demand, whether
we understand the expression spiritually, or carnally, or in both senses. It is here too that
we need the forgiveness that we ask, for it is here that we commit the sins; here are the
temptations which allure or drive us into sin; here, in a word, is the evil from which we
desire deliverance: but in that other world there shall be none of these things.

Chap. cxvi. â€“ Luke exjvesses the substance of these seven j^etitions more hriefly in
five.

But the Evangelist Luke in his version of the Lord's Prayer embraces not seven, but five
petitions: not, of course, that there is any discrepancy between the two evangelists, but
that Luke indicates by his very brevity the mode in which the seven petitions of Matthew
are to be understood. For God's name is hallowed in the spirit; and God's kingdom shall
come in the resurrection of the body. Luke, therefore, intending to show that the third
petition is a sort of repetition of the first two, has chosen to indicate that by omitting the
third altogether.^[ Then he adds three others; one for daily bread, another for pardon of
sin, another for immunity from temptation. And what Matthew puts as the last petition,
" but deliver us from evil," Luke has omitted,^[ to show us that it is embraced in the
previous petition about temptation. Matthew, indeed, himself says, " but deliver," not "
and deliver," as if to show that the petitions are virtually one:
do not this, but this; so that every man is to understand that he is delivered from evil in
the very fact of his not being led into temptation.

Chap. cxvii. â€“ Love, which is greater than faith and hope, is shed abroad in our hearts
by the Holy Ghost.

And now as to love, which the apostle declares to be greater tlian the other two graces,
that is, than faith and hope,^[ the greater the measure in which it dwells in a man, the
better is the man in whom it dwells. For when there is a question as to whether a man is
good, one does not ask what he believes, or what he hopes, but what he loves. For the
man who loves aright no doubt believes and hopes aright; whereas the man
^[ These petitions are not omitted in the Authorized Version, ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 13.
who has not love believes in vain, even though his beliefs are true; and hopes in vain, even though the objects of his hope are a real part of true happiness; unless, indeed, he believes and hopes for this, that he may obtain by prayer the blessing of love. For, although it is not possible to hope without love, it may yet happen that a man does not love that which is necessary to the attainment of his hope; as, for example, if he hopes for eternal life (and who is there that does not desire this?) and yet does not love righteousness, without which no one can attain to eternal life. Now this is the true faith of Christ which the apostle speaks of, "which worketh by love;" and if there is anything that it does not yet embrace in its love, asks that it may receive, seeks that it may find, and knocks that it may be opened unto it. For faith obtains through prayer that which the law commands. For without the gift of God, that is, without the Holy Spirit, through whom love is shed abroad in our hearts, the law can command, but it cannot assist; and, moreover, it makes a man a transgressor, for he can no longer excuse himself on the plea of ignorance.

Chap, cxviii. â€” The four stages of the Christian's life, and the four corresponding stages of the Church's history.

When, sunk in the darkest depths of ignorance, man lives according to the flesh, undisturbed by any struggle of reason or conscience, this is his first state. Afterwards, when through the law has come the knowledge of sin, and the Spirit of God has not yet interposed His aid, man, striving to live according to the law, is thwarted in his efforts and falls into conscious sin, and so, being overcome of sin, becomes its slave ("for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage"); and thus the effect produced by the knowledge of the commandment is this, that sin worketh in man all manner of concupiscence, and he is involved in the additional guilt of wilful transgression, and that is fulfilled which is written: "The law entered that the offence might abound." This is man's second state. But if God has regard to him, and inspires him with faith in God's help, and the Spirit of God

1 Gal. V. 6. 2 jatt. vii. 7. ^ Eom. v. 5.
begins to work in him, then the mightier power of love strives against the power of the flesh; and although there is still in the man's own nature a power that fights against him (for his disease is not completely cured), yet he lives the life of the just by faith, and lives in righteousness so far as he does not yield to evil lust, but conquers it by the love of holiness. This is the third state of a man of good hope; and he who by steadfast piety advances in this course, shall attain at last to peace, that peace which, after this life is over, shall be perfected in the repose of the spirit, and finally in the resurrection of the body. Of these four different stages the first is before the law, the second is under the law, the third is under grace, and the fourth is in full and perfect peace. Thus, too, has the history of God's people been ordered according to His pleasure who disposeth all things in number, and measure, and weight.

For the Church existed at first before the law; then under the law, which was given by Moses; then under grace, which was first made manifest in the coming of the Mediator, Not, indeed, that this grace was absent previously, but, in harmony with the arrangements of the time, it was veiled and hidden. For none, even of the just men of old, could find salvation apart from the faith of Christ; nor unless He had been known to them could their ministry have been used to convey prophecies concerning Him to us, some more plain, and some more obscure.

Chap. cxix. "The grace of regeneration washes away all past sin and all original guilt.

Now in whichever of these four stages (as we may call them) the grace of regeneration finds any particular man, all his past sins are there and then pardoned, and the guilt which he contracted in his birth is removed in his new birth; and so true is it that "the wind bloweth where it listeth," that some have never known the second stage, that of slavery under the law, but have received the divine assistance as soon as they received the commandment.

Chap. cxx. "Death cannot injure those who have received the grace of regeneration.

Eut before a man can receive the commandment, it is 'Comp. Wisd. xi. 21. ^ John iii. 8.

Chap. cxix. love is the end of the commandment. 259

ecessary that lie should live according to the flesh. But if 3nce he has received the grace of regeneration, death shall not injure him, even if he should forthwith depart from this life; ' for to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that He might be Lord both of the dead and the living:" nor shall death retain dominion over him for whom Christ freely died.
I!hap. cxxi. â€” Love is the end of all the commandments, and God Himself is love.

All the commandments of God, then, are embraced in love, Df which the apostle says: "Now the end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, md of faith unfeigned."^ Thus the end of every commandment is charity, that is, every commandment has love for its aim. But whatever is done either through fear of punishment Dr from some other carnal motive, and has not for its principle that love which the Spirit of God sheds abroad in the heart, is Qot done as it ought to be done, however it may appear to men. For this love embraces both the love of God and the Love of our neighbour, and " on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets,"^ we may add the Gospel and the apostles. For it is from these that we hear this voice: The end of the commandment is charity, and God is love."* Wherefore, all God's commandments, one of which is, " Thou shalt not commit adultery,"^ and all those precepts which are not commandments but special counsels, one of which is, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman," ^ are rightly carried out only when the motive principle of action is the love of God, and the love of our neighbour in God. And this applies both to the present and the future life. We love God now by faith, then we shall love Him through sight. Now we love even our neighbour by faith; for we who are ourselves mortal know not the hearts of mortal men. But in the future life, the Lord " both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man have praise of God;" ^ for every man shall love and praise in his neighbour the virtue which,

'Eom. xiv. 9. â€ 1 Tim. i. 5. ^ Matt. xxii. 40; comp. Rom. v. 5.


^ 1 Cor. vii. 1. >â– 1 Cor. iv. 5.

260 THE ENCHIEIDION. [CHAP. CXXII.

that it may not be liilcl, tlie Lord Himself shall bring to light. Moreover, lust diminishes as love grows, till the latter grows to such a height that it can grow no higher here. For " greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." ^ Who then can tell how great love shall be in the future world, when there shall be no lust for it to restrain and conquer ? for that will be the perfection of health when there shall be no struggle with death.

Chap. cxsii. â€” Conclusion.
But now there must be an end at last to this volume. And it is for yourself to judge whether you should call it a handlooool, or should use it as such. I, however, thinking that your zeal in Christ ought not to be despised, and believing and hoping all good of you in dependence on our Eedeemer's help, and loving you very much as one of the members of His body, have, to the best of my ability, written this book for you on Faith, Hope, and Love. May its value be equal to its length.

1 John XV. 13.

TREATISE ON
THE CATECHISING OF THE UNINSTRUCTED.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

IN the fourteenth chapter of the second book of his Retractations, Augustine makes the following statement: " There is also a book of ours on the subject of the Catechising of the Uninstructed, that being, indeed, the express title by which it is designated. In this book, where I have said, 'Neither did the angel, who, in company with other spirits who loere his satellites, forsook in pride the obedience of God, and became the devil, do any hurt to God, but to himself; for God kновjeth how to dispose of souls that leave Him: ' it would be more appropriate to say, 'spirits that leave Him', inasmuch as the question dealt with angels. This book commences in these terms: 'You have requested me, brother Deogratias! " The composition so described in the passage cited is reviewed by Augustine in connection with other works which he had in hand about the year 400 a.d., and may therefore be taken to belong to that date. It has been conjectured that the person to whom it is addressed may perhaps be the same with
the presbyter Deogratias, to whom, as we read in the epistle which now ranks as the hundred and second, Augustine wrote about the year 406, in reply to some questions of the pagans which were forwarded to him from Carthage. The Benedictine editors introduce the treatise in the following terms: "At the request of a deacon of Carthage, Augustine undertakes the task of teaching the art of catechising; and in the first place, he gives certain injunctions, to the effect that this kind of duty may be discharged not only in a settled method and an apt order, but also without tediousness, and in a spirit of cheerfulness. Thereafter reducing his injunctions to practical use, he gives an example of what he means by delivering two set discourses, presenting parallels to each other, the one being somewhat lengthened and the other very brief, but both suitable for the instruction of any individual whose desire is to be a Christian."

2S3

ON THE CATECHISING OF THE UNINSTRUCTED.

IN ONE BOOK.

Chap. i. "YOU have requested me, brother Deogratias, to send you in writing something which might be of service to you in the matter of catechising the uninstructed. For you have informed me that in Carthage, where you hold the position of a deacon, persons, who have to be taught the Christian faith from its very rudiments, are frequently brought to you by reason of your enjoying the reputation of possessing a rich gift in catechising, due at once to an intimate acquaintance with the faith, and to an attractive method of discourse; but that you almost always find yourself in a difficulty as to the manner in which a suitable declaration is to be made of the precise doctrine, the belief of which constitutes us Christians: regarding the point at which our statement of the same ought to commence, and the limit to which it should be allowed to proceed: and with respect to the question whether, when our narration is concluded, we ought to make use of any kind of exhortation, or simply specify those precepts in the observance of which the person to whom we are discoursing may know the Christian life and profession to be maintained. At the same time, you have made the confession and complaint that it has often befallen you that in the course of a length-
2G5

266 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. II.

ened and languid address you have become profitless and distasteful even to yourself, not to speak of the learner whom you have been endeavouring to instruct by your utterance, and the other parties who have been present as hearers; and that you have been constrained by these straits to put upon me the constraint of that love which I owe to you, so that I may not feel it a burdensome thing among all my engagements to write you something on this subject.

2. As for myself then, if, in the exercise of those capacities which through the bounty of our Lord I am enabled to present, the same Lord requires me to offer any manner of aid to those whom He has made brethren to me, I feel constrained not only by that love and service which is due from me to you on the terms of familiar friendship, but also by that which I owe universally to my mother the Church, by no means to refuse the task, but rather to take it up with a prompt and devoted willingness. For the more extensively I desire to see the treasure of the Lord distributed, the more does it become my duty, if I ascertain that the stewards, who are my fellowservants, find any difficulty in laying it out, to do all that lies in my power to the end that they may be able to accomplish easily and expeditiously what they sedulously and earnestly aim at.

Chap. ii. â€” How it of ten happens that a discourse which gives pleasure to the hearer is distasteful to the speaker; and what explanation is to be offered of that fact.

3. But as regards the idea thus privately entertained by yourself in such efforts, I would not have you to be disturbed by the consideration that you have often appeared to yourself to be delivering a poor and wearisome discourse. For it may very well be the case that the matter has not so presented itself to the person whom you were trying to instruct, but that what you were uttering seemed to you to be unworthy of the ears of others, simply because it was your own earnest desire that there should be something better to listen to. Indeed with me, too, it is almost always the fact that my speech displeases myself. For I am covetous of something better, the possession of which I frequently enjoy within me before I
commence to body it forth in intelligible words: and then when my capacities of expression prove inferior to my inner apprehensions, I grieve over the inability which my tongue has betrayed in answering to my heart. For it is my wish that he who hears me should have the same complete understanding of the subject which I have myself; and I perceive that I fail to speak in a manner calculated to effect that, and that this arises mainly from the circumstance that the intellectual apprehension diffuses itself through the mind with something like a rapid flash, whereas the utterance is slow, and occupies time, and is of a vastly different nature, so that, while this latter is moving on, the intellectual apprehension has already withdrawn itself within its secret abodes. Yet, in consequence of its having stamped certain impressions of itself in a marvellous manner upon the memory, these prints endure with the brief pauses of the syllables; and as the outcome of these same impressions we form intelligible signs, which get the name of a certain language, either the Latin, or the Greek, or the Hebrew, or some other. And these signs may be objects of thought, or they may also be actually uttered by the voice. On the other hand, however, the impressions themselves are neither Latin, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, nor peculiar to any other race whatsoever, but are made good in the mind just as looks are in the body. For anger is designated by one word in Latin, by another in Greek, and by different terms in other languages, according to their several diversities. But the look of the angry man is neither (peculiarly) Latin nor (peculiarly) Greek. Thus it is that when a person says Iratus sum he is not understood by every nation, but only by the Latins; whereas, if the mood of his mind when it is kindling to wrath comes forth upon the face and affects the look, all who have the individual within their view understand that he is angry. But, again, it is not in our power to bring out those impressions which the intellectual apprehension stamps upon the memory, and to hold them forth, as it were, to the perception of the hearers by means of

* Verbis sonantibus, â€” sounding words.

2 Perdurantilia cum syllabarum niorulis.

* Sonantia signa, â€” vocal signs. * I am angry.

268 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. II.

the sound of the voice, in any manner parallel to the clear and evident form in which the look appears. For those former are within in the mind, while this latter is without in the body. Wherefore we have to surmise how far the sound of our mouth must be from
representing that stroke of the intelligence, seeing that it does not correspond even with the impression produced upon the memory. Now, it is a common occurrence with us that, in the ardent desire to effect what is of profit to our hearer, our aim is to express ourselves to him exactly as our intellectual apprehension is at the time, when, in the very effort, we are failing in the ability to speak; and then, because this does not succeed with us-, we are vexed, and we pine in weariness as if we were applying ourselves to vain labours; and, as the result of this very weariness, our discourse becomes itself more languid and pointless even than it was when it first induced such a sense of tediousness.

4. But oftentimes the earnestness of those who are desirous of hearing me shows me that my utterance is not so frigid as it seems to’ myself to be. From the delight, too, which they exhibit, I gather that they derive some profit from it. And I occupy myself sedulously with the endeavour not to fail in putting before them a service in which I perceive them to take in such good part what is put before them. Even so, on your side also, the very fact that persons who require to be instructed in the faith are brought so frequently to you, ought to help you to understand that your discourse is not displeasing to others as it is displeasing to yourself; and you ought not to consider yourself unfruitful, simply because you do not succeed in setting forth in such a manner as you desire the things which you discern; for, perchance, you may be just as little able to discern them in the way you wish. For in this life who sees except as "in an enigma and through a glass" ?^ Neither is love itself of might sufficient to rend the darkness of the flesh, and penetrate into that eternal calm from which even things which pass away derive the light in which they shine. But inasmuch as day by day the good are making advances towards the vision of that day, independent of the rolling sky,^ and without the invasion of the night, " which eye 1 1 Cor. xiii. 12. - Sine volumine coeli.

CHAP. II.] SUBJECTS OF THE DISCOURSE. 269

hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man."^ there is no greater reason why our discourse should become valueless in our own estimate, when we are engaged in teaching the uninstructed, than this, â€” namely, that it is a delight to us to discern in an extraordinary fashion, and a weariness to speal^: in an ordinary. And in reality we are listened to with much greater satisfaction, indeed, when we ourselves also have pleasure in the same work; for the thread of our address is affected by the very joy of which we ourselves are sensible, and it proceeds from us with greater ease and with more acceptance. Consequently, as regards those matters which are recommended as articles of belief, the task is not a dif&cult one to lay down injunctions, with respect to the points at which the narration should be commenced and ended, or with respect to the method in which the narration is to be varied, so that at one time it may be briefer, at another more lengthened, and yet at all times full and perfect; and, again, with respect to the particular occasions on which it may be right to use the shorter form, and those on which it will be proper to emx3loy the longer. But as to the means by which all is to be
done, so that every one may have pleasure in his work when he catechises (for the better he succeeds in this the more attractive will he be), Æ’” that is what requires the greatest consideration. And yet we have not far to seek for: the precept which will rule in this sphere. For if, in the matter of carnal means, God loves a cheerful giver," how much more so in that of the spiritual? But our security that this cheerfulness may be with us at the seasonable hour, is something dependent upon the mercy of Him who has given us such precepts. Therefore, in accordance with my understanding of what your own wish is, we shall discuss in the first place the subject of the method of narration, then that of the duty of delivering injunction and exhortation, and afterwards that of the attainment of the said cheerfulness, so far as God may furnish us with the ideas.

i 1 Cor. ii. 9. * 2 Cor. ix. 7.

270 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. III.

CHAP. III. Æ’” Of the fall narration to be employed in catechising.

5. The narration is full when each person is catechised in the first instance from what is written in the text, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," Æ’” on to the present times of the Church. This does not imply, however, either that we ought to repeat by memory the entire Pentateuch, and the entire Books of Judges, and Kings, and Esdras, Æ’” and the entire Gospel and Acts of the Apostles, if we have learned all these word for word; or that we should put all the matters which are contained in these volumes into our own words, and in that manner unfold and expound them as a whole. For neither does the time admit of that, nor does any necessity demand it. But what we ought to do is, to give a comprehensive statement of all things, summarily and generally, so that certain of the more wonderful facts may be selected which are listened to with superior gratification, and which have been ranked so remarkably among the exact turning-points (of the history) Æ’” that, instead of exhibiting them to view only in their wrappings, if we may so speak, and then instantly snatching them from our sight, we ought to dwell on them for a certain space, and thus, as it were, unfold them and open them out to vision, and present them to the minds of the hearers as things to be examined and admired. But as for all other details, these should be passed over rapidly, and thus far introduced and woven into the narrative. The effect of pursuing this plan is, that the particular facts which we wish to see specially commended to attention obtain greater prominence in consequence of the others being made to yield to them; while, at the same time, neither does the learner, whose interest we are anxious to stimulate by our statement, come to these subjects with a mind already exhausted, nor is confusion induced upon the memory of the person whom we ought to be instructing by our teaching.

6. In all things, indeed, not only ought our own eye to be kept fixed upon the end of the commandment, which is "charity, out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith
CHAP. III] JACOB'S BIRTH AND CHRIST'S INCARNATION. 271

unfeigned/\^ to which we should make all that we utter refer; but in like manner ought the gaze of the person whom we are instructing by our utterance to be moved \^ toward the same, and guided in that direction. And, in truth, for no other reason were all those things which we read in the Holy Scriptures written, previous to the Lord's advent, but for this, \^ namely, that His advent might be pressed upon the attention, and that the Church which was to be, should be intimated beforehand, that is to say, the people of God throughout all nations; which Church is His body, wherewith also are united and numbered all the saints who lived in this world, even before His advent, and who believed then in His future coming, just as we believe in His past coming. For (to use an illustration) Jacob, at the time when he was being born, first put forth from the womb a hand, with which also he held the foot of the brother who was taking priority of him in the act of birth; and next indeed the head followed, and thereafter, at last, and as matter of course, the rest of the members: \^ while, nevertheless, the head in point of dignity and power has precedence, not only of those members which followed it then, but also of the very hand which anticipated it in the process of the birth, and is really the first, although not in the matter of the time of appearing, at least in the order of nature. And in an analogous manner, the Lord Jesus Christ, previous to His appearing in the flesh, and coming forth in a certain manner out of the womb of His secrecy, before the eyes of men as Man, the Mediator between God and men,* \^ who is over all, God blessed for ever,"\^ sent before Him, in the person of the holy patriarchs and prophets, a certain portion of His body, wherewith, as by a hand. He gave token beforehand of His own approaching birth, and also supplanted\^ the people who were prior to Him in their pride, using for that purpose the bonds of the law, as if they were His five fingers. For

\^1 1 Tim. i. 5.

\^ Eading movenclus, for wliicli monendus = to be admonisliecl, also occurs in the editions.

* Reading supplantavit. Some Mss. give supplantarct = wherewith also He might supplant, etc.

272 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. IV.

tlirypto five epochs of times ^ tliere was no cessation in the foretelling and prophesying of His own destined coming; and in a manner consonant with this, he through whom the law was given wrote five books; and proud men, who were carnally minded, and sought to "establish their own righteousness,"^ were not filled with blessing by the open hand of Christ, but were debared from such good by the hand compressed and closed; and therefore their feet were tied, and "they fell, while we are risen, and stand "upright."^ But although, as I have said, the Lord Christ did thus send before Him a certain portion of His body, in the person of those holy men who came before Him as regards the time of birth, nevertheless He is Himself the Head of the body, the Church,* and all these have been attached to that same body of which He is the head, in virtue of their believing in Him whom they announced prophetically. For they were not sundered (from that body) in consequence of fulfilling their course before Him, but rather were they made one with the same by reason of their obedience. For although the hand may be put forward away before the head, still it has its connection beneath the head. Wherefore all things which were written aforetime were written in order that we might be taught thereby,^ and were our figures, and happened in a figure in the case of these men. Moreover they were written for our sakes, upon whom the end of the ages has come.Â®

Chap. iv. â€“ That the great reason for the advent of Christ was the commendation of love.

7. Moreover, what greater reason is apparent for the advent of the Lord than that God might show His love in ns, commending it powerfully, inasmuch as "while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us"^? And furthermore, this is with the intent that, inasmuch as charity is " the end of the commandment,"^ and " the fulfilling of the law,"^ we also may love one another and lay down our life for the brethren, even as He laid down His life for us.Â® And with regard to God Himself, its object

1 Temporum articulos. ^ Rom. s. 3. ^ Ps. xx. 8.

* Col. i. 18. 6 Rom. xv. 4. Â« 1 Cor. x. 11.

7 Rom. V. 8, 10. 8 1 Tim. i. 5. Â» Rom. xiii. 10. 10 1 Jolin iii. 16.
is that, even if it were an irksome task to love Him, it may now at least cease to be
irksome for us to return His love, seeing that "He first loved us," \(^*\) and "spared not His
own only Son, but delivered Him up for us all." \(^*\) For there is no mightier invitation to
love than to anticipate in loving; and that soul is over hard which, supposing it unwilling
indeed to give love, is unwilling also to give the return of love. But if, even in the case of
criminal and sordid loves, we see how those who desire to be loved in return make it their
special and absorbing business, by such proofs as are within their power, to render the
strength of the love which they themselves bear plain and patent; if we also perceive how
they affect to put forward an appearance of justice in what they thus offer, such as may
qualify them in some sort to demand that a response be made in all fairness to them on
the part of those souls which they are labouring to beguile; if, further, their own passion
burns more vehemently when they observe that the minds which they are eager to possess
are also moved now by the same fire:
if thus, I say, it happens at once that the soul which before was torpid is excited so soon
as it feels itself to be loved, and that the soul which was enkindled already becomes the
more inflamed so soon as it is made cognisant of the return of its own love, it is evident
that no greater reason is to be found why love should be either originated or enlarged,
than what appears in the occasion when one who as yet loves not at all comes to know
himself to be the object of love, or when one who is already a lover either hopes t
hat he
may yet be loved in turn, or has by this time the evidence of a response to his affection.
And if this holds good even in the case of base loves, how much more \(^*\) in (true)
friendship? For what else have we carefully to attend to in this question touching the
injuring of friendship than to this, namely, not to give our friend cause to suppose either
that we do not love him at all, or that we love him less than he loves us? If, indeed, he is
led to entertain this belief, he will be cooler in that love in which men enjoy the
interchange of intimacies one with another; and if

\(^*\) 1 John iv. 10, 19. 2 Rom. viii. 32.

\(^*\) Reading quanta plus, for which some Mss. give plurius, while in a large number we
find urJMS= with how much greater purity should it hold good, etc.

CATECH. S
he is not of that weak type of character to which such an offence to affection will serve as a cause of freezing off from love altogether, he yet confines himself to that kind of affection in which he loves, not with the view of enjoyment to himself, but with the idea of studying the good of others. But again it is worth our while to notice how, although superiors also have the wish to be loved by their inferiors, and are gratified with the zealous attention paid to them by such, and themselves cherish greater affection towards these inferiors the more they become cognisant of that, with what might of love, nevertheless, the inferior kindles so soon as he learns that he is beloved by his superior. For there have we love in its more grateful aspect, where it does not consume itself in the drought of want, but flows forth in the plenteousness of beneficence. For the former type of love is of misery, the latter of mercy.

And furthermore, if the inferior was despairing even of the possibility of his being loved by his superior, he will now be inexpressibly moved to love if the superior has of his own will condescended to show how much he loves this person who could by no means be bold enough to promise himself so great a good. But what is there superior to God in the character of Judge? and what more desperate than man in the character of sinner? — than man, I ask, who had given himself all the more unreservedly up to the wardship and domination of proud powers which are unable to make him blessed, as he had come more absolutely to despair of the possibility of his being an object of interest to that power which wills not to be exalted in wickedness, but is exalted in goodness.

8. If, therefore, it was mainly for this purpose that Christ came, to wit, that man might learn how much God loves him; and that he might learn this, to the intent that he might be kindled to the love of Him by whom he was first loved, and might also love his neighbour at the command and showing of Him who became our neighbour, in that He loved man when, instead of being a neighbour to Him, he was sojourning far apart: if, again, all divine Scripture, which was written

've Reading studiolo . . . obsequio, for Avhicli studiose, etc. also occurs in the editions = are earnestly gratified with the attention, etc. ^

^ jEduat = burn, heave. ' Ex miseria ... ex misericordia. fl

CHAP, v.] LOVE THE END OF THE COMMANDMENT. 275

aforetime, was written with the view of presignifying the Lord's advent; and if whatever has been committed to writing in times subsequent to these, and established by divine authority, is a record of Christ, and admonishes us of love, it is manifest that on those two commandments of love to God and love to our neighbour hang not only all the law and the prophets, which at the time when the Lord spoke to that effect were as yet the only Holy Scripture, but also all those books of the divine literature which have been written at a later period for our health, and consigned to remembrance. Wherefore, in the Old Testament there is a veiling of the New, and in the New Testament there is a revealing of the Old. According to that veiling, carnal men, understanding
things in a carnal fashion, have been under the dominion, both then and now, of a penal fear. According to this revealing, on the other hand, spiritual men, among whom we reckon at once those then who knocked in piety and found even hidden things opened to them, and others now who seek in no spirit of pride, lest even things uncovered should be closed to them, understanding in a spiritual fashion, have been made free through the love wherewith they have been gifted. Consequently, inasmuch as there is nothing more adverse to love than envy, and as pride is the mother of envy, the same Lord Jesus Christ, God-man, is both a manifestation of divine love towards us, and an example of human humility with us, to the end that our great swelling might be cured by a greater counteracting remedy. For here is great misery, proud man! But there is greater mercy, a humble God! Take this love, therefore, as the end that is set before you, to which you are to refer all that you say, and, whatever you narrate, narrate it in such a manner that he to whom you are discoursing on hearing may believe, on believing may hope, on hoping may love.

Chap. v. That the person who comes for catechetical instruction is to be examined with respect to his views, on desiring to become a Christian.

9. Moreover, it is on the ground of that very severity of God by which the hearts of mortals are agitated with a most wholesome terror, that love is to be built up; so that, rejoicing that he is loved by Him whom he fears, man may have boldness to love Him in return, and yet at the same time be afraid to displease His love toward himself, even should he be able to do so with impunity. For certainly it very rarely happens, nay, I should rather say, never, that any one approaches us with the wish to become a Christian who has not been smitten with some sort of fear of God. For if it is in the expectation of some advantage from men whom he deems himself unlikely to please in any other way, or with the idea of escaping any disadvantage at the hands of men of whose displeasure or hostility he is seriously afraid, that a man wishes to become a Christian, then his wish to become one is not so earnest as his desire to feign one. For faith is not a matter of the body which does obeisance, but of the mind which believes. But unmistakeably it is often the case that the mercy of God comes to be present through the ministry of the catechiser, so that, affected by the discourse, the man now wishes to become in reality that which he had made up his mind only to feign. And so soon as he begins to have this manner of desire, we may judge him then to have made a genuine approach to us. It is true, indeed, that the precise time when a man, whom we perceive to
be present with us already in the body, comes to us in reality with his mind,^ is a thing hidden from us. But, notwithstanding that, we ought to deal with him in such a manner that this wish may be made to arise within him, even should it not be there at present. For no such labour is lost, inasmuch as, if there is any wish at all, it is assuredly strengthened by such action on our part, although we may be ignorant of the time or the hour at which it began. It is useful certainly, if it can be done, to get from those who know the man some idea beforehand of the state of

* De ipsa etlam severitate Dei . . , caritas seclificanda est.

2 Non fieri vult potius quam fingere.

3 Or= "signifying assent by its motions," adopting the reading of the best Mss., viz. salutantis corporis. Some editions give salvandi, while certain Mss. have salutls, and others saltantis.

* Reading quando veniat animo, for which quo vcniat animo also occurs: = the mind in which a man comes ... is a matter hidden from us.

CHAP. TI. now TO ArrROACII THE CATECHUMEN. 277

mind in which he is, or of the causes which have induced him to come with the view of embracing religion. But if there is no other person available from whom we may gather such information, then, indeed, the man himself is to be interrogated, so that from what he says in reply we may draw the beginning of our discourse. ISTow if he has come with a false heart, desirous only of human advantages or thinking to escape disadvantages, he will certainly speak what is untrue. Nevertheless, the very untruth w^hich he utters should be made the point from which we start. This should not be done, however, with the (open) intention of confuting his falsehood, as if that were a settled matter with you; but, taking it for granted that he has professed to have come with a purpose which is really worthy of approbation (whether that profession be true or false), it should rather be our aim to commend and praise such a purpose as that with which, in his reply, he has declared himself to have come; so that we may make him feel it a pleasure to be the kind of man actually that he wishes to seem to be. On the other hand, supposing him to have given a declaration of his views other than what ought to be before the mind of one who is to be instructed in the Christian faith, then by reproving him with more than usual kindness and gentleness, as a person uninstructed and ignorant, by pointing out and commending, concisely and in a grave spirit, the end of Christian doctrine in its genuine reality, and by doing all this in such a manner as neither to anticipate the times of a narration, which should be given subsequently, nor to venture to impose that kind of statement upon a mind not previously set for it, you may bring him to desire that which, either in mistake or in dissimulation, he has not been desiring up to this stage.
Chap. vi. â€” Of the icay to commence the catechetical insuruction, and of the narration of facts from the history of the luorld's creation on to the present times of the Church.

10. But if it happens that his answer is to the effect that lie has met with some divine warning, or with some divine terror, prompting him to become a Christian, this opens up the way most satisfactorily for a commencement to our discourse, by suggesting the greatness of God's interest in us.

278 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. VI.

His thoughts, however, ought certainly to be turned away from this line of things, whether miracles or dreams, and directed to the more solid path and the surer oracles of the Scriptures; so that he may also come to understand how mercifully that warning was administered to him in advance,^ previous to his giving himself to the Holy Scriptures. And assuredly it ought to be pointed out to him, that the Lord Himself would neither thus have admonished him and urged him on to become a Christian, and to be incorporated into the Church, nor have taught him by such signs or revelations, had it not been His will that, for his greater safety and security, he

' should enter upon a pathway already prepared in the Holy Scriptures, in which he should not seek after visible miracles, but learn the habit of hoping for things invisible, and in which also he should receive monitions not in sleep but in wakefulness. At this point the narration ought now to be commenced, which should start with the fact that God made all things very good,^ and which should be continued, as we have said, on to the present times of the Church. This should be done in such a manner as to give, for each of the affairs and events which we relate, causes and reasons by which we may refer them severally to that end of love from which neither the eye of the man who is occupied in doing anything, nor that of the man who is engaged in speaking, ought to be turned away. Tor if, even in handling the fables of the poets, which are but fictitious creations and things devised for the pleasure^ of minds whose food is found in trifles, those grammarians who have the reputation and the name of being good do nevertheless endeavour to bring them to bear upon some kind of (assumed) use, although that use itself may be only something vain and grossly bent upon the coarse nutriment of this world:* how much more careful does it become us to be, not to let those genuine verities which we narrate, in consequence of any want of a well-considered account of their causes, be accepted either with a gratification which

' Prerogata sit. ^ Gen. i. 31.

3 Reading ad voluptatem. But manj- Mss. give ad voluntatem = according to the inclination, etc.

* Avidam snginte seccularis.
issues in no practical good, or, still less, with a cupidity which may prove hurtful! At the same time, we are not to set forth these causes in such a manner as to leave the proper course of our narration, and let our heart and our tongue indulge in digressions into the knotty questions of more intricate discussion. But the simple truth of the explanation which we adduce—ought to be like the gold which hinds together a row of gems, and yet does not interfere with the choice symmetry of the ornament by any undue intrusion of itself.2

Chap. vii. â€” Of the exposition of the resurrection, the judgment, and other subjects, which should follow this narration.

11. On the completion of this narration, the hope of the resurrection should be set forth, and, so far as the capacity and strength of the hearer will bear it, and so far also as the measure of time at our disposal will allow, we ought to handle our arguments against the vain scoffings of unbelievers on the subject of the resurrection of the body, as well as on that of the future judgment, with its goodness in relation to the good, its severity in relation to the evil, its truth in relation to all. And after the penalties of the impious have thus been declared with detestation and horror, then the kingdom of the righteous and faithful, and that supernal city and its joy, should form the next themes for our discourse. At this point, moreover, we ought to equip and animate the weakness of man in withstanding temptations and offences, whether these emerge without or rise within the church itself; without, as in opposition to Gentiles, or Jews, or heretics; within, on the other hand, as in opposition to the chaff of the Lord’s threshing-floor. It is not meant, however, that we are to dispute against each several type of perverse men, and that all their wrong opinions are to be refuted by set arrays of argumentations: but, in a manner suitable to a limited allowance of time, we ought to show how all this was foretold, and to point out of what service temptations are in the training of

^ Eeading Veritas adhiihitce ratlonis, for which we also find adhibita rationis = the applied truth, etc.; and adhibita rationi = the truth applied to our explanation.

f Ilfon tamen oraamenti sericum ulla immoderatone perturhans.

280 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. VII.

the faithful, and what relief- there is in the example of the patience of God, who has resolved to permit them even to the end. But, again, while he is being furnished against these (adversaries), whose perverse multitudes fill the churches so far as bodily presence is concerned, the precepts of a Christian and honourable manner of life should also be
briefly and befittingly detailed at the same time, to the intent that he may neither allow himself to be easily led astray in this way by any who are drunkards, covetous, fraudulent, gamesters, adulterers, fornicators, lovers of public spectacles, wearers of unholy charms, sorcerers, astrologers, or diviners practising any sort of vain and wicked arts, and all other parties of a similar character; nor to let himself fancy that any such course may be followed with impunity on his part, simply because he sees many who are called Christians loving these things, and engaging themselves with them, and defending them, and recommending them, and actually persuading others to their use. For as to the end which is appointed for those who persist in such a mode of life, and as to the method in which they are to be borne with in the church itself, out of which they are destined to be separated in the end, these are subjects in which the learner ought to be instructed by means of the testimonies of the divine books. He should also, however, be informed beforehand that he will find in the church many good Christians, most genuine citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, if he sets about being such himself. And, finally, he must be sedulously warned against letting his hope rest on man. For it is not a matter that can be easily judged by man, what man is righteous. And even were this a matter which could be easily done, still the object with which the examples of righteous men are set before us is not that we may be justified by them, but that, as we imitate them, we may understand how we ourselves also are justified by their Justifier. For the issue of this will be something which must merit the highest approval, namely this, that when the person who is hearing us, or rather, who is hearing God by us, has begun to make some progress in moral qualities and in knowledge, and to enter upon the way

^ Medicina.

I

CHAP. VIII.] HOW TO DEAL WITH THE EDUCATED. 281

of Christ with ardour, he will not be so bold as to ascribe the change either to us or to himself; but he will love both himself and us, and whatever other persons he loves as friends, in Him and for His sake who loved him when he was an enemy, in order that He might justify him and make him a friend.

And now that we have advanced thus far, I do not think that you need any preceptor to tell you how you should discuss matters briefly, when either your own time or that of those who are hearing you is occupied; and how, on the other hand, you should discourse at greater length when there is more time at your command. For the very necessity of the case recommends this, apart from the counsel of any adviser.

Chap. viii. Of the method to he pursued in catechising those who have had a liberal education.
12. But there is another case which evidently must not be overlooked. I mean the case of one coming to you to receive catechetical instruction who has cultivated the field of liberal studies, who has already made up his mind to be a Christian, and who has betaken himself to you for the express purpose of becoming one. It can scarcely fail to be the fact that a person of this character has already acquired a considerable knowledge of our Scriptures and literature; and, furnished with this, he may have come now simply with the view of being made a partaker in the sacraments. For it is customary with men of this class to inquire carefully into all things, not at the very time when they are made Christians, but previous to that, and thus early also to communicate and reason, with any whom they can reach, on the subject of the feelings of their own minds. Consequently a brief method of procedure should be adopted with these, so as not to inculcate on them, in an odious fashion, things which they know already, but to pass over these with a light and modest touch. Thus we should say how we believe that they are already familiar with this and the other subject, and that we therefore simply reckon up in a cursory manner all those facts which require to be formally urged upon the attention of the uninstructed and unlearned. And we should endeavour so to proceed,
that, supposing this man of culture to have been previously

* Reading odiose, for wliicli several iiss. give otiose = idly.

282 ON CATECHISING. [CIIAP. YIII.

acquainted with any one of our themes, he may not hear it now as from a teacher; and that, in the event of his being still ignorant of any of them, he may yet learn the same while we are going over the things with which we understand him to be already familiar. Moreover, it is certainly not without advantage to interrogate the man himself as to the means by which he was induced to desire to be a Christian; so that, if you discover him to have been moved to that decision by books, whether they be the canonical writings or the compositions of literary men worth the studying,^ you may say something about these at the outset, expressing your approbation of them in a manner which may suit the distinct merits which they severally possess, in respect of canonical authority and of skilfully applied diligence on the part of these expounders;^ and, in the case of the canonical Scriptures, commending above all the most salutary modesty (of language) displayed alongside their wonderful loftiness (of subject); while, in those other productions you notice, in accordance with the characteristic faculty of each several writer, a style of a more sonorous and, as it were, more rounded eloquence adapted to minds that are prouder, and, by reason thereof, weaker. We should certainly also elicit from him some account of himself, so that he may give us to understand what writer he chiefly perused, and with what books he was more familiarly conversant, as these were the means of moving him to wish to be associated with the church. And when he has given us this information, then if the said books are known to us, or if we have at least ecclesiastical report as our warrant for taking them to have been written by some catholic man of note, we should joyfully express our approbation. But if, on the other hand, he has fallen upon the productions of some heretic, and in ignorance, it may be, has retained in his mind anything which ^ the true faith condemns, and yet supposes it to be catholic doctrine, then we must set ourselves sedulously to teach him, bringing before him (in its

1 Utilium tractatorum.

^ Reading exponentium. Various codices give adexponendum = in expounding.

^ Reading quod, with Marriott. But if we accept qudd with the Benedictine editors, the sense will = and in ignorance it may be that the true faith condemns them, has retained them in his mind.

CHAP. YIII.] THE CASE OF THE EDUCATED. 283
rightful superiority) the authority of the Church universal, and of other most learned men
reputed both for their disputations and for their writings in (the cause of) its truth.\(^\text{^\textsuperscript{2}}\) At the
same time, it is to be admitted that even those who have departed this life as genuine
catholics, and have left to posterity some Christian writings, in certain passages of their
small works, either in consequence of their failing to be understood, or (as the way is
with human infirmity) because they lack ability to pierce into the deeper mysteries with
the eye of the mind, and in (pursuing) the semblance of what is true, wander from the
truth itself, have proved an occasion to the presumptuous and audacious for constructing
and generating some heresy. This, however, is not to be wondered at, when, even in the
instance of the canonical writings themselves, where all things have been expressed in the
soundest manner, we see how it has happened, â€” not indeed through merely taking
certain passages in a sense different from that which the writer had in view or which is
consistent with the truth itself, (for if this were all, Avho would not gladly pardon human
infirmity, when it exhibits a readiness to accept correction ?), but by persistently
defending, with the bitterest vehemence and in impudent arrogance, opinions which they
have taken up in perversity and error, â€” many have given birth to many pernicious
dogmas at the cost of rending the unity of the (Christian) communion. All these subjects
we should discuss in modest conference with the individual who makes his approach to
the society of the Christian people, not in the character of an uneducated man,\(^\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) as they
say, but in that of one â€¢ who has passed through a finished culture and training in the
books of the learned. And in enjoining him to guard against the errors of presumption, we
should assume only so much authority as that humility of his, which induced him to come
to us, is now felt to admit of. As to other things, moreover, in accordance with the rules
of saving doc-

\(^\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) Aliorumque doctissimiorim homrnum et disjnitationihus et scripiionibus in ejus verifate
floreyitium. It may also be = bringing before him the authority of the Church universal,
as well as both the disputations and the writings of other most learned men well reirated
in (the cause of) its truth.

2 Idiota.

284 ON CATECHISING. [CIIAP. IX.

trine, which require to be narrated or discussed, whether they
be matters relating to the faith, or questions bearing on the
moral life, or others dealing with temptations, all these should
be gone through in the manner which I have indicated, and
ought therein to be referred to the more excellent way
Chap. ix. â€“ Of the method in which grammarians and professional speakers are to he dealt with.

13. There are also some who come from the commonest schools of the grammarians and professional speakers, whom you may not venture to reckon either among the uneducated or among those very learned classes whose minds have been exercised in questions of real magnitude. When such persons, therefore, who appear to be superior to the rest of mankind, so far as the art of speaking is concerned, approach you with the view of becoming Christians, it will be your duty in your communications with them, in a higher degree than in your dealings with those other illiterate hearers, to make it plain that they are to be diligently admonished to clothe themselves with Christian humility, and learn not to despise individuals whom they may discover keeping themselves free from vices of conduct more carefully than from faults of language; and also that they ought not to presume so much as to compare with a pure heart the practised tongue which they were accustomed even to put in preference. But above all, such persons should be taught to listen to the divine Scriptures, so that they may neither deem solid eloquence to be mean, merely because it is not inflated, nor suppose that the words or deeds of men, of which we read the accounts in those books, involved and covered as they are in carnal wrappings, are not to be drawn forth and unfolded with a view to an (adequate) understanding of them, but are to be taken merely according to the sound of the letter. And as to this same matter of the istitiality of the hidden meaning, the existence of which is the reason why they are called also mysteries, the power wielded by these intricacies of enigmatical utterances in the way of sharpening our love for the truth, and shaking off the torpor.

^ 1 Cor. xii. 31. See also above, Â§ 9.

2 Carualibus integumentis iuvoluta atq^ue operta.

CHAP. X.] ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION. 285

of Averiusness, is a thing which the persons in question must have made good to them by actual experience, when some subject which failed to move them when it was placed baldly before them, has its significance elicited by the detailed working out of an allegorical sense. For it is in the highest degree useful to such men to come to know how ideas are to be preferred to words, just as the soul is preferred to the body. And from this, too, it follows that they ought to have the desire to listen to discourses remarkable for their truth, rather than to those which are notable for their eloquence; just as they ought to be anxious to have friends distinguished for their wisdom, rather than those whose chief merit is their beauty.

They should also understand that there is no voice for the ears of God save the affection of the soul. For thus they will not act the mocker if they happen to observe any of the
prelates and ministers of the Church either calling upon God in language marked by
barbarisms and solecisms, or failing in understanding correctly the very words which
they are pronouncing, and making confused pauses.\(^\text{1}\) It is not meant, of course, that such
faults are not to be corrected, so that the people may say
"Amen" to something which they plainly understand; but what is intended is, that such
things should be piously borne with by those who have come to understand how, as in the
forum it is in the sound, so in the church it is in the desire that the grace of speech
resides.\(^\text{2}\) Therefore that of the forum may sometimes be called good speech, but never
gracious speech.\(^\text{2}\) Moreover, with respect to the sacrament which they are about to
receive, it is enough for the more intelligent simply to hear what the thing signifies. But
with those of slower intellect, it will be necessary to adopt a somewhat more detailed
explanation, together with the use of similitudes, to prevent them from despising what
they see.

Chap. s. â€” Of the attainment of cheerfulness in the duty of catechising, and of various
causes producing weariness in the catechumen.

14. At this point you perhaps desiderate some example of the kind of discourse intended,
so that I may show you by an

1 Or = confusing the sense by false pauses: perturhateque distinguere.
\(^\text{1}\) Ut sono in foro, sic voto in ecclesia benedici.
\(^\text{2}\) Bona dictio, nunquam tamen benedictio.

286 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. X.

actual instance how the things which I have recommended are to be done. This indeed I
shall do, so far as by God's help I
shall be able. But before proceeding to that, it is my duty, in consistency with what I have
promised, to speak of the acquisition of the cheerfulness (to which I have alluded). For as
regards the matter of the rules in accordance with which your discourse should be set
forth, in the case of the catechetical instruction of a person who comes with the express
view of being made a Christian, I have already made good, as far as has appeared
sufficient, the promise which I made. And surely I am under no obligation at the same
time to do myself in this volume that which I enjoined as the right thing to be done.
Consequently, if I do that, it will have the value of an overplus. But how can the overplus
be superadded by me before I have filled up the measure of what is due? Besides, one
thing which I have heard you make the subject of your complaint above all others, is the
fact that your discourse seemed to yourself to be poor and spiritless when you were
instructing any one in the Christian name. Now this, I know, results not so much from
want of matter to say, with which I
am well aware you are sufficiently provided and furnished, or from poverty of speech
itself, as rather from weariness of mind. And that may spring either from the cause of
which I
have already spoken, namely, the fact that our intelligence is better pleased and more thoroughly arrested by that which we perceive in silence in the mind, and that we have no inclination to have our attention called off from it to a noise of words coming far short of representing it; or from the circumstance that even when discourse is pleasant, we have more delight in hearing or reading things which have been expressed in a superior manner, and which are set forth without any care or anxiety on our part, than in putting together, with a view to the comprehension of others, words suddenly conceived, and leaving it an uncertain issue, on the one hand, whether such terms occur to us as adequately represent the sense, and on the other, whether they be accepted in such a manner as to profit; or yet again, from the consideration that, in consequence of their being now thoroughly familiar to ourselves, and no longer necessary to our own advancement, it becomes

CHAP. X. CAUSES OF TEDIOUSNESS. 287

irksome to us to be recurring very frequently to those matters which are urged upon the uninstructed, and our mind, as being by this time pretty well matured, moves with no manner of pleasure in the circle of subjects so well worn, and, as it were, so childish. A sense of weariness is also induced upon the speaker when he has a hearer who remains unmoved, either in that he is actually not stirred by any feeling, or in that he does not indicate by any motion of the body that he understands or that he is pleased with what is said. 'Not that it is a becoming disposition in us to be greedy of the praises of men, but that the things which we minister are of God; and the more we love those to whom we discourse, the more desirous are we that they should be pleased with the matters which are held forth for their salvation: so that if we do not succeed in this, we are pained, and we are weakened, and become broken-spirited in the midst of our course, as if we were wasting our efforts to no purpose. Sometimes, too, when we are drawn off from some matter which we are desirous to go on with, and the transaction of which was a pleasure to us, or appeared to be more than usually needful, and when we are compelled, either by the command of a person whom we are unwilling to offend, or by the importunity of some parties that we find it impossible to get rid of, to instruct any one catechetically, in such circumstances we approach a duty for which great calmness is indispensable with minds already perturbed, and grieving at once that we are not permitted to keep that order which we desire to observe in our actions, and that we cannot possibly be competent for all things; and thus out of very heaviness our discourse as it advances is less of an attraction, because, starting from the arid soil of dejection, it goes on less flowingly. Sometimes, too, sadness has taken possession of our heart in consequence of some offence or other, and at that very time we are addressed thus: "Come, speak with this person; he desires to become a Christian."

For they who thus address us do it in ignorance of the hidden trouble which is consuming us within. So it happens that, if they are not the persons to whom it befits us to open up our
feelings, we undertake with no sense of pleasure what they desire; and then, certainly, the discourse will be languid and unenjoyable which is transmitted through the agitated and fuming channel of a heart in that condition. Consequently, seeing there are so many causes serving to cloud the calm serenity of our minds, in accordance with God's will we must seek remedies for them, such as may bring us relief from these feelings of heaviness, and help us to rejoice in fervour of spirit, and to be jocund in the tranquillity of a good work. "For God loveth a cheerful giver." ^

15. Now if the cause of our sadness lies in the circumstance that our hearer does not apprehend what we mean, so that we have to come down in a certain fashion from the elevation of our own conceptions, and are under the necessity of dwelling long in the tedious processes of syllables which come far beneath the standard of our ideas, and have anxiously to consider how that which we ourselves take in with a most rapid draught of mental apprehension is to be given forth by the mouth of flesh in the long and perplexed intricacies of its method of enunciation; and if the great dissimilarity thus felt (between our utterance and our thought) makes it distasteful to us to speak, and a pleasure to us to keep silence, then let us ponder what has been set before us by Him who has "showed us an example that we should follow His steps." ^

For however much our articulate speech may differ from the vivacity of our intelligence, much greater is the difference of the flesh of mortality from the equality of God. And, nevertheless, "although He was in the same form. He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant," â€” and so on down to the words "the death of the cross." ^ What is the explanation of this but that He made Himself "weak to the weak, in order that He might gain the weak" ? * Listen to His follower

1 2 Cor. ix. 7. ^ 1 Pet. ii. 2.

* Phil. ii. 17. The form in which the quotation is given above, with the omission of the intermediate clauses, is due probably to the copyist, and not to Augustine himself. The words left out are given thus in the Serm. XLVii. on Ezekiel xxxiv.: "Being made in the likeness of men, and being found in the fashion of a man: He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

* Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 22.
as he expresses himself also in another place to this effect:
" For whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your
cause. For the love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge that He died for all."
^ And how, indeed, should one be ready to be spent for their souls,^ if he should find it
irksome to him to bend himself to their ears? For this reason, therefore. He became a
little child in the midst of us, (and) like a nurse cherishing her children. For is it a
pleasure to lisp shortened and broken words, unless love invites us? And yet men desire
to have infants to whom they have to do that kind of service; and it is a sweeter thing to a
mother to put small morsels of masticated food into her little son's mouth, than to eat up
and devour larger pieces herself. In like manner, accordingly, let not the thought of the
hen * recede from your heart, who covers her tender brood with her drooping feathers,
and with broken voice calls her chirping young ones to her, while they that turn away
from her fostering wings in their pride become a prey to birds. For if intelligence brings
delights in its purest recesses, it should also be a delight to us to have an intelligent
understanding of the manner in which charity, the more complaisantly it descends to the
lowest objects, finds its way back, with all the greater vigour to those that are most secret,
along the course of a good conscience which witnesses that it has sought nothing from
those to whom it has descended except their everlasting salvation.

CHAP. XI. — Of the remedy for the second source of weariness.
16. If, however, it is rather our desire to read or hear such things as are already prepared
for our use and expressed in a superior style, and if the consequence is that we feel it
irksome to put together, at the time and with an uncertain issue, the terms of discourse on
our own side, then, provided only that our mind does not wander off from the truth of the
facts themselves, it is an easy matter for the hearer, if he is offended by anything in our
language, to come to see in that very circumstance how little value should be set,
supposing the

1 2 Cor. V. 13, 14. ^ cf. 2 Cor. xii. 15.


CATEGH. T

290 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XI.

subject itself to be rightly understood, upon the mere fact that there may have been some
imperfection or some inaccuracy in the literal expressions, which Y/ere emj^loyed indeed
simply with the view of securing a correct apprehension of the subjectmatter. But if the
bent of human infirmity has wandered off from the truth of the facts themselves, " although in the catechetical instruction of the unlearned, where we have to keep by the most beaten track, that cannot occur very readily, " still, lest haply it should turn out that our hearer finds cause of offence even in this direction, we ought not to deem this to have come upon us in any other way than as the issue of God's own wish to put us to the test with respect to our readiness to receive correction in calmness of mind, so as not to rush headlong, in the course of a still greater error, into the defence of our error. But if, again, no one has told us of it, and if the thing has altogether escaped our own notice, as well as the observation of our hearers, then there is nothing to grieve over, provided only the same thing does not occur a second time. For the most part, however, when we recall what we have said, we ourselves discover something to find fault with, and are ignorant of the manner in which it was received when it was uttered; and so when charity is fervent within us, we are the more vexed if the thing, while really false, has been received with unquestioning acceptance. This being the case, then, whenever an opportunity occurs, as we have been finding fault with ourselves in silence, we ought in like manner to see to it that those persons be also set right on the subject in a considerate method, who have fallen into some sort of error, not by the words of God, but plainly by those used by us. If, on the other hand, there are any who, blinded by insensate spite, rejoice that we have committed a mistake, whisperers as they are, and slanderers, and " hateful to God,"^ such characters should afford us matter for the exercise of patience with pity, inasmuch as also the " patience of God leadeth them to repentance." ^ For what is more detestable, and what more likely to " treasure up wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God,"^ than to rejoice, after the evil likeness and pattern of the devil, in the evil of another ? At times, too, even when all is correctly and truly spoken, either something which has not been understood, or something which, as being opposed to the idea and wont of an old error, seems harsh in its very novelty, offends and disturbs the hearer. But if this becomes apparent, and if the person shows himself capable, " of being set right, he should be set right without any delay by the use of abundance of authorities and reasons. On the other hand, if the offence is tacit and hidden, the medicine of God is the effective remedy for it. And if, again, the person starts back and declines to be cured, we should comfort ourselves with that example of our Lord, who, when men were offended at His word, and shrank from it as a hard saying, addressed Himself at the same time to those who had remained, in these terms, " Will ye also go away ? " ^ For it ought to be retained as a thoroughly " fixed and immovable" position in our heart, that Jerusalem which is in captivity is set free from the Babylon of this world when the times have run their course, and that none belonging to her shall perish: for whoever may perish was not of her. " JFor the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal. The Lord knoweth them that are His; and, let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." ^ If we ponder

CHAP. XI.] REMEDIES FOR WEARINESS. 291

evil of another ? At times, too, even when all is correctly and truly spoken, either something which has not been understood, or something which, as being opposed to the idea and wont of an old error, seems harsh in its very novelty, offends and disturbs the hearer. But if this becomes apparent, and if the person shows himself capable, " of being set right, he should be set right without any delay by the use of abundance of authorities and reasons. On the other hand, if the offence is tacit and hidden, the medicine of God is the effective remedy for it. And if, again, the person starts back and declines to be cured, we should comfort ourselves with that example of our Lord, who, when men were offended at His word, and shrank from it as a hard saying, addressed Himself at the same time to those who had remained, in these terms, " Will ye also go away ? " ^ For it ought to be retained as a thoroughly " fixed and immovable" position in our heart, that Jerusalem which is in captivity is set free from the Babylon of this world when the times have run their course, and that none belonging to her shall perish: for whoever may perish was not of her. " JFor the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal. The Lord knoweth them that are His; and, let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." ^ If we ponder
these things, and call upon the Lord to come into our heart, we shall be less apprehensive of the uncertain issues of our discourse, consequent on the uncertain feelings of our hearers; and the very endurance of vexations in the cause of a work of mercy will also be something pleasant to us, if we seek not our own glory in the same. For then is a work truly good, when the aim of the doer gets its impetus from charity; and, as if returning to its own place, rests again in charity. Moreover, the reading which delights us, or any listening to an eloquence superior to our own, the effect of which is to make us inclined to set a greater value upon it than upon the discourse which we ourselves have to deliver, and so to lead us to speak with a reluctant or tedious utterance, will come upon us in a happier spirit, and will be found to be more enjoyable after labour. Then, too, with a stronger confidence shall we pray to God to

\[ \text{^John vi. 67. } \]
\[ \text{^2 Tim. ii. 19. } \]
\[ \text{* A caritate jaculatur. } \]

292 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XII.

speak to us as we wish, if we cheerfully submit to let Him speak by us as we are able. Thus is it brought about that all things come together for good to them that love God.

Chap. xn.â€”/the rejiicdy for the ldrcl source of ivealness.

17. Once more, however, we often feel it very wearisome to go over repeatedly matters which are thoroughly familiar, and adapted (rather) to children. If this is the case with us, then we should endeavour to meet them with a brother's, a father's, and a mother's love; and, if we are once united with them thus in heart, to us no less than to them will these things seem new. For so great is the power of a sympathetic disposition of mind, that, as they are affected while we are speaking, and we are affected while they are learning, we have our dwelling in each other; and thus, at one and the same time, they as it were in us speak what they hear, and we in them learn after a certain fashion what we teach. Is it not a common occurrence with us, that when we show to persons, who have never seen them, certain spacious and beautiful tracts, either in cities or in fields, which we have been in the habit of passing by without any sense of pleasure, simply because we have become so accustomed to the sight of them, we find our own enjoyment renewed in their enjoyment of the novelty of the scene? And this is so much the more our experience in proportion to the intimacy of our friendship with them; because, just as we are in them in virtue of the bond of love, in the same degree do things become new to us which previously were old. But if we ourselves have made any considerable progress in the contemplative study of things, it is not our wish that those whom we love should simply be gratified and astonished as they gaze upon the works of men's hands; but it becomes our wish to lift them to (the contemplation of) the very skill or wisdom of their author, and from this to (see them) rise to the admiration and praise of the all-creating God, with whom^ is the most fruitful end of love. How much more, then, ought we to be delighted

\[ \text{^Concurrant in bonum. Rom. viii. 28. } \]
when men come to us with the purpose already formed of obtaining the knowledge of God Himself, with a view to (the knowledge of) whom all things should be learned which are to be learned! And how ought we to feel ourselves renewed in their newness (of experience), so that if our ordinary preaching is somewhat frigid, it may rise to fresh warmth under (the stimulus of) their extraordinary hearing! There is also this additional consideration to help us in the attainment of gladness, namely, that we ponder and bear in mind out of what death of error the man is passing over into the life of faith. And if we walk through streets which are most familiar to us, with a beneficent cheerfulness, when we happen to be pointing out the way to some individual who had been in distress in consequence of missing his direction, how much more should be the alacrity of spirit, and how much greater the joy with which, in the matter of saving doctrine, we ought to traverse again and again even those tracks which, so far as we are ourselves concerned, there is no need to open up any more; seeing that we are leading a miserable soul, and one worn out with the devious courses of this world, through the paths of peace, at the command of Him who made that peace good to us!

18. But in good truth it is a serious demand to make upon us, to continue discoursing on to the set limit when we fail to see our hearer in any degree moved; whether it be that, under the restraints of the awe of religion, he has not the boldness to signify his approval by voice or by any movement of his body, or that he is kept back by the modesty proper to man, or that he does not understand our sayings, or that he counts them of no value. Since, then, this must be a matter of uncertainty to us, as we cannot discern his mind, it becomes our duty in our discourse to make trial of all things which may be of any avail in stirring him up and drawing him forth as it were from his place of concealment. For that sort of fear which is excessive, and which obstructs the

* Instead of enm, the reading ea = tliose things, also occm's.

* Or = by the reverence wliieh he feels for the man: hamana verecundia.
declaration of his judgment, ought to be dispelled by the force of kindly exhortation; and by bringing before him the consideration of our brotherly affinity, we should temper his reverence for us; and by questioning him, we should ascertain whether he understands what is addressed to him; and we should impart to him a sense of confidence, so that he may give free expression to any objection which suggests itself to him. We should at the same time ask him whether he has already listened to such themes on some previous occasion, and whether perchance they fail to move him now in consequence of their being to him like things well known and commonplace. And we ought to shape our course in accordance with his answer, so as either to speak in a simpler style and with greater detail of explanation, or to refute some antagonistic opinion, or, instead of attempting any more diffuse exposition of the subjects which are known to him, to give a brief summary of these, and to select some of those matters which are handled in a mystical manner in the holy books, and especially in the historical narrative, the unfolding and setting forth of which may make our addresses more attractive. But if the man is of a very sluggish disposition, and if he is senseless, and without anything in common with all such sources of pleasure, then we must simply bear with him in a compassionate spirit; and, after briefly going over other points, we ought to impress upon him, in a manner calculated to inspire him with awe, the truths which are most indispensable on the subject of the unity of the Catholic Church, on that of temptation, on that of a Christian conversation in view of the future judgment; and we ought rather to address ourselves to God for him than address much to him concerning God.

19. It is likewise a frequent occurrence that one who at first listened to us with all readiness, becomes exhausted either by the effort of hearing or by standing, and now no longer commends what is said, but gapes and yawns, and even unwillingly exhibits a disposition to depart. When we observe that, it becomes our duty to refresh his mind by saying something] seasoned with an honest cheerfulness and adapted to the matter which is being discussed, or something of a very wonderful and amazing order, or even, it may be, something of a painful and mournful nature. Whatever we thus say may be all the better if it affects himself more immediately, so that the quick sense of self-concern may keep his attention on the alert. At the same time, however, it should not be of the kind to offend his spirit of reverence by any harshness attaching to it; but it should be of a nature fitted rather to conciliate him by the friendliness which it breathes. Or else, we should relieve him by accommodating him with a seat, although unquestionably matters will be better ordered if from the outset, whenever that can be done with propriety, he sits and listens. And indeed in certain of the churches beyond the sea, with a far more considerate regard to the fitness of things, not only do the prelates sit when they address
the people, but they also themselves put down seats for the people, lest any person of
enfeebled strength should become exhausted by standing, and thus have his mind
diverted from the most wholesome purport (of the discourse), or even be under the
necessity of departing. And yet it is one thing if it be simply some one out of a great
multitude who withdraws in order to recruit his strength, he being also already under the
obligations which result from participation in the sacraments; and it is quite another thing
if the person withdrawing is one
(inasmuch as it is usually the case in these circumstances that the man is unavoidably
urged to that course by the fear that he should even fall, overcome by internal weakness)
who has to be initiated in the first sacraments; for a person in this position is at once
restrained by the sense of shame from stating the reason of his going, and not permitted
to stand through the force of his weakness. This I speak from experience. For this was the
case with a certain individual, a man from the country, when I was instructing him
catechetically: and from his instance I have learned that this kind of thing is carefully to
be guarded against.
For who can endure our arrogance when we fail to make men who are our brethren,^ or
even those who are not yet in that relation to us (for our solicitude then should be all

^ Instead of virofratres, some mss. read reros/ra<res = our genuine brethren.

296 ON CITECHISING. [CHAP. XIII.

the greater to get them to become our brethren), to be seated in our presence, seeing that
even a woman sat as she listened to our Lord Himself, in whose service the angels stand
alert ?^ Of course if the address is to be but short, or if the place is not well adapted for sitting,
they should listen standing.
But that should be the case only when there are many hearers, and when they are not to
be formally admitted^ at the time. For when the audience consists only of one or two, or a
few, who have come with the express purpose of being made Christians, there is a risk in
speaking to them standing. Nevertheless, supposing that we have once begun in that
manner, we ought at least, whenever we observe signs of weariness on the part of the
hearer, to offer him the liberty of being seated; nay more, we should urge him by all
means to sit down, and we ought to drop some remark calculated at once to refresh him
and to banish from his mind any anxiety which may have chanced to break in upon him
and draw off his attention. For inasmuch as the reasons why he remains silent and
departes from listening cannot be certainly known to us, now that he is seated we may speak to
some extent against the incidence of thoughts about worldly affairs, delivering ourselves
either in the cheerful spirit to which I have already adverted, or in a serious vein; so that,
if these are the particular anxieties which have occupied his mind, they may be made to
give way as if indicted by name: while, on the other hand, supposing them not to be the
special causes (of the loss of interest), and supposing him to be simply worn out with
listening, his attention will be relieved of the pressure of weariness when we address to
him some unexpected and extraordinary strain of remark on these subjects, in the mode
of which I have spoken, as if they were the particular anxieties, a€” for indeed we are simply ignorant (of the true causes). But let the remark thus made be short, especially considering that it is thrown in out of order, lest the very medicine even increase the malady of weariness which we desire to relieve; and, at the same time, we should go on rapidly with what remains, and promise and present the prospect of a conclusion nearer than was looked for.


CITAr. XIV.] OTHER CAUSES OF TÉDIOUSNESS CONSIDÉEED. 297

CuAP. XIV. a€” Of the remedy against the fifth and sixth sources of weariness.

20. If, again, your spirit has been broken by the necessity of giving up some other eniployment, on which, as the more requisite, you were now bent; and if the sadness caused by that constraint makes you catechise in no pleasant mood, you ought to ponder the fact that, excepting that we know it to be our duty, in all our dealings with men, to act in a merciful manner, and in the exercise of the sincerest charity, a€” with this one exception, I say, it is quite uncertain to us what is the more profitable thing for us to do, and what the more opportune thing for us either to pass by for a time or altogether to omit. For inasmuch as we know not how the merits of men, on whose behalf we are acting, stand with God, the question as to what is expedient for them at a certain time is something which, instead of being able to comprehend, we can rather only surmise, without the aid of any (clear) inferences, or (at best) with the slenderest and the most uncertain.

Therefore we ought certainly to dispose the matters with which we have to deal according to our intelligence; and then, if we prove able to carry them out in the manner upon which we have resolved, we should rejoice, not indeed that it was our will, but that it was God’s will, that they should thus be accomplished. But if anything unavoidable happens, by which the disposition thus proposed by us is interfered with, we should bend ourselves to it readily, lest we be broken; so that the very disposition of affairs which God has preferred to ours may also be made our own. For it is more in accordance with propriety that we should follow His will than that He should follow ours. Besides, as regards this order in the doing of things, which we wish to keep in accordance with our own judgment, surely that course is to be approved of in which objects that are superior have the precedence. Why then are we aggrieved that the precedence over men should be held by the Lord God in His vast superiority to us men, so that in the said love which we entertain for our own order, we should thus (exhibit the disposition to) despise order? For

" no one orders for the better " what he has to do, except the man who is rather ready to leave undone what he is prohibited from doing by the divine power, than desirous of doing that

298 ON CATECHISING. [CIIAP. XIV.
wliicl he meditates in his own human cogitations. For "there are many devices in a man's heart; nevertheless, the counsel of the Lord stands for ever."^  

21. But if our mind is agitated by some cause of offence, so as not to be capable of delivering a discourse of a calm and enjoyable strain, our charity towards those for whom Christ died, desiring to redeem them by the price of His own blood from the death of the errors of this world, ought to be so great, that the very circumstance of intelligence being brought us in our sadness, regarding the advent of some person who longs to become a Christian, ought to be enough to cheer us and dissipate that heaviness of spirit, just as the delights of gain are wont to soften the pain of losses. For we are not (fairly) oppressed by the offence of any individual, unless it be that of the man whom we either perceive or believe to be perishing himself, or to be the occasion of the undoing of some weak one. Accordingly, one who comes to us with the view of being formally admitted, in that we cherish the hope of his ability to go forward, should wipe away the sorrow caused by one who fails us. For even if the dread that our proselyte may become the child of helP comes into our thoughts, as there are many such before our eyes, from whom those offences arise by which we are distressed, this ought to operate, not in the way of keeping us back, but rather in the way of stimulating us and spurring us on. And in the same measure we ought to admonish him whom we are instructing to be on his guard against imitating those who are Christians only in name and not in very truth, and to take care not to suffer himself to be so moved by their numbers as either to be desirous of following them, or to be reluctant to follow Christ on their account, and either to be unwilling to be in the church of God, where they are, or to wish to be there in such a character as they bear. And somehow or other, in admonitions of this sort, that address is the more glowing to which a present sense of grief supplies the fuel; so that instead of being duller, we utter with greater fire and vehemence under such feelings things which, in times of greater ease, we would give forth in a colder and less energetic manner. And this should make us rejoice I Prov. xix. 21. ^ Matt, xxiii. 15.

CHAP. XrV.] HEAVINESS OF SriPJT BELIEVED BY CIIAPJTY. 299

that an opportunity is afforded ns under wliicti the emotions of our mind pass not away without yielding some fruit.

22. If, however, gi-ief has taken possession of us on account of something in which we ourselves have erred or sinned, we should bear in mind not only that a "broken spirit is a sacrifice to God,"^ but also the saying, "Like as water quenclietli fire, so alms sin; "^ and again, "I will have mercy," saibt He, "rather than sacrifice."^ Therefore, as in the
event of our being in peril from fire we would certainly run to the water in order to get the fire extinguished, and we would be grateful if any person were to offer it in the immediate vicinity; so, if some flame of sin has risen from our own stack,* and if we are troubled on that account, when an opportunity has been given for a most merciful work, we should rejoice in it, as if a fountain were offered us in order that by it the conflagration which had burst forth might be extinguished. Unless haply we are foolish enough to think that we ought to be readier in running with bread, wherewith we may fill the belly of a hungry man, than with the word of God, wherewith we may instruct the mind of the man who feeds on it. * There is this also to consider, namely, that if it would only be of advantage to us to do this thing, and entail no disadvantage to leave it undone, we might despise a remedy offered in an unhappy fashion in the time of peril with a view to the safety, not now of a neighbour, but of ourselves. But when from the mouth of the Lord this so threatening sentence is heard, " Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to give my money to the exchangers, "* what madness, I pray thee, is it thus, seeing that our sin pains us, to be minded to sin again, by refusing to give the Lord's money to one who desires it and asks it! When these and such like considerations and reflections have succeeded in dispelling the darkness of weary feelings, the bent of mind is rendered apt for the duty of catechising, so that that is received in a pleasant manner which breaks forth vigorously and cheerfully from the rich *ein of charity. For


5 Reading islud edentis; for which some editions give studentis â€” of one who studies it.

6 Matt. XXV. 26, 27.

300 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XV.

these things indeed which are uttered here are spoken, not so much by me to you, as rather to us all by that very " love which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit that is given to us." *

Chap. xv. â€” Of the method in which our address should be adapted to different classes of hearers.

23. But now, perhaps, you also demand of me as a debt that which, previous to the promise which I made, I was under no obligation to give, namely, that I should not count it burdensome to unfold some sort of example of the discourse intended, and to set it before you for your study, just as if I were myself engaged in catechising some individual. Before I do that, however, I wish you to keep in mind the fact that the mental effort is of one kind in the case of a person who dictates, with a future reader in his view, and that it is of quite another kind in the case of a person who speaks with a present hearer to whom to direct
his attention. And further, it is to be remembered that, in this latter instance in particular, the effort is of one kind when one is admonishing in private, and when there is no other person at hand to pronounce judgment on us; whereas it is of a different order when one is conveying any instruction in public, and when there stands around him an audience of persons holding dissimilar opinions; and again, that in this exercise of teaching, the effort will be of one sort when only a single individual is being instructed, while all the rest listen, like persons judging or attesting things well known to them, and that it will be different when all those who are present wait for what we have to deliver to them; and once more, that, in this same instance, the effort will be one thing when all are seated, as it were, in private conference with a view to engaging in some discussion, and that it will be quite another thing when the people sit silent and intent on giving their attention to some single speaker who is to address them from a higher position. It will likewise make a considerable difference, even when we are discoursing in that style, whether there are few present or many, whether they are learned or unlearned, or made up of both classes combined; whether they are city-bred or rustics, or both the one and the

'Eom. V. 5.

CHAP. XV.] CIR. CUMSTAXCES MODIFYING SPEECH. 301

other together; or whether, again, they are a people composed of all orders of men in due proportion. For it is impossible but that they will affect in different ways the person who has to speak to them and discourse with them, and that the address which is delivered will both bear certain features, as it were, expressive of the feelings of the mind from which it proceeds, and also influence the hearers in different ways, in accordance with that same difference (in the speaker's disposition), while at the same time the hearers themselves will influence one another in different ways by the simple force of their presence with each other. But as we are dealing at present with the matter of the instruction of the unlearned, I am a witness to you, as regards my own experience, that I find myself variously moved, according as I see before me, for the purposes of catechetical instruction, a highly educated man, a dull fellow, a citizen, a foreigner, a rich man, a poor man, a private individual, a man of honours, a person occupying some position of authority, an individual of this or the other nation, of this or the other age or sex, one proceeding from this or the other sect, from this or the other common error, â€” and ever in accordance with the difference of my feelings does my discourse itself at once set out, go on, and reach its end. And inasmuch as, although the same charity is due to all, yet the same medicine is not to be administered to all, in like manner charity itself travails with some, is made weak together with others; is at pains to edify some, tremblingly apprehends being an offence to others; bends to some, lifts itself erect to others; is gentle to some, severe to others; to none an enemy, to all a mother. And when one, who has not gone through the kind of experience to which I refer in the same spirit of charity, sees us attaining, in virtue of some gift which has been conferred upon us, and which carries the power of pleasing, a certain repute of an eulogistic nature in the mouth of the multitude, he counts us happy on that account. But may God, into whose cognisance the "groaning
of them that are bound enters,"^ look upon our humility, and our labour, and forgive us all our sins.^ Wherefore, if anything in us has so far pleased you as to make you desirous of hearing

1 rs. Ixxix. 11. 2 cf. Ps. XXV. 18.

302 ' ON CATECHISING. [CIIAP. XVI.

from us some remarks on the subject of the form of discourse which you ought to follow/you should acquire a more thorough understanding of the matter by contemplating us, and listening to us when we are actually engaged with these topics, than by a perusal when we are only dictating them.

Chap. xvi. â€” A specimen of a catechetical address; and first, the case of a catechumen with worthy views.

24. Nevertheless, however that may be, let us here suppose that some one has come to us who desires to be made a Christian, and who belongs indeed to the order of private persons,^ and yet not to the class of rustics, but to that of the city-bred, such as those whom you cannot fail to come across in numbers in Carthage. Let us also suppose that, on being asked whether the inducement leading him to desire to be a Christian is any advantage looked for in the present life, or the rest which is hoped for after this life, he has answered that his inducement has been the rest that is yet to come. Then perchance such a person might be instructed by us in some such strain of address as the following: "Thanks be to God, my brother; cordially do I wish you joy, and I am glad on your account that, amid all the storms of this world, which are at once so great and so dangerous, you have bethought yourself of some true and certain security. For even in this life men go in quest of rest and security at the cost of heavy labours, but they fail to find such in consequence of their wicked lusts. For their thought is to find rest in things which are unquiet, and which endure not. And these objects, inasmuch as they are withdrawn from them and pass away in the course of time, agitate them by fears and griefs, and suffer them not to enjoy tranquillity. For if it be that a man seeks to find his rest in wealth, he is rendered proud rather than at ease. Do we not see how many have lost their riches on a sudden, â€” how many, too, have been undone by reason of them, either as they have been coveting to possess them, or as they have been borne down and despoiled of them by others more covetous than themselves? And even should they remain with the man all his life long, and never leave their lover, yet would

^ Ut- aliquam observationem sermonis tui a nobis audire qusereres.
2 Idiotarum.
he himself (have to) leave them at his death. For of what measure is the life of man, even if he lives to old age? Or when men desire for themselves old age, what else do they really desire but long infirmity? So, too, with the honours of this world, â€” what are they but empty pride and vanity, and peril of ruin? For holy Scripture speaks in this wise: 'All flesh is grass, and the glory of man is as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.'^ Consequently, if any man longs for true rest and true felicity, he ought to lift his hope off things which are mortal and transitory, and fix it on the word of the Lord; so that, cleaving to that which endures for ever, he may himself together with it endure for ever.

25. "There are also other men who neither crave to be rich nor go about seeking the vain pomps of honours, but who nevertheless are minded to find their pleasure and rest in dainty meats, and in fornications, and in those theatres and spectacles which are at their disposal in great cities for nothing. But it fares with these, too, in the same way; or they waste their small means in luxury, and subsequently, under pressure of want, break out into thefts and burglaries, and at times even into highway robberies, and so they are suddenly filled with fears both numerous and great; and men who a little before were singing in the house of revelry, are now dreaming of the sorrows of the prison. Moreover, in their eager devotion to the public spectacles, they come to resemble demons, as they incite men by their cries to wound each other, and instigate those who have done them no hurt to engage in furious contests with each other, while they seek to please an insane people. And if they perceive any such to be peaceably disposed, they straightway hate them and persecute them, and raise an outcry, asking that they should be beaten with clubs, as if they had been in collusion to cheat them; and this iniquity they force even the judge, who is the (appointed) avenger of iniquities, to perpetrate. On the other hand, if they observe such men exerting themselves in horrid hostilities against each other, whether they be those called sintm} or theatrical actors and players/ or charioteers, or hunters, â€” those wretched men whom they engage in conflicts and struggles, not only men with men, but even men with beasts, â€” then the fiercer the fury with which they perceive these unhappy creatures rage against each other, the better they like them, and the greater the enjoyment they have in them; and they favour them when thus excited,^ and by so favouring them they excite them all the more, the spectators themselves striving more madly with each other, as they espouse the cause of different combatants, than is the case even with those very men whose madness they madly provoke, while at the same time they also long to be spectators of the same in their mad frenzy.^ How then can that mind keep the soundness of peace which feeds on strifes and contentions? For just as is the

1 Isa. xl. 6, 8; ] Pet. i. 24, 25.
food which is received, such is the health which results. In fine, although mad pleasures
are no pleasures, nevertheless let these things be taken as they are, and it still remains the
case that, whatever their nature may be, and whatever the measure of enjoyment yielded
by the boasts of riches, and the inflation of honours, and the spendthrift pleasures of the
taverns, and the contests of the theatres, and the impurity of fornications, and the
prurienty of the baths, they are all things of which one little fever deprives us, while,
even from those who still survive, it takes away the whole false happiness of their life.
Then there remains only a void and wounded conscience, destined to apprehend that God
as a Judge whom it refused to have as a Father, and destined also to find a severe Lord in
Him whom it scorned to seek and love as a tender Father. But thou, inasmuch as thou
seekest that true rest which is promised to

\'Eeacling sive sintce qui appellantur, for which there occur such varieties of reading as
these: sint athletece qui appellantur = those who are called athletes; or sint cequi
appellantur; or simply sint qui appellantur =z wliatever name they bear, whether actors,
etc. The term sintce, borrowed from the Greek I'vrat =
devourers, spoilers, may have been a word in common use among the Africans, as the
Benedictine editors suggest, for designating some sort of coarse characters.

2 Thymelici, strictly = the musicians belonging to the thymele, or orchestra.

\'Reading incitatls favent, for which some Mss. give incltati:^ excited themselves, they
favour them; and others have incltantes = exciting them, they favour , them.

* Compare a passage in the Confessions, vi. 13.

CHAP. XVII.] UNWOETHY VIEWS TO BE EEPROVED. 305

Christians after this life, wilt taste the same sweet and pleasant rest even here among the
bitterest troubles of this life, if thou continuest to love the commandments of Him who
hath promised the same. For quickly wilt thou feel that the fruits of righteousness are
sweeter than those of unrighteous
ness, and that a man finds a more genuine and
pleasurable joy in the possession of a good conscience in the midst of troubles than in
that of an evil conscience in the midst of delights. For thou hast not come to be united to
the Church of God with the idea of seeking from it any temporal advantage.

Chap. xvir. â€” The specimen of catechetical discourse continued, in rpference specially
to the reproved oj false aims on the catechumen's part.

26. "For there are some whose reason for desiring to become Christians is either that they
may gain the favour of men from whom they look for temporal advantages, or that they
are reluctant to offend those whom they fear. But these are reprobate; and although the
church bears them for a time, as the threshing-floor bears the chaff until the period of
winnowing, yet if they fail to amend and begin to be Christians in sincerity in view of the
everlasting rest which is to come, they will be separated from it in the end. And let not such flatter themselves, because it is possible for them to be in the threshing-floor along with the grain of God. For they will not be together with that in the barn, but are destined for the fire, which is their due. There are also others of better hope indeed, but nevertheless in no inferior danger.

I mean those who now fear God, and mock not the Christian name, neither enter the church of God with an assumed heart, but still look for their felicity in this life, expecting to have more felicity in earthly things than those enjoy who refuse to worship God. And the consequence of this false anticipation is, that when they see some wicked and impious men strongly established and excelling in this worldly prosperity, while they themselves either possess it in a smaller degree or miss it altogether, they are troubled with the thought, that they are serving God without reason, and so they readily fall away from the faith.

2 7. "But as to the man who has in view that everlasting CATECH.
also in Him after all the good works in which they have served Him, â€” which He Himself, indeed, works in them, who

1 Cf. Matt. XXV. 34, 41, - 1 Cor. ii. 9.

3 Gen. ii. 1-3. * Ps. c.xlviii. 5.

CHAP. XVIII.] THE DOCXraNE OF CREATION. 307
calls them, and instructs them, and puts away the offences that are past, and justifies the man who previously was ungodly. For as, when by His gift they work that which is good. He is Himself rightly said to work (that in them), so, when they rest in Him, He is rightly said to rest Himself.

For, as regards Himself, He seeks no cessation, because He feels no labour. Moreover He made all things by His Word; and His "Word is Christ Himself, in whom the angels and all those purest spirits of heaven rest in holy silence. Man, however, in that he fell by sin, has lost the rest which he possessed in His divinity, and receives it again (now) in His humanity; and for this purpose He became man, and was born of a woman, at the seasonable time at which He Himself knew it behoved it so to be fulfilled. And from the flesh assuredly He could not sustain any contamination, being Himself rather destined to purify the flesh. Of His future coming the ancient saints, in the revelation of the Spirit, had knowledge, and prophesied. And thus were they saved by believing that He was to come, even as we are saved by believing that He has come. Hence ought we to love God who has so loved us as to have sent His only Son, in order that He might endue Himself with the lowliness of our mortality, and die both at the hands of sinners and on behalf of sinners. For even in times of old, and in the opening ages, the depth of this mystery ceases not to be prefigured, and prophetically announced.

Chap. xviii. â€” Of what is to be believed on the subject of the creation of man and other objects.

29. " Whereas, then, the omnipotent God, who is also good and just and merciful, who made all things, â€” whether they be great or small, whether they be highest or lowest, whether they be things which are seen, such as are the heavens and the earth and the sea, and in the heavens, in particular, the sun and the moon and other luminaries, and in the earth and the sea, again, trees and shrubs and animals each after their kind, and all bodies celestial or terrestrial alike, or whether they be things which are not seen, such as are those spirits whereby bodies are animated and endowed

^ Humanitate, = humanity, also occurs instead of humUitate.
with life, â€™ made also man after His own image, in order that, as He Himself, in virtue of His omnipotence, presides over universal creation, so man, in virtue of that intelligence of his by which he comes to know even his Creator and worships Him, might preside over all the living creatures of earth:
Whereas, too, He made the woman to be an helpmeet for him: not for carnal concupiscence, â€” since, indeed, they had not corruptible bodies at that period, before the punishment of sin invaded them in the form of mortality, â€” but for this purpose, that the man might at once have glory of the woman in so far as he went before her to God, and present in himself an example to her for imitation in holiness and piety, even as he himself was to be the glory of God in so far as he followed His wisdom:

30. "Therefore did He place them in a certain locality of perpetual blessedness, which the Scripture designates Paradise: and He gave them a commandment, on condition of not violating which they were to continue for ever in that blessedness of immortality; while, on the other hand, if they transgressed it, they were to sustain the penalties of mortality. Now God knew beforehand that they would transgress it. Nevertheless, in that He is the author and maker of everything good. He chose rather to make them, as He also made the beasts, in order that He might replenish the earth with the good things proper to earth. And certainly man, even sinful man, is better than a beast. And the commandment, which they were not to keep. He yet preferred to give them, in order that they might be without excuse when He should begin to vindicate Himself against them. For whatever man may have done, he finds God worthy to be praised in all His doings: if he shall have acted rightly, he finds Him worthy to be praised for the righteousness of His rewards: if he shall have sinned, he finds Him worthy to be praised for the righteousness of His punishments: if he shall have confessed his sins and returned to an upright life, he finds Him worthy to be praised for the mercy of His pardoning favours. Why, then, should God not make man, although He foreknew that he would sin, when He might crown him if he stood, and set him right if he fell, and help him if he rose, Himself being always and

I

i

CHAP. XVIII.] THE GIFT OF FREE-WILL. 309

everywhere glorious in goodness, riglisleonsness, and clemency? Above all, why should He not do so, since He also foreknew this, namely, that from the race of that mortality there would spring saints, who should not seek their own, but give
glory to their Creator; and who, obtaining deliverance from every corruption by worshipping Him, should be counted worthy to live for ever, and to live in blessedness with the holy angels? For He who gave freedom of will to men, in order that they might worship God not of slavish necessity but with ingenuous inclination, gave it also to the angels; and hence neither did the angel, who, in company with other spirits who were his satellites, forsook in pride the obedience of God and became the devil, do any hurt to God, but to himself. For God knoweth how to dispose of souls that leave Him, and out of their righteous misery to furnish the inferior sections of His creatures with the most appropriate and befitting laws of His wonderful dispensation. Consequently, neither did the devil in any manner harm God, whether in falling himself, or in seducing man to death; nor did man himself in any degree impair the truth, or power, or blessedness of His Maker, in that, when his partner was seduced by the devil, he of his own deliberate inclination consented unto her in the doing of that which God had forbidden. For by the most righteous laws of God all were condemned, God Himself being glorious in the equity of retribution, while they were shamed through the degradation of punishment: to the end that man, when he turned away from his Creator, should be overcome by the devil and made his subject, and that the devil might be set before man as an enemy to be conquered, when he turned again to his Creator; so that whosoever should consent unto the devil even to the end, might go with him into eternal punishments; whereas those who should humble themselves to God, and by His grace overcome the devil, might be counted worthy of eternal rewards.

'Earlier "spirits." See the correction made in the Retractations ii. 14, as given above in the Introductory Notice.
^ The beatUtatem is omitted by several Mss.

310 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XIX.

Chap. xix. â€“ Of the co-existence of good and evil in the Church, and their final separation.

31. "Neither ought we to be loved by the consideration that many consent unto the devil, and few follow God; for the grain, too, in comparison with the chaff, has greatly the defect in number. But even as the husbandman knows what to do with the mighty heap of chaff, so the multitude of sinners is nothing to God, who knows what to do with them, so as not to let the administration of His kingdom be disordered and dishonoured in any part. Nor is the devil to be supposed to have proved victorious for the mere reason of his drawing away with him more than the few by whom he may be overcome. In this way there are two communities one of the ungodly, and another of the holy which are carried down from the beginning of the human race even to the end of the world, which are at present commingled in respect of bodies, but separated in respect of wills, and which, moreover, are destined to be separated also in respect of bodily presence in the day of judgment. For all men who love pride and temporal power with vain elation and pomp of arrogance, and all spirits who set their affections on such things and seek their
own glory in the subjection of men, are bound fast together in one association; nay, even although they frequently fight against each other on account of these things, they are nevertheless precipitated by the like weight of lust into the same abyss, and are united with each other by similarity of manners and merits. And, again, all men and all spirits who humbly seek the glory of God and not their own, and who follow Him in piety, belong to one fellowship. And, notwithstanding this, God is most merciful and patient with ungodly men, and offers them a place for penitence and amendment.

32. "For with respect also to the fact that He destroyed! all men in the flood, with the exception of one righteous man] together with his house, whom He willed to be saved in the ark. He knew indeed that they would not amend themselves; yet, nevertheless, as the building of the ark went on for the! space of a hundred years, the wrath of God which was to come upon them was certainly preached to them ãèçε} and if they only)

' Gen. vi. 7.

CHAP. XIX.] god's loxg-suffepjng. 311

would have turned to God, He would have spared them, as at a later period He spared the city of Nineveh when it repented, after He had announced to it, by means of a prophet, the destruction that was about to overtake it.^ Thus, moreover, God acts, granting a space for repentance even to those who He knows will persist in wickedness, in order that He may exercise and instruct our patience by His own example; whereby also we may know how greatly it befits us to bear with the evil in long-suffering, when we know not what manner of men they will prove hereafter, seeing that He, whose cognisance nothing that is yet to be escapes, spares them and suffers them to live. Under the sacramental sign of the flood, however, in which the righteous were rescued by the wood, there was also a fore-announcement of the Church which was to be, which Christ, its King and God, has raised on high, by the mystery of His cross, in safety from the submersion of this world. Moreover, God was not ignorant of the fact that, even of those who had been saved in the ark, there would be born wicked men, who would cover the face of the earth a second time with iniquities. But, nevertheless. He both gave them a pattern of the future judgment, and fore-announced the deliverance of the holy by the mystery of the wood. For even after these things wickedness did not cease to sprout forth again through pride, and lusts, and illicit impieties, when men, forsaking their Creator, not only fell to the. (standard of the) creature which God made, so as to worship instead of God that which God made, but even bowed their souls to the works of the hands of men and to the contrivances of craftsmen, wherein a more shameful triumph was to be won over them by the devil, and by those evil spirits who rejoice in finding themselves adored and reverenced in such false devices, while they feed^ their own errors with the errors of men.
33. "But in truth there were not wanting in those times righteous men also of the kind to seek God piously and to overcome the pride of the devil, citizens of that holy community, who were made whole by the humiliation of Christ, which was then only destined to enter, but was revealed to them by the Spirit. From among these, Abraham, a pious

^ Jonah iii. 2 instead of lyasquint the reading miscent, = mix, is also sound.

312 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XIX.

and faithful servant of God, was chosen, in order that to him might be shown the sacrament of the Son of God, so that thus, in virtue of the imitation of his faith, all the faithful of all nations might be called his children in the future. Of him was born a people, by whom the one true God who made heaven and earth should be worshipped when all other nations did service to idols and evil spirits. In that people, plainly, the future Church was much more evidently prefigured. For in it there was a carnal multitude that worshipped God with a view to visible benefits. But in it there were also a few who thought of the future rest, and looked longingly for the heavenly fatherland, to whom through prophecy was revealed the coming humiliation of God in the person of our King and Lord Jesus Christ, in order that they might be made whole of all pride and arrogance through that faith. ' And with respect to these saints who in point of time had precedence of the birth of the Lord, not only their speech, but also their life, and their marriages, and their children, and their doings, constituted a prophecy of this time, at which the Church is being gathered together out of all nations through faith in the passion of Christ. By the instrumentality of those holy patriarchs and prophets this carnal people of Israel, who at a later period were also called Jews, had ministered unto them at once those visible benefits which they eagerly desired of the Lord in a carnal manner, and those chastisements, in the form of bodily punishments, which were intended to terrify them for the time, as was befitting for their obstinacy. And in all these, nevertheless, there were also spiritual mysteries signified, such as were meant to bear upon Christ and the Church; of which Church tho'fee saints also were members, although they existed in this life previous to the birth of Christ, the Lord, according to the flesh. For this same Christ, the onlybegotten Son of God, the Word of the Father, equal and coeternal with the Father, by whom all things were made, was Himself also made man for our sakes, in order that of the whole Church, as of His whole body, He might be the Head. But just as when the whole man is in the process of being born, although he may put the hand forth first in the act of birth, yet is that hand joined and compacted together with the

CHAP. XX.] THE PASSAGE THEOUGH THE EED SEA. 313

whole body under the head, even as also among these same patriarchs some were born^ with the hand put forth first as a sign of this very thing: so all the saints who lived upon the earth previous to the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, although they were born
antecedently, were nevertheless united under the Head with that universal body of which He is the Head.

Chap. xx. æ” Of Israel's bondage in Egypt, their deliverance, and their passage through the Red Sea.

34. " That people, then, having been brought down into Egypt, were in bondage to the harshest of kings; and, taught by the most oppressive labours, they sought their deliverer in God; and there was sent to them one belonging to the people themselves, Moses, the holy servant of God, who, in the might of God, terrified the impious nation of the Egyptians in those days by great miracles, and led forth the people of God out of that land through the Red Sea, where the water parted and opened up a way for them as they crossed it, whereas, when the Egyptians pressed on in pursuit, the waves returned to their channel and overwhelmed them, so that they perished.

Thus, then, just as the earth through the agency of the flood was cleansed by the waters from the wickedness of the sinners, who in those times were destroyed in that inundation, while the righteous escaped by means of the wood; so the people of God, when they went forth from Egypt, found a way through the waters by which their enemies were devoured. Nor was the sacrament of the wood wanting there. For Moses smote with his rod, in order that that miracle might be effected. Both these are signs of holy baptism, by which the faithful pass into the new life, while their sins are done away with like enemies, and perish. But more clearly was the passion of Christ prefigured in the case of that people, when they were commanded to slay and eat the lamb, and to mark their door-posts with its blood, and to celebrate this rite every year, and to designate it the Lord's passover. For surely prophecy speaks with the utmost plainness of the Lord Jesus Christ, when it says that " He was led as a lamb to the slaughter." And with the sign of His passion and cross,

314 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XX.

thou art this day to be marked on thy forehead, as on the door-post, and all Christians are marked with the same.

35. "Thereafter this people was conducted through the wilderness for forty years. They also received the law written by the finger of God, under which name the Holy Spirit is signified, as it is declared with the utmost plainness in the Gospel. For God is not defined by the form of a body, neither are members and 'fingers to be thought of as existent in Him in the way in which we see them in ourselves. But, inasmuch as it is through the Holy Spirit that God's gifts are divided to His saints, in order that, although they vary in their capacities, they may nevertheless not lapse from the concord of charity, and inasmuch as it is especially in the fingers that there appears a certain kind of division, while nevertheless there is no separation from unity, this may be the explanation of the phrase. But whether this may be the case, or whatever other reason may be assigned for
the Holy Spirit being called the finger of God, we ought not at any rate to think of the form of a human body when we hear this expression used. The people in question, then, received the law written by the finger of God, and that in good sooth on tables of stone, to signify the hardness of their heart in that they were not to fulfil the law. For, as they eagerly sought from the Lord gifts meant for the uses of the body, they were held by carnal tear rather than by spiritual charity. But nothing fulfils the law save charity. Consequently, they were burdened with many visible sacraments, to the intent that they should feel the pressure of the yoke of bondage in the observances of meats, and in the sacrifices of animals, and in other rites innumerable; which things, at the same time, were signs of spiritual matters relating to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the Church; which, furthermore, at that time were both understood by a few holy men to the effect of yielding the fruit of salvation, and observed by them in accordance with the fitness of the time, while by the multitude of carnal men they were observed only and not understood.

36. "In this manner, then, through many varied signs of thin-Ts to come, which it would be tedious to enumerate in

^ Or:= circumscribed, dejlnltus.

CILVP. XXI.] THE BABYLONISH EXILE, 315

complete detail, and which we now see in their fulfilment in the Church, that people were brought to the land of promise, in which they were to reign in a temporal and carnal way in accordance with their own longings: which earthly kingdom, nevertheless, sustained the image of a spiritual kingdom. There Jerusalem was founded, that most celebrated city of God, which, while in bondage, served as a sign of the free city, which is called the heavenly Jerusalem^ â€” which latter term is a Hebrew word, and signifies by interpretation the 'vision of peace.' The citizens thereof are all sanctified men, who have been, who are, and who are yet to be; and all sanctified spirits, even as many as are obedient to God with pious devotion in the exalted regions of heaven, and imitate not the impious pride of the devil and his angels. The King of this city is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, by whom the highest angels are governed, and at the same time the Word that took unto Himself human nature,^ in order that by Him men also might be governed, who, in His fellowship, shall reign all together in eternal peace. In the service of prefiguring this King in that earthly kingdom of the people of Israel, King David stood forth pre-eminent,^ of whose seed according to the flesh that truest King was to come, to wit, our Lord Jesus Christ, ' who is over all, God blessed for ever.'^ In that land of promise many things were done, which held good as figures of the Christ who was to come> and of the Church, with which you will have it in your power to acquaint yourself by degrees in the Holy Books.

Chap. xxi. â€” Oj the Babylonish captivity, and the things signified thereby.
37. "Howbeit, after the lapse of some generations, another type was presented, which bears very emphatically on the matter in hand. For that city was brought into captivity, and a large section of the people were carried oft into Babylonia. Now, as Jerusalem signifies the city and fellowship of the saints, so Babylonia signifies the city and fellowship of the wicked, seeing that by interpretation it denotes confusion. On the subject of these two cities, which have been running


*Kom. ix. 5. ^ Or = community, cuititas.

316 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XXI.

their courses, mingling the one with the other, through all the changes of time from the beginning of the human race, and which shall so move on together until the end of the world, when they are destined to be separated at the last judgment, we have spoken already a little ago.® That captivity, then, of the city of Jerusalem, and the people thus carried into Babylonia in bondage, were ordained so to proceed by the Lord, by the voice of Jeremiah, a prophet of that time.® And there appeared kings ® of Babylon, under whom they were in slavery, who on occasion of the captivity of this people were so wrought upon by certain miracles that they came to know the one true God who founded universal creation, and worshipped Him, and commanded that He should be worshipped. Moreover the people were ordered both to pray for those by whom they were detained in captivity, and in their peace to hope for peace, to the effect that they should beget children, and build houses, and plant gardens and vineyards.® But at the end of seventy years, release from their captivity was promised to them.®® All this, furthermore, signified in a figure that the Church of Christ in all His saints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, would have to do service under the kings of this world. For the doctrine of the apostles speaks also in this wise, that ' every soul should be subject to the higher powers,' and that there ' should be rendered all things to all men, tribute to whom tribute (is due), custom to whom custom,®® and all other things in like manner which, without detriment to the worship of our God, we render to the rulers in the constitution of human society: for the Lord Himself also, in order to set before us an example of this sound doctrine, did not deem it unworthy of Him to pay tribute on account of that human individuality®® wherewith He was invested. Again, Christian servants and good believers are also commanded to serve their temporal masters in equanimity and faithfulness;®® whom they will hereafter judge, if even on to

'See Chapter xix. ^ Jer. xxv. 21, xxix. 1.

3 Dan. ii. 47, iii. 29, vi. 25; 1 Esdr. i. 7; Bel, 41.

* Jer. xxix. 4-7. ^ Jer. xxv. 12.
the end they find them wicked, or with whom they will hereafter reign in equality, if they too shall have been converted to the true God. Still all are enjoined to be subject to the powers that are of man and of earth, even until, at the end of the predetermined time which the seventy years signify, the Church shall be delivered from the confusion of this world, like as Jerusalem was to be set free from the captivity in Babylonia. By occasion of that captivity, however, the kings of earth too have themselves been led to forsake the idols on account of which they were wont to persecute the Christians, and have come to know, and now worship, the one true God and Christ the Lord; and it is on their behalf that the Apostle Paul enjoins prayer to be made, even although they should persecute the Church. For he speaks in these terms: 'I entreat, therefore, that first of all supplications, adorations, intercessions, and givings of thanks be made for kings, for all men, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, with all godliness and charity.' Accordingly peace has been given to the Church by these same persons, although it be but of a temporal sort, a temporal quiet for the work of building houses after a spiritual fashion, and planting gardens and vineyards. For witness your own case, too, at this very time we are engaged, by means of this discourse, in building you up and planting you. And the like process is going on throughout the whole, circle of lands, in virtue of the peace allowed by Christian kings, even as the same apostle thus expresses himself: 'Ye are God's husbandry; ye are God's building.'

38. "And, indeed, after the lapse of the seventy years of which Jeremiah had mystically prophesied, to the intent of prefiguring the end of times, with a view still to the perfecting of that same figure, no settled peace and liberty were conceded again to the Jews. Thus it was that they were conquered subsequently by the Romans and made tributary. From that period, in truth, at which they received the land of promise and began to have kings, in order to preclude the

' Instead of orationes, the better authenticated reading is adoratlones.

Â« 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

2 1 Cor. iii. 9; cf. Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10.
supposition that the promise of the Christ who was to be their Liberator had met its
complete fulfilment in the person of any one of their kings, Christ was prophesied of with
greater clearness in a number of prophecies; not only by David himself in the book of
Psalms, but also by the rest of the great and holy prophets, even on to the time of their
conveyance into captivity in Babylonia; and in that same captivity there were also
prophets whose mission was to prophesy of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ as the
Liberator of all. And after the restoration of the temple, when the seventy years had
passed, the Jews sustained grievous oppressions and sufferings at the hands of the kings
of the Gentiles, fitted to make them understand that the Liberator was not yet come,
whom they failed to apprehend as one who was to effect for them a spiritual deliverance,
and whom they fondly longed for on account of a carnal liberation.

Chap. xxii. â€” Of the six ages of the world.
39. " Five ages of the world, accordingly, having been now completed (there has entered
the sixth). Of these ages the first is from the beginning of the human race, that is, from
Adam, who was the first man that was made, down to Noah, who constructed the ark at
the time of the flood.^[ Then the second extends from that period on to Abraham, who
was called^ the father indeed of all nations ^ which should follow the example of his faith, but who at
the same time in the way of natural descent from his own flesh was the father of the
destined people of the Jews; which people, previous to the entrance of the Gentiles into
the Christian faith, was the one people among all the nations of all lands that worshiped
the one true God: from which people also Christ the Saviour was decreed to come
according to the flesh. For these turning-points ^ of those two ages occupy an eminently
place in the ancient books. On the other hand, those of the other three ages are also
declared in the Gospel,^ where the descent of the Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh
is likewise mentioned. For

1 Gen. vi. 22.

2 Instead of dktus est the Mss. give also electus esÄ«=was chosen to be.


CHAP. XXII.] SIX AGES OF THE WORLD. 319

the third age extends from Abraham on to David the king; the fourth from David on to
that captivity whereby the people of God passed over into Babylonia; and the fifth from
that transmigration down to the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.
With His coming the sixth age has entered on its process; so that now the spiritual grace,
which in previous times was known to a few patriarchs and prophets, may be made
manifest to all nations; to the intent that no man should worship God but freely,\(^*\) fondly desiring of Him not the visible rewards of His services and the happiness of this present life, but that eternal life alone in which he is to enjoy God Himself: in order that in this sixth age the mind of man may be renewed after the image of God, even as on the sixth day man was made after the image of God.\(^*\) For then, too, is the law fulfilled, when all that it has commanded is done, not in the strong desire for things temporal, but in the love of Him who has given the commandment. Who is there, moreover, who should not be earnestly disposed to give the return of "love to a God of supreme righteousness and also of supreme mercy, who has first loved men of the greatest unrighteousness and the loftiest pride, and that, too, so deeply as to have sent in their behalf His only Son, by whom He made all things, and who being made man, not by any change of Himself, but by the assumption of human nature, was designed thus to become capable not only of living lyth them, but also of dying at once for them and by their hands?

40. "Thus, then, showing forth the New Testament of our everlasting inheritance, wherein man was to be renewed by the grace of God and lead a new life, that is, a spiritual life; and with the view of exhibiting the first one as an old dispensation, wherein a carnal people acting out the old man (with the exception of a few patriarchs and prophets, who had understanding, and some hidden saints), and leading a carnal life, desiderated carnal rewards at the hands of the Lord God, and received in that fashion but the figures of spiritual blessings; â€” with this intent, I say, the Lord Christ, when made man, despised all earthly good things, in order that He might show us how these things ought to be despised; and He endured all earthly ills which He was inculcating as things needful to be endured; so that neither might our happiness be sought for in the former class, nor our unhappiness be apprehended in the latter. For being born of a mother who, although she conceived without being touched by man and always remained thus untouched, in virginity conceiving, in virginity bringing forth, in virginity dying, had nevertheless been espoused to a handicraftsman. He extinguished all the inflated pride of carnal nobility. Moreover, being born in the city of Bethlehem, which among all the cities of Judaea was so insignificant that even in our own day it is designated a village, He willed not that any one should glory in the exalted position of any city of earth. He, too, whose are all things and by whom all things were created, was made poor, in order that no one, while believing in Him, might venture to boast himself in earthly riches. He refused to be made by men a king, because He displayed the pathway of humility to those unhappy ones whom pride had separated from Him;\(^*\) and yet universal creation attests the fact of His everlasting kingdom. An hungered was He who feeds all men; a thirst was He by whom is created whatsoever is drunk, and who in a spiritual manner is the bread of the hungry and the fountain of the thirsty; in journeying on earth, wearied was He who has made Himself the way for us
into heaven; as like one dumb and deaf in the presence of His revilers was He by whom
the dumb spoke and the deaf heard; bound was He who freed us from the bonds of
infirmities; scourged was He who expelled from the bodies of man the scourges of all
distresses; crucified was He who put an end to our crucial pains; dead did He become
who raised the dead. But He also rose again, no more to die, so that no one should from
Him learn so to contemn death as if he were never to live again.

CHAr. XXIII.  "Of the mission of the Holy Ghost forty days after Christ's resurrection.

41. "Thereafter, having confirmed the disciples, and having sojourned with them forty
days, He ascendèd up into heaven as these same persons were beholding Him. And on the

1 Reading ah eo; for which some editions give ah ea = from that humility.

2 There is a play in the words here: cruajixits est c\ui cruciatus nostras Jinivit.

CHAP. XXIII.] THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT OF THE SPIPJ. 321

completion of fifty days from His resurrection He sent to them the Holy Spirit (for so He
had promised), by whose agency they were to have love shed abroad in their hearts/ to
the end that they might be able to fulfill the law, not only without the sense of its being
burdensome, but even with a joy fid. mind. This law was given to the Jews in the ten
commandments, which they call the Decalogue. And these commandments, again, are
reduced to two, namely, that we should love God with all our heart, with all our soul,
with all our mind; and that we should love our neighbour as ourselves.^^ For that on these two precepts hang all the law and the prophets, the Lord Himself has at
once declared in the Gospel and shown in His own example. For thus it was likewise in
the instance of the people of Israel, that from the day on which they first celebrated the
passover in a form,^ slaying and eating the sheep, with whose blood their door-posts
were marked for the securing of their safety,* â€” from this day, I
repeat, the fiftieth day in succession was completed, and then they received the law
written by the finger of God,^ under which phrase we have already stated that the Holy
Spirit is signified.* And in the same manner, after the passion and resurrection of the
Lord, who is the true passover, the Holy Ghost was sent personally to the disciples on the
fiftieth day:
not now, however, by tables of stone significant of the hardness of their hearts; but, when
they were gathered together in one place at Jerusalem itself, suddenly there came a sound
from heaven, as if a violent blast were being borne onwards, and there appeared to them
tongues cloven like fire, and they began to speak with tongues, in such a manner that all
those who had come to them recognised each his own language ^
(for in that city the Jews were in the habit of assembling from every country wheresoever they had been scattered abroad, and had learned the diverse tongues of diverse nations); and thereafter, preaching Christ with all boldness, they A\Tought many signs in His name, â€” so much so, that as Peter was

Â» Cf. Rom. V.

0,

^ Matt. xxii. 37

-40.

^ In imagine.

* Ex. xii.

* Ex. xix. 1.


' Acts ii.
passing by, his shadow touched a certain dead person, and the man rose in life again.\(^\dagger\)

42. "But when the Jews perceived so great signs to be wrought in the name of Him, whom, partly through ill-will and partly in ignorance, they crucified, some of them were provoked to persecute the apostles, who were His preachers; while others, on the contrary, marvelling the more at this very circumstance, that so great miracles were being performed in the name of Him whom they had derided as one overborne and conquered by themselves, repented, and were converted, so that thousands of Jews believed on Him. For these parties were not bent now on craving at the hand of God temporal benefits and an earthly kingdom, neither did they look any more for Christ, the promised king, in a carnal spirit; but they continued in immortal fashion to apprehend and love Him, who in mortal fashion endured on their behalf at their own hands sufferings so heavy, and imparted to them the gift of forgiveness for all their sins, even down to the iniquity of His own blood, and by the example of His own resurrection unfolded immortality as the object which they should hope for and long for at His hands. Accordingly, now mortifying the earthly cravings of the old man, and inflamed with the new experience of the spiritual life, as the Lord had enjoined in the Gospel, they sold all that they had, and laid the price of their possessions at the feet of the apostles, in order that these might distribute to every man according as each had need; and living in Christian love harmoniously with each other, they did not affirm anything to be their own, but they had all things in common, and were one in soul and heart toward God.\(^\ddagger\) Afterwards these same persons also themselves suffered persecution in their flesh at the hands of the Jews, their carnal fellow-countrymen, and were dispersed abroad, to the end that, in consequence of their dispersion, Christ should be preached more extensively, and that they themselves at the same time should be followers of the patience of their Lord.

' The reference evidently is to Acts v. 15, where, however, it is only the people's intention that is noticed, and that only in the instance of the sick, and not of any individual actually dead.

- Acts ii. 44, iv. 34.
For He who in meekness had endured them/ enjoined them in meekness to endure' for His sake.

43. "Among those same persecutors of the saints the Apostle Paul had once also ranked; and he raged with eminent violence against the Christians. But, subsequently, he became a believer and an apostle, and was sent to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, suffering (in that ministry) things more grievous on behalf of the name of Christ than were those which he had done against the name of Christ. Moreover, in establishing churches throughout all the nations where he was sowing the seed of the gospel, he was wont to give earnest injunction that, as these converts (coming as they did from the worship of idols and without experience in the worship of the one God) could not readily serve God in the way of selling and distributing their possessions, they should make offerings for the poor brethren among the saints who were in the churches of Judea which had believed in Christ. In this manner the doctrine of the apostle constituted some to be, as it were, soldiers, and others to be, as it were, provincial tributaries, while it set Christ in the centre of them like the corner-stone (in accordance with what had been announced beforetime by the prophet),^ in whom both parties, like walls advancing from different sides, that is to say, from Jews and from Gentiles, might be joined together in the affection of kinship. But at a later period heavier and more frequent persecutions arose from the unbelieving Gentiles against the Church of Christ, and day by day was fulfilled that prophetic word which the Lord spake when He said, ' Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves.'"

Chap. xxiv. â€” Of the Church in its likeness to a vine sprouting and suffering pruning.

44. " But that vine, which was spreading forth its fruitful

\[â€” Adopting the Benedictine version, qui eos mansuetus passus fuerat, and taking it as a parallel to Acts xiii. 18, Heb. xii. 3. There is, however, great variety of reading here. Thus we find qui ante eos, etc. = who had suffered in meekness before them: qui pro eis, etc. = who had suffered in their stead: qui propter eos, etc. = who had suffered on their account: and qui per eos, etc. â€” who had suffered through them, etc. But the reading in the text appears best authenticated.

â€” Ps. cxvii. 22; Isa. xxviii. 16. * Matt. x. 16.

324 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XXIV.
shoots throughout the circle of lands, according as had been prophesied with regard to it, and as had been foretold by the Lord Himself, sprouted all the more luxuriantly in proportion as it was watered with richer streams of the blood of martyrs. And as these died in behalf of the truth of the faith in countless numbers throughout all lands, even the persecuting kingdoms themselves desisted, and were converted to the knowledge and worship of Christ, with the neck of their pride broken. Moreover it behoved that this same vine should be pruned in accordance with the Lord's repeated predictions,*^ and that the unfruitful twigs should be cut out of it, by which heresies and schisms were occasioned in various localities, under the name of Christ, on the part of men who sought not His glory but their own; whose oppositions, however, also served more and more to discipline the Church, and to test and illustrate both its doctrine and its patience.

45. " All these things, then, we now perceive to be realized precisely as we read of them in predictions uttered so long before the event. And as the first Christians, inasmuch as they did not see these things literally made good in their own day, were moved by miracles to believe them; so as regards ourselves, inasmuch as all these things have now been brought to pass exactly as we read of them in those books which were written a long time previous to the fulfilment of the things in question, wherein they were all announced as matters yet future, even as they are now seen to be actually present, we are built up unto faith, so that, enduring and persevering in the Lord, we believe without any hesitation in the destined accomplishment even of those things which still remain to be realized. For, indeed, in the same Scriptures, tribulations yet to come are still read of, as well as the final day of judgment itself, when all the citizens of these two states shall receive their bodies again, and rise and give account of their life before the judgment-seat of Christ For He will come in the glory of His power, who of old condescended to come in the lowliness of humanity; and He will separate all the godly from the ungodly, â€” not only from those who have utterly refused to believe in Him at all, but also from those who have believed in Him to no purpose and without fruit.

1 John XV. 2.

CHAP. XXV.] THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY. 325

who have believed in Him to no purpose and without fruit. To the one class He will give an eternal kingdom together with Himself, while to the other He will award eternal punishment together with the devil. But as no joy yielded by things temporal can be found in any measure comparable to the joy of life eternal which the saints are destined to attain, so no torment of temporal punishments can be compared to the everlasting torments of the unrighteous.

Chap. xxv. â€” Of constancy in the faith of the resurrection.
46. " Therefore, brother, confirm yourself in the name and help of Him in whom you believe, so as to withstand the tongues of those who mock at our faith, in whose case the devil speaks seductive words, bent above all on making a mockery of the faith in a resurrection. But, judging from your own history,\(^{\text{a}}\) believe that, seeing you have been, you will also be hereafter, even as you perceive yourself now to be, although previously you were not. For where was this great structure of your body, and where this formation and compacted connection of members a few years ago, before you were born, or even before you were conceived in your mother's womb? Where, I repeat, was then this structure and this stature of your body? Did it not come forth to light from the hidden secrets of this creation, under the invisible formative operations of the Lord God, and did it not rise to its present magnitude and fashion by those fixed measures of increase which come with the successive periods of life?\(^{\text{b}}\) Is it then in any way a difficult thing for God, who also in a moment brings together out of secrecy the masses of the clouds and veils the heavens in an instant of time, to make this quantity of your body again what it was, seeing that He was able to make it what formerly it was not?\(^{\text{c}}\) Consequently, believe with a manful and unshaken spirit that all those things which seem to be withdrawn from the eyes of men as if to perish, are safe and exempt from loss in relation to the omnipotence.

\(^{\text{a}}\) Sed ex te ipso crede. It may also = but, on your side, do you believe.

\(^{\text{b}}\) Certisque aetatum incrementis, etc.

\(^{\text{c}}\) Reading sicut non erat; for which, however, cum non erat also occurs = seeing He was able to make it when it was not.

326 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XXV.

of God, who will restore them, without any delay or difficulty, when He is so minded, \(\ast\) those of them at least, I should say, that are judged by His justice to merit restoration; in order that men may give account of their deeds in their very bodies in which they have done them; and that in these they may be deemed worthy to receive either the exchange of heavenly incorruption in accordance with the deserts of their piety, or the corruptible condition of body\(^{\text{d}}\) in accordance with the deserts of their wickedness, \(\ast\) and that, too, not a condition such as may be done away with by death, but such as shall furnish material for everlasting pains,

47. " Flee, therefore, by stedfast faith and good manners, \(\ast\) flee, brother, those torments in which neither the torturers fail, nor do the tortured die; to whom it is death without end, to be unable to die in their pains. And be kindled with love and longing for the everlasting life of the saints, in which neither will action be toilsome nor will rest be indolent; in which the praise of God will be without irksomeness and without defect; wherein there will be no weariness in the mind, no exhaustion in the body; wherein, too, there shall be no want, whether on your own part, so that you should crave for relief, or on your neighbour's part, so that you should be in haste to carry relief.
to him. God will be the whole enjoyment and satisfaction of that holy city, which lives in Him and of Him, in wisdom and beatitude. For as we hope and look for what has been promised by Him, we shall be made equal to the angels of God,* and together with them we shall enjoy that Trinity now by sight, wherein at present we walk by faith.* For we believe that which we see not, in order that through these very deserts of faith we may be counted worthy also to see that which we believe, and to abide in it; to the intent that these mysteries of the equality of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the unity of this same Trinity, and the manner in which these three subsistences are one God, need no more be uttered by us in words

* Corrwptih'ilem corporis conditionem. But corruptihilis also occurs = the condition of a corruptible body.'
^ Satietas. Some editions, however, give soclefas = the society.

3 Luke XX. 36. â€¢â€¢ 2 Cor. v. 7.

CHAP. XXV.] CAUTIONS AGAINST EIIEOE. 327

of faith and sounding syllables, but may be drunk in in purest and most burning contemplation in that silence.

48. " These things hold fixed in your heart, and call upon the God in whom you believe, to defend you against the temptations of the devil; and be careful, lest that adversary come stealthily upon you from a strange quarter, who, as a most malevolent solace for his own damnation, seeks others whose companionship he may obtain in that damnation. For he is bold enough not only to tempt Christian people through the instrumentality of those who hate the Christian name, or are pained to see the world taken possession of by that name, and still fondly desire to do service to idols and to the curious rites of evil spirits, but at times he also attempts the same through the agency of such men as we have mentioned a little ago, to wit, persons severed from the unity of the Church, like the twigs which are lopped off when the vine is pruned, who are called heretics or schismatics. Howbeit sometimes also he makes the same effort by means of the Jews, seeking to tempt and seduce believers by their instrumentality. Nevertheless, what ought above all things to be guarded against is, that no individual may suffer himself to be tempted and deceived by men who are within the Catholic Church itself, and who are borne by it like the chaff that is sustained against the time of its winnowing. For in being patient toward such persons, God has this end in view, namely, to exercise and confirm the faith and prudence of His elect by means of the perverseness of these others, while at the same time He also takes account of the fact that many of their number make an advance, and are converted to the doing of the good pleasure of God with a great impetus, when led to take pity upon their own souls. ^ For not all treasure up for themselves, through the patience of God, wrath in the day of the wrath of His just judgment; ^ but many are brought by the same patience of the Almighty to the most wholesome
^ Ad placendum Deo miserati animas suas, etc. Instead of miserati the reading miseranti also occurs = to the doing of the good pleasure of the God who takes pity on their souls. The Benedictine editors suggest that the whole clause is in reference to Ecclesiasticus xxx. 24 (23), which in the Latin runs thus: miserere animae tuce placens Deo.

^ Eom. ii. 5.

328 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XXV.

pain of repentance. And until that is effected, they are made the means of exercising not only the forbearance, but also the compassion of those who are already holding by the right way. Accordingly, you will have to witness many drunkards, covetous men, deceivers, gamblers, adulterers, fornicators, men who bind upon their persons sacrilegious charms, and others given up to sorcerers and astrologers,^ and diviners practised in all kinds of impious arts. You will also have to observe how those very crowds which fill the theatres on the festal days of the pagans also fill the churches on the festal days of the Christians. And when you see these things you will be tempted to imitate them, Nay, why should I use the expression, you will see, in reference to what you assuredly are acquainted with even already? For you are not ignorant of the fact that many who are called Christians engage in all these evil things which I have briefly mentioned. Neither are you ignorant that at times, perchance, men whom you know to bear the name of Christians are guilty of even more grievous offences than these. But if you have come with the notion that you may do such things as in a secured position, you are greatly in error; neither will the name of Christ be of any avail to you when He begins to judge in utmost strictness, who also of old condescended in utmost mercy to come to man's relief. For He Himself has foretold these things, and speaks to this effect in the Gospel: 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father. Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, in Thy name we have eaten and drunken.' For all, therefore, who persevere in such works the end is damnation. Consequently, when you see many not only doing these things, but also defending and recommending them., keep yourself firmly by the law of God, and follow not its wilful transgressors. For it is not according to their mind, but according to His ^ truth that you will be judged.

49. " Associate with the good, whom you perceive to be at one with you in loving your King. For there are many such

* Cf. Rom. ii. 4. ^ Mathematicis.

3 Matt. vii. 21, 22. * Or = its {i.e. the law's) truth.
for you to discover, if you also begin to cultivate that character yourself. For if in the public spectacles you wished to be in congenial company, and to attach yourself closely to men who are united with you in a liking for some charioteer, or some hunter, or some player or other, how much more ought you to find pleasure in associating with those who are at one with you in loving that God, with regard to whom no one that loves Him shall ever have cause for the blush of shame, inasmuch as not only is He Himself incapable of being overcome, but He will also render those unconquerable who are affectionately disposed toward Him. At the same time, not even on those same good men, who either anticipate you or accompany you on the way to God, ought you to set your hope, seeing that no more ought you to place it on yourself, however great may be the progress you have made, but on Him who justifies both them and you, and thus makes you what you are. For you are secure in God, because He changes not; but in man no one prudently counts himself secure.

But if we ought to love those who are not righteous as yet, with the view that they may be so, how much more warmly ought those to be loved who already are righteous? At the same time, it is one thing to love man, and another thing to set one's hope in man; and the difference is so great, that God enjoins the one and forbids the other. Moreover, if you have to sustain either any insults or any sufferings in the cause of the name of Christ, and neither fall away from the faith nor decline from the good way, you are certain to receive the greater reward; whereas those who give way to the devil in such circumstances, lose even the less reward. But be humble toward God, in order that He may not permit you to be tempted beyond your strength."

Chap. xxvi. â€” Of the formal admission of the catechumen, and of the signs therein made use of.

50. At the conclusion of this address the person is to be

* Adopting nam si in spectaculis cum illis esse cupiebas et eis inhereere. Another, but less weightily supported reading, is, nam si in spectaculis et vanitatibus insanorum certaminum illis cupiebas inhereere = for if in the public spectacles and vanities of mad struggles you wish to attach yourself closely to men, etc.

2 Bona via. Another and well authenticated rendering is, bona vita = the good life.

330 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XXVI.

asked whether he believes these things and earnestly desires to observe them. And on his replying to that effect, then certainly he is to be solemnly signed and dealt with in accordance with the custom of the Church. On the subject of the sacrament, indeed/ which he receives, it is first to be well impressed upon his notice that the signs of divine things are, it is true, things visible, but that the invisible things themselves are also
honoured in them, and that that species, which is then sanctified by the blessing, is therefore not to be regarded merely in the way in which it is regarded in any common use. And thereafter he ought to be told what is also signified by the form of words to which he has listened, and what in him is seasoned by that (spiritual grace) of which this material substance presents the emblem. Next we should take occasion by that ceremony to admonish him that, if he hears anything even in the Scriptures which may carry a carnal sound, he should, even although he fails to understand it, nevertheless believe that something spiritual is signified thereby, which bears upon holiness of character and the future life. INIoreover, in this way he learns briefly that, whatever he may hear in the canonical books of such a kind as to make him unable to refer it to the love of eternity, and of truth, and of sanctity, and to the love of our neighbour, he should believe that to have been spoken or done with a figurative significance; and that, consequently, he should endeavour to understand it in such a manner as to refer it to that twofold (duty of) love. He should be further admonished,

' It has been supposed by the Benedictine editors that sane may be a misreading for sails. Whether that be or be not the case, the sacramenium intended here appears to be the sacramentum salis, in reference to which Neander (Church History, iii. p. 458, Bohn's Translation) states that "in the North African Church the bishop gave to those whom he received as competentes, while signing the cross over them as a symbol of consecration, a portion of salt over which a blessing had been pronounced. This was to signify the divine word imparted to the candidates as the true salt for human nature " There is an allusion to the same in the Confessions (i. 11), where Augustine says, " Even from my mother's womb who greatly hoped in thee, I was signed with the sign of His cross, and seasoned with His salt."

^ Speciem = kind, in reference to the outward and sensible sign of the salt.

^ Adopting condiat, which unquestionably is the reading most accordant with the figure of the sacramental salt here dealt with. Some editions give condatur =z what is hidden in it, i.e. in the said form of words.

CHAP. XXVI.] THE BEIEEFE MODE OF ADDRESS. 331

however, not to take the term neiglibour in a carnal sense, but to understand under it every one who may ever be with him in that holy city, whether there already or not yet apparent.
And (he should finally be counselled) not to despair of the amendment of any man whom he perceives to be living under the patience of God for no other reason, as the apostle ^ says, than that he may be brought to repentance.

51. If this discourse, in which I have supposed myseK to have been teaching some uninstructed person in my presence, appears to you to be too long, you are at liberty to expound these matters with greater brevity. I do not think, however, that it ought to be
longer than this. At the same time, much depends on what the case itself, as it goes on, may render advisable, and what the audience actually present shows itself not only to bear, but also to desire. When, however, rapid despatch is required, notice with what facility the whole matter admits of being explained. Suppose once more that some one comes before us who desires to be a Christian; and accordingly, suppose further that he has been interrogated, and that he has returned the answer which we have taken the former catechumen to have given; for, even should he decline to make this reply, it must at least be said that he ought to have given it; â€” then all that remains to be said to him should be put together in the following manner: â€”

52. " Of a truth, brother, that is great and true blessedness which is promised to the saints in a future world. All visible things, on the other hand, pass away, and all the pomp, and pleasure, and solicitude of this world will perish, and (even now) they drag those who love them along with them onward to destruction. The merciful God, willing to deliver men from this destruction, that is to say, from everlasting pains, if they should not prove enemies to themselves, and if they should not withstand the mercy of their Creator, sent His onlybegotten Son, that is to say. His Word, equal with Himself, by whom He made all things. And He, while abiding indeed in His divinity, and neither receding from the Father nor being changed in anything, did at the same time, by taking

1 EoDi. ii. 4. - Curiositas.

332 ON CATECHISING. [CHAP. XXVII.

on Himself human nature/ and appearing to men in mortal flesh, come unto men; in order that, just as death entered among the human race by one man, to wit, the first that was made, that is to say, Adam, because he consented unto his wife when she was seduced by the devil to the effect that they
(both) transgressed the commandment of God; even so by one man, Jesus Christ, who is also God, the Son of God, all those who believe in Him might have all their past sins done away with, and enter into eternal life.

Chap, xxvii. â€” Of the prophecies of the Old Testament in their visible fulfilment

in the Church.

53. " For all those things which at present you witness in the Church of God, and which you see to be taking place under the name of Christ throughout the whole world, were predicted long ages ago. And even as we read of them, so also we now see them. And by means of these things we are built up unto faith. Once of old there occurred a flood over the whole earth, the object of which was that sinners might be destroyed. And, nevertheless, those who escaped in the ark exhibited a sacramental sign of the Church that was to be, which at present is floating on the waves of the world, and is delivered from submersion by the wood of the cross of Christ. It was predicted to Abraham, a
faithful servant of God, a single man, that of him it was determined that a people should be born who should worship one God in the midst of all other nations which worshipped idols; and all things which were prophesied of as destined to happen to that people have come to pass exactly as they were foretold. Among that people Christ, the King of all saints and their God, was also prophesied of as destined to come of the seed of that same Abraham according to the flesh, which (flesh) He took unto Himself, in order that all those also who became followers of His faith might be sons of Abraham; and thus it has come to pass: Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, who belonged to that race. It was foretold by the prophets that He would suffer on the cross at the hands of that same people of the Jews, of whose lineage, according to the flesh. He came; and thus it has come to pass. It was foretold that He would rise

'Hominem.

CHAP. XXVII.] PEOPLESIES YET TO BE FULFILLED. 333

again: He has risen again; and, in accordance with these same predictions of the prophets, He has ascended into heaven and has sent the Holy Spirit to His disciples. It was foretold not only by the prophets, but also by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, that His Church would exist throughout the whole world, extended by the martyrdoms and sufferings of the saints; and this was foretold at a time when as yet His name was at once undeclared to the Gentiles, and made a subject of derision where it was known; and, nevertheless, in the power of His miracles, whether those which He wrought by His own hand or those which he effected by means of His servants, as these things are being reported and believed, we already see the fulfilment of that which was predicted, and behold the very kings of the earth, who formerly were wont to persecute the Christians, even now brought into subjection to the name of Christ. It was also foretold that schisms and heresies would arise from His Church, and that under His name they would seek their own glory instead of Christ's, in such places as they might be able to command; and these predictions have been realized.

54. "Will those things, then, which yet remain fail to come to pass? It is manifest that, just as the former class of things which were foretold have come to pass, so will these latter also come to pass. I refer to all the tribulations of the righteous, which yet wait for fulfilment, and to the day of judgment, which will separate all the wicked from the righteous in the resurrection of the dead; âand not only will it thus separate those wicked men who are outside the Church, but also it will set apart for the fire, which is due to such, the chaff of the Church itself, which must be borne with in utmost patience on to the last winnowing. Moreover, they who deride the (doctrine of a) resurrection, because they think that this flesh, inasmuch as it becomes corrupt, cannot rise again, will certainly rise in the same unto punishment, and God will make it plain to such, that He who was able to form these bodies when as yet they were not, is able in a moment to restore them as they were. But all the faithful who are destined to reign with Christ shall rise with the same body in such wise that they may also be counted worthy to be changed
into angelic incorruption; so that they may be made equal unto the angels of God, even as the Lord Himself has promised; and that they may praise Him without any failure and without any weariness, ever living in Him and of Him, with such joy and blessedness as can be neither expressed nor conceived by man.

55. "Believe these things, therefore, and be on your guard against temptations (for the devil seeks for others who may be brought to perish along with himself); so that not only may that adversary fail to seduce you by the help of those who are without the Church, whether they be pagans, or Jews, or heretics; but you yourself also may decline to follow the example of those within the Catholic Church itself whom you see leading an evil life, either indulging in excess in the pleasures of the belly and the throat, or unchaste, or given up to the vain and unlawful observances of curious superstitions, whether they be addicted to (the inanities of) public spectacles, or charms, or divinations of devils, or be living in the pomp and inflated arrogance of covetousness and pride, or be pursuing any sort of life which the law condemns and punishes.

But rather connect yourself with the good, whom you will easily find out, if you yourself were once become of that character; so that you may unite with each other in worshipping and loving God for His own sake; for He himself will be our complete reward to the intent that we may enjoy His goodness and beauty in that life. He is to be loved, however, not in the way in which any object that is seen with the eyes is loved, but as wisdom is loved, and truth, and holiness, and righteousness, and charity and whatever else may be mentioned as of kindred nature; and further, with a love conformable to these things not as they are in men, but as they are in the very fountain of incorruptible and unchangeable wisdom. Whomsoever, therefore, you may observe to be loving these things, attach yourself to them, so that


^ Remediorum aut divinationum diaholicurum. Some editions insert sacrilegorum after some MSS. sacrilegious charms or divinations of devils.


^ Many MSS. omit the words: and holiness, and righteousness, and charity.
through Christ, who became man in order that He might be the Mediator between God and men, you may be reconciled to God. But as regards the perverse, even if they find their way within the walls of the Church, think not that they will find their way into the kingdom of heaven; for in their own time they will be set apart, if they have not altered to the better. Consequently, follow the example of good men, bear with the wicked, love all; forasmuch as you know not what he will be to-morrow who to-day is evil. Howbeit, love not the unrighteousness of such; but love the persons themselves with the express intent that they may apprehend righteousness; for not only is the love of God enjoined upon us, but also the love of our neighbour, on which two commandments hang all the law and the prophets. And this is fulfilled by no one save the man who has received the (other) gift, the Holy Spirit, who is indeed equal with the Father and with the Son; for this same Trinity is God; and on this God every hope ought to be placed. On man our hope ought not to be placed, of whatsoever character he may be. For He, by whom we are justified, is one thing; and they, together with whom we are justified, are another. Moreover, it is not only by lusts that the devil tempts, but also by the terrors of insults, and pains, and death itself. But whatever a man shall have suffered on behalf of the name of Christ, and for the sake of the hope of eternal life, and shall have endured in constancy, (in accordance therewith) the greater reward shall be given him; whereas, if he shall give way to the devil, he shall be damned along with him. But works of mercy, conjoined with pious humility, meet with this acknowledgment from God, to wit, that He will not suffer His servants to be tempted more than they are able to bear. 

1 Matt. xxii. 37, 39.

* One edition reads Domlnum, the Lord, the Holy Spirit, etc., instead of donum.
3 1 Cor. X. 13.

** TREATISE ON FAITH AND THE CREED.**

** FAITH.**

**INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.**

THE occasion and date of the composition of this treatise are indicated in a statement which Augustine makes in the seventeenth chapter of the First Book of his Retractations. From this we learn that, in its original form, it was a discourse which Augustine, when only a presbyter, was requested to deliver in public by the bishops assembled at the Council of Hippi-Regius, and that it was subsequently issued as a book at the desire of friends. The general assembly of the North African Church, which was thus convened at what is now Bona, in the modern territory of Algiers, took place in the year 393 A.D.,
and was otherwise one of some historical importance, on account of the determined
protest which it emitted against the position elsewhere allowed to Patriarchs in the
Church, and against the admittance of any more authoritative or magisterial title to the
highest ecclesiastical official than that of simply "Bishop of the first Church" (prince
sedis einscopus). The work constitutes an exposition of the several clauses of the so-
called Apostles' Creed. The questions concerning the mutual relations of the three
Persons in the Godhead are handled with greatest fulness; in connection with which,
especially in the use made of the analogies of Being, Knowledge, and Love, and in the
cautions thrown in against certain applications of these and other illustrations taken from
things of human experience, we come across sentiments which are also repeated in the
City of God, the books on the Trinity, and others of his doctrinal writings. The passage
referred to in the Retractations is as follows: "About the same period, in presence of the
bishops, who gave me orders to that effect, and who were holding a plenary Council of
the whole of Africa at Hippo-Piagesius, I delivered, as presbyter, a discussion on the
subject of Faith and the Creed. This disputation, at the very

239

pressing request of some of those who were on terms of more than usual intimacy and
affection with us, I threw into the form of a book, in which the themes themselves are
made the subjects of discourse, although not in a method involving the adoption of the
particular connection of words which is given to the competentes\(^{a}\) to be committed to
memory. In this book, when discussing the question of the resurrection of the flesh, I
say: \('\) Eise again the body will, according to the Christian faith, which is incapable of
deceiving. And if this appears incredible to any one, [it is because] he looks simply to
what the flesh is at present, while he fails to consider of what nature it shall be hereafter.
For at that time of angelic change it will no more be flesh and blood, but only body; \(')\)
and so on, through the other statements which I have made there on the subject of the
change of bodies terrestrial into bodies celestial, as the apostle, when he spake from the
same point, said, \('\) Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' \(^{a}\) But if any one
takes these declarations in a sense leading him to suppose that the earthly body, such as
we now have it, is changed in the resurrection into a celestial body, in any such wise as
that neither these members nor the substance of the flesh will subsist any more,
undoubtedly he must be set right, by being put in mind of the body of the Lord, who
subsequently to His resurrection appeared in the same members, as One who was not
only to be seen with the eyes, but also handled with the hands; and made His possession
of the flesh likewise surer by the discourse which He spake, saying, \('\) Handle me, and see;
for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' \(^{a}\) Hence it is certain that the
apostle did not deny that the substance of the flesh will exist in the kingdom of God, but
that under the name of \('\) flesh and blood \(')\) he designated either men who live after the
flesh, or the express corruption of the flesh, which assuredly at that period shall subsist no more. For after he had said, 'Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' what he proceeds to say next, â€” namely, 'neither shall corruption inherit

' i.e. the third order of catechumens, embracing those thoroughly prepared for baptism.

2 Chap. X. Â§ 24, 3 1 Cor. xv. 50. â€” Luke xxiv. 39.

INTRODUCTION. 341

incorruption/ â€” is rightly taken to have been added by way of explaining his previous statement. And on this subject, which is one on which it is difficult to convince unbelievers, any one who reads my last book, On the City of God, will find that I have discoursed with the utmost carefulness of which I am capable. The performance in question commences thus:

' Since it is written,' etc." ^

1 Ccly of God, V. 21.

A TREATISE ON FAITH AND THE CEEED.

IN ONE BOOK.

Chap. i. â€” Of the origin and object of the composition,

1. TNASmuch as it is a position, written and established JL on the most solid foundation of apostolic teaching,

"that the just lives of faith:" ^ and inasmuch also as this faith demands of us the duty at once of heart and tongue, â€” for an apostle says, " With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation," ^ â€” it becomes us to be mindful both of righteousness and of salvation. For, destined as we are to reign hereafter in everlasting righteousness, we certainly cannot secure our salvation from the present evil world, unless at the same time, while labouring for the salvation of our neighbours, we likewise with the mouth make our own profession, of the faith which we carry in our heart. And it must be our aim, by pious and careful watchfulness, to provide against the possibility of the said faith sustaining any injury in us, on any side, through the fraudulent artifices of the heretics. We have, however, the catholic faith in the Creed, known to the faithful and committed to memory, contained in
a form of expression as concise as has been rendered admissible by the circumstances of the case; the purpose of which [compilation] was, that individuals who are but beginners and sucklings among those who have been born again in Christ, and who have not yet been strengthened by most diligent and spiritual handling and understanding of the divine Scriptures, should be furnished with a summary, expressed in few words, of those matters of

Â» Hab. ii. 4; Eom. i. 17; Gal. iii. 11; Heb. x. 38. ^ Rom. x. 10.

S13

344 ON FAITH AND THE CKEED, [CHAP. II.

necessary belief which were subsequently to be explained to them in many words, as they made progress and rose to [the height of] divine doctrine, on the assured and stedfast basis of humility and charity. It is underneath these few words, therefore, which are thus set in order in the Creed, that most heretics have endeavoured to conceal their poisons; whom divine mercy has withstood, and still withstands, by the instrumentality of spiritual men, who have been counted worthy not only to accept and believe the catholic faith as expounded in those terms, but also thoroughly to understand and apprehend it by the enlightenment imparted by the Lord.

For it is written, "Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand." ^ But the handling of the faith is of service for the protection of the Creed; not, however, to the intent that this should itself be given instead of the Creed, to be committed to memory and repeated by those who are receiving the grace of God, but that it may guard the matters which are retained in the Creed against the insidious assaults of the heretics, by means of catholic authority and a more entrenched defence.

Chap. ii. â€” Of God and His exclusive eternitij.

2. For certain parties have attempted to gain acceptance for the opinion that God the Fathek is not almighty: not that they have been bold enough expressly to affirm this, but in their traditions they are convicted of entertaining and crediting such a notion. For when they affirm that there is a nature ^ which God Almighty did not create, but of which at the same time He fashioned this world, which they admit to have been disposed in beauty,^ they thereby deny that God is almighty, to the effect of not believing that He could have created the world without employing, for the purpose of its construction, another nature, which had been in existence previously, and which He Himself had not made. Thus, forsooth, [they reason] from their carnal familiarity with the sight of craftsmen and house-builders, and artisans of all de-

> Isa. vii. 9, according to the rendering of the Septuagint.
- Naturam.

3 Reading pulchre ordinaium. Some editions give pulchre ornatum = beautifully adorned.
CHAP. II. god's creative omnipotence. 345

-ptions, who have no power to make good the eliect of their own art unless they get the help of materials already prepared. And so these parties in like manner understand the Maker of the world not to be almighty, if thus He could not fashion the said world without the help of some other nature, not framed by Himself, which He had to use as His materials. Or if indeed they do allow God, the Maker of the world, to be almighty, it becomes matter of course that they must also acknowledge that He made out of nothing the things which He did make. For, granting that He is almighty, there cannot exist anything of which He should not be the Creator. For although He made something out of something, as man out of clay, nevertheless He certainly did not make any object out of aught which He Himself had not made; for the earth from which the clay comes He had made out of nothing. And even if He had made out of some material the heavens and the earth themselves, that is to say, the universe and all things which are in it, according as it is written, "Thou who didst make the world out of matter unseen," or also "without form," as some copies give it: yet we are under no manner of necessity to believe that this very material of which the universe was made, although it might be "without form," although it might be "unseen," whatever might be the mode of its subsistence, could possibly have subsisted of itself, as if it were coeteral and coeval with God. But whatsoever that mode was which it possessed to the effect of subsisting in some manner, whatever that manner might be, and of being capable of taking on the forms of distinct things, this it did not possess except by the hand of Almighty God, by whose goodness it is that everything exists.

Si mundum fabricare non posset. For si some Jiss. give qui = inasmuch as He could not, etc.
2 De Umo = of mud. "Wisd. xi. 17.

346 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. III.

in Him is the fairest figure of all things, unchangeable; and therefore He Himself is One, who communicates to everything its possibilities, not only that it be beautiful actually, but also that it be capable of being beautiful. For which reason we do most right to believe that God made all things of nothing. For, even although the world was made of some sort of material, this self-same material itself was made of nothing; so that, in accordance with the most orderly gift of God, there
was to enter first the capacity of taking forms, and then that all things should be formed which have been formed. This, however, we have said, in order that no one might suppose that the utterances of the divine Scriptures are contrary the one to the other, in so far as it is written at once that God made all things of nothing, and that the world was made of matter without form.

3. As we believe, therefore, in God the Father Almighty, we ought to uphold the opinion that there is no creature which has not been created by the Almighty. And since He created all things by the Word," which Word is also designated the Truth, and the Power, and the Wisdom of God," as also under many other appellations the Lord Jesus Christ, who* is commended to our faith, is presented likewise to our mental apprehensions, to wit, our Deliverer and Euler,^ the Son of God; for that Word, by whose means all things were founded, could not have been begotten by any other than by Him who founded all things by His instrumentality; â€”

Chap. in. â€” Of the Son of God, and His peculiar designation as the Word.

â€” Since this is the case, I repeat, we believe also in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-begotten of the Father, that is to say. His only Son, our Lord. This Word, however, we ought not to apprehend merely in the sense in which we think of our own words, which are given forth by the voice and the mouth, and strike the air and pass on, and subsist no

* Speciosissima species = the seemliest semblance. ^ John i. 3.
^ John xiv. 6; 1 Cor. i. 24.

* For qui several mss. give quihus here = under many other appellations is the Lord Jesus Christ introduced to our mental apprehensions, by which He is commended to our faith.

^ For Rector we also find Creator = Creator.

CHAP. III.] CHEIST THE WOKD. 347

longer than their sound continues. Tor that Word remains uncliangeably: for of this very Word was it spoken when of Wisdom it was said, " Eemaining in herself, she maketh all things new." ^ Moreover, the reason of His being named the Word of the Father, is that the Father is made known by Him. Accordingly, just as it is our intention, when we speak truth, that by means of our words our mind should be made known to him who hears us, and that whatever we carry in secrecy in our heart may be set forth by means of signs of this sort for the intelligent understanding of another individual; so this Wisdom that God the Father begat is most appropriately named His Word, inasmuch as the most hidden Father is made known to worthy minds by the same.^
4. Now there is a very great difference between our mind and those words of ours, by which we endeavour to set forth the said mind. We indeed do not beget intelligible words, but we form them; and in the forming of them the body is the underlying material. Between mind and body, however, there is the greatest difference. But God, when He begat the Word, begat that which He is Himself. Neither out of nothing, nor of any material already made and founded, did He then beget; but He begat of Himself that which He is Himself. For we too aim at this when we speak, (as we shall see) if we carefully consider the inclination* of our will; not when we lie, but when we speak the truth. For to what else do we direct our efforts then, but to bring our own very mind, if it can be done at all, in upon the mind of the hearer, with the view of its being apprehended and thoroughly discerned by him; so that we may indeed abide in our very selves, and make no retreat from ourselves, and yet at the same time put forth a sign of such a nature as that by it a

«Wisd. vii. 27.

^ Adopting the Benedictine version, pp.r ipsam innotescit dignis animis secretissimus Pater. There is, however, great variety of reading here. Some MS.s. give ignis for dignis = the most hidden fire of the Father is made known to minds. Others give signis = the most hidden Father is made known by signs to minds. Others have innotescit animus secretissimus Patris, or innotescit signis secretissimus Pater = the most hidden mind of the Father is made known by the same, or = the most hidden Father is made known by the same in signs.

' Sonantia verba = sounding, vocal words. * Appetitum.

348 ON FAITH AND THE CEEED. [CHAP. IV.

knowledge of iis^ may be effected in another individual; that thus, so far as the faculty is granted us, another mind may be, as it were, put forth by the mind, whereby it may disclose itself? This we do, making the attempt, by words, and by the simple sound of the voice, and by the countenance, and by the gestures of the body, â€œby so many contrivances, in sooth, desiring to make patent that which is within; inasmuch as we are not able to put forth aught of this nature [in itself completely]; and thus it is that the mind of the speaker cannot become perfectly known; thus also it results that a place is open for falsehoods. God the Father, on the other hand, who possessed both the will and the power to declare Himself with the utmost truth to minds designed to obtain knowledge of Him, with the purpose of thus declaring Himself begat this [Word] which He Himself is who did beget; which [Person] is likewise called His Power and Wisdom,^ inasmuch as it is by Him that He has wrought all things, and in order disposed them; of whom these words are for this reason spoken: "She (Wisdom) reacheth from one end to another mightily, and sweetly doth she order all things."^
Chap. iv. â€” Of the Son of God as neither made by the Father nor less than the Father, and of His incarnation.

5. Wherefore the only-begotten Son of God was neither made by the Father; for, according to the word of an evangelist, "all things were made by Plim:"^ nor begotten instantaneously:^ since God, who is eternally^ wise, has with Himself His eternal Wisdom: nor unequal with the Father, that is to say, in anything less than He; for an apostle also speaks in this wise, " Who, although He was constituted in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God."^ By this catholic faith, therefore, those are excluded,

^ Nostra notitia = our knowledge.

2 Beading conantes et verbis, etc. Three good Mss. give conante fetii verbi = as the offspring of the word makes the attempt. The Benedictine editors suggest conantes fttu verbi = making the attempt by the offspring of the word.

^ 1 Cor. i. 24. * Wisd. viii. 1. ^ John i. 3.

^® According to the literal meaning of the phrase ex tempore. It may, however, here he used as = under conditions of time, or in time.

7 Reading sem^jjtovie; for which, semjnternus = the eternal wise God, is also given.

s Phil. ii. 6.

CHAP. IV.] CiriJST's EELA.TIOX TO THE FATIIIEIJ. 349

on the one hand, who affirm that the Son is the same [Person] as the Father; for [it is clear that] this Word could not possibly be with God, were it not with God the Father, and [it is just as evident that] He who is alone is equal to no one. And

on the other hand, those are equally excluded who affirm that the Son is a creature, although not such an one as the rest of the creatures are. For however great they declare the creature to be, if it is a creature, it has been fashioned and made.^ For the terms fashion and create- mean one and the same thing; although in the usage of the Latin tongue the phrase ereate is employed at times instead of what would be the strictly accurate word, hcget. But the Greek language makes a distinction.

For we call that crcatura (creature) which they call KTiafxa or KTLai<s; and when we desire to speak without ambiguity, we use not the word creare (create), but the word condere (fashion, found). Consequently, if the Son is a creature, however great that may be. He has been made. But we believe in Him by whom all things {omnia) were made, not in Him by whom the o-est of things {cetera) were made. For here again we cannot
take this term all things in any other sense than as meaning whatsoever things have been made.

6. But as "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," ^ the same Wisdom which was begotten of God condescended also to be created among men.^ There is a reference to this in the word, " The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways." ^ For the beginning of His ways is the Head of the Church, which is Christ ^ endued with human nature (Jiominie indutus), by whom it was purposed that there should be given to us a pattern of living, that is, a sure ^ way by which we might reach God. For by no other path was it possible for us to return but by humility, who fell by pride, according as it was said to our first creation, " Taste, and ye


â– æ¢£ Adopting in hominihus creavi. One important MS. gives in omnibus = amongst all.

Â» Prov. viii. 22, -witli creavit me instead of the possessed me of the English version.

^ Various editions give 2Jrincipium et caput Eccleslce est Christus â€” the beginning of His ways and the Head ot the Church is Christ.

' For via certa others give via recta = a right way.

350 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. IV.

shall be as gods." ^ Of this humility, therefore, that is to say, of the way by which it was needful for us to return, our Eestorer HimsIelf has deemed it meet to exhibit an example in His own person, " who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant;" ^ in order that He might be created Man in the beginning of His ways, the Word by whom all things were made. "Wherefore, in so far as He is the Only-begotten, He has no brethren; but in so far as He is the First-begotten, He has deemed it worthy of Him to give the name of brethren to all those who, subsequently to and by means of His pre-eminence,^ are born again into the grace of God through the adoption of sons, according to the truth commended to us by apostolic teaching.* Thus, then, the Son according to nature (naturalis filius) was born of the very substance of the Father, the only one so born, subsisting as that which the Father is,^ God of God, Light of Light. We, on the other hand, are not the light by nature, but are enlightened by that Light, so that we may be able to shine in wisdom. For, as one says, " that was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." ^ Therefore we add to the faith of things eternal likewise the temporal dispensation^ of our Lord, which He deemed it worthy of Him to bear for us and to minister in behalf of our salvation. For in so far as He is the
onlybegotten Son of God, it cannot be said of Him that He was and that He shall be, but only that He is; because, on the one hand, that which was, now is not; and, on the other, that which shall be, as yet is not. He, then, is unchangeable, independent of the condition of times and variation.

1 Gen. iii. 5. 2 pj^Q ^ q^ 7_

3 Per ejus igrimatum = by means of His standing as the First-born. We follow the Benedictine reading, qui post ejus et per ejus primatum in Dei gratiam renascuntur. But there is another, although less authoritative, version, viz. qui post ejus primitias in Dei gratia nascimur = all of us who, subsequently to His first-fruits, are born in the grace of God.

* Luke viii. 21; Rom. viii. 15-17; Gal. iv. 5; Eph. i. 5; Heb. ii. 11.

^ Id existens quod Pater est, etc. Another version is, idem existens quod Pater Deus = subsisting as the same that God the Father is.

6 John i. 9.

' The term dispensatio occurs very frequently as the equivalent of the Greek oiKovofiiia. =â– economy, designating the Incarnation.

CHAP. IV.] THE mCAENATION. 351

And it is my opinion that this is the very consideration to which was due the circumstance that He introduced to the apprehension of His servant Moses the kind of name [which He then adopted]. For when he asked of Him by whom he should say that he was sent, in the event of the people to whom he was being sent despising him, he received his answer when He spake in this wise: " I am that I am." Thereafter, too. He added this: " Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, He that is [Qui est] has sent me imto

7. From this, I trust, it is now made patent to spiritual minds that there cannot possibly exist any nature contrary to God. For if He is, â€” and this is a word which can be spoken with propriety only of God (for that which truly is remains unchangeably; inasmuch as that which is changed has been something which now it is not, and shall be something which as yet it is not), â€” it follows that God has nothing contrary to Himself. For if the question were put to us, What is contrary to white ? we would reply, black; if the question were. What is contrary to hot ? we would reply, cold; if the question were. What is contrary to quick ? we would reply, slow; and all similar interrogations we would answer in like manner. When, however, it is asked. What is contrary to that which is ? the right reply to give is, that which is not.
8. But whereas, in a temporal dispensation, as I have said, with a view to our salvation and restoration, and with the goodness of God acting therein, our changeable nature has been assumed by that unchangeable Wisdom of God, we add the faith in temporal things which have been done with salutary effect on our behalf, believing in that Son of God who

WAS BORN THROUOH THE HOLY GHOST OF THE VIRGIN MaRY.

For by the gift of God, that is, by the Holy Spirit, there was granted to us so great humility on the part of so great a God, that He deemed it worthy of Him to assume the entire nature of man {totum homincm} in the womb of the Virgin, inhabiting the material body so that it sustained no detriment

Â» Ex. iii. 14.

352 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. IV.

(integrum), and leaving it ^ without detriment. This temporal dispensation is in many ways craftily assailed by the heretics. But if any one shall have grasped the catholic faith, so as to believe that the entire nature of man was assumed by the Word of God, that is to say, body, soul, and spirit, he has sufficient defence against those parties. For surely, since that assumption was effected in behalf of our salvation, one must be on his guard lest, as he believes that there is something belonging to our nature which sustains no relation to that assumption, this something may fail also to sustain any relation to the salvation.^ And seeing that, with the exception of the form of the members, which has been imparted to the varieties of living objects with differences adapted to their different kinds, man is in nothing separated from the cattle but in [the possession of] a rational spirit {rationali spiritu), which is also named mind (mens), how is that faith sound, according to which the belief is maintained, that the Wisdom of God assumed that part of us which we hold in common with the cattle, while He did not assume that which is brightly illumined by the light of wisdom, and which is man's peculiar gift?

9. Moreover, those parties^ also are to be abhorred who deny that our Lord Jesus Christ had in Mary a mother upon earth; while that dispensation has honoured both sexes, at once the male and the female, and has made it plain that not only that sex which He assumed pertains to God's care, but also that sex by which He did assume this other, in that He bore [the nature of] the man (virum gcrndo), [and] in that He was born of the woman. Neither is there anything to compel us to a denial of the mother of the Lord, in the circumstance that this word was spoken by Him: " Woman, what have I to do with thee ? Mine hour is not yet come." * But He rather admonishes us to understand that, in respect of His being God, there was no mother for Him, the part of whose personal majesty (ciijus mojcstatis personam) He was preparing
Deserens. "With less point, deferens has heeu suggested = bearing it, or delivering it.

Or it may = he should fail to have any relation to the salvation.

Referring to the Manicheans. * John ii. 4.

CHAP. IV.] Christ's birth of the virgin. 353

to show forth in the turning of water into wine. But as regards His being crucified, He was crucified in respect of His being man; and that was the hour which had not come as yet, at the time when this word was spoken, " What have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come;" that is, the hour at which I shall recognise thee. For at that period, when He was crucified as man, He recognised His human mother (Immanissime) to the care of the best beloved disciple. Nor, again, should we be moved by the fact that, when the presence of His mother and His brethren was announced to Him, He replied, "Who is my mother, or who my brethren?" etc. But rather let it teach us, that when parents hinder our ministry wherein we minister the word of God to our brethren, they ought not to be recognised by us. For if, on the ground of His having said, "Who is my mother?" every one should conclude that He had no mother on earth, then each should as matter of course be also compelled to deny that the apostles had fathers on earth; since He gave them an injunction in these terms:

"Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in heaven."^

10. Neither should the thought of the womanly womb impair this faith in us, to the effect that there should appear to be any necessity for rejecting such a generation of our Lord for the mere reason that worthless men consider it unworthy (sordidi &ridiam putant). For most true are these sayings of an apostle, both that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men,"* and that "to the pure all things are pure."^ Those, therefore, who entertain this opinion ought to ponder the fact that the rays of this sun, which indeed they do not praise as a creature of God, but adore as God, are diffused all the world over, through the noisomenesses of sewers and every kind of horrible thing, and that they operate in these according to their nature, and yet never become debased by any defilement thence contracted, albeit that the visible light is by nature in closer conjunction with visible pollutions. How much less, therefore, could the Word of God, who is neither corporeal nor


* 1 Cor. i. 25. * Tit, i. 15. ^ In reference to the Manicheans.

â€¢ FAITH. Z
visible, sustain defilement from the female body, wherein He assumed human flesh
together with soul and spirit, through the incoming of which the majesty of the Word
dwells in a less immediate conjunction with the frailty of a human body!^ Hence it is manifest that the Word of God could in no way have been defiled by a human body, by which even the human soul is not defiled. For not when it rules the body and quickens it, but only when it lusts after the mortal good things thereof, is the soul defiled by the body. But if these persons were to desire to avoid the defilements of the soul, they would dread rather these falsehoods and profanities.

Chap. v. â€” Of Christ's passion, burial, and resurrection.

11. But little [comparatively] was the humiliation of our Lord on our behalf in His being born: it was also added that He deemed it meet to die in behalf of mortal men. For "He humbled Himself, being made subject even unto death, yea, the death of the cross:"^ lest any one of us, even were he able to have no fear of death [in general], should yet shudder at some particular sort of death which men reckon most shameful. Therefore do we believe in Him who under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried. For it was requisite that the name of the judge should be added, with a view to the cognizance of the times. Moreover, when that burial is made an object of belief, there enters also the recollection of the new tomb,^ which was meant to present a testimony to Him in His destiny to rise again to newness of life, even as the Virgin's womb did the same to Him in His appointment to be born. For just as in that sepulchre no other dead person was buried,^ whether before or after Him; so neither in that womb, whether before or after, was anything mortal conceived.

12. We believe also, that ON the third day He rose again FROM THE dead, the first-begotten for brethren destined to come

^ The Benedictine text gives, quibus intervenientibus Jiabitat majestas Verbi ab humani corporis fragilitate secretins. Another well-supported version is, ad humani corporis fragilitatem, etc. = more retired in relation to the frailty of the human body.

2 Phil. ii. 8.

2 For monumenti some editions give testamenti = testament.

* John xix. 41.
after Him, whom He has called into the adoption of the sons of God/ whom [also] He has deemed it meet to make His own joint-partners and joint-heirs.'

Chap. vi. â€” Of Christ's ascension into heaven.

13, We believe that He ascended into heaven, which place of blessedness He has likewise promised unto us, saying, "They shall be as the angels in the heavens,"^ in that city which is the mother of us all,^ the Jerusalem eternal in the heavens. But it is wont to give offence to certain parties, either impious Gentiles or heretics, that we should believe in the assumption of an earthly body into heaven. The Gentiles, however, for the most part, set themselves diligently to x^ly us with the arguments of the philosophers, to the effect of affirming that there cannot possibly be anything earthly in heaven. For they know not our Scriptures, neither do they understand how it has been said, "It is sown an animal body, it is raised a spiritual body."^ For thus it has not been expressed, as if body were turned into spirit and became spirit; inasmuch as at present, too, our body, which is called animal (animale), has not been turned into soul and become soul (anima). But by a spiritual body is meant one which has been made subject to spirit in such wise ^ that it is adapted to a heavenly habitation, all frailty and every earthly blemish having been changed and converted into heavenly purity and stability. This is the change concerning which the apostle likewise speaks thus: "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed."^ And that this change is made not unto the worse, but unto the better, the same [apostle] teaches, when he says, "And we shall be changed."^ But the question as to where and in what manner the Lord's body is in heaven, is one which it would be altogether over-curious and superfluous to prosecute. Only we must believe that it is in heaven. For it pertains not to

â€¢ Eph. i. 5. 2 Rom. viii. 17. ^ Matt. xxii. 30.

* Gal. iv. 26. * 1 Cor. xv. 44.

Â© Adopting the Benedictine reading, quod ita spiritui subditum est. But several Mss.
give quia ita coaptandum est = it is understood to be a spiritual body, in that it is to be so adapted as to suit a heavenly habitation.

^ 1 Cor. XV. 51, according to the Vulgate's transposition of the negative.

Â« 1 Cor. XV. 52.

856 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. VII.

our frailty to investigate the secret things of heaven, but it does pertain to our faith to hokl elevated and honourable sentiments on the subject of the dignity of the Lord's body.

Chap. vn. â€” Of Christ's session at the Father's right hand.
14. We believe also that He sitteth at the eight hand of THE Father. This, however, is not
to lead us to suppose that God the Father is, as it were, circumscribed by a human form,
so that, when we think of Him, a right side or a left should suggest itself to the mind. Nor,
again, when it is thus said in express terms that the Father sitteth, are we to fancy that this
is done with bended knees; lest we should fall into that profanity, in [dealing with] which
an apostle execrates those who " changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the
likeness of corruptible man."^-^ For it is unlawful for a Christian to set up any such image
for God in a temple; much more nefarious is it, [therefore], to set it up in the heart, in
which truly is the temple of God, provided it be purged of earthly lust and error. This
expression, " at the right hand,"
therefore, we must understand to signify a position in supremest blessedness, where
righteousness and peace and joy are; just as the kids are set on the left hand,^ that is to
say, in misery, by reason of unrighteousness, labours, and torments.^ And in accordance
with this, when it is said that God " sitteth," the expression indicates not a posture of the
members, but a judicial power, which that Majesty never fails to possess, as He is always
awarding deserts as men deserve them {digna dignis trihuendo); although at the last
judgment the unquestionable brightness of the only-begotten Son of God, the Judge of the
living and the dead, is destined yet to be * a thing much more manifest among men.

Chap. viii. â€” Of Christ's coming to judgment.

15. We believe also, that at the most seasonable time He

1 Rom. i. 23. Â« Mitt. xxv. 33.

^ Reading propter iniquitates, lahores atqne cruciatxis. Several Mss. give propter
inquitatatis lahores, etc. = by reason of the labours and torments of unrighteousness.

* Reading /wtora sit; for which /Â«feiO'a sit also occurs â€” is destined to shine much
more manifestly, etc.

CHAP. IX.] THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. 357

WILL COME FROM THENCE, AND WILL JUDGE THE QUICK AND THE

DEAD: whether by these terms are signified the righteous and sinners, or whether it be
the case that those persons are here called the quid:, whom at that period He shall find,
previous to [their] death,^ upon the earth, while the dead denote those who shall rise
again at His advent. This temporal dispensation not only is, as holds good of that
generation which respects His being God, but also hath heen and shall he.
For our Lord hath heen upon the earth, and at present He is in heaven, and [hereafter] He
shall he in His brightness as the Judge of the quick and the dead. For He shall yet come,
even so as He has ascended, according to the authority which is contained in the Acts of
the Apostles. It is in accordance with this temporal dispensation, therefore, that He speaks in the Apocalypse, where it is written in this wise: "These things saith He, who is, and who was, and who is to come."^  

Chap. ix. â€” Of the Holy Spirit and the mystery of the Trinity.  

16. The divine generation, therefore, of our Lord, and His human dispensation, having both been thus systematically disposed and commended to faith,* there is added to our Confession, with a view to the perfecting of the faith which we have regarding God, [the doctrine of] the Holy Spirit, who is not of a nature inferior^ to the Father and the Son, but, so to say, consubstantial and coeternal: for this Trinity is one God, not to the effect that the Father is the same [Person] as the Son and the Holy Spirit, but to the effect that the Father is the Father, and the Son is the Son, and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit; and this Trinity is one God, according as it is written, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one.

^ The text gives simply ante mortem. Some editions insert nostrum = previous to our death.

2 Acts i. 3 Rev. i. 8.

* Instead of fideque commendata et divina generatione, etc., another, but weakly supported, version is, fide atque commendata divina, etc., which makes the sense = The faith, therefore, having been systematically disposed, and our Lord's divine generation and human dispensation having been commended to the understanding, etc.

^ Non minore natura quam Pater. The Benedictine editors suggest minor for minore ^ not inferior in nature, etc.

358 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. IX.

God."^ At the same time, if we be interrogated on the subject of each separately, and if the question be put to us, "Is the Father God?" we shall reply, "He is God." If it be asked whether the Son is God, we shall answer to the same effect. Nor, if this kind of inquiry be addressed to us with respect to the Holy Spirit, ought we to affirm in reply that He is anything else than God; being earnestly on our guard, [however], against an acceptance of this merely in the sense in which it is applied to men, when it is said, "Ye are gods." ^ For of all those who have been made and fashioned of the Father, through the Son, by the gift of the Holy Spirit, none are gods according to nature. For it is this same Trinity that is signified when an apostle says, "For of Him, and in Him, and through Him, are all things." ^ Consequently, although, when we are interrogated on the subject of each [of these Persons]
severally, we reply that that particular one regarding whom the question is asked, whether it be the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, is God, no one, notwithstanding this, should suppose that three Gods are worshipped by us.

17. Neither is it strange that these things are said in reference to an ineffable Nature, when even in those objects which we discern with the bodily eyes, and judge of by the bodily sense, something similar holds good. For take the instance of an interrogation on the subject of a fountain, and consider how we are unable then to affirm that the said fountain is itself the river; and how, when we are asked about the river, we are as little able to call it the fountain; and, again, how we are equally unable to designate the draught, which comes of the fountain or the river, either river or fountain. Nevertheless, in the case of this trinity we use the name water [for the whole]; and when the question is put regarding each of these separately, we reply in each several instance that the thing is water. For if I inquire whether it is water in the fountain, the reply is given that it is water; and if we ask whether it is water in the river, no different response is returned; and in the case of the said draught, no other answer can possibly be made: and yet, for all this, we do not speak of these things as three waters, but as one water. At

^ Deut. vi. 4. - Ps. Lxxxii. 6. ^ Eom. xi. 36.

CHAP. IX.] THE PERSONS IN THE GODHEAD. 359

the same time, of course, care must be taken that no one should conceive of the ineffable substance of that Majesty merely as he might think of this visible and material fountain, or river, or draught. For in the case of these latter, that water which is at present in the fountain goes forth into the river, and does not abide in itself; and when it passes from the river or from the fountain into the draught, it does not continue permanently there where it is taken from. Therefore it is possible here that the same water may be in view at one time under the appellation of the fountain, and at another under that of the river, and at a third under that of the draught. But in the case of that Trinity, we have affirmed it to be impossible that the Father should be sometime the Son, and sometime the Holy Spirit: just as, in a tree, the root is nothing else than the root, and the trunk (robur) is nothing else than the trunk, and we cannot call the branches anything else than branches; for what is called the root cannot be called trunk and branches; and the wood which belongs to the root cannot by any sort of transference be now in the root, and again in the trunk, and yet again in the branches, but only in the root; since this rule of designation stands fast, so that the root is wood, and the trunk is wood, and the branches are wood, while nevertheless it is not three woods that are thus spoken of, but only one. Or, if these objects have some sort of dissimilarity, so that on account of their difference in strength they may be spoken of, without any absurdity, as three woods; at least all parties admit the force of the former example, â€” namely, that if three cups be filled out of one fountain, they may certainly be called three cups, but cannot be spoken of as three waters, but only as one all together. Yet, at the same time, when asked concerning the several cups, one by one, we may answer that in each of them by itself there is water; although in
this case no such transference takes place as we were speaking of as occurring from the fountain into the river.
But these examples in things material (corporalia exerrvpla) have been adduced not in virtue of their likeness to that divine Nature, but in reference to the oneness which subsists even in things visible, so that it may be understood to be ' Corporeum = corporeal.

360 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. IX.

quite a possibility for three objects of some sort, not only severally, but also all together, to obtain one single name; and that in this way no one may wonder and think it absurd that we should call the Father God, the Son God, the Holy Spirit God, and that nevertheless we should say that there are not three Gods in that Trinity, but one God and one substance.^

18. And, indeed, on this subject of the Father and the Son, learned and spiritual^ men have conducted discussions in many books, in which, so far as men could do with men, they have endeavoured to introduce an intelligible account as to how the Father was not one personally with the Son, and yet the two were one substantially;^ and as to what the Father was individually (proprie), and what the Son: to wit, that the former was the Begetter, the latter the Begotten; the former not of the Son, the latter of the Father: the former the Beginning of the latter, whence also He is called the Head of Christ,^ although Christ likewise is the Beginning,^ but not of the Father; the latter, moreover, the Image^ of the former, although in no respect dissimilar, and although absolutely and without difference equal (omnino et indifferenter competit).
These questions are handled with greater breadth by those who, in less narrow limits than ours are at present, seek to set forth the profession of the Christian faith in its totality.
Accordingly, in so far as He is the Son, of the Father received He it that He is, while that other [the Father] received not this of the Son; and in so far as He, in unutterable mercy, in a temporal dispensation took upon Himself the [nature of] man (Jiominem), â€” to wit, the changeable creature that was thereby to be changed into something better, â€” many statements

1 Many jiss., however, insert colamus after Deiim in the closing sentence, sed num Deum unamque substantiam. The sense then wUl be = and that nevertheless we should worship in that Trinity not three Gods, but one God and one substance.

^ Spiritales, for which religiosi = religious, is also sometimes given.

^ Non unus esset Pater et Filius, sed mium essent = how the Father and the Son were not one in person, but were one in essence.

* 1 Cor. xi. 3.
concerning Him are discovered in the Scriptures, which are so expressed as to have given occasion to error in the impious intellects of heretics, with whom the desire to teach takes precedence of that to understand, so that they have supposed Him to be neither equal with the Father nor of the same substance. Such statements [are meant] as the following: " For the Father is greater than I;" ^ and, " The head of the woman is the man, the Head of the man is Christ, and the Head of Christ is God;"^ and, "Then shall He Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him;"^ and, "I go to my Father and your Father, my God and your God:"^ together with some others of like tenor. Now all these have had a place given them, [certainly] not with the object of signifying an inequality of nature and substance; for to take them so would be to falsify a different class of statements, such as, "I and my Father are one" (unum); ^ and, " He that hath seen me hath seen my Father also;" ^ and, " The Word was God," ^ â€” for He was not made, inasmuch as " all things were made by Him;" ^ and, " He thought it not robbery to be equal with God;"^ together with all the other passages of a similar order. But these statements have had a place given them, partly with a view to that administration of His assumption of human nature (administrationem suscepti hominis), in accordance with which it is said that " He emptied Himself:" not that that Wisdom was changed, since it is absolutely unchangeable; but that it was His will to make Himself known in such humble fashion to men. Partly then, I repeat, it is with a view to this administration that those things have been thus written which the heretics make the ground of their false allegations; and partly it was with a view to the consideration that the Son owes to the Father that which He is;^ â€” thereby also certainly owing this in particular to the Father, to wit, that He is equal to the same Father, or that He is His Peer (eodem Patri cequalis aut par est), whereas the Father owes whatsoever He is to no one.

* In reference probably to John viii. 25, where the Vulgate gives principium qui et loquor vobis as the literal equivalent for the Greek rhv ip^ Â»" Â«V' Â«Â«Â«

Â« Col. i. 15.

CHAP. IX.] THE SON CONSUSTANTIAL WITH THE FATHER. 361

1 John xiv. 23. ^ j Cq^^ i. 3. ^ 1 Cor. xv. 23.


' John i. 1. Â« John i. 3. Â« Phil. ii. 9.

^* Or it may be = that the Son owes it to the Father that He is.
19. With respect to the Holy Spirit, however, there has not been as yet, on the part of learned and distinguished investigators of the Scriptures, a discussion of the subject full enough or careful enough to make it possible for us to obtain an intelligent conception of what also constitutes His special individuality (proprium); in virtue of which special individuality it comes to be the case that we cannot call Him either the Son or the Father, but only the Holy Spirit; excepting that they predicate Him to be the Gift of God, so that we may believe God not to give a gift inferior to Himself. At the same time they hold by this position, namely, to predicate the Holy Spirit neither as begotten, like the Son, of the Father; for Christ is the only one [so begotten]: nor as [begotten] of the Son, like a Grandson of the Supreme Father: while they do not affirm Him to owe that which He is to no one, but [admit Him to owe it] to the Father, of whom are all things; lest we should establish two Beginnings without beginning (oie duo constituamus principia isne principio), which would be an assertion at once most false and most absurd, and one proper not to the catholic faith, but to the error of certain heretics. Some, however, have gone so far as to believe that the communion of the Father and the Son, and (so to speak) their Godhead (dcitatem), which the Greeks designate OeOTr, is the Holy Spirit; so that, inasmuch as the Father is God and the Son God, the Godhead itself, in which they are united with each other, â€” to wit, the former by begetting the Son, and the latter by cleaving to the Father,^- â€” should [thereby] be constituted equal with Him by whom He is begotten. This Godhead, then, which they wish to be understood likewise as the love and charity subsisting between these two [Persons], the one toward the other, they affirm to have received the name of the Holy Spirit. And this opinion of theirs they support by many proofs drawn from the Scriptures; among which we might instance either the passage which says, "For the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, who has been given unto us," or many other proof texts of a similar tenor: while they ground their position also upon the express

' In reference, again, to Maniehean errorists.
Fatri cohcerendo = by close connection with the Father. ^ Eom. v. 5.

fact that it is through the Holy Spirit that we are reconciled unto God; whence also, when He is called the Gift of God, they will have it that sufficient indication is offered of the love of God and the Holy Spirit being identical. For we are not reconciled unto Him except through that love in virtue of which w^e are also called sons: ^ as we are no more " under fear, like servants," ^ because " love, when it is made perfect, casteth out fear;"^ and [as] "we have received the spirit of liberty, wherein we cry, Abba, Father." * And inasmuch as, being reconciled and called back into friendship through love, we shall be
able to become acquainted with all the secret things of God, for this reason it is said of the Holy Spirit that "He shall lead you into all truth." ^ For the same reason also, that confidence in preaching the truth, with which the apostles were filled at His advent,® is rightly ascribed to love; because diffidence also is assigned to fear, which the perfecting of love excludes. Thus, likewise, the same is called the Gift of God,^ because no one enjoys that which he knows, unless he also love it. To enjoy the Wisdom of God, however, implies nothing else than to cleave to the same in love {ei diledione coherere). Neither does any one abide in that which he apprehends, but by love; and accordingly the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of sanctity {Spiritus Sanctis), inasmuch as all things that are sanctioned (sanciuntur) ^

are sanctioned with a view to their permanence, and there is no doubt that the term sanctity {sanctitatem) is derived from sanction {sanciendo). Above all, however, that testimony is employed by the upholders of this opinion, where it is thus written, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit "^ "for God is a Spirit." ^^ For here He speaks of our regeneration,^^ which is

^ 1 John iii. 1. The word Dei = of God, is sometimes added here.
^ Rom. viii. 15. ^ 1 John iv. 18. * Kom. viii. 15.

5 John xvi. 13. ^ Acts ii. 4. ' Eph. iii. 7, 8.

8 Instead of sanctificantur, which is the reading of the Mss., some editions give sanctificantur = all things that are sanctified are sanctioned, etc.

9 John iii. 6. 'À» John iv. 24.

" Reading, with the MSS. and the Benedictine editors, Hie enim regenerationem nostram dicit. Some editions give Hoc for Hie, and dicunt for dicit = for they say ^ that this expresses our regeneration.

364 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. IX.

not, according to Adam, of the flesh, but, according to Christ, of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, if in this passage mention is made of the Holy Spirit, when it is said, "For God is a Spirit," they maintain that we must take note that it is not said, "for the Spirit is God," ^ but, "for God is a Spirit;" so that the very Godhead of the Father and the Son is in this passage called God, and that is the Holy Spirit. To this is added another testimony which the Apostle John offers, when he says, "For God is love." ^ For here, in like manner, what he says is not, "Love is God," ^ but, "God is love;" so that the very Godhead is taken to be love. And with respect to the circumstance that, in that enumeration of mutually connected objects which is given when it is said, "All things are yours, and ye are -Christ's, and Christ is God's," ^ as also,
"The head of the woman is the man, the Head of the man is Christ, and the Head of Christ is God," ^ there is no mention of the Holy Spirit; this they affirm to be but an application of the principle that, in general, the connection itself is not wont to be enumerated among the things which are connected with each other. Whence, also, those who read with closer attention appear to recognise the express Trinity likewise in that passage in which it is said, "For of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things." ^ "Of Him," as if it meant, of that One who owes it to no one that He is; "through Him," as if the idea were, through a Mediator; "in Him," as if it were, in that One who holds together, that is, imites by connecting.

20. Those parties oppose this opinion who think that the said communion, which we call either Godhead, or Love, or Charity, is not a substance. Moreover, they require the Holy Spirit to be set forth to them according to substance; neither do they take it to have been otherwise impossible for the expression "God is love" to have been used, unless love were a substance. In this, indeed, they are influenced by the wont of things of a bodily nature. For if two bodies are connected

' Quoniam Spiritus Deus est. But various editions and MSS. give Dei for Deus = for the Spirit is of God.

^ 1 John iv. 16.

^ Here again, instead of dilecUo Deus est, we also find dilectio Dei est = love is of God.

* 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. * 1 Cor. xi. 3. * Eom. xi. 36.

CHAP. IX.] KNOWLEDGE DEPENDENT ON PURITY. 365

with each other in such wise as to be placed in juxtaposition one with the other, the connection itself is not a body: inasmuch as when these bodies which had been connected are separated, no such connection certainly is found [any more]; while, at the same time, it is not understood to have departed, as it were, and migrated, as is the case with those bodies themselves. But men like these should make their heart pure, so far as they can, in order that they may have power to see that in the substance of God there is not anything of such a nature as would imply that therein substance is one thing, and that which is accident to substance (aliucl quod accidat substantice) another thing, and not substance; whereas whatsoever can be taken to be therein is substance. These things, however, can easily be spoken and believed; but seen, so as to reveal how they are in themselves, they absolutely cannot be, except by the pure heart. For which reason, whether the opinion in question be true, or something else be the case, the faith ought to be maintained unshaken, so that we should call the Father God, the Son God, the Holy Spirit God, and yet not affirm three Gods, but hold the said Trinity to be one God; and again, not affirm these [Persons] to be different in nature, but hold them to be of the same substance; and further uphold it, not as if the Father were sometime the Son, and sometime the Holy Spirit, but in such wise that the Father is always the Father, and the Son always the Son,
and the Holy Spirit always the Holy Spirit. Neither should we make any affirmation on the subject of things unseen rashly as if we had knowledge, but [only modestly] as believing. For these things cannot be seen except by the heart made pure; and [even] he who in this life sees them "in part," as it has been said, and "in an enigma," cannot secure it that the person to whom he speaks shall also see them, if he is hampered by impurities of heart. "Blessed," however, "are they of a pure heart, for they shall see God." This is the faith on the subject of God our Maker and Enewer.

21. But inasmuch as love is enjoined upon us, not only toward God, when it was said, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind;" but also toward our neighbour, for "thou shalt love," saith He, "thy neighbour as thyself," and inasmuch, moreover, as the faith in question is less fruitful, if it does not comprehend a congregation and society of men, wherein brotherly charity may operate; â€”

Chap. x. â€” Of the catholic Church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the flesh.

â€” Inasmuch, I repeat, as this is the case, we believe also in THE HOLY Church, [intending thereby] assuredly the catholic. For both heretics and schismatics style their congregations churches. But heretics, in holding false opinions regarding God, do injury to the faith itself; while schismatics, on the other hand, in wicked separations break off from brotherly charity, although they may believe just what we believe. Wherefore neither do the heretics belong to the Church catholic, which loves God; nor do the schismatics form a part of the same, inasmuch as it loves the neighbour, and consequently readily forgives the neighbour's sins, because it prays that forgiveness may be extended to itself by Him who has reconciled us to Himself, doing away with all past things, and calling us to a new life. And until we reach the perfection of this new life, we cannot be without sins. Nevertheless it is a matter of consequence of what sort those sins may be.

22. Neither ought we only to treat of the difference between sins, but we ought most thoroughly to believe that those things in which we sin are in no way forgiven us, if we show ourselves severely unyielding in the matter of forgiving the sins of others. Thus, then, we believe also in the remission of
23. And inasmuch as there are three things of which man consists, â€” namely, spirit, soul, and body, â€” which again are spoken of as two, because frequently the soul is named along with the spirit; for a certain rational -portion of the same, of which beasts are devoid, is called spirit: the principal part in us is the spirit; next, the life whereby we are united with the body is called the soul; finally, the body itself, as it is visible, is the last part in us. This "whole creation" (creatura), how-

' Deut. vi. 5. 2 Luke x. 27. 3 ^att. vi. 15.

CHAP. X.] BODY, SOUL, AND SPIRIT. 367

ever, "groaneth and travaileth until now." ^ Nevertheless, He has given it the first-fruits of the Spirit, in that it has believed God, and is now of a good will. ^ This spirit is also called the mind, regarding which an apostle speaks thus: "With the mind I serve the law of God." ^ Which apostle likewise expresses himself thus in another passage: "Tor God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit." * Moreover, the soul, Avhen as yet it lusts after carnal good things, is called the flesh. For a certain part thereof resists ^ the Spirit, not in virtue of nature, but in virtue of the custom of sins; whence it is said, "With the mind I serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." And this custom has been turned into a nature, according to mortal generation, by the sin of the first man. Consequently it is also written in this wise, "And we were sometime by nature the children of wrath," ^ that is, of vengeance, through which it has come to pass that we serve the law of sin. The nature of the soul, how^ever, is perfect when it is made subject to its own spirit, and when it follows that spirit as the same follows God. Therefore "the animal man ^ receiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God." ^ But the soul is not so speedily subdued to the spirit unto good action, as is the spirit to God unto true faith and goodwill; but sometimes its impetus, whereby it moves downward into things carnal and temporal, is more tardily bridled. But inasmuch as this same soul is also made pure, and receives the stability of its own nature, under the dominance of the spirit, which is the head for it, which head of the said soul has again its own head in Christ, we ought not to despair of the restoration of the body also to its own proper nature. But this certainly will not be effected so speedily as is the case with the soul; just as the soul, too, is

' Rom. Tiii. 22.

^ Reading spirit&i. Takico; spiritus, the sense might be = Nevertheless, tlie spirit hath imparted the first-fruits, in that it has believed God, and is now of a good will.
not restored so speedily as the spirit. Yet it will take place in the appropriate season, at the last trump, when "the dead shall rise uncorrupted, and we shall be changed." And accordingly we believe also in the resurrection of the flesh, to wit, not merely that that soul, which at present by reason of carnal affections is called the flesh, is restored; but that it shall be so likewise with this visible flesh, which is the flesh according to nature, the name of which has been received by the soul, not in virtue of nature, but in reference to carnal affections: this visible flesh, then, I say, which is the flesh properly so called, must without doubt be believed to be destined to rise again. For the Apostle Paul appears to point to this, as it were with his finger, when he says, "This corruptible must put on incorruption." For when he says this, he, as it were, directs his finger toward it. STow it is that which is visible that admits of being pointed out with the finger; since the soul might also have been called corruptible, for it is itself corrupted by vices of manners. And when it is read, "and this mortal [must] put on immortality," the same visible flesh is signified, inasmuch as at it ever and anon the finger is thus as it were pointed. For the soul also may thus in like manner be called mortal, even as it is designated corruptible in reference to vices of manners. For assuredly it is "the death of the soul to apostatize from God;" which is its first sin in Paradise, as it is contained in the sacred writings.

24. Else again, therefore, the body will, according to the Christian faith, which is incapable of deceiving. And if this appears incredible to any one, [it is because] he looks simply to what the flesh is at present, while he fails to consider of what nature it shall be hereafter. For at that time of angelic change it will no more be flesh and blood, but only body.*

For when the apostle speaks of the flesh, he says, "There is one flesh of cattle, another of birds, another of fishes, another

1 1 Cor. XV. 39. 2 I Cor ^v. 53.

^ The text gives, Mors quippe animce est apostatare a Deo. The reference, perhaps, is to Ecclus. x. 1 4, where the Vulgate has, initium superbice hominis, apostatare a Deo.

â– ‘ Augustine refers to this statement in the passage quoted from the Betracta-
of creeping things: there are also both celestial bodies and terrestrial bodies." ^ Now what he has said here is not "celestial flesh," but "both celestial bodies and terrestrial bodies." For all flesh is also body; but every body is not also flesh. In the first instance, [for example, this holds good] in the case of those terrestrial bodies, inasmuch as wood is body, but not flesh. In the case of man, again, or in that of cattle, we have both body and flesh. In the case of celestial bodies, on the other hand, there is no flesh, but only those simple and lucent bodies which the apostle designates spiritual, while some call them ethereal. And consequently, when he says, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God," ^ that does not contradict the resurrection of the flesh; but the sentence predicates what will be the nature of that hereafter which at present is flesh and blood. And if any one refuses to believe that the flesh is capable of being changed into the sort of nature thvis indicated, he must be led on, step by step, to this faith. For if you inquire of him whether earth is capable of being changed into water, the nearness of the thing will make it not seem incredible to him. Again, if you inquire whether water is capable of being changed into air, he replies that this also is not absurd, for the elements are near each other. And if, on the subject of the air, it is asked whether that can be changed into an ethereal, that is, a celestial body, the simple fact of the nearness at once convinces him of the possibility of the thing. But if, then, he concedes that through such gradations it is quite a possible thing that earth should be changed into an ethereal body, why does he refuse to believe, when that will of God, too, enters in addition, whereby a human body had power to walk upon the waters, that the same change is capable of being effected with the utmost rapidity, precisely in accordance with the saying, "in the twinkling of an eye," ^ and without any such gradations, even as, according to common wont, smoke is changed into flame with marvellous quickness? For our flesh assuredly is of earth. But philosophers, on the ground of whose arguments opposition is for the most part offered to the resurrection of the flesh, so far as in these they assert that no terrene body

1 1 Cor. XV. 39, 40. - 1 Cor. xv. 50. 3 i Cor. xv. 52.

FAITH. 2 A

370 ON FAITH AND THE CREED. [CHAP. X.

can possibly exist in heaven, yet concede that any kind of body may be converted and cianged into every [other] sort of body. And when this resurrection of the body has taken place, being set free then from the condition of time, we shall fully enjoy eternal life in ineffable love and stedfastness, without corruption. ^ For " then shall be brought to pass the saying which is written,
Death is swallowed up in victory. Where is, death, thy sting? Where is, death, thy contention? " ^

25. This is the faith which in few words is given in the Creed to Christian novices, to be held by them. And these few words are known to the faithful, to the end that in believing they may be made subject to God; that being made subject, they may rightly live; that in rightly living, they may make the heart pure; that with the heart made pure, they may understand that which they believe.

' Instead of a temporis conditione liberati, cetera vita ineffahili caritate atque stabilitate sine corruptione perfriemur, several mss. read, corpus a temporis conditione liberatwm (sterna vita ineffahili caritate perfuetur = the body, set free from the condition of time, shall fully enjoy eternal life in ineffable love.

2 1 Cor. XV. 54, 55.

INDEXES.

I. -INDEX OF TEXTS.

Genesis.

i. 1,

i. 31, .  
ii. 1-3, .  
ii. 8, 9, 15, ii. 17, .  
iii. 5, vi. 7, .  
vi. 22, .  
viii. 11, ix. 20-24, X. 20, 31, 32, xi.  

xi. 1, .  
xiv. IS, 19, xvii. 4, .  
xviii. 4, xviii. 20, xix. 2, .  
xxii. 13, XXV. 24, XXV. 26, xx^dii. 11, xxxii. 24, 25, xxxvii. 33, xxxviii. 27-30,
Exodus.
iii. 14, .
iii. 21, 22, ix. 16, .
xii.

xii. 22, .
xii. 35, 36, XV. 25, .
xviii. 13, xix. 1, .
XX. 5, .
xxiv. 18, xxxii. 4, 31, xxxiii. 19,
Numbers.

xi. 4, xiii. 19, xxi. 7, .

Deuteroxonomy.
V. 9, . . .
vi. 4, . .
vi. 5, . . 19, xiii. 1-3,

Judges.
vi. 14-21, .

PAGE

157

47
207
1 Samuel.

xxvui.

i. 10-12,

2 Chronicles.

E.STHER.

iv. 16, .

xiv. 1, .

xxii. 28,

Job.

Leviticus.
xix. 18,

19

ii. 7, V. 12, x. 3, X. 5, xi. 5, xvi. 2, xvi. 4,

Psalms.

157
60

2 Samuel.

vii. 14-16, . . 110
xii. 1-6, 19-23, . 99
xvi. 22, . . 99
xviii. 5, . . 99
xix. 1, . . 99

1 Kings.

xi. 1-3, . . 100
xvi. 13, . . 315
xix. 8, . . 52

100
XX. 8, .
xxiii. 6, XXV. 18, xxvii. 1, xxi. 19, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 2, XXXV. 2, XXXV. 14, XXXV. 18, xxxviii. 9, xlii. 1, .
li. 5, .
li. 7, .
li. 7, 8, .
li. 10, .
li. 17, .
liv. 1, .
lix. 10, .
Lxxv. 8, Lxxix. 9, Lxxix. 11, xc. 9, .
xciii. 5, ci. 1, .
ex. 4, .
cxi. 2, .
cxi. 10, .
cxv. 3, .
Cxxvii. 22, cxix. 164, cxxxii. 18, cxxxLx. 16, cxi. 10, cxl.viii. 5,
PAGB

272
199
301
234
254
54
114
103
26
142
221
214
209
52
78
198
21, 299
214
199, 230
102
253
301
200
165
240
156
245
40
241, 248
323
114
48
84
145
306
Proverbs.

ii. 6,  
viii. 22, ix. 17,  
xvi. 1,  
xix. 21, XXV. 21, 22,

. 118  
29, 349  
. 102  
199, 250  
. 298  
. 95

Ecclesiastes.

iii. 5,

172

INDEX OF TEXTS.
Canticles.

Malachi.

vi. 9-13,

. 255

i. 5,

108

i. 2, 3, . . . 243

vi. 12, .

. 193, 226

iv. 2, . . .

38

vi. 14, .

vi. 15, .

. 228

. 228, 366
344

i. 7, . . . 316

vii. 18, .

. 184

X. 22, .

112

vii. 21, 22,

. 328

xiv. 12, . 117

118

TOBIT.

ix. 20, .

. 36

xxviii. 16, .

323
iv. 15, . . . 94

x. 16, .

51, 102, 323

xl. 6, 8,

303

iv. 17, . . . 96

X. 19, 20,

. 144

xlii. 16,

108

viii. 5-7, . . 97

X. 39, .

. 95

liii. 7, . .

313
X. 42, .

. 148

Iviii. 7, .

45

Wisdom.

xi. 21, .

. 241

Ixi. 10, .

107

iv. 3, . .46

xi. 28-30, .

. 77

vi. 24, .
xii. 32, .

. 235

Jekemiah.

vii. 16, .

. 171

xii. 33, .

. 185

J. 10, .

92

vii. 27, .

. 347

xii. 34, .

. 170

V. 30, 31, .
xiii. 47, 48, . 108

xxiii. 30, 169

xi. 20, . 197

xiv. 17, etc. . 8

XXV. 11, 114

xi. 21, . 258

xvi. 6, . 101

XXV. 12, . 316

317
xiii. 9, .

. 58

xvi. 19, .

. 17

XXV. 21,

316

xvi. 21-23,

. 246

xxix. 1, 4-7,

316

Ecclesiasticus.

xvii. 1, .

. 113

xxix. 10,
317

i. 1, ... 176

xvii. 13,

. 52

224

xvii. 27,

. 316

EZEKIEL.

iii. 30, .

299

xviii. 18,
112

XV. 20,

225

xxii. 37-39,

19, 23,

xxvii. 5,

224

39, 321, 355

Daniel.

XXX. 24,

229

xxii. 40, 3
9, 259, 275,

ii. 47, .

316

xxxvii. 19, .

167

321

iii. 29, .

316

xxxvii. 20,

68

xxiii. 2,

. 167

vi. 26, .
316
xl. 1, .

221
xxiii. 3, 

167, 170
xlvi. 20, 

60
xxiii. 9, 

. 353
Hosea.

xxiii. 15,
. 298

i. 2, .

92

Bel.

xxiii. 37,

242, 289

iv. 8, . .

206

Ver. 41, . . 316

xxiv. 50, 51,

. 109

vi. 6, . .

299

XXV. 26,

5, 299
NEW TESTAMENT.

XXV. 27, XXV. 31-46, XXV. 33,

. 299
. 225
. 356

Amos.

Matthew.

XXV. 34, 41,

. 306

i. 1,

132

i. 17, . . . 318

XXV. 46,

. 254
vi. 1-6,  

133

i. 20, 203, 217

vii. 14,  

132

ii. 20, 208

Mar 

K. 

iii. 3, 11, 13-15, 210

ix. 2,  

. 113 

Jonah.
iv. 2, . .52

xiv. 8, .

. 36

iii. 10, .

11

V. 8, . .40, 365
V. 22, 23, 40, . 232

LUK

E.

Habakkuk.

V. 27, . .259

i. 28, 30, 35,

. 203

ii. 4, . .

343
V. 36, . . . 160

iii. 23, .

. 64

V. 37, . . . 193

vi. 30, .

. 232

Zechariah.

V. 44, 26, 199, 226, 227

vi. 45, .

. 183

i. 9, .

217

vi. 8, . . . 144
viii. 21,
. 350
ix. 17,
334
vi. 9,

225 1
ix. 28,
. 113

INDEX OF TEXTS.

!73

PAGE,
X. 27, .

229, 366

iL 1-12,

. 321

ix. 17-21,

. 244

X. 29, etc.,

. 25

il 4, .

. 363

ix. 18, .

242

X.:iO, .

. 296
ii. 44, .
.
322

ix. 21, .

2.51

xi. 20, .
.
321

iv. 34, .

87, 322

ix. 23, .

253

xi. 37-41,
.
228

iv. 35, .
.
87
xi. 36, 

10

xvii. 29-32,

. 116

XV. 9, 

. 228

xii. 1, 

151

XX. 30, . 19

3, 219, 326,

xvi. 16-18,

. 60

xii. 3, .
Romji

INS.

xii. 17, .

226

i. 3, .

. 204

xii. 20, .

95

JOH

vr.

i. 9, .

. 367

xiii. 1, .
316

i. 1,

201, 361

i. 17, .

. 191, 343

xiii. 7, .

151, 316

i. 1, 2, .

. 81

i. 20, .

. 10

xiii. 9, .

26, 259

I 3, 204, 34
\6, 348, 361

i. 21-23,

. 55

xiii 10, 26, 169, 272

i. 9,

247, 350

i. 2.3, .

. 356

xiii. 12-24,

. 151

i. 10, .

. 14

i. 30, .

. 290

xiv. 9, .

. 259
i. 14, 14, 20
1, 203, 349
ii. 4, . 2f
0, 328, 331
xiv. 10,
. 252
i. 47, .
. 84
ii. 5, . 1]
7, 290, 327
XV. 4, .
. 272
ii. 4, .
. 352
ii. 5-9, .
. 91

xvi. 19,

. 176

ii. 18, .

. 117

iii. 15, .

. 46

ii. 19, .

64, 216

iii. 19, .

. 244

1 Corinthians.

ii. 20, .

. 54
. 14

iii. 8, .

. 258

V. 5, 257, 25

I 300, 321,

i. 24, .

246, 248

iii. 36, .

200, 254

361

i. 25, .

14, 48, 353

iv. 24, .

. 363

V. 8, .
. 51

vi. 4, 5, . 213

iii. 13-15, . 224

X. 30, . 361

vi. 23, . 250

iii. 16, . 216

xii. 3, . 92

vii. 25, . 367
iii. 17, .

4

xii. 3-7,

. 36

viii. 14,

200, 220

iii. 22, 23, .

. 364

xii. 25, .

. 95

viii. 15,

. 363

iv. 5,

. 259

xiv. 6, 5, 2

9, 227, 346
viii. 15-17, 

. 350

iv. 7, 

5

xiv. 9, 28, 

. 361

viiL 17, 

. 355

V. 7, â€¢

77, 160

XV. 1, 

. 1.56

viii. 22, 

. 367

V. 8, 

viii. 28-39,
. 154

vi. 1-9,
. 147

xix. 26, 27,
. 353

viii 31,
. 218

vL 9,
. 223

xix. 41,
. 354

viii. 32,
. 273

vL 10,
223, 225
vii. 1, 2, 9, .

. 97

Act.'

ix. 1.3-16, .

. 243

vii. 5, 6,

. 231

i. 11, .

. 357

ix. 16, .

. 198

vii. 25, .

198
INDEX OF TEXTS.

PAGEx 32, 33,

PAGEx 6, 177, 180, 191, 222,

PAGEx i 14,

168

vii. 34,
. 83

257

ii. 15,

1. 144,

234

viii. 1,

47, 77

V. 17, 21, 238

ii. 19,

291

ix. 9,

. 43

V. 21, 85
iii. 14,

145

ix. 22,

. 288

V. 24, . . 91, 213

iv. 2,

144

X. 4,

. 157

X. 11,
Ephesians.

Titus.

X. 12, .

. 101

i. 5, . . 350, 355

i. 9,

. 144,

169

X. 13, .

. 335

i. 10, . . 219
144

xi. 3, .

360,

361, 364

ii. 8, 9, 10, . . 198

ii. 15,

145

xi. 19, .

. 109

. iii. 7, 8, . . 363

iii. 1,

145

xi. 31, 32,
iiii. 17-19, . . 78

xiii. 8, .

'. "33

iv. 22, . . 52

Philemon.

xiii. 12, 40, 219

268, 365

V. 29, . . 20, 22

Ver. 20,

28
Hebrews.

XV. 28, .

. 361

vi. 23, . . 109
i. 5, 210

XV. 31,

. 85

i. 13, 216

XV. 39, 53,

. 368

Philippiaiss.

ii. 11, 350
XV. 44,
238,
239, 355
i. 18, . . . 167
V. 5,
210
XV. 49, .
. 158
i. 22-24, . . 82
X. 38,
343
XV. 50, .
239,
340, 369
i. 29, . . . 109

xi. 1, 180

XV. 50-53, . 17

ii. 6, . 202, 348, 350

XV. 51, . 355

ii. 8, . . 354

James.
XV. 52, .

355, 369

ii. 9, . . 361

ii. 14, 17, .

223

XV. 54, 55, . 370

ii. 13, . . 198
ii. 17, . . 288

ii. 19, iii. 2, 180 232

2 Corinthians.
101

iii. 2, 3,

. 112

iv. 7, . . 219

iii. 6, .

. 86

1 Peter.

V. 7, . 31, 4C
Colossians.

i. 24, 25,

303

V. 10,

. 252

i. 15, . . 360

ii. 2,

288

V. 13, 14,

. 289

i. 16, . . 216

V. 6,
iii. 1-3, . . 213

2 Peter.

viii. 21,

. 168

iii. 4, . . 214

ii. 4,

216

ix. 7, .

269, 288

ii. 19,
1 Thessalonians.

xi. 3,

102

ii. 7, . . . 289

1 John.

xi. 6,
GALATIAN.S.

ii. 1-4, . . . 248

iii. 11, .

. 343

ii. 4, . .241, 247

Revelation.

iii. 15-22,

. 150

ii. 5, . . 271

i. 8,
357

iii. 24, .

. 87

iv. 11, . . 144

ii. 2,

. 239

iii. 29, .

. 107

iv. 12, . . 168

V.5,

. 101

iv. 5, .
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Abortive conceptions, question regarding resurrection of, '2'A5.

Absolute right and wrong, treated of, 94.

Adam, sin of, results of the, to his posterity, 194; involved many kinds of sin, 208.

Address, different methods of, to different classes of hearers, 300.

Advent. See Christ.

Affections, change of, the way to heaven, 17.

Ages of the world, the six, 318, etc.

Aids to interpreting Scripture history, 64; mechanical arts and dialectics,
All things gathered together in one in Christ, expounded, 219.

Almsgiving, will not, without change of life, atone for sin, 225, 228; the greatest, is forgiveness of debtors and love of enemies, 226; the first, is to pity our own souls, 229.

Ambiguity, rules for removing, 81, 84.

Ambrose, examples of style from, 155, etc.

Amos, examples of eloquence from, 132.

Angels, the fallen, God's judgment on, 194.

Angels, who fell not, 196; nothing certainly known of their social organization, 216; bodies assumed by. 217; what Christ did for man was in a sense done for them, 218.

Angry, in what sense God is said to be, 200.

Antony, a monk who committed the Scriptures to memory, 2.

Astrologers, superstition of, 57.

Baptism, indicates our death to sin and resurrection to life, 207, 211; open to all, both infants and adults, 207.

Body, the, death of, man's peculiar punishment, 194; resurrection of, 235, etc., 368.

Body, the resurrection, wholly subject to the spirit, 21; a spiritual body, 238.

Bondage, to the letter, 86, etc.; to signs, 89.

Canonical books, list of the, 41.

Catechetical instruction, 265, etc.; way to commence it, 277; of the educated, 281; of grammarians and professional speakers, 284; causes and remedies of tediousness in, 288, etc.
Catechumen, examination of, as to his views, 275; specimen of address to (1) one of worthy ^aews, (2) one of false aims, 302, etc.; formal admission of, 329.

Causes, essential to man's happiness to know the, of good and evil, 185; the secondary, of evil, are ignorance and lust, 193.

Charms, to be avoided by Christians, 66.

Children, probably involved in the guilt, not only of our first parents, but also of their own immediate parents, 208.

Christ, purges the Church by afflictions, 16; opens the way to our home, 17; is the first way to God, 29; birth of, 200; being the only Son of God, is at the same time man, 201; grace of God in His birth, 203, 205; made sin for us, 206; not regenerated in the baptism of John, 210; took away original sin and all other sins, 211; His life typical of the Christian life, 213; second coming of, 213; generation of, as Son of God and the Word, 346, etc.; neither made by nor less than the Father, 348; born through the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, 351; as God, has no mother, 352; passion, burial, and resurrection of, 354; ascension of, 355; session at the Father's right hand and coming to judgment, 356; relation of, as Son to the Father, 360.

Christ, advent of, why foretold, 271; shows God's love to us, 272.

Christians, nominal, described, 328.

Church, the, purged by afflictions, 376

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

16; the keys given to, 17; is the temple of Gorl, 214; condition of, in heaven, 216; in its likeness to a vine, 323, etc.; the Catholic, 366.

Cicero, on rhetoric, 124, 127; on style,
on the aim of an orator, 139.

Claudian's description of Neptune, 88.

Commands and prohibitions, rules for interpreting, 96.

Constancy in the faith of the resurrection, 325.

Corruption, all things not perfectly good are liable to, 182.

Creation of man, what is to be believed concerning the, 307.

Creed, the Apostles', 178; expounded, 343, etc.

Crime, as distinguished from vice, 91.

Custom, blinding power of, 233.

Cyprian, examples of style from, 155, etc.

David, not lustful though he fell into adultery, 99.

Dead, souls of the, benefited by the sacraments and alms of living friends, 252.

Death, not destruction but change, 17; cannot injure the regenerate, 258.

Death of the body is man's peculiar punishment, 194.

Death, the first and the second, consequences of sin, 240.

Death, eternal, 254.

Definition, the science of, not false, but may be applied to falsities, 71.

Deogratias, the book on catechising
the uninstructed written for, 265.
Devil, the, how he tempts, 335.
Devils arrange the language of omens,

61.
Dialectics, use of, in interpreting

Scripture, 67.
Difficult passages, how and with

whom to discuss, 136.
Discourse, a, often pleasant to the

hearer and distasteful to the speaker,

and probable explanation of the

fact, 266.
Discourses of others, when they may

be preached, 169.
Divination, why we reject acts of, 59.

Educated, the, how to catechise,

281.
Egyptians, spoiling of the, typical

import of, 76.

Eleution, God's sovereign grace in,

243.

Eloquence, the rules of, are triune, though sometimes used to persuade men of what is false, 72; of the sacred writers is united with wisdom, 126, etc. â–

Enemies, love of, 226. â–

Enjoyment, distinction between, and use, 9; of man, 28.

Error, the nature of, 186; always an evil, 189, 191; not always a sin, 190.
Evil in the universe is but the absence of good, 181; there can be no evil where there is no good, 183; good and evil are exceptions to the rule that contrary attributes cannot be predicated of the same subject, 184; permission of, 241; man created able to choose good or evil, â€” choice of evil will be impossible in the future life, 249; co-existence of, with good, in the Church, and their final separation, 310.

Evil fruit, a good tree cannot bring forth, expounded, 184.

Faith, strengthened by the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and stimulated by His coming to judgment, 16; is the gift of God, 198; without works, is dead, 222.

Faith, hope, and love, God to be worshipped through, 176; their mutual dependence, 179; distinction between faith and hope, 179; love is the greatest of the three, 256.

Faith and the creed, 343-370.

Figurative expressions, not to be taken literally, 86; how to discern whether a phrase is figurative, 89; interpretation of, 91, etc; variation of figure, 101. See Tropes.

Fire, saved by, expounded, 223.

Fire, purgatorial, 224.

Flesh, no man hates his own, expounded, 20, etc.

Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, expounded, 340.

Flood, the, a sacramental sign, 311.

Foreknowledge of God, the, 249, 309.

Forgiveness of debtors, 227.

Freedom of the will, is the gift of God, 198, etc.; man created with, 249.

Gentiles, useless bondage of the, to

the letter, 87.

God, in what sense ineffable, and what

all men understand by the term,
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

377

11; is unchangeable wisdom, 12; is alone to be loved for His own sake, 19; uses rather than enjoys man, 27; to be worshipped through faith, hope, and love, 176; in what sense said to be angry, 200; pardons sin, but on condition of penitence, 221; alone decides what sins are trivial and what not, 230; does well even in the permission of evil, 241; foreknew the sin of the first man, and ordered His own purposes accordingly, 249; is love, 259; severity of, 275; exclusive eternity and omnipotence of, 344.

God, finger of, signifies the Holy Spirit, 314.

God, grace of, displayed in Christ, 202, etc.; in election, 243; necessary to man's salvation before the fall, 250.

God, peace of, 229.

God, will of, never defeated, though much is done contrary to His will, 245; always good, but sometimes fulfilled through the evil will of man, 246.

God will have all men to be saved, expounded, 241, 247.

God, Wisdom of, how He came to us and healed man, 14, etc.

Good, all things made, 181; but not perfectly good, hence they are liable to corruption, 182; there can be no evil where there is no good, 183. See Evil.

Good works, men not saved by, 197; follow faith, 198; rewarded by eternal life, the gift of God, 250.

Happiness, knowledge of the causes of good and evil necessary to man's, 185.

Hearers, to be moved as well as instructed, 141.

Heaven, the Church in, 216, 219.
Heretics or schismatics, compared to twigs lopped off the vine, 327.

History, to what extent an aid in interpreting Scripture, 64.

Holy life, power of, in a teacher, 167.

Holy Spirit, the birth of Christ is of the, 203; is not the Father of Christ, 204; Holy Spirit and the Church, 214, etc.; is not a creature, 215; sin against the, 235; signified by the expression, finger of God, 314; mission of, on Pentecost, 321; the third person of the Trinity, 357; His individuality and offices, 362, etc.

Hope, a buttress of faith, 16; everything pertaining to, embraced in the Lord's Prayer, 255. See Faith.

Human institutions, superstitious nature of, 56; of those not superstitious, some are superfluous, some convenient and necessary, 62.

Humility essential to the study of Scripture, 77.

Idioms, how to attain a knowledge of, 49.

Ignorance, sometimes better than knowledge, 186.

Ineffable, in what sense God is, 11.

Inference, logical, how valid, 70.

Intermediate state, the, 252.

Interpretation of Scripture, rules for, 1; depends on two things, understanding and making known its meaning, 7; dangers of mistaken, 31; a diversity of, useful, 44; how faulty, can be amended, 46; figures, 91, etc.; sayings and doings ascribed to God and the saints, 92; commands and prohibitions, 95; sins of great men, 100; obscure passages to be interpreted by clearer, 102; passages susceptible of various interpretations, 103; rules of Tichonius the Donatist, 105-119.

Israel, the spiritual, 112; prefigured the future Church, 312; history of, and its significance, 313, etc.

Itala, the, to be preferred to other Latin versions, 49.
Jacob’s birth, as typical of Christ's incarnation, 271.
Jews, bondage of, to the letter, and how liberated therefrom, 86, etc.
Judgments of God, on fallen men and angels, 194; will be explained at the resurrection, 240; are just, 244.

Keys, the, given to the Church, 17. Kingdoms, two distinct, after the resurrection,- ã€” Christ's and the Devil's, 253.
Knowledge, a step to wisdom, 39.

Languages, knowledge of, useful, 44, 51.

Laurentiiis, the Enchiridion addressed to, 175, etc.
Learning, what branches of, are useful to a Christian, 74.
Letter, the, killeth, expounded, 86, etc.

Lies, never allowable, but differ much in guilt, 187; not allowable to save another from injury, 192.

Life, eternal, though the reward of good works, is itself the gift of God, 250.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.
Logical sequence, valid, not devised, but only observed by man, G9.

Lot, the, for deciding whom to aid, 24.

Love, to God and our neighbour, includes love to ourselves, 22; the order of, 23; never faileth, 32; its import, 90; greater than faith and hope, 256; is the end of all the commandments, 259; action of, 273, etc. (SVe Faith.

Lucan, quoted, 179.

Lucus â€” quod minime luceat, 105.

Mediator, a, needed by fallen men, 200; must be God in order to redeem us, 251.

Men, ministry of, employed for teaching and administering sacraments, 34.

Men, fallen, God's judgments on, 194; restored through the mercy of God, 195; the restored part succeed to the place lost by the rebellious angels, 196; not saved by good works, but by grace through faith, 197; needed a mediator, 200; all born of Adam are under condemnation, 211.

Monstrous births, and the resurrection, 236.

Muses, the nine, legend of their origin, 54.

Narration, to be employed in catechising, 270, 278.

Nature, the Christian knows no more of, than that the goodness of the Creator is the cause of all things, 180.

Neighbour, who is our, 25; love to our, 30.

Neptune, described by Claudian, 88.

Number, the science of, not created but only discovered by man, 73.

Numbers, the mystical, 52, 114.

Omens, how far of force, and the part devils have in them, 61.

Omnipotence of God, 344, etc.
Orator, aim of the, 139, 165.

Pardon of sin, conditioned by penitence, and has reference chiefly to the future judgment, 221; not given to those who forgive not others, 227.

Parents, not to be recognised when they hinder our ministry, 353.*

Paul, example of eloquence from, 127, etc.; his speaking by permission and not of commandment expounded, 231; a persecutor, 323.

Pentecost, 321.

Philosophers, heathen, what they have said rightly to be appropriated to our uses, 75.

Plato, was in Egypt when Jeremiah was there, 65.

Powers that be, subjection to the, illustrated, 317.

Prayer, ability to read granted in answer to, 3; to be engaged in before preaching, 143, 170; the daily, of the believer makes satisfaction for daily trivial sins, 225.

Prayer, the Lord's, 178, 255, etc.

Preaching the discourses of others, when permissible, 169.

Predestination to eternal life is wholly of God's free grace, 242.

Prohibitions. See Commands.

Pronunciation, how it serves to remove ambiguity, 83. â–

Prophecies, Old Testament, fulfilment * of, pointed out, 332.

Punctuation, ambiguities of, 81.

Punishments, future, eternity of, 253.
Purgatorial tire, possibly some believers may pass through a, in the future life, 224.

Purification of soul, necessary in order to see God, 13.

Pythagoras, not prior to the Hebrew Scriptures, 05.

Quick, the, and the dead, Christ shall judge, expounded, 214.

Regeneration, effects of, 258.

Repentance, true, the mercy of God necessary to, 234.

Resurrection, the, of the body, gives rise to many questions, 235, etc.; of the saints, 238; of the lost, 239; derided by some, 333; is certain, 368.

Rhetoric, use of, 72; what use a Christian teacher is to make of the art, 121, etc.; it is better to listen to and imitate eloquent men than attend teachers of, 125.

Saints, the, resurrection of, 238; shall know at the resurrection the

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

179

benefita they have received by grace, 240.

Satan, as an angel of light, 217.

Schismatics. Sec Heretics.

Scripture, rules for interpretation of, 1, 43, 105, etc.; its fulfillment and end is the love of God and our neighbour, 30; use of the obscurities in, 37; in what spirit to be studied, 77; compared with profane authors, 77; what it enjoins and asserts, 90. *SV(^ Interpretation.

Septuagint, the, authority of, 49, etc.

Signs, as distinguished from things,
8; nature and variety of, 34, etc.; when unknown or ambiguous, they prevent Scripture from being understood, 43; knowledge of languages, especially of Greek and Hebrew, necessary to remove ignorance of, 44, etc.; conventional, 61; intelligible, 267; employed at the formal admission of a catechumen, 330.

Sin, results of Adam's, 194, etc.; sin, and sins, often put the one for the other, 207; of progenitors, 208, etc.; guilt of the first, can be washed away only in the blood of Christ, 210; pardon of, extends over the whole mortal life of the saints, 220; trivial, 225, 230; relative magnitude of sins, 231; two causes of, ignorance and weakness, 234; remission of, 306.

Solecism, what it is, 47.

Solomon, gave way to lust, 100.

Son of God. See Christ.

Stages, the four, of the Christian's life and the Church's history, 257.

Stars, folly of observing the, in order to predict the events of a life, 58.

Style, necessity for perspicuity of, 137, etc.; threefold division of â€” majestic, quiet, temperate, 145; to be different on different occasions, 148; examples of, from Scripture, 149; from Ambrose and Cyprian, 155; necessity of variety in, 161; effects of the different styles, 163, etc.

Sujjerstitious nature of human institutions, 56, etc.

Teacher, the true, made by God, yet human directions for, are not to be despised, 144; power of a holy life in, 167.

Tediousness in catechising, causes and remedies of, 288, etc.

Terence, quoted, 74.

Thing, what a, is, 8.

Tichonius the Donatist, rules of, for interpreting Scripture, 105-119.
Translations, usefulness of comparing, 45; preference among, to be given to the Latin, Itala, and the Greek Septuagint, 49.

Trinity, the, true object of enjoyment, 10; doctrine of, 357, etc.

Tropes, knowledge of, necessary, 104.

Truth, more important than expression, 168.

U.S.E, different from enjoyment, 9; what, God makes of us, 27.

Varro, on the nine Muses, 54, Vice, as distinguished from crime, 91.

Vine, the Church in its likeness to

the, 323, etc.

Virgil, quoted, 179, 185, 186.

Wicked, the, death of, eternal in the same sense as the life of the saints, 254.

Wicked men, judge others by themselves, 97.

Wisdom, steps to, 39; of more importance than eloquence to the Christian teacher, 124; man's true, is the fear of God, 176.

Word, the, made flesh, 14. See Christ.

Words, hold the chief place among signs, 36; strife about, expounded, lb9.

Writing, origin of, 36.
LANG E'S

COMMENTARIES ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Messrs. CLARK have now pleasure in intimating their arrangements, under the Editorship of Dr. Philip Schaff, for the Publication of Translations of the Commentaries of Dr. Lange and his Collaborateurs on the Old and New Testaments.

There are now ready (in imperial 8vo, double columns), price 21s. per Volume,

OLD TESTAMENT, Six Volumes:
COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON JOSHUA, JUDGES, AND RUTH, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE BOOKS OF KINGS, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, AND THE SONG OF SOLOMON, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS, in One Volume.

The other Books of the Old Testament are in active preparation, and will be announced as soon as ready.

NEW TESTAMENT, Ten Volumes:
COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPELS OF ST. MARK and ST. LUKE, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE
ROMANS, in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE
CORINTHS, in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE
GALATIANS, EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS, and COLOSSIANS, in One Vol.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS, TIMOTHY, TITUS, PHILEMON, and HEBREWS, in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF JAMES, PETER,
JOHN, and JUDE, in One Volume.

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION, in One
Volume (in the press).

The price to Subscribers to the Foreign Theological Library, St. Augustine's "Works, and Ante-Nicene Library, or to Purchasers of Complete Sets of the Commentary (so far as published), will be

FIFTEEN SHILLINGS PER VOLUME.

Dr. Lance's Commentary on the Gospels and Acts (without Dr. Schaff's Notes) is also published in the Foreign' Theological Library, in Five Volumes in 8vo, and may be had in that form if desired. (For particulars, see List of Foreign Theological Library.)

T. and T. Ciar/cs Piidlicattons.

Just published, in Crown 8vo, price Gs.,

Apologetic Lectures on the Moral Truths of Christianity.

The Nature of Christian Morality; Man; The Christian and the Christian Virtues; The Devotional Life of the Christian, and his Attitude towards the Church; Christian
Marriage; The Christian Home; The State and Christianity; The Life of the Christian in the State; Culture and Christianity; Humanity and Christianity. By C. E. Luthardt, D.D., Leipsic.

The ground covered by this work is, of course, of considerable extent, and there is scarcely any topic of specifically moral interest now under debate in which the reader will not find some suggestive saying. The volume contains, like its predecessors, a truly wealthy apparatus of notes and illustrations.

The volume is remarkable for striking thoughts, and for scientific completeness. It is rich in what sets the reader thinking, as well as in what helps him to solve social questions.

By the same Author, Second Edition, in Crown 8vo, 6s.,

Apologetic Lectures on the Saving Truths of Christianity.

The Nature of Christianity; Sin; Grace; The God-Man; The Work of Jesus Christ; The Trinity; The Church; Holy Scripture; The Means of Grace; The Last Things.

Dr. Luthardt is a profound scholar, but a very simple teacher, and expresses himself on the gravest matters with the utmost simplicity, clearness, and force.

We are glad to have such a work translated, for it contains just such a discussion of the leading doctrines of the Gospel as is needed by a large class of the thoughtful and inquiring minds amongst us.

There is, along with a remarkable clearness of apprehension and accuracy of judgment, a freshness and originality of thought, and a singular beauty of language, under the spell of which we read these lectures with unflagging interest.

By the same Author, in Crown 8vo, Third Edition, price 6s.,

The Fundamental Truths of Christianity. The Antagonistic Views of the World in their Historical Development; The Anomalies of Existence; The Personal God; The Creation of the World; Man; Religion; Revelation; History of Revelation Heathenism and Judaism; Christianity in History; The Person of Jesus Christ.

Luthardt is the very man to help those entangled in the thickets of modern rationalism; we do not know just such another book as this; it is devout, scholarly, clear, forcible, penetrating, comprehensive, satisfactory, admirable.
From Dr. Luthardt's exposition even the most learned theologians may derive invaluable criticism, and the most acute disputants supply themselves with more trenchant and polished weapons than they have as yet been possessed of. —Beirs WeeMy Messenger.

We do not know any volumes so suitable in these times for young men entering on life, or, let us say, even for the library of a pastor called to deal with such, than the three volumes of this series. We commend the whole of them with the most cordial satisfaction. They are altogether quite a specialty in our literature. —Weekly Review.

In Crown 8vo, price 5s.,


This work contains a succinct, comprehensive, and able review of the history and work of the Church, and may serve as a useful guide for the thought and reading of those who are interested in its important theme. —Nonconformist.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

Just published, in One Thick Volume, price 14s.,

Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek. By Hermann Cremer, Professor of Theology in the University of Gieifswald.

Translated from the German by D. W. Simon, Ph.D., and William Ukwick, M.A.

This work comprises such words as have their ordinary classical meaning changed or modified in Scripture, tracing their history in their transference from the Classics into the Septuagint, and thence into the New Testament, and the gradual deepening and elevation of their meaning till they reach the fulness of New Testament thought.

'A close inspection of many of the terms which are representative of the leading doctrines of the New Testament enables us to offer the assurance that Professor Cremer's Lexicon may both safely, and with high advantage, be employed by students of theology for the formation of their doctrinal views, as well as for the other and more common uses of a New Testament Dictionary. . . . The article Tvu.aa, occupying eight pages, furnishes an
example of the critical ability and exhaustive research by which this Biblical Lexicon is distinguished. 'Record.

In One Volume, 8vo, price 15s.,


' This is the standard classical work on the Grammar of the New Testament, and it is of course indispensable to every one who would prosecute intelligently the critical study of the most important portion of the inspired record.' British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

' We gladly welcome the appearance of Winer's great work in an English translation, and most strongly recommend it to all who wish to attain to a sound and accurate knowledge of the language of the New Testament. We need not say it is the Grammar of the New Testament. It is not only superior to all others, but so superior as to be by common consent the one work of reference on the subject. No other could be mentioned with it.' Literary Churchman.

In Crown 8vo, price 6s.,


' A translation of Kant into intelligible English may be supposed to be as difficult as a translation of Carlyle into Ciceronian Latin. But Mr. Semple's translation has been accepted by scholars as a real success. Some real knowledge of Kant is indispensable in order to comprehension of the learned thought of our time, and because the study of Kant is, on the whole, the best preliminary discipline for independent study of philosophy proper, as distinguished from mere science.' Contemporary Review.

In Two Volumes 8vo, price 21s..


' The high reputation of Dr. Shedd will be increased by this remarkable work. The style is lucid and penetrating. No one can master these volumes without being quickened and strengthened.' American Theological Review.
' We do not hesitate to pronounce the work a great improvement on anything we have had before. To the young student it will be valuable as a guide to his critical reading, and to the literary man it will be indispensable as a book of reference.' — Bibliotheca Sacra.

In Two Volumes, Svo, price 21s.,


' This work, majestic in its conception and thorough in its execution, has long been very influential in German theology, and we welcome this new and admirable translation. Those who take the pains to master it will find it a noble attempt to reconcile the highest effort of speculation in the pursuit of theological truth with the most reverent acceptance of the infallible determination of Scripture. In Germany it has been for many years a notable obstructive to the spread of vital error, and a refuge for distracted minds.' — London Quarterly Review.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

In One Volume, Crown 8vo, price 4s. 6d.,


' This is eminently a book for the times. We read continually that a revision of our English New Testament is in progress; but very few persons have an idea of what is really doing in the matter, or why. The volume before us will tell them all they need to know till the Revision is complete and the work speaks for itself. . . . We trust this very seasonable and sensible little work may have a wide circulation.' — Watchman.

' It was a happy thought of Drs. Milligan and Roberts to summarize, for popular information, the results of the dealing of modern criticism with the text of the New Testament.
It was a design that only scholars could execute satisfactorily, and the way in which the authors have executed it is a pleasing testimony to their complete acquaintance with the subject.' â€” Church Review.

'The book displays sound, accurate scholarship, and great familiarity with the subject of the Greek New Testament. It is also characterized by a calm and reverential spirit, loyal to the truth, and loving the Bible as being the Scriptures of Truth.' â€” Church Bells.

'A popular treatment of Biblical textual criticism was a desideratum, and Professors Milligan and Roberts have done this work so well, that henceforth it will be disgraceful for any man professing to believe in the inspiration of the New Testament, and remaining ignorant of the processes by which scholars attempt to determine what were the exact words used by New Testament writers.' â€” Scotsman.

' By this volume many an ordinary reader will feel that a noble and inviting subject has been discovered to him, and will be led to take an intelligent interest in sacred criticism, and in the labours of those who devote themselves to its development.' â€” Weekly Review.

In Two Volumes, Crown 8vo, price 12s. 6d.,

Christian Ethics. Translated from the German of Dr. Adolph WuTTKE, late Professor of Theology in Halle. Vol. I. History of Ethics; Vol. II. Pure Ethics.

'Wuttke's Ethics should have a place in every pastor's library.' â€” Dr. Ilengsteiiberg.

' We have ourselves read this treatise on Christian Ethics with deep interest and admiration, and cannot too strongly express our gratitude to the translator and publishers for placing it within the reach of all students of theology. We trust it may be widely read and studied.' â€” Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

' We heartily and strongly commend the wurli, as supplying, in an extremely interesting and scientific form, such a treatment of the subject of Christian Ethics as we do not possess in the whole range of English Theological Literature.' â€” Presbyterian.

In One Volume, Crown 8vo, price 3s. 6d.,

The Subject of Missions considered under three New Aspects:

The Church and Missions; the Representation of the Science of Missions at the Universities; Commerce and the Church. Translated from the German of Carl H. C. Plath, by L. KiRKPATRiCK. AVith a Prefatory Note by the Rev. Dr. Duff.
"Written in a fine spirit, and full of thought and many valuable hints." — Nonconformist.
'These topics are discussed with acuteness, freshness, and power." — Watchman.
'Such a work is entitled to a welcome in this country, and all the more that it is well worth reading." — Free Church Record.

In One Volume, Demy 8vo, price 9s.,
The Old Catholic Church; or, The History, Doctrine, Worship,

'An extraordinary amount of information has been condensed into 400 pages by the author, yet he has succeeded in keeping his book lively and interesting. . . . Thâ» author shows that he has read thoroughly and widely, and he gives the results of his investigation in a form in which they are readily accessible." — Record.

Augustine, St. - Enchiridion.
(Dods tr.)
V. 9

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
bb queen's park
Toronto 5, Can."
5203

[*End of Vol IX*]
THE WORKS

OF

AUKELIUS AUGUSTINE

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

VOL. X.

LECTURES OR TRACTATES ON

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN.

VOLUME I

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STR

MDCCCLXXIII.

-------------------
Source (of this Volume):
-------------------

PRINTED BY MURRAY AND GIBB, FOK
T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.
LECTURES OR TRACTATES

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Cranalatetr b$
REV. JOHN GIBB.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, GEORGE STREET.
1873.

CONTENTS.

Tractate I.
John i. 1-5,

Tractate II.

â€ž i. 6-14,

15

Tractate III.

â€ž i. 15-18,

27

Tractate IV.

,, i. 19-33,
Tractate V.

,, i. 33, .

Tractate VI.

,, i. 32, 33,

Tractate VII.

â€ž i. 34-51,

Tractate VIII.
Tractate IX.

,, ii. 1-11,

126

Tractate X.

â€ž ii. 12-21,

140

Tractate XL

,, ii. 23-25; in

1-5,
152

Tractate XII.

,, in. 6-21,

168

Tractate XIII.

,, in. 22-29,

181

Tractate XIV.

,, in. 29-36,

197

Tractate XV.
â€ž iv. 1-42,

210
Tractate XVI.
ê€ž iv. 43-54,

229
Tractate XVII.
ê€ž v. 1-18,

236
Tractate XVIII.
ê€ž v. 19,
Tractate XIX.

â€ž v. 19-30,

Tractate XX.

â€ž v. 19,

Tractate XXL

,, v. 20-23,

Tractate XXII.
313

Tractate XXIII.

â€ž v. 19-40,

327

Tractate XXIV.

â€ž/ vi. 1-14,

344

Tractate XXV.

â€ž vi. 15-44,
Tractate XXVI.

â€ž vi. 41-59,

Tractate XXVII.

â€ž vi. 60-72,

Tractate XXVIII.

,, vii. 1-13,

Tractate XXIX.

,, vii. 14-18,
CONTENTS.

PAGE
Tractate XXX.

Joitt

dii. 19-24, .

409

Tractate XXXI.

>Á»

dii. 25-36, .

416

Tractate XXXII.

,,

dii. 37-39, .

426

Tractate XXXIII.

â€¢ >>

dii. 40-53; oii. 1-11,

434
Tractate XXXIV.

''

vin. 12,

442

Tractate XXXV.

''

viii. 13, 14, .

451

Tractate XXXVI.

â€¢ >>

viii. 15-18, .

459

Tractate XXXVII.

> Â»

viii. 19, 20, .
ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

TEACTATE I.
Chapter I. 1-5.

1. "ITTTHEN" I give heed to what we have just read from
the apostolic lesson, that "the natural man perceiveth not the things which are of
the Spirit of God," 1 and consider that in the present assembly, my beloved, there must of
necessity be among you many natural men, who as yet know according to the flesh, and
cannot yet raise themselves to spiritual understanding, I am in great difficulty how, as the
Lord shall grant, I may be able to express, or in my small measure to explain, what has
been read from the Gospel, "Jn the beginning was the "Word, and the Word was with
God, and the Word was God; " for this the natural man does not perceive. What then,
brethren ? Shall we be silent for this cause ? Why then is it read, if we are to be silent
regarding it ? Or why is it heard, if it be not explained ? And why is it explained, if it be
not understood ? And so, on the other hand, since I do not doubt that there are among
your number some who can not only receive it when explained, but even understand it
before it is explained, I shall not defraud those who are able to receive it, from fear of my
words being wasted on the ears of those who are not able to receive it. Finally, there will
be present with us the compassion of God, so that 1
perchance there may be enough for all, and each receive what { he is able, while he who speaks says what he is able. For to speak of the matter as it is,
who is able ? I venture to

1 1 Cor. ii. 14.
TRACT. A

2 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. I.

say, my brethren, perhaps not John himself spoke of the matter as it is, but even he only
as he was able; for it was man that spoke of God, inspired indeed by God, but still man.
Because he was inspired he said something; if he had not been inspired, he would have
said nothing; but because a man inspired, he spoke not the whole, but what a man could
he spoke.
2. For this John, dearly beloved brethren, was one of those mountains concerning which it is written: "Let the mountains receive peace for thy people, and the hills righteousness." x The mountains are lofty souls, the hills little souls. But for this reason do the mountains receive peace, that the hills may be able to receive righteousness. What is the righteousness which the hills receive? Faith, for 'the just doth live by faith.' 2 The smaller souls, however, would not receive faith unless the greater souls, which are called mountains, were illuminated by Wisdom herself, that they may be able to transmit to the little ones what the little ones can receive; and the hills live by faith, because the mountains receive peace.

By the mountains themselves it was said to the Church, "Peace be with you;" and the mountains themselves in proclaiming peace to the Church did not divide themselves against Him from whom they received peace, 3 that truly, not feignedly, they might proclaim peace.

3. For there are other mountains which cause shipwreck, on which, if any one drive his ship, she is dashed to pieces. For it is easy, when land is seen by men in peril, to make a venture as it were to reach it; but sometimes land is seen on a mountain, and rocks lie hid under the mountain; and when any one makes for the mountain, he falls on the rocks, and finds there not rest, but wrecking. So there have been certain mountains, and great have they appeared among men, and they have created heresies and schisms, and have divided the Church of God; but those who divided the Church of God were not those mountains concerning which it is said.

"Let the mountains receive peace for thy people." For in what manner have they received peace who have severed unity?

4. But those who received peace to proclaim it to the people have made Wisdom herself an object of contemplation,

1 Ps. lxxii. 3, 2 Hab. ii. 4; Rom. i. 17. 3 John xx. 19.

TRACT. I.] JOHN A GREAT MOUNTAIN. 3

so far as human hearts could lay hold on that which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither has ascended into the heart of man." * If it has not ascended into the heart of man, how has it ascended into the heart of John? Was not John a man? Or perhaps neither into John's heart did it ascend, but John's heart ascended into it? For that which ascends into the heart of man is from beneath, to man; but that to which the heart of man ascends is above, from man. Even so, brethren, can it be said that, if it ascended into the heart of John (if in any way it can be said), it ascended into his heart in so far as he was not man. What means " was not man " ? In so far as he had begun to be an angel For all saints are angels, since they are messengers of God. Therefore to carnal and natural men, who are not able to perceive the things that are of God, what says the apostle? "For whereas ye say, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, are ye not men?" 2 What did
he wish to make them whom he upbraided because they were men? Do you wish to know what he wished to make them? Hear in the Psalms: "I have said, ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High." 3 To this, then, God calls us, that we be not men. But then will it be for the better that we be not men, if first we recognise the fact that we are men, that is, to the end that we may rise to that height from humility; lest, when we think that we are something when we are nothing, we not only do not receive what we are not, but even lose what we are.

5. Accordingly, brethren, of these mountains was John also, who said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." This mountain had received peace; he was contemplating the divinity of the Word. Of what sort was this mountain? How lofty? He had risen above all peaks of the earth, he had risen above all plains of the sky, he had risen above all heights of the stars, he had risen above all choirs and legions of the angels. For unless he rose above all those things which were created, he would not arrive at Him by whom all things were made. You cannot imagine what he rose above, unless you see at what he arrived. Dost thou inquire concerning heaven and earth? They were

1 1 Cor. ii. 9. 2 1 Cor. iii. 4. 3 Ps. lxxxii. 6.

4 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. I.

made. Dost thou inquire concerning the things that are in heaven and earth? Surely much more were they made. Dost thou inquire concerning spiritual beings, concerning angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers, principalities? These also were made. For when the Psalm enumerated all these things, it finished thus: "He spoke, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created." 1 If "He spoke and they were made," it was by the Word that they were made; but if it was by the Word they were made, the heart of John could not reach to that which he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"

unless he had risen above all things that were made by the Word. What a mountain this! How holy! How high among those mountains that received peace for the people of God, that the hills might receive righteousness!

6. Consider, then, brethren, if perchance John is not one of those mountains concerning whom we sang a little while ago, "I have lifted up mine eyes to the mountains, from whence shall come my help." Therefore, my brethren, if you would understand, lift up your eyes to this mountain, that is, raise yourselves up to the evangelist, rise to his meaning. But, because though these mountains receive peace be cannot be in peace who places his hope in man, do not so raise your eyes to the mountain as to think that your hope should be placed in man; and so say, "I have lifted up mine eyes to the mountains, from whence shall come my help," that you immediately add, "My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth." 2
Therefore let us lift our eyes to the mountains, from whence shall come our help; and yet it is not in the mountains themselves that our hope should be placed, for the mountains receive what they may minister to us; therefore, from whence the mountains also receive, there should our hope be placed. When we lift our eyes to the Scriptures, since it was through men the Scriptures were ministered, we are lifting our eyes to the mountains, from whence shall come our help; but still, since they were men who wrote the Scriptures, they did not shine of themselves, but "He was the true light, 3 who lighteth every man that cometh into the pu

TRACT. I.] THE LORD ALONE THE TRUE LIGHT. 5

world." A mountain also was that John the Baptist, who said, "I am not the Christ/ 1 lest any one, placing his hope in the mountain, should fall from Him who illuminates the mountain. He also confessed, saying, "Since of His fulness have all we received." 2 So thou oughtest to say, "I have lifted up mine eyes to the mountains, from whence shall come my help," so as not to ascribe to the mountains the help that comes to thee; but continue and say, "My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

7. Therefore, brethren, may this be the result of my admonition, that you understand that in raising your hearts to the Scriptures (when the gospel was sounding forth, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," and the rest that was read), you were lifting your eyes to the mountains. For unless the mountains said these things, you would not find out how to think of them at all. Therefore from the mountains came your help, that you even heard of these things; but you cannot yet understand what you have heard. Call for help from the Lord, who made heaven and earth; for the mountains were enabled only so to speak as not of themselves to illuminate, because they themselves are also illuminated by hearing. Thence John, who said these things, received them â€” he who lay on the Lord's breast, and from the Lord's breast drank in what he might give us to drink. But he gave us words to drink. Thou oughtest then to receive understanding from the source from which he drank who gave thee to drink; so that thou mayest lift up thine eyes to the mountains from whence shall come thine aid, so that from thence thou mayest receive, as it were, the cup, that is, the word, given thee to drink; and yet, since thy help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth, thou mayest fill thy breast from the source from which he filled his; whence thou saidst, "My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth;" let him, then, fill who can.

Brethren, this is what I have said: Let each one lift up his heart in the manner that seems fitting, and receive what is spoken. But perhaps you will say that I am more present to you than God. Far be such a thought from you! He is

' Johni. 30. 2 Johni. 16.
much more present to you; for I appear to your eyes, He presides over your consciences. Give me then your ears, Him your hearts, that you may fill both. Behold, your eyes, and those your bodily senses, you lift up to us; and yet not to us, for we are not of those mountains, but to the gospel itself, to the evangelist himself: your hearts, however, to the Lord to be filled. Moreover, let each one so lift up as to see what he lifts up, and whither. What do I mean by saying, "what he lifts up, and whither"? Let him see to it what sort of a heart he lifts up, because it is to the Lord he lifts it up, lest, encumbered by a load of fleshly pleasure, it fall ere ever it is raised. But does each one see that he bears a burden of flesh? Let him strive by continence to purify that which he may lift up to God. For "Blessed are the pure in heart, because they shall see God." 1

8. But let us see what advantage it is that these words have sounded, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." We also uttered words when we spoke. Was it such a word that was with God? Did not those words which we uttered sound and pass away? Did God's Word, then, sound and come to an end? If so, how were all things made by it, and without it was nothing made? how is that which it created ruled by it, if it sounded and passed away? What sort of a word, then, is that which is both uttered and passes not away? Give ear, my beloved, it is a great matter. By everyday talk, words here become despicable to us, because through their sounding and passing away they are despised, and seem nothing but words. But there is a word in the man himself which remains within; for the sound proceeds from the mouth. There is a word which is spoken in a truly spiritual manner, that which you understand from the sound, not the sound itself. Mark, I speak a word when I say "God." How short the word which I have spoken â€” four letters and two syllables! 2 Is this all that God is, four letters and two syllables? Or is that which is signified as costly as the word is paltry? What took place in thy heart when thou hearest "God"? What took place in my heart when I said "God"? A certain great i Matt. v. 8. 2 Deus.

TRACT. I.] THE WORD OF GOD.

and perfect substance was in our thoughts, transcending every changeable creature of flesh or of soul. And if I say to thee, "Is God changeable or unchangeable?" thou wilt answer immediately, "Far be it from me either to believe or imagine that God is changeable: God is unchangeable." Thy soul, though small, though perhaps still carnal, could not answer me otherwise than that God is unchangeable: but every creature is changeable; how then wert thou able to enter, by a
glance of thy spirit, into that which is above the creature, so as confidently to answer me, "God is unchangeable"? What, then, is that in thy heart, when thou thinkest of a certain substance, living, eternal, all-powerful, infinite, everywhere present, everywhere whole, nowhere shut in? When thou thinkest of these qualities, this is the word concerning God in thy heart. But is this that sound which consists of four letters and two syllables? Therefore, whatever things are spoken and pass away are sounds, are letters, are syllables. His word which sounds passes away; but that which the sound signified, and was in the speaker as he thought of it, and in the hearer as he understood it, that remains while the sounds pass away.

9. Turn thy attention to that word. Thou canst have a word in thy heart, as it were a design born in thy mind, so that thy mind brings forth the design; and the design is, so to speak, the offspring of thy mind, the child of thy heart. For first thy heart brings forth a design to construct some fabric, to set up something great on the earth; already the design is conceived, and the work is not yet finished: thou seest what thou wilt make; but another does not admire, until thou hast made and constructed the pile, and brought that fabric into shape and to completion: then men regard the admirable fabric, and admire the design of the architect; they are astonished at what they see, and are pleased with what they do not see: who is there who can see a design? If, then, on account of some great building a human design receives praise, do you wish to see what a design of God is the Lord Jesus Christ, that is, the Word of God? Mark this fabric of the world. View what was made by the Word, and thou wilt understand what is the nature of the Word. Mark these two bodies of the world, the heavens and the earth. Who

8 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. I.

will unfold in words the beauty of the heavens? Who will unfold in words the fruitfulness of the earth? Who will worthily extol the changes of the seasons? Who will worthily extol the power of seeds? You see what things I do not mention, lest in giving a long list I should perhaps tell of less than you can call up to your own minds. From this fabric, then, judge the nature of the Word by which it was made: and not it alone; for all these things are seen, because they have to do with the bodily sense. By that Word angels also were made; by that Word archangels were made, powers, thrones, dominions, principalities; by that Word were made all things. Hence, judge what a Word this is.

10. Perhaps some one now answers me, "Whoso conceives this Word?" Do not then imagine, as it were, some paltry thing when thou nearest "the Word," nor suppose it to be words such as thou hearest them every day â€” "he spoke such words," "such words he uttered," "such words you tell me;" for by constant repetition the term words has become, so to speak, worthless. And when thou hearest, "In the beginning was the Word," lest thou shouldest imagine something worthless, such as thou hast been accustomed to think of when thou wert wont to listen to human words, hearken to what thou must think of: "The Word was God."
11. Now some unbelieving Arian may come forth and say that " the Word of God was made." How can it be that the Word of God was made, when God by the Word made all things ? If the Word of God was itself also made, by what other Word was it made ? But if thou sayest that there is a Word of the Word, I say, that that by which it was made is itself the only Son of God. But if thou dost not say there is a Word of the Word, allow that that was not made by which all things were made. For that by which all things were made could not be made by itself. Believe the evangelist then. For he might have said, " In the beginning God made the Word: " even as Moses said, " In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth; " and enumerates all things thus: " God said, Let it be made, and it was made." * If " said," who said ? God. And what was made ? Some creature. Between the

1 Gen. i.

TRACT. I.] THE ARIANS REFUTED.

speaking of God and the making of the creature, what was there by which it was made but the Word ? For God said,
" Let it be made, and it was made," This Word is unchangeable; although changeable things are made by it, the Word itself is unchangeable.

12. Do not then believe that that was made by which were made all things, lest thou be not new-made by the Word, which makes all things new. For already hast thou been made by the Word, but it behoves thee to be new-made by the Word. If, however, thy belief about the Word be wrong, thou wilt not be able to be new-made by the Word. And although creation by the Word has happened to thee, so that thou hast been made by Him, thou art unmade by thyself: if by thyself thou art unmade, let Him who made thee make thee new: if by thyself thou hast been made worse, let Him who created thee re-create thee. But how can He re-create thee by the Word, if thou holdest a wrong opinion about the Word ?
The evangelist says, " In the beginning was the Word:" and thou sayest, " In the beginning the Word was made." He says, " All things were made by Him:" and thou sayest that the Word Himself was made. The evangelist might have said, " In the beginning the Word was made: " but what does he say ? " In the beginning was the Word." If He was, He was not made; that all things might be made by it, and without Him nothing be made. If, then, " in the beginning the Word was, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; " if thou canst not imagine what it is, wait till thou art grown.
That is strong meat: receive thou milk that thou mayest be nourished, and be able to receive strong meat.
13. Give good heed to what follows, brethren, "All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made," so as not to imagine that "nothing" is something. For many, wrongly understanding "without Him was nothing made," are wont to fancy that "nothing" is something. Sin, indeed, was not made by Him; and it is plain that, sin is nothing, and men become nothing when they sin. An idol also was not made by the Word; it has indeed a sort of human form, but man himself was made by the Word; for the form of man in an idol was not made by the Word, and it is written, "We

10 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. I.

know that an idol is nothing." Therefore these things were not made by the Word; but whatever was made in the natural manner, whatever belongs to the creature, everything that is fixed in the sky, that shines from above, that flies under the heavens, and that moves in universal nature, every creature whatsoever: I will speak more plainly, brethren, that you may understand me, I will say, from an angel even to a worm. What more excellent than an angel among created things? what lower than a worm? He who made the angel made the worm also; but the angel is fit for heaven, the worm for earth. He who created also arranged. If He had placed the worm in heaven, thou mightest have found fault; if He had willed that angels should spring from decaying flesh, thou mightest have found fault: and yet God almost does this, and He is not to be found fault with. For all men born of flesh, what are they but worms? and of these worms God makes angels. For if the Lord Himself says, "But I am a worm and no man," who will hesitate to say what is written also in Job, "How much more is man rottenness, and the son of man a worm"? First he said, "Man is rottenness;" and afterwards, "The son of man a worm:" because a worm springs from rottenness, therefore "man is rottenness," and "the son of man a worm." Behold what for thy sake He was willing to become, who in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God I "Why did He for thy sake become this? That thou mightest suck, who wert not able to chew. Wholly in this sense, then, brethren, understand "All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." For every creature, great and small, was made by Him: by Him were made things above and things beneath; spiritual and corporeal, by Him were they made. For no form, no structure, no agreement of parts, no substance whatever that can have weight, number, measure, exists but by that Word, and by that Creator Word, to whom it is said, "Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and in number, and in weight." 4

14. Therefore, let no one deceive you, when perchance you suffer annoyance from flies. For some have been mocked

Â»1 Cor. viii. 4. 2 Ts. xxii. 6. 3 Job xxv. 6. 4 Wisd. xi. 21.
by the devil, and taken with flies. As fowlers are accustomed to put flies in their traps to deceive hungry birds, so these have been deceived with flies by the devil. Some one or other was suffering annoyance from flies; a Manichsean found him in his trouble, and when he said that he could not bear flies, and hated them exceedingly, immediately the Manichasan said, "Who made them?" And since he was suffering from annoyance, and hated them, he dared not say "God made them," though he was a Catholic. The other immediately added, "If God did not make them, who made them?"

"Truly," replied the Catholic, "I believe the devil made them." And the other immediately said, "If the devil made the fly, as I see you allow, because you understand the matter well, who made the bee, which is a little larger than the fly?"

The Catholic dared not say that God made the bee and not the fly, for the case was much the same. From the bee he led him to the locust; from the locust to the lizard; from the lizard to the bird; from the bird to the sheep; from the sheep to the cow; from that to the elephant, and at last to man; and persuaded a man that man was not made by God. Thus the miserable man, being troubled with the flies, became himself a fly, and the property of the devil. In fact, Beelzebub, they say, means "Prince of flies;" and of these it is written,

"Dying flies deprive the ointment of its sweetness." 1

15. What then, brethren? why have I said these things?
Shut the ears of your hearts against the wiles of the enemy.
Understand that God made all things, and arranged them in their orders. Why, then, do we suffer many evils from a creature that God made? Because we have offended God? Do angels suffer these things? Perhaps we, too, in that life of theirs, would have no such thing to fear. For thy punishment, accuse thy sin, not the Judge. For, on account of our pride, God appointed that tiny and contemptible creature to torment us; so that, since man has become proud and has boasted himself against God, and, though mortal, has oppressed mortals, and, though man, has not acknowledged his fellowman, â€” since he has lifted himself up, he may be brought low by gnats. Why art thou inflated with human pride? Some

1 Eccles. x. 1.

12 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. I.

one has censured thee, and thou art swollen with rage. Drive off the gnats, that thou mayest sleep; understand who thou art. For, that you may know, brethren, it was for the taming of our pride these things were created to be troublesome to us, God could have
humbled Pharaoh's proud people by bears, by lions, by serpents; He sent flies and frogs upon them, 1 that their pride might be subdued by the meanest creatures.

16. "All things," then, brethren, "all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." But how were all things made by Him? "That, which was made, in Him is life." It can also be read thus: "That, which was made in Him, is life;" and if we so read it, everything is life. For what is there that was not made in Him? For He is the Wisdom of God, and it is said in the Psalm, 2 "In Wisdom hast Thou made all things." If, then, Christ is the Wisdom of God, and the Psalm says, "In Wisdom hast Thou made all things;" as all things were made by Him, so all things were made in Him. If, then, all things were made in Him, dearly beloved brethren, and that, which was made in Him, is life, both the earth is life and wood is life. We do indeed say wood is life, but in the sense of the wood of the cross, whence we have received life. A stone, then, is life. It is not seemly so to understand the passage, as the same most vile sect of the Manichseans creep stealthily on us again, and say that a stone has life, that a wall has a soul, and a cord has a soul, and wool, and clothing. For so they are accustomed to talk in their raving; and when they have been driven back and refuted, they in some sort bring forward Scripture, saying,

"Why is it said, 'That, which was made in Him, is life' ?"

For if all things were made in Him, all things are life. Be not carried away by them; read thus "That which was made;"

here make a short pause, and then go on, "in Him is life."

What is the meaning of this? The earth was made, but the very earth that was made is not life; but there exists spiritually in the Wisdom itself a certain reason by which the earth was made: this is life.

17. As far as I can, I shall explain my meaning to you, beloved. A carpenter makes a box. First he has the box in

1 Ex. viii. 2 Ps. civ. 24.

TRACT. I.] THE IDEAL AND THE ACTUAL. 1 3

design; for if he had it not in design, how could he produce it by workmanship? But the box in theory is not the very box as it appears to the eyes. It exists invisibly in design, it will be visible in the work. Behold, it is made in the work; has it ceased to exist in design? The one is made in the work, and the other remains which exists in design; for that box may rot, and another be fashioned according to that which exists in design. Give heed, then, to the box as it is in design, and the box as it is in fact. The actual box is not life, the box in design is life; because the soul of the artificer, where all these things are before they are brought forth, is living. So, dearly beloved brethren, because the Wisdom of God, by which all things have been made, contains everything according to design before it is made, therefore those things which are made through this design itself are not forthwith life, but whatever has been made is life in Him. You see the earth, there is an
earth in design; you see the sky, there is a sky in design; you see the sun and the moon, these also exist in design: but externally they are bodies, in design they are life. Understand, if in any way you are able, for a great matter has been spoken. If I am not great by whom it is spoken, or through whom it is spoken, still it is from a great authority. For these things are not spoken by me who am small; He is not small to whom I refer in saying these things. Let each one take in what he can, and to what extent he can; and he who is not able to take in any of it, let him nourish his heart, that he may become able. How is he to nourish it? Let him nourish it with milk, that he may come to strong meat. Let him not leave Christ born through the flesh till he arrive at Christ born of the Father alone, the God-Word with God, through whom all things were made; for that is life, which in Him is the light of men.

18. For this follows: "and the life was the light of men;"
and from this very life are men illuminated. Cattle are not illuminated, because cattle have not rational minds capable of seeing wisdom. But man was made in the image of God, and has a rational mind, by which he can perceive wisdom. That life, then, by which all things were made, is itself the light; yet not the light of every animal, but of men. Wherefore a

14 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. I.

little after he says, " That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." By that light John the Baptist was illuminated; by the same light also was John the Evangelist himself illuminated. He was filled with that light who said, " I am not the Christ; but He that cometh after me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose." By that light he had been illuminated who said, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Therefore that life is the light of men.
19. But perhaps the slow hearts of some of you cannot yet receive that light, because they are burdened by their sins, so that they cannot see. Let them not on that account think that the light is in any way absent, because they are not able to see it; for they themselves are darkness on account of their sins. * And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Accordingly, brethren, as in the case of a blind man placed in the sun, the sun is present to him, but he is absent from the sun. So every foolish man, every unjust man, every irreligious man, is blind in heart. Wisdom is present; but it is present to a blind man, and is absent from his eyes; not because it is absent from him, but because he is absent from it. What then is he to do? Let him become pure, that he may be able to see God. Just as if a man could not see because his eyes were dirty and sore with dust, rheum, or smoke, the physician would say to him: "Cleanse from your eye whatever bad thing is in it, so that you may be able to see the light of your eyes." Dust, rheum, and smoke are sins and iniquities: remove then all these things, and you will see the wisdom that is present; for God is that wisdom, and it has been said, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." 2
1 John i. 26, 27. 2 Matt v. 8.

TRACTATE" II

Chapter I. 6-14.

IT is fitting, brethren, that as far as possible we should treat of the text of Holy Scripture, and especially of the Holy Gospel, without omitting any portion; that both we ourselves may derive nourishment according to our capacity, and may minister to you from that source from which we have been nourished. Last Lord's day, we remember, we treated of the first section; that is, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was nothing made. That which was made, in Him is life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." So far, I believe, had I advanced in the treatment of the passage: let all who were present recall what was then said; and those of you who were not present, believe me and those who chose to be present. Now therefore, — because we cannot always be repeating everything, out of justice to those who desire to hear what follows, and because repetition of the former thought is a burden to them and deprives them of what succeeds, â€” let those who were absent on the former occasion refrain from demanding repetition, but, together with those who were here, listen to the present exposition.

2. It goes on, " There was a man sent from God whose name was John." Truly, brethren beloved, those things which were said before, were said regarding the ineffable divinity of Christ, and almost ineffably. For who shall comprehend " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God " ? And do not allow the name word to appear mean to you, through the habit of daily words, for it is added, " and the Word was God." This Word is He of whom yesterday we spoke much; and I trust that God was present, and that even from only thus much speaking something reached your hearts. " In the beginning was the Word." He is the same, and is in the same manner; as He is, so He is always; He cannot be changed; that is, He is. This His name He spoke to His servant Moses: "Iam that I am; and He that is hath sent me." 1 Who then shall comprehend this when you see that all mortal things are variable; when you see that not only do bodies vary as to their qualities, by being born, by increasing, by becoming less, by dying, but that even souls themselves through the effect of divers...
volitions are distended and divided; when you see that men can obtain wisdom if they apply themselves to its light and heat, and also lose wisdom if they remove themselves from it through some evil influence? When, therefore, you see that all those things are variable, what is that which is, unless that which transcends all things which are so that they are not? Who then can receive this? Or who, in what manner soever he may have applied the strength of his mind to touch that which is, can reach to that which he may in any way have touched with his mind? It is as if one were to see his native land at a distance, and the sea intervening; he sees whither he would go, but he has not the means of going. So we desire to arrive at that our stability where that which is, is, because this alone always is as it is: the sea of this world interrupts our course, even although already we see whither we go; for many do not even see whither they go.

That there might be a way by which we could go, He has come from Him to whom we wished to go. And what has He done? He has appointed a tree by which we may cross the sea. For no one is able to cross the sea of this world, unless borne by the cross of Christ. å° Even he who is of weak eyesight sometimes embraces this cross; and he who does not see from afar whither he goes, let him not depart from it, and it will carry him over.

3. Therefore, my brethren, I would desire to have impressed this upon your hearts: if you wish to live in a pious and Christian manner, cling to Christ according to that which He became for us, that you may arrive at Him according to that which is, and according to that which was. He approached, that for us He might become this; because He became that for us, on which the weak may be borne, and cross the sea of this world and reach their native country; where there will be no need of a ship, for no sea is crossed. It is better then not to see with the mind that which is, and yet not to depart from the cross of Christ, than to see it with the mind, and despise the cross of Christ. It is good beyond this, and best of all, if it be possible, that we both see, whither we ought to go, and hold fast that which carries us as we go.

This they were able to do, the great minds of the mountains, who have been called mountains, whom the light of divine justice pre-eminently illuminates; they were able to do this, and saw that which is. Tor John seeing said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." They saw this, and in order that they might arrive at that which they saw from afar, they did not depart from the cross of Christ, and did not despise Christ's lowliness. But little ones who cannot understand this, who do not depart from the cross and passion and resurrection of Christ, are conducted in that same ship to that which they do not see, in which they also arrive who do see.

4. But truly there have been some philosophers of this world who have sought for the Creator by means of the creature; for He can be found by means of the creature, as the
apostle plainly says, "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and glory; so they are without excuse." And it follows, "Because that, when they knew God;" he did not say, Because they did not know, but "Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." How darkened? It follows, when he says more plainly: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." 1 They saw whither they must come; but ungrateful to Him who afforded them what they saw, they wished to
1 Rom. i. 20-22.

TRACT. B

18 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. II.

ascribe to themselves what they saw; and having become proud, they lost what they saw, and were turned from it to idols and images, and to the worship of demons, to adore the creature and to despise the Creator. But these having been blinded did those things, and became proud, that they might be blinded: when they were proud they said that they were wise. Those, therefore, concerning whom he said, " Who, when they had known God," saw this which John says, that by the Word of God all things were made. For these things are also found in the books of the philosophers: and that God has an only-begotten Son, by whom are all things. They were able to see that which is, but they saw it from afar: they were unwilling to hold the lowliness of Christ, in which ship they might have arrived in safety at that which they were able to see from afar; and the cross of Christ appeared vile to them. The sea has to be crossed, and dost thou despise the wood? Oh, proud wisdom! thou laughest to scorn the crucified Christ; it is He whom thou dost see from afar: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." But wherefore was He crucified? Because the wood of His humiliation was needful to thee. For thou hadst become swollen with pride, and hadst been cast out far from that fatherland; and by the waves of this world has the way been intercepted, and there is no means of passing to the fatherland unless borne by the wood. Ungrateful one! thou laughest Him to scorn who has come to thee that thou mayest return: He has become the way, and that through the sea i 1 thence He walked in the sea to show that there is a way in the sea.

But thou who art not able in any way thyself to walk in the sea, be carried in a ship, be carried by the wood: believe in the crucified One, and thou shalt arrive thither. On account of thee He was crucified, to teach thee humility; and because if He should come as God, He would not be recognised. For if He should come as God, He would not come to those who were not able to see God. For not according to His Godhead does He either come or depart; since He is everywhere present, and is contained in no place. But, according to what did He come? He appeared as a man.

1 Matt. xiv. 25.
TRACT. II.] THE WITNESS OF JOHN. 19

5. Therefore, because He was so man, that the God lay hid in Him, there was sent before Him a great man, by whose testimony He might be found to be more than man. And who is this ? " He was a man." And how could that man speak the truth concerning God ? " He was sent by God." What was he called ? " Whose name was John." Wherefore did he come ? " He came for a witness, that he might bear witness concerning the light, that all might believe through him." What sort of man was he who was to bear witness concerning the light ? Something great was that John, vast merit, great grace, great loftiness ! Admire, by all means, admire; but as it were a mountain. But a mountain is in darkness unless it be clothed with light. Therefore only admire John that you may hear what follows, " He was not that light," lest if, when thou thinkest the mountain to be the light, thou make shipwreck on the mountain, and find not consolation. But what oughtest thou to admire ? The mountain as a mountain. But lift thyself up to Him who illuminates the mountain, which for this end was elevated that it might be the first to receive the rays, and make them known to your eyes. Therefore, " he was not that light."

6. Wherefore then did he come ? " But that he might bear witness concerning the light." Why so ? " That all might believe through him." And concerning what light was he to bear witness ? " That was the true light." Wherefore is it added true ? Because an enlightened man is also called a light; but the true light is that which enlightens. For even our eyes are called lights; and nevertheless, unless either during the night a lamp is lighted, or during the day the sun goes forth, these lights are open in vain. Thus, therefore, John was a light, but not the true light; because, if not enlightened, he would have been darkness; but, by enlightenment, he became a light. For unless he had been enlightened he would have been darkness, as all those once impious men, to whom, as believers, the apostle said, "Ye were sometimes darkness." But now, because they had believed, what ? â€” " but now are ye light," he says, " in the Lord." 1 Unless he had added " in the Lord," we should not have understood. " Light,"

1 Eph. v. 8.

20 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. II.

he says, " in the Lord: " darkness yon were not in the Lord. " For ye were sometimes darkness/ where he did not add in the Lord. Therefore, darkness in yon, light in the Lord. And thns " he was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of the light."
7. But where is that light? "He was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." If every man that cometh, then also John. The true light, therefore, enlightened him by whom He desired Himself to be pointed out.
Understand, beloved, for He came to infirm minds, to wounded hearts, to the gaze of dim-eyed souls. For this purpose had He come. And whence was the soul able to see that which perfectly is? Even as it commonly happens, that by means of some illuminated body, the sun, which we cannot see with the eyes, is known to have arisen. Because even those who have wounded eyes are able to see a wall illuminated and enlightened by the sun, or a mountain, or a tree, or anything of that sort; and, by means of another body illuminated, that arising is shown to those who are not as yet able to gaze on it. Thus, therefore, all those to whom Christ came were not fit to see Him: upon John He shed the beams of His light; and by means of him confessing himself to have been irradiated and enlightened, not claiming to be one who irradiates and enlightens, He is known who enlightens, He is known who illuminates, He is known who fills. And who is it? "He who lighteth every man," he says, "who cometh into the world." For if man had not receded from that light, he would not have required to be illuminated; but for this reason has he to be illuminated here, because he departed from that light by which man might always have been illuminated.

8. What then? If He came hither, where was He? "He was in this world." He was both here and came hither; He was here according to His divinity, and He came hither according to the flesh; because when He was here according to His divinity, He could not be seen by the foolish, by the blind, and the wicked. These wicked men are the darkness, concerning which it was said, "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." 1 Behold, both here

1 John i. 5.

TRACT. II.] MEN NEEDED JOHN'S TESTIMONY. 21

He is now, and here He was, and here He is always; and He never departs, departs nowhither. There is need that thou have some means whereby thou mayest see that which never departs from thee; there is need that thou depart not from Him who departs nowhither; there is need that thou desert not, and thou shalt not be deserted. Do not fall, and His sun will not set to thee. If thou fallest, His sun setteth upon thee; but if thou standest, He is present with thee. But thou hast not stood: remember how thou hast fallen, how he who fell before thee cast thee down. For he cast thee clown, not by violence, not by assault, but by thine own will. For hadst thou not consented unto evil, thou wouldest have stood, thou wouldest have remained enlightened. But now, because thou hast already fallen, and hast â– become wounded in heart, â€” the organ by which that light can be seen, â€” He came to thee such as thou mightest see; and He in such fashion manifested Himself as man, that He sought testimony from man. From man God seeks testimony, and God has man as a witness; â€” â–
God has man as a witness, but on account of man: so infirm are we. By a lamp we seek the day; because John himself was called a lamp, the Lord saying, " He was a burning and a shining light; and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light: but I have greater witness than John." *

9. Therefore He showed that for the sake of men He desired to have Himself revealed by a lamp to the faith of those who believed, that by means of the same lamp His enemies might be confounded. There were enemies who tempted Him, and said, " Tell us by what authority doest thou these things ", " I also," saith He, " will ask you one question; answer me. The baptism of John, whence was it ? from heaven, or of men ? And they were troubled, and said among themselves, If we shall say, From heaven, he will say unto us, Why did ye not believe him ? " (Because he had borne testimony to Christ, and had said, I am not the Christ, but He. 2 ) " But if we shall say, Of men, we fear the people, lest they should stone us: for they held John as a prophet." Afraid of stoning, but fearing more to confess the truth, they answered a lie to the Truth; and " wickedness imposed a lie upon itself." 3 For
1 John v. 35. 2 John i. 20, 27. 3 Ps. xxvii. 12.

22 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. II.

they said, "We know not." And the Lord, because they shut the door against themselves, by professing ignorance of what they knew, did not open to them, because they did not knock. For it is said, " Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." 1 Not only did these not knock that it might be opened to them; but, by denying that they knew, they barred that door against themselves. And the Lord says to them, " Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." 2 And they were confounded by means of John; and in them were the words fulfilled, " I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed. His enemies will I clothe with shame." 3

10. "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him." Think not that He was in the world as the earth is in the world, as the sky is in the world, as the sun is in the world, the moon and the stars, trees, cattle, and men. He was not thus in the world. But in what manner then ? As the Artificer governing what He had made. Tor He did not make it as a carpenter makes a chest. The chest which he makes is outside the carpenter, and so it is put in another place, while being made; and although the workman is nigh, he sits in another place, and is external to that which he fashions. But God, infused into the world, fashions it; being everywhere present He fashions, and withdraweth not Himself elsewhere, nor doth He, as it were, handle from without, the matter which He fashions. By the presence of His majesty He maketh what He maketh; His presence governs what He made. Therefore was He in the world as the Maker of the world; for, " The world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not."
11. What meaneth "the world was made by Him"? The heaven, the earth, the sea, and all things which are therein, are called the world. Again, in another signification, those who love the world are called the world. "The world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." Did not the heavens know their Creator, or did the angels not know their Creator, or did the stars not know their Creator, whom the demons confess? All things from all sides gave testimony.

1 Matt. vii. 7. 8; Matt. xxi. 23-27; Mark xii. 28-33; Luke xx. 2-8.

3 Ps. cxxxii. 17.

TRACT. II.] WHAT THE WORLD IS. 23

But who did not know? Those who, for their love of the world, are called the world. By loving we dwell with the heart; but because of their loving the world they deserved to be called after the name of that in which they dwelt. In the same manner as we say, This house is bad, or this house is good, we do not in calling the one bad or the other good accuse or praise the walls; but by a bad house we mean a house with bad inhabitants, and by a good house, a house with good inhabitants. In like manner we call those the world who by loving it, inhabit the world. Who are they? Those who love the world; for they dwell with their hearts in the world. For those who do not love the world, in the flesh, indeed, sojourn in the world, but in their hearts they dwell in heaven, as the apostle says, "Our conversation is in heaven." Therefore "the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not."

12. "He came unto His own," â€” because all these things were made by Him, â€” "and His own received Him not."

Who are they? The men whom He made. The Jews whom He at the first made to be above all nations. Because other nations worshipped idols and served demons; but that people was born of the seed of Abraham, and in an eminent sense His own, because kindred through that flesh which He deigned to assume. "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not." Did they not receive Him at all? did no one receive Him? Was there no one saved? Tor no one shall be saved unless he who shall have received the coming Christ.

13. But John adds: "As many as received Him." What did He afford to them? Great benevolence! Great mercy!

He was born the only Son of God, and was unwilling to remain alone. Many men, when they have not sons, in advanced age adopt a son, and thus obtain by an exercise of will what nature has denied to them: this men do. But if any one have an only son, he rejoices the more in him; because he alone will possess everything, and he will not have any one to divide with him the inheritance, so that he should be poorer. Not so God: that same only Son whom He had
begotten, and by whom He created all things, He sent into this world that He might not be alone, but might have adopted brethren. For we were not born of God in the manner in which the Only-begotten was born of Him, but were adopted by His grace. For He, the Only-begotten, came to loose the sins in which we were entangled, and whose burden hindered our adoption: those whom He wished to make brethren to Himself, He Himself loosed, and made joint-heirs. For so saith the apostle, " But if a son, then an heir through God."

And again, "Heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." He did not fear to have joint-heirs, because His heritage does not become narrow if many are possessors. Those very persons, Fie being possessor, become His inheritance, and He in turn becomes their inheritance. Hear in what manner they become His inheritance: " The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the nations for Thine inheritance." 1 Hear in what manner He becomes their inheritance. He says in the Psalms: " The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance, and of my cup." 2 Let us possess Him, and let Him possess us: let Him possess us as Lord; let us possess Him as salvation, let us possess Him as light. What then did He give to them who received Him ? " To them He gave power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on His name;" that they may cling to the woof and cross the sea.

And how are they born ? Because they become sons of God and brethren of Christ, they are certainly born. For if they are not born, how can they be sons ? But the sons of men are born of flesh and blood, and of the will of man, and of the embrace of wedlock. But in what manner are they born ?

" Who not of bloods," as if of male and female. Bloods is not Latin; but because it is plural in Greek, the interpreter preferred so to express it, and to speak bad Latin according to the grammarian that he might make the matter plain to the understanding of the weak among his hearers. For if he had said blood in the singular number, he would not have explained what he desired; for men are born of the bloods of male and female. Let us say so, then, and not fear the ferule

1 Ps. ii. 7, 8. 2 Ps. xv. 5.

TRACT. II.] HOW MEN BECOME SONS OF GOD. 25

of grammarians, so long as we reach the solid and certain truth. He who understands it and blames it, is thankless for his having understood. " Not of bloods, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man." The apostle puts flesh for woman; because, when she was made of his rib, Adam said,
"This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh." 1 And the apostle saith, "He that loveth his wife loveth himself; for no one ever hated his own flesh." 2 Flesh, then, is put for woman, in the same manner that spirit is sometimes put for husband. Wherefore? Because the one rules, the other is ruled; the one ought to command, the other to serve. For where the flesh commands and the spirit serves, the house is turned the wrong way. What can be worse than a house where the woman has the mastery over the man? But that house is rightly ordered where the man commands and the woman obeys. In like manner that man is rightly ordered where the spirit commands and the flesh serves.

15. These, then, "were born not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." But that men might be born of God, God was first born of them. For Christ is God, and Christ was born of men. It was only a mother, indeed, that He sought upon earth; because He had already a Father in heaven: He by whom we were to be created was born of God, and He by whom we were to be re-created was born of a woman. Marvel not, then, man, that thou art made a son by grace, that thou art born of God according to His Word.

The Word Himself first chose to be born of man, that thou mightest be born of God unto salvation, and say to thyself, Not without reason did God wish to be born of man, but because He counted me of some importance, that He might make me immortal, and for me be born as a mortal man. When, therefore, he had said, "born of God," lest we should, as it were, be filled with amazement and trembling at such grace, at grace so great as to exceed belief that men are born of God, as if assuring thee, he says, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Why, then, dost thou marvel that men are born of God? Consider God Himself born of men: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

1 Gen. ii. 23. 2 Eph. v. 28, 29.

26 ' ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. II.

16. But because "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us/" by His very nativity he made an eye-salve to cleanse the eyes of our heart, and to enable us to see His majesty by means of His humility. Therefore "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us:" He healed our eyes; and what follows? "And we beheld His glory." His glory can no one see unless healed by the humility of His flesh. Wherefore were we not able to see? Consider, then, dearly beloved, and see what I say. There had dashed into man's eye, as it were, dust, earth; it had wounded the eye, and it could not see the light: that wounded eye is anointed; by earth it was wounded, and earth is applied to it for healing. For all eye-salves and medicines are derived from the earth alone. By dust thou wert blinded, and by dust thou art healed: flesh, then, had wounded thee, flesh heals thee. The soul had become carnal by consenting to the affections of the flesh; thus had the eye of the heart been blinded. "The Word was made flesh:" that Physician made for thee an eyesalve. And as He thus* came by flesh to extinguish the vices of the flesh, and by death
to slay death; therefore did this take place in thee, that, as "the Word became flesh," thou mayest be able to say, "And we beheld His glory." What sort of glory? Such as He became as Son of man? That was His humility, not His glory. But to what is the sight of man brought when cured by means of flesh? "We beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth." Of grace and truth we shall speak more fully in another place in this same Gospel, if the Lord vouchsafe us opportunity. Let these things suffice for the present, and be ye edified in Christ: be ye comforted in faith, and watch in good works, and see that ye do not depart from the wood by which ye may cross the sea.

TEACTATE III.

Chapter I. 15-18.

WE undertook, in the name of the Lord, and promised to you, beloved, to treat of that grace and truth of God, full of which the only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, appeared to the saints, and to show how, as a matter belonging to the New Testament, it is to be distinguished from the Old Testament. Give, then, your attention, that what I receive in my measure from God, you in your measure may receive and hear the same. For it will only remain if, when the seed is scattered in your hearts, the birds take it not away, nor thorns choke it, nor heat scorch it, and there descend upon it the rain of daily exhortations and your own good thoughts, by which that is done in the heart which in the field is done by means of harrows, so that the clod is broken, and the seed covered and enabled to germinate: that you bear fruit at which the husbandman may be glad and rejoice. But if, in return for good seed and good rain, you bring forth not fruit but thorns, the seed will not be blamed, nor will the rain be in fault; but for thorns due fire is prepared. 1

2. I do not think that I need spend much time in endeavouring to persuade you that we are Christian men; and if Christians, by virtue of the name, belonging to Christ. Upon the forehead we bear His sign; and we do not blush because of it, if we also bear it in the heart. His sign is His humility. By a star the Magi knew Him; 2 and this sign was given by the Lord, and it was heavenly and beautiful. He did not desire that a star should be His sign on the forehead of the faithful, but His cross. By it humbled, by it also glorified; by it He raised the humble, even by that to which He, when humbled, descended. We belong, then, to the gospel, we

1 Matt. xiii. 3-25. 2 Matt. ii. 2.
belong to the New Testament. " The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." We ask the apostle, and he says to us, since we are not under the law but under grace, 1 " He sent therefore His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem those who were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." 2 Behold, for this end Christ came, that He might redeem those who were under the law; that now we may not be under the law, but under grace. Who, then, gave the law ? He gave the law who gave likewise grace; but the law He sent by a servant, with grace He Himself came down.

And in what manner were men made under the law ? By not fulfilling the law. For he who fulfils the law is not under the law, but with the law; but he who is under the law is not raised up, but pressed down by the law. All men, therefore, being placed under the law, are by the law made guilty; and for this purpose it is over their head, that it may show sins, not take them away. The law then commands, the Giver of the law showeth pity in that which the law commands.

Men, endeavou ring by their own strength to fulfil that which the law commands, fell by their own rash and headstrong presumption; and not with the law, but under the law, became guilty: and since by their own strength they were unable to fulfil the law, and were become guilty under the law, they implored the aid of the Deliverer; and the guilt which the law brought caused sickness to the proud. The sickness of the proud became the confession of the humble. Now the sick confess that they are sick; let the physician come to heal the sick.

3. Who is the Physician ? Our Lord Jesus Christ. Who is our Lord Jesus Christ ? He who was seen even by those by whom He was crucified. He who was seized, buffeted, scourged, spit upon, crowned with thorns, suspended upon the cross, died, pierced by the spear, taken down from the cross, laid in the sepulchre. That same Jesus Christ our Lord, that same Jesus exactly, He is the complete Physician of our wounds. That crucified One at whom insults were cast, and while He hung on the cross His persecutors wagging the head, and saying, " If he be the Son of God, let him come down

1 Rom. vi. 14. 2 Gal. iv. 4, 5.

TRACT. III.] THE LIGHT AND THE LIFE. 29

from the cross," 1 â€” He, and no other, is our complete Physician. Wherefore, then, did He not show to his deriders that He was the Son of God; so that if He allowed Himself to be lifted up upon the cross, at least when they said, " If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross," He should then come down, and show to them that He was the very Son of God whom they had dared to deride ? He would not. Wherefore would He not ? Was it because He could not ? Manifestly He could. For which is greater, to descend from the cross or to rise from the sepulchre ? But He bore with His insulers; for the cross was taken not as a proof of power, but as an example of patience. There He cured thy wounds, where He long bore His own; there He healed thee
of death eternal, where He vouchsafed to die the temporal death. And did He die, or in Him did death die? What a death was that, which slew death!

4. Is it, however, our Lord Jesus Christ Himself "His whole self" who was seen, and held, and crucified? Is the whole very self that? It is the same, but not the whole, that which the Jews saw; this is not the whole Christ. And what is? "In the beginning was the Word." In what beginning?

"And the Word was with God." And what word? "And the Word was God." Was then perhaps this Word made by God? ISTo. For "the same was in the beginning with God." What then? Are the other things which God made not like unto the Word? No; because "all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made." In what manner were all things made by Him? Because "that which was made in Him was life;" and before it was made there was life. That which was made is not life; but in the art, that is, in the wisdom of God, before it was made, it was life. That which was made passes away; that which is in wisdom cannot pass away. There was life, therefore, in that which was made. And what sort of life, since the soul also is the life of the body? Our body has its own life; and when it has lost it, the death of the body ensues. Was then the life such as this? No; but "the life was the light of men."

Was it the light of cattle? For this light is the light of men

1 Matt, xxvii. 39, 40.

30 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. III.

and of cattle. There is a certain light of men: let us see how far men differ from the cattle, and then we shall understand what is the light of men. Thou dost not differ from the cattle except in intellect; do not glory in anything besides. Dost thou presume upon thy strength? By the wild beasts thou art surpassed. Upon thy swiftness dost thou presume? By the flies thou art surpassed. Upon thy beauty dost thou presume? How great beauty is there in the feathers of a peacock! Wherein then art thou better? In the image of God. Where is the image of God? In the mind, in the intellect. If then thou art in this respect better than the cattle, that thou hast a mind by which thou mayest understand what the cattle cannot understand; and therein a man, because better than the cattle; the light of men is the light of minds. The light of minds is above minds and surpasses all minds. This was that life by which all things were made.

5. Where was it? Was it here? was it with the Father, and was it not here? or, what is more true, was it both with the Father and here also? If then it was here, wherefore was it not seen? Because "the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Oh men, be not darkness, be not unbelieving, unjust, unrighteous, rapacious, avaricious lovers of this world: for these are the darkness. The light is not absent, but you are absent from the light. A blind man in the sunshine has the sun present to him, but is himself absent from the sun. Be ye not then darkness. For this is perhaps the grace regarding which we are about to speak, that now we be no more darkness, and that the apostle may say to us, "We were sometime darkness, but now light in the Lord."
Because then the light of men was not seen, that is, the light of minds, there was a necessity that a man should give testimony regarding the light, who was not in darkness, but who was already enlightened; and nevertheless, because enlightened, not the light itself, "but that He might bear witness of the light." For "he was not that light." And what was the light? "That was the true light which en-

lightened every man that cometh into this world." And

' In this i
1 Eph. v. 8.

where was that light? "In this world it was." And how

TRACT. III.] THE INCARNATION MAN'S HEALING. 31

was it "in this world"? As the light of the sun, of the moon, and of lamps, was that light thus in the world?
No. Because * the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not;" that is to say, "the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." For the world is darkness; because the lovers of the world are the world. For did not the creature acknowledge its Creator? The heavens gave testimony by a star j 1 the sea gave testimony, and bore its Lord when He walked upon it; 2 the winds gave testimony, and were quiet at His bidding; 3 the earth gave testimony, and trembled when He was crucified. 4 If all these gave testimony, in what sense did the world not know Him, unless that the world signifies the lovers of the world, those who with their hearts dwell in the world? And the world is evil, because the inhabitants of the world are evil; just as a house is evil, not because of its walls, but because of its inhabitants.

6. "He came unto His own;" that is to say, He came to that which belonged to Himself; "and His own received Him not." What, then, is the hope, unless that "as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God"? If they become sons, they are born; if born, how are they born? Not of flesh, "nor of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man; but of God are they born." Let them rejoice, therefore, that they are born of God; let them believe that they are born of God; let them receive the proof that they are born of God: "And the "Word became flesh, and dwelt among us." If the Word was not ashamed to be born of man, are men ashamed to be born of God? And because He did this, He cured us; and because He cured us, we see. For this, "that the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," became a medicine unto us, so that as by earth we were made blind, by earth we might be healed; and having been healed, might behold what? "And we beheld," he says,
"His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."

7. "John beareth witness of Him, and crieth, saying, This was He of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is made before me." He came after me, and He preceded me. What is it, w He is made before me " ? He preceded me. Not was made before I was made, but was preferred before me, this is "He was made before me." Wherefore was He made before thee, when He came after thee ? " Because He was before me." Before thee, John ! what great thing to be before thee ! It is well that thou dost bear witness to Him; let us, however, hear Himself saying, " Even before Abraham, I am." 1 But Abraham also was born in the midst of the human race: there were many before him, many after him. Listen to the voice of the Father to the Son: "Before Lucifer I have begotten Thee." 2 He who was begotten before Lucifer Himself illuminates all. A certain one was named Lucifer, who fell; for he was an angel and became a devil; and concerning him the Scripture said, "Lucifer, who did arise in the morning, fell." 3 And why was he Lucifer ? Because, being enlightened, he gave forth light. But for what reason did he become dark ? Because he abode not in the truth. 4 Therefore He was before Lucifer, before every one that is enlightened; since before every one that is enlightened, of necessity He must be by whom all are enlightened who can be enlightened.

8. Therefore this follows: "And of His fulness have all we received." What have ye received ? "And grace for grace." For so run the words of the Gospel, as we find by a comparison of the Greek copies. He does not say, And of His fulness have all we received grace for grace; but thus He says: "And of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace," àë” that is, have we received; so that He would wish us to understand that we have received from His fulness something unexpressed, and something besides, grace for grace. For we received of His fulness grace in the first instance; and again we received grace, grace for grace.

What grace did we, in the first instance, receive ? Faith: walking in faith, we walk in grace. How have we merited this ? by what previous merits of ours ? Let not each one flatter himself, but let him return into his own conscience, seek out the secret places of his own thoughts, recall the series of his deeds: let him not consider what he is if now he is something, but what he was that he might be something: 1 John viii. 58. 2 Ps. ex. 3.â€”Vulgate. 3 Isa. xiv. 27. 4 John viii. 44.
he will find that he was not worthy of anything save punishment. If, then, thou wast worthy of punishment, and He came not to punish sins, but to forgive sins, grace was given to thee, and not reward rendered. Wherefore is it called grace? Because it is bestowed gratuitously. For thou didst not, by previous merits, purchase that which thou didst receive. This first grace, then, the sinner received, that his sins were forgiven. What did he deserve? Let him interrogate justice, he finds punishment; let him interrogate mercy, he finds grace. But God promised this also through the prophets; therefore, when He came to give what He had promised, He not only gave grace, but also truth. How was truth exhibited? Because that was done which had been promised.

9. What, then, is "grace for grace"? By faith we render God favourable to us; and inasmuch as we were not worthy to have our sins forgiven, and because we, who were unworthy, received so great a benefit, it is called grace. What is grace? That which is freely given. What is "freely given"? Given, not paid. If it was due, wages were given, not grace bestowed; but if it was really due, thou wast good; but if, as is true, thou wast evil, but didst believe on Him who justifieth the ungodly* (What is, Who justifieth the ungodly? Of the ungodly maketh pious), consider what did by right hang over thee by the law, and what thou hast obtained by grace. But having obtained that grace of faith, thou shalt be just by faith (for the just lives by faith); 2 and thou shalt obtain favour of God by living by faith. And having obtained favour from God by living by faith, thou shalt receive immortality as a reward, and life eternal. And that is grace. For because of what merit dost thou receive life eternal? Because of grace. For if faith is grace, life eternal is, as it were, the wages of faith: God, indeed, appears to bestow eternal life as if it were due (To whom due? To the faithful, because he had merited it by faith); but because faith itself is grace, life eternal also is grace for grace.

10. Listen to the Apostle Paul acknowledging grace, and afterwards desiring the payment of a debt. What acknowledgment of grace is there in Paul? "Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained," saith he, "mercy."* He said that he who obtained it was unworthy; that he had, however, obtained it, not through his own merits, but through the mercy of God. Listen to him now demanding the payment of a debt, who had first received unmerited grace: "For," saith he, "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith:
henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." 2 Now he demands a debt, he exacts what is due. For consider the following words: " Which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall render unto me in that day." That he might in the former instance receive grace, he stood in need of a merciful Father; for the reward of grace, of a just judge. Will He who did not condemn the ungodly man condemn the faithful man? And yet, if thou dost rightly consider, it was He who first gave thee faith, whereby thou didst obtain favour; for not of thine own didst thou so obtain favour that anything should be due to thee. Wherefore, then, in afterwards bestowing the reward of immortality, He crowns His own gifts, not thy merits. Therefore, brethren, " we all of His fulness have received; " of the fulness of His mercy, of the abundance of His goodness have we received. What? The remission of sins that we might be justified by faith. And what besides? " And grace for grace; " that is, for this grace by which we live by faith we shall receive another grace. What, then, is it except grace? For if I shall say that this also is due, I attribute something to myself as if to me it were due. But God crowns in us the gifts of His own mercy; but on condition that we walk with perseverance in that grace which in the first instance we received.

11. "For the law was given by Moses;" which law held the guilty. For what saith the apostle? " The law entered that the offence might abound." It was a benefit to the proud that the offence abounded, for they gave much to themselves, and, as it were, attributed much to their own strength; and they were unable to fulfil righteousness without the aid of Him who had commanded it. God, desirous to subdue their pride, gave the law, as if saying: Behold, fulfil, and do not think that there is One wanting to command. One to command is not wanting, but one to fulfil.

12. If, then, there is one wanting to fulfil, whence does he not fulfil? Because born with the heritage of sin and death.
Born of Adam, he drew with him that which was there conceived. The first man fell, and all who were born of him from him derived the concupiscence of the flesh. It was needful that another man should be born who derived no concupiscence.
A man and a man: a man to death and a man to life. Thus saith the apostle: " Since, indeed, by man death, by man also the resurrection of the dead." By which man death, and by which man the resurrection of the dead? Do not make haste: he goes on to say, " For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive." * Who belong to Adam?
All who are born of Adam. Who to Christ? All who were born through Christ.
Wherefore all in sin? Because no one was born except through Adam. But that they were born of Adam was of necessity, arising from damnation.; to be born through Christ is of will and grace. Men are not compelled to be born through Christ: not because they wished were they born of Adam. All, however, who are of Adam are sinners with sin; all
who are through Christ are justified, and just not in themselves, but in Him. For in
themselves, if thou shouldest ask, they belong to Adam: in Him, if thou shouldest ask,
they belong to Christ. Wherefore? Because He, the Head, our Lord Jesus Christ, did not
come with the heritage of sin; but He came nevertheless with mortal flesh.

13. Death was the punishment of sins; in the Lord was the gift of mercy, not the
punishment of sin. For the Lord had nothing on account of which He should justly die.
He Himself says, " Behold, the prince of this world cometh, and findeth nothing in me." 
Wherefore then dost Thou die? 
" But that all may know that I do the will of my Father, arise, let us go hence." 2 He had
not in Himself any reason why He should die, and He died: thou hast such a reason, and
dost thou refuse to die? Do not refuse to bear with an equal mind thy desert, when He did
not refuse to suffer, to

1 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22. 2 John xiv. 30, 31.

36 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. III.

deliver thee from eternal death. A man and a man; but the one nothing but man, the other
God-man. The one a man of sin, the other of righteousness. Thou didst die in Adam, rise
in Christ; for both are due to thee. Now thou hast believed in Christ, render nevertheless
that which thou owest through Adam. But the chain of sin shall not hold thee eternally;
because the temporal death of thy Lord slew thine eternal death. The same is grace, my
brethren, the same is truth, because promised and manifested.

14. This grace was not in the Old Testament, because the law threatened, did not bring
aid; commanded, did not heal; made manifest, but did not take away our feebleness: but it
prepared the way for that Physician who was to come with grace and truth; as a physician
who, about to come to any one to cure him, might first send his servant that he might find
the sick man bound. He was not sound; he did not wish to be made sound; and lest he
should be made sound, he boasted that he was so. The law was sent, it bound him; he
finds himself accused, now he exclaims against the bandage.
The Lord comes, cures with somewhat bitter and sharp medicines: for He says to the sick,
Bear; He says, Endure; He says, Love not the world, have patience, let the fire of
continence cure thee, let thy wounds endure the sword of persecutions. Wert thou greatly
terrified although bound? He, free and unbound, drank what He gave to thee; He first
suffered that He might console thee, saying, as it were, that which thou fearest to suffer
for thyself, I first suffer for thee. This is grace, and great grace. Who can praise it in a
worthy manner?

15. I speak, my brethren, regarding the humility of Christ.
Who can speak regarding the majesty of Christ, and the divinity of Christ? In explaining
and speaking of the humility of Christ, to do so in any fashion we find ourselves not
sufficient, indeed wholly insufficient: we commend Him entire to your thoughts, we do
not endeavour to fill Him up to your hearing. Consider the humility of Christ. But who, thou say est, may explain it to us, unless thou declare it? Let Him declare it within. Better does He declare it who dwelleth within, than he who crieth without. Let Himself

TRACT. III.] CHRIST ALONE HAS SEEN THE FATHER. 37

show to you the grace of His humility, who has begun to dwell in your hearts. But now, if in explaining and setting forth His humility we are deficient, who can speak of His majesty?
If "the Word made flesh" disturbs us, who shall explain *In the beginning was the Word"? Keep hold then, brethren, upon the entireness of Christ.

16. "The law was given by Moses: grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." By a servant was the law given, and made men guilty: by an Emperor was pardon given, and delivered the guilty. "The law was given by Moses." Let not the servant attribute to himself more than was done through him.
Chosen to a great ministry as one faithful in his house, but yet a servant, he is able to act according to the law, but cannot release from the guilt of the law. "The law," then, "was given by Moses: grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

17. And lest, perhaps, any one should say, And did not grace and truth come through Moses, who saw God? immediately he adds, "No one hath seen God at any time." And how did God become known to Moses? Because the Lord revealed Himself to His servant. What Lord? The same Christ, who sent the law beforehand by His servant, that He might Himself come with grace and truth. "For no one hath seen God at any time." And whence did He appear to that servant as far as he was able to receive Him? But "the Only-begotten," he says, "who is in the bosom of the Father, He has declared Him."
What signifieth "in the bosom of the Father"? In the secret of the Father. For God has not a bosom, as we have, in our garments, nor is He to be thought of sitting, as we do, nor is He girt with a girdle so as to have a bosom; but because our bosom is within, the secret of the Father is called the bosom of the Father. And He who knew the Father, being in the secret of the Father, He declared Him.
"For no man hath seen God at any time." He then came and narrated whatever He saw. What did Moses see? Moses saw a cloud, he saw an angel, he saw a fire. All that is the creature: it bore the type of its Lord, but did not manifest the presence of the Lord Himself. For thou hast it plainly stated in the law: "And Moses spake with the Lord face to

38 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. III.
face, as a friend with his friend." I Following the same scripture, thou findest Moses saying: " If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me Thyself plainly, that I may see Thee."

And it is little that he said this: he received the reply, "Thou canst not see my face." An angel then spake with Moses, my brethren, bearing the type of the Lord; and all those things which were done by the angel promised that future grace and truth. Those who examine the law well know this; and when we have opportunity to speak somewhat of this matter also, we shall not fail to speak to you, beloved brethren, as far as the Lord may reveal to us.

18. But know this, that all those things which were seen in bodily form were not that substance of God. For we saw those things with the eyes of the flesh: how is the substance of God seen? Interrogate the Gospel: "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." 2 There have been men who, deceived by the vanity of their hearts, have said, The Father is invisible, but the Son is visible. How visible? If on account of His flesh, because He took flesh, the matter is manifest. For of those who saw the flesh of Christ, some believed, some crucified; and those who believed doubted when He was crucified; and unless they had touched the flesh after the resurrection, their faith would not have been recalled.

If, then, on account of His flesh the Son was visible, that we also grant, and it is the catholic faith; but if before He took flesh, as they say, that is, before He became incarnate, they are greatly deluded, and grievously err. For those visible and bodily appearances took place through the creature, in which a type might be exhibited: not in any fashion was the substance itself shown and made manifest. Give heed, beloved brethren, to this easy proof. The wisdom of God cannot be beheld by the eyes. Brethren, if Christ is the Wisdom of God and the Power of God; 3 if Christ is the Word of God, and if the word of man is not seen with the eyes, can the Word of God be so seen?

19. Expel, therefore, from you hearts carnal thoughts, that you may be really under grace, that you may belong to the New Testament. Therefore is life eternal promised in the

1 Ex. xxxiii. 11, 13, 20. 2 Matt. v. 8. 3 1 Cor. i. 24.

TRACT. III.] HOW THE SON OF GOD IS SEEN. 39

New Testament. Eead the Old Testament, and see that the same things were enjoined upon a people yet carnal as upon us. For to worship one God is also enjoined upon us. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain" is also enjoined upon us, which is the second commandment.

"Observe the Sabbath-day" is enjoined on us more than on them, because it is commanded to be spiritually observed. For the Jews observe the Sabbath in a servile manner, using it for luxuriousness and drunkenness. How much better would their women be employed in spinning wool than in dancing on that day in the balconies? God
forbid, brethren, that we should call that an observance of the Sabbath. The Christian observes the Sabbath spiritually, abstaining from servile work.

For what is it to abstain from servile work? From sin.

And how do we prove it? Ask the Lord: "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin." Therefore is the spiritual observance of the Sabbath enjoined upon us. Now all those commandments are more enjoined on us, and are to be observed: "Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness. Honour thy father and thy mother. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." But ask what is the reward, and thou wilt find it there said: "That thine enemies may be driven forth before thy face, and that you may receive the land which God promised to your fathers." Because they were not able to comprehend invisible things, they were held by the visible.

Wherefore held? Lest they should perish altogether, and slip into idol-worship. For they did this, as we read, forgetful of the great miracles which God performed before their eyes. The sea was divided; a way was made in the midst of the waves; their enemies following, were covered by the same waves through which they passed: and yet when Moses, the man of God, had departed from their sight, they asked for an idol, and said, "Make us gods to go before us; for this man has deserted us." Their whole hope was placed in man, not in God. Behold, the man is dead: was God dead who had rescued them from the land of Egypt? And when they had made to themselves the image of a calf, they offered it adoration, and said, "These be thy gods, Israel, which delivered thee out of the land of Egypt." How soon forgetful of such manifest grace! By what means could such a people be held except by carnal promises?

1 John viii. 34. 2 Ex. xx. 3-17.


40 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. III.

in man, not in God. Behold, the man is dead: was God dead who had rescued them from the land of Egypt? And when they had made to themselves the image of a calf, they offered it adoration, and said, "These be thy gods, Israel, which delivered thee out of the land of Egypt." How soon forgetful of such manifest grace! By what means could such a people be held except by carnal promises?

20. The same things are commanded in the Decalogue as we are commanded to observe; but the same promises are not made as to us. What is promised to us? Life eternal.

"And this is life eternal, that they know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." The knowledge of God is promised: that is, grace for grace. Brethren, we now believe, we do not see; for faith the reward will be to see what we believe. The prophets knew this, but it was concealed before He came. Eor a certain lover sighing, says in the Psalms: "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after." And dost thou ask what he seeks?

Eor perhaps he seeks a land flowing with milk and honey carnally, although this is to be spiritually sought and desired; or perhaps the subjection of his enemies, or the death of foes, or the power and riches of this world. Eor he glows with love, and sighs greatly, and
burns and pants. Let us see what he desires: "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after." What is it that he doth seek after? "That I may dwell," saith he, "in the house of the Lord all the days of my life." And suppose that thou dwellest in the house of the Lord, from what source will thy joy there be derived? "That I may behold," saith he, "the beauty of the Lord." 3

21. My brethren, wherefore do you cry out, wherefore do you exult, wherefore do you love, unless that a spark of this love is there? What do you desire? I ask you. Can it be seen with the eyes? Can it be touched? Is it some fairness which delights the eyes? Are not the martyrs vehemently beloved; and when we commemorate them do we not burn with love? What is it that we love in them, brethren? Limbs torn by wild beasts? What is more revolting if thou askest the eyes of the flesh? What is more fair if thou askest the eyes of the heart?

1 Ex. xxxii. 1-4. 2 John xvii. 3. 3 Ps. xxvi. 4.

TRACT. III.] GOD THE REWARD OF THE GODLY. 41

How appears in your eyes a very fair young man who is a thief? How shocked are your eyes! Are the eyes of the flesh shocked? If you interrogate them, nothing is more shapely and better formed than that body; the symmetry of the limbs and the beauty of the colour attract the eyes; and yet, when thou hearest that he is a thief, thy mind recoils from the man. Thou beholdest on the other hand a bent old man, leaning upon a staff, scarcely moving himself, ploughed all over with wrinkles. Thou hearest that he is just: thou lovest and embracest him. Such are the rewards promised to us, my brethren: love such, sigh after such a kingdom, desire such a country, if you wish to arrive at that with which our Lord came, that is, at grace and truth. But if you covet bodily rewards from God, thou art still under the law, and therefore thou shalt not fulfil the law. For when thou seest those temporal things granted to those who offend God, thy steps falter, and thou sayest to thyself: Behold, I worship God, daily I run to church, my knees are worn with prayers, and yet I am constantly sick: there are men who commit murders, who are guilty of robberies, and yet they exult and have abundance; it is well with them. Was it such things that thou soughtest from God? Surely thou didst belong to grace. If, therefore, God gave to thee grace, because He gave freely, love freely. Do not for the sake of reward love God; let Him be the reward. Let thy soul say, "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, that I may behold the beauty of the Lord." Do not fear that thine enjoyment will fail through satiety: such will be that enjoyment of beauty that it will ever be present to thee, and thou shalt never be satisfied; indeed thou shalt be always satisfied, and yet never satisfied. For if I shall say that thou shalt not be satisfied, it will mean famine; and if I shall say thou shalt be satisfied, I fear satiety: where neither satiety nor famine are, I know not what to
say; but God has that which He can manifest to those who know not how to express it, yet believe that they shall receive.

Y

TEACTATE IV.

John I. 19-33.

OU have very often heard, holy brethren, and you know well, that John the Baptist, in proportion as he was greater than those born of women, and was more humble in his acknowledgment of the Lord, obtained the grace of being the friend of the Bridegroom; zealous for the Bridegroom, not for himself; not seeking his own honour, but that of his Judge, whom as a herald he preceded. Therefore, to the prophets who went before, it was granted to predict concerning Christ; but to this man, to point Him out with the finger. For as Christ was unknown by those who did not believe the prophets before He came, He remained unknown to them even when present. For He had come humbly and concealed from the first; the more concealed in proportion as He was more humble: but the people, despising in their pride the humility of God, crucified their Saviour, and made Him their condemner.

2. But will not He who at first came concealed, because humble, come again manifested, because exalted? You have just listened to the Psalm: " God shall come manifestly, and our God shall not keep silence." * He was silent that He might be judged, He will not be silent when He begins to judge. It would not have been said, " He will come manifestly," unless at first He had come concealed; nor would it have been said, " He shall not keep silence," unless He had first kept silence. How was He silent? Interrogate Isaiah: " He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer was dumb, so He opened not His mouth." 2 " But He shall come manifestly, and shall not keep silence." In what manner " manifestly " ? " A fire shall go before Him, and 1 Ps. 1. 3. 2 Isa. liii. 7.

42

TRACT. IV.] JOHN THE BAPTIST. 43

round about Him a strong tempest." 1 That tempest has to carry away all the chaff from the floor, which is now being threshed; and the fire has to burn what the tempest carries away. But now He is silent; silent in judgment, but not silent in precept. For if Christ is
silent, what is the purpose of these Gospels? what the purpose of the voices of the apostles, what of the canticles of the Psalms/what of the declarations of the prophets? In all these Christ is not silent. But now He is silent in not taking vengeance: He is not silent in not giving warning. But He will come in glory to take vengeance, and will manifest Himself even to all who do not believe on Him. But now, because when present He was concealed, it behoved that He should be despised. For unless He had been despised, He would not have been crucified; if He had not been crucified, He would not have shed His blood â€” the price by which He redeemed us. But that He might give a price for us, He was crucified; that He might be crucified, He was despised; that He might be despised, He appeared in humility.

3. Yet because He appeared as it were in the night, in a mortal body, He lighted for Himself a lamp by which He might be seen. That lamp was John, 2 concerning whom you lately heard many things: and the present passage of the evangelist contains the words of John; in the first place, and it is the chief point, his confession that he was not the Christ. But so great was the excellence of John, that men might have believed him to be the Christ: and in this he gave a proof of his humility, that he said he was not when he might have been believed to have been the Christ; therefore, "This is the testimony of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites to him from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou?" But they would not have sent unless they had been moved by the excellence of his authority who ventured to baptize. "And he confessed, and denied not." What did he confess? "And he confessed, I am not the Christ."

4. "And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias?" For they knew that Elias was to precede Christ. For to no Jew was the name of Christ unknown. They did not think

1 Ps. xlix. 3. s John v. 35.

44 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IV.

that he was the Christ; but they did not think that Christ would not come at all. When they were hoping that He would come, they were offended at Him when He was present, and stumbled at Him as on a low stone. For He was as yet a small stone, already indeed cut out of the mountain without hands; as saith Daniel the prophet, that he saw a stone cut out of the mountain without hands. But what follows? "And that stone," saith he, "grew, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole face of the earth." 1 Mark then, my beloved brethren, what I say: Christ, before the Jews, was already cut out from the mountain. The prophet wishes that by the mountain should be understood the Jewish kingdom. But the kingdom of the Jews had not filled the whole face of the earth. The stone was cut out from thence, because from thence was the Lord born on His advent among men. And wherefore without hands? Because without the co-operation of man did the Virgin bear Christ. Now then was that stone cut out without hands before the eyes
of the Jews; but it was humble. Not without reason; because not yet had that stone increased and filled the whole earth:
that He showed in His kingdom, which is the Church, with which He has filled the whole face of the earth. Because then it had not yet increased, they stumbled at Him as at a stone: and that happened in them which is written, " Whosoever shall fall upon that stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever that stone shall fall, it will grind them to powder." 2 At first they fell upon Him lowly: as the lofty One He shall come upon them; but that He may grind them to powder when He comes in His exaltation, He first broke them in His lowliness. They stumbled at Him, and were broken; they were not ground, but broken: He will come exalted and will grind them. But the Jews were to be pardoned because they stumbled at a stone which had not yet increased. What sort of persons are those who stumble at the mountain itself?
Already you know who they are of whom I speak. Those who deny the Church diffused through the whole world, do not stumble at the lowly stone, but at the mountain itself: because this the stone became as it grew. The blind Jews did

1 Dan. ii. 34, 35. 2 Luke xx. 18.

TRACT. IV.] THE TWO ADVENTS COMPARED. 45

not see the lowly stone: but how great blindness not to see the mountain!

5. They saw Him then lowly, and did not know Him. He was pointed out to them by a lamp. For in the first place he, than whom no greater had arisen of those born of women, said, " I am not the Christ." It was said to him, " Art thou Elias ? He answered, I am not." For Christ sends Elias before Him: and he said, " I am not," and occasioned a question for us. For it is to be feared lest men, insufficiently understanding, think that John contradicted what Christ said. , For in a certain place, when the Lord Jesus Christ said certain things in the Gospel regarding Himself, His disciples answered Him: " How then say the scribes," that is, those skilled in the law, " that Elias must first come ? " And the Lord said, " Elias is already come, and they have done unto him what they listed; " and, if you wish to know, John the Baptist is he. 1 The Lord Jesus Christ said, " Elias is already come, and John the Baptist " is he; but John, being interrogated, confessed that he was not Elias, in the same manner that he confessed that he was not Christ. And as his confession that he was not Christ was true, so was his confession that he was not Elias. How then shall we compare the words of the herald with the words of the Judge ? Away with the thought that the herald speaks falsehood; for that which he speaks he hears from the Judge. Wherefore then did he say, " I am not Elias; " and the Lord, " He is Elias " ? Because the Lord Jesus Christ wished in him to prefigure His own advent, and to say that John was in the spirit of Elias. And what John was to the first advent, that will Elias be to the second advent. As there are two advents of the Judge, so are there two heralds. The Judge indeed was the same, but the heralds two, but not two judges. It was needful that in the first instance the Judge should come to be judged. He sent before Him
His first herald; He called him Elias, because Elias will be in the second advent what John was in the first.

6. For mark, beloved brethren, how true it is what I say. When John was conceived, or rather when he was born, the

1 Matt. xvii. 10-13; Matt. xi. 14, Vulg.

46 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TBACT. IV.

Holy Spirit prophesied that this would be fulfilled in him:
" And he shall be," he said, "the forerunner of the Highest, in the spirit and power of Elias." 1 What signifieth "in the spirit and power of Elias"? In the same Holy Spirit in the room of Elias. Wherefore in room of Elias? Because what Elias will be to the second, that John was to the first advent.
Eightly therefore, speaking literally, did John reply. For the Lord spoke figuratively, "Elias, the same is John;" but he, as I have said, spoke literally when he said, "I am not Elias."
Neither did John speak falsely, nor did the Lord speak falsely; neither was the word of the herald nor of the Judge false, if only thou understand. But who shall understand? He who shall have imitated the lowliness of the herald, and shall have acknowledged the loftiness of the Judge. For nothing was more lowly than the herald. My brethren, in nothing had John greater merit than in this humility, inasmuch as when he was able to deceive men, and to be thought Christ, and to have been received in the place of Christ (for so great were his grace and his excellency), nevertheless he openly confessed and said," I am not the Christ."
If he had said, I am Elias, it would have been as if Christ were already coming in His second advent to judge, not in His first to be judged. As if saying, Elias is yet to come, "I am not," said he, "Elias." But give heed to the lowly One before whom John came, that you may not feel the lofty One before whom Elias came. For thus also did the Lord complete the saying: "John the Baptist is he which is to come." He came as a figure of that in which Elias is to come in his own person. Then Elias will in his own proper person be Elias, now in similitude he was John. Now John in his own proper person is John, in similitude Elias. The two heralds gave to each other their similitudes, and kept their own proper persons; but the Judge is one Lord, whether preceded by this herald or by that.

7. "And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias?"
And he said, No. And they said unto him, Art thou a prophet? and he answered, No! They said therefore unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that

1 Luke i. 17.
sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? He saith, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." 1 That said Isaiah.
This prophecy was fulfilled in John, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." "Crying what?" Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God." "Would it not have seemed to you that a herald would have cried, "Go away, make room." Instead of the herald's cry "Go away,"
John says "Come." The herald makes men stand back from the judge; to the Judge John calls. Yes, indeed, John calls men to the lowly One, that they may not experience what He will be as the exalted Judge. "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Isaiah." He did not say, I am John, I am Elias, I am a prophet. But what did he say? This I am called, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way for the Lord: I am the prophecy itself."

8. "And they which were sent were of the Pharisees," that is, of the chief men among the Jews; "and they asked him and said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor a prophet?" As if it seemed to them audacity to baptize, as if they meant to inquire, in what character baptizest thou? We ask whether thou art the Christ; thou sayest that thou art not. We ask whether thou perchance art His precursor, for we know that before the advent of Christ, Elias will come; thou answerest that thou art not. We ask, if perchance thou art some herald come long before, that is, a prophet, and hast received that power, and thou sayest that thou art not a prophet. And John was not a prophet; he was greater than a prophet. The Lord gave such testimony concerning him: "What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?" Of course implying that he was not shaken by the wind; because John was not such an one as is moved by the wind; for he who is moved by the wind is blown upon by every seductive blast. "But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment?" For John was clothed in rough garments; that is, his tunic was of camel's hair. "Behold, they who are clothed in soft raiment are in kings' houses." You did not

1 Isa. xl. 3.

48 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IV.
then go out to see a man clothed in soft raiment. "But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, one greater than a prophet is here; "I for the prophets prophesied of Christ a long time before, John pointed Him out as present.

9. "Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor a prophet? John answered them, saying, I baptize with water; but there standeth One among you whom ye know not." For, very truly, He was not seen, being humble, and therefore was the lamp lighted. Observe how John gives place, who might have been accounted other than he
was. "He it is who cometh after me, who is made before me" (that is, as we have already said, is "pjefersei before me" ), "whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose." How greatly did he humble himself! And therefore he was greatly lifted up; for he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. 2 Hence, holy brethren, you ought to note that if John so humbled himself as to say, "I am not worthy to unloose His shoe-latchet," what need they have to be humbled who say, "We baptize; what we give is ours, and what is ours is holy." He said, Not I, but He; they say, We. John is not worthy to unloose His shoe's latchet; and if he had said he was worthy, how humble would he still have been! And if he had said he was worthy, and had spoken thus, "He came after me who is made before me, the latchet of whose shoe I am only worthy to unloose," he would have greatly humbled himself. But when he says that he is not worthy even to do this, truly was he full of the Holy Spirit, who in such fashion as a servant acknowledged his Lord, and merited to be made a friend instead of a servant.

10. "These things were done in Bethany, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing. The next day John saw Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who taketh away the sin of the world!" Let no one so arrogate to himself as to say that he. taketh away the sin of the world. Give heed now to the proud men at whom John pointed the finger. The heretics were not yet born, but already were they pointed out; against them he then cried from the river, against whom he now cries from the Gospel.


TRACT. IV. ] THE LAMB OF GOD WITHOUT SIN. 49

Jesus comes, and what says he? "Behold the Lamb of God!" If to be innocent is to be a lamb, then John was a lamb, for was not he innocent? But who is innocent? To what extent innocent? All come from that branch and shoot, concerning which David sings, even with groanings, "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." 1

Alone, then, was He, the Lamb who came, not so. For He was not conceived in iniquity, because not conceived of mortality; nor did His mother conceive Him in sin, whom the Virgin conceived, whom the Virgin brought forth; because by faith she conceived, and by faith received Him. Therefore, "Behold the Lamb of God." He is not a branch derived from Adam: flesh only did he derive from Adam, Adam's sin He did not assume. He who took not upon Him sin from our lump, He it is who taketh away our sin. "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!"

You know that certain men say sometimes, We take away sin from men, we who are holy; for if he be not holy who baptizeth, how taketh he away the sin of another, when he is a man himself full of sin? In opposition to these disputations, let us not speak our own words, let us read what John says:
"Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who taketh away the sin of the world!" Let there not be presumptuous confidence of men upon men; let not the sparrow flee to the mountains, but let it trust in the Lord; 2 and if it lift its eyes to the mountains, from whence cometh aid to it, let it understand that its aid is from the Lord who made heaven and earth. 3 So great is the excellence of John, that to him it is said, "Art thou the Christ?" He says, No. Art thou Elias? He says, No. Wherefore then dost thou baptize? "Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who taketh away the sin of the world! This is He of whom I spake, After me cometh a Man who was made before me; for He was before me." "Cometh after me," because He was born later; "was made before me," because preferred before me; "He was before me," because, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

1 Ps. li. 7.

2 Ps. x. 2.

8 Ps. cxii. 1, 2.

TRACT.

D

5 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IV.

12. "And I knew Him not," he said; "but that He might be made manifest to Israel, therefore came I baptizing with water. And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon Him. And I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God." Give heed for a little, beloved. When did John learn Christ? For he was sent to baptize with water. They asked, Wherefore? That He might be made manifest to Israel, he said. Of what profit was the baptism of John? My brethren, if it had profited in any respect, it would have remained now, and men would have been baptized with the baptism of John, and thus have come to the baptism of Christ. But what saith he? "That
He might be made manifest to Israel," â€” that is, to Israel itself, to the people Israel, so that Christ might be made manifest to it, â€” therefore he came baptizing with water. John received the ministry of baptism, that by the water of repentance he might prepare the way for the Lord, not being himself the Lord; but where the Lord was known, it was superfluous to prepare for Him the way, for to those who knew Him He became Himself the way; therefore the baptism of John did not last long.

But how was the Lord pointed out ? Lowly, that John might so receive a baptism in which the Lord Himself should be baptized.

1 3. And was it needful for the Lord to be baptized ? I instantly reply to any one who asks this question: Was it needful for the Lord to be born ? Was it needful for the Lord to be crucified ? Was it needful for the Lord to die ? Was it needful for the Lord to be buried ? If He undertook for us so great humiliation, might He not also receive baptism ? And what profit was there that he received the baptism of a servant ? That thou mightest not disdain to receive the baptism of the Lord. Give heed, beloved brethren. Certain catechumens were to arise in the Church of higher grace.

It sometimes comes to pass that you see a catechumen who practises continence, bids farewell to the world, renounces all his possessions, distributing them to the poor; and although but

TRACT. IV.] WHY CHRIST WAS BAPTIZED. 5 1

a catechumen, instructed in the saving doctrine better, perhaps, than many of the faithful. It is to he feared regarding such an one that he may say to himself about holy baptism, whereby sins are remitted, What more shall I receive ? Behold, I am better than this faithful man, and this, â€” having in his mind those among the faithful who are either married, or who are perhaps ignorant, or who keep possession of their property, while he has given his to the poor, â€” and considering himself better than those who have been already baptized, he deigns not to come to baptism, saying, Am I to receive what this man has, and this ? thinking of persons whom he despises, and, as it were, considers it an indignity to receive that which inferiors have received, because he appears to himself to be already better than they; and, nevertheless, all his sins are upon him, and without coming to saving baptism, wherein all sins are remitted, he cannot, with all his excellence, enter into the kingdom of heaven. But the Lord, in order to invite such excellence to his baptism, that sins might be remitted, Himself came to the baptism of His servant; and although He had no sin to be remitted, nor was there anything in Him that needed to be washed, He received baptism from a servant; and by so doing, addressed Himself to the son carrying himself proudly, and exalting himself, and disdainimg, perhaps, to receive along with the ignorant that from which salvation comes to him, and said to him: How dost thou extend thyself ? How dost thou exalt thyself ? How great is thy excellence ?
How great is thy grace? Can it be greater than mine? If I come to the servant, dost thou disdain to come to the Lord?

If I have received the baptism of the servant, dost thou disdain to be baptized by the Lord?

14. But that you may know, my brethren, that not from a necessity of any chain of sin did the Lord come to this John, as the other evangelists say when the Lord came to him to be baptized, John himself said, "Comest Thou to me? I have need to be baptized of Thee."

I What did He reply to him?

"Suffer it to be so now: let all righteousness be fulfilled."

What meaneth "let all righteousness be fulfilled"? I came to die for men, have I not to be baptized for men?

1 Matt. iii. 14, 15.

52 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IV.

meaneth "let all righteousness be fulfilled"? Let all humility be fulfilled. What then?

Was not He to accept baptism from a good servant who accepted suffering at the hands of evil servants? Give heed then. The Lord being baptized, if John for this end baptized, that by means of his baptism the Lord might manifest His humility, should no one else have been baptized with the baptism of John? But many were baptized with the baptism of John. When the Lord was baptized with the baptism of John, the baptism of John ceased. John was forthwith cast into prison. Afterwards we do not find that any one is baptized with that baptism. If, then, John came baptizing for this end, that the humility of the Lord might be made manifest to us, in order that we might not disdain to receive from the Lord that which the Lord had received from a servant, should John have baptized the Lord alone? But if John had baptized the Lord alone, some would have thought that the baptism of John was more holy than that of Christ:

as if Christ alone had been found worthy to be baptized with the baptism of John, but the human race with that of Christ.

Give heed, beloved brethren. With the baptism of Christ we have been baptized, and not only we, but the whole world, and this will continue to the end. Which of us can in any respect be compared with Christ, whose shoe's latchet John declared himself unworthy to unloose? If, then, the Christ, a man of such excellence, a man who is God, had been alone baptized with the baptism of John, what were men likely to say?

What a baptism was that of John! His was a great baptism, an ineffable sacrament; behold, Christ alone deserved to be baptized with the baptism of John. And thus the baptism of the servant would appear greater than the baptism of the Lord. Others were also baptized with the baptism of John, that the baptism of John might not appear better than the baptism of Christ; but baptized also was the Lord, that through the Lord receiving the baptism of the servant, other servants might not disdain to receive the baptism of the Lord: for this end, then, was John sent.

1 5. But did he know Christ, or did he not know Him?
If he did not know Him, wherefore did He say, when Christ came to the river, "I have need to be baptized of Thee"?

TRACT. IV.] A QUESTION PROPOSED. 53

that is to say, I know who Thou art. If, then, he already knew Him, assuredly he knew Him when he saw the dove descending. It is evident that the dove did not descend upon the Lord until after He went up out of the water of baptism. "The Lord having been baptized, went up out of the water, and the heavens were opened, and he saw a dove descending on Him." If, then, the dove descended after the baptism, and if, before the Lord was baptized, John said to Him, "Comest Thou to me? I have need to be baptized of Thee;" that is to say, before he knew Him to whom he said, "Comest Thou to me? I have need to be baptized of Thee;" ã€” how then said he, "And I knew Him not: but He who sent me to baptize with water, the same said to me, Upon whom thou seest the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Ñ It is not an insignificant question, my brethren. If you have seen the question, you have seen not a little; it remains that the Lord give the solution of it. This, however, I say, if you have seen the question, it is no small matter. Behold, John is placed before your eyes, standing beside the river. Behold John the Baptist. Behold, the Lord comes, as yet to be baptized, not yet baptized. Hear the voice of John, "Comest Thou to me? I have need to be baptized of Thee." Behold, already he knew the Lord, by whom He wishes to be baptized.

The Lord, having been baptized, goes up out of the water; the heavens are opened, the Spirit descends; then John knows Him. If then for the first time he knew Him, why did he say before, "I have need to be baptized of Thee"? But if he did not then recognise Him for the first time, because he knew Him already, what is the meaning of what he said, "I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon Him, as a dove, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost"?

16. My brethren, this question if solved to-day would oppress you, I do not doubt, for already have I spoken many words. But know that the question is of such a character that alone it is able to extinguish the party of Donatus. I have said thus much, my beloved, in order to gain your attention, as is my

54 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IV.

wont; and also in order that you may pray for us, that the Lord may grant to us to speak what is suitable, and that you may be found worthy to receive what is suitable. In the
meantime, be pleased to defer the question for to-day. But in the meantime, I say this briefly, until I give a fuller solution:

Inquire peacefully, without quarrelling, without contention, without altercations, without enmities; both seek by yourselves, and inquire of others, and say, "This question our bishop proposed to us to-day, and he will resolve it at a future time, if the Lord will." But whether it be resolved or not, reckon that I have propounded what appears to me of importance; for it does seem of considerable importance. John says, "I have need to be baptized of Thee," as if he knew Christ. For if he did not know Him by whom he wished to be baptized, he spoke rashly when he said, "I have need to be baptized of Thee." Therefore he knew Him. If he knew Him, what is the meaning of the saying, "I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon Him, as a dove, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost"? What shall we say? That we do not know when the dove came? Lest perchance they take refuge in this, let the other evangelists be read, who have spoken of this matter more plainly, and we find most evidently that the dove then descended when the Lord came up out of the water. Upon Him baptized the heavens opened, and He saw the Spirit descending. If it was when He was already baptized that John knew Him, how saith he to Him, coming to baptism, "I have need to be baptized of Thee"? Ponder this in the meantime with yourselves, confer upon it, treat of it, one with another. The Lord our God grant that before you hear it from me, the explanation may be revealed to some of you first.

Nevertheless, brethren, know this, that by means of the solution of this question, the allegation of the party of Donatus, if they have any sense of shame, will be silenced, and their mouths will be shut regarding the grace of baptism, a matter about which they raise mists to confuse the uninstructed, and spread nets for flying birds.

1 The Donatists. 2 Matt. iii. 16; Mark i. 10; Luke iii. 21, 22.

TRACTATE V.

Chapter I.

WE have arrived, as the Lord hath willed it, to the day of our promise. He will grant this also, that we may arrive at the fulfilment of the promise. For then those things which we say, if they are useful to us and to you, are from Him; but those things which proceed from man are false, as our Lord Jesus Christ Himself has said, "He that speaketh a lie speaketh of his own." 1 If one has anything of his own except falsehood and sin. But if man has any truth and justice, it is from that fountain after which we ought to thirst in this desert, so that being, as it were, bedewed by some drops from it, and comforted in the
meantime in this pilgrimage, we may not fail by the way, but reach His rest and satisfying fulness.

If then "he that speaketh a lie speaketh of his own," he who speaketh the truth speaketh of God. John is true, Christ is the Truth; John is true, but every true man is true from the Truth. If, then, John is true, and a man cannot be true except from the Truth, from whom was he true, unless from Him who said, "I am the truth"? 2 The Truth, then, could not speak contrary to the true man, or the true man contrary to the Truth. The Truth sent the true man, and he was true because sent by the Truth. If it was the Truth that sent John, then it was Christ that sent him. But that which Christ does with the Father, the Father does; and what the Father does with Christ, Christ does. The Father does nothing apart from the Son, nor the Son anything apart from the Father: inseparable love, inseparable unity, inseparable majesty, inseparable power, according to these words which He Himself propounded, u I and my Father are one." 3 Who then sent John? If we say the Father, we speak truly; if we say the Son, we speak truly; but to speak more plainly, we say the Father and the Son. But whom the Father and the Son sent, one God sent; because the Son said, "I and the Father are one." How, then, did he not know Him by whom he was sent? For he said, "I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me." I interrogate John: "Who sent thee to baptize with water? what did He say to thee?" "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Is it this, John, that He said to thee who sent thee? It is manifest that it was this; who, then, sent thee? Perhaps the Father. True God is the Father, and the Truth is God the Son: if the Father without the Son sent thee, God without the Truth sent thee; but if thou art true, because thou dost speak the truth, and dost speak of the Truth, the Father did not send thee without the Son, but the Father and the Son together sent thee. If, then, the Son sent thee with the Father, how didst thou not know Him by whom thou wast sent? He whom thou hadst seen in the Truth, Himself sent thee that He might be recognised in the flesh, and said, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost."

2. Did John hear this that he might know Him whom he had not known, or that he might more fully know Him whom he had already known? For if he had been entirely ignorant of Him, he would not have said to Him when He came to the river to be baptized, "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?" 1 He knew Him therefore. But when did the dove descend? When the Lord had been baptized, and was ascending from the water. But if He who sent Him said, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He which baptizeth with the
Holy Ghost," and he knew Him not, but when the dove descended he learned to know
Him, and the time at which the dove descended was. when the Lord was going up from
the water; but John had known the Lord, when the Lord came to him to the water: it is
made plain to us

1 Matt. iii. 14.

TRACT. V.] WHY CHRIST WAS BAPTIZED. 57

that John after a manner knew, and after a manner did not at first know the Lord. And
unless we understand it so, he was a liar. How was he true acknowledging the Lord and
saying, " Comest Thou to me to be baptized," and, " I have need to be baptized of Thee "
? Is he true when he said this ? And how is he again true when he saith, " I knew Him
not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou
shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He which
baptizeth with the Holy Ghost " ? The Lord was made known by a dove, not to him who
knew Him not, but to him who in a manner knew Him, and in a manner knew Him not.
It is for us to discover what, in Him, John did not know, and learned by the dove.

3. Why was John sent baptizing ? Already, I recollect, I
have explained that to you, beloved, according to my ability.
For if the baptism of John was necessary for our salvation, it ought even now to be used.
For we cannot think that men are not saved now, or that more are not saved now, or that
there was one salvation then, another now. If Christ has been changed, the salvation has
also been changed; if salvation is in Christ, and Christ Himself is the same, there is the
same salvation to us. But why was John sent baptizing ?
Because it behoved Christ to be baptized. Wherefore did it behove Christ to be baptized ?
Wherefore did it behove Christ to be born ? Wherefore did it behove Christ to be
crucified ? For if He had come to point out the way of humility, and to make Himself the
way of humility; in all things had humility to be fulfilled by Him. He deigned from this to
give authority to His own baptism, that His servants might know with what alacrity they
ought to run to the baptism of the Lord, when He Himself did not refuse to receive the
baptism of a servant. This favour was bestowed upon John that it should be called his
baptism.

4. Give heed to this, exercise your discrimination, and know it, beloved. The baptism
which John received is called the baptism of John: alone he received such a gift. No one
of the just before him and no one after him so received a baptism that it should be called
his baptism. He received it

58 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. V.
indeed, for of himself he could do nothing: for if any one speaketh of his own, he
speaketh of his own a lie. And whence did he receive it except from the Lord Jesus Christ
?
From Him he received power to baptize whom he afterwards baptized. Do not marvel; for
Christ acted in the same manner in respect to John as in respect to His mother. For
concerning Christ it was said, " All things were made by Him." 1
If all things were made by him, Mary also was made by Him, of whom Christ was
afterwards born. Give heed, beloved; in the same manner that He did create Mary, and
was created by Mary, so did He give the baptism of John, and was baptized by John.

5. For this purpose therefore did He receive baptism from John, in order that, receiving
what was inferior from an inferior, He might exhort inferiors to receive that which was
superior. But wherefore was not He alone baptized by John, if John, by whom Christ was
baptized, was sent for this end, to prepare a way for the Lord, that is, for Christ Himself?
This we have already explained, but we recur to it, because it is necessary for the present
question. If our Lord Jesus Christ had been alone baptized with the baptism of John; â€”
hold fast what we say; let not the world have such power as to efface from your hearts
what the Spirit of God has written there; let not the thorns of care have such power as to
choke the seed which is being sown in you: for why are we compelled to repeat the same
things, but because we are not sure of the memory of your hearts ? â€” and if then the
Lord alone had been baptized with the baptism of John, there would be persons who
would so reckon it, that the baptism of John was greater than is the baptism of Christ.
For they would say, that baptism is so much the greater, that Christ alone deserved to be
baptized with it. Therefore, that an example of humility might be given us by the Lord,
that the salvation of baptism might be obtained by us, Christ accepted what for Him was
not necessary, but on our account was necessary.
And again, lest that which Christ received from John should be preferred to the baptism
of Christ, others also were permitted to be baptized by John. But for those who were

1 John i. 3.

TEACT. V.] THE BAPTISM OF JOHN. 59

baptized by John that baptism did not suffice: for they were baptized with the baptism of
Christ; because the baptism of John was not the baptism of Christ. Those who receive the
baptism of Christ do not seek the baptism of John; those who received the baptism of
John sought the baptism of Christ. Therefore was the baptism of John sufficient for
Christ. How should it not be sufficient, when not even it was necessary ? For to Him was
no baptism necessary; but in order to exhort us to receive His baptism, He received the
baptism of His servant. And lest the baptism of the servant should be preferred to the
baptism of the Lord, other fellowservants were baptized with the baptism of the servant.
But it behoved those fellow-servants who were baptized with that baptism to be likewise
baptized with the baptism of the Lord:
but those who were baptized with the baptism of the Lord do not require the baptism of the fellow-servant.

6. Since, then, John had accepted a baptism which may be properly called the baptism of John, but the Lord Jesus Christ would not give His baptism to any, not that no one should be baptized with the baptism of the Lord, but that the Lord Himself should always baptize: that was done, that the Lord should baptize by means of servants; that is to say, those whom the servants of the Lord were to baptize, the Lord baptized, not they. For it is one thing to baptize in the capacity of a servant, another thing to baptize with power. For baptism derives its character from Him through whose power it is given; not from him through whose ministry it is given. As was John, so was his baptism: the righteous baptism of a righteous man; but of a man who had received from the Lord that grace, and so great grace, that he was worthy to be the forerunner of the Judge, and to point Him out with the finger, and to fulfil the saying of that prophecy: 
"The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way for the Lord." 1 As was the Lord, such was His baptism: the baptism of the Lord, then, was divine, because the Lord was God.

7. But the Lord Jesus Christ could, if He wished, have given power to one of His servants to give a baptism of his own, as it

1 Isa. xl. 3.

60 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [rRACT. V.

were, in His stead, and have transferred from Himself the power of baptizing, and assigned it to one of His servants, and have given the same power to the baptism transferred to the servant as it had when bestowed by the Lord. This He would not do, in order that the hope of the baptized might be in him by whom they acknowledged themselves to have been baptized. He would not, therefore, that the servant should place his hope in the servant. And therefore the apostle exclaimed, when he saw men wishing to place their hope in himself, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?" 1 Paul then baptized as a servant, not as the power itself; but the Lord baptized as the power. Give heed. He was both able to give this power to His servants, and unwilling. For if He had given this power to His servants â€” that is to say, that what belonged to the Lord should be theirs â€” there would have been as many baptisms as servants; so that, as we speak of the baptism of John, we should also have spoken of the baptism of Peter, the baptism of Paul, the baptism of James, the baptism of Thomas, of Matthew, of Bartholomew: for we spoke of that baptism as that of John. But perhaps some one objects, and says, Prove to us that that baptism was called the baptism of John. I will prove it from the very words of the Truth Himself, when He asked the Jews, "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men?" 2 Therefore, lest as many baptisms should be spoken of as there are servants who received power from the Lord to
baptize, the Lord kept to Himself the power of baptizing, and gave to His servants the ministry. The servant says that he baptizes; he says so rightly, as the apostle says, "And I baptized also the household of Stephanas;" but as a servant. Therefore, if even he be bad, and he happen to have the ministration of baptism, and if men do not know him, but God knows him, God, who has kept the power to Himself, permits baptism to be administered through him.

8. But this John did not know in the Lord. That He was the Lord he knew, and that he ought to be baptized by Him he knew; and he confessed that He was the Truth, and that he, the true man, was sent by the Truth: this he knew. But

1 1 Cor. i. 13. 2 Matt. xxi. 25. 3 1 Cor. i. 16.

TRACT. V.] THE DOVE AT JESUS' BAPTISM. 61

what was in Him which he knew not? That he was about to retain to Himself the power of His baptism, and was not to transmit or transfer it to any servant; but that, whether a good servant baptized in a ministerial manner, or whether an evil servant baptized, the person baptized should not know that he was baptized, unless by Him who kept to Himself the power of baptizing. And that you may know, brethren, what John did not know in Him, he learned it by means of the dove: for he knew the Lord; but that He was to retain to Himself the power of baptizing, and not to give it to any servant, he did not yet know. Eegarding this he said, "I knew Him not." And that you may know that he there learnt this, give heed to what follows: "But He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He." What same is He? The Lord? But he already knew the Lord.

Suppose, then, that John had said thus far, "I knew Him not: but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me â€” " We ask, what He said? It follows: "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him." I do not say what follows. In the meantime give heed: "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He."

But what same is He? What did He who sent me mean to teach me by means of a dove? That He was Himself the Lord. Already I knew by whom I was sent; already I knew Him to whom I said, "Comest Thou to me to be baptized? I have need to be baptized of Thee." So far, then, did I know the Lord, that I wished to be baptized by Him, not that He should be baptized by me; and then He said to me, "Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." I came to suffer; do I not come to be baptized? "Let all righteousness be fulfilled," says my God to me. Let all righteousness be fulfilled; let me teach entire humility. I know that there will be proud ones in my future people; I know that some men then will be eminent in some grace, so that when they see ordinary persons baptized, they, because they consider themselves better, whether in continence, or in alms-
1 Matt. iii. 15.

62 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. V.

giving, or in doctrine, will perhaps not deign to receive what has been received by their inferiors. It was needful that I should heal them, so that they should not disdain to come to the baptism of the Lord, because I came to the baptism of the servant.

9. Already, then, John knew this, and he knew the Lord. What then did the dove teach? What did He desire to teach by means of the dove â€” that is, by means of the Holy Spirit thus coming to teach who had sent him to whom He said, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He"? Who is this He? The Lord? I know. But didst thou already know this, that the same Lord having the power to baptize, was not to give that power to any servant, but to retain it to Himself, so that all who were baptized by the ministration of the servant, should not impute their baptism to the servant, but to the Lord? Didst thou already know this? I did not know this: so what did He say to me? "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, the same is He who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." He does, not say, "He is the Lord; " He does not say, "He is the Christ; " He does not say, "He is God; " He does not say, "He is Jesus; " He does not say, "He is the One who was born of the Virgin Mary, after thee, before thee." This He does not say, for this John did already know. But what did he not know? That this great authority of baptism the Lord Himself was to have, and to retain to Himself, whether present in the earth or absent in body in the heaven, and present in majesty; lest Paul should say, my baptism; lest Peter should say, my baptism. Therefore see, give heed to the words of the apostles. None of the apostles said, my baptism. Although there was one gospel of all, yet thou findest that they said, my gospel: thou dost not find that they say, my baptism.

10. This, then, my brethren, John learned. What John learned by means of the dove let us also learn. For the dove did not teach John without teaching the Church, the Church to which it was said, "My dove is one." * Let the dove teach the dove; let the dove know what John learned by the dove.

1 Cant. vi. 8.

TRACT. V.] THE DONATISTS POINTED AT. 63

The Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove. But this which John learned in the dove, wherefore did he learn it in the dove? For it behoved him to learn, and perhaps it did not so much behove him to learn as to learn by the dove.
What shall I say, my brethren, concerning the dove? or when will faculty of tongue or heart suffice to speak as I wish? And, perchance, my wish falls short of my duty in speaking; even if I were able to speak as I wish, how much less am I able to speak as I ought? I could wish to hear one better than myself speak this, rather than speak of it to you.

11. John learns to know Him whom he knew; but he learns in Him with regard to what he did not know; with regard to what he did know, he does not learn. And what did he know? The Lord. What did he not know? That the power of the Lord's baptism was not to pass from the Lord to any man, but that the ministration of it plainly would do so; the power from the Lord to no one, the ministration both to good and bad. Let not the dove shrink from the ministration of the bad, but have regard to the power of the Lord. What injury does a bad servant do to you where the Lord is good? What impediment can the malicious herald put in your way if the judge is well-disposed? John learned by means of the dove this. What is it that he learned? Let him repeat it himself. "The same said unto me," saith he, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding on Him, this is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Let not those seducers deceive thee, dove, what the dove has taught: "This is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." By means of the dove we are taught that this is He; and dost thou think that thou art baptized by his authority by whose ministration thou art baptized? If thou thinkest this, thou art not as yet in the body of the dove; and if thou art not in the body of the dove, it is not to be wondered at that thou hast not simplicity; for by means of the dove, simplicity is chiefly designated.

12. Wherefore, my brethren, by the simplicity of the dove did John learn that "This is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost/ unless to show that these are not doves who have scattered the Church? Hawks they were, and kites. The dove does not tear. And thou seest that they hold us up to hatred, for the persecutions, as they call them, which they have suffered. Bodily persecutions, indeed, if they are to be so called, they have suffered, since these were the scourges of the Lord, plainly administering temporal correction, lest He should have to condemn them eternally, if they did not acknowledge it and amend themselves. They truly persecute the Church who persecute by means of deceit; they strike the heart more heavily who strike with the sword of the tongue; they shed blood more bitterly who, as far as they can, slay Christ in man. They seem to be in fear, as it were, of the judgment of the authorities. What does the authority do to thee if thou art good? but if thou art evil, fear the authority; "For he beareth not the sword in vain," I saith the apostle. Draw not the sword wherewith thou dost strike Christ. Christian, what dost thou persecute in a Christian?
What did the Emperor persecute in thee? He persecuted the flesh; thou in a Christian persecutest the Spirit. Thou dost not slay the flesh. And, nevertheless, they do not spare the flesh; as many as they were able, they slew with the sword; they spared neither their own nor strangers. This is known to all. The authority is hated because it is legitimate; he acts in a hated manner who acts according to the law; he acts without incurring hatred who acts contrary to the laws. Give heed, each one of you, my brethren, to what the Christian possesses. His humanity he has in common with many, his Christianity distinguishes him from many, and his Christianity belongs to him more strictly than his humanity. For, as a Christian, he is renewed after the image of God, by whom man was made after the image of God; 2 but as a man he might be bad, he might be a pagan, he might be an idolater. This thou dost persecute in the Christian, which is his better part; for this by which he lives thou wishest to take away from him. For he lives temporarily according to the spirit of life, by which his body is animated, but he lives for eternity according to the baptism which he received from the Lord;

1 Kom. xiii. 4* 2 Col. iii. 10.

13. What, then, dost thou wish to take away? What displeases thee in the man whom thou wishest to rebaptize?

Thou art not able to give what he already has, but thou makest him deny what he has. What greater cruelty did the pagan persecutor of the Church commit? Swords were stretched out against the martyrs, wild beasts were let loose, fires were applied: for what purpose these things? In order that the sufferer might be induced to say, I am not a Christian. What dost thou teach him whom thou wishest to rebaptize, unless that he first say, I am not a Christian? For the same purpose for which the persecutor put forth the flame, thou puttest forth the tongue; thou dost by seducing what he did not do by slaying. And what is it thou dost give, and to whom art thou to give it? If he tells thee the truth, and does not lie, seduced by thee, he will say, I have. Thou askest, Hast thou baptism? I have, he says. As long as he says, I have, thou sayest, I will not give. And do not give, for that which thou wishest to give cannot cleave to me; because what I received cannot be taken away from me. But wait, nevertheless; let me see what thou wouldest teach me. Say, he said, in the first place, I have not. But this I have; if I shall say, I have not, I lie; for what I have I have. Thou hast not, he says. Teach
me that I have it not. An evil man gave it to thee. If Christ is evil, an evil man did give it to me. Christ, he says, is not evil; but Christ did not give it to thee. Who then gave it to me? Reply, I know that I received it from Christ. He who gave it to thee, he says, was not Christ, but some traditor. I shall see to it who was the minister; I shall see who was the herald. Concerning the official, I do not dispute; I give

TRACT. E

66 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. V.

heed to the Judge: and, perchance, in thy objection to the official, thou speakest falsely. But I decline to discuss it; let the Lord of both decide the cause of His own official. If, perhaps, I were to ask for proof, thou couldst give none; indeed, thou liest; it has been proved that thou wert not able to give proof. But I do not place my case on this, lest from my zealous defence of innocent men thou infer that I have placed my hope even on innocent men. Let the men be what they may, I received from Christ, I was baptized by Christ.

No, he says; not Christ, but that bishop baptized thee, and that bishop communicates to them. By Christ I have been baptized, I know. How dost thou know? The dove taught me, which John saw. evil kite, thou mayest not tear me from the bowels of the dove. I am numbered among the members of the dove, because what the dove taught, this I know. Thou sayest to me, This man or that baptized thee: by means of the dove it is said to me and to thee, "This is He which baptizeth." Which shall I believe, the kite or the dove?

14. Tell me certainly, that thou mayest be confounded by that lamp by which also were the former enemies confounded, who were like to thee, the Pharisees, who, when they questioned the Lord by what authority He did those things: "I also," said He, "will ask you this question, Tell me, the baptism of John, whence is it? from heaven, or of men?" And they, who were preparing to spread their wiles, were entangled by the question, and began to debate with themselves, and say, "If we shall answer, It is from heaven, He will say unto us, Wherefore did ye not believe him?" For John had said of the Lord, "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world!" * Why then do you inquire by what authority I act? O wolves, what I do, I do by the authority of the Lamb. But that you may know the Lamb, why do you not believe John, who said, "Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world"? They, then, knowing what John had said regarding the Lord, said among themselves, "If we shall say that John's baptism is from heaven, He will say unto us, Wherefore then did ye not believe him? If we shall say, It is of men, the people will stone us; for

1 John i. 29.
they hold John as a prophet." Hence, they feared men; hence, they were confounded to confess the truth. Darkness replied with darkness; but they were overcome by the light. For what did they reply ? " We know not; " regarding that which they knew, they said, " We know not." And the Lord said, " Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." * And the first enemies were confounded. How ? By the lamp. Who was the lamp ? John. Can we prove that he was the lamp ? We can prove it; for the Lord says: " He was a burning and a shining lamp." 2 Can we prove also that the enemies were confounded by him ? Listen to the psalm: " I have prepared," he says, " a lamp for my Christ. His enemies I will clothe with shame." 3

15. As yet, in the darkness of this life, we walk by the lamp of faith: let us hold also to the lamp John, and let us confound by him the enemies of Christ; indeed, let Christ Himself confound His own enemies by His own lamp. Let us put the question which the Lord put to the Jews, let us ask and say, " The baptism of John, whence is it ? from heaven, or of men ? " What will they say ? Mark, if they are not as enemies confounded by the lamp. What will they say ? If they shall say, Of men, even their own will stone them; but if they shall say, From heaven, let us say to them, Wherefore, then, did ye not believe him ? They perhaps say, We believe him. Wherefore, then, do you say that you baptize, when John says, " This is He which baptizeth " ? But it behoveth, they say, the ministers of so great a Judge who baptize, to be righteous. And I also say, and all say, that it behoveth the ministers of so great a Judge to be righteous; let the ministers, by all means, be righteous if they will; but if they will not be righteous who sit in the seat of Moses, my Master made me safe, of whom His Spirit said, " This is He which baptizeth." How did He make me safe ? " The scribes and the Pharisees," He says, " sit in Moses' seat: what they say, do; but what they do, that do not ye: for they say, and do not." 4 If the minister is righteous, I reckon him with Paul, I reckon him with Peter; with those I reckon righteous ministers: because, in truth, righteous ministers seek 1 Mait. xxi. 23-27. 2 John v. 35. 3 Ps. cxxxi. 17, 18. 4 Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.

6 8 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. V.

not their own glory; for they are ministers, they do not wish to be thought judges, they abhor that one should place his hope on them; therefore, I reckon the righteous minister with Paul. For what does Paul say ? "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth; but God who giveth the increase." 1 But he who is a proud minister is reckoned with the devil; but the gift of Christ is not contaminated, which flows through him pure, which passes through him liquid, and comes to the fertile earth. Suppose that he is stony, that he cannot from water rear fruit; even through the stony channel the water passes, the water passes to the garden beds; in the stony channel it causes nothing to grow, but nevertheless it brings much fruit to the gardens. For the spiritual virtue of the sacrament is like the light: both by those
who are to be enlightened is it received pure, and if it passes through the impure it is not
stained. Let the ministers be by all means righteous, and seek not their own glory, but His
glory whose ministers they are; let them not say, The baptism is mine; for it is not theirs.
Let them give heed unto John. Behold, John was full of the Holy Spirit; and he had his
baptism from heaven, not from men; but how long had he it? He said himself, "Prepare
ye the way for the Lord." 2 But when the Lord was known, Himself became the way;
there was no longer need for the baptism of John to prepare the way for the Lord.

16. What, however, are they accustomed to say against us?
"Behold, after John, baptism was given." For before that question was properly treated in
the Catholic Church, many erred in it, both great and good men; but because they were
members of the dove, they did not cut themselves off, and in their case that happened
which the apostle said, "If in any thing ye are otherwise minded, God shall reveal even
this unto you." 3 Whence those who separated themselves became unteachable. What
then are they wont to say? Behold, after John baptism was given; after heretical baptism
is it not to be given? because certain who had the baptism of John were commanded by
Paul to be baptized, 4 for they had not the baptism of Christ. Why then, say they, dost
thou exaggerate the merit of

1 1 Cor. iii. 6. 7. 2 John i. 23. 3 Phil. iii. 15. 4 Acts xix. 3-5.

TRACT. V.] BAPTISM ADMINISTERED AFTER JOHN. 69

John, and, as it were, underrate the misery of heretics? I also grant to you that the
heretics are wicked; but the heretics gave the baptism of Christ, which baptism John did
not give.

17. I go back to John, and say, "This is he which bap
tizeth." For John is better than a
heretic, just as John is better than a drunkard, as John is better than a murderer.
If we ought to baptize after the worse because the apostles baptized after the better,
whosoever among them were baptized by a drunkard, â€” I do not say by a murderer, I do
not say by the satellite of some wicked man, I do not say by the robber of other menâ€™s
goods, I do not say by the oppressor of orphans, or a separator of married persons; I speak
of none of these; I speak of what happens every year, of what happens every day; I speak
of what all are called to, even in this city, when it is said to them, Let us play the part of
the irrational, let us have pleasure, and on such a day as this of the calends of January we
ought not to fast: these are the things I
speak of, these trifling everyday proceedings; â€” when one is baptized by a drunkard,
who is better? John or the drunkard?
Eeply, if thou canst, that the drunkard is better than John!
This thou wilt never venture to do. Do you then, as a sober man, baptize after thy
drunkard. For if the apostles baptized after John, how much more ought the sober to
baptize after the drunkard? Or dost thou say, the drunkard is in unity with me? Was not
John then, the friend of the Bridegroom, in unity with the Bridegroom?
18. But I say to thee thyself, whoever thou art, Art thou better than John? Thou wilt not venture to say: I am better than John. Then let thine own baptize after thee if they are better. For if baptism was administered after John, blush that baptism is not administered after thee. Thou wilt say, But I have and teach the baptism of Christ. Acknowledge, then, now the Judge, and do not be a proud herald. Thou givest the baptism of Christ, therefore baptism is not administered after thee: after John it was administered, because he gave not the baptism of Christ, but his own; for he had in such manner received it that it was his own. Thou art then not better than John: but the baptism given through thee is better than that of John; for the one is Christ's, but the

70 ON THE GOSPEL OE JOHN. [TRACT. Y.

other is that of John. And that which was given by Paul, and that which was given by Peter, is Christ's; and if baptism was given by Judas it was Christ's. Judas gave baptism, and after Judas baptism was not repeated; John gave baptism, and baptism was repeated after John: because if baptism was given by Judas, it was the baptism of Christ; but that which was given by John, was John's baptism. We prefer not Judas to John; but the baptism of Christ, even when given by the hand of Judas, we prefer to the baptism of John, rightly given even by the hand of John. For it was said of the Lord before He suffered, that He baptized more than John; then it was added: u Howbeit, Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples." 1 He, and not He: He by power, they by ministry; they performed the service of baptizing, the power of baptizing remained in Christ. His disciples, then, baptized, and Judas was still among His disciples: and were those, then, whom Judas baptized not again baptized; and those whom John baptized were they again baptized ? Plainly there was a repetition, but not a repetition of the same baptism. For those whom John baptized, John baptized; those whom Judas baptized, Christ baptized. In like manner, then, they whom a drunkard baptized, those whom a murderer baptized, those whom an adulterer baptized, if it was the baptism of Christ, were baptized by Christ. I do not fear the adulterer, the drunkard, or the murderer, because I give heed unto the dove, through whom it is said to me, " This is He which baptizeth."

19. But, my brethren, it is madness to say that â€” I will not say Judas â€” but that any man was better than he of whom it was said, that " Among those that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist." 2 No servant then is preferred to him; but the baptism of the Lord, even when given through an evil servant, is preferred to the baptism even of a servant who was a friend. Listen to the sort of persons whom the Apostle Paul mentions, false brethren, preaching the word of God through envy, and what he says of them: " And I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." 3 They proclaimed Christ, through envy indeed, but still they proclaimed

1 John iv. 1. 2. 2 Matt. xi. 11. 3 Phil. i. 15-18.
Christ. Consider not the why, but the whom: through envy is Christ preached to thee. Behold Christ, avoid envy. Do not imitate the evil preacher, but imitate the Good One who is preached to thee. Christ then was preached by some out of envy. And what is envy? A shocking evil. By this evil was the devil cast down; this malignant pest it was which cast him down; and certain preachers of Christ were possessed by it, whom, nevertheless, the apostle permitted to preach. Wherefore? Because they preached Christ. But he who envies, hates; and he who hates, what is said concerning him? Listen to the Apostle John: "He who hateth his brother is a murderer." 1 Behold, after John baptism was given, after a murderer baptism was not given; because John gave his own baptism, the murderer gave the baptism of Christ. That sacrament is so sacred that not even the ministration of a murderer pollutes it.

20. I do not reject John, but rather I believe John. In what do I believe John? In that which he learned through the dove? What did he learn through the dove? "This is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Now therefore, brethren, hold this fast and impress it upon your hearts; for if I would more fully explain to-day, Wherefore through the dove? time fails. For I have, I think, to some extent made plain to you, holy brethren, that a matter which had to be learned was instilled into John by means of the dove, a matter with regard to Christ which John did not know, although he already knew Christ; but why it behoved this matter to be pointed out by means of the dove, I would say, were it possible to say it briefly: but because it would take long to say, and I am unwilling to burden you, since I have been helped by your prayers to perform my promise; with the renewed help of your pious attention and good wishes, it will likewise become clear to you, wherefore John with regard to that matter which he learned regarding the Lord, namely, that it is "He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," and that to none of His servants had he transferred the power of baptizing â€” why this it became him not to learn except through the dove.

1 1 John iii. 15.
devotion, you have come together in greater number than usual. May God, by our mouth, fulfil your expectation. For your coming together is of your love; but love of what? If of us, even that is well; for we desire to be loved by you, but not in ourselves. Because we love you in Christ, do you love us in Christ in return, and let our love mutually sigh towards God; for the note of the dove is a sighing or moaning.

2. Now if the dove's note is a moaning, as we all know it to be, and doves moan in love, hear what the apostle says, and wonder not that the Holy Ghost willed to be manifested in the form of a dove: "For what we should pray for as we ought," says he, "we know not; but the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with groanings which cannot be uttered." 1 What then, my brethren? shall we say this, that the Spirit groans where He has perfect and eternal blessedness with the Father and the Son? For the Holy Spirit is God, even as the Son of God is God, and the Father God. I have said "God" thrice, but not three Gods; for indeed it is God thrice rather than three Gods; because the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one

1 Rom. viii. 26.

TRACT. VI.] THE MOANING OF THE DOVE. 73

God: this you know full well. It is not then in Himself with Himself in that Trinity, in that blessedness, in that His eternal substance, that the Holy Spirit groans; but in us He groans because He makes us to groan. JSTor is it a little matter that the Holy Spirit teaches us to groan, for He gives us to know that we are sojourners in a foreign land, and He teaches us to sigh after our native country; and through that very longing do we groan. He with whom it is well in this world, or rather he who thinks it is well with him, who exults in the joy of carnal things, in the abundance of things temporal, in an empty felicity, has the cry of the raven; for the raven's cry is full of clamour, not of groaning. But he who knows that he is in the pressure of this mortal life, a pilgrim "absent from the Lord," * that he does not yet possess that perpetual blessedness which is promised to us, but that he has it in hope, and will have it in reality when the Lord shall come openly in glory who came before in humility concealed: he, I say, who knows this doth groan. And so long as it is for this he groans, he does well to groan; it was the Spirit that taught him to groan, he learnt it from the dove. Many indeed groan by reason of earthly misery. They are shattered, it may be, by losses, or weighed down by bodily ailment, or shut up in prisons, or bound with chains, or tossed about on the waves of the sea, or hedged in by the ensnaring devices of their enemies. Therefore do they groan, but not with the moaning of the dove, not with love of God, not in the Spirit. Accordingly, when such are delivered from these same afflictions, they exult with loud voices, whereby it is made manifest that they are ravens, not doves. It was with good reason that a raven was sent forth from the ark, and returned not again; a dove was sent forth, and it returned. These two birds Noah sent forth. 2 He had there the raven, and also the dove. That ark contained both kinds; and if the ark was a figure of the Church, you see indeed that in the present deluge of the
world, the Church must of necessity contain both kinds, as well the raven as the dove.

Who are the ravens? They who seek their own. Who are the doves?

They who seek the things that are Christ's.

3. Therefore, when He sent the Holy Spirit He manifested

1 2 Cor. v. 6. 2 Geni viii< 6? 9# 3 Pllil# n 21,

74 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. VI.

Him visibly in two ways by a clove and by fire: by a dove upon the Lord when He was baptized, by fire upon the disciples when they were gathered together. For when the Lord had ascended into heaven after His resurrection, having spent forty days with His disciples, and the day of Pentecost being fully come, He sent unto them the Holy Spirit as He had promised. Accordingly the Spirit coming at that time filled the place, and there was first a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, and " there appeared unto them," it says, " cloven tongues as of fire, and it sat upon each of them; and they began to speak with tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." 1 Here we have seen a dove descending upon the Lord; there, cloven tongues upon the assembled disciples: in the former, simplicity is shown; in the latter, fervency. Now there are who are said to be simple, who are only indolent; they are called simple, but they are only slow. Not such was Stephen, full of the Holy Ghost: he was simple, because he injured no one; he was fervent, because he reproved the ungodly. For he held not his peace before the Jews. His are those burning words:

" Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised of heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Spirit." Mighty impetuosity; but it is the dove without gall raging. For that you know that he was fierce without gall, see how, upon hearing these words, they who were the ravens immediately took up stones and rushed together upon this dove. They begin to stone Stephen; and he who a little before stormed and glowed with ardour of spirit, â€” who had, as it were, made an onset on his enemies, and like one full of violence had attacked them in such fiery and burning words as you have heard, " Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears," that any one who heard those words might fancy that Stephen, if he were allowed, would have them consumed at once, â€” but when the stones thrown from their hands reached him, with fixed knee he saith, " Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." 2 He held fast to the unity of the dove. For his Master, upon whom the dove descended, had done the same thing before him; who, while hanging on the cross, said, " Father, forgive them, for they know not what

1 Acts ii. 1, 4. 2 Acts vii. 51-59.

TRACT. VI.] WHAT THE DOVE SIGNIFIES. 75
they do." 1 Wherefore by the dove it is shown that they who are sanctified by the Spirit should be without guile; and that their simplicity should not continue cold is shown us by the fire. Nor let it trouble you that the tongues were divided; for tongues are diverse, therefore the appearance was that of cloven tongues. " Cloven tongues," it saith, " as of fire, and it sat upon each of them." There is a diversity of tongues, but the diversity of tongues does not imply schisms. Be not afraid of separation in the cloven tongues; in the dove recognise unity.

4. Hence in this manner it behoved the Holy Spirit to be manifested when coming upon the Lord, that every one might understand that if he has the Holy Spirit he ought to be simple as the dove, to have true peace with his brethren, that peace which the kisses of doves signify. Eavens have their kisses too; but in the case of the ravens it is a false peace, in that of the dove a true peace. Not every one, therefore, who says, " Peace be with you," is to be listened to as if he were a dove.

How then are the kisses of ravens distinguished from those of doves? Eavens kiss, but they tear; the nature of doves is innocent of tearing. Where consequently there is tearing, there is not true peace in the kisses. They have true peace who have not torn the Church. Eavens feed upon carrion, it is not so with the dove; it lives on the fruits of the earth, its food is innocent. This, brethren, is really worthy of admiration in the dove. Sparrows are very small birds, but yet they kill flies at least. The dove does nothing of this sort, for it does not feed on what is dead. They who have torn the Church feed on the dead. God is mighty; let us pray that they who are devoured by them, and perceive it not, may come to life again. Many acknowledge that they do come to life again, for at their coming we daily express joy with them in the name of Christ. Be ye simple, but only in such wise that ye be fervent, and let your fervour be in your tongues. Hold not your peace, speak with glowing tongues, set those that are cold on fire.

5. For why, my brethren? Who does not see what they do not? And no wonder; for they who are unwilling to return from that are just like the raven that was sent forth from the ark. For who does not see what they see not? And no wonder; for they who are unwilling to return from that are just like the raven that was sent forth.

1 Luke xxiii. 34.

76 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. VI.

from the ark. For who does not see what they see not%
They are unthankful even to the Holy Spirit Himself. See, the dove descended upon the Lord, upon the Lord when baptized: and thereupon was manifested that holy and real Trinity, which to us is one God. For the Lord went up out of the water, as we read in the Gospel: " And, lo, the heavens were opened unto Him, and He saw the Spirit descending like a dove, and it abode upon Him: and immediately a voice followed, Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." 1
The Trinity most manifestly appears: the Father in the voice, the Son in the man, the Spirit in the dove. In this Trinity let us see, as we do see, whereunto the apostles were sent forth, and what it is wonderful those men do not see. Not indeed that they really do not see, but that they really shut their eyes to that which strikes them in the very face: that
whereunto the disciples were sent forth in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by Him of whom it is said, "This is He that baptizeth:" it was said, in fact, to His ministers, by Him who has retained this authority to Himself.

6. Now this it was in Him that John saw, and came to know which he did not know. Not that he did not know Him to be the Son of God, or that he did not know Him to be the Lord, or not know Him to be the Christ; or that he did not know this too, that it was He who should baptize with water and with the Holy Ghost. This he did know but that he should do this so as to retain the authority to Himself and transfer it to none of His ministers, this is what he learnt in the dove. For by this authority, which Christ has retained to Himself alone, and conferred upon none of His ministers, though He has deigned to baptize by His ministers; by this authority, I say, stands the unity of the Church, which is figured in the dove, concerning which it is said, "My dove is one, the only one of her mother." For if, as I have already said, my brethren, the authority were transferred by the Lord to His minister, there would be as many baptisms as ministers, and the unity of baptism would no longer exist.

7. Mark, brethren; before our Lord Jesus Christ came to

1 Matt. iii. 16. 2 Cant. vi. 8.

TRACT. VI.] CHRIST GIVES VIRTUE TO BAPTISM. 77

His baptism (for it was after the baptism that the dove descended, whereby John recognised something that was peculiar to Him, since he was told, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending like a dove, and remaining on Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost"), John knew that He it was that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost; but that it should be with this peculiarity, that the authority should not pass from Him to another, notwithstanding He confers it, this is what he learnt there. And whence do we prove that John did already know that the Lord was to baptize with the Holy Ghost; so that what he must be understood to have learned by the dove is, that the Lord was to baptize with the Holy Ghost in such wise that the authority should not pass from Him to any other man? "Whence do we prove this? The dove descended after the Lord was baptized; but before the Lord came to be baptized by John in the Jordan, we have said that John knew Him, on the evidence of those words, in which he says, "Comest Thou to me to be baptized? I have need to be baptized of Thee." Well, he did know Him to be the Lord, knew Him to be the Son of God; how do we prove that he knew already that the same was He who should baptize with the Holy Ghost? Before He came to the river, whilst many people were running together to John to be baptized, he says to them, "I indeed baptize you with water; but He that cometh after me is greater than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to loose; the same shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Already he knew this also. What then did he learn from the dove, that he may not afterwards be found a liar (which God forbid we should think), if it be not this, that there was to be a certain peculiarity in Christ, such
that, although many ministers, be they righteous or unrighteous, should baptize, the virtue of baptism would be attributed to Him alone on whom the dove descended, and of whom it was said, "This is He that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost"?

Peter may baptize, but this is He that baptizeth; Paul may baptize, yet this is He that baptizeth; Judas may baptize, still this is He that baptizeth.

1 Matt. iii. 14.

8. For if the sanctity of baptism be according to the diversity of merits in them that administer it, then as merits are diverse there will be diverse baptisms; and the recipient will imagine that what he receives is so much the better, the better he appears to be from whom he received it. The saints themselves "understand brethren, they that belong to the dove, that have their part in that city of Jerusalem, the good themselves in the Church, of whom the apostle says, "The Lord knoweth them that are His" are endued with different graces, and do not all possess like merits. Some are more holy than others, some are better than others. Therefore if one receive baptism from him, for example, who is a righteous saint, another from another who is of inferior merit with God, of inferior degree, of inferior continence, of inferior life, how notwithstanding is that which they receive one, equal and like, if it be not because, "This is He that baptizeth"? Just, then, as when the good and the better administer baptism, one man does not receive a good thing, another a better; but, notwithstanding that the ministers were one good the other better, they receive what is one and equal, not a better in the one case and a worse in the other; so, too, when a bad man administers baptism, through the ignorance or forbearance of the Church (for bad men either are not known as such, or are borne with; the chaff is tolerated until the floor be fully purged at the last), that which is given is one, not unlike because the ministers are unlike, but like and equal because "This is He that baptizeth."

9. Therefore, beloved, let us see what those men desire not to see; not what they may not see, but what they grieve to see, as though it were shut against them. Whither were the disciples sent to baptize as ministers, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? Whither were they sent "Go," said He, "baptize the nations." You have heard, brethren, how that inheritance comes, "Ask of me, and I will give Thee the nations for Thine inheritance, and the utmost bounds of the earth for Thy possessions." You have heard how that "from Sion went forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." 3 For it was

1 2 Tim. ii. 19. 2 Ps. ii. 8. 3 Isa. ii. 3.
there the disciples were told, "Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." 1

We became attentive when we heard, "Go, baptize the nations." In whose name? "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This is one God; for it says not in the "names" of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, but "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Where thou hearest one name, there is one God; just as it was said of Abraham's seed, and the Apostle Paul expounds it, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed; he said not, In seeds, as in many, but as in one, and in thy seed, which is Christ." 2 Wherefore, just as the apostle wished to show thee that, because in that place it is not said "in seeds," Christ is one; so here too, when it is said, "in the name," not in the names, even as these, "in seed," not in seeds, is it proved that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God.

10. But lo, say the disciples to the Lord, we are told in what name we are to baptize; Thou hast made us ministers, and hast said to us, "Go, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Whither shall we go? Whither? Have you not heard? To Mine inheritance.

You ask, Whither shall we go? To that which I bought with my blood. Whither then? To the nations, saith He. I fancied that He said, Go, baptize the Africans in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Thanks be to God, the Lord has solved the question the dove has taught us. Thanks be to God, it was to the nations the apostles were sent; if to the nations, then to all tongues.

The Holy Spirit signified this, being divided in the tongues, united in the dove. Here the tongues are divided, there the dove unites them. The tongues of the nations agreed, perhaps that of Africa alone disagreed. What can be more evident, my brethren? In the dove the unity, in the tongues the community of the nations. For once the tongues became discordant through pride, and then of one became many tongues. For after the flood certain proud men, as if endeavouring to fortify themselves against God, as if aught were high for God, or aught could give security to pride, raised a tower, apparently that they might not be destroyed by a flood, should there come one thereafter. For they had heard and considered that all iniquity was swept away by a flood; to abstain from iniquity they would not; they sought the height of a tower as a defence against a flood; they built a lofty tower. "God saw their pride, and frustrated their purpose by causing that they should not understand one another's speech, and thus tongues became diverse through pride." * If pride caused diversities of tongues, Christ's humility has united these diversities in one. The Church is now bringing together what that tower had sundered. Of one tongue there were made many; marvel not: this was the doing of pride. Of many tongues there is made one; marvel not: this was the doing of charity. For although the

80 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VI.

high for God, or aught could give security to pride, raised a tower, apparently that they might not be destroyed by a flood, should there come one thereafter. For they had heard and considered that all iniquity was swept away by a flood; to abstain from iniquity they would not; they sought the height of a tower as a defence against a flood; they built a lofty tower. "God saw their pride, and frustrated their purpose by causing that they should not understand one another's speech, and thus tongues became diverse through pride." * If pride caused diversities of tongues, Christ's humility has united these diversities in one. The Church is now bringing together what that tower had sundered. Of one tongue there were made many; marvel not: this was the doing of pride. Of many tongues there is made one; marvel not: this was the doing of charity. For although the
sounds of tongues are various, in the heart one God is invoked, one peace preserved. How then should the Holy Spirit have been manifested when signifying a unity, if not by the dove, so that it might be said to the Church brought into a state of peace, "My dove is one"?

How ought humility to have been represented but by an innocent, sorrowing bird; not by a proud, exulting bird like the raven?

11. But perhaps they will say: Well, as it is a dove, and the dove is one, baptism there cannot be apart from the one dove. Therefore if the dove is with thee, or if thou be thyself a dove, do thou give me, when I come to thee, that which I have not. You know that this is what they say; but you will presently see that it is not of the voice of the dove, but of the clamour of the raven. For attend a little, beloved, and fear their devices; nay, beware of them, and listen to the words of gainsayers only to reject them, not to swallow them and take them into your bowels. Do therein what the Lord did when they offered Him the bitter draught, "He tasted, and spat it out;" 2 so also you hear and cast away. What indeed say they? Let us see. Lo, says he, "Thou art the dove." O Catholic Church, it is to thee it is said, "My dove is one, the only one of her mother," to thee certainly is it said. Stop, do not question me; prove first whether to me it was said; if it

1 Gen. xi. 1-9. 2 Matt, xxvii. 34.

TEACT. VI.] WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE DOVE ? 81

was said to me, I would hear it at once. "To thee/ saith he, "it was said." I answer, in the voice of the Catholic Church, "To me." And this answer, brethren, sounding forth from my mouth alone, has sounded, as I believe, also from your hearts, and we all affirmed together, yea, to the Catholic Church was it said, "One is my dove, the only one of her mother." Apart from this dove, says he further, there is no baptism: I was baptized apart from this dove, consequently have not baptism; if I have not baptism, why dost thou not give it me when I come to thee?

12. I also will put questions; let us meanwhile lay aside the inquiry as to whom this was said, "My dove is one, the only one of her mother;" â€” as yet we are inquiring; â€” it was said either to me or to thee; let us postpone the question as to whom it was said. This is what I ask, if the dove is simple, innocent, without gall, peaceful in its kisses, not fierce with its talons, I ask whether the covetous, the rapacious, the crafty, the sottish, the infamous, belong to the members of this dove? are they members of this dove? Far be the thought, says he. And who would really say this, brethren? To speak of nothing else, if I mention the rapacious alone, members of the hawk they may be, not members of the dove. Kites seize and plunder, so do hawks, so do ravens; doves do not plunder nor tear, consequently they who snatch and rob are not members of the dove. Was there not even
one rapacious person among you? Why abides the baptism, which in this case the hawk, not the dove, has given?

Why do you not among yourselves baptize after robbers, after adulterers, after drunkards? why not baptize after the avaricious among yourselves? Are these all members of the dove?

You so dishonour your dove that you make those that have the nature of the vulture her members. What, then, brethren, what say we? There are the bad and the good in the Catholic Church, but with them the bad only. But perhaps I say this with a hostile feeling: let this too be afterwards examined.

They do say, certainly, that among them are the good and the bad; for, should they assert that they have only the good, let their own credit it, and I subscribe. With us, let them say, there are none but holy, righteous, chaste, sober men no

tract. s

82 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VI.

adulterers, no usurers, no deceivers, no false swearers, no winebibbers; â€” let them say this, for I heed not their tongues, I touch their hearts. But since they are well known to us, and to you, and to their own, just as you are known both to yourselves in the Catholic Church and to them, neither let us find fault with them, nor let them flatter themselves. We confess that in the Church there are good and bad, yet as the grain and the chaff. Sometimes he who is baptized by the grain is chaff, and he who is baptized by the chaff is grain.

Otherwise, if his baptism who is baptized by the grain stands good, and his who is baptized by the chaff not, then it is not true, " This is He that baptizeth." But if it is true "This is He that baptizeth," then what is given by the chaff stands good, and he baptizeth in like manner as the dove. For the bad man (who administers baptism) is not the dove, nor belongs to the members of the dove, nor can he possibly be affirmed to be so, either with us in the Catholic Church or with them, if they assert that their Church is the dove.

What then are we to understand, brethren? Since it is evident, and known to all, and they must admit, though it be against their will, that when with them bad men give baptism, it is not given after those bad men; and with us, too, when the bad give baptism, it is not given after them. The dove does not baptize after the raven; why then would the raven baptize after the dove?

13. Consider, beloved, why also was there a something pointed out by means of the dove, as that the dove â€” namely, the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove â€” came to the Lord on being baptized, and rested upon Him, whilst by the coming of the dove John learned this, that there dwelt in the Lord a power peculiarly His own to baptize? Because it was by this power peculiar to Himself, as I have said, the peace of the Church was made secure. And yet it may be that one may have baptism apart from the dove; but that baptism apart from the dove should do him good, is impossible. Consider, beloved, and understand what I say, for by this deception they mislead such of our brethren as are dull
and cold. Let us be more simple and more fervent. See, say they, have I received, or have I not? I answer, Thou hast received. Well, if I have

TRACT. VI.] UNPROFITABLE BAPTISM. 83

received, there is nothing which thou canst give me; I am safe, even on thine own evidence. For I affirm that I have received, and thou, too, dost confess that I have received: I am safe by the confession of both: what then dost thou promise me? Why wouldst thou make me a Catholic, when thou wouldst not give me anything further, seeing thou confessest that I have already received that which thou affirmest thyself to possess? But when I say, Come to me, I say that thou dost not possess, who yet confessest that I do. Why dost thou say, Come to me?

14. The dove teaches us. From the head of the Lord she answers, and says, Thou hast baptism, but the charity with which I groan thou hast not. How is this, says he, I have baptism, and have not charity? Have I the sacraments, and not charity? Do not shout: show me how can he who divides unity have charity? I, saith he, have baptism. Thou hast; but that baptism, without charity, profits thee nothing; because without charity thou art nothing. The baptism itself, even in him who is nothing, is not nothing. Baptism, indeed, is something, aye, something great, for His sake, of whom it is said, "This is He that baptizeth." But lest thou shouldst fancy that that which is great can profit thee aught, if thou be not in unity, it was after He was baptized that the dove descended, as if intimating, If thou hast baptism, be in the dove, lest what thou hast profit thee not. Come, then, to the dove, we say; not that thou mayest begin to have what thou hadst not before, but that what thou didst have may begin to profit thee. For thou didst have baptism to destruction without; if thou shalt have it within, it begins to profit thee to salvation.

15. For not only was baptism not profitable to thee, and not also hurtful. Even holy things may be hurtful. In the good, indeed, holy things are to salvation; in the evil, to judgment. For we certainly know, brethren, what we receive, and what we receive is at any rate holy, and no one says that it is not: and what says the apostle? "But he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself," 1 Jle does not say that the thing itself is bad, but

1 1 Cor. xi. 29.

84 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VI.

that the evil man, by receiving it amiss, receives the good thing which he does receive to judgment. Was that morsel which the Lord delivered to Judas evil? God forbid. The physician would not give poison; it was health the physician gave; but by unworthily
receiving it, he who received it not being at peace, received it unto destruction. So likewise also he who is baptized. I have (baptism), says he, for myself. Thou hast it, I admit. Give good heed to what thou hast; by that very thing which thou hast thou wilt be condemned.

Wherefore? Because thou hast what belongs to the dove apart from the dove. If thou hast what is the dove's in the dove, thou art safe. Suppose thyself a soldier: if thou hast thy general's mark within the lines, thou servest in safety; but if thou hast it out of bounds, not only that mark will not be of advantage to thee for service, but thou wilt even be punished as a deserter. Come, then, come, and do not say, I have already, I have enough. Come; the dove is calling thee, calling thee by her sighing. My brethren, to you I say, call by groaning, not by quarrelling; call by praying, by invitation, by fasting; let them by your charity understand that you pity them. I doubt not, my brethren, that if they see your sorrow they will be astonished, and will come to life again.

Come, then, come; be not afraid; be afraid if thou do not come; nay, be not afraid, rather bewail thyself. Come, thou wilt rejoice if thou wilt come; thou wilt indeed groan in the tribulations of thy pilgrimage, but thou wilt rejoice in hope.

Come where the dove is, to whom it was said, "My dove is one, the only one of her mother." Seest thou not the one dove upon the head of Christ? seest thou not the tongues throughout the whole world? It is the same Spirit by the dove and by the tongues: if by the dove the same Spirit, and by the tongues the same Spirit, then was the Holy Spirit given to the whole world, from which Spirit thou hast cut thyself off, that thou mightest clamour with the raven, not that thou mightest sigh with the dove. Come, then.

16. But thou art anxious, it may be, and sayest, I was baptized without; I fear lest therefore I am guilty, in that I was baptized without. Already thou beginnest to know what thou hast to bewail. Thou sayest truly that thou art guilty,

TRACT. VI.] DONATIST BAPTISM HEAL. 85

not because of thy receiving, but because of thy receiving without. Keep then what thou hast received; amend thy receiving it without. Thou hast received what is the dove's apart from the dove. Here are two things said to thee: Thou hast received, and, Apart from the dove thou hast received.

In that thou hast received, I approve; that thou hast received without, I disapprove. Keep then what thou hast received, it is not changed, but recognised: it is the mark of my king, I will not profane it. I will correct the deserter, not change the mark.

17. Boast not of thy baptism because I call it a real baptism. Behold, I say that it is so; the whole Catholic Church says that it is so; the dove regards it, and acknowledges it, and groans because thou hast it without; she sees therein what she may acknowledge, sees also what she may correct. It is a real baptism, come. Thou boastest that it is real, and yet wilt thou not come? What then of the wicked, who do not belong to the dove? Saith the dove to thee, Even the wicked, among whom I groan, who belong not to my members,
and it must needs be that I groan among them, have not they that which thou boastest of having? Have not many drunkards baptism? Have not many covetous? Have not many idolaters, and, what is worse, who are such by stealth? Do not the pagans resort, or at least did resort, publicly to idols? And now Christians secretly seek out diviners and consult astrologers. And yet these have baptism; but the dove groans among ravens. Why then dost thou boast in the having it? This that thou hast, the wicked man also has. Have thou humility, charity, peace; have thou the good thing which as yet thou hast not, so that the good thing which thou hast may profit thee.

18. For what thou hast, even Simon Magus had: the Acts of the Apostles are witness, that canonical book which has to be read in the Church every year. You know that every year, in the season following the Lord's Passion, that book is read, wherein it is written, how the apostle was converted, and from a persecutor became a preacher; * also, how on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit was sent in cloven tongues

1 Acts ix.

86 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VI.

as of fire. I There we read that in Samaria many believed through the preaching of Philip: and he is understood to have been either one of the apostles or one of the deacons; for we read there that seven deacons were ordained, among whom is the name of Philip. Well, then, through the preaching of Philip the Samaritans believed; Samaria began to abound in believers. This Simon Magus was there. By his magical arts he had so befooled the people, that they fancied him to be the power of God. Impressed, however, by the signs which were done by Philip, he also believed; but in what manner he believed, the events that followed afterwards proved. And Simon also was baptized. The apostles, who were at Jerusalem, heard this. Peter and John were sent to those in Samaria; they found many baptized; and as none of them had as yet received the Holy Ghost, â€” in like manner as He at that time descended, so as that they on whom the Holy Spirit came should speak with tongues, for a manifest token that the nations would believe, â€” they laid their hands on them, praying for them, and they received the Holy Ghost. This Simon, â€” who was not a dove, but a raven in the Church, because he sought his own things, not the things which are Jesus Christ's; whence he loved the power which was in the Christians more than the righteousness, â€” Simon, I say, saw that the Holy Spirit was given by the laying on of the hands of the apostles (not that it was given by them, but given in answer to their prayers), and he said to them, " How much money will ye that I give you, so that by the laying on of my hands also, the Holy Ghost may be given? And Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou thoughtest that the gift of God was to be bought with money." To whom said he, " Thy money perish with thee " ? Undoubtedly to one that was baptized. Baptism he had already; but he did not cleave to the bowels of the dove. Understand that he did not; attend to the very words of the Apostle Peter, for he goes on, " Thou hast no part nor lot in this faith: for I see that thou art in the gall of bitterness." 2
The dove has no gall; Simon had, and for that reason he was separated from the bowels of the dove. What did baptism

1 Acts ii. 2 Acts viii. 5-23.

TRACT. VI.] DONATIST BAPTISM UNPROFITABLE. 87

profit him? Do not therefore boast of thy baptism, as if that were of itself enough for thy salvation. Be not angry, put away thy gall, come to the dove. Here that will profit thee, which without not only did not profit thee, but even was prejudicial to thee.

19. Neither say, I will not come, because I was baptized without. So, begin to have charity, begin to have fruit, let there be fruit found in thee, and the dove will send thee within. We find this in Scripture. The ark was made of incorruptible wood. The incorruptible timbers are the saints, the faithful that belong to Christ. For as in the temple the living stones of which it is built are said to be faithful men, so likewise the incorruptible timbers are they who persevere in the faith. In that same ark, then, the timbers were incorruptible. Now the ark is the Church; it is there the dove baptizeth; for the ark was borne on the water, the incorruptible timbers were baptized within. We find that certain timbers were baptized without, such as all the trees that were in the world. Nevertheless the water was the same, not another sort; all had come from heaven, or from abysses of the fountains. It was the same water in which the incorruptible timbers which were in the ark were baptized, and in which the timbers that were without were baptized. The dove was sent forth, and at first found no rest for its feet; it returned to the ark, for all was full of water, and it preferred to return rather than be rebaptized. But the raven was sent out before the water was dried up. Eebaptized, it desired not to return, and died in those waters. May God avert from us that raven's death. For why did not the raven return, unless because it was taken off by the waters? But on the other hand, the dove not finding rest for its feet, whilst the water was crying to it on every side, "Come, come, dip thyself here; " just as these heretics cry, "Come, come, here thou hast it; " the dove, finding no rest for its feet, returned to the ark. And Noah sent it out a second time, just as the ark sends you out to speak to them; and what did the dove afterwards? Because there were timbers without that were baptized, it brought back to the ark an olive branch. That branch had both leaves and fruit. Let there not be in thee

88 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. VI.

words only, nor leaves only; let there be fruit, and thou returnest to the ark, not of thyself, the dove calls thee back.
Groan ye without, that ye may call them back within.
20. Moreover, as to this fruit of the olive, if the matter be examined, you will find what it was. The fruit of the olive signifies charity. How do we prove this? Just as oil is kept down by no liquid, but bursting through all, bounds up and overtops them; so likewise charity cannot be pressed to the bottom, but must of necessity show itself at the top. Therefore the apostle says of it, "Yet show I unto you a more excellent way." Since we have said of oil that it overtops other liquids, in case it should not be of charity, the apostle said, "I show you a more excellent way," let us hear what follows. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." Go now, Donatus, and cry, "I am eloquent; go now, and cry, "I am learned." How far eloquent? How far learned? Hast thou spoken with the tongues of angels? Yet though thou wert to speak with the tongues of angels, not having charity, I should hear only sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. I want solidity; let me find fruit among the leaves; let there be not words merely, let them have the olive, let them return to the ark.

21. But I have the sacrament, thou wilt say. Thou sayest the truth; the sacrament is divine; thou hast baptism, and that I confess. But what says the apostle? "If I should know all mysteries, and have prophecy and all faith, so that I could remove mountains;" in case thou shouldest say this, "I believe; enough for me." But what says James? "The devils believe and tremble." Faith is mighty, but without charity it profits nothing. The devils confessed Christ. Accordingly it was from believing, but not from loving, they said, "What have we to do with Thee?" They had faith, but not charity; hence they were devils. Boast not of faith; so far thou art on a level with the devils. Say not to Christ, What have I to do with Thee? For Christ's unity speaks to thee. Come, learn peace, return to the bowels

1 Supereminentiorem. 2 Sacramenta. 3 Jas. ii. 19. 4 Mark i. 24.

TRACT. VI.] DONATIST MARTYRDOM. 89

of the dove. Thou hast been baptized without; have fruit, and thou returnest to the ark.

22. But say est thou, "Why do you seek us if we are bad men?" That you may be good. The reason why we seek you is, because you are bad; for if you were not bad, we should have found you, and would not be seeking you. He who is good is already found; he who is bad is still sought after. Consequently, we are seeking you; return ye to the ark. "But I have baptism already." "Though I should know all mysteries, and have prophecy and all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not charity, I am nothing." Let me see fruit there; let me see the olive there, and thou art called back to the ark.

23. But what sayest thou? "Behold, we suffer many evils." Would that ye suffered these for Christ, not for your own honour! Hear what follows; They, indeed, boast sometimes,
because they do many alms, give to the poor; because they suffer afflictions: but it is for Donatus, not for Christ.

Consider how thou sufferest; if thou sufferest for Donatus, it is for a proud man: thou art not in the dove if thou art suffering for Donatus. Donatus was not the friend of the Bridegroom; for had he been, he would have sought the glory of the Bridegroom, not his own. See the friend of the Bridegroom saying, "This is He that baptizeth." He, for whom thou art suffering, was not the friend of the Bridegroom.

Thou hast not the wedding garment; and if thou art come to the feast, thou wilt be put out of doors; nay, thou hast been cast out of doors already, and for that reason thou art wretched: return at length, and do not boast. Hear what the apostle says: "Though I should distribute all my goods to the poor, and give my body to be burnt, but have not charity."

See what thou dost not have. "Though," he saith, "I should give my body to be burnt; " and that, too, for the name of Christ; but since there are many who do this boastfully, not with charity, therefore, " Though I should give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." 2 It was by charity those martyrs, who suffered in time of persecution, did this; but these men do it of their vanity and pride; for

. x Sacramenta. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3.

90 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VI.

in the absence of a persecutor, they throw themselves headlong into destruction. Come, then, that thou mayest have charity. " But we have our martyrs." What martyrs? They are not doves; hence they attempted to fly, and fell over the rock.

24. You see then, my brethren, that all things cry against them, all the divine pages, all prophecy, the whole gospel, all the apostolic letters, every sigh of the dove, and yet they awake not, they do not yet rouse from their sleep. But if we are the dove, let us groan, let us persevere, let us hope; God's compassion will be with you, that the fire of the Holy Spirit may glow in your simplicity; and they will come. There must be no despairing; pray, preach, love; the Lord is able to the utmost. Already they begin to be sensible of their shame; many have become sensible of it, and blushed; Christ will aid, that the rest also may become sensible of it. However, my brethren, at least let the chaff alone remain there; let all the grain be gathered together; let whatever has borne fruit among them return to the ark by the dove.

25. Failing everywhere else, what do they now allege against us, not finding what to say? They have taken away our houses, they have taken away our estates. They bring forward wills. " See, Gaius Seius made a grant of an estate to the church over which Faustinus presided." Of what church was Faustinus bishop? What is the church? To the church over which Faustinus presided, said he. But Faustinus presided not over a church, but over a sect. The dove, however, is the Church. Why cry out? We have not devoured houses; let the dove have them. Let inquiry be made who the dove is, and let her have
them. For you know, my brethren, that those houses of theirs are not Augustine's; and if you know it not, and imagine that I delight in the possession of them, God knows, yea, knows my judgment respecting those estates, and even what I suffer in that matter; He knows my groaning, since He has deigned to impart to me somewhat of the dove. Behold, there are those estates; by what right dost thou assert thy claim to them? By divine right, or by human?

Let them answer: Divine right we have in the Scriptures, human right in the laws of kings. By what right does every man possess what he possesses? Is it not by human right?

For by divine right, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." 1 The poor and the rich, God made of one clay; the same earth supports alike the poor and the rich. By human right, however, one says, This estate is mine, this house is mine, this servant is mine. By human right, therefore, is by right of the emperors. Why so? Because God has distributed to mankind these very human rights through the emperors and kings of this world. Do you wish us to read the laws of the emperors, and to act by the estates according to these laws?

If you will have your possession by human right, let us recite the laws of the emperors; let us see whether they would have the heretics possess anything. But what is the emperor to me? thou sayest. It is by right from him that thou possessest the land. Or take away rights created by emperors, and then who will dare say, That estate is mine, or that slave is mine, or this house is mine? If, however, in order to their possessing these things, men have received rights derived from kings, will ye that we read the laws, that you may be glad in having even a single garden, and impute it to nothing but the clemency of the dove that you are permitted to remain in possession even there? For there are to be read well known laws, in which the emperors have directed that those who, being outside the communion of the Catholic Church, usurp to themselves the name of Christians, and are not willing in peace to worship the Author of peace, may not dare to possess anything in the name of the Church.

26. But what have we to do with the emperor? But I have already said that we are treating of human right. And yet the apostle would have us obey kings, would have us honour kings, and said, "Honour the king." 2 Do not say, What have I to do with the king? as in that case, what have you to do with the possession? It is by the rights derived from kings that possessions are enjoyed. Thou hast said, What have I to do with the king? Say not then that the possessions are thine; because it is to those same human rights, by which men enjoy their possessions, thou hast referred them. But it is with divine right I have to do, saith

1 Ps. xxiv. 1. 2 1 Pet. ii. 17.
lie. Well, let us read the Gospel; let us see how far extends the Catholic Church of Christ, upon whom the dove came, which taught, "This is He that baptizeth." In what way, then, can he possess by divine right, who says, "I baptize;" whilst the dove says, "This is He that baptizeth;" whilst the Scripture says, "My dove is one, the only one of her mother"? Why have you torn the dove? — nay, rather, have torn your own bowels? for while you are yourselves torn to pieces, the dove continues entire. Therefore, my brethren, if, driven from every point, they have nothing to say, I will tell them what to do; let them come to the Catholic Church, and together with us, they will have not only the earth, but Him also who made heaven and earth.

TEACTATE VI L

Chapter I. 34-51.

1. "VJSTE rejoice at your numbers, for you have come together Y T with readiness and in greater numbers than we could have hoped. This it is that delights and consoles us in all the labours and dangers of this life, your love towards God, and pious zeal, and assured hope, and fervour of spirit. You heard when the psalm was read, "that the needy and poor man cries to God in this world." 1 For it is the voice, as you have often heard, and ought to remember, not of one man, and yet of one man; not of one, because the faithful are many â€” many grains groaning amid the chaff diffused throughout the whole world â€” but of one, because all are members of Christ, and thus one body. This people, then, poor and needy, does not know to rejoice with the world: its grief is within, and its joy is within, where no one sees but He who listens to him who groans, and crowns him who hopes. The rejoicing of the world is vanity. With great expectation is it hoped for, and it cannot, when it comes, be held fast. For this day which is a day of rejoicing in this city to the lost, to-morrow will, of course, cease to be; nor will they themselves be the same to-morrow that they are to-day. And all things pass away, fly away, and vanish like smoke; and woe to those who love such things! For every soul follows what it loves. "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field: the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of the Lord abideth for ever." 2 Behold what thou must love if thou dost desire to abide for ever. But thou hadst this to reply: How can I apprehend the word of God? "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." 3

2. Wherefore, beloved, let it belong to our neediness and
poverty to grieve for those who seem to themselves to abound.  
For their joy is as that of madmen. But as a madman rejoices for the most part in his 
madness, and laughs, and grieves over him who is in his senses; so let us, beloved, if we 
have received the medicine coming from heaven, because we all were madmen, as if 
made whole, because those things which we did love we do not love, â€” let us, I say, 
groan unto God for those who are yet in madness, for He is able to save them also. And 
there is need that they should look upon themselves and be displeased with themselves: to 
 behold they desire, and to behold themselves they have not known.  
For if they for a little turn their eyes upon themselves, they see their own confusion. But 
until this take place, let our pursuits be different, let the recreations of our souls be 
different; our grief avails more than their joy. As far as regards the number of the 
brethren, it is difficult to conceive that any one of the men should have been carried away 
by that celebration; but as regards the number of the sisters, it grieves us, and this is a 
greater cause for grief, that they do not rather repair to the Church, whom if not fear, 
modesty at all events ought to deter from the public scene. May He see to this who sees 
it; and may His mercy be present to heal all. Let us who have come together feed upon 
the feast of God, and let our joy be His word. For He has invited us to His gospel, and He 
is our food, than whom nothing is sweeter, if only a man have a healthy palate in his 
heart.

3. But I imagine, beloved brethren, that you remember that this Gospel is read in order in 
suitable portions; and I think that it has not escaped you what has lately been treated of, 
specially the recent matters concerning John and the dove.  
Concerning John, namely, what new thing he learned concerning the Lord by means of 
the dove, although he had already known the Lord. And this was discovered by the 
inspiration of the Spirit of God, that John indeed already knew the Lord, but that the Lord 
Himself was to baptize, that the power of baptizing He would not transfer from Himself 
to any one, this he learned by means of the dove, because it was said to him, 
(< On whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending as a dove, and abiding upon Him, this is 
He which baptizeth with the 

TRACT. VII.] CHRIST BAPTIZES THROUGH HIS MINISTERS. 95

Holy Ghost." 1 What is " This is He"? Not another, although by means of another. But 
why by means of a dove ? Many things were said, and I am not able, nor is there need 
that I
should go over all; principally, however, to denote peace, because also the trees which were baptized outside, because the dove found in them fruit, it brought to the ark, as you remember the dove sent out by Noah from the ark, which floated on the flood and was washed by baptism, was not submerged.
When, then, it was sent forth, it brought an olive branch; but it had not leaves alone, it had also fruit. 2 This, then, we ought to wish for our brethren who are baptized outside, that they may have fruit; the dove will not permit them to remain outside, but bring them back to the ark. For the whole of fruit is charity, without which a man is nothing, whatever else he have. And this, which is most fully said by the apostle, we have mentioned and recounted. For he says,
" Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; and though I should have all knowledge, and know all mysteries, and have all prophecy, and should have all faith" (but in what sense did he say all faith ?), " so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I should distribute all my goods to the poor, and though I should give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." 3 But in no manner are they able to say that they have charity who divide unity. These things were said: let us see what follows.

4. John bare record because he saw. What record did he bear ? " That this is the Son of God." It behoved, then, that He should baptize who is God's only Son, not His adopted son. Adopted sons are the ministers of the only Son: the only Son has power; the adopted, the ministry. In the case that a minister baptizes who does not belong to the number of sons, because he lives evilly and acts evilly, what is our consolation ? " This is He which baptizeth."

5. " The next day, John stood, and two of his disciples; and looking upon Jesus as He walked, he saith, Behold the Lamb of God ! " Assuredly, in a special sense, the Lamb; for the

1 Jolm i. 33. 2 Gen. viii. 8-11. 3 1 Cor. xiii. 1-3.

96 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

disciples were also called lambs: " Behold, I send you as lambs in the midst of wolves." 1 They were also called light:
" Ye are the light of the world;" 2 but in another sense is He called so, concerning whom it was said, " That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." 3 In like manner was He called the dove in a special sense, alone without stain, without sin; not one whose sins have been washed away, but One who never had stain. For what ?
Because John said concerning the Lord, " Behold the Lamb of God," was not John himself a lamb ? Was he not a holy man ? Was he not the friend of the Bridegroom ?
Wherefore, with a special meaning, said John of Him, "This is the Lamb of God;" because solely by the blood of this Lamb alone could men be redeemed.

6. My brethren, if we acknowledge our price, that it is the blood of the Lamb, who are they who this day celebrate the festival of the blood of I know not what woman? and how ungrateful are they! The gold was snatched, they say, from the ear of a woman, and the blood ran, and the gold was placed on a pair of scales or on a balance, and the advantage was much on the side of the blood. If the blood of a woman was sufficiently weighty to outweigh the gold, what power to outweigh the world has the blood of the Lamb by whom the world was made? And, indeed, that spirit, I know not who, was pacified by the blood that he should depress the weight.

Impure spirits knew that Jesus Christ would come; they had heard of His coming from the angels, they had heard of it from the prophets, and they expected it. For if they were not expecting it, why did they exclaim, "What have we to do with Thee? art Thou come before the time to destroy us?"

We know who Thou art, the Holy One of God." 4 They expected that He would come, but they were ignorant of the time. But what have you heard in the psalm regarding Jerusalem? "For Thy servants have taken pleasure in her stones, and will pity the dust thereof. Thou shalt arise," says he, "and have mercy upon Zion: for the time is come that Thou wilt have mercy upon her." 5 When the time came

i Matt. x. 16. 2 Matt. v. 14. 3 John i. 9.

4 Mark i. 24. 6 Ps. cii. 13, 14.

TRACT. VII.] A COUNTERFEIT. 97

for God to have mercy, the Lamb came. What sort of a Lamb whom wolves fear? What sort of a Lamb is it who, when slain, slew a lion? For the devil is called a lion, going about and roaring, seeking whom he may devour. 1 By the blood of the Lamb the lion was vanquished. Behold the spectacles of Christians. And what is more: they with the eyes of the flesh behold vanity, we with the eyes of the heart behold truth.

Do not think, brethren, that our Lord God has dismissed us without spectacles; for if there are no spectacles, why have ye come together to-day? Behold, what we have said you saw, and you exclaimed: you would not have exclaimed if you had not seen. And this is a great thing to see in the whole world, the lion vanquished by the blood of the Lamb; members of Christ delivered from the teeth of the lions, and joined to the body of Christ. Therefore some spirit or other contrived the counterfeit that His image should be bought for blood, because he knew that the human race was at some time to be redeemed by the precious blood. For evil spirits counterfeit certain shadows of honour to themselves, that they may deceive those who follow Christ. So much so, my brethren, that those who seduce by means of amulets, by incantations, by the devices of the enemy, mingle the name of Christ with their incantations: because they are not now able to seduce Christians, so as to give them poison they add some honey, that by means of the sweet
the bitter may be concealed, and be drunk to ruin. So much so, that I know that the priest of that Pilleatus was sometimes in the habit of saying, Pilleatus himself also is a Christian. Why so, brethren, unless that they were not able otherwise to seduce Christians?

7. Do not, then, seek Christ elsewhere than where Christ wished Himself to be preached to you; and as He wished Himself to be preached to you, in that fashion hold Him fast, in that manner write Him on your heart. It is a wall against all the assaults, and against all the snares of the enemy. Do not fear, he does not tempt unless he has been permitted; it is certain that he does nothing unless permitted or sent. He is sent as an evil angel by a power holding him in control: he is permitted when he asks anything; and this, brethren, does not

1 1 Pet. v. 8.

TRACT. G

98 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

take place unless that the just may be tried, the unjust punished. "Why, then, dost thou fear ? Walk in the Lord thy God; be thou assured, what He does not wish thee to suffer thou dost not suffer; what He permits thee to suffer is the scourge of one correcting, not the punishment of one condemning. We are being educated for an eternal inheritance, and do we spurn to be scourged ? My brethren, if a boy were to refuse the punishment of cuffs or stripes from his father, would he not be called proud, incorrigible, ungrateful towards paternal discipline ? And for what does an earthly father educate his son ? That he may not lose the temporal things which he has acquired for him, which he has collected for him, which he does not wish him to lose, which he who leaves them cannot retain eternally. He does not teach a son with whom he is to possess, but one who is to possess after him. My brethren, if a father teaches a son who is to succeed him, and teaches him also that he will have to pass through all these things, in same way as he who is admonishing him is destined to pass through them, how do you wish that Pie educate us, our Father to whom we are not to succeed, but to whom we are to approach, and with whom we are to abide eternally in an inheritance which does not decay nor die, and which no storms can desolate ? He is Himself both the inheritance and the Father. Shall we possess Him, and ought we not to undergo training ? Let us hear the instruction of the Father. When our head aches, let us not have recourse to the superstitious intercessor, to the diviners and remedies of vanity. My brethren, shall I not mourn over you ? Daily do I find these things; and what shall I do ? Not yet have I persuaded Christians that their hope ought to be placed in God. Behold, if one dies to whom one of these remedies has been given (and how many have died with remedies, and how many have lived without them !), with what confidence does the spirit go forth to God ? He has lost the sign of Christ, and has received the sign of the devil.
Perhaps he may say that he has not lost the sign of Christ. Thou canst have, then, the sign of Christ along with the sign of the devil. Christ does not desire community of ownership, but He desires to possess alone what He has purchased. He has bought at so great a price that He may possess alone: thou

TRACT. VII. THE FIRST DISCIPLES. 99

makest Him the partner of that devil to whom thou didst sell thyself by thy sin. "Woe to the double-hearted/ 1 to those who in their hearts give part to God and part to the devil. God, being angry that the devil has part there, departs, and the devil will possess the whole. Not in vain, therefore, says the apostle, " Neither give place to the devil." 2 Let us know the Lamb, then, brethren; let us know our price.

8. " John stood, and two of his disciples." Behold two of John's disciples: since John, the friend of the Bridegroom, was such as he was, he sought not his own glory, but bore witness to the truth. Did he wish that his disciples should remain with him and not follow the Lord ? Eather he himself showed his disciples whom they should follow. For they accounted of him as though he were the lamb; and he said, À« Why do you give heed to me ? I am not the lamb; behold the Lamb of God," of whom also he had already said, Behold the Lamb of God. And what benefit does the Lamb of God confer upon us ? " Behold," he says, " who taketh away the sin of the world." The two who were with John followed Him when they heard this.

9. Let us see what follows: " Behold the Lamb of God." This John said, and the two disciples heard him speak, and followed Jesus. Then Jesus turned and saw them following, and saith unto them, " What seek ye ?" And they said, " Eabbi (that is to say, being interpreted, Master), where dwellest Thou ? " They did not follow Him in such manner as that they should cleave to Him; for it is plain when they cleave unto Him, for He called them from the ship. For one of the two was Andrew, as you have just heard, and Andrew was the brother of Peter; and we know from the Gospel that the Lord called Peter and Andrew from the ship, saying, " Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men." 3 And from that time they clave unto Him, so as not to go away. On the present occasion these two followed Him, not as those who were not again to leave Him, but to see where He dwelt, and to fulfil the Scripture: u Let thy foot wear out the threshold of His doors; arise to come to Him continually, and be instructed in His precepts." 4 He showed them where He dwelt:

1 Ecclus. ii. 12. 2 Eph. iv. 27. 3 Matt. iv. 19, 4 Ecclus. vi. 36, 37.
they came and remained with Him. What a blessed day they spent, what a blessed night! Who can make known to us those things which they heard from the Lord? Let us also build in our heart, and make a house into which He may come and teach us, and have converse with us.

10. "What seek ye?" They said unto Him, "Babbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master), where dwellest Thou? He says to them, Come and see. And they came and saw where He dwelt, and abode with Him that day: and it was about the tenth hour." Do we think that it did in no wise pertain to the evangelist to tell us what hour it was? Is it possible that he wished us to give heed to nothing in that, to inquire after nothing? It was the tenth hour. That number signifies the law, because the law was given in ten commandments. But the time had come for the law to be fulfilled by love, because it could not be fulfilled by the Jews by fear. Hence the Lord says, "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil." 1 Suitably, then, at the tenth hour did these two follow Him, at the testimony of the friend of the Bridegroom, and that He at the tenth hour heard "Babbi (which is interpreted, Master)." If at the tenth hour the Lord heard Babbi, and the tenth number pertains to the law, the master of the law is no other than the giver of the law. Let no one say that one gave the law, and that another teaches the law: for the same teaches it who gave it; He is the Master of His own law, and teaches it. And mercy is in His tongue, therefore mercifully teacheth He the law, as it is said regarding wisdom, "The law and mercy doth she carry in her tongue." 2 Do not fear that thou art not able to fulfil the law, flee to mercy. If thou canst not fulfil the law, make use of that covenant, make use of the bond, make use of the prayers which the heavenly One, skilled in the law, has ordained and composed for you.

11. For those who have a cause, and wish to supplicate the emperor, seek for some one skilled in the law, and trained in the schools, to compose their petition for them; lest perchance, if they ask in an unbecoming manner, they not only do not obtain what they seek, but get punishment instead of


TRACT. VII.] GOD SEES MAN'S HEART. 101

a benefit. When, therefore, the apostles sought to petition, and could not find how to approach the Emperor God, they said unto Christ, "Lord, teach us to pray;" that is to say, "Thou who art our skilled One in the law, our Assessor, yea, the Concessor of God, compose for us prayers." And the Lord taught them from the book of the celestial law, taught them how to pray; and in that which He taught, He laid down a certain condition: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." 1 If thou seekest not according to the law, thou becomest guilty. Dost thou not tremble before the Emperor, having become
guilty? Offer the sacrifice of humility, offer the sacrifice of mercy; pray, saying, Forgive me, for I also forgive.

But if thou sayest, do. For what wilt thou do? Whither wilt thou go if thou hast lied in thy prayers? Not as it is said in the forum, thou shalt lose the benefit of the rescript; but thou shalt not obtain a rescript. For it is the law of the forum that he who shall have lied in his petition shall derive no benefit from that which he has obtained. But this among men, because a man can be deceived: the emperor might have been deceived, when thou didst address to him thy petition; for thou saidest what thou wouldest, and he to whom thou didst speak knew not whether it was true or false; he sent thee away to thy adversary to be confuted if possible, so that if before the judge thou shouldst be convicted of falsehood (because he was not able not to grant the rescript, not knowing whether thou hadst lied), thou shouldest lose the benefit of the rescript, in the place to which thou hadst taken it. But God, who knows whether thou liest or speakest the truth, does not cause thee to lose in the judgment the benefit, but does not permit thee to obtain it, because thou hast dared to lie to the Truth.

12. What, then, wilt thou do? Tell me. To fulfil the law in every part, so as to offend in nothing, is difficult: the condition of guilt is therefore certain; wilt thou refuse to use the remedy? Behold, my brethren, what a remedy the Lord hath provided for the sicknesses of the soul! What then?

When thy head aches, we praise thee if thou placest the gospel at thy head, instead of having recourse to an amulet. For so


102 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

far has human weakness proceeded, and so lamentable is the estate of those who have recourse to amulets, that we rejoice when we see a man who is upon his bed, and tossed about with fevers and pains, placing his hope on nothing else than that the gospel lies at his head; not because it is done for this purpose, but because the gospel is preferred to amulets.

If, then, it is placed at the head to allay the pain of the head, is it not placed at the heart to heal it from sin? Let it be done then. Let what be done? Let it be placed at the heart, let the heart be healed. It is well, â€” well that thou shouldst have no further care regarding the safety of the body, than to ask it from God. If He knows that it will do thee good, He will give it thee; if He give it not to thee, it would not have profited thee to have it. How many are sick in bed, and for that reason are innocent! for if they were to recover, they would go forth to commit acts of wickedness.

To how many is health an injury! The robber who goes forth to the narrow path to slay a man, how much better for him would it have been to have been sick! And he who rises by night to dig through his neighbour's wall, how much better for him to be tossed by fever! If he were ill, he would have been comparatively innocent; being well, he is guilty of wickedness. It is known, then, to God what is expedient for us: let us make this only
our endeavour, that our hearts be whole from sins; and when it happens that we are scourged in the body, let us pray to Him for relief. The Apostle Paul besought Him that He would take away the thorn in his flesh, and He would not. Was he disturbed? Was he filled with sadness, and did he speak of himself as deserted?

Eather did he say that he was not deserted, because that was not taken away which he desired to be taken away, to the end that infirmity might be cured. For this he found in the voice of the Physician, " My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness." * Whence knowest thou, then, that God does not wish to heal thee? As yet it is expedient for thee. to be scourged. Whence knowest thou how diseased that is which the physician cuts, using his knife on the diseased parts? Does he not know the measure, what

1 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9.

TRACT. VII.] CHRIST THE ANOINTED. 103

he is to do, and how far he is do it? Does the shrieking of him he cuts restrain the hands of the physician cutting according to his art? The one cries, the other cuts. Is he cruel who does not listen to the man crying out, or is he not rather merciful in following the wound, that he may heal the sick man? These things have I said, my brethren, in order that no one seek any other aid than that of God, when we happen to be under the reproof of God. See that ye perish not; see that ye do not depart from the Lamb, and be devoured by the lion.

13. We have declared, then, why it was at the tenth hour.
Let us see what follows: " One of the two which heard John speak, and followed Him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.
He findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ." Messias, in Hebrew; Christ, in Greek; in Latin, Anointed. Xpta-fia is anointing in Greek; Christ, therefore, is the Anointed. He is peculiarly anointed, pre-eminently anointed; wherewith all Christians are anointed, He is preeminently anointed. Hear how He speaks in the psalm:
" Wherefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows." For all the holy ones are His fellows, but He in a peculiar sense is the Holy of Holies, peculiarly anointed, peculiarly Christ.

1 4. " And he brought him to Jesus; and when Jesus beheld him, He said, Thou art Simon the son of Joannes: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is, by interpretation, Peter." It is not a great thing that the Lord said whose son Peter was. What is great to the Lord? He knew all the names of His own saints, whom He predestinated before the foundation of the world; and clost thou wonder that He said to one man, Thou art the son of this man, and thou shalt be called this or that? Is it a great matter that He changed his name, and converted it from Simon to Peter? Peter is from petra, a rock; but the petra [rock] is the
Church; in the name of Peter, then, was the Church figured. And who is safe, unless he who builds upon the rock? And what saith the Lord Himself?
"He that heareth these my words, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man building his house upon a rock"

104 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

(he doth not yield to temptation). "The rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock. But he that heareth my words, and doeth them not" (now let each one of us fear and beware), "I will liken him to a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand: the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it." * What profit is it to enter the Church for him who builds upon the sand? For, by hearing and not doing, he builds indeed, but on the sand. For if he hears nothing, he builds nothing; but if he hears, he builds. But we ask, Where? For if he hears and does, he builds upon the rock; if he hears and does not, he builds upon the sand.

There are two kinds of builders, those building upon the rock, and those building upon the sand. What, then, are those who do not hear? Are they safe? Does He say that they are safe because they do not build? They are naked beneath the rains, before the winds, before the floods; when these come, they carry away those persons before they overthrow the houses. It is then the only security, both to build, and to build upon the rock. If thou wilt hear and do not, thou buildest; but thou buildest a ruin: and when temptation comes it overthrows the house, and carries away thee with the ruin. But if thou dost not hear, thou art naked; thou thyself art dragged away by those temptations. Hear, then, and do; it is the only remedy. How many, perchance, on this day, by hearing and not doing, are hurried away on the stream of this festival! For, through hearing and not doing, the flood cometh, this annual festival; the torrent is filled, it will pass away and become dry, but woe to him whom it shall carry away! Know this, then, beloved, that unless a man hears and does, he builds not upon the rock, and he does not belong to that great name which the Lord so commended. For He has called thy attention. For if Simon had been called Peter before, thou wouldest not have so clearly seen the mystery of the rock, and thou wouldest have thought that he was called so by chance, not by the providence of God; therefore God willed that he should be called first something else, that by the

1 Matt. vii. 24-27.

TRACT. VII.] NATHANAEL’ S WORDS. 105

very change of name the reality of the sacrament might be commended to our notice.
15. "And the day following He would go forth into Galilee, and finding Philip, He saith unto him, Follow me. Now he was of the city of Andrew and Peter. And Philip findeth Nathanael " (Philip who had been already called by the Lord);
" and he said unto him, We have found Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus, the son of Joseph." He was called the son of that man to whom His mother had been espoused. For that He was conceived and born while she was still a virgin, all Christians know well from the Gospel. This Philip said to Nathanael, and he added the place, " from Nazareth." And Nathanael said unto him, "æ¢From Nazareth something good can come." What is the meaning, brethren ? Not as some read; for it is likewise wont to be read, " Can any good thing come out of Nazareth ?" For the words of Philip follow, who says, " Come and see." But the words of Philip can suitably follow both readings, whether you read it thus, as confirming, " From Nazareth something good can come," to which Philip replies, " Come and see; " or whether as doubting, and making the whole a question, " Can any good thing come out of Nazareth ? Come and see." Since then, whether read in this manner or in that, the words following are not incompatible, it is for us to inquire which of the two interpretations we shall adopt.

16. What sort of a man this Nathanael was, we prove by the words which follow. Hear what sort of a man he was; the Lord Himself bears testimony. Great is the Lord, known by the testimony of John; blessed Nathanael, known by the testimony of the truth. Because the Lord, although He had not been commended by the testimony of John, Himself to Himself bore testimony, because the truth is sufficient for its own testimony. But because men were not able to receive the truth, they sought the truth by means of a lamp, and therefore John was sent to show them the Lord. Hear the Lord bearing testimony to Nathanael: " Nathanael said unto him, Can any good thing come out of Nazareth ? Philip says to him, Come and see. And Jesus sees Nathanael coming to Him, and says concerning him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile."

106 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

Great testimony ! Not of Andrew, nor of Peter, nor of Philip was that said which was said of Nathanael, " Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile."

1 7. "What do we then, brethren ? Ought this man to be the first among the apostles ? Not only is Nathanael not found as first among the apostles, but he is neither the middle nor the last among the twelve, although the Son of God bore such testimony to him, saying, " Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile." Is the reason asked for ? In so far as the Lord intimates, we find a probable reason. For we ought to understand that Nathanael was learned and skilled in the law; and for that reason was the Lord unwilling to place him among His disciples, because He chose unlearned persons, that He might by them confound the world. Listen to the apostle speaking these things: " For ye see," saith he, " your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the weak things of the world to
confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things that are
despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, as though they were things that are,
to bring to nought things that are.” 1 If a learned man had been chosen, perhaps he would have said that he was chosen for the reason that his learning made him worthy of choice. Our Lord Jesus Christ, wishing to break the necks of the proud, did not seek the orator by means of the fisherman, but by the fisherman He gained the emperor. Great was Cyprian as an orator, but before him was Peter the fisherman, by means of whom not only the orator, but also the emperor, should believe. No noble was chosen in the first place, no learned man, because God chose the weak things of the world that He might confound the strong. This man, then, was great and without guile, and for this reason only was not chosen, lest the Lord should seem to any to have chosen the learned. And from this same learning in the law, it came that when he heard " from Nazareth," â€” for he had searched the Scripture, and knew that the Saviour was to be expected thence, what the other scribes and Pharisees had difficulty in knowing, â€” this man,
1 1 Cor. i. 20-28.

TBAOT. VII.] NO GUILE IN NATHANAEI. 107

then, very learned in the law, when he heard Philip saying,
" We have found Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph; " â€” this man, who knew the Scriptures excellently well, when he heard the name "Nazareth," was filled with hope, and said,
" From Nazareth something good can come."

18. Let us now see the rest concerning this man. " Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is
no guile," What is " in whom is no guile " ? Perhaps he had no sin ? Perhaps he was not sick ? Perhaps he did not need a physician ? God forbid. No one is born here in such fashion as not to need that Physician. What, then, is the meaning of the words, " in whom is no guile " ? Let us search a little more intently â€” it will appear presently â€” in the name of the Lord. The Lord says- dolus [guile]; and every one who understands Latin knows that dolus is when one thing is done and another feigned. Give heed, beloved. Dolus (guile) is not dolor (pain). I say this because many brethren, not well skilled in Latin, so speak as to Dolus torments him, using it for dolor. Dolus is fraud, it is deceit. When a man conceals one thing in his heart, and speaks another, it is guile, and he has, as it were, two hearts; he has, as it were, one recess of his heart where he sees the truth, and another recess where he conceives falsehood.
And that you may know that this is guile, it is said in the Psalms, " Lips of guile." What are " lips of guile " ? It follows, " In a heart and in a heart have they spoken evil." * What is " in a heart and in a heart," unless in a double heart ?
If, then, guile was not in Nathanael, the Physician judged him to be curable, not whole. A whole man is one thing, a curable another, an incurable a third: he who is sick, but not hopelessly sick, is called curable; he who is sick hopelessly, incurable; but he who is
already whole does not need a physician. The Physician, then, who had come to cure, saw that he was curable, because there was no guile in him. How was guile not in him, if he is a sinner? He confesses that he is a sinner. For if he is a sinner, and says that he is a just man, there is guile in his mouth. Therefore in Nathanael He praised the confession of sin, He did not judge that he was not a sinner.

eed, mse say,

1 Ps. xi. 3.

108 OX THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

19. Wherefore, when the Pharisees, who seemed righteous to themselves, blamed the Lord, because, as physician, he mixed with the sick, and when they said, " Behold with whom he eats, with publicans and sinners," the Physician replied to the madmen, " They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." 1 That is to say, because you call yourselves righteous when you are sinners, because you judge yourselves to be whole when you are languishing, you put away from you the medicine, and do not hold fast health. Hence that Pharisee who had asked the Lord to dinner, was whole in his own eyes; but that sick woman rushed into the house to which she had not been invited, and, made impudent by the desire of health, approached not the head of the Lord, nor the hands, but the feet; washed them with tears, wiped them with her hair, kissed them, anointed them with ointment, â€” made peace, sinner as she was, with the footprints of the Lord. The Pharisee who sat at meat there, as though whole himself, blamed the Physician, and said within himself, " This man, if he were a prophet, would have known what woman touched his feet." He suspected that He knew not, because He did not repulse her to prevent His being touched with unclean hands; but He did know, He permitted Himself to be touched, that the touch itself might heal. The Lord, seeing the heart of the Pharisee, put forth a parable:

" There was a certain creditor, which had two debtors; the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty; and when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Which of them loved him most? " He answered, " I suppose, Lord, he to whom he forgave most." And turning to the woman, He said unto Simon, "Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head: thou gavest me no kiss; she hath not ceased to kiss my feet: thou gavest me no oil; she hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore, I say unto thee, to her are forgiven many sins, for she loved much; but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little." 2 That is to say, thou art more sick, but thou thinkest thyself whole; thou thinkest that little is
forgiven thee when thou owest more. Well did she, because guile was not in her, deserve medicine. What means, guile was not in her? She confessed her sins. This He also praises in Nathanael, that guile was not in him; for many Pharisees who abounded in sins said that they were righteous, and brought guile with them, which made it impossible for them to be healed.

20. Jesus then saw this man in whom was no guile, and said, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." Nathanael saith unto Him, "Whence knowest Thou me?" Jesus answered and said, "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig (that is, under the fig-tree), I saw thee." Nathanael answered and said unto Him, "Eabbi, Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel." Some great thing Nathanael may have understood in the saying, "When thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee, before that Philip called thee;" for his words, "Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel," were not dissimilar to those of Peter so long afterwards, when the Lord said unto him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." And there He named the rock, and praised the strength of the Church's support in this faith. Here already Nathanael says, "Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel." Wherefore? Because it was said to him, "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee."

21. We must inquire whether this fig-tree signifies anything. Listen, my brethren. We find the fig-tree cursed because it had leaves only, and not fruit. 1 In the beginning of the human race, when Adam and Eve had sinned, they made themselves girdles of fig leaves. 2 Fig leaves then signify sins. Nathanael then was under the fig-tree, as it were under the shadow of death. The Lord saw him, he concerning whom it was said, "They that sat under the shadow of death, unto them hath light arisen." 3 What then was said to Nathanael? Thou sayest to me, Nathanael, "Whence knowest thou me?" Even now thou speakest to me, because Philip called thee. He whom an apostle had already called, He perceived to belong to His Church. thou Church, thou Israel, in whom is no guile! if thou art the people, Israel, in whom is no guile, thou hast even now known Christ by His apostles, as

Nathanael knew Christ by Philip. But His compassion beheld thee before thou knewest Him, when thou wert lying under sin. For did we first seek Christ, and not He seek us? Did we come sick to the Physician, and not the Physician to the sick? Was not that sheep lost, and did not the shepherd, leaving the ninety and nine in the wilderness, seek and find it, and joyfully carry it back on his shoulders? Was not that piece of money lost, and the woman lighted the lamp, and searched in the whole house until she found it? And when she had found it, "Kejoice with me," she said to her neighbours, "for I have found the piece of money which I lost." * In like manner were we lost as the sheep, lost as the piece of money; and our Shepherd found the sheep, but sought the sheep; the woman found the piece of money, but sought the piece of money. What is the woman? The flesh of Christ. What is the lamp? "I have prepared a lamp for my Christ." * Therefore were we sought that we might be found; having been found, we speak. Let us not be proud, for before we were found we were lost, if we had not been sought. Let them then not say to us whom we love, and whom we desire to gain to the peace of the Catholic Church," What do you wish with us? Why seek you us if we are sinners? " We seek you for this reason, that you perish not: we seek you because we were sought; we wish to find you because we have been found.

22. When, then, Nathanael had said, "Whence knowest Thou me?" the Lord said to him, " Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee." thou Israel without guile, whosoever thou art; people living by faith, before I called thee by my apostles, when thou wast under the shadow of death, and thou sawest not me, I saw thee. The Lord then says to him, " Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig-tree, thou believest: thou shalt see a greater thing than these." What is this, thou shalt see a greater thing than these? And He saith unto him, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye shall see heaven open, and angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man." Brethren, this is something greater than " under the fig-tree I saw thee." For it is more that the Lord justified us when called than that He saw us lying under the shadow of death. For what profit would it have been to us if we had remained where He saw us? Should we not be lying there? What is this greater thing? When have we seen angels ascending and descending upon the Son of man?

23. Already on a former occasion I have spoken of these ascending and descending angels; but lest you should have forgotten, I shall speak of the matter briefly by way of recalling it to your recollection. I should use more words if I
were introducing, not recalling the subject. Jacob saw a ladder in a dream; and on a ladder he saw angels ascending and descending: and he anointed the stone which he had placed at his head. 1 You have heard that the Messias is Christus; you have heard that Christus is the Anointed. For Jacob did not place the stone, the anointed stone, that he might come and adore it: otherwise that would have been idolatry, not a pointing out of Christ. What was done was a pointing out of Christ, so far as it behoved such a pointing out to be made, and it was Christ that was pointed out. A stone was anointed, but not for an idol. A stone anointed; why a stone?
"Behold, I lay in Zion a stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded." 2 Why anointed?
Because Christus comes from chrisma. But what saw he then on the ladder? Ascending and descending angels. So it is the Church, brethren: the angels of God are good preachers, preaching Christ; this is the meaning of, they ascend and descend upon the Son of man. How do they ascend, and how do they descend? In one case we have an example; listen to the Apostle Paul. What we find in him, let us believe regarding the other preachers of the truth. Behold Paul ascending: "I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago was caught up into the third heaven (whether in the body, or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth), and that he heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." 3 You have heard him ascending, hear him descending: "I

1 Gen. xxviii. 12-18. 2 Isa. xxviii. 16: 1 Pet. ii. 6. 3 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

112 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VII.

could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal; as babes in Christ I have fed you with milk, not with meat." 1 Behold he descended who had ascended. Ask whether he ascended to the third heaven. Ask whether he descended to give milk to babes. Hear that he descended: "I became a babe in the midst of you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children." 2 For we see both nurses and mothers descend to babes, and although they be able to speak Latin, they shorten the words, shake their tongues in a certain manner, in order to frame childish endearments from a methodical lamma^e; because if they speak according to rule, the infant does not understand nor profit. And if there be a father well skilled in speaking, and such an orator that the forum resounds with his eloquence, and the judgment-seats shake, if he have a little son, on his return home he puts aside the forensic eloquence to which he had ascended, and in child's language descends to his little one. Hear in one place the apostle himself ascending and descending in the same sentence: "For whether," says he, "we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause." 3 What is "we are beside ourselves "? That we see those things which it is not lawful for a man to speak. What is u we are sober for your cause ? Have I judged myself to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified ? " If the Lord Himself ascended and descended, it is evident that His preachers ascend by imitation, descend by preaching.
24. And if we have detained you somewhat longer than is our wont, the design was that the dangerous hours might pass:
we imagine that those people have now brought their vanity to a close. But let us, brethren, having fed upon the feasts of salvation, do what remains, that we may in a religious manner fill up the Lord's day with spiritual joys, and compare the joys of verity with the joys of vanity; and if we are horrified, let us grieve; if we grieve, let us pray; if we pray, may we be heard; if we are heard, we gain them also.

1 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2. 2 1 Tkess. ii. 7. 3 2 Cor. v. 13.

TEACTATE VIII.
Chapter II. 1-4.

1. npHE miracle indeed of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby He JL made the water into wine, is not marvellous to those who know that it was God's doing. For He who made wine on that day at the marriage feast, in those six water-pots, which He commanded to be filled with water, the self-same does this every year in vines. For even as that which the servants put into the water-pots was turned into wine by the doing of the Lord, so in like manner also is what the clouds pour forth changed into wine by the doing of the same Lord.
But we do not wonder at the latter, because it happens every year: it has lost its marvellousness by its constant recurrence.
And yet it suggests a greater consideration than that which was done in the water-pots.
For who is there that considers the works of God, whereby this whole world is governed and regulated, who is not amazed and overwhelmed with miracles?
If he considers the vigorous power of a single grain of any seed whatever, it is a mighty thing, it inspires him with awe.
But since men, intent on a different matter, have lost the consideration of the works of God, by which they should daily praise Him as the Creator; God has, as it were, reserved to Himself the doing of certain extraordinary actions, that, by striking them with wonder, He might rouse men as from sleep to worship Him. A dead man has risen again; men marvel:
so many are bom daily, and none marvels. If we reflect more considerately, it is a matter of greater wonder for one to be who was not before, than for one who was to come to life again. Yet the same God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, doeth by His word all these things; and it is He who created that governs, also. The former miracles He did by His Word, God with Himself; the latter miracles He did by teact. H

114 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VIII.
the same Word incarnate, and for us made man. As we wonder at the things which were
done by the man Jesus, so let us wonder at the things which were done by Jesus God. By
Jesus God were made heaven, and earth, and the sea, all the garniture of heaven, the
abounding riches of the earth, and the fruitfulness of the sea; all these things which
lie within the reach of our eyes were made by Jesus God. And we look at these things,
and if His own spirit is in us they in such manner please us, that we praise Him that
contrived them; not in such manner that turning ourselves to the works we turn away
from the Maker, and, in a manner, turning our face to the things made and our backs to
Him that made them.

2. And these things indeed we see; they lie before our eyes.
But what of those we do not see, as angels, virtues, powers, dominions, and every
inhabitant of this fabric which is above the heavens, and beyond the reach of our eyes ?
Yet angels, too, when necessary, often showed themselves to men. Has not God made all
these too by His Word, that is, by His only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ ? What of the
human soul itself, which is not seen, and yet by its works shown in the flesh excites great
admiration in those that duly reflect* on them, all by whom was it made, unless by God ? And through whom was it made, unless through the Son of God ? Not to speak as yet of the soul of man: the soul of any brute whatever,
see how it regulates the huge body, puts forth the senses, the eyes to see, the ears to hear,
the nostrils to smell, the taste to discern flavours, the members, in short, to execute
their respective functions ! Is it the body, not the soul, namely the inhabitant of the body,
that doeth these things ? The soul is not apparent to the eyes, nevertheless it excites
admiration by these its actions. Direct now thy consideration to the soul of man, on which
God has bestowed understanding to know its Creator, to discern and distinguish between
good and evil, that is, between right and wrong: see how many things it does through the
body ! Observe this whole world arranged in the same human commonwealth, with what
administrations, with what orderly degrees of authority, with what conditions of
citizenship, with what laws, manners, arts ! The whole of this is brought about by the
soul, and yet this power of the soul is not visible.

TRACT. VIII.] MANHOOD ASSUMED BY THE DIVINE. 115

When withdrawn from the body, the latter is a mere carcase:
first, it in a manner preserves it from rottenness. For all flesh is corruptible, and falls off
into putridity unless preserved by the soul as by a kind of seasoning. But the human soul
has this quality in common with the soul of the brute; those qualities rather are to be
admired which I have stated, such as belong to the mind and intellect, wherein also it is
renewed after the image of its Creator, after whose image man was formed. 1 What will
this power of the soul be when this body shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal
shall have put on immortality ? 2 If such is its power, acting through corruptible flesh,
what shall be its power through a spiritual body, after the resurrection of the dead ? Yet
this soul, as I
have said, of admirable nature and substance, is a thing invisible, intellectual; this soul also was made by God Jesus, for He is the Word of God. " All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made."

3. When we see, therefore, such deeds wrought by Jesus God, why should we wonder at water being turned into wine by the man Jesus ? For He was not made man in such manner that He lost His being God. Man was added to Him, God not lost to Him. This miracle was wrought by the same who made all those things. Let us not therefore wonder that God did it, but love Him because He did it in our midst, and for the purpose of our restoration. For He gives us certain intimations by the very circumstances of the case. I suppose that it was not without cause He came to the marriage. The miracle apart, there lies something mysterious and sacramental in the very fact. Let us knock, that He may open to us, and fill us with the invisible wine: for we were water, and He made us wine, made us wise; for He gave us the wisdom of His faith, whilst before we were foolish. And it appertains, it may be, to this wisdom, together with the honour of God, and with the praise of His majesty, and with the charity of His most powerful mercy, to understand what was done in this miracle.

4. The Lord, on being invited, came to the marriage. What wonder if He came to that house to a marriage, having come

1 Col. iii. 10. 2 1 Cor. xv. 54.

116 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VIII.

into this world to a marriage ? For, indeed, if He came not to a marriage, He has not here a bride. But what says the apostle ? "I have espoused you to one husband, to present you a chaste virgin to Christ." Why does he fear lest the virginity of Christ's bride should be corrupted by the subtlety of the devil ? "I fear," saith he, " lest as the serpent beguiled Eve by his subtlety, so also your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and chastity which is in Christ." 1 Thus has He here a bride whom He has redeemed by His blood, and to whom He has given the Holy Spirit as a pledge. He has freed her from the bondage of the devil: He died for her sins, and is risen again for her justification. 2 Who will make such offerings to his bride ? Men may offer to a bride every sort of earthly ornament, â€” gold, silver, precious stones, houses, slaves, estates, farms, â€” but will any give his own blood ? For if one should give his own blood to his bride, he would not live to take her for his wife. But the Lord, dying without fear, gave His own blood for her, whom rising again He was to have, whom He had already united to Himself in the Virgin's womb. For the Word was the Bridegroom, and human flesh the bride; and both one, the Son of God, the same also being Son of man. The womb of the Virgin Mary, in which He became head of the Church, was His bridal chamber; thence He came forth, as a bridegroom from his chamber, as the Scripture foretold, " And rejoiced as a giant to run his way." 3 From His chamber He came forth as a bridegroom; and being invited, came to the marriage.
5. It is because of an indubitable mystery that He appears not to acknowledge His mother, from whom as the Bridegroom He came forth, when He says to her, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come." What is this? Did He come to the marriage for the purpose of teaching men to treat their mothers with contempt? Surely he to whose marriage He had come was taking a wife with the view of having children, and surely he wished to be honoured by those children he would beget; had Jesus then come to the marriage in order to dishonour His mother, when marriages are celebrated and wives married with the view of having children,

i 2 Cor. xi. 3. 2 Rom. iv. 25. 3 Ps. xix. 5.

TKACT. VIII.] HIS MOTHER NOT DISOWNED. 117

whom God commands to honour their parents? Beyond all doubt, brethren, there is some mystery lurking here. It is really a matter of such importance that some, â€” of whom the apostle, as we have mentioned before, has forewarned us to be on our guard, saying, "I fear, lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve by his subtility, so also your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and chastity which is in Christ," â€” taking away from the credibility of the gospel, and asserting that Jesus was not born of the Virgin Mary, used to endeavour to draw from this place an argument in support of their error, so far as to say, How could she be His mother, to whom He said, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" Therefore we must answer them, and show them why the Lord said this, lest in their insanity they appear to themselves to have discovered something contrary to wholesome belief, whereby the chastity of the virgin bride may be corrupted, that is, whereby the faith of the Church may be injured. For in very deed, brethren, their faith is corrupted who prefer a lie to the truth. For these men, who appear to honour Christ in such wise as to deny that He had flesh, do nothing short of proclaiming Him a liar. Now they who build up a lie in men, what do they but drive the truth out of them? They let in the devil, they drive Christ out; they let in an adulterer, shut out the bridegroom, being evidently paranymphs, or rather, the panderers of the serpent. For it is for this object they speak, that the serpent may possess, and Christ be shut out. How doth the serpent possess? When a lie possesses. When falsehood possesses, then the serpent possesses; when truth possesses, then Christ possesses. For Himself has said, "I am the truth;" * but of that other He said, "He stood not in the truth, because the truth is not him." 2 And Christ is the truth in such wise that thou shouldst receive the whole to be true in Him. The true Word, God equal with the Father, true soul, true flesh, true man, true God, true nativity, true passion, true death, true resurrection. If thou say that any of these is false, rottenness enters, the worms of falsehood are bred of the poison of the serpent, and nothing sound will remain.

1 John xiv. 6. * John viii. 44.
6. What, then, is this, saith one, which the Lord saith,
" Woman, what have I to do with thee ? " Perhaps the Lord shows us in the sequel why
He said this: " Mine hour,"
saith He, "is not yet come." For thus is how He saith,
" Woman, what have I to do with thee ? mine hour is not yet come." And we must seek to
know why this was said.
But first let us therefrom withstand the heretics. What says the old serpent, of old the
hissing instiller of poison ?
What saith he ? That Jesus had not a woman for His mother. Whence provest thou that ?
From this, saith he, because Jesus said, " Woman, what have I to do with thee ? "
Who has related this, that we should believe that Jesus said it? Who has related it? None
other than John the evangelist. But the same John the evangelist said, "And the mother of
Jesus was there." For this is how he has told us: " The next day there was a marriage in
Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there. And having been invited to the
marriage, Jesus had come thither with His disciples."
We have here two sayings uttered by the evangelist. " The mother of Jesus was there," said the evangelist; and it is the same evangelist that has told us what Jesus said to His mother. And see, brethren, how he has told us that Jesus answered His mother, having said first, " His mother said unto Him, " in order that you may keep the virginity of your
heart secure against the tongue of the serpent. Here we are told in the same Gospel, the
record of the same evangelist, " The mother of Jesus was there," and "His mother said
unto Him." Who related this ? John the evangelist. And what said Jesus in answer to His
mother ? " Woman, what have I to do with thee ? " Who relates this ? The very same
Evangelist John. most faithful and truth-speaking evangelist, thou tellest me that Jesus
said, " Woman, what have I to do with thee ? " why hast thou added His mother, whom
He does not acknowledge ? For thou hast said that " the mother of Jesus was there," and
that " His mother said unto Him; " why didst thou not rather say, Mary was there, and
Mary said unto Him ? Thou tellest us these two facts, " His mother said unto Him," and, "
Jesus answered her, Woman, what have I to do with thee ? " Why doest thou this, if it

TUACT. VIII.] HIS MOTHER NOT DISOWNED. Iff)

be not because both are true ? Now, those men are willing to believe the evangelist in the
one case, when he tells us that Jesus said to His mother, " Woman, what have I to do with
thee ? " and yet they will not believe him in the other* when he says, " The mother of Jesus was there," and " His mother said unto Him." But
who is he that resisteth the serpent and holds fast the truth, whose virginity of heart is not
corrupted by the subtility of the devil ? He who believes both to be true, namely, that the
mother of Jesus was there, and that Jesus made that answer to His mother. But if he does
not as yet understand in what manner Jesus said,
"Woman, what have I to do with thee?" let him meanwhile believe that He said it, and said it, moreover, to His mother.
Let him first have the piety to believe, and he will then have fruit in understanding.

7. I ask you, faithful Christians, Was the mother of Jesus there? Answer ye, She was. Whence know you? Answer, The Gospel says it. What answer made Jesus to His mother? Answer ye, "Woman, what have I do with thee? mine hour is not yet come." And whence know you this? Answer, The Gospel says it. Let no man corrupt this your faith, if you desire to preserve a chaste virginity for the Bridegroom. But if it be asked of you, why He made this answer to His mother, let him declare who understands; but he who does not as yet understand, let him most firmly believe that Jesus made this answer, and made it moreover to His mother. By this piety he will learn to understand also why Jesus answered thus, if by praying he knock at the door of truth, and do not approach it with wrangling. Only this much, while he fancies himself to know, or is ashamed because he does not know, why Jesus answered thus, let him beware lest he be constrained to believe either that the evangelist lied when he said, "The mother of Jesus was there," or that Jesus Himself suffered for our sins by a counterfeit death, and for our justification showed counterfeit scars; and that He spoke falsely in saying, "If ye continue in my word, ye are my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." 1 For if He had a false mother,

1 John viii. 31.

120 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VIII.

false flesh, false death, false wounds in His death, false scars in His resurrection, then it will not be the truth, but rather falsehood, that shall make free those that believe on Him. Eay, on the contrary, let falsehood yield to truth, and let all be confounded who would have themselves be accounted truthspeaking, because they endeavour to prove Christ a deceiver, and will not have it said to them, We do not believe you because you lie, when they affirm that truth itself has lied.
Nevertheless, if we ask them, Whence know you that Christ said, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" they answer that they believe the Gospel. Then why do they not believe the Gospel when it sa}^s, "The mother of Jesus was there," and, w His mother said unto Him? Or if the Gospel lies here, how are we to believe it there, that Jesus said this, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" Why do not those miserable men rather faithfully believe that the Lord did so answer, not to a stranger, but to His mother; and also piously seek to know why He did so answer? There is a great difference between him who says, I would know why Christ made this answer to His mother, and him who says, T know that it was not to His mother that Christ made this answer. It is one thing to be willing to understand what is shut up, another thing to be unwilling to believe what is open. He who says, I would know why Christ thus made answer to His mother, wishes the Gospel, in which he believes, opened up to him; but he who says, I know that it was
not to His mother that Christ made this answer, accuses of falsehood the very Gospel, wherein he believed that Christ did so answer.

8. Now then, if it seem good, brethren, those men being repulsed, and ever wandering in their own blindness, unless in humility they be healed, let us inquire why our Lord answered His mother in such a manner. He was in an extraordinary manner begotten of the Father without a mother, born of a mother without a father; without a mother He was God, without a father He was man; without a mother before all time, without a father in the end of times. What He said was said in answer to His mother, for "the mother of Jesus was there," and "His mother said unto Him." All this the Gospel says. It is there we learn that "the mother of Jesus was there," just where we learn that He said unto her, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come." Let us believe the whole; and what we do not yet understand, let us search out. And first take care, lest perhaps, as the Manichseans found occasion for their falsehood, because the Lord said, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" the astrologers in like manner may find occasion for their deception, in that He said, "Mine hour is not yet come." If it was in the sense of the astrologers He said this, we have committed a sacrilege in burning their books. But if we have acted rightly, as was done in the times of the apostles, 1 it was not according to their notion that the Lord said, "Mine hour is not yet come."

For, say those vain-talkers and deceived seducers, thou seest that Christ was under fate, as He says, "Mine hour is not yet come." To whom then must we make answer first—^â€”to the heretics or to the astrologers? For both come of the serpent, and desire to corrupt the Church's virginity of heart, which she holds in undefiled faith. Let us first reply to those whom we proposed, to whom, indeed, we have already replied in great measure. But lest they should think that we have not what to say of the words which the Lord uttered in answer to His mother, we prepare you further against them; for I suppose what has already been said is sufficient for their refutation.

9. Why, then, said the Son to the mother, "Woman, what have I to with thee? mine hour is not yet come"? Our Lord Jesus Christ was both God and man. According as He was God, He had not a mother; according as He was man, He had. She was the mother, then, of His flesh, of His humanity, of the weakness which for our sakes He took upon Him. But the miracle which He was about to do, He was about to do according to His divine nature, not according to His weakness; according to that wherein He was God, not according to that wherein He was born weak. But the weakness of God is stronger than men. 2 His mother then demanded a miracle of Him; but He, about to perform divine works, so far did not recognise a human womb; saying in effect, " That in me which works a miracle was not born of

1 Acts xix. 19. s i cor. i. 25.
thee, thou gavest not birth to my divine nature; but because my weakness was born of thee, I will recognise thee at the time when that same weakness shall hang upon the cross."

This, indeed, is the meaning of " Mine hour is not yet come."

For then it was that He recognised, who, in truth, always did know. He knew His mother in predestination, even before He was born of her; even before, as God, He created her of whom, as man, He was to be created, He knew her as His mother: but at a certain hour in a mystery He did not recognise her; and at a certain hour which had not yet come, again in a mystery, He does recognise her. For then did He recognise her, when that to which she gave birth was a-dying.

That by which Mary was made did not die, but that which was made of Mary; not the eternity of the divine nature, but the weakness of the flesh, was dying. He made that answer therefore, making a distinction in the faith of believers, between the who, and the hoio, He came. For while He was God and the Lord of heaven and earth, He came by a mother who was a woman. In that He was Lord of the world, Lord of heaven and earth, He was, of course, the Lord of Mary also; but in that wherein it is said, " Made of a woman, made under the law," He was Mary's son. The same both the Lord of Mary and the son of Mary; the same both the Creator of Mary and created from Mary. Marvel not that He was both son and Lord. For just as He is called the son of Mary, so likewise is He called the son of David; and son of David because son of Mary. Hear the apostle openly declaring,

" Who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." 1

Hear Him also declared the Lord of David; let David himself declare this: " The Lord said to my Lord, Sit Thou on my right hand." 2 And this passage Jesus Himself brought forward to the Jews, and refuted them from it. 3 How then was He both David's son and David's Lord? David's son according to the flesh, David's Lord according to His divinity; so also Mary's son after the flesh, and Mary's Lord after His majesty. Now as she was not the mother of His divine nature, whilst it was by His divinity the miracle she asked for would be wrought, therefore He answered her, " Woman, what have I to do with

1 Rom. i. 3. 2 Ps. ex. 1. 3 Matt. xxii. 45.

TRACT. VIII.] THE ASTROLOGERS REFUTED. 123

thee? " But think not that I deny thee to be my mother:

" Mine hour is not yet come; " for in that hour I will acknowledge thee, when the weakness of which thou art the mother comes to hang on the cross. Let us prove the truth of this.
When the Lord suffered, the same evangelist tells us, who knew the mother of the Lord, and who has given us to know about her in this marriage feast, â€” the same, I say, tells us,
" There was there near the cross the mother of Jesus; and Jesus saith to His mother, Woman, behold thy son! and to the disciple, Behold thy mother! " * He commends His mother to the care of the disciple; commends His mother, as about to die before her, and to rise again before her death.
The man commends her a human being to man's care. This humanity had Mary given birth to. That hour had now come, the hour of which He had then said, " Mine hour is not yet come."

10. In my opinion, brethren, we have answered the heretics. Let us now answer the astrologers. And how do they attempt to prove that Jesus was under fate? Because, say they, Himself said, " Mine hour is not yet come." Therefore we believe Him; and if He had said, " I have no hour," He would have excluded the astrologers: but behold, say they, He said, " Mine hour is not yet come." If then He had said, "I have no hour," the astrologers would have been shut out, and would have no ground for their slander; but now that He said, " Mine hour is not yet come," how can we contradict His own words?
'Tis wonderful that the astrologers, by believing Christ's words, endeavour to convince Christians that Christ lived under an hour of fate. Well, let them believe Christ when He saith,
" I have power to lay down my life and to take it up again:
no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself, and I take it again." 2 Is this power then under fate? Let them show us a man who has it in his power when to die, how long to live: this they can never do. Let them, therefore, believe God when He says, " I have power to lay down my life, and to take it up again;" and let them inquire why it was said,
" Mine hour is not yet come;" and let them not, because of these words, be imposing fate on the Maker of heaven, the
1 John xix. 25, 27. 2 John x. 18.

124 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. VIII.

Creator and Euler of the stars. For even if fate were from the stars, the Maker of the stars could not be subject to their destiny. Moreover, not only Christ had not what thou callest fate, but not even hast thou, or I, or he there, or any human being whatsoever.

11. Nevertheless, being deceived, they deceive others, and propound fallacies to men. They lay snares to catch men, and that, too, in the open streets. They who spread nets to catch wild beasts even do it in woods and desert places: how miserably vain are men, for catching whom the net is spread in the forum! When men sell themselves to men, they receive money; but these give money in order to sell themselves to vanities.
For they go in to an astrologer to buy themselves masters, such as the astrologer is pleased to give them: be it Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, or any other named profanity. The man went in free, that having given his money he might come out a slave. Nay, rather, had he been free he would not have gone in; but he entered whither his master Error and his mistress Avarice dragged him. Whence also the truth says, "Every one that doeth sin is the slave of sin." 1

12. Why then did He say, "Mine hour is not yet come"? Eather because, having it in His power when to die, He did not yet see it fit to use that power. Just as we, brethren, say, for example, "Now is the appointed hour for us to go out to celebrate the sacraments." If we go out before it is necessary, do we not act perversely and absurdly? And because we act only at the proper time, do we therefore in this action regard fate when we so express ourselves? What means then, "Mine hour is not yet come"? When I know that it is the fitting time for me to suffer, when my suffering will be profitable, then I will willingly suffer. That hour is not yet: that thou mayest preserve both, this, "Mine hour is not yet come;" and that, "I have power to lay down my life, and power to take it again." He had come, then, having it in His power when to die. And surely it would not have been right were He to die before He had chosen disciples. Had he been a man who had not his hour in his own power, he might have died before he had chosen disciples; and if

1 John viii. 34.

TRACT. VIII.] CHRIST'S TIME IN HIS OWN POWER. 125

haply he had died when his disciples were now chosen and instructed, it would be something conferred on him, not his own doing. But, on the contrary, He who had come having in His power when to go, when to return, how far to advance, and for whom the regions of the grave were open, not only when dying but when rising again; He, I say, in order to show us His Church's hope of immortality, showed in the head what it behaved the members to expect. For He who has risen again in the head will also rise again in all His members. The hour then had not yet come, the fit time was not yet. Disciples had to be called, the kingdom of heaven to be proclaimed, the Lord's divinity to be shown forth in miracles, and His humanity in His very sympathy with mortal men. For He who hungered because He was man, fed so many thousands with five loaves because He was God; He who slept because He was man, commanded the winds and the waves because He was God. All these things had first to be set forth, that the evangelists might have whereof to write, that there might be what should be preached to the Church. But when He had done as much as He judged to be sufficient, then His hour came, not of necessity, but of will, â€” not of condition, but of power.
1 3. What then, brethren? Because we have replied to these and those, shall we say nothing as to what the water-pots signify? what the water turned into wine? what the master of the feast? what the bridegroom? what in mystery the mother of Jesus? what the marriage itself? We must speak of all these, but we must not burden you. I would have preached to you in Christ's name yesterday also, when the usual sermon was due to you, my beloved, but I was hindered by certain necessities. If you please then, holy brethren, let us defer until to-morrow what pertains to the hidden meaning of this translation, and not burden both your and our own weakness.

There are many of you, perhaps, who have to-day come together on account of the solemnity of the day, not to hear the sermon. Let those who come to-morrow come to hear, so that we may not defraud those who are eager to learn, nor burden those who are fastidious.

TEACTATE IX.

Chapter II. 1-11.

1. "I TAT the Lord our God be present, that He may grant jJIL ns to render yon what we promised. For yesterday, if you remember, holy brethren, when the shortness of the time prevented us from completing the sermon we had begun, we put off until to-day the unfolding, by God's assistance, of those things which are mystically put in hidden meanings in this fact of the Gospel lesson. We need not, therefore, now stay any longer to commend the miracle of God. For He is the same God who, throughout the whole creation, worketh miracles every day, which become lightly esteemed by men, not because of the ease with which they are wrought, but by reason of their constant recurrence. Those uncommon works, however, which were done by the same Lordâ€”that is, by the Word for us made fleshâ€”occasioned greater astonishment to men, not because they are greater than those which He daily performs in the creation, but because these which happen every day are accomplished as it were in the course of nature; but the others appear exhibited to the eyes of men, wrought by the efficacy of a power, as it were, immediately present. We said, as you remember, one dead man rose again, people were amazed, whilst no man wonders at the birth every day of those who were not in being. In like manner, who does not wonder at water turned into wine, although God is doing this every year in vines? But since all the works which the Lord Jesus did, serve not only to rouse our hearts by their miraculous character, but also to edify our hearts in the doctrine of faith, it behoves us thoroughly to examine into the meaning and significance of those works. For the consideration of the meaning of all these things we deferred, as you remember, till to-day.

126

TRACT. IX.] MARRIAGE IS GOD'S INSTITUTION. 127
2. The Lord, in that He came to the marriage to which He was invited, wished, apart from the mystical signification, to assure us that marriage was His own institution. For there were to be those of whom the apostle spoke, "forbidding to marry," 1 and asserting that marriage was an evil, and of the devil's institution: notwithstanding the same Lord declares in the Gospel, on being asked whether it be lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause, that it is not lawful save for the cause of fornication. In His answer, if you remember, He said, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder." 2 And they that are well instructed in the catholic faith know that God instituted marriage; and as the union of man and wife is from God, so divorce is from the devil. But in the case of fornication it is lawful for a man to put away his wife, because she first chose to be no longer wife in not preserving conjugal fidelity to her husband. Nor are those women who vow virginity to God, although they hold a higher place of honour and sanctity in the Church, without marriage. For they too, together with the whole Church, attain to a marriage, a marriage in which Christ is the Bridegroom. And for this cause, therefore, did the Lord, on being invited, come to the marriage, to confirm conjugal chastity, and to show forth the sacrament of marriage. For the bridegroom in that marriage, to whom it was said, "Thou hast kept the good wine until now," represented the person of the Lord. For the good wine â€” namely, the gospel â€” Christ has kept until now.

3. For now let us begin to uncover the hidden meanings of the mysteries, so far as He in whose name we made you the promise may enable us. In the ancient times there was prophecy, and no times were left without the dispensation of prophecy. But the prophecy, since Christ was not understood therein, was water. For in water wine is in some manner latent. The apostle tells us what we are to understand by this water: "Even unto this day," saith he, "whilst Moses is read, that same veil is upon their heart; that it is not unveiled because it is done away in Christ. And when thou shalt have passed over," saith he, "to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." By the veil he means the covering over of prophecy,

1 1 Tim. iv. 3. * Matt. xix. 6. 3 2 Cor. iii. 14-16.

128 OX THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IX.

so that it was not understood. When thou hast passed over to the Lord, the veil is taken away; so likewise is tastelessness taken away when thou hast past over to the Lord; and what was water now becomes wine to thee. Ead all the prophetic books; and if Christ be not understood therein, what canst thou find so insipid and silly? Understand Christ in them, and what thou readest not only has a taste, but even inebriates thee; transporting the mind from the body, so that forgetting the things that are past, thou reachest forth to the things that are before. 1
4. Wherefore, prophecy from ancient times, even from the time when the series of human births began to run onwards, was not silent concerning Christ; but the import of the prophecy was concealed therein, for as yet it was water. Whence do we prove that in all former times, until the age in which the Lord came, prophecy did not fail concerning Him? From the Lord's own saying. For when He had risen from the dead, He found His disciples doubting concerning Himself whom they had followed. For they saw that He was dead, and they had no hope that He would rise again; all their hope was gone. On what ground was the thief, after receiving praise, deemed worthy to be that same day in Paradise?

Because when bound on the cross he confessed Christ, whilst the disciples doubted concerning Him. Well, He found them wavering, and in a manner reproving themselves because they had looked for redemption in Him. Yet they sorrowed for Him as cut off without fault, for they knew Him to be innocent. And this is what the disciples themselves said, after His resurrection, when He had found certain of them in the way, sorrowful, "Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days? And He said unto them, What things? And they said, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet mighty in deeds and words before God and all the people: how our priests and rulers delivered Him to be condemned to death, and bound Him to the cross. But we trusted that it was He who should have redeemed Israel; and to-day is now the third day since these things were done." After one of the

1 Phil. iii. 13.

TRACT. IX.] PROPHECY UNVEILED. 129

two whom He found in the way going to a neighbouring village had spoken these and other words, Jesus answered and said, "O irrational, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered all these things, and to enter into His glory? And beginning from Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." And likewise, in another place, when He would even have His disciples touch Him with their hands, that they might believe that He had risen in the body, He saith, "These are the words which I have spoken unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me. Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, that Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."

5. When these words of the Gospel are understood, and they are certainly clear, all the mysteries which are latent in this miracle of the Lord will be laid open. Observe what He says, that it behoved the things to be fulfilled in Christ that were written of Him. Where were they written? "In the law," saith He, "and in the prophets, and in the Psalms."
He omitted no part of the Old Scriptures. These were water; and hence the disciples were called irrational by the Lord, because as yet they tasted to them as water, not as wine.

And how did He make of the water wine? When He opened their understanding, and expounded to them the Scriptures, beginning from Moses, through all the prophets; with which being now inebriated, they said, "Did not our hearts burn within us in the way, when He opened to us the Scriptures?"

For they understood Christ in those books in which they knew Him not before. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ changed the water into wine, and that has now taste which before had not, that now inebriates which before did not. For if He had commanded the water to be poured out of the water-pots, and so Himself had put in the wine from the secret repositories of

TRACT. I

130 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IX.

the creature, whence He made bread when He satisfied so many thousands; for five loaves were not in themselves sufficient to satisfy five thousand men, nor even to fill twelve baskets, but the omnipotence of the Lord was, as it were, a fountain of bread; so likewise He might, on the water being poured out, have poured in wine: but had He done this, He would appear to have rejected the Old Scriptures. When, however, He turns the water itself into wine, He shows us that the Old Scripture also is from Himself, for at His own command were the water-pots filled. It is from the Lord, indeed, that the Old Scripture also is; but it has no taste unless Christ is understood therein.

6. But observe what Himself saith, "The things which were written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." And we know that the law extends from the time of which we have record, that is, from the beginning of the world: "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." I Thence down to the time in which we are now living are six ages, this being the sixth, as you have often heard and know. The first age is reckoned from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to Abraham; and, as Matthew the evangelist duly follows and distinguishes, the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the carrying away into Babylon; the fifth, from the carrying away into Babylon to John the Baptist; 2 the sixth, from John the Baptist to the end of the world. Moreover, God made man after His own image on the sixth day, because in this sixth age is manifested the renewing of our mind through the gospel, after the image of Him who created us; 3 and the water is turned into wine, that we may taste of Christ, now manifested in the law and the prophets. Hence "there were there six water-pots," which He bade be filled with water.

Now the six water-pots signify the six ages, which were not without prophecy. And those six periods, divided and separated as it were by joints, would be as empty vessels unless they were filled by Christ. Why did I say, the periods which would run fruitlessly on, unless the Lord Jesus were preached in them? Prophecies are fulfilled, the water-pots are full;
but that the water may be turned into wine, Christ must be understood in that whole prophecy.

7. But what means this: "They contained two or three metretse apiece"? This phrase certainly conveys to us a mysterious meaning. For by "metretse" he means certain measures, as if he should say jars, flasks, or something of that sort. Metreta is the name of a measure, and takes its name from the word "measure." For merpov is the Greek word for measure, whence the word "metretse" is derived. "They contained," then, "two or three metretse apiece." What are we to say, brethren? If He had simply said "three apiece," our mind would at once have run to the mystery of the Trinity.

And, perhaps, we ought not at once to reject this application of the meaning, because He said, "two or three apiece;" for when the Father and Son are named, the Holy Spirit must necessarily be understood. For the Holy Spirit is not that of the Father only, nor of the Son only, but the Spirit of the Father and of the Son. For it is written, "If any man love the world, the Spirit of the Father is not in him." 1 And again, "Whoso hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of His." 2

The same, then, is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son.
Therefore, the Father and the Son being named, the Holy Spirit also is understood, because He is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son. And when there is mention of the Father and Son, "two metretse," as it were, are mentioned; but since the Holy Spirit is understood in them, "three metretse." That is the reason why it is not said, "Some containing two metretse apiece, others three apiece;" but the same six water-pots contained "two or three metretse apiece."

It is as if he had said, When I say two apiece, I would have the Spirit of the Father and of the Son to be understood together with them; and when I say three apiece, I declare the same Trinity more plainly.

8. Wherefore, whoso names the Father and the Son ought thereby to understand the mutual charity of the Father and Son, which is the Holy Spirit. And perhaps the Scriptures on being examined (I do not say that I am able to show you this to-day, or as if another proof cannot be found), áê” never-

1 1 John ii. 15. 2 Rom. viii. 9.

theless, the Scriptures, perhaps, on being searched, do show us that the Holy Spirit is charity. And do not count charity a thing cheap. How, indeed, can it be cheap, when all
things that are said to be not cheap are called dear (chara)? Therefore, if what is not cheap is dear, what is dearer than dearness itself (charitas)? The apostle so commends charity to us that he says, "I show unto you a more excellent way. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

And though I know all mysteries and all knowledge, and have prophecy and all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I distribute all my goods to the poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." * How great, then, is charity, which, if wanting, in vain have we all things else; if present, rightly have we all things! Yet the Apostle Paul, setting forth the praise of charity with copiousness and fulness, has said less of it than did the Apostle John in brief, whose Gospel this is. For he has not hesitated to say, "God is love." It is also written, "Because the charity of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given us." 2 Who, then, can name the Father and the Son without thereby understanding the charity of the Father and Son?

Which when one begins to have, he will have the Holy Spirit; which if one has not, he will not have the Holy Spirit. And just as thy body, if it be without spirit, namely thy soul, is dead; so likewise thy soul, if it be without the Holy Spirit, that is, without charity, will be reckoned dead. Therefore "The water-pots contained two metretse apiece," because the Father and the Son are proclaimed in the prophecy of all the periods; but the Holy Spirit is there also, and therefore it is added, "or three apiece." "I and the Father," saith He, "are one." 3 But far be it from us to suppose that where we are told, "I and the Father are one," the Holy Spirit is not there. Yet since he named the Father and the Son, let the water-pots contain "two metretse apiece;" but attend to this, "or three apiece." "Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." So, therefore, when

\ 1 Cor. xiii. 1-3. 2 Rom. v. 5. 3 John x. 30.

TRACT. IX.] MYSTERY OF THE WATER-POTS. 133

it says "two apiece," the Trinity is not expressed but understood; but when it says, "or three," the Trinity is expressed also.

9. But there is also another meaning that must not be passed over, and which I will declare: let every man choose which he likes best. We keep not back what is suggested to us. For it is the Lord's table, and the minister ought not to defraud the guests, especially when they hunger as you now do, so that your longing is manifest. Prophecy, which is dispensed from the ancient times, has for its object the salvation of all nations. True, Moses was sent to the people of Israel alone, and to that people alone was the law given by him; and the prophets, too, were of that people, and the very distribution of times was marked out according to the same people; whence also the water-pots are said to be "according to the purification of the Jews;" nevertheless, that the prophecy was proclaimed to all other nations also is manifest, forasmuch as Christ was concealed in him in whom
all nations are blessed, as it was promised to Abraham by the Lord, saying, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." * But this was not as yet understood, for as yet the water was not turned into wine. The prophecy therefore was dispensed to all nations. But that this may appear more agreeably, let us, so far as our time permits, mention certain facts respecting the several ages, as represented respectively by the water-pots.

10. In the very beginning, Adam and Eve were the parents of all nations, not of the Jews only; and whatever was represented in Adam concerning Christ, undoubtedly concerned all nations, whose salvation is in Christ. What better can I say of the water of the first water-pot than what the apostle says of Adam and Eve? For no man will say that I misunderstand the meaning when I produce, not my own, but the apostle's. How great a mystery, then, concerning Christ does that of which the apostle makes mention contain, when he says, "And the two shall be in one flesh: this is a great mystery!" 2 And lest any man should understand that greatness of mystery to exist in the case of the individual men that have wives, he says, "But I speak concerning Christ

1 Gen. xxii. 18. 2 Enh. iii. 31.

134 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IX.

and the Church." What great mystery is this, "the two shall be one flesh"? Whilst Scripture, in the Book of Genesis, was speaking of Adam and Eve, it came to these words,

"Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh." 1

Now, if Christ cleave to the Church, so that the two should be one flesh, in what manner did He leave His Father and His mother? He left His Father in this sense, that when He was in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking to Him the form of a servant. 2 In this sense He left His Father, not that He forsook or departed from His Father, but that He did not appear unto men in that form in which He was equal with the Father. But how did He leave His mother? By leaving the synagogue of the Jews, of which, after the flesh, He was born, and by cleaving to the Church which He has gathered out of all nations. Thus the first water-pot then held a prophecy of Christ; but so long as these things of which I speak were not preached among the peoples, the prophecy was water, it was not yet changed into wine. And since the Lord has enlightened us through the apostle, to show us what we were in search of, by this one sentence, "The two shall be one flesh; a great mystery concerning Christ and the Church;" we are now permitted to seek Christ everywhere, and to drink wine from all the water-pots. Adam sleeps, that Eve may be formed; Christ dies, that the Church may be formed. When Adam sleeps, Eve is formed from his side; when Christ is dead, the spear pierces His side, that the mysteries may flow forth whereby the Church is formed. Is it not evident to every man that in those things then done, things to come were
foreshadowed, since the apostle says that Adam himself was the figure of Him that was to come?

"Who is," saith he, "the figure of Him that was to come." 3

All was mystically prefigured. For, in reality, God could have taken the rib from Adam when he was awake, and formed the woman. Or was it, haply, necessary for him to sleep lest he should feel pain in his side when the rib was taken away? Who is there that sleeps so soundly that his

1 Gen. ii. 24. Â£ Phil ii. 6. s R om . v> U .

TRACT. IX.] MYSTERY OF THE WATER-POTS. 135

bones may be torn from him without his awaking? Or was it because it was God that tore it out, that the man did not feel it? Well, He who could take it from him without pain when he was asleep, could do it also when he was awake.

But, without doubt, the first water-pot was being filled, there was a dispensation of the prophecy of that time concerning this which was to be.

11. Christ was represented also in Noah, and in that ark of the whole world. For why were all kinds of animals shut in, in the ark, but to signify all nations? For God could again create every kind of animals. When as yet they were not, did He not say, "Let the earth bring forth," and the earth brought forth? From the same source He could make anew, whence He then made; by a word He made, by a word He could make again: were it not that He was setting before us a mystery, and filling up the second water-pot of prophetical dispensation, that the world might by the wood be delivered in a figure; because the life of the world was to be nailed on wood.

12. Now, in the third water-pot, to Abraham, as I have mentioned before, it was said, "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." And who does not see whose figure Abraham's only son was, he who bore the wood for the sacrifice of himself, to that place whither he was being led to be offered up?

For the Lord bore his own cross, as the Gospel tells us. This will be enough to say concerning the third water-pot.

13. But as to David, why do I say that his prophecy extends to all nations, when we have just heard the psalm

(and it is difficult to mention a psalm in which the same is not sounded forth)? But certainly, as I have said, we have been just singing, "Arise, God, judge the earth; for Thou shalt inherit among all nations." 1 And this is why the Donatists are as men cast forth from the marriage: just as the man who had not a wedding garment was invited, and came, but was cast forth from the number of the guests because he had not the garment to the glory of the bridegroom; for he who seeks his own glory, not Christ's, has not the wedding garment: for they refuse to agree with him who was the
1 Ps. lxxxii. 8.

136 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IX.

friend of the Bridegroom, and says, " This is He that baptizeth." And deservedly was that which he was not made, by way of rebuke, an objection to him who had not the wedding garment, "Friend, how art thou come hither?" 1 And just as he was speechless, so also are these. For what can tongue-clatter avail when the heart is mute ? For they know that inwardly, and with their own selves, they have not anything to say. Within, they are mute; without, they make a din. But whether they will or no, they hear this sung even among themselves, " Arise, God, judge the earth; for Thou shalt inherit among the nations:" and by not communicating with all nations, what do they but acknowledge themselves to be disinherited ?

14. Now what I said, brethren, that prophecy extends to all nations (for I wish to show you another meaning in the expression, " Containing two or three metretae apiece "), â€” that prophecy, I say, extends to all nations, is pointed out, as we have just now reminded you, in Adam, " who is the figure of Him that was to come." Who does not know that from him all nations are sprung; and that in the four letters of his name the four quarters of the globe, by their Greek appellations, are indicated? For if the east, west, north, and south are expressed in Greek even as Holy Scripture mentions them in various places, the initial letters of the words, > V j thou wilt find, make the word Adam: for in Greek the four I quarters of the world are called Anatole, Dysis, Arktos, Mesembria. If thou write these four words, one under the other, like four verses, the capital letters form the word Adam. The same is represented in Noah, by reason of the ark, in which were all animals, significant of all nations: the same in Abraham, to whom it was said more clearly, " In thy seed shall all nations be blessed:" the same in David, from whose psalms, to omit other expressions, we have just been singing, " Arise, O God, judge the earth; for Thou shalt inherit among all nations." Now to what God is it said " Arise," but to Him who slept ? " Arise, God, judge the earth." As if it were said, Thou hast been asleep, having been judged by the earth; arise, to judge the earth. And whither does that prophecy extend, "For Thou shalt inherit among all nations " ?

15. Moreover, in the fifth age, in the fifth water-pot as it were, Daniel saw a stone that had been cut from a mountain without hands, and had broken all the kingdoms of the
earth; and he saw the stone grow and become a great mountain, so as to fill the whole
face of the earth. 1 What can be plainer, my brethren? The stone is cut from a mountain:
the same is the stone which the builders rejected, and is become the head of the corner. 2
From what mountain is it cut, if not from the kingdom of the Jews, of which our Lord
Jesus Christ was born according to the flesh? And it is cut without hands, without human
exertion; because Christ sprung from a virgin, without a husband’s embrace. The
mountain from which it was cut had not filled the whole face of the earth; for the
kingdom of the Jews did not possess all nations. But, on the other hand, the kingdom of
Christ we see occupying the whole world.

16. To the sixth age belongs John the Baptist, than whom none greater has arisen among
those born of women; of whom it was said, that he was "greater than a prophet." 3 And
how did John show that Christ was sent to all nations? When the Jews came to him to be
baptized, that they might not pride themselves on the name of Abraham, he said to them,
"generation of vipers, who has proclaimed to you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring
forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance; " that is, be humble; for he was speaking to
proud people. But whereof were they proud? Of their descent according to the flesh, not
of the fruit of imitating their father Abraham. What said he to them? " Say not, We have
Abraham for our father: for God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham."
4 Meaning by stones all nations, not on account of their durable strength, as in the case of
that stone which the builders rejected, but on account of their stupidity and their foolish
insensibility, because they had become like the things which they were accustomed to
worship: for they worshipped senseless images, themselves equally senseless. " They that
make them are like them, and

1 Dan. ii. 34. a Ps. cxviii. 22. 3 Matt. xi. 11. 4 Matt. iii. 9.

138 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. IX.

so are all they that trust in them." 1 Accordingly, when men begin to worship God, what
do they hear said to them? " That ye may be the children of your Father who is in
heaven; who maketh His sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain on the
just and on the unjust." 2 Wherefore, if a man becomes like that which he worships, what
is meant by " God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham "? Let us ask
ourselves and we shall see that it is a fact. For of those nations are we come, but we
should not have come of them had not God of the stones raised up children unto
Abraham. We are made children of Abraham by imitating his faith, not by being born of
his flesh. For just as they by their degeneracy have been disinherited, so have we by
imitating been adopted. Therefore, brethren, this prophecy also of the sixth water-pot
extended to all nations; and hence it was said concerning all, " containing two or three metretae apiece."

17. But how do we show that all nations belong to the " two or three metretae apiece "? It was a matter of reckoning, in some measure, that he should say the same water-pots contained " two apiece," which he had said contained " three apiece;" evidently in order to intimate to us a mystery therein. How are there " two metretae apiece "? Circumcision and uncircumcision. Scripture mentions these two classes of people, and leaves out no kind of men, when it says, " Circumcision and uncircumcision;" 3 in these two appellations thou hast all nations: they are the two metretae apiece. In these two walls, meeting from different quarters, " Christ became the corner-stone, in order to make peace in Himself." 4 Let us show also the " three metretae apiece " in the case of these same all nations. Noah had three sons, through whom the human race was restored. Hence the Lord says, " The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened." 5
What is this woman, but the flesh of the Lord? What is the leaven, but the gospel? What the three measures, but all nations, on account of the three sons of Noah? Therefore

1 Ps. cxv. 8. 2 Matt. v. 45. 3 Col. iii. 11.

TRACT. IX.] MYSTERY OF THE WATER-POTS. 139

the " six water-pots containing two or three metretae apiece " are six periods of time, containing the prophecy relating to all nations, whether as represented in two sorts of men, namely, Jews and Greeks, as the apostle often mentions them;* or in three sorts, on account of the three sons of Noah. For the prophecy was represented as reaching unto all nations. And because of that reaching it is called a measure, 2 even as the apostle says, " We have received a measure for reaching unto you." 3 For in preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, he says, " A measure for reaching unto you."

1 Rom. ii. 9; 1 Cor. i. 24, etc. 2 Metreta. 3 2 Cor. x. 13.

TEACTATE X.

Chapter II. 12-21.

1. TN the psalm you have heard the groaning of the poor, JL whose members endure tribulations over the whole earth, even unto the end of the world. Make it your chief
business, my brethren, to be among and of these members: for all tribulation is to pass away. " Woe to them that rejoice!" 1 "Blessed," says the Truth, "are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." God has become man: what shall man be, for whom God is become man? Let this hope comfort us in every tribulation and temptation of this life. For the enemy does not cease to persecute; and when he does not openly rage, he plots in secret. How does he plot? "And for wrath, they worked deceitfully." 2 Thence is he called a lion and a dragon. But what is said to Christ? "Thou shalt tread on the lion and the dragon." Lion, for open rage; dragon, for hidden treachery. The dragon cast Adam out of Paradise; as a lion, the same persecuted the Church, as Peter says: "For your adversary, the devil, goeth about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." 3 Let it not seem to you as if the devil had lost his ferocity. When he blandly flatters, then is he the more vigilantly to be guarded against.

But amid all these treacherous devices and temptations of his, what shall we do but that which we have heard in the psalm:
"And I, when they were troublesome to me, clothed me in sackcloth, and humbled my soul in fasting." 4 There is one that heareth prayer, hesitate not to pray; but He that heareth abideth within. You need not direct your eyes towards some mountain; you need not raise your face to the stars, or to the sun, or to the moon; nor must you suppose that you are heard when you pray beside the sea: rather

1 Luke vi. 25. 2 Ps. xxxv. 20. 3 1 Pet. v. 8. 4 Ps. xxxv. 13.

TRACT. X.] WHO ARE CHRIST'S BRETHREN. 141

detest such prayers. Only cleanse the chamber of thy heart; wheresoever thou art, wherever thou prayest, He that hears is within, within in the secret place, which the psalmist calls his bosom, when he says, "And my prayer shall be turned in my own bosom," * He that heareth thee is not beyond thee; thou hast not to travel far, nor to lift thyself up, so as to reach Him as it were with thy hands. Eather, if thou lift thyself up, thou shalt fall; if thou humble thyself, He will draw near thee. Our Lord God is here, the Word of God, the Word made flesh, the Son of the Father, the Son of God, the Son of man; the lofty One to make us, the humble to make us anew, walking among men, bearing the human, concealing the divine.

2. "He went down," as the evangelist says, "to Capernaum, He, and His mother, and His brethren, and His disciples; and they continued there not many days." Behold He has a mother, and brethren, and disciples: whence He has a mother, thence brethren. For our Scripture is wont to call them brethren, not only that are sprung from the same man and woman, or from the same mother, or from the same father, though by different mothers; or, in truth, that are of the same degree as cousins by the father's or mother's side: not these alone is our Scripture wont to call brethren. The Scripture must be understood as it speaks. It has its own language; one who does not know this language is perplexed and
says, Whence had the Lord brethren ? For surely Mary did not give birth a second time ?
God forbid: with her begins the dignity of virgins. She could be a mother, but a woman
known of man she could not be. She is spoken of as mulier [which usually signifies a
wife], but only in reference to her sex, not as implying loss of virgin purity: and this
follows from the language of Scripture itself. For Eve, too, immediately she was formed
from the side of her husband, and as yet not known of her husband, is, as you know,
called mulier: "And he made her a woman [mulier]." Then, whence the brethren ? The
kinsmen of Mary, of whatever degree, are the brethren of the Lord. How do we prove this
?
From Scripture itself. Lot is called " Abraham's brother;" 2 he was his brother's son.
Read, and thou wilt find that Abra-
1 Ps. xxxv. 13. 2 Gen- xiii# 8 xiv# Ut

142 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. X.

liam was Lot's uncle on the father's side, and yet they are called brethren. Why, but
because they were kinsmen ?
Laban the Syrian was Jacob's uncle by the mother's side, for he was the brother of
Eebecca, Isaac's wife and Jacob's mother. 1 Eead the Scripture, and thou wilt find that
uncle and sister's son are called brothers. 2 When thou hast known this rule, thou wilt
find that all the blood relations of Mary are the brethren of Christ.

3. But rather were those disciples brethren; for even those kinsmen would not be brethren
were they not disciples: and to no advantage brethren, if they did not recognised their
brother as their master. For in a certain place, when He was informed that His mother and
His brethren were standing without, at the time He was speaking to His disciples, He
said: " Who is my mother ? or who are my brethren ? And stretching out His hand over
His disciples, He said, These are my brethren:" and, "Whosoever shall do the will of my
Father, the same is my mother, and brother, and sister." 3
Therefore also Mary, because she did the will of the Father.
What the Lord magnified in her was, that she did the will of the Father, not that flesh
gave birth to flesh. Give good heed, beloved. Moreover, when the Lord was regarded
with admiration by the multitude, while doing signs and wonders, and showing forth
what lay concealed under the flesh, certain admiring souls said: " Happy is the womb that
bare Thee:
and He said, Yea, rather, happy are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." 4 That is
to say, even my mother, whom ye have called happy, is happy in that she keeps the word
of God: not because in her the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us; but because she
keeps that same word of God by which she was made, and which in her was made flesh.
Let not men rejoice in temporal offspring, but let them exult if in spirit they are joined to
God. We have spoken these things on account of that which the evangelist says, that He
dwelt in Capernaum a few days, with His mother, and His brethren, and His disciples.
4. What follows upon this? "And the Jews' passover was at hand; and He went up to Jerusalem." The narrator
1 Gen. xxviii. 5. 2 Gen. xxix. 12-15. 3 Matt. xii. 46-50. 4 Luke xi. 27.

TRACT. X.] CHRIST CLEARING THE TEMPLE. 143

relates another matter, as it came to his recollection. "And He found in the temple those that sold oxen, and sheep, and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and when He had made, as it were, a scourge of small cords, He drove them all out of the temple; the oxen likewise, and the sheep: and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables and said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence and make not my Father's house a house of merchandise.'

What have we heard, brethren? See, that temple was still a figure, and yet the Lord cast out of it all that sought their own, all who had come to market. And what did they sell there? Things which people needed in the sacrifices of that time. For you know, beloved, that sacrifices were given to that people, in consideration of the carnal mind and stony heart yet in them, to keep them from failing away to idols: and they offered there for sacrifices oxen, sheep, and doves: you know this, for you have read it. It was not a great sin, then, if they sold in the temple that which was bought for the purpose of offering in the temple: and yet He cast them out thence. If, while they were selling what was lawful and not against justice (for it is not unlawful to sell what it is honourable to buy), He nevertheless drove those men out, and suffered not the house of prayer to be made a house of merchandise; how, if He found drunkards there, what would the Lord do? If the house of God ought not to be made a house of trading, ought it to be made a house of drinking? But when we say this, they gnash upon us with their teeth; but the psalm which you have heard comforts us: "They gnashed upon me with their teeth." Yet we know how we may be cured, although the strokes of the lash are multiplied on Christ, for His word is made to bear the scourge: "The scourges," saith He, "were gathered together against me, and they knew not." He was scourged by the scourges of the Jews; He is now scourged by the blasphemies of false Christians: they multiply scourges for their Lord, and know it not.

Let us, so far as He aids us, do as the psalmist did: "But as for me, when they were troublesome to me, I put on sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting." 1

1 Ps. xxxv. 13.

144 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. X.

5. Yet we say, brethren (for He did not spare those men: He who was to be scourged by them first scourged them), that He gave us a certain sign, in that He made a scourge of small cords, and with it lashed the unruly, who were making merchandise of God's temple. For indeed every man twists for himself a rope by his sins:
"Woe to them who draw sins as a long rope!" 1 Who makes a long rope? He who adds sin to sin. How are sins added to sins? When the sins which have been committed are covered over by other sins.

One has committed a theft: that he may not be found out to have committed it, he seeks the astrologer. It were enough to have committed theft: why wilt thou add sin to sin?

Behold two sins committed. When thou art forbidden to go to the astrologer, thou revilest the bishop: behold three sins.

When thou nearest it said of thee, Cast him forth from the Church; thou sayest, I will betake me to the party of Donatus: behold thou addest a fourth sin. The rope is growing; be thou afraid of the rope. It is good for thee to be corrected here, when thou art scourged with it; that it may not be said of thee at the last, "Bind ye his hands and feet, and cast him forth into outer darkness." 2

For, "With the cords of his own sins is every one bound." 3 The former of these is the saying of the Lord, the latter that of another Scripture; but yet both are the sayings of the Lord. With their own sins are men bound and cast into outer darkness.

6. However, to seek the mystery of the deed in the figure, who are they that sell oxen? Who are they that sell sheep and doves? They are they who seek their own in the Church, not the things which are Christ's. They account all a matter of sale, while they will not be redeemed: they have no wish to be bought, and yet they wish to sell. Yes; good indeed is it for them that they may be redeemed by the blood of Christ, that they may come to the peace of Christ. Now, what does it profit to acquire in this world any temporal and transitory thing whatsoever, be it money, or pleasure of the palate, or honour that consists in the praise of men? Are they not all wind and smoke? Do they not all pass by and flee away? Are they not all as a river rushing headlong into the sea? 1 And woe to him who shall fall into it, for he shall be swept into the sea. Therefore ought we to curb all our affections from such desires. My brethren, they that seek such things are they that sell. For that Simon, too, wished to buy the Holy Ghost, just because he meant to sell the Holy Ghost; and he thought the apostles to be just such traders as they whom the Lord cast out of the temple with a scourge. For such an one he was himself, and desired to buy what he might sell: he was of those who sell doves. Now it was in a dove that the Holy Ghost appeared. 1 Who, then, are they, brethren, that sell doves, but they who say, "We give the Holy Ghost"? 2 But why do they say this? and at what price do they sell? At the price of honour to themselves. They receive as the price, temporal seats of honour, that they may be seen to be sellers of doves. Let them beware of the scourge of small cords. The dove is not for sale: it is given freely; for grace, or favour, it is called. Therefore, my brethren, just as you see them that sell, common chapmen, each cries up what he sells: how many stalls they have set up! Primianus has a stall at Carthage, Maximianus has another, Eogatus has another.

TRACT. X.] OF THE SECTARIANS. 145

i Isa. v. 18; LXX. 2 Matt. xii. 3. 3 Prov. y. 22.
in Mauritania, they have another in Numidia, this party and that, which it is not in our power now to name. Accordingly, one goes round to buy the dove, and every one at his own stall cries up what he sells. Let the heart of such an one turn away from every seller; let him come where he receives freely. Aye, brethren, and they do not blush, that, by these bitter and malicious dissensions of theirs, they have made of themselves so many parties, while they assume to be what they are not, while they are lifted up, thinking themselves to be something when they are nothing. 2 But what is fulfilled in them, since that they will not be corrected, but that which you have heard in the psalm: " They were rent asunder, and felt no remorse " ?

7. Well, who sell oxen? They who have dispensed to us the Holy Scriptures are understood to mean the oxen. The apostles were oxen, the prophets were oxen. Whence the apostle says: " Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen?"

1 Matt. iii. 16. 2 Gal. vi. 3.

TRACT. K

146 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. X.

Or saith He it for our sakes? Yea, for our sakes He saith it: that he who ploweth should plow in hope; and he that thresheth, in hope of partaking." * Those oxen, then, have left to us the narration of the Scriptures. For it was not of their own that they dispensed, because they sought the glory of the Lord. Now, what have ye heard in that psalm? " And let them say continually, The Lord be magnified, they that wish the peace of His servant." 2 God's servant, God's people, God's Church. Let them who wish the peace of that Church magnify the Lord, not the servant: " and let them say continually, The Lord be magnified." Who, let say % " Them who wish the peace of His servant." The voice of that people, of that servant, is clearly that voice which you have heard in lamentations in the psalm, and were moved at hearing, because you are of that people. What was sung by one, re-echoed from the hearts of all. Happy they who recognised themselves in those voices as in a mirror. Who, then, are they that wish the peace of His servant, the peace of His people, the peace of the one whom He calls His " only one," and whom He wishes to be delivered from the lion: " Deliver mine only one from the power of the dog " ? 3 They who say always,

" The Lord be magnified." Those oxen, then, magnified the Lord, not themselves. See this ox magnifying his Lord, because " the ox knoweth his owner; " 4 observe that ox in fear lest men desert the ox's owner and rely on the ox: how he dreads them that are willing to put their confidence in him:

" Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? % " 5 Of what I gave, I was not the giver: freely ye have received; the dove came down from heaven. " I have planted," saith he, " Apollos watered; but God gave the increase: neither he that
8. These men, however, deceive the people by the very Scriptures, that they may receive honours and praises at their hand, and that men may not turn to the truth. But in that

1 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10. 2 Ps. xxxv. 27. 3 Ps. xxii. 20.

4 Isa. i. 3. 5 1 Cor. i. 13. 6 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7.

TRACT. X.] CHRISTIAN ZEAL. 147

they deceive, by the very Scriptures, the people of whom they seek honours, they do in fact sell oxen: they sell sheep too; that is, the common people themselves. And to whom do they sell them, but to the devil? For if the Church be Christ's sole and only one, who is it that carries off whatever is cut away from it, but that lion that roars and goes about, " seeking whom he may devour "I Woe to them that are cut off from the Church ! As for her, she will remain entire. " For the Lord knoweth them that are His." 2 These, however, so far as they can, sell oxen and sheep, they sell doves too: let them guard against the scourge of their own sins. But when they suffer some such things for these their iniquities, let them acknowledge that the Lord has made a scourge of small cords, and is admonishing them to change themselves and be no longer traffickers: for if they will not change, they shall at the end hear it said, " Bind ye these men's hands and feet, and cast them forth into outer darkness/"

9. " Then the disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up: " because by this zeal of God's house, the Lord eat these men out of the temple. Brethren, let every Christian among the members of Christ be eaten up with zeal of God's house. Who is eaten up with zeal of God's house? He who exerts himself to have all that he may happen to see wrong there corrected, desires it to be mended, does not rest idle: who, if he cannot mend it, endures it, laments it. The grain is not shaken out on the threshing-floor that it may enter the barn when the chaff shall have been separated. If thou art a grain, be not shaken out from the floor before the putting into the granary; lest thou be picked up by the birds before thou be gathered into the granary. For the birds of heaven, the powers of the air, are waiting to snatch up something off the threshing-floor, and they can snatch up only what has been shaken out of it. Therefore, let the zeal of God's house eat thee up: let the zeal of God's house eat up every Christian, zeal of that house of God of which he is a member. For thy own house is not more important than that wherein thou hast everlasting rest. Thou goest into thine own house for tem-

1 1 Pet. v. 8. 2 2Tim. ii. 19.
poral rest, thou enterest God's house for everlasting rest. If, then, thou busiest thyself to see that nothing wrong be done in thine own house, is it fit that thou suffer, so far as thou canst help, if thou shouldst chance to see aught wrong in the house of God, where salvation is set before thee, and rest without end? For example, seest thou a brother rushing to the theatre? Stop him, warn him, make him sorry, if the zeal of God's house doth eat thee up. Seest thou others running and desiring to get drunk, and that, too, in holy places, which is not decent to be done in any place? Stop those whom thou canst, restrain whom thou canst, frighten whom thou canst, allure gently whom thou canst: do not, however, rest silent. Is it a friend? Let him be admonished gently. Is it a wife? Let her be bridled with the utmost rigour. Is it a maid-servant? Let her be curbed even with blows. Do whatever thou canst for the part thou bearest; and so thou fulfilllest, "The zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up." But if thou wilt be cold, languid, having regard only to thyself, and as if thyself were enough to thee, and saying in thy heart, What have I to do with looking after other men's sins? enough for me is the care of my own soul: this let me keep undefiled for God; â€” come, does there not recur to thy mind the case of that servant who hid his talent and would not lay it out? Was he accused because he lost it, and not because he kept it without profit? So hear ye then, my brethren, that ye may not rest idle. I am about to give you counsel: may He who is within give it; for though it be through me, it is He that gives it. You know what to do, each one of you, in his own house, with his friend, his tenant, his client, with greater, with less: as God grants an entrance, as He opens a door for His word, do not cease to win for Christ; because you were won by Christ.

10. "The Jews said unto Him, What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" And the Lord answered, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and dost thou say, In three days I will rear it up?" Flesh they were, fleshly things they minded; but He was speaking spiritually. But who could understand of what temple He spoke? But yet we have not far to seek; He has discovered it to us through the evangelist, he has told us of what temple He said it. "But He spake," saith the evangelist, "of the temple of His body."
And it is manifest that, being slain, the Lord did rise again after three days. This is known to us all now: and if from the Jews it is concealed, it is because they stand without; yet to us it is open, because we know in whom we believe. The destroying and rearing again of that temple, we are about to celebrate in its yearly solemnity: for which we exhort you to prepare yourselves, such of you as are catechumens, that you may receive grace; even now is the time, even now let that be purposed which may then come to the birth. Now, that thing we know.

11. But perhaps this is demanded of us, whether the fact that the temple was forty and six years in building may not have in it some mystery. There are, indeed, many things that may be said of this matter; but what may briefly be said, and easily understood, that we say meanwhile. Brethren, we have said yesterday, if I mistake not, that Adam was one man, and is yet the whole human race. For thus we said, if you remember. He was broken, as it were, in pieces; and, being scattered, is now being gathered together, and, as it were, conjoined into one by a spiritual fellowship and concord. And "the poor that groan," as one man, is that same Adam, but in Christ he is being renewed: because an Adam is come without sin, to destroy the sin of Adam in His own flesh, and that Adam might renew to himself the image of God. Of Adam then is Christ's flesh: of Adam the temple which the Jews destroyed, and the Lord raised up in three days. For He raised His own flesh: see, that He was thus God equal with the Father. My brethren, the apostle says, "Who raised Him from the dead." Of whom says he this? Of the Father. "He became," saith he, "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore also God raised Him from the dead, and gave Him a name which is above every name." 1 He who was raised and exalted is the Lord. Who raised Him 1

1 Phil. ii. 8.

150 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. X.

The Father, to whom He said in the psalms, "Ease me up and I will requite them." 1 Hence, the Father raised Him up. Did He not raise Himself? And doeth the Father anything without the Word? What doeth the Father without His only One? For, hear that He also was God. "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." Did He say, Destroy the temple, which in three days the Father will raise up? But as when the Father raiseth, the Son also raiseth; so when the Son raiseth, the Father also raiseth: because the Son has said, "I and the Father are one." 2

12. Now, what does the number Forty-six mean? Meanwhile, how Adam extends over the whole globe, you have already heard explained yesterday, by the four Greek letters of four Greek words. For if thou write the four words, one under the other, that is, the names of the four quarters of the world, of east, west, north, and south, which is the whole globe, â€” whence the Lord says that He will gather His elect from the four winds when
He shall come to judgment; 3 â€” if, I say, you take these four Greek words, â€” avaroXrj, which is east; &v(tl<:, which is west; ap/cros, which is north; fjuearj/uLftpla, which is south; Anatole, Dysis, Arctos, Mesembria, â€” the first letters of the words make Adam. How, then, do we find there, too, the number forty-six? Because Christ's flesh was of Adam. The Greeks compute numbers by letters. What we make the letter A, they in their tongue put Alpha, a, and Alpha, a, is called one. And where in numbers they write Beta, /3, which is their b, it is called in numbers two. Where they write Gamma, 7, it is called in their numbers three. Where they write Delta, S, it is called in their numbers four; and so by means of all the letters they have numbers. The letter we call M, and they call My, /jl, signifies forty; for they say My, ^, reaaapaKovra. Now look at the number which these letters make, and you will find in it that the temple was built in forty-six years. For the word Adam has Alpha, a, which is one: it has Delta, 8, which is four; there are five for thee: it has Alpha, a, again, which is one; there are six for thee: it has also My, ft, which is forty; there hast thou forty-six. These things, my brethren, were 1 Ps. xli. 11. 2 John x. 30. 3 Mark xiii. 27.

TRACT. X.] THE TEMPLE OF HIS BODY. 151

said by our elders before us, and that number forty-six was found by them in letters. And because our Lord Jesus Christ took of Adam a body, not of Adam derived sin; took of him a corporeal temple, not iniquity which must be driven from the temple: and that the Jews crucified that very flesh which He derived from Adam (for Mary was of Adam, and the Lord's flesh was of Mary); and that, further, He was in three days to raise that same flesh which they were about to slay on the cross: they destroyed the temple which was forty-six years in building, and that temple He raised up in three days.

13. We bless the Lord our God, who gathered us together to spiritual joy. Let us be ever in humility of heart, and let our joy be with Him. â€œ Let us not be elated with any prosperity of this world, but know that our happiness is not until these things shall have passed away. "Now, my brethren, let our joy be in hope: let none rejoice as in a present thing, lest he stick fast in the way. Let joy be wholly of hope to come, desire be wholly of eternal life. Let all sighings breathe after Christ. Let that fairest one alone, who loved the foul to make them fair, be all our desire; after Him alone let us run, for Him alone pant and sigh; " and let them say always, The Lord be magnified, that wish the peace of His servant."

TEACTATE XI

Chapter II. 23-25; III. 1-5.
1. "PPOKTUNELEY has the Lord procured for us that this V>J passage should occur in its order to-day: for I suppose you have observed, beloved, that we have undertaken to consider and explain the Gospel according to John in due course. Opportuneely then it occurs, that to-day you should hear from the Gospel, that, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he shall not see the kingdom of God."

For it is time that we exhort you, who are still catechumens, who have believed in Christ in such wise, that you are still bearing your sins. And none shall see the kingdom of heaven while burdened with sins; for none shall reign with Christ, but he to whom they have been forgiven: but forgiven they cannot be, but to him who is born again of water and of the Holy Spirit. But let us observe all the words what they imply, that here the sluggish may find with what earnestness they must haste to put off their burden. Eor were they bearing some heavy load, either of stone, or of wood, or even of some gain; if they were carrying corn, or wine, or money, they would run to put off their loads: they are carrying a burden of sins, and yet are sluggish to run. You must run to put off this burden; it weighs you down, it drowns you.

2. Behold, you have heard that when our Lord Jesus Christ " was in Jerusalem at the Passover, on the feast day, many believed in His name, seeing the signs which He did." " Many believed in His name; " and what follows ? " But Jesus did not trust Himself to them." Now what does this mean, " They believed," or trusted, " in His name; " and yet " Jesus did not trust Himself to them " ? Was it, perhaps, that they had not believed on Him, but were feigning to have believed, and that therefore Jesus did not trust Himself to them ? But the

152

TRACT. XI.] CHRIST'S KNOWLEDGE OF MEN. 153

evangelist would not have said, " Many believed in His name," if he were not giving a true testimony to them. A great thing, then, it is, and a wonderful thing: men believe on Christ, and Christ trusts not Himself to men. Especially is it wonderful, since, being the Son of God, He of course suffered willingly. If He were not willing, He would never have suffered, since, had He not willed it, He had not been born; and if He had willed this only, merely to be born and not to die, He might have done even whatever He willed, because He is the almighty Son of the almighty Father. Let us prove it by facts. Tor when they wished to hold Him, He departed from them. The Gospel says, " And when they would have cast Him headlong from the top of the mountain, He departed from them unhurt." * And when they came to lay hold of Him, after He was sold by Judas the traitor, who imagined that he had it in his power to deliver up his Master and Lord, there also the Lord showed that He suffered of His own will, not of necessity. For when the Jews desired to lay hold of Him, He said to them, " Whom seek ye ? But they said, Jesus of Nazareth. And said He, I am He. On hearing this saying, they went backward, and fell to the ground." 2 In this, that in answering them He threw them to the ground, He showed His power; that in His being taken by them He might show His will.
It was of compassion, then, that He suffered. For "He was delivered up for our sins, and rose again for our justification." 3 Hear His own words: "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again: no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself, that I may take it again." 4 Since, therefore, He had such power, since He declared it by words, showed it by deeds, what then does it mean that Jesus did not trust Himself to them, as if they would do Him some harm against His will, or would do something to Him against His will, especially seeing that they had already believed in His name? Moreover, of the same persons the evangelist says, "They believed in His name," of whom he says, "But Jesus did not trust Himself to them." Why? "Because He knew all men, and needed not that any should bear witness of man: for Himself knew what was in man."

1 Luke iv. 30. 2 John xviii. 4-6. 3 Rom. iv. 25. 4 John x. 18.

154 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XL

The artificer knew what was in His own work better than the work knew what was in itself. The Creator of man knew what was in man, which the created man himself knew not.

Do we not prove this of Peter, that he knew not what was in himself, when he said, "With Thee, even to death"? Hear that the Lord knew what was in man: "Thou with me even to death? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice." 1 The man, then, knew not what was in himself; but the Creator of the man knew what was in the man. Nevertheless, many believed in His name, and yet Jesus did not trust Himself to them. What can we say, brethren? Perhaps the circumstances that follow will indicate to us what the mystery of these words is. That men had believed in Him is manifest, is true; none doubts it, the Gospel says it, the truth-speaking evangelist testifies to it. Again, that Jesus trusted not Himself to them is also manifest, and no Christian doubts it; for the Gospel says this also, and the same truth-speaking evangelist testifies to it. Why, then, is it that they believed in His name, and yet Jesus did not trust Himself to them? Let us see what follows.

3. "And there was a man of the Pharisees, Nicodemus by name, a ruler of the Jews: the same came to Him by night, and said unto Him, Eabbi (you already know that Master is called Eabbi), we know that Thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these signs which Thou doest, except God be with him." This Nicodemus, then, was of those who had believed in His name, as they saw the signs and prodigies which He did. For this is what he said above: "Now, when He was in Jerusalem at the passover on the feast-day, many believed in His name." Why did they believe? He goes on to say, "Seeing His signs which He did." And what says he of Nicodemus? "There was a ruler of the Jews, Nicodemus by name: the same came to Him by night, and says to Him, Eabbi, we know that Thou art a teacher come from God."
Therefore this man also had believed in His name. And why had he believed? He goes on, "For no man can do these signs which Thou dost, except God be with him." If, therefore, Nicodemus was of those who had believed in His

1 Matt. xxvi. 33, 34; Luke xxii. 33, 34.

TRACT. XL] NIC0D1MUS A CATECHUMEN. 155

name, let us now consider, in the case of this Mcodeus, why-Jesus did not trust Himself to them. "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Therefore to them who have been born again doth Jesus trust Himself. Behold, those men had believed on Him, and yet Jesus trusted not Himself to them. Such are all catechumens: already they believe in the name of Christ, but Jesus does not trust Himself to them. Give good heed, my beloved, and understand. If we say to a catechumen, Dost thou believe on Christ? he answers, I believe, and signs himself; already he bears the cross of Christ on his forehead, and is not ashamed of the cross of his Lord. Behold, he has believed in His name. Let us ask him, Dost thou eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink the blood of the Son of man? he knows not what we say, because Jesus has not trusted Himself to him.

4. Therefore, since Nicodemus was of that number, he came to the Lord, but came by night; and this perhaps pertains to the matter. Came to the Lord, and came by night; came to the Light, and came in the darkness. But what do they that are born again of water and of the Spirit hear from the apostle? "Ye were once darkness, but now light in the Lord; walk as children of light;" * and again, "But we who are of the day, let us be sober." 2 Therefore they who are born again were of the night, and are of the day; were darkness, and are light. Now Jesus trusts Himself to them, and they come to Jesus, not by night, like Nicodemus; not in darkness do they seek the day. For such now also profess: Jesus has come near to them, has made salvation in them; for He said, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he shall not have life in him." 3 And as the catechumens have the sign of the cross on their forehead, they are already of the great house; but from servants let them become sons. For they are something who already belong to the great house. But when did the people Israel eat the manna? After they had passed the Bed Sea. And as to what the Bed Sea signifies, hear the apostle: "Moreover, brethren, I would not have you

1 Eph. v. 8. 2i Thess. v. 8. 3 John vi. 54.

156 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XI.
ignorant, that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea." To what purpose passed they through the sea? As if thou wert asking of him, he goes on to say,

"And all were baptized by Moses in the cloud and in the sea." 1 Now, if the figure of the sea had such efficacy, how great will be the efficacy of the true form of baptism! If what was done in a figure brought the people, after they had crossed over, to the manna, what will Christ impart, in the verity of His baptism, to His own people, brought over through Himself? By His baptism He brings over them that believe; all their sins, the enemies as it were that pursue them, being slain, as all the Egyptians perished in that sea. Whither does He bring over, my brethren? Whither does Jesus bring over by baptism, of which Moses then showed the figure, when he brought them through the sea? Whither? To the manna. What is the manna? "I am," saith He, "the living bread, which came down from heaven." 2 The faithful receive the manna, having now been brought through the Red Sea. Why Red Sea? Besides sea, why also "red"?

That "Red Sea" signified the baptism of Christ. How is the baptism of Christ red, but as consecrated by Christ's blood?

Whither, then, does He lead those that believe and are baptized? To the manna. Behold, "manna." I say: what the Jews, that people Israel, received, is well known, well known what God had rained on them from heaven; and yet, catechumens know not what Christians receive. Let them blush, then, for their ignorance; let them pass through the Red Sea, let them eat the manna, that as they have believed in the name of Jesus, so likewise Jesus may trust Himself to them.

5. Therefore mark, my brethren, what answer this man who came to Jesus by night makes. Although he came to Jesus, yet because he came by night, he still speaks from the darkness of his own flesh. He understands not what he hears from the Lord, understands not what he hears from the Light "which lighteth every man that cometh into this world." 3 Already hath the Lord said to him, "Except a man be born again, he shall not see the kingdom of God. Mcodemus saith unto Him, How can a man be born again

1 1 Cor. x. 1. 2 John vi. 51. 3 John i. 9.

TRACT. XI.] HOW CHRIST'S FLESH IS EATEJT. 157

when he is old! "The Spirit speaks to him, and he thinks of the flesh. He thinks of his own flesh, because as yet he thinks not of Christ's flesh. For when the Lord Jesus had said, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he shall not have life in him," some who followed Him were offended, and said among themselves, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it! " For they fancied that, in saying this, Jesus meant that they would be able to cook Him, after being cut up like a lamb, and eat Him: horrified at His words, they went back, and no more followed Him. Thus speaks the evangelist: "And the Lord Himself remained with the twelve; and they said to Him, Lo, those have left Thee. And He said, Will ye also go away? "â€” wishing to show them that He was necessary
to them, not they necessary to Christ. Let no man fancy that he frightens Christ, when he

tells Him that he is a Christian; as if Christ will be more blessed if thou be a Christian. It

is a good thing for thee to be a Christian; but if thou be not, it will not be ill for Christ.

Hear the voice of the psalm, " I said to the Lord, Thou art my God, since Thou hast no

need of my goods." * For that reason,

" Thou art my God, since of my goods Thou hast no need."

If thou be without God, thou wilt be less; if thou be with God, God will not be greater.

Not from thee will He be greater, but thou without Him wilt be less. Grow, therefore, in

Him; do not withdraw thyself, that He may, as it were, diminish. Thou wilt be renewed if

thou come to Him, wilt suffer loss if thou depart from Him. He remains entire when thou

cometh to Him, remains entire even when thou fallest away. When, therefore, He had said
to His disciples, " Will ye also go away?" Peter, that Eock, answered with the voice of

all, " Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." Pleasantly

savoured the Lord's flesh in his mouth. The Lord, however, expounded to them, and said,

" It is the Spirit that quickeneth." After He had said, " Except a man eat my flesh, and

drink my blood, he shall not have life in him," lest they should understand it carnally, He

said, " It is the Spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing:

the words which I have spoken unto you are spirit and life." 2

1 Ps. xvi. 2. 2 John vi. 54-59.

158 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XI.

6. This Nicodemus, who had come to Jesus by night, did not savour of this spirit and this

dlife. Saith Jesus to him,

" Except a man be born again, he shall not see the kingdom of God." And he, savouring

of his own flesh, while as yet he savoured not of the flesh of Christ in his mouth, saith, "

How can a man be born a second time, when he is old? Can he enter a second time into

his mother's womb, and be born?"

This man knew but one birth, that from Adam and Eve; that which is from God and the

Church he knew not yet: he knew only those parents that bring forth to death, knew not

yet the parents that bring forth to life; he knew but the parents that bring forth successors,
knew not yet the ever living parents that bring forth those that shall abide.

Whilst there are two births, then, he understood only one.

One is of the earth, the other of heaven; one of the flesh, the other of the Spirit; one of

mortality, the other of eternity; one of male and female, the other of God and the Church.

But these two are each single; there can be no repeating the one or the other. Eighty did

Mcodemus understand the birth of the flesh; so understand thou also the birth of the

Spirit, as Nicodemus understood the birth of the flesh. What did Mcodemus understand?

" Can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" Thus,

whosoever shall tell thee to be spiritually born a second time, answer in the words of

Mcodemus, " Can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born?" I

am already born of Adam, Adam cannot beget me a second time. I am already born of
Christ, Christ cannot beget me again. As there is no repeating from the womb, so neither from baptism.

7. He that is born of the catholic Church, is born, as it were, of Sarah, of the free woman; he that is born of heresy is, as it were, born of the bond woman, but of Abraham's seed. Consider, beloved, how great a mystery. God testifies, saying, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." Were there not other patriarchs? Before these, was there not holy Noah, who alone of the whole human race, with all his house, was worthy to be delivered from the flood, â€” he in whom, and in his sons, the Church was prefigured? Borne by wood, they escaped the flood. Then afterwards great

TRACT. XL] THE PATRIARCHS TYPES OF CHRIST. 159

men whom we know, whom Holy Scripture commends, Moses faithful in all his house. And yet those three are named, just as if they alone deserved well of him: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: this is my name for ever." 2 Sublime mystery! It is the Lord that is able to open both our mouth and your hearts, that we may speak as He has deigned to reveal, and that you may receive even as it is expedient for you.

8. The patriarchs, then, are these three, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. You know that the sons of Jacob were twelve, and thence the people Israel; for Jacob himself is Israel, and the people Israel in twelve tribes pertaining to the twelve sons of Israel. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, three fathers, and one people. The fathers three, as it were in the beginning of the people; three fathers in whom the people was figured: and the former people itself the present people. For in the Jewish people was figured the Christian people. There a figure, here the truth; there a shadow, here the body: as the apostle says, "Now these things happened to them in a figure." It is the apostle's voice: "They were written," saith he, "for our sakes, upon whom the end of the ages is come." 3 Let your mind now recur to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In the case of these three, we find that free women bear children, and that bond women bear children: we find there offspring of free women, we find there also offspring of bond women.

The bond woman signifies nothing good: "Cast out the bond woman," saith he, "and her son; for the son of the bond woman shall not be heir with the son of the free." The apostle recounts this; and he says that in those two sons of Abraham was a figure of the two Testaments, the Old and the New. To the Old Testament belong the lovers of temporal things, the lovers of the world: to the New Testament belong the lovers of eternal life. Hence, that Jerusalem on earth was the shadow of the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all, which is in heaven; and these are the apostle's words. 4 And of that city from which we are absent on our sojourn, you know much, you have now heard much. But we find a

! Kum. xii. 7. 2 Ex. iii. 6, 15.
wonderful thing in these births, in these fruits of the womb, in these generations of free and bond women: namely, four sorts of men; in which four sorts is completed the figure of the future Christian people, so that what was said in the case of those three patriarchs is not surprising, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." For in the case of all Christians, observe, brethren, either good men are born of evil men, or evil men of good; or good men of good, or evil men of evil: more than these four sorts you cannot find. These things I will again repeat: Give heed, keep them, excite your hearts, be not dull; take in, lest ye be taken, how of all Christians there are four sorts. Either of the good are born good, or of the evil are born evil; or of the good are born evil, or of the evil good. I think it is plain. Of the good, good; if they who baptize are good, and also they who are baptized rightly believe, and are rightly numbered among the members of Christ. Of the evil, evil; if they who baptize are evil, and they who are baptized approach God with a double heart, and do not observe the morals which they hear urged in the Church, so as not to be chaff, but grain, there. How many such there are, you know, beloved. Of the evil, good; sometimes an adulterer baptizes, and he that is baptized is justified. Of the good, evil; sometimes they who baptize are holy, they who are baptized do not desire to keep the way of God.

9. I suppose, brethren, that this is known in the Church, and that what we are saying is manifest by daily examples; but let us consider these things in the case of our fathers before us, how they also had these four kinds. Of the good, good; Ananias baptized Paul. How of the evil, evil? The apostle declares that there were certain preachers of the gospel, who, he says, did not use to preach the gospel with a pure motive, whom, however, he tolerates in the Christian society, saying, "What then? notwithstanding every way, whether by occasion or in truth, Christ is preached, and in this I rejoice." 1 Was he therefore malevolent, and did he rejoice in another's evil? No, but rejoiced because through evil men the truth was preached, and by the mouths of evil men Christ was preached. If these men baptized any persons like themselves, evil men baptized evil men: if they baptized such as the Lord admonishes, when He says, "Whatsoever they bid you, do; but do not ye after their works," 1 they were evil men that were baptizing good. Good men baptized evil men, as Simon the sorcerer was baptized by Philip, a holy man. 2 Therefore these four sorts, my brethren, are known.

1 Phil. i. 18.

1 Phil. i. 18.
See, I repeat them again, hold them, count them, think upon them; guard against what is evil; keep what is good. Good men are born of good, when holy men are baptized by holy; evil men are born of evil, when both they that baptize and they that are baptized live unrighteously and ungodly; good men are born of evil, when they are evil that baptize, and they good that are baptized; evil men are born of good, when they are good that baptize, and they evil that are baptized.

10. How do we find this in these three names, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob"? We hold the bond women among the evil, and the free women among the good. Free women bear the good; Sarah bare Isaac: bond women bear the evil; Hagar bare Ishmael. We have in the case of Abraham alone the two sorts, both when the good are of the good, and also when the evil are of the evil. But where have we evil of good figured? Eebecca, Isaac's wife, was a free woman: read, She bare twins; one was good, the other evil. Thou hast the Scripture openly declaring by the voice of God, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." 3 Eebecca bare those two, Jacob and Esau: one of them is chosen, the other is reprobated: one succeeds to the inheritance, the other is disinherited. God does not make His people of Esau, but makes it of Jacob. The seed is one, those conceived are dissimilar: the womb is one, those born of it are diverse. Was not the free woman that bare Jacob, the same free woman that bare Esau? They strove in the mother's womb; and when they strove there, it was said to Eebecca, "Two peoples are in thy womb." Two men, two peoples; a good people, and a bad people: but yet they strive in one womb. How many evil men there are in the Church! And one womb carries them until they are separated in the end: and the good cry out

1 Matt, xxiii. 3. 2 Acts viii. 13. 3 Mai. i. 3; Rom. ix. 13.

TRACT. L

162 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XI.

against the evil, and the evil in turn cry out against the good, and both strive together in the bowels of one mother. Will they be always together? There is a going forth to the light in the end; the birth which is here figured in a mystery is declared; and it will then appear that "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated."

11. Accordingly we have now found, brethren, of the good, good â€” of the free woman, Isaac; and of the evil, evil â€” of the

O â€” 9'

bond woman, Ishmael; and of the good, evil â€” of Eebecca, Esau: where shall we find of the evil, good? There remains Jacob, that the completion of these four sorts may be concluded in the three patriarchs. Jacob had for wives free women, he
had also bond women: the free bear children, as do also the bond, and thus come the
 twelve sons of Israel. If you count them all, of whom they were born, they were not all of
 the free women, nor all of the bond women; but yet they were all of one seed. What, then,
 my brethren? Did not they who were born of the bond women possess the land of
 promise together with their brethren? We have there found good sons of Jacob born of
 bond women, and good sons of Jacob born of free women. Their birth of the wombs of
 bond women was nothing against them, when they knew their seed in the father, and
 consequently they held the kingdom with their brethren.
 Therefore, as in the case of Jacob's sons, that they were born of bond women did not
 hinder their holding the kingdom, and receiving the land of promise on an equality with
 their brothers; their birth of bond women did not hinder them, but the father's seed
 prevailed: so, whoever are baptized by evil men, appear as if born of bond women;
 nevertheless, because they are of the seed of the Word of God, which is figured in Jacob,
 let them not be cast down, they shall possess the inheritance with their brethren.
 Therefore, let him who is born of the good seed be without fear; only let him not imitate
 the bond woman, if he is born of a bond woman. Do not thou imitate the evil, proud,
 bond woman. For how came the sons of Jacob, that were born of bond women, to possess
 the land of promise with their brethren, whilst Ishmael, born of a bond woman, was cast
 out from the inheritance? How, but because he was proud, they were humble? He
 proudly reared his

TRACT. XI.] ISHMAEL'S PLAYING. 163

neck, and wished to seduce his brother while he was playing with him.

12. A great mystery is there. They were playing together, Ishmael and Isaac: Sarah sees
 them playing, and says to Abraham, "Cast out the bond woman and her son; for the son
 of the bond woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac."
And when Abraham was sorrowful, the Lord confirmed to him the saying of his wife.
Now here is evidently a mystery, that the event was somehow pregnant with something
future. She sees them playing, and says, "Cast out the bond woman and her son." What is
this, brethren? For what evil had Ishmael done to the boy Isaac, in playing with him?
That playing was a mocking; that playing signified deception. Now attend, beloved, to
this great mystery. The apostle calls it persecution; that playing, that play, he calls
persecution: for he says,
"But as then he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the
Spirit, so also now; that is, they that are born after the flesh persecute them that are born
after the Spirit. Who are born after the flesh? Lovers of the world, lovers of this life.
Who are born after the Spirit? Lovers of the kingdom of heaven, lovers of Christ, men
that long for eternal life, that worship God freely. They play, and the apostle calls it
persecution. For after he said these words,
"And as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the
Spirit, so also now;" the apostle went on, and showed of what persecution he was
speaking: "But what says the Scripture? Cast out the bond woman and her son; for the
son of the bond woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac." * We search where the Scripture says this, to see whether any persecution on Ishmael's part against Isaac preceded this; and we find that this was said by Sarah when she saw the boys playing together. The playing which Scripture says that Sarah saw, the apostle calls persecution. Hence, they who seduce you by playing, persecute you the more. " Come," say they, "Come, be baptized here, here is true baptism for thee." Do not play, there is one true baptism; that other is play: thou wilt be seduced, and that will be a grievous persecution to thee. It were better for thee to make

1 Gen. xxi. 9-12; Gal. iv. 30.

1G4 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XI.

Ishmael a present of the kingdom; but Ishmael will not have it, for he means to play. Keep thou thy father's inheritance, and hear this: " Cast out the bond woman and her son; for the son of the bond woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac."

13. These men, too, dare to say that they are wont to suffer persecution from catholic kings, or from catholic princes. What persecution do they bear? Affliction of body: yet if at times they have suffered, and how they suffered, let themselves know, and settle it with their consciences; still they suffered only affliction of body: the persecution which they cause is more grievous. Beware when Ishmael wishes to play with Isaac, when he fawns on thee, when he offers another baptism: answer him, I have baptism already. For if this baptism is true, he who would give thee another would be mocking thee. Beware of the persecution of the soul. For though the party of Donatus has at times suffered somewhat at the hands of catholic princes, it was a bodily suffering, not the suffering of spiritual deception. Hear and see in the very facts of Old Testament history all the signs and indications of things to come. Sarah is found to have afflicted her maid Hagar: Sarah is free. After her maid began to be proud, Sarah complained to Abraham, and said, " Cast out the bond woman; " she has lifted her neck against me. His wife complains of Abraham, as if it were his doing. But Abraham, who was not bound to the maid by lust, but by the duty of begetting children, inasmuch as Sarah had given her to him to have offspring by her, says to her: " Behold, she is thy handmaid; do unto her as thou wilt." And Sarah grievously afflicted her, and she fled from her face. See, the free woman afflicted the bond woman, and the apostle does not call that a persecution; the slave plays with his master, and he calls it persecution: this afflicting is not called persecution; that playing is. How does it appear to you, brethren? Do you not understand what is signified? Thus, then, when God wills to stir up powers against heretics, against schismatics, against those that scatter the Church, that blow on Christ as if they abhorred Him, that blaspheme baptism, let them not wonder; because God stirs them up, that Hagar may be beaten
by Sarah. Let Hagar know herself, and yield her neck: for when, after being humiliated, she departed from her mistress, an angel met her, and said to her, "What is the matter with thee, Hagar, Sarah's handmaid?" When she complained of her mistress, what did she hear from the angel? "Return to thy mistress." It is for this that she is afflicted, that she may return; and would that she may return, for her offspring, just like the sons of Jacob, will obtain the inheritance with their brethren.

14. But they wonder that Christian powers are roused against detestable scatterers of the Church. Should they not be moved, then? How otherwise should they give an account of their rule to God? Observe, beloved, what I say, that it concerns Christian kings of this world to wish their mother the Church, of which they have been spiritually born, to have peace in their times. We read Daniel's visions and prophetical histories. The three children praised the Lord in the fire: King Nebuchadnezzar wondered at the children praising God, and at the fire around them doing them no harm: and whilst he wondered, what did King Nebuchadnezzar say, he who was neither a Jew nor circumcised, who had set up his own image and compelled all men to adore it; but, impressed by the praises of the three children when he saw the majesty of God present in the fire, what said he? "And I will publish a decree to all tribes and tongues in the whole earth." What sort of decree? "Whosoever shall speak blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut off, and their houses shall be made a ruin." See how an alien king acts with raging indignation that the God of Israel might not be blasphemed, because He was able to deliver the three children from the fire: and yet they would not have Christian kings to act with severity when Christ is contemptuously rejected, by whom not three children, but the whole world, with these very kings, is delivered from the fire of hell! For those three children, my brethren, were delivered from temporal fire. Is He not the same God who was the God of the Maccabees and the God of the three children? The latter He delivered from the fire; the former did in body

1 Gen. xvi. 9. 2 j) an _ m

166 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XI.

perish in the torments of fire, but in mind they remained stedfast in the ordinances of the law. The latter were openly delivered, the former were crowned in secret. It is a greater thing to be delivered from the flame of hell than from the furnace of a human power. If, then, Nebuchadnezzar praised and extolled and gave glory to God because He delivered three children from the fire, and gave such glory as to send forth a decree throughout his kingdom, "Whosoever shall speak blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut off, and their houses shall be brought to ruin," how should not these kings be moved, who observe, not three children delivered from the flame, but their very selves delivered from hell, when they see Christ, by whom they have been delivered,
contemptuously spurned in Christians, when they hear it said to a Christian, " Say that thou art not a Christian " ? Men are willing to do such deeds, but they do not wish to suffer, at all events, such punishments.

15. For see what they do and what they suffer. They slay souls, they suffer in body: they cause everlasting deaths, and yet they complain that they themselves suffer temporal deaths. And yet what deaths do they suffer ? They allege to us some martyrs of theirs in persecution. See, Marculus was hurled headlong from a rock; see, Donatus of Bagaia was thrown into a well. When have the Eoman authorities decreed such punishments as casting men down rocks ? But what do those of our party reply ? What was done I know not; what, however, do ours tell ? That they flung themselves headlong, and cast the infamy of it upon the authorities. Let us call to mind the custom of the Eoman authorities, and see to whom we are to give credit. Our men declare that those men cast themselves down headlong. If they are not the very disciples of those men, who now cast themselves down precipices, while no man persecutes them, let us not credit the allegation of our men: what wonder if those men did what these are wont to do ? The Roman authorities never did employ such punishments: for had they not the power to put them to death openly ? But those men, while they wished to be honoured when dead, found not a death to make them more famous. In

1 2 Mace. vii.

TRACT. XI.] THE DONATISTS SUFFER AS HAGAR. 167

short, whatever the fact was, I do not know. And even if thou hast suffered corporal affliction, O party of Donatus, at the hand of the Catholic Church, as an Hagar thou hast suffered it at the hand of Sarah; " return to thy mistress." A point which it was indeed necessary to discuss has detained us somewhat too long to be at all able to expound the whole text of the Gospel Lesson. Let this suffice you in the meantime, beloved brethren, lest, by speaking of other matters, what has been spoken might be shut out from your hearts.

Hold fast these things, declare such things; and while yourselves are inflamed, go your way thither, and set on fire them that are cold.

TEACTATE XII.
Chapter III. 6-21.

1. WT"^ Â°k serve > beloved, that the intimation with which H we yesterday excited your attention has brought you together with more alacrity, and in greater number than usual; but meanwhile let us, if you please, pay our debt of a discourse on the Gospel Lesson, which comes in due course.

You shall then hear, beloved, as well what we have already effected concerning the peace of the Church, and what we hope yet further to accomplish. For the present, then, let the
whole attention of your hearts be given to the gospel; let none be thinking of anything else. For if he who attends to it wholly apprehends with difficulty, must not he who divides himself by diverse thoughts let go what he has received? Moreover, you remember, beloved, that onjihe^last Loros day^ as the Lord deigned to help us, we discoursed of spiritual regeneration. That lesson we have caused to be read to you, again, so that what was then left unspoken, we may now, by the aid of your prayers in the name of Christ, fulfil.

2. Spiritual regeneration is one, just as the generation of the flesh is one. And Mcodemus said the truth when he said to the Lord that a man cannot, when he is old, return again into his mother's womb and be born. He indeed said that a man cannot do this when he is old, as if he could do it even were he an infant. But be he fresh from the womb, or now in years, he cannot possibly return again into the mother's bowels and be born. But just as for the birth of the flesh, the bowels of woman avail to bring forth the child only once, so for the spiritual birth the bowels of the Church avail that a man be baptized only once. Therefore, in case one should say, "Well, but this man was born in heresy, and this in schism: " all that was cut away, if you remember what was

168

TRACT. XII. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TYPOIFIED. 169

debated to you about our three fathers, of whom God willed to be called the God, not that they were thus alone, but because in them alone the figure of the future people was made up in its completeness. For we find one born of a bond woman disinherited, one born of a free woman made heir: again, we find one born of a free woman disinherited, one born of a bond woman made heir. Ishmael, born of a bond woman, disinherited; Isaac, born of a free woman, made heir: Esau, born of a free woman, disinherited; the sons of Jacob, born of bond women, made heirs. Thus, in these three fathers the figure of the whole future people is seen: and not without reason God saith, " I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: this," saith He, " is my name for ever." x Eather let us remember what was promised to Abraham himself: for this was promised to Isaac, and also to Jacob. What do we find? " In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." 2 At that time the one man believed what as yet he saw not: men now see, and are blinded. What was promised to the one man is fulfilled in the nations; and they who will not see what is already fulfilled, are separating themselves from the communion of the nations. But what avails it them that they will not see? See they do, whether they will or no; the open truth strikes against their closed eyes.

3. It was in answer to Mcodemus, who was of them that had believed on Jesus, that it was said, And Jesus did not trust Himself to them. To certain men, indeed, He did not trust Himself, though they had already believed on Him.
Thus it is written, " Many believed in His name, seeing the signs which He did. But Jesus did not trust Himself to them. For He needed not that any should testify of man; for Himself knew what was in man." Behold, they already believed on Jesus, and yet Jesus did not trust Himself to them. Why, because they were not yet born again of water and of the Spirit. From this have we exhorted and do exhort our brethren the catechumens. For if you ask them, they have already believed in Jesus; but because they have not yet received His flesh and blood, Jesus has not yet trusted Himself to them. What must they do that Jesus may trust

Ex. iii. 6, 15. 2 Gen. xxii. 18.

170 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XII.

Himself to them? They must be born again of water and of the Spirit; the Church that is in travail with them must bring them forth. They have been conceived; they must be brought forth to the light: they have breasts to be nourished at; let them not fear lest, being born, they may be smothered; let them not depart from the mother's breasts.

4. No man can return into his mother's bowels and be born again. But some one is born of a bond woman? Well, did they who were born of bond women at the former time, return into the wombs of the free to be born anew? The seed of Abraham was in Ishmael also; but that Abraham might have a son of the bond maid, it was at the advice of his wife. The child was of the husband's seed, not of the womb, but at the sole pleasure of the wife. Was his birth of a bond woman the reason why he was disinherited? Then, if he was disinherited because he was the son of a bond woman, no sons of bond women would be admitted to the inheritance. The sons of Jacob were admitted to the inheritance; but Ishmael was put out of it, not because born of a bond woman, but because he was proud to his mother, proud to his mother's son; for his mother was Sarah rather than Hagar. The one gave her womb, the other's will was added:

Abraham would not have done what Sarah willed not: therefore was he Sarah's son rather. But because he was proud to his brother, proud in playing, that is, in mocking him; what said Sarah? " Cast out the bond woman and her son; for the son of the bond woman shall not be heir with my son Isaac." 1 It was not, therefore, the bowels of the bond woman that caused his rejection, but the slave's neck. For the freeborn is a slave if he is proud, and, what is worse, the slave of a bad mistress, of pride itself. Thus, my brethren, answer the man, that a man cannot be born a second time; answer fearlessly, that a man cannot be born a second time. Whatever is done a second time is mockery, whatever is done a second time is play. It is Ishmael playing, let him be cast out. For Sarah observed them playing, saith the Scripture, and said to Abraham, " Cast out the bond woman and her son." The playing of the boys displeased Sarah. She saw

1 Gen. xxi. 9, 10.
something strange in their play. Do not they who have sons like to see them playing? She saw and disapproved it.

Something or other she saw in their play; she saw mockery in it, observed the pride of the slave; she was displeased with it, and she cast him out. The children of bond women, when wicked, are cast out; and the child of the free woman, when an Esau, is cast out. Let none, therefore, presume on his birth of good parents; let none presume on his being baptized by holy men. Let him that is baptized by holy men still beware lest he be not a Jacob, but an Esau. This would I say then, brethren, it is better to be baptized by men that seek their own and love the world, which is what the name of bond woman imports, and to be spiritually seeking the inheritance of Christ, so as to be as it were a son of Jacob by a bond woman, than to be baptized by holy men and to become proud, so as to be an Esau to be cast out, though born of a free woman. Hold ye this fast, brethren. We are not coaxing you, let none of your hope be in us; we natter neither ourselves nor you; every man bears his own burden. It is our duty to speak, that we be not judged unhappily: yours to hear, and that with the heart, lest what we give be required of you; nay, that when it is required, it may be found a gain, not a loss.

5. The Lord says to Nicodemus, and explains to him:
"Yerily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Thou, says He, understandest a carnal generation, when thou sayest, Can a man return into his mother's bowels? The birth for the kingdom of God must be of water and of the Spirit. If one is born to the temporal inheritance of a human father, be he born of the bowels of a carnal mother; if one is born to the everlasting inheritance of God as his Father, be he born of the bowels of the Church. A father, as one that will die, begets a son by his wife to succeed him; but God begets of the Church sons, not to succeed Him, but to abide with Himself. And He goes on: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." We are born spiritually then, and in spirit we are born by the word and sacrament. The Spirit is present that we may be born; the Spirit is invisibly present whereof thou art born, for thou too must be invisibly born. For He goes on to say: "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The Spirit bloweth where it listeth, and thou nearest its voice, but knowest not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth." None sees the Spirit; and how do we hear the Spirit's voice? There sounds a psalm, it is the Spirit's voice; the gospel sounds, it is the Spirit's voice; the divine word sounds, it is the Spirit's voice. "Thou nearest its voice, and knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth." But if thou art born of the Spirit, thou too shalt be so, that one who is not born of the Spirit knows not, as for thee, whence
thou comest, or whither thou goest. For He said, as He went on, "So is also every one that is born of the Spirit."

6. "Mcodemus answered and said unto Him, How can these things be ?" And, in fact, in the carnal sense, he knew not how. In him occurred what the Lord had said; the Spirit's voice he heard, but knew not whence it came, and whither it was going. "Jesus answered and said unto him. Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things ?"

Oh, brethren ! what ? do we think that the Lord meant to taunt scornfully this master of the Jews ? The Lord knew what He was doing; He wished the man to be born of the Spirit. No man is born of the Spirit if he be not humble, for humility itself makes us to be born of the Spirit; " for the Lord is nigh to them that are of broken heart." * The man was puffed up with his mastership, and it appeared of some importance to himself that he was a teacher of the Jews.

Jesus pulled down his pride, that he might be born of the Spirit: He taunted him as an unlearned man; not that the Lord wished to appear his superior. What comparison can there be, God compared to man, truth to falsehood ? Christ greater than Nicodemus ! Ought this to be said, can it be said, is it to be thought ? If it were said, " Christ is greater than angels," it were ridiculous: for incomparably greater than every creature is He by whom every creature was made. But yet He rallies the man on his pride: " Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things ?" As if He said, Be-

1 Ps. xxxiv. 18.

TRACT. XII.] XICODEMUS TAUGHT HUMILITY. 173

hold, thou knowest nothing, thou art a proud chief; be thou born of the Spirit: for if thou be born of the Spirit, thou wilt keep the ways of God, so as to follow Christ's humility. So, indeed, is He high above all angels, that, " being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant, being made into the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man: He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death " (and lest any kind of death should please thee), " even the death of the cross." 1 He hung on the cross, and they scoffed at Him. He could have come down from the cross; but He deferred, that He might rise again from the tomb. He, the Lord, bore with proud slaves; the physician with the sick. If He did this, how ought they to act whom it behoves to be born of the Spirit ? â€” if He did this, He who is the true Master in heaven, not of men only, but also of angels. For if the angels are learned, they are so by the Word of God. If they are learned by the Word of God, ask of what they are learned; and you shall find, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

The neck of man is done away with, only the hard and stiff neck, that it may be gentle to bear the yoke of Christ, of which it is said, " My yoke is easy, and my burden is light." 2 7. And He goes on: " If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not; how shall ye believe, if I tell you heavenly things V* What earthly things did He tell, brethren?
"Except a man be born again;" is that an earthly thing? "The Spirit bloweth where it listeth, and thou nearest its voice, and knowest not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth;" is that earthly? For if He spoke it of the wind, as some have understood it, when they were asked what earthly thing the Lord meant, when He said, " If I told you earthly things, and ye believe not; how shall ye believe, if I tell you heavenly things?" â€” when, I say, it was asked of certain men what "earthly thing" the Lord meant, being in difficulty, they said, What He said, " The Spirit bloweth where it listeth," and "its voice thou hearest, and knowest not whence it cometh, or Whither it goeth," He said concern-

1 Phil. ii. 6-8. 2 Matt. xi. 30.

174 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XII.

ing the wind. Now what did He name earthly? He was speaking of the spiritual birth; and going on, saith, " So is every one that is born of the Spirit." Then, brethren, which of us does not see, for example, the south wind going from south to north, or another wind coming from east to west? How, then, know we not whence it cometh and whither it goeth? What earthly thing, then, did He tell, which men did not believe? Was it that which He had said about raising the temple again? Surely, for He had received His body of the earth, and that earth taken of the earthly body He was preparing to raise up. They did not believe Him as about to raise up earth. " If I told you earthly things," saith He, "and ye believe not; how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?" That is, if ye believe not that I can raise up the temple cast down by you, how shall ye believe that men can be regenerated by the Spirit?

8. And He goes on: "And no man hath ascended into heaven, but He that came down from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven." Behold, He was here, and was also in heaven; was here in His flesh, in heaven by His divinity; yea, everywhere by His divinity. Born of a mother, not quitting the Father. Two nativities of Christ are understood: one divine, the other human: one, that by which we were to be made; the other, that by which we were to be made anew: both marvellous; that without mother, this without father. But because He had taken a body of Adam, â€” for Mary was of Adam, â€” and was about to raise that same body again, it was an earthly thing He had said, in saying,

" Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." But this was a heavenly thing, when He said, " Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he shall not see the kingdom of God." Come then, brethren! God has willed to be the Son of man, and willed men to be sons of God. He came down for our sakes; let us ascend for His sake. For He alone descended and ascended, He who saith, " No man hath ascended into heaven, but He who came down from heaven." Are they not therefore to ascend into heaven whom He makes sons of God? Certainly they are: this is the promise to us, " They shall be equal to the angels of
God." 1 Then how is it that no man ascends, but He that descended? Because one only descended, only one ascends.

What of the rest? What are we to understand, but that they shall be His members, that one may ascend? Therefore it follows that "no man hath ascended into heaven, but He who came down from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven." Dost thou marvel that He was both here and in heaven? Such He made His disciples. Hear the Apostle Paul saying, "But our conversation is in heaven." 2 If the Apostle Paul, a man, walked in the flesh on earth, and yet had his conversation in heaven, was the God of heaven and earth not able to be both in heaven and on earth?

9. Therefore, if none but He descended and ascended, what hope is there for the rest? The hope for the rest is this, that He came down in order that in Him and with Him they might be one, who should ascend through Him. "He saith not, And to seeds," saith the apostle, "as in many; but as in one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." And to believers he saith, "And ye are Christ's; and if Christ's, then are Abraham's seed." 3 What he said to be one, that he said that we all are. Hence, in the Psalms, many sometimes sing, to show that one is made of many; sometimes one sings, to show what is made of many. Therefore was it only one that was healed in the pool; and whoever else went down into it was not healed.

Now this one shows forth the oneness of the Church. Woe to them who hate unity, and make to themselves parties among men! Let them hear him who wished to make them one, in one, for one: let them hear him who says, Be not ye making many: "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. But neither he that planteth is anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." 4 They were saying, "I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas." And he says, "Is Christ divided?" Be ye in one, be one thing, be one person: "No man hath ascended into heaven, but He who came down from heaven." Lo! we wish to be thine, they said to Paul. And he said to them, I will not that ye be Paul's, but be ye His whose is Paul together with you.

1 Matt. xxii. 30. 2 Phil ii. 20.
3 Gal. iii. 16, 29. * 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7.

176 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XII.

10. For He came down and died, and by that death delivered ns from death: being slain by death, He slew death.
And you know, brethren, that this death entered into the world through the devil's envy. "God made not death," saith the Scripture, "nor delights He in the destruction of the living; but He created all things to be." But what saith it here? "But by the devil's envy, death entered into the whole world." 1

To the death offered for our entertainment by the devil, man would not come by constraint; for the devil had not the power of forcing, but only cunning to persuade. Hadst thou not consented, the devil had brought in nothing: thy own consenting, man, led thee to death. Of the mortal are mortals born; from immortals we are become mortals. From Adam all men are mortal; but Jesus the Son of God, the Word of God, by which all things were made, the only Son equal with the Father, was made mortal: "for the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

11. He endured death, then; but death He hanged on the cross, and mortal men are delivered from death. The Lord calls to mind a great matter, which was done in a figure with them of old: "And as Moses," saith He, "lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up; that every one who believeth on Him may not perish, but have everlasting life." A great mystery is here, as they who read know. Again, let them hear, as well they who have not read as they who have forgotten what perhaps they had heard or read. The people Israel were fallen helplessly in the wilderness by the bite of serpents; they suffered a great calamity by many deaths: for it was the stroke of God correcting and scourging them that He might instruct them. In this was shown a great mystery, the figure of a thing to come: the Lord Himself testifies in this passage, so that no man can give another interpretation than that which the truth indicates concerning itself. Now Moses was ordered by the Lord to make a brazen serpent, and to raise it on a pole in the wilderness, and to admonish the people Israel, that, when any had been bitten by a serpent, he should look to that serpent raised up on the pole. This was done: men were bitten; they looked and were healed. 1 What are the biting serpents? Sins, from the mortality of the flesh. What is the serpent lifted up? The Lord's death on the cross. For as death came by the serpent, it was figured by the image of a serpent. The serpent's bite was deadly, the Lord's death is life-giving. A serpent is gazed on, that the serpent may have no power. What is this? A death is gazed on, that death may have no power. But whose death? The death of life: if it may be said, the death of life; ay, for it may be said, but said wonderfully. But should it not be spoken, seeing it was a thing to be done? Shall I hesitate to utter that which the Lord has deigned to do for me? Is not Christ the life? And yet Christ hung on the cross. Is not Christ life? And yet Christ was dead. But in Christ's death, death died.
Life dead slew death; the fulness of life swallowed up death; death was absorbed in the body of Christ. So also shall we say in the resurrection, when now triumphant we shall sing,
"Where, death, is thy contest? Where, death, is thy sting?" 2 Meanwhile, brethren, that we may be healed from sin, let us now gaze on Christ crucified; for "as Moses," saith He, "lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth on Him may not perish, but have everlasting life." Just as they who looked on that serpent perished not by the serpents' bites, so they who look in faith on Christ's death are healed from the bites of sins. But those were healed from death to temporal life; whilst here He saith, "that they may have everlasting life." Now there is this difference between the figurative image and the real thing: the figure procured temporal life; the reality, of which that was the figure, procures eternal life.

12. "For God sent not His Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world through Him may be saved."
So far, then, as it lies in the physician, He is come to heal the sick. He that will not observe the orders of the physician destroys himself. He is come a Saviour to the world: why is he called the Saviour of the world, but that He is come to save the world, not to judge the world? Thou wilt not be saved by Him; thou shalt be judged of thyself. And why do
1 Num. xxi. 6-9. 2 1 Cor. xv. 54.

TRACT. M

178 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XII.

I say, "shalt be judged"? See what He says: "He that believeth on Him is not judged, but he that believeth not." What dost thou expect He is going to say, but "is judged"?
"Already," saith He, "has been judged." The judgment has not yet appeared, but already it has taken place. For the Lord knoweth them that are His: He knows who are persevering for the crown, and who for the flame; knows the wheat on His threshing-floor, and knows the chaff; knows the good corn, and knows the tares. He that believeth not is already judged. Why judged? "Because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God."

13. "And this is the judgment, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." My brethren, whose works does the Lord find to be good? The works of none: He finds the works of all evil. How is it, then, that some have done the truth, and are come to the light? For this is what follows:
"But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." In what way have some done a good work to come to the light, namely, to Christ? And how have some loved darkness?
For if He finds all men sinners, and healeth all of sin, and that serpent in which the Lord's
death was figured healed them that were bitten, and on account of the serpent's bite the
serpent was set up, namely, the Lord's death on account of mortal men, whom He finds
unrighteous; how are we to understand that " this is the judgment, that light is come into
the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil " ?
How is this ? Whose works, in fact, are good ? Hast Thou not come to justify the ungodly
" But they loved," saith He, " darkness rather than light." There He laid the emphasis:
for many loved their sins; many confessed their sins; amLhe who confesses his sins, and
accuses them, doth now work with God. God accuses thy sins: and if thou also accusest,
thy art united to God. There are, as it were, two things, man and sinner. That thou art
called man, is God's doing; that thou art called sinner, is man's own doing. Blot out what
thou hast done, that God may save what He has done. It behoves thee to hate thine own
work in

TRACT. XII.] COMING TO THE LIGHT. 179

thee, and to love the work of God in thee. And when thy own deeds will begin to
displease thee, from that time thy good works begin, as thou findest fault with thy evil
works.
The confession of evil works is the beginning of good works.
Thou doest the truth, and comest to the light. How is it thou doest the truth ? Thou dost
not caress, nor soothe, nor flatter thyself; nor say, " I am righteous," whilst thou art
unrighteous: thus, thou beginnest to do the truth. Thou comest to the light, that thy works
may be made manifest that they are wrought in God; for thy sin, the very thing that has
given thee displeasure, would not have displeased thee, if God did not shine into thee,
and His truth show it thee. But he that loves his sins, even after being admonished, hates
the light admonishing him, and flees from it, that his works which he loves may not be
proved to be evil. But he that doeth truth accuses his evil works in himself, spares not
himself, forgives not himself, that God may forgive him:
for that which he desires God to forgive, he himself acknowledges, and he comes to the
light; to which he is thankful for showing him what he should hate in himself. He says to
God, " Turn away Thy face from my sins: " yet with what countenance says it, unless he
adds, " For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me" ? 1 Be that before
thyself which thou desirest not to be before God. But if thou wilt put thy sin behind thee,
God will thrust it back before thine eyes; and this He will do at a time when there will be
no more fruit of repentance.

14. Eun, my brethren, lest the darkness lay hold of you.
Awake to your salvation, awake while there is time; let none be kept back from the
temple of God, none kept back from the work of the Lord, none called away from
continual prayer, none be defrauded of wonted devotion. Awake, then, while it is day: the
day shines, Christ is the day. He is ready to forgive sins, but to them that acknowledge
them; ready to punish the self-defenders, who boast that they are righteous, and think
themselves to be something when they are nothing.
But he that walks in His love and mercy, even being free from those great and deadly sins, such crimes as murder, theft,

x Ps. li. 11.

180 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TE ACT. XII.

adultery; still, because of those which seem to be minute sins, of tongue, or of thought, or of intemperance in things permitted, he doeth the truth in confession, and cometh to the light in good works: since many minute sins, if they be neglected, kill. Minute are the drops that swell the rivers; minute are the grains of sand; but if much sand is put together, the heap presses and crushes. Bilge-water neglected in the hold does the same thing as a rushing wave. Gradually it leaks in through the hold; and by long leaking in and no pumping out, it sinks the ship. Now what is this pumping out, but by good works, by sighing, fasting, giving, forgiving, so to effect that sins may not overwhelm us? The path of this life, however, is troublesome, full of temptations: in prosperity, let it not lift us up; in adversity, let it not crush us.

He who gave the happiness of this world gave it for thy comfort, not for thy ruin. Again, He who scourgeth thee in this life, doeth it for thy improvement, not for thy condemnation. Bear the Father that corrects thee for thy training, lest thou feel the judge in punishing thee. These things we tell you every day, and they must be often said, because they are good and wholesome.

TEACTATE XIII.

Chapter III. 22-29.

1. THE course of reading from the Gospel of John, as X those of you who are concerned for your own progress may remember, so proceeds in regular order, that the passage which has now been read comes before us for exposition to-day. You remember that we have expounded it, in the preceding discourses, from the very beginning of the Gospel, as far as the lesson of to-day. And though perhaps you have forgotten much of it, at least it remains in your memory that we have done our part in it. What you have heard from it about the baptism of John, even though you retain not all, yet I believe you have heard that which you may retain. Also, what was said as to why the Holy Spirit appeared in the shape of a dove; and how that most knotty question was solved, namely, what was that something in the Lord which John did not know, and which he learned by means of the dove, whilst already John knew Him, since, as Jesus came to be baptized, he said to Him, "I ought to be baptized by Thee, and comest Thou to me?" when the Lord answered him, "Suffer it now, that all righteousness may be fulfilled." *
2. Now, therefore, the order of our reading obliges us to return to that same John. The same is he who was prophesied of by Isaiah, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye a way for the Lord, make His paths straight." Such testimony gave he to his Lord and (for the Lord deemed him worthy) his friend. And the Lord, even his friend, did also Himself bear witness to John. For concerning John He said, "Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist." But as He put Himself before John, in that wherein He was greater, He was God. "But he that is less," saith He, "in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he." Less in age; greater in power, in deity, in majesty, in brightness: even as "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." In the preceding passages, however, John had given testimony to the Lord, in such wise that he did indeed call Him Son of God, but said not that He was God, nor yet denied it: he was silent as to His being God, not denied that He was God; but yet he was not altogether silent as to His being God, for perhaps we find this in the lesson of to-day. He had called Him Son of God; but men, too, have been called sons of God. He had declared Him to be of such excellence, that he was not himself worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe. Now this greatness gives us much to understand: whose shoe-latchet he was not worthy to loose, he than whom none greater had arisen among them that are born of women. He was more, indeed, than all men and angels. For we find an angel forbidding a man to fall at his feet. For example, when in the Apocalypse an angel was showing certain things to John, the writer of this Gospel, John, terrified at the greatness of the vision, fell down at the angel's feet. But said the angel, "Rise; see thou do it not: worship God, for I am thy fellow-servant, and the brethren's." An angel, then, forbade a man to fall down at his feet. Is it not manifest that He must be above all angels, for whom a man, such that a greater than he has not risen among them that are born of women, declares himself to be not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe?

3. John, however, may say something more evidently, that our Lord Jesus Christ is God. We may find this in the present passage, that it is perhaps of Him we have been singing, "The Lord reigned over all the earth;" against which they are deaf who imagine that He reigns only in Africa. But let them not suppose that it is not of Christ it is spoken when it is said, "God reigned over all the earth." For who else is our King, but our Lord Jesus Christ? It is He that is our King. And what have you heard in the same psalm, in the verse just sung, "Sing praises to our God, sing praises: sing

Matt. xi. 11. 2 Rev. xxii. 8, 9.
praises to our King, sing praises." Whom he called God, the same he called our King: "Sing praises to our God, sing praises: sing praises to our King, sing ye praises with understanding." And that thou shouldst not understand Him to whom thou singest praises to reign in one part, he says, "For God is King of all the earth." 1 And how is He King of all the earth, who appeared in one part of the earth, in Jerusalem, in Judea, walking among men, born, sucking the breast, growing, eating, drinking, waking, sleeping, sitting at a well, wearied; laid hold of, scourged, spat upon, crowned with thorns, hanged on a tree, wounded with a spear, dead, buried? How then King of all the earth? What was seen locally was flesh, to carnal eyes only flesh was visible; the immortal majesty was concealed in mortal flesh. And with what eyes shall we be able to behold the immortal majesty, after penetrating through the structure of the flesh? There is another eye, there is an inner eye. Tobias, for example, was not without eyes, when, blind in his bodily eyes, he was giving precepts of life to his son. 2 The son was holding the father's hand, that the father might walk with his feet, whilst the father was giving the son counsel to walk in the way of righteousness. Here I see eyes, and there I understand eyes. And better are the eyes of him that gives counsel of life, than his who holds the hand.

Such eyes Jesus also required when He said to Philip, "Am I so long time with you, and ye have not known me?" Such eyes He required when He said, "Philip, he that seeth me, seeth the Father." These are the eyes of the understanding, these are the eyes of the mind. It is for that reason that the psalm, when it had said, "For God is King of all the earth," immediately added, "Sing ye praises with understanding."

For in that I say, "Sing ye praises to our God," I say that God is our King. But yet our King you have seen among men, as man; you have seen Him suffering, crucified, dead: there was in that flesh something concealed, which you might have seen with eyes of flesh. What was there concealed?

"Sing ye praises with understanding." Do not seek to see with the eyes what is beheld by the mind. "Sing praises" with the tongue, for He is among you as flesh; but because "

1 Ps. xlvii. 3-8. 2 Tolit iv.

184. ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIII.

Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us/ render the sound to the flesh, render to God the gaze of the mind. "Sing ye praises with understanding," and you see that the "Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

4. Now let John also declare his witness: "After these things came Jesus and His disciples into the land of Judea; and there He tarried with them, and baptized." Being baptized, He baptized. Not with that baptism with which He was baptized did He baptize.
The Lord, being baptized by a servant, gives baptism, showing the path of humility and leading to the baptism of the Lord, that is, His own baptism, by giving an example of humility, in not Himself refusing baptism from a servant. And in the baptism by a servant, a way was prepared for the Lord; the Lord also being baptized, made Himself a way for them that come to Him. Let us hear Himself: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." If thou seekest truth, keep the way, for the way and the truth are the same. The way that thou art going is the same as the whither thou art going: thou art not going by a way as one thing, to an object as another thing; not coming to Christ by something else as a way, thou comest to Christ by Christ.

How by Christ to Christ ? By Christ the man, to Christ God; by the Word made flesh, to the Word which in the beginning was God with God; from that which man ate, to that which angels daily eat. For so it is written, "He gave them bread of heaven: man ate the bread of angels." 1 What is the bread of angels ? "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." How has man eaten the bread of angels ? "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

5. But though we have said that angels eat, do not fancy, brethren, that this is done with teeth. For if you think so, God, of whom the angels eat, is as it were torn in pieces. Who tears righteousness in pieces ? But still, some one asks me, And who is it that can eat righteousness ? Well, how is it said, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled " ? The food which thou eatest carnally perishes, in order to refresh thee; to repair thy waste it is consumed: eat righteousness; and while thou art refreshed, it continues entire. Just as by seeing this corporeal light, these eyes of ours are refreshed, and yet it is a corporeal thing that is seen by corporeal eyes. Many there have been, when too long in darkness, whose eyesight is weakened by fasting, as it were, from light. The eyes, deprived of their food (for they feed on light), become wearied by fasting, and weakened, so that they cannot bear to see the light by which they are refreshed; and if the light is too long absent, they are quenched, and the very sense of sight dies as it were in them. What then ? Does the light become less, because so many eyes are daily fed by it ? Thy eyes are refreshed, and the light remains entire. As God was able to show this in the case of corporeal light to corporeal eyes, does He not show that other light to clean hearts as unwearied, continuing entire, and in no respect failing ? What light ? "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." Let us see if this is light. "For with Thee is the fountain of light, and in Thy light shall we see light." On earth, fountain is one thing, light another. When thirsting, thou seekest a fountain, and to get to the fountain thou seekest light; and if it is not day, thou lightest a lamp to get to the fountain.

That fountain is the very light: to the thirsting a fountain, to the blind a light. Let the eyes be opened to see the light, let the lips of the heart be opened to drink of the fountain; that

1 Ps. lxxviii. 24.

TRACT. XIII. ] THE TUTJE LIGHT. 185

waste it is consumed: eat righteousness; and while thou art refreshed, it continues entire. Just as by seeing this corporeal light, these eyes of ours are refreshed, and yet it is a corporeal thing that is seen by corporeal eyes. Many there have been, when too long in darkness, whose eyesight is weakened by fasting, as it were, from light. The eyes, deprived of their food (for they feed on light), become wearied by fasting, and weakened, so that they cannot bear to see the light by which they are refreshed; and if the light is too long absent, they are quenched, and the very sense of sight dies as it were in them. What then ? Does the light become less, because so many eyes are daily fed by it ? Thy eyes are refreshed, and the light remains entire. As God was able to show this in the case of corporeal light to corporeal eyes, does He not show that other light to clean hearts as unwearied, continuing entire, and in no respect failing ? What light ? "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." Let us see if this is light. "For with Thee is the fountain of light, and in Thy light shall we see light." On earth, fountain is one thing, light another. When thirsting, thou seekest a fountain, and to get to the fountain thou seekest light; and if it is not day, thou lightest a lamp to get to the fountain.

That fountain is the very light: to the thirsting a fountain, to the blind a light. Let the eyes be opened to see the light, let the lips of the heart be opened to drink of the fountain; that
which thou drinkest, thou seest, thou nearest. God becomes all to thee; for He is to thee the whole of these things which thou lovest. If thou regardest things visible, neither is God bread, nor is God water, nor is God this light, nor is He garment nor house. For all these are things visible, and single separate things. What bread is, water is not; and what a garment is, a house is not; and what these things are, God is not, for they are visible things. God is all this to thee: if thou hungriest, He is bread to thee; if thou thirstest, He is water to thee; if thou art in darkness, He is light to thee: for He remains incorruptible. If thou art naked, He is a garment of immortality to thee, when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality. All things can be said of God, and nothing is worthily said.

186 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIII.

of God. Nothing is wider than this poverty of expression.
Thou seekest a fitting name for Him, thou canst not find it; thou seekest to speak of Him in any way soever, thou findest that He is all. What likeness have the lamb and the lion? Both is said of Christ. " Behold the Lamb of God! " How a lion? " The Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed." 1

6. Let us hear John: " Jesus baptized." We said that Jesus baptized. How Jesus? How the Lord? How the Son of God? How the Word? Well, but the Word was made flesh. " And John also was baptizing in iEnon, near to Salim." A certain lake, " iEnon." How do we know it was a lake? " Because there was much water there, and they came and were baptized. For John was not yet cast into prison."
If you remember (see, I say it again), I told you why John baptized: because the Lord must needs be baptized. And why must the Lord be baptized? Because many there would be to despise baptism, that they might appear to be endowed with greater grace than they saw other believers endowed with. For example, a catechumen, now living continently, might despise a married person, and say of himself that he was better than the other believer. That catechumen might possibly say in his heart, "What need have I to receive baptism, to have just what that other man has, than whom I am already better?"
Therefore, lest that neck of pride should hurl to destruction certain men much elated with the merits of their own righteousness, the Lord was willing to be baptized by a servant, as if addressing His chief sons: " Why do you extol yourselves? Why lift yourselves up because you have, one prudence, another learning, another chastity, another the courage of patience? Can you possibly have as much as I who gave you these? And yet I was baptized by a servant, you disdain to be baptized by the Lord." This is the sense of " to fulfil all righteousness."

7. But some one will say, " It were enough, then, that John baptized only the Lord; what need was there for others to be baptized by John? " Now we have said this too, that if John had baptized only the Lord, men would not be without this thought, that John had a better baptism than the Lord had.

They would say, in fact, "So great was the baptism of John, that Christ alone was worthy to be baptized therewith." Therefore, to show that the baptism which the Lord was to give was better than that of John, â€” that the one might be understood as that of a servant, the other as that of the Lord, â€” the Lord was baptized to give an example of humility; but He was not the only one baptized by John, lest John's baptism should appear to be better than the baptism of the Lord. To this end, however, our Lord Jesus Christ showed the way, as you have heard, brethren, lest any man, arrogating to himself that he has abundance of some particular grace, should disdain to be baptized with the baptism of the Lord. For whatever the catechumen's proficiency, he still carries the load of his iniquity: it is not forgiven him until he shall have come to baptism. Just as the people Israel were not rid of the Egyptians until they had come to the Red Sea, so no man is rid of the pressure of sins until he has come to the font of baptism.

8. "Then there arose a question on the part of John's disciples with the Jews about purifying." John baptized, Christ baptized. John's disciples were moved; there was a running after Christ, people were coming to John. Those who came to John, he sent to Jesus to be baptized; but they who were baptized by Christ were not sent to John. John's disciples were alarmed, and began to dispute with the Jews, as usually happens. Understand the Jews to have declared that Christ was greater, and that to His baptism people ought to have recourse. John's disciples, not yet understanding this, defended John's baptism. They came to John himself, that he might solve the question. Understand, beloved. And here we are given to see the use of humility, and, when people were erring in the subject of dispute, are shown whether John desired to glory in himself. Now probably he said, "You say the truth, you contend rightly; mine is the better baptism, I baptized Christ Himself." John could say this after Christ was baptized. If he wished to exalt himself, what an opportunity he had to do so! But he knew better before whom to humble himself: to Him whom he knew to have come after himself by birth, he willingly yielded precedence by confessing Him. He understood his own salvation to be in Christ. He had already

said above, "We all have received out of His fulness;" and this is to confess Him to be God. For how can all men receive of His fulness, if He be not God? For if He is man in such wise that He is not God, then Himself also receives of the fulness of God, and so is not God. But if all men receive of His fulness, He is the fountain, they are drinkers. They that drink of a fountain, both thirst and drink. The fountain never thirsts; it has never need
of itself. Men need a fountain. With thirsty stomachs and parched lips they run to the fountain to be refreshed. The fountain flows to refresh, so does the Lord Jesus.

9. Let us see, then, what answer John gives: "They came unto John, and said unto him, Eabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold the same baptizeth, and all men come to him:" that is, What sayest thou? Ought they not to be hindered, that they may rather come to thee? "He answered and said, A man cannot receive anything, except it be given him from heaven." Of whom, think you, had John said this? Of himself. "As a man, I received," saith he, "from heaven." Note, my beloved: "A man cannot receive anything, except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said, I am not the Christ." As much as to say, "Why do ye deceive yourselves? See how you have put this question before me. What have you said to me? 'Eabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness.' Then you know what sort of witness I bare to Him. Am I now to say that He is not the same whom I declared Him to be? And because I received somewhat from heaven, in order to be something, do you wish me to be empty of it, so as to speak against the truth? A man cannot receive anything, except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said, I am not the Christ." "Thou art not the Christ; but what if thou art greater than He, since thou didst baptize Him?" "I am sent:" I am the herald, He is the Judge.

10. But hear a far stronger, a far more expressive testimony. See ye what it is we are treating of; see ye that to love any person in place of Christ is adultery. Why do I say this? Let us attend to the voice of John. People could be

TEACT. XIII.] JOHN'S FIDELITY TO CHRIST. 189

mistaken in him, could think him to be the person he was not.
He rejects the false honour, in order to hold the truth complete. See what he declares Christ to be; what does he say himself is? "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom." Be chaste, love the bridegroom. But what art thou, who sayest to us, "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom? But the friend of the bridegroom, who standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice." The Lord our God will help me in proportion to the tumult of my heart, for it is full of sadness, to utter the grief I feel; but I beseech you by Christ Himself to imagine in thought what it will not be possible for me to utter; for I know that my grief cannot be expressed with befitting impressiveness. Now I see many adulterers who desire to get possession of the bride, purchased at so great a price, loved while deformed that she might be made fair, having been purchased and delivered and adorned by such an one; and those adulterers strive with their words to be loved instead of the bridegroom. Of that One it is said, "This is He that baptizeth." L Who is he that goes forth from us and says, "I am he that baptizeth"? Who is he that goes forth from us and says, "That is holy which I give"? Who is he that goes hence and says, "It is good for thee to be born of me"? Let us hear
the friend of the bridegroom, not the adulterers against the bridegroom; let us hear one jealous, but not for himself.

11. Brethren, return in thought to your own homes. I speak of carnal, I speak of earthly things; I speak after the manner of men, for the infirmity of your flesh. Many of you have, many of you wish to have, many, though you wish not to have, still have had wives; many who do not at all wish to have wives, are born of the wives of your fathers. This is a feeling that touches every heart. There is no man so alien from mankind in human affairs as not to feel what I say. Suppose that a man, having set out on a journey, had commended his bride to the care of his friend: "See, I pray thee, thou art my dear friend; see to it, lest in my absence some other may perchance be loved in my stead." Then what sort of a person must he be, who, while the guardian of the bride

1 John i. 33.

190 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIII.

or wife of his friend, does indeed endeavour that none other be loved, but if he wishes himself to be loved instead of his friend, and desires to enjoy her who was committed to his care, how detestable must he appear to all mankind! Let him see her gazing out of the window, or joking with some one somewhat too heedlessly, he forbids her as one who is jealous. I see him jealous, but let me see for whom he is jealous; whether for his absent friend or for his present self. Think that our Lord Jesus Christ has done this. He has committed His bride to the care of His friend; He has set out on a journey to a far country to receive a kingdom, as He says Himself in the Gospel, but yet is present in His majesty. Let the friend who has gone beyond the sea be deceived; and if he is deceived, woe to him who deceives! Why do men attempt to deceive God, 

â€” God who looks at the hearts of all, and searches the secrets of all? But some heretic shows himself, and says, "'Tis I that gives, 'tis I that sanctify, 'tis I that justify; go not thou to that other sect." He does well indeed to be jealous, but see for whom. "Go not thou to idols," saith he, â€” he is rightly jealous; "nor to diviners," â€” still rightly jealous. Let us see for whom lie is jealous: "What I give is holy, because it is I that give it; he is baptized whom I baptize; he whom I baptize not is not baptized." Hear thou the friend of the bridegroom, learn to be jealous for thy friend; hear His voice who is "He that baptizeth." Why desire to arrogate to thyself what is not thine? Is he so very absent who has left here his bride? Knowest thou not, that He who rose from the dead is sitting at the right hand of the Father? If the Jews despised Him hanging on the tree, dost thou despise Him sitting in heaven? Be assured, beloved, that I suffer great grief of this matter; but, as I have said, I leave the rest to your thoughts. I cannot utter it if I speak the whole day.
If I bewail it the whole day, I do not enough. I cannot utter it, if I should have, as the
prophet says, "a fountain of tears;" and were I changed into tears, and to become all
tears, were I turned into tongues, and to become all tongues, it were not enough.

12. Let us return and see what this John saith: "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom;"
she is not my bride. And


TRACT. XIII.] THE BRIDE OF CHRIST. 191

dost thou not rejoice in the marriage ? Yea, saith he, I do rejoice: " But the friend of the
bridegroom, who standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the voice of the
bridegroom." Not because of mine own voice, saith he, do I rejoice, but because of the
Bridegroom's voice. I am in the place of hearer; He, of speaker: I am as one that must be
enlightened, He is the light; I am as the ear, He is the word.
Therefore the friend of the Bridegroom standeth and heareth Him. Why standeth ?
Because he falls not. How falls not ?
Because he is humble. See him standing on solid ground;
" I am not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe." Thou dost well to be humble;
deservedly thou dost not fall; deservedly thou standest, and hearest Him, and rejoicest
greatly for the Bridegroom's voice. So also the apostle is the Bridegroom's friend; he too
is jealous, not for himself, but for the Bridegroom. Hear his voice when he is jealous:
" I am jealous over you," said he, " with the jealousy of God: " not with my own, nor for
myself, but with the jealousy of God. Why ?
How ? Over whom art thou jealous, and for whom ? " For I
have espoused you to one husband, to present a chaste virgin to Christ." Why dost thou
fear, then ? Why art thou jealous ? " I fear," saith he, " lest, as the serpent beguiled Eve
by his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the chastity which is in Christ." 1
The whole Church is called a virgin. You see that the members of the Church are divers,
that they are endowed with and do rejoice in divers gifts:
some men wedded, some women wedded; some are widowers who seek no more to have
wives, some are widows who seek no more to have husbands; some men preserve
continence from their youth, some women have vowed their virginity to God: divers are
the gifts, but all these are one virgin. Where is this virginity ? for it is not in the body. It
belongs to few women; and if virginity can be said of men, to few men in the Church
belongs a holy integrity even of body; yet one such is a more honourable member. Other
members, however, preserve virginity, not in body, but all in mind. What is the virginity
of the mind ? Entire faith, firm hope, sincere charity.
This is the virginity which he, who was jealous for the Bride-

1 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3.
groom, feared might be corrupted by the serpent. For, just as the bodily member is marred in a certain part, so the seduction of the tongue defiles the virginity of the heart. Let her who does not desire without cause to keep virginity of body, see to it that she be not corrupted in mind.

13. What shall I say, then, brethren? Even the heretics have virgins, and there are many virgins among heretics. Let us see whether they love the Bridegroom, so that this virginity may be guarded. For whom is it guarded? "For Christ." Let us see if it be for Christ, and not for Donatus: let us see for whom this virginity is preserved; you can easily prove. Behold, I show you the Bridegroom, for He shows Himself. John bears witness to Him: "This is He that baptizeth." Thou virgin, if for this Bridegroom thou preservest thy virginity, why runnest thou to him who says, "I am he that baptizeth," while the friend of the Bridegroom tells thee, "This is He that baptizeth"? Again, thy Bridegroom possesseth the whole world; why, then, shouldst thou be defiled with a part of it? Who is the Bridegroom? "For God is King of all the earth." This thy Bridegroom possesses the whole, because He purchased the whole. See at what price He purchased it, that thou mayest understand what He has purchased. What price has He given? He gave His blood. Where gave He, where shed He, His blood? In His passion. Is it not to thy Bridegroom thou singest, or feignest to sing, when the whole world was purchased: "They pierced my hands and my feet, they counted all my bones: but they themselves considered me, they looked upon me, they divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots"? Thou art the bride, acknowledge thy Bridegroom's vesture. Upon what vesture was the lot cast? Ask the Gospel; see to whom thou art espoused, see from whom thou receivest pledges. Ask the Gospel; see what it tells thee in the suffering of the Lord. "There was a coat" there: let us see what kind; "woven from the top throughout." What does the coat woven from the top signify, but charity? What does this coat signify, but unity? Consider this coat, which not even the persecutors of Christ divided. For it saith, "They said among themselves, Let us not divide it, but let us cast lots upon it." Behold that of which the psalm spoke! Christ's persecutors did not rend His garment; Christians divide the Church.

14. But what shall I say, brethren? Let us see plainly what He purchased. For there He bought, where He paid the price. Paid it for how much? If He paid it only for Africa, let us be Donatists, and not be called Donatists, but Christians; since Christ bought only
Africa: although even here are other than Donatists. But He has not been silent of what He bought in this transaction. He has made up the account: thanks be to God, He has not tricked us. Need there is for that bride to hear, and then to understand to whom she has vowed her virginity. There, in that psalm where it says, "They pierced my hands and my feet, they counted all my bones;" wherein the Lord's passion is most openly declared; â€” the psalm which is read every year on the last week, in the hearing of the whole people, at the approach of Christ's passion; and this psalm is read both among them and us; â€” there, I say, note, brethren, what He has bought: let the bill of merchandise be read: hear ye what He bought: " All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship in His sight: for the kingdom is His, and He shall rule the nations." Behold what it is He has bought! Behold! " For God, the King of all the earth," is thy Bridegroom. Why, then, wouldst thou have one so rich reduced to rags? Acknowledge Him: He bought the whole; yet thou sayest, " Thou hast a part of it here." Oh, would that thouwert well-pleasing to thy Spouse; would that thou who speakest were not defiled, and, what is worse, defiled in heart, not in body! Thou loveth a man instead of Christ; loveth one that says, "'Tis I that baptize;" not hearing the friend of the Bridegroom when he says, " This is He that baptizeth;" not hearing him when he says, " He that hath the bride is the Bridegroom." I have not the bride, said he; but what am I? " But the friend of the Bridegroom, who standeth and heareth Him, rejoiceth greatly, because of the Bridegroom's voice."

15. Evidently, then, my brethren, it profits those men nothing to keep virginity, to have continence, to give alms. All those doings which are praised in the Church profit them

TRACT. n

194 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIII.

nothing; because they rend unity, namely, that "coat" of charity. What do they? Many among them are eloquent; great tongues, streams of tongues. Do they speak like angels? Let them hear the friend of the Bridegroom, jealous for the Bridegroom, not for himself: " Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." 1

1 6. But what say they? " We have baptism." Thou hast, but not thine. It is one thing to have, another to own. Baptism thou hast, for thou hast received to be baptized, received as one enlightened, provided thou be not darkened of thyself; and when thou givest, thou givest as a minister, not as owner; as a herald proclaiming, not as a judge. The judge speaks through the
herald, and nevertheless it is not written in the registers, "The herald said," but, "The judge said."
Therefore see if what thou givest is thine by authority. But if thou hast received, confess with the friend of the Bridegroom,
"A man cannot receive anything, except it be given him from heaven." Confess with the friend of the Bridegroom, "He that hath the bride is the Bridegroom; but the friend of the Bridegroom standeth and heareth Him." But 0, would thou didst stand and hear Him, and not fall, to hear thyself! For by hearing Him, thou wouldst stand and hear; for thou wilt speak, and thy head is puffed with pride. I, saith the Church, if I am the bride, if I have received pledges, if I have been redeemed at the price of that blood, do hear the voice of the Bridegroom; and I do hear the voice of the Bridegroom's friend too, if he give glory to my Bridegroom, not to himself.
Let the friend speak: "He that hath the bride is the Bridegroom; but the friend of the Bridegroom standeth and heareth Him, and rejoices greatly because of the voice of the Bridegroom." Behold, thou hast sacraments; and I grant that thou hast. Thou hast the form, but thou art a branch cut off from the vine; thou hast a form, I want the root. There is no fruit of the form, except where there is a root; but where is the root but in charity? Hear the form of the cut-off branches; let Paul speak: "Though I know all mysteries," saith he, "and have all prophecy, and all faith" (and how

1 Cor. xiii. 1.

TEACT. XIII.] CHAKITY THE GREATEST GIFT. 195

great a faith! ), "so as to remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."

1 7. Let no man tell you fables, then. "Pontius wrought a miracle; and Donatus prayed, and God answered him from heaven." In the first place, either they are deceived, or they deceive. In the last place, grant that he removes mountains: "And have not charity," saith the apostle, "I am nothing."
Let us see whether he has charity. I would believe that he had, if he had not divided unity. For against those whom I may call marvel-workers, my God has put me on my guard, saying â€œ "In the last times there shall arise false prophets, doing signs and wonders, to lead into error, if it were possible, even the elect: lo, I have foretold it to you." Therefore the Bridegroom has cautioned us, that we ought not to be deceived even by miracles. Sometimes, indeed, a deserter frightens a plain countryman; but whether he is of the camp, and whether he is the better of that character with which he is marked, is what he who would not be frightened or seduced attends to. Let us then, my brethren, hold unity: without unity, even he who works miracles is nothing. The people Israel was in unity, and yet wrought no miracles: Pharaoh's magicians were out of unity, and yet they wrought the like works as Moses. 2 The people Israel, as I have said, wrought no miracle. Who were saved with God â€” they who did, or they who did not, work miracles? The Apostle Peter raised a dead person: Simon Magus did many things: there were there certain Christians who
were not able to do either what Peter did or what Simon did; and wherein did they rejoice?

In this, that their names were written in heaven. For this is what our Lord Jesus Christ said to the disciples on their return, because of the faith of the Gentiles. The disciples, in truth, themselves said, boasting, " Behold, Lord, in Thy name even the devils are subject to us." Eightly indeed they confessed, they brought the honour to the name of Christ; and yet what does He say to them? " Do not ye glory in this, that the devils are subject to you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." 3 Peter cast out devils. Some old widow, some lay person or other, having charity, and holding the 1 Mark xiii. 22, 23. s Exvii> 12 . 3 Luke x. 17.

196 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIII.

integrity of faith, forsooth does not do this. Peter is the eye in the body, that man is the finger, yet is he in the same body in which Peter is; and if the finger has less power than the eye, yet it is not cut off from the body. Better is it to be a finger and to be in the body, than to be an eye and to be plucked out of the body.

18. Therefore, my brethren, let no man deceive you, let no man seduce you: love the peace of Christ, who was crucified for you, whilst He was God. Paul says, " Neither he that planteth is anything, neither he that watereth, but God who giveth the increase." 1 And does any of us say that he is something? If we say that we are something, and give not the glory to Him, we are adulterers; we desire ourselves to be loved, not the Bridegroom. Love ye Christ, and us in Him, in whom also you are beloved by us. Let the members love one another, but live all under the Head. With grief indeed, my brethren, I have been obliged to speak much, and yet I have said little: I have not been able to finish the passage; God will help us to finish it in due season. I did not wish to burden your hearts further; I wish them to be free for sighs and prayers in behalf of those who are still deaf and do not understand.

1 1 Cor. iii. 7.

TEACTATE XIV.

Chapter III. 29-36.

1. riHIS lesson from the holy Gospel shows us the excel-
JL lency of our Lord Jesus Christ's divinity, and the humility of the man who earned the title of the Bridegroom's friend; that we may distinguish between the man who is man, and the Man who is God. For the Man who is God is our Lord Jesus Christ, God before all ages, Man in the age of our world: God of the Father, man of the Virgin, yet one and the same Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Son of God, God and man. But John, a man of
distinguished grace, was sent before Him, a man enlightened by Him who is the Light. For of John it is said, "He was not the Light, but that he should bear witness of the Light." He may himself be called a light indeed, and rightly so; but an enlightened, not an enlightening light. The light that enlightens, and that which is enlightened, are different things: for even our eyes are called lights (lumina), and yet when we open them in the dark, they do not see. But the light that enlightens is a light both from itself and for itself, and does not need another light for its shining; but all the rest need it, that they may shine.

2. Accordingly John confessed Him: as you have heard that when Jesus was making many disciples, and they reported to John as if to excite him to jealousy, â€” for they told the matter as if moved by envy, "Lo, he is making more disciples than thou," â€” John confessed what he was, and thereby merited to belong to Him, because he dared not affirm himself to be that which Jesus is. Now this is what John said: "A man cannot receive anything, except it be given him from heaven." Therefore Christ gives, man receives. "Ye yourselves bear me witness that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I am sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the Bridegroom; but the friend of the Bridegroom, who standeth and heareth

197

198 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIV.

Him, rejoiceth greatly because of the Bridegroom's voice." Not of himself did he give himself joy. He that will have his joy of himself shall be sad; but he that will have his joy of God will ever rejoice, because God is everlasting. Dost thou desire to have everlasting joy? Cleave to Him who is everlasting. Such an one John declared himself to be. "Because of the Bridegroom's voice, the friend of the Bridegroom rejoiceth," not because of his own voice, and "standeth and heareth." Therefore, if he falls, he heareth Him not: for of a certain one who fell it is said, "And he stood not in the truth;"* this is said of the devil. It behoves the Bridegroom's friend, then, "to stand and to hear." What is it to stand? It is to abide in His grace, which he received. And he hears a voice at which he rejoices. Such was John: he knew whereof he rejoiced; he did not arrogate to himself to be what he was not; he knew himself as one enlightened, not the enlightener.

"But that was the true Light," saith the evangelist, "that lighteneth every man coming into this world." If "every man," then also John himself; for he too is of men. Moreover, although none hath arisen among them that are born of women greater than John, yet he was himself one of those that are born of women. Is he to be compared with Him who, because He willed it, was born by a singular and extraordinary birth? For both generations of the Lord are unexampled, both the divine and the human: by the divine He has no mother; by the human, no father. Therefore John was but one of the rest: of greater grace, however, so that of those born of women none arose greater than he; so great a testimony he gave to our Lord Jesus Christ as to call Him the Bridegroom, and himself
the Bridegroom's friend, not worthy however to loose the latchet of the Bridegroom's shoe. You have already heard much on this point, beloved: let us look to what follows; for it is somewhat hard to understand. But as John himself says, that "no man can receive anything, except it be given him from heaven," whatever we shall not have understood, let us ask Him who gives from heaven: for we are men, and cannot receive anything, except He, who is not man, give it us.

1 John viii. 44.

TRACT. XIV.] THE BRIDEGROOM'S FRIEND. 199

3. Now this is what follows; and John says, "This my joy therefore is fulfilled." What is his joy ? To rejoice at the Bridegroom's voice. It is fulfilled in me, I have my grace; more I do not assume to myself, lest also I lose what I have received. What is this joy ? "With joy rejoiceth for the Bridegroom's voice." A man may understand, then, that he ought not to rejoice of his own wisdom, but of the wisdom which he has received from God. Let him ask nothing more, and he loses not what he found. For many, in that they affirmed themselves to be wise, became fools. The apostle convicts them, and says of them, "Because that which is known of God is manifest to them; for God has showed it unto them." Hear ye what he says of certain unthankful, ungodly men: "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are seen, being understood by the things that are made, His eternal power likewise, and Godhead; so that they are without excuse." Why without excuse? "Because, knowing God" (he said not, "because they knew Him not"), "they glorified Him not as God, nor were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened: professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." 1 If they had known God, they had known at the same time that God, and none other, had made them wise; and they would not then attribute to themselves that which they did not have from themselves, but to Him from whom they had received it. But by their unthankfulness they became fools. Therefore, what God gave freely, He took from the unthankful. John would not be this; he would be thankful: he confessed to have received, and declared that he rejoiced for the Bridegroom's voice, saying, "Therefore this my joy is fulfilled."

4. "He must increase, but I must decrease." What is this ? He must be exalted, but I must be humbled. How is Jesus to increase ? How is God to increase ? The perfect does not increase. God neither increases nor decreases. For if He % increases, He is not perfect; if He decreases, he is not God. And how can Jesus increase, being God ? If to man's estate, I since He deigned to be man and was a child; and, though the Word of God, lay an infant in a manger; and, though His

1 Rom. i. 19-22
mother's Creator, yet sucked the milk of infancy of her: then Jesus having grown in age of the flesh, that perhaps is the reason why it is said, "He must increase, but I must decrease."

But why in this? As regards the flesh, John and Jesus were of the same age, there being six months between them: they had grown up together; and if our Lord Jesus Christ had willed to be here longer before His death, and that John should be here with Him, then, as they had grown up together, so would they have grown old together: in what way, then, "He must increase, but I must decrease"? Above all, our Lord Jesus Christ being now thirty years old, does a man who is already thirty years old still grow? From that same age, men begin to go downward, and to decline to graver age, thence to old age. Again, even had they both been lads, he would not have said, "He must increase," but, We must increase together.

But now each is thirty years of age. The interval of six months makes no difference in age; the difference is discovered by reading rather than by the look of the persons.

5. What means, then, "He must increase, but I must decrease"? This is a great mystery! Before the Lord Jesus came, men were glorying of themselves; He came a man, to lessen man's glory, and to increase the glory of God. Now He came without sin, and found all men in sin. If thus He came to put away sin, God may freely give, man may confess. For man's confession is man's lowliness: God's pity is God's loftiness. Therefore, since He came to forgive man his sins, let man acknowledge his own lowliness, and let God show His pity. "He must increase, but I must decrease:" that is, He must give, but I must receive; He must be glorified, but I must confess. Let man know his own condition, and confess to God; and hear the apostle as he says to a proud, elated man, bent on extolling himself: "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? And if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou didst not receive it?" 1 Then let man understand that he has received; and when he would call that his own which is not his, let him decrease: for it is good for him that God be glorified in him. Let him decrease in himself, that he may be increased in God. These testimonies and this truth, Christ

1 1 Cor. iv. 7.

and John signified by their deaths. For John was lessened by the Head: Christ was exalted on the cross; so that even there it appeared what this is, "He must increase, but I must decrease." Again, Christ was born when the days were just beginning to lengthen; John was born when they began to shorten. Thus their very creation and deaths testify to the
words of John, when he says, "He must increase, but I must decrease." May the glory of God then increase in us, and our own glory decrease, that even ours may increase in God! For this is what the apostle says, this is what Holy Scripture says: "He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." 1 Wilt thou glory in thyself? Thou wilt grow; but grow worse in thy evil. For whose grows worse is justly decreased. Let God, then, who is ever perfect, grow, and grow in thee. For the more thou understandest God, and apprehendest Him, He seems to be growing in thee; but in Himself He grows not, being ever perfect. Thou didst understand a little yesterday; thou understandest more today, wilt understand much more to-morrow: the very light of God increases in thee; as if thus God increases, who remains ever perfect. It is as if one's eyes were being cured of former blindness, and he began to see a little glimmer of light, and the next day he saw more, and the third day still more: to him the light would seem to grow; yet the light is perfect, whether he see it or not. Thus it is also with the inner man: he makes progress indeed in God, and God seems to be increasing in him; yet man himself is decreasing, that he may fall from his own glory, and rise into the glory of God.

6. What we have just heard, appears now distinctly and clearly. "He that cometh from above, is above all." See what he says of Christ. What of himself? "He that is of the earth, is of earth, and speaketh of the earth. He that cometh from above is above all" — this is Christ; and (< he that is of the earth, is of earth, and speaketh of the earth " â€” this is John. And is this the whole: John is of the earth, and speaks of the earth? Is the whole testimony that he bears of Christ a speaking of the earth? Are they not voices of God that are heard from John, when he bears witness of

1 1 Cor. i. 31.

202 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIV.

Christ? Then how does he speak of the earth? He said this of man. So far as relates to man in himself, he is of earth, and speaks of the earth; and when he speaks some divine things, he is enlightened by God. For, were he not enlightened, he would be earth speaking of earth. God's grace is apart by itself, the nature of man apart by itself. Do but examine the nature of man: man is born and grows, he learns the customs of men. What does he know but earth, of earth? He speaks the things of men, knows the things of men, minds the things of men; carnal, he judges carnally, conjectures carnally: lo! it is man all over. Let the grace of God come, and enlighten his darkness, as it saith, "Thou wilt lighten my candle, Lord; my God, enlighten my darkness; " * let it take the mind of man, and turn it to its own light; immediately he begins to say, as the apostle says, "Yet not I, but the grace of God that is with me; " 2 and, "Now I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." 3 That is to say, "He must increase, but I must decrease."

Thus John: as regards John, he is of the earth, and speaks of the earth; whatever that is divine thou hast heard from John, is of Him that enlightens, not of him that receives.
7. "He that cometh from heaven is above all; and what He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth: and no man receiveth His testimony." Cometh from heaven, is above all, our Lord Jesus Christ; of whom it was said above, " No man hath ascended into heaven, but He that came down from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven." And He is above all; "and what He hath seen and heard, that He speaks."
Moreover, He hath a Father, being Himself the Son of God; He hath a Father, and He also hears of the Father. And what is that which He hears of the Father ? Who can unfold this ? When can my tongue, when can my heart be sufficient, either the heart to understand, or the tongue to utter, what that is which the Son hath heard from the Father ? May it be the Son has heard the Word of the Father ? Nay, the Son is the Word of the Father. You see how all human effort is here wearied out; you see how all guessing of our heart, all straining of our darkened mind, here fails. I hear 1 Ps. xviii. 28. "^sTCoTxyTiO^ 3 Gal. ii. 20.

TRACT. XIV.] HOW THE SON HEARETH THE FATHER. 203

the Scripture saying that the Son speaks that which He heareth from the Father; and again, I hear the Scripture saying that the Son is Himself the Word of the Father: " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." The words that we speak are fleeting and transient: as soon as thy word has sounded from thy mouth, it passeth away; it makes its noise, and passes away into silence. Canst thou follow thy sound, and hold it to make it stand ? Thy thought, however, remains, and of that thought that remains thou utterest many words that pass away. What say we, brethren ? When God spake, did He give out a voice, or sounds, or syllables ? If He did, in what tongue spake He ? In Hebrew, or in Greek, or in Latin ? Tongues are necessary where there is a distinction of nations. But there none can say that God spake in this tongue, or in that. Observe thy own heart. When thou conceivest a word which thou mayest utter, â€” for I will say, if I can, what we may note in ourselves, not whereby we may comprehend that, â€” well, when thou conceivest a word to utter, thou meanest to utter a thing, and the very conception of the thing is already a word in thy heart: it has not yet come forth, but it is already born, in the heart, and is waiting to come forth. But thou considerest the person to whom it is to come forth, with whom thou art to speak: if he is a Latin, thou seekest a Latin expression; if a Greek, thou thinkest of Greek words; if a Punic, thou considerest whether thou knowest the Punic language: for the diversity of hearers thou hast recourse to divers tongues to utter the word conceived; but the conception itself was bound by no tongue in particular. Whilst therefore God, when speaking, required not a language, nor took up any kind of speech, how was He heard by the Son, seeing that God's speaking is the Son Himself? As, in fact, thou hast in thy heart the word that thou speakest, and as it is with thee, and is none other than the spiritual conception itself (for just as thy soul is spirit, so also the word which thou hast conceived is spirit; for it has not yet received sound to be divided by syllables, but remains in the conception of thy heart, and in the mirror of the mind); so God gave out His Word, that is, begat the Son. And thou, indeed, begettest the
word even in thy heart according to time; God without time begat the Son by whom He created all times. Whilst, therefore, the Son is the Word of God, and the Son spoke to us not His own word, but the word of the Father, He willed to speak Himself to us when He was speaking the word of the Father. This it is that John said, as was fit and necessary; and we have expounded according to our ability. He whose heart has not yet attained to a proper perception of so great a matter, has whither to turn himself, has where to knock, has from whom to ask, from whom to seek, of whom to receive.

8. "He that cometh from heaven is above all; and what He hath seen and heard, that testifieth He; and His testimony no man receiveth." If no man, to what purpose came He ? He means, no man of a certain class. There are some people prepared for the wrath of God, to be damned with the devil; of these, none receiveth the testimony of Christ. For if none at all, not any man, received, what could these words mean, " But he that received His testimony hath set to his seal that God is true " ? Not certainly, then, no man, if thou sayest thyself, " He that received His testimony has set to his seal that God is true." Perhaps John, on being questioned, would answer and say, I know what I have said, in saying no man. There are, in fact, people born to God's wrath, and thereunto foreknown. For God knows who they are that will and that will not believe; He knows who they are that shall persevere in that in which they have believed, and who that shall fall away; and all that shall be for eternal life are numbered by God; and He knows already the people set apart. And if He knows this, and has given to the prophets by His Spirit to know it, He gave this also to John. Now John was observing, not with his eye, â€” for as regards himself he is earth, and speaketh of earth, â€” but with that grace of the Spirit which he received of God, he saw a certain people, ungodly, unbelieving. Contemplating that people in its unbelief, he says, " His testimony, who came from heaven, no man receiveth." No man of whom ? Of them who shall be on the left hand, of them to whom it shall be said, " Go into the everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." Who are they that do receive it ? They who shall be at the right hand, they to
"He that cometh from heaven is above all; and what He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth, and no man receiveth His testimony." He then turned his thought from the left hand, and looked at the right, and proceeded to say, "He that received His testimony has set to his seal that God is true." What means "has set to his seal that God is true," if it be not that man is a liar, and God is true? For no human being can speak any truth, unless he be enlightened by Him who cannot lie. God, then, is true; but Christ is God. Wouldst thou prove this? Receive His testimony, and thou findest it. For "he that hath received His testimony has set to his seal that God is true." Who is true? The same who came from heaven, and is above all, is God, and true. But if thou dost not yet understand Him to be God, thou hast not yet received His testimony: receive it, and thou puttest thy seal to it; confidently thou understandest, definitely thou acknowledgest, that God is true.

9. "For He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God." Himself is the true God, and God sent Him: God sent God. Join both, one God, true God sent by God. Ask concerning them singly, He is God; ask concerning them both, they are God. Not individually God, and both Gods; but each individual God, and both God. For so great is the charity of the Holy Spirit there, so great the peace of unity, that when thou questionest about them individually, the answer to thee is, God; when thou askest concerning the Trinity, thou gettest for answer, God. For if the spirit of man, when it cleaves to God, is one spirit, as the apostle openly declares, "He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit;" how much more is the equal Son, joined to the Father, together with Him one God! Hear another testimony.

1 1 Cor. vi. 17.

206 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIV.

You know how many believed, when they sold all they had and laid it at the apostles' feet, that it might be distributed to each according to his need; and what saith the Scripture of that gathering of the saints? "They had one soul and one heart in the Lord." * If charity made one soul of so many souls, and one heart of so many hearts, how great must be the charity between the Father and the Son! Surely it must be greater than that between those men who had one heart. If, then, the heart of many brethren was one by charity, if the soul of many brethren was one by charity, wouldst thou say that God the Father and God the Son are two? If they are two Gods, there is not the highest charity between them.

For if charity is here so great as to make thy soul and thy friend's soul one soul, how can it be then that the Father and the Son is not one God? Far be unfeigned faith from this thought. In short, how excellent that charity is, understand hence: the souls of many men are many, and if they love one another, it is one soul; still, in the case of men, they may be called many souls, because the union is not so strong. But there it is right for thee to say one God; two or three Gods it is not right for thee to say. From this, the supreme and surpassing excellency of charity is shown thee to be such, that a greater cannot be.
10. "For He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God." This, of course, he said of Christ, to distinguish himself from Christ. What then? Did not God send John himself? Did he not say himself, "I am sent before Him"?

and, "He that sent me to baptize with water"? And is it not of John that it is said, "Behold, I send my messenger before Thee, and he shall prepare Thy way"? 2 Does he not himself speak the words of God, he of whom it is said that he is more than a prophet? Then, if God sent him too, and he speaks the words of God, how do we understand him to have distinctly said of Christ, "He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God"? But see what he adds: "For God giveth not the Spirit by measure." What is this, "For God giveth not the Spirit by measure"? We find that God does give the Spirit by measure. Hear the apostle when he

1 Acts iv. 32. 2 Mal. iii. 1.

TRACT. XIV.| GIFTS ARE DIVERSE. 207

says, "According to the measure of the gift of Christ." * To men He gives by measure, to the only Son He gives not by measure. How does He give to men by measure? "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of wisdom according to the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another kinds of tongues; to another the gift of healing. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Have all the gift of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret? " 2 This man has one gift, that man another; and what that man has, this has not: there is a measure, a certain division of gifts. To men, therefore, it is given by measure, and concord among them makes one body. As the hand receives one kind of gift to work, the eye another to see, the ear another to hear, the foot another to walk; nevertheless the soul that does all is one, in the hand to work, in the foot to walk, in the ear to hear, in the eye to see; so are also the gifts of believers diverse, distributed to them as to members, to each according to his proper measure. But Christ, who gives, receives not by measure.

11. Now hear further what follows; because He had said of the Son, "For God giveth not the Spirit by measure: the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand," He added, "hath given all things into His hands," that thou mightest know also here with what distinction it is said, "The Father loveth the Son." And why? Does the Father not love John? And yet He has not given all things into his hand. Does the Father not love Paul? And yet He has not given all things into his hand. "The Father loveth the Son:" but as father loveth, not as master loveth a servant; as the Only Son, not as an adopted son. And so "hath given all things into His hand." What means "all things"? That the Son should be such as the Father is. To equality with Himself He begat Him in whom it was no robbery
to be in the form of God, equal to God. "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand." Therefore, having deigned to send us the Son, let us 1 Eph. ir. 7. 2 1 Cor- xii- 8 _3o.

II

208 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XIV.

not imagine that it is something less than the Father that is sent to us. The Father, in sending the Son, sent His other self.

12. But the disciples, still thinking that the Father is something greater than the Son, seeing only the flesh, and not understanding His divinity, said to Him, " Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." As much as to say, " We know Thee already, and bless Thee that we know Thee: for we thank Thee that Thou hast shown Thyself to us. But as yet we know not the Father: therefore our heart is inflamed, and occupied with a certain holy longing of seeing Thy Father who sent Thee. Show us Him, and we shall desire nothing more of Thee: for it sufficeth us when He has been shown, than whom none can be greater." A good longing, a good desire; but small intelligence. Now the Lord Jesus Himself, regarding them as small men seeking great things, and Himself great among the small, and yet small among the small, says to Philip, one of the disciples, who had said this: " Am I so long time with you, and ye have not known me, Philip ?" Here Philip might have answered, Thee we have known, but did we say to Thee, Show us Thyself ? We have known Thee, but it is the Father we seek to know. He immediately adds,

" He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also." 1 If, then, One equal with the Father has been sent, let us not estimate Him from the weakness of the flesh, but think of the majesty clothed in flesh, but not weighed down by the flesh. For, remaining God with the Father, He was made man among men, that, through Him who was made man, thou mightest become such as to receive God. For man could not receive .God. Man could see man; God he could not apprehend.

Why could he not apprehend God ? Because he had not the eye of the heart, by which to apprehend Him. There was something within disordered, something without sound: man had the eyes of the body sound, but the eyes of the heart sick. He was made man to the eye of the body; so that, believing on Him who could be seen in bodily form, thou mightst be healed for seeing Him whom thou wast not able to see spiritually. u Am I so long time with you, and ye

1 John xiv. 8, 9.
know me not, Philip? He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also." Why did they not see Him? Lo, they did see Him, and yet saw not the Father: they saw the flesh, but the majesty was concealed. What the disciples who loved Him saw, saw also the Jews who crucified Him. Inwardly, then, was He all; and in such manner inwardly in the flesh, that He remained with the Father when He came to the flesh.

13. Carnal thought does not apprehend what I say: let it defer understanding, and begin by faith; let it hear what follows: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." He has not said, The wrath of God cometh to him: but, "The wrath of God abideth on him." All that are born mortals have the wrath of God with them. What wrath of God? That wrath which Adam first received. For if the first man sinned, and heard the sentence, "Thou shalt die the death," he became mortal, and we began to be born mortal; and we have been born with the wrath of God. From this stock came the Son, not having sin, and He was clothed with flesh and mortality. If He partook with us of the wrath of God, are we slow to partake with Him the grace of God? He, then, that will not believe the Son, on the same "the wrath of God abideth." What wrath of God?
That of which the apostle says, *We also were by nature the children of wrath, even as the rest." 1 All are therefore children of wrath, because coming of the curse of death. Believe on Christ, for thee made mortal, that thou mayest receive Him, the immortal; and when thou shalt have received His immortality, thou shalt no longer be mortal. He lived, thou wast dead; He died that thou shouldst live. He has brought us the grace of God, and has taken away the wrath of God. God has conquered death, lest death should conquer man.

1 Eph. ii. 3.

TRACT.

TEACTATE XV.

Chapter IV. 1-42.

1. TT is nothing new to your ears, beloved, that the Evan-JLelist John, like an eagle, takes a loftier flight, and soars above the dark mist of earth, to gaze with steadier eyes upon the light of truth. From his Gospel much has already been treated of and discussed through our ministry, with the Lord's help; and the passage which has been read to-day follows in due order. What I am about to say, with the Lord's permission, many of you will hear in such wise that you will be reviewing what you know, rather than learning what you know not. Yet, for all that, your attention ought not
to be slack, because it is not an acquiring, but a reviewing, of knowledge. This has been read, and we have in our hands to discourse upon this passage â€” that which the Lord Jesus spoke with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well.

The things spoken there are great mysteries, and the similitudes of great things; feeding the hungry, and refreshing the weary soul.

2. Now when the Lord knew this, " when He had heard that the Pharisees had learned that He was making more disciples than John, and baptized more (though Jesus baptized not, but His disciples), He left Judea, and departed again into Galilee." We must not discourse of this too long, lest, by dwelling on what is manifest, we shall lack the time to investigate and lay open what is obscure. Certainly, if the Lord saw that the fact of their coming to know that He made more disciples, and baptized more, would so avail to salvation to the Pharisees in following Him, as to become themselves His disciples, and to desire to be baptized by Him; rather would He not have left Judea, but would have remained there for their sakes. But because He knew their

210

TRACT. XV. HOW JESUS BAPTIZED. 211

knowledge of the fact, and at the same time knew their envy, and that they learned this, not to follow, but to persecute him, He departed thence. He could, indeed, even when present, cause that He should not be taken of them, if He would not; He had it in His power not to be put to death, if He would not, since He had the power not to be born, if He would not. But because, in everything that He did as man, He was showing an example to them who were to believe on Him (that any one servant of God sinneth not if he retire into another place, when he sees, it may be, the rage of his persecutors, or of them that seek to bring his soul into evil; but if a servant of God did this he might appear to commit sin, had not the Lord led the way in doing it), that good Master did this to teach us, not because He feared it.

3. It may perhaps surprise you why it is said, that " Jesus baptized more than John;" and after this was said, it is subjoined, " although Jesus baptized not, but His disciples." What then ? Was the statement made false, and then corrected by this addition ? Or are both true, viz. that Jesus both did and also did not baptize ? He did in fact baptize, because it was He that cleansed; and He did not baptize, because it was not He that touched. The disciples supplied the ministry of the body; He afforded the aid of His majesty.

Now, when could He cease from baptizing, so long as He ceased not from cleansing ? Of Him it is said by the same John, in the person of the Baptist, who saith, " This is He that baptizeth." Jesus, therefore, is still baptizing; and so long as we continue to be baptized, Jesus baptizeth. Let a man come without fear to the minister below; for he has a Master above.
4. But it may be one saith, Christ does indeed baptize, but in spirit, not in body. As if, indeed, it were by the gift of another than He that any is imbued even with the sacrament of corporal and visible baptism. Wouldest thou know that it is He that baptizeth, not only with the Spirit, but also with water? Hear the apostle: " Even as Christ," saith he, "loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, purifying it with the washing of water by the Word, that He might present to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or

212 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XV.

any such thing." * Purifying it. How? " With the washing of water by the Word." What is the baptism of Christ? The washing of water by the Word. Take away the water, it is no baptism; take away the Word, it is no baptism.

5. This much, then, on the preliminary circumstances, by occasion of which He came to a conversation with that woman, let us look at the matters that remain; matters full of mysteries and pregnant with sacraments. " And He must needs pass through Samaria. He cometh then to a city of Samaria which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. Now Jacob's fountain was there." It was a well; but every well is a fountain, yet not every fountain a well. For where the water flows from the earth, and offers itself for use to them that draw it, it is called a fountain; but if accessible, and on the surface, it is called only a fountain: if, however, it be deep and far down, it is called a well, but in such wise as not to lose the name of fountain.

6. " Jesus therefore, being wearied with His journey, sat thus on the well. It was about the sixth hour." Now begin the mysteries. For it is not without a purpose that Jesus is weary; not indeed without a purpose that the strength of God is weary; not without a purpose that He is weary, by whom the wearied are refreshed; not without a purpose is He weary, by whose absence we are wearied, by whose presence we are strengthened. Nevertheless Jesus is weary, and weary with His journey; and He sits down, and that, too, near a well; and it is at the sixth hour that, being wearied, He sits down. All these things hint something, are intended to intimate something; they make us eager, and encourage us to knock. May Himself open to us and to you; He who has deigned to exhort us, so as to say, "Knock, and it shall be opened to you." It was for thee that Jesus was wearied with His journey. We find Jesus to be strength, and we find Jesus to be weak: we find a strong and a weak Jesus: strong, because "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: the same was in the beginning with God." Wouldest thou see how this Son of God is strong? "All things were made by

i Eph. v. 25-27.
Him, and without Him was nothing made:" and without labour, too, were they made. Then what can be stronger than He, by whom all things were made without labour? Wouldst thou know Him weak? "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." The strength of Christ created thee, the weakness of Christ created thee anew. The strength of Christ caused that to be which was not: the weakness of Christ caused that what was should not perish. He fashioned us by His strength, He sought us by His weakness.

7. As weak, then, He nourishes the weak, as a hen her chickens; for He likened Himself to a hen: " How often," He saith to Jerusalem, " would I have gathered thy children under my wings, as a hen her chickens; but thou wouldest not! " * And you see, brethren, how a hen becomes weak with her chickens. No other bird, when it is a mother, is recognised at once to be so. We see all kinds of sparrows building their nests before our eyes; we see swallows, storks, doves, every day building their nests; but we do not know them to be parents, except when we see them on their nests. But the hen is so enfeebled over her brood, that even if the chickens are not following her, if thou see not the young ones, yet thou knowest her at once to be a mother. With her wings drooping, her feathers ruffled, her note hoarse, in all her limbs she becomes so sunken and abject, that, as I have said, even though thou seest not her young, yet thou perceivest her to be a mother. In such manner was Jesus weak, wearied with His journey. His journey is the flesh assumed for us. For how can He, who is present everywhere, have a journey, He who is nowhere absent? Whither does He go, or whence, but that He could not come to us, except He had assumed the form of visible flesh? Therefore, as He deigned to come to us in such manner, that He appeared in the form of a servant by the flesh assumed, that same assumption of flesh is His journey. Thus, "wearied with His journey," what else is it but wearied in the flesh? Jesus was weak in the flesh: but do not thou become weak; but in His weakness be strong, because what is "the weakness of God is stronger than men."

^latt. xxiii. 37.

8. Under this image of things, Adam, who was the figure of Him that was to be, afforded us a great indication of this mystery; rather, God afforded it in him. For he was deemed worthy to receive a wife while he slept, and that wife was made for him of his own rib: since from Christ, sleeping on the cross, was the Church to come, â€” from His side, namely, as He slept; for it was from His side, pierced with the spear, as He hung on the cross, that the sacraments of the Church flowed forth. But why have I chosen to say this, brethren? Because it is the weakness of Christ that makes us strong.
A remarkable figure of this went before in the case of Adam. God could have taken flesh from the man to make of it a woman, and it seems that this might have been the more suitable. For it was the weaker sex that was being made, and weakness ought to have been made of flesh rather than of bone; for the bones are the stronger parts in the flesh. He took not flesh to make of it a woman; but took a bone, and of the bone was the woman shaped, and flesh was filled in into the place of the bone. He could have restored bone for bone; He could have taken, not a rib, but flesh, for the making of the woman. What, then, did this signify? Woman was made, as it were, strong, from the rib; Adam was made, as it were, weak, from the flesh. It is Christ and the Church; His weakness is our strength.

9. But why at the sixth hour? Because at the sixth age of the world. In the Gospel, count up as an hour each, the first age from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the removing to Babylon; the fifth, from the removing to Babylon to the baptism of John; thence is the sixth being enacted. Why dost thou marvel? Jesus came, and, by humbling Himself, came to a well. He came wearied, because He carried weak flesh. At the sixth hour, because in the sixth age of the world. To a well, because to the depth of this our habitation. For which reason it is said in the psalm: "From the depth have I cried unto Thee, Lord." 1 He sat, as I said, because He was humbled.

10. "And there came a woman." Figure of the Church

1 Ps. cxxx. 1.

TRACT. XV.] JESUS AT JACOB'S WELL. 215

not yet justified, but now about to be justified: for this is the subject of the discourse. She comes ignorant, she finds Him, and there is a dealing with her. Let us see what, and wherefore. "There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water." The Samaritans did not belong to the nation of the Jews: they were foreigners, though they inhabited neighbouring lands. It would take a long time to relate the origin of the Samaritans; that we may not be detained by long discourse of this, and leave necessary matters unsaid, suffice to say, then, that we regard the Samaritans as aliens. And, lest you should think that I have said this with more boldness than truth, hear the Lord Jesus Himself, what He said of that Samaritan, one of the ten lepers whom He had cleansed, who alone returned to give thanks: "Were there not ten cleansed? And where are the nine? There was not another to give glory to God, save this stranger." * It is pertinent to the image of the reality, that this woman, who bore the type of the Church, comes of strangers: for the Church was to come of the Gentiles, an alien from the race of the Jews. In that woman, then, let us hear ourselves, and in her acknowledge ourselves, and in her give thanks to God for ourselves. For she was the figure, not the reality; for she both first showed forth the figure and became the reality. For she believed
on Him who, of her, set the figure before us. " She cometh, then, to draw water." Had simply come to draw water, as people are wont to do, be they men or women.

11. "Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. For His disciples were gone away into the city to buy meat. Then saith the Samaritan woman unto Him, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, who am a Samaritan woman? For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans." You see that they were aliens: indeed, the Jews would not use their vessels. And as the woman brought with her a vessel with which to draw the water, it made her wonder that a Jew sought drink of her, â€” a thing which the Jews were not accustomed to do. But He who was asking drink was thirsting for the faith of the woman herself.

12. At length, hear who it is that asketh drink: "Jesus

1 Luke xvii. 17.

216 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XV.

answered and said unto her, If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldest, it may be, have asked of Him, and He would have given thee living water." He asks to drink, and promises to give drink.
He longs as one about to receive; He abounds as one about to satisfy. " If thou knewest," saith He, " the gift of God."
The gift of God is the Holy Spirit. But as yet He speaks to the woman guardedly, and enters into her heart by degrees.
It may be He is now teaching her. For what can be sweeter and kinder than that exhortation? " If thou knewest the gift of God," etc.: thus far He keeps her in suspense.
That is commonly called living water which issues from a spring:
that which is collected from rain in pools and cisterns is not called living water. And it may have flowed from a spring; yet if it should stand collected in some place, not admitting to it that from which it flowed, but, with the course interrupted, separated, as it were, from the channel of the fountain, it is not called " living water: " but that is called living water which is taken as it flows. Such water there, was in that fountain. Why, then, did He promise to give that which He was asking?

13. The woman, however, being in suspense, saith to Him,
<\ "Lord, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep."
See how she understood the living water, simply the water which was in that fountain. " Thou wouldest give me living water, and I carry that with which to draw, and thou dost not.
The living water is here; how art thou to give it me? "
Understanding another thing, and taking it carnally, she does in a manner knock, that the Master may open up that which is closed. She was knocking in ignorance, not with earnest purpose; she is still an object of pity, not yet of instruction.
14. The Lord speaks somewhat more clearly of that living water. Now the woman had said, "Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well, and drank of it himself, his children, and his cattle?" Thou canst not give me of the living water of this well, because thou hast nothing to draw with; perhaps thou promisest another fountain? Canst thou be better than our father, who dug this well, and used it himself, and his? Let the Lord, then, declare what He called living water. "Jesus answered and said unto her, Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but he that drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall not thirst for ever; but the water which I shall give him will become in him a fountain of water, springing up into everlasting life." The Lord has spoken more openly: "It shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up into everlasting life. He that drinketh of this water shall not thirst for ever." What more evident than that it was not visible, but invisible water, that He was promising? What more evident than that He was speaking, not in a carnal, but in a spiritual sense?

15. Still, however, the woman has her mind on the flesh: she is delighted with the thought of thirsting no more, and fancies that this was promised to her by the Lord after a carnal sense; which it will be indeed, but in the resurrection of the dead. She desired this now. God had indeed granted once to His servant Elias, that during forty days he neither hungered nor thirsted. Could not He give this always, seeing He had power to give it during forty days? She, however, sighed for it, desiring to have no want, no toil. To be always coming to that fountain, to be burdened with a weight with which to supply her want, and, when that which she had drawn is spent, to be obliged to return again: this was a daily toil to her; because that want of hers was to be relieved, not extinguished. Such a gift as Jesus promised delighted her; she asks Him to give her living water.

16. Nevertheless, let us not overlook the fact that it is something spiritual that the Lord was promising. What means, "Whoso shall drink of this water shall thirst again"? It is true as to this water; it is true as to what the water signified. Since the water in the well is the pleasure of the world in its dark depth: from this men draw it with the vessel of lusts. Stooping forward, they let down the lust to reach the pleasure fetched from the depth of the well, and enjoy the pleasure and the preceding lust let down to fetch it. For he who has not despatched his lust in advance cannot get to the pleasure. Consider lust, then, as the vessel; and pleasure as the water from the depth of the well: when one
has got at the pleasure of this world, it is meat to him, it is drink, it is a bath, a show, an
amour; can it be that he will not thirst again? Therefore, "Whoso shall drink of this
water," saith He, "will thirst again;" but if he shall receive water of me, "he shall never
thirst." "We shall be satisfied," it saith, "with the good things of Thy house." 1 Of what water, then, is He to give, but of
that of which it is said, "With Thee is the fountain of life"? Tor how shall they thirst,
who "shall be drunk with the fatness of Thy house"? 2

1 7. What He was promising them was a certain feeding and abundant fulness of the Holy
Spirit: but the woman did not yet understand; and not understanding, how did she answer?
"The woman saith unto Him, Sir, give me this water, that I
thirst not, neither come hither to draw." Want forced her to labour, and her weakness was
pleading against the toil.
Would that she heard the invitation, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy
laden, and I will refresh you"! 3
This is, in fact, what Jesus was saying to her, that she might no longer labour: but she did
not yet understand.

18. At length, wishing her to understand, "Jesus saith unto her, Go, call thy husband, and
come hither." What means this, "Call thy husband"? Was it through her husband that
He wished to give her that water? Or, because she did not understand, did He wish to
teach her through her husband? Perhaps it was as the apostle says concerning women,"
If they wish to learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home." But this the apostle
says of that where there is no Jesus present to teach. It is said, in short, to women whom
the apostle was forbidding to speak in the Church. 4 But when the Lord Himself was at
hand, and in person speaking to her, what need was there that He should speak to her by
her husband? Was it through her husband that He spoke to May, while sitting at His feet
and receiving His word; while Martha, wholly occupied with much serving, murmured at
the happiness of her sister? 5 Wherefore, my brethren, let us hear and understand what it
is that the Lord says to the woman, "Call thy husband." For it may be that

x Ps. lxv. 4. 2 Ps. xxxvi. 9, 10. 3 Matt. xi. 28.
4 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 5 Luke x. 40.

TRACT. XV.] THE HUSBAND CALLED. 219

He is saying also to our soul, "Call thy husband." Let us inquire also concerning the
soul's husband. Why, is not Jesus Himself already the soul's real husband? Let the
understanding be present, since what we are about to say can hardly be apprehended but
by attentive hearers: therefore let the understanding be present to apprehend, and perhaps
that same understanding will be found to be the husband of the soul.
19. Now Jesus, seeing that the woman did not understand, and willing her to understand, says to her, "Call thy husband."

"For the reason why thou knowest not what I say, because thy understanding is not present: I am speaking after the Spirit, and thou art hearing after the flesh. The things which I speak relate neither to the pleasure of the ears, nor to the eyes, nor to the smell, nor to the taste, nor to the touch; by the mind alone are they received, by the understanding alone are they drawn up: that understanding is not with thee, how canst thou apprehend what I am saying? 'Call thy husband,' bring thy understanding forward. What is it for thee to have a soul? It is not much, for a beast has a soul. Wherein art thou better than the beast? In having understanding, which the beast has not." Then what is "Call thy husband"? "Thou dost not apprehend me, thou dost not understand me: I am speaking to thee of the gift of God, and thy thought is of the flesh; thou wishest not to thirst in a carnal sense, I am addressing myself to the spirit: thy understanding is absent. 'Call thy husband.' 'Be not as the horse and mule, which have no understanding.' "Therefore, my brethren, to have a soul, and not to have understanding, that is, not to use it, not to live according to it, is a beast's life.

For we have somewhat in common with the beasts, that by which we live in the flesh, but it must be ruled by the understanding. For the motions of the soul, which moves after the flesh, and longs to run unrestrainedly loose after carnal delights, are ruled over by the understanding. Which is to be called the husband? — that which rules, or that which is ruled?

Without doubt, when the life is well ordered, the understanding rules the soul, for itself belongs to the soul. For the understanding is not something other than the soul, but a thing of the soul: as the eye is not something other than the flesh, but a thing of the flesh. But whilst the eye is a thing of the flesh, yet it alone enjoys the light; and the other fleshy members may be steeped in light, but they cannot feel the light: the eye alone is both bathed in it, and enjoys it.

Thus in our soul there is a something called the understanding. This something of the soul, which is called understanding and mind, is enlightened by the higher light. Now that higher light, by which the human mind is enlightened, is God; for "that was the true light which enlighteneth every man coming into this world." Such a light was Christ, such a light was speaking with the woman: yet she was not present with the understanding, to have it enlightened with that light; not merely to have it shed upon it, but to enjoy it. Therefore the Lord said, "Call thy husband," as if He were to say, I wish to enlighten, and yet there is not here whom I
may enlighten: bring hither the understanding through which thou mayest be taught, by which thou mayest be ruled.

Thus, put the soul without the understanding for the woman; and having the understanding as having the husband. But this husband does not rule the wife well, except when he is ruled by a higher. " For the head of the woman is the man, but the head of the man is Christ." 1 The head of the man was talking with the woman, and the man was not present. And so the Lord, as if He said, Bring hither thy head, that he may receive his head, says, " Call thy husband, and come hither; ": that is, Be here, be present: for thou art as absent, while thou understandest not the voice of the Truth here present; be thou present here, but not alone; be thou here with thy husband.

20. And, the husband being not yet called, still she does not understand, still she minds the flesh; for the man is absent: " I have not," saith she, " a husband." And the Lord proceeds and utters mysteries. Thou mayest understand that woman really to have had at that time no husband; she was living with some man, not a lawful husband, rather a paramour than a husband. And the Lord said to her, " Thou hast well said, I have not a husband." How then didst Thou say, " Call thy husband"? Now hear how the Lord knew well that she had not a husband. " He says to her," etc. In case the woman

1 1 Cor. xi. 3.

TRACT. XV.] THE FIVE HUSBANDS. 221

might suppose that the Lord had said, " Thou hast well said, I have not a husband," just because He had learned this fact of her, and not because he knew it by His own divinity, hear something which thou hast not said: " For thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband; this thou hast said truly."

21. Once more He urges us to investigate the matter somewhat more exactly concerning these five husbands. Many have in fact understood, not indeed absurdly, nor so far improbably, the five husbands of this woman to mean the five books of Moses. For the Samaritans made use of these books, and were under the same law: for it was from it they had circumcision.

But since we are hemmed in by what follows, " And he whom thou now hast is not thy husband," it appears to me that we can more easily take the five senses of the body to be the five former husbands of the soul. For when one is born, before he can make use of the mind and reason, he is ruled only by the senses of the flesh. In a little child, the soul seeks for or shuns what is heard, and seen, and smells, and tastes, and is perceived by the touch. It seeks for whatever soothes, and shuns whatever offends, those five senses. At first, the soul lives according to these five senses, as five husbands; because it is ruled by them. But why are they called husbands? Because they are lawful and right: made indeed by God, and are the gifts of God to the soul. The soul is still weak while ruled by these five husbands, and living under these five husbands; but when she comes to years of
exercising reason, if she is taken in hand by the noble discipline and teaching of wisdom, these five men are succeeded in their rule by no other than the true and lawful husband, and one better than they, who both rules better and rules for eternity, who cultivates and instructs her for eternity. For the five senses rule us, not for eternity, but for those temporal things that are to be sought or shunned. But when the understanding, imbued by wisdom, begins to rule the soul, it knows now not only how to avoid a pit, and to walk on even ground â€” a thing which the eyes show to the soul even in its weakness; nor merely to be charmed with musical voices, and to repel harsh sounds; nor to delight in agreeable scents, and to refuse offensive smells; nor to be captivated by

222 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XV.

sweetness, and displeased with bitterness; nor to be soothed with what is soft, and hurt with what is rough. For all these things are necessary to the soul in its weakness. Then what rule is made use of by that understanding? Not one to discern between black and white, but between just and unjust, between good and evil, between the profitable and the unprofitable, between chastity and impurity, that it may love the one and avoid the other; between charity and hatred, to be in the one, not to be in the other.

22. This husband had not yet succeeded to those five husbands in that woman. And where he does not succeed, error sways. For when the soul has begun to be capable of reason, it is ruled either by the wise mind or by error: but yet error does not rule, but destroys. Wherefore, after these five senses was that woman still wandering, and error was tossing her to and fro. And this error was not a lawful husband, but a paramour: for that reason the Lord saith to her, "Thou hast well said, I have not a husband. For thou hast had five husbands." The five senses of the flesh ruled thee at first; thou art come to the age of using reason, and yet thou art not come to wisdom, but art fallen into error. Therefore, after those five husbands, "this whom thou now hast is not thy husband." And if not a husband, what was he but a paramour? And so, "Call," not the paramour, but "thy husband," that thou mayest receive me with the understanding, and not by error have some false notion of me. For the woman was still in error, as she was thinking of that water: whilst the Lord was now speaking of the Holy Ghost. Why was she erring, but because she had a paramour, not a husband? Put away, therefore, that paramour who corrupts thee, and "go, call thy husband." Call, and come that thou mayest understand me.

23. "The woman saith unto Him, Sir, I see that thou art a prophet." The husband begins to come, he is not yet fully come. She accounted the Lord a prophet, and a prophet indeed He was; for it was of Himself He said, that "a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country." 1 Again, of Him it was said to Moses, "A Prophet will I raise

up to them of their brethren, like unto thee." 1 Like, namely, as to the form of the flesh, but not in the eminence of His majesty. Accordingly we find the Lord Jesus called a Prophet. Hence this woman is now not far wrong. * I see," she saith, " that thou art a prophet." She begins to call the husband, and to shut out the paramour; she begins to ask about a matter that is wont to disquiet her. For there was a contention between the Samaritans and the Jews, because the Jews worshipped God in the temple built by Solomon; but the Samaritans, being situated at a distance from it, did not worship there. For this reason the Jews, because they worshipped God in the temple, boasted themselves to be better than the Samaritans. " For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans:" because the latter said to them, How is it you boast and account yourselves to be better than we, just because you have a temple which we have not? Did our fathers, who were pleasing to God, worship in that temple? Was it not in this mountain where we are they worshipped? We then do better, say they, who pray to God in this mountain, where our fathers prayed. Both peoples contended in ignorance, because they had not the husband: they were inflated against each other, on the one side in behalf of the temple, on the other in behalf of the mountain.

24. What, however, does the Lord teach the woman now, as one whose husband has begun to be present? " The woman saith unto Him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me." For the Church will come, as it is said in the Song of Songs, " will come, and will pass over from the beginning of faith." 2 She will come in order to pass through; and pass through she cannot, except from the beginning of faith. Eightly she now hears, the husband being present: " Woman, believe me." For there is that in thee now which can believe, since thy husband is present. Thou hast begun to be present with the understanding, when thou calledst me a prophet. Woman, believe me; for if ye believe not, ye will not understand. 3

1 Deut. xviii. 18. 2 Cant. iv. 8, LXX. 3 Isa. vii. 9, LXX.

224 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XV.

Therefore, " Woman, believe me, for the hour will come when ye shall neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we worship what we know; for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour will come." " When ? " And now is." Well, what hour ? " When the true worshippers shall worship the Father in
spirit and in truth. " not in this mountain, not in the temple, but in spirit and in truth. " For the Father seeketh such to worship Him."

Why does the Father seek such to worship Him, not on a mountain, not in the temple, but in spirit and in truth?
" God is Spirit." If God were body, it were right that He should be worshipped on a mountain; for a mountain is corporeal: it were right He should be worshipped in the temple, for a temple is corporeal. " God is Spirit; and they that worship Him, must worship in spirit and in truth."

25. We have heard, and it is manifest; we had gone out of doors, and we are sent inward. Would I could find, thou didst say, some high and lonely mountain! For I think that, because God is on high, He hears me the rather from a high place. Because thou art on a mountain, dost thou imagine thyself near to God, and that He will quickly hear thee, as if calling to Him from the nearest place? He dwells on high, but regards the lowly. " The Lord is near." To whom? To the high, perhaps? " To them who are contrite of heart." * 'Tis a wonderful thing: He dwelleth on high, and yet is near to the lowly; "He hath regard to lowly things, but lofty things He knoweth from afar; " 2 He seeth the proud afar off, and He is the less near to them the higher they appear to themselves to be. Didst thou seek a mountain, then? Come down, that thou mayest come near Him. But wouldest thou ascend? Ascend, but do not seek a mountain. " The ascents," it saith, "are in his heart, in the valley of weeping." 3 The valley is humility. Therefore do all within. Even if perhaps thou seekest some lofty place, some holy place, make thyself a temple for God within thee. " For the temple of God is holy, which temple are ye." 4 Wouldest thou pray in a temple? Pray in thyself. But be thou first a temple of God, for He in His temple heareth him that prays.

1 Ps. xxxiv. 18. 2 Ps. cxxxviii. 6. 3 Ps. lxxxiv. 6. 4 1 Cor. iii. 17.

TRACT. XV.]

THE PROPHET OWNED.

225

26. "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. We worship that which we know: ye worship ye know not what; for salvation is of the Jews." A great thing has He attributed to the Jews; but do not understand Him to mean those spurious Jews. Understand that wall to which another is
joined, that they may be joined together, resting on the corner-stone, which is Christ. For there is one wall from the Jews, another from the Gentiles; these walls are far apart, only until they are united in the Corner. Now the aliens were strangers and foreigners from the covenants of God. 1

According to this, it is said, "We worship what we know."

It is said, indeed, in the person of the Jews, but not of all Jews, not of reprobate Jews, but of such as were the apostles, as were the prophets, as were all those saints who sold all their goods, and laid the price of their goods at the apostles' feet.

"For God hath not rejected His people which He foreknew." 2

27. The woman heard this, and proceeded. She had already called Him a prophet; she observes that He with whom she was speaking uttered such things as still more pertained to the prophet; and what answer did she make? See: "The woman saith unto Him, I know that Messias will come, who is called Christ: when He then is come, He will show us all things." What is this? Just now she saith, The Jews are contending for the temple, and we for this mountain: when He has come, He will despise the mountain, and overthrow the temple; He will teach us all things, that we may know how to worship in spirit and in truth. She knew who could teach her, but she did not yet know Him that was now teaching her. But now she was worthy to receive the manifestation of Him. Now Messias is Anointed: Anointed, in Greek, is Christ; in Hebrew, Messias; whence also, in Punic, Messe means Anoint. For the Hebrew, Punic, and Syriac are cognate and neighbouring languages.

28. Then, "The woman saith unto Him, I know that Messias will come, who is called Christ: when He then is come, He will tell us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I that speak with thee am He." She called her husband; he is made

J Eph. ii. 11-22. 2 Rom. xi. 2.

TRACT. P

226 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XV.

the head of the woman, and Christ is made the head of the man. Now is the woman constituted in faith, and ruled, as about to live rightly. After she heard this, "I that speak with thee am He," what further could she say, when the Lord Jesus willed to manifest Himself to the woman, to whom He had said, "Believe me"?

29. "And immediately came His disciples, and marvelled that He talked with the woman." That He was seeking her that was lost, He who came to seek that which was
lost: they marvelled at this. They marvelled at a good thing, they were not suspecting an evil thing. " Yet no man said, What seekest Thou, or why talkest Thou with her?"

30. "The woman then left her water-pot." Having heard, "I that speak with thee am He," and having received Christ the Lord into her heart, what could she do but now leave her water-pot, and run to preach the gospel? She cast out lust, and hastened to proclaim the truth. Let them who would preach the gospel learn; let them throw away their water-pot at the well. You remember what I said before of the water-pot: it was a vessel with which the water was drawn, called hydria, from its Greek name, because water is hydor in Greek; just as if it were called aquarium, from the Latin. She threw away her water-pot then, which was no longer of use, but a burden to her, such was her avidity to be satisfied with that water. Throwing her burden away, to make known Christ, "she ran to the city, and says to those men, Come, and see a man that told me all things that ever I did." Step by step, lest those men should get angry and indignant, and should persecute her. "Is this Christ? Then they went out of the city, and came to Him."

31. "And in the meanwhile His disciples besought Him, saying, Master, eat." For they had gone to buy meat, and had returned. "But He said, I have meat to eat which ye know not of. Therefore said the disciples one to another, Hath any man brought Him aught to eat?" What wonder if that woman did not understand about the water? See; the disciples do not yet understand the meat. But He heard their thoughts, and now as a master instructs them, not in a roundabout way, as He did the woman while He still sought her

TRACT. XV.} THE HARVEST NIGH. 227

husband, but openly at once: *My meat/ saith He, "is to do the will of Him that sent me." Therefore, in the case of that woman, it was even His drink to do the will of Him that sent Him. That was the reason why He said, "I thirst, give me to drink;" namely, to work faith in her, and to drink of her faith, and to transplant her into His own body, for His body is the Church. Therefore He saith, "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me."

32. "Say ye not, that there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?" He was aglow for the work, and was arranging to send forth labourers. You count four months to the harvest; I show you another harvest, white and ready. Behold, I say unto you, "Lift up your eyes, and see that the fields are already white for the harvest." Therefore He is going to send forth the reapers. "For in this is the saying true, that one reapeth, another soweth: that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together. I have sent you to reap that on which ye have not laboured: others have laboured, and ye are entered into their labour." What then? He sent reapers; sent He not the sowers? Whither the reapers? Where others laboured already. For where labour had already been bestowed, surely there had been sowing; and
what had been sown had now become ripe, and required the sickle and the threshing. Whither, then, were the reapers to be sent? Where the prophets had already preached before; for they were the sowers. For had they not been the sowers, whence had this come to the woman, "I know that Messias will come"? That woman was now ripened fruit, and the harvest fields were white, and sought the sickle. "I sent you," then. Whither? "To reap what ye have not sown: others sowed, and ye are entered into their labours." Who laboured? Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Read their labours; in all their labours there is a prophecy of Christ, and for that reason they were sowers. Moses, and all the other patriarchs, and all the prophets, how much they suffered in that cold season when they sowed! Therefore was the harvest now ready in Judea.

Justly was the corn there said to be as it were ripe, when so many thousands of men brought the price of their goods, and, laying them at the apostles' feet, having eased their shoulders of this worldly baggage, began to follow the Lord Christ. Verily the harvest was ripe. What was made of it? Of that harvest a few grains were thrown out, and sowed the whole world; and another harvest is rising which is to be reaped in the end of the world. Of that harvest it is said, "They that sow in tears shall reap with joy." But to that harvest not apostles, but angels, shall be sent forth. "The reapers," saith He, "are the angels." That harvest, then, is growing among tares, and is awaiting to be purged in the end of the world.

But that harvest to which the disciples were sent first, where the prophets laboured, was already ripe. But yet, brethren, observe what was said: "May rejoice together, both he that soweth and he that reapeth." They had dissimilar labours in time, but the rejoicing they shall enjoy alike equally; they shall receive for their wages together eternal life.

33. "And many Samaritans of that city believed on Him, because of the saying of the woman, who testified, He told me all that ever I did. And when the Samaritans came to Him, they besought Him that He would tarry with them; and He tarried there two days. And many more believed because of His word; and said to the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy words; for we have heard Him ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world." This also must be slightly noticed, for the lesson is come to an end. The woman first announced Him, and the Samaritans believed her testimony; and they besought Him to stay with them, and He stayed there two days, and many more believed. And when they had believed, they said to the woman, "Now we believe, not because of thy word; but we are come to know Him ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world: "first by report, then by His presence. So it is to-day with them that are without, and are not yet Christians. Christ is made known to them by Christian friends; and just upon the report of that woman, that is, the Church, they come to Christ, they believe through this report. He stays with them two days, that
is, gives them two precepts of charity; and many more believe, and more firmly believe, on Him, because He is in truth the Saviour of the world.

1 Ps. cxxvi. 5. 2 Matt. xiii. 39.

TEACTATE XVI.

Chapter IV. 43-54.

1. THE Gospel Lesson of to-day follows that of yesterday, JL and this is the subject of our discourse. In this passage the meaning, indeed, is not difficult of investigation, but worthy of preaching, worthy of admiration and praise. Accordingly, in reciting this passage of the Gospel, we must commend it to your attention, rather than laboriously expound it.

Now Jesus, after His stay of two days in Samaria, "departed into Galilee," where He was brought up. And the evangelist, as he goes on, says, "For Jesus Himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country." It was not because He had no honour in Samaria that Jesus departed thence after two days; for Samaria was not His own country, but Galilee. Whilst, therefore, He left Samaria so quickly, and came to Galilee, where He had been brought up, how does He testify that "a prophet hath no honour in his own country"? Either does it seem that He might have testified that a prophet has no honour in his own country, had He disdained to go into Galilee, and had stayed in Samaria.

2. Now mark well, beloved, while the Lord suggests and bestows what I may speak, that here is intimated to us no slight mystery. You know the question before us; seek ye out the solution of it. But, to make the solution desirable, let us repeat the theme. The point that troubles us is, why the evangelist said, "For Jesus Himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country." Urged by this, we go back to the preceding words, to discover the evangelist's intention in saying this; and we find him relating, in the preceding words of the narrative, that after two days Jesus departed from Samaria into Galilee. Was it for this, then, thou saidst, O evangelist, that Jesus testified that a prophet hath no

229

230 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVI.

honour in his own country, just because He left Samaria after two days, and made haste to come to Galilee? On the contrary, I should have thought it more likely, that if Jesus had no honour in His own country, He should not have hastened to it, and left Samaria. But if I am not mistaken, or rather, because it is true, and I am not mistaken; for the
evangelist saw what he was saying better than I can see it, saw the truth better than I do, he who drank it in from the Lord's bosom: for the evangelist is the same John who, among all the disciples, reclined on the Lord's breast, and whom the Lord, owing charity to all, yet loved above the rest. Is it he, then, that should be mistaken, and I right in my opinion?

Eather, if I am piously-minded, let me obediently hear what he said, that I may be worthy of thinking as he thought.

3. Hear then, dearly beloved, what I think in this matter, without prejudice to your own judgment, if you have formed a better. For we have all one Master, and we are fellowdisciples in one school. This, then, is my opinion, and see whether my opinion is not true, or near the truth. In Samaria He spent two days, and the Samaritans believed on Him; many were the days He spent in Galilee, and yet the Galileans did not believe on Him. Look back to the passage, or recall in memory the lesson and the discourse of yesterday. He came into Samaria, where at first He had been preached by that woman with whom He had spoken great mysteries at Jacob's well. After they had seen and heard Him, the Samaritans believed on Him because of the woman's word, and believed more firmly because of His own word, even many more believed: thus it is written. After passing two days there (in which number of days is mystically indicated the number of the two precepts on which hang the whole law and the prophets, as you remember we intimated to you yesterday), He goes into Galilee, and comes to the city Cana of Galilee, where He made the water wine. And there, when He turned the water into wine, as John himself writes, His disciples believed on Him; but, of course, the house was full with a crowd of guests. So great a miracle was wrought, and yet only His disciples believed on Him. He has now returned to this city of Galilee. "And, behold, a certain ruler, whose son was sick, came to Him, and began to beseech Him to go down " to that city or house, " and heal his son; for he was at the point of death." Did he who besought not believe? What dost thou expect to hear from me? Ask the Lord what He thought of him. Having been besought, this is what He answered: " Except ye see signs and wonders, ye believe not."

He shows us a man lukewarm, or cold in faith, or of no faith at all; but eager to try by the healing of his son what manner of person Christ was, who He was, what He could do. The words of the suppliant, indeed, we have heard: we have not seen the heart of the doubter; but He who both heard the words and saw the heart has told us this. In short, the evangelist himself, by the testimony of his narrative, shows us that the man who desired the Lord to come to his house to heal his son, had not yet believed. For after he had been informed that his son was whole, and found that he had been made whole at that hour in which the Lord had said, " Go thy way, thy son liveth;" then he saith, "And himself believed, and all his house." Now, if the reason why he believed, and all his house, was that he was told that his son was whole, and found the hour they told him agreed with the hour of Chris.t's foretelling it, it follows that when he was making the request he did not
yet believe. The Samaritans had waited for no sign, they believed simply His word; but His own fellow-citizens deserved to hear this said to them,
" Except ye see signs and wonders, ye believe not; " and even there, notwithstanding so great a miracle was wrought, there did not believe but " himself and his house." At His discourse alone many of the Samaritans believed; at that miracle, in the place where it was wrought, only that house believed.

What is it, then, brethren, that the Lord doth show us here ?

Galilee of Judea was then the Lord's own country, because He was brought up in it. But now that the circumstance portends something, â€” for it is not without cause that " prodigies" are so called, but because they portend or presage something: for the word " prodigy " is so termed as if it were porrodicium, quod porro dicat, what betokens something to come, and portends something future, â€” now all those circumstances portended something, predicted something j let us just

232 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRxYCT. XVI.

now assume the country of our Lord Jesus Christ after the flesh (for He had no country on earth, except after the flesh which He took on earth); let us, I say, assume the Lord's own country to mean the people of the Jews. Lo, in His own country He hath no honour.
Observe at this moment the multitudes of the Jews; observe that nation now scattered over the whole world, and plucked up by the roots; observe the broken branches, cut off, scattered, withered, which being broken off, the wild olive has deserved to be grafted in; look at the multitude of the Jews: what do they say to us even now ? " He whom you worship and adore was our brother."
And we reply, " A prophet hath no honour in his own country."

In short, those Jews saw the Lord as He walked on the earth and worked miracles; they saw Him giving sight to the blind, opening the ears of the deaf, loosing the tongues of the dumb, bracing up the limbs of the paralytics, walking on the sea, commanding the winds and waves, raising the dead: they saw Him working such great signs, and after all that scarcely a few believed. I am speaking to God's people; so many of us have believed, what signs have we seen ? It is thus, therefore, that what occurred at that time betokened what is now going on. The Jews were, or rather are, like the Galileans; we, like those Samaritans. We have heard the gospel, have given it our consent, have believed on Christ through the gospel; we have seen no signs, none do we demand.

4. For, though one of the chosen and holy twelve, yet he was an Israelite, of the Lord's nation, that Thomas who desired to put his fingers into the places of the wounds. The Lord censured him just as He did this ruler. To the ruler He said, " Except ye see signs and wonders, ye believe not; " and to Thomas He said, " Because thou hast seen, thou hast believed." He had come to the Galileans after the Samaritans, who had believed His word, before whom He wrought no miracles, whom He without anxiety quickly left, strong in faith, because by the presence of His divinity He had not left them. Now, then, when the Lord said to Thomas,
"Come, reach hither thy hand, and be not faithless, but believing; " and he, having touched the places of the wounds, exclaimed, and said, " My Lord, and my God; " he is chicled,

TRACT. XVI.] FAITH DISTINGUISHED. 233

and has it said to him, " Because thou hast seen, thou hast believed." Why, but " because a prophet has no honour in his own country " ? But since this Prophet has honour among strangers, what follows ? " Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." I We are the persons here foretold; and that which the Lord by anticipation praised, He has deigned to fulfil even in us. They saw Him, who crucified Him, and touched Him with their hands, and thus a few believed; we have not seen nor handled Him, we have heard and believed. May it be our lot, that the blessedness which He has promised may be made good in us: both here, because we have been preferred to His own country; and in the world to come, because we have been grafted in instead of the branches that were broken off !

5. For He showed that He would break off these branches, and ingraft this wild olive, when moved by the faith of the centurion, who said to Him, "I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but only speak the word, and my child shall be healed: for I also am a man put under authority, having soldiers under me; and I say to one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it. Jesus turned to those who followed Him, and said, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith in Israel." Why not found so great faith in Israel? "Because a prophet has no honour in his own country." Could not the Lord have said to that centurion, what He said to this ruler, " Go/ thy child liveth " ? See the distinction: this ruler desired the Lord to come down to his house; that centurion declared himself to be unworthy. To the one it was said, "I will come and heal him;" to the other, " Go, thy son liveth." To the one He promised His presence; the other He healed by His word. The ruler sought His presence by force; the centurion declared himself unworthy of His presence. Here is a ceding to loftiness; there, a conceding to humility. As if He said to the ruler, " Go, thy son liveth; " do not weary me. " Except ye see signs and wonders, ye believe not; " thou desirest my presence in thy house, I am able to command by a word; do not wish to

1 John xx. 29.

234 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVI.

believe in virtue of signs: the centurion, an alien, believed me able to work by a word, and believed before I did it; you,
"except ye see signs and wonders, believe not." Therefore, if it be so, let them be broken off as proud branches, and let the humble wild olive be grafted; nevertheless, let the root remain, while those are cut off, and these received in their place. Where does the root remain? In the patriarchs.

For the people Israel is Christ's own country, since it is of them that He came according to the flesh; but the root of this tree is Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the holy patriarchs. And where are they? In rest with God, in great honour; so that it was into Abraham's bosom that the poor man, on being promoted, was raised after his departure from the body, and in Abraham's bosom was he seen from afar off by the proud rich man. Wherefore the root remains, the root is praised; but the proud branches deserved to be cut off, and to wither away; and by their cutting off, the humble wild olive has found a place.

6. Hear now how the natural branches are cut off, how the wild olive is grafted in, by means of the centurion himself, whom I have thought proper to mention for the sake of comparison with this ruler. "Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith in Israel; therefore I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and from the west." How widely the wild olive took possession of the earth! This world was a bitter forest; but because of the humility, because of this "I am not worthy" many shall come from the east and from the west." And grant that they come, what shall become of them? For if they come, they are cut off from the forest; where are they to be ingrafted, that they may not wither? "And shall sit down," saith He, "with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob." At what banquet, in case thou dost not invite to ever living, but to much drinking? Where, "shall sit down? In the kingdom of heaven."

And how will it be with them who came of the stock of Abraham? What will become of the branches with which the tree was full? What but to be cut off, that these may be grafted in? Show us that they shall be cut off: "But the children of the kingdom shall go into outer darkness." 1

1 Matt. viii. 5-12.

TRACT. XVI.] CHRIST'S OWN COUNTRY. 235

7. Therefore let the Prophet have honour among us, because He had no honour in His own country. He had no honour in His country, wherein He was formed; let Him have honour in the country which He has formed. For in that country was He, the Maker of all, made as to the form of a servant. For that city in which He was made, that Zion, that nation of the Jews He Himself made when He was with the Father as the Word of God: for "all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." Of that man we have to-day heard it said: "One Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus." 1 The Psalms also foretold, saying, "My mother is Sion, shall a man say." A certain man, the Mediator man between God and men, says, "My mother Sion." Why says,
"My mother is Sion."? Because from it He took flesh, from it was the Virgin Mary, of whose womb He took upon Him the form of a servant; in which He deigned to appear most humble. "My mother is Sion," saith a man; and this man, who says, "My mother is Sion," was made in her, became man in her. For He was God before her, and became man in her. He who was made man in her, "Himself did found her; the Most High 2 was made man in her most low." Because * the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." "He Himself, the Most High, founded her." Now, because He founded this country, here let Him have honour. The country in which He was born rejected Him; let that country receive Him which He regenerated.

1 1 Tim. ii. 5. * Ps. lxxxiv. 7.

TEACTATE XVII.

Chapter V. 1-18.

1. XT ought not to be a matter of wonder that a miracle was JL wrought by God; the wonder would be if man had wrought it. Eather ought we to rejoice than wonder that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was made man, than that He performed divine works among men. It is of greater importance to our salvation what He was made for men, than what He did among men: it is more important that He healed the faults of souls, than that He healed the weaknesses of mortal bodies. But as the soul knew not Him by whom it was to be healed, and had eyes in the flesh whereby to see corporeal deeds, but had not yet sound eyes in the heart with which to recognise Him as God concealed in the flesh, He wrought what the soul was able to see, in order to heal that by which it was not able to see.

He entered a place where lay a great multitude of sick folk of blind, lame, withered; and being the physician both of souls and bodies, and having come to heal all the souls of them that should believe, of those sick folk He chose one for healing, thereby to signify unity. If in doing this we regard Him with a commonplace mind, with the mere human understanding and wit, as regards power it was not a great matter that He performed; and also as regards goodness He performed too little. There lay so many there, and yet only one was healed, whilst He could by a word have raised them all up.

What, then, must we understand but that the power and the goodness was doing what souls might, by His deeds, understand for their everlasting salvation, than what bodies might gain for temporal health? For that which is the real health of bodies, and which is looked for from the Lord, will be at the end, in the resurrection of the dead. What shall live

236
then shall no more die; what shall be healed shall no more be sick; what shall be satisfied shall no more hunger and thirst; what shall be made new shall not grow old. But at this time, however, the eyes of the blind, that were opened by those acts of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, were again closed in death; and limbs of the paralytics that received strength were loosened again in death; and whatever was for a time made whole in mortal limbs came to nought in the end: but the soul that believed passed to eternal life. Accordingly, to the soul that should believe, whose sins He had come to forgive, to the healing of whose ailments He had humbled Himself, He gave a significant proof by the healing of this impotent man. Of the profound mystery of this thing and this proof, so far as the Lord deigns to grant us, while you are attentive and aiding our weakness by prayer, I will speak as I shall have ability. And whatever I am not able to do, that will be supplied to you by Him by whose help I do what I can.

2. Of this pool, which was surrounded with five porches, in which lay a great multitude of sick folk, I remember that I have very often treated; and most of you will with me recollect what I am about to say, rather than gain the knowledge of it for the first time. But it is by no means unprofitable to go back upon matters already known, that both they who know not may be instructed, and they who do know may be confirmed. Therefore, as being already known, these things must be touched upon briefly, not leisurely inculcated. That pool and that water seem to me to have signified the Jewish people. For that peoples are signified under the name of waters the Apocalypse of John clearly indicates to us, where, after he had been shown many waters, and he had asked what they were, was answered that they were peoples. That water, then â€” namely, that people â€” was shut in by the five books of Moses, as by five porches. But those books brought forth the sick, not healed them. For the law convicted, not acquitted sinners. Accordingly the letter, without grace, made men guilty, whom on confessing grace delivered. For this is what the apostle saith: " For if a law had been given which could

1 Rev. xvii. 15.
had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law." Why, then, did the porches contain those whom they did not heal? Because the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."

3. What was done, then, that they who could not be healed in the porches might be healed in that water after being troubled? For on a sudden the water was seen troubled, and that by which it was troubled was not seen. Thou mayest believe that this was wont to be done by angelic virtue, yet not without some mystery being implied. After the water was troubled, the one who was able cast himself in, and he alone, was healed: whoever went in after that one, did so in vain. What, then, is meant by this, unless it be that there came one, even Christ, to the Jewish people; and by doing great things, by teaching profitable things, troubled sinners, troubled the water by His presence, and roused it towards His own death? But He was hidden that troubled. For had they known Him, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. Wherefore, to go down into the troubled water means to believe in the Lord's death. There only one was healed, signifying unity: whoever came thereafter was not healed, because whoever shall be outside unity cannot be healed.

4. Now let us see what He intended to signify, in the case of that one whom He Himself, keeping the mystery of unity, as I said before, deigned to heal out of so many sick folk. He found in the number of this man's years the number, so to speak, of infirmity: "He was thirty and eight years in infirmity." How this number refers more to weakness than to health must be somewhat more carefully expounded. I wish you to be attentive; the Lord will aid us, so that I may fitly speak, and that you may sufficiently hear. The number forty is commended to our attention as one consecrated by a kind of perfection. This, I suppose, is well known to you, beloved. The Holy Scriptures very often testify to the fact. Fasting was consecrated by this number, as you are well aware. For Moses fasted forty days, and Elias as many; and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ did Himself fulfil this number of fasting. By Moses is signified the law; by Elias, the prophets; by the Lord, the gospel. It was for this reason that these three appeared on that mountain, where He showed Himself to His disciples in the brightness of His countenance and vesture. For He appeared in the middle, between Moses and Elias, as the gospel had witness from the law and the prophets. Whether, therefore, in the law, or in the prophets, or in the gospel, the number forty is commended to our attention in the case of fasting. Now fasting, in its large and general sense, is to abstain from the iniquities and unlawful
pleasures of the world, which is perfect fasting: "That, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we may live temperately, and righteously, and godly in this present world." What reward does the apostle join to this fast? He goes on to say: "Looking for that blessed hope, and the appearing of the glory of the blessed God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ." 2 In this world, then, we celebrate, as it were, the forty days' abstinence, when we live aright, and abstain from iniquities and from unlawful pleasures. But because this abstinence shall not be without reward, we look for "that blessed hope, and the revelation of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." In that hope, when the reality of the hope shall have come to pass, we shall receive our wages, a penny (denarius). For the same is the wages given to the workers labouring in the vineyard, 3 as I presume you remember; for we are not to repeat everything, as if to persons wholly ignorant and inexperienced. A denarius, then, which takes its name from the number ten, is given, and this joined with the forty makes up fifty; whence it is that before Easter we keep the Quadragesima with labour, but after Easter we keep the Quinquagesima with joy, as having received our wages. Now to this, as if to the wholesome labour of a good work, which belongs to the number forty, there is added the denarius of rest and happiness, that it may be made the number fifty.

5. The Lord Jesus Himself showed this also far more openly, when He companied on earth with His disciples during forty days after His resurrection; and having on the fortieth day ascended into heaven, did at the end of ten days send the wages, the Holy Ghost. These were done in signs, and by a kind of signs were the very realities anticipated. By significant tokens are we fed, that we may be able to come to the enduring realities. We are workmen, and are still labouring in the vineyard: when the day is ended and the work finished, the wages will be paid. But what workman can hold out to the receiving of the wages, unless he be fed while he labours? Even thou thyself wilt not give thy workman only wages; wilt thou not also bestow on him that wherewith he may repair his strength in his labour? Surely thou feedest him to whom thou art to give wages. In like manner also doth the Lord, in those significant tokens of the Scriptures, feed us while we labour. For if that joy in understanding holy mysteries be withdrawn from us, we faint in labour, and there will be none to come to the reward.

6. How, then, is work perfected in the number forty? The reason, it may be, is, because the law was given in ten precepts, and was to be preached throughout the whole world: which whole world, we are to mark, is made up of four quarters, east and west, south and north, whence the number ten, multiplied by four, comes to forty. Or, it may be, because the law is fulfilled by the gospel, which has four books: for in the gospel it is said, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." Whether, then, it be for this reason or for that, or for some other more probable, which is hid from us, but
not from more learned men; certain it is, however, that in the number forty a certain perfection in good works is signified, which good works are most of all practised by a kind of abstinence from unlawful lusts of the world, that is, by fasting in the general sense.

TRACT. XVII.] SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS. 241

Hear also the apostle when he says, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." 1 Whence the love? By the grace of God, by the Holy Spirit. For we could not have it from ourselves, as if making it for ourselves. It is the gift of God, and a great gift it is: for, saith he, "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, which is given to us." 2 Wherefore love completes the law, and most truly it is said, "Love is the perfecting of the law." Let us inquire as to this love, in what manner the Lord doth commend it to our consideration. Remember what I laid down: I want to explain the number thirty-eight of the years of that impotent man, why that number thirty-eight is one of weakness rather than of health. Now, as I was saying, love fulfils the law. The number forty belongs to the perfecting of the law in all works; but in love two precepts are committed to our keeping. Keep before your eyes, I beseech you, and fix in your memory, what I say; be ye not despisers of the word, that your soul may not become a trodden path, where the seed cast cannot sprout, "and the fowls of the air will come and gather it up." Apprehend it, and lay it up in your hearts. The precepts of love, given to us by the Lord, are two: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" and, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." 3 With good reason did the widow cast "two mites," all her substance, into the offerings of God: with good reason did the host take "two" pieces of money, for the poor man that was wounded by the robbers, for his making whole: with good reason did Jesus spend two days with the Samaritans, to establish them in love. Thus, whilst a certain good thing is generally signified by this number two, most especially is love in its twofold character set forth to us thereby. If, therefore, the number forty possesses the perfecting of the law, and the law is fulfilled only in the twin precepts of love, why dost thou wonder that he was weak and sick, who was short of forty by two?

7. Therefore let us now see the sacred mystery whereby this impotent man is healed by the Lord. The Lord Himself

1 Rom. x. 10. 2 Rom. v. 5. 3 Matt. xxii. 37-40.

TRACT. Q
came, the Teacher of love, full of love, "shortening," as it was predicted of Him, "the word upon the earth," 1 and showed that the law and the prophets hang on two precepts of love. Upon these hung Moses with his number forty, upon these Elias with his; and the Lord brought in this number in His testimony. This impotent man is healed by the Lord in person; but before healing him, what does He say to him? "Wilt thou be made whole?" The man answered that he had not a man to put him into the pool. Truly he had need of a "man" to his healing, but that "man" one who is also God. "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." 2 He came, then, the Man who was needed: why should the healing be delayed? "Arise, saith He; "take up thy bed, and walk." He said three things: "Arise, Take up thy bed, and Walk." But that "Arise" was not a command to do a work, but the operation of healing. And the man, on being made whole, received two commands: "Take up thy bed, and Walk." I ask you, why was it not enough to say, "Walk"? Or, at any rate, why was it not enough to say, "Arise"? For when the man had arisen whole, he would not have remained in the place. Would it not be for the purpose of going away that he would have arisen? My impression is, that He who found the man lacking two things, gave him these two precepts: for, by ordering him to do two things, it is as if He filled up that which was lacking.

8. How, then, do we find the two precepts of love indicated in these two commands of the Lord? "Take up thy bed," saith He, "and walk." What the two precepts are, my brethren, recollect with me. For they ought to be thoroughly familiar to you, and not merely to come into your mind when they are recited by us, but they ought never to be blotted out from your hearts. Let it ever be your supreme thought, that you must love God and your neighbour: "God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself." These must always be pondered, meditated, retained, practised, and fulfilled. The love of God comes first in the order of enjoining; but in the order of 1 Isa. x. 23, xxviii. 22, 2 1 Tim. ii. ~5.

TRACT. XVII.] THE TWO PRECEPTS. 243

domg^lha_lave. -of our neighbour comes first. For He who commanded thee this love in two precepts did not charge thee to love thy neighbour first, and then God, but first God, afterwards thy neighbour. lhaiv however, as thou dost noi-yet see God, dost earn to see Him by loving thy neighbour; by loving thy neighbour thou purgest thine eye for seeing God, as John evidently says, "If thou lovest not thy brother whom thou seest, how canst thou love God, whom thou dost not see?" 1
See, thou art told, "Love God." If thou say to me, "Show me Him, that I may love Him;" what shall I answer, but what the same John saith: "No man hath seen God at any time"? And, that you may not suppose yourself to be wholly estranged from seeing God, he saith, "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God." Therefore love thy neighbour; look at the source of thy love of thy neighbour; there thou wilt see, as thou mayest, God. Begin, then, to love thy neighbour. "Break thy bread to the hungry, and bring into thy house him that is needy without shelter; if thou seest the naked, clothe him; and despise not those of the household of thy seed." And in doing this, what wilt thou get in consequence? "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning light." Thy light is thy God, a "morning light" to thee, because He shall come to thee after the night of this world: for He neither rises nor sets, because He is ever abiding. He will be a morning light to thee on thy return, He who had set for thee on thy falling away from Him. Therefore, in this "Take up thy bed," He seems to me to have said, Love thy neighbour.

9. But why the love of our neighbour is set forth by the taking up of the bed, is still shut up, and, as I suppose, needs to be expounded: unless, perhaps, it offend us that our neighbour should be indicated by means of a bed, a stolid, senseless thing. Let not my neighbour be angry if he be set forth to us by a thing without soul and without feeling. The Lord Himself, even our Saviour Jesus Christ, is called the corner-stone, to build up two in Himself. He is called also a rock, from which water flowed forth: "And that rock was Christ." What wonder, then, if Christ is called rock, that neighbour is called wood? Yet not any kind of wood whatever; as neither that was any kind of rock soever, but one from which water flowed to the thirsty; nor any kind soever of stone, but a corner-stone, which in itself coupled two walls coming from different directions. So neither mayest thou take thy neighbour to be wood of any kind soever, but a bed. Then what is there in a bed, pray? What, but that the impotent man was borne on it; but, when made whole, he carries the bed? What does the apostle say? "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so shall ye fulfil the law of Christ." Now the law of Christ is love, and love is not fulfilled except we bear one another's burdens. "Forbearing," saith he, "one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." When thou wast weak, thy neighbour bore thee thou art made whole, bear thy neighbour. So wilt thou fill up, man, that which was lacking to thee. "Take up thy bed, then." But when thou hast taken it up, stay not in the place; "walk." By loving thy neighbour, by caring for thy neighbour, dost thou perform thy going. Whither goest thy way, but to the Lord God, whom we ought to love with the whole heart, and with the whole soul, and with the whole mind? For we are not yet come to the

244 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVII.
Lord, but we have our neighbour with us. Bear him, then, when thou walkest, that thou mayest come to Him with whom thou desirest to abide. Therefore, "take up thy bed, and walk."

10. The man did this, and the Jews were offended. For they saw a man carrying his bed on the Sabbath-day, and they did not blame the Lord for healing him on the Sabbath, that He should be able to answer them, that if any of them had a beast fallen into a well, he would surely draw it out on the Sabbath-day, and save his beast; and so, now they did not object to Him that a man was made whole on the Sabbath-day, but that the man was carrying his bed. But if the healing was not to be deferred, should a work also have been commanded? "It is not lawful for thee," say they, to do what thou art doing, "to take up thy bed." And he, in defence, put the author of his healing before his censors, saying, "He that

1 Gal. vi. 2. 2 Eph. iv. 2.

TRACT. XVII.] MUTUAL SERVICE. 245

made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed, and walk." Should I not take injunction from him from whom I received healing? And they said, "Who is the man that said unto thee, Take up thy bed, and walk?"

11. "But he that was made whole knew not who it was" that had said this to him. "For Jesus," when He had done this, and given him this order, "turned away from him in the crowd." See how this also is fulfilled. We bear our neighbour, and walk towards God; but Him, to whom we are walking, we do not yet see: for that reason also, that man did not yet know Jesus. The mystery herein intimated to us is, that we believe on Him whom we do not yet see; and that He may not be seen, He turns aside in the crowd. It is difficult in a crowd to see Christ: a certain solitude is necessary for our mind; it is by a certain solitude of contemplation that God is seen. A crowd has noise; this seeing requires secrecy. "Take up thy bed" â€” being thyself borne, bear thy neighbour; "and walk," that thou mayest come to the goal. Do not seek Christ in a crowd: He is not as one of a crowd; He excels all crowd. That great fish first ascended from the sea, and He sits in heaven making intercession for us: as the great high priest, He entered alone into that within the veil; the crowd stands without. Do thou walk, bearing thy neighbour: if thou hast learned to bear, thou, who wast wont to be borne.

In a word, even now as yet thou knowest not Jesus, not yet seest Jesus: what follows thereafter? Since that man desisted not from taking up his bed and walking, "Jesus seeth him afterwards in the temple." He did not see Jesus in the crowd, he saw Him in the temple. The Lord Jesus, indeed, saw him both in the crowd and in the temple: but the impotent man does not know Jesus in the crowd, but he knows Him in the temple. The man came then to the Lord:
saw Him in the temple, saw Him in a consecrated, saw Him in a holy place. And what does the Lord say to him?
"Behold, thou art made whole; sin no more, lest some worse thing befall thee."

12. The man, then, after he saw Jesus, and knew Him to be the author of his healing, was not slothful in preaching Him whom he had seen: "He departed, and told the Jews

246 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVII.

that it was Jesus that had made him whole." He brought them word, and they were mad against him; he preached his own salvation, they sought not their own salvation.

13. The Jews persecuted the Lord Jesus because He did these things on the Sabbath-day. Let us hear what answer the Lord now made to the Jews. I have told you how He is wont to answer concerning the healing of men on the Sabbath-day, that they used not on the Sabbath-day to slight their cattle, either in delivering or in feeding them. What does He answer concerning the carrying of the bed? A manifest corporal work was done before the eyes of the Jews; not a healing of the body, but a bodily work, which appeared not so necessary as the healing. Let the Lord, then, openly declare that the sacrament of the Sabbath, even the sign of keeping one day, was given to the Jews for a time, but that the fulfilment of the sacrament had come in Himself. "My Father," saith He, "worketh hitherto, and I work." He sent a great commotion among them: the water is troubled by the coming of the Lord, but yet He that troubles is not seen. Yet one great sick one is to be healed by the troubled water, the whole world by the death of the Lord.

14. Let us see, then, the answer made by the Truth: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." Is it false, then, which the Scripture has said, that "God rested from all His works on the seventh day"? And does the Lord Jesus speak contrary to this Scripture ministered by Moses, whilst He Himself says to the Jews, "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for He wrote of me"? See, then, whether Moses did not mean it to be significant of something that "God rested on the seventh day." For God had not become wearied in doing the work of His own creation, and needed rest as a man. How can He have been wearied, who made by a word? Yet is both that true, that "God rested from His works on the seventh day;" and this also is true that Jesus saith, "My Father worketh hitherto." But who can unfold it in words, man to men, weak to weak, unlearned to them that seek to learn; and if he chance to understand somewhat, unable to bring it forth and unfold it to men, who with difficulty, it may be, receive it, even if what is received can possibly be un-
folded? Who, I say, my brethren, can unfold in words how God both works while at rest, and rests while working? I pray you to put this matter off while you are advancing on the way; for this seeing requires the temple of God, requires the holy place. Bear your neighbour, and walk. Ye shall see Him in that place where ye shall not require the words of men.

15. Perhaps we can more appropriately say this, that in the saying, "God rested on the seventh day," he signified by a great mystery the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ Himself, who spoke and said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." For the Lord Jesus is, of course, God. For He is the Word of God, and you have heard that "in the beginning was the Word;" and not any word whatsoever, but "the Word was God, and all things were made by Him." He was perhaps signified as about to rest on the seventh day from all His works. For, read the Gospel, and see what great works Jesus wrought. He wrought our salvation on the cross, that all things foretold by the prophets might be fulfilled in Him. He was crowned with thorns; He hung on the tree; said, "I thirst," received vinegar on a sponge, that it might be fulfilled which was said, "And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." And when all His works were completed, on the sixth day of the week, He bowed His head and gave up the ghost, and on the Sabbath-day He rested in the tomb from all His works. Therefore it is as if He said to the Jews, "Why do ye expect that I should not work on the Sabbath? The Sabbath-day was ordained for you for a sign of me. You observe the works of God: I was there when they were made, by me were they all made; I know them. 'My Father worketh hitherto.' The Father made the light, but He spoke that there should be light; if He spoke, it was by His Word He made it: His Word I was, I am; by me was the world made in those works, by me the world is ruled in these works. My Father worked when He made the world, and hitherto now worketh while He rules the world: therefore by me He made when He made, and by me He rules while He rules." This He said, but to whom? To men deaf, blind, lame, impotent.

1 Ps. lxix. 22.

248 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVII.

not acknowledging the physician, and as if in a frenzy they had lost their wits, wishing to slay Him.

16. Further, what said the evangelist as he went on? "Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father; "not in any ordinary manner, but how?" Making Himself equal with God." For we all say to God, "Our Father which art in heaven:" we read also that the Jews said,
"Seeing Thou art our Father." 1 Therefore it was not for this they were angry, because He said that God was His Father, but because He said it in quite another way than men do.

Behold, the Jews understand what the Arians do not understand. The Arians, in fact, say that the Son is not equal with the Father, and hence it is that the heresy was driven from the Church. Lo, the very blind, the very slayers of Christ, still understood the words of Christ. They did not understand Him to be Christ, nor did they understand Him to be the Son of God; but they did nevertheless understand that in these words such a Son of God was intimated to them as should be equal with God. Who He was they knew not; still they did acknowledge such a One to be declared, in that "He said God was His Father, making Himself equal with God."

Was He not therefore equal with God? He did not make Himself equal, but the Father begat Him equal. Were He to make Himself equal, He would fall by robbery. For he who wished to make himself equal with God, whilst he was not so, fell, and of an angel became a devil, 2 and administered to man that cup of pride by which himself was cast down.

For this fallen said to man, envying his standing, "Taste, and ye shall be as gods;" 3 that is, seize to yourselves by usurpation that which ye are not made, for I also have been cast down by robbery. He did not put forth this, but this is what he persuaded to. Christ, however, was begotten equal to the Father, not made; begotten of the substance of the Father.

Whence the apostle thus declares Him: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God."

What means "thought it not robbery"? He usurped not equality with God, but was in that equality in which He was begotten. And how were we to come to the equal God?

"He emptied Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant." 4 But emptied Himself not by losing what He was, but by taking to Him what He was not. The Jews, despising this form of a servant, could not understand the Lord Christ equal to the Father, although they had not the least doubt that He affirmed this of Himself, and therefore were they enraged: and yet He still bore with them, and sought the healing of them, while they raged against Him.

1 Phil. ii. 6.

TRACTATE XVIII
Chapter V. 19.

1. ἸΩΝ the evangelist, among his fellows and companions to the other evangelists, received this special and peculiar gift from the Lord (on whose breast he reclined at the feast, hereby to signify that he was drinking deeper secrets from His inmost heart), to utter those things concerning the Son of God which may perhaps rouse the attentive minds of the little ones, but cannot fill them, as yet not capable of receiving them; while to minds of somewhat larger growth, and coming to a certain age of inner manhood, he gives in these words something whereby they may both be exercised and fed. You have heard it when it was read, and you remember how this discourse arose. For yesterday it was read, that "therefore the Jews sought to kill Jesus, because He not only broke the Sabbath, but also said that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God." This that displeased the Jews, pleased the Father. This, without doubt, pleases them too that honour the Son as they honour the Father; for if it does not please them, they will not be pleasing. For God will not be greater because it pleases thee, but thou wilt be less if it displeases thee. Now against this calumny of theirs, coming either of ignorance or of malice, the Lord speaks not at all what they can understand, but that whereby they may be agitated and troubled, and, on being troubled, it may be, seek the Physician. And He uttered what should be written, that it might afterwards be read even by us. Now we have seen what happened in the hearts of the Jews when they heard these words; what happens in ourselves when we hear them, let us more fully consider. For heresies, and certain tenets of perversity, ensnaring souls and hurling them into the deep, have not sprung up except when good Scriptures are not rightly understood, and when that in them which is not rightly understood is rashly and boldly asserted. And so, dearly beloved, ought we very cautiously to hear those things for the understanding of which we are but little ones, and that, too, with pious heart and with trembling, as it is written, holding this rule of soundness, that we rejoice as in food in that which we have been able to understand, according to the faith with which we are imbued; and what we have not yet been able to understand, that we lay aside doubting, and defer the understanding of it for a time; that is, even if we do not yet know what it is, that still we doubt not in the least that it is good and true.

And as for me, brethren, you must consider who I am that undertake to speak to you, and what I have undertaken: for I have taken upon me to treat of things divine, being a man; of spiritual things, being carnal; of things eternal, being a mortal. Also from me, dearly beloved, far be vain presumption, if my conversation would be sound in the house of God,
"which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth." * In proportion to my measure I take what I put before you: where it is opened, I see with you; where it is shut, I knock with you.

2. Now the Jews were moved and indignant: justly, indeed, because a man dared to make himself equal with God; but unjustly in this, because in the man they understood not the God. They saw the flesh, the God they knew not; they observed the habitation, of the inhabitant they were ignorant.

That flesh was a temple, within it dwelt God. It was not the flesh that Jesus made equal to the Father, it was not the form of a servant that He compared to the Lord; not that which He became for us, but that which He was when He made us.

Tor who Christ is (I speak to Catholics) you know, because you have rightly believed; not Word only, nor flesh only, but the Word was made flesh to dwell among us. I recite again concerning the Word what you know: " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: " here is equality with the Father. But " the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Than this flesh the

1 1 Tim. iii. 15.

252 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVIII.

Father is greater. Thus the Father is both equal and greater; equal to the Word, greater than the flesh; equal to Him by whom He made us, greater than He who was made for us. By this sound catholic rule, which you ought particularly to know, which you who know it hold fast, from which your faith ought not in any case to slip, which is to be wrested from your heart by no arguments of men, let us measure the things we do understand; and the things which, it may be, we do not understand, let us defer, to be hereafter measured by this rule, when we shall be competent to do this. We know Him, then, as equal to the Father, the Son of God, because we know Him in the beginning as God the Word. Why, then, sought the Jews to slay Him ? " Because He not only broke the Sabbath, but also said that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God: " seeing the flesh, not seeing the Word. Let Him therefore speak against them, the Word through the flesh; let Him, the dweller within, speak for through His dwelling-place, that whoso can, shall know who He is that dwells within.

What saith He then to them ? " Then answered Jesus, and said unto them," being indignant because He made Himself equal with God, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing." What the Jews answered to these words is not written: and perhaps they said nothing. Certain, however, who wish to be esteemed Christians, are not silent, but from these words somehow conceive certain opinions in contradiction to us, which are not to be despised, both for their and for our sakes. The Arian heretics, namely, while they assert that the Son, who took upon Himself flesh, is less than the Father, not by the flesh, but before taking flesh, and not of the same substance as the Father, take a handle of misrepresentation from
these words, and reply to us: "You see that the Lord Jesus, observing the Jews to be moved with indignation at his making himself equal to God the Father, subjoined such words as these, to show that he was not equal with God. For the Jews," say they, "were provoked against Christ, because he made himself equal with God; and Christ, wishing to cure them of this impression, and to show them that the Son is not equal to the Father, that is, to God, saith

TRACT. XVIII.] THE ARIAN HERESY. 253

this, as if he said, Why are ye angry? Why are ye indignant? I am not equal to God, since 'the Son cannot do anything of himself, except what he seeth the Father doing.' Now," say they, "he who 'cannot do anything of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing,' is surely less, not equal."

4. In this distorted and depraved rule of his own heart, let the heretic hear us, not as yet chiding, but still as it were inquiring, and let him explain to us what he thinks. For, I suppose, whoever thou art (for we may regard him as here present in person), thou dost hold with us, that "in the beginning was the Word." I do hold it, saith he. And that "the Word was with God"? This too, saith he, I hold. Proceed then, and hold the stronger saying that follows, that "the Word was God." Even this, says he, I hold: but yet, this, God the greater; that, God the less. Now this somehow smells of the pagan: I thought I was speaking with a Christian. If there is God the greater, and God the less, then we worship two Gods, not one God. Why, saith he; dost not thou, too, affirm two Gods, equal the one to the other? This I do not assert: for I understand this equality as implying therein also undivided love; and if undivided love, then perfect unity. For if the love that God put in men doth make of many hearts of men one heart, and doth make many souls of men into one soul, as it is written of them that believed and mutually loved one another, in the Acts of the Apostles, "They had one soul and one heart toward God:" if, therefore, my soul and thy soul become one soul, when we think the same thing and love one another, how much more must God the Father and God the Son be one God in the fountain of love!

5. But to these words, by which thy heart is disturbed, bend thy thought, and reflect with me on that which we were seeking out concerning the Word. We already hold that "the Word was God:" I join to this another thing, that, having said, "This was in the beginning with God," the evangelist immediately subjoined, "All things were made by Him." Now will I urge thee by questioning, now will I move thee against thyself, and sue thee against thyself: only

1 Acts iv. 32.
keep this in memory concerning the Word, that "the Word was God, and all things were made by Him." Hear now the words by which thou wast moved to assert that the Son is less, forsooth, because He said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." Just so, saith he. Explain to me this a little: This is, I presume, how thou thinkest: that the Father doeth certain things, and the Son observes how the Father doeth, that He may also Himself be able to do those things which He seeth the Father doing. Thou hast set up two artisans, as it were: the Father and the Son just like master and learner, like as artisan fathers are wont to teach their sons their craft. Behold, I come down to thy carnal sense; for the moment I think as thou dost: let us see if this our conception finds an issue in harmony with the things which we have just now alike spoken and alike hold regarding the Word, that "the Word was God," and that "all things were made by Him." Suppose, then, the Father, as an artisan, doing certain works, and the Son as a learner, who "cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing:" He keenly watches, in a manner, the Father's hands, that, as He seeth Him fashioning aught, so He may Himself in like manner fashion something similar by His own works. But the Father here doeth all those things that He doeth, and wishes the Son to give heed to Him, and to do the like also Himself; by whom doeth the Father? Come! now is the time for thee to stand to thy former opinion, which thou didst recite with me, and didst hold with me, that "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and all things were made by Him." But thou, after holding with me, that all things were made by the Word, dost again, with thy carnal wit and childish fancy, imagine with thyself God making something, and the Word giving heed; so that when God has made, the Word also may make the like. Now, what does God make without the Word? For if He doeth aught, then were not all things made by the Word? But if all things were made by the Word, correct what thou didst understand amiss. The Father made, and made only by the Word: in what way does the Word give heed to see the Father making without the Word, what the Word may do in like manner? Whatever the Father hath made, He made it by the Word; else is it false that "all things were made by Him." But it is true that "all things were made by Him." Perhaps this did not seem enough for thee? Well, "and without Him was nothing made."

6. Withdraw, then, from this wisdom of the flesh, and let us inquire in what manner it is said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." Let us inquire, if we are worthy to apprehend. For I confess it is a great thing, and altogether difficult, to see the Father doing through the Son: not the Father and the Son doing each His particular works, but the Father doing every work whatsoever by the Son;
so that not any works are done by the Father without the Son, or by the Son without the Father, because "all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." These truths being most firmly established in the foundation of faith, what now is the nature of this "seeing"? Thou seekest, as I suppose, to know the Son doing; seek first to know the Son seeing. For what, in fact, saith He? "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." Note what He said, "but what He seeth the Father doing." The seeing comes first, the doing follows: He seeth in order to do. As for thee, why seekest thou at present to know how He doeth, whilst thou understandest not as yet how He seeth? Why runnest thou to that which comes later, leaving that which comes first? He declares Himself as seeing and doing, not doing and seeing; because "He cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." Wilt thou that I explain to thee how He doeth? Do thou explain to me how He seeth. If thou canst not explain this, neither can I that. If thou art not yet competent to understand this, neither am I to understand that. Wherefore let each of us seek, each knock, that each may merit to receive. Why dost thou, as if thou wert learned, unjustly blame me who am unlearned? I in respect of the doing, thou in respect of the seeing, being both unlearned, let us inquire of the Master, not

256 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVIII.

childishly wrangle in His school. We have already, however, learned together that "all things were made by Him." Therefore it is manifest that it is not a different kind of works that the Father doeth, that, seeing them, the Son may do other works like them; but the very same doeth the Father by the Son, because all things were made by the Word. Now, as to how God doeth, who knows? How made He, I will not say the world, but thine own eye, in thy carnal attachment to which thou comparrest visible things with invisible? For thou conceivest of God such things as thou art wont to see with these eyes. But if God might be seen with these eyes, He would not have said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Accordingly, thou hast an eye of the body to see an artificer, but thou hast not yet the eye of the heart to see God: hence, what thou art wont to see in an artificer, thou wouldest transfer to God.

Leave earthly things on the earth; set thy heart on high.

7. What then, beloved, are we going to explain that which we have asked, how the Word seeth, how the Father is seen by the Word, what the seeing of the Word is? I am not so bold, so rash, as to promise to explain this, for myself or for you: however I estimate your measure, still I know my own. Therefore, if you please, not to delay it longer, let us run over the passage, and see how carnal hearts are troubled by the words of the Lord; to this end troubled, that they may not continue in that which they hold. Let this be wrested from them, as some toy is wrested from children, with which they amuse themselves to their hurt, that, as persons of larger growth, they may have more profitable things planted in them, and may be able to
make progress, instead of crawling on the earth. Arise, seek, sigh, pant with desire, and knock at what is shut. But if we do not yet desire, not yet earnestly seek, not yet sigh, we shall only be throwing pearls to all indiscriminately, or finding pearls ourselves, regardless of what kind. Wherefore, beloved, I would move a longing desire in your heart. Good character leads to right understanding: the kind of life leads to another kind of life. One kind of life is earthly, another is heavenly: there is a life of beasts, another of men, and another of angels. The life of beasts is

TRACT. XVIII.] THE SON'S SEEING AND DOING. 257

excited with earthly pleasures, seeks earthly pleasures alone, and grovels after them with immoderate desire: the life of angels is alone heavenly; the life of men is midway between that of angels and of beasts. If man lives after the flesh, he is on a level with the beasts; if he lives after the Spirit, he joins in the fellowship of angels. When thou livest after the Spirit, examine even in the angelic life whether thou be small or well-grown. For if thou art still a little one, the angels say to thee, "Grow: we feed on bread; thou art nourished with milk, with the milk of faith, that thou mayest come to the meat of sight." But if there be still a longing for filthy pleasures, if the thoughts be still of deceit, if lies are not avoided, if perjuries be heaped on lies, shall a heart so foul dare to say, "Explain to me how the Word sees;" even if I be able to do so, even if I myself now see? And further, though not perhaps of this character myself, and I am nevertheless far from this vision, how must that man be weighed down with earthly desires, who is not yet rapt with this desire from above! There is a wide difference between loathing and desiring; and again, between desiring and enjoying. If thou livest as do the beasts, thou loathest: the angels have full enjoyment. If, on the other hand, thou livest not as the beast, thou hast no longer loathing: something thou desirest, and dost not receive; thou hast, by the very desire, begun the life of the angels. May it grow in thee, and be perfected in thee; and mayest thou receive this, not of me, but of Him who made both me and thee!

8. Yet the Lord also has not left us to chance, since, in that He said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing," He meant us to understand that the Father doeth, not some works which the Son may see, and the Son doeth other works after He has seen the Father doing; but that both the Father and Son do the very same works. For He goes on to say, "For what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son in like manner." Not after the Father hath done works, doeth the Son other works in like manner; but, "whatever He doeth, these also the Son doeth in like manner." If these the Son doeth which the Father doeth, then it is by the Son that the Father doeth: if

TRACT. E

258 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVIII.
by the Son the Father doeth what He doeth, then the Father doeth not some, the Son
others; but the works of the Father and of the Son are the same works. And how doeth the
Son also the same ? Both " the same" and " in like manner." In case you should think
them the same, but in a different manner the " same," saith He, and " in like manner."
And how could they be the same and not in like manner ? Take an example, which I
presume is not too big for you: when we write letters, they are first formed by our heart,
then by our hand. Certainly: why otherwise have you all agreed, but because you
perceived it to be so ? It is as I have said, it is manifest to us all. The letters are made first
by our heart, then by our body; the hand serves, the heart commands; both the heart and
the hand make the same letters. Dost think the heart doeth some letters, the hand some
others ?
The same indeed doeth the hand, but not in like manner:
our heart forms them intelligibly, but our hand visibly. See how the same things are
made, but not in like manner.
Hence it was not enough for the Lord to say, " What things soever the Father doeth, these
also the Son doeth; " He must add, " and in like manner." For what if thou shouldst
understand this just as thou understandest whatever thy heart doeth, this also thy hand
doeth, but in a different manner ?
Here, however, he added, " These also the Son doeth in like manner." If He both doeth
these, and in like manner doeth, then awake; let the Jew be crushed, let the Christian
believe, let the heretic be convinced: The Son is equal to the Father.
9. " For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things that Himself doeth." Here
is that " showeth." " Showeth," as it were, to whom ? Of course, as to one that sees.
We return to that which we cannot explain, how the Word seeth. Behold, man was made
by the Word; but man has eyes, ears, hands, divers members in the body: he is able by the
eyes to see, by the ears to hear, by the hands to work; the members are diverse, their
offices diverse. One member cannot do the office of another; yet, by reason of the unity
of the body, the eye sees both for itself and for the ear, and the ear hears for itself and for
the eye. Are we to suppose that something like this holds good in the Word, seeing all
things

TRACT. XVIII.] THE SON'S SEEING AND HEARING. 259

are by Him; and Scripture has said in the psalm, " Understand, ye brutish among the
people; and ye fools, at length be wise. He that planted the ear, shall He not hear ? And
He that formed the eye, shall He not see ? n Hence, if the Word is He that formed the
eye, for all things are by the Word; if the Word is He that planted the ear, for all things
are by the Word: we cannot say the Word doth not hear, the Word doth not see; lest the
psalm reprove us, and say,
" Fools, at length be wise." Therefore, if the Word heareth and seeth, if the Son heareth
and seeth, are we yet to search for eyes and ears in Him in separate places ? Does He by
one part hear, by another see; and cannot His ear do what His eye doth; and cannot His
eye do what His ear can ? Or is He not all sight, all hearing ? Perhaps yes; nay, not
perhaps, but truly yes; whilst, however, that seeing of His, and that hearing of His, is in a
way far other than it is with us.
Both to see and to hear exist together in the Word: seeing and hearing are not diverse
things in Him; but hearing is sight, and sight is hearing.

10. And we, who see in one way, and hear in another way, how know we this? We return
perhaps to ourselves, if we are not the transgressors to whom it is said, " Return, O
transgressors, to your heart." 2 Return to your heart: why go from yourselves, and perish
from yourselves? Why go the ways of solitude? You go astray by wandering; return ye.
Whither? To the Lord. 'Tis quickly done: first return to thine own heart; thou hast
wandered abroad an exile from thyself; thou knowest not thyself, and yet thou art asking
by whom thou wast made! Return, return to thy heart, lift thyself away from the body:
thy body is thy place of abode; thy heart perceives even by thy body. But thy body is not
what thy heart is; leave even thy body, return to thy heart.
In thy body thou didst find eyes in one place, ears in another place: dost thou find this in
thy heart? Or hast thou not ears in thy heart? Else of what did the Lord say, " Whoso i
hath ears to hear, let him hear "? 3 Or hast thou not eyes in thy heart? Else of what saith the apostle, " The eyes of 
your heart being enlightened "? 4 Return to thy heart; see
1 Ps. xciv. 8, 9. 2 Isa. xlvi. 8. 3 Luke viii. 8. 4 Eph. i. 18.

260 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XVIII.

there what, it may be, thou canst perceive of God, for in it is the image of God. In the
inner man dwelleth Christ, in the inner man art thou renewed after the image of God, in
His own image recognise its Author. See how all the senses of the body bring intelligence
to the heart within of what they have perceived abroad; see how many ministers the one
commander within has, and what it can do by itself even without these ministers. The
eyes report to the heart things black and white; the ears report to the same heart pleasant
and harsh sounds; to the same heart the nostrils announce sweet odours and stenches; to
the same heart the taste announces things bitter and sweet; to the same heart the touch
announces things smooth and rough; and the heart declares to itself things just and unjust.
Thy heart sees and hears and judges all other things perceived by the senses; and, what
the senses do not aspire to, discerns things just and unjust, things evil and good. Show me
the eyes, ears, nostrils, of thy heart.
Diverse are the things that are referred to thy heart, yet are there not divers members
there. In thy flesh, thou nearest in one place, seest in another; in thy heart, where thou
seest, there thou hearest. If this be the image, how much more mightily He whose the
image is! Therefore the Son both heareth and seeth; the Son is both the hearing itself and
the seeing: to hear is to Him the same thing as * to be; " and to see is to Him the same
thing as " to be." To see is not the same thing to thee as to be: for if thou lose thy sight,
thou canst be; and if thou lose thy hearing, thou canst be.
11. Do we think we have knocked? Is there raised up within us something whereby we may even slightly conjecture whence light may come to us? It is my opinion, brethren, that when we speak of these things, and meditate upon them, we are exercising ourselves. And when we are exercising ourselves, and are as it were bent back again by our own weight to our customary thoughts, we are like weak-eyed persons, when they are brought forth to see the light, if perchance they had no sight at all before, and begin in some sort to recover their sight by the assiduous care of physicians. And when the physician would test the progress of recovery, he tries to show them something which they sought to see, but

TRACT. XVIII.] THE RECOVERY OF SIGHT. 261

could not while they were blind: and while the eyesight is now somewhat recovered, they are brought forth to the light; and as they see it, are beaten back in a manner by the very glare; and they answer the physician, as he points out the object, This moment I did see, but now I cannot. What then does the physician? He brings them back to their usual ways, and applies the eye-salve to nourish the longing for seeing that which was seen only for a moment, so that by the very longing he may cure more completely; and if any stinging salves are applied for the recovery of soundness, let the patient bear it bravely, and, inflamed with love of the light, say to himself, When will it be that with strong eyes I shall see what with sore and weak eyes I could not? He urges the physician, and begs him to heal him. Therefore, brethren, if, it may be, something like this has taken place in your hearts, if somehow you have raised your heart to see the Word, and, beaten back by its light, you have fallen back to your wonted ways; pray the Physician to apply sharp salves, the precepts of righteousness. There is that which thou mayest see, but not that whereby thou canst see. Thou didst not believe me before that there is that which thou mayest see: thou art now, as by the guidance of reason, brought to it: thou hast drawn near, strained thine eyes to see it, throbbed, and shrunk back. Thou knowest for certain that there is what thou mayest see, but that thou art not yet meet to see it. Therefore be healed.

What are the eye-salves? Do not lie, do not swear falsely, do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not defraud. But thou art used to these, and it is with some pain thou art drawn away from old habits: this is what bites, but yet heals. For I tell thee freely, by fear of myself and of thee, if thou give up the healing, and scorn to become meet to enjoy this light, by weakness of thine eyes, thou wilt love darkness; and by loving darkness, wilt remain in darkness; and by remaining in darkness, wilt be cast even into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. If the love of light has effected nothing in thee, let the fear of pain effect something.

12. I think I have spoken long enough, and yet I have not concluded the Gospel lesson: if I go on to declare what remains, I shall burden you, and I fear lest even what has
been drawn may be lost; therefore let this be enough for you now, beloved. We are debtors, not now, but always as long as we live; because we live for you. However, do you, by good living, comfort this life of ours, so weak, toilsome, and full of peril in this world; do not afflict and wear us out by your evil manners. For if, when offended with your evil life, we flee from you and separate ourselves from you, and no longer come to you, will ye not complain, and say, And if we were sick, ye might care for us; and if we were weak, ye might have visited us? Behold, we do care for you; behold, we do visit you; but let it not be with us as you have heard from the apostle, "I fear lest I have bestowed labour upon you

i Gal. iv. 11.

TEACTATE XIX.

Chapter V. 19-30.

IN" the former discourse, so far as the subject impressed us, and so far as our poverty of understanding attained to, we have spoken by occasion of the words of the Gospel, where it is written: "The Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing," ἀεί" what it is for the Son ἀεί" that is, the Word, for the Son is the Word ἀεί" " to see; " and as all things were made by the Word, how it is to be understood that the Son first sees the Father doing, and then only Himself also doeth the things which He has seen done, seeing that the Father has done nothing except by the Son. For " all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made."

We have not, however, delivered to you anything as fully explained, and that because we have not understood anything thus clearly set forth. For, indeed, speech sometimes fails even where the understanding makes way; how much more doth speech suffer defect, where the understanding has nothing perfect! Now, therefore, as the Lord gives us, let us briefly run over the passage, and even to-day complete the due task.

Should there perchance remain somewhat of time or of strength, we will reconsider (so far as it may be practicable for us and with you) what it is for the Word " to see " and " to be shown to; " since, in fact, all that is here spoken is such that, if understood according to man's sense, carnally, the soul full of vain fancies makes for us only certain images of the Father and the Son, just as of two men, the one showing, the other seeing; the one speaking, the other hearing, ἀεί" all which are idols of the heart. And if now at length idols have been cast down from their own temples, how much more ought they to be cast down from Christian hearts!

but what He sees the Father doing." This is true: hold this fast, while at the same time ye do not let slip what ye have gotten in the beginning of the Gospel, that " in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," and especially that all things were made by Him.

Join this that ye have now heard to that hearing, and let both agree together in your hearts. Thus, " The Son cannot of Himself do anything, except what He seeth the Father doing," is yet in such wise that what the Father doeth, He doeth only by the Son, because the Son is His Word: and, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; " also, " All things were made by Him." For what things soever He doeth, the Son also doeth in like manner; not other things, but these; and not in a different, but in like manner.

3. "For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things that Himself doeth." To that which He said above, " except what He seeth the Father doing," seems to belong this also, " He showeth Him all things that Himself doeth." But if the Father doth show what He doeth, and the Son cannot do except the Father hath shown, and if the Father cannot show unless He hath done, it will follow that it is not through the Son that the Father doeth all things; moreover, if we hold it fixed and unshaken, that the Father doeth all by the Son, then He shows the Son before He doeth. For if the Father doth show to the Son after He has done, that the Son may do the things shown, which being shown were already done, then doubtless something there is that the Father doeth without the Son. But the Father doeth not anything without the Son, because the Son of God is God's Word, and all things were made by Him. It remains, then, that possibly what the Father is about to do, He shows as about to be done, that it may be done by the Son. For if the Son doeth those things which the Father showeth as already done, surely it is not by the Son that the Father hath done the things which He thus showeth. For they could not be shown to the Son unless they were first done, and the Son would not be able to do them unless they were first shown; therefore were they made without the Son. But yet it is a true thing, " All things were made by Him;" therefore they were shown " before they were made. But this we- said must be put off, and returned to after briefly scanning the passage, if, as we said, some portion of time and of strength should remain to us for a reconsideration of the matters deferred.
4. Attend now to a wider and more difficult question.
"And greater works than these," saith He, "will He show Him, that ye may marvel." "Greater than these." Greater than which? The answer readily occurs: than the cures of bodily diseases which ye have just heard. For the whole occasion of this discourse arose about the man who was thirty and eight years in infirmity, and was healed by the word of Christ; and in respect of this cure, the Lord could say, "Greater works than these He will show Him, that ye may marvel." For there are greater, and the Father will show them to the Son. It is not "hath shown," as of a thing past, but "will show," of a thing future; or, is about to show. Again a difficult question arises: Why, then, is there something with the Father that has not yet been shown to the Son?
Is there something with the Father that was still hid from the Son when He spoke these words? For surely, if it be "will show," that is to say, "is about to show," then He has not yet shown; and He is about to show to the Son at the same time as to these persons, since it follows, "that ye may marvel." And this is a thing hard to see, how the Eternal Father doth show something, as it were in time, to the coeternal Son, who knoweth all things that are with the Father.

5. But what are the greater works? For perhaps this is easy to understand. "For as the Father," saith He, "raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will." To raise the dead, then, are greater works than to heal the sick. But "as the Father raiseth the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will." Hence, the Father some, the Son others? But all things are by Him: therefore the Son the same persons as the Father doth; since the Son doeth not other things and in a different manner, but "these" and in "like manner." Thus clearly it must be understood, and thus held. But keep in memory that "the Son quickeneth whom He will." Here,
He judgeth not any man, since "He hath given all judgment to the Son"? But in that judgment the dead are raised; some rise to life, others to punishment. If the Son doeth all this, but the Father not, inasmuch as "He judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son," it will appear contrary to what has been said, viz., "As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will." Consequently the Father and the Son raise together; if they raise together, they quicken together: hence they judge together. How, then, is that true, "For the Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son"?

Meanwhile let the questions now proposed engage your minds; the Lord will cause that, when solved, they will delight you.

For so it is, brethren: every question, unless it stirs the mind to reflection, will not give delight when explained. May the Lord Himself then follow with us, in case He may perhaps reveal Himself somewhat in those matters which He foldeth up.

For He foldeth up His light with a cloud; and it is difficult to fly like an eagle above every obscure mist with which the whole earth is covered, and to behold the most serene light in the words of the Lord. In case, then, He may perhaps dissipate our darkness with the heat of His rays, and deign to reveal Himself somewhat in the sequel, let us, deferring these questions, look at what follows.

TRACT. XIX.] HOW THE FATHER IS HONOURED. 267

6. u Whoso honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent Him." This is a truth, and is plain. Since, then, "all judgment hath He given to the Son," as He said above, "that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father," what if there be those who honour the Father and honour not the Son? It cannot be, saith He: "Whoso honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent Him." One cannot therefore say, I honoured the Father, because I knew not the Son. If thou didst not yet honour the Son, neither didst thou honour the Father. For what is honouring the Father, unless it be in that He hath a Son?

It is one thing when thou are taught to honour God in that He is God; but another thing when thou art taught to honour Him in that He is Father. When thou art taught to honour Him in that He is God, it is as the Creator, as the Almighty, as the Spirit supreme, eternal, invisible, unchangeable, that thou art led to think of Him; but when thou art taught to honour Him in that He is Father, it is the same thing as to honour the Son; because Father cannot be said if there be not a Son, as neither can Son if there be not a Father. But lest, it may be, thou honourest the Father indeed as greater, but the Son as less, — as thou mayest say to me, "I do honour the Father, for I know that He has a Son; nor do I err in the name Father, for I do not understand Father without Son, and yet the Son also I honour as the less," â€” as thou mayest say to me, "I do honour the Father, for I know that He has a Son; nor do I err in the name Father, for I do not understand Father without Son, and yet the Son also I honour as the less," â€” the Son Himself sets thee right, and recalls thee, saying, "that all may honour the Son," not in a lower degree, but "as they honour the Father." Therefore, "whoso honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent Him." "I," sayest thou, "wish to give greater honour to the Father, less to the Son." Therein thou takest away honour from the Father, wherein thou givest less to the Son. For, being thus minded, it must really seem to thee that the Father either would not or could not beget a
Son equal to Himself: if He would not, He lacked the will; if He could not, He lacked the ability. Dost thou not therefore see that, being thus minded, wherein thou wouldst give greater honour to the Father, therein thou art reproachful to the Father? Wherefore, so honour the Son as thou honourest the Father, if thou wouldest honour both the Father and the Son.

268 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.

7. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whoso heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but is passed," not is passing now, but is already passed, "from death into life." And mark this, "Whoso heareth my word, and "â€” He says not, believeth me, but â€” "believeth Him that sent me." Let him hear the word of the Son, that he may believe the Father. Why heareth Thy word, and yet believeth another? When we hear any one's word, is it not him that utters the word we believe? is it not to him who speaks we lend our faith? What, then, did He mean, saying, "Whoso heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me," if it be not this, because "His word is in me"? And what is "heareth my word," but "heareth me"?
So, too, "believeth Him that sent me," because, believing Him, he believeth His word; but again, believing His word, he believeth me, because I am the Word of the Father. There is therefore peace in the Scriptures, and all things duly disposed, and in no way clashes. Cast away, then, contention from thy heart; understand the harmony of the Scriptures. Dost thou think that the Truth should speak things contrary to itself?

8. "â€¢ Whoso heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but is passed from death unto life." You remember what we laid down above, that "as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will."
He is beginning already to reveal Himself; and behold, even now, the dead are rising. For "who heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and will not come into judgment." Prove that he has risen again. "But is passed," saith He, "from death unto life." He that is passed from death unto life, has surely without any doubt risen again. For he could not pass from death to life, unless he were first in death and not in life; but when he will have passed, he will be in life, and not in death. He was therefore dead, and is alive again; he was lost, but is found. 1 Hence a resurrection does take place now, and men pass from a death to a life; from the death of infidelity to the life of faith; from

1 Luke xv. 32.
the death of falsehood to the life of truth; from the death of iniquity to the life of righteousness. There is, therefore, that which is a resurrection of the dead.

9. May He open the same more fully, and dawn upon us as He begins to do! " Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is." We did look for a resurrection of the dead in the end, for so we have believed; yea, not we looked, but are manifestly bound to look for it: for it is not a false thing we believe, when we believe that the dead will rise in the end. When the Lord Jesus, then, was willing to make known to us a resurrection of the dead before the resurrection of the dead, it is not as that of Lazarus, 1 or of the widow's son, 2 or of the ruler of the synagogue's daughter, 3 who were raised to die again (for in their case there was a resurrection of the dead before the resurrection of the dead); but, as He says here, " hath," says He, " eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but is passed from death into life." To what life?
To life eternal. Not, then, as the body of Lazarus: for he indeed passed from the death of the tomb to the life of men, but not to life eternal, seeing he was to die again; whereas the dead, that are to rise again at the end of the world, will pass to eternal life. When our Lord Jesus Christ, then, our heavenly Master, the Word of the Father, and the Truth, was willing to represent to us a resurrection of the dead to eternal life before the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, " The hour cometh," saith He. Doubtless thou, imbued with a faith of the resurrection of the flesh, didst look for the hour of the end of the world, which, that thou shouldst not look for here, He added, " and now is." Therefore He saith not this, " The hour cometh," of that last hour, when " at the command and the voice of the archangel and the trump of God, the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air: and so shall we be ever with the Lord." 4 That hour will come, but is not now. But consider what this hour is: " The hour cometh, and now is." What happens in that hour?
What, but a resurrection of the dead? And what kind of

270 ON" THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.

resurrection? Such that they who rise live for ever. This will be also in the last hour.

1 0. What then? How do we understand these two resurrections? Do we, it may be, understand that they who rise now will not rise then; that the resurrection of some is now, of some others then? It is not so. For we have risen in this resurrection, if we have rightly believed; and we ourselves, who have already risen, are looking for another resurrection in the end. Moreover, both now are we risen to eternal life, if we perseveringly continue in the same faith; and then, too, we shall rise to eternal life, when we shall be made equal with the angels. 1 But let Himself distinguish and open up what we have made bold to speak; how there happens to be a resurrection before a resurrection, not of different but of the same persons; nor like that of Lazarus, but into eternal life. He will open' it clearly. Hear ye the Master, while dawning upon us, and as our Sun gliding in upon our hearts;
not such as the eyes of flesh desire to look upon, but on whom the eyes of the heart fervently long to be opened. To Him, then, let us give ear: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead "â€”you see that a resurrection is asserted â€” " shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." Why hath He added, "they that hear shall live"? Why, could they hear unless they lived? It would have been enough, then, to say, "The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God." We should immediately understand them to be living, since they could not hear unless they lived. No, saith He, not because they live they hear; but by hearing they come to life again: "Shall hear, and they that hear shall live." What, then, is "shall hear," but "shall obey"? For, as to the hearing of the ear, not all who hear shall live. Many, indeed, hear and do not believe; by hearing and not believing, they obey not; by not obeying, they live not. And so here, they that "shall hear" are they that "shall obey." They that obey, then, shall live: let them be sure and certain of it, shall live. Christ, the Word of God, is preached to us; the Son of God, by whom all things were made, who,

1 Luke xx. 36

TRACT. XIX.] THE SON'S LIFE IN HIMSELF. 271

for the dispensation's sake, surely took flesh, was born of a virgin, was an infant in the flesh, a young man in the flesh, suffering in the flesh, dying in the flesh, rising again in the flesh, ascending in the flesh, promising a resurrection to the flesh, promising a resurrection to the mind â€” to the mind before the flesh, to the flesh after the mind. Whoso heareth and obeyeth, shall live; whoso heareth and obeyeth not, that is, heareth and despiseth, heareth and believeth not, shall not live. Why shall not live? Because he heareth not. What is "heareth not"? Obeyeth not. Thus, then, "they that hear shall live."

11. Turn your thoughts now to what we said had to be deferred, that it may now, if possible, be opened. Concerning this very resurrection He immediately subjoined, "For as the Father hath life in Himself, even so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." What means that, "The Father hath life in Himself"? Not elsewhere hath He life but in Himself. His living, in fact, is in Him, not from elsewhere, nor derived from another. He does not, as it were, borrow life, nor, as it were, become a partaker of life, of a life which is not what Himself is; but "hath life in Himself," so that the very life is to Him His very self. If I should be able yet further in some small measure to speak from this matter, by proposing examples for informing your understanding, will depend on God's help and the piety of your attention. God lives, and the soul also lives; but the life of God is unchangeable, the life of the soul is changeable. In God is neither increase nor decrease; but He is the same always in Himself, is ever as He is: not in one way now, in another way hereafter, in some other way before. But the life of the soul is exceedingly various:
it lived foolish, it lives wise; it lived unrighteous, it lives righteous; now remembers, now forgets; now learns, now cannot learn; now loses what it had learned, now apprehends what it had lost. The life of the soul is changeable. And when the soul lives in
unrighteousness, that is its death; when again it becomes righteous, it becomes partaker of another life, which is not what itself is, inasmuch as by rising up to God, and cleaving to God, of Him it is justified. For it is said, "To him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly,

272 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHNS. [TRACT. XIX.

his faith is counted for righteousness." * By forsaking God, it becomes unrighteous; by coming to Him, it is made righteous. Does it not seem to thee as it were something cold, which, when brought near the fire, grows warm; when removed from the fire, grows cold? A something dark, which, brought near the light, grows bright; when removed from the light, grows dark? Something such is the soul: God is not any such thing. Moreover, man may say that he has light now in his eyes. Let thine eyes say then, if they can, as by a voice of their own, "We have light in ourselves." I answer: Not correctly do you say that you have light in yourselves: you have light, but in the heaven; you have light, but in the moon, in candles, if it happen to be night, not in yourselves: for, being shut, you lose what you perceive when open. Not in yourselves have you light; keep the light if you can when the sun is set: ’tis night, enjoy the light of night; keep the light when the candle is withdrawn; but since you remain in darkness when the candle is withdrawn, you have not light in yourselves. Consequently, to have light in oneself is not to need light from another. Behold, whoso understands wherein He shows that the Son is equal with the Father, when He saith, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son also to have life in Himself; " that there may be only this difference between the Father and the Son, that the Father hath life in Himself, which none gave Him, whilst the Son hath life in Himself which the Father gave.

12. But here also arises a cloud that must be scattered. Let us not lose heart, let us strive in earnest. Here are pastures of the mind; let us not disdain them, that we may live. Behold, sayest thou, thyself confessest that the Father hath given life to the Son, that He may have life in Himself, even as the Father hath life in Himself; that the Father not lacking, the Son may not lack; that as the Father is life, so the Son may be life; and both united one life, not two lives; because God is one, not two Gods; and this same is to be life. How, then, is the Father said to have given life to the Son? Not so as if the Son had been without life before, and received life from the Father that He might live; for if it were so, He

1 Rom. iv. 5.
would not have life in Himself. Behold, I was speaking of the soul. The soul exists; though it be not wise, though it be not righteous, though it be not godly, it is soul. It is one thing for it to be soul, but another thing to be wise, to be righteous, to be godly. Something there is, then, in which it is not yet wise, not yet righteous, not yet godly. Nevertheless it is not therefore nothing, it is not therefore non-life; for it shows itself to be alive by certain of its own actions, although it does not show itself to be wise, godly, or righteous. For if it were not living it would not move the body, would not command the feet to walk, the hands to work, the eyes to look, the ears to hear; would not open the mouth for speaking, nor move the tongue to distinction of speech. So, then, by these operations it shows itself to have life, and to be something which is better than the body. But does it in any wise show itself by these operations to be wise, godly, or righteous? Do not the foolish, the wicked, the unrighteous, walk, work, see, hear, speak? But when the soul rises to something which itself is not, which is above itself, and from which its being is, then it gets wisdom, righteousness, holiness, which so long as it was without, it was dead, and did not have the life by which itself should live, but only that by which the body was quickened. For that in the soul by which the body is quickened is one thing, that by which the soul itself is quickened is another. Better, certainly, than the body is the soul, but better than the soul itself is God. The soul, even if it be foolish, ungodly, unrighteous, is the life of the body. But since its own life is God, just as it supplies vigour, comeliness, activity, the functions of the limbs to the body, while it exists in the body; so, in like manner, while God, its life, is in the soul, He supplies to it wisdom, godliness, righteousness, charity. Accordingly, what the soul supplies to the body, and what God supplies to the soul, are of a different kind: the soul quickens and is quickened. It quickens while dead, even if itself is not quickened. But when the word comes, and is poured into the hearers, and they not only hear, but are made obedient, the soul rises from its death to its life. It is, from unrighteousness, from folly, from ungodliness, to its God, who is to it wisdom, righteousness, light. Let it rise to Him, and be enlightened by Him.

TRACT. S

274 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.

"Come near/ saith he, " to Him." And what shall we have ?
"And be enlightened." 1 If, therefore, by " coming to " ye are enlightened, and by " departing from " ye become darkened, your light was not in yourselves, but in your God. Come to Him that ye may rise again: if ye depart from Him, ye shall die. If by coming to Him ye live, and by departing from Him die, your life was not in yourselves. For the same is your life which is your light. " Because with Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light we shall see light." 2
13. Not, then, in like manner as the soul is one thing before it is enlightened, and becomes a better thing when it is enlightened, by participation of a better; not so, I say, was the Word of God, the Son of God, something else before He received life, that He should have life by participation; but He has life in Himself, and is consequently Himself the very life. What is it, then, that He saith, " hath given to the Son to have life in Himself " ? I would say it briefly, He begot the Son. For it is not that He existed without life, and received life, but He is life by being begotten. The Father is life not by being begotten; the Son is life by being begotten.

The Father is of no father; the Son is of God the Father.

The Father in His being is of none; but in that He is Father, 'tis because of the Son. But the Son also, in that He is Son, 'tis because of the Father: in His being, He is of the Father.

This He said, therefore: " hath given life to the Son, that He might have it in Himself." Just as if He were to say, " The Father, who is life in Himself, begat the Son, who should be life in Himself." Indeed, He would have this dedit (hath given) to be understood for the same thing as genuit (hath begotten).

It is like as if we said to a person, " God hath given thee being." To whom ? If to some one already existing, then He gave him not being, because he who could receive existed before it was given him. When, therefore, thou nearest it said, " He gave thee being," thou wast not in being to receive, but thou didst receive, that thou shouldst be by coming into existence. The builder gave to this house that it should be. But what did he give to it ? He gave it to be a house. To what did he give ? To this house. Gave it what ? To be

1 Ps. xxxiii. 5. â€¢ 2 Ps. xxxv. 10.

TRACT. XIX.] THE SON IS LIFE. 275

a house. How could he give to a house that it should be a house ? For if the house was, to what did he give to be a house, when the house existed already ? What, then, does that mean, " gave it to be a house " ? It means, he brought to pass that it should be a house. Well, then, what gave He to the Son ? Gave Him to be the Son, begot Him to be life â€” that is, " gave Him to have life in Himself," that He should be the life not needing life, that He may not be understood as having life by participation. For if He had life by participation, He might, by losing, be without life. Do not take, nor think, nor believe this to be possible respecting the Son. Wherefore the Father continues the life, the Son continues the life:

the Father, life in Himself, not from the Son; the Son, life in Himself, but from the Father. Begotten of the Father, that He might live in Himself; but the Father, not begotten, life in Himself. Nor did He beget the Son less than Himself to become equal by growth. For surely He by whom, being perfect, the times were created, was not assisted by time towards His own perfection. Before all time, He is co-eternal with the Father. For the
Father has never been without the Son; but the Father is eternal, therefore also the Son co-eternal.

Soul, what of thee? Thou wast dead, didst lose life; hear then the Father through the Son. Arise, take to thee life, that in Him who has life in Himself thou mayest receive the life which is not in thee. He that giveth thee life, then, is the Father and the Son; and the first resurrection is accomplished when thou risest to partake of the life which thou art not thyself, and by partaking art made living. Eise from thy death to thy life, which is thy God, and pass from death to eternal life. For the Father hath eternal life in Himself; and unless He had begotten such a Son as had life in Himself, it could not be that as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son should quicken whom He will.

14. But what of that resurrection of the body? For these who hear and live, whence live, except by hearing? For "the friend of the Bridegroom standeth and heareth Him, and rejoiceth greatly because of the Bridegroom's voice i" 1 not

1 John iii. 29.

276 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.

because of his own voice; that is to say, they hear and live by partaking, not by coming into being; and all that hear live, because all that obey live. Tell us something, Lord, also of the resurrection of the flesh; for there have been those who denied it, asserting that this is the only resurrection which is wrought by faith. Of which resurrection the Lord has just now made mention, and inflamed our desire, because "the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall live."

It is not some of those who hear shall live, and others shall die; but "all that hear shall live," because all that obey shall live. Behold, we see a resurrection of the mind; let us not therefore let go our faith of the resurrection of the flesh.

And unless Thou, Lord Jesus, declare to us this, whom shall we oppose to those who assert the contrary? For truly all sects that have undertaken to engraft any religion upon men have allowed this resurrection of minds; otherwise, it might be said to them, If the soul rise not, why speakest thou to me? What meanest thou to do in me? If thou dost not make of the worse a better, why speakest thou? If thou dost not make a righteous of the unrighteous, why speakest thou? But if thou dost make righteous of the unrighteous, godly of the ungodly, wise of the foolish, thou confessest that my soul doth rise again, if I comply with thee and believe.

So, then, all those that have founded any sect, even of false religion, while they wished to be believed, could not but admit this resurrection of minds: all have agreed concerning this; but many have denied the resurrection of the flesh, and affirmed that the resurrection had taken place already in faith. Such the apostle resisteth, saying, "Of whom is Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection hath taken place already, and overthrow the faith of some." 1 They said that the
resurrection had taken place already, but in such manner that another was not to be expected; and they blamed people who were looking for a resurrection of the flesh, just as if the resurrection which was promised were already accomplished in the act of believing, namely, in the mind. The apostle censures these. Why does he censure them? Did they not affirm 1 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

TRACT. XIX.] THE RESURRECTION OF THE MIND. 277

what the Lord spoke just now: * The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live "? But, saith Jesus to thee, it is of the life of minds that I am hitherto speaking: I am not yet speaking of the life of bodies; but I speak of the life of that which is the life of bodies, that is, of the life of souls, in which the life of bodies exists. For I know that there are bodies lying in the tombs; I know also that your bodies will lie in the tombs. I am not speaking of that resurrection, but I speak of this; in this, rise ye again, lest ye rise to punishment in that. But that ye may know that I speak also of that, what do I add? " For as the Father hath life in Himself, even so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." This life which the Father is, which the Son is, to what does it pertain?

To the soul or to the body? It is not surely the body that is sensible of that life of wisdom, but the rational mind. For not every soul hath capacity to apprehend wisdom. A brute beast, in fact, has a soul; but the soul of the brute beast cannot apprehend wisdom. It is the human soul, then, that can perceive this life which the Father hath in Himself, and hath given to the Son to have in Himself; because that is "the true light which enlighteneth," not every soul, but "every man coming into this world." When, therefore, I speak to the mind itself, let it hear, that is, let it obey and live.

15. Wherefore, keep not silent, Lord, concerning the resurrection of the flesh; lest men believe it not, and we continue reasoners, not preachers. But " as the Father hath life in Himself, even so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." Let them that hear, understand; let them believe that they may understand; let them obey that they may live. And that they may not suppose that the resurrection is finished here, let them hear this further: "and hath given Him authority to execute judgment also." Who hath given? The Father. To whom hath He given? To the Son; namely, to whom He gave to have life in Himself, to the same hath He given authority to execute judgment. "Because He is the Son of man." For this is the Christ, both Son of God and Son of man. " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word

278 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.
was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God." Behold, how He hath given Him to have life in Himself! But because "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," was made man of the Virgin Mary, He is the Son of man. What, therefore, hath He received as Son of man? Authority to execute judgment. What judgment? That in the end of the world. Then also there will be a resurrection, but a resurrection of bodies. So, then, God raiseth up souls by Christ, the Son of God; bodies He raiseth up by the same Christ, the Son of man. "Hath given Him authority." He should not have this authority did He not receive it; and He should be a man without authority.

But the same who is Son of God is also Son of man. For by adhering to the unity of person, the Son of man with the Son of God is made one person, and the Son of God is the same person which the Son of man is. But what characteristic it has, and wherefore, must be distinguished. The Son of man has soul and body. The Son of God, which is the Word of God, has man, as the soul has body. And just as soul having body does not make two persons, but one man; so the Word, having man, maketh not two persons, but one Christ. What is man? A rational soul, having a body. What is Christ? The Word of God, having man. I see of what things I speak, who I the speaker am, and to whom I am speaking.

16. Now hear concerning the resurrection of bodies, not me, but the Lord about to speak, on account of those who have risen again by a resurrection from death, by cleaving to life. To what life? To a life which knows not death. Why knows not death? Because it knows not mutability. Why knows not mutability? Because it is life in itself. "And hath given Him authority to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man." What judgment, what kind of judgment?

"Marvel not at this" which I have said, "gave Him authority to execute judgment, "for the hour is coming." He does not add, "and now is:" therefore He means to make known to us a certain hour in the end of the world. The hour is now that the dead rise, the hour will be in the end of the world that the dead rise: but that they rise now in the mind,
But because the judgment is to be of the just and of the unjust, and that it is not permitted to the wicked to see God, "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," such a Judge will appear as may be seen by those whom He is about to crown, and by those whom He is about to condemn.

Hence the form of a servant will be seen, the form of God will be hid. The Son of God will be hid in the servant, and the Son of man will be manifest, because to Him "hath He given authority to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man." And because He alone will appear in the form of a servant, but the Father not, since He has not taken upon Him the form of a servant; for that reason He saith above: "The Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son." Eightly then had it been deferred, that the propounder might Himself be the interpreter. For before it was hidden; now, as I think, it is already manifest, that "He gave Him authority to execute judgment," that "the Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son:" because the judgment is to be by that form which the Father hath not. And what kind of judgment? "Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming: not that which now is, for the souls to rise; but that which is to be, for the bodies to rise.

1 7. Let Him declare this more distinctly, that the heretical denier of the resurrection of the body may not find a pretext
1 John xix. 37. 2 Matt. v. S.

280 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.

for sophistical cavil, although the meaning already shines out clearly. When it was said above, "The hour is coming," He added, "and now is;" but just now, "The hour is coming," He has not added, "and now is." Let Him, however, by the open truth, burst asunder all handles, all loops and pegs of sophistical attack, all the nooses of ensnaring objections. "Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in which all that are in the graves." What more evident? what more distinct?

Bodies are in the graves; souls are not in the graves, either of just or of unjust. The soul of the just man was in the bosom of Abraham; the unjust man's soul was in hell, tormented:

neither the one nor the other was in the grave. Above, when He saith, "The hour is coming, and now is," I beseech you give earnest heed. Ye know, brethren, that we get the bread of the belly with toil; with how much greater toil the bread of the mind! With labour you stand and hear, but with greater we stand and speak. If we labour for your sake, you ought to labour with us for your own sake. Above, then, when He said, "The hour is coming," and added, "and now is," what did He subjoin? "When the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." He did not say, "All the dead shall hear, and they that hear shall live;" for He meant the unrighteous to be understood. And is it so, that all the unrighteous obey the gospel? The apostle says openly,
"But not all obey the gospel." 1 But they that hear shall live, because all that obey the gospel shall pass to eternal life by faith: yet all do not obey; and this is now. But certainly, in the end, "All that are in the graves," both the just and the unjust, "shall hear His voice, and come forth." How is it He would not say, "and shall live"? All, indeed, will come forth, but all will not live. For in that which He said above, "And they that hear shall live," He meant it to be understood that there is in that very hearing and obeying an eternal and blessed life, which not all that shall come forth from the graves will have. Here, then, both in the mention of graves, and by the expression of a "coming forth" from the graves, we openly understand a resurrection of bodies.

18. "All shall hear His voice, and shall come forth." And

1 Rom. x. 16.

TRACT. XIX.] THE LAST JUDGMENT. 281

where is judgment, if all shall hear and all shall come forth? It is as if all were confusion; I see no distinguishing. Certainly Thou hast received authority to judge, because Thou art the Son of man: behold, Thou wilt be present in the judgment; the bodies will rise again; but tell us something of the judgment itself, that is, of the separation of the evil and the good.

Hear this further, then: * They that have done good into the resurrection of life; they that have done evil into the resurrection of judgment." When above He spoke of a resurrection of minds and souls, did He make any distinction? "No, for all "that hear shall live;" because by hearing, viz. by obeying, shall they live. But certainly not all will go to eternal life by rising and coming forth from the graves, â€” only they that have done well; and they that have done ill, to judgment.

For here He has put judgment for punishment. There will also be a separation, not such as there is now. For now we are separated, not by place, but by character, affections, desires, faith, hope, charity. Now we live together with the unjust, though the life of all is not the same: in secret we are distinguished, in secret we are separated; as grain on the floor, not as grain in the granary. On the floor, grain is both separated and mixed: separated, because severed from the chaff; mixed, because not yet winnowed. Then- there will be an open separation; a distinguishing of life just as of the character, a separation as there is in wisdom, so also will there be in bodies. They that have done well will go to live with the angels of God; they that have done evil, to be tormented with the devil and his angels.

And the form of a servant will pass away. For to this end He had manifested Himself, that He might execute judgment. After the judgment, He shall go hence, will lead with Him the body of which He is the head, and deliver up the kingdom of God. 1 Then will openly be seen that form of God which could not be seen by the wicked, to whose vision the form of a servant must be shown.

He says also in another place on this wise: "These shall go away into everlasting burning" (speaking of certain on the left), "but the just into life eternal;" 2 of which life He says in another place: "And this is eternal life, that they may know
28 2 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XIX.

Thee the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." 1 Then will He be there manifested, "who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." 2
Then He will manifest Himself, as He has promised to manifest Himself to them that love Him. For "he that loveth me," saith He, " keepeth my commandments; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." 3
He was present in person with those to whom He was speaking: but they saw the form of a servant, they did not see the form of God. They were being led on His own beast to His dwelling to be healed; but now being healed, they will see, because, saith He, " I will manifest myself to him." How is He shown equal to the Father? When He says to Philip, " He that seeth me seeth my Father also." 4

19. "I cannot of myself do anything: as I hear, I judge: and my judgment is just." Else we might have said to Him, " Thou wilt judge, and the Father will not judge, for ' all judgment hath He given to the Son; ' it is not, therefore, according to the Father that Thou wilt judge." Hence He added, " I cannot of myself do anything: as I hear, I judge: and my judgment is just; because I seek not my own will, but the will of Him that sent me." Undoubtedly the Son quickeneth whom He will. He seeketh not His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him. Not my own, my proper will; not mine, not the Son of man's; not mine to resist God. For men do their own will, not God's, when they do what they list, not what God commands; but when they do what they list, so as yet to follow God's will, they do not their own will, notwithstanding they do what they list to do. Do what thou art bidden willingly, and thus shalt thou both do what thou wiliest, and also not do thine own will, but His that biddeth.

20. What then? "As I hear, I judge." The Son " heareth," and the Father " showeth " to Him, and the Son seeth the Father doing. But we had deferred these matters, in order to handle them, so far as might lie in our abilities, with somewhat greater plainness and fulness, should time and

Uohnxvii. 3. 2 Pliil. ii. 6. 3 Johnxiv. 21. 4 Johnxiv. 19.

TRACT. XIX.] THE LAST JUDGMENT. 283

strength remain to us after finishing the perusal of the passage.
If I say that I am able to speak yet further, you perhaps are not able to go on hearing. Again, perhaps, in your eagerness to hear, you say, "We are able." Better, then, that I should confess my weakness, that, being already fatigued, I am not able to speak longer, than that, when you are already sated, I should continue to pour into you what you cannot well digest. Then, as to this promise, which I deferred until to-day, should there be an opportunity, hold me, with the Lord's help, your debtor until to-morrow.

TRACTATE XX.
Chapter V. 19.

1 JiliHE words of our Lord Jesus Christ, especially those JL recorded by the Evangelist John, â€” who not without cause leaned on the Lord's bosom, that he might drink in the secrets of that higher wisdom, and by evangelizing give forth again what by loving he had drunk in, â€” are so secret and profound of understanding, that they trouble all who are perverse of heart, and exercise all who are in heart upright. Wherefore, beloved, give heed to these few words that have been read. Let us see if in any wise we can, by His own gift and help who has willed His words to be recited to us, which at that time were heard and committed to writing that they might now be read, what He means in what ye have now heard Him say: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing: for what things soever the Father doeth, these same the Son also doeth in like manner."

2. Now you need to be reminded whence this discourse arose, by reason of what precedes this passage, where the Lord had cured a certain man among those who were lying in the five porches of that pool of Solomon, and to whom He had said, "Take up thy bed, and go unto thy house." But this He had done on the Sabbath; and hence the Jews, being troubled, were falsely accusing Him as a destroyer and transgressor of the law. He then said to them, "My Father worketh even until now, and I work." 1 For they, taking the observance of the Sabbath in a carnal sense, fancied that God had, as it were, slept after the labour of framing the world even to this day; and that therefore He had sanctified that day, from which He began to rest as from labour. Now, to

1 John v. 17.
284

TRACT. XX.) OF GOD'S RESTING. 285

our fathers of old there was ordained a sacrament of the Sabbath, 1 which we Christians observe spiritually, in abstaining from every servile work, that is, from every sin (for the Lord saith, "Every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin"), and in having rest in our heart, that is, spiritual tranquillity. And although in this life we strive after this rest,
yet not until we have departed this life shall we attain to that perfect rest. But the reason
why God is said to have rested is, that He made no creature after all was finished.
Moreover, the Scripture called it rest, to admonish us that after good works we shall rest.
For thus we have it written in Genesis, "And God made all things very good, and God
rested on the seventh day," in order that thou, man, considering that God Himself is said
to have rested after good works, shouldest not expect rest for thyself, until after thou hast
wrought good works; and even as God, after He made man in His own image and
likeness, and in him finished all His works very good, rested on the seventh day, so
mayest thou also not expect rest to thyself, except thou return to that likeness in which
thou wast made, which likeness thou hast lost by sinning. For, in reality, God cannot be
said to have toiled, who " said, and they were done." Who is there that, after such facility
of work, desires to rest as if after labour ? If He commanded and some one resisted Him,
if He commanded and it was not done, and laboured that it might be done, then justly He
should be said to have rested after labour. But when in that same book of Genesis we
read, " God said, Let there be light, and there was light; God said, Let there be a
firmament, and the firmament was made," 2
and all the rest were made immediately at His word: to which also the psalm testifies,
saying, " He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created," 3 â€”
how could He require rest after the world was made, as if to enjoy leisure after toil, He
who in commanding never toiled ? Consequently these sayings are mystical, and are laid
down in this wise that we may be looking for rest after this life, provided we have done
good works. Accordingly, the Lord, restraining the impudence and refuting the error of
the Jews,
1 Ex. xx. 8. 2 Gen. i. 3, 6, 7. 3 Ps. xxxiii. 9.

286 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XX.

and showing them that they did not think rightly of God, says to them, when they were
offended at His working men's healing on the Sabbath, " My Father worketh until now,
and I work:" do not therefore suppose that my Father so rested on the Sabbath, that
thenceforth He doth not work; but even as He now worketh, so I also work. But as the
Father without toil, so too the Son without toil. God " said, and they were done;" Christ
said to the impotent man, " Take up thy bed, and go unto thy house," and it was done.

3. But the catholic faith has it, that the works of the Father and of the Son are not
separable. This is what I
wish, if possible, to speak to you, beloved; but, according to those words of the Lord, " he
that is able to receive it, let him receive it." 1 But he that is not able to receive it, let him
not charge it on me, but on his own dulness; and let him turn to Him that opens the heart,
that He may pour in what He freely giveth. And, lastly, if any one may not have
understood, because I have not declared it as I ought to have declared it, let him excuse
the weakness of man, and supplicate the divine goodness. For we have within a Master,
Christ. Whatever ye are not able to receive through your ear and my mouth, turn ye in
your heart to Him who both teacheth me what to speak, and distributeth to you in what
measure He deigns. He who knows what to give, and to whom to give, will help him that seeketh, and open to him that knocketh. And if so be that He give not, let no one call himself forsaken. For it may be that He delays to give something, but He leaves none hungry. If, indeed, He give not at the hour, He is exercising the seeker, He is not scorning the suitor. Look ye, then, and give heed to what I wish to say, even if I should not be able to say it. The catholic faith, confirmed by the Spirit of God in His saints, has this against all heretical perverseness, that the works of the Father and of the Son are inseparable. What is this that I have said? As the Father and the Son are inseparable, so also the works of the Father and of the Son are inseparable. How are the Father and the Son inseparable, since Himself said, "I and the Father are one"? 2 Because the Father and the

1 Matt. xix. 12. 2 John x. 30.

TKACT. XX.] THE FATHER AND THE SON ONE. 287

Son are not two Gods, but one God, the Word and He whose the Word is, One and the Only One, Father and Son bound together by charity, One God, and the Spirit of Charity also one, so that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is made the Trinity. Therefore, not only of the Father and Son, but also of the Holy Spirit; as there is equality and inseparability of persons, so also the works are inseparable. I will tell you yet more plainly what is meant by "the works are inseparable." The catholic faith does not say that God the Father made some thing, and the Son made some other thing; but what the Father made, that also the Son made, that also the Holy Spirit made. For all things were made by the Word; when "He spake and they were done," it is by the Word they were done, by Christ they were done. For "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: all things were made by Him." If all things were made by Him, "God said, Let there be light, and there was light;" in the Word He made, by the Word He made.

4. Behold, then, we have now heard the Gospel, where He answered the Jews who were indignant "that He not only broke the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God." * For so it is written in the foregoing paragraph. When, therefore, the Son of God, the Truth, made answer to their erring indignation, saith He, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing;" as if He said, "Why are ye offended because I have said that God is my Father, and that I make myself equal with God? I am equal in that wise that He begat me; I am equal in that wise that He is not from me, but I from Him." For this is implied in these words: "The Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing." That is, whatever the Son hath to do, the doing it He hath of the Father. Why of the Father hath He the doing it? Because of the Father He hath it that He is Son. Why hath He it of the Father to be Son? Because of the Father He hath it that He is able, of the Father that He is. For, to the Son, both to be able and to be is the self-same thing. It is not
so with man. Eaise your hearts by all means from a comparison of human weakness, that lies far beneath; and should any of us perhaps reach to the secret, and, while awe-struck by the brilliance as it were of a great light, should discern somewhat, and not remain wholly ignorant; yet let him not imagine that he understands the whole, lest he should become proud, and lose what knowledge he has gotten. With man, to he and to he able are different things. For sometimes the man is, and yet cannot what he wills; sometimes, again, the man is in such wise, that he can what he wills; therefore his heing and his heing able are different things. For if man's esse and posse were the same thing, then he could when he would. But with God it is not so, that His substance to he is one thing, and His power to he able another thing; but whatever is His, and whatever He is, is consubstantial with Him, because He is God: it is not so that in one way He is, in another way is able; He has the esse and the posse together, because He has to will and to do together. Since, then, the power of the Son is of the Father, therefore also the substance of the Son is of the Father; and since the substance of the Son is of the Father, therefore the power of the Son is of the Father. In the Son, power and substance are not different: the power is the self-same that the substance is; the substance to he, the power to he able. Accordingly, because the Son is of the Father, He said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything." Because He is not Son from Himself, therefore He is not able from Himself.

5. He appears to have made Himself as it were less, when He said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." Hereupon heretical vanity lifts the neck; theirs, indeed, who say that the Son is less than the Father, of less authority, of less majesty, of less possibility, not understanding the mystery of Christ's words. But attend, beloved, and see how they are confounded in their carnal intellect by the words of Christ. And this is what I said a little before, that the word of God troubles all perverse hearts, just as it exercises pious hearts, especially that spoken by the Evangelist John. For they are deep words that are spoken by him, not random words, nor such as may be easily understood. So, a heretic, if he happen to hear these words, immediately rises and says to us, "Lo, the Son is less than the Father; hear the words of the Son, who says, 'The Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing.'" Wait; as it is written, "Be meek to hear the word, that thou mayest understand." I Well, suppose that because I assert the power and majesty of the Father and of the Son to be equal, I was disconcerted at hearing these words, "The Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing."

TRACT. XX.] THE FATHER AND THE SON ONE. 289
Well, I, being disconcerted at these words, will ask thee, who seemest to thyself to have instantly understood them, a question. We know in the Gospel that the Son walked upon the sea; 2 when saw He the Father walk upon the sea? Here now he is disconcerted. Lay aside, then, thy understanding of the words, and let us examine them together. What do we then? We have heard the words of the Lord: "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." The Son walked upon the sea, the Father never walked upon the sea. Yet certainly "the Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing."

6. Return then with me to what I was saying, in case it is so to be understood that we may both escape from the question. For I see how I, according to the catholic faith, may escape without tripping or stumbling; whilst thou, on the other hand, shut in on every side, art seeking a way of escape. See by what way thou hast entered. Perhaps thou hast not understood this that I said. See by what way thou hast entered; hear Himself saying, "I am the door." 3 Not without cause, then, art thou seeking how thou mayest get out; and this only thou findest, that thou hast not entered by the door, but fell in over the wall. Therefore raise thyself up from thy fall how thou canst, and enter by the door, that thou mayest go in without stumbling, and go out without straying. Come by Christ, not bringing forward of thy own heart what thou mayest say; but what He shows, that speak. Behold how the catholic faith gets clear of this question. The Son

1 Ecclus. v. 13. 2 Matt. xiv. 25. 3 John x. 7.

TRACT. T

290 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XX.

walked upon the sea, planted the feet of flesh on the waves: the flesh walked, and the divinity directed. But when the flesh was walking and the divinity directing, was the Father absent? If absent, how doth the Son Himself say, "but the Father abiding in me, Himself doeth the works"? * If the Father, abiding in the Son, Himself doeth His works, then that walking upon the sea was made by the Father, and through the Son. According^, that walking is an inseparable work of Father and Son. I see both acting in it. Neither the Father forsook the Son, nor the Son left the Father. Thus, whatever the Son doeth, He doeth not without the Father; because whatever the Father doeth, He doeth not without the Son.

7. We have got clear of this question. Mark ye that rightly we say the works of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit are inseparable. But as thou understandest it, lo, God made the light, and the Son saw the Father making light, according to thy carnal understanding, who wilt have it that He is less, because He said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." God the Father made light; what other light did the Son make?
God the Father made the firmament, the heaven between waters and waters; and the Son saw Him, according to thy dull and sluggish understanding. Well, since the Son saw the Father making the firmament, and also said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing," then show me the other firmament made by the Son. Hast thou lost the foundation? But they that are "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone," are brought into a state of peace in Christ; 2 nor do they strive and wander in heresy. Therefore we understand that the light was made by God the Father, but through the Son; that the firmament was made by God the Father, but through the Son. For "all things were made through Him, and without Him was nothing made."

Cast out thine understanding, which ought not to be called understanding, but evidently foolishness. God the Father made the world; what other world did the Son make? Show me the Son's world. Whose is this world in which we are? Tell us, by whom made? If thou sayest, "By the Son, not by the Father," then thou hast erred from the Father; if thou sayest, "By the Father, not by the Son," the Gospel answers thee thus, "And the world was made by (through) Him, and the world knew Him not." Acknowledge Him, then, by whom the world was made, and be not among those who knew not Him that made the world.

8. Wherefore the works of the Father and of the Son are inseparable. Moreover, this, "The Son cannot do anything of Himself," would mean the same thing as if He were to say, "The Son is not from Himself." For if He is a Son, He was begotten; if begotten, He is from Him of whom He is begotten.

Nevertheless, the Father begat Him equal to Himself. Nor was aught wanting to Him that begat; He who begat a coeternal required not time to beget: who produced the Word of Himself, required not a mother to beget by; the Father begetting did not precede the Son in age, so that He should beget a Son younger than Himself. But perhaps some one may say, that after many ages God begat a Son in His old age. Even as the Father is without age, so the Son is without growth; neither has the one grown old nor the other increased, but equal begat equal, eternal begat eternal. How, says some one, has eternal begat eternal? As a temporary flame generates a temporary light. The generating flame is coeval with the light which it generates: the generating flame does not precede in time the generated light; but from the moment the flame begins, from that moment the light begins. Show me, flame without light, and I show thee God the Father without Son. Accordingly, "the Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing," implies, that for the Son to see and to be legotten of the Father, is the same thing.
His seeing and His substance are not different; nor are His power and substance different. All that He is, He is of the Father; all that He can is of the Father; because what He can and what He is is one thing, and all of the Father.

9. Moreover, He goes on in His own words, and troubles those that understand the matter amiss, in order to recall the erring to a right apprehension of it. After He had said, " The Son

292 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XX.

cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing;" lest a carnal understanding of the matter should by chance creep in and turn the mind aside, and a man should, imagine as it were two mechanics, one a master, the other a learner attentively observing the master while making, say a chest, so that, as the master made the chest, the learner should make another chest according to the appearance which he looked upon while the master wrought; lest, I say, the carnal mind should frame to itself any such twofold notion in the case of the divine unity, going on, He saith, " For what things soever the Father doeth, these same also the Son doeth in like manner." It is not, the Father doeth some, the Son others like them, but the same in like manner. For He saith not, What things soever the Father doeth, the Son also doeth others the like; but saith He, "What things soever the Father doeth, these same also the Son doeth in like manner."

What things the Father doeth, these also the Son doeth: the Father made the world, the Son made the world, the Holy Ghost made the world. If three Gods, then three worlds; if one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, then one world was made by the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost. Consequently the Son doeth those things which also the Father doeth, and doeth not in a different manner; He both doeth these, and doeth them in like manner.

10. After He had said, "these doeth," why did He add, " in like manner doeth " ? Lest another distorted understanding or error should spring up in the mind. Thou seest, for instance, a man's work: in man there is mind and body; the mind rules the body, but there is a great difference between body and mind: the body is visible, the mind is invisible:
there is a great difference between the power and virtue of the mind and that of any kind of body whatever, be it even a heavenly body. Still the mind rules its own body, and the body doeth; and what the mind appears to do, this the body doeth also. Thus the body appears to do this same thing that the mind doeth, but not " in like manner." How doeth this same, but not in like manner ? The mind frames a word in itself; it commands the tongue, and the tongue produces the word which the mind framed: the mind made, and the tongue
TRACT. XX.] OF THE SON'S DOING. 293

made; the lord of the body made, and the servant made; but that the servant might make, it received of its lord what to make, and made while the lord commanded. The same thing was made by both, but was it in like manner? How not in like manner? says some one. See, the word that my mind formed, remains in me; that which my tongue made, passed through the smitten air, and is not. When thou hast said a word in thy mind, and uttered it by thy tongue, return to thy mind, and see that the word which thou hast made is there still. Has it remained on thy tongue, just as it has in thy mind? What was uttered by the tongue, the tongue made by sounding, the mind made by thinking; but what the tongue uttered has passed away, what the mind thought remains.

Therefore the body made that which the mind made, but not in like manner. For the mind, indeed, made that which the mind may hold, but the tongue made what sounds and strikes the ear through the air. Dost thou chase the syllables, and cause them to remain? Well, not in such manner the Father and the Son; but "these same cloeth," and "in like manner doeth." If God made heaven that remains, this heaven that remains the Son made. If God the Father made man that is mortal, the same man that is mortal the Son made. What things soever the Father made that endure, these things that endure made also the Son, because in like manner He made; and what things soever the Father made that are temporal, these same things that are temporal made also the Son, because He made not only the same, but also in like manner made.

For the Father made by the Son, since by the Word the Father made all things.

11. Seek in the Father and Son a separation, thou findest none; no, not if thou hast mounted high; no, not even if thou hast reached something above thy mind. For if thou turnest about among the things which thy wandering mind makes for itself, thou talkest with thine own imaginations, not with the Word of God; thine own imaginations deceive thee. Mount also beyond the body, and understand the mind; mount also beyond the mind, and understand God. Thou readiest not unto God, unless thou hast passed beyond the mind; how much less thou reauest unto God, if thou hast tarried in the flesh!

294 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XX.

They who think of the flesh, how far are they from understanding what God is! â€” since they would not be there even if they knew the mind. Man recedes far from God when his thoughts are of the flesh; and there is a great difference between flesh and mind, yet a greater between mind and God. If thou art occupied with the mind, thou art in the midway: if thou directest thy attention beneath, there is the body; if above, there is God. Lift thyself up from the body, pass beyond even thyself. For observe what said the psalm, and thou art admonished how God must be thought of: "My tears," it saith, "were made to me my bread day and night, when it was said to me daily, Where is thy God?" As the pagans may say, "Behold our gods, where is your God?" They indeed show us what is seen; we worship what is not seen. And to whom can we show? To a man who has not sight with which to
see? 'For anyhow, if they see their gods with their eyes, we too have other eyes with which to see our God: for "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."' 1 Therefore, when he had said that he was troubled, when it was daily said to him, "Where is thy God?" these things I remembered," saith he, "because it is daily said to me, Where is thy God?" As if wishing to lay hold of his God, "These things," saith he, "I remembered, and poured out my soul above me." 2 Therefore, that I might reach unto my God, of whom it was said to me, "Where is thy God? I poured out my soul," not over my flesh, but "above me;" I transcended myself, that I misdit reach unto Him: for He is above me who made me; none reaches to Him but he that passes beyond himself.

12. Consider the body: it is mortal, earthy, weak, corruptible; away with it. Yes, perhaps thou sayest, but the body is temporal. Think then of other bodies, the heavenly; they are greater, better, more magnificent. Look at them, moreover, attentively. They roll from east to west, they stand not; they are seen with the eyes, not only by man, but even by the beast of the field. Pass beyond them too. And how, sayest thou, pass beyond the heavenly bodies, seeing that I walk on the earth? Not in the flesh dost thou pass beyond them, but in the mind. Away with them too: though they shine 1 Matt. v. 8. 2 Ps. xli. 4, 5.

TRACT. XX.] THE FATHER AND SON INSEPARABLE. 295

ever so much, they are bodies; though they glitter from heaven, they are bodies. Come, now that perhaps thou thinkest thou hast not whither to go, after considering all these. And whither am I to go, sayest thou, beyond the heavenly bodies; and what am I to pass beyond with the mind? Hast thou considered all these? I have, sayest thou. By what means hast thou considered them? Let the being that considers appear in person. The being that considers all these, that discriminates, distinguishes, and in a manner weighs them in the balance of wisdom, is really the mind. Doubtless, then, better is the mind with which thou hast contemplated all these things, than these things which thou hast contemplated. This mind, then, is a spirit, not a body. Pass beyond it too. And that thou mayest see whither thou art to pass beyond, compare that mind itself, in the first place, with the flesh. Heaven forbid that thou shouldest deign so to compare it! Compare it with the brightness of the sun, of the moon, and of the stars; the brightness of the mind is greater. Observe, first, the swiftness of the mind; see whether the scintillation of the thinking mind be not more impetuous than the brilliance of the shining sun. With the mind thou seest the sun rising. How slow is its motion compared with thy mind! What the sun is about to do, thou canst think in a trice. It is about to come from the east to the west; to-morrow rises from another quarter. Where thy thought has done this, the sun still lags behind, and thou hast traversed the whole journey. A great thing, therefore, is the mind. But how do I say is? Pass beyond it also. For the mind, notwithstanding it be better than every kind of body, is
itself changeable. Now it knows, now knows not; now forgets, now remembers; now
wills, now wills not; now errs, now is right. Pass therefore beyond all changeableness;
not only beyond all that is seen, but also beyond all that changes. For thou hast passed
beyond the flesh which is seen; beyond heaven, the sun, moon, and stars, which are seen.
Pass, too, beyond all that changes. For when thou hadst done with those things that are
seen, and hadst come to thy mind, there thou didst find the changeableness of thy mind.
Is God at all changeable? Pass, then, beyond even thy mind. Pour out thy soul "above
thee," that

296 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XX.

thou mayest reach unto God, of whom it is said to thee,
"Where is thy God?"

13. Do not imagine that thou art to do something beyond a man's ability. The Evangelist
John himself did this. He soared beyond the flesh, beyond the earth which he trod,
beyond the seas which he looked upon, beyond the air in which the fowls fly, beyond the
sun, the moon, the stars, beyond all the spirits unseen, beyond his own mind, by the very
reason of his rational soul. Soaring beyond all these, pouring out his soul above him,
whither did he arrive? What did he see?"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word
was

with God." If, therefore, thou seest no separation in the light, why seekest thou a
separation in the work? See God, see His Word inhering to the Word speaking, that the
speaker speaks not by syllables, but this his speaking is a shining out in the brightness of
wisdom. What is said of the Wisdom itself?"It is the radiance of eternal light." Observe
the radiance of the sun. The sun is in the heaven, and spreads out its brightness
over all lands and over all seas, and it is simply a corporal light.

If, indeed, thou canst separate the brightness from the sun, then separate the Word from
the Father. I am speaking of the sun. One small, slender flame of a lamp, which can be
extinguished by one breath, spreads its light over all that lies near it: thou seest the light
generated by the flame spread out; thou seest its emission, but not a separation.
Understand, then, beloved brethren, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are
inseparably united in themselves; that this Trinity is one God; that all the works of the
one God are the works of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. All the rest
which follows, and which refers to the discourse of our Lord Jesus Christ, now that a
discourse is due to you to-morrow also, be present that ye may hear.

1 Wisd. vii. 26.

TEACTATE XXI.
Chapter V. 20-23.

1. "VTESTEKDAY, so far as the Lord vouchsafed to bestow, JL we discussed with what ability we could, and discerned according to our capacity, how the works of the Father and of the Son are inseparable; and how the Father doeth not some, the Son others, but that the Father doeth all things through the Son, as through His Word, of which it is written, "All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." Let us to-day look at the words that follow. And of the same Lord let us pray for mercy, and hope that, if He deem it meet, we may understand what is true; but if we should not be able to do this, that we may not go into what is false. For it is better not to know than to go astray; but to know is better than not to know. Therefore, before all things, we ought to strive to know. Should we be able, to God be thanks; but should we not be able meanwhile to arrive at the truth, let us not go to falsehood. For we are bound to consider well what we are, and what we are treating of. We are men bearing flesh, walking in this life; and though now begotten again of the seed of the Word of God, yet in Christ renewed in such manner that we are not yet wholly rid of Adam. For truly our mortal and corruptible part that weighs down the soul shows itself to be, and manifestly is, of Adam; but what in us is spiritual, and raises up the soul, is of God's gift and of His mercy, who has sent His only Son to partake our death with us, and to lead us to His own immortality. The Son we have for our Master, that we may not sin; and for our defender, if we have sinned and have confessed, and been converted; an intercessor for us, if we have desired any good of God; and the bestower of it with

1 Wisd. ix. 15.
297

298 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXI.

the Father, because Father and Son is one God. But He was speaking these things as man to men: God concealed, the man manifest, that He might make them gods that are manifest men; and the Son of God made Son of man, that He might make the sons of men sons of God. By what skill of His wisdom He doeth this, we perceive in His own words. For as a little one He speaks to little ones, but Himself little in such wise that He is also great, and we little, but in Him great. He speaks, indeed, as one cherishing and nourishing children at the breast that grow by loving.

2. He had said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing." We, however, understood it not that the Father doeth something separately, which when the Son seeth, Himself also doeth something of the same kind, after seeing His Father's work; but when He said, "The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He seeth the Father doing," we understood it that the Son is wholly of the Father â€” that His whole substance and His whole power are of the Father that begat Him. But just now, when He had said that He
doeth in like manner these things which the Father doeth, that we may not understand it
to mean that the Father doeth some, the Son others, but that the Son with like power
doeth the very same which the Father doeth, whilst the Father doeth through the Son, He
goes on, and said what we have heard read to-day: "For the Father loveth the Son, and
showeth Him all things that Himself doeth." Again mortal thought is disturbed. The
Father showeth to the Son what things Himself doeth; therefore, saith some one, the
Father doeth separately, that the Son may be able to see what He doeth. Again, there
occur to human thought, as it were, two artificers â€” as, for instance, a carpenter
teaching his son his own art, and showing him whatever he doeth, that the son also may
be able to do it. "Showeth Him," saith He, "all things that Himself doeth." Is it therefore
so, that whilst He doeth, the Son doeth not, that He may be able to see the Father do ?
Yet, certainly, "all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made."
Hence we see how the Father showeth the Son what He doeth, since the Father doeth
nothing but what He doeth through the Son. What hath the

TRACT. XXI.] THE SON'S SEEING AND DOING. 299

Father made ? He made the world. Hath He shown the world, when made, to the Son in
such wise, that the Son also should make something like it ? Then let us see the world
which the Son made. Nevertheless, both "all things were made by Him, and without Him
was nothing made," and also
"the world was made by Him." 1 If the world was made by Him, and all things were
made by Him, and the Father doeth nothing save by the Son, where doth the Father show
to the Son what He doeth, if it be not in the Son Himself, through whom He doeth ? In
what place can the work of the Father be shown to the Son, as though He were doing and
sitting outside, and the Son attentively watching the Father's hand how it maketh ? Where
is that inseparable Trinity ? Where the Word, of which it is said that the same is "the
power and the wisdom of God" ? 2 Where that which the Scripture saith of the same
wisdom: "For it is the brightness of the eternal light"? 3 Where what was said of it again:
* It powerfully reaches from the end even to the end, and ordereth all things sweetly " ? 4
Whatever the Father doeth, He doeth through the Son: through His wisdom and his power
He doeth; not from without doth He show to the Son what He may see, but in the Son
Himself He showeth Him what He doeth.

3. What seeth the Father, or rather, what doth the Son see in the Father, that Himself also
may do ? Perhaps I may be able to speak it, but show me the man who can comprehend
it; or perhaps I may be able to think and not speak it; or perhaps I may not be able even
to think it. For that divinity excels us, as God excels men, as the immortal excels a mortal,
as the eternal excels the temporal. May He inspire and endow us, and out of that fountain
of life deign to bedew and to if drop somewhat on our thirst, that we may not be parched
in this wilderness! Let us say to Him, Lord, to whom we have learnt to say Father. We
make bold to say this, because Himself willed it; if only we so live that He may not say to
us, "If I am a Father, where is mine honour ? if I am Lord, where is my fear ?" Let us
then say to Him, "Our Father."
To whom do we say, "Our Father"? To the Father of Christ. He, then, who says "Our Father" to the Father of Christ, says 1 John i. 3, 10. 2 1 Cor. i. 24. 3 Wisd. vii. 26. 4 Wisd. viii. i.

300 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXI.

to Christ, what else but "Our Brother"? 'Not, however, as He is the Father of Christ is He in like manner our Father; for Christ never so conjoined us as to make no distinction between Him and us. For He is the Son equal to the Father, the eternal Son with the Father, and co-eternal with the Father; but we became sons through the Son, adopted through the Only-begotten. Hence was it never heard from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, when speaking to His disciples, that He said of the supreme God His Father, "Our Father;" but He said either "My Father" or "Your Father." But He said not "Our Father;" so much so, that in a certain place He used these two expressions: "I go to my God," saith He, "and to your God." Why did He not say, "Our God"? Further, He said, "My Father, and your Father;" He said not, "Our Father." He so joins as to distinguish, distinguishes so as not to disjoin. He wills us to be one in Him, but the Father and Himself one.

4. How much soever then we may understand, and how much soever we may see, we shall not see as the Son seeth, even when we shall be made equal with the angels. For we are something even when we do not see; but what are we when we do not see, other than persons not seeing? And that we may see, we turn to Him whom we may see, and there is formed in us a seeing which was not before, although we were in being. For a man is when not seeing; and the same, when he doth see, is called a man seeing. For him, then, to see is not the same thing as to be a man; for if it were, he would not be man when not seeing. But since he is man when not seeing, and seeks to see what he sees not, he is one who seeks, and who turns to see; and when he has well turned and has seen, he becomes a man seeing, who was before a man not seeing. Consequently, to see is to him a thing that comes and goes; it comes to him when he turns to, and leaves him when he turns away. Is it thus with the Son? Far be it from us to think so. It was never so that He was Son, not seeing, and afterwards was made to see; but to see the Father is to Him the same thing as to be Son. For we, by turning away to sin, lose enlightenment; and by turning to God we receive enlightenment. For the light by which we are enlightened is one thing; we who are enlightened, another thing. But the light itself, by which we are enlightened, neither turns away from itself, nor loses its
lucidity, because as light it exists. The Father, then, showeth a thing which He doeth to the Son, in such wise that the Son seeth all things in the Father, and is all things in the Father. For by seeing He was begotten; and by being begotten He seeth. Not, however, that at any time He was not begotten, and afterwards was begotten; nor that at any time He saw not, and afterwards saw. But in what consists His seeing, in the same consists His being, in the same His being begotten, in the same His continuing, in the same His unchanging, in the same His abiding without beginning and without end.

Let us not therefore take it in a carnal sense that the Father sitteth and doeth a work, and showeth it to the Son; and the Son seeth the work that the Father doeth, and doeth another work in another place, or out of other materials. For " all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." The Son is the Word of the Father. The Father said nothing which He did not say in the Son. For by speaking in the Son what He was about to do through the Son, He begat the Son through whom He made all things.

5. "And greater works than these will He show Him, that ye may marvel." Here again we are embarrassed. And who is there that may worthily investigate this so great a secret? But now, in that He has deigned to speak to us, Himself opens it. For He would not speak what He would not have us understand; and as He has deigned to speak, without doubt He has excited attention: for does He forsake any whom He has roused to give attentive hearing? We have said that it is not in a temporal sense that the Son ' knoweth, â€” that the knowledge of the Son is not one thing, and the Son Himself another; nor one thing His seeing, Himself another; but that the seeing itself is the Son, and the knowledge as well as the wisdom of the Father is the Son; and that that wisdom and seeing is eternal from eternal and co-eternal with Him from whom it is; that it is not something that varies by time, nor something produced that was not in being, nor something that vanishes away which did exist. What is it, then, that time does in this case, that He should say, " Greater works than

302 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXI.

these He will show Him " ? " He will show," that is, " He is about to show." Hath shown is a different thing from ivill show:

hath shown, we say of an act past; will show, of an act future.

What shall we do here, then, brethren? Behold, He whom we had declared to be co-eternal with the Father, in whom nothing is varied by time, in whom is no moving through spaces either of moments or of places, of whom we had declared that He abides ever with the Father seeing, seeing the Father, and by seeing existing; He, I say, here again mentioning times to us, saith, " He will show Him greater works than these." Is He then about to show something to the Son, which the Son doth not as yet know? What, then, do we make of it? How do we understand this? Behold, our Lord Jesus Christ was
above, is beneath. When was He above? When He said, "What things soever the Father
doeth, these same also the Son doeth in like manner." Whence know we that He is now
beneath? Hence: "Greater works than these He will show Him." Lord Jesus Christ, our
Saviour, Word of God, by which all things were made, what is the Father about to show
Thee, that as yet Thou knowest not? What of the Father is hid from Thee? What in the
Father is hid from Thee, from whom the Father is not hid?
What greater works is He about to show Thee? Or greater than what works are they
which He is to show Thee? For when He said, "Greater than these," we ought first to
understand the works than which are they greater.

6. Let us again call to mind whence this discourse started.
It was when that man who was thirty-eight years in infirmity was healed, and Jesus
commanded him, now made whole, to take up his bed and to go to his house. For this
cause, indeed, the Jews with whom He was speaking were enraged. He spoke in words,
as to the meaning He was silent; hinted in some measure at the meaning to those who
understood, and hid the matter from them that were wroth. For this cause, I
say, the Jews, being enraged because the Lord did this on the Sabbath, gave occasion to
this discourse. Therefore let us not hear these things in such wise as if we had forgotten
what was said above, but let us look back to that impotent man languishing for thirty-
eight years suddenly made whole, while

TRACT. XXI.] THE "GREATER WORKS." 303

the Jews marvelled and were wroth. They sought darkness from the Sabbath more than
light from the miracle. Speaking then to these, while they are indignant, He saith, "
Greater works than these will He show Him." "Greater than these:" than which? What ye have seen, that a man, whose infirmity had lasted thirty-eight
years, was made whole; greater than these the Father is about to show to the Son. What
are greater works? He goes on, saying, "For as the Father raiseth the dead, and
quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will." Clearly these are greater.
Very much greater is it that a dead man should rise, than that a sick man should recover:
these are greater. But when is the Father about to show these to the Son? Does the Son
not know them? And He who was speaking, did He not know how to raise the dead?
Had He yet to learn how to raise the dead to life? He, I say, by whom all things were
made?
He who caused that we should live, when we were not in being, had He yet to learn how
we might be raised to life again? What, then, do His words mean?

7. But now He condescends to us, and He who a little before was speaking as God, now
begins to speak as man.
Notwithstanding, the same is man who is God, for God was made man; but was made
what He was not, without losing what He was. The man therefore was added to the God,
that He might be man who was God, but not that He should now henceforth be man and
not be God. Let us then hear Him also as our brother whom we did hear as our Maker.
Our Maker, because the Word in the beginning; our Brother, because born of the Virgin Mary: Maker, before Abraham, before Adam, before earth, before heaven, before all things corporal and spiritual; but Brother, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Judah, of the Israelitish virgin. If therefore we know Him who speaks to us as both God and man, let us understand the words of God and of man; for sometimes He speaks to us such things as are applicable to the majesty, sometimes such as are applicable to the humility. For the self-same is high who was made low, that He might make us high who are low. What, then, saith He ? " The Father will show " to me " greater than these, that ye may marvel." To us,

304 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXI.

therefore, He is about to show, not to Him. And since it is to us that the Father is to show, for that reason He said, " that ye may marvel." He has, in fact, explained what He meant in saying, " The Father will show " to me. Why did He not say, The Father will show to you; but, He will show to the Son ? Because also we are members of the Son; and like as what we the members learn, He Himself in a manner learns in His members. How doth He learn in us ? As He suffers in us. Whence may we prove that He suffers in us ? From that voice out of heaven, " Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? " * Is it not Himself that will sit as Judge in the end of the world, and, setting the just on the right, and the wicked on the left, will say, " Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom; for I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat " ? And when they shall answer, " Lord, when saw we Thee hungry ? " He will say to them, " Since ye gave to one of the least of mine, ye gave to me." 2 Let us at this time question Him, and let us say to Him, Lord, when wilt Thou be a learner, seeing Thou teachest all things ? Immediately, indeed, He makes answer to us in our faith, When one of the least of mine doth learn, I learn.

8. Let us rejoice, then, and give thanks that we are made not only Christians, but Christ. Do ye understand, brethren, and apprehend the grace of God upon us ? Marvel, be glad, we are made Christ. For if He is the head, we are the members: the whole man is He and we. This is what the Apostle Paul saith: " That we be no longer babes, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine." But above he had said, " Until we all come together into the unity of faith, and to the knowledge of the Son of God, to the perfect man, to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ." 3 The fulness of Christ, then, is head and members. Head and members, what is that ? Christ and the Church. We should indeed be arrogating this to ourselves proudly, if He did not Himself deign to promise it, who saith by the same apostle, " But ye are the body of Christ, and members." 4

9. Whenever, then, the Father showeth to Christ's members, He showeth to Christ. A certain great but yet real miracle

1 Acts ix. 4. 2 Matt. xxv. 31-10. 3 Eph. iv. 14. 4 1 Cor. xii. 27.
happens. There is a showing to Christ of what Christ knew, and it is shown to Christ through Christ. A marvellous and great thing it is, but the Scripture so saith. Shall we contradict the divine declarations? Shall we not rather understand them, and of His own gift render thanks to Him who freely bestowed it on us? What is this that I said, "is shown to Christ through Christ"? Is shown to the members through the head. Lo, look at this in thyself. Suppose that with thine eyes shut thou wouldest take up something, thy hand knows not whither to go; and yet thy hand is at any rate thy member, for it is not separated from thy body. Open thine eyes, now the hand sees whither it may go; while the head showed, the member followed. If, then, there could be found in thyself something such, that thy body showed to thy body, and that through thy body something was shown to thy body, then do not marvel that it is said there is shown to Christ through Christ. For the head shows that the members may see, and the head teaches that the members may learn; nevertheless one man, head and members. He willed not to separate Himself, but deigned to attach Himself to us. Ear was He from us, yea, very far. What so far apart as the creature and the Creator? What so far apart as God and man? What so far as justice and iniquity? What so far as eternity and mortality? Behold, so far from us was the Word in the beginning, God with God, by whom all things were made. How, then, was He made near, that He might be what we are, and we in Him?

"The Word was made flesh, and dwelt in (among) us." 1

10. This, then, He is about to show us; this He showed to His disciples, who saw Him in the flesh. What is this?

"As the Father raiseth the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will." Is it that the Father some, the Son others? Surely all things were made by Him. What do we say, my brethren? Christ raised Lazarus; what dead man did the Father raise, that Christ might see how to raise Lazarus? When Christ raised Lazarus, did not the Father raise him? or was it the doing of the Son alone, without the Father? Read ye the passage itself, and see that He invokes the Father that Lazarus may rise again. 2 As a man,

1 John i. 14. 2 John xi. 41-44.

TRACT. U

306 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXI.

He calls on the Father; as God, He doeth with the Father.
Therefore also Lazarus, who rose again, was raised both by the Father and by the Son, in the gift and grace of the Holy Spirit; and that wonderful work the Trinity performed. Let us not, therefore, understand this, "As the Father raiseth the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will," in such wise as to suppose that some are raised and quickened by the Father, others by the Son; but that the Son raiseth and quickeneth the very same whom the Father raiseth and quickeneth; because "all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." And to show that He has, though given by the Father, equal power, therefore He saith, "So also the Son quickeneth whom He will," that He might therein show His will; and lest any should say, "The Father raiseth the dead by the Son, but the Father as being powerful, and as having power, the Son as by another's power, as a servant does something, as an angel," He indicated His power when He saith, "So also the Son quickeneth whom He will." It is not so that the Father willeth other than the Son; but as the Father and the Son have one substance, so also one will.

11. And who are these dead whom the Father and the Son quicken? Are they the same of whom we have spoken â€” Lazarus, or that widow's son, 1 or the ruler of the synagogue's daughter X 1 For we know that these were raised by Christ the Lord. It is some other thing that He means to signify to us, â€” namely, the resurrection of the dead, which we all look for; not that resurrection which certain have had, that the rest might believe. For Lazarus rose to die again; we shall rise again to live for ever. Is it the Father that effects such a resurrection, or the Son? Nay verily, the Father in the Son. Consequently the Son, and the Father in the Son. Whence do we prove that He speaks of this resurrection? When He had said, "As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will." Lest we should understand here that resurrection which He performs for a miracle, not for eternal life, He proceeded, saying, "For the Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son." What is this? He was speaking of the


TRACT. XXI.] OF THE SON'S JUDGING. 307

resurrection of the dead, that "as the Father raiseth the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will" and immediately thereupon added as a reason, concerning the judgment, saying, "For the Father judgest not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son." Why said He this, but to indicate that He had spoken of that resurrection of the dead which will take place in the judgment?

12. "For," saith He, "the Father judgeth no man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son." A little before we were thinking that the Father doeth something which the Son doeth not, when He said, "The Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things that
Himself doeth;" as though the Father were doing, and the Son were seeing. In this way there was creeping in upon our mind a carnal conception, as if the Father did what the Son did not; but that the Son was looking on while the Father showed what He was doing. Then, as the Father was doing what the Son did not, just now we see the Son doing what the Father doeth not. How He turns us about, and keeps our mind busy! He leads us hither and thither, will not allow us to remain in one place of the flesh, that by changing He may exercise us, by exercising He may cleanse us, by cleansing He may render us capable of receiving, and may fill us when made capable. What have these words to do with us? What was He speaking? What is He speaking? A little before, He said that the Father showeth to the Son whatever He doeth. I did see, as it were, the Father doing, the Son waiting to see; presently again, I see the Son doing, the Father idle: "For the Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son." When, therefore, the Son is about to judge, will the Father be idle, and not judge? What is this? What am I to understand?

What dost Thou say, O Lord? Thou art God the Word, I am a man. Dost Thou say that "the Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son"? I read in another place that Thou sayest, "I judge not any man; there is one who seeketh and judgeth." 1 Of whom sayest Thou, "There is one who seeketh and judgeth," unless it be of the Father?

He maketh inquisition for thy wrongs, and judgeth for them.

1 John viii. 15.

308 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXI.

How is it to be understood here that "the Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son"? Let us ask Peter; let us hear him speaking in his epistle: "Christ suffered for us," saith he, "leaving us an example that we should follow His steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth; who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered wrong, He threatened not, but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously." 1 How is it true that "the Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son"? We are here in perplexity, and being perplexed let us exert ourselves, that by exertion we may be purified. Let us endeavour as best we may, by His own gift, to penetrate the deep secrets of these words. It may be that we are acting rashly, in that we wish to discuss and to scrutinize the words of God. Yet why were they spoken, but to be known? Why did they sound forth, but to be heard? Why were they heard, but to be understood? Let Him greatly strengthen us, then, and bestow somewhat on us so far as He may deem worthy; and if we do not yet penetrate to the fountain, let us drink of the brook. Behold, John himself has flowed forth to us like a brook, conveyed to us the word from on high.

He brought it low, and in a manner levelled it, that we may not dread the lofty One, but may draw nigh to Him that is low.

13. By all means there is a sense, a true and strong sense, if somehow we can grasp it, in which "the Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son." For this
is said because none will appear to men in the judgment but the Son. The Father will be hidden, the Son will be manifest.

In what will the Son be manifest? In the form in which He ascended. For in the form of God He was hidden with the Father; in the form of a servant, manifest to men. Not therefore " the Father judgeth any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son:" only the manifest judgment, in which manifest judgment the Son will judge, since the same will appear to them that are to be judged. The Scripture shows us more clearly that it is the Son that will appear. On the fortieth day after His resurrection He ascended into heaven, while His disciples were looking on; and they hear the angelic voice:

UPet. ii. 21-23.

TRACT. XXL] OF THE LAST JUDGMENT. 309

" Men of Galilee/ saith it, " why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same that is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him going into heaven." 1 In what manner did they see Him go? In the flesh, which they touched, which they handled, the wounds even of which they proved by touching; in that body in which He went in and out with them for forty days, manifesting Himself to them in truth, not in falsity; not a phantom, or shadow, or ghost, but, as Himself said, not deceiving them, " Handle and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." 2 That body is now indeed worthy of a heavenly habitation, not being subject to death, nor mutable by the lapse of ages. It is not as it had grown to that age from infancy, so from the age of manhood declines to old age: He remains as He ascended, to come to those to whom He willed His word to be preached before He comes. Thus will He come in human form, and this form the wicked will see; both they on the right shall see it, and they who are separated to the left shall see it: as it is written, " They shall look on Him whom they pierced." 3 If they shall look on Him whom they pierced, they shall look on that same body which they struck through with the spear; for a spear does not pierce the Word. This body, therefore, will the wicked be able to look on which they were able to wound. God hidden in the body they will not see: after the judgment He will be seen by those who will be on the right hand. This, then, is what He means when He saith, " The Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son," ¿ that the Son will come to judgment manifest, apparent to men in human body; saying to those on the right, " Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom;" and to those on the left, " Go into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels." 4

14. Behold, that form of man will be seen by the godly and by the wicked, by the just and the unjust, by the believers and unbelievers, by those that rejoice and by those that mourn, by them that trusted and by them that are confounded: lo, seen it will be. When that form shall have appeared in the judgment, and the judgment shall have been

1 Acts i. 3-11. 2 Luke xxiv. 39. 3 Zech. xii. 13. 4 Matt. xxv. 34, 41.
finished, where it is said that the Father judgeth not any, but hath given all judgment to the Son, for this reason, that the Son will appear in the judgment in that form which He took from us. What shall be after this? When shall be seen the form of God, which all the faithful are thirsting to see?

When shall be seen that Word which was in the beginning, God with God, by which all things were made? When shall be seen that form of God, of which the apostle saith, "Being in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God"? 1 For great is that form, in which, moreover, the quality of the Father and Son is recognised; ineffable, incomprehensible, most of all to little ones. When shall this form be seen?

Behold, on the right are the just, on the left are the unjust; all alike see the man, they see the Son of man, they see Him who was pierced, Him who was crucified they see: they see Him that was made low, Him who was born of the Virgin, the Lamb of the tribe of Judah they see.

But when will they see the Word, God with God? He will be the very same even then, but the form of a servant will appear. The form of a servant will be shown to servants: the form of God will be reserved for sons. Wherefore let the servants be made sons; let them who are on the right hand go into the eternal inheritance promised of old, which the martyrs, though not seeing, believed, for the promise of which they poured out their blood without hesitation; let them go thither and see there. When shall they go thither?

Let the Lord Himself say: "So those shall go into everlasting burning, but the righteous into life eternal." 2

15. Behold, He has named eternal life. Has He told us that we shall there see and know the Father and Son?

What if we shall live for ever, yet not see that Father and Son? Hear, in another place, where He has named eternal life, and expressed what eternal life is: "Be not afraid; I do not deceive thee; not without cause have I promised to them that love me, saying, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will show myself to him.'" 3

Let us answer the Lord, and say,

1 Phil. ii. 6. 2 Matt. xxv. 46. 3 John xiv. 21.

TRACT. XXI.] OF THE LAST JUDGMENT. 311

What great thing is this, Lord our God? What great thing is it? Wilt Thou show Thyself to us? What, then, didst Thou not show Thyself to the Jews also? Did not they see Thee who crucified Thee? But Thou wilt show Thyself in the judgment, when we shall stand at Thy right hand; will not also they who will stand on Thy left see Thee? What is it that Thou wilt show Thyself to us? Do we, indeed, not see Thee now when Thou art speaking? He makes answer: I
will show myself in the form of God; just now you see the form of a servant. I will not deceive thee, O faithful man; believe that thou shalt see. Thou lovest, and yet thou dost not see: shall not love itself lead thee to see? Love, persevere in loving; I will not disappoint thy love, saith He, I who have purified thy heart. For why have I purified thy heart, but to the end that God may be seen by thee? For "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." 1 "But this," saith the servant, as if disputing with the Lord, "Thou didst not express, when Thou didst say, 'The righteous shall go into life eternal;' Thou didst not say, They shall go to see me in the form of God, and to see the Father, with whom I am equal." Observe what He said elsewhere: "This is life eternal, that they may know Thee the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." 2

16. And immediately, then, after the judgment mentioned, all which the Father, not judging any man, hath given to the Son, what shall be? What follows? "That all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." The Jews honour the Father, despise the Son. For the Son was seen as a servant, the Father was honoured as God. But the Son will appear equal with the Father, that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. This we have, therefore, now in faith. Let not the Jew say, "I honour the Father; what have I to do with the Son?" Let him be answered, "He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father. Thou liest every way; thou blasphemest the Son, and dost wrong to the Father. For the Father sent the Son, and thou despisest Him whom the Father sent. How canst thou honour the sender, who blasphemest the sent?"

1 Matt. v. 8. 2 John xvii. 3.

312 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXI.

17. Behold, says some one, the Son has been sent; and the Father is greater, because He sent. Withdraw from the flesh; the old man suggests oldness in time. Let the ancient, the perpetual, the eternal, to thee the new, call off thy understanding from time to this. Is the Son less because He is said to have been sent? I hear of a sending, not a separation. But yet, saith he, among men we see that he who sends is greater than he who is sent. Be it so; but human affairs deceive a man; divine things purge him. Do not regard things human, in which the sender appears greater, the sent less; notwithstanding, things human themselves bear testimony against thee. Just as, for example, if a man wishes to ask a woman to wife, and, not being able to do this in person, sends a friend to ask for him. And there are many cases in which the greater is chosen to be sent by the less. Why, then, wouldst thou now raise a captious objection, because the one has sent, the other is sent? The sun sends out a ray, but does not separate it; the moon sends out her sheen, but does not separate it; a lamp sheds light, but does not separate it: I see there a sending forth, not a separation. For if thou seest examples from human things, O heretical vanity, although, as I have said, even human things in some
instances refute thee, and convict of error; yet consider how different it is in the case of
things human, from which you wish to deduce examples for things divine.
A man that sends remains himself behind, while only the man that is sent goes forward.
Does the man who sends go with him whom he sends? Yet the Father, who sent the Son,
has not departed from the Son. Hear the Lord Himself saying, "Behold, the hour is
coming, when every one shall depart to his own, and ye will leave me alone; but I am not
alone, because the Father is with me." * How has He, with whom He came, sent Him?
How has He, from whom He has not departed, sent Him? In another place He said, "The
Father abiding in me doeth the works." 2 Behold, the Father is in Him, works in Him.
The Father sending has not departed from the Son sent, because the sent and the sender
are one.

1 John xvi. 32. 2 John xiv. 10.

TEACTATE XXII.

Chapter V. 24-30.

UPON the discourses delivered yesterdax. jud_ thej lax before, follows the Gospel lesson
of to-day, which we must endeavour to expound in due course, not indeed proportionally
to its importance, but according to our ability:
both because you take in, not according to the bountifulness of the gushing fountain, but
according to your moderate capacity; and we too speak into your ears, not so much as the
fountain gives forth, but so much as we are able to take in we convey into your minds,
â€” the matter itself working more fruitfully in your hearts than we in your ears. For a
great matter is treated of, not by great masters, nay, rather by very small; but He who,
being great, for our sakes became small, gives us hope and confidence. For if we were
not encouraged by Him, and invited to understand Him; if He abandoned us as
contemptible, since we were not able to partake His divinity if He did not partake our
mortality and come to us to speak His gospel to us; if He had not willed to partake with
us what in us is abject and most small, â€” then we might think that He who took on
Himself our smallness, had not been willing to bestow on us His own greatness.
This I have said lest any should blame us as over-bold in handling these matters, or
despair of himself that he should be able to understand, by God's gift, what the Son of
God has deigned to speak to him. Therefore what He has deigned to speak to us, we
ought to believe that He meant us to understand. But if we do not understand, He, being
asked, gives understanding, who gave His Word unasked.

2. Lo, what these secrets of His words are, consider well.
" Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whoso heareth my word, and believe th on Him that sent
me, hath eternal life." Surely we

313
are all striving after eternal life: and He saith, " Whoso heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life." Then, would He have us hear His word, and yet would He not have us understand it? Since, if in hearing and believing is eternal life, much more in understanding. But the action of piety is faith, the fruit of faith understanding, that we may come to eternal life, when there will be no reading of Gospel to us but after all pages of reading and the voice of reader and preacher have been removed out of the way, He, who has at this time dispensed to us the gospel, will Himself appear to all that are His, now present with Him with purged heart and in an immortal body never more to die, cleansing and enlightening them, now living and seeing how that " in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." Therefore let us consider at this time who we are, and ponder whom we hear. Christ is God, and He is speaking with men. He would have them to apprehend Him, let Him make them capable; He would have them see Him, let Him open their eyes. It is not, however, without cause that He speaks to us, but because that is true which He promises to us.

3. " Whoso heareth my words," saith He, " and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is passed from death unto life." Where, when do we come from death to life, that we come not into judgment? In this life there is a passing from death to life; in this life, which is not yet life, there is a passing hence from death unto life. What is that passing? " Whoso heareth my words," He said, " and believeth Him that sent me." Observing these, thou believest and passest. And does a man pass while standing? Evidently; for in body he stands, in mind he passes. Where was he, whence he should pass, and whither does he pass? He passes from death to life. Look at a man standing, in whom all that is here said may happen. He stands, he hears; perhaps he did not believe, by hearing he believes: a little before he did not believe, just now he believes; he has made a passage, as it were, from the region of unbelief to the region of faith, by motion of the heart, not of the body, by a motion into the better; because they who again abandon faith move into the worse. Behold, in this life, which, just as I have said, is not yet life, there is a passing from death to life, so that there may not be a coming into judgment. But why did I say that it is not yet life? If this were life, the Lord would not have said to a certain man, " If thou wilt come into life, keep the commandments." 1 For He saith not to him, If thou wilt come into eternal life; He did not add eternal, but said only life. Therefore this life is not to be named life, because it is not a true life. What is true life, but that which is eternal life? Hear the apostle speaking to Timothy, when he says, " Charge them that are rich in this world, not to be high-minded, nor to
trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us all things richly to enjoy; let them do good, be rich in good works, ready to distribute, to communicate." Why does he say this? Hear what follows: "Let them lay up in store for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, that they may lay hold of the true life." 2 If they ought to lay up for themselves a good foundation for the time to come, in order to lay hold of the true life, surely this in which they were is a false life. For why shouldst thou desire to lay hold of the true, if thou hast the true already? Is the true to be laid hold of? There must then be a departing from the false. And by what way must be the departing? Whither? Hear, believe; and thou makest the passage from death into life, and comest not into judgment.

4. What is this, "and thou comest not into judgment"? And who will be better than the Apostle Paul, who saith, "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may there receive what he has done in the body, whether it be good or evil"? 3 Paul saith, "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;" and darest thou promise to thyself that thou shalt not come into judgment? Be it far from me, sayest thou, that I should dare promise this to myself. But I believe Him that doth promise. The Saviour speaks, the Truth promises, Himself said to me, "Whoso heareth my words, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and makes a passage from death unto life, and shall not come into judgment." I then have heard the words of my Lord, and I

1 Matt. xix. 17. Tim. vi. 17-19. 2 Cor. v. 10.

316 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXII.

have believed; so now, when I was an unbeliever, I became a believer; even as He warned me, I passed from death to life, I come not into judgment; not by my presumption, but by His promise. Does Paul, however, speak contrary to Christ, the servant against his Lord, the disciple against his Master, the man against God; so that, when the Lord saith, "Whoso heareth and believeth, passeth from death to life," the apostle should say, "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ"? Otherwise, if he comes not into judgment who appears before the judgment-seat, I know not how to understand it.

5. The Lord our God then reveals it, and by His Scriptures puts us in mind how it may be understood when judgment is spoken of. I exhort you, therefore, to give attention. Sometimes judgment means punishment, sometimes it means discrimination. According to that mode of speech in which judgment means discrimination, "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that "a man" may there receive what things he has done in the body, whether it be good or ill." For this same is a discrimination, to distribute good things to the good, evil things to the evil. For if judgment were always to
be taken in a bad sense, the psalm would not say, "Judge me, God." Perhaps some one is surprised when he hears one say, "Judge me, O God." For man is wont to say, "Forgive me, God;" "Spare me, God." Who is it that says, "Judge me, God"? Sometimes in the psalm this very verse even is placed in the pause, 1 to be given out by the reader and responded by the people. Does it not perhaps strike some man's heart so much that he is afraid to sing and to say to God, "Judge me, God"? And yet the people sing it with confidence, and do not imagine that they wish an evil thing in that which they have learned from the divine word; even if they do not well understand it, they believe that what they sing is something good. And yet even the psalm itself has not left a man without an insight into the meaning of it. For, going on, it shows in the words that follow what kind of judgment it spoke of; that it is not one of condemnation, but of discrimination. For saith it, *Judge me, God." What means "Judge me, God, and discern my cause

1 Diapsalma.

TRACT. XXII.] PASSING FROM DEATH TO LIFE. 317

from an unholy nation "? According to this judgment of discerning, then, "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ." But again, according to the judgment of condemnation, "Whoso heareth my words," saith He, "and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but makes a passage from death to life."

What is "shall not come into judgment "? Shall not come into condemnation. Let us prove from the Scriptures that judgment is put where punishment is understood; although also in this very passage, a little further on, you will hear the same term judgment put for nothing else than for condemnation and punishment. Yet the apostle says in a certain place, writing to those who abused the body, what the faithful among you know; and because they abused it, they were chastised by the scourge of the Lord. For he says to them,

"Many among you are weak and sickly, and deeply sleep."

For many therefore even died. And he went on: "For if we judged ourselves, we should not be judged by the Lord; "that is, if we reproved ourselves, we should not be reproved by the Lord." But when we are judged, we are chastened by the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world." 1

There are therefore those who are judged here according to punishment, that they may be spared there; there are those who are spared here, that they may be the more abundantly tormented there; and there are those to whom the very punishments are meted out without the scourge of punishment, if they be not corrected by the scourge of God; that, since here they have despised the Father that scourgeth, they may there feel the Judge that punisheth. Therefore there is a judgment into which God, that is, the Son of God, will in the end send the devil and his angels, and all the unbelieving and ungodly with him. To this judgment, he who, now believing, passes from death unto life, shall not come.
6. For, lest thou shouldest think that by believing thou art not to die according to the flesh, or lest, understanding it carnally, thou shouldest say to thyself, "My Lord has said to me, Whoso heareth my words, and believeth Him that sent me, is passed from death to life: I then have believed, I am not to

1 1 Cor. xi. 30, 32.

318 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXII.

die;" be assured that thou shalt pay that penalty, death, which thou owest by the punishment of Adam. For he, in whom we all then were, received this sentence, "Thou shalt surely die; and nor can the divine sentence be made void. But after thou hast paid the death of the old man, thou shalt be received into the eternal life of the new man, and shalt pass from death to life. Meanwhile, make the transition of life now. What is thy life ? Faith: "The just doth live by faith." 2 The unbelievers, what of them ? They are dead. Among such dead was he, in the body, of whom the Lord says, "Let the dead bury their dead." 3 So, then, even in this life there are dead, and there are living; all live in a sense. Who are dead ? They who have not believed. Who are living ? They who have believed. What is said to the dead by the apostle ? * Arise, thou that sleepest." But, quoth an objector, he said sleep, not death. Hear what follows: "Arise, thou that sleepest, and come forth from the dead." And as if the sleeper said, Whither shall I go ? "And Christ shall give thee light." 4 Christ having enlightened thee, now believing, immediately thou makest a passage from death to life: abide in that to which thou hast passed, and thou shalt not come into judgment.

7. Himself explains that already, and goes on, "Verily, verily, I say unto you." In case, because He said "is passed from death to life," we should understand this of the future resurrection, and willing to show that he who believes is passed, and that to pass from death to life is to pass from unbelief to faith, from injustice to justice, from pride to humility, from hatred to charity, He saith now, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour cometh, and now is." What more evident ? "And now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." We have already spoken of these dead. What think we, my brethren ? Are there no dead in this crowd that hear me ? They who believe and act according to the true faith do live, and are not dead. But they who either do not believe, or believe as the devils believe, trembling, 5 and living wickedly,

1 Gen. ii. 17. 2 Hab. ii. 14; Rom. i. 17. 3 Matt. viii. 22.

â€™ Eph. i. 14. 5 Jas. ii. 19.
confessing the Son of God, and without charity, must rather be esteemed dead. This hour, however, is still passing. For the hour of which the Lord spoke will not be an hour of the twelve hours of a day. From the time when He spoke even to the present, and even to the end of the world, the same one hour is passing; of which hour John saith in his epistle, "Little children, it is the last hour." 1 Therefore, is now. Whoso is alive, let him live; whoso was dead, let him live; let him hear the voice of the Son of God, who lay dead; let him arise and live. The Lord cried out at the sepulchre of Lazarus, and he that was four days dead arose. He who stank in the grave came forth into the air. He was buried, a stone was laid over him: the voice of the Saviour burst asunder the hardness of the stone; and thy heart is so hard, that that Divine Voice does not yet break it! Eise in thy heart; go forth from thy tomb. For thou wast lying dead in thy heart as in a tomb, and pressed down by the weight of evil habit as by a stone. Eise, and go forth. What is Eise, and go forth? Believe and confess. For he that has believed has risen; he that confesses is gone forth.

Why said we that he who confesses is gone forth? Because he was hid before confessing; but when he does confess, he goes forth from darkness to light. And after he has confessed, what is said to the servants? What was said beside the corpse of Lazarus? "Loose him, and let him go." How? As it was said to His servants the apostles, "What things ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." 2

8. "The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." From what source shall they live? From life. From what life? From Christ. How do we prove that the source is Christ the life? "I am," saith He, "the way, the truth, and the life." 3 Dost thou wish to walk? "I am the way." Dost thou wish not to be deceived? "I am the truth." Wouldest thou not die? "I am the life." This saith thy Saviour to thee: There is not whither thou mayest go but to me; there is not whereby thou mayest go but by me.

Therefore this hour is going on now, this act is clearly taking place, and does not at all cease. Men who were dead, rise; they pass over to life; at the voice of the Son of God they live; from Him they live, while persevering in the faith of Him. For the Son hath life, whence He has it that they that believe shall live.

9. And how hath He? Even as the Father hath. Hear Himself saying, "For as the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." Brethren, I shall speak as I shall be able. For these are those words that perplex the puny understanding. Why has He added, "in Himself"? It would suffice to say, "For as the Father hath life, so also hath He given to the Son to have life." He added, "in Himself: "for the Father" hath life in Himself," and the Son hath life in Himself. He meant us to understand something in that which He saith, "in Himself."
And here a secret matter is shut up in this word; let there be knocking, that there may be an opening. Lord, what is this that Thou hast said? Wherefore hast Thou added, "in Himself"? For did not Paul the apostle, whom Thou madest to live, have life? He had, said He. As for men that were dead to be made alive, and at Thy word to pass unto life by believing; when they shall have passed, will they not have life in Thee? They shall have life; for I said also a little before, "Whoso heareth my words, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life." Therefore those that believe in Thee have life; and Thou hast not said, "in themselves." But when Thou speakest of the Father, "even as the Father hath life in Himself;" again, when Thou speakest of Thyself, Thou saidst, "So also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." Even as He hath, so gave He to have. Where hath He? "In Himself." Where gave He to have? "In Himself." Where hath Paul life? Not in himself, but in Christ. Where hast thou, believer? Not in thyself, but in Christ. Let us see whether the apostle says this: "Now I live; but not I, but Christ liveth in me." *

Our life, as ours, that is, of our own personal will, will be only evil, sinful, unrighteous; but the life in us that is good is from God, not from ourselves; it is given to us by God, not

1 Gal. ii. 20.

TRACT. XXII.] CHRIST THE LIGHT. 321

by ourselves. But Christ hath life in Himself, as the Father hath, because He is the Word of God. With Him, it is not the ease that He liveth now ill, now well; but as for man, he liveth now ill, now well. He who was living ill, was in his own life; he who is living well, is passed to the life of Christ.

Thou art made a partaker of life; thou wast not that which thou hast received, but wast one who received: but it is not so with the Son of God, as if at first He was without life, and then received life. For if thus He received life, He would not have it in Himself. For, indeed, what is in Himself? That He should Himself be the very life.

10. I may perhaps declare that matter more plainly still.

One lights a candle: that candle, for example, so far as regards the little flame which shines there â€” that fire has light in itself; but thine eyes, which lay idle and saw nothing, in the absence of the candle, now have light also, but not in themselves. Further, if they turn away from the candle, they are made dark; if they turn to it, they are illumined. But certainly that fire shines so long as it exists: if thou wouldst take the light from it, thou dost also at the same time extinguish it; for without the light it cannot remain. But Christ is light inextinguishable and co-eternal with the Father, always bright, always shining, always burning: for if He were not burning, would it be said in the psalm, "Nor is there any that can hide himself from his heat "? * But thou wast cold in thy sin; thou turnest that thou mayest become warm; if thou wilt turn away, thou wilt become cold.
In thy sin thou wast dark; thou turnest in order to be enlightened; if thou turnest away, thou wilt become dark. Therefore, because in thyself thou wast darkness, when thou shalt be enlightened, thou wilt be light, though in the light. For saith the apostle, "Ye were once darkness, but now light in the Lord." 2 When he had said, "but now light," he added, "in the Lord." Therefore in thyself darkness, "light in the Lord." In what way "light"? Because by participation of that light thou art light. But if thou wilt depart from the light by which thou art enlightened, thou returnest to thy darkness. Not so Christ, not so the Word of God. But
1 Ps. xix. 7. 2 Eph. v. 8.

TRACT. X

322 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXII.

how not? "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given also to the Son to have life in Himself; " so that He lives, not by participation, but unchangeably, and is altogether Himself life. "So hath He given also to the Son to have life." Even as He hath, so has He given. What is the difference? For the one gave, the other received. Was He already in being when He received? Are we to understand that Christ was at any time in being without light, when Himself is the wisdom of the Father, of which it is said, "It is the brightness of the eternal light"? x Therefore what is said, "gave to the Son," is such as if it were said, "begat the Son;" for by begetting He gave. As He gave Him to be, so He gave Him to be life, so also gave Him to be life in Himself.
What is that, to be life in Himself? Not to need life from elsewhere, but to be Himself the plenitude of life, out of which others believing should have life while they lived.
"Hath given Him," then, "to have life in Himself." Hath given as to whom? As to His own Word, as to Him who "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God."

11. Afterwards, because He was made man, what gave He to Him? "And hath given Him authority to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man." In that He is the Son of God, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself;" in that He is the Son of man, "He hath given Him authority of executing judgment." This is what I explained to you yesterday, my beloved, that in the judgment man will be seen, but God will not be seen; but after the judgment, God will be seen by those who have prevailed in the judgment, but by the wicked He will not be seen. Since, therefore, the man will be seen in the judgment in that form in which He will so come as He ascended, for that reason He had said above, "The Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son."
He repeats the same thing also in this place, when He says,
"And hath given Him authority of executing judgment, because He is the Son of man."
As if thou wert to say, "hath given Him authority of executing judgment." In what way?

When

1 Wisd. vii. 26.

TRACT. XXII.] THE RESURRECTION. 323

He had not that authority of executing judgment? Since "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" since "all things were made by Him,"
did He not already have authority of executing judgment?
Yes, but according to this, I say, "He gave Him authority of executing judgment, because He is the Son of man:" according to this, He received authority of judging "because He is the Son of man." For in that He is the Son of God, He always had this authority. He that was crucified, received; He who was in death, is in life: the Word of God never was in death, but is always in life.

12. Now, therefore, as to a resurrection, perhaps some one of us was saying: Behold, we have risen; he who hears Christ, and believes, and is passed from death to life, also will not come into judgment. The hour cometh, and now is, that whoso heareth the voice of the Son of God shall live: he was dead, he has heard; behold, he doth rise. What is this that is said, that there is to be a resurrection afterwards? Spare thyself, do not hasten the sentence, lest thou hurry after it.
There is, indeed, this resurrection which comes to pass now; unbelievers were dead, the unrighteous were dead; the righteous live, they pass from the death of unbelief to the life of faith. But do not thence believe that there will not be a resurrection afterwards of the body; believe that there will be a resurrection of the body also. For hear what follows after the declaration of this resurrection which is by faith, lest any should think this to be the only resurrection, or fall into that desperation and error of men who perverted the thoughts of others, "saying that the resurrection is past already," of whom the apostle saith, "and they overthrow the faith of some." 1 For I believe that they were saying to them such words as these: "Behold, when the Lord saith, 'And he that believeth in me is passed from death unto life;" the resurrection has already taken place in believing men, who were before unbelievers: how can a second resurrection be meant?"
Thanks to our Lord God, He supports the wavering, directs the perplexed, confirms the doubting. Hear what follows, now that thou hast not whereof to make to thyself the dark-

1 2 Tim. ii. 18.

324 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXII.
ness of death. If thou hast believed, believe the whole. What whole, sayest thou, am I to believe? Hear what He saith: "Marvel not at this," namely, that He gave to the Son authority of making judgment. I say, in the end of the world, saith He. How in the end? "Do not marvel at this; for the hour cometh." Here He has not said, "and now is,"

In reference to that resurrection of faith, what did He say? "The hour cometh, and now is." In reference to that resurrection which He intimates there will be of dead bodies, He said, "The hour cometh;" He has not said, "and now is," because it is to come in the end of the world.

13. And whence, sayest thou, dost thou prove to me that He spoke about the resurrection itself? If thou hear patiently, thou wilt presently prove it to thyself. Let us go on then: "Marvel not at this; for the hour cometh, in which all that are in the graves." What more evident than this resurrection? A while ago, He had not said, "they that are in the graves," but, "The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." He has not said, some shall live, others shall be damned; because all who believe shall live. But what does He say concerning the graves? "All that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth." He said not, "shall hear and live." For if they have lived wickedly, and lay in the graves, they shall rise to death, not to life. Let us see, then, who shall come forth. Although, a little before, the dead by hearing and believing did live, there was no distinction there made: it was not said, The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and when they shall have heard, some shall live, and some shall be damned; but, "all that hear shall live:" because they that believe shall live, they that have charity shall live, and none of them shall die. But concerning the graves, "They shall hear His voice, and come forth: they that have done well, to the resurrection of life; they that have done ill, to the resurrection of judgment." This is the judgment, that punishment of which He had said a while before, "Whoso believeth in me is passed from death to life," and shall not come into judgment.

14. "I cannot of myself do anything; as I hear I judge,

TRACT. XXII.] CHRIST'S JUDGING. 325

and my judgment is just." If as Thou nearest Thou judgest, of whom dost Thou hear? If of the Father, yet surely "the Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son."

When dost Thou, being in a manner the Father's herald, declare what Thou nearest? I speak what I hear, because what the Father is, that I am: for, indeed, speaking is my function; because I am the Father's Word. For this Christ says to thee. Thereupon, of thine. What is "As I hear I judge,"

but "As I am "? For in what manner does Christ hear? Let us inquire, brethren, I beg of you. Does Christ hear of the Father? How doth the Father speak to Him. Undoubtedly, if He speaks to Him, He uses words to Him; for every one who says something to any one, says it by a word. How doth the Father speak to the Son, seeing that the Son is the
Father's Word? Whatever the Father says to us, He says it by His Word: the Word of the Father is the Son; by what other word, then, doth He speak to the Word Himself? God is one, has one Word, contains all things in one Word. What does that mean, then, "As I hear, I judge"? Just as I am of the Father, so I judge. Therefore "my judgment is just." If Thou doest nothing of Thyself, Lord Jesus, as carnal men think; if Thou doest nothing of Thyself, how didst Thou say a while before, "So also the Son quickeneth whom He will"?

Just now Thou sayest, Of myself I do nothing. But what does the Son declare, but that He is of the Father? He that is of the Father is not of Himself. If the Son were of Himself, He would not be the Son; He is of the Father. That the Father is, is not of the Son; that the Son is, is of the Father. Equal to the Father; but yet the Son of the Father, not the Father of the Son.

15. "Because I seek not my own will, but the will of Him that sent me." The Only Son saith, "I seek not my own will," and yet men desire to do their own will! To such a degree does He who is equal to the Father humble Himself; and to such a degree does He extol Himself, who lies in the lowest depth, and cannot rise except a hand is reached to Him! Let us then do the will of the Father, the will of the Son, the will of the Holy Ghost; because of this Trinity there is one will, one power, one majesty. Yet for that reason saith the Son, "I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me;" because Christ is not of Himself, but of the Father. But what He had that He might appear as a man, He assumed of the creature which He himself formed.

326 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXII.

Son, "I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me;" because Christ is not of Himself, but of the Father. But what He had that He might appear as a man, He assumed of the creature which He himself formed.

TEA C TATE XXIII

Chapter V. 19-40.

1. TNa certain place in the Gospel, the Lord says that the JL prudent hearer of His word ought to be like a man who, wishing to build a house, digs deeply until he comes to the foundation of stability on the rock, and there establishes in security what he builds against the violence of the flood; so that, when the flood comes, it may be rather beaten back by the strength of the building, than bring ruin on that house by the force of its pressure. 1 Let us regard the Scripture of God to be, as it were, the field where we wish to build something.

Let us not be slothful, nor be content with the surface; let us dig deeply until we come to the rock: "And that rock was Christ." 2
2. The passage read to-day has spoken to us of the witness of the Lord, that He does not hold the witness of men necessary, but has a greater witness than men; and He has told us what this witness is: "The works," saith He, "which I do bear witness of me." Then He added, "And the Father that sent me beareth witness of me." The very works also which He doeth, He says that He has received from the Father. The works, therefore, bear witness, the Father bears witness. Has John borne no witness? He did clearly bear witness, but as a lamp; not to satisfy friends, but to confound enemies: for it had been predicted long before by the person of the Father, "I have prepared a lamp for mine Anointed: I will clothe His enemies with confusion; but upon Him shall flourish my sanctification." 3 Be it that thou wert left in the dark in the nighttime, thou didst direct thy attention to the lamp, thou didst admire the lamp, and didst exult at its light. But that lamp says that there is a sun, in which thou oughtest to exult; and

1 Matt. vii. 24, 25. 2 1 Cor. x. 4. 3 Ps. cxxxii. 17.

327

328 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIII.

though it burns in the night, it bids thee to be looking out for the day. Therefore it is not the case that there was no need of that man's testimony. For wherefore was he sent, if there was no need of him? But, on the contrary, lest man should stay at the lamp, and think the light of the lamp to be sufficient for him, therefore the Lord neither says that this lamp had been superfluous, nor yet doth He say that thou oughtest to stay at the lamp. The Scripture of God utters another testimony: there undoubtedly God hath borne witness to His Son, and in that Scripture the Jews had placed their hope, —

namely, in the law of God, given by Moses His servant.

"Search the Scripture," saith He, "in which ye think ye have eternal life: the same bears witness of me; and ye will not come to me that ye may have life." Why do ye think that in the Scripture ye have eternal life? Ask itself to whom does it bear witness, and understand what is eternal life.

And because for the sake of Moses they were willing to reject Christ, as an adversary to the ordinances and precepts of Moses, He convicts those same men as by another lamp.

3. For, indeed, all men are lamps, since they can be both lighted and extinguished. Moreover, when the lamps are wise, they shine and glow with the Spirit; yet also, if they did burn and are put out, they even stink. The servants of God remain good lamps by the oil of His mercy, not by their own strength. The free grace of God, truly, is the oil of the lamps.

"For I have laboured more than they all," saith a certain lamp; and lest he should seem to burn by his own strength, he added, "But not I, but the grace of God that was with me." * All prophecy, therefore, before the coming of the Lord, is a lamp. Of this lamp the Apostle Peter says: "We have a more sure word of prophecy, to which ye do well giving
heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." 2 Accordingly the prophets are lamps, and all prophecy one great lamp. What of the apostles? Are not they, too, lamps? They are, clearly. He alone is not a lamp. For He is not lighted and put out; because "even as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." The apostles also,

1 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 2 Pet. i. 19.

TRACT. XXIII.] THE PROPHETS WITNESS OF CHRIST. 329

I say, are lamps; and they give thanks because they were both lighted by the light of truth, and are burning with the spirit of charity, and supplied with the oil of God's grace. If they were not lamps, the Lord would not say to them, *Ye are the light of the world." For after He said, "Ye are the light of the world," He shows that they should not think themselves such a light as that of which it is said, "That was the true light, that enlighteneth every man coming into this world." But this was said of the Lord at that time when He was distinguished from John (the Baptist). Of John the Baptist, indeed, it had been said, "He was not the light, but that he might bear witness of the light." 1 And lest thou shouldest say, How was he not the light, of whom Christ says that "he was a lamp"? â€” I answer, In comparison of the other light, he was not light. For "that was the true light that enlighteneth every man coming into this world." Accordingly, when He said also to the disciples, "Ye are the light of the world," lest they should imagine that anything was attributed to them which was to be understood of Christ alone, and thus the lamps should be extinguished by the wind of pride, when He had said, "Ye are the light of the world," He immediately subjoined, "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may shine on all that are in the house." But what if He did not call the apostles the candle, but the lighters of the candle, which they were to put on a candlestick? Hear that He called themselves the candle. "So let your light shine," saith He, "before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorify," not you, but "your Father who is in heaven." 2

4. Wherefore both Moses bore witness to Christ, and John bore witness to Christ, and all the other prophets and apostles bore witness to Christ. Before all these testimonies He places the testimony of His own works. Because through those men too, it was God and none other that bore witness to His Son. But yet in another way God bears testimony to His Son. God reveals His Son through the Son Himself, He reveals Himself through the Son. To Him, if a man shall have been able to

1 Johni. 9. 2 Matt. v. 14-16.
reach, he shall need no lamps; and by truly digging deep, he will carry down his building to the rock.

5. The lesson of to-day, brethren, is easy; but on account of what was due yesterday (for I know what I have delayed, not withdrawn, and the Lord has deigned to allow me even to-day to speak to you), recall to mind what you ought to demand, if perhaps, while preserving piety and wholesome humility, we may in some measure stretch out ourselves, not against God, but towards Him, and lift up our soul, pouring it out above us, like the Psalmist, to whom it was said, " Where is thy God f " " On these things/ 5 saith he, " I meditated, and poured out my soul above me." 1 Therefore let us lift up our soul to God, not against God; for this also is said, " To Thee, Lord, I have lifted up my soul." 2 And let us lift it up with His own assistance, for it is heavy. And from what cause is it heavy? Because the body which is corrupt weighs down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle depresses the mind while meditating on many things. 3 Let us try, then, whether we may not be able to withdraw our mind from many things in order to concentrate it on one, and to raise it to one (which indeed we cannot do, as I have said, unless He assist us who wills our souls to be raised to Himself). And so we may apprehend in some measure how the Word of God, the onlybegotten of the Father, the co-eternal and equal with the Father, doeth not anything except what He seeth the Father doing, whilst yet the Father Himself doeth not anything but through the Son, who seeth Him doing. Since the Lord Jesus, as it seems to me, — willing here to make known some great matter to those that give attention to it, and to pour into those that are capable of receiving, and to rouse, on the other hand, the incapable to assiduity, in order that, while not yet understanding, they may by right living be made capable, â€” has intimated to us that the human soul and rational mind which is in man, not in the beast, is invigorated, enlightened, and made happy in no other way than by the very substance of God: that the soul itself gets somewhat by anoTof the body, anoTyet holds the body subject to it, while the senses of the body can, be soothed and delighted by things bodily, and that because of)

1 Ps. xlii. 4. 2 Ps. xxv. 1. 3 Wisd. ix. 15.

TRACT. XXIII.] THE SOUL'S HAPPINESS. 331

i ' this kind of fellowship of soul and body in this life, and inthis, mutual embrace of theirs, the soul is delighted when the bodily

I senses are soothed, and saddened when they are offended; while
I yet the happiness by which the soul itself is made happy cannot be realized but by a participation of that ever-living, unchangeable life, of that eternal substance, which is God: that as the soul, which is inferior to God, causes the body, which is inferior to itself, to live, so that alone which is superior to the soul can cause that same soul to live happily. For the soul is higher than the body, and higher than the soul is God. It bestows something on its inferior, while there is something bestowed on itself by the superior. Let it serve its Lord, that it may not be trampled on by its own servant. This, brethren, is the Christian religion, which is preached through the whole world, while its enemies are dismayed; who, where they are conquered, murmur, and fiercely rage against it where they prevail. This is the Christian religion, that one God be worshipped, not many gods, because only one God can make the soul happy. It is made happy by participation of God. Not by participation of a holy soul does the feeble soul become happy, nor by participation of an angel does the holy soul become happy; but if the feeble soul seeks to be happy, let it seek that by which the holy soul is made happy. For thou art made happy, not of an angel, but the angel as well as thou of the same source.

6. These things being premised and firmly established, â€” that the rational soul is made happy only by God, that the body is enlivened only by the soul, and that the soul is a something intermediate between God and the body, â€” direct your thoughts to, and recollect with me, not the passage read to-day, of which we have spoken enough, but that of yesterday, which we have been turning over and handling these three days, and, to the best of our abilities, digging into until we should come to the rock. The Word Christ, Christ the Word of God with God, Christ the Word and the Word God, Christ and God and Word one God. To this press on; O soul, despising, or even transcending all things else, to this press on. There is nothing more powerful than this creature, which is called the rational mind, nothing more sublime:

332 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIII

whatever is above this, is but the Creator. But I was saying that Christ is the Word, and Christ is the Word of God, and Christ the Word is God; but Christ is not only the Word, since " the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us;" therefore Christ is both Word and flesh. For when " He was in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal with God." And what of us in our low estate, who, feeble and crawling on the ground, were not able to reach unto God, were we to be abandoned ? God forbid. " He emptied Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant;" not, therefore, by losing the form of God. He became man who was God, by receiving what He was not, not by losing what He was:
so God became man. There thou hast something for thy weakness, something for thy perfection. Let Christ raise thee by that which is man, lead thee by that which is God-
man, and guide thee through to that which is God. And the whole preaching and
dispensation by Christ is this, brethren, and there is not another, that souls may be raised
again, and that bodies also may be raised again. For each of the two was dead; the body
by weakness, the soul by iniquity. Because each was dead, each may rise again. What
each ? Soul and body. By what, then, can the soul rise again but by Christ God ? By what
the body, but by the man Christ ? For there was also in Christ a human soul, a whole
soul; not merely the irrational part of the soul, but also the rational, which is called mind.
For there have been certain heretics, and they have been driven out of the Church, who
fancied that the body of Christ did not have in it a rational mind, but, as it were, the
animal life of a beast; since, without the rational mind, life is only animal life. But
because they were driven out, and driven out by the truth, accept thou the whole Christ,
Word, rational mind, and flesh. This is the whole Christ. Let thy soul rise again from
iniquity by that which is God, thy body from corruption by that which is man. There,
most beloved, hear ye what, so far as it appears to me, is the great profundity of this
passage; and see how Christ here speaks to the effect, that the only reason why He came
is, in order that souls may have a resurrection from

1 John i. 14. 2 Phil. ii. 6.

TRACT. XXIII.] HOW THE FATHER SHOWETH. 333

iniquity, and bodies from corruption. I have already said by what our souls are raised, by
the very substance of God; by what our bodies are raised, by the human dispensation of
our Lord Jesus Christ.

7. " Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son cannot of Himself do anything, but what He
seeth the Father doing; for what things soever He has done, these also the Son doeth in
like manner." Yes, the heaven, the earth, the sea; the things that are in heaven, on the
earth, and in the sea; the visible and invisible, the animals on the land, the plants in the
fields, the creatures that swim in the waters, that fly in the air, that shine in heaven;
besides all these, angels, virtues, thrones, dominations, principalities, powers; " all were
made by Him." Did God make all these, and show them when made to the Son, that He
also should make another world full of all these? Certainly not. But, on the contrary,
what does He say ? " For what things soever He has made, these," not others, but " these
also the Son doeth," not differently, " but in like manner." " For the Father loveth the Son,
and showeth Him all things which Himself doeth." The Father showeth to the Son that
souls may be raised, for souls are raised up by the Father and the Son; nor can souls live
except God be their life. If souls, then, cannot live unless God be their life, just as
themselves are the life of bodies; what the Father shows to the Son, that is, what He
doeth, He doeth through the Son. For it is not by doing that He shows to the Son, but by
showing He doeth through the Son. For the Son sees the Father showing before anything
is done; and from the Father's showing and the Son's vision, is done what is done by the
Father through the Son. So are souls raised up, if they can see that conjunction of unity,
the Father showing, the Son seeing, and the creature made by the Father's showing and the Son's seeing; and that thing made by the Father's showing and the Son's seeing, which is neither the Father nor the Son, but beneath the Father and the Son, whatever is made by the Father through the Son. Who sees this?

8. Behold, again we humble ourselves to carnal notions, and descend to you, if indeed we had at any time ascended somewhat from you. Thou wishest to show something to thy son,

334 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIII.

that he may do what thou dost; thou art about to do, and thus to show the thing. Therefore, what thou art about to do, in order to show it to thy son, thou dost not surely by thy son; but thou alone dost that thing which, when done, he may see, and do another such thing in like manner. This is not the case there; why goest thou on to thy own similitude, and blottest out the similitude of God within thee?

There, the case is wholly otherwise. Find a case in which thou showest to thy son what thou dost before thou dost it; so that, after thou hast shown it, it will be by the son thou dost. Perhaps something like this now occurs to thee: Lo, sayest thou, I think to make a house, and I wish it to be built by my son: before I build it myself, I point out to my son what I mean to do: both he doeth, and I too by him to whom I pointed out my wish. Thou hast retreated, indeed, from the former similitude, but still thou liest in great dissimilitude. For, lo, before thou canst make the house, thou dost inform thy son, and point out to him what thou meanest to do; that, upon thy showing before thou makest, he may make what thou hast shown, and so thou mayest make by him: but thou wilt speak words to thy son, words will have to pass between thee and him; between the person showing and the person seeing, between speaker and hearer, flies articulate sound, which is not what thou art, nor what he is.

That sound, indeed, which goes out of thy mouth, and by the concussion of the air touches thy son's ear, and filling the sense of hearing, conveys thy thought to his heart; that sound, I say, is not thyself, nor thy son. A sign is given from thy mind to thy son's mind, but that sign not either thy mind or thy son's mind, but something else. Is it thus that we think the Father has spoken to the Son? Were there words between one Father and the Word? Then how is it?

Or, whatever the Father would say to the Son, if He would say it by a word, the Son Himself is the Word of the Father, would He speak by a word to the Word? Or, since the Son is the great Word, had smaller words to pass between the Father and Son? Was it so, that some sound, as it were a temporal, fleeting creature, had to issue from the mouth of the Father, and strike upon the ear of the Son? Has God a
body, that this should proceed, as it were, from His lips? And has the Word the ears of a body, into which sound may come? Lay aside all notions of corporeal forms, regard simplicity, if thou art single-minded. But how wilt thou be single-minded? If thou wilt not entangle thyself with the world, but disentangle thyself from the world. For by disentangling thyself, thou wilt be single-minded. And see, if thou canst, what I say; or if thou canst not, believe what thou dost not see. Thou speakest to thy son; thou speakest by a word: neither art thou, nor is thy son, the word that sounds.

9. I have, say est thou, another method of showing; for so well instructed is my son, that he hears without my speaking, but I show him by a nod what to do. Lo, show him by a nod what thou wilt, yet certainly the mind holds within itself that which it would show. By what dost thou give this nod? With the body, "namely, with the lips, the look, the brows, the eyes, the hands. All these are not what thy mind is: these, too, are media; there was something understood by these signs which are not what thy mind is, not what the mind of thy son is; but all this which thou doest by the body is beneath thy mind, and beneath the mind of thy son: nor can thy son know thy mind, unless thou give him signs by the body. What, then, do I say? This is not the case there; there all is simplicity. The Father shows to the Son what He is doing, and by showing begets the Son. I see what I have said; but because I see also to whom I have said it, may such understanding be some time or other formed in you as to grasp it. If ye are not able now to comprehend what God is, comprehend at least what God is not: you will have made much progress, if you think of God as being not something other than He is. God is not a body, not the earth, not the heaven, not the moon, or sun, or stars "not these corporeal things. For if not heavenly things, how much less is He earthly things! Put all body out of the question. Further, hear another thing: God is not a mutable spirit. For I confess, "and it must be confessed, for it is the Gospel that speaks it, "God is a Spirit." But pass beyond all mutable spirit, beyond all spirit that now knows, now

336 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIII.

knows not; that now remembers, now forgets; that wills what before it willed not, that wills not what before it willed; either that suffers these mutabilities now or may suffer them: pass beyond all these. Thou findest not any mutability in God; nor aught that may have been one way before, and is otherwise now. For where thou findest alternation, there a kind of death has taken place: since, for a thing not to be what it was, is a death. The soul is said to be immortal; so indeed it is, because it ever lives, and there is in it a certain continuous life, but yet a mutable life,. According to the mutability of this life, it may be said to be mortal; because if it lived wisely, and then becomes foolish, it dies for the worse; if it lived foolishly, and becomes wise, it dies for the better. For the Scripture teaches us that there is a death for the worse, and that there is
a death for the better. In any case, they had died for the worse, of whom it said, "Let the dead bury their dead;" 1 and, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light;" 2 and from this passage before us, "When the dead shall hear, and they that hear shall live." For the worse they had died; therefore do they come to life again. By coming to life they die for the better, because by coming to life again they will not be what they were; but for that to be, which was not, is death. But perhaps it is not called death if it is for the better? The apostle has called that death: "But if ye be dead with Christ from the elements of this world, why do ye judge concerning this world as if ye were still living?" 3

And again, "For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." He wishes us to die that we may live, because we have lived to die. Whatever therefore dies, both from better to worse, and from worse to better, is not God; because neither can supreme goodness proceed to better, nor true eternity to worse. For true eternity is, where is nothing of time. But was there now this, now that? Immediately time is admitted, it is not eternal. For that ye may know that God is not thus, as the soul is, â€” certainly the soul is immortal, â€” what, however, saith the apostle of God, "Who alone hath immortality," unless that he openly says this, He alone hath

1 Matt. viii. 22. 2 Eph. v. 14. 3 Col. ii. 20.

TRACT. XXIII.] HOW THE SON SEETH. 337

unchangeableness, because He alone hath true eternity?

Therefore no mutability is there.

10. Recognise in thyself something which I wish to say within, in thyself; not within as if in thy body, for in a sense one may say, "in thyself." For there is in thee health, thy age whatever it be, but this in regard to the body. In thee is thy hand and thy foot; but there is one thing in thee, within; another thing in thee as in thy garment. But leave outside thy garment and thyself, descend into thyself, go to thy secret place, thy mind, and there see, if thou canst, what I wish to say. For if thou art far from thyself, how canst thou come near to God? I was speaking of God, and thou believedst that thou wouldst understand. I am speaking of the soul, I am speaking of thyself: understand this, there I will try thee. For I do not travel very far for examples, when I mean to give thee some similitude to thy God from thy own mind; because surely not in the body, but in that same mind, was man made after the image of God. Let us seek God in His own similitude; let us recognise the Creator in His own image. There within, if we can, let us find this that we speak of, â€” how the Father shows to the Son, and how the Son sees what the Father shows, before anything is made by the Father through the Son.

But when I shall have spoken, and thou hast understood, thou must not think that spoken of to be something just such as our example, that thou mayest therein keep piety, which I wish to be kept by thee, and earnestly admonish thee to keep: that is, if thou art not able to comprehend what God is, do not think it a small matter for thee to know what He is not.
11. Behold, in thy mind, I see some two things, thy memory and thy thought, which is, as it were, the seeing faculty and the vision of thy soul. Thou seest something, and perceivest it by the eyes, and thou committest it to the care of the memory. There, within, is that which thou hast committed to thy memory, laid up in secret as in a storehouse, as in a treasury, as in a kind of secret chamber and inner cabinet. Thou thinkest of something else, thy attention is elsewhere; what thou didst see is in thy memory, but

TRACT. Y

333 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIII.

not seen by thee, because thy thought is bent on another thing. I prove this at once. I speak to you who know; I mention by name Carthage; all who know it have instantly seen Carthage within the mind. Are there as many Cartages as there are minds of you? You have all seen it by means of this name, by means of these syllables known to you, rushing forth from my mouth: your ears were touched; the sense of the soul was touched through your mind bent back from another object to this word, and saw Carthage.

Was Carthage made there and then? It was there already, but latent in the memory. Why was latent there? Because thy mind was engaged on another matter; but when thy thought turned back to that which was in the memory, thence it was shaped, and became a kind of vision of the mind.

Before, there was not a vision, but there was memory; the vision was made by the turning back of thought to memory.

Thy memory, then, showed Carthage to thy thought; and that which was in it before thou didst direct thy mind to the memory, it exhibited to the attention of thy thought when turned upon it. Behold, a showing is effected by the memory, and a vision is produced in thought; and no words passed between, no sign was given from thy mind and the mind bent back from another object to this word, and saw Carthage.

But both that which showed, and that to which it showed, are of the same substance. But yet, that thy memory might have Carthage in it, the image was drawn in through the eyes, for thou didst see what thou didst store up in thy memory. So hast thou seen the tree which thou rememberest; so the mountain, the river; so the face of a friend, of an enemy, of father, mother, brother, sister, son, neighbour; so of letters written in a book, of the book itself; so of this church: all these thou didst see, and didst commit to thy memory after they were seen; and didst, as it were, lay up there what thou mightst by thinking see at will, even when they should be absent from these eyes of the body. Thou sawest Carthage when thou wast at Carthage; and thy soul received the image by the eyes; this image was laid up in thy memory; and thou, the person who wast present at Carthage, didst keep something within thee which thou
mightst be able to see with thyself, even when thou shouldst not be there. All these things thou didst receive from without: What the Father shows to the Son, He does not receive from without: all comes to pass within, because there would be no creature at all without, unless the Father had made it by the Son. Every creature was made by God; before it was made it was not in being. It was not therefore seen, after being made and retained in memory, that the Father might show it to the Son, as the memory might show to thought; but, on the contrary, the Father showed it to be made, the Son saw it to be made; and the Father made it by showing, because He made it by the Son seeing. And therefore we ought not to be surprised that it is said, " But what He seeth the Father doing," not showing. For by this it is intimated that, with the Father, to do and to show is the same thing; that hence we may understand that He doeth all things by the Son seeing. Neither is that showing, nor that seeing, temporal. Forasmuch as all times are made by the Son, they could not certainly be shown to Him at any point of time to be made. But the Father's showing begets the Son's seeing, just in the same manner as the Father begets the Son. For the showing produces the seeing, not the seeing the showing. And if we were able to look into this matter more purely and perfectly, perhaps we should find that the Father is not one thing, His showing another; nor the Son one thing, His seeing another. But if we have hardly apprehended this, if we have hardly been able to explain how the memory exhibits to the thought what it has received from without, how much less can we take in or explain how God the Father shows to the Son, what He has not from elsewhere, or that which is no other than Himself! We are only little ones: I tell you what God is not, I do not show you what God is. What shall we do, then, that we may apprehend what He is? Can ye do this by or through me? I say this to the little ones, both to you and to myself; there is by whom we can: we have just now sung, just now heard, " Cast thy care upon the Lord, and He will nourish thee." 1 The reason why thou art not able, man, is because thou art a little one:

1 Ps. liii. 23.

340 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TRACT. XXIII.

being a little one, thou must be nourished; being nourished, thou wilt become full-grown; and what as a little one thou couldst not, thou shalt see when full-grown; but that thou mayest be nourished, " cast thy care upon the Lord, and He will nourish thee."

12. Therefore let us now briefly run over what remains, and do you see how the Lord makes known to us the things which I have been here commending to your attention.
"The Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things which Himself doeth." Himself raiseth up souls, but by the Son, that the souls raised up may enjoy the substance of God, that is, of the Father and of the Son. "And greater works than these He will show Him." Greater than which ? Than healings of bodies. We have treated of this already, and must not linger upon it now. Greater is the resurrection of the body unto eternity than this healing of the body, wrought in that impotent man, to last only for a time. "And greater works than these He will show Him, that ye may marvel." "Will show," as if the act were temporal, therefore as to a man made in time, since God the "Word is not made, He by w horn all times were made. But Christ was made man in time.

"We know in what consulship the Virgin Mary brought forth Christ, conceived of the Holy Ghost. Wherefore He, by whom as God the times were made, was made man in time. Hence, just as in time, "He will show Him greater works," that is, the resurrection of bodies, "that ye may marvel" at the resurrection of bodies wrought by the Son.

13. He then returns to that resurrection of souls: "For as the Father raiseth the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will;" but this according to the Spirit. The Father quickeneth, the Son quickeneth; the Father whom He will, the Son whom He will; but the Father quickeneth the same as the Son, because all things were made by Him. "For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will." This is said of the resurrection of souls; but what of the resurrection of bodies ? He returns, and says: "For the Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son." The resurrection of souls is effected by the eternal and unchangeable substance of the Father and Son. But the resurrection of bodies is effected by the dispensation of the Son's humanity, which dispensation is temporal, not co-eternal with the Father. Therefore, when He mentioned judgment, in which there should be a resurrection of bodies, He saith, "For the Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son;" but concerning the resurrection of souls, He saith, "Even as the Father raiseth the dead, and quickeneth them, so also the Son quickeneth whom He will."

That, then, the Father and the Son together. But this concerning the resurrection of bodies: "The Father judgeth not any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son; that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." This is referred to the resurrection of souls. "That all may honour the Son." How ? "Even as they honour the Father." For the Son works the resurrection of souls in the same manner as the Father doth; the Son quickeneth just as the Father doth. Therefore, in the resurrection of souls, "let all honour
the Son as they honour the Father." But what of the honouring on account of the resurrection of the body?

"Whoso honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent Him." He said not even as, but honoureth and honoureth. For the man Christ is honoured, but not even as God the Father. Why? Because, with respect to this, He said, "The Father is greater than I." 1 And when is the Son honoured even as the Father is honoured? When "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and all things were made by Him." And hence, in this second honouring, what saith He? "Whoso honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father that sent Him." The Son was not sent, but because He was made man.

14. "Verily, verily, I say unto you." Again He returns to the resurrection of souls, that by continual repetition we may apprehend His meaning; because we could not keep up with His discourse hastening on as on wings. Lo, the Word of God lingers with us; lo, it doth, as it were, dwell with our infirmities. He returns again to the mention of the resurrection of souls. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whoso

1 John xiv. 23.

342 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIIT.

heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life; " but hath it as from the Father. " For whoso heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me, hath eternal life " from the Father, by believing the Father that sent the Son. " And shall not come into judgment, but is passed from death to life." But from the Father, whom he believes, is he quickened. What, dost Thou not quicken? See that the Son also " quickeneth whom He will." " Verily, verily, I say unto you, That the hour cometh when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." Here He did not say, they shall believe Him that sent me, and therefore shall live; but by hearing the voice of the Son of God, " they that hear," that is, they that obey the Son of God, " shall live." Therefore, both from the Father shall they live, when they will believe the Father; and from the Son shall they live, when they will hear the voice of the Son of God. Why shall they live both from the Father and from the Son? " For even as the Father hath life in Himself, so also hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself."

15. He has finished speaking of the resurrection of souls; it remains to speak more evidently of the resurrection of bodies. " And hath given Him authority also to execute judgment: " not only to raise up souls by faith and wisdom, but also to execute judgment. But why this? " Because He is the Son of man." Therefore the Father doeth something through the Son of man, which He doeth not from His own substance, to which the Son is equal: as, for instance, that He should be born, crucified, dead, and have a resurrection; for not any of these is contingent to the Father. In the same manner also the raising again of bodies. For the raising to life of souls the Father effects from His own substance, by
the substance of the Son, in which the Son is equal to Him; because souls are made partakers of that unchangeable light, but not bodies; but the raising again of bodies, the Father effects through the Son of man. For "He hath given Him authority also to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man; " according to that which He said above, " For the Father judgeth not any man." And to show

TRACT. XXIII.] THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY. 343

that He said this of the resurrection of bodies, He goes on:
" Marvel not at this, for the hour cometh; " not, and now is; but, " the hour cometh, in which all that are in the graves
(this ye have already heard sufficiently explained yesterday)
shall hear His voice, and come forth." Where ? Into judgment: "They that have done well, into the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment." And dost Thou do this alone, because the Father hath given all judgment to the Son, and judgeth not any man ?
I, saith He, do it. But how doest Thou it ? "I cannot of myself do anything; as I hear, I judge; and my judgment is just." When He was treating of the resurrection of souls, He did not say, I hear; but, / see. For I hear refers to the command of the Father as giving order. Therefore, now as a man, just as He than whom the Father is greater; as from the form of a servant, not from the form of God, " As I hear, I judge; and my judgment is just." Whence is the man's judgment a just one ? My brethren, mark well:
" Because I seek not my own will, but the will of Him that sent me."

TKACTATE XXIV.

Chapter VI. 1-14.

1. rpHE miracles performed by our Lord Jesus Christ are X. indeed divine works, and incite the human mind to rise to the apprehension of God from the things that are seen. But inasmuch as He is not such a substance as may be seen with the eyes, and His miracles in the government of the whole world and the administration of the universal creation are, by their familiar constancy, slightly regarded, so that almost no man deigns to consider the wonderful and stupendous works of God, exhibited in every grain of seed; He has, agreeably to His mercy, reserved to Himself certain works, beyond the usual course and order of nature, which He should perform on fit occasion, that they, by whom His daily works are lightly esteemed, might be struck with astonishment at beholding, not indeed greater, but uncommon works. For certainly the government of the whole world is a greater miracle than the satisfying of five thousand men with five loaves; and yet no man wonders at the former; but the latter men wonder at, not because it is greater, but
because it is rare. For who even now feeds the whole world, but He who creates the cornfield from a few grains? He therefore created as God creates.

For, whence He multiplies the produce of the fields from a few grains, from the same source He multiplied in His hands the five loaves. The power, indeed, was in the hands of Christ; but those five loaves were as seeds, not indeed committed to the earth, but multiplied by Him who made the earth. In this miracle, then, there is that brought near to the senses, whereby the mind should be roused to attention, there is exhibited to the eyes, whereon the understanding should be exercised, that we might admire the invisible God through His visible works; and being raised to faith and purged by

faith, we might desire to behold Him even invisibly, whom invisible we came to know by the things that are visible.

2. Yet it is not enough to observe these things in the miracles of Christ. Let us interrogate the miracles themselves, what they tell us about Christ: for they have a tongue of their own, i.e. they can be understood. For since Christ is Himself the Word of God, even the act of the Word is a word to us. Therefore as to this miracle, since we have heard how great it is, let us also search how profound it is; let us not only be delighted with its surface, but let us also seek to know its depth. This miracle, which we admire on the outside, has something within. We have seen, we have looked at something great, something glorious, and altogether divine, which could be performed only by God: we have praised the doer for the deed. But just as, if we were to inspect a beautiful writing somewhere, it would not suffice for us to praise the hand of the writer, because he formed the letters even, equal and elegant, if we did not also read the information he conveyed to us by those letters; so, he who merely inspects this deed may be delighted with its beauty to admire the doer:

but he who understands does, as it were, read it. For a picture is looked at in a different way from that in which a writing is looked at. When thou hast seen a picture, to have seen and praised it is the whole thing; when thou seest a writing, this is not the whole, since thou art reminded also to read it.

Moreover, when thou seest a writing, if it chance that thou canst not read, thou sayest, "What do we think that to be which is here written?" Thou askest what it is, when already thou seest it to be something. He of whom thou seekest to be informed what it is that thou hast seen, will show thee another thing. He has other eyes than thou hast. Do you not alike see the form of the letters? But yet you do not alike understand the signs. Well, thou seest and praises; but he sees, praises, reads and understands. Therefore, since we have seen and praised, let us also read and understand. /

3. The Lord on the mount: much rather let us understand that the Lord on the mount is the Word on high. Accordingly, what was done on the mount does not, as it were, lie
low, nor is to be cursorily passed by, but must be looked up to. He saw the multitude,
knew them to be hungering, mercifully fed them: not only in virtue of His goodness, but
also of His power. For what would mere goodness avail, where there was not bread with
which to feed the hungry crowd?
Did not power attend upon goodness, that crowd had remained fasting and hungry. In
short, the disciples also, who were with the Lord, and hungry, themselves wished to feed
the multitudes, that they might not remain empty, but had not wherewithal to feed them.
The Lord asked, whence they might buy bread to feed the multitude. And the Scripture
saith: " But this He said, proving him;" namely, the disciple Philip of whom He had
asked; "for Himself knew what He would do." Of what advantage then was it to prove
him, unless to show the disciple's ignorance? And, perhaps, in showing the disciple's
ignorance He signified something more.
This will appear, then, when the sacrament of the five loaves itself will begin to speak to
us, and to intimate its meaning:
for there we shall see why the Lord in this act wished to exhibit the disciple's ignorance,
by asking what He Himself knew.
For we sometimes ask what we do not know, that, being willing to hear, we may learn;
sometimes we ask what we do know, wishing to learn whether he whom we ask also
knows.
The Lord knew both the one and the other; knew both what He asked, for He knew what
Himself would do; and He also knew in like manner that Philip knew not this. Why then
did He ask, but to show Philip's ignorance? And why He did this, we shall, as I have
said, understand afterwards.

4. Andrew saith: " There is a lad here, who has five loaves and two fishes, but what are
these for so many?" When Philip, on being asked, had said that two hundred pennyworth
of bread would not suffice to refresh that so great a multitude, there was there a certain
lad, carrying five barley loaves and two fishes. " And Jesus saith, Make the men sit down.
Now there was there much grass: and they sat down about five thousand men. And the
Lord Jesus took the loaves, gave thanks; He commanded, the loaves were broken, and
put before the men that were set down. It was no longer five loaves, but what He had
added thereto, who had created that

which was increased. " And of the fishes as much as sufficed." 
It was not enough that the multitude had been satisfied, there remained also fragments;
and these were ordered to be gathered up, that they should not be lost: " And they filled
twelve baskets with the fragments."
To run over it briefly: by the five loaves are understood the five books of Moses; and rightly are they not wheaten but barley loaves, because they belong to the Old Testament. And you know that barley is so formed that we get at its pith with difficulty; for the pith is covered in a coating of husk, and the husk itself tenacious and closely adhering, so as to be stripped off with labour. Such is the letter of the Old Testament, invested in a covering of carnal sacraments: but yet, if we get at its pith, it feeds and satisfies us. A certain lad, then, brought five loaves and two fishes. If we inquire who this lad was, perhaps it was the people Israel, which, in a childish sense, carried, not ate. For the things which they carried were a burden while shut up, but when opened afforded nourishment. And as for the two fishes, they appear to us to signify those two sublime persons, in the Old Testament, of priest and of ruler, who were anointed for the sanctifying and governing of the people. And at length Himself in the mystery came, who was signified by those persons: He at length came who was pointed out by the pith of the barley, but concealed by its husk. He came, sustaining in His one person the two characters of priest and ruler: of priest by offering Himself to God as a victim; of ruler, because by Him we are governed. And the things that were carried closed are now opened up. Thanks be to Him. He has fulfilled by Himself what was promised in the Old Testament. And He bade the loaves to be broken; in the breaking they are multiplied. Nothing is more true. For when those five books of Moses are expounded, how many books have they made by being broken up, as it were; that is, by being opened and laid out? But because in that barley the ignorance of the first people was veiled, of whom it is said, "Whilst Moses is read, the veil is upon their hearts;" * for the veil was not yet removed, because Christ had not yet come; not yet was

1 2 Cor. iii. 15.

348 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIV.

the veil of the temple rent, while Christ is hanging on the cross: because, I say, the ignorance of the people was in the law, therefore that proving by the Lord made the ignorance of the disciple manifest.

6. Wherefore nothing is without meaning; everything is significant, but requires one that understands: for even this number of the people fed, signified the people that were under the law. For why were there five thousand, but because they were under the law, which is unfolded in the five books of Moses? Why were the sick laid at those five porches, but not healed? He, however, there cured the impotent man, who here fed multitudes with five loaves. Moreover, they sat down upon the grass; therefore understood carnally, and rested in the carnal. " For all flesh is grass." 1 And what were those fragments, but things which the people were not able to eat? We understand them to be certain matters of more hidden meaning, which the multitude are not able to take in. What remains then, but that those matters of more hidden meaning, which the multitude cannot take in, be entrusted to men who are fit to teach
others also, just as were the apostles? Why were twelve baskets filled? This was done both marvellously, because a great thing was done; and it was done profitably, because a spiritual thing was done. They who at the time saw it, marvelled; but we, hearing of it, do not marvel. For it was done that they might see it, but it was written that we might hear it. What the eyes were able to do in their case, that faith does in our case. We perceive, namely, with the mind, what we could not with the eyes: and we are preferred before them, because of us it is said, "Blessed are they who see not, and yet believe." 2 And I add that, perhaps, we have understood what that crowd did not understand. And we have been fed in reality, in that we have been able to get at the pith of the barley.

7. Lastly, what did those men who saw this miracle think? u The men," saith he, "when they had seen the sign which He had done, said, This is indeed a prophet." Perhaps they still thought Christ to be a prophet for this reason, namely, that they were sitting on the grass. But He was the Lord of

1 Isa. xl. 6. 2 Jolm xx. 29.

TRACT. XXIV.] CHRIST THE PROPHET. 349

the prophets, the fuller of the prophets, the sanctifier of the prophets, but yet a prophet also: for it was said to Moses, u I will raise up for them a prophet like unto thee." Like, according to the flesh, but not according to the majesty. And that this promise of the Lord is to be understood concerning Christ Himself, is clearly expounded and read in the Acts of the Apostles. 1 And the Lord says of Himself, "A prophet is not without honour, except in his own country." 2 The Lord is a prophet, and the Lord is God's Word, and no prophet prophesies without the Word of God: the Word of God is with the prophets, and the Word of God is a prophet. The former times obtained prophets inspired and filled by the Word of God: we have obtained the very Word of God for our prophet. But Christ is in such manner a prophet, the Lord of prophets, as Christ is an angel the Lord of angels. For He is also called the Angel of great counsel. 3 Nevertheless, what says the prophet elsewhere? that not an ambassador, nor an angel, but Himself coming will save them; 4 that is, He will not send an ambassador to save them, nor an angel, but Himself will come. Who will come? The Angel himself? Certainly not by an angel will He save them, except that He is so an angel, as also Lord of angels. For angels signify messengers. If Christ brought no message, He would not be called an angel: if Christ prophesied nothing, He would not be called a prophet. He has exhorted us to faith and to laying hold of eternal life; He has proclaimed something present, foretold something future because He proclaimed the present, thence He was an angel or messenger; because He foretold the future, thence He was a prophet; and that, as the Word of God He was made flesh, thence He was Lord of angels and of prophets.

1 Acts vii. 37. 2 John iv. 44. 3 Isa. ix. 6, LXX. 4 Isa. xxxv. 4.
1. Following upon yesterday's lesson from the Gospel is that of today, upon which this day's discourse is due to you. When that miracle was wrought, in which Jesus fed the five thousand with five loaves, and the multitudes marvelled and said that He was a great prophet that came into the world, then follows this: "When Jesus therefore knew that they came to seize Him, and to make Him king, He escaped again unto the mountain alone." It is therefore given to be understood that the Lord, when He sat on the mountain with His disciples, and saw the multitudes coming to Him, had descended from the mountain, and fed the multitudes on its lower parts. For how can it be that He should escape thither again, if He had not before descended from the mountain? There is something meant by the Lord's descending from on high to feed the multitudes. He fed them, and ascended.

2. But why did He ascend after He knew that they wished to seize Him and make Him a king? How then; was He not a king, that He was afraid to be made a king? He was certainly not such a king as would be made by men, but such as would bestow a kingdom on men. May it not be that Jesus, whose deeds are words, does here, too, signify something to us? Therefore in this, that they wished to seize Him and make Him a king, and that for this He escapes to the mountain alone, is this action in His case silent; does it speak nothing, does it mean nothing? Or was this seizing of Him perhaps an intention to anticipate the time of His kingdom? For He had come now, not to reign immediately, as He is to reign in the sense in which we pray, Thy kingdom come. He ever reigns, indeed, with the Father, in that

350

TRACT. XXV.] REFUSES TO BE MADE KING. 351

He is the Son of God, the Word of God, the Word by which all things were made. But the prophets foretold His kingdom according to that wherein He is Christ made man, and has made His faithful ones Christians. There will consequently be a kingdom of Christians, which at present is being gathered together, being prepared and purchased by the blood of Christ. His kingdom will at length be made manifest, when the glory of His saints shall be revealed, after the judgment is executed by Him, which judgment He Himself has said above is that which the Son of man shall execute. Of which kingdom also the apostle has said: "When He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father." In reference to which also Himself says: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world." But the disciples and the multitudes that believed on Him thought that He had thus come immediately to reign; hence, they wished to seize Him and to make Him a king; they wished to anticipate
the time which He hid with Himself, to make it known in due time, and in due time to
declare it in the end of the world.

3. That ye may know that they wished to make Him a king, â€” that is, to anticipate, and
at once to have manifest the kingdom of Christ, whom it behoved first to be judged and
then to judge, â€” when He was crucified, and they who hoped in Him had lost hope of
His resurrection, having risen from the dead, He found two of them despairingly
conversing together, and, with groaning, talking with one another of what had been done;
and appearing to them as a stranger, while their eyes were held that He should not be
recognised by them, He mixed with them as they held discourse: but they, narrating to
Him the matter of their conversation, said that He was a prophet, mighty in deeds and in
words, that had been slain by the chief priests; " And we," say they,
"did hope that it was He that should have redeemed Israel." 3
Eighthly you hoped: a true thing you hoped for: in Him is the redemption of Israel. But
why are ye in haste ? Ye wish to seize it. The following, too, shows us that this was their
feeling, that, when the disciples inquired of Him con-
1 1 Cor. xv. 24. 2 Matt. xxv. 34. 3 Luke xxiv. 13-21.

352 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXV.

cerning the end, they said to Him, " Wilt Thou at this time be made manifest, and when
will be the kingdom of Israel ?" For they longed for it now, they wished it now; that is, they wished to seize Him, and to
make Him king. But saith He to the disciples (for He had yet to ascend alone), " It is not
for you to know the times or seasons which the Father hath put in His own power: but ye
shall receive virtue from on high, the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and ye shall be
witnesses to me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the ends of the
earth." 1 You wish that I should manifest the kingdom now; let me first gather what I
may manifest; you love elevation, and you shall obtain elevation, but follow me through
humility. Thus it was also foretold of Him, " And the gathering of the peoples will
surround Thee, and for this cause return Thou on high;" 2 that is, that the gatherings of
the peoples may surround Thee, that Thou mayest gather many together, return Thou on
high. Thus He did; He fed men, and ascended.

4. But why is it said, He escaped ? For He could not be held against His will, nor seized
against His will, since He could not be recognised against His will. But that you may
know that this was done mystically, not of necessity, but of express purpose, you will
presently see in the following: that He appeared to the same multitudes that sought Him,
said many things in speaking with them, and discoursed much about the bread of heaven;
when discoursing about bread, was He not with the same people from whom He had
escaped lest He should be held of them ? Then, could He not have so acted at that time
that He should not be seized by them, just as afterwards when He was speaking with
them ? Something, therefore, was meant by His escaping.
What means, He escaped? His loftiness could not be understood. For of anything which thou hast not understood thou sayest, "It has escaped me." Wherefore, "He escaped again unto the mountain alone, â€” the first-begotten from the dead, ascending above all heavens, and interceding for us." 3

5. Meanwhile, He the alone great High Priest being above (He who has entered into that within the veil, the people

1 Acts i. 6-8. 2 Ps. vii. 8. 3 Col. i. 18; Rom. viii. 34.

TRACT. XXV.] THE DISCIPLES IN THE STORM. 353

standing without; for Him that priest under the old law, who did this once a year, did signify): He then being above, what were the disciples enduring in the ship? For that ship prefigured the Church while He is on high. For if we do not, in the first place, understand this thing which that ship suffered respecting the Church, those incidents were not significant, but simply transient; but if we see the real meaning of those signs expressed in the Church, it is manifest that the actions of Christ are a kind of speeches. "But when it was late, saith he, His disciples went down to the sea; and when they had entered into a ship, they came over the sea to Capernaum." He declared that as finished quickly, which was done afterwards, â€” "They came over the sea to Capernaum."

He returns to explain how they came; that they passed over by sailing across the lake. And whilst they were sailing to that place to which He has already said they had come, He explains by recapitulation what befell them. "It was now dark, and Jesus had not come to them." Rightly he said "dark," for the light had not come to them. "It was now dark, and Jesus had not come to them." As the end of the world approaches, errors increase, terrors multiply, iniquity increases, infidelity increases; the light, in short, which, by the Evangelist John himself, is fully and clearly shown to be charity, so much so that he says, "Whoso hateth his brother is in darkness;" *that light, I say, is very often extinguished: this darkness of enmity between brethren increases, daily increases, and Jesus is not yet come. How does it appear to increase?

"Because iniquity will abound, and the love of many will begin to wax cold." Darkness increases, and Jesus is not yet come. Darkness increasing, love waxing cold, iniquity abounding, â€” these are the waves that agitate the ship; the storms and the winds are the clamours of revilers. Thence love waxes cold; thence the waves do swell, and the ship is tossed.

6. "And a great wind blowing, the sea rose." Darkness was increasing, discernment was diminishing, iniquity was growing. "When, therefore, they had rowed about twenty-five or thirty furlongs." Meanwhile they struggled onward, kept advancing; nor did those winds and storms, and waves

x 1 John ii. 11.
and darkness effect either that the ship should not make way, or that it should break in pieces and founder; but amid all these evils it went on. For, notwithstanding iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxes cold, and the waves do swell, the darkness grows and the wind rages, yet the ship is moving forward; "for he that perseveres to the end, the same shall be saved." * Nor is that number of furlongs to be lightly regarded.

For it cannot really be that nothing is meant, when it is said that, "when they had rowed twenty-five or thirty furlongs, Jesus came to them." It were enough to say "twenty-five," so likewise "thirty;" especially as it was an estimate, not an assertion of the narrator. Could the truth be aught endangered by a mere estimate, if he had said nearly thirty furlongs, or nearly twenty-five furlongs? But from twenty-five he made thirty. Let us examine the number twenty-five. Of what does it consist? of what is it made up? Of the quinary, or number five. That number five pertains to the law. The same are the five books of Moses, the same are those five porches containing the sick folk, the same are the five loaves feeding the five thousand men. Accordingly the number twenty-five signifies the law, because five by five â€”that is, five times five â€”make twenty-five, or the number five squared.

But this law lacked perfection before the gospel came. Moreover, perfection is comprised in the number six. Therefore in six days God finished, or perfected, the world, and the same five are multiplied by six, that the law may be completed by the gospel, that six times five become thirty. To them that fulfil the law, therefore, Jesus comes. And how does He come? Walking upon the waves, keeping all the swellings of the world under His feet, pressing down all its heights.

Thus it goes on, so long as time endures, so long as the ages roll. Tribulations increase, calamities increase, sorrows increase, all these swell and mount up: Jesus passeth on treading upon the waves.

7. And yet so great are the tribulations, that even they who have trusted in Jesus, and who strive to persevere unto the end, greatly fear lest they fail; while Christ is treading the waves, and trampling down the world's ambitions and heights,

1 Matt. xxiv. 12.
the Christian is sorely afraid. Were not these things foretold him? Justly "they were afraid," too, at seeing Jesus walking on the waves; like as Christians, though having hope in the world to come, are frequently disquieted at the crash of human affairs, when they see the loftiness of this world trampled down. They open the Gospel, they open the Scriptures, and they find all these things there foretold; that this is the Lord's doing. He tramples down the heights of the world, that He may be glorified by the humble. Concerning whose loftiness it is foretold: "Thou shalt destroy strongest cities," and "the spears of the enemy have come to an end, and Thou hast destroyed cities." 1 Why then are ye afraid, Christians?

Christ speaks: "It is I; be not afraid." Why are ye alarmed at these things? Why are ye afraid? I have foretold these things, I do them, they must necessarily be done. "It is I; be not afraid. Therefore they would receive Him into the ship." Eecognising Him and rejoicing, they are freed from their fears. "And immediately the ship was at the land to which they went." There is an end made at the land; from the watery to the solid, from the agitated to the firm, from the way to the goal.

8. "On the next clay the multitude that stood on the other side of the sea," whence the disciples had come, "saw that there was none other boat there, save that one whereinto His disciples were entered, and that Jesus went not with His disciples into the boat, but that His disciples were gone away alone; but there came other boats from Tiberias, nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, giving thanks to the Lord: when, therefore, the multitudes saw that Jesus was not there, nor His disciples, they also took shipping, and came to Capernaum seeking Jesus." Yet they got some knowledge of so great a miracle. For they saw that the disciples had gone into the ship alone, and that there was not another ship there. But there came boats also from near to that place where they did eat bread; in these the multitudes followed Him. He had not then embarked with His disciples, and there was not another ship there. How, then, was Jesus on a sudden beyond the sea, unless that He walked upon the sea to show a miracle?

9. "And when the multitudes had found Him." Behold,

1 Ps. ix. 7.

356 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXV.

He presents Himself to the people from whom He had escaped into the mountain, afraid that He should be taken of them by force. In every way He proves to us and gives us to know that all these things are said in a mystery, and done in a great sacrament^ (or mystery) to signify something important. Behold, that is He who had escaped the crowds unto the mountain; is He not speaking with the same crowds? Let them hold Him now;
let them now make Him a king. " And when they had found Him on the other side of the sea, they said unto Him, Eabbi, when earnest Thou hither ?"

10. After the sacrament of the miracle, He introduces discourse, that, if possible, they who have been fed may be further fed, that He may with discourse fill their minds, whose bellies He filled with the loaves, provided they take in. And if they do not, let that be taken up which they do not receive, that the fragments may not be lost. Wherefore let Him speak, and let us hear. " Jesus answered and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the signs, but because ye have eaten of my loaves." Ye seek me for the sake of the flesh, not for the sake of the spirit. How many seek Jesus for no other object but that He may bestow on them a temporal benefit ! One has a business on hand, he seeks the intercession of the clergy; another is oppressed by a more powerful than himself, he flies to the church. Another desires intervention in his behalf with one with whom he has little influence. One in this way, one in that, the church is daily filled with such people. Jesus is scarcely sought after for Jesus' sake. " Ye seek me, not because ye have seen the signs, but because ye have eaten of my loaves. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto eternal life." Ye seek me for something else, seek me for my own sake. For He insinuates the truth, that Himself is that meat: this shines out clearly in the sequel. " Which the Son of man will give you." Thou didst expect, I believe, again to eat bread, again to sit down, again to be gorged. But He had said, " Not the meat which perisheth, but that which endureth unto eternal life," in the same manner as it was said to that Samaritan woman: " If thou knewest who it is that asketh of thee drink, thou wouldst perhaps have asked of Him, and He would give thee living water." When she said, " Whence hast thou, since thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep ? " He answered the Samaritan woman: " If thou knewest who it is that asketh of thee drink, thou wouldst have asked of Him, and He would give thee water, whereof whoso drinketh shall thirst no more; for whoso drinketh of this water shall thirst again." And she was glad and would receive, as if no more to suffer thirst of body, being wearied with the labour of drawing water. And so, during a conversation of this kind, He comes to spiritual drink. Entirely in this manner also here.

11. Therefore "this meat, not that which perisheth, but that which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you; for Him hath God the Father sealed." Do not take this Son of man as you take other sons of men, of whom it is said, " And the sons of men will trust in the protection of Thy wings." 1 This Son of man is separated by
a certain grace of the spirit; Son of man according to the flesh, taken out from the number of men: He is the Son of man.
This Son of man is also the Son of God; this man is even God. In another place, when questioning His disciples, He saith: " Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? And they answered, Some John, some Elias, some Jeremias, or one of the prophets. And He said unto them, But whom say ye that I am? Peter answered, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." 2 He declared Himself Son of man, Peter declared Him the Son of the living God. Most fitly did He mention that which in mercy He had manifested Himself to be; most fitly did the other mention that which He continues to be in glory. The Word of God commends to our attention His own humility: the man acknowledged the glory of his Lord. And indeed, brethren, I think that this is just. He humbled Himself for us, let us glorify Him. For not for Himself is He Son of man, but for us. Therefore was He Son of man in that way, when " the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." For to that end "God the Father sealed Him."
What is to seal, but to put some particular mark ? To seal is to impress some mark which cannot be confounded with the rest. To seal is to put a mark on a thing. When thou puttest 1 Ps. xxxvi. 7. 2 Matt. xvi. 13-16.

358 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXV.

a mark on anything, thou doest so lest it might be confused with other things, and thou shouldst not be able to recognise

\ it. " The Father," then, " hath sealed Him." What is that, " hath sealed " ? Bestowed on Him something peculiar, which puts Him out of comparison with all other men. For that reason it is said of Him, " God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows." I What is it then to seal, but to have Him excepted ? This is the import of "above Thy fellows." And so, do not, saith He, despise me because I am the Son of man, but seek from me, " not the meat that perisheth, but that which endureth to eternal life." For I am the Son of man in such manner as not to be one of you: I am Son of man in such manner that God the Father sealed me. What does that mean, He " sealed me " ? Gave me something peculiarly my own, that I should not be confounded with mankind, but that mankind should be delivered by me.

12. "They said therefore unto Him, What shall we do, that we may work the works of God ? " For He had said to them,
" Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto eternal life." " What shall we do ? " they ask; by observing what, shall we be able to fulfil this precept ? " Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of

I God, that ye believe on Him whom He has sent." This is
then to eat the meat, not that which perisheth, but that which endureth unto eternal life. To what purpose dost thou make ready teeth and stomach? Believe, and thou hast eaten already. Faith is indeed distinguished from works, even as the apostle says, "that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law:" there are works which appear good, without faith in Christ; but they are not good, because they are not referred to that end in which works are good; "for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." For that reason, He willeth not to distinguish faith from work, but declared faith itself to be work.

For it is that same faith that worketh by love. "Now did He say, This is your work; but, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He has sent; "so that he who 1 Ps. xlv. 8. 2 Rom. iii. 28. 3 Rom. x. 4. * Gal. v. 6.

TRACT. XXV.] OF THE SPIRITUAL FOOD. 359

glories, may glory in the Lord. And because He invited them to faith, they, on the other hand, were still asking for signs by which they might believe. See if the Jews do not ask for signs. "They said therefore unto Him, What sign doest thou, that we may see and believe thee? what dost thou work?"

Was it a trifle that they were fed with five loaves? They knew this indeed, but they preferred manna from heaven to this food. But the Lord Jesus declared Himself to be such an one, that He was superior to Moses. For Moses dared not say of Himself that He gave, "not the meat which perisheth, but that which endureth unto eternal life." Jesus promised something greater than Moses gave. By Moses indeed was promised a kingdom, and a land flowing with milk and honey, temporal peace, abundance of children, health of body, and all other things, temporal goods indeed, yet in figure spiritual; because in the Old Testament they were promised to the old man. They considered therefore the things promised by Moses, and they considered the things promised by Christ. The former promised a full belly on the earth, but of the meat which perisheth; the latter promised, "not the meat which perisheth, but that which endureth unto eternal life." They gave attention to Him that promised the more, but just as if they did not yet see Him do greater things. They considered therefore what sort of works Moses had done, and they wished yet some greater works to be done by Him who promised them such great things. What, say they, doest thou, that we may believe thee? And that thou mayest know that they compared those former miracles with this, and so judged these miracles which Jesus did as being less;

"Our fathers," say they, "did eat manna in the wilderness."

But what is manna? Perhaps ye despise it. "As it is written, He gave them manna to eat." By Moses our fathers received bread from heaven, and Moses did not say to them, "Labour for the meat which perisheth not." Thou promisest

"meat which perisheth not, but which endureth to eternal life; " and yet thou workest not such works as Moses did.

He gave, not barley loaves, but manna from heaven.
13. "Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, not Moses gave you bread from heaven, but my

360 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXV.

Father gave you bread from heaven. For the true bread is He that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world." The true bread then is He that giveth life to the world; and the same is the meat of which I have spoken a little before, â€” "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto eternal life." Therefore, both that manna signified this meat, and all those signs were signs of me. Ye have longed for signs of me; do ye despise Him that was signified? Not Moses then gave bread from heaven: God gives bread. But what bread? Manna, perhaps? No, but the bread which manna signified, namely, the Lord Jesus Himself. My Father giveth you the true bread. " For the bread of God is He that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world. Then said they unto Him, Lord, evermore give us this bread." Like that Samaritan woman, to whom it was said, " Whoso drinketh of this water shall never thirst." She, immediately understanding it in reference to the body, and wishing to be rid of want, said, " Give me, Lord, of this water; " in the same manner also these, " Lord, give us this bread; " which may refresh us, and yet not fail.

14. " And Jesus said unto them, I am the Bread of Life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." " He that cometh to me; " this is the same thing as " He that believeth on me; " and " shall never hunger " is to be understood to mean the same thing as " shall never thirst." For by both is signified that eternal sufficiency in which there is no want. You desire bread from heaven; you have it before you, and yet you do not eat.

** But I said unto you, that ye also have seen me, and ye believed not." But I have not on that account lost my people.
" For hath your unbelief made the faith of God of none effect V' 1 For, see thou what follows: " All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will not cast out of doors." What kind of within is that, whence there is no going out of doors % Noble interior, sweet retreat! secret dwelling without weariness, without the bitterness of evil thoughts, without the solicitings of temptations and the inter-

1 Rom. iii. 3.
ruptions of griefs! Is it not that secret dwelling whither shall enter that well-deserving servant, to whom the Lord will say, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord?" 1

15. "And him that will come to me, I will not cast out.
For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me." Is it for that reason that Thou wilt not cast out him that shall come unto Thee, because Thou hast descended from heaven, not to do Thine own will, but the will of Him that sent Thee? Great mystery! I beseech you, let us knock together; something may come forth to us which may feed us, according to that which has delighted us. That great and sweet secret dwelling-place: "He that will come to me." Give heed, give heed, and weigh the matter: "He that will come unto me, I will not cast out." Why? "Because I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me." Is it then the very reason why Thou castest not out him that cometh unto Thee, that Thou earnest down from heaven, not to do Thy own will, but the will of Him that sent Thee? The very reason. Why do we ask whether it be the same? The same it is; Himself says it. For it would not be right in us to suspect Him to mean other than He says, "Whoso will come to me, I will not cast out."
And, as if thou askedst, wherefore? He answered, "Because I came not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me." I am afraid that the reason why the soul went forth away from God is, that it was proud; nay, I do not doubt it. For it is written, "Pride is the beginning of all sin; and the beginning of man's pride is a falling away from God." It is written, it is firm and sure, it is true. And hence what is said of proud mortal man, clad in the tattered rags of the flesh, weighed down with the weight of a corruptible body, and withal extolling himself, and forgetting with what skincoat he is clothed, â€” what, I ask, saith the Scripture to him?
"Why is dust and ashes proud?" Why proud! Let the Scripture tell why. "Because in his life he put forth his inmost parts." 2 What is "put forth," but "threw afar off"? This is to go forth away. For to enter within, is to long after the inmost parts; to put forth the inmost parts, is to go.
1 Matt. xxv. 23. 2 Ecclus. x. 14, 15.

362 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXV.

forth away. The proud man puts forth the inmost parts, the humble man earnestly desires the inmost parts. If we are cast out by pride, let us return by humility.

16. Pride is the source of all diseases, because pride is the source of all sins. When a physician removes a disorder from the body, if he merely cures the malady produced by some particular cause, but not the cause itself, he seems to heal the patient for a time, but while the cause remains, the disease will repeat itself. For example, to speak of this more expressly, some humor in the body produces a scurf or sores; there follows a high fever, and not a little pain; certain remedies are applied to repress the scurf, and to allay that heat of the sore; the remedies are applied, and they do good; thou seest the man who was full of sores and scurf healed; but because that humor was not expelled, it returns again to
ulcers. The physician, perceiving this, purges away the humor, removes the cause, and there will be no more sores. Whence doth iniquity abound? From pride. Cure pride and there will be no more iniquity. Consequently, that the cause of all diseases might be cured, namely, pride, the Son of God came down and was made low. Why art thou proud, man? God, for thee, became low. Thou wouldst perhaps be ashamed to imitate a lowly man; at any rate, imitate the lowly God. The Son of God came in the character of a man and was made low, Thou art taught to become humble, not of a man to become a brute. He, being God, became man; do thou, man, recognise that thou art man. Thy whole humility is to know thyself. Therefore because God teaches humility, He said, "I came not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me." For this is the commendation of humility. Whereas pride doeth its own will, humility doeth the will of God. Therefore, "Whoso cometh to me, I will not cast him out." Why? "Because I came not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me." I came humble, I came to teach humility, I came a master of humility: he that cometh to me is made one body with me; he that cometh to me becomes humble; he who adhereth to me will be humble, because he doeth not his own will, but the will of God; and therefore he shall not be cast out, for when he was proud he was cast out.

TRACT. XXV.] GOD'S HIDING-PLACE. 363

17. See those inner things commended to us in the psalm:
* But the sons of men will put their trust in the covering of Thy wings." See what it is to enter within; see what it is to flee for refuge to His protection; see what it is to run even under the Father's lash, for He scourgeth every son whom He receiveth. "But the sons of men shall put their trust under the cover of Thy wings." What is within? "They shall be filled with the plenteousness of Thy house/" when Thou shalt have sent them within, entering into the joy of their Lord; "they shall be filled with the plenteousness of Thy house; and Thou shalt give them to drink of the stream of Thy pleasure. For with Thee is the fountain of life." Not away without Thee, but within with Thee, is the fountain of life. "And in Thy light we shall see light. Show Thy mercy upon them that know Thee, and Thy righteousness to them that are of upright heart." They who follow the will of their Lord, not seeking their own, but the things of the Lord Jesus Christ, they are the upright in heart, their feet shall not be moved. For "God is good to Israel, to the upright in heart. But, as for me, says he, my feet were almost moved." Why? "Because I was jealous at sinners, looking at the peace of sinners." I To whom is God good then, unless to the upright in heart? For God was displeasing to me when my heart was crooked. Why displeasing? Because He gave happiness to the wicked, and therefore my feet tottered, as if I
had served God in vain. For this reason, then, my feet were almost moved, because I was not upright of heart. What then is upright in heart? Following the will of God. One man is prosperous, another man toils; the one lives wickedly and yet is prosperous, the other lives rightly and is distressed.

Let not him that lives rightly and is in distress be angry; he has within what the prosperous man has not: let him therefore not be saddened, nor vex himself, nor faint. That prosperous man has gold in his own chest; this other has God in his conscience. Compare now gold and God, chest and conscience. The former has that which perisheth, and has it where it will perish; the latter has God, who cannot perish, and has Him there whence He cannot be taken away: only if

1 Ps. lxiii. 1, 2.

364 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXV.

he is upright in heart; for then He enters within and goeth not out. For that reason, what said he? " For with Thee is the fountain of life: " not with us. We must therefore enter within, that we may live; we must not be, as it were, content to perish, nor willing to he satisfied of our own, to be dried up, but we must put our mouth to the very fountain, where the water fails not. Because Adam wished to live by his own counsel, he, too, fell through him who had fallen before through pride, who invited him to drink of the cup of his own pride.

Wherefore, because "with Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light we shall see light, " let us drink within, let us see within. Why was there a going out thence? " Let not the foot of pride come to me." Therefore he, to whom the foot of pride came, went out. Show that therefore he went out. "And let not the hands of sinners move me; " because of the foot of pride. Why sayest thou this? " They are fallen, all they that work iniquity." Where are they fallen? In their very pride. " They were driven out, and they could not stand." 1 If, then, pride drove them out who were not able to stand, humility sends them in who can stand for ever. For this reason, moreover, he who said, "The bones that were brought low shall rejoice," 2 said before, "Thou shalt give joy and gladness to my hearing."

What does he mean by, " to my hearing "? By hearing Thee I am happy; because of Thy voice I am happy; by drinking within I am happy. Therefore do I not fall; therefore " the bones that were brought low will rejoice; " therefore " the friend of the Bridegroom standeth and heareth Him; " therefore he stands, because he hears. He drinks of the fountain within, therefore he stands. They who willed not to drink of the fountain within," there are they fallen: they were driven, they were not able to stand."

18. Thus, the teacher of humility came not to do His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him. Let us come to Him, enter in unto Him, be ingrafted into Him, that we may not be doing our own will, but the will of God: and He will not cast us out, because we are His members, because He willed to be our head by teaching us humility. Finally, hear
Himself discoursing: "Come unto me, ye who labour and are heavy laden: take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart: " and when ye have learned this, "ye shall find rest for your souls," 1 from which ye cannot be cast out: " because I am come down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me: " I teach humility; none but the humble can come unto me. Only pride casteth out; how can he go out who keep humility and falls not away from the truth? So much as could be said about the hidden sense has now been said, brethren: this sense is hidden enough, and I know not whether I have drawn out and shaped in suitable words for you, why it is that He casteth not out him that cometh unto Him; because He came not to do His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him.

19. "And this," saith He, "is the will of the Father that sent, that of all that He hath given me I should lose nothing."

He that keeps humility was given to Him; the same He receives: he that keeps not humility is far from the Master of humility. " That of all which He hath given me, I should lose nothing." " So it is not the will of your Father that one of these little ones should perish." Of the proud, there may perish; but of the little ones, none perisheth: because, " if ye will not become as this little one, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." " Of all that the Father hath given me, I should lose nothing, but I will raise it up again on the last day." See how here He delineates that twofold resurrection. " He that cometh unto me " immediately rises again, being made humble in my members; but I will raise him up again on the last day also according to the flesh. "For this is the will of my Father that sent me, that every one who seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have eternal life; and I will raise him up on the last day." He said above, " Whoso heareth my word, and believeth Him that sent me:" but now, " Whoso seeth the Son, and believeth on Him." He has not said, seeth the Son, and believeth on the Father; for to believe on the Son is the same thing as to believe on the Father. Because, " even as the Father hath life in Himself,

1 Matt. xi. 28, 29.

366 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXV.

so hath He given also to the Son to have life in Himself.
That every one who seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have eternal life; " by believing and by passing unto life, just as by that first resurrection. And, because that is not the only resurrection, He saith, " And I will raise him up at the last day."
Chapter VI. 41-59.

1. "THEN our Lord Jesus Christ, as we have heard in the Gospel when it was read, had said that He was Himself the bread which came down from heaven, the Jews murmured and said, " Is not Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know ? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven ? " These Jews were far off from the bread of heaven, and knew not how to hunger after it. They had the jaws of their heart languid; with open ears they were deaf, they saw and stood blind. This bread, indeed, requires the hunger of the inner man: and hence He saith in another place, " Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied." 1 But the Apostle Paul says that Christ is for us righteousness. 2 And, consequently, he that hungers after this bread, hungers after righteousness, â€” that righteousness however which cometh down from heaven, the righteousness that God gives, not that which man works for himself. For if man were not making a righteousness for himself, the same apostle would not have said of the Jews: " For, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and wishing to establish their own righteousness, they are not subject to the righteousness of God." 3 Of such were these who understood not the bread that cometh down from heaven; because being satisfied with their own righteousness, they hungered not after the righteousness of God. What is this, God's righteousness and man's righteousness ? God's righteousness here means, not that wherein God is righteous, but that which God bestows on man, that man may be righteous through God. But again, what was the righteousness of those Jews ? A righteousness wrought of their own strength on

1 Matt. v. 6. 2 1 Cor. i. 30. 3 Rom. x. 3.

367

II

368 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVI.

which they presumed, and so declared themselves as if they were fullfillers of the law by their own virtue. But no man fullfils the law but he whom grace assists, that is, whom the bread that cometh down from heaven assists. " For the fulfilling of the law," as the apostle says in brief, "is charity." 1 Charity, that is, love, not of money, but of God; love, not of earth nor of heaven, but of Him who made heaven and earth.

Whence can man have that love ? Let us hear the same:
"The love of God," saith he, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us." 2 Wherefore, the Lord, about to give the Holy Spirit, said that Himself was the bread that came down from heaven, exhorting us to believe on Him. For to believe on Him is to eat the living bread. He that believes, eats; he is sated invisibly, because invisibly is he born again. A babe within, a new man within. Where he is made new, there he is satisfied with food.

2. What then did the Lord answer to such murmurers? "Murmur not among yourselves." As if He said, I know why ye are not hungry, and do not understand nor seek after this bread. "Murmur not among yourselves: no man can come unto me, except the Father that sent me draw him." Noble excellence of grace! No man comes unless drawn. There is whom He draws, and there is whom He draws not; why He draws one and draws not another, do not desire to judge, if thou desirest not to err. Accept it at once and then understand; thou art not yet drawn? Pray that thou mayest be drawn. What do we say here, brethren? If we are "drawn" to Christ, it follows that we believe against our will; so then is force applied, not the will moved. A man can come to church unwillingly, can approach the altar unwillingly, partake ... of the sacrament unwillingly; but he cannot believe unless he is willing. If we believed with the body, men might be made to believe against their will. But believing is not a thing done with the body. Hear the apostle: "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness." And what follows? "And with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." 3 That confession springs from the root of the heart. Sometimes thou nearest a man confessing, and knowest not whether he
1 Rom. xiii. 10. 2 Rom. v. 5. 3 Rom. x. 10.

TRACT. XXVI.] COMING TO CHRIST. 369

believes. But thou oughtest not to call him one confessing, if thou shouldst judge him to be one not believing. For to confess is this, to utter the thing that thou hast in thy heart: if thou hast one thing in thy heart, and another thing on thy tongue, thou art speaking, not confessing. Since, then, with the heart man believeth on Christ, which no man assuredly does against his will, and since he that is drawn seems to be as if forced against his will, how are we to solve this question, "No man cometh unto me, except the Father that sent me draw him"?

3. If he is drawn, saith some one, he comes unwillingly. If he comes unwillingly, then he believes not; but if he believes not, neither does he come. For we do not run to Christ on foot, but by believing; nor is it by a motion of the body, but by the inclination of the heart that we draw nigh to Him. This is why that woman who touched the hem of His garment touched Him more than did the crowd that pressed Him.
Therefore the Lord said, "Who touched me?" And the disciples wondering said, "The multitude throng Thee, and press Thee, and sayest Thou, Who touched me?" 1 And He repeated it, "Somebody hath touched me." That woman touched, the multitude pressed. What is "touched," except "believed"? Whence also He said to that woman that wished to throw herself at His feet after His resurrection: "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to the Father." 2 Thou thinkest me to be that alone which thou seest; "touch me not." What is this? Thou supposest that I am that alone which I appear to thee: do not thus believe; that is, "touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to the Father." To thee I am not ascended, for thence I never departed. She touched Him not while He stood on the earth; how then could she touch Him while ascending to the Father? Thus, however, thus He willed Himself to be touched: thus He is touched by those by whom He is profitably touched, ascending to the Father, abiding with the Father, equal to the Father.

4. Thence also He says here, if thou turn thy attention to it, "No man cometh to me except he whom the Father shall draw." Do not think that thou art drawn against thy will.

1 Luke viii. 45. 2 John xx. 17.

TRACT. 2 A

370 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVI.

The mind is drawn also by love. Nor ought we to be afraid, lest perchance we be censured in regard to this evangelic word of the Holy Scriptures by men who weigh words, but are far removed from things, most of all from divine things; and lest it be said to us, "How can I believe with the will if I am drawn?" I say it is not enough to be drawn by the will; thou art drawn even by delight. What is it to be drawn by delight? "Delight thyself in the Lord, and He shall give thee the desires of thy heart." 1 There is a pleasure of the heart to which that bread of heaven is sweet. Moreover, if it was right in the poet to say, "Every man is drawn by his own pleasure," 2 â€” not necessity, but pleasure; not obligation, but delight, â€” how much more boldly ought we to say that a man is drawn to Christ when he delights in the truth, when he delights in blessedness, delights in righteousness, delights in everlasting life, all which Christ is? Or is it the case that, while the senses of the body have their pleasures, the mind is left without pleasures of its own? If the mind has no pleasures of its own, how is it said, "The sons of men shall trust under the cover of Thy wings: they shall be well satisfied with the fulness of Thy house; and Thou shalt give them drink from the river of Thy pleasure. Tor with Thee is the fountain of life; and in Thy light shall we see light"? 3 Give me a man that loves, and he feels what I say. Give me one that longs, one that hungers, one that is travelling in this wilderness, and thirsting and panting after the fountain of his eternal home; give such, and he knows what I say. But if I speak to the cold and indifferent, he knows not what I say.
Such were those who murmured among themselves. "He whom the Father shall draw," saith He, "cometh unto me."

5. But what is this, "Whom the Father shall draw," when Christ Himself draws? Why did He say, "Whom the Father shall draw"? If we must be drawn, let us be drawn by Him to whom one who loves says, "We will run after the odour of Thine ointment." 4 But let us, brethren, turn our minds to, and, as far as we can, apprehend how He would have us understand it. The Father draws to the Son those who believe on

1 Ps. xxxvii. 4. 2 Trahit sua quemque voluptas. â€” Virg. Ec. 2.

3 Ps. xxxvi. 8. 4 Cant. i. 3.

TRACT. XXVI.] THE FATHER DRAWETH. 371

the Son, because they consider that God is His Father. For God begat the Son equal to Himself, so that he who ponders, and in his faith feels and muses that He on whom he has believed is equal to the Father, this same is drawn of the Father to the Son. Arius believed the Son to be a creature: the Father drew not him; for he that believes not the Son to be equal to the Father, considers not the Father. What sayest thou, Arius? What, heretic, dost thou speak? What is Christ? Not very God, saith he, but one whom very God has made. The Father has not drawn thee, for thou hast not understood the Father, whose Son thou deniest: it is not the Son Himself but something else that thou art thinking of. Thou art neither drawn by the Father nor drawn to the Son; for the Son is very different from what thou sayest. Pjiojius said, "Christ is only a man, he is not also God." The Father hath not drawn him who thus believes. One whom the Father has drawn says: "Thou art Christ, Son of the living God." Not as a prophet, not as John, not as some great and just man, but as the only, the equal, "Thou art Christ, Son of the living God." See that he was drawn, and drawn by the Father. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jonas: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven." 1 This revealing is itself the drawing. Thou holdest out a green twig to a sheep, and thou drawest it. Nuts are shown to a child, and he is attracted; he is drawn by what he runs to, drawn by loving it, drawn without hurt to the body, drawn by a cord of the heart. If, then, these things, which among earthly delights and pleasures are shown to them that love them, draw them, since it is true that "every man is drawn by his own pleasure," does not Christ, revealed by the Father, draw? For what does the soul more strongly desire than the truth? For what ought it to have a greedy appetite, with which to wish that there may be within a healthy palate for judging the things that are true, unless it be to eat and drink wisdom, righteousness, truth, eternity?

6. But where will this be? There better, there more truly, there more fully. For here, we can more easily hunger than be satisfied, especially if we have good hope: for "Blessed,"
saith He, "are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness," that is here; "for they shall be filled," that is there. Therefore when He had said, "No man cometh unto me except the Father that sent me draw him," what did He subjoin? "And I will raise him up in the last day." I render unto him what he loves, what he hopes for: he will see what, not as yet by seeing, he has believed; he shall eat that which he hungers after; he shall be filled with that which he thirsts after. Where? In the resurrection of the dead; for "I will raise him up on the last day."

7. For it is written in the prophets, "And they shall all be taught of God." Why have I said this, Jews? The Father has not taught you; how can ye know me? For all the men of that kingdom shall be taught of God, not learn from men. And though they do learn from men, yet what they understand is given them within, flashes within, is revealed within. What do men that proclaim tidings from without? What am I doing even now while I speak? I am pouring a clatter of words into your ears. What is that that I say or that I speak, unless He that is within reveal it? Without is the planter of the tree, within is the tree's Creator. He that planteth and He that watereth work from without: this is what we do. But "neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." I That is, "they shall be all taught of God." All who? "Every one who has heard and learned of the Father cometh unto me." See how the Father draws: He delights by teaching, not by imposing a necessity. Behold how He draws: "They shall be all taught of God." This is God's drawing. "Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." This is God's drawing.

8. What then, brethren? If every man who has heard and learned of the Father, the same cometh unto Christ, has Christ taught nothing here? What shall we say to this, that men who have not seen the Father as their teacher have seen the Son? The Son spake, but the Father taught. I, being a man, whom do I teach? Whom, brethren, but him who has heard my word? If I, being a man, do teach him who hears my word, the Father also teacheth him who hears His word. And if the Father teacheth him that hears His word, ask what Christ is, and thou wilt find the word of the Father. "In the beginning was the Word." Not in the beginning God made
the Word, just as "in the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." 1 Behold how that He is not a creature. Learn to be drawn to the Son by the Father: that the Father may teach thee, hear His Word. What Word of Him, sayest thou, do I hear? "In the beginning was the Word" (it is not "was I made," but "was "), "and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." How can men abiding in the flesh hear such a Word? "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

9. He Himself explains this also, and shows us His meaning when He said, "He that hath heard and learned of the Father cometh unto me." He forthwith subjoined what we were able to conceive: "Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he who is of God, he hath seen the Father." What is that which He saith? I have seen the Father, you have not seen the Father; and yet ye come not unto me unless ye are drawn by the Father. And what is it for you to be drawn by the Father but to learn of the Father? What is to learn of the Father but to hear the Word of the Father? that is, to hear me? In case, therefore, when I say to you, "Every man that hath heard and learned of the Father," you should say within yourselves, But we have never seen the Father, how could we learn of the Father? hear from myself: "Not that any man hath seen the Father, save He who is of God, He hath seen the Father." I know the Father, I am from Him; but in that manner in which the Word is from Him where the Word is, not that which sounds and passes away, but that which remains with the speaker and attracts the hearer.

10. Let what follows admonish us: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath eternal life." He willed to reveal Himself, what He was: He might have said in brief, He that believeth on me hath me. For Christ is Himself true God and eternal life. Therefore, he that believeth on me, saith He, goeth into me; and he that goeth

1 Gen. i. 1.

374 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XXVI.

into me, hath me. But what is the meaning of "to have me"? To have eternal life. Eternal life took death upon itself; eternal life willed to die; but of thee, not of itself; of thee it received that whereby it my die in thy behalf. Of men, indeed, He took flesh, but yet not in the manner of men. For having His Father in heaven, He chose a mother on earth; both there begotten without mother, and here born without father. Accordingly, life took upon itself death, that life might slay death. "For he that believeth on me," saith He, "hath eternal life: " not what is open, but what is hid. For eternal life is the Word, that "in the beginning was with God, and the Word was God, and the life was the light of men." The same eternal life gave eternal life also to the flesh which it assumed. He came to die; but on the third day He rose again. Between the Word taking flesh and the flesh rising again, death which came between was consumed.
11. "Iam," saith He, "the bread of life." And what was the source of their pride ? " Your fathers," saith He, " did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead." What is it whereof ye are proud ? " They ate manna, and are dead." Why they ate and are dead ? Because they believed that which they saw; what they saw not, they did not understand. Therefore were they " your " fathers, because you are like them. For so far, my brethren, as relates to this visible corporeal death, do not we too die who eat the bread that cometh down from heaven ? They died just as we shall die, so far, as I said, as relates to the visible and carnal death of this body. But so far as relates to that death, concerning which the Lord warns us by fear, and in which their fathers died: Moses ate manna, Aaron ate manna, Phinehas ate manna, and many ate manna who were pleasing to the Lord, and they are not dead. Why ? Because they understood the visible food spiritually, hungered spiritually, tasted spiritually, that they might be filled spiritually. For even we at this day receive visible food: but the sacrament is one thing, the virtue of the sacrament another. How many do receive at the altar and... die, and die indeed by receiving ? Whence the apostle saith, " Eateth and drinketh judgment to himself." I For it was not the

1 1 Cor. xi. 29.

I

TRACT. XXVI.] GOD IS NOT DECEIVED. 375

mouthful given by the Lord that was the poison to Judas. And yet he took it; and when he took it, the enemy entered into him: not because he received an evil thing, but because he being evil received a good thing in an evil way. See ye then, brethren, that ye eat the heavenly bread in a spiritual sense; bring innocence to the altar. Though your sins are daily, at least let them not be deadly. Before ye approach the altar, consider well what ye are to say: " Forgive us our debts, even as we forgive our debtors." I Thou forgivest, it shall be forgiven thee: approach in peace, it is bread, not poison. But see whether thou forgivest; for if thou dost not forgive, thou liest, and liest to Him whom thou canst not deceive. Thou canst lie to God, but thou canst not deceive God. He knows what thou dost. He sees thee within, examines thee within, inspects within, judges within, and within He either condemns or crowns. But the fathers of these Jews were evil fathers of evil sons, unbelieving fathers of unbelieving sons, murmuring fathers of murmurers. For in no other thing is that people said to have offended the Lord more than in murmuring against God. And for that reason, the Lord, willing to show those men to be the children of such murmurers, thus begins His address to them: " Why murmur ye among yourselves," ye murmurers, children of murmurers ? Your fathers did eat manna, and are dead; not because manna was an evil thing, but because they ate it in an evil manner.
12. "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven."
Manna signified this bread; God's altar signified this bread.
Those were sacraments. In the signs they were diverse; in the thing which was signified they were alike. Hear the apostle: "For I would not that ye should be ignorant, brethren," saith he, "that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat."
Of course, the same spiritual meat; for corporally it was another: since they ate manna, we eat another thing; but the spiritual was the same as that which we eat. But "our" fathers, not the fathers of those Jews; those to whom we are like, not

1 Matt. vi. 12.

376 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVI.

those to whom they were like. Moreover he adds: "And did all drink the same spiritual drink." They one kind of drink, we another, but only in the visible form, which, however, signified the same thing in its spiritual virtue. For how was it that they drank the "same drink"? "They drank" saith he, "of the spiritual Eock that followed them, and that Eock was Christ." * Thence the bread, thence the drink. The rock was Christ in sign; the real Christ is in the Word and in flesh. And how did they drink? The rock was smitten twice with a rod; the double smiting signified the two wooden beams of the cross. "This, then, is the bread that cometh down from heaven, that if any man eat thereof, he shall not die." But this is what belongs to the virtue of the sacrament, not to the visible sacrament; he that eateth within, not without; who eateth in his heart, not who presses with his teeth.

13. "I am the living bread, which came down from heaven." For that reason "living," because I came down from heaven. The manna also came down from heaven; but the manna was only a shadow, this is the truth. "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world." When did flesh comprehend this flesh which He called bread? That is called flesh which flesh does not comprehend, and for that reason all the more flesh does not comprehend it, that it is called flesh. For they were terrified at this: they said it was too much for them; they thought it impossible. "Is my flesh," saith He, "for the life of the world." Believers know the body of Christ, if they neglect not to be the body of Christ. Let them become the body of Christ, if they wish to live by the Spirit of Christ. None lives by the Spirit of Christ but the body of Christ. Understand, my brethren, what I mean to say. Thou art a man; thou hast both a spirit and a body. I call that a spirit which is called the soul; that whereby it consists that thou art a man, for thou consistest of soul and body. And so thou hast an invisible spirit and a visible body. Tell me which lives of the other: does thy spirit live of thy body, or thy body of thy spirit?
Every man that lives can answer; and he that cannot answer this, I know not whether he lives:

1 1 Cor. x. 1-4.

TRACT. XXVI.] MURMURING OF THE JEWS. 377

what doth every man that lives answer? My body, of course, lives by my spirit. Wouldst thou then also live by the Spirit of Christ? Be in the body of Christ. For surely my body does not live by thy spirit? My body lives by my spirit, and thy body by thy spirit. The body of Christ can-

14. The Jews, therefore, strove among themselves, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" They strove, and that among themselves, since they understood not, neither wished to take the bread of concord: "for they who eat such bread do not strive with one another; for we being many are one bread, one body." And by this bread, "God makes people of one sort to dwell in a house." 2

15. But that which they ask, while striving among themselves, namely, how the Lord can give His flesh to be eaten, they do not immediately hear: but further it is said to them, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye will have no life in you."

1 1 Cor. x. 17. 2 Ps. lxviii. 6.
life; for men can have temporal life without that, but they can noways have eternal life. He then that eateth not His flesh, nor drinketh His blood, hath no life in him; and he that eateth His flesh, and drinketh His blood, hath life. This epithet, eternal, which He used, answers to both. It is not so in the case of that food which we take for the purpose of sustaining this temporal life. For he who will not take it shall not live, nor yet shall he who will take it live. For very many, even who have taken it, die; it may be by old age, or by disease, or by some other casualty. But in this food and drink, that is, in the body and blood of the Lord, it is not so. For both he that doth not take it hath no life, and he that doth take it hath life, and that indeed eternal life. And thus He would have this meat and drink to be understood as meaning the fellowship of His own body and members, which is the holy Church in his predestinated, and called, and justified, and glorified saints and believers. Of these, the first is already effected, namely, predestination; the second and third, that is the vocation and justification, have taken place, are taking place, and will take place; but the fourth, namely, the glorifying, is at present in hope, but a thing future in realization. The sacrament of this thing, namely, of the unity of the body and blood of Christ, is prepared on the Lord's table in some places daily, in some places at certain intervals of days, and from the Lord's table it is taken, by some to life, by some to destruction: but the thing itself, of which it is the sacrament, is for every man to life, for no man to destruction, whosoever shall have been a partaker thereof.

16. But lest they should suppose that eternal life was promised in this meat and drink in such manner that they who should take it should not even now die in the body, He condescended to meet this thought; for when He had said, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life," He forthwith subjoined, "and I will raise him up on the last day." That meanwhile, according to the Spirit, he may have eternal life in that rest into which the spirits of the saints are received; but as to the body, he shall not be defrauded of its eternal life, but, on the contrary, he shall have it in the resurrection of the dead at the last day.

TRACT. XXVI.] EATING THE FLESH OF CHRIST. 379

17. "For my flesh," saith He, "is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." For whilst by meat and drink men seek to attain to this, neither to hunger nor thirst, there is nothing that truly affords this, except this meat and drink, which doth render them by whom it is taken immortal and incorruptible; that is, the very fellowship of the saints, where it will be peace and unity, full and perfect. Therefore, indeed, it is, even as men of God understood this before us, that our Lord Jesus Christ has pointed our minds to His body and blood in those things, which from being many are reduced to
some one thing. For a unity is formed by many grains forming together; and another unity is effected by the clustering together of many berries.

18. In a word, He now explains how that which He speaks of comes to pass, and what it is to eat His body and to drink His blood. " He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." This it is, therefore, for a man to eat that meat and to drink that drink, to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him. Consequently, he that dwelleth not in Christ, and in whom Christ dwelleth not, doubtless, neither eateth His flesh [spiritually] nor drinketh His blood [although he may press the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ carnally and visibly with his teeth], but rather doth he eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing to his own judgment, because he, being unclean, has presumed to come to the sacraments of Christ, which no man taketh worthily except he that is pure: of such it is said, " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." 1

19. "As the living Father hath sent me," saith He, "and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me." He says not: As I eat the Father, and live by the Father; so he that eateth me, the same shall live by me. For the Son, who was begotten equal, does not become better by participation of the Father; just as we are made better by participation of the Son, through the unity of His body and blood, which thing that eating and drinking signifies. We live then by Him, by eating Him; that is, by receiving Himself as the eternal life, which we did not have from ourselves. Him-

1 Matt. v. 8.

W

380 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVI.

self, however, lives by the Father, being sent by Him, because "He emptied Himself, being made obedient even unto the death of the cross." 1 For if we take this declaration, " I live by the Father," 2 according to that which He says in another place, " The Father is greater than I;" just as we, too, live by Him who is greater than we; this results from His being sent. The sending is in fact the emptying of Himself, and His taking upon Him the form of a servant: and this is rightly understood, while also the Son's equality of nature with the Father is preserved. For the Father is greater than the Son as man, but He has the Son as God equal, â€” whilst the same is both God and man, Son of God and Son of man, one Christ Jesus. To this effect, if these words are rightly understood, He spoke thus: " As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me:" just as if He were to say, My emptying of myself (in that He sent me) effected that I should live by the Father; that is, should refer my life to Him as the greater; but that any should live by me is effected by that
participation in which he eats me. Therefore, I being humbled, do live by the Father, man being raised up, liveth by me. But if it was said, "I live by the Father," so as to mean, that He is of the Father, not the Father of Him, it was said without detriment to His equality. And yet further, by saying, "And he that eateth me, even he shall live by me," He did not signify that His own equality was the same as our equality, but He thereby showed the grace of the Mediator.

20. "This is the bread that cometh down from heaven;" that by eating it we may live, since we cannot have eternal life from ourselves. "Not," saith He, "as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever." That those fathers are dead, He would have to be understood as meaning, that they do not live for ever. For even they who eat Christ shall certainly die temporally; but they live for ever, because Christ is eternal life.

1 Phil. ii. 8. 2 Propter Patrem.

TRACTATE XXVII.

Chapter VI. 60-72.
E have just heard out of the Gospel the words of the

these a discourse is due to your ears and minds, and it is not unseasonable to-day; for it is concerning the body of the Lord which He said that He gave to be eaten for eternal life. And He explained the mode of this bestowal and gift of His, in what manner He gave His flesh to eat, saying, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." The proof that a man has eaten and drank is this, if he abides and is abode in, if he dwells and is dwelt in, if he adheres so as not to be deserted. This, then, He has taught us, and admonished us in mystical words that we may be in His body, in His members under Himself as head, eating His flesh, not abandoning our unity with Him. But most of those who were present, by not understanding Him, were offended; for in hearing these things, they thought only of flesh, that which themselves were. But the apostle says, and says what is true, "To be carnally-minded is death." * The Lord gives us His flesh to eat, and yet to understand it according to the flesh is death; while yet He says of His flesh, that therein is eternal life. Therefore we ought not to understand the flesh carnally. As in these words that follow:
2. "Many therefore," not of His enemies, but "of His disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" If His disciples accounted this saying hard, what must His enemies have thought? And yet so it behoved that to be said which should not be understood by all. The secret of God ought to make men eagerly attentive, not hostile. But these men quickly departed from Him, while

1 Rom. vii. 6.
381

382 OX THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVII.

{the Lord said such things: they did not believe Him to be saying something great, and covering some grace by these words; they understood just according to their wishes, and in the manner of men, that Jesus was able, or was determined upon this, namely, to distribute the flesh with which the Word was clothed, piecemeal, as it were, to those that believe on Him.

* This," say they, "is a hard saying; who can hear it?"

3. "But Jesus, knowing in Himself that His disciples murmured at it,"  asked for they so said these things with themselves that they might not be heard by Him; but He who knew them in themselves, hearing within Himself,  answered and said, "This offends you;" because I said, I give you my flesh to eat, and my blood to drink, this forsooth offends you. "Then what if ye shall see the Son of man ascending where He was before?" What is this? Did He hereby solve the question that perplexed them? Did He hereby uncover the source of their offence? He did clearly, if only they understood. For they supposed that He was going to deal out His body to them; but He said that He was to ascend into heaven, of course, whole: "When ye shall see the Son of man ascending where He was before;" certainly then, at least, you will see that not in the manner you suppose does He dispense His body; certainly then, at least, you will understand that His grace is not consumed by tooth-biting.

4. And He said, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Before we expound this, as the Lord grants us, that other must not be negligently passed over, where He says, "Then what if ye shall see the Son of man ascending where He was before?" For Christ is the Son of man, of the Virgin Mary. Therefore Son of man He began to be here on earth, where He took flesh from the earth. For which cause it was said prophetically, "Truth is sprung from the earth." 1

Then what does He mean when He says, "When ye shall see the Son of man ascending where He was before"? For there had been no question if He had spoken thus: "If ye shall see the Son of God ascending where He was before." But since He said, "The Son of man ascending where He was before," surely the Son of man was not in heaven before the time when He

1 Ps. lxxxv. 12.
began to have a being on earth? Here, indeed, He said, "where He was before," just as if He were not there at this time when He spoke these words. But in another place He says, "No man has ascended into heaven but He that came down from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven." 1 He said not "was," but, saith He, "the Son of man who is in heaven." He was speaking on earth, and He declared Himself to be in heaven. And yet He did not speak thus: "No man hath ascended into heaven but He that came down from heaven," the Son of God, "who is in heaven." Whither tends it, but to make us understand that which even in the former discourse I commended to your minds, my beloved, that Christ, both God and man, is one person, not two persons, lest our faith be not a trinity, but a quaternity? Christ, therefore, is one; the Word, soul and flesh, one Christ; the Son of God and Son of man, one Christ; Son of God always, Son of man in time, yet one Christ in regard to unity of person. In heaven He was when He spoke on earth. He was Son of man in heaven in that manner in which He was Son of God on earth; Son of God on earth in the flesh which He took, Son of man in heaven in the unity of person.

5. What is it, then, that He adds? "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Let us say to Him (for He permits us, not contradicting Him, but desiring to know), Lord, good Master, in what way does the flesh profit nothing, whilst Thou hast said, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he shall not have life in him"? Or does life profit nothing? And why are we what we are, but that we may have eternal life, which Thou dost promise by Thy flesh? Then what means "the flesh profiteth nothing"? It profiteth nothing, but only in the manner in which they understood it. They indeed understood the flesh, just as when cut to pieces in a carcass, or sold in the shambles; not as when it is quickened by the Spirit. Wherefore it is said that "the flesh profiteth nothing," in the same manner as it is said that "knowledge puffeth up." Then, ought we at once to hate knowledge? God forbid. And what means "Knowledge puffeth up"? Knowledge alone, without charity. Therefore

1 John iii. 13.

384 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVII.

he added, "but charity edifieth." 1 Therefore add thou to knowledge charity, and knowledge will be profitable, not by itself, but through charity. So also here, "the flesh profiteth nothing," only when alone. Let the Spirit be added to the flesh, as charity is added to knowledge, and it profiteth very much. For if the flesh profited nothing, the
Word would not be made flesh to dwell among us. If through the flesh Christ has greatly profited us, does the flesh profit nothing? But it is by the flesh that the Spirit has done somewhat for our salvation. Flesh was a vessel; consider what it held, not what it was. The apostles were sent forth; did their flesh profit us nothing? If the apostles' flesh profited us, could it be that the Lord's flesh should have profited us nothing? For how should the sound of the Word come to us except by the voice of the flesh? Whence should writing come to us? All these are operations of the flesh, but only when the spirit moves it, as if it were its organ. Therefore "it is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing," as they understood the flesh, but not so do I give my flesh to be eaten.

6. Hence "the words," saith He, "which I have spoken to you are Spirit and life." For we have said, brethren, that this is what the Lord had taught us by the eating of His flesh and drinking of His blood, that we should abide in Him and He in us. But we abide in Him when we are His members, and He abides in us when we are His temple. But that we may be His members, unity joins us together. And what but love can effect that unity should join us together? And the love of God, whence is it? Ask the apostle: "The love of God," saith he, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us." 2 Therefore "it is the Spirit that quickeneth," for it is the Spirit that makes living members. Nor does the Spirit make any members to be lining except such as it finds in the body, which also the Spirit itself quickens. For the Spirit which is in thee, man, by which it consists that thou art a man, does it quicken a member which it finds separated from thy flesh? I call thy soul thy spirit. Thy soul quickeneth only the members which are in thy flesh; if thou takest one away, it is no longer quickened by thy soul.

7. "But," saith He, "there are some among you that believe not." He said not, There are some among you that understand not; but He told the cause why they understand not. "There are some among you that believe not," and therefore they understand not, because
they believe not. For the prophet has said, "If ye believe not, ye shall not understand." 2 We are united by faith, quickened by understanding. Let us first adhere to Him through faith, that there may be that which may be quickened by understanding. For he who adheres not resists; he that resists believes not. And how can he that resists be quickened? He is an adversary to the ray of light by which he should be penetrated: he turns not away his eye, but shuts his mind. "There are," then, "some who believe not." Let them believe and open, let them open and be illumined. "For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed, and who should betray Him." For Judas also was there. Some, indeed, were offended; but he remained to watch his opportunity, not to understand. And because he remained for that purpose, the Lord kept not silence concerning him. He described him not by name, but neither was He silent about him; that all might fear though only one should perish. But after He spoke, and distinguished those that believe from those that believe not, He clearly showed the cause why they believed not. "Therefore I said

1 Rom. viii. 9. 8 Isa. vii. 9, LXX.

TRACT. 2 B

386 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXVII.

unto you/ saith He, "that no man can come unto me except it were given to him of my Father." Hence to believe is also given to us; for certainly to believe is something. And if it is something great, rejoice that thou hast believed, yet be not lifted up; for "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 1

8. * From that time many of His disciples went back, and walked no more with Him." Went back, but after Satan, not after Christ. For our Lord Christ once addressed Peter as Satan, rather because he wished to precede his Lord, and to give counsel that He should not die, He who had come to die, that we might not die for ever; and He says to him, "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men." 2 He did not drive him back to go after Satan, and so called him Satan; but He made him go behind Himself, that by walking after his Lord he should not be a Satan. But these went back in the same manner as the apostle says of certain women: "For some are turned back after Satan." 3 They walked not further with Him. Behold, cut off from the body, for perhaps they were not in the body, they have lost life. They must be reckoned among the unbelieving, notwithstanding they were called disciples. Not a few, but "many went back." This happened, it may be, for our consolation. For sometimes it happens that a man may declare the truth, and that what he says may not be understood, and so they that hear it are offended and go away. Now the man regrets that he had spoken that truth, and he says to himself, "I ought not to have spoken so, I ought not to have said this." Behold, it happened to the Lord: He spoke, and lost many; He remained with few. But yet He was not troubled, because He knew from the beginning who they were that believed and that believed not. If it
happen to us, we are sorely perplexed. Let us find comfort in the Lord, and yet let us speak words with prudence.

9. And now addressing the few that remained: "Then said Jesus to the twelve " (namely, those twelve who remained), " Will ye also," said He, " go away ? " Not even Judas departed. But it was already manifest to the Lord why he

1 1 Cor. iv. 7. 2 Matt. xvi. 23. 3 1 Tim. v. 15.

TRACT. XXVII.] KNOWLEDGE BY BELIEVING. 387

remained: to us he was made manifest afterwards. Peter answered in behalf of all, one for many, unity for the collective whole: " Then Simon Peter answered Him, Lord, to whom shall we go ? " Thou drivest us from Thee; give us Thy other self. " To whom shall we go ? " If we abandon Thee, to whom shall we go ? " Thou hast the words of eternal life." See how Peter, by the gift of God and the renewal of the Holy Spirit, understood Him. How other than because he believed % " Thou hast the words of eternal life." For Thou hast eternal life in the ministration of Thy body and blood.
" And we have believed and have known." Not have known and believed, but " believed and known." For we believed in order to know; for if we wanted to know first, and then to believe, we should not be able either to know or to believe.
What have we believed and known ? " That Thou art Christ, the Son of God;" that is, that Thou art that very eternal life, and that Thou givest in Thy flesh and blood only that which Thou art,

1 0. Then said the Lord Jesus: " Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ? " Therefore, should He have said, " I have chosen eleven: " or is a devil also chosen, and among the elect ? Persons are wont to be called " elect " by way of praise: or was man elected because some great good was done by him, without his will and knowledge ?
This belongs peculiarly to God; the contrary is characteristic of the wicked. For as wicked men make a bad use of the good works of God; so, on the contrary, God makes a good use of the evil works of wicked men. How good it is that the members of the body are, as they can be disposed only by God, their author and framer! Nevertheless what evil use doth wantonness make of the eyes ? What ill use doth falsehood make of the tongue ? Does not the false witness first both slay his own soul with his tongue, and then, after he has destroyed himself, endeavour to injure another ? He makes an ill use of the tongue, but the tongue is not therefore an evil thing; the tongue is God's work, but iniquity makes an ill use of that good work of God. How do they use their feet who run into crimes ?
How do murderers employ their hands ? And what ill use do wicked men make of those good
creatures of God that lie outside of them? With gold they corrupt judgment and oppress the innocent. Bad men make a bad use of the very light; for by evil living they employ even the very light with which they see into the service of their villanies. A bad man, when going to do a bad deed, wishes the light to shine for him, lest he stumble; he who has already stumbled and fallen within; that which he is afraid of in his body has already befallen him in his heart.

Hence, to avoid the tediousness of running through them separately, a bad man makes a bad use of all the good creatures of God: a good man, on the contrary, makes a good use of the evil deeds of wicked men. And what is so good as the one God? Since, indeed, the Lord Himself said, "There is none good, but the one God." 1 By how much He is better, then, by so much the better use He makes of our evil deeds.

What worse than Judas? Among all that adhered to the Master, among the twelve, to him was committed the common purse; to him was allotted the dispensing for the poor. Unthankful for so great a favour, so great an honour, he took the money, and lost righteousness: being dead, he betrayed life:

Him whom he followed as a disciple, he persecuted as an enemy.

All this evil was Judas's; but the Lord employed his evil for good. He endured to be betrayed, to redeem us. Behold, Judas's evil was turned to good. How many martyrs has Satan persecuted! If Satan left off persecuting, we should not today be celebrating the very glorious crown of Saint Laurence. If then God employs the evil works of the devil himself for good, what the bad man effects, by making a bad use, is to hurt himself, not to contradict the goodness of God.

The Master makes use of that man. And if He knew not how to make use of him, the Master contriver would not have permitted him to be. Therefore, He saith, "One of you is a devil," whilst I have chosen you twelve. This saying, "I have chosen you twelve," may be understood in this way, that twelve is a sacred number. For the honour of that number was not taken away because one was lost, for another was chosen into the place of the one that perished. 2 The number remained a sacred number, a number containing twelve: be-

1 Mark x. 10. a Acts i. 26.

cause they were to make known the Trinity throughout the whole world, that is, throughout the four quarters of the world.

That is the reason of the three times four. Judas, then, only cut himself off, not profaned the number twelve: he abandoned his Teacher, for God appointed a successor to take his place.

11. All this that the Lord spoke concerning His flesh and blood; â€” and in the grace of that distribution He promised us eternal life, and that He meant those that eat His flesh
and drink His blood to be understood, from the fact of their abiding in Him and He in them; and that they understood not who believed not; and that they were offended through their understanding spiritual things in a carnal sense; and that, while these were offended and perished, the Lord was present for the consolation of the disciples who remained, for proving whom He asked, "Will ye also go away?" that the reply of their stedfastness might be known to us, for He knew that they remained with Him; â€” let all this, then, avail us to this end, most beloved, that we eat not the flesh and blood of Christ merely in the sacrament, as many evil men do, but that we eat and drink to the participation of the Spirit, that we abide as members in the Lord's body, to be quickened by His Spirit, and that we be not offended, even if many do now with us eat and drink the sacraments in a temporal manner, who shall in the end have eternal torments. For at present Christ's body is as it were mixed on the threshing-floor: "But the Lord knoweth them that are His." * If thou knowest what thou threshest, that the substance is there hidden, that the threshing has not consumed what the winnowing has purged; certain are we, brethren, that all of us who are in the Lord's body, and abide in Him, that He also may abide in us, have of necessity to live among evil men in this world even unto the end. I do not say among those evil men who blaspheme I Christ; for there are now few found who blaspheme with the tongue, but many who do so by their life. Among those, then, we must necessarily live even unto the end.

12. But what is this that He saith: "He that abideth in me, and I in him"? What, but that which the martyrs

1 2 Tim. ii. 19.

390 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVII.

heard: "He that persevereth unto the end, the same shall be saved" 1 1 How did Saint Laurence, whose feast we celebrate today, abide in Him? He abode even to temptation, abode even to tyrannical questioning, abode even to bitterest threatening, abode even to destruction; â€” that were a trifle, abode even to savage torture. For he was not put to death quickly, but tormented in the fire: he was allowed to live a long time; nay, not allowed to live a long time, but forced to die a slow, lingering death. Then, in that lingering death, in those torments, because he had well eaten and well drunk, as one who had feasted on that meat, as one intoxicated with that cup, he felt not the torments. For He was there who said, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth." Tor the flesh indeed was burning, but the Spirit was quickening the soul. He shrunk not back, and he mounted into the kingdom. But the holy martyr Xystus, whose day we celebrated five days ago, had said to him, "Mourn not, my son;" for Xystus was a bishop, he was a deacon. "Mourn not," said he; * thou shalt follow me after three days." He said three days, meaning the interval between the day of Saint Xystus' s suffering and that of Saint Laurence's suffering, which falls on to-day.
Three days is the interval. What comfort! He says not, "Mourn not, my son; the persecution will cease, and thou wilt be safe;"
but, "do not mourn: whither I precede thou shalt follow; nor shall thy pursuit be deferred: three days will be the interval, and thou shalt be with me." He accepted the oracle, vanquished the devil, and attained to the triumph.

1 Matt. xxiv. 13.

TEACTATE XXVIII.

Chaptee VII. 1-13.

1. TN this chapter of the Gospel, brethren, our Lord Jesus Christ has most especially commended Himself to our faith in respect of His humanity. For indeed He always keeps in view, both in His words and deeds, that He should be believed to be God and man: God who made us, man who sought us; with the Father, always God; with us, man in time. For He would not have sought man whom He had made if Himself had not become that which He had made. But remember this, and do not let it slip from your hearts, that Christ became man in such manner that He ceased not to be God. While remaining God, He who made man took manhood. While, therefore, as man He concealed Himself, He must not be thought to have lost His power, but only to have offered an example to our infirmity. For He was detained when He willed to be, and He was put to death when He willed to be. But since there were to be His members, that is, His faithful ones, who would not have that power which He, our God, had; by His being hid, by His concealing Himself as if He would not be put to death, He indicated that His members would do this, in which members He Himself in fact was. For Christ is not simply in the head and not in the body, but Christ whole is in the head and body. What, therefore, His members are, that He is; but what He is, it does not necessarily follow that His members are. For if His members were not Himself, He would not have said, "Saul, why persecutest thou me?"
* For Saul was not persecuting Himself on earth, but His members, namely, His believers. He would not, however, say, my saints, my servants, or, in short, my brethren, which is more honourable; but, me, that is, my members, whose head I am.

1 Acts ix. 4.

391

392 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVIII.

2. With these preliminary remarks, I think that we shall not have to labour much for the meaning in this chapter; for that is often betokened in the head which was to be in the body. "After these things," saith he, "Jesus walked in Galilee: for He would not walk in
Judea, because the Jews sought to kill Him." This is what I have said; He offered an example to our infirmity. He had not lost power, but He was comforting our weakness. For it would happen, as I have said, that some believer in Him would retreat into concealment, lest he should be found by the persecutors; and lest the concealment should be objected to him as a crime, that occurred first in the head, which should afterwards be confirmed in the member. For it is said, "He would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill Him," just as if Christ were not able both to walk among the Jews, and not be killed by them. For He manifested this power when He willed; for when they would lay hold of Him, as He was now about to suffer, "He said to them, Whom seek ye? They answered, Jesus. Then, said He, I am He," not concealing, but manifesting Himself. That manifestation, however, they did not withstand, but * going backwards, they fell to the ground." 1 And yet, because He had come to suffer, they rose up, laid hold of Him, led Him away to the judge, and slew Him. But what was it they did ? That which a certain scripture says: "The earth was delivered into the hands of the ungodly." 2 The flesh was given into the power of the Jews; and this that thereby, the bag, as it were, might be rent asunder, whence our purchase-price might run out.

3. "'Now the Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand.'
What the feast of tabernacles is, they who read the Scriptures know. They used on the holy day to make tabernacles, in likeness of the tabernacles in which they dwelt while they sojourned in the wilderness, after being led out of Egypt. This was a holy day, a great solemnity. The Jews were celebrating this, as being mindful of the Lord's benefits — they who were about to kill the Lord. On this holy day, then (for there were several holy days; but it was called a holy day

1 John xviii. 6. 2 Job ix. 24.

TRACT. XXVIII.] WHO THE LORD'S BRETHREN WERE. 393

with the Jews, though it was not one day, but several), "His brethren " spoke to the Lord Christ. Understand the phrase, "His brethren," as you know it must be taken, for it is not a new thing you hear. The blood relations of the Virgin Mary used to be called the Lord's brethren. For it was of the usage of Scripture to call blood relations and all other near kindred by the term brethren, which is foreign to our usage, and not within our manner of speech. For who would call an uncle or a sister's son "brother"? Yet the Scripture calls relatives of this kind "brothers." For Abraham and Lot are called brothers, while Abraham was Lot's uncle. 1 Laban and Jacob are called brothers, while Laban was Jacob's uncle. 2 When, therefore, you hear of the Lord's brethren, consider them the blood relations of Mary, who did not a second time bear children. For, as in the sepulchre, where the Lord's body was laid, neither before nor after did any dead lie; so likewise, Mary's womb, neither before nor after conceived anything mortal.
4. We have said who the brethren were, let us hear what they said: " Pass over hence, and go into Judea, that thy disciples also may see thy work which thou doest." The Lord's works were not hid from the disciples, but to these men they were not apparent. They might have Christ for a kinsman, but through that very relationship they disdained to believe on Him. It is told us in the Gospel; for we dare not hold this as a mere opinion, you have just now heard it.

They go on advising Him: " For no man doeth anything in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly: if thou do these things, show thyself to the world." And directly after it says: " For neither did His brethren believe in Him."

Why did they not believe in Him? Because they sought human glory. For as to what His brethren appear to advise Him, they consult for His glory. Thou doest marvellous works, make thyself known; that is, appear to all, that thou mayest be praised by all. The flesh spoke to the flesh; but the flesh without God, to the flesh with God. It was the wisdom of the flesh speaking to the Word which became flesh and dwelt among us.

5. What did the Lord answer to these things? Then saith

1 Gen. xi. 27. 2 Gen. xxviii. 2.

394 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVIII.

Jesus to them: u My time is not yet come; but your time is always ready." What is this? Had not Christ's time yet come? Why then was Christ come, if His time had not yet come? Have we not heard the apostle say, " But when the fulness of time came, God sent His Son"? If, therefore, He was sent in the fulness of time, He was sent when He ought to be sent, He came when it behoved that He should come.

What means then, " My time is not yet come " ? Understand, brethren, with what intention they spoke, when they appeared to advise Him as their brother. They were giving Him counsel to pursue glory; as advising in a worldly manner and with an earthly disposition, that He should not be unknown to fame, nor hide Himself in obscurity. This is what the Lord says in answer to those who were giving Him counsel of glory, " My time is not yet come; " â€” the time of my glory is not yet come.

See how profound it is: they were advising Him as to glory; but He would have loftiness preceded by humility, and willed to prepare the way to elevation itself through humility. For those disciples, too, were of course seeking glory who wished to sit, one at His right hand and the other at His left: they thought only of the goal, and saw not by what way it must be reached; the Lord recalled them to the way, that they might come to their fatherland in due order. For the fatherland is on high, the way thither lies low. That land is the life of Christ, the way is Christ's death; that land is the habitation of Christ, the way is Christ's suffering. He that refuses the way, why seeks he the fatherland? In a word, to these also, while seeking elevation, He gave this answer:

" Can ye drink the cup which I am about to drink?" 2 Behold the way by which you must come to that height which you desire. The cup He made mention of was indeed that of His humility and suffering.
6. Therefore also here: "My time is not yet come; but your time," that is the glory of the world, "is always ready."
This is the time of which Christ, that is the body of Christ, speaks in prophecy: "When I shall have received the fit time, I will judge righteously." 3 For at present it is not the time of judging, but of tolerating the wicked. Therefore, let the

1 Gal. iv. 4. 2 Matt. xx. 22. 8 Ps. lxxv. 2.

TRACT. XXVIII.] TIME OF JUDGMENT. 395

body of Christ bear at present, and tolerate the wickedness of evil livers. Let it, however, have righteousness now, for byrighteousness it shall come to judgment. And what saith the Holy Scripture in the psalm to the members, â€” namely, that tolerate the wickedness of this world? "The Lord will not cast off His people." For, in fact, His people labours among the unworthy, among the unrighteous, among blasphemers, among murmurers, detractors, persecutors, and, if they are allowed, destroyers. Yes, it labours; but "the Lord will not cast off His people, and He will not forsake His inheritance until justice is turned into judgment." 1 "Until the justice," which is now in His saints, "be turned into judgment;" when that shall be fulfilled which was said to them, "Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." 2
The apostle had righteousness, but not yet that judgment of which he says, "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?" 3 Be it now, therefore, the time for living rightly; the time for judging them that have lived ill shall be hereafter. "Until righteousness," saith he, "is turned into judgment." The time of judgment will be that of which the Lord has here said, "My time is not yet come." For there will be a time of glory, when He who came in humility will come in loftiness; He who came to be judged will come to judge; He who came to be slain by the dead will come to judge the quick and the dead. "God," saith the psalm, "will come manifest, or God, and He will not be silent." 4 What is "shall come manifest"? Because He came concealed. Then He will not be silent; for when He came concealed, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before its shearer, He opened not His mouth." 5 He shall come, and shall not keep silence. "I was silent," saith He, "shall I always be silent?" 6

7. But what is necessary at the present time for those who have righteousness? That which is read in that psalm:
"Until righteousness is turned into judgment, and they that have it are upright of heart." You ask, perhaps, who are the upright in heart? We find in Scripture those to be upright in heart who bear the evils of the world, and do not accuse

1 Ps. xciv. 14. 2 Matt. xix. 28. 3 1 Cor. vi. 3.
4 Ps. 1. 3. 6 Isa. liii. 7. 6 Isa. xlii. 14.
396 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXVIII.

God. See, brethren, an uncommon thing is that which I speak of. For I know not how it is that, when any evil befalls a man, he runs to accuse God, when he ought to accuse himself. When thou gettest any good, thou praisest thyself; when thou sufferest any evil, thou accusest God. This is then the crooked heart, not the upright. When thou art cured of this distorting and perversity, what thou didst use to do will be turned into the contrary. For what didst thou use to do before? Thou didst praise thyself in the good things of God, and didst accuse God in thine own evil things; with thy heart converted and made right, thou wilt praise God in His good things, and accuse thyself in thy own evil things. These are the upright in heart. In short, that man, who was not yet right in heart when the success of the wicked and the distress of the good grieved him, says, when he is corrected:

"How good is the God of Israel to the upright in heart!

But as for me," when I was not right in heart, "my feet were almost gone; my steps had well-nigh slipped." Why? "Because I was envious at sinners, beholding the peace of sinners." I saw, saith he, the wicked prosperous, and I was displeased at God; for I did wish that God should not permit the wicked to be happy. Let man understand: God never does permit this; but a bad man is thought to be happy, for this reason, because men are ignorant of what happiness is.

Let us then be right in heart: the time of our glory is not yet come. Let it be told to the lovers of this world, such as the brethren of the Lord were, "your time is always ready;" our time "is not yet come." For let us, too, dare to say this. And since we are the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, since we are His members, since we joyfully acknowledge our head, let us say it without hesitation; since, for our sake, He deigned also Himself to say this. And when the lovers of this world revile us, let us say to them, "Your time is always ready; our time is not yet come." For the apostle has said to us, "For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." When will our time come? "When Christ," saith he, "your life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." 2

8. What said He further? "The world cannot hate you."

1 Ps. lxxiii. 1-3. 2 Col. iii. 3, 4.

TRACT. XXVIII.] THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. 397

What is this, but, The world cannot hate its lovers, the false witnesses? For you call the things that are evil, good; and the things that are good, evil. "But me it hateth, because I bear witness concerning it, that its works are evil. Go ye up to this feast." What means "to this"? Where ye seek human glory. What means "to this"? Where ye wish to prolong carnal joys, not to meditate on eternal joys. "I go not up to this feast, because my time is not yet full come."
On this feast-day you seek human glory; but my time, that is, the time of my glory, is not yet come. That will be my feast-day, not running before and passing over these days, but remaining for ever; that will be festivity, joy without end, eternity without a blot, serenity without a cloud. " When He had said these words unto them, He abode still in Galilee. But when His brethren were gone up, then went He also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret. " Therefore "not to this feast-day," because His desire was not for temporal glory, but to teach something to profit, to correct men, to admonish them of an eternal feast-day, to turn away their love from this world, and to turn it to God. But what means this, "He went up as it were in secret to the feast"? This action of the Lord also is not without meaning. It appears to me that, even from this circumstance that He went up as it were in secret, He had intended to signify something; for the things that follow will show that He thus went up on the middle of the feast, that is, when those days were half over, to teach even openly. But He said, "As it were in secret," meaning, not to show Himself to men. It is not without meaning that Christ went up "as it were in secret" to that feast, because He Himself lay hid in that feast-day. What I have said as yet is also under cover of secrecy. Let it be manifested then, let the veil be lifted, and let that which was secret appear.

9. All things that were spoken to the ancient people Israel in the manifold Scripture of the holy law, what things they did, whether in sacrifices, or in priestly offices, or in feast-days, and, in a word, in what things soever they worshipped God, what things soever were spoken to and given them in precept, were shadows of things to come. Of what things to come? Things which find their fulfilment in Christ. Whence the apostle says, "For all the promises of God are in Him yea; " I that is, they are fulfilled in Him. Again he says in another place, "All happened to them in a figure; but they were written for our sakes, upon whom the end of the ages is come." 2 And he said elsewhere, "For Christ is the end of the law; " 3 likewise in another place, "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of a new moon, or of Sabbath-days, which is a shadow of things to come." 4 If, therefore, all these things were shadows of things to come, also the feast of tabernacles was a shadow of things to come. Let us examine, then, of what thing to come was this feast-day a shadow. I have explained what this feast of tabernacles was: it was a celebration of tabernacles, because the people, after their deliverance from Egypt, while directing their course through the wilderness to the land of promise, dwelt in tents. Let us observe what it is, and we shall be that thing; we, I say, who are members of Christ, if such we are; but we are, He having made us worthy, not we having earned it for ourselves. Let us then consider ourselves, brethren: we have been led out of Egypt, where we were slaves to the devil as to Pharaoh; where we applied ourselves to works of clay, engaged in earthly desires, and where we toiled exceedingly. And to us, while labouring, as it were, at the bricks, Christ cried aloud, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden." Thence we were led out by baptism as through the Eed Sea, â€” red
because consecrated by the blood of Christ. All our enemies that pursued us being dead, that is, all our sins being blotted out, we have been brought over to the other side. At the present time, then, before we come to the land of promise, namely, the eternal kingdom, we are in the wilderness in tabernacles. They who acknowledge these things are in tabernacles; for it was to be that some would acknowledge this. For that man, who understands that he is a sojourner in this world, is in tabernacles. That man understands that he is travelling in a foreign country, when he sees himself sighing for his native land. But whilst the body of Christ is in tabernacles, Christ

1 2 Cor. i. 20. 2 1 Cor. x. 1 3 Rom. x. 4. 4 1 Cor. ii. 16, 17.

TRACT XXVIII.] THE FESTIVAL A FIGURE. 399

is in tabernacles; but at that time He was so, not evidently but secretly. For as yet the shadow obscured the light; when the light came, the shadow was removed. Christ was in secret: He was in the feast of tabernacles, but there hidden. At the present time, when these things are already made manifest, we acknowledge that we are journeying in the wilderness: for if we know it, we are in the wilderness. What is it to be in the wilderness? In the desert waste. Why in the desert waste? Because in this world, where we thirst in a way in which is no water. But yet, let us thirst that we may be filled. For, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." * And our thirst is quenched from the rock in the wilderness: for "the Rock was Christ," and it was smitten with a rod that the water might flow. But that it might flow, the rock was smitten twice: because there are two beams of the cross. 2 All these things, then, which were done in a figure, are made manifest to us. And it is not without meaning that it was said of the Lord, "He went up to the feast-day, but not openly, but as it were in secret." For Himself in secret was the thing prefigured, because Christ was hid in that same festal-day; for that very festal-day signified Christ's members that were to sojourn in a foreign land.

10." Then the Jews sought Him on the feast-day: " before He went up. For His brethren went up before Him, and He went not up then when they supposed and wished: that this too might be fulfilled which He said, "Not to this," that is, the first or second day, to which you wish me to go. But He went up afterwards, as the Gospel tells us, "on the middle of the feast;" that is, when as many days of that feast had passed as there remained, For they celebrated that same festival, so far we can understand, on several successive days.

11. "They said, therefore, Where is he? And there was much murmuring among the people concerning Him."

Whence the murmuring? Of strife. What was the strife?
"Some said, He is a good man; but others said, Nay; but he deceiveth the people." We must understand this of all His
servants: this is said now of them. For whoever becomes eminent in some spiritual grace, of him some will assuredly say, " He is a good man; " others, " Nay; but he deceiveth the people." Whence is this ? " Because our life is hid with Christ in God." * On this account people may say during the winter, This tree is dead; for example, a fig tree, pear tree, or some kind of fruit tree, it is like a withered tree, and so long as it is winter it does not appear whether it is so or not. But the summer proves, the judgment proves. Our summer is the appearing of Christ: " God shall come manifest, our God, and He will not be silent; " 2 " fire shall go before Him:" that fire " shall burn up His enemies: " 3 that fire shall lay hold of the withered trees. For then shall the dry trees be apparent, when it shall be said to them, " I was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat; " but on the other side, namely, on the ridit, will be seen abundance of fruit, and magnificence of leaves; the green will be eternity. To those, then, as withered trees, it shall be said, " Go into everlasting fire. For behold," it saith, " the axe is laid to the root of the trees: every tree, therefore, that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut down, and cast into the fire." 4 Let them then say of thee, if thou art growing in Christ, let men say of thee, " He deceiveth the people." This is said of Christ Himself; it is said of the whole body of Christ. Think of the body of Christ still in the world, think of it still on the threshingfloor; see how it is blasphemed by the chaff. The chaff and the grain are, indeed, threshed together; but the chaff is consumed, the corn is purged. What was said of the Lord then, avails for consolation, whenever it will be said of any Christian.

12. "Howbeit no man spake openly of Him for fear of the Jews." But who were they that did not speak of Him for fear of the Jews ? Undoubtedly they who said, " He is a good man; " not they who said, " He deceiveth the people." As for them who said " He deceiveth the people," their din was heard like the noise of dry leaves. " He deceiveth the people," they sounded more and more loudly; " He is a good man," they whispered more and more constrainedly. But now, 1 Col. iii. 3. 2 Ps. 1. 3. 3 Ps. xcvii. 3. *Matt iii. 10.

brethren, notwithstanding that glory of Christ which is to make us immortal is not yet come, yet now, I say, His Church so increases, He has deigned to spread it abroad through the whole world, that it is now only whispered, " He deceiveth the people;" and more and more loudly it sounds forth, " He is a good man."
TRACT. 2 C

TEACTATE XXIX.

Chapter VII. 14-18.

1. "1T7"HAT follows of the Gospel, and was read to-day, we f t must next in order look at, and speak from it as the Lord may grant us. Yesterday, it was read thus far, that although they had not seen the Lord Jesus in the temple on the feast-day, yet they were speaking about Him: " And some said, He is a good man: but others said, Nay; but he seduceth the people." For this was said for the comfort of those who, afterwards preaching God's word, were to be seducers, and yet true men. 1 For if to seduce is to deceive, neither was Christ a seducer, nor His apostles, nor ought any Christian to be such; but if to seduce (to lead aside) is by persuading to lead one from something to something else, we ought to inquire into the whence and the whither: if from evil to good, the seducer is a good man; if from good to evil, the seducer is a bad man. In that sense, then, in which men are seduced from evil to good, would that all of us both were called, and actually were seducers!

2. Then afterwards the Lord went up to the feast, " about the middle of the feast, and taught." "And the Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned ? " He who was in secret taught, He was speaking openly and was not restrained. For that hiding of Himself was for the sake of example; this showing Himself openly was an intimation of His power. But as He taught, " the Jews marvelled; " all indeed, so far as I think, marvelled, but all were not converted. And why this wondering ? Because all knew where He was born, where He had been brought up; they had never seen Him learning letters, but they heard Him disputing about the law, bringing forward

1 2 Cor. vi. 8.
402

TRACT. XXIX.] CHRIST'S DOCTRINE. 403

testimonies of the law, which none could bring forward unless he had read, and none could read unless he had learned letters: and therefore they marvelled. But their marvelling was made an occasion to the Master of insinuating the truth more deeply into their minds. By reason, indeed, of their wondering and words, the Lord said something profound, and worthy of being more diligently looked into and discussed. On account of which I would urge you, my beloved, to earnestness, not only in hearing for yourselves, but also in praying for us.
3. How then did the Lord answer those that were marvelling how He knew letters which He had not learned?

"My doctrine," saith He, "is not mine, but His that sent me." This is the first profundity. For He seems as if in a few words He had spoken contraries. For He says not, This doctrine is not mine; but, "My doctrine is not mine." If not Thine, how Thine? If Thine, how not Thine? Tor Thou sayest both: both, "my doctrines; and, "not mine."

For if He had said, This doctrine is not mine, there would have been no question. But now, brethren, in the first place, consider well the question, and so in due order expect the solution. For he who sees not the question proposed, how can he understand what is expounded? The subject of inquiry, then, is that which He says, "My, not mine:" this appears to be contrary; how "my," how "not mine"? If we carefully look at what the holy evangelist himself says in the beginning of his Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;"

thence hangs the solution of this question. What then is the doctrine of the Father, but the Father's Word? Therefore, Christ Himself is the doctrine of the Father, if He is the Word of the Father. But since the Word cannot be of none, but of some one, He said both "His doctrine," namely, Himself, and also, "not His own," because He is the Word of the Father. For what is so much "Thine" as Thyself?

And what so much not Thine as Thyself, if that Thou art of another?

4. The Word then is God; and it is also the Word of a stable unchangeable doctrine, not such as can be sounded by syllables

II

404 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIX.

\ and fleeting, but abiding with the Father, to which abiding J doctrine let us be converted, being admonished by the transitory sounds of the voice. For that which is transitory does not so admonish us as to call us to transitory things. We are admonished to love God. All this that I have said were syllables; they smote through the air to reach your sense of hearing, and by sounding passed away: that, however, which I advise you ought not so to pass away, because He whom

\ I exhort you to love passes not away; and when you, exhorted

'/ in transient syllables, shall have been converted, you shall not pass away, but shall abide with Him who is abiding. There is therefore in the doctrine this great matter, this deep and eternal thing which is permanent: whither all things that pass away in time call us, when they mean well and are not falsely put forward. For, in fact, all the signs which we produce by sounds do signify something which is not sound.
For God is not the two short syllables "Deus," and it is not the two short syllables that we worship, and it is not the two short syllables that we adore, nor is it to the two short syllables that we desire to come â€” two syllables which almost cease to sound before they have begun to sound; nor in sounding them is there room for the second until the first has passed away. There remains, then, something great which is called "God," although the sound does not remain when we say the word "God." Thus direct your thoughts to the doctrine of Christ, and ye shall arrive at the Word of God; and when you have arrived at the Word of God, consider this,
"The Word was God," and you will see that it was said truly, "my doctrine:" consider also whose the Word is, and you will see that it was rightly said, "is not mine."

5. Therefore, to speak briefly, beloved, it seems to me that the Lord Jesus Christ said, "My doctrine is not mine," meaning the same thing as if He said, "I am not from myself." For although we say and believe that the Son is equal to the Father, and that there is not any diversity of nature and substance in them, that there has not intervened any interval of time between Him that begets and Him that is begotten, nevertheless we say these things, while keeping and guarding this, that the one is the Father, the other the Son. But Father He

TRACT. XXIX.] FAITH AND KNOWLEDGE. 405

is not if He have not a Son, and Son He is not if He have not a Father: but yet the Son is God from the Father; and the Father is God, but not from the Son. The Father of the Son, not God from the Son: but the other is Son of the Father, and God from the Father. For the Lord Christ is called Light from Light. The Light then which is not from Light, and the equal Light which is not from Light, are together One Light not two Lights.

6. If we have understood this, thanks be to God; but if any has not sufficiently understood, man has done as far as he could: as for the rest, let him see whence he may hope to understand. As labourers outside, we can plant and water; but it is of God to give the increase. "My doctrine/ saith He, "is not mine, but His that sent me." Let him who says he has not yet understood hear counsel. For since it was a great and profound matter that had been spoken, the Lord Christ Himself did certainly see that all would not understand this so profound a matter, and He gave counsel in the sequel. Dost thou wish to understand? Believe. For God has said by the prophet: "Except ye believe, ye shall not understand." 1 To the same purpose what the Lord here also added as He went on â€” "If any man is willing to do His will, he shall know concerning the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself." What is the meaning of this, "If any man be willing to do His will"? But I had said, if any man believe; and I gave this counsel: If thou hast not understood, said I, believe. For understanding is the reward of faith. Therefore do not seek to understand in order to believe, but believe that thou mayest understand; since, "except ye believe, ye shall not understand." Therefore when I would counsel the obedience of believing toward the possibility of understanding, and say that our Lord Jesus Christ had added this very thing in the following sentence, we find Him to
have said, "If any man be willing to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine." What is "he shall know"?
It is the same thing as "he shall understand." But what is "If any man be willing to do His will"?

It is the same thing as to believe. All men indeed perceive that "shall

1 Isa. vii. 9.

SI

406 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXIX.

know " is the same thing as " shall understand: " but that the saying, "If any man be willing to do His will," refers to believing, all do not perceive; to perceive this more accurately, we need the Lord Himself for expounder, to show us whether the doing of the Father's will does in reality refer to believing.

But who does not know that this is to do the will of God, to work the work of God; that is, to work that work which is pleasing to Him? But the Lord Himself says openly in another place: "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He has sent." 1 "That ye believe on Him," not, that ye believe Him. But if ye believe on Him, ye believe Him; yet he that believes Him does not necessarily believe on Him. For even the devils believed Him, but they did not believe on Him. Again, moreover, of His apostles we can say, we believe Paul; but not, we believe on Paul: we believe Peter; but not, we believe on Peter. For, "to him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteousness." 2 What then is "to believe on Him"? By believing to love Him, by believing to esteem highly, by believing to go into Him and to be incorporated in His members. It is faith itself then that God exacts from us: and He finds not that which He has bestowed what He may find. What faith, but that which the apostle has most amply defined in another place, saying, "Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love "? 3 Not any faith of what kind soever, but " faith that worketh by love: " let this faith be in thee, and thou shalt understand concerning the doctrine. What indeed shalt thou understand? That "this doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me;" that is, thou shalt understand that Christ the Son of God, who is the doctrine of the Father, is not from Himself, but is the Son of the Father.

7. This sentence overthrows the Sabellian heresy. The Sabellians have dared to affirm that the Son is the very same as He who is also the Father: that the names are two, but the reality one. If the names were two and reality one, it would not be said, "My doctrine is not mine." Anyhow, if Thy

1 John vi. 29. 2 Rom. iv. 5. 3 Qal. v. 6.
doctrin is not Thine, Lord, whose is it, unless there be another whose it is? The Sabellians understand not what Thou saidst; for they see not the trinity, but follow the error of their own heart. Let us worshippers of the trinity and unity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and one God, understand concerning Christ's doctrine, how it is not His. And He said that He spoke not from Himself for this reason, because Christ is the Son of the Father, and the Father is the Father of Christ; and the Son is from God the Father, God, but God the Father is God not from God the Son.

8. "He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory."
This will be he who is called Antichrist, "exalting himself," as the apostle says, "above all that is called God, and that is worshipped." 1 The Lord, declaring that this same it is that will seek his own glory, not the glory of the Father, says to the Jews: "I am come in my Father's name, and ye have not received me; another will come in his own name, him ye will receive." 2 He intimated that they would receive Antichrist, who will seek the glory of his own name, puffed up, not solid; and therefore not stable, but assuredly ruinous. But our Lord Jesus Christ has shown us a great example of humility: for doubtless He is equal with the Father, for "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" yea, doubtless, He Himself said, and most truly said, "Am I so long time with you, and ye have not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." 3 Yea, doubtless, Himself said, and most truly said, "I and the Father are one." 4 If, therefore, He is one with the Father, equal to the Father, God from God, God with God, co-eternal, immortal, alike unchangeable, alike without time, alike Creator and disposer of times; and yet because He came in time, and took the form of a servant, and in condition was found as a man, 5 He seeks the glory of the Father, not His own; what oughtest thou to do, man, who, when thou doest anything good, seekest thy own glory; but when thou doest anything ill, dost meditate calumny against God? Consider thyself: thou art a creature, acknowledge thy Creator: thou

1 2 Thess. ii. 4. 2 John v. 45. 3 John xiv. 9.
4 John x. 30. 5 Phil. ii. 7.

408 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXIX.

art a servant, despise not thy Lord: thou art adopted, not for thy own merits; seek His glory from whom thou hast this grace, that thou art a man adopted; His, whose glory He sought who is from Him, the Only-begotten. "But He that seeketh His glory that sent Him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in Him." In Antichrist, however, there is unrighteousness, and he is not true; because he will seek his own glory, not His by whom he was sent: for, indeed, he was not sent, but only permitted to come. Let us all,
therefore, that belong to the body of Christ, seek not our own glory, that we be not led into the snares of Antichrist. But if Christ sought His glory that sent Him, how much more ought we to seek the glory of Him who made us?

TEACTATE XXX.

Chapter VII. 19-24.

1. The passage of the holy Gospel of which we have before discoursed to you, beloved, is followed by that of to-day, which has just now been read. Both the disciples and the Jews heard the Lord speaking; both men of truth and liars heard the Truth speaking; both friends and enemies heard Charity speaking; both good men and bad men heard the Good speaking. They heard, but He discerned; He saw and foresaw whom His discourse profited and would profit. Among those who were then, He saw; among us who were to be, He foresaw. Let us therefore hear the Gospel, just as if we were listening to the Lord Himself present: nor let us say, happy they who were able to see Him! because there were many of them who saw, and also killed Him; and there are many among us who have not seen Him, and yet have believed.

For the precious truth that sounded forth from the mouth of the Lord was both written for our sakes, and preserved for our sakes, and recited for our sakes, and will be recited also for the sake of our posterity, even until the end of the world. The Lord is above; but the Lord, the Truth, is also here. For the body of the Lord, in which He rose again from the dead, can be only in one place; but His truth is everywhere diffused. Let us then hear the Lord, and let us also speak that which He shall have granted to us concerning His own words.

2. "Did not Moses," saith He, "give you the law, and yet none of you doeth the law? Why do ye seek to kill me?"

For ye seek to kill me just for this reason, that none of you doeth the law; for if ye did do the law, ye would recognise Christ in its very letters, and ye would not kill Him when present with you. And they answered: "The crowd answered

410 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXX.

Him;" answered as a tumultuous crowd, 1 things not pertaining to order, but to confusion; in a word, the crowd was disturbed. See what answer it made: "Thou hast a devil: who seeks to kill thee V* As if it were not worse to say, "Thou hast a devil," than to kill Him. To Him, indeed, was it said, that He had a devil, who was casting out devils. What else can a turbulent disorderly crowd say? What else can filth stirred up do but stink? The crowd was disturbed, by what? By the truth. For the eyes that have not soundness cannot endure the brightness of the light.
3. But the Lord, manifestly not disturbed, but calm in His truth, rendered not evil for evil nor railing for railing; 2 although, if He were to say to these men, You have a devil, He would certainly be saying what was true. For they would not have said such things to the Truth, unless the falsehood of the devil had instigated them. What then did He answer? Let us calmly hear, and drink in the serene word: "I have done one work, and ye all marvel." As if He said, What if ye were to see all my works? For they were His works which they saw in the world, and yet they saw not Him who made them all: He did one thing, and they were disturbed because he made a man whole on the Sabbath-day. As if, indeed, when any sick man recovered his health on the Sabbath-day, it had been any other that made such a man whole than He who offended them, because He made one man whole on the Sabbath-day. For who else has made others whole than He who is health itself, æ” He who gives even to the beasts that health which He gave to this man? For it was bodily health. The health of the flesh is repaired, and the flesh dies; and when it is repaired, death is only put off, not taken away. However, even that same health, brethren, is from the Lord, through whomsoever it may be given: by whose care and ministry soever it may be imparted, it is given by Him from whom all health is, to whom it is said in the psalm, "Lord, Thou wilt save men and beasts; as Thou hast multiplied Thy mercy, God." For because Thou art God, Thy multiplied mercy reaches even to the safety of human flesh, reaches even to the safety of dumb animals; but Thou who givest health of flesh common to
1 Turba. 2 1 Tct. iii. 9.

TRACT. XXX.] CIRCUMCISION ON THE SABBATH-DAY. 411

men and beasts, is there no health which Thou reservest for men? There is certainly another which is not only not common to men and beasts, but to men themselves is not common to good and bad. In a word, when he had there spoken of this health which men and cattle receive in common, because of that health which men, but only the good, ought to hope for, he added as he went on: "But the sons of men shall put their trust under the cover of Thy wings. They shall be fully satisfied with the fatness of Thy house; and Thou shalt give them drink from the torrent of Thy pleasure. For with Thee is the fountain of life; and in Thy light shall they see light." 1 This is the health which belongs to good men, those whom he called "sons of men;' whilst he had said above, "Lord, Thou shalt save men and beasts." How then? Were not those men sons of men, that after he had said men, he should go on and say, But the sons of men: as if men and sons of men meant different things? Yet I do not believe that the Holy Spirit had said this without some indication of distinction. The term men refers to the first Adam, sons of men to Christ. Perhaps, indeed, men relate to the first man; but sons of men relate to the Son of man.

4. "I have done one work, and ye all marvel." And immediately He subjoined: "Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision." It was well done that ye received circumcision
from Moses. "Not that it is of Moses, but of the fathers; " since it was Abraham that first received circumcision from the Lord. 2 "And ye circumcise on the Sabbath-day." Moses has convicted you: ye have received in the law to circumcise on the eighth day; ye have received in the law to cease from labour on the seventh day; 3 if the eighth day from the child's birth fall on the seventh day of the week, what will ye do? Will ye abstain from work to keep the Sabbath, or will ye circumcise to fulfil the sacrament of the eighth day? But I know, saith He, what ye do. "Ye circumcise a man." Why? Because circumcision relates to what is a kind of seal of salvation, and men ought not to abstain from the work of salvation on the Sabbath-day. Therefore be ye not "angry with me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath-day."

1 Ps. xxxvi. 7-10. 2 Gen. xvii. 10. 3 Ex. xx. 10.

412 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXX.

"If," saith He, "a man on the Sabbath-day receiveth circumcision that the law should not be broken" (for it was something saving that was ordained by Moses in that ordinance of circumcision), why are ye angry at me for working a healing on the Sabbath-day?

5. Perhaps, indeed, that circumcision pointed to the Lord Himself, at whom they were indignant, because He worked cures and healing. For circumcision was commanded to be applied on the eighth day: and what is circumcision but the spoiling of the flesh? This circumcision, then, signified the removal of carnal lusts from the heart. Therefore not without cause was it given, and ordered to be made in that member; since by that member the creature of mortal kind is procreated. By one man came death, just as by one man the resurrection of the dead 1 and by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin. 2 Therefore every man is born with a foreskin, because every man is born with the vice of propagation; and God cleanses not, either from the vice with which we are born, or from the vices which we add thereto by ill living, except by the stony knife, the Lord Christ. For Christ was the Eock. Now they used t,Q^jr^Tricjffft_wjtj> st"_ng_ knives, and by the name of rock they prefigured Christ; and yet when He was present with them they did not acknowledge Him, but besides, they sought to kill Him. But why on the eighth day, unless because after the seventh day of the week the Lord rose again on the Lord's day? Therefore Christ's resurrection, which happened on the third day indeed of His passion, but on the eighth day in the days of the week, that same resurrection it is that doth circumcise us. Hear of those that were circumcised with the real stone, while the apostle admonishes them: "If then ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ is, sitting on the right hand of God; set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth." 3 He speaks to the circumcised: Christ has risen; He has taken away from you carnal desires, evil lusts, the superfluity with which you were born, and that far worse which you had added thereto by ill living; being circumcised by the Bock, why do you still set your affections on
1 Cor. xv. 21. 2 Rom. v. 12. 3 Col. iii. 1, 2.

TUACT. XXX.] INTENTION OF CIRCUMCISION. 413

the earth? And finally, for that "Moses gave you the law, and ye circumcise a man on
the Sabbath-day," understand that by this is signified the good work which I have done,
in that I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath-day; because he was cured
that he might be whole in body, and also he believed that he might be whole in soul.

6. "Judge not according to personal appearance, but judge righteous judgment." What is
this? Just now, you who by the law of Moses circumcise on the Sabbath-day are not
angry with Moses; and because I made a man whole on the Sabbath-day you are angry
with me. You judge by the person; give heed to the truth. I do not prefer myself to Moses,
says the Lord, who was also the Lord of Moses. So consider us as you would two men, as
both men; judge between us, but judge a true judgment; do not condemn him by
honouring me, but honour me by understanding him. For this He said to them in another
place: "If ye believed Moses ye would certainly believe me also, for he wrote of me." *
But in this place He willed not to say this, Himself and Moses being as it were placed
before these men for judgment. Because of Moses' law you circumcise, even when it happens to be the Sabbath-day, and will ye not that I
should show the beneficence of healing during the Sabbath? For the Lord of
circumcision and the Lord of the Sabbath is the same who is the Author of health; and
they are servile works that ye are forbidden to do on the Sabbath; if ye really understand
what servile works are, ye sin not. For he that committeth sin is the servant of sin. Is it a
servile work to heal a man on the Sabbath-day? Ye do eat and drink (to infer somewhat
from the admonition of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from His words); at any rate, why do
ye eat and drink on the Sabbath, but because that what ye do pertains to health? By this
ye show that the works of health are not in any wise to be omitted on the Sabbath.
Therefore "do not judge by person, but judge righteous judgment." Consider me as ye
would a man; consider Moses as a man: if ye will judge according to the truth, ye will
condemn neither Moses nor me; and when ye know the truth ye will know me, because I
am the Truth.

. 1 John v. 46.

414 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXX.

7. It requires great labour in this world, brethren, to get clear of the vice which the Lord
has noted in this place, so as not to judge by appearance, but to keep right judgment. The
Lord, indeed, admonished the Jews, but He warned us also; them He convicted, us He
instructed; them He reproved, us He encouraged. Let us not imagine that this was not said
to us, simply because we were not there at that time. It was written, it is read; when it was
recited we heard it; but we heard it as said to the Jews: let us not place ourselves behind ourselves and watch Him reproving enemies, while we ourselves do that which the truth may reprove in us. The Jews indeed judged by appearance, but for that reason they belong not to the New Testament, they have not the kingdom of heaven in Christ, nor are joined to the society of the holy angels; they sought earthly things of the Lord; for a land of promise, victory over enemies, fruitfulness of child-bearing increase of children, abundance of fruit, “all which things were indeed promised to them by God, the True and the Good, promised to them, however, as unto carnal men, “all these things made for them the Old Testament. What is the Old Testament? The inheritance, as it were, belonging to the old man. We have been renewed, have been made a new man, because He who is the new man has come. What is so new as to be born of a virgin? Therefore, because there was not in Him what instruction might renew, because He had no sin, there was given Him a new origin of birth. In Him a new birth, in us a new man. What is a new man? A man renewed from oldness. Renewed unto what? Unto desiring heavenly things, unto longing for things eternal, unto earnestly seeking the country which is above and fears no foe, where we do not lose a friend nor fear an enemy; where we live with good affection, without any want; where no longer any advances, because none fails; where no man is born, because no man dies; where there is no hungering nor thirsting; where immortality is fulness, and truth our aliment. Having these promises, and pertaining to the New Testament, and being made heirs of a new inheritance, and co-heirs of the Lord Himself, we have a far different hope from theirs: let us not judge by appearance, but hold right judgment.

TRACT. XXX.] OF RIGHTEOUS JUDGMENT. 415

8. Who is he that judges not according to the person?
He that loves equally. Equal love causes that persons be not accepted. It is not when we honour men in diverse measure according to their degrees that we ought to fear lest we are accepting persons. For where we judge between two, and at times between relations, sometimes it happens that judgment has to be made between father and son; the father complains of a bad son, or the son complains of a harsh father; we regard the honour which is due to the father from the son; we do not make the son equal to the father in honour, but we give him preference if he has a good cause: let us regard the son on an equality with the father in the truth, and thus shall we bestow the honour due, so that equity destroy not merit. Thus we profit by the words of the Lord, and that we may profit, we are assisted by His grace.

TEACTATE XXXI.

Chapter VII. 25-36.
1. "I remember, beloved, in the former discourses, how that the Lord Jesus went up to the feast-day, as it were in secret, not because He feared lest He should be laid hold of, but to signify that even in that very feast which was celebrated by the Jews He Himself was hidden, and that the mystery of the feast was His own. In the passage read to-day then, that which was supposed to be timidity appeared as power; for He spoke openly on the feast-day, so that the crowds marvelled, and said that which we have heard when the passage was read: * Is not this he whom they sought to kill? And, lo, he speaketh openly, and they say nothing. Do the rulers know indeed that this is the Christ? They who knew with what fierceness He was sought after, wondered by what power He was kept from being taken. Then, not fully understanding His power, they fancied it was the knowledge of the rulers, that these rulers knew Him to be the very Christ, and that for this reason they spared Him whom they had with so much eagerness sought out to be put to death.

2. Then those same persons who had said, "Did the rulers know that this is the Christ?" proposed a question among themselves, by which it appeared to them that He was not the Christ; for they said in addition, "But we know this man whence he is: but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is." As to how this opinion among the Jews arose, that "when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is" (for it did not arise without reason), if we consider the Scriptures, we find, brethren, that the Holy Scriptures have declared of Christ that "He shall be called a Nazarene." * Therefore they foretold whence He is. Again, if we seek the place of His nativity, as that whence He is by birth, neither was this hidden from the Jews, because of the Scriptures which had foretold these things. For when the Magi, on the appearing of a star, sought Him out to worship Him, they came to Herod and told him what they sought and what they meant: and he, having called together those who had knowledge of the law, inquired of them where Christ should be born: they told him, "In Bethlehem of Judah," and also brought forward the prophetic testimony. If, therefore, the prophets had foretold both the place where the origin of His flesh was, and the place where His mother would bring Him forth, whence did spring that opinion among the Jews which we have just heard, but from this, that the Scriptures had proclaimed beforehand, and had foretold both? In respect of His being man, the Scriptures foretold whence He should be; in respect of His being God, this was hidden from the ungodly, and it required godly men to discover it. Moreover, they said this, "When Christ comes, no man knoweth whence He is," because that which was spoken by Isaiah produced this opinion in them, viz. "And His generation, who shall tell?" 3 In short, the Lord Himself made answer to both, that they both did, and also did not know whence He was; that He might testify to the holy
prophecy which before was predicted of Him, both as to the humanity of infirmity and also as to the divinity of majesty.

3. Hear, therefore, the word of the Lord, brethren; see how He confirmed to them both what they said, "We know this man whence he is," and also what they said, "When Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence He is. Then cried Christ in the temple, saying, Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am: and I am not come of myself, but He that sent me is true, whom ye know not." That is to say, ye both know me, and ye know me not; ye both know whence I am, and ye know not whence I am. Ye know whence I am: Jesus of Nazareth, whose parents also ye knew. For in this case, the birth of the Virgin alone was hidden, to whom, however, her

1 Matt. ii. 23. s Matt. ii. 6. 3 Isa. viii. 8.

TRACT. 2 D

418 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XXXI.

husband was witness; for the same was able faithfully to declare this, who was also able as a husband to be jealous. Therefore, this birth of the Virgin excepted, they knew all that in Jesus pertains to man: His face was known, His country was known, His family was known; where He was born was to be known by inquiry. Eightly then did He say, "Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am," according to the flesh and form of man which He bore; but according to His divinity,
"And I am not come of myself, but He that sent me is true, whom ye know not;" but yet that ye may know Him, believe on Him whom He has sent, and ye will know Him. For,
*No man has seen God at any time, except the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him:" 1 and, "None knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal Him." 2

4. Lastly, when He had said, "But He that sent me is true, whom ye know not," in order to show them whence they might know that which they did not know, He subjoined,
"I know Him." Therefore seek from me to know Him. But why is it that I know Him? "Because I am from Him, and He sent me." Gloriously has He shown both. "I am from Him," said He; because the Son is from the Father, and whatever the Son is, He is of Him whose Son He is. Hence we say that the Lord Jesus is God of God: we do not say that the Father is God of God, but simply God: and we say that the Lord Jesus is Light of Light; we do not say that the Father is Light of Light, but simply Light. Accordingly, to this belongs that which He said, "I am from Him." But as to my being seen of you in the flesh, "He sent me." When thou hearest "He sent me," do not understand a difference of nature to be meant, but the authority of Him that begets.

5. "Then they sought to take Him: but no man laid hands on Him, because His hour was not yet come;" that is, because He was not willing.' For what is this, "His hour was not
yet come"? The Lord was not born under fate. This is not to be believed concerning thee, much less concerning Him by whom thou wast made. If thy hour is His good will, what is His hour but His good will? He meant not therefore an

1 Johni. 18. *Matt. xi. 27.

TRACT. XXXI.] CHRIST’S TIME DETERMINED. 419

hour in which He should be forced to die, but that in which He would deign to be put to death. But He was awaiting the time in which He should die, for He awaited also the time in which He should be born. The apostle, speaking of this time, says, "But when the fulness of time came, God sent His Son." 1 For this cause many say, Why did not Christ come before? To whom we must make answer, Because the fulness of time had not yet come, while He by whom the times were made sets their bounds; for He knew when He ought to come. In the first place, it was necessary that He should be foretold through a long series of times and years; for it was not something insignificant that was to come: He who was to be ever held, had to be for a long time foretold.

The greater the judge that was coming, the longer the train of heralds that preceded him. In short, when the fulness of time came, He also came who was to deliver us from time. For being delivered from time, we shall come to that eternity where there is no time: there it is not said, When shall the hour come? for the day is everlasting, a day which is neither preceded by a yesterday, nor cut off by a morrow. But in this world days roll on, some are passing away, others come; none abides; and the moments in which we are speaking drive out one another in turn, nor stands the first syllable for the second to sound. Since we began to speak we are somewhat older, and without doubt I am just now older than I was in the morning; thus, nothing stands, nothing remains fixed in time. Therefore ought we to love Him by whom the times were made, that we may be delivered from time and be fixed in eternity, where there is no more changeableness of times. Great, therefore, is the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that for our sakes He was made in time, by whom the times were made; that He was made among all things, by whom all things were made; that He became what He made.

For He was made what He had made; for He was made man who had made man, lest what He had made should perish. According to this dispensation, the hour of His birth had now come, and He was born; but not yet had come the hour of His sufferings, therefore not yet had He suffered.

1 Gal. iv. 4.

420 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXI.
6. In short, that ye may know that the words refer, not to the necessity of His dying, but
to His power, â€” I speak this for the sake of some who, when they hear " His hour was
not yet come," are determined on believing in fate, and their hearts become infatuated;
â€” that ye may know, then, that it was His power of dying, recollect the passion, look at
Him crucified.

While hanging on the tree, He said, " I thirst." They, having heard this, offered to Him on
the cross vinegar by a sponge on a reed. He received it, and said, " It is finished; " and,
bowing His head, gave up the ghost. You see His power of dying, that He waited for this
â€” until all things should be fulfilled that had been foretold concerning Him â€” to take
place before His death. For the prophet had said, " They gave me gall for my meat; and in
my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." 1 He waited for all these things to be fulfilled:
after they were completed, He said, " It is finished;" and He departed by power, because
He came not by necessity. Hence some wondered more at this His power to die than at
His ability to work miracles. For they came to the cross to take the bodies down from the
tree, for the Sabbath was drawing near, and the thieves were found still living. The
punishment of the cross was so much the harder because it tortured men so long, and all
that were crucified were killed by a lingering death. But the thieves, that they might not
remain on the tree, were forced to die by having their legs broken, that they might be
taken down thence. The Lord, however, was found to be already dead, 2 and the men
marvelled; and they who despised Him when living, so wondered at Him when dead, that
some of them said, " Truly this was the Son of God." 3 Whence also that, brethren, where
He says to those that seek Him, " I am He;" 4 and they, going backward, all fell to the
ground ? 4 Consequently there was in Him supreme power. Nor was He forced to die at
an hour; but He waited the hour on which His will might fittingly be done, not that on
which necessity might be fulfilled against His will.

7. But many of the people believed on Him." The Lord made whole the humble and the
poor. The rulers were mad, and therefore they not only did not acknowledge the
Physician,

1 Ps. lxix. 21. 2 John xix. 28-33. 8 Matt, xxvii. 54. 4 John xviii. 6.
Jesus, Yet a little while I am with you." What ye wish to do now ye will do, but not just now; because I am not just now willing. Why am I now as yet unwilling? Because "yet a little while I am with you; and then I go unto Him that sent me." I must complete my dispensation, and in this manner come to my suffering.

9. "Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, thither ye cannot come." Here He has already foretold His resurrection; for they would not acknowledge Him when present, and afterwards they sought Him when they saw the multitude already believing on Him. For great signs were wrought, even when the Lord was risen again and ascended into heaven. Then mighty deeds were done by His disciples, but He wrought by them as He wrought by Himself: since, indeed, He had said to them, "Without me ye can do nothing." 1

When that lame man who sat at the gate rose up at Peter's voice, and walked on his feet, so that men marvelled, Peter spoke to them to this effect, that it was not by his own power that he did this, but in the virtue of Him whom they slew. 2

Many pricked in the heart said, "What shall we do?" For they saw themselves bound by an immense crime of impiety, since they slew Him whom they ought to have revered and worshipped; and this crime they thought inexpiable. A great wickedness indeed it was, the thought of which might make them despair; yet it did not behove them to despair, for whom

1 John xv. 5. 2 Acts iii. 2-16.

422 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXI.

the Lord, as He hung on the cross, deigned to pray. For He had said, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." 1 He saw some who were His own among many who were aliens; for these He sought pardon, from whom at the time He was still receiving injury. He regarded not that He was being put to death by them, but only that He was dying for them. It was a great thing that was forgiven them, it was a great thing that was done by them and for them, so that no man should despair of the forgiveness of his sin when they who slew Christ obtained pardon. Christ died for us, but surely He was not put to death by us? But those men indeed saw Christ dying by their own villany; and yet they believed on Christ pardoning their villanies. Until they drank the blood they had shed, they despaired of their own salvation.

Therefore said He this: "Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, ye cannot come;" because they were to seek Him after the resurrection, being pricked in their heart with remorse. Nor did He say "where I will be," but "where I am." For Christ was always in that place whither He was about to return; for He came in such manner that He did not depart from that place. Hence He says in another place, "No man has ascended into heaven, but He who came down from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven." 2 He said not, who was in heaven. He spoke on the earth, and declared that He was at the same time in heaven. He came in such wise that He departed not thence; and He so returned as not to abandon us. What do ye marvel at? This is God's doing.
For man, as regards his body, is in a place, and departs from a place; and when he comes to another place, he will not be in that place whence he came: but God fills all things, and is all everywhere; He is not held in places according to space. Nevertheless the Lord Christ was, as regards His visible flesh, on the earth: as regards His invisible majesty, He was in heaven and on earth; and therefore He says, "Where I am, thither ye cannot come." Nor did He say, "Ye shall not be able," but "ye are not able to come;" for at that time they were such as were not able. And that ye may know that this was not said to cause despair, He said something of the same

1 Luke xxiii. 34. 2 John iii. 13.

TRACT. XXXI.] UNCONSCIOUS PROPHECY. 423

kind also to His disciples: " Whither I go ye cannot come." 1 Yet while praying in their behalf, He said, " Father, I will that where I am they also may be with me." 2 And, finally, this He expounded to Peter, and says to him, " Whither I go thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me hereafter." 3

1 0. " Then said the Jews," not to Him, but " to themselves, Whither will this man go, that we shall not find him ? will he go unto the dispersion among the Gentiles, and teach the Gentiles ?" For they knew not what they said; but, it being His will, they prophesied. The Lord was indeed about to go to the Gentiles, not by His bodily presence, but still with His feet. What were His feet ? Those which Saul desired to trample upon by persecution, when the Head cried out to him,

" Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" 4 What is this saying that He said, "Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me: and where I am, thither ye cannot come ? " Wherefore the Lord said this they knew not, and yet they did predict something that was to be without knowing it. For this is what the Lord said, that they knew not the place, if place however it must be called, which is the bosom of the Father, from which Christ never departed; nor were they competent to conceive where Christ was, whence Christ never withdrew, whither He was to return, where He was all the while dwelling. How was it possible for the human heart to conceive this, least of all to explain it with the tongue ? This, then, they in no wise understood; and yet by occasion of this they foretold our salvation, that the Lord would go to the dispersion of the Gentiles, and would fulfil that which they read but did not understand.

" A people whom I have not known served me, and by the hearing of the ear obeyed me." 5 They before whose eyes He was, heard Him not; those heard Him in whose ears He was sounded.

11. For of that Church of the Gentiles which was to come, the woman that had the issue of blood was a type: she touched and was not seen; she was not known and yet was healed. It was in reality a figure what the Lord asked: " Who touched me ?" As if not knowing, He healed her as unknown:
so has He done also to the Gentiles. We did not get to know Him in the flesh, yet we have been made worthy to eat His flesh, and to be members in His flesh. In what way? Because He sent to us. Whom? His heralds, His disciples, His servants, His redeemed whom He created, but whom He redeemed, His brethren also. I have said but little of all that they are: His own members, Himself; for He sent to us His own members, and He made us His members. Nevertheless, Christ has not been among us with the bodily form which the Jews saw and despised; because this also was said concerning Him, even as the apostle says: " Now I say that Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers." 1 He owed it to have come to those by whose fathers and to whose fathers He was promised. For this reason He says also Himself: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." 2 But what says the apostle in the following words? " And that the Gentiles might glorify God for His mercy." What, moreover, saith the Lord Himself? " Other sheep I have which are not of this fold." 3 He who had said, " I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," how has He other sheep to which He was not sent, except that He intimated that He was not sent to show His bodily presence but to the Jews only, who saw and killed Him? And yet many of them, both before and afterwards, believed. The first harvest was winnowed from the cross, that there might be a seed whence another harvest might spring up. But at this present time, when roused by the fame of the gospel, and by its goodly odour, His faithful ones among all nations believe, He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles, when He shall come who has already come; when He shall be seen by all, He who was then not seen by some, by some was seen; when He shall come to judge who came to be judged; when He shall come to distinguish who came not to be distinguished. For Christ was not discerned by the ungodly, but was condemned with the ungodly; for it was said concerning Him, " He was accounted among the wicked." 4 The robber escaped, Christ was condemned. He who was loaded with criminal accusations received pardon; He

1 Rom. xv. 8. 2 Matt. xv. 24. 3 John x. 16. 4 Isa. liii. 12.

who has released from their crimes all who confess Him, was condemned. Nevertheless even the cross itself, if thou considerest it well, was a judgment-seat; for the Judge being set up in the middle, one thief who believed was delivered, the other who reviled was condemned. 1 Already He signified what He is to do with the quick and the dead: some
He will set on His right hand, and others on His left. That thief was like those that shall be on the left hand, the other like those that shall be on the right. He was undergoing judgment, and He threatened judgment.

1 Luke xxii. 43.

TKACTATE XXXII.

Chapter VII. 37-39.

1. AMONG the dissensions and doubtings of the Jews concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, among other things which He said, by which some were confounded, others taught:
"On the last day of that feast" (for it was then that these things were done) which is called the feast of tabernacles; that is, the building of tents, of which feast you remember, my beloved, that we have already discoursed, the Lord Jesus Christ calls, not by speaking in any way soever, but by crying aloud, that whoso thirsts may come to Him. If we thirst, let us come; and not by our feet, but by our affections; let us come, not by removing from our place, but by loving.
Although, according to the inner man, he that loves does also move from a place. But it is one thing to move with the body, another thing to move with the heart: he migrates with the body who changes his place by a motion of the body; he migrates with the heart who changes his affection by a motion of the heart. If thou lovest one thing, and didst love another thing before, thou art not now where thou wast.

2. Accordingly, the Lord cries aloud to us: for, "He stood and cried out, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." We are not obliged to delay to inquire what this meant, since the evangelist has explained it. For why the Lord said, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink; " and, "He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; " the evangelist has subsequently explained, saying: "But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive. For the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." There is therefore an inner thirst and an inner belly, because there is an inner man. And that inner man is indeed invisible, but the outer man is visible; but yet better is the inner than the outer. And

426

TRACT. XXXII.] THE MIND ADorns THE BODY. 427
this which is not seen is the more loved; for it is certain that the inner man is loved more than the outer. How is this certain? Let every man prove it in himself. For although they who live ill may surrender their minds to the body, yet they do wish to live, and to live is the property of the mind only; and they who rule, manifest themselves more than those things that are ruled. Now it is minds that rule, bodies are ruled. Every man rejoices in pleasure, and receives pleasure by the body: but separate the mind from it, and nothing remains in the body to rejoice; and if there is joy of the body, it is the mind that rejoices. If it has joy of its dwelling, ought it not to have joy of itself? And if the mind has whereof it may have delight outside itself, does it remain without delights within? It is quite certain that a man loves his soul more than his body. But further, a man loves the soul even in another man more than the body. What is it that is loved in a friend, where the love is the purer and more sincere? What in the friend is loved â€” the mind, or the body? If fidelity is loved, the mind is loved; if benevolence is loved, the mind is the seat of benevolence: if this is what thou lovest in another, that he too loves thee, it is the mind thou lovest, because it is not the flesh, but the mind that loves. For therefore thou lovest, because he loves thee: ask why he loves thee, and then see what it is thou lovest. Consequently, it is more loved, and yet is not seen.

3. I would say something further, by which it may more clearly appear to you, beloved, how much the mind is loved, and how it is preferred to the body. Those wanton lovers even, who delight in beauty of bodies, and are charmed by shapeliness of limbs, love the more when they are loved. For when a man loves, and finds that he is regarded with hatred, he feels more anger than liking. Why does he feel anger rather than liking? Because the love that he bestows is not given him in return. If, therefore, even the lovers of bodies desire to be loved in return, and this delights them more when they are loved, what shall we say of the lovers of minds? And if the lovers of minds are great, what shall we say of the lovers of God who makes minds beautiful? For as the mind gives grace to the body, so it is God that gives grace to the mind. For it is only the mind that causes that in the body by which it is loved; when the mind has left it, it is a corpse at which thou hast a horror; and how much soever thou mayest have loved its beautiful limbs, thou makest haste to bury it. Hence, the ornament of the body is the mind; the ornament of the mind is God.

4. The Lord, therefore, cries aloud to us to come and drink, if we thirst within; and He says that when we have drunk, rivers of living water shall flow from our belly. The belly of the inner man is the conscience of the heart. Having drunk that water then, the conscience being purged begins to live; and drinking in, it will have a fountain, will be itself a fountain. What is the fountain, and what the river that flows from the belly of the inner man? Benevolence, whereby a man will consult the interest of his neighbour. For if
he imagines that what he drinks ought to be only for his own satisfying, there is no flowing of living water from his belly; but if he is quick to consult for the good of his neighbour, then he becomes not dry, because there is a flowing. We will now see what it is that they drink who believe in the Lord; because we surely are Christians, and if we believe, we drink.
And it is every man's duty to know in himself whether or not he drinks, and whether he lives by what he drinks; for the fountain does not forsake us if we forsake not the fountain.

5. The evangelist explained, as I have said, whereof the Lord had cried out, to what kind of drink He had invited, what He had procured for them that drink, saying, " But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive: for the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." What spirit does He speak of, if not the Holy Spirit ? For every man has in himself a spirit of his own, of which I spoke when I was commending to you the consideration of the mind. For every man's mind is his own spirit: of which the Apostle Paul says, " For what man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of the man which is in himself ? " And then he added, " So also the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." * None knows the things that are ours but our own spirit. I indeed do not

1 1 Cor. ii. 11.

TRACT. XXXII.] THE MIND SELF-CONSCIOUS. 429

know what are thy thoughts, nor dost thou know what are mine; for those things which we think within are our own, peculiar to ourselves; and his own spirit is the witness of every man's thoughts. " So also the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." We with our spirit, God with His: so, however, that God with His Spirit knows also what goes on within us; but we are not able, without His own Spirit, to know what takes place in God. God, however, knows in us even what we know not in ourselves. For Peter did not know his own weakness, when he heard from the Lord that he would deny Him thrice: the sick man was ignorant of his own condition; the Physician knew him to be sick. There are then certain things which God knows in us, while we ourselves know them not. So far, however, as belongs to men, no man knows a man as he does himself: another does not know what is going on within him, but his own spirit knows it. But on receiving the Spirit of God, we learn also what takes place in God: not the whole, for we have not received the whole. We know many things from the pledge; for we have received a pledge, and the fulness of this pledge shall be given hereafter. Meanwhile, let the pledge console us in our pilgrimage here; because he who has condescended to bind himself to us by a pledge, is prepared to give us much. If such is the token, what must that be of which it is the token ?

6. But what is meant by this which he says, " For the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified" ?
He is understood to say this in a sense that is evident. For the meaning is not that the Spirit of God, which was with God, was not in being; but was not yet in them who had believed on Jesus. For thus the Lord Jesus disposed not to give them the Spirit of which we speak, until after His resurrection; and this not without a cause. And perhaps if we inquire, He will favour us to find; and if we knock, He will open for us to enter. Piety knocks, not the hand; though the hand also knocks, if it cease not from works of mercy.

What then is the cause why the Lord Jesus Christ determined not to give the Holy Spirit until He should be glorified? which thing before we speak of as we may be able, we must first inquire, lest that should trouble any one, in what manner

430 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXII.

the Spirit was not yet in holy men, whilst we read in the Gospel concerning the Lord Himself newly born, that Simeon by the Holy Spirit recognised Him; that Anna the widow, a prophetess, also recognised Him;* that John, who baptized Him, recognised Him; 2 that Zacharias, being filled with the Holy Ghost, said many things; that Mary herself received the Holy Ghost to conceive the Lord. 3 We have therefore many preceding evidences of the Holy Spirit before the Lord was glorified by the resurrection of His flesh. Nor was it another spirit that the prophets also had, who proclaimed beforehand the coming of Christ. But still, there was to be a certain manner of this giving, which had not at all appeared before. For nowhere do we read before this, that men being gathered together had, by receiving the Holy Ghost, spoken in the tongues of all nations. But after His resurrection, when He first appeared to His disciples, He said to them: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Of this giving then it is said, "The Spirit was not given, because Jesus was not yet glorified.

And He breathed upon their faces," 4 He who with His breath enlivened the first man, and raised him up from the clay, by which breath He gave a soul to the limbs; signifying that He was the same who breathed upon their faces, that they might rise out of the mire and renounce their miry works. Then, after His resurrection, which the evangelist calls His glorifying, did the Lord first give the Holy Ghost to His disciples. Then having tarried with them forty days, as the book of the Acts of the Apostles shows, while they were seeing Him and companying with Him, He ascended into heaven in their sight.

There at the end of ten days, on the day of Pentecost, He sent the Holy Ghost from above. Which having received, they, who had been gathered together in one place, as I have said, being filled withal, spoke in the tongues of all nations.

7. How then, brethren, because he that is baptized in Christ, and believes on Him, does not speak now in the tongues of all nations, are we not to believe that he has received the Holy Ghost? God forbid that our heart should be tempted by this faithlessness. Certain
we are that every man receives: but only as much as the vessel of faith that he shall bring
to the
1 Luke ii. 25-38. 2 John i. 26-34. 3 Luke i. 35-79. 4 John xx. 22.

TRACT. XXXII.] OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES. 431

fountain can contain, so much does He fill of it. Since, therefore, the Holy Ghost is even
now received by men, some one may say, Why is it that no man speaks in the tongues of
all nations ? Because the Church itself now speaks in the tongues of all nations. Before,
the Church was in one nation, where it spoke in the tongues of all. By speaking then in
the tongues of all, it signified what was to come to pass; that by growing among the
nations, it would speak in the tongues of all. Whoso is not in this Church, does not now
receive the Holy Ghost. For, being cut off and divided from the unity of the members,
which unity speaks in the tongues of all, let him declare for himself; he has it not. For if
he has it, let him give the sign which was given then. What do we mean by saying, Let
him give the sign which was then given ? Let him speak in all tongues. He answers me:
How then, dost thou speak in all tongues ? Clearly I do; for every tongue is mine, namely,
of the body of which I am a member. The Church, spread among the nations, speaks in all
tongues; the Church is the body of Christ, in this body thou art a member: therefore, since
thou art a member of that body which speaks with all tongues, believe that thou too
speakest with all tongues. For the unity of the members is of one mind by charity; and
that unity speaks as one man then spoke.

8. Consequently, we too receive the Holy Ghost if we love the Church, if we are joined
together by charity, if we rejoice in the catholic name and faith. Let us believe, brethren;
as much as every man loves the Church of Christ, so much has he the Holy Ghost. For the
Spirit is given, as the apostle saith, " to manifestation." To what manifestation ? Just as
the same apostle saith, " For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another
the word of knowledge after the same Spirit, to another faith in the same Spirit, to another
the gift of healing in one Spirit, to another the working of miracles in the same Spirit." 1
For there are many gifts given to manifestation, but thou, it may be, hast nothing of all
those I have said. If thou lovest, it is not nothing that thou hast:
if thou lovest unity, whoever has aught in that unity has it also for thee. Take away envy,
and what I have is thine too.
1 1 Cor. xii. 7-9.

432 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXII.

The envious temper puts men apart, soundness of mind unites them. In the body, the eye
alone sees; but is it for itself alone that the eye sees ? It sees both for the hand and the
foot, and for all the other members. If a blow be coming against the foot, the eye does not
turn away from it, so as not to take precaution. Again, in the body, the hand alone works,
but is it for itself alone the hand works? For the eye also it works: for if a coming blow comes, not against the hand, but only against the face, does the hand say, I will not move, because it is not coming to me? So the foot by walking serves all the members: all the other members are silent, and the tongue speaks for all. We have therefore the Holy Spirit if we love the Church; but we love the Church if we stand firm in its union and charity. For the apostle himself, after he had said that diverse gifts were bestowed on diverse men, just as the offices of the several members, saith, "Yet I show you a still more pre-eminent way;" and begins to speak of charity. This he put before tongues of men and angels, before miracles of faith, before knowledge and prophecy, before even that great work of mercy by which a man distributes to the poor all that he possesses; and, lastly, put it before even the martyrdom of the body: before all these so great things he put charity. Have it, and thou shalt have all: for without it, whatever thou canst have will profit nothing. But that thou mayest know that the charity of which we are speaking refers to the Holy Spirit (for the question now in hand in the Gospel is concerning the Holy Spirit), hear the apostle when he says, "The charity of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us." 1

9. Why then was it the will of the Lord, seeing that the Spirit's benefits in us are the greatest, because by Him the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, to give us that Spirit after His resurrection? Why did He signify by this? In order that in our resurrection our love may be inflamed, and may part from the love of the world to run wholly towards God. For here we are born and die: let us not love this world; let us migrate hence by love; by love let us dwell above, by that love by which we love God. In this sojourn

1 Rom. v. 5.

TRACT. XXXII.] THE PROMISE OF ETERNAL LIFE. 433

of our life let us meditate on nothing else, but that here we shall not always be, and that by good living we shall prepare a place for ourselves there, whence we shall never migrate. For our Lord Jesus Christ, after that He is risen again, "now dieth no more;" "death," as the apostle says, "shall no more have dominion over Him." 1 Behold what we must love. If we live, if we believe on Him who is risen again, He will give us, not that which men love here who love not God, or love the more the less they love Him, but love this the less the more they love Him; but let us see what He has promised us. Not earthly and temporal riches, not honours and power in this world j for you see all these things given to wicked men, that they may not be highly prized by the good. Not, in short, bodily health itself, though it is He that gives that also, but that, as you see, He gives even to the beasts. Not long life; for what, indeed, is long that will some day have an end? It is not length of days that He has promised to His believers, as if that were a great thing, or decrepit old age, which all wish for before it comes, and all murmur at when it does come. Not beauty of person, which either bodily disease or that same old age which is
desired drives away. One wishes to be beautiful, and also to live to be old: these two desires cannot agree together: if thou shalt be old, thou wilt not be beautiful; when old age comes, beauty will flee away; the vigour of beauty and the groaning of old age cannot dwell together in one body. All these things, then, are not what He promised us when He said, " He that believeth in me, let him come and drink, and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." He has promised us eternal life, where we shall have no fear, where we shall not be troubled, whence we shall have no migration, where we shall not die; where there is neither bewailing a predecessor deceased, nor a hoping for a successor. Accordingly, because such is what He has promised to us that love Him, and glow with the charity of the Holy Spirit, therefore He would not give us that same Spirit until He should be glorified, so that He might show in His body the life which we have not now, but which we hope for in the resurrection.

1 Rom. vi. 9.
TRACT. 2 E

TEACTATE XXXIII.
Chapter VII. 40-53; VIII. 1-11.

1. "C^OU remember, my beloved, that in the last discourse, J- by occasion of the passage of the Gospel read, we spoke to you concerning the Holy Spirit. When the Lord had invited those that believe on Him to this drinking, speaking among those who meditated to lay hold of Him, and sought to kill Him, and were not able, because it was not His will: well, when He had spoken these things, there arose a dissension among the multitude concerning Him; some thinking that He was the very Christ, others saying that Christ shall not arise from Galilee. But they who had been sent to take Him returned clear of the crime and full of admiration. For they even gave witness to His divine doctrine, when those by whom they had been sent asked, * Why have ye not brought him ?" They answered that they had never heard a man so speak: " For not any man so speaks." But He spake thus, because He was God and man. But the Pharisees, repelling their testimony, said to them: "Are ye also deceived?" We see, indeed, that you also have been charmed by his discourses. " Hath any one of the rulers or the Pharisees believed on him ? But this multitude who know not the law are cursed." They who knew not the law believed on Him who had sent the law; and those men who were teaching the law despised Him, that it might be fulfilled which the Lord Himself had said, " I am come that they who see not may see, and they that see may be made blind." 1 For the Pharisees, the teachers of the law, were made blind, and the people that knew not the law, and yet believed on the author of the law, were enlightened.

2. " Nicodemus," however, " one of the Pharisees, who had

1 John ix. 39.
434
come to the Lord by night," â€” not indeed as being himself unbelieving, but timid; for therefore he came by night to the light, because he wished to be enlightened and feared to be known j â€”
Nicodemus, I say, answered the Jews, " Doth our law judge a man before it hear him, and know what he doeth ?" For they perversely wished to condemn before they examined. Nicodemus indeed knew, or rather believed, that if only they were willing to give Him a patient hearing, they would perhaps become like those who were sent to take Him, but preferred to believe. They answered, from the prejudice of their heart, what they had answered to those officers, "Art thou also a Galilean ?" That is, one seduced as it were by the Galilean. For the Lord was said to be a Galilean, because His parents were from the city of Nazareth. I have said " His parents " in regard to Mary, not as regards the seed of man; for on earth He sought but a mother, He had already a Father on high. For His nativity on both sides was marvellous: divine without mother, human without father. What, then, said those would-be doctors of the law to Nicodemus ? " Search the Scriptures, and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." Yet the Lord of the prophets arose thence. " They returned," saith the evangelist, " every man to his own house."

3. " Thence Jesus went unto the mount;" namely, to mount " Olivet," â€” unto the fruitful mount, unto the mount of ointment, unto the mount of chrism. For where, indeed, but on mount Olivet did it become the Christ to teach ? For the; name of Christ is from chrism; y)ia]ia, in the Greek, is [
\ called in Latin unctio, an anointing. And He has anointed us for this reason, because He has made us wrestlers against the devil. "And early in the morning He came again into the temple, and all the people came unto Him; and He sat down and taught them." And He was not taken, for He did not yet deign to suffer.

4. And now observe wherein the Lord's gentleness was tempted by His enemies. " And the scribes and Pharisees brought to Him a woman just taken in adultery: and they set her in the midst, and said to Him, Master, this woman has just been taken in adultery. Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou ?

436 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIII.

But this they said, tempting Him, that they might accuse Him." Why accuse Him ? Had they detected Himself in any misdeed; or was that woman said to have been concerned with Him in any manner ? What, then, is the meaning of
"tempting Him, that they might accuse Him "); We understand, brethren, that a wonderful gentleness shone out preeminently in the Lord. They observed that He was very meek, very gentle: for of Him it had been previously foretold, "Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, most Mighty; in Thy splendour and beauty urge on, march on prosperously, and reign, because of truth, and meekness, and righteousness." 1 Accordingly, as a teacher, He brought truth; as a deliverer, He brought gentleness; as a protector, He brought righteousness. That He was to reign on account of these things, the prophet had by the Holy Spirit foretold. When He spoke, His truth was acknowledged; when He was not provoked to anger against His enemies, His meekness was praised. Whilst, therefore, in respect of these two, â€” namely, His truth and meekness, â€” His enemies were tormented with malice and envy; in respect of the third, â€” namely, righteousness, â€” they laid a stumbling-block for Him. In what way? Because the law had commanded the adulterers to be stoned, and surely the law could not command what was unjust: if any man should say other than the law had commanded, he would be detected as unjust. Therefore they said among themselves, "He is accounted true, he appears to be gentle; an accusation must be sought against him in respect of righteousness. Let us bring before him a woman taken in adultery; let us say to him what is ordered in the law concerning such: if he shall approve her being stoned, he will not show his gentleness; if he consent to let her go, he will not keep righteousness. But, say they, that he may not lose the reputation of gentleness, for which he is become an object of love to the people, without doubt he will say that she must be let go. Hence we find an opportunity of accusing him, and we charge him as being a transgressor of the law: saying to him, Thou art an enemy to the law; thou answerest against Moses, nay, against Him who gave the law through Moses; thou art 1 Ps. xlv. 3, 4.

TRACT. XXXIII.] CHRIST'S ANSWER TO THE ACCUSERS. 437

worthy of death; thou too must be stoned with this woman." By these words and sentiments they might possibly be able to inflame envy against Him, to urge accusation, and cause His condemnation to be eagerly demanded. But this against whom? It was perversity against rectitude, falsehood against the truth, the corrupt heart against the upright heart, folly against wisdom. When did such men prepare snares, into which they did not first thrust their own heads? Behold, the Lord in answering them will both keep righteousness, and will not depart from gentleness. He was not taken for whom the snare was laid, but rather they were taken who laid it, because they believed not on Him who could pull them out of the net.

5. What answer, then, did the Lord Jesus make? How answered the Truth? How answered Wisdom? How answered that Righteousness against which a false accusation was ready? He did not say, Let her not be stoned; lest He should seem to speak against the law. But God forbid that He should say, Let her be stoned: for He came not to lose what He had found, but to seek what was lost. What then did He answer? See you how
full it is of righteousness, how full of meekness and truth! " He that is without sin of you," saith He, " let him first cast a stone at her," answer of Wisdom! How He sent them unto themselves! For without they stood to accuse and censure, themselves they examined not inwardly: they saw the adulteress, they looked not into themselves. Transgressors of the law, they wished the law to be fulfilled, and this by heedlessly accusing; not really fulfilling it, as if condemning adulteries by chastity. You have heard, Jews, you have heard, Pharisees, you have heard, teachers of the law, the guardian of the law, but have not yet understood Him as the Lawgiver. What else does He signify to you when He writes with His finger on the ground? For the law was written with the finger of God; but written on stone because of the hard-hearted. The Lord now wrote on the ground, because He was seeking fruit. You have heard then, Let the law be fulfilled, let the adulteress be stoned. But is it by punishing her that the law is to be fulfilled by those that ought to be punished?

438 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIII.

Let each of you consider himself, let him enter into himself, ascend the judgment-seat of his own mind, place himself at the bar of his own conscience, oblige himself to confess. For he knows what he is: for " no man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of man which is in him." Each looking carefully into himself, finds himself a sinner. Yes, indeed. Hence, either let this woman go, or together with her receive ye the penalty of the law. Had He said, Let not the adulteress be stoned, He would be proved unjust: had He said, Let her be stoned, He would not appear gentle: let Him say what it became Him to say, both the gentle and the just, " Whoso is without sin of you, let him first cast a stone at her." This is the voice of Justice: Let her, the sinner, be punished, but not by sinners: let the law be fulfilled, but not by the transgressors of the law. This certainly is the voice of justice: by which justice, those men pierced through as if by a dart, looking into themselves and finding themselves guilty, " one after another all withdrew." The two were left alone, the wretched woman and Mercy. But the Lord, having struck them through" with that dart of justice, deigned not to heed their fall, but, turning away His look from them, " again He wrote with His finger on the ground."

6. But when that woman was left alone, and all they were gone out, He raised His eyes to the woman. We have heard the voice of justice, let us also hear the voice of clemency. For I suppose that woman was the more terrified when she had heard it said by the Lord, " He that is without sin of you, let him first cast a stone at her." But they, turning their thought to themselves, and by that very withdrawal having confessed concerning themselves, had left the woman with her great sin to Him who was without sin. And because she had heard this, " He that is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her," she expected to be punished by Him in whom sin could not be found. But He, who had driven back her adversaries with the tongue of justice, raising the eyes of clemency towards her, asked her, " Hath no man condemned thee? "
She answered, "No man, Lord." And He said, "Neither do I condemn thee;" by whom, perhaps, thou didst fear to be condemned, because in me thou hast not found sin."

NEITHER

TRACT. XXXIII.] THE MERCIFUL AND RIGHTEOUS JUDGE. 439

will I condemn thee." What is this, Lord ? Dost Thou therefore favour sins ? Not so, evidently. Mark what follows: " Go, henceforth sin no more." Therefore the Lord did also condemn, but condemned sins, not man. For if He were a patron of sin, He would say, Neither will I condemn thee; go, live as thou wilt: be secure in my deliverance; how much soever thou wilt sin, I will deliver thee from all punishment even of hell, and from the tormentors of the infernal world. He said not this.

7. Let them take heed, then, who love His gentleness in the Lord, and let them fear His truth. For " The Lord is sweet and right." 1 Thou lovest Him in that He is sweet; fear Him in that He is right. As the meek, He said, " I held my peace;" but as the just, He said, " Shall I always be silent ? " 2

" The Lord is merciful and pitiful." So He is, certainly.

Add yet further, " Long-suffering;" add yet further, " And very pitiful: " but fear what comes last, " And true." 3 For those whom He now bears with as sinners, He will judge as despisers. " Or despisest thou the riches of His long-suffering and gentleness; not knowing that the forbearance of God leadeth thee to repentance ? But thou, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up for thyself wrath against the day of wrath and the revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds." 4 The Lord is gentle, the Lord is long-suffering, the Lord is pitiful; but the Lord is also just, the Lord is also true. He bestows on thee space for correction; but thou loveth the delay of judgment more than the amendment of thy ways. Hast thou been a bad man yesterday ? To-day be a good man. Hast thou gone on in thy wickedness to-day ?

At any rate change to-morrow. Thou art always expecting, and from the mercy of God makest exceeding great promises to thyself. As if He, who has promised thee pardon through repentance, promised thee also a longer life. How knowest thou what to-morrow may bring forth ? Eightly thou sayest in thy heart: When I shall have corrected my ways, God will put all my sins away. We cannot deny that God has promised pardon to those that have amended their ways and are con-

1 Ps. xxv. 8. 2 Isa. xlii. 14. 3 Ps. lxxxvi. 15. * Rom. ii. 4-6.

440 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIII.

verted. For in what prophet thou readest to me that God has promised pardon to him that amends, thou dost not read to me that God has promised thee a long life.
8. From both, then, men are in danger; both from hoping and despairing, from contrary things, from contrary affections.

Who is deceived by hoping? He who says, God is good, God is merciful, let me do what I please, what I like; let me give loose reins to my lusts, let me gratify the desires of my soul.

Why this? Because God is merciful, God is good, God is kind. These men are in danger by hope. And those are in danger from despair, who, having fallen into grievous sins, fancying that they can no more be pardoned upon repentance, and believing that they are without doubt doomed to damnation, do say with themselves, We are already destined to be damned, why not do what we please? with the disposition of gladiators destined to the sword. This is the reason that desperate men are dangerous: for, having no longer ought to fear, they are to be feared exceedingly. Despair kills these; hope, those. The mind is tossed to and fro between hope and despair. Thou hast to fear lest hope slay thee; and, when thou hopest much from mercy, lest thou fall into judgment: again, thou hast to fear lest despair slay thee, and, when thou thinkest that the grievous sins which thou hast committed cannot be forgiven thee, thou dost not repent, and thou incurrest the sentence of Wisdom, which says, "I also will laugh at your perdition." 1

How then does the Lord treat those who are in danger from both these maladies? To those who are in danger from hope, He says, "Be not slow to be converted to the Lord, neither put it off from day to day; for suddenly His anger will come, and in the time of vengeance, will utterly destroy thee." 2 To those who are in danger from despair, what does He say? " In what day soever the wicked man shall be converted, I will forget all his iniquities." 3 Accordingly, for the sake of those who are in danger by despair, He has offered us a refuge of pardon; and because of those who are in danger by hope, and are deluded by delays, He has made the day of death uncertain. Thou knowest not when thy last day may come. Art thou ungrateful because

1 Prov. i. 26. 2 Ecclus. v. 8, 9. Â» Ezek. xviii. 21.

TRACT. XXXIII. REPENTANCE AND PARDON. 441

thou hast to-day on which thou mayest be improved? Thus therefore said He to the woman, " Neither will I condemn thee; " but, being made secure concerning the past, beware of the future. " Neither will I condemn thee: " I have blotted out what thou hast done; keep what I have commanded thee, that thou mayest find what I have promised.

I)
1. "YÂ¥THAT we have just heard and attentively received, 
â–½ Y . as the holy Gospel was being read, I doubt not that all of us have also 
edevoured to understand, and that each of us according to his measure apprehended 
what he could of so great a matter as that which has been read; and while the bread of the 
word is laid out, no one can complain that he has tasted nothing. But again I doubt not 
that there is scarcely any who has understood the whole. Nevertheless, even should there 
be any who may sufficiently understand the words of our Lord Jesus Christ now read out 
of the Gospel, let him bear with our ministry, whilst, if possible, with His assistance, we 
may, by treating thereof, cause that either all or many may understand that which a few 
are joyful of having understood for themselves.

2. I think that what the Lord says, " I am the light of the world," is clear to those that have 
eyes, by which they are made partakers of this light: but they who have not eyes except in 
the flesh alone, wonder at what is said by the Lord Jesus Christ, " I am the light of the 
world." And perhaps there may not be wanting some one too who says with himself: 
Whether perhaps the Lord Christ is that sun which by its rising and setting causes the day \
For there have not been wanting heretics who thought this. The Manicheans have 
supposed that the Lord Christ is that sun which is visible to carnal eyes, exposed and 
public to be seen, not only by men, but by the beasts. But the right faith of the Catholic 
Church rejects such a fiction, and perceives it to be a devilish doctrine: not. 
only by believing acknowledges it to be such, but in the case of whom it can, proves it 
even by reasoning. Let us therefore reject this kind of error, which the Holy Church has 
anathema-

412

TRACT. XXXIV.] THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. 443

tized from the beginning. Let us not suppose that the Lord Jesus Christ is this sun which 
we see rising from the east, setting in the west; to whose course succeeds night, whose 
rays are obscured by a cloud, which removes from place to place by a set motion: the 
Lord Christ is not such a thing as this. The Lord Christ is not the sun that was made, but 
He by whom the sun was made. For " all things were made by Him, and without Him was 
nothing made."

3. There is therefore a Light which made this light of the sun: let us love this Light, let us 
long to understand it, let us thirst for the same; that, with itself for our guide, we may at 
length come to it, and that we may so live in it that we may never die. This is indeed that 
Light of which prophecy long ago going before thus sang in the psalm: u Lord, Thou 
shalt save men and beasts; even as Thy mercy is multiplied, God." These are the words of 
the holy psalm:
mark ye what the ancient discourse of holy men of God did premise concerning such a light. "Men," saith it, "and beasts Thou shalt save, Lord; even as Thy mercy is multiplied, God." For since Thou art God, and hast manifold mercy, the same multiplicity of Thy mercy reaches not only to men whom Thou hast created in Thine own image, but even to the beasts which Thou hast made subservient to men.

For He who gives salvation to man, the same gives salvation also to the beast. Do not blush to think this of the Lord thy God: nay, rather believe this and trust it, and see thou think not otherwise. He that saves thee, the same saves thy horse and thy sheep; to come to the very least, also thy hen: " Salvation is of the Lord," 1 and God saves these. Thou art uneasy, thou questionest. 1 I wonder why thou doubtest. Shall He disdain to save who deigned to create? Of the Lord is the saving of angels, of men, and of beasts; " Salvation is of the Lord." Just as no man is from himself, so no man is saved by himself. Therefore most truly and right well doth the psalm say, "O Lord, Thou shalt save men and beasts." Why? "Even as thy mercy is multiplied, God." For Thou art God, Thou hast created, Thou savest: Thou gavest being, Thou givest to be in health.

1 Pp. iii 9.

444 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIV.

4. Since, therefore, as the mercy of God is multiplied, men and beasts are saved by Him, have not men something else which God as Creator bestows on them, which He bestows not on the beasts? Is there no distinction between the living creature made after the image of God, and the living creature made subject to the image of God? Clearly there is: beyond that salvation common to us with the dumb animals, there is what God bestows on us, but not on them. What is this?

Follow on in the same psalm: " But the sons of men shall hope under the covert of Thy wings." Having now a salvation in common with their cattle, " the sons of men shall hope under the covert of Thy wings." They have one salvation in fact, another in hope. This salvation which is at present is common to men and cattle; but there is another which men hope for; and which they who hope for receive, they who despair of receive not. For it saith, " The sons of men shall hope under covert of Thy wings." And they that perseveringly hope are protected by Thee, lest they be cast down from their hope by the devil: * Under covert of Thy wings they shall hope." If they shall hope, what shall they hope for, but for what the cattle shall not have? " They shall be fully drunk with the fatness of Thy house; and from the torrent of Thy pleasure Thou shalt give them drink." What sort of wine is that with which it is laudable to be drunk? What sort of wine is that which disturbs not the mind, but directs it? What sort of wine is that which makes perpetually sane, and makes not insane by drinking? " They shall be fully drunk." How?

" With the fatness of Thy house; and from the torrent of Thy pleasure Thou shalt give them drink."

How so? " Because with Thee is the fountain of life." The very fountain of life walked on the earth, the same who said, " Whoso thirsts, let him come unto me," Behold the fountain!
But we begin to speak about the light, and to handle the question laid down from the Gospel concerning the light. For we read how the Lord said, "I am the light of the world."

Thence arose a question, lest any one, carnally understanding this, should fancy this light to mean the sun: we came thence to the psalm, which having considered, we found meanwhile that the Lord is the fountain of life. Drink and live.

TRACT. XXXIV.] CHRIST THE LIGHT OF LIFE. 445

"With Thee/it saith, " is the fountain of life; " therefore, "under the shadow of Thy wings the sons of men hope," seeking to be full drunk with this fountain. But we were speaking of the Light. Follow on, then; for the prophet, having said, "With Thee is the fountain of life," went on to add, "In Thy light shall we see light," â€” God of God, Light of Light. By this Light the sun's light was made; and the Light which made the sun, under which He also made us, was made under the sun for our sake. That Light which made the sun, was made, I say, under the sun for our sake. Do not despise the cloud of the flesh; with that cloud it is covered, not to be obscured, but to be moderated.

5. That unfailing Light, the Light of wisdom, speaking through the cloud of the flesh, says to men, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." How He has withdrawn thee from the eyes of the flesh, and recalled thee to the eyes of the heart! For it is not enough to say, "Whoso followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have light;" He added too, "of life;" even as it was there said, "For with Thee is the fountain of life." See thus, my brethren, how the words of the Lord agree with the truth of that psalm: both there, the light is put with the fountain of life, and by the Lord it is said, "light of life." But for bodily use, light and fountain are different things: our mouths seek a fountain, our eyes light; when we thirst we seek a fountain, when we are in darkness we seek light; and if we chance to thirst in the night, we kindle a light to come to a fountain. Not so with God: light and fountain are the same thing: He who shines for thee that thou mayest see, the same flows for thee that thou mayest drink.

6. You see, then, my brethren, you see, if you see inwardly, what kind of light this is, of which the Lord says, "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness." Follow the sun, and let us see if thou wilt not walk in darkness. Behold, by rising it comes forth to thee; it goes by its course towards the west. Perhaps thy journey is towards the east: unless thou goest in a contrary direction to that in which it travels, thou wilt certainly err by following it, and instead of east
wilt get to the west. If thou follow it by land, thou wilt go wrong; if the mariner follow it by sea, he will go wrong.

Finally, it seems to thee, suppose, that thou must follow the sun, and thou also travellest thyself towards the west, whither it also travels; let us see after it has set, if thou wilt not walk in darkness. See how, although thou art not willing to desert it, yet it will desert thee, to finish the day by necessity of its service. But our Lord Jesus Christ, even when He was not manifest to all through the cloud of His flesh, was yet at the same time holding all things by the power of His wisdom. Thy God is whole everywhere: if thou fall not off from Him, He will never fall away from thee.

7. Accordingly, "He that followeth me," saith He, "shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." What He has promised, He put in a word of the future tense; for He says not has, but "shall have the light of life." Yet He does not say, He that shall follow me; but, he that does follow me. What it is our duty to do, He put in the present tense; but what He has promised to them that do it, He has indicated by a word of the future tense. "He that followeth, shall have." That followeth now, shall have hereafter: followeth now by faith, shall have hereafter by sight. For, "whilst we are in the body," saith the apostle, "we are absent from the Lord: for we walk not by faith, but by sight." * When shall we walk by sight? When we shall have the light of life, when we shall have come to that vision, when this night shall have passed away. Of that day, indeed, which is to arise, it is said, "In the morning I will stand near thee, and contemplate thee." 2 What means "in the morning"? When the night of this world is over, when the terrors of temptations are over, when that lion which goeth about roaring in the night, seeking whom it may devour, is vanquished. "In the morning I will stand near thee, and contemplate." Now what do we think, brethren, to be our duty for the present time, but what is again said in the psalm, "Every night through will I wash my couch; I will moisten my bed with my tears"? 3 Every night through, saith he, I will weep; I will burn with desire for the light. The Lord sees my desire: for another

1 2 Cor. v. 6, 7. 2 Ps. v. 4. 3 Ps. vi. 6.

psalm says to Him, * All my desire is before Thee; and my groaning is not hid from Thee." x Dost thou desire gold? Thou canst be seen; for, while seeking gold, thou wilt be manifest to men. Dost thou desire com? Thou askest one that has it; whom also thou informest, while seeking to get at that which thou desirest. Dost thou desire God? Who sees, but God? From whom, then, dost thou seek God, as thou seekest bread, water, gold, silver, corn? From whom dost thou seek God, except from God? He is sought from Himself who has promised Himself. Let the soul extend her desire, and with more capacious bosom seek to comprehend that which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart

TRACT. XXXIV.] FOLLOWING THE LIGHT. 447
of man." 2 Desire it we can, long for it we can, pant after it we can; but worthily conceive it, worthily unfold it in words, we cannot.

8. Wherefore, my brethren, since the Lord says briefly, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life: " in these words He has commanded one thing, promised another; let us do what He has commanded, that we may not with shameless face demand what He has promised; that He may not say to us in His judgment, Hast thou done what I commanded, that thou shouldest expect what I promised ? What hast Thou commanded, then, Lord our God ? He says to thee, That thou shouldest follow me. Thou hast sought counsel of life ? Of what life, but of that of which it is said, " With Thee is the fountain of life " ? A certain man heard it said to him, "Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me." He followed not, but went away sorrowful; he sought the " good Master," went to Him as a teacher, and despised His teaching; he went away sorrowful, tied and bound by his lusts; he went away sorrowful, having a great load of avarice on his shoulders. He toiled and fretted; and yet he thought that He, who was willing to rid him of his load, was not to be followed but forsaken. But after the Lord has, by the gospel, cried aloud, "Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take my yoke upon you, and 1 Ps. xxxviii. 10. 2 Cor. ii. 9.

44 S ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIV.

learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart/ * how many, on hearing the gospel, have done what that rich man, on hearing from His own mouth, did not do ? Therefore, let us do it now, let us follow the Lord; let us loose the fetters by which we are hindered from following Him. And who is sufficient to loose such bonds, unless He help, to whom it is said, "Thou hast burst asunder my bonds " ? 2 Of whom another psalm says, "The Lord looseth them that are in bonds; the Lord raiseth up them that are crushed and oppressed." 3

9. And what do they follow, who have been loosed and raised up, but the Light from which they hear, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness " ? For the Lord gives light to the blind. Therefore we, brethren, having the eyesalve of faith, are now enlightened. For His spittle did before mingle with the earth, by which the eyes of him who was born blind were anointed. "We, too, have been born blind of Adam, and have need of Him to enlighten us. He mixed spittle with clay: " The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." He mixed spittle with earth; hence it was predicted, "Truth has sprung from the earth; " 4 and He said Himself, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." When we shall see face to face, we shall have the full fruition of the truth; for this also is promised to us. For who would dare hope for what God had not deigned either to promise or to give ? We shall see face to face. The apostle
says, "Now I know in part, now through a glass darkly; but then, face to face." 5 And the Apostle John says in his epistle, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it has not yet appeared what we shall be: we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him even as He is." 6 This is a great promise; if thou loveth, follow. I do love, sayest thou, but by what way am I to follow? If the Lord thy God had said to thee, "I am the truth and the life," in desiring truth and longing for life, thou mightest truly ask the way by which thou mightest come to these, and mightest say to thyself: A great thing is

1 Matt. xi. 29. 2 Ps. cxvi. 16. 3 Ps. xlvi. 8.
4 Ps. lxxxv. 11. 5 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 6 1 John iii. 2.

TRACT. XXXI] THE WAY. OF LIFE. 449

the truth, a great thing is the life, were there only the means whereby my soul might come thereto! Dost thou ask by what way? Hear Him say at the first, "I am the way." Before He said whither, He premised by what way: "I am," saith He, "the way." The way whither? "And the truth and the life." First, He told thee the way to come; then, whither to come. I am the way, I am the truth, I am the life. Eemaining with the Father, the truth and life; putting on flesh, He became the way. It is not said to thee, Labour in finding a way to come to the truth and life; this is not said to thee. Sluggard, arise: the way itself has come to thee, and roused thee from thy sleep; if, however, it has roused thee, up and walk. Perhaps thou art trying to walk, and art not able, because thy feet ache. How come thy feet to ache? Have they been running over rough places at the bidding of avarice? But the word of God has healed even the lame. Behold, thou sayest, I have my feet sound, but the way itself I see not. He has also enlightened the blind.

10. All this by faith, so long as we are absent from the Lord, dwelling in the body; but when we shall have traversed the way, and have reached the home itself, what shall be more joyful than we? What 'shall be more blessed than we? Because nothing more at peace than we; for there will be no rebelling against a man. But now, brethren, it is difficult for us to be without strife. We have indeed been called to concord, we are commanded to have peace among ourselves; to this we must give our endeavour, and strain with all our might, that we may come at last to the most perfect peace; but at present we are at strife, very often with those whose good we are seeking. There is one who goes astray, thou wishest to lead him to the way; he resists, thou strivest with him: the pagan resists thee, thou disputest against the errors of idols and devils; a heretic resists, thou disputest against other doctrines of devils; a bad catholic is not willing to live aright, thou rebukest even thy brother within; he dwells with thee in the house, and seeks the paths of ruin; thou art inflamed with eager passion to put him right,
that thou mayest render to the Lord a good account of both concerning him. How many necessities of strife there are on every side! Very often one

TEACT. 2 F

450 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIV.

is overcome with weariness, and says to himself, "What have I to do with bearing with gainsayers, bearing with those who render evil for good? I wish to benefit them, they are willing to perish; I wear out my life in strife; I have no peace; besides, I make enemies of those whom I ought to have as friends, if they regarded the goodwill of him that seeks their good: what business is it of mine to endure this? Let me return to myself, I will be kept to myself, I will call upon my God. Do return to thyself, thou findest strife there. If thou hast begun to follow God, thou findest strife there. What strife, sayest thou, do I find? " The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh." I Behold, thou art thyself, thou art alone, thou art with thyself; behold, thou art bearing with no other person, but yet thou seest another law in thy members warring against the law of thy mind, and taking thee captive in the law of sin, which is in thy members. Cry aloud, then, and cry to God, that He may give thee peace from the inner strife: " wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ." 2 Because, " He that followeth me," saith He, " shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." All strife ended, immortality shall follow; for " the last enemy, death, shall be destroyed." And what peace will this be? " This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." 3 To which that we may come (for it will then be in reality), let us now follow in hope Him who said, " I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

1 Gal. v. 17. 2 Kom. vii. 23-25. 3 1 Cor. xv. 26.

TRACTATE XXXV.

Chapter VIII. 13, 14.

1. ~\nYOU wno were present Yesterday, bear in mind that we JL were a long while discoursing of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, where He says, " I am the light of the world:
he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life;" and if we wished to go on discoursing of that light, we might still speak a long time; for it would be impossible for us to expound the matter in brief. Therefore, my brethren, let us follow Christ, the light of the world, that we may not be walking in darkness. We must
fear the darkness, â€” not the darkness of the eyes, but that of the moral character; and even if it be the darkness of the eyes, it is not of the outer, but of the inner eyes, of those by which we discern, not between white and black, but between right and wrong.

2. When our Lord Jesus Christ had spoken these things, the Jews answered, "Thou bearest record of thyself; thy record is not true." Before our Lord Jesus Christ came, He lighted and sent many prophetic lamps before Him. Of these was also John Baptist, to whom the great Light itself, which is the Lord Christ, gave a testimony such as was given to no other man; for He said, "Among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist." * Yet this man, than whom none was greater among those born of women, said of the Lord Jesus Christ, "I indeed baptize you in water; but He that is coming is mightier than I, whose shoe I am not worthy to loose." 2 See how the lamp submits itself to the Day.

The Lord Himself bears witness that the same John was indeed a lamp: "He was," saith He, "a burning and a shining lamp; and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light." 3 But when the Jews said to the Lord, "Tell us by what authority thou doest these things," He, knowing that they regarded John the Baptist as a great one, and that the same whom they

1 Matt. xi. 11. 2 John i. 26, 27 3 John v. 35.

451

452 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXV.

regarded as a great one had borne witness to them concerning the Lord, answered them, * I also will ask you one thing; tell me, the baptism of John, whence is it? from heaven, or from men?" Thrown into confusion, they considered among themselves that, if they said "From men," they might be stoned by the people, who believed John to be a prophet; if they said, "From heaven," He might answer them, "He whom ye confess to have been a prophet from heaven bore testimony to me, and ye have heard from him by what authority I do these things."

They saw, then, that whichever of these two answers they made, they would fall into the snare, and they said, "We do not know." And the Lord answered them, "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." 1 "I tell you not what I know, because you will not confess what you know." Most justly, certainly, were they repulsed, and they departed in confusion; and that was fulfilled which God the Father says by the prophet in the psalm, "I have prepared a lamp for my Christ" (the lamp was John); "His enemies I will clothe with confusion." 2

3. The Lord Jesus Christ, then, had the witness of prophets sent before Him, of the heralds that preceded the judge: He had witness from John; but He was Himself the greater witness which He bore to Himself. But those men with their feeble eyes sought lamps, because they were not able to bear the day; for that same Apostle John, whose
Gospel we have in our hands, says in the beginning of his Gospel, concerning John the Baptist: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. He came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the light, but was sent to bear witness of the light. That was the true light, that lighteth every man coming into the world." If "every man," therefore also lighteth John.

Whence also the same John says, "We all have received out of His fulness." Wherefore discern ye these things, that your minds may profit in the faith of Christ, that ye be not always babes seeking the breasts and shrinking from solid food. You ought to be nourished and to be weaned by our holy mother the Church of Christ, and to come to more solid food by the

1 Matt. xxi. 23-27. 2 Ps. cxxxi. 17, 18.

TRACT. XXXV.] THE TRUE LIGHT. 453

mind, not by the belly. This discern ye then, that the light which enlighteneth is one thing, another that which is enlightened. For also our eyes are called lights by and every man thus swears, touching his eyes, by these lights of his: "So may my lights live." This is a customary oath. Let these lights, if lights they are, be opened, and shine for thee in thy closed chamber, when the light is not there; they certainly cannot. Therefore, as these which we have in our face, and call lights, when they are both healthy and open, need the help of light from without, "which being removed or not brought in, though they are sound and are open, yet they do not see," so our mind, which is the eye of the soul, unless it be irradiated by the light of truth, and wondrously shone upon by Him who enlightens and is not enlightened, will not be able to come to wisdom nor to righteousness. For to live righteously is for us the way itself. But how can he on whom the light does not shine but stumble in the way? And hence, in such a way, we have need of seeing, in such a way it is a great thing to see. Now Tobias had the eyes in his face closed, and the son gave his hand to the father; and yet the father, by his instruction, pointed out the way to the son. 2

4. The Jews then answered, "Thou bearest witness of thyself; thy witness is not true." Let us see what they hear; let us also hear, yet not as they did: they despising, we believing; they wishing to slay Christ, we desiring to live through Christ. Let this difference distinguish our ears and minds from theirs, and let us hear what the Lord answers to the Jews. "Jesus answered and said to them, Though I bear witness of myself, my witness is true; because I know whence I came and whither I go." The light shows both other things and also itself. Thou lightest a lamp, for instance, to look for thy coat, and the burning lamp affords thee light to find thy coat; dost thou light the lamp to see itself when it burns? A burning lamp is indeed capable at the same time of exposing to view other things which the darkness covered, and also of showing itself to thine eyes. So also the Lord Christ distinguished between His faithful ones and His Jewish enemies, as between light and darkness: as between
those whom He illuminated with the ray of faith, and those on whose closed eyes He shed His light. So, too, the sun shines on the face of the sighted and of the blind; both alike standing and facing the sun are shone upon in the flesh, but both are not enlightened in the eyesight. The one sees, the other sees not: the sun is present to both, but one is absent from the present sun. So likewise the Wisdom of God, the Word of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, is everywhere present, because the truth is everywhere, wisdom is everywhere. One man in the east understands justice, another man in the west understands justice; is justice which the one understands a different thing from that which the other understands? In body they are far apart, and yet they have the eyes of their minds on one object. The justice which I, placed here, see, if justice it is, is the same which the just man, separated from me in the flesh by ever so many days' journey, also sees, and is united to me in the light of that justice. Therefore the light bears witness to itself; it opens the sound eyes and is its own witness, that it may be known as the light. But how about the unbelievers? Is it not present to them? It is present also to them, but they have not eyes of the heart with which to see it. Hear the sentence fetched from the Gospel itself concerning them: "And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." 1 Hence the Lord saith, and saith truly, "Though I bear witness of myself, my witness is true; because I know whence I came and whither I go." He meant us to understand the Father here: the Son gave glory to the Father. Himself the equal glorifies Him by whom He was sent. How ought man to glorify Him by whom he was created!

5. "I know whence I came and whither I go." He who speaks to you in person has what He has not left, and yet He came; for by coming He departed not thence, nor has He forsaken us by returning thither. Why marvel ye? It is God: this cannot be done by man; it cannot be done even by the sun. When it goes to the west it leaves the east, and until it returns to the east, when about to rise, it is not in the east; but our Lord Jesus Christ both comes and is there,

1 John i. 5.

both returns and is here. Hear the evangelist himself speak- (ing in another place, and, if thou canst, understand it; if not, \
believe it: "God," saith he, * no man hath ever seen, but the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." He said not was in the bosom of the Father, as if by coming He had quitted the Father's bosom.
Here He was speaking, and yet He declared that He was there; and when about to depart hence, what said He? "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." 1

6. The witness of the light then is true, whether it be manifesting itself or other things; for without light thou canst not see light, and without light thou canst not see any other thing whatever that is not light. If light is capable of showing other things which are not lights, is it not capable of showing itself? Does not that discover itself, without which other things cannot be made manifest? A prophet spoke a truth; but whence had he it, unless he drew it from the fountain of truth? John spoke a truth; but whence he spoke it, ask himself: "We all," saith he, "have received of His fulness." Therefore our Lord Jesus Christ is worthy to bear witness to Himself. But in any case, my brethren, let us who are in the night of this world hear also prophecy with earnest attention: for now our Lord willed to come in humility to our weakness and the deep night-darkness of our hearts. He came as a man to be despised and to be honoured, He came to be denied and to be confessed; to be despised and to be denied by the Jews, to be honoured and confessed by us: to be judged and to judge; to be judged unjustly, to judge righteously. Such then He came that He behoved to have a lamp to bear witness to Him. For what need was there that John should, as a lamp, bear witness to the day, if the day itself could be looked upon by our weakness? But we could not look upon it: He became weak for the weak; by infirmity He healed infirmity; by mortal flesh He took away the death of the flesh; of His own body He made a salve for our eyes. Since, therefore, the Lord is come, and since we are still in the night of the world, it behoves us to hear also prophecies.

1 Matt, xxviii. 20.

456 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXV.

7. For it is from prophecy that we convince gainsaying pagans. Who is Christ? says the pagan. To whom we reply, He whom the prophets foretold. What prophets? asks he. We quote Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah, and other holy prophets: we tell him that they came long before Christ, by what length of time they preceded His coming. We make this reply then: Prophets came before Him, and they foretold His coming. One of them answers: What prophets? We quote for him those which are daily read to us. And, said he, Who are these prophets? We answer: Those who also foretold the things which we see come to pass. And he urges: You have forged these for yourselves, you have seen them come to pass, and have written them in what books you pleased, as if their coming had been predicted. Here in opposition to pagan enemies the witness of other enemies offers itself. We produce books written by the Jews, and reply: Doubtless both you and they are enemies of our faith. Hence are they scattered among the nations, that we may convince one class of enemies by another. Let the book of Isaiah be produced by the Jews, and let us see if it is not there we read, "He was led as a sheep to be slaughtered, and as a lamb before his shearer was dumb, so He opened not His mouth. In humility His judgment was taken away; by His bruises we are healed:
all we as sheep went astray, and He was delivered up for our sins." * Behold one lamp. Let another be produced, let the psalm be opened, and thence, too, let the foretold suffering of Christ be quoted: " They pierced my hands and my feet, they counted all my bones: but they considered me and gazed upon me, they parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast the lot. My praise is with Thee; in the great assembly will I confess to Thee. All the ends of the earth shall be reminded, and be converted to the Lord: all countries of the nations shall worship in His sight; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and He shall have dominion over the nations." 2 Let one enemy blush, for it is another enemy that gives me the book. But lo, out of the book produced by the one enemy, I have vanquished the other: nor let that same who produced me the book be left; let him produce that by
1 Isa. liii. 5-8. 2 Ps. xxi. 17-29.

TRACT. XXXV.] CHRIST IN THE PROPHETS. 457

which himself also may be vanquished. I read another prophet, and I find the Lord speaking to the Jews: " I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, nor will I accept sacrifice at your hands: for from the rising of the sun even to his going down, a pure sacrifice is offered to my name." * Thou dost not come, Jew, to a pure sacrifice; I prove thee impure.

8. Behold, even lamps bear witness to the day, because of our weakness, for we cannot bear and look at the brightness of the day. In comparison, indeed, with unbelievers, we Christians are even now light; as the apostle says, " For ye were once darkness, but now light in the Lord: walk as children of light: " 2 and he says elsewhere, " The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and put on us the armour of light; let us walk honestly as in the day." 3 Yet that even the day in which we now are is still night, in comparison with the light of that to which we are to come, listen to the Apostle Peter: he says that a voice came to the Lord Christ from the excellent glory, " Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. This voice," said he, " which came from heaven, we heard, when we were with Him in the holy mount." But because we were not there, and have not then heard this voice from heaven, the same Peter says to us, " And we have a more sure word of prophecy." You have not heard the voice come from heaven, but you have a more sure word of prophecy. For the Lord Jesus Christ, foreseeing that there would be certain wicked men who would calumniate His miracles, by attributing them to magical arts, sent prophets before Him. For, supposing He was a magician, and by magical arts caused that He should be worshipped after His death, was He then a magician before He was born? Hear the prophets, man dead, and breeding the worms of calumny, hear the prophets: I read, hear them who came before the Lord. "We have," saith the Apostle Peter, " a more sure word of prophecy, to which ye do well to give heed, as to a lamp in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." 4
9. When, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ shall come, and, as the Apostle Paul also says, will bring to light the hidden

1 Mai. i. 10, 11. 2 Eph. v. 8: 3 Rom. xiii. 12, 13. 4 2 Pet. i. 17-19.

458 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHK [TEACT. XXXV.

things of darkness, and will make manifest the thoughts of the heart, that every man may have praise from God; x then, in presence of such a day, lamps will not be needed: no prophet shall then be read to us, no book of an apostle shall be opened: we shall not require the witness of John, we shall not need the Gospel itself. Accordingly all Scriptures shall be taken out of the way, â€” which, in the night of this world, were as lamps kindled for us that we might not remain in darkness, â€” when all these are taken away, that they may not shine as if we needed them, and the men of God, by whom these were ministered to us, shall themselves, together with us, behold that true and clear light. Well, what shall we see after these aids have been removed ? Wherewith shall our mind be fed ?

wherewith shall our gaze be delighted ? whence shall arise that joy which neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor hath gone up into the heart of man ? what shall we see ? I beseech you, love with me, by believing run with me: let us long for our home above, let us pant for our home above, let us feel that we are strangers here. What shall we see then ?

Let the Gospel now tell us: " In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Thou shalt come to the fountain from which a little dew has already besprinkled thee: thou shalt see that very light, from which a ray was sent aslant and through many windings into thy dark heart, in its purity, for the seeing and bearing of which thou art being purified. John himself says, and this I cited yesterday: "Beloved, we are the sons of God; and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be: we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him even as He is." 2 I feel that your affections are being lifted up with me to the things that are above: but the body, which is corrupt, weighs down the soul; and the earthly habitation depresses the mind while meditating many things. 3 I am about to lay aside this book, and you too are going to depart, every man to his own house. It has been good for us to have been in the common light, good to have been glad therein, good to have rejoiced therein; but when we part from one another, let us not depart from Him. ,,

1 1 Cor. iv. 5. 2 1 John iii. 2. 3 Wisd. ix. 15.

TKACTATE XXXVI.

Chapter VIII. 15-18.
1. TN the four Gospels, or rather in the four books of the A one Gospel, Saint John the apostle, not undeservedly in respect of his spiritual understanding compared to the eagle, has elevated his preaching higher and far more sublimely than the other three; and in this elevating of it he would have our hearts likewise lifted up. For the other three evangelists walked with the Lord on earth as with a man; concerning His divinity they have said but little; but this evangelist, as if he disdained to walk on earth, just as in the very opening of his discourse he thundered on us, soared not only above the earth and above the whole compass of air and sky, but even above the whole army of angels and the whole order of invisible powers, and reached to Him by whom all things were made; saying, " In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made." To this so great sublimity of his beginning all the rest of his preaching well agrees; and he has spoken concerning the divinity of the Lord as none other has spoken. What he had drank in, the same he gave forth. For it is not without reason that it is recorded of him in this very Gospel, that at supper he reclined on the Lord's bosom. From that breast then he drank in secret; but what he drank in secret he gave forth openly, that there may come to all nations not only the incarnation of the Son of God, and His passion and resurrection, but also what He was before His incarnation, the only Son of the Father, the Word of the Father, coeternal with Him that begat, equal with Him by whom He was sent; but yet in that very sending made less, that the Father might be greater.

459

460 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVI.

2. Whatever, then, you have heard stated in lowly manner concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, think of that economy by which He assumed flesh; but whatever you hear, or read, stated in the Gospel concerning Him that is sublime and high above all creatures, and divine, and equal and coeternal with the Father, be sure that this which you read appertains to the form of God, not to the form of the servant. For if you hold this rule, you who can understand it (inasmuch as you are not all able to understand it, but you are all bound to trust it), â€” if, I say, you hold this rule, as men walking in the light, you will fight against the calumnies of heretical darkness without fear. For there have not been wanting those who, in reading the Gospel, followed only those testimonies that concern the humility of Christ, and have been deaf to those which have declared His divinity; deaf for this reason, that they may be full of evil words. There have likewise been some, who, giving heed only to those which speak of the excellency of the Lord, even though they have read of His mercy in becoming man for our sakes, have not believed the testimonies, but accounted them false and invented by men; contending that our Lord Jesus Christ was only God, not also man. Some in this way, some in that: both in error. But the catholic faith, holding from both the truths which each holds and preaching the truth which each believes, has both understood that Christ is God and also believed Him to be man: for each is written and each is true. Shouldst thou assert that Christ is only God, thou deniest
the medicine whereby thou wast healed: shouldst thou assert that Christ is only man, thou
deniest the power whereby thou wast created. Hold therefore both. faithful soul and
catholic heart, hold both, believe both, faithfully confess both. Christ is both God and
also man. How is Christ God? Equal with the Father, one with the Father. How is Christ
man? Born of a virgin, taking upon Himself mortality from man, but not taking iniquity.

3. These Jews then saw the man; they neither perceived nor believed Him to be God: and
you have already heard how, among all the rest, they said to Him, "Thou bearest witness
of thyself; thy witness is not true." You have also heard

TRACT XXXVI.] HOW CHRIST IS JUDGE. 461

what He said in reply, as it was read to you yesjterdax and according to our ability
discussed. To-day have been read these words of His, "Ye judge after the flesh." Therefore it is, saith He, that you say to me, "Thou bearest witness of thyself; thy witness
is not true," because you judge after the flesh, because you perceive not God; the man
you see, and by persecuting the man, you offend God hidden in Him. "Ye,"
then, "judge after the flesh." Because I bear witness of myself, I therefore appear to you
arrogant. For every man, when he wishes to bear commendatory witness of himself,
seems arrogant and proud. Hence it is written, "Let not thy own mouth praise thee, but
let thy neighbour's " mouth praise thee. 1
But this was said to man. For we are weak, and we speak to the weak. We can speak the
truth, but we can also lie; although we are bound to speak the truth, still we have it in our
power to lie when we will. But far be it from us to think that the darkness of falsehood
could be found in the splendour of the divine light. He spoke as the light, spoke as the
truth; but the light was shining in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not:
therefore they judged after the flesh. "Ye," saith He, "judge after the flesh."

4. "I judge not any man." Does not the Lord Jesus Christ, then, judge any man? Is He not
the same of whom we confess that He rose again on the third day, ascended into heaven,
there sits at the right hand of the Father, and thence shall come to judge the quick and the
dead? Is not this our faith of which the apostle says, "With the heart man believeth unto
righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation"? 2 When,
therefore, we confess these things, do we contradict the Lord? We say that He shall come
a judge of the quick and the dead, whilst He says Himself, "I
judge not any man." This question may be solved in two ways: Either that we may
understand this expression, "I judge not any man," to mean, I judge not any man now; in
accordance with what He says in another place, "I am not come to judge the world, but
to save the world; " not denying His judgment here, but deferring it. Or, otherwise, surely
that when He said, "Ye judge after the flesh," He subjoined, "I judge

1 Prov. xxvii. 2. 2 Rom. x. 10.
not any man," in such manner that thou shouldst understand " after the flesh" to complete the sense. Therefore let no scruple of doubt remain in our heart against the faith which we hold and declare concerning Christ as judge. Christ is come, but first to save, then to judge: to adjudge to punishment those who would not be saved; to bring them to life who, by believing, did not reject salvation. Accordingly, the first dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ is medicinal, not judicial; for if He had come to judge first, He would have found none on whom He might bestow the rewards of righteousness. Because, therefore, He saw that all were sinners, and that none was exempt from the death of sin, His mercy had first to be craved, and afterwards His judgment must be executed; for of Him the psalm had sung, " Mercy and judgment will I sing to Thee, Lord." 1 Now, He says not " judgment and mercy," for if judgment had been first, there would be no mercy; but it is mercy first, then judgment.

What is the mercy first ? The Creator of man deigned to become man; was made what He had made, that the creature He had made might not perish. What can be added to this mercy ? And yet He has added thereto. It was not enough for Him to be made man, He added to this that He was rejected of men; it was not enough to be rejected, He was dishonoured; it was not enough to be dishonoured, He was put to death; but even this was not enough, it was by the death of the cross. For when the apostle was commendng to us His obedience even unto death, it was not enough for him to say, " He became obedient unto death;" for it was not unto death of any kind whatever: but he added, " even the death of the cross." 2 Among all'kinds of death, there was nothing worse than that death. In short, that wherein one is racked by the most intense pains is called cruciatus, which takes its name from crux, a cross. For the crucified, hanging on the tree, nailed to the wood, were killed by a slow lingering death. To be crucified was not merely to be put to death; for the victim lived long on the cross, not because longer life was chosen, but because death itself was stretched out that the pain might not be too quickly ended. He willed to die for

1 Ps. ci. 1. 2 Phil. ii. 8.

TRACT. XXXVI.] HOW CHRIST IS JUDGE. 463

us, yet it is not enough to say this; He deigned to be crucified, became obedient even to the death of the cross. He who was about to take away all death, chose the lowest and worst kind of death: He slew death by the worst of deaths. To the Jews who understood not, it was indeed the worst of deaths, but it was chosen by the Lord. For He was to have that very cross as His sign; that very cross, a trophy, as it were, over the vanquished devil, He was to put on the brow of believers, so that the apostle said, " God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world." 1 Nothing was then more intolerable in the flesh, nothing is
now more glorious on the brow. What does He reserve for His faithful one, when He has put such honour on the instrument of His own torture? Now is the cross no longer used among the Romans in the punishment of criminals, for where the cross of the Lord came to be honoured, it was thought that even a guilty man would be honoured if he should be crucified.

Hence, He who came for this cause judged no man: He suffered also the wicked. He suffered unjust judgment, that He might execute righteous judgment. But it was of His mercy that He endured unjust judgment. In short, He became so low as to come to the cross; yea, laid aside His power, but published His mercy. Wherein did He lay aside His power? In that He would not come down from the cross, though He had the power to rise again from the sepulchre. Wherein did He publish His mercy? In that, when hanging on the cross, He said, "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do." Whether, then, it be that He said, "I judge not any man," because He had come not to judge the world, but to save the world; or, that, as I have mentioned, when He had said, "Ye judge after the flesh," He added, "I judge not any man," for us to understand that Christ judgeth not after the flesh, like as He was judged by men.

5. But that you may know that Christ is judge even now, hear what follows: "And if I judge, my judgment is true."

Behold, thou hast Him as thy judge, but acknowledge Him as thy Saviour, lest thou feel the judge. But why has He said that His judgment is true? "Because," saith He, "I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me." I have said to you, brethren, that this holy Evangelist John soars excessively high: it is with difficulty that he is comprehended. But we need to remind you, beloved, of the deeper mystery of this soaring. Both in the prophet Ezekiel, and in the Apocalypse of this very John whose Gospel this is, there is mentioned a fourfold living creature, having four characteristic faces; that of a man, of an ox, of a lion, and of an eagle. Those who have handled the mysteries of Holy Scripture before us have, for the most part, understood by this living creature, or rather, these four living creatures, the four evangelists. They have understood the lion as put for king, because he appears to be, in a manner, the king of beasts on account of his strength and terrible valour. This character is assigned to Matthew, because in the generations of the Lord he followed the royal line, showing how the Lord was, along the royal line, of the seed of David. But Luke, because he begins with the priesthood of Zacharias, mentioning the father of John the Baptist, is designated the ox; for the ox was an important victim in the sacrifice of the priests. To Mark is deservedly assigned the man Christ, because neither has he said anything of the royal authority, nor did he begin with the priestly function, but only set out with the man Christ. All these have departed but little from the things of earth, that is, from those things which our Lord Jesus Christ performed on earth; of His divinity they have said
very little, like men walking with Him on the earth. There remains the eagle; this is John, the preacher of sublime truths, and a contemplator with steady gaze of the inner and eternal light. It is said, indeed, that the young eagles are tested by the parent birds in this way: the young one is suspended from the talons of the male parent and directly exposed to the rays of the sun; if it looks steadily at the sun, it is recognised as a true brood; if its eye quivers, it is allowed to drop off, as a spurious brood.
Now, therefore, consider how sublime are the things he ought to speak who is compared to the eagle; and yet even we, who creep on the earth, weak and hardly of any account among men, venture to handle and to expound these things; and imagine that we can either apprehend when we meditate them, or be apprehended when we speak.

6. Why have I said this? For perhaps after these words one may justly say to me: Lay aside the book then. Why dost thou take in hand what exceeds thy measure? Why trust thy tongue to it? To this I reply: Many heretics abound; and God has permitted them to abound to this end, that we may not be always nourished with milk and remain in senseless infancy. For inasmuch as they have not understood how the divinity of Christ is set forth to our acceptance, they have concluded according to their will; and by not discerning aright, they have brought in most troublesome questions upon catholic believers; and the hearts of believers began to be disturbed and to waver. Then immediately it became a necessity for spiritual men, who had not only read in the Gospel anything respecting the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, but had also understood it, to bring forth the armour of Christ against the armour of the devil, and with all their might to fight in most open conflict for the divinity of Christ against false and deceitful teachers; lest, while they were silent, others might perish. For whoever have thought either that our Lord Jesus Christ is of another substance than the Father is, or that there is only Christ, so that the same is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; whoever also have chosen to think that He was only man, not God made man, or God in such wise as to be mutable in His Godhead, or God in such wise as not to be man; these have made shipwreck from the faith, and have been cast forth from the harbour of the Church, lest by their inquietude they might wreck the ships in their company. Which thing obliged that even we, though least and as regards ourselves wholly unworthy, but in regard of His mercy set in some account among His stewards, should speak to you what either you may understand and rejoice with me, or, if you cannot yet understand, by believing it you may remain secure in the harbour.

7. I will accordingly speak; let him who can, understand; and let him who cannot understand, believe: yet will I speak what the Lord saith, "Ye judge after the flesh; I judge not
any man," either now, or after the flesh. " But even if I 
judge, my judgment is true." Why is Thy judgment true ? 
" Because I am not alone," saith He, " but I and the Father that sent me." What then, Lord 
Jesus ? If Thou wert alone would Thy judgment be false; and is it because Thou art not 
onely, but Thou and the Father that sent Thee, that Thou judgest truly ? How shall I 
answer ? Let Himself answer: He saith, " My judgment is true." Why ? " Because I am 
not alone, but I and the Father that sent me." If He is with Thee, how has He sent Thee ? 
And has He sent Thee, and yet is He also with Thee ? Is it so that having been sent, Thou 
hast not departed from Him ? And didst Thou come to us, and yet abide there ? How is 
this to be believed ? 
how apprehended ? To these two questions I answer: Thou sayest rightly, how is it to be 
apprehended; how believed, thou sayest not rightly. Bather, for that reason is it right to 
believe it, because it is not immediately to be apprehended; for if it were a thing to be 
immediately apprehended, there would be no need to believe it, because it would be seen. 
It is because thou dost not apprehend that thou believest; but by believing thou art made 
capable of apprehending. For if thou dost not believe, thou wilt never apprehend, since 
thou wilt remain less capable. Let faith then purify thee, that understanding may fill thee. 
" My judgment is true," saith He, " because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent 
me." Therefore, Lord our God, Jesus Christ, Thy sending is Thy incarnation. So I see, so 
I understand: in short, so I 
believe, in case it may smack of arrogance to say, so I understand. Doubtless the Lord 
Jesus Christ is even here; rather, was here as to His flesh, is here now as to His Godhead: 
He was both with the Father and had not left the Father. Hence, in that He is said to have 
been sent and to have come to us, His incarnation is* set forth to us, for the Father did not 
take flesh.

8. For there are certain heretics called Sabellians, who are also called Patrpassians, who 
affirm that it was the Father Himself that had suffered. Do not thou so affirm, Catholic; 
for if thou wilt be a Patrpassian, thou wilt not be sane. 
Understand, then, that the incarnation of the Son is termed 

TRACT. XXXVI.] THE PATRIPASSIAN HERESY. 467

the sending of the Son; and do not believe that the Father was incarnate, but do not yet 
believe that He departed from the incarnate Son. The Son carried flesh, the Father was
with the Son. If the Father was in heaven, the Son on earth, how was the Father with the Son? Because both Father and Son were everywhere: for God is not in such manner in heaven as not to be on earth. Hear him who would flee from the judgment of God, and found not a way to flee by:

"Whither shall I go," saith he, "from Thy Spirit; and whither shall I flee from Thy face? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there." The question was about the earth; hear what follows: "If I descend unto hell, Thou art there." 1 If, then, He is said to be present even in hell, what in the universe remains where He is not present? For the voice of God with the prophet is, "I fill heaven and earth." 2 Hence He is everywhere, who is confined by no place. Turn not thou away from Him, and He is with thee. If thou wouldst come to Him, be not slow to love; for it is not with feet but with affections thou runnest. Thou comest while remaining in one place, if thou believest and lovest. Wherefore He is everywhere; and if everywhere, how not also with the Son? Is it so that He is not with the Son, while, if thou believest, He is even with thee?

9. How, then, is His judgment true, but because the Son is true? For this He said: "And if I judge, my judgment is true; because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me." Just as if He had said, "My judgment is true," because I am the Son of God. How dost Thou prove that Thou art the Son of God? "Because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me." Blush, Sabellian; thou nearest the Son, thou nearest the Father. Father is Father, Son is Son. He said not, I am the Father, and I the same am the Son; but He saith, "I am not alone." Why art Thou not alone? Because the Father is with me. "I am, and the Father that sent me;" thou hearest, "I am, and He that sent me." Lest thou lose sight of the person, distinguish the persons. Distinguish by understanding, do not separate by faithlessness; lest again, fleeing as it were Charybdis, thou rush upon Scylla. For the whirlpool of the impiety of the Sabellians was swallowing thee, to say that the Father is the same who is Son: just now thou hast learned, "I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me." Thou dost acknowledge that the Father is Father, and that the Son is Son; thou dost rightly acknowledge: but do not say the Father is greater, the Son is less; do not say, the Father is gold, the Son is silver. There is one substance, one Godhead, one co-eternity, perfect equality, no unlikeness. For if thou only believe that Christ is another, not the same person that the Father is, but yet imagine that in respect of His nature He is somewhat different from the Father, thou hast indeed escaped Charybdis, but thou hast been wrecked on the rocks of Scylla. Steer the middle course, avoid each of the two perilous sides. Father is Father, Son is Son. Thou sayest now, Father is Father, Son is Son: thou hast fortunately escaped the danger of the absorbing whirl; why wouldst thou go unto the other side to say, the Father is this, the Son that? The Son is another person than the Father is, this thou sayest rightly; but that He is different in nature, thou sayest not rightly. Certainly the Son is another person,
because He is not the same who is Father; and the Father is another person, because He is not the same who is Son:
nevertheless, they are not different in nature, but the selfsame is both Father and Son. What means the self-same?
God is one. Thou hast heard, "Because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me:" hear how thou mayest believe Father and Son: hear the Son Himself, "I and the Father are one." * He said not, I am the Father; or, I and the Father is one person; but when He says, "I and the Father are one," hear both, both the one, unum, and the are, sumus, and thou shalt be delivered both from Charybdis and from Scylla. In these two words, in that He 'said one, He delivers thee from Arius; in that He said are, He delivers thee from Sabellius. If one, therefore not diverse; if are, therefore both Father and Son. For He would not say are of one person; but, on the other hand, He would not say one of diverse. Hence the reason why He says, "my judgment is true,"
is, that thou mayest hear it briefly, because I am the Son of

1 John x 30.

TEACT. XXXVI.] SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS. 469

God. But I would have thee in such wise believe that I am the Son of God, that thou mayest understand that the Father is with me: I am not Son in such manner as to have left Him; I am not in such manner here that I should not be with Him; nor is He in such manner there as not to be with me: I have taken to me the form of a servant, yet have I not lost the form of God; therefore He saith, "I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me."

10. He had spoken of judgment; He means to speak of testimony. "In your law," saith He, "it is written that the testimony of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me."
He expounded the law to them also, if they were not unthankful. For it is a great question, my brethren, and to me it certainly appears to have been ordained in a mystery, where God said, "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand." 1 Is truth sought by two witnesses? Clearly it is; so is the custom of mankind: but yet it may be that even two witnesses lie. The chaste Susanna was pressed by two false witnesses: were they not therefore false because they were two? Do we speak of two or of three? A whole people lied against Christ. 2 If, then, a people, consisting of a great multitude of men, was found a false witness, how is it to be understood that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand," unless it be that in this manner the Trinity is mysteriously set forth to us, in which is perpetual stability of truth? Dost thou wish to have a good cause?
Have two or three witnesses, â€” the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
In short, when Susanna, the chaste woman and faithful wife, was pressed by two false witnesses, the Trinity supported her in her conscience and in secret: that Trinity raised up from secrecy one witness, Daniel, and convicted the two. 3 Therefore, because it is
written in your law that the witness of two men is true, receive our witness, lest ye feel our judgment.
"For I," saith He, "judge not any man; but I bear witness of myself:" I defer judgment, I defer not the witness.

11. Let us, brethren, choose for ourselves God as our judge,

1 Deut. xix. 15; Matt, xviii. 16. 2 Luke xxiii. 1.

8 Dan. xiii. 36-62 (apocryphal addition).

470 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN”. [TRACT. XXXVI.

God as our witness, against the tongues of men, against the weak suspicions of mankind. For He who is the judge disdains not to be witness, nor is He advanced in honour when He becomes judge; since He who is witness will also Himself be judge. In what way is He witness? Because He asks not another to learn from Him who thou art. In what way is He judge? Because He has the power of killing and making alive, of condemning and acquitting, of casting down into hell and of raising up into heaven, of joining to the devil and of crowning with the angels. Since, therefore, He has this power, He is judge. Now, because He requires not another witness that He may know thee; and that He who will hereafter judge thee is now seeing thee, there is no means whereby thou canst deceive Him when He begins to judge. For there is no furnishing thyself with false witnesses who can circumvent that judge when He shall begin to judge thee. This is what God says to thee: When thou despisedst, I did see it; and when thou believedst not, I did not frustrate my sentence. I delayed it, not removed it. Thou wouldst not hear what I enjoined, thou shalt feel what I foretold.

But if thou hearest what I enjoined, thou shalt not feel the evils which I have foretold, but thou shalt enjoy the good things which I have promised.

12. Let it not by any means surprise any one that He says, "My judgment is true; because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me f whilst He has said in another place, "The Father judgeth not any man, but all judgment hath He given to the Son." We have already discoursed on these same words of the evangelist, and we remind you now that this was not said because the Father will not be with the Son when He comes to judge, but because the Son alone will be apparent to the good and the bad in the judgment, in that form in which He suffered, and rose again, and ascended into heaven. For at that moment, indeed, as they were beholding Him ascending, the angelic voice sounded in the ears of His disciples, "So shall He come in like manner as ye have seen Him going into heaven;" I that is, in the form of man in which He was judged, will He judge, in order

1 Acts i. 11.
that also that prophetic utterance may be fulfilled, "They shall look upon Him whom they pierced." 1 But when the righteous go into eternal life, we shall see Him as He is; that will not be the judgment of the living and the dead, but only the reward of the living.

13. Likewise, let it not surprise you that He says, "In your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true," that any man should hence suppose that this was not also the law of God, because it is not said, In the law of God: let him know that, when it is said thus, In your law, it is just as if He said, " In the law which was given to you;" given by whom, except by God ? Just as we say, " Our daily bread;" and yet we say, " Give us this day."

1 1 Zach. xii. 10; John xix. 37.

TEACTATE XXXVII.

Chapter VIII. 19, 20.

1. "YTTHAT in the holy Gospel is spoken briefly ought not à¼ f briefly to be expounded, so that what is read may be understood. The words of the Lord are few, but great; to be valued not by number, but by weight: not to be despised because they are few, but to be sought because they are great. You who were present yesterday have heard, as we discoursed according to our ability from that which the Lord said, " Ye judge after the flesh; I judge not any man. But yet if I judge, my judgment is true; because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me. It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of myself, and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me." Yesterday, as I have said, from these words a discourse was delivered to your ears and to your minds. When the Lord had spoken these words, they who heard, " Ye judge after the flesh," manifested the truth of what they had heard. For they answered the Lord, as He spoke of God His Father, and said to Him, " Where is thy Father T The Father of Christ they understood carnally, because they judged the words of Christ after the flesh. But He who spoke was openly flesh, but secretly the Word: man visible, God hidden. They saw the covering, and despised the wearer: they despised because they knew not; knew not, because they saw not; saw not, because they were blind; they were blind, because they believed not.

2. Let us see, then, what answer the Lord made to this.
"Where," say they, "is thy Father?" For we have heard thee say, "I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me: we see thee alone, we do not see thy Father with thee; how sayest thou that thou art not alone, but that thou art

472

TRACT. XXXVII.] CHRIST REBUKING UNBELIEF. 473

with thy Father? Else show us that thy Father is with thee. And the Lord answered them: Do ye know me, that I should show you the Father? This is indeed what follows; this is what He answered in His own words, the exposition of which we have already premised. For see what He said, "Ye neither know me, nor my Father: if ye knew me, ye would perhaps know my Father also." Ye say then, "Where is thy Father?" As if already ye knew me; as if what you see were all that I am. Therefore because ye know not me, I do not show you my Father. Ye suppose me, in fact, to be a man; hence ye seek a man for my father, because "ye judge after the flesh." But because, according to what you see, I am one thing, and another thing according to what you see not, and that I as hidden from you speak of my Father as hidden, it is requisite that you should first know me, and then ye know my Father also.

3. "For if ye knew me, ye would perhaps know my Father also." He who knows all things is not in doubt when He says perhaps, but rebuking. Now see how this very word perhaps, which seems to be a word of doubting, may be spoken chidingly. Yea, a word expressive of doubt it is when used by man, for man doubts because he knows not; but when a word of doubting is spoken by God, from whom surely nothing is hid, it is unbelief that is reproved by that doubting, not the Godhead merely expressing an opinion. For men sometimes chidingly express doubt concerning things which they hold certain; that is, use a word of doubting, while in their heart they doubt not: just as thou wouldst say to thy slave, if thou wert angry with him, "Thou despisest me; but consider, perhaps I am thy master." Hence also the apostle, speaking to some who despised him, says: "And I think that I also have the Spirit of God." 1 When he says, "I think," he seems to doubt; but he is rebuking, not doubting. And in another place the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, rebuking the future unbelief of mankind, saith: "When the Son of man cometh, will He, thinkest thou, find faith on the earth?" 2

4. You now, as I think, understand how the word perhaps is used here, in case any weigher of words and poiser of

1 1 Cor. vii. 40. 2 Luke xviii. 8.

474 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVII.
syllables, as if to show his knowledge of Latin, finds fault with a word which the Word of God spoke; and by blaming the Word of God, remain not eloquent, but mute. For who is there that speaks as doth the Word which was in the beginning with God? Do not consider these words as we use them, and from these wish to measure that Word which is God. Thou nearest the Word indeed, and despisest it; hear God and fear Him: ** In the beginning was the Word." Thou referest to the usage of thy conversation, and sayest within thyself, What is a word? What mighty word? It sounds and passes away; after beating the air, it strikes the ear and is no more. Hear further: " The Word was with God; " remained, did not by sounding pass away. Perhaps thou still despisest it: " The Word was God." With thyself, man, a word in thy heart is a different thing from sound; but the word that is with thee, in order to pass to me, requires sound for a vehicle as it were. It takes to itself sound, mounts it as a vehicle, runs through the air, comes to me and yet does not I leave thee. But the sound, in order to come to me, left thee and yet did not stay with me. Now has the word that was in thy heart also passed away with the passing sound? Thou didst speak thy thought; and, that the thought which was hid with thee might come to me, thou didst sound syllables; the
â€¢ sound of the syllables conveyed thy thought to my ear;
through my ear thy thought descended into my heart, the
â– , intermediate sound flew away: but that word which took to
/ itself sound was with thee before thou didst sound it, and is
with me, because thou didst sound it, without quitting thee.

[ Consider this, thou nice weigher of sounds, whoever thou be.
Thou despisest the Word of God, thou who comprehenderest not
the word of man.

5. He, then, by whom all things were made knows all things, and yet He rebukes by
doubting: " If ye knew me, ye would perhaps know my Father also." He rebukes unbelivers. He spoke a like sentence to the disciples, but there is not a word of doubting in it, because there was no occasion to rebuke unbelief. For this, " If ye know me, ye would perhaps know my Father also," which He said to the Jews, He said also to the disciples, when Philip asked, or

TRACT. XX XVII. ] THE ASIANS AND SABELLIANS. 475

rather, demanded of Him, saying, " Lord, show us the Father, and it sumceth us: " just as if he said, We already know Thee even ourselves; Thou hast been apparent to us; we have seen Thee; Thou hast deigned to choose us; we have followed Thee, have seen Thy marvels, heard Thy words of salvation, have taken Thy precepts upon us, we hope in Thy promises: Thou hast deigned to confer much upon us by Thy very presence: but still, while we know Thee, and we do not yet know the Father, we are inflamed with desire to see Him whom we do not yet know; and thus, because we know Thee, but it is not enough until we know the Father, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. And the Lord, that they might understand that they knew not what they thought they did already know, said, " Am I so long time with you, and ye know me not, Philip ? he who hath seen me hath seen the Father." 1 Has this sentence a word of doubting in it ? Did He say, He that hath seen me hath perhaps seen the Father ? Why not ? Because it was a believer that listened to Him, not a persecutor of the faith: hence did the Lord not rebuke, but teach. "Whoso hath seen me hath seen the Father also; " and here, " If ye knew me, ye would know my Father also," let us remove the word which indicates the unbelief of the hearers, and it is the same sentence.

6. Yesterday we commended it to your consideration, beloved, and said that the sentences of the Evangelist John, in which he narrates to us what he learned from the Lord, had not
required to be discussed; were that possible, except the inventions of heretics had compelled us. Yesterday, then, we briefly intimated to you, beloved, that there are heretics who are called Patripassians, or Sabellians after their founder: these say that the same is the Father who is the Son; the names different, but the person one. When He wills, say they, He is Father; when He wills, He is Son: still He is one. There are likewise other heretics who are called Arians. They indeed confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is the only Son of the Father; the one, Father of the Son; the other, Son of the Father; that He who is Father is not Son, nor He who is Son

1 John xiv. 8.

476 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVII.

is Father; they confess that the Son was begotten, but deny His equality. We, namely, the catholic faith, coming from the doctrine of the apostles planted in us, received by a line of succession, to be transmitted sound to posterity, â€” the catholic faith, I say, has, between both those parties, that is, between both errors, held the truth. In the error of the Sabellians, He is only one; the Father and Son is the same person: in the error of the Arians, the Father and the Son are indeed different persons; but the Son is not only a different person, but different in nature. Thou midway between these, what sayest thou? Thou hast shut out the Sabellian, shut out the Arian also. The Father is Father, the Son is Son; another person, not another in nature; for, "I and the Father are one," which, so far as I could, I pressed on your thoughts yesterday. When he hears that word, we are, let the Sabellian go away confounded; when he hears the word one, let the Arian go away confounded. Let the catholic steer the bark of his faith between both, since in both he must be on his guard against shipwreck. Say thou, then, what the Gospel saith, "I and the Father are one." Not different in nature, because one; not one person, because are.

7. A little before He said, "My judgment is true; because I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me: " as if He said, The reason why my judgment is true is, because I am the Son of God, because I speak the truth, because I am truth itself. Those men, understanding Him carnally, said, "Where is thy Father?" Now hear, Arian: "Ye neither know me, nor my Father; " because, "If ye knew me, ye would know my Father also." What doth this mean, except "I and the Father are one"? When thou seest some person like some other, â€” give heed, beloved, it is a common remark; let not that appear to you difficult which you see to be customary, â€” when, I say, thou seest some person like another, and thou knowest the person to whom he is like, thou sayest in wonder, "How like this person is to that!" Thou wouldst not say this unless there were two. Here one who does not know the person to whom thou sayest the other is like remarks, "Is he so like him?" And thou answerest him: What? dost thou not know that person? Saith he, "No, I do not." Inirnedi-
ately thou, in order to make known to him the person whom he does not know by means of the person whom he observes before him, answerest, saying, Having seen this man, thou hast seen the other. Thou didst not, surely, assert that they are one person in saying this, or that they are not two; but made such answer because of the likeness: "If thou knowest the one, thou knowest the other; for they are very like, and there is no difference whatever between them." Hence also the Lord saith, "If ye knew me, ye would know my Father also;"

not that the Son is the Father, but like the Father. Let the Arian blush. Thanks be to the Lord that even the Arian is separate from the Sabellian error, and is not a Pattripassian: he does not affirm that the Father assumed flesh and came to men, that the Father suffered, rose again, and somehow ascended to Himself; this he does not affirm; he acknowledges with me the Father to be Father, the Son to be Son. But, brother, thou hast escaped that shipwreck, why go to the other? Father is Father, Son is Son; why dost thou affirm that the Son is unlike, that He is different, another substance? If He were unlike, would He say to His disciples, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father"? Would He say to the Jews, "If ye knew me, ye would know my Father also"? How would this be true, unless that other was also true, "I and the Father are one"?

8. "These words spake Jesus in the treasury, speaking in the temple: "great boldness, without fear. For He could not suffer if He did not will it, since He were not born if He did not will it. What follows then?" "And no man laid hold of Him, because His hour was not yet come." Some, again, when they hear this, believe that the Lord Christ was subject to fate, and say: Behold, Christ is held by fate! 0, if thy heart were not fatuous, thou wouldst not believe in fate. If fate, as some understand it, is derived from fando, that is from speaking, how can the Word of God be held by fate, whilst all things that are made are in the Word itself? For God has not ordained anything which He did not know beforehand; that which was made was in His Word. The world was made; both was made and was there. How both was made and was there? Because the house which the builder rears, was pre

ill

478 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVII.

uously in his art; and there, a better house, without age, without decay: however, to show forth his art, he makes a house; and so, in a manner, a house comes forth from a house; and if the house should fall, the art remains. So were all things that are made with the
Word of God; because God made all things in wisdom, 1 and all that He made were known to Him: for He did not learn because He made, but made because He knew. To us they are known, because they are made: to Him, if they had not been known, they would not have been made. Therefore the Word went before. And what was before the Word? Nothing at all. For were there anything before it, it would not have been said, "In the beginning was the Word;" but, In the beginning was the Word made. In short, what says Moses concerning the world? "In the beginning God made the heavens and the earth." Made what was not: well, if He made what was not, what was there before? "In the beginning was the Word." And whence came heaven and earth? "All things were made by Him." Dost thou then put Christ under fate? Where are the fates? In heaven, sayest thou, in the order and changes of the stars. How then can fate rule Him by whom the heavens and the stars were made; whilst thy own will, if thou thinkest rightly, transcends even the stars? Or, because thou knowest that Christ's flesh was under heaven, is that the reason why thou thinkest that Christ's power, was put under the heavens?

9. Hear, thou fool: "His hour was not yet come;" not the hour in which He should be forced to die, but that in which He would deign to be put to death. For Himself knew when He should die: He considered all things that were foretold of Him, and awaited all to be finished that was foretold to be before His suffering; that when all should be fulfilled, then should come His suffering in set order, not by fatal necessity. In short, hear that you may prove. Among the rest that was prophesied of Him, it is also written: "They gave me gall for meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." 2 How this happened, we know from the Gospel. First, they gave Him gall; He received it, tasted it, and spat it out.

1 Ps. civ. 24. 2 Ps. lxix. 22.

TRACT. XXXVIT.] CHRIST ACTED BY POWER. 479

Thereafter, as He hung on the cross, that all that was foretold might be fulfilled, He said, "I thirst." They took a sponge filled with vinegar, bound it to a reed, and put it to His mouth; He received it, and said, "It is finished." What did that mean? All things which were prophesied before my death are completed, then what do I here any longer? In a word, when He said "It is finished, He bowed His head, and gave up the ghost." Did the thieves, who were nailed beside Him, expire when they would? They were held by the bonds of flesh, for they were not the creators of the flesh; fixed by nails, they were a long time tormented, because they had not lordship over their weakness. The Lord, however, when He would, took flesh in a virgin's womb: came forth to men when He would; lived among men so long as He would; and when He would He quitted the flesh. This is the part of power, not of necessity. This hour, then, He awaited; not the fated, but the fitting and voluntary hour; that all might first be fulfilled which behaved to be fulfilled before His decease. How could He have been under necessity of fate, when He said in another place, "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it
again: no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself and take it again " ? 1 He showed this power when the Jews sought Him. " Whom seek ye ? " saith He. " Jesus," said they. And He answered, " I am He." When they heard this voice, " they went back and fell to the ground." 2

10. Says one, If he had this power, why, when the Jews insulted him on the cross and said, " If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross," did he not come down, to show them his power by coming down ? Because He was teaching us patience, therefore He deferred the demonstration of His power. For if He came down, moved as it were at their words, He would be thought to have been overcome by the sting of their insults. He did not come down; there He remained fixed, to depart when He would. For what great matter was it for Him to descend from the cross, when He could rise again from the sepulchre ? Let us, then, to whom this is ministered, understand that the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, then concealed, will be made manifest in the judgment,

1 John x. 18. a John xviii. 6.

480 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVII.

of which it is said, * God will come manifest; our God, and He will not be silent." 1 Why is it said, "will come manifest "? Because He, our God, â€” namely, Christ, â€” came hidden, will come manifest. " And will not be silent:" why this " will not be silent " ? Because at first He did keep silence. When ?
When He was judged; that this, too, might be fulfilled which the prophet had foretold: " As a sheep He was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so He opened not His mouth." 2 He would not have suffered did He not will to suffer: did He not suffer, that blood had not been shed; if that blood were not shed, the world would not be redeemed. Therefore let us give thanks to the power of His divinity, and to the compassion of His infirmity; both concerning the hidden power which the Jews did not recognise, whence it is now said to them, " Ye neither know me nor my Father," and also concerning the flesh assumed, which the Jews did not recognise, and yet knew His lineage: whence He said to them elsewhere, " Ye both know me, and ye know whence I am." Let us know both in Christ, both wherein He is equal to the Father and wherein the Father is greater than He.
That is the Word, this is the flesh; that is God, this is man; but yet Christ is one, God and man.

1 Ps. 1. 3. 2 Isa. liii. 7.
END OF VOL. I.
THE WORKS AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,
BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

VOL. XI.

LECTURES OR TRACTATES ON
THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN,
VOLUME II

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLAPK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXIV.

Source (of this Volume)
Digitized by tine Internet Arcinive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
http://www.archive.org/details/work/sofaureliu02augu

----------------------
LECTURES OR TRACTATES

ON THE

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Translated By:
REV. JAMES INNES, PANBRIDE.

EDINGURGH:
T. & T. CLAEK, GEORGE STEEET.
1874.
CONTEXTS.

Tractate XXXVIII.

. John viii. 21-25.

PAG?,
1

Tr.ACTATE XXXIX.

,, VIII. 26, 27.

12

Tr.ACTATE XL.

,, VIII. 28-32.
Tractate XLI.

,, VIII. 31-36, .

30

Tractate XLII.

,, VIII. 37-47, .

43

Tractate XLIII.

,, VIII. 43-59, ,

54

Tractate XLIV.

,, IX., .

65

Tractate XLY.

,, X. 1-10,

76
Tractate XLYI.

,, X. 11-13,

90

Tractate XLVII.

,, X. 14-21,

99

Tractate XLVIII.

,, X. 22-42,

113

Tractate XLIX.

,, XI. 1-54,

122

Tractate L.

,, XI. 55-57; xii. 1-1]

143

Tractate LI.
153
Tractate LI I.

162
Tractate LIU.

172
Tractate LIV.

182
Tractate LV.

190
Tractate LVI.
Tractate LVII.

,, XIII. 6-10 (continued)

, and SoxG

OF Sol. v. 2, 3,

200

Tractate LYIII.

,, XIII. 10-15, .

205

Tractate LIX.

,, XIII. 16-20, .

210

Tractate LX.

,, XIII. 21,
214

Tractate LXI.

,, XIII. 21-26,

218

Tractate LXII.

,, xiii. 26-31,

222

Tractate LXI IL

,, XIII. 31, 32,

227

Tractate LXI Y.

,, XIII. 33,

201

Tractate LXV.

,, XIII. 34, 35,
Tractate LXVI.
,, XIII. 36-38, .

2C9

Tractate LXVII.
â€ž XIV. 1-3,

243

Tractate LXVIII.
,, XIV. 1-3,

246

Tractate LXIX.
,, XIV. 4-6,

251

Tractate LXX.
,, XIV. 7-10,
Tractate LXXI.

,, XIV. 10-14, .

Tractate LXXII.

,, XIV. 10-14, .

Tractate LXXIII.

,, XIV. 10-14, .

Tractate LXXIV.

,, XIV. 15-17, .

Tractate LXXY.

â€ž XIV. 18-21, .

278
VIU

CONTENTS.

PAGB

Tractate LXXVI.


2S1

Tractate LXXVir.

â€¢ 9y

XIV. 25-27.

285

Tractate LXXVII I.
XIV. 27, 28,

290

Tractate LXXIX.

â€œ >>

XIV. 29-31,

294

Tractate LXXX.

)> 

XV. 1-3,

298

Tractate LXXX I.

â€œ !9
XV. 4-7,

302

Tractate LXXXII.

â€œ JJ

XV. S-10,

306

Tractate LXXXIII.

J5

XV. 11, 12,

310

Tractate LXXXIV.

J>

XV. 13,
314

Tractate LXXXV.

>>

XV. 14, 15,

318

Tractate LXXX VI.

!Â»

XV. 15, 16,

321

Tractate LXXXVIL

99

XV. 17-19,

325
Tractate LXXXVIII

Â»Â»

XV. 20, 21,

329

Tractate LXXXIX.

>>

XV. 22, 23,

333

Tractate XC.

â€¢ â€¢>

XV. 23,

337

Tractate XCL
XV. 24, 25, 341

Tractate XCIL

XV. 26, 27, 345

Tractate XCIIL

XVI. 1-4, 349

Tractate XCIV.

XVI, 4-7,
Tractate XCV.

XVI. 8-11,

360

Tractate XCVL

XVI. 12, 13,

366

Tractate XCVIL

```
```

XVI. 12, 13 (continued).

372
Tractate XCVII.

XVI, 12, 13 (continued),

1378

Tractate XCIX.

```
XVI. 13,

387
```

Tractate C.

```
XVI. 13-15 (continued),

397
```

Tractate CL

```
XVI. 16-23,

402
```
Tractate CIL

3)

XVI. 23-28,

407

Tractate CIIL

â€œ>

XVI. 29-33,

413

Tractate CIV.

5J

XVII. 1,

418

Tractate CV.
XVII. 1-5,

423

Tractate CVI.

XVII. 6-S,

431

Tractate CVI I.

XVII. 9-13, .

439

Tractate CVIII.

JJ
xvii. 14-19, .

444

Tractate CIX.

JJ

XVII. 20,.

448

Tractate CX.

JJ

XVII. 21-23, .

454

Tractate CXI.

J,

XVII. 24-2o, .
Tractate CXI I.

JJ

XVIII. 1-12.

Tractate CXI 1 1.

JJ

XVIII. 13-27.

Tractate CXIV.

J J

XVIII. 28-32.
Tractate CXV.

JJ

XVIII. 33-40, .

489

Tractate CXVI.

J>

XIX. 1-16,

495

Tractate CXVII.

}>

XIX. 17-22, .

501

Tractate CXVIII. .

JJ
XIX. 23, 24, 506

Tractate CXIX.

>>

XIX. 24-30, 512

Tractate CXX.

JJ

XIX. 31-42, an 1 XX, 1-9, 517

Tractate CXXI.

J>

XX. 10-29,
522

Tractate CXXII.

XX. 30, 31, and

XXI. 1-11,

528

Tractate CXXIII.

>>

XXI. 12-19,

539

Tractate CXXIV.

Â»

XXI. 19-25,
ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

TEACTATE XXXVIII.

Chapter VIII. 21-25,

1. **THE lesson of the holy Gospel which preceded to-day's**
   -L had concluded thus: that "the Lord spake, teaching in the treasury," what it pleased
   Him, and what you have heard; " and no one laid hands on Him, for His hour was not yet
   come." According, on the Lord's day we made our subject of discourse what He
   Himself thought fit to give us. We indicated to your Charity why it was said, "His hour
   was not yet come," lest any in their impiety should have the effrontery to suspect Christ
   as laid under some fatal necessity. For the hour was not yet come when by His own
   appointment, in accordance with what was predicted regarding Him, He should not be
   forced to die unwillingly, but be ready to be slain.

2. But of His own passion itself, which lay not in any necessity He was under, but in His
   own power, aU that He said in His discourse to the Jews was, "I go away." For to Christ
   the Lord death was His proceeding to the place whence He had come, and from which He
   had never departed. "I go away," said He, "and ye shall seek me," not from any longing for me, but in hatred.
   For after His removal from human sight. He was sought for both by those who hated Him
   and those who loved Him; by the former in a spirit of persecution, by the latter with the
   desire of having Him. In the Psalms the Lord Hmiself says by the prophet, "A place of
   refuge hath failed me, and there is none that seeketh after

   Chap. viii. 20.
   TRACT. VOL. II. A

2 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVIII.

my life;" and again He says in another place in the Psalms,
" Let them be confounded and ashamed who seek after my life." He blamed the former
for not seeking, He condemned the latter because they did. For it is wrong not to seek the
life of Christ, that is, in the way the disciples sought it; and it is wrong to seek the life of
Christ, that is, in the way the Jews sought it: for the former sought to possess it, these latter to destroy it. Accordingly, because these men sought it thus in a wrong way, with a perverted heart, what next did He add? " Ye shall seek me, and " ã€” not to let you suppose that ye will seek me for good ã€” " ye shall die in your sin." This comes of seeking Christ wrongly, to die in one's sin; this of hating Him, through whom alone salvation could be found. For, while men whose hope is in God ought not to render evil even for evil, these men were rendering evil for good. The Lord therefore announced to them beforehand, and in His foreknowledge uttered the sentence, that they should die in their sin. And then He adds, " "Whither I go, ye cannot come." He said the same to the disciples also in another place; and yet He said not to them, " Ye shall die in your sin." But what did He say? The same as to these men: " Whither I go, ye cannot come." ^ He did not take away hope, but foretold delay. For at the time when the Lord spake this to the disciples, they were not able to come whither He was going, yet were they to come afterwards; but these men never, to whom in His foreknowledge He said, " Ye shall die in your sin."

3. But on hearing these words, as is usual with those whose thoughts are carnal, who judge after the flesh, and hear and apprehend everything in a carnal way, they said, "Will he kill himself? because he said. Whither I go ye cannot come." Foolish words, and overflowing with stupidity! For why? could they not go whither He would have proceeded had He killed Himself? Were not they themselves to die? What, then, means, " Will he kill himself? because he said. Whither I go ye cannot come "? If He spake of man's death, what man is there that does not die? Therefore, by " whither I go " He meant, not the going to death, but whither He was going HimseK after death. Such, then, was their answer, because they did not understand.

4. And what said the Lord to those who savoured of the earth? " And He said unto them, Ye are from beneath." For this cause ye savour of the earth, because ye lick dust like serpents. Ye eat earth! What does it mean? Ye feed on earthily things, ye delight in earthly things, ye gape after earthly things, ye have no heart for what is above. " Ye are from beneath: I am from above. Ye are of this world: I am not of this world." For how could He be of the world, by whom the world was made? All that are of the world come after the world, because the world preceded; and so man is of the world. But Christ was first, and then the world; and since Christ was before the world, before Christ there was nothing: because " In the beginning was the Word; all
things were made by Him." ^ He, therefore, was of that which is above. But of what that is above ? Of the air ?
Perish the thought ! there the birds wing their flight. Of the sky that we see ? Again I say. Perish the thought ! it is there that the stars and sun and moon revolve. Of the angels ?
Neither is this to be understood: by Him who made all things were the angels also made.
Of what, then, above is Christ ? Of the Father Himself. Nothing is above that God who begat the Word equal with Himself, coeternal with Himself, only-begotten, timeless, that by Him time's own foundations should be laid. Understand, then, Christ as from above, so as in thy thought to get beyond everything that is made, â€“ the whole creation together, every material body, every created spirit, everything in any way subject to change:
rise above all, as John rose, in order to reach this: " In the beginning was the Word, and .the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

5. Therefore said He, " I am from above. Ye are of this world: I am not of this world. I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins." He has explained to us, brethren, what He wished to be understood by " ye are of this world." He said therefore in fact, "Ye are of this world," because they were sinners, because they were im-

1 Chap. i. 1, 3.

4 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXXVII

righteous, because they were unbelieving, because they savoured of the earthly. For what is your opinion as regards the holy apostles ? What difference was there between the Jews and the apostles ? As great as between darkness and light, as between faith and unbelief, as between piety and impiety, as between hope and despair, as between love and avarice: surely the difference was great. What then? because there was such a difference, were the apostles not of the world ? It thy thoughts turn to the manner of their birth, and whence they came, inasmuch as all of them had come from Adam, they were of this world. But what said the Lord Himself to them? "I have chosen you out of the world." ^ Those, then, who were of the world, became not of the world, and began to belong to Him by whom the world was made.
But these men continued to be of the world, to whom it was said, " Ye shall die in your sins."

6. Let none then, brethren, say, I am not of this world.
Whoever thou art as a man, thou art of this world; but He who made the world came to thee, and delivered thee from this world. If the world ^ delights thee, thou wishest always to be unclean (immiindus); but if this world no longer delight thee, thou art already clean (mundus). And yet, if through some infirmity the world still delight thee, let Him who cleanseth^ (mundat) dwell in thee, and thou too shalt be clean.
But if thou art once clean, thou wilt not continue in the world; neither wilt thou hear what was heard by the Jews, " Ye shall die in your sins." For we are all born with sin; we have
all in living added to that wherein we were born, and have since become more of the world than when we were born of our parents. And where should we be, had He not come, who was wholly free from sin, to expiate all sin? And so, because in Him the Jews believed not, they deservedly heard [the sentence], "Ye shall die in your sins;" for in no way could ye, who were born with sin, be without sin; and yet, said He, if ye believe in me, although it is still true that ye were born with sin, yet in your sin ye shall not die. The whole misery,

> Chap. XV. 19.

* There is a play here on the words mundus, the world, and mundus, clean, with its compound immundus, and its cognate verb mundare. â€” Tr.

TRACT. XXXVIII.] FAITH FINDS FORGIVENESS. â€¢ â€¢ â€¢ 5

then, of the Jews was just this, not to have sin, but to die in their sins. From this it is that every Christian ought to seek to escape; because of this we have recourse to baptism; on this account do those whose lives are in danger from sickness or any other cause become anxious for help; for this also is the sucking child carried by his mother with pious hands to the church, that he may not go out into the world without baptism, and die in the sin wherein he was born. Llost wretched surely the condition and miserable the lot of these men, who heard from those truth-speaking lips, "Ye shall die in your sins!"

7. But He explains whence this should befall them: "For if ye believe not that I am [He], ye shall die in your sins."

I believe, brethren, that among the multitude who listened to the Lord, there were those also who should yet believe. But against all, as it were, had that most severe sentence gone forth, "Ye shall die in your sin;" and thereby even from those who should yet believe had hope been withdrawn: the others were roused to fury, they to fear, yea, to more than fear, they were brought now to despair. But He revived their hope; for He added, "If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins." Therefore if ye do believe that I am, ye shall not die in your sins, Hope was restored to the desponding, the sleeping were aroused, their hearts got a fresh awakening; and thereafter very many believed, as the Gospel itself attests in the sequel. For members of Christ were there, who had not yet become attached to the body of Christ; and among that people by whom He was crucified, by whom He was hanged on a tree, by whom when hanging He was mocked, by whom He was wounded with the spear, by whom gall and vinegar were given Him to drink, were the members of Christ, for whose sake He said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And what will a convert not be forgiven, if the shedding of Christ's blood is forgiven? What murderer need despair, if he was restored to hope by whom even Christ was slain? After this many believed; they were presented with Christ's blood as a gift, that they might drink it for their salvation, rather than be held guilty of shedding it.
Who can despair? And if the thief was saved on the cross, â€” a murderer shortly before, a little afterwards accused, convicted.

6 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XXXVIII.

condemned, hanged, delivered, â€” wonder not. The place of his conviction was that of his condemnation; while that of his conversion was the place also of his deliverance.

Among this people, then, to whom the Lord was speaking, were those who should yet die in their sin: there were those also who should yet believe on Him who spake, and find deliverance from all their sin.

8. But look at this which is said by Christ the Lord: " If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins." What is this, " If ye believe not that I am "? "I am " what? There is nothing added; and because He added nothing, He left much to be inferred. For He was expected to say what He was, and yet He said it not. What was He expected to say? Perhaps, " If ye believe not that I am " Christ; " if ye believe not that I am " the Son of God; " if ye believe not that I am " the Word of the Father; " if ye believe not that I am " the founder of the world; " if ye believe not that I am " the former and re-former, the creator and re-creator, the maker and re-maker of man; â€” " if ye believe not that I am ".

This, " ye shall die in your sins." There is much implied in His only saying "I am;" for so also had God said to Moses,

" I am who am." Who can adequately express what that AM means? God by His angel sent His servant Moses to deliver His people out of Egypt (you have read and know what you now hear; but I recall it to your minds); He sent him trembling, self-excusing, but obedient. And while thus excusing himself, he said to God, whom he understood to be speaking in the person of the angel: If the people say to me, And who is the God that hath sent thee? what shall I say to them? And the Lord answered him, " I am who am;" and added, â€” Thou shalt say to the children of Israel, He who is hath sent me to you." There also He says not, I am God; or, -c I am the framer of the world; or, I am the creator of aU

â€” things; or, I am the multiplier of the very people to be delivered: but only this, " I am who am;" and, " Thou shalt say to the children of Israel, He who is." He added not,

.0â€” ' Who is your God, who is the God of your lathers; but said
only this: "He who is hath sent me to you." Perhaps it

Luke xviii. 34-43.

TEACT. XXXVIII. | CHMST AND JEHOVAH.

was too much even for Moses himself, as it is too much for us also, and much more so for us, to understand the meaning of such words, "I am who am;" and, "He who is hath sent me to you." And supposing that Moses comprehended it, when would those to whom he was sent comprehend it? The Lord therefore put aside what man could not comprehend, and added what he could; for He said also besides, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." This thou canst comprehend; for "I am who am," what mind can comprehend?

9. What then of us? shall we venture to say anything on such words, "I am who am;" or rather on this, that you have heard the Lord saying, "If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins"? Shall I venture with these feeble and scarcely existing powers of mine to discuss the meaning of that which Christ the Lord hath said, "If ye believe not that I am"? I shall venture to ask the Lord Himself Listen to me as one asking rather than discussing, inquiring rather than assuming, learning rather than teaching, and fail not yourselves also to be asking with me or through me. The Lord Himself, who is everywhere, is also at hand. Let Him hear the feeling that prompts to ask, and grant the fruit of understanding. For in what words, even were it so that I comprehend something, can I convey to your hearts what I comprehend? What voice is adequate? what eloquence sufficient? what powers of intelligence? what faculty of utterance?

10. I shall speak, then, to our Lord Jesus Christ; I shall speak, and may He be pleased to hear me. I believe He is present, I am fully assured of it; for He Himself has said, "Lo, I am with you even to the end of the world." O Lord our God, what is that which Thou saidst, "If ye believe not that I am"? For what is there that belongs not to the things Thou hast made? Does not heaven so belong? Does not the earth? Does not everything in earth and heaven? Does not man himself to whom Thou speakest? Does not the angel whom Thou sendest? If all these are things made by Thee, what is that existence which Thou hast retained as something exclusively Thine own, which Thou hast given to none

besides, that Thou mightest be such Thyself alone? For how do I hear "I am who am" as if there were none besides? and how do I hear "If ye believe not that I am"? For had they no existence who heard Him? Yea, though they were sinners, they were men. What then can I do? What that existence is, let Him tell my heart, let Him tell, let Him declare it within; let the inner man hear, the mind apprehend this true existence; for such existence is always unvarying in character. For a thing, anything whatever (I have begun as it were to dispute, and have left off inquiring. Perhaps Iâ– wish to speak what I have heard. May He grant enlargement to my hearing, and to yours, while I speak); â€” for anything, whatever in short be its excellence, if it is changeable, does not truly exist; for there is no true existence wherever non-existence has also a place. For whatever can be changed, so far as changed, it is not that which was: if it is no longer what it was, a kind of death has therein taken place; something that was there has been eliminated, and exists no more.

Blackness has died out in the silvery locks of the patriarch, comeliness in the body of the careworn and crooked old man, strength in the body of the languishing, the [previous] standing posture in the body of one walking, walking in the body of one standing, walking and standing in the body of one reclining, speech in the tongue of the silent; â€” whatever changes, and is what it was not, I see there a kind of life in that which is, and death in that which was. In fine, when we say of one deceased. Where is that person? we are answered. He was. Truth, it is thou [alone] that truly art! For in all actions and movements of ours, yea, in every activity of the creature, I find two times, the past and the future. I seek for the present, nothing stands still: what I have said is no longer present; what I am going to say is not yet come: what I have done is no longer present; what I am going to do is not yet come: the life I have lived is no longer present; the life I have still to live is not yet come.

Past and future I find in every creature-movement: in truth, which is abiding, past and future I find not, but the present alone, and that unchangeably, which has no place in the creature. Sift the mutations of things, thou wilt find WAS and WILL BE: think on God, thou wilt find the is, where was and WILL BE cannot exist. To be so then thyself, rise beyond the boundaries of time. But who can transcend the powers of his being? May He raise us thither who said to the Father, "I will that they also be with me where I am."

And so, in making this promise, that we should not die in our sins, the Lord Jesus Christ, I think, said nothing else by these words, "If ye believe not that I am;" yea, by these words I

* "Eodera modo."

**TRACT. XXXVIII.] CHRIST THE UNCHANGEABLE. 9**

creature. Sift the mutations of things, thou wilt find WAS and WILL BE: think on God, thou wilt find the is, where was and WILL BE cannot exist. To be so then thyself, rise beyond the boundaries of time. But who can transcend the powers of his being? May He raise us thither who said to the Father, "I will that they also be with me where I am."

And so, in making this promise, that we should not die in our sins, the Lord Jesus Christ, I think, said nothing else by these words, "If ye believe not that I am;" yea, by these words I
think He meant nothing else than this, "If ye believe not that I am " God, " ye shaU die in your sins." Well, God be thanked that He said, "If ye believe not," and did not say. If ye comprehend not. For who can comprehend this ? Or is it so, since I have ventured to speak and you have seemed to understand, that you have indeed comprehended somewhat of a subject so unspeakable ? If then thou comprehendest not, faith sets thee free. Therefore also the Lord said not. If ye comprehend not that I am; but said what they were capable of attaining, "If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins."

11, And savouring as these men always did of the earth, and ever hearing and answering according to the flesh, what did they say to Him ? "Who art thou I" For when thou saidst, "If ye believe not that I am," thou didst not tell us what thou wert. Who art thou, that we may believe ?

He answered, "The Beginning." Here is the existence that [always] is. The beginning cannot be changed: the beginning is self-abiding and all-originating; that is, the beginning, to which it has been said, "But thou Thyself art the same, and Thy years shall not fail."^ "The beginning," He said, "for so I also speak to you." Believe me [to be] the beginning, that ye may not die in your sins. For just as if by saying, "Who art thou I" they had said nothing else than this. What shall we believe thee to be? He replied, "The beginning:" that is, Believe me [to be] the beginning. For in the Greek expression we discern what we cannot in the Latin. For in Greek the word "beginning" (lorincijium, apyrj) is of the feminine gender, just as with us "law" (lex) is of the feminine gender.

\[\text{â€¢ }\text{Ts. cii. 27.}\]

10 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXVIII.]

gender, while it is of the masculine (v6fio<i) with them; or as "wisdom" (sapientia, a-o^ia) is of the feminine gender with both. It is the custom of speech, therefore, in different languages to vary the gender of words, because in things themselves there is no place for the distinction of sex. For wisdom is not really female, since Christ is the Wisdom of God,^ and Christ is termed of the masculine gender, wisdom of the feminine. When then the Jews said, "Who art thou I" He, who knew that there were some there who should yet believe, and therefore had said. Who art thou? that so they might come to know what they ought to believe regarding Him, replied, "The beginning:" not as if He said, I am the beginning; but as if He said. Believe me [to be] the beginning.

Which, as I said, is quite evident in the Greek language, where beginning (dp-)(rjv) is of the feminine gender.\(^\uparrow\) Just as if He had wished to say that He was the Truth, and to their question, "Who art thou I" had answered, Veritatem \([\text{the Truth}]); when to the words, "Who art thou I" He evidently ought to have replied, Veritas \([\text{the Truth}]); that is, I am the Truth. But His answer had a deeper meaning, when He saw that they had put the question, "Who art thou I" in such a way as to mean. Having heard from thee, "If ye believe not that I am," what shall we believe thee to be ? To this He replied, "The
beginning: "as if He said. Believe me to be the beginning. And He added, " for [as such] I also speak to you;" that is, having humbled myself on your account, I have condescended to such words. For if the beginning as it is in itself had remained so with the Father, as not to receive the form of a servant and speak as man with men; how could they have believed in Him, since their weak hearts could not have heard the Word intelligently without some voice that would appeal to their senses? Therefore, said He, believe me to be the beginning; for, that you may believe, I not only am, but also speak to you. But on this subject I have still

1 1 Cor. i. 24.

2 The Greek is ῥί v xpx'i*, wliicli to some has here the sound of an adverb, like the Latin principio and primum. So at least it sounded to Chrjsostom. But Augustine's interpretation is favoured by Ambrose, Bernard, etc.

3 In the accusative case. * In the nominative case.

* Augustine here makes Christ's speaking â€” His use of human language â€” the

TRACTATE XXXIX.

Chapter VIII. 26, 27.

1. The words of our Lord Jesus Christ, which He had addressed to the Jews, so regulating His discourse that the blind saw not, and believers' eyes were opened, are these, which have been read to-day from the holy Gospel: "Then said the Jews, Who art thou?" Because the Lord had said before, " If ye believe not that I am, ye shall die in your sins." ^ To this accordingly they rejoined, " Who art thou?" as if seeking to know on whom they ought to believe, so as not to die in their sin. He replied to those who asked Him
"Who art thou?" by saying, "The beginning, for [so] also I speak to you." If the Lord has called Himself the beginning, it may be inquired whether the Father also is the beginning.

For if the Son who has a Father is the beginning, how much more easily must God the Father be understood as the beginning, who has indeed the Son whose Father He is, but has no one from whom He Himself proceedeth? For the Son is the Son of the Father, and the Father certainly is the Father of the Son; but the Son is called God of God, â€” the Son is called Light of Light; the Father is called Light, but not, of Light, â€” the Father is called God, but not, of God. If, then, God of God, Light of Light, is the beginning, how much more easily may we understand as such that Light, from whom the Light [cometh], and God, of whom is God? It seems, therefore, absurd, dearly beloved, to call the Son the beginning, and not to call the Father the beginning also.

2. But what shall we do? Are there, then, two beginnings? Let us beware of saying so. What, then? If both the Father is the beginning and the Son the beginning, how are there not two beginnings? In the same way that we call

^ Chap. viii. 25, 2i.

12

TrACT. XXXIX.] HIE TRINITY. 13

the Father God, and the Son God, and yet say not that there are two Gods; and yet He who is the Father is not the Son, He who is the Son is not the Father; and the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, is neither the Father nor the Son. Although, then, as Catholic ears have been taught in the bosom of mother Church, neither He who is the Father is the Son, nor He who is the Son is the Father, nor is the Holy Spirit, of the Father and of the Son, either the Son or the Father, yet we say not that there are three Gods; although, if we are asked of each apart, we must, of whichever we are questioned, confess that He is God.

3. But all this seems absurd to those who drag up familiar things to a level with things little known, visible things with invisible, and compare the creature to the Creator. For unbelievers sometimes question us and say: Whom you call the Father, do you call him God? We answer, God. Whom you call the Son, do you call him God? We answer, God. Whom you call the Holy Spirit, do you call him God? We answer, God. Then, say they, are the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit three Gods? We answer, No. They are confounded, because they are not enlightened; they have their heart shut up, because they want the key of faith. Let us then, brethren, by an antecedent faith that heals the eye of our heart, receive without obscurity what we understand, â€” and what we understand not, believe without hesitation; let us not quit the foundation of faith in order to reach the summit of perfection. The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God: and yet
He is not the Father who is the Son, nor He the Son who is the Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, is neither the Father nor the Son. The Trinity is one God. The Trinity is one eternity, one power, one majesty; â€” three, but not [three] Gods. Let not the reviler answer me: Three what, then? For, he adds, if there are three, you must say, three what. I reply: The Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. See, he says, you have named three; but express what the three are? Nay, count them yourself; for I make out three when I say, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For the Father is God as respects Himself, but [He is] the Father as respects the Son; the Son is God as respects Himself, but He is the Son as regards the Father.

4. What I say you may gather from daily analogies. So it is with one man and another, if the one be a father, the other his son. He is man as regards himself, but a father as regards his son; and the son is man as respects himself, but a son as respects his father. For father is a name given relatively, and so with son; but these are two men. And certainly God the Father is Father in a relative sense, that is, in relation to the Son; and God the Son is Son relatively, that is, in relation to the Father; but not as the former are two men are these two Gods. Why is it not so here? Because that belongs to one sphere, and this to another; for this is divine. There is here something ineffable, which cannot be explained in words, that there should both be, and not be, number. For see if there appear not a kind of number. Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost â€” the Trinity. If three, three what? Here number fails. And so God neither keeps apart from number, nor is comprehended by number. Because there are three, there is a kind of number. If you ask three what, number ceases. Hence it is said, "Great is our Lord, and great His power; and of His understanding there is no number." ^ When you have begun to reflect, you begin to number; when you have numbered, you cannot tell what you have numbered. The Father is Father, the Son is Son, the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit. What are these three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? Are They not three Gods? No. Are They not three Almighties? No. Are they not three Creators of the world? No. Is the Father then almighty? Manifestly almighty. And is the Son then not almighty? Clearly the Son is also almighty. And is the Holy Spirit then not almighty? He, too, is almighty. Are there then three Almighties? No; only one Almighty. Only in Their relation to each other do They suggest number, not in Their essential existence. For though God the Father is, as respects Himself, God along with the Son and the Holy Spirit, there are not three Gods; and, though as respects Himself He is omnipotent, as well as the Son and the Holy Spirit, there are not three omnipotents; for

^ Ps. cxlvii. 5 (uiarg.).
in truth He is the Father not in respect to Himself, but to the Son; nor is the Son so in respect to Himself, but to the Father; nor is the Spirit so as regards Himself, in as far as He is called the Spirit of the Father and of the Son, I have no name to give the three, save the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God, one Almighty, And so one beginning.

5. Take an illustration from the Holy Scriptures, whereby you may in some measure comprehend what I am saying.

After our Lord Jesus Christ rose again, and was pleased to ascend into heaven, at the end of ten days He sent from thence the Holy Spirit, by whom those who were present in that one chamber were filled, and began to speak in the languages of all nations. The Lord's murderers, terrified by the miracle, were pricked to the heart and sorrowed; sorrowing, were changed; and being changed, believed. There were added to the Lord's body, that is, to the number of believers, three thousand people. And so also by the working of another miracle there were added other five thousand. A considerable community was created, in which all, receiving the Holy Spirit, by whom spiritual love was kindled, were by then* very love and fervour of spirit welded into one, and began in the very unity of fellowship to sell all that they had, and to lay the price at the apostles' feet, that distribution might be made to every one as each had need. And the Scripture says this of them, that "they were of one soul and one heart toward God." ^ Give heed then, brethren, and from this acknowledge the mystery of the Trinity, how it is we say, There is both the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and yet there is one God. See ! there were so many thousands of these, and yet there was one heart; there were so many thousands, and one soul. But where ? In God. How much more so God Himself ? Do I err at all in word when I call two men two souls, or three men three souls, or many men many souls ? Surely I speak correctly. Let them approach God, and one soul belongs to all. If by approaching God many souls by love become one soul, and many hearts one heart, what of the very fountain of love in the Father and Son ? Is it not still more so here that the Trinity is one God ? For thence, of that Holy Spirit, does

* Acts ii. ami iv, 32, etc.

16 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XXXIX.

love come to us, as the apostle says: 'â€œ' The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us."^ If then the love of God, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us, makes many souls one soul, and many hearts one heart, how much rather are the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one God, one light, and one beginning ?

6. Let us hear, then, the Beginning who speaks to us: "I have," said He, " many things to say of you and to judge."
You remember that He said, "I do not judge any one." See, now He says, "I have many things to say of you and to judge." But, "I do not judge" is one thing: "I have to judge" is another; for He had come to save the world, not to judge the world. In saying, "I have many things to say of you and to judge," He speaks of the future judgment.

For therefore did He ascend, that He may come to judge the living and the dead. No one will judge more justly than He who was unjustly judged. "Many things," said He, "have I to say of you and to judge; but He that sent me is true."

See how the Son, His equal, gives glory to the Father. For He sets us an example, and says as it were in our hearts: O believer, if thou hearest my gospel, the Lord thy God saith to thee, when I, in the beginning God the Word with God, equal with the Father, coeternal with Him that begat, give glory to Him whose Son I am, how canst thou be proud before Him, whose servant thou art?

7. "I have many things," He said, "to say of you and to judge: but He that sent me is true;" as if He had said, Therefore I judge the truth, because, as the Son of the True One, I am the truth. The Father true, the Son the truth, â€” which do we account the greater? Let us reflect, if we can, which is the greater, the True One or the Truth. *Take some other instances. Is a pious man, or piety, the more comprehensive? Surely piety itself; for the pious is derived from piety, not piety from the pious. For piety may still exist, though he who was pious became impious. He has lost his piety, but has taken nothing from itself. What also of comely and comeliness? Comeliness is more than comely;

8. I see I must speak more plainly. And, not to detain you long, let me treat only of this point to-day. When I
have finished what, with God's help, I wish to say, my discourse shall close. I have said this, then, to enlist your attention. Every soul, as being a thing, is mutable; and although a great creature, yet a creature; though superior to the body, yet made. Every soul, then, since it is changeable

â€” that is, sometimes believes, sometimes disbelieves; at one time believes, at another time refuses; at one time is adulterous, at another chaste; now good, and again wicked, â€” is changeable. But God is that which is, and so has retained as His own peculiar name, "I am who am." Such also is the Son, when He says, "If ye believe not that I am; " and thereto pertains also, "Who art thou? The Beginning" (ver. 25).

God therefore is unchangeable, the soul changeable. When the soul receives from God the elements of its goodness, it becomes good by participation, just as by participation thine eye seeth. For it sees not when the light is withdrawn, while so long as it shares in the light it sees. Since then b))" participation the soul is made good, if it changes and becomes bad, the goodness remains that made it good. For there is a goodness of which it partook when good; and when it has


TRACT. VOL. IL B

18 OIT THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XXXIX.

turned to evil, that goodness continues entire. If the soul fall away and become evil, there is no lessening of goodness; if it return and become good, that goodness is not enlarged. Thine eye participates in this light, and thou seest. Is it shut? Then thou hast not diminished the light. Is it open?

Thou hast not increased the light. By this illustration, brethren, understand that if the soul is pious, there is piety with God, of which the soul is partaker; if the soul is chaste, there is chastity with God, of which it partakes; if it is good, there is goodness with God, of which it partakes; if it is true, there is truth with God, of which the soul is partaker.

Whereof if the soul is no partaker, every man is false;^ and if every man may be false, no man is true of himself.^ But the true Father is true of Himself,^ for He begat the Truth.

It is one thing to say. That man is true, for he has taken in the truth: it is another, God is true, for He begat the Truth.

See then how God is true, â€” not by participating in, but by generating the Truth. I see you have understood me, and am glad. Let this suffice you to-day. The rest, according as He gives it, we shall expound when the Lord pleases.

Â»Ps. cxvi. 11. "^ Â«'Desuo."

TEACTATE XL.
Chapter VIII. 2S-32.

1. /\F the holy Gospel according to John, which you see V^ in our hand, your Charity has already heard much, whereon by God's grace we have discoursed according to our ability, pressing on your notice that this evangelist, specially, has chosen to speak of the Lord's divinity, wherein He is equal with the Father and the only Son of God; and on that account he has been compared to the eagle, because no other bird is understood to take a loftier flight. Accordingly, to what follows in order, as the Lord enables us to treat of it, listen with all your attention.

2. We have spoken to you on the preceding passage, suggesting how the Father may be understood as True, and the Son as the Truth. But when the Lord Jesus said, "He that sent me is true," the Jews understood not that He spake to them of the Father. And He said to them, as you have just heard in the reading, "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am, and [that] I do nothing of myseK; but as the Father hath taught me, I speak these things." What means this? For it looks as if all He said was, that they would know who He was after His passion. Without doubt, therefore. He saw that some there, whom He Himself knew, whom with the rest of His saints He Himself in His foreknowledge had chosen before the foundation of the world, would believe after His passion. These are the very persons whom we are constantly commending, and with much entreaty setting forth for your imitation. For on the sending down of the Holy Spirit after the Lord's passion, and resurrection, and ascension, when miracles were being done in the name of Him whom, as if dead, the persecuting Jews had despised, they were pricked in their hearts; and they who in

If)

20 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [xr.ACT. XL.

their rage slew Him were changed and believed; and they who in their rage shed His blood, now in the spirit of faith drank it; to wit, those three thousand, and those five thousand Jews,^ whom now He saw there, when He said, "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am [He]." It was as if He had said, I let your recognition lie over till I have completed my passion: in your own order ye shall know who I am. Kot that all who heard Him were only then to believe, that is, after the Lord's passion; for a little after it is said, "As He spake these words, many believed on Him; " and the Son of man was not yet lifted up. But the lifting up He is speaking of is that of His passion, not of His glorification; of the cross, not of heaven; for He was exalted there also when He hung on the tree. But that exaltation was His humiliation; for then He became obedient even to the death of the cross.^ This required to be accomplished by the hands of those who should afterwards believe, and to whom He says, "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye
know that I am [He]." And why so, but that no one might despair, however guilty his conscience, when he saw those forgiven their homicide who had slain the Christ?

3. The Lord then, recognising such in that crowd, said, "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am [He]." You know already what "I am" signifies; and we must not be continually repeating, lest so great a subject beget distaste. Picture that, "I am who am," and "He who is hath sent me," and you will recognise the meaning of the words, "Then shall ye know that I am." But both the Father is, and the Holy Spirit is. To the same is belongs the whole Trinity. But because the Lord spake as the Son, in order that, when He says, "Then shall ye know that I am," there might be no chance of entrance for the error of the Sabellians, that is, of the Patри-passians, "the error which I have charged you not to hold, but to beware of," the error, I mean, of those who have said. The Father and Son are one and the same; two names, but one reality; to guard them against that error, when the Lord said, "Then shall ye know that I am,"


TRACT. XL.] SUEOEDINATION OF THE SOX. 21

am," that He might not be understood as Himself the Father, He immediately added," And I do nothing of myself; but as my Father taught me, I speak these things." Already was the Sabellian beginning to rejoice over the discovery of a ground for his error; but immediately on showing himself as it were in the shade, he was confounded by the light of the following sentence. Thou thoughtest that He was the Father, because He said, "I am.".. Hear now that He is the Son: "And I do nothing of myself." What means this, "I do nothing of myself"? Of myself I am not. For the Son is God, of the Father; but the Father is God, yet not of the Son. The Son is God of God; and the Father is God, but not of God. The Son is light of light; and the Father is light, but not of light. The Son is, but there is [One] of whom He is; and the Father is, but there is none of whom He is.

4. Let not then, my brethren, His further words, "As my Father hath taught me, I speak these things," be the occasion of any carnal thought stealing into your minds. For human weakness cannot think, but as it is accustomed to act and to hear. Do not then set before your eyes as it were two men, one the father, the other the son, and the father speaking to the son; as any one of you may do, when you say something to your son, admonishing and instructing him how to speak, to charge his memory with what you have told him, and, having done so, to express it in words, to enunciate distinctly, and convey to the ears of others what he has apprehended with his own. Think not thus, lest you be fabricating idols in your heart. The human shape, the outlines of human limbs, the form of human flesh, the outward senses, stature and motions of the body, the functions of the tongue, the distinctions of sounds, "think not of such as existing in that Trinity, save as they
pertain to the servant-form, which the only-begotten Son assumed, when the Word was made flesh to dwell among us.\(^\text{1}\) Thereof I forbid thee not, human weakness, to think according to thy knowledge: nay, rather I require thee. If the faith that is in thee be true, think of Christ as such; but as such of the Virgin Mary, not of God  

\(^{1}\) De: "so in what follows. \(^{\text{Chap. i. 14.}}\)

22 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XL.

the Father. He was an infant. He grew as a man, He walked as a man, He hungered, He thirsted as a man. He slept as a man 5 at last He suffered as a man, hung on the tree, was slain and buried as a man. In the same form He rose again; in the same, before the eyes of His disciples, He ascended into heaven; in the same will He yet come to judgment. For angel lips have declared in the Gospel, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven."\(^{\text{2}}\) When then you think of the servant-form in Christ, think of a human likeness, if you have faith; but when you think, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"\(^{\text{3}}\) away with all human fashioning from your heart. Banish from your thoughts everything bounded by corporeal limits, included in local measurement, or spread out in a mass, how great soever its size. Perish utterly such a figment from your heart. Think, if you can, on the beauty of wisdom, picture to yourself the beauty of righteousness. Has that a shape ?, a size ?, a colour ? It has none of these, and yet it is; for if it were not, it would neither be loved nor worthy of praise, nor be cherished in our heart and life as an object of honour and affection. But men here become wise; and whence would they so, had wisdom no existence ? And further, O man, if thou canst not see thine own wisdom with the eyes of the flesh, nor think of it by the same mental imagery as thou canst of bodily things, wilt thou dare to thrust the shape of a human body on the Wisdom of God ?

5. What shall we say then, brethren ? How spake the Father to the Son, seeing that the Son says, "As the Father taught me, I speak these things " ? Did He speak to Him ? When the Father taught the Son, did He use words, as you do when you teach your son ? How could He use words to the Word ? What words, many in number, could be used to the one Word ? Did the Word of the Father approach His ears to the Father's mouth ? Such things are carnal: banish them from your hearts. For this I say, if only you have understood my words, I certainly have spoken and my words have sounded, and by their sound have reached your ears, and

1 Acts i. 11. 2 Chap. i. 1.

TRACT. XL.] THE FATHER TEACHING CHRIST. 23
through your sense of hearing have carried their meaning to your mind, if so be you have understood. Suppose that some person of Xatin\^ speech has heard, but has only heard without understanding, what I have said. As regards the noise issuing from my mouth, he who has understood not has been a sharer therein just like yourselves. He has heard that sound; the same syllables have smote on his ears, but they have produced no effect on his mind. "Why ? Because he understood not. But if you have understood, whence comes your understanding ? My words have sounded in the ear: have I kindled any light in the heart ? Without doubt, if what I have said is true, and this truth you have not only heard, but also understood, two things have there been wrought (distinguish between them), hearing and intelligence. Hearing has been wrought by me, but by whom has understanding ? I have spoken to the ear, that you might hear; who has spoken to your heart for understanding ? Doubtless some one has also said something to your heart, that not only the noise of words might strike your ear, but something also of the truth might descend into your heart. Some one has spoken also to your heart, but you do not see him. If, brethren, you have understood, your heart also has been spoken to. Intelligence is the gift of God. And who, if you have understood, has spoken so in your heart, but He to whom the Psalm says, "Give me understanding, that I may learn Thy commandments"?\^ For example, the bishop has spoken. What has he said ? some one asks. You repeat what he has spoken, and add. He has said the truth. Then another, who has not understood, says. What has he said, or what is it you are praising ? Both have heard me; I have spoken to both; but to one of them God has spoken. If we may compare small things with great (for what are we to Him ?), something, I know not what, of an incorporeal and spiritual kind God works in us, which is neither sound to strike the ear, nor colour to be discerned by the eyes, nor smell to enter the nostrils, nor taste 'to be judged of by the mouth, nor anything

\^ "Latin " here, as used by Augustine, would require to be translated "English," to give the exact force of the illustration in an English version. â€” Tr. Â» Ps. cxix. 73.

24 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XL.

hard or soft to be sensible to the touch; yet something there is which it is easy to feel, â€” impossible to explain. If then God, as I was saying, speaks in our hearts without sound, how speaks He to His Son ? Thus then, brethren, think thus as much as you can, if, as I have said, we may in some measure compare small things with great: think thus. In an incorporeal way the Father spoke to the Son, because in an incorporeal way the Father begat the Son. Nor did He so teach Him as if He had begotten Him untaught; but to have taught Him is the same as to have begotten Him full of knowledge; and this, " The Father hath taught me," is the same as. The Father hath begotten me already knowing. For if, as few understand, the nature of the Truth is simple, to be is to the Son the same as to know. From Him therefore He has knowledge, from whom He has being.\^ Not that from Him
He had first being, and afterwards knowledge; but as in begetting He gave Him to be, so in begetting He gave Him to know; for, as was said, to the simple nature of the Truth, being is not one thing and knowing another, but one and the same.

6. Thus then He spake to the Jews, and added, "And He that sent me is with me." He had already said this also before, but of this important point He is constantly reminding them, â€” "He sent me," and "He is with me." If then, Lord, He is with Thee, not so much hath the One been sent by the other, but ye Both have come. And yet, while Both are together, One was sent, the Other was the sender; for incarnation is a sending, and the incarnation itself belongs only to the Son, and not to the Father. The Father therefore sent the Son, but did not withdraw from the Son. For it was not that the Father was absent from the place to which He sent the Son. For where is not the Maker of all things? Where is He not, who said, "I fill heaven and earth"? But perhaps the Father is everywhere, and the Son not so? Listen to the evangelist: "He was in this world, and the world was made by Him." Therefore said He, "He that sent me," by whose power as Father I am incarnate, "is with me, â€” hath not left me." Why hath He not left me? "He hath not left me," He says, "alone; for I do always those things that please Him." That equality exists always; not from a certain beginning, and then onwards; but without beginning, without end. For Divine generation has no beginning in time, since time itself was created by the Only-begotten.

7. "As He spake these words, many believed on Him."
Would that, while I speak also, many, who before this were otherwise disposed, understood and believed on Him! For perhaps there are some Arians in this large assembly. I dare not suspect that there are any Sabellians, who say that the Father Himself is one with the Son, seeing that heresy is too old, and has been gradually eviscerated. But that of the Arians seems still to have some movement about it, like that of a putrefying carcase, or certainly, at the most, like a man at the last gasp; and from this some still require deliverance, just as from that other many were delivered. This province, indeed, did not use to have such; but ever since the arrival of many foreigners, some of these have also found their way to our neighbourhood. See then, while the Lord spake these words, many Jews believed on Him. May I see also that, while I am speaking, Arians are believing, not on me, but with me!

8. "Then said the Lord to those Jews who believed on Him, If ye continue in my word." "Continue," I say, for you are now initiated and have begun to be there. "If ye continue," that is, in the faith which is now begun in you who believe, to what will you attain? See the nature of the beginning, and whither it leads. You have loved the foundation, give heed to the summit, and out of this low condition seek that other elevation. For faith has
liumiKty, but knowledge and immortality and eternity possess not lowliness, but loftiness; that is, upraising, all-sufficiency, eternal stability, full freedom from hostile assault, from fear of failure. That which has its beginning in faith is great, but is despised. In a building also the foundation is usually of little account with the unskilled. A large trench is made, and stones are thrown in every way and everywhere. No embellishment, no beauty are apparent there; just as also in the root of a tree there is no appearance of beauty. And yet all that delights you in the

26 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XL.

...tree has sprung from the root. You look at the root and feel no delight: you look at the tree and admire it. Foolish man! what you admire has grown out of that which gave you no delight. The faith of believers seems a thing of little value, â€” you have no scales to weigh it. Hear then to what it attains, and see its greatness: as the Lord Himself says in another place, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed." * What is there of less account than that, yet what is there pervaded with greater energy? What more minute, yet what more fervidly expansive? And so " ye " also, He says, " if ye continue in my word," wherein ye have believed, to what will ye be brought? " ye shall be my disciples indeed." And what does that benefit us? " and ye shall know the truth."

9. What, brethren, does He promise believers? " And ye shall know the truth." Why so? Had they not come to such knowledge when the Lord was speaking? If they had not, how did they believe? They believed, not because they knew, but that they might come to know. For we believe in order that we may know, we do not know in order that we may believe. For what we shall yet know, neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered the heart of man.^ For what is faith, but believing what you see not? Faith then is to believe what you see not; truth, to see what you have believed, as He Himself saith in a certain place. The Lord then walked on earth, first of all, for the creation of faith. He was man. He was made in a low condition. He was seen by all, but not by all was He known. By many was He rejected, by the multitude was He slain, by few was He mourned; and yet even by those who mourned Him, His true being was still unrecognised. All this is the beginning as it were of faith's lineaments and future upbuilding. As the Lord, referring thereto, saith in a certain place, " He that loveth me keepeth my commandments; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." ^ They certainly already saw the person to whom they were listening; and yet to them, if they loved Him, does He give it as a promise that they should see Him. So also here, " Ye shall know the truth." How

^ Matt. xviii. 20. 2 iga. Lxiy. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9. ^ cj*ap. xiv. 21.
SO? Is that not the truth which Thou hast iDeen speaking?
The truth it is, but as yet it is only believed, not beheld.
If you abide in that which is believed, you shall attain to that which is seen. Hence John himself, the holy evangelist, says in his epistle, "Dearly beloved, we are the sons of God; but it is not yet apparent what we shall be." We are so abeady, and something we shall be. What more shall we be than we are? Listen: "It is not yet apparent what we shall be: [but] we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him." How? "For we shall see Him as He is."^ A

Great promise, but the reward of faith. You seek the reward; then let the work precede. If you believe, ask for the reward of faith; but if you believe not, with what face can you seek the reward of faith? "If" then "ye continue in my word, ye shall be my disciples indeed," that ye may behold the very truth as it is, not through sounding words, but in dazzling light, wherewith He shall satisfy "^ us: as we read in the psalm, "The light of Thy countenance is impressed upon us."^ We are God's money: we have wandered away as coia from the treasury. The impression that was stamped upon us has been rubbed out by our wandering. He has come to refashion, for He it was that fashioned us at first; and He is HimseK asking for His money, as Caesar for his. Therefore He says, "Ender unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's:"^ to Caesar his money, to God yourselves. And then shall the truth be reproduced in us.

10. What shall I say to your Charity? Oh that our hearts were in some measure aspiring after that ineffable glory! Oh that we were passing our pilgrimage in sighs, and loving not the world, and continually pushing onwards with pious minds to Him who hath called us! Longing is the very bosom of the heart. We shall attain, if with all our power we give way to our longing. Such in our behalf is the

^ 1 John iii. 2.

"Or "impress; " satiaverit, " or " signavcrit. "

sPs. iv. 6: Aug., with Vulg., translates ^3'Â«^y-nD3 passively and indie, instead of actively and imperat, as Engl. Vers.â€”Tk.

â™† Matt. xxii. 21.

28 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN'. [THACT. XL.

Object of the divine Scriptures, of the assembling of the people, of the celebration of the sacraments, of holy baptism, of singing God's praise, and of this our own exposition, â€” that this longing may not only be implanted and germinate, but also expand to such a measure of capacity as to be fit to take in what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath
entered into the heart of man. But love with me. He who loves God is not much in love with money. And I have but touched on this infirmity, not venturing to say, He loves not money at all, but, He loves not money much; as if money were to be loved, but not in a great degree. Oh, were we loving God worthily, we should have no love at all for money! Money then will be thy means of pilgrimage, not the stimulant of lust; something to use for necessity, not to joy over as a means of delight. Love God, if He has wrought in thee somewhat of that which thou hearest and praisest. Use the world: let not the world hold thee captive. Thou art passing on the journey thou hast begun; thou hast come, again to depart, not to abide. Thou art passing on thy journey, and this life is but a wayside inn. Use money as the traveller at an inn uses table, cup, pitcher, and couch, with the purpose not of remaining, but of leaving them behind. If such you would be, you, who can stir up your hearts and hear me; if such you would be, you will attain to His promises. It is not too much for your strength, for mighty is the hand of Him who hath called you. He hath called you. Call upon Him, say to Him, Thou hast called us, we call upon Thee; see, we have heard Thee calling us, hear us calling upon Thee: lead us whither Thou hast promised; perfect what Thou hast begun; forsake not Thine own gifts; leave not Thine own field; let Thy tender shoots yet be gathered into Thy barn. Temptations abound in the world, but greater is He who made the world. Temptations abound, but he fails not whose hope reposes in Him in whom there is no deficiency.

11. I have been exhorting you, brethren, to this in such words, because the freedom of which our Lord Jesus Christ speaks belongs not to this present time. Look at what He added: "Ye shall be my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free." What means that "shall set you free"? It shall make you freemen. In a word, the carnal, and fleshly-minded Jews not those who had believed, but those in the crowd who believed not thought that an injury was done them, because He said to them, "The truth shall make you free." They were indignant at being designated as slaves. And slaves truly they were; and He explains to them what slavery it is, and what is that future 'freedom which is promised by Himself. But of this liberty and of that slavery it were too long to speak to-day.
1. /\^F what follows of the previous lesson, and has been V\^ read publicly to us to-day from the holy Gospel, I then deferred speaking, because I had already said much, and if that liberty into which the grace of the Saviour calleth us it was needful to treat in no cursory or negligent way. Of this, by the Lord's help, we purpose speaking to you to-day.

For those to whom the Lord Jesus Christ was speaking were Jews, in a large measure indeed His' enemies, but also in some measure already become, and yet to be, His friends; for some He saw there, as we have already said, who should yet believe after His passion. Looking to these. He had said, " When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am [He]."^ There also were those who, when He so spake, straightway believed. To them He spake what we have heard to-day: " Then said Jesus to those Jews who believed on Him, If ye continue in my word, ye shall be my disciples indeed." By continuing ye shall be so; for as now ye are believers, by so continuing ye shall be beholders. Hence there follows, " And ye shall know the truth." The truth is unchangeable. The truth is bread, which refreshes our minds and fails not; changes the eater, and is not itself changed into the eater. The truth itself is the Word of God, God with God, the only-begotten Son. This Truth was for our sake clothed with flesh, that He might be born of the Virgin Mary, and the prophecy fulfilled, " Truth has sprung from the earth." ^ This Truth then, when speaking to the Jews, lay hid in the flesh. But He lay hid not in order to be denied, but to be deferred [in His manifestation]; to be deferred, in order to suffer in the flesh; and to suffer in the flesh, in order

1 Chap. viii. 28. ^ pg. ]xxxv. 11.

30

TEACT. XLI] TRUTH MAKING FREE. 31

that flesh might be redeemed from sin. And so our Lord Jesus Christ, standing full in sight as regards the infirmity of flesh, but hid as regards the majesty of Godhead, said to those who had believed on Him, when He so spake, " If ye continue in my word, ye shall be my disciples indeed." For he that endureth to the end shall be saved,^ "And ye shall know the truth," which now is hid from you, and speaks to you.

" And the truth shall free you." This word, liberabit [shall free], the Lord hath taken from liheratras [freedom]. For liherat [frees, delivers] is properly nothing else but liberum facit [makes free]. As salvat [he saves] is nothing else but salvum facit [he makes safe]; as he heals is nothing else but he makes ivhole; he enriches is nothing else but he makes rich; so liherat [he frees] is nothing else but liherum faeit [he makes free]. This is clearer in the Greek word.^ For in Latin usage we commonly say that a man is delivered {lihcrari}, in regard not to liberty, but only to safety, just as one is said to be delivered from some infirmity. So is it said customarily, but not properly. But the Lord made such use of this word in saying,

"And the truth shall make you free {liilcrahit}" that in the Greek tongue no one could doubt that He spake of freedom.
2. In short, the Jews also so understood and "answered Him;"
not those who had already believed, but those in that crowd who were not yet believers. "They answered Him, We are Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou. Ye shall be free?" But the Lord had not said, "Ye shall be free," but, "The truth shall make you free."
That word, however, they, because, as I have said, it is clearly so in the Greek, understood as pointing only to freedom, and puffed themselves up as Abraham's seed, and said, "We are Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou. Ye shall be free?" O inflated skin! such is not magnanimity, but windy swelling. For even as regards freedom in this life, how was that the truth when you said, "We were never in bondage to any man"? Was not Joseph sold? Were not the holy prophets led into captivity?* And again, did not that very nation, when making bricks in Egypt, also

^ Matt. X. 22. - Xxivhzelfu.
"Gen. xxxvii. 28. â™¦ 2 Kings xivv. (Ezek. i. 1, etc.â€”Trâ€ž)

32 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tKACT. XLI.

serve hard rulers, not only in gold and silver, but also in clay?^ If you were never in bondage to any man, ungrateful people, why is it that God is continually reminding you that He delivered you from the house of bondage?^ Or mean you, perchance, that your fathers were in bondage, but you who speak were never in bondage to any man? How then were you now paying tribute to the Romans, out of which also you formed a trap for the Truth Himself, as if to ensnare Him, when you said, "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar?" in order that, had He said, It is lawful, you might fasten on Him as one ill-disposed to the liberty of Abraham's seed; and if He said, It is not lawful, you might slander Him before the kings of the earth, as forbidding the payment of tribute to such? Deservedly were you defeated on producing the money, and compelled yourselves to concur in your own capture. For there it was told you, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," after your own reply, that the money-piece bore the image of Cæsar. ^ For as Cæsar looks for his own image on the coin, so God looks for His in man. Thus, then, did He answer the Jews. I am moved, brethren, by the hollow pride of men, because even of that very freedom of theirs, which they understood carnally, they Hed when they said, "We were never in bondage to any man."

3. But to the Lord's own answer, let us give better and more earnest heed, lest we ourselves be also found bondmen.
For "Jesus answered them. Verily, verily, I say unto you, that every one who committeth sin is the servant of sin."
He is the servant—a would that it were of man, and not of sin! Who would not tremble at such words? The Lord our God grant us, that is, both you and me, that I may speak in fitting terms of this freedom to be sought, and of that bondage to be avoided. "Amen, amen [verily, verily], I say unto you."

The Truth speaks: and in what sense does the Lord our God claim it as His to say, "Amen, amen, I say unto you"? His charge is weighty in so announcing it. In some sort, if lawful to be said. His form of swearing is, "Amen, amen, I say unto you." Amen in a way may be interpreted, [It is] true [truly,

^ Ex. i. 14. 2 j;^ siii. 3; Deut. v. 6, etc. == Matt. xiii. 15-21.

TKACT. XLL] the SERVANT OF SIN. 33

verily]; and yet it is not interpreted, though it might have been said, What is true [verily] I say unto you. Neither the Greek translator nor the Latin has dared to do so; for this word, Amen, is neither Greek nor Latin, but Hebrew. So it has remained without interpretation, to possess honour as the covering of something hidden; not in order to be disowned, but that it might not, as a thing laid bare to the eye, fall into disrepute. And yet it is not once but twice uttered by the Lord, "Amen, amen, I say unto you." And now learn from the very doubling, how much was implied in the charge before us.

4. What, then, is the charge given? Verily, ^â€˜â€erily, I say unto you, saith the Truth, who surely, though He had not said, Verily, I say, could not possibly lie. Yet [thereby] He impresses, inculcates His charge, arouses in a way the sleeping, makes them attentive, and would not be condemned. What does He say? "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that every one who committeth sin is the servant of sin." Miserable slavery!

Men frequently, when they suffer under wicked masters, demand to get themselves sold, not seeking to be without a master, but at all events to change him. What can the servant of sin do? To whom can he make his demand? To whom apply for redress? Of whom require himself to be sold? And then at times a man's slave, worn out by the commands of an unfeeling master, finds rest in flight. AVhither can the servant of sin flee? Himself he carries with him wherever he flees. An evil conscience flees not from itself; it has no place to go to; it follows itself Yea, he cannot withdraw from himself, for the sin he commits is within. He has committed sin to obtain some bodily pleasure. The pleasure passes away; the sin remains. What delighted is gone; the sting has remained behind. Evil bondage! Sometimes men flee to the Church, and we generally permit them, uninstructed as they are, â€” men, wishing to be rid of their master, who are unwilling to be rid of their sins. But sometimes also those subjected to an unlawful and wicked yoke flee for refuge to the Church; for, though free-born men, they are retained in bondage: and an appeal is made to the bishop.

And unless he care to put forth every effort to save Iree-birth from oppression, he is accounted unmerciful. Let us all flee
to Christ, and appeal against sin to God as our deliverer. (Let us seek to get ourselves sold, that Ave may be redeemed by His blood. For the Lord says, "Ye were sold for nought, and ye shall be redeemed without money." ^ Without price, that is, of your own; because of mine. So saith the Lord; for He Himself has paid the price, not in money, but His own blood. Otherwise we had remained both bondmen and indigent.

5. From this bondage, then, we are set free by the Lord alone. He who had it not, Himself delivers us from it; for He alone came without sin in the flesh. For the little ones whom you see carried in their mothers' hands cannot yet walk, and are already in fetters; for they have received from Adam what they are loosened from by Christ. To them also, when baptized, pertains that grace which is promised by the Lord; for He only can deliver from sin who came without sin, and was made a sacrifice for sin. For you heard when the apostle was read: "We are ambassadors," he says, "for Christ, as though God were exhorting you by us; we beseech you in Christ's stead," ἅε" that is, as if Christ were beseeching you, and for what? ἅε" to be reconciled unto God." If the apostle exhorts and beseeches us to be reconciled unto God, then were we enemies to God. For no one is reconciled unless from a state of enmity. And we have become enemies not by nature, but by sin. From the same source are we the servants of sin, that we are the enemies of God. God has no enemies in a state of freedom. They must be slaves; and slaves will they remain unless delivered by Him to whom they wished by their sins to be enemies. Therefore says he, "We beseech you in Christ's stead to be reconciled unto God." But how are we reconciled, save by the removal of that which separates between us and Himself? For He says by the prophet, "He hath not made the ear heavy that it should not hear; but your iniquities have separated between you and your God." ^ And so, then, we are not reconciled, unless that which is in the midst is taken away, and something else is put in its place.

For there is a separating medium, and, on the other hand, there is a reconciling Mediator. The separating medium is sin, the reconciling Mediator is the Lord Jesus Christ: " For

^ Isa. lii. 3. 2 Isa. lix. 1, 2.

there is one God and Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." ^ To take then away the separating wall, which is sin, that Mediator has come, and the priest has Himself become the sacrifice. And because He was made a sacrifice for sin, offering Himself as a whole burnt-offering on the cross of His passion, the apostle, after saying, "

^ Isa. lii. 3. 2 Isa. lix. 1, 2.
We beseech you in Christ's stead to be reconciled unto God," ἀς" as if we had said. How shall we be able to be reconciled? ἀς" goes on to say, "He hath made Him," that is, Christ Himself, "who knew no sin, [to be] sin for us, that we may be the righteousness of God in Him." ἀς" he says, Christ Himself our God, "who knew no sin." For He came in the flesh, that is, in the likeness of sinful flesh, but not in sinful flesh, because He had no sin at all; and therefore became a true sacrifice for sin, because He Himself had no sin.

6. But perhaps, through some special perception of my own, I have said that sin is a sacrifice for sin. Let those who have read it be free to acknowledge it; let not those who have not read it be backward; let them not, I say, be backward to read, that they may be truthful in judging. For when God gave commandment about the offering of sacrifices for sin, in which sacrifices there was no expiation of sins, but the shadow of things to come, the self-same sacrifices, the self-same offerings, the self-same victims, the self-same animals, which were brought forward to be slain for sins, and in whose blood that [true] blood was prefigured, are themselves called sins * by the law; and that to such an extent that in certain passages it is written in these terms, that the priests, when about to sacrifice, were to lay their hands on the head of the sin, that is, on the head of the victim about to be sacrificed for sin. Such sin, then, that is, such a sacrifice for sin, was our Lord Jesus Christ made, "who knew no sin."

7. With efficacious merit does He deliver from this bondage of sin, who saith in the psalms: "I am become as a man

ἀς 1 Tim. ii. 5. ἀς 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. ἀς Rom. viii. 3.

* That is, "sin-offerings." Peccata is here used to correspond to the Hebrew קִיא and דִּינַסְנָא which signify, the one, both trespass and trespass-offering, and the other, sin and sin-offering; indicating the thoroughness of the substitutionary idea. ἀς Tif.

36 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLT.

without help, free among the dead." ἀς For He only was free, because He had no sin. For He Himself says in the Gospel, "Behold, the prince of this world cometh," meaning the devil about to come in the persons of the persecuting Jews; ἀς" "behold," He says, "he cometh, and shall find nothing in me." ἀς Not as he found some measure of sin in those whom he also slew as righteous; in me he shall find nothing. And just as if He were asked. If he shall find nothing in Thee, wherefore will he slay Thee? He further said, "But that all may know that I do the will of my Father, rise and let us go hence." I do not, He says, pay the penalty of death as a necessity of my sinfulness; but in the death I die, I do the will of my Father.

And in this, I am doing rather than enduring it; for, were I
unwilling, I should not have had the suffering to endure.
You have Him saying in another place, "I have power to lay down my life, and I have
power to take it up again." Here surely is one "free among the dead."

8. Since, then, every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin, listen to what is our
hope of liberty. "And the servant," He says, "abideth not in the house for ever." The
church is the house, the servant is the sinner. Many sinners enter the church. Accordingly
He has not said, 'abideth not in the house for ever.' The servant
is not in the house, but "abideth not in the house for ever."
If, then, there shall be no servant there, who will be there?
For "when," as the Scripture speaketh, "the righteous king sitteth on the throne, who will
boast of having a clean heart?
or who will boast that he is pure from his sin?" * He has greatly alarmed us, my
brethren, by saying, "The servant abideth not in the house for ever." But He further adds,
"But the Son abideth ever." Will Christ, then, be alone in His house? Will no people
remain at His side? Whose head will He be, if there shall be no body? Or is the Son all
this, both the head and the body? For it is not without cause that He has inspired both
terror and hope: terror, in order that we should not love sin; and hope, that we should not
be distrustful of the remission of sin. " Every one," He says, "that committeth sin is the
servant of sin. And the

1 Ps. lxx.xviii. 4, 5. * Chap. xiv. 30, 31.

servant abideth not in the house for ever." What hope, then, have "we, who are not
without sin? Listen to thy hope:
"The Son abideth for ever. If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, then shall ye be
free indeed." Our hope is this, brethren, to be made free by the free One; and that, in
setting us free. He may make us His servants. For we were the servants of lust; but being
set free, we are made the servants of love. This also the apostle says: "For, brethren, ye
have been called unto liberty: only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love
serve one another." Let not then the Christian say, I am free; I have been called unto
liberty:
I was a slave, but have been redeemed, and by my very redemption have been made free,
I shall do what I please:
no one may balk me of my will, if I am free. But if thou committest sin with such a will,
thou art the servant of sin.
Do not then abuse your liberty for freedom in sinning, but use it for the purpose of
sinning not. For only if thy will is pious, will it be free. Thou wilt be free, if thou art a
servant still, â€” free from sin, the servant of righteousness: as the apostle says, "When
ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness. But now, being made free
from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end
everlasting life." ^ Let us be striving after the latter, and be doing the other.

9. The first stage of liberty is to be free from crimes.
Give heed, my brethren, give heed, that I may not by any means mislead your
understanding as to the nature of that liberty at present, and what it will be. Sift any one
soever of the highest integrity in this life, and however worthy he may already be of the
name of upright, yet is he not without sin. Listen to Saint John himself, the author of the
Gospel before us, when he says in his epistle, " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive
ourselves, and the truth is not in us." ^ He alone could say this who was " free among the
dead: " of Him only could it be said, who knew no sin. It could be said only of Him, for
He also " was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." * He alone could say,
" Behold, the prince of this world cometh, and shall find


38 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLI.

nothing in me." Sift any one else, who is accounted righteous, yet is he not in all respects
without sin; not even such as was Job, to whom the Lord bore such testimony, that the
devil was filled with envy, and demanded that he should be tempted, and was himself
defeated in the temptation, to the end that Job might be proved. ^ And he was proved for
this reason, not that the certainty of his carrying off the conqueror's wreath was unknown
to God, but that he might become known as an object of imitation to others. And what
says Job himself ? " For who is clean ? not even the infant whose life is but a day's span
upon the earth." ^ But it is plain that many are called righteous without opposition,
because the term is understood as meaning, free from crime; for in human affairs there is
no just ground of complaint attaching to those who are free from criminal conduct. But
crime is grievous sin, deserving in the highest measure to be denounced and condemned. Not, however, that God condemns certain sins, and justifies and praises certain others.
He approves of none. He hates them all. As the physician dislikes the ailment of the
ailing, and works by his healing measures to get the ailment removed and the ailing
relieved; so God by his grace worketh in us, that sin may be consumed, and man made
free. But when, you will be saying, is it consumed ?
If it is lessened, why is it not consumed ? That is growing less in the life of those who are
advancing onwards, which is consumed in the life of those who have attained to
perfection.
1 0. The first stage of liberty, then, is to be free from crimes
[sinful conduct]. And so the Apostle Paul, when he determined on the ordination of either
elders or deacons, or whoever was to be ordained to the superintendence of the Church,
says not. If any one is without sin; for had he said so, every one would be rejected as
unfit, none would be ordained: but he says, " If any one is without crime " [E. V.
blame]. ^ such as, murder, adultery, any uncleanness of fornication, theft, fraud, sacrilege,
and others of that sort. When a man has begun to be free from these (and every Christian man ought to be so), he begins to raise his head to Liberty; but that is

\^ Job i. i. ^ Job xiv. 4, 5; according to a reading of the Septuagint.

3 1 Tim. iii. 10; Tit. i. 6.

TKACT. XLI.] FREEOM STILL IMPERFECT. 39

liberty begun, not completed. Why, says some one, is it not completed liberty? Because, " I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind;" "for what I would," he says, "that do I not; but what I hate, that do I."^ " The flesh," he says, "lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; so that ye do not the things that ye would." ^ In part liberty, in part bondage: not yet entire, not yet pure, not yet full liberty, because not yet eternity.

For we have still infirmity in part, in part we have attained to liberty. Whatever has been our sin, was previously wiped out in baptism. But because all our iniquity has been blotted out, has there remained no infirmity? If there had not, we should be living here without sin. Yet who would venture to say so, but the proud, but the man unworthy of the Deliverer's mercy, but he who wishes to be self-deceived, and who is destitute of the truth? Hence, from the fact that some infirmity remains, I venture to say that, in what measure we serve God, we are free; in what measure we serve the law of sin, we are still in bondage. Hence says the apostle, what we began to say, â€¢ I delight in the law of God after the inward man." ^ Here then it is, wherein we are free, wherein we delight in the law of God; for liberty has joy. For as long as it is from fear that thou doest what is right, God is no delight to thee. Find thy delight in Him, and thou art free.

Fear not punishment, but love righteousness. Art thou not yet able to love righteousness? Fear even punishment, that thou mayest attain to the love of righteousness.

11. In the measure then spoken of above, he felt himself to be already free, and therefore said, " I delight in the law of God after the inward man." I delight in the law, I delight in its requirements, I delight in righteousness itself. " But I see another law in my members " â€” this infirmity which remains â€” " warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members." On this side he feels his captivity, where righteousness has not been perfected; for where he delights in the law of God, he is not the captive but the friend of the law; and therefore free, because a friend. What then is to be done with that which

1 Rom. vii. 13, 15; Cal. v. 17. 3 i;om. vii. 22.
SO remains? What, but to look to Him who has said, "If the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed"? Indeed he also who thus spake so looked to Him: "O wretched man that I am," he says, "who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Therefore "if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." And then he concluded thus: "So then, with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin." ^ / myself, he says; for there are not two of us contrary to each other, coming from different origins; but "with the mind I myself serve the law of God, and with the flesh the law of sin," so long as languor struggles against salvation.

12. But if with the flesh thou servest the law of sin, do as the apostle himself says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof: neither yield ye your members as weapons of unrighteousness unto sin." ^ He says not, Let it not be; but, "Let it not reign." So long as sin must be in thy members, let its reigning power at least be taken away, let not its demands be obeyed. Does anger rise? Yield not up thy tongue to anger for the purpose of evil-speaking; yield not up thy hand or foot to anger for the purpose of striking. That irrational anger would not rise, were there no sin in the members. But take away its ruling power; let it have no weapons wherewith to fight against thee. Then also it will learn not to rise, when it begins to find the lack of weapons. "Yield not your members as weapons of unrighteousness unto sin," else will ye be entirely captive, and there will be no room to say, "With the mind I serve the law of God." For if the mind keep possession of the weapons, the members are not roused to the service of raging sin. Let the inward ruler keep possession of the citadel, because it stands there under a greater ruler, and is certain of assistance. Let it bridle anger; let it restrain evil desire. There is within something that needs bridling, that needs restraining, that needs to be kept in command.

And what did that righteous man wish, who with the mind was serving the law of God, but that there should be a com-

TRACT. XLI.] PERFECT LIBERTY. 41

plete deliverance from that which needed to be bridled? And this ought every one to be striving after who is aiming at perfection, that lust itself also, no longer receiving the obedience of the members, may every day be lessened in the advancing pilgrim. "To
will," he says, "is present with me; but not so, how to perfect that which is good." ^ Has he said.

To do good is not present with me? Had he said so, hope would be wanting. He does not say. To do is not present with me, but, "To perfect is not present with me." For what is the perfecting of good, but the elimination and end of evil?

And what is the elimination of evil, but what the law says, "Thou shalt not lust [covet]"? "To lust not at all is the perfecting of good, because it is the eliminating of evil. This he said, "To perfect that which is good is not present with me," because his doing could not get the length of setting him free from lust. He laboured only to bridle lust, to refuse consent to lust, and not to yield his members to its service.

"To perfect," then, he says, "that which is good is not present with me." I cannot fulfil the commandment, "Thou shalt not lust." What then is needed? To fulfil this: "Go not after thy lusts." ^ Do this meanwhile so long as unlawful lusts are present in thy flesh; "Go not after thy lusts."

Abide in the service of God, in the liberty of Christ. With the mind serve the law of thy God. Yield not thyself to thy lusts. By following them, thou addest to their strength. By giving them strength, how canst thou conquer, when on thine own strength thou art nourishing enemies against thyself?

13. What then is that full and perfect liberty in the Lord Jesus, who said, "If the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed;" and when shall it be a full and perfect liberty? When enmities are no more; when "death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed." "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. ^" And when this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written. Death is swallowed up in victory. death, where is thy struggle? "* What is this, "death, where is thy struggle?" "The flesh


' Ecclus. xviii. 30. * 1 Cor. xv. 26-55. Struggle, "contentio."

42 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLI.

lusted against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh," but only when the flesh of sin was in vigour. "death, where is [now] thy struggle?" Now shall we live, no more shall we die, in Him who died for us and rose again: "that they,"

he says, "who live, should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again." ^ Let us be praying, as those who are wounded, for the physician; let us be carried into the inn to be healed. For it is He who promises salvation, who pitied the man left half-alive on the road by robbers. He poured in oil and wine. He healed the wounds. He put him on his beast, He took him to the inn. He commended him to the innkeeper's care. To what innkeeper?

Perhaps to him who said, "We are ambassadors for Christ."
He gave also twopence to pay for the healing of the wounded man. And perhaps these are the two commandments, on which hang all the law and the prophets. Therefore, brethren, is the Church also, wherein the wounded is healed meanwhile, the traveller's inn; but above the Church itself, lies the possessor's inheritance.

2 Cor. V. 15. 2 Luiie x. SO-35. ^ jiait. xiii. 37-40.

TRACTATE XLII.

Chaptek VIII. a7-47.

1. \UE Lord, in the form of a servant, yet not a servant, Vy but even in servant-form the Lord (for that form of flesh -was indeed servant-like; but though He was " in the likeness of sinful flesh," ^ yet was He not sinful flesh) promised freedom to those who believed in Him. But the Jews, as if proudly glorying in their own freedom, refused with indignation to be made free, when they were the servants of sin. And therefore they said that they were free, because Abraham's seed. What answer, then, the Lord gave them to this, we have heard in the reading of this day's lesson. " I know," He said, " that ye are Abraham's children; but ye seek to kill me, because my word taketh no hold in you." I recognise you. He says; " Ye are the children of Abraham, but ye seek to kill me." I recognise the fleshly origin, not the believing heart. "Ye are the children of Abraham," but after the flesh. Therefore He says, "Ye seek to kill me, because my word taketh no hold in you." If my word were taken, it would take hold: if ye were taken, ye would be enclosed like fishes within the meshes of faith. What then means that "taketh no hold in you"? It taketh not hold of your heart, because not received by your heart. For so is the word of God, and so it ought to be to believers, as a hook to the fish: it takes when it is taken. No injury is done to those who are taken; since they are taken for salvation, and not for destruction. Hence the Lord says to His disciples: " Come after me, and I shall make you fishers of men." But such were not these; and yet they were the children of Abraham, " children of a man of God, unrighteous themselves. For they inherited the fleshly genus, but were


43

44 ON THE \GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT. XLII.

become degenerate, by not imitating the faith of him whose children they were.
2. You have heard, indeed, the Lord saying, "I know that ye are Abraham's children." Hear what He says afterwards:

"I speak that which I have seen with my Father; and ye do that which ye have seen with your father." He had already said, "I know that ye are Abraham's children." What is it, then, that they do? What He told them: "Ye seek to kill me." This they never saw with Abraham. But the Lord wishes God the Father to be understood when He says, "I speak that which I have seen with my Father." I have seen the truth: I speak the truth, because I am the Truth. For if the Lord speaks the truth which He has seen with the Father, He has seen Himself "He speaks Himself; because He Himself is the Truth of the Father, which He saw with the Father." For He is the Word "the Word which was with God. The evil, then, which these men do, and which the Lord chides and reprehends, where have they seen it? With their father.

When we come to hear in what follows the still clearer statement who is their father, then shall we understand what kind of things they saw with such a father; for as yet He names not their father. A little above He referred to Abraham, but in regard to their fleshly origin, not their similarity of life. He is about to speak of that other father of theirs, who neither begat them nor created them to be men. But still they were his children in as far as they were evil, not in as far as they were men; in what they imitated him, and not as created by him.

3. "They answered and said unto Him, Abraham is our father;" as if. What hast thou to say against Abraham? or.

If thou canst, dare to find fault with Abraham. Not that the Lord dared not find fault with Abraham; but Abraham was not one to be found fault with by the Lord, but rather approved. But these men seemed to challenge Him to say some evil of Abraham, and so to have some occasion for doing what they purposed. "Abraham is our father."

4. Let us hear how the Lord answered them, praising Abraham to their condemnation. "Jesus saith unto them.

If ye are Abraham's children, do the works of Abraham. But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham." See, he was praised, they were condemned. Abraham was no manslayer. I say not. He implies, I am Abraham's Lord; though did I say it, I would say the truth. For He said in another place, "Before Abraham was, I am" (ver. 58); and then they sought to stone Him. He said not so. But meanwhile, as you see me, as you look upon me, as alone you think of me, I am a man. Wherefore, then, wish you to kill a man who is telling you what he has heard of God, but because you are not the children of Abraham? And yet He said above, "I know that ye are Abraham's children." He does not deny their origin, but condemns their deeds. Their flesh was from him, but not their life.
5. But we, dearly beloved, do we come of Abraham's race, or was Abraham in any sense our father according to the flesh? The flesh of the Jews draws its origin from his flesh, not so the flesh of Christians. We have come of other nations, and yet, by imitating him, we have become the children of Abraham. Listen to the apostle: "To Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not," he adds, "And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, wliich is Christ. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." ^ We then have become Abraham's seed by the grace of God. It was not of Abraham's flesh that God made any co-heirs with him. He disinherited the former. He adopted the latter; and from that olive tree whose root is in the patriarchs, He cut off the proud natural branches, and engrafted the lowly wild olive. ^

And so, when the Jews came to John to be baptized, he broke out upon them, and addressed them, "generation of vipers." Very greatly indeed did they boast of the loftiness of their origin, but he called them a generation of vipers, â€” not even of human beings, but of vipers. He saw the form of men, but detected the poison. Yet they had come to be changed,^ because at all events to be baptized; and he said to them, "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance. ^ Gal. iii. 16, 29. ^ Kom. xi. 17. ^ In some editions, "to be cleansed."

46 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XLII

tance. And think not to say "within yourselves. We have Abraham to our father; for God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." ^ If ye bring not forth fruits meet for repentance, flatter not yourselves about such a lineage. God is able to condemn you, without defrauding Abraham of children. For He has a way to raise up children to Abraham. Those who imitate his faith shall be made his children. "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Such are we. In our parents we were stones, when we worshipped stones for our god. Of such stones God has created a family to Abraham.

6. Why, then, does this empty and vain bragging exalt itself? Let them cease boasting that they are the children of Abraham. They have heard what they ought to have heard: "If ye are the children of Abraham," prove it by your deeds, not by words. "Ye seek to kill me, a man;" â€” I say not, meanwhile, the Son of God; I say not God; I say not the Word, for the Word dies not. I say merely this that you see; for only what you see can you kill, and whom you see not can you offend. "This/ then, "did not Abraham." "Ye do the works of your father." And as yet He says not who is that father of theirs.

7. And now what answer did they give Him? For they began somewhat to realize that the Lord was not speaking of carnal generation, but of their manner of life. And because it is the custom of the Scriptures, which they read, to call it, in a spiritual sense, fornication,
when the soul is, as it were, prostituted by subjection to many false gods, they made this reply: "Then said they to Him, We be not born of fornication; we have one Father, even God." Abraham has now lost his importance. For they were repulsed as they ought to have been by the truth-speaking mouth; because such was Abraham, whose deeds they failed to imitate, and yet gloried in his lineage. And they altered their reply, saying, I believe, mth themselves. As often as we name Abraham, he goes on to say to us. Why do ye not imitate him in whose lineage ye glory?

Such a man, so holy, just, and guileless, we cannot imitate.

Let us call God our Father, and see what he will say to us.

I ilatt. iii. 7-9.

TRACT. XLII.] THE CHILDREN OF GOD. 47

8. Has falsehood indeed found something to say, and should not truth find its fitting reply? Let us hear what they say: let us hear what they hear. "We have one Father," they say, "even God. Then said Jesus unto them, If God were your Father, ye would [doubtless] love me: for I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of myseK, but He sent me." Ye call God Father; recognise me, then, as at least a brother. At the same time He gave a stimulus to the hearts of the intelligent, by touching on that which He has a habit of saying, "I came not of myself: He sent me. I proceeded forth and came from God." Remember what we are wont to say: From Him He came; and from whom He came, with Him He came. The sending of Christ, therefore, is His incarnation. But as respects the proceeding forth of the Word from God, it is an eternal procession. Time holds not Him by whom time was created. Let no one be saying in his heart. Before the Word was, how did God exist? Never say. Before the Word of God was. God was never without the Word, because the Word is abiding, not transient; God, not a sound; by whom the heaven and earth were made, and which passed not away with those things that were made upon the earth. From Him, then, He proceeded forth as God, the equal, the only Son, the Word of the Father; and came to us, for the Word was made flesh that He might dwell among us. His coming indicates His humanity; His abiding. His divinity. It is His Godhead towards which. His humanity whereby, we make progress. Had He not become that whereby we might advance, we should never attain to Him who abideth ever.

9. "Why," He says, "do ye not understand my speech? Even because ye cannot hear my word." And so they could not understand, because they could not hear. And whence could they not hear, but just because they refused to be set right by believing? And why so? "Ye are of your father the devil." How long do ye keep speaking of a father? How often will ye change your fathers, â€” at one time Abraham, at another God? Hear from the Son of God whose children ye be: "Ye are of your father the devil."
10. Here, now, we must beware of the heresy of the

48 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLII.

Maniclieans, which affirms that there is a certain principle of evil, and a certain family of darkness with its princes, which had the presumption to fight against God; but that God, not to let His kingdom be subdued by the hostile family, despatched against them, as it were, His own offspring, princes of His own kingdom of light; and so subdued that race from which the devil derives his origin. From thence, also, they say our flesh derives its origin, and accordingly think the Lord said, "Ye are of your father the devil," because they were evil, as it were, by nature, deriving their origin from the opposing family of darkness. So they err, so their eyes are blinded, so they make themselves the family of darkness, by believing a falsehood against Him who created them. For every nature is good; but man's nature has been corrupted by an evil will. What God made cannot be evil, if man were not [a cause of] evil to himself. But surely the Creator is Creator, and the creature a creature [a thing created]. The creature cannot be put on a level with the Creator. Distinguish between Him who made, and that which He made. The bench cannot be put on a level with the mechanic, nor the pillar with its builder; and yet the mechanic, though he made the bench, did not himself create the wood. But the Lord our God, in His omnipotence and by the Word, made what He made. He had no materials out of which to make all that He made, and yet He made it. For they were made because He willed it, they were made because He said it; but the things made cannot be compared with the Maker.

If thou seekest a proper subject of comparison, turn thy mind to the only-begotten Son. How, then, were the Jews the children of the devil? By imitation, not by birth. Listen to the usual language of the Holy Scriptures. The prophet says to those very Jews, "Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite."^ The Amorites were not a nation that gave origin to the Jews. The Hittites also were themselves of a nation altogether different from the race of the Jews. But because the Amorites and Hittites were impious, and the Jews imitated their impieties, they found parents for themselves, not of whom they were born, but in whose damnation they should share, because following their customs. But perhaps you inquire, Whence is the devil himself? From the same source certainly as the other angels. But the other angels continued in their obedience. He, by disobedience and pride, fell as an angel, and became a devil.

1 Ezek. xvi. 3.

TRACT. XLII.] THE CHILDREN OF THE DEVIL. 49
11. But listen now to what the Lord says: "Ye," said He, "are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." This is how ye are his children, because such are your lusts, not because ye are born of him. What are his lusts? "He was a murderer from the beginning." This it is that explains, "the lusts of your father ye will do." "Ye seek to kill me, a man that telleth you the truth." He, too, had ill-will to man, and slew man. For the devil, in his ill-will to man, assuming the guise of a serpent, spoke to the woman, and from the woman instilled his poison into the man. They died by listening to the devil, whom they would not have listened to had they but listened to the Lord; for man, having his place between Him who created and him who was fallen, ought to have obeyed the Creator, not the deceiver. Therefore "he was a murderer from the beginning." Look at the kind of murder, brethren. The devil is called a murderer, not as armed with a sword, or girded with steel. He came to man, sowed his evil suggestions, and slew him. Think not, then, that thou art not a murderer when thou persuadest thy brother to evil. If thou persuadest thy brother to evil, thou slayest him. And to let thee know that thou slayest him, listen to the psalm: "The sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword." Then, "will do the lusts of your father;" and so ye go madly after the flesh, because ye cannot go after the spirit. "He was a murderer from the beginning;" at least in the case of the first of mankind. From the very time that murder could possibly be committed, he was a murderer. Only from the time that man was made could manslaughter be committed. For man could not be slain unless man was previously made. Therefore, "he was a murderer from the beginning." And whence a murderer? "And he stood not in the truth." Therefore he was in the truth,


TRACT. VOL. II. D

50 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLII.

and fell by not standing in it. And why "stood he not in the truth "? "Because the truth is not in him;" not as in Christ. In such a way is the truth [in Him], that Christ Himself is the Truth. If, then, he had stood in the truth, he would have stood in Christ; but "he abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him."

12. "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." ^ What is this? You have heard the words of the Gospel: you have received them with attention. Here now, I repeat them, that you may clearly understand the subject of your thoughts. The Lord said those things of the devil which ought to have been said of the devil by the Lord. That "he was a murderer from the beginning "

^
is true, for he slew the first man; " and he abode not in the truth," for he lapsed from the truth. " When he speaketh a lie," to wit, the devil himself, " he speaketh of his own;" for he is a liar, and its [his] father." From these words some have thought that the devil has a father, and have inquired who was the father of the devil. Indeed this detestable error of the Manicheans has found means down to this present time wherewith to deceive the simple. For they are wont to say, Suppose that the devil was an angel, and fell; and with him sin began as you say; but, Who was his father? We, on the contrary, reply. Who of us ever said that the devil had a father? And they, on the other hand, rejoin. The Lord saith, and the Gospel declares, speaking of the devil, " He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and Jiis father."

13. Hear and understand. I shall not send thee far away [for the meaning]; understand it from the words themselves. The Lord called the devil the father of falsehood. What is

' In this and the following paragraplii, Augustine deals with the rendering given to these words by the Manicheans in support of their heresy, stated in section 10. The words " pater ejus " (o Trarhp cilroZ), taken by themselves, might of course mean either "his father " or "thefatherof it " [i.e. of falsehood]. Both the Greek idiom and the context require the latter; but the Manicheans adopted the former, and made the passage run, "for he [i.e. the devil] is a liar, and [so is] his father." Hence the question they are made to put afterwards, " Who was his [the devil's] father ?" and our author's exposition of the passage. â€” Tr.

TRACT. XLII.] THE FATHER OF LIES. 51

this ? Hear what it is, only revolve the words themselves, and understand. It is not every one who tells a lie that is the father of his lie. For if thou hast got a lie from another, and uttered it, thou indeed hast lied in giving utterance to the lie; but thou art not the father of that lie, because thou hast cot it from another. But the devil was a liar of himself. He begat his own falsehood; he heard it from no one. As God the Father begat as His Son the Truth, so the devil, having fallen, begat falsehood as his son. Hearing this, recall now and reflect upon the words of the Lord. Ye catholic minds, consider what ye have heard; attend to what He says. " He " â€” who ? The devil â€” " was a murderer from the beginning." We admit it, â€” he slew Adam. " And he abode not in the truth." We admit it, for he lapsed from the truth. â€” Because there is no truth in him." True: by falling away from the truth he has lost its possession. " When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." He is both a liar, and the father of lies. For thou, it may be, art a liar, because thou utterest a lie; but thou art not its father. For if thou hast got what thou sayest from the devil, and hast believed the devil, thou art a liar, but not the father of the lie. But he, because he got not elsewhere the lie wherewith in serpent-form he slew man as if by poison, is the father of lies; just as God is Father of truth.
Withdraw, then, from the father of lies: make haste to the Father of truth; embrace the truth, that you may enter into liberty.

14. Those Jews, then, spake what they saw with their father. And what was that but falsehood? But the Lord saw with His Father what He should speak; and what was that, but Himself? What, but the Word of the Father?

What, but the truth of the Father, eternal itself, and co-eternal with the Father? He, then, "was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him; when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar," â€” and not only a liar, but also "the father of it;"

that is, of the very lie that he speaks he is the father, for he himself begat his lie. "And because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not. Which of you convicteth me of sin," as I convict both you and your father? "If I say the truth, why do ye not believe me," but just because ye are the children of the devil?

15. "He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God." Here, again, it is not of their nature as men, but of their depravity, that you are to think. In this way they are of God, and yet not of God. By nature they are of God, in depravity they are not of God. Give heed, I pray you. In the gospel you have the remedy against the poisonous and impious errors of the heretics. For of these words also the Manicheans are accustomed to say, See, here there are two natures,^ the one good and the other bad; the Lord says it. What says the Lord?

"Ye therefore hear me not, because ye are not of God."

This is what the Lord says. What then, he rejoins, dost thou say to that? Hear what I say. They are both of God, and not of God. By nature they are of God: by depravity they are not of God; for the good nature which is of God sinned voluntarily by believing the persuasive words of the devil, and was corrupted; and so it is seeking a physician, because no longer in health. That is what I say. But thou thinkest it impossible that they should be of God, and yet not of God.

Hear why it is not impossible. They are of God, and yet not of God, in the same way as they are the children of Abraham, and yet not the children of Ab-j-aham. Here you have it. It is not as you say. Hearken to the Lord Himself; it is He that said to them, "I know that ye are the children of Abraham." Could there be any Lie with the Lord? Surely not. Then is it true what the Lord said? It is true. Then it is true that they were the children of Abraham? It is true.

But listen to Himself denying it. He M'ho said, "Ye are the children of Abraham," Himself denied that they were the children of Abraham. "If ye are Abraham's children, do the deeds of Abraham. But now ye seek to kill me, a man that telleth you the truth, which I have heard from God: this did not Abraham. Ye do the works of your father,"
that is, of the devil. How, then, were they both Abraham's children, and yet not his children? Both states He showed in them.
They were both Abraham's children in their carnal origin, and

^ That is, in man. Compare section 10. â€” Tr.

TRACT. XLIII. MAX'S NATURE GOOD. 53

not his children in the sin of following the persuasion of the devil. So, also, apply it to our Lord and God, that they were both of Him, and not of Him. How were they of Him? Because He it was that created the man of whom they were born. How were they of Him? Because He is the Architect of nature, â€” Himself the Creator of flesh and spirit. How, then, were they not of Him? Because they had made themselves depraved. They were no longer of Him, because, imitating the devil, they had become the children of the devil.

16. Therefore came the Lord God to man as a sinner.
Thou hast heard the two names, both man and sinner. As man, he is of God; as a sinner, he is not of God. Let the moral evil^ in man be distinguished from his nature. Let that nature be owned, to the praise of the Creator; let the evil be acknowledged, that the physician may be called in to its cure.
When the Lord then said, " He that is of God heareth the words of God: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God," He did not distinguish the value of different natures, or find, beyond their own soul and body, any nature in men which had not been vitiated by sin; but foreknowing those who should yet believe, them He called of God, because yet to be born again of God by the adoption of regeneration.
To these apply the words, " He that is of God heareth the words of God." But that which follows, " Ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God," was said to those who were not only corrupted by sin (for this evil was common to all), but also foreknown as those who would not believe with the faith that alone could deliver them from the bondage of sin. On this account He foreknew that those to whom He so spake would continue in that which they derived from the devil, that is, in their sins, and would die in the impiety in which they resembled him; and would not come to the regeneration wherein they would be the children of God, that is, be born of the God by whom they were created as men.
In accordance with this predestinating purpose did the Lord speak; and not that He had found any man amongst them who either by regeneration was already of God, or by nature was no longer of God.

1 " Vitiiim."
Chapter VIII. 48-59.

1. XN that lesson of the holy Gospel which has been read JL to-day, from power we learn patience. For what are we as servants to the Lord, as sinners to the Just One, as creatures to the Creator? Howbeit, just as in what we are evil, we are so of ourselves; so in whatever respects we are good, we are so of Him, and through Him. And nothing does man so seek as he does power. He has great power in the Lord Christ; but let him first imitate His patience, that he may attain to power. Who of us would listen with patience if it were said to him, "Thou hast a devil"? as was said to Him, who was not only bringing men to salvation, but also subjecting devils to His authority.

2. For when the Jews had said, "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?" of these two charges cast at Him, He denied the one, but not the other. For He answered and said, "I have not a devil." He did not say, I am not a Samaritan; and yet the two charges had been made. Although He returned not cursing with cursing, although He met not slander with slander, yet was it proper for Him to deny the one charge and not to deny the other. And not without a purpose, brethren. For Samaritan means keeper. He knew that He was our keeper. For "He that keepeth Israel neither slumbereth nor sleepeth;" - and, "Except the Lord keep the city, they wake in vain who keep it." He then is our Keeper who is our Creator. For did it belong to Him to redeem us, and would it not be His to preserve us? Finally, that you may know more fully the hidden reason*

' Samaria, Hebrew fn'O, literally, "a keep," from -|0K to keep, to guard; hence, according to Augustine, "Samaritan," ij'iDt, a keeper, a guardian.â€”Tr.

2 Ps, cxxi. 4. ^ Ps. cxxvii. 1. " * "Mysterium."

TRACT. XLm.] MEANING OF SAMARITAN. 55

why He ought not to have denied that He was a Samaritan, call to mind that well-known parable, where a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, who wounded him severely, and left him half dead on the road. A priest came along and took no notice of him. A Levite came up, and he also passed on His way. A certain Samaritan came up â€” He who is our Keeper. He went up to the wounded man. He exercised mercy, and did a neighbour's part to one whom He did not account an alien.â€”To this, then. He only replied that He had not a devil, but not that He was not a Samaritan.

3. And then after such an insult, this was all that He said of His own glory: "But I honour," said He, "my Father, and ye dishonour me." That is, I honour not myself, that
ye may not think me arrogant. I have One to honour; and did ye recognise me, just as I honour the Father, so would ye also honour me. I do what I ought; ye do not what ye ought.

4. " And I," said He, " seek not mine own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth." Why does He wish to be understood but the Father? How, then, does He say in another place, " The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son," while here He says, " I seek not mine own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth "? If, then, the Father judgeth, how is it that He judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son?

5. In order to solve this point, attend. It may be solved by [quoting] a similar mode of speaking. Thou hast it written, " God tempteth not any man;" and again thou hast it written, " The Lord your God tempteth you, to know whether you love Him." Just the point in dispute, you see. For how does God tempt not any man, and how does the Lord your God tempt you, to know whether ye love Him? It is also written, " There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear; " and in another place it is written, " The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever." Here also is the point in dispute. For


2 » Jis. i. 13. â€¢ Deut. xiii. 3.

3 » 1 John iv. 18. " Ps. xLx. 9.

56 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIIL

how does perfect love cast out fear, if the fear of the Lord, which is clean, endurdh for ever?

6. We are to understand, then, that there are two kinds of temptation: one, that deceives; the other, that proves. As regards that which deceives, God tempteth not any man; as regards that which proves, the Lord your God tempteth you, that He may know ivhether ye love Him. But here again, also, there arises another question, how He tempteth that He may know, from whom, prior to the temptation, nothing can be hid. It is not that God is ignorant; but it is said, that He may know, that is, that He may make you to know. Such modes of speaking are found both in our ordinary conversation, and in writers of eloquence. Let me say a word on our style of conversation. We speak of a blind ditch, not because it has lost its eyes, but because by lying hid it makes us blind to its existence. One speaks of " bitter lupins," that is, " sour;" not that they themselves are bitter, but because they occasion bitterness to those who taste them. And so there are also expressions of this sort in Scripture. Those who take the trouble to attain a
knowledge of such points have no trouble in solving them. And so "the Lord your God tempts you, that He may know," W^hat is this, "that He may know"? That He may make you to know "if you love Him." Job was unknown to himself, but he was not unknown to God. He let the tempter into [Job], and brought him to a knowledge of himself.

7. What then of the two fears? There is a servile fear, and there is a clean [chaste] fear: there is the fear of suffering punishment, there is another fear of losing righteousness. That fear of suffering punishment is slavish. What great thing is it to fear punishment? The vilest slave and the cruellest robber do so. It is no great thing to fear punishment, but great it is to love righteousness. Has he, then, who loves righteousness no fear? Certainly he has; not of incurring of punishment, but of losing righteousness. My brethren, assure yourselves of it, and draw your inference from that which you love. Some one of you is fond of money. Can I

* Virg. Georg. lib. i. 75: "Tristes lupinos â€” non quia ipsi sunt tristes, sed quia gustati contristant, hoc est, tristes faciunt."

TRACT. XLIII.] TWO KINDS OF JUDGMENT. 57

find any one, think you, who is not so? Yet from this very tiling which he loves he may understand my meaning. He is afraid of loss: why is he so? Because he loves money. In the same measure that he loves money, is he afraid of losing it. So, then, some one is found to be a lover of righteousness, who at heart is much more afraid of its loss, who dreads more being stripped of his righteousness, than thou of thy money. This is the fear that is clean â€” this [the fear] that endureth for ever. It is not this that love makes away with, or casteth out, but rather embraces it, and keeps it with it, and possesses it as a companion. For we come to the Lord that we may see Him face to face. And there it is this pure fear that preserves us; for such a fear as that does not disturb, but reassure. The adulterous woman fears the coming of her husband, and the chaste one fears her husband's departure.

8. Therefore, as, according to one kind of temptation, "God tempteth not any man;" but according to another, "The Lord your God tempteth you;" and according to one kind of fear,
"there is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear;"
but according to another, "the fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever;" â€” so also, in this passage, according to one kind of judgment, "the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son;" and according to another,
"I," said He, "seek not mine own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth."

9. This point may also be solved from the word itself.
Thou hast penal judgment spoken of in the Gospel: "He that believeth not is judged already;" and in another place, "The hour is coming, when those who are in the graves
shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment." ^ You see how He has put judgment for condemnation and punishment. And yet if judgment were always to be taken for condemnation, should we ever have heard in the psalm, "Judge me, God"? In the former place, judgment is used in the sense of inflicting pain; here, it is used in the sense of discernment. ^ How so ? Just because


"Discretionem," "discerne," â€” legal terms, implying the judicial expiation

58 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIII.

SO expounded by him who says, " Judge me, God." For read, and see what follows. What is this " Judge me, God," but just what he adds, " and discern ^ my cause against an unholy nation " ? ^ Because then it was said, " Judge me, O God, and discern [the true merits of] my cause against an unholy nation;" similarly now said the Lord Christ, " I seek not mine own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth." How is there " one that seeketh and judgeth "? There is the Father, who discerns and distinguishes between my glory and yours. For ye glory in the spirit of this present world. Not so do I, who say to the Father, " Father, glorify Thou me with that glory which I had with Thee before the world was." ^ What is " that glory "? One altogether different from human inflation. Thus doth the Father judge. And so to " judge " is to " discern." ^ And what does He discern ? The glory of His Son from the glory of mere men; for to that end is it said, " God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows." * For not because He became man is He now to be compared with us. We, as men, are sinful. He is sinless; we, as men ^ inherit from Adam both death and delinquency. He received from the Virgin mortal flesh, but no iniquity. In fine, neither because we wish it are we born, nor as long as we wish it do we live, nor in the way that we wish it do we die: but He, before He was born, chose of whom He should be born; at His birth He brought about the adoration of the Magi; He grew as an infant, and showed Himself God by His miracles, and surpassed man in His weakness. Lastly, He chose also the manner of His death, that is, to be hung on the cross, and to fasten the cross itself on the foreheads of believers, so that the Christian may say, " God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." ^ On the very cross, when He pleased, He made His body be taken down, and departed; in the very sepulchre, as long as it pleased Him, He lay; and, when He pleased, He arose as from a bed. So, then, brethren, in respect to His very form

and discriminating of the real facts and merits of a case, by sifting the evidence and separating the true from the false.
as a servant (for who can speak of that other form as it ought to be spoken of, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God") in respect, I say, to His very form as a servant, the difference is great between the glory of Christ and the glory of other men. Of that glory He spoke, when the devil-possessed heard Him say,
"I seek not mine own glory: there is one that seeketh and judgeth."

10. But what sayest Thou, O Lord, of Thyself? "Verily, verily, I say unto you. If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death." Ye say, "Thou hast a devil." I call you to life: keep my word and ye shall not die. They heard, "He shall never see death who keepeth my word," and were angry, because already dead in that death from which they might have escaped. "Then said the Jews, Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest. If a man keep my saying, he shall never taste of death." See how Scripture speaks: "He shall not see," that is, "taste of death." "He shall see deathâ€”he shall taste of death." Who seeth? Who tasteth? What eyes has a man to see with when he dies? When death at its coming shuts up those very eyes from seeing aught, how is it said, "he shall not see death"? With what palate, also, and with what jaws can death be tasted, that its savour may be discovered? When it taketh every sense away, what will remain in the palate? But here, "he will see," and "he will taste," are used for that which is really the case, he will know by experience.

11. Thus spake the Lord (it is scarcely sufficient to say), as one dying to dying men; for "to the Lord also belong the issues from death," as saith the psalm. Seeing, then. He was both speaking to those destined to die, and speaking as one appointed to death Himself, what mean His words, "He who keepeth my saying shall never see death;" save that the Lord saw another death, from which He was come to deliver us â€” the second death, death eternal, the death of hell, the death of damnation with the devil and his angels? This is real death; for that other is only a removal. What is that other

'Ps. Ixviii. 20. - "Gehennaium. "

60 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tKACT. XLHI.
death? The leaving of the body— the laying down of a heavy burden; provided another burden be not carried away, to drag the man headlong to hell. Of that real death then did the Lord say, "He who keepeth my saying shall never see death."

12. Let us not be frightened at that other death, but let us fear this one. But, what is very grievous, many, through a perverse fear of that other, have fallen into this. It has been said to some. Adore idols; for if you do it not, you shall be put to death: or, as Nebuchadnezzar said. If you do not, you shall be thrown into the furnace of flaming fire. Many feared and adored. Shrinking from death, they died. Through fear of the death which cannot be escaped, they fell into that which they might happily have escaped, had they not, unhappily, been afraid of that which is inevitable. As a man, thou art born â€” art destined to die. Whither wilt thou go to escape death? What wilt thou do to escape it? That thy Lord might comfort thee in thy necessary subjection to death, of His own good pleasure He condescended to die. When thou seest the Christ lying dead, art thou reluctant to die?

Die then thou must; thou hast no means of escape. Be it today, be it to-morrow; it is to be â€” the debt must be paid.

What, then, does a man gain by fearing, fleeing, hiding himself from discovery by his enemy? Does he get exemption from death? No, but that he may die a little later. He gets not security against his debt, but asks a respite. Put it off as long as you please, the thing so delayed will come at last. Let us fear that death which the three men feared when they said to the king, "God is able to deliver us even from that flame; and if not," etc.^ There was there the fear of that death which the Lord now threatens, when they said. But also if He be not willing openly to deliver us. He can crown us with victory in secret. Whence also the Lord, when on the eve of appointing martyrs and becoming the headmartyr Himself, said, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do." How "have they no more that they can do"? What if, after having slain one, they threw his body to be mangled by wild beasts,

^Dan. iii. 16-18.

TRACT. XLIII.] DEAD, YET ALIVE. 61

and torn to pieces by birds? Cruelty seems still to have something it can do. But to whom is it done? He has departed. The body is there, but without feeling. The tenement lies on the ground, the tenant is gone. And so "after that they have no more that they can do;" for they can do nothing to that which is without sensation. "But fear Him who hath power to destroy both body and soul in hell fire."^ Here is the death that He spake of when He said, "He that keepeth my saying shall never see death." Let us keep then, brethren. His own word in faith, as those who are yet to attain to sight, when the liberty we receive has reached its fulness.
13. But those men, indignant, yet dead, and predestinated to death eternal, answered with insults, and said, "Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead, and the prophets." But not in that death which the Lord meant to be understood was either Abraham dead or the prophets.

For these were dead, and yet they live: those others were alive, and yet they had died. For, replying in a certain place to the Sadducees, when they stirred the question of the resurrection, the Lord Himself speaks thus: "But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read how the Lord said to Moses from the bush, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living." ^ If, then, they live, let us labour so to live, that after death we may be able to live with them.

"Whom makest thou thyself," they add, that thou sayest, "he shall never see death who keepeth my saying," when thou knowest that both Abraham is dead and the prophets?

14. "Jesus answered. If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing: it is my Father that glorifieth me." He said this on account of their saying, "Whom makest thou thyself?" For He refers His glory to the Father, of whom it is that He is God. From this expression also the Arians sometimes revile our faith, and say. See, the Father is greater; for at all events He glorifies the Son. Heretic, hast thou not read of the Son Himself also saying that He glorifies His Father? ^ If both He glorifieth the Son, and the Son glorifieth the Father, lay aside thy stubbornness, acknowledge the equality, correct thy perversity.

62 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XLIII.

^"In the gehenna of fire." Matt. x. 28, and Luke xii. 4, 5.
2 Matt. xxii. 31, 32; Ex. iii. 6. ^ jj^p. xvii. 4.

aside thy stubbornness, acknowledge the equality, correct thy perversity.

15. "It is," then, said He, "my Father that glorifieth me; of whom ye say, that He is your God: and ye have not known Him." See, my brethren, how He shows that God Himself is the Father of the Christ, who was announced also to the Jews.

I say so for this reason, that now again there are certain heretics who say that the God revealed in the Old Testament is not the Father of Christ, but some prince or other, I know not what, of evil angels. There are Manicheans who say so; there are Marcionites who say so. There are also, perhaps, other heretics, whom it is either unnecessary to mention, or all of whom I cannot at present recall; yet there have not been wanting those who said this. Attend then, that you may have something also to affirm against such.

Christ the Lord calleth Him His Father whom they called their God, and did not know; for had they known [that God] Himself, they would have received His Son. "But I," said He, "know Him." To those judging after the flesh He might have seemed from such words to be self-assuming, because He said "I know Him." But see what follows: "If I should say that I know Him not, I shall be a liar like unto you." Let not, then, self-assumption be so guarded against as to cause the relinquishment of truth. "But I know Him, and keep His saying."
The saying of the Father He was speaking as Son; and He Himself was the Word of the Father, that was speaking to men.

IG. "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw, and was glad." Abraham's seed, Abraham's Creator, bears a great testimony to Abraham. "Abraham rejoiced," He says, "to see my day." He did not fear, but "rejoiced to see it." For in him there was the love that casteth out fear.\(^1\) He says not, rejoiced because he saw; but "rejoiced that he might see." Believing, at all events, he rejoiced in hope to see with the understanding. "And he saw." And what more could the Lord Jesus Christ say, or what more ought He to have said? "And he saw," He says, "and was glad." Who can unfold this joy, my brethren? If those rejoiced whose 1 1 John iv. 18.

TKACT. XLIII. ABRAHAM SAW CHRIST's DAT. 63

bodily eyes were opened by the Lord, what joy was his who saw with the eyes of his soul the light ineffable, the abiding Word, the brilliance that dazzles the minds of the pious, the unfailing "Wisdom, God abiding with the Father, and at some time to come in the flesh and yet not to withdraw from the bosom of the Father? All this did Abraham see. For in saying "my day," it may be uncertain of what He spake; whether the day of the Lord in time, when He should come in the flesh, or that day of the Lord which knows not a dawn, and knows no decline. But for my part I doubt not that father Abraham knew it all. And where shall I find it out?

Ought the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ to satisfy us? Let us suppose that we cannot find it out, for perhaps it is difficult to say in what sense it is clear that Abraham "rejoiced to see the day" of Christ, "and saw it, and was glad." And though we find it not, can the Truth have lied? Let us believe the Truth, and cherish no doubt of Abraham's merited rewards.\(^2\) Yet listen to one passage that occurs to me meanwhile. When father Abraham sent his servant to seek a wife for his son Isaac, he bound him by this oath, to fulfil faithfully what he was commanded, and know also for himself what to do. For it was a great matter that was in hand when marriage was sought for Abraham's seed. But that the servant might apprehend what Abraham knew, that it was not offspring after the flesh he desired, nor anything of a carnal kind concerning his race that was referred to, he said to the servant whom he sent, "Put thy hand under my thigh, and swear by the God of heaven."\(^3\) What connection has the God of heaven with Abraham's thigh? Already you understand the mystery: \(^4\) by thigh is meant race. And what was that swearing, but the signifying that of Abraham's race would the God of heaven come in the flesh? Fools find fault with Abraham because he said, Put thy hand under my thigh. Those who find fault with Christ's flesh find fault with Abraham's conduct. But let us, brethren, if we acknowledge the flesh of Christ as worthy of veneration, despise not that thigh, but receive it as spoken of prophetically. For a prophet also was Abraham. Whose prophet? Of his own seed, and of his 'Meritis.' * Gen. xxiv. 2-4. 3 'Â«Sacramentum.'
Lord. To his own seed he pointed in saying, "Put thy hand under my thigh." To his Lord he pointed in adding, "and swear by the God of heaven."

17. The angry Jews replied, "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" And the Lord: "Verily, verily, I say unto you. Before Abraham was made, I am." 

Weigh the words, and get a knowledge of the mystery. "Before Abraham was made." Understand, that "was made" refers to human formation; but "am" to the Divine essence. "He was made," because Abraham was a creature. He did not say. Before Abraham was, I was; but, "Before Abraham was made," who was not made save by me, "I am." Nor did He say this, Before Abraham was made I was made; for "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;" ^ and "in the beginning was the Word." ^ "Before Abraham was made-. I am." Eecognise the Creator â€” distinguish the creature. He who spake was made the seed of Abraham; and that Abraham might be made. He Himself was before Abraham.

18. Hence, as if by the most open of all insults thrown at Abraham, they were now excited to greater bitterness. Of a certainty it seemed to them that Christ the Lord had uttered blasphemy in saying, "Before Abraham was made, I am." "Therefore took they up stones to cast at Him." To what could so great hardness have recourse, save to its like? "But Jesus " [acts] as man, as one in the form of a servant, as lowly, as about to suffer, about to die, about to redeem us with His blood; not as He who is â€” not as the Word in the beginning, and the Word with God. For when they took up stones to cast at Him, what great thing were it had they been instantly swallowed up in the gaping earth, and found the inhabitants of hell in place of stones ? It were not a great thing to God; but better was it that patience should be commended than power exerted. Therefore "He hid Himself" from them, that He might not be stoned. As man, He fled from the stones; but woe to those from whose stony hearts God has fled!

^ Antequam Abraham Jieret, ego sum, Greek, "vp)Â» 'K^&aaft. yi\oia.i, \yo) 2 Gen. i. 1. 3 chap. L 1.

TEACTATE XLIV.

Chapter IX.
A just man have just read the long lesson of the man born YY blind, whom the Lord Jesus restored to the light; but were we to attempt handling the whole of it, and considering, according to our ability, each passage in a way proportionate to its worth, the day would be insufficient. Wherefore I ask and warn your Charity not to require any words of ours on those passages whose meaning is manifest; for it would be too protracted to linger at each. I proceed, therefore, to set forth briefly the mystery of this blind man's enlightenment.

All, certainly, that was done by our Lord Jesus Christ, both works and words, are worthy of our astonishment and admiration: His works, because they are facts; His words, because they are signs. If we reflect, then, on what is signified by the deed here done, that blind man is the human race; for this blindness had place in the first man through sin, from whom we all draw our origin, not only in respect of death, but also of unrighteousness. For if unbelief is blindness, and faith enlightenment, whom did Christ find a believer at His coming? seeing that the apostle, belonging himself to the family of the prophets, says: "And we also in times past were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." ^ It

"children of wrath," then children of vengeance, children of punishment, children of hell. For how is it "by nature,"
save that through the first man sinning moral evil rooted itself in us as a nature? If evil has so taken root within us, every man is born mentally blind. For if he sees, he has no need of a guide. If he does need one to guide and enlighten him, then is he blind from his birth.

2. The Lord came: what did He do? He set forth a "reat

O

' Eph. ii. 3.
TRACT. VOL. II. B

66 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIV.

mystery. "He spat on the ground," He made clay of His spittle; for the Word was made flesh. ^ "And He anointed the eyes of the blind man." The anointing had taken place, and yet he saw not. He sent him to the pool which is called Siloam. But it was the evangelist's concern to call our attention to the name of this pool; and he adds, "Which is interpreted, Sent." You understand now who it is that was sent; for had He not been sent, none of us would have been set free from iniquity. Accordingly he washed his eyes in that pool which is interpreted, Sent â€” he was baptized in Christ. If, therefore, when He baptized him in a manner in Himself, He then enlightened him; when He anointed Him, perhaps He made him a catechumen. ^ In many different ways indeed may the profound meaning of such a sacramental act be set forth and handled; but let this suffice your Charity>
You have heard a great mystery. Ask a man. Are you a Christian? His answer to you is, I am not, if he is a pagan or a Jew. But if he says, I am; you inquire again of him, Are you a catechumen or a believer? If he reply, A catechumen; he has been anointed, but not yet washed. But how anointed? Inquire, and he will answer you. Inquire of him in whom he believes. In that very respect in which he is a catechumen he says. In Christ. See, I am speaking in a way both to the faithful and to catechumens. What have I said of the spittle and the clay? That the Word was made flesh. This even catechumens hear; but that to which they have been anointed is not all they need; let them hasten to the font if they are in search of enlightenment.

3. And now, because of certain points in the lesson before us, let us run over the words of the Lord, and of the whole lesson itself, rather than make them a theme of discourse. "As He passed out, He saw a man who was blind;" blind, not from any cause whatever, but "from his birth." "And His disciples asked Him, Eabbi." You know that "Eabbi" is Master. They called Him Master, because they desired to learn. The question, at all events, they proposed to the Lord as a master, "Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?" Jesus answered, "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents," that he was born Wind. What is this that He has said? If no man is sinless, were the parents of this blind man without sin? Was he himself either born without original sin, or had he committed none in the course of his lifetime? Because his eyes were closed, had his lusts lost their wakefulness? How many evils are done by the blind? From what evil does an evil mind abstain, even though the eyes are closed? He could not see, but he knew how to think, and perchance to lust after something which his blindness hindered him from attaining, and so still in his heart to be judged by the searcher of hearts. If, then, both his parents had sin, and the man himself had sin, wherefore said the Lord, "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents," but only in respect to the point on which he was questioned, "that he was born blind"? For his parents had sin; but not by reason of the sin itself did it come about that he was born blind. If, then, it was not through the parents' sin that he was born blind, why was he born blind? Listen to the Master as He teaches. He seeks one who believes, to give him understanding. He Himself tells us the reason why that man was born blind: "Neither hath this man sinned," He says, "nor Ms parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him."
4. And then, what follows? "I must work the works of Him that sent me." See, here is that sent one [Siloam], wherein the blind man washed his face. And see what He said: "I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day." Recall to thy mind the way in which He gives universal glory to Him of whom He is: ^ for that One has the Son who is of Him; He Himself has no One of whom He is.—^ But wherefore, Lord, saidst Thou, "While it is day"?

Hearken why He did so. "The night cometh when no man can work." Not even Thou, Lord? Will that night have such power that not even Thou, whose work the night is, wilt be able to work therein? For I think. Lord Jesus, nay I do

^ Or, "from whom He proceeds." The Son is of the Father, but the Father is of none.

68 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIV.

not think, but believe and hold it sure, that Thou wast there when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light." 

For if He made it by the Word, He made it by Thee: and therefore it is said, "All things were made by Him; and without Him was nothing made." ^" "God divided between the light and the darkness: the light He called Day, and the darkness He called Night." ^

5. What is that night wherein, when it comes, no one shall be able to work? Hear what the day is, and then thou wilt understand what the night is. But how shall we hear what that day is? Let HimseK tell us: "As long as I am in this world, I am the light of the world." See, He Himself is the day. Let the blind man wash his eyes in the day, that he may behold the day. "As long," He says, "as I am in the world, I am the light of the world." Then will it be night of a kind unknown to me, when Christ will no longer be there; and so no one will be able to work. An inquiry remains, my brethren; patiently listen to me as I inquire.

With you I inquire: with you shall I find Him to whom my inquiry is addressed. We are agreed; for it is expressly and definitely stated that the Lord proclaimed Himself in this place as the day, that is, the light of the world. "As long." He says, "as I am in this world, I am the light of the world."

Therefore He Himself works. But how long is He in this world? Ai-e we to think, brethren, that He was here then, and is here no longer? If we think so, then already, after the Lord's ascension, did that fearful night begin, when no one can work. If that night began after the Lord's ascension, how was it that the apostles wrought so much? Was that the night when the Holy Spirit came, and, filling all who were in one place, gave them the power of speaking in the tongues of every nation? ^ Was it night when that lame man was made whole at the word of Peter, or rather, at the word of the Lord dwelling in Peter? ^ Was it night when, as the disciples were passing by, the sick were laid in couches, that they might be touched at least by their shadow as they passed? ^

Yet, when the Lord was here, there was no one made whole by His

^ Gen. i. 3. * Chap. i. 3. ^ Gen. i. 4, 5.
shadow as He passed; but He Himself had said to the disciples, "Greater things than these shall ye do." Yes, the Lord had said, "Greater things than these shall ye do;" but let not flesh and blood exalt itself: let such hear Him also saying, "Without me ye can do nothing."

6. What then? What shall we say of that night? When will it be, when no one shall be able to work? It will be that night of the wicked, that night of those to whom it shall be said in the end, "Depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." But it is here called night, not flame, nor fire. Hearken, then, why it is also night. Of a certain servant He says, "Bind ye him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness." Let man, then, work while he liveth, that he may not be overtaken by that night when no man can work. It is now that faith is working by love; and if now we are working, then this is the day "Christ is here. Hear His promise, and think Him not absent. It is Himself who hath said, "Lo, I am with you." How long? Let there be no anxiety in us who are alive; were it possible, with this very word we might place in perfect security the generations still to come. "Lo," He says, "I am with you always, even to the end of the world." That day, which is completed by the circuit of yonder sun, has but few hours; the day of Christ's presence extends even to the end of the world. But after the resurrection of the living and the dead, when He shall say to those placed at His right hand, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom;" and to those at His left, "Depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels;" then shall be the night when no man can work, but only get back what he has wrought before. There is a time for working, another for receiving; for the Lord shall render to every one according to his works. While thou livest, be doing, if thou art to be doing at all; for then shall come that appalling night, to envelope the wicked in its folds. But even now every unbeliever, when he dies, is received within that night: there is no work to be done there. In that night was the rich man burning, and asking a drop of water from the


70 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TREAT. XLIV.

"beggar's finger; he mourned, agonized, confessed, but no relief was vouchsafed. He even endeavoured to do good; for he said to Abraham, "Father Abraham, send Lazarus to my
brethren-, that he may tell them what is being done here, lest they also come into this place of torment." ^ Unhappy man!
when thou wert living, then was the time for working: now thou art already in the night, in which no man can work.

7. "When He had thus spoken, He spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and He spread the clay upon his eyes, and said unto him. Go and wash in the pool of Siloain (which is, by interpretation. Sent). He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing." As these words are clear, we may pass them over.

8. "The neighbour's therefore, and those who saw him previously, for he was a beggar, said. Is not this he who sat and begged? Some said. It is he; others, No; but he is like him." The opening of his eyes had altered his countenance.
"He said, I am he." His voice utters its gratitude, that it might not be condemned as ungrateful. "Therefore said they unto him. How were thine eyes opened? He answered, The man who is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes, and said unto me. Go to the pool of Siloam, and wash: and I went and washed, and saw." See, he is become the herald of grace: see, he preaches the gospel; endowed with sight, he becomes a confessor. That blind man makes confession, and the heart of the wicked was troubled; for they had not in their heart what he had now in his countenance. "They said to him. Where is he who hath opened thine eyes? He said, I know not." In these words the man's own soul was like that of one only as yet anointed, but not yet seeing. Let us so put it, brethren, as if he had that anointing in his soul. He preaches, and knows not the Being whom he preaches.

9. "They brought to the Pharisees him who had been blind. And it was the Sabbath when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes. Then again the Pharisees also asked how he had received his sight. And he said unto them. He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see. Therefore said some of the Pharisees;" not all, but some; for some

1 Luke xvi. 2i-28.

TRA.CT. XLIV.] KEEPING THE SABBATH, VI

were already anointed. What then said those, who neither saw nor were anointed? "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath." He it was rather who kept it, who was without sin. For this is the spiritual Sabbath, to have no sin. In fact, brethren, it is of this that God admonishes us, when He commends the Sabbath to our notice: "Thou shalt do no servile work."^ These are God's words when commending the Sabbath, "Thou shalt do no servile work." Now ask the former lessons, what is meant by servile work; ^ and listen to the Lord: "Every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin." ^ But these men, neither seeing, as I said, nor anointed, kept the Sabbath carnally, and profaned it spiritually. "Others said. How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles? " These were the anointed ones. " And there was a division among them." The day had
divided between the light and the darkness, "They say then unto the blind man again, What sayest thou of him who hath opened thine eyes?" What is thy feeling about him? what is thine opinion? what is thy judgment? They sought how to revile the man, that he might be cast out of the synagogue, but be found by Christ. But he steadfastly expressed what he felt. For he said, "That he is a prophet." As yet, indeed, anointed only in heart, he does not thus far confess the Son of God, and yet he speaks not untruthfully. For the Lord saith of Himself, "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country,"*  

10, "Therefore the Jews did not believe concerning him, that he had been blind, and received his sight, till they called the parents of him that received his sight; " that is, who had been blind, and had come to the possession of sight. " And they asked them, saying, Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? how then doth he now see? His parents answered them, and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but how he now seeth, we know not; or who hath opened his eyes, we know not. And they said. Ask himself; he is of age, let him speak of himself" He is indeed our son, and we might justly be compelled to answer for him as an infant, because then he could not speak for  

> Lev. xxiii. 8. " Tract, xx. 2. ^q1^v^v^ _^m 34^ * jXatt. xiii. 57.  

72 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIV.  

MmseK: from of old he has had power of speech, only now he sees: we have been acquainted with him as blind from his birth, we know him as having speech from of old, only now do we see him endowed with sight: ask himself, that you may be instructed; why seek to calumniate us? These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews: for the Jews had conspired already, that if any man did confess that He was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." It was no longer a bad thing to be put out of the synagogue. They cast out, but Christ received. " Therefore said his parents, He is of age, ask himself"  

11. "Then again called they the man who had been blind, and said unto him. Give God the glory." What is that, " Give God the glory "? Deny what thou hast received. Such conduct is manifestly not to give God the glory, but rather to blaspheme Him. " Give God," they say, " the glory: we know that this man is a sinner. Then said he, If he is a sinner, I know not: one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see. Then said they to him. What did he to thee? how opened he thine eyes? " And he, indignant now at the hardness of the Jews, and as one brought from a state of blindness to sight, unable to endure the blind, "answered them, I have told you already, and ye have heard: wherefore would ye hear it again? Will ye also become his disciples?" What means, " Will ye also," but that I am one already? "Will ye also be so?" Now I see, but see not askance.  

12. "They cursed him, and said, Thou art his disciple."
Such a malediction be upon us, and upon our children ! For a malediction it is, if thou layest open their heart, not if thou ponderest the words. " But we are Moses' disciples. We know that God spake unto Moses: as for this fellow, we know not from whence he is. " Would ye had known that " God spake to Moses åœ¢" ye would have also known that God preached by Moses. For ye have the Lord saying, " Had ye believed Moses, ye would have also believed me; for he wTote of me."^ Is it thus ye follow the servant, and turn your back against the Lord ? But not even the servant do ye follow; for by him ye would be guided to the Lord.

" Cliap. V. 46.

TRACT. XLIV.] CAST OUT, AND RECEIVED. 73

13. "The man answered and said unto them, Herein is a marvelous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes. Now we know that God heareth not sinners; but if any man is a worshipper of God, and doeth His will, him He heareth." He speaks still as one only anointed. For God heareth even sinners. For if God heard not sinners, in vain would the publican, casting his eyes on the ground, and smiting on his breast, have said, " Lord, be merciful to me a sinner." And that confession merited justification, as this blind man enlightenment. " Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing." With frankness, constancy, and truthfulness [he spoke]. For these things that were done by the Lord, by whom were they done but by God ? Or when would such things be done by disciples, were not the Lord dwelling in them ?

14. "They answered and said unto him. Thou wast wholly born in sins." What means this "wholly"? Even to blindness of the eyes. But He who has opened his eyes, also saves him wholly: He will grant a resurrection at His right hand, who gave enlightenment to his countenance. " Thou wast altogether born in sins, and dost thou teach us ? And they cast him out." They had made him their master; many questions had they asked for their own instruction, and they ungratefully cast forth their teacher.

15. But, as I have already said before, brethren, when they expel, the Lord receiveth; for the rather that he was expelled, was he made a Christian. " Jesus heard that they had cast him out; and when He had found him, He said unto him. Dost thou believe on the Son of God ? " Now He washes the face of his heart. " He answered and said," as one still only anointed, "Who is he. Lord, that I might believe on him? And Jesus said unto him. Thou hast both seen Him, and it is He that talketh with thee." The One is He that is sent; the other is one washing his face in Siloam, which is interpreted, Sent. And now at last, with the face of his heart washed, and a conscience purified, acknowledging Him not only as the son of man, which he had believed before, but now as the Sou
74 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XLIV.

of God, who had assumed our flesh, " he said. Lord, I believe."
It is but little to say, " I believe: " wouldst thou also see what he believes Him ? " He fell
down and worshipped Him."

16. "And Jesus said to him." Now is He, the day, discerning between the light and the
darkness, " For judgment am I come into this world; that they who see not might see, and
darkness, " For judgment am I come into this world; that they who see not might see, and
darkness, " For judgment am I come into this world; that they who see not might see, and
they who see might be made blind." What is this, Lord ?
A weighty subject of inquiry hast Thou laid on the weary; but revive our strength that we
may be able to understand what Thou hast said. Thou art come " that they who see not
may see: " rightly so, for Thou art the light: rightly so, for Thou art the day: rightly so, for
Thou deliverest from darkness: this every soul accepts, every one understands. What is
this that follows, "And those who see may be mad^ blind " ? Shall then, because Thou art come, those be made blind who saw ? Hear what
follows, and perhaps thou wilt understand.

17. By these words, then, were "some of the Pharisees"
disturbed, " and said unto Him, Are we blind also ? " Hear now what it is that moved
them, " And they who see may be made blind." " Jesus said unto them. If ye were blind,
ye should have no sin; " while blindness itself is sin. " If ye were blind," that is, if ye
considered yourselves blind, if ye called yourselves blind, ye also would have recourse to
the physician: "if" then in this way "ye were blind, ye should have no sin;" for I am come
to take away "sin. "But now ye say, We see; [therefore] your sin remaineth." Wherefore ?
Because by saying " We see," ye seek not the physician, ye remain in your blindness.
This, then, is that which a little above we did not understand, when He said, " I am come,
that they who see not may see: " for what means this, " that they who see not may see " ?
They who acknowledge that they do not see, and seek the physician, that they may
receive sight.
"And they who see may be made blind:" what means this,
"they who see may be made blind"? That they who think they see, and seek not the
physician, may abide in their blindness. Such discerning therefore of one from another
He called judgment, when He said, " For judgment I am come

TEACT. XLIY.] THE SEEING J^IADE BLIND. 75

into this world," whereby He distinguishes the cause of those who believe and make
confession from the proud, who think they see, and are therefore the more grievously
blinded: just as the sinner, making confession, and seeking the physician, said to Him, "
Judge me, God, and discern my cause against the unholy nation,"^ â€” namely, those who
say, "We see,"
and their sin remaineth. But it was not that judgment He now brought into the world, whereby in the end of the world He shall judge the living and the dead. For in respect to this He had said, "I judge no man;" ^ seeing that He came the first time, " not to judge the world, but that the world through Him might be saved." ^

Â» Ps. sliii. 1. 2 Chap. viii. 15. ^ Chap. iii. 17.

TEACTATE XLV.

Chapter X. 1-10.

1. /"UE Lord's discourse to the Jews began in connection
   ly with the man who was born blind and was restored to sight. Your Charity therefore
   ought to know and be advised that to-day's lesson is interwoven with that one.
   For when the Lord had said, " For judgment I am come into this world; that they who see
   not might see, and they whp see might be made blind," â€” which, on the occasion of its
   reading, we expounded according to our ability, â€” some of the Pharisees said, " Are we
   blind also ? " To whom He replied,
   " If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; [therefore] your sin
   remaineth." Â» To these words He added what we have been hearing to-day when the
   lesson was read.

2. " Verily, verily, I say unto you. He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but
   climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." For they declared that they
   were not blind; yet could they see only by being the sheep of Christ. Whence claimed
   they possession of the light, who were acting as thieves against the day ? Because, then,
   of their vain and proud and incurable arrogance, did the Lord Jesus subjoin these words,
   wherein He has given us also salutary lessons, if we lay them to heart. For there are many
   who, according to a custom of this life, are called good people,
   â€” good men, good women, innocent, and observers as it w^ere of what is commanded
   in the law; paying respect to their parents, abstaining from adultery, doing no murder,
   committing no theft, giving no false witness against any one, and observing all else that
   the law requires, â€” yet are not Christians; and for the most part ask boastfully, like
   these men,

Â» Chap. ix. 39-41.

76

TKACT. XLV.] THE DOOR OF THE SHEEPFOLD. 77

" Are "we blind also ? " But just because all these things that they do, and know not to
what end they should have reference, they do to no purpose, the Lord has set forth in to-
day's lesson the similitude of His own flock, and of the door that leads into the sheepfold. Pagans may say, then, We live well. If they enter not by the door, what good will that do them, whereof they boast ? For to this end ought good living to benefit every one, that it may be given him to live for ever: for to whomsoever eternal life is not given, of what benefit is the living well ? For they ought not to be spoken of as even living well, who either from blindness know not the end of a right life, or in their pride despise it. But no one has the true and certain hope of living always, unless he know the life, that it is Christ; and enter by the gate into the sheepfold.

3. Such, accordingly, for the most part seek to persuade men to live well, and yet not to be Christians. By another way they wish to climb up, to steal and to kill, not as the shepherd, to preserve and to save. And thus there have been certain philosophers, holding many subtle discussions about the virtues and the vices, dividing, defining, drawing out to their close the most acute processes of reasoning, filling books, brandishing their wisdom with rattling jaws; who would even dare to say to people. Follow us, keep to our sect, if you would live happily. But they had not entered by the door: they wished to destroy, to slay, and to murder.

4. What shall I say of such ? Look, the Pharisees themselves were in the habit of reading, and in what they read, their voices re-echoed the Christ, they hoped He would come, and recognised Him not when present; they boasted, even they, of being amongst those who saw, that is, among the wise, and they disowned the Christ, and entered not in by the door. Therefore would such also, if they chanced to seduce any, seduce them to be slaughtered and murdered, not to be brought into liberty. Let us leave these also to themselves, and look at those who glory in the name of Christ Himself, and see whether perchance are entering in by the door.

5. For there are countless numbers who not only boast that they see, but would have it appear that they are enlightened by Christ; yet are they heretics. Have even they somehow entered by the gate ? Surely not. Sabellius says, He who is the Son is Himself the* Father; but if the Son, then is there no Father. He enters not by the door, who asserts that the Son is the Father. Arius says. The Father is one thing, the Son is another thing. He would say rightly if he said. Another person; but not another thing. For when he says. Another thing, he contradicts Him who says in his hearing, " I and my Father are One." ^ Neither does he therefore enter by the door; for he preaches a Christ such as he fabricates for himself, not such as the truth declares Him. Thou hast the name, thou hast not the reality. Christ is the name of something; keep hold of the thing itself, if thou wouldst benefit by the name. Another, I know not from whence, says with Photinus,^ Christ is mere man; He is not God. He enters not in by the door, for Christ is both man and God. But why need I make many references, and enumerate the
many vanities of heretics? Keep hold of this, that Christ's sheepfold is the Catholic Church. Whoever would enter the sheepfold, let him enter by the door, let him preach the true Christ. Not only let him preach the true Christ, but seek Christ's glory, not his own; for many, by seeking their own glory, have scattered Christ's sheep, instead of gathering them. For Christ the Lord is a low gateway: he who enters by this gateway must humble himself, that he may be able to enter with head unharmed. But he that humbleth not, but exalteth himself, wishes to climb over the wall; and he that climbeth over the wall, is exalted only to fall.

6. Thus far, however, the Lord Jesus speaks in covert language; not as yet is He understood. He names the door. He names the sheepfold, He names the sheep: all this He sets forth, but does not yet explain. Let us read on then, for He is coming to those words, wherein He may think proper to give us some explanation of what He has said; from

^ Or, "substance:" "Alius, non aliud."

- Ver. 38, "unum;" lit. 'one thing or substance."

3 Bishop of Sermium, who published his heretical opinions about a.d. 343.

TRACT. XLV.] THE THIEF AND THE BOBBER, 79

the explanation of which He will perhaps enable us to understand also what He has not explained. For He gives us what is plain, for food; what is obscure, for exercise. "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way." Woe to the wretch, for he is sure to fall!

Let him then be humble, let him enter by the door: let him walk on the level ground, and he shall not stumble. "The same," He says, "is a thief and a robber." The sheep of another he desires to call his own sheep, â€” his own, that is, as carried off by stealth, for the purpose, not of saving, but of slaying them. Therefore is he a thief, because what is another's he calls his own; a robber, because what he has stolen he also kills. "But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep: to him the porter openeth."

Concerning this porter we shall make inquiry, when we have heard of the Lord Himself what is the door and who is the shepherd. "And the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name." For He has their names written in the book of life. "He calleth his own sheep by name." Hence, says the apostle, "The Lord knoweth them that are His."*

"And he leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice. And a stranger do they not follow, but do flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers." These are veiled words, full of topics of inquiry, pregnant with sacramental signs. Let us follow then, and listen to the Master as He makes
some opening into these obscurities; and perhaps by the opening He makes. He will cause us to enter.

7. "This parable spake Jesus unto them; but they understood not what He spake unto them." Nor we also, perhaps. "What, then, is the difference between them and us, before even we can understand these words? This, that we on our part knock, that it may be opened unto us; while they, by disowning Christ, refused to enter for salvation, and preferred remaining outside to be destroyed. In as far, then, as we listen to these words with a pious mind, in as far as, before we understand them, we believe them to be true and divine,

'2 Tim. ii 19.

80 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLV.

we stand at a great distance from these men. For when two persons are listening to the words of the gospel, the one impious, the other pious, and some of these are such as neither perhaps understands, the one says. It has said nothing; the other says. It has said the truth, and what it has said is good, but we do not understand it. This latter, because he believes, now knocks, that he may be worthy to have it opened up to him, if he continue knocking; but the other still hears the words, "If ye believe not, ye shall not understand." ^

Why do I draw your attention to this? Even for this reason, that when I have explained as I can these obscure words, or, because of their great abstruseness, I have either myself failed to arrive at an understanding of them, or wanted the faculty of explaining what I do understand, or every one has been so dull as not to follow me, even when I give the explanation, yet should he not despair of himself; but continue in faith, walk on in the way, and hear the apostle saying, "And if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless whereto we have already attained, let us walk therein." ^

8. Let us begin, then, with hearing His exposition of what we have heard Him propounding. "Then said Jesus unto them again. Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep." See, He has opened the very door which was shut in His former description. He Himself is the door.

"We have come to know it; let us enter, or rejoice that we are already within. "All that ever came are thieves and robbers." What is this. Lord, "All that ever came"? How so? hast Thou not come? But understand; I said, "All that ever came," meaning, of course, exclusive of myself. ^ Let us recollect then. Before His coming came the prophets: were they thieves and
* Isa. vii. 9, according to the Septuagint, which, however, can hardly be said here to give the meaning of the Hebrew text. Our English version gives a pretty correct translation of the latter. æ"" Tr..

2 Phil. iii. 15, 16.

^ "Praeterme:" Lesldes, apart from, myself. These words are an explanation suggested by Augustine himself. The words, " -rho ifiov," "before me," of the received text, which are undoubtedly genuine, were wanting in the version here used by Augustine, just as in the Vulgate. It is supposed that the authors of these versions had been tempted to omit them, because of the use made of them by some early heretics to throw discredit on the Old Testament Scriptures. æ"" Tk.

TKACT. XLV.] THE SHEEP HEAll NOT THE HOBBEI'. 81

robbers ? God forbid. They did not come apart from Him, for they came with Him. When about to come, He sent heralds, but retained possession of the hearts of His messengers. Do you wish to know that they came with Him, who is Himself ever existent ? Certainly He assumed human flesh at the time appointed. But what means that " ever " ? " In the beginning was the Word." ^ With Him, therefore, came those who came with the word of God. " I am," said He, " the way, and the truth, and the life." ' If He is the truth, with Him came those who were truthful As many, therefore, as were apart from Him, were " thieves and robbers," that is, had come to steal and to destroy.

9. " But the sheep did not hear them." This is a more important point, 'â€¢ the sheep did not hear them." Before the advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He came in humility in the flesh, righteous men preceded, believing in the same way in Him who was to come, as we believe in Him who has come. Times vary, but not faith. For verbs themselves also vary with the tense, when they are variously declined. He is to come, has one sound; He has come, has another: there is a change in the sound between He is to come, and He has come:

yet the same faith unites both, â€” both those who believed that He would come, and those who have believed that He is come.

At different times, indeed, but by the one doorway of faith, that is, by Christ, do we see that both have entered. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin, that He came in the flesh, suffered, rose again, ascended into heaven:
aU this, just as you hear verbs of the past tense, we believe to be already fulfilled. In that faith a partnership is also held with us by those fathers who believed that He would be born of the Virgin, would suffer, would rise again, would ascend into heaven; for to such the apostle pointed when he said, " But we having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak." ^ The prophet said, 'â€¢ I believed, therefore have I spoken: " ^ the apostle says, " We also believe, and therefore speak." But to let you know that their faith is one,
listen to him saying, "Having the same spirit of faith, we also believe." So also in another place, "For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea: and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink." The Eed Sea signifies baptism; Moses, their leader through the Eed Sea, signifies Christ; the people, who passed through, signify believers; the death of the Egyptians signifies the abolition of sins. Under different signs there is the same faith. It is with different signs as with different words [verbs]; for verbs change their sounds through the tenses, and verbs are indeed nothing else than signs. For they are Awords because of what they signify: take away the meaning from a word, and it becomes a senseless sound. All, therefore, have become signs. Was not the same faith theirs by whom these signs were employed, and by whom were foretold in prophecy the very things which we believe? Certainly it was: but they believed that they were yet to come, and we, that they have come. In like manner does he also say, "They all drank the same spiritual drink; " the same spiritual," for it was not the same material [drink]. For what was it they drank? "For they drank of the spiritual Eock that followed them; and that Eock was Christ." See, then, how that while the faith remained, the signs were varied. There the rock was Christ; to us that is Christ which is placed on the altar of God. And they, as a great sacramental â€œ sign of the same Christ, drank the water flowing from the rock: what we drink is known to believers. If one's thoughts turn to the visible form, the thing is different; if to the meaning that addresses the understanding, they drank the same spiritual drink. As many, then, at that time as believed, whether Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, or Moses, or the other patriarchs or prophets who foretold of Christ, were sheep, and heard Christ. His voice, and not another's, did they hear. The Judge was present in the person of the Crier. For even when the judge

' Augustine seems liere to use "verbum " sometimes in its gi-ammatical, sometimes in its general, meaning. â€” Te.

* 1 Cor. X. 1-4.
speaks through the crier, the clerk ^ does not make it, The crier said; but the judge said. But others there are whom the sheep did not hear, in whom Christ's voice had no place, â–
â€” wanderers, uttering falsehoods, prating inanities, fabricating vanities, misleading the miserable.

10. Why is it, then, that I have said, This is a more important point? What is there about it obscure and difficult to understand? Listen, I beseech you. See, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself came and preached. Much more surely was that the Shepherd's voice which was uttered by the very mouth of the Shepherd. For if the Shepherd's voice came through the prophets, how much more did the Shepherd's own tongue give utterance to the Shepherd's voice? Yet all did not hear Him. But what are we to think? Those who did hear, were they sheep? Lo! Judas heard, and was a wolf: he followed, but, clad in sheep-skin, he Avas laying snares for the Shepherd. Some, again, of those who crucified Christ did not hear, and yet were sheep; for such He saw in the crowd when He said, "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye know that I am He." ^ !N"ow, how is this question to be solved? They that are not sheep do hear, and they that are sheep do not hear. Some, who are wolves, follow the Shepherd's voice; and some, that are sheep, contradict it. Last of all, the sheep slay the Shepherd. The point is solved; for some one in reply says. But when they did not hear, as yet they were not sheep, they were then wolves: the voice, when it was heard, changed them, and out of wolves transformed them into sheep; and so, when they became sheep, they heard, and found the Shepherd, and followed Him. They built their hopes on the Shepherd's promises, because they obeyed His precepts.

11. That question has been solved in a way, and perhaps satisfies every one. But I have still a subject of concern, and what concerns me I shall impart to you, that, in some sort inquiring together, I may through His revelation be found worthy with you to attain the solution. Hear, then, what it is that moves me. By the Prophet Ezekiel the Lord rebukes

* " Exceptor: " the person employed to take down notes of the decisions, sentences, etc. in the public courts or assemblies. â€” Tr.

* Chap. viii. 28.

84 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT. XLV.

the shepherds, and among other things says of the sheep, " The wandering sheep have ye not recalled." ^ He both declares it a wanderer, and calls it a sheep. If, while wandering, it was a sheep, whose voice was it hearing to lead it astray? For doubtless it would not be straying were it hearing the shepherd's voice: but it strayed just because it heard another's voice; it heard the voice of the thief and the robber. Surely the sheep do not hear the voice of robbers. " Those that came," He said, â€”
and we are to understand, ajyartfrorti me, â€” that is, " those that came ajmrt from me are thieves and robbers, and the sheep did not hear them." Lord, if the sheep did not hear them, how can the sheep wander? If the sheep hear only Thee, and Thou art the truth, whoever heareth the truth cannot certainly fall into error. But they err, and are called sheep.

For if, in the very midst of their wandering, they were nQt called sheep, it would not be said by Ezekiel, " The wandering sheep have ye not recalled." How is it at the same time a wanderer and a sheep? Has it heard the voice of another?

Surely " the sheep did not hear them." Accordingly many are just now being gathered into Christ's fold, and from being heretics are becoming catholics. They are rescued from the thieves, and restored to the shepherds: and sometimes they murmur, and become wearied of Him that calls them back, and have no true knowledge of him that would murder them; nevertheless also, when, after a struggle, those have come who are sheep, they recognise the Shepherd's voice, and are glad they have come, and are ashamed of their wandering. When, then they were glorying in that state of error as in the truth, and were certainly not hearing the Shepherd's voice, but were following another, were they sheep, or were they not? If they were sheep, how can it be the case that the sheep do not listen to aliens? If they were not sheep, wherefore the rebuke addressed to those to whom it is said, " The wandering sheep have ye not recalled"? In the case also of those already become catholic Christians, and believers of good promise, evils sometimes occur: they are seduced into error, and after their error are restored.

When they were thus seduced, and were rebaptized, or after the companionship of the Lord's fold were turned back again

'T Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

TRACT. XLV.] THE SHEPHERD KNOWS THE SHEEP. 85

into their former error, were they sheep, or were they not?

Certainly they were catholics. If they were faithful catholics, they were sheep. If they were sheep, how was it that they could listen to the voice of a stranger when the Lord saith,

" The sheep did not hear them "?

12. You hear, brethren, the great importance of the question.

I say then, " The Lord knoweth them that are His." ^ He knoweth those who were foreknown. He knoweth those who were predestinated; because it is said of Him, " For whom He did foreknow. He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified. If God be for us, who can be against us? " Add to this: " He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how hath He not with Him also freely given us all things? " But what
"us"? Those who are foreknown, predestinated, justified, glorified; regarding whom there follows, "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?" Therefore the Lord knoweth them that are His; "they are the sheep. Such sometimes do not know themselves, but the Shepherd knoweth them, according to this predestination, this foreknowledge of God, according to the election of the sheep before the foundation of the world: for so saith also the apostle, "According as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world." According, then, to this divine foreknowledge and predestination, how many sheep are outside, how many wolves are within! How many are now living in wantonness who will yet be chaste! How many are blaspheming Christ who will yet believe in Him! How many are giving themselves to drunkenness who will yet be sober! How many are preying on other people's property who will yet freely give of their own! Nevertheless at present they are hearing the voice of another, they are following strangers. In like manner, how many are praising within who will yet blaspheme; are chaste who will yet be fornicators; are sober who will wallow hereafter in drink; are 2 Tim. ii. 19. 'Köm. vii. 29-33. 3 Epi. i. 4.

86 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tKACT. XLV.

standing who will by and by fall! These are not the sheep.
(For we speak of those who were predestinated, â€” of those whom the Lord knoweth that they are His.) And yet these, so long as they keep right, listen to the voice of Christ. Yea, these hear, the others do not; and yet, according to predestination, these are not sheep, while the others are.

13. There remains still the question, which I now think may meanwhile thus be solved. There is a voice of some kind, â€” there is, I say, a certain kind of voice of the Shepherd, in respect of which the sheep hear not strangers, and in respect of which those who are not sheep do not hear Christ. What a word is this! "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." No one of His own is indifferent to such a voice, a stranger does not hear it: for this reason also does He announce it to the former, that he may abide perseveringly with Himself to the end; but by one who is wanting in such persevering continuance with Him, such a word remains unheard. One has come to Christ, and has heard word after word of one kind and another, all of them true, aU of them salutary; and among all the rest is also this utterance, "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." He who has heard this is one of the sheep. But there was, perhaps, some one listening to it, who treated it with dislike, with coldness, and heard it as that of a stranger. If he was predestinated, he strayed for the time, but he was not lost for ever: he returns to hear what he has neglected, to do what he has heard. For if he is one of those who are predestinated, then both his very wandering and his future conversion have been foreknown by God: if he has strayed away, he will return to hear that voice of the Shepherd, and to follow Him who saith, "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." A good voice, brethren, it is; true
and shepherdlike, the very voice of salvation in the tabernacles of the righteous.\(^\text{1 Matt. X. 22. \^ Ps. cxviii. 15.}\)

end of thy pathway. For as long as thou hearest not Christ, He is thine adversary in the pathway, that is, in this mortal life. And what doth He say? "Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him."\(^\text{2}\) Thou hast heard, hast believed, hast agreed. If thou hast been at enmity, agree. If thou hast got the opportunity of coming to an agreement, keep not up the quarrel longer. For thou knowest not when thy way will be ended, and it is known to Him. If thou art a sheep, and if thou endurest to the end, thou shalt be saved: and therefore it is that His own despise not that voice, and strangers hear it not. According to my ability, as He gave me the power, I have either explained to you or gone over with you a subject of great profundity. If any have failed fully to understand, let him retain his piety, and the truth will be revealed: and let not those who have understood vaunt themselves as swifter at the expense of the slower, lest in their vaunting they turn out of the track, and the slower more easily attain the goal. But let all of us be guided by Him to whom we say, "Lead me, Lord, in Thy way, and I will walk in Thy truth."\(^\text{3}\)

14. By this, then, which the Lord hath explained, that He Himself is the door, let us find entrance to what He has set forth, but not explained. And indeed who it is that is the Shepherd, although He hath not told us in the lesson we have read to-day, yet in that which follows He very plainly tells us: "I am the good Shepherd." And although He had not said so, whom else but Himself ought we to have understood in those words where He saith, "He that entereth in by the door is the Shepherd of the sheep. To Him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear His voice: and He calleth His own sheep by name, and leadeth them out. And when He putteth forth His own sheep. He goeth before them, and the sheep follow Him: for they know His voice"? For who else calleth His own sheep by name, and leadeth them hence unto eternal life, but He who knoweth the names of those that are fore-ordained? Hence He said to His disciples, "Eejoice that your names are written in heaven;"\(^\text{4}\) for from this it is that He calleth them by name. And who else putteth them forth,

\(^\text{1 Matt. X. 22. \^ Ps. cxviii. 15.}\)

\(^\text{2}\) Thou hast heard, hast believed, hast agreed. If thou hast been at enmity, agree. If thou hast got the opportunity of coming to an agreement, keep not up the quarrel longer. For thou knowest not when thy way will be ended, and it is known to Him. If thou art a sheep, and if thou endurest to the end, thou shalt be saved: and therefore it is that His own despise not that voice, and strangers hear it not. According to my ability, as He gave me the power, I have either explained to you or gone over with you a subject of great profundity. If any have failed fully to understand, let him retain his piety, and the truth will be revealed: and let not those who have understood vaunt themselves as swifter at the expense of the slower, lest in their vaunting they turn out of the track, and the slower more easily attain the goal. But let all of us be guided by Him to whom we say, "Lead me, Lord, in Thy way, and I will walk in Thy truth."\(^\text{3}\)

\(^\text{3}\) Thou hast heard, hast believed, hast agreed. If thou hast been at enmity, agree. If thou hast got the opportunity of coming to an agreement, keep not up the quarrel longer. For thou knowest not when thy way will be ended, and it is known to Him. If thou art a sheep, and if thou endurest to the end, thou shalt be saved: and therefore it is that His own despise not that voice, and strangers hear it not. According to my ability, as He gave me the power, I have either explained to you or gone over with you a subject of great profundity. If any have failed fully to understand, let him retain his piety, and the truth will be revealed: and let not those who have understood vaunt themselves as swifter at the expense of the slower, lest in their vaunting they turn out of the track, and the slower more easily attain the goal. But let all of us be guided by Him to whom we say, "Lead me, Lord, in Thy way, and I will walk in Thy truth."\(^\text{3}\)

\(^\text{4}\) Thou hast heard, hast believed, hast agreed. If thou hast been at enmity, agree. If thou hast got the opportunity of coming to an agreement, keep not up the quarrel longer. For thou knowest not when thy way will be ended, and it is known to Him. If thou art a sheep, and if thou endurest to the end, thou shalt be saved: and therefore it is that His own despise not that voice, and strangers hear it not. According to my ability, as He gave me the power, I have either explained to you or gone over with you a subject of great profundity. If any have failed fully to understand, let him retain his piety, and the truth will be revealed: and let not those who have understood vaunt themselves as swifter at the expense of the slower, lest in their vaunting they turn out of the track, and the slower more easily attain the goal. But let all of us be guided by Him to whom we say, "Lead me, Lord, in Thy way, and I will walk in Thy truth."\(^\text{3}\)
save He who putteth away their sins, that, freed from their grievous fetters, they may be able to follow Him? And who hath gone, before them to the place whither they are to go to Him, but He who, rising from the dead, dieth no more; and death shall have no more dominion over Him; and who, when He was manifest here in the flesh, said, "Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given me be with me where I am"? Hence it is that He saith, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture." In this He clearly shows that not only the Shepherd, but the sheep also enter in by the door.

15. But what is this, "He shall go in and out, and find pasture"? To enter indeed into the Church by Christ the door, is eminently good; but to go out of the Church, as this same John the evangelist saith in his epistle, "They went out from us" is certainly otherwise than good. Such a going out could not then be commended by the good Shepherd, when He said, "And he shall go in and out, and find pasture." There is therefore not only some sort of entrance, but some outgoing also that is good, by the good door, which is Christ. But what is that praiseworthy and blessed outgoing? I might say, indeed, that we enter when we engage in some inward exercise of thought; and go out, when we take to some active work without: and since, as the apostle saith, Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith,* to enter by Christ is to give ourselves to thought in accordance with that faith; but to go out by Christ is, in accordance also with that same faith, to take to outside works, that is to say, in the presence of others. Hence, also, we read in a psalm, "Man goeth forth to his work;" and the Lord Himself saith, "Let your works shine before men." ** But I am better pleased that the Truth Himself, like a good Shepherd, and therefore a good Teacher, hath in a certain measure reminded us how we ought to understand His words, "He shall go in and out, and find pasture," when He added in the sequel, "The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and


* Eph. iii. 17. * Ps. civ. 23. Â« Matt. v. 16.

TRACT. XLY.] THE SHEEP GOING IN AND OUT. 89

that they might have it more abundantly." For He seems to me to have meant, That they may have life in coming in, and have it more abundantly at their departure. For no one can pass out by the door â€” that is, by Christ â€” to that eternal life which shall be open to the sight, unless by the same door â€” that is, by the same Christ â€” he has entered His church, which is His fold, to the temporal life, which is lived in faith. Therefore, He saith, "I am come that they may have life," that is, faith, which worketh by love; by which faith they enter the fold that they may live, for the just liveth by faith:"
"...and that they may have it more abundantly," who, enduring unto the end, pass out by this same door, that is, by the faith of Christ; for as true believers they die, and we have life more abundantly when they come whither the Shepherd hath preceded them, where they shall die no more. Although, therefore, there is no want of pasture even here in the fold, yet for we may understand the words " and shall find pasture " as referring to both, that is, both to their going in and their going out, yet there only will they find the true pasture, where they shall be filled who hunger and thirst after righteousness, such pasture as was found by him to whom it was said, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise."* But how He Himself is the door, and Himself the Shepherd, so that He also may in a certain respect be understood as going in and out by Himself, and who is the porter, it would be too long to inquire to-day, and, according to the grace given us by Himself, to unfold in the way of dissertation.

Ada CaL V. 6. 2 Horn. i. 17. ^ ji^tt. v. 6. ' Luke::\iii. 43.

TRACTATE XLVI.

Chapter X. 11-13.

1. fTIHE Lord Jesus is speaking to His sheep ^ to those A- abeacly so, and to those yet to become such ^ "Who were then present; for in the place where they were, there were those who were already His sheep, as well as those who were afterwards to become so: and He likewise shows to those then present and those to come, both to them and to us, and to as many also after us as shall yet be His sheep, who it is that had been sent to them. All, therefore, hear the voice of their Shepherd saying, " I am the good Shepherd." He would not add "good," were there not bad shepherds. But the bad shepherds are those who are thieves and robbers, or certainly hirelings at the best. For we ought to examine into, to distinguish, and to know, all the characters whom He has here depicted. The Lord has already unfolded two points, which He had previously set forth in a kind of covert form: we already know that He is Himself the door, and we know that He is Himself the Shepherd. Who the thieves and robbers are, was made clear in yesterday's lesson; and today we have heard of the hireling, as we have heard also of the wolf Yesterday the porter was also introduced by name. Among the good, therefore, are the door, the doorkeeper, the shepherd, and the sheep: among the bad, the thieves and robbers, the hirelings, and the wolf

2. We understand the Lord Christ as the door, and also as the Shepherd; but who is to be understood as the doorkeeper ? For the former two. He has Himself explained: the doorkeeper He has left us to search out for ourselves. And M^hat doth He say of the doorkeeper ? " To him," He saith, " the porter [doorkeeper] openeth." To whom doth he open?
The Shepherd. What doth he open to the Shepherd? The door. And who is also the door? The Shepherd Himself.

Now, if Christ the Lord had not Himself explained, had not Himself said, "I am the Shepherd," and "I am the door," would any of us have ventured to say that Christ is Himself both the Shepherd and the door? For had He said, "I am the Shepherd," and had not said, "I am the door," we should be setting ourselves to inquire what was the door, and perhaps, mistaken in our views, be still standing before the door.

His grace and mercy have revealed to us the Shepherd, by His calling Himself so; have revealed to us also the door, when He declared Himself such; but He hath left us to search out the doorkeeper for ourselves. Whom, then, are we to call the doorkeeper?

Whomsoever we fix upon, we must take care not to think of him as greater than the door itself; for in men's houses the doorkeeper is greater than the door. The doorkeeper is placed before the door, not the door before the doorkeeper; because the porter keepeth the door, not the door the porter. I dare not say that any one is greater than the door, for I have heard already what is the door: that is no longer unknown to me, I am not left to my own conjecture, and I have not got much room for mere human guess work:

God hath said it, the Truth hath said it, and we cannot change what the Unchangeable hath uttered.

3. In respect, then, of the profound nature of this question, I shall tell you what I think: let each one make the choice that pleases him, but let him think of it reverently; as it is written, "Think of the Lord with goodness, and in simplicity of heart seek Him." ^

Perhaps we ought to understand the Lord Himself as the doorkeeper; for the shepherd and the door are in human respects as much different from each other as the doorkeeper and the door; and yet the Lord has called Himself both the Shepherd and the door. "Why, then, may we not understand Him also as the doorkeeper? For if we look at His personal qualities, the Lord Christ is neither a shepherd, in the way we are accustomed to know and to see shepherds; nor is He a door, for no artisan made Him: but if, because of some point of similarity, He is both the door

1 Wisd. i. 1. s "Proprietates."
and the Shepherd, I venture to say, He is also a sheep. True, the sheep is under the shepherd; yet He is both the Shepherd and a sheep. Where is He the Shepherd? Look, here thou hast it; read the Gospel: "I am the good Shepherd." Where is He a sheep? Ask the prophet: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter." ^ Ask the friend of the bridegroom: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." ^ Moreover, I am going to say something of a still more wonderful kind, in accordance with these points of similarity. For both the lamb, and the sheep, and the shepherd are friendly with one another, but from the lions as their foes the sheep are protected by their shepherds: and yet of Christ, who is both sheep and Shepherd, we have it said, "The Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed." ^ All this, brethren, understand in connection with points of similarity, not with personal qualities. It is a common thing to see the shepherds sitting on a rock, and there guarding the cattle committed to their care. Surely the shepherd is better than the rock that he sits upon; and yet Christ is both the Shepherd and the rock. All this by way of comparison. But if thou ask me for His peculiar personal qualities: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." ^ If thou ask me for the personal qualities peculiarly His own: The only Son, from everlasting to everlasting begotten of the Father, the equal of Him that begat, the Maker of all things, unchangeable "^ with the Father, unchanged by the assuming of human form, man by incarnation, the Son of man, and the Son of God. All this that I have said is not figure, but reality.

4. Therefore, let us not, brethren, be disturbed in understanding Him, in harmony with certain resemblances, as Himself the door, and also the doorkeeper. For what is the door? The way of entrance. Who is the doorkeeper? He who opens it. Who, then, is He that opens Himself, but He who unveils Himself to sight? See, when the Lord spoke at first of the door, we did not understand: so long as we did not understand, it was shut: He who opened it is Himself the

' Isa. liii. 7. Â« Chap. i. 29. ^ j>ev, v. 5.

* " Proprietatem. " ^ Chap. i. 1.

TEACT. XLVI.] THE HIRELING. 93

doorkeeper. There is no need, then, of seeking any other meaning, no need; but perhaps there is the desire. If there is so, quit not the path, go not outside of the Trinity. If thou art in quest of some other impersonation of the doorkeeper, bethink thee of the Holy Spirit; for the Holy Spirit will not think it unmeet to be the doorkeeper, when the Son has thought it meet to be Himself the door. Look at the doorkeeper as perhaps the Holy Spirit: about Him the Lord saith to His disciples, "He shall guide you into all truth." ^ What is the door? Christ. What is Christ? The Truth. Who, then, openeth the door, but He who guideth into all truth?
5. But what are we to say of the hireling? He is not mentioned here among the good. "The good Shepherd," He says, "giveth His life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling, and not the Shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep." The hireling does not here bear a good character, and yet in some respects is useful; nor would he be called an hireling, did he not receive hire from his employer. Who then is this hireling, that is both blameworthy and needful? And here, brethren, let the Lord Himself give us light, that we may know who the hirelings are, and be not hirelings ourselves. Who then is the hireling? There are some in office in the church, of whom the Apostle Paul saith, "Who seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's." What means that, "Who seek their own"? Who do not love Christ freely, who do not seek after God for His own sake; who are pursuing after temporal advantages, gaping for gain, coveting honours from men. When such things are loved by an overseer, and for such things God is served, whoever such an one may be, he is an hireling who cannot count himself among the children. For of such also the Lord saith: "Yerily, I say unto you, they have their reward." Listen to what the Apostle Paul says of St. Timothy: "But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your circumstances; for I have no man like-minded, who will naturally care for you. For

'Chai). xvi. 13, - Matt. vi. 5. ' "Germane," like a brother.

94 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XLVL

all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's." The shepherd mourned in the midst of hirelings. He sought some one who sincerely loved the flock of Christ, and round about him, amongst those who were with him at that time, he found not one. Not that there was no one then in the Church of Christ but the Apostle Paul and Timothy, who had a brother's concern for the flock; but it so happened at the time of his sending Timothy, that he had none else of his sons about him; only hirelings were with him, "who sought their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's." And yet he himself, with a brother's anxiety for the flock, preferred sending his son, and remaining himself amongst hirelings. Hirelings are also found among ourselves, but the Lord alone distinguisheth them. He that searcheth the heart, distinguisheth them; and yet sometimes we know them ourselves. For it was not without a purpose that the Lord Himself said also of the wolves: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Temptations put many to the question, and then their thoughts are made manifest; but many remain undiscovered. The Lord's fold must have as overseers, both those who are children and those who are hirelings. But the overseers, who are sons, are the shepherds. If they are shepherds, how is there but one Shepherd, save that all of them are members of the one Shepherd, to whom the sheep belong? For they are also members of Himself as the one sheep; because "as a sheep he was led to the slaughter."
6. But give heed to the fact that even the hirelings are needful. For many indeed in the Church are following after earthly profit, and yet preach Christ, and through them is heard the voice of Christ; and the sheep follow, not the hireling, but the Shepherd's voice speaking through the hireling.

Hearken to the hirelings as pointed out by the Lord Himself:
"The scribes," He saith, "and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: do what they say; but do not what they do." * What else said He but. Listen to the Shepherd's voice speaking through the hirelings? For sitting in Moses' seat, they teach the law of God; therefore God teacheth by them. But if


TRACT. XLVI.] GRAPES FOUND AMONG THORNS, 95

they wish to teach their own things, hear them not, do them not, Tor certainly such seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's; but no hireling has dared to say to Christ's people, Seek your own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's.

For his own evil conduct he does not preach from the seat of Christ: he does injury by the evil that he does, not by the good that he says. Pluck the grapes, beware of the thorn.

It is well; I see that you have understood; but for the sake of those that are slower, I shall repeat these words with greater plainness. How said I, Pluck the bunch of grapes, beware of the thorn; when the Lord saith. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles "? That is quite true:

and yet what I said is also true. Pluck the bunch of grapes, beware of the thorn. For sometimes the grape-cluster, springing from the root of the vine, finds its support in a common hedge; its branch grows, becomes embedded among thorns, and the thorn bears other fruit than its own. For the thorn has not been produced from the vine, but has become the restingplace of its runner. Make thine inquiries only at the roots. Seek for the thorn-root, thou wilt find it apart from the vine:

seek the origin of the grape, and from the root of the vine it will be found to have sprung. And so, Moses' seat was the vine; the morals of the Pharisees were the thorns. Sound doctrine cometh through the wicked, as the vine-branch in a hedge, a bunch of grapes among thorns. Gather carefully, so as in seeking the fruit not to tear thine hand; and while thou art to hear one speaking what is good, imitate him not when doing what is evil. "What they tell you, do," â€” gather the grapes; "but what they do, do not," â€” beware of the thorns.

Even through hirelings listen to the voice of the Shepherd, but be not hirelings yourselves, seeing ye are members of the Shepherd. Yea, Paul himself, the holy apostle who said, "I have no one who hath a brother's concern about you; for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's,"
draws a distinction in another place between hirelings and sons; and see what he saith: "Some preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of goodwill: some of love, knowing that I am set for the defence of the gospel; but some also preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing

96 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. XLVI.

to add affliction to my bonds." These were hirelings who disliked the Apostle Paul. And why such dislike, but just because they were seeking after temporal things? But mark what he adds: "What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached: and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." ^ Christ is the truth: let the truth be preached in pretence by hirelings, let it be preached in truth by the children: the children are waiting patiently for the eternal inheritance of the Father, the hirelings are longing for, and in a hurry to get, the temporal pay of their employer. For my part let me be shorn of the human glory, which I see such an object of envy to hirelings: and yet by the tongues both of hirelings and of children let the divine glory of Christ be published abroad, seeing that, "whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached."

7. We have seen who the hireling is also. Who, but the devil, is the wolf? And what was said of the hireling? "When he seeth the wolf coming, he fleeth: but the sheep are not his own, and he careth not for the sheep." Was the Apostle Paul such an one? Certainly not. Was Peter such an one? Far from it. Were they shepherds then? Certainly they were. And how is there one Shepherd? I have already said they were shepherds, because members of the Shepherd. In that head they rejoiced, under that head they were in harmony together, with one spirit they lived in the bond of one body; and therefore belonged all of them to the one Shepherd. If, then, they were shepherds, and not hirelings, wherefore fled they when suffering persecution? Explain it to us, O Lord. In an epistle, I have seen Paul fleeing: he was let down by the wall in a basket, to escape the hands of his persecutor. ^ Had he, then, no care of the sheep, whom he thus abandoned at the approach of the wolf? Clearly he had, but he commended them by his prayers to the Shepherd who was sitting in heaven; and for their advantage he preserved himself ];) by flight, as he says in a certain place, "To abide in the flesh is needful for you." ^ For

> Phil. i. 15-18. 2 2 Cor. xi. 33. ^ Phil. i. 24.

TRACT. XLVI.] THE HIRELING FLEETH. 97

all had heard from the Shepherd Himself, "If they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another." ^ May the Lord be pleased to explain to us this point! Lord, Thou saidst to
those whom Thou didst certainly wish to be faithful shepherds, and whom Thou didst form into Thine own members,
" If they persecute you, flee." Doest Thou, then, injustice to them, when Thou blamest the hirelings who flee when they see the wolf coming? We ask Thee to tell us what meaning lies hid in the depths of the question. Let us knock, and the keeper of the door, which is Christ, will be here to reveal Himself.

8. Who is the hireling that seeth the wolf coming, and fleeth? He that seeketh his own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's. He is one that does not venture plainly to rebuke an offender. 

^ Look, some one or other has sinned â€” grievously sinned; he ought to be rebuked, to be excommunicated: but once excommunicated, he will turn into an enemy, hatch plots, and do all the injury he can. At present, he who seeketh his own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's, in order not to lose what he follows after, the advantages of human friendship, and incur the annoyances of human enmity, keeps quiet and does not administer rebuke. See, the wolf has caught a sheep by the throat; the devil has enticed a believer into adultery: thou holdest thy peace â€” thou utterest no reproof. hireling, thou hast seen the wolf coming and hast fled! Perhaps he answers and says: See, I am here; I have not fled. Thou hast fled, because thou hast been silent; thou hast been afraid. The flight of the mind is fear. Thou standest with thy body, thou fleddest in thy spirit; which was not the conduct of him who said, " Though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit." ^ For how did he flee in spirit, -who, though absent in the flesh, yet in his letters reproved the fornicators?

Our affections are the motions of our minds. Joy is expansion of the mind; sorrow, contraction of the mind; desire, a forward movement of the mind; and fear, the flight of the mind.

For thou art expanded in mind when thou art glad; contracted in mind when thou art in trouble; thou movest forward in 1 Matt. X. 23. " 1 Tim. v. 20. Â» Col. ii. 5.

TI ACT. VOL. II. G

98 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLVI.

mind when thou hast an earnest desire; and thou fleest in mind when thou art afraid. This, then, is how the hireling is said to flee at the sight of the wolf. Why? " Because he careth not for the sheep." Why " careth he not for the sheep"? " Because he is an hireling." What is that, " he is an hireling"? He seeketh a temporal reward, and shall not dwell in the house for ever. There are still some things here to be inquired about and discussed with you, but it is not XDrudent to burden you. For we are ministering the Lord's food to our fellow-servants; we feed as sheep in the Lord's pastures, and are fed together. And just as we must not withhold what is needful, so our weak hearts are not to be overcharged with the abundance of provisions. Let it not then annoy your Charity that I do not take up to-day all that I think is still here to be discussed; but the same lesson will,
in the Lord's name, be read over to us again on the preaching days, and be, with His help, more carefully considered.

TRACTATE XLVII.

Chapter X. 14-21.

1. rr^HOSE of you who hear the word of our God, not only

1 with willingness, but also with attention, doubtless remember our promise. Indeed the same gospel lesson has also been read to-day which was read last Lord's day; because, having lingered over certain closely related topics, we could not discuss all that we owed to your powers of understanding. Accordingly, what has been already said and discoursed about we do not inquire into to-day, lest by continual repetitions we should be prevented from reaching what has still to be spoken.

You know now in the Lord's name who is the good Shepherd, and in what way good shepherds are His members, and therefore the Shepherd is one. You know who is the hilling we have to bear with; who the wolf, and the thieves, and the robbers we have to beware of; who are the sheep, and what is the door whereby both sheep and shepherd enter: how we are to understand the doorkeeper. You know also that every one who entereth not by the door is a thief and a robber, and cometh not but to steal, and to kill, and to destroy. All these sayings have, as I think, been sufficiently handled. To-day we ought to tell you, as far as the Lord enables us (for Jesus Christ our Saviour* hath Himself told us that He is both the Shepherd and the door, and that the good Shepherd entereth in by the door), how it is that He entereth in by Himself. For if no one is a good shepherd but he that entereth by the door, and He Himself is pre-eminently the good Shepherd, and also Himself the door, I can understand it only in this way, that He entereth in by Himself to His sheep, and calleth them to follow Him, and they, going in and out, find pasture, which is to say, eternal life.

2. I proceed, then, without more delay. When I seek to get

99

100 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOLLX. [tKACT. XLVII.

into you, that is, into your heart, I preach Christ: were I preaching something else, I should he trying to climb up some other way. Christ, therefore, is ray gate to you: by Christ I get entrance, not to j'our houses, but to your hearts. It is by Christ I enter: it is Christ in me that you have been willingly hearing. And why is it you have thus willingly
hearkened to Christ in me? Because you are the sheep of Christ, purchased with the
blood of Christ. You acknowledge your own price, which is not paid by me, but is
preached by my instrumentality. He, and only He, was the buyer, who shed precious
blood â€” the precious blood of Him who was without
sin. Yet made He precious also the blood of His own, for whom He paid the price of
blood: for had He not made the blood of His own precious, it would not have been said,
" Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints." So also when He saith, " The good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep," He is not the
only one who has done such a deed; and yet if those who have done so are His members.
He only Himself was the doer of it. For He was able to do so without them, but whence
had they the power apart from Him, who Himself had said, " Without me ye can do
nothing"?

But from the same source we can show what others also have done, for the apostle John
himself, who preached the very gospel you have been hearing, has said in his epistle, "
Just as Christ laid down His life for us, so ought we also to lay down our lives for the
brethren." We ought," he says:

He made us debtors who first set the example. To the same effect it is written in a certain
place, " If thou sittest down to sup at a ruler's table, make wise observation of what is set
before thee; and put to thy hand, knowing that it will be thy duty to make similar
provision in turn." * You know what is meant by the ruler's table: you there find the body
and blood of Christ; let him who comes to such a table be ready with

\[ Ps. cxvi. 15. - Chap. xv. j. ^ 1 John iii. 16. \]

* Prov. xxiii. 1, 2, according to the Septuagint, whose reading of verse 2 must have been
somewhat different from that of the present Hebrew text, with which our English version
pretty closely agrees: ' 'And thou shalt put a knife to thy throat, if thou art a man of
appetite " {or perhaps, "if thou hast control over thy appetite, " nriK {:`23 `^y3"DK}- So
somewhat similarly the Vulgate, which mates the last clause, " if thou hast power over
thy life." â€” Tr.

TRACT. XLVII.] THE FATHER IS KNOWN BY THE SON. 101

similar provision. And what is such similar provision? As He laid cloven His life for v.s,
so ought ice also, for the edification of others, and the maintenance of the faith/ to lay
doicn our lives for the brethren. To the same effect He said to Peter, whom He Avished to
make a good shepherd, not in Peter's own person, but as a member of His body: " Peter,
lovest thou me? Feed my sheep." This He did once, again, and a, third time, to the
disciple's sorrow. And when the Lord had questioned him as often as He judged it
needful, that he who had thrice denied might thrice confess Him, and had a third time
given him the charge to feed His sheep. He said to him, " When thou wast young, thou
girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou
shall stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou
wouldest not." And the evangelist has explained the Lord's meaning: " But this spake He, signifying by what death he should glorify God." ^

" Feed my sheep " applies, tlien, to this, that thou shouldst lay down thy life for my sheep.

3. And now when He saith, " As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father," who can be ignorant of His meaning? For He knoweth the Father by Himself, and we by Him, That He hath knowledge by HimsefK, we know already: that we also have knowledge by Him, we have likewise learned, for this also we have learned of Him. For He Himself hath said: " No one hath seen God at any time; but the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." ^ And so by Him do we also get this knowledge, to whom He hath declared Him. In another place also He saith: " Xo one knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father, save and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." ^ As He then knoweth the Father by Himself, and we know the Father by Him; so into the sheepfold He entereth by Himself, and we b}'' Him. We were saying that by Christ we have a door of entrance to you; and why?

Because we preach Christ. We preach Christ; and therefore we enter in by the door. But

'This clause, "for the edification," etc., is wanting in many of the mss.

102 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLVII.

Christ preacheth Christ, for He preacheth Himself; and so the Shepherd entereth in by Himself. When the light shows the other things that are seen in the light, does it need some other means of being made visible itself? The light, then, exhibits both other things and itseK. Whatever we understand, we understand with the intellect: and how, save by the intellect, do we understand the intellect itself? But does one in the same way with the bodily eye see both other things and [the eye] itseK ? For though men see with their eyes, yet their own eyes they see not. The eye of the flesh sees other things, itseK it cannot [see]: but the intellect understands itself as well other things. In the same way as the intellect seeth itself, so also doth Christ preach HimseK. If He preacheth Himself, and by preaching entereth into thee.

He entereth into thee by HimseK. And He is the door to the Father, for there is no way of approach to the Father but by Him. " For there is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." ^ Many things are expressed by a word: a that I have just said, I have said, ot course, by means of words. If I were wishing to speak also of a word itseK, how could I do so but by the use of the word? And thus both many things are expressed by a word, which are not the same as the word, and the word itseK can only be expressed by means of the word. By the Lord's help we have been copious in illustration. Eemember, then, how the Lord Jesus Christ is both the door and the Shepherd: the door, in presenting HimseK to view; the Shepherd, in entering in by
Himself. And indeed, brethren, because He is the Shepherd, He hath given to His members to be so likewise.

For both Peter, and Paul, and the other apostles were, as all good bishops are, shepherds. But none of us calleth himself the door. This " the way of entrance for the sheep " He has retained as exclusively belonging to Himself. In short, Paul discharged the office of a good shepherd when he preached Christ, because he entered by the door. But when the undisciplined sheep began to create schisms, and to set up other doors before them, not of entrance to their joint assembly, but for falling away into divisions, saying, some of them, " I am

1 1 Tim. ii, 5.

TRACT. XLVII.] CHRIST THE ONE DOOR. 103

of Paul;" others, " I am of Cephas; " others, " I of Apollos;" others, " I of Christ:" terrified for those who said, " I am of Paul," " I am of Christ:" as if calling out to the sheep, Wretched ones, whither are you going ? I am not the door, " he said, " Was Paul crucified for you ? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul ? " ^

But those who said, " I am of Christ," had found the door.

4. But of the one sheepfold and of the one Shepherd, you are now indeed being constantly reminded; for we have commended much the one sheepfold, preaching unity, that all the sheep should enter by Christ, and none of them should follow Donatus. Nevertheless, for what particular reason this was said by the Lord, is sufficiently apparent. For He was speaking among the Jews, and had been specially sent to the Jews, not for the sake of that class who were bound up in their inhuman hatred and persistently abiding in darkness, but for the sake of some in the nation whom He calls His sheep: of whom He saith, " I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." " He knew them even amid the crowd of His raging foes, and foresaw them in the peace of believing. What, then, does He mean by saying, " I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," but that He exhibited His bodily presence only to the people of Israel ? He did not proceed Himself to the Gentiles, but sent: to the people of Israel He both sent and came in person, that those who proved despisers should receive the greater judgment, because favoured also with the sight of His actual presence. The Lord Himself was there: there He chose a mother: there He wished to be conceived, to be born, to shed His blood: there are His footprints,^ now objects of adoration where last He stood, and whence He ascended to heaven: but to the Gentiles He only sent.

5. But perhaps some one thinks that, as He Himself came not to us, but sent, we have not heard His own voice, but only

Â» 1 Cor. i. 12, 13. 2 Matt. xv. 24.
3 Of Christ's footprints on Mount Olivet, impressed on the ground, there is mention made in the works of Jerome, in the book on "Hebrew places," and in Bede, in the names of places in the Acts of the Apostles; as likewise in the sacred history of Silpittius Severus, Book ii. Æ" Jligné. The text is somewhat uncertain, but indicates the existence of "holy places" in Augustine's day, and certain acts of worship performed in their honour. Æ" Tii.

104 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XLVII.

the voice of those whom He sent. Far from it: let such a thought be banished from your hearts; for He Himself was in those whom He sent. Listen to Paul himself whom He sent; for Paul was specially sent as an apostle to the Gentiles; and it is Paul who, terrifying them not with himself but with Him, saith, "Do ye wish to receive a proof of Him who speaketh in me, that is, of Christ?" Æ Listen also to the Lord Himself. "And other sheep I have," that is, among the Gentiles, "which are not of this fold," that is, of the people of Israel: "them also must I bring." Therefore, even when it is by the instrumentality of His servants, it is He and not another that bringeth them. Listen further: "They shall hear my voice." See here also, it is He Himself who speaks by His servants, and it is His voice that is heard in those whom He sends. "That there may be one fold, and one shepherd." Of these two flocks, as of two walls, is the corner-stone formed. And thus is He both the door and the corner-stone: all by way of comparison, none of them literally.

6. For I have said so before, and earnestly pressed it on your notice, and those who comprehend it are wise, yea, those who are wise do comprehend it; and yet let those who are not yet intellectually enlightened, keep hold by faith of what they cannot as yet understand. Christ is many things metaphorically which strictly speaking "He is not. Metaphorically Christ is both a rock, and a door, and a corner-stone, and a shepherd, and a lamb, and a lion. How numerous are such similitudes, and as many more as would take too long to enumerate! But if you select the strict significations of things as you are accustomed to see them, then He is neither a rock, for He is not hard and senseless; nor a door, for no artisan made Him; nor a corner-stone, for He was not constructed by a builder; nor a shepherd, for He is no keeper of four-footed animals; nor a lion, as it ranks among the beasts of the forest; nor a lamb, as it belongs to the flock. All such, then, are by way of comparison. But what is He properly? "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God [God was the Word]."
1 2 Cor. iii. 3. Æ Epli. ii. 11-22. Æ << p^r proprietateni."

TRACT. XLVII.] CHEIST LAYING DO\Vy HIS LIFE. 105

And what, as He appeared in human nature? "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us [in us]." Æ
7. Hear also what follows. "Therefore doth my Father love me," He saith, "because I lay down my life, that I might take it again." What is this that He says? "Therefore doth my Father love me:" because I die, that I may rise again.\(^\text{106}\) For the "I" is uttered with special emphasis: "Because I lay down," He saith, "I lay down my life," "I lay down." What is that "I lay down"? I LAY it down.

Let the Jews no longer boast: they might rage, but they could have no power: let them rage as they can; if I were unwilling to lay down my life, what would all their raging effect? By one answer of His they were prostrated in the dust: when they were asked, "Whom seek ye?" they said, "Jesus;" and on His saying to them, "I am He, they went backward, and fell to the ground."\(^\text{106}\) Those who thus fell to the ground at one word of Christ when about to die, what will they do at the sound of His voice when coming to judgment? "I, I," I say, "lay down my life, that I may take it again." Let the Jews no longer boast, as if they had prevailed; He Himself laid down His life. "I laid me down" to sleep," He says [elsewhere]. You know the psalm: "I laid me down and slept; and I awaked [rose up], for the Lord sustaineth me." What of that "I lay down"? Because it was my pleasure, I did so. What does "I lay down" mean? I died. AVas it not a lying down to sleep on His part, who, when He pleased, rose from the tomb as He would from a bed? But He loves to give glory to the Father, that He may stir us up to glorify our Creator. For in adding, "I arose, for the Lord sustaineth me;" think you there was here a kind of failing in His power, so that, while He had it in His own power to die, He had it not in His power to rise again? So, indeed, the words seem to imply when not more closely considered. "I lay down to sleep;" that is, I did so, because I pleased. "And I arose:"

1 Chap. i. 1, 14.

\(^*\) Migne says that "there is, perhaps, in this passage something either superfluous or lacking." But tlicre docs not seem any real cause for such a supposition.\(^\text{106}\) Tr.

\(^\wedge\) Chap. xviii. 4-6.

106 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLVII.

why? 'â–' Because the Lord sustaineth [will sustain] me."\(^\wedge\)

What then? wouldst Thou not have power to rise of Thyself? If Thou hadst not the power. Thou wouldst not have said, "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again." But, as showing that not only did the Father raise the Son, but the Son also raised Himself, hear how, in another passage in the Gospel, He saith, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." And the evangelist adds: "But this He spake of the temple of His body."\(^\wedge\) Tor only that which died was restored to life. The Word is not mortal.

His soul is not mortal. If even thine dieth not, could the Lord's be subject to death?
8. How can I know, thou wilt say, that mine dieth not?
Slay it not thyself, and it cannot die. How, thou askest, can I slay my soul? To say nothing meanwhile of other sins,
"The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul." * Here you have the fact that it dieth, and that it doth not die.
What is its dying? What is dying to thy flesh? Dying, to thy flesh, is the losing of its life: dying, to thy soul, is the losing of its life. The life of thy flesh is thy soul: the life of thy soul is thy God. As the flesh dies in losing the soul, which is its life, so the soul dieth in losing God, who is its life. Of a certainty, then, the soul is immortal. Manifestly immortal, for it liveth even when dead. For what the apostle said of the luxurious widow, may also be said of the soul if it has lost its God, "she is dead while she liveth." *

9. How, then, does the Lord lay down His life [soul]? *

* Ps. iii. 5. It need scarcely be said that this psalm cannot bear the Messianic interpretation attached to it by Augustine, any more than Prov. xxiii. 1, 2, similarly applied in Sec. 2 of this lecture; and frequently elsewhere. But the accommodation at the will of the writer of all Old Testament Scripture equally to such a purpose was characteristic of the age. àŠ” Tr.

2 Chap. ii. 19, 21. À»Wis. i. 11.


* The word "anima," according to Augustine's explanation of it above, may

TRACT. XLTIT.] CHRIST'S LIFE. 10^
time ago from the catholic truth, but still persisting, like thieves and robbers who enter
not by the door, to lay their snares around the fold. These heretics are termed
Apollinarians, and have ventured to assert dogmatically that Christ is only the word and
flesh, and contend that He did not assume a human soul. And yet some of them could not
deny that there was a soul in Christ. See their intolerable absurdity and madness. They
would have Him to possess an irrational soul, but deny Him a rational one. They allowed
Him a mere animal, they deprived Him of a human soul. But they took away Christ's
reason by losing their own. Let it be otherwise with us, who have been nourished and
established in the catholic faith. Accordingly, on this occasion I would remind your
Charity, that, as in former lectures, we have given you sufficient instruction against the
Sabellians and Arians, â€”
the Sabellians, who say. The Father is the same as the Son the Arians, who say. The
Father is one being, the Son is another, as if the Father and Son were not of the same
substance,
â€” and also, provided you remember as you ought, against the
lie rendered in these sections either "soul" or "life." The original also is

* From Apollinaris, bishop of Alexandria, who held that the body â– which Christ
assumed had only a sensitive and not a rational soul, and that His divine nature supplied
the place of the latter. His doctrines were condemned by the Council of Alexandria, a.d.
362, and he himself was deposed by the Council of Rome, a.d. 378. â€”Tn.

108 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TRACT. XLVII.

Photinian heretics, who have asserted that Christ was mere man, and destitute of
Godhead: â” and against the Manicheans, who maintain that He was God only without any
true humanity: we may, on this occasion, in speaking about the soul, give you some
instruction also in opposition to the Apollinarians, who say that our Lord Jesus Christ had
no human soul, that is, a rational intelligent soul, â€” that said, I mean, by which, as men,
we differ from the brutes.

10. In what sense, then, did our Lord say here, "I have power to lay down my soul [life]"
? Who lays down his soul, and takes it again ? Is it as being the Word that Christ does so
? Or is it the human soul He possesses that lays down and resumes its own existence? Or
is it His fleshly nature that lays down its life and takes it again ? Let us sift each of the
three questions I have suggested, and choose that which conforms to the standard of truth.
For if we say that the Word of God laid down His soul, and took it again, we should have
to fear the entrance of a wicked thought, and have it said to us: Then there was a time
when that soul was separated from the Word, and a time, after His assumption of that
soul, when He was without a soul. I see, indeed, that the Word was once without a human
soul, but only so, when
" in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."
But from the time that the Word was made flesh, to dwell amongst us,â” and manhood
was assumed by the Word, that is, our whole nature, soul and flesh, what more could His passion and death do than separate the body from the soul? It separated not the soul from the Word. For if the Lord died, yea, because He died (for He did so for us on the cross), doubtless His flesh breathed out that which was its life: for a short time the soul forsook the flesh, although destined by its own return to raise the flesh again to life. But I cannot say that the soul was separated from the Word. He said to the soul of the thief, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." ^ He forsook not the believing soul of the robber, and did He abandon His own? Surely not; but when the Lord took that of the other into His keeping,

' "Sine deo:" which, however, is wanting in all the mss.
* Chap. i. 1, 14. 3 Luke xxiii. 43.

TRACT. XLVIT.] CHRIST THE WORD AND MAN. 109

He certainly retained His own in indissoluble union. If, on the other hand, we say that the soul laid down and reassumed itself, we fall into the greatest absurdity; for what was not separated from the Word, was inseparable from itself.

11. Let us turn, then, to what is true and easily understood. Take the case of any man, who does not consist of the word and soul and flesh, but only of soul and flesh; and let us inquire how any such man lays down his life. Can no ordinary man do so? Thou mayest say to me: No man has power to lay down his life [soul], and to take it again. But were not a man able to lay down his life, the Apostle John would not say, "As Christ laid down his life for us, even so ought we also to lay down our lives for the brethren." ^ Therefore may we also (if only we are filled with His courage, for without Him we can do nothing) lay down our lives for the brethren. When some holy martyr has laid down his life for the brethren, who laid it down, and what laid he down?

If we understand this, we shall perceive in what sense it was said by Christ, " I have power to lay down my life." Art thou prepared, man, to die for Christ? I am prepared, he replies. Let me repeat the question in other words. Art thou prepared to lay down thy life for Christ? And to these words he makes me the same reply, I am prepared, as he had, when I said. Art thou prepared to die? To lay down one's life [soul], is, then, the same as to die. But in whose behalf is the sacrifice in this case? For all men, when they die, lay down their life; but it is not all who lay it down for Christ. And no one has power to resume what he has laid down. But Christ both laid it down for us, and did so when it pleased Him; and when it pleased Him, He took it again.

To lay down one's soul, then, is to die. As also the Apostle Peter said to the Lord: " I will lay down my life [soul] for Thy sake;" ^ that is, I will die for Thy sake. View it, then, as referable to the flesh: the flesh layeth down its life, and the flesh taketh it again; not, indeed, the flesh by its own power, but by the power of Him that inhabiteth it. The flesh, then, layeth down its life in expiring. Look at the Lord Himself on the cross: He said, "I thirst:" those who were present
dipped a sponge in vinegar, fastened it to a reed, and applied it to His mouth; then, having received it. He said, " It is finished;" meaning, AH is fulfilled which had been prophesied regarding me as, prior to my death, still in the future. And because He had the power, when He pleased, to lay down His life, after He had said, " It is finished," what adds the evangelist ? " And He bowed His head, and gave up the spirit." ^ This is to lay down the soul [life]. Only let your Charity attend to this. " He bowed His head, and gave up the spirit." Who gave up ? what gave He up ? He gave up the spirit; His flesh gave it up. What means, the flesh gave it up ? The flesh sent it forth, breathed it out. For so, in becoming separated from the spirit, we are said to expire. Just as getting outside the paternal soil is to be expatriated, turning aside from the track is to deviate; so to become separated from the spirit is to expire; and that spirit is the soul [life]. Accordingly, when the soul quits the flesh, and the flesh remains without the soul, then is a man said to lay down his soul [his human life]. When did Christ lay down His life ? When it pleased the Word. For sovereign authority resided in the Word; and therein lay the power to determine when the flesh should lay down its life, and when it should take it again.

12. If, then, the flesh laid down its life, how did Christ lay down His life ? For the flesh is not Christ. Certainly in this way, that Christ is both flesh, and soul, and the Word; and yet these three things are not three Christs, but one. Ask thine own human nature, and from thyself ascend to what is above thee, and which, if not yet able to be understood, can at least be believed. For in the same way that one man is soul and body, is one Christ both the Word and man. Consider what I have said, and understand. The soul and body are two things, but one man: the Word and man are two things, but one Christ. Apply, then, the subject to any man.

Where is now the Apostle Paul ? If one answer. At rest with Christ, he speaks truly. And likewise, should one reply. In the sepulchre at Ptome, he is equally right. The one answer I get refers to his soul, the other to his flesh. And yet we do

À» Chap. xix. 28-30.

TRACT. XL VII.] HOW CHRIST LAID DOWN HIS LIFE. III

not say that there are two Apostle Pauls, one who rests in Christ, another who was laid in the sepulchre; although we may say that the Apostle Paul liveth in Christ, and that the same apostle lieth dead in the tomb. Some one dieth, and we say, He was a good man, and faithful; he is in peace with the Lord: and then immediately. Let us attend his
obsequies, and lay him in the sepulchre. Thou art about to bury one whom thou hadst just declared to be in peace with God; for the latter regards the soul which blooms eternally, and the other, the body, which is laid down in corruption. But while the partnership of the flesh and soul has received the name of man, the same name is now applied to either of them, singly and by itself.

13. Let no one, then, be perplexed, when he hears that the Lord has said, " I lay down my life, and I take it again." The flesh layeth it down, but by the power of the Word: the flesh taketh it again, but by the same power. Even His own name, the Lord Christ, was applied to His flesh alone. How can you prove it ? says some one. We believe of a certainty not only in God the Father, but also in Jesus Christ His Son, our only Lord: and this that I have just said contains the whole, in Jesus Christ His Son, our only Lord. Understand that the whole is here: the Word, and soul, and flesh. At all events thou confessest what is also held by the same faith, that thou believest in that Christ who was crucified and buried. Ergo, thou deniest not that Christ was buried; and yet it was the burial only of His flesh. For had the soul been there. He would not have been dead: but if it was a true death, and its resurrection real, it was previously without life in the tomb; and yet it was Christ that was buried. And so the flesh apart from the soul was also Christ, for it was only the flesh that was buried. Learn the same likewise in the words of an apostle. " Let this mind," he says, " be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." Who, save Christ Jesus, as respects His nature as the Word, is God with God ? But look at what follows: " But emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant; being made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man." And who is this, but the same

112 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TTECT. XLVII.

Christ Jesus Himself ? But here we have now all the parts, both the Word in that form of God which assumed the form of a servant, and the soul and the flesh in that form of a servant which was assumed by the form of God. " He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death." ^ Now in His death, it was His flesh only that was slain by the Jews. For if He said to His disciples, " Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul," ^ how could they do more in His own case than kill the body ? And yet in the slaying of His flesh, it was Christ that was slain. Accordingly, when the flesh laid down its life, Christ laid it down; and when the flesh, in order to its resurrection, assumed its life, Christ assumed it. Nevertheless this was done, not by the power of the flesh, but of Him who assumed both soul and flesh, that in them these very things might receive fulfilment.

14. "This commandment," He says, "have I received of my Father." The Word received not the commandment in word, but in the only-begotten Word of the Father every commandment resides. But when the Son is said to receive of the Father what He possesses essentially in Himself, as it is said, " As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself," ^ while the Son is Himself the life, there is
no lessening of His authority, but the setting forth of His generation. For the Father added not after-gifts as to a son whose state was imperfect at birth, but on Him whom He begat in absolute perfection He bestowed all gifts in begetting. In this manner He gave Him equality with Himself, and yet begat Him not in a state of inequality. But while the Lord thus spake, for the light was shining in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not,* " there was a dissension again created among the Jews for these sayings, and many of them said. He hath a devil, and is mad: why hear ye him?" This was the thickest darkness. Others said, " These are not the words of him that hath a devil; can a devil open the eyes of the blind ? " The eyes of such were now begun to be opened.

1 Phil. ii. 6-8. ' Matt. x. 28.

' John V. 26. ^ Chap. i. 5.

TRACTATE XL VII I.

Chapter X. 22-42.

1. A S I have alii-eady charged you, beloved, you ought J\. stedfastly to bear in mind that Saint John the evangelist would not have us be always -nourished withi milk, but fed with solid food. Still, whoever is hardly able as yet to partake of the solid food of God's word, let him find nourishment in the milk of faith; and the word which he cannot understand, let him not hesitate to believe. For faith is the deserving: understanding, the reward. In the very labour of intent application the eye of our mind struggles^ to get rid of the foul films of human mists, and be cleared up to the word of God. Labour, then, will not be declined if love is present; for you know that he who loves his labour is insensible to its pain. For no labour is grievous to those who love it. If cupidity on the part of the avaricious endures so great toils, what in our case will not love endure ?

2. Listen to the Gospel; " And it was at Jerusalem the Encoenia." - Encenia was the festival of the dedication of the temple. For in Greek kainos means ncv; and whenever there was some new dedication, it was called Encoenia.'^ And now this word is come into common use; if one puts on a new coat, he is said " encceniare " (to renovate, or to hold an enccsia). For the Jews celebrated in a solemn manner the day on which the temple was dedicated; and it was the very feast day when the Lord spake what has just been read.

3. " It was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about Him, and

" Desndat," strug/gles to sireating.
* Enczenia, lyxama, from iÂ» and xai/m, veto.
3 It was a feast, however, instituted by Judas Maroabceus, to commemorate his purification of the temple, after its profanation by Antiochus. *Tk.*

TRACT. VOL. II. H

114 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. XLYIII.

said to Him, How long dost thou keep our mind in suspense? If thou "be the Christ, tell us plainly." They were not desiring the truth, but preparing a calumny. "It was winter," and they were chill; because they were slow to approach that divine fire. For to approach is to believe: he who believes, approaches; who denies, retires. The soul is not moved by the feet, but by the affections. They had become icy cold to the sweetness of loving Him, and they burned with the desire of doing Him an injury. They were far away, while there beside Him. It was not with them a nearer approach in believing, but the pressure of persecution. They sought to hear the Lord saying,* I am Christ; and probably enough they only thought of the Christ in a human way. The prophets preached Christ; but the Godhead of Christ asserted in the prophets and in the gospel itself is not perceived even by heretics; and how much less by Jews, so long as the vail is upon their heart? * In short, in a certain place, the Lord Jesus, knowing that their views of the Christ were cast in a human mould, not in the Divine, taking His stand on the human ground, and not on that where along with the assumption of humanity He also continued Divine, He said to them,

"What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?" Following their own opinion, they replied, "Of David." For so they had read, and this only they retained; because while they read of His divinity, they did not understand it. But the Lord, to pin them down to some inquiry touching the divinity of Him whose apparent weakness they despised, answered them:

"How, then, doth David in spirit call Him Lord, saying, The LoED said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on my right hand, tiU I put Thine enemies under Thy feet? If David, then, in spirit call Him Lord, how is He his son?" * He did not deny, but questioned. Let no one think, on hearing this, that the Lord Jesus denied that He was the Son of David. Had Christ the Lord given any such denial. He would not have enlightened the blind who so addressed Him. For as He was passing by one day, two blind men, w^ho were sitting by the wayside, cried out, "Have mercy upon us, thou Son of David." And on hearing these words He had mercy on them. He stood

1 2 Cor. iii. 15. ^ Matt. xxii. 42-45.

TP.ACT. XLTIII.] CHRIST'S SHEEP. 115
still, healed, enlightened them: for He owned the name. The Apostle Paul also says, "Who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh;" and in his Epistle to Timothy, "Remember that Jesus Christ was raised from the dead, [He that is] of the seed of David, according to my gospel." "For the Virgin Mary drew her origin, and hence our Lord also, from the seed of David.

4. The Jews made this inquiry of Christ, chiefly in order that, should He say, I am Christ, they might, in accordance with the only sense they attached to such a name, that He was of the seed of David, calumniate Him with aiming at the kingly power. There is more than this in His answer to them: they wished to calumniate Him with claiming to be the Son of David. He replied that He was the Son of God. And how? Listen: "Jesus answered them, I tell you, and ye believe not: the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me: but ye believe not; because ye are not of my sheep." Ye have ah-eady learned above (in Lecture XLV.) who the sheep are: be ye sheep. They are sheep through believing, sheep in following the Shepherd, sheep in not despising their Redeemer, sheep in entering by the door, sheep in going out and finding pasture, sheep in the enjoyment of eternal life. What did He mean, then, in saying to them, "Ye are not of my sheep"? That He saw them predestined to everlasting destruction, not won to eternal life by the price of His own blood.

5. "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life." This is the pasture. If you recollect. He had said before, "And he shall go in and out, and find pasture." We have entered by believing "we go out at death." But as we have entered by the door of faith, so, as believers, we quit the body; for it is in going out by that same door that we are able to find pasture. The good pasture is called eternal life; there no blade withereth "all is green and flourishing. There is a plant commonly said to be ever-living; there only is it found to live. "I will give," He says, "unto them," unto my sheep, "eternal life." Ye are on the search for calumnies, just because your only thoughts are of the life that is present.

6. "And they shall never perish:" you may hear the undertone, as it He had said to them, Ye shall perish for ever, because ye are not of my sheep. "No one shall pluck them out of
my hand." Give still greater heed to this: " That which my Father gave me is greater than all."

What can the wolf do ? What can the thief and the robber ? They destroy none but those predestined to destruction. But of those sheep of which the apostle says, " The Lord knoweth them that are His;" " and " Whom He did foreknow, them He also did predestinate; and whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified;" there is none of such sheep as these that the wolf seizes, or the thief steals, or the robber slays. He, who knows what He gave for them, is sure of their number. And it is this that He says:

" No one shall pluck them out of my hand;" and in reference also to the Father, " That which my Father gave me is greater than all." What did the Father give to the Son that was greater than all ? To be His own only-begotten Son. What, then,

2 2 Tim. iL 19. 3 Rom. viii. 29, 30.

TRACT. XLVIII.] THE FATHER AXD THE S0^®. 117

means "gave"? "Was He to whom He gave previously existent, or gave He in the act of begetting ? For if He previously existed to whom He gave the gift of Sonship, there was a time when He was, and was not the Son, Far be it from us to suppose that the Lord Christ ever was, and yet was not the Son. Of us such a thing may be said: there was a time when we were the sons of men, but were not the sons of God. For we are made the sons of God by grace, but He by nature, for such was He born. And yet not so, as that one may say,
He did not exist till He was born; for He, who was coeternal with the Father, was never unborn. Let him who is wise understand: and whoever understands not, let him believe and be nourished, and he will come to understanding. The Word of God was always with the Father, and always the Word; and because the Word, therefore the Son. So then, always the Son, and always equal. For it is not by growth but by birth that He is equal, who was always born, the Son of the Father, God of God, coeternal of the Eternal.

But the Father is not God of the Son: the Son is God of the Father; therefore in begetting the Son, the Father "gave" Him to be God, in begetting He gave Him to be coeternal with Himself, in begetting He gave Him to be His equal.

This is that which is greater than all. How is the Son the life, and the possessor of life? What He has. He is: as for thee, thou art one thing, thou hast another. For example, thou hast wisdom, but art thou wisdom itself? In short, because thou thyself art not that which thou hast, shouldst thou lose what thou hast, thou returnest to the state of no longer having it: and sometimes thou reacquiest, sometimes thou losest. As our eye has no light inherently in itself, it opens, and admits it; it shuts, and loses it. It is not thus that the Son of God is God: not thus that He is the Word of the Father; and not thus is He the Word, that passes away with the sound, but that which abides in its birth. In such a way hath He wisdom that He is Himself wisdom, and maketh men wise: and life, that He is Himself the life, and raaketh others alive. This is that which is greater than all.

The Evangelist John himself looked to heaven and earth when

Â» "De."

118 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLVIII.

wishing to speak of the Son of God; he looked, and rose above them aU. He thought on the thousands of angelic armies above the heavens; he thought, and, like the eagle soaring beyond the clouds, his mind overpassed the whole creation: he rose beyond all that was great, and arrived at that which was greater than all; and said, " In the beginning was the Word." But because He, of whom is the Word, is not of the Word, and the Word is of Him, whose Word He is; therefore He says, " That which the Father gave me," namely, to be His Word, His only-begotten Son, the brightness of His light, " is greater than all." Therefore, " No one," He says, " plucketh my sheep out of my hand. No one can pluck them out of my Father's hand."

7. " Out of my hand," and " out of my Father's hand." 

What is this, " No one plucketh them out of my hand/" and " No one plucketh them out of my Father's hand "? Have the Father and Son one hand, or is the Son Himself, shall we say, the hand of His Father? If by hand we are to understand power, the power of Father and Son is one; for their Godhead is one. But if we mean hand in the way spoken of by the prophet, " And to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" ^ the Father's hand is the Son Himself, which is not to be so understood as if God had
the human form, and, as it were, bodily members; but that all things were made by Him. For men also are in the habit of calling other men their hands, by whom they get done what they wish. And sometimes also the very work done by a man's hand is called his hand; as one is said to recognise his hand when he recognises what he has written. Since, then, there are many ways of speaking of the hand of a man, who literally has a hand among the members of his body; how much rather must there be more than one way of understanding it, when we read of the hand of God, who has no bodily form? And in this way it is better here, by the hand of the Father and Son, to understand the power of the Father and the Son; lest, in taking here the hand of the Father as spoken of the Son, some carnal thought also about the Son Himself should set us looking for the Son as somehow to be similarly regarded as the hand of Christ.

"De." Msa. liii. 1.

TRACT. XLVIII.] THE FATHER AND THE SON ONE. 119

Therefore, " no one plucketh them out of my Father's hand;" that is, no one phicketh them from me.

8. But that there may be no more room for hesitation, hear what follows: " I and my Father are one." Up to this point the Jews were able to bear Him; they heard, " I and my Father are one," and they bore it no longer; and hardened in their own way, they had recourse to stones. " They took up stones to stone Him." The Lord, because He suffered not what He was unwilling to suffer, and only suffered what He was pleased to suffer, still addresses them while desiring to stone Him. " The Jews took up stones to stone Him. Jesus answered them. Many good works have I showed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me ? And they answered. For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, makest thyseK God." Such was their reply to His words, " I and my Father are one." You see here that the Jews understood what the Arians understand not. For they were angry on this account, that they felt it could not be said, " I and my Father are one," save where there was equality of the Father and the Son.

9. But see what answer the Lord gave to their dull apprehension. He saw that they could not bear the brilliance of the truth, and He tempered it with words. " Is it not written in your law," that is, as given to you, " that I said. Ye are gods ? " ^ And the Lord called all the Scriptures generally, the law: although elsewhere He speaks more definitely of the law, distinguishing it from the prophets; as it is said, " The law and the prophets were until John " " and " On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Sometimes, however. He divided the same Scriptures into three parts, as where He saith, " All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me." ^ But now He includes the psalms also under the name of the law, where it is ^written, " I said. Ye are gods. If He calleth them gods, to whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken: say ye of Him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world.
Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God ?" If


120 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLVIII.

the word of God came to men, that they might be called gods, how can the very Word of God, who is with God, be otherwise than God ? If by the word of God men become gods, if by fellowship they become gods, can He by whom they have fellowship not be God ? If lights which are lit are gods, is the light which enlighteneth not God ? If through being warmed in a way by saving fire they are constituted gods, is He who gives them the warmth other than God ? Thou approachest the light and art enlightened, and numbered among the sons of God; if thou withdrawest from the light, thou fallest into obscurity, and art accounted in darkness; but that light approacheth not, because it never recedeth from itself. If, then, the word of God maketh you gods, how can the Word of God be otherwise than God ? Therefore did the Father sanctify His Son, and send Him into the world. Perhaps some one may be saying: If the Father sanctified Him, was there then a time when He was not sanctified ? He sanctified in the same way as He begat Him. For in the act of begetting He gave Him the power to be holy, because He begat Him in holiness. For if that which is sanctified was unholy before, how can we say to God the Father, " Hallowed be Thy name " ?

10. " If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye will not believe me, believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in Him." The Son says not, " the Father is in me, and I in Him," as men can say it. For if we think well, we are in God; and if we live well, God is in us: believers, by participating in His grace, and being illuminated by Himself, are in Him, and He in us. But not so is it with the only-begotten Son: He is in the Father, and the Father in Him; as one who is equal is in him whose equal he is. In short, we can sometimes say, We are in God, and God is in us; but can we say, I and God are one ? Thou art in God, because God contains thee; God is in thee, because thou art become the temple of God: but because thou art in God, and God is in thee, canst thou say, He that seeth me seeth God; as the Only-begotten said, " He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father also;" and "I and the Father are one " ? Kecogniae the prerogative of the Lord, and the

' Matt. vi. 9. ' Chap. xiv. 9.

TRACT. XLVIII.] THE APPREHENSION OF CHRIST. 121

privilege of the servant. The prerogative of the Lord is equality with the Father: the privilege of the servant is fellowship with the Saviour.
11. "Therefore they sought to apprehend Him." Would they had apprehended by faith and understanding, not in wrath and murder! For now, my brethren, when I speak thus, it is the weak one wishing to apprehend what is strong, the small what is great, the fragile what is solid; and it is we ourselves "you who are of the same matter as I am, and I myself who speak to you" who all wish to apprehend Christ. 

And what is it to apprehend Him? [If] thou hast understood, thou hast apprehended. But not as did the Jews: thou hast apprehended in order to possess, they wished to apprehend in order to make away with Him. And because this was the kind of apprehension they desired, Avhat did He do to them? "He escaped out of their hands." They failed to apprehend Him, because they lacked the hands of faith. The Word was made flesh; but it was no great task to the Word to rescue His own flesh from fleshy hands. To apprehend the Word in the mind, is the right apprehension of Christ.

12. "And He went away again beyond Jordan, into the place where John at first baptized; and there He abode. And many resorted unto Him, and said, John, indeed, did no miracle." You remember what was said of John, that he was a light, and bore witness to the day. Why, then, say these among themselves, "John, indeed, did no miracle?" Jolm, they say, signalized himself by no miracle; he did not put devils to flight, he drove away no fever, he enlightened not the blind, he raised not the dead, he fed not so many thousand men with five or seven loaves, he walked not upon the sea, he commanded not the winds and the waves. None of these things did John, and in all he said he bore witness to this man. By lamp-light we may advance to the day. "John did no miracle: but all things that John spake of this man were true." Here are those who apprehended in a different way from the Jews. The Jews wished to apprehend one who was departing from them, these apprehended one who remained with them. In a word, what is it that follows? "And many believed on Him."

* Chap. V. 35, 33.

TRACTATE XLIX.

Chapter XL 1-54.

1. Among all the miracles wrought by our Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection of Lazarus holds a foremost place in preaching. But if we consider attentively who did it, our duty is to rejoice rather than to wonder. A man was raised up by Him who made man: for He is the only One of the Father, by whom, as you know, all things were made. And if all things were made by Him, what wonder is it that one was raised by Him, when so many are daily brought into the world by His power? It is a greater deed to create men than to raise them again from the dead. Yet He deigned both to create and to raise again; to create all, to resuscitate some. For though the Lord Jesus did many such acts, yet all of them are not recorded; just as this same St. John the evangelist himself testifies, that Christ the Lord both said and did
many things that are not recorded; but such were chosen for record as seemed to suffice for the salvation of believers. Thou hast just heard that the Lord Jesus raised a dead man to life; and that is sufficient to let thee know that, were He so pleased, He might raise all the dead to life. And, indeed, this very work has He reserved in His own hands till the end of the world. For while you have heard that by a great miracle He raised one from the tomb who had been dead four days, "the hour is coming," as He Himself saith, "in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth." He raised one who was putrid, and yet in that putrid carcase there was still the form of limbs; but at the last day He will by a word reconstitute ashes into human flesh. But it was needful then to do only some such deeds, that we, receiving them as tokens of His power, may put our trust in Him, and

1 Chap. XX. 30.
122

TPvACT. XLIX.] THE EASING OF LAZARUS. 123

be preparing for that resurrection which shall be to life and not to judgment. So, indeed, He saith, "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." ^

2. We have, however, read in the Gospel of three dead persons who were raised to life by the Lord, and, let us hope, to some good purpose. For surely the Lord's deeds are not merely deeds, but signs. And if they are signs, besides their wonderful character, they have some real significance: and to find out this in regard to such deeds is a somewhat harder task than to read or hear of them. We were listening with wonder, as at the sight of some mighty miracle enacted before our eyes, in the reading of the Gospel, how Lazarus was restored to life. If we turn our thoughts to the still more wonderful works of Christ, every one that believeth riseth again: if we all consider, and understand that more horrifying kind of death, every one who sinneth dies. ^ But every man is afraid of the death of the flesh; few, of the death of the soul. In regard to the death of the flesh, which must certainly come some time, all are on their guard against its approach: this is the source of all their labour. Man, destined to die, labours to avert his dying; and yet man, destined to live for ever, labours not to cease from sinning. And when he labours to avoid dying, he labours to no purpose, for its only result will be to put off death for a while, not to escape it; but if he refrain from sinning, his toil will cease, and he shall live for ever. Oh that we could arouse men, and be ourselves aroused along with them, to be as great lovers of the life that abideth, as men are of that which passeth away! What will a man not do who is placed under the peril of death? When the sword was overhanging their heads, men have given up every means of living they had in reserve. Who is there that has not made an immediate
2 Another reading of this sentence may be: "If we reflect, it is by a more wonderful work of Christ that every one who believeth rises again to life; if we reflect all, and understand, it is by a more horrible death that every sinner dieth."

124 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIX.

surrender of all, to escape being slain? And, after all, he has perhaps been slain. Who is there that, to save his life, has not been willing at once to lose his means of living, and prefer a life of beggary to a speedy death? Who has had it said to him, Be off to sea if you would escape with your life, and has delayed to do so? Who has had it said to him, Set to work if you would preserve your life, and has continued a sluggard? It is but little that God requires of us, that we may live for ever: and we neglect to obey Him. God says not to thee. Lose all you have, that you may live a little time oppressed with toil; but. Give to the poor of what you have, that you may live always exempt from labour. The lovers of this temporal life, which is theirs, neither when, nor as long as they wish, are our accusers; and we accuse not ourselves in turn, so sluggish are we, so lukewarm about obtaining eternal life, which will be oui-s if we wish it, and will be imperishable when we have it; but this death which we fear, notwithstanding all our reluctance, will yet be ours in possession.

3. If, then, the Lord in the greatness of His grace and mercy raiseth our souls to life, that we may not die for ever, we may well understand that those three dead persons whom He raised in the body, have some figurative significance of that resurrection of the soul which is effected by faith: He raised up the ruler of the synagogue's daughter, while still lying in the house; He raised up the widow's young son, while being carried outside the gates of the city; and He raised up Lazarus, when four days in the grave. Let each one give heed to his own soul: in sinning he dies: sin is the death of the soul. But sometimes sin is committed only in thought. Thou hast felt delight in what is evil, thou hast assented to its commission, thou hast sinned; that assent has slain thee: but the death is internal, because the evil thought had not yet ripened into action. The Lord intimated that He would raise such a soul to life, in raising that girl, who had not yet been carried forth to the burial, but was lying dead in the house, as if sin still lay concealed. But if thou hast not only harboured a feeling of delight in evil, but hast also done the evil thing, thou hast, so to speak, carried the dead outside the gate: thou
art already without, and Leing carried to the tomb. Yet such an one also the Lord raised to life, and restored to his widowed mother. If thou hast sinned, repent, and the Lord will raise thee up, and restore thee to thy mother Church. The third example of death is Lazarus. A grievous kind of death it is, and is distinguished as a habit of wickedness. For it is one thing to fall into sin, another to form the habit of sinning. He who falls into sin, and straightway submits to correction, will be speedily restored to life; for he is not yet entangled in the habit, he is not yet laid in the tomb. But he who has become habituated to sin, is buried, and has it properly said of him, "he stinketh;" for his character, like some horrible smell, begins to be of the worst repute. Such are all who are habituated to crime, abandoned in morals. Thou sayest to such an one. Do not so. But when wilt thou be listened to by one on whom the earth is thus heaped, who is breeding corruption, and pressed down with the weight of habit? And yet the power of Christ was not unequal to the task of restoring such an one to life. "We know, we have seen, we see every day men changing the very worst of habits, and adopting a better manner of life than that of those who blamed them. Thou detestedst such a man: look at the sister of Lazarus herself (if, indeed, it was she who anointed the Lord's feet with ointment, and wiped with her hair what she had washed with her tears), who had a better resurrection than her brother: she was delivered from the mighty burden of a sinful character. For she was a notorious sinner; and had it said of her, "Her many sins are forgiven her, for she has loved much." ^ We see many such, we know many: let none despair, but let none presume in himself. Both the one and the other are sinful. Let thine unwillingness to despair take such a turn as to lead

* Luke vii. 37-47. Augustine is mistaken here, although his error has been followed by many ancient writers, and some in more recent times. The time, place, and circumstances make it impossible for the incident here referred to, to be the same as that which took place in Bethany immediately before our Lord's crucifixion. On that last occasion only was it Lazarus' sister, Mary, who anointed Jesus. Luke here speaks only of a woman that was a sinner: and there is little evidence to connect her with any of the other Scripture women, even with Mary of Magdala, as is often done, and who is first mentioned by Luke in a different connection in the following chapter (viii, 2), â€” Tb.

126 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XLIX.

thee to make choice of Him in whom alone thou mayest well presume.

4. So then the Lord also raised Lazarus to life. You have heard what type of character he represents; in other words, what is meant by the resurrection of Lazarus. Let us now, therefore, read over the passage; and as there is much in this lesson clear already, we shall not go into any detailed exposition, so as to take up more thoroughly the necessary points. "Now a certain man was sick, [named] Lazarus, of Bethany, the town of Mary
and Martha, his sisters." In the previous lesson you remember that the Lord escaped from the hands of those who sought to stone Him, and went away beyond Jordan, where John baptized.\(^1\) When the Lord therefore had taken up His abode there, Lazarus fell sick in Bethany, which was a town lying close to Jerusalem.

5. " But Mary was she who anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped His feet with her hair, whose brother Lazarus was sick. Therefore his sisters sent unto Him, saying," We now understand whither it was they sent, namely, where the Lord was; for He was away, as you know, beyond the Jordan. They sent messengers to the Lord to tell Him that their brother was ill. He delayed to heal, that He might be able to raise to life. But what was the message sent by his sisters? " Lord, behold, he whom Thou loveth is sick." They did not say. Come; for the intimation was all that was needed for one who loved. They did not venture to say, Come and heal him: they ventured not to say. Command there, and it shall be done here. And why not so with them, if on these very grounds the centurion's faith was commended? For he said, " I am not worthy that Thou shouldest enter under my roof; but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed." \(^2\) No such words said these women, but only, " Lord, behold, he whom Thou loveth is sick." It is enough that Thou knowest; for Thou art not one that loveth and forsaketh. But says some one. How could a sinner be represented by Lazarus, and be so loved by the Lord? Let him listen to Him, when He says, " I came not to call the righteous, but sinners."\(^3\) For had not

\(^1\) Chap. X. 39, 40. â– Matt. viii. 10.

\(^2\) JI^4^ix. 13.

TRACT. XLIX.] THE SON OF GOD GLORIFIED. 127

God loved sinners. He would not have come down from heaven to earth.

6. " But when Jesus heard [that], He said, This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God may he glorified." Such a glorifying of Himself did not add to His dignity, but benefited us. Hence He says, " is not unto death," because even that death itself was not unto death, but rather unto the working of a miracle whereby men might be led to faith in Christ, and so escape the real death. And mark how the Lord, as it were indirectly, called Himself God, for the sake of some who deny that the Son is God. For there are heretics who make such a denial, that the Son of God is God. Let them hearken here: " This sickness," He says, " is not unto death, but for the glory of God." For what glory? For the glory of what God? Hear what follows: "That the Son of God may be glorified." "This sickness," therefore, He says, " is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God may be glorified thereby." By what? By that sickness.
7. "Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister Mary, and Lazarus." The one sick, the others sad, all of them beloved: but He who loved them was both the Saviour of the sick, nay more, the Eaiser of the dead and the Comforter of the sad.

"When He heard therefore that he was sick. He abode then two days still in the same place." They sent Him word: He abode where He was: and the time ran on till four days were completed. And not in vain, were it only that perhaps, nay that certainly, even the very number of days has some sacramental significance. "Then after that He saith again to His disciples. Let us go into Judea:" where He had been all but stoned, and from which He had apparently departed for the very purpose to escape being stoned. For as man He departed; but returned as if in forgetfulness of ail infirmity, to show His power. "Let us go," He said, "into Judea."

8. And now see how the disciples were terrified at His words. "The disciples say unto Him, Master, the Jews of late sought to stone Thee, and goest Thou thither again ? Jesus answered. Are there not twelve hours in the day ? " What means such an answer ? They said to Him, " The Jews of late sought to stone Thee, and goest Thou thither again " to be stoned ? And the Lord, " Are there not twelve hours in the day ? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world: but if he walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him." He spoke indeed of the day, but to our understanding as if it were still the night. Let us call upon the Day to chase away the night, and illuminate our hearts with the light. For what did the Lord mean ? As far as I can judge, and as the height and depth of His meaning breaks into light. He wished to argue down their doubting and Tmbelief For they wished by their counsel to keep the Lord from death, who had come to die, to save themselves from death. In a similar way also, in another passage, St. Peter, who loved the Lord, but did not yet fully understand the reason of His coming, was afraid of His dying, and so displeased the Life, to wit, the Lord Himself: for when He was intimating to the disciples what He was about to suffer at Jerusalem at the hands of the Jews, Peter made reply among the rest, and said, "Par be it from Thee, Lord, pity Thyself: this shall not be unto Thee." And at once the Lord replied, " Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." And yet a little before, in confessing the Son of God, he had merited commendation: for he heard the words, " Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven." ^ To whom He had said, " Blessed art thou," He now says, " Get thee behind me, Satan:" because it was not of himself that he was blessed. But of what then ? " For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven." See, this is how thou art blessed, not from anything that is thine own, but from that which is mine. Not that I am the Father, but that all things
which the Father hath are mine. But if his blessedness came from the Lord's own working, from whose [working] came he to be Satan? He there tells us: for He assigned the reason of such blessedness, when He said, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven:" that is the cause of thy blessedness. But

J Matt. xvi. 16-23. ^ chap. xvi. 15.

TRACT. XLIX.] TWELVE HOURS IN THE DAY. 129

that I said, "Get thee behind me, Satan, hear also its cause: For thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." Let no one then flatter himself: in that which is natural to himself he is Satan, in that which is of God he is blessed. For all that is of his own, whence comes it, but from his sin? Put away the sin, which is thine own.

Eightheousness, He saith, belongeth unto me. For what hast thou that thou didst not receive? ^ Accordingly, when men wished to give counsel to God, disciples to their Master, servants to their Lord, patients to their Physician, He reproved them by saying, "Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not." Follow me, if ye would not stumble: give not counsel to me, from whom you ought to receive it. To what, then, refer the words, "Are there not twelve hours in the day?" Just that to point Himself out as the day, He made choice of twelve disciples. If I am the day. He says, and you the hours, is it for the hours to give counsel to the day? The day is followed by the hours, not the hours by the day. If these, then, were the hours, what in such a reckoning was Judas? Was he also among the twelve hours? If he was an hour, he had light; and if he had light, how was the Day betrayed by him to death? But the Lord, in so speaking, foresaw, not Judas himself, but his successor. For Judas, when he fell, was succeeded by Matthias, and the duodecennial number preserved. ^ It was not, then, without a purpose that the Lord made choice of twelve disciples, but to indicate that He Himself is the spiritual Day. Let the hours then attend upon the Day, let them preach the Day, be made known and illuminated by the Day, and by the preaching of the hours may the world believe in the Day. And so in a summary way it was just this that He said: Follow me, if ye would not stumble.

9. "And after that He saith unto them. Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep." It was true what He said. To his sisters he was dead, to the Lord he was asleep. He was dead to men, who could not raise him again; but the Lord aroused him with as gi'eat ease from the tomb as one arouseth a sleeper from his bed. Hence

> 1 Cor. iv. 7. 2 Acts i. 26.

TRACT. VOL. H. I
it was in reference to His own power that He spoke of Him as sleeping: for others also, who are dead, are frequently spoken of in Scripture as sleeping; as when the apostle says, " But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others who have no hope." Therefore he also spoke of them as sleeping, because foretelling their resurrection. And so, all the dead are sleeping, both good and bad. But just as, in the case of those who sleep and waken day by day, there is a great difference as to what they severally see in their sleep: some experience pleasant dreams; others, dreams so frightful that the waking are afraid to fall asleep for fear of their recurrence: so every individual sleeps and wakens in circumstances peculiar to himself. And there is a difference as to the kind of custody one may be placed in, who is afterwards to be taken before the judge. For the kind of custody in which men are placed depends on the merits of the case: some are required to be guarded by lictors, an office humane and mild, and becoming a citizen; others are given up to subordinates; some, again, are sent to prison: and in the prison itself all are not thrust together into its lowest dungeons, but dealt with in proportion to the merits and superior gravity of the charges. As, then, there are different kinds of custody among those engaged in official life, so there are different kinds of custody for the dead, and differing merits in those who rise again. The beggar was taken into custody, so was the rich man: but the one, into Abraham's bosom; the other, where he thirsted, and found not a drop of water.^

10. Therefore, to make this the occasion of instructing your Charity, all souls have, when they quit this world, their different receptions. The good have joy; the evil, torments.

1 1 Thess. iv. 13.

2 " Oxionibus, " assistants, underlings. In the Mss., it is written, but incorrectly, "obtionibus; " for Varro, Isidorus, and others think the "ojtiones" were so called "ab optando," as being doubtless chosen as assistants to the decuriones and military adjutants. They were also attached to various offices: and hence there were artisan "optiones," and those belonging to official or prison life, in which last signification they are vised here; as also in Ambrose's works (Commentary on the Ephesians, chap. 4) in these words: "Nor did Paul and Silas delay to baptize the jailor (optionem carceris). "


TRACT. XLIX.] THE SLEEP OF DEATH. 131

But when the resurrection takes place, both the joy of the good will be fuller, and the torments of the wicked heavier, when they shall be tormented in the body. The holy
patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and good believers, have been received into peace; but all of them have still in the end to receive the fulfilment of the divine promises; for they have been promised also the resurrection of the flesh, the destruction of death, and eternal life with the angels. This we have all to receive together; for the rest, which is given immediately after death, every one, if worthy of it, receives when he dies. The patriarchs first received it; think only from what they rest; the prophets afterwards; more recently the apostles; still more lately the holy martyrs, and day by day the good and faithful. Thus some have now been in that rest for long, some not so long; others for fewer years, and others whose entrance therein is still less than recent. But when they shall wake from this sleep, they shall all together receive the fulfilment of the promise.

11. "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep. Then said His disciples" accordingly to their understanding they replied "Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well." For the sleep of the sick is usually a sign of returning health. "Howbeit Jesus spake of his death, but they thought that He spake of the taking of rest in sleep. Then said Jesus unto them plainly,"for He said somewhat obscurely, "He sleepeth;" therefore He said plainly, 'â€”Lazarus is dead. And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe." I even know that he is dead, and I was not there: for he had been reported not as dead, but sick But what could remain hid from Him who had created it, and into whose hands the soul of the dying man had departed? This is why He said, "I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe;" that they might now begin to wonder that the Lord could assert his death, which He had neither seen nor heard of. For here we ought specially to bear in mind that as yet the disciples themselves, who already believed in Him, had their faith built up by miracles: not that a faith, utterly wanting till then, might begin to exist; but that what had previously come into being might be increased; although He made use of such an expression as if

132 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. XLIX.

only then they would begin to believe. For He said not, "I am glad fur your sakes," that your faith may be increased or confirmed; but, "that ye may believe:" which is to be understood as meaning, that your faith may be fuller and more vigorous.

12. "Nevertheless, let us go unto him. Then said Thomas, who is called Didymus, unto his fellow-disciples. Let us also go, that we may die with Him. Therefore Jesus came, and found that he had [lain] in the grave four days already." Much might be said of the four days, according to the wont of the obscure passages of Scripture, which bear as many senses as there is diversity of those who understand them. Let us express also our opinion of what is meant by one four days dead. For as in the former case of the blind man we underst'and in a way the human race, so in the case of
this dead man many perhaps are also to be understood; for one thing may be signified by different figures. When a man is born, he is born already in a state of death; for he inherits sin from Adam. Hence the apostle says: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so that passed upon all men, wherein all have sinned." Here you have one day of death, because man inherits it from the seed stock of death. Thereafter he grows, and begins to approach the years of reason that he may know the law of nature, which every one has had implanted in his heart: What thou wouldst not have done to thyself, do not to another. Is this learned from the pages of a book, and not in a measure legible in our very nature? Hast thou any desire to be robbed? Certainly not. See here, then, the law in thy heart: What thou art unwilling to suffer, be unwilling to do. This law also is transgressed by men; and here, then, we have the second day of death. The law was also divinely given through Moses, the servant of God; and therein it is said, "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not bear false witness; honour thy father and mother; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's property; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife." Here you have the written law, and it also is despised: this is the third day of death. What remains? The gospel also comes, the kingdom of heaven is preached, Christ is everywhere published; He threatens hell, He promises eternal life; and that also is despised. Men transgress the gospel; and this is the fourth day of death. Now he deservedly stinketh. But is mercy to be denied to such? God forbid; for to raise such also from the dead, the Lord thinks it not unfitting to come.

13. "And many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary, to comfort them concerning their brother. Then Martha, as soon as she heard that Jesus was coming, went and met Him; but Mary sat [still] in the house. Then said Martha unto Jesus, Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know that even now, whatsoever Thou wilt ask of God, God will give it Thee." She did not say. But even now I ask Thee to raise my brother to life again. How could she know if such a resurrection would be of benefit to her brother? She only said, I know that Thou canst, and whatsoever Thou art pleased. Thou dost: for Thy doing it is dependent on Thine own judgment, not on my presumption. " But even now I know that, whatsoever Thou wilt ask of God, God will give it Thee."

14. " Jesus saith unto her, Thy brother shall rise again." This was ambiguous. For He said not, Even now I will raise thy brother; but, " Thy brother shall rise again. Martha saith unto Him, I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection, at the last day." Of that resurrection I am sure, but uncertain about this. " Jesus saith unto her, I am the resurrection."
Thou sayest. My brother shall rise again at the last day: true; but by Him, through whom he shall rise then, can he rise even now, for " I," He says, " am the resurrection and the life."

Give ear, brethren, give ear to what He says. Certainly the universal expectation of the bystanders was that Lazarus, one who had been dead four days, would live again; let us hear, and rise again. How many are there in this audience who are crushed down under the weighty mass of some sinful habit! Perhaps some are hearing me to whom it may be said, " Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess;" and they say, We cannot. Some others, it may be, are hearing me, who are un-

' That is (Augustine liere would suggest the emblem) of one who was lying under the fourth and most terrible form of spiritual death referred to before. â€” 1&.
^ Eph. V. 18.

134 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XLIX.

clean, and stained with lusts and crimes, and to whom it is said, Eefrain from such conduct, that ye perish not; and they reply, We cannot give up our habits. Lord, raise them again. " I am," He says, " the resurrection and the life." The resurrection hecncsc the life.

15. " He that believe th in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." What meaneth this ? " He that believeth in me, though he were dead," just as Lazarus is dead," yet shall he live;" for He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. Such was the answer He gave the Jews concerning their fathers, long ago dead, that is, concerning Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: He is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto Him." ^ Believe then, and though thou wert dead, yet shalt thou live: but if thou believest not, even while thou livest thou art dead. Let us prove this likewise, that if thou believest not, though thou livest thou art dead. To one who was delaying to follow Him, and saying, " Let me first go and bury my father," the Lord said, "Let the dead bury their dead; but come thou and follow me." ^ There was there a dead man requiring to be buried, there were there also dead men to bury the dead: the one was dead in the flesh, the others in soul. And how comes death on the soul ? When faith is wanting. How comes death on the body ? When the soul is wanting. Therefore thy soul's soul is faith. " He that believeth in me," says Christ, though he were dead in the flesh, yet shall he live in the spirit; till the flesh also rise again, never more to die. This is " he that believeth in me,"
though he die, " yet shall he Hve. And whossoever liveth " in the flesh, " and believeth in me," though he shaU die in time on account of the death of the flesh, " shall never die," because of the life of the spirit, and the immortality of the resurrection. Such is the meaning of the words, " And whossoever liveth and believeth in me shaU never die. Believest thou this ? She saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, I have believed that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God, who hast come into the world." When I believed this, I believed that Thou art the resurrection, that


TRACT XLIX.] CUniST GROANING AT THE GEAVE. 135

Thou art the life: I believed that he that believeth in Thee, though he die, yet shall he live; and whossoever liveth and believeth in Thee, shall never die.

16. "And when she had so said, she went her way, and called Mary her sister silently, saying. The Master is come, and calleth for thee." It is worthy of notice the way in which the whispering of her voice was denominated silence. For how could she be silent, when she said, " The I-master is come, and calleth for thee " ? It is also to be noticed why it is that the evangelist has not said where, or when, or how the Lord called for Mary; namely, that in order to preserve the brevity of the narrative, it may rather be understood from the words of Martha.

17. " As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly, and came unto Him. For Jesus was not yet come into the town, but was still in that place where Martha met Him. The Jews, then, who were with her in the house, and comforted her, when they saw Mary, that she rose up hastily, and went out, followed her, saying, She goeth unto the grave, to weep there." What cause had the evangelist to tell us this ? To show us what it was that occasioned the numerous concourse of people to be there when Lazarus was raised to life. For the Jews, thinking that her reason for hastening away was to seek in weeping the solace of her grief, followed her; that the great miracle of one rising again who had been four days dead, might have the presence of many witnesses.

18. " Then when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw Him, she fell down at His feet, saying unto Him, Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping, who were with her, He groaned in the spirit, and troubled Himself,^ and said. Where have ye laid him ? " Something there is, did we but know it, that He has suggested to us by groaning in the spirit, and troubling Himself. For who could trouble Him, save He Himself? Therefore, my brethren, first give heed here to the power that did so, and then look for the meaning. Thou art troubled against thy will; Christ was troubled because He willed. Jesus hungered, it is true, but

' As in mar"in of Enslisl Version.
because He willed; Jesus slept, it is true, but because He willed; He was sorrowful, it is true, but because He willed; He died, it is true, but because He willed: in His own power it lay to be thus and thus affected or not. For the Word assumed soul and flesh, fitting on Himself our whole human nature in the oneness of His person. For the soul of the apostle was illuminated by the Word; so was the soul of Peter, the soul of Paul, of the other apostles, and the holy prophets, â€” the souls of all were illuminated by the Word; but of none was it said, " The Word was made flesh:" ^ of none was it said, " I and the Father are one." ^ The soul and flesh of Christ is one person with the Word of God, one Christ. And by this [Word] wherein resided the supreme power, was infirmity made use of at the beck of His will; and in this way " He troubled Himself."

19. I have spoken of the power: look now to the meaning. It is a great criminal that is signified by that four days' death and burial. Why is it, then, that Christ troubleth Himself, but to intimate to thee how thou oughtest to be troubled, when weighed down and crushed by so great a mass of iniquity? For here thou hast been looking to thyself, been seeing thine owm guilt, been reckoning for thyself: I have done this, and God has spared me; I have committed this, and He hath borne with me: I have heard the gospel, and despised it; I have been baptized, and returned again to the same course: what am I doing? whither am I going? how shall I escape? When thou speakest thus, Christ is already groaning. In the voice of one who groaneth thus, there comes to light the hope of his rising again. If such faith is within, there is Christ groaning; for if there is faith in us, Christ is in us. For what else says the apostle: " That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith." ^ Therefore thy faith in Christ is Christ Himself in thy heart. This is why He slept in the ship; and wlrf, w^hen His disciples were in danger and already on the verge of shipwreck, they came to Him and awoke Him. Christ arose, laid His commands on the winds and waves, and there ensued a great calm.* So also with thee; the winds enter thy heart, that is, where thou sailest, where thou passest


TRACT. XLIX.] CHRIST GROANETH IN HIS PEOPLE. 137

along this life as a stormy and dangerous sea; the winds enter, the billows rise and toss thy vessel. What are the winds?
Thou hast received some insult, and art wroth: that insult is the wind; that anger, the waves. Thou art in danger, thou preparest to reply, to render cursing for cursing, and thy vessel is already nigh to shipwreck. Awake the Christ who is sleeping. For thou art in commotion, and making ready to render evil for evil, because Christ is sleeping in thy vessel. For the sleep of Christ in thy heart is the forgetfulness of faith. But if thou arousest Christ, that is, recallest thy faith, what dost thou hear said to thee by Christ, when now awake in thy heart ?

I [He says] have heard it said to me, "Thou hast a devil," and I have prayed for them. The Lord hears and suffers; the servant hears and is angry! But thou wishest to be avenged. Why so? I am already avenged. When thy faith so speaks to thee, command is exercised, as it were, over the winds and waves, and there is a great calm. As, then, to awaken Christ in the vessel is just to awaken faith; so in the heart of one who is pressed down by a great mass and habit of sin, in the heart of the man who has been a transgressor even of the holy gospel and a despiser of eternal punishment, let Christ groan, let such a man betake himself to self-accusation. Hear still more: Christ wept; let man bemoan himself.

For why did Christ weep, but to teach man to weep? Wherefore did He groan and trouble Himself, but to intimate that the faith of one who has just cause to be displeased with himself ought to be in a sense groaning over the accusation of wicked works, to the end that the habit of sinning may give way to the vehemence of penitential sorrow?

20. "And He said. Where have ye laid him?" Thou knewest that he was dead, and art Thou ignorant of the place of his burial? The meaning here is, that a man thus lost becomes, as it were, unknown to God. I have not ventured to say. Is unknown â€“ for what is unknown to Him? â€“ but. As it were unknown. And how do we prove this? Listen to the Lord, who will yet say in the judgment, "I know you not: depart from me."

What does that mean, "I know you not"? I see you not in that light of mine â€“ in that righteousness


138 OJT THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIIX.

â€“which I know. So here, also, as if knowing nothing of such a sinner, He said, "Where have ye laid him?" Similar in character was God's voice in Paradise after man had sinned:

"Adam, where art thou?" "They say unto Him, Lord, come and see." What means this "see"? Have pity. For the Lord sees when He pities. Hence it is said to Him, "Look upon my humility [affliction] and my pain, and forgive all my sins.""

21. "Jesus wept. Then said the Jews, Behold how He loved him!" "Loved him," what does that mean? "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." "But some of them said, Could not this man, who opened the eyes of the blind, have caused that even this man should not die?"
But He, who would do nought to hinder his dying, had some thing greater in view in raising him from the dead.

22. "Jesus therefore again groaning in Himself, cometh to the tomb." May His groaning have thee also for its object, if thou wouldst re-enter into life! Every man who lies in that dire moral condition has it said to him, "He cometh to the tomb." "It was a cave, and a stone had been laid upon it." Dead under that stone, guilty under the law. For you know that the law, which was given to the Jews, was inscribed on stone.* And all the guilty are under the law:

the right-living are in harmony with the law. The law is not laid on a righteous man.^

What mean then the words, "Take ye away the stone"? Preach grace. For the Apostle Paul calleth himself a minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; "for the letter," he says, "killeth, but the spirit giveth life." The letter that killeth is like the stone that crusheth. "Take ye away," He saith, "the stone."

Take away the weight of the law; preach grace. "For if there had been a law given, which could have given life, verily righteousness should be by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." ^ Therefore "take ye away the stone."

23. "Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith unto


Â» I Tim. i. 9. ^2, Cor. iii. 6. ? Gal. iii. 21, 22.

TRACT. XLIX.] THE DEAD CAME FOKTH, BOUXD. 139

Him, Lord, by this time he stinketh: for he hath been [dead] four days.^ Jesus saith unto her. Have I not said unto thee, that, if thou believest, thou shalt see the glory of God? "

What does He mean by this, "thou shalt see the glory of God" ? That He can raise to life even one who is putrid and hath been four days [dead]. "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;" ^ and, "Where sin abounded, grace also did superabound." ^

24. "Then they took away the stone. And Jesus lifted up His eyes, and said, Father, I thank Thee, that Thou hast heard me. And I knew that Thou hearest me always: but because of the people that stand by I said it, that they may believe that Thou hast sent me. And when He had thus spoken, He cried with a loud voice." He groaned. He wept. He cried with a loud voice. With what difficulty does one rise who lies crushed under the heavy burden of a habit of sinning! And yet he does rise: he is quickened by hidden grace within; and after that loud voice he riseth. For what followed?
"He cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. And immediately he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with bandages; * and his face was bound about with a napkin." Dost thou wonder how he came forth with his feet bound, and wonderest not at this, that after four days' interment he rose from the dead? In both events it was the power of the Lord that operated, and not the strength of the dead. He came forth, and yet still was bound. Still in his burial shroud, he has already come outside the tomb. What does it mean? While thou despisest [Christ], thou liest in the arms of death; and if thy contempt reacheth the lengths I have mentioned, thou art buried as well: but when thou makest confession, thou comest forth. For what is this coming forth, but the open acknowledgment thou makest of thy state, in quitting, as it were, the old refuges of darkness? But the confession thou makest is effected by God, when He crieth with a loud voice, or in other words, calleth thee in abounding grace. Accordingly, when the dead man had come forth, still bound; confessing, yet guilty still; that his sins also might

" Quatriduaniis est." 2 p^gij^ ijj 03.

' Kom. V. 20. * " Institis: " Gr. xnflx.;.

140 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XLIX.

be taken away, the Lord said to His servants: " Loose him, and let him go." What does He mean by such words?
"Wliatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.^

25. " Then many of the Jews who had come to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on Him. But some of them went away to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done." All of the Jews who had come to Mary did not believe, but many of them did. " But some of them," whether of the Jews who had come, or of those who had believed, " went away to the Pharisees, and told them what things Jesus had done:" whether in the way of conveying intelligence, in order that they also might believe, or rather in the spirit of treachery, to arouse their anger. But whoever were the parties, and whatever their motive, intelligence of these events was carried to the Pharisees.

26. "Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? " But they did not say. Let us beKeve. For these abandoned men were more occupied in considering what evil they could do to effect His ruin, than in consulting for their own preservation: and yet they were afraid, and took counsel of a kind together. For " they said, Wliat do we? for this man doeth many miracles: if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him; and the Eomans shall come, and take away both our place and nation." They were afraid of losing their temporal possessions, and thought not of life eternal; and so they lost both. For the Ptomans, after our Lord's passion and entrance into glory, took from them both their place and nation, ^when they took the one by storm and transported the other: and now that also pursues them, which is said elsewhere, " But the
children of the kingdom shall go into outer darkness." ^ But this was what they feared, that if all believed on Christ, there would be none remaining to defend the city of God and the temple against the Piomans; just because they had a feeling that Christ's teaching was directed against the temple itself and their own paternal laws.

27. "And one of them, [named] Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them. Ye know nothing at

> Matt. xvi. 10. ' Matt. viii. 12.

TRACT. XLIX.] THE PROPHECY OF CAIAPHAS. 141

all, nor consider that it is expedient for ns that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. And this spake he not of liimself; but being high priest that year, he prophesied." We are here taught that the Spirit of prophecy used the agency even of wicked men to foretell what was future; which, however, the evangelist attributes to the divine sacramental fact that he was pontiff, which is to say, the high priest. It may, however, be a question in what way he is called the high priest of that year, seeing that God appointed one person to be high priest, who was to be succeeded only at his death by another. But we are to understand that ambitious schemes and contentions among the Jews led to the appointment afterwards of more than one, and to their annual turn of service. For it is said also of Zacharias: " And it came to pass that, while he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course, according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the temple of the Lord." ^ From which it is evident that there were more than one, and that each had his turn: for it was lawful for the high priest alone to place the incense on the altar." And perhaps also there were several in actual service in the same year, who were succeeded next year by several others, and that it fell by lot to one of them to burn incense. What was it, then, that Caiaphas prophesied ? " That Jesus should die for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that also He should gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad." This is added by the evangelist; for Caiaphas prophesied only of the Jewish nation, in which there were sheep of whom the Lord Himself had said, " I am not sent unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." ^ But the evangelist knew that there were other sheep, which were not of this fold, but which had also to be brought, that there might be one fold and one shepherd. * But this was said in the way of predestination; for those who were still unbelieving were as yet neither His sheep nor the children of God.

28. "Then, from that day forth, they took counsel together for to put Him to death. Jesus therefore walked no more

openly among the Jews; but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with His disciples." Not that there was any failure in His power, by which, had He only wished. He might have continued His intercourse with the Jews, and received no injury at their hands; but in His human weakness He furnished His disciples with an example of living, by which He might make it manifest that it was no sin in His believing ones, who are His members, to withdraw from the presence of their persecutors, and escape the fury of the wicked by concealment, rather than inflame it by showing themselves openly.

TEACTATE L.

CH. VPTEE XI. 55-57; XII. 1-11.

1. ^CTESTEED AY'S lesson in the holy Gospel, on which we i spake as the Lord enabled us, is followed by to-day's, on which we purpose to speak in the same spirit of dependence. Some passages in the Scriptures are so clear as to require a hearer rather than an expounder: over such we need not tarry, that we may have sufficient time for those which necessarily demand a fuller consideration.

2. "And the Jews' passover was nigh at hand." The Jews wished to have that feast-day crimsoned with the blood of the Lord. On it that Lamb was slain, who hath consecrated it as a feast-day for us by His own blood. There was a plot among the Jews about slaying Jesus: and He, who had come from heaven to suffer, wished to draw near to the place of His suffering, because the hour of His passion was at hand. Therefore "many went out of the country up to Jerusalem before the passover, to sanctify themselves." The Jews did so in accordance with the command of the Lord delivered by holy Moses in the law, that on the feast-day of the passover all should assemble from every part of the land, and be sanctified in celebrating the services of the day. But that celebration was a shadow of the future. And why a shadow? It was a prophetic intimation of the Christ to come, a prophecy of Him who on that day was to suffer for us: that so the shadow might vanish and the light come; that the sign might pass away, and the truth be retained. The Jews therefore held the passover in a shadowy form, but we in the light. For what need was there that the Lord should command them to slay a sheep on the very day of the feast, save only because of Him it was prophesied, " He is led as a sheep to the slaughter " ?^
The door-posts of the Jews were sealed with the blood of the slaughtered animal: with the blood of Christ are our foreheads sealed. And that sealing â€” for it had a real significance â€” was said to keep away the destroyer from the houses that were sealed: ^ Christ's seal drives away the destroyer from us, if we receive the Saviour into our hearts. But why have I said this ? Because many have their door-posts sealed while there is no inmate abiding within: they find it easy to have Christ's seal in the forehead, and yet at heart refuse admission to His word. Therefore, brethren, I have said, and I repeat it, Christ's seal driveth from us the destroyer, if only we have Christ as an inmate of our hearts. I have stated these things, lest any one's thoughts should be turning on the meaning of these festivals of the Jews. The Lord therefore came as it were to the victim's place, that the true passover might be ours, when we celebrated His passion as the real offering of the lamb.

3. " Then sought they for Jesus: " but with evil intent. For happy are they who seek for Jesus in a way that is good. They sought for Him, with the intent that neither they nor we should have Him more: but in departing from them. He has been received by us. Some who seek Him are blamed, others who do so are commended; for it is the spirit animating the seeker that finds either praise or condemnation. Thence you have it also in the psalms, " Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul:" ' such are those who sought with evil purpose. But in another place he says, " Eefuge hath failed me, and there is no one that seeketh after my 'soul." ^ Those who sought, and those who did not, are blamed alike. Therefore let us seek for Christ, that He may be ours, that we may keep Him, and not that we may slay Him; for these men sought to get hold of Him, but only for the purpose of speedily getting quit of Him for ever. " Therefore they sought for Him, and spake among themselves: What think ye, that He will not come to the feast ? "

4. " Xow the chief priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that, if any man knew where He were, he should show it, that they might take Him." Let us for our parts show the Jews where Christ is. Would, indeed, that all the seed of those who had given commandment to have it shown them where Christ was, would bnt hear and apprehend!
Let them come to the Church and hear where Christ is, and take Him. They may hear it from us, they may hear it from the gospel. He was slain by their forefathers, He was buried.
He rose again. He was recognised by the disciples. He ascended before their eyes into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and He who was judged is yet to come as Judge of all: let them hear, and hold fast. Do they reply, How shall I take hold of the absent? how shall I stretch up my hand into heaven, and take hold of one who is sitting there? Stretch up thy faith, and thou hast got hold. Thy forefathers held by the flesh, hold thou with the heart; for the absent Christ is also present. But for His presence, we ourselves were unable to hold Him. But since His word is true, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world," He is away, and He is here; He has returned, and will not forsake us; for He has carried His body into heaven, but His majesty He has never withdrawn from the world.

5. "Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was who had been dead, whom Jesus raised from the dead. And there they made Him a supper; and Martha served: but Lazarus was one of them that reclined at the table." To prevent people thinking that the man had become a phantom, because he had risen from the dead, he was one of those who reclined at table; he was living, speaking, feasting: the truth was made manifest, and the unbelief of the Jews was confounded. The Lord, therefore, reclined at table with Lazarus and the others; and they were waited on by Martha, one of the sisters of Lazarus.

6. But "Mary," the other sister of Lazarus, " took a pound of ointment of pure nard, very precious, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment." Such was the incident, let us look into the mystery it imported. Whatever soul of you wishes to be truly faithful, anoint like Mary the feet of

' Matt, xxviii. 20.
TRACT. VOL. II. K

146 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. L.

the Lord with precious ointment. That ointment was righteousness, and therefore it was [exactly] a pound weight: but it was ointment of pure nard [narcU pistici], very precious. From his calling it " pistici," ^ we ought to infer that there was some locality from which it derived its preciousness: but this does not exhaust its meaning, and it harmonizes well with a sacramental symbol. The root of the word [" pure "] in the Greek is by us called " faith." Thou wert seeking to work righteousness: the just shall live by faith. Anoint the feet of Jesus: follow by a good life the Lord's footsteps. Wipe them with thy hair: what thou hast of superfluity, give to the poor, and thou hast wiped the feet of the Lord; for the hair seems to be the superfluous part of the body. Thou hast something to spare of thy abundance: it is superfluous to thee, but necessary for the feet of the Lord. Perhaps on this earth the Lord's feet are still in need. For of whom but of His members is He yet to say in the end,
"Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of mine, ye did it unto me"? Ye spent what was superfluous for yourselves, but ye have done what was grateful to my feet.

7. "And the house was filled with the odour." The world is filled with the fame of a good character: for a good character is as a pleasant odour. Those who live wickedly and bear the name of Christians, do injury to Christ: of such it is said, that through them "the name of the Lord is blasphemed." If through such God's name is blasphemed, through the good the name of the Lord is honoured. Listen to the apostle, when he says, "We are a sweet savour of Christ in every place."

As it is said also in the Song of Songs, "Thy name is as ointment poured forth." ^ Attend again to the apostle: "We are a sweet savour," he says, "of Christ in every place, both, in them that are saved, and in them that perish. To the one we are the savour of life unto life, to the other the savour of death unto death: and who is sufficient for these things 1"

The full expression is "nard pistici pretiosi: " Gr. " rdptsoo ^iffTix^is â– iroXur'ifiou: " rKTriy/o; from ^i<rri;, trustworthy, hence, genuine, pure; â€” though Aug. seems to indicate that it maj' also have had a geogi-ajthical reference â€” Tk.

2 Eom. i. 17. 3 jiat. xxv. 40. * Rom. iL 24.

6 Song of Sol. i. 2. Â«2 Cor. ii. 14-16.

TRA.CT. L] A SWEET SAVOUR OF CHRIST. 147

The lesson of the holy Gospel before us affords us the opportunity of so speaking of that savour, that we on our part may give worthy utterance, and you diligent heed, to what is thus expressed by the apostle himself, "And who is sufficient for these things 1 " But have we any reason to infer from these words that we are qualified to attempt speaking on such a subject, or you to hear? We, indeed, are not so; but He is sufficient, who is pleased to speak by us what it may be for your profit to hear. The apostle, you see, is, as he calls himself, "a sweet savour:" but that sweet savour is "to some the savour of life into life, and to others the savour of death unto death:" and yet all the while "a sweet savour" in itself. For he does not say, does he, To some we are a sweet savour unto life, to others an evil savour unto death? He called himself a sweet savour, not an evil; and represented himself as the same sweet savour, to some unto life, to others unto death.

Happy they who find life in this sweet savour! but what misery can be greater than theirs, to whom the sweet savour is the messenger of death?

8. And who is it, says some one, that is thus slain by the sweet savour? It is to this the apostle alludes in the words,
"And who is sufficient for these things?" In what wonderful ways God brings it about that the good savour is fraught both with life to the good, and with death to the wicked; how it is so, so far as the Lord is pleased to inspire my thoughts (for it may still conceal a deeper meaning beyond my power to penetrate), I say, as my power of penetration has reached, you ought not to have the information withheld.

The integrity of the Apostle Paul's life and conduct, his preaching of righteousness in word and exhibition of it in works, his wondrous power as a teacher and his fidelity as a steward, were everywhere noised abroad: he was loved by some, and envied by others. For he himself tells us in a certain place of some, that they preached Christ not sincerely, but of envy; "thinking," he says, "to add affliction to my bonds." But what does he add? "Whether in pretence or in truth, let Christ be preached." They preach who love me, they preach who hate me; in that good savour the former live, in it the others die: and yet by the preaching of both let the name of Christ be proclaimed, with this excellent savour let the world be filled. Hast thou been loving one whose conduct evidenced his goodness? then in this good savour thou hast lived. Hast thou been envying such a one? then in this same savour thou hast died. But hast thou, pray, in thus choosing to die, converted this savour into an evil one? Turn from thine envious feelings, and the good savour will cease to slay thee.

9. And now, lastly, listen to what we have here, how this ointment was to some a sweet savour unto life, and to others a sweet savour unto death. When the pious Mary had rendered this grateful service to the Lord, straightway one of His disciples, Judas Iscariot, who was yet to betray Him, said, "Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence, and given to the poor?" Alas for thee, wretched man! the sweet savour hath slain thee. For the cause that led him so to speak is disclosed by the holy evangelist. But we, too, might have supposed, had not the real state of his mind been revealed in the Gospel, that the care of the poor might have induced him so to speak. Not so. What then? Hearken to a true witness: "This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and had the money bag, and bare what was put therein." Did he bear it about, or bear it away? For the common service he bore it, as a thief he bore it away.

10. Look now, and learn that this Judas did not become perverted only at the time when he yielded to the bribery of the Jews and betrayed his Lord. For not a few, inattentive to the Gospel, suppose that Judas only perished when he accepted money from the Jews to betray the Lord. It was not then that he perished, but he was already a thief, and a reprobate, when following the Lord; for it was with his body and not with his heart that he followed. He made up the apostolic number of twelve, but had no part in the apostolic
blessedness: he had been made the twelfth in semblance, and on his departure, and the succession of another, the apostolic reality

" ifiafraXfy," as used by Jolin, may signify here, carried, borne, in a good sense; or carried offals a thief: for the latter sense, see chap. xx. 15. â€” Tr.

TEACT. L.] JUDAS. 149

was completed, and the eutireness of the number conserved.^

What lesson then, my brethren, did our Lord Jesus Christ wish to impress on His Church, when it pleased Him to have one castaway among the twelve, but this, that Ave should bear with the wicked, and refrain from dividing the body of Christ?

Here you have Judas among the saints, â€” that Judas, mark you! who was a thief, yea â€” do not overlook it â€” not a thief of any ordinary type, but a thief and a sacrilegist: a robber of money bags, but of such as were the Lord's; of money bags, but of such as were sacred. If there is a distinction made in the public courts between such crimes as ordinary theft and peculation, â€” for by peculation we mean the theft of public property; and private theft is not visited with the same sentence as public, â€” how much more severe ought to be the sentence on the sacrilegious thief, who has dared to steal, not from places of any ordinary kind, but to steal from the Church?

He who thieves from the Church, stands side by side with the castaway Judas, Such was this man Judas, and yet he went in and out with the eleven holy disciples. With them he came even to the table of the Lord: he was permitted to have intercourse with them, but he could not contaminate them.

Of one bread did both Peter and Judas partake, and yet what communion had the believer with the infidel? Peter's partaking was unto life, but that of Judas unto death. For that good bread was just like the sweet savour. For as the sweet savour, so also does the good bread give life to the good, and bring death to the wicked. " For he that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself:" ^ "judgment to himself," not to thee. If, then, it is judgment to himself, not to thee, bear as one that is good with him that is evil, that thou mayest attain unto the rewards of the good, and be not hurled into the punishment of the wicked.

11, Lay to heart our Lord's example while living with man upon earth. Why had He a money bag, who was ministered unto by angels, save to intimate that His Church was destined thereafter to have her repository for money? Why gave He admission to a thief, save to teach His Church patiently to bear with thieves? But he who had formed the habit of

' Acts i. 26. ' 1 Cor. xi. 29.
abstracting money from the bag, did not hesitate for money received to sell the Lord Himself. But let us see what answer our Lord gave to such words. See, brethren: He does not say to him, Thou speakest so on account of thy thievishness. He knew him to be a thief, yet did not betray him, but rather endured him, and showed us an example of patience in tolerating the wicked in the Church. " Then said Jesus to him: Let her keep it against the day of my burial." ^ He announced that His own death was at hand.

12. But what follows? "For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye will not have always." We can certainly understand, " the poor ye have always;" what He has thus said is true. When were the poor wanting in the Church ? " But me ye will not have always; " what does He mean by this ? How are we to understand, " Me ye will not have always " ? Don't be alarmed: it was addressed to Judas. Why, then, did He not say, iliou wilt have, but, ye will have ? Because Judas is not here a unit. One wicked man represents the whole body of the wicked; in the same way as Peter, the whole body of the good, yea, the body of the Church, but in respect to the good. For if in Peter's case there were no sacramental symbol of the Church, the Lord would not have said to him, " I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." ^ If this was said only to Peter, it gives no OTOund of action to the Church. But if such is the case also in the Church, that what is bound on earth is bound in heaven, and what is loosed on earth is loosed in heaven, â€” for when the Church excommunicates, the excommunicated person is bound in heaven; when one is reconciled by the Church, the person so reconciled is loosed in heaven: â€” if such, then, is

^ Augustine's words, " sinite illam, ut in diem sepulturse mese servet illud," as rendered above, differ considerably from those of our English version, and are more difficult to understand; but they agree -with by far the larger number of Greek MSS., which read, "Aipi; alirrv "va ih t^ov ri/Aifnv toZ hTa(pia.i7y.i>u /aou 'rriprierif a'uTo- Our English version, "Let her alone: against the day of my burying hath she kept this," is taken fi'om MSS. â– which omit Iva, and have Tirtifrnttv instead of T^i^sja-}). â€” Te.
- Matt. xvi. 19.

TRACT. L.] CHRIST'S ABSENCE. 151

the case in the Church, Peter, in receiving the keys, represented the holy Church. If, then, in the person of Peter were represented the good in the Church, and in Judas' person were represented the bad in the Church, then to these latter was it said, " But me ye will not have always." But what means the
"not always;" and what, the " always"? If thou art good, if thou belongest to the body represented by Peter, thou hast Christ both now and hereafter: now:) by faith, by sign, by the sacrament of baptism, by the bread and wine of the altar. Thou hast Christ now, but thou wilt have Him always; for when thou hast gone hence, thou wilt come to Him who said to the robber, " To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." ^

But if thou livest wickedly, thou mayest seem to have Christ now, because thou enterest the Church, signest thyself with the sign of Christ, art baptized with the baptism of Christ, minglest thyself with the members of Christ, and approachest His altar: now thou hast Christ, but by living wickedly thou wilt not have Him always.

13. It may be also understood in this way: " The poor ye will have always with you, but me ye will not have always." The good may take it also as addressed to themselves, but not so as to be any source of anxiety; for He was speaking of His bodily presence. For in respect of His majesty. His providence. His ineffable and invisible grace. His own words are fulfilled, " Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." ^

But in respect of the flesh He assumed as the Word, in respect of that which He was as the son of the Virgin, of that wherein He was seized by the Jews, nailed to the tree, let down from the cross, enveloped in a shroud, laid in the sepulchre, and manifested in His resurrection, " ye will not have Him always." And why ? Because in respect of His bodily presence He associated for forty days with His disciples, and then, having brought them forth for the purpose of beholding and not of following Him, He ascended into heaven,^ and is no longer here. He is there, indeed, sitting at the right hand of the Father; and He is here also, having never withdrawn the presence of His glory. In other words, in respect of His divine presence we always have Christ; in respect of His presence in the flesh it was rightly said to the disciples, " Me ye will not have always." In this respect the Church enjoyed His presence only for a few days: now it possesses Him by faith, without seeing Him with the eyes. In whichever way, then, it was said, " But me ye will not have always," it can no longer, I suppose, after this twofold solution, remain as a subject of doubt.

14. Let us listen to the other few points that remain:
" Much people of the Jews therefore knew that He was there: and they came not for Jesus' sake only, but that they might see Lazarus, whom He had raised from the dead." They were drawn by curiosity, not by charity: they came and saw. Hearken to the strange scheming of human vanity. Having seen Lazarus as one raised from the dead, â€” for the fame of such a miracle of the Lord's had been accompanied everywhere with so much evidence of its genuineness, and it had been so openly

performed, that they could neither conceal nor deny what had been done, â€” only think of the plan they hit upon.

"But the chief priests consulted that they might put Lazarus also to death; because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus." foolish consultation and blinded rage! Could not Christ the Lord, who was able to raise the dead, raise also the slain? "When you were preparing a violent death for Lazarus, were you at the same time denuding the Lord of His power? If you think a dead man one thing, a murdered man another, look you only to this, that the Lord made both, and raised Lazarus to life when dead, and Himself when slain.

TEACTATE LI.

CHAPTER XII. 12-26.

1. A FTEE our Lord's raising of one to life who had been four days dead, to the utter amazement of the Jews, some of whom believed on seeing it, and others perished in their envy, because of that sweet savour which is unto life to some, and to others unto death;^ after He had sat down to meat with Lazarus â€” the one who had been dead and raised to life â€” reclining also at table, and after the pouring on His feet of the ointment which had tilled the house with its odour; and after the Jews also had shown their own spiritual abandonment in conceiving the useless cruelty and the monstrously foolish and insane guilt of slaying Lazarus; â€” of all which we have spoken as we could, by the grace of the Lord, in previous discourses: let your Charity now notice how abundant before our Lord's passion was the fruit that appeared of His preaching, and how large was the flock of lost sheep of the house of Israel which had heard the Shepherd's voice.

2. For the Gospel, the reading of which you have just been listening to, says: "On the next day much people that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees and went forth to meet Him, and cried, Hosanna: blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord as the King of Israel." The branches of palm trees are laudatory emblems, significant of victory, because the Lord was about to overcome death by dying, and by the trophy of His cross to triumph over the devil, the prince of death. The exclamation used by the worshipping people is Hosanna, indicating, as some who know the Hebrew language affirm, rather a state of mind than having any positive signifi-

â€¢ 2 Cor. ii. 15.

* " Obsecrantis," literally supplicant, which is scarcely suitable to the context.
cance; just as in our own tongue we have what are called interjections, as when in our grief we say, Alas! or in our joy, Ha! or in our admiration, how line! where! expresses only the feeling of the admirer. Of the same class must we believe this word to be, as it has failed to find an interpretation both in Greek and Latin, like that other, "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Eaca." For this also is allowed to be an interjection, expressive of angry feelings.

3. But when it is said, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, [as] the King of Israel," by "in the name of the Lord" we are rather to understand "in the name of God the Father," although it might also be understood as in His own name, inasmuch as He is also Himself the Lord. As we find Scripture also saying in another place, "The Lord rained [upon Sodom fire] from the Lord."* But His own words are a better guide to our understanding, when He saith, 'â— â— I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: another will come in his own name, and him ye will receive.""

For the true teacher of humility is Christ, who humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.* But He does not lose His divinity in teaching us humility; in the one He is the Father's equal, in the other He is assimilated to us. By that which made Him the equal of the Father, He called us into existence; and by that in which He is like unto us. He redeemed us from ruin.

4. These, then, were the words of praise addressed to Jesus by the multitude, "Hosanna: blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel." What a cross of

1 The "some" here referred to by Augustine could scarcely have had a very extensive knowledge of the Hebrew language, as the word Hosanna, though left untranslated, as a well-known exclamation of the Jews in their religious services, is part of the same quotation from Psalm cxviii. (see vers. 25, 26) with the words that follow in the text. The sacred writers gave the nearest equivalent in Greek letters (^ciiravva, Hosanna) of the Hebrew 5^3 ny^C^in, Save now! â€” Te.

2 In text, "in lingua latina."

'Eaca (S}Tiac Np"l, Chaldee xp""l. Hebrew pi"), empty) was an insulting epithet of common use from an early period among the Babylonians, and in our â— Lord's day among the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine. It exactly answers to our idiot, or numskull, and is of frequent occurrence afterwards in the same sense in rabbinical writings. â€” Tr.

4 Gen. xix. 24. 5 Chap. v. 43. ^ Phil. ii. 8.

TEACT. LI.] ZION'S KING. 155
mental suffering must the Jewish rulers have endured when they heard so great a multitude proclaiming Christ as their King! But what honour was it to the Lord to be King of Israel? What great thing was it to the King of eternity to become the King of men? For Christ's kingship over Israel was not for the purpose of exacting tribute, of putting swords into His soldiers' hands, of subduing His enemies by open warfare; but He was King of Israel in exercising kingly authority over their inward natures, in consulting for their eternal interests, in bringing into His heavenly kingdom those whose faith, and hope, and love were centred in Himself. Accordingly, for the Son of God, the Father's equal, the Word by whom all things were made, in His good pleasure to be King of Israel, was an act of condescension and not of promotion; a token of compassion, and not any increase of power. For He who was called on earth the King of the Jews, is in the heavens the Lord of angels.

5. "And Jesus, when He had found a young ass, sat thereon."

Here the account is briefly given: for how it all happened may be found at full length in the other evangelists. But there is appended to the circumstance itself a testimony from the prophets, to make it evident that He in whom was fulfilled all they read in Scripture, was entirely misunderstood by the evil-minded rulers of the Jews. Jesus, then, "found a young ass, and sat thereon; as it is written. Fear not, daughter of Zion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt."

Among that people, then, was the daughter of Zion to be found; for Zion is the same as Jerusalem. Among that very people, I say, reprobate and blind as they were, was the daughter of Zion, to whom it was said, "Fear not, daughter of Zion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt." This daughter of Zion, who was thus divinely addressed, was amongst those sheep that were hearing the Shepherd's voice, and in that multitude which was celebrating the Lord's coming with such religious zeal, and accompanying Him in such warlike array. To her was it said, "Fear not:" acknowledge Him whom thou art now extolling, and give not way to fear when He comes to suffering; for by the shedding of

His blood is thy guilt to be blotted out, and thy life restored.

But by the ass's colt, on which no man had ever sat (for so it is found recorded in the other evangelists), we are to understand the Gentile nations which had not received the law of the Lord; by the ass, on the other hand (for both animals were brought to the Lord), that people of His which came of the nation of Israel, and was already so far subdued as to recognise its Master's crib.

6. "These things understood not His disciples at the first; but when Jesus was glorified," that is, when He had manifested the power of His resurrection, "then remembered they
that these things were written of Him, and they had done these things unto Him," that is, they did nothing else but what had been written concerning Him. In short, mentally comparing with the contents of Scripture what was accomplished both prior to and in the course of our Lord's passion, they found this also therein, that it was in accordance with the utterance of the prophets that He sat on an ass's colt.

7. "The people, therefore, that was with Him when He called Lazarus out of his tomb, and raised him from the dead, bare record. For this cause the crowd also met Him, for that they heard that He had done this miracle. The Pharisees, therefore, said among themselves: Perceive ye that we prevail nothing? Behold, the whole world is gone after Him."

'Mob set mob in motion.—" But why art thou, blinded mob that thou art, filled with envy because the world has gone after its |maker?"'

8. "And there were certain Gentiles among them that had come up to worship at the feast: the same came therefore to Philip, who was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and desired him, saying, Sir, we would see Jesus. Philip cometh and telleth Andrew: and again Andrew and Philip telleth Jesus." Let us hearken to the Lord's reply. See how the Jews wish to kill Him, the Gentiles to see Him; and yet those, too, were of the Jews who cried, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, the King of Israel." Here, then, were they of the circumcision and they of the uncircumcision, like two house walls running from different directions and meeting together with the kiss

1 "Turba turbavit tuibam."

TRACT. LL] the SON OF MAN GLOEIFIED. 157

of peace, in the one faith of Christ. Let us listen, then, to the voice of the Corner-stone: "And Jesus answered them, saying, The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified."

Perhaps some one supposes here that He spake of Himself as glorified, because the Gentiles wished to see Him. Such is not the case. But He saw the Gentiles themselves in all nations coming to the faith after His own passion and resurrection, because, as the apostle says, "Blindness in part has happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles should be come in."^ Taking occasion, therefore, from those Gentiles who desired to see Him, He announces the future fulness of the Gentile nations, and promises the near approach of the hour when He should be glorified Himself, and when, on its consummation in heaven, the Gentile nations should be brought to the faith.

To this it is that the prediction pointed, "Be Thou exalted, God, above the heavens, and Thy glory above all the earth."^ Such is the fulness of the Gentiles, of which the apostle saith, "Blindness in part is happened to Israel, till the fulness of the Gentiles come in."
9. But the height of His glorification had to be preceded by the depth of His passion. Accordingly, He went on to add, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." But He spake of Himself. He Himself was the grain that had to die, and be multiplied; to suffer death through the unbelief of the Jews, and to be multiplied in the faith of many nations.

10. And now, by way of exhortation to follow in the path of His own passion. He adds, "He that loveth his life shall lose it," which may be understood in two ways: "He that loveth shall lose," that is, If thou Lovest, be ready to lose; if thou wouldst possess life in Christ, be not afraid of death for Christ. Or otherwise, "He that loveth his Life shall lose it." Do not love for fear of losing; love it not here, lest thou lose it in eternity. But what I have said last seems better to correspond with the meaning of the Gospel, for there follow the words, "And he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." So that when it is said

^ Eom. xi. 25. ^ Ps. cviii. 5.

158 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LI.

in the previous clause, "He that loveth/ there is to be understood in this world, he it is that shall lose it. " But he that hateth," that is, in this world, is he that shall keep it unto life eternal. Surely a profound and strange declaration as to the measure of a man's love for his own life that leads to its destruction, and of his hatred to it that secures its preservation! If in a sinful way thou Lovest it, then dost thou really hate it; if in a way accordant with what is good thou hast hated it, then hast thou really loved it. Happy they who have so hated their life while keeping it, that their love shall not cause them to lose it. But beware of harbouring the notion that thou mayest court self-destruction by any such understanding of thy duty to hate thy life in this world. For on such grounds it is that certain wrong-minded and perverted people, who, with regard to themselves, are murderers of a specially cruel and impious character, commit themselves to the flames, suffocate themselves in water, dash themselves against a precipice, and perish. This was no teaching of Christ's, who, on the other hand, met the devil's suggestion of a precipice with the answer, "Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written. Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."^ To Peter also He said, signifying by what death he should glorify God, "When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not; "^ Êåë" where He made it sufficiently plain that it is not by himself but by another that one must be slain who follows in the footsteps of Christ. And so, when one's case has reached the crisis that this condition is placed before him, either that he must act contrary to the divine commandment or quit this life, and that a man is compelled to choose one or other of the two by the persecutor who is threatening him with death, in such
circumstances let him prefer dying in the love of God to living under His anger, in such circumstances let him hate his life in this world that he may keep it unto life eternal.

11. "If any man serve me, let him follow me." What is that, "let him follow me," but just, let him imitate me?

1 Matt, iv, 7. 2 Chap. xxi. 18, 19.

TEACT. LI.] SERVING CHRIST. 159

"Because Christ suffered for us," says the Apostle Peter, "leaving us an example that we should follow His steps." ^ Here you have the meaning of the words, "If any man serve me, let him follow me." But with what result? what wages? what reward? "And where I am," He says, "there shall also my servant be." Let Him be freely loved, that so the reward of the service done Him may be to be with Him. For where will one be well apart from Him, or when will one come to feel himself in an evil case in company with Him? Hear it still more plainly: "If any man serve me, him will my Father honour." And what will be the honour but to be with His Son? For of what He said before, "Where I am, there shall also my servant be," we may understand Him as giving the explanation, when He says here, "him will my Father honour." For what greater honour can await an adopted son than to be with the Only-begotten; not, indeed, as raised to the level of His Godhead, but made a partaker of His eternity?

12. But it becomes us rather to inquire what is to be understood by this serving of Christ to which there is attached so great a reward. For if we have taken up the idea that the serving of Christ is the preparation of what is needful for the body, or the cooking and serving up of food, or the mixing of drink and handing the cup to one at the supper table; this, indeed, was done to Him by those who had the privilege of His bodily presence, as in the case of Martha and Mary, when Lazarus also was one of those who sat at the table. But in that sort of way Christ was served also by the reprobate Judas; for it was he also who had the money bag; and although he had the exceeding wickedness to steal of its contents, yet it was he also who provided what was needful for the meal. ^ And so also, when our Lord said to him, "What thou doest, do quickly," there were some who thought that He only gave him orders to make some needful.

â€¢ 1 Pet. ii. 21.

2 Chap. xii. 2-6. There is no ground in these verses for Augustine's notion that the expense of that supper was defrayed out of the the funds in Judas' keeping. The whole account leaves the impression that it was provided by Lazarus and his sisters, although, strictly speaking, iToiri(raii (ver. 2) leaves it undetermined. â€” Tr.
preparations for the feast-day, or to give something to the poor. In no sense, therefore, was it of this class of servants that the Lord said, "Where I am, there shall also my servant be," and "If any man serve me, him will my Father honour;" for we see that Judas, who served in this way, became an object of reprobation rather than of honour. AVhy, then, go elsewhere to find out what this serving of Christ implies, and not rather see its disclosure in the words themselves? for when He said, "If any man serve me, let him follow me," He wished it to be understood just as if He had said. If any man doth not follow me, he serveth me not. And those, therefore, are the servants of Jesus Christ who seek not their own things, but the things that are Jesus Christ's. For "let him follow me" is just this: Let him walk in my ways, and not in his own; as it is written elsewhere, "He that saith he abideth in Christ, ought himself also so to walk, even as He walked." For he ought, if supplying food to the hungry, to do it in the way of mercy and not of boasting, seeking therein nothing else but the doing of good, and not letting his left hand know what his right hand doeth; in other words, that all thought of self-seeking should be utterly estranged from a work of charity. He that serveth in this way serveth Christ, and will have it rightly said to him, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of those who are mine, ye did it unto me." And thus doing not only those acts of mercy that pertain to the body, but every good work, for the sake of Christ (for then will all be good, because "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth" ), he is Christ's servant even to that work of special love, which is to lay down his life for the brethren, for that were to lay it down also for Christ, For this also will He say hereafter in behalf of His members: Inasmuch as ye did it for these, ye have done it for me. And certainly it was in reference to such a work that He was also pleased to make and to style Himself a servant, when He says, "Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto [served], but to minister [serve], and to lay down His life for many." Every one, therefore, is the servant of Christ in the same way as Christ also is a servant. And he that serveth Christ in this way will be honoured by His Father with the signal honour of being with His Son, and having nothing wanting to his happiness for ever.

1 Chap. xiii. 27, 29. ^Phil. ii. 2L ' 1 John ii. 6. *Matt. vi. 3.

* Matt. XXV. 40. 6 Eora. x. 4. ' Matt. xx. 23.

[TRACT. LI. Christ's servants. 10 1

servant of Christ in the same way as Christ also is a servant.
And he that serveth Christ in this way will be honoured by His Father with the signal honour of being with His Son, and having nothing wanting to his happiness for ever.

13. Accordingly, brethren, when you hear the Lord saying,
"Where I am, there shall also my servant be," do not think merely of good bishops and clergymen. But be yourselves also in your own way serving Christ, by good lives, by giving alms, by preaching His name and doctrine as you can; and every father of a family also, be acknowledging in this name the affection he owes as a parent to his family. For Christ's sake, and for the sake of life eternal, let him be warning, and teaching, and exhorting, and correcting all his household; let him show kindliness, and exercise discipline; and so in his own house he will be filling an ecclesiastical and kind of episcopal office, and serving Christ, that he may be with Him for ever. For even that noblest service of suffering has been rendered by many of your class; for many who were neither bishops nor clergy, but young men and virgins, those advanced in years with those who were not, many married persons both male and female, many fathers and mothers of families, have served Christ even to the laying down of their lives in martyrdom for His sake, and have been honoured by the Father in receiving crowns of exceeding glory.

tract, vol. n.

TEACTATE LII.

Chapter XI L 27-36.

1. After the Lord Jesus Christ, in the words of yester-
\[ \text{[Equation]} \]
day's lesson, had exhorted His servants to follow Him, and had predicted His own
passion in this way, that unless a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth
alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit; and also had stirred up those who wished
to follow Him to the kingdom of heaven, to hate their life in this world if their thought
was to keep it unto life eternal, â€” He again toned down His o"UTi feelings to our
infirmity, and says, where our lesson today commenced, "Now is my soul ^ troubled."
Whence, Lord, was Thy soul troubled? He had, indeed, said a little before,
"He that hateth his life [soul] ^ in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." Dost thou
then love thy life in this world, and is thy soul troubled as the hour approacheth when
thou shalt leave this world? "Who would dare affirm this of the soul
[life] of the Lord? We rather it was whom He transferred unto Himself; He took us into
His own person as our Head, and assumed the feelings of His members; and so it was not
by any others He was troubled, but, as was said of Him when He raised Lazarus, "He
was troubled in Himself" ^ For it behoved the one Mediator between God and men, the
man Christ

^ The word "anima" used here, and frequently elsewhere, and corresponding to the Greek
â€¢4uz* denotes "human life," in reference to its internal principle or substance; and
differs from "vita" (Gr. ^un), as in the words following above, "unto eternal life" (vitam),
which expresses rather the general idea of life in its existence, aggregate qualities, and duration. Our English word "soul," which best corresponds with "anima," is, however, more restricted in the idea which it popularly suggests; and hence, as in our English version of the Scriptures, the apparent confusion, which is unavoidable, in translating "anima" sometimes by "soul" and sometimes by "life." — Te.

^ Chap. xi. 33: literally, as in margin of English Bible, "He troubled Himself."

162

TEACT. LII.] THE SOUL OF JESUS TROUBLED. 163

Jesus, just as He has lifted us up to the heights of heaven, to descend with us also into the lowest depths of suffering.

2. I hear Him saying a little before, "â€œ The hour cometh that the Son of man should be glorified: if a corn of wheat die, it bringeth forth much fruit." I hear this also, "He that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal."
Nor am I permitted merely to admire, but commanded to imitate, and so, by the words that follow, "If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be," I am all on fire to despise the world, and in my sight the whole of this life, however lengthened, becomes only a vapour; in comparison with my love for eternal things, all that is temporal has lost its value with me. And now, again, it is my Lord Himself, who by such words has suddenly transported me from the weakness that was mine to the strength that was His, that I hear saying, "Now is my soul troubled." What does it mean? How biddest Thou my soul follow Thee if I behold Thine own troubled? How shall I endure what is felt to be heavy by strength so great? What is the kind of foundation I can seek if the Rock is giving way? But methinks I hear in my own thoughts the Lord giving me an answer, saying. Thou shalt follow me the better, because it is to aid thy power of endurance that I thus interpose. Thou hast heard, as addressed to thyself, the voice of my fortitude; hear in me the voice of thy infirmity: I supply strength for thy running, and I check not thy hastening, but I transfer to myself thy causes for trembling, and I pave the way for thy marching along. O Lord our Mediator, God above us, man for us, I own Thy mercy! For because Thou, who art so great, art troubled through the goodwill of Thy love. Thou preservest, by the richness of Thy comfort, the many in Thy body who are troubled by the continual experience of their own weakness, from perishing utterly in their despair.

3. In a word, let the man who would follow, learn the road by which he must travel. Perhaps an hour of terrible trial has come, and the choice is set before thee either to do iniquity or endure suffering; the weak soul is troubled, on whose behalf the invincible
soul [of Jesus] was voluntarily troubled: set then the will of God before thine own. For notice what is immedi-

164 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LII.

ately subjoined by thy Creator and thy Master, by Him who made thee, and became Himself for thy teaching that which He made; for He who made man was made man, but He remained still the unchangeable God, and transplanted manhood into a better condition. Listen, then, to what He adds to the words, " Now is my soul troubled." "And what shall I say ? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy name." He has taught thee here what to think of, what to say, ou whom to call, in whom to hope, and whose will, as sure and divine, to prefer to thine own, which is human and weak. Imagine Him not, therefore, as losing aught of His own exalted position in wishing thee to rise up out of the depths of thy ruin. For He thought it meet also to be tempted by the devil, by whom otherwise He would never have been tempted, just as, had He not been willing, He would never have suffered; and the answers He gave to the devil are such as thou also oughtest to use in times of temptation. And He, indeed, was tempted, but not endangered, that He might show thee, when in danger through temptation, how to answer the tempter, so as not to be carried away by the temptation, but to escape its danger. But when He here said, " Now is my soul troubled;" and also when He says, " My soul is sorrowful, even unto death;" and " Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" He assumed the infirmity of man, to teach him, when thereby saddened and troubled, to say what follows: " Nevertheless, Father, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." ^ For thus it is that man is turned from the human to the divine, when the will of God is preferred to his own. But to what do the words " Glorify Thy name " refer, but to His own passion and resurrection ? For what else can it mean, but that the Father should thus glorify the Son, who in Kke manner glorifieth His own name in the similar sufferings of His servants ? Hence it is recorded of Peter, that for this cause He said concerning him, " Another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not," because He intended to signify " by what death he should glorify God." ^ Therefore in him, too, did God glorify His name, because thus also does He glorify Christ in His members.


TRACT. LIT.] THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD. 165

4. " Then came there a voice from heaven, [saying]. I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." " I have both glorified it," before I created the world, " and I will glorify it again," when He shall rise from the dead and ascend into heaven. It may also be otherwise understood. " I have both glorified it," â€“ when He was born of the Virgin,
when He exercised miraculous powers; when the Magi, guided by a star in the heavens, bowed in adoration before Him; when He was recognised by saints filled with the Holy Spirit; when He was openly proclaimed by the descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove, and pointed out by the voice that sounded from heaven; when He was transfigured on the mount; when He wrought many miracles, cured and cleansed multitudes, fed so vast a number with a very few loaves, commanded the winds and the waves, and raised the dead; "and I will glorify it again;" when He shall rise from the dead; when death shall have no longer dominion over Him; and when He shall be exalted over the heavens as God, and His glory over all the earth.

5. "The people therefore that stood by, and heard it, said that it thundered: others said, An angel spake to Him. Jesus answered and said, This voice came not because of me, but for your sakes." He thereby showed that the voice made no intimation to Him of what He already knew, but to those who needed the information. And just as that voice was uttered by God, not on His account, but on that of others, so His soul was troubled, not on His own account, but voluntarily for the sake of others.

6. Look at what follows: "Now," He says, "is the judgment of the world." What, then, are we to expect at the end of time? But the judgment that is looked for in the end will be the judging of the living and the dead, the awarding of eternal rewards and punishment. Of what sort, then, is the judgment now? I have already, in former lessons, as far as I could, put you in mind, beloved, that there is a judgment spoken of, not of condemnation, but of discrimination; ^ as it is it is written, "Judge me, God, and plead [discern, discriminate] my cause against an unholy nation." ' And many are the judgments of God; as it is said in the psalm, "Thy judg-

' Or, discernment, "discrctio;" see Tract. XLIII. sec. 9. ' Ps. xliii. 1.

166 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LII.

ments are a great deep." ^ And the apostle also says, "the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments!" ^ To such judgments does that spoken of here by the Lord also belong, "Now is the judgment of this world;" while that judgment in the end is reserved, when the living and the dead shall at last be judged. The devil, therefore, had possession of the human race, and held them by the written bond of their sins as criminals amenable to punishment; he ruled in the hearts of unbelievers, and, deceiving and enslaving them, seduced them to forsake the Creator and give worship to the creature; but by faith in Christ, which was confirmed by His death and resurrection, and, by His blood, which was shed for the remission of sins, thousands of believers are delivered from the dominion of the devil are united to the body of Christ, and under this great head are made by His one Spirit to spring up into new life as His faithful members. This it was that He called the judgment, this righteous separation, this expulsion of the devil from His own redeemed.
7. Attend, in short, to His own words. For just as if we had been inquiring what He meant by saying, "Now is the judgment of the world," He proceeded to explain it when He says, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out." What we have thus heard was the kind of judgment He meant. Not that one, therefore, which is yet to come in the end, when the living and dead shall be judged, some of them set apart on His right hand, and the others on His left; but that judgment by which "the prince of this world shall be cast out." In what sense, then, was he within, and whither did He mean that he was to be cast out? Was it this: That he was in the world, and was cast forth beyond its boundaries? For had He been speaking of that judgment which is yet to come in the end, some one's thoughts might have turned to that eternal fire into which the devil is to be cast with his angels, and all who belong to him; that is, not naturally, but through moral delinquency; not because he created or begat them, but because he persuaded and kept hold of them: some one, therefore, might have thought that that eternal fire was outside the

1 Ps. xxxvi. 6. 2 Eom. xi. 33.

TKACT. LII.] THE PRINCE OF THIS WORLD CAST OUT. 167

world, and that this was the meaning of the words, "he shall be cast out." But as He says, "Now is the judgment of this world," and in explanation of His meaning, adds, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out," we are thereby to understand what is now being done, and not what is to be, so long afterwards, at the last day. The Lord, therefore, foretold what He knew, that after His own passion and glorification many nations throughout the whole world, in whose hearts the devil was an inmate, would become believers, and the devil, when thus renounced by faith, is cast out.

8. But some one says. Was he then not cast out of the hearts of the patriarchs and prophets, and the righteous of olden time? Certainly he was. How, then, is it said, "Now he shall be cast out"? How else can we think of it, but that what was then done in the case of a very few individuals, was now foretold as speedily to take place in many and mighty nations? Just as also that other saying, "For the Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified," may suggest a similar inquiry, and find a similar solution. For it was not without the Holy Spirit that the prophets predicted the events of the future; nor was it so that the aged Simeon and the widowed Anna knew by the Holy Spirit the infant Lord; and that Zacharias and Elisabeth uttered by the Holy Spirit so many predictions concerning Him, when He was not yet born, but only conceived. But "the Spirit was not yet given," that is, with that abundance of spiritual grace which enabled those assembled together to speak in every language, and thus announce beforehand in the language of every nation the Church of the future: and so by this spiritual grace it was that nations were gathered into congregations, sins were pardoned far and wide, and thousands of thousands were reconciled unto God.
9. But then, says some one, since the devil is thus cast out of the hearts of believers, does he now tempt none of the faithful? Nay, verily, he does not cease to tempt. But it is one thing to reign within, another to assail from without; for in like manner the best fortified city is sometimes attacked by


168 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LII.

an enemy without being taken. And if some of his arrows are discharged, and reach us, the apostle reminds us how to render them harmless, when he speaks of the breastplate and the shield of faith. And if he sometimes wounds us, we have the remedy at hand. For as the combatants are told, "These things I write unto you, that ye sin not: " so those who are wounded have the sequel to listen to, " And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins." And what do we pray for when we say, " Forgive us our debts," but for the healing of our wounds? And what else do we ask, when we say, " Lead us not into temptation," but that he who thus lies in wait for us, or assails us from without, may fail on every side to effect an entrance, and be unable to overcome us either by fraud or force? Nevertheless, whatever engines of war he may erect against us, so long as he has no more a place in the heart that faith inhabits, he is cast out. But " except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." * Presume not, therefore, about yourselves, if you would not have the devil, who has once been cast out, to be recalled within.

10. On the other hand, let us be far from supposing that the devil is called in any such way the prince of the world, as that we should believe him possessed of power to rule over the heaven and the earth. The world is so spoken of in respect of wicked men, who have overspread the whole earth; just as a house is spoken of in respect to its inhabitants, and we accordingly say, It is a good house, or a bad house; not as finding fault with, or approving of, the erection of walls and roofs, but the morals either of the good or the bad within it.

In a similar way, therefore, it is said, " The prince of this world;" that is, the prince of all the wicked who inhabit this world. The world is also spoken of in respect to the good, who in like manner have overspread the whole earth; and hence the apostle says, " God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." * These are they out of whose hearts the prince of this world is ejected.

1 Thess. V. 8. *l John ii. 1, 2. ' Matt. vi. 12, 13.

* Ps. cxxvii. 1. 5 2 Cor. v. 19.
11. Accordingly, after saying, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out," He added, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things after me." And what "all" is that, but those out of which the other is ejected? But He did not say, All men, but "all things;" for all men have not faith." And, therefore. He did not allude to the totality of men, but to the creature in its personal integrity, that is, to spirit, and soul, and body; or all that which makes us the intelligent, living, visible, and palpable beings we are. For He who said, "Not a hair of your head shall perish," is He who draweth all things after Him. Or if by "all things" it is men that are to be understood, we can speak of all things that are foreordained to salvation: of all which He declared, when previously speaking of His sheep, that not one of them would be lost.* And of a certainty all classes of men, both of every language and every age, and all grades of rank, and all diversities of talents, and all the professions of lawful and useful arts, and all else that can be named in accordance with the innumerable differences by which men, save in sin alone, are mutually separated, from the highest to the lowest, and from the king to the beggar, "all," He says, "will I draw after me;" that He may be their head, and they His members. But this will be, He adds, "if I be lifted up from the earth," that is, when I am lifted up: for He has no doubt of the future accomplishment of that which He came to fulfil. He here alludes to what He said before: "But if the corn of wheat die, it bringeth forth much fruit." For what else did He signify by His lifting up, than His suffering on the cross? an explanation which the evangelist himself has not omitted; for He has appended the words, "And this He said signifying what death He should die."

12. "The people answered Him, We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest Thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? And who is this Son of man?" It had stuck to their memory that the Lord was constantly calling Himself the Son of man. For, in the passage before ns. He does not say, If the Son of man be lifted up from the earth; but had called Himself so before, in the lesson which was read and expounded yesterday, when those Gentiles were announced

* There are here two readings in the Greek Mss., â– jroDna.i (all men), and Â«TdcwTa (all things), of which the former seems now the better approved; but the latter is that adopted by Augustine and the Vulgate. â€” Tr.

^ 2 Thess. iii. 2. Â» Luke x.â– 18. ' Chap. x. 23.
who desired to see Him: "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified"
(ver. 23). Eetaining this, therefore, in their minds, and understanding what He now said, "When I am lifted up from the earth," of the death of the cross, they inquired of Him, and said, "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest Thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? who is this Son of man?" For if it is Christ, He, they say, abideth for ever; and if He abideth for ever, how shall He be lifted up from the earth, that is, how shall He die through the suffering of the cross? For they understood Him to have spoken of what they themselves were meditating to do. And so He did not dissipate for them the obscurity of such words by imparting wisdom, but by stimulating their conscience.

13. "Then said Jesus unto them, Yet a little light is in you." And by this it is you understand that Christ abideth for ever. "Walk, then, while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you." Walk, draw near, come to the full understanding that Christ shall both die and shall live for ever; that He shall shed His blood to redeem us, and ascend on high to carry His redeemed along with Him. But darkness will come upon you, if your belief in Christ's eternity is of such a kind as to refuse to admit in His case the humiliation of death. "And he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth." So may he stumble on that stone of stumbling and rock of offence which the Lord Himself became to the blinded Jews: just as to those who believed, the stone which the builders despised was made the head of the corner. Hence, they thought Christ unworthy of their belief; because in their impiety they treated His dying with contempt, they ridiculed the idea of His being slain: and yet it was the very death of the grain of corn that was to lead to its own multiplication, and the lifting up of one who was drawing all things after Him, "While ye have the light," He adds, 1 "Modicum lumen." ^ j pgt_ ^i g_8.

TRACT. LIT.] CHRIST HIDING HIMSELF. I7l

"believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light." While you have possession of some truth that you have heard, believe in the truth, that you may be born again in the truth.

14. "These things spake Jesus, and departed, and did hide Himself from them." Not from those who had begun to believe and to love Him, nor from those who had come to meet Him with branches of palm trees and songs of praise; but from those who saw and hated Him, for they saw Him not, but only stumbled on that stone in their blindness. But when Jesus hid Himself from those who desired to slay Him (as you need from forgetfulness to be often reminded), He had regard to our human weakness, but derogated not in aught from His own authority.
TRACTATE LIIL

Chapter XII. 37-43.

1. "Then our Lord Christ, foretelling His own passion, and the fruitfulness of His death in being lifted up on the cross, said that He would draw all [things] after Him; and when the Jews, understanding that He spake of His death, put to Him the question how He could speak of death as awaiting Him, when they heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever; He exhorted them, while still they had in them the little light, which had so taught them that Christ was eternal, to walk, to make themselves acquainted with the whole subject, lest they should be overtaken with darkness.

And, when He had said this. He hid Himself from them.

With these points you have been made acquainted in former Lord's days lessons and discourses.

2. The evangelist thereafter brings forward what has formed the brief subject of to-day's reading, and says, " But though He had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on Him: that the saying of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake. Lord, who hath believed our report ? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed ? "

Where he makes it sufficiently plain that the Son of God is Himself the arm of the Lord; not that the person of God the Father is determined by the shape of human flesh, and that the Son is attached to Him as a member of His body; but because all things were made by Him, and therefore He is designated the arm of the Lord. For as it is with thine arm that thou workest, so the Word of God is styled His arm; because by the Word He elaborated the world. For why does a man, in order to do some work, stretch forth his arm, but because the doing of it does not straightway follow his word ? And if he was endowed with such pre-eminent power that

what he said was done without any movement of his body, then would his word be his arm. But the Lord Jesus, the only-begotten Son of God the Father, as He is no mere member of the Father's body, so is He no mere thinkable, and audible, and transitory word; for, as all things were made by Him, He was the Word of God.

3. When, therefore, we hear that the Son of God is the arm of God the Father, let no carnal custom raise its distracting din in our ears; but as far as His grace enables us, let us think of that power and wisdom of God by which all things were made. Surely such an arm as that is neither held out by stretching, nor drawn in by contracting it. For He is not one and the same with the Father, but He and the Father are one; and as equal with the Father, He is in all respects complete, as well as the Father: so that no room is left open
for the abominable error of those who assert that the Father alone exists, but according to
the difference of causes is Himself sometimes called the Son, sometimes the Holy Spirit;
and so also from these words may venture to say, See, you perceive that the Father alone
exists, if the Son is His arm: for a man and his arm are not two persons, but one. Not
understanding nor considering how words are transferred from one thing to another, on
account of some mutual likeness, even in our daily forms of speech about things the most
familiar and visible; and how much the more must it be so, in order that things ineffable
may find some sort of expression in our speech, things which, as they really exist, cannot
be expressed in words at all? For even one man styles another his arm, by whom he is
accustomed to transact his business: and if he is deprived of him, he says in his grief, I
have lost my arm; and to him who has taken him away, he says. You have deprived me of
my arm. Let them understand, then, the sense in which the Son is termed the arm of the
Father, as that by which the Father hath executed all His works;
that they may not, by
failing to understand this, and continuing in the darkness of their error, resemble those
Jews of whom it was said,
" And to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? "

4. And here we meet with the second question, to treat of which, indeed, in any adequate
manner, to investigate all its

174 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TEACT, LIIL

mysterious windings, and throw them open to the light in a befitting way, I think within
the scope neither of my own powers, nor of the shortness of the time, nor of your
capacity.
Yet, as we cannot allow ourselves so far to disappoint your expectations as to pass on to
other topics without saying something on this, take what we shall be able to offer you:
and wherein we fail to satisfy your expectations, ask the increase of Him who appointed
us to plant and to water; for, as the apostle saith, " Neither is he that planteth anything,
nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." " There are some, then, who
mutter among themselves, and sometimes speak out when they can, and even break forth
into turbulent debate, saying: What did the Jews do, or what fault was it of theirs, if it
was a necessity " that the saying of Isaiah the prophet should be fulfilled, which he spake,
Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?
" To whom our answer is, that the Lord, in His foreknowledge of the future, foretold by
the prophet the unbelief of the Jews; He foretold it, but did not cause it.
For God does not compel any one to sin simply because He knows already the future sins
of men. For He foreknew sins that were theirs, not His own; sins that were referable to no
one else, but to their own selves. Accordingly, if what He foreknew as theirs is not really
theirs, then had He no true foreknowledge: but as His foreknowledge is infallible, it is
doubtless no one else, but they themselves, whose sinfulness God foreknew, that are the
sinners. The Jews, therefore, committed sin, with no compulsion to do so on His part, to
whom sin is an object of displeasure; but He foretold their committing of it, because
nothing is concealed from His knowledge.
And accordingly, had they wished to do good instead of evil, they would not have been hindered; but in this which they were to do they were foreseen of Him who knows what every man will do, and what He is yet to render unto such an one according to his work.

5. But the words of the Gospel also, that follow, are still more pressing, and start a question of more profound import:
for He goes on to say, " Therefore they could not believe, be-

1 1 Cor. iii. 7.

cause that Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them." For it is said to us: If they could not believe, what sin is it in man not to do what he cannot do ? and if they sinned in not believing, then they had the power to believe, and did not use it. If, then, they had the power, how says the Gospel, " Therefore they could not believe, because that Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; " so that (which is of grave import) to God Himself is referred the cause of their not believing, inasmuch as it is He who " hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart " ? For what is thus testified to in the prophetical Scriptures, is at least not spoken of the devil, but of God.
For were we to suppose it said of the devil, that he " hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart;" we have to undertake the task of being able to show what blame was theirs in not believing, of whom it is said, " they could not believe." And then, what reply shall we give touching another testimony of this very prophet, which the Apostle Paul has adopted, when he says: " Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded, according as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of remorse, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day " 1 ^

6. Such, as you have just heard, brethren, is the question that comes before us, and you can perceive how profound it is; but we shall give what answer we can, " They could not believe," because that Isaiah the prophet foretold it; and the prophet foretold it because God foreknew that such would be the case. But if I am asked why they could not, I reply at once, because they would not; for certainly their depraved will was foreseen by God, and foretold through the prophet by Him from whom nothing that is future can be hid. But the prophet, sayest thou, assigns another cause than that of their will. What cause does the prophet assign ? That " God hath given them the spirit of remorse, eyes that they should not

^ Rom. xi. 7; Isa. vi. 10: "spirit of remorse," as in margin of English Bible, where the text has "blindness." â€” Tr.
see, and ears that they should not hear; and hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart." This also, I reply, their will deserved. For God thus blinds and hardens, simply by letting alone and withdrawing His aid: and God can do this by a judgment that is hidden, although not by one that is unrighteous. This is a doctrine which the piety of the Godfearing ought to preserve unshaken and inviolable in all its integrity: even as the apostle, when treating of the same intricate question, says, "What shall we say then? is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid." ^ If, then, we must be far from thinking that there is unrighteousness with God, this only can it be, that, when He giveth His aid. He acteth mercifully; and, when He withholdeth it, He acteth righteously: for in all He doeth. He acteth not rashly, but in accordance with judgment. And still further, if the judgments of the saints are righteous, how much more those of the sanctifying and justifying God? They are therefore righteous, although hidden. Accordingly, when questions of this sort come before us, why one is dealt with in such a way, and another in such another way; why this one is blinded by being forsaken of God, and that one is enlightened by the divine aid vouchsafed to him: let us not take upon ourselves to pass judgment on the judgment of so mighty a judge, but tremblingly exclaim with the apostle, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!" ^ As it is also said in the psalm, "Thy judgments are as a great deep." ^

7. Let not then, brethren, the expectations of your Charity drive me to attempt the task of penetrating into such a deep, of sounding such an abyss, of searching into what is unsearchable. I own my own little measure of ability, and I think I have some perception of yours also, as equally small. This is too high for my stature, and too strong for my strength; and for yours also, I think. Let us, therefore, listen together to the admonition and to the words of Scripture: "Seek not out the things that are too high for thee, neither search the things that are above thy strength." * Not that such things are forbidden us, since the divine Master saith, "There is nothing hid that shall not be revealed:" ^ but if we walk up to the measure of our present attainments, then, as the apostle tells us, not only what we know not and ought to know, but also if we are minded to know anything else, God will reveal even this unto us.' But if we have reached the pathway of faith, let us keep to it with all constancy: let it be our guide to the chamber of the King, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. ^ For it was in no
spirit of grudging that the Lord Jesus Christ Himself acted towards those great and specially chosen disciples of His, when He said, 
" I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." * "We must be walking, making progress, and growing, that our hearts may become fit to receive the things which we cannot receive at present. And if the last day shall find us sufficiently advanced, we shall then learn what here we were unable to know.

8. If, however, any one considers himself able, and has confidence enough, to give a clearer and better exposition of the question before us, God forbid that I should not be still more ready to learn than to teach. Only let no one dare to defend the freedom of the will in any such way as to attempt depriving us of the prayer that says, " Lead us not into temptation;" and, on the other hand, let no one deny the freedom of the will, and so venture to find an excuse for sin. But let us give heed to the Lord, both in commanding and in offering His aid; in both telling us our duty, and assisting us to discharge it. For some He hath let be lifted up to pride through an overweening trust in their own wills, while others He hath let fall into carelessness through a contrary excess of distrust.

The former say: Why do we ask God not to let us be overcome by temptation, when it is all in our own power ? The latter say: Why should we try to live well, when the power to do so is in the hands of God ? O Lord, Father, who art in heaven, lead us not into any of these temptations; but " deliver us from evil ! " ^ Listen to the Lord, when He says, " I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not;" "^ that

Â» Matt. X. 26. s Phil. iii. 15, 16. 3 Col. ii. 3.

* Chap. xvi. 12. ^ Matt. vi. 13. 6 Â£u]e x.xii. 32.

TRACT. VOL. II. M

178 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [xnACT. LIII.

we may never think of our faith as so lying in our free will that it has no need of the divine assistance. Let us listen also to the evangelist, when he says, " He hath given them power to become the sons of God;" ^ that we may not imagine it as altogether beyond our own power that we believe: but in both let us acknowledge His beneficent acting. For, on the one side, we have to give Him thanks that the power is bestowed; and on the other, to pray that our own little strength may not utterly fail. It is this very faith that worketh by love,^ according to the measure thereof that the Lord hath given to every man; ^ that he that glorieth may glory, not in himself, but in the Lord.*

9. It is no wonder, then, that they could not believe, when such was their pride of will, that, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, they wished to establish their own: as the apostle says of them, " They have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." ^ For it was not by faith, but as it were by works, that they were puffed up; and
blinded by this very self-elation, they stumbled against the stone of stumbling. And so it is said, "they could not," by which we are to understand that they would not; in the same way as it was said of the Lord our God, "If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful. He cannot deny Himself."^ It is said of the Omnipotent, "He cannot." And so, just as it is a commendation of the divine will that the Lord "cannot deny Himself," that they "could not believe " is a fault chargeable on the will of man.

10. And, look you! so also say I, that those who have such lofty ideas of themselves as to suppose that so much must be attributed to the powers of their own will, that they deny their need of the divine assistance in order to a righteous life, cannot believe on Christ. For the mere syllables of Christ's name, and the Christian sacraments, are of no profit, where faith in Christ is itself resisted. For faith in Christ is to believe in Him that justifieth the ungodly; ^ to believe in the Mediator, without whose interposition we cannot be reconciled unto God; to believe in the Saviour, who came to seek

1 Chap. i. 12. 2 Gal. v. 6. ^ i>oiii. xii. 3. ^ 1 Cor. i. 31.

5 Kom. X. 3 6 9 Tim. ii. 13. ' Eom. iv. 5.

TRACT. LIII.] IIAKDENIXG AND COXVEESIOX. 179

and to save that which was lost; ^ to believe in Him who said, "Without me ye can do nothing." ^ Because, then, being ignorant of that righteousness of God that justifieth the ungodly, he wishes to set up his own to satisfy the minds of the proud, such a man cannot believe on Christ. And so, those Jews "could not believe:" not that men cannot be changed for the better; but so long as their ideas run in such a direction, they cannot believe. Hence they are blinded and hardened; for, denying the need of divine assistance, they are not assisted. God foreknew this regarding these Jews who were blinded and hardened, and the prophet by His Spirit foretold it.

11. But when he added, "And they should be converted, and I should heal them," is there a "not" to be understood, that is, they should not be converted, connecting it with the clause before, where it is said, "that they should not see with their eyes and understand with their heart;" for here also it is certainly meant, "and should not understand " ? For conversion itself is likewise a gift of His grace, as when it is said to Him, "Turn us, God of Hosts." ^ Or may it be that we are to understand this also as actually taking place through the merciful experience of the divine method of healing, [namely this,] that, being of proud and perverse wills, and wishing to establish their own righteousness, they were left alone for the very purpose of being blinded; and thus blinded in order that they might stumble on the stone of stumbling, and have their faces filled with shame; and so, being thus humbled, mi^ht seek the name of the Lord, and no longer a righteousness of their own, that inflated their pride, but the righteousness of God, that justifieth the ungodly ? For this very way turned out to the good of many of them, who were
afterwards filled with remorse for wickedness, and believed on Christ; and on whose behalf He Himself had put up the prayer,
"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." â– #
And it is of that ignorance of theu-s also that the apostle says,
"I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge:" for he then goes on also to add,
"For they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and seeking

'Luke xi.x. 10. â– Chap. xv. 5. ^p^, Lx.

180 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [THACT. LIII.

to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." ^

12, "These things said Isaiah, when he saw His glory, and spake of Him." What Isaiah saw, and how it refers to Christ the Lord, are to be read and learned in his book. For he saw Him, not as He is, but in some symbolical way to suit the form that the vision of the prophet had itself to assume. For Moses likewise saw Him, and yet we find him saying to Him whom he saw, "If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me now Thyself, that I may clearly see Thee;" ^ for he saw Him not as He is. But the time when this shall yet be our experience, that same Saint John the Evangelist tells us in his Epistle: "Dearly beloved, [now] are we the sons of God; and it hath not yet become manifest what we shall be: because we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is." ^ He might have said "for we shall see Him," without adding "as He is;" but because he knew that He was seen of some of the fathers and prophets, but not as He is, therefore after saying "we shall see Him," he added "as He is." And be not deceived, brethren, by any of those who assert that the Father is invisible, and the Son visible. This assertion is made by those who think that the latter is a creature, and whose understanding runs not in harmony with the words, "I and my Father are one." * Accordingly, as respects the form of God wherein He is equal with the Father, the Son also is invisible: but, in order to be seen of men. He assumed the form of a servant, and being made in the likeness of men,^ became visible to man. He showed Himself, therefore, even before His incarnation, to the eyes of men, as it pleased Him, in the creature-form at His command, but not as He is. Let us be purifying our hearts by faith, that we may be prepared for that ineffable and, so to speak, invisible vision. For "blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." ^

13. "Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on Him; but, because of the Pharisees, they did not confess Him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for

> Eom. X. 2, 3. - Ex. xxxiii. 13. '1 John iii. 2.

4 Chap. X. 30. ^Phil. ii. 7. Â«Matt. v. 8.
they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God/
See how the evangelist marked and disapproved of some, who yet, he said, believed on Him: who, if ever they did advance through this gateway of faith, would thereby also overcome that love of human glory which had been overcome by the apostle, when he said, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." ^ For to this end also did the Lord Himself, when derided by the madness of human pride and impiety, fix His cross on the foreheads of those who believed on Him, on that which is in a manner the abode of modesty, that faith may learn not to blush at His name, and love the glory of God more than the glory of men.

Â» Gal. vi. U.

TEACTATELI V.

Chapteii XII. 44-50.

1. XTTHILST our Lord Jesus Christ was speaking among the Jews, and giving so many miraculous signs, some believed who were foreordained to eternal life, and whom He also called His sheep; but some did not believe, and could not believe, because that, by the mysterious yet not unrighteous judgment of God, they had been blinded and hardened, because forsaken of Him who resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.^ But of those who believed, there were some whose confession went so far, that they took "branches of palm trees, and met Him as He approached, turning in their joy that very confession into a service of praise:
while there were others, belonging to the chief rulers, who had not the boldness to confess their faith, lest they should be put out of the synagogue; and whom the evangelist has branded with the words, that "they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God" (ver. 43). Of those also who did not believe, there were some who would afterwards believe, and whom He foresaw, when He said, "When ye have lifted up the Son of man, then shall ye acknowledge that I am He: " ^ but there were some who would remain in the same unbelief, and be imitated by the Jewish nation of the present day, which, being shortly afterwards crushed in war, according to the prophetic testimony which was written concerning Christ, has since been scattered almost through the whole world.

2. While matters were in this state, and His own passion
was now at hand, " Jesus cried, and said," as our lesson to-day

commences, " He that believeth on me, believeth not on me,

but on Him that sent me; and he that seeth me, seeth Him

' Jas. iv. 6. 2 Chap. viii. 28.

182

TRACT. LIY.] BELTEVIXG AND SEEING. 183

that sent me." He had ah-eady said in a certain place, " My doctrine is not mine, but His

that sent me." Where we understood that He called His doctrine just what He is Himself,

the Word of the Father; and in saying, " My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me,"

implied this, that He was not of Himself, but had His being from another.- For He was

God of God, the Son of the Father: but the Father is not God of God, but God, the Father

of the Son. And now when He says, " He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but

on Him that sent me," how else are we to understand it, but that He appeared as man to

men, while He remained invisible as God? And that none might think that He was no

more than what they saw of Him, He indicated His wish to be believed on, as equal in

character and rank with the Father, when He said, " He that believeth on me, believeth

not on me,"

that is, merely on what he seeth of me, " but on Him that sent me," that is, on the Father.

But he that believeth on the Father, must believe that He is the Father; and he that

believeth on Him as the Father, must believe that He has a Son; and in this way, he that

believeth on the Father, must believe on the Son. But let no one believe about the only-
begotten Son just what they believe about those who are called the sons of God by grace

and not by nature, as the evangelist says, " He gave them power to become the sons of

God," " and according to what the Lord Himself also mentioned, as declared in the law, "

I said, Ye are gods; and all of you children of the Most High:" * because He said, " He

that believeth on me, believeth not on me," to show that the whole extent of our faith in

Christ should not be limited by His manhood. He therefore.

He saith, believeth on me, who doth not believe on me merely according to what he seeth

of me, but on Him that sent me:

so that, believing thus on the Father, he may believe that He has a Son co-equal with

Himself, and then attain to a true faith in me. For if one should think that He has sons

only according to grace, who are certainly no more than His creatures, and not the Word,

but those made by the Word, and that He has no Son co-equal and co-eternal with

Himself,

' Chap. vii. 16. - Tract. XXIX., "haberet a quocscssct."

3 Chap. i. 12. * Clinp. x. 34; Ps. Lxxxii. 6.
ever born, alike incommutable, in nothing dissimilar and inferior, then he believes not on the Father who sent Him, for the Father who sent Him is no such conception as this.

3. And, accordingly, after saying, "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me," that it might not be thought that He would have the Father so understood, as if He were the Father only of many sons regenerated by grace, and not of the only-begotten "Word, His own co-equal. He immediately added, "And he that seeth me, seeth Him that sent me." Does He say here, He that seeth me, seeth not me, but Him that sent me, as He had said, "He that believeth me, believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me"? For He uttered the former of these words, that He might not be believed on merely as He then appeared, that is, as the Son of man; and the latter, that He might be believed on as the equal of the Father. He that believeth on me, believeth not merely on what He sees of me, but believeth on Him that sent me. Or, when he believeth on the Father, who begat me. His own co-equal, let him believe on me, not as he seeth me, but as [he believeth] on Him that sent me; for so far does the truth, that there is no distance between Him and me, reach, that He who seeth me, seeth Him that sent me. Certainly, Christ the Lord Himself sent His apostles, as their name implies: for as those who in Greek are called angeli are in Latin called nuntii [messengers], so the Greek apostoli [apostles] becomes the Latin missi [persons sent]. But never would any of the apostles have dared to say, "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me;" for in no sense whatever would he say, "He that believeth on me." We believe an apostle, but we do not believe on him; for it is not an apostle that justifieth the ungodly. But to him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.\(^1\) An apostle might say, He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me; or, He that heareth me, heareth Him that sent me; for the Lord tells them so Himself: "He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me."\(^2\) For the master is honoured in the servant, and the father in the son:

\(^1\) 1 Eom. iv. 5. \(^2\) ilatt. x. 40.

but then the father is as it were in the son, and the master as it were in the servant. But the only-begotten Son could rightly say, "Believe on God, and believe on me;"\(^3\) as also what He saith here, "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on Him that sent me." He did not turn away the faith of the believer from Himself, but only would not have the believer continue in the form of a servant: because every one who believeth in the Father that sent Him, straightway believeth on the Son, without whom he knoweth that the Father hath no existence as such, and thus reacheth in his faith to the belief of His

\(^3\) TEACT. LIV.] A LIGHT COME INTO THE WORLD. 185
equality with the Father, in conformity with the words that follow, " And he that seeth me, seeth Him that sent me."

4. Attend to what follows: " I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness." He said in a certain place to His disciples, " Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; that it may give light to all that are in the house: so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven:" but He did not say to them, Ye are come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on you should not abide in darkness. Such a statement, I maintain, can nowhere be met with. All the saints, therefore, are lights, but they are illuminated by Him through faith; and every one that becomes separated from Him will be enveloped in darkness. But that Light, which enlightens them, cannot become separated from itself; for it is altogether beyond the reach of change. We believe, then, the light that has thus been lit, as the prophet or apostle: but we believe him for this end, that we may not believe on that which is itself enlightened, but, with him, on that Light which has given him light; so that we, too, may be enlightened, not by him, but, along with him, by the same Light as he. And when He saith, " That whosoever believeth on me may not abide in darkness," He makes it sufficiently manifest that all have been found by Him in a state of darkness: but that they may not abide in the darkness wherein


186 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LIV.

they have been found, they ought to believe on that Light which hath come into the world, for thereby was the world created.

5. " And if any man," He says, " hear my words, and keep them not, I judge him not." Remember what I know you have heard in former lessons; and if any of you have forgotten, recall it: and those of you who were absent then, but are present now, hear how it is that the Son saith, " I judge him not," while in another place He says, " The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son;" namely, that thereby we are to understand, It is not now that I judge him. And why not now? Listen to the sequel:
" For I am not come," He says, " to judge the world, but to save the world; " that is, to bring the world into a state of salvation. Now, therefore, is the season of mercy, afterwards will be the time for judgment: for He says, " I will sing to Thee, Lord, of mercy and judgment." ^

6. But see also what He says of that future judgment in the end: " He that despiseth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day." He says not. He that despiseth me, and receiveth not my words, I judge him not at the last day; for had He said so, I do not see how it
could have been else than contradictory of that other statement, when He says, " The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son." But when He said, " He that despiseth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one to judge him," and, for the information of those who were waiting to hear who that one was, went on to add, "The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day," He made it sufficiently manifest that He Himself would then be the judge. For it was of Himself He spake, Himself He announced, and Himself He set forth as the gate whereby He entered as the Shepherd to His sheep. In one way, therefore, those be judged who have never heard that word, in another way those who have heard and despised. " For as many as have sinned without law," says the apostle, " shall perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law."^  

^ Chap. V. 22. â— Ps. ci. 1. ^ Eom. ii. 12.

TBACT. LIV.] THE FATHER COMMANDETH THE SON. 187

7. " For I have not," He says, " spoken of myself." He says that He has not spoken of Himself, because He is not of Himself. Of this we have frequently discoursed already; so that now, without any more instruction, we have simply to remind you of it as a truth with which you are familiar. " But the Father who sent me. He gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak." We would not stay to elaborate this, did we know that we were now speaking with those with whom we have spoken on former occasions, and of these, not with all, but such only whose memories have retained what they heard: but because there are perhaps some now present who did not hear, and some in a similar condition who have forgotten what they heard, on their account let those who remember what they have heard bear with our delay. How giveth the Father a commandment to His only Son? With what words doth He speak to the Word, seeing that the Son Himself is the only-begotten Word? Could it be by an angel, seeing that by Him the angels were created? Was it by means of a cloud, which, when it gave forth its sound to the Son, gave it not on His account, as He Himself also tells us elsewhere, but for the sake of others who were needing to hear it (ver. 29)? Could it be by any sound issuing from the lips, where bodily form was wanting, and where there is no such local distance separating the Son from the Father as to admit of any intervening air, to give effect, by its percussion, to the voice, and render it audible? Let us put away all such unworthy notions of that incorporeal and ineffable subsistence. The only Son is the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, and therein are all the commandments of the Father. For there was no time that the Son knew not the Father's commandment, so as to make it necessary for Him to possess in cou'i'se of time what He possessed not before. For what He has received from the Father, He received in being born, and was given it in being begotten. For the life He is, and life He certainly received in being born, while yet there was no antecedent time when life was wanting to His personal existence. For, on the one hand, the Father has life, and is what He has:
and yet He received it not, because He is not of any one.
But the Son received life as the Father's gift, of whom He is:

188 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [THACT. LIV.

and so He Himself is -what He has; for He has life, and is the life. Listen to Himself when He says, " As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." Could He give it to one who was in being, and yet hitherto was destitute thereof ? On the contrary, in the very begetting it was given by Him who begat the life, and so life begat the life. And to show that He begat the life equal, and not inferior to Himself, it was said, " As He hath life in Himself, so hath He also given to the Son to have life in Himself." He gave life; for in begetting the life, what was it He gave Him, save to be the life ? And as His nativity is itself eternal, there never was a time without that Son who is the life, and never was there a time when the Son Himself was without the life; and as His nativity is eternal, so He, who was thus born, is eternal life. And so the Father gave not to the Son a commandment which He had not already; but, as I said, in the AVisdom of the Father, that is, in the Word of the Father, are laid up all the Father's commandments. And yet the commandment is said to have been given Him, because He, to whom it is thus given, is not of Himself: and to give that to the Son which He never was without, is the same in meaning as to beget that Son who never was without existence.

8. There follow the words: " And I know that His commandment is life everlasting." If, then, the Son Himself is eternal life, and the Father's commandment the same, what else is expressed than this, I am the Father's commandment ? And in like manner, in what He proceeds to say, " Whatsoever I speak, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak," let us not be taking the " said unto me " as if the Father used words in speaking to the only Word, or that the Word of God needed words from God. The Father spake to the Son in the same way as He gave life to the Son; not that He knew not the one, or had not the other, but just because He was the Son. What, then, do the words mean, " Even as He said unto me, so I speak; " but just, I speak the truth ? So the former said as the Truthful One ^ what the latter thus spake as the Truth. The Truthful begat the Truth. What, then, could He now say to the Truth ? For the Truth had no imperfection.


TEACT. LIV.] HOW THE TRUTH SPEAKETH. 189

to be supplied by additional truth. He spake, therefore, to the Truth, because He begat the Truth. And in like manner the Truth Himself speaks what has been said to Him: but only to those who have understanding, and who are taught by Him as the God-begotten Truth. But that men might believe what they had not yet capacity to understand, words that were audible issued from His human lips; sounds passing rapidly away broke on the ear, and
speedily completed the little term of their duration: but the truths themselves, of which the sounds are but signs, passed, as it were, into the memory of those who heard them, and have come down to us also by means of written characters as signs addressed to the eye. But it is not thus that the Truth speaks; He speaks inwardly to the souls of the intelligent; He needs no sound to instruct, but floods the mind with the light of understanding. And he, then, who in that light is able to behold the eternity of His birth, himself hears in the same way the Truth speaking, as He heard the Father telling Him what He should speak. He has awakened in us a great longing for that sweet experience of His presence within: but it is by daily growth that we acquire it; it is by walking that we grow, and it is by forward efforts we walk, so as to be able at last to attain it.

TRACTATE LV.

Chapter XIII. 1-5.

1. ri"HE Lord's Supper, as set forth in John, must, with His assistance, be unfolded in a becoming number of Lectures, and explained with all the ability He is pleased to grant us. " Now, before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that His hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved His own who were in the world, He loved them unto the end." Pascha (passover) is not, as some think, a Greek noun, but a Hebrew: and yet there occurs in this noun a very suitable kind of accordance in the two languages. For inasmuch as the Greek word loaschein means to suffer, therefore imscha has been supposed to mean suffering, as if the noun derived its name from His passion: but in its own language, that is, in Hebrew, pascha means passover; because the pascha was then celebrated for the first time by God's people, when, in their flight from Egypt, they 'passed over the Red Sea.' And now that prophetic emblem is fulfilled in truth, when Christ is led as a sheep to the slaughter, that by His blood sprinkled on our doorposts, that is, by the sign of His cross marked on our foreheads, we may be delivered from the perdition awaiting this world, as Israel from the bondage and destruction of the Egyptians; and a most salutary transit we make when we pass over from the devil to Christ, and from this unstable world to His well-established kingdom. And therefore surely do we pass over to the ever-abiding God, that we may not pass away with this passing world. The apostle, in extolling God

"Transitus," transit, pass over. â€” Te.

2 Ex. xiv. 29. A curious mistake of Augustine's to derive the name of the feast from Israel's passing over the Red Sea, instead of Jehovah's passing over the houses of the Israelites, when He smote the firstborn of EgJTt! Compare Ex. xii. 11, 13, 23, 27.â€” Te.

3 Isa. liii. 7. * Ex. xii. 23.

190
for such grace bestowed upon us, says: "Who hath delivered us from the power of
darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love." ^ This name,
then, of pascha, which, as I have said, is in Latin called transitus (pass over), is
interpreted, as it were, for us by the blessed evangelist, when he says, "Before the feast
of pascha, when Jesus knew that His hour was come that He should 'pass out of this
world to the Father." Here you see we have both pascha and ass-over.
Whence, and whither does He pass? Namely, "out of this world to the Father." The
hope was thus given to the members in their Head, that they doubtless would yet follow
Him who was "passing" before. And what, then, of unbelievers, who stand altogether
apart from this Head and His members?
Do not they also pass away, seeing that they abide not here always? They also do plainly
pass away: but it is one thing to pass from the world, and another to pass away with it;
one thing to pass to the Father, another to pass to the enemy.
For the Egyptians also passed over [the sea]; but they did not pass through the sea to the
kingdom, but in the sea to destruction.

2. "When Jesus knew," then, "that His hour was come that He should pass out of this
world unto the Father, having loved His own who were in the world. He loved them unto
the end." In order, doubtless, that they also, through that love of His, might pass from this
world where they now were, to their Head who had passed hence before them. For what
mean these words, "to the end," but just to Christ? "For Christ is the end of the law,"
says the apostle, "for righteousness to every one that believeth." ^ The end that
consummates, not that consumes; the end whereto we attain, not wherein we perish.
Exactly thus are we to understand the passage, "Christ our passover is sacrificed." ^ He
is our end; into Him do we pass. For I see that these gospel words may also be taken in a
kind of human sense, that Christ loved His own even unto death, so that this may be the
meaning of
"He loved them unto the end." This meaning is human, not divine: * for it was not
merely up to this point that we were

^ CoL i. 13. - Uom. x. 4. ^ i q^^ y 7^

* That is, "applies to Christ's humanity, not His divinity." â€” Tr.

192 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LV.

loved by Him, who loveth us always and endlessly. God forbid that He, whose death
could not end, should have ended His love at death. Even after death that proud and
ungodly rich man loved his five brethren;^ and is Christ to be thought of as loving us
only till death? God forbid, beloved. He would have come in vain with a love for us that lasted till death, if that love had ended there. But perhaps the words, "He loved them unto the end," may have to be understood in this way, that He so loved them as to die for them. For this He testified when He said, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." "We have certainly no objection that "He loved them unto the end" should be so understood, that is, it was His very love that carried Him on to death.

3. "And the supper," he says, "having taken place,^ and the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray Him, [Jesus] knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He has come from God, and is going to God; He riseth from supper, and layeth aside His garments; and took a towel, and girded Himself. After that He poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded." We are not to understand by the supper having taken place, as if it were already finished and over; for it was still going on when the Lord rose and washed His disciples' feet. For He afterwards sat down again, and gave the morsel [sop] to His betrayer, implying certainly that the supper was not yet over, or, in other words, that there was still bread on the table. Therefore, by supper having taken place, is meant that it was now ready, and laid out on the table for the use of the guests.

4. But when he says, "The devil had now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray Him;" if one inquires, what was put into Judas' heart, it was doubtless this, "to betray Him." Such a putting [into the heart] is a spiritual suggestion: and entereth not by the ear, but through the thoughts; and thereby not in a way that is corporal, but spiritual. For what we call spiritual is not always to be understood in a commendatory way. The apostle knew of certain spiritual things [powers], of wickedness in heavenly places, against which he testifies that we have to maintain a struggle; and there would not be spiritual wickednesses, were there not also wicked spirits. For it is from a spiritual being that spiritual things get their name. But how such things are done, as that devilish suggestions should be introduced, and so mingle with human thoughts that a man accounts them his own, how can he know? Nor can we doubt that good suggestions are likewise made by a good spirit in the same unobservable and spiritual way; but it is matter of concern to which of these the human mind yields assent, either as deservedly left without, or graciously aided by, the divine assistance. The determination, therefore, had now been come to in Judas'
heart by the instigation of the devil, that the disciple should betray the Master, whom he had not learned to know as his God. In such a state had he now come to their social meal, a spy on the Shepherd, a plotter against the Redeemer, a seller of the Saviour; as such was he now come, was he now seen and endured, and thought himself undiscovered: for he was deceived about Him whom he wished to deceive. But He, who had already scanned the inward state of that very heart, was knowingly making use of one who knew it not.

5. " [Jesus] knowing that the Father has given all things into His hands." And therefore also the traitor himself: for if He had him not in His hands. He certainly could not use him as He wished. Accordingly, the traitor had been already betrayed to Him whom he sought to betray; and he carried out his evil purpose in betraying Him in such a way, that good he knew not of was the issue in regard to Him who was betrayed. For the Lord knew what He was doing for His friends, and patiently made use of His enemies: and thus had the Father given all things into His hands, both the evil for present use, and the good for the final issue. " Knowing also that He has come from God, and is going to God:" neither quitting God when He came from Him, nor us when He returned.

1 Eph. vi. 12.

TRACT. VOL. II. N

194 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. LV.

^A» . â€” _____ ,

6. Knowing, th^v^n> these things, " He riseth from supper, and layeth aside flis garments; and took a towel, and girded Himself. After that He poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded." We ought, dearly beloved, carefully to mark the meaning of the evangelist; because that, when about to speak of the pre-eminent humility of the Lord, it was liis desu'e first to commend His majesty. It is in reference to this that he says, " Jesus knoM'ing that the Father had given all things into His hands, and that He has come from God, and is going to God." It is He, therefore, into whose hands the Father had given all things, who now washes, not the disciples' hands, but their feet; and it was just while knowing that He had come from God, and was proceeding to God, that He discharged the office of a servant, not of God the Lord, but of man. And this also is referred to by the prefatory notice he has been pleased to make of His betrayer, who was now come as such, and was not unknown to Him; that the greatness of His humility should be still further enhanced by the fact that He did not esteem it beneath His dignity to wash also the feet of one whose hands He already foresaw to be steeped in wickedness.

7. But why should we wonder that He rose from supper, and laid aside His garments, who, being in the form of God, made Himself of no reputation? ^ And why should we wonder, if He girded Himself with a towel, who took upon Him the form of a servant,
and was found in the likeness of a man? Why wonder, if He poured water into a basin wherewith to wash His disciples' feet, who poured His blood upon the earth to wash away the filth of their sins? Why wonder, if with the towel wherewith He was girded He wiped the feet He had washed, who with the veiy flesh that clothed Him laid a firm pathway for the footsteps of His evangelists? In order, indeed, to gird Himself with the towel, He laid aside the garments He wore; but when He emptied Himself [of His divine glory] in order to assume the form of a servant. He laid not down what He had, but assumed that which He had

* Literally, "emptied Himself," as in the Greek. á€” Te.

* Phil. ii. 6, 7.

TRACTATE LV.

CHRIST'S HUMILITY. 195

not before. When about to be crucified, He was indeed stripped of His garments, and when dead was wrapped in linen clothes: and all that suffering of His is our purification. When, therefore, about to suffer the last extremities [of humiliation], He here illustrated beforehand its friendly compliances; not only to those for whom He was about to endure death, but to him also who had resolved on betraying Him to death. Because so great is the beneficence of human humility, that even the Divine Majesty was pleased to commend it by His own example; for proud man would have perished eternally, had he not been found by the lowly God. For the Son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost.

And as he was lost by imitating the pride of the deceiver, let him now, when found, imitate the Redeemer's humility.


TRACTATE LVI.

Chapter XIIT. 6-10.

1. "TTTTHEI^ the Lord was washing the disciples' feet, "He T T Cometh to Simon Peter; and Peter saith unto Him, Lord, dost Thou wash my feet?" For who would not be filled with fear at having his feet washed by the Son of God? Although, therefore, it was a piece of the greatest audacity for the servant to contradict his Lord, the creature his God; yet Peter preferred doing this to the suffering of his feet to be washed by his Lord and God. Nor ought we to think that Peter was one amongst others who so expressed their fear and refusal, seeing that others before him had suffered it to be done to themselves with cheerfulness and equanimity. Por it is easier so to understand the words of the Gospel, because that, after saying, "He began to wash the disciples' feet,
and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded," it is then added, "Then
cometh He to Simon Peter," as if He had already washed the feet of some, and after them
had now come to the first of them all. Por who can fail to know that the most blessed
Peter was the first of the apostles? But we are not so to understand it, that it was after
some others that He came to liim; but that He began with him. When, therefore.
He began to wash the disciples' feet, He came to him with whom He began, namely, to
Peter; and then Peter took fright at what any one of them might have been frightened, and
said, " Lord, dost Thou wash my feet? " What is implied in this " Thou " ? and what in "
my " ? These are subjects for

1 It is curious to notice how Augustine here contradicts his previous and natural
explanation of the passage, in order to uphold the primacy of Peter. It looks as if here he
suddenly felt that his former words were rather adverse to the notion. æ‰” Tb.

196

TRACT. LTI.] CHRIST -Ã¬ASnETH THE DISCIPLES* FEET. 197

thought rather than for speech; lest perchance any adequate conception the soul may have
formed of such words may fail of explanation in the utterance.

2. But " Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now, but thou
shalt know hereafter." And not even yet, terrified as he was by the sublimity of the Lord's
action, does he allow it to be done, while ignorant of its purpose; but is unwilling to see,
able to endure, that Christ should thus humble Himself to his very feet. " Thou shalt
never,"
he says, " wash my feet." What is this " never" [ in ceterum ?
I win never endure, never suffer, never permit it: that is, a thing is not done " in externum
" which is never done. Then the Saviour, to terrify His reluctant patient with the danger
of his own salvation, says, " If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me." He
speaks in this way, " If I wash thee not," when He was referring only to his feet; just as it
is customary to say. You are trampling on me, when it is only the foot that is trampled on.
And now the other, in a perturbation of love and fear, and more frightened at the thought
that Christ should be withheld from him, than even to see Him humbled at his feet,
exclaims, " Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." Since this, indeed,
is Thy threat, that my bodily members must be washed by Thee, not only do I no longer
withhold the lowest, but I lay the lowest also at Thy disposal. Deny me not having a
part with Thee, and I deny Thee not any part of my body to be washed.

3. " Jesus saith to him. He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean
every whit." Some one perhaps may be aroused at this, and say: Nay, but if he is every
whit clean, what need has He even to wash his feet?
But the Lord knew what He was saying, even though our weakness reach not into His
secret purposes. Nevertheless, so far as He is pleased to instruct and teach us out of His
law, up to the little measure of my apprehension, I would also, with His help, make some answer bearing on the depths of this question: and, first of all, I shall have no difficulty in showing that there is no self-contradiction in the manner of expression. For who may not say, as here, with the greatest propriety. He is all clean, except his feet? although he would speak with greater elegance were he to say, He is all clean, save his feet; which is equivalent in meaning. Thus, then, doth the Lord say, "He needeth not save to wash his feet, but is all clean."

All, that is, except, or save his feet, which he still needs to wash,

4. But what is this? what does it mean? and what is there in it we need to examine? The Lord says. The Truth declares that even he who has been washed has need still to wash his feet. What, my brethren, what think you of it? save that in holy baptism a man has all of him washed, not all save his feet, but every whit; and yet, while thereafter living in this human state, he cannot fail to tread on the ground with his feet. And thus our human feelings themselves, which are inseparable from our mortal life on earth, are like feet wherewith we are brought into sensible contact with human affairs; and are so in such a way, that if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

And every day, therefore, is He who intercedeth for us washing our feet: and that we, too, have daily need to be washing our feet, that is, ordering aright the path of our spiritual footsteps, we acknowledge even in the Lord's prayer, when we say, "For"  "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." * For "if," as it is written, "we confess our sins," then verily is He, who washed His disciples' feet, "faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness," that is, even to our feet wherewith we walk on the earth.

6. Accordingly the Church, which Christ cleanseth with the washing of water in the word, is without spot and wrinkle," not only in the case of those who are taken away immediately after the washing of regeneration from the contagious influence of this life, and tread not the earth so as to make necessary the washing of their feet, but in those also who have experienced such mercy from the Lord as to be enabled to quit

* Of course, it is a mere elegance in the Latinity to which Augustine here refers, as between "praeter pedes" and "nisi pedes," when qualifying the expression, "Mundus est totus" (he is all clean). â€” Tr.

2 1 John i. 8.  » Ptom. viii. 34.  ^ Matt. vi. 12.

^ 1 John i. 9.  » Eph. v. 26, 27,
this present life even with feet that have been washed. But although the Church he also clean in respect of those who tarry on earth, because they live righteously; yet have they need to be washing their feet, because they assuredly are not without sin. For this cause is it said in the Song of Songs,
"I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?" For one so speaks when he is constrained to come to Christ, and in coming has to bring his feet into contact with the ground.
But again, there is another question that arises. Is not Christ above? hath He not ascended into heaven, and sitteth He not at the Father's right hand? Does not the apostle expressly declare, "If ye, then, be risen with Christ, set your thoughts on those things which are above, where Christ is sitting on the right hand of God. Seek the things which are above, not things which are on earth"? How is it, then, that to get to Christ we are compelled to tread the earth, since rather our hearts ought to be turned upwards toward the Lord, that we may be enabled to dwell in His presence? You see, brethren, the shortness of the time to-day curtails our consideration of this question. And if you perhaps fail in some measure to do so, yet I for my part see how much clearing up it requires.
And therefore I beg of you to suffer it rather to be adjourned, than to be treated now in too negligent and restricted a manner; and your expectations will not be defrauded, but only deferred. For the Lord who thus makes us your debtors, will be present to enable us also to pay our debts.

1 Song of Sol. V. 3. Â» CoL iii 1, 2.

TRACTATE LYII.

Chapter XITI. 6-10 (continued), and Song of Sol. V. 2, 3.

IN WHAT WAY THE CHURCH SHOULD FEAR TO DEFILE HER FEET, WHILE PROCEEDING ON HER WAY TO CHRIST.

1. HAVE not been unmindful of my debt, and acknowledge that the time of payment has now come. May He give me wherewith to pay, as He gave me cause to incur the debt. For He has given me the love, of which it is said, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another." May He give also the word, which I feel myself owing to those I love.
I put off your expectations till now for this reason, that I might explain as I could how it is we come to Christ along the ground, when we are commanded rather to seek the things which are above, not the things which are upon the earth.
For Christ is sitting above, at the right hand of the Father: but He is assuredly here also; and for that reason said also to Saul, as he was raging on the earth, "Why persecutest thou me?" But the topic on which we were speaking, and which led to our entering on this inquiry, was our Lord's washing His disciples' feet, after the disciples themselves had already been washed, and needed not, save to wash their feet. And we there saw it to be understood that a man is indeed wholly washed in baptism; but while thereafter he liveth in this present world, and with the feet of his human passions treadeth on this earth, that is, in his life-intercourse with others, he contracts enough to call for the prayer, "Forgive us our debts."* And thus from these also is he cleansed by Him who washed His disciples' feet,^ and ceaseth not to make intercession for us." And here occurred the words of the Church in the Song of Songs, when she saith, "I have washed my feet;^ Rom. xiii. 8. ^ Col. iii. 1,2. ^ Acts ix. 4.

200

TRACT. LVII.] THE CHURCH DEFILING HER FEET. 201

how shall I defile them?" when she wished to go and open to that Being, fairer in form than the sons of men,^ who had come to her and knocked, and asked her to open to Him, This gave rise to a question, which we were unwilling to compress into the narrow limits of the time, and therefore deferred till now, in what sense the Church, when on her way to Christ, maybe afraid of defiling her feet, which she had washed in the baptism of Christ.

2. For thus she speaks: "I sleep, but my heart waketh: it is the voice of my Beloved^ that knocketh at the gate." And then He also says: "Open to me, my sister, my nearest, my dove, my perfect one; for my head is filled with dew, and my hair with the drops of the night." And she replies: "I have put off my dress; how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?"^ wonderful sacramental symbol! O lofty mystery! Does she, then, fear to defile her feet in coming to Him who washed the feet of His disciples? Her fear is genuine; for it is along the earth she has to come to Him, who is still on earth, because refusing to leave His own who are stationed here. Is it not He that saith, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world"? * Is it not He that saith, "Ye shall see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man"? * If they ascend to Him because He is above, how do they descend to Him, but because He is also here? Therefore saith the Church: "I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?" She says so even in the case of those who, purified from all dross, can say: "I desire to depart, and to be with Christ; nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you."^ She says it in those who preach Christ, and open to Him the door, that
He may dwell by faith in the hearts of men. For it is safer to hear than to preach the truth:

* Ps. xlv. 2. "Patruelis," literally cousin (by the father's side).

Â» Song of Sol. V. 2, 3. * Matt, x.viii. 20. Â» Chap. i. 51.

Â« Phil. i. 23 24. 7 Eph. iii. 17. Â«1 Cor. ix. 27.

202 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TEACT. LVII.

for in the hearing, humility is preserved; but when it is preached, it is scarcely possible for any man to hinder the entrance of some small measure of boasting, whereby the feet at least are defiled.

3. Therefore, as the Apostle James saith, "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak." As it is also said by another man of God, 'æì' Thou wilt make me to hear joy and gladness, and the bones Thou hast humbled will rejoice." This is what I said: When the truth is heard, humility is preserved. And another says: "But the friend of the bridegroom standeth and heareth him, and rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice." Let us rejoice in the hearing that comes from the noiseless speaking of the truth within us. For although, when the sound is outwardly uttered, as by one that readeth, or proclaimeth, or preacheth, or disputeth, or commandeth, or comforteth, or exhorteth, or even by one that sings or accompanies his voice on an instrument, those who do so may fear to defile their feet, when they aim at pleasing men with the secretly active desire of human applause. Yet the one who hears such with a willing and pious mind, has no room for self-gratulation in the labours of others; and with no self-inflation, but with the joy of humility, rejoices because of the Master's words of truth. Accordingly, in those who hear with willingness and humility, and spend a tranquil life in sweet and wholesome studies, the holy Church will take delight, and may say, "I sleep, and my heart waketh." I am still, and see that Thou art the Lord: * for "the wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise." I rest from troublesome business, and my mind turns its attention to divine concerns (or communications).^  

4. But while the Church finds delightful repose in those

> las. i. 19. 2 pg_ II s. 3 Chap. iii. 29.
who thus sweetly and humbly sit at her feet, here is one who knocks, and says: "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops," ^ It is His voice, then, that knocks at the gate, and says: "Open to me, my sister, my neighbour, my dove, my perfect one; for my head is filled with dew, and my locks with the drops of the night." As if He had said. Thou art at leisure, and the door is closed against me: thou art caring for the leisure of the few, and through abounding iniquity the love of many is waxing cold. ^ The night He speaks of is iniquity: but His dew and drops are those who wax cold and fall away, and make the head of Christ to wax cold, that is, the love of God to fail. For the head of Christ is God. ^ But they are borne on His locks, that is, their presence is tolerated in the visible sacraments; while their senses never take hold of the internal realities. He knocks, therefore, to shake off this quiet from His inactive saints, and cries, "Open to me," thou who, through my blood, art become "my sister;" "through my drawing nigh, "my neighbour;" "through my Spirit, "my dove;" "through my word which thou hast fully learned in thy leisure, "my perfect one: "open to me, go and preach me to others. For how shall I get in to those who have shut their door against me, without some one to open ? and how shall they hear without a preacher ? *

5. Hence it happens that those who love to devote their leisure to good studies, and shrink from encountering the troubles of toilsome labours, as feeling themselves unsuited to undertake and discharge such services with credit, would prefer, were it possible, to have the holy apostles and ancient preachers of the truth again raised up against that abounding of iniquity which hath so reduced the warmth of Christian love. But in regard to those who have already left the body, and put off the garment of the flesh (for they are not utterly parted), the Church replies, "I have put off my dress; how shall I put it on ? " That dress shall, indeed, yet be recovered; and in the persons of those who have meanwhile laid it aside, shall the Church again put on the garment of flesh: only not now, when the cold are needing to be warmed; but then, when the dead


204 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LVII.
shall rise again. Eealizing, then, her present difficulty through the scarcity of preachers, and remembering those members of her own who were so sound in word and holy in character, but are now disunited from their bodies, the Church says in her sorrow, " I have put off my dress; how shall I put it on?"

How can those members of mine, who had such surpassing power, through their preaching, to open the door to Christ, now return to the bodies which they have laid aside?

6. And then, turning again to those who preach, and gather in and govern the congregations of His people, and so open as they can to Christ, but are afraid, amid the difficulties of such work, of falling into sin, she says, " I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them? " For whosoever offendeth not in word, the same is a perfect man. And who, then, is perfect?

Who is there that offendeth not amid such an abounding of iniquity, and such a freezing of charity? "I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them? " At times I read and hear: " My brethren, be not many masters, seeing that ye shall receive the greater condemnation: for in many things we offend all." "I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them?"

But see, I rise and open. Christ, wash them. " Forgive us our debts," because our love is not altogether extinguished:

for " we also forgive our debtors." ^ Wlien w^e listen to Thee, the bones which have been humbled rejoice with Thee in the heavenly places.^ But when we preach Thee, we have to tread the ground in order to open to Thee: and then, if we are blameworthy, we are troubled; if we are commended, we become inflated. Wash our feet, that were formerly cleansed, but have asfain been defiled in our walking through the earth to open unto Thee. Let this be enough to-day, beloved. But in whatever we have happened to offend, by saying otherwise than we ought, or have been unduly elated by your commendations, entreat that our feet may be washed, and may your prayers find acceptance with God.

1 Jas. iii. 1, 2. * ilatt. vi. 12. 3 Ps. li. S.

TRACTATE LVIII.

CHariEE XIII, 10-15.

1. "VTTE have already, beloved, as the Lord was pleased to T T enable us, expounded to you those words of the Gospel, where the Lord, in washing His disciples' feet, says, " He that is once washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." Let us now look at what follows.

" And ye," He says, " are clean, but not all." And to remove the need of inquiry on our part, the evangelist has himself explained its meaning, by adding: " For He knew who it was that should betray Him; therefore said He, Ye are not all clean." Can anything be clearer? Let us therefore pass to what follows.
2. "So, after He had washed their feet, and had taken His garments, and was set down again. He said unto them. Know ye what I have done to you?" JSTow it is that the blessed Peter gets that promise fulfilled: for he had been put off when, in the midst of his trembling and asserting, "Thou shalt never wash my feet," he received the answer, "What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter" (vers. 7, 8).

Here, then, is that very hereafter; it is now time to tell what was a little ago deferred. Accordingly, the Lord, mindful of His foregoing promise to make him understand an act of His so unexpected, so wonderful, so frightening, and, but for His own still more terrifying rejoinder, impossible to be permitted, that the Master not only of themselves, but of angels, and the Lord not only of them, but of all things, should wash the feet of His own disciples and servants: having then promised to let him know the meaning of so important an act, when He said, "Thou shalt know afterwards," begins now to show them what it was that He did,

3. "Ye call me," He says, "Master and Lord: and ye say

205

206 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. LVIII.

well; for so I am." "Ye say well," for ye only say the truth; I am indeed what ye say. There is a precept laid on man:

"Let not thine own mouth praise thee, but the mouth of thy neighbour." For self-pleasing is a perilous thing for one who has to be on his guard against falling into pride. But He who is over all things, however much He commend Himself, cannot exalt Himself above His actual dignity: nor can God be rightly termed arrogant. For it is to our advantage to know Him, not to His; nor can any one know Him, unless that self-knowing One make Himself known. If He, then, by abstaining from self-commendation, wish, as it were, to avoid arrogance. He will deny us the power of knowing Him, And no one surely would blame Him for calling Himself Master, even though believing Him to be nothing more than a man; seeing He only makes profession of what even men themselves in the various arts profess to such an extent, without any charge of arrogance, that they are termed professors. But to call Himself also the Lord of His disciples, â€” of men who, in an earthly sense, were themselves also free-born, â€” who would tolerate it in a man? But it is God that speaks. Here no elation is possible to loftiness so great, no lie to the truth: the profit is ours to be the subjects of such loftiness, the servants of the truth. That He calls Himself Lord is no imperfection on His side, but a benefit on ours. The words of a certain profane author are commended, when he says, "All arrogance is hateful, and specially disagreeable is that of talent and eloquence; " and yet, when the same person was speaking of his own eloquence, he said, "I would call it perfect, were I to pronounce judgment; nor, in truth, would I greatly fear the charge of arrogance." If, then, that most eloquent man had in truth no fear of being charged with arrogance, how
can the truth itself have such a fear? Let Him call Himself Lord who is the Lord, let Him say what is true who is the Truth; so that I may not fail to learn that which is profitable, by His being silent about that which is. The most blessed Paul â€“ certainly not himself the only-begotten Son of God, but the servant and apostle of that Son; not the Truth, but a partaker of the truth â€“

* Prov. xxvii. 2. " Sfcularis.

TKACT. LVIII.] WASHING ONE ANOTHEE'S FEET. 207

declares with freedom and consistency, " And though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I say the truth." ^
For it would not be in himself, but in the truth, which is superior to himself, that he was glorjding both humbly and truly: for it is he also who has given the charge, that he that glorieth should glory in the Lord." Could thus the lover of wisdom have no fear of being chargeable with foolishness, though he desired to glory? and would wisdom itself, in its glorrying, have any fear of such a charge? He had no fear of arrogance who said, " J\ly soul shall make her boast in the Lord; " ^ and could the power of the Lord have any such fear in commending itself, in which His servant's soul is making her boast? " Ye call me," He says, " Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am." Therefore ye say weU, that I am so: for if I were not what ye say, ye would be wrong to say so, even with the purpose of praising me. How, then, could the Truth deny what the disciples of the Truth affirm? How could that which was said by the learners be denied by the very Truth that gave them their learning? How can the fountain deny what the drinker asserts? bow can the light hide what the beholder declares?

4. " If I, then," He says, 'â€œ your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye shoiild do as I have done to you." This, blessed Peter, is what thou didst not know when thou wert not allowing it to be done. This is what He promised to let thee know -Â«ifterwards, when thy IMaster and thy Lord terrified thee into submission, and washed thy feet. We have learned, brethren, humility from the Highest; let us, as humble, do to one another what He, the Highest, did in His humility. Great is the commendation we have here of humility:
and brethren do this to one another in turn, even in the visible act itself, when they treat one another with hospitality; for the practice of such humility is generally prevalent, and finds expression in the very deed that makes it discernible. And hence the apostle, when he would commend the well-deserving widow, says, " If she is hospitable, if she has washed the saints' feet." * And wherever such is not the practice among Â» 2 Cor. xii. 6. " 1 Cor. i. 31. Â» Ps. xxxiv. 2. * 1 Tim. v. 10.
the saints, what they do not with the hand they do in heart, if they are of the number of those who are addressed in the hymn of the three blessed men, " ye holy and humble of heart, bless ye the Lord." ^ But it is far better, and beyond all dispute more accordant with the truth, that it should also be done with the hands; nor should the Christian think it beneath him to do what was done by Christ. For when the body is bent at a brother's feet, the feeling of such humility is either awakened in the heart itself, or is strengthened if already present.

5. But apart from this moral understanding of the passage, we remember that the way in which we commended to your attention the grandeur of this act of the Lord's, was that, in washing the feet of disciples who were already washed and clean, the Lord instituted a sign, to the end that, on account of the human feelings that occupy us on earth, however far we may have advanced in our apprehension of righteousness, we might know that we are not exempt from sin; which He thereafter washes away by interceding for us, when we pray the Father, who is in heaven, to forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. ^ What connection, then, can such an understanding of the passage have with that which He afterwards gave Himself, when He explained the reason of His act in the words, " If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you " ? Can we say that even a brother may cleanse a brother from the contracted stain of wrongdoing ? Yea, verily, we know that of this also we were admonished in the profound significance of this work of the Lord's, that we should confess our faults one to another, and pray for one another, even as Christ also maketh intercession for us. ^ Let us listen to the Apostle James, who states this precept with the greatest clearness when he says, " Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another." * Tor of this also the Lord gave us

" The Song of the Three Children," and which, as it has no place in the Hebrew Scriptures, is also omitted in our English version. Its place would fall between the 23d and 24th verses of chap. iii. â€” Te.

2 Matt. vi. 12. 3 Eom. viii, 34. * Jas. v. 16.

TEACT. LVIII.] MUTUAL FORGIVENESS. 209

the example. For if He who neither has, nor had, nor will have any sin, prays for our sins, how much more ought we to pray for one another's in turn! And if He forgives us, whom we have nothing to forgive; how much more ought we, who are unable to live here without sin, to forgive one another! For what else does the Lord apparently intimate in the profound significance of this sacramental sign, when He says,

---

'Dan. iii. 88; that is, in the apocryphal piece called "The Song of the Three Children," and which, as it has no place in the Hebrew Scriptures, is also omitted in our English version. Its place would fall between the 23d and 24th verses of chap. iii. â€” Te.'
"For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you;" but what the apostle declares in the plainest terms, "Forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye " ? ^ Let us therefore forgive one another his faults, and pray for one another's faults, and thus in a manner be washing one another's feet. It is our part, by His grace, to be supplying the service of love and humility: it is His to hear us, and to cleanse us from all the pollution of our sins through Christ, and in Christ; so that what we forgive even to others, that is, loose on earth, may be loosed in heaven.

1 Col. iii. 13.

TKACT. VOL. n.

TRACTATE LIX.

Chapter XIII. 16-20.

1. "VXT'E have just heard in the holy Gospel the Lord speak-
ing, and saying, " Verily, verily, I say unto you. The servant is not greater than his lord, nor the apostle [he that is sent] greater than he that sent him: if ye know these things, blessed shall ye be if ye do them." He said this, therefore, because He had washed the disciples' feet, as the Master of humility both by word and example. But we shall be able, with His help, to handle what is in need of more elaborate handling, if we linger not at what is perfectly clear. Accordingly, after uttering these words, the Lord added, " I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen: but, that the Scripture may be fulfilled, He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel upon me." And what is this, but that he shall trample upon me ? We know of whom He speaks: it is Judas, that betrayer of His, who is referred to. He had not therefore chosen the person whom, by these words. He setteth utterly apart from His chosen ones. When I say then. He continues, "Blessed shall ye be if ye do them, I speak not of you all:" there is one among you who will not be blessed, and who will not do these things. " I know whom I have chosen." Whom, but those who shall be blessed in the doing of what has been commanded and shown as needful to be done, by Him who alone can make them blessed ? The traitor Judas, He says, is not one of those that have been chosen. What, then, is meant by what He says in another place, " Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ? " ^ Was it that he also was chosen for some purpose, for which he was reaUy necessary; although not for the blessedness of which He has just been saying, " Blessed shall
ye be if ye do these things "? He speaketh not so of them all; for He knows whom He has chosen to be associated with Himself in blessedness. Of such he is not one, who ate His bread in order that he might lift up his heel upon Him. The bread they ate was the Lord Himself; he ate the Lord's bread in enmity to the Lord: they ate life, and he punishment. "For he that eateth unworthily," says the apostle, "eateth judgment unto himself." ^ "From this time," ^ Christ adds, "I tell you before it come; that when it is come to i^ass, ye may believe that I am He:" that is, I am He of whom the Scripture that preceded has just said, "He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel upon me."

2. He then proceeds to say: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me." Did He mean us to understand that there is as little distance between one sent by Him, and Himself, as there is between Himself and God the Father? If we take it in this way, I know not what measurements of distance (which may God forbid!) we shall be adopting, in the Arian fashion. For they, when they hear or read these words of the Gospel, have immediate recourse to their dogmatic measurements, whereby they ascend not to life, but fall headlong into death. For they straightway say: The Son's messenger stands at the same relative distance from the Son, as expressed in the words, "He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me," as that in which the Son Himself stands from the Father, when He said, "He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me." But if thou sayest so, thou forgettest, heretic, thy measurements. For if, because of these words of the Lord, thou puttest the Son as far beneath the Father, as thou place the

1 1 Cor. xi. 29.

^ "A modo;" Greek, 'a.t' apn; margin of English Bible, "From henceforth."â€”Tu.

212 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. LIX.

the Father and His Son. Or jDerhaps, to preserve that distinction between the Sou and His messenger, and between the Father and His Son, at their equality of distance, will the Holy Spirit be equal to the Son? But as little will ye allow this. And where, then, do ye think of placing Him, if ye place the Son as far beneath the Father, as 5^e place the
messenger beneath the Son? Estrain, therefore, your foolhardy presumption; and do not be seeking to find in these words the same distance between the Son and His messenger as between the Father and His Son. But listen rather to the Son Himself, when He says, "I and my Father are one." ^
For there the Truth hath left you no shadow of distance between the Begetter and the Only-begotten; there Christ Himself hath erased your measurements, and the rock hath broken your staircase to pieces.

3. But now that the heretical slander has been disposed of, in what sense are we to understand these words of the Lord:
"He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me"? For if we were inclined to understand the words, "He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me," as expressing the oneness in nature of the Father and the Son; the sequence from the similar arrangement of words in the other clause, "He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me," would be the unity in nature of the Son and His messenger. And there might, indeed, be no impropriety in so understanding it, seeing that a twofold substance belongeth to the strong man, who hath rejoiced to run the race; ^ for the Word was made flesh,^ that is, God became man. And accordingly He might be supposed to have said, "He that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me," with reference to His human nature; "and he that receiveth me " as God, " receiveth Him that sent me." But in so speaking, He was not commending the unity of nature, but the authority of the Sender in Him who is sent. Let every one, therefore, so receive Him that is sent, that in His person he may give heed to Him who sent Him. If, then, thou lookest for Christ in Peter, thou wilt find the disciple's instructor; and if thou lookest for the Father in

' Cliap. X. 30. - Ps. xix. 5. 3 chap. i. 14.

TRACT. LIX.] THE MASTER IN THE DISCIPLE. 213

the Son, thou wilt find the Begetter of the Only-begotten: and so in Him who is sent, thou art not mistaken in receiving the Sender. "What follows in the Gospel cannot be compressed within the shortness of the time remaining. And therefore, dearly beloved, let what has been said, if thought sufficient, be received in a healthful way, as pasture for the holy sheep; and if it is somewhat scanty, let it be ruminated over with ardent desire for more.

TEACTATE LX.

Chapter XIII. 21.
1. XT is no light question, brethren, that meets us in the J- Gospel of the blessed John, when he says: " When Jesus had thus said, He was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me:" Was it for this reason that Jesus was troubled, not in flesh, but in spirit, that He was now about to say, " One of you shall betray me " ? Did this occur then for the first time to His mind, or was it at that moment suddenly revealed to Him for the first time, and so troubled Him by the startling novelty of so great a calamity ? Was it not a little before that He was using these words, " He that eateth bread with me will lift up his heel against me " ? And had He not also, previously to that, said, " And ye are clean, but not aU. " ? where the evangelist added, " For He knew who should betray Him:"^ to whom also on a still earlier occasion He had pointed in the words, " Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ? " ^ Why is it, then, that He " was now troubled in spirit," when " He testified, and said. Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me " ? Was it because now He had so to mark him out, that he should no longer remain concealed among the rest, but be separated from the others, that therefore " He was troubled in spirit " ? Or was it because now the traitor himself was on the eve of departing to bring those Jews to whom he was to betray the Lord, that He was troubled by the imminency of His passion, the closeness of the danger, and the swooping hand of the traitor, whose resolution was foreknown? For some such cause it certainly was that Jesus "was troubled in spirit," as when He said, " Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I 1 Chap. xiii. 18, 10, 11. 2 Chap. vi. 71.

214

TRACT. LX.] CHRIST TROUBLED IX SPIRIT, 215

say ? Father, save me from this hour; but for this cause came I unto this hour." ^ And accordingly, just as then His soul was troubled as the hour of His passion approached; so now also, as Judas was on the point of going and coming, and the atrocious villany of the traitor neared its accomplishment, " He was troubled in spirit." 

2. He was troubled, then, who had power to lay down His life, and had power to take it again." That mighty power is troubled, the firmness of the rock is disturbed: or is it rather our infirmity that is troubled in Him ? Assuredly so: let servants believe nothing unworthy of their Lord, but recognise their own membership in their Head. He who died for us, was also Himself troubled in our place. He, therefore, who died in power, was troubled in the midst of His power: He who shall yet transform^ the body of our humility into similarity of form with the body of His glory, hath also transferred into Himself the feeling of our infirmity, and sympathiseth with us in the feelings of His own soul. Accordingly, when it is the great, the brave, the sure, the invincible One that is troubled, let us have no fear for Him, as if He were capable of failing: He is not perishing, but in search of us [who are]. Us, I say; it is us exclusively whom He is thus seeking, that in His trouble we may behold ourselves, and so, when trouble reaches us, may not fall into
despair and perish. By His trouble, who could not be troubled save with His own consent. He comforts such as are troubled unwillingly.

3. Away with the reasons of philosophers, who assert that a wise man is not affected by mental perturbations. God hath made foolish the wisdom of this world; * and the Lord knoweth the thoughts of men, that they are vain. ^ It is plain that the mind of the Christian may be troubled, not by misery, but by pity: he may fear lest men should be lost to Christ; he may sorrow when one is being lost; he may have ardent desire to gain men to Christ; he may be filled with joy when

â€¢ Chap. xii. 27. ^ chap. x. 18.

3 Phil. iii. 21. The text has " transfiguravit " (pict.), "hath transformed," in this as well as in the next clause, "hath transferred," but here it is evidently a misprint lor transiigurab (fut.). â€” Tr.

* 1 Cor. i. 20. * Ps. xciv. 11.

216 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. LX.

such is being done; he may have fear of falling away himself from Christ; he may sorrow over his own estrangement from Christ; he may be earnestly desirous of reigning with Christ, and he may be rejoicing in the hope that such fellowship with Christ will yet be his lot. These are certainly four of what they call perturbations â€” fear and sorrow, love and gladness.

And Christian minds may have sufficient cause to feel them, and evidence their dissent from the error of Stoic philosophers, and all resembling them: who indeed, just as they esteem truth to be vanity, regard also insensibility as soundness; not knowing that a man's mind, like the limbs of his body, is only the more hopelessly diseased when it has lost even the feeling of pain.

4. But says some one: Ought the mind of the Christian to be troubled even at the prospect of death ? For what comes of those words of the apostle, that he had a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, ^ if the object of his desire can thus trouble him when it comes ? Our answer to this would be easy, indeed, in the case of those who also term gladness itself a perturbation [of the mind]. For what if the trouble he thus feels arises entirely from his rejoicing at the prospect of death ?

But such a feeling, they say, ought to be termed gladness, and not rejoicing. ^ And what is that, but just to alter the name, while the feeling experienced is the same ? But let us for our part confine our attention to the Sacred Scriptures, and with the Lord's help seek rather such a solution of this question as will be in harmony with them; and then, seeing it is written,

" When He had thus said, He was troubled in spirit," we will not say that it was joy that disturbed Him; lest His own words should convince us of the contrary when He says,
My soul is sorrowful, even unto death." ^ It is some such feeling that is here also to be understood, when, as His betrayer was now on the very point of departing alone, and straightway returning along with his associates, "Jesus was troubled in spirit."

5. Strong-minded, indeed, are those Christians, if such there are, who experience no trouble at all in the prospect of death; but for all that, are they stronger-minded than Christ?

Â» PML i. 23. * " Gaudium, non loetitia." 'lla^tt. xxvi. 38.

TEACT. LX.] CHRIST TROUBLED IN SPIRIT. 217

Who would have the madness to say so? And what else, then, does His being troubled signify, but that, by voluntarily assuming the likeness of their weakness. He comforted the weak members in His own body, that is, in His Church; to the end that, if any of His own are still troubled at the approach of death, they may fix their gaze upon Him, and so be kept from thinking themselves castaways on this account, and being swallowed up in the more grievous death of despair? And how great, then, must be that good which we ought to expect and hope for in the participation of His divine nature, whose very perturbation tranquillizes us, and whose infirmity confirms us? Whether, therefore, on this occasion it was by His pity for Judas himself thus rushing into ruin, or by the near approach of His own death, that He was troubled, yet there is no possibility of doubting that it was not through any infirmity of mind, but in the fulness of power, that He was troubled, and so no despair of salvation need arise in our minds, when we are troubled, not in the possession of power, but in the midst of our weakness. He certainly bore the infirmity of the flesh, â€” an infirmity which was swallowed up in His resurrection. But He who was not only man, but God also, surpassed by an ineffable distance the whole human race in fortitude of mind. He was not, then, troubled by any outward pressure of man, but troubled Himself; which was very plainly declared of Him when He raised Lazarus from the dead: for it is there written that He troubled Himself, ^ that it may be so understood even where the text does not so express it, and yet declares that He was troubled. For having by His power assumed our full humanity, by that very power He awoke in Himself our human feelings whenever He judged it becoming.

^ Chap. xi. 33, margin.

TRACTATE LXI.

Chapter XIII. 21-26.
1. His short section of the Gospel, brethren, we have in JL this lesson brought forward for exposition, as thinking that we ought also to say something of the Lord's betrayer, as now plainly enough disclosed by the dipping and holding out to him of the piece of bread. Of that indeed which precedes, (namely), that Jesus, when about to point him out, was troubled in spirit, we have treated in our last discourse; but what I perhaps omitted to mention there, the Lord, by His own perturbation of spirit, thought proper to indicate this also, that it is necessary to bear with false brethren, and those tares that are among the wheat in the Lord's field until harvest-time, because that when we are compelled by urgent reasons to separate some of them even before the harvest, it cannot be done without disturbance to the Church. Such disturbance to His saints in the future, through schismatics and heretics, the Lord in a way foretold and prefigured in Himself, when, at the moment of that wicked man Judas' departure, and of his thereby bringing to an end, in a very open and decided way, his past intermingling with the wheat, in which he had long been tolerated. He was troubled, not in body, but in spirit. For it is not spitefulness, but charity, that troubles His spiritual members in scandals of this kind; lest perchance, in separating some of the tares, any of the wheat should also be uprooted therewith.

2. "Jesus," therefore, "was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said: Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me." "One of you," in number, not in merit; in appearance, not in reality; in bodily commingling, not by any spiritual tie; a companion by fleshly juxtaposition, not in any unity of the heart; and therefore not one who is of you, but one who is to go forth from you. For how else can this "one of you" be true, of which the Lord so testified, and said, if that is true which the writer of this very Gospel says in his Epistle, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us"? Judas, therefore, was not of them; for, had he been of them, he would have continued with them. What, then, do the words "One of you shall betray me" mean, but that one is going out from you who shall betray me? Just as he also, who said, "If they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us," had said before, "They went out from us." And thus it is true in both senses, "of us," and "not of us;" in one respect "of us," and in another "not of us;" "of us" in respect to sacramental communion, but "not of us" in respect to the criminal conduct that belongs exclusively to themselves.

3. "Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom He spake." For while they were imbued with a reverential love to their Master, they were none the less affected by human infirmity in their feelings towards each other. Each one's own conscience was known to himseK; but as he was ignorant of his neighbour's, each one's self-assurance
was such that each was uncertain of all the others, and all the others were uncertain of
that one.

4. " Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom, one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved."
What he meant by saying " in His bosom," he teUs us a little further on, where he says, "
on the breast of Jesus." It was that very John whose Gospel is before us, as he afterwards
expressly declares. For it was a custom with those who have supplied us with the sacred
writings, that when any of them was relating the divine history, and came to something
affecting himself, he spoke as if it were about another; and gave himself a place in the
line of his narrative becoming one who was the recorder of public events, and not as one
who made himself the sul.Â»ject of his preaching. Saint Matthew acted also in this way,
when, in coming in the course of his narrative to himself, he says, " He saw a publican
named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of


220 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT, LXL

custom, and saitli unto him. Follow me." ^ He does not say.
He saw me, and said to me. So also acted the blessed Moses, writing all the history about
himself as if it concerned another, and saying, " The Lord said unto Moses." ^ Less
habituaSy was this done by the Apostle Paul, not however in any history which
undertakes to explain the course of public events, but in his own epistles. At all events, he
speaks thus of himself:
" I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, or whether out of the
body, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up into the third heaven." ^ And so, when the blessed evangelist also
says here, not, I was leaning on Jesus' bosom, but, " There was leaning one of the
disciples,"
let us recognise a custom of our author's, rather than fall into any wonder on the subject.
For what loss is there to the truth, when the facts themselves are told us, and all
boastfulness of language is in a measure avoided ? For thus at least did he relate that
which most signal ly pertained to his praise.

5. But what mean the words, " whom Jesus loved"? As if He did not love the others, of
whom this same John has said above, " He loved them to the end " (ver. 1); and as the
Lord Himself, " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his
friends." And who could enumerate all the testimonies of the sacred pages, in which the
Lord Jesus is exhibited as the lover, not only of this one, or of those who were then
around Him, but of such also as were to be His members in the distant future, and of His
universal Church ? But there is some truth, doubtless, underlying these words, and having
reference to the bosom on which the narrator was leaning. For what else can be indicated
by the hosom but some hidden truth ? But there is another more suitable passage, where
the Lord may enable us to say something about this secret that may prove sufficient.
6. "Simon Peter therefore beckons, and says to him." *

The expression is noteworthy, as indicating that something was

1 Matt. ix. 9, * Ex. vi. 1. ^2 Cor. xii. 2.

* The original Mss. give different readings of this verse. That followed by our English version is supported by the Codd. Alex, and Cantabr., which read, Siuu eiy revTu lifiuv nirpes wSirai r'lt _ Â» tin Tip) ot Xtyu. The Latin Version used by Augustine reads, "Inuuit ergo Simon Petrus, et dicit ei, Quis est de quo dicit,"

TRACT, LXR.] THE SOP GIVEN TO JUDAS. 221

said not by any sound of -words, but by merely beckoning with the head, " He beckons, and says;" that is, his beckoning is his speech. For if one is said to speak in his thoughts, as Scripture saith, " They said [reasoned] with themselves;" ^ how much more may he do so by beckoning, which expresses outwardly by some sort of signs what had previously been conceived within ! "What, then, did his beckoning mean? What else but that which follows? " Who is it of whom He speaks?"

Such was the language of Peter's beckoning; for it was by no vocal sounds, but by bodily gestures, that he spake. "He then, having leaned back on Jesus' breast," â€” surely the very bosom ^ of His breast this, the secret place of wisdom ! â€” " saith unto Him, Lord, who is it ? Jesus answered. He it is to whom I shall give a piece of bread, when I have dipped it. And when He had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the bread, Satan entered into him." The traitor was disclosed, the coverts of darkness were revealed. What he got was good, but to his own hurt he received it, because, evil himself, in an evil spirit he received what was good. But we have much to say about that dipped bread which was presented to the false-hearted disciple, and about that which follows; and for these we shall require more time than remains to us now at the close of this discourse.

and approaches nearly to that found in the Codd. Vat. and Ephr., which read, "Siuu ttv revTc 2. It., xai Xiyii avra, EiVs rU iirriv -npi oi xiyn â€” "Simon Peter therefore beckons to this one, and says to him, Say [ask], who is it of whom He speaks ?"

Of the early versions, the Syriac adopts the former, while the Vulgate resembles the latter. The Sinaitic gives a fuller reading, compounded of both the others. There is thus some doubt as to the original text; but the latter has some special arguments of an internal kind in its favour: such as the consideration that, from its peculiar and somewhat redundant form, it could hardly have been substituted in place of the former, which is smoother and more elegant, while the converse is perfectly supposable; and also the weighty fact that John nowhere else makes use of the o)ttative mood, as he would here (t/j Â«v j"Â»), if the former reading â€” that followed by our English version â€” were the true one. â€” Tk.
1 Wisd. of Sol. ii. 1.

* "Pectoris sinus;" the hollow, the inmost part of the breast.

TEACTATE LXII.

Chapter XIII. 26-31.

1. T* KNOW, dearly "beloved, that some may be moved, as JL the godly to inquire into the meaning of, and the ungodly to find fault with, the statement, that it was after the Lord had given the bread, that had been dipped, to His betrayer that Satan entered into him. For so it is written:

"And when He had dipped the bread. He gave it to Judas Iscariot, the Son of Simon. And after the bread, then entered Satan into him." For they say, Was this the worth of Christ's bread, given from Christ's own table, that after it Satan should enter into His disciple? And the answer we give them is, that thereby we are taught rather how much we need to beware of receiving what is good in a sinful spirit. For the point of special importance is, not the thing that is received, but the person that receives it; and not the character of the thing that is given, but of him to whom it is given. For even good things are hurtful, and evil things are beneficial, according to the character of the recipients. " Sin," says the apostle, 'â€œ that it might appear sin, wrought death to me by that which is good." ^ Thus, you see, evil is brought about by the good, so long as that which is good is wrongly received. It is he also that says: " Lest I should be exalted unduly through the greatness of my revelations, there was given to me a thorn in my flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me. For which thing I besought the Lord thrice, that He would take it away from me; and He said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for strength is made perfect in weakness." ^ And here, you see, good was brought about by that which was evil, when 1 Eom. vii. 13. ^ 2 Cor. xii. 7-9.

222

TRACT. LXII.] SATAX ENTEKETH INTO JUDAS. 223

the evil was received in a good spirit. Why, then, do we wonder if Christ's bread was given to Judas, that thereby he should be made over to the devil; when we see, on the other hand, that Paul was visited by a messenger of the devil, that by such an instrumentality he might be perfected in Christ?
In this way, both the good was injurious to the evil man, and the evil was beneficial to the good. Bear in mind the meaning of the Scripture, " Whosoever shall eat the bread or drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." ^ And when the apostle said this, he was dealing with those who were taking the body of the Lord, like any other food, in an undiscerning and careless spirit. If, then, he is thus taken to task who does not discern, that is, does not distinguish from the other kinds of food, the body of the Lord, what condemnation must be his, who in the guise of a friend comes as an enemy to His table! If negligence in the guest is thus visited with blame, what must be the punishment that will fall on the man that sells the very person who has invited him to his table! And why was the bread given to the traitor, but as an evidence of the grace he had treated with ingratitude?

2. It was after this bread, then, that Satan entered into the Lord's betrayer, that, as now given over to his power, he might take full possession of one into whom before this he had only entered in order to lead him into error. For we are not to suppose that he was not in him when he went to the Jews and bargained about the price of betraying the Lord; for the evangelist Luke very plainly attests this when he says: "Then entered Satan into Judas, who was surnamed Iscariot, being one of the twelve; and he went his way, and communed with the chief priests." ^ Here, you see, it is shown that Satan had already entered into Judas. His first entrance, therefore, was when he implanted in his heart the thought of betraying Christ; for in such a spirit had he already come to the supper. But now, after the bread, he entered into him, no longer to tempt one who belonged to another, but to take possession of him as his own.

3. But it was not then, as some thoughtless readers suppose, that Judas received the body of Christ. For we are to understand that the Lord had already dispensed to all of them the sacrament of His body and blood, when Judas also was present, as very clearly related by Saint Luke; ^ and it was after this that we come to the moment when, in accordance with John's account, the Lord made a full disclosure of His betrayer by dipping and holding out to him the morsel of bread, and intimating perhaps by the dipping of the bread the false pretensions of the other. For the dipping of a thing does not always imply its washing; but some things are dipped in order to be dyed. But if a good meaning is to be here attached to the dipping, his ingratitude for that good was deservedly followed by damnation.

4. But still, possessed as Judas now was, not by the Lord, but by the devil, and now that the bread had entered the belly, and an enemy the soul of this man of ingratitude: still, I say, there was this enormous wickedness, already conceived in his heart, waiting to be wrought out to its full issue, for which the damnable desire had always preceded.
Accordingly, when the Lord, the living Bread, had given this bread to the dead, and in
giving it had revealed the betrayer of the Bread, He said, "What thou doest, do quickly." He did not command the crime, but foretold evil to Judas, and good to us.
For what could be worse for Judas, or what could be better for us, than the delivering up of Christ, "a deed done by him to his own destruction, but done, apart from him, in our behalf?" What thou doest, do quickly." Oh that word of One whose wish was to be ready rather than to be angry!
That word! expressing not so much the punishment of the traitor as the reward awaiting
the Redeemer! For He said,
"What thou doest, do quickly," not as wrathfully looking to the destruction of the trust-
betrayer, but in His own haste to accomplish the salvation of the faithful; for He was
delivered for our offences,^ and He loved the Church, and gave Himself for it.\(^\text{^5}\) And as
the apostle also says of himself: "Who loved me, and gave Himself for me."\(^\text{^6}\) Had not,
then, Christ given Himself, no one could have given Him up. What is there in

\(^\text{^1}\) Eph. V. 25. * Gal. ii. 20.

TRACT LXII] ChUECH-MONEY. 225

Judas' conduct but siu? For in delivering up Christ he had no thought of our salvation,
for which Christ was really delivered, but thought only of his money gain, and found the
loss of his soul. He got the wages he wished, but had also given him, against his wish, the
wages he merited. Judas delivered up Christ, Christ delivered Himself up: the former
transacted the business of his own selling of his Master, the latter the business of our
redemption. "What thou doest, do quickly,"
not because thou hast the power in thyself, but because He wills it who has all the power.

5. "Now no one of those at the table knew for what intent He spake this unto him. For
some of them thought, because Judas had the money-bag, that Jesus said unto him, Buy
those things which we have need of against the feast; or, that he should give something to
the poor." The Lord, therefore, had also a money-box, where He kept the offerings of
believers, and distributed to the necessities of His own, and to others who were in need. It
was then that the custom of having church-money was first introduced, so that thereby we
might understand that His precept about taking no thought for the morrow\(^\text{^5}\) was not a
command that no money should be kept by His saints, but that God should not be served
for any such end, and that the doing of what is right should not be held in abeyance
through the fear of want. For the apostle also has this foresight for the future, when he
says: "If any believer hath widows, let him give them enough, that the church may not be
burdened, that it may have enough for them that are widows indeed."\(^\text{^6}\)

6. "He then, having received the morsel of bread, went immediately out: and it Avas
night." And he that went out was himself the night. "Therefore when "the night" was
gone out, Jesus said. Now is the Son of man glorified." The day therefore uttered speech
unto the day, that is, Christ did so to His faithful disciples, that they might hear and love
Him as His followers; and the night showed knowledge unto the night," that is, Judas did
so to the unbelieving Jews, that they might come as His persecutors, and make Him their
prisoner.
But now, in considering these words of the Lord, which were

' Matt. vi. 34. ^ 1 Tim. v. 16. " Pa. xix. 2.

TRACT. VOL. II. P

226 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TEACT. LXII.

dressed to the godly, before His arrest by the ungodly, special attention on the part of
the hearer is required; and therefore it will be more becoming in the preacher, instead of
hurriedly considering them now^ to defer them to a future occasion.

TEACTATE LXIII.

Chaptee XIII. 31, 32.

1. X ET US give our mind's best attention, and, with the I i Lord's help, seek after God.
The language of the divine hymn is: " Seek God, and your soul shall live." ^ Let us search
for that which needs to be discovered, and into that which has been discovered. He whom
we need to discover is concealed, in order to be sought after; and when found, is infinite,
in order still to be the object of our search. Hence it is elsewhere said, "Seek His face
evermore."^ For He satisfies the seeker to the utmost of his capacity; and makes the
finder still more capable, that he may seek to be filled anew, according to the growth of
his ability to receive.
Therefore it was not said, " Seek His face evermore," in the same sense as of certain
others, who are "always learning, and never coming to a knowledge of the truth; " ^ but
rather as the preacher saith, "When a man hath finished, then he beginneth; " ^ till we
reach that life where we shall be so filled, that our natures shall attain their utmost
capacity, because we shall have arrived at perfection, and no longer be aiming at more.
For then all that can satisfy us will be revealed to our eyes. But here let us always be
seeking, and let our reward in finding put no end to our searching. For we do not say that
it will not be so always, because it is only so here; but that here we must always be
seeking, lest at any time we should imagine that here we can ever cease from seeking. For
those of whom it is said that they are " always learning, and never coming to a knowledge
of the truth," are here indeed always learning; but when they depart this life they will no
longer be learning, but receiving the reward of their error. For the words, " always
learning, and never
coming to a knowledge of the truth," mean, as it were, always walking, and never getting into the road. Let us, on the other hand, be walking always in the way, till we reach the end to which it leads; let us nowhere tarry in it till we reach the proper place of abode: and so we shall both persevere in our seeking, and be making some attainments in our finding, and, thus seeking and finding, be passing on to that which remains, till the very end of all seeking shall be reached in that world where perfection shall admit of no further effort at advancement. Let these prefatory remarks, dearly beloved, make your Charity attentive to this discourse of our Lord's, which He addressed to the disciples before His passion: for it is profound in itself; and where, in particular, the preacher purposes to expend much labour, the hearer ought not to be remiss in attention.

2. What is it, then, that the Lord says, after that Judas went out, to do quickly what he purposed doing, namely, betraying the Lord? What says the day when the night had gone out? What says the Redeemer when the seller had departed? "Now," He says, "is the Son of man glorified."

Why "now"? It was not, was it, merely that His betrayer was gone out, and that those were at hand who were to seize and slay Him? Is it thus that He "is now glorified," to wit, that His deeper humiliation is approaching; that over Him are impending both bonds, and judgment, and condemnation, and mocking, and crucifixion, and death? Is this glorification, or rather humiliation? Even when He was working miracles, does not this very John say of Him, "The Spirit was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified"?

Even then, therefore, when He was raising the dead, He was not yet glorified; and is He glorified now, when drawing near in His own person unto death? He was not yet glorified when acting as God, and is He glorified in going to suffer as man? It would be strange if it were this that God, the great Master, signified and taught in such words. We must ascend higher to unveil the words of the Highest, who reveals Himself somewhat that we may find Him, and anon hides Himself that we may seek Him, and so press on step by step, as it

1 Chap. viii. 39.
were, from discoveries already made to those that still await us. I get here a sight of something that prefigures a great reality. Judas went out, and Jesus is glorified; the son of perdition went out, and the Son of man is glorified. He it was that had gone out, on whose account it had been said to them all, "And ye are clean, but not all" (ver. 10). When, therefore, the unclean one departed, all that remained were clean, and continued with their Cleanser. Something like this will it be when this world shall have been conquered by Christ, and shall have passed away, and there shall be no one that is unclean remaining among His people; when, the tares having been separated from the wheat, the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. The Lord, foreseeing such a future as this, and in testimony that such was signified now in the separation of the tares, as it were, by the departure of Judas, and the remaining behind of the wheat in the persons of the holy apostles, said, "Now is the Son of man glorified; " as if He had said. See, so will it be in that day of my glorification yet to come, when none of the wicked shall be present, and none of the good shall be wanting. His words, however, are not expressed in this way: Now is the glorification of the Son of man; but expressly,

"Now is the Son of man glorified: " just as it was not said, The Eock signified Christ; but, "That Eock vms Christ." ^

Nor is it said, The good seed signified the children of the kingdom, or. The tares signified the children of the wicked one; but what is said is, " The good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the tares, the children of the wicked one." ^

According, then, to the usage of Scripture language, which speaks of the signs as if they were the things signified, the Lord makes use of the words, " Now is the Son of man glorified; " indicating that in the completed separation of that arch sinner from their company, and in the remaining around Him of His saints, we have the foreshadowing of His glorification, when the wicked shall be finally separated, and He shall dwell with His saints through eternity.

3. But after saying, " Now is the Son of man glorified," He added, " and God is glorified in Him." For this is itself

'Matt. xiii. 43. - 1 Cor. x. 4. 3 jjatt. xiii. 38.

230 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TRACT. LXIII.

the glorifying of the Son of man, that God should be glorified in Him. For if He is not glorified in HimseK, but God in Him, then it is He whom God glorifies in Himself. And just as if to give them this explanation. He further adds: " If God is glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself." That is, " If God is glorified in Him," because He came not to do His own will, but the will of Him that sent Him; " and God shall glorify Him in Himself," in such wise that the human nature, in which He is the Son of man, and which was so assumed by the eternal Word, should also be endowed with an eternal immortality. " And," He says, " He shall straightway glorify Him;" predicting, to wit, by such an asseveration, His own
resurrection in the immediate future, and not, as it were, ours in the end of the world. For it is this very glorification of which the evangelist had previously said, as I mentioned a little ago, that on this account the Spirit was not yet in their case given in that new way, in which He was yet to be given after the resurrection to those who believed, because that Jesus was not yet glorified: that is, mortality was not yet clothed with immortality, and temporal weakness transformed into eternal strength. This glorification may also be indicated in the words, "Now is the Son of man glorified;" so that the word "now" may be supposed to refer, not to His impending passion, but to His closely succeeding resurrection, as if what was now so near at hand had actually been accomplished. Let this suffice your affection to-day; we shall take up, when the Lord permits us, the words that follow.

TEACTATE LXIV.

Chapter XIII. 33,

1. XT becomes its, dearly beloved, to keep in view the orderly connection of our Lord's words. For after having previously said, but subsequently to Judas' departure, and his separation from even the outward communion of the saints, "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him;" â€” whether He said so as pointing to His future kingdom, when the wicked shall be separated from the good, or that His resurrection was then to take place, that is, was not to be delayed, like ours, till the end of the world; â€” and having then added, "If God is glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him," whereby without any ambiguity He testified to the immediate fulfilment of His own resurrection; He proceeded to say, "Little children, yet a little while I am with you." To keep them, therefore, from thinking that God was to glorify Him in such a way that He would never again be joined with them in earthly intercourse. He said, "Yet a little while I am with you:" as if He had said. Straightway indeed I shall be glorified in my resurrection; and yet I am not straightway to ascend into heaven, but "yet a little while I am with you." For, as we find it written in the Acts of the Apostles, He spent forty days with them after His resurrection, going in and out, and eating and drinking: not indeed that He had any experience of hunger and thirst, but even by such evidences confirmed the reality of His flesh, which no longer needed, but still possessed the power, to eat and to drink. Was it, then, these forty days He had in view when He said, "Yet a little while I am with you," or something else? For it may also be understood in this way: "Yet a little while I am with

1 Acts i. 3.
231
you; " still, like you, I also am in this state of fleshly infirmity, that is, till He should die and rise again: for after He rose again He was with them, as has been said, for forty days in the full manifestation of His bodily presence; but He was no longer with them in the fellowship of human infirmity.

2. There is also another form of His divine presence unknown to mortal senses, of which He likewise says, " Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." ^ This, at least, is not the same as "yet a little while I am with you;"

for it is not a little while until the end of the world. Or if even this is so (for time flies, and a thousand years are in God's sight as one day, or as a watch in the night'), yet we cannot believe that He intended any such meaning on this occasion, especially as He went on to say, " Ye shall seek me, and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come." That is to say, after this little while that I am with you, " ye shall seek me, and whither I go, ye cannot come." Is it after the end of the world that, whither He goes, they will not be able to come ? And where, then, is the place of which He is going to say a little after in this same discourse, " Father, I will that they also be with me where I am"? ^ It was not then of that presence of His with His own which He is maintaining with them till the end of the world that He now spake, when He said, " Yet a little while I am with you; " but either of that state of mortal infirmity in which He dwelt with them till His passion, or of that bodily presence which He was to maintain with them up till His ascension. Whichever of these any one prefers, he can do so without being at variance with the faith.

3. That no one, however, may deem that sense inconsistent with the true one, in which we say that the Lord may have meant the communion of mortal flesh which He held with the disciples till His passion, when He said, " Yet a little while I am with you;" let those words also of His after His resurrection, as found in another evangelist, be taken into consideration, when He said, " These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you." ^ as if then He was no longer with them, even at the very time that they were standing by,


TRACT. LXIV.] CHRIST'S GOING AWAY.

seeinstant, touchincc, and talkincc with Him. What does He mean, then, by saying, " while I was yet with you," but, while I was yet in that state of mortal flesh wherein ye still remain ?
For then, indeed, He had been raised again in the same flesh; but He was no longer associated with them in the same mortality. And accordingly, as on that occasion, when now clothed in fleshly immortality, He said with truth, "while I was yet with you," to which we can attach no other meaning than, while I was yet with you in fleshly mortality; so here also, without any absurdity, we may understand His words, "Yet a little while I am with you," as if He had said. Yet a little while I am mortal like yourselves. Let us look, then, at the words that follow.

4. "Ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so say I to you now." That is, ye cannot come now. But when He said so to the Jews, He did not add the "now," ^ The former, therefore, were not able at that time to come where He was going, but they were so afterwards; because He says so a little afterwards in the plainest terms to the Apostle Peter. For, on the latter inquiring, "Lord, whither goest Thou?" He replied to him, "Whither I go thou canst not follow me now; but thou shalt follow me afterwards" (ver. 36). But what it means is not to be carelessly passed over. For whither was it that the disciples could not then follow the Lord, but were able afterwards? If we say, to death, what time can be discovered when any one of the sons of men will find it impossible to die; since such, in this perishable body, is the lot of man, that therein life is not a whit easier than death? They were not, therefore, at that time less able to follow the Lord to death, but they were less able to follow Him to the life which is deathless. For thither it was the Lord was going, that, rising from the dead, He should die no more, and death should no more have dominion over Him.' For as the Lord was about to die for righteousness' sake, how could they have followed Him now, who were

"Scarcely an admissible use of the "now" (apri), which manifestly refers to the time of Jesus saying so to the disciples, and not to the period of their inability to come. â€” Tn.

* Roia. vi, 9.

234 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXIV.

as yet unripe for the ordeal of martyrdom? Or, with the Lord about to enter the fleshly immortality, how could they have followed Him now, when, even though ready to die, they would have no resurrection till the end of the world? Or, on the point of going, as the Lord was, to the bosom of the Father, and that without any forsaking of them, just as He had never quitted that bosom in coming to them, how could they have followed Him now, since no one can enter on that state of felicity but he that is made perfect in love? And to show them, therefore, how it is that they may attain the fitness to proceed, where He was going before them. He says,"A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another" (ver. 34). These are the steps whereby Christ must be followed; but any fuller discourse thereon must be put off till another opportunity.
Chapter XIII. 34, 35.

1. HE Lord Jesus declares that He is giving His disciples a new commandment, that they should love one another. " A new commandment," He says, " I give unto you, that ye love one another." But was not this already commanded in the ancient law of God, where it is written, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"? Why, then, is it called a new one by the Lord, when it is proved to be so old? Is it on this account a new commandment, because He hath divested us of the old, and clothed us with the new man?

"For it is not indeed every kind of love that renews him that listens to it, or rather yields it obedience, but that love regarding which the Lord, in order to distinguish it from all carnal affection, added, " as I have loved you." For husbands and wives love one another, and parents and children, and all other human relationships that bind men together: to say nothing of the blameworthy and damnable love which is mutually felt by adulterers and adulteresses, by fornicators and prostitutes, and all others who are knit together by no human relationship, but by the mischievous depravity of human life. Christ, therefore, hath given us a new commandment, that we should love one another, as He also hath loved us. This is the love that renews us, making us new men, heirs of the New Testament, singers of the new song. It was this love, brethren beloved, that renewed also those of olden time, who were then the righteous, the patriarchs and prophets, as it did afterwards the blessed apostles: it is it, too, that is now renewing the nations, and from among the universal race of man, which overspreads the whole world, is making and gathering together a new people, the body of the newly-married

^ Lev. xi.^:. 18.

235

236 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXV.

spouse of the only-begotten Son of God. of whom it is said in the Song of Songs, " Who is she that ascendeth, made white? " Made white indeed, because renewed; and how, but by the new commandment? Because of this, the members thereof have a mutual interest in one another; and if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; and one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it. For this they hear and observe, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another:" not as those love one another who are corrupters, nor as men love one another in a human way: but they love one another as those who are God's, and all of them sons of the Highest, and brethren, therefore, of His only Son, with that mutual love wherewith He loved them, when about to lead them on to the goal where all sufficiency should be theirs, and where their every desire should be satisfied with good
things. For then there will be nothing wanting they can desire, when God will be all in all.* An end like that has no end. No one dieth there, where no one arriveth save he that dieth to this world, not that universal kind of death whereby the body is bereft of the soul; but the death of the elect, through which, even while still remaining in this mortal flesh, the heart is set on the things which are above. Of such a death it is that the apostle said, "For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." ^ And perhaps to this, also, do the words refer, "Love is strong as death." ^ For by this love it is brought about, that, while still held in the present corruptible body, we die to this world, and our life is hid with Christ in God; yea, that love itself is our death to the world, and our life with God. For if that is death when the soul quits the body, how can it be other than death when our love quits the world? Such love, therefore, is strong as

^ Song of Sol. viii. 5, where Augustine, in "dealbata," follows the Septuagint in their misreading and alteration of the original "iSlBrp '/rom the wilderness" (as in chap. iii. 6), into 033^00 m"3nÂ» or some such participle. The Vulgate differs from Augustine, and reads correctly, " de (?eseÂ»<o," but interposes between this and the next clause another participial expression, " deliciis affluens," abounding in delights. Our English version follows the original.

â€” Tk.

2 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26. ^ Ps. ciii. 5. ^ 1 Cor. xv. 28.

Â» Col. iii. 3. Â« Song of Sol. viii. 6.

TRACT. LXV. ] LOVING ONE ANOTHER. 237

death. And what is stronger than that which bindeth the world?

2. Think not then, my brethren, that when the Lord says, " A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another," there is any overlooking of that greater commandment, which requires us to love the Lord our God with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind; for along with this seeming oversight, the words " that ye love one another " appear also as if they had no reference to that second commandment, which says, " Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." For " on these two commandments," He says, " hang all the law and the prophets." ^ But both commandments may be found in each of these by those who have good understanding. For, on the one hand, he that loveth God cannot despise His commandment to love his neighbour; and on the other, he who in a holy and spiritual way loveth his neighbour, what doth he love in him but God? That is the love, distinguished from all mundane love, which the Lord specially characterized, when He added, " as I have loved you." For what was it but God that He loved in us? Not because we had Him, but in order that we might have Him; and that He may lead us on, as I said a little ago, where God is all in all. It is in this way, also, that the physician is properly said to love the sick; and what is it he loves in them but their health, which at all
events he desires to recall; not their sickness, which he comes to remove? Let us, then, also so love one another, that, as far as possible, we may by the solicitude of our love be winning one another to have God within us. And this love is bestowed on us by Him who said, "As I have loved you, that ye also love one another." For this very end, therefore, did He love us, that we also should love one another; bestowing this on us by His own love to us, that we should be bound to one another in mutual love, and, united together as members by so pleasant a bond, should be the body of so mighty a Head,

3. "By this," He adds, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, it ye have love one to another:" as if He said, Other gifts of mine are possessed in common with you by


238 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXV.

those who are not mine, â€” not only nature, life, perception, reason, and that safety which is equally the privilege of men and beasts; but also languages, sacraments, prophecy, knowledge, faith, the bestowing of their goods upon the poor, and the giving of their body to the flames: but because destitute of charity, they only tinkle like cymbals; they are nothing, and by nothing are they profited. It is not, then, by such gifts of mine, however good, which may be alike possessed by those who are not my disciples, but "by this it is that all men shall know that ye are my disciples, that ye have love one to another." O thou spouse of Christ, fair amongst women! thou who ascendest in whiteness, leaning upon thy Beloved! for by His light thou art made dazzling to whiteness, by His assistance thou art preserved from falling. How well becoming thee are the words in that Song of Songs, which is, as it were, thy bridal chant, "That there is love in thy delights"! This it is that suffers not thy soul to perish with the ungodly: it is this that judges thy cause, and is strong as death, and is present in thy delights. How wonderful is the character of that death, which was all but swallowed up in penal sufferings, had it not been over and above absorbed in delights! But here this discourse must now be closed; for we must make a new commencement in dealing with the words that follow.

J 1 Cor. xiii. 1-3.

2 Song of Sol. vii. 6, according to the Septuagint. It is very doubtful, however, whether the LXX. themselves held the meaning drawn from their version by Augustine. It seems all to depend on where they inserted the point of interrogation (¿); and the mss. vary. The Vatican, that in common use, places it after a.ya.'xn (love), which could hardly have been Augustine's reading. Other MSS. place it at the end of the verse, making the whole a single sentence, as in our English version. Augustine must have found the point immediately after h³u),i.-As
("thou art pleasant"), thus disjoining ayavn from what precedes, and making it, with h
Tfiv^aT; aau, a clause by itself. The Masoretic punctuation of the Hebrew gives some
grounds for Augustine's reading: for there is a larger disjunctive accent over rilDyj ("thou
art x)leasaut"), indicating the central pause of the verse; while the minor disjunctive
under nSIIK may only be intended to make up by emphasis for the abruptness of the
language. â€” Te.

TEACTATE LXVI.

CHAPTER XIII. 36-38.

1. "WHILE the Lord Jesus was commending to the dis-
ciples that holy love wherewith they should love one another, " Simon Peter saith
unto Him, Lord, whither goest Thou ? " So, at all events, said the disciple to his Master,
the servant to his Lord, as one who was prepared to follow.
Just as for the same reason the Lord, who read in his mind the purpose of such a question,
made him this reply: "Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now;" as if He said. In
reference to the object of thy asking, thou canst not now. He does not say. Thou canst
not; but " Thou canst not now." He intimated delay, without depriving of hope; and that
same hope, which He took not away, but rather bestowed, in His next words He
confirmed, by proceeding to say, " Thou shalt follow me afterwards." Why such haste,
Peter ? The Rock has not yet solidified thee by His Spirit. Be not lifted up with presumption, "
Thou canst not now;" be not cast now into despair, " Thou shalt follow afterwards." But
what does he say to this ? " Why cannot I follow Thee now ? I will lay down my life for
Thy sake." He saw what was the kind of desire in his mind; but what the measure of his
strength, he saw not. The weak man boasted of his willingness, but the Physician had an
eye on the state of his health; the one promised, the Other foreknew: the ignorant was
bold; He that foreknew all, condescended to teach. How much had Peter taken upon
himself, by looking only at what he wished, and having no knowledge of what he was
able ! How much had he taken upon himself, that, when the Lord had come to lay down
His life for His friends, and so for him also, he should have the assurance to offer to do
the same for the Lord; and while as yet Christ's life was not laid down for himself, he
should

239

240 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT, LXVI.

promise to lay down liis own life for Christ ! " Jesus" therefore
" answered him, Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake ? "
Wilt thou do for me what I have not yet done for thee ?
"Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake?" Canst thou go before, who art unable to follow? Why dost thou presume so far? what dost thou think of thyself? what dost thou imagine thyself to be? Hear what thou art: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee. The cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice." See, that is how thou wilt speedily become manifest to thyself, who art now talking so loftily, and knowest not that thou art but a child. Thou promisest me thy death, and thou wilt deny me thy life. Thou, who now thinkest thyself able to die for me, learn to live first for thyself; for in fearing the death of thy flesh, thou wilt occasion the death of thy soul. 

Just as much as it is life to confess Christ, it is death to deny Him,

2, Or was it that the Apostle Peter, as some with a perverse kind of favour strive to excuse him, did not deny Christ, because, when questioned by the maid, he replied that he did not know the man, as the other evangelists more expressly affirm? As if, indeed, he that denies the man Christ does not deny Christ; and so denies Him in respect of what He became on our account, that the nature He had given us might not be lost. Whoever, therefore, acknowledges Christ as God, and disowns Him as man, Christ died not for him; for as man it was that Christ died. He who disowns Christ as man, finds no reconciliation to God by the Mediator. For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, He that denies Christ as man is not justified: for as by the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners; so also by the obedience of one man shall many be made righteous. He that denies Christ as man, shall not rise again into the resurrection of life; for by man is death, and by man is also the resurrection of the dead: for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. And by what means is He the Head of the Church, but by His manhood, because the Word was made flesh? that is,

* See Ambrose, On Luhe xxii. ^ i Xim. ii. 5.


TRACT. LXVI.] PETER'S DENIAL. 241

God, the Only-begotten of God the Father, became man. And how then can one be in the body of Christ who denies the man Christ? Or how can one be a member who disowns the Head? But why linger over a multitude of reasons when the Lord Himself imdoes all the windings of human argumentation? For He says not, The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied the man; or, as He was wont to speak in His more familiar condensation with men, The cock shall not crow till thou hast thrice denied the Son of man; but He says, "till thou hast denied me thrice." What is that "me," but just what He was? and what was He but Christ? Whatever of Him, therefore, he denied, he denied Himself, he denied the Christ, he denied the Lord his God. For Thomas also, his fellow-disciple, when he exclaimed, "My Lord and my God," did not handle the Word, but only His flesh; and laid not his inquisitive hands on the incorporeal nature of God, but on His human body. And so he touched the man, and yet recognised his God.
If, then, what the latter touched, Peter denied; what the latter invoked, Peter offended. "The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice." Although thou say, "I know not the man;" although thou say, "Man, I know not what thou sayest;" although thou say, "I am not one of His disciples;" thou wilt be denying me. If, which it were sinful to doubt, Christ so spake, and foretold the truth, then doubtless Peter denied Christ. Let us not accuse Christ in defending Peter. Let infirmity acknowledge its sin; for there is no falsehood in the Truth. When Peter's infirmity acknowledged its sin, his acknowledgment was full; and the greatness of the evil he had committed in denying Christ, he showed by his tears. He himself reproves his defenders, and for their conviction, brings his tears forward as witnesses. Nor have we, on our part, in so speaking, any delight in accusing the first of the apostles; but in looking on him, we ought to take home the lesson to ourselves, that no man should place his confidence in human strength. For what else had our Teacher and Saviour in view, but to show us, by making the first of the apostles himself an example, that no one ought in any way to presume of himself? And that, therefore, really


242 o: THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tract. lxvi.

...took place in Peter's soul, for which he gave cause in his body. And yet he did not go before in the Lord's behalf, as he rashly presumed, but did so otherwise than he reckoned. For before the death and resurrection of the Lord, he both died when he denied, and returned to life when he wept; but he died, because he himself had been proud in his presumption, and he lived again, because that Other had looked on him with kindness.

1

TEACTATE LXVII.

Chapter XIV. 1-3.

1. "*Brethren, must be earnestly turned to God, in order that we may be able to obtain some intelligent apprehension of the words of the holy Gospel, which have just been ringing in our ears. For the Lord Jesus saith:* "Let not your heart be troubled. Believe*
in God, and believe [or, believe also] in me." That they might not as men be afraid of death, and so be troubled, He comforts them by affirming Himself also to be God. "Believe,"
He says, "in God, believe also in me." For it follows as a consequence, that if ye believe in God, ye ought to believe also in me: which were no consequence if Christ were not God. "Believe in God, and believe in " Him, who, by nature and not by robbery, is equal with God; for He emptied Himself; not, however, by losing the form of God, but by taking the form of a servant.^ You are afraid of death as regards this servant form, " let not your heart be troubled," the form of God will raise it again,

2. But why have we this that follows, " In my Father's house are many mansions," but that they were also in fear about themselves ? And therein they might have heard the words, " Let not your heart be troubled." For, was there any of them that could be free from fear, when Peter, the most confident and forward of them all, was told, " The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice " ? ^ Considering themselves, therefore, beginning with Peter, as destined to perish, they had cause to be troubled: but when they now

^ A few of the jiss. have "ye hdkve,"" after the Vulgate: the Greek verb also, â– jiarTiviri, which occurs twice in this clause, is doubtful, signif3'ing, ye beUeve, or, believe (imperative). â€” MiGNE.

2 Phil. ii. G, 7. ' Chap. xiii. 38,

243

244 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LX\IL

hear, " In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you," they are revived from their trouble, made certain and confident that after all the perils of temptations they shall dwell with Christ in the presence of God. For, albeit one is stronger than another, one wiser than another, one more righteous than another, "in the Father's house there are many mansions; " none of them shall remain outside that house, where every one, according to his deserts, is to receive a mansion. All alike have that penny, which the householder orders to be given to all that have wrought in the vineyard, making no distinction therein between those who have laboured less and those who have laboured more: ^ by which penny, of course, is signified eternal life, wherein no one any longer lives to a different length than others, since in eternity life has no diversity in its measure. But the many mansions point to the different grades of merit in that one eternal life. For there is one glory of the sun, another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory; and so also the resurrection of the dead. The saints, like the stars in the sky, obtain in the kingdom different mansions of diverse degrees of brightness; but on account of that one penny no one is cut off from the kingdom; and God will be all in all ^ in such
a way, that, as God is love, love will bring it about that what is possessed by each will be common to all. For in this way every one really possesses it, when he loves to see in another what he has not himself. There will not, therefore, be any enjoying amid this diversity of brightness, since in all of them will be reigning the unity of love.

3. Every Christian heart, therefore, must utterly reject the idea of those who imagine that there are many mansions spoken of, because there will be some place outside the kingdom of heaven, which shall be the abode of those blessed innocents who have departed this life without baptism, because without it they cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. Faith like this is not faith, inasmuch as it is not the true and catholic faith. Are you not so foolish and blinded with carnal

1 Matt. XX. 9. - 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42, 28. ' 1 Jolin iv. 8.

TRACT. LXVII.] THE FATHER'S HOUSE. 245

imaginations as to be worthy of reprobation, if you should thus separate the mansion, I say not of Peter and Paul, or any of the apostles, but even of any baptized infant from the kingdom of heaven; do you not think yourselves deserving of reprobation in thus putting a separation between these and the house of God the Father? For the Lord's words are not.

In the whole world, or, In all creation, or, In everlasting life and blessedness, there are many mansions; but He says, " In my Father's house are many mansions." Is not that the house where we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens? ^ Is not that the house whereof we sing to the Lord, " Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house; they shall praise Thee for ever and ever " ? ^ Will you then venture to separate from the kingdom of heaven the house, not of every baptized brother, but of God the Father Himself, to whom all we who are brethren say, " Our Father, who art in heaven," ^ or divide it in such a way as to make some of its mansions inside, and some outside, the kingdom of heaven? Far, far be it from those who desire to dwell in the kingdom of heaven, to be willing to dwell in such folly with you: far be it, I say, that since every house of sons that are reigning can be nowhere else but in the kingdom, any part of the royal house itself should be outside the kingdom.

4. " And if I go," He says, " and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know."' Lord Jesus, how goest Thou to prepare a place, if there are already many mansions in Thy Father's house, where Thy people shall dwell with Thyself? Or if Thou receivest them unto Thyself, how wilt Thou come again, who never withdrawest Thy presence? Such subjects as these, beloved, were we to attempt to explain them with such brevity as seems within the proper bounds of our discourse to-day, would certainly suffer in clearness from compression, and the very brevity would become itself a second obscurity; we shall therefore defer this debt, which the bounty of our Family-head will enable us to repay at a more suitable opportunity.
' 2 Cor. V. 1. Â« Ps. lxx.iv. 4. ' Matt. vi. 9.

TRACTATE LXVIII.

On the same passage.

1. "WliE acknowledge, beloved brethren, that we are owing f T you, and ought now to repay, what was left over for consideration, how we can understand that there is no real mutual contrariety between these two statements, namely, that after saying, "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you, that I go to prepare a place for you; " â€” where He makes it clear enough that He said so to them for the very reason that there are many mansions there already, and there is no need of preparing any; ^ â€” the Lord again says: "And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." How is it that He goes and prepares a place, if there are many mansions already ? If there were not such, He would have said, " I go to prepare." Or if the place has still to be prepared, would He not then also properly have said, " I go to prepare " ? Are these mansions in existence already, and yet needing still to be prepared ? For if they were not in existence. He would have said, "I go to prepare." And yet, because their present state of existence is such as still to stand in need of preparation. He does not go to prepare them in the same sense as they already exist; but if He go and prepare them as they shall be hereafter. He will

* The apparent contrariety that Augustine here deals with, partly arises from a mistaken interpretation of the second half of verse 2, as given above. His Latin version read, "si quo minus, dixissem vobis quia vado," etc., and is a close verbal rendering of the original text, as found in several mss., â€” s/ ?Â£ f' h, tj- rav aÂ» uf/.7ti, oTi -roiiiiofiai, â€” although some others omit the en. But while verbally exact, grammatical accuracy and a fair exegesis will admit of a pause after ufÎ­TÂ» (vobis), as the general sense of the passage requires. "Ot* might thus be used in the sense of "because;" or, as it ofreu is, as a particle introducing a direct statement. â€”

246

TRACT. LXVIII.] THE PREPARATION OF THE MANSIONS. 247

come again and receive His own to Himself; that where He is, there they may be also. How then are there mansions in the Father's house, and these not different ones but the same, which already exist in a sense in which they can admit of no preparation, and yet do not exist, inasmuch as they are still to be prepared ? How are we to think of this, but in
the same way as the prophet, who also declares of God, that He has [already] made that which is yet to be. For he says not, "Who will make what is yet to be," but, "Who has made what is yet to be." Therefore He has both made such things and is yet to make them. For they have not been made at all if He has not made them; nor will they ever be if He make them not Himself. He has made them therefore in the way of foreordaining them; He has yet to make them in the way of actual elaboration. Just as the Gospel plainly intimates when He chose His disciples, that is to say, at the time of His calling them; and yet the apostle says, "He chose us before the foundation of the world," to wit, by predestination, not by actual calling. "And whom He did predestinate, them He also called;" He hath chosen by predestination before the foundation of the world. He chooses by calling before its close. And so also has He prepared those mansions, and is still preparing them; and He who has already made the things which are yet to be, is now preparing, not different ones, but the very mansions He has already prepared: what He has prepared in predestination. He is preparing by actual working. Already, therefore, they are, as respects predestination; if it were not so. He would have said, I will go and

^ Isa. xlv. 11, according to the Septuagint, whose reading, as usual, is followed by Augustine, although here a very manifest mistranslation of the Hebrew. The words are, "Thus saith Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel ("il^Sty nVnxn ItVI) and his Maker, Ask me of things to come," etc. This is the rendering really in accordance with the usual Hebrew idiom, with the sense of the passage itself, and Avith the frequent use of Yotser (Maker) by Isaiah. It is that also approved by the Masoretic pointing, and followed generally by the other translations, including the Vulgate, which has: "plastes ejis: ventura interrogate me," etc. The LXX., however, makes ha'othit/yoth dependent on yots'ro (notwithstanding its own suffix), instead of the verb that follows, and reads, o â€œxmr.ua.; (aurov in some copies) to. l^rtp^ifztva, which Augustine renders in the text: "qui fecit quaj futura sunt." â€” Tii.

- Luke vi. 13. ^ Â£plj; 4 < j^pj^j j jj oq

248 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXVIII.

prepare, that is, I will predestinate. But because they are not yet in a state of practical preparedness, He says, "And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself."

2. But He is in a certain sense preparing the dwellings by preparing for them the dwellers. As, for instance, when He said, "In my Father's house are many dwellings," what else can we suppose the house of God to mean but the temple of God? And what that is, ask the apostle, and he will reply, "For the temple of God is holy, which [temple] ye are." ^

This is also the Kingdom of God, which the Son is yet to deliver up to the Father; and hence the same apostle says,
"Christ the beginning, and then they that are Christ's in His presence; then [cometh] the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; "^ that is, those whom He has redeemed by His blood, He shall then have delivered up to stand before His Father's face. This is that kingdom of heaven whereof it is said, " The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man who sowed good seed in his field. But the good seed are the children of the kingdom; " and although now they are mingled with tares, at the end the King Himself shall send forth His angels, " and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that offend. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."^ The kingdom will shine forth in the kingdom when [those that are] the kingdom shall have reached the kingdom; just as we now pray when we say, " Thy kingdom come."^ Even now, therefore, already is the kingdom called, but only as yet being called together. For if it were not now called, it could not be then said, " They shall gather out of His kingdom everything that offends." But the realm is not yet reigning. Accordingly it is already so far the kingdom, that when all offences shall have been gathered out of it, it shall then attain to sovereignty, so as to possess not merely the name of a kingdom, but also the power of government. For it is to this kingdom, standing then at the right hand, that it shall be said in the end, " Come, ye blessed of my Father,

1 Cor. iii. 17. "^ 1 Cor. xv. 23, 24.

TRACT. LXVIII.] FAITH, THE PEEPAEATION. 249

receive the kingdom;"^ that is, ye who were the kingdom, but without the power to rule, come and reign; that what you formerly were only in hope, you may now have the power to be in reality. This house of God, therefore, this temple of God, this kingdom of God and kingdom of heaven, is as yet in the process of building, of construction, of preparation, of assembling. In it there will be mansions, even as the Lord is now preparing them; in it there are such already, even as the Lord has already ordained them.

3. But why is it that He went away to make such preparation, when, as it is certainly we ourselves that are the subjects in need of preparation, His doing so will be hindered by leaving us behind ? I explain it, Lord, as I can: it was surely this Thou didst signify by the preparation of those mansions, that the just ought to live by faith.^ For he who is sojourning at a distance from the Lord has need to be living by faith, because by this we are prepared for beholding His countenance.^ For " blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; "^ and " He purifieth their hearts by faith."^ The former we find in the Gospel, the latter in the Acts of the Apostles. But the faith by which those who are yet to see God have their hearts purified, while sojourning at a distance here, believeth what it doth not see; for if there is sight, there is no longer faith. Merit is accumulating now to the believer, and then the reward is paid into the hand of the beholder. Let the Lord then
go and prepare us a place; let Him go, that He may not be seen; and let Him remain concealed, that faith may be exercised. For then is the place preparing, if it is by faith we are living. Let the believing in that place be desired, that the place desired may itself be possessed; the longing of love is the preparation of the mansion. Prepare thus. Lord, what Thou art preparing; for Thou art preparing us for Thyself, and Thyself for us, inasmuch as Thou art preparing a place both for Thyself in us, and for us in Thee. For Thou hast said, "Abide in me, and I in you." As far as each one has been a partaker of Thee, some less, some more, such will be the diversity of rewards in pro-


250 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tRxVCT. LXVIII.

portion to the diversity of merits; such will be the multitude of mansions to suit the inequalities among their inmates; but all of them, none the less, eternally living, and endlessly blessed. "VVTiy is it that Thou goest away ? Why is it Thou comest again ? K I understand Thee aright. Thou withdrawest not Thyself either from the place Thou goest from, or from the place Thou comest from: Thou goest away by becoming invisible. Thou comest by again becoming manifest to our eyes. But unless Thou remainest to direct us how we may stni be advancing in goodness of life, how will the place be prepared where we shall be able to dwell in the fidness of joy ? Let what we have said suffice on the words which have been read from the Gospel as far as " I will come again, and receive you to myself." But the meaning of what follows, " That where I am, there ye may be also; and whither I go ye know, and the way ye know,“ we shall be in a better condition â€” after the question put by the disciple, that follows, and which we also may be putting, as it were, through him â€” for hearing, and more suitably situated for making the subject of our discourse.

TEACTATE LXIX.

Chapter XIV. 4-6.

1. ^mTE have now the opportunit)^, dearly heloved, as far T T as we can, of understanding the earlier words of the Lord from the later, and His previous statements by those that follow, in what you have heard was His answer to the question of the Apostle Thomas. For when the Lord was speaking above of the mansions, of which He both said that they already were in His Father's house, and that He was going to prepare them; where we understood that those mansions already existed in predestination, and are also being prepared through the purifying by faith of the hearts of those who are hereafter to inhabit them, seeing that they themselves are the very house of God; and what else is it
to dwell in God's house than to be in the number of His people, since His people are at
the same time in God, and God in them? To make this preparation the Lord departed,
that by behoving in Him, though no longer visible, the mansion, whose outward form is
always hid in the future, may now by faith be prepared; for this reason, therefore. He had
said, "And if I go away and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you
to myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way
ye know." In reply to this,
"Thomas saith unto Him, Lord, we know not whither Thou goest; and how can we know
the way?" Both of these the Lord had said that they knew; both of them this other
declares that he does not know, to wit, the place to which, and the way whereby. He is
going. But he does not know that he is speaking falsely; they knew, therefore, and did not
know that they knew. He will convince them that they already know what they imagine
themselves still to be ignorant of. "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and
the life."

251

252 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT. LXIX.

What, brethren, does He mean? See, we have just heard the disciple asking, and the
Master instructing, and we do not yet, even after His voice has sounded in our ears,
apprehend the thought that lies hid in His words. But what is it we cannot apprehend?
Could His apostles, with whom He was talking, have said to Him, We do not know Thee
? Accordingly, if they knew Him, and He Himself is the way, they knew the way: if they
knew Him who is Himself the truth, they knew the truth; if they knew Him who is also
the life, they knew the life. Thus, you see, they were convinced that they knew what they
knew not that they knew.

2. What is it, then, that we also have not apprehended in this discourse? What else, think
you, brethren, but just that He said, "And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know"?
And here we have discovered that they knew the way, because they knew Him who is the
way: the way is that by which we go; but is the way the place also to which we go? And
yet each of these He said that they knew, both whither He was going, and the way. There
was need, therefore, for His saying, "I am the way," in order to show those who knew
Him that they knew the way, which they thought themselves ignorant of; but what need
was there for His saying, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," when, after knowing
the way by which He went, they had still to learn whither He was going, but just because
it was to the truth and to the life He was going? By Himself, therefore. He was going to
Himself. And whither go we, but to Him? and by what way go we, but by Him? He,
therefore, went to Himself by Himself, and we by Him to Him; yea, likewise both He
and we
20 thus to the Father. For He says also in another place of Himself, "I go to the Father;"
^ and here on our account He says, "No man cometh unto the Father but by me." And in
this way He goeth by Himself both to Himself and to the Father, and we by Him both to
Him and to the Father. Who can apprehend such things save he who has spiritual
discernment? and how much is it that even he can apprehend, although thus spiritually
discerning? Brethren, how can you desire me to explain such things to you? Only reflect
how

1 Chap. xvi. 10.

TKACT. LXIX.] CHFJST THE WAY. 253

lofty they are. You see what I am, I see what you are; in all of us the body, which is
corrupted, burdens the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that
museth upon many things.\(^\) Do we think we can say, "To Thee have I lifted up my soul,
Thou that dwellest in the heavens "? ^ But burdened as we are with so great a weight,
under which we groan, how shall I lift up my soul unless He lift it with me who laid His
own down for me? I shall speak then as I can, and let each of you who is able receive it.
As He gives, I speak; as He gives, the receiver receiveth; and as He giveth, there is faith
for him who cannot yet receive with understanding. For, saith the prophet, " If ye will not
believe, ye shall not understand." ^

3. Tell me, O my Lord, what to say to Thy servants, my fellow-servants. The Apostle
Thomas had Thee before him in order to ask Thee questions, and yet could not
understand Thee unless he had Thee within him; I ask Thee because I
know that Thou art over me; and I ask, seeking, as far as I
can, to let my soul diffuse itself in that same region over me where I may listen to Thee,
who usest no external sound to convey Thy teaching. Tell me, I pray, how it is that Thou
goest to Thyself. Didst Thou formerly leave Thyself to come to us, especially as Thou
camest not of Thyself, but the Father sent Thee? I know, indeed, that Thou didst empty
Thyself; but in taking the form of a servant,^ it was neither that Thou didst lay down the
form of God as something to return to, or that Thou lost it as something to be recovered;
and yet Thou didst come, and didst place Thyself not only before the carnal eyes, but
even in the very hands of men. And how otherwise save in Thy flesh? By means of this
Thou didst come, yet abiding where Thou wast; by this means Thou didst return,

* Wisd. ix. 15. 2 ps c.xxxiii. 1.

^ Isa. vii. 9, according to LXX., which reads, lay fiÅ» â– t^ttei/Vxti, aiS= fih auyTin.
5[3DXn. however, will scarcely admit the meaning of "understand" (ffuunn).
There is a play in the Hebrew upon the verb ?ox. which is the one used in both clauses,
first in the Hiphil, where it means to cleave fast to, to show a firm trust in; and secondly,
in the Niphal, to be held fast, to be confirmed in one's trust.
Hence the rendering of our English Bible is more correct: " If ye will not believe, surely
ye shall not be established. " â€” Tr.

* Phil. ii. 7.
without leaving the place to which Thou hadst come. If, then, by such means Thou didst come and return, by such means doubtless Thou art not only the way for us to come unto Thee, but wast the way also for Thyself to come and to return. For when Thou didst return to the life, which Thou art Thyself, then of a truth that same flesh of Thine Thou didst bring from death unto life. The Word of God, indeed, is one thing, and man another; but the Word was made flesh, or became man. And so the person of the Word is not different from that of the man, seeing that Christ is both in one person; and in this way, just as when His flesh died, Christ died, and when His flesh was buried, Christ was buried (for thus with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and thus with the mouth do we make confession unto salvation ^); so when the flesh came from death unto life, Christ came to life. And because Christ is the Word of God, He is also the life. And thus in a wonderful and ineffable manner He, who never laid down or lost Himself, came to Himself. But God, as was said, had come through the flesh to men, the truth to liars; for God is true, and every man a liar. ^ When, therefore, He withdrew His flesh from amongst men, and carried it up there where no liar is found. He also Himself â€” for the Word was made flesh â€” returned by Himself, that is, by His flesh, to the truth, which is none other but Himself. And this truth, we cannot doubt, although found amongst liars. He preserved even in death; for Christ was once dead, but never false.

4. Take an example, very different in character and wholly inadequate, yet in some little measure helpful to the understanding of God, from things that are in peculiarly intimate subjection to God. See here in my own case, while as far as pertains to my mind I am just the same as yourselves, if I keep silence I am so to myself; but if I speak to you something suited to your understanding, in a certain sense I go forth to you without leaving myself, but at the same time approach you and yet quit not the place from which I proceed. But when I cease speaking, I return in a land of way to myself, and in a kind of way I remain with you, if you retain what you have heard in the discourse I am delivering.

^ Horn. X. 10. ^ Eom. iii. 4.

TRACT. LXIX.] CHRIST THE TRUTH AND THE LIFE. 255

And if the mere image that God made is capable of this, what may not God, the very image of God, not made by, but born of God; whose body, wherein He came forth to us and returned from us, has not ceased to be, like the sound of my voice, but abides there, where it shall die no more, and death shall have no more dominion over it ? ^ Much more, perhaps, might and ought to have been said on these words of the Gospel; but your
souls ought not to be burdened with spiritual food, however pleasant, especially as the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.

1 Eom. vi. 9. 2 jatt. xxvi. 41.

TRACT. LXX.

Chapter XIV. 7-10.

1. rr^HE words of the holy Gospel, brethren, are rightly JL understood only if they are found to be in harmony with those that precede; for the premises ought to agree with the conclusion, when it is the Truth that speaks. The Lord had said before, " And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also; " and then had added, " And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know; " and showed that all He said was that they knew Himself. What, therefore, the meaning was of His going to Himself by Himself, â€” for He also lets the disciples see that it is by Him that they are to come to Him, â€” we have already told you, as we could, in our last discourse. When He says, therefore, " That where I am, there ye may be also," where else were they to be but in HimseK ? In this way is He also in HimseK, and they, therefore, are just where He is, that is, in Himself. Accordingly, He Himself is that eternal life which is yet to be ours, when He has received us unto Himself; and as He is that life eternal, so is it in Him, that where He is, there shall we be also, that is to say, in Himself " For as the Father hath life in Himself," and certainly that life which He has is in no wise different from what He is Himself as its possessor, " so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself," ^ inasmuch as He is the very life which He hath in Himself But shall we then actually be what He is, (namely), the life, when we shall have begun our existence in that life, that is, in Himself ? Certainly not; for He, by His very existence as the life, hath life, and is Himself what He hath; and as the life is in Him, so is He in Himself: but we are not that life, but partakers of His life, and shall be

I Chap. V. 26.

TRACT. LXX.] CHRIST THE ONLY WAY, 257

there in such wise as to be wholly incapable of being in ourselves what He is, but so as, while ourselves not the life, to have Him as our life, who has Himself the life, on this very account that He Himself is the life. In short. He both exists unchangeably in Himself and inseparably in the Father. But we, when wishing to exist in ourselves, were thrown into inward trouble regarding ourselves, as is expressed in the words,
"My soul is cast down within me: " and changing from bad to worse, cannot even remain as we were. But when by Hin we come unto the Father, according to His own words, "No man cometh unto the Father but by me," and abide in Him, no one shall be able to separate us either from the Father or from Him,

2. Connecting, therefore. His previous words with those that follow, He proceeded to say, "If ye had known me, ye should certainly have known my Father also." This conforms to His previous words, "No man cometh unto the Father but by me."
And then He adds: "And from henceforth ye know Him, and have seen Him." But Philip, one of the apostles, not understanding what he had just heard, said, "I-ord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." And the Lord replied to him, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet have ye not known me, Philip? he that seeth me, seeth also the Father."
Here you see He complains that He had been so long time with them, and yet He was not known. But had He not Himself said, "And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know; " and on their saying that they knew it not, had convinced them that they did know, by adding the words, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life"? How, then, says He now, "Have I been so long time with you, and have ye not known me?" when, in fact, they knew both whither He went and the way, on no other grounds save that they really knew Himself? But this difficulty is easily solved by saying that some of them knew Him, and others did not, and that Philip was one of those who did not know Him; so that, when He said, "And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know," He is understood as having spoken to those that knew, and not to Philip, who has it said to him, "Have I been so long

Ps. xlii. 6.

TRACT. VOL. IL R

258 of the gospel of John. [teact. lxx.

"time with you, and have ye not known me, Philip?" To such, then, as abeady knew the Son, was it now also said of the Father, "And from henceforth ye know Him, and have seen Him: " for such words were used "because of the all-sided likeness subsisting between the Father and the Son; so that, because they knew the Son, they might henceforth be said to know the Father. Already, therefore, they knew the Son, if not all of them, those at least to whom it is said, "And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know; " for He is Himself the way. But they knew not the Father, and so have also to hear, "If ye have known me, ye have known my Father also:" that is, through me ye have known Him also. For I am one, and He another. But that they might not think Him unlike, He adds, "And from henceforth ye know Him, and have seen Him." For they saw His perfectly resembling Son, but needed to have the truth impressed on them, that exactly such as was the Son whom they saw, was the Father also whom they did not see. And to this points what is afterwards said to Philip, "He that seeth me, seeth also the Father."
Not that He Himself was Father and Son, which is a notion of the Sabellians, who are also called Patrripassians, condemned by the Catholic faith; but that Father and Son are so alike, that he who knoweth one knoweth both. For we are accustomed to speak in this way of two who closely resemble each other, to those who are in the habit of seeing one of them, and wish to know what like the other is, so that we say. In seeing the one, you have seen the other. In this way, then, is it said, "He that seeth me, seeth also the Father." Not, certainly, that He who is the Son is also the Father, but that the Son in no respect disagrees with the likeness of the Father. For had not the Father and Son been two persons, it would not have been said, "If ye have known me, ye have known my Father also." Such is certainly the case, for "no one," He says, "cometh unto the Father but by me: if ye have known me, ye have known my Father also;" because it is I, who am the

^ That is, those who ascribed suffering to the Father; because the Sabellians, denying the distinct personality of the Son, and regarding Him as only a special revelation of God the Father, were chargeable, therefore, with holding that it was God the Father who really suffered and died on the cross. ã€” Tr.

TRACT. LXX. | THE FATHER SEEN" IN CHRIST. 259

only way to the Father, that will lead you to Him, that He also may Himself become known to you. But as I am in all respects His perfect image, "from henceforth ye know Him"
in knowing me; "and have seen Him," if you have seen me with the spiritual eyesight of the soul.

3. Why, then, Philip, dost thou say, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us? Have I been so long time with you, and yet have ye not known me, Philip? He that seeth me, seeth the Father also." If it interests thee much to see this, believe at least what thou seest not. For "how," He says, "sayest thou. Show us the Father?" If thou hast seen me, who am His perfect likeness, thou hast seen Him to whom I am like. And if thou canst not du-ectly see this, "believeth thou not," at least, "that I am in the Father; and the Father in me?"

But Philip might say here, "I see Thee indeed, and believe Thy full likeness to the Father; but is one to be reproved and rebuked because, when he sees one who bears a likeness to another, he wishes to see that other to whom he is like? I know, indeed, the image, but as yet I know only the one without the other; it is not enough for me, unless I know that other whose likeness he bears. Show us, therefore, the Father, and it sufficeth us." But the Master reaUy reproved the disciple because He saw into the heart of his questioner.

For it was with the idea, as if the Father were somehow better than the Son, that Philip had the desire to know the Father:

and so he did not even know the Son, because believing- that He was inferior to another. It was to correct such a notion that it was said, "He that seeth me, seeth the Father also."
Plow sayest thou, Show us the Father? " I see the meaning of thy words: it is not the original likeness thou seekest to see, but it is that other thou thinkest the superior. " BeHevest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? " Why desirest thou to discover some distance between those who are thus alike? why cravest thou the separate knowledge of those who cannot be separated? What, after this. He says not only to Philip, but to all of them together, must not now be thrust into a corner, in order that, by His help, it may be the more carefully expounded.

TRACTATE L X X I.

Chapter XIV. 10-14.

1. IVE close attention, and try to understand, Leloved; VJT for while it is we who speak, it is He Himself who never withdraweth His presence from us who is our Teacher. The Lord saith, what you have just heard read, " The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself: but the Father, that dwelleth in me, He doeth the works." Even His words, then, are works? Clearly so. For surely he that edifies a neighbour by what he says, works a good work. But what mean the words, " I speak not of myself," but, I who speak am not of myself? Hence He attributes what He does to Him, of whom He, that doeth them, is. For the Father is not God [as born, etc.] of any one else, while the Son is God, as equal, indeed, to the Father, but [as born] of God the Father. Therefore the former is God, but not of God; and the Light, but not of light: whereas the latter is God of God, Light of Light.

2. For in connection with these two clauses, â€” the one where it is said, " I speak not of myself; " and the other, which runs, " but the Father that dwelleth in me. He doeth the works," â€” we are opposed by two different classes of heretics, who, by each of them holding only to one clause, run off, not in one, but opposite directions, and wander far from the pathway of truth. For instance, the Arians say. See here, the Son is not equal to the Father, He speaketh not of Himself. The Sabellians, or Patrï­passians, on the other hand, say. See, He who is the Father is also the Son; for what else is this, " The Father that dwelleth in me. He doeth the works," but I that do them dwell in myself? You make contrary assertions, and that not only in the sense that any one thing is false, that is, contrary to truth, but in this also, when two things that are both false contradict one another. In your wanderings you have

260

TKACT. LXXI.] ArJAN AND SABELLTAN HERESIES. 261
taken opposite directions; midway between the two is the path you have left. You are a far longer distance apart from each other than from the very way you have both forsaken. Come hither, you from the one side, and you from the other: pass not across, the one to the other, but come from both sides to us, and make this the place of your mutual meeting. Ye Sabellians, acknowledge the Being you overlook; Arians, set Him whom you subordinate in His place of equality, and you will both be walking with us in the pathway of truth. For you have grounds on both sides that make mutual admonition a duty. Listen, Sabellian: so far is the Son from being the same as the Father, and so truly is He another, that the Arian maintains His inferiority to the Father. Listen, Arian: so truly is the Son equal to the Father, that the Sabellian declares Him to be identical with the Father. Do thou restore the personality thou hast abstracted, and thou, the full dignity thou hast lowered, and both of you stand together on the same ground as ourselves: because the one of you [who has been an Arian], for the conviction of the Sabellian, never lets out of sight the personality of Him who is distinct from the Father, and the other [who has been a Sabellian] takes care, for the conviction of the Arian, of not impairing the dignity of Him who is equal with the Father. For to both of you He cries, " I and my Father are one." ^ When He says " one," let the Arians listen: when He says, " we are," let the Sabellians give heed, and no longer continue in the folly of denying, the one. His equality [with the Father], the other. His distinct personality. If, then, in saying, " The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself," He is thereby accounted of a power so inferior, that what He doeth is not what He Himseli willeth; listen to what He also said, " As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will." And so likewise, if in saying, " The Father that dwelleth in me. He doeth the works," He is on that account not to be regarded as distinct in person from the Father, let us listen to His other words, " What things soever the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise; " ^ and He will be understood as speaking not of one person twice over, but of

Â» Chap. X. 30. 2 Chap. v. 21, 19.

262 o:t the gospel oe johi^. [tkact. lxii.

two who are one. But just because their mutual equality is such as not to interfere with their distinct personality, therefore He speaketh not of Himself, because He is not of Himself; and the Father also, that dwelleth in Him. Himself doeth the works, because He, by whom and with whom He doeth them, is not, save of [the Father] Himself. And then He goes on to say, " Believe " ye not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me ? Or else believe me for the very works' sake." Formerly it was Philip only who was reproved, but now it is shown that he was not the only one there that needed reproof.
"For the very works' sake," He says, "believe ye that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: for had we been separated, we should have been unable to do any kind of work inseparably.

3. But what is this that follows? "Verily, verily, I say unto you. He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. 

If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it." And so He promised that He Himself could also do those greater works. Let not the servant exalt himself above his Lord, or the disciple above his Master. He says that they will do greater works than He doeth Himself; but it is all by His doing such in or by them, and not as if they did them of themselves. Hence the song that is addressed to Him, "I will love Thee, Lord, my strength." But what, then, are those greater works? Was it that their very shadow, as they themselves passed by, healed the sick? For it is a mightier thing for a shadow, than for the hem of a garment, to possess the power of healing. The one work was done by Christ Himself, the other by them; and yet it was He that did both. Nevertheless, when He so spake. He was commending the efficacious power of His own words: for it was in this sense He had said, "The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me. He doeth the works." What works was He then referring to,


* Matt. xiv. 36. ^" Opera."

TRACTE LXXI.] THE GREATER WORKS OF THE APOSTLES. 263

but the words He was speaking? They were hearing and believing, and their faith was the fruit of those very words: howbeit, when the disciples preached the gospel, it was not small numbers like themselves, but nations also that believed; and such, doubtless, are greater works. And yet He said not, Greater works than these shall ye do, to lead us to suppose that it was only the apostles who would do so; for He added,

"He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do." Is the case then so, that he that believeth on Christ doeth the same works as Christ, or even greater than He did? Points like these are not to be treated in a cursory way, nor ought they to be hurriedly disposed of; and, therefore, as our present discourse must be brought to a close, we are obliged to defer their further consideration.

TRACTATE LXXII.
On the same passage.

1. XT is no easy matter to comprehend what is meant by, or in what sense we are to receive, these words of the Lord, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also:" and then, to this great difficulty in the way of our understanding, He has added another still more difficult, "And greater things than these shall he do." What are we to make of it? We have not found one who did such works as Christ did; and are we likely to find one who will do even greater?

But we remarked in our last discourse, that it was a greater deed to heal the sick by the passing of their shadow, as was done by the disciples, than as the Lord Himself did by the touch of the hem of His garment; and that more believed on the apostles than on the Lord Himself, when preaching with His own lips; so that we might suppose works like these to be understood as greater: not that the disciple was to be greater than his Master, or the servant than his Lord, or the adopted son than the Only-begotten, or man than God, but that by them He Himself would condescend to do these greater works, while telling them in another passage, "Without me ye can do nothing." ^ While He Himself, on the other hand, to say nothing of His other works, which are numberless, made them without any aid from themselves, and without them made this world; and because He Himself thought meet to become man, without them He made also Himself. But what have they [made or done] without Him, save sin? And last of all, He straightway also withdrew from the subject all that could cause us agitation; for after saying, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do;" He

' Chap. XV. 5. 264

TRACT. LXXTI.] THE POWER OF FAITH. 265

immediately went on to add, "Because I go unto the Father; and whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do." He who had said, "He will do," afterwards said, "I will do;" as if He had said. Let not this appear to you impossible; for he that believeth on me can never become greater than I am, but it is I who shall then be doing greater things than now; greater things by him that believeth on me, than by myself apart from him; yet it is I myself apart from him. ^ and I myself by him [that will do the works]: and as it is apart from him, it is not he that will do them; and as, on the other hand, it is by him, although not by his own self, it is he also that will do them. And besides, to do greater things by one than apart from one, is not a sign of deficiency, but of condescension. For what can servants render unto the Lord for all His benefits towards them? ^ And sometimes He hath condescended to number this also amongst His other benefits towards them, namely, to do greater works by them than apart from them. Did not that rich man go away sad from His presence, when seeking counsel about eternal life? He heard, and cast it away: and yet in after days the counsel that fell on his ears was followed, not by one, but by many, when the good Master was speaking by the disciples; He was an object of contempt to the rich man, when warned by
himself directly, and of love to those whom by means of poor men he transformed from rich into poor. here, then, you see, he did greater works when preached by believers, than when speaking himself to hearers.

2. but there is still something to excite thought in his doing such greater works by the apostles; for he said not, as if merely with reference to them. the works that i do shall ye do also; and greater works than these shall ye do: but wishing to be understood as speaking of all that belonged to his family, said, "he that believeth on me, the works that i do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do."

if, then, he that believeth shall do such works, he that shall

* that i-s, here, "without any self-originating aid of hi.s," as if ho had anyindependent and meritorious share in the work. augustine plays on the prepositions, "per (cum)," and "praeter (euni)." â€” te.

* ps. cxvi. 12.

266 ox the gospel of john. [teact. lxxii]

do them not is certainly no believer: just as "he that loveth me, keepeth my commandments," ^ implies, of course, that he who keepeth them not, loveth not. in another place, also. he says, "he that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, i will kken him unto a wise man, who buildeth his house upon a rock;" ^ and he, therefore, who is unlike this wise man, without doubt either heareth these sayings and doeth them not, or faileth even to hear them. "he that believeth in me," he says, "though he die, yet shall he live;" ^ and he, therefore, that shall not live, is certainly no believer now. in a similar way, also, it is said here, "he that believeth in me shall do [such works];" he is, therefore, no believer who shall not do so. what have we here, then, brethren? is it that one is not to be reckoned among believers in christ, who shall not do greater works than christ? it were hard, unreasonable, intolerable, to suppose so; that is, unless it be rightly understood. let us listen, then, to the apostle, when he says, "to him that believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." ^ this is the work in which we may be doing the works of christ, for even our very believing in christ is the work of christ. it is this he worketh in us, not certainly without us. hear now, then, and understand, "he that believeth on me, the works that i do shall he do also:" i do them first, and he shall do them afterwards; for i do such works that he may do them also.

and what are the works, but the making of a righteous man out of an ungodly one?

3. "and greater works than these shaU he do." than what, pray? shaU we say that one is doing greater works than all that christ did who is working out his own salvation with fear and trembling? ^ a work which christ is certainly working in him, but not without him; and one which i might, without hesitation, call greater than the heavens and the earth, and all in both within the compass of our vision.
For both heaven and earth shall pass away, but the salvation and justification of those predestinated thereto, that is, of those whom He foreknoweth, shall continue for ever. In the former

1 Chap. xiv. 21. - ilatt. vii. 24, 3 chap. xi. 25.

* Kom. iv. 5. = Phil. ii. 12, ^ Matt. xxiv, 35.

TEACT. LXXIL] CHRIST'S WORDS ARE WORKS. 267

there is only the working of God, but in the latter there is also His image. But there are also in the heavens, thrones, governments, principalities, powers, archangels, and angels, which are all of them the work of Christ; and is it, then, greater works also than these that he doeth, who, with Christ working in him, is a co-worker in his own eternal salvation and justification? I dare not call for any hurried decision on such a point: let him who can, understand, and let him who can, judge whether it is a greater work to create righteous beings than to make righteous the ungodly. For at least, if there is equal power employed in both, the latter is greater mercy in the latter. For "this is the great mystery of godliness which was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed in the world, received up into glory." ^ But when He said, "Greater works than these shall he do," there is no necessity requiring us to suppose that all of Christ's works are to be understood. For He spake, perhaps, only of these He was now doing; and the work He was doing at that time was uttering the words of faith, and of such works specially had He spoken just before when He said, "The words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself: but the Father, that dwelleth in me. He doeth the works." His words, accordingly, were His works. And it is assuredly something less to preach the words of righteousness, which He did apart from us, than to justify the ungodly, which He does in such a way in us that we also are doing it ourselves. It remains for us to inquire how the words are to be understood, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I willU

^ 1 Tim. iii. 16. On account of the well-known textual controversy among Biblicalists, this passage, as quoted by Augustine, is so far valuable, as it shows us how he read and understood the point in dispute, namely, whether it is "God was manifested " (as in our English version), or, "who [which] was manifested," as here by Augustine; in other words, whether the original text read Qi'os or oV before itpavipn. The evidence is almost equally divided between the two; and the difficulty is chiefly caused by the circumstance, that in the earliest mss., the Uncial, eEOS (God) is usually -written in a contracted form, consisting of the first and last letters, 62, which differs from the pronoun o; (who), written 02, merely by the little line inside the 0, and another line over the contraction; both of which may have been unintentionally omitted at the time of copying, or purposely inserted at an after date. To us now, the question is of less importance, as, if the true reading be c; (who), its antecedent can only be X/>Â«rTÂ»j (Christ).â€”Tr.
ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHIT. [TRACT. LXXn.

do it." Because of the many things His believing ones ask, and receive not, there is no small question claiming our attention; but as this discourse must now be concluded, we must allow at least a little delay for its consideration and discussion.

TE ACT ATE LXXIII.

Again on the same passage.

1. npHE Lord, by His promise, gave those whose hopes ^Yere JL resting on Himself a special ground of coniidence, when He said, " For I go to the Father; and whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will do it." His proceeding, therefore, to the Father, was not with any view of abandoning the needy, but of hearing and answering their petitions. But what is to be made of the words, " Whatsoever ye shall ask," when we behold His faithful ones so often asking and not receiving ? Is it, shall we say, for no other reason but that they ask amiss ? For the Apostle James made this a ground of reproach when he said, " Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts." ^

What one, therefore, wishes to receive, in order to turn to an improper use, God in His mercy rather refuses to bestow.

Nay, more, if a man asks what would, if answered, only tend to his injury, there is surely greater cause to fear, lest what God could not withhold with kindness, He should give in His anger. Do we not see how the Israelites got to their own hurt what their guilty lusting craved ? For while it was raining manna on them from heaven, they desired to have flesh to eat.^ They disdained what they had, and shamelessly sought what they had not: as if it were not better for them to have asked not to have their unbecoming desires ^ratified with the food that was wanting, but to have theu' own dislike removed, and be made themselves to receive aright the food that was provided. For when evil becomes our delight, and what is good the reverse, we ought to be entreating God rather to win us back to the love of the good, than to grant us the evil. Not that it is wrong to eat flesh, for the apostle, speak-

' Jas. iv. 3. * Num. xi. 32.
ing of this very tiling, says, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused which is received with thanksgiving;" ^ but because, as he also says, "It is evil for that man who eateth with offence;" ^ and if so, with offence to man, how much more so if to God ? to whom it was no light offence, on the part of the Israelites, to reject what wisdom was supplying, and ask for that which lust was craving: although they would not actually make the request, but murmured because it was wanting. But to let us know that the wrong lies not with any creature of God, but with obstinate disobedience and inordinate desire, it was not in swine's flesh that the first man found death, but in an apple;^ and it was not for a fowl, but for a dish of pottage, that Esau lost his birthright.*

2. How, then, are we to understand "Whatsoever ye shall ask, I will do it," if there are some things which the faithful ask, and which God, even purposely on their behalf, leaves undone ? Or ought we to suppose that the words were addressed only to the apostles ? Surely not. For what He has got the length of now saying is in the very line of what He had said before: "He that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do;" which was the subject of our previous discourse. And that no one might attribute such power to himself, but rather to make it manifest that even these greater works were done by Himself, He proceeded to say, "For I go to the Father; and whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will do it." Was it the apostles only that believed on Him ? When, therefore, He said, "He that believeth on me," He spake to those, among whom we also by His grace are included, who by no means receive everything that we ask. And if we turn our thoughts even to the most blessed apostles, we find that he who laboured more than they all, yet not he, but the grace of God that was with him,^ besought the Lord thrice that the messenger of Satan might depart from him, and received not what he had asked.^ What shall we say, beloved ? Are we to suppose that the promise here made, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will do it," was not fulfilled . by Him even to the


* Gen. XXV. 34. ^ i Cor. xv. 10. ^ 2 Cor. xu. 8.

TRACT. LXXII] ASKING IN CHRIST'S NAME. 271

apostles ? And to whom, then, will ever His promise be fulfilled, if therein He has deceived His own apostles ?
3. Wake up, then, believer, and give careful heed to what is stated here, "in my name: " for in these words He does not say, " whatsoever ye shall ask " in any way; but, " in my name." How, then, is He called, who promised so great a blessing? Christ Jesus, of course: Christ means King, and Jesus means Saviour! for certainly it is not any one who is a king that will save us, but only the Saviour-King; and therefore, whatsoever we ask that is adverse to the interests of salvation, we do not ask in the name of the Saviour. And yet He is the Saviour, not only when He does what we ask, but also when He refuses to do so; since by not doing what He sees to be contrary to our salvation. He manifests Himself the more fully as our Saviour. For the physician knows which of his patient's requests will be favourable, and which will be adverse, to his safety; and therefore yields not to his wishes when asking what is prejudicial, that he may effect his recovery.

Accordingly, when we wish Him to do whatsoever we ask, let it not be in any way, but in His name, that is, in the name of the Saviour, that we present our petition. Let us not, then, ask aught that is contrary to our own salvation; for if He do that, He does it not as the Saviour, which is the name He bears to His faithful disciples. For He who condescends to be the Saviour of the faithful, is also a Judge to condemn the ungodly. Whatsoever, therefore, any one that believeth on Him shall ask in that name which He bears to those who believe on Him, He will do it; for He will do it as the Saviour. But if one that believeth on Him asketh something through ignorance that is injurious to his salvation, he asketh it not in the name of the Saviour; for His Saviour He will no longer be if He do aught to impede his salvation.

And hence, in such a case, in not doing what He is entreated to do, His way is kept the clearer for doing what His name imports. And on that account, not only as the Saviour, but also as the good Master, He taught us, in the very prayer He gave us, what we should ask, in order that, whatsoever we shall ask. He may do it; and that we, too, might thereby understand that we cannot be asking in the Master's name.

272 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXIII.

anything that is inconsistent with the rule of His own instructions.

4. There are some things, indeed, which, although really asked in His name, that is, in harmony with His character as both Saviour and Master, He doeth not at the time we ask them, and yet He faileth not to do them. For when we pray that the kingdom of God may come, it does not imply that He is not doing what we ask, because we do not begin at once to reign with Him in the everlasting kingdom: for what we ask is delayed, but not denied. Nevertheless, let us not fail in praying, for in so doing we are as those that sow the seed; and in due season we shall reap. And even when we are asking aright, let us ask Him at the same time not to do what we ask amiss; for there is reference to this also in the Lord's Prayer, when we say, " Lead us not into temptation." For surely the temptation is no slight one if thine own request be hostile to thy cause. But we must not listen with indifference to the statement that the Lord (to prevent any from thinking that what He promised to do to those that asked, He would do without the Father, after saying, " whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will do it ") immediately added, " That the
Father may be glorified in the Son: if ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it." In no respect, therefore, does the Son act without the Father, since He so acts for the very purpose that in Him the Father may be glorified. The Father, therefore, acts in the Son, that the Son may be glorified in the Father: and the Son acts in the Father, that the Father may be glorified in the Son; for the Father and the Son are one.


TEACTATE LXXIV.

Chapter XIV. 15-17.

1. "ITT^E have heard, brethren, while the Gospel was read, T T the Lord saying: " If ye love me, keep my commandments: and I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter [Paraclete], that He may abide with you for ever; [even] the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye shall know Him; for He shall dwell with you, and shall be in you."^ There are many points which might form the subject of inquiry in these few words of the Lord; but it were too much for us either to search into all that is here for the searching, or to find out all that we here search for. Nevertheless, as far as the Lord is pleased to grant us the power, and in proportion to our capacity and yours, attend to what we ought to say and you to hear, and receive, beloved, what we on our part are able to give, and apply to Him for that wherein we fail. It is the Spirit, the Comforter, that Christ has promised to His apostles; but let us notice the way in which He gave the promise. " If ye love me," He says, " keep my commandments: and I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; [even] the Spirit of truth." We have here, at all events, the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, whom the catholic faith acknowledges to be consubstantial and co-eternal with Father and Son: He it is of whom the apostle says, " The love of

^ Augustine has cojrnoscffii* for the second "know," and ncit for that immediately preceding. The Greek text, however, has yivucrnx in both places, and in the T^re-sen^ tense. He has also " manebit et in vobis crit. " The tense of /À«svs/, \h(ith.eT j?resent or future, depends simply on the place of the accent, ,<"", or fiif'.T: while, as between the two readings ta-riv and 'irrai, the preponderance of MS. authority seems in favour of the latter; although the present yiugKin in the principal clause would be more naturally followed by an equally proleptic present in those which follow. â€” Tfii.

TRACT. VOL. II. ' S

274 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT, LXXIV.
God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who is given unto us." ^ How, then, doth the Lord say, " If ye love me, keep my commandments: and I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter;" when He saith so of the Holy Spirit, without [having] whom we can neither love God nor keep His commandments? How can we love so as to receive Him, without whom we cannot love at all? or how shall we keep the commandments so as to receive Him, without whom we have no power to keep them? Or can it be that the love wherewith we love Christ has a prior place within us, so that, by thus loving Christ and keeping His commandments, we become worthy of receiving the Holy Spirit, in order that the love, not of Christ, which had already preceded, but of God the Father, may be shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, who is given unto us? Such a thought is altogether wrong. For he who believes that he loveth the Son, and loveth not the Father, certainly loveth not the Son, but some figment of his own imagination. And besides, this is the apostolic declaration, " No one saith. Lord Jesus,^ but in the Holy Spirit: ^ and who is it that calleth Him Lord Jesus but he that loveth Him, if he so call Him in the way the apostle intended to be understood? For many call Him so with their lips, but deny Him in their hearts and works; just as He saith of such, " For they profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him." ^ If it is by works He is denied, it is doubtless also by works that His name is truly invoked. " 'No one,' therefore, " saith. Lord Jesus," in mind, in word, in deed, with the heart, the lips, the labour of the hands, â€” no one saith, Lord Jesus, but in the Holy Spirit; and no one calls Him so but he that loveth. And accordingly the apostles were already calling Him Lord Jesus: and if they called Him so, in no way that implied a feigned utterance, with the mouth confessing, in heart and works denying Him; if they called Him so in all truthfulness of soul, there can be

^ Eom. V. 5.

"Or, "Jesus is Lord." The weight of authority is clearly in favour of the reading followed by Angiistine â€” ?Iys/, Kyvio; 'i-/â€žrou;, giving the direct utterance of the speaker; and not the indirect accusative, Kypiov 'imroZv, followed by our English version. â€” Tli.

3 1 Cor. xii. 3. Â« Tit. i. 16.

TRACT. LXXIV.] THE COMFOETER. 275

no doubt they loved. And how, then, did they love, but in the Holy Spirit? And yet they are commanded to love Him and keep His commandments, previous and in order to their receiving the Holy Spirit: and yet, without having that Spirit, they certainly could not love Him and keep His commandments.

2. We are therefore to understand that he who loves has already the Holy Spirit, and by what he has becomes worthy of a fuller possession, that by having the more he may love the more. Already, therefore, had the disciples that Holy Spirit whom the Lord promised, for without Him they could not call Him Lord; but they had Him not as yet in the way
promised by the Lord. Accordingly they both had, and had Him not, inasmuch as they had Him not as yet to the same extent as He was afterwards to be possessed. They had Him, therefore, in a more limited sense: He was yet to be given them in an ampler measure. They had Him in a hidden way, they were yet to receive Him in a way that was manifest; for this present possession had also a bearing on that fuller gift of the Holy Spirit, that they might come to a conscious knowledge of what they had. It is in speaking of this gift that the apostle says: "Now we have received, not the spirit of this world, but the spirit which is of God, that we may know the things that are freely given to us of God." ^ For that same manifest bestowal of the Holy Spirit the Lord made, not once, but on two separate occasions. For close on the back of His resurrection from the dead He breathed on them and said, "Eeceive ye the Holy Spirit." ^ And because He then gave [the Spirit], did He on that account fail in afterwards sending Him according to His promise ? Or was it not the very same Spirit who was both then breathed upon them by Himself, and afterwards sent by Him from heaven ? ^ And so, why that same giving on His part which took place publicly, also took place twice, is another question: for it may be that this twofold bestowal of His in a public way took place because of the two commandments of love, that is, to our neighbour and to God, in order that love might be impressively intimated as pertaining to the Holy Spirit. And if any other reason is to be sought for, we cannot at present allow our dis-

1 Cor. ii. 12. = Chap. xx. 22. 3 Acts ii. 4.

276 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TEACT. LXXIV.

course to be improperly prolonged by such an inquiry: provided, however, it be admitted that, -without the Holy Spirit, we can neither love Christ nor keep His commandments; while the less experience we have of His presence, the less also can we do so; and the fuller our experience, so much the greater our ability. Accordingly, the promise is no vain one, either to him who has not [the Holy Spirit], or to him who has. For it is made to him who has not, in order that he may have; and to him who has, that he may have more abundantly. For were it not that He was possessed by some in smaller measure than by others, St. Elisha would not have have said to St. Elijah, "Let the spirit that is in thee be in a twofold measure in me." ^

3. But when John the Baptist said, " For God giveth not the Spirit by measure," ^ he was speaking exclusively of the Son of God, who received not the Spirit by measure; for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead. ^ And no more is it independently of the grace of the Holy Spirit that the Mediator between God and men is the man Christ Jesus:

for with His own lips He tells us that the prophetic utterance had been fulfilled in Himself: " The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because He hath anointed me, and hath sent me to preach the gospel to the poor." ^ For His being the Onlybegotten, the equal of the Father, is not of grace, but of nature; but the assumption of human nature into the personal unity of the Only-begotten is not of nature, but of grace, as the Gospel acknowledges itself when it says, "And the child grew, and waxed strong, being filled
with wisdom, and the grace of God was in Him." ^ But to others He is given by measure, à²" a measure ever enlarging until each has received his full complement up to the limits of his own perfection. As we are also reminded by the apostle, "Not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think, but to think soberly; according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." ^ Nor is it the Spirit Himself that is divided, but the gifts bestowed by the Spirit: for there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.Â®

1 2 Kings ii. 9. Â« ci^v p. iii. 4. 3 Col. ii. 9. â€œÂ» 1 Tim. ii. 5.

5 Luke ir. 18-21. 6 L^i^g jj. 40. 7 Kom. xii. 3. 8 I Oor. xii. 4.

TRACT. LXXIV.] THE INDWELLING OF THE SPIRIT. 277

4. But when He says, " I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete," He intimates that He Himself is also a paraclete. For paraclete is in Latin called advocatus (advocate); and it is said of Christ, " We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." ^ But He said that the world could not receive the Holy Spirit, in much the same sense as it is also said, " The minding of the flesh is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God; neither indeed can he;" ^ just as if we were to say, Unrighteousness cannot be righteous. For in speaking in this passage of the world, He refers to those who love the world; and such a love is not of the Father.Â® And thus the love of this world, which gives us enough to do to weaken and destroy its power within us, is in direct opposition to the love of God, which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given unto us. " The world," therefore, " cannot receive Him, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him."

For worldly love possesseth not those invisible eyes, whereby, save in an invisible way, the Holy Spirit cannot be seen.

5. " But ye," He adds, " shall know Him; for He shall dwell with you, and be in you." He will be in them that He may dwell with them; He will not dwell with them to the end that He may be in them: for the being anywhere is prior to the dwelling there. But to prevent us from imagining that His words, " He shall dwell with you," were spoken in the same sense as that in which a guest usually dwells with a man in a visible way. He explained what " He shall dwell with you " meant, when He added the words, " He shall be in you." He is seen, therefore, in an invisible way: nor can we have any knowledge of Him unless He be in us. For it is in a similar way that we come to see our conscience within us: for we see the face of another, but we cannot see our own; but it is our own conscience we see, not another's. And yet conscience is never anywhere but within us: but the Holy Spirit can be also apart from us, since He is given that He may also be in us. But we cannot see and know Him in the only way in which He may be seen and known, unless He be in us.

^ 1 John ii. 1. * Rom. viii. 7, manj. ^ 1 John ii. 16.
Chapter XIV. 18-21.

1. After the promise of the Holy Spirit, lest any should suppose that the Lord was to give Him, as it were, in place of Himself, in any such way as that He Himself would not likewise be with them. He added the words: "I will not leave you orphans; I will come to you." Orphans [Greek] are pupilli [parentless children] in Latin. The one is the Greek, the other the Latin name of the same thing: for in the psalm where we read, "Thou art the helper of the fatherless" [in the Latin version, pupillo], the Greek has orphano. Accordingly, although it was not the Son of God that adopted sons to His Father, or willed that we should have by grace that same Father, who is His Father by nature, yet in a sense it is paternal feelings toward us that He Himself displays, when He declares, "I will not leave you orphans; I will come to you." In the same way He calls us also the children of the bridegroom, when He says, "The time will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall the children of the bridegroom fast." And who is the bridegroom, but Christ the Lord?

2. He then goes on to say, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more." How so? The world saw Him then; for under the name of the world are to be understood those of whom He spake above, when saying of the Holy Spirit, "Whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him." He was plainly visible to the carnal eyes of the world, while manifest in the flesh; but it saw not the Word that lay hid in the flesh: it saw the man, but it saw not God: it saw the covering, but not the Being within. But as, after the resurrection, even His very flesh, 1 Ps. X. 14. 2 Matt. ix. 15.

278

TRACT. LXXY.] BECAUSE CHRIST LIVES, WE SHALL LIVE. 279

which He exhibited both to the sight and to the handling of His own, He refused to exhibit to others, we may in this way perhaps understand the meaning of the words, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye shall see me: because I live, ye shall live also."

3. What is meant by the words, "Because I live, ye shall live also"? Why did He speak in the present tense of His own living, and in the future of theirs, but just by way of promise that the life also of the resurrection-body, as it preceded in His own case, would
certainly follow in theirs? And as His own resurrection was in the immediate future. He put the word in the present tense to signify its speedy approach:

but of theirs, as delayed till the end of the world, He said not, ye live; but, " ye shall live." With elegance and brevity, therefore, by means of two words, one of them in the present tense and the other in the future. He gave the promise of two resurrections, to wit. His own in the immediate future, and ours as yet to come in the end of the world. "Because I live," He says, " ye shall live also: " because He liveth, therefore shall we live also. For as by man is death, by man also is the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. As it is only through the former that every one is liable to death, it is only through Christ that any one can attain unto life. Because we did not live, we are dead; because He lived, we shall live also. We were dead to Him, when we lived to ourselves; but, because He died in our behalf. He liveth both for Himself and for us.

For, because He liveth, we shall live also. For while we were able of ourselves to attain unto death, it is not of ourselves also that life can come into our possession.

4. " In that day," He says, " ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you." In what day, but in that whereof He said, " Ye shaU live also "? For then

^â– ill it be that we can see what we believe. For even noAv is He in us, and we in Him: this we believe now, but then shall we also know it; although what we know even now by faith, we shall know then by actual vision. For as long as we are in the body, as it now is, to wit, corruptible, and encumbering

1 1 Cor. .w. 21, 22.

280 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. LXXV.

to the soul, we live at a distance from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by sight.^ Then accordingly it will be by sight, for we shall see Him as He is.^ For if Christ were not even now in us, the apostle would not say, "And if Christ be in you, the body is dead indeed because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness." ^ But that we are also in Him even then, He makes sufficiently clear, when He says, " I am the vine, ye are the branches." ^ Accordingly in that day, when we shall be living the life, whereby death shall be swallowed up, we shall know that He is in the Father, and we in Him, and He in us; for then shall be completed that very state which is already in the present begun by Him, that He should be in us, and we in Hipi.

5. "He that hath my commandments," He adds, "and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." He that hath [them]
in his memory, and keepeth them in his life; who hath them orally, and keepeth them morally; who hath them in the ear, and keepeth them in deed; or who hath them in deed, and keepeth them by perseverance; â€” " he it is," He says, " that loveth me." By works is love made manifest as no fruitless application of a name. " And he that loveth me," He says,
"shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." But what is this, "I will love"? Is it as if He were then only to love, and loveth not at present? Surely not. For how could the Father love us apart from the Son, or the Son apart from the Father? Working as They do inseparably, how can They love apart? But He said, "I will love him," in reference to that which follows, "and I will manifest myself to him." "I will love, and will manifest;

that is, I will love to the very extent of manifesting. For this has been the present aim of His love, that we may believe, and keep hold of the commandment of faith; but then His love will have this for its object, that we may see, and get that very sight as the reward of our faith: for we also love now, by believing in that which we shall see hereafter; but then shall we love in the sight of that which now we believe.

1 2 Cor. V. 7. 2 1 John iii. 2. Â» Eom. viii. 10.

* Chap. XV. 5. * "Separabiliter,"

TEACTATE LXXVI

* CnAi'TEn XIV. 22-24.

1. XTTHILE the disciples thus question, and Jesus their T T Master replies to them, we also, as it were, are learning along with them, when we either read or listen to the holy Gospel. Accordingly, because the Lord had said, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye shall see me," Judas - not indeed His betrayer, who was surnamed Iscariot, but he whose epistle is read among the canonical Scriptures - asked Him of this very matter: "Lord, how is it that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world?"

Let us, too, be as it were questioning disciples with them, and listen to our common Master. For Judas the holy, not the impure, the follower, but not the persecutor of the Lord, has inquired the reason why Jesus was to manifest Himself to His own, and not to the world; why it was that yet a little while, and the world should not see Him, but they should see Him.

2. "Jesus answered and said unto him. If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him. He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings." Here we have set forth the reason why He is to manifest Himself to His own, and not to that other class whom He distinguishes by the name of the world; and such is the reason also Avhy the one loveth Him, and the other loveth Him not. It is the very reason, whereof it is declared in the sacred psalm, "Judge me, God, and plead my cause against an unholy nation." ^ For such as love are chosen, because they love: but those who have not love, though they speak with the tongues of
men and angels, are become a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal; and though they had the gift of prophecy, and knew all mys-

Ps. xliii. 1.

281

282 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. LXXVI.

...teries and all knowledge, and had aU faith so that they could remove mountains, they are nothing; and though they distributed all their substance, and gave their body to be burnt, it profiteth them nothing.\^ The saints are distinguished from the world by that love which maketh the one-minded\^ to dwell [together] in a house.\^ In this house Father and Son make their abode, and impart that very love to those whom They shall also honour at last with this promised self-manifestation; of which the disciple questioned his Master, that not only those who then listened might learn it from His own lips, but we also from his Gospel. For he had made inquiry about the manifestation of Christ, and heard [in reply] about His loving and abiding. There is therefore a kind of inward manifestation of God, which is entirely unknown to the ungodly, who receive no manifestation of God the Father and the Holy Spirit: of the Son, indeed, there might have been such, but only in the flesh; and that, too, neither of the same kind as the other, nor able under any form to remain with them, save only for a little while; and even that, for judgment, not for rejoicing; for punishment, not for reward.

3. We have now, therefore, to understand, so far as He is pleased to unfold it, the meaning of the words, "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye shall see me."

It is true, indeed, that after a little while He was to withdraw even His body, in which the ungodly also were able to see Him, from their sight; for none of them saw Him after His resurrection. But since it was declared on the testimony of angels, "He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him

\^ 1 Cor. xiii. 1-3. 2 Â«' Unanimes."

\' Ps. Ixviii. 6: according to Augustine's translation and adaptation of the words nn"3 DnTT" 3"B'iO, and which the Vulgate has also rendered somewhat similarly, "qui inhabitat facit unius moris in domo." The English version is rather more accordant with the context, "who setteth the solitary in families," or rather, "who maketh the solitary [lit. those standing alone] to dwell in a house," mar J.; that is, if ^[IT]^ might not even here retain its proper meaning of "only one," and, hence, "beloved one." At all events, the word thus used, and its place in the context (see especially the preceding verse), may warrant the combination of both meanings, â€” that those who are "ones standing alone," friendless, cast off from others, in a human sense, are D"èâ€”only ones," "beloved ones " in the heavenly Father's sight, to whom He extends a special protection, and provide th a liome. â€” Tr.
TEACT. LXXVI.] HOW GOD ABIDES IN BELIEVERS. 283

go into heaven; "^ and our faith stands to this, that He will come in the same body to judge the living and the dead; there can be no doubt that He will then be seen by the world, meaning by the name, those who are aliens from His kingdom.

And, on this account, it is far better to understand Him as having intended to refer at once to that epoch, when He said,

" Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more," when in the end of the world He shall be taken away from the sight of the damned, that for the future He may be seen only of those with whom, as those that love Him, the Father and Himself are making their abode. But He said, "a little while," because that which appears tedious to men is very brief in the sight of God: for of this same " little while " our evangelist, John, himself says, " Little children, it is the last time."

4. But further, lest any should imagine that the Father and Son only, without the Holy Spirit, make their abode with those that love Them, let him recall what was said above of the Holy Spirit, " Whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye shall know Him; for He shall dwell with you, and shall be in you " (ver. 17). Here you see that, along with the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit also taketh up His abode in the saints; that is to say, within them, as God in His temple. The triune God, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, come to us while we are coming to Them: They come with help, we come with obedience; They come to enlighten, we to behold; They come to fill, we to contain: that our vision of Them may not be external, but inward; and Their abiding in us may not be transitory, but eternal The Son doth not manifest HimselK in such a way as this to the world: for the world is spoken of in the passage before us as those, of whom He immediately adds, " He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings." These are such as never see the Father and the Holy Spirit: and see the Son for a little while, not to their attainment of bliss, but to their condemnation; and even Him, not in the form of God, wherein He is equally invisible with the Father and the Holy Spirit, but in human form, in which it was His will to be an

Â» Acts i. 11. * 1 Jolm ii. 18.

284 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. LXXVL

object of contempt in suffering, but of terror in judging the world.

5. But -when He added, " And the saying which ye have heard is not mine, but the Father's who sent me," let us not be filled with wonder or fear: He is not inferior to the Father, and yet He is not, save of the Father: He is not unequal in HimselK, but He is not of Himself. For it was no false word He uttered when He said, " He that loveth me not,
keepeth not my sayings." He called them, you see, His own sayings; does He, then, contradict Himself when He said again, " And the saying which ye have heard is not mine "? And, perhaps, it was on account of some intended distinction that, when He said His own, He used " sayings " in the plural; but when He said that " the saying," that is, the Word, was not His own, but the Father's, He wished it to be understood of Himself. For in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. For as the Word, He is certainly not His own, but the Father's: just as He is not His own image, but the Father's; and is not Himself His own Son, but the Father's. Eightly, therefore, does He attribute whatever He does, as equal, to the Author of all, of whom He has this very prerogative, that He is in all respects His equal.

1 Chap, i, 1.

TEACTATE LXXVII.

Chapter XIV. 25-27.

1. XN" the preceding lesson of the holy Gospel, of which is JL followed by the one that has just been read, the Lord Jesus had said that He and the Father would come to those who loved Them, and make Their abode with them. But He had also already said above of the Holy Spirit, " But ye shall know Him; for He shall dwell with you, and shall be in you " (ver. 17): by which we understood that the divine Trinity dwelleth together in the saints as in His own temple. But now He saith, " These things have I spoken unto you while [still] dwelling with you." That dwelling, therefore, which He promised in the future, is of one kind; and this, which He declares to be present, is of another. The one is spiritual, and is realized inwardly by the mind; the other is corporal, and is exhibited outwardly to the eye and the ear. The one brings eternal blessedness to those who have been delivered, the other pays its visits in time to those who await deliverance.

As regards the one, the Lord never withdraws from those who love Him; as regards the other. He comes and goes. " These things," He says, " have I spoken unto you, while [still] dwelling with you; " that is, in His bodily presence, wherein He was visibly conversing with them.

2. " But the Comforter," He adds, " [which is] the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name. He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." Is it, then, that the Son speaks, and the Holy Spirit teaches, so that we merely get hold of the words that are uttered by the Son, and then understand them by the teaching of the Spirit? as if the Son could speak without the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit teach without the Son: or is it not rather that the Son also teacheth and
the Spirit speaketh, and, when it is God that speaketh and teacheth anything, that the Trinity itself is speaking and teaching? And just because it is a Trinity, its persons required to be introduced individually, so that we might hear it in its distinct personality, and understand its inseparable nature.\(^*\)

Listen to the Father speaking in the passage where thou readest, "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son:" listen to Him also teaching, in that where thou readest, "Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me."\(^*\) The Son, on the other hand, thou hast just heard speaking: for He saith of Himself, "Whatsoever I have said unto you:" and if thou wouldst also know Him as a Teacher, bethink thyself of the Master, when He saith, "One is your Master, even Christ."\(^*\) Furthermore, of the Holy Spirit, whom thou hast just been told of as a Teacher in the words, "He shall teach you all things," listen to Him also speaking, where thou readest in the Acts of the Apostles, that the Holy Spirit said to the blessed Peter, "Go with them, for I have sent them."\(^*\) The whole Trinity, therefore, both speaketh and teacheth: but were it not also brought before us in its individual personality, it would certainly altogether surpass the power of human weakness to comprehend it. For as it is altogether inseparable in itself, it could never be known as the Trinity, were it always spoken of inseparably; for when we speak of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we certainly do not pronounce them simultaneously, and yet in themselves they cannot be else than simultaneous. But when He added, "He will bring to your remembrance," we ought also to understand that we are commanded not to forget that these pre-eminently salutary admonitions are part of that grace which the Holy Spirit brings to our remembrance.

3. "Peace," He said, "I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." It is here we read in the prophet, "Peace upon peace:" peace He leaves with us when going away, His own peace He will give us when He cometh in the end. Peace He leaveth with us in this world, His own peace He will give us in the world to come. His own peace He leaveth with us, and

i "Earn [Trinitateni] distincte audire, inseparabiliter intelligere."


TRACT. LXXVII.] CHEIST'S PEACE. 287

abiding therein we conquer the enemy. His own peace He will give us when, with no more enemies to fight, we shall reign as kings. Peace He leaveth with us, that here also we may love one another: His own peace will He give us, where we shall be beyond the possibility of dissension. Peace He leaveth with us, that we may not judge one another of what is secret to each, while here on earth: His own peace will He give us, when He "
will make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise of
God." And yet in Him and from Him it is that we have peace, whether that which He
leaveth with us when going to the Father, or that which He will give us when we
ourselves are brought by Him to the Father. And what is it He leaveth with us, when
ascending from us, save His own presence, which He never withdraweth? For He
Himself is our peace who hath made both one. It is He, therefore, that becomes our
peace, both when we believe that He is, and when we see Him as He is.
For if, so long as we are in this corruptible body that burdens the soul, and are walking by
faith, not by sight. He forsooketh not those who are sojourning at a distance from
Himself; how much more, when we have attained to that sight, shall He fill us with Himself?

4. But why is it that, when He said, " Peace I leave with you," He did not add, " my; " but
when He said, " I give unto you," He there made use of it? Is " my " to be understood
even where it is not expressed, on the ground that what is expressed once may have a
reference to both? Or may it not be that here also we have some underlying truth that has
to be asked and sought for, and opened up to those who knock thereat? For what, if by
His own peace He meant such to be understood as that which He possesses Himself?
whereas the peace, which He leaves us in this world, may more properly be termed our
peace than His. For He, who is altogether without sin, has no elements of discord in
Himself; while the peace which we possess, meanwhile, is such that in the midst of it we have
still to be saying, " Forgive us our debts." A certain kind of peace, accordingly, we do
possess, inasmuch as we de-

1 1 Cor. iv. 5. 2 p ^ p j i _ ii J 4 3 j j o i m j i j. 0.

* 2 Cor, V. G, 7. * ilatt. vi. 12.

288 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXVII.

light in the law of God after the inward man: but it is not a full peace, for we see another
law in our members warring against the law of our mind.- In the same way we have
peace in our relations with one another, just because, in mutually loving, we have a
mutual confidence in one another: but no more is such a peace as that complete, for we
see not the thoughts of one another's hearts; and we have severally better or worse
opinions in certain respects of one another than is warranted by the reality. And so that
peace, although left us by Him, is our peace: for were it not from Him, we should not be
possessing it, such as it is; but such is not the peace He has Himself And if we keep what
we received to the end, then such as He has shall we have, when we shall have no
elements of discord of our own, and we shall have no secrets hid from one another in our
hearts. But I am not ignorant that these words of the Lord may be taken so as to seem
only a repetition of the same idea, " Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: "
so that after saying " peace," He only repeated it in saying " my peace; " and what He had
meant in saying " I leave with you," He simply repeated in saying
"I give unto you." Let each one understand it as he pleases; but it is my delight, as I believe it is yours also, my beloved brethren, o keep such hold of that peace here, where our hearts are making common cause against the adversary, that we may be ever longing for the peace which there will be no adversary to disturb.

5. But when the Lord proceeded to say, "Not as the world giveth, give I unto you," what else does He mean but, Not as those give who love the world, give I unto you? For their aim in giving themselves peace is that, exempt from the annoyance of lawsuits and wars, they may find enjoyment, not in God, but in the friendship of the world; and although they give the righteous peace, in ceasing to persecute them, there can be no true peace where there is no real harmony, because their hearts are at variance. Tor as one is called a consort who unites his lot (sortem) with another, so may he be termed concordant whose heart has entered into a similar union.

Let

1 Rom. vii. 22, 23.

^"Consors dicitur, qui sortem jungit â€” concors dicendus, qui corda jungit."

TRACT. LXXVII. | THE WORLD'S TEACE. 289

US, therefore, beloved, with whom Christ leaveth peace, and to whom He giveth His own peace, not after the world's way, but in a way worthy of Him by whom the world was made, that we should be of one heart with Himself, having our hearts run into one, that this one heart, set on that which is above, may escape the corruption of the earth.

Tr.ACT. VOL. TI.

TEACTATE LXXVIII.

Chapter XIV. 27, 28.

1. T.TTE have just heardj brethren, these words of the Lord, æ–¼ T which He addressed to His disciples: "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. Ye have heard how I said unto you, I go away, and come unto you: if ye loved me, ye would surely rejoice, because I go unto the Father; for the Father is greater than I." Their hearts might have become filled with trouble and fear, simply because of His going away from them, even though intending to return; lest, possibly, in the very interval of the shepherd's absence, the wolf should make an onset on the flock. But as God, He abandoned not those from whom He departed as man: and Christ Himself is at once both man and God. And so He both went away in respect of His visible humanity,
and remained as regards His Godhead: He went away as regards the nature which is subject to local limitations, and remained in respect of that which is ubiquitous. Why, then, should their heart be troubled and afraid', when His quitting their eyesight was of such a kind as to leave unaltered His presence in their heart? Although even God, who has no local bounds to His presence, may depart from the hearts of those who turn away from Him, not with their feet, but their moral character; just as He comes to such as turn to Him, not with their faces, but in faith, and approach Him in the spirit, and not in the flesh. But that they might understand that it was only in respect of His human nature that He said, "I go and come to you," He went on to say, "If ye loved me, ye would surely rejoice, because I go unto the Father; for the Father is greater than I." And so, then, in that very respect wherein the Son is not equal to the Father, in that was He to go to the Father, just as from Him is He hereafter to come to judge the

290

TKACT. LXX^II.] THE FATHER GREATER THAN CHRIST. 291

quick and the dead: while in so far as the Only-begotten is equal to Him that begat, He never withdraws from the Father; but with Him is everywhere perfectly equal in that Godhead which knows of no local limitations. For "being as He was in the form of God," as the apostle says, "He thought it not robbery to be equal with God." For how could that nature be robbery, which was His, not by usurpation, but by birth?

"But He emptied Himself, taking upon Him the form of a servant;"^ and so, not losing the former, but assuming the latter, and emptying Himself in that very respect wherein He stood forth before us here in a humbler state than that wherein He still remained with the Father. For there was the accession of a servant-form, with no recession of the divine: in the assumption of the one there was no consumption of the other. In reference to the one He says, "The Father is greater than I;" but because of the other, "I and my Father are one."^ 2

2. Let the Arian attend to this, and find healing in his attention; that wrangling may not lead to vanity, or, what is worse, to insanity. For it is the servant-form which is that wherein the Son of God is less, not only than the Father, but also than the Holy Spirit; and more than that, less also than Himself, for He Himself, in the form of God, is greater than Himself. For the man Christ does not cease to be called the Son of God, a name which was thought worthy of being applied even to His flesh alone as it lay in the tomb. And what else than this do we confess, when we declare that we believe in the only-begotten Son of God, who, under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, and buried? And what of Him was buried, save the flesh without the spirit? And so in believing in the Son of God, who was buried, we surely affix the name. Son of God, even to His flesh, which alone was laid in the grave.

Christ Himself, therefore, the Son of God, equal with the Father because in the form of God, inasmuch as He emptied Himself, without losing the form of God, but assuming
that of a servant, is greater even than Himself; because the unlost form of God is greater than the assumed form of a servant.
And what, then, is there to wonder at, or what is there out of

' Phil. ii. 6, 7. ^ Chap. x. 30.

292 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. LXXVIII.

place, if, in reference to this servant-form, the Son of God says, " The Father is greater than I;" and in speaking of the form of God, the self-same Son of God declares, " I and my Father are one " ? For one they are, inasmuch as " The Word was God;" and greater is the Father, inasmuch as " the Word was made flesh." ^ Let me add what cannot be gainsaid by Arians and Eunomians: ^ in respect of this servant-form, Christ as a child was inferior also to His own parents, when, according to Scripture, "He was subject"^ as an infant to His seniors.
Why, then, heretic, seeing that Christ is both God and man, when He speaketh as man, dost thou calumniate God ? He in His own person commends our human nature; dost thou dare in Him to asperse the divine ? Unbelieving and ungrateful as thou art, wilt thou degrade Him who made thee, just for the very reason that He is declaring what He became because of thee ? For equal as He is with the Father, the Son, by whom man was made, became man, in order to be less than the Father: and had He not done so, what would have become of man ?

3. May our Lord and Master bring home clearly to our minds the words, " If ye loved me, ye would surely rejoice, because I go unto the Father; for the Father is greater than L"^ Let us, along with the disciples, listen to the Teacher's words, and not, with strangers, give heed to the wiles of the deceiver.
Let us acknowledge the twofold substance of Christ; to wit, the divine, in which he is equal with the Father, and the human, in respect to which the Father is greater. And yet at the same time both are not two, for Christ is one; and God is not a quaternity, but a Trinity. For as the rational soul and the body form but one man, so Christ, while both God and man, is one; and thus Christ is God, a rational soul, and a body. In all of these we confess Him to be Christ, we confess Him in each. Who, then, is He that made the world ?
Christ Jesus, but in the form of God, Who is it that was

1 Chap. i. 1, 14.

^ The Eunomians were a branch of the Arians, only slightly differing in some cf their tenets regarding the essential inferiority to God, and the creaturehood, of the Son and the Holy Spirit. As a sect, they belong to the fourth century, and derived their name from Eunomius, bishop of Cyzicus. â€” Tn.

*â€¢ Luke ii. 51.
crucified under Pontius Pilate? Christ Jesus, but in the form of a servant. And so of the several parts whereof He consists as man. Who is He who was not left in hell? Christ Jesus, but only in respect of His soul. Who was to rise on the third day, after being laid in the tomb? Christ Jesus, but solely in reference to His flesh. In reference, then, to each of these. He is likewise called Christ. And yet all of them are not two, or three, but one Christ. On this account, therefore, did He say, "If ye loved me, ye would surely rejoice, because I go unto the Father;" for human nature is worthy of congratulation, in being so assumed by the only-begotten Word as to be constituted immortal in heaven, and, earthy in its nature, to be so sublimated and exalted, that, as incorruptible dust, it might take its seat at the right hand of the Father.

In such a sense it is that He said He would go to the Father. For in very truth He went unto Him, who was always with Him. But His going unto Him and departing from us were neither more nor less than His transforming and immortalizing that which He had taken upon Him from us in its mortal condition, and exalting that to heaven, by means of which He lived on earth in man's behalf. And who would not draw rejoicing from such a source, who has such love to Christ that he can at once congratulate his own nature as already immortal in Christ, and cherish the hope that he himself will yet become so through Christ?

TEACTATE LXXIX.

Chapter XIV. 29-31.

1. /"The Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, had said unto His \_/disciples, "If ye loved me, ye would surely rejoice, because I go vinto the Father; for the Father is greater than L" And that He so spake in His servant-form, and not in that of God, wherein He is equal with the Father, is well known to faith as it resides in the minds of the pious, not as it is feigned by the scornful and senseless. And then He added, "And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe." What can He mean by this, when the fact rather is, that a man ought, before it comes to pass, to believe that which demands his belief?

For it forms the very encomium of faith when that which is beKeved is not seen. For what greatness is there in believing what is seen, as in those words of the same Lord, when, in reproving a disciple. He said, "Because thou hast seen, thou, hast believed; blessed are they that see not, and yet believe." /"
And I hardly know whether any one can be said to believe what he sees; for this same faith is thus defined in the epistle addressed to the Hebrews: "Now faith is the substance of those that hope,^ the assurance ^ of things not seen." Accordingly, if faith is in things that are believed, and that, too, in things which are not seen,^ what mean these words of the Lord, "And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe "? Ought He not rather to have said. And now I have told you before it come to pass, that ye may believe what, when it is come to pass, ye

Chap. XX. 29.

shall see ? For even he who was told, "Because thou hast seen, thou hast believed," did not believe only what he saw; but he saw one thing, and believed another: for he saw Him as man, and believed Him to be God. He perceived and touched the living flesh, which he had seen in the act of dying, and he believed in the Deity infolded in that flesh. And so he believed with the mind what he did not see, by the help of that which was apparent to his bodily senses. But though we may be said to believe what we see, just as every one says that he believes his own eyes, yet that is not to be mistaken for the faith which is built up by God in our souls; but from things that are seen, we are brought to believe in those which are invisible. Wherefore, beloved, in the passage before us, when our Lord says, "And now I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe;"

by the words, "when it is come to pass," He certainly means, that they would yet see Him after His death, alive, and ascending to His Father; at the sight of which they should then be compelled to believe that He was indeed the Christ, the Son of the living God, seeing He could do such a thing, even after predicting it, and also could predict it before He did it: and this they should then believe, not with a new, but with an augmented faith; or at least [with a faith] that had been impaired ^ by His death, and was now repaired ^ by His resurrection. For it was not that they had not previously also believed Him to be the Son of God, but when His own predictions were actually fulfilled in Him, that faith, which was still weak at the time of His here speaking to them, and at the time of His death almost ceased to exist, sprang up again into new life and increased vigour.

2. But what says He next ? "Hereafter I will not talk much with you; for the prince of this world cometh;" and who is that, but the devil ? "And hath nothing in me;" that is to say, no sin at all. For by such words He points to the devil, as the prince, not of His creatures, but of sinners, whom He here designates by the name of this world. And as often as the
name of the world is used in a bad sense. He is pointing only to the lovers of such a world; of whom it is elsewhere

" Defectaâ€”ref ecta."

296 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXIX.

recorded^ " Whosoever will be a friend of this world, becomes the enemy of God."^ Far be it from us, then, so to understand the devil as prince of the world, as if he wielded the government of the whole world, that is, of heaven and earth, and all that is in them; of which sort of world it was said, when we were lecturing on Christ the Word, " And the world was made by Him." " The whole world, therefore, from the highest heavens to the lowest earth, is subject to the Creator, not to the deserter; to the Eedeemer, not to the destroyer; to the Deliverer, not to the enslaver; to the Teacher, not to the deceiver. And in what sense the devil is to be understood as the prince of the world, is still more clearly unfolded by the Apostle Paul, w^ho, after saying, " We wrestle not against flesh and blood," that is, against men, went on to say, " but against principalities and powers, and the world-rulers of this darkness." ^ For in the very next word he has explained what he meant by " world," when he added, " of this darkness;" so that no one, by the name of the world, should understand the whole creation, of which in no sense are fallen angels the rulers. " Of this darkness," he says, that is, of the lovers of this world: of whom, nevertheless, there were some elected, not from any deserving of their own, but by the grace of God, to whom he says, " Ye were sometimes darkness; but now are ye light in the Lord." * For all have been under the rulers of this darkness, that is, [under the rulers] of wicked men, or darkness, as it were, in subjection to darkness: but "thanks be to God, who hath delivered us," says the same apostle, " from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love." ^ And in Him the prince of this world, that is, of this darkness, had nothing; for neither did He come with sin as God, nor had His flesh any hereditary taint of sin in its procreation by the Virgin. And, as if it were said to Him, Why, then, dost Thou die, if Thou hast no sin to merit the punishment of death ? He immediately added, " But that the world may know that I love the Father,

1 Jas. iv. 4. 2 Chap. i. 10.

' Eph. vi. 12: Augustine, "rectores mundi tenebrarum haram;" original, raw

xiiiriycp,ptycop.; tou ffKorou; toutou.

* Eph. V. 8. 5 CoL i. 12, 13.

TRACT. LXXIX.] THE FATHER'S COMMANDMENT. 297
and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do: arise, let us go hence." For He was sitting at table with those who were similarly occupied. But "let us go," He said, and whither, but to the place where He, who had nothing in Him deserving of death, was to be delivered up to death? But He had the Father's commandment to die, as the very One of whom it had been foretold, "Then I paid for that which I took not away:" and so appointed to pay death to the fall, while owing it nothing, and to redeem us from the death that was our due. For Adam had seized on sin as a prey, when, deceived, he presumptuously stretched forth his hand to the tree, and attempted to invade the incommunicable name of that Godhead which was disallowed him, and with which the Son of God was endowed by nature, and not by robbery.

1 Ps. Ixix. 4.

TKACTATE LXXX.

Chapter XV. 1-3.

1. His passage of the Gospel, brethren, where the Lord calls Himself the vine, and His disciples the branches, declares in so many words that the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, is the head of the Church, and that we are His members. For as the vine and its branches are of one nature, therefore. His own nature as God being different from ours. He became man, that in Him human nature might be the vine, and we who also are men might become branches thereof. What mean, then, the words, "I am the true vine"? Was it to the literal vine, from which that metaphor was drawn, that He intended to point them by the addition of "true"? For it is by similitude, and not by any personal propriety, that He is thus called a vine: just as He is also termed a sheep, a lamb, a lion, a rock, a cornerstone, and other names of a like kind, which are themselves rather the true ones, from which these are drawn as similitudes, not as realities. But when He says, "I am the true vine," it is to distinguish Himself, doubtless, from that [vine] to which the words are addressed: "How art thou turned into sourness, as a strange vine?" For how could that be a true vine which was expected to bring forth grapes and brought forth thorns?

2. "I am," He says, "the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, He

1 1 Tim. ii. 5.

2 Hebrew illD, pass. part, of 'w'o, to depart [from God], and so, perhaps, "stragglers," i.e. "straggling branches of [a strange vine];" or, as in English version, "degenerate branches," rather than as in text, where Augustine gives, "in amaritudinem, vitis aliena," following the LXX., which reads, "iis vixp'tat fi ufATtXos ri aXXoTflci." The Vulgate is better: "in pra-
al, vinea aliena." â€” Tk.
tract. lxxx.] the true vine. ’ 299

taketh away; and every one that beareth fruit. He piirgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." Are, then, the husbandman and the vine one ? Christ is the vine in the same sense as when He said, "The Father is greater than I;"® but in that sense wherein He said, " I and my Father are one," He is also the husbandman. And yet not such a one as those, whose whole service is confined to external labour; but such, that He also supplies the increase from within. "For neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." But Christ is certainly God, for the "Word was God; and so He and the Father are one:

and if the Word was made flesh, â€” that which He was not liefore, â€” He nevertheless still remains what He was. And still more, after saying of the Father, as of the husbandman, that He taketh away the fruitless branches, and pruneth the fruitful, that they may bring forth more fruit. He straightway points to HimseK as also the purger of the branches, when He says, " Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you." Here, you see, He is also the pruner of the branches â€” a work which belongs to the husbandman, and not to the vine; and more than that, He maketh the branches His workmen. For although they give not the increase, they afford some help; but not of themselves: " For without me,"

He says, " ye can do nothing." And listen, also, to their own confession: " What, then, is Apollos ? and what is Paul ? but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man. I have planted, Apollos watered." And this, too, " as the Lord gave to every man " and so not of themselves. In that, however, which follows, 'aâ€¢ but God gave the increase,"® He works not by them, but by Himself; for work like that exceeds the lowly capacity of man, transcends the lofty powers of angels, and rests solely and entii-ely in the hands of the Triune Husbandman. " Now ye are clean," that is, clean, and yet still further to be cleansed. For, had they not been clean, they could not have borne fruit; and yet every one that beareth fruit is purged by the husbandman, that he may bring forth more fruit. He bears fruit because he is clean; and to bear more, lie is cleansed still further. For

' Chap. xiv, 28. - 1 Cor, iii, 5-7.

300 on the gospel of john. [tract. lxxx.

who in this life is so clean as not to be in need of still further and further cleansing ? seeing that, "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins. He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse
us from all unrighteousness;" to cleanse in very deed the clean, that is, the fruitful, that they may be so much the more fruitful, as they have been made the cleaner.

3. "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you." Why does He not say. Ye are clean through the baptism wherewith ye have been washed, but "through the word which I have spoken unto you," save only that in the water also it is the word that cleanseth? Take away the word, and the water is neither more nor less than water. The word is added to the element, and there results the Sacrament, as if itself also a kind of visible word. For He had said also to the same effect, when washing the disciples' feet, "He that is washed needeth not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." And whence has water so great an efficacy, as in touching the body to cleanse the soul, save by the operation of the word; and that not because it is uttered, but because it is believed? For even in the word itself the passing sound is one thing, the abiding efficacy another. "This is the word of faith which we preach," says the apostle, "that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." And whence has water so great an efficacy, as in touching the body to cleanse the soul, save by the operation of the word; and that not because it is uttered, but because it is believed? For even in the word itself the passing sound is one thing, the abiding efficacy another. "This is the word of faith which we preach," says the apostle, "that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Accordingly, we read in the Acts of the Apostles, "Purifying their hearts by faith;" and, says the blessed Peter in his epistle, "Even as baptism doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience." This is the word of faith which we preach, whereby baptism, doubtless, is also consecrated, in order to its possession of the power to cleanse. For Christ, who is the vine with us, and the husbandman with the Father, "loved the Church, and

'Chap. xiii. 10. Â« Eom. viii. 8-10. ^ Acts xv. 9.


TRACT. LXXX.] THE WATER NOTHING WITHOUT THE WORD, 301

gave Himself for it." And then read the apostle, and see what he adds: "That He might sanctify it, cleansing it with the washing of water by the word." ^ The cleansing, therefore, would on no account be attributed to the fleeting and perishable element, were it not for that which is added, "by the word." This word of faith possesses such virtue in the Church of God, that through the medium of him who in faith presents, and blesses, and sprinkles it. He cleanseth even the tiny infant, although itself unable as yet with the heart to believe unto righteousness, and to make confession with the mouth unto salvation. All this is done by means of the word, whereof the Lord saith, "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you."

Â» Eph. V. 25, 2G.
TEACTATE LXXXI.

Chapter XV. 4-7.

1. "TÉSUS called Himself the vine, and His disciples tlie tJ branches, and His Father the husbandman: whereon we have already discoursed as we were able. But in the present passage, while still speaking of Himself as the vine, and of His branches, or, in other words, of the disciples, He said, " Abide in me, and I in you." They are not in Him in the same kind of way that He is in them. And yet both ways tend to their advantage, and not to His. For the relation of the branches to the vine is such that they contribute nothing to the vine, but from it derive their own means of life; while that of the vine to the branches is such that it supplies their vital nourishment, and receives nothing from them. And so their having Christ abiding in them, and abiding themselves in Christ, are in both respects advantageous, not to Christ, but to the disciples. For when the branch is cut off, another may spring up from the living root; but that which is cut off cannot live apart from the root.

2. And then He proceeds to say: " As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me." A great encomium on grace, my brethren, — one that will instruct the souls of the humble, and stop the mouths of the proud. Let those now answer it, if they dare, who, ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. Let the self-complacent answer it, who think they have no need of God for the performance of good works. Fight they not against such a truth, those men of corrupt mind, reprobate concerning the faith whose reply is only full of impious talk, when they say: It

1 Rom. X. 3. - 2 Tim. iiL 8.

302

TRACT. LXXXLI] THE VINE AND THE BRANCHES. S03

is of God that we have our existence as men, but it is of ourselves that we are righteous? What is it you say, you who deceive yourselves, and, instead of establishing freewill, cast it headlong down from the heights of its seK-elevation through the empty regions of presumption into the depths of an ocean gi^ave ? Why, your assertion that man of himself worketh righteousness, that is the height of yom' selfelation. But the Truth contradicts you, and declares, " The branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine." Away with you now over your giddy precipices, and, without a spot whereon to take your stand, vapour away at your windy talk. These are the empty regions of your presumption. But look well at what is tracking your steps, and, if you have any sense remaining, let your hair stand on end.
For whoever imagines that he is bearing fruit of himself is not in the vine, and he that is not in the vine is not in Christ, and he that is not in Christ is not a Christian. Such a one, the ocean depths into which you have plunged.

3. Ponder again and again what the Truth has still further to say: "I am the vine," He adds, "ye are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." For just to keep any from supposing that the branch can bear at least some little fruit of itself, after saying, "the same bringeth forth much fruit," His next words are not, Without me ye can do but little, but "ye can do nothing." Whether then it be little or much, without Him it is impracticable; for without Him nothing can be done. For although, when the branch beareth little fruit, the husbandman purgeth it that it may bring forth more; yet if it abide not in the vine, and draw its life from the root, it can bear no fruit whatever of itself.

And although Christ would not have been the vine had He not been man, yet He could not have supplied such grace to the branches had He not also been God. And just because such grace is so essential to life, that even death itself ceases to be at the disposal of freewill. He adds, "If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth as a branch, and wither; and they shall gather him, and cast him into the fire, and he is burned." The wood of the vine, therefore, is in the same proportion the more contemptible if it abide not in the vine, as it is glorious while so abiding; in fine, as the Lord likewise says of them in the prophet Ezekiel, when cut off, they are of no use for any purpose of the husbandman, and can be applied to no labour of the mechanic. The branch is suitable only for one of two things, either the vine or the fire: if it is not in the vine, its place will be in the fire; and that it may escape the latter, may it have its place in the vine.

4. "If ye abide in me," He says, "and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you."
For abiding thus in Christ, is there aught they can wish but what will be agreeable to Christ? So abiding in the Saviour, can they wish anything that is inconsistent with salvation?

Some things, indeed, we wish because we are in Christ, and other things we desire because still in this world. For at times, in connection with this our present abode, we are inwardly prompted to ask what we know not it would be inexpedient for us to receive. But God forbid that such should be given us if we abide in Christ, who, when we ask, only does what will be for our advantage. Abiding, therefore, ourselves in Him, when His words abide in us we shall ask what we will, and it shall be done unto us. For if we ask, and the doing follows not, what we ask is not connected with our abiding in Him, nor with His words which abide in us, but with that craving and infirmity of the flesh which are not in Him, and have not His words abiding in them. For to His words, at all events, belongs that prayer which He taught, and in which we say, "Our Father, who art in
heaven. Let us only not fall away from the words and meaning of this prayer in our petitions, and whatever we ask, it shall be done unto us. For then only may His words be said to abide in us, when we do what He has commanded us, and love what He has promised. But when His words abide only in the memory, and have no place in the life, the branch is not to be accounted as in the vine, because it draws not its life from the root. It is to this distinction that the word of Scripture has respect, "and to those that remember His commandments to do them." For many retain them in their memory only to treat them with contempt, or even to mock at and assail them. It is not in such as have only some kind of contact, but no connection, that the words of Christ abide; and to them, therefore, they will not be a blessing, but a testimony against them; and because they are present in them without abiding in them, they are held fast by them for the very purpose of being judged according to them at last.

TRACT. VOL. II.

TEACTATE LXXXII.

Chapter XV. 8-10.

1. The Saviour, in thus speaking to the disciples, com-

mends still more and more the grace whereby we are saved, when He says, "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear very much fruit, and be made my disciples." Whether we say glorified, or made light, both are the rendering given us of one Greek verb, namely, doxazein (δοξάζειν). For what is doxa (δόξα) in Greek, is in Latin glory. I have thought it worth while to mention this, because the apostle says, "If Abraham was justified by works, he hath glory, but not before God." For this is the glory before God, whereby God, and not man, is glorified, when he is justified, not by works, but by faith, so that even Ms doing well is imparted to him by God; just as the branch, as I have stated above, cannot bear fruit of itself. For if herein God the Father is glorified, that we bear much fruit, and be made the disciples of Christ, let us not credit our own glory therewith, as if we had it of ourselves. For of Him is such a grace, and accordingly therein the glory is not ours, but His. Hence also, in another passage, after saying, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see yom' good works;" to keep them from the thought that such good works were of themselves, He immediately added, "and may glorify your Father
who is in heaven." * For herein is the Father glorified, that we bear much fruit, and be made the disciples of Christ. And by whom are we so made, but by Him whose mercy hath forestalled us? For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.^

1 "Clarificatus," literally, "clarified," or made bright, clear, to men's eyes. See immediately after-Awards in text.

806

TRACT. LXXXIL] ABIDING IN CHRIST'S LOVE. 307

2. "As the Father hath loved me," He says, "so have I loved you: continue ye in my love." Here, then, you see, is the source of our good works. For whence should we have them, were it not that faith worketh by love? ^ And how should we love, were it not that we were first loved? With striking clearness is this declared by the same evangelist in his epistle: "We love God because He first loved us," ^ But when He says, "As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you," He indicates no such equality between our nature and His as there is between Himself and the Father, but the grace whereby the Mediator between God and men is the man Christ Jesus. ^ For He is pointed out as Mediator when He says, "The Father â€” me, and I â€” you." For the Father, indeed, also loveth us, but in Him; for herein is the Father glorified, that we bear fruit in the vine, that is, in the Son, and so be made His disciples.

3. "Continue ye," He says, "in my love." How shall we continue? Listen to what follows: "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love." Love brings about the keeping of His commandments; but does the keeping of His commandments bring about love? Who can doubt that it is love which precedes? For he has no true ground for keeping the commandments who is destitute of love. And so, in saying, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love," He shows not the source from which love springs, but the means whereby it is manifested. As if He said. Think not that ye abide in my love if ye keep not my commandments; for it is only if ye have kept them that ye shall abide.

In other words, it will thus be made apparent that ye shall abide in my love if ye keep my commandments. So that no one need deceive himself by saying that he loveth Him, if he keepeth not His commandments. For we love Him just in the same measure as we keep His commandments; and the less we keep them, the less we love. And although, when He saith, "Continue ye in my love," it is not apparent what love He spake of; whether the love we bear to Him, or that which He beais to us: yet it is seen at once in the previous clause. For He had there said, "So have I loved you:" and to these
'Gal. V. 6. " 1 Jolm iv. 19. Â» 1 Tim. ii. 5.

308 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. LXXXII.

words He immediately adds, " Continue ye in my love:"
accordingly, it is that love which He bears to us. What, then, do the words mean, " Continue ye in my love," but just, continue ye in my grace ? And what do these mean, " If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love," but, hereby shall ye know that ye shall abide in the love which I bear to you, if ye keep my commandments ? It is not, then, for the purpose of awakening His love to us that we first keep His commandments; but this, that unless He loves us, we cannot keep His commandments. This is a grace which lies all disclosed to the humble, but is hid from the proud.

4. But what are we to make of that which follows: " Even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in His love " ? Here also He certainly intended us to understand that fatherly love wherewith He was loved of the Father.
For this was what He had just said, " As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you;" and then to these He added the words, " Continue ye in my love;" in that, doubtless, wherewith I have loved you. Accordingly, when He says also of the Father, " I abide in His love," we are to understand it of that love which was borne Him by the Father. But then, in this case also, is that love which the Father bears to the Son referable to the same grace as that wherewith we are loved of the Son: seeing that we on our part are sons, not by nature, but by grace; while the Only-begotten is so by nature and not by grace ? Or is this even in the Son Himself to be referred to His condition as man? Certainly so. For in saying, " As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you," He pointed to the grace that was His as Mediator. For Christ Jesus is the Mediator between God and men, not in respect to His Godhead, but in respect to His manhood.^ And certainly it is in reference to this His human nature that we read, " And Jesus increased in wisdom and age, and in favour [grace] with God and men." ^ In harmony, therefore, with this, we may rightly say that while human nature belongs not to the nature of God, yet such human nature does by grace belong to the person of the only-begotten Son of God; and that by grace so great, that there is none greater, yea, none


TRACT. LXXXII] CHRIST ABIDING IN THE FATHER'S LOVE. 309

that even approaches equality. For there were no merits that preceded that assumption of humanity, but all His merits began with that very assumption. The Son, therefore, abideth in the love wherewith the Father hath loved Him, and so hath kept His commandments.
For what are we to think of Him even as man, but that God is His lifter up? ^ for the 
Word was God, the Only-begotten, co-eternal with Him that begat; but that He might be 
given to us as Mediator, by grace ineffable, the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among 
us.'
' Ps. iii. 3. * Chap. i. 1, 1^.

TRACTATE LXXXIII

Chapter XV. 11, 12.

1. 'VT'OU have just heard, beloved, the Lord saying to His JL disciples, " These things have 
I spoken unto you, that my joy might be in you, and that your joy might be full." 
And what else is Christ's joy in us, save that He is pleased to rejoice over us? And what 
is this joy of ours which He says is to be made full, but our having fellowship with Him? 
On this account He had said to the blessed Peter, " If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no 
part with me."^ His joy, therefore, in us is the grace He hath bestowed upon us: and that 
is also our joy. But over it He rejoiced even from eternity, when He chose us before the 
foundation of the world.^ Nor can we rightly say that His joy was not full; for God's joy 
was never at any time imperfect. But that joy of His was not in us: for we, in whom it 
could be, had as yet no existence; and even when our existence commenced, it began not 
to be in Him. But in Him it always was, who in the infalKble truth of His own 
foreknowledge rejoiced that we should yet be His own. Accordingly, He had a joy over 
us that was already full, when He rejoiced in foreknowing and foreordaining us: and as 
little could there be any tear intermingling in that joy of His, lest there should be any 
possible failure in what He foreknew would be done by Himself. ISTor, 
â– when He began to do what He foreknew that He would do, was there any increase to 
His joy as the expression of His blessedness; otherwise His making of us must have 
added to His blessedness. Be such a supposition, brethren, far from om- thouirhts; for the 
blessedness of God was neither less without us, nor became greater because of us. His 
joy, therefore, over our salvation, wliicli was always in Him, when He I Chap. xiii. 8. - 
Eph. i. 4.

SIO

TRACT. LXXXIII.] OFR JOY MADE FULL. 311

foreknew and foreordained us, began to be in us when He called us; and this joy we 
properly call our own, as by it we, too, shall yet be blessed: but this joy, as it is ours, 
increases and advances, and presses onward perseveringly to its own completion. 
Accordingly, it has its beginning in the faith of the regenerate, and its completion in the 
reward when they rise again. Such is my opinion of the purport of the words,
"These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might be in you, and that your joy might be made full:" that mine "might be in you;" that yours "might be made full." For mine was always full, even before ye were called, when ye were foreknown as those whom I was afterwards to call; but it finds its place in you also, when ye are transformed into that which I have foreknown regarding you. And "that yours may be full:" for ye shall be blessed, what ye are not as yet; just as ye are now created, who had no existence before.

2. "This," He says, "is my injunction, that ye love one another, as I have loved you." Whether we call it injunction or commandment, both are the rendering of the same Greek word, entole [eVro/V?;]. But He had already made this same announcement on a former occasion, when, as ye ought to remember, I repounded it to you to the best of my ability. For this is what He says there, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." And so the repetition of this commandment is its commendation: only that there He said, "A new commandment I give unto you;" and here, "This is my commandment:" there, as if there had been no such commandment before; and here, as if He had no other commandment to give them. But there it is spoken of as "new," to keep us from persevering in our old courses; here, it is called "mine," to keep us from treating it with contempt.

3. But when He said in this way here, "This is my commandment," as if there were none else, what are we to think, my brethren? Is, then, the commandment about that love, wherewith we love one another, His only one? Is there not also another that is still greater, — that we should love God? *Pi-fficeptum, sive mandatiim." *ggg atove, Tract. LXV.

' Chap. xiii. 34.

312 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXXIII,

Or has God in very truth given us such a charge about love alone, that we have no need of searching for others? There are three things at least that the apostle commends when he says, "But now abide faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity." And although in charity, that is, in love, are comprehended the two commandments; yet it is here declared to be the greatest only, and not the sole one. Accordingly, what a host of commandments are given us about faith, what a multitude about hope! who is there that could collect them together, or suffice to number them? But let us ponder the words of the same apostle: "Love is the fulness of the law." And so, where there is love, what can be wanting? and where it is not, what is there that can possibly be profitable? The devil believes; but does not love:
no one loveth who doth not believe. One may, indeed, hope for pardon who does not love, but he hopes in vain; but no one can despair who loves. Therefore, where there is love, there of necessity will there be faith and hope; and where there is the love of our neighbour, there also of necessity will be the love of God. For he that loveth not God, how loveth he his neighbour as himself, seeing that he loveth not even himself? Such an one is both impious and iniquitous; and he that loveth iniquity, manifestly loveth not, but hateth his own soul.* Let us, therefore, be holding fast to this precept of the Lord, to love one another; and then all else that is commanded we shall do, for all else we have contained in this. But this love is distinguished from that which men bear to one another as such; for in order to mark the distinction, it is added, " as I have loved you." And wherefore is it that Christ loveth us, but that we may be fitted to reign with Christ? With this aim, therefore, let us also be loving one another, that we may manifest the difference of our love from that of others, who have no such motive in loving one another, because the love itself is wanting. But those whose mutual love has the

1 1 Cor. xiii. 13. - Rom. xiii. 10. 3 jag. ii. 19.

* Ps. xi. 5. Augustine here, as usual, along with the Vulgate, follows the Septuagint in what is clearly a mistranslation of the Hebrew text, which is correctly rendered grammatically in our English version, though not exactly according to the Masoretic punctuation, nswt (fern.) shows that "his soul " is the subject, and not the object of the hatred. â€” Tr.

TRACT. LXXXIII.] MUTUAL LOVE. 31:

possession of God Himself for its object, \\ will truly love one another; and, therefore, even for the very purpose of loving one another, they love God. There is no such love as this in all men; for few have this motive for their love one to another, that God may be all in

1 1 Cor. XV. 28.

TEACTATE LXXXIV.

Chaptee XV. 13.

1, riilHE Lord, beloved brethren, hath defined that fulness of JL love which we ought to bear to one another, when He said: " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Inasmuch, then, as He had said before, " This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you;" and appended to these
words what you have just been hearing, " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man
lay down his life for his friends;" there follows from this as a consequence, what this
same Evangelist John says in his epistle, " That as Christ laid down His life for us, even
so we also ought to lay down our lives for the brethren;" ^ loving one another in truth, as
He hath loved us, who laid down His life for us. Such also is doubtless the meaning of
what we read in the Proverbs of Solomon: " If thou sittest down to supper at the table of a
ruler, consider wisely what is set before thee; and so put to thy hand, knowing that thou
art bound to make similar preparations." ^ For what is the table of the ruler, but that from
which we take the body and blood of Him who laid down His life for us?
And what is it to sit thereat, but to approach in humility?
And what is it to consider intelligently what is set before thee, but worthily to reflect on
the magnitude of the favour? And what is it, so to put to thy hand, as knowing that thou
art bound to make similar preparations, but as I have already said, that, as Christ laid
down His life for us, so we also ought to lay down our lives for the brethren? For as the
Apostle Peter also says, " Christ suffered for us, leaving us ian example, that we
should follow His steps." ^ This is to make similar pre-

^ 1 Jolin iii. 16.
2 -proY^ xxiii. 1, 2: see beloiv, and also Tract. XLVI],. sec. 2, note 4.
' 1 Pet. ii. 21.
314

TRACT. LXXXIV.] DYING FOR THE BKETHEEN. 315

parations. This it was that the blessed martyrs did in their burning love; and if we
celebrate their memories in no mere empty form, and, in the banquet whereat they
themselves were filled to the full, approach the table of the Lord, we must, as they did, be
also ourselves making similar preparations. For on these very grounds we do not
commemorate them at that table in the same way, as we do others who now rest in peace,
as that we should also pray for them, but rather that they should do so for us, that we may
cleave to their footsteps; because they have actually attained that fulness of love, than
which, our Lord hath told us, there cannot be a greater. For such tokens of love they
exhibited for their brethren, as they themselves had equally received at the table of the
Lord.

2. But let us not be supposed to have so spoken as if on such grounds we might possibly
arrive at an equality with Christ the Lord, if for His sake we have undergone witness-
bearing even unto blood. He had power to lay down His life, and to take it again; ^ but
we have no power to live as long as we wish; and die we must, however unwilling: He,
by dying, straightway slew death in Himself; we, by His death, are delivered from death:
His flesh saw no corruption;^ ours, after corruption, shall in the end of the world be
clothed by Him with incorruption: He had no need of us, in order to work out our salvation; we, without Him, can do nothing:

He gave Himself as the vine, to us the branches; we, apart from Him, can have no life.

Lastly, although brethren die for brethren, yet no martyr's blood is ever shed for the remission of the sins of brethren, as was the case in what He did for us; and in this respect He bestowed not on us aught for imitation, but something for congratulation. In as far, then, as the martyrs have shed their blood for the brethren, so far have they exhibited such tokens of love as they themselves perceived at the table of the Lord. (One might imitate Him in dying, but no one could, in redeeming.)

^Chap. X. 18. 2^ctsii. 31.

This parenthesized sentence is found, according to Migne, inserted here in six Mss. In three others it occurs immediately before the second following sentence, beginning, "But if any one," etc. In other mss. it is wanting; and Migne omits it from the text. â€” Tn.

316 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. LXXXIV.

that I have said, although it is out of my power to mention everything, the martyr of Christ is far inferior to Christ Himself. But if any one shall set himself in comparison, I say, not with the power, but with the innocence of Christ, and (I would not say) in thinking that he is healing the sins of others, but at least that he has no sins of his own, even so far is his avidity overstepping the requirements of the method of salvation; it is a matter of considerable moment for him, only he attains not his desire.

And well it is that he is admonished in that passage of the Proverbs, which immediately goes on to say, " But if thy greed is too great, be not desirous of his dainties; for it is better that thou take nothing thereof, than that thou shouldst take more than is befitting. For such things," it is added, " have a life of deceit," that is, of hypocrisy. For in asserting his own sinlessness, he cannot prove, but only pretend, that he is righteous. And so it is said, " For such have a deceiving life." There is only One who could at once have human flesh and be free from sin. Appropriately are we commanded that which follows; and such a word and proverb is well adapted to human weakness, when it is said,

" Lay not thyself out, seeing thou art poor, against him that is rich." For the rich man is Christ, who was never obnoxious to punishment either through hereditary or personal debt, and is righteous Himself, and justifies others. Lay not thyself out against Him, thou who art so poor, that thou art manifestly to the eyes of aU the daily beggar that thou art in thy prayer for the remission of sins. " But keep thyself," he says, " from thine own counsel " (" cease from thine own wisdom " â€” E. V.).

From what, but from this delusive presumption? For He, indeed, inasmuch as He is not only man but also God, can never be chargeable with evil, " For if thou turn thine eye upon Him, He will nowhere be visible." " Thine eye," that is, the human eye, wherewith thou distinguishest that which is human; " if thou turn it upon Him, He will nowhere be visible;"
because He cannot be seen with such organs of sight as are thine. " For He will provide HimseK wings like an eagle's, and will depart to the house of His overseer," ^ from which, at all

The whole of this passage, taken from Proverbs xxiii. 3-5, as well as verses 1 and 2, quoted in sec. 1 of this Lecture, and in Tract. XLVII. sec. 2 (where

TRACTATE LXXXV.

Chapter XV. 14, 15.

1. "TTTHEN the Lord Jesus had commended the love which
â–¼ T He manifested towards us in dying for us, and had said, " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," He added, " Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." What great condescension ! when one cannot even be a good servant unless he do his lord's commandments; the very means, which only prove men to he good servants. He wished to be those whereby His friends should be known. But the condescension, as I have termed it, is this, that the Lord condescends to call those His friends whom He knows to be His servants. For, to let us know that it is the duty of servants to yield obedience to their master's commands. He actually in another place reproaches those who are servants, by saying, " And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say ? " ^ Accordingly, when ye say Lord, prove what you say by doing my commandments. Is it not to the obedient servant that He is yet
one day to say, "Well done, thou good servant; because thou hast been faithful over a
few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord"?^  
One, therefore, who is a good servant, can be both servant and friend.

2. But let us mark what follows, "Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant
knoweth not what his lord doeth."  
How, then, are we to understand the good servant to be both servant and friend, when He
says, "Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord
doeth "?  
He introduces the name of friend in such a way as to withdraw that of servant; not as
if to include both in the one

1 Luke vi. 46. â–  Matt. xxv. 21.

TEACT. LXXXV.] NOT SERVANTS, BUT FRIENDS. 819

term, but in order that the one should succeed to the place vacated by the other. What
does it mean? Is it this, that even in doing the Lord's commandments we shall not be
servants? Or this, that then we shall cease to be servants, when we have been good
servants? And yet who can contradict the Truth, when He says, "Henceforth I call you
not servants"? and shows why He said so: "For the servant," He adds, "knoweth not
what his lord doeth." Is it that a good and tried servant is not likewise entrusted by his
master with his secrets? What does He mean, then, by saying, "The servant knoweth not
what his lord doeth"? Be it that "he knoweth not what he doeth," is he ignorant also of
what he commands? For if he were so, how can he serve? Or how is he a servant who
does no service? And yet the Lord speaks thus: "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever
I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants." Truly a marvellous statement!
Seeing we cannot serve the Lord but by doing His commandments, how is it that in doing
so we shall cease to be servants? If I be not a servant in doing His commandments, and
yet cannot be in His service unless I
so do, then, in my very service, I am no longer a servant.

3. Let us, brethren, let us understand, and may the Lord enable us to understand, and
enable us also to do what we understand. And if we know this, we know of a truth what
the Lord doeth; for it is only the Lord that so enables us, and by such means only do we
attain to His friendship. For just as there are two kinds of fear, which produce two classes
of fearers; so there are two kinds of service, which produce two classes of servants. There
is a fear, which perfect love casteth out; ^ and there is another fear, which is clean, and
endureth for ever.^ The fear that lies not in love, the apostle pointed to when he said, "
For ye have not received the spirit of service again to fear."^ But he referred to the clean
fear when he said, "Be not high-minded, but fear." * In that fear which love casteth out,
there has also to be cast out the service along with it: for both were joined together by the
servant connected with this kind of service that the Lord also had in His eye when He said, "Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth."

Certainly not the servant characterized by the clean fear, to whom it is said, "Well done, thou good servant: enter thou into the joy of thy lord; " but the servant who is characterized by the fear which love casteth out, of whom He elsewhere saith, "The servant abideth not in the house for ever, but the Son abideth ever."

Since, therefore, He hath given us power to become the sons of God, let us not be servants, but sons: that, in some wonderful and indescribable but real way, we may as servants have the power not to be servants; servants, indeed, with that clean fear which distinguishes the servant that enters into the joy of his lord, but not servants with the fear that has to be cast out, and which marketh him that abideth not in the house for ever. But let us bear in mind that it is the Lord that enableth us to serve so as not to be servants. And this it is that is unknown to the servant, who knoweth not what his Lord doeth; and who, when he doeth any good thing, is lifted up as if he did it himself, and not his Lord; and so, glories not in the Lord, iDut in himself, thereby deceiving himself, because glorying, as if he had not received. But let us, beloved, in order that we may be the friends of the Lord, know what our Lord doeth. For it is He who makes us not only men, but also righteous, and not we ourselves. And who but He is the doer, in leading us to such a knowledge? For "we have received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." â– *Whatever good there is, is freely given by Him. And so because this also is good, by Him who graciously imparteth all good is this gift of knowing likewise bestowed; that, in respect of all good things whatever, he that glorieth may glory in the Lord." But the words that follow, "But I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you," are so profound, that we must by no means compress them within the limits of the present discourse, but leave them over till another.

Â» Chap. viii. 35. ^ chap. i. 12. ^ 1 Cor. iv. 7.

* 1 Cor. ii. 12. ^ 1 Cor. i. 31.

TRACTATE LXXXVI.

Chapter XY. 15, 16.
1. TT is a worthy subject of inquiry how these words of the A. Lord are to be understood, "But I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." For who is there that dare affirm or believe that any man knoweth all things that the only-begotten Son hath heard of the Father; when there is no one that can comprehend even how He heareth any word of the Father, being as He is Himself the only Word of the Father? Nay more, is it not the case that a little afterwards, in this same discourse, which He delivered to the disciples between the Supper and His passion, He said, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." How, then, are we to understand that He made known unto the disciples all that He had heard of the Father, when there are many things that He saith not, just because He knows that they cannot bear them now? Doubtless what He is yet to do He says that He has done, as the same Being who hath made those things which are yet to be. For as He says by the prophet, "They pierced my hands and my feet," and not. They will yet pierce; but speaking as it were of the past, and yet predicting what was still in the future: so also in the passage before us He declares that He has made known to the disciples all, that He knows He will yet make known in that fulness of knowledge, whereof the apostle says, "But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." For in the same place he adds: "Now I know in part, but then shall I know, even as also I am known; and now through a glass, in a riddle, but then face to face." * For the same apostle also

' Chap. xvi. 12. ^ jg^ xlvi. 11. ' Ps. xxii. 16. ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 10, 12.
TKACT. VOL. n. X

322 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN": [TEACT. LXXXVI.

says that we have been saved by the washing of regeneration,^ and yet declares in another place, "We are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is no hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." ^ To a similar purpose it is also said by his fellow-apostle Peter, "In whom, though now seeing Him not, ye believe; and in whom, when ye see Him, ye shall rejoice with a joy unspeakable and glorious: receiving the reward of faith, even the salvation of your souls/ "^ If, then, it is now the season of faith, and faith's reward is the salvation of our souls; who, in that faith which worketh by love,^ can doubt that the day must come to an end, and at its close the reward be received; not only the redemption of our body, whereof the Apostle Paul speaketh,^ but also the salvation of our souls, as we are told by the Apostle Peter? For the felicity springing from both is at this present time, and in the existing state of mortality, a matter rather of hope than of actual possession. But this it concerns us to remember, that our outward man, to wit, the body, is still decaying; but the inward, that is, the soul, is being renewed day by day. ^ Accordingly, while we are waiting for the immortality of the flesh and the salvation of our souls in the future, yet with the pledge we have received, it may be said that we are saved already; so that knowledge of aU
things which the Only-begotten hath heard of the Father we are to regard as a matter of hope still lying in the future, although declared by Christ as something He had already imparted.

2. "Ye have not chosen me," He says, "but I have chosen you." Grace such as that is ineffable. For what were we so long as Christ had not yet chosen us, anji we were therefore still destitute of love? For he who hath chosen Him, how can he love Him? Were we, think you, in that condition which is sung of in the psalm: "I had rather be an abject in the house of the Lord, than dwell in the tents of wickedness"? Certainly not. What were we then, but sinful and lost? We had not yet come to believe on Him, in order to lead to His choosing us; lor if it were those who already believed that He chose,

1 Tit. iii. 5. 2 Rom. viii. 24, 25. ^ 1 Pet. i. 8, 9. "Gal. v. 6.

"Rom. viii. 23. "2 Cor. iv. IG. 'Ps. Ixxxiv. 10.

TRACT. LXXXYL] ELECTION OF GRACE. 323

then was He chosen Himself, prior to His choosing. But how could He say, "Ye have not chosen me," save only because His mercy anticipated us? ^ Here surely is at fault the vain reasoning of those who defend the foreknowledge of God in opposition to His grace, and with this view declare that we were chosen before the foundation of the world. ^ because God foreknew that we should be good, but not that He Himself would make us good. So says not He, who declares, "Ye have not chosen me." For had He chosen us on the ground that He foreknew that we should be good, then would He also have foreknown that we would not be the first to make choice of Him. For in no other way could we possibly be good:

unless, forsooth, one could be called good who has never made good his choice. What was it then that He chose in those who were not good? For they were not chosen because of their goodness, insomuch as they could not be good without being chosen. Otherwise grace is no more grace, if we maintain the priority of merit. Such, certainly, is the election of grace, whereof the apostle says: "Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace." To which he adds: "And if by grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace." ^ Listen, thou ungrateful one, listen: "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." Not that thou mayest say, I am chosen because I already believed. For if thou wert believing in Him, then hadst thou already chosen Him, But Ksten: "Ye have not chosen me." Not that thou mayest say. Before I believed I was already doing good works, and therefore was I chosen. For what good work can be prior to faith, when the apostle says, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin"? * What, then, are we to say on hearing such words, "Ye have not chosen me," but that we were evil, and were chosen in order that we might be good.
through the grace of Him who chose us? For it is not by grace, if merit preceded: but it is of grace; and therefore that grace did not find, but effected the merit.

3. See then, beloved, how it is that He chooseth not the good, but maketh those whom He has chosen good. "I have

1 Ps. lix. 10. 2 Epii_ i 4 3 p^om_ ^^ 5^ g_ 4 jjom, ^iv, 23.

324 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXXVI.

chosen you," He saith, "and appointed you that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and [that] your fruit should remain."
And is not that the fruit, whereof He had already said,
"Without me ye can do nothing"? ^ He hath chosen therefore, and appointed that we should go and bring forth fruit; and no fruit, accordingly, had we to induce His choice of us.
"That ye should go," He said, "and bring forth fruit." We go to bring forth, and He Himself is the way wherein we go, and wherein He hath appointed us to go. And so His mercy hath anticipated us in all. "And that your fruit," He saith,
"should remain; that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, He may give it you." Accordingly let love remain; for He Himself is our fruit. And this love lies at present in longing desire, not yet in fulness of enjoyment; and whatsoever with that longing desire we shall ask in the name of the only-begotten Son, the Father giveth us. But what is not expedient for our salvation to receive, let us not imagine that we ask that in the Saviour's name: but we ask in the name of the Saviour only that which really belongs to the way of salvation.

1 Chnp. 7.V. 5.

TEACTATE LXXXXYII.

Chapter XV. 17-19.

1. "TN the Gospel lesson which precedes this one, the Lord JL had said: 'αÆγ' Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and appointed you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and [that] your fruit should remain; that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name. He may give it you." On these words you remember that we have already discoursed, as the Lord enabled us. But here, that is, in the succeeding lesson which you have heard read, He says:
"These things I command you, that ye love one another."
And thereby we are to understand that this is our fruit, of which He had said, "I have chosen you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and [that] your fruit should remain."
And what He subjoined, "That whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, He may give it you," He will certainly give us if we love one another; seeing that this very thing He has also given us, in choosing us when we had no fruit, because He had chosen Him not; and appointing us that we should bring forth fruit, â€” that is, that we should love one another, â€” a fruit that we cannot have apart from Him, just as the branches can do nothing apart from the vine. Our fruit, therefore, is charity, which the apostle explains to be, "Out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned." So love we one another, and so love we God. For it would be with no true love that we loved one another, if we loved not God. For every one loves his neighbour as himself if he loves God; and if he loves not God, he loves not himself. For on these two commandments of love hang all the law and the prophets: "this is our fruit. And it is in reference, therefore, to such fruit that He gives us commandment when He says, "These things I command you, that ye love one another." In the same way also the Apostle Paul, when wishing to commend the fruit of the Spirit in opposition to the deeds of the flesh, posited this as his principle, saying, "The fruit of the Spirit is love;" and then, as if springing from and bound up in this principle, he wove the others together, which are "joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." For who can truly rejoice who loves not good as the source of his joy? Who can have true peace, if he have it not with one whom he truly loves? Who can be long-enduring through persevering continuance in good, save through fervent love? Who can be kind, if he love not the person he is aiding? Who can be good, if he is not made so by loving? Who can be sound in the faith, without that faith which worketh by love? Whose meekness can be beneficial in character, if not regulated by love? And who will abstain from that which is debasing, if he love not that which dignifies? Appropriately, therefore, does the good Master so frequently commend love, as the only thing needing to be commended, without which all other good things can be of no avail, and which cannot be possessed without bringing with it those other good things that make a man truly good.

2. But alongside of this love we ought also patiently to endure the hatred of the world. For it must of necessity hate those whom it perceives recoiling from that which is loved by itself. But the Lord supplies us with special consolation from His own case, when, after saying, "These things I command you, that ye love one another," He added, "If the world hate you, know that it hated me before [it hated] you." Why then should the member exalt itself above the head? Thou refusest to be in the body if thou art unwilling to endure the hatred of the world along with the Head. "If ye were of the world," He says, "the world would love its own." He says this, of course, of the whole Church,
which, by itself. He frequently also calls by the name of the world: as when it is said, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself."  
And this also: "The Son of man came not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved." 
1 Gal. V. 22. 2 2 Cor. v. 19. Â» John iii. 17.

John says in his epistle: "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also [for those] of the whole world." 
The whole world then is the Church, and yet the whole world hateth the Church. The world therefore hateth the world, the hostile that which is reconciled, the condemned that which is saved, the polluted that which is cleansed.

3. But that world which God is in Christ reconciling unto Himself, which is saved by Christ, and has all its sins freely pardoned by Christ, has been chosen out of the world that is hostile, condemned, and defiled. For out of that mass, which has all perished in Adam, are formed the vessels of mercy, whereof that world of reconciliation is composed, that is hated by the world which belongeth to the vessels of wrath that are formed out of the same mass and fitted to destruction.

Finally, after saying, "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own," He immediately added, "But because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." And so these men were themselves also of that world, and, that they might no longer be of it, were chosen out of it, through no merit of their own, for no good works of theirs had preceded; and not by nature, which through freewill had become totally corrupted at its source: but gratuitously, that is, of actual grace. For He who chose the world out of the world, effected for Himself, instead of finding, what He should choose: for "there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace. And if by grace," he adds, "then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace."

4. But if we are asked about the love which is borne to itself by that world of perdition which hateth the world of redemption; we reply, it loveth itself, of course, with a false love, and not with a true. And hence, it loves itself falsely, and hates itself truly. For he that loveth wickedness, hateth his own soul. 

1 1 John ii. 1, 2. - Eom. ix. 21, 20.


328 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. LXXXVII.]
other hand, it is said to hate itself, inasmuch as it loves that which causes it injury. It hates, therefore, the true nature that is in it, and loves the vice: it hates what it is, as mad-

by the goodness of God, and loves what has been wrought in it by freewill. And hence also, if we rightly understand it, we are at once forbidden and commanded to love it: thus, we are forbidden, when it is said to us, "Love not the world; " and we are commanded, when it is said to us, "Love your enemies." These constitute the world that hateth us. And therefore we are forbidden to love in it that which it loves in itself; and we are enjoined to love in it what it hates in itself, namely, the workmanship of God, and the various consolations of His goodness. For we are forbidden to love the vice that is in it, and enjoined to love the nature, while it loves the vice in itself, and hates the nature: so that we may both love and hate it in a right manner, whereas it loves and hates itself perversely.

^ 1 John ii. 15. * Luke vi. 27.

TRACTATE LXXXVIII.

Chapter XV. 20, 21.

1. ry^HE Lord, in exhorting His servants to endure with J L patience the hatred of the world, proposes to them no greater and better example than His own; seeing that, as the Apostle Peter says, "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow His steps." And if we really do so, we do it by His assistance, who said, "Without me ye can do nothing." But further, to those to whom He had already said, "If the world hate you, know that it hated me before [it hated] you," He now also says in the word you have just been hearing, when the Gospel was read, "Remember my word that I said unto you. The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also." Now in saying, "The servant is not greater than his lord," does He not clearly indicate how He would have us understand what He had said above, "Henceforth I call you not servants"? For, you see. He calleth them servants. For what else can the words imply, "The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you"? It is clear, therefore, that when it is said, "Henceforth I call you not servants," He is to be understood as speaking of that servant who abideth not in the house for ever,* but is characterized by the fear which love casteth out; whereas, when it is here said, "The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you," that servant is meant who is distinguished by the clean fear which endureth for ever. ^

1 1 Pet. ii. 21. 2 ciiap_ ^^ 15^ ^n jq

^ See above, Tract. LXXXV. sec. 3. â€¢* Chap. viii. 35.
330 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. LXXXVIII.

For this is the servant who is yet to hear, " Well done, thou good servant: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." ^

2. " But all these things," He says, " will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not Him that sent me." And what are " all these things " that " they will do," but what He has just said, namely, that they will hate and persecute you, and despise your word? For if they kept not their word, and yet neither hated nor persecuted them; or if they even hated, but did not persecute them: it would not be all these things that they did. But " all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake," â€” what else is that but to say, they will hate me in you, they will persecute me in you; and your word, just because it is mine, they will not keep? For "all these things will they do unto you for my name's sake: " not for yours, but mine. So much the more miserable, therefore, are those who do such things on account of that name, as those are blessed who suffer such things in its behalf: as He Himself elsewhere saith, " Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." ^ For that is on my account, or " for my name's sake; " because, as we are taught by the apostle, " He is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; that, according as it is written. He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." ^ For the wicked do such things to the wicked, but not for righteousness' sake; and therefore both are alike miserable, those who do, and those who suffer them. The good also do such things to the wicked: where, although the former do so for righteousness' sake, yet the latter suffer them not on the same behalf.

3. But some one says. If, when the wicked persecute the good lor the name of Christ, the good suffer for righteousness' sake, then surely it is for righteousness' sake that the wicked do so to them; and if such is the case, then also, when the good persecute the wicked for righteousness' sake, it is for righteousness' sake likewise that the wicked suffer. For if the wicked can assail the good with persecution for the name of Christ, why cannot the wicked suffer persecution at the hands of the good on the same account; and what is that, but


TRACT. LXXXXYIII] SLTFEPJXG FOE EIGTHEOUSNESS. 331
for righteousness' sake? For if the good act not so on the same account as that on which the wicked suffer, because the good do so for righteousness' sake, while the wicked suffer for unrighteousness, so then neither can the wicked act so on the same account as that for which the good suffer, because the wicked do so by unrighteousness, while the good suffer for righteousness' sake. And how then will that be true, "All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake," when the former do it not for the name of Christ, that is, for righteousness' sake, but because of their own iniquity? Such a question is solved in this way, if only we understand the words, "All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake," as referring entirely to the righteous, as if it had been said. All these things will ye suffer at their hands for my name's sake, so that the words, "they will do unto you," are equivalent to these. Ye will suffer at their hands. But if "for my name's sake" is to be taken as if He had said, For my name's sake which they hate in you, so also may the other be taken for that righteousness' sake which they hate in you; and in this way the good, when they institute persecution against the wicked, may be rightly said to do so both for righteousness' sake, in their love for which they persecute the wicked, and for that wickedness' sake which they hate in the wicked themselves; and so also the wicked may be said to suffer both for the iniquity that is punished in their persons, and for the righteousness which is exercised in their punishment.

4. It may also be inquired, if the wicked also persecute the wicked, just as ungodly princes and judges, while they were the persecutors of the godly, certainly also punished murderers and adulterers, and all classes of evil-doers whom they ascertained to be acting contrary to the public laws, how are we to understand the words of the Lord, "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own"? (ver. 19.) For those whom it punisheth cannot be loved by the world, which, we see, generally punisheth the classes of crimes mentioned above, save only that the world is both in those who punish such crimes, and in those that love them. Therefore that world, which is to be understood as existing in the wicked

332 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRA.CT. LXXXVIII.

and ungodly, both hateth its own in respect of that section of men in whose case it inflicts injury on the criminal, and loveth its own in respect of that other section in whose case it shows favour to its own partners in criminality. Hence, "All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake," is said either in reference to that for the sake of which ye suffer, or to that on account of which they themselves so deal with you, because that which is in you they both hate and persecute. And He added, "Because they know not Him that sent me." This is to be understood as spoken of that knowledge of which it is also elsewhere recorded, "But to know Thee is perfect intelligence." For those who with such a knowledge know the Father, by whom Christ was sent, can in no wise persecute those whom Christ is gathering; for they also themselves are being gathered by Christ along with the others.

1 Wisd. vi. 13,
TKACTATE LXXXIX.

Chapter XV. 22, 23.

1. HE Lord had said above to His disciples, " If they JL have persecuted me, they will also persecute you: if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also. But all these things will they do unto you for my name’s sake, because they know not Him that sent me." And if we inquire of whom He so spake, we find that He was led on to these words from what He had said before, " If the world hate you, know ye that it hated me before [it hated] you; " and now in adding, " If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin," He more expressly pointed to the Jews. Of them, therefore. He also uttered the words that precede, for so does the context itself imply. For it is of the same parties that He said, " If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; " of whom He also said, " If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also: but all these things will they do unto you for my name’s sake, because they know not Him that sent me;" for it is to these words that He also subjoins the following: " If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin." The Jews, therefore, persecuted Christ, as the Gospel very clearly indicates, and Christ spake to the Jews, not to other nations; and it is they, therefore, that He meant to be understood by the world, that hateth Christ and His disciples; and, indeed, not those alone, but even these latter were shown by Him to belong to the same world. What, then, does He mean by the words, " If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin" ? Was it that the Jews were without sin before Christ came to them in the flesh ? Who, though he were the greatest fool, would say so ? But it is some great sin, and not

333

334 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. LXXXIX.

every sin, that He would have to be understood, as it were, under the general designation. For this is the sin wherein all sins are included; and whosoever is free from it, has all his sins forgiven him: and this it is, that they believed not on Christ, who came for the very purpose of enlisting their faith. From this sin, had He not come, they would certainly have been free. His advent has become as much fraught with destruction to unbelievers, as it is with salvation to those that believe; for He, the Head and Prince of the apostles, has Himself, as it were, become what they declared of themselves, " to some, indeed, the savour of life unto life; and to some the savour of death unto death." â–^
2. But when He went on to say, "But now they have no excuse for their sin," some may be moved to inquire whether those to whom Christ neither came nor spake, have an excuse for their sin. For if they have not, why is it said here that these had none, on the very ground that He did come and speak to them? And if they have, have they it to the extent of thereby being barred from punishment, or of receiving it in a milder degree? To these inquiries, with the Lord's help and to the best of my capacity, I reply, that such have an excuse, not for every one of their sins, but for this sin of not believing on Christ, inasmuch as He came not and spake not to them. But it is not in the number of such that those are to be included, to whom He came in the persons of His disciples, and to whom He spake by them, as He also does at present; for by His Church He has come, and by His Church He speaks to the Gentiles. For to this are to be referred the words that He spake, "He that receiveth you, receiveth me;"^ and, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me."^ "Or would ye," says the Apostle Paul, "have a proof of Him that speaketh in me, namely Christ."^

3. It remains for us to inquire, whether those who, prior to the coming of Christ in His Church to the Gentiles and to their hearing of His Gospel, have been, or are now being, overtaken by the close of this life, can have such an excuse? Evidently they can, but not on that account can they escape damnation. "For as many as have sinned without the law, shall also perish without the law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law."^ And these words of the apostle, inasmuch as his saying, "they shall perish," has a more terrible sound than when he says, "they shall be judged," seem to show that such an excuse can not only avail them nothing, but even becomes an additional aggravation. For those that excuse themselves because they did not hear, "shall perish without the law."

4. But it is also a worthy subject of inquiry, whether those who met the words they heard with contempt, and even Mi'tili opposition, and that not merely by contradicting them, but also by persecuting in their hatred those from whom they heard them, are to be reckoned among those in regard to whom the words, "they shall be judged by the law," convey somewhat of a milder sound. But if it is one thing to perish without the law, and another to be judged by the law; and the former is the heavier, the latter the lighter punishment: such, without a doubt, are not to have their place assigned in that lighter measure of punishment; for, so far from sinning in the law, they utterly refused to accept the law of Christ, and, as far as in them lay, would have had it altogether annihilated.
But those that sin in the law, are such as are in the law, that is, who accept it, and confess that it is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good; but fail through infirmity in fulfilling what they cannot doubt is most righteously enjoined therein. These are they in regard to whose fate there may perhaps be some distinction made from the perdition of those who are without the law: and yet if the apostle's words, "they shall be judged by the law," are to be understood as meaning, they shall not perish, what a wonder if it were so! For his discourse was not about infidels and believers to lead him to say so, but about Gentiles and Jews, both of whom, certainly, if they find not salvation in that Saviour who came to seek that which was lost, shall doubtless become the prey of perdition; although it may be said that some shall perish in a more terrible, others in a more mitigated sense; in other words, that some shall suffer a heavier, and others a lighter penalty in their perdition. For


336 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. LXXXIX.

he is rightly said to perish as regards God, whoever is separated by punishment from that blessedness which He bestows on His saints, and the diversity of punishments is as great as the diversity of sins; but the mode thereof is accounted too deep by divine wisdom for human guessing to scrutinize or express. At all events, those to whom Christ came, and to whom He spake, have not, for their great sin of unbelief, any such excuse as may enable them to say, We saw not, we heard not: whether it be that such an excuse would not be sustained by Him whose judgments are unsearchable, or whether it would, and that, if not for their entire deliverance from damnation, at least for its partial alleviation.

5. "He that hateth me," He says, "hateth my Father also." Here it may be said to us. Who can hate one whom he knows not? And certainly before saying, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin," He had said to His disciples, "These things will they do unto you, because they know not Him that sent me." How, then, do they both know not, and hate? For if the notion they have formed of Him is not that which He is in Himself, but some unknown conjecture of their own, then certainly it is not Himself they are found to hate, but that figment which they devise or rather suspect in their error. And yet, were it not that men could hate that which they know not, the Truth would not have asserted both, namely, that they both know not, and hate His Father. But such a possibility, if by the Lord's help we are able to show it, cannot be demonstrated at present, as this discourse must now be brought to a close.

TEACTATE XC.

Chapter XV. 23.
1. The Lord says, as you have just been hearing, "He that hateth me, hateth my Father also;" and yet He had said a little before, "These things will they do unto you, because they know not Him that sent me." A question therefore arises that cannot be overlooked, how they can hate one whom they know not? For if it is not God as He really is, but something else, I know not what, that they suspect or believe Him to be, and hate this; then assuredly it is not God Himself that they hate, but the thing they conceive in their own erroneous suspicion or baseless credulity; and if they think of Him as He really is, how can they be said to know Him not? It may be the case, indeed, with regard to men, that we frequently love those whom we have never seen; and in this way it can, on the other hand, be none the less impossible that we should hate those whom we have never seen. The report, for instance, whether good or bad, about some preacher, leads us not improperly to love or to hate the unknown. But if the report is truthful, how can one, of whom we have got such true accounts, be spoken of as unknown? Is it because we have not seen his face? And yet, though he himself does not see it, he can be known to no one better than to himself.

The knowledge of any one, therefore, is not conveyed to us in his bodily countenance, but only lies open to our apprehension when his life and character are revealed. Otherwise no one would be able to know himself, because unable to see his own face. But surely he knows himself more certainly than he is known to others, inasmuch as by inward inspection he can the more certainly see what he is conscious of, what he desires, what he is living for; and it is when these are likewise laid open to us, that he becomes truly known to ourselves. And as

TRACT. VOL. II. Y

338 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XC.

tliese, accordingly, are commonly brought to us regarding the absent, or even the dead, either by hearsay or correspondence, it thus comes about that people whom we have never seen by face (and yet of whom we are not entirely ignorant), we frequently either hate or love.

2. But in such cases our credulity is frequently at fault; for sometimes even history, and still more ordinary report, turns out to be false. Yet, it ought to be our concern, in order not to be misled by an injurious opinion, seeing we cannot search into the consciences of men, to have a true and certain sentiment about things themselves. I mean, that in regard to this or that man, if we know not whether he is immodest or modest, we should at all events hate immodesty and love modesty; and if in regard to some one or other we know not whether he is unjust or just, we should at any rate love justice and abhor injustice; not such things as we erroneously fancy to ourselves, but such as we believingly perceive according to God's truth, the one to be desired, the other to be shunned; so that, when in regard to things themselves we do desire what ought to be desired, and utterly avoid what ought to be avoided, we may find
pardon for the mistaken feelings which we at times, yea, at all times, entertain regarding the actual state of others which is hidden from our eyes. For this, I think, has to do with human temptation, without which we cannot pass through this life, so that the apostle said, "No temptation should befall you but such as is common to man." For what is so common to man as inability to inspect the heart of man; and therefore, instead of scrutinizing its inmost recesses, to suspect for the most part something very different from what is going on therein? And although in these dark regions of human realities, that is, of other people's inward thoughts, we cannot clear up our suspicions, because we are only men, yet we ought to restrain our judgments, that is, all definite and fixed opinions, and not judge anything before the time, until the Lord come, and bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God. When, therefore, we are falling into no error in regard to the thing itself, so that

Â» 1 Cor. X. 13. - 1 Cor. iv. 5.

TRACT. XC] MISTAKES IX LOVE AXD HATRED. 339

there is an accordance with right in our reprobation of vice and approbation of virtue; surely, if a mistake is committed in connection with individuals, a temptation so characteristic of man is within the scope of forgiveness.

3. But amid all these darknesses of human hearts, it happens as a thing much to be wondered at and mourned over, that one, whom we account unjust, and who nevertheless is just, and in whom, without knowing it, we love justice, we sometimes avoid, and turn away from, and hinder from approaching us, and refuse to have life and living in common with him; and, if necessity compel the infliction of discipline, whether to save others from harm or bring the person himself back to rectitude, we even pursue him with a salutary harshness; and so afflict a good man as if he were wicked, and one whom unknowingly we love. This takes place if one, for example's sake, who is modest is believed by us to be the opposite. For, beyond doubt, if I love a modest person, he is himself the very object that I love; and therefore I love the man himself, and know it not. And if I hate an immodest person, it is on that account, not him that I hate: for he is not the thing that I hate; and yet to that object of my love, with whom my heart makes continual abode in the love of modesty, I am ignorantly doing an injury, erring as I do, not in the distinction I make between virtue and vice, but in the thick darkness of the human heart. Accordingly, as it may so happen that a good man may unknowingly hate a good man, or rather loves him without knowing it (for the man himself he loves in loving that which is good; for what the other is, is the very thing that he loves); and without knowing it, hates not the man himself, but that which he supposes him to be: so may it also be the case that an unjust man hates a just man, and, while he opines that he loves one who is unjust like himself, unknowingly loves the just man; and yet so long as he believes him to be unjust, he loves not the man himself, but that which he imagines him to be. And as it is with
another man, so is it also with God. For, to conclude, had the Jews been asked if they loved God, what other answer would they have given but that they did love Him, and that not with any intentional falsehood, but because erroneously fancying that

340 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. XC.

they did so? For how could they love the Father of the truth, who were filled with hatred to the truth itself? For they do not wish their own conduct to be condemned, and it is the truth's task to condemn such conduct; and thus they hated the truth as much as they hated their own punishment, which the truth awards to such. But they know not that to be the truth which lays its condemnation on such as they: therefore they hate that which they know not; and hating it, they certainly cannot but also hate Him of whom it is born.

And in this way, because they know not the truth, by whose judgment they are condemned, as that which is born of God the Father; of a surety also they both know not, and hate [the Father] Himself. Miserable men! who, because wishing to be wicked, deny that to be the truth whereby the wicked are condemned. For they refuse to own that to be what it is, when they ought themselves to refuse to be what they are; in order that, while it remains the same, they may be changed, lest by its judgment they fall into condemnation.

TEACTATE XCI.

Chapter XV. 24, 25.

1. THE Lord had said, "He that hateth me, hateth my Father also." For of a certainty he that hateth the truth must also hate Him of whom the truth is born; on which subject we have already spoken, as we were granted ability. And then He added the words on which we have now to discourse: "If I had not done among [in] them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin." To wit, that great sin whereof He also says before, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin." Their sin was that of not believing on Him who thus spake and wrought. For they were not without sin before He so spake to them and did such works among them; but this sin of theirs, in not believing on Him, is thus specially mentioned because really inclusive in itself of all sins besides. For had they been clear of this one, and believed on Him, all else would also have been forgiven.

2. But what is meant when, after saying, "If I had not done among them works," He immediately added, "which none other man did"? Of a certainty, among all the works of Christ, none seem to be greater than the raising of the dead; and yet we know that the same was done by the prophets of olden time. For Elias did so; and Elisha also, both when alive in the flesh, and when he lay buried in his sepulchre. For when certain men,
who were carrying a dead person, had fled thither for refuge from an onset of their enemies, and had laid him down therein, he instantly came again to life. And yet there were some works that Christ did which none other man did: as, when He fed the five thousand men with five loaves, and the four thousand with

' 1 Kings xvii. 21, 22. * 2 Kings iv. 35. ^ 2 Kings xiii. 21.

341

342 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCI,

seven; ^ when He walked on the waters, and gave Peter power to do the same; ^ when He changed the water into wine; ^ when He opened the eyes of a man that was born blind/ and many besides, which it would take long to mention. But we are answered, that others also have done works which even He did not, and which no other man has done. For who else save Moses smote the Egyptians with so many and mighty plagues,^ as when He led the people through the parted waters of the sea,^ when he obtained manna for them from heaven in their hunger, ^ and water from the rock in their thirst ? ^ Who else save Joshua the son of Nun ^ divided the stream of the Jordan for the people to pass over,^Â® and by the utterance of a prayer to God bridled and stopped the revolving sun ? ^ Wlio save Samson ever quenched his thirst with water flowing forth from the jawbone of a dead ass ? ^^ Who save Elias was carried aloft in a chariot of fire ? ^^ Who save Elisha, as I have just mentioned, after his own body was buried, restored the dead body of another to life ? Who else besides Daniel lived unhurt amid the jaws of famishing lions, that were shut up with him ? ^^ And who else save the three men, Ananias, Azariah, and Mishael, ever walked about unharmed in flames that blazed and did not burn ?^^

3. I pass by other examples, as these I consider to be sufficient to show that some of the saints have done wonderful works, which none other man did. But we read of no one whatever of the ancients who cured with such power so many bodily defects, and bad states of the health, and troubles of mortals. For, to say nothing of those individual cases which He healed, as they occurred, by the word of command, the Evangelist Mark says in a certain place: " And at even, when the sun had set, they brought unto Him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils. And all the city was gathered together at the door. And He healed many that were sick of divers diseases, and cast out many devils."^^ And


4 John ix. 7. 5 Ex. vii.-xii. ^ e^. xiv. 21-29. ^ Ex. xvi.
Matthew, in giving us the same account, has also added the prophetic testimony, when he says: "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying. Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sickness." In another passage also it is said by Mark: "And whithersoever He entered, into villages, or cities, or country, they laid the sick in the streets, and besought Him that they might touch if it were but the border of His garment: and as many as touched Him were made whole." Stone other man did such things in them. For so are we to understand the words in them, not among them, or in their presence; but directly in them, because He healed them. For He wished them to understand the works as those which not only occasioned admiration, but conferred also manifest healing, and were benefits which they ought surely to have requited with love, and not with hatred.

He transcends, indeed, the miracles of all besides, in being born of a virgin, and in possessing alone the power, both in His conception and birth, to preserve inviolate the integrity of His mother: but that was done neither before their eyes nor in them. For the knowledge of the truth of such a miracle was reached by the apostles, not through any onlooking that they had in common with others, but in the course of their separate discipleship. Moreover, the fact that on the third day He restored Himself to life from the very tomb, in the flesh wherein He had been slain, and, never thereafter to die, with it ascended into heaven, even surpasses all else that He did: but just as little was this done either in the Jews or before their eyes; nor had it yet been done, when He said, "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did."

4. The works, then, are doubtless those miracles of healing in connection with their bodily complaints which He exhibited to such an extent as no one before had furnished amongst them: for these they saw, and it is in reproaching them therewith that He proceeds to say, "But now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father: but [this cometh to pass] that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause [gratuitously]." He calls it,

1 Matt. viii. 17. - Jlark vi. 56.
their law, not as invented by them, but given to them: just as we say, "Our daily bread;" which, nevertheless, we ask of God in conjoining the words "Give us." ^ But one hates gratuitously who neither seeks advantage from the hatred nor avoids inconvenience: so do the wicked hate the Lord; and so also is He loved by the righteous, that is to say, gratuitously [gratis, freely], inasmuch as they expect no other gifts beyond Himself, for He Himself will be all in all. But whoever would be disposed to look for something more profound in the words of Christ, "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did" (for although such were done by the Father, or the Holy Spirit, yet no one else did them, for the whole Trinity is one and the same in substance), he will find that it was He who did it even when some man of God did something similar. For in Himself He can do everything by Himself; but without Him no one can do anything. For Christ with the Father and the Holy Spirit are not three Gods, but one God, of whom it is written, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things."^ No one else, therefore, really himself did the works which He did amongst them; for any one else who did any such works, did them only through His doing. But He Himself did them without any doing on their part.

1 Matt. vi. 11. 2 ps. ixxii. IS.

TRACTATE XCII.

Chaptek XV. 26, 27.

1. rriHE Lord Jesus, in the discourse which He addressed JL to His disciples after the supper, when Himself in immediate proximity to His passion, and, as it were, on the eve of departure, and of depriving them of His bodily presence while continuing His spiritual presence to all His disciples till the very end of the world, exhorted them to endure the persecutions of the wicked, whom He distinguished by the name of the world: and from which He also told them that He had chosen the disciples themselves, that they might know it was by the grace of God they were what they were, and by their own vices they had been what they had been. And then His own persecutors and theirs He clearly signified to be the Jews, that it might be perfectly apparent that they also were included in the appellation of that damnable world that persecuteth the saints. And when He had said of them that they knew not Him that sent Him, and yet hated both the Son and the Father, that is, both Him who was sent and Him who sent Him, â€“ of all which we have already treated in previous discourses, â€“ He reached the place where it is said, "This cometh to pass, that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law. They hated me without a cause." And then He added, as if by way of consequence, the words whereon we have undertaken at present to discourse: "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, He
shall be a witness of me: and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." But what connection has this with what He had just said, "But now have the}»^ both seen and hated both me and my Father: but that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They

345

346 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCII.

hated me without a cause " ? Was it that the Comforter, when He came, even the Spirit of truth, convicted those, who thus saw and hated, by a still clearer testimony ? Yea, verily, some even of those who saw, and still hated, He did convert, by this manifestation of Himself, to the faith that worketh by love. ^ To make this view of the passage intelligible, we recall to your mind that so it actually befell. Tor when on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit fell upon an assembly of one hundred and twenty men, among whom were all the apostles; and when they, filled therewith, were speaking in the language of every nation; a goodly number of those who had hated, amazed at the magnitude of the miracle (especially when they x^erceived in Peter's address so great and divine a testimony borne in behalf of Christ, as that He, who was slain by them and accounted amongst the dead, was proved to have risen again, and to be now alive), were pricked in their hearts and converted; and so became aware of the beneficent character of that precious blood which had been so impiously and cruelly shed, because themselves redeemed by the very blood which they had shed. For the blood of Christ was shed so efficaciously for the remission of all sins, that it could wipe out even the very sin of shedding it. With this therefore in His eye, the Lord said, " They hated me without a cause: but when the Comforter is come. He shall bear witness of me; " saying, as it were, They hated me, and slew me when I stood visibly before their eyes; but such shall be the testimony borne in my behalf by the Comforter, that He will bring them to believe in me when I am no longer visible to their sight.

2. " And ye also," He says, " shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." The Holy Spirit shall bear witness, and so also shall ye. For, just because ye have been with me from the beginning, ye can preach what ye know; which ye cannot do at present, because the fulness of that Spirit is not yet present within you. " He therefore shall testify of me, and ye also shall bear witness; " for the love of God shed abroad in your hearts by the Holy Spirit, who shall be given unto you, ^ will give you the confidence

1 Gal. V. 6. â– Acts ii. 2. ' Kom. v. 5.
needful for such witness-bearing. And that certainly was still wanting to Peter, when, terrified by the question of a lady's maid, he could give no true testimony; but, contrary to his own promise, was driven by the greatness of his fear thrice to deny Him. But there is no such fear in love, for perfect love casteth out fear. In fine, before the Lord's passion, his slavish fear was questioned by a bondwoman; but after the Lord's resurrection, his free love by the very Lord of freedom: and so on the one occasion he was troubled, on the other tranquillized; there he denied the One he had loved, here he loved the One he had denied. But still even then that very love was weak and straitened, till strengthened and expanded by the Holy Spirit. And then that Spirit, pervading him thus with the fulness of richer grace, kindled his hitherto frigid heart to such a witness-bearing for Christ, and unlocked those lips that in their previous terror had suppressed the truth, that, when all on whom the Holy Spirit had descended were speaking in the tongues of all nations to the crowds of Jews collected around, he alone broke forth before the others in the promptitude of his testimony in behalf of the Christ, and confounded His murderers with the account of His resurrection. And if any one would enjoy the pleasure of gazing on a sight so charming in its holiness, let him read the Acts of the Apostles: and there let him be filled with amazement at the preaching of the blessed Peter, over whose denial of his Master he had just been mourning; there let him behold that tongue, itself translated from diffidence to confidence, from bondage to liberty, converting to the confession of Christ the tongues of so many of His enemies, not one of which he could bear when lapsing himself into denial. And what shall I say more? In him there shone forth such an effulgence of grace, and such a fulness of the Holy Spirit, and such a weight of most precious truth poured from the lips of the preacher, that he transformed that vast multitude of Jews who were the adversaries and murderers of Christ into men that were ready to die for His name, at whose hands he himself was formerly afraid to die with his Master. All this did that Holy Spirit when sent, who had previously only been promised. And it was these

"Matt. xxvi. 69-74. 2 John iv. 18. ^ Acts ii. 348 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCII.

great and marvellous gifts of His own that the Lord foresaw, when He said, "They have both seen and hated both me and my Father: that the word might be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause. But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of me: and ye also shall bear witness." For He, in bearing witness Himself, and inspiring such witnesses with invincible courage, divested Christ's friends of their fear, and transformed into love the hatred of His enemies.

TKACTATE XCIII.

Chapter XVI. 1-4.
1. XN the words preceding this chapter of the Gospel, the JL Lord strengthened His disciples to endure the hatred of their enemies, and prepared them also by His own example to become the more courageous in imitating Him: adding the promise, that the Holy Spirit should come to bear witness of Him, and also that they themselves could become His witnesses, through the effectual working of His Spirit in their hearts.

For such is His meaning when He saith, "He shall bear witness of me, and ye also shall bear witness." That is to say, because He shall bear witness, ye also shall bear witness: He in your hearts, you in your voices; He by inspiration, you by utterance: that the words might be fulfilled, " Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth." For it would have been to little purpose to have exhorted them by His example, had He not also filled them with His Spirit. Just as we see that the Apostle Peter, after having heard His words, when He said, " The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you;" and seen that already fulfilled in Him, wherein, had example been sufficient, he ought to have imitated the patient endurance of his Lord, yet succumbed and fell into denial, as utterly unable to bear what He saw his Master enduring. But when he really received the gift of the Holy Spirit, he preached Him whom he had denied; and whom he had been afraid to confess, he had no fear now in openly proclaiming. Already, indeed, had he been sufficiently taught by example to know what was proper to be done; but not yet was he inspired with the power to do what he knew: he had got instruction to stand, but not the strength to keep him from falling. But after this

1 Ps. xix. 4. * Chap. xv. 20,

349

350 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCIII.

â– was supplied by the Holy Spirit, he preached Christ even to the death, whom, in his fear of death, he had previously denied.

And so the Lord in this succeeding chapter, on which we have now to address you, saith, "These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should not he offended." As it is sung in the psalm, " Great peace have they who love Thy law, and nothing shall offend them." Properly enough, therefore, with the promise of the Holy Spirit, by whose operation in their hearts they should be made His witnesses. He added, " These things have I spoken unto you, that ye should not be offended."

For when the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit given unto us, they have great peace who love God's law, so that nothing may offend them.

2. And then He expressly declares what they were to suffer: "They shall put you out of the synagogues." But what harm was it for the apostles to be expelled from the Jewish synagogues, as if they were not to separate themselves therefrom, although no one expelled them? Doubtless He meant to announce with reprobation, that the Jews would refuse to receive Christ, from whom they as certainly would refuse to withdraw; and so it
would come to pass that the latter, who could not exist without Him, would also be cast out along with Him by those who would not have Him as their place of abode. For certainly, as there was no other people of God than that seed of Abraham, they would, had they only acknowledged and received Christ, have remained as the natural branches in the olive tree; ^ nor would the churches of Christ have been different from the synagogues of the Jews, for they would have been one and the same, had they also desired to abide in Him. But having refused, what remained but that, continuing themselves out of Christ, they put out of the synagogues those who would not abandon Christ? For having received the Holy Spirit, and so become His witnesses, they would certainly not belong to the class of whom it is said: " Many of the chief rulers of the Jews believed on Him; but for fear of the Jews they dared not confess Him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God."

* 

1 Ps. cxix. 165. 2 Kom. v. 5. 3 Rom. xi. 17. * Chap. xii. 42, 43.

TRACT. XCIII.] CAST OUT OF THE SYNAGOGUES. 351

And so they believed on Him, but not in the way He wished them to believe when He said: " How can ye believe, who expect honour one of another, and seek not the honour that Cometh from God only? " ^ It is, therefore, with those disciples who so believe in Him, that, filled with the Holy Spirit, or, in other words, with the gift of divine grace, they no longer belong to those who, " ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God;" ^ nor to those of whom it is said, " They loved the praise of men more than the praise of God:" that the prophecy harmonizes, which finds its fulfilment in their own case: " They shall walk, Lord, in the light of Thy countenance: and in Thy name shall they rejoice all the day; and in Thy righteousness shall they be exalted: for Thou art the glory of their strength." ^ Eightly enough is it said to such, " They shall cast you out of the synagogues;" that is, they who " have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge;" because, "ignorant of God's righteousness, and, going about to establish their own," ^ they expel those who are exalted, not in their own righteousness, but in God's, and have no cause to be ashamed at being expelled by men, since He is the glory of their strength.

3. Finally, to what He had thus told them. He added the words: " But the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you vnl1 think that he doeth God service: and these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me." That is to say, they have not known the Father, nor His Son, to whom they think they will be doing service in slaying you. Words which the Lord added in the way of consolation to His own, who should be driven out of the Jewish synagogues. For it is in thus announcing beforehand what evils they would have to endure for their testimony in His behalf, that He said, " They will put you out of the synagogues."
'Not does He say. And the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he
doeth God service. What then?
"But the hour cometh:" just in the way He would have spoken, were He foretelling them
of something good that would follow such evils. What, then, does He mean by the words,

1 Chap. V. 44. - Eom. x. 3. ^ pg, ixxxix. 15-17. * Rom. x. 2, 3.

352 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tKACT. XCIII,

" They will put you out of the synagogues: but the hour Cometh " ? As if He would have
gone on to say this: They, indeed, will scatter you, but I will gather you; or. They shall,
indeed, scatter you, but the hour of your joy cometh. What, then, has the word which He
uses, " but the hour cometh," to do here, as if He were going on to promise them comfort
after their tribulation, when apparently He ought rather to have said, in the form of
continuous narration, " And the hour cometh ? But He said not. And it cometh, although
predicting the approach of one tribulation after another, instead of comfort after
tribulation. Could it have been that such a separation from the synagogues would so
discompose them, that they would prefer to die, rather than remain in this life apart from
the Jewish assemblies ? Far surely would those be from such discomposure, who were
seeking, not the praise of men, but of God. What, then, of the words, " They will put you
out of the synagogues: but the hour cometh;" when apparently He ought rather to have
said. And the hour cometh,
"that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service " ? For it is not even
said. But the hour cometh that they shall kill you, as if implying that their comfort for
such a separation would be found in the death that would befall them; but, " The hour
cometh," He says, " that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." On
the whole, I do not think He wished to convey any further meaning than that they might
understand and rejoice that they themselves would gain so many to Christ, by being
driven out of the Jewish congregations, that it would be found insufficient to expel them,
and they would not suffer them to live for fear of all being converted by their preaching
to the name of Christ, and so turned away from the observance of Judaism, as if it were
the very truth of God. For so ought we to understand the reference of His words to the
Jews, when He said of them,
" They will put you out of the synagogues." For the witnesses, in other words, the martyrs
of Christ, were likewise slain by the Gentiles: they, however, thought not that it was to
the true God, but to their own false deities, that they were doing service when they so
acted. But every Jew that slew

' " Indicativo niodo."

TRACT. XCIIL] DOING GOD SERVICE. 353
the preachers of Christ reckoned that he was doing God service; believing as he did that all who were converted to Christ were deserting the God of Israel. For it was also by the same reasoning that they were incited to the murder of Christ Himself: because their own words on this subject have also been put on record, " Ye perceive that the whole world is gone after him:"  "If we let him live, the Romans will come, and take away both our place and nation." And those of Caiaphas: " It is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and not that the whole nation should perish." ^

And accordingly in this address He sought by His own example to stimulate His disciples, to whom He had just been saying, " If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you;"  ^ that as in slaying Him they thought they had done God a service, so also would it be in reference to them.

4. Such, then, is the meaning of these words: " They will put you out of the synagogues;" but have no fear of solitude: inasmuch as, when separated from their assembly, you will assemble so many in my name, that they, in very fear lest the temple, that was with them, and all the sacraments of the old law, should be deserted, will slay you: actually, in thus shedding your blood, full of the notion that they are doing God service. An illustration surely of the apostle's words, " They have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge;"  ^ when they imagine that they are doing God service in slaying His servants. Appalling mistake! Is it thus thou wouldst please God by striking down the God-pleaser; and is the living temple of God by thy blows laid level with the ground, that God's temple of stone may not be deserted? Accursed blindness! But it is in part that it has happened to Israel, that the fulness of the Gentiles might come in: in part, I say, and not totally, has it happened. For not all, but only some of the branches have been broken off, that the wild olive might be ingrafted/ For just at the time when the disciples of Christ, filled with the Holy Spirit, were speaking in the tongues of all nations, and performing many divine miracles, and scattering divine utterances on every side, Christ, even though

1 Chap. xii. 19. ' Chap. xi. 48, 50. ' Chap. xv. 20.

* Rom. X. 2. 5 Chap. xi. 25, 17.

TRACT. VOL. II. Z

354 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCIII.

slain, was so beloved, that His disciples, when expelled from the congregations of the Jews, gathered into a congregation of their own a vast multitude of those very Jews, and had no fear of being left to solitude. ^ Whereupon, accordingly, the others, reprobate and blind, being inflamed with wrath, and having a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge, and believing that they were doing God service, put them to death.
But He, who was slain for them, gathered those together; just as He had also, before He was slain, instructed them in what was to happen, lest their minds, left ignorant and unprepared, should be cast into trouble by evils, however transient, that were unexpected and unprovided for; but rather by knowing of them beforehand, and sustaining them with patience, might be led onward to everlasting blessing. For that such was the cause of His making these announcements to them beforehand, is shown also by His words that followed: "But these things have I told you, that, when their time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them." Their hour was an hour of darkness, a midnight hour. But the Lord commanded His loving-kindness in the daytime, and made them sing of it in the night: ^ when the Jewish night threw no confusion of darkness into the day of the Christians, separated as it was from themselves; and when that which could slay the flesh had no power to darken their faith.

1 Actsii. iv. Â«Ps. slii. 8.

TEACTATE XCIY.

Chapter XVI. 4-7.

1. "YT HEN the Lord Jesus had foretold His disciples the T T persecutions they would have to suffer after His departure. He went on to say: "And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you; but now I go my way to Him that sent me." And here the first thing we have to look at is, whether He had not previously foretold them of the sufferings that were to come. And the three other evangelists make it sufficiently clear that He had uttered such predictions prior to the approach of the supper: ^ which was over, according to John, when He spake, and added, "And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you." Are we, then, to settle such a question in this way, that they, too, tell us that He was near His passion when He said these things ? Then it was not when He was with them at the beginning that He so spake, for He was on the very eve of departing, and proceeding to the Father: and so also, even according to these evangelists, it is strictly true what is here said, " And these things I said not unto you at the beginning." But what are we to do with the credibility of the Gospel according to Matthew, who relates that such announcements were made to them by the Lord, not only when He was on the eve of sitting down with His disciples to the passover supper, but also at the beginning, when the twelve apostles are for the first time expressed by name, and sent forth on the work of God ? " What, then, is the meaning of what He says here, "And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you;" but that what He says here of the Holy Spirit who was to come to them, and to bear witness, when they should have such ills to endure, this

^ Matt. xxiv. 9; Mark xiii. 9-13; and Luke xxi. 12-17. â– Matt. s. 17.
He said not "unto them at the beginning, because He was with themselves ?

2. The Comforter then, or Advocate (for both form the interpretation of the Greek word, paraclete), had become necessary on Christ's departure: and therefore He had not spoken of Him at the beginning, when He was with them, because His own presence was their comfort; but on the eve of His own departure it behoved Him to speak of His coming, by whom it would be brought about that with love shed abroad in their hearts they would preach the word of God with all boldness; and with Him inwardly bearing witness with them of Christ, they also should bear witness, and feel it to be no cause of stumbling when their Jewish enemies put them out of the synagogues, and slew them, with the thought that they were doing God service; because the charity beareth all things, which was to be shed abroad in their hearts by the gift of the Holy Spirit. In this, therefore, is the whole meaning to be found, that He was to make them His martyrs, that is. His witnesses through the Holy Spirit; so that by His effectual working within them, they would endure the hardships of all kinds of persecution, and, set aglow at that divine fire, lose none of their warmth in the love of preaching. "These things," therefore. He says, " have I told you, that, when their time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them " (ver. 4). These things, I say. I have told you, not merely because ye shall have to endure such things, but because, when the Comforter is come. He shall bear witness of me, that ye may not keep them back through fear, and by whom ye yourselves shall also be enabled to bear witness. " And these things I said not unto you at the beginning, because I was with you," and I myself was your comfort through my bodily presence exhibited to your human senses, and which, as infants, ye were able to apprehend.

3. " But now I go my way to Him that sent me; and none of you," He says, " asketh me, Whither goest Thou ? " He means that His departure would be such that none would ask Him of that which they should see taking place in broad daylight before their eyes: for previously to this they had asked

i 1 Cor. xiii. 7. * Kom. v. 5.

TRACT, xciv.] Christ's departure expedient. 857

Him whither He was going, and had been answered that He was going whither they themselves could not then come. Xow, however. He promises that He will go away in such a manner that none of them shall ask Him whither He goes. For a cloud received Him when He ascended up from their side; and of His going into heaven they made no verbal inquiry, but had ocular evidence.
4. "But because I have said these things unto you," He adds, "sorrow hath filled your heart." He saw, indeed, what effect these words of His were producing in their hearts; for having not yet within them the spiritual consolation, which they were afterwards to have by the Holy Spirit, what they still saw objectively in Christ they were afraid of losing; and because they could have no doubt they were about to lose Him whose announcements were always true, their human feelings were saddened, because their carnal view of Him was to be left a blank. But He knew what was most expedient for them, because that inward sight, wherewith the Holy Spirit was yet to comfort them, was undoubtedly superior; not by bringing a human body into the bodies of those who saw, but by infusing Himself into the hearts of those who believed.

And then He adds, "Nevertheless I tell you the truth, it is expedient for you that I go away. For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you:" as if He had said. It is expedient for you that this form of a servant be taken away from you; as the Word made indeed flesh I dwell among you; but I would not that ye should continue to love me carnally, and, content with such milk, desire to remain infants always. "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you." If I withdraw not the tender nutriment wherewith I have nourished you, ye will acquire no keen relish for solid food; if ye adhere in a carnal way to the flesh, ye will not have room for the Spirit. For what is this, "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you;" but that ye cannot receive the Spirit so long as ye continue to know Christ after the flesh? Hence one who had already been made a partaker of the Spirit says, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we [Him] no more." For now even the very flesh of Christ he did not know in a carnal way, when brought to a spiritual knowledge of the Word that had been made flesh. And such, doubtless, did the good Master wish to intimate, when He said, 'â–' If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you."

5. But with Christ's bodily departure, both the Father and the Son, as well as the Holy Spirit, were spiritually present with them. For had Christ departed from them in such a sense that it would be in His place, and not along with Him, that the Holy Spirit would be
present in them, what becomes of His promise when He said, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world;" and, I and the Father "will come into him, and will make Our abode with him;" * seeing that He also promised that He would send the Holy Spirit in such a way that He would be with them for ever? In this way it was, on the other hand, that seeing they were yet out of their present carnal or animal condition to become spiritual, with undoubted certainty also were they yet to have in a more comprehensive way both the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. But in no one are we to believe that the Father is present without the Son and the Holy Spirit, or the Father and the Son without the Holy Spirit, or the Son without the Father and the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Spirit without the Father and the Son, or the Father and the Holy Spirit without the Son; but wherever any one of Them is, there also is the Trinity, one God. But here the Trinity had to be suggested

' Chap. L 32. 2 2 Cor. v. 16. ^ jxatt. xxvii. 20. * Chap, xiv, 23.

TKACT. XCIV. ] PEESENCE OF THE TEIXITY. 359

in such a way that, although there was no diversity of essence, yet the personal distinction of each one separately should be presented to notice; where those who have a right understanding can never imagine a separation of natures.

6. But that which follows, "And when He is come, He will convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment: of sin, indeed, because they believe not on me; but of righteousness, because I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no more; and of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged " (vers. 8-11); as if it were sin simply not to believe on Christ; and as if it were very righteousness not to see Christ; and as if that were the very judgment, that the prince of this world, that is, the devil, is judged: all this is very obscure, and cannot be included in the present discourse, lest brevity only increase the obscurity; but must rather be deferred till another occasion for such explanation as the Lord may enable us to give.

TEACTATE XCV.

Chapter XVI. 8-11.

1. The Lord, when promising that He would send the Holy Spirit, said, "When He is come, He will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." What does it mean? Is it that the Lord Christ did not reprove the world of sin, when He said, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin" ? And that no one may take it into his head to say that this applied properly to the Jews, and not to the world, did He not say in another place, "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own " ? ^
I>id He not reprove it of righteousness, when He said, " O righteous Father, the world hath not known Thee " ? And did He not reprove it of judgment, when He declared that He would say to those on the left hand, " Depart ye into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels " ? And many other passages are to be found in the holy evangel, where Christ reproveth the world of these things. Why is it, then. He attributeth this to the Holy Spirit, as if it were His proper prerogative ? Is it that, because Christ spake only among the nation of the Jews, He does not appear to have reproved the world, inasmuch as one may be understood to be reproved who actually hears the reprover; while the Holy Spirit, who was in His disciples when scattered throughout the whole world, is to be understood as having reproved not one nation, but the world ? For mark what He said to them when about to ascend into heaven: " It is not for you to know the times or the moments, which the Father hath put in His own power. But ye shall receive the power of the Holy Spirit, that cometh upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto

Â» Chap. XV. 22, 10. ^ chap. xvii. 25. ^ Matt. xxv. 41.

360

TRACT. XCV.]

THE SPIRIT REPROVING THE WORLD. 361

me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." ^ Surely this is to reprove the world. But would any one venture to say that the Holy Spirit reproveth the world through the disciples of Christ, and that Christ Himself doth not, when the apostle exclaims,

" Would ye receive a proof of Him that speaketh in me, namely Christ ? " ^ And so those, surely, whom the Holy Spirit reproveth, Christ reproveth likewise. But in my opinion, because there was to be shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit that love ^ which casteth out the fear,* that might have hindered them from venturing to reprove the world which bristled with persecutions, therefore it was that He said, " He shall reprove the world:" as if He would have said. He shall shed abroad love in your hearts, and, having your fear thereby expelled, ye shall have freedom to reprove. We have frequently said, however, that the operations of the Trinity are inseparable; ^ but the Persons needed to be set forth one by one, that not only without separating Them, but also without confounding Them together, we may have a right understanding both of Their Unity and Trinity.

2. He next explains what He has said " of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." " Of sin indeed," He says,

" because they have believed not on me." For this sin, as if it were the only one. He has put before the others; because with the continuance of this one, all others are retained, and in the removal of this, the others are remitted. "But of righteousness," He adds, " because I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no more." And here we have to consider in the first place, if any one is rightly reproved of sin, -how he may also be rightly reproved of righteousness. For if a sinner ought to be reproved just because he is a sinner, will any
one imagine that a righteous man is also to be reproved because he is righteous? Surely
not. For if at any time a righteous man also is reproved, he is rightly reproved on this
account, that, according to Scripture, "There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth
good, and sinneth not." And accordingly, when a righteous man is reproved, he is
reproved of sin, and

' Acts i. 7, 8. 2 Cor. xiii. 3. ^ Rom. v. 5'.

* 1 John iv. 18. 5 Tract. XX.

362 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN", [teACT. XCV.

not of righteousness. Since in that divine utterance also, where we read, "Be not made
righteous over-much," ^ there is notice taken, not of the righteousness of the wise man,
but of the pride of the presumptuous. The man, therefore, that becomes "righteous over-
much," by that very excess becomes unrighteous. For he makes himself righteous over-
much who says that he has no sin, or who imagines that he is made righteous, not by the
grace of God, but by the sufficiency of his own will; nor is he righteous through living
righteously, but is rather seK-inflated with the imagination of being what he is not. By
what means, then, is the world to be reproved of righteousness, if not by the
righteousness of believers?

Accordingly, it is convinced of sin, because it believeth not on Christ; and it is convinced
of the righteousness of those who do believe. For the very comparison with believers is
itself a reproving of unbelievers. And this the exposition itself sufficiently indicates. For
in wishing to open up what He has said. He adds, "Of righteousness, because I go to the
Father, and ye shall see me no more." He does not say, And they shall see me no more;
that is, those of whom He had said,
" because they have believed not on me." Of them He spake, when expounding what He
denominated sin, in the words,
" because they have believed not on me;" but when expounding what He called
righteousness, whereof the world is convicted. He turned to those to whom He was
speaking, and said,
" because I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no more." Wherefore it is of its own sins, but of others' righteousness, that the world is convicted,
just as darkness is reproved by the light: "For all things," says the apostle, "that are
reproved, are made manifest by the light." ^ For the magnitude of the evil chargeable on
those who do not believe, may be made apparent not only by itself, but also by the
goodness of those who do believe. And since the cry of unbelievers usually is.
How can we believe what we do not see? so the righteousness of believers just required
this very definition, "Because I go to the Father, and ye shaU see me no more." For
blessed are they who see not, and yet do believe.^ For ot those also who saw Christ, the
faith in Him that met with commendation was not
1 Eccles. viL 20, 16. - Ephi. v. 13. ^ chap. xx. 29.
that they believed what they saw, namely, the Son of man; but that they believed what they did not see, namely, the Son of God. But after His servant-form was itself also withdrawn from their view, then in every respect was the word truly fulfilled, "The just liveth by faith." For "faith," according to the definition in the Ex*istle to the Hebrews, "is the confidence of those that hope, the conviction of things that are not seen."

3. But how are we to understand, "Ye shall see me no more"? For He saith not, I go to the Father, and ye shall not see me, so as to be understood as referring to the interval of time when He would not be seen, whether short or long, but at all events terminable; but in saying, "Ye shall see me no more," as if a truth announced beforehand that they would never see Christ in all time coming. Is this the righteousness we speak of, never to see Christ, and yet to believe on Him; seeing that the faith whereby the just liveth is commended on the very ground of believing that the Christ whom it seeth not meanwhile, it shall see some day? Once more, in reference to this righteousness, are we to say that the Apostle Paul was not righteous when confessing that He had seen Christ after His ascension into heaven, which was undoubtedly the time of which He had already said, "Ye shall see me no more"?

Was Stephen, that hero of surpassing renown, not righteous in the spirit of this righteousness, who, when they were stoning him, exclaimed, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God"? What, then, is meant by "I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no more," but just this. As I am while with you now? For at that time He was still mortal in the likeness of sinful flesh. He could suffer hunger and thirst, be wearied, and sleep: and this Christ, that is, Christ in such a condition, they were no more to see after He had passed from this world to the Father; and such, also, is the righteousness of faith, whereof the apostle says, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." This, then, He says, wiU be your righteousness whereof the world shall be reproved, "because I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no more:"

â€¢ Eom. i. 17; Hab. ii. 4; and Heb. xi. 1. - " Sperantium substantia."

3 1 Cor. XV. 8. * Acts vii. 56. ^ IJom. viii. ?. ^ 2 Cor. v. 16.

364 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. XCV.

seeing that ye shall believe in me as in one whom ye shall not see; and when ye shall see me as I shall be then, ye shall not see me as I am while with you meanwhile; ye shall not see me in my humility, but in my exaltation; nor in my mortality, but in my eternity; nor at the bar, but on the throne of judgment: and by this faith of yours, in other words, your righteousness, the Holy Spirit will reprove an unbelieving world.
4. He will also reprove it "of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." Who is this, save he of whom He saith in another place, "Behold, the prince of the world cometh, and shall find nothing in me; "^ that is, nothing within his jurisdiction, nothing belonging to him; in fact, no sin at all? For thereby is the devil the prince of the world. For it is not of the heavens and of the earth, and of all that is in them, that the devil is prince, in the sense in which the world is to be understood, when it is said, "And the world was made by Him; " but the devil is prince of that world, whereof in the same passage He immediately afterwards subjoins the words, "And the world knew Him not; "^ that is, unbelieving men, wherewith the world through its utmost extent is filled: among whom the believing world groaneth, which He, who made the world, chose out of the world; and of whom He saith Himself, "The Son of man came not to judge the world, but that the world through Him might be saved."^ He is the judge by whom the world is condemned, the helper whereby the world is saved: for just as a tree is full of foliage and fruit, or a field of chaff and wheat, so is the world full of believers and unbelievers. Therefore the prince of this world, that is, the prince of the darkness thereof, or of unbelievers, out of whose hands that world is rescued, to which it is said, "Ye were at one time darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord:"* the prince of this world, of whom He elsewhere saith, "Now is the prince of this world cast out," ^ is assuredly judged, inasmuch as he is irrevocably destined to the judgment of everlasting fire. And so of this judgment, by which the prince of the world is judged, is the world reproved by the

* Chap. xiv. 30. ^ c^ap. i. 10. ^ ci^ap. iii. 17.
* Eph. V. 8. 5 Chap. xii. 31.

TRACT. XCV.] THE PRINCE OF THIS WORLD JUDGED. 365

Holy Spirit; for it is judged along with its prince, whom it imitates in its own pride and impiety. "For if God," in the words of the Apostle Peter, "spared not the angels that sinned, but thrust them into prisons of infernal darkness, and gave them up to he reserved for punishment in the judgment,"^ how is the world otherwise than reproved of this judgment by the Holy Spirit, when it is in the Holy Spirit that the apostle so speaketh? Let men, therefore, believe in Christ, that they be not convicted of the sin of their own unbelief, whereby all sins are retained: let them make their way into the number of believers, that they be not convicted of the righteousness of those, whom, as justified, they fail to imitate: let them beware of that future judgment, that they be not judged with the prince of the world, whom, judged as he is, they continue to imitate. For the unbending pride of mortals can have no thought of being spared itself, as it is thus called to think with terror of the punishment that overtook the pride of angels.
1 2 Pet. ii. 4.

TEACTATEXCVI.

Chapter XVI. 12, 13.

1. XN' this portion of the holy Gospel, where the Lord says, " I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," there meets us first this subject of needful inquiry, how it was that He said a little before, " All things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you," and yet says here, 'â€œ' I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." But how it was that He spake of what He had not yet done as if it were done, just as the prophet testifies that God has made those things which are still to come, when He says, " Who hath made those things which are still to come," we have already explained as well as we could when dealing with those words themselves. Now, however, you are perhaps wishing to know what those things were which the apostles were then unable to bear. But which of us would venture to assert his own present capacity for what they wanted the ability to receive? And on this account you are neither to expect me to tell you things which perhaps I could not comprehend myself were they told me by another; nor would you be able to bear them, even were I talented enough to let you hear of things that are above your comprehension. It may be, indeed, that some among you are fit enough already to comprehend things which are still beyond the grasp of others; and if not all about which the divine Master said, " I have yet many things to say unto you," yet perhaps some of them: but what they were which He Himself thus omitted to tell them, it would be rash to have even the wish to presume to say. For at that time the apostles were not yet fitted even to die for Christ, when He said to them, " Ye cannot follow me now,"

1 Chap. XV. 15. 2 Isa. xlv. 11, Septuagint.

365

TEACT. XCVI.] GEAUDAL EEVELATIOX. 367

and when tie very foremost of them, Peter, who had presumptuously declared that he was already able, met with a different experience from what he anticipated:^ and yet afterwards a countless number both of men and women, boys and girls, youths and maidens, old and young, were crowned with martyrdom; and the sheep were found able for that which, when the Lord spake these words, the shepherds were still unable to bear. Ought, then, those sheep to have been asked, in that extremity of trial, when required to contend for the truth even unto death, and to shed their blood for the name or doctrine of Christ; â€“ ought they, I say, to have been asked, Which of you would venture to account
himself ready for martyrdom, for which Peter was still unfitted, even when taught face to face by the Lord Himself? In the same way, therefore, one may say that Christian people, even when desiring to hear, ought not to be told what those things are of which the Lord then said, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." If the apostles were still unable, much more so are ye: although it may be that many now can bear what Peter then could not, in the same way as many are able to be crowned with martyrdom which at that time was still beyond the power of Peter, more especially that now the Holy Spirit has been sent, as He was not then, of whom He went on immediately to add the words, "Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come. He will teach you all truth," thereby showing of a certainty that they could not bear what He had still to say, because the Holy Spirit had not yet come upon them.

2. Well, then, let us grant that it is so, that many can now bear those things when the Holy Spirit has been sent, which could not then, prior to His coming, be borne by the disciples: do we on that account know what it is that He would not say, as we should know it were we reading or hearing it as uttered by Himself? For it is one thing to know whether we or you could bear it; but quite another to know what it is, whether able to be borne or not. But when He Himself was silent about such things, which of us could say, It is this or that? Or if he venture to say it, how will he prove it? For who could manifest such vanity or recklessness as when saying

1 Chap. xiii. 36-38.

368 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCVI.

what he pleased to whom he pleased, even though true, to affirm without any divine authority that it was the very thing which the Lord on that occasion refused to utter? Which of us could do such a thing without incurring the severest charge of rashness, â€” a thing which gets no countenance from prophetic or apostolic authority? For surely if we had read any such thing in the books confirmed by canonical authority, which were written after our Lord's ascension, it would not Jiave been enough to have read such a statement, had we not also read in the same place that this was actually one of those things which the Lord was then unwilling to tell His disciples, because they were unable to bear them. As if, for example, I were to say that the words which we read at the opening of this Gospel, "In the beginning was the "Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God: " and those which follow, because they I were written afterwards, and yet without any mention of their being uttered by the Lord Jesus when He was here in the flesh, but were written by one of His apostles, to whom they were revealed by His Spirit, were some of those which the Lord would not then utter, because the disciples were unable to bear them; who would listen to me in making so rash a statement? But if in the same passage where we read the one we were also to read the other, who would not give due credence to such an apostle?
3. But it seems to me also very absurd to say that the disciples could not then have borne what we find recorded, about things invisible and of profoundest import, in the apostolic epistles, which were written in after days, and of which there is no mention that the Lord uttered them when His visible presence was with them; iijx why could they not bear then what is now read in their books, and borne by every one, even though not understood? Some things there are, indeed, in the Holy Scriptures which unbelieving men both have no understanding of when they read or hear them, and cannot bear when they are read or heard: as the pagans, that the world was made by Him who was crucified; as the Jews, that He could be the Son of God, who broke up their mode of observing the Sabbath; as the Sabellians, that the Father, and

TRACT. XCVI.] INABILITY TO BEAR TRUTH. 369

Son, and Holy Spirit are a Trinity; as the Arians, that the Son is equal to the Father, and the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son; as the Photinians, that Christ is not only man like ourselves, but God also, equal to God the Father; as the Manicheans, that Christ Jesus, by whom we must be saved, condescended to be born in the flesh and of the flesh of man; and all others of divers perverse sects, who can by no means bear whatever is found in the Holy Scriptures and in the Catholic faith that stands out in opposition to their errors, just as we cannot bear their sacrilegious vapourings and mendacious insanities. For what else is it not to be able to bear, but not to retain in our minds with calmness and composure? But what of all that has been written since our Lord's ascension with canonical truth and authority, is it not read and heard with equanimity by every believer, and catechumen also, before in his baptism he receive the Holy Spirit, even although it is not yet understood as it ought to be? How, then, could not the disciples bear any of those things which were written after the Lord's ascension, even though the Holy Spirit was not yet sent to them, when now they are all borne by catechumens prior to their reception of the Holy Spirit? For although the sacramental privileges of believers are not exhibited to them, it does not therefore happen that they cannot bear them; but in order that they may be all the more ardently desired by them, they are honourably concealed from their view.

4. Wherefore, beloved, you need not expect to hear from us what the Lord then refrained from telling His disciples,' because they were still unable to bear them: but rather seek to" grow in the love that is shed abroad in your hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given unto you; ^ that, fervent in spirit, and loving spiritual things, you may be able, not by any sign apparent to your bodily eyes, or any sound striking on your bodily ears, but by the inward eyesight and hearing, to become acquainted with that spiritual light and that spiritual word which carnal men are unable to bear. For that cannot be loved which is altogether unknown. But when what is known, in however small a measure, is also loved, by the self-same love

'Eom, V. 5. -â€”
one is led on to a better and fuller knowledge. If, then, yon
"^\text{^4nr tlieTove wMcl} the Holy Spirit spreads abroad in" yStir
"heartS'/^Tffe' will teach you all truth; " or, as otKer codices liave^it, "He will guide you
in all truth: "^ as it is said,
" Lead me in Thy way, Lord, and I will walk in Thy truth." ^
So shall the result be, that not from outward teachers will you learn those things which
the Lord at that time declined to utter, but be all taught of God; ^ so that the very things
which you have learned and believed by means of lessons and sermons supplied from
without regarding the nature of God, as incorporeal, and unconfined by limits, and yet not
rolled out as a mass of matter through infinite space, but everywhere whole and perfect
and infinite, without the gleaming of colours, without the tracing of bodily outlines,
without any markings of letters or succession of syllables, â€” your minds themselves
may have the power to perceive. Well, now, I have just said something which is perhaps
of that same character, and yet you have received it; and you have not only been able to
bear it, but have also listened to it with pleasure. But were that inward Teacher, who,
while still speaking in an external way to the disciples, said, " I have still many things to
say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," wishing to speak inwardly
. to us of what I have said of the incorporeal nature of God in I the same way as He
speaks to the angels, who always behold the face of the Father,^ we should still be unable
to bear them.
Accordingly, when He says, " He will teach you all truth," or
" will guide you into all truth," I do not think the fulfilment is possible in any one's mind
in this present life (for who is there, while living in this corruptible and soul-oppressing
body,^ that can know all truth, when even the apostle says, "We know in part " ?), but because it
is effected by the Holy Spirit, of whom we have now received the earnest,^ that we shall
attain also to the actual fulness of knowledge: whereof it is said by
'the same apostle, " But then face to face; " and, " Now I know in part, but then shall I
know even as also I am known; " ^
not as a thing which he knows fully in this life, but which, as

2 Ps. Ixxxvi. 11. 3 Cliap. vi. 45. * Matt, xviii. 10.

* Wisd. ix. 15. Â«2 Cor. i. 22. ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 12.
a thing that would still be future on to the attainment of that perfection, the Lord promised us through the love of the Spuit, when He said, "He will teach you all truth," or "will guide you unto all truth."

5. As these things are so, beloved, I warn you in the love of Christ to beware of impure seducers and sects of obscene filthinessy whereof the apostle says, "But it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret:" ^ lest, when they begin to teach their horrible impurities, which no human ear whatever can bear, they declare them to be the very things whereof the Lord said, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;" and assert that it is the Holy Spirit's agency that makes such impure and detestable things possible to be borne. The evil things which no human modesty whatever can endure are of one kind, and of quite another are the good things which man's little understanding is unable to bear: the former are wrought in unchaste bodies, the latter are beyond the reach of all bodies; the one is perpetrated in the filthiness of the flesh, the other is scarcely perceivable by the pure mind. "Be ye therefore renewed in the spirit of your mind," ^ and "understand what is the will of God, which is good, and acceptable, and perfect;"^ that, "rooted and grounded in love, ye may be able to comprehend, with all saints, what is the length, and breadth, and height, and depth, even to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God." ^ For in such a way will the Holy Spirit teach you all truth, when He shall shed abroad that love ever more and more largely in your hearts.


TEACTATE XCVII.

Chapter XVI. 12, 13 {continued).

1. rilHE Holy Spirit, whom the Lord promised to send to JL His disciples, to teach them all the truth which, at the time He was speaking to them, they were unable to bear: of the which Holy Spirit, as the apostle says, we have now received "the earnest," ^ an expression whereby we are to understand that His fulness is reserved for us till another life: that Holy Spirit, therefore, teacheth believers also in the present life, as far as they can severally apprehend what is spiritual; and enkindles a growing desire in their breasts, according as each one makes progress in that love, which will lead him both to love what he knows already, and to long after what still remains to be known: so that those very things which he has some notion of at present, he may know that he is still ignorant of, as they are yet to be known in that life which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man hath perceived.^ But were the inner Master wishing at present to say those things in such a way of knowing, that is, to unfold and make them patent to our mind, our human weakness would be unable to bear them. Whereof you remember, beloved, that I
have already spoken, when we were occupied with the words of the holy Gospel, where the Lord says,
"I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Not that in these words of the Lord we should be suspecting an over-fastidious concealment of no one knows what secrets, which might be uttered by the Teacher, but could not be borne by the learner; but those very things which in connection with religious doctrine we read and write, hear and speak of, as within the knowledge of such and such per-
1 2 Cor. i. 22. " 1 Cor. ii. 9.

TRACT. XCVII.] SPIRITUAL GROWTH. 373

sons, were Christ willing to utter to us in the self-same way as He speaks of them to the holy angels, in His own Person as the only-begotten Word of the Father, and co-eternal with Him, where are the human beings that could hear them, even were they already spiritual, as the apostles still were not when the Lord so spake to them, and as they afterwards became when the Holy Spirit descended? For, of course, whatever may be known of the creature, is less than the Creator Himself, who is the supreme and true and unchangeable God.
And yet who keeps silence about Him? Where is His name not found in the mouths of readers, disputants, inquirers, respondents, adorers, singers, all sorts of haranguers, and lastly, even of blasphemers themselves? And although no one keeps silence about Him, who is there that apprehends Him as He is to be understood, although He is never out of the mouths and the hearing of men? Who is there, whose keenness of mind can even get near Him? Who is there that would have known Him as the Trinity, had not He Himself desired so to become known? And what man is there that now holds his tongue about that Trinity; and yet what man is there that has any such idea of it as the angels? The very things, therefore, that are incessantly being uttered offhand and openly about the eternity, the truth, the holiness of God, are understood well by some, and badly by others: nay rather, are understood by some, and not understood at all by others.
For he that understands in a bad way, does not understand at all. And in the case even of those by whom they are understood in a right sense, by some they are perceived with less, by others with greater mental vividness, and by none on earth are apprehended as they are by the angels. In the very mind, '
therefore, that is to say, in the inner man, there is a kind of growth, not only in order to the transition from milk to solid food, but also to the taking of food itself in still larger and larger measure. But such growth is not in the way of a space-covering mass of matter, but in that of an illuminated understanding; because that food is itself the light of the understanding. In order, then, to your growth and apprehension may keep full pace with your ever-advancing growth, you ought to be
addressing your prayer, and turning your hope, not to the teacher whose voice only reaches your ears, that is, who plants and waters only by outside labour, but to Him who giveth the increase.

2. Accordingly, as I have admonished you in my last sermon, take heed, those of you specially who are still children and have need of a milk diet, of turning a curious ear to men, who have found occasion for seeking-deception and the deceiving of others in the words of the Lord, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," in order to the discovery of that which is unknown, while you still have minds that are incompetent to discriminate between the true and the false; and most especially on account of the obscene lewdnesses which Satan has instilled, by God's permission, into unstable and carnal souls, for this end, that His judgments may everywhere be objects of terror, and that pure discipline may best manifest its sweetness in contrast with the impurities of wickedness; and that honour may be given to Him, and fear and modesty of demeanour assumed by every one, who has either been kept from falling into such evils by His kingly power, or been raised out of them by His uplifting hand. Beware, with fear and prayer, of rushing into that mystery of Solomon's, where "the woman that is foolish and brazenfaced, and become destitute of bread," invites the passers by with the words, "Come and make a pleasant feast on hidden bread, and the sweetness of stolen waters." For the woman thus spoken of is the vanity of the impious, who, utterly senseless as they are, fancy that they know something, just as was said of that woman, that she had "become destitute of bread;" who, though destitute of a single loaf,

11 Cor. iii. 6.

* Prov. ix. 13-17, according to the Septuagint, where, in verse 13, DITIS is rendered uioiZ, "in want of a morsel of bread," as if from nS or ririDj a morsel. The form of the word, however, as well as the Masoretic pointing, shows its connection with TIS, in the sense of "simplicity" or "lolly" personified. And again in verse 17, the LXX. have partly inverted the Hebrew order of the words, and translate IDDD"("are sweet") in its active sense of "taste with relish" (or pleasure), as if it were IpflI, Imperative; and read DJ?:"("is sweet") in the last clause, as if it were n" or D^J, "sweet," or "sweetness:" hence Augustine's rendering above. The Vulgate corresponds more nearly with the Hebrew and our English version. â€”Tii.
that what is publicly forbidden to be uttered or believed in the Church, may be listened to and acted upon with willingness and relish. For by such secrecy profane teachers give a kind of seasoning to their poisons for the curious, that thereby they may imagine that they learn something great, because counted worthy of holding a secret, and may imbibe the more sweetly the folly which they regard as wisdom, the hearing of which, as a thing prohibited, they are represented as stealing.

3. Hence the system of magical arts commends its nefarious rites to those who are deceived, or ready to be so, by a sacrilegious curiosity. Hence, also, those unlawful divinations by the inspection of the entrails of slain animals, or of the cries and flights of birds, or of multiform demoniacal signs, are distilled by converse with abandoned wretches into the ears of persons who are on the brink of destruction. And it is because of these unlawful and punishable secrets that the woman mentioned above is styled not merely "foolish," but also "audacious." But such things are alien not only to the reality, but to the very name of our religion. And what shall we say of this foolish and brazenfaced woman seasoning, as she does, so many wicked heresies, and serving up so many detestable fables with Christian forms of expression? Would that they were only such as are found in theatres, whether as the subjects of song or dancing, or turned into ridicule by a mimicking buffoonery; and not, some of them, such as makes us grieve at the foolishness, while wondering at the audacity that could have contrived them, against God! And yet all these utterly senseless heretics, who wish to be styled Christians, attempt to colour the audacities of their devices, which are perfectly abhorrent to every human feeling, with the chance presented to them of that gospel sentence uttered by the Lord, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now:" as if these were the very things which the apostles could not then bear, and as if the Holy Spirit had taught them what the unclean spirit, with all the length he can carry his audacity, blushed to teach and to preach in broad daylight.

4. It is such whom the apostle foresaw through the Holy Spirit, when he said: "For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables." For that mentioning of secrecy and theft, whereof it is said, "Partake with pleasure of hidden bread and the sweetness of stolen waters," creates an itching in those who listen with ears that are lusting after spiritual fornication, just as by a kind of itching also of desire in the flesh the soundness of chastity is corrupted. Hear, therefore, how the apostle foresaw such things, and gave salutary admonition about avoiding them, when he said, "Shun profane novelties of words; for they increase unto much ungodliness, and their speech insinuates itself as doth a cancer." He did not say novelties of words merely; but added, "profane." For there are also novelties of words in perfect harmony with religious doctrine, as is told us in
Scripture of the very name of Christians, when it began to be used. For it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians after the Lord's ascension, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles: and certain houses were afterwards called by the new names of hospices and monasteries; but the things themselves existed prior to their names, and are confirmed by religious truth, which also forms their defence against the wicked. In opposition also to the impiety of Arian heretics, they coined the new term, Patris Homousios; but there was nothing new signified by such a name; for what is called Homousios is just this: "I and my Father are one," to wit, of one and the same substance. For if every novelty were profane, as little should we have it said

1 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

2 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17. Augustine translates xiy/xpuvlas ("babblings," "empty utterances," vaniloquia, Vulgate) as if it read xttiye(pavix:, " novelties of words."


^ " Of the same essence (or substance) with the Father," as applied to Christ. 6 Chap. X. 30.

TKACT. XCVIL] ESOTERIC TEACHING. 377

by the Lord, " A new commandment I give unto you;" nor would the Testament be called New, nor the new song be sung throughout the whole earth. But there is profanity in the novelties of words, when it is said by "the foolish and audacious woman. Come and enjoy the tasting of hidden bread, and the sweetness of stolen waters." From such enticing words of false science the apostle also gives his prohibitory warning, in the passage where he says, " Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane novelties of expression, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing, have erred concerning the faith." For there is nothing that these men so love as to profess science, and to deride as utter silliness faith in those verities which the young are enjoined to believe.

5. But some one will say, Have spiritual men nothing in the matter of doctrine, which they are to say nothing about to the carnal, but to speak out upon to the spiritual? If I shall answer. They have not, I shall be immediately met with the words of the Apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians:

"I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. As unto babes in Christ I have given you milk to drink, and not meat to eat: for hitherto ye were not able; neither yet now are ye able; for ye are yet carnal;" and with these, " We speak wisdom among them that are perfect;" and with these also, " Comparing spiritual things with spiritual:
but the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him." * The meaning of all this, in order that these words of the apostle may no longer lead to the hankering after secrets through the profane novelties of verbiage, and that what ought always to be shunned by the spirit and body of the chaste may not be asserted as only unable to be borne by the carnal, we shall, with the Lord's permission, make the subject of dissertation in another discourse, so that for the time we may bring the present to a close.

' Chap. xiii. 34. = 1 Tim. vi. 20.

2 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2. Â«1 Cor. ii. 6, 13, 14.

TEACTATEXCVIII.

Chaptee XVI. 12, 13 {continued).

1. THE words of our Lord, where He says, "I have Jo yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," there arose a difficult question, which I recollect to have put off, that it might be handled afterwards at greater leisure, because my last discourse had reached its proper limits, and required to be brought to a close. And now, accordingly, as we have time to redeem our promise, let us take up its discussion as the Lord Himself shall grant us ability, who put it into our heart to make the proposal. And the question is this: Whether spiritual men have aught in doctrine which they should withhold from the carnal, but declare to the spiritual. For if we shall say, They have not, we shall meet with the reply. What, then, is to be made of the words of the apostle in writing to the Corinthians: "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. As unto babes in Christ, I have given you milk to drink, and not meat to eat: for hitherto ye were not able; neither yet now are ye able; for ye are yet carnal " ? ^ But if we say, They have, we have cause to fear and take heed, lest under such a pretext detestable doctrines be taught in secret, and under the name of spiritual, as things which cannot be understood by the carnal, may seem not only capable of being whitewashed by plausible excuses, but deserving also to be lauded in preaching.

2. In the first place, then, your Charity ought to know that it is Christ Himself as crucified, wherewith the apostle says that he has fed those who are babes as with milk; but His flesh itself, in which was witnessed His real death, that is, both His real wounds when transfixed and His blood when pierced, does not present itself to the minds of the carnal in

' 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.
the same manner as to that of the spiritual. And so to the former it is milk, and to the
latter it is meat; for if they do not hear more than others, they understand better. For the
mind has not equal powers of perception even for that which is equally received by both
in faith. And so it happens that the preaching of Christ crucified, by the apostle, was at
once to the Jews a stumblingblock, and to the Gentiles foolishness; and to those who are
called, both Jews and Greeks, the power of God, and the wisdom of God; but to the
carnal, as babes who held it only as a matter of faith, and to the spiritual, as those of
greater capacity, who perceived it as a matter of understanding; to the former, therefore,
as a milk-draught, to the latter as solid food: not that the former knew it in one way out in
the world at large, and the latter in another way in their secret chambers; but that what
both heard in the same measure when it was publicly spoken, each apprehended in his
own measure. For inasmuch as Christ was crucified for the very purpose of shedding His
blood for the remission of sins, and of divine grace being thereby commended in the
passion of His Only-begotten, that no one, should glory in man, what understanding had
they of Christ crucified who were still saying, "I am of Paul"? Was it such as Paul
himself had, who could say, "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our
Lord Jesus Christ"? In regard, therefore, even to Christ crucified, he himself found
food in proportion to his own capacity, and nourished them with milk in accordance with
their infirmity. And still further, knowing that what he wrote to the Corinthians might
doubtless be understood in one way by those who were still babes, and differently by
those of greater capacity, he said, "If any one among you is a prophet, or spiritual, let
him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandment of the Lord:
but if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant." Assuredly he would have the knowledge of the spiritual to be substantial, wherever not
only faith had found a suitable abode, but a certain power of understanding was
possessed; and whereby such believed those very things which as spiritual they likewise
acknowledged. But "let him be ignorant," he
says, who "is ignorant," because it was not yet revealed to him to know that which he
believes. When this takes place in a man's mind, he is said to be known of God; for it is
God who endows him with this power of understanding, as it is elsewhere said, "But
now, knowing God, or rather being known of God." For it was not then that God first
knew those who were foreknown and chosen before the foundation of the world; but
then it was that He made them to know Himself.

3. Having ascertained this, therefore, at the outset, that the very things, which are equally
heard by the spiritual and the carnal, are received by each according to the slender
measure of his own capacity, â€” by some as babes, by others as those of riper years, â€”
by one as milk nourishment, by another as solid food, â€” there seems no necessity for
any matters of doctrine being retained in silence as secrets, and concealed from infant believers, as things to be spoken of apart to those who are older, or possessed of a riper understanding; and let us regard it as needful to act thus, just because of the words of the apostle, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal." For even this very statement of his, that he knew nothing among them but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, he could not speak unto them as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal; because even that they were not able to receive as spiritual. But all who were spiritual among them received with spiritual understanding the very same truths which the others only heard as carnal; and in this way may we understand the words, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal," as if he said, What I did speak, ye could not receive as spiritual, but as carnal. For "the natural man" â€” that is, the man whose wisdom is of a mere human kind, and is called natural [HteraUy, soulish] from the soul, and carnal from the flesh, because the complete man consists of soul and flesh â€” "perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God;" * that is, the measure of grace bestowed on believers by the cross of Christ, and thinks that all that is effected by that cross is to provide us with an example for our imitation in contending even to death for the truth. For if men of this type, who

> Gal. iv. 9. 2 Eph. j. 4. 3 j Cor. ii. 2, * 1 Cor. ii. 14.

TRACT. XCVII.] THE BABE AND THE PEKFEUCT. 381

have no desire to be aught else than men, knew how it is that Christ crucified is "made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord," ^ they would doubtless no longer glory in man, nor say in a carnal spirit, 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas; " but in a spiritual way, "I am of Christ." ^

4. But the question is still further raised by what we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "When now for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need again to be taught which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk hath no experience in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are perfect, even those who by habit have their senses exercised to distinguish good from evil." ^ For here we see, as if clearly defined, what he calls the strong meat of the perfect; and which is the same as that which he writes to the Corinthians, "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect."*

But who it was that he wished in this passage to be understood as perfect, he proceeded to indicate in the words, "Even those who by habit have their senses exercised to distinguish good from evil." Those, therefore, who, through a weak and undisciplined mind, are destitute of this power, will certainly, unless enabled by what may be called the milk of faith to believe both the invisible things which they see not, and the comprehensible things which they do not yet comprehend, be easily seduced by the promise of science to vain and sacrilegious fables: so as to think both of good and evil
only under corporal forms, and to have no idea of God Himself save as some sort of body, and be able only to view evil as a substance; while there is rather a kind of falling away from the immutable Substance in the case of all mutable substances, which were made out of nothing by the immutable and supreme substance itself, which is God. And assuredly whoever not only believes, but also through the exercised inner senses of his mind understands, and perceives, and knows this, there is no longer cause for fear that he will be seduced by '1 Cor. i. 30, 31. - 1 Cor. i. 12. » Heb. v. 12-14. * 1 Cor. ii. 6.

382 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCVIII.

those who, while accounting evil to be a substance uncreated by God, make God Himself a mutable substance, as is done by the Manicheans, or any other pests, if such there be, that fall into similar folly.

5. But to those who are still babes in mind, and who as carnal, the apostle says, require to be nourished with milk, all discoursing on such a subject, wherein we deal not only with the believing, but also with the understanding and the knowing of what is spoken, must be burdensome, as being still unable to perceive such things, and be more fitted to oppress than to feed them. Whence it comes to pass that the spiritual, while not altogether silent on such subjects to the carnal, because of the Catholic faith which is to be preached to all, yet do not so handle them as, in their wish to simplify them to understandings that are still deficient in capacity, to bring their discourse on the truth into disrepute, rather than the truth that is in their discourse within the perceptions of their hearers. Accordingly in his Epistle to the Colossians he says: "And though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and that which is lacking in your faith in Christ." ^ And in that to the Thessalonians: "Night and day," he says, "praying more abundantly, that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith." ^ Here we are, of course, to understand those who were under such primary catechetical instruction, as implied their nourishment with milk and not with strong meat; of the former of which there is mention made in the Epistle to the Hebrews of an abundant supply for such as nevertheless he would now have had to be feeding on solid food. Accordingly he says: "Therefore leaving the word of the beginning of Christ, let us have regard to the completion; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of the baptismal font, and of the laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment." * This is

^ In place of to arifZfi.a., solidity, stedfastness, Augustine read tÂ« uffrtpv^a, that which is lacking. So also in his epistle to Paulinus, which is marked 149 (in Migne's edition of Augustine).

2 Col. ii. 5. 3 1 Thess. iii. 10. * Heb. vi. 1, 2.
the copious supply of milk without which even they cannot live, who have already indeed their reason sufficiently in use to enable them to believe, but who cannot distinguish good from evil, so as to be not only a matter of faith, but also of understanding (which belongs to the department of solid food). But when he includes doctrine also in his description of the milk, it is that which has been delivered to us in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

6. But let us be far from supposing that there is any contrariety between this milk and the food of spiritual things that has to be received by the sound understanding, and which was wanting to the Colossians and Thessalonians, and had still to be supplied. For the supply of the deficiency implies no disapproval of that which existed. For even in the very food that we take, so far is there from being any contrariety I between milk and solid food, that the latter itself becomes milk, in order to make it suitable to babes, whom it reaches through the medium of the mother's or the nurse's body: so did also mother Wisdom herself, who is solid food in the lofty sphere of angels, condescend in a manner to become milk for babes, when the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us. But the man Christ Himself, who in His true flesh, true cross, true death, and true resurrection is called the pure milk of babes, is, when rightly understood by the spiritual, found to be the Lord of angels. Accordingly, babes are not to be so fed with milk as always to remain without understanding the Godhead of Christ; nor are they to be so withdrawn from milk as to turn their backs on His manhood. And the same thing i may also be stated in another way in this manner: they are neither so to be fed with milk as never to understand Christ as Creator, nor so to be withdrawn from milk as ever to turn their backs on Christ as Mediator. In this respect, indeed, the similitude of maternal milk and solid food scarcely harmonizes with the reality as thus stated, but rather that of a foundation: for when the child is weaned, so as to be withdrawn from the nourishment of infancy, he never looks again amongst solid food for the breasts which he sucked; but Christ crucified is both milk to sucklings and meat to the more.

Â» Chap. i. 1, 14.

384 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCVIII.

advanced. And the similitude of a foundation is on this account the more suitable, because, for the completion of the structure, the building is added without the foundation being withdrawn.

7. And since this is the case, do you, whoever you be, who are doubtless many of you still babes in Christ, be making advances towards the solid food of the mind, not of the belly.
Grow in the ability to distinguish good from evil, and cleave more and more to the Mediator, who delivers you from evil; which does not admit of a local separation from you, but rather of being healed within you. But whoever shall say to you. Believe not Christ to be truly man, or that the body of any man or animal whatever was created by the true God, or that the Old Testament was given by the true God, and anything else of the same sort, for such things as these were not told you previously, when your nourishment was milk, because your heart was still unfit for the apprehension of the truth: such an one provides you not with meat, but with poison.

For therefore it was that the blessed apostle, in addressing those who appeared to him already perfect, even after calling himseK imperfect, said, " Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded: and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." And that they might not rush into the hands of seducers, whose desire would be to turn them away from the faith by promising them the knowledge of the truth, and suppose such to be the meaning of the apostle's words, " God shall reveal even this into you," he forthwith added, " Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule." ^ If, then, thou hast come to some understanding of what is not at variance with the rule of the Catholic faith, whereto thou hast attained as the way that is guiding thee to thy fatherland; and hast so understood it as to feel it a duty to dismiss all doubts whatever on the subject: add to the building, but do not abandon the foundation. And surely of such a character ought to be any teaching given by elders to those who are babes, as not to involve the assertion that Christ the Lord of all, and the prophets and apostles, who are much farther advanced in age than I Phil. iii. 15, 16.

TRACT. XCVII] SPIRITUAL SEDUCERS. 385

themselves, liad in any respect spoken falsely. And not only ought you to avoid the babbling seducers of the mind, who prate away at their fables and falsehoods, and in such vanities make the promise, forsooth, of profound science contrary to the rule of faith, which we have accepted as Catholic; but avoid those also as a still more insidious pest than the others, who discuss truthfully enough the immutability of the divine nature, or the incorporeal creature, or the Creator, and fully prove what they affirm by the most conclusive documents and reasonings, and yet attempt to turn you away from the one Mediator between God and men. For such are those of whom the apostle says, " Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God." ^ For what advantage is it to have a true understanding of the immutable Good to one who has no hold of Him by whom there is deliverance from evil ? And let not the admonition of the most blessed apostle by any means lose its place in your hearts: " If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that je have received, let him be accursed." ^ He does not say, More than ye have received; but, " Other than ye have received." For had he said the former, he would be prejudging himself, inasmuch as he desired to come to the Thessalonians to supply what was lacking in their faith. But one who supplies, adds to what was deficient, without taking away what existed: while he that transgresses the rule of faith, is not progressing in the way, but turning aside from it.
8. Accordingly, when the Lord says, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," He means that what they were still ignorant of had afterwards to be supplied to them, and not that what they had already learned was to be subverted. And He, indeed, as I have already shown in a former discourse, could so speak, because the very things which He had taught them, had He wished to unfold them to them in the same way as they are conceived in regard to Him by the angels, their still remaining human weakness would be unable to bear. But any spiritual man may teach another man what he knows, provided the Holy Spirit grant him an enlarged capacity for profiting, wherein 1 Eom. i. 21. 2 Gal. i. 9.

TRACT. VOL. IL 2 B

386 O^S THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XCVHI.

also the teacher himself may get some further increase, in order that both may be taught of God.~* Although even among the spiritual themselves there are some, doubtless, who are of greater capacity and in a better condition than others; so that one of them attained even to things of which it is not lawful for a man to speak. Taking advantage of which, there have been some vain individuals, who, with a presumption that betrays the grossest folly, have forged a Eevelation of Paul, crammed with all manner of fables, which has been rejected by the orthodox Church; affirming it to be that whereof he had said that he was caught up into the third heavens, and there heard unspeakable words " which it is not lawful for a man to utter." ^ Nevertheless, the audacity of such might be tolerable, had he said that he heard words which it is not as yet lawful for a man to utter; but when he said, " which it is not lawful for a man to utter," who are they that dare to utter them with such impudence and non-success ? But with these words I shall now bring this discourse to a close; whereby I would have you to be wise indeed in that which is good, but untainted by that which is evil.

1 Chap. vi. 45. ’ 2 Cor. siL 2, 4.

TEACTATE XCIX.

Chaptee XVI. 13.

1. ~*THAT is this that the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, ~ f when promising that He would come and teach His disciples all truth, or guide them into all truth: " For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak " ? For this is similar to what He said of Himself, " I can of mine own seK do nothing: as I hear, I
judge." But when expounding that, we said that it might be taken as referring to His human nature; so that He seemed as the Son to announce beforehand that His own obedience, whereby He became obedient even unto the death of the cross, would have its place also in the judgment, when He shall judge the quick and the dead; for He shall do so for the very reason that He is the Son of man. Wherefore He said, "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son;" for in the judgment He will appear, not in the form of God, wherein He is equal to the Father, and cannot be seen by the wicked, but in the form of man, in which He was made even a little lower than the angels; although then He will come in glory, and not in His original humility, yet in a way that will be conspicuous both to the good and to the bad. Hence He says further: "And He hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man." In these words of His own it is made clear that it is not that form that will be presented in the judgment, wherein He was when He thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but that which He assumed when He made Himself of no reputation. For He emptied Himself in assuming the form of a servant; in which, also, for the purpose of executing judgment, He seems to have commended His obedience, when He said, "I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge." For Adam, by whose disobedience, as that of one man, many were made sinners, did not judge as he heard; for he prevaricated what he heard, and of his own self did the evil that he did; for he did not the will of God, but his own: while this latter, by whose obedience, as that also of one man, many are made righteous, was not only obedient even unto the death of the cross, in respect of which He was judged as alive from the dead; but promised also that He would be showing obedience in the very judgment itself, wherein He is yet to act as judge of the quick and the dead, when He said, "I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge." But when it is said of the Holy Spirit, "For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak," shall we dare to harbour the notion that it was so said in reference to any human nature of His, or the assumption of any creature-form? For it was the Son alone in the Trinity who assumed the form of a servant, a form which in His case was fitted into the unity of His person, or, in other words, that the one person, Jesus Christ, should be the Son of God and the Son of man; and so that we should be kept from preaching a quaternity instead of the Trinity, which God forbid that we should do. And it is on account of this one personality as consisting of two substances, the divine and the human,
that He sometimes speaks in accordance with that wherein He is God, as when He says, "I and my Father are one;" and sometimes in accordance with His manhood, as in the words, "For the Father is greater than I;" in accordance with which also we have understood those words of His that are at present under discussion, "I can of mine own self do nothing: as I hear, I judge." But in reference to the person of the Holy Spirit, a considerable difficulty arises how we are to understand the words, "For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak:" since in it there exists not one substance of Godhead and another of humanity, or of any other creature whatsoever.

2. For the fact that the Holy Spirit appeared in bodily form, as a dove, was a sight begun and ended at the time: just as also, when He descended upon the disciples, there were seen upon them cloven tongues as of fire, which also sat upon every one of them. Any one, therefore, who says that the dove was connected with the Holy Spirit in the unity of His person, as that it and Godhead (for the Holy Spirit is God) should go to constitute the one person of the Holy Spirit, is compelled also to affirm the same thing of that fire; and so may understand that he ought to assert neither. For those things in regard to the substance of God, which needed at any time to be represented in some outward way, and so exhibited themselves to men's bodily senses, and then passed away, were formed for the moment by divine power from the subservient creation, and not from the dominant nature itself; which, ever abiding the same, excites into action whatever it pleases; and, itself unchangeable, changes all things else at its pleasure. In the same way also did that voice from the cloud actually strike upon the bodily ears, and on that bodily sense which is called the hearing; and yet in no way are we to believe that the Word of God, which is the only-begotten Son, is defined, because He is called the Word, by syllables and sounds: for when a sermon is in course of delivery, all the sounds cannot be pronounced simultaneously; but the various individual sounds come, as it were, in their own order to the birth, and succeed those which are dying away, so that all that we have to say is completed only by the last syllable. Very different from this, surely, is the way in which the Father speaketh to the Son, that is to say, God to God, His Word. But this, so far as it can be understood by man, is a matter for the understanding of those who are fitted for the reception of solid food, and not of milk. Since, therefore, the Holy Spirit became not man by any assumption of humanity, and became not an angel by any assumption of angelic nature, and as little entered into the creature-state by the assumption of any creature-form whatever, how, in regard to Him, are we to understand those words of our Lord, "For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak:" ? A difficult question; yea, too difficult. May the Spirit Himself be present,

390 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XCIX.

that, at least up to the measure of our power of thinking on such a subject, we may be
able to express our thoughts, and that these, according to the little measure of my ability,
may find entrance into your understanding.

3. You ought, then, to be informed in the first place, and, those of you who can, to
understand, and the others, who cannot as yet understand, to believe, that in that
substantial essence, which is God, the senses are not, as if through some material
structure of a body, distributed in their appropriate places; as, in the mortal flesh of all
animals there is in one place sight, in another hearing, in another taste, in another
smelling, and over the whole the sense of touch. Far be it from us to believe so in the case
of that incorporeal and immutable nature. In it, therefore, hearing and seeing are one and
the same thing. In this way smelling also is said to exist in God; as the apostle says, " As
Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God
for a sweet-smelling savour." ^ And taste may be included, in accordance with which
God hateth the bitter in temper, and spueth out of His mouth those who are lukewarm,
and neither cold nor hot: ^ and Christ our God ^ saith, " My meat is to do the will of Him
that sent me." * There is also that divine sense of touch, in accordance with which the
spouse saith of the bridegroom: " His left hand is under my head, and his ris;ht hand shall
embrace me." ^ But these are not in God's case in different parts of the body. For when
He is said to know, all are included: both seeing, and hearing, and smelling, and tasting,
and touching; without any alteration of His substance, and without the existence of any
material element which is greater in one place and smaller in another:
and when there are any such thoughts of God in those even who are old in years, they are
the thoughts only of a childish mind.

4. Nor need you wonder that the ineffable knowledge of God, whereby He is cognizant of
all things, is, because of the various modes of human speech, designated by the names of
all those bodily senses; since even our own mind, in other

1 Eph. V. 2. ^ Eev. iii. 16. ^ Deus Christus.

* Chap. iv. 34. ^ Song of Sol. ii. 6.

TEACT. XCIX.] HOW THE SPIRIT HEARS. 391

words, the inner man,â€”to -which, while itself exercising its knowing faculty in one
uniform way, the different subjects of its knowledge are communicated by those five
messengers, as it were, of the body, when it understands, chooses, and loves the
unchangeable truth, â€”is said both to see the light, whereof it is said, " That was the true
light; " and to hear the word, whereof it is said, " In the beginning was the Word; " ^ and to be susceptible of smell, of which it is said, " We will run after the smell of thy ointments; " ^ and to drink of the fountain, whereof it is said, " With Thee is the fountain of life; " ^ and to enjoy the sense of touch, when it is said, " But it is good for me to cleave unto God; " ^ in all of which it is not different things, but the one intelligence, that is expressed by the names of so many senses. When, therefore, it is said of the Holy Spirit, " For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak," so much the more is a simple nature, which is simple [uncompounded] in the truest sense, to be either understood or beKeved, which in its extent and sublimity far surpasses the nature of our minds.

For there is mutability in our mind, which comes by learning to the perception of what it was previously ignorant of, and loses by unlearning what it formerly knew; and is deceived by what has a similarity to truth, so as to approve of the false in place of the true, and is hindered by its own obscurity as by a kind of darkness from arriving at the truth. And so that substance is not in the truest sense simple, to which being is not identical with knowing; for it can exist without the possession of knowledge. But it cannot be so with that divine substance, for it is what it has. And on this account it has not knowledge in any such way as that the knowledge whereby it knows should be to it one thing, and the essence whereby it exists another; but both are one. N"or ought that to be called both, which is simply one. " As the Father hath life in Himself," and He HimseK is not somethinsj different from the life that is in Him; " so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself," " that is, hath begotten the Son, that He also should Himself be the life. Accordingly we ought to

* Chap. i. 9, 1. " Song of Sol. i. 4, Septuagint.


392 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. XCIX.

accept what is said of the Holy Spirit, "For he shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak/" in such a way as to understand thereby that He is not of Himself. Because it is the Father only who is not of another. For the Son is born of the Father, and the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father; but the Father is neither born of, nor proceedeth from, another. And yet surely there should not on that account occur to human thought any idea of disparity in the supreme Trinity; for both the Son is equal to Him of whom He is born, and the Holy Spirit to Him from whom He proceedeth. But what difference there is in such a case between proceeding and being born, would be too lengthy to make the subject of inquiry and dissertation, and would make our definition liable to the charge of rashness, even after w^e had discussed it; for such a thing is of the utmost difficulty, both for the mind to comprehend in any adequate way, and even were it so that the mind has attained to any such comprehension, for the tongue to explain, however able the one that presides as a teacher, or he that is present as a hearer.
Accordingly, " He shall not speak of Himself; " because He is not of Himself. " But whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak: " He shall hear of Him from whom He proceedeth.

To Him hearing is knowing; but knowing is being, as has been discussed above. Because, then, He is not of Himself, but of Him from whom He proceedeth, and of whom He has essence, of Him He has knowledge; from Him, therefore, He has hearing, which is nothing else than knowledge.

5. And be not disturbed by the fact that the verb is put in the future tense. For it is not said, whatsoever He hath heard, or, whatsoever He heareth; but, " whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak." For such hearing is everlasting, because the knowing is everlasting. But in the case of what is eternal, without beginning and without end, in whatever tense the verb is put, whether in the past, or present, or future, there is no falsehood thereby implied. For although to that immutable and ineffable nature, there is no proper application of Was and Will be, but only Is: for that nature alone is in truth, because incapable of change; and to it therefore was it exclusively suited to say, " I am that I am," and " Thou

TEACT. XCIX.] PROCESSION OF THE SPIRIT. 393

shall say unto the children of Israel, He who is hath sent me unto you: " ^ yet on account of the changeableness of the times amid which our mortal and changeable life is spent, there is nothing false in our saying, both it was, and will be, and is.

It was in past, it is in present, it will be in future ages. It was, because it never was wanting; it will be, because it will never be wanting; it is, because it always is. For it has not, like one who no longer survives, died with the past; nor, like one who abideth not, is it gliding away with the present; nor, as one who had no previous existence, will it rise up with the future. Accordingly, as our human manner of speaking varies with the revolutions of time. He, who through all times was not, is not, and will not by any possibility be found wanting, may correctly be spoken of in any tense whatever of a verb. The Holy Spirit, therefore, is always hearing, because He always knows: ergo, He both knew, and knows, and will know; and in the same way He both heard, and hears, and will hear; for, as we have already said, to Him hearing is one with knowing, and knowing with Him is one with being. From Him, therefore. He heard, and hears, and will hear, of whom He is; and of Him He is, from whom He proceeds.

6. Some one may here inquire whether the Holy Spirit proceedeth also from the Son. For the Son is Son of the Father alone, and the Father is Father of the Son alone; but the Holy Spirit is not the Spirit of one of them, but of both. You have the Lord Himself saying, " For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you; " ^ and you have the apostle, " God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts." ^ Are there, then, two, the one of the Father, the other of the Son? Certainly not. For there is " one body," he said, when referring to the Church; and presently added, " and one
Spirit." And mark how he there makes up the Trinity. " As ye are called," he says, " in one hope of your calling." " One Lord," where he certainly meant Christ to be understood; but it remained that he should also name the Father: and accordingly there follows, " One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." ^ And since, then, just as 


394 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. XCIX.

there is one Father, and one Lord, namely, the Son, so also there is one Spirit; He is doubtless of both: especially as Christ Jesus Himself saith, " The Spirit of your Father that dwelleth in you;" and the apostle declares, " God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts." You have the same apostle saying in another place, "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you," where he certainly intended the Spirit of the Father to be understood; of whom, however, he says in another place, " But if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His." ^

And many other testimonies there are, which plainly show that He, who in the Trinity is styled the Holy Spirit, is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son.

7. And for no other reason, I suppose, is He called in a peculiar way the Spirit; since though asked concerning each person in His turn, we cannot but admit that the Father and the Son are each of them a Spirit; for God is a Spirit, ^ that is, God is not carnal, but spiritual. By the name, therefore, which they each also hold in common, it was requisite that He should be distinctly called, who is not the one nor the other of them, but in whom what is common to both becomes apparent. Why, then, should we not believe that the Holy Spirit proceedeth also from the Son, seeing that He is likewise the Spirit of the Son? For did He not so proceed. He could not, when showing Himself to His disciples after the resurrection, have breathed upon them, and said, " Eeeive ye the Holy Spirit." ^ For what else was signified by such a breathing upon them, but that from Him also the Holy Spirit proceedeth ? And of the same character also are His words regarding the woman that suffered from the bloody flux: " Some one hath touched me; for I perceive that virtue is gone out of me." ^ For that the Holy Spirit is also designated by the name of virtue, is both clear from the passage where the angel, in reply to Mary's question, " How shall this be, seeing I know not a man ? " said, " The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power [virtue] of the highest shall overshadow thee;" ^

and our Lord Himself, when giving His disciples the promise


of the Spirit, said, "But tarry ye in the city, until ye be endued with power [virtue] from on high; " ^ and on another occasion, "Ye shall receive the power [virtue] of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me." ^

It is of this virtue that we are to believe, that the evangelist says, "Virtue went out of Him, and healed them all." ^

8. If, then, the Holy Spirit proceedeth both from the Father and from the Son, why said the Son, "He proceedeth from the Father" ? * Why, do you think, but just because it is to Him He is wont to attribute even that which is His own, of whom He Himself also is ? Hence we have Him saying, "My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me." ^ If, therefore, in such a passage we are to understand that as His doctrine, which nevertheless He declared not to be His own, but the Father's, how much more in that other passage are we to understand the Holy Spirit as proceeding from Himself, where His words, "He proceedeth from the Father," were uttered so as not to imply, He proceedeth not from me ? But from Him, of whom the Son has it that He is God (for He is God of God), He certainly has it that from Him also the Holy Spirit proceedeth: and in this way the Holy Spirit has it of the Father Himself, that He should also proceed from the Son, even as He proceedeth from the Father.

9. In connection with this, we come also to some understanding of the further point, that is, so far as it can be understood by such beings as ourselves, why the Holy Spirit is not said to be born, but to proceed: since, if He also were called by the name of Son, He could not avoid being called the Son of both, which is utterly absurd. For no one is a son of two, imless of a father and mother. But it would be utterly abhorrent to entertain the suspicion of any such intervention between God the Father and God the Son. For not even a son of human parents proceedeth at the same time from father and from mother: but at the time that he proceedeth from the father into the mother, it is not then that he proceedeth from the mother; and when he cometh forth from the mother into the light of day, it is not then that he j^roceedeth from the father.

But the Holy Spirit proceedeth not from the Father into the Son, and then proceedeth from the Son to the work of the creature's sanctification; but He proceedeth at the same time from both: although this the Father hath given unto the Son, that He should proceed from Him also, even as He proceedeth from Himself. And as little can we say that the Holy Spirit is not the life, seeing that the Father is the life, and the Son is the life. And in the same way as the Father, who hath life in Himself, hath given to the Son also to have
life in Himself; so hath He also given that life should proceed from Him, even as it also proceedeth from Himself. But we come now to the words of our Lord that follow, when He saith:

"And He will show you things to come. He shall glorify me; for He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that He shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you." But as the present discourse has already been protracted to some length, they must be left over for another.

^ This passage from sec. 8, Augustine has transferred into Book XV. "On the Trinity," chap. 27.

Chapter XVI. 13-15 (continued).

1. WHEN our Lord gave the promise of the coming of His Holy Spirit, He said, "He shall teach you all truth," or, as we read in some copies, "He shall guide you into all truth. For He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak." On these Gospel words we have already discoursed as the Lord enabled us; and now give your attention to those that follow. "And He will show you," He said, "things to come." Over this, which is perfectly plain, there is no need to linger; for it contains no question that demands from us any regular exposition. But the words that He proceeds to add, "He shall make me clearly known; for He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you," are not to be carelessly passed over. For by the words, "He shall make me clearly known," we may understand, that by shedding abroad [God's] love in the hearts of believers, and making them spiritual, He showed them how it was that the Son was equal to the Father, whom previously they had only known according to the flesh, and as men themselves had thought of Him only as man. Or at least that, filled themselves through that very love with boldness, and divested of all fear, they might proclaim Christ unto men; and so His fame be spread abroad through the whole world. So that He said, "He shall make me clearly known," as if meaning, He shall free you from fear, and endow you with a love that will so inflame your zeal in preaching me, that you will send forth the odour, and commend the honour of, my glory throughout the world. For what they were to do in the Holy Spirit, He said that the Spirit Himself would also do, as is implied in the words, "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of

^ Clarificabit: see below,

397

398 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [Tr.ACT. C.
your Father that speaketh in you." ^ The Greek word, indeed, which is Bo^daec, has been
rendered by the Latin interpreters in their respective translations, clarificabit (" shall
make clearly known ") by one, and glorificalit (" shall glorify ") by another:
for the idea expressed in Greek by the one term ho^a, from which is derived the verb
Bo^daet., may be interpreted both by daritas (brightness) and gloria (glory). For by glory
every one becomes bright, and glorious by brightness; and hence what is signified by
both words, is one and the same thing.
And, as the most famous writers of the Latin tongue in olden time have defined it, glory
is the generally diffused and accepted fame of any one accompanied with praise. But
when this happened in the world in regard to Christ, we are not to suppose that it was the
bestowing of any great thing on Christ, but on the world. For to praise what is good is not
of benefit to that which receives, but to those who give the commendation.

2. But there is also a false glory, when the praise given is the result of a mistake, whether
in regard to things or to persons, or to both. For men are mistaken in regard to things,
when they think that to be good which is evil; and in regard to persons, when they think
one to be good who is evil; and in regard to both, when what is actually a vice is
esteemed a virtue; and when he who is praised for something is destitute of what he is
supposed to have, whether he be good or evil.
To credit vainglorious persons ^ with the things they profess, is surely a huge vice, and
not a virtue; and yet you know how common is the laudatory fame of such; for, as
Scripture says, " The sinner is praised in the desires of his soul, and he who practises
iniquity is blessed." ^ Here those who praise are not mistaken in the persons, but in the
things; for that is evil which they believe to be good. But those who are


' Ps. X. 3. Augustine here, as usual, follows the Septuagint. ppn (praise), however, is not
passive, but, instead of its usual accusative, takes py â€œÂ«ith the subject of praise, and
is rendered mth sufficient accuracy in the English version. 7|-i3. also, must be translated
actively, with "the covetous," or "the defrauder," as its nominative: and the verse should
thus read, "The wicked boasteth of his soul's desire, and the defrauder blesseth [and]
blasphemeth Jehovah." It would be natural enough in the defrauder to do both. â€” Tr.

TEACT. C] FALSE IDEAS OF GLOKY. 399

morally corrupted with the evil of prodigality are undoubtedly such as those who praise
them do not simply suspect, but perceive them to be. But further, if one feign himself a
just man, and be not so, but, as regards all that he seems to do in a praiseworthy way in
the sight of men, does it not for God's sake, that is, for the sake of true righteousness, but
makes glory from men the only glory he seeks and hankers after; while those with whom
his extolled fame is generally accepted think of him only as living in a praiseworthy way
for God's sake, â€” they are not mistaken in the thing, but are deceived in the person. For
that which they believe to be good, is good; but the person whom they believe to be good,
is the reverse. But if, for example, skill in magical arts be esteemed good, and any one, so long as he is believed to have delivered his country by those same arts whereof all the while he is utterly ignorant, attain amongst the irreligious to that generally accepted renown which is defined as glory, those who so praise err in both respects; to wit, both in the thing, for they esteem that good which is evil; and in the person, for he is not at all what they suppose him. But when, in regard to any one who is righteous by God's grace and for God's sake, in other words, truly righteous, there is on account of that very righteousness a generally accepted fame of a laudatory kind, then the glory is indeed a true one; and yet we are not to suppose that thereby the righteous man is made blessed, but rather those who praise him are to be congratulated, because they judge rightly, and love the righteous. And how much more, then, did Christ the Lord, by His own glory, benefit, not Himself, but those whom He also benefited by His death?

3. But that is not a true glory which He has among heretics, with whom, nevertheless, He appears to have a generally accepted fame accompanied with praise. Such is no true glory, because in both respects they are mistaken; for they both think that to be good which is not good, and they suppose Christ to be what Christ is not. For to say that the only-begotten Son is not equal to Him that begat, is not good: to say that the only-begotten Son of God is man only, and not God, is not good: to say that the flesh of the Truth

400 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TÆACT. C.

is not true flesh, is not good. Of the three doctrines which I have stated, the first is held by the Arians, the second by the Photinians, and the third by the Manicheans. But inasmuch as there is nothing in any of them that is good, and Christ has nothing to do with them, in both respects they are in the wrong; and they attach no true glory to Christ, although there may appear to be amongst them a generally accepted fame regarding Christ of a laudatory character. And accordingly all heretics together, whom it would be too tedious to enumerate, who have not right views regarding Christ, err on this account, that their views are untrue regarding both good things and evil. The pagans, also, of whom great numbers are landers of Christ, are themselves also mistaken in both respects, saying, as they do, not in accordance with the truth of God, but rather with their own conjectures, that He was a magician. For they reproach Christians as being destitute of skill; but Christ they laud as a magician, and so betray what it is that they love: Christ indeed they do not love, since what they love is that which Christ never was. And thus, then, in both respects they are in error, for it is wicked to be a magician; and as Christ was good. He was not a magician. Wherefore, as we have nothing to say in this place of those who malign and blaspheme Christ, â€” for it is of His glory we speak, wherewith He was glorified in the world, â€” it was only in the holy Catholic Church that the Holy Spirit glorified Him with His true glory. For elsewhere, that is, either among heretics or certain pagans, the glory He has in the world cannot be a true one, even where there is a generally accepted fame of Him
accompanied with praise. His true glory, therefore, in the Catholic Church is celebrated in these words by the prophet:
"Be Thou exalted, God, above the heavens; and Thy glory above all the earth." ^
Accordingly, that after His exaltation the Holy Spirit was to come, and to glorify Him, the sacred psalm, and the Only-begotten Himself, promised as an event of the future, which we see accomplished.

4. But when He says, "He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you," listen thereto with Catholic ears, and receive it with Catholic minds. For not surely on that

'^ Ps. cviii. 5.

TRACT. C] THE PERSONS IN THE TRINITY. 401

account, as certain heretics have imagined, is the Holy Spirit inferior to the Son; as if the Son received from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from the Son, in reference to certain gradations of natures. Far be it from us to believe this, or to say it, and from Christian hearts to think it. In fine. He Himself straightway solved the question, and explained why He said so. "All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that He shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you." What would you more? The Holy Spirit thus receives of the Father, of whom the Son receives; for in this Trinity the Son is born of the Father, and from the Father the Holy Spirit proceedeth. He, however, who is born of none, and proceedeth from none, is the Father alone. But in what sense it is that the only-begotten Son said, "All things that the Father hath are mine:" (for it certainly was not in the same sense as when it was said to that son, who was not only begotten, but the elder of two, "Thou art ever with me; and all that I have is thine"), ^ will have our careful consideration, if the Lord so will, in connection with the passage where the Only-begotten saith to the Father, "And all mine are Thine, and Thine are mine;" ^ so that our present discourse may be here brought to a close, as the words that follow require a different opening for their discussion.


TRACT. VOL. II. 2 C

TRACTATE CI.

Chapter XVI. 16-23.
1. These words of the Lord, when He says, "A little while, and ye shall no more see me: and again a little while, and ye shall see me; because I go to the Father," were so obscure to the disciples, before what He thus says was actually fulfilled, that they inquired among themselves what it was that He said, and had to confess themselves utterly ignorant. For the Gospel proceeds, "Then said some of His disciples among themselves. What is this that He saith unto us, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again a little while, and ye shall see me; because I go to the Father? They said therefore. What is this that He saith, A little while? we know not what He saith." This is what moved them, that He said, "A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again a little while, and ye shall see me." For in what precedes, because He had not said, "A little while," but only, "I go to the Father, and ye shall see me no more," He appeared to them to have spoken, as it were, quite plainly, and they had no inquiry among themselves regarding it. But now, what was then obscure to them, and was shortly afterwards revealed, is already perfectly manifest to us: for after a little while He suffered, and they saw Him not; again, after a little while He rose, and they saw Him. But how the words are to be taken that He used, "Ye shall no more see me," inasmuch as by the word "more" He wished it to be understood that they would not see Christ in His present state of subjection to death.

2. "Now Jesus knew," as the evangelist proceeds to say, "that they were desirous to ask Him, and said unto them. Ye inquire among yourselves of that I said, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again a little while, and ye shall see me. Verily, verily, I say unto you, That ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice; and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy:" which may be understood in this way, that the disciples were thrown into sorrow over the death of the Lord, and straightway were filled with joy at His resurrection; but the world, whereby are signified the enemies that slew Christ, were, of course, in a state of rapture over the murder of Christ, at the very time when the disciples
were filled with sorrow. For by the name of the world the wickedness of this world may be understood; in other words, of those who are the friends of this world. As the Apostle James says in his epistle, "Whosoever will be a friend of this world, is become the enemy of God;"\(^1\) for the effect of that enmity to God was, that not even His Onlybegotten was spared.

3. And then He goes on to say, "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world. And ye now therefore have sorrow; but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you."

Nor does the metaphor here employed seem difficult to understand; for its key is at hand in the exposition given by Himself of its meaning. For the pangs of parturition are compared to sorrow, and the birth itself to joy; which is usually all the greater when it is not a girl but a boy that is born. But when He said, "Your joy no man taketh from you," for their joy was Jesus Himself, there is implied what was said by the apostle, "Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; and death shall have no more dominion over Him."\(^2\)

1 Above, Tract. XCV. - Jas. iv. 4. - Horn. vi. 9.

404 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CI.

4. Hitherto in this section of the Gospel, whereon we are discoursing to-day, the tenor of everything has been, I may say, of easy understanding: a much closer attention is needful in connection with the words that follow. For what does He mean by the words, "And in that day ye shall ask me nothing"?

The verb to ask, used here, means not only to beg of, but also to question; and the Greek Gospel, of which this is a translation, has a word that may also be understood in both senses, so that by it the ambiguity is not removed; \(^3\) and even though it were so, every difficulty would not thereby disappear. For we read that the Lord Christ, after He rose again, was both questioned and petitioned. He was asked by the disciples, on the eve of His ascension into heaven, when He would be manifested, and when the kingdom of Israel would come; \(^4\)

and even when already in heaven, He was petitioned [asked] by St. Stephen to receive his spirit.\(^5\) And who dare either think or say that Christ ought not to be asked, sitting as He does in heaven, and yet was asked while He abode on earth?

or that He ought not to be asked in His state of immortality, although it was men's duty to ask Him while still in His state of subjection to death? Nay, beloved, let us ask BLim to untie with His own hands the knot of our present inquiry, by so shining into our hearts that we may perceive what He saith.
5. For I think that His words, "But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you," are not to be referred to the time of His resurrection, and when He showed them His flesh to be looked at and handled; * but rather to that of which He had already said, "He that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." ^ For He had already risen, He had already shown Himself to them in the flesh, and He was already sitting at the right hand of the Father, when that same Apostle John, whose Gospel this is, says in his epistle, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when He shall be manifested, we shall be like Him; for we shall see

^ Greek, ipur^ffin. â– Acts i. 6. ' Acts vii. 59.


TRACT. CI.] THE BELIEVER'S JOY. 405

Him as He is." ^ That vision belongs not to this life, but to the future; and is not temporal, but eternal. " And this is life eternal," in the words of Him who is that life, " that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent. " ^ Of this vision and knowledge the apostle says, "Now we see through a glass, in a riddle; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." ^ At present the Church is in travail with the longing for this fruit of all her labour, but then she shall bring to the birth in its actual contemplation; now she travails in birth with groaning, then shall she bring forth in joy; now she travails in birth through her prayers, then shall she bring forth in her praises. Thus, too, is it a male child; since to such fruit in the contemplation are all the duties of her present conduct to be referred. For He alone is free; because He is desired on His own account, and not in reference to aught besides. Such conduct is in His service; for whatever is done in a good spirit has a reference to Him, because it is done on His behalf; while He, on the other hand, is got and held in possession on His own account, and not on that of aught besides. And there, accordingly, we find the only end that is satisfying to ourselves. He will therefore be eternal; for no end can satisfy us, save that which is found in Him who is endless. With this was Philip inspired, when he said,

"Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." And in that showing the Son gave promise also of His own presence, when He said, "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" ^ Of that, therefore, which alone sufficeth us, we are very appropriately informed, "Yom' joy no man taketh from you." ^

6. On this point, also, in reference to what has been said above, I think we may get a still better understanding of the words, " A little while, and ye shall no more see me: and again a little while, and ye shall see me." For the whole of that space over which the present dispensation extends, is but a little while; and hence this same evangelist says in his epistle, "It is the last hour." * For in this sense also He
added, "Because I go to the Father," which is to be referred to the preceding clause, where He saith, "A little while, and ye shall no more see me;" and not to the subsequent, where He saith, "And again a little while, and ye shall see me."

For by His going to the Father, He was to bring it about that they should not see Him. And on this account, therefore.

His words did not mean that He was about to die, and to be withdrawn from their view till His resurrection; but that He was about to go to the Father, which He did after His resurrection, and when, after holding intercourse with them for forty days. He ascended into heaven. He therefore addressed the words, "A little while, and ye shall no more see me," to those who saw Him at the time in bodily form; because He was about to go to the Father, and never thereafter to be seen in that mortal state wherein they now beheld Him when so addressing them. But the words that He added, "And again a little while, and ye shall see me," He gave as a promise to the Church universal: just as to it, also. He gave the other promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." The Lord is not slack concerning His promise: a little while, and Ave shall see Him, where we shall have no more any requests to make, any questions to put; for nothing shall remain to be desired, nothing lie hid to be inquired about.

This little while appears long to us, because it is still in continuance; when it is over, we shall then feel what a little while it was. Let not, then, our joy be like that of the world, whereof it is said, "But the world shall rejoice;" and yet let not our sorrow in travailing in birth with such a desire be unmingled with joy; but, as the apostle says, be " rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation;" for even the woman in travail, to whom we are compared, has herself more joy over the offspring that is soon to be, than sorrow over her present pains.

But let us here close our present discourse; for the words that follow contain a very trying question, and must not be unduly curtailed, so that they may, if the Lord will, obtain a more befitting explanation.

"The Gospel of John, [tract. CI.

Chapter XVI. 23-28.

1, "VjltTE have now to consider these words of the Lord, T T " Verily, verily, I say unto you. If ye shall ask anything of the Father in my name, He will give it you." It has already
been said in the earlier portions of this discourse of our Lord's, on account of those who ask some things of the Father in Christ's name and receive them not, that there is nothing asked of the Father in the Saviour's name that is asked in contrariety to the method of salvation. For it is not the sound of the letters and syllables, but what the sound itself imports, and what is rightly and truly to be understood by that sound, that He is to be regarded as declaring, when He says, " in my name." Hence, he who has such ideas of Christ as ought not to be entertained of the only Son of God, asketh not in His name, even though he may not abstain from the mention of Christ in so many letters and syllables; since it is only in His name he asketh, of whom he is thinking when he asketh. But he who has such ideas of Him as ought to be entertained, asketh in His name, and receiveth what he asketh, if he asketh nothing that is contrary to his own everlasting salvation. And he receiveth it when he ought to receive it. For some things are not refused, but are delayed till they can be given at a suitable time. In this way, surely, we are to understand His words, " He will give you," so that thereby we may know that those benefits are signified which are properly applicable to those who ask. For all the saints are heard effectively in their own behalf, but are not so heard in behalf of all besides, whether friends or enemies, or any others: for it is not said in a general kind of way, " He will give;" but, " He will give you."

^ Above, Tract. LXXIII. * Exaudmuntur, heard and answered.

407

408 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CII.

2. " Hitherto," He says, " ye have not asked anything in my name. Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full." This that He calls a full joy is certainly no carnal joy, but a spiritual one; and when it shall be so great as to be no longer capable of any additions to it, it will then doubtless be full. Whatever, then, is asked as belonging to the attainment of this joy, is to be asked in the name of Christ, if we understand the grace of God, and if we are truly in quest of a blessed life. But if aught different from this is asked, there is nothing asked: not that the thing itself is nothing at all, but that in comparison with what is so great, anything else that is coveted is virtually nothing. For, of course, the man is not actually nothing, of whom the apostle says, " He who thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing."^ But surely in comparison with the spiritual man, who knows that by the grace of God he is what he is, he who makes vain assumptions is nothing. In this way, then, may the words also be rightly understood, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, if ye shall ask anything of the Father in my name, He will give [it] you " that by the words, " if anything," should not be understood anything whatever, but anything that is not really nothing in connection with the life of blessedness. And what follows, " Hitherto ye have not asked anything in my name," may be understood in two Ways: either, that ye have not asked in my name, because a name that ye have not known as it is yet to be known; or, ye have not asked anything,
since in comparison with that which ye ought to have asked, what ye have asked is to be accounted as nothing. In order, then, that they may ask in His name, not that which is nothing, but a full joy (since anything different from this that they ask is virtually nothing). He addresses to them the exhortation, "Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full;" that is, ask this in my name, that your joy may be full, and ye shall receive. For His saints, who persevere in asking such a good thing as this, will in no wise be defrauded by the mercy of God.

3. "These things," said He, "have I spoken to you in proverbs: but the hour cometh, when I shall no more speak unto

1 Gal. vi. 3.

TBACT. CIL] PEOVEEBS AND PLAIN SPEECH. 409

you in proverbs, but I shall show you plainly of my Father."

I might be disposed to say that this hour, whereof He speaketh, must be understood as that future period when we shall see openly, as the blessed Paul says, "face to face;" that what He says, "These things have I spoken to you in proverbs," is one with what has been said by the same apostle, "Now we see through a glass, in a riddle:" ^ and "I will show you," because the Father shair be seen through the instrumentality of the Son, is akin to what He says elsewhere, "Neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and [he] to whom the Son shall be pleased to reveal Him." ^ But such a sense seems to be interfered with by that which follows: "At that day ye shall ask in my name." For in that future world, when we have reached the kingdom where we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is,^ what shall we then have to ask, when our desire shall be satisfied with good things ? * As it is also said in another psalm: "I shall be satisfied when Thy glory shall be revealed." Â° For petition has to do with some kind of want, which can have no place there where such abundance shall reign.

4. It remains, therefore, for us, so far as my capacity to apprehend it goes, to understand Jesus as having promised that He would cause His disciples, from being carnal and natural, to become spiritual, although not yet such as we shall be, when a spiritual body shall also be ours; but such as was he who said, "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect " Â®

and, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal;" ^ and, "We have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is of God; that we might know the things

1 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 2 Matt. xi. 27.

' 1 Jolm iii. 2. â– * Ps. ciii. 5.
5 Ps. xvii. 15. So the Septuagint translate TjnJION Y^V!2. nj?2b'N- The Hiphil intransitive form ppH is used, however, only of "awaking" out of sleep, not of "appearing," or "being manifested;" and nJIJSn properly means, appearance, form, likeness, although "glory" may in the present connection be implied: so that while the rendering of the Septuagint may be grammatically defensible, "I shall be satisfied when Thy glory is manifested," yet the strict meaning of the words, the context, and the accentuation, favour that of the English version, "I shall be satisfied, on awaking, with Thy likeness." â€” Ir.

Â« 1 Cor. ii. 6. U Cor. iii. 1.

410 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. OIL

that are freely given to us of God. "Which things also we speak, not in the "words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." And thus the natural man, perceiving not the things of the Spirit of God, hears in such a way whatever is told him of the nature of God, that he can conceive of nothing else but some bodily form, however spacious or immense, however lustrous and magnificent, yet still a body:

and therefore he holds as proverbs all that is said of the incorporeal and immutable substance of wisdom; not that he accounts them as proverbs, but that his thoughts follow the same direction as those who habitually listen to proverbs without understanding them. But when the spiritual man begins to discern all things, and he himself is discerned by no man, he perceives, even though in this life it still be through a glass and in part, not by any bodily sense, and not by any imaginative conception which catches at or devises the likenesses of all sorts of bodies, but by the clearest understanding of the mind, that God is not material, but spiritual: in such a way does the Son show us openly of the Father, that He, who thus shows, is also Himself seen to be of the same substance.

And then it is that those who ask, ask in His name; for in the sound of that name they understand nothing else than what the reality is that is called by that name, and harbour not, in vanity or infirmity of mind, the fiction of the Father being in one place, and the Son in another, standing before the Father and making request in our behalf, with the material substances of both occupying each its own place, and the Word pleading verbally for us with Him whose Word He is, while a definite space interposes between the mouth of the speaker and the ears of the hearer; and other such absurdities which those who are natural, and at the same time carnal, fabricate for themselves in their hearts. For any such thing, suggested by the experience of bodily habits, as occurs to spiritual men when thinking of God, they deny and reject, and drive away, like troublesome insects, from the eyes of their mind; and resign themselves to the purity of that light by whose testimony and

1 "Animalis."
TRACT. CIL.] THE LOVE OF THE FATHER AND SOK 411

judgment they prove these bodily images that thrust themselves- on their inward vision to be altogether false. These are able to a certain extent to think of our Lord Jesus Christ, in respect of His manhood, as addressing the Father on our behalf; but in respect to His Godhead, as hearing [and answering] us along with the Father. And this I am of opinion that He indicated, when He said, "And I say not that I will pray the Father for you." But the intuitive perception of this, how it is that the Son asketh not the Father, but that Father and Son alike listen to those who ask, is a height that can be reached only by the spiritual eye of the mind.

5. "For the Father Himself," He says, "loveth you, because ye have loved me." Is it the case, then, that He loveth, because we love; or rather, that we love, because He loveth? Let this same evangelist give us the answer out of his own epistle: "We love Him," he says, "because He first loved us." This, then, was the efficient cause of our loving, that we were loved. And certainly to love God is the gift of God. He it was that gave the grace to love Him, who loved while still unloved. Even when displeasing Him we were loved, that there might be that in us whereby we should become pleasing in His sight. For we could not love the Son unless we loved the Father also. The Father loveth us, because we love the Son; seeing it is of the Father and Son we have received [the power] to love both the Father and the Son: for love is shed abroad in our hearts by the Spirit of both, by which Spirit we love both the Father and the Son. God, therefore, it was that wrought this religious love of ours whereby we worship God; and He saw that it is good, and on that account He Himself loved that which He had made. But He would not have wrought in us something He could love, were it not that He loved ourselves before He wrought it.

6. "And ye have believed," He adds, "that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again I leave the world, and go to the Father." Clearly we have believed. For surely it ought not to be accounted a thing incredible because of this, that in coming to

^ 1 John iv. 19. - Eom. v. 5.

412 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEAGT. Oil.

the world He came forth in such a sense from the Father that He did not leave the Father behind; and that, on leaving the world. He goes to the Father in such a sense that He does not actually forsake the world. For He came forth from the Father because He is of the Father; and He came into the world, in showing to the world His bodily form, which He had received of the Virgin. He left the world by a bodily withdrawal. He proceeded to the
Father by His ascension as man, but He forsook not the world in the ruling activity of His presence.

TEACTATE GUI.

Chapter XYI. 29-33.

1. His inward state of Christ's disciples, when before His passion He talked with them as with children of great things, but in such a way as befitted the great things to be spoken to children, because, having not yet received the Holy Spirit, as they did after His resurrection, either by His own breathing upon them, or by descent from above, they had a mental capacity for the human rather than the divine, â€” is everywhere declared through the Gospel by numerous testimonies; and of a piece therewith, is what they said in the lesson before us. For, says the evangelist, "His disciples say unto Him: Lo, now speakest Thou plainly, and utterest no proverb. Now we are sure that Thou knowest all things, and needest not that any man should ask Thee: by this we believe that Thou camest forth from God." The Lord Himself had said shortly before, "These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs: the hour cometh, when I shall no more speak to you in proverbs." How, then, say they, "Lo, now speakest Thou plainly, and utterest no proverb." Was the hour, indeed, already come, when He had promised that He would no more speak unto them in proverbs? Certainly that such an hour had not yet come, is shown by the continuation of His words, which run in this way: "These things," said He, "have I spoken unto you in proverbs: the hour cometh, when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I shall show you plainly of my Father. At that day ye shall ask in my name: and I say not unto you, that I will pray the Father for you: for the Father Himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father" (vers, 25-28). Seeing that

413

414 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TEACT. CIII.

throughout all these words He is still promising that hour when He shall no more speak in proverbs, but shall show them openly of the Father; the hour, when He says that they will ask in His name, and that He will not pray the Father for them, on the ground that the Father Himself loveth them, and that they also have loved Christ, and have believed that He came forth from the Father, and was come into the world, and was again about to leave the world and go to the Father: when thus that hour is still the subject of promise when He was to speak without proverbs, why say they, "Lo, now speakest Thou plainly, and utterest no proverb;" but just because those things, which He knows to be proverbs to those who have no
understanding, they are still so far from understanding, that they do not even understand that they do not understand them? For they were babes, and had as yet no spiritual discernment of what they heard regarding things that had to do not with the body, but with the spirit.

2. And still further admonishing them of their age as still small and infirm in regard to the inner man, "Jesus answered them: Do ye now believe? Behold the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone. And yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me." He had said shortly before, "I leave the world, and go to the Father;" now He says, "The Father is with me." "Who goes to him who is with him? This is a word to him that understandeth, a proverb to him that understandeth not: and yet in such way that what at present is unintelligible to babes, is in some sort sucked in; and even though it yield them not solid food, which they cannot as yet receive, it denies them not at least a milky diet. It was from this diet that they drew the knowledge that He knew all things, and needed not that any one should ask Him: and, indeed, why they said this, is a topic worthy of inquiry. For one would think they ought rather to have said. Thou needest not to ask any one; not, "That any one should ask Thee."

They had just said, "We are sure that Thou knowest all things:" and surely He that knoweth all things is accustomed rather to be questioned by those who do not know, that in reply to their questions they may hear what they wish from Him who knoweth all things; and not to be Himself the questioner, as if wishing to know something, when He knoweth all things. What, then, are we to understand by this, that, when apparently they ought to have said to Him, whom they knew to be omniscient. Thou needest not to ask any man, they considered it more befitting to say, "Thou needest not that any man should ask Thee"? Yea, is it not the case that we read of both being done; to wit, that the Lord both asked, and was asked questions? But this latter is speedily answered:

for this was needful not for Him, but for those rather whom He questioned, or by whom He was questioned. For He never questioned any for the purpose of learning anything from them, but for the purpose rather of teaching them. And for those who put questions to Him, as desirous of learning something of Him, it was assuredly needful to be made acquainted with some things by Him who knew everything.

And doubtless on the same account also it was that He needed not that any man should ask Him. As it is the case that we, when questioned by those who wish to get some information from us, discover by their very questionings what it is that they wish to know, we therefore need to be questioned by those whom we wish to teach, in order that we may be acquainted with their inquiries that call for an answer: but He, who knew all things, had no need even of that, and as little need had He of discovering by their questions what it was that any one desired to know of Him, for before a question was put. He knew the intention of him who was to put it. But He suffered Himself to be
questioned on this account, that He might show to those who were then present, or to those who should either hear the things that were to be spoken or read them when written, what was the character of those by whom He was questioned; and in this way we might come to know both the frauds that were powerless to impose upon Him, and the ways of approach that would turn to one's profit in His sight. But to foresee the thoughts of men, and thus to have no need that any one should ask Him, was no great matter for God, but great enough for the babes, who said to Him, "By this we believe that Thou camest forth from God."

A much greater thing it was, for the understanding of which

416 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CIII.

He wished to have their minds expanded and enlarged, that, on their saying, and saying truly, "Thou camest forth from God," He replied, "The Father is with me;" in order that they should not think that the Son had come forth from the Father in any sense that would lead them to suppose that He had also withdrawn from His presence.

3. And then, in bringing to a close this weighty and protracted discourse. He said, "These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." The beginning of such tribulation was to be found in that whereof, in order to show that they were infants, to whom, as wanting in intelligence, and mistaken one thing for another, all the great and divine things He had said were little better than proverbs. He had previously said, "Do ye now believe? Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own." Such, I say, was the beginning of the tribulation, but not in the same measure of their perseverance. For in adding, "and ye shall leave me alone," He did not mean that they would be of such a character in the subsequent tribulation, which they should have to endure in the world after His ascension, as thus to desert Him; but that in Him they should have peace by still abiding in Him. But on the occasion of His apprehension, not only did they outwardly abandon His bodily presence, but they mentally abandoned their faith. And to this it is that His words have reference, "Do ye now believe? Behold, the hour cometh, that ye shall be scattered, to your own, and shall leave me;" as if He had said. You will then be so confounded as to leave behind you even what you now believe. For they fell into such despair and such a death, so to speak, of their old faith, as was apparent in the case of Cleophas, who, after His resurrection, unaware that He was speaking with Himself, and narrating what had befallen Him, said, "We trusted that it had been He who should have redeemed Israel." That was the way in which they then left Him, abandoning even the very faith wherewith they had formerly believed in Him. But in that tribulation, which they encountered after His

^ Luke xxiv. 21.'
TRACT, cm.] P.E5T0EAT10X OF FAITH. 417

glorification and they themselves had received the Holy Spirit, they did not leave Him: and though they fled from city to city, from Himself they did not flee; but in order that, while having tribulation in the world, they might have peace in Him, instead of being fugitives from Him, it was rather Himself that they made their refuge. For in receiving the Holy Spirit, there was wrought in them the very state described to them now in the words, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." They were of good cheer, and they conquered.

But in whom, save in Him? For He had not overcome the world, were it still to overcome His members. Hence said the apostle, "Thanks be unto God, who giveth us the victory;" and immediately added, "through our Lord Jesus Christ:" through Him who had said to His own, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

> 1 Cor. XV. 57.

TRACT. VOL. n. 2D

TEACTATE CIV.

Chapter XVII. 1.

1. "OEFOEE these words, wMch we are now, with the Lord's J- help, to make the subject of discourse, Jesus had said, " These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace; " which we are to consider as referring, not to the later words uttered by Him immediately before, but to all that He had addressed to them, whether from the time that He began to account them disciples, or at least from the time after supper when He commenced this admirable and lengthened discourse. He gave them, indeed, such a reason for speaking to them, that either all He ever spake to them may with the utmost propriety be referred to that end, or those especially, as His last words, which He now spake when on the eve of dying for them, after that he who was to betray Him had quitted their company. For He gave this as the cause of His discourse, that in Him they might have peace, just as it is wholly on this account that we are Christians.

For this peace will have no temporal end, but will itself be the end of every pious intention and action that are ours at present. For its sake we are endowed with His sacraments, for its sake we are instructed by His works and sayings, for its sake we have received the earnest of the Spirit, for its sake we believe and hope in Him, and according to His gracious giving are enkindled with His love: by this peace we are comforted in all our distresses, by it we are delivered from them all: for its sake we endure with fortitude every tribulation, that in it we may reign in happiness without any tribulation. Fitly
therewith did He bring His words to a close, which were proverbs to the disciples, who as yet had little understanding, but would afterwards understand them, when He had given them the Holy Spirit of promise, of whom He 418

TEACT. CIV.] Christ's intercessory prayer. 419

had said before: "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name. He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." ^ Such, doubtless, was to be the hour, wherein He promised that He would no more speak unto them in proverbs, but show them openly of the Father. For these same words of His, when revealed by the Holy Spirit, were no more to be proverbs to those who had understanding. For when the Holy Spirit was speaking in their hearts, there was not to be silence on the part of the only-begotten Son, who had said that in that hour He would show them plainly of the Father, which, of course, would no longer be a proverb to them when now endowed with understanding. But even this also, how it is that both the Son of God and the Holy Spirit speak at once in the hearts of their spiritual ones, yea the Trinity itself, which is ever inseparably at work, is a word to those who have, but a proverb to those who are without, understanding.

2. When, therefore. He had told them on what account He had spoken all things, namely, that in Him they might have peace while having distress in the world, and had exhorted them to be of good cheer, because He had overcome the world; having thus finished His discourse to them. He then directed His words to the Father, and began to pray. For so the evangelist proceeds to say: "These things spake Jesus, and lifted up His eyes to heaven, and said: Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son." The Lord, the Only-begotten and co-eternal with the Father, could in the form of a servant and out of the form of a servant, if such were needful, pray in silence; but in this other way He wished to show Himself as one who prayed to the Father, that He might remember that He was still our Teacher. Accordingly, the prayer which He offered for us. He made also known to us; seeing that it is not only the delivering of discourses to them by so great a Master, but also the praying for them to the Father, that is a means of edification to disciples. And if so to those who were present to hear what was said, it is certainly so also to

1 Chap. xiv. 25, 26.
lis who were to have the reading of it when Titten. Wherefore in saying this, "Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son,"

He showed that all time, and every occasion when He did anything or suffered anything to be done, were arranged by Him who was subject to no time: since those things, which were individually future in point of time, have their efficient causes in the wisdom of God, wherein there are no distinctions of time. Let it not, then, be supposed that this hour came through any urgency of fate, but rather by the divine appointment. It was no necessary law of the heavenly bodies that tied to its time the passion of Christ; for we may well shrink from the thought that the stars should compel their own Maker to die. It was not the time, therefore, that drove Christ to His death, but Christ who selected the time to die: who also fixed the time, when He was born of the Virgin, with the Father, of whom He was born independently of time. And in accordance with this true and salutary doctrine, the Apostle Paul also says, "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son;" \(^\text{1}\) and God declares by the prophet, "In an acceptable time have I heard Thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee;" \(^\text{2}\) and yet again the apostle, "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." \(^\text{3}\) He then may say, "Father, the hour is come,"

who has arranged every hour with the Father: saying, as it were, "Father, the hour," which we fixed together for the sake of men and of my glorification among them, "is come; glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son also may glorify Thee."

3. The glorification of the Son by the Father is understood by some to consist in this, that He spared Him not, but delivered Him up for us all. * But if we say that He was glorified by His passion, how much more was He so by His resurrection! For in His passion our attention is directed more to His humility than to His glory, in accordance with the testimony of the apostle, who says, "He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross;" and then he goes on to say of His glorification, "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name: that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father."

This is the glorification of our Lord Jesus Christ, that took its commencement from His resurrection. His humility accordingly begins in the apostle's discourse with the passage where he says, "He emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant;" and reaches "even to the death of the cross."

But His glory begins with the clause where he says, "Wherefore God also hath exalted Him;" and reaches on to the words, "is in the glory of God the Father." \(^\text{4}\) For even the

\(^\text{1}\) GaL iv. 4. \(^\text{2}\) Isa. xlix. 8. \(^\text{3}\) 2 Cor. vi. 2. \(^\text{4}\) Eom. viii. 32.

TRACT. CIV.] THE SON GLOKIFIED. 421

knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father."

This is the glorification of our Lord Jesus Christ, that took its commencement from His resurrection. His humility accordingly begins in the apostle's discourse with the passage where he says, "He emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant;" and reaches "even to the death of the cross."

But His glory begins with the clause where he says, "Wherefore God also hath exalted Him;" and reaches on to the words, "is in the glory of God the Father." \(^\text{4}\) For even the
noun itself, if the language of the Greek codices be examined, from which the apostolic epistles have been translated into Latin, which in the latter is read, glory, is in the former read, Bo^a: whence we have the verb derived in Greek for the purpose of saying here, Bo^ao-ov (glorify), which the Latin translator renders by " clarified " (make illustrious), although he might as well have said " glorifica " (glorify), which is the same in meaning. And for the same reason, in the apostle's epistle where we find " gloria" " claritas " might have been used; for by so doing, the meaning would have been equally preserved. But not to depart from the sound of the words, just as " clarificatio " (the making lustrous) is derived from " claritas " (lustre), so is " glorificatio " (the making glorious) from " gloria " (glory). In order, then, that the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, might be made lustrous or glorious by His resurrection. He was first humbled by suffering; for had He not died, He would not have risen from the dead. Humility is the earning of glory; glory, the reward of humility. This, however, was done in the form of a servant; but He was always in the form of God, and always shall His glory continue: yea, it was not in the past as if it were no more so in the present, nor shall it be, as if it did not yet exist; but without beginning and without end. His glory is everlasting. Accordingly, when He says, " Father, the

' Phil. ii. 7-11. So Augustine, with a few others of the early fathers, incorrectly renders the last clause instead of that given by our English version, which is alone grammatically and textually correct: "That Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory {IUSÂ«av} of God the Father." â€” Is..

422 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. CIV.

hour is come; glorify Thy Son," it is to be understood as if He said. The hour is come for sowing the seed-corn of humility, delay not the fruit of my glory. But what is the meaning of the words that follow: " That Thy Son may glorify Thee " ? Was it that God the Father likewise endured the humiliation of the body or of suffering, out of which He must needs be raised to glory ? If not, how then was the Son to glorify Him, whose eternal glory could neither appear diminished through human form, nor be enlarged in the divine ? But I will not confine such a question within the present discourse, or draw the latter out to greater length by such a discussion.

TEACTATE CV.

Chapter XVII. 1-5.

1. rHAT the Son was glorified by the Father in His form
1 of a servant, which the Father raised from the dead and set at His own right hand, is indicated by the event itself, and is nowhere doubted by the Christian. But as He not only said, "Father, glorify Thy Son," but likewise added, "that Thy Son may glorify Thee," it is worthy of inquiry how it was that the Son glorified the Father, seeing that the eternal glory of the Father neither suffered diminution in any human form, nor could be increased in respect of its own divine perfection. In itself, indeed, the glory of the Father could neither be diminished nor enlarged; but without any doubt it was less among men when God was known only in Judea: and as yet children praised not the name of the Lord from the rising of the sun to its going down. But inasmuch as this was effected by the gospel of Christ, to wit, that the Father became known through the Son to the Gentiles, assuredly the Son also glorified the Father. Had the Son, however, only died, and not risen again. He would without doubt have neither been glorified by the Father, nor have glorified the Father; but now having been glorified through His resurrection by the Father, He glorifies the Father by the preaching of His resurrection. For this is disclosed by the very order of the words: "Glorify," He says, "Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee;" saying, as it were, Eaise me up again, that by me Thou mayest become known to all the world.

* Ps. Lxxxi. 1.

2 Ps. cxiii. 3, 1: "pueri," from the LXX. The Hebrew is "my servants."

*â€¢ servants. "â€” Tr,

423

424 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. CV.

2. And then expanding still further how it was that the Father should be glorified by the Son, He says: "As Thou hast given Him power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to all that Thou hast given Him." By all flesh, He meant every man, signifying the whole by a part; as, on the other hand, the whole man is signified by the superior part, when the apostle says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." For what else did He mean by "every soul," save every man? And this, therefore, that power over all flesh was given to Christ by the Father, is to be understood in respect of His humanity; for in respect of His Godhead all things were made by Himself, and in Him were created all things in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible. "As," then. He says, "Thou hast given Him power over all flesh," so may Thy Son glorify Thee, in other words, make Thee known to all flesh whom Thou hast given Him. For Thou hast so given, "that He should give eternal life to all that Thou hast given Him."
3, "And this," He adds, "is eternal life, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." The proper order of the words is, "That they may know Thee and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent, as the only true God." Consequently, therefore, the Holy Spirit is also understood, because He is the Spirit of the Father and Son, as the substantial and consubstantial love of both. For the Father and Son are not two Gods, nor are the Father and Son and Holy Spirit three Gods; but the Trinity itself is the one only true God. And yet the Father is not the same as the Son, nor the Son the same as the Father, nor the Holy Spirit the same as the Father and the Son; for the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are three [persons], yet the Trinity itself is one God. If, then, the Son glorifies Thee in the same manner "as Thou hast given Him power over all flesh," and hast so given, "that He should give eternal life to all that Thou hast given Him," and "this is life eternal, that they may know Thee;" in this way, therefore, the Son glorifies Thee, that He makes Thee known to all whom Thou hast given Him.

Accordingly, if the knowledge of God is eternal life, we are

1 Eom. xiii. 1. ^ Col. i. 16.

TRACT. CV.] THE SON GLOKIFYING THE FATHER. 425

making the greater advances to life, in proportion as we are enlarging our growth in such a knowledge. And we shall not die in the life eternal; for then, when there shall be no death, the knowledge of God shall be perfected. Then will be eJBFected the full effulgence of God, because then the completed glory, as expressed in Greek by Bo^a. For from it we have the word Bo^aaov, that is used here, and which some Latins have interpreted by "clarifica" (make effulgent), and some by "glorifica" (glorify). But by the ancients, glory, from which men are styled glorious, is thus defined: Glory is the widely-spread fame of any one accompanied with praise. But if a man is praised when the fame regarding him is believed, how will God be praised when He Himself shall be seen? Hence it is said in Scripture, "Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house; they will be praising Thee for ever and ever."^ There will God's praise continue without e'nd, where there shall be the full knowledge of God; and because the full knowledge, therefore also the complete effulgence or glorification.

4. But God is first of all glorified here, while He is being made known to men by word of mouth, and preached through the faith of believers. Wherefore, He says, "I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do." He does not say. Thou orderedst; but, "Thou gavest: " where the evident grace of it is commended to notice.

Tor what has the human nature even in the Only-begotten, that it has not received? Did it not receive this, that it should do no evil, but all good things, when it was assumed into the unity of His person by the Word, by whom all things were made? But how has He finished the work which was committed unto Him to do, when there still remains the trial of the passion, wherein He specially furnished His martyrs with the example they were to
follow, whereof, says the apostle Peter, "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow His steps: "^ but just that He says He has finished, what He knew with perfect certainty that He would finish? Just as long before, in prophecy, He used words in the past tense, when what He said was to take place very many years afterwards: "They pierced." He says, "my hands 1 Ps. Ixxxiv. 4. â€¢e 1 Pet. ii. 21.

426 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tKACT. CV.

and my feet, they counted ^ all my bones; "^ He says not. They will pierce, and. They will count. And in this very Gospel He says, " All things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you; "^ to whom He afterward declares, " I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."^ For He, who has predestinated all that is to be by sure and unchangeable causes, has done whatever He is to do; as it was also declared of Him by the prophet, " Who hath made the things that are to be." *

5. In a way similar, also, to this. He proceeds to say: " And now, Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." For He had said above, " Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee:" in which arrangement of the words He had shown that the Father was first to be glorified by the Son, in order that the Son might glorify the Father. But now He said, 'â€¢e' I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do; and now glorify Thou me;" as if He Himself had been the first to glorify the Father, by whom He then demands to be glorified. We are therefore to understand that He used both words above in accordance with that which was future, and in the order in which they were future, " Glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee:" but that He now used the word in the past tense of that which was still future, when He said, " I have glorified Thee on the earth: I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do." And then, when He said, " And now, Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own self," as if He were afterwards to be glorified by the Father, whom He Himself had first glorified; what did He intimate but that, when He said above, " I have glorified Thee on the earth," He had so spoken as if He had done what He was still to do; but that here He demanded of the Father to do that whereby the Son should

^ Ps. xxii. 16, 17. " Dinumeravenint " (tIey counted), in accordance with a reading of the. Septuagint â€” that found in the printed text â€” l^Â¬/>/V^Â¬>/Â«-av. A better reading, however, is also found in MSS., IS.-/pi^fiyiira, conforming in person, though not in tense, to the Hebrew "iqdj" (I may count). â€” Te.

2 Chap. XV. 15. *' Chap. xvi. 12.

* Isa. xlv. 11, according to the Septuagint. See note. Tract. LXVIII. sec. 1.
yet do so; in other words, that the Father should glorify the Son, by means of which glorification of the Son, the Son also was yet to glorify the Father? In fine, if, in connection with that which was still future, we put the verb also in the future tense, where He has used the past in place of the future tense, there will remain no obscurity in the sentence: as if He had said, "I will glorify Thee on the earth: I will finish the work which Thou hast given me to do; and now, Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own self." In this way it is as plain as when He says, "Glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee:" and this is indeed the whole sentence, save that here we are told also the manner of that same glorification, which there was left unnoticed; as if the former were explained by the latter to those whose hearts it was able to stir, how it was that the Father should glorify the Son, and most of all how the Son also should glorify the Father. For in saying that the Father was glorified by Himself on the earth, but He Himself by the Father with the Father's very self. He showed them assuredly the manner of both glorifications. For He glorified Him with His own self in setting Him at His own right hand. But on that very account, when He says afterward in reference to the glorifying of the Father, "I have glorified Thee," He preferred putting the verb in the past tense, in order to show that it was already done in the act of predestination, and what was with perfect certainty yet to take place was to be accounted as already done; namely, that the Son, having been glorified by the Father mtli the Father, would also glorify the Father on the earth.

6. But this predestination He still more clearly disclosed in respect of His own glorification, wherewith He was glorified by the Father, when He added, "With the glory which I had, before the world was, with Thee." The proper order of the words is, "which I had with Thee before the world was." To this apply His words, "And now glorify Thou me:" that is to say, as then, so also now: as then, by predestination; so also now, by consummation: do Thou in the world what had already been done with Thee before the world: do in its own time

what Thou hast determined before all times. This, some have imagined, should be so understood as if the human nature, å– which was assumed by the Word, were converted into the Word, and the man were changed into God; yea, were we reflecting with some care on the opinions they have advanced, as if the humanity were lost in the Godhead. For no one would go the length of saying that out of such a transmutation of the humanity the Word of God is either doubled or increased, so that either what was one should now be two, or what was less should now be greater. Accordingly, if with His human nature changed and converted
into the Word, the Word of God will still be as great as He was, and what He was, where is the humanity, if it is not lost?

7. But to this opinion, which I certainly do not see to be conformable to the truth, there is nothing to urge us, if, when the Son says, "And now, O Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was," we understand the predestination of the glory of His human nature, as thereafter, from being mortal, to become immortal with the Father; and that this had already been done by predestination before the world was, as also in its own time it was done in the world. For if the apostle has said of us, "According as He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world," why should it be thought incongruous with the truth, if the Father glorified our Head at the same time as He chose us in Him to be His members? For we were chosen in the same way as He was glorified; inasmuch as before the world was, neither we nor the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, were yet in existence. But He who, in as far as He is His Word, of His own self "made even those things which are yet to come," and "caUeth those things which are not as though they were," certainly, in respect of His manhood as Mediator between God and men, was Himself glorified on our behalf by God the Father before the foundation of the world, if it be so that we also were then chosen in Him. For what saith the apostle? "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called". 1 Epk Li. 2 1 Tim. ii. =* Eom. iv. 17.

TRACT. CV.] THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SON. 429

according to His purpose. For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren: and whom He did predestinate, them He also called." ^

8. But perhaps we shall have some fear in saying that He was predestinated, because the apostle seems to have said so only in reference to our being made conformable to His image.

As if, indeed, any one, faithfully considering the rule of faith, were to deny that the Son of God was predestinated, who yet cannot deny that He was man. For it is rightly said that He was not predestinated in respect of His being the Word of God, God with God. For how could He be predestinated, seeing He already was what He was, without beginning and without ending, everlasting? But that, which as yet was not, had to be predestinated, in order that it might come to pass in its time, even as it was predestinated so to come before all times. Accordingly, whoever denies predestination of the Son of God, denies that He was also Himself the Son of man. But, on account of those who are disputatious, let us also on this subject listen to the apostle in the exordium of his epistles.

For both in the first of his epistles, which is that to the Eomans, and in the beginning of the epistle itself, we read:
"Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called [to be] an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God, which He had promised afore by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was made for Him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestinated \(^\text{27}\) the Son of God in power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead." \(^\text{28}\) In respect, then, of this predestination also. He was glorified before the world was, in order that His glory might be, by the resurrection from the dead, with the Father, at whose right hand He sitteth. Accordingly, when He saw that the time of this. His predestinated glorification, was now come, in order that what had already been done in predestination might also be done now in actual accomplishment.

He said in His prayer, " And now, Father, glorify Thou me with Thine

\(^\text{29}\) Rom. viii. 28-30.

\(^\text{30}\) Rom. i. 1-4: ofirfuroi, determined, declared; not \(^\text{31}\) predestinated," v;\\ch. is a mistake of the Latin version used by Ausrustine. â€” Tr.

430 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [tKACT. CV.

own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was:" as if He had said, The glory which I had with Thee, that is, that glory which I had with Thee in Thy predestination, it is time that I should have with Thee also in sitting at Thy right hand. But as the discussion of this question has already kept us long, what follows must be taken into consideration in another discourse.

TIIACTATE CVL

Chapter XVII. 6-8.

1. TN this discourse we purpose speaking, as He gives us Jl. grace, on these words of the Lord which run thus:

" I have manifested Thy name unto the men whom Thou gavest me out of the world." If He said this only of those disciples with whom He had supped, and to whom, before beginning His prayer, He had said so much, it can have nothing to do with that clarification, or, as others have translated it, glorification, whereof He was previously speaking, and whereby the Son clarifies or glorifies the Father. For what great glory, or what like glory, was it to become known to twelve, or rather eleven mortal creatures ? But if, in saying,

" I have manifested Thy name unto the men whom Thou gavest me out of the world," He wished all to be understood, even those who were still to believe on Him, as belonging to His great Church which was yet to be made up of all nations, and of which it is said in the psalm, " I will confess to Thee in the great Church [congregation];" \(^\text{32}\) it is plainly that glorification wherewith the Son glorifies the Father, when He makes His name known to
all nations and to so many generations of men. And what He says here, "I have manifested Thy name unto the men whom Thou gavest me out of the world," is similar to what He had said a little before, "I have glorified Thee upon the earth." (ver. 4); putting both here and there the past for the future, as One who knew that it was predestinated to be done, and therefore saying that He had done what He had still to do, though without any uncertainty, in the future.

2. But what follows makes it more credible that His words, "I have manifested Thy name to the men whom Thou gavest me out of the world," were spoken by Him of those who were already His disciples, and not of all who were yet to believe on Him. For after these words, He added: "Thine they were, and Thou gavest them me; and they have kept Thy word. Now they have known that all things, whatsoever Thou hast given me, are of Thee: for I have given unto them the words which Thou gavest me; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send me." Although all these words also might have been said of all believers still to come, when that which was now a matter of hope had been turned into fact, inasmuch as they were words that still pointed to the future; yet we are impelled the more to understand Him as uttering them only of those who were at that time His disciples, by what He says shortly afterwards: "While I was with them, I kept them in Thy name: those that Thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the Scripture might be fulfilled." (ver. 12); meaning Judas, who betrayed Him, for He was the only one of the apostolic twelve that perished. And then He adds, "And now come I to Thee," from which it is manifest that it was of His own bodily presence that He said, "While I was with them, I kept them," as if already that presence were no longer with them. For in this way He wished to intimate His own ascension as in the immediate future, when He said, "And now come I to Thee:"

going, that is, to the Father's right hand; whence He is hereafter to come to judge the quick and the dead in the self-same bodily presence, according to the rule of faith and sound doctrine: for in His spiritual presence He was still, of course, to be with them after His ascension, and with the whole of His Church in this world even to the end of time. We cannot, therefore, rightly understand of whom He said, "While I was with them, I kept them," save as those only who believed on Him, whom He had already begun to keep by His bodily presence, but as now to leave without it, in order that He might keep them with the Father by His spiritual presence. Thereafter, indeed, He also unites with them the rest of His disciples, when He says, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for

432 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tUACT. CVI.
those also who shall believe on me through their word."
"Where He shows still more clearly that He was not speaking before of all who belonged
to Him, in the passage where He saith, " I have manifested Thy name unto the men whom
Thou gavest me," but of those only who were listening to Him when He spake.

3. From the very outset, therefore, of His prayer, when
" He lifted up His eyes to heaven, and said, Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son,
that Thy Son also may glorify Thee," on to what He said a little afterwards, " And now,
Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own self vnth the glory which I had with Thee before
the world was," He wished all His disciples to be understood, to whom He makes the
Father known, and thereby glorifies Him. For after saying, "That Thy Son may glorify
Thee," He straightway showed how that was to be done, by adding, " As Thou hast given
Him power over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given
Him; and this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus
Christ, whom Thou hast sent." For the Father cannot be glorified through any knowledge
attained by men, unless He also be known by whom He is glorified, that is to say, by
whom He is made known to the nations of the world. The glorification of the Father is
not that which was displayed in connection with the apostles only, but that which is
displayed in all men, of whom as His members Christ is the head. For the words cannot
be understood as applied to the apostles only, " As Thou hast given Him power over all
flesh, that He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him;" but to all,
assuredly, on whom, as believing on Him, eternal life is bestowed.

4. Accordingly, let us now see what He says about those disciples of His who were then
listening to Him. " I have manifested," He says, " Thy name unto the men whom Thou
gavest me." Did they not, then, know the name of God when they were Jews ? And what
of that which we read, " God is known in Judah; His name is great in Israel " ?^ 
Therefore,
" I have manifested Thy name unto these men whom Thou gavest me out of the world," and who are now hearing my

1 Ps. Ixxxvi. 1.
TRACT. VOL. II. 2 E

words: not that name of Thine whereby Thou art called God, but that whereby Thou art
called my Father: a name that could not be manifested without the manifestation of the
Son Himself, For this name of God, by which He is called, could not but be known in some way to the whole creation, and so to every nation, before they believed in Christ. For such is the energy of true Godhead, that it cannot be altogether and utterly hidden from any rational creature, so long as it makes use of its reason. For, with the exception of a few in whom nature has become outrageously depraved, the whole race of man acknowledges God as the maker of this world. In respect, therefore, of His being the maker of this world that is visible in heaven and earth around us, God was known unto all nations even before they were indoctrinated into the faith of Christ. But in this respect, that He was not, without grievous wrong being done to Himself, to be worshipped alongside of false gods, God was known in Judah alone. But in respect of His being the Father of this Christ, by whom He taketh away the sin of the world, this name of His, previously kept secret from all. He now made manifest to those whom the Father Himself had given Him out of the world. But how had He done so, if the hour were not yet come, of which He had formerly said that the hour would come, "when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I shall show you plainly of my Father"? Can it be supposed that the proverbs themselves contained such a plain announcement? Why, then, is it said, "I will declare to you openly," but just because that "in proverbs" is not "openly"? But when it is no longer concealed in proverbs, but uttered in plain words, then without a doubt it is spoken openly. How, then, had He manifested what He had not as yet openly declared?

It must be understood, therefore, in this way, that the past tense is put for the future, like those other words, "All things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you;" as something He had not yet done, but spake of as if He had, because His doing of it He knew to be infallibly predetermined.

5. But what are we to make of the words, "Whom Thou

^ Chap. xvi. 25. * Chap. xv. 15.

TEACT. CVL] the FATHEE GIVIXG TO THE SOK 435

gavest me out of the world"? For it is said of them that they were not of the world. But this they attained to by regeneration, and not by generation. And what, also, of that which follows, "Thine they were, and Thou gavest them me"?

Was there a time when they belonged to the Father, and not to His only-begotten Son; and had the Father once on a time anything apart from the Son? Surely not. Nevertheless, there was a time when God the Son had something, which that same Son as man possessed not; for He had not yet become man of an earthly mother, when He possessed all things in common with the Father. Wherefore in saying, "Thine they were," there is thereby no self-disruption made by God the Son, apart from whom there was nothing ever possessed by the Father; but it is His custom to attribute all the power He possesses to Him, of whom He Himself is, who has the power. For of whom He has it that He is, of Him He has it that He is able; and both together He always had, for He never had being without having ability. Accordingly, whatever the Father
could [do], always side by side with Him could the Son; since He, who never had being without having ability, was never without the Father, as the Father never was Avithout Him. And thus, as the Father is eternally omnipotent, so is the Son co-eternally omnipotent; and if all-powerful, certainly all-possessing. For such rather, if we would speak exactly, is the word by which we translate what is called by the Greeks TravroKpaToop; which our writers would not interpret by the term omnipotent, seeing that iravTOKpdrayp is all-possessing, were it not that they felt it to be equivalent in meaning. What, then, could the eternal all-possessing ever have, that the co-eternal all-possessing had not likewise? In saying, therefore, "And Thou gavest them me," He intimated that it was as man He had received this power to have them; seeing that He, who was always omnipotent, was not always man. Accordingly, while He seems rather to have attributed it to the Father, that He received them from Him, since all that is, is of Him, of whom He is; yet He also gave them to Himself, that is, Christ, God with the Father, gave men to the manhood of Christ, which had not its being with the Father.

^ "Omnitenens."

436 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TRACT. CVI.

Finally, He who says in this place, "Thine they were, and Thou gavest them me," had already said in a previous passage to the same disciples, "I have chosen you out of the world." ^

Here, then, let every carnal thought be crushed and annihilated. The Son says that the men were given Him by the Father out of the world, to whom He says elsewhere, "I have chosen you out of the world." Those whom God the Son chose along with the Father out of the world, the very same Son as man received out of the world from the Father; for the Father had not given them to the Son had He not chosen them. And in this way, as the Son did not thereby set the Father aside, when He said, "I have chosen you out of the world," seeing that they were simultaneously chosen by the Father also: as little did He thereby exclude Himself, when He said, "Thine they were," for they were equally also the property of the Son. But now that same Son as man received those who belonged not to Himself, because He also as God received a servant-form which was not originally His own.

6. He proceeds to say, "And they have kept Thy word:
now they have known that all things, whatsoever Thou hast given me, are of Thee; "that is, they have known that I am of Thee. For the Father gave all things at the very time when He begat Him who was to have all things. "For I have given unto them," He says, "the words which Thou gavest me; and they have received them; "that is, they have understood and kept hold of them. For the word is received when it is perceived by the mind. "And they have known truly," He adds, "that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send me." In this last clause we must also supply "truly; "for when He said, "They have known truly," He intended its explanation by adding, "and they have believed." That, therefore, "they have
believed truly " which " they have known truly; " just as " I came out from Thee " is the same as " Thou didst send me," When, therefore. He said, " They have known truly," lest any might suppose that such a knowledge was already acquired by sight, and not by faith. He subjoined the explanation, " And they have

^ Chap. XV. 19.

TKACT. CVL] the ATTAINMENT OF KNOWLEDGE. 437

believed," so that we should supply "truly," and understand the saying, " They have known truly," as equivalent to " They have believed truly: " not in the way which He intimated shortly before, when He said, "Do ye now believe ? The hour cometh, and is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave me alone." ^ But " they have believed truly," that is, in the way it ought to be believed, without constraint, with firmness, constancy, and fortitude: no longer now to go to their own, and leave Christ alone. As yet, indeed, the disciples were not of the character He here describes in words of the past tense, as if they were so already, but as thereby declaring beforehand what sort they were yet to be, namely, when they had received the Holy Spirit, who, according to the promise, should teach them all things. For how was it, before they received the Spirit, that they kept that word of His which He spake regarding them, as if they had done so, when the chief of them thrice denied Him. ^ after hearing from His lips the future fate of the man who denied Him before men ? ^ He had given them, therefore, as He said, the words which the Father gave Him; but when at length they received them spiritually, not in an outward way with their ears, but inwardly in their hearts, then they truly received them, for then they truly knew them; and they truly knew them, because they truly believed.

7. But what human language will suffice to explain how the Father gave those words to the Son ? The question, of course, will appear easier if we suppose Him to have received such words in His capacity as the Son of man. And yet, although thus born of the Virgin, who will undertake to relate when and how it was that He learned them, since even that very generation which He had of the Virgin who will venture to declare? But if our idea be that He received these words of the Father in His capacity as begotten of, and co-eternal with, the Father, let us then exclude all such thoughts of time as if He existed previous to His possessing them, and so received the possession of that which He had not before; for whatever God the Father gave to God the Son, He gave in the act of begetting. For the Father gave those things to the Son with-

J Chap. xvi. 31, 32. ^ iijjt. xxvi. 69-74. ^ Jjyt. x. 33.

438 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOIW. [teACT. CVI.
out which He could not be the Son, in the same manner as He gave Him being itself. For
how otherwise would He give any words to the Word, wherein in an ineffable way He
hath spoken all things? But now, in reference to what follows, you must defer your
expectations till another discourse.

TEACTATE CVII.

Chapter XVII. 9-13.

1. "THEN the Lord was speaking to the Father of those whom He already had as
disciples, He said this also among other things: "I pray for them: I pray not for the world,
but for those whom Thou hast given me." By the world. He now wishes to be understood
those who live according to the lust of the world, and stand not in the gracious lot of such
as were to be chosen by Him out of the world. Accordingly it is not for the world, but for
those whom the Father hath given Him, that He expresses Himself as praying: for by the
very fact of their having already been given Him by the Father, they have ceased to
belong to that world for which He refrains from praying.

2. And then He adds, "For they are Thine." For the Father did not lose those whom He
gave, in the act of giving them to the Son; since the Son still goes on to say, "And all
mine are Thine, and Thine are mine." Where it is sufficiently apparent how it is that all
that belongs to the Father belongs also to the Son; in this way, namely, that He Himself is
also God, and, of the Father born, is the Father's equal: and not as was said to one of the
two sons, to wit, the elder, "Thou art ever with me; and all that I have is thine." ^ For that
was said of all those creatures which are inferior to the holy rational creature, and are
certainly subordinate to the Church; wherein its universal character is understood as
including those two sons, the elder and the younger, along with all the holy angels, whose
equals we shall be in the kingdom of Christ and of God:^ but here it was said, "And all
mine are Thine, and Thine are mine," with this meaning, that even the rational creature is
itself included, which is subject only to God, so


439

440 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. CYII.

that all beneath it are also subject to Him. As it then belongs to God the Father, it would
not at the same time be the Son's likewise, were He not equal to the Father: for to it He
was referring when He said, "I pray not for the world, but for those whom Thou hast
given me: for they are Thine, and all mine are Thine, and Thine are mine." Nor is it
morally admissible that the saints, of whom He so spake, should belong to any save to Him by whom they were created and sanctified:
and for the same reason, everything also that is theirs must of necessity be His also to whom they themselves belong. Accordingly, since they belong both to the Father and to the Son, they demonstrate the equality of those to whom they equally belong. But when He says, speaking of the Holy Ghost, " All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that He shall take of mine, and shall show it unto you,"^ He referred to those things which concern the actual deity of the Father, and in which He is equal to Him, in having all that He has. And no more was it of the creature, which is subject to the Father and the Son, that the Holy Spirit was to receive that whereof He said, " He shall receive of mine; " but most certainly of the Father, from whom the Spirit proceedeth, and of whom also the Son is born.

3. He proceeds: " And I am glorified in them." He now speaks of His glorification as already accomplished, although it was still future; when a little before He was demanding of the Father its accomplishment. But whether this be the same glorification, whereof He had said, "And now, Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was," is certainly a point worthy of examination. For if " with Thee," how can it be " in them " ? Is it when this very knowledge is imparted to them, and, through them, to all who believe them as His witnesses ? In such a way we may clearly understand Christ as having said of the apostles, that He was glorified in them; for in saying that it was already accomplished. He showed that it was already foreordained, and only wished what was future to be regarded as certain.

4. " And now," He adds, " I am no more in the world, and

'T Chap. x\i, 15.

TEACT. CVIL\] CHPJST NO MOKE IN THE AYOELD. 441

these are in the world." If your thoughts turn to the very hour in which He was speaking, both were still in the world; to wit. He Himself, and those of whom He was so speaking: for it is not in respect of the tendency of heart and life that we can or ought to understand it, so that they should be described as stilH' in the world, on the ground that they still savoured of the earthly; and that He was no longer in the world, because divine in the disposition of His mind. For there is one word used here, which makes any such understanding altogether inadmissible; because He does not say. And I am not in the world; but, " I am no more in the world: " thereby showing that He Himself had been in the world, but was no more so. And are we then at liberty to believe that He at one time savoured of the worldly, and, delivered at length from such a mistake, no longer retained the old disposition ?
Who would venture to shut himself up in so profane a meaning? It remains, therefore, that in the same sense in which He Himself also was previously in the world. He declared that He was no longer in the world, that is to say, in His bodily presence; in other words, showing thereby that His own absence from the world was now in the immediate future, and theirs later, when He said that He was no longer here, and that they were so, although both He and they were still present. For He thus spake, as a man in harmony with men, in accordance with the prevailing custom of human speech. Do we not say every day. He is no longer here, of one who is on the very point of departure? And such in particular is the way we are wont to speak of those who are at the point of death. And besides all else, the Lord Himself, as if foreseeing the thoughts that might possibly be excited in those who were afterwards to read these words, added, "And I come to Thee:" explaining thereby in some measure why He said, "I am no more in the world."

5. Accordingly He commends to the Father's care those whom He was about to leave by His bodily absence, saying: "Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given me." That is to say, as man He prays to God in behalf of His disciples, whom He has received from God. But attend to what follows: "That they may be one," meaning, of course, that in their nature they may be one, even as we are one in ours. Which certainly would not be spoken with truth, unless in this respect, that He, as God, is of the same nature as the Father also, in accordance with what He has said elsewhere, "I and the Father are one;" and not with what He also is as man, for in this respect He said, "The Father is greater than I." But since one and the same person is God and man, we are to understand the manhood in respect of His asking; but the Godhead, in as far as He Himself, and He whom He asks, are one. But there is still a passage in what follows, where we must have a more careful discussion of this subject.

442 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN", [tKACT. CVII.

He says, "even as we." He does not say, That they may he one with us, or, that they and we may be one, as we are one; but He says, "That they may be one, even as we:" meaning, of course, that in their nature they may be one, even as we are one in ours. Which certainly would not be spoken with truth, unless in this respect, that He, as God, is of the same nature as the Father also, in accordance with what He has said elsewhere, "I and the Father are one;" and not with what He also is as man, for in this respect He said, "The Father is greater than I." But since one and the same person is God and man, we are to understand the manhood in respect of His asking; but the Godhead, in as far as He Himself, and He whom He asks, are one. But there is still a passage in what follows, where we must have a more careful discussion of this subject.

6. But here He proceeds: "While I was with them, I kept them in Thy name." Since I am coming. He says, to Thee, keep them in Thy name, in which I myself have kept them while I was with them. In the Father's name, the Son as man kept His disciples, when placed side by side with them in human presence; but the Father also, in the name of the Son, kept those whom He heard and answered when praying in the name of the Son. For to them had it also been said by the Son Himself: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, He will give it you." But we are not to take this in any such carnal way, as that the Father and Son keep us in turn, with an alternation in the guardianship of both in guarding us, as if one succeeded when the other departed; for we are guarded at once by the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, who is the one true and blessed God. But Scripture does not exalt us save by descending to us: as
the Word, by becoming flesh, came down to lift us up, and fell not so as to remain Himself in the depths. If we have known Him who thus descendeth, let us rise with Him who lifteth us up; and let us understand, when He speaks thus, that He is marking a distinction in the persons, without making any separation of the natures. While, therefore, the Son in bodily presence was keeping His disciples,

> Chap. X. 30. 2 Chap. xiv. 28. ^ Chap. xvi. 23.

TRACT. CIVIL] the JOY OF THE LOED. 443

the Father was not waiting the Son's departure in order to succeed to the guardianship, but both were keeping them by Their spiritual power; and when the Son withdrew from them His bodily presence. He retained along with the Father the spiritual guardianship. For when the Son also as man assumed the office of their guardian. He did not withdraw them from the Father's guardianship; and when the Father gave them to the guardianship of the Son, in the very giving He acted not apart from Him to whom He gave them, but gave them to the Son as man, yet not apart from that same Son Himself as God.

7. The Son therefore goes on to say: "Those that Thou gavest me, I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the Scripture might be fulfilled." The betrayer of Christ was called the son of perdition, as foreordained to perdition, according to the Scripture, where it is specially prophesied of him in the 109th Psalm.

8. "'And now," He says, "come I to Thee; and these things I speak in the world, that they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves." See! He says that He speaketh in the world, when He had said only a little before, "I am no more in the world: " the reason of which we have there explained, or rather have shown that He Himself explained it. Accordingly, on the one hand, as He had not yet departed. He was still here; and because He was on the very point of departure, in a kind of way He was no more here. But what this joy is whereof He says, "That they may have my joy fulfilled in themselves," has already been elucidated above, where He says, "That they may be one, even as we are." This joy of His that is bestowed on them by Him, was to be fulfilled. He says, in them; and for that very end declared that He had spoken in the world. This is that peace and blessedness in the world to come, for the attaining of which we must live temperately, and righteously, and godly in the present.

' Aureustine: "eiffth."
1. "^XTHILE the Lord is still speaking to the Father, T T and praying for His disciples, He says: " I have given them Thy saying; and the world hath hated them."

That hatred they had not yet experienced in those sufferings of their own, which afterwards overtook them; but He speaks thus in His usual way, foretelling the future in words of the past tense. And then, subjoining the reason of their being hated by the world, He says: " Because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." This was conferred on them by regeneration; for by generation they were of the world, as He had already said to them, " I have chosen you out of the world. "^I It was therefore a gracious privilege bestowed upon them, that they, like Himself, should not be of the world, through the deliverance which He was giving them from the world. He, however, was never of the world; for even in respect of His servant-form He was born of that Holy Spirit of whom they were born again. For if on that account they were no more of the world, because born again of the Holy Spirit; on the same account He was never of the world, because born of the Holy Spirit.

2. "I pray not," He adds, " that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil." For they still accounted it necessary to be in the world, although they were no longer of it. Then He repeats the same statement: " They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them in the truth." For so are they kept from the evil, as He had previously prayed that they might be. But it may be inquired how they were no more of the world, if they were not yet sanctified in the truth;

i Chap. XV. 19.
44i

TRACT. CVIII.] SANCTIFIED IN THE TRUTH. 445

or, if they already were, why He requests that they should be so. Is it not because even those who are sanctified still continue to make progress in the same sanctification, and grow in holiness; and do not so without the aid of God's grace, but by His sanctifying of their progress, even as He sanctified their outset ? And hence the apostle likewise says: " He who hath begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ."^G The heirs therefore of the New Testament are sanctified in that truth which was adumbrated in the purifications of the Old Testament; and when they are sanctified in the truth, they are in other words sanctified in Christ, who said in truth, " I am the way, and the truth, and the life."^G As also when He said, " The truth shall make you free," in explanation of His words. He added soon after, " If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed;"^G in order to show that what He had previously called the truth. He a minute afterwards denominates the Son. And what else did He mean by the words before us, " Sanctify them in the truth," but.

Sanctify them in me ?
3. Finally, He proceeds, and doing so fails not to suggest the same with increasing clearness: "Thy speech (sermo) is truth." What else did He mean than "I am the truth"? For the Greek Gospel has υἱός, which is also the word that is found in the passage where it is said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." And that Word at least we know to be the onlybegotten Son of God, which "was made flesh, and dwelt among us."* Hence also there might have been put here, as it actually has been put in certain copies, "Thy Word is truth;" just as in some copies that other passage is written, "In the beginning was the speech." But in the Greek without any variation it is Χρηστός in both cases. The Father therefore sanctifies in the truth, that is, in His own Word, in His Onlybegotten, His own heirs and His (the Son's) co-heirs.

4. But now He still goes on to speak of the apostles, for He proceeds to add, "As Thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world." Whom did He so send but His apostles? For even the very name of apostles, which is a Greek word, signifies in Latin nothing more than, those that are sent. God, therefore, sent His Son, not in sinful flesh, but in the likeness of sinful flesh;^ and His Son sent those who, born themselves in sinful flesh, were sanctified by Him from the defilement of sin.

5. But since, on the ground that the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, has become Head of the Church, they are His members; therefore He says in the words that follow, "And for their sakes I sanctify myself." For what means He by the words, "And for their sakes I sanctify myself," but I sanctify them in myself, since they also are [part of] myself? ^ For those of whom He so speaks are, as I have said. His members; and the head and body are one Christ, as the apostle teaches when he says of the seed of Abraham, "And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed," after having said before, "He saith not, And to seeds, as in many, but as in one. And to thy seed, which is Christ."^ And then, the seed of Abraham is Christ, what else is declared to those to whom he says, "Then are ye Abraham's seed," but then are ye Christ? Of the same character is what this very apostle said in another place: "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh."^ He said not, of my afflictions, but "of Christ's;" for he was a member of Christ, and in his persecutions, such as it behoved Christ to suffer in the whole of His body, he also was filling up his own share of His afflictions. And to be assured of the certainty of this in the present passage, give heed to what follows. For after saying,
"And for their sakes I sanctify myself," to let us understand that He thereby meant that He would sanctify them in Himself, He immediately added, "That they also may be sanctified in the truth." And what else is this but in me, in accordance with the fact that the truth is that Word in the beginning which is God? In whom also the Son of man was Himself sanctified from the beginning of His creation, when the Word was made flesh, for the Word and the man became one person. Then accordingly He sanctified Himself in Himself, that is,  

1 Rom. viii. 3. ^ << Cum et ipsi sint ego."

3 Gal. iii. 29, 16. " Col. i. 24.

TRACT. CVII] CHEIST SANCTIFYING HIMSELF. 447

Himself the man in Himself the Word; for the Word and the man is one Christ, who sanctifies the manhood in the Word. But in behal of His members He says, "â€œ And for their sakes I," â€œ that is, that the benefit may be also theirs, for they too are [included in the] I, just as it benefited me in myself, because I am man apart from them â€œ I sanctify myself," that is, I sanctify them as if it were my own self in me, since in me they also are I. "That they also may be sanctified in the truth." For what else mean the words "they also" but "they" in the same loay as I; "in the truth," and that "truth" am I? After this He now begins to speak not only of the apostles, but also of the rest of His members, which we shall treat of, as grace may be granted uSj in another discourse.

TEACTATE CIX.

Chapter XVII. 20.

1. He Lord Jesus, in the now close proximity of His Jl passion, after praying for His disciples, whom He also named apostles, with whom He had partaken of that last supper from which His betrayer had taken his departure on being revealed by the sop of bread, and with whom, after the latter's departure, and before beginning His prayer in their behalf. He had already spoken at length, conjoined all others also who were yet to believe on Him, and said to the Father, "Neither pray I for these alone," that is, for the disciples who were with Him at the time, "but for them also," He adds, "who shall believe on me through their word." Whereby He wished all His own to be understood: not only such as were then in the flesh, but those also who were yet to come.
For all that have since believed on Him have doubtless believed, and shall yet believe till He come, through the word of the apostles; for to themselves He had said, "And ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning; "^ and by them was the gospel ministered even before it was written, and every one assuredly who
believeth on Christ believeth the gospel. Accordingly, those who He says should believe on Him through their word, are not to be understood as referring only to such as heard the apostles themselves while they lived in the flesh; but others also after their decease, and we, too, born long afterwards, have believed on Christ through their word. For they that were then with Him preached to the others what they had heard from Him; and so their word, that we too might believe, has found its way to us, and wherever His Church exists, and shall yet reach down to posterity, whoever and wherever they be who shall hereafter believe on Him.

1 Chap. XV. 27.

TKACT. CIX. | THOSE FOE "WHOM CHEIST PRAYED. 449

2. In this prayer, therefore, Jesus may seem to have omitted praying for some of His own, unless we carefully examine His words in the prayer itself. For if He prayed first for those, as we have already shown, who were then with Him, and afterwards for those also who should believe on Him through their word, it may be said that He prayed not for those who were neither with Him when He so spake, nor afterwards believed through their word, but had done so at some previous time either of themselves, or in some other supposable manner. For was Xathanael with Him at that time ? ^ Was Joseph of Arimathea, who begged His body from Pilate, and of whom this same evangelist John testifies that he was already His disciple ? " "Were His mother, Mary, and other women who, we know from the Gospel, had been prior to that time His disciples ? Were those with Him then, of whom this evangelist John frequently says, " Many believed on Him " ? ^ For whence came the multitude of those who, with branches of trees, partly preceded and partly followed Him as He sat on the ass, saying, " Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; " and along with them the children of whom He Himself declared that the prophecy had been uttered, " Out of the mouth of babes and of sucklings Thou hast perfected praise " ? â– * Whence the five hundred brethren, to all of whom at once He would not have appeared after His resurrection ^ had they not previously believed on Him ? Whence that hundred and nine who, with the eleven, were a hundred and twenty, when, being assembled together after His ascension, they waited and received the promise of the Holy Spirit ? Â® Whence came all these, save from those of whom it was said, " Many believed on Him " ? For them, therefore, the Saviour did not at this time pray, seeing it was for those He prayed who were then with Him, and for others not who had abeady, but who were yet to believe on Him through their W'ord. But these were certainly not with Him

^ The interrogative particle, numquid, "beginning this and the following sentences, implies a negative answer. If Xathanael be identified with Bartholomew, the answer would be affirmative. â€” Tk.
on that occasion, and had already believed on Him at some previous period. I say nothing of the aged Simeon, who believed on Him when an infant; of Anna the prophetess; of Zachariah and Elisabeth, who prophesied of Him before He was born of the Virgin; of their son John, His forerunner, the friend of the bridegroom, who both recognised Him in the Holy Spirit, and preached Him in His absence, and pointed Him out when He was present to the recognition of others; I say nothing of these, as it might be replied that He ought not to have prayed for such when dead, who had gone hence with their great merits, and having met with a welcome reception were now at rest; for a similar answer is also given in connection with the righteous of olden time. For which of them could have been saved from the damnation awaiting the whole mass of perdition, which has been caused by one man, had he not believed, through the revelation of the Spirit, in the one Mediator between God and men as yet to come in the flesh? But behoved He to pray for the apostles, and not to pray for so many who were still alive, but were not then with Him, and had already at some previous period been brought to the faith? Who is there that would say so?

3. We are therefore to understand that their faith in Him was not yet such as He wished it to be, inasmuch as even Peter himself, to whom, on making the confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," He had borne so excellent a testimony, was disposed rather to hinder Him from dying than to believe in His resurrection when dead, and hence was called immediately thereafter by the name of Satan. Those, accordingly, are found to be the greater in faith who were long since deceased, and yet, through the revelation of the Spirit, had no manner of doubt that Christ would rise again, than those who, after attaining to the belief that He should redeem Israel, at the sight of His death lost all the hope they previously possessed regarding Him. The best thing for us, therefore, to believe is, that after His resurrection, when the Holy Spirit was bestowed, and the apostles taught and confirmed, and from its outset constituted teachers


= Chap. i. 19-36, and iii. 2C-36. * Matt. xvi. 16, 23.
in the Church, others, through their word, attained the proper faith in Christ, or, in other words, that they then got firm hold of the faith of His resurrection. And in this way also, that all those who seemed to have already believed on Him really belonged to the number of those for whom He prayed, when He said, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word."

4. But we have still in reserve for the further solution of this question the blessed apostle, and that robber who was a villain in wickedness, but a believer on the cross. For the Apostle Paul tells us that he was made an apostle not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ: and speaking of his own gospel, he says, "For I neither received it of man, neither did I learn it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." 1

How then was he among those of whom it is said, "They shall believe on me through their word"? On the other hand, the robber believed at the very time when in the case of the teachers themselves such faith as they previously possessed had utterly failed. Not even he, therefore, believed on Christ through their word, and yet his faith was such that he confessed that He whom he saw nailed to the cross would not only rise again, but would also reign, when he said, "Remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom." 2

5. Accordingly it remains that if we are to believe that the Lord Jesus, in this prayer, prayed for all of His own who either then were or should thereafter be in this life, which is a state of trial upon earth; 3 we must so understand the expression, "through their word," as to believe that it here signified the word of faith itself which they preached in the world, and that it was called their word because it was primarily and principally preached by them. For it was already in the course of being preached by them in the earth when Paul received that same word of theirs by the revelation of Jesus Christ. Whence also it came about that he compared the Gospel with them, lest by any means he had run, or should run, in vain; and they gave him their right hand

1 Gal. i. 1, 12. 2 Lжjg жjii 42. 3Jobvii. 1: "Tentatio super terrain,";nS"i'y N2i*; English version, "An appointed time (marrj., warfare) upon earth." â€” Tii.

452 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT. CIX.]

because in him also they found, although not given him by them, their own word which they were already preaching, and in which they were now established. 4 And in regard to this word of the resurrection of Christ, it is said by the same apostle, "Whether it were I, or they, so we preach, and so ye believed; " and again, "â€¢ This is the word of faith," he says,
"which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

And in the Acts of the Apostles we read that in Christ, God hath marked out [the ground of] faith unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead.* Accordingly, this word of faith, because principally and primarily preached by the apostles who adhered to Him, was called their word. Not, however, on that account does it cease to be the word of God because it is called their word; for the same apostle says that the Thessalonians received it from him "not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God." ^ "Of God," for the very reason that it was freely given by God; but called "their word," because primarily and principally committed to them by God to be preached. In the same way also the thief mentioned above had in the matter of his own faith their word, which was called theirs precisely because the preaching of it primarily and principally pertained to the office they filled. And once more, when the murmuring arose among the Grecian widows in reference to the serving of the tables, previous to the time when Paul was brought to the faith of Christ, the reply given by the apostles, who before then had adhered to the Lord, was: "It is not good that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables." ^ Then it was that they provided for the ordination of deacons, that they themselves might not be drawn aside from the duty of preaching the word. Hence that was properly enough called their word, which is the word of faith, whereby all, from whatever quarter they had heard it, believed on Christ, or, as yet to hear it, should thereafter believe. In this prayer, therefore, all whom He redeemed, whether alive or thereafter to live in the flesh, were prayed for by our Redeemer when, praying for the apostles who were then with Him, He also conjoined those who were yet to believe on Him through their word. But what, after such conjunction, He then proceeds to say, must be reserved for discussion in another discourse.

TRACT. CIX.] THE WORD OF THE APOSTLES. 453

flesh, were prayed for by our Redeemer when, praying for the apostles who were then with Him, He also conjoined those who were yet to believe on Him through their word. But what, after such conjunction, He then proceeds to say, must be reserved for discussion in another discourse.

TEACTATECX.

Chapter XVII. 21-23.

1. AFTER the Lord Jesus had prayed for His disciples Jl\ whom He had with Him at the time, and had conjoined with them others who were also His own, by saying,
"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word," as if we were inquiring what or wherefore He prayed for them, He straightway subjoined, "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, [art] in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us." And a little above, while still praying for the disciples alone who were then with Him, He said, "Holy Father, keep in Thine own name those whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are" (ver. 11). It is the same thing, therefore, that He now also prayed for in our behalf, as He did at that time in theirs, namely, that all â€” both we and they â€” may be one. And here we must take particular notice that the Lord did not say that we all may be one, but, "that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, in me, and I in Thee" (where is to be understood are one, as is more clearly expressed afterwards); because He had also said before of the disciples who were with Him, "That they may be one, as we are." The Father, therefore, is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, in such a way as to be one, because they are of one substance; but while we may indeed be in them, we cannot be one with them; for they and we are not of one substance, in as far as the Son is God along with the Father. But in as far as He is man. He is of the same substance as we are. But at present He wished rather to call attention to that other statement which He made use of in another place, "I and the Father are one," where He intimated that His own nature

1 Chap. X. 30.
454

TEACT. ex.] WHAT CHRIST PRAYS FOR. 455

was the same with that of the Father. And accordingly, though the Father and Son, or even the Holy Spirit, are in us, we must not suppose that they are of one nature with ours. And hence they are in us, or we are in them, in this sense, that they are one in their own nature, and we are one in ours. For they are in us, as God in His temple; but we are in them, as the creature in its Creator.

2. But then after saying, "That they also may be one in us," He added, "That the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." What does He mean by this? Is it that the world will then be brought to the faith, when we shall all be one in the Father and Son? Is not such a state the everlasting peace, and the reward of faith, rather than faith itself? For we shall be one not in order to our believing, but because we have believed. But although in this life, because of the common faith itself, all who believe in one are one, according to the words of the apostle, "For ye are all one in Christ Jesus;" even thus we are one, not in order to our believing, but because we do believe. "What, then, is meant by the words, "That they all may be one, that the world may believe"? This, doubtless, that the "all" are themselves the believing world. For those who shall be one are not of one class, and the world that is thereafter to believe on this very ground that these shall be one, of another; since it is perfectly certain that He says, "That they all may be one," of those of whom He had said before, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for those also who shall believe on me through their word," immediately adding as He
does, "That they all may be one." And this "all," what is it but the world; not certainly that which is hostile, but that which is believing? For you see here that He who had said, "I pray not for the world," now prayeth for the world that it may believe. For there is a world whereof it is written, "That we might not be condemned with this world." ^ For that world He prayeth not, for He is fully aware to what it is predestinated. And there is a world whereof it is written, "For the Son of man came not to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved; "^ and hence the apostle also says, 1 Gal. iii. 28. 2 i Cor. xi. 32. ^ Cliap. iii. 17.

"God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." ^ For this world it is that He prayeth, in saying, "That the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." For through this faith the world is reconciled unto God when it believes in the Christ whom God has sent. How, then, are we to understand Him when He says, "That they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me," but just in this way, that He did not assign the cause of the world believing to the fact that those others are one, as if it believed on the ground that it saw them to be one; for the world itself here consisteth of all who by their own believing become one; but in His prayer He said, "That the world may believe," just as in His prayer He also said, "That they all may be one;" ^ and still further in the same prayer, "That they also may be one in us." For the words, 'â–' they all may be one," are equivalent to "the world may believe," since it is by believing that they become one, perfectly one; that is, those who, although one by nature, had ceased to be so by their mutual dissensions. In fine, if the verb which He uses, "I pray," be understood in the third clause, or rather, to make the whole fuller, be everywhere supplied, the explanation of this sentence will be all the clearer: I pray "that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, in me, and I in Thee; "I pray "that they also may be one in us;" I pray "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." And, mark, He added the words "in us" in order that we may know that our being made one in that love of unchanging faithfulness is to be attributed to the grace of God, and not to ourselves: just as the apostle, after saying, "For ye were at one time darkness, but now are ye light," that none might attribute the doing of this to themselves, added, "in the Lord." ^

3. Furthermore, our Saviour in thus praying to the Father showed Himself to be man; while He now also shows that He Himself, as being God along with the Father, doeth that which He prayeth for, when He says, "And the glory which Thou gavest me, I have given them." And what was that glory but immortality, which human nature was henceforth to receive in Him? For not even He Himself had as yet

' 2 Cor. V. 19. -' Eph. v. 8.
received it, but in His own customary way, on account of the absolute fixedness of 
predestination. He intimates what is future in verbs of the past tense, because being now 
on the point of being glorified, or in other words, raised up again by the Father, He 
Himself is going to raise us up to the same glory in the end. What we have here is 
similar to what He says elsewhere, "As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth 
them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will."
And " whom," but just the same as the Father ? " For what things soever the Father 
doeth," not other things, but " these also doeth the Son," not in a different way, but "in 
like manner." And in this way He also raised up even His own self. For to this effect he 
said, " Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again." Accordingly the 
glory of immortality, which He says had been given Him by the Father, He must be also 
understood as having bestowed upon Himself; although He does not say it. For on this 
very account He more frequently says that the Father alone doeth, what He Himself also 
doeth along with the Father, that everything whatever He may attribute to Him of whom 
He is. But sometimes also He is silent about the Father, and says that He Himself doeth 
what He only doeth along with the Father:
that we may thereby understand that the Son is not to be separated from the working of 
the Father, when He is silent about Himself, and ascribes some work or other to the 
Father; as, on the other hand, the Father is not separated from the working of the Son, 
when the Son is said, without any mention being made of [the Father] Himself, to be 
doing some work in which nevertheless both are equally engaged.
When, therefore, in some work of the Father, the Son says nothing of His own working, 
He commends humility, that He may become the source of sounder health to us; but 
when, in turn, in the case of some work of His own. He says nothing of the working of 
the Father, He commends His own equality, that we may not suppose Him to be inferior. 
In this way, then, and in this passage, He neither estranges Himself from the Father's 
working, although He has said, " The glory which Thou gavest me; " for He also gave it 
to Himself: nor does
1 Chap. V. 21, 19. - Chap. u. 19.

458 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [ir.ACT. CX.

He estrange the Father from His own working, although saying, " I have given to them; " 
for the Father also gave it to them. For the works not only of the Father and the Son, but 
also of the Holy Spirit, are inseparable. But just as, because of His praying the Father in 
behalf of all His people, it was His own pleasure that this should be done, " that they all 
may be one; " so also on the ground of His own beneficence, as expressed in the words, 
"The glory which Thou gavest me, I have given them," the doing of that was none the 
less His pleasure; for He immediately added, " That they may be one, as we also are one."
4. And then He added: "I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." Here He briefly intimated Himself as the Mediator between God and men. Nor was this said in any such way as if the Father were not in us, or we were not in the Father; since He had also said in another place, "We will come unto him, and make our abode with him;" ^ and a little before in this present passage He had not said, "I in them, and Thou in me," as He said now; or. They in me, and I in Thee; but, "Thou in me, and I in Thee, and they in us." Accordingly, when He now says, "I in them, and Thou in me," the words take this form in reference to the person of the Mediator, like that other expression used by the apostle, "Ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's." ^ But in adding, "That they may be made perfect in one," He showed that the reconciliation, which is effected by the Mediator, is carried to the very length of bringing us to the enjoyment of that perfect blessedness, which is thenceforth incapable of further addition. Hence the words that follow, "That the world may know that Thou hast sent me," are not, I think, to be taken as if He had again said, "That the world may believe;" ^ for sometimes, to know, is also used in the same sense as to believe, as it is in the words He uttered some time before: "And they have known truly that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send me." He expressed the same thing by the later words, "they have believed," as He had done by the earlier, "they have known." But inasmuch as He here speaks of the consum-

> Cliiii. xiv. 23. * 1 Cor. iu. 23.

TEACT. ex.] Christ's desire for his people. 459

mation, the knowledge must be taken for such, as it shall then be by sight, and not as it now is by faith. For an order seems to have been preserved in reference to what He said a little before, "that the world may believe;" while here it is, "that the world may know." For although He said there, "that they all may be one," and "may be one in us," ^ yet He did not say, "they may be made perfect in one," ^ and so subjoined the words, "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me;" ^ but here He said, "That they may be made perfect in one," ^ and then added, not, "that the world may believe," ^ and "the word may know that Thou hast sent me." ^ For so long as we believe what we do not see, we are not yet made perfect, as we shall be when we have merited the sight of that which we believe. Most correctly, therefore, did He say in that previous place, "That the world may believe," and here, "That the world may know;" ^ yet both there and here, "that Thou hast sent me;" ^ that we may know, so far as belongs to the inseparable love of the Father and the Son, that at present we only believe what we are on the way, by believing, to know. And had He said. That they may know that Thou hast sent me, it would be just of the same force as what He actually does say, "that the world may know." ^ For they are the world that abideth not in enmity, as doth the world that is foreordained to damnation; but one that out of an enemy has been transformed into a friend, and on whose account "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." ^ Therefore said He, "I in them, and Thou in me;" ^ as
if He had said, I in those to whom Thou hast sent me; and Thou in me, reconciling the world unto Thyself through me.

5. In close relation to these come also His further words: "And Thou hast loved them, as Thou hast loved me." That is to say, in the Son the Father loveth us, because in Him He hath chosen us before the foundation of the world. For He who loveth the Only-begotten, certainly loveth also His members which, through His instrumentality, He engrafted into Him by adoption. But we are not on this account equal to the only-begotten Son, by whom we have been created and

1 Eph. i. 4.

460 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TRACT. CX.

re-created, that it is said, "Thou hast loved them as [Thou hast] also [loved] me." For one does not always intimate equality when he says, As this, so also that other; but sometimes only, Because this is, so also is the other; or. That the one is, in order that the other may be also. For who could say that the apostles were sent by Christ into the world in exactly the same way as He Himself was sent by the Father?

For, to say nothing of other differences, which it would be tedious to mention, they at all events were sent when they were already men; but He was sent in order that He might be man; and yet He said above, "As Thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world;" as if He had said, Because Thou hast sent me, I have sent them. So also in the passage before us He says, "Thou hast loved them, as Thou hast loved me;" which is nothing else than this, Thou hast loved them because that Thou hast also loved me. For He could not but love the members of the Son, seeing that He loveth the Son Himself; nor is there any other reason for loving His members, save that He loveth Himself. But He loveth the Son as regards His Godhead, because He begat Him equal with Himself; He loveth Him also in regard to what He is as man, because the only-begotten Word was Himself made flesh, and on account of the "Word is the flesh of the Word dear to Him; but He loveth us, inasmuch as we are the members of Him whom He loveth; and in order that we might be so. He loved us on this account before we existed.

6. The love, therefore, wherewith God loveth, is incomprehensible and immutable. For it was not from the time that we were reconciled unto Him by the blood of His Son that He began to love us; but He did so before the foundation of the world, that we also might be His sons along with His Only-begotten, before as yet we had any existence of our own. Let not the fact, then, of our having been reconciled unto God through the death of His Son be so listened to or so understood, as if the Son reconciled us unto Him in this respect, that He now began to love those whom He formerly hated, in the same way as enemy is reconciled to enemy, so that thereafter they become friends, and mutual love takes
the place of their mutual hatred; but we were reconciled unto Him who already loved us, but with whom we were at enmity because of our sin. Whether I say the truth on this, let the apostle testify, when he says: "God commendeth His love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." ^ He, therefore, had love toward us even when we were practising enmity against Him and working iniquity; and 3'et to Him it is said with perfect truth, "Thou hatest, Lord, all workers of iniquity," ^ Accordingly, in a wonderful and divine manner, even when He hated us. He loved us; for He hated us, in as far as we were not what He Himself had made; and because our own iniquity had not in every part consumed His work. He knew at once both how, in each of us, to hate what we had done, and to love what He had done. And this, indeed, may be understood in the case of all regarding Him to whom it is truly said, "Thou hatest nothing that Thou hast made." ^ For He would never have wished anything that He hated to exist, nor would aught that the Omnipotent had not wished exist at all, were it not that in what He hated there was also something that He loved. For He justly hateth and reprobateth vice as utterly repugnant to the principle of His procedure, yet He loveth even in the persons of the vitiated what is susceptible either of His own beneficence through healing, or of His judgment by condemnation. In this way God at the same time hateth nothing of what He has made; for as the Creator of natures, and not of vices, it was not He who made the evil that He hateth; and of these same evils, all is good that He really doeth, either by mercifully healing them, or by judicially regulating them. Seeing, then, that He hateth nothing that He hath made, who can worthily describe how much He loveth the members of His Only-begotten, and how much more the Onlybegotten Himself, in whom are hid all things visible and invisible, which were ordained in their various classes, and which He loves in fullest harmony with such ordination?

For the members of His Only-begotten He is leading on by the liberality of His grace to an equality with the holy angels; while the Only-begotten Himself, being Lord of all, is doubt-

> Kom. V. 8, 9. 2 ps_ y ^ 3 ^-jsd. ^a. 25.

4G2 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOIIX. [TRACT. CX.

less Lord of angels, being by nature, as God, the equal not of angels, but rather of the Father Himself; while through grace, in respect of which He is man, how can He otherwise than surpass all angelic excellence, seeing that in Him human flesh and the Word constitute but one personality?

7. IsTevertheless there are not wanting some who place us likewise before the angels; because, they say, Christ died for us and not for angels. But what else is such a notion than the desire to glory over our very impiety? For "Christ," as the apostle says, ingleton
due time died for the ungodly."^ Where it is not any desert of ours, but the mercy of God, that is commended. For what can be the character of the man who wishes himself to be lauded, because he has become so abominably diseased through his own wickedness, that he can only be healed by the death of his physician? That surely is not the glory of our deserts, but the medicine of our diseases. Or do we prefer ourselves to the angels on this account, that, while there are angels also who have sinned^ there has been no such labour expended on their healing? As if something that was at least small in amount had been undertaken for them, and what was greater for us. But had even such been the case, it might still be a subject of inquiry whether it was so because we had once stood in a position of superior excellence, or because we were now lying in a more desperate condition. But knowing as we do that the Creator of all good has imparted no grace for the reparation of angelic evils, why do we not rather draw the inference that their fault was judged all the more damnable, that the nature of those who committed it was of a loftier sublimity? For to the same extent as they less than we ought to have fallen into sin, were they superior in nature to us. But now in offending against the Creator they became all the more detestably ungrateful for His beneficence, that they were created capable of exercising the greater beneficence; nor was it enough for them to become deserters from Him, but they must also become our deceivers. This, therefore, is the great goodness of which we are to be made the subjects by Him, who hath loved us even as He hath loved Christ, that, for His sake,

^ Rom. V. G.

TEACT. ex. J] EQUALITY "WITH ANGELS. 463

whose members He wished us to be, we may be equal to the holy angels/ to whom we were created with an inferiority of nature, and have by our sin fallen into such greater depths of unworthiness, as to make it incumbent that we should be in some sort their associates.

' Luke xs. 36.

TEACTATE CXI.

CHArxEii XVII. 24-26.

1. rr^HE Lord Jesus raises up His people to a great hope, JL than which there could not possibly be a greater. Listen and rejoice in hope, that, since the present is not a life to be loved, but to be tolerated, you may have the power of patient endurance amid all its tribulation.^ Listen, I say, and weigh well to what it is that our hopes are exalted. Christ Jesus saith, The Son of God, the Only-begotten, who is coeternal and equal with the Father, saith: He, who for
our sakes became man, but became not, like every man besides, a liar, "^ saith: the Way, the Life, the Truth saith: ^ He who overcame the world, saith of those for whom He overcame it:

listen, believe, hope, desire what He saith: " Lather," He says,
" I wiU that they also whom Thou hast given me be with me where I am." Who are these who He says were given Him by the Father ? Are they not those of whom He says in another place, " No man cometh unto me, unless the Father, who hath sent me, draw him" ?* We already know, if we have made any beneficial progress in this Gospel, how it is that the things which He says the Father doeth. He Himself doeth likewise along with the Father. They are those, therefore, whom He has received from the Father, whom He Himself has also chosen out of the world, and chosen that they may be no more of the world, even as He also is not of the world; and yet that they also may be a world that believeth and knoweth that Christ has been sent by God the Father that the world might be delivered from the world, and so, as a world that was to be reconciled unto God, might not be condemned with the world that lieth in enmity. For so He says in the beginning of this prayer: " Thou hast given Him power over all flesh," that is, over every man, " that He
' Rom. xii. 12. * Ps. cxvi. 11. ^ chap. xiv. 6. â€¢* Chap. vi. 44.

4G4

TRACT. CXI.] THE GIFT OF ETERNAL LIFE. 465

should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him." Here He makes it clear that He has indeed received power over all men, that, as the future Judge of quick and dead, He may deliver whom He pleases, and condemn whom He pleases; but that these were given Him that to all of them He should give eternal life. For so He says: " That He should give eternal life to as many as Thou hast given Him." Accordingly they were not given Him that from them He should withhold eternal life; although over them also the power has been given Him, inasmuch as He has received it over all flesh, in other words, over every man. In this way the world that has been reconciled will be delivered from the hostile world, when He putteth into exercise His power over it, to send it away into death eternal; but the other He maketh His own that He may give it everlasting life. Accordingly, to every one, without fail, of His own sheep the Good Shepherd, as to every one of His members the great Head, hath promised this reward, that where He is, there also we shall be with Him; nor can that be otherwise which the omnipotent Son declared to be His wiU to the omnipotent Father. For there also is the Holy Spirit, equally eternal, equally God, the one Spirit of the two, the substance of the will of both. For the words that we read of Him as uttering on the eve of His passion, " Yet not. Father, as I will, but as Thou wilt,"^ as if the Father has or had one will, and the Son another, are the echo of our infirmity, however faith-pervaded, which our Head transfigured in His own person, when He likewise bare our iniquities. But that the will of the Father and the Son is one, of both of whom also there is but one Spirit, by
including whom we come to the knowledge of the Trinity, let piety believe, even though our infirmity meanwhile permitteth us not to understand.

2. But as we have already, in a way proportionate to the brevity of our discourse, spoken of the objects of the promise, and of its own stability; let us now look at this one point, as far as we are able, what it is that He was pleased to promise when He said, "I will that they also whom Thou hast given me be with me where I am." As far as pertains to the creaturehood
1 Matt. xxvi. 39.

TRACT. VOL. n. 2 Q

466 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT. CXI.

wherein He was made of the seed of David according to the flesh/ not even He Himself was yet, where He would afterwards be: but He could say in this way, "where I am," to let us understand that He was soon to ascend into heaven, so that He spake of Himself as being already there, where He was presently to be. He could do so also in the same way as He had said on a former occasion, when speaking to Nicodemus, "No man ascendeth into heaven, save He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man who is in heaven."^ For there also He did not say. Will be, but "is," because of the oneness of person, wherein God is at once man, and man God. He promised, therefore, that we should be in heaven; for thither the servant-form, which He received of the Virgin, has been elevated, and set at the right hand of the Father. Because of the same blessed hope the apostle also says: "But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; by whose grace we are saved; and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."^ And so accordingly we may understand the Lord to have said, "That where I am, there they may be also." He, indeed, said of Himself that He was there alreadly; but of us He merely declared that He wished us to be there with Him, without any indication that we were there already. But what the Lord said that He wished to be done, the apostle spake of as already accomplished. For he said not. He will yet raise us up, and make us sit in heavenly places; but," hath raised us up, and made us sit in heavenly places:" for it is not without good grounds, but in believing assurance, that he reckons as already done what he is certain will yet be done. But if it is in respect of the form of God, wherein He is equal to the Father, that we would be inclined to understand His words, "I will that they also be with me, where I am," let our mind get quit of every thought of material images: whatever the soul has had presented to it, that is endowed with length, or breadth, or thickness, tinted by the light with any sort of bodily hue, or diffused through local space of any kind, whether finite or infinite, let it, as far as 1 Rom. i. 3. â– Chap. iii. 13. ^ Eph. ii. 4-6.
possible, turn away from all such notions the glance of its contemplation on the inward bent of its thoughts. And let us not be making inquiries as to where the Son, the Father's co-equal, is, since no one has yet found out where He is not. But if any one would inquire, let him inquire rather how he may be with Him; not everywhere as He is, but wherever He may be. For when He said to the man that was expiating his crimes on the tree, and making confession unto salvation, "To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise," in respect to His human nature His own soul was on that very day to be in hell, His flesh in the sepulchre; but as respected His Godhead He was certainly also in paradise. And therefore the soul of the thief, absolved from his bygone crimes, and already in the blessed enjoyment of His grace, although it could not be everywhere as He was, yet could on that very day be also with Him in paradise, from which He, who is always everywhere, had not withdrawn. On this account, doubtless, it was not enough for Him to say, "I will that they also be where I am;" but He added, "with me." For to be with Him is the chief good. For even the miserable can be where He is, since wheresoever any are, there is He also; but the blessed only are with Him, because it is only of Him that they can be blessed. Was it not truly said to God, "If I ascend into heaven. Thou art there; and if I go down into hell, Thou art present" or is not Christ after all that Wisdom of God which "penetrateth everywhere because of its purity" But the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth it not. And similarly, to take a kind of illustration from what is visible, although greatly unlike, as the blind man, even though he be where the light is, is yet not himself with the light, but is really absent from that which is present; so the unbeliever and profane, or even the believer and pious, because not yet competent to gaze on the light of wisdom, although he cannot be anywhere that Christ is not there likewise, yet is not himself with Christ, I mean in actual sight. For we cannot doubt that the true believer is with Christ by faith; because in reference to this He saith, "He that is not with me is against me." But when He said to God the Father, "I will that they also whom Thou hast given me he with me where I am," He spake exclusively of that sight wherein we shall see Him as He is.

3. Let no one disturb the clearness of the meaning by any cloudy contradiction; but let what follows furnish its testimony to the words that precede. For after saying, "I will that they also be with me where I am," He went on immediately to add, "That they may

^ Luke xxiii. 43. - "In inferno." ^ Ps. cxxxix. 8.

* Wisd. vii. 24. ^ chap. i. 5.
behold my glory, which Thou gavest me: for Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world." "That they may believe." He said; not, that they may believe. This is faith's wages, not faith itself. For if faith has been correctly defined in the Epistle to the Hebrews as "the assurance [conviction] of things that are not seen," why may not the wages of faith be defined, the beholding of things which were hoped for in faith? For when we shall see the glory which the Father hath given the Son, even though we may understand what is spoken of in this passage, not as that [glory] which the Father gave His co-equal Son in begetting Him, but as that which He gave Him, when become the Son of man, after the death of the cross; â€” when, I say, we shall see that glory of the Son, then of a certainty shall take place the judgment of the quick and the dead, and then shall the wicked be taken away that he may not behold the glory of the Lord: and what [glory], save that of His Godhead? For blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God: Â® and because the wicked are not pure in heart, therefore they shall not see.

Then shall they go away into everlasting punishment; for so shall the wicked be taken away, that he may not behold the glory of the Lord: but the righteous shall go into life eternal. And what is life eternal? "That they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent" (ver. 3): not, indeed, as those knew Him, who although impure in heart, yet were able to see Him as He sat in judgment in His glorified servant-form; but as He is yet to be known by the pure in heart, as the only true God, the Son along with the Father and Holy Spirit, because the Trinity itself is the


TRACT. CXI.] HOW CHEISTS PEOPLE SHALL BE WITH HIM. 469

only true God. If, then, it is in reference to His Godhead as the Son of God, equal and co-eternal with the Father, that we take the words, " I will that they also be with me where I am," we shall be with Christ in the Father; but He in His own way, we in ours, wherever we may be in body. For if localities are to be understood, and such as contain incorporeal beings, and everything has a place where it is, the eternal place of Christ where He always is, is the Father Himself, and the place of the Father is the Son; for " I," He said, "am in the Father, and the Father in me;" ^ and in this prayer, " As Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee:" and they are our place, because there follows, " That they also may be one in us:" and we are God's place, inasmuch as we are His temple; even as He, who died for us and liveth for us, also prayeth for us, that we may be one in them; because " His [dwelling] place was made in peace,^ and His habitation in Zion," ^ which we are. But who is qualified to think on such places or what is in them, apart from the idea of space-defined
capacities and material masses? Yet no little progress is made, if at least, when any such idea presents itself to the eye of the mind, it is denied, rejected, and reproved: and a certain kind of light is, as far as possible, thought of, in which such things are perceived as deserving only to be denied, rejected, and reproved; and the certainty of that light is known and loved, so that from thence an upward movement is begun in us, and an effort made to reach into places farther within: and when the mind through its own infirmity and still inferior purity has failed to penetrate them, it is driven back again, not without the sighings of love and the tears of ardent longing, and continues to bear in patience until it is purified by faith, and prepared by the holiness of the inward life to be able to take up its abode therein.

4. How, then, shall we not be with Christ where He is, when we shall be with Him in the Father in whom He is?

On this, also, the apostle is not without something to say to us, although we are not yet in possession of the reality, but

' Chap. xiv. 10.

2 Ps. Ixxvi. 2: " m pace," B?=J3; rather as in English version, " in Salem " (Jerusalem). â€” Tr.

470 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN,' [TEACT. CXI.

only cherishing the hope. For he says, " If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God: set your affections on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye have died," he adds, "and your life is hid with Christ in God." Here, you see, our life is meanwhile in faith and hope with Christ, where He is; because it is with Christ in God. That, you see, is as if already accomplished for which He prayed, when He said, "I will that they also be with me where I am;" but now only by faith.

And when will it be accomplished by actual sight? " Wlien Christ," he says, " [who is] your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." ^ Then shall we appear as that which we then shall be; for it shall then be apparent that it was not without good grounds that we believed and hoped we should become so, before it actually took place. He will do this, to whom the Son, after saying, " That they may behold my glory, which Thou gavest me," immediately added, " For Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world." For in Him He loved us also before the foundation of the world, and then foreordained what He was to do in the end of the world.

5. " righteous Father," He saith, " the world hath not known Thee." Just because Thou art righteous it hath not known Thee. It is as that world which has been predestined to condemnation really deserved, that it hath not known Him; while the world which He hath reconciled unto Himself through Christ hath known Him not of merit, but by grace. For what else is the knowing of Him, but eternal life 1 which, while He undoubtedly withheld it from the condemned world.
He bestowed on the reconciled. On that very account, therefore, the world hath not known Thee, because Thou art righteous, and hast rendered unto it according to its deserts, that it should not know Thee: while on the same account the reconciled world hath known Thee, because Thou art merciful, and, not for any merit of its own, but by grace, hast supplied it with the needed help to know Thee. And then there follows, "But I have known Thee." He is the Fountain of grace, who is by nature God, and, by grace ineffable, man also of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin: and then on His own behalf,

1 Col. iii. 1-i.

TRACT. CXI.] Christ's love in his people, 471

because the grace of God is through Jesus Christ our Lord, He adds, "And these have known that Thou hast sent me." Such is the reconciled world. But it is because Thou hast sent me that they have known: by grace, therefore, have they known.

6. "And I have made known to them," H5 says, "Thy name, and will make it known." I have made it known by faith, I will make it known by sight: I have made it known to those whose present sojourn in a strange land has its appointed end, I will make it known to those whose reign as kings shall be endless. "That the love," He adds, "wherewith [literally, which] Thou hast loved me, may be in them, and I in them. (The form of speech is unusual, "the love, ivlici Thou hast loved me, may be in them, and I in them;" for the common way of speaking is, the love wherewith thou hast loved me. Here, of course, it is a translation from the Greek:

but there are similar forms also in Latin; as we say, He served a faithful service, He served as a soldier a strenuous soldierservice; when apparently we ought to have said. He served with a faithful service, he served as a soldier with a strenuous soldier-service. But such as the form of expression is, "the love which Thou hast loved me;" one similar to it is also used by the apostle, "I have fought a good fight;" he does not say, in a good fight, which would be the more usual and perhaps correcter form of expression.) But how else is the love wherewith the Father loved the Son in us also, but because we are His members and are loved in Him, since He is loved in the totality of His person, as both Head and members? Therefore He added, "and I in them;" as if saying, Since I am also in them. For in one sense He is in us as in His temple; but in another, because we are also Himself, seeing that, in accordance with His becoming man, that He might be our Head, we are His body. The Saviour's prayer is finished, His passion begins; let us, therefore, also finish the present discourse, that we may treat of His passion, as He granteth us grace, in others to follow.

â€¢ "Quani dilexisti me." The part which follows, which we have enclosed â– within parentheses, may he omitted by the Euglis reader, as it only deals with the Latin idiom. â€” Tii.

^ 2 Tim. iv. 7.
Chapter XVIII. 1-12.

1. THE grand and lengthened discourse was continued which the Lord delivered after supper, and on the eve of shedding His blood for us, to the disciples who were then with Him, and had added the prayer addressed to His Father, the evangelist John began thereafter the narrative of His passion in these words: " When Jesus had so spoken. He went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which He entered, and His disciples. And Judas also, who betrayed Him, knew the place; for Jesus oft-times resorted thither with His disciples." What he here relates of the Lord entering the garden with His disciples did not take place immediately after He had brought the prayer to a close, of which he says, "When Jesus had spoken these words:" but certain other incidents were interposed, which are passed over by the present evangelist and found in the others; just as in this one are found many things on which the others are similarly silent in their own narratives. But any one who desires to know how they all agree together, and the truth which is advanced by one is never contradicted by another, may seek for what he wants, not in these present discourses, but in other elaborate treatises; but he will master the subject not by standing and listening, but rather by sitting down and reading, or by giving his closest attention and thought to one who does so. Yet let him believe before he know, whether he be able also to come to such a knowledge in this life, or find it impossible through some existing entanglements, that there is nothing written by any one evangelist, as far as regards those who have been received by the Church into canonical authority, that can be contrary to his own or another's equally

472

* Augustine refers to his books " On the Harmony of the Evangelists."

veracious narrative. At present, therefore, let us look at the narrative of the blessed John, which we have undertaken to expound, without any comparison with the others, and without lingering over anything in it that is already sufficiently clear; so that where it is needful to do so, we may the better answer the demand. Let us, therefore, not take His words, " When Jesus had spoken these words. He went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden, into the which He entered, and His disciples," as if it were immediately after the utterance of these words that He entered the garden; but let the clause, " "When Jesus had spoken these words," bear this meaning, that we are not to suppose Him entering the garden before He had brought these words to a close.
2. "Judas also," he says, "who betrayed Him, knew the place;^ for Jesus oft-times resorted thither with His disciples."

There, accordingly, the wolf, clad in a sheep's skin, and tolerated among the sheep by the profound counsel of the Father of the family, learned where he might opportunely scatter the slender flock, and lay his coveted snares for the Shepherd. "Judas then," he adds, "having received a cohort, and ofBcers from the chief men and the Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns, and torches, and weapons." It was a cohort, not of Jews, but of soldiers. We are therefore to understand it as having been received from the governor, as if for the purpose of securing the person of a criminal, and by preserving the forms of legal power, to deter any from venturing to resist his captors: although at the same time so great a band had been assembled, and came armed in such a way as either to terrify or even attack any one who should dare to make a stand in Christ's defence. For only in so far was His power concealed and prominence given to His weakness, that these very measures were deemed necessary by His enemies to be taken against Him, for whose hurt nothing would have sufficed but what was pleasing to Himself; in His own goodness making a good use of the wicked,

* The text runs thus: "Sciebat, inquit, et Judas, qui tradidit eiim, locum. Oitlo verborum est, Sciehat locum, qui tradebatur;" which could not be intelligibly translated into English. â€” Tf.

474 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXII.

and doing M^liat was good in regard to the wicked, that He might transform the evil into the good, and distinguish between the good and the evil.

3. "Jesus, therefore," as the evangelist proceeds to say,
"knowing all things that should come upon Him, went forth and saith unto them, "Whom seek ye? They answered Him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am [He]. And Judas also, who betrayed Him, stood with them. As soon then as He had said unto them, I am He, they went backward, and fell to the ground." Where now were the military cohort, and the servants of the chief men and the Pharisees? where the terror and protection of weapons? His own single voice uttering the words, "I am [He]," without any weapon, smote, repelled, prostrated that great crowd, with all the ferocity of their hatred and terror of their arms. For God lay hid in that human flesh; and eternal day was so obscured in those human limbs, that with lanterns and torches He v^v^as sought for to be slain by the darkness. "I am [He]," He says; and He casteth the wicked to the ground. What will He do when He cometh as judge, who did this when giving Himself up to be judged? What will be His power when He cometh to reign, who had this power when He came to die?

And now everywhere through the gospel Christ is still saying, "I am [He];" and the Jews are looking for antichrist, that they may go backward and fall to the ground, as those who have abandoned what is heavenly, and are hankering after the
earthly. It was for the very purpose of apprehending Jesus that His persecutors accompanied the traitor: they found the One they were seeking, for they heard, "I am [He]." Why, then, did they not seize Him, but went backward and fell, but just because so He pleased, who could do whatever He pleased? But had He never permitted them to apprehend Him, they would certainly not have done what they came to do, but no more would He be doing what He came to do. They, verily, in their mad rage sought for Him to put Him to death; but He, too, in giving Himself to death, was seeking for us.

Accordingly, having thus shown His power to those who had the will, but not the power, to hold Him; let them now hold Him that He may work His own will with those who know it not.

TRACT, CXII.] MALCHUS' EAR CUT OFF. 475

4. "Then asked He them again. Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I have told you that I am [He]. If therefore ye seek me, let these go their way: that the saying might be fulfilled which He spake. That of those whom Thou hast given me I have lost none." "If ye seek me," He says, "let these go their way." He sees His enemies,^ and they do what He bids them: they let those go their way, whom He would not have perish. But were they not afterwards to die? How then, if they died now, should He lose them, were it not that as yet they did not believe in Him, as all believe who perish not?

5. "Then Simon Peter, having a sword, drew it, and smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. And the servant's name was Malchus." This is the only evangelist who has given us the very name of this servant, as Luke is the only one who tells us that the Lord touched his ear and healed him."^ The interpretation of Malchus is, one who is destined to reign. What, then, is signified by the ear that was cut off in the Lord's behalf, and healed by the Lord, but the renewed hearing that has been pruned of its oldness, that it may henceforth be in the newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter?^ ^Who can doubt that he, who had such a thing done for him by Christ, was yet destined to reign with Christ? And his being found as a servant, pertains also to that oldness that gendereth to bondage, which is Agar,* But when healing came, liberty also was shadowed forth, Peter's deed, however, was disapproved of by the Lord, and He prevented Him from proceeding further by the words: "Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" For in such a deed that disciple only sought to defend his Master, without any thought of what it was intended to signify. And he had therefore to be exhorted to the exercise of patience, and the event itself to be recorded as an exercise of understanding. But when He says that the cup of suffering was given Him by the Father, we have precisely the same truth

^Thomas Aquinas in the "Catena" reads liere, "He commands His enemies," and not altogether unsuitably. â€” ściGXE.
as that which was uttered by the apostle: "If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all." But the originator of this cup is also one with Him who drank it; and hence the same apostle likewise says, "Christ loved us, and gave Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God of a sweet-smelling savour.""

6. "Then the cohort, and the tribune, and the officers of the Jews, took Jesus, and bound Him." They took Him to whom they had never found access: for He continued the day, while they remained as darkness; neither had they given heed to the words, "Come unto Him, and be enlightened." For had they so approached Him, they would have taken Him, not with their hands for the purpose of murder, but with their hearts for the purpose of a welcome reception. Now, however, when they laid hold of Him in this way, their distance from Him was vastly increased: and they bound Him by whom they themselves ought rather to have been loosed. And perhaps there were those among them who then fastened their fetters on Christ, and yet were afterwards delivered by Him, and could say, "Thou hast loosed my bonds." Let this be enough for to-day; we shall deal, God willing, with what follows in another discourse.

> Rom. viii. 31, 32. Eph. v. 2.

> Ps. xxxiv. 5. Ps. cxvi. 16.

Chapter XVIII. 13-27.

1. AFTER that His persecutors had, through the trea-
XjL son of Judas, taken and bound the Lord, who loved us, and gave Himself for us/ and whom the Father spared not, but gave Him up for us all: ' that we may understand that there was no praise due to Judas for the usefulness of his treachery, but damnation for the wilfulness of his wickedness:

"They led Him," as John the evangelist tells us, "to Annas first." Nor does he withhold the reason for so doing: "For he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was the high priest that same year, now Caiaphas was he," he says, "who gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people." And properly enough Matthew, when wishing to say the same in fewer words, tells us that He was led to Caiaphas; ^ for He was also taken in the first place to Annas, simply because he was his father-in-law;
and where we have only to understand that such was the very thing that Caiaphas wished to be done.

2. "But Jesus was followed," he says, "by Simon Peter, and another disciple." Who that other disciple is, we cannot affirm with confidence, because it is left unnoticed here. But it is in this way that John usually refers to himself, with the addition, "whom Jesus loved."* Perhaps, therefore, it is he also in the present case; but whoever it is, let us look at what follows. "And that disciple," he says, "was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest; but Peter stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, who was known unto the high priest,

^ Eph. V. 2. 2 Rom. viii. 32.


477

478 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [tEACT. CXIII.

and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.
Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art thou also one of this man's disciples? He saith, I am not." Lo, the pillar of greatest strength has at a single breath of air trembled to its foundations. Where is now all that boldness of the promiser, and his overweening confidence in himself beforehand? What now of those words, when he said, "Why cannot I follow Thee now? I will lay down my life for Thy sake."^ Is this the way to follow the Master, to deny his own discipleship? is it thus that one's life is laid down for the Lord, when one is frightened at a maid-servant's voice, lest it should compel us to the sacrifice? But what wonder, if God foretold what was true, and man presumptuously imagined what was false? Assuredly in this denial of the Apostle Peter, which had now entered on its first stage, we ought to take notice that not only is Christ denied by one who says that He is not Christ, but by him also who, while really a Christian, himself denies that he is so. For the Lord said not to Peter, Thou shalt deny that thou art my disciple; but, "Thou shalt deny me,"^ Him, therefore, he denied, when he denied that he was His disciple. And what else did such a form of denial imply, but that of his own Christianity? For although the disciples of Christ were not yet called by such a name, â€” because it was after His ascension, in Antioch, first that the disciples began to be called Christians,^ â€” yet the thing itself, that afterwards assumed such a name, already existed, those who were afterwards called Christians were already disciples; and this common name, like the common faith, they transmitted to their posterity. He, therefore, who denied that he was Christ's disciple, denied the reality of the thing, of which the being called a Christian was only the name. How many afterwards, not to speak of old men and women, whose satiated feelings as regards the present life might more easily enable them to brave death for the confession of Christ; and not merely the youth of both sexes, when of an age at
which the exercise of fortitude seems to be fairly required; but even boys and girls could
do â€” even as an innumerable company of holy martyrs with brave hearts and by a
violent death entered


TEACT. CXIII.] SPEAKING OPENLY TO THE WOELD. 479

the kingdom of heaven â€” what at that moment he was unable to do, who received the
keys of that kingdom.-^ It is here we see why it was said, " Let these go their way," when
He, who hath redeemed tis by His own blood, gave Himself for iis; that the saying which
He spake might be fulfilled, â€” ' Of those whom Thou hast given me I have lost none." For assuredly, had Peter gone hence after denying the Christ, what else would have
awaited him but destruction ?

3. " And the servants and officers stood beside the fire of burning coals, for it was cold,
and warmed themselves."
Though it was not winter, it was cold: which is sometimes wont to be the case even at the
vernal equinox. " And Peter was standing with them, and warming himself. The high
priest then asked Jesus of His disciples, and of His doctrine.
Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world; I always taught in the synagogue, and in
the temple, whither all the Jews resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou
me ? ask those who heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I
said." A question occurs that ought not to be passed over, how it is that the Lord Jesus
said, " I spake openly to the world; " and in particular that which He afterwards added, " In
secret have I said nothing." Did He not, even in that latest discourse which He
delivered to the disciples after supper, say to them, "These things have I spoken unto you
in proverbs; but the hour Cometh, when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but I
shaU show you plainly of my Father"? If, then. He spake not openly even to the more
intimate company of His disciples, but gave the promise of a time when He would speak
openly, how was it that He spake openly to the world ? And still further, as is also
testified on the authority of the other evangelists, to those who were truly His own, in
comparison with others who were not His disciples. He certainly spake with much greater
plainness when He was alone with them at a distance from the multitudes; for then He
unfolded to them the parables, which He had uttered in obscure terms to others.
What then is the meaning of the words, " In secret have I
said nothing " ? It is in this way we are to understand His
1 Matt, xvi. 19. * Chap. xvi. 25.

480 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. CXIII.
saying, "I spake openly to the world;" as if He had said, There were many that heard me. And that word "openly"
was in a certain sense openly, and in another sense not openly.
It was openly, because many heard Him; and again it was not openly, because they did not understand Him. And even what He spake to His disciples apart. He certainly spake not in secret. For who speaketh in secret, that speaketh before so many persons; as it is written, "At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established:" especially if that be spoken to a few which He wisheth to become known to many through them; as the Lord Himself said to the few whom He had as yet, "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops" ? And accordingly the very thing that seemed to be spoken by Himself in secret, was in a certain sense not spoken in secret; for it was not so spoken to remain unuttered by those to whom it was spoken; but rather so in order to be preached in every possible direction. A thing therefore may be uttered at once openly, and not openly; or at the same time in secret, and yet not in secret, as it is said,
"That seeing, they may see, and not see." ^ For how "may they see," save only because it is openly, and not in secret; and again, how is it that the same parties "may not see," save that it is not openly, but in secret? Howbeit the very things which they had heard without understanding, were such as could not with justice or truth be turned into a criminal charge against Him: and as often as they tried by their questions to find something whereof to accuse Him, He gave them such replies as utterly discomfited all their plots, and left no ground for the calumnies they devised. Therefore He said, "Why askest thou me? ask those who heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said."

4. "And when He had thus spoken, one of the officers who stood by gave Jesus a blow with his open hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" What could be truer, meeker, juster, than


TRACT. CXIIL| CHRIST SMITTE^T ON THE CHEEK. 481

such an answer? For it is His [reply], from whom the prophetic voice had issued before,
"Make for thy goal (literally, take aim), and advance prosperously and reign, because of truth, and meekness, and righteousness." ^ If we consider who it was that received the blow, might we not well feel the wish that He who struck it were either consumed by fire from heaven, or swallowed up by the gaping earth, or seized and carried off by devils, or visited with some other or still heavier punishment of this kind? For what one of all these could not He, who made the world, have commanded by His power, had He not wished rather to teach us the patience that overcometh the world? Some one will say here. Why did He not do what He Himself commanded? ^ for to one that smote Him, He
ought not to have answered thus, but to have turned to him the other cheek. Nay, more than this, did He not answer truthfully, and meekly, and righteously, and at the same time not only prepare His other cheek to him who was yet again to smite it, but His whole body to be nailed to the tree? And hereby He rather showed, what needed to be shown, namely, that those great precepts of His are to be fulfilled not by bodily ostentation, but by the preparation of the heart. For it is possible that even an angry man may visibly hold out his other cheek. How much better, then, is it for one who is inwardly pacified to make a truthful answer, and with tranquil mind hold himself ready for the endurance of heavier sufferings to come? Happy is he who, in all that he suffers unjustly for righteousness’ sake, can say with truth, "My heart is ready, God, my heart is ready;" for this it is that gives cause for that which follows: "I will sin" and give

1 Ps. xlv. 4. In the Hebrew text, at the close of verse 4 and beginning of verse 5 (Eng. Ver. verses 3 and 4), there is a repetition of the word "inini, which in both cases is rendered in our English Version, "and [in] Thy majesty." By the Septuagint, however, and the Vulgate, and here by Augustine, the latter of the two has been differently read as a verb, as if pointed 'niini in the sense of

"Bend thy bow," "Take aim," with the ace. omitted. Our English Version combines the next two verbs 331 n^V "* ride prosperously," while in the above

the distinction is presei-ved, "advance prosperously, ride (as a king, reign)." â€”
Tr.


TRACT. VOL. II. 2 n â–

482 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. CXIII.

praise; "^ which Paul and Barnabas ^ could do even in the cruellest of bonds.

5. But let us return to what follows in the Gospel narrative. "And Annas sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest." To him, according to Matthew's account. He was led at the outset, because he was the high priest that year. For both the pontiffs are to be understood as in the habit of acting year by year alternately, that is, as chief priests; and these were at that time Annas and Caiaphas, as recorded by the evangelist Luke, when telling of the time when John, the Lord's forerunner, began to preach the kingdom of heaven and to gather disciples. For he speaks thus:

"Under the high priests Annas and Caiaphas, the word of the Lord came upon John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness,"^
etc. Accordingly these two pontiffs fulfilled their years in turn: and it was the year of Caiaphas when Christ suffered.
And so, according to Matthew, when He was apprehended.
He was taken to him; but first, according to John, they came with Him to Annas; not because he was his colleague, but his father-in-law. And we must suppose that it was by Caiaphas' wish that it was so done; or that their houses were so situated, that Annas could not properly be overlooked by them as they passed on their way.

6. But the evangelist, after saying that Annas sent Him bound unto Caiaphas, returns to the place of his narrative, where he had left Peter, in order to explain what had taken place in Annas' house in regard to his threefold denial. " But Peter was standing," he says, " and warming himself." He thus repeats what he had already stated before; and then adds what follows. " They said therefore unto him. Art thou also one of his disciples? He denied, and said, I am not."
He had already denied once; this is the second time. And then, that the third denial might also be fulfilled, " one of the servants of the high priest, being his kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith. Did I not see thee in the o-arden with him? Peter then denied again, and immediately the cock crew."

1 Ps. Ivii. 7.
2 Here probably we should read Silas, according to Acts xvi. 25. â€” MiGNE.
' Luke iii. 2.

TEACT. CXIII] PETEE's DENIAL. 483

Behold, the prediction of the Physician is fulfilled, the presumption of the sick man is brought to the light. For there is no performance of what the latter had asserted, " I will laydown my life for Thy sake; " but a performance of what the former had predicted, " Thou shalt thrice deny me." ^ But with the completion of Peter's threefold denial, let the present discourse be also now completed, that hereafter we may make a fresh start with the consideration of what was done respecting the Lord before Pontius Pilate the governor.
^ Chap. xiii. 38.

TEACTATECXIV.

Chapter XVIII. 28-32.

1. T" ET US now consider, so far as indicated by the evangelist J-i John, what was done with, or in regard to, our Lord Jesus Christ, when brought before Pontius Pilate the governor.
For he returns to the place of his narrative, where he had left it, to explain the denial of Peter. He had already, you know, said, "And Annas sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest; " and having returned from where he had dismissed Peter as he was warming himself at the fire in the hall, after completing the whole of his denial, which was thrice repeated, he says, "Then they bring Jesus unto Caiaphas ^ into the hall of judgment (pretorium); " for he had said that He was sent to Caiaphas by his colleague and father-in-law Annas. But if to Caiaphas, why into the hall of judgment ? Nothing else is thereby meant to be understood than the place where Pilate the governor dwelt. And therefore, either for some urgent reason Caiaphas had proceeded from the house of Annas, where both had met to give Jesus a hearing, to the governor's pretorium, and had left the hearing of Jesus to his father-in-law; or Pilate had made his pretorium in the house of Caiaphas, which was so large as to contain separate apartments for its own master, and the like for the judge.

2. "And it was morning; and they themselves," that is, those who brought Jesus, "went not into the judgment hall," to wit, into that part of the house which Pilate occupied, supposing it to be Caiaphas' house. And then in explanation of the reason why they went not into the judgment hall, he says, "lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the

â€« This reading of the text is also found in The Harmony of the Evangelists, Book iii. chap. 7; but the true biblical reading is now ascertained to be, Â«u-a TÂ»u Kaiafa, "from Caiaphas." â€” Migne.

454

TRACT, CXIV.] POWER TO PUT TO DEATH. 485

passover." For it was the commencement of the days of unleavened bread: on which they accounted it defilement to enter the abode of one of another nation. Impious blindness! Would they, forsooth, be defiled by a stranger's abode, and not be defiled by their own wickedness? They were afraid of being defiled by the pretorium of a foreign judge, and had no fear of defilement from the blood of an innocent brother: not to say more than this meanwhile, which was enough to fix guilt on the conscience of the wicked. For the additional fact, that it was the Lord who was led to death by their impiety, and the giver of life that was on the way to be slain, may be charged, not to their conscience, but to their ignorance.

3. "Pilate then went out unto them, and said, Whiat accusation bring ye against this man? They answered and said unto him. If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee." Let the question be put to, and the answer come from, those who had been delivered from foul spirits, from the sickly who had been healed, the lepers who had been cleansed, the deaf who were hearing, the dumb who were speaking, the blind who were seeing, the dead who were raised to life, and, above all, the foolish who
were become wise, whether Jesus were a malefactor. But these things were said by those of whom He Himself had already foretold by the prophet, " They rewarded me evil for good." ^

4. " Then said Pilate unto them. Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." What is this that their insane cruelty saith ? Did not they put Him to death, whom they were here presenting for the very purpose ? Or does the cross, forsooth, fail to kill ? Such is the folly of those who do not pursue, but persecute wisdom.

What then mean the words, " It is not lawful for us to put any man to death " ? If He is a malefactor, why is it not lawful ? Did not the law command them not to spare malefactors, especially (as they accounted Him to be) those who seduced them from their God ? ^ We are, however, to under-

> Ps. XXXV. 12.

* Deut. xiii. 5. Augustine evidently attaches a wrong meaning to the words.

486 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. CXIV.

stand that they said that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, on account of the sanctity of the festal day, which they had just begun to celebrate, and on account of which they were afraid of being defiled even by entering the pretorium. Had you become so hardened, false Israelites?

Were you by your excessive malice so lost to all sense, as to imagine that you were unpolluted by the blood of the innocent, because you gave it up to be shed by another ? Was even Pilate himself going to slay Him with his own hands, when made over by you into his power for the very purpose ? If you did not wish Him to be slain; if you did not lay snares for Him; if you did not get Him to be betrayed to you for money; if you did not lay hands upon Him, and bind Him, and bring Him there; if you did not with your own hands present Him, and with your voices demand Him to be slain, â€” then boast that He was not put to death by you. But if in addition to all these former deeds of yours, you also cried out,

" Crucify, crucify [him];"^ then hear what it is against you that the prophet proclaims: " The sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword. " ^ These, look you, are the spears, the arrows, the sword, wherewith you slew the righteous, when you said that it was not lawful for you to put any man to death. Hence it is also that when for the purpose of apprehending Jesus the chief priests did not themselves come, but sent; yet the evangelist Luke says in the same passage of his narrative, " Then said Jesus unto those who were come to him, [namely] the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and elders, Be ye come out, as against a thief," etc. ? ^ As therefore the chief priests went not in their own persons, but by those whom they had sent, to apprehend Jesus, what else was that but coming themselves in the authority of their own order ? and so all, who
"Nobis non licet inter ficere quenquam; " as if these Jews thereby insinuated that they did not themselves wish Christ's death: unaware, seemingly, of the fact, that, on their subjugation by the Romans, their own rulers were still allowed to try minor offences, but were deprived of the power of inflicting capital punishment; and that, consequently, it was because they were actually bent on putting Him to death, and no less penalty would satisfy them, that they thus brought Him before the Roman governor. â€” Tn.

Â» Chap. xix. 6. - Ps. Ivii. 4. ^ Luke xxii. 52,

TEACT. CXIY.] DEATH BY CEUCIFIXIOX. 487

cried out with impious voices for the crucifixion of Christ, slew Him, not, indeed, directly with their own hands, but personally through him who was impelled to such a crime by their clamour.

5. But when the CYangelist John adds, " That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which He spake, signifying what death He should die: " if we would understand such words as referring to the death of the cross, as if the Jews had said, " It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," for this reason that it was one thing to be put to death, and another to be crucified: I do not see how such can be understood as a consequence, seeing that this was their answer to the words that Pilate had just addressed to them, " Take ye him, and judge him according to your law." If it were so, could they not then have taken Him, and crucified Him themselves, had they desired by any such form of punishment to avoid the putting of Him to death ? But who is there that may not see the absurdity of allowing those to crucify any one, who were not allowed to put any one to death ? ISTay more, did not the Lord HimseK call that same death of His, that is, the death of the cross, a putting to death, as we read in Mark, where He says, " Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests, and unto the scribes; and they shall condemn Him to death, and shall deKver Him to the Gentries: and they shall mock Him, and shall spit upon Him, and shall scourge Him, and shall put Him to death, and the third day He shall rise again " ?^ There is no doubt, therefore, that in so speaking the Lord signified what death He should die: not that He here meant the death of the cross to be understood, but that the Jews were to deliver Him up to the Gentiles, or, in other words, to the Eomans.

For Pilate was a Eoman, and had been sent by the Eomans into Judea as governor. That, then, this saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, namely, that, being delivered up to them, He should be put to death by the Gentiles, as Jesus had foretold would happen; therefore when Pilate, who was the Eoman judge, wished to hand Him back to the Jews, that they might judge Him according to their law, they refused to receive Him,

1 Mark x. 33, 34.
saying, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."
And so the saying of Jesus was fulfilled, which He foretold concerning His death, that, being delivered up by the Jews, He should be put to death by the Gentiles: whose crime was less than that of the Jews, who sought by this method to make themselves appear averse to His being put to death, to the end that, not their innocence, but their madness might be made manifest.

CHAPTER XVIII. 33-40.

1. "THAT Pilate said to Christ, or what He replied to T T Pilate, has to be considered and handled in the present discourse. For after the words had been addressed to the Jews, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law," and the Jews had replied, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death, Pilate entered again into the judgment hall, and called Jesus, and said unto Him, Art thou the King of the Jews? And Jesus answered, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" The Lord indeed knew both what He Himself asked, and what reply the other was to give; but yet He wished it to be spoken, not for the sake of information to Himself, but that what He wished us to know might be recorded in Scripture. "Pilate answered. Am I a Jew? Thine own nation, and the chief priests, have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus answered. My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." This is what the good Master wished us to know; but first there had to be shown us the vain notion that men had regarding His kingdom, whether Gentiles or Jews, from whom Pilate had heard it; as if He ought to have been punished with death on the ground of aspiring to an unlawful kingdom; or as those in the possession of royal power usually manifest their ill-will to such as are yet to attain it, as if, for example, precautions were to be used lest His kingdom should prove adverse either to the Eomans or to the Jews. But the Lord was able to reply to the first question of the governor, when he asked Him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" with the words, "My kingdom is not of this world," etc.; but

by questioning him in turn, whether he said this thing of himself, or heard it from others, He wished by his answer to show that He had been charged with this as a crime before
him by the Jews: laying open to us the thoughts of men, which were all known to Himself, that they are but vain; ^
and now, after Pilate's answer, giving them, both Jews and Gentiles, all the more reasonable and fitting a reply, "My kingdom is not of this world." But had He made an immediate answer to Pilate's question. His reply would have appeared to refer to the Gentiles only, without including the Jews, as entertaining such an opinion regarding Him. But now when Pilate replied, " Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation, and the chief priests, have delivered thee to me; " he removed from himself the suspicion of being possibly supposed to have spoken of his own accord, in saying that Jesus was the king of the Jews, by showing that such a statement had been communicated to him by the Jews. And then by saying, " What hast thou done ? " he made it sufficiently clear that this was charged against Him as a crime: as if he had said. If thou deniest such kingly claims, what hast thou done to cause thy being delivered into me ? As if there would be no ground for wonder that one should be delivered up to a judge for punishment, who proclaimed himself a king; but if no such assertion were made, it became needful to inquire of Him, what else, if anything. He had done, that He should thus deserve to be delivered unto the judge.

2. Hear then, ye Jews and Gentiles; hear, circumcision; hear, uncircumcision; hear, all ye kingdoms of the earth: I interfere not with your government in this world, " My kingdom is not of this world." Cherish ye not the utterly vain terror that threw Herod the elder into consternation when the birth of Christ was announced, and led him to the murder of so many infants in the hope of including Christ in the fatal number, ^ made more cruel by his fear than by his anger:
" My kingdom," He said, " is not of this world." What would you more ? Come to the kingdom that is not of this world; come, believing, and fall not into the madness of anger through fear. He says, indeed, prophetically of God the Father, " Yet
1 Ps. xciv. 11. 2 ]iiatt. ii. 3, 16.

TRACT. CXV.] CHRIST BEFORE PILATE. 491

have I been appointed king by Him upon His holy hill of Zion; " -^ but that hill of Zion is not of this world. For what is His kingdom, save those who believe in Him, to whom He says, " Ye are not of the world, even as I am not of the world"? And yet He wished them to be in the world: on that very account saying of them to the Father, " I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil." ^ Hence also He says not here,
" My kingdom is not " in this world; but, " is not of this world." And when He proved this by saying, " If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews," He saith not, " But now is my kingdom not " here, but, " is not from hence." For His kingdom is here until the end of the world, having tares intermingled therewith until the harvest; for the harvest is the end of the world, when the reapers, that is to say, the angels, shall come and gather out of His kingdom everything
that offendeth; ^ which certainly would not be done, were it not that His kingdom is here. But still it is not from hence; for it only sojourns as a stranger in the world: because He says to His kingdom, " Ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world." ^ They were therefore of the world, so long as they were not His kingdom, but belonged to the prince of this world. Of the world therefore are all mankind, created indeed by the true God, but generated from Adam as a vitiated and condemned stock; and there are made into a kingdom no longer of the world, all from thence that have been regenerated in Christ. For so did God rescue us from the power of darkness, and translate us into the kingdom of the Son of His love: ^ and of this kingdom it is that He saith, " My kingdom is not of this world; " or, " My kingdom is not from hence."

3. " Pilate therefore said unto Him, Art thou a king then ? Jesus answered, Thou say est that I am a king." Not that He was afraid to confess Himself a king, but " Thou sayest" has been so balanced that He neither denies Himself to be a king (for He is a king whose kingdom is not of this


4 Chap. XV. 19. 5 tol. i. 13.

492 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TRACT. CXT.

â€œworld), nor does He confess that He is such a kmg as to warrant the supposition that His kingdom is of this world.
For as this was the very idea in Pilate's mind when he said, " Art thou a king then ? " so the answer he got was, " Thou sayest that I am a king." For it was said, " Thou sayest," as if it had been said, Carnal thyself, thou sayest it carnally.

4. Thereafter He adds, " To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." ^ ^ * ^ Whence it is evident that He here referred to His own temporal nativity, when by becoming incarnate He came into the world, and not to that which had no beginning, whereby He was God through whom the Father created the world. For this, then, that is, on this account.
He declared that He was born, and to this end He came into the world, to wit, by being born of the Virgin, that He might bear witness unto the truth. But because all men have not faith,^ He still further said, " Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." He heareth, that is to say, with the ears of the inward man, or, in other words, He obeyeth my voice, which is equivalent to saying. He believeth me. Wlien Christ, therefore, beareth witness unto the truth. He beareth witness, of course, unto Himself; for from His own lips are the words,
" I am the truth; " ^ as He said also in another place, " I bear witness of myself." * But when He said, " Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice," He commendeth the grace whereby He calleth according to His own purpose. Of which purpose the apostle
sa]S, " We know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to those
who are called according to the purpose of God," ^ to wit, the purpose

'The verse quoted reads in Latin, " Ego in hoc natus siim, et ad hoc veni,"
etc.; and in reference to the words, "in hoc," Augustine goes on to say, in the passage
marked * *; " We are not to lengthen the syllable [vowel] of this pronoun when He says,
7?i hoc natus sum, as if He meant to say, In this thing was I born; but to shorten it, as if
He had said, Ad hanc rem natus sum, vel ad hoc natus sian (for this thing was I born), just
as He says, Ad hoc veni in mundum
(for this came I into the world). For in the Greek Gospel there is no ambiguity in this
expression," the Greek havings/; Touro. This passage is interesting only to Latin scholars,
as showing that in ordinary parlance they marked, in Augustinian's time, the distinction
between hoc of the abl. and h6c of the nom. or ace.
â€”Tr.


TRACT. CXV.] CHRIST BEFORE PILATE. 493

of Him that calleth, not of those who are called; which is put still more clearly in another
place in this way, " Labour together in the gospel according to the power of God, who
saveth us and calleth us with His holy calling, not according to our works, but according
to His own purpose and grace." ^

For if our thoughts turn to the nature wherein we have been created, inasmuch as we were
all created by the Truth, who is there that is not of the truth ? But it is not all to whom it is
given of the truth to hear, that is, to obey the truth, and to believe in the truth; while in no
case certainly is there any preceding of merit, lest grace should cease to be grace.
For had He said. Every one that heareth my voice is of the truth, then it would be
supposed that he was declared to be of the truth because he conforms to the truth; it is not
this, however, that He says, but, " Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." And in
this way he is not of the truth simply because he heareth His voice; but only on this
account he heareth, because he is of the truth, that is, because this is a gift bestowed on
him of the truth. And what else is this, but that by Christ's gracious bestowal he believeth
on Christ ?

5. " Pilate said unto Him, What is truth ? " Nor did he wait to hear the answer; but " when
he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and said unto them, I find in him no
fault. But ye have a custom that I should release unto you one at the passover: will ye
therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews V I believe when Pilate said, "
What is truth ? " there immediately occurred to his mind the custom of the Jews,
according to which he was wont to release unto them one at the passover; and therefore
he did not wait to hear Jesus' answer to his question, What is truth ? to avoid delay on
recollecting the custom whereby He might be released unto them during the passover â€”
a thing which it is clear he greatly desired. It could not, however, be torn from his heart
that Jesus was the King of the Jews, but w^as fixed there, as in the superscription, by the truth itself, whereof he had just inquired what it was. " But on hearing this, they all cried again, saying, Not this man, but

Â» 2 Tim. i. 8, 9.

494 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. CXV.

Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber." We blame you not, Jews, for liberating the guilty during the passover, but for slaying the innocent; and yet unless that were done, the true passover would not take place. But a shadow of the truth was retained by the erring Jews, and by a marvellous dispensation of divine wisdom the truth of that same shadow was fulfilled by deluded men; because in order that the true passover might be kept, Christ was led as a sheep to the sacrificial slaughter. Hence there follows the account of the injurious treatment received by Christ at the hands of Pilate and his cohort; but this must be taken up in another discourse.

TEACTATE CXVI.

Chapter XIX. 1-16.

1. /N the Jews crying out that they did not wish Jesus V>^ to be released unto them at the passover, but Barabbas the robber; not the Saviour, but the murderer; not the Giver of life, but the destroyer, â€” then Pilate took Jesus and scourged Him." We must believe that Pilate acted thus for no other reason than that the Jews, glutted with the injuries done to Him, might consider themselves satisfied, and desist from madly pursuing Him even unto death. With a similar intention was it that, as governor, he also permitted his cohort to do what follows, or even perhaps ordered them, although the evangelist is silent on the subject. For he tells us what the soldiers did thereafter, but not that Pilate ordered it. " And the soldiers," he says, " platted a crown of thorns, and put it on His head, and they clothed Him with a purple robe. And they came to Him and said. Hail, King of the Jews ! And they smote Him with their hands." Thus were fulfilled the very things which Christ had foretold of Himself; thus were the martyrs moulded for the endurance of all that their persecutors should be pleased to inflict; thus, by concealing for a time the terror of His power, He commended to us the prior imitation of His patience; thus the kingdom which was not of this world overcame that proud world, not by the ferocity of fighting, but by the humility of suffering; and thus the grain of corn that was yet to be multiplied was sown amid the horrors of shame, that it might come to fruition amid the wonders of glory.

2. " Pilate went forth again, and saith unto them. Behold, I bring him forth, that ye may know that I find no fault in him. Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns
and the purple robe. And he saith unto them, Behold the man! " Heuce it is apparent that these things were done by the soldiers not without Pilate's knowledge, whether it was that he ordered them or only permitted them, namely, for the reason we have stated above, that His enemies might all the more willingly drink in the sight of such derisive treatment, and cease to thirst further for His blood. Jesus goes forth to them wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe, not resplendent in kingly power, but laden with reproach; and the words are addressed to them, Behold the man! If you hate your king, spare him now when you see him sunk so low; he has been scourged, crowned with thorns, clothed with the garments of derision, jeered at with the bitterest insults, struck with the open hand; his ignominy is at the boiling point, let your ill-will sink to zero. But there is no such cooling on the part of the latter, but rather a further increase of heat and vehemence.

3. " When the chief priests, therefore, and attendants saw Him, they cried out, saying, Crucify, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them. Take ye him and crucify him: for I find no fault in him. The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by the law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." Behold another and still greater ground of hatred. The former, indeed, seemed but a small matter, as that shown towards the usurpation, by an unlawful act of daring, of the royal power; and yet of neither did Jesus falsely claim possession, but each of them is truly His as both the only-begotten Son of God, and by Him appointed King upon His holy hill of Zion; and both might He now have shown to be His, were it not that in proportion to the greatness of His power He preferred to manifest the corresponding greatness of His patience.

4. " When Pilate, therefore, heard that saying, he was the more afraid; and entered again into the judgment hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer." It is found, in comparing the narratives of all the evangelists, that this silence on the part of our Lord Jesus Christ took place more than once, both before the chief priests and before Herod, to whom, as Luke intimates, Pilate had sent Him for a hearing, and before Pilate himself; ^ so that it was not in vain that the prophecy regarding Him had preceded, "As the lamb before its shearer was dumb, so He opened not His mouth," ^ especially on those occasions when He answered not His questioners. For although He frequently replied to questions addressed to Him, yet because of those in regard to which He declined making any reply, the metaphor of the lamb is supplied, in order that in His silence He might be accounted not as guilty,
innocent. When, therefore, He was passing through the process of judgment, wherever He opened not His mouth it was in the character of a lamb that He did so; that is, not as one with an evil conscience who was convicted of his sins, but as one who in His meekness was sacrificed for the sins of others.

5. " Then saith Pilate into Him, Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee? Jesus answered: Thou wouldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." Here, you see. He replied; and yet wherever He replied not, it is not as one who is criminal or cunning, but as a lamb; that is, in simplicity and innocence He opened not His mouth. Accordingly, where He made no answer, He was silent as a sheep; where He answered. He taught as the Shepherd. Let us therefore set ourselves to learn what He said, what He taught also by the apostle, that "there is no power but of God," and that he is a greater sinner who maliciously delivereth up to the power the innocent to be slain, than the power itself, if it slay him through fear of another power that is greater still. Of such a sort, indeed, was the power which God had given to Pilate, that he should also be under the power of Ctesar. Wherefore "thou wouldest have," He says, "no power against me," that is, even the little measure thou really hast, "except" this very measure, whatever its amount, "were given thee from above." But knowing as I do its amount, for it is not so

'Matt. xxvi. 63, xxvii. 14; Mark xiv. 61, xv. 5; Luke xxiii. 7-9; Jolm xix. 9.

'Isa. liil 7. ^jjqjjj^ ^i^ 1^

TRACT. VOL. n. 21

498 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. CXVI,

great as to render thee altogether independent, "therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." He, indeed, delivered me to thy power at the bidding of envy, whilst thou art to exercise thy power upon me through the impulse of fear. And yet not even through the impulse of fear ought one man to slay another, especially the innocent; nevertheless to do so by an officious zeal is a much greater evil than under the constraint of fear. And therefore the truth-speaking Teacher saith not, "He that delivered me to thee," he only hath sin, as if the other had none; but He saith, "hath the greater sin," letting him understand that he himself was not exempt from blame. For that of the latter is not reduced to nothing because the other is greater.

6. 'â€¢ Hence Pilate sought to release Him." What is to be understood by the word here used, "hence," as if he had not been seeking to do so before? Read what precedes, and thou wilt find that he had already for some time been, seeking to release Jesus. By the original word, therefore, we are to understand, on this account, that is, for this reason,
that he might not contract sin by slaying an innocent man who had been delivered into his hands, even though his sin would be less than that of the Jews, who delivered Him to him to be put to death. "From thence," \^ therefore, that is, for this reason, that he might not commit such a sin, "he sought not now for the first time, but from the beginning, to release Him."

V. "But the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cesar's friend: whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cesar." They thought to inspire Pilate with greater fear by terrifying him about Caesar, in order that he might put Christ to death, than formerly when they said, "We have the law, and by the law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." It was not their law, indeed, that impelled him through fear to the deed of murder, but rather it was his fear of the Son of God that held him back from the crime. But now he could not set Cesar, who was the author of his own power, at nought, in the same way as the law of another nation.

\^ "Exindej" Greek, θερεσμένον, "therefrom." â€” Tr.

TRACT. CXVI.] PILATE'S SENTENCE. 499

8. As yet, however, the evangelist proceeds to say: "But when Pilate heard these sayings, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down before the tribunal, in a place that is called the Pavement, \^ but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation \^ of the passover, and about the sixth hour." The question, at what hour the Lord was crucified, because of the testimony supplied by another evangelist, who says, "And it was the third hour, and they crucified Him," \^ we shall consider as we can, if the Lord please, when we are come to the passage itself where His crucifixion is recorded.\* When Pilate, therefore, had sat down before the tribunal, "he saith unto the Jews, Behold your king! But they cried out. Away with him, away with him, crucify him. Pilate said unto them. Shall I crucify your king?" As yet he tries to overcome the terror with which they had inspired him about Caesar, by seeking to break them from their purpose on the ground of the ignominy it brought on themselves, with the words, "Shall I crucify your king?" when he failed to soften them on the ground of the ignominy done to Christ; but by and by he is overcome by fear.

9. For "the chief priests answered. We have no king but Cesar. Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified." For he would have every appearance of acting against Cesar if, on their declaration that they had no king but Cesar, he were wishing to impose on them another king by releasing without punishment one whom for these very attempts they had delivered unto him to be put to death. "Therefore he delivered Him unto them to be crucified." But was it, then, anything different that he had previously desired when he said, "Take ye him, and crucify him; " or even earlier still, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law"? And why did they show so great reluctance when they said, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."\^
and were in every way li'gent to have Him slain not by themselves, but by the governor, and therefore refused to receive Him for the purpose of putting Him to death, if now for the

^ " Lithostrotos. " * "Parascve;" Greek, -rapatrxiv^.

^ Mark xv. 25. * See below, Tract. CXVII. sees. 1, 2.

* Chap, xviii. 31.

500 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT, CXVI.

same purpose they actually do receive Him ? Or if such be not the case, why was it said, " Then delivered he Him therefore unto them to be crucified " ? Or is it of any importance ?
Plainly it is. For it was not said, " Then delivered he Him therefore unto them " that they might crucify Him, but " that He might be crucified," that is, that He might be crucified by the judicial sentence and power of the governor. But it is for this reason that the evangelist has said that He was delivered to them, that he might show that they were implicated in the crime from which they tried to hold themselves aloof; for Pilate would have done no such thing, save to implement what he perceived to be their fixed desire. The words, however, that follow, " And they took Jesus, and led Him away," may now refer to the soldiers, the attendants of the governor. For it is more clearly stated afterwards, " When the soldiers therefore had crucified Him," ^ although the evangelist properly does so even when he attributes the whole to the Jews, for they it was that received what they had with the utmost greediness demanded, and they it was that did all that they compelled to be done. But the events that foUow must be made the subject of consideration in another discourse.

1 Chap. xix. 23.

TEACTATE CXVII.

Chapter XIX, 17-22.

1, /-/\ Pilate's judgment and condemnation before the V^ tribunal, they took the Lord Jesus Christ, about the sixth hour, and led Him away. " And He, bearing His cross, went forth into the place that is called Calvary, but in Hebrew, Golgotha; where they crucified Him." What else, then, is the meaning of the evangelist Mark saying, " And it was the third hour, and they crucified Him," ^ but this, that the Lord was crucified at the third hour by the tongues of the Jews, at the sixth hour by the hands of the soldiers ? That we may understand that the fifth hour was now completed, and there was some beginning
made of the sixth, when Pilate took his seat before the tribunal, which is expressed by John as
" about ^ the sixth hour; " and when He was led forth, and nailed to the tree with the two robbers, and the events recorded were enacted beside His cross, the completion of the sixth hour was fully reached, being the hour from which, on to the ninth, the sun was obscured, and the darkness took place, we have it jointly attested on the authority of the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.\(^1\) But as the Jews attempted to transfer the crime of slaying Christ from themselves to the Romans, that is to say, to Pilate and his soldiers, therefore Mark suppresses the hour at which Christ was crucified by the soldiers, and which then began to enter upon the sixth, and remembers rather to give an express place to the third hour, at which they are understood to have cried out before Pilate, "Crucify, crucify him" (verse 6), that it not only may be seen that the former crucified Jesus, namely, the soldiers who hung Him on the tree at the sixth hour, but

1 Mark xv. 25. Â« Â« Quasi."

\(^1\) Matt. xvii. 45; Mark xv. 43; and Luke xxiii. 44.

501

502 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TEACT. CXVII.

the Jews also, who at the third hour cried out to have Him crucified.

2. There is also another solution of this question, that we should not here understand the sixth hour of the day, because John says not, And it was about the sixth hour of the day, or about the sixth hour, but says, "And it was the passover of the passover, about the sixth hour" (ver. 14), And passover is in Latin yrceparatio (preparation); but the Jews are fonder of using the Greek words in observances of this sort, even those of them who speak Latin rather than Greek. It was therefore the preparation of the passover. But "our passover, Christ," as the apostle says, "has been sacrificed;" "^ and if we reckon the preparation of this passover from the ninth hour of the night (for then the chief priests seem to have given their verdict for the sacrifice of the Lord, when they said, "He is guilty of death," ^ and when the hearing of His case was still proceeding in the high priest's house: whence there is a kind of harmony in understanding that therewith began the preparation of the true passover, whose shadow was the passover of the Jews, that is, of the sacrificing of Christ, when the priests gave their sentence that He was to be sacrificed), certainly from that hour of the night, which is conjectured to have been then the ninth, on to the third hour of the day, when the evangelist Mark testifies that Christ was crucified, there are six hours, three of the night, and three of the day. Hence in the case of this passover of the passover, that is, the preparation of the sacrifice of Christ, which began with the ninth hour of the night, it was about the sixth hour; that is to say, the fifth hour was completed, and the sixth had already begun to run, when Pilate ascended the tribunal: for that same preparation, which had begun with the ninth hour of the night, still continued till the sacrifice of Christ, which was the event in course of
preparation, was completed, which took place at the third hour, according to Mark, not of the preparation, but of the day; while it was also the sixth hour, not of the day, but of the preparation, by reckoning, of course, six hours from the ninth hour of the night to the third of the day. Of these two solutions of this

^ 1 Cor. V. 7. 2 ilatt. xxvi. 66.

TEACT. CXVIL] CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS. 503

difficult question let each choose the one that pleases him. But one will judge better what to choose who reads the very elaborate discussions on "The Harmony of the Evangelists." ^

And if other solutions of it can also be found, the stability of gospel truth will have a more cumulative defence against the calumnies of unbelieving and profane vanity. And now, after these brief discussions, let us return to the narrative of the evangelist John.

3. " And they took Jesus," he says, " and led Him away; and He, bearing His cross, went forth unto the place that is called Calvary, in the Hebrew, Golgotha; where they crucified Him." Jesus, therefore, went to the place where He was to be crucified, bearing His cross. A grand spectacle! but if it be impiety that is the onlooker, a grand laughing-stock; if piety, a grand mystery: if impiety be the onlooker, a grand demonstration of ignominy; if piety, a grand bulwark of faith:

if it is impiety that looketh on, it laughs at the King bearing, in place of His kingly rod, the tree of His punishment; if it is piety, it sees the King bearing the tree for His own crucifixion, which He was yet to affix even on the foreheads of kings, exposed to the contemptuous glances of the impious in connection with that wherein the hearts of saints were thereafter to glory. For to Paul, who was yet to say, " But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,"^ He was commending that same cross of His by carrying it on His own shoulders, and bearing the candelabrum of that light that was yet to burn, and not to be placed under a bushel. ^ " Bearing," therefore, " His cross.

He went forth into the place that is called Calvary, in the Hebrew, Golgotha; where they crucified Him, and two others with Him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst." These two, as we have learned in the narrative of the other evangelists, were thieves with whom He was crucified, and between whom He was fixed," whereof the prophecy sent before had declared, " And He was numbered among the transgressors." ^

4. " And Pilate WTote a title also, and put it on the cross,


* Matt, xxvii. 3S; Mark xv. 27; and Luke xxiii. 33. * Isa. liii. 12.
and the writing was, Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews. This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, The ICing of the Jews." For these three languages were conspicuous in that place beyond all others; the Hebrew on account of the Jews, who gloriéd in the law of God; the Greek, because of the wise men among the Gentiles; and the Latin, on account of the Romans, who at that very time were exercising sovereign power over many and almost all countries.

5. " Then said the chief priests of the Jews unto Pilate, Write not. The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews. Pilate answered. What I have written I have written." Oh the ineffable power of the working of God, even in the hearts of the ignorant ! Was there not some hidden voice that sounded through Pilate's inner man with a kind, if one may so say, of loud-toned silence, the words that had been prophesied so long before in the very letter of the Psalms, " Corrupt not the inscription of the title " ? Here, then, you see, he corrupted it not; what he has written he has written. But the high priests, who wished it to be corrupted, what did they say ? " Write not. The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews." What is it, madmen, that you say ? Why do you oppose the doing of that which you are utterly unable to alter ? Will it by any such means become the less true that Jesus said, " I am King of the Jews " ? If that cannot be tampered with which Pilate has written, can that be tampered with which the truth has uttered ? But is Christ king only of the Jews, or of the Gentiles also ? Yes, of the Gentiles also. For when He said in prophecy, " I am set king by Him upon His holy hill of Zion, declaring the decree of the Lord," that no one might say, because of the hill of Zion, that He was set king over the Jews alone. He immediately added, " The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee. Ask of me, and I will give Thee the Gentiles for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession." " Whence He Himself, speaking now with
> Ps. Ivii., IviiL ^ Ps. ii. C-8.

TKACT. CXVII.] THE KING OF THE JEWS. 505

His own lips among the Jews, said, " Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one flock and one Shepherd." ^ Why then would we have some great mystery ^ to be understood in this superscription, wherein it was written, " King of the Jews," if Christ is king also of the Gentiles ?

For this reason, because it was the wild olive tree that was made partaker of the fatness of the olive tree, and not the olive tree that was made partaker of the bitterness of the wild olive tree.^ For inasmuch as the title, " King of the Jews," was truthfully written
regarding Christ, who are they that are to be understood as the Jews but the seed of Abraham, the children of the promise, who are also the children of God? For "they," saith the apostle, "who are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed."* And the Gentiles were those to whom he said, "But if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." ^ Christ therefore is king of the Jews, but of those who are Jews by the circumcision of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God;" who belong to the Jerusalem that is free, our eternal mother in heaven, the spiritual Sarah, who casteth out the bond-maid and her children from the house of liberty.^ And therefore what Pilate wrote he wrote, because what the Lord said He said.

^ Chap. X. 16. 2 " Sacramentum." ^ Eoni. xi. 17. ^ Eoni. L. 7, 8

5 Gal. iii. 29. ^ jjoq^, â€ž 29. 1 Gal. iv. 22-31.

TEACTATE CXVIII.

Chapter XIX. 23, 24.

1. rr^HE things that were done beside the Lord's cross, JL when at length He was now crucified, we would take up, in dependence on His help, in the present discourse. " Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Him, took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also His coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots." It was done as the Jews wished; not that it was they themselves, but the soldiers who obeyed Pilate, who himself acted as judge, that crucified Jesus: and yet if we reflect on their wills, their plots, their endeavours, their delivering up, and, lastly, on their extorting clamours, it was the Jews certainly, more than any else, who crucified Jesus.

2. But we must not speak in a mere cursory way of the partition and dividing by lot of His garments. For although all the four evangelists make mention thereof, yet the others do so more briefly than John: and their notice of it is obscure, while his is in the plainest manner possible. For Matthew says, "And after they crucified Him, they parted His garments, casting lots." ^ Mark: " And they crucified Him, and parted His garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take." ^ Luke: " And they parted His raiment, and cast lots." ^ But John has told us also how many parts they made of His garments, namely, four, that they might take one part apiece. From which it is apparent that there were four soldiers, who obeyed the governor's orders in cruci-â€¢ i Matt, xxvii. 35. " Mark xv. 24. ^ Luke xxiii. 34.
fying Him. For he plainly says: "Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Him, took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and likewise the coat," where there is understood, they took: so that the meaning is, they took His garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and they took also His coat. And he so spake, that we might see that there was no lot cast on His other garments; but His coat, which they took along with the others, they did not similarly divide. For in regard to it he proceeds to explain, "in'ow the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout." And then telling us why they cast lots on it, he says, "They said therefore among themselves. Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be." Hence it is clear that in the case of the other garments they had equal parts, so that there was no need to cast lots: but that as regards this one, they could not have had a part each without rending it, and thereby possessing themselves only of useless fragments of it; to prevent which, they preferred letting it come to one of them by lot. The account given by this evangelist is also in harmony with the testimony of prophecy, which he likewise immediately subjoins, saying, "That the scripture might be fulfilled which saith. They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots." For He says not, they cast lots, but "they parted: "nor does He say, casting lots they parted; but while making no mention whatever of the lot in regard to the rest of the garments. He afterwards said, "and for my vesture they did cast lots," in reference solely to the coat that remained. On which I shall speak as He Himself enables me, after I have first refuted the calumny, which may possibly arise, as if the evangelists disagreed with one another, by showing that the words of none of the others are inconsistent with the narrative of John.

3. For Matthew, in saying, "They parted His garments, easting lots," wished it to be understood, that in the whole affair of parting the garments, the coat was also included, on which they cast lots; for in course of parting all the garments, of which it also was one, on it alone they cast lotsa. To the same purpose also are the words of Luke:

508 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [XACT. CXVII

"Parting His garments, they cast lots; "for in the process of parting they came to the coat, whereon the lot was cast, that the entire parting of His garments among them might be completed. And what difference is there whether it is said, "Parting they cast lots," according to Luke; or, "They parted, casting the lot," according to Matthew: unless it be that Luke, in saying " lots," used the plural for the singular number, â€” a form of speech that is not unusual in the Holy Scriptures, although some copies are found to have " lot," ^ and not
" lots " ? Mark, therefore, is the only one who seems to have introduced any kind of difficulty; for in saying, " Casting the lot upon them, what every man should take," his words seem to imply, as if the lot was cast on all the garments, and not on the coat alone. But here also brevity is the cause of the obscurity; for the words, " Casting the lot upon them," are as if it were said. Casting the lot when they were in the process of division; which was also the case. For the partition of all His garments would not have been complete, had it not been declared by lot which of them also should get possession of the coat, so as thereby to bring any contention on the part of the dividers to an end, or rather prevent any such from arising. In saying, therefore, "What every man should take," so far as that has to do with the lot, we must not take it as referring to all the garments that were divided; for the lot was cast, who should take the coat: whereof having omitted to describe the particular form, and how, in the equal division that was made of the parts, it remained by itself, in order, without being rent, to be awarded by lot, he therefore made use of the expression, " what every man should take," in other words, who it was that should take it: as if the whole were thus expressed. They parted His garments, casting the lot upon them, who should take the coat, which had remained over in addition to their equal shares of the rest.

4. Some one, perhaps, may inquire what is signified by the division that was made of His garments into so many parts, and of the casting of lots for the coat. The raiment of the Lord Jesus Christ parted into four, symbolized His quadripartite Church, as spread abroad over the whole world, which consists of four quarters, and equally, that is to say, harmoniously, distributed over all these quarters. On which account He elsewhere says, that He will send His angels to gather His elect from the four winds: ^ and what is that, but from the four quarters of the world, east, west, north, and south ? But the coat, on which lots were cast, signifies the unity of all the parts, which is contained in the bond of charity. And when the apostle is about to speak of charity, he says, " I show you a more excellent way;" " and in another place, " To know also the love of Christ, which far excelleth knowledge; " ^ and still further elsewhere, " And above all these things charity, which is the bond of perfectness." * If, then, charity both has a more excellent way, and far excelleth knowledge, and is enjoined above all things, it is with great propriety that the garment, by which it is signified, is represented as woven from the top.^ And it was without seam, that its sewing might never be separated; and came into the possession of one man, because He gathereth all into one.

JUST as in the case of the apostles, who formed the exact number of twelve, in other words, were divisible into four parts of three each, when the question was put to all of them, Peter was the only one that answered, " Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" and to whom it was said, " I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of

^ As it now is in the Greek [^Textus receptus], xX^foi. â€” MiGNE.

TRACT. CXVIII.] CHRIST'S SEAMLESS GARMENT. 509

quadripartite Church, as spread abroad over the whole world, which consists of four quarters, and equally, that is to say, harmoniously, distributed over all these quarters. On which account He elsewhere says, that He will send His angels to gather His elect from the four winds: ^ and what is that, but from the four quarters of the world, east, west, north, and south ? But the coat, on which lots were cast, signifies the unity of all the parts, which is contained in the bond of charity. And when the apostle is about to speak of charity, he says, " I show you a more excellent way;" " and in another place, " To know also the love of Christ, which far excelleth knowledge; " ^ and still further elsewhere, " And above all these things charity, which is the bond of perfectness." * If, then, charity both has a more excellent way, and far excelleth knowledge, and is enjoined above all things, it is with great propriety that the garment, by which it is signified, is represented as woven from the top.^ And it was without seam, that its sewing might never be separated; and came into the possession of one man, because He gathereth all into one.
heaven," as if he alone received the power of binding and loosing: seeing, then, that one so spake in behalf of all, and received the latter along with all, as if personifying the unity itself; therefore one stands for all, because there is unity in all. Whence also, after here saying, "woven from the top," he added, "throughout." And this also, if referred to its meaning, implies that no one is excluded from a share thereof, who is discovered to belong to the whole: from which whole, as the Greek language indicates, the Church derives her name of Catholic.

And by the casting of lots, what else is commended but the grace of God? For in this way in the person of one it reached to all, since the lot satisfied them all, because the

1 Matt. xxiv. 31. â€¢ 1 Cor. xii. 31. ' Eph. iii. 19. * Col. iii. 14.

Â» "Desuper." Â« Matt. xvi. 15, 16, 19. 7 "Pertotuni."

510 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXVIII.

grace of God also in its unity reacheth unto all; and when the lot is cast, the award is decided, not by the merits of each individual, but by the secret judgment of God.

5. And yet let no one say that such things had no good signification because they were done by the bad, that is to say, not by those who followed Christ, but by those who persecuted Him. For what could we have to say of the cross itself, which every one knows was in like manner made and fastened to Christ by enemies and sinners? And yet it is to it we may rightly understand the words of the apostle to be applicable, "what is the breadth, and the length, and the height, and the depth." For its breadth lies in the transverse beam, on which the hands of the Crucified are extended; and signifies good works in all the breadth of love: its length extends from the transverse beam to the ground, and is that whereto the back and feet are affixed; and signifies perseverance through the whole length of time to the end: its height is in the summit, which rises upwards above the transverse beam; and signifies the supernal goal, to which all works have reference, since all things that are done well and perseveringly, in respect of their breadth and length, are to be done also with due regard to the exalted character of the divine rewards: its depth is found in the part that is fixed into the ground; for there it is both concealed and invisible, and yet from thence spring up all those parts that are outstanding and evident to the senses; just as all that is good in us proceeds from the depths of the grace of God, which is beyond the reach of human comprehension and judgment.

But even though the cross of Christ signified no more than what was said by the apostle, "And they who are Jesus Christ's have crucified the flesh with the passions and lusts," how great a good it is! And yet it does not this, unless the good spirit be lusting against the flesh, seeing that it was the opposing, or, in other words, the evil spirit that constructed the cross of Christ. And lastly, as every one knows, what else is the sign of Christ but the cross of Christ? For unless that sign be applied, whether it be to the foreheads of believers, or to the very water out of which they are regenerated, or to
the oil with which they receive the anointing chrism, or to the sacrifice that nourishes them, none of them is properly administered. How then can it be that no good is signified by that which is done by the wicked, when by the cross of Christ, which the wicked made, every good thing is sealed to us in the celebration of His sacraments? But here we stop; and what follows we shall consider at another time in the course of dissertation, as God shall grant us assistance.

Chapter XIX. 24-30.

1. The Lord being now crucified, and the parting of His garments having also been completed by the casting of the lot, let us look at what the evangelist John thereafter relates. "And these things," he says, "the soldiers did. Now there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary [the wife] of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw His mother, and the disciple standing by whom He loved, He saith unto His mother. Woman, behold thy son! Then saith He to the disciple. Behold thy mother! And from that hour the disciple took her unto his own home." This, without a doubt, was the hour whereof Jesus, when about to turn the water into wine, had said to His mother, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come." This hour, therefore, He had foretold, which at that time had not yet arrived, when it should be His to acknowledge her at the point of death, and with reference to which He had been born as a mortal man. At that time, therefore, when about to engage in divine acts. He repelled, as one unknown, her who was the mother, not of His divinity, but of His [human] infirmity; but now, when in the midst of human sufferings, He commended with human affection [the mother] by whom He had become man. For then. He who had created Mary became known in His power; but now, that which Mary had brought forth was hanging on the cross."

2. A passage, therefore, of a moral character is here inserted. The good Teacher does what He thereby reminds us ought to be done, and by His own example instructed His disciples that care for their parents ought to be a matter of

' Chap. ii. 4. - See Tract. VIII.
concern to pious children: as if that tree to which the members of the dying One were affixed were the very chair of office from which the Master was imparting instruction. From this wholesome doctrine it was that the Apostle Paul had learned what he taught in turn, when he said, "But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." And what are so much home concerns to any one, as parents to children, or children to parents? Of this most wholesome precept, therefore, the very Master of the saints set the example from Himself, when, not as God for the handmaid whom He had created and governed, but as a man for the mother, of whom He had been created, and whom He was now leaving behind. He provided in some measure another son in place of Himself. And why He did so, He indicates in the words that follow: for the evangelist says, "And from that hour the disciple took her unto his own," speaking of himself. In this way, indeed, he usually refers to himself as the disciple whom Jesus loved: who certainly loved them all, but him beyond the others, and with a closer familiarity, so that He even made him lean upon His bosom at supper; in order, I believe, in this way to commend the more highly the divine excellence of this very gospel, which He was thereafter to preach through his instrumentality.

3. But what was this "his own," unto which John took the mother of the Lord? For he was not outside the circle of those who said unto Him, "Lo, we have left all, and followed Thee." No, but on that same occasion he had also heard the words. Every one that hath forsaken these things for my sake, shall receive an hundred times as much in this world. That disciple, therefore, had an hundredfold more than he had cast away, whereunto to receive the mother of Him who had graciously bestowed it all. But it was in that society that the blessed John had received an hundredfold, where no one called anything his own, but they had all things in common; even as it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. For the apostles were as if having nothing, and yet possessing all things.* How was it, then, that the disciple and servant

1 1 Tim. V. 8. 5 Chap. xiii. 23. ^ jjatt. xix. 27, 29. * 2 Cor. vi. 10.

TRACT. VOL. II. 2 K

514 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXIX.

received unto his own the mother of his Lord and Master, where no one called anything his own? Or, seeing we read a little further on in the same book, "For as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of them, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need," are we not to understand that such distribution was made to this disciple of what was needful, that there was also added to it the portion of the blessed Mary, as if she were his mother; and ought we not the rather so to take the words, "From that hour the disciple took her unto his own,"
that everything necessary for her was entrusted to his care?
He received her, therefore, not unto his own lands, for he had none of his own; but to his
own dutiful services, the discharge of which, by a special dispensation, was entrusted to
himself.

4. He then adds: "After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that
the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst. Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar:
and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it to His mouth. When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar. He said. It is finished: and He bowed His
head, and gave up the ghost." Who has the power of so adjusting what he does, as this
Man had of arranging all that He suffered? But this Man was the Mediator between God
and men: the Man of whom we read in prophecy. He is man also, and who shall
acknowledge Him? for the men who did such things acknowledged not this Man as God.
Tor He who was manifest as man, was hid as God: He who was manifest suffered all
these things, and He Himself also, who was hid, arranged them all. He saw, therefore,
that all was accomplished that required to be done before He received the vinegar, and
gave up the ghost; and that this also might be accomplished which the scripture had
foretold,
"And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink," ^ He said,
"I thirst:" as if it were, One thing still you have failed to do, give me what you are. For
the Jews were themselves the vinegar, degenerated as they were from the wine of the


TRACT. CXIX.] THE VINEGAR GIVEN TO CHRIST. 515

patriarchs and prophets; and filled like a full vessel with the wickedness of this world,
with hearts like a sponge, deceitful in the formation of its cavernous and tortuous
recesses. But the hyssop, whereon they placed the sponge filled with vinegar, being a
lowly herb, and purging the heart, we fitly take for the humility of Christ Himself; which
they thus enclosed, and imagined they had completely ensnared.
Hence we have it said in the psalm, "Thou shalt purge mo with hyssop, and I shall be
cleansed." ^ For it is by Christ's humility that we are cleansed; because, had He not
humbled HimseK, and become obedient unto the death of the cross," His blood certainly would not have been shed for the remission of sins, or, in other
words, for our cleansing.

5. Nor need we be disturbed with the question, how the sponge could be applied to His
mouth when He was lifted up from the earth on the cross. For as we read in the other
evangelists, what is omitted by this one, it was fixed on a reed,^ so that such drink as was
contained in the sponge might be raised to the highest part of the cross. By the reed,
however, the scripture was signified, which was fulfilled by this very act. For as a tongue
is called either Greek or Latin, or any other, significant of the sound, which is uttered by
the tongue; so the reed may give its name to the letter which is written with a reed. We
most usually, however, call those tongues that express the sounds of the human voice: while in calling scripture a reed, the very rareness of the thing only enhances the mystical nature of that which it symbolizes. A wicked people did such things, a compassionate Christ suffered them. They who did them, knew not what they did; but He who suffered, not only knew what was done, and why it was so, but also wrought what was good through those who were doing what was evil.

6. "When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar. He said, It is finished." What, but all that prophecy had foretold so long before? And then, because nothing now remained that still required to be done before He died, as if He, who had power to lay down His life and to take it up again,* had

* Ps. li. 7. 2 PhU. ii. 8.  
* Matt, xxvii. 48, and mark xv. 36. * Chap. x. 18.

516 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [TRACT. CXIX.

at length completed all for whose completion He was waiting, "He bowed His head, and gave up the ghost." Who can thus sleep when he pleases, as Jesus died when He pleased? Who is there that thus puts off his garment when he pleases, as He put off His flesh at His pleasure? Who is there that thus departs when he pleases, as He departed this life at His pleasure? How great the power, to be hoped for or dreaded, that must be His as judge, if such was the power He exhibited as a dying man!

1 "AHt . . . obiit."

TEACTATE CXX.

Chapter XIX. 31-42, and XX. 1-9.

1. After that the Lord Jesus had accomplished all that He 'foreknew required accomplishment before His death, and had, when it pleased Himself, given up the ghost, what followed thereafter, as related by the evangelist, let us now consider. "The Jews therefore," he says, "because it was the preparation (parasceve), that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath-day (for that Sabbath-day was an high day), besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away." Not that their legs might be taken away, but the persons themselves whose legs were broken for the purpose of effecting their death, and permitting them to be detached from the tree, lest their continuing to hang on the crosses should defile the great festal day by the horrible spectacle of their day-long torments.
2. "Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other who was crucified with Him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that He was dead already, they brake not His legs: but one of the soldiers with a spear laid open His side, and forthwith came thereout blood and water." A suggestive word was made use of by the evangelist, in not saying pierced, or wounded His side, or anything else, but "opened;" that thereby, in a sense, the gate of life might be thrown open, from whence have flowed forth the sacraments of the Church, without which there is no entrance to the life which ia the true life. That blood was shed for the remission of sins; that water it is that makes up the health-giving cup, and supplies at once the laver of baptism and water for drinking. This was announced beforehand, when JSToah was com-

^ "Vigilans." - "Aperuit."

517

518 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHK [TRACT. CXX, manded to make a door in the side of the ark/ whereby the animals might enter which were not destined to perish in the flood, and by which the Church was prefigured. Because of this, the first woman was formed from the side of the man when asleep,^ and was called Life, and the mother of all living.\*
Truly it pointed to a great good, prior to the great evil of the transgression (in the guise of one thus lying asleep).\* This second Adam bowed His head and fell asleep on the cross, that a spouse might be formed for Him from that which flowed from the sleeper's side. O death, whereby the dead are raised anew to Kfe ! What can be purer than such blood ? What more health-giving than such a wound ?

3. "And he that saw it," he says, "bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also might believe." He said not. That ye also might know, but "that ye might believe;" for he knoweth who hath seen, that he who hath not seen might believe his testimony. And believing belongs more to the nature of faith than seeing. For what else is meant by believing than giving to faith a suitable reception ? "Foj? these things were done," he adds, "that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of Him ye shall not break. And again, another scripture saith. They shall look on Him whom they pierced." He has furnished two testimonies from the Scriptures for each of the things which he has recorded as having been done. For to the words, "But when they came to Jesus, and saw that He was dead already, they brake not His legs," belongeth the testimony, "A bone of Him ye shall not break: " an injunction which was laid upon those who were commanded to celebrate the passover by the sacrifice of a sheep in the old law, which went before as a shadow of the passion of Christ. Whence "our passover has been offered, even Christ,"^ of whom the prophet Isaiah also had predicted, "He shall be led as a lamb to the slaughter."^
In like manner to the words which he subjoined, "But one of the soldiers laid open His side with a spear," belongeth the other testimony, "They shall look on Him whom they pierced;"


* This last clause is found only in three of the Augustinian MSS.

* 1 Cor. V. 7. Â« Isa. liii. 7.

TEACT. CXX.] CHRIST'S BURIAL. 519

where Christ is promised in the very flesh wherein He was afterwards to come to be crucified.

4. "And after this, Joseph of Arimathea (being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews) besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. And there came also Nicodemus, who came to Jesus by night at first, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight." We are not to explain the meaning by saying, "first bringing a mixture of myrrh," but by attaching the word "first" to the preceding clause. For Nicodemus had at first come to Jesus by night, as recorded by this same John in the earlier portions of his Gospel.Â By the statement given us here, therefore, we are to understand that Mcodemus came to Jesus, not then only, but then for the first time; and that he was a regular comer afterwards, in order by hearing to become a disciple; which is certified, now-a-days at least, to almost all nations in the revelation of the body of the most blessed Stephen.Â "Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." The evangelist, I think, was not without a purpose in so framing his words, "as the manner of the Jews is to bury;" for in this way, unless I am mistaken, he has admonished us that, in duties of this kind, which are observed to the dead, the customs of every nation ought to be preserved.

5. "Now in the place where He was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid." As in the womb of the Virgin Mary no one was conceived before Him, and no one after Him, so in this sepulchre there was no one buried before Him, and no one after Him. "There laid they Jesus therefore, because of the Jews' preparation; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand." He would have us to understand that the burial was hurried, lest the evening should overtake them; when it was no longer permitted to do any such thing, because of the preparation, which the

> Chap. iii. 1, 2.
* This revelation, whereby the body of Nicodemus was discovered, is referred to the close of the year 415, by those who bust in the authority of the Presbyter Lucian, in a small book written on the subject. â€“ Migne.

520 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT, CXX.

Jews among us are more in the habit of calling in Latin, "cana pura" (the pure meal).

6. "And on the first of the week came Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and saw the stone taken away from the sepulchre." The first of the week is what Christian practice now calls the Lord's day, because of the resurrection of the Lord. "She ran, therefore, and came to Simon Peter and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them. They have taken the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid Him."

Some of the Greek codices have, "They have taken my Lord," which may likely enough have been said by the stronger than ordinary affection of love and handmaid relationship; but we have not found it in the several codices to which we have had access.

7. "Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together: and that other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre." The repetition here is worthy of notice and of commendation for the way in which a return is made to what had previously been omitted, and yet is added just as if it followed in due order. For after having already said, "they came to the sepulchre," he goes back to tell us how they came, and says, "so they ran both together," etc. Where he shows that, by outrunning his companion, there came first to the sepulchre that other disciple, by whom he means himself, while he relates all as if speaking of another.

8. "And he stooping down," he says, "saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and saw the linen clothes lying, and the napkin, which had been about His head, not lying with the linen clothes, but folded up in one place by itself." Do we suppose these things have no meaning? I can suppose no such thing. But we hasten on to other points, on

1 "UnaSabtati."

^ Augustine here adds, "quem MatthKus solus in Evangelistis priviam Sabbati nominavit" (Matt, xxviii. 1), contrasting prhnam with una.

^ Some editions here insert into the text, "More sanct?e Scripturse," after the manner of Holy Scripture. Others enclose it within brackets. â€“ MiGNE.
which we are compelled to linger by the need there is for investigation, or some other kind of obscurity. For in such things as are self-manifest, the inquiry into the meaning even of individual details is, indeed, a subject of holy delight, but only for those who have leisure, which is not the case with us.

9. "Then went in also that other disciple who had come first to the sepulchre." He came first, and entered last. This also of a certainty is not without a meaning, but I am without the leisure needful for its explanation. "And he saw, and believed." Here some, by not giving due attention, suppose that John believed that Jesus had risen again; but there is no indication of this from the words that follow. For what does he mean by immediately adding, "For as yet they knew not the scripture, that He must rise again from the dead"? He could not then have believed that He had risen again, when he did not know that it behoved Him to rise again. What then did he see? what was it that he believed? What but this, that he saw the sepulchre empty, and believed what the woman had said, that He had been taken away from the tomb? "For as yet they knew not the scripture, that He must rise again from the dead." Thus also when they heard of it from the Lord Himself, although it was uttered in the plainest terms, yet from their custom of hearing Him speaking by parables, they did not understand, and believed that something else Avas His meaning. But we shall put off what follows till another discourse.

TRACTATE CXXI

Chapter XX. 10-29.

1. "m/r ARY MAGDALEN'E had brought the news to His Xt-L disciples, Peter and John, that the Lord was taken away from the sepulchre; and they, when they came thither, found only the linen clothes wherewith the body had been shrouded; and what else could they believe but what she had told them, and what she had herself also believed?" Then the disciples went away again unto their own (home); that is to say, where they were dwelling, and from which they had run to the sepulchre. "But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping." For while the men returned, the weaker sex was fastened to the place by a stronger affection. And the eyes, which had sought the Lord and had not found Him, had now nothing else to do but weep, deeper in their sorrow that He had been taken away from the sepulchre than that He had been slain on the tree; seeing that in the case even of such a Master, when His living presence was withdrawn from their eyes. His remembrance also had ceased to remain. Such grief, therefore, now kept the woman at the sepulchre. "And as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre." Why she did so I know not. For she was not ignorant that He whom she sought was no longer there, since she had herself also carried word to the disciples that He had been taken from thence; while they, too, had come to the sepulchre, and had sought the Lord's
body, not merely by looking, but also by entering, and had not found it. Why then does it mean, that, as she wept, she stooped down, and looked again into the sepulchre? Was it that her grief was so excessive that she hardly thought she could believe either their eyes or her own?

Or was it rather by some divine impulse that her mind led her to look within? For look she did, " and saw two angels in

622

TRACT. CXXL] MARY AT THE SEPULCHRE. 523

white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain." Why is it that one was sitting at the head, and the other at the feet? Was it, since those who in Greek are called angels are in Latin nuntii [in English, newsbearers], that in this way they signified that the gospel of Christ was to be preached from head to foot, from the beginning even to the end? " They say to her. Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them. Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." The angels forbade her tears: for by such a position what else did they announce, but that which in some way or other was a future joy? For they put the question, " Why weepest thou? " as if they had said. Weep not. But she, supposing they had put the question from ignorance, unfolded the cause of her tears. " Because," she said, " they have taken away my Lord; " calling her Lord's inanimate body her Lord, meaning a part for the whole; just as all of us acknowledge that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord, who of course is at once both the Word and soul and flesh, was nevertheless crucified and buried, while it was only His flesh that was laid in the sepulchre. " And I know not," she added, " where they have laid Him." This was the greater cause of sorrow, because she knew not where to go to mitigate her grief. But the hour had now come when the joy, in some measure announced by the angels, who forbade her tears, was to succeed the weeping.

2. Lastly, " when she had thus said, she turned herseK back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her. Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing Him to be the gardener, saith unto Him, Sir, If thou hast borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away. Jesus saith into her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto Him, Eabboni, which is to say, -Master." Let no one speak ill of the woman because she called the gardener, Sir (domine), and Jesus, Master. For there she was asking, here she was recognising; there she was showing respect to a person of whom she was asking a favour, here she was recalling the Teacher of whom she was learning to discern things human and divine.

524 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TKACT. CXXI.
She called one lord (sir), whose handmaid she was not, in order by him to get at the Lord to whom she belonged. In one sense, therefore, she used the word Lord when she said, "They have taken away my Lord; and in another, when she said, Sir (Lord), if thou hast borne Him hence." For the prophet also called those lords who were mere men, but in a different sense from Him of whom it is written, "The Lord is His name." ^ But how was it that this woman, who had already turned herself back to see Jesus, when she supposed Him to be the gardener, and was actually talking with Him, is said to have again turned herself, in order to say unto Him "Eabboni," but just because, when she then turned herself in body, she supposed Him to be what He was not, while now, when turned in heart, she recognised Him to be what He was ?

3. "Jesus saith unto her. Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; to my God, and your God." There are points in these words which we must examine with brevity indeed, but with somewhat more than ordinary attention. For Jesus was giving a lesson in faith to the woman, who had recognised Him as her Master, and called Him so in her reply; and this gardener was sowing in her heart, as in His own garden, the grain of mustard seed. What then is meant by "Touch me not" ? And just as if the reason of such a prohibition would be sought. He added, "for I am not yet ascended to my Father." What does this mean? If, while standing on earth, He is not to be touched, how could He be touched by men when sitting in heaven? For certainly, before He ascended. He presented Himself to the touch of the disciples, when He said, as testified by the evangelist Luke, "Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have;" ^ or when He said to Thomas the disciple, "Each hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and put forth thy hand, and thrust it into my side." And who could be so absurd as to affirm that He was willing indeed to be touched by the disciples before He ascended to the Father, but refused it in the case of women till after His ascension ? But no one, even had any the will, was to be allowed to run


TEACT. CXXI.] MAEY AT THE SEPULCHEE. 525

into such folly. For we read that women also, after His resurrection and before His ascension to the Father, touched Jesus, among whom was Mary Magdalene herself; for it is related by Matthew that Jesus met them, and said, "All hail. And they approached, and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him." ^ This was passed over by John, but declared as the truth by Matthew. It remains, therefore, that some sacred mystery must lie concealed in these words; and whether we discover it or utterly fail to do so, yet we ought to be in no doubt as to its actual existence. Accordingly, either the words, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father," had this meaning,
that by this woman the Church of the Gentiles was symbolized, which did not believe on Christ till He had actually ascended to the Father, or that in this way Christ wished Himself to be believed on; in other words, to be touched spiritually, that He and the Father are one.

For He has in a manner ascended to the Father, to the inward perception of him who has made such progress in the knowledge of Christ that he acknowledges Him as equal with the Father: in any other way He is not rightly touched, that is to say, in any other way He is not rightly believed on. But Mary might have still so believed as to account Him unequal with the Father, and this certainly is forbidden her by the words, "Touch me not;" that is. Believe not thus on me according to thy present notions; let not your thoughts stretch outwards to what I have been made in thy behalf, without passing beyond to that whereby thou hast thyself been made.

For how could it be otherwise than carnally that she still believed on Him whom she was weeping over as a man? "For I am not yet ascended," He says, "to my Father: there shalt thou touch me, when thou believest me to be God, in no sense unequal with the Father," But go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father." He saith not. Our Father: in one sense, therefore, is He mine, in another sense, yours; by nature mine, by grace yours. "And my God, and your God." Kor did He say here. Our God: here, therefore, also is He in one sense mine, in another sense

'Matt. xsviLL 9.

526 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TRACT. CXXI.

yours: my God, under whom I also am as man; your God, between whom and you I am mediator.

4. "Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples, I have seen the Lord, and He hath spoken these things unto me. Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus, and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when He had so said. He showed unto them His hands and His side." For nails had pierced His hands, a spear had laid open His side:

and there the marks of the wounds are preserved for healing the hearts of the doubting. But the shutting of doors presented no obstacle to the matter of His body, wherein Godhead resided. He indeed could enter without their being opened, by whose birth the virginity of His mother remained inviolate.

"Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord. Then said He unto them again. Peace be unto you." Pteiteration is confirmation; for He Himself gives by the prophet a promised peace upon peace!^ "As the Father hath sent me," He adds, "even so send I you." We know the Son to be equal to the Father; but here we recognise the words of the Mediator. For He exhibits Himself as occupying a middle position when
He says. He me, and I you. " And when He had said this. He breathed on them, and said unto them, Eeeceive ye the Holy Ghost." By breathing on them He signified that the Holy Spirit was the Spirit, not of the Father alone, but likewise His own. " Whose soever sins," He continues, " ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever ye retain, they are retained." The Church's love, which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, discharges the sins of all who are partakers with itself, but retains the sins of those who have no participation therein. Therefore it is, that after saying " Pieceve ye the Holy Ghost," He straightway added this regarding the remission and retention of sins.

5. " But Thomas, one of the twelve, who is called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples therefore said unto him. We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them. Except I shall see in His hands the print of

^ Isa. xxvi. 3, margin.

TEACT. CXXI. ] THE UXBELIEF OF THO:IAS. 527

the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe. And after eight days, again His disciples were within, and Thomas with them.
Then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said. Peace be unto you. Then saith He to Thomas, Eeach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and put it into my side: and be not faitliless, but believing. Thomas answered and said unto Him, My Lord and my God." He saw and touched the man, and acknowledged the God whom he neither saw nor touched; but by the means of what he saw and touched, he now put far away from him every doubt, and believed the other. " Jesus saith unto him. Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed." He saith not. Thou hast touched me, but, " Thou hast seen me," because sight is a kind of general sense. For sight is also habitually named in connection with the other four senses: ' as when we say. Listen, and see how well it sounds; smell it, and see how well it smells; taste it, and see how well it savours; touch it, and see how hot it is. Everywhere has the word. See, made itself heard, although sight, properly speaking, is allowed to belong only to the eyes. Hence here also the Lord Himself says, " Eeach hither thy finger, and behold my hands:" and what else does He mean but. Touch and see ? And yet he had no eyes in his finger. Whether therefore it was by looking, or also by touching, " Because thou hast seen me," He says, " thou hast believed." Although it may be affirmed that the disciple dared not so to touch, when He offered Himself for the purpose; for it is notitten, And Thomas touched Him. But whether it was by gazing only, or also by touching that he saw and believed, what follows rather proclaims and commends the faith of the Gentiles:
" Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."
He made use of words in the past tense, as One who, in His predestinating purpose, knew what was future, as if it had already taken place. But the present discourse must be kept from the charge of prolixity: the Lord will give us the opportunity to discourse at another time on the topics that remain.

TEACTATE CXXII.

Chapter XX. 30, 31, and XXI. 1-11.

1. AFTER telling us of the incident in connection with which the disciple Thomas had offered to his touch the places of the wounds in Christ's body, and saw what he would not believe, and believed, the evangelist John interposes these words, and says: "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of His disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life through His name." This paragraph indicates, as it were, the end of the book; but there is afterwards related how the Lord manifested Himself at the sea of Tiberias, and in the draught of fishes made special reference to the mystery of the Church, as regards its future character, in the final resurrection of the dead. I think, therefore, it is fitted to give special prominence thereto, that there has been thus interposed, as it were, an end of the book, and that there should be also a kind of preface to the narrative that was to follow, in order in some measure to give it a position of greater eminence. The narrative itself begins in this way: "After these things Jesus showed Himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and on this wise showed He (Himself). There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of His disciples. Simon Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him. We also go with thee."

2. The inquiry is usually made in connection with this fishing of the disciples, why Peter and the sons of Zebedee returned to what they were before being called by the Lord; for they were fishers when He said to them, "Come after me, and I will make you fishers of men." And they put such reality into their following of Him then, that they left all in order to cleave to Him as their Master: so much so, that when the rich man went away from Him in sorrow, because of His saying to him, "Go sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come follow me,"
Peter said unto Him, "Lo, we have forsaken all, and followed Thee." Why is it then that now, by the abandonment as it were of their apostleship, they become what they were, and seek again what they had forsaken, as if forgetful of the words they had once listened to, "No man, putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven."  

Had they done so when Jesus was lying in the grave, before He rose from the dead, â€” which of course they could not have done, as the day whereon He was crucified kept them all in closest attention till His burial, which took place before evening; while the next day was the Sabbath, when it was unlawful for those who observed the ancestral custom to work at all; and on the third day the Lord rose again, and recalled them to the hope which they had not yet begun to entertain regarding Him; â€” yet had they then done so, we might suppose it had been done under the influence of that despair which had taken possession of their minds. But now, after His restoration to them alive from the tomb, after the most evident truth of His revivified flesh offered to their eyes and hands, not only to be seen, but also to be touched and handled; after inspecting the very marks of the wounds, even to the confession of the Apostle Thomas, who had previously declared that he would not otherwise believe; after the reception by His breathing on them of the Holy Spirit, and after the words poured from His lips into their ears, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose soever ye retain, they are retained:" they suddenly become again what they had been, fishers, not of men, but of fishes.

3. We have therefore to give those who are disturbed by this the answer, that they were not prohibited from seeking necessary sustenance by their manual craft, when lawful in itself, and warranted so long as they preserved their apostleship intact, if at any time they had no other means of gaining a livelihood. Unless any one have the boldness to imagine or to affirm, that the Apostle Paul attained not to the perfection of those who left all and followed Christ, seeing that, in order not to become a burden to any of those to whom he preached the gospel, he worked with his own hands for his support: wherein we find rather the fulfilment of his own words, "I laboured more abundantly than they all;" and to which he added, "yet not I, but the grace of God that was with me:" ^ to make it manifest that this also was to be imputed to the grace of God, that both with mind and body he was able to labour so much more abundantly than they all, that he neither ceased from preaching the gospel, nor drew, like them, his present support out of the gospel; while he was sowing it much more widely and fruitfully through multitudes of nations where the name of Christ had never previously been proclaimed. Whereby he showed
that living, that is, deriving their subsistence, by the gospel, was not imposed on the apostles as a necessity, but conferred on them as a power.

And of this power the same apostle makes mention when he says: "If we have sown to you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things? If others are partakers of this power among you, are not we rather? But," he adds, "we have not used this power." And a little afterwards he says: "They who serve the altar are partakers with the altar: even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel; but I have used none of these things." It is clear enough, therefore, that it was not enjoined on the apostles, but put in their power, not to find their living otherwise than by the gospel, and of those to whom by preaching the gospel they sowed spiritual things, to reap their carnal things; that is, to take their bodily support, and as the soldiers of Christ, to receive the wages due to them, as from the inhabitants of provinces subject to Christ.

Hence that same illustrious soldier had said a little before, in reference to this matter, "Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?" Which he nevertheless did himself; for he laboured more abundantly than they all. If, then, the blessed Paul did not use with them the power which he certainly possessed along with the other preachers of the gospel, but went a warfare at his own charges, that the Gentiles, who were utterly averse to the name of Christ, might not take offence at his teaching, as something offered them for a money equivalent, in a way very different from that in which he had been educated, learned an altogether new art, that while the teacher supports himself with his own hands, none of his hearers might be burdened; how much rather did the blessed Peter, who had beforetimes been a fisherman, do what he was already acquainted with, if at that present time he found no other means of gaining a livelihood?

4. But some one will reply. And why did he not find them, when the Lord had promised, saying, "Seek first the kingdom and righteousness of God, and all these things shall be added unto you"? Precisely also in this very way did the Lord fulfil His promise. For who else placed there the fishes that were to be caught, but He, who, we are bound to believe, threw them into the penury that compelled them to go a fishing, for no other reason than that He wished to show them the miracle He had prepared, that so He might both feed the preachers of His gospel, and at the same time enhance that gospel itself, by the great mystery which He was about to impress on their minds by the number of the fishes? And on this subject we also ought now to be telling you what He Himself has set before us.
5. " Simon Peter," therefore, " saith, I go a fishing." Those who were with him " say unto him. We also go with thee.
And they went forth, and entered into a ship; and that night they caught nothing. But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore; but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. Then Jesus saith unto them. Children, have ye any meat ? They answered Him, No. He saith unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find.
They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.
Therefore that disciple whom Jesus

1 Cor. ix. 11-15, 7. ^ Matt. vL 33.

532 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXXII,

loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord. When Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he
 girt his coat unto him, for he was naked, and did cast himself into the sea. And the other
disciples came in a little ship (for they were not far from the land, but as it were two
hundred cubits), dragging the net with fishes. As soon then as they were come to land,
they saw a fire of coals laid, and a fish laid thereon, and bread. Jesus saith unto them.
Bring of the fish which ye have now caught.
Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty
and three: and for all there were so many, ye was not the net broken."

6. This is a great mystery in the great Gospel of John; and to commend it the more
forcibly to our attention, the last chapter has been made its place of record. Accordingly,
inasmuch as there were seven disciples taking part in that fishing, Peter, and Thomas, and
Nathanael, and the two sons of Zebedee, and two others whose names are withheld, they
point, by their septenary number, to the end of time. For there is a revolution of all time
in seven days. To this also pertains the statement, that when the morning was come, Jesus
stood on the shore; for the shore likewise is the limit of the sea, and signifies therefore the
end of the world. The same end of the world is shown also by the act of Peter, in drawing
the net to land, that is, to the shore. Which the Lord has Himself elucidated, when in a
certain other place He drew His similitude from a fishing net let down into the sea: " And
they drew it," He said, " to the shore." And in explanation of what that shore was. He
added, " So will it be in the end of the world." ^

7. That, however, is a parable in word, not one embodied in outward action; and just as in
the passage before us the Lord indicated by an outward action the kind of character the
Church would have in the end of the world, so in the same way, by that other fishing, He
indicated its present character.
In doing the one at the commencement of His preaching and this latter after His
resurrection. He showed thereby in the former case that the capture of fishes signified the
good and bad presently existing in the Church; but in the latter, the good
only, whom it will contain everlastingly, when the resurrection of the dead shall have been completed in the end of this world.

Furthermore, on that previous occasion Jesus stood not, as here, on the shore, when He gave orders for the taking of the fish, but "entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land; and He sat down therein, and taught the crowds. And when He had left speaking. He said unto Simon, 'Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.' " There also they put the fishes that were caught into the ships, and did not, as here, draw the net to the shore. By these signs, and any others that may be found, on the former occasion the Church was prefigured as it exists in this world, and on the other, as it shall be in the end of the world: the one accordingly took place before, and the other subsequently to the resurrection of the Lord; because there we were signified by Christ as called, and here as raised from the dead. On that occasion the nets are not let down on the right side, that the good alone might not be signified, nor on the left, lest the application should be limited to the bad; but without any reference to either side. He says, "Let down your nets for a draught," that we may understand the good and bad as mingled together:

while on this He says, "Cast the net on the right side of the ship," to signify those who stood on the right hand, the good alone. There the net was broken on account of the schisms that were meant to be signified; but here, as then there will be no more schisms in that supreme peace of the saints, the evangelist was entitled to say, "And for all they were so great," that is, so large, "yet was not the net broken;" as if with reference to the previous time when it was broken, and a commendation of the good that was here in comparison with the evil that preceded. There the multitude of fishes caught was so great, that the two vessels were filled and began to sink, that is, were weighed down to the point of sinking; for they did not actually sink, but were in extreme jeopardy. For whence exist in the Church the great evils under which we groan, save from the impossibility of withstanding the enormous multitude that, almost to the entire subversion of disci-
name, will be made manifest only on the shore, in other words, when they shall rise from
the dead at the end of the world? Accordingly, they were not able to draw the nets so as
to discharge into the vessel the fishes they had caught, as was done with all of those
wherewith the net was broken, and the boats laden to sinking. But the Church possesses
those right hand ones after the close of this life in the sleep of peace, lying hid as it were
in the deep, till the net reach the shore whither it is being drawn, as it were two hundred
cubits. And as on that first occasion it was done by two vessels, with reference to the
circumcision and the uncircumcision; so in this place, by the two hundred cubits, I am of
opinion that there is symbolized, with reference to the elect of both classes, the
circumcision and the uncircumcision, as it were two separate hundreds; because the
number that passes to the right hand is represented summarily by hundreds. And last of
all, in that former fishing the number of fishes is not expressed, as if the words were there
acted on that were uttered by the prophet, "I have declared and spoken; they are
multiplied beyond number:" *
while here there are none beyond calculation, but the definite number of a hundred and
fifty and three; and of the reason of this number we must now, with the Lord's help, give
some account.

8. For if we determine on the number that should indicate the law, what else can it be but
ten? For we have absolute certainty that the Decalogue of the law, that is, those ten
well-known precepts, were first written by the finger of God on two tables of stone. ^ But
the law, when it is not aided by grace, maketh transgressors, and is only in the letter, on
account of which the apostle specially declared, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth
life." ^ Let the spirit then be
Â» Ps. xl. 5. 2 Deut. ix. 10. ^ Â£ Cor. iii. 6.

TEACT. CXXII.] THE NUMBER OF FISHES. 535

added to the letter, lest the letter kill him whom the spirit maketh not alive, and let us
work out the precepts of the law, not in our own strength, but by the grace of the Saviour.
But when grace is added to the law, that is, the spirit to the letter, there is, in a kind of
way, added to ten the number of seven. For this number, namely seven, is testified by the
documents of holy writ given us for perusal, to signify the Holy Spirit. For example,
sanctity or sanctification properly pertains to the Holy Spirit, whence, as the Father is a
spirit, and the Son a spirit, because God is a spirit, ^ so the Father is holy and the Son
holy, yet the Spirit of both is called peculiarly by the name of the Holy Spirit. "Where,
then, was there the first distinct mention of sanctification in the law but on the seventh
day? For God sanctified not the first day, when He made the light; nor the second, when
He made the firmament; nor the third, when He separated the sea from the land, and the
land brought forth grass and timber; nor the fourth, wherein the stars were created; nor
the fifth, wherein were created the animals that live in the waters or fly in the air; nor the
sixth, when the terrestrial living soul and man himself were created; but He sanctified the
seventh day,
â– wherein He rested from all His works.\textsuperscript{^} The Holy Spmt, therefore, is aptly represented by the septenary number. The prophet Isaiah likewise says, "The Spirit of God shall rest on Him;" and thereafter calls our attention to that Spirit in His septenary work or grace, by saying, "The spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety; and He shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of God." \textsuperscript{^} And what of the Eevelation? Are they not there called the seven Spirits of God,* while there is only one and the same Spirit dividing to every one severally as He will? \textsuperscript{^} But the septenary operation of the one Spirit was so called by the Spirit Himself, whose own presence in the writer led to their being spoken of as the seven Spirits.

Accordingly, when to the number of ten, representing the law, we add the Holy Spirit as represented by seven, we have seventeen; and when this number is used for the adding together of every several number it contains, from 1 up to itself, the sum amounts to one hundred and fifty-three. For if you add 2 to 1, you have 3 of course; if to these you add 3 and 4, the whole makes 1; and then if you add all the numbers that follow up to 17, the whole amounts to the foresaid number; that is, if to 10, which you had reached by adding all together from 1 to 4, you add 5, you have 15; to these add 6, and the result is 21; then add 7, and you have 28; to this add 8, and 9, and 10, and you get 55; to this add 11, and 12, and 13, and you have 91; and to this again add 14, and 15, and 16, and it comes to 136; and then add to this the remaining number of which we have been speaking, namely, 1 7, and it will make up the number of fishes. But it is not on that account merely a hundred and fifty-three saints that are meant as hereafter to rise from the dead unto life eternal, but thousands of saints who have shared in the grace of the Spirit, by which grace harmony is established with the law of God, as with an adversary; so that through the life-giving Spirit the letter no longer kills, but what is commanded by the letter is fulfilled by the help of the Spirit, and if there is any deficiency it is pardoned. All therefore who are sharers in such grace are symbolized by this number, that is, are symbolically represented. This number has, besides, three times over, the number of fifty, and three in addition, with reference to the mystery of the Trinity; while, again, the number of fifty is made up by multiplying 7 by 7, with the addition of 1, for 7 times 7 make 49. And the 1 is added to show that there is one who is expressed by seven on account of His sevenfold operation; and we know that it was on the fiftieth day after our Lord's ascension that the Holy Spirit was sent, for whom the disciples were commanded to wait according to the promise.\textsuperscript{^}

9. It was not, then, without a purpose that these fishes were described as so many in number, and so large in size, that is, as both an hundred and fifty-three, and large. For so
it is written, "And He drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three." For when the Lord said, "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil,"

1 Acts ii. 2-4, i. 4.

TRACT. CXXIL] LEAST IN THE KINGDOM. 537

because about to give the Spirit, through whom the law might be fulfilled, and to add
thereby, as it were, seven to ten; after interposing a few other words He proceeded,
"Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men
so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and
teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." The latter,
therefore, may possibly belong to the number of great fishes. But he that is the least, who
undoes in deed what he teaches in word, may be in such a church as is signified by that
first capture of fishes, which contains both good and bad, for it also is called the kingdom
of heaven, as He says, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the
sea, and gathered of every kind; " ^ where He wishes the good as well as the bad to be
understood, and of whom He declares that they are yet to be separated on the shore, to
wit, at the end of the world. And lastly, to show that those least ones are reprobates who
teach by word of mouth the good which they undo by their evil lives, and that they will
not be even the least, as it were, in the life that is eternal, but will have no place there at
all; after saying, "He shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven," He immediately
added, "For I say unto you. That except your righteousness shall exceed [the
righteousness] of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of
heaven."^ Such, doubtless — these scribes and Pharisees — are those who sit in Moses' seat, and
of whom He says, "Do ye what they say, but do not what they do; for they say, and do not."^ They teach in sermons what they undo by their morals. It therefore follows that he
who is least in the kingdom of heaven, as the Church now exists, shall not enter into the
kingdom of heaven, as the Church shall be hereafter; for by teaching what he himself is
in the habit of breaking, he can have no place in the company of those who do what they
teach, and therefore will not be in the number of great fishes, seeing it is he "who shall
do and teach that shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." And because he will be
great here, therefore shall he be there, where he that is least shall not be.


538 O^r THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXXIL

Yea, so great will they certainly be there, that he who is less there is greater than the
greatest here.^ And yet those who are great here, that is, who do the good that they teach
in that kingdom of heaven into which the net gathereth good and bad, shall be greater
still in that eternal state of the heavenly kingdom, â€” those, I mean, who are indicated by the fishes here as belonging to the right hand and to the resurrection of life. We have still to discourse, as God shall grant us ability, on the meal that the Lord took with those seven disciples, and on the words He spake after the meal, as well as on the close of the Gospel itself; but these are topics that cannot be included in the present lecture.

* Matt. xi. 11.

TEACTATE CXXIII.

Chapter XXI. 12-19.

1. "TTTITH this thM manifestation of Himself by the Lord T T to His disciples after His resurrection, the Gospel of the blessed Apostle John is brought to a close, of which we have already lectured through the earlier part as we were able, on to the place where it is related that an hundred and fifty-three fishes were taken by the disciples to whom He showed Himself, and for all they were so large, yet were not the nets broken. What follows we have now to take into consideration, and to discuss as the Lord enables us, and as the various points may appear to demand. When the fishing was over, " Jesus saith unto them, Come [and] dine. And none of those who sat down dared to ask Him, Who art Thou ? knowing that it was the Lord." If, then, they knew, what need was there to ask ? and if there was no need, wherefore is it said, " they dared not," as if there were need, but, from some fear or other, they dared not ? The meaning here, therefore, is: so great was the evidence of the truth that Jesus Himself had appeared to these disciples, that not one of them dared not merely to deny, but even to doubt it; for had any of them doubted it, he ought certainly to have asked. In this sense, therefore, it was said, " No one dared to ask Him, Who art Thou ? " as if it were. No one dared to doubt that it was He Himself.

2. " And Jesus cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise." We are likewise told here, you see, on what they dined; and of this dinner we also will say something that is sweet and salutary, if we, too, are made by Him to partake of the food. It is related above that these disciples, when they came to the land, " saw a fire of coals laid, and a fish laid thereon, and bread." Here we are not to

539

540 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXXIII.

understand that the bread also was laid upon the coals, but only to supply, Thl they saw. And if we repeat this verb in the place where it ought to be supplied, the whole may read thus: They saw coals laid, and fish laid thereon, and they saw bread.
Or rather in this way: They saw coals laid, and fish laid thereon; they saw also bread. At the Lord's command they likewise brought of the fishes which they themselves had caught; and although their doing so might not be actually stated by the historian, yet there has been no silence in regard to the Lord's command. For He says, "Bring of the fishes which ye have now caught." And when we have such certainty that He gave the order, will any suppose that they failed to obey it? Of this, therefore, the Lord prepared the dinner for these His seven disciples, namely, of the fish which they had seen laid upon the coals, with an addition thereto from those which they had caught, and of the bread which we are told with equal distinctness that they had seen. The fish roasted is Christ having suffered; He Himself also is the bread that cometh down from heaven. With Him is incorporated the Church, in order to the participation in everlasting blessedness. For this reason is it said, "Bring of the fish which ye have now caught," that all of us who cherish this hope may know that we ourselves, through that septenary number of disciples whereby our universal community may in this passage be understood as symbolized, partake in this great sacrament, and are associated in the same blessedness. This is the Lord's dinner with His own disciples, and herewith John, although having much besides that he might say of Christ, brings his Gospel, with profound thought and an eye to important lessons, to a close. For here the Church, such as it will be hereafter among the good alone, is signified by the draught of an hundred and fifty-three fishes; and to those who so believe, and hope, and love, there is demonstrated by this dinner their participation in such supereminent blessedness.

3. "This was now," he says, "the third time that Jesus showed Himself to His disciples after that He was risen from the dead." And this we are to refer not to the manifestations themselves, but to the days (that is to say, taking the first day when He rose again, and the [second] eight days after, when the disciple Thomas saw and believed, and [the third] on this day when He so acted in connection with the fishes, although how many days afterwards it was that He did so we are not told); for on that first day He was seen more than once, as is shown by the collated testimonies of all the evangelists: but, as we have said, it is in accordance with the days that His manifestations are to be calculated, making this the third; for that [manifestation] is to be reckoned the first, and all one and the same, as included in one day, however often and to however many He showed Himself on the day of His resurrection; the second eight days afterward, and this the third, and thereafter as often as He pleased on to the fortieth day, when He ascended into heaven, although all of them have not been recorded in Scripture.

4. "So when they had dined, He saith to Simon Peter, Simon, [son] of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord; Thou knowest that I love Thee."
He saith unto him. Feed my lambs. He saith to him again, Simon, [son] of John, lovest thou me? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto Him, Feed my lambs. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, [son] of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because He said unto Mm the third time, Lovest thou me? and he said unto Him, Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him. Feed my sheep. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wilt not. And this spake He, signifying by what death he should glorify God. Such was the end reached by that denier and lover; elated by his presumption, prostrated by his denial, cleansed by his weeping, approved by his confession, crowned by his suffering, this was the end he reached, to die with a perfected love for the name of Him with whom, by a perverted forwardness, he had promised to die. He would do.

542 ox THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, [tKACT. CXXIII.

when strengthened by His resurrection, what in his weakness he promised prematurely. For the needful order was that Christ should first die for Peter's salvation, and then that Peter should die for the preaching of Christ. The boldness thus begun by human temerity was an utter inversion of the order that had been instituted by the Truth. Peter thought to lay down his life for Christ, the one to be delivered in behalf of the Deliverer, seeing that Christ had come to lay down His life for all His own, including Peter also, which, you see, was now done. Now and henceforth a true, because graciously bestowed, strength of heart may be assumed for incurring death itself for the name of the Lord, and not a false one presumptuously usurped through an erroneous estimate of ourselves. Now there is no need that we should any more fear the passage out of the present life, because in the Lord's resurrection we have a foregoing illustration of the life to come. Now thou hast cause, Peter, to be no longer afraid of death, because He liveth whom thou didst mourn when dead, and whom in thy carnal love thou didst try to hinder from dying in our behalf. Thou didst dare to step in before the Leader, and thou didst tremble before His persecutor: now that the price has been paid for thee, it is thy duty to follow the Buyer, and follow Him even to the death of the cross. Thou hast heard the words of Him whom thou hast already proved to be truthful; He Himself hath foretold thy suffering, who formerly foretold thy denial.

5. But first the Lord asks what He knew, and that not once, but a second and a third time, whether Peter loved Him; and just as often He has the same answer, that He is loved, while just as often He gives Peter the same charge to feed His sheep. To the threefold denial there is now appended a threefold confession, that his tongue may not yield a feeble service to love than to fear, and imminent death may not appear to have elicited more from the lips than present life.
Let it be the office of love to feed the Lord's flock, if it was the signal of fear to deny the Shepherd. Those who have this purpose in feeding the flock of Christ, that they may have them as their own, and not as Christ's, are convicted of

Â» Chap. xiii. 37. ^ Matt. xvi. 21, 22.

TRACT. CXXIII] LOVERS OF CHRIST AND SELF-LOYERS. 543

loving themselves, and not Christ, from the desire either of boasting, or wielding power, or acquiring gain, and not from the love of obeying, serving, and pleasing God. Against such, therefore, there stands as a wakeful sentinel this thrice inculcated utterance of Christ, of whom the apostle complains that they seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's.^

For what else mean the words, " Lovest thou me ? Feed my sheep," than if it were said. If thouLovest me, think not of feeding thyself, but feed my sheep as mine, and not as thine own; seek my glory in them, and not thine own; my dominion, and not thine; my gain, and not thine; lest thou be found in the fellowship of those who belong to the perilous times, lovers of their own selves, and all else that is joined on to this beginning of evils ? For the apostle, after saying,

" For men shall be lovers of their own selves," proceeded to add, " Lovers of money, boastful, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, wicked, irreligious, without affection, false accusers, incontinent, implacable, without kindness, traitors, heady, blinded;^ lovers of pleasures more than of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof"^ All these evils flow from that as their fountain which he stated first, " lovers of their own selves." With great propriety, therefore, is Peter addressed, " Lovest thou me ? " and found replying, " I love Thee; " and the command applied to him, " Feed my lambs," and this a second and a third time. We have it also demonstrated here that love and liking are one and the same thing; for the Lord also in the last question said not, Diligis me ? but, Amas me ? Let us, then, love not ourselves, but Him; and in feeding His sheep, let us be seeking the things which are His, not the things which are our own. For in some inexplicable way, I know not what, every one that loveth himself, and not God, loveth not himself; and whoever loveth God, and not himself, he it is that loveth himself. For he that cannot live by himself will certainly die by lo\dng himself; he therefore loveth not himself who loves himself to his own loss of life. But when He is loved by whom life is preserved, a man by not loving himself only loveth the more, when it is for this reason that i Phi], ii. 21. 2 "Ccecati." ^ 2 Tim. iii. 1-5.

544 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXXIII.

he loveth not himself, [namely] that he may love Him by whom he lives. Let not those, then, who feed Christ's sheep be " lovers of their own selves," lest they feed them as if they were their own, and not His, and wish to make their own gain of them, as " lovers of
money;" or to domineer over them, as "boastful;" or to glory in the honours which they receive at their hands, as "proud;" or to go the length even of originating heresies, as "blasphemers;" and not to give place to the 'holy fathers, as those who are "disobedient to parents;" and to render evil for good to those who wish to correct them, because unwilling to let them perish, as "unthankful;" to slay their own souls and those of others, as "wicked;" to outrage the motherly bowels of the Church, as "irreligious;" to have no sympathy with the weak, as those who are "without affection;" to attempt to traduce the character of the saints, as "false accusers;" to give loose reins to the basest lusts, as "incontinent;" to make lawsuits their practice, as "implacable;" to know nothing of loving service, as those who are "without kindness;" to make known to the enemies of the godly what they are well aware ought to be kept secret, as "traitors;" to disturb human modesty by shameless discussions, as "heady;" to understand neither what they say nor whereof they affirm, as "blinded;" and to prefer carnal delights to spiritual joys, as those who are "lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God." For these and such like vices, whether all of them meet in a single individual, or whether some dominate in one and others in another, spring up in some form or another from this one root, when men are "lovers of their own selves." A vice which is specially to be guarded against by those who feed Christ's sheep, lest they be seeking their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's, and be turning those to the use of their own lusts for whom the blood of Christ was shed. Whose love ought, in one who feedeth His sheep, to grow up unto so great a spiritual fervour as to overcome even the natural fear of death, that makes us unwilling to die even when we wish to live with Christ. For the Apostle Paul also says that he had a desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and yet he groans, being burdened, and his love to be swallowed up of life. And so to His present lover the Lord said, "When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. For this He said to him, signifying by what death he should glorify God." "Thou shalt stretch forth thy hands," He said; in other words, thou shalt be crucified. But that thou mayest come to this, "another shall gird thee, and carry thee," not whither thou wouldest, but "whither thou wouldest not." He told him first what would happen, and then how it should come to pass. For it was not after being crucified, but when actually about to be crucified, that he was carried whither he would not; for after being crucified he went his way, not whither he would not, but rather whither he would. And though when set free from the body he wished to be with Christ, yet, were it only possible, he had a desire for eternal life apart from the grievousness of death, to which grievous experience he was unwillingly carried, but from it [when all was over] he was willingly carried away; unwillingly he came to it, but willingly he conquered it, and left this feeling of infirmity behind that makes every one unwilling to die, a feeling so permanently
natural, that even old age itself was unable to set the blessed Peter free from its influence,
even as it was said unto him, " Wlien thou shalt be old," thou shalt be led " whither thou
wouldest not." For our consolation the Saviour Himself transfigured also the same feeling
in His own person when He said, " Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; " "^
and He certainly had come to die without having any necessity, but only the willingness
to die, with power to lay down His life, and with power to take it again. But however
great be the grievousness of death, it ought to be overcome by the power of that love
which is felt to Him who, being our life,
%vas willing to endure even death in our behalf For if there were no grievousness, even
of the smallest kind, in death, the gloi;y of the martyrs would not be so great. But if the
good Shepherd, who laid down His own life for His sheep,^ has raised up so many
martyrs for Himself out ot the very sheep,
TRACT. VOL. IL 2 M

546 ON" THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [teACT. CXXIII.
liow much more ought those to contend to death for the truth, and even to blood against
sin, who are entrusted by Him with the feeding, that is, with the teaching and governing
of these very sheep ? And on this account, along with the preceding example of His own
passion, who can fail to see that the shepherds ought all the more to set themselves
closely to imitate the Shepherd, if He was so imitated even by many of the sheep under
whom, as the one Shepherd and in the one flock, the shepherds themselves are likewise
sheep ? For He made all those His sheep for [all of] whom He died, because He Himself
also became a sheep that He might suffer for alL

TEACTATE CXXIV.
Chapter XXI. 19-25.
1, XT is no unimportant question why the Lord, when He X manifested Himself for the
third time to the disciples, said, unto the Apostle Peter, " Follow me; " but of the Apostle
John, " Thus I wish him to remain ^ till I come, what is that to thee V To the discussion
or solution of this question, according as the Lord shall grant us ability, we devote the last
discourse of this work. When the Lord, then, had announced beforehand to Peter by what
death he was to glorify God, " He saith unto him. Follow me. Then Peter, turning about,
seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; who also leaned on His breast at supper,
and said, Lord, which is he that shall betray Thee ? Peter, therefore, seeing him, saith to
Jesus, Lord, and what [of] this man ? Jesus saith unto him. Thus do I wish him to remain
till I come, what is that to thee ?


Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple dieth not: yet Jesus said not unto him, He dieth not; but. Thus do I wish him to remain till I come, what is that to thee?" You see the great extent in this Gospel of a question which, by its depth, must exercise in no ordinary way the mind of the inquirer. For why is it said to Peter, "Follow me," and not to the others who were like"wise present? Surely the disciples followed Him also as their Master. But if it is to be understood only in reference to his suffering, was Peter the only one that suffered for the truth of Christianity? Was there not present there amongst those seven, another son of Zebedee, the brother of John, who, after His ascension, is plainly recorded to have been slain by Herod?^ But some one may say that, as James was not crucified, it was properly enough said to Peter, "Follow me," inasmuch as he underwent not only death, but, like Christ, " Sic eum volo manere donee veniam." ^ Acts xii. 2.

547

548 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [TEACT. CXXI7,

even the death of the cross. Be it so, if no other explanation can be found that is more satisfactory. Why, then, was it said of John, " Thus do I wish him to remain till I come, what is that to thee?" and the words repeated, "Follow thou me," as if that other, therefore, were not to follow, seeing He washed him to remain till He comes. Who can readily believe that anything else was meant than what the brethren who lived at the time believed, namely, that that disciple was not to die, but to abide in this life till Jesus came? But John himself removed such an idea, by giving a flat contradiction to the report that the Lord had said so. For why should he add,
" Jesus saith not. He dieth not," save to prevent what was false from taking hold of the hearts of men?

2. But let any one who so listeth still refuse his assent, and declare that what John asserts is true enough, that the Lord said not that that disciple dieth not, and yet that this is the meaning of such words as He is here recorded to have used; and further assert that the Apostle John is still living, and maintain that he is sleeping rather than lying dead in his tomb at Ephesus. Let him employ as an argument the current report that there the earth is in sensible commotion, and presents a kind of heaving appearance, and assert whether it be stedfastly or obstinately that this is occasioned by his breathing. For we cannot fail to have some who so believe, if there is no want of those also who affirm that Moses is alive; because it is written that his sepulchre could not be found," and that he appeared with the Lord on the mountain along with Elias,^ of whom we read that he did not die, but was translated." As if Moses' body could not have been hid somewhere in such a way as that its position should altogether escape discovery by men, and be raised up therefrom by divine power at the time when Elias and he were seen with Christ; just as at the time of Christ's passion many bodies of the saints arose, and after His resurrection appeared, according to Scripture, to many in the holy city."* But still, as I began to say, if some
deny the death of Moses, whom Scripture itself, in the very passage where we read that
his sepulchre could nowhere be found, explicitly declares to have died; how much more
may
1 Deut. xxiv. 6. ^ ilatt. xviL 3. ^ 2 Kings ii. 11. * Matt, xxvii. 52, 53.

TRACT. CXXIV.] JOHN NOT DEAD, BUT SLEEPING. 549

occasion be taken from these words where the Lord says, "Thus do I wish him to stay till
I come," to believe that John is sleeping, but still alive, beneath the ground? Of whom
we have also the tradition (which is found in certain apocrj^hal scriptures), that he was
present, in good health, when he ordered a sepulchre to be made for him; and that, when
it was dug and prepared with all possible care, he laid himself down there as in a bed, and
became immediately defunct: yet as those think who so understand these words of the
Lord, not really defunct, but only lying like one in such a condition; and, while accounted
dead, was actually buried when asleep, and that he will so remain till the coming of
Christ, making known meanwhile the fact of his life by the bubbling up of the dust,
which is believed to be forced by the breath of the sleeper to ascend from the depths to
the surface of the grave.
I think it quite superfluous to contend with such an opinion.
For those may see for themselves who know the locality whether the ground there does or
suffers what is said regarding it, because, in truth, we too have heard of it from those who
are not altogether unreliable witnesses.

3. Meanwhile let us yield to the opinion, which we are unable to refute by any certain
evidence, lest we stir up still another question that may be put to us, Why the very ground
should seem in a kind of way to live and breathe upon the interred corpse? But can so
great a question as the one before us be settled on such grounds as these, if by a great
miracle, such as can be wrought by the Almighty, the living body lies so long asleep
beneath the ground, till the coming of the end of the world? Nay, rather, does there not
arise a wider and more difficult one, why Jesus bestowed on the disciple, whom He loved
beyond the others to such an extent that he was counted worthy to recline on His breast,
the gift of a protracted sleep in the body, when He delivered the blessed Peter, by the
eminent glory of martyrdom, from the burden of the body itself, and vouchsafed to him
what the Apostle Paul said that he desired, and committed to writing, namely, "to be let
loose, and to be with Christ"? But if, what is rather to be believed, Saint John declared
that the Lord said not, "He dieth not,"

' PhU. i. 23.

550 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXXIV.
for the very purpose that no such meaning might be attached to the words which He used; and his body lieth in its sepulchre lifeless like those of others deceased; it remains, if that really takes place which report has spread abroad regarding the soil, which grows up anew, though continually carried away, that it is either so done for the purpose of commending the preciousness of his death, seeing it wants the commendation of martyrdom (for he suffered not death at a persecutor's hand for the faith of Christ), or on some other account that is concealed from our knowledge. Still there remains the question, why the Lord said of one who was destined to die, " Thus I wish him to remain till I come."

4. And who, besides, would not be disposed, in the case of these two apostles, Peter and John, to make this further inquiry, why the Lord loved John better, when He Himself was better loved by Peter? For wherever John has something to say of himself, in order that the reference may be understood without any mention of his name, he adds this, that Jesus loved him, as if he were the only one so loved, that he might be distinguished by this mark from the others, who were all of them certainly loved by Christ: and what else, when he so spake, did he wish to be understood but that he himself was more abundantly loved? and far be it that he should utter a falsehood. And what greater proof could Jesus have given of His own greater love to him than that this man, who was only a partner with the rest of his fellow-disciples in the great salvation, should be the only one that leaned on the breast of the Saviour Himself? And further, that the Apostle Peter loved Christ more than the others, may be adduced from many documentary evidences; but to go no further after others, it is plainly enough apparent in the lesson almost immediately preceding the present, in connection with that third manifestation of the Lord, when He put to him the question, " Lovest thou me more than these? " He knew it, of course, and yet asked, in order that we also, who read the Gospel, might know Peter's love to Christ, both from the questions of the One and the answers of the other. But when Peter only replied, " I love Thee," without adding, " more than these!" his answer contained all that he knew of himself. For

he could not know how much He was loved by any other, not being able to look into that other's heart. But by saying in the earliest of his answers, " Yea, Lord, Thou knowest," he stated in clear enough terms, that it was with perfect knowledge of all that the Lord asked what He asked. The Lord therefore knew, not only that Peter loved Him, but also that he loved Him more than the others. And yet if we propose to ourselves, in the way of inquiry, which of the two is the better, he that loveth Christ more or he that loveth Him less, who will hesitate to answer, he is the better that loveth Him more? If, on the other hand, we propose this question, which of the two is the better, he that is loved less or he that is loved more by Christ, without any doubt we shall reply that he is the better who is loved the more by Christ. In the comparison therefore which I drew first, Peter is superior to John; but in the latter, John is preferred to Peter. Accordingly, we have a third to propose in this form: Which of the two disciples is the better, he that loveth Christ less
than his fellow-disciple [does], and is loved more than his fellow-disciple by Christ? or he who is loved less than his fellow-disciple by Christ, while he, more than his fellow-disciple, loveth Christ?

Here it is that the answer plainly halts, and the question grows in magnitude. As far, however, as my own wisdom goes, I might easily reply, that he is the better who loveth Christ the more, but he the happier who is loved more by Christ; if only I could thoroughly see how to defend the justice of our Deliverer in loving him the less by whom He is loved the more, and him the more by whom He is loved the less.

5. I shall therefore, in the manifested mercy of Him whose justice is hidden, set about the discussion, in order to the solution of a question of such importance, in accordance with the strength which He may graciously bestow: for hitherto it has only been proposed, not expounded. Let this, then, be the commencement of its exposition, namely, that we bear in mind that in this corruptible body, which burdens the soul, we live a miserable life. But we who are now redeemed by the Mediator, and have received the earnest of the Holy Spirit,

â€¢ Wisd. ix. 15.

552 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN. [TRACT. CXXIV.

have a blessed life in prospect, although we possess it not as yet in reality. But a hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it. And it is in the evils that every one suffers, not in the good things that he enjoys, that he has need of patience. The present life, therefore, whereof it is written, "Is not the life of man a term of trial upon earth?" and in which we are daily crying to the Lord, "Deliver us from evil," a man is compelled to endure, even when his sins are forgiven him, although it was the first sin that caused his falling into such misery. For the penalty is more protracted than the fault; lest the fault should be accounted small, were the penalty to end with itself. On this account it is also, either for the demonstration of our debt of misery, or for the amendment of our passing life, or for the exercise of the necessary patience, that man is kept through time in the penalty, even when he is no longer held by his sin as liable to everlasting damnation. This is the truly lamentable but unblameable condition of the present evil days we pass in this mortal state, even while in it we look with loving eyes to the days that are good. For it comes from the righteous anger of God, whereof the Scriptures say, "Man, that is born of woman, is of few days and full of anger:" for the anger of God is not like that of man, the disturbance of an excited man, but the calm fixing of righteous punishment. In this anger of His, God restraineth not, as it is written. His tender mercies; but, besides other consolations to the miserable, which He ceaseth not to bestow on mankind, in the fulness of time, when He knew that such had to be done, He sent His only-begotten Son," by whom He created all things, that He might become man while remaining God, and so be the Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus: that those who believe in Him, being absolved by the laver of regeneration from the guilt
of all their sins, â€“ to wit, both of the original sin they have inherited by generation, and to meet which, in particular, regeneration was instituted, and of all others contracted by evil conduct, â€“ might be delivered from perpetual condemnation,

* Ps. lxxvii. 9. Â« Gal. iv. 4. ^ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

TRACT, cxxiv.] Peter's representative character. 553

and live in faith and hope and love while sojourning in this world, and be walking onward to His visible presence amid its toilsome and perilous temptations on the one hand, but the consolations of God, both bodily and spiritual, on the other, ever keeping to the way which Christ has become to them.

And because, even while walking in Him, they are not exempt from sins, which creep in through the infirmities of this life.

He has given them the salutary remedies of alms whereby their prayers might be aided, when He taught them to say, " For give us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." ^ So does the Church act in blessed hope through this troublous life; and this Church, symbolized in its generality, was personified in the Apostle Peter, on account of the primacy of his apostleship. For, as regards his proper personality, he was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by still more abounding grace one, and yet also, the first apostle; but when it was said to him, " I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," he represented the universal Church, which in this world is shaken by divers temptations, that come upon it like torrents of rain, floods and tempests, and falleth not, because it is founded upon a rock (pfrcc), from which Peter received his name. For j^cba (rock) is not derived from Peter, but Peter from petra; just as Christ is not called so from the Christian, but the Christian from Christ. For on this very account the Lord said, " On this rock will I build my Church," because Peter had said, " Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." ^ On this rock, therefore. He said, which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church. For the Piock (Petra) was Christ: ^ and on this foundation was Peter himself also built. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus.* The Church, therefore, which is founded in Christ received from Him the keys of the kingdom of heaven in the person of Peter, that is to say, the power of binding and loosing sins. For what the Church is essentially in Christ, such representatively is Peter in the rock (fctręa); and in this representation Christ is to be understood as the 1 Matt. vi. 12. ^ Matt. xvi. 16-19. Â« 1 Cor. x. 4. * 1 Cor. iii. 11.

554 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TRACT. CXXIY.
Eock, Peter as the Church. This Church, accordingly, which Peter represented, so long as it lives amidst evil, by loving and following Christ is delivered from evil. But its following is the closer in those who contend even unto death for the truth. But to the universality^ [of the Church] is it said, " Follow me," even as it was for the same universality that Christ suffered: of whom this same Peter saith, " Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow His footsteps." ^ This, then, you see is why it was said to him, " Follow me."

But there is another, an immortal life, that is not passed in the midst of evil: there we shall see face to face what is seen here through a glass and in a riddle,^ even when much progress is made in the beholding of the truth. There are two states of life, therefore, preached and commended to herself from heaven, that are known to the Church, whereof the one is in faith, the other in sight; one in the temporal sojourn in a foreign land, the other in the eternity of the [heavenly] abode; one in labour, the other in repose; one on the way, the other in the fatherland; one in active work, the other in the wages of contemplation; one declines from evil and makes for good, the other has no evil to decline from, and has great good to enjoy; the one fights with a foe, the other reigns without a foe; the one is brave in the midst of adversities, the other has no experience of adversity; the one is bridling its carnal lusts, the other has full scope for spiritual delights; the one is anxious with the care of conquering, the other secure in the peace of victory; the one is helped in temptations, the other, free from all temptations, rejoices in the Helper Himself; the one is occupied in relieving the indigent, the other is there, where no indigence is found; the one pardons the sins of others, that its own may be pardoned to itself, the other neither has anything to pardon nor does aught for which pardon has to be asked; the one is scourged with evils that it may not be elated with good things, the other is free from all evil by such a fulness of grace that, without any temptation to pride, it may cleave to that which is supremely good; the one discerneth both good and evil, the other has only that which is good presented to view: therefore the one is good,

1 " Universitati. " - 1 Pet. ii. 21. ' 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

TRACT. CXXIV.] JOHN'S EEPEESENTATIVE CHAEACTEE. 555

but miserable as yet; the other, better and blessed. This one was signified by the Apostle Peter, that other by John. The whole of the one is passed here to the end of this world, and there finds its termination, the other is deferred for its completion till after the end of this world, but has no end in the world to come. Hence it is said to the latter, " Follow me; " but of the former, " Thus I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee ? follow thou me." For what means this last ? So far as my wisdom goes, so far as I comprehend, what is it but this. Follow thou me by imitating me in the endurance of temporal evils; let him remain till I come to restore everlasting good ? And this may be expressed more clearly
in this way: Let perfected action, informed by the example of my passion, follow me; but let contemplation only begun remain [so] till I come, to be perfected when I come. For the godly plenitude of patience, reaching forward even unto death, followeth Christ; but the fulness of knowledge tarieth till Christ come, to be manifested then. For here the evils of this world are endured in the land of the dying, while there shall be seen the good things of the Lord in the land of the living. For in saying, "I wish him to tarry till I come," we are not to understand Him as meaning to remain on, or abide permanently, but to wait; seeing that what is signified by him shall certainly not be fulfilled now, but when Christ is come. But what is signified by him to whom it was said, "Follow thou me," unless it be done now, will never attain to the expected end. And in this life of activity, the more we love Christ the more easily are we delivered from evil. But He loveth us less as we now are, and therefore delivers from it, that we may not be always such as we are. There, however, He loveth us more; for we shall not have aught about us to displease Him, or aught that He will have to separate us from: nor is it for aught else that He loveth us here but that He may heal and translate us from everything He loveth not. Here, therefore, [He loveth us] less, where He would not have us remain; there in larger measure, whither He would have us to be passing, and out of that wherein He would not that we should perish. Let Peter therefore love Him, that we may obtain deliverance from our present mortality; let

556 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHX. [tKACT. CXXIV.

John be loved by Him, that we may be preserved in the immortality to come.

6. But by this line of argument we have shown why Christ loved John more than Peter, not why Peter loved Christ more than John. For if Christ loveth us more in the world to come, where we shall live unendingly with Him, than in the present, from which we are in the course of being rescued, that we may be always in the other, it does not follow on that account that we shall love Him less when better ourselves; since we can in no possible way be better ourselves, save by loving Him more. Why was it, then, that John loved Him less than Peter, if he signified that life, wherein He must be more abundantly loved, but because on that very account it was said, "I will that he tarry," that is wait, "till I come;"

for we have not yet the love itself, which will then be greater far, but are expecting that future, that we may have it when He shall come? Just as in his own epistle the same apostle declares, "It has not yet appeared what we shall be: but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is." ^ Then accordingly shall we love the more that which we shall see. But the Lord Himself, in His predestinating knowledge, loveth more that futiire life of ours that is yet to come, such as He knows it will be hereafter in us, in order that by so loving us He may draw us onward to its possession. Wherefore, as all the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth/ we know our present misery, because we feel it; and therefore we love more the mercy of the Lord, which we wish to be exhibited in our deliverance from misery, and we ask and
experience it daily, especially in the remission of sins: this it is that was signified by
Peter, as loving more, but less beloved; because Christ loveth us less in our misery than
in our blessedness. But the contemplation of the truth, such as it then shall be, we love
less, because as yet we neither know nor possess it: this was signified by John as loving
less, and therefore waiting both for that state itself, and for the perfecting in us of that
love to Him, to which He is entitled, till the Lord come; but loved the more, because that
it is, which is symbolized by him, that maketh him blessed.
> 1 John iii. 2. Â« Ps. xxv. 10.

TKACT. CXXIV. ] THEIR PERSONAL CHAEACTER. 557

7. Let no one, however, separate these distinguished apostles. In that which was signified
by Peter, they were both alike; and in that which was signified by John, they will both be
alike hereafter. In their representative character, the one was following, the other
tarrying; but in their personal faith they were both of them enduring the present evils of
the misery here, both of them expecting the future good things of the blessedness to
come. And such is the case, not with them alone, but with the holy universal Church, the
spouse of Christ, who has still to be rescued from the present trials, and to be preserved in
the future happiness. And these two states of life were symbolized by Peter and John, the
one by the one, the other by the other; but in this life they both of them walked for a
time by faith, and the other they shall both of them enjoy eternally by sight. For the
whole body of the saints, therefore, inseparably belonging to the body of Christ, and for
their safe pilotage through the present tempestuous life, did Peter, the first of the apostles,
receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven for the binding and loosing of sins; and for the
same congregation of saints, in reference to the perfect repose in the bosom of that
mysterious life to come, did the evangelist John recline on the breast of Christ. For it is
not the former alone, but the whole Church, that bindeth and looseth sins; nor did the
latter alone drink at the fountain of the Lord's breast, to emit again in preaching, of the
Word in the beginning, God with God, and those other sublime truths regarding the
divinity of Christ, and the Trinity and Unity of the whole Godhead, which are to be yet
beheld in that kingdom face to face, but meanwhile till the Lord's coming are only to be
seen in a mirror and in a riddle; but the Lord has Himself diffused this very gospel
through the whole world, that every one of His own may drink thereof according to his
own individual capacity. There are some who have entertained the idea â€” and those,
too, who are no contemptible handlers of sacred eloquence â€” that the Apostle John was
more loved by Christ on the ground that he never married a wife, and lived in perfect
chastity from early boyhood. * There is, indeed, no distinct evidence of this in the
canonical Scriptures:
* Jerome, Book I., Against Jovinian.

558 ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN". [TRACT. CXXIV.
nevertheless it is an idea that contributes not a little to the suitableness of the opinion expressed above, namely, that that life was signified by him, where there will be no marriage.

8. " This is the disciple who testifieth of these things, and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true. And there are also," he adds, " many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." We are not to suppose that in regard to local space the world would be unable to contain them; for how could they be written in it if it could not bear them when written? but perhaps it is that they could not be comprehended by the capacity of the readers: although, while our faith in certain things themselves remains unharmed, the words we use about them may not unfrequently appear to exceed belief. This will not take place when anything that was obscure or dubious is in course of exposition by the setting forth of its ground and reason, but only when that which is clear of itself is either magnified or extenuated, without any real departure from the pathway of the truth to be intimated; for the words may outrun the thing itself that is indicated only in such a way, that the will of him that speaketh, but without any intention to deceive, may be apparent, so that, knowing how far he will be believed, he, orally, either diminishes or magnifies his subject beyond the limit to which credit will be given. This mode of speaking is called by the Greek name hyperbole, by the masters not only of Greek, but also of Latin literature. And this mode is found not only here, but in several other parts also of the divine literature: as, " They set their mouths against the heavens;" and, " The top of the hair of such as go on in their trespasses;" and many others of the same kind, which are no more wanting in the sacred Scriptures than other tropes or modes of speaking. Of these I might give a more elaborate discussion, were it not that, as the evangelist here terminates his Gospel, I am also compelled to bring my discourse to a close.

Â» Ps. Ixxxiii. 9, * Ps. Ixviii. 21.

T. and T. Clark's Piblications.

Just puUished, in demy 8vo, blO pages, price 10s. 6'/.,

Just published, in crown Svo, price Is. 6d.,


Just published, in demy Svo, price l'2s.,

Introduction to the Pauline Epistles. By

Paton J. Gloag, D.D., Minister of Galashiels.

By the same Author.
In Two Volumes demy 8t'o, price 21s.,

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Just published, in demy Svo, price bs. Gd.,

An Introductory Hebrew Grammar. With

Progressive Exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. Davidson, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the New College, Edinburgh.

Just published, in Two Volumes Svo, (Subscription Price) 14s.,

Calvini Institutio Christianae Religionis.

CURAVITA. THLUCK.

Tholuck's edition of Calvin has been long very scarce, and the Publishers have, with the Editor's consent, reprinted it carefully and elegantly. It contains Dr. Tholuck's chapter headings and very complete indices, and the text has been carefully printed from the very
accurate edition contained in the Corpus Reformatorum; so that, in point of completeness and accuracy, it excels any previous edition, and it is also exceedingly cheap.

WILLIAM OLIPHANT & CO.'S

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Just published, price 6s., ECTUEES ON MISSIONS AND EVANGELISM, Delivered to the 1st Students of the Senior Hall of the United Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. Andrew Somerville, D.D., late Foreign Mission Secretary.

Ninth Edition, in one vol. demy 8vo, price 12s. 6d.,

EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE ROMANS. By Robert Haldane, Esq.

Second Edition, now ready, in crown 8vo, price 6s.

HOMILETICS AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

'The work will be found to be an admirable guide and stimulus in whatever pertains to this department of theology. The student finds himself in the hands of a master able to quicken and enlarge his scope and spirit. The homiletical precepts are well illustrated by the author's own style, which is muscular, while quivering with nervous life. Now-a-days one rarely reads such good English writing, elevated and clear, sinewy and flexible, transparent for the thought. Each topic is handled in a true progressive method. Our young ministers may well make a study of this book.' â€” Theological Review.

Just published, in small crown 8vo, price 6s.,

EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT AND MODERN SPECULATION. By the Rev. William M. Reid, Lothian Road United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh.

'As a whole, the volume is highly valuable, and we wish it a wide circulation. With minds in a right temper for the consideration of such a subject, it may be expected to be conclusive.' â€” Watchman.

'We recommend the book to all who wish to see what can be said both for and against the doctrine of everlasting punishment.' â€” Edinburgh Daily Review.

Just published, price 8s. 6d.,

'THE HISTORIC ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE: A Handbook of Principal

'This is an elaborate and meritorious work on a subject of permanent interest to all the readers of the Bible. Mr. Bissell writes in a graceful style, and he has been at great pains in the collection and arrangement of his facts.' â€” Daily Review.

Just published, price 5s., THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WESTMINSTER STANDARDS PERSE-


Recently, in crown 8vo, price 7s. 6d., T ECTURES, EXEGETICAL AND PRACTICAL, ON THE EPISTLE OF
Jj JAMES: With a New Translation of the Epistle, and Notes on the Greek Text.
By the Rev Robert Johnstone, LL.B., Glasgow.

'It is undoubtedly one of the most scholarly of all the helps yet furnished to the understanding of the epistle; while by the plan which the author has adopted, it meets the wants of the general reader.' â€” Scottish Congregational Magazine.

In crown 8vo, price 5s.,

THOMAS CHALMERS: A Biographical Stl'dy. By Jame.s Dodds, Esq., Author of 'The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters.'
'It contains a graphic account of a very remarkable man, written in a manly style, and none the worse for being enthusiastic' â€” Daily Nevjs.

'Mr. Dodds' book is interesting, enthusiastic, and well written.' â€” Nonconformist.

Eoinbcegh: WILLIAM OLIPHANT & CO. London: HAMILTON & CO.
THE WORKS

OF
AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

VOL. XII.

THE ANTI-PELAGIAN WORKS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET

MDCCCLXXIV.

---------------------

Source (of this Volume):
Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from University of Toronto
www.archive.org/details/worksofaureliu12augu

Library Call Number of the Original Book:
BO 5676 1871 v. 12 IMS copy 2
St. Augustine, The Anti-Pelagian writings Volume II
LIBRARY, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
113 ST. JOSEPH STRUT
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA M6I W
THE ANTI-PELAGIAN WORKS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO.

PETER HOLMES, D.D., F.R.A.S., DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE TJIGHT HOX. THE COUNTESS OF ROTHES AND CURATE OF PENNYCROSS, PLYMOUTH.

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXIV.
IHl institute CF r^EDiAF^/t-L STUDIES
tOi.0inO Â£, CAi-fAOA.
DEDICATION.

TO THE EEV. C. T. WILKINSON, M.A.,

vicar of st. andrews with pexnycross, plymouth.

My dear Vicar,

I have great pleasure in associating your name with my own in this volume. We are officially connected in the sacred ministry of the Church, and I think I may, not unsuitably, extend our relations in this little effort to strengthen the defences of the great doctrine of Grace committed to our care and advocacy. Never was this portion of revealed truth more formidably assailed than at the present day. Rationalism, as its primal dogma, asserts the perfectibility of our nature, out of its own resources; and with a versatility and power of argument and illustration, which gathers help from every quarter in literature and philosophy, it opposes "the truth as it is in Jesus." This truth, which implies, as its cardinal points, the ruin of man's nature in the sin of the first Adam, and its recovery in the obedience of the second Adam, is vindicated with admirable method and convincing force in the Anti-Pelagian treatises of the great Doctor of the Western Church. Some of these treatises appear for the first time in our language in this volume; and you will, I am sure, admire the acuteness with which Saint Augustine

vii

tracks out and refutes the sophistries of the rationalists of his own day, as well as the profound knowledge and earnest charity with which he enforces and recommends the Catholic verity.

In identifying you thus far with myself in this undertaking, I not only gratify my own feelings of sincere friendship, but with a confidence which I believe I do not over-estimate, I assume, what I highly prize, your agreement with me in accepting and furthering the principles set forth in this volume.

With sincere sympathy for you in your important work at Plymouth, and best wishes for the divine blessing upon it, â€”
Believe me, yours very faithfully,
PETER HOLMES.

Mannamead, Plymouth, June 24, 1874.
THIS volume contains a translation of the three following treatises by St. Augustine on the Pelagian controversy: â€”

Be, Gratia Christi, et Be Peccato originali contra Paigvum et Coilestium, ad Albinam, Pmiamim, et Mclaniam; libri duo, scripti anno Christi 418.

Be Nu'ptiis et Goncupiscentid ad Vcederium Gomitem; libri duo, scriptus alter circiter initium anni 419; alter anno Christi 420.

Be Animd et ejus originc, contra Vincentium Vietorcm; libri quatuor, scriptus sub finem anni Christi 419.

These, with the contents of our former volume, comprise eight of the fifteen works contributed by the great author to the defence of the Catholic faith against Pelagius and his most conspicuous followers. The prefaces and chapter headings, which have been, as heretofore, transferred to their proper places in this volume from the Benedictine edition of the original, will afford the reader preliminary help enough, and thus render more than a few general prefatory remarks unnecessary here.

The second book in the first of these treatises adds some facts to the historical information contained in our preceding volume; Pelagius is shown to be at one, in the main, with Coelestius, the bolder but less specious heretic. They were condemned everywhere â€” even at Eome by Pope Zosimus, who had at first shown some favour to them. These authoritative proceedings against them gave a sensible check to their progress in public; there is, however, reason to believe that the opinions, which the Pelagian teachers had with great industry, and with their varied ability, propounded, had created much interest and even anxiety in private society.
The early part of the first of the following treatises throws some light on this point, and on the artful methods by which the heretics sought to maintain and extend their opinions; it affords some evidence also of the widespread influence of St. Augustine. The controversy had engaged the attention of a pious family in Palestine; Pelagius was in the neighbourhood; and when frankly questioned by the friends, he strongly protested his adherence to the doctrine of Grace. "I anathematize," he exclaimed with suspicious promptitude, "the man who holds that the grace of God is not necessary for us at every moment and in every act of our lives; and all who endeavour to disannul it, deserve everlasting punishment."

It was an act of astonishing duplicity, which Augustine, to whom the case was referred, soon detected and exposed. It is satisfactory to find that the worthy Christians to whom the Saint addressed his loving labour were confirmed in their simple faith; and in one of the last of his extant letters, towards the close of his days on earth, the venerable St. Jerome, in the course of the following year, united the gratitude of Albina, Pinianus, and Melania, with his own to his renowned brother in the west, whom he saluted as "the restorer of the ancient faith." "Made virtute," said the venerable man, "in orbe celebraris; et, quod signum majoris est glorice, omnes heretici detestantur." [Go on and prosper; the whole world endows thee with its praise, and all heretics with their hatred.]

In the latter part of the first treatise in this volume, one of the most formidable of the Pelagian objections to the Catholic doctrine of original sin is thrown out against marriage: "Surely that could not be a holy state, instituted of God, which produced human beings in sin!" Augustine in a few weighty chapters removes the doubts of his perplexed correspondents, and reserves his strength for the fall treatise, here translated.

On Marriage and Concupiscence. It is a noble monument of his firm grasp of Scripture truth, his loyal adherence to its plain meaning, and his delicate and, at the same time, intrepid handling of a subject, which could only be touched by a man whose mind possessed a deep knowledge of human nature and both in its moral and its physiological aspects, and in its relations to God as affected by its creation, its fall, and its redemption.

This treatise introduces us to a change of circumstances. The preceding one was, as we have seen, addressed to a small group of simple believers in sacred truth, who were not personally known to the author, and, though zealous in the maintenance of the faith, occupied only a private place in society; but the present work was written at the urgent request of a nobleman in high office as a minister of state, and well known to the writer. It is pleasant to trace a similar earnestness, in such dissimilar ranks, in the defence of the assailed faith; and it illustrates the wide stretch of mind and comprehensive love of Augustine, that he could so promptly sympathize with the
anxieties of all classes and conditions in the Christian life; and, what is more, so administer comfort and conviction out of the treasures of his wisdom, as to settle their doubts and reassure them in faith. Nor does the change end here. Instead of Pelagius and Coelestius, Augustine has in this work to confute the powerful argument of Julianus, bishop of Celanum, the ablest of his Pelagian opponents. This man was really the mainstay of the heresy; he had greater resources of mind and a firmer character than either of his associates; â€” more candid and sincere than Pelagius, and less ambitious and impatient than Ccelestius, he seemed to contend for truth for its own sake, and this disposition found a comDlete response in the Church's earnest and accomplished champion. Notwithstanding the difficulty

XU PllEFACE.

and delicacy of the subject, which removes, no doubt, the treatise De, Nwpiis et Concupiscendentid out of the category of what is called "general reading," the great author never did a higher service to the faith than when he provided for it this defence of a fundamental point. The venerable Jerome rejoiced at the good service, and longed to embrace his brother Saint from his distant retreat of Bethlehem. "Testem invoco Dewm" he wrote to Augustine, and his dear friend and helper Alypius, "quod si posset fieri, assumptis alis cohtmbce, vestris amplexihu implicarer."

In the last and longest work, translated for this volume, we come upon a change, both of subject and circumstances, as complete as that we have just noticed. Vincentius Victor, whose unsafe opinions are reviewed, was a young African of great ability and rhetorical accomplishment. His fluent tongue had fairly bewitched not only crowds of thoughtless hearers, but staid persons, whose faith should have been proof against a seductive influence which was soon shown to be transient and flimsy. The young disputant seems to have been more of a schismatic in the Donatist party, than a heretic with Pelagius; showy, however, and unstable, and hardly weighing the consequence of his own opinions, he began to air his metaphysics, and soon fell into strange errors about the nature and origin of the human soul. In his youthful arrogance he happened to censure Augustine for his cautious teaching on so profound a subject; kindly does the aged bishop receive the criticism, show its unreasonableness, and point out to his rash assailant some serious errors which he was propounding at random. He also reproves one of Victor's friends, who happened to be a presbyter, for allowing himself to be misled by the young man's eloquent sophistry; and in the latter half of Ms treatise, with fatherly love and earnestness, he advises Victor to renounce his dangerous errors, some of which were rankly Pelagian, and something worse. The result of Augustine's admonitions â€” adorned as

PREFACE. xiii
they were with great depth and width of reflection and knowledge (extending this time even to physical science, on some facts of which he playfully comments with the ease of a modern experimenter), with loving consideration for his opponent's inexperience, kindly deference to his undoubted abilities, and a pious desire to win him over to the cause of truth and godliness was entirely satisfactory. We find from the Retractations (ii. 56), that Victor in time abjured all his errors, and doubtless, like another Apollos, ably employed his best powers in the service of true religion. This was a real trophy, great among the greatest of Augustine's achievements for faith and charity. For so great a soul to stoop to the level of so captious a spirit, and with industrious love and patience to trace out and refute all its ambitious error, was " a labour of love " indeed. He remembered the wise counsel of the apostle: " Count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother;" and he reaped the victory the Saviour promised: " Thiou hast gained thy brother."

The translation, as in the former volume of the Anti-Pelagian writings of our author, has been made from the tenth volume of the Antwerp reprint of the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine's works.

PETER HOLMES.
CONTENTS.

Extract from Augustine's "Eetkactatioxs," Book II., Chap, 1.,
on the De Gratia Christi, and the De Peccato OriginaU, . 1

TEEATISE I.

ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST, AND ON ORIGINAL SIN.
Book I. Ox the Grace of Christ, ..... 2-47

Book II. On Original Sin, ...... 48-91

TEEATISE II.

ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE.
Advertisement to the Reader,- ....
Extract from the " Retractations," Book ii., chap, liii., A Letter from Augustine to the
Coimt Valerius, Book I., Book II., ......

93
94
95
98-137
139-202

TEEATISE III.

ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN.
Advertisement to the Reader, ....
Extract from the "Retractations," Book ii., chap. Ivi., Book I. Addressed to Renatus,
Book II. Addressed to the Presbyter Peter, Book III. Addressed to Vincentius Victor,
Book IV. Addressed to Vincentius Victor,
"After the conviction and condemnation of the Pelagian heresy and its authors by the bishops of the Church of Rome, first Innocent, and then Zosimus, aided by letters from councils in Africa, I wrote two books in opposition to the heretics: one of these was On the Grace of Christ, and the other On Original Sin. The work began with the following words: 'How greatly we rejoice on account of your bodily health, and, above all, because of your spiritual welfare.'

Quantum de vestra corporali, et maxime spiritali salute gaudeamus.

From this it follows that we must refer his works On the Grace of Christ and On Original Sin to the year 418; for it was in this year that the Pelagian heresy was condemned even by the pope Zosimus, who had at first acquitted Pelagius. And about the same time also was held a general council of the bishops of Africa at Carthage, to take measures against the heresy, the precise date of which council is May 1st of this year 418. Augustine, by reason of this council, was detained at Carthage, and his stay in that city was longer than usual, as one may learn from the 94th canon of the council, or from the Codex Canonum of the Church of Africa, canon 127, as well as from his epistle (93) to Mercator. Now it was in this interval of time, before he started for Cæsariensis, that he wrote these two books for Albina, Pinianus, and Melania; accordingly, in his Retractations, he places them just previous to the time of his proceedings with Emeritus, which were concluded at Cæsarea on the 20th of September in this very year 418. Julianus, in his work addressed to Turbantius, calumniously attacked a passage in this book On the Grace of Christ; the passage is defended by Augustine in his work against Julianus, iv. 8. 47, where he mentions this first book, addressed to the holy Pinianus, as he calls him, and gives its title as De Gratia contra Pelagium ["Concerning Grace, in opposition to Pelagius"].

Ed. Bexedict.
ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST, ON ORIGINAL SIN;

WRITTEN AGAINST PELAGIUS AND CELESTIUS,

IN THE YEAR A.D. 418.

BOOK FIRST.

ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST.

WHEREIN HE SHOWS THAT PELAGIUS WAS SIMPLY DISINGENUOUS IN HIS CONFESSION OF GRACE, INASMUCH AS HE PLACED GRACE EITHER IN MAN'S NATURE AND FREE WILL, OR IN THE LAW AND DOCTRINE [OF SCRIPTURE;] AND, MOREOVER, ASSERTED THAT IT WAS MERELY THE "POSSIBILITY" (AS HE CALLS IT) OF A MAN'S EXERCISING WILL AND ACTION, AND NOT THE WILL AND ACTION ITSELF, WHICH IS ASSISTED BY DIVINE GRACE; AND THAT THIS ASSISTING GRACE, TOO, IS GIVEN BY GOD ACCORDING TO MEN'S MERITS; WHILST HE FURTHER THOUGHT THAT THEY WERE SO ASSISTED FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF BEING THE MORE EASILY ENABLED TO FULFIL THE COMMANDMENTS. AUGUSTINE EXAMINES THOSE PASSAGES OF HIS WRITINGS IN WHICH HE BOASTED THAT HE HAD BESTOWED EXPRESS COMMENDATION ON THE GRACE OF GOD, AND POINTS OUT HOW THEY CAN BE INTERPRETED AS REFERRING TO THE LAW AND THE DOCTRINE, "Æ" IN OTHER WORDS, TO THE DIVINE REVELATION AND THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST, WHICH ARE ALIKE INCLUDED IN "THE DOCTRINE," "Æ" OR ELSE TO THE REMISSION OF SINS; NOR DO THEY AFFORD ANY EVIDENCE WHATSOEVER THAT PELAGIUS REALLY ACKNOWLEDGED CHRISTIAN GRACE, IN THE SENSE OF HELP RENDERED FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF RIGHT ACTION TO NATURAL FACULTY AND [SCRIPTURAL] instruction, by the inspiration of a most glowing and luminous charity; and he concludes with a request that pelagius would seriously listen to ambrose, whom he is so very fond of quoting, in his excellent eulogy in commendation of the grace of god.
Chap. 1. [i.]

HOW greatly we rejoice on account of your bodily health, and, above all, because of your spiritual welfare, my most sincerely attached brethren and beloved of God, Albina, Pinianus, and Melania, we cannot express in words; we therefore leave all this to your own thoughts and belief, in

2

CHAP. II.] PELAGIUS' UNCERTAIN VIEWS OF GRACE. 3

order that we may now rather speak of the matters on which you consulted us. We have, indeed, had to compose these words to the best of the ability which God has vouchsafed to us, while our messenger was in a hurry to be gone, and amidst many occupations, which are much more absorbing to me at Carthage than in any other place whatever.

Chap. 2. [ii.] Ê Suspicious character of Pelagius' confession as to the necessity of grace for every single act of ours.

You informed me in your letter, that you had entreated Pelagius to express in writing his condemnation of all that had been alleged against him; and that he had deliberately said, in the audience of you all: "I anathematize the man who thinks or says that the grace of God, whereby 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners,' ^ is not necessary for us every hour and every moment, and also for every act of our lives; while they who endeavour to disannul it deserve everlasting punishment." Now, whoever hears these words, but is ignorant of the opinion which he has clearly enough expressed in his books, Ê not those, indeed, which he declares to have been surreptitiously foisted on him without any correction of his own, nor those which he already repudiates, but those even which he mentions in his own letter which he forwarded to Eome, Ê would certainly suppose that the views he holds are in strict accordance with the truth. And yet, if any one notices carefully what he openly declares in them, he cannot fail to regard even these statements with suspicion. Because, although he makes that grace of God which sent Christ into the world to save sinners to consist simply in the remission of sins, he can still accommodate his words to this meaning, by alleging that the necessity of such grace every hour and moment, and for every action of our life, comes to this, that while we recollect and keep in mind the forgiveness of our past sins, we sin no more, aided not by
any supply of virtue from without, but by the resources of our own will, as it recalls to
our mind, in every action we do, what advantage has been conferred upon us by this
remission of sins. Then, again, whereas they are accustomed to say that Christ has given
us assistance for avoiding sin, in that He has left us an example
1 1 Tim. i. 15.

4 OfSr THE GRACE OF CHEIST. [BOOK I.]

by living righteously and teaching what is right Himself, they have it in their power here
also of accommodating their words, by affirming such to be the necessity of grace to us
every moment and for every action, that we should in all our conduct regard the example
of the Lord's conversation. Your own fidelity to the truth, however, enables you clearly to
perceive how such a profession of opinion as this differs from that true confession of
grace which is now the question before us. And yet how easily can it be obscured and
disguised by their ambiguous statements!

Chap. 3. [iii.] â€” Orace according to the Pelagians.
But why should we wonder at this? For the same Pelagius, who in the Acts of the
episcopal synod unhesitatingly condemned those who say that God's grace and assistance
are not given for single acts, but consist in [the general gift of] free will, or in the law and
the doctrine [of Scripture,] upon which points we were apt to think that he had been
expending all his subterfuges; and who also condemned such as affirm that the grace of
God is bestowed in proportion to our merits, — the Pelagius, I say, who has pronounced
these anathemas, is, notwithstanding, proved to hold, in the books which he has published
on the freedom of the will (and which he mentions in the letter he sent to Eome), no other
sentiments than those which he seemingly condemned. For that grace and help of God, by
which we are assisted in avoiding sin, he makes to consist either in nature and free will,
or else in the gift of the law and [Scripture] doctrine; the result of which of course is this,
that whenever God helps a man. He must be supposed to help him to turn away from evil
and do good, by giving him the revelation [of His will] and teaching him what he ought
to do, but not with the additional assistance of His co-operation and inspiration of love,
that he may accomplish that which he had discovered it to be his duty to do.

Chap. 4.

In his system, he places, with distinct functions, three
â€¢ See De gestis Pelagii, c. 30.

* [We have in these Im'o cknse an explanation of the terms "law and doctrine," which
Pelagius uses almost technically.]
faculties, with which he says God's commandments are fulfilled, "possibility," volition, and action: meaning by "possibility," that with which a man is enabled to be just and righteous; by "volition," that he wills to be just; by "action," that he actually is just. The first of these, the possibility, he allows to have been bestowed on us by the Creator of our nature; it is not in our power, and we possess it even against our will. The other two, however, the volition and the action, he asserts to be our own; and he assigns them to us so strictly as to contend that they proceed simply from ourselves. In short, according to Ms view, God's grace has nothing to do with assisting those two faculties which he will have to be altogether our own, the volition and the action; but that only which is not in our own power and comes to us from God, namely the possibility; as if the faculties which are our own, that is, the volition and the action, have such avail for declining evil and doing good, that they require not any divine help, whereas that faculty which we have of God, that is to say, the possibility, is so weak, that it is always assisted by the aid of grace.

Chap. 5. [ir.]

Lest, however, it should chance be said that we either do not correctly understand what he advances, or malevolently pervert to another meaning what he never meant to bear such a sense, I beg of you to consider his own actual words: "We classify," says he, "these faculties thus, arranging them into a certain graduated order. We put in the first place posse, 'possibility;' in the second velle, 'volition;' and in the third esse, or 'being.' The possibility we place in our nature, the volition in our will, and the being in the realization by act. The first of these faculties expressed in the term posse is especially assigned to God, who has bestowed it on His creature; the other two, indicated in the terms velle and esse, must be referred to the human agent, because they flow forth from the fountain of his will. In his willing, therefore, and doing a good work consists man's praise; or rather this praise belongs both to the human being and to God, who has bestowed on hiQi the 'possibility' of exercising his actual will and

work, and who evermore by the help of His grace assists this very possibility. That a man possesses this possibility of willing and effecting any good work, comes from God alone. So that this one faculty may exist, even when the other two have no being; but the converse is not true, â€” that these latter can exist without that former one. It is therefore at my own option not to have a good inclination and not to do a good action; but it is by no means within my own power not to have the possibility of good. This possibility is inherent in me, whether I will or no; nor does nature at any time receive in this point an option for itself. Now the meaning of all this will be rendered clearer by an example or
two. That we have the possibility of seeing with our eyes is no power of ours; but it is in our own power that we make a good or a bad use of our eyes. So again, that I may, by applying a general case in illustration, embrace all, the fact that we have the possibility of accomplishing every good thing by action, speech, and thought, comes from Him who has endowed us with this possibility, and also assists it; but that we really do a good thing, or speak a good word, or think a good thought, proceeds from our own selves, because we are also able to turn all these actions into evil. Accordingly, â€” and this is a point which needs frequent repetition, because of your calumniaion of us, â€” whenever we say that a man can live without sin, we also give praise to God by our acknowledgment of the possibility which we have received from Him, who has bestowed such power upon us; and there is here no occasion for praising the human agent, since it is God's matter alone that is for the moment treated of; for the question is not about willing, or effecting, but simply and solely about that which may possibly be."

Chap. 6. [v.]

The whole of this dogma of Pelagius, observe, is carefully expressed in these words, and none other, in the third book of his treatise in defence of the liberty of the wiU, in which he has managed in respect of these three faculties, â€” the possibility, the volition, and the action, indicated in the first by posse, the second by velle, and the third by esse, â€” to distinguish them with so much subtle skill, that, whenever we read or hear of his acknowledgment of the possibility which we have received from Him, who has bestowed such power upon us; and there is here no occasion for praising the human agent, since it is God's matter alone that is for the moment treated of; for the question is not about willing, or effecting, but simply and solely about that which may possibly be."

CHAP. VII.] GEACE EEQUIRED FOK THE THREE. 7

acknowledging the assistance of divine grace in order to our avoidance of evil and accomplishment of good, â€” whatever he may mean by the said assistance of grace, whether the law or the doctrine [of Scripture,] or any other thing, â€” we are sure of what he says; nor can we run into any mistake by understanding his meaning to be different from his expression of it.

For we cannot help knowing that, according to his belief, it is not our volition nor our action which is assisted by the divine help, but solely the "possibility" of our will and action, which alone of the three, as he affirms, we have of God. As if that faculty were infirm which God Himself placed in our nature; while the other two, which, as he would have it, are our own property, are so strong and firm and self-sufficient as to require none of His help! so that He does not help us to will, nor help us to act, but simply helps us to the possibility of willing and acting. The apostle, however, holds the contrary, when he says, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." ^ And that [the Philippians] might be sure that it was not simply in the possibility of their working (for this they had already received in nature and in [Scripture] doctrine), but in their actual working that they were divinely assisted, the apostle does not go on to say to them, "For it is God that worketh in you to be able," as if they already possessed volition and operation among their own resources, without requiring His assistance in respect of these two; but he says, "For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His own good pleasure;" ^ or, as the reading runs in other copies,
especially the Greek, " both to will and to energize " \[\text{cal to OeXeiv koX to evepjecv}\].

Consider, now, whether the apostle did not thus long before foresee by the Holy Ghost that there would arise adversaries of the grace of God; and did not therefore declare that God works within us those two very operations, even of " willing " and " acting " [or " doing,"] which this man so determined to be our own, as if they were in no wise assisted by the help of divine grace.

Chap. 7. [vi.]
Let not Pelagius, however, in this way deceive incautious and simple persons, or even himself; for after saying, " Man's
1 Phil. ii. 12. 2 Phil. ii. 13.

8 ON THE GEARCE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

praise consists in Ms willing and doing a good work," he added, as if by way of correcting himself, these words: " Or rather, this praise belongs to the human being and to God!"

It was not, however, that he wished to be understood as showing any deference to the sound doctrine, that it is " God which worketh in us both to will and to do," that he thus expressed himself; but it is clear enough, on his own showing, why he added the latter clause, for he immediately subjoins:

" Who has bestowed on him the ' possibility ' of exercising this very will and work." From his preceding words it is manifest that he places this possibility in our nature. Lest he should seem, however, to have said nothing about grace, he added these words: " And who evermore, by the help of His' grace, assists this very possibility," â€” " this very possibility',

observe; not [man's] very will, or very action; for if he had
said so much as this, he would clearly not be at variance with
the doctrine of the apostle. But there are his words: " this
very possibility; " meaning that very one of the three faculties
which he had placed in our nature. This God "evermore
assists by the help of His grace." The result, indeed, is, that
God does not share with the human agent the praise which
comes in the processes of will and action, in such wise that
man either so wills as to have God also inspiring his volition
with the ardour of love, or so works as to have God also
co-operating with him. And without such help, what is man
after all? But he has associated God [with man] in this
praise of which he treats, in this wise, that were it not for the
nature which God gave us in our creation wherewith it might
be possible to exercise volition and action, we should neither
will nor act.

Chap. 8. Â¢” Grace, according to the Pelagians, consists in the internal and manifold
illumination of the mind.

As to his allowing that this possibility of our nature is assisted by the grace of God, it is
by no means clear from the passage either what grace he means, or to what extent he
supposes our nature to be assisted by it. But, as is the case in other passages in which he
expresses himself with more clearness and decision, [so, deriving information from
them.] we may here also perceive that no other grace is intended by him as

CHAP. VIII.] PELAGIUS OWNS, YET STINTS, GRACE. 9

helping the possibility of our nature than the law and the doctrine [of revelation.] [vii.]
For in one passage he says:
"We are supposed by very ignorant persons to do wrong in this matter to the divine grace, because we say that it is by no means able to effect sanctification in us without our own will, as if God could have imposed any command on His grace, without also supplying the help of His grace to those on whom he imposed His commands, so that men might more easily accomplish through grace what they are required to do by their free will." Then, as if he meant to explain what grace he meant, he immediately went on to add these words: "And this grace we for our part do not, as you suppose, allow to consist merely in the law, but also in the help of God." Now who can help wishing that he would show us what grace it is that he would have us understand? Indeed we have the strongest reason for expecting him to tell us what he means by saying that he does not allow grace merely to consist in the law. Whilst, however, we are in the suspense of our expectation, observe, I pray you, what he has further to tell us:

"God helps us," says he, "by His doctrine and revelation, whilst He opens the eyes of our heart; whilst He points out to us the future, that we may not be absorbed in the present; whilst He discovers to us the snares of the devil; whilst He enlightens us with the manifold and ineffable gift of heavenly grace." He then concludes his statement with a kind of clinching appeal: "Does the man," he asks, "who says all this appear to you to be a denier of grace? Does he not acknowledge both man's free will and God's grace?"

But, after all, he has not got beyond his commendation of the law and of the doctrine [of revelation;] assiduously inculcating this as the grace that helps us, and so following up the idea with which he had started, when he said, "We, however, allow it to consist in the help of God." God's help, indeed, he supposed must be recommended to us by manifold lures; by setting forth doctrine and revelation, the opening of the eyes of the heart, the demonstration of the future, the discovery of the devil's wiles, and the illumination of our minds by the varied and indescribable gift of heavenly grace, all this, of course, with a view to our learning the commandments and promises of God. And what else is this than placing God's grace in [his original formula of] "the law and the doctrine of Scripture?"

Chap. 9. [viii.] "The law one thing, grace another. What the law can do without grace. The utility of the law.

Hence, then, it is clear that he acknowledges such a grace as that whereby God points out and reveals to us what we are bound to do, but not such as endows us with gifts and assists us to action and conduct; since the knowledge of the law, unless it be accompanied by the assistance of grace, rather produces the effect of developing the transgression of the commandment. "Where there is no law," says the apostle, "there is no transgression;" and again: "I had not known lust
[or concupiscence], except the law had said. Thou shalt not covet." ^ Therefore so far are the law and grace from being identical, that the law is not only unprofitable, but it is absolutely prejudicial, unless grace assists it; and the utility of the law may be shown by this, that it obliges all whom it proves guilty of transgression to betake themselves to grace for deliverance and help to overcome their evil lusts. It rather commands than assists; it discovers disease, but does not heal it; nay, the malady that is not healed is rather aggravated by it, so that the cure of grace is more earnestly and anxiously sought for. " The letter indeed killeth, but the spirit giveth life." ^ " For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law." * To what extent, however, the law gives assistance, the apostle informs us when he says immediately afterwards: " The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." Â© "Wherefore, says the apostle, " the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus." ^ Now this very thing is serviceable to proud men, to be more firmly and manifestly " concluded " [or shut up] " under sin," so that none may presumptuously endeavour to accomplish their justification by means of the resources as it were of their own free will; but rather " that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. Because by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." ^ How manifested without the law, if witnessed by the law? This, however, is not the meaning. The phrase is not, " manifested without the law," but " the righteousness without the law," because it is " the righteousness of God; " that is to say, the righteousness which we have not from the law, but from God, â€” not the righteousness, indeed, which by reason of His commanding it causes us fear through our knowledge of it; but rather the righteousness which by reason of His bestowing it is held fast and maintained by us through our loving it, â€” " so that [according as it is written]. He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." ^

Chap. X.] DIFFEEENCE BETWEEN LAW AND GRACE. 11

What object, then, can he gain by accounting the law and the doctrine of Scripture to be the grace which helps us to work righteousness? For, in order that it may effect its great help, it must assist us to the extent of our feeling the need of grace and seeking it. No man, indeed, is able to fulfil the law through the law. " Love is the fulfilling of the law." ' And the love of God is not shed abroad in our hearts by the law, but by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us.* Grace, therefore, is pointed at by the law, in order that the law


Chap. 10. [ix.] â€” What purpose the law subserves.

Rom. iv. 15. 2 Eom. vii. 7. ^ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

may be fulfilled by grace. Now what does it avail for Pelagius, that he declares the same thing under different phrases, that he may not be understood to place in law and doctrine that grace which, as he avers, assists the "possibility" of our nature? So far, indeed, as I can conjecture, the reason why he fears being so understood is, because he condemned all those who maintain that God's grace and help are not given for a man's single actions, but exist rather in [the general endowment of] his freedom, or in the law and Scripture doctrine.

And yet he supposes that he escapes detection by the shifts he so constantly employs for disguising what he means by his formula of "law and doctrine" under so many various phrases.

1 Rom. iii. 19-21. 2 j Cor. i. 31. 3 Rom. xiii. 10. * Rom. v. 5.

12 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 11. [x.] æ" Pelagius resolves grace into "law and doctrine." The grace which one ought to own, to be a Christian; namely, that which not only advises, but actually prevails on us, to do good.

For in another passage, after asserting at length that it is not by the help of God but out of our own selves that a good will is formed within us, he confronted himself with a question out of the apostle's epistle; and he asked this question:
" How will this stand consistently with the apostle's words, "
'It is God that worketh in you both to will and to effect'.

Then, in order to obviate this opposing authority, which he plainly saw to be most thoroughly contrasted with his own dogma, he went on at once to add: "He works in us to will what is good, to will what is holy, when He rouses us from our devotion to earthly desires, and from that mere love of the present, which affects us after the manner of brute animals, by the magnitude of the future glory and the promise of its rewards, when by revealing wisdom to us He stirs up our sluggish will to a longing after God, and (what you are not afraid to deny in another passage) when He advises us to follow everything which is good." Now what can be plainer, than that by the grace whereby God works within us to will what is good, he means nothing else than the law and the doctrine? For in the law and the doctrine of the holy Scriptures are promised future glory and its great rewards. To the doctrine also appertains the revelation of wisdom, whilst it is its further function to direct our thoughts to everything that is good. And if between teaching and advising (or rather exhorting) there seems to be a difference, yet even this is provided for in the general term "doctrine," which is included in the several discourses or letters; for the holy Scriptures both teach and exhort, and in the processes of teaching and exhorting there is room likewise for man's operation. We, however, on our side would fain have him after all confess that grace, which not only holds out the promise of future glory in all its magnitude, but also believes in it and hopes for it. By this same grace, too, wisdom is not only revealed, but also loved; while everything that is good is not only recommended to us, but pressed upon us until we accept it. For all men do not
possess faith/ who hear the Lord in the Scriptures promising the kingdom of heaven; nor are all men persuaded, who are counselled to come to Him, who says, "Come unto me, all ye that labour." They, however, who have faith are the same who are also persuaded to come to Him. This He Himself set forth most plainly, when He said, "No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him." And some verses afterwards, when speaking of such as believe not.

He says, "Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me except it were given unto him of my Father." This is the grace which Pelagius ought to acknowledge, if he wishes not only to be called a Christian, but to be one.

But what shall I say about the revelation of wisdom? For there is no man who can in the present life very well hope to attain to the great revelations which were given to the Apostle Paul; and of course it is impossible to suppose that anything used in these revelations to be made known to him but what appertained to wisdom. Yet for all this he says:

"Lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that He would take it away from me. And He said unto me. My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness." Nov/, undoubtedly, if there were already in the apostle that perfection of love which admitted of no further addition, and which could be puffed up no more, there could have been no further need of the messenger of Satan to buffet him, and thereby to repress the excessive elation which might arise from abundance of revelations. What means this elation, however, but a being puffed up? And of charity it has been indeed most truly said, "Charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up." This charity, therefore, was still in process of constant increase in the great apostle, day by day, as long as his "inward man was renewed day by day," and would then be perfected, no doubt,
when lie was got beyond the reach of all further vaunting and elation. But at that moment his mind was still in a condition to be inflated by an abundance of revelations, [and would so remain] until it should be perfected in the solid edifice of charity; for he had not arrived at the end and apprehended the prize, to which he was reaching forward in his constant course.

Chap. 13. [xii.] â€” Gi'ace causes us to do.
To him, therefore, who is reluctant to endure the troublesome process, whereby this vaunting disposition is restrained, before he attains to the ultimate and highest perfection of charity, it is most properly said, " My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness," in weakness, that is, not of the flesh only, as he supposes, but both of the flesh and of the mind; because the mind, too, was, in comparison of that last stage of complete perfection, weak; and to it also was assigned, in order to check its elation, that messenger of Satan, the thorn in the flesh. Notwithstanding, it was very strong, in contrast with the lower faculties of the flesh and our " natural man," which as yet receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." Inasmuch, then, as strength is made perfect in weakness, whoever does not own himself to be weak, is not in the way to be perfected. This grace, however, by which strength is perfected in weakness, conducts all who are predestinated and called according to the divine purpose to the state of the highest perfection and glory. By such grace it is effected, not only that we discover what ought to be done, but also that we do what we have discovered, not only that we believe, too, what ought to be loved, but also that we love what we have believed.

Chap. 14. [xiii.] â€” How grace can he called "doctrine." He who learns by grace does only that which he has learned ought to be done. The righteousness which is of God. The righteousness which is of the law. The /ear of punishment.

If this grace is to be called "doctrine," let it at any rate be so called in such wise that God may be believed to infuse it, along with an ineffable sweetness, more deeply and more internally, not only by their agency who plant and water from without, but likewise by HimseK too who ministers in secret His own increase, in such a way, that He not only exhibits truth, but likewise imparts charity. For it is thus that God teaches those who have been called according to His purpose, giving them simultaneously both to know what they ought to do, and to do what they actually know. Accordingly, the apostle thus speaks to the Thessalonians: " As touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another." And then, by way of proving that they had been taught of God, he subjoined: " And indeed ye do it towards aU the brethren which are in all Macedonia." As if the
surest sign that you have been taught of God, is that you put into practice what you have been taught. Of that character are all who are called according to God's purpose, as it is written in the prophets: "They shall be all taught of God." ^ The man, however, who has learned what ought to be done, but does it not, has not as yet been "taught of God" according to grace, but only according to the law, â€” not after the spirit, but only in the letter. Although there are many who apparently do what the law commands, acting through fear of punishment, not through love of righteousness; and such righteousness as this the apostle calls "his own which is after the law," â€” a thing as it were commanded, not given. When, indeed, it has been given, it is not called our own righteousness, but God's. It becomes our own only so that we have it from God. These are the apostle's words: "That I may be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." ^ So great, then, is the difference between the law and grace, that although the law is undoubtly of God, yet the righteousness which is of the law is not of God, but the righteousness which has its consummation from grace is of God. The one is designated the righteousness of the law, because it is done through fear of the curse of the law; while the other is called the righteousness of God, because it is bestowed through the beneficence of His grace, so that it

1 1 Thess. iv. 9. 2 i Thess. iv. 10.

2 Isa. liv. 13; Jer. xxxi. 34; John vi. 45. * Phil iii. 9.

16 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [COOK I.

is not a terrible but a pleasant commandment; according to the prayer in the Psalm: "Good art Thou, Lord, therefore in Thy goodness teach me Thy righteousness;" ^ that is, [teach me in Thy sweet graciousness,] that I may not be compelled like a slave to live under the law with fear of punishment; but rather in the freedom of love may be delighted to live with law as my companion. When the freeman keeps a commandment, he does it with good will and cheerfulness. And whosoever learns his duty in this spirit, does only that which he has learned ought to be done.

Chap. 15. [xiv.] â€” He who has been taught by grace comes to Christ; he who does not come has not been so taught. In what way God teaches by grace.

Assistance is given both/or willing and for working.

Now as touching this mode of [divine] instruction, the Lord also says: "Every man that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." ^ Of the man, therefore, who has not approached the Lord, it cannot be correctly said: He has heard and has learned that it is his duty to come, but he is not willing to do what he has been taught. It is indeed absolutely improper to apply such a statement to that method of instruction, whereby 'God teaches by grace. For if, as the [incarnate] Truth says, "Every man that hath learned cometh," it follows, of course, that whoever does not come hath not learned.
But who can fail to see that a man's coming or not coming is decided by his will? This decision, however, may stand alone, as when the man does not come; but if he does come, it can only be by having received assistance in his will, â€” and such assistance, that he not only knows what it is he ought to do, but also actually does what he thus knows.

And thus, when God teaches, it is not by the letter of the law, but by the grace of the Spirit. Moreover, He so teaches, that whatever a man learns under such tuition, he not only perceives by the process of discovery, but also desires by the exercise of will, and accomplishes in continuous action.

By this mode, therefore, of [divine] instruction, man's very volition even, and his very action too, are assisted, and not merely the natural "possibility" of using the will and employing action. For if nothing but this "possibility" of ours were assisted by this grace, the Lord would rather have said, "Every man that hath heard and hath learned of the Father may possibly come to me." This, however, is not what He said; but His words are these: "Every man that hath heard and hath learned of the Father cometh unto me." Now the possibility of coming Pelagius places in man's nature, or even â€” as we found him attempting to say some time ago â€” in grace (whatever that may mean according to his apprehension), when he says of it, "whereby this very possibility is assisted;" whereas the actual coming lies in the will and act. It does not, however, follow that he who may come actually comes, unless he has also willed and acted for the coming. But every one who has learned of the Father not only has the possibility of coming, but comes; and in this result are already included the motion of the possibility, the affection of the will, and the effect of the action.

Chap. 16. [xv.]

Now what is the use of his examples, if they do not really accomplish his own promise of making his meaning clearer to us;â€”not, indeed, that we are bound to admit their sense, but that we may discover more plainly and openly what is his drift and purpose in using them? "That we have," says he, "the possibility of seeing with our eyes is no power of ours; but it is in our power that we make a good or a bad use of our eyes." Well, there is a good answer for him in the Psalm, in which the psalmist says to God, "Turn Thou away mine eyes, that they behold not iniquity." Now although this was said of the eyes of the mind, it still follows from it, that in respect of our bodily eyes there is either a good use or a bad use that may be made of them: not in the literal sense merely of a good sight when the eyes are sound, and a bad sight when they are bleared; but in the moral sense of a right sight when it is directed towards succouring the helpless, or a bad sight when its object is the in-
dulgence of lust. For although the poor man who needs the succour, and the woman who excites the lust, are severally objects which employ the organs of external sight, it is after all from the inner eye [of the mind] that the sentiment either of compassion in the one case or of lust in the other proceeds.

How then is it that the prayer is offered to God, "Turn Thou away mine eyes, that they behold not iniquity"? Or why is that asked for which lies within our own competency, if it be true that God does not assist the will of man?

Chapter 17. [xvi.]

"That we are able to speak," says he, "is a gift of God to us; but that we make a good or a bad use of speech is our own matter." He, however, who has made the most excellent use of speech does not teach us so. "For," says He, "it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you."^ "So, again," adds [Pelagius], "that I may, by applying a general case in illustration, embrace all, the fact that we have the possibility of accomplishing every good thing by action, speech, and thought, comes from Him who has endowed us with this possibility, and who also assists it."

Observe how even here he repeats his former meaning â€“ that of the three faculties of possibility, volition, and action, it is only the possibility which receives any help. Then, by way of completely stating what he intends to say, he adds: "But that we really do a good thing, or speak a good word, or think a good thought, proceeds from our own selves." He forgot what he had said by way of correcting, as it were, his own words; for after saying, "Man's praise therefore consists in his willing and doing a good work," he at once goes on to modify his statement thus: "Or rather, this praise belongs both to the human being and to God, who has bestowed on him the possibility of exercising his very will and work."

Now what is the reason why he did not remember this admission when giving his examples, so as to say this much at least after quoting them? The fact that we have the power of accomplishing every good thing by action, speech, and thought, comes from Him who has endowed us with this

1 Matt. X. 20.
power, and who also assists it. The fact, however, that we really do a good tiling, or speak a good word, or think a good thought, proceeds loth from ourselves and from Him! This much, however, he has not said. But if I am not mistaken, I think I see why he was afraid [to make such an admission].

Chap. 18. [xvii.] ã€” He discovers the reason of Pelagius' fear.
For, when wishing to point out what lies within our own competency, he says: "Because we are also able to turn all these actions into evil." This, then, was the reason why he was afraid to admit that such an action proceeds "both from ourselves and from God" lest it should be objected to him in reply: If the fact of our doing anything good by action, speech, or thought is owing both to ourselves and to God, on the ground that He has endowed us with such a power, then it follows that our doing an evil thing in act, word, or thought is therefore due to ourselves and to God, because He has here also endowed us with such a power; the conclusion from this being ã€” and God forbid that we should admit any such ã€” that just as God is associated with ourselves in the praise of good actions, so must He share with us the blame of evil actions.
For that "possibility" with which He has endowed us makes us capable both of good actions and of evil ones.

Chap. 19. [xviii.] ã€” The two roots of action, charity and cupidity; who is the good man, and loho the had.

Concerning this "possibility," Pelagius thus writes in the first book of his Defence of the Freedom of the Will: "Now," says he, "we have implanted in us by God a possibility for acting in both directions. It resembles, as I may say, a root which is most abundant in its produce of fruit. It yields and produces diversely according to man's will; and is capable, at the planter's own choice, of either shedding a beautiful bloom of virtues, or of bristling with the thorny thickets of vices."
Scarcely heeding what he says, he here makes one and the same root productive both of good and evil fruits, in opposition to gospel truth and apostolic teaching. For the Lord declares that "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit;" ^ and when the

J Matt. vii. 18.

20 ON THE GEACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

Apostle Paul says that [covetousness or] "the love of money is the root of all evil,"^ he intimates to us, of course, that charity may be regarded as the root of all good things. On the supposition, therefore, that two trees, one good and the other corrupt, represent two
human beings, a good one and a bad, what else is the good man with his good will, than a
tree with a good root? And what the bad man with his bad will, but a tree with a bad root?
The fruits which spring from such roots and. trees are deeds, and words, and thoughts,
which proceed, when good, from a good will, and when evil, from an evil one.

Chap. 20. [xix.] â€” In what sense a man makes a good or a bad tree; whence the evil loill
originates.

Now a man makes the tree good when he receives the grace of God. For it is not by
himself that he does good instead of evil; but it is of Him, and through Him, and in Him
who is always good. And in order that he may not only be a good tree, but also bear good
fruit, it is necessary for him to be assisted by the self-same grace, without which he can
do nothing good. For God does Himself contribute to the production of fruit in good
trees, when He both externally waters and tends them by the agency of His servants, and
internally by Himself also gives the increase. A man, however, makes the tree corrupt
when he corrupts his own self, when he falls away from Him who is the unchanging
good; for such a declension from Him is the origin of an evil will. Now this decline does
not initiate some other nature in a corrupt state, but it vitiates that which has been already
created good.

When this vitiation, however, has been healed, no evil remains; for although there was no
doubt a vitium naturae, [since nature had received an injury], yet it was not vitium natura,
[for nature was not itself essentially wrong].

Chap. 21. [xx.] â€” Charity the root of all good things; cupidity, of all evil ones.
The inhabitants of the world are in Scripture called "the world."

The "possibility," then, of which we speak is not (as he supposes) the one identical root
both of good things and evil. For the charity which is the root of good things is quite
different from the cupidity which is the root of evil things â€” as different,
1 1 Tim. vi. 10. ^1 Cor. ui. 7.

CHAP. XXII.] CUPIDITY VERSUS CHARITY. 2 1

indeed, as virtue is from vice. But no doubt this possibility is capable of contributing both
roots: because a man may not only possess charity, whereby the tree becomes a good one;
but he may likewise have cupidity, which makes the tree evil.

This cupidity, however, which is the fault of man, has for its author man, or man's
deceiver, but not man's Creator. It is indeed that "lust of the flesh, and the lust of the
eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but is of the world." ^ And who can
be ignorant of the usage of the Scripture, which under the designation of "the world" is
accustomed to describe those who inhabit the world?

Chap. 22. [xxi.] â€” Charity is a good will.
That charity, however, which is [so great] a virtue, comes to us from God, not from ourselves, according to the testimony of Scripture, which says: "Love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God: for God is love."\(^1\) It is on the principle of this love or charity that one can best understand the passage, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin;"\(^1\) as well as the sentence, "And he cannot sin."\(^1\) Because the charity after which we are born of God "doth not behave itself unseemly," and "thinketh no evil."\(^1\) Therefore, whenever a man sins, he is not in accord with charity: it is after the promptings of cupidity or covetousness that he commits sin; and following such a disposition, he is not born of God. Because, as it has been already stated, "the possibility" [or faculty of which a man is possessed] may have both roots [productive of good and of evil]. When, therefore, the Scripture says, "Love is of God," or still more pointedly, "God is love;" when the Apostle John so very emphatically exclaims, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called, and be, the sons of God!"\(^1\) with what face can this writer, on hearing [such words, and especially] that "God is love," persist in maintaining his opinion, that we have of God one only of the three faculties of our nature, namely, "the possibility" [of which he speaks so much]; whereas it is

\(^{1}\) 1 John ii. 16. \(^{1}\) 1 John iv. 7, 8. \(^{j}\) joi\(^{jji}\), 9

* Same vers\(^{1}\), * 1 Cor. xiii. 5. \(^{1}\) John iii. 1.

22 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

of ourselves that we have the good will and the good action? As if, indeed, this goodness of will were a different thing from that charity which the Scripture so loudly proclaims to have come to us from God, and to have been given to us by the Father, that we might become His children.

Chap. 23. [xxii.]

Perhaps, however, it is our own antecedent merits which caused this gift to be bestowed upon us; as this writer has already suggested in reference to God's grace, in a work which he addressed to a holy virgin,\(^{1}\) whom he mentions in a letter sent by him to Eome. For, after adducing the testimony of the Apostle James, in which he says, "Submit yourselves unto God; resist the devil, and he will flee from you,"\(^{1}\) he goes on to say: "He shows us how we ought to resist the devil, if we submit ourselves indeed to God, and by doing His will merit His divine grace, and by the help of the Holy Ghost more easily withstand the evil spirit." Judge, then, how sincere was his condemnation in the Palestine Synod of those persons who say that God's grace is conferred on us according to our merits! Have we any doubt as to his still holding this opinion, and most openly proclaiming it? Well, how could that confession of his before the bishops have been true and real? Is it true that he had at that time written the book in which he most explicity alleges that grace is bestowed on us according to our deserts â€” the very position which he without any
reservation condemned at that Synod in the East? Let him frankly acknowledge that he once held the opinion, but that he holds it no longer; so should we most frankly rejoice in his improvement. As it is, however, when, besides other objections, this one was laid to his charge which we are now discussing, he said in reply:

"Whether these are the opinions of Coelestius or not, is the concern of those who affirm that they are. For my own part, indeed, I never entertained such views; on the contrary, I anathematize every one who does entertain them." ^ But how could he " never have entertained such views," when he

^ [Epistola ad Demetriadem.] ^ Jas. iv. 7.

3 See the De Gestis Pelagii, ch. 30 [xiv.].

CHAT. XXIV.] PELAGIAN CAECICATUEE OF GRACE. 23

had already composed a work advocating them? ^ Or else with what face does he still " anathematize everybody who entertains these views," if he afterwards composed this work?

CuAP. 24.

But perhaps he may meet us with this rejoinder, that in the sentence before us he Speke of our "meriting the divine grace by doing the will of God," in the sense that grace is added to those who believe and lead godly lives, whereby they may boldly withstand the tempter; whereas their very first reception of grace was, that they might do the will of God. That such a rejoinder, however, is quite untenable [you may judge for yourselves, if] you consider some other words of his on this subject: "The man," says he, "who hastens to the Lord, and desires to be directed by Him, that is, who makes his own will depend upon God's, who moreover cleaves so closely to the Lord as to become (as the apostle says) 'one spirit' with Him,- does all this by nothing else than by his own liberty of will." Observe how great a result he has here stated to be accomplished by one's own free will; and how, in fact, he supposes us to cleave to God without the help of God: for such is the force of his words, "by nothing else than by his own liberty of will." So that, after we have cleaved to the Lord without His help, we even then, because of such adhesion of our own, deserve to be assisted, [xxiii.] For he goes on to say: "Whosoever makes a right use of this "(that is, rightly uses his liberty of will), "does so entirely surrender himself to God, and does so completely mortify his own will, that he is able to say with the apostle, ' [ISTeverstheless I live]; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me;' ^ and [in the words of Solomon], ' He placeth his heart in the hand of God, so that He turneth it whithersoever He willeth.' ^* Great indeed is the help of the grace of God, when He turns our heart in whatever direction He pleases. But according to this writer's foolish opinion, however great the help may be, we deserve it all at the moment when, without any assistance beyond the liberty of our own will, we hasten to the Lord, desire His
24 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

guidance and direction, suspend our own will entirely on His, and by close adherence to Him become one spirit with Him.

Now all these vast courses of goodness we (according to him) accomplish, forsooth, simply by the choice of our own free will; and by reason of such antecedent merits we so secure His grace, that He turns our heart which way soever He pleases. Well, now, how is that grace which is not gratuitously conferred? How can it be grace, if it is given in payment of a debt? How can that be true which the apostle says, "It is not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast;" and again,

"If it is of grace, then is it no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace: " how, I repeat, can this be true, if such meritorious works precede as to procure for us the bestowal of grace? Surely, under the circumstances, there can be no gratuitous gift, but only the recompense of a due reward. Is it the case, then, that in order to find their way to the help of God, men run to God without God's help?

And in order that we may receive God's help while cleaving to Him, do we without His help cleave to God? What greater gift, or even what similar gift, could grace itself bestow upon any man, if he has already without grace been able to make himself one spirit with the Lord by no other power than that of his own free will?

Chap. 25. [xxiv.]â€”God by His wonderful power works in our hearts good dispositions of our will.

Now I want him to tell us whether that king of Assyria, whose holy wife Esther "abhorred his bed," whilst sitting upon the throne of his kingdom, and clothed in all his glorious apparel, adorned all over with gold and precious stones, and dreadful in his majesty, when he raised his face, which was inflamed with anger, in the midst of his splendour, and beheld her, with the glare of a wild bull in the fierceness of his indignation; and the queen was afraid, and her colour changed as

1 Eph. ii. 8, 9. ^ Rom. xi. 6.

[The reading "Assyrius" is replaced in some editions by the more suitable word "Assuerus."]

[This "exsecrabatur cubile" seems to refer to Esther's words in her prayer, ^iXuiTo-ofAai Ko'iTnv a'TtfiTfinTia, "I abhor the couch of the uncircumcised" (Esth. iv., Septuagint).]
she fainted, and she bowed herself upon the head of the maid that went before her; I want him, I say, to tell us whether this king had yet "hastened to the Lord, and had desired to be directed by Him, and had subordinated his own will to His, and had, by cleaving fast to God, become one spirit with Him, [and had then done all this] simply by the force of his own free will." Had he surrendered himself wholly to God, and entirely mortified his own will, and placed his heart in the hand of God? I suppose that anybody who should think this of the king, in the state he was then in, would be not foolish only, but even mad. And yet God converted him, and turned his indignation into gentleness. Who, however, can fail to see how much greater a task it is to change and turn wrath completely into gentleness, than to bend the heart, when it is not preoccupied with either affection, but is indifferently poised between the two, in any direction at all? Let them therefore read and understand, observe and acknowledge, that it is not by law and doctrine uttering their lessons from without, but by a secret, wonderful, and ineffable power operating within, that God works in men's hearts not only revelations of the truth, but also good dispositions of the will.

Chap. 26. The Pelagian grace of "possibility" exploded. Pelagius a proud asserter of the liberty of the will.

Let Pelagius, therefore, cease at last to deceive both himself and others by his disputations against the grace of God. It is not in the interest of only one of the three faculties that is to say, of the "possibility" of effecting a good will and work that the grace of God towards us ought to be proclaimed and held; but it must also include in its operation the good "will" and "work" themselves. This "possibility," indeed, according to his definition, avails for both directions [of good and evil]; and yet our sins must not also be attributed to God in consequence, as our good actions, according to his view, are owing to the same possibility attributed to Him.

It is not simply, therefore, on this account that the help of God's grace is held and maintained, because it assists our natural capacity or possibility. He must give up saying, "The fact that we have the possibility of accomplishing every"

1 Esth. V. 1 (Septuagint).

26 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

good thing by action, speech, and thought, comes from Him who has endowed us with this possibility, and who also assists it; whereas the fact that we really do a good thing, or speak a good word, or think a good thought, proceeds from our own selves." He must, I repeat, cease to say this. For God has
not only conferred on us the capacity [or "possibility"], but He further works in us " to
will and to do." It is not because of our own not willing, or our own net doing, that
we will and do nothing good, but because we are unhelped by Him. How can he say,
"That we have the possibility, of doing good is of God, but that we actually do good is of
ourselves," when the apostle tells us that he "prays to God" in behalf of those to whom he
was writing, "that they should do no evil, but that they should do that which is good and
honest" ?^ His words are not. We pray that ye he not able to do anything evil; but, " that
ye do no evil." Neither does he say, That ye he able to do that which is honest and good;
but, "that ye should do that which is good." Forasmuch as it is written, " As many as are
led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God," ^ it follows that, in order that they
may do that which is good, they must be led by Him who is good.
How can Pelagius say, " That we have the power of making a good use of speech comes
from God; but that we do actually make this good use of speech proceeds from
ourselves," when the Lord declares, " It is the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you
" ? ^ He does not say, It is not in your own competency to bestow on yourselves the
power of speaking rightly and well; but His words are, " It is not ye that speak." ^ Nor
does He say. It is the Spirit of your Father which giveth, or hath given, you the foivcr to
speak; but He says, " [It is the Spirit of your Father] which speaketh in you." He does not
allude to the motion or assistance of
" the possibility," but He plainly asserts the effect of actual co-operation. How can this
arrogant asserter of free wiU say,
"That we have the ['possibility' or] power to think a good thought comes from God, but
that we actually think a good thought proceeds from ourselves" ? He has his answer to all

1 Phil. ii. 13. 2 See 2 Cor. xiii. 7. 'Eom. viii. 14.


CHAP. XXVII.] TRUE AND SPURIOUS GRACE. 27

this from the humble preacher of grace, who says, " Not that we are sufficient of
ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, hut our sufficiency is of God." ^ Observe he
does not say, to he ahlc to think anything; but, " to think anything."

Chap. 27. [xxvi. ] â€” What the true grace is, as opposed to Pelagius' grace. Grace,
properly so called, is a gift of charity. Merits do not precede grace.

Now even Pelagius should frankly confess that such grace as that is plainly set forth in
the inspired Scriptures; nor should he hide from himself the fact that he has too long
opposed it with shameless effi'ontery. Let him, however, admit the discovery with
salutary regret; so that the Church may cease to be harassed by his stubborn persistence,
but rather rejoice in his sincere conversion. Let him discern between knowledge and
charity, as they ought to be distinguished; because "knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth."^ Knowledge, however, no longer inflates a man when charity moulds his character. And inasmuch as both are gifts of God (although one is less, and the other greater), he must not extol our righteousness above the praise which is due to Him who justifies us, in such a way as to assign to the lesser of these two gifts the help of divine grace, and to claim the greater one for the control of the human will. And should he consent that we receive charity from the grace of God, he must not suppose that any merits of our own preceded our reception of the gift. For what merits could we possibly have had at the time when we loved not God? In order, indeed, that we might receive that charity whereby we might love [Him], we were loved while as yet we felt no love ourselves. This the Apostle John most expressly declares: " Not that we loved God," says he, "but that He loved us;"^ and again, "We love Him, because He first loved us."^ Most excellently and truly spoken! For we could not have wherewithal to love Him, unless we received it from Him in His first loving us. And what good could we possibly do if we possessed no love? Or how could we help doing good if we have love? For although God's commandment appears sometimes to be kept by those who do not love Him, but only fear Him; yet where there is no love, no good work is reckoned as done, nor is

28 ON THE GRACE OF GHEIST. [BOOK I.]

there in fact any good work, rightly so called; because " whatsoever is not of faith is sin," ^ and " faith worketh by love." ^ Hence also that grace of God, whereby " His love is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us"^ must be so confessed by the man who would make a true confession, as to show his undoubting belief that nothing whatever in the way of goodness pertaining to godliness and real holiness can be accomplished without it. Not after the fashion of him who clearly enough shows us what he thinks of it when he says, "That grace is bestowed in order that what God commands may be the more easily fulfilled;" which of course means, that even without grace God's commandments may, although less easily, yet actually, be accomplished.

Chap. 28. [xxvii.]

In the book which he addressed to a certain holy virgin, there is a passage which I have already mentioned,^ wherein he plainly indicates what he holds on this subject; for he speaks of our " deserving the grace of God, and by the help of the Holy Ghost more easily resisting the evil spirit." Now why did he insert the phrase " more easily"? Was not the sense already complete: " By the help of the Holy Ghost resisting the evil spirit"? But who can fail to perceive what an injury he has caused [to truth] by the insertion in question? He wants it indeed to be supposed, that so great are the powers of our nature,
which he is in such a hurry to exalt, that even without the assistance of the Holy Ghost the evil spirit can be resisted â€” less easily it may be, but still in a certain measure.

Chap. 29. [xxviii.]

Again, in the first book of his Defence of the Liberty of the Will, he says: " Now, inasmuch as we have in our free will so strong and sure a protection against sinning, which our Maker has implanted in human nature generally, such is His unspeakable goodness, that we are further defended by His own daily help." Well, but what need is there of such help, if we have in our free will so strong and sure a protection against

" Rom. xiv. 23. * Gal. v. 6. 3 \^mtq.. v. 5.

* [Quoted above, eh, 23 [xxii.], from the E^y'istola ad Demetriadem.]

CHAP. XXXI. I AN APPEAL TO PELAGIUS. 29

sinning ? But here, as before, he would have it understood that the purpose of the alleged assistance is, that that may be more easily accomplished by grace which he supposes may be effected, less easily, no doubt, but yet actually, without grace.

Chap. 30. [xxix.]

In like manner, in another passage of the same book, he says: " In order that men may more easily accomplish by grace that which they are commanded to do by their free will." Now, expunge the phrase " more easily" and you leave not only a full, but also a sound sense, if it be regarded as meaning simply this: " That men may accomplish through grace what they are commanded to do by their free will." The addition of the words "more easily," however, tacitly suggests the possibility of accomplishing good works even without the grace of God. But such a meaning is disallowed by Him who says, " Without me ye can do nothing." ^

Chap. 31. [xsx.]

Let him amend all this, that whereinsoever through human infirmity he has erred in treating of subjects which are so profound, he may not add to the error, the deception and wickedness which are inspired by the devil, either by denying what he has really believed, or obstinately maintaining what he has rashly adopted, after he has once discovered, on recollecting the light of truth, that he ought never to have entertained such opinions. As for that grace, indeed, by which we are justified, â€” in other words, whereby " the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us,"^ â€” I have nowhere, in those writings of Pelagius and Coelestius which I have had the opportunity of reading, found them acknowledging it in the way in which it ought to be acknowledged. In no passage at all have I observed them recognising " the children of the promise," concerning whom the apostle thus speaks: " They which are children of the
flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed." - For that which God promises we do not ourselves bring about by our own choice or natural power, but He Himself effects it by His grace.


30 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 32. â€” Why the Pelagians deemed prayers to be necessary. The letter which Pelagius despatched to Pope Innocent with an exposition of his belief.

Now I will say nothing at present about the works of Coelstius, or those tracts of his which he produced in those ecclesiastical proceedings/ copies of the whole of which we have taken care to send to you, along with another letter which we deemed it necessary to add. If you carefully examine all these documents, you will observe that he does not place the grace of God, which helps us either to avoid evil or to do good, beyond the natural choice of the will, but only in the law and doctrine [of Scripture]. This he does in such a way as to assert that even their prayers are necessary for the purpose of showing men what to desire and love. All these documents, however, I shall omit further notice of at present.

[There are other things to occupy my attention]; for Pelagius too has lately forwarded to Rome both a letter and an exposition of his belief, addressing it to Pope Innocent, of blessed memory, of whose death he was ignorant. Now in this letter he says: "There are certain subjects about which some men are trying to vilify him. One of these is, that he refuses to infants the sacrament of baptism, and promises the kingdom of heaven to some, independently of Christ's redemption.

Another of these calumnies is, that he represents man's ability to avoid sin in such terms as to exclude God's assistance, and so strongly confides in the freedom of the human will, that he repudiates the help of divine grace." Now, as touching the perverted opinion he holds about the baptism of infants (although he allows that it ought to be administered to them), in opposition to the Christian faith and catholic truth, this is not the place for us to enter on an accurate discussion. We must now, indeed, complete our treatise on the assistance of grace, which is the subject we undertook. Let us see what answer he makes out of this very letter to the objection which he has proposed concerning this matter. OInitting his invi-
dious complaints about his opponents, we approach the subject before us; and when we come to it, [we find that] he has expressed himself as follows.

Chap. 33. [xxxii.] Pelagius professes nothing on the subject of grace, which may not he understood of the law and doctrine.

"See," he says, "how this epistle will clear me of these charges before your Blessedness; for in it we clearly and simply declare, that we possess a will which is entirely free in its choice for the commission of sin or the avoiding thereof; and this will is in all good works always assisted by divine help."

Now you perceive (such is the understanding which the Lord has given you) that these words of his are inadequate to solve the question. For it is still open to us to inquire what the help is by which he would say that the free will is assisted; lest perchance he should, as is usual with him, maintain that the law and the doctrine are meant. If, indeed, you were to ask him why he used the word "always" he might answer: Because it is written, "And in His law will he meditate day and night." Then, after interposing a statement about the condition of man, and the possibility with which nature has endowed him for committing and for avoiding sin, he added the following words: "Now this power of our free will we declare to reside generally in all alike in Christians, in Jews, and in Gentiles. In all men free will is equally inherent by nature, but in Christians alone is it assisted by grace." We again ask: By what grace? And again he might answer: By the law and the doctrine of Christ.

Chap. 34. Pelagius says that grace is given according to men's merits. The beginning, however, of merit is faith; and this is not a recompense for our merits.

Then, again, wdiatever it is which he means by "grace," he says that it is given even to Christians according to their merits, although he condemned (as I have already mentioned above ^), when he was in Palestine, in that remarkable vindication of himself, the persons who hold this opinion. Now these are his words: "In them," says he, "the good of their created condition is naked and defenceless;" meaning in those who are not Christians. Then he composes that other conceit

1 Ps. i. 2. ^ In ch. 23 [xxii.]. ^ Conditionis bonum.

32 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [COOK I.

of his, and says: "Whereas in those who belong to Christ, there is defence afforded them by Christ's help." You see it is still uncertain what the help is, according to the remark we have already made on the same subject. He goes on, however, to say of those who are not Christians: "They deserve judgment and condemnation, because, although they possess
freedom of choice whereby they could come to have faith and deserve God's grace, they
make a bad use of the liberty which has been granted to them. But those persons deserve
to be rewarded, who by the right use of their free will merit the Lord's grace, and keep
His commandments." Now it is clear that he says grace is bestowed according to merit,
whatever and of what kind soever the grace is which he means, but which he does not
plainly declare. For when he speaks of those persons as deserving reward who make a
good use of their free will, and as therefore meriting the Lord's grace, he asserts in fact
that a debt is paid to them. What, then, becomes of the apostle's saying, " Being justified
freely by His grace " ? ^ And what of his other statement too, " By grace are ye saved " ?
^ â€” where, that he might prevent men's supposing that it is by works, he expressly
added, " by faith" ^
And yet further, lest it should be imagined that this very faith must be attributed to men
independently of the grace of God, the apostle says: " And that not of yourselves; for it is
the gift of God." ^ It follow's, therefore, that we receive without any merit of our own
that from which everything has its beginning, which, according to them, we obtain
because of our meritâ€” that is to say, faith itself. If, however, they insist on denying that
this is freely given to us, what is the meaning of the apostle's words: " According as God
hath dealt to every man the measure of faith " ? ^ But if it is contended that faith is so
bestowed as to be a recompense for merit, not a free gift, what then becomes of another
saying of the apostle: " Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in
Him, but also to suffer for His sake " ? Â°
The two facts are by the apostle's testimony both made the effect of a free bestowal â€”
the fact of a man's believing in

1 Eom. iii. 24. ^ Eph. i. 8. ^ gph. i g.

Â« Eph. i. 8. 5 Rom. xii. 3. ^V\n\ i. 29.

CHAP. XXXVI.] PELAGIAN DISIKGENOUSNESS. 33

Christ, and the fact of one's suffering for His sake. They, however, attribute faith to free
will in such a way as to make it appear that grace is rendered as a debt due to faith, and
not as a gratuitous gift, â€” thus ceasing to be grace any longer; because that is not grace
which is not gratuitously bestowed.

Chap. 35. [xxxii.]

But Pelagius would have the reader pass from this letter to the book which states his
belief. This he has made mention of to yourselves, and in it he has discoursed a good deal
on points about which no question was raised as to his views.
Let us, however, look simply at the subjects about which our own controversy with them
is concerned. Having, then, terminated a discussion which he had conducted to his heart's
content [on articles of the creed], on which nobody inquired his opinion, â€” from the
Unity of the Trinity to the resurrection of the flesh, â€” he goes on to say: " We hold
likewise one baptism, which we aver ought to be administered to infants in the same sacramental formula as it is to adults." Well, now, you have yourselves affirmed that you heard him admit at least as much as this in your presence. What, however, is the use of his saying that the sacrament of baptism is administered to children in the same words as it is to adults, when our point of inquiry is the substantial verity, and not merely the form of words? It is a more important matter, that (as you write) with his own mouth he replied to your own question, that "infants receive baptism for the remission of sins." For he did not say in respect of this point, that [their baptism was administered] in words which mentioned remission of sins, but he acknowledged that they were actually baptized for the remission itself; and yet for all this, if you were to ask him what the sin is which he supposes to be remitted to them, he would contend that they had none whatever.

Chap. 36. [xxxiii.]

For who would imagine that, under so clear a confession of the faith, there is concealed a contrary meaning? No one would have suspected it, if Coelestius had not plainly discovered to us [such a collusion]. He who in that book of

XII. e

34 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

his, which he quoted at Rome in the ecclesiastical proceedings there/ so distinctly acknowledged that "infants too are baptized for the remission of sins," also denied that they had any original sin. But let us now observe what Pelagius thought, not about the baptism of infants, but rather about the assistance of divine grace, in this exposition of his belief which he forwarded to Rome. "We allow," says he, "the freedom of the will in such a sense that we declare ourselves to be always in need of the help of God." Well, now, we ask again, what the help is which he says we require; and again we find the case a doubtful one, since he may possibly answer that he meant the law and the doctrine of Christ, whereby that natural "possibility" [of which he speaks] is assisted. We, however, on our side require them to acknowledge a grace like that which the apostle describes, when he says: "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind;" although it does not follow by any means that the man who has the gift of knowledge, whereby he has discovered what he ought to do, has also the grace of charity by which to do it.

Chap. 37. [xxxiv.]

I also have read those books or writings of his which he mentions in the letter which he sent to Pope Innocent, of blessed memory, with the exception of a brief epistle which he says he sent to the holy Bishop Constantius; but I have nowhere been able to find in them that he acknowledges such a grace as helps not only that natural "possibility" [or
capacity] of willing and acting (which according to him we possess, even when we neither will a good thing nor do it), but also the will and the action itself, by the ministration of the Holy Ghost.

Chap. 38. [xxxv.] A definition of the grace of Christ.

"Let them peruse," says he, "the epistle which we wrote about twelve years ago to that holy man Bishop Paulinus: its subject throughout in some three hundred verses is concerning God's grace and assistance, and our own inability to do any good thing at all without God." Well, I have read this epistle also, and found him dwelling throughout it on scarcely any other topic than the faculty and possibility of man's nature, whilst he makes God's grace consist almost entirely in this possibility. Christ's grace, indeed, he teaches with such brevity, simply mentioning its name, that his only aim seems to have been to avoid the scandal of ignoring it altogether. It is, however, absolutely uncertain whether he means Christ's grace to consist in the remission of sins, or even in the doctrine of Christ, including also the example of His life (a meaning which he asserts in several passages of his treatises); or whether he believes it to be a help towards good living, in addition to nature and doctrine, through the inspiring influence of a burning and shining charity.

Chap. 39. [xxxvi.]

"Let them also read," says he, "my epistle to the holy Bishop Constantius, wherein I have \[briefly no doubt, but yet plainly\] combined the grace and help of God with man's free will." This epistle, as I have already stated, I have not read; but if it is not unlike the other writings which he mentions, and with which I am acquainted, even this work does nothing for the subject of our present inquiry.

Chap. 40. [xxxvii.] The help of grace placed by Pelagius in the mere revelation of doctrine.

"Let them read, moreover," says he, "what I wrote, when I was in the East, to Christ's holy virgin Demetrias, and they will find our commendation of nature to be always so expressed as to admit the addition to it of the help of God's grace."

Well, I read this letter too; and I had almost persuaded myself that he did acknowledge therein the grace about which our discussion is concerned, although he did certainly seem in several passages of this work to contradict himself. When, however, there also came to my hands those other treatises which he afterwards wrote for more extensive circulation, I
discovered in what sense he must [even in his epistle to Demetrias] have intended to speak of grace, â€” concealing, indeed, his real opinion in a vague generality, but employing

' See above, cb. 37 [xxxiv.].

36 ON THE GEACE OF CIIMST. [BOOK T.

the term " grace " in order to break the force of obloquy, and to avoid giving offence. For at the very commencement of this work (where he says: " Let us apply ourselves with all earnestness to the task which we have set before us, nor let us have any misgiving because of our own humble ability; for we believe that we are assisted by the mother's faith and her daughter's merit ") he appeared to me at first to acknowledge the grace which helps us to individual action; nor did I at once notice the fact that he might possibly have made this grace consist simply in the revelation of doctrine.

Chap. 41.

In this same work he says in another passage: " Now, if even men without God show of what character they have been made by God, see what Christians have it in their power to do, whose nature has been through Christ restored to a better condition, and who are, moreover, assisted by the help of divine grace." By this restoration of nature to a better state he would have us understand the remission of sins. This he has shown with tolerable clearness in another passage of this epistle, where he says: " Even those who have become in a certain sense obdurate through their constant practice of sinning, can be restored through repentance." But he may even here too make the assistance of divine grace consist in the revelation of doctrine.
Chap. 42. [xxxviii.] â€“ Grace placed by Pelagius in the remission of sins and the example of Christ.

Likewise in another place in this epistle of his he says:
"Now, if even before the law, as we have already remarked, and long previous to the coming of our Lord and Saviour, some men are related to have lived righteous and holy lives; how much more worthy of belief is it that we are capable of doing this since the illumination of His coming? How much better than they, who lived before the law, ought we to be, who have been renewed by the grace of Christ, and born again to a better manhood, who have been reconciled and cleansed by His blood, and by His example encouraged to the pursuit of a perfect righteousness!" Observe how even here, although in different language, he has made the assistance of grace to consist in the remission of sins and the example of Christ.

He then completes the passage by adding these words: "Better than they were even who lived under the law; according to the apostle, who says, 'Sin shall not have dominion over you:
for ye are not under the law, but under grace.'^ Now, inasmuch as we have," says he, "said enough, as I suppose, on this point, let us describe a perfect virgin, who shall testify the good both of nature and of grace by the holiness of her conduct, evermore warmed with the virtues of both." Now it is your duty to notice that in these words also he wished to conclude what he was saying in such a way that we might understand the good of nature to be that which we received when we were created; whereas the good of grace is that which we receive when we regard and follow the example of Christ, â€“ as if sin were not forgiven in the case of those who were or are under the law, on this account, because they either had not Christ's example, or else do not believe in Him.

Chap. 43. [xxxix.]

That this, indeed, is his meaning, other words also of his show us, â€“ not contained in this work, but in the third book of his Defence, of Free Will, wherein he holds a discussion with an opponent, who had insisted on the apostle's words when he says, "For what I would, that do I not:"^, and again, "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind."^ To this he replied in these words: "Now that which you wish us to understand of the apostle himself, all churchmen^ assert that he spoke in the person of the sinner, and of one who was still under the law, â€“ such a man as was, by reason of a long course of vice, held bound, as it were, by a certain necessity of sinning, and who, however strongly he desired good in his will, in practice indeed was headlong into evil. In the person, too, of an individual," he continues, "the apostle designates the people who still sinned.
[By his ecclesiastic i viri he refers, of course, to ecclesiastical writers who had commented on St. Paul's doctrine. See also Augustine's Contra duos Epistt. Pelag. i. 14 [viii.]; Contra Julianum, ii. 5 [iii.], 8 [iv.], 13 [v.], 30 [viii.]; and De Predestinatione Sanctorum, 4 [iv.].]

38 ox THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

under the ancient law [of Moses]. This nation he declares was to be delivered from this evil of their inveteracy of custom through Christ, who first of all remits all sins in baptism to those who believe in Him, and then urges them by an imitation of Himself to perfect holiness, and by the example of His own virtues overcomes the evil habit of their sins.

Observe in what way he supposes them to be assisted who sin under the law: they are to be delivered by being justified through Christ's grace, as if the law alone were insufficient for them, owing to their long habit of sinning, without some reinforcement from Christ; not the inspiration of charity, but the contemplation and copy of His example in the inculcation of virtue by the gospel. Now here, at any rate, there was the very greatest call on him to say plainly what grace he meant, seeing that the apostle closed the very passage which formed the ground of discussion with these telling words: " wretched man that I am, who [or what] shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." ^ Now, when he places this grace, not in the help of His power and virtue, but in the imitation of His example, what further hope must we entertain of him, since everywhere the word " grace " is mentioned by him under the disguise of a vague generality?

Chap. 44. [xI.]

Then, again, in the work addressed to the holy virgin,^ of which we have spoken already, there is this passage: " Let us submit ourselves to God, and by accomplishing His will let us merit the divine grace; and let us more easily, by the help of the Holy Ghost, resist the evil spirit." Now, in these words of his, it is plain enough that he regards us as assisted by the grace of the Holy Ghost, not because we are unable to resist the tempter without Him by the sheer capacity of our nature, but in order that we may resist more easily. With respect, however, to the quantity and quality, whatever these might be, of this assistance of grace, we may well believe that he made them consist of the additional knowledge which the Spirit reveals to us through the doctrine [of Christ], and which

we either cannot, or scarcely can, possess through our natural resources. Such are the particulars which I have been able to discover in the book which he addressed to the virgio.

[disciple] of Christ, and wherein he evidently confesses [a doctrine of] grace. Of what purport and kind these details really are, you of course perceive.

C'fiAP. 45. [XLI.] â€” To what purpose Pelagius thought prayers ought to be directed; the revelation of "Doctrine " by the Holy Ghost is acknowledged by Pelagius; ivhat grace, properly so called, is according to the view of Pelagius.

" Let them also read," says he, "my recent little treatise which we were obliged to publish a short while ago in defence of the freedom of the will, and then they will discover how unfair is their determination to disparage us for a denial of grace, when we throughout almost the whole work acknowledge fully and sincerely both free will and grace." There are four books in this treatise, all of which I read, marking such passages as required consideration, and which I proposed to discuss: these I examined as well as I was able, before we came to that epistle of his which was sent to Eome. But even in these four books, that which he seems to regard as the grace which helps us to turn aside from evil and to do good, he describes in such a manner as to keep to his old ambiguity of language, and thus have it in his power so to explain it to his followers, that they may suppose the assistance which is rendered by grace, for the purpose of helping our natural capacity [or "possibility "]], consists of nothing else than the Law and the Doctrine. Thus our very prayers (as, indeed, he most plainly affirms in his writings) are of no other use, in his opinion, than to procure for us the explanation of the doctrine by a divine instruction, not to procure help for the mind of man to bring to effect by action and love the lessons of duty which it has learned. The fact is, he does not in the least relinquish that very clear ground of his system in which he sets forth our three faculties of possibility, volition, and action; maintaining that only the first of these, the possibility, is favoured with the constant assistance of divine help, but supposing that the will and the practical act stand in no need of God's assistance.

Moreover, the very help which he says assists our natural capacity [or so-called "possibility "]], he places in the law and

40 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

the doctrine. This doctrine, he allows, is revealed or explained to us by the Holy Ghost, on which account it is that he concedes the necessity of prayer. But still this assistance of law and doctrine he supposes to have existed even in the days of the prophets; whereas the help of grace, which is properly so called, he will have to lie simply in the example of Christ.
But this example, you can plainly see, pertains after all to "doctrine," even that which is preached to us as the doctrine of the gospel. The general result, then, is the pointing out, as it were, of a road to us by which we are bound to walk, now that we are endowed with the resources of our free will, and in want of no assistance from any one else, so that we have in ourselves sufficient power not to faint or fail on our journey. And even as to the discovery of the road itself, he contends that nature alone is competent for it; only the discovery will be more easily effected if grace renders assistance.

Chap. 46. [xlii.]

Such are the particulars which, to the best of my ability, I have succeeded in obtaining from the writings of Pelagius, whenever he makes mention of grace. You perceive, however, that men who entertain such opinions as we have reviewed are "ignorant of God's righteousness, and desire to establish their own righteousness," and are far off from "the righteousness which we have of God," and not of ourselves; [although] they ought to have discovered and recognised it, especially in the Holy Scriptures of the Canon. Forasmuch, however, as they read these Scriptures in a sense of their own, they of course fail to observe even the most obvious truths therein. Would to God, indeed, that they would but turn their attention in no careless mood to what might be learned concerning the help of God's grace in the writings, at all events, of catholic worthies; for they freely allow that the Scriptures were correctly understood by these, and that they would not pass them by in neglect, out of an overweening fondness for their own opinions. For how this very man Pelagius, in that very treatise of his so recently put forth, and which he formally mentions in his self-defence (that is to say,

' Rom. X. 3. = Phil. iii. 0.

CHAP. XLVIII.] PELAGIUS AND AMBROSE. 41

in the third book of his Defence, of Free Will), praises Saint Ambrose, you may understand [from the following extract].

Chap. 47. [xliii.] "Ambrose most highly praised by Pelagius.

"The blessed Bishop Ambrose," says he, "in whose writings the faith of Rome shines forth with especial brightness, and whom the Latins have always regarded as the very flower and glory of their authors, has never found a foe bold enough to censure his faith and purest interpretation of the Scriptures."

Now observe the sort as well as the amount of the praises which he bestows [upon his favourite]: however holy and learned he be, he is incomparable as an authority on the canonical Scripture. The reason of this high commendation of Ambrose lies in the circumstance, that Pelagius sees proper to quote a certain passage from his writings to
prove that man is able to live without sin. This, however, is not the question before us. We are at present discussing that assistance of grace which helps us towards avoiding sin, and leading holy lives.

Chap. 48. [xliv.] â€” Ambrose is not in agreement with Pelagius. I wish, indeed, that he would listen to the venerable bishop [whom he admires], when, in the second book of his Exposition of the Gospel according to Lithe, he expressly teaches us that the Lord co-operates also with our wills. "You see, therefore," says he, "that no man is able to build without the Lord, no man is able to watch without the Lord, no man is able to undertake anything without the Lord. " Whereas the apostle thus enjoins: 'Whether ye eat, or whether ye drink, do all to the glory of God.' " You observe how the holy Ambrose deprives men of even their familiar expressions, â€” such as, "We undertake, but God accomplishes," â€” when he says here that no man is able to take anything in hand without the Lord. To the same effect he says, in the sixth book of the same work, treating of the two debtors of a certain creditor: "According to men's opinions, he perhaps is the greater offender who has contracted the larger debt. The case, however, is altered when the Lord's mercy is concerned. Here it happens

1 [Book ii. c. 84, on Luke iii. 22.] ^ j Cor. x. 31.

À« [Book vi. c. 25, on Luke vii. 41.] " [Or perhaps, "feels the greater offence. "]

42 ON THE GRACE OF GUEST. [BOOK I.]

that he who owes the most loves the most, when indeed he obtains grace." See how the catholic doctor most plainly declares, that the very love which prompts every [Christian] man to an ampler love appertains to the kindly gift of grace.

Chap. 49. [xlv.] â€” With what eye Christ turned and looked upon Peter.

That repentance, indeed, itself, which beyond all doubt is an affair of the will, is wrought into action by the mercy and help of the Lord, is asserted by the blessed Ambrose in the following passage: " Good/" says he, " are the tears which wash away sin. They upon whom the Lord at last turns and looks bewail. Peter, when at first he denied Him, did not weep, because the Lord had not turned and looked upon him. He denied Him a second time, and sti wept not, because the Lord had not even yet turned and looked upon him. The third time also he denied Him, Jesus turned and looked; then he wept most bitterly." Let these persons only read the Gospel; let them consider how that the Lord Jesus was at that moment within, having a hearing before the chief of the priests; whilst the Apostle Peter was outside, and down in the hall, sitting at one time with the servants at the fire, at another time standing, as the most accurate and consistent narrative of the several evangelists shows. It cannot therefore be said that
it was with His bodily eyes that the Lord turned and looked upon him by a visible and apparent admonition. That operation, then, which is described in the words, "The Lord turned and looked upon Peter," was effected internally; it was wrought upon the mind, wrought upon the will. In mercy the Lord silently and secretly approached, touched the heart, recalled the memory of the past; with His own internal grace visited and gazed upon Peter, stirred and brought out into external tears the feelings of his inner man.

Behold in what manner God comes home with His help to our wills and our actions; see how "He worketh in us both to will and to do."

1 ["In the second book of the same work," says St. Augustine. The true reference, however, is to book x. c. 89, on Luke xxii. 61.]


CHAP. LI.] AMBROSE AGAINST PELAGIUS. 43

CUAP. 50.

In the same book the same St. Ambrose says again: "Now if Peter fell, who said, 'Though all men shall be offended, yet will I never be offended,' who else shall have any right to presume so far for himself? David, indeed, because he had boasted, 'In my prosperity I said, I shall never be moved,' confesses how injurious his confidence had proved to himself. 'Thou didst turn away Thy face,' he says, 'and I was troubled.'"\(^\text{1}\) Pelagius ought to listen to the teaching of so eminent a man, and should follow his faith, since he has commended both it and his doctrine. Let him listen humbly; let him follow with fidelity; let him indulge no longer in obstinate presumption, lest he perish therein. Why does Pelagius choose to be drowned in that sea whence Peter was rescued by the Ptock?\(^\text{2}\)

Chap. 51. [xlvi.]

Let him lend an ear also to the same godly bishop, who says, in the sixth book of the before quoted Exposition: ^

"The reason why they would not receive Him is mentioned by the evangelist himself in these words, 'Because His face was as though He would go to Jerusalem;'\(^\text{3}\) but His disciples had a strong wish that He should be received into the Samaritan town. God, however, calls whomsoever He deigns, and whom He wills He affects with religion." What wise insight of the man of God, drawn from the very fountain of God's grace! "God," says he, "calls whomsoever He deigns, and whom He wills He makes religious." See whether this is not the prophet's own declaration: "I will be gracious" [saith the Lord to Moses] "to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show
mercy; "^ and the apostle's deduction therefrom: "So then," says he, "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." Â® ISTow, when even his model man of our own times says, that "whomsoever God vouchsafes to call He calls, and

â€œ Ps. XXX. 7.

2 [It is impossible to keep the playful jingle of the original, which has the words Pelago, Pelagius; and Peiram, Petrus.]

' [It is the seventh book in reality, c. 27, on Luke Lx. 53.]

* Luke ix. 53. = Ex. xxxiii. 19. 6 YMm. ix. 16.

44 ON THE GRACE OF CHRIST. [BOOK I.]

whom He wills He inspires with religion," will any one be bold enough to contend that that man is not as yet influenced by religious emotion " who hastens to the Lord, and desires to be directed by Him, and makes his own will depend upon God's; who, moreover, cleaves so closely to the Lord, that he becomes (as the apostle says) ' one spirit ' with Him ?"^ Great, however, as is this entire work of a "religious man," Pelagius maintains that it is effected only by the free energy of the human will. But his own blessed Ambrose, whom he so highly commends in word, is against him when he says: "The Lord God calls whomsoever He deigns, and whom He wills He affects with religion." It is God, then, who endues with religious principle whomsoever He pleases, in order that he who is so endued may "hasten to the Lord, and desire to be directed by Him, and make his own will depend upon God's, and cleave so closely to the Lord as to become (to use the apostle's phrase) 'one spirit' with Him." All this none but a man religiously affected does. Who, then, ever does so much, unless he be made by God to do it?

Chap. 52. [xlvii.] â€” The difficulty of reconciling man's free will and God's grace. What is required of Pelagius on this question of grace.

Inasmuch, however, as the discussion about free will and God's grace has this difficulty in arriving at a decision, that if the freedom of the will be maintained, God's grace is apparently denied; whilst if God's grace be asserted, free will is supposed to be done away with, â€” Pelagius has this advantage, that he can so involve himself in the meshes of this obscure subject as to profess agreement with all that we have quoted from Saint Ambrose, and declare, moreover, that such is, and always has been, his opinion; and yet at the same time so explain each of his sentiments, that men may suppose them to be in fair accord with Ambrose's doctrine. So far, therefore, as concerns the question of God's help and grace, you are requested to observe the three principles which he has distinguished so very plainly, under the terms posse, velle, and esse, that is to say,
possibility, volition, and action. If, then, he has come round to an agreement with us, [he will believe]

^ 1 Cor. vi. 17. These are the words of Pelagius, which have been already quoted above, in ch. 2i.

CII. VP. LIII.] ZACHARIAS AND ELISABETH, ITOW BLAMELESS. 45

that not the "possibility" alone, unaccompanied by the good will and the virtuous action, but the will and the action also "are faculties which have not a barren existence in man, but exist in him only when he has a good will and acts rightly. If, I repeat, he thus consents to hold with us, that even the will and the action are assisted by God, and so assisted that we can neither will nor do any good thing without such help; if, too, he believes that this is that very grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ which makes us righteous through His righteousness, and not our own, so that our true righteousness is that which we have of Him, "then, so far as I can judge, there will remain no further controversy between us concerning the assistance we have from the grace of God.

Chap. 53. [xlviii.] "In what sense some men may be said to live without sin in the present life.

But in reference to the particular point in which he quoted the holy Ambrose with so much approbation, even because he found in that author's writings, from the praises he accorded to Zacharias and Elisabeth, the opinion that a man might in this life be without sin; although this cannot be denied on the supposition that God wills it, with whom all things are possible, yet he ought to consider more carefully in what sense this position is laid down. Now, so far as I can see, this statement was made in accordance with a certain standard of conduct, which is among men held to be worthy of approval and praise, and which no human being could justly call in question for the purpose of laying accusation or censure. Such a standard Zacharias and his wife Elisabeth are said to have maintained in the sight of God, for no other reason than that they, by walking therein, never deceived people by any dissimulation; but as they in their sincerity appeared to men, so were they known in the sight of God.^^ The statement, however, was not made with any reference to that perfect state of righteousness in which we shall one day live truly and absolutely in a condition of spotless purity. The Apostle Paul, indeed, has told us that he was " blameless, as touching the righteousness which

' Luke i. 6.
is of the law;"^ and it was in respect of the same law that Zacharias also lived a blameless
life. This righteousness, however, the apostle counted as "dung" and as "loss," in
comparison with the righteousness which is the object of our hope:^ and which we ought
to " hunger and thirst after," ^ in order that by and by we may be satisfied with the vision
thereof, enjoying it now by faith, so long as " the just do live by faith." *

Chap. 54. [xlxi.]
Lastly, let him give good heed to his venerable bishop, in his Exposition of the Prophet
Isaiah^ when he says that " no man in this world can be without sin." Now nobody can
pretend to say that by the phrase " in this world " he simply meant, in the love of this
world. For he was speaking of the apostle, who said, " Our conversation is in heaven;"^ and
while unfolding the sense of these words, the eminent bishop expressed himself thus:
" Now the apostle says that many men, even while living in the present world, are perfect
and consistent with themselves, who could not possibly be deemed perfect, if one looks at
absolute and true perfection. For he says himself:' We now see through a glass, darkly;
but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know, even as also I am
known.' ^ In a sense, they who are spotless in this world will also be spotless in the
kingdom of God; although, of course, if you sift the thing minutely, no one could be
spotless, because no one is without sin." This passage, then, of the holy Ambrose, which
Pelagius applies in support of his own opinion, was either written in a qualified sense,
probable indeed, but not expressed with minute accuracy; or if the holy and lowly-
minded author did think that Zacharias and Elisabeth lived according to the highest and
absolutely perfect righteousness, which was incapable of in-

' Phil. iii. 6. " Phil. iii. 8.

^ This work of Amhrose is no longer extant. It is again quoted by Augustine in his work
De Peccato Or'ujinaU, c. 47 [xli.]; in his De Nuptiis et Concuplsc.
i. 40 [xxxv.]; in his Contra Julianum, 1. 11 [iv.], ii. 24 [viii.]; and his Contra daas Epist.
Pelagianorum, c. 30 [xi.]. Ambrose himself mentions this work of his in his Exposition of

^ This work of Amhrose is no longer extant. It is again quoted by Augustine in his work
De Peccato Or'ujinaU, c. 47 [xli.]; in his De Nuptiis et Concuplsc.
i. 40 [xxxv.]; in his Contra Julianum, 1. 11 [iv.], ii. 24 [viii.]; and his Contra daas Epist.
Pelagianorum, c. 30 [xi.]. Ambrose himself mentions this work of his in his Exposition of

^ This work of Amhrose is no longer extant. It is again quoted by Augustine in his work
De Peccato Or'ujinaU, c. 47 [xli.]; in his De Nuptiis et Concuplsc.
i. 40 [xxxv.]; in his Contra Julianum, 1. 11 [iv.], ii. 24 [viii.]; and his Contra daas Epist.
Pelagianorum, c. 30 [xi.]. Ambrose himself mentions this work of his in his Exposition of

^ This work of Amhrose is no longer extant. It is again quoted by Augustine in his work
De Peccato Or'ujinaU, c. 47 [xli.]; in his De Nuptiis et Concuplsc.
i. 40 [xxxv.]; in his Contra Julianum, 1. 11 [iv.], ii. 24 [viii.]; and his Contra daas Epist.
Pelagianorum, c. 30 [xi.]. Ambrose himself mentions this work of his in his Exposition of
He ought, moreover, carefully to note the fact that, in the very same context from which he quoted this passage of Ambrose's, which seemed so satisfactory for "his purpose, [the venerable author] also said this: "To be spotless and pure from the beginning [of one's life] is an impossibility to human nature."^ In this sentence the venerable Ambrose does undoubtedly predicate feebleness and infirmity of that natural gift of "possibility," which Pelagius faithfully refuses to regard as vitiated by sin, and therefore boastfully extols. [In this, Ambrose], beyond question, runs counter to this man's will and inclination, although he does not contravene the truthful confession of the apostle, wherein he says: "We too were once by nature the children of wrath, even as others."^ For through the sin of the first man, which issued from his free will, our nature became vitiated and ruined; and nothing ever came to its succour but God's grace alone, through Him who is the Mediator between God and men, and our Almighty Physician. Xow, since we have already prolonged this work too far in treating of the assistance of the divine grace towards our justification, by which assistance God co-operates in all things with those who love Him for their good,^ and with whom He was beforehand in loving* â€” giving to them [His love], that He might receive theirs in return â€” we must commence another treatise, as the Lord shall enable us, on the subject of sin also, which by one man has entered into the world, along with death, and so has passed upon all men; ' setting forth as much as shall seem needful and sufficient, in opposition to those persons who have broken out into violent and open error, contrary to the truth here stated [by the apostle].

^ See Augustine, above, De Naturd et Gratid, c. 75 [Ixiii.].


48 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.

BOOK SECOND.

ON ORIGINAL SIN.

WHEREIN AUGUSTINE SHOWS THAT PELAGIUS REALLY DIFFERS IN NO RESPECT, ON THE QUESTIONS OF ORIGINAL SIN AND THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS, FROM HIS FOLLOWER CCELESTIUS, WHO, REFUSING TO ACKNOWLEDGE ORIGINAL SIN, AND EVEN DARING TO DENY THE DOCTRINE IN PUBLIC, WAS CONDEMNED IN TRIALS BEFORE THE BISHOPS â€” FIRST AT CARThAGE, AND AFTERWARDS AT
ROME; FOR THIS QUESTION WAS NOT, AS THESE HERETICS WOULD HAVE IT, ONE WHEREIN PERSONS MIGHT ERR WITHOUT DANGER TO THE FAITH. THEIR HERESY, INDEED, AIMED AT NOTHING ELSE THAN THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIAN BELIEF. HE AFTERWARDS REFUTES ALL SUCH AS MAIN-TAINED THAT THE BLESSING OF MATRIMONY IS DISPARAGED BY THE DOC-TRINE OF ORIGINAL DEPRAA^TY, AND AN INJURY DONE TO GOD HIMSELF, THE CREATOR OF MAN, WHO IS BORN BY MEANS OF MATRIMONY.

Chap. 1. [i.]

NEXT I beg of you, [Albina, Pinianus, and Melania],^ carefully to observe with what caution you ought, on the question of the baptism of infants, to lend an ear to men of this character, who have not the courage openly to refuse the laver of regeneration and the forgiveness of sins to this early age, for fear that Christians would not bear to listen to them; and who yet persist in holding and urging their opinion, that the children of our first parent were not born in sin, although they apparently allow infants to be baptized for the remission of sins. You have, indeed, yourselves informed me in your letter, that you heard Pelagius say in your presence, reading out of that book of his which he declared that he had actually sent to Rome, that [his party] maintain that " infants ought to be baptized with the same formula of sacramental words as adults." Who, after that statement, would suppose that they ought to raise any question at all on this subject ?

Or if he did [suppose so], to whom would he not seem to indulge a very calumnious disposition â€” previous, [at all events], to the perusal of their plain assertions, in which they deny

^ [See above, in book i. c. 1, De Gratia ChristL]

CHAP. III.] THE HERESY OF CCELESTIUS. 49

that infants inherit original sin, and contend that all persons are by birth free from all sinful taint ?

CiiAP. 2. [ii.] â€” CceleMhcs, on Jils (rial at Carthage, refuses to condemn this error; the written statement which he gave to Zosimus [Bp. of Borne],

Coelestius, indeed, maintained this erroneous doctrine with less restraint. To such an extent did he push his freedom as actually to refuse, when on trial before the bishops at Carthage, to condemn those who say, " That Adam's sin injured only Adam himself, and not the human race, and that infants at their birth are in the same state that Adam was in before his transgression and fall." ^ In the written statement, too, which he presented to
the most blessed Pope Zosimus at Eome, he declared with especial plainness, "that original sin binds not a single infant." Concerning the proceedings at Carthage we copy the following account from his words.

Chap. 3. [iii.] â€” Part of the acts of the Council of Carthage against Ccelestlus. " The bishop Aurelius said: Let what follows be recited.
It was accordingly recited, that the sin of Adam injured only himself, and not the human race. Then, after the recital, Coelestius said: I said that I was in doubt about the transmission of sin,^ but so as to yield assent to any man whom God has gifted with the grace of knowledge; for the fact is, that I have heard different opinions from men who have been even appointed presbyters in the Catholic Church. The deacon Paulinus ^ said: Tell us their names. Coelestius answered: The holy presbyter Eufinus,* who lived at Eome

^ Pelagius, at Diospolis, condemned this position of Coelestius. Hence the comparatively restraint on Pelagius, and the greater freedom in holding the error which is here attributed to Coelestius.

2 De traduce peccati, the technical phrase to express the conveyance by birth of original sin.

^ This Paulinus, according to Mercator (Commonit. super nomine Cademi), was the deacon of Ambrose, Bishop of illian, and the author of his biography, which he wrote at the instance of Augustine. He, according to his own showing, lived in Africa, and wrote the Life of Ambrose when John was pretorian prefect, i.e. either in the year 412, or 413, or 422. The trial mentioned in the text took place about the commencement of the year 413, according to Augustine's letter to Pope Innocent (Inter Augustinianas, 175, 1. 6). See above, in the treatise De Gestis Pelagii, 23. â€” [Ed. Bened.J

* Mercator (Commonit. adv. Hmres. Pelagii) informs us that a certain Syrian XII. D

50 ON OEIGINAL SIN. [1300K II.

with the holy Pamphilus. I heard him declare that there is no transmitted sia. The deacon Paulinus then asked: Is there any one else? Coelestius replied: I heard others say the same. The deacon Paulinus rejoined: Tell us their names.
Coelestius said: Is not one priest enough for you?" Then afterwards in another passage we read: " The bishop Aurelius said: Let the rest of the book be read." It then went on to recite how that infants at their birth are in the same state as Adam was before his transgression; and they read to the very end of the little book which had been previously put in. [iv.]
" The bishop Aurelius inquired: Have you, Coelestius, taught at any time, as the deacon Paulinus has stated, that infants are at their birth in the same state as Adam was previous
to his transgression? Coelestius answered: Let him explain what he meant when he said, 'previous to his transgression!' The deacon Paulinus then said: Do you on your side deny that you ever taught this doctrine? It must be one of two things: he must either say that he never so taught, or else he must now condemn the opinion. Coelestius rejoined: I have already said. Let him explain the words he mentioned, 'previous to the transgression!' The deacon Paulinus then said:

You must deny ever having taught this. The bishop Aurelius said: I ask. What conclusion I have on my part to draw from this man's obstinacy; my assertion is, that although Adam, as created in Paradise, is said to have been made incapable of dissolution at first, he afterwards became corruptible through transgressing the commandment. Do you say so, brother Paulinus? I do, my lord, answered the deacon Paulinus. Then the bishop Aurelius said: As regards the condition of infants before baptism at the present day, the deacon Paulinus wishes to be informed whether it is such as Adam's called Rufinus introduced the discussion against original sin and its transmission into Rome in the pontificate of Anastasius. According to some, this was the Rufinus of Aquileia, whom Jerome (in Einst. ad Ctesiphont.) notices as the precursor of Pelagius in his error about the sinless nature of man; according, however, to others, it is the other Rufinus, mentioned by Jerome in his 66th Epistle, who is possibly the same as he who rejects the transmission of original sin in a treatise On Faith, which J. Sismondi published as the work of Rufinus, a presbyter of the province of Palestine. It is, at any rate, hardly possible to suppose that the Aquileian Rufinus either went to Rome, or lodged there with Tammachius, in the time of Pope Anastasius. â€” [Ed. Bened.]

CHAP. v. CELESTIUS DISINGENUOUS. 51

As before his transgression; and whether at least it derives the guilt of transgression from the original sin wherein it is born? The deacon Paulinus asked: Whether he actually taught this, or could not deny the allegation? Coelestius answered:

As touching the transmission of original sin, I have already asserted, that I have heard many persons of acknowledged position in the Catholic Church deny it altogether; and on the other hand, many affirm it: it may be fairly deemed a matter for inquiry, but not a heresy. I have always maintained that infants require baptism, and ought to be baptized. What else does he want? "

Chap. 4.

You, of course, see that Coelestius here conceded baptism for infants only in such a manner as to be unwilling to confess that the sin of the first man, which is washed away in the laver of regeneration, is transferred to them, although at the same time he did not venture to deny [the transmission]; but by reason of his uncertainty and doubt he refused to condemn those who maintain that Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the human race; and that infants at their birth are in the self-same condition wherein Adam was before he fell."
Chap. 5. [v.] â€” C(Æ)lestius' book ichch was produced in the proceedings at Rome. But in the book which he published at Rome, and produced in the proceedings before the church there, he so speaks on this question as to show that he really believed that about which he had professed to be in doubt. For these are his words: "That infants, however, ought to be baptized for the remission of sins, according to the rule of the Church universal, and according to the meaning of the Gospel, we readily admit. For the Lord has determined that the kingdom of heaven should only be conferred on baptized persons; and since the resources of nature do not possess it, it must necessarily be conferred by [God's] free grace." Now if he had not said anything elsewhere on this subject, who would not have supposed that he acknowledged the remission of original sin in infants at their baptism, by saying that they ought to be baptized for

John iii. 5.

52 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

the remission of sins? Hence the point of what you have stated in your letter, that Pelagius' answer to you was on this wise, "That infants are baptized with the same words of sacramental formula as adults," and that you were rejoiced to hear the very thing which you were desirous of hearing, and yet that we preferred holding a consultation concerning his words.

Chap. 6. [vi.] â€” Caillesthis the disciple is in this work holder than his master.

Carefully observe, then, what Coelestius has advanced so very openly, and you will discover what amount of concealment Pelagius has practised upon you. Coelestius goes on to say as follows: "That infants, however, must be baptized for the remission of sins, was not admitted by us with the view of our seeming to affirm [the doctrine of] original sin, which is very alien from the sentiment of Catholics. Because sin is not born with a man; it is subsequently committed by the man: for it is shown to be a fault, not of nature, but of the human will. It is fitting, indeed, to confess this, lest we should seem to make different kinds of baptism; it is, moreover, necessary to lay down this preliminary safeguard, lest by the occasion of this mystery evil should, to the disparagement of the Creator, be said to be conveyed to man by nature, previous to man's having committed it at all." Now Pelagius was either afraid or ashamed to avow this to be his own opinion before you; although his disciple experienced neither a qualm nor a blush in openly professing it to be his, without any obscure subterfuges, in presence of the Apostolic See.

Chap. 7. â€” Pope Zosimus hndhj excuses him.

The bishop, however, who presides over this See, upon seeing him hurrying headlong in so great presumption, like a madman, chose in his great compassion, with a view to the man's repentance, if it might be, rather to bind him tightly by eliciting from him answers to questions proposed by himself, than by the stroke of a severe condemnation to drive
him over the precipice, down which he seemed to be even now ready to fall. I say
advisedly, " down which he seemed to be ready to fall," rather than " over which he had
actually fallen,"
because he had already in this same book of his forecast the

CTTAP. IX.] CCELESTIUS CONDEMNED. 53

subject with an intended reference to questions of this sort in the following words: " If it
should so happen that any error of ignorance has stolen over [us, who are but] human
beings, let it be corrected by your decisive sentence."

Chap. 8. [vii.] ã€” Celestius condemned by Zosimus.

The venerable Pope Zosimus, keeping in view this deprecatory preamble, dealt with
the man, puffed up as he was with the blasts of false doctrine, in such a way as to condemn
all the objectionable points which had been alleged against him by the deacon Paulinus,
whilst yielding his assent to the rescript of the Apostolic See which had been issued by
his predecessor of sacred memory. The accused man, however, refused to condemn
the objections raised by the deacon, yet he did not venture to hold out against the letter of
the blessed

O

Pope Innocent; indeed, he went so far as to promise " that he would condemn aU the
points which the Apostolic See condemned." Thus the man was treated with gentle
remedies, as a delirious patient who required rest; but, at the same time, he was not
regarded as being yet ready to be released from the restraints of excommunication. The
interval of two months was granted him, until communications could be received from
Africa, with the further concession of a locus Knitcntice, under the mild restorative of
the sentence which had been pronounced. For the truth is, if he would have laid aside his
vain obstinacy, and be now willing to carry out what he had undertaken, and would
carefully read the very letter to which he had replied by promising submission, he would
yet come to a better mind. But after the rescripts were duly issued from the council of the
African bishops, there were very good reasons why the sentence should be carried out
against him, in strictest accordance with equity. What these reasons were you may read
for yourselves, for we have sent you all the particulars.

Chap. 9. [viii.] ã€” Pelagius deceived the council in Palestine, but was unable to deceive
the church at Rome. The faith of the, Romans deserved to be spoken of. Pelagius lived at
Rome for some time.

From these [you will find that] even Pelagius, if he will only reflect candidly on his own
position and writings, has no
reason for saying that he ought not to have been banned with such a sentence. For although he deceived the council in Palestine, seemingly clearing himself before it, he entirely failed in imposing on the church at Rome (where, as you well know, he is by no means a stranger), although he went so far as to make the attempt, if he might anyhow succeed. But, as I have just said, he entirely failed. For the most blessed Pope Zosimus recollected what his predecessor, who had set him so worthy an example, had thought of these very proceedings. Nor did he omit to observe what opinion was entertained about this man by the trusty Romans, whose faith deserved to be spoken of in the Lord, and whose consistent zeal in defence of catholic truth against this heresy he saw prevailing amongst them with warmth, and at the same time most perfect harmony. The man had lived among them for a long while, and his opinions could not escape their notice; moreover, they had so completely found out his disciple Coelestius, as to be able at once to adduce the most trustworthy and irrefragable evidence on this subject. Now what was the solemn judgment which the holy Pope Innocent formed respecting the proceedings in the Synod of Palestine, by which Pelagius boasts of having been acquitted, you may indeed read in the letter which he addressed to me. It is duly mentioned also in the answer which was forwarded by the African Synod to the venerable Pope Zosimus, and which, along with the other instructions, we have despatched to your loving selves. But it seems to me, at the same time, that I ought not to omit producing the particulars in the present work.

Chap. 10. [ix.] "The judgment of Innocent respecting the proceedings in Palestine.

Five bishops, then, of whom I was one, wrote him a letter, wherein we mentioned the proceedings in Palestine, of which the report had already reached us. We informed him that in the East, where [this man] lived, there had taken place certain

1 Rom. i. 8.

2 Albina, Pinianus, and Melania. Literally, they are here addressed as "your Charity."

^ Epistola 177, inter Augustinianas.

CHAP. XI.] PELAGIUS KOT STEAIGHTFORWAED. 55

ecclesiastical proceedings, in which he is thought to have been acquitted on all the charges. To this communication from us [Innocent] replied in a letter which contains the following among other words: "There are," says he, "sundry positions, as stated in these
very acts, which, when they were objected against him, he partly suppressed by avoiding
them altogether, and partly confused in absolute obscurity, by wresting many words from
their relative meaning; whilst there are other allegations which he cleared of, not,
indeed, in the honest way which he seemed at the time to resort to, but rather by methods
of sophistry, meeting some of the objections with a flat denial, and tampering with others
by a fallacious interpretation. "Would to God, however, that he would even now adopt
what is the far more desirable course of turning from his own error back to the true ways
of catholic faith; that he would also, duly considering God's daily grace, and
acknowledging the help thereof, be willing and desirous to appear, amidst the
approbation of all men, to be truly corrected by the method of open conviction, of,
indeed, by judicial process, but by a hearty conversion to the catholic faith. We are
therefore unable either to approve of or to blame their proceedings at that trial; for we
cannot tell whether the proceedings were true, or even, if true, whether they do not really
show that the man escaped by subterfuge, rather than that he cleared himself by entire
truth." You see clearly from these words, how that the most blessed Pope Innocent
without doubt speaks of this man as of one who was by no means unknown to him. You
see what opinion he entertained about his acquittal. You see, moreover, what his
successor the holy Pope Zosimus was bound to recollect, of, as in truth he did, even
to confirm without doubt or wavering the judgment in this case of his predecessor.

Chap. 11. [x.] Of how Pelagius deceived the Synod of Palestine.

Now I pray you carefully to observe by what evidence Pelagius is shown to have deceived his judges in Palestine on this very question of the baptism of infants, not to
mention other points; [and I make this request of you], lest we should

1 Innocent's letter occurs amongst The Epistles of Augustine (183. 3, 4).

seem to any one to have used calumny and suspicion, rather than to have ascertained the
certain fact, when we alleged that Pelagius concealed the opinion which Cælestius
expressed with greater frankness, while at the same time he actually entertained the same
views. Now, from what has been stated above, it has been clearly seen that, when
Cælestius refused to condemn the assertion that "Adam's sin injured only himself, and
not the human race, and that infants at their birth are in the same state that Adam was
before his transgression,"
he did so because he saw that, by condemning these propositions, he would in fact affirm
that there was in infants a transmission to them of Adam's sin. When, however, it was
objected to Pelagius that he was of one mind with Cælestius on this point, he condemned
the words without hesitation or recall. I am quite aware that you have read all this before.
Since, however, we are not writing this account simply for yourselves, we proceed to
transcribe the very words of the synodal acts, lest the reader should be unwilling either to
turn to the record for himself, or if he does not possess it, take any trouble to procure a copy. Here, then, are the words: â€”

Chap. 12. [xi.] â€” A portion of the acts of the Synod of Palestine in the cause of Pelagius.

" The Synod said: Now, forasmuch as Pelagius has pronounced his anathema on this shifting utterance of folly, rightly replying that a man can with God's help and grace live dva/xdpT7}ro<;, that is to say, without sin, let him give us his answer on some other articles also. Another particular in the teaching of Ccelestius, disciple of Pelagius, selected from the heads which were mentioned and heard before the holy Aurelius bishop of Carthage, and other bishops, was to this effect: ' That Adam was made mortal, and that he must have died, whether he sinned or not; that Adam's sin injured himself alone, and not the human race; that the law no less than the gospel leads us to the kingdom [of heaven]; that before the coming of Christ there were persons who lived without sin; that new-born infants are in the same condition as Adam was before his transgression; that, on the one hand, the entire human race does not die owing to Adam's death

CHAP. XIII.] PELAGIUS AND CCELESTIUS COMPARED. 57

and transgression, nor, on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through the resurrection of Christ; that the holy bishop Augustine wrote a book in answer to his followers in Sicily, on articles which were subjoined; and in this book, which was addressed to Hilary, are contained the following statements: That a man can be without sin if he wishes; that infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life; that rich men, even if they are baptized, unless they renounce and give up all, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned unto them, neither can they possess the kingdom of heaven.' Pelagius then said: As regards man's power to live without sin, my opinion has been already spoken. With respect, however, to the allegation that there were even before the Lord's coming persons who lived without sin, we also on our part say, that before the coming of Christ there certainly were persons who passed their lives in holiness and righteousness, according to the accounts which have been handed down to us in the Holy Scriptures. As for the other points, indeed, even on their own showing, they are not of a character which obliges me to be answerable for them; but yet, for the satisfaction of the sacred Synod, I; anathematize those who either now hold or have ever held these opinions."

Chap. 13. [xii.] â€” Coslestius the holder heretic; Pelagius the more subtle.

You see, indeed, not to mention other points, how that Pelagius pronounced his anathema against those who hold that

" Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the human race; and that infants are at their birth in the same condition in which Adam was before he transgressed." Now what else could the bishops who sat in judgment on him have possibly understood liin to mean by
this, but that the sin of Adam is transmitted to infants? It was to avoid making such an
admission that Cœlestius refused to condemn this statement, which he on the contrary
anathematized. If, therefore, I shall show that he did not really entertain any other opinion
concerning infants than that they are born without any contagion of a single sin, what
difference will there remain on this question between him and Cœlestius, except this, that
the one is more open, the other more reserved; the one more pertina-

53 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

cious, the other more mendacious; or, at any rate, that the one is more candid, the other
more astute? The one even before the church of Carthage refused to condemn what he
afterwards in the church at Eome publicly confessed to be a tenet of his own; at the same
time professing himself "ready to submit to correction if an error had stolen over him,
considering that he was but human; " whereas the other both condemned this dogma
likewise as being contrary to the truth
(lest he should himself be condemned by his Catholic judges), and yet kept it in reserve
for subsequent defence, so that either his condemnation was a lie, or his interpretation a
trick.

Chap. 14. [xiii.] â€” He shows that, even after the Synod of Palestine, Pelagius held the
same opinions as Cailestius on the subject of original sin.

I see, however, the very great justice of the demand made of me, that I would not defer
my promised demonstration, that he actually entertains the same views as Coelestius. In
the first book of his more recent work, written in defence of the freedom of the wiU
(which work he mentions in the letter he despatched to Eome), he says: "Nothing good,
and nothing evil, on account of which we are deemed either laudable or blameworthy, is
born with us, but is done by us: for we are born not fully developed, but with a capacity
for either conduct; we are formed naturally without either virtue or vice; and previous to
the action of our own proper will is what God has formed in him." Now you perceive in these words of Pelagius, that therein is contained the dogma of both
these men, that infants are born without the contagion of any sin from Adam. It is
therefore not astonishing that Coelestius refused to condemn such as say that Adam's sin
injured only himself, and not the human race; and that infants are at their birth in the
same state in which Adam was before he fell.
But it is very much to be wondered at, that Pelagius had the effrontery to anathematize
these opinions. Por if, as he alleges,
"evil is not born with us, and we are begotten without fault or sin, and the only thing in
man pre^dous to the action of his own will is that which God created in him," then of
course the sin of Adam did only injure hunself, inasmuch as it did not pass on to his
offspring. For there is not any sin which is not an evil; otherwise sin is not a flaw or fault;
or else
sin was created by God. But he says: "Nothing evil is born with us, and we are procreated without vice; and the only thing in men at their birth is what God created in them."

Now, since by this language he supposes it to be most true, that, according to the well-known sentence of his: "Adam's sin was injurious to himself alone, and not to the human race," why did Pelagius condemn this, if it were not for the purpose of deceiving his Catholic judges? By parity of reasoning, it may also be argued: "If evil is not born with us, and if we are procreated without vice, and if the only thing found in man at the time of his birth is what God created in him," it follows beyond a doubt that "infants at their birth are in the same condition that Adam was before he fell," to whom no evil or vice was incidental, and in whom no quality existed which was not the creature of God. And yet Pelagius pronounced anathema on all those persons "who hold now, or have at any time held, that new-born babes are placed by their birth in the same state that Adam was in previous to his fall," â€” in other words, are without any sin or any vice, simply possessing whatever quality God had created in them. Now, why again did Pelagius condemn this tenet also, if it were not for the purpose of deceiving the Catholic
Synod, and saving himself from the condemnation of an
heretical innovator?

Chap. 15. [xiv.] àê” Pelagius by his mendadtji and deception stole his acquittal from the
Synod in Palestine.

For my own part, however, I, as you are quite aware, and
as I also stated in the book which I addressed to our venerable
old [bishop] Aurelius on the proceedings in Palestine, really
felt glad that Pelagius in that answer of his had exhausted
the whole of this question. To me, indeed, he seemed most
plainly to have acknowledged that there is original sin in
infants, by the anathema which he pronounced against those
persons who supposed that by the sin of Adam only himself,
and not the human race, was injured, and who entertained the
opinion that infants are in the same state in which the first
man was before his transgression. When, however, I had
read his four books (from the first of which I copied the words
which I have just now quoted), and discovered that he was

GO ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

still cherishing thoughts which were opposed to the Catholic faith touching infants, I felt
all the greater surprise at a mendacity which he so unhlushingly maintained in a synod of
the church, and on so great a question. For if he had already written these books, how did
he profess to anathematize those who ever entertained the opinions alluded to ?
If he purposed, however, afterwards to publish such a work, how could he anathematize
those who at the same time were holding the opinions ? Unless, to be sure, by some
ridiculous subterfuge he meant to say that the objects of his anathema were such persons
as had in some previous time held, or were then holding, these opinions; but that in
respect of the future "that is, as regarded those persons who were about to take up with such views "he felt that it would be impossible for him to prejudge either himself or other people, and that therefore he was guilty of no lie or deception when he was afterwards detected in the maintenance of similar errors. This plea, however he does not advance, not only because it is a ridiculous one, but because it cannot possibly be true; because in these very books of his he both argues against the transmission of sin from Adam to infants, and glories in the proceedings of the Synod in Palestine, where he was supposed to have sincerely anathematized such as hold the opinions in dispute, and where he, in fact, pilfered his acquittal by practising deceit.

Chap. 16. [xv.] "Pelag'ms' fraudulent and crafty excuses. For what have his answers to his followers to do with the matter on which we are at present treating, when he tells them that "the reason why he condemned the points which were objected against him, was because he himself maintains that the primal sin was injurious not only to the first man, but to the whole human race; not because it was transmitted by birth, but because it was an example; "in other words, not on the ground of his offspring having derived any fault from him, but because all who afterwards sinned imitated him who committed the first sin? Or when he says that "the reason why infants are not in the same state in which Adam was before his transgression, is because they are not yet able to understand the commandment, whereas he was

CHAP. XVII.] DUPLICITY OF PELAGIUS. G 1

able; and because they do not yet possess that choice of a rational "will which he indeed possessed, for otherwise no commandment would have been given to him "? How does such an exposition as this of the points alleged against him justify him in thinking that he rightly condemned the propositions, "Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the whole race of man; "and "infants at their birth are in the self-same state as Adam was before he sinned; "and that by the said condemnation he is not guilty of deceit in holding such opinions as are found in his subsequent writings, how that "infants are born without any fault or sin, and that there is nothing in them but what God created," "no wound, in short, inflicted by an enemy?"

Chap. 17. [xvi.] Now, by making such statements as these, meeting objections which are urged in one sense with explanations which are meant in another, is it his aim to prove to us that he did not deceive those who sat in judgment on him? Then he utterly fails in his purpose. In proportion to the craftiness of his explanations, was the stealthiness with which he deceived them. For, Catholic bishops as they were, when they heard the man pouring out anathemas upon those who maintained that "Adam's sin was injurious to none but himself, and not to the human race," they understood him to assert nothing but what the Catholic Church has been accustomed to declare, on the strength of which it truly
baptizes infants for the remission of sins “not, indeed, sins which they have committed by imitation of the example of the first sinner, but sins which they have contracted by their very birth, owing to the taint and flaw of their nativity. When, again, they heard him anathematizing those who assert that "infants at their birth are in the same state as Adam previous to his fall,” they supposed him simply to refer to those persons who think that infants have derived no sin from Adam, and that they are accordingly in the same state that lie was in previous to his sin. For, of course, no other objection would be brought against him than that on which the question turned. When, therefore, he so explains the objection as to say that infants are not in the same state that Adam was before he sinned, simply

62 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

because they have not yet arrived at the same firmness of mind or body, not because sin has passed on to them by birth, he must be answered thus: When the objections were laid against you for condemnation, the Catholic bishops did not understand them in this sense; therefore, when you condemned them, they believed that you were a Catholic. That, accordingly, which they supposed you to maintain, deserved to be released from censure; but that which you really maintained was worthy of condemnation. It was not you, then, that were acquitted, who held tenets which ought to be condemned; but that opinion was freed from censure which you ought to have held and maintained. You could only be supposed to be acquitted by having been believed to entertain opinions worthy to be praised; for your judges could not suppose that you were concealing opinions which merited condemnation. Rightly have you been adjudged an accomplice of Cælestius, in whose opinions you prove yourself to be a sharer. Though you kept your books shut during your trial, you published them to the world after it was over.

Chap. 18. [xvii.] æ’” The condemnation of Pelagius; after Pelagius and Codestius were excommunicated, many of their followers were converted.

This being the case, you of course feel that episcopal councils, and the Apostolic See, and the whole Church of Rome, and the Roman Empire itself, æ” which by God's gracious favour has become Christian, has been most righteously moved against the authors of this wicked error, until they repent and escape from the snares of the devil. For who can tell whether God may not give them repentance to discover, and acknowledge, and even declare His truth, and to condemn their own truly damnable error ? But whatever may be the bent of their own will, we cannot doubt that the merciful kindness of the Lord has sought the good of many persons who followed them, for no other reason than because they saw them joining in communion with the Catholic Church.

' Possidius, in his Life of Augustine, chapter 18, says: “Even the most pious Emperor Honorius, upon hearing that the weighty sentence of the Catholic Church of God had been pronounced against them, in pursuance of the same, determined that they should he
regarded as heretics, under condemnation by his own [imperial] laws." These enactments are placed by the Benedictine editors in the second part of their Appendix.

CHAP. XX.] PELAGIUS RAISES A FALSE ISSUE. 63

Chap. 19. "Pelagius' attempt to deceive the Apostolic See; he inverts the hearings of the controversy. But I would have you carefully observe the way in which Pelagius endeavoured by stealth to overreach even the judgment of the bishop of the Apostolic See on this very question of the baptism of infants. He sent a letter to Rome to Pope Innocent of blessed memory; and when it found him not in the flesh, it was handed to the holy Pope Zosimus, and by him directed to us. In this letter he complains of being "defamed by certain persons for refusing the sacrament of baptism to infants, and promising the kingdom of heaven irrespective of Christ's redemption." The objections, however, are not urged against them in the manner he has stated. For they neither deny the sacrament of baptism to infants, nor do they promise the kingdom of heaven to any irrespective of the redemption of Christ. As regards, therefore, his complaint of being defamed by sundry persons, he has set it forth in such terms as to be able to give a ready answer to the alleged charge against him, without injury to his own dogma, [xviii.] The real objection against them is, that they refuse to confess that unbaptized infants are liable to damnation because of the first Adam, and that original sin has been transmitted to them, and requires to be purged by regeneration; their contention being that infants must be baptized solely for the purpose of being admitted to the kingdom of heaven, as if they could only have eternal death without the kingdom of heaven, who cannot have eternal life without partaking of the Lord's body and blood. This, I would have you know, is the real objection to them respecting the baptism of infants; and not as he has represented it, for the purpose of enabling himself to save his own dogmas while answering what is actually a proposition of his own, under colour of meeting the objection [of his accusers].

Chap. 20. "Pelagius provides a refuge for his falsehood in ambiguous subterfuges. And then observe the mode in which he makes his answer, how he provides in the obscure mazes of his double sense retreats for his false doctrine, quenching the truth in his dark mist of error; [and he succeeded so well], that even we, on our first perusal of his words, rejoiced almost at their propriety and correctness. But the fuller discussions in his books, in which he is generally forced, in spite of all his efforts at concealment, to explain his meaning, have made even his better statements suspicious to
us, lest on a closer inspection of them we should detect them to be ambiguous. For, after saying that "he had never heard even an impious heretic say this" (namely, what he set forth as the objection) "about infants," he goes on to ask: "Who indeed is so unacquainted with Gospel lessons, as not only to attempt to make such a statement, but even be able to slightly sketch it, or only let it enter his thought? And then who is so impious as to wish to exclude infants from the kingdom of heaven, by forbidding them to be baptized and to be born again in Christ?"

Chap. 21. [xix.]
Now it is to no purpose that he says all this. He does not clear himself thereby; for even they have never denied the impossibility of infants entering the kingdom of heaven without baptism. But this is not the question; what we are now discussing concerns the obliteration of original sin in infants. Let him clear himself on this point, since he refuses to acknowledge that there is anything in infants which the laver of regeneration has to cleanse. On this account we ought carefully to consider what he has afterwards to say.

After adducing, then, the passage of the Gospel which declares that "whoever is not born again of water and the Spirit cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven" (on which matter, as we have said, they raise no question), he goes on at once to ask: "Who indeed is so impious as to have the heart to refuse the common redemption of the human race to an infant of any age whatever?" But this is ambiguous language; for what redemption does he mean? Is it from evil to good? or from good to better? Now even Cælestius, in his book at Carthage, allowed a redemption for infants; although, at the same time, he would not admit the transmission of sin to them from Adam.

^ Purgatione. - John iii. 5.

^ [See, above, the Admonitio (or advertisement) to the treatise, De Perfectione Jusitice Hom'mis, towards the end.]

CHAP. XXIII.] AMBIGUITY OF PELAGIUS. 65

Chap. 22. [xx.]

Then, again, observe what he subjoins to the last remark: "Can any one," says he, "deny his second birth to an eternal and certain life, who has been born to this present uncertain life?" In other words: Who is so impious as to forbid his being born again to the life which is sure and eternal, who has been born to this life of uncertainty? When we first read these words, we supposed that by the phrase "uncertain life"
he meant to designate this present, temporal life; although it appeared to us that he ought rather to have called it "mortal" than "uncertain," on the ground that it is brought to a close by certain death. But for all this, we thought that he had only shown a preference for calling this mortal life an incertaiyi one, because of the general view which men take that there is undoubtedly not a moment in our lives when we are free from this uncertainty. And so it happened that our anxiety about him was allayed to some extent by the following consideration, which rose almost to a proof, notwithstanding the fact of his unwillingness openly to confess that infants incur eternal death who depart this life without the sacrament of baptism. We argued: If, as he seems to admit, eternal life can only accrue to them who have been baptized, it follows of course that they who die unbaptized incur everlasting death. This destiny, however, cannot by any means justly befall those who never in this life committed any sins of their own, who therefore only possessed original sin.

Chap. 23. [xxi.] â€” The opinion of Pelag'ims concerning infants who die unbaptized; how he shelters himself under his ambiguous phrases.

Certain brethren, however, afterwards failed not to remind us that Pelagius possibly expressed himself in this way, because on this question he is represented as having his answer ready for all inquirers, to this effect: "As for infants who die unbaptized, I know indeed whither they go not; yet whither they go, I know not; " as much as to say, I know they do not go into the kingdom of heaven. But as to whither they actually go, he was (and for the matter of that, still is^) in the habit of saying that he knew not, for no other

' Dicebat, aut dicit. These two latter words are not superfluous, as some have thought; they intimate that Pelagius still clave to his enor.

XTI. E

60 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

reason than because he had not the courage to say that those . persons went to eternal death, who he was persuaded had never committed sin in this life, and whom he would not admit to have contracted original sin. Consequently those very words of his which were forwarded to Eome to secure his absolute acquittal, are so steeped in ambiguity that they afford a shelter for their doctrine, out of which may sally forth an heretical sense to entrap the unwary straggler; for when no one is at hand who can give the answer, any man may find himseK weak in his solitary condition.

Chap. 24. â€” Pelagius' long residence at Borne.
The truth indeed is, that in the document of his faith which he sent to Rome with this very letter [which we have been discussing],^ to the before-mentioned Pope Innocent, to whom he had also written the letter, he only set himself in a clearer light by his efforts at concealment. He says: "We hold one baptism, which we insist ought to be administered in the same formula of sacramental words in the case of infants as in the case of adults." He did not, however, say, "in the same sacrament" (although if he had so said, there would still have been ambiguity), but "in the same formula of sacramental words," â€” as if remission of sins in infants were only a matter of verbal sound, instead of a fact effectually wrought.

For the time, indeed, he seemed to say what was agreeable with the catholic faith; but he had it not in his power permanently to deceive the [Holy] See. Subsequent to the rescript of the Council of Carthage, into which province this pestilent doctrine had stealthily made its way â€” without, however, spreading widely or sinking deeply â€” other opinions also of this man were by the industry of some faithful brethren discovered and brought to light at Rome, where he had dwelt for a very long while, and had already engaged in sundry discourses and controversies. In order to procure the condemnation of these opinions. Pope Zosimus, as you may read, annexed them to his letter, which he wrote for publication throughout the Catholic world. Among these statements, Pelagius, pretending to expound the Apostle Paul's Epistle

1 See above, ch. 19.

CHAP. XXV.] PELAGIANISM CONDEMNED. 67

to the Romans, argues in these words: "As even Adam's sin did not injure sinners, so Christ's righteousness also profits not those who believe." He says other things, too, of the same purport; but they have all been refuted and answered by me with the Lord's help in the books which I wrote. On the Baptism of Infants} But he had not the courage to make those objectionable statements in his own person in the fore-mentioned so-called exposition. This particular one, however, having been enunciated in a place where he was so well known, his words and their meaning could not be disguised. In those books, from the first of which I have already quoted above,^ he treats this point without any suppression of his views. With all the energy of which he is capable, he most plainly asserts that human nature in infants cannot in any wise be supposed to be tainted by birth; and by claiming salvation for them as their due, he does despite to the Saviour.

Chap. 25. [xxii.] â€” The condemnation of Pelagius and Cælestius.

These things, then, being as I have stated them, it is now evident that there has arisen a deadly heresy which, with the Lord's help, the Church by this time guards against more directly â€” now that those two men, Pelagius and Cælestius, have been either offered repentance, or on their refusal been whoUy condemned. They are reported, or perhaps are actually proved, to be the authors of this perversion; at all events, if not the authors (as having learnt it from others), they are yet boastfully set forth as its abettors and teachers,
through whose agency the heresy has advanced and grown to a wider extent. This boast, too, is made even in their own statements and writings, and in unmistakable signs of reality, as well as in the fame which arises and grows out of all these circumstances. What, therefore, remains to be done? Just not every Catholic, with all the energies wherewith the Lord endows him, confute this pestilential doctrine, and oppose it with all vigilance; so that whenever we contend for the truth, compelled to answer, but not fond of the contest, the untaught may be instructed, and that thus the Church may be benefited. See especially book iii. ch. 5, 6 [iii.] In ch. 14 [xiii.].

08 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK U.]

by that which the enemy devised for her destruction; in accordance with that word of the apostle's, " There must be heresies, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you " ?

Chap. 26. [xiii.] â€” The Pelarjians maintain that raising questions about original sin does not endanger the faith.

Therefore, after the full discussion with which we have been able to rebut in writing this error of theirs, which is so inimical to the grace of God bestowed on small and great through our Lord Jesus Christ, it is now our duty to. examine and explode that assertion of theirs, which in their desire to avoid the odious imputation of heresy they astutely advance, to the effect that " calling this subject into question produces no danger to the faith," â€” in order that they may appear, forsooth, while under the conviction of having quitted the usual track, to have erred only by a sort of offence against courtesy, and not to have incurred any charge of hostility to the faith. This, accordingly, is the language which Coelestius used in the ecclesiastical process at Carthage: â€” "As touching the transmission of original sin," he said, " I have already asserted that I have heard many persons of acknowledged position in the Catholic Church deny it altogether, and on the other hand many affirm it; it may fairly, indeed, be deemed a matter for inquiry, but not a heresy. I have always maintained that infants require baptism, and ought to be baptized. What else does he want?" He said this, as if he wanted to intimate that only then could he be deemed chargeable with heresy, if he were to assert that they ought not to be baptized. As the case stood, however, inasmuch as he acknowledged that they ought to be baptized, he thought that he was not in error, and therefore ought not to be adjudged a heretic, even though he maintained the reason of their baptism to be other than the truth holds, or the faith claims as its own. On the same principle, in the book which he sent to Eome, he first explained his belief, so far as it suited his pleasure, [on all the

' 1 Cor. xi. 19.
CHAP. XXVII.] OPINIONS OUTSIDE THE CREED. 69

articles of the creed], from the Trinity of the One Godhead down to the Resurrection of the Dead, as it is to be; on all which points, however, no one had ever questioned him, or Leen questioned by him. And when his discourse reached the question which was under consideration, he said: "If, indeed, any questions have arisen beyond the compass of the creed, on which there might be perhaps dissension on the part of a great many persons, in no case have I pretended to pronounce a decision on any dogma, as if I possessed a definitive authority in the matter myself; but whatever I have derived from the fountain of the prophets and the apostles, I have presented for determination to the sentence of your apostolic office; so that if any error has crept in among us, human as we are, through our ignorance, it may be corrected by your decision and sentence." You of course clearly see that in this action of his he used all this deprecatory preamble in order that, if he had been discovered to have erred at all, he might seem to have erred not on a matter of faith, but on questionable points outside the creed; wherein, however necessary it may be to correct the error, it is not corrected as a heresy; wherein also the person who undergoes the correction is declared indeed to be in error, but for all that is not adjudged a heretic.

Chap. 27. [xxiii.] â€” On questions outside the creed â€” what they are, and instances of the same.

But he is greatly mistaken in this opinion. The questions which he supposes to be outside the creed are of a very different character from those in which, without any detriment to the faith whereby we are Christians, there exists either an ignorance of the real fact, and a consequent suspension of any fixed opinion, or else a conjectural view of the case, which, owing to the infirmity of human thought, issues in conceptions at variance with truth: as when a question arises about the description and locality of that Paradise where God placed man whom He formed out of the ground, without any disturbance, however, of the Christian belief that there undoubtedly is such a Paradise; or as when it is asked where Elijah is at the present moment, and where Enoch â€” whether in this Paradise or in some other place, although we doubt not of their existing still in the same bodies in which they were born; or as when

70 ON ORIGINAL SIN". [BOOK II.]
one inquires whether it was in the body or out of the body that the apostle was caught up to the third heaven, "an inquiry, however, which betokens great immodesty on the part of those who would fain know what he who is the subject of the mystery itself expressly declares his ignorance of, without impairing his own belief of the fact; or as when the question is started, how many are those heavens, to the "third" of which he tells us that he was caught up; or whether the elements of this visible world are four or more; what it is which causes those eclipses of the sun or the moon which astronomers are in the habit of foretelling for certain appointed seasons; why, again, men of ancient times lived to the age which Holy Scripture assigns to them; and whether the period of their puberty, when they begat their first son, was postponed to an older age, proportioned to their longer life; or where Methuselah could possibly have lived, since he was not in the Ark, inasmuch as (according to the chronological notes of most copies of the Scripture, both Greek and Latin) he is found to have survived the deluge; or whether we must rather follow the order of the fewer copies " which so arrange the years as to show that he died before the deluge. Now who does not feel, amidst the various and innumerable questions of this sort, which relate either to God's most hidden operations or to most obscure passages of the Scriptures, and which it is difficult to embrace and define in any certain way, that ignorance may on many points be compatible with sound Christian faith, and that occasionally erroneous opinion may be entertained without any room for the imputation of heretical doctrine?

Chap. 28. [xxiv.] " The hierarch of Fdagms and Calesthis aims at the very foundations of our faith. The Christian belief is principally concerned about the Two Men [who are at the head of the old and the new creation].

Without faith in Christ, no man could possibly be either justified or saved.

Faith in Christ an entirely gratuitous gift.

There is, however, [subject-matter of quite a different kind] in the case of the Two [representative] Men, [who have affected our race so diversely, that] by one of them we are sold under sin, by the Other redeemed from our sins " by the one have

"2 Cor. xii. 2.

CHAP. XXVIII.] THE FIRST AND THE SECOND ADA^M. 71

been precipitated into death, by the Other are liberated unto life: the former of whom has ruined us in himself, by doing his own will instead of His who created him; whereas the Other has saved us in Himself, by not doing His own will, but the will of Him who sent
Him. Now it is in what concerns these Two Men that the Christian faith properly consists.

For "there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus;" since "there is none other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved;" and "in Him hath God defined unto all men their faith, in that He hath raised Him from the dead."*

"* Now without this faith, that is to say, without a belief in the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; without faith, I say, in His resurrection, whereby God has given assurance to all men, and which no man could of course truly believe, were it not for His incarnation and death; without faith, therefore, in the incarnation and death and resurrection of Christ, the Christian verity unhesitatingly declares that the ancient saints could not possibly have been cleansed from sin, so as to have become holy, and justified by the grace of God.

And this is true both of the saints who are mentioned in Holy Scripture, and of those also who are not indeed commemorated therein, but must yet be supposed to have existed, â€” either before the deluge, or in the interval between that event and the giving of the law, or in the period of the law itself, â€” not merely among the children of Israel, as the prophets, but even outside that nation, as for instance Job. It was no doubt by the same faith in the one Mediator that the hearts of even these were cleansed, in which also was "shed abroad the love of God by the Holy Ghost," and "who bloweth where He listeth," never following men's merits, but ever producing them Himself; since the grace of God will in no wise exist unless it be wholly free.

> John iv. 34, v. 30. ^ 1 Tim. ii. 5. Â« Acts iv. 12.

* Acts xvii. 31. * Rom. v. 5. ^ John iii. 8

72 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

Chap. 29. The righteous men who lived in the time of the law were for all that not under the law, but under grace. The grace of the New Testament hidden under the Old. The veil of the temple. Gideon's fleece.

Death indeed reigned from Adam until Moses/ because it was not possible even for the law given through Moses to overcome death: it was not given, in fact, with a view to its being able to give life; but its proper function was to show that all were dead, â€” not only as being prostrated under the dominion of original sin, but as being also convicted of the additional guilt of breaking the law itself, â€” and that grace was needed to give them life: so that no man might perish who in the mercy of God understood this even in that early age; but that, destined though he were to punishment, owing to the dominion of sin, and conscious, too, of guilt through his own violation of the law, he might seek God's
help; so that where sin abounded, grace might much more abound;* even the grace which
alone delivers from the body of this death.*

[xxv.] Yet, notwithstanding this, although the very law which Moses gave was unable to
liberate any man from the dominion of death, there were even then, at the time of the law,
men of God who were not living under the terrors and conviction and punishment of
the law, but under the delights and healing and liberating influence of grace. Some there were
who said, " I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me; "^ and,"
There is no rest in my bones, by reason of my sins;"^ and, " Create in me a clean heart,
God; and renew a right spirit in my inward parts;"^ and,
" Establish me with Thy directing Spirit; "^ and, " Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me."^ There
were some, again, who said: "I believed, therefore have I spoken," ^ For they too
were cleansed with the self-same faith with which we ourselves are. Whence the apostle
also says: " We having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believe, and
therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak."^ Of very faith was it said, " Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall

call His name Emmanuel," ^


* Ps. li. 5. 6 Ps. xxxviii. 3. "^ Ps. li. 10. Â» Ps. U. 12.

Â» Ps. li. 11. Â»0 Ps. cxvi. 10. " 2 Cor. iy. 13. i^ jga. yii. 14.

CHAP. XXIX.] OEACE SAVED THE JEWISH SAINTS. 73

" which is, being interpreted, God with us."^ Of very faith too was it said concerning
Him: " As a bridegroom He cometh out of His chamber; as a giant did He exult to run His
course.
His going forth is from the extremity of heaven, and His circuit runs to the other end of
heaven; and no one is hidden from His heat."^ Of very faith, again, was it said to Him:
" Thy throne, God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy
kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, Thy God,
hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows."^ By the self-same Spirit
of faith were all these things foreseen by them as about to happen, whereby they are
believed by us as having happened. They, indeed, who were able in faithful love to
foretell these things to us were not themselves partakers of them. The Apostle Peter says,
" Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our
fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus
Christ we shall be saved, even as they."^* Now on what principle does he make this
statement, if it be not because even those
[ancient saints] were saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and not the law of
Moses, from which comes not the cure, but only the knowledge of sin?^ " Now,
however, the righteousness of God without the law is, manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets."^ If, therefore, it is now manifested, it even then existed, but it was hidden. This concealment was symbolized by the veil of the temple. When Christ was dying, this veil was rent asunder,^ to signify the full revelation of Him. Even of old, therefore, there existed amongst the people of God this grace of the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. As, however, in the fleece the rain which God sets apart for His inheritance,Â® not of debt, but of His own will, was but latently inherent, it is now patently visible amongst all nations as its "floor," the fleece being dry; in other words, the Jewish people having become reprobate."

' Matt. i. 23. s Ps. xix. 5, 6. ' Ps. xlv. 6, 7.
7 Matt. xxvii. 51. * Ps. Ixviii. 9. ^ Judg. vi. 36-40,

74 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

We must not therefore divide the periods, as Pelagius and his disciples do, who say: "Men first lived righteously by nature, then under the law, thirdly under grace." By their period "ex naiura," they mean all the long time before the giving of the law. "For then," say they, "the Creator was known by the guidance of nature; and the rule of living rightly was carried in the hearts of men, written not in the law of the letter, but of nature. But men's manners became corrupt; and then," they say, "when nature now tarnished began to be insufficient, the law was added to it, whereby as by a moon the original lustre was restored to nature after its blush was impaired. But after the habit of sin had become excessive by over-indulgence among men, and the law was unequal to the task of curing it, Christ came; and the Physician Himself, through His own self, and not through His disciples, brought relief to the malady at its most desperate development."

Chap. 31. â€” Christ's incarnation loas of avail to the fathers, even though it had not yet liapptned.

By disputation of this sort, they attempt to shut off the ancient saints from the grace of the Mediator, as if the man Christ Jesus were not the Mediator between God and them; on the ground that, not having yet taken flesh of the Virgin's womb. He was not man yet at the time when those righteous men lived. If this, however, were true, in vain would the
apostle say: "By man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead; for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." ^ For inasmuch as those ancient saints, according to the vain conceits of these men, found their nature self-sufficient, and required not the man Christ to be their Mediator to reconcile them to God, so neither shall they be made alive in Him, to whose body they are shown not to belong as members, according to the statement that it was on man's account that He became man.

Since, however, as the Truth says through His apostles, all shall be made alive in Christ, even as all die in Adam, foras-

' 1 Cor. XV. 21, 22.

CHAP. XXXII.] ABRAHAM SAW CHRIST'S DAY. 75

much as resurrection from death comes through the One, even as death comes through the other, what Christian man can be bold enough to doubt, that even those righteous men who pleased God in the fresher periods of the human race are destined to attain to the resurrection of eternal life, and not eternal death, because they shall be made alive in Christ; that they are made alive in Christ, because they belong to the body of Christ; that they belong to the body of Christ, because Christ is the head even to them; ^ and that Christ is the head even to them, because there is but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus ? But this He could not have been to them, unless through His grace they had believed in His resurrection. And how could they have done this, if they had not known that He was to come in the flesh, and if they had not turned this faith to good and pious account in their lives ? Now, if the incarnation of Christ could be of no concern to them, on the ground that it had not yet come about, it must follow that Christ's judgment can be of no concern to us, because it has not yet taken place. But if we shall stand at the right hand of Christ through our faith in His judgment, which has not yet transpired, but is to come to pass, it follows that those ancient saints are members of Christ through their faith in His resurrection, which had not in their day happened, but which was one day to come to pass.

Ch^vp. 32. [xxvii.] â€” He shows by the example of Abraham that the ancient saints believed in the incarnation of Christ; why Abraham, wished his servant to swear with his hand tender his thigh.

For it must not be supposed that those saints of old only profited by Christ's divinity, which was ever existent, and not also by the revelation of His humanity, which had not yet come to pass. What the Lord Jesus says, "Abraham desired to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad,"^ meaning by the phrase his day to understand his time [or dispensation], affords of course a clear testimony that Abraham was fully impressed with the belief of His incarnation; for it is only in respect of this that He possesses any temporal attribute at all. His divinity, indeed, transcends all time, for it was by It that time and all its dispensations were created. If, however, any
one supposes that the phrase in question must be understood of that eternal "day" which is limited by no morrow, and preceded by no yesterday, â€” in a word, of the very eternity in which He is co-eternal with the Father, â€” how would Abraham really desire this, without being aware that there was to be a mortality belonging to Him whose eternity he wished for? Or, perhaps, some one would confine the meaning of the phrase so far as to say, that nothing else is meanâ€”in the Lord's saying, "He desired to see my day," than "He desired to see me," who am the never-ending Day, or the unfailing Light, as when we mention the life of the Son, concerning which it is said in the Gospel: "So hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself." ^ Here the life is nothing less than Himself. So we understand the Son Himself to be the life, when He said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life;" ^ of whom also it was said, "He is the true God, and eternal life." ^ Supposing, then, that Abraham desired to see this equal divinity of the Son's with the Father, without any precognition of His coming in the flesh â€” as certain philosophers sought Him, who knew nothing of His flesh â€” can that other act of Abraham, when he orders his servant to place his hand under his thigh, and to swear by the God of heaven,"* be rightly understood by any one otherwise than as showing that Abraham well knew that the flesh in which the God of heaven was to come was the offspring of that very thigh? ^

Chap. 33. [xxviu.]â€”How Christ is our Mediator.
Of this flesh and blood Melchizedek also, when he blessed

* [The word "thigh," n-î, occurs in the phrase, "to come out from the

thigh of any one," in the sense of being begotten by any one, or descended from him, in several passages: see Gen. xlvi. 26; Ex. i. 5; Judg. viii. 30. In the last of these passages, the A. V. phrase, "of his body begotten," is i^TÂ» "^{i% i/te

offspring of his thigh. Abraham was the first to use this form of adjuration; after him his
gi'andson Jacob, Gen. xlvii. 29. The comment of Augustine in the text, which he repeats elsewhere (see his Sermon 75), occurs also in other Fathers, e.g. Jerome, Theodoret, Ambrose (Z)e ^6?a/iamo, i. cap. ult.), Prosper (Prxedicat. i. 1), and Gregory the Great, who says: "He orders him to put his hand under his thigh, since through that member would descend the flesh of Him who was Abraham's son according to the flesh, and his Lord owing to His divinity."]
Abram himself gave the testimony which is very well known to Christian believers, so that long afterwards it was said to Christ in the Psalms: "Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek." This was not then an accomplished fact, but was still future; yet that faith of the fathers, which is the self-same faith as our own, used to chant [the prophecy as a certain truth]. Now, to all who meet with death in Adam, Christ is of this avail, that He is the Mediator for obtaining life. He is, however, not a Mediator, as being equal with the Father; for in this respect He is Himself as far distant from us as the Father; and how can there be any mediatorial function in a case where there is an absolute identity of distance [in the parties]? Therefore the apostle does not say, "There is one Mediator between God and men, even Jesus Christ;" but his words are, "The man Christ Jesus." He is the Mediator, then, in that He is man. He is inferior to the Father, in being nearer to ourselves; and superior to us, in being nearer to the Father. A doctrine which is more openly expressed thus: "He is inferior to the Father, because in the form of a servant;" * superior to us, because without spot of sin.

Chap. 34. [xxix.] Now, whoever maintains that human nature at any period required not the second Adam for its physician, as not having been diseased in the first Adam, is convicted as an enemy to the grace of God; not in a question where doubt or error might be compatible with soundness of belief, but in that very rule of faith which makes us Christians. How happens it, then, that the human nature, which first existed, is praised by these men as being so far less tainted with evil manners? How is it that they overlook the fact that men were even then sunk in so many intolerable sins, that, with the exception of one man of God and his wife, and three sons and their wives, the whole world was in God's just judgment destroyed by the flood, even as the little land of Sodom was afterwards with fire? From the moment, then, when "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned," the entire mass of our nature was ruined beyond doubt, and fell into the possession of its destroyer. And from him no one...
â€”has been delivered, or is being delivered, or ever will be delivered, except by the grace of the Redeemer.

Chap. 85. [xxx.] â€” Why the circumcision of infants wets enjoined under pain of so great a punishment; what is meant in the Scripture by "being cutoff from his people."

The Scripture does not inform us whether before Abraham's time righteous men and their children were marked by any bodily or visible sign. Abraham himself, indeed, received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith. And he received it with this accompanying injunction: All the male infants of his household were from that very time to be circumcised, while fresh from their mother's womb, on the eighth day from their birth; so that even they who were not yet able with the heart to believe unto righteousness, should nevertheless receive the seal of the righteousness of faith. And this command was imposed with so fearful a sanction, that God said: "That soul shall be cut off from his people, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day." If inquiry be made into the justice of so terrible a penalty, will not the entire argument of these men about the free will, and laudable soundness and purity of our nature, however cleverly maintained, fall to pieces, struck down and fractured to atoms ? For, pray tell me, what evil has an infant committed of his own will, that, for the negligence of another in not circumcising him, he must be actually condemned, and with so severe a condemnation, that that soul must be cut off from his people ? It was not of any temporal death that this fear was injected, since of righteous persons, when they died, it used rather to be said, "And he was gathered unto his people;" or, "He was gathered to his fathers:" for no attempt to separate a man from his people is formidable to him, when his own people is itself the people of God.

^ [Or, "m whom all sinned "â€”m quo.] 2 Jom. v. 12.


CHAP. XXXVII.] CHRIST MADE SIN FOR US. 79

Chap. 3(5. [xxxi.] â€” The Platonists' opinion about the existence of the soul previous to the body rejected; circumcision; prophecy of Christ's grace.

What, then, is the purport of so severe a condemnation, when no wilful sin has been committed ? For the opinion of certain Platonists has no existence here, that every such infant is thus requited in his soul for what it did of its own wilfulness previous to the present life, as having possessed previous to its present bodily state a free choice to live either well or ill; since the Apostle Paul says most plainly, that before they were born they did neither good nor evil. On what account, therefore, is an infant rightly punished
with such ruin, if it be not because he belongs to the ruined mass, and is properly regarded as born of Adam, condemned under the bond of the ancient debt [of original sin], unless he has been released from the bond " not indeed by any merit of his own, but by grace? And what grace but God's, through our Lord Jesus Christ? Now there was a forecast of His coming undoubtedly contained not only in other sacred institutions, of the ancient Jews, but also in their circumcision of the foreskin. For the eighth day, whereon it was administered, in the recurrence of weeks, became the Lord's day, on which the Lord arose from the dead; and Christ was the rock "[whence was formed] the stony blade for the circumcision; * and the flesh of the foreskin was the body of sin.

Chap. 37. [xxxii.] â€” In what sense Christ is called "Sin."

There was a change of the sacramental ordinances made after the coming of Him whose advent, they prefigured; but there was no change in the Mediator's help, who, even previous to His coming in the flesh, all along delivered the ancient members of His body by their faith in His incarnation; and in respect of ourselves too, though we were dead in sins and in the uncircumcision of our flesh, we are quickened together in Christ, in whom we are circumcised with the circumcision not made with the hand,® such as was prefigured by the old manual circumcision, that the body of sin might be done away which was born with us from Adam. The propagation

1 Roin. ix. 11. 2 Sacramenta. ' 1 Cor. x. 4.

* Ex. iv. 25. 5 Col. ii. 11, 13. Â« Kom. vi. 0.

80 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

of a condemned original nature condemns ourselves, if we are not cleansed in the likeness of sinful flesh, in which He was sent without sin, who nevertheless concerning sin condemned sin, having been made sin for us.® Accordingly the apostle says: " We beseech you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled unto God. For He hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him."® God, therefore, to whom we are reconciled, has made Him to be sin for us, â€”that is to say, a sacrifice by which our sins may be remitted; for sins are designated as the sacrifices for sins. And indeed He was sacrificed for our sins, the only one among men who had no sins, even as in those early times [a faultless animal] was sought for among the flocks, to prefigure the Faultless One who was to come to heal our offences. On whatever day, therefore, an infant may be baptized after his birth, he is as if circumcised on the eighth day; inasmuch as he is circumcised in Him who rose again the third day indeed after He was crucified, but the eighth according to the weeks. He is circumcised for the putting off of the body of sin; in other words, that the grace of spiritual
regeneration may do away with the debt which the contagion of carnal generation contracted. "For no one is pure from uncleanness " (what uncleanness, pray, but that of sin ?), " not even the infant, whose life is but that of a single day upon the earth." ^

Chap. 38. [xxxiii.] â€” Original sin does not render marriage evil. Conjugal chastity the blessing of the nuptial state.

But they captiously argue, saying: " Is not, then, marriage an evil, and surely the human being which is produced by marriage is not God's work ?" As if the good of the married life were that morbid concupiscence with which they who know not God love their wives â€” a course which the apostle forbids;" and not rather that conjugal chastity, by which carnal lust is reduced to the good purposes of the moderate procreation of children. Or as if, forsooth, a man could possibly be anything but God's work, not only when born in wedlock, but even if he be produced in fornication or adultery. In the present

1 Rom. viii. 3 cand Gal. iii. 13. â– 2 Cor. v. 20, 21.
3 Job. xiv. 4, 5 (Septuagint). â– * 1 Thess. iv. 5.

CHAP. XXXIX.] THREEFOLD GOOD OF MARRIAGE. 81

inquiry, however, wherewith the question is not for what purpose the Creator is wanted, but the Saviour, we have not to consider what good there is in natural procreation, but what evil there is in sin, whereby our nature has been certainly vitiated. No doubt the two are generated simultaneously â€” both nature and nature's flaw; one, however, of these is good, the other evil. The one comes to us from the bounty of the Creator, the other is contracted from the original condemnation; the one has its cause in the goodwill of the Supreme, the other in the depraved will of the first man; the one exhibits God as the maker of the creature, the other as the punisher of disobedience. In short, the very same Christ was made maker for the creation of the one, and man-made â€” for the healing of the other.

Chap. 39. [xxxiv.] â€” Three things good and laudable in matrimony. Lust. Good out of evil. Whence arises modesty in the members of our body. Marriage, therefore, is a good in all the things which are the properties of the nuptial state. And these are three: it is the ordained means of procreation, it is the guarantee â€” of chastity, it is the pledge and security of sexual union.â€” In respect of its ordinance for generation the Scripture says, " I wiU therefore that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house;"* as regards its guaranteeing chastity, it is said of it, " The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife;"^ and considered as the sacramental pledge and security of sexual union, the Scripture [gives it this sanction], " What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.""
Touching these points, V7e do not forget that we have treated at sufficient length, with whatever abiKty the Lord has given us, in other works of ours, which are not unknown to you.^

In relation to all these properties the Scripture has this general praise: "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled."**

For, inasmuch as the wedded state is good, insomuch does it produce a very large amount of good in respect of the evil of

1 This harsh and otherwise inexcusable English may be forgiven the translator, from his desire to preserve, however faintly, Augustine's antithesis, /Ã«cto?- est hominis and f actus est homo.


â€¢ 1 Cor. vii. 4. Â« Matt. xix. 6. " De Bono Conjugali, 3 sc^q.

** Heb. xiii. 4.

XII. 17.

82 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

concupiscence; for it is not lust, but reason, which makes a good use of concupiscence. Now hist lies in that law of the
" disobedient " members which the apostle notes as " warring against the law of the mind;"^ whereas reason lies in that law of the wedded state which makes good use of concupiscence.

If, however, it were not possible for any good to arise out of evil, not even could God create man out of the embraces of adultery. As, therefore, the damnable evil of adultery, whenever man is born in it, is not chargeable on God, who certainly amidst man's evil work actually produces a good work; so, likewise, all which causes shame in that rebellion of the members which brought the accusing blush on those who after their sin covered the said members with the fig-tree leaves,^ is not laid to the charge of marriage, by virtue of which the conjugal embrace is not only allowable, but is even useful and honourable; but it is imputable to the sin of that disobedience which was followed by the penalty of man's finding his own members emulating against himself that very disobedience which he had practised against God. Then, abashed at their action, since they moved no more at the bidding of his rational will, but at their own arbitrary choice as it were, instigated by lust, he devised the covering which should conceal such of them as he judged to be worthy of shame. For man, as the handiwork of God, deserved not confusion of face; nor were the members which it seemed fit to the Creator to form and appoint by any means designed to bring the blush to the creature.
Accordingly, that naked simplicity [of Eden] was displeasing neither to God nor to man: there was nothing to be ashamed of, because nothing at first accrued which deserved punishment.

Chap. 40. [xxxv.] â€” Marriage existed before sin was committed. How God's blessing operated in our first parents.

There must, however, undoubtedly have been marriage, even when sin had no prior existence; and for no other reason was it that woman, and not a second man, was created as a help meet for the man. Moreover, those grand words of God, " Be fruitful and multiply," are not prophetic of sins to be condemned, but a benediction upon the fertility of marriage. For by these ineffable words of His, I mean by the divine methods 1 Eom. vii. 23. = Gen. iii. 7. ' Gen. i. 28.

CHAP. XLI.] MARRIAGE MARRED BY SIN. 83

which are inherent in the verity of that wisdom by which all things were made, God endowed the primeval pair with their seminal power. Suppose, however, that nature had not been tarnished by sin, God forbid that we should think that marriages in Paradise must have been such, that in them the procreative members would be excited by the mere ardour of lust, and not at the beck of the will, â€” as the foot is for walking, the hand for labour, and the tongue for speech. Nor, as now happens, would the purity of the virgin state be excited to the conception of the womb by the force of a turbid heat, but it would rather be submissive to the power of the gentlest love; and thus there would be no pain, no blood-effusion of the concubinent virgin, as there would also be no groan of the parturient mother. This, however, men refuse to believe, because it has not been verified in the actual condition of our mortal state.

Nature, having been vitiated by sin, has never experienced an instance of that primeval purity. But we address ourselves to faithful men, who have learnt to believe the inspired Scriptures, even though no examples are adduced of actual reality.

For how could I now possibly jprove that a man was made of the dust, without any parents, and a wife formed for him out of his own side ?^ And yet faith takes on trust what the eye no longer discovers.

Chap. 41. [xxxvi.] â€” Lust and travail come from sin. Whence our members became a cause of shame.

Granted, therefore, that we have no means of showing that the nuptial acts of even that primeval marriage were quietly discharged, undisturbed by lustful passion, and that the motion of the organs of generation, like that of any other members of the body, was not instigated by the ardour of lust, but directed by the deliberate choice of the will (in which tranquillity marriage would have continued, had not the disgrace of sin intervened); still,
from all that is stated in the sacred Scriptures on divine authority, we have reasonable grounds for believing that such was the original condition of wedded life. Although, it is true, I am not told that the nuptial embrace was unattended with prurient desire; as also I do not find it on record that parturition was unaccompanied with groans and pain, or that

Â» Gen. ii. 7, 22.

84 ON ORIGINAL SIN, [BOOK II.]

actual birth led not to future death; yet, at the same time, if I follow the verity of the Holy Scriptures, [I must conclude that] the travail of the mother and the death of the human offspring would never have supervened if sin had not preceded. Nor would that have happened which abashed the man and woman when they covered their loins; because in the same sacred records it is expressly written that the sin was first committed, and then immediately followed this hiding of their shame. ^ For unless some indelicacy of motion had shown to their eyes â€” which were of course not closed, though not open to this point in the sense of earnest perception â€” that those particular members required chastisement, they would not have perceived anything on their own persons, which God had entirely made worthy of all praise, that called for either shame or concealment. If, indeed, the sin had not first occurred which they had dared to commit in their disobedience, there would not have followed the disgrace which their shame would fain conceal.

Chap. 42. [xxxvii.] â€” The evil of lust ought not to be ascribed to marriage. The three good results of the nuptial ordinance: offspring, chastity, and the sacramental union.
Original sin the result of carnal concupiscence.

It is then manifest that that must not be laid to the account of marriage, in spite of which, even if it had not come into being, marriage would have existed. The good of marriage is not taken away by the evil, although the evil is by marriage turned to a good use. Such, however, is the present condition of mortal men, that the connubial intercourse and lust are simultaneous in action; and on this account it happens, that as the lust is blamed, so also the nuptial commerce, however lawful and honourable, is thought to be reprehensible by those persons who either are unwilling or unable to draw the distinction between them. They are, moreover, inattentive to that good of the nuptial state which is the glory of matrimony; I mean offspring, chastity, and the sacramental union. ^ The evil, however, at which even marriage blushes for shame is not the fault of marriage, but of the lust of the flesh. Yet because without this evil it is impossible to effect the good purpose of marriage, even the procreation

^ Geu. iii. 7. ^ Sacramentum.

CHAP. XLIII.] MARRIAGE NOT LUST. 85
of children, whenever this process is approached, secrecy is sought, witnesses are removed, and even the presence of the very children which happen to be born of the process is avoided as soon as they reach the age of observation. Thus it comes to pass that marriage is permitted to effect all that is lawful in its state, only it must not forget to conceal all that is improper. Hence it follows that infants, although incapable of sinning, are yet not born without the contagion of sin, not, indeed, because of what is lawful in matrimony, but of its improper element: for from the lawful a natural creature is born; from the improper, sin. Of the natural creature so born, God is the Maker, who created man, and who united male and female under the law of the nuptial union; but of the sin the origin lies in the subtlety of the devil who deceives, and in the will of the man who yields to the deception.

Chap. 43. [xxxviii.] Human offspring, even previous to birth, under condemnation at the very root. Uses of matrimony undertaken for mere pleasure not without venial fault.

Where God has done nothing else than by a just sentence to condemn the man who wilfully sins, root and all; there also, and as a matter of course, everything pertaining to human offspring is in its sinful root under condemnation. In this radical ruin carnal generation involves every man; and from it nothing but spiritual regeneration liberates him. In the case, therefore, of regenerate parents, if they continue in the same state of grace, there will undoubtedly ensue no injurious consequence [of their radical ruin], by reason of the remission of sins which has been bestowed upon them. It is only when they make a perverse use of this grace that the ruin operates, not only in improper and corrupt practices of all kinds, but also in the marriage state itself, whenever husband and wife ton at procreation, not from the desire of natural propagation of their species, but are mere slaves to the gratification of their
lust out of very wantonness. As for the permission which
the apostle gives to husbands and wives, "not to defraud one
another, except with consent for a time, that they may have
leisure for prayer," he concludes it by way of indulgent
allowance, and not as a command; but this very form of
1 Cor. vi. 5.

86. ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK II.]

the concession evidently implies some degree of fault. The connubial embrace, however,
which marriage-contracts point to as intended for the procreation of children, considered
in itself simply, and without any reference to fornication, is good and right; because,
although it is by reason of this body of death (which is unrenewed as yet by the
resurrection) impracticable without a certain amount of bestial motion, which puts human
nature to the blush, yet the embrace is not after all a sin in itself, when reason applies the
concupiscence to a good end, and is not overmastered to evil.

Chap. 44. [xxxix.] A full renewal through the resurrection, the effect of baptism.

This concupiscence of the flesh would be prejudicial"" [to good], even so far only as it is
inherent in us,"" did not the remission of sins prove so beneficial,"" that while it is
inherent in men, both in the natural and the regenerate, it may in the former be prejudicial
as well as inherent, but in the latter inherent simply, but never prejudicial. In the
unregenerate it is prejudicial to such an extent indeed, that, unless they are born again, it
can contribute no advantage to them, even if they are born of regenerate parents. The
fault of our nature remains in our offspring so deeply impressed as to make it guilty, even
when the guilt of the selfsame fault has been washed away in the parent by the remission
of sins â€” until every defect which ends in sin by the consent of the humani will is
consumed and done away in the last regeneration. This will be identical with that
renovation of the very flesh itself which is promised in its future resurrection, when we
shall not only commit no sins, but be even free from those vitiated desires which lead us
to sin by yielding consent to them. To this blessed consummation advances are even now
made by us, through the grace of that holy laver which we have put within our reach. The
same regeneration which now renews our spirit, so that all our past sins are remitted, will
by and by also operate, as might be expected, to the renewal to eternal life of that very
flesh, by the resurrection of which to an incorruptible state the incentives of all sins will
be purged out
of our nature. But this salvation is as yet only accomplished in hope: it is not absolutely realized in fact; it is not in present possession, but it is looked forward to with patience. And thus there is a whole and perfect cleansing, in the self-same baptismal laver, not only of all the sins remitted now in our baptism, which make us guilty owing to the consent Ave yield to wrong desires, and to the sinful acts in which they issue; but of these said wrong desires also, which, if not consented to by us, would contract no guilt of sin, and which, though not in this present life removed, will yet have no existence in the life beyond.

Chap. 45. æ” Man's deliverance suited to the cliaracter of Ms very cajytivity. Exorcism, exsufflatlon, and renunciation of Satan, among the ceremonies of baptism.

The guilt, therefore, of that fault of our nature of which we are speaking will remain in the carnal offspring of the regenerate, until in them also it be washed in the laver of regeneration. A regenerate man does not regenerate, but generates, sons according to the flesh; and thus he hands on to his posterity, not the condition of the regenerate, but only of natural birth. Therefore, be a man guilty of unbelief, or a perfect believer, he does not in either case beget faithful children, but sinners; in the same way that the seeds, not only of a wild olive, but also of a cultivated one, produce not cultivated olives, but wild ones. So, likewise, his first birth holds a man in that bondage from which only his second birth delivers him. The devil holds him, Christ liberates him; Eve's deceiver holds him, Mary's Son frees him: he holds him, who approached the man through the woman; He frees him, who was born of a woman that never approached a man: he holds him, who injected into the woman the cause of lust; He liberates him, who without any lust was conceived in the woman. The former was wholly able to hold all men in his grasp through one; nor does any deliver them out of his power but One, whom he was unable to grasp. The very sacraments indeed of the Church, which she administers with due cere-

* That is, the Church, according to one reading—coKcefcJ?-a<; but another reading, concelebrant, understands " the Pelagians " to be the subject of the proposition.

88 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [BOOK XL

mony, according to the authority of very ancient tradition (and these [opponents of the truth], notwithstanding their opinion that the sacraments are only feignedly and not really used in the case of infants, still do not venture to reject them with open disapproval), æ” the very sacraments, I say, of the holy Church show plainly
enough that infants, even when fresh from the womb, are delivered from the bondage of the devil through the grace of Christ. For, to say nothing of the fact that they are baptized for the remission of sins by no fallacious pretence, but in a true and faithful mystery, there is previously effected in them the exorcism and the exsufflation of the hostile power, which they profess to renounce by the mouth of those who bring them to baptism. Now, by all these consecrated and evident signs of hidden realities, they are shown to pass from their worst oppressor to their most excellent Redeemer, who, by taking on Himself our infirmity in our behalf, has bound the strong man, that He may spoil his goods;^ seeing that the weakness of God is stronger, not only than men, but also than angels. While, therefore, God delivers small as well as great. He shows in both instances that the apostle spoke under the direction of [Him who is] the Truth. For it is not merely adults, but little babes too, whom He rescues from the power of darkness, in order to transfer them to the kingdom of God's dear Son.^

Chap. 46. ã€” Difficulty of believing original sin. Man's vice is a beast's nature.

No one should feel surprise, and ask: ÒWhy does God's goodness create anything for the devil's malignity to take possession of?Ó The truth is, God's gift [of creation] is bestowed on the seminal elements of His creature with the same bounty wherewith ÒHe maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.Ó^ It is with so large a bounty that God has blessed the very seeds, as it were, of our nature, and by blessing has constituted and built it up. Nor has this blessing been eliminated out of our excellent nature by a fault which puts us under condemnation. Owing, indeed, to God's justice, who punishes, this fatal flaw has so far prevailed, that men

1 Matt. xii. 29. - Col. i. 13. ^ jjatt. v. 45.

CHAP. XLVL] man's vice A BEAST'S NATURE. 89

are born with the fault of original sin; but yet its influence has not extended so far as to stop the birth of men. Just so does it happen in persons of adult age: whatever sins they commit, these defects of character do not eliminate his manhood from man; nay, God's good workmanship continues still, however evil be the deeds of the impious. For although "man being in honour abideth not; and being without understanding, is compared with the beasts, and is like them."^ yet the resemblance is not so absolute that he becomes a beast. There is a comparison, no doubt, between the two; but it is not by reason of nature, but through vice ã€” not vice in the beast, but fault in nature. For so excellent is a man in comparison with a beast, that man's vice is a beast's nature; still man's nature is never on this account changed into the nature of a beast. God, therefore, condemns man because of the fault wherewithal his nature is disgraced, and not because of his nature, which is not removed out of existence in consequence of its fault. Heaven forbid that we should think
beasts are obnoxious to the sentence of condemnation [which lies on ourselves]! It is only proper that they should be free from our misery, inasmuch as they cannot partake of our blessedness. What, then, is there surprising or unjust in man's being subjected to an impure spirit â€“ not owing to his nature, but on account of that impurity of his which he has contracted in the stain of his birth, and which proceeds from the will of man, â€“ the impure spirit itself being a good thing considered as spirit, but an evil in that it is impure? For the substance is of God, and is His work, while the bad quality emanates from man's own will. The stronger nature, therefore, that is, the angelic one, keeps the lower, or human, nature in subjection, by reason of the association of vice with the latter. Accordingly the Mediator, who was stronger than the angels, became weak for man's sake. So that the pride of the Destroyer is destroyed by the humility of the Redeemer; and he who makes his boast over the sons of men of his angelic strength, is vanquished by the Son of God in the human weakness which He assumed.

1 Ps. slix. 12. * 2 Cor. viii. 9.

90 ON ORIGINAL SIN. [OOK II.

Chap. 47. [xli.] â€“ Sentences from Ambrose in favour of original sin. Every male which opens the womb.

And now that we are about to bring this book to a conclusion, we think it proper to do on this subject of Original Sin what we did before in our treatise On Grace; â€“ adduce in evidence against the injurious talk of these persons that servant of God, the Archbishop Ambrose, whose orthodoxy is claimed by Pelagius as being the most perfect among the writers of the Latin Church; [and there is a consistency in this testimony, for] grace is more especially honoured in doing away with original sin. In the work which the saintly Ambrose wrote. Concerning the Resurrection, he says: " I fell in Adam, in Adam was I expelled from Paradise, in Adam I died; and He only recalls me [to a state of salvation] because He has found me in Adam obnoxious, indeed, to the guilt of sin in him, and subject to death, but also justified in Christ."

Then, again, writing against the Novatians, he says: " We men are all of us born in sin; our very origin is wrapped in sin; as you may read when David says, ' Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.' Hence it is that Paul's flesh is 'a body of death;' even as he says himself, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' Christ's flesh, however, has condemned sin, which He experienced not by being born, and which by dying He crucified, that in our flesh there might be justification through grace, where previously there was impurity through sin." *

The same holy man also, in his Exposition of Isaiah, speaking of Christ, says: " Therefore as man He was tried in all things, and in the likeness of men He endured all things; but as born of the Spirit [or Divine Nature] of God, He was free from sin. For every man is a liar, and no one but God alone is without sin. It is therefore an observed and settled fact,
that no man born of a man and a woman, that is, by means of their bodily commerce, is clearly free from sin. Whosoever, indeed, is free from sin, is free also from a conception and birth of this kind."^ Moreover, when expounding the

^ [See above, De Gratia Christi, 49-51 (xlvi.).] "Ps. li. 5.

3 Eom. vii. 24. " [De Poenitentia, i. 2, 3.]

5 [Quoted from a work by St. Ambrose, On Isaiah, not now extant.]

CHAP. XLVIII.] THE ONE IMMACULATE BIRTH. 91

Gospel according to Luke, he says: "It was no cohabitation with a husband which opened the secret energies of the Virgin's womb; rather was it the Holy Ghost which infused immaculate seed into her unviolated womb. For the Lord Jesus alone of those who are born of woman is holy, inasmuch as He experienced not the contact of earthly corruption, by reason of the novelty of His immaculate birth; nay. He repelled it by His heavenly majesty."^ 

Chap. 48. These words, however, of the man of God are contradicted by Pelagius, notwithstanding all his commendation of his author, when he himself declares that "we are born, as without virtue, so without vice."^ "What remains, then, but that Pelagius should condemn and renounce this error of his; or else be sorry that he has quoted Ambrose in the way he has? Inasmuch, however, as the blessed Ambrose, Catholic bishop as he is, has expressed himself in the above-quoted passages in accordance with the Catholic faith, it follows that Pelagius, along with his disciple Coelestius, was justly condemned by the authority of the Catholic Church for having turned aside from the true way of faith, since he repented not for having bestowed commendation on Ambrose, and for having at the same time entertained opinions in opposition to him. I know full well with what insatiable avidity you^ read whatever is written for edification and in confirmation "of the faith; but yet, notwithstanding its utility as contributing to such an end, I must at last bring this treatise to a conclusion.

' [See book ii. 56 of this Commentary on St. Lxike, cli. ii.]

* [See above, ch. 14 (xiii.).]

* [The three friends to -n-hom these two books are addressed were pious members of the same family; Pinianus was the husband, Melania his wife, and Albina her mother]
ON MAEKIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE:

IN TWO BOOKS

ADDRESSED TO THE COUNT VALERIUS,

BY AUEELIUS AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER ON THE FOLLOWING TREATISE.

ON revising these two Books, which he addressed to the Count Valerius, Augustine placed them immediately after his reply to the discourse of the Arians, which was affixed to the Proceedings against Emeritus [the Donatist bishop]. Now these proceedings are stated to have taken place on the 20th of September, in the year of our Lord 418. There can be no doubt, then, that these subjoined books or, at any rate, the former of them were written either at the close of the year 418, or in the beginning of the year 419.

For, concerning this first book, Augustine says himself: "This book of mine, however, which he [Julianus] says he answered in four books, I wrote after the condemnation of Pelagius and Ccelestius. This," he adds, "I have deemed it right to mention, because he declares that my words had been used by the enemies of the truth to bring it into odium. Let no one, therefore, suppose that it was owing to this book of mine that condemnation had been passed on the new heretics who are enemies of the grace of Christ." From these words one may see at once that this first book was published about the same time as the condemnation of the Pelagian [leaders] in the year 418. Soon after its publication it began to be assailed by the Pelagians, who observed that its perusal was producing in the minds of the Catholics much odium against their heresy. One of them, Julianus [Bishop of Eclanum, in Italy], influenced

93

94 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE.

with a warm desire of furthering the heretical movement, attacked the first book of Augustine's treatise in four books of his own. Out of these, sundry extracts were culled by some interested person, and forwarded to Count Valerius. Valerius despatched them from Eavenna to Eome, to Alypius [the great friend of Augustine], in order that he, on
returning to Africa, might hand them to Augustine for the purpose of an early refutation, together with a letter in which Valerius thanked Augustine for the previous work which he also mentioned. Augustine saw at once that these extracts had been taken out of the work of Julianus; and, although he preferred reserving his answer to the selections till he had received the entire work from which they were culled, he still thought that he was bound to avoid all delay in satisfying the Count Valerius. Without loss of time, therefore, he drew up in answer his second book, with the same title as before. On Marriage and Concupiscence, which, as we think, must be assigned to the year 420, since the holy doctor wrote it immediately after the expression of [Valerius'] thanks for the first book; for it is clearly improbable that Valerius should have waited two years or more to make the acknowledgment of his gratitude.

Moreover, the Valerius whom Augustine dignifies with the title of Illustrious as well as Count, was much employed in public life, not, to be sure, in the forum, but in the field; and from this circumstance we find it difficult to accede to the opinion that supposes him to have been the same person with the Valerius who was Count of the Private Estate in the year 425, Consul in 432, and lastly Master of the Offices under Theodosius the younger in the year 434. These appointments, indeed, had no connection with military service, nor had the prefects of Theodosius anything in common with those of Honorius.

FROM "THE RETRACTATIONS" Book II. chap. 53.

" I addressed two books to the Illustrious Count Valerius, upon hearing that the Pelagians had brought sundry vague charges against us, — how, for instance, we condemned marriage by maintaining Original Sin. These books are entitled, De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia. We maintain, in fact, that marriage is good; and that it must not be supposed that the concupiscence of the flesh, or " the law in our members which wars against the law of our mind," is a fault of marriage. Conjugal chastity makes a good use of the evil of concupiscence in the procreation of children. My treatise contained two books. The first of them found its way into the hands of Julianus the Pelagian, Avho wrote four books in opposition to it. Out of these, somebody extracted sundry passages, and sent them to Count Valerius; he handed them to us, and after I had received them I wrote a second book in answer to these very extracts. The first book of this work of mine opens -with these words: " Our new heretics, most beloved son Valerius " [Hseretici novi, dilectissime fill Valeri]. While the second begins thus: " Amid the cares of your duty as a soldier " [Inter militise tuce curas].

AUGUSTINE'S DESCRIPTION OF HIS WORK. 95
1. While I was chafing at the long disappointment of receiving no acknowledgments from your Highness of the letters which I had on different occasions written to you, I all at once received three letters fall of your usual kindness, — one by the hand of my fellow bishop Vindemialis, which was not meant for me only, and two, soon afterwards, through my brother presbyter Firmus. This holy man, who is bound to me, as you may have ascertained from his own lips, by the ties of a most intimate love, had much conversation with me

' Piom. vii. 23.

' This is the 200th in the collection of Augustine's Letters.

2. Now, as to your praises in Christ, or rather Christ's praises in you, see what delight and joy it was to me to hear of them from him, who could neither deceive me because of his fidelity to me, nor be ignorant of them by reason of his friendship with you. But other testimony, which though inferior in amount and certainty has still reached my ear from divers quarters, assures me how sound and catholic is your faith; how devout your hope
of the future; how great your love to God and the brethren; how humble your mind amid the highest honours, not trusting in uncertain riches, but in the living God, and rich in good works; how your house is a rest and comfort of the saints, and a terror to evil-doers; how great is your care that no man lay snares for Christ's members (either among His old enemies or those of more recent days), although he use Christ's name as a cloak for his wiles; and at the same time, though you give no quarter to the error of these enemies, how provident you are to secure their salvation. This and the like, we frequently hear, as I have already said, even from others; but at the present moment we have, by means of the above-mentioned brother, received a fuller and more trustworthy knowledge.

Touching, however, the subject of conjugal purity, that we might be able to bestow our commendation and love upon you for it, could we possibly listen to the information of any one

1 Phil. i. 8. - Prov. xxvii. 2. 3 1 Tim. vi. 17.

Augustine's praise of Valerius. 97

but some bosom friend of your own, who had no mere superficial acquaintance with you, but knew your innermost life? Concerning, therefore, this excellent gift of God to you, I am delighted to converse with you with more frankness and at greater length. I am quite sure that I shall not prove burdensome to you, even if I send you a prolix treatise, the perusal of which will only ensure a longer converse between us. For this have I discovered, that amidst your manifold and weighty cares you pursue your reading with ease and pleasure; and that you take great delight in any little performances of ours, even if they are addressed to other persons, whenever they have chanced to fall into your hands. Whatever, therefore, is addressed to yourself, in which I can speak to you as it were personally, you will deign both to notice with greater attention, and to receive with a higher pleasure. From the perusal, then, of this letter, turn to the book which I send with it. It will in its very commencement, in a more convenient manner, intimate to your venerable self the reason, both why it has been written, and why it has been submitted specially to your consideration.

xn.

9 8 ON MAKRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]
WHEREIN HE EXPOUNDS THE PECULIAR AND NATURAL BLESSINGS OF MARRIAGE.
HE shows THAT AMONG THESE BLESSINGS MUST NOT BE RECKONED FLESHLY CONCUPISCENCE; INSOMUCH AS THIS IS WHOLLY EVIL, SUCH AS DOES NOT PROCEED FROM THE VERY NATURE OF MARRIAGE, BUT IS AN ACCIDENT THEREOF ARISING FROM ORIGINAL SIN. THIS EVIL, NOTWITHSTANDING, IS RIGHTLY EMPLOYED BY MARRIAGE FOR THE PROCREATION OF CHILDREN.
BUT, AS THE RESULT OF THIS CONCUPISCENCE, IT COMES TO PASS THAT, EVEN FROM THE LAWFUL MARRIAGE OF THE CHILDREN OF GOD, MEN ARE NOT BORN CHILDREN OF GOD, BUT OF THE WORLD, WHO ARE TIED AN1> BOUND WITH THE CHAIN OF SIN, ALTHOUGH THEIR PARENTS HAVE BEEN LIBERATED THEREFROM BY GRACE; AND ARE LED CAPTIVE BY THE DEVIL, IF THEY BE NOT IN LIKE MANNER RESCUED BY THE SELF-SAME GRACE OF CHRIST. HE EXPLAINS HOW IT IS THAT CONCUPISCENCE REMAINS IN THE BAPTIZED IN ACT THOUGH NOT IN GUILT. HE SHOWS, THAT BY THE SANC- TITY OP BAPTISM, NOT MERELY THIS ORIGINAL GUILT, BUT ALL OTHER SINS OF MEN WHATEVER ARE TAKEN AWAY. HE LASTLY QUOTES THE AUTHORITY OF AMBROSE TO SHOW THAT THE EVIL OF CONCUPISCENCE MUST BE DISTIN- GUISHED FROM THE GOOD OF MARRIAGE.

Chap. 1. â€” Concerning the argument of this treatise.

OUR modern heretics, my dearest son Valerius, who maintain that infants born in the flesh have no need of that medicine of Christ whereby sins are healed, are constantly affirming, in their excessive hatred of us, that we condemi marriage and that divine procedure by which God creates human beings by means of men and women. This they allege of us, because we maintain that they who are born of such a union contract that original sin of which the apostle says, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for in him all mei sinned;"^ and because we do not deny, that of whateve] parents they are born, they are still under the devil's dominion unless they be born again in Christ, and by His grace bt removed from the power of darkness and translated into His ' 

^ [Written about the beginning of the year a.d. 419.]
2 In quo omnes peccaverunt, Rom. v. 5.
kingdom, who willed not to be born from the same union of the two sexes. Because, then, we affirm this doctrine, which is contained in the oldest and unvarying rule of the Catholic faith, these propounders of the novel and perverse dogma, who deny that there is in infants any sin to be washed away in the laver of regeneration, in their unbelief or ignorance calumniate us, as if we condemned marriage, and as if we asserted to be the devil's work what is God's own work â€” even the human being which is born of marriage. Nor do they reflect that, as the good of marriage is not impeachable on account of the original sin which is derived therefrom, so the evil of adultery and fornication cannot be excused for the natural good which is born of them. For as sin is the work of the devil, whether derived to infants from this source or from that; so man is the work of God, whether born of parents in wedlock or out of it. Our purpose, therefore, in this book, so far as the Lord vouchsafes us His help, is to show the difference between the evil of that carnal concupiscence which involves man who is born therefrom in original sin, and the good of the nuptial institution itself. For there would have been none of this shame-producing concupiscence, which is favourably spoken of by shameless men in a shameless tone and manner, if man had not previously sinned; while as to marriage, it would sti! have existed, even if no man had sinned. For the procreation of children in the body of that chaste life could have been effected without the moral malady, which in the body of this death cannot be separated from the process of procreation.

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” Why this treatise was addressed to Valerius.

Now there are three reasons, which I will briefly indicate, why I wished to write to you especially on this subject. The first reason is, because by the endowment of Christ you are a strict observer of conjugal chastity. The second is, because by your powerful influence you have effectually withstood those profane novelties which we are resisting in our present discussion. The third arises from the circumstance of my discovering that something which they had committed to writing

^ Eom. viL 24.

100 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

liad found its way into your hands; and although in the exceeding strength of your faith you could despise such an attempt, it is still a good thing for us even to know how to help on our common faith by a defence of it. For the Apostle Peter instructs us to be " ready always to give an answer to every one that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us;"^ and the Apostle Paul says, " Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man." ^ These are the motives which chiefly
impel me to hold such converse with you in this volume, as the Lord shall enable me. I have never liked, indeed, to intrude the perusal of any of my humble labours on any eminent person, who is like yourself conspicuous to all from the elevation of his office, without his own request, especially when he is not blessed with the enjoyment of a dignified retirement, but is still occupied in the public duties of a soldier's profession; this has always seemed to me to savour more of impertinence than of respectful esteem. If, then, I have incurred censure of this kind, while acting on the reasons, which I have now mentioned, I crave the favour of your forgiveness, and a kindly regard to the following arguments.

CiiAr. 3. [in.]â€”Conjugal chastity, the gift of God.

That the purity of the marriage state is God's gift, is shewn by the most blessed Paul, when, speaking on this very subject he says: "I would that all men were even as I myself: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." Observe, he tells us that this gift is from God; and although he classes it below that continence in which he would have all men to be like himself, he still describes it as a gift of God. Whence we understand that, when these precepts are given to us in order to be carried out into action, nothing else is stated than that there ought to be within us our own will also for the purpose of receiving and retaining them. When, therefore, these are shown to be gifts of God, it is meant that they must be sought from Him if they are not yet obtained; and if they are possessed, thanks must be given to Him for the possession; moreover, that our own wills and affections have but small avail for seeking, obtaining, and holding fast these gifts, unless they be assisted by God's grace.

Chap. 4. â€” A difficulty as regards the chastity of unbelievers. Kone hut a believer is truly a chaste man. [See Augustine's work Against Julianus, iv. 3.]

What, then, have we to say when conjugal chastity is discovered even in some unbelievers? Must it be said that they sin, in that they make a bad use of a gift of God, in not referring it to the worship of Him from whom they received it? Or must these endowments, perchance, be not regarded as gifts of God at all, inasmuch as they are not believers who exercise them; according to the apostle's sentiment, when he says, "

CITAP. v.] ONLY FAITHFUL MEN AKE CHASTE. 101
Whatsoever is not of faith is sin "? ^ But who would dare to say that a gift of God is sin? For the soul and the body, and all the natural endowments which are implanted in the sold and the body, even in the persons of sinful men, are still gifts of God; for it is God who made them, and not they themselves. When it is said, " Whatsoever is not of faith is sin," only those things are meant wdliich men themselves do.

When men, therefore, do without faith those things which seem to appertain to conjugal chastity, they do them either to please men, that is to say, themselves or other people, or to avoid incurring such troubles as are incidental to human nature in those matters w^hich kindle faulty desires, or to pay service to devils. In such cases sins are not really restrained, but some sins are overpowered by other sins. God forbid, then, that a man be truly called chaste and pure who observes connubial fidelity to his wife from any other motive than devotion to the true God.

Chap. 5. [iv.] â€” The natural good of marriage. All society naturally repudiates ajraudulent companion. What is true conjugal purity? No true virginity and chastity, except in devotion to true faith.

The united effort, then, of a man and a woman for the purpose of procreation is the natural good of marriage. But the man makes a bad use of this good who uses it like a beast, intent merely on the gratification of his lust, instead of the simple desire to propagate his species. Now, although in

1 RonL xiv. 23.

102 ON MAEPJAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

sundry animals unendowed with reason, as, for instance, in most of tlie winged tribe, there is strongly maintained a certain kind of marriage union, and a social combination of skill in nestbuilding, yet their mutual division of the periods for cherishing their eggs, and their taking it in turns to foster their young, give them the appearance of so acting, whenever they mate, as to be intent rather on securing the continuance of their kind than on gratifying any lustful instinct. And of these two desires, the one betokens a man's likeness in a brute; the other, a brute's likeness in a man. With respect, however, to that property which I ascribed to the nature of marriage, that the male and the female are united together as associates in the act of procreation, and consequently do not behave fraudulently toM'ards each other (forasmuch as every associated state has a natural abhorrence of a fraudulent companion), although even men without faith possess this palpable blessing of nature, yet, since they use it not in faith, they only turn it to sin and evil. In like degree, however, believers in Christ, by their marriage, convert to the purpose of righteousness that carnal concupiscence by which " the flesh lusteth against the Spirit." ^ For they entertain the firm purpose of generating an offspring to be regenerated â€” that the children who are born of them as " children of the world " may be born again and become " sons of God." Wherefore all parents who have children with no intention, will, or purpose of transferring them from their conjunction with the first
man to membership with Christ, but simply boast as unbelieving parents over unbelieving children, â€” however fastidious they be in their cohabitation, studiously limiting it according to the rides of wedlock to the end of begetting children, â€” they really have no conjugal chastity in themselves. For inasmuch as chastity is a virtue, having impurity as its contrary vice, and as all the virtues (even those whose operation is by means of the body) have their seat in the soul, how can the body be in any true sense said to be chaste, when the soul itself is by fornication severed from the true God? Now such fornication the holy psalmist censures when he says: "For, lo, they that are far from Thee shall perish: Thou hast destroyed all them that go

> Gal. V. 17.

a whoring from Thee." Only that, then, can be called true chastity, whether of the married state, or of widowhood, or of virginity, which devotes itself to true faith. The estate of virginity when consecrated to religion is no doubt preferable to wedded life; yet what sober-minded Christian would not prefer Christian women who have been even once married, to not only vestal virgins, but also to heretical ones? So great is the influence of faith, of which the apostle says, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin;" and of which it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Without faith it is impossible to please God,"

Chap. 6. [v.] â€” The censuring of Imt is not a condemnation of marriage; whence comes shame in the human body. Adam and Eve were not created blind; meaning of their "eyes being opened " in the case of our first parents.

Now, this being the real state of the question, they undoubtedly err who suppose that, when the lust of the flesh is censured, the nuptial institution is condemned; as if the malady of concupiscence was the outcome of marriage and not of sin. Were not the first man and wife, whose nuptials God blessed with the words, "Be fruitful and multiply," naked, and yet not ashamed? Why, then, did shame arise out of their members after they had sinned, were it not for an indelicacy of motion, which, if man had never sinned, would certainly never have existed in married life? Or was it, forsooth, as some hold (who give little heed to what they read), that human beings were, like dogs, at first born blind; and â€” absurd, still â€” obtained sight, not as dogs do, by growing, but by sinning? Far be it from us to entertain such an opinion.

But they gather that opinion of theirs from reading: "She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat: ' and the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked." This accounts for the opinion of unintelligent persons, that the eyes of the first man and woman were previously closed, because Holy Scripture testifies that they were then opened. Well,
then, were Hagar's eyes, the handmaid of Sarah, previously shut, when, with her thirsty and sobbing

' Ps. Ixxiii. 27. 2 Rom. xiv. 23. ' Heb. xi. 6.

* Gen. i. 28. * Gen. iii. 6, 7.

104 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

child, she opened her eyes^ and saw the well ? Was this also the case with the two disciples, who, after the Lord's resurrection, walked in the way with Him; were they blindfold, since the evangelist says of them that "their eyes were opened, and they knew Him "^ ?^ When, therefore, it is written concerning the first man and woman, that "the eyes of them both were opened," ^ we ought to understand that they became intent on beholding and recognising the new state which had befallen them in their body. Now that their eyes were opened, their body appeared to them naked, and they knew it. If this were not the meaning, how, when the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were brought unto him,^ could Adam have given them names if his eyes were shut ? He could not have done this without discernment of the objects; and without eyesight he could have had no discernment. How, too, could the woman herself have been beheld so clearly by him when he said, "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh "^ ?^ If, indeed, any one shall be so determined on cavilling as to insist that Adam might have acquired a discernment of these objects, not by sight but by touch, what explanation will he have to give of the passage wherein we are told how the woman "saw that the tree," from which she was about to pluck the forbidden fruit, "was pleasant for the eyes to behold" ?^ No; "they were both naked, and were not ashamed," ^ not because they had no eyesight, but because they had not discovered any reason to be ashamed in their bodily limbs, which had all along been seen by them. For it is not said: They were both naked, and knew it not; but, "they were not ashamed." Because, indeed, nothing had previously happened which was not lawful and right, so nothing had ensued which could cause them shame.

Chap. 7. [vi.] â€” Man's disobedience justly requited in the rebellion of his own flesh J the blush of shame for the disobedient members of the body.

When the first man transgressed the law of God, he began to have another law in his members which was repugnant to his mind; then he felt the evil of his own disobedience when

he experienced in the rebellion of his flesh a most righteous retribution recoiling on
himself. Now it was such " an opening of his eyes" which the serpent had promised him
in his temptation "â€” the discovery, in fact, of a something which he had better never
known. Then, indeed, did man perceive within himself what he had done; then did he
discern between good and evil, â€” not by the absence of evil, but by his endurance of it.
For it certainly was not just or right that obedience should be rendered by his servant, that
is, his body, to him, who had not obeyed his own Lord and Master. WeU, then, how
significant is the fact that the eyes, and lips, and tongue, and hands, and feet, and the
bending of back, and neck, and sides, are all placed within our power â€” to be applied to
such operations as are suitable to them, when we have our body free from impediments
and in a sound state of health; but when it must come to man's great function of the
procreation of children, the members which were expressly created for this purpose will
not obey the direction of the will, but lust has to be waited for to set these members in
motion, as if they were under its dominion, while it sometimes refuses to act when the
mind wills, although it as often acts against the will! Must not this bring the blush of
shame over the liberty of the human will, that by its contempt of God, its own
Commander, it has lost all proper command for itself over its own members? Now,
wherein could be found a more fitting demonstration of the just depravation of human
nature by reason of its disobedience, than in the disobedience of those parts whence
nature herself derives subsistence by perpetual renewal? For it is by an especial propriety
that those parts of the body are designated as natural. This, then, was the reason why the
first human pair, on experiencing in the flesh that motion which would not have been
indecent had it not have been disobedient, and on feeling the shame of their nakedness,
covered these offending members with fig-leaves;^ in order that, at the very least, a veil might, by the deliberate choice of the ashamed
offenders, be thrown over that part which was not put into motion by any express will of
their own: and since shame arose from that which produced in-

- Gen. iii. 5. ^ Gen. iii. 7.

106 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

decent pleasure, so by throwing a covering over it there might arise that which was
decent.

Chap. 8. [vii.] â€” The evil of last does not take away the good of marriage.

Forasmuch, then, as the good of marriage could not be lost by the addition of this evil,
some imprudent persons suppose that this is not an added evil, but something which
appertains to the original good. A distinction, however, occurs not only to the subtle
reasoning faculty, but even to the most ordinary natural apprehension, which was both
apparent in the case of the first man and woman, and also holds good still in the case of
married persons. What they effected in the propagation of the human race, â€” that is the good of the marriage state; but what they first veil through shame, â€” that is the evil of concupiscence, which everywhere shuns sight, and in its shame seeks privacy. Since, therefore, marriage effects some good even out of that evil, it has whereof to glory; but since the good cannot be effected without the evil, it has reason for feeling shame. The case may be illustrated by the example of a lame man. Suppose him to attain to some good object by limping after it, then, on the one hand, the attainment itself is not evil because of the evil of the man's lameness; nor, on the other hand, is the lameness good because of the goodness of the attainment. So, on the same principle, we ought not to condemn marriage because of the evil of lust; nor must we praise lust because of the good of marriage.

Chap. 9. [viii.] Â“Tl â€” Tht disease of concupiscence in marriage should not be a matter of will, but of necessity; what ought to be the wish of believers in the use of matrimony; who is to be regarded as using, and not succumbing to, the evil of concupiscence; how the holy fathers of the Old Testament formerly used wives.

This disease of concupiscence is what the apostle refers to, when, speaking to married believers, he says: "This is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God." Â The married believer, therefore, must not only not use another man's vessel, but he must know that even his own vessel is not to be possessed in the lust of a carnal concupiscence. And this counsel is not to be understood as if the apostle prohibited conjugal â€” that is to say, lawful and honourable â€” cohabitation; but that the sexual intercourse (which would have no adjunct of morbid lust, were it not that man's perfect freedom of choice had become by preceding sin so disabled that it has this fatal adjunct) should not be a matter of mere desire, but of necessary duty, without which, indeed, it would be impossible to attain to the fruition of the desire itself in the procreation of children. And this desire is not in the marriages of believers determined by the purpose of having children born, who shall pass through life in this present world, but that their children may be born again in Christ, and remain in Him for evermore. K"ow if this result should come about, the reward of a full felicity will spring from marriage; but if such result be not realized, there will yet ensue to the married pair the peace of their good intention and desire. Whosoever possesses his vessel (that is, his wife) with such a firm purpose of heart as this, certainly does not possess her in the lust of concupiscence, as the Gentiles which know not God, but in sanctification and honour, as believers who place their hope in God. A man turns to good use the evil of concupiscence, and is not overconquered by it, when he bridles and restrains its rage, as it
works in inordinate and indecorous gestures; and never relaxes his hold upon it except when intent on offspring, and then controls and applies it to the carnal generation of children to be spiritually regenerated, not to the subjection of the spirit to the flesh in a sordid servitude. That the holy fathers of olden times after Abraham, and before him (to whom God gave His testimony that "they pleased Him"), thus used their wives, no one who is a Christian ought to doubt, even when it was permitted to certain individuals amongst them to have a plurality of wives, where there was a good reason for the multiplication of their offspring, not the desire of merely varying their gratification.

1 See Heb. xi. 4-6.

108 ON MAEPJAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 10. [ix.] Although it was sometimes permitted that a man should have several wives, yet no woman was ever allowed to have more than one husband at once. Nature prefers singleness in her first principles.

Suppose, now, that to the God of our fathers, who is likewise our God, such a plurality of wives had not, therefore, been displeasing, in order that lust might have a fuller range of indulgence; then, on such a supposition, the holy women also ought each to have rendered service to several husbands. But if any woman had so acted, what feeling but that of a disgraceful concupiscence could impel her to submit herself to more than one husband, seeing that by such licentiousness she could not have more children? That the good purpose of the nuptial institution, however, is better promoted by one husband with one wife, than by a husband with several wives, is shown plainly enough by the very first union of a married pair, which was made by the Divine Being Himself, with the intention of marriages taking their beginning therefrom, and of its affording to them a more honourable precedent. In the progress, however, of the human race, it came to pass that to certain husbands, and of good reputation too, were united a plurality of wives, also of virtuous character; and from this it would seem that moderation aimed at rather securing dignity on one side of the arrangement, while nature permitted the other side to promote fecundity. For on natural principles it is more feasible for one to have dominion over many, than for many to lord it over one. Nor can it be doubted, that it is more consonant with the order of nature that men should bear rule over women, than women over men. It is with this principle in view that the apostle says, "The head of the woman is the man;" and, "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands." So also the Apostle Peter writes: "Even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord." Now, although the fact of the matter is, that while nature loves singleness in her first principles, we still see plurality existing more readily in the subordinate portion of our race; yet for all that, it was at no time lawful for one man to have a plurality of wives, except for the purpose of a greater number of children springing from him. But whenever one woman becomes 1 1 Cor. xi. 3, 2 Col. iii. 18. Â»1 Fet. iii. 6.
concubine to several men, inasraucl as no increase of offspring accrues to her tlierefrom, but only a more frequent gratification of lust, she cannot possibly be a wife, but only a harlot.

Chap. 11. [x.] â€” the sacrament of marriage; marriage indissoluble; the world's law about divorce different from the Gospel's.

It is certainly not fecundity only, the fruit of which consists of offspring, nor chastity only, whose bond is fidelity, but also a certain sacramental character in marriage which is recommended to believers in wedlock. Accordingly it is enjoined by the apostle: "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church." Of this sacrament the substance undoubtedly is this, that the man and the woman who are joined together in matrimony should remain inseparable as long as they live; and that it should be unlawful for one consort to be parted from the other, except for the cause of fornication.* For this principle is guardedly observed in the case of Christ and the Church; that living as they do together for evermore, there is no divorce, no separation ever possible for them. And so complete is the observance of this sacrament in the city of our God, in His holy mountain that is to say, in the Church of Christ by all married believers, who are undoubtedly members of Christ, that, although women marry, and men take wives, for the purpose of procreating children, it is never permitted one to put away even an unfruitful wife for the sake of having another to bear children.

And whosoever does this is held to be guilty of adultery by the law of the gospel; though not by this world's rule, which allows a divorce between the parties, without even the allegation of guilt, and the contraction of other nuptial engagements, a concession which, the Lord tells us, even the holy Moses extended to the people of Israel, because of the hardness of their hearts. The same condemnation applies to the woman, if she is married to another man. So enduring, indeed, are the rights of marriage between those who have contracted them, as long as they both live, that even they are looked on as man and wife still, who have separated from one another, rather than they between whom a new connection has been formed. For by this new connection tlicy would not be guilty of adultery, if the previous matrimonial relation did not still continue. If the husband die, with whom a true marriage


Matt. V. 32. ' Ps. xlviil 2. ^ iyix, g.

110 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]
was made, a true marriage is now possible by a connection which would before have been adultery. Thus between the conjugal pair, as long as they live, the nuptial bond has a permanent obligation, which can be cancelled neither by separation nor by union with another. But this permanence tends only to injury from the sin, not to a bond of the covenant. In like manner the soul of an apostate, which renounces as it were its marriage union with Christ, does not, even though it has cast its faith away, lose the sacrament of its faith, which it received in the laver of regeneration. It would undoubtedly be given back to him if he were to return, although he lost it on his departure from Christ. He retains, however, the sacrament after his apostasy, to the aggravation of his punishment, not as a merited reward.

Chap. 12. [xi.] "Marriage does not cancel a mutual vow of continence; there was true loedlock between Mary and Joseph; in what way Joseph was the father of Christ.

But God forbid that the nuptial bond should be regarded as broken between those who have by mutual consent agreed to observe a perpetual abstinence from the use of carnal concupiscence. Nay, the engagement will be only a firmer one, whereby they have exchanged pledges together, which will have to be kept by an especial endearment and concord, not by the voluptuous links of the body, but by the voluntary affections of the soul. For there was no mistake in what the angel said to Joseph: "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife." He is regarded as her husband because of their plighted troth, although he had had no carnal knowledge of her, nor was destined to have. The designation of a married spouse had become neither obsolete nor untrue in a case where there never had been, nor was meant to be, any carnal connection. The virgin wife was a joy to her husband in a more sacred and wonderful manner from her very pregnancy without his marital aid, with disparity as to the child that was born, without disparity in the faith they cherished. And

1 Matt. i. 20.

CHAP. XII.] HOW JOSEPH WAS FATHER OF JESUS. III

because of this conjugal fidelity they are both deservedly called "parents" of Christ (not only she as His mother, but he as His father, as being her husband), both having been such in mind and purpose, though not in the flesh. But while the one was His father in purpose only, and the other His mother in the flesh also, they were both of them, for at that, only the parents of His low estate, not of His majesty; of His weaker nature, not of His divinity. For the Gospel does not lie, in which one reads, "Both His father and His mother marvelled at those things which were spoken about Him;" and in another passage, "Now His parents went to Jerusalem every year;" and again a little afterwards "His mother said unto Him, Son, why hast Thou thus dealt with us? Behold, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing." In order, however, that He might show them that He had a Father besides them, who begat Him without a mother, He said to them in answer: "How is it that ye sought me?
Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business? "^ Furthermore, lest He should be thought to have repudiated them as His parents by what He had just said, the evangelist at once added: " And they understood not the saying which He spake unto them; and He went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them." Â® Subject to whom but His parents? And who was the subject but Jesus Christ, " Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God " ? ^ And wherefore subject to them, who were far beneath the form of God, except that " He made Himself of no reputation [emptying Himself of His glory], and took upon Him the form of a servant," ^ â€” the form in which His parents lived? Now, since the woman bore Him without the seed of the man, they could not surely have both been His parents, of the actual form of a servant, if they had not been conjugally united, though without carnal connection. Accordingly the genealogical series (although both parents of

' Luke ii. 41.

^ [Luke ii. 33. " Et erat pater ejus et mater," etc. So the Vulgate and the best Greek texts, instead of the 'luffh[p xcci h fjt.trtf of the textus receptus.]


112 ON MAERIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

Christ are mentioned together in the succession) ^ had to be extended, as it is in fact/ down rather to Joseph's name, that no wrong might be done, in the case of this marriage, to the male, and indeed the stronger sex, while at the same time there was nothing detrimental to truth, since Joseph, no less than Mary, was of the seed of David,^ of whom it was foretold that Christ should come.

Chap. 13. â€” In the marriage of Mary and Joseph there were all the blessings of the wedded state; all that is born of concubinage is sinful flesh; lust.

The entire good, therefore, of the nuptial institution was effected in the case of these parents of Christ: there was offspring, there was faithfulness, there was a sacrament. In the Lord Jesus Himself we recognise the offspring; in the fact that there was no adultery we find the fidelity; and there was the sacrament, because there was no divorce, [xii.] Only there was no nuptial cohabitation in the case; because He who was to be without sin, and was sent not in sinful flesh, but in the likeness of sinful flesh,^ could not possibly have been made in sinful flesh itself without that shameful lust of the flesh which comes from sin, and without any taint of which He willed to be born, in order that He might teach us, that every one who is born of sexual intercourse is in fact sinful flesh, since that alone was not sinful flesh which was not born of such concubinage. Nevertheless the union of the marriage bed is not in itself sin, when it is contracted with the intention of
producing children; because the mind's good-will and purpose leads the ensuing bodily pleasure, instead of following its lead; and the human choice is not distracted by the yoke of sin pressing upon it, inasmuch as the homethrust of the sin is reduced within control when directed to the purposes of procreation. This thrust has a certain prurient activity which plays the king in the foul indulgences of adultery, and fornication, and lasciviousness, and uncleanness; whilst in the indispensable duties of the marriage state, it exhibits the docility of the slave. In the one case it is condemned as the shameless effrontery of so violent a master; in the other, it gets modest praise as the honest service of so submissive an attendant. This concupiscence, then,

1 Matt. i. 16. ' Compare Luke iii. 23 with Matt. i. 16.


CHAP. XV.] THE MAPxEIED MUST BE AS CELIBATES. 113

is not in itself the good of the nuptial institution; but it becomes obscenity in sinful men, a necessity in procreant parents, the fire of lascivious indulgences, the shame of nuptial pleasures. Wherefore, then, may not persons remain man and wife when they cease by mutual consent to lie together; seeing that Joseph and Mary continued such, though they never even began to cohabit?

Chap. 14. [xiii.] â€” Before Christ it was a time for marrying; since Christ it has been a time for continence.

Now this propagation of children was among the ancient saints a most bounden duty for the purpose of begetting and preserving a people for God, amongst whom the prophecy of Christ's coming must needs have had precedence over everything. But now that duty has ceased to be indispensable. For from among all nations the way is open for an abundant offspring to receive spiritual regeneration, from whatever quarter they derive their natural birth. So that the scripture which says there is "a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing,"^ we may acknowledge to be capable of a separate application in its clauses to the periods before Christ and since. The former was the time to embrace, the latter to refrain from embracing.

Chap. 15.

Accordingly the apostle also, speaking apparently with this passage in view, declares: "But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as though they used it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would have you without carefulness."^ This entire passage (that I may
express my view on this subject in the shape of a brief exposition of the apostle's words) I think must be understood as follows:

'Eccles. iii. 5.

- [Tamquam non utantir. The original is Â«i? ^lit xaTaxp^Â»!^-^"- A.V.: "As not abusing (or misusing) it. "j

' 1 Cor. vii. 29-31.

XII. H

114 ON MAERIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I,

"This I say, brethren, the time is short." No longer is God's people to be propagated by carnal generation [as in the Jewish nation of the olden time]; but, henceforth, it is to be gathered out by spiritual regeneration. "It remaineth, therefore, that they that have wives "do not submit themselves to carnal concupiscence; "and they that weep," under the sadness of present evil, should rejoice in the hope of future blessing;

"and they that rejoice," over any temporary advantage, should fear the eternal judgment;

"and they that buy," should so hold their possessions as not to cleave to them by overmuch love; "and they that use this world "should reflect that it is passing away, and does not remain. "For the fashion of this world passeth away: but," he says, "I would have you to be without carefulness," â€” in other words: I would have you lift up your heart, that it may dwell among those things which do not pass away. He then goes on to say: "He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife."

And thus to some extent he explains what he had already said:

"Let them that have wives be as though they had none." For they who have wives in such a way as to care for the things of the Lord, how they may please the Lord, without having any care for the things of the world in order to please their wives, are, in fact, just as if they had no wives. And this is effected with greater ease when the wives, too, are of such a disposition, because they please their husbands not merely because they are rich, because they are high in rank, noble in race, and amiable in natural temper, but because they are believers in the Lord, men of religion, chastity, and goodness.

Chap. 16. [xiv.] â€” A certain degree of incontinence is to be tolerated in the case of married persons; the use of matrimony for the mere pleasure of lust is not without sin, but because of the nuptial relation the sin is venial.

These points, indeed, are desirable and praiseworthy in the intercourse of married life; but there are others which are simply to be tolerated, with a view to the avoidance of damnable sin in the cases of fornication and adultery. To escape this evil, even such embraces of husband and wife as have
not procreation for their object, but are nothing more than concessions to an overbearing concupiscence, are permitted, so far as to be within range of forgiveness, though not prescribed by way of commandment: the married pair are enjoined not to defraud one the other in these indulgences, lest Satan should tempt them by reason of their incontinence. For thus says the Scripture: "Let the husband render unto the wife her due: and likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife. Defraud ye not one the other; except it be with consent for a time, that ye may have leisure for prayer; and then come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinence. But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment. Now in a case where forgiveness must be awarded, it cannot by any means be contended that there is not some amount of sin. Since, however, the cohabitation for the purpose of procreating children, which must be admitted to be the proper end of marriage, is not sinful, what is it which the apostle allows to be venial, but that permission to married persons, when they have not the gift of continence, to require and receive one from the other the remedy of the flesh which is their due? and that not from a wish for procreation, but for the pleasure of concupiscence?

This gratification incurs not the imputation of sin, but receives forgiveness owing to the married state in which it is indulged. This, therefore, must be reckoned among the praises of matrimony; that, on its own account, it makes pardonable that which does not essentially appertain to itself. The truth is, that the nuptial embrace, which subserves the demands of concupiscence, is so effected as not to impede the child-bearing, which is the end and aim of marriage.

Chap. 17. [xv.] â€” What is sinless in the use of matrimony? what is attended with venial sin, and what with mortal?

It is, however, one thing for married persons only to come

1 1 Cor. vii. 6. ^l Cor. vii. 5.

' [Debitiim, after the best mss. of the original rr.v o;p'.iXy,v, instead of the text.

recept. rÂ»v o^e/Xo/KEvjjv ib/ioia.v."

* [So again, after the best authorities.] Â® 1 Cor. 3-6.
together for the sole wish to beget children; this is not sinful:
it is another thing for them to aim at carnal pleasure by cohabitation; this, as being attempted only in the marriage state, involves only venial sin. For although propagation of offspring is not the motive of the concumbency, there is still no attempt to prevent such propagation, either by wrong desire or evil appliance. They who resort to these, although called by the name of man and wife, are really not such; they retain no vestige of true matrimony, but pretend the honourable designation as a cloak for their criminal conduct. Having also proceeded so far, they are betrayed into exposing their children, which are born against their will. They have an abhorrence of nourishing and retaining those whom they begat with dislike. This infliction of cruelty on their offspring so reluctantly begotten, unmasks the sin which they had practised in darkness, and drags it clearly into the light of day. The open cruelty reproves the concealed sin. Sometimes, indeed, this lustful cruelty, or, if you please, cruel lust, resorts to such extravagant methods as to use poisonous drugs to secure barrenness; or else, if unsuccessful in this, to destroy the conceived seed by some means previous to birth, preferring that its offspring should rather perish than receive vitality; or if it was advancing to life within the womb, should be even deprived of it before it was born. Well, if both parties alike are so flagitious, they are not husband and wife; and if such were their character from the beginning, they have not come together so much by holy wedlock as by abominable debauchery. But if the two are not identical in such sin, I boldly declare either that the woman is, so to say, the husband's harlot; or the man, the wife's adulterer.

Chap. 18. [xvi.]

Forasmuch, then, as marriage cannot partake of the spotless purity which might have characterized primitive marriage, if sin had not preceded; it may yet be like that of the holy fathers of the olden time, in such wise that the carnal concupiscence which causes shame (which did not exist in paradise previous to the fall, and after that event was not allowed to remain there), although necessarily forming a part of the body of this death, is not subservient to it, but only submits its function, when forced thereto, for the sole purpose of assisting in the procreation of children; otherwise, since the present time (as we have already ^ said) is the period for abstaining from the nuptial embrace, and therefore makes no necessary demand on the exercise of the said function, seeing that all nations now contribute so abundantly to the production of an offspring

J

CHAP. XIX.] MATRIMONY; ITS REMEDIAL ASPECT. 117

body of this death, is not subservient to it, but only submits its function, when forced thereto, for the sole purpose of assisting in the procreation of children; otherwise, since the present time (as we have already ^ said) is the period for abstaining from the nuptial embrace, and therefore makes no necessary demand on the exercise of the said function, seeing that all nations now contribute so abundantly to the production of an offspring
which shall receive spiritual birth, there is the greater room for the blessing of an excellent continence.
"He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." ^ He, however, who cannot receive it, "even if he marry, sinneth not;" ^ and if a woman have not the gift of continence, let her also marry. ^ It is good, indeed, for a man not to touch a woman." ^ But since "all men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given," ^ it remains that "to avoid fornication, every man ought to have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." ^ And thus the weakness of incontinence is hindered from falling into the ruin of profligacy by the honourable estate of matrimony. Now that which the apostle says of women, "I will therefore that the younger women marry," ^ is also applicable to males: I will that the younger men take wives; that so it may appertain to both sexes alike "to bear children, to be [fathers and] mothers of families, to give none occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully." ^

Chap. 19. [xvii.] ä” Blessings of matrimony.

In matrimony, however, let these blessings be the objects of our choice and love ä” offspring, fidelity, the sacrament. Offspring, not that it be born only, but born again; for it is born to punishment unless it be born again to life. Fidelity, ä– not such as even unbelievers observe one towards the other, in their ardent love of the flesh. For what husband, however impious himself, likes his wife to be an adulteress? Or what wife, however impious she be, likes her husband to be an adulterer? This good in marriage, though a carnal one, is yet


* 1 Cor. vii. 9. * 1 Cor. vii. 1. â€¢ Matt. xix. 9.

* 1 Cor. vii. 2. Ä«1 Tim. v. 14. Â» 1 Tim. v. 14.

118 ON MAKPJAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

perfectly natural. But a member of Christ ought to be afraid of a partner's adultery, not on account of self, but of the said partner, hoping to receive from Christ the reward of that fidelity which is shown to the partner. The sacrament, which is lost neither by divorce nor by adultery, should be guarded by husband and wife with concord and chastity. For it alone is that which even an unfruitful marriage retains by the law of piety, now that all that hope of fruitfulness is lost for the purpose of which the couple married. Let these nuptial blessings be praised in marriage by him who wishes to extol the nuptial institution. Carnal concupiscence, however, must not be ascribed to marriage: it is only to be tolerated in marriage. It is not a good which comes out of the essence of marriage, but an evil which is the accident of original sin.
Chap. 20. [xviii.] â€” Why of holy matrimony are horn children of ibrath.

This is the reason, indeed, why of even the just and lawful marriages of the children of God are born, not children of God, but children of the world; because their parents, although regenerated, beget not children as being born of God, but from the fact of their being still children of the world. "The children of this world," says our Lord, "marry and are given in marriage,^ and are begotten and beget."^ From the fact, therefore, that we are still children of this world, our outer man is in a state of corruption and decay; and from the same circumstance our offspring are born as children of the present world; nor do they become sons of God, except they be regenerate.^ Yet inasmuch as we are children of God, our inner man is renewed from day to day.* But even our outer man has been sanctified through the laver of regeneration, and has received the hope of future incorruption, on which account it is justly designated as "the temple of God." "Your bodies," says the apostle, "are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, and which ye have of God; and ye are not your own, for ye are bought with a great price: therefore glorify

' Luke XX. 34.

2 [St. Augustine's reading, "generant et generantur," occurs in one of the uncial Mss. (D), and in some of the Fathers; Origen has yinuffi xa) yiyavrai.]
' See De Peccatorum Meritis et Bemissione, ii. 11. [ix.] * 2 Cor. iv. 16.

CHAP. XXI.] THE OFFSPRING OF HOLY PARENTS SINFUL. 119

and carry God in your body."^ The whole of this statement is made in reference to our present sanctification, but especially in consequence of that hope of which he says in another passage, "We ourselves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body."^ If, then, the redemption of our body is expected, as the apostle declares, it follows, that being an expectation, it is as yet a matter of hope, and not of actual possession. Accordingly the apostle
adds: 'â€œ' For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it." ^ Not, therefore, by that which we are waiting for, but by that which we are now enduring, are the children of our flesh born. God forbid that a man who possesses faith should, when he hears the apostle bid men " love their wives," * love that carnal concupiscence in his wife which he ought not to love even in himself; as he may know, if he listens to the words of another apostle: " Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever, [even as God abideth for ever "].^  

Chap. 21. [xix.] â€” Thus sinners are born of righteous parents, even as wild olives spring from the olive. That, therefore, which is born of the lust of the flesh is really born of the world, and not of God; although it is born of God, when it is born again of water and of the Spirit. The guilt of this concupiscence, regeneration alone remits, even as natural generation contracts it. What, then, is generated must
be regenerated, in order that what has been contracted in the
way of sin may be remitted. This analogous process must

' [So the Vulgate of 1 Cor. vi. 20.] 2 Ymtd.. viii. 23.


* 1 John ii. 15-17. [The last clause in brackets, though not in Jerome's Vulgate, was yet read by some of the Latin Fathers “by Cyprian, for instance.

120 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

take place “no other is possible. It is very wonderful that what has been remitted in the parent should still be contracted in the offspring; but such is the case. That this mysterious verity, which unbelievers neither see nor believe, might get some palpable evidence in its support, God in His providence has secured in the example of sundry objects in the botanical world. For why should we not suppose, that for this very purpose the wild olive springs from the olive? Is it not indeed credible that, in a thing which has been created for the use of mankind, the Creator provided and appointed what should afford an instructive example, applicable to the human race?

It is a wonderful thing, then, how those who have been themselves delivered by grace from the bondage of sin, should still beget those who are tied and bound by the self-same chain, and who require the same process of loosening? Yes; and we admit the wonderful fact. But that the embryo of wild olive trees should latently exist in the germs of true olives, who would deem credible, if it were not proved true by experiment and observation? In the same manner, therefore, as a wild olive grows out of the seed of the wild olive, and from the seed of the true olive springs also nothing but a wild olive, notwithstanding the very great difference there is between the wild olive and the olive; so what is born in the flesh, either of a sinner or of a just man, is in both instances a sinner, notwithstanding the vast distinction which exists between the sinner and the righteous man. He is a sinner that is begotten, though not practised in a single act as yet, and still fresh from his birth; but the guilt of an ancient sin is upon him.

Human from the Creator, he is a captive of the destroyer, and needs a redeemer. The difficulty, however, is how a state of captivity can possibly befall the offspring, when the parents have been themselves previously redeemed from it. Now it is no easy matter to unravel this intricate point, or to explain it in a set discourse; therefore unbelievers refuse to accept it as true; just as if in that other point about the wild olive and the olive, which we gave in illustration, any reason could be easily found, or explanation clearly given, why the selfsame shoot should sprout out of so dissimilar a stock. The truth, however, of this can be discovered by any one who is
willing to make the experiment. Let it then serve for a good example for suggesting belief of what admits not of ocular demonstration.

CiiAP. 22. [xx.] â€” Even infants, when imhaptized, are in the poicer of the devil; exorcism in the case of infants, and renunciation of the devil.

Now the Christian faith unfalteringly declares, what our new heretics have begun to deny, both that they who are cleansed in the laver of regeneration are redeemed from the power of the devil, and that those who have not yet been redeemed by such regeneration are still captive in the power of the devil, even if they be infant children of the redeemed, unless they be themselves redeemed by the self-same grace of Christ. For we cannot doubt that the mercy of God applies to every stage of human life, which the apostle describes when he says concerning Him: "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son." ^ From this power of darkness, therefore, of which the devil is the prince, â€” in other words, from the power of the devil and his angels, â€” infants are delivered when they are baptized; and whosoever denies this, is convicted by the truth of the Church's very sacraments, which no heretical novelty in the Church of Christ is permitted to destroy or change, so long as the Divine Head rules and helps the entire body which He owns â€” small as well as great. It is true,
then, and in no way false, that the devil's power is exorcised in infants, and that they renounce him by the hearts and mouths of those who bring them to baptism, being unable to do so by their own; in order that they may be delivered from the power of darkness, and be translated into the kingdom of their Lord. What is that, therefore, within them which keeps them in the power of the devil? What is it, I ask, but sin? No thing else, indeed, has the devil found which enables him to put under his own control that nature of man, which the good Creator made good. But infants have committed no sin of their own since they have been alive. Only original sin, therefore, remains, whereby they are made captive under the devil's power, until they are redeemed therefrom by the laver of regeneration and the blood of Christ, and pass into their

1 Col. i. 13.

122 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

Eedeemer's kingdom, “the power of their enthraler being frustrated, and ability being given them to become "sons of God" instead of children of this world.”

Chap. 23. [xxi.] “Sin lias not arisen out of the goodness of marriage; the sacrament of matrimony a very great one in the case of Christ and the Church^a very small one in the case of a man and his wife.

Suppose now we interrogate, so to speak, those good qualities of the nuptial institution to which we have often referred, and inquire how it is that sin could possibly have been derived from them to infants, we shall get this answer from the first of them^ “the
operation itself of procreation: My happiness would in paradisce have been greater if sin had not been committed. For to me belongs that blessing of almighty God: "Be fruitful, and multiply." For accomplishing this good work, divers members were created suited to each sex; these members were, of course, in existence before sin, but they were no objects of shame. This will be the answer of the second good â€” the faith of chastity: If sin had not been committed, what in paradisce could have been more free from perturbation than myself, when there was no concupiscence of my own to spur me, no lust of another to tempt me? And then this will be the answer of the connubial sacrament â€” the third good of holy matrimony: Of me was that word spoken in paradisce before the entrance of sin: "A man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they two shall become one flesh." This the apostle applies to the case of Christ and the Church, and calls it then a magnum sacramentum [To ixvaTrjpiov tovto fj'iya], "a great mystery." In the instances of each married pair it is but very small, but even then it is the sacrament of an inseparable union. What now is there in these three blessings of the nuptial institute, out of which could be forged the chain of sin to bind posterity? Absolutely nothing. And in these blessings it is certain that the goodness of matrimony is entirely comprised; and even now good wedlock consists of these same blessings.

Chap. 24. â€” Lust and shame come from sin; the law of sin; the shamelessness of the Cynics.

But if, in like manner, the question be asked of the lust of the flesh, how it is that acts now bring shame in their operation, which once were free from shame, will not her answer be, that she only began to have existence in men's members after sin? [xxii.] That the apostle designated her influence as "the law of sin," inasmuch as she subjugated man to herself when he was unwilling to remain subject to his God; and that it was she who made the first married pair ashamed at that moment when they covered their loins; even as all are still ashamed, and seek out secret retreats for cohabitation, and dare not have even the children, whom they have themselves and thus begotten, to be witnesses of what they do. It was against this modesty of natural shame that the Cynic philosophers, in the error of their astonishing shamelessness, struggled so hard: they thought that the intercourse indeed of husband and wife was lawful and honourable, and that therefore it should be done in public. Such barefaced obscenity deserved to receive a doggish name; and so they went by the title of "Cynics:"

Chap. 25. [xxiii.] â€” Concupiscence in the regenerate without consent is not sin; in what sense concupiscence is called sin.
Now this concupiscence, this law of sin which dwells in our members, is that to which the law of righteousness and holiness forbids any allegiance; in the words of the apostle, "Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof; neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin." This concupiscence, then, which is only cleansed by the sacrament of the new birth, does undoubtedly, by means of natural birth, pass on the chain of sin to a man's posterity, unless they are themselves loosed from it by regeneration. In the case, however, of the regenerate, concupiscence is not itself sin any longer, whenever they do not consent to it for illicit works, and when the members are not applied by the presiding mind to perpetrate such deeds. So that, if what is enjoined in one passage, "Thou shalt not covet [or have concupiscence]," is not kept, that at any rate is observed which is commanded in another place, "Thou shalt not go after thy

1 Rom. vii. 23. 2 Cynici, i.e. Kwixoi, "dog-like."

3 Horn, vi. 12, 13. * Ex. xx. 17.

124 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

lustrs," Inasmuch, however, as by a certain mode of speech it is called sin, since it arose from sin, and, when it has the upper hand, produces sin, the guilt of it prevails in the natural man; but this guilt is not suffered to prevail in the regenerate man, who does not yield obedience to it whenever it urges him to the commission of evil, a hindrance which is due to the grace of Christ through the remission of all sins in the gift of regeneration. As arising from sin, it is, I say, called sin, although in the regenerate it is not actually sin; and it has this designation applied to it, just as speech which the tongue produces is itself called "tongue;" and just as the word "hand" is used in the sense of writing, which the hand produces. In the same way concupiscence is called sin, as producing sin when it conquers the will: so to cold and frost the epithet "sluggish" is given; not as arising from, but as productive of, sluggishness; benumbing us, in fact.

Chap. 26. â€” Whatever is horn through concupiscence is not undeservedly in subjectim to the devil by reason of sin; the devil deserves heavier punishment than men.

The wound which the devil has inflicted on the human race compels everything which has its birth in consequence of it to be under the devil's power, as if he were exercising a right, and plucking fruit off his own tree. Not as if man's nature, which is only of God, came from him, but sin alone, which is not of God. For it is not on its own account that man's nature is under condemnation, because it is the work of God, and therefore laudable; but on account of that damnable corruption by which it has been vitiated. Now it is by reason of this condemnation that it is in subjection to the devil, who is also in the same damnable state. The devil is himself an unclean spirit: good, indeed, so far as he is a spirit, but evil as being unclean; for by nature he is a spirit, by the vitiation thereof an
unclean one. Of these two qualities, the one is of God, the other of himself. His hold over men, therefore, whether of an advanced age or in infancy, is not because they are human, but because they are depraved and polluted. He, then, who feels surprise that God's creature is a subject of the devil, should cease from such feeling. For one creature of

' Ecclus. xviii. 30.

CHAP. XXVII.] THE OPERATION OF CONCUPISCENCE. 125

God is in subjection to another creature of God, the less to the greater, a human being to an angelic one; and this is not owing to nature, but to a corruption of nature: polluted is the sovereign, polluted also the subject. All this is the fruit of that ancient stock of pollution which he has planted in man; himself being destined to suffer a heavier punishment at the last judgment, as being the more polluted, and the author of pollution; but at the same time even they who will have to bear a less heavy burden in that condemnation are subjects of him as the prince and author of sin, for there will be no other cause of condemnation than sin.

Chap. 27. [xxiv.] â€” Through lust original sin is transmitted; venial sins in married persons; concupiscence of the flesh, the daughter and mother of sin.

Wherefore the devil holds as guilty even infants, who are born, not of what is good from the goodness of marriage, but of what is evil in concupiscence, which is used aright, indeed, in marriage, but at which even marriage has occasion to feel shame. Marriage is itself "honourable in all" ^ the good aspects which properly appertain to it; but even when it has its "bed undefiled" (not only by the damnable sins of fornication and adultery, but also by any of those nuptial excesses, which do not arise from any prevailing desire of children, but from an overbearing lust of pleasure, venial, as we have seen, in man and wife), yet, whenever it comes to the actual process of generation, the very embrace which is honourable and permitted cannot be effected without the ardour of concupiscence, in order that that may be accomplished which appertains to the use of reason and not of lust. Now, this ardour, whether following or preceding the action of the will, does somehow, by a power of its own, move the members which cannot be moved simply by the will, and in this manner it shows itself not to be the servant of a will which commands it, but rather to be the punishment of a will which disobeys it. It shows, moreover, that it must be excited, not by a natural and willing choice, but by a certain seductive stimulus, and that on this very account it produces shame. This is the carnal concupiscence, which, while it is no longer accounted sin in the regenerate, yet in no case happens to nature except

^ Heb. xiii. 4.
from sin. It is the daughter of sin as it were; and whenever it yields assent to the commission of shameful deeds, it becomes also the mother of many sins. Now from this concupiscence whatever comes into being by natural birth is tied and bound by original sin, unless, indeed, it be born again in Him whom the Virgin conceived without this concupiscence. When He vouchsafed to become incarnate, He, and He alone, was born without sin.

Chap. 28. [xxv.] “Concupiscence remains after baptism, just as languor does after recovery from disease; concupiscence is diminished in persons of advancing years, and increased in the incontinent.

If the question arises, how this concupiscence of the flesh remains in the regenerate, in whose case has been effected a remission of all sins whatever, seeing that human semination takes place by its means, even when the carnal offspring of even a baptized parent is born; or, at all events, if in the case of a baptized parent concupiscence may be, or may not be, sin, why should this same concupiscence be sin in the offspring? the answer to be given is this: Carnal concupiscence is remitted, indeed, in baptism; not that it may be put out of existence, but that it may not be imputed for sin. Still it remains, although its guilt is now taken away; and remain it will, until our entire infirmity be healed by the renewal of our inner man advancing day by day, when at last our outward man shall be clothed with incorruption. It remains, however, not substantially as a body, or a spirit. It is nothing more than a certain affection of an evil quality, such as languor, for instance. There is not, to be sure, anything remaining which may be remitted whenever, as the Scripture says, "the Lord forgiveth all our iniquities." But until that happens which immediately follows in the same passage, "Who healeth all thine infirmities [languores] who redeemeth thy life from corruption," there remains this concupiscence of the flesh in the body of this death. Now we are admonished not to obey its sinful desires to do evil: "Let not sin reign in your mortal body." Still this concupiscence is daily lessened in persons of continence and increasing years, and most of all when old age makes a near approach. The man, however, who yields

1 1 Cor. XV. 53. 2 Ps. ciii. 3. ^ pg, ciii. 4. â– ø¢¢ç Rom. vi. 12.

CHAP. XXX.] NOT HAVING SIN WHAT IS IT ? 127

to it a wicked service, receives so vast an energy that, even when all his members are now failing through age, and those especial parts of his body are unable to be applied to their proper function, he does not ever cease to revel in a still increasing rage of disgraceful and shameless desire.
Chap. 29. [xxvi.] â€” How concupiscence remains in the baptized actually, when it is passed away as to its guilt; what not having sin means; sins remain and pass away in two senses â€” i7i act and in guilt.

In the case, then, of those persons who are born again in Christ, when they receive an entire remission of all their sins, it is of course necessary that the guilt also of the still indwelling concupiscence should be remitted, in order that (as I said) it should not be imputed to them for sin. For even as in the case of those sins which cannot be themselves permanent, since they pass away as soon as they are committed, the guilt yet is permanent, and (if not remitted) will remain for evermore; so, when the concupiscence is remitted, the guilt of it also is taken away. For not to have sin means this, not to be deemed guilty of sin. If a man have (for example) committed adultery, though he do not repeat the sin, he is held to be guilty of adultery until the indulgence in guilt be itself remitted. He has the sin, therefore, remaining, although the particular act of his sin no longer exists, since it has passed away along with the time when it was committed. For if to desist from sinning were the same thing as not to have sins, it would be sufficient if Scripture were content to give us the simple warning, " My son, hast thou sinned ? Do so no more." ^ Thie, however, does not suffice, for it goes on to say, " Ask forgiveness for thy former sins." ^ . Sins remain, therefore, if they are not forgiven. But how do they remain if they are passed away ? Only thus, they have passed away in their act, but they are permanent in their guilt. Contrariwise, then, may it happen that a thing may remain in act, but pass away in guilt.

Chap. 30. [xxvii.] â€” The evil desires of concupiscence; we ought to wish that they may not be.

For there is some action in the concupiscence of the flesh, even when it does not exhibit either an assent of the heart,

' Ecclus. xxi. 1. 2 Ecclus. xxi. 1.

128 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

where its seat of empire is, or those members whereby, as its weapons, it fulfils what it is bent on. But what in this action does it effect, unless it be its evil and shameful desires ? For if these were good and lawful, the apostle would not forbid obedience to them, saying, " Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof." ^ He does not say, that ye should have the lusts thereof, but " that ye should obey the lusts thereof; " in order that (as these desires are greater or less in different individuals, according as each shall have progressed in the renewal of the inner man) we may maintain the fight of holiness and chastity, for the purpose of withholding obedience to these lusts. Nevertheless, our wish ought to be nothing less than the nonexistence of these very desires, even if the accomplishment of
such a wish be not possible in the body of this death. This is the reason why the same apostle, in another passage, addressing us as if in his own person, gives us this instruction:
" For what I would," says he, " that do I not; but what I hate, that do I." ^ In a word, " concupisco" my concupiscence besets me. He was unwilling to do so and so, that he might be perfect on every side. " If, then, I do that which I would not," he goes on to say, " I consent unto the law that it is good." ^ Because the law, too, wills not that which I also would not. For it wiUs not that I should have concupiscence, for it says, " JSFon concupiscis" thou shalt not covet; and I am no less unwilling to cherish so evil a desire. In this, therefore, there is complete accord between the will of the law and my own will. But because he was unwilling to covet, and yet did covet, and for all that did not by any means obey this concupiscence so as to yield assent to it, he immediately adds these words: " Now, then, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." ^

CiiAP. 31. [xxviii.] ä€” Who is the man that can say, " Itis no morel that do it" ?

A man, however, is much mistaken if, while consenting to the lust of his flesh, and then both resolving in his mind to do its desires and setting about it, he supposes that he has still a right to say [with the apostle], " It is not I that do


CHAP. XXXII.] A DANGEROUS MISCONCEPTION. 129

it," even if he hates and loathes himself for assenting to evil desires. The two things are simultaneous in his case: he hates the thing himself because he knows that it is evil; and yet he does it, because he is bent on doing it. Now if, in addition to all this, he proceeds to do what the Scripture forbids him, when it says, " Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin,"^ and completes with a bodily act what he was bent on doing in his mind; and says, " It is not I that do the thing, but sin that dwelleth in me." because he feels displeased with himself for resolving on and accomplishing the deed, ä€” he makes a great mistake; so great indeed, as not to know his own self. For, whereas he is himself ex toto, his mind determining and his body executing his own purpose, he yet supposes that he is himself no longer !

[xxix.] That man, therefore, alone speaks the truth (when he says, " It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me ") who, upon simply experiencing the concupiscence, neither resolves on doing it with the consent of his heart, nor accomplishes the deed with the ministry of his body.

Chap. 32. ä€” Wlien good will he perfectly done; what is the drift of the commandmenl against concupiscence [" Thou shalt not covet"],^ since it is not fulfilled here ?
The apostle then adds these words: "For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not."* Now this is said, because a good thing is not then performed, or perfected, when there is an absence of evil desires, in the way that evil is consummated whenever evil desires are obeyed. But when, being present, they are not also obeyed, neither evil is performed, since obedience is not yielded to them; nor good, because of their inoperative presence. There is rather an intermediate condition of things: good is effected in some degree, because the evil concupiscence has gained no assent to itself; and in some degree there is a remnant of evil, because the concupiscence is present. This accounts for the apostle's precise words. He does not say, To do good is not present to him, but "how to perform" (i.e. perfect) it. For the truth is, one does a good deal of good


XII. I

130 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

when he does what the Scripture enjoins, "Go not after thy lusts;"* yet he falls short of performance, or perfection, in that he fails to keep the great commandment, "Thou shalt not covet."* The law said, "Thou shalt not covet (or have concupiscence)," in order that, when we find ourselves lying in this diseased state, we might seek the medicine of Grace, and by that commandment know both in what direction our endeavours should aim as we advance in our present mortal condition, and to what a height it is possible to reach in the future immortality. For unless perfection could somewhere be attained, this commandment would never have been given to us.

Chap. 33. [xxx.]

The apostle then repeats his former statement, the more fully to recommend its purport: "For the good," says he, "that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." Then follows this: "I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me."* In other words, I find that the law is a good to me, when I wish to do what the law would have me do; inasmuch as it is not with the law itself (which says, "Thou shalt not covet") that evil is present; no, it is with myself that the evil is present, which I would not do, because I have the concupiscence even in my willingness. "For," he adds, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."* This delight in the law of God* after the inward man,
comes to us from the mighty grace of God; for thereby is our inward man renewed day by
day,^ because it is thereby that progress is made by us with perseverance.

Â» Ecclus. xviii. 30. 2 Ex. xx. 17.

" Rom. vii. 19-21. [The punctuation of the passage in Latin fits the argument, thus:
"Invenio ergo legem mihi, volenti facere, bonum; quoniam malum mihi adjacet;" i.e. "I
find then the law is a good to me, when I wish to act; for evil is present with me."]

* Rom. vii. 22, 23.

^ [This sharing of joy with the law of God: ^^Ista condeledatio legi Dei."]

^ 2 Cor. iv. 16.

CHAP. XXXV.] "THE LAW OF SIN," TO THE APOSTLE. 131

In it there is not the fear that has torment, but the love that cheers and gratifies. We have
true liberty in that wherein we have no unwilling joy.

Chap. 34. â€” How concupiscence made a captive of the apostle; what the law of sin icas
to the apostle.

Then, indeed, his statement, " I see another law in my members warring against the law
of my mind," refers to that very concupiscence which we are now speaking of â€” the law
of sin in our sinful flesh. But when he said, " And bringing me into captivity to the law of
sin " [that is, its own self]
" which is in my members," he either meant " caiotiv citing" in the sense of endeavouring
to make captive, that is, urging me to approve and accomplish evil desire; or rather (and
this is an incontrovertible sense), leading me captive after the flesh, which, if possessed
not by the carnal concupiscence which he calls the law of sin, no unlawful desire â€”
such as our mind ought not to obey â€” would, of course, be there to excite and disturb it.
The fact, however, that the apostle does not say.
Bringing my flesh into captivity, but " Bringing me into captivity," obliges us to look out
for some other meaning for the phrase, and to understand the term " captivating " as if he
had said, endeavouring to captive. But why, after all, might he not say " Bringing me
into captivity," and at the same time mean us to understand his flesh ? Was it not spoken
by one concerning Jesus, when His flesh was not found in the sepulchre: " They have
taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him" ?^ Was Mary's then an
improper question, when she said, " My Lord," and not my Lord's body or flesh ?

Chap. 35. [xxxii.] â€” The flesh, carnal affection.
But we have in the apostle's own language, a little before, a sufficiently clear proof that
he might have meant his flesh when he said, "Bringing me into captivity." For after
declaring, "I know that in me dwelleth no good thing," he at once added an explanatory
sentence to this effect, "That is, in my flesh." It is then the flesh, in which there dwells
nothing good, that is brought into captivity to the law of sin.
Now he designates that as the flesh wherein lies a certain

' John XX. 2. 2 Kom. vii. 18.

132 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

morbid carnal affection, not that actual conformation of our bodily fabric whose members
are not to be used as weapons for sin â€” for that very concupiscence, in fact, which
possesses this fleshy substance of ours as its captive. So far, indeed, as concerns this
actual bodily substance and nature of ours, it is already God's temple in all faithful men,
whether living in marriage or in continence. If, however, absolutely nothing of our flesh
were in captivity, not even to the devil, because there has accrueth to it the remission of
sin, that sin be not imputed to it (and this is properly designated the law of sin); yet if
under this law of sin, that is, under its own concupiscence, our flesh were not to some
degree held captive, how could that be true which the apostle states, when he speaks of
our "waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body:" In so far, then, as
there is now this waiting for the redemption of our body, there is also in some degree still
existing something in us which is a captive to the law of sin.
Accordingly he exclaims, "wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body
of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." What are we to understand
by such language, but that our body, which is undergoing corruption, weighs heavily on
our soul? When, therefore, this very body of ours shall be restored to us in an incorrupt
state, there shall be a plenary riddance of the present death from the body; but there will
be no such deliverance for them who shall rise again to condemnation. To the body of
this death then is understood to be owing the circumstance that there is in our members
another law which wars against the law of the mind, so long as the flesh lusts against the
spirit â€” without, however, subjugating the mind, inasmuch as on its side, too, the spirit
has a concupiscence contrary to the flesh. Thus, although the actual law of sin partly
holds the flesh in captivity (whence comes its resistance to the law of the mind), still it
has not an absolute empire in our body, notwithstanding its mortal state, since it refuses
obedience to its desires. For in the case of hostile armies between whom there is an
earnest conflict, even the side which is inferior in the fight usually holds a something
which it has captured;

and although in some such way there is somewhat in our flesh which is kept under the law of sin, yet it has before it the hope of redemption: and then there will remain not a particle of this vitiated concupiscence; but our flesh, healed of that diseased plague, and wholly clad in immortality, shall live for evermore in eternal blessedness.

Chap. 36.

But the apostle pursues the subject, and says, "So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin;" * which must be thus understood: "With my mind I serve the law of God," by refusing my consent to the law of sin; "with my flesh, however," I serve "the law of sin," by having the desires of sin, from which I am not yet entirely freed, although I yield them no assent. Then let us observe carefully what he has said after all the above: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus."  * Even now, says he, when the law in my members keeps up its warfare against the law of my mind, and retains in captivity somewhat in the body of this death, there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus.

And listen why: "For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," says he, "hath made me free from the law of sin and death."  * How made me free, except by abolishing its sentence of guilt by the remission of all my sins; so that, though it still remains, only daily lessening more and more, it is nevertheless not imputed to me as sin?

Chap. 37. [xxxii.] â€” The law of sin with its guilt in unhaptized infants. By Adam's sin the human race has become a "wild olive tree,"

Until, then, this remission of sins takes place in children, they have within them the law of sin in such manner, that it is really imputed to them as sin; in other words, with that law there is attaching to them its sentence of guilt, to keep them debtors to eternal condemnation. For what a parent transmits to his children in the flesh is the condition of his own carnal birth, not that of his spiritual new birth. The very fact that he was born in the flesh, although no hindrance after the remission of his guilt to the fruit thereof, still retains its


134 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

latent poisonous influence as it were in the seed of the olive.
Because of the remission of his sins, indeed, all injury is removed from the olive oil â€“ that is, in plain language, from his holy life which he lives (" the just by faith " ^) after Christ, whose very name is Vnction [Christus a Chrismate]. That, however, which in the case of a regenerate parent, like the seed of the pure olive, is covered, without any remainder of guilt, which has been remitted, is still no doubt retained in the case of his offspring, which are yet unregenerate, like the wild olive, with all its guilt, until here also it be remitted by the self-same grace. When Adam sinned, he was changed from that pure olive, which had no such corrupt seed whence should spring the bitter issue of the wild olive, into a wild olive tree; and, inasmuch as his sin was so vast, that by it his nature became commensurately changed for the worse, he converted the entire race of man into a wild olive stock. The effect of this change we see illustrated, as has been said above, in the instance of these very trees. Whenever God's grace converts a sapling into a good olive, so that the fault of the first birth (that original sin which had been derived and contracted from the concupiscence of the flesh) is remitted, covered, and not imputed, there is still inherent in it that nature from which is born a wild olive, unless it, too, by the same grace, is by the second birth changed into a good olive.

Chap. 38. [xxxiii.] To baptism must be referred all remission of sins, and the plenary healing of the resurrection. Daily cleansing.

Blessed, therefore, is the olive tree "whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered:" blessed is it "to which the Lord hath not imputed sin." ^ But this, which has received the remission, the covering, and the acquittal, even up to the plenary change of an eternal immortality, still retains a secret force which furnishes seed for a wild and bitter olive tree, unless the same tillage of God prunes it also, by remission, covering, and acquittal. There will, however, be left no corruption at all in even carnal seed, when the same regeneration, which is now effected through the sacred laver, purges and heals all man's evil to the very end. By its means the very same flesh, through which the carnal mind was formed, shall J Rom. i. 17. - Ps. xxxiii. 1, 2.

CHAP. XXXIX.] GKEAT EFFICACY OF BAPTISM. 135

become spiritual, â€“ no longer having that carnal lust which resists the law of the mind, no longer emitting carnal seed.
For in this sense must be understood that which the apostle, we have so often quoted, says elsewhere: " Christ loved the Church, and gave Himself for it; that He might sanctify and cleanse it by the washing of water by the word; that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." ^ It must, I say, be understood as implying, that by this laver of regeneration and word of sanctification all the evils of regenerate men of whatever kind are cleansed and healed, â€“ not the sins only which are all now remitted in baptism, but those also which after baptism are committed by human ignorance and frailty; not, indeed, that baptism is to be repeated as often as sin is repeated, but that by its one only ministration it comes to pass that pardon
is secured to the faithful of all their sins both before and after their regeneration. For of what use would repentance, even before baptism, be, if baptism did not follow; or after, if it did not precede? Nay, in the Lord's Prayer itself, which is our daily cleansing, of what avail or advantage would it be for that petition to be uttered, "For give us our debts," unless it be by such as have been baptized?

And in like manner, how great soever be the liberality and kindness of a man's alms, what, I ask, would they profit him towards the remission of his sins if he had not been baptized?

In short, on whom but on the baptized shall be bestowed the very felicities of the kingdom of heaven; where the Church shall have no spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; where there shall be nothing blameworthy, nothing unreal; where there shall be not only no condemnation for sin, but no concupiscence to excite it?

Chap. 39. [xxxiv.] â€” By the sanctification of baptism, not sins nly, but all evics wJiatsoever have to be removed. Tlie Church is not yet free from all stain.

And thus not only all the sins, but all the ills of men of what kind soever, are in course of removal by the sanctification of that Christian laver whereby Christ cleanses His Church, that He may present it to Himself, not in this world, but in that which is to come, as not having spot, or wrinkle, or

' Epb. V. 25. 2 jii-itt. vi. 12.

136 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK I.]

any such thing. Now there are some who maintain that such is the Church even now, and yet they are in it. Well then, since they confess that they have some sins themselves, if they say the truth in this (and, of course, they do, as they are not free from sins), then the Church has " a spot " in them; whilst if they tell an untruth in their confession (as speaking from a double heart), then the Church has in them " a wrinkle." If, however, they assert that it is themselves, and not the Church, which has all this, they then as good as acknowledge that they are not its members, nor belong to its body, so that they are even condemned by their own confession.

Chap. 40. [xxxv.] â€” Re-futation of the Pelagians by the authority of St. Ambrose, whom they quote to show that the desire of the flesh is a natural good. Avihirose mentioned by Pelagius with approbation. Valerius devoted to reading.

In respect, however, to this concupiscence of the flesh, we have striven in this lengthy discussion to distinguish it accurately from every good in the nuptial institution. This we have done on account of our modern heretics, who cavil whenever concupiscence is censured, as if it involved a censure of marriage. Their object is to praise concupiscence as a natural good, that so they may defend their own baneful dogma, which asserts that none who are born by its means contract original sin. Now the blessed Ambrose, bishop of Milan, by whose priestly office I received the washing of regeneration, briefly spoke
on this matter, when expounding the prophet Isaiah he gathered from him the nativity of Christ in the flesh: "Thus," says the bishop, "he was both tempted in all points as man, and in the likeness of man he bare all things; but inasmuch as he was born of the Spirit, he kept himself from sin. For every man is deceitful; and there is none good but God alone. It has, therefore, been ever firmly maintained, that from husband and wife, that is to say, by means of that conjunction of their persons [which occurs in marriage], it is clear that no man is free from sin. He who is free from sin is also free from human conception of this kind." Well now, what is it which St. Ambrose has here condemned in the true doctrine of this sentence? is it the goodness of marriage, or not rather [by anticipation] the

* «Heb. iv. 15.

CHAP. XL.] PELAGIUS AND AMBROSE. 137

worthless opinion of these heretics, although they had not then come upon the stage? I have thought it worth while to adduce this testimony, because Pelagius mentions Ambrose with such commendation as to say: "The blessed Bishop Ambrose, in whose writings more than anywhere else the faith of Rome is clearly stated, has flourished like a beautiful flower among the Latin writers. His fidelity and extremely pure perception of the sense of Scripture no opponent even has ever ventured to impugn." I hope he may regret having entertained opinions opposed to Ambrose, but not because he has bestowed this praise on that holy man.

Here, then, [dearest Valerius,] you have my book, which, owing to its tedious length and difficult subject, it has been as troublesome for me to compose as for you to read, in those little snatches of time in which you have been able (or at least, as I suppose, have been able) to find yourself at leisure.

Although it has been indeed drawn up with considerable labour amidst my ecclesiastical duties, as God has vouchsafed to give me His help, I should hardly have intruded it on your notice, with all your public cares, if I had not been informed by a godly man, who has an intimate knowledge of you, that you take such pleasure in reading as to lie awake by the hour, night after night, spending the precious time in your favourite pursuit.

* Pro libero agritrio, lib. 3.

ON MAKEITAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE:

IN TWO BOOKS

ADDRESSED TO THE COUNT VALERIUS,
SECOND BOOK.

PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THIS SECOND BOOK.

(1.) From the Preface of Augustine's Unfinished Work against Julianus.

I wrote a treatise, under the title De Nuptiis et Concupiscencia [On Marriage and Concupiscence], and addressed it to the Count Valekius, on learning that he had been informed of the Pelagians that they charge us with condemning marriage. Now in that treatise I showed the distinction, as critically and accurately as I was able, between the good of matrimony and the evil of carnal concupiscence, — an evil which is purely and properly used by conjugal chastity. On receiving my treatise, the illustrious man whom I have named sent me in a short paper a few sentences culled from a work of Julianus, a Pelagian heretic. In this work he has thought fit to extend to four books his answer to the before-mentioned treatise of mine, which is limited to one book only, De Nuptiis et Concupiscencia. I do not know to whom we were indebted for the said extracts: he confined his selection, evidently on purpose, to the first book of Julianus' work. At the request of Valerius, I lost no time in drawing up my answer to the extracts. It has, moreover, happened that I have written a second book also under the same title; and in reply to this, Julianus has drawn up eight books, in the excess of his loquacious powers.

(2.) From Augustine's Epistle to Claudius, [ccvil.]

"Whoever has perused this second book of mine, addressed (as the first was) to the Count Valerius, and drawn up (as, indeed, both were) for his use, will have discovered that there are some points in which I have not answered Julianus, but that I meant my work rather for him who made the extracts from that writer's books, and who did not arrange them in the order in which he found them. He deemed some considerable alteration necessary in his arrangement, very probably with the view of appropriating by this method as his own the thoughts which evidently were another person's."
SECOND BOOK.*

AUGSTINE, IN THIS LATTER BOOK, REFUTES SUNDRY SENTENCES WHICH HAD BEEN CULLED BY SOME UNKNOWN AUTHOR FROM THE FIRST OF FOUR BOOKS THAT JULIANUS HAD PUBLISHED IN OPPOSITION TO THE FORMER BOOK OF HIS TREATISE "ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE;" WHICH SENTENCES HAD BEEN FORWARDED TO HIM AT THE INSTANCE OF THE COUNT VALERIUS. HE VINDICATES THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN FROM HIS OPPONENT’S CAVILS AND SUBTLETIES, AND PARTICULARLY SHOWS HOW DIVERSE IT IS FROM THE FAMOUS HERESY OF THE MANICHEANS.

Chap. 1. [i.] Å€“ Introductory statement.

I CANNOT tell you, dearly loved and honoured son Valerius, how great is the pleasure which my heart receives when I hear of your warm and earnest interest in the testimony of the word of God against the heretics; and this, too, amidst your military duties and the cares which devolve on you in the eminent position you so justly occupy, and the pressing functions, moreover, of your political life. After reading the letter of your Eminence, in which you acknowledge the book which I dedicated to you, I was roused to write this also; for you request me to attend to the statement, which my brother and fellowbishop Alypius is commissioned to make to me, about the discussion which is being raised by the heretics over sundry passages of my book. Not only have I received this information from the narrative of my said brother, but I have also read the extracts which he produced, and which you had yourself forwarded to Eome, after his departure from Eavenna. On discovering the boastful language of our adversaries, as I could easily do in these extracts, I determined, with the help of the Lord, to reply to their taunts with all the truthfulness and scriptural authority that I could command.

Chap. 2. [ii.] Å€“ In this and the four next chapters he adduces the garbled extracts he has to consider.

The paper which I now answer starts with this title:

1 [Written a.d. 420.]
142 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK 11.

"Headings out of a look written by Augustine, in reply to which I have culled a few passages out of looks." I perceive from this that the person who forwarded these written papers to your Excellency wanted to make his extracts out of the books he does not name, with a view, so far as I can judge, to getting a quicker answer, in order that he might not interrupt your earnest interest in the discussion. Now, after considering what books they were which he meant, I suppose that it must have been those which Julianus mentioned in the Epistle he sent to Rome, a copy of which found its way to me at the same time. For he there says: "They go so far as to allege that the nuptial institution, now in dispute, was not founded by God, a declaration which may be read in a work of Augustine's, to which I have lately replied in a treatise of four books." These are the books, as I believe, from which the extracts were taken. It would, then, have been perhaps the better course if I had set myself deliberately to disprove and refute that entire work of his, which he spread out into four volumes. But I was most unwilling to delay my answer, even as you yourself lost no time in forwarding to me the written statements which I was requested to reply to.

Chap. 3.

The words which he has quoted and endeavoured to refute out of my book, which I sent to you, and with which you are very well acquainted, are the following: "They are constantly affirming, in their excessive hatred of us, that we condemn marriage and that divine procedure by which God creates human beings by means of men and women. This they allege of us, because we maintain that they who are born of such a union contract original sin; and because we do not deny that, of whatever parents they are born, they are still under the devil's dominion unless they be born again in Christ." * Now, in

* See Augustine's Imperfectum Opus contra Julianum, i. 18.

- This Augustine afterwards did by the publication of six books against Julianus, on receiving his entire work. Augustine tells us (Opus Imperfect. i. 19), that he had long endeavoured to procure a copy of Julianus* books for the purpose of refuting them, and only succeeded in getting them after some difficulty and delay.

' See above, Book i. chap. 1 of this treatise.

CHAP. IV.] PELAGIAN GARBLING. 143

quoting these words of mine, he took care to omit the testimony of the apostle, which I adduced. He felt himself too hard pressed by its weighty significance. For my own part,
after saying that men at their birth contract original sin, I at once introduced the apostle's words: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for in him all men sinned." Well, as I have already mentioned, he omitted this passage of the apostle, and then closed up the other remarks of mine which have been now quoted. For he knew too well how acceptable to the hearts and consciences of all faithful Catholics are these words of the apostle, which I had adopted, but which he omitted, â€” words which are so direct and so clear, that these new-fangled heretics use every effort in their dark and tortuous glosses to obscure and deprave their force.

Chap. 4.

But there are other words of mine which he has sought to obscure by his subtle treatment. Here they are, as he has quoted them: "Nor do they reflect that, as the good of marriage is not impeachable by reason of the original sin which is derived therefrom, so the evil of adultery and fornication cannot be excused for the natural good which is born of them. For as sin is the work of the devil, whether derived from this source or from that; so is man the work of God, whether born of parents in wedlock or out of it." Even here he has left out some words, in which he was afraid of Catholic ears. But to come to the words here quoted, it had previously been said by us: "Because, then, we affirm this doctrine, which is contained in the oldest and unvarying rule of the Catholic faith, these propounders of the novel and perverse dogma, who deny that there is in infants any sin to be washed away in the laver of regeneration, in their unbelief or ignorance calumniate us as if we condemned marriage, and as if we asserted to be the devil's work what is God's own work, even the human being which is born of marriage." All this passage he has passed over, and merely quoted the words which follow it, as given above. Now, in the omitted words he was afraid of the clause

* Eom. V. 12. - Book i. of this treatise, chap. 1.

144 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

which suits all hearts in the Catholic Church, and appeals to the very faith which has been firmly established and transmitted from ancient times with unfaltering voice, and excites their hostility most strongly against us. The clause is this: "They deny that there is in infants any sin to be washed away in the laver of regeneration." For all persons run to church with their infants for no other reason in the world than that the original sin which is contracted in them by their first and natural birth may be cleansed by the regeneration of their second birth.

Chap. 5.

He then returns ^ to our words, which were quoted before:
"We maintain that they who are born of such a union contract original sin; and we do not deny that, of whatever parents they are born, they are still under the devil's dominion unless they be born again in Christ." Why he should again refer to these words of ours I cannot tell; he had already cited them a little before. He then proceeds to quote what we said of Christ: "Who willed not to be born from the same union of the two sexes." But here again he quietly ignored the words which I placed just previous to these words; my entire sentence being this: "That by His grace they may be removed from the power of darkness, and translated into His kingdom: who willed not to be born from the same union of the two sexes." Observe, I pray you, what my words were which he shunned, in the temper of one who is thoroughly opposed to that grace of God which comes through our "Lord Jesus Christ." He knows well enough that it is the height of impropriety and impiety to exclude infants from their interest in the apostle's words, where he said of God the Father: "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son." ^ This, no doubt, is the reason why he preferred to omit rather than quote these words.

Chap. 6.

He has next adduced that passage of ours, wherein we said:
"For there would have been none of this shame-producing concupiscence, which is favourably spoken of by shameless men
^ [See Opus Imperfectum, i. 64.] ^ Col. i. 13.

CHAP. VI.] MORE GAUBLING, AND WHY. 145

in a shameless tone and manner, if man had not previously sinned; while as to marriage, it would still have existed, even if no man had sinned: for the procreation of children would have been effected without the moral malady." Up to this point he cited my words; but he shrank from adding what comes next â€“ "In the body of that chaste life," and "which [i.e. the moral malady] in 'the body of this death' cannot be separated from the process of procreation." He would not complete my sentence, but mutilated it somewhat, because he dreaded the apostle's exclamation, of which my words gave him a reminder: "wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord." ^ For the body of this death existed not in paradise before sin; therefore did we say, "In the body of that chaste life," which was the life of paradise, "the procreation of children could have been effected without the moral malady, which in the body of this death cannot be separated from the process of procreation." The apostle, however, before arriving at that mention of man's misery and God's grace which we have just quoted, had first said: "I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." Then it is that he exclaimed, "}
wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In the body of this death therefore, such as it was in paradise before sin, there certainly was not "another law in our members warring against the law of our mind" which now, even when we are unwilling, and withhold consent, and use not our members to fulfil that which it desires, still dwells in these members and harasses our resisting and repugnant mind. And this conflict in itself, although not involving condemnation, because it does not consummate sin, is nevertheless "wretched,"

inasmuch as it has no peace. I think, then, that I have shown you clearly enough that this man had a special object as well as method in quoting my words: he adduced them for refutation in such manner as in some instances to interrupt the context of my sentences by removing what stood between them,

' Kom. vii. 24.

XIL K

146 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [bOOK IL

and in other instances to curtail them by withdrawing their concluding words; and his reason for doing all this I think I have sufficiently explained.

Chap. 7. [m.] Augustine answers a passage selected from the preface of Julianus. [See his Opus Iniperefectum, i. 73.]

Let us now look at those words of ours which he adduced just as it suited him, and which he would present as his own.

For they are followed by his words; moreover, as the person insinuated who sent you the paper of extracts, he copied something out of a preface, which was no doubt the preface of the books from which he selected a few passages. The paragraph thus copied stands as follows: "The teachers of our day, holy brother,^ who are the instigators of the disgraceful faction which is now overheated with its zeal, are determined on compassing the injury and discredit of the men, with whose sacred fervour they are set on fire, by nothing less than the ruin of the whole Church, little thinking how much honour they have conferred on those whose renown they have shown to be only capable of being destroyed along with the Catholic religion.

Now if one should say, either that there is freewill in man, or that God is the Creator of infants,^ he is at once set down as a Celestian and a Pelagian. To avoid being called heretics, they turn Manicheans; and so, whilst shirking a pretended infamy, they incur a real reproach: just like the animals, which in hunting they flank with dyed feathers, in order to scare and drive them into their nets; ^ the poor brutes are not gifted with reason, and so they are thrust all together by a vain panic into a real destruction."

Chap. 8.
Well now, whoever you are that have said all this, what you say is by no means true; by no means, I repeat; you are much deceived, or you aim at deceiving others. We do not deny freewill; but, even as the Truth declares, " if the Son

' [Beatissime frater. He calls Floras beatissimus pater elsewhere (see Opus Imperfectiim, iv. 5). This man, to whom Julianus dedicated his work, is called a colleague or fellow-bishop of Julianus by Augustine (Op. Imp. iii. 1S7).]
- [Condltor nascentium, i.e. the Maker of all men's births.]
^ [For a description of this curious mode of capture, see Dr. Smith's Greele and Roman Antiquities, s. v. Eete.]

CHAP. Vm.] TRUE FREEDOM OF THE WILL, 147

shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed." ^ It is yourselves who invidiously deny this true Liberator, for you ascribe a vain liberty to yourselves in your captivity. Captives you are; for " of whom a man is overcome," as the Scripture says, " of the same is he brought in bondage:" ^ and no one except by the grace of the great Liberator is loosed from the chain of this bondage, from which no man living is free. For " by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned in him." ^
God, then, is no doubt the Creator of all that are born, but yet in such wise that all pass from the one [first parent] into condemnation, who have not the One Liberator by regeneration. For He is described as " the Potter, forming out of the same lump one vessel unto honour in His mercy, and another unto dishonour ^ in judgment." And so runs the Church's canticle " of mercy and judgment." ^ You are therefore only misleading yourself and others when you say, " If one should affirm, either that there is freewill in man, or that God is the Creator of infants, he is at once set down as a Celestian and a Pelagian;" Â® for the Catholic faith says these things. If, however, any one says that there is a freewill in man for worshipping God aright, without His assistance; and whosoever says that God is the Creator of all that are born, in such wise as to deny that infants have any need of one to redeem them from the power of the devil, that is the man who is set down as a disciple of Coelestius and Pelagius. Therefore that men have within them a freewill, and that God is the Creator of infants, are propositions which we both allow. You are not Celestians and Pelagians for merely saying this. But what you do really say is this, that any man whatever has freedom enough of will for doing good without God's help, and that infants undergo no such change as being " delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God;" ^ and because you say so, you are Celestians and Pelagians. Why, then, do you deceive us with the covering of a common dogma, concealing


* Rom. V. 12. ["With Augustine's reading, in quo omnes peccaverunt. ]
your own especial delinquency which has gained for you a party-name; and why, to
terrify the ignorant with a shocking term, do you say of us, " To avoid being called
heretics, they turn Manicheans "?

Chap. 9. â€” The Catholics 'maintain the doctrine of original sin, and thus are far from
being Manicheans.

Listen, then, for a little while, and observe what is involved in this question. Catholics
say that human nature was created good by the good Divine Creator; but that, since it has
been diseased by sin, it needs the physician Christ. The Manicheans affirm, that human
nature was not created good by God, and then vitiated by sin; but that man was formed by
the prince of eternal darkness of a mixture of the two natures which had ever existed â€”
one good and the other evil. The disciples of Pelagius and Coelestius agree that human
nature was created good by the good God; but that it is still so sound and healthy in
infants at their birth, that they do not require at that time of life Christ's needful medicine.
Recognise, then, the fitness of your name in this dogma of yours; and cease from
intruding upon the Catholics, who refute you, a name and a dogma which belong to
others. For truth rejects both parties â€” the Manicheans and yourselves. To the
Manicheans it says: " Have ye not read that He which made man at the beginning, made
them male and female; and said, Eor this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and
shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh ?
Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined
together, let not man put asunder." ^

Now Christ shows, in this passage, that God is both the Creator of man, and the uniter in
marriage of husband and wife; whereas the Manicheans deny both these propositions. He
says again to you: " The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which is lost." ^ But
you, admirable Christians as you are, reprove Christ wdth your answer: If you came to
seek and to save that which was lost, then you did not come for infants; for they were not
lost, but are born in a state of salvation: go to older men, we give you a rule from your
own words: " They that be whole need not a physician, but they
that are sick." "Now, as it happens, the Manichean, who says that man has evil mixed in his nature, must wish his good soul at any rate to be saved by Christ; whereas you contend that there is in infants nothing to be saved by Christ, since they are already safe [in body]." And thus it fares ill with human nature: the Manichean besets it with his detestable censure, and you with your cruel praise. For whosoever shall believe your laudation, wIU never bring their babes to Christ for His salvation. Entertaining such impious views as these, of what use is it that you fearlessly face that, which is enacted for you, in order to induce salutary fear, and which treats you as a human being, and not as that poor animal of yours which was flanked with the coloured feathers to be driven into the hunting toils ? It was indispensability that you should hold the truth, and by an affection for it escape fear; but, as things are, you evade fear in such wise that, if you were of a timid turn, you would prefer running away from the net of the malignant hunter to running into it. The reason why your Catholic mother alarms you is, because she fears for you in the interest both of yourself and of others; and if by the help of her sons who possess any authority in the State she acts with a view to make you afraid, she does so, not from cruelty, but from love. You, however, are a very brave man; and you deem it the coward's part to be afraid of men. We then, fear God; and do not try with such obstinacy to subvert the ancient foundations of the Catholic faith. Although I could even wish that that spirited temper of yours would entertain some little fear of human authority at least in the present case. I could wish, I say, that it would rather show cowardice by dread thanaudacity by ruin.

Chap. 10. [iv.] â€” In ichat manner the adversary's cavils must he refuted.

Let US now look at all the rest of what he has joined together in his selections. But what should be my course of

1 Matt. ix. 12.

^ Corpore is here ilaced in the text in the Edit. Bened., though in none of the Mss. It is found in the passage as quoted in the Opus Imp. iii. 138.

'[This clause, quoad tibi fit ut, etc., alludes to the Imperial edicts which Honorius issued, enacting penalties against the Pelagian heretics.]

150 ON MAEEIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

proceeding ? Ouglit I to set forth every passage of his for the purpose of answering it, or, omitting everything which the Catholic faith contains, as not in dispute between us, only handle and confute those statements in which he strays away from the beaten path of
truth, and endeavours to graft on Catholic stems the poisonous shoots of his Pelagian heresy?
This is, no doubt, the easier course. But I suppose I must not lose sight of a possible contingency, that any one, after reading my book, without perusing all that has been alleged by him, may think that I was unwilling to bring forward the passages on which his allegations depend, and by which are shown to be truly deduced the statements which I amcontroverting as false. I should be glad, therefore, if the reader will without exception kindly observe and consider the two classes of contributions which occur in this little work of ours â€” that is to say, all that he has alleged, and the answers which on my side I give him.

CnAr. 11.

Now, the man who forwarded to your love the paper in question has introduced the contents thereof with this preliminary note: "In opposition to those persons who condemn matrimony, and ascribe its fruits to the devil." This, then, has nothing to do with us, who neither condemn matrimony, which we even commend in its order with a just commendation, nor ascribe its fruits to the devil. For the fruits of matrimony are the human beings which are ordinarily engendered from it, and not the sins which accompany their birth.
Human beings are not under the devil's dominion as human beings, in which respect they are the fruits of matrimony, but as sinful beings, in which results the transmission of their sins. For the devil is the author of sin, not of nature.

Chap. 12. â€” Em's name means life, and is a great sacrament of the Church.
Now, observe the rest of the passage in which he thinks he finds, to our prejudice, what chimes in with the above-quoted title. "God," says he, "who had formed Adam out of the dust of the ground, constructed Eve out of his rib," and said,
> r Construxitj so the Hebrew ^y>, "built."] ^ Geu. ii. 22, 23.

I

CHAP. XII.] EYE, THE MYSTEKY OF HER NAME. 151

She shall be called Life, because she is the mother of all who live." "Well now, this is not what Scripture says. But what matters that to us? For it constantly happens that our
memory fails in verbal accuracy, while the sense is still maintained. Nor was it God, but her husband, who gave Eve her name, which should signify Life; for thus it is written: "And Adam called his wife's name Life " [njin, Eva, ^otj (Sept.)], "because she is the mother of all living." ^ But very likely he might have understood the Scripture as testifying that God gave Eve this name through Adam, as His prophet. For in that she was called Life, and the mother of all living, there lies a great sacrament of the Church, of which it would detain us long to speak, and which is unnecessary to our present undertaking. The very same thing which the apostle says, "This is a great mystery [or sacrament]: but I speak concerning Christ and the Church," was also spoken by Adam when he said, "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh." ^ The Lord Jesus, however, in the Gospel mentions God as ha\dng said this of Eve; and the reason, no doubt, is, that God declared through the man what the man, in fact, uttered as a prophecy. Now, observe what follows in the paper of extracts: "By that primitive name," says he, "He showed for what labour the woman had been provided; and He said accordingly, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' ^ Now, who amongst ourselves denies that the woman was provided for the work of child-bearing by the Lord God, the beneficent Creator of all good? See further what he goes on to say: "God, therefore, who created them male and female,^ furnished them with members suitable for procreation, and ordained that bodies should be produced from bodies; in the formation of these, however, by the divine operation, there is present everything which is acting in subservience under that Power by which the creature is formed.^ Well, even this we acknowledge to be catholic

1 Gen. iii. 20. 2 Compare Epli. v. 32 with Gen. ii. 24.

3 Gen. i. 28. * Gen. i. 27.

= For once a difficulty occurs (for -n-hich, however, St. Augustine is not responsible) in the construction of the original. The obscure passage is here tran-

152 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

doctrine, as we also do with regard to the passage which he immediately subjoins: "If, then, offspring comes only through sex, and sex only through the body, and the body through God, who can hesitate to allow that human fecundity is rightly attributed to God?"

Chap. 13. â€” The heretical tenet of the Pelagians, that there is nothing in the natural stages of 2:rocreation which can give the devil a rightful possession of the human being who is born.
After these true and catholic statements, which are, moreover, really contained in the Holy Scriptures, although they are not adduced by him in a catholic spirit, with the earnestness of a catholic mind, he loses no time in introducing to us the heresy of Pelagius and Coelestius, for which purpose he wrote, indeed, his previous remarks. Mark carefully the following words: "You now who say, 'We do not deny that they are still, of whatever parents born, under the devil's power, unless they be born again in Christ,' show us what the devil can find to call his own in the sexes, by reason of which he can (to use your phrase) rightly claim as his property the fruit which they produce. Is it the difference of the sexes?

But this is inherent in the bodies which God made. Is it their union? But this union is justified in the privilege of the primeval blessing no less than institution. For it is the voice of God that says, 'A man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh.' It is again the voice of God which says, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.' Or is it, perchance, their fertility? But this is the very reason why matrimony was instituted."

Chap. 14. [v.]

You see the terms of his question to us, what can the devil find in the sexes to call his own, by reason of which they should be in his power, who are born of parents of every kind.

.scribed for the reader's information: "Quorum tamen efficiente potently, operationes intervenit omne quod est ea administrans virtute qua condidit."
The editors suggest potentia (nominative) Dei operationis intervenit; but there is no MS. authority for the Dei.
1 Gen. ii. 24. '"'Gen. i. 28."

CHAP. XIV.] THE SINFUL ELEMENT IN MARRIAGE. 153

whatever, unless they be born again in Christ; he asks us, moreover, whether it is the difference in the sexes which we ascribe to the devil, or their union, or their very fruitfulness.

We answer, then, nothing of these qualities, inasmuch as the difference of sex belongs to "the vessels" of the parents; while the union of the two pertains to the procreation of children, and their fruitfulness to the blessing pronounced on the marriage institution. But all these things are of God; yet amongst them he was unwilling to name that "lust of the flesh, which is not of the Father, but is of the world; " and "of this world" the devil is said to be "the prince." Now, the devil found no carnal concupiscence in the Lord, because the Lord did not come amongst men as incarnate by its means.

Accordingly, He says Himself: "The prince of this world Cometh, and findeth nothing in me "' that is, of sin; neither that which is derived from birth, nor that which is added during life. Among all the natural goods of procreation which he mentioned, he
was, I repeat, unwilling to name this particular fact of concupiscence, which throws a
blush of shame even upon the nuptial institute, which glories in all these before-
mentioned goods. For why is the especial work of parents withdrawn and hidden even
from the eyes of their children, except that it is impossible for them to be occupied in
laudable procreation without the incident of shameful lust?
Because of this it was that even they were ashamed who first covered their nakedness.*
These portions of their person were not suggestive of shame before, but deserved to be
commended and praised as the work of God. They put on their covering when they felt
their shame, and they felt their shame when, after their own disobedience to their Maker,
they felt their members disobedient to themselves. Our quoter of extracts likewise felt
ashamed of this concupiscence. For he mentioned the difference of the sexes; he
mentioned also their union, and he mentioned their fertility; but this last concomitant of
lust he blushed to mention. And no wonder if mere talkers are ashamed of that which we
see parents themselves, so interested in their function, blush to think of

1 John ii. 16. ^ jo^a xiv. 30. ^ joim xiv. 30. * Gen. iii. 7.

154 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

Chap. 15. â€” Man, by birth, is placed under the dominion of the devil through sin; we
were all one in Adam when he sinned; Jovinian was bold enough to call Ambrose a
Manichean.

He then proceeds to ask: "Why, then, are they in the devil's power whom God created?"
And he finds an answer to his own question apparently from a phrase of mine. "Because
of sin," says he, "not by reason of nature." Then framing his answer in reference to mine,
he says: "But as there cannot be offspring without the sexes, so there cannot be sin
without the will." Yes, indeed, such is the truth.

Tor even as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so also has death
passed through to all men from him in whom all men sinned. By the depraved will of
that one man all sinned in him, since all were [in] that one man, from whom, therefore,
they individually derived original sin. "For you allege," says he, "that the reason why
they are in the devil's power is because they are born of the union of the two sexes." I
plainly aver that it is by reason of transgression that they are in the devil's power, and that
their participation, moreover, of this transgression is due to the circumstance that they are
born of the said union of the sexes, which cannot even accomplish its own honourable
function without the incident of shameful lust. This has also, in fact, been said by
Ambrose, of most blessed memory, bishop of the church in Milan, when he gives as the
reason why Christ's birth in the flesh was free from all sinful fault, that His conception
was not the result of a union of the two sexes; whereas there is not one among human
beings conceived in such union who is without sin. These are his precise words: "On that
account, and being man, He was tried by every sort of temptation, and in the likeness of
man He bore them all; inasmuch, however, as He was born of the Spirit, He abstained
from all sin. For every man is deceitful, and none is without sin, but God only. It has accordingly," 
adds he, "been constantly observed, that clearly no one who is born of a man and a woman, that is to say, through the union of their bodies, is free from sin; for whoever is free from sin has had no relation whatever to conception of this

' Rom. V. 12.

CHAP. XYI.] JOVINIAN AND AMBROSE. 155

kind." ^ Well now, will you dare, ye disciples of Pelagius and Ccelestius, to call this man a Manicliean ? as Jovinian did, when the holy bishop maintained the permanence of the blessed Mary's Adgrinity even after child-bearing, in opposition to this man's impiety. If, however, you do not dare to call him a Manichean, why do you call us Manicheans when we defend the Catholic faith in the self-same cause and with the self-same opinions ? But if you will taunt that most faithful man with having entertained Manichean error in this matter, there is no help for it, you must enjoy your taunts as best you may, and so fill up Jovinian's measure more fully; as for ourselves, we can patiently endure along with such a man of God your taunts and jibes. And yet your heresiarch Pelagius commends Ambrose's faith and extreme purity in the knowledge of the Scriptures so greatly, as to declare that not even an enemy could venture to find fault with him. Observe, then, to what lengths you have gone, and refrain from following any further in the audacious steps of Jovinian. And yet this man, although by his excessive commendation of marriage he put it on a par Avith holy virginity, never denied the necessity of Christ to save those who are born of matrimony even fresh from their mother's womb, and to redeem them from the power of the devil. This, however, you deny; and because we oppose you in defence of those who cannot yet speak for themselves, and in defence of the very foundations of the Catholic faith, you taunt us with being Manicheans. But let us now see what comes next.

Chap. 16. [vi.] 
He puts to us, then, another question, saying, " Whom, then, do you confess to be the author of infants ? The true God ? " 
I answer: ^ " Yes; the true God." He then remarks, " But He did not make evil; " and again asks, " Whether we confess the devil to be the creator of infants ? " Then again he answers, " But he did not create human nature." He then shuts up the subject, as it were, with this inference: " Since [sexual]

^ [Ambrose On Isaiah; see also his Epistle (81) to Siricius.]
^ [Respondeo is the Bened. reading; but another reading has respondet, which seems to suit the context: Riirsusgue respondet.]
union is evil, and the condition of concupiscence; but he used the phrase, "by natural appetite," by which it is open to us to understand that holy and honourable desire which wills the procreation of children, and not that lustful pruriency, of which even he is so much ashamed, forsooth, that he prefers to use ambiguous language to us, to expressing his mind in unmistakeable words. Now what is the meaning of his phrase â€” "by natural appetite"?
Is not the very wish on the part of parents to beget, nourish, and educate children a characteristic of natural appetite? And is not this appetite the property of reason and not of lust?

Since, however, we can ascertain the purport of his phrase plainly enough, we are pretty sure that he meant by these words to indicate the prurient use of the organs of generation. Do not the words in question appear to you to be the figleaves, under cover of which is hidden nothing else but that which he feels ashamed of? For just as they of old sewed the leaves together as a girdle of concealment, so has this man woven a web of circumlocution to hide his meaning. Let him weave out his statement: "But when the man knew his wife by natural appetite, the divine Scripture says, Eve conceived, and bare a son, and called his name Cain. But what,"

he adds, "does Adam say? Let us hear: I have gotten a man from God. So that it is evident that he was God's work, whom the divine Scripture testifies to his having received from God." ^ Well, who can entertain a doubt on this point?

Who can deny this statement, especially if he be a Catholic Christian? A human being is God's work; and, if sin had not preceded, the seed from which he springs would have been sown by means of the organs of generation, which in that case would have been not less obedient than the other members to a quiet and normal will; nor would there have been that lust of the flesh which is not of the Father, but is of the world.^

Chap. 18.

But now, I pray you, look a little more attentively, and observe how he contrives to find language wherewith to cover what he blushes to unfold. "For," says he, "Adam begets him by the natural power of his members, not by any diversity of their merits (non diversitate meritorum)." Now I confess I do not understand what he meant by the latter clause, non diversitate meritorum; but when he said, "by the natural power or efficiency of his members," I believe he wished to express what he is ashamed to say openly and clearly. He preferred to use the phrase, "by the natural power of his members," rather than say, "by the lust of the flesh." Plainly "even if the thought did not occur to him" he intimated a something which has an evident application to the subject.

For what is more powerful than a man's members, when they are not in due submission to a man's will? Even if they be restrained by temperance or continence, their use and control are not in any man's power. Adam, then, begat his sons by what our author calls "the natural power of his members," which after his sin must have raised a blush upon his cheek, before he begat his children. If, however, he had never sinned, he would not have begotten them by the power, but in the obedience, of his members. For he would himself have possessed the ability to rule
them as his subjects according to his own will, if he, too, by the same will had only submitted himself as a subject to his own more powerful Lord.

Chap. 19. [viii.]

He goes on to say: " After a while the divine Scripture says again, ' Adam knew Eve his wife; and she bare a son, and he called his name Seth: saying, The Lord hath raised me up another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew. ' He then adds: " The Divinity is said to have raised up another seed, as a proof that the sexual union was His appointment." This person did not understand what the Scripture records; for he supposed that the reason why it is said, The Lord hath raised me up another seed instead of Abel, was none other than that God might be supposed to have excited in him a desire for sexual intercourse, by means whereof seed might be raised for being poured into the woman's womb. He was perfectly unaware that what the Scripture has said is not " Has raised me up seed " in the sense he uses, but only as meaning " Has given me a son." Indeed, Adam did not use the words in question after his sexual intercourse, when he emitted his

CHAP. XX.] "WHENCE ORIGINAL SIN IS DERIVED. 159

seed, but after his wife's confinement, in which he received his son by the gift of God. For what gratification is there (except perhaps for lascivious persons, and those who, as the apostle says with prohibition, " possess their vessel in the lust of concupiscence " \(^\text{1}\)) in the mere shedding of seed as the ultimate pleasure of sexual union, unless it is followed by the true and proper fruit of marriage â€” conception and birth?

Chap. 20. â€” Original sin is derived from the faulty condition of human seed. This, however, I would not say, as implying at all that we must look for some other creator than the Supreme and true God, of either human seed or of man himself who comes from the seed; but as meaning, that the seed would have issued from the human being by the quiet and normal obedience of his members simply yielding to his will and pleasure, if sin had not preceded the operation. The question now before us does not concern the nature of human seed, but the faulty condition of it. Now the nature has God for its author; it is from its vitiated state that original sin is derived. If, indeed, the seed had itself no fault, what means that passage in the Book of Wisdom, "Not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and that their malice was inbred, and that their cogitation would never be changed; for their seed Avas accursed from the beginning",\(^\text{2}\) Now whatever may be the particular application of these words, they are spoken of mankind. How, then, is the malice of every man inbred, and his seed cursed from the beginning, unless it be in respect of the fact, that " by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned "\(^\text{3}\) But where is the man whose " evil cogitation can never be changed," â€” only the change cannot be effected by any inherent power, â€” by nothing else, indeed, than by divine grace; without the assistance of which, what are human beings, but that which the Apostle Peter
says of them, when he describes them as "natural brute beasts made to be taken and destroyed." Accordingly, the Apostle Paul, in a certain passage, having both conditions in view, "even the wrath of God with which we are born, and the grace whereby we are delivered," says: "Among whom also we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; by whose grace we are saved." "What, then, is man's "inbred malice," and "the seed cursed from the beginning;" and what are "the natural brute beasts made to be taken and destroyed," and what the "by nature children of wrath"? Was this the condition of the nature which was formed in Adam? God forbid! Inasmuch as his pure nature, however, was vitiated in him, it has run on in this condition by natural descent through all, and still is running; so that there is no deliverance for it from this ruin, except by the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chap. 21. [ix.]

What, therefore, is this man's meaning, in the next passage, wherein he says concerning Noah and his sons, that "they were blessed, even as Adam and Eve were: for God said unto them, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and have dominion over the earth'"? To these words of the Almighty he added some of his own, saying: "Now that pleasure, which you would have to wear the appearance of diabolical, was resorted to in the case of the above-mentioned married pairs; and it continued to exist, both in the goodness of its institution and in the blessing attached to it. For there can be no doubt that the following words were addressed to Noah and his sons in reference to their bodily connection with their wives, which had become by this time unalterably fixed by use: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.'" It is, indeed, unnecessary for us to employ many words in repeating our former argument. The point here in question is the flaw in our nature, whereby its goodness has been depraved, of which depravity the devil is the author. That goodness of nature, as it is in itself, the author of which is God, is not the question we have to consider. Now God has never withdrawn from vitiated and depraved nature His own mercy and goodness, so

' Eph. ii. 3-5. 2 Gen. ix. I.
as to deprive man of fruitfulness, vivacity, and health, as well as the very substance of his mind and body, his senses also and reason, as well as food, and nourishment, and growth. He, moreover, "maketh His sun to arise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" and all that is good in human nature is from the good God, even in the case of those men who will not be delivered from evil.

Chap. 22.

It is, however, of pleasure that this man spoke in this passage, because pleasure may be even honourable: of the concupiscence, or lust of the flesh, which produces shame, he made no mention. In some subsequent words, however, he discovered his susceptibility of shame; and he was unable to dissemble what nature herself has prescribed so forcibly. "There is also," says he, "that statement: 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh.'" Then after these words of God, he goes on to offer some of his own, saying: "That he might express faith in works, the prophet approached very near to a perilling of modesty." What a confession!

How clear and extorted from him by the force of truth! The prophet, it would seem, to express faith in works, almost imperilled modesty, when he said, They twain shall become one flesh; wishing it to be understood of the sexual union of the male and the female. Let the cause be alleged, why the prophet, in expressing the works of God, should approach so near an imperilling of modesty? Is it then the case that the works of man ought not to produce shame, but must be gloried in at all events, and that the works of God must produce shame? Is it, that in setting forth and expressing the works of God the prophet’s love or labour receives no honour, but his modesty is imperilled? What, then, was it possible for God to do, which it would be a shame for His prophet to describe? And, which is a weightier question still, could a man be ashamed of any work which not man but God has made in man? Whereas workmen in all cases strive, with all the labour and diligence in their power, to avoid shame in the

' Matt V. 45.

XII. I.

162 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

works of their own hands. The truth, however, is, that we are ashamed of that very thing which made those primitive human beings ashamed, when they covered their loins. That is the penalty of sin; that is the plague and mark of sin; that is the temptation and very fuel of sin; that is the law in our members warring against the law of our mind; that is the rebellion against our own selves, proceeding from our very selves, which by a most righteous retribution is rendered us by our disobedient members. It is this which makes us ashamed, and justly ashamed. If it were not so, what could be more ungrateful, more
irreligious in us, if in our members we were to suffer confusion of face, not for our own fault or penalty, but because of the works of God?

Chap. 23. [s.]

He has much also to say, though to no purpose, concerning Abraham and Sarah, how they received a son according to the promise; and at last he mentions the word concupiscence. But he does not add the usual phrase, "of the flesh," because this is the very thing which causes the shame. Whereas, on account of concupiscence there is sometimes a call for boasting, inasmuch as there is a concupiscence of the spirit against the flesh,^ and a lusting for wisdom." Accordingly, he says: "Now you have certainly defined as naturally evil this concupiscence which is indispensable for fecundity; whence comes it, therefore, that it is aroused in aged men by the gift of Heaven? Make it clear then, if you can, that that belongs to the devil's work, which you see is conferred by God as a gift." He says this, just as if the lust of the flesh had been previously wanting in them, and as if God had bestowed it upon them. No doubt it was inherent in this body of death; that fecundity, however, was wanting of which God is the author; and this was actually given whensoever God willed to confer the gift. Be it, indeed, far from us to affirm, what he thought we meant to say, that Isaac was begotten without the heat of sexual union.

1 Gal. V. 17.

â–ã–ã–^ Wisd. vi. 21. [The expression is the same in the epistle [i.9niufii7], and in Wisdom, ivifufiix roifiKs.]

CHAP. XXIV.] HOW INFANTS ARE SINNERS. 163

Chap. 24. [si. ] â€” What covenant of God the new-horn babe breaks. What was the value of circumcision. The old fathers were justified by the same faith as we.

Now let him inform us how it was that his soul would be cut off from his people if he had not been circumcised on the eighth day. How could he have so sinned, how so offended God, as to be punished for the neglect of others towards him with so severe a sentence, had there been no original sin in the case? For thus ran the commandment of God concerning the circumcision of infants: "The uncircumcised man-child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, his soul shall be cut off from his people; because he hath broken my covenant." ^ Let him tell us, if he can, how that child broke God's covenant, â€” an innocent babe, so far as he was personally concerned, of eight days' age; and yet there is by no means any falsehood uttered here by God or Holy Scripture. The fact is, the covenant of God which he then broke was not this which commanded circumcision, but that which forbade [the fruit of] the tree; when "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, in
whom all have sinned." And in his case the expiation of this was signified by the circumcision of the eighth day, that is, by the sacrament of the Mediator who was to be incarnate. For it was through this same faith in Christ, who was to come in the flesh, and was to die for us, and on the third day (which coming after the seventh or Sabbath day, was by appointment to be the eighth) to rise again, that even holy men were saved of old. For "He was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification." Ever since circumcision was instituted amongst the people of God, which was at that time the sign of the righteousness of faith, it availed also to signify the cleansing even in infants of the original and primitive sin, just as baptism in like manner from the time of its institution began to be of avail for the renewal of man, Not that there was no justification by faith before circumcision; for even when he was still in uncircumcision, Abraham was himself justified by faith, being the father of those nations which should also imitate the faith.*

In former times, however, the sacramental mystery of justification by faith lay concealed in every mode. Still it was the self-same faith in the Mediator which saved the saints of old, both small and "reaf â€” not the old covenant, " which gendereth to bondage;"* not the law, which was not so given as to be able to give life;* but the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.* For as we believe that Christ has come in the flesh, so they believed that He was to come; as, again, we believe that He has died, so they believed that He would die; and as we believe that He has risen from the dead, so they believed that He would rise again; whilst both we and they believe alike, that He will hereafter come to judge the quick and the dead. Let not this man, then, throw any hindrance in the way of its salvation upon human nature, by setting up a bad defence of its merits; because we are all born under sin, and are delivered therefrom by One alone who was born without sin.

164 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

That sexual connection of bodies of which you speak, with heat, with pleasure, with emission of seed, deserves approval, ordained as it is of God, and praiseworthy on its own account; it, moreover, becomes sometimes even a great gift to pious men." He distinctly and severally repeated the phrases, "with heat," "with pleasure," "with emission of seed." He did not, however, venture to say, "with lust." Why is this, if it be not that he is ashamed to name what he does not blush to praise? A gift, indeed, for pious men is the prosperous propagation of children; but not that shame-producing excitement of the members, which our nature would not feel were it in a sound state: nature now experiences it, however, because it is vitiated. On this account, indeed, it is that he who is born of it requires to be born again, in order that he may be a member of Christ; and that he of whom he is born, even though he be
already born again, wants to be freed from that which exists in this body of death by reason of the law of sin. Now since this is the case, how is it he goes on to say, "You must, therefore, of necessity confess that the original sin which you had devised is done away with "? It was not I who devised the original sin, which the Catholic faith holds 1 Gal. iv. 24. 1^ Gal. iii. 21. 3 jiom. y^ 25.

CHAP. XXVI.] ACCURATE VIEW OF CARNAL LUST. 165

from ancient times; but you, who deny it, are undoubtedly an innovating heretic. In the judgment of God, however, all are in the devil's power, born in sin, unless they are regenerated in Christ.

Chap. 26. [xiii.]

But as he was speaking of Abraham and Sarah, he goes on to say: "If, indeed, he were to affirm that the natural use was strong in them, and there was no offspring, my answer will be: Whom the Creator promised, the Creator also gave; the child which is born is not the work of concubinage, but of God. He, indeed, who made the first man of the dust, fashions all men out of seed. As, therefore, the dust of the earth, which was taken as the material, was not the author of man; so likewise that power of sexual pleasure which forms and commingles the seminal elements does not complete the entire process of man's making, but rather presents to God, out of the treasures of nature, material with which He vouchsafes to make the human being." Now the whole of this statement of his, except where he says, that the seminal elements are formed and commingled by sexual pleasure, would be correctly expressed by him were he only earnest in making it to defend the Catholic sense. To us, however, who are fully aware what he strives to make out of it, he speaks indeed correctly in a perverse manner. The exceptional statement to the general truth, which I do not deny" belongs to this passage, is untrue for this reason, because the pleasure in question of carnal concupiscence does not form the seminal elements. These are already in the body, and are formed by the same true God who created the body itself. They do not receive their existence from the libidinous pleasure, but are excited and emitted in company with it. "Whether, indeed, such pleasure accompanies the commingling of the seminal elements of the two sexes in the womb, is a question which perhaps women may be able to determine from their inmost feelings; but it is improper for us to push an idle curiosity so far. That concupiscence, however, which we have to be ashamed of, and the shame of which has given to our secret members their shameful designation, pudenda, had no existence in the body during its life in paradise before the entrance

166 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]
of sin; but it began to exist " in the body of this death " after sin, the rebellion of the members retaliating man's own disobedience. Without this concupiscence it was quite possible to effect the function of the wedded pair in the procreation of children: just as many a laborious work is accomplished by the compliant operation of our other limbs, without any lascivious heat; for they are simply moved by the direction of the will, not excited by the ardour of concupiscence.

Chap. 27.

Carefully consider the rest of his remarks: " This likewise," says he, " is confirmed by the apostle's authority. For when the blessed Paul spoke of the resurrection of the dead, he said, ' Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened.' And afterwards, ' But God giveth it a body as it pleaseth Him, and to every seed its own body.' If, therefore, God," says he, " has assigned to human seed, as to everything else, its own proper body, which no wise or pious man will deny, how are you going to prove that any person is guilty by birth? Do, I beg of you, reflect with what snares this assertion of natural sinfulness is entrapped. But come," he says, " deal more gently with yourself. I pray you. Believe me, God made even you: it must, however, be confessed, that a serious error has infected you. For what profaner opinion can be broached than that either God did not make man, or else that He made him for the devil; or, at any rate, that the devil moulded God's image, that is, man, â€” which clearly is a statement not more absurd than impious? Is then," says he, " God so poor in resources, so lacking in all sense of propriety, as not to have had aught which He could confer on holy men as their reward, except what the devil, after making them his dupes, might infuse into them for their vitiation? Would you like to know, however, that even in the case of those who are no saints, God can be proved to have bestowed this power of procreation of children? When Abraham, struck with fear among a foreign nation, said that Sarah, his wife,

' 1 Cor. XV. 36.

[The idea in the original is that of strangulation, " quibus laqueis suffocetnr. "]}

[In vitio, forte pro in vitium; quia praecessit in præcium.]â€”Â£Jd. Ben.

CHAP. XXVIII.] AN INCONCLUSIVE ARGUMENT. 167

was his sister, it is said that Abimelech, the king of the country, took her home for a night's enjoyment of her. But God, who had the holy woman's honour in His keeping, appeared in a dream to the king, and restrained his daring purpose; threatening him with death if he went to the length of violating the wife's chastity. Then Abimelech said: ' Wilt thou, Lord, slay an innocent and righteous nation? Did they not tell me that they were
brother and sister? Therefore Abimelech arose early in the morning, and took a thousand pieces of silver, and sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and women-servants, and gave them to Abraham, and sent away his wife untouched. But Abraham prayed unto God for Abimelech; and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maid-servants. Now why did he narrate all this at so great a length? You may find the sense of it all in these few words which he added: 'God, at the prayer of Abraham, restored their potency of generation, which had been taken away from the wombs of even the meanest servants; because God had closed up every womb in the house of Abimelech.' \(^\text{12}\) Consider now," says he, "whether that ought to be called a natural evil which sometimes God when angry takes away, and when appeased restores. He," says he, "makes the children both of the pious and of the ungodly, inasmuch as the circumstance of their being parents appertains to that nature which rejoices in God as its Author, whilst the fact of their impiety belongs to the depravity of their desires; and this in every person, whatever happens as the consequence of his freedom of will."

**Chap. 28. [xiv.]**

Now to this lengthy statement of his we have to say in answer, that, in the passages which he has quoted from the sacred writings, there is nothing said about that shameful lust, which we say did not exist in the body of our first parents in their blessedness, when they were naked and were not ashamed. \(^\text{13}\) The first passage from the apostle was spoken of the seeds of corn, which first die in order to be quickened.

For some reason or other, he was unwilling to complete the verse for his quotation. All he adduces from it is: "Thou

\(\text{^\small{\text{12}}}\) See Gen. xx. 2, 4, 5, 8, 14, 17. \(\text{^\small{\text{13}}}\) Gen. ii. 25.

**168 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK IT.**

This writer, however, so far as I can judge, wished this passage, which treats only of corn seeds, to be understood of human seed, by such as read it, without either understanding the Holy Scriptures or recollecting them. Indeed, he not merely curtailed this particular sentence, by omitting the clause, "except it die," but he omitted the following words, in which the apostle explained of what seeds he was speaking; for the apostle adds: "And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but the bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain." \(^\text{13}\) This he omitted, and closed up his context with what the apostle then writes: "But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed its own body; just as if the apostle spoke of man in concubinage when he said,"

"Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened," with a view to our understanding of human seed, that it is quickened by God, not by man in concubinage conceiving children.
For he had previously said: "Sexual pleasure does not complete the entire process of man's making, but rather presents to God, out of the treasures of nature, material with which He vouchsafes to make the human being." He then added the quotation, as if the apostle affirmed as follows: Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, but God forms the human being out of thy seed.

As if the apostle had omitted to mention the media, which this writer chose to pass over; and as if the apostle's aim was to speak of human seed thus: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened; but God giveth to the seed a body such as pleaseth Him, and to every seed its own body."

Indeed, after the apostle's words, he introduces remarks of his own to this effect: "If, therefore, God has assigned to human seed, as to everything else, its own proper body, which no wise or pious man will deny;" quite as if the apostle in the passage in question spoke of human seed.

Chap. 29.

Though I have given special attention to the point, I have failed to discover what assistance he could obtain from this fraudulent use of Scripture, except that he wanted to produce the apostle as a witness, and by him to prove, what we ourselves admit, that God forms man of human seed. And inasmuch as no passage directly occurred to him, he deceitfully manipulated this particular one; fearing no doubt that, if the apostle should chance to seem to have spoken of corn seeds, and not of human, in this passage, we should have suggested to us at once by such procedure of his, how to refute him: not indeed as the pure-minded advocate of a chastened will, but as the impudent proclaimer of a profligate voluptuousness. But from the very seeds, forsooth, which the farmers sow in their fields he can be refuted. For why can we not suppose that God could have granted to man in his happy state in paradise, the same course with regard to his own seed which we see granted to the seeds of corn, in such wise that the former might be sown without any shameful concupiscence, the members of generation simply obeying the inclination of the will; just as the latter is sown without any lustful emotion, the hands of the husbandman merely moving in obedience to his will? There being, indeed, this difference, that the desire of begetting children in the parent is a nobler one than that which characterizes the farmer, of filling his barns. Then, again, why might not the almighty Creator, with His unsullied universal presence, and power of creating from human seed just what it pleased Him, have operated in women as He still does in the same manner as He operates in the ground with corn seeds according to
His will; when mothers in their innocence conceived without any libidinous gratification, and brought forth children without any parturient pains, inasmuch as there was not (in that state of happiness, and while the body had not as yet declined to the body of this death, but was still fraught with that primeval life) in woman when receiving seed anything to produce shame, as there was nothing when giving birth to offspring to cause pain? Whoever refuses to believe this, or is unwilling to have it supposed that, while men previous to any sin lived in that happy state of paradise, such a condition as that which we have sketched could not have been permitted

170 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

in God's will and kindness, must be regarded as the lover of voluptuous shame, rather than the encomiast of so great fecundity.

Chap. 30. [xv.]

Then, again, as to the passage which he has adduced from the inspired history concerning Abimelech, and God's choosing to close up every womb in his household that the women should not bear children, and afterwards opening them that they might become fruitful, what is all this to the point? What has it to do with that shameful concupiscence which is now the question in dispute? Did God, then, deprive those women of this feeling, and give it to them again just when He liked? But it was a punishment to them to be unable to bear children, and a benefit to be able to bear them after the manner of this corruptible flesh, For God would not confer such a benefit upon this body of death, as only that body of life in paradise could have had before sin entered; that is, the process of conceiving without the prurience of lust, and of bearing children without excruciating pain. But why should we not suppose, since, indeed, Scripture says so, that the closing up of these wombs took place with a considerable amount of pain, so that the women were unable to bear any concubinage — a pain which God inflicted in His wrath, and removed in His mercy? If concupiscence was to be taken away as an impediment to begetting offspring, it ought to have been taken away from the men, not from the women. For a woman might perform her share in concubinage with perfect willingness, even if concupiscence ceased a while for stimulating her, provided it were not absent from the man for exciting him, unless, perhaps (as Scripture informs us that even Abimelech himself was healed), he would tell us that virile concupiscence was restored to him. If, however, it were true that he had lost this, what necessity was there that he should be warned by God to hold no connection with Abraham's wife? The truth is, Abimelech is said to have been healed, because his household was cured of the affliction which smote it.
Chap. 31. [svi.] “Why God proceeds to create human beings, who He knows will be born in sin.

Let us now look at those three clauses of his, any one of!

CHAP, XXXI. ] RECKLESS CONCLUSIONS. 171

which equals, as he says, any amount of profanity that could possibly be uttered: " Either God did not make man, or else He made him for the devil; or at any rate the devil moulded God's image, even man." 'Now, the first and the last of these sentences, even he himself must allow, if he be not reckless and perverse, were never uttered by us. The dispute is confined to that which he puts second between the other two.

In respect of this, he is so far mistaken as to suppose that we had said that God had man for the devil; as if, in the case of human beings whom God creates of human parents. His care and purpose and provision were, that by means of His workmanship the devil should have as slaves those whom he is unable to make for himself. God forbid that any sort of pious belief, however childish, should ever entertain such a sentiment as this ! Of His own goodness God makes man " the first without sin, all others under sin " for the purposes of His own profound thoughts. For just as He knew full well what to do to counteract the malice of the devil himself (and what He does is just and good, however unjust and evil he is, about whom He takes His measures); and just as He was not unwilling to create any man by reason of His foreknowledge that he would turn evil; so in regard to the entire human race, though not a man of it is born without the taint of sin, He who is supremely good Himself is always working out good, making some men, as it were, " vessels of mercy," whom grace distinguishes from those who are " vessels of wrath; " whilst He makes others, as it were, " vessels of wrath," that He may make known the riches of His glory towards the vessels of mercy. " Let, then, this objector go and contest the point against the apostle, whose words I use; nay, against the very Potter, whom the apostle forbids us from answering again, in the well-known words: " Who art thou, man, that repliest against God ! Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it. Why hast thou made me thus ? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour ? " ^ Well now, will this man contend that the vessels of wrath are not under the dominion of the devil ? or else, because they are under this

' Rom. ix. 23. 2 jiojy_i^ 20, 21.

172 ON MAKRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

dominion, are they made by another Creator than He " who makes the vessels of mercy ? Or does He make them of other material, and not out of the self-same lump ? Here, then.
He may object, and say: "Therefore God makes these vessels for the devil." As if God knew not how to make such a use of even these for the furtherance of His own good and righteous works, as He uses the very devil Himself.

Chap. 32. [xvii.]

Then, does God feed the children of perdition, the goats on His left hand,^ for the devil, nourish and clothe them for the devil, " because He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain upon the just and the unjust " ? ^ He creates, then, the evil, just in the same way as He feeds and nourishes the evil; because what He bestows on them by creating them appertains to the goodness of nature; and the growth which He gives them by food and nourishment, He bestows on them, of course, as a kindly help, not to their evil character, but to that same good nature which He in His goodness created. For the fact that they are human beings is a good of that nature whose author and maker is God; but the circumstance of their being born with sin, and so destined to perdition unless they are born again, makes them the property of the seed which was cursed from the beginning,^ by fault of the primitive disobedience. This fault, however, is turned to good account by the Maker of even the vessels of wrath, that He may make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy;^ and that no one may attribute to any merits of his own, pertaining as he does to the self-same mass, his deliverance through grace; but " he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."^  

ChAP. 33. [xviii.]

From this most true and firmly-established principle of the apostolic and Catholic faith the writer before us departs in company with the Pelagians. He will not have it that by birth men are under the dominion of the devil, so that infants are not carried to Christ to be delivered from the power of darkness, and to be translated into His kingdom.^ Thus he becomes the accuser of the Church which is spread over the world; into this Church everywhere infants, when to be baptized, are first exorcised, for no other reason than that the prince of this world may be cast out^ of them. For by him must they be necessarily possessed, as vessels of wrath, since they are born of Adam, unless they be born again in Christ, and transferred through grace as vessels of mercy into His kingdom.

1 Matt. XXV. 33. ^ ii^tt, v. 45. Â» "Wisd. sii. 11.

* Eom. ix. 33. * 2 Cor. x. 17.

CHAP. XXXIY. ] INFANTS, "VESSELS OF WRATH." 173
In his raid, however, upon this most firmly-established truth, he would avoid the appearance of an assault upon the entire Church of Christ. Accordingly, he limits his appeal to me alone, and in the tone of reproof and admonition he says:
"But God made even you, though it must be confessed that a serious error has infected you." Well now, I thankfully acknowledge that God did make even me. Still the fact indeed remains, that I must have perished with the vessels of wrath, if He had only made me of Adam, and had not regenerated me in Christ. Possessed, however, as this man is with the heresy of Pelagius, he does not believe this: if, indeed, he persists in so great an error to the very end, then not he, but Catholics, will be able to see the character and extent of the error which has not simply infected, but absolutely ruined him.

Chap. 34. [xis.]

I request your attention now to the following words. He says, "That children, however, who are conceived and born in wedlock are by nature good, we may learn from the apostle's words, when he speaks of men who, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working that which is unseemly.* Here," says he, "the apostle shows the use of the woman to be both natural, and, in its way, laudable; the abuse consisting in the exercise of one's own will in opposition to the chaste and proper employment of the institution. Deservedly then," says he, "in those who make a right use thereof, concupiscence is commended in its kind and mode; whilst the excess of it, in which abandoned

Â» Col. i. 13. "John xii. 31.

* [There is a playful climax in infecerit and interfecerU.]

* Rom. i. 27.

174 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

persons indulge, is punished. Indeed, at the very time when God punished the abuse in Sodom with His judgment of fire, He invigorated the generative powers of Abraham and Sarah, which had become impotent through old age.¶ If, therefore,"
he goes on to say, "you think that fault must be found with the strength of the generative organs, because the Sodomites were steeped in sin thereby, you wiU have also to censure the creatures of bread and wine, since Holy Scripture informs us that they, moreover, sinned in the abuse of these gifts. For the Lord, by the mouth of His prophet Ezekiel, says: 'These, moreover, were the sins of thy sister Sodom; in their pride, she and her children overflowed in fulness of bread and abundance of wine; and they helped not the hand of the poor and needy.' "¶
Choose, therefore," says he, " which alternative you would rather have: either impute to the operation of God the sexual connection of human bodies, or account the creatures of bread and wine to be equally evil. But if you should prefer this latter conclusion, you prove yourself to be a Manichean. The truth, however, is this: he who observes moderation in natural concupiscence uses it well; but he who does not observe moderation, abuses a good thing. What means your statement, then," he asks, " when you say that, ' as the good of marriage is not impeachable on account of the original sin which is derived herefrom, so the evil of adultery and fornication cannot be excused because of the natural good which is born of them ' ? In these words," says he, " you conceded what you had denied, and what you had conceded you nullified; and you aim at nothing so much as to be unintelligible. Show me any marriage of the body without sexual connection. Else impose some one name on this operation, and designate the conjugal union as either a good or an evil. You answer, no doubt, that you have already defined marriages to be good. Well then, if marriage is good, â€” if the human being is the good fruit of marriage; if this fruit, being God's work, cannot be evil, born as it is by good agency out of good, â€” where is the original sin, which has been set aside by so many prior admissions ?

'Gen. xxi. 1, 2, and xix. 24. ^ gzek xvi. 49.

^ See first chapter of the first book of this treatise.

CHAP. XXXVI.] JULIANUS REFUTED. 175

Chap. 35. [xx. ] â€” He answers the arguments of Julianus. What the natural use of the woman; what is the unnatural use.

My answer to this challenge is, that not only the children of wedlock, but all who are the offspring of adultery also, are so far a good work as they are made by God the Creator of all alike: I add, however, that as concerns original sin, they are all born under condemnation of the first Adam; not only those who are born in adultery, but likewise such as are born in wedlock, unless they be regenerated in the second Adam, which is Christ. As to what the apostle says of the wicked, that " leaving the natural use of the woman, the men burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly; " ^ he did not speak of the use of marriage, but the use of nature, wishing us to understand how it comes to pass that by means of the members created for the purpose the two sexes can combine to accomplish generation. Thus it follows, that even when a man unites with a harlot to use these members, the use is a natural one. It is not, however, commendable, but rather blameworthy. But as regards any part of the body which is not meant for generative purposes, should a man use even his own wife in it, the deed is against nature and flagitious. Indeed, the same apostle had previously said concerning women: " Even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature; " and then concerning men he added, that they worked that which is
unseemly by leaving the natural use of the woman. Therefore, by the phrase in question, "the natural use," it is not meant to praise the connection of marriage; but thereby are denoted those flagitious deeds which are more unclean and criminal than even men's use of women, which, however unlawful, is not against nature.

Chap. 36. [xxi.]

Now we do not find fault with bread and wine because some men are luxurious and drunkards, any more than we disapprove of gold because of the greedy and avaricious. Wherefore on the same principle we do not censure the honourable connection between husband and wife, because there is a lustful union of bodies which causes shame. For

J Kom. i. 27. ^ jjojjj. jx. 26.

176 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK 11.

the former would be quite possible before any commission of sin, without raising a blush in the united pair; whereas the latter arose after the perpetration of sin, and they were obliged to hide it from very shame. ^ Accordingly, in all united pairs ever since, however well and lawfully they have used this evil, there has been a permanent necessity of avoiding the sight of man in any work of this kind, and thus acknowledging what caused inevitable shame, though a good thing would certainly cause no man to be ashamed. In this way we have two distinct facts insensibly introduced to our notice: the good of that laudable union of the sexes for the purpose of generating children, and the evil of that shameful lust, in consequence of which the offspring must be regenerated in order to escape condemnation. The man, therefore, who, though with the concupiscence which causes shame, joins in lawful concubinage, turns an evil to good account; whereas he who joins in an unlawful concubinage, uses an evil badly; for that is more correctly called evil than good, at which both bad and good are alike confounded. We do better to believe him who has said, " I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing," ^ rather than him who calls that good, out of which the shame that arises in him is an admission of its evil; but if he feels no shame, he adds the worse evil of impudence. Eightly then did we declare that, " as the good of marriage is not impeachable because of the original sin which is derived therefrom, so the evil of adultery and fornication cannot be excused, because of the natural good which is born of them: " since the human nature which is born, whether of wedlock or of adultery, is the work of God.

Now if this nature were an evil, it ought not to have been born; if it had not evil, it would not have to be regenerated; and (that I may combine the two cases in one and the same predicate) if human nature were an evil thing, it would not have to be saved; if it had not in it any evil, it would not have to be saved. He, therefore, who contends that nature is not a good thing, says in fact that the Maker of the creature is not good; whilst he who will have it, that nature has no evil < in it, deprives it in its faulty condition of a merciful Saviour.
From this then it follows, that in the birth of human beings neither fornication is to be excused on account of the good which is formed out of it by the good Creator, nor is marriage to be impeached by reason of the evil which has to be healed in it by the merciful Saviour.

Chap. 37. [xxii.]
Then comes his challenge, "Show me," he says, "any marriage of the body without sexual connection." For my own part I do not show him any corporal marriage without sexual connection; but then neither does he show me any case of sexual connection which is without shame. In paradise, no doubt, if sin had not preceded, there would have been, I will not say, generation without commingling of the sexes, but this commingling would certainly have been without shame; for in the sexual union there would be a quiet acquiescence of the members, not a lust of the flesh productive of shame. Matrimony, therefore, is a good, in which the human being is born after orderly conception; the fruit, too, of matrimony is good, as being the very human being which is thus born; sin, however, is an evil with which every man is born. Now it was God who made and still makes man; but "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men from him in whom all sinned."^ 

Chap. 38. [xxiii.] â€” Jovinian used formerly to call Catholics Manicheans; the Arians also used to call Catholics Sabellians.

"By your new mode of controversy," says he, "you both profess yourself a Catholic and support Manichseus, inasmuch as you designate matrimony both as a great good and a great evil." Now he is utterly ignorant of what he says, or pretends to be ignorant. Or else he does not understand what we say, or does not wish it to be understood. If, however, he does understand, why then, he has the impediment of predisposing error; or if he does not wish our meaning to be understood, then obstinacy is the fault with which he defends his error. Jovinian too, who endeavoured a few years ago to found a new heresy, used to declare that the Catholics patronized the Manicheans, because in opposition to him they pre-

1 Pvom. V. 12.

XIL M

178 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]
ferred holy virginity to marriage. But this man is sure to reply, that he does not agree with Jovinian in his indifference about marriage and virginity. I do not myself say that this is their opinion; still these new heretics must allow, by the fact of Jovinian's playing off the Manicheans upon the Catholics, that the expedient is not a novel one. We then declare that marriage is a good, not an evil. But just as the Arians charge us with being Sabellians, although we do not say that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one and the same [Person], as the Sabellians hold; but affirm that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one and the same nature, as the Catholics believe: so do the Pelagians cast the Manicheans in our teeth, although we do not declare marriage to be an evil, as the Manicheans pretend; but affirm that evil accrued to the first man and woman, that is to say, to the first married pair, and from them passed on to all men, a doctrine which the Catholics hold. As, however, the Arians, while avoiding the Sabellians, fall into worse company, because they have had the audacity to divide not the Persons but the natures; so the Pelagians, in their efforts to escape from the pestilent error of the Manicheans, by taking the opposite extreme, are convicted of entertaining worse sentiments than the Manicheans themselves touching the fruit of matrimony, inasmuch as they believe that infants stand in no need of Christ as their Physician.

Chap. 39. [xxiv.]

He then says: "You conclude that a human being, if born of fornication, is not guilty; and if born in wedlock, is not innocent. Your assertion, therefore, amounts to this, that natural good may possibly subsist from adulterous connections, while original sin is actually derived from marriage." Well now, he here attempts, but in vain before an intelligent reader, to give a wrong turn to words which are correct enough. Far be it from us to say, that a human being, if born in fornication, is not guilty. But we do affirm, that a human being, whether he be born in wedlock or in fornication, is in a sense a good, for God's sake, the Author of nature; we add, however, that he derives some evil by reason of original sin. Our

I

CHAP. XLL] AUGUSTINE MISREPRESENTED. 179

statement, therefore, "that natural good may possibly get existence even from adulterous parentage, but that original sin is derived even from marriage," does not amount to what he endeavours to make of it, that one born in adultery is not guilty, nor innocent when born in wedlock; but the truth is, that one who is generated in either condition is guilty, because of original sin; and that the offspring of either state is to be freed by regeneration, owing to the good of nature.

Chap. 40. [xsv.]
"One of these propositions," says he, "is true, the other false." My reply is as brief as the allegation: Both are really true, neither is false. "It is true," he goes on to say, "that the sin of adultery cannot be exculpated by the man who is born of it; inasmuch as the sin which adulterers commit pertains to a fault of the will; but the offspring which they produce tends to the praise of fecundity. If one were to sow wheat which had been stolen, the crop which springs up is none the worse. Of course," says he, "I blame the thief, but I praise the corn. So I pronounce him innocent who is born of the generous fruitfulness of the seed; even as the apostle puts it: 'God giveth it a body, as it pleases Him; and to every seed its own body;' but, at the same time, I condemn the flagitious man who has committed his adulterous sin in his perverse application of the divine appointment."

Chap. 41. [sxvi.]

After this he proceeds with the following words: "Certainly if evil arises from marriage, it may be blamed, nay, cannot be excused; and you place under the devil's power its operation and fruit, because everything which is the cause of evil is itself without good. The human being, however, who is born of wedlock owes his origin not to the faulty accidents of wedlock, but to its seminal elements: the cause of these, however, lies in the condition of wedded bodies; and whosoever makes a bad use of these bodies, deals a blow at the good desert thereof, not at their nature. It is therefore clear," argues he, "that the good is not the cause of the evil.

1 1 Cor. sv. 38.

180 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

If, however," he continues, "original sin is derived even from marriage, the cause of the evil is the coming together in the matrimonial functions; and that must needs be evil by which and from which the evil fruit has made its appearance; even as the Lord says in the Gospel: 'A tree is known by its fruits.' How then," he asks, "do you think yourself worthy of attention, when you say that marriage is good, and yet declare that nothing but evil proceeds from it? It is evident then, that marriages are sinful, since original sin is deduced from them; and they are indefensible, too, unless their fruit be proved innocent. But they are defended, and pronounced good; therefore their fruit is proved to be innocent."

Chap. 42. â€” The Pelagians try to get rid of original sin by their praise of God's works; 'marriage, in its nature and by its institution, is not the cause of sin.

I have an answer ready for all this; but before I give it I wish the reader carefully to notice, that the result of the opinions of these persons is, that no Saviour is necessary for infants, whom they deem to be entirely without any sins to be saved from. This vast
perversion of the truth is hostile to God's great grace, which is given through our Lord Jesus Christ, who "came to seek and to save what was lost it tries to worm its way into the hearts of the unintelligent by ^eulogizing the works of God; that is, by its commendation of human nature, human seed, marriage, sexual intercourse, fruits of matrimony â€” which are all of them good things. I wiU not say that he adds the praise of lustful desire; because this occasions a feeling of shame even to him, so that it ia something else and not it which he seems to commend. By this method of his, not distinguishing between the evils which have accrued to nature and the goodness of nature's very self, he does not, indeed, show it to be sound (because that ii untrue), but he does not permit its diseased condition to b' healed. And, therefore, that first proposition of ours, to the] effect that the good thing, even the human being, which id born of adultery, does not exculpate the sin of adulterous connection, he allows to be true; and this point, which occasions! no question to arise between us, he even defends an strengthens (as he w^ell may) by his similitude of the thie:

CHAP. XLIL] his defence OF HIMSELF. 181

who SOWS the seed which he stole, and out of which there arises a really good harvest. Our other proposition, however, that " the good of marriage cannot be blamed for the original sin which is derived from it," he will not admit to be true; if, indeed, he assented to it, he would not be a Pelagian heretic, but a Catholic Christian. " Certainly," says he, " if evil arises from marriage, it may be blamed, nay, cannot be excused; and you place its operation and fruit under the devil's power, because everything which is the cause of evil is itseK without good." And in addition to this, he contrived other arguments to show that good could not possibly be the cause of evil; and from this he drew the inference, that marriage, which is a good, is not the cause of evil; and that consequently no man could be born of it at all in a sinful state, without having need of a Saviour; just as if we said that marriage is the cause of sin; though it is true that the human being which is born in wedlock is not born without sin. Marriage was instituted not for the purpose of sinning, but of producing children. Accordingly the Lord's blessing on the married state ran thus: " Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." ^ The sin, however, which is derived to children from marriage does not belong to marriage, but to the evil which accrues to the human agents, from whose union marriage arises. The truth is, the evil of shameful concupiscence can exist without marriage, just as marriage might have been without it. It appertains, however, to the condition of the body â€” not, indeed, of that life, but of this death â€” that marriage cannot exist without it, though it may exist without marriage. Of course, that lust of the flesh which causes shame has existence out of the married state, whenever it urges men to the commission of adultery, chambering and uncleanness, so utterly hostile to the purity of marriage; or again, when it does not commit any of these things, because the human agent gives no permission or assent to their commission, but
still rises and is set in motion and creates disturbance, and (especially in dreams) it effects the likeness of its own veritable work, and reaches the end of its own emotion. "Well, now, this is an evil which is not even in the married

1 Gen. i 28.

182 ON MAERIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

state actually an evil of marriage; but it has this apparatus all ready in the body of this death, even against its own will, which is indispensable no doubt for the accomplishment of that which it does will. The evil in question, therefore, does not accrue to marriage from its own institution, which was blessed; but entirely from the circumstance that sin entered into the world by one man, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men through him in whom all sinned.^

Chap. 43. â€” The good tree and the corrupt tree in the Gospel; the first man's voluntary sin the cause of original sin.

What, then, does he mean by saying, " A tree is known by its fruits," on the ground of our reading that the Lord spake thus in the Gospel? Then was the Lord speaking of this question in these words, and not rather of men's two wills, the good and the evil, calling one of these the good tree, and the other the corrupt tree, inasmuch as good works spring out of a good will, and evil ones out of an evil will^

the converse being impossible, good works out of an evil will, and evil ones out of a good will? If, however, we were to suppose marriage to be the good tree, according to the Gospel simile which he has mentioned, then, of course, we must on the other hand assume fornication to be the corrupt tree.

Wherefore, if a human being is said to be the fruit of marriage, in the sense of the good fruit of a good tree, then undoubtedly a human being could never have been born in fornication. " For a corrupt tree bringeth not forth good fruit." ^ Once more, if he were to say that not adultery must be supposed to occupy the place of the tree, but rather human nature, of which man is born, then in this way not even marriage can stand for the tree, but only the human nature of which man is born. His simile, therefore, taken from the Gospel avails him nothing in elucidating this question, because marriage is not the cause of the sin which is transmitted in the natural birth, and atoned for in the new birth; but the voluntary transgression of the first man is the cause of original sin. " You repeat," says he, " your allegation, 'Just as sin, from whatever source it is derived to infants, is the work of the devil, so man, howsoever he be born, is the work of ^ Kom. V. 12. ^ Matt. vii. 18.

CHAP. XLV.] FKESH PELAGIAN OBJECTIONS 183
God.' " Yes, I said this, and most truly too; and if this man were not a Pelagian, but a Catholic, he too would have nothincr else to avow in the Catholic faith.

Chap. 44. [xxvii.]

What, then, is his object when he inquires of us, " By what means sin may be discovered in an infant, through the will, or through marriage, or through its parents " ? He speaks, indeed, in such a way as if he had an answer to all these questions, and as if by clearing all of sin together he would have nothing remain in the infant whence sin could be discovered. I beg your attention to his very words: " Through what," says he, " is sin found in an infant ? Through the will ? But there has never been one in him ? Through marriage ? But this appertains to the parents' work, of whom you had previously declared that in this action they had not sinned. It appears, however, from your subsequent words that you did not truly make this concession. Marriage, however," he then says, " must be condemned, since it furnished the cause of the evil. Yet marriage only indicates the work of personal agents. The parents, therefore, who by their coming together afforded occasion for the sin, are properly deserving of the condemnation. It does not then admit of doubt," says he, " any longer, if we are to foUow your opinion, that married persons are handed over to eternal punishment, it being by their means brought about that the devil has come to exercise dominion over men. And what becomes of what you just before had said, -that man was the work of God ? Because if through their birth it happens that evil is in men, it is through the evil that the devil has power over men, so in fact you declare the devil to be the author of men, from whom comes their origin at birth. If, however, you believe that man is made by God, and that husband and wife are innocent, see how impossible is your standpoint, that original sin is derived from them,"

Chap. 45.

Now, there is an answer for him to all these questions given by the apostle, who censures neither the infant's will.

184 ON MAREIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

which is not yet matured in him for sinning, nor marriage, which, as such, has not only its institution, but its blessing also from God; nor parents, so far as they are parents, who are united together properly and lawfully for the procreation of children; but he says, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for in him all have sinned." ^ Now, if these persons would only receive this statement with Catholic hearts and ears, they would not have rebellious feelings against the grace and faith of Christ, nor would they vainly endeavour to convert to their own particular and heretical sense these very clear and manifest words of the apostle, when they assert that the purport of the passage is to this effect: that Adam was the first to sin, and that any
one who wished afterwards to commit sin found an example for sinning in him; so that sin, you must know, did not pass from him alone upon all men by birth, but by the simple imitation of his example. Whereas it is certain that if the apostle meant this imitation to be here understood, he would have said that sin had entered into the world and passed upon all men, not by one man, but rather by the devil. For of the devil it is written: "They that are on his side do imitate him." ^ He used the phrase "by one man," from whom the generation of men, of course, had its beginning, in order to show us that original sin had passed upon all men by generation.

Chap. 46. â€” The reign of death, what it is; the figure of the future Adam; how all men are justified through Christ.

But what else is meant even by the apostle's subsequent words? For after he had said the above, he added, "For until the law sin was in the world," ^ as much as to say that not even the law was able to take away sin. "But sin," adds he, "was not imputed when there was no law." * It existed then, but was not imputed, for it was not set forth so that it might be imputed. It is on the same principle, indeed, that he says in another passage: "By the law is the knowledge of sin." ^ "Nevertheless," says he, "death reigned from Adam to Moses;" ^ Â® that is, as he had already expressed it, "until


CHAP. XLVI.] HEADILY ANSWERED. 185

the law." Not that there was no sin after Moses, but because even the law, which was given by Moses, was unable to deprive death of its power, which, of course, reigns only by sin.
Its kingdom, too, is such as to plunge mortal man even into that second death which is to endure for evermore. "Death reigned," but over whom? "Even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of Him that was to come." ^ Of whom that was to come, if not of Christ? And in what sort a figure, except in the way of contrariety? which he elsewhere briefly expresses: "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." ^ The one condition was in one, even as the other condition was in the other. It is figure itself. But this figure is not conformable in every respect; accordingly the apostle, following up the same idea, added, "But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead; much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." ^ But why "hath it much more abounded," except it be that all who are delivered through Christ suffer temporal death on Adam's account, but have everlasting life in store for the sake of Christ Himself? "And not as it was by one that sinned," says he, "so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to
condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification." * " By one " what, but offence ? since it is added, " the free gift of many offences."

Let these objectors tell us how it can be " by one offence unto condemnation," unless it be that even the one original sin which has passed over unto all men is sufficient for condemnation ? Whereas the free gift delivers from many offences to justification, because it not only cancels the one offence, which is derived from the primal sin, but all others also which are added in every individual man by the motion of his own will. " For if by one man's offence death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace and righteousness shall reign in life by One, Jesus Christ. Therefore, [as it results] by the offence of one upon all men to condemnation; so by the righteousness of one upon all men [does


186 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

it lead] unto justification of life." ^ Let them after this persist in their vain imaginations, and maintain that one man did not hand on sin by propagation, but only set the example of committing it. Now, how is it that by one's offence judgment comes on all men to condemnation, and not rather by each man's own numerous sins ? How is this, unless it be that although there is but that one sin, it is sufficient, without ^the addition of any more, to lead to condemnation, as it leads all who die in infancy who are born of Adam, without being born again in Christ ? Wliy, then, does he, when he refuses to hear the apostle, ask us for an answer to his question, " By what means may sin be discovered in an infant, â€” through the will, or through marriage, or through its parents ? " Let him listen in silence, and hear by what means sin may be discovered in an infant. The offence of one, says the apostle, has passed upon all men to condemnation. He mentioned, moreover, all for condemnation through Adam, and all for justification through Christ; not, of course, that Christ removes to life all those who die in Adam. Still, he said " all men:"

well, it is all, because as without Adam no one [is doomed] to death; so without Christ no man [is admitted] to life. Pretty much as we are apt to say of a learned teacher, when he is alone in a town: This man teaches all their learning; not that all the inhabitants take lessons, but that no man who learns at all is taught by any but him. Indeed, the apostle afterwards designates as many those whom he had previously described as all, meaning the self-same persons by the two different terms. " For," says he, " as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." "^

Chap. 47.

Still let him ply his question: " By what means may sin be discovered in an infant ? " He may find an answer in the inspired pages: " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men through him in whom all sinned." " 
Through the offence of one many are dead." " The judgment was by one to condemnation." " By
Rom. V. 17, 18. ^ Rom. v. 19.

CHAP. XL VIII.] MORE CAVILS ANSWERED. 187

one man's offence death reigned by one." " By the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation." " By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." ^
Behold, then, " by what means sin may be discovered in an infant."
Let him now believe in original sin; let him permit infants to come to Christ, that they may be saved. [xxviii.] What means this passage of his: " He sins not who is born; he sins not who begat him; He sins not who created him. Amidst these guarantees of innocence, therefore, what are the chinks through which you pretend that sin entered ? " Why does he search for a hidden chink when he has an open door ? " By one man," says the apostle; " through the offence of one," says the apostle; " by one man's disobedience," says the apostle. What does he want more ? What does he require plainer ? What does he expect to be more impressively repeated ?

Chap. 48. â€” Original sin arose from Adam's depraved will. Evil arose only out of Nature's good. Whence the corrupt will sprang.

" If," says he, " sin comes from the will, the will is an evil one which causes sin; if it comes from nature, then nature is evil." I at once answer. Sin does come from the will. Perhaps he wants to know, whether original sin does ? I answer, most certainly original sin does proceed from the will. Because it, too, germinated from the will of the first man; so that it both existed in him, and passed on to all. As for the dilemma which he next proposes, " If it comes from nature, then nature is evil," I request him to answer, if he can, to this effect: As it is manifest that aU evil works spring from a corrupt will, like the fruits of a corrupt tree; so let him say whence arose the corrupt will itself â€” the corrupt tree which yields the corrupt fruits. If from an angel, what was the angel, but the good work of God ? If from man, what was even he, but the good work of God ? Nay, inasmuch as the corrupt will arose in the angel from an angel, and in man from man, what were both these, previous to the evil arising within them, but the good work of God, with a good and laudable nature ? Behold, then, evil arises out of good; nor was there any other source, indeed, whence it could arise, but out
1 Eom. V. 12-19.

188 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]
of good. I call the will itself bad, when no evil has preceded it; no evil works, since they only proceed from an evil will, as from a corrupt tree. Nevertheless the evil will could not arise out of good, in the sense that good was made by the good God, but because it was created out of nothing â€” not out of God. What, therefore, becomes of his argument, "Since nature is the work of God, it will never do for the work of the devil to permeate the work of God "? Did not the work of the devil, I ask, arise in a work of God, when it first arose in that angel who became the devil? Well, then, if evil, which was absolutely nowhere previously, could arise in a work of God, why could not evil, which had by this time found an existence everywhere, pervade the work of God; especially when the apostle uses the very expression in the passage, "And so death passed upon all men "? Can it be that men are not the work of God? Sin, therefore, has pervaded or passed upon all men â€” in other words, the devil's work has penetrated the work of God; or putting the same meaning in another shape. The work done by a work of God has pervaded God's work. And this is the reason why God alone has an unchangeable and almighty goodness: even before any evil came into existence He made all things good; and out of all the evils which have arisen in the good things which He has made, He works through all for good.

Chap. 49. [xxix.]

"Only in a man is the intention [of will] blamable, and his origin [or nature] praiseworthy; because there must be two things to admit of contraries: in an infant, however, there is but one thing, nature only; because will has no existence in his case. Now this one thing," says he, "is ascribable either to God or to the devil. If nature," he goes on to observe, "is of God, there cannot be original sin in it. If of the devil, there will be no means of claiming man for the workmanship of God. So that he is completely a Manichean M'ho maintains original sin." Let him prefer listening to what is true in opposition to all this. In an adult only is the will to be blamed, and his nature to be praised; because there should

Â» Kom. V. 12.

CHAP. L.] rOCTEINE OF OltlGINAL SIN TRUE. 189

be two things for the application of contraries. Still, even in an infant, it is not the case that there is but one thing only, that is, the nature in which man was created by the good God; for he has also that flaw of sin, which has passed upon all men by one, as the apostle wisely says, and not as the folly of Pelagius, or Coelestius, or any of their disciples would represent the matter. Of these two things, then, which we have said exist in an infant, one is ascribed to God, the other to the devil. From the fact, however, that (owing to one of the two, even the sinful flaw) both are subjected to the power of the devil, there really ensues no incongruity; because this happens not from the power of the devil himself, but of God. In fact, flaw is subjected to flaw, nature to nature, because even the two are in the devil; so that whenever those who are beloved and elect are "
delivered from the power of darkness " ^ to which they are justly exposed, it is clear enough how great a gift is bestowed on the justified and good by the good God, who brings good even out of evil.

Chap. 50. â€” The rise and origin of evil. The exorcism and exsufflation of infants, a very ancient rite.

As to the passage, which he seemed to himself to indite in a pious vein, as it were, " If nature is of God, there cannot be original sin in it," would not another person seem even to him to give a still more pious turn to it, thus: If nature is of God, there cannot arise any sin in it? And yet this is not true.
The Manicheans, indeed, meant to assert this, and they endeavoured to steep in all sorts of evil the very nature of God itself, and not His creature, which He had made out of nothing.
For evil arose in nothing else than what was good â€” not, however, the supreme and unchangeable good which is God's nature, but that which was made out of nothing by the wisdom of God. This, then, is the reason why man is claimed for a divine work; for he would not be human unless he were made by the operation of God. Evil, again, would not exist in infants, if evil had not been committed by the wilfulness of the first man, and original sin were derived from a nature thus vitiated. It is not true, then, as he puts it, " He is completely a Manichean who maintains original sin;" but

1 Col. i. 13.

190 ON MAEPJAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

rather, he is a thorough Pelagian who does not believe in original sin. For it is not simply from the time when the pestilent opinions of Manichseus began to grow that in the Church of God infants about to be baptized were for the first time exorcised with exsufflation, â€” which ceremonial was intended to show that they were not removed into the kingdom of Christ without first being delivered from the power of darkness; ^ nor is it in the books of Manichseus that we read how " the Son of man come to seek and to save that which was lost," ^ or how " by one man sin entered into the world," ^ with those other similar passages which we have quoted above; or how God " visits the sins of the fathers upon the children; " * or how it is written in the Psalm, " I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me; " ^ or again, how " Man was made like unto vanity: his days pass away like a shadow; " ^ or again, " Behold, Thou hast made my days old, and my existence as nothing before Thee; nay, every man living is altogether vanity; " ^ or how the apostle says,

" Every creature was made subject to vanity; " ^ or how it is written in the book of Ecclesiastes, " Vanity of vanities; all is vanity: what profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun ? " ^ and in the book of Ecclesiasticus,

" A heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam from the day that they go out of their mother's womb to the day that they return to the mother of all things; " ^^ or how again the apostle
writes, " In Adam all die; " ^^ or how holy Job says, when speaking about his own sins, " For man that is born of a woman is short-lived and full of wrath: as the flower of grass, so does he fall; and he departs like a shadow, nor shall he stay. Hast Thou not taken account even of him, and caused him to enter into judgment in Thy sight ? For who shall be pure from uncleanness ? Not even one, even if his life should be but of one day upon the earth." ^^ Now when he speaks of uncleanness here, the mere perusal of the passage is enough to show that he meant sin to be understood. It is plain from


* Ex. XX. 5. ^ Ps. li. 5. 6 Ps. cxliv. 4.

' Ps. xxxix. 5 [Septuagint] ' Kom. viii. 20. ^ Eccles. i. 2, 3.

10 Ecclus. xl. 1. 1' 1 Cor. xv. 22. ^' Job xiv. 1-5.

CHAP. LI.] ALSO SCRIPTURAL, AND CATHOLIC. 191

the words, of what he is speaking. The same phrase and sense occur in the prophet Zechariah, in the place where " the filthy garments " are removed from oS the high priest, and it is said to him, " I have taken away thy sins." ^ Well now, I rather think that all these passages, and others of like import, which point to the fact that man is born in sin and under the curse, are not to be read among the dark recesses of the Manicheans, but in the sunshine of Catholic truth.

Chap. 51. â€” The great antiquity of exorcism and exsufflation as practised in the Church.

What, moreover, shall I say of those commentators on the divine Scriptures who have flourished in the Catholic Church ? They have never tried to pervert these testimonies to an alien sense, because they were firmly established in our most ancient and solid faith, and were never moved aside by the novelty of error. Were I to wish to collect these together, and to make use of their testimony, the task would both be too long, and I should probably seem to have bestowed less
preference than I ought on canonical authorities, from which one must never deviate. I will merely mention the most blessed Ambrose, to whom (as I have already observed) Pelagius accorded so signal a testimony of his integrity in the faith. This Ambrose, however, maintained that there was nothing else in infants, which required the healing grace of Christ, than original sin. But in respect of Cyprian, with his all-glorious crown [of martyrdom], will any one say of him, that he either was, or ever could by any possibility have been, a Manichean, when he suffered before the pestilent heresy had made its appearance in the Roman world? And yet, in his book on the baptism of infants, he so vigorously maintains original sin as to declare, that even before the eighth day, if necessary, the infant ought to be baptized, lest his soul should be lost; and he wished it to be understood, that the infant could the more readily be presented for baptism, inasmuch as it is not so much his own sin, but the sin of another, which is remitted to him. Well, then, let this writer dare to call 'Zech. iii. 4.

- See Book i. of this treatise, last chapter. Ambrose On Isaiah was cited in the same Book i. chap. 35.

102 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]
these worthies Manicheans; let him, moreover, under this scandalous imputation asperse that most ancient tradition of the Church, whereby infants are, as I have said, exorcised with exsufflation, for the purpose of being translated into the kingdom of Christ, after they are delivered from the power of darkness— that is to say, of the devil and his angels. As for ourselves, indeed, we are more ready to be associated with these men, and with the Church of Christ, so firmly rooted in this ancient faith, in suffering any amount of curse and contumely, than with the Pelagians, to be bespattered with the flattery of public praise.

Chap. 52. [xxx.] â€” Respecting the campestria or succinctoria, or â– TipiXuy.arx, [aprons, girdles, or kilts] of the ancients.

" Do you," he asks, " repeat your affirmation, ' There would be no concupiscence if man had not first sinned; marriage, however, would have existed, even if no body had sinned ' ? "

I never said, "There would be no concupiscence," because there is a concupiscence of the spirit, which craves wisdom.

My words were, " There would be no shameful concupiscence."

Let my words be reperused, even those which he has cited, that it may be clearly seen how dishonestly they are handled by him. However, let him call it by any name he likes. That was what I said would not have existed unless man had previously sinned, which made them ashamed in paradise when they covered their loins, and which every one will allow would not have been felt, had not the sin of disobedience first occurred. Now he who wishes to understand what they felt ought to consider what it was they covered. For of the fig-leaves they made themselves " aprons," not clothes; and these aprons or kilts are called Trept^oofxaTa in Greek, ISTow all know well enough what it is which these j5C7t-zomata cover, which some Latin writers explain by the word campestria. Wlio is ignorant of what persons wore this kilt, and what parts of the body such a dress concealed; even the same which the Eonian youths used to cover when they practised naked in the campus, from which circumstance the name cam-

CH. i[P. LIII.] PELAGIAN DISTORTIONS. 193

Chap. 53.
He then says to me: " Therefore the marriages which might have been without lust, without bodily motion, without necessity for sexual intercourse â€” to use your own statement â€” are pronounced by you to be laudable; whereas such marriages as are now enacted are, according to your decision, the invention of the devil. Those, therefore, whose institution was possible in your dreamy view, you deliberately assert to be good, while those which Holy Scripture intends, when it says, ' Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh,' ^ you pronounce to be evils of the devil; worthy, in short, to be called a pest, not matrimony." It
is not to be wondered at, that these Pelagian opponents of mine try to twist my words to any meaning they wish them to bear, when it has been their custom to do the same thing with the Holy Scriptures, and not simply in obscure passages, but where their testimony is clear and plain: a custom, indeed, which is followed by all other heretics. Now who could make such an assertion, as that it was possible for marriages to be "without bodily motion, without necessity for sexual intercourse"? For God made the sexes; because, as it is written, "He created them male and female." But how could it possibly happen, that they who were to be united together, and by the very union were to beget children, were not to move their bodies, when, of course, there can be no bodily contact of one person with another if bodily motion be not resorted to? The question before us, then, is not about the motion of bodies, without which there could not be sexual intercourse; but about the libidinous motion of the organs of generation. This, indeed, could not be, and the fructifying connection be still not wanting, if the organs of generation were not obedient to lust, but simply to the will, like the other members of the body. Is it not even now the case, in "the body of this death," that a command is given to the foot, the arm, the finger, the lip, or the tongue, and they are instantly set in motion at this intimation of our will? And (to take a still more wonderful case) even the liquid contained in the urinary vessels obeys the command to flow from us, at our pleasure, and when we are not pressed with its overflow; while the vessels, also, which contain the liquid, discharge without difficulty, if they are in a healthy state, the office assigned them by our will of propelling, pressing out, and ejecting their contents. With how much greater ease and quietness, then, when the generative organs of our body are compliant, does natural motion ensue, and human conception is effected; except in the instance of those persons who violate natural order, and by a righteous retribution are punished with the intractability of these members and organs! This punishment is felt by the chaste and pure, who, without doubt, would rather beget children by mere natural desire than by voluptuous pruriency; while unchaste persons, who are impelled by this diseased passion, and bestow their love upon harlots as well as wives, are excited by a still heavier mental remorse in consequence of this carnal chastisement.

Chap. 54. [xxxii.] God forbid that we should say, what this man pretends we say, "Such marriages as are now enacted are the invention of the devil." Why, they are absolutely the same marriages as God made at the very first. For this blessing of His, which He appointed for the procreation of mankind. He has not taken away even from men under condemnation,
whom also He has not deprived of their senses and bodily limbs, which are no doubt His gifts, although they are condemned to die by an already incurred retribution. This, I say, is the marriage whereof it was said (only excepting the great sacrament of Christ and the Church, which the institution prefigured)

" For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother;

and shall cleave unto his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh." ^ When, therefore, it is alleged that marriage is now of such a character, but might have been different had no body sinned, this is not predicated of its nature, but of a certain quality which has undergone a change for the worse.

Just as a man is said to be different, though he is actually the same individual, when he has changed his manner of life

1 Gen. ii. 24.

CHAP. LV.] MARRIAGE, HOW VITIATED. 195

either for the better or the worse; for as a righteous man he is one thing, and as a sinful man another, though the man himself be really the same individual. In like manner, marriage without shameful lust is of one character, and marriage with shameful lust is of another. When, however, a woman is lawfully united to her husband in accordance with the true constitution of wedlock, whereby fidelity to what is due to the flesh is kept free from the sin of adultery, and so children are lawfully begotten, it is actually the very marriage which God instituted at first, although by his primeval inducement to sin, the devil inflicted a heavy wound, not, indeed, on marriage itself, but on the man and the woman who effected the matrimonial state, by his prevailing on them to disobey God, a sin which is requited in the course of the divine judgment by the reciprocal disobedience of man's own members.

United in this matrimonial state, although they were ashamed of their nakedness, still they were not by any means able altogether to lose the blessedness of marriage which God appointed.

Chap. 55. [xxxiii.] Lust is a disease; the loord passion in the ecclesiastical sense.

He then passes on from those who are united in marriage to those who are born of it. It is in relation to these that we have to encounter the heaviest discussions with the new heretics in connection with our subject. Impelled by some secret instinct from God, he makes avowals which go far to untie the whole knot. For in his desire to raise greater odium against us, because we had said that infants are born in sin even of lawful wedlock, he makes the following observation: " You assert that they, indeed, who have not been ever born might possibly have been good; them, however, who have peopled the world, and for whom Christ died, you decide to be the work of the devil, born in a disordered state, and guilty from the beginning. Therefore," he continues, " I have shown
that you are doing nothing else than denying that God is the Creator of living men." I beg to say, that I declare none but God to be the Creator of all men, however true it be that all are born in sin, and must perish unless born again. It was, indeed, the sinful flaw which had been impregnated

196 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

ill them by the devil's persuasion that became the means of their being born in sin; not the created nature of which men are composed. Lust, however, could not excite our members to shame, except at our own will, and if it were not a disease. Nor would even the lawful and honourable cohabiting of husband and wife raise a blush, with avoidance of any eye and desire of secrecy, if there were not a diseased condition about it. Moreover, the apostle would not prohibit the possession of wives in this condition, did not disease exist in it. The phrase in the Greek text, év 7rd6ei iTndv/nuK;, is by some rendered in Latin, in morbo desiderii vel concupiscendi, in a diseased desire or concupiscence; or it is found with various readings in different copies: at any rate, the Latin equivalent passio, especially in the ecclesiastical use, is usually understood as a term of censure.

Chap. 56. â€” My opponent alloios that Christ died even for infants; Julianus slays himself with his own sword.

But whatever opinion he may entertain about the shame-causing lust of the flesh, I must request your attention to what he has said respecting infants (and about them is my chief care in this controversy), as to their being supposed to need a Saviour, if they are not to die losing salvation. I repeat his words once more: "You assert," says he to me, "that they, indeed, who have not been ever born might possibly have been good; them, however, who have peopled the world, and for whom Christ died, you decide to be the work of the devil, born in a disordered state, and guilty from the very beginning." Would that he only solved the entire controversy as he unties the knot of this question! For will he pretend to say that he merely spoke of adults in this passage? Why, the subject in hand is about infants, about human beings at their birth; and it is about these that he raises odium against us, because they are defined by us as guilty from the very first, because we declare them to be guilty, since Christ died for them. And why did Christ die for them if they are not guilty? It is entirely from them, yes, from them, we shall find the reason, wherefore he thought odium should be raised against me. He asks: "How are infants guilty, for whom Christ died?" We answer: Nay,
profited by His death? "This is my blood," He says, "which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." Let the apostle, too, be His assessor in the judgment; since even in the apostle it is Christ Himself that speaks. Speaking of God the Father, he exclaims: "He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all!" I suppose that he describes Christ as so delivered up for us all, that infants in this very matter are not separated from ourselves. But what need is there to dwell on this point, out of which even he no longer raises a contest? For the truth is, he not only confesses that Christ died even for infants, but he also reproofs us out of this admission, because we say that these same infants are guilty for whom Christ died. Now, then, let the apostle, who says that Christ was delivered up for us all, also tell us why Christ was delivered up for us. "He was delivered," says he, "for our offences, and rose again for our justification." If, therefore, as even this man both confesses and professes, but admits and objects, that infants too are included amongst those for whom Christ was delivered up; and if it was for our sins that Christ was delivered up, even infants, of course, must have original sins, for whom Christ was delivered up; He must have something in them to heal, who (as Himself affirms) is not wanted as a Physician by the whole, but by the sick;* He must have a reason for saving them, seeing that He came into the world, as the Apostle Paul says, "to save sinners;" He must have something in them to remit, who testifies that He shed His blood "for the remission of sins;"* He must have good reason for seeking them out, who "came (as He says) to seek and to save that which was lost;"* the Son of man must find in them something to destroy, who came for the express purpose, as the Apostle John says, "that He might destroy the works of the devil." Now to this salvation of infants He must be

* Effiindetur. 2 Jj^tt. xxvi. 28. ^ Rom. viii. 32.
* Rom. iv. 25. s^att. ix. 12. Â« 1 Tim. i. 15.
7 Matt. xxvi. 28. 8 Ly^e xix. 10. 9 1 John iii. 8.

198 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

an enemy, who asserts their innocence, in such a way as to deny them the medicine which is required by the hurt and wounded.

Chap. 57. [xxxiv.] â€” The great sin of the first man.

Now observe what follows, as he goes on to say: "If, before sin entered, God provided in creation a source from which men should be born, while from the same source their parents were moved and excited by the devil, then beyond a doubt holiness must be ascribed to the offspring, and sin to the parents. Since, however, this would be a most manifest condemnation of marriage; remove, I pray you, this view from the midst of the churches, and really believe that all things were made by Jesus Christ, and that without Him nothing was made." There is a censorious tone in this passage, as if he would
make us say, that there is a something in man's substance which was created by the devil. The devil persuaded [the commission of] evil as a sin; he did not create it as a nature. No doubt he worked by persuasion on nature, for [he persuaded man, and] man is nature; and therefore by his persuasion he vitiated it. He who wounds a limb does not, of course, create it, but he harasses it.\(^\text{v}\) Those wounds, indeed, which are inflicted on the body produce lameness in a limb, or difficulty of motion; but they do not affect the virtue whereby a man becomes righteous: that wound, however, which has the name of sin, maims the very life, which was being righteously lived. This sinful wound was at that fatal moment of the fall inflicted by the devil [on his victims] to a vastly wider and deeper extent than are the ordinary sins which are known amongst men. Whence it came to pass, that our nature having then and there been deteriorated by that vast sin of the first man, not only became actively sinful, but also generates sinners; and yet the very weakness, under which the virtue of a holy life has drooped and died, is not really nature, but a vitiated state thereof; precisely as a bad state of health is not a bodily substance or nature, but a disordered condition of it; very often, indeed, if not always,

* John i. 3.

* [Vexat. Another apparently better reading has vitiat, "vitiates." ]

CHAP. LIX.] SIN TRANSMITTED TO ALL, REMITTED TO SOME. 199

the ailing character of parents is in a certain way implanted, and reappears in the bodies of their children.

Chap. 58. â€” Adam's sin is derived from Mm to every one who is born even of regenerate parents; the example of the olive tree and the wild olive.

But this sin, which changed man for the worse even in paradise, because it is far vaster than we can form any judgment of, is contracted by every one at his birth, and is remitted only in the regenerate; and this derangement is such as to be derived from parents who have been even regenerated, and in whom the sin is remitted and covered, to the condemnation of the children born of them, unless these, who were bound by their first and carnal birth, are absolved by their second and spiritual birth. Of this wonderful fact the Creator has produced a wonderful example in the cases of the olive and the wild olive trees, in which, from the seed not only of the wild olive, but even of the good olive, nothing but a wild olive springs. Wherefore, although even in persons whose natural birth is followed by regeneration through grace, there exists this carnal concupiscence which contends against the law of the mind, yet, seeing that it is remitted in the remission of sins, it is no longer accounted to them as sin, nor is it in any degree hurtful, unless consent is yielded to its motions for unlawful deeds. Their offspring, however, being begotten not of spiritual concupiscence, but of carnal, like a wild olive of our race from the good olive, derives guilt from them by natural birth to such a degree that it cannot be
liberated from that pest except by being born again. How is it, then, that this man affirms that we ascribe holiness to those who are born, and guilt to their parents? when the truth rather shows that even if there has been holiness in the parents, original sin is inherent in their children, which is abolished in them only if they are born again.

Chap. 59. [xxxv.] The Pelagians can hardly venture to place concupiscence in paradise before the commission of sin.

This being the case, let him think what he pleases about this carnal lust and concupiscence which lords it over the unchaste, has to be mastered by the chaste, and yet is to be blushed at both by the chaste and the unchaste; for I see plainly it is very pleasant to him. Let him not hesitate to

200 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

praise what he is ashamed to name; let him call it (as he has in fact called it) the vigour of the members, and let him not be afraid of the horror of chaste ears; let him designate it the power of the members, and let him not care about the impudence. Let him say, if his blushes permit him, that if no one had sinned, this vigour must have flourished like a flower in paradise; nor would there have been any need to cover that which would have been so moved that no one should have felt ashamed; rather, with a wife provided, it would have been ever exercised and never repressed, lest so great a pleasure should ever be denied to so vast a happiness. Far be it from being thought that such blessedness could in such a spot fail to have what it wished, or ever experience in mind or body what it disliked. And so, should the motion of lust ever precede men's will, then the will would immediately follow it up. The wife, who ought certainly never to be absent in this happy state of things, would be impelled to it, whether before conception or during pregnancy; and, at any rate, either a child would be begotten, or a natural and laudable pleasure forsooth would be gratified, â€“ for perish all seed rather than disappoint the appetite of so fine a concupiscence! Only be sure that the united pair do not apply themselves to that use of each other which is contrary to nature, then (with so modest a reservation) let them use, as often as they would have delight, their organs of generation, created ready to hand. But what if this very use, which is contrary to nature, should peradventure give them delight; what if the aforesaid laudable concupiscence should hanker even after such delight? I wonder whether they would pursue it because it was so sweet, or loathe it for its disgrace? If they should pursue it to gratification, what becomes of all thought about virtue and honour? If they should loathe it, where is the peaceful composure of so vast a happiness? But at this point perchance his blushes will awake, and he will say that so great is the tranquillity of this happy state, and so entire the orderliness which may have existed in this state of things, that carnal concupiscence never preceded these persons' will: only
whenever they themselves wished, would it then arise; and only then would they entertain the wish, when there was need for begetting children;

CHAP. LX.] THE REBELLION OF CONCUPISCENCE. 201

and the result would be, that no seed would ever be emitted to no purpose, nor would any embrace ever ensue which would not be followed by conception and birth; the flesh would obey the will, and concupiscence would vie with it in subserviency. Well, if he says all this of the imagined happy state, he must at least be pretty sure that what he describes does not now exist among men. And even if he will not concede that lust is a vitiated condition, let him at least allow that through the disobedience of the man and woman in the happy state the very concupiscence of their flesh was vitiated, so that what would once be excited obediently and orderly is now moved disobediently and inordinately, and that to such a degree that it is not obedient to the will of even chasteminded husbands and wives, so that it is excited when it is not wanted; and whenever it is necessary, it never, indeed, follows their will, but sometimes too hurriedly, at other times too tardily, it exerts its own movements. Such, then, is the rebellion of this concupiscence which the primitive pair received for their own disobedience, and transfused by natural descent to us. It certainly was not at their bidding, but in utter disorder, that it was excited, when they covered their members, which at first were worthy to be gloried in, but had then become a ground of shame and confusion.

Chap. 60. â€” Let not the Pelagians indulge themselves in a cruel defence of infants.

As I said, however, let him entertain what views he likes of this lust; let him preach it up as he pleases, praise it as much as he chooses (and much it is, as several of his extracts show), that the Pelagians may gratify themselves, if not with its uses, at all events with its praises, as many of them as fail to enjoy the limitation of continence enjoined in wedlock. Only let him spare the infants, so as not to praise their condition uselessly, and defend them cruelly. Let him not declare them to be safe; let him suffer them to come, not, indeed, to Pelagius for eulogy, but to Christ for salvation. For, that this book may be now brought to a termination, since the dissertation of this man is ended, which was written on the short paper you sent me, I will close with his last words: "PtecaUy believe that all things were made by Jesus

202 ON MARRIAGE AND CONCUPISCENCE. [BOOK II.]

Christ, and that without Him nothing was made." ^ Let him grant that Jesus is Jesus even to infants; and as he confesses that all things were made by Him, in that He is God the
Word, so let him acknowledge that infants, too, are saved by Him in that He is Jesus; let him, I say, do this if he would be a Catholic Christian. For thus is it written in the Gospel: "And they shall call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins"^—"Saviour." He shall, indeed, save His people; and amongst His people surely there are infants. "From their sins" shall He save them; in infants, therefore, are there sins, original sins, on account of which He can be Jesus, that is, a Saviour even unto them.

> John i. 3. ^ Matt. i. 21.

ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN:

IN FOUR BOOKS,'

BY AUEELIUS AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER ON THIS TREATISE.

THE subject-maæter of these four books was supplied by a young man named Vincentius Victor, a native of Mauritania Cesariensis, a convert to the Catholic Church from the Eogatian faction (which split off from the Donatist schism, and inhabited that part of Mauritania which lay around Cartenna). This Victor, they say, had previously so high an opinion of the Vincentius who succeeded Eogatus as the head of the before-mentioned faction, that he adopted his name as his own.^ Happening to meet with a certain work of Angustine's, in which the writer acknowledged himself to be incapable of saying whether all souls were propagated from Adam's soul simply, or whether every man severally had his soul given to him by God, even as Adam himself had, without propagation, although he declared, for all that, his conviction that the soul was in its nature spirit, not body, Victor was equally offended with both statements: he wondered that so great a man as Augustine did not unhesitatingly teach what tenets one ought to have concerning the origin of the soul, especially as he thought its propagation probable; and also that he did state with so great assurance the nature of the soul to be incorporeal. He accordingly mentioned two books

^ [These books were written towards the close of a.d. 419.]
* See below, Book iii. c. 2.
as having been written for one Peter, a presbyter of Spain, against Augustine on this subject, containing some conceits of the Pelagian heretics, and other things even worse than these.

A monk called Eenatus happened then to be at [the Mauritanian] Csesarea. It appears that this man had shown to Augustine, who was staying at the same place in the autumn of the year 418, a letter of the Bishop Optatus consulting him about the origin of the soul. This monk, though of the "order of laymen, was notwithstanding perfectly orthodox in the faith, and, induced by the circumstance, carefully copied the books of Victor, and forwarded them from Csesarea to Hippo the next summer; Augustine, however, only received them at the end of autumn of the year 419, as is supposed.

As soon as the holy doctor read them, he without delay wrote the first of the four following books to the good monk, and then the second, in the shape of a letter, to the presbyter Peter, and the two last books to Victor himself, but after a considerable interval, as it appears from the following words of the fourth chapter of the second book: "If, indeed, the Lord will that I should write to the young man, as I desire to do." In the Retractations this little work of Augustine is placed immediately after the treatises of the year 419, i.e. in the fifth place, next to the Proceedings with Emeritus, which were completed in the month of September in the year 418.

It belongs, therefore, to the termination of the year 419 or to the commencement of the year 420, having been written after "the condemnation of the Pelagians by the authority of Catholic Councils and of the Apostolic See," ^ but "very soon after," ^ as that happy event had happened in the year of Christ 418.

In Book I. he points out his own opinion about the nature of the soul, and how he had been wrongly charged by Victor with hesitation on the subject. He reproves the man's juvenile forwardness, shows him he had fallen into grave and unheard-of errors while venturing to take upon himself the solution of a question which exceeded his abilities, and points out that he adduced only doubtful passages of Scripture, and such as were not applicable to the subject, in his endeavour to prove

^ See below, ii. 13, 15. ^ See Book u, 17. ^ gee Book i. 34.

CONTENTS OF THE FOUR BOOKS. 205

that souls are not propagated, but that entirely new ones are breathed by God into every man at his separate birth.

In Book II. he advises Peter not to incur the imputation of having approved of the books which had been addressed to him by Victor On the Origin of the Soul by any use he
might make of them, nor to take as Catholic doctrines that person's rash utterances contrary to the Christian faith. Victor's various errors, and those, too, of a very serious character, he points out and briefly confutes; and he concludes with advising Peter himself to try and persuade Victor to amend his errors.

In Book III, which was written to Victor in person, he points out the corrections which Victor ought to make in his books if he wished to be deemed a Catholic; those opinions also and paradoxes of his, which had been already refuted in the preceding books to Eenatus and Peter, the author briefly censures in this third book, and classifies under eleven heads of error.

In Book IV., addressed to the same Victor, he first shows that his hesitation on the subject of the origin of souls was undeservedly blamed, and that he was wrongly compared with cattle, because he had refrained from any bold conclusions on the subject. Then again, with regard to his own unhesitating statement, that the soul was spirit, not body, he points out how rashly Victor disapproved of this assertion, especially when he was vainly expending his efforts to prove that the soul was corporeal in its own nature, and that the spirit in man was distinct from the soul itself.

FROM "THE retractations;' Book II. chap. 56.

" At that time one Vincentius discovered in the possession of a certain presbyter called Peter, in Mauritania Cassariensis, a little work of mine, in a particular passage of which, touching the origin of souls in individual men, I had confessed that I knew not whether they are propagated from the primeval soul of the first man, and from that by parental descent,

206 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN.

or whether they are severally assigned to each person without propagation, as the first was to Adam; but that I was, at the same time, quite sure that the soul was not body, but spirit.

In opposition to these opinions of mine, he addressed to this Peter two books, which were sent to me from Ceesarea by the monk Eenatus. Having read these books, I replied in four others, one addressed to the monk Eenatus, another to the presbyter Peter, and two more to Victor himself. That to Peter, however, though it has all the lengthiness of a book, is yet only a letter which I did not like to be kept separate from the other three works. In all of them, while discussing many points which were unavoidable, I defended my hesitancy on the point of the origin of the souls which are given to individual men; and I pointed out this man's many errors and presumptuous pravity. At the same time, I treated the young man as gently as I could, not as one who ought to be denounced all out of hand, but as one who ought to be still instructed; and I accepted the account of his
conduct which he wrote back to me. In this work of mine, the book addressed to Ptcnatus begins with these words: "Your sincerity towards us " [Sinceritatem tuam erga nos]; while that which was written to Peter begins thus: " To his Lordship, my dearly beloved brother and fellow-presbyter Peter " [Domino dilectissimo fratri et compresbytero Petro]. Of the last two books, which are addressed to Vincentius Victor, the former one thus opens: " As to that which I have thought it my duty to write to you " [Quod mihi ad te scribendum putavi].

CHAP. I.] THE KINDNESS OF RENATUS. 207

FIEST BOOK.

ADDRESS TO RENATUS, THE MONK.

ox RECEIVING FvOM RENATUS THE TWO BOOKS OF VINCENTIUS VICTOR, "WHO

DISAPPROVED OF Augustine's opinion touching the nature of the soul,

AND OF HIS hesitation IN RESPECT OF ITS ORIGIN, AUGUSTINE POINTS OUT HOW THE YOUNG OBJECTOR, IN HIS SELF-CONCEIT IN AIMING TO DECIDE ON SO ABSTRUSE A SUBJECT, HAD FALLEN INTO INSUFFERABLE MISTAKES. HE THEN PROCEEDS TO SHOW THAT THOSE PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE BY WHICH VICTOR THOUGHT HE COULD PROVE THAT HUMAN SOULS ARE NOT DERIVED BY PROPAGATION, BUT ARE BREATHED BY GOD AFRESH INTO EACH MAN AT BIRTH, ARE AMBIGUOUS, AND INADEQUATE FOR THE CONFIRMATION OF THIS OPINION OF HIS.

Chap. 1. [i.] â€” Renatus had done him a kindness by sending him the books which had been addressed to him.

YOU E sincerity towards us, dearest brother Eenatus, and your brotherly kindness, and the feeling that such love was mutual between us, we already had clear proof of; but now you have afforded us a still clearer proof, by sending me two books, written by a person whom I knew, indeed, nothing of, â€” though he was not on that account to be despised, â€” called Vincentius Victor (for in such form did I find his name placed at the head of his work): this you did in the summer of last year; but owing to my absence from home, it
was the end of autumn before they found their way to me. How, indeed, would you be likely with your very great affection for me to fail either in means or inclination to bring under my notice any writings of the kind, by whomsoever composed, if they fell into your hands, even if they were addressed to any one else? How much less likely, when my own name was mentioned and read â€” and that in a context of gainsaying some words of mine, which I had published in certain little treatises? Now you have done all this in the way you were sure to act as my very sincere and beloved friend.

20 S ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” He receives with a kindly and patient feeling the books of a young and inexperienced man who wrote against him in a tone of arrogance. Vincentius Victor converted from the sect of the Rogatians.

I am somewhat pained, however, at being thus far less understood by your Holiness than I should like to be; forasmuch as you supposed that I should receive so your communication, as if you did me an injury, by making known to me what another had done. You may see, indeed, how far this feeling is from my mind, in that I have no complaint to make of having suffered any wrong even from him. When he entertained views different from my own, pray, was he bound to hold his tongue? It ought, no doubt, to be even pleasant to me, that he broke silence in such a way as to put it in our power to read what he had to say. He ought, I certainly think, to have written simply to me, rather than to another concerning me; but as he was unknown to me, he did not venture to intrude personally on me in refuting my words. He thought there was no necessity for applying to me in a matter on which he seemed to himself to be holding no doubtful, but a perfectly well-known and certain opinion. He, moreover, acted in obedience to a friend of his, by whom he tells us he was compelled to write. And if he expressed any sentiment during the controversy which was contumelious to me, I would prefer supposing that he did this, not with any wish to treat me with incivility but from the necessity of thinking differently from me. For in all cases where a person's animus towards one is indeterminate and unknown, I think it better to suppose the existence of the kindler motive, than to find fault with an undiscovered one. Perhaps, too, he acted from love to me, as knowing that what he had written might possibly reach me; being at the same time unwilling that I should be in error on such points as he especially thinks himself to be free from error regarding. I ought, therefore, to be grateful for his kindness, although I feel obliged to disapprove of his opinion. Accordingly, as regards the points on which he does not entertain right views, he appears to me to deserve gentle correction rather than severe disapproval; more especially because, if I am rightly informed,

' [The reading here is surely minime dtihitandam.]
he has lately become a Catholic—an matter in which he is to be congratulated. For he has freed himself from the schism and errors of the Donatists (or rather the Kogatists) in which he was previously implicated; and if he understands the Catholic verity as he ought, we may really rejoice at his conversion.

For he has an outspoken clearness, which enables him to explain what he thinks. He must, therefore, be dealt with accordingly; and we must hope that he may entertain right sentiments, and that he may not turn useless things into objects of desire; that he may not seem to have propounded as true whatever opinions he may have expressed with eloquence. But in his very outspokenness he may have much to correct, and to prune of redundant verbiage. And this characteristic of his has actually given offence to you, who are a person of gravity, as your own writings indicate. This fault, however, is either easily corrected, or, if it be resorted to with fondness by light minds, and borne with by serious ones, it is not attended with any injury to their faith. For we have already amongst us men who are frothy in speech, but sound in the faith. "We need not then despair that this quality even in him (it might be endurable, however, even if it proved permanent) may be tempered and cleansed in fact, may be either extended or recalled to an entire and solid criterion; especially as he is said to be young, so that diligence may supply to him whatever defect his inexperience may possess, and ripeness of age may digest what crude loquacity finds indigestible. The troublesome, dangerous, and pernicious thing is, when folly is set off by the commendation which is accorded to eloquence, and when a poisonous draught is drunk out of a precious goblet.

The errors contained in the books of Vincentius Victor. He says that the soul comes from God, but was not made either out of nothing or out of any created thing. As the soul is a mutable thing, it could not possibly have been formed out of God, who is immutable.

I will now proceed to point out what things are chiefly to be avoided in his contentious statement. He says that the soul was made, indeed, by God, but that it is not a portion of God or His nature which is an entirely true statement. When, however, he refuses to allow that it is made out of nothing, and mentions no other creature out of which it was made; and makes God its author, in such a sense that He must be supposed to have made it, not out of any non-existing things in a word, out
of nothing; nor out of anything which exists other than God, but out of His very self: he is little aware that in the revolution of his thoughts he has come back to the position which he thinks he has avoided, even that the soul is nothing else than the nature of God; and consequently that there is an actual something made out of the nature of God by the self-same God, for the making of which the material, of which He makes it, is His own very self, who makes it; and that thus God's nature is changeable, and by being changed for the worse the very nature of God Himself incurs condemnation at the hands of the self-same God! How far all this is from being fit for your intelligent faith to suppose, how alien it is from the heart of a Catholic, and how much to be avoided, you can readily see. For the soul is either made out of the breathing of the Almighty, or is itself His breath in action, in such a way that it was not created out of Himself, but by Himself out of nothing. It is not, indeed, like the case of a human being, when he breathes: he cannot form a breath out of nothing, but he restores to the air the breath which he inhaled out of it. We may in some such manner suppose that certain air surrounded the Divine Being, and that He inhaled a particle of it by breathing, and exhaled it again by respiration, when He breathed into man's face, and so formed for him a soul. If this were the process, it could not have been out of His very self, but out of the circumambient airy matter, that what He breathed forth must have arisen. Far be it, however, from us to say, that the Almighty could not have made the breath of life out of nothing, by which man might become a living soul; and to thrust ourselves into such straits, as that we must either think that something already existed other than Himself, out of which He formed breath, or else suppose that He formed out of Himself that which we see was made subject to change.

Now, whatever is out of Himself, must necessarily be of the

I

CHAP. VI.] victor's errors ABOUT THE SOUL, 211

self-same nature as Himself, and therefore immutable: but the soul (as all allow) is mutable; therefore it is not of Him, because it is not immutable as He is. If, however, it was not made of anything else, it was undoubtedly made out of nothing â€” but by Himself.

Chap. 5. [v. ] â€” A nother of Victor's errors, that the soul is corporeal.

But as regards his contention, " that the soul is not spirit, but body," what else can he mean to make out, than that we are composed, not of soul and body, but of two or even three bodies? For inasmuch as he says that we consist of spirit, soul, and body, and asserts that all the three are corporeal; it foUows, that he supposes us to be made up of three bodies.
How absurd this conclusion is, I think ought rather to be demonstrated to him than to you. But this is not an intolerable error on the part of a person who has not yet discovered that there is in existence a something, which, though it be not corporeal, yet may wear somewhat of the appearance of a body.

Chap. 6. [vi.] â€” Another error out of his second hook, to the effect, that the soul deserved to be polluted by the body.

But he is plainly past endurance in what he says in his second book, when he endeavours to solve a very difficult question on original sin, how far it affects body and soul, if the soul is not derived by parental descent, but is breathed afresh by God into a man. Striving to explain this troublesome and profound point, he thus expresses his view: "Through the flesh the soul fitly recovers its primitive condition, which it seemed to have gradually lost through the flesh, in order that it may begin to be regenerated by the very flesh by which it had deserved to be polluted." You observe how this person, having been so bold as to undertake what exceeds his powers, has fallen down such a precipice as to say, that the soul deserved to be defiled by the body; although he could in no wise declare whence it drew on itself this desert, before it put on flesh. For if it first had from the flesh its desert of sin, let him tell us (if he can) whence (previous to sin) it derived its desert to be contaminated by the flesh. For this desert, which projected it into sinful flesh to be polluted by it, it of course had either from itself, or, which is much more offensive to our minds, from God. It certainly could not, previous to its being invested with the flesh, have received from that flesh that ill desert, by reason of which it was projected into the flesh, in order to be defiled by it. Now, if it had the ill desert from its own self, how did it get it, seeing that it did no sin previous to its assumption of flesh; but if it be alleged that it had the ill desert from God, then, I ask, who could listen to such blasphemy? Who could endure it? Who could permit it to be alleged with impunity! For the question which arises here, remember, is not, what was the ill desert which adjudged the soul to be condemned after it became incarnate? but what was its ill desert prior to the flesh, which condemned it to the investiture of the flesh, that it might be thereby polluted? Let him explain this to us, if he can, seeing that he has dared to say that the soul deserved to be defiled by the flesh.

Chap. 7. [vii.] â€” Victor entangles himself in an exceedingly difficult question. God's foreknowledge is no cause of sin.

In another passage, also, on proposing for explanation the very same question in which he had entangled himself, he says, speaking in the person of certain objectors: "Why, they ask, did God inflict upon the soul so unjust a punishment as to be willing to relegate it into a body, when by reason of its association with the flesh that begins to be sinful which could not have been [otherwise] sinful?" Now, amidst the reedy sea of such a question, it
was surely his duty to beware of shipwreck; nor to commit himself to dangers which he could not hope to escape by passing over them, and where his only chance of safety lay in putting back again Æ†” in a word, by repentance. He tries to free himself behind the foreknowledge of God, but to no purpose. For God's foreknowledge only marks beforehand, [but does not make] those sinners, I whom He purposes to heal. For if He liberates from sin those souls which, [when whole and innocent,] He Himself involved in sin. He then heals a wound which Himself inflicted on us, not what He found in us. May God, however, forbid it, and may it be altogether far from us to say, that when God cleanses the souls of infants by the laver of

CHAP. VIII.] AN OBSCURE DOGMA OF VICTOR'S. 213

re<Teneration, He then corrects evils which He Himself made for them, when He commingled them [which had no sin before] with sinful flesh, that they might be contaminated by its original sin. As regards, however, the souls wliich this calumniator alleges to have deserved pollution by the flesh, he is quite unable to tell us how it is they deserved so vast an evil, previous to their connection with the flesh.

Chap. 8. [viii.] Æ†” Victor's erroneous opinion, that the soul deserved to become sinful.

Vainly supposing, then, that he was able to solve this question from the foreknowledge of God, he keeps floundering on, and says: " Although the soul deserved to be sinful, which could not else have been sinful, yet it did not remain in sin, because, as it was prefigured in Christ, it was bound not to be in a sinful state, even as it was unable to be." K'ow what can he mean when he says, "which could not else have been sinful," or " was unable to be in a sinful state," except, as I suppose, this. If it did not come into the flesh ? For, of course, it could not have been sinful through original sin, or have been at all involved in original sin, except through the flesh, if it is not derived by parental descent. AVe see it, indeed, liberated from sin through grace, but we do not see how it deserved to be involved in sin. What, then, is the meaning of these words of his, " Although the soul deserved to be sinful, yet it did not remain in sin " ? For if I were to ask him, why it did not remain in sin, he would very properly answer, Because the grace of Christ delivered it therefrom. Since, then, he tells us how it came to pass that an infant's soul was liberated from its sinfulness, let him further tell us how it happened that it deserved to be sinful.

Chap. 9.

But what does he mean by that, which in his introduction he says has befallen him ? For previous to proposing that question of his, and as introducing it, he affirms: " There are other opprobrious expressions underlying the querulous murmuring of those who rail at
us; and, shaken about as in a hurricane, we are again and again dashed amongst enormous rocks." ISTow, if I were to express myself about him in this

214 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK' I.

style, he would probably be angry. The words are his; and after premising them, he propounded his question, by way of showing us the very rocks against which he struck and was wrecked. For to such lengths was he carried, and against such frightful reefs was he borne, drifted, and struck, that his escape was a perfect impossibility without a retreat â€” an amendment, in short, of what he had said; since he was unable to show by what desert the soul became sinful; though he was not afraid to say, that previous to any sin of its own it had deserved to become sinful. Now, who deserves, without committing any sin, so immense a punishment as to be conceived in the sin of another, before leaving his mother's womb, and then to be no longer free from sin? However, from this punishment the souls of such infants as are regenerated in Christ, the free grace of God delivers them, with no previous merits of their own â€” " otherwise grace is no grace." With regard, then, to this person, who is so vastly intelligent, and who in the great depth of his wisdom is displeased at our hesitation, which, if not well informed, is at all events circumspect, let him tell us, if he can, what the merit was which brought the soul into such a punishment, from which grace delivers it without any merit. Let him speak, and, if he can, defend his assertion with some show of reason. I would not, indeed, require so much of him, if he had not himself declared that the soul deserved to become sinful. Deserved!

Let him tell us what the desert was â€” whether good desert or evil? If good, how could well-deserving lead to evil?

If evil, whence could arise any ill desert previous to the commission of any sin? I have also to remark, that if there be a good desert, then the liberation of the soul would not be of free grace, but it would be due to the previous merit, and thus " grace would be no more grace." If there be, however, an evil desert, then I ask what it is. Is it true that the soul has come into the flesh; and that it would not have so come unless He in whom there is no sin had Himself sent it? Never, therefore, except by floundering worse and worse, will he contrive to set up this view of his, in which he predicates of the soul, that it deserved to be sinful. In

^ Rom. xi. 6.

CHAP. X.] ERKOR ABOUT UNBAPTIZED INFANTS. 215

the case of those infants, too, in whose baptism original sin is washed away, he found something to say after a fashion, â€” to the effect, that being involved in the sin of another could not possibly have been detrimental to them, predestinated as they were to eternal life in the foreknowledge of God. This might admit of a tolerably good sense, if
he had not entangled himself in that formula of his, in which he asserts that the soul deserved to be sinful: from this difficulty he can only extricate himself by revoking his words, with regret at having expressed them.

Chap. 10. [ix.] â€” Another error of Victor's, that infants dying unbaptized may attain to the kingdom of heaven. Another, that the sacrifice of the body of Christ must be offered for infants who die before they are baptized.

With respect however, to those infants who are prevented by death from being first baptized in Christ, wishing to find some answer, he was so bold as to promise them not only paradise, but also the kingdom of heaven. He found no way of avoiding the necessity of saying that God condemns to death eternal their innocent souls, which, without any previous desert of sin. He introduces into sinful flesh. He saw, however, to some extent what evil he was giving utterance to, implying that without any grace of Christ the souls of infants are redeemed to everlasting life and the kingdom of heaven, and that in their case original sin may be cancelled without Christ's baptism, in which is effected the forgiveness of sins: observing all this, and into what a depth he had plunged in his sea of shipwreck, he says, "I am of opinion that for them, indeed, constant oblations and sacrifices must be continually offered up by holy priests." You may here behold another danger, out of which he will never escape except by regret and a recall of his words. For who can offer up the body of Christ, for any except those who are members of Christ? Moreover, from the time when He said, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven;" and again, "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it;" no one becomes a member of Christ except it be either by baptism in Christ, or dying for Christ.

' John iii. 5. ^ Matt. x. 39.

^i

216 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 1] . â€” Martyrdom for Christ supplies the place of baptism. The faith of the thief who was crucified along with Christ contrasted with the defection of His disciples.

Accordingly, the [dying] thief, who was no follower of the Lord previous to the cross, but His confessor upon the cross, from whose case a presumption is sometimes taken, or attempted, against the sacrament of baptism, is reckoned by St. Cyprian among the martyrs who are baptized in their own blood, as happens to many unbaptized persons in times of hot persecution. For to the fact that he confessed the crucified Lord so much weight is attributed and so much availing value assigned by Him
who knows how to weigh and value such evidence, as if he had been actually crucified for the Lord.

Then, indeed, his faith on the cross flourished when that of the disciples failed, and that without recovery, if it had not bloomed again by the resurrection of Him before the terror of whose death it had drooped. They despaired of Him when dying, he hoped when joined with Him in dying; they fled from the author of life, he prayed to his partner in punishment; they grieved as for the death of a man, he believed that after death He was to be a king; they forsook the sponsor of their salvation, he honoured the companion of His cross. There was discovered in him the full measure of a martyr, who then believed in Christ when they fell away who were destined to be martyrs. All this, indeed, was manifest to the eyes of the Lord, who at once bestowed so great felicity on one who, though not baptized, was yet washed clean in the blood, as it were, of martyrdom. But even of ourselves, who cannot reflect with how much faith, how much hope, how much charity he might have undergone death for Christ when living, who begged life of Him when dying? Besides all this, there is the circumstance, which is mentioned with some amount of credibility, that the thief who believed as he hung by the side of the crucified Lord was sprinkled, as in a most sacred baptism, with the blood which issued from the wound of the Saviour's side. I say nothing of the fact that nobody

[Cyprianus, Epist. ad Juhaianum. See likewise Augustine's work Against the Donatists, iv. 22; also On Leviticus, question 84; also his Retractations, ii. 18, 65.]

CHAP. XII.] THE CRUCIFIED THIEF AND DINOCEATES. 217

can prove, since none of us knows that he had not been baptized previous to his condemnation. However, let every man take this in the sense he may prefer; only let no prescriptive rule about baptism affecting the Saviour's own precept be taken from this example of the [dying] thief; and let no one promise for the case of unbaptized infants some middle place, as it were, between damnation and the kingdom of heaven, of rest and happiness, such as he pleases and where he pleases. For this is what the heresy of Pelagius promised them: he neither fears damnation for infants, whom he does not regard as having any original sin, nor does he give them the hope of the kingdom of heaven, since they do not approach to the sacrament of baptism. As for this man, however, although he acknowledges that infants are involved in original sin, he yet boldly promises them, even without baptism, the kingdom of heaven. This even the Pelagians had not the boldness to do, though asserting infants to be absolutely without sin. See, then, in what a network of presumptuous opinion he entangles, without regret for having committed such views to writing.

Chap. 12. [x.] â€” Dinocrates, brother of the martyr St. Perpetua, is said to have been delivered from the state of condemnation after having been dead seven years.

Concerning the case of Dinocrates, however, the brother of St. Perpetua, there is no canonical record; nor does the saint herself, or whoever it was that wrote the account, say
that the boy, who had been dead seven years, died without baptism; in his behalf she is believed to have had, when her martyrdom was imminent, her prayers effectually heard that he should be removed from the penalties of the lost to rest. Now, boys at that time of life are capable both of lying and saying the truth, both of confessing and denying. Therefore, when they are baptized they say the Creed, and answer in their behalf to such questions as are proposed to them in examination. Who can tell, then, whether that boy, after baptism, in a time of persecution was estranged from Christ to idolatry by an impious father, and on that account incurred mortal condemnation, from which he was only delivered for Christ's sake, given to the prayers of his sister when she was at the point of [a martyr's] death?

218 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

Chap. 13. [xi.] â€” The sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ cannot be offered for unbaptized persons; he presses Victor with arguments.

But even if it be conceded to this man (what cannot by any means be allowed with safety to the Catholic faith and the rule of the Church), that the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ may be offered for unbaptized persons of every age, as if they were to be helped by this kind of piety on the part of their friends to reaching the kingdom of heaven, what will he have to say to our objections respecting the thousands of infants who are born of impious parents, and never fall, by any mercy of God or man, into the hands of pious friends, and who depart from that wretched life of theirs at their most tender age without the washing of regeneration? Let him tell us, if he only can, how it is that those souls deserved to be made sinful to such a degree as never afterwards (to say the least) to be delivered from sin. For if I ask him why they deserve to be condemned if they are not baptized, he will rightly answer me: On account of original sin. If I then inquire whence they derived original sin, he will answer, From sinful flesh, of course. If I go on to ask why they deserved to be condemned to a sinful flesh, seeing they had done no evil before they came in the flesh, he will here, too, find something to say in answer â€” that they are to such a degree condemned to undergo the contagion of the sin of another, that neither baptism shall regenerate them, born as they are in sin, nor sacrifices expiate them in their pollution. For in such circumstances and of such parents have these infants been born, or are still being born, that it is not possible for them to be reached with such help. Here, at any rate, all argument fails. Our question is not, why souls have deserved to be condemned subsequently to their consorting with sinful flesh? But we ask, how it is that souls have deserved to be condemned to undergo at all this association with sinful flesh, seeing that they have no sin previous to this association? There is no room for him to say: "It was no detriment to them that they shared for a season the contagion of another's sin, since in the prescience of God redemption had been provided for them." For we are now speaking of those to whom no redemption brings help, since they depart
from the body before they are baptized. Nor is there any propriety in his saying: " The souls which baptism does not cleanse, the many sacrifices which are offered up for them will cleanse. God foreknew this, and willed that they should for a little while be implicated in the sins of another without incurring eternal damnation, and with the hope of eternal happiness." For we are now speaking of those whose birth among impious persons and of impious parents could by no possibility find such defences and helps. And even if these could be applied, they would, it is certain, be unable to benefit any who are unbaptized; just as the sacrifices which he has mentioned out of the book of the Maccabees could be of no use for the sinful dead for whom they were offered, inasmuch as they had not been circumcised.

Chap. 14.

Let him, then, find an answer, if he can, when the question is asked of him, why it was that the soul, without any sin whatever, either original or personal, was condemned to undergo the original sin of another so irrevocably as to be unable to be delivered from it; let him also see to it, and choose one of two alternatives either to say that even the souls of dying infants who depart hence without the washing of regeneration, and for whom no sacrifice of the Lord's body is offered, are absolved from the bond of original sin although the apostle teaches that " the judgment was upon all by one to condemnation " (to whom, of course, grace does not find its way to help), in order that by One all might escape with redemption; or else to say that souls which have no sin, either their own or original, and are in every respect innocent, simple, and pure, are punished with eternal damnation by the righteous God when He inserts them Himself into sinful flesh without any means of deliverance therefrom.

Chap. 15. [xii.] God does not judge any one for what he might have done if his life had been prolonged, but simply for the deeds he actually commits.

For my own part, indeed, I affirm that neither of the alternative cases ought to be admitted, nor that third opinion which would have it that souls sinned in some other state previous to the flesh, and so deserved to be condemned to the flesh; for the apostle has most distinctly stated that " children being not yet born, had done neither good nor evil." So it is evident that infants can have contracted none but original sin to require remission of sins. Nor, again, that fourth position, that the souls of infants who will die without baptism are by the righteous God banished and condemned to sinful flesh, since
He foreknew that they would lead evil lives if they grew old enough for the use of freewill. But this not even he has been daring enough to affirm, though embarrassed in such perplexities. On the contrary, he has declared, briefly indeed, yet manifestly, against this vain opinion in these words: "God would have been unrighteous if He had willed to judge any man yet unborn, who had done nothing whatever of his own freewill." This was his answer when treating a question in opposition to those persons who ask why God made man, when in His foreknowledge He knew that he would not be good? He would be judging a man before he was born if He had been unwilling to create him because He knew beforehand that he would not. turn out good. And there can be no doubt about it, even as this person himself thought, that the proper course would be for the Almighty to judge a man for his works when accomplished, not for such as might be foreseen, nor such as might be permitted to be done some time or other. For if the sins which a man would have committed if he were alive are condemned in him when dead, even when they have not been committed, no benefit is conferred on him when he is taken away that no wickedness might change his mind, inasmuch as judgment will be given upon him according to the wickedness which might have developed in him, not according to the uprightness which was actually found in him. Nor will any man be possibly safe who dies after baptism, because even after baptism men may (I will not say sin in any ordinary way, but actually go so far as to) commit apostasy. What then? Suppose a man who has been taken away after baptism should, if he had lived, have become an apostate, are we to think that no benefit was conferred even upon him in that he was removed and was

1 Eom. ix. 11.

CHAP. XVI.] INEXTRICABLE DIFFICULTIES. 221

saved from the misery of his mind being changed by wickedness? And are we to imagine that he will have to be judged, by reason of God's foreknowledge, as an apostate, and not as a faithful member of Christ? How much better, to be sure, would it have been â€“ if sins are punished not as they have been committed or contemplated by the human agent, but foreknown and about to happen in the cognizance of the Almighty â€“ if the first pair had been cast forth from paradise previous to their fall, and so sin have been prevented in so holy and blessed a place! What, too, is to be said about the entire nullification of foreknowledge itself, when what is foreknown is not to happen? How, indeed, can that be rightly called the prescience of something to be, which in fact will not come to pass? And how are sins punished which amount to none at all, that is to say, which are not committed before the assumption of flesh by life not yet commencing, not after the assumption by death already preventing?

Chap. 16. [xiii.] ã€” Difficulty in the opinion which maintains that souls are not by j)ropagation.
This means, then, of settling the point whereby the soul was sent into its incarnate state until it should be delivered from the flesh, â€“ seeing that the soul of an infant, which has not grown old enough for the will to become free, is the case supposed, â€“ makes no discovery of the reason why condemnation should overtake it without the reception of baptism, except the reason of original sin. Owing to this sin, we do not deny that the soul is _righteously_ condemned, because for sin God's righteous law has appointed punishment. But then we ask, why the soul has been made to undergo _this_ sinful state, if it is not derived from that one primeval soul which sinned in the first father of the human race. Wherefore, if God does not condemn the innocent, â€“ if He does not make guilty those whom He sees to be innocent, â€“ and if nothing liberates souls from either original sins or personal ones but Christ's baptism in Christ's Church; and if sins, before they are committed, and much more when they have never been committed, cannot be condemned by any righteous law, then this writer cannot adduce any of these four cases; he must, if he can, explain, in respect to the souls of infants, which, as they quit life without baptism, are sent into condemnation, by what desert of theirs it is that they, without having ever sinned, are consigned to a sinful flesh, there to find the sin which is to secure their just condemnation. Moreover, if he shrinks from these four cases which sound doctrine condemns, â€“ that is to say, if he has not the courage to maintain that souls, when they are even without sin, are made sinful by God, or that they are freed from the original sin that is in them without Christ's sacrament, or that they committed sin in some other state before they were sent into the flesh, or that sins which they never committed are condemned in them, â€“ if, I say, he has not the courage to tell us these things because they really do not deserve to be mentioned, but should affirm that infants do not inherit original sin, have no reason why they should be condemned should they even depart hence without receiving the sacrament of regeneration, he will without doubt, to his own condemnation, run into the damnable heresy of Pelagius. To avoid this, how much better is it for him to share my hesitation about the soul's origin, without daring to affirm that which he cannot comprehend by human reason nor defend by divine authority! So shall he not be obliged to utter foolishness, whilst he is afraid to confess his ignorance.

222 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK I.]

out baptism, are sent into condemnation, by what desert of theirs it is that they, without having ever sinned, are consigned to a sinful flesh, there to find the sin which is to secure their just condemnation. Moreover, if he shrinks from these four cases which sound doctrine condemns, â€“ that is to say, if he has not the courage to maintain that souls, when they are even without sin, are made sinful by God, or that they are freed from the original sin that is in them without Christ's sacrament, or that they committed sin in some other state before they were sent into the flesh, or that sins which they never committed are condemned in them, â€“ if, I say, he has not the courage to tell us these things because they really do not deserve to be mentioned, but should affirm that infants do not inherit original sin, have no reason why they should be condemned should they even depart hence without receiving the sacrament of regeneration, he will without doubt, to his own condemnation, run into the damnable heresy of Pelagius. To avoid this, how much better is it for him to share my hesitation about the soul's origin, without daring to affirm that which he cannot comprehend by human reason nor defend by divine authority! So shall he not be obliged to utter foolishness, whilst he is afraid to confess his ignorance.

Chap. 17. [xiv.] â€“ He shows that the passages of Scripture adduced by Victor do not prove that souls are made by God in such a way as not to be derived by propagation: first passage.

Here, perhaps, he may say that his opinion is backed by divine authority, since he supposes that it is by passages of the Holy Scriptures that he proves that souls are not made by God by way of propagation, but that they are by distinct acts of creation breathed afresh into each individual. Let him prove this if he can, and I will allow that I have learnt from him what I was trying to find out with great earnestness.
But he must go in quest of other defences, which, perhaps, he will not find, for he has not proved his point by the passages which he has thus far advanced. For all he has applied to the subject are to some extent undoubtedly suitable, but they afford only doubtful demonstration to the point which he raises respecting the soul's origin. For it is certain that God gave to man breath and spirit, as the prophet testifies: "Thus saith

I

CHAP. XVIII. | VICTOR MISAPPLIES SCRIPTURE. 223

the Lord, who made the heaven, and founded the earth, and all that is therein; who giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk over it."^ This passage he wishes to be taken in his own sense, which he is defending; so that the words, "who giveth breath to the people," may be understood as implying that He creates souls for people not by propagation, but by insufflation of new souls in every case. Let him, then, boldly maintain at this rate that He does not give us flesh, on the ground that our flesh derives its original from our parents.

In the instance, too, which the apostle adduces, "God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him," ^ let him deny, if he dares, that corn springs from corn, and grass from grass, by seminal process, each after its kind. And if he dares not deny this, how does he know in what sense it is said, "He giveth breath to the people " ? â€” whether by derivation from parents, or by fresh breathing into each individual ?

Chap. 18. â€” By breath is signified sometimes the Holy Spirit.

How, again, does he know whether the repetition of the idea in the sentence, "who giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk over it," may not be understood of only one thing under two expressions, meaning, in short, not the life or spirit whereby human nature lives, but the Holy Spirit ?

For if by the flatus or breath the Holy Ghost may not be signified, the Lord would not, when He breathed upon His disciples after His resurrection, have said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." ^ Nor would it have been thus written in the Acts of the Apostles, "Suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as if a rushing mighty wind were borne in upon them; and there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." ^ Suppose, now, that it was this which the prophet foretold in the words, "who giveth breath unto the people upon it;" and then, as an exposition of what he had designated "breath," went on to say, "and spirit to them that walk over it." Surely this prediction was most manifestly fulfilled when they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. If, however, the term "people " is not yet applicable to the one hundred and

1 Isa. zlii. 5. ^ 1 Cor. xv. 33. ^ John xx. 22. * Acts ii. 2.
twenty persons who were then assembled together in one place, at all events, when the number of believers amounted to four or five thousand, who when they were baptized received the Holy Ghost, can any doubt that the recipients of the Holy Ghost were then "the people," even a multitude walking in the earth?
For that breath or spirit which is given to man as appertaining to his nature, whether it be given by propagation or be renewed by insufflation to individuals (and I do not determine which of these two modes ought to be affirmed, at least until one of the two can be clearly ascertained beyond a doubt), is not given to men when they "walk over the earth," but whilst they are still shut up in their mother's womb. "He gave breath, therefore, to the people upon the earth, and spirit to them that walk over it," when many became believers together, and were together filled with the Holy Ghost. And He gives Him, Himself, to His people, although not to all at the same time, but to every one in His own time, until, by departing from this life, and by coming into it, the entire number of His people be fulfilled. In this passage of Holy Scripture, therefore, breath is not one thing, and spirit another thing; but there is a repetition of one and the same idea. Just as [in that passage in the psalms], "He that sitteth in the heavens" is not one, and "the Lord" is not another; nor, again, is it one thing "to laugh," and another thing "to hold in derision;" but there is only a repetition of the same meaning in the passage where we read, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision."^ So, in precisely the same manner, in the passage, "I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession,"^ it is certainly not meant that "inheritance" is one thing, and "possession" another thing; nor that "the heathen" means one thing, and "the uttermost parts of the earth" another; there is only a repetition of the self-same thing. He will, indeed, discover innumerable expressions of this sort in the sacred writings, if he will only attentively consider what

he reads.

Chap. 19.

The term used in the Greek version, ttvoj], is variously ren-
1 Acts iv. 31. 2 ps_ ii_ 4_ 3 Ps. ii. 8.

CHAP. XIX.] VARIOUS MEANINGS OF TTVO)}. 225
dered in Latin: sometimes by fiatus, breath; sometimes by spiritus, spirit; sometimes by inspiratio, inspiration. This term occurs in the Greek editions of the passage which we are now reviewing, " Who giveth breath to the people upon it," the word for hrcath being tvo^ The same word is used in the narrative where man was endued with life:
" And God breathed upon his face the breath of life." ^ Again, in the psalm the same term occurs: " Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord;" ^ but it is rendered by the Latin spiritus here. In the Book of Job it is translated adspiratio (inspiration): " The inspiration of the Almighty is that which teaches." * The translator refused the word fiatus for adspiratio, although he had before him the very term irvorj, which occurs in the text of the prophet which we are considering. We can hardly doubt, I think, that in this passage of Job the Holy Ghost is signified. The question discussed was concerning wisdom, whence it comes to men: " It cometh not from number of years; but there is a spi'it in mortals, and the inspiration of the Almighty is that which teaches." ^ By this repetition of terms it may be quite understood that he did not speak of man's own spirit in the clause, " There is a spirit [or, the spirit] in mortals." He wanted to show whence men have wisdom, â€” that it is not from their own selves; so by using a duplicate expression he explains his idea: " The inspiration of the Almighty is that which teaches." Similarly, in another passage of the same book, he says: " The understanding of my lips shall meditate purity. The divine Spirit is that which formed me, and the breath of the Almighty is that which teacheth me." ^ Here, likewise, what he calls adspiratio, or " inspiration," is in Greek irvori; the same word which is translated J^Â«^;s, " breath," in the passage quoted from the prophet. Therefore, although one ventures to question

^ [The passage is (in the LXX.), Ka/ S/Saus motiv tZ Xaf rf W avrr,;]

^ [The LXX. text of Gen. ii. 7 is, Ka/ Iviipucryitni IU tÂ« â€€Xfiaioivot al-oZ Tiortt ^M!55.]

[Ps. cl. 6: Tiara wan alvKrariu Tov Kufoiv.]
* [According to the LXX., Uvoh Se ^pravroKparopos limv i) %ica<ry.ov7a.]
5 .Job. xxxii. 7, 8.
Â® [Job XXX. 3, 4, according to the LXX., of which the text is, ^ivin;
Tl:^;Â£/XÂ£ft>Â»

ftnv xa^xpa vt>r, ffi, Uivuct h7ov to Toiy.fiiiiv ftl, won o\vcctrixparopi; Irriv fi SiSaÂ»'xouffa.\n
XII. p

226 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]
whether the passage, "Who giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk over it," has reference to the life or spirit of man; and although the Holy Ghost may with greater credibility be understood as referred to in the passage, yet I ask on what ground anybody can boldly determine that the prophet meant in these words to intimate that the life or spirit whereby our nature possesses vitality is not given to us by God through the process of propagation? Of course if the prophet very plainly said, "Who giveth breath [or soul] to the people upon earth," it still remains to be asked whether God Himself gives it from the original matter of which the preceding generation is composed, just as He gives the body out of such prior material, and that not only to men or cattle, but also to the seed of corn, or to any other body whatever, just as it pleases Him; or whether He bestows it by inbreathing as a new gift to each individual, as the first man received it from Him?

Chap. 20.

There are also some persons who understand the prophet's words, "He gave breath to the people upon it," that is to say, upon the earth, as if the word "breath," flatus, were simply equivalent to natural life, or anima; while they construe the next clause, "And spirit to them that walk over it," as referring to the Holy Ghost; and they suppose that the same order is described by the prophet as is mentioned by the apostle: "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual." Now from this view of the prophet's words a neat interpretation may, no doubt, be formed consistent with the apostle's! sense. The phrase, "to them that walk over it," is in the Latin, "calcantibus earn;" and as the literal meaning of these words is "treading upon it," we may understand the idea of contempt of it (contemnentibus earn) to be implied. For they who receive the Holy Ghost despise earthly things in their love of heavenly things. All these opinions, however, are contra fidel, whether one regards the two terms, breath and spirit, to pertain to human nature, or both of them to the Holy Ghost; or one of them, breath, to the natural life, and the other, spirit, to the Holy Ghost. If, however, the breath and spith of the human being, as the gift of God to him, be
the meaning here, as undoubtedly it ought to be, then we must further inquire, by what way does God bestow this gift?
Is it by propagation, as He gives us our bodily limbs by this process? Or is it bestowed on each person severally by God's inbreathing, not by propagation, but as always a fresh creation? These questions are not ambiguous, as this man would make them; but (according to our own desire) they are capable of being defended by the most certain warrant of the divine Scriptures.


On the same principle we treat the passage in which God says: "For my Spirit shall go forth from me; and I have created all breath." Here the former clause, "My Spirit shall go forth from me," must be taken as referring to the Holy Ghost, of whom the Saviour similarly says, "He proceedeth from the Father." But the other clause, "I have created all [or every] breath," is undeniably spoken of each individual soul. Well; but God also creates the entire body of man; and, as nobody doubts, He makes the human body by the process of propagation: it is therefore, of course, still open to inquiry concerning the soul (since it is evidently God's work), whether He creates it, as He does the body, by propagation, or by inbreathing, as He made the first soul.

Chap. 22. "Victor's third quotation.

He proceeds to favour us with a third passage, in which it is written: "[The Lord] that forms the spirit of man within him." As if any one denied this! No; all our question is as to the mode of the formation. Now let us take the eye of the body, and ask, who but God forms it? I suppose that

[Isa. Ivii. 16. In the Septuagint it is, n&jSjaa ya^ Tccf i/i.w i^iXiCciTai, no.)

2 John XV. 26.

^ [Zech. xii. 1, which in the Septuagint is, Kvpio; . . . 7tXa.Gauv â– rtiufca

223 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

He forms it not externally, but in itself, and yet, most certainly, by propagation. Since, then. He also forms the human spirit, or soul, in itself, the question still remains, whether it be derived by a fresh insufflation in every instance, or by propagation.

Chap. 23. "His fourth quotation.
We have read all about the mother of the Maccabean youths, who was really more fruitful in virtues when her children suffered than prolific when they were born; how she exhorted them to constancy, speaking in this wise: "I cannot tell, my sons, how ye came into my womb. For it was not I who gave you either breath or life; nor was it I that formed the members of every one of you, but it was God, who also made the world, and all things that are therein; who, moreover, formed the generation of men; and searches the action of all; and who will Himself of His great mercy restore to you your breath and life." All this we know; but how it supports this man's assertion we do not see.

For what Christian would deny that God gives to men life and breath? But similarly, I suppose that he cannot deny that God gives to men their tongue, and ear, and hand, and foot, and all their bodily sensations, and the form and nature of all their limbs.

For how is he going to deny all these to be the gifts of God, unless he forgets that he is a Christian? As, however, it is evident that these were made by Him, and bestowed on man by propagation; so also the question must arise, by what means man's life and spirit are formed by Him; by what efficiency given to man by the parents, or of nothing, or (as this man asserts, in a sense which we must by all means guard against) out of some existing condition of the divine breath, not created out of nothing, but of His own self?

Chap. 24. [xv.] "Whether the soul is derived by natural descent (ex traduce), his cited passages fail to demonstrate.

Forasmuch, then, as the passages of Scripture which he mentions by no means show what he endeavours to enforce out of them (indeed, they express nothing at all on the immediate question before us), what can be the meaning of these words of his: "We firmly maintain that the soul comes from the breath of God, not from natural generation, because it is given to man of God"? As if, forsooth, the human body could be given of any another than Him by whom it is created, "Of whom are all things, through whom are all things, in whom are all things;" not that they are of His nature, but of His workmanship. "Nor is it from nothing," says he, "because it comes forth from God." Whether this be so, is (we must say) not the question to be here entertained. At the same time, we do not hesitate to affirm, that the proposition which he advances, that the soul comes not to man
by natural generation, is not at all true. For it is one of two things: if the soul is not
derived by natural descent from the parent, it comes out of nothing. To pretend that it is
derived from God in such wise as to be a portion of His nature, is simply sacrilegious
blasphemy. Still we strongly desire to, and look out for some plain passages of
Scripture bearing on the point, whether the soul comes by parental descent; but we do not
want such passages as he has adduced, which yield no illustration of the question now
before us.

Chap. 25.

How I wish that, on so profound a question, so long as he is ignorant what he should say,
he would imitate the mother of the Maccabean youths! Although she knew very well that
she had borne children of her husband, and that they had been created for her by the
Creator of all, both in body and in life and soul, yet she says, "I cannot tell, my sons,
how ye came into my womb." Well now, I only wish this man would tell us that which
she was ignorant of! She, of course, knew (on the points I have mentioned) how they
came into her womb as to their bodily substance, because she could not possibly doubt
that she had conceived them by her husband. She furthermore confessed "I cannot tell" because this,
too, she was, of course, well aware of
"I cannot tell" that it was God who gave them their life and soul, and that it was He also who
formed for them their features and their limbs. What was it, then, that she was so ignorant
of?
Was it not probably (what we likewise are equally unable to

' Eom. xi. 36.

230 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK I.]

determine) whether the life and soul, which God no doubt bestowed upon them, was
derived to them from their parents, or breathed into them separately, as it had been into
the first man? But whether it was this, or some other particular respecting the
constitution of human nature, of which she was ignorant, she frankly confessed her
ignorance; and did not venture to defend at random what she knew nothing about.
Nor would this man say to her, what he has not been ashamed to say to us: "Man being
in honour doth not understand; he is compared to the senseless cattle, and is like unto
them." ^

Behold how that woman said of her sons, "I cannot tell how ye came into my womb," and
yet she is not compared to the senseless brutes. "I cannot tell," she said; then, as if
they would inquire of her why she was ignorant, she went on to say, "For it was not I
who gave you either breath or life." He, therefore, who gave them that gift, knows
whence He made what He bestowed upon them, whether He communicated it by parental
propagation, or breathed it as a fresh creation into each, "I cannot tell" a point which, this man says,
I for my part know nothing of "Nor was it I that formed the members of every one of
you." He, however, who formed them, knows whether He formed them with the soul, or
gave the soul to them after they had been formed. She had no idea of the manner, this or that, in which her sons came into her womb; only one thing was she sure of, that He who gave her all she had would restore it to her again. But this man would choose out what should be the precise ignorance, on so profound and abstruse a fact of our nature, of the Maccabean woman; only he would not judge her, if in error; nor compare her, if ignorant, to the senseless cattle. Whatever the point was about which she was ignorant, it certainly pertained to man's nature; and yet anybody would be blameless for such ignorance. Wherefore, I too, on my side, say concerning my soul:

I have no certain knowledge how it came into my body; for it was not I who gave it to myself He who gave it to me] knows whether He imparted it to me from my father, orj created it afresh for me, as He did for the first man. But even I shall know, when He Himself shall teach me, in His

'Vs. xlviii. 12 (Septuagint).

CIIAr. XXVI.] VICTOR STRAINS SCRIPTURE. 231

own good time. Now, however, I do not know; nor am I ashamed, like him, to confess my ignorance of what I know not.


"Learn," says he, "for, behold the apostle teaches you."

Yes, indeed, I will learn, if I have the apostle for my instructor; since it is God alone who teaches by the apostle. But, pray, what is it which the apostle teaches? "Observe," he adds, "how, when speaking to the men of Athens, he strongly set forth this truth, saying: 'Seeing He giveth to all life and breath.' " Well, who thinks of denying this? "But understand what it is the apostle states: He giveth; not. He hath given. He refers us to continuous and indefinite time, and does not speak peremptorily of past and completed time.

Now that which he gives without cessation. He is always giving; just as He who gives is Himself ever existent." I have quoted his words precisely as I found them in the second of the books which you sent me. First, I beg you to notice to what lengths he has gone, while endeavouring to affirm what he knows nothing about. For he has dared to say, that God, without any cessation, and not merely in the present time, but for ever and ever, gives souls to persons when they are born. "He is always giving," says he, "just as He who gives is Himself ever existent." Far be it from me to say that I do not understand what the apostle said, for it is plain enough. But what this man says, he even ought himself to know, is contrary to the Christian faith; and he should be on his guard against going any further in such assertions. For, of
course, when the dead shall rise again, there will be no more persons to be born; therefore God will bestow no longer any souls at any birth; but those which He is now giving to men along with their bodies He will judge. So that He is not always giving, although He is ever existent, who at present is giving. Nor, indeed, is that at all derivable from the apostle's expression, who giveth (not hath given), which this writer wishes to deduce, namely, that God does not give men souls by propagation. For souls are still given by Him, even if it be by propagation; even as bodily endowments, such as limbs, and sensations, and shape, and, in fact, the whole sub-

232 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

stance, are given by God Himself to human beings, although it be by propagation that He gives them. Nor again, because the Lord says, "If God so clothes the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven " (not using the preterite time, hath clothed, as when He first formed the material; but employing the present form, clothes, which, indeed. He still is doing), shall we on that account say, that the lilies are not produced according to the birth of their own kind. What, therefore, if the life and soul of a human being in like manner is bestowed by God Himself, whenever it is bestowed; and bestowed, too, by propagation from its own kind ? ISTow this is a position which I neither maintain nor refute. Nevertheless, if it must be defended, or confuted, I certainly recommend its being done by clear, and not doubtful proofs. Nor do I deserve to be compared with senseless cattle because I avow myself to be as yet incapable of determining the question, but rather with cautious persons, because I do not recklessly teach what I know nothing about. But I am not disposed on my own part to return railing for railing, and compare this man with brutes; but I warn him as a son, to acknowledge that he is really ignorant of that which he knows 'nothing about; nor to attempt to teach that which he has not yet learnt, lest he should deserve to be compared [not, indeed, with brute beasts, but] with those persons whom the apostle mentions as "desiring to be teachers of the law, understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm." ^

Chap. 27. [xvii.] â€” Augustine did not venture to define anything about the propagation of the soul.

For whence comes it that he is so careless about the Scriptures, which he talks of, as not to notice that when he reads of human beings being from God, it is not merely, as he contends, in respect of their life and soul, but also as regards their body ? For the apostle's statement, " We are His offspring," this man supposes must not be referred to the body, but only to the life and soul. If, indeed, our human bodies are not of God, then that is false which the Scripture says: " For of Him are all things, through Him are all things, and in Him are all things." * Again, with reference to the same apostle's state-

J Matt. vi. 30. 2 2 Tim. i. 7. * Acts xvii. 28. â€¢ Eom. xi. 36.
ment, " For as the woman is of the man, so also is the man by the woman," ^ hit him explain to us what propagation he would choose to be meant in the process, â€” that of the soul, or of the body, or both ? But he will not allow that souls come by propagation: it remains, therefore, that, according to him and all who deny the propagation of souls, the apostle predicated gender, masculine and feminine, of the body only, when he said, " As the woman is of the man, so also is the man by the woman;" the woman having been made out of the man, in order that the man might afterwards, by the process of birth, come out of the woman. If, therefore, the apostle, when he said this, did not intend the immaterial parts of life and soul to be understood, but only the bodily components of the two sexes, why does he immediately add, " But all things are of God,"^ unless it be that bodies also are of God 1 For so runs his entire statement: " As the woman is of the man, so also is the man by the woman; but all things are of God." Let, then, our disputant determine of what this is said. If of men's bodies, then, of course, even bodies are of God. How comes it to pass, therefore, that whenever this person reads in Scripture the phrase, " of God" when man is in question, he will have the words understood, not in reference to men's bodies, but only as concerning their souls and spirits ? But if the expression, " All things are of God," was spoken of the body of the two sexes, as well as of their soul and spirit, it follows that in all things the woman is of the man; for the woman comes from the man, and the man is by the woman: but all things are of God. What " all things " are meant, except those he was speaking of, namely, the man of whom came the woman, and the woman who was of the man, and also the man who came by the woman ? For that man came not by woman, out of whom came the woman; but only he who afterwards was born of man by woman, just as men are now born. Hence it follows that if the apostle, when he said the words we have quoted from him, spoke of men's bodies, undoubtedly the bodies of persons of both sexes are of God. Furthermore, if he insists that nothing in man comes from God except their souls and spirits, then, of course, the woman is of the man even as regards

1 1 Cor. xi. 12. M Cor. xi. 12.
Wherefore, allowing that the apostle is more likely to speak the truth than that this person must be preferred as an authority to the apostle, the woman is of the man, whether in regard to her body only, or in reference to the entire whole of which human nature consists (but we assert nothing on these points as an absolute certainty, but are still inquiring after their truth); and the man is through the woman, whether it be that his whole nature as man is derived to him from his father, and is born in him through the woman, or the flesh alone; about which points the question is still undecided. "All things, however, are of God," and about this there is no question; and in this phrase are included the body, soul, and spirit, both of the man and the woman. For even if they were not born or derived from God, or emanated from Him, as portions of His nature, yet they are of God, inasmuch as whatever is created, formed, and made by Him, has from Him the reality of its existence.

Chap. 28.

He goes on to remark: "But the apostle, by saying, 'Seeing that He giveth life and breath to all,' and then by adding the words, 'And hath made the whole race of men of one blood,' ^ has referred life and breath to the Creator in respect of their origin, and the body to parental propagation." Now it is true that any one who does not wish to deny at random the propagation of souls, before ascertaining clearly whether the opinion is correct or not, has good ground for understanding, from the apostle's words, that he meant the expression, of one Mood, to be equivalent to of one man, by the figure of speech which understands the whole from its part. Well, then, if it be allowable for this man to take the whole from a part in the passage, "And man became a living soul," ^ as if the spirit also


CHAP. XXVIII.] .getLongTextEnd
flesh; so, on the other hand, he ought not to bear too hard on those who hold the
propagation of souls, on the ground of the phrase,
" The whole race of men of one blood," as if this passage proved that flesh alone was
transmitted by propagation. For if it is true, as they ^ assert, that soul does not descend
from soul, but flesh only from flesh, then the expression, " of one blood"
does not signify the entire human being, on the principle of a part for the whole, but
merely the flesh of one person alone; while that other expression, " In whom all have
sinned," must be so understood as to indicate merely the flesh of all men, which has been
handed on from the first man, the Scripture signifying a part by the whole. If, on the other
hand, it is true that the entire human being is propagated of each man, himseK also entire,
consisting of body, soul, and spirit, then the passage, " In whom all have sinned," must be
taken in its proper literal sense; and the other phrase, " of one Uood" is used
metaphorically, the whole being signified by a part, that is to say, the whole man who
consists of soul and flesh; or rather (as this person is fond of putting it) of soul, and spirit,
and flesh. For both modes of expression 'the Holy Scriptures are in the habit of
employing, putting both a part for the

^ [Or " the life and breath " â€” anima et spiritus â€” of the A. V. of Acts xvii. 25.]

- Rom. v^ 12.

* [Isti = that party; another reading has iste, Augustine's opponent, Victor.]

v\ 

236 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

whole and the whole for a part. A part, for instance, implies the whole, in the place where
it is said, " Unto Thee shall all flesh come; " ^ the whole man being understood by the
term Jlesh. And the whole sometimes implies a part, as when it is said that Christ was
buried, whereas it was only His flesh that was buried. Now as regards the statement
which is made in the apostle's testimony, to the effect that " He giveth life and breath to
all," I suppose that nobody, after the foregoing discussion, will be moved by it. No doubt
" He giveth; " the fact is not in dispute; our question is, How does He give it ?
By fresh inbreathing in every instance, or by propagation ?
For with perfect propriety is He said to give the substance of the flesh to the human
being, though at the same time it is not denied that He gives it by means of propagation.

Chap. 29. [xviii.] â€” The sixth passage of Scripture [fiuoted by Victor].

Let us now look at the quotation from Genesis, where the woman is created out of the
side of the man, and is brought to him, and he says: " This is now bone of my bones, and
flesh of my flesh." Our opponent thinks that " Adam ought to have said, 'Soul of my soul, or spirit of my spirit,' if this, too, had been derived from him." But, in fact, they who maintain the opinion of the propagation of souls feel that they possess a more impregnable defence of their position in the fact that in the Scripture narrative which informs us that God took a rib out of the man's side and formed it into a woman, it is not added that He breathed into her face the breath of life; because, as they hold, she had already received animation from the man. If, indeed, she had not, the sacred Scripture would certainly not have kept us in ignorance of the circumstance.

"With regard to the fact that Adam says, "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," without adding. Breath of my breath, soul of my soul, they may answer, just as it has been already shown, that the expression, "my flesh and bone," may be understood as indicating the whole by a part, only that the portion that was taken out of man was not dead, but instinct with life; for no good ground for denying that the Almighty was able to do all this is furnished by the circum-

^ Ps. Ixv. 2. ^ Gen. ii. 23. ^ Animata, possessing the anima or soul

CHAP. XXX.] victor's quotations indecisive. 237

stance that not a human being could be found capable of cutting off a part of a man's flesh which should retain its animation. Adam went on, however, to say, "She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man." Now, why does he not express himself in such a way as should confirm the opinion of our opponents, to the effect that her flesh was taken out of her husband's side? As the case stands, indeed, they who hold the opposite view may well contend, from the fact that it is written, not woman's flesh, but the woman herself was taken out of man, that she must be considered in her entire nature endued with soul and spirit. For although the soul is undistinguished by sex, yet when women are mentioned it is impossible to regard them without relation to the soul. On no other principle would they be thus admonished with respect to self-adornment. "Not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but which (says the apostle) becometh women professing godliness with a good conversation." Now, "godliness," of course, is an inner principle in the soul or spirit; and yet they are called women, although the ornamentation concerns that internal portion of their nature which has no sex.

Chap. 30.

Now, while the disputants are thus contending with one another in alternate argument, I offer them on both sides this judicial determination, that they must not rely on uncertain evidence; and I would strongly advise each party to make no bold assertions on points of which they are ignorant. For if the Scripture had said, "God breathed into the woman's face the breath of life, and she became a living soul," it would not have followed even then that the human soul is not derived by propagation from parents, except the same statement were likewise made concerning the parents' son. For it might have been that
whilst a member taken from the body without animation might require to be animated,^ yet that the soul of the son might be derived from the father, transfused by propagation through the mother. There is, however, an absolute silence on the point; it is entirely concealed from our view.

' Gen. ii. 23. ^ 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

^ Animari, or endued with the anima or soul.

238 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

Nothing is denied, but at the same time nothing is affirmed. And thus, wherever the Scripture does not happen to be quite silent, the point requires to be supported by clearer proofs. Whence it follows, that neither they who maintain the propagation of souls receive any assistance from the circumstance that God did not breathe into the woman's face; nor ought they, who deny this doctrine on the ground that Adam did not say, " This is soul of my soul," to persuade themselves to believe what they know nothing of. For just as it has been possible for the Scripture to be silent on the point of the woman's having received her soul, like the man, by the inbreathing of God, without the question before us being solved, but, on the contrary, remaining open; so has it been possible for the same question to remain open and unsolved, notwithstanding the silence of Scripture, as to whether or not Adam said. This is soul of my soul. And hence, if the soul of the first woman comes from the man, a part signifies the whole in his exclamation, " This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh;" inasmuch as not her flesh alone, but the entire woman, was taken out of man. If, however, it is not from the man, but came by God's inbreathing it into her, as at first into the man, then the whole signifies a part in the passage, " She was taken out of the man;" since on the supposition it was not her whole self, but her flesh that was taken.

Chap. 31. æ" The argument of the Apollinarians to prove that Christ was without the human soul.

Although, then, this question remains unsolved by these passages of Scripture, which are certainly indecisive so far as pertains to the point before us, yet I am quite sure of this, that those persons who think that the soul of the first woman did not come from her husband's soul, on the ground of its being only said, " Flesh of my flesh," and not. Soul of my soul,
do, in fact, argue in precisely the same manner as the Apol
linarians argue, and all such gainsayers, in opposition to the
Lord's human soul, which they deny for no other reason than
because they read in the Scripture, "The Word was made flesh." ^

For if, say they, there was a human soul in Him also, it ought
to have been said, The Word was made man. But the reason
1 John i. 14.

CHAP. XXXII.] THE APOLLINARIAN HERESY. 239

why the great truth is stated in the terms in question really is, that under the designation flesh, Holy Scripture is accustomed to describe the entire human being, as in the passage, "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God." ^ For flesh alone without the soul cannot see anything. Besides, many other passages of the Holy Scriptures go to make it manifest, without any ambiguity, that in the man Christ there is not only human flesh, but a human soul also, that is the reasonable one. Whence they, who maintain the propagation of souls, might also admit that a part is put for the whole in the passage, "Bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," in such wise that the soul, too, be understood as implied in the words, in the same manner as we believe that the Word was flesh, not without the accompaniment of the soul. All that is wanted is, that they should support their opinion of the propagation of souls on passages which are unambiguous; just as other passages of Scripture [correct the misapprehension of the Apollinarians, and] show us that Christ possesses a human soul.

On precisely the same principle we advise the other side also, who do away with the opinion of the propagation of souls, that they should produce certain proofs for their assertion that souls are created by God in every fresh case by insufflation, and that they should then maintain the position that the saying, "This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," was not spoken figuratively as a part for the whole, including the soul in its signification, but in a bare literal sense of the flesh alone.
Chap. 32.[xix.]

Under these circumstances, I find that this treatise of mine must now be closed. It contains, in fact, all that seemed to me chiefly necessary to the subject under discussion. They who peruse its contents will know how to be on their guard against agreeing with the person whose two books you sent me, so as not to believe with him, that souls are produced by the breath of God in such wise as not to be made out of nothing. The man, indeed, who supposes this, however much he may in words deny the conclusion, does in reality affirm that souls have the substance of God, and are His offspring, not by His creative

' Luke iii. 6, and Isa. xl. 5 (Sept.).

240 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK I.]

gift, but by nature. For from whomsoever a man derives the original of his nature, from him, in all sober earnestness, it must needs be admitted, that he also derives the sort or kind of his nature. But this author is, after all, self-contradictory: at one time he says that "souls are the offspring of God, â€” not, indeed, by nature, but by endowment;" and at another time he says, that "they are not made out of nothing, but derive their origin from God." Thus he does not hesitate to recall them to the nature of God, a position which he had previously denied.

Chap. 33. â€” Augustine has no objection to the opinion about the propagation of souls being refuted, and that about their insufflation being maintained.

As for the opinion, that souls are created by fresh acts of inbreathing without being propagated, we certainly do not in the least object to its maintenance, â€” only let it be by persons who have succeeded in discovering some new evidence, either in the canonical Scriptures, in the shape of unambiguous testimony towards the solution of a most knotty question, or else in their own reasonings, such as shall not be opposed to Catholic truth, but not by such persons as this man has shown himself to be. Unable to find anything worth saying, and at the same time unwilling to suspend his disputatious propensity, without measuring his strength at all, in order to avoid saying nothing, he boldly affirmed that "the soul deserved to be polluted by the flesh," and that "the soul deserved to become sinful;"

though previous to its incarnation he was unable to discover any merit in it, whether good or evil. Moreover, that "in infants departing from the body without baptism original sin may be remitted, and that the sacrifice of Christ's body must be offered for them," who have not been incorporated into Christ through His sacraments in His Church, and that "they, quitting this present life without the laver of regeneration, not only can go to rest, but can even attain to the kingdom of heaven." He has propounded a good many other absurdities, which it would be evidently tedious to collect together, and to consider in this
treatise. If the doctrine of the propagation of souls is false, may its refutation not be the work of such disputants; and may the defence of the rival principle of the insufflation of new souls in every creative act, proceed from better hands.

I

CHAP. XXXIV.] VICTOK'S MANIFOLD MISTAKES, 241

Chap. 34. â€” The mistakes which must be avoided by those who say thai men's souls are not derived from their parents, but are afresh inbreathed by God in every instance.

All, therefore, who wish to maintain that souls are rightly said to be breathed afresh into persons at their birth, and not derived from their parents, must by all means be cautious on each of the four points which I have already mentioned. That is to say, do not let them affirm that souls become sinful by the original sin of some one else; do not let them affirm that infants who died unbaptized can possibly reach eternal life and the kingdom of heaven by the remission of original sin in any other way whatever; do not let them affirm that souls had sinned in some other place previous to their incarnation, and that on this account they were forcibly introduced into sinful flesh; nor let them affirm that the sins which were not actually found in them were, because they were foreknown, deservedly punished, although they were never permitted to reach that life where they could be committed. Provided that they affirm none of these points, because each of them is simply false and impious, they may, if they can, produce any conclusive testimonies of Holy Scriptures on this question; and they may maintain their own opinion, not only without any prohibition from me, but even with my approbation and best thanks. If, however, they fail to discover any very decided authority on the point in the divine oracles, and are obliged to propound any one of the four opinions by reason of their failure, let them restrain their imagination, lest they should be driven in their difficulty to enunciate the now damnable and very recently condemned heresy of Pelagius, to the effect that even the souls of infants have not original sin. It is, indeed, better for a man to confess his ignorance of what he know's nothing about, than either to run into heresy which has been already condemned, or to found some new heresy, while recklessly daring to defend over and over again opinions which only display his ignorance. This man has made some other absurd mistakes, indeed many, in which he has wandered out of the beaten track of truth, without going, however, to dangerous lengths; and I would like, if the Lord be willing, to write even to himself something on the subject of his books; and probably I shaU point them all

xn. Q
out to him, or a good many of them, if I should be unable to notice all.

Chap. 35. [xx.]
As for this present treatise, which I have thought it proper to address to no other person in preference to yourself, who have taken a kindly and true interest both in our common faith and my character, as a true Catholic and a good friend, you will give it to be read or copied by any persons you may be able to find interested in the subject, or may deem worthy to be trusted. In it I have thought proper to repress and confute the presumption of this young man, in such a way, however, as to show that I love him, wishing him to be amended rather than condemned, and to make such progress in the great house of the Catholic Church, whither the divine compassion has conducted him, that he might be therein "a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the Master's use, and prepared into every good work," both by holy living and sound teaching. But I have this further to say: if it behoves me to bestow my love upon him, as I sincerely do, how much more ought I to love you, my brother, whose affection towards me, and whose Catholic faith I have found by the best of proofs to be cautious and sober! The result of your loyalty has been, that you have, with a brother's real love and duty, taken care to have the books, which displeased you, and wherein you found my name treated in a way which ran counter to your liking, copied out and forwarded to me. Now, I am so far from feeling offended at this charitable act of yours, as you did it, that I think I should have had a right, on the true claims of friendship, to have been angry with you if you had not done it. I therefore give you my most earnest thanks.

Moreover, I have afforded a still plainer indication of the spirit in which I have accepted your service, by instantly composing this treatise for your consideration, as soon as I had read those books of his.

Â» 2 Tim. ii. 21.

CHAP, I] depraved eloquence hurtful. 243

SECOND BOOK,

IX the shape of a letter addressed to the presbyter petep.,

HE ADVISES PETER NOT TO INCXTE THE IMPUTATION OF HAVING APPROVED OF
THE BOOKS WHICH HAD BEEN ADDRESSED TO HIM BY VICTOR ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL, BY ANY USE HE MIGHT MAKE OF THEM, NOR TO TAKE AS CATHOLIC DOCTRINES THAT PERSON'S RASH UTTERANCES CONTRARY TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. VICTOR'S VARIOUS ERRORS, AND THOSE, TOO, OF A VERY SERIOUS CHARACTER, HE POINTS OUT AND BRIEFLY CONFUTES; AND HE CONCLUDES WITH ADVISING PETER HIMSELF TO TRY AND PERSUADE VICTOR TO AMEND HIS ERRORS.

TO his Lordship, my dearly beloved brother and fellowpresbyter Peter, Augustine, bishop, sendeth greeting in the Lord.

Chap. 1. [i.] â€” Depraved eloquence an injurious accomplishment.

There have reached me the two books of Vincentius Victor, which he addressed in writing to your Holiness; they have been forwarded to me by our brother Eenatus, a layman indeed, but a person who has a prudent and religious care about the faith both of himself and of all he loves. On reading these books, I saw that their author was a man of great resources in words, of which he had enough, and more than enough; but that on the subjects of which he wished to treat, he was as yet insufficiently instructed. If, however, by the gracious gift of the Lord this qualification were also conferred upon him, he would be serviceable to many. For he possesses in no slight degree the faculty of being able to expound in choicest language whatever his opinions may be; all that is wanted is, that he should first take care to acquire correct opinions. Depraved eloquence is a hurtful accomplishment; for to persons of inadequate information it always carries the appearance of truth in its readiness of speech. I know not, indeed, how you received his books; but if I am correctly informed, you are said, after reading them, to have been so greatly overjoyed, that you (though an elderly man and a presbyter) kissed the face of this youthful layman, and thanked him for having been taught what you had been previously ignorant of. Now, in this conduct of yours I do not disapprove of your humility; indeed, I rather commend it; for it was not the man whom you praised, but the truth itself which deigned to speak to you through him: only I wish you were able to point out to me what was the truth which you received through him. I should, therefore, be glad if you would show me, in your answer to this letter, what it was he taught you. Be it far from me to be ashamed to learn from a presbyter, since you did not blush to be instructed by a layman, in proclaiming and imitating your humble conduct, if the lessons were only true in which you received
instruction.

Chap. 2. [ii.]

Therefore, brother greatly beloved, I desire to linow what you learned of him, in order that, if I already possessed the knowledge, I might participate in your joy; but if I happened to be ignorant, I might be instructed by you. Did you not then understand that there were two certain principles, soul and spirit, according as it is said in Scripture, "Thou wilt separate my life [soul, animam'] from my spirit " ? ^ And that both of them pertain to man's nature, so that the entire human being consists of spirit, and soul, and body ? Sometimes, however, the two are combined together under the designation of soul; for instance, in the passage, "And man became a living soul." ^ Now, in this place the spirit is implied.

Similarly in sundry passages the two are described under the name of spirit, as when it is written, "And He bowed His head and gave up the ghost [or spirit];"^ in which passage the soul or vital principle must also be understood. And the two are of one and the same substance. I suppose that you already knew all this. But if you did not, then you may as well know that you have not acquired any great knowledge,

^ Job vii. 14. ['AraX> .a]l/; a^o TTviufiarcs fiou rhv }^u^vv fiov, Sept.]


CHAP. III.] SUBTLE QUESTIONS UNSOLVED. 245

the ignorance of which would be attended with much danger.
If there must be any keener or more subtle discussion on such points, it would be better to carry on the controversy with himself, whose wordy qualities we have already discovered.
The questions we might consider are: whether, when mention is made of the soul, the spirit is also implied in the term in such a way that the two comprise the soul, the spirit being, as it were, some part of it, â€” whether, in fact (as this person seemed to think), under the designation soul, the whole is so designated from only a part; or else, whether the two together make up the spirit, that which is properly called soul being a part thereof; whether again, in fact, the whole is not called from only a part, when the term spirit is used in such a wide sense as to comprehend the soul also, as this man supposes. These, however, are but subtle distinctions, and ignorance about them certainly is not attended with any great danger.

Chap. 3.

Again, I wonder whether this man taught you the difference between the bodily senses and the sensibilities of the soul; and whether you, who were a person of considerable age and position before you took lessons of this man, used to consider that faculty to be one
and the same by which white and black are distinguished, which sparrows even see as
M^ell as ourselves, and that by which justice and injustice are discriminated, which
Tobias also perceived even after he lost the sight of his eyes.^ If you held the identity,
then, of course, when you heard or read the words, "Lighten my eyes, that I sleep not in
death," ^ you merely thought of the eyes of the body.
Or if this were an obscure point, at all events when you recalled the words of the apostle,
"The eyes of your understanding being enlightened," ^ you must have supposed that we
possessed an understanding somewhere between our forehead and cheeks. Well, I am
very far from thinking this of you, so that this instructor of yours could not have given
you such a lesson.

[^ Properly it is Tobias' father Tohif who is here meant. See Tobit iv. 5, 6; compare ii.
10.]

â– ^ Ps. xiii. 3. 3 Eph. i. 13.

246 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK II.]

Chap. 4.

And if you happened to suppose, before receiving the instruction from this teacher, which
you are rejoicing to have received, that the human soul is a portion of God's nature, then
you were ignorant how false and terribly dangerous this opinion was. And if you only
were taught by this person i that the soul is not a portion of God, then I bid you thank
God as earnestly as you can that you were not taken away out of the body before learning
so important a lesson. For you would have quitted life a great heretic and a terrible blasphemers. However, I never could have believed this of you, that a man who is both a
Catholic and a presbyter of no contemptible position like yourself, could by any means
have thought that the soul's nature is a portion of God. I therefore cannot help expressing
to your beloved self my fears that this man has by some means or other taught you that
which is decidedly opposed to the faith which you were holding.

Chap. 5. [iir.] â€“ Created beings, in what sense they are of God (ex Deo).

Now, though I do not suppose that you, a member of the Catholic Church, ever believed
the human soul to be a portion of God, or that the soul's nature is in any degree identical
with God's, I still have some apprehension that you may be induced to fall in with this
man's opinion, that "God did not make the soul out of nothing, but that the soul is so far
of Him as to have emanated forth from Himself" For he has put out such a statement as
this, with his other opinions, which have led him out of the usual track on this subject to
a huge precipice. Now, if he has taught you this, I do not!
want you to teach it to me; nay, I should wish you to un-j learn what you have been
taught. It is, indeed, of only smal moment to avoid believing and saying that the soul is a
pari of God. We do not even say that the Son or the Holy Ghost]
is a part of God, although we affirm that the Father, the Son, J and the Holy Spirit are all of one and the same nature. It is, then, a small matter for us not to say that the soul is a part of God, but it is of indispensable importance that we should not affirm that the soul and God are of one and the self-same nature. This person is therefore right in declaring that

CHAP, v.] OF THE TRINITY; OF THE CREATUER. 247

" souls are God's offspring, not by nature, but by gift; " and then, of course, not the souls of all men, but of the faithful.

But afterwards he returned to the statement from which he had shrunk, and affirmed that God and the soul are of one and the same nature â€” not, indeed, in so many words, but plainly and manifestly to such a purport. For when he says that the soul is of God, in such a manner that God created it not of any other nature, nor out of nothing, but out of His own self, what would he have us believe but the very thing which he denies, in other words, even that the soul is of the self-same nature as God Himself is? For every nature is either God, who has no author; or ^ God, as having Him for its Author. But the nature which has for its author God, of whom it exists, is in one sense not made, in another sense created. Now, that nature which is not made and yet is of Him, is either begotten by Him or proceeds from Him. That which is begotten is His only Son, that which proceedeth is the Holy Ghost, and this Trinity is of one and the self-same nature. For these three are one, and each one is God, and all three together are one God, unchangeable, eternal, without any beginning or ending of time. That nature, on the other hand, which is created is called creature; God is its Creator, even the blessed Trinity. The creature, therefore, is said to be of God in such wise as not to be made out of His nature. It is predicated as of Him, inasmuch as it has in Him the author of its being, not so as to have been born of Him, or to have proceeded from Him, but as having been created, moulded, and formed by Him, in some constituents of it, out of no other substance, â€” that is, absolutely out of nothing, as, for instance, the heaven and the earth, or rather the whole material of the universe coeval in its creation with the world â€” but, in some particulars, out of a nature already created and in existence, as, for instance, man out of the dust, woman out of the man, and man out of his parents; still every creature is of God, â€” but God creating it either out of nothing, or out of something previously existing, not, however, begetting it or producing it out of His own very seK.

248 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK II.]

Chap. 6.

All this, however, I am saying to a Catholic: advising with him rather than teaching him. For I do not suppose that these things are new to you; or that they have been long heard
of by you, but not believed. This epistle of mine, you will, I am sure, so read as to recognise in its statement your own faith also, which is by the gracious gift of the Lord the common property of us all in the Catholic Church. Since, then (as I was saying), I am now speaking to a Catholic, from what original, I pray you tell me, do you suppose that the soul, I will not say your soul or my own soul, but the soul of the first man, was given to him? If you admit that it came from nothing, made, however, and inbreathed into him by God, then your belief tallies with my own. If, on the contrary, you suppose that it came out of some other created thing, which served as a substratum, as it were, for the divine Artificer to make the soul out of, just as the dust was the material of which Adam was formed, or the rib whence Eve was made, or the waters whence the fishes and the fowls were created, or the ground out of which the terrestrial animals were formed: then this opinion is not Catholic, nor is it true.

But further, if you think, which may God forbid, that the divine Creator made, or is still making, human souls out of nothing, out of no other created material, but out of His own self, that is, out of His own natural substance, then you have learnt this of your new instructor; but I cannot congratulate you, or flatter you, on the discovery. You have wandered along with him very far from the Catholic faith. Better would it be, though it would be untrue, yet it would be better, I say, and more tolerable, that you should believe the soul to have been made out of some other created substance, which God had already formed, than out of God's own uncreated substance; so that what is mutable, and sinful, and impious, and if persistent to the end in the impiety would have to suffer eternal damnation, should not with horrible blasphemy be referrible for its origin to the pure nature of God! Away, brother, I beseech you, away with this (I will not call it) faith, but execrably impious error. May God avert from you, a man of gravity and a presbyter, the misery of being seduced.

CHAP. VII.] A CASE OF EXTRAVAGANT AKMIEATION. 249

by a youthful layman; and, while supposing that your opinion is the Catholic faith, of being lost from the number of the faithful. For I must not deal with you as I might with him; nor does this tremendous error, when yours, deserve the same indulgence as being that of this young man, although you may have derived it from him. He has but just now found his way to the Catholic fold to get healing and safety; you have a rank among the very shepherds of that fold. But we would not that a sheep which comes to the Lord's flock for shelter from error, should be healed of his sores in such a way, as first to infect and destroy the shepherd by his contagious presence.

Chap. 7.

But if you say to me. He has not taught me this; nor have I by any means given my assent to this erroneous opinion of his, however much I was enchanted by the sweetness of his eloquent and elegant discourse; then I earnestly thank God. Still I cannot help asking, why, even with kisses, as the report goes, you expressed your gratitude to him for having learned what you were ignorant of, previous to hearing his discussion. Now if it be a false
report which makes you to have done and said so much, then I beg you to be kind enough
to give me this assurance, that the idle rumour may be stopt by your own written
authority. If, however, it is true that you bestowed your thanks with such humility upon
this man, I should rejoice, indeed, if he has not taught you to believe the opinion which I
have already pointed out as a detestable one, and to be carefully avoided as such. ISTor
shall I find fault [iv.] if your humble thanks to your instructor were further earned by
your having acquired from discussions with him some other true and useful knowledge.
But may I ask you what it is ? Is it that the soul is not a spiritual but a bodily substance ?
Well, I really do not think ignorance on such a point is any great injury to Christian
learning. And even you indulge in subtle disputes about the different kinds of bodily
substance: I think the information you obtain is more difficult than serviceable. If^

^ See below in cliap. 14. [x.]

250 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK II.]

however, the Lord will that I should write to this young man himself, as I desire to do,
then perhaps your loving self ^ will know to what extent you are not indebted to him for
your instruction; although you rejoice in what you have learnt from him. And now I
request you not to feel annoyance in writing me an answer; so that what is clearly useful
and pertinent to our indispensable faith may not by any chance turn out to be something
different.

Chap. 8.

Now with regard to the point, which with perfect propriety and great soundness of view
he believes, that souls after quitting the body are judged, before they encounter that final
judgment to which they must submit when their bodies are restored to them, and be either
tormented or glorified in the very same flesh wherein they once lived here on earth; is it,
let me ask you, the case that you were really ignorant of all this ? Who ever had his mind
so obstinately set against the gospel as not to hear these truths, and after hearing to
believe them, in the parable of the poor man who was carried away after death to
Abraham's bosom, and of the rich man who is set forth as suffering torment in hell ? ^
But has this man taught you how it was that the soul when disembodied could crave from
the beggar's finger a drop of water; ^ when he himself confessed, that the soul only
required bodily aliment for the purpose of protecting the perishing body which encloses it
from dissolution ? These are his words: " Is it," asks he,
"because the soul craves meat and drink, that we suppose material food passes into it ? ",
Then shortly afterwards he says: " From this circumstance it is understood and proved,
that the sustenance of meat and drink is not wanted for the soul, but for the body: for
which clothing also, in addition to food, is provided in like manner; so that the supplying
of food seems to be necessary to that nature, which is also fitted for wearing clothes."
This opinion of his he expounds clearly enough; but he adds some illustrative similes,
and says:
"Now what do we suppose the occupier of a house does on an inspection of his dwelling? If he observe the tenement


CHAP. IX.] SOJrE TRUTHS TOO DEEP FOR SUBTLE MINDS. 251

has a shaky roof, or a nodding wall, or a weak foundation,
does he not fetch girders and build up buttresses, in order
that he may succeed in propping up by his care and diligence
the fabric which threatened to fall, so that in the dangerous
plight of the residence the peril which evidently overhung
the occupier might be warded off? From this simile," says
he, "see how the soul craves for good for its fleshly tenement,
from which it undoubtedly conceives the appetite itself."
Such are the very lucid and adequate words in which this
young person has explained his ideas: he asserts that it is not
the soul, but the body, which requires food; out of a careful
regard, no doubt, of the former for the latter, as one that
occupies a dwelling-house, and by a prudent repair prevents
the downfall with which the fleshly tenement was threatened.
Well, now, let him go on to explain to you what probable
ruin this particular soul of the rich man was so eager to pre^ vent by propping up, seeing that it no longer possessed a
mortal body, and yet suffered thirst, and begged for the drop
of water from the poor man's finger. Here is a good knotty
question for this astute instructor of elderly men to exercise himseK on; let him inquire, and find a solution if he can:

for what purpose did that soul in hell beg the aliment of ever so small a drop of water, when it had no ruinous tenement to support?

Chap. 9. [v.] â€” The Son of God is a different person from the Father, but not a different substance.

In that he believes God to be truly incorporeal, I congratulate him that herein, at all events, he has kept himself uninfluenced by the ravings of TertuUian. For he insisted, that as the soul is corporeal, so likewise is God. It is therefore specially surprising that our author, who differs from Tertullian in this point, yet labours to persuade us that God, who is incorporeal, does not make the soul out of nothing, but exhales it as a sort of corporeal breath out of His own substance. What a wonderful learning that must be to which every age erects its attentive ears, and which contrives to gain for its disciples men of advanced years, and even presbyters!


252 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEOGIN. [BOOK II.]

Let this eminent man read what he has written, read it in public; let him invite to hear the reading well known persons and unknown ones, learned and unlearned. Old men, assemble with your younger instructors; learn what you used to know nothing about; hear now what you had never heard before. Behold, according to the teaching of this scribe, God creates a breath, not out of any material creature which exists in some way or other, not out of that which absolutely has no existence; but out of that nature which He is Himself, perfectly incorporeal. He breathes a creature into corporeal being: so that He actually changes His own incorporeal nature into corporeity, before it undergoes the change into the body of sin. Does he mean to say, that He does not change something out of His own nature, when He creates breath?

Then, of course. He does not make that breath out of His own substance. For He is not Himself one thing, and His nature another thing. What is this insane man thinking of? But if he means to say, that God creates breath out of His own natural substance, in such a way as to remain absolutely entire Himself, this is not the question. The real question is, whether that which comes not of some previously created substance, nor from nothing, but from Him, is not identical with Him, that is, is of the self-same nature and essence?
Now He remains absolutely entire after the birth of His Son; but this is because He begat Him of His own nature: He did not beget a something which was different from that which He is Himself. For, excepting the circumstance that the Word took on Himself human nature and became flesh, the Word who is the Son of God is not a different nature or essence, though He is, indeed, a different person. And whence does this come to pass, except from the fact that He is not created out of something else, or out of nothing, but is begotten of Himself; nor that He might better His condition by His birth, but that He might be altogether even what He is, of whom He is begotten; that is, of one and the same nature, equal, co-eternal, in every way like, equally unchangeable, equally invisible, equally incorporeal, equally God; in a word, that He might be altogether what the Father is, except that He actually is Himself the Son, and not the Father?

CHAP. X.] r. ASII HANDLING OF DEEP SUBJECTS. 253

Father? But if He remains Himself the same God entire and unimpaired, but yet creates something different from Himself, and worse than Himself, not, to be sure, out of nothing, nor out of some other creature, but out of His very self; and that something emanates as a corporeal creature out of the incorporeal God; then God forbid that a Catholic should imbibe such an opinion, for it does not flow from the divine fountain, but it is a mere fiction of the human mind.

Chap. 10. [vi.]

Then, again, how inaptly he labours to free the soul, which he supposes to be corporeal, from the passions of the body, raising questions about the soul's infancy; about the soul's emotions, when paralysed and oppressed; about the amputation of bodily limbs, without cutting or dividing the soul. But in dealing with such points as these, my duty is to treat rather with him than with you; it is for him to labour hard to assign a reason for all he says. In this way we shall not seem to wish to be too importunate with an elderly man's gravity on the subject of a young man's work. As to the topic of the similarity of disposition to the parents which is discovered in their children, he does not dispute its coming from the soul's germ or seed. Accordingly, this is the opinion of those persons who do away with the soul's propagation, although not even the opposite party who entertain this theory place in the fact in question the weight of their assertion. Naturally enough, for they observe also that children are unlike their parents in disposition; and the reason of this, as they suppose, is, that one and the same person very often has various dispositions himself, unlike each other, â€” not, of course, that he has received another soul, but that his life has undergone a change for the better or for the worse. So they say that there is no impossibility in a soul's not possessing the same disposition which he had by whom it was propagated, seeing that the self-same soul may have different dispositions at different times. If, therefore, you think that you have learnt this of him, that the soul does not come to us by natural transmission at birth, I only wish that you had discovered from him the truth of the case, â€” I would with the greatest pleasure resign
myself to your hands to learn the whole truth. But really to learn is one thing, and to seem to yourself to have learned is another thing. If, then, you suppose that you have learned V7hat you still are ignorant of, you have evidently not learnt, but given a random credence to a pleasant hearsay. Falsity has stolen over you in the suavity. Now I do not say this I from feeling as yet any certainty as to the proposition being false, which asserts that souls are created afresh by God's inbreathing rather than derived from the parents at birth; for I think that this is a point which still requires proof from those who find themselves able to teach it. No; my reason for saying it is, that this person has discussed the whole subject in such a way as not only not to solve the point still in dispute, but even to indulge in statements which leave no doubt as to their falsity. In his desire to prove things of doubtful import, he has boldly stated things which undoubtedly merit reprobation.

Chap. 11. [vii.]
Would you hesitate yourself to reprobate what he has said concerning the soul? " You will not have it," he says,
" that the soul contracts health and strength from the sinful flesh; to what holy state can you see it in due course pass, with a view to the amendment of its state, through that very flesh by which it had lost its worthiness? Is it because baptism washes the body that the supposed benefit of baptism does not pass on to the soul or spirit? It is only right, therefore, that the soul should, by means of the flesh, repair that old condition which it had seemed to have gradually lost through the flesh, in order that it may begin a regenerate state by means of that whereby it had deserved to be polluted."
Now, do observe how grave an error this teacher has fallen into! He says that "the soul repairs its condition by means of the flesh through which it had lost its virtue." The soul, then, must have possessed some meritorious state and condition previous to its incarnation, which he would have that it recovers through the flesh when the flesh is cleansed in the laver of regeneration. Therefore, previous to its connection

1 [This play of words too inadequately represents Augustine's Suhrepsit tibi faUilo'iulwni loer suaviloqu'mm.]

CHAP. XII.j EXPOSURE OF CONTEADICTIOX. 255

with the flesh, the soul had lived somewhere in a state of worthiness and good, which condition and meritoriousness it lost when it came into the flesh. His words are, " that the soul justly repairs by means of the flesh that primitive condition which it had seemed to have gradually lost through the flesh." The soul, then, possessed before its incarnation an ancient condition (for his term irriscam describes the antiquity of the state); and what could that ancient condition have possibly been, but a blessed and laudable state? Now,
he avers that this happiness is recovered through the sacrament of baptism, although he will not admit that the soul derives its origin through propagation from that soul which was once manifestly happy in paradise. How is it, then, that in another passage he says that " he constantly affirms of the soul that it exists not by propagation, nor comes out of nothing, nor exists by its own self, nor previous to its junction with the body " ? You see how in this place he insists that souls do exist prior to their junction with the body somewhere or other, and that in so happy a state that the same happiness is restored to them by means of baptism. But, as if forgetful of his own views, he goes on to speak of its "beginning a regenerate state by means of that," meaning the flesh, " whereby it had deserved to be polluted." In a previous statement he had indicated some good desert which had been lost by the flesh; now, however, he speaks of some evil desert, by means of which it had happened that the soul had to come, or be sent, into an incarnate state; for his words are, " By which it had deserved to be polluted; " and if it deserved to be polluted, its merits could not, of course, have been of a worthy kind. Pray let him tell us what sin it had committed previous to its pollution by the flesh, in consequence of which it merited such pollution by the flesh. Let him, if he can, explain to us a matter which is utterly beyond his power, because it is certainly far above his reach to discover what to tell us on this subject which shall be true.

Chap. 12. [viii.]
He also says some time afterwards: " Although the soul deserved to be sinful, which could not else have been sinful, yet it did not remain in sin; because, as it was prefigured in

256 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK II.]

Christ, it was bound not to be in a sinful state, even as it was unable to be." Now, my brother, do you, I ask, really think thus ? At any rate, have you formed such an opinion, after having read and duly considered his words, and after having reflected upon what extorted from you praise during his reading, and the expression of your gratitude after he had ended ? I pray you, tell me what this means: " Although the soul deserved to be sinful, which could not else have been sinful."

What mean his phrases, deserved and could not ? For it could not possibly have deserved its alleged fate, unless it had been sinful; nor would it have been, unless it could have been, sinful, â€” so as, by committing sin previous to any evil desert, it might make for itself a position whence it might, under God's desertion, advance to the commission of other sins.
When he said, " which could not have been sinful," did he mean, which would not have been able to be sinful, unless it came in the flesh ? But how did it deserve a mission at all into a state where it could be sinful, when it could not possibly have become capable of sinning anywhere else, unless it entered that particular state ? Let him, then, tell us how it so deserved. For if it deserved to become capable of sinning, it must certainly have already committed some sin, in consequence of which it deserved to be sinful again.
These points, however, may perhaps appear to be obscure, or may be tauntingly said to be of such a character, but they are really most plain and clear. The truth is, he ought not to have said that "the soul deserved to become sinful through the flesh," when he will never be able to discover any desert of the soul, either good or bad, previous to its being in the flesh.

Chap. 13. [ix.]
Let us now go on to still plainer matters. For while he was confined within these great straits, as to how souls can be held bound by the chain of original sin, when they derive not their origin from the soul which first sinned, but the Creator breathes them afresh at every birth into sinful flesh, â€” pure from all contagion and propagation, â€” in order that he might avoid the objection being brought against his argument, that at this rate God makes these souls guilty by such insufflation, he first of all had recourse to the theory drawn from God's

CHAP. XIII.] MISAPPLICATION OF A TEXT. 257

Infants are by the sacrament of this redemption baptized, so that the original sin which they contracted from the flesh is washed away, as if God were remediing His own acts for having made these souls polluted. But afterwards, when he comes to speak of those who receive no such assistance, but expire before they are baptized, he says: "In this place I do not offer myself as an authority, but I present you with an example by way of conjecture. We say, then, that some such method as this must be had recourse to in the case of infants, who, being predestinated for baptism, are yet, by their frail condition in this life, hurried away before they are born again in Christ. Of such," adds he, "we read it is written. Speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul. Therefore [God] hasted to take him away from among the wicked, for his soul pleased the Lord; and, being made perfect in a short time, he fulfilled a long time." ^ Now who would disdain having such a teacher as this? Is it the case, then, with infants, whom people usually wish to have baptized, even hurriedly, before they die, that, if they should be detained ever so short a time in this life, that they might be baptized, and then at once die, wickedness would alter their understanding, and deceit beguile their soul; and to prevent this happening to them, a hasty death came to their rescue, so that they were suddenly taken away before they were baptized? By their very baptism, then, they were changed for the worse, and beguiled by deceit, if it was after baptism that they were snatched away. O excellent teaching, worthy to be admired and closely followed! ^ But he took a great liberty with the prudence of all you who were present at his reading, and especially with yours, [my brother,] to whom he addressed this treatise, and handed it after the reading, in supposing that you would believe that the scripture he quoted was intended for the case of unbaptized infants, written, as it was, of the ages of all saints who died early in life, whom foolish men deem to be hardly dealt with, whenever
they are suddenly removed from the present life, and are not permitted to attain to the years which people covet for themselves as a great god-send. What, however, is the meaning of these words of his: " Infants predestinated for baptism, who are yet, by their frail condition in this life, hurried away before they are born again in Christ," as if some power of fortune, or fate, or anything else you please, did not permit God to fulfil what He had fore-ordained? And how is it that He hurries them Himself away, when they have pleased Him? Then, does He really predestinate them to be baptized, and then Himself hinder the accomplishment of the very thing which He has predestinated?

Chap. 14. [x.]
But I beg you mark his boldness still, who takes a dislike to our hesitancy, which prefers to be cautious rather than overknowing in a question so profound as this: "I would be bold to say " â€” such are his words â€” " that they can attain to the forgiveness of their original sins, yet not so as to be admitted into the kingdom of heaven. Just as in the case of the thief on the cross, who confessed but was not baptized, the Lord did not give him the kingdom of heaven, but paradise; the words remaining accordingly in full force, ' Except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' ^ This is especially true, inasmuch as the Lord acknowledges that in His Father's house are many mansions, by which are indicated the many different merits of those who dwell in them; so that in these abodes the unbaptized is brought to forgiveness, and the baptized to the reward which by grace has been prepared for him." You observe how the man keeps paradise and the mansions of the Father's house distinct from the kingdom of heaven, so that even unbaptized persons may have an abundant provision in places of eternal happiness. Nor does he see, when he says all this, that he is so unwilling to distinguish the future abode of a baptized infant from the kingdom of heaven as to have no fear in keeping distinct therefrom the very house of God the Father, or the several parts thereof For the Lord Jesus did not say:

In all the created universe, or in any portion of that universe, ^ Luke xxiii. 43. * John iii. 5. ^ John xiv. 2.
but, "In my Father's house, are many mansions." But in what way shall an unbaptized person live in the house of God the Father, when he cannot possibly have God for his Father, except he be born again? He should not be so ungrateful to God, who has vouchsafed to deliver him from the sect of the Donatists or Eogatists, as to aim at dividing the house of God the Father, and to put one portion of it outside the kingdom of heaven, where the unbaptized may be able to dwell.

And on what terms does he himself presume that he is to enter into the kingdom of heaven, when from that kingdom he excludes the house of the King Himself, in what part soever He pleases? From the case, however, of the thief who, when crucified at the Lord's side, put his hope in the Lord, who was crucified with him, and from the case of Dinocrates, the brother of St. Perpetua, he argues that even to the unbaptized may be given the remission of sins, and an abode with the blessed; as if any one, to whom unbelief would be a sin, had shown him that the thief and Dinocrates had not been baptized. Concerning these cases, however, I have more fully explained my views in the book which I wrote to our brother Eenatus. This your loving self will be able to ascertain if you will condescend to read the book; for I am sure our brother will not find it in his heart to refuse you, if you ask him the loan of it.

Chap. 15. [xi.]

Still he chafes with indecision, and is well-nigh suffocated in the terrible straits of his theory; for very likely he descries with a more sensitive eye than you, the amount of evil which he enunciates, to the effect that original sin in infants is effaced without Christ's sacrament of baptism. It is, indeed, for the purpose of finding an escape to some extent, and tardily, in the Church's sacraments that he says: "In their behalf I most certainly judge, that constant oblations and incessant sacrifices must be offered up on the part of the holy priests." Well, then, you may take him if you like for your arbiter, if it were not enough to have him as your instructor.

Let him decide that you must offer up the sacrifice of Christ's body even for those who have not been admitted into Christ's mystical body. Now this is quite a novel idea, and foreign to the Church's discipline and the rule of truth: and yet, when daring to propound it in his books, he does not modestly say, I rather think; he does not say, I suppose; he does not say, I am of opinion; nor does he say, I at least would suggest, or mention; â€” but he uses the authoritative term censeo, I give it as my decision; so that, should we be (as might be likely) offended by the novelty or the perverseness of his opinion, we might be overawed by the authority of his judicial determination. It is your own concern, my brother, how to be able to bear him as your instructor in these views. Catholic priests, however, of right feeling (and among them you ought to take your place) could never keep quiet â€” God forbid it â€” and hear this man pronounce his decisions, when they would wish him rather to recover his senses, and be sorry both for having entertained such opinions, and for having

260 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN, [BOOK II.]

mystical body. Now this is quite a novel idea, and foreign to the Church's discipline and the rule of truth: and yet, when daring to propound it in his books, he does not modestly say, I rather think; he does not say, I suppose; he does not say, I am of opinion; nor does he say, I at least would suggest, or mention; â€” but he uses the authoritative term censeo, I give it as my decision; so that, should we be (as might be likely) offended by the novelty or the perverseness of his opinion, we might be overawed by the authority of his judicial determination. It is your own concern, my brother, how to be able to bear him as your instructor in these views. Catholic priests, however, of right feeling (and among them you ought to take your place) could never keep quiet â€” God forbid it â€” and hear this man pronounce his decisions, when they would wish him rather to recover his senses, and be sorry both for having entertained such opinions, and for having
gone so far as to commit them to writing, and chastise himself with the most wholesome discipline of repentance. " Now it is," says he, " on this example of the Maccabees who fell in battle that I ground the necessity of doing this. When they offered stealthily some interdicted sacrifices, and after they had fallen in the battle, we find," says he, " that this remedial measure was at once resorted to by the priests, â€” sacrifices were offered up to liberate their souls, which had been bound by the guilt of their forbidden conduct." ^ But he says all this, as if (according to his reading of the story) those atoning sacrifices were offered up for uncircumcised persons, as he has decided that these sacrifices of ours must be offered up for unbaptized persons. For circumcision was the sacrament of that period, which prefigured the baptism of our day.

Chap. 16. [xii.] â€” Vincentius Victor promises to the unbaptized paradise after their death, and the kingdom of heaven after their resurrection.

But your friend, in comparison with what he has shown himself to be further on, thus far makes mistakes which one may somewhat tolerate. He apparently felt some disposition to relent; not, to be sure, at what he ought to have misgivings about, even for having ventured to assert that original sin is relaxed even in the case of the unbaptized, and that remission

^ [This is a loose reference to the narrative in 2 Mace. xii. 39-45.]

ciL\p. XVI.] victor's arrogant dogmatism. 2G1

is given to them of all their sins, so that they are admitted into paradise, that is, to a place of great happiness, and possess a claim to the happy mansions in our Father's house; but he seems to have entertained some regret at having conceded to them abodes of lesser blessedness outside the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly he goes on to say, " If any one happen to dislike the opinion, that paradise is bestowed as a temporary and provisional gift on the soul of the thief or of Dinocrates, and that there remains for them still, in the resurrection, the reward of the kingdom of heaven â€” although the opinion is opposed to the sentence of the Prince,^ ' Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God,' " â€” he may yet hold my assent as ungrudgingly given to this point; only let him magnify ^ both the aim and the effect of the divine compassion and foreknowledge." These words have I copied, as I read them in his second book. Well, now, could any one have shown on this erroneous point greater boldness, recklessness, or presumption? He actually quotes and calls attention to the Lord's weighty sentence, encloses it in a statement of his own, and then says, "Although the opinion is opposed to the sentence of the Prince, ' Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of God; '" he dares then to lift his haughty head in censurate against the Prince's judgment: " He may yet hold my assent as ungrudgingly given to this point;" and he explains his point to be, that the souls of unbaptized persons have a claim to paradise as a temporary gift; and in this class he mentions the dying thief and Dinocrates, as if he were prescribing, or rather prejudging,
their destination; moreover, in the resurrection, he will have them transferred to a better provision, even making them receive the reward of the kingdom of heaven. " Although," says he, " this is opposed to the sentence of the Prince."

Now, do you, my brother, I pray you, seriously consider this question: What sentence of the Prince shall that man deserve to have passed upon him, who imposes on any person an assent

> Acts V. 31. - John iii. 5.

^ [Or perhaps, "as simply amplifying both the effect and the purpose of," etc. etc.]

262 o:^T the soul and its origin-. [BOOK II.]

of his own which runs counter to the authority of the Prince

Himself?

Chap. 17. â€” Disobedient compassion and compassionate disobedience repudiated.

Martyrdom in lieu of baptism.

The new-fangled Pelagian heretics have been most justly condemned by the authority of Catholic councils and of the Apostolic see, on the ground of their having dared to give to unbaptized infants a place of rest and salvation, even besides the kingdom of heaven. This they would not have dared to do, if they did not deny their having original sin, and the need of its remission by the sacrament of baptism. This man, however, professes the Catholic belief on this point, admitting that infants are tied in the bonds of original sin, and yet he releases them from these bonds without the laver of regeneration, and after death, in his compassion, he admits them into paradise; while, with a still ampler compassion, he introduces them after the resurrection even to the kingdom of heaven. Such compassion did Saul see fit to assume when he spared the king [Agag] whom God commanded to be slain;^ deservedly, however, was his disobedient compassion, or (if you prefer it) his compassionate disobedience, repudiated and condemned, that man may be on his guard against extending mercy to his fellow-man, in opposition to the sentence of Him by whom man was made. Truth, by the mouth of Itself incarnate, proclaims as if in a voice of thunder: " Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." ^ And in order to except martyrs from this sentence, to whose lot it has fallen to be slain for the name of Christ before being washed in the baptism of Christ, He says in another passage, " He that loseth His life for my sake shall find it."^ And so far from promising the abolition of original sin to any one who has not been regenerated in the laver of Christian faith, the apostle exclaims,
"By the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation." * And as a counterbalance against this condemnation, the Lord exhibits the help of His salvation alone, saying, "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved;"

1 Sam. XV. 9. ^ John iii. 5.


CHAP. XVIII.] SPONSORSHIP IN BAPTISM. 263

but he that believeth not shall be damned." ^ Now the mystery of this believing in the case of infants is completely effected by the response of the sureties by whom they are taken to baptism; and unless this be effected, they all pass by the offence of one to condemnation. And yet, in opposition to such clear declarations uttered by Truth Himself, forth marches before all men a vanity which is more piteous than pitiful, and says: Not only do infants not pass into condemnation, though no laver of Christian faith absolves them from the chain of original sin, but they even after death have an intermediate enjoyment of the felicities of paradise, and after the resurrection they shall possess even the happiness of the kingdom of heaven. Now, would this man dare to say all this in opposition to the firmly-established Catholic faith, if he had not presumptuously undertaken to solve a question which transcends his powers touching the origin of the soul?

Chap. 18. [xiii.]

For he is hemmed in within terrible straits by those who make the natural inquiry: "Why has God visited on the soul so unjust a punishment as to have willed to exile it in a body of sin, when by its consorting with the flesh it began to be sinful, which else could not have been sinful?" For, of course, they say: "The soul could not have been sinful, if God had not commingled it in the participation of sinful flesh.”

Well, this opponent of mine was unable to discover the justice of God's doing this, especially in consequence of the eternal damnation of infants who die without the remission of original sin by baptism; and, as a matter of course, his inability was equally great in finding out why the good and righteous God both bound the souls of infants, who He saw would derive no advantage from the sacrament of Christian grace, with the chain of original sin, by sending them into the body which they derive from Adam, “the souls themselves being [by the hypothesis] free from all taint of propagation, “and by this means also made them amenable to eternal damnation.

[Equal to his inability to make these discoveries, when challenged,] was his unwillingness to admit that these very

' ilark xvi. 16.
souls likewise derived their sinful origin from that one primeval soul. [In face of this inability and unwillingness,]
he preferred escaping by a miserable shipwreck of faith, rather than furl his sails and steady his oars, in the voyage of his controversy, and by such prudent counsel check the fatal rashness of his course. Worthless in his youthful eye was our aged cautiousness; just as if this most troublesome and perilous question of his was more in need of a torrent of eloquence than the counsel of prudence. And this was foreseen even by himself, but to no purpose; for, as if to set forth the points which were objected to him by his opponents, he says: "After them other reproachful censures are added to the querulous murmurings of those who rail against us; and, as if tossed about in a whirlwind, we dash repeatedly among huge rocks." After saying this, he propounded for himself the very dangerous question, which we have already treated, wherein he wrecked the Catholic faith; [and must have been lost] unless by a real repentance he repaired the faith which he had shattered. That whirlwind and those rocks I have myself avoided, unwilling to entrust my frail barque to their dangers; and when writing on this subject I have expressed myself in such a way as rather to explain the grounds of my hesitancy, than to exhibit the rashness of presumption. This little work of mine excited his derision, when he met with it at your house, and in utter recklessness he flung himself upon the reef: he showed more spirit than wisdom in his conduct.
To what lengths, however, that over-confidence of his led him, I suppose that you can now yourself perceive. But I give heartier thanks to God, since you even before this descried it.
For all the while he was refusing to check his headlong career, when the issue of his course was still in doubt, he alighted on his miserable enterprise, and maintained that God, in the case of infants who died without Christian regeneration, conferred upon them paradise at once, and ultimately the kingdom of heaven.

Chap. 19. [xiv.]
The passages of Scripture, indeed, which he has adduced in

' [See Augustine's treatises, De Libero Arbitrio, iii. 21; De Peccatorum Mentis, ii. (last chapter); Upist. (166) ad Ilkromjimum, and (190) ad Optatum.]

CHAP. XX.] INCONCLUSIVE USE OF SCRIPTUKE. 265

the attempt to prove from them that God did not derive human souls by propagation from the primitive soul, but that He formed them by breathing them into each individual, as He did in the very first instance, are so uncertain and ambiguous, that they can with the utmost facility be taken in a different sense from that which he would assign to them. This point I have already demonstrated ^ with sufficient clearness, I think, in the book which I addressed to that friend of ours, of whom I have made mention above. The very
passages which he has used for his proofs, inform us that God gives, or makes, or fashions men's souls; but whence He gives them, or of what He makes or fashions them, they tell us nothing: they leave untouched the question, whether it be by propagation from the first soul, or by insufflation, as He created the first soul. This writer, however, simply because he reads that God " giveth " souls "^ [to the people upon earth], " hath made " souls, " formeth " souls, supposes that these phrases amount to a denial of the propagation of souls; whereas, by the testimony of the same scripture, God gives men their bodies, or makes them, or fashions and forms them; although no one doubts that the said bodies are given, made, and formed by Him by seminal propagation.

Chap. 20.

As for the passage which affirms that " God hath made of one blood all nations of men," ^ and that in which Adam says, " This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," * inasmuch as it is not asserted in the one, of one soul, and in the other, soul of my soul, he supposes that a denial is implied of children's souls coming to them from their parents, or the first woman's from her husband; just as if, forsooth, had the sentence run in the way suggested, of one soul, instead of " of one blood," anything else than the whole human being could be understood, without any denial of the propagation of the body. So likewise, if it had been said, soul of my soul, the flesh would not be denied, of course, which evidently had been taken out of the man. Constantly does Holy Scripture indicate the whole by a part, and a part by the whole. For certainly, if

' [See above in Book L 17 [xiv.] and following chap.]

266 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK II.]

in the passage which this man has quoted as his proof it had been said that the human race had been made, not of one blood, but of one man, it could not have prejudiced the opinion of those who deny the propagation of souls, although man is not soul alone, nor only flesh, but both. For they would have their answer ready to this effect, that the Scripture here might have meant to indicate the whole by a part, that is to say, the entire human being by his flesh only. In like manner, they who maintain the propagation of souls contend that in the passage where it is said, " of one blood," the human being is implied by the term " blood," on the principle of the whole being expressed by a part. For just as the one party seems to be assisted by the expression, " of one blood," instead of the phrase, " of one man," so the other side evidently gets countenance from the statement being so plainly written, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and
so death passed upon all men, [from him] in whom all sinned,"^ instead of its being said, " in whom the flesh of all sinned." Similarly, as one party seems to receive assistance from the fact that Scripture says, "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh," on the ground that a part covers the whole; so, again, the other side derives some advantage from what is written in the immediate sequel of the passage, "She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of her husband."

For, according to their contention, the latter clause should have run, "Because her flesh was taken out of her husband," if it was not true that the entire woman, soul and all, but only her flesh, was taken out of man. The fact, however, of the whole matter is simply this, that after hearing both sides, anybody whose judgment is free from party prejudice sees at once that loose quotation is unavailing in this controversy; for against one party, which maintains the opinion of the propagation of souls, those passages must not be adduced which mention only a part, inasmuch as the Scripture might mean by the part to imply the whole in all such passages; as, for instance, when we read, "The Word was made flesh,"^ we of course understand not the flesh only, but the entire human being; nor against the other party, who deny this doctrine of the soul's propagation,

\[\text{Rom. V. 12.} \]

CHAP. XXI.] A MORE THAN PELAGIAN" HERESY. 267

is it of any avail to quote those passages which do not mention a part of the human being, but the whole; because in these the Scripture might possibly mean to imply a part by the whole; as we say in our confession of the faith that Christ was buried, whereas it was only His flesh that was laid in the sepulchre. We therefore say, that on such grounds there is no ground on the one hand for rashly constructing, nor on the other hand for, with equal rashness, demolishing the theory of the propagation; but we add this caution, that other passages must be duly looked out, such as admit of no ambiguity.

Chap. 21. [xv.]

For these reasons I fail- thus far to discover what this instructor has taught you, and what grounds you have for the gratitude you have lavished upon him. Tor the question remains just as it was, which inquires about the origin of souls, whether God forms, and makes, and bestows them on men by propagating them from that one soul which He breathed into the first man, or whether it is by His own inbreathing that He does this in every case, as He did for the first man. The fact that God does form, and make, and bestow souls on men, the Christian faith does not hesitate to aver. Now, when this person endeavoured to solve the question without gauging his own resources, by denying the propagation of souls, and asserting that the Creator inbreathed them into nien pure from all contagion of sin, â€” not out of nothing, but out of Himself, â€” He dishonoured the very nature of God by opprobriously attributing mutability to it, an imputation which was necessarily untenable.

Then, desirous of avoiding all implication which might lead to God's being deemed unrighteous, if He ties with the bond of original sin souls which are pure of all actual sin,
although not redeemed by Christian regeneration, he has given utterance to words and
sentiments which I only wish he had not taught you. For he has accorded to unbaptized
infants such happiness and salvation as even the Pelagian heresy could not have ventured
on doing. And yet for all this, when the question touches the many thousands of infants
who are born of ungodly parents, and die among them, â€” I do not mean those whom
charitable persons are unable to assist by baptism, how-

268 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK II.]

ever desirous of doing so, but those of whose baptism nobody either has been able or
shall be able to think, and for whom no one has offered or is likely to offer the sacrifice
which, as this instructor of yours thought, ought to be offered even for ourselves who
have been baptized, â€” he has discovered no means of solving it. If he were questioned
concerning them, what their souls deserved that God should involve them in sinful flesh
to incur eternal damnation, never to be washed in the laver of baptism, nor atoned for by
the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, he will then either feel himself at an utter loss,
and so will regard our hesitation with a real, though tardy favour;

Chap. 22. [xvi.]

Par be it from you, my brother, that such views should be pleasant to you, or that you
should either feel pleasure in having acquired them, or presume ever to teach them.
Otherwise, even he would be a far better man than yourself. Because at the
commencement of his first book he has prefixed the following modest and humble
preface: " Though I desire, to comply with your request, I am only affording a clear proof
of my presumption." And a little further on he says,â€” " Inasmuch as I am, indeed, by no
means confident of being able to prove all that I may have advanced, moreover I should
always be anxious not to insist on any opinion of my own, even if it is found to be an
improbable one; and it would be my hearty desire to pass sentence upon any judgment of
my own, and earnestly follow better and truer views. For while it shows evidence of the
best intention, and a laudable purpose, to permit yourself to be easily led to truer views of
a subject; so it betokens an obstinate and depraved mind to refuse to turn quickly aside
into the pathway of reason."
Now, as he said all this sincerely, and still feels as he spoke, he no doubt entertains a very
hopeful feeling about a right

^ [See below in Book iii. 20. (xiv.)]

CHAP. XXIII.] mctor's humility. 269
issue. In similar strain he concludes his second book: "You must not think," says he, "that there is any chance of its ever recoiling invidiously against you, that I constitute you the critic of my words. Besides, that the sharp eye of some inquisitive reader may have no opportunity of turning up and encountering any possible footprints of elemental error which may be left behind on my [so far] blemished sheets,^ I beg you to tear up page after page with unsparing hand, if need, be; and after expending on me your critical censure, punish me further, by smearing out the very ink which has given form to my worthless words; so that, having your full opportunity, you may prevent all ridicule, on the score either of the favourable opinion you so strongly entertain of me, or of the inaccuracies which lurk in my writings."

Chap. 23. [xvii. ] â€” Who they are that are not injured by reading injurious books. Forasmuch, then, as he has both commenced and terminated his books with such safeguards, and has placed on your shoulders with such scrupulosity the burden of their correction and emendation, I only trust that he may find in you all that he has asked you for, that you may "correct him righteously in mercy, and reprove him; whilst the oil of the sinner which anoints his head " ^ is absent from your hands and eyes, â€” even the indecent compliance of the flatterer, and the deceitful leniency of the sycophant. If, however, you decline to apply correction when you see anything to amend, you offend against charity; but if he does not appear to you to require correction, because you think him to be right in his opinions, then you are wise at the expense of truth. He, therefore, is [as I said] a better man, since he is only too ready to be corrected, if a true censurer be at hand, than yourself, if either knowing him to be in error you despise him with derision, or ignorant of his wandering course you at the same time closely follow his error. Everything, therefore, which you find in the books that he has addressed and forwarded to you, I beg you to consider with sobriety and vigilance; and you will perhaps make fuller discoveries than I have myself of statements which deserve to be censured. And as for such of their

^ Illitas fibras. ^ Ps. cxli. 5.

270 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK II.]

contents as are worthy of praise and approbation, â€” whatever good you have learnt therein, and by his instruction, which perhaps you were really ignorant of before, tell us plainly what it is, that all may know that it was for this particular benefit that you expressed your obligations to him, and not for the manifold statements in his books which call for their disapprobation, â€” all, I mean, who, like yourself, heard him read his writings, or who afterwards read the same for themselves. [And this I desire to be cleared up,] that in his ornate style they may not drink poison, as out of a choice goblet, at your instance, though not after your own example, since they know not precisely what it is you have drunk yourself, and what you have left untasted; and because, from your high character, they suppose that whatever is drunk out of this
fountain would be for their health. For what else are hearing, and reading, and copiously
depositing things in the memory, than several processes of drinking? The Lord, however,
foretold concerning His faithful followers, that even "if they should drink any deadly
thing, it should not hurt them." And thus it happens that they who read with judgment,
and bestow their approbation on whatever is commendable according to the rule of faith,
and disapprove of things which ought to be reprobated, even if they commit to their
memory statements which are declared to be worthy of disapproval, they receive no harm
from the poisonous and depraved nature of the sentences. To myself, through the Lord's
mercy, it can never become a matter of the least regret, that, actuated by our previous
love, I have given your reverend and religious self advice and warning on these points, in
whatever way you may receive the admonition for which I have regarded you as
possessing the first claim upon me. Abundant thanks, indeed, shall I give unto Him in
whose mercy it is most salutary to put one's trust, if this letter of mine shall either find or
else make your faith both free from the depraved and erroneous opinions which I have
been able herein to point out from this man's books, and sound in Catholic integrity.

'Mark xvi. 18.

CHAP. I.] A FRANK ACKNOWLEDGMENT. 271

THIED BOOK.

ADDRESSED TO VINCENTIUS VICTOE.

AUGUSTINE POINTS OUT TO VINCENTIUS VICTOR THE CORRECTIONS
WHICH HE
OUGHT TO MAKE IN HIS BOOKS CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL, IF
HE WISHES TO BE DEEMED A CATHOLIC. THOSE OPINIONS ALSO WHICH
HAD
BEEN ALREADY REFUTED IN THE PRECEDING BOOKS ADDRESSED TO
RENATUS
AND PETER, AUGUSTINE BRIEFLY CENSURES IN THIS THIRD BOOK, WHICH
IS
WRITTEN TO VICTOR HIMSELF; MOREOVER, HE CLASSIFIES TIEM UNDER
ELEVEN HEADS OF ERROR.

Chap. 1. [i.]

AS to that which I have thought it my duty to write to
* you, my much-loved son Victor, I would have you to entertain this above all other
thoughts in your mind, if I
seemed to despise you, that it was certainly not my intention to do so. At the same time I must beg of you not to abuse our condescension in such a way as to suppose that you possess my approval merely because you have not my contempt. For it is not to follow, but to correct you, that I give you my love; and since I by no means despair of the possibility of your amendment, I do not want you to be surprised at my inability to despise the man who has my love. Now, since it was my bounden duty to love you before you had any communication with us, in order that you might become a Catholic; how much more ought I now to love you since your intercourse with us, to prevent your becoming a new heretic, and that you may become so firm a Catholic that no heretic may be able to withstand you! So far as appears from the mental endowments which God has largely bestowed upon you, you would be undoubtedly a wise man if you only believed that you were not one already, and begged of Him who maketh men wise, with a pious, humble, and earnest prayer, that you might become one, and preferred not to be

2*72 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

led astray with error rather than to be honoured with the flattery of those who go astray.

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” Why Victor assumed the name of Vincentius. The names of evil men ought never to be assumed by other persons.

The first thing which caused me some anxiety about you was the title which appeared in your books with your name; for on inquiring of those who knew you, and were probably your associates in opinion, I found that you had been a Donatist, or rather a Eogatist, but had lately come into communion with the Catholic Church. Now, while I was rejoicing, as one naturally does at the recovery of those whom he sees rescued from that system of error, â€” and in your case my joy was all the greater because I saw that your ability, which so much delighted me in your writings, had not remained behind at the disposal of the enemies of truth, â€” additional information was given me by your friends which caused me sorrow amid my joy, to the effect that you wished to have the name Vincentius prefixed to your own name, inasmuch as you still held in affectionate regard the successor of Kogatus, who bore this name, as a great and holy man, and that for this reason you wished to become his namesake. Some persons also told me that you had, moreover, boasted about his having appeared in a certain vision to you, and assisted you in composing those books the subject of which I discussed with you in that small work of mine, and to such an extent as to dictate to you himself the precise topics and arguments which you were to write about. Now, if all this be true, I no longer wonder at your having been able to make those statements which, if you will only lend a patient ear to my admonition, and with the attention of a Catholic duly consider and weigh those books, you will undoubtedly come to regret having ever advanced the statements they contain. For he who, according to the apostle's portrait, "transforms himself into an angel of light," ^ has transfigured himself before you into a shape which you believe to have been, or (for the matter of that) still to be, an angel of light. In this way, indeed, he is less able
to deceive Catholics when his transformations are not into angels of light, but into heretics;

' 2 Cor. xi. li.

CHAP. II.] A DILEMMA FOR VICTOR. 273

now, however, that you are a Catholic, I shoiuld be sorry lor you to be beguiled by him. He will certainly feel torture at your having learnt the truth, and so much the more in proportion to the pleasure he formerly experienced in having persuaded you to believe error. With a view, however, to your refraining from loving a dead person, when the love can neither be serviceable to yourself nor profitable to him, I advise you to consider for a moment this one point â€” that he is not, of course, a just and holy man, since you withdrew yourself from the snares of the Donatists or Rogatists on the score of their heresy; but if you do think him to be just and holy, you ruin yourself by holding communion with Catholics. You are, indeed, only feigning yourself a Catholic if you are in mind the same as he was on whom you bestow your love; and you are aware how terribly the Scripture has spoken on this subject: " The Holy Spiit of discipline will flee from the man who feigns." ^ If, however, you are sincere in communicating with us, and do not merely pretend to be a Catholic, how is it that you still love a dead man to such a degree as to be willing even now to boast of the name of one in whose errors you no longer permit yourself to be held ? We really do not like your having such a designation, as if you were the monument of a dead heretic. ISTor do we like your book to have such a title as we should say was a false one if we read it on his tomb. For we are sure Vincentius is not Victor, the conqueror, but Victus, the vanquished; â€” may it be, however, with fruitful effect, even as we wish you to be vanquished, indeed, but by the truth. And yet your thought was an astute and skilful one, when you designated the books, which you wish us to suppose were dictated to you by his inspiration, by the name of Vincentius Victor; as much as to intimate that it was rather he than you who wished to be designated by the victorious appellation, as having been himself the vanquisher of error, by revealing to you what were to be the contents of your written treatise. But of what avail is all this to you, my son ? Be, I pray you, a true Catholic, not a feigned one, lest the Holy Spirit should flee from you, and that Vincentius be unable to profit you at all, into whom

> Wisd. i. 5.
XII. s

274 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [EOOK III.

tlie most malignant spirit of error has transformed himself for the purpose of deceiving you; for it is from him that all these evil opinions have proceeded, notwithstanding the
artful fraud which has persuaded you to the contrary. If this admonition shall only induce you to correct these errors with the humility of a God-fearing man and the peaceful submission of a Catholic, they will be regarded as the mistakes of an over-zealous young man, who is eager rather to amend them than to persevere in them. But if he shall have by his influence prevailed on you to contend for these opinions with obstinate perseverance, which God forbid, it will in such a case be necessary to condemn them and their author as heretical; this is required by the pastoral and remedial nature of the Church's charge, to check the dire contagion before it quietly spreads through the heedless masses, [as indeed it will surely do] if wholesome correction is neglected, under the name but without the reality of love.

Chap. 3. [m. ] â€” He enumerates the errors which he desires to have amended in the books of Vincentius Victor. The first error.

If you ask me what the particular errors are, you may read what I have written to our brethren, that servant of God Eenatus, and the presbyter Peter, to the latter of whom you yourself thought it necessary to write the very works of which we are now treating, "in obedience," as you allege, "to his own wish and request." Now, they will, I doubt not, lend you my treatises for your perusal if you should like it, and even press them upon your attention without being asked.

But be that as it may, I will not miss this present opportunity of informing you what amendments I desire to have made in these writings of yours, as well as in your belief.

The first mistake is, that, as you will have it, the soul was not made by God in the sense that He made it out of nothing, but out of His own very self. Here you do not reflect what the necessary conclusion is, that the soul must partake of the nature of God; and you know very well, of course, how impious such an opinion is. Now, to avoid such impiety as this, you ought to say that God is the Author of the soul in the sense that it was made by Him, but not of Him. For whatever is of Him (as, for instance. His only-begotten Son) I

CHAP. IV.] victor's misleading simile. 275

is of the self-same nature as Himself. Now, that the human soul might not be of the same nature as its Creator, it was made by Him, but not of Him. Well, I must challenge you to tell me what is its origin, or else confess that it is of nothing. AThat do you mean by that expression of yours, "That it is a certain particle exhaled from the nature of God"? Do you mean to say, then, that the exhalation from the nature of God, to which the particle in question belongs, is not of the same nature as God is Himself? If this be your meaning, then God made out of nothing that
exhalation of which you will have the soul to be a particle. Or, if not out of nothing, pray
tell me of what God made it? If He made it out of Himself, it follows that He is actually
(what should never be affirmed) Himself the material of which His own work is formed.
But you go on to say: " When, however, He made the exhalation or breath out of Himself,
He remained at the same time whole and entire; " just as if it were conceivable that the
light of a candle should not remain entire when another candle is lighted from it, and be
of the same nature, and not another.

Chap. 4. [iv.] â€” The lungs are, like a pair of bellows. Besides meat and drink, there is a
third aliment in the air.

" But," you say, " when we inflate a bladder, no portion of our nature or quality is poured
into the bag, while the very breath, by the infusion of which the bladder is extended to its
full size, is emitted from us without the least diminution of ourselves." I STow, you
enlarge and dwell upon these words of yours, and inculcate the simile as an indispensable
one for our understanding how it is that God, without any injury to His own nature,
makes the soul out of His own self, and how, when it is thus made out of Himself, it is
not what Himself is. For you ask: " Is this inflation of the bladder a portion of our own
nature? Or do we create human beings when we inflate bladders? Or do we suffer any
loss of our substance at all when we impart our breath by inflation on diverse things?
The fact is, we suffer no loss whenever we transfer breath from ourselves to any object,
nor do we ever remember experiencing any loss to ourselves from inflating a bladder.,

1 Halitus (breath).

276 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

the full quality and entire quantity of our own breath remaining in us notwithstanding the
process." Now, however neat and applicable this simile seems to you, I beg you to
consider how greatly it misleads you; for you affirm that God, who is incorporeal,
breathes out the soul in a corporeal condition, â€” not making it out of nothing, but out of Himself, â€” whereas the breath which we
ourselves emit is corporeal, although of a more subtle nature than our bodies; nor do we
exhale it out of our soul, but out of the air through internal functions in our bodily
structure. Our lungs, like a pair of bellows, are moved by the breath (which by its action
excites also to motion the other members of the body), for the purpose of inhaling and
exhaling the atmospheric air. For, besides the substances of nutrition, whether solid or
fluid, which constitute our meat and drink, God has surrounded us with aliment in the
atmosphere which we breathe; and that with so good effect, that we can live for some
time without meat and drink; but not for a moment without this third nourishment, which
the air, surrounding us on all sides, supplies us with as we breathe and respire, could we
possibly exist. And as our meat and drink have to be not only introduced into the body,
but also to be expelled by passages adapted to the purpose, to prevent injury accruing
either way (from either not entering or not quitting the body), so this third aliment of
aerial matter (not being permitted to remain within us, and thus not becoming corrupt by
delay, but being expelled as soon as it is introduced) has been furnished, not with
different, but with the self-same channels both for its entrance and for its exit, even the
mouth, or the nostrils, or both together.

CuAP. 5.

Prove now what I say for your own satisfaction in your own case; emit some breath by
exhalation, and see whether you can continue long without catching back your breath;
then again catch it back by inhalation, and see what discomfort you experience unless
you again emit it. Now, when we inflate the bladder, as you prescribe, we do, in fact, the
same thing which we do to maintain life, except that in the case of the artificial
experiment our inhalation is somewhat

CHAP, v.] AUGUSTINE'S SCIENTIFIC CORRECTION. 277

stronger, in order that we may emit a stronger breath, so as to fill and distend the bladder
by compressing the air -we blow into it, rather in the manner of a hard puff than of the
gentle process of ordinary breathing and respiration. On what ground, then, do you say, "
We suffer no loss whenever we transfer breath from ourselves to any object, nor do we
ever remember experiencing any loss to ourselves from inflating a bladder, the full
quality and entire quantity of our own breath remaining in us notwithstanding the process
" ? It is very plain, my son, if ever you have inflated a bladder, that you did not carefully
observe your own performance.
For you do not perceive what you lose by the act of inflation by reason of the immediate
recovery of your breath. But you may learn all this with the greatest ease if you would
simply prefer doing so to stiffly maintaining your own statements for no other reason
than because you have made them â€”
not inflating your experimental bladder, but puffed up yourself to the full, and inflating
your hearers (whom you should rather edify and instruct by veritable facts) with the
empty prattle of your turgid discourse. In the present case I do not send you to any other
teacher than your own self.

Breathe, then, a good breath into the bladder; shut your mouth instantly, hold tight your
nostrils, and in this way discover the truth of what I say to you. For when you begin to
suffer the intolerable inconvenience which accompanies the experiment, what is it you
wish to recover by opening your mouth and releasing your nostrils ? Surely there would
be nothing to recover if your supposition be a correct one, that you have lost nothing
whenever you breathe.

Observe what a plight you would be in, if by inhalation you did not regain what you had
parted with by your breathing outwards. See, too, what loss and injury the insufflation
would produce, were it not for the repair and reaction caused by respiration. For unless
the breath which you expend in filling the bladder should all return by the re-opened
channel to discharge its function of nourishing yourself, what, I wonder, would be left
remaining to you, â€” I will not say to inflate another bladder, but to supply your very means of living?

278 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

CHAP. 6.

Well, now, you ought to have thought of all this when you were writing, and not to have brought God before our eyes in that favourite simile of yours, of inflated and inflateable bladders, breathing forth souls as of some other nature which was then beginning to exist, just as we ourselves draw our breath from the air which surrounds us. At all events you should not, in a manner which is really as diverse from your similitude as it is abundant in impiety, have represented God as either producing some changeable thing without injury, indeed, to Himself, but yet out of His own substance; or what is worse, creating it in such wise as to be Himself the material of His own work. If, however, we are to employ a similitude drawn from our breathing which shall suitably illustrate this subject, the following one is more credible:

Just as we, whenever we breathe, make a breath which is not of our own nature, but (because we are not omnipotent) is composed of the very air around us, which we inhale and discharge whenever we breathe and respire; and the said breath is neither living nor sentient, although we are ourselves living and sentient; so [we must believe] that God cannot, indeed, out of His own nature but (as being so omnipotent as to be able to create whatever He wills) make a breath even out of that which has no existence at all, that is to say, out of nothing, and the said breath be living and sentient, but evidently mutable, though He be Himself immutable.

Chap. 7. [v.]

But what is the meaning of that, which you have thought proper to add to this simile, with regard to the example of the blessed Elisha because he raised the dead [child] by breathing into his face ? Now, do you really suppose that the prophet's breath became the soul of the child? I could not believe that even you could stray so far away from the truth. If, now, the soul in that particular case, which was taken from the living child so as to cause his death, was itself afterwards restored to him so as to cause his restoration to life, where, I ask, is the pertinence of your remark when you say "that " 2 Kings ii. 34.

CHAP. YII.] A MIRACLE PERVEUTED. 279

uo injury or diminution accrued to Elislia" ? as if it could be imagined that anything had been transferred from the prophet to the child to cause his revival. If it were necessary
simply to remark that the prophet breathed and remained entire, without any diminution by the effort, where was the necessity for your saying that of the prophet, when raising the dead child, which you might with no less propriety say of any one whatever when emitting a breath, but not reviving a corpse?

Then, again, you spoke unadvisedly (though God forbid that you should believe the breath of Elisha to have become the soul of the resuscitated child!) when you intimated your meaning to be a desire to keep at a distance the primeval breathing of God and this of the prophet, in that the One breathed but once, and the other thrice. These are your words: " Elisha breathed into the face of the deceased child of the Shunammite, after the manner of the original creation. And when by the prophet's breathing a divine force inspired the dead limbs, and they were reanimated to their original vigour, no diminution or injury accrued to Elisha, through whose breathing the dead body recovered its revived soul and breath. Only there is this difference, the Lord breathed but once into man's face and he lived, while Elisha breathed three times into the face of the dead [child] and he lived again."

Now, your words seem to intimate that the number of the breathings alone made all the difference, and forbade our believing that the prophet actually did what God had done. This statement, then, requires to be entirely revised. There was so complete a difference between that work of God and this of Elisha, that the former breathed the breath of life whereby man became a living soul, and the latter breathed a breath which was not itself sentient nor endued with life, but was figurative and significant [of another's power]. The prophet did not really cause the child to live again by animating him, but he procured God's doing that by loving him. As to what you allege, that he breathed three times, either your memory, as often happens, or a faulty reading of the text, must have misled you. Why need I enlarge?

1 [In the original of the italicised -n-ords we have an instance of Augustine's happy play on words â€” !Non animando, sed amando."}

280 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

ought not to be seeking for examples and arguments to establish your point, but rather to amend and change your opinion.

I beg of you neither to believe, nor to say, nor to teach " that God made the human soul out of nothing, but out of His own substance," if you wish to be a Catholic,

Chap. 8. [vi.] â€” Victor's second error. (See above in Book i. 26. [xvi.])

Do not, I pray you, believe, say, or teach that " just as God who gives is Himself ever existent, so is He ever giving souls through infinite time," if you wish to be a Catholic. For a time will come when God will not give souls, although He will not therefore Himself cease to exist. Your phrase,
"is ever giving," might be understood "to give without cessation," so long as men are born and get offspring, even as it is said of certain men that they are "ever learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth." For this term "ever" is not in this passage taken to mean "never ceasing to learn," inasmuch as they do cease to learn when they have ceased to exist in this body, or have begun to suffer the fiery pains of hell. You, however, did not allow your word to be understood in this sense when you said "is ever giving," since you thought that it must be applied to infinite time. And even this was a small matter; for, as if you had been asked to explain your phrase, "ever giving," more explicitly, you went on to say, "just as He is Himself ever existent who gives."

This assertion the sound and Catholic faith utterly condemns. For be it far from us to believe that God is ever giving souls, just as He is Himself, who gives them, ever existent. He is Himself ever existent in such a sense as never to cease to exist; souls, however. He will not be ever giving; but He will beyond doubt cease to give them when the age of generation ceases, and children are no longer born to whom they are to be given.

Chap. 9. [vii.] â€” His third error. (See atiove in Eook ii. 9. [vii.])

Again, do not, I pray you, believe, say, or teach that "the soul deservedly lost something by the flesh, although it was entirely meritorious previous to its incarnate state," if you wish to be a Catholic. For the apostle declares that "children being not yet born, had done neither good nor evil."

CHAP. X.] VICTOR SELF-CONTRADICTOR Y. 281

wish to be a Catholic. For the apostle declares that "children being not yet born, had done neither good nor evil." 

How, therefore, could their soul, previous to its participation of flesh, have had anything like good desert, if it had not done any good thing? Will you by any chance venture to assert that it had, previous to the flesh, lived a good life, when you cannot actually prove to us that it even existed at all? How, then, can you say: "You will not allow that the soul contracts health and strength from the sinful flesh; to what holy state, then, can you see it in due course pass, with the view of amending its condition, through that very flesh by which it had lost its worthiness"? Perhaps you are not aware that these opinions, which attribute to the human soul a meritorious life and condition previous to its junction with the flesh, have been already condemned by the Catholic Church, not only in the case of some ancient heretics, w4iom I do not here mention, but also more recently in the instance of the Priscillianists.

Chap. 10. â€” His fourth error. (See above in Book i. 6 [vi.] and Bookii. 11. [VII.])
Neither believe, nor say, nor teach that "the soul, by means of the flesh, repairs its ancient condition, and is born again by the very means through which it had deserved to be polluted," if you wish to be a Catholic. I might, indeed, dwell upon the strange discrepancy with your own self which you have exhibited in the next sentence, wherein you said that "the soul through the flesh deservedly recovers its primitive condition, which it seemed to have gradually lost through the flesh, in order that it may begin to be regenerated by the very flesh through which it had deserved to be polluted."

Here you — the very man who had just before said that the soul repairs its condition through the flesh, by reason of which it had lost its desert (where nothing but good desert can be meant, which [as you will have it] is recovered in the flesh, by baptism, of course) — said in another turn of your thought, that through the flesh the soul had deserved to be polluted (in which statement it is no longer the good desert, but an evil one, which must be meant). What flagrant inconsistency!

But I will pass it over, and content myself with observing, that it is absolutely uncatholic to believe that the soul, previous to its incarnate state, deserved either good or evil.

Chap. 11. [viii.] "His fifth error. (See above in Book i. 8 [viii.] and Book ii. 12. [viii.])

Neither believe, nor say, nor teach, if you wish to be a Catholic, that "the soul deserved to be sinful, even prior to sin." It is, to be sure, an extremely bad desert to have deserved to be sinful. And, of course, it could not possibly have incurred so bad a desert previous to sin of any kind, especially prior to its coming into the flesh, when it could have possessed no merit either way, either evil or good. How, then, can you say: "If, therefore, the soul, which could not be sinful, deserved to be sinful, it yet did not remain in a sinful state, because as it was prefigured in Christ it was bound not to be in a sinful state, even as it was unable to be"?

Now, just for a little consider what it is you say, and desist from repeating such a statement. How did the soul deserve, and how was it unable, to be sinful? How, I pray you tell me, did it deserve to be sinful when it never led a sinful life? How, I ask again, did that become sinful which had not the capacity to be sinful? Or else, if you mean your phrase, "was unaUc" to imply inability irrespective of the flesh, how in that case did the soul deserve to be sinful, and by reason of such desert to be injected into the flesh, when
previous to its union with the flesh it could not have been sinful, so as to deserve any evil at all?

Chap. 12. [ix.] â€” His sixth error. The apostles baptized. Dinocrates, brother of St. Perpetua. (See above in Book i. 10-12 [ix., x.], and in Book ii. 13, 14

[IX., X.])

If you wish to be a Catholic, refrain from believing, or saying, or teaching that "infants which are prevented by death from being baptized may yet attain to forgiveness of their original sins." For the examples by which you are misled â€” that of the thief who confessed the Lord upon the cross, or that of Dinocrates the brother of St. Perpetua â€” contribute no help to you in defence of this erroneous opinion. As for the thief, although in God's judgment he might be reckoned among

CHAP. XIT.] EAniSM OF THE CRUCIFIED THIEF. 283

those who are purified by the confession of martyrdom, yet you cannot tell whether he was not actually baptized. For, to say nothing of the opinion that he might have been sprinkled with the water as well as the blood which gushed out of the Lord's side as he hung on the cross at His side, and thus have been washed with a baptism of the most sacred kind, what if he had been baptized in prison, as in after times some under persecution were enabled privately to obtain? or what if he had been baptized previous to his imprisonment? If, indeed, he had been, the remission of his sins which he would have received in that case from God would not have protected him from the sentence of public law, so far as pertained to the death of the body. What if, being already baptized, he had committed the crime and incurred the punishment of robbery and lawlessness, but yet received, by virtue of repentance added to his baptism, forgiveness of the sins which, though baptized, he had committed? For beyond, doubt his faith and piety appeared to the Lord clearly in his heart, as they do to us in his words. If, indeed, we were to conclude that all those who have quitted life without a record of their baptism died unbaptized, we should calumniate the very apostles themselves; for we are ignorant when they were any of them baptized, except the Apostle Paul. If, however, we could regard as an evidence that they were really baptized the circumstance of the Lord's saying to St. Peter, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet," what are we to think of the others, of whom we do not read even so much as this, â€” Barnabas, Timothy, Titus, Silas, Philemon, the very evangelists Mark and Luke, and innumerable others, about whose baptism God forbid that we should entertain any doubt, although we read no record of it? As for Dinocrates, he was a child of seven years of age; and as children who are baptized so old as that can now recite the creed and answer for themselves in the usual examination, I know not why he may not be supposed after his baptism to have been recalled by his unbelieving father to the sacrilege and profanity of heathen worship, and for this reason to have been condemned to the pains from which he was liberated at his sister's intercession. For in the
account of him you have never read, either that he was never a Christian, or died a catechumen. But for the matter of that, the very account we have of him does not occur in that canon of Holy Scripture whence in all questions of this kind our proofs ought always to be drawn.

Chap. 13. [x.] His seventh error. (See above in Book ii. 13. [ix.])

If you wish to be a Catholic, do not venture to believe, to say, or to teach that "they whom the Lord has predestinated for baptism can be taken away from their allotted destiny, or die before that has been accomplished in them which the Almighty has predetermined." There is in such a dogma more power than I can tell assigned to chances in opposition to the power of God, by the occurrence of which casualties that which He has predestinated is not permitted to come to pass. It is hardly necessary to spend time or earnest words in cautioning the man who takes up with this error against the absolute vortex of confusion into which it will absorb him, when I shall sufficiently meet the case if I briefly warn the prudent man who is ready to receive correction against the threatening mischief. Now these are your words: "We say that some such method as this must be had recourse to in the case of infants who, being predestinated for baptism, are yet, by their frail condition in this life, hurried away before they are born again in Christ." Is it then really true that any who have been predestinated to baptism are prevented from obtaining the intended blessing by any chance or frailty of this life? And could God predestinate anything which He either in His foreknowledge saw would not come to pass, or in ignorance knew not that it could not come to pass, either to the frustration of His purpose or the discredit of His foreknowledge? You see how many weighty remarks might be made on this subject; but I am restrained by the fact of having treated on it a little while ago, so that I content myself with this brief and passing admonition.

Chap. 14. [x.] His eighth error. (See above in Book ii. 13. [ix.])

Eefuse, if you wish to be a Catholic, to believe, or to say, or to teach that "it is of infants, who are hurried prematurely

CHAP. XV.] SAVED BY BAPTISM. 285
away by their frail condition before they are born again in Christ, that the Scripture says, 'Speedily was he taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul. Therefore God hastened to take him away from among the wicked; for his soul pleased the Lord; and being made perfect in a short time, he fulfilled long seasons.' "^ 

Well, now, this passage has nothing to do with those to whom you apply it, but rather belongs to those who, after they have been baptized and have progressed in pious living, are not permitted to tarry long on earth, â€” having been made perfect, not with years, but with the grace of heavenly wisdom.

This error, however, of yours, which suggests the idea of this scripture being applicable to infants who die unbaptized, does an intolerable wrong to the holy laver itself. If we suppose that an infant, when baptized, may possibly be "hurried away," the reason of his premature taking off is [stated here to be], "lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul." [What absurdities does not this conceit of yours engender!] as if in this self-same baptism this must be supposed to be the "wickedness," and this the "deceit which beguiles the soul," and changes it for the worse, that [the baptized] was not prematurely taken away without it! Then, again, since his soul had pleased God, He hastened to remove him out of the midst of iniquity; and he tarried not for ever so little while, to fulfil in him His preordained purpose; and yet somehow he preferred to act in opposition to His predestined purpose, and actually hastened to prevent what had pleased Him so well in the unchristened child becoming exterminated by his baptism! As if the dying infant would perish in that [sacrament], whither we ought to run with him in our arms in order to save him from perdition. Who, therefore, in respect of these words of the Book of Wisdom, could believe, or say, or write, or quote them as having been written concerning infants who die without baptism, if he only reflected upon them with proper consideration?

Chap. 15. [xi.] â€” His ninth error. (See above in Book ii. 14. [x.])
If you wish to be a Catholic, I pray you, neither believe, 
1 Wisd. iv. 11.

286 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

nor say, nor teach that "there are some mansions outside the kingdom of God which the Lord said were in His Father's house." Now He does not affirm, as you have laid down, His testimony to be, "There are with my Father (o.pud Patrem vieum) many mansions;" although, if He had even expressed Himself so, the mansions could hardly he supposed to have any other situation than in the house of His Father; but [He does not leave it to be thus conjectured, for] He plainly says, "In my Father's house are many mansions." ^ 
Noav, who would be so reckless as to separate the sundry portions of God's house from the kingdom of God; so that, whilst the kings of the earth are found reigning, not in their house only, not only in their own country, but far and wide, even in regions across the sea, the King who made the heaven and the earth is not described as reigning even over all His own house?
You may, however, not improbably contend that all things, it is true, belong to the
kingdom of God, because He reigns in heaven, reigns on earth, in the depths beneath, in
paradise, in hell (for where does He not reign, since His power is everywhere supreme ?);
but that the kingdom of heaven is one thing, into which none are permitted to enter,
according to the Lord's own true and settled sentence, unless they are washed in the laver
of regeneration, while quite another thing is the kingdom over the earth, or over any other
parts of creation, in which there may be some mansions of God's house; but these,
although appertaining to the kingdom of God, belong not to that kingdom of heaven
where God's kingdom exists with an especial excellence and blessedness; and that it
hence happens that, while no parts and mansions of God's house can be rudely separated
from the kingdom of God, yet not all the mansions in the kingdom of heaven are prepared
[for all indiscriminately]; still, even in the abodes which are not situated in the kingdom
of heaven, those may live happily, to Avhom, if they are even unbaptized, God has willed
to assign such habitations. They are no doubt in the kingdom of God, although (as not
having been baptized) they cannot possibly be in the kingdom of heaven.

* John xiv. 2.

CHAP. XVII.] god's present, AND FUTURE, REIGN. 287

CiiAi'. 17." IlVtere the kingdom of God may he understood to he.
Now, they who say all this, do no doubt seem to themselves to say a good deal, because
theiris is only a slight and careless view of Scripture; nor do they understand in what sense
we use the phrase, " kingdom of God," when we say of it in our prayers, " Thy kingdom
come;" for that is called the kingdom of God, in which His whole family shall reign
with Him in happiness and for ever. Now, in respect of the power which He possesses
over all things. He is of course even now reigning.
What, therefore, do we intend by the future sense when we pray that His kingdom may
come ? What else than that we may deserve to reign with Him ? But even they will be
under His power who shall have to suffer the pains of eternal fire.
Well, then, do we mean to predicate of these unhappy beings that they too will be in the
kingdom of God ? Surely it is one thing to be honoured with the gifts and privileges of
the kingdom of God, and another thing to be restrained and punished by the laws of the
same. However, that you may have a very manifest proof that on the one hand the
kingdom of heaven must not be parcelled out to the baptized, and other portions of the
kingdom of God be given to the unbaptized, as you seem to have determined, I beg of
you to hear the Lord's own words; He does not say, " Except a man be born again of
water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven; " but His words are, "
he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." His discourse with Nicodemus on the subject
before us runs thus: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Observe, He does not here say, the kingdom of heaven, but the kingdom of God. And then, on Nicodemus asking Him in reply, "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" the Lord, in explanation, repeats His former statement more plainly and openly: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Observe again. He uses the same phrase, the kingdom of God, not the kingdom of heaven? It is worthy. of remark, that while He varies two expressions in explaining them the second time (for after saying, "Except a man be born again" He interprets that by the fuller expression, "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit; " and in like manner He explains, "he cannot see" by the completer phrase, "he cannot enter into), He yet makes no variation here; He said "the kingdom of God" the first time, and He afterwards repeated the same phrase exactly.

It is not now necessary to raise and discuss the question, whether the kingdom of God and the kingdom of heaven must be understood as involving different senses, or whether only one thing is described under two designations. It is enough to find that no one can enter into the kingdom of God, except he be washed in the laver of regeneration. I suppose you perceive by this time how wide of the truth it is to separate from the kingdom of God any mansions that are placed in the house of God. And as to the idea which you have entertained that there will be found dwelling among the various mansions, which the Lord has told us abound in His Father's house, some who have not been born again of water and the Spirit, I advise you, if you will permit me, not to defer amending it, in order that you may hold the Catholic faith.

Chap. 18. [xii.] â€” His tenth error. (See above in Book i. 13 [xi.] and Book ii. 15, [XII.])

Again, if you wish to be a Catholic, I pray you, neither believe, nor say, nor teach that "the sacrifice of Christians ought to be offered in behalf of those who have departed out of the body without having been baptized." Because you fail to show that the sacrifice of the Jews, which you have quoted out of the books of the Maccabees, was offered in behalf of any who had departed this life without circumcision. In this novel opinion of yours, which you have advanced against the authority and teaching of the whole Church, you have used a very arrogant mode of expression. You say, "In behalf of these, I most certainly judge that constant oblations and incessant sacrifices must be offered up on the part of the holy priests." Here you show, as a layman, no submission to God's priests for instruction; nor do you associate yourself with them (the least you could do) for inquiry; but you put your-
CHAP. XTX.] EFFICACY OF BAPTISM.  289

self before them by your proud assumption of judgment. Away, my son, with all this pretension; men walk not so arrogantly in that way, which Christ in His humility taught His very self to have been. No man enters through His narrow gate with so proud a disposition as this.

Chap. 19. [xiii.] ſ His eleventh error. (See above in Book i. 15. [xii.])

Once more, if you desire to be a Catholic, do not believe, or say, or teach that "any of those persons who have departed this life without Christ's baptism, do not for a time go into the kingdom of heaven, but into paradise; yet afterwards in the resurrection of the dead they attain also to the blessedness of the kingdom of heaven." Even the Pelagian heresy was not daring enough to grant them this, although it holds that infants do not contract original sin. You, however, as a Catholic, confess that they are born in sin; and yet by some unaccountable perverseness in the novel opinion you put forth, you assert that they are absolved from their birth-sin, and admitted into the kingdom of heaven without the baptism which saves. Nor do you seem to be aware how much below Pelagius himself you are in your views on this point. For he, being alarmed by that sentence of the Lord which does not permit unbaptized persons to enter into the kingdom of heaven, does not venture to send infants thither, although he believes them to be free from all sin; whereas you have so little regard for what is written, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," that (to say nothing of the error which induces you recklessly to sever paradise from the kingdom of God) you do not hesitate after all to promise to certain persons, whom you, as a Catholic, believe to be born in sin, both absolution from this birth-sin, and the kingdom of heaven, even when they die without baptism.

As if you could possibly be a true Catholic in constructing a doctrine of original sin against Pelagius, if you show yourself a new-fangled heretic against the Lord, by pulling down His statement respecting baptism. For our own part, beloved brother, we do not desire thus to gain victories over heretics:

* Joliu xiv. 6.  ^ John iii. 5.

XII. T

290 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

vanquishing one error by another, and, what is still worse, a less one by a greater. You say, "Should any one (as may happen) be reluctant to allow that paradise was
temporarily bestowed on the soul of the dying thief and of Dinocrates, there still remaining to them the reversion of the kingdom of heaven at the resurrection, seeing that the primary passage stands in the way of the opinion, 'Except a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,' he may still hold even all that I have unhesitatingly shown him on this part of the subject; only let him do full honour to both the effect and the aim of the divine mercy and foreknowledge." These are your own words, and in them you express your agreement with the man who says that paradise is conferred on certain unbaptized for a time, in such a sense that at the resurrection there is in store for them the reward of the kingdom of heaven, in opposition with that leading declaration [of the Lord], which has determined that none shall enter into that kingdom who has not been born again of water and the Holy Ghost. Pelagius was afraid to oppose himself to this great primary statement of the Gospel, and he did not believe that any (whom he still did not suppose to be sinners) would enter into the kingdom of heaven unbaptized. You, on the contrary, acknowledge that infants have original sin, and yet you absolve them from it without the laver of regeneration, and send them for a temporary residence in paradise, and subsequently permit them to enter even into the kingdom of heaven.

Chap. 20. [xiv.] (See above in Book ii. 22. [xvi.])

Now these errors, and such as these, with whatever others you may perhaps be able to discover in your books on a more attentive and leisurely perusal, I beg of you to correct, if you possess the Catholic temper; in other words, if you spoke in perfect sincerity when you said, that you were not overconfident in yourself that what statements you had made were all capable of proof; and that your constant aim was not to maintain even your own opinion, if it were shown to be improbable; and that it gave you much pleasure, if your 'Et effectum et affectum.'

:!HAP. XXI.] VICTOR EARNESTLY ADVISED. 291

)wn judgment were condemned, to adopt and pursue better and truer sentiments. Well now, my dear brother, show that you said this in no fallacious sense; so that the Catholic Church may rejoice in your capacity and character, as possessing not only genius, but prudence withal, and piety, and moderation, rather than that the madness of heresy should be vindicated by your contentious persistence in these errors. Now you have an opportunity of showing also how sincerely you expressed your feelings in the passage which immediately follows the satisfactory statement which I have just now mentioned of yours. "For," you say, "as it is the mark of every highest aim and laudable purpose to transfer one's self eagerly to truer views; so it shows a depraved and obstinate judgment to refuse to return promptly to the pathway of reason." Well, then, show yourself to be influenced by this high aim and laudable purpose, and transfer your mind readily.
to truer views; and do not display a depraved and obstinate judgment by refusing to return promptly to the pathway of reason. For if your words were uttered in frank sincerity, if they were not mere sound of the lips, if you really felt them in your heart, then you cannot but abhor all delay in accomplishing the great good of correcting yourself. It was lot, indeed, much for you to allow, that it showed a depraved and obstinate judgment to refuse to return to the pathway of reason, unless you inserted the idea of: By adding this, you showed us how execrable is his conduct who ever accomplishes the reform; inasmuch as even he who effects it but tardily appears to you to deserve so severe a censure, as to be fairly described as displaying a depraved and obstinate mind. Listen, therefore, to your own admonition, and turn to good account mainly and largely the fruitful resources of your eloquence; that so you may promptly return to the pathway of reason, more promptly, indeed, than when you declined therefrom, at an unstable period of your age, when you were fortified with too little prudence and less learning.

Chap. 21.

It would take me too long a time to handle and discuss fully all the points which I wish to be amended in your books, or rather in your own self, and to give you even a brief reason for the correction of each particular. And yet you must not because of them despise yourself, so as to suppose that your ability and powers of speech are to be thought lightly of. I have discovered in you no small recollection of the sacred Scriptures; but your accuracy of knowledge is less than was proportioned to your character, and the labour you bestowed on them. My desire, therefore, is that you should not, on the one hand, grow vain by attributing too much to yourself; nor, on the other hand, become cold and indifferent by prostration or despair. I only wish that I could read your writings in company with yourself, and point out the necessary emendations in conversation rather than by writing. This is a matter which could be more easily accomplished by oral communication between ourselves than in letters. If the entire subject were to be treated in writing, it would require many volumes. Those chief errors, however, which I have wished to sum up comprehensively in a definite number, I at once call your attention to, in order that you may not postpone the correction of them, but banish them entirely from your preaching and belief; so that the great faculty which you possess of disputation, may, by God's grace, be employed by you usefully for edification, not for injuring and destroying sound and wholesome doctrine.

Chap. 22. [xv.] A summary recapitulation of the errors of Victor, which Augustine had detected in his writings.
What the particular errors are, I have, to the best of my ability, already explained. But I will run over them again with a brief recapitulation. The first is your assertion, that "God did not make the world out of nothing, but out of His own self." The second is, that "just as God who gives is Himself ever-existent, so is He ever giving souls through infinite time." The third is, that "the soul deservedly lost something by the flesh, although it was entirely meritorious previous to its incarnate state." The fourth is, that "the soul by means of the flesh repairs its ancient condition, and is born again through the very same flesh by which it had deserved to be polluted." The fifth is, that "the soul deserved to be sinful, even prior to sin." The sixth is, that

: kav. xxiii. ] victor's eleven errors. 293

' infants which are prevented by death from being baptized, nay yet attain to forgiveness of their original sins." The seventh is, that "they whom the Lord has predestinated to be baptized may be taken away from this allotted destiny, or lie before that has been accomplished in them which the Almighty has predetermined." The eighth is, that "it is of infants who are hurried prematurely away by their frail condition, before they are born again in Christ, that the Scripture lays, 'Speedily was he taken away, lest wickedness should liter his understanding,' " with the remainder of the passage; to the same effect in the Book of Wisdom. The ninth is, that 'there are some mansions outside the kingdom of God, belonging to those which the Lord said were in His Father's louse." The tenth is, that "the sacrifice of Christians ought
;o be offered in behalf of those who have departed out of the
3ody without being baptized." The eleventh is, that " any of
;hose persons who have departed this life without the baptism
)f Christ do not for a time go into the kingdom [of heaven],
Dut into paradise; afterwards, however, in the resurrection of
:he dead, they attain even to the blessedness of the kingdom
)f heaven."
"
Chap. 23. â€”Ohstlnacy males the heretic.

Well, now, as for these eleven propositions, they are extremely and manifestly perverse
and opposed .to the Catholic Faith; so that you should no longer hesitate to root them out
and cast them away from your mind, from your words, and from your style, if you are
desirous that we should rejoice, not only at your having come over to our Catholic altars,
but at your being really and truly a Catholic. For if these dogmas of yours are severally
maintained with pertinacitv, they may possibly engender as many heresies as they
number opinions. Wherefore consider, I pray you, how dreadful it is that they should be
all concentrated in one person, when they would, if held severally by various persons, be
every one of them damnable in each holder. If, however, you would in your own person
cease to fight conteutiously in their defence, nay, would turn your arms against them by
faithful words and writings, you would acquire more praise as the censurer of

294 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK III.]

your own self than if you directed any amount of criticism, and rightly deserved, against
any other person; and your amendment of your own errors would bring you more
admiration than if you had never entertained them. May the Lord be present to your heart
and mind, and by His Spirit pour into your soul such readiness in humility, such light of
truth, i such sweetness of charity, and such peaceful piety, that you may prefer being a
conqueror of your own spirit in the truth, than of any one else who gainsays it with his
errors. But I
do not by any means wish you to think, that by holding these opinions you have departed
from the Catholic faith, although they are unquestionably opposed to the Catholic faith; if
so be you are able, in the presence of that God, whose eye infallibly searches every man's
heart, to look back on your own words as being truly and sincerely expressed, when you
said, that you were not over-confident in yourself as to the opinions you had broached,
that they were all capable of proof; and that your constant aim was not to persist in your own sentiments, if they were shown to be improbable; inasmuch as it was a real pleasure to you, when any judgment of yours was condemned, to adopt and pursue better and truer thoughts. Now such a temper as this, even in relation to what may have been said in an uncatholic form through ignorance, is itself catholic by the very purpose and readiness of amendment which it premeditates. With this remark, however, I must now end this volume, where the reader may rest a while ready to renew his attention to what is to follow, when begin my next book.

CHAP. I.] DISINGENUOUS COMPLIMENTS. 295

FOURTH BOOK.

ADDRESSSED TO VINCENTIUS VICTOR.

he first shows, that his hesitation on the subject of the origin of souls was undeservedly blamed, and that he was wrongly compared with cattle, because he had refrained from any bold conclusions on the subject. then, again, with regard to his own unhesitating statement, that the soul was spirit, not body, he points out how rashly victor disapproved of this assertion, especially when he was vainly expending his efforts to prove that the soul was corporeal in its own nature, and that the spirit in man was distinct from the soul itself.

Chap. 1. [i.]

I must now, in the sequel of my treatise, request you to hear what I desire to say to you concerning myself — as I best can; or rather as He shall enable me in whose hand are both ourselves and our words. For you blamed me on two several occasions, and went so far as to mention my name in your censure; and [this you did in a somewhat disingenuous way]: in the beginning of your book you spoke of yourself as being perfectly conscious of your own want of skill, and as being destitute of the support of learning; and, when you mentioned me, you bestowed on me the complimentary phrases of "most learned" and "most skilful." But yet, all the while, on those subjects in which you seemed to yourself to be perfectly acquainted with what I either confess my ignorance of, or presume with no unbecoming liberty to have some knowledge of, you "young as you are, and a layman too" did not hesitate to censure me, an old man and a bishop, and a person withal whom in your own judgment you had pronounced most learned and most skilful. Well, for my own part, I know nothing about my great learning and skill; nay, I am very certain that I possess no such eminent qualities; moreover, I have no doubt that it is quite within the scope of
possibility, that it may fall to the lot of even an unskilful and unlearned man occasionally to know what a learned and skilful person is ignorant of; and in this I plainly commend you, that you have preferred to merely personal regard a love of truth, â€” if not truth which you have apprehended, yet at any rate such as you have deemed truth. This you have done no doubt with temerity, because you thought you knew what you were really ignorant of; and without restraint, because, having no respect of persons, you chose to publish abroad whatever â€” was in your mind. You ought therefore to understand how much greater our care should be to recall the Lord's sheep from their errors; since it is evidently wrong for even the sheep to conceal from the shepherds whatever faults they have discovered in them. that you censured in me such things as are indeed worthy of just blame! For I must not deny that both in my conduct and in my writings there are many points which may be censured by a sound judge without temerity. Now, if you would select any of these for your censure, I might be able by them to show you how I should like you to behave in those particulars which you judiciously and fairly condemned; moreover, I should have (as an elder to a younger, and as one in authority to him who has to obey) an opportunity of setting you an example under correction which should not be more humble on my part than wholesome to both of us. With respect, however, to the points on which you have actually censured me, they are not such as humility obliges me to correct, but such as truth compels me partly to acknowledge and partly to defend.

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” The xjoints luhkh Victor thouglJtt blameworthy in Augustine.

And they are these: The first, that I did not venture to make a definite statement touching the origin of those souls which have been given, or are being given, to human beings, since the first man â€” because I confess my ignorance of the subject; the second, because I said I was sure the soul was a spiritual, not a corporeal essence. Under this second point, however, you have included two grounds of censure: one, because I refused to believe the soul to be corporeal; the other, because I af&rmmed it to be spirit. To yourself, indeed,

CHAP. 11.] victor's censure of AUGUSTINE. 29 7

the soul appears both to be body and not to be spirit. I mnst therefore request your attention to my own defence against your censure, and ask you to embrace the opportunity which my self-defence affords you of learning what points there are in yourself also which require your amendment. Eecall, then, the words of your book in which you first mentioned my name.

" I know," you say, " several men of very great reputation who when consulted have kept silence, or admitted nothing clearly, but have withdrawn from their discussions
everything definite when they commence their exposition. Of such character are the contents of sundry writings which I have read at your house by a very learned man and renowned bishop, called Augustine. The truth is, I suppose, they have with an overweening modesty and diffidence investigated the mysteries of this subject, and have consumed within themselves the judgment of their own treatises, and have professed themselves incapable of determining anything on this point. But, I assure you, it appears to me excessively absurd and unreasonable that a man should be a stranger to his own being; or that a person who is supposed to have acquired the knowledge of all things, should regard himself as unknown to his very self.

For what difference is there between a man and a brute beast, if he knows not how to discuss and determine his own nature and quality? so that there may justly be applied to him the statement of Scripture: 'Man, although he was in honour, understood not; he is like the cattle, and is compared with them.' - For when the good and gracious God created everything with reason and wisdom, and produced man as a rational animal, capable of understanding, endowed with reason, and lively with sensation, â€” because by His prudent arrangement He assigns their place to all creatures which do not participate in the faculty of reason, â€” what more incongruous idea could be suggested, than that God had withheld from him the simple knowledge of himself? The wisdom of this world, indeed, is ever aiming with much effort to attain to the knowledge of truth; its researches, no doubt, fall short of the aim, from its inability to know through what agency it is permitted that truth should be ascertained; but yet there are some things on

'Ps. xlix. 12.'

208 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

the nature of the soul, near (I might even say, akin) to the truth which it has attempted to discern. Under these circumstances, how unbecoming and even shameful a thing it is, that any man of religious principle should either have no intelligent views on this very subject, or actually prohibit himself from acquiring any whatever! "

Chap. 3. â€” On researches of anatomists, as they are called.

Well, now, this extremely lucid and eloquent castigation which you have inflicted on our ignorance lays you so strictly under the necessity of knowing every possible thing which appertains to the nature of man, that, should you unhappily be ignorant of any particular, you must (and remember it is not I, but you, that have made the necessity) be compared with "the cattle." For although you appear to aim your censure at us more especially, when you quote the passage, "Man, although he was in honour, understood not," inasmuch as we (unlike yourself) hold an honourable place in the Church; yet even you occupy too honourable a rank in nature, not to be preferred above the cattle, with which according to your own judgment you will have to be compared, if you should happen to be ignorant on any of the points which manifestly appertain to your nature. For you have not merely sprinkled your
censure over those who are affected with the same ignorance as I am myself labouring under, that is to say, concerning the origin of the human soul (although I am not indeed absolutely ignorant even on this point, for I know that God breathed into the face of the first man, and that "man then became a living soul," a truth, however, which I could never have known by myself, unless I had read of it in the Scripture); but you asked in so many words, "What difference is there between a man and a brute beast, if he knows not how to discuss and determine his own nature and quality?" And you seem to have entertained your opinion so distinctly, as to have thought that a man ought to be able to discuss and determine the facts of his own entire quality and nature so clearly, that nothing concerning himself should escape his observation. Now, if this is really the truth of the matter

1 Gen. ii. 7.

CHAP. III.] AUGUSTINE'S DEFENCE. 299

I must now compare you to "the cattle," if you cannot tell me the precise number of the hairs of your head. If, however, as we advance in life, you allow us to be ignorant of sundry facts appertaining to our nature, I then want to know how far your concession extends, so as to be sure that it does not include the very point we are now raising, that we do not by any means know the origin of our soul, subject, however, to an admission, which concerns the safety of our faith, that we do indeed know beyond all doubt that the soul is a gift to man from God, and that it still is not of the same nature as God Himself. Do you, moreover, think that each person's ignorance of his own nature must be exactly on the same level as your ignorance of it? Lust everybody's knowledge, too, of the subject be equal to what you have been able to attain to? So that if he is so unfortunate as to possess a slightly larger amount of ignorance than yourself, you must compare him with cattle; and on the same principle, if any one shall be ever so little wiser than yourself on this subject, he will have the pleasure of comparing you with equal justice to the aforesaid cattle. I must therefore request you to tell me, to what extent you permit us to be ignorant of our nature so as to save our distance from the formidable cattle; and I beg you besides duly to reflect, whether he is not further removed from cattle who knows his ignorance of any part of the subject, than he is who thinks he knows what in fact he knows not. Man's entire nature is certainly composed of spirit, soul, and body; therefore, whoever will have it, that the body is alien from man's nature, is unwise. Those medical men, however, who are called anatomists have investigated with careful scrutiny, by dissecting processes, even living men, so far as men have been able to retain any life in the hands of the examiners; their researches have penetrated limbs, veins, nerves, bones, marrow, the internal seats of vitality, and all to discover the natural condition of the body; but none of these men have ever thought of comparing us with the cattle, because of our ignorance of their subject. But perhaps you will say that it is those who are ignorant of
the nature of the soul, not of the body, who are to be compared with the brute beasts.
Then you ought not to have expressed yourself

300 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN, [BOOK IV.]

at Starting in the way you have done. Your words are not,
"For what difference is here between a man and cattle, if he is ignorant of the nature and quality of the soul; " but you say, " if he knows not how to discuss and determine his own nature and quality." Of course our quality and our nature must be taken account of together with the body, but at the same time the investigation of the several elements of which we are composed is conducted in each case separately. For my own part, indeed, if I wished to display how far it was in my power to treat scientifically and intelligently the entire field of man's nature, I should have to fill many volumes; not to mention how many topics there are which I must confess my ignorance of.

Chap. 4. [iii.]
But as for yourself, how far do you mean that the matter which we discussed in our former book concerning the breath of the human being should reach ? â€” Shall it include the nature of the soul, seeing that it is the soul which effects it; or that of the body, since the body is moved by the soul to effect it; or that of the atmospheric air, by whose reciprocity of action it is discovered to effect it; or shall it include all three, that is to say, the soul which moves the body, and the body which by its motion receives and emits the breath, and also the circumambient air which feeds and raises [the lung part of the body] by its entrance into it, and then, by its alternate departure, relieves and depresses it ? And yet you were evidently ignorant of all this, learned and eloquent though you are, when you supposed, and said, and wrote, and read in the presence of the crowd assembled to hear your opinion, that it was out of our own nature that we inflated a bag, and yet had no diminution of our nature at all by the operation; [and this unskilful guess you hazarded to your own discredit], although you might most easily ascertain how we accomplish the process, not by any tedious examination of the pages either of human or of inspired writings, but by a simple investigation of your own physical action, whenever you liked. This, then, being the case, how can I trust you to teach me concerning the origin of human souls, â€” a subject which I confess myself to be ignorant of? What if you are actually doing every

CHAP, v.] victor's ignoeance and conceit. 301

moment, with your nose and mouth, that which you know not the very process of ? May the Lord bring it to pass that you may be advised by me, and accept rather than resist so manifest a truth, and one so ready to your hand. May you also not interrogate your lungs about the bag inflation in such a temper as to prefer inflating them in opposition to me, rather than acquiesce in their tuition, when they answer your inquiry with entire truth, â€”
not by speech and altercation, but by breath and respiration. Then I could bear with you patiently
â– swhile you correct and reproach me for my ignorance of the origin of souls; nay, I
could even warmly thank you, if, besides inflicting on me rebuke, you would convince me with truth.
For if you could teach me the truth I am ignorant of, it would be my duty to bear with all
patience any blows you might deal against me, not in word only, but even with hand.

Chap. 5. [iv.]

For with respect to the question between us, I confess to your loving self & I greatly
desire to know one of two things if I can, â€“ either to discover what I am ignorant of
touching the origin of souls, or to determine whether the discovery is within our reach at all, so long as we are in the present life. For what if our controversy touches the very
points of which it is enjoined to us, " Seek not out the things that are too high for thee,
neither search the things that are above thy strength; but whatever things the Lord hath
commanded and taught thee, think thereupon for evermore."  & This, then, is what I
desire to know, either from God Himself, who knows what He creates, or even from
some competently learned man who knows what he is saying, not from a person who is
ignorant of the breath he heaves. It is not everybody who recollects his own infancy;
and do you suppose that a man is able, without divine instruction, to know how and whence
he began to exist in his mother's womb, â€“ especially if the knowledge of human nature
has so completely eluded his observation as to leave him ignorant, not only of what is
within him, but of that
' also which infringes on his nature from without ? Will you, my dearest brother, be able
to teach me, or any one else,
^ Dilectioni tuse. ^ Ecclus. iii. 21, 22.

302 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

whence human beings at their birth get their souls/ when you know not even now how it
is that their life is so sustained by food, that they are certain to die if the aliment is
withdrawn for a while ? Or [if I may vary the question] will you be able to teach me, or
any one else, whence men obtain their souls, when you are actually ignorant even now
whence bags, when inflated, get the repletion ? My only wish, as you are ignorant
whence souls have their origin, is, that I may on my side know whether such knowledge
is attainable by me in this present life. If this be one of the things which are too high for
us, and which we are forbidden to seek out or search into, then we have good grounds for
fearing lest we should sin, not by our ignorance of it, but our quest after it. For we ought
not to suppose that a subject, to fall under the category of the things which are too high
for us, must appertain to the nature of God, and not to our own.

What do you say to the fact, that amongst the works of God there are some which it is more difficult to take cognizance of than even God Himself, "â€” so far, indeed, as He can be an object of recognition to us at all? For we have learnt the lesson that God is a Trinity; but to this very day we do not know how many kinds of animals (at least of land animals) He created which were able to enter Noah's ark, unless by some happy chance you have ascertained this fact. Again, in the Book of Wisdom it is written, "For if they were able to prevail so much, that they could know and estimate the world, how is it that they did not more easily find out the Lord thereof?"* Is it because the subject before us is within us that it is therefore not too high for us? For it must be granted that the nature of our soul is a more internal thing than our bodily substance. The fact, however, is, that the soul has been better able to explore the body itself externally by the bodily eye than internally by its own means. For what is there in the inward parts of the body where the soul does not exist? But yet, even with regard to these several inner and

"[Animentur = "are furnished with their anima.""]

CHAP. VI] MYSTERIES IN THE BODY, AS IN THE SOUL. 303

Vital portions of our frame, the soul has examined and searched them out by the bodily eyes; and all that it has succeeded in learning of them it has acquired by means of these visual organs; and, without doubt, all the material substance was there, even when the soul knew not of it. Since also our inward parts are incapable of living without the soul, it follows that the soul has been more able to give them life than to ascertain their nature. Well, then, does it happen that the soul's subordinate, the body, is a higher object to attain the knowledge of than the soul's own self? Suppose now it wished to inquire and consider when human seed is converted into blood, and when into solid flesh; when the bones begin to harden, and when to fill with marrow; how many kinds of veins and nerves there are; by what channels and circuits the former serve for irrigation and the latter for ligature to the entire body; whether the skin is to be reckoned among the nerves, and the teeth among the bones, â€” for they show some difference, inasmuch as they have no marrow; and in what respect the nails differ from both [bones and teeth], being similar to them in hardness, while they possess a quality in common with the hair, in being capable of growing and being cut; what, again, is the use of those veins wherein au", instead of blood, circulates, which they call the arteries; â€” suppose, I repeat, that the soul desired to ascertain these and similar points respecting the nature of its [servant] the body, ought it then to be said to a man,

"Seek not out the things that are too high for thee, neither search the things that are above thy strength;" whereas, if the inquiry be made into the soul's own origin, of which subject it knows nothing, the matter then, forsooth, is not too high or beyond one's strength to be capable of apprehension? And you deem it an absurd thing, and
incompatible with reason, for the soul not to know whether it is inbreathed into the human being by God, or whether it is derived from the parents, although it does not remember this event as soon as it is past, and reckons it among the things which it has forgotten beyond

â€¢ [These vessels which carry the blood from the heart were formerly supposed, from being found empty after death, to contain only air. Comp. Cicero {De Nat. Deor. ii. 55, 138), " Sanguis per venas in omne corpus diffunditur, et spiritus per arterias.”]

304 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

recall, â€” like infancy, and all other stages of life which followed close upon birth, though doubtless, when they happened, they were not unaccompanied with sensation; but yet you do not deem it absurd or unreasonable that it should be ignorant of the body which is subject to itself, and know nothing whatever about incidents pertaining to it which are not in the category of things that are past, but of present facts, â€” as to whether it sets the veins in motion in order to produce life in the body, but the nerves, in order to operate by the limbs of the body; and if so, why it does not move the nerves except at its especial will, whereas it affects the pulsations of the veins, and that without intermission, even without willing; and in respect of this part of the bodily structure, whether that which they call the TtjefjiovtKov (the authoritative part of the soul, even the reason) exercises its universal rule from the heart, or from the brain, or by a distribution of motions from the heart and sensations from the brain; or if from the brain, both by its sensations and voluntary motions; but if from the heart, by the involuntary pulsations of the veins; and once more, if it applies to the two methods of the brain, how is it that it has the sensations, even without willing, while it does not move the limbs except it wills? Inasmuch, then, as only the soul itself does all this, how is it that it knows not what it does?

or whence its power to do it? And it is no disgrace to it to be so ignorant. Then do you suppose it to be a discredit if it knows not whence or how it was itself made, since it certainly did not make itself? Well, then, none know how or whence the soul effects all its action in the body; do you not therefore think that it, too, appertains to those things which are said to be " too high for us, and above our strength "?

Chap. 7. [vi.]

But I have for myself to put to you a far wider question arising out of our subject. Why should a few know how all men do what they actually do? Perhaps you will tell me, Because they have learnt the art of anatomy or experiment, which are both comprised in the physician's education, which is obtained by a few, while others have refused to acquire the information, although they might, of course, if they had likec
Here, then, I say nothing of the point why many try to acquire this information, but fail, because they are hindered by a tardy intellect (which, however, is a very strange fact) from learning of others what is done both by their own selves and in their own selves. But this is a very important question which I now ask. Why I have no need of science to know that there is a sun in the heavens, and a moon, and all the other stars; but must have the aid of science in order to know, on moving my finger, whence the act begins, â€” with my heart, or my brain, or with both, or with neither: why I do not require a teacher to know what is so far above me; but must yet wait for some one else to learn whence that is done by me which is done within me? For although we are said to think in our heart, and although we know what our thoughts are, without the knowledge of any other person, yet we know not in what part of the body we have the heart itself, which is the region of our thinking, unless we are taught it by some other person, who yet is ignorant of what passes in our thoughts. I am not unaware that when we hear how we should love God with our whole heart, this is not said of that portion of our fleshly structure which lies under our ribs, but of that power which originates our thoughts. And this is properly designed by the name ["heart"]; because, as motion does not rest in the heart, whence the pulsation of the veins radiates in every direction, so in the process of thought we do not rest in the act itself, and abstain from further pondering. But although every sensation is imparted even to the body by the soul, how is it that, while we can count our limbs externally, even in the dark and with closed eyes, by the bodily sense which is called "the touch," we know nothing of our internal functions in the very central region of the soul itself, where that power is present which imparts life and animation to all else, â€” a mystery this which, I apprehend, no medical men of any kind, whether empirics, or anatomists, or dogmatists, or quacks, - or any man living, have any knowledge of?

Chap. 8.
And whoever shall have attempted to fathom such know-

"Methodicos [or, perhaps, "of independent views," as opposed to the doQmatici, who followed the rules of general practice].

XII. U
cannot cope with. Neither the heaven of heavens, nor the measure of the stars, nor the scope of sea and land, nor the nethermost hell
[are the tests of our incapacity]; it is our own selves whom ourselves are incapable of comprehending; it is our own selves, who, in our too great height and strength, transcend the humble limits of our own knowledge; it is our own selves, whom we are incapable of embracing, although we are certainly not beside ourselves. But we are not to be compared with cattle simply because we do not perfectly discover what we ourselves are: and yet you think that we deserve the humiliating comparison, if we have forgotten what we were, even though we knew it once. My soul is not now being derived from my parents, is not now receiving insufflation from God. Whichever of these two processes He used, He used when He created me; He is not at this moment using it of me, or within me. Ic is past and gone, â€“ not a present thing, nor a recent one to me. I do not even know whether I was aware of it and then forgot it; or whether I was unable, even at the time when it was done, to feel and to know it.

Chap. 9. [vii.] â€“ The remarkable memory of one Simplicius.

Observe now, even now while we live, while we know that we live, while we are absolutely certain that we possess memory, understanding, and will; who boast of ourselves as having a mighty knowledge of our own nature; â€“ observe, I say, how entirely ignorant we are of what avail to us is our memory, or our understanding, or our will. A certain man who from his youth has been a friend of mine, named Sim- 

plicius, is a person of accurate and astonishing memory. I once asked him to tell me, what were the last lines b)it one of all the books of Virgil; he immediately answered my question without the least hesitation, and with perfect accuracy.
I then asked him to mention the jDreceding lines; he did so.

J

CHAP. X.] AN ASTOXISIIIXG MEMORY. 307

And I really believe that he coiild have repeated Virgil line after line backward. For wherever I put him on by way of trial, he was never at fault. Similarly in prose, from any of Cicero's orations, which he had learnt by heart, he would perform a similar feat at our request, by reciting backwards as far as we wished. Upon our expressing astonishment, he called God to witness, that he had no idea of his ability this way previous to the trial we made of him. So far, therefore, as memory is concerned, his mind only then learnt its own power; and such discovery would at no time be possible except by trial and experiment. Moreover, he was of course the very same man before he tried his powers; how was it, then, that he was imorant ot himself ?
We often assume that we shall retain a thing in our memory; and so thinking, we do not write it down. But afterwards, when we wish to recall it, it refuses to come to mind; and we are then sorry that we thought it would return to memory, or that we did not secure it in writing so as to prevent its escape; when lo, on a sudden, without our seeking it, it occurs to us. Then does it follow that we were not ourselves when we thought so? And that we cease in fact to be the same thing that we were, when we are no longer able to think so? Now how does it happen that I know not how we are abstracted from, and denied to, ourselves; and similarly am ignorant how we are restored and reproduced to ourselves? As if we are other persons, and elsewhere, when we seek, but fail to find, what we deposited in our memory; and are ourselves incapable of returning to ourselves, as if we were situated somewhere else; but afterwards return again, on finding ourselves out. For where do we make our quest, except in our own selves? And what is it we search for, except our own selves? As if we were not actually at home in our persons, but had gone away somewhither. Do you not observe, even with alarm, so deep a mystery? And what is all this but our own nature not what it has been, but such as it now is? And observe how much wider the question is than the comprehension thereof. I have often thought that I could understand a question which had been submitted to me, if I were to bestow thought upon it. Well, I have bestowed the thought, but have not solved the question; and many a time I have refrained from the thinking, and yet have determined the point. The powers, then, of my own understanding have not been really known to me; nor, I apprehend, have they been to you either.

Chap. 11. The Apostle Peter told no lie, when he said he was ready to lay down his life for the Lord.

But perhaps you despise me for confessing all this, and will in consequence compare me with "cattle." For myself, however, I will not cease to advise you, or (if you refuse to listen to me) at all events to warn you, to acknowledge the infirmity to be rather common to us all, in which virtue has its probation; lest by assuming unknown things to be known you fail to attain to the truth. For I suppose that there is something, which even you wish to understand, but are unable; which you would never seek to understand, unless you hoped some day to succeed in your research. Thus you also are ignorant of the powers of your own understanding, who profess to know all about your own nature, and decline to follow me in my confession of ignorance. Well, there is also the will; what am I to say about that, where at all events a free choice is ostentatiously claimed by us? The blessed Apostle Peter, indeed, was ready to lay down his life for the
Lord, He was no doubt sincere in his readiness; nor was he treacherous to the Lord when he made the promise. But his will was entirely ignorant of its own powers and resources. Therefore the great apostle, who had discovered his Master to be the Son of God, was unknown to himself. Thus we are quite aware respecting ourselves that we will a thing, or rather "nill" it; but although our will is a good honest one, we know neither its strength nor its resources, unless we deceive ourselves, my dear son; nor what temptations it may yield to, nor what it may resist.

Chap. 12. [viii.]

See therefore how many facts of our nature, not of the past but of the present time, and not pertaining to the body only but also to our inner man, we know nothing about, without

CHAP. XII.] A BLAMELESS IGNORANCE. 309

deserving to be compared with the brute beasts. And yet this is the opprobrious comparison which you have thought me worthy of, because I have not complete knowledge of the past origin of my soul although I am not wholly ignorant of it, inasmuch as I am sure that it was given me by God, and yet not of God's nature. But when can I enumerate all the particulars relating to the nature of our spirit and our soul of which we are ignorant? Whereas we ought rather to utter that exclamation before God, which the Psalmist uttered:
"The knowledge of Thee is too wonderful for me; it is very difficult, I cannot attain to it."^ Now why did he add the words for me, except because he conjectured how incomprehensible was the knowledge of God for himself, inasmuch as he was unable to comprehend even his own self? The apostle was caught up into the third heaven, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter; and whether this had happened to him in the body or out of the body, he declares himself unable to say;^ but yet he has no fear of ^
encountering from you comparison with the cattle. His spirit knew that it was in the third heaven, in paradise; but knew not whether it was in the body. The third heaven, of course, and paradise were not the Apostle Paul himself; but his body *

and soul and spirit were himself. Behold, then, the curious fact: he knew the great things lofty and divine which were not himself; but that which appertained to hi-s own nature he was ignorant of. AVho in the vast knowledsre of such occult things can help being astonished at his great ignorance of his 'iwn existence? Who, in short, would believe it possible, if one who errs not had not told us, that "we know not what we should pray for as we ought"?^ Where, then, ought our bent and purpose mainly to be to "reach forth to those things which are before"? And yet you compare me to cattle, if among the things which are behind I have forgotten anything concerning my own origin although you hear the same apostle say: "

Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." * "Ts. cxxxix. 6. " 2 Cor. xii. 4. =* y^-^-x. viii. 26. " Phil. iii. 13, 14.

310 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

CiiAr. 13. [ix. ] â€“ In ivliat sense the ITolj Ghost is said to make intercession for us.

Do you happen also to think me ridiculous and like the irrational beasts, because I said, " We know not what we should pray for as we ought " ? Perhaps this is not quite so intolerable. For since, in the dictates of a sound and righteous judgment, we prefer our future to our past; and since our prayer must have reference not to what we have been, but what we shall be, it is of course much more injurious not to know what we should pray for, than to be ignorant of the manner of our origin. But recollect whose words I repeated, or read them again for yourself, and reflect whence they come; and do not pelt me with your reproaches, lest the stone you throw should alight on a head you would not wish. For it is the great teacher of the Gentiles, the Apostle Paul himself, who said, " For we know not what we should pray for as we ought." ^

And he not only taught this lesson by word, but also illustrated it by his example. For, contrary to his own advantage and the promotion of his own salvation, he once in his ignorance prayed that " the thorn in the flesh might depart from him," which he said had been given to him "lest he should be exalted above measure by tire abundance of the revelations which were given him." ^ But the Lord loved him, and so did not do what he had requested Him to do. Nevertheless, when the apostle said, " We know not what we siould pray for as we ought," he immediately added, " But the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because He maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God " ^ â€“ that is to say. He makes the saints offer intercessions. He, of course, is that Spirit " wliom God hath sent into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father;"* and "by Mdiom we cry, Abba, Father;"^ for both expressions are used by the apostle â€“ both that we have received the Spirit ivho cries, Ahha, Father; and also that it is through Him that toe cry, Abba, Father. His object is to explain by these varied statements in what sense he used the

1 Rom. viii. 26. ^ o Cqj. ^\ 7^ g. => IJom. viii. 2G, 27.


CHAP. XIV.] FAITU AND SCIENCE COMrARED. 311


"volāčēt" " cryiiifj: " lie meant causing to cry; so that it is we who cry at His instance and impulse. Let Him therefore teach me this too, whenever He pleases, if He knows it to be expedient for me, that I should know whence I derive my origin as regards my soul. But let me be taught by that Spirit who searches the deep things of God; not by a man who knows nothing of the breath which inflates a bag. However, be it far from me to compare you with brutes because of this piece of ignorance; because it arose not from incurable inability, but from sheer inadvertence.

Chap. 14. [s.] āć” It is more excellent to hiow that the flesh will rise again ami live for evermore, than to learn whatever scientijic men have been able to teach us concenniKj its nalm-e.

Bat although the questions which arise touching the origin of soiJs are of a higher character, no doubt, than that which treats of the source Vvhence the breath comes which we inhale and exhale, you perhaps deem them to be especially high from the strong belief you entertain of having learnt them out of the Holy Scriptures, from which we derive what we learn by faith; and such subjects are not traceable by any human minds. Of course it is far more excellent to know that the flesh will rise again and will live for evermore, than to learn whatever facts scientific men have been able to discover in it by careful examination, which the soul perceives by no outward sense, although it really quickens with its presence. all the things of which it is ignorant. It is also far better to know that the soul, which has been born again and renewed in Christ, will be blessed for ever, than to discover all that we are ignorant of touching its memory, understanding, and will. Xow these subjects, which I have designated as more excellent and as better, we could by no means find out, unless we believed them on the iestimony of the inspii'ed Scriptures. These Scriptures you perhaps think you so thoroughly believe, that you do not hesitate to draw out of them a definite theory about the origin of souls. Well, then, first of all, if it be as you suppose, you ought never to have attributed to human nature itself what man knows in discussion and inquiry about his own nature and quality, but to God's gift. Now you asked:
" Wherein does a man differ from the cattle, if he is ignorant

312 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OKIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

of this ? " But why need we read anything at all, in order to know this, if we ought already to know it by the very fact that v/e are different from cattle ? For just as you do not read anything to me for the purpose of teaching me that I am alive (my own nature making it impossible that I should be ignorant of this fact), so if it is an attribute of nature to know its own quality, why do you produce passages of Scripture for me to believe concerning this subject? Is it then only those persons who read them that differ from the cattle ? Are we not so created as to be different from brute animals, even before we can acquire the art of reading ? Pray, tell me how it is that you put in so high a claim for our nature, that by the very circumstance of its differing from cattle it already knows how to discuss and inquire into the origin of souls; while at the same time you make it so
inexpert in this knowledge, as to be unable by human endowment to know this without faith to believe the witness of Scripture.

Chap. 15. [xi.]
But then, secondly, you are mistaken in this matter; for the passages of Scripture which you chose to produce for the solution of this question of yours, do not illustrate the point. For it is another thing which they prove, without which we cannot really lead a pious life, namely, that we have in God the giver, creator, and fashioner of our souls. But how He does this for them, whether by inbreathing them in each several person, or by deriving them from the parents, they do not tell us except in the instance of that one soul which He gave to the first man. Read attentively what I have written to that servant of God, our brother Eenatus; for inasmuch as I have pointed it all out to him there, it is not necessary for me to repeat my proofs here. But you would like me to follow your example in definiteness of theory, and so thrust myself into such difficulties as you have surrounded yourself with. Involved in these, you have spoken many stout words against the Catholic faith; if, however, you would faithfully and humbly bethink yourself and consider, you would assuredly see how greatly it would have profited you, if you had only

> See above, Book i. 17. [xiv., and following.]

CHAP. XVI.] AX INTELLIGENT IGXOliAXCE. olo

known how to be natural and consistent in your ignorance; and how this advantage is still open to you, if you were even now able to maintain such propriety. Now, since intelligence is so pleasant a function to you in man's nature (for, truly enough, if our nature were without it, we should not be different from brute beasts, so far as our souls are concerned), understand, I beg of you, what it is that you do not understand, that so you may not utterly fail in intelligence; and do not despise any man who, with the view to a right and true understanding, is quite aware that he does not understand that which is beyond his intelligence.— With regard, however, to the passage in the inspired psalm, "Man, being in honour, understandeth not; he is compared to the senseless cattle, and is like unto them; " ^ I beg of you to read and understand these words, that you may rather with a humble spirit guard against the opprobrious estimate, yourself, than arrogantly throw it out against another person. The passage applies to those who regard only that as a life worth living which they live in the flesh " Imving no hope after deaths just like " cattle; " it has no reference to those who [on the one hand] never deny their knowledge of what they actually know, and [on the other hand] always acknowledge their ignorance of what they really do not know; who, in point of fact, are aware of their weakness, rather than confident of their strength.

CiiAP. 16. â€” Predestination to eternal life, and predestination to eternal death.

Do not, my son, let my apprehension and fear, as an old man's, offend the forwardness and confidence which you feel as a young man. For my own part, indeed, if I proved
unequal, either under the teaching of God or of some spiritual instructor, to the task of understanding the subject of our present inquiry on the origin of souls, I am more prepared to indicate God's righteous will, that we should even remain in ignorance on this point, as on many other topics, than to

[The original of this involved paragraph is characteristic of our author:
"Intellige quid non intelligas, ne totum non intelligas . . . qui ut veraciter intelligat, quod non intelligit hoc se non intelligere intelligit. "]

^ Ps. xlix. 12, 13.

314 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

indulge in any random allegation, that this is a question of such obscurity that I can neither bring it home to the intelligence of other people, or understand it myself. This would only be to help the cause of the heretics who endeavour to persuade us that the souls of infants are entirely free from guilt; on the ground, forsooth, that such guilt would only recoil on God as its Author, for having compelled innocent souls (for which He knew beforehand that no laver of regeneration was appointed to help them) to become sinful, by assigning them to sinful flesh, without any provision for that grace of baptism which should prevent their incurring eternal damnation. For the fact undoubtedly is, that numberless souls of infants pass out of the body before they are baptized. God forbid that I should cast about for any futile effort to dilute this stern fact, and say what you have yourself said:
"That the soul deserved to be polluted by the flesh, and to become sinful, though it previously had no sin, by reason of which it could be rightly said to have incurred this desert."
And again: "That even without baptism original sins may be remitted." And once more: "That even the kingdom of heaven is at last bestowed on those who have not been baptized." Now, if I were not afraid to utter these and similar poisonous allegations against the faith, I should probably not be afraid to propound some definite theory on this subject of yours. How much better, then, is it, that I should avoid any separate discussion about the soul, and acknowledge my ignorance at once! I simply hold, indeed, what I see the apostle has most plainly taught us, that owing to one man all pass into condemnation who are born of Adam, unless they are born again in Christ, even as He has appointed them to be regenerated, before they die in the body; having predestinated them to everlasting life, as the most merciful bestower of grace; whilst to those whom He has predestinated to eternal death. He is also the most righteous awarer of punishment, not only on account of the sins which they add in the indulgence of their own will, but also because of their original sin, even if, as in the case of infants, they add nothing thereto. Now this is my definite view on that
^ See Eom. v. 18.
question, [held by me in such a way] that the hidden things of God may keep their secret, without impairing my own faith.

Chap. 17. "A two/old quesfion to be treated concerning the soul; ivhat "Lody " is.

And now, as far as the Lord vouchsafes to enable me, I must reply also to that allegation of yours, in which, speaking of the soul, you again mention my name, and say, "AVe do not, as the very able and learned bishop Augustine professes, allow it to be incorporeal and also a spirit." We have therefore, first, to discuss the question, whether the soul is to be deemed incorporeal, as I have said; or corporeal, as you hold. Then, secondly, whether in our Scriptures it is called a spirit " though there is propriety in designating it " spirit," not, indeed, the whole, but a part of it. Well, I should, to begin with, like to know how you define spirit. For if that is not "body " which does not consist of limbs of flesh, then the earth cannot be a body, nor the sky, nor a stone, nor water, nor the stars, nor anything of the kind. If, however, a " body " is whatever consists of parts, whether greater or less, which occupy greater or smaller local spaces, then all the things which I have just mentioned are bodies; the air is a body; the visible light is a body; and so are all the things which the apostle has in view, when he says, " There are celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial." ^

CiiAr. IS. ã€” The first question, whether the soul is corporeal; hreath and icind, nothing else than air in motion.

Xow whether the soul is such a substance, is an extremely nice and subtle question. You, indeed, with a promptitude for which I very greaty congratulate you, affirm that God is not a body. But then, again, you give me some anxiety when you say, " The soul so lacks corporeity, as to consist (as some ^jersons are pleased to suppose) of hollow emptiness, of airy and futile substance." Now, from these words you seem to believe, that everything which lacks body is of an empty substance. Well, if this is the case, how do you dare to say that God is without a body, without fearing the consequence that He is of an empty substance? If, however, God has not a body, as you have just allowed; and if (as God forbid

1 1 Cor. XV. 40.
you should for a moment suppose) He is yet of an empty substance; it follows, that not everything which lacks body is of an empty substance. And therefore a person who contends that the soul is incorporeal does not necessarily mean, that it is of an empty and futile substance; for he allows that God, who is not an empty being, is at the same time incorporeal. But observe what great difference there is between my actual assertion, and what you suppose me to say. I do not say that the soul is an airy substance; if I did, I should admit that it is a body. For air is a body; as all who understand what they say declare, whenever they speak concerning bodily substances. But you, because I called the soul incorporeal, supposed me not only to predicate mere emptiness of it, but, as the result of such predication, to say that it is "an airy substance." I could not, however, have implied that it has not corporeity, which air has; nor could it be empty, if a body full of air. And your own bag similes failed to remind you of this. For when the bags are inflated, what is it but air that is pressed into them? And they are so far from being empty, that by reason of their distension they become even ponderous. But perhaps the breath [which has distended them] seems to you to be a different thing from air; [wrongly, however,] since your very breath is nothing else than air in motion; and what this is, can be seen from the shaking of a fan. With respect to any hollow vessels, which you may suppose to be empty, you may ascertain with certainty that they are really full, by lowering them straight into the water, at the mouth where they are filled. You see no water can get in, by reason of the air with which they are filled. If, however, they are lowered either in the opposite way, with mouth upward, or aslant, they then fill, as the water enters at the same opening where the air passes out and escapes. This could be, of course, more easily proved by performing the experiment, than by a description in writing.

This, however, is not the time or place for longer delay on the subject; for whatever may be your perception of the nature of the air, as to whether it has corporeity or not, you certainly ought not to suppose me to have said that the soul is an aerial thing, but absolutely incorporeal. And this even

CHAP. XIX. ] THE SOUL IS SPIRIT, NOT BODY. 317

you acknowledge God to be, whom you do not dare to describe as an empty substance, while you cannot but admit that He has an essence which is unchangeable and almighty. Now, why should we fear that the soul is an empty void, if it be incorporeal; when we confess that God is incorporeal, and at the same time deny Him to be an empty void? Thus it was within the competency of an Incorporeal Being to create an incorporeal soul, even as the living God made living man; although, as the unchangeable and the almighty. He communicated not these attributes to the changeable and far inferior creature.

Chap. 19. [xiii.] â€” Whether the soul is a spirit.
But again, why you would have the soul to be a body, and refuse to deem it a spirit, I cannot see. For if it is not a spirit, on the ground that the apostle named it apart from the spirit, when he said, "I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved," the same is a good reason why it is not a body, inasmuch as he mentioned the body, too, as distinct from it. If you affirm that the soul is a body, although they are both distinctly named; you should allow it to be a spirit, although these are also enumerated apart. Indeed, the soul has a much greater claim to be regarded by you as a spirit than a body; because you acknowledge the spirit and the soul to be of one substance, but deny the soul and the body to be of one substance. On what principle, then, is the soul a body, when its nature is different from that of a body; and not a spirit, although its nature and a spirit's is one and the same? Besides, according to your argument, you must needs confess that even the spirit is a body; for otherwise, if the spirit is not a body, and the soul is a body, the soul and the spirit are not of one and the same substance. You, however, allow them both (although believing them to be two separate things) to have one substance. Therefore, if the soul is a body, the spirit is a body also; for under no other condition can they be regarded as being of one and the same nature. On your own principles, therefore, the statement of the apostle, who mentions, "Your spirit, and soul, and body," must imply 1 Thess. V. 23.

318 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

three bodies; yet the body, which has likewise the name of flesh, is of a different nature. And of these three bodies, as you would call them, of which one is of a different, and the other two of one and the same substance, the entire human being is composed of one thing and one existence. Now, although you assert this, yet you will not allow that the two which are of one and the same substance, that is, the soul and the spirit, should have the one designation of spirit; whilst the two things which are not of one and the same substance ought, as you suppose, to have the one name of body.

Chap. 20. [xiv.] The body does not receive God's image.

But I pass by all this, lest the discussion between us should, degenerate into one of names rather than things. Let us, then, see whether the inner man be the soul, or the spirit, or both. I observe, however, that you have expressed your opinion on the point in writing, calling the inner man the soul; for of this you spoke when you said: "And as the substance congealed, which was incapable of comprehension, it would produce another body within itself rounded and amassed by the force and twirl of its own nature, and thus an inner man would begin to appear, who, being moulded in a corporeal sheath, would in its lineaments be shaped after the likeness of its outer man." And from this you draw the following inference: "God's breath, therefore, made the soul; yea, that breath from God became the soul, stamped into a substantial image being corporeal in its nature, like
its own body, and conformed to it in shape." After this you proceed to speak of the spirit, and say: "This soul which had its origin from the breath of God could not have existed without an innermost sense and intellect of its own; and such is the spirit." As I, then, understand your statement, you mean the inner man to be the soul, and the inmost one to be the spirit; as if the latter were enclosed within the former, as this is interior to the body. Whence it comes to pass, that just as the body receives another body pervading its own inner cavity, which (as you suppose) is the soul; so in its turn must the soul be regarded as having its interior hollows also, where

CHAP. XX.] A â– WIIIM.'^ICAL THEOItY. 319

it could receive the third body, even the spirit; and thus the whole man consists of three constituents, the outer, the inner, and the inmost. Now, do you not perceive by this what great absurdities follow in your wake, when you attempt the asseveration that the soul is corporeal? Tell me, I pray you, which of the two is it that is to be renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of Him that created him? The inner, or the inmost? For my own part, indeed, I do not see that the apostle, besides the inner and the outer man, knows anything of another man inside the inner one, that is, of an inmost man. But you must decide which it is you would have to be renewed after the image of God. How is he to receive this, who has already got the image of the outer man? For if the inner man has run [as in a mould] through the limbs of the outward one, and been condensed, or congealed (for this is the term you have used; as if a molten shape were formed out of soft clay, which was thickened out of the dust), how, if this same figure which has been impressed upon it, or rather expressed out of a body, is to retain its place, could it be refashioned after the image of God? Is it to have two images—God's from above, that of the body from below—as is said in the case of money, "Heads and Tails" 1 Will you pretend to say, that the soul received the bodily image, and that the spirit takes God's image, as if the former were contiguous to the body, and the latter to God; and that, therefore, it is really the inmost man which is refashioned after the image of God, and not the inner man?

"Well, but this pretence is useless. For if the inmost man is so entirely diffused through all the members of the soul, as the inner man of the soul is through the limbs of the body; even it has now, through the soul, received the image of the body, as the soul moulded the same [inmost man]; and thus it results that it has no means whereby to receive God's image, while the afore-mentioned image of the body remains impressed upon it; except as in the case of the money which I have just quoted, where there is one form on the upper

1 Col. iii. 10.

^ Caput et Kavia. [This phrase the Benedictine editor illustrates by the French game-challenge, Croix ou [or et] pile.\}
surface, and another on the lower one. These are the absurd lengths to which you are driven, whether you will or no, when you apply to the consideration of the soul the material ideas of bodily substances. But, as even you yourself with perfect propriety confess, God is not a body. How, then, could a body receive His image? "I beseech you, brother, that you be not conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind;" \(^\text{1}^\) and cherish not "the carnal mind, which is death." \(^\text{2}\)

Chap. 21. [xv.]

But you say: "If the soul is incorporeal, what was it that the rich man saw in hell? He certainly recognised Lazarus; if he did not\(^3\) know Abraham. Whence arose to him the knowledge of Abraham, who had died so long before?" By using these words, I suppose that you do not think a man can be recognised and known without his bodily form. To know yourself, therefore, I imagine that you often stand before your looking-glass, lest by forgetting your features you should be unable to recognise yourself. But let me ask you, what man does anybody know more than himself; and whose face can he see less than his own? But who could possibly know God, whom even you do not doubt to be incorporeal, if knowledge could not (as you suppose) accrue without bodily shape; that is, if bodies alone can be recognised? What Christian, however, when discussing subjects of such magnitude and difficulty, can give such little heed to the inspired word, as to say, "If the soul be incorporeal, it must of necessity lack form"? Have you forgotten that in that word you have read of "a form of doctrine"? \(^*\) Have you forgotten, too, that it is written concerning Christ Jesus, previous to His clothing Himself with humanity, that He was "in the form of God"? \(^\text{5}\)

How, then, can you say, "If the soul is incorporeal, it must of necessity lack form;" when you hear of "the form of God," whom you acknowledge to be incorporeal; and so ex-

\(^\text{1}\) Rom. xii. 1, 2. \(^\text{2}\) Rom. viii. 6.

\(^3\) Kon noverat Abraham. [Cut some Mss. omit non; rightly, one would think. The meaning then is: "He knew Abraham."

\(^*\) Eom. vi. 17. \(^\text{5}\) Pliil. ii. 6.

CHAP. XXIII. FORM WITHOUT BODY. 321

press yourself, as if form could not possibly exist except in bodily shape?
You also say, that "names cease to be given, when form is not distinguished; and that, where there is no designation of persons, there is no giving of names." Your aim is to prove that Abraham's soul was corporeal, inasmuch as he could be addressed in Hades as "Father Abraham." Now, we have already said, that there is form even where there is no body. If, however, you think that where there are not bodies there is no assigning of names, I must beg of you to count the names which occur in this passage of Scripture, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," and tell me whether you do not recognise the very things of which these are the names; and recognise them so as to descry some outlines of bodies. Come, tell me, to mention only charity, for instance, what are its members, its figure, its colour? For if you are not yourself empty-headed, these appurtenances can not possibly be regarded by you as an empty thing. Then you go on to say: "The look and form must, of course, be corporeal of him whose help is implored." Well, let men hear what you say; and let no one implore God's help, because no one can possibly see anything corporeal in Him.

In short," you say, "members are in this parable ascribed to the soul, as if it were really a body." You will have it, that "by the eye the whole head is understood," because it is said, that "he lifted up his eyes." Again you say, that "by tongues are meant jaws, and by finger the hand," because it is said, "Send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue." And yet to save yourself from the inconsistency of ascribing corporeal qualities to God, you add that "by these terms must be understood incorporeal functions and powers;" because with the greatest propriety you insist on it, that God is not corporeal. What is the reason, therefore, that the names of these limbs do not 

"Gal. V. 22, 23. 


XII. X

322 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]


argue corporeity in God, although they do in the case of the soul? Is it that these terms must be understood literally when spoken of the creature, and only metaphorically and figuratively when predicated of the Creator? Then you will have to give us wings of
literal bodily substance, since it is not the Creator, but only a human creature, who said, "If I should take my wings like a dove." ^ Moreover, if the rich man of the parable had a bodily tongue, on the ground of his exclaiming, "Let him cool my tongue," it would look very much as if our tongue, even while we are in the flesh, itself possessed material hands, because it is written, "Death and life are in the hands of the tongue." ^ I suppose it is even to yourself self-evident, that sin is neither a creature nor a bodily substance; why, then, has it a face? For do you not hear the psalmist say, "There is no peace in my bones, in the face of my sins" ? ^

As to your supposing that "the Abraham's bosom referred to is corporeal," and your further assertion, that "by it is meant his whole body," I fear that you must be regarded (even in such a subject) as trying to crack a joke and raise a laugh, instead of acting gravely and seriously. For you could not else be so foolish as to think that the material bosom of one person could receive so many souls; nay, to use your own words, "contain the bodies of as many meritorious men as the angels carry thither, as they did Lazarus." Unless it happen to be your opinion, that his soul alone deserved to find its way to the said bosom. If you are not, then, in fun, and do not wish to make childish mistakes, you must understand by "Abraham's bosom" that remote and separate abode of rest and peace in which Abraham now is; and that what was said to Abraham ^ did not merely refer to him personally, but had reference to his appointment as the father of many nations,Â® to whom he was presented for imitation as the first

* Augustine's reading of Ps. cxxxix. 9.
^[Inmanlus linguae = the Hebrew phrase jiti'S'n^Z} Prov. xviii. 21.]

T -: 3 Ps. xxxviii. 3, iflStsn "â€¢iSD-


:iAP. XXV.] AN EXPLAXATION OF DliEAMS AND TRANCES. 323

md principal example of faith; even as God willed Himself to be called "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," although He is the God of an innumerable company.
You must not, however, suppose that I say all this as if denying it to be possible that the soul of a dead man, like a person asleep, thinks either good or evil thoughts in the likeless of his own body. Now, in dreams, when we suffer any-thing harsh and troublesome, we are, of course, still ourselves; and if the distress do not pass away when we awake, we experience very great suffering. Ut suj)pose that they are veritable bodies in which we are hurried, or flit, about hither and thither in dreams, is the idea of a person who has thought only carelessly on such subjects; for it is in fact I mainly by these imaginary sights that the soul is proved to be non-corporeal; unless you choose to call even the objects which we see so often in our dreams, besides ourselves, bodies, such as the sky, the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon, the stars, and rivers, mountains, trees, or animals. Whoever takes these phantoms to be bodies, is incredibly foolish; [they are not bodies], although they are certainly very like bodies. Of this character also are those phenomena which are demonstrably of divine significance, whether seen in dreams or in a trance. Who can possibly trace out or describe their origin, 3T the material of which they consist? It is, beyond question, spiritual, not corporeal. Now things of this kind, which look like bodies, but are not really corporeal, are formed in the thoughts of persons when they are awake, and sink deep in their minds and memories, and then out of these secret recesses, by some wonderful and ineffable process, they come out to view in the operation of our memory, and present themselves as if palpably before our eyes. If, therefore, the soul were a material body, it could not possibly contain so many things and such large forms of bodily substances in its scope of thought, and in the spaces of its memory; for, according to your own definition, "it does not exceed this external body in its own corporeal substance." Possessing, therefore, no magnitude of its own, what capacity has it to hold the images of vast bodies, spaces, and regions? What wonder is it, then, if it actually itself appears to itself in the likeness of its own body, even when it appears without a body? For it never appears to itself in dreams with its own body; and yet in the very similitude of its own body it runs hither and thither through known and unknown places, and beholds many sad and joyous sights. I suppose, however, that you really would not, yourself, be so bold as to maintain that there is true corporeity in that form of limb and body which the soul seems to itself to possess in dreams. For at that rate that will be a real mountain which it appears to ascend; and that a material house- which it seems to enter; and that a veritable tree, with real wood and bulk, beneath which it apparently reclines; and that actual water which it imagines itself to drink. All the things with whichli
it is conversant, as if they were corporeal, would be undoubted bodies, if the soul were itself corporeal, as it ranges about amongst them all in the likeness of a body.

Chap. 26. [xviii.] â€” St. Perpctua seemed to lierself, in some dreams, to have been turned into a man, and then have wrestled with a certain Egyptian.

Some notice must be taken of sundry accounts of martyrs' visions, because you have thought j)roper to derive some of our evidence therefrom. St. Perpetua, for instance, seemed to herself to be wrestling with an Egyptian, after being changed into a man. Now, who can doubt that it was her soul in that apparent bodily form, not her body, which, of course, remained in her own sex as a woman, and lay on the bed with her senses steeped in sleep, whilst her soul was struggling in the similitude of a man's body? What have you to say to this? Was that male likeness a veritable body, or was it no body at all, although possessing the appearance of a body? Choose your alternative. If it was a body, why did it not maintain its sexual integrity? For in that woman's flesh were found no virile functions of generation, whence by any such process as that which you call congelation could be moulded this similitude of a man's body. We will conclude then, if you please, that, as her body was still alive while she slept, notwithstanding the wrestling of her soul, she remained in her own natural sex, enclosed, of course, in all her proper limbs which belong to her in her living state, and was still in possession of that bodily shape and lineaments of which she had been originally formed. She had not resigned, as she would by death, her joints and limbs; nor had she withdrawn from the transposing power, which arises from the operation of the power of death, any of her members which had already received their fixed form. Whence, then, did her soul get that virile body in which she seemed to wrestle with her adversary? If, however, this [male likeness] was not a body, although such a semblance of one as admitted the sensation...
in it of a real struggle or a real joy, do you not by this time
see, as far as may be, that there can be in the soul a certain
resemblance of a bodily substance, while the soul is not itself
a, body?

CiTAP. 27.

What, then, if some such thing is actually realized among the departed; and souls
recognise each other among them, Qot, indeed, in bodies, but in the semblances of bodies
? Now, when we suffer pain, if only in our dreams, although it is only the similitude of
bodily limbs which is in action, and Qot the bodily limbs themselves, still the pain is not
merely in semblance, but in reality; as is also the case in the instance of joyous
sensations. Inasmuch, however, as St.
Perpetua was not yet dead, you probably are unwilling to lay iown a precise rule for
yourself from that circumstance (although it bears strongly on the question), as to what
nature
you will suppose those semblances of bodies to partake of,
which we have in our dreams. If you allow them to be like bodies, but not bodies
actually, then the entire question would be settled. But her brother Dinocrates was dead;
she saw him with the wound which he received Avhile alive, and which caused his death.
Where is the ground for the earnest contention to which you devoted your efforts, when
you Laboured to show, that when a limb is cut off, the soul must not be supposed as
suffering a like amount of loss by amputation ? Observe, the wound Avas inflicted on the
soul of Dinocrates, expelling it by its force from his body, when it was inhabiting that
body. How, then, can your opinion be correct, that " Avhen the limbs of the body are cut
off, the soul

326 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

withdraws itself from the stroke, and after condensation retires to other parts, so that no
portion of it is amputated with the wound inflicted on the body," even if the person be
asleep and unconscious, when the loss of limb is suffered ?
So great is the vigilance which you have ascribed to the soul, that even should the stroke
fall on any part of the flesh without its knowledge, when it is a:bsorbed in the visions of
dreams, it would instantly, and by a providential instinct, withdraw itself, and so render it
impossible for any blow, or injury, or mutilation to be inflicted upon it. However, you
may, as much as you will, ransack your ingenuity for an answer to the natural question,
how the soul withdraws the portions of its own existence, and retreats within itself, so
that, whenever a limb of the body is cut off or broken, it does not suffer any amputation
or fracture in itself; but I cannot help asking you to look at the case of Dinocrates, and to
explain to me why his soul did not withdraw from that part of his body which received
the mortal wound, and so escape from suffering in itself what was plainly enough seen in
his face, even after his body was dead? Is it, perchance, your good pleasure that we
should suppose the phenomena in question to be rather the semblances of bodies than the
reality; so that as that which is really no wound seems to be a wound, so that which is no
body at all wears the appearance of corporeity? If, indeed, the soul can be wounded by
those who wound the body, should we not have good reason to fear that it can be killed
also by those who kill the body? This, however, is a fate which the Lord Himself most
plainly declares it to be impossible to happen. - And the soul of Dinocrates could not at
any rate have died of the blow which killed his body: its wound, too, was only an
apparent one; for not being corporeal, it was not really wounded, as the body had been;
possessing the likeness of the body, it shared also the resemblance of its wound. Still it
may be further said, that in its unreal body the soul felt a real misery, which was signified
by the shadow of the body's wound. It was from this real misery that he earned
deliverance by the prayers of his holy sister.

â€¢ Matt. X. 28.

CHAP. XXIX.] SLEEP AKIN TO DEATH. 327

Chap. 2S.
Now, again, what means it that you say, "The soul acquires shape from the body, and
grows and extends with the increase of the body," without keeping in view what a
monstrosity the soul of either a young man or an old man would become if his arm had
been amputated when he was an infant? "The hand of the soul," you say, "contracts
itself, so that it is not amputated with the hand of the body, and by condensation it shrinks
into other parts of the body." At this rate the aforesaid arm of the soul will be kept,
wherever it holds its ground, as short as it was at first when it received the form of the
body, because it has lost the form by the growth of which it might itself have increased at
an equal degree of expansion. Thus the soul of the young man or the old man who lost his
hand in his infancy advances with two hands, indeed (because the one which shrank back
escaped the amputation of the bodily limb), but one of these was the hand of an adult,
young or old, according to the hypothesis, while the other was only an infant's hand, just
as it was when the amputation happened. Such souls, believe me, are not made in the
mould and form of the body, but they are fictitiously framed under the deformed stamp of
error. It seems to me impossible for you to be rescued from this error, unless with God's
help you fully and calmly examine the visions of those who dream, and from these
convince yourself that some forms are not real bodies, but only the semblances of bodies.
Now, although even those objects which we suppose to be like bodies are of the same
class,^ yet so far as the dead are concerned, we can form an after guess about them from
persons who are asleep. For it is not in vain that Holy Scripture describes as "asleep "
those who are dead,^ were it only because in a certain sense "sleep is akin to death."

Chap. 29. [xix.]
If, indeed, the soul were a bodily substance, and the form

' [That is (in opposition to the really "dead," afterwards mentioned), such as are seen by living persons in visions.]

^ 1 Thess. iv. 13. [Augustine uses Virgil's phrase (Jene'al. vi. 278), "Consanguineus Lethi sopor" (Death's own brother. Sleep); so Homer, "T^rÂ»Â»,-, xatriynro; tdxvaTon, II. xiv. 2.31.]

328 ON THE SOUL AND ITS OEIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

were also a corporeal figure in which it sees itself in dreams, on the ground that it received its expression from the body in which it is enclosed, not a human being, if he lost a limb, would in dreams see himself bereft of the amputated member, although actually deprived of it. On the contrary, he would always appear to himself entire and un mutilated, from the circumstance that no part has been cut away from the soul itself. But since [in these visions] persons sometimes see themselves whole and sometimes mutilated in limb, when this happens to be their actual plight, what else does this fact show than that the soul, both in respect of other things seen by it in dreams and in reference to the body, bears about, hither and thither, not their reality, but only their resemblance? The soul's joy, however, or sadness, its pleasure or pain, are severally real emotions, whether experienced in actual or in apparent bodies. Have you not yourself said (and with perfect truth): "Aliments and vestments are not wanted by the soul, but only by the body"? Why, then, did the rich man in hell crave for the drop of water? Why did holy Samuel appear after his death (as you have yourself noticed) clothed in his usual garments? Did the one wish to repair the ruins of the soul, as of the flesh, by the aliment of water? Did the other quit life with his clothes on him?

ISTow in the former case there was a real suffering, which tormented the soul; but not a real body, such as required food. While the latter might have seemed to be clothed, not as being a veritable body, but a soul only, having the semblance of a body with a dress. For although the soul extends and contracts itself to suit the members of the body, it does not similarly adapt itself to the clothes, so as to fit its form to them.

CiiAP. 30.

But who is able to trace out what capacity of recognition even souls which are not good possess after death when divested of "the luggage of carnality," so as to be able by an inner sense to observe and recognise either souls that are evil like themselves, or even good ones, either in states which are actually not corporeal, but the semblances of bodies; or else
in good or evil affections of the mind, in which there occur no lineaments whatever of bodily members? Whence arises the fact that the rich man in the parable, though in torments, recognised "Father Abraham," whose face and figure he had never seen, but the semblance of Moses' body his soul, though incorporeal, was able to comprehend? But who could rightly say that he had known any man, except in so far as he has had means of knowing his life and disposition, which have, of course, neither material substance nor colours? It is in this way that we know ourselves more certainly than any others, because our own consciousness and disposition are all before us. This we plainly perceive, and yet we see therein no similitude of a bodily substance. But we do not perceive this inner quality of our nature in another man, even if he be present before our eyes; though in his absence we recollect his features, and recognise them, and think of them. Our own features, however, we cannot in the same manner recollect, and recognise, and think of; and yet with most perfect truth we say that we are ourselves better known to ourselves than he is, so manifest is it where lies the stronger and truer knowledge of man.

Chap. 31. [xx.]

Forasmuch, then, as there is one function in the soul, which we execute by the five bodily senses, even the perception of true corporeal substances; another, which enables us to discern, besides our own selves, things which though resembling bodies are not corporeal (and by this faculty we can have a view of ourselves also, in a state not at all differing from the mere semblance of corporeity); and a third, by which we gain a still surer and stronger insight into objects fitted for its faculty, which are neither corporeal nor are like bodily substances, such as faith, hope, charity, things which have neither complexion, nor passion, nor any such thing: on which of these functions ought we to dwell more intently, and to some degree more familiarly, and where be renewed in the knowledge of God after the image of Him who created us? Is it not on and in that which I have now put in the third place? And

Â» Luke xvi. 23.

330 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

here we shall certainly experience neither sexual difference nor the semblance thereof.
Chap. 32.

For that form of the soul, whether masculine or feminine, which has the distinction of limb characteristic of man and woman, being no semblance merely of body, but actual body, is either a male or a female, whether you will or no, precisely as it appears to be a man or a woman. But if your opinion be correct, and the soul is a body, even a living body, then it both possesses swelling and pendent breasts, and yet lacks a beard; it has a womb, and all the generative organs of a woman, yet is not a woman after all. Will not mine, then, be a statement more consistent with truth: the soul, indeed, has an eye and has a tongue, has a finger, and all other members which resemble those of the body, and yet the whole 'is the semblance of a body, not a body really? My statement is open to a general test; everybody can prove it in himself, when he brings home to his mind the image of absent friends; he can prove it with certainty when he recalls the figures both of himself and other persons, which have occurred to him in his dreams. On your part, however, no example can throughout nature be produced of such a monstrosity as you have imagined, where there is a woman's real and living body, but not a woman's sex.


Now, what you say about the phenix has nothing whatever to do with the subject before us. For the phenix symbolizes the resurrection of the body; it does not do away with the sex of souls; if indeed, as is thought, he is born afresh after his death. I suppose, however, that you hardly thought your discourse would gain any favour unless you prattled a good deal about the phenix, after the fashion of young pedants. [But to take the example you adduce,] do you find in the body of your bird male organs of generation and not a male bird; or female ones, and not a female? Now I beg of you reflect on what it is you say, "what theory you are trying to construct, and to recommend for our acceptance. You say

i

CHAR XXXIV.] IF SOULS HAVE BODY, THEY HAVE SEX. 331

that the soul, spread through all the limbs of the body, grew stiff by congelation, and received the entire shape of the whole body from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, and from the inmost marrow to the skin's outward surface. At this rate it must have received, in the case of a female body, all the inner appurtenances of a woman's body, and yet not be a woman! Why, pray, are all the members feminine in a true living body, and yet the whole be no woman? And why all be male, and the result be not a man? Who can be so presumptuous as to believe, and profess, and teach all this? Is it that souls never generate? Then, of course, mules and she-mules are not male and female?
Is it that souls without bodies of flesh would be unable to cohabit? Well, but this
deprivation is shared by castrated men; and yet, although both the process and the motion
be taken from them, their sex is not removed â€” some slender remnant of their male
members being still left to them. Nobody ever said that a eunuch is not a male. What now
becomes of your opinion, that the souls even of eunuchs have the generative organs
unimpaired, and that these organs will remain entire, on your principle, in their souls,
even when they are clean removed from their bodily structure? For you say, the soul
knows how to withdraw itself when that part of the flesh begins to be cut off, so that the
form which has been removed when amputated is not lost; but although spread over it by
condensation, it retires by an extremely rapid movement, and so buries itself within, as to
be kept quite safe; yet that cannot, forsooth, be a male in the other world which carries
with it thither the whole appendage of male organs of generation, and which, if it had not
even other signs in the body, was a male by reason of those organs alone.
These opinions, my son, have no truth in them; if you will not allow that there is sex in
the soul, there cannot be a body either.

Chap. 34. [xxi.] â€” Prophetic visions.

Not every semblance of a body is itself a body. Fall asleep and you will see this; but
when you awake again, carefully discern what it is you have seen. For in your dreams
you will appear to yourself as if endued with a body; but it really

332 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

is not your body, but your soul; nor is it a real body, but the semblance of a body. Your
body will be lying on the bed, but the soul walking; the tongue of your body will be
silent, but that of your soul in the dream will talk; your eyes will be shut, but your soul
will be awake; and, of course, the limbs of your body stretched out in your bed will be
alive, not dead.
Consequently that congealed form, as you regard it, of your soul is not yet extracted, as it
were, out of its sheath; and yet in it is seen the whole and perfect semblance of your
fleshly frame. Belonging to this class of similitudes of corporeity, which are not real
bodies, though they seem to be such, are all those appearances which you read of in the
Holy Scriptures in the visions even of the prophets, without, however, understanding
them â€” by which are also signified the things which come to pass in all time â€”
present, past, and future. You make mistakes about these, not because they are in
themselves deceptive, but because you do not accept them as they ought
to be taken. For in the same apocalyptic vision where "the souls of the martyrs" are
seen,^ there is also beheld "a lamb as it were slain, having seven horns; "^ there are also
horses and other animals figuratively described with all consistency; ^
and lastly, there were the stars falling, and the earth rolled up like a book; * nor does the
world, in spite of all, then actually collapse. If therefore we understand all these things
wisely, although we say they are true apparitions, yet we do not call
them real bodies.

Chap. So.

It would, however, require too lengthy a discourse to enter very carefully on a discussion concerning this kind of corporeal semblances; whether angels even, either good ones or evil ones, appear in this manner;^ whenever they appear in the likeness of human beings or of any bodies whatever; or whether they possess any real bodies, and show themselves in this veritable state of corporeity; or, again, whether by persons when dreaming, indeed, or in a trance they are perceived in these forms â€” not in bodies, but in the likeness of bodies; while to persons

^ Kev. vi. 9. ^ Eev. v. 6.


^ [Thai is, as true apparitions indeed, but not as real bodies.]

CHAP. XXXVL] soul AND SPIRIT SOMETIMES SYNONYMOUS. 333

when awake they present real bodies which can be seen, and, if necessary, actually touched. Such questions as these, however, I do not deem it at all requisite to investigate and fully treat in this book. By this time enough has been advanced respecting the soul's incorporeity. If you would rather persist in your opinion that it is corporeal, you must first of all define what " body " means; lest, peradventure, it may turn out that we are agreed about the thing itself, but labouring to no purpose about its name. The absurd conclusions, however, to which you would be reduced if you thought of a body being inlierent in the soul, such as are those substances which are called " bodies " by all learned men, â€” I mean such as occupy portions of space, smaller ones for their smaller parts, and larger ones for their larger, â€” by means of the different relations of length and breadth and thickness, I venture to think you are by this time able intelligently to observe.

Chap. 36. [xxii.] â€” He passes on to the second question about the soul, whether it is called spirit. The proper meaning of " spirit " in man. What the mind is. What is '^ the spirit of the mind" (Epli. iv. 23), and "the body of the flesh" (Col. ii. 11).

It now remains for me to show how it is that while the designation spirit is rightly predicated of a part of the soul, not the whole of it, â€” even as the apostle says, " Your whole spirit, and soul, and body; " ^ or, according to the much more expressive statement in the Book of Job, " Thou wilt separate my soul from my spirit," ^ â€” yet the whole
soil is also called by this name. This, indeed, may appear to be much more of a question of names than of things; for although it is certainly a fact that there is a something in the soul which is properly called "spirit," while (with the exception of this) it is also designated with equal propriety "soul," still our present contention is not about the things themselves, mainly because I on my side certainly admit, and you on your part say the same, that the faculty is properly called spirit by which we reason and understand; and yet that these portions of our nature are so distinctly designated, that the apostle mentions "your whole spirit, and soul, and body." This spirit, however, the same apostle appears to also describe as mind; as when

1 T Thess. V. 23. ^ Jot vii. 15 [Sept.].

334 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV~

he says, "So then with the mind I serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." ^ Now the meaning of this is precisely what he expresses in another passage thus: "For the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh." ^ What he designates mind in the former place, he must be understood to call spirit in the latter passage. Not as you interpret the statement, "The universal mind is meant, which consists of soul and spirit," â€” a view which I know not where you obtained it. By our "mind," indeed, we usually understand nothing but our rational and intellectual faculty; and thus, when the apostle says, "Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind," ^ what else does he mean than. Be ye renewed in your mind? "The spirit of the mind" is, accordingly, nothing else than the mind, just as "the body of the flesh" is nothing but the flesh; thus it is written, "In putting off the body of the flesh," * where the apostle calls the flesh "the body of the flesh." He designates it, indeed, in another point of view as the spirit of a man, which he quite distinguishes from the mind: "If," says he, "I pray with the tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my mind is unfruitful."^ We are not now, however, speaking of that spirit which is distinct and separate from the mind; and this involves a question relating to itself which is really a difficult one. For in many ways and in divers senses the Holy Scriptures make mention of the spirit; but with respect to that we are now speaking of, by which we exercise reason, intelligence, and wisdom, we are both agreed that it is called (and indeed rightly called) "spirit," in such a sense as not to include the entire soul, but a part of it. If, however, you contend that the soul is not the spirit, on the ground that the understanding [a part of the soul] is distinctly called "spirit," you may as well deny that the whole seed of Jacob is called Israel, since (apart from Judah) the same appellation was distinctly and separately borne by the ten tribes which were then organized in Samaria. But why need we linger any longer here on this subject?

Chap. 37. [xxiii.]
At this point of our inquiry, with a view to our easier
elucidation of it, I beg you to observe that what is the soul is also designated spirit [or ghost] in the scripture which narrates an incident in our Lord’s death, thus, " He bowed His head and gave up the ghost [spirit]; " ^ and when you hear or read these words, you should understand them as if the whole were signified by a part, and not because that which is the soul may also be called spirit. I shall, for the purpose of being able the more readily to prove what I say, actually summon yourself with all promptitude and convenience as my witness.

For you have defined spirit in such terms that cattle appear not to have a spirit, but a soul. Irrational animals are so called, because they have not the power of intelligence and reason. Accordingly, when you admonished man himself to know his own nature, you spoke as follows: " Now, inasmuch as the good God has made nothing without a purpose, He has produced man himself as a rational animal, capable of intelligence, endowed with reason, and enlivened by sensibility, so as to be able to distribute in a wise arrangement all things that are void of reason." In these words of yours you have plainly asserted what is certainly most true, that man is endowed with reason and capable of intelligence, which, of course, animals void of reason are not. And you have, in accordance with this view, quoted a passage of Scripture, and, adopting its language, have compared men of no understanding to the cattle, which, of course, have not intellect. A statement the like to which occurs in another passage of Scripture:

" Be ye not as the horse or as the mule, which have no understanding." ^ This being the case, I want you also to observe in what terms you have defined and described the spirit when trying to distinguish it from the soul: " This soul," you say, " which has its origin from the breath of God, could not have possibly been without an inner sense and intellect of its own; and this is the spirit." A little afterwards you add: " And although the soul animates the body, yet inasmuch as it possesses sense, and wisdom, and vigour, it must needs be spirit." And then somewhat further on you say: "The soul is one thing, and the spirit â€” which is the soul's wisdom and sense â€” is another." In these words you plainly enough indicate what 1 John xix. 30. 2 Ps. ^lix. 12. =* Ts. xxxii. 9.

336 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

you take the spirit of man to mean; that it is even our rational faculty, whereby the soul exercises sense and intelligence, â€”
not, indeed, the sensation which is felt by the bodily senses, but the operation of that innermost sense from which arises the term "sententia" [sentiment, or opinion]. Owing to this it is, no doubt, that we are placed above brute animals, since these are unendowed with reason. These animals therefore have not spirit, â€” that is to say, intellect and a sense of reason and wisdom, â€” but only soul. For it is of these that it was spoken, "Let the waters bring forth the creeping creatures that have a living soul; "^ and again, "Let the earth bring forth the living soul." ^ In order, indeed, that you may have the fullest and clearest assurance that what is the soul is in the usage of the Holy Scriptures also called spirit, the soul of a brute animal has the same designation. To be sure, cattle have not that spirit which you, my beloved brother, have defined as being distinct from the soul. It is therefore quite evident that the soul of a brute animal could be rightly called "spirit" in a general sense of the term; as we read in the Book of Ecclesiastes, "Who knoweth the spirit of the sons of men, whether it goeth upward; and the spirit of the least, whether it goeth downward into the earth? "^ In like manner, touching the devastation of the deluge, the Scripture testifies, "All flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man: and all things which have the spirit of life." ^* Here, if we remove all the windings of doubtful disputation, we understand the term spirit to be synonymous with soul in its general sense. Of so wide a signification is this term, that even God is called "a spirit;" "and a stormy blast of the air, although it has material substance, is called by the psalmist the spirit of a tempest. ^ For all these reasons, therefore, you will no longer deny that what is the soul is called also spirit: I have, I think, adduced enough from the pages of Holy Scripture to secure your assent in passages where the soul of the very brute beast, which has no understanding, is designated spirit. If, then, you take and wisely

1 Gen. i. 20. ^ Ggn. i. 24. ^ Eccles. iii. 21.

* Gen. vii. 21, 22. * John iv. 24. ^ [He seems to refer to Ps. Iv. S.]

"ilAP. XXXVIII.] A DISSUASIVE FROM ERROR. 337

uHIsider what lias beeu advanced in our discussion about the incorporeity of the soul, there is no further reason why you should take offence at my having said that I was sure the soul was not body, but spirit, â€” both because it is proved to be not corporeal, and because in its general sense it is denominated spirit.

CnAP. 38. [xxiv.]
Wherefore if you take these books, which I have with a sincere- and affectionate interest written in answer to your opinions, and read them with a mutual love for me; if you attend to what you have yourself declared in the beginning of your first book, and " are anxious not to insist on any opinion of your own, if it be found an improbable one," then I beseech you to beware especially of those eleven errors which I warned you of in the preceding book of this treatise.' Do not say that "the soul is of God in such a sense that He created it not out of nothing, nor out of another nature, but out of His own;" or that,
as God who gives is Himself ever existent so is He ever giving souls through infinite time;" or that
"the soul lost some merit through the flesh, which it was credited with previous to its incarnate state;" or that "the soul by means of the flesh repairs its ancient condition and is born again through the very same flesh, by which it had deserved to be polluted;" or that "the soul deserved to be sinful even prior to sin;" or that "infants who die without the regeneration of baptism, may yet attain to forgiveness of their original sins;" or that "they whom the Lord has predestinated to be baptized may be taken away from this destined gift; or die before that has been accomplished in them which the Almighty had predetermined;" or that "it is of those who expire before they are baptized that the Scripture says, 'Speedily was he taken away, lest wickedness should alter his understanding,' "with the remainder of the passage to the same effect; or that "there are some mansions outside the kingdom of God, belonging to the 'many,' which the Lord said were in His Father's house " or that "the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ ought to be offered in behalf of those who have departed out of the

See above in Book ii. 22. [xvi.] ^ See Book iii., last chapter

XII.

338 ON THE SOUL AND ITS ORIGIN. [BOOK IV.]

body without being baptized;" or that "any of those persons who die without Christ's baptism, are received for a while into paradise, and afterwards attain even to the blessedness of the kingdom of heaven." Above all things, [I say again] beware of these opinions, my son, and, as you wish to be the vanquisher of error, do not rejoice in the surname of "Vincentius."

And when you are ignorant on any subject, do not think that you know it; but in order to get real knowledge, learn how to be ignorant. For we commit a sin by affecting to be ignorant of nothing among "the secret things of God;" by constructing random theories about unknown things, and taking them for known; and by producing and defending errors as if they were truth. As for my own ignorance on the question whether the souls of men are created afresh at every birth, or are transmitted by the parents (an ignorance which is, however, modified by my belief, which it would be impious to falter in, that they are certainly made by the Divine Creator, though not of His own substance), I think that your loving self will by this time be persuaded that it either ought not to be censured at all, or, if it ought, that it should be done by a man who is capable by his learning to remove it altogether; and so also with respect to my other opinions, that while souls have in them the incorporeal semblances of bodies, they are not themselves bodies; and that, without impairing the natural distinction between soul and spirit, the soul is in a general sense actually designated spirit. If, indeed, I have unfortunately failed to persuade you, I must leave it rather to my readers to determine whether what I have advanced ought not to have convinced you.
If, as may possibly be the case, you desire to know whether there are really other points besides the many which appear to me to require emendation in your books, it cannot be I troublesome for you to come to me, â€” not, indeed, as a scholar to his master, but as a person in his prime to one full of years, and as a strong man to a weak one. And although you ought not to have published your books, still there is a greater and a truer glory in a man's being censured, when he confesses with his own lips the justice of his correction, than in being

CHAP. X.XIX.] AVISE COUNSEL. 330

lauded out of the mouth of any defender of error. Now, while I should be unwilling to believe that all those who listened to your reading of the afore-mentioned books, and lavished their praises on you, had either previously held for themselves the opinions which sound doctrine disapproves of, or were induced by you to entertain them, I still cannot help thinking that they had the keenness of their mind blunted by the impetuous and constant flow of your elocution, and so were unable to bestow adequate attention on the contents of your discourse; or else, that when they were in any case capable of understanding what you said, it was less for any very clear statement of the truth that they praised you than for the affluence of your language, and the facility and resources of your mental powers. For praise, and fame, and kindly regard are very commonly bestowed on a young man's eloquence in anticipation of the future, though as yet it lacks the mellowed perfection and fidelity of a fully-informed instructor. ' In order, then, that you may attain to true wisdom yourseK, and that what you say may be able not only to delight, but even edify other people, it behoves you, after removing from your mind the dangerous applause of others, to keep conscientious watch over your own words.

[*End Vol. XII*]
THE WORKS

OF

AURELIUS AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

A NEW TRANSLATION.

Edited by the REV. MARCUS DODS, M.A.

VOL. XIII.

THE LETTERS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE.

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXV.

---------------------
Source (of this Volume):
THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
10 ELMSLEY PLACE
TORONTO 5, CANADA,
Toronto Library

---------------------
LETTERS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE,
BISHOP OF HIPPO.

THE REV. J. G. CUNNINGHAM, LOCHWINNOCH.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXV.
PREFATORY NOTE.

Of the two hundred and seventy-two letters given in the Benedictine edition of Augustine's works, one hundred and sixty are translated in this selection. In the former volume few were omitted, and the reason for each omission was given in its own place. As the proportion of untranslated letters is in this volume much larger, it may be more convenient to indicate briefly here the general reasons which have guided us in the selection.

We have omitted

I. Almost all the letters referring to the Donatist schism, as there is enough on this subject in the works on the Donatist controversy (vol. iii. of this series) and in numerous earlier letters. This excludes 105, 106, 107, 108, 128, 129, 134, 141, 142, and 204.

II. Almost all the letters relating to Pelagianism, as the series contains three volumes of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings (vols. iv. xii. xv.). This excludes 156, 157, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184, 184½, 186, 193, 194, 214, 215, 216, 217.

III. Almost all the letters referring to the doctrine of the Trinity, as this has been already given, partly in earlier letters, and more fully in the volume on the Trinity (vol. vii. of this series). This excludes 119, 120, 170, 174, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242.

VI PREFATORY NOTE.

IV. Almost all those which in design, style, and prolixity, are exegetical or doctrinal treatises rather than letters. This excludes 140, 147, 149, 152, 153, 154, 155, 162, 187, 190, 196, 197, 198, 199, 202 Us, 205.

V. Some of the letters written by others to Augustine. This excludes 94, 109, 121, 160, 168, 225, 226, 230, 270.

VI. A large number of miscellaneous smaller letters, as, in order to avoid going beyond the limits of one volume, it was necessary to select only the more interesting and important of these. This excludes 110, 112, 113, 114, 127, 161, 162, 171, 200, 206, 207, 211, 222, 223, 224, 233, 234,
CONTENTS.

â–¼

LETTER

PAGE

95. To Brother Pailinus and Sister Therasia, .... 1

96. To Olympius, ....

9

97. To Olympius,

11

98. To Boniface,
99. To the very devout Italica,

100. To Donatus,

101. To Memor, ....

102. To Deogratias,
103. To my Lord and Brother, Augustine,

104. To Nectarius,

111. To Victorianus,

115. To Fortunatus,
116. To Generosus,

117. From Dioscorus to Augustine,

118. Augustine to Dioscorus,

122. To his well-beloved Brethren the Clergy, et
123. From Jerome to Augustine,

124. To Albina, Pinianus, and Melania,

125. To Alypius,
126. To Albina, ....

131

130. To Proba, ....

142

131. To Lady Proba,

166

132. To Volusianus, ....
133. To Marcellinus,

135. To Bishop Augustine,

136. Marcellinus to Augustine,

137. To Lord Volusianus,
138. To Marcellinus,

139. To Marcellinus,

143. To Marcellinus,

144. To the Inhabitants of Cirta,
145. To Anastasius,

146. To Pelagius, ....

148. To Fortunatianus, ....

150. To Proba and Juliana,
CONTENTS.

LETTEE

151. To Csecilianus,

158. Evodius to Augustine,

159. To Evodius,

163. Evodius to Augustine,

164. To Evodius,

165. To Marcellinus and Anapsychia,
166. To Jerome,
167. To Jerome,
169. To Evodius,
172. Jerome to Augustine,
173. To Donatus,
180. To Oceanus,
188. To Juliana,
189. To Boniface,
191. To Sixtus, .
192. To Caelestine,
195. Jerome to Augustine,
201. Honorius Augustus and Theodosius
202. Jerome to Alypius and Augustine,
203. To Largus, .
208. To Felicia, .
209. To Caelestine,
210. To Felicitas, Rusticus, etc.,
211. To the Nuns,
212. To Quintilianus,
213. Augustine designates his Successor,
218. To Palatinus,
219. To Proculus and Cylinus, .
220. To Boniface,
227. To Mypius, .
LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

LETTER XCIV,

(A.D. 408.)

A letter to Augustine from Paulinus and Therasia, the substance of which is sufficiently stated in the next letter, which contains the reply of Augustine to his friend's questions concerning the present life, the nature of the bodies of the blessed in the life to come, and the functions of the members of the body after the resurrection.

LETTEE XCV.

(A.D. 408.)

TO BEOOTHER PAULINUS AND SISTER THEEASIA, MOST BELOVED AND SINCERE, SAINTS WORTHY OF AFFECTION AND VENERATION, FELLOW-DISCIPLES WITH HIMSELF UNDER THE LORD JESUS AS MASTER, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.
1. "YIST^HEN brethren most closely united to us, towards f T whom along with us you are accustomed both to cherish and to express sentiments of regard which we all cordially reciprocate, have frequent occasions of visiting you, this benefit is one by which we are comforted under evil rather than made to rejoice in increase of good. For we strive to the utmost of our power to avoid the causes and emergencies which necessitate their journeys, and yet, â€” I know not how, unless it be as just retribution, â€” they cannot be dispensed with: but when they return to us and see us, that word of Scripture is fulfilled in our experience: "In the multitude of my thoughts within me. Thy comforts delight my soul."\(^\text{1}\) Accordingly, when you

\(^{1}\) Ps. xciv. 19.

LETT. IL A

2 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCV.

learn from our brother Possidius himself how sad is the occasion which has compelled him to go to Italy; you will know how true the remarks I have made are in regard to the joy which he has in meeting you; and yet, if any of us should cross the sea for the one purpose of enjoying a meeting with you, what more cogent or worthy reason could be found? This, however, would not be compatible with those obligations by which we are bound to minister to those who are languid through infirmity, and not to withdraw our bodily presence from them, unless their malady, assuming a dangerous form, makes such departure imperative. Whether in these things we are receiving chastening or judgment I know not; but this I know, that He is not dealing with us according to our sins, nor requiting us according to our iniquities,\(^\text{2}\) who mingle so great comfort with our tribulation, and who, by remedies which fill us with wonder, secures that we shall not love the world, and shall not by it be made to fall away.

2. I asked in a former letter your opinion as to the nature of the future life of the saints; but you have said in your reply that we have still much to study concerning our condition in this present life, and you do well, except in this, that you have expressed your desire to learn from me that of which you are either equally ignorant or equally well informed with myself, or rather, of which you know much more perhaps than I do; for you have said with perfect truth, that before we meet the dissolution of this mortal body, we must die, in a gospel sense, by a voluntary departure, withdrawing ourselves, not by death, but by deliberate resolution, from the life of this world. This course is a simple one, and is beset with no waves of uncertainty, because we are of opinion that we ought so to live in this mortal life that we may be in some measure fitted for immortality. The whole question, however, which, when discussed and investigated, perplexes men like myself, is this â€” how we ought to live among or for the welfare of those who have not yet learned to live by dying, not in the dissolution of the body, but by

\(^{2}\) Possidius, "bishop of Calama, was going to Eome to complain of the outrage of the Pagans of Calama, described in Letter XCL sec. 8, vol. i. p. 387.
turning themselves with a certain mental resolution away from the attractions of mere natural things. For in most cases, it seems to us that unless we in some small degree conform to them in regard to those very things from which we desire to see them delivered, we shall not succeed in doing them any good. And when we do thus conform, a pleasure in such things steals upon ourselves, so that often we are pleased to speak and to listen to frivolous things, and not only to smile at them, but even to be completely overcome with laughter: thus burdening our souls with feelings which cleave to the dust, or even to the mire of this world, we experience greater difficulty and reluctance in raising ourselves to God that by dying a gospel-death we may live a gospel-life. And whenssoever this state of mind is reached, immediately thereupon will follow the commendation, "Well done! well done!" not from men, for no man perceives in another the mental act by which divine things are apprehended, but in a certain inward silence there sounds I know not whence, "Well done! well done!" Because of this kind of temptation, the great apostle confesses that he was buffeted by the angel.—Behold whence it comes that our whole life on earth is a temptation; for man is tempted even in that thing in which he is being conformed so far as he can be to the likeness of the heavenly life.

3. What shall I say as to the infliction or remission of punishment, in cases in which we have no other desire than to forward the spiritual welfare of those in regard to whom we judge that they ought or ought not to be punished? Also, if we consider not only the nature and magnitude of faults, but also what each may be able or unable to bear according to his strength of mind, how deep and dark a question it is to adjust the amount of punishment so as to prevent the person who receives it not only from getting no good, but also from suffering loss thereby! Besides, I know not whether a greater number have been improved or made worse when alarmed under threats of such punishment at the hands of men as is an object of fear. What, then, is the path of duty, seeing that it often happens that

'2 Cor. xii. 7.

I if you inflict punishment on one he goes to destruction; J whereas, if you leave him unpunished, another is destroyed?
I confess that I make mistakes daily in regard to this, and that I know not when and how to observe the rule of Scripture: "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others may fear;" and that other rule, "Tell him his fault between thee and him alone;" and the rule, "Judge nothing before the time;" "Judge not, that ye be not judged" (in which command the Lord has not added the words, "before the time"); and this saying of Scripture, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth: yea, he shall be holden up, for God is able to make him stand;" by which words he makes it plain that he is speaking of those who are within the Church; yet, on the other hand, he commands them to be judged when he says, "What have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person." But when this is necessary, how much care and fear is occasioned by the question to what extent it should be done, lest that happen which, in his second epistle to them, the apostle is found admonishing these persons to beware of in that very example, saying, "lest, perhaps, such an one should be swallowed up with much sorrow;" adding, in order to prevent men from thinking this a thing not calling for anxious care, "lest Satan should get an advantage of us; for we are not ignorant of his devices." What trembling we feel in all these things, my brother Paulinus, holy man of God! what trembling, what darkness! May we not think that with reference to these things it was said, "Tearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me. And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness." And yet even in the wilderness perchance he still experienced it; for he adds, "I waited for Him who should deliver me from weakness and from tempest."^  

^ 1 Tim. V. 20. ' Matt, xviii. 15. ' 1 Cor. iv, 5.  

* Matt. vii. 1. ^ Rom. xiv. 4. ^ 1 Cor. v, 12, 13.  

' 2 Cor. ii. 7, 11. â€¢ Ps. Iv. 5-8, as given in the LXX.

LET. XCV.] TO PAULINUS AND THEE ASIA. 5

Truly, therefore, is the life of man upon the earth a life of temptation.^

4. Moreover, as to the oracles of God, is it not true that they are lightly touched rather than grasped and handled by us, seeing that in by far the greater part of them we do not already possess opinions definite and ascertained, but are rather inquiring what our opinion ought to be? And this caution, though attended with abundant disquietude, is much better than the rashness of doc^matic assertion. Also, if a man is not carnally
minded (which the apostle says is death), will he not be a great cause of offence to those who are still carnally minded, in many parts of Scripture in the exposition of which to say what you believe is most perilous, and to refrain from saying it is most grievous, and to say something else than what you believe is most pernicious? Nay more, when in the discourses or writings of those who are within the Church we find some things censurable, and do not conceal our disapprobation (supposing such correction to be according to the freedom of brotherly love), how great a sin is committed against us when we are suspected of being actuated in this by envy and not by goodwill! and how much do we sin against others, when we in like manner impute to those who find fault with our opinions a desire rather to wound than to correct us! Verily, there arise usually from this cause bitter enmities even between persons bound to each other by the greatest affection and intimacy, when, "thinking of men above that which is written, any one is puffed up for one against another;" ^ and while they bite and devour one another, "there is reason to fear lest they be consumed one of another." ^ Therefore, "Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest." * For whether it be that the dangers by which one is beset seem to him greater than those of which he has no experience, or that my impressions are correct, I cannot help thinking that any amount of weakness and of tempest in the wilderness would be more easily borne than the things which we feel or fear in the busy world.

5. I therefore greatly approve of your saying that we

ê» Job vii. 1. 2 1 Cor. iv. 6. s Qal. v. 15. * Ps. Iv. 6.

6 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCY. 

should make the state in which men stand, or rather the course which they run, in this present life, the theme of our discussion. I add as another reason for our giving this subject the preference, that the finding and following of the course itself must come before our finding and possessing that towards which it leads. When, therefore, I asked your views on this, I acted as if, through holding and observing carefully the right rule of this life, we were already free from disquietude concerning its course, although I feel in so many things, and especially in those which I have mentioned, that I toil in the midst of very great dangers. Nevertheless, forasmuch as the cause of all this ignorance and embarrassment appears to me to be that, in the midst of a great variety of manners and of minds having inclinations and infirmities hidden altogether from our sight, we seek the interest of those who are citizens and subjects, not of Eome which is on earth, but of Jerusalem which is in heaven, it seemed to me more agreeable to converse with you about what we shall be, than about what we now are. For although we do not know the
blessings which are to be enjoyed yonder, of one thing at least we are assured, and it is
not a small thing, that yonder the evils which we experience here shall have no place.

6. Wherefore, as to the ordering of this present life in the way which we must follow in
order to the attainment of eternal life, I know that our carnal appetites must be held in
check, only so much concession being made to the gratification of the bodily senses as
suffices for the support of this life and the active discharge of its duties, and that all the
 vexations of this life which come upon us in connection with the truth of God, and the
eternal welfare of ourselves or of our neighbours, must be borne with patience and
fortitude.
I know also that with all the zeal of love we should seek the good of our neighbour, that
he may rightly spend the present life so as to obtain life eternal. I know also that we
ought to prefer spiritual to carnal, immutable to mutable things, and that all this a man is
so much more or less enabled to do, according as he is more or less helped by the grace
of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. But I do not know the reason why one or another
is more or less

LET. XCV.] TO TAULINUS AND THEE ASIA. *7

helped or not helped by that grace; this only I know, that God does this with perfect
justice, and for reasons which to Himself are known as sufficient. In regard, however, to
the things which I have mentioned above, as to the way in which we ought to live
amongst men, if anything has become known to you through experience or meditation, I
beseech you to give me instruction. And if these things perplex you not less than myself,
make them the subject of conference with some judicious spiritual physician, whom you
may find either where you reside, or in Eome, when you make your annual visit to the
city, and thereafter write to me whatever the Lord may reveal to you through his
instructions, or to you and him together when engaged in conversation on the subject.

7. As to the resurrection of the body, and the future offices of its members in the
incorruptible and immortal state, since you have, in return for the questions which I put to
you, inquired my views on these matters, listen to a brief statement which, if it be not
sufficient, may afterwards, with the Lord's help, be amplified by fuller discussion. It is to
be held most firmly, as a doctrine in regard to which the testimony of Holy Scripture is
ture and unmistakable, that these visible and earthly bodies which are now called
natural, shall, in the resurrection of the faithful and just, be spiritual bodies.
At the same time, I do not know how the quality of a spiritual body can be comprehended
or stated by us, seeing that it lies beyond the range of our experience. There shall be,
assuredly, in such bodies no corruption, and therefore they shall not require the
perishable nourishment which is now necessary; yet though unnecessary, it will not be
impossible for them at their pleasure to take and actually consume food; otherwise it
would not have been taken after His resurrection by the Lord, who has given us such an
example of the resurrection of the body, that the apostle argues from it: " If the dead rise
not, then is not Christ raised." But He, when He appeared to His disciples, having all His
members, and using them according to their functions, also pointed out to them the places where His wounds had been, regarding which I have always supposed that they were the scars, not the wounds.

^ Animalia, 1 Cor. xv. 34. ' 1 Cor. xv. 16.

8 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCV.

themselves, and that they were there, not of necessity, but according to His free exercise of power. He gave at that time the clearest evidence of the ease with which He exercised this power. Loth by showing Himself in another form to the two disciples, and by His appearing, not as a spirit, but in His true body, to the disciples in the upper chamber, although the doors were shut.^

8. From this arises the question as to angels, whether they have bodies adapted to their duties and their swift motions from place to place, or are only spirits ? For if we say that they have bodies, we are met by the passage: " He maketh His angels spirits;"^ and if we say that they have not bodies, a still greater difficulty meets us in explaining how, if they are without bodily form, it is written that they appeared to the bodily senses of men, accepted offers of hospitality, permitted their feet to be washed, and used the meat and drink which was provided for them.^ For it seems to involve us in less difficulty, if we suppose that the angels are there called spirits in the same manner as men are called souls, e.g. in the statement that so many souls (not signifying that they had not bodies also) went down with Jacob into Egypt,^* than if we suppose that, without bodily form, all these things were done by angels. Again, a certain definite height is named in the Apocalypse as the stature of an angel, in dimensions which could apply only to bodies, proving that that which appeared to the eyes of men is to be explained, not as an illusion, but as resulting from the power which we have spoken of as easily put forth by spiritual bodies. But whether angels have bodies or not, and whether or not any one be able to show how without bodies they could do all these things, it is nevertheless certain, that in that city of the holy in which those of our race who have been redeemed by Christ shall be united for ever to thousands of angels, voices proceeding from organs of speech shall furnish expression to the thoughts of minds in which nothing is hidden; for in that divine fellowship it will not be possible for any thought in one to remain concealed from

' Luke xxiv. 15-43; John xx. 14-29; Mark xvi. 12, 14.

^ Ps. civ. 4 and Heb. i. 7.

* Gen. xviii. 2-9 and xix. 1-3. * Gen. xlvi. 27.

LET. XCVL] to OLYMPIUS.
another, but there shall be complete harmony and oneness of heart in the praise of God, and this shall find utterance not only from the spirit, but through the spiritual body as its instrument; this, at least, is what I believe.

9. Meanwhile, if you have already found or can learn from other teachers anything more fully agreeing with the truth than this, I am most eagerly longing to be instructed therein by you. Study carefully, if you please, my letter, in regard to which, as you pled in excuse for your very hurried reply the haste of the deacon who brought it to me, I do not make any complaint, but rather remind you of it, in order that what was then omitted in your answer may now be supplied.

Look over it again, and observe what I wished to learn from you, both regarding your opinion concerning Christian retirement as a means to the acquisition and discussion of the truths of Christian wisdom, and regarding that retirement in which I supposed that you had found leisure, but in which it is reported to me that you are engrossed with occupation to an incredible extent.

May you, in whom the holy God has given us great joy and consolation, live mindful of us, and in true felicity. (This sentence is added by another hand.)

LETTEE XCVL

(A.D. 408.)

TO OLYMPIUS, MY LORD GEEATLY BELOVED, AND MY SON WORTHY OF HONOUR AND REGARD AS A MEMBER OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. Whatever your rank may be in connection with the course of this world, I have the greatest confidence in addressing you as my much-loved, true-hearted Christian fellow-servant Olympius. For I know that this name, in your esteem, excels all other glorious and lofty titles. Eeports have indeed reached me that you have obtained some promotion in worldly honour, but no information confirming the truth of the rumour had come to me up to the time when this opportunity of writing to you occurred. Since, however, I know that you have learned from the Lord not to mind high things, but to condescend to those who are lightly esteemed by men, whatever the pinnacle to which you may have been raised, we take for granted, my lord greatly beloved, and son worthy of honour and regard as a member of Christ, that you will still make a letter from me welcome, just as you were wont to do. And as to your worldly prosperity, I do not doubt that you will wisely use it
for your eternal gain; so that the greater the influence which you acquire in the commonwealth on this earth, the more will you devote yourself to the interests of the heavenly city to which you owe your birth in Christ, forasmuch as this shall be more abundantly repaid to you in the land of the living, and in the true peace which yields sure and endless joys. -

2. I again commend to your kind consideration the petition of my brother and colleague Boniface, in the hope that what could not be done before may be in your power now. He might perhaps, indeed, legally retain, without any further difficulty, that which his predecessor had acquired, though under another name than his own, and which he had begun to possess in name of the church; but we do not wish, since his predecessor was in debt to the public exchequer, to have this burden upon our conscience. For that act of fraud was none the less truly fraud because perpetrated at the expense of the public revenue. The same Paul (the predecessor of Boniface), when he was made bishop, being about to surrender all his effects because of the accumulated burden of arrears due to the public exchequer, having secured payment of a bond by which a certain sum of money was due to him, bought with it, as if for the church, in the name of a family then very powerful, these few fields by the produce of which he might support himself, in order that, in respect to these also, after his old practice, he might escape annoyance at the hands of the collectors of the revenue, although he was paying no tax. Boniface, however, when ordained over the same church, on his death,

'This Olyrapius was appointed in 408 (a.d.) to the office of highest authority in the court of Honorius (magister officiorum), in room of Stilicho, who was put to death at Ravenna on account of suspected complicity with the authors of the sedition which threatened the life of the emperor at Pavia.

LET. XC VII.] TO OLYMPIUS. 11

hesitated to take the fields which he had thus held; and although he might have contented himself with asking from the emperor no more than a remission of the fiscal arrears which his predecessor had incurred on this small property, he preferred to confess without reserve that Paul had bought the property at an auction with money of his own, at a time when he was banla-upt as a debtor to the public revenue, so that now the Church may, if possible, obtain possession of this, not through the secret fraud of her bishop, but by an open act of the Christian emperor's liberality. And if this be impossible, the servants of God prefer to bear the hardship of want, rather than obtain the supply of that which they require under reproaches of conscience for dishonourable dealing.

3. I beg you to condescend to give your support to this petition, because he has resolved not to bring forward the decision in his favour which was formerly obtained, lest it should preclude him from the liberty of making a second application; for the answer then given fell short of what he desired. And now, since you are of the same kindly disposition that you formerly were, but possessed of greater influence, I do not despair of this being
easily granted by the Lord's help, in consideration of your claims on the emperor; and if even you were to ask the gift of this property in your own name, and present it to the church of which I have spoken, who would find fault with your request; nay, rather, who would not commend it, as dictated not by personal covetousness, but by Christian piety? May the mercy of the Lord our God shield you, and make you more and more happy in Christ, my lord and son.

LETTÉE XCVIL
(A.D. 408.)

TO OLYMPIUS, MY EXCELLENT AND JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED LORED, AND MY SON WORTHY OF MUCH HONOUR IN CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Although, when we heard recently of your having obtained merited promotion to the highest rank, we felt persuaded, however uncertain we still were in some degree as to the truth

12 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCVIL

of the report, that towards the Church of which we rejoice to know that you are truly a son, there was no other feeling in your mind than that which you have now made patent to us in your letter, nevertheless, having now read that letter in which you have been pleased of your own accord to send to us, when we were full of backwardness and diffidence, a most gracious exhortation to use our humble efforts in pointing out to you how the Lord, by whose gift you are thus powerful, may from time to time, by means of your pious obedience, bring assistance to His Church, we write to you with the more abundant confidence, my excellent and justly distinguished lord, and my son worthy of much honour in Christ.

2. Many brethren, indeed, holy men who are my colleagues, have, by reason of the troubles of the church here, gone â€” I might almost say as fugitives â€” to the emperor's most illustrious court; and these brethren you may have already seen, or may have received from Rome their letters, in connection with their respective occasions of appeal. I have not had it in my power to consult them before writing; nevertheless, I was unwilling to miss the opportunity of sending a letter by the bearer, my brother and fellow-presbyter, who has been compelled, though in mid-winter, to make the best of his way into those parts, under pressing necessity, in order to save the life of a fellow-citizen. I write, therefore, to salute you, and to charge you by the love which you have in Christ Jesus our Lord, to see that your good work be hastened on with the utmost diligence, in order that the enemies of the Church may know that those laws concerning the demolition of idols and the correction of heretics which were sent into Africa while Stilicho yet lived, were framed by the desire of our most pious and faithful emperor; for they either
cunningly boast, or unwillingly imagine, that this was done without his knowledge, or against his will, and thus they render the minds of the ignorant full of seditious violence, and excite them to dangerous and vehement enmity against us.

3. I do not doubt that, in submitting this in the way of petition or respectful suggestion to the consideration of your Excellency, I act agreeably to the wishes of all my colleagues throughout Africa; and I think that it is your duty to take

LET. XCVII.] TO OLYMPIUS. 13

measures, as could be easily done, on whatever opportunity may first arise, to make it understood by these vain men (whose salvation we seek, although they resist ns), that it was to the care, not of Stilicho, but of the son of Theodosius, that those laws which have been sent into Africa for the defence of the Church of Christ owed their promulgation. On account of these things, then, the presbyter whom I have mentioned already, the bearer of this letter, who is from the district of Milevi, was ordered by his bishop, the venerable Severus, who joins me in cordial salutations to you, whose love we esteem most genuine, to pass through Hippo-regius, where I am; because, when we happened to meet together in time of serious tribulation and distress to the Church, we sought an opportunity of writing to your Highness, but found none. I had indeed already sent one letter in regard to the business of our holy brother and colleague Boniface, bishop of Cataqua; but the heavier calamities destined to cause us greater agitation had not then befallen us, regarding which, and the means whereby something may be done with the best counsel for their prevention or punishment, according to the method of Christ, the bishops who have sailed hence on that errand will be able more conveniently to confer with you, in whose cordial goodwill towards us we rejoice, inasmuch as they are able to report to you something which has been, so far as limited time permitted, the result of careful and united consultation. But as to this other matter, namely, that the province be made to know how the mind of our most gracious and religious emperor stands towards the Church, I recommend, nay, I beg, beseech, and implore you, to take care that no time be lost, but that its accomplishment be hastened, even before you see the bishops who have gone from us, so soon as shall be possible for you, in the exercise of your most eminent vigilance on behalf of the members of Christ who are now in circumstances of the utmost danger; for the Lord has provided no small consolation for us under these trials, seeing that it has pleased Him to put much more now than formerly in your power, although we were already filled with joy by the number and the magnitude of your good offices.

4. We rejoice much in the firm and stedfast faith of some.

14 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCVII]
and these not few in number, who by means of these laws have been converted to the Christian religion, or from schism to Catholic peace, for whose eternal welfare we are glad to run the risk of forfeiting temporal welfare. For on this account especially we now have to endure at the hands of men, exceedingly and obdurately perverse, more grievous assaults of enmity, which some of them, along with us, bear most patiently; but we are in very great fear because of their weakness, until they learn, and are enabled by the help of the Lord's most compassionate grace, to despise with more abundant strength of spirit the present world and man's short day. May it please your Highness to deliver the letter of instructions which I have sent to my brethren the bishops when they come, if, as I suppose, they have not yet reached you. For we have such confidence in the unfeigned devotion of your heart, that with the Lord's help we desire to have you not only giving us your assistance, but also participating in our consultations.

LETTÉE XCVIIL

(A.D. 408.)

TO BONIFACE, HIS COLLEAGUE IN THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. You ask me to state "whether parents do harm to their baptized infant children, when they attempt to heal them in time of sickness by sacrifices to the false gods of the heathen."
Also, "if they do thereby no harm to their children, how can any advantage come to these children at their baptism, through the faith of parents whose departure from the faith does them no harm?" To which I reply, that in the holy union of the parts of the body of Christ, so great is the virtue of that sacrament, namely, of baptism, which brings salvation, that so soon as he who owed his first birth to others, acting under the impulse of natural instincts, has been made partaker of the second birth by others, acting under the impulse of spiritual desires, he cannot be thenceforward held under the bond of that sin in another to which he does not with his own will consent. "Both the soul of the father is mine," saith the

LET. XCVIII] TO BONIFACE. 1 5

Lord, "and the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die; "^ but he does not sin on whose behalf his parents or any other one resort, without his knowledge, to the impiety of worshipping heathen deities. That bond of guilt which was to be cancelled by the grace of this sacrament he derived from Adam, for this reason, that at the time of Adam's sin he was not yet a soul having a separate life, i.e. another soul regarding which it could be said, "both the soul of the father is mine, and the soul of the son is mine." Therefore now, when the man has a personal, separate existence, being thereby made distinct from his parents, he is not held responsible for that sin in another which is performed without his consent. In the former case, he derived
guilt from another, because, at the time when the guilt which he has derived was incurred, he was one with the person from whom he derived it, and was in him. But one man does not derive guilt from another, when, through the fact that each has a separate life belonging to himself, the word may apply equally to both: 
"The soul that sinneth, it shall die."

2. But the possibility of regeneration through the office rendered by the will of another, when the child is presented to receive the sacred rite, is the work exclusively of the Spirit by whom the child thus presented is regenerated. For it is not written, Except a man be born again by the will of his parents, or by the faith of those presenting the child, or of those administering the ordinance," but, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit." By the water, therefore, which holds forth the sacrament of grace in its outward form, and by the Spirit who bestows the benefit of grace in its inward power, cancelling the bond of guilt, and restoring natural goodness [reconcilians bonum naturae], the man deriving his first birth originally from Adam alone, is regenerated in Christ alone. Now the regenerating Spirit is possessed in common both by the parents who present the child, and by the infant that is presented and is born again; wherefore, in virtue of this participation in the same Spirit, the will of those who present the infant is useful to the child. But when the parents sin against the child by presenting him to the false gods of the heathen, and attempting to bring him under impious bonds unto these false gods, there is not such community of souls subsisting between the parents and the child, that the guilt of one party can be common to both alike. For we are not made partakers of guilt along with others through their will, in the same way as we are made partakers of grace along with others through the unity of the Holy Spirit; because the one Holy Spirit can be in two different persons without their knowing in respect to each other that by Him grace is the common possession of both, but the human spirit cannot so belong to two individuals as to make the blame common to both in a case in which one of the two sins, and the other does not sin. Therefore a child, having once received natural birth through his parents, can be made partaker of the second (or spiritual) birth by the Spirit of God, so that the bond of guilt which he inherited from his parents is cancelled; but he that has once received this second birth by the Spirit of God cannot be made again partaker of natural birth through his parents, so that the bond once cancelled should again bind him. And thus, when the grace of Christ has been once received, the child does not lose it otherwise than by his own impiety, if, when he becomes older, he turn out so ill. For by that time he will begin to have sins of his own, which cannot be removed by regeneration, but must be healed by other remedial measures.

3. Nevertheless, persons of more advanced years, whether they be parents bringing their children, or others bringing any little ones, who attempt to place those who have been
baptized under obligation to profane worship of heathen gods, are guilty of spiritual homicide. True, they do not actually kill the children's souls, but they go as far towards killing them as is in their power. The warning, "Do not kill your little ones," may be with all propriety addressed to them; for the apostle says, "Quench not the Spirit;" not that He can be quenched, but that those who so act as if they wished to have Him quenched are deservedly spoken of as quenchers of the Spirit. In this sense also may be rightly understood the words which most blessed Cyprian wrote in his letter concerning

Â» 1 Thess. V. 19.

LET. XC nil.] TO BONIFACE. 17

the lapsed, when, rebuking those who in the time of persecution had sacrificed to idols, he says, "And that nothing might be wanting to fill up the measure of their crime, their infant children, carried in arms, or led thither by the hands of their parents, lost, while yet in their infancy, that which they had received as soon as life began." They lost it, he meant, so far at least as pertained to the guilt of the crime of those by whom they were compelled to incur the loss: they lost it, that is to say, in the purpose and wish of those who perpetrated on them such a wrong. For had they actually in their own persons lost it, they must have remained under the divine sentence of condemnation without any plea; but if holy Cyprian had been of this opinion, he would not have added in the immediate context a plea in their defence, saying, "Shall not these say, when the judgment-day has come: 'We have done nothing; we have not of our own accord hastened to participate in profane rites, forsaking the bread and the cup of the Lord; the apostasy of others caused our destruction; we found our parents murderers, for they deprived us of our Mother the Church and of our Father the Lord, so that, through the wrong done by others, we were ensnared, because, while yet young and unable to think for ourselves, we were by the deed of others, and while wholly ignorant of such a crime, made partners in their sin'?" This plea in their defence he would not have subjoined had he not believed it to be perfectly just, and one which would be of service to these infants at the bar of divine judgment. For if it is said by them with truth, "we have done nothing," then "the soul that sinneth, it shall die;" and in the just dispensation of judgment by God, those shall not be doomed to perish whose souls their parents did, so far at least as concerns their own guilt in the transaction, bring to ruin.

4. As to the incident mentioned in the same letter, that a girl who was left as an infant in charge of her nurse, when her parents had escaped by sudden flight, and was made by that nurse to take part in the profane rites of idolatrous worship, had afterwards in the Church, expelled from her mouth, by wonderful motions, the Eucharist when it was given to

LETT. II. B
her, this seems to me to have been caused by divine interposition, in order that persons of ripier years might not imagine that in this sin they do no wrong to the children, but rather might understand, by means of a bodily action of obvious significance on the part of those who were unable to speak, that a miraculous warning was given to themselves as to the course which would have been becoming in persons who, after so great a crime, rushed heedlessly to those sacraments from which they ought by all means, in proof of penitence, to have abstained. When Divine Providence does anything of this kind by means of infant children, we must not believe that they are acting under the guidance of knowledge and reason; just as we are not called upon to admire the wisdom of asses, because once God was pleased to rebuke the madness of a prophet by the voice of an ass. If, therefore, a sound exactly like the human voice was uttered by an irrational animal, and this was to be ascribed to a divine miracle, not to faculties belonging to the ass, the Almighty could, in like manner, through the spirit of an infant (in which reason was not absent, but only slumbering undeveloped), make manifest by a motion of its body something to which those who had sinned against both their own souls and their children behoved to give heed. But since a child cannot return to become again a part of the author of his natural life, so as to be one with him and in him, but is a wholly distinct individual, having a body and a soul of his own, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die."

5. Some, indeed, bring their little ones for baptism, not in the believing expectation that they shall be regenerated unto life eternal by spiritual grace, but because they think that by this as a remedy the children may recover or retain bodily health; but let not this disquiet your mind, because their regeneration is not prevented by the fact that this blessing has no place in the intention of those by whom they are presented for baptism. For by these persons the ministerial actions which are necessary are performed, and the sacramental words are pronounced, without which the infant cannot be consecrated to God. But the Holy Spirit who dwells in the saints, in those, namely, whom the glowing flame of love has

' Num. xxii. 28.

fused together into the one Dove whose wings are covered with silver/ accomplishes His work even by the ministry of bond-servants, of persons who are sometimes not only ignorant through simplicity, but even culpably unworthy to be employed by Him. The presentation of the little ones to receive the spiritual grace is the act not so much of those by whose hands they are borne up (although it is theirs also in part, if they themselves are good believers) as of the whole society of saints and believers. For it is proper to regard
the infants as presented by all who take pleasure in their baptism, and through whose holy
and perfectly-united love they are assisted in receiving the communion of the Holy Spirit.
Therefore this is done by the whole mother Church, which is in the saints, because the
whole Church is the parent of all the saints, and the whole Church is the parent of each
one of them. For if the sacrament of Christian baptism, being always one and the same, is
of value even when administered by heretics, and though not in that case sufficing to
secure to the baptized person participation in eternal life\(^\text{^\text{a}}\) does suffice to seal his
consecration to God; and if this consecration makes him who, having the mark of the
Lord, remains outside of the Lord's flock, guilty as a heretic, but reminds us at the same
time that he is to be corrected by sound doctrine, but not to be a second time consecrated
by repetition of the ordinance; \(^\text{\textbf{â€”}}\)
if this be the case even in the baptism of heretics, how much more credible is it that
within the Catholic Church that which is only straw should be of service in bearing the
grain to the floor in which it is to be winnowed, and by means of which it is to be
prepared for being added to the heap of good grain!

6. I would, moreover, wish you not to remain under the mistake of supposing that the
bond of guilt which is inherited from Adam cannot be cancelled in any other way than by
the parents themselves presenting their little ones to receive the grace of Christ; for you
write: "As the parents have been the authors of the life which makes them liable to
condemnation, the children should receive justification through the same channel,
through the faith of the same parents;" whereas you see that many are not presented by
parents, but also

1 Ps. Ixviii 13.

I(}

20 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTIKE. [LET. XCVIIIT.

by any strangers whatever, as sometimes the infant children of slaves are presented by
their masters. Sometimes also, when their parents are deceased, little orphans are
baptized, being presented by those who had it in their power to manifest their compassion
in this way. Again, sometimes foundlings which heartless parents have exposed in order
to their being cared for by any passer-by, are picked up by holy virgins, and are presented
for baptism by these persons, who neither have nor desire to have children of their own:
and in this you behold precisely what was done in the case mentioned in the Gospel of
the man wounded by thieves, and left half dead on the way, regarding whom the Lord
asked who was neighbour to him, and received for answer: "He that showed mercy on
him." \(^\text{\textbf{^\text{â€”}}\)
7. That which you have placed at the end of your series of questions you have judged to be the most difficult, because of the jealous care with which you are wont to avoid whatever is false. You state it thus: "If I place before you an infant, and ask, 'Will this child when he grows up be chaste?' or 'Will he not be a thief?' you will reply, 'I know not.'

If I ask, 'Is he in his present infantile condition thinking what is good or thinking what is evil?' you will reply, 'I know not.' If, therefore, you do not venture to take the responsibility of making any positive statement concerning either his conduct in after life or his thoughts at the time, what is that which parents do, when, in presenting their children for baptism, they as sureties (or sponsors) answer for the children, and say that they do that which at that age they are incapable even of understanding, or, at least, in regard to which their thoughts (if they can think) are hidden from us?

For we ask those by whom the child is presented, 'Does he believe in God?' and thoudi at that age the child does not so much as know that there is a God, the sponsors reply, 'He believes;' and in like manner answer is returned by them to each of the other questions. Now I am surprised that parents can in these things answer so confidently on the child's behalf as to say, at the time when they are answering the questions of the persons administering baptism, that the


LET. XCVIII.] TO BONIFACE. 21

infant is doing what is so remarkable and so excellent; and yet if at the same hour I were to add such questions as,

'Will the child who is now being baptized be chaste when he grows up?"Will he not be a thief?" probably no one would presume to answer, 'He will' or 'He will not,' although there is no hesitation in giving the answer that the child believes in God, and turns himself to God." Thereafter you add this sentence in conclusion: "To these questions I pray you to condescend to give me a short reply, not silencing me by the traditional authority of custom, but satisfying me by arguments addressed to my reason."

8. While reading this letter of yours over and over again, and pondering its contents so far as my limited time permitted, memory recalled to me my friend ISTEbridius, who, while he was a most diligent and eager student of difficult problems, especially in the department of Christian doctrine, had an extreme aversion to the giving of a short answer to a great question. If any one insisted upon this, he was exceedingly displeased; and if he was not prevented by respect for the age or rank of the person, he indignantly rebuked such a questioner by stern looks and words; for he considered him unworthy to be
investigating matters such as these, who did not know how much both might be said and behoved to be said on a subject of great importance. But I do not lose patience with you, as he was wont to do when one asked a brief reply; for you are, as I am, a bishop engrossed with many cares, and therefore have not leisure for reading any more than I have leisure for writing any prolix communication. He was then a young man, who was not satisfied with short statements on subjects of this kind, and being then himself at leisure, addressed his questions concerning the many topics discussed in our conversations to one who was also at leisure; whereas you, having regard to the circumstances both of yourself the questioner, and of me from whom you demand the reply, insist upon my giving you a short answer to the weighty question which you propound. Well, I shall do my best to satisfy you; the Lord help me to accomplish what you require.

9. You know that in ordinary parlance we often say, when Easter is approaching, "To-morrow or the day after is the

2 2 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCVII

Lord's Passion," although He suffered so many years ago, and His passion was endured once for all time. In like manner, on Easter Sunday we say, " This day the Lord rose from the dead," although so many years have passed since His resurrection. But no one is so foolish as to accuse us of falsehood when we use these phrases, for this reason, that we give such names to these days on the ground of a likeness between them and the days on which the events referred to actually transpired, the day being called the day of that event, although it is not the very day on which the event took place, but one corresponding to it by the revolution of the same time of the year, and the event itself being said to take place on that day, because, although it really took place long before, it is on that day sacramentally celebrated. Was not Christ once for all offered up in His own person as a sacrifice ? and yet, is He not likewise offered up in the sacrament as a sacrifice, not only in the special solemnities of Easter, but also daily among our congregations; so that the man who, being questioned, answers that He is offered as a sacrifice in that ordinance, declares (what is strictly true ? For if sacraments had not some points of real resemblance to the things of which they are the sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. In most cases, moreover, they do in virtue of this likeness bear the names of the realities which they resemble. As, therefore, in a certain manner the sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood,^ in the same manner the sacrament of faith is faith. Now believing is nothing else than having faith; and accordingly, when, on behalf of an infant as yet incapable of exercising faith, the answer is given that he believes, this answer means that he has faith because of the sacrament of faith, and in like manner the answer is made that he turns himself to God because of the sacrament of conversion, since the answer itself belongs to the celebration of the sacrament. Thus the apostle says, in regard to this sacrament of Baptism: " We
As this is an important sentence, we give the original words: Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.

LET. XCVII] to BONIFACE. 23

are buried with Christ by baptism into death." He does not say, "We have signified our being buried with Him," but "We have been buried with Him." He has therefore given to the sacrament pertaining to so great a transaction no other name than the word describing the transaction itself.

10. Therefore an infant, although he is not yet a believer in the sense of having that faith which includes the consenting will of those who exercise it, nevertheless becomes a believer through the sacrament of that faith. For as it is answered that he believes, so also he is called a believer, not because he assents to the truth by an act of his own judgment, but because he receives the sacrament of that truth. When, however, he begins to have the discretion of manhood, he will not repeat the sacrament, but understand its meaning, and become conformed to the truth which it contains, with his will also consenting. During the time in which he is by reason of youth unable to do this, the sacrament will avail for his protection against adverse powers, and will avail so much on his behalf, that if before he arrives at the use of reason he depart from this life, he is delivered by Christian help, namely, by the love of the Church commending him through this sacrament unto God, from that condemnation which by one man entered into the world. He who does not believe this, and thinks that it is impossible, is assuredly an unbeliever, although he may have received the sacrament of faith; and far before him in merit is the infant which, though not yet possessing a faith helped by the understanding, is not obstructing faith by any antagonism of the understanding, and therefore receives with profit the sacrament of faith.

I have answered your questions, as it seems to me, in a manner which, if I were dealing with persons of weaker capacity and disposed to gainsaying, would be inadequate, but which is perhaps more than sufficient to satisfy peaceable and sensible persons. Moreover, I have not urged in my defence the mere fact that the custom is thoroughly established, but have to the best of my ability advanced reasons in support of it as fraught with very abundant blessing.

Â» Rom. vi. 4. 2 i^ojn. v. 12.

24 LETTERS OP ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. XCIX.
LETTER XC IX.

(A.D. 408 OR BEGINNING OF 409.)

TO THE VERY DEVOUT ITALICA, AN HANDMAID OF GOD, PRAISED JUSTLY AND PIOUSLY BY THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Up to the time of my writing this reply, I had received three letters from your Grace, of which the first asked urgently a letter from me, the second intimated that what I wrote in answer had reached you, and the third, which conveyed the assurance of your most benevolent solicitude for our interest in the matter of the house belonging to that most illustrious and distinguished young man Julian, which is in immediate contact with the walls of our Church. To this last letter, just now received, I lose no time in promptly replying, because your Excellency's agent has written to me that he can send my letter without delay to Rome. By his letter we have been greatly distressed, because he has taken pains to acquaint us with the things which are taking place in the city (Rome) or around its walls, so as to give us reliable information concerning that which we were reluctant to believe on the authority of vague rumours. In the letters which were sent to us previously by our brethren, tidings were given to us of events, vexatious and grievous, it is true, but much less calamitous than those of which we now hear.

I am surprised beyond expression that my brethren the holy bishops did not write to me when so favourable an opportunity of sending a letter by your messengers occurred, and that your own letter conveyed to us no information concerning such painful tribulation as has befallen you, a tribulation which, by reason of the tender sympathies of Christian charity, is ours as well as yours. I suppose, however, that you deemed it better not to mention these sorrows, because

^ Tillemont (vol xiii. note 44) conjectures that the word "non" before "nobis insinuare curavit" should not be in the text, a conjecture which commends itself to our judgment, though it is unsupported by mss.

The calamities referred to are the events connected with the siege of Rome by Alaric in the end of 408.

LET. XCIX.] TO ITALICA. 25

you considered that this could do no good, or because you did not wish to make us sad by your letter. But in my opinion, it does some good to acquaint us even with such events as these: in the first place, because it is not right to be ready to "rejoice with them that rejoice," but refuse to
"weep with them that weep;" and in the second place, because "tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."

2. Far be it, therefore, from us to refuse to hear even of the bitter and sorrowful things which befall those who are very dear to us! For in some way which I cannot explain, the pain suffered by one member is mitigated when all the other members suffer with it. ^ And this mitigation is effected not by actual participation in the calamity, but by the solacing power of love; for although only some suffer the actual burden of the affliction, and the others share their suffering through knowing what these have to bear, nevertheless the tribulation is borne in common by them all, seeing that they have in common the same experience, hope, and love, and the same Divine Spirit. Moreover, the Lord provides consolation for us all, inasmuch as He hath both forewarned us of these temporal afflictions, and promised to us after them eternal blessings; and the soldier who desires to receive a crown when the conflict is over, ought not to lose courage while the conflict lasts, since He who is preparing rewards ineffable for those who overcome, does Himself minister strength to them while they are on the field of battle.

3. Let not what I have now written take away your confidence in writing to me, especially since the reason which may be pled for your endeavouring to lessen our fears is one which cannot be condemned. We salute in return your little children, and we desire that they may be spared to you, and may grow up in Christ, since they discern even in their present tender age how dangerous and baneful is the love of this world. God grant that the plants which are small and still flexible may be bent in the right direction in a time in which the great and hardy are being shaken. As to the house of which you speak, what can I say beyond expressing my gratitude for your very kind solicitude? For the house which we can give they do not wish; and the house which they wish we cannot give, for it was not left to the church by my predecessor, as they have been falsely informed, but is one of the ancient properties of the church, and it is attached to the one ancient church in the same way as the house about which this question has been raised is attached to the other. ^

26 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. C.

still flexible may be bent in the right direction in a time in which the great and hardy are being shaken. As to the house of which you speak, what can I say beyond expressing my gratitude for your very kind solicitude? For the house which we can give they do not wish; and the house which they wish we cannot give, for it was not left to the church by my predecessor, as they have been falsely informed, but is one of the ancient properties of the church, and it is attached to the one ancient church in the same way as the house about which this question has been raised is attached to the other. ^
TO DONATUS, HIS NOBLE AND DESERVEDLY HONOURABLE LORD, AND
EMINENTLY PRAISEWORTHY SON, AUGUSTINE SENDS
GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I WOULD indeed that the African Church were not placed in such trying
circumstances as to need the aid of any earthly power. But since, as the apostle says, "
there is no powder but of God,"^ it is unquestionable that, when by you the sincere sons
of your Catholic Mother help is given to her, our help is in the name of the Lord, " who
made heaven and earth." ^ Eor oh, noble and deservedly honourable lord, and eminently
praiseworthy son, who does not perceive that in the midst of so great calamities no small
consolation has been bestowed upon us by God, in that you, such a man, and so devoted
to the name of Christ, have been raised to the dignity of proconsul, so that power allied
with your goodwill may restrain the enemies of the Church from their wicked and
sacrilegious attempts ? In fact, there is only one thing of which we are much afraid in
your administration of justice, viz., lest perchance, seeing that every injury done by
impious and ungrateful men against the Christian society is a more serious and heinous
crime than if it had been done against others, you

' We have no further information regarding this affair. The prospect of an amicable
settlement seems remote.

'^ Kom. xiii. 1. ^ Ps. exxiv. 8.

LF.T. C]\ TO DONATUS. 27

should on this ground consider that it ought to be punished with a severity corresponding
to the enormity of the crime, and not with the moderation which is suitable to Christian
forbearance. We beseech you, in the name of Jesus Christ, not to act in this manner. For
we do not seek to revenge ourselves in this world; nor ought the things which we suffer
to reduce us to such distress of mind as to leave no room in our memory for the precepts
in regard to this which we have received from Him for whose truth and in whose name
we suffer; we " love our enemies," and we "pray for them."^-^ It is not their death, but
their deliverance from error, that we seek to accomplish by the help of the terror of
judges and of laws, whereby they may be preserved from falling under the penalty of
eternal judgment; we do not wish either to see the exercise of discipline towards them
neglected, or, on the other hand, to see them subjected to the severer punishments which
they deserve. Do you, therefore, check their sins in such a way, that the sinners may be
spared to repent of their sins.

2. We beg you, therefore, when you are pronouncing judgment in cases affecting the
Church, how wicked soever the injuries may be which you shall ascertain to have been
attempted or inflicted on the Church, to forget that you have the power of capital
punishment, and not to forget our request.
Nor let it appear to you an unimportant matter and beneath your notice, my most beloved and honoured son, that we ask you to spare the lives of the men on whose behalf we ask God to grant them repentance. For even granting that we ought never to deviate from a fixed purpose of overcoming evil with good, let your own wisdom take this also into consideration, that no person beyond those who belong to the Church is at pains to bring before you cases pertaining to her interests. If, therefore, your opinion be, that death must be the punishment of men convicted of these crimes, you will deter us from endeavouring to bring anything of this kind before your tribunal; and this being discovered, they will proceed with more unrestrained boldness to accomplish speedily our destruction, when upon us is imposed and enjoined the necessity of choosing rather to suffer death at their liands,

1 Matt. V. 44.

2 8 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CL

than to bring them to death by accusing them at your bar. Disdain not, I beseech you, to accept this suggestion, petition, and entreaty from me. Tor I do not think that you are unmindful that I might have great boldness in addressing you, even were I not a bishop, and even though your rank were much above what you now hold. Meanwhile, let the Donatist heretics learn at once through the edict of your Excellency that the laws passed against their error, which they suppose and boastfully declare to be repealed, are still in force, although even when they know this they may not be able to refrain in the least degree from injuring us. You will, however, most effectively help us to secure the fruit of our labours and dangers, if you take care that the imperial laws for the restraining of their sect, which is full of conceit and of impious pride, be so used that they may not appear either to themselves or to others to be suffering hardship in any form for the sake of truth and righteousness; but suffer them, when this is requested at your hands, to be convinced and instructed by incontrovertible proofs of things which are most certain, in public proceedings in the presence of your Excellency or of inferior judges, in order that those who are arrested by your command may themselves incline their stubborn will to the better part, and may read these things profitably to others of their party. For the pains bestowed are burdensome rather than really useful, when men are only compelled, not persuaded by instruction, to forsake a great evil and lay hold upon a great benefit.

LETTER CL
(A.D. 409.)

TO MEMOR,^ MY LORD MOST BLESSED, AND WITH ALL VENERATION MOST BELOVED, MY BROTHER AND COLLEAGUE SINCERELY LONGED FOR, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.
1. I ought not to write any letter to your holy Charity, without sending at the same
time those books which by the irresistible plea of holy love you have demanded from me,

* We regard 'Memori, not Iklemorio, as the true reading.

LET. CI.] TO MEMOT?. 29

that at least by this act of obedience I might reply to those letters by which you have put
on me a high honour indeed, but also a heavy load. Albeit, while I bend because of the
load, I am raised up because of your love. For it is not by an ordinary man that I am loved
and raised up and made to stand erect, but by a man who is a priest of the Lord, and
whom I know to be so accepted before Him, that when you raise to the Lord your good
heart, having me in your heart, you raise me with yourself to Him. I ought, therefore, to
have sent at this time those books which I had promised to revise. The reason why I have
not sent them is that I have not revised them, and this not because I was unwilling, but
because I was unable, having been occupied with many very urgent cares. But it would
have shown inexcusable ingratitude and hardness of heart to have per
mitted the bearer,
my holy colleague and brother Possidius, in whom you will find one who is very much
the same as myself, either to miss becoming acquainted with you, who love me so much,
or to come to know you without any letter from me. For he is one who has been by my
labours nourished, not in those studies which men who are the slaves of every kind of
passion call liberal, but with the Lord's bread, in so far as this could be supplied to him
from my scanty store.

2. For to men who, though they are unjust and impious, imagine that they are well
educated in the liberal arts, what else ought we to say than what we read in those writings
which truly merit the name of liberal, â€“ " if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be
free indeed." -^ For it is through Him that men come to know, even in those studies
which are termed liberal by those who have not been called to this true liberty, anything
in them which deserves the name. For they have nothing which is consonant with liberty,
except that
â€“ which in them is consonant with truth; for which reason the Son Himself hath said: "
The truth shall make you free." ^
The freedom which is our privilege has therefore nothing in common with the
innumerable and impious fables with which
1 the verses of silly poets are full, nor with the fulsome and
* John viii. 36. ^ JoL^q y^ 38.

30 LETTERwS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CI.
highly-polished falsehoods of their orators, nor, in fine, with
the rambling subtleties of philosophers themselves, who either
did not know anything of God, or when they knew God, did
not glorify Him as God, neither were thankful, but became
vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was
darkened; so that, professing themselves to be wise, they
became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God
into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and
four-footed beasts, and to creeping things, or who, though not
wholly or at all devoted to the worship of images, nevertheless
worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.^
Far be it, therefore, from us to admit that the epithet liberal
is justly bestowed on the lying vanities and hallucinations, or
empty trifles and conceited errors of those men â€” unhappy men,
who knew not the grace of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, by
which alone we are " delivered from the body of this death," "^
and who did not even perceive the measure of truth which
was in the things which they knew. Their historical works,
the writers of which profess to be chiefly concerned to be
accurate in narrating events, may perhaps, I grant, contain
some things worthy of being known by " free " men, since the
narration is true, whether the subject described in it be the
J good or the evil in human experience. At the same time, I
I 1 can by no means see how men who were not aided in their  
^j knowledge by the Holy Spirit, and who were obliged to gather  
jj floating rumours under the limitations of human infirmity,  
\ I could avoid being misled in regard to very many things;  
I /nevertheless, if they have no intention of deceiving, and do  
not mislead other men otherwise than so far as they have  
] I -themselves, through human infirmity, fallen into a mistake,  
there is in such writings an ap]Droach to liberty.  
3. Forasmuch, however, as the powers belonging to numbers^  
in all kinds of movements are most easily studied as they are  
presented in sounds, and this study furnishes a way of rising  
to the higher secrets of truth, by paths gradually ascending,  
/ j so to speak, in which Wisdom pleasantly reveals herself, and  
' in every step of providence meets those who love her/ I  
1 Kom. i. 21-25. 2 j>,"ã¢ž, yij 24, 25.  
LET. CI.1 TO MEMOR.  
desired, ^vhen I began to have leisure for study, and my mind was not engaged by greater  
and more important cares, to exercise myself by writing those books which you have  
requested me to send. I then wrote six books on rhythm alone, and proposed, I may add,  
to write other six on music,^  
as I at that time expected to have leisure. But from the time that the burden of  
ecclesiastical cares was laid upon me, all these recreations have passed from my hand so  
completely, that now, when I cannot but respect your wish and command,
“for it is more than a request, I have difficulty in even finding what I had written. If, however, I had it in my power to send you that treatise, it would occasion regret, not to me that I had obeyed your command, but to you that you had so urgently insisted upon its being sent. For five books of it are all but unintelligible, unless one be at hand who can in reading not only distinguish the part belonging to each of those between whom the discussion is maintained, but also mark by enunciation the time which the syllables should occupy, so that their distinctive measures may be expressed and strike the ear, especially because in some places there occur pauses of measured length, which of course must escape notice, unless the reader inform the hearer of them by intervals of silence where they occur.

4. The sixth book, however, which I have found already revised, and in which the product of the other five is contained, I have not delayed to send to your Charity; it may, perhaps, be not wholly unsuited to one of your venerable age. As to the other five books, they seem to me scarcely worthy of being known and read by Julian, our son, and now our colleague, for, as a deacon, he is engaged in the same warfare with ourselves. Of him I dare not say, for it would not be true, that I love him more than I love you; yet this I may say, that I long for him more than for you. It may seem strange, that when I love both equally, I long more ardently for the one than the other; but the cause of the difference is, that I have greater hope of seeing him; for I think that if ordered or sent by you he come to us, he will both be doing

1 De melo. 2 Gravitatem tuam.

' Julian, son of Memor, afterwards a leading supporter of the Pelagian heresy.

what is suitable to one of his years, especially as he is not yet hindered by weightier responsibilities, and he will more speedily bring yourself to me.

I have not stated in this treatise the kinds of metre in which the lines of David's Psalms are composed, because I do not know them. For it was not possible for any one, in translating these from the Hebrew (of which language I know nothing), to preserve the metre at the same time, lest by the exigencies of the measure he should be compelled to depart from accurate translation further than was consistent with the meaning of the sentences. Nevertheless, I believe, on the testimony of those who are acquainted with that language, that they are composed in certain varieties of metre; for that holy man loved sacred music, and has more than any other kindled in me a passion for its study.
May the shadow of the wings of the Most High be for ever the dwelling-place of you all, who with oneness of heart occupy one home, father and mother, bound in the same brotherhood with your sons, being all the children of the one Father. Remember us.

LETTEE CII.
(A.D. 409.)

TO DEOGEATIAS, MY BROTHER IN ALL SINCERITY, AND MY FELLOW-PRESBYTER, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. In choosing to refer to me questions which were submitted to yourself for solution, you have not done so, I suppose, from indolence, but because, loving me more than I deserve, you prefer to hear through me even those things which you already know quite well. I would rather, however, that the answers were given by yourself, because the friend who proposed the questions seems to be shy of following advice from me, if I may judge from the fact that he has written no reply to a letter of mine, for what reason he knows best. I suspect this, however, and there is neither ill-will nor absurdity in the suspicion; for you also know very well how much I love him,

^ Ps. xci. 1. * Ps. Ixviii. 6, Septuagint,

LET. cil] to deogratias. 33

and how great is my grief that lie is not yet a Christian; and it is not unreasonable to think that one whom I see unwilling to answer my letters is not willing to have anything written by me to him. I therefore implore you to comply with a request of mine, seeing that I have been obedient to you, and, notwithstanding most engrossing duties, have feared to disappoint the wish of one so dear to me by declining to comply with your request. What I ask is this, that you do not refuse yourself to give an answer to all his questions, seeing that, as you have told me, he begged this from you; and it is a task to which, even before receiving this letter, you were competent; for when you have read this letter, you will see that scarcely anything has been said by me which you did not already know, or which you could not have come to know though I had been silent. This work of mine, therefore, I beg you to keep for the use of yourself and of all other persons whose desire for instruction you deem it suited to satisfy. But as for the treatise of your own composition which I demand from you, give it to him to whom this treatise is most specially adapted, and not to him only, but also all others who find exceedingly acceptable such statements concerning these things as you are able to make, among whom I number myself. May you live always in Christ, and remember me.

2. Question i. Concerning the resurrection. This question perplexes some, and they ask. Which of two kinds of resurrection corresponds to that which is promised to us? is it that
of Christ, or that of Lazarus? They say, "If the former, how can this correspond with the resurrection of those who have been born by ordinary generations, seeing that He was not thus born? ^ If, on the other hand, the resurrection of Lazarus is said to correspond to ours, here also there seems to be a discrepancy, since the resurrection of Lazarus was accomplished in the case of a body not yet dissolved, but the same body in which he was known by the name of Lazarus; whereas ours is to be rescued after many centuries from the mass in which it has ceased to be distinguishable from other things. Again, if our state after the resurrection is one of blessedness, in which the body shall be exempt from every kind of wound,

* Qui nulla seminis conditione natus est.

LETT. II. C

34 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET, CIL

and from the pain of hunger, what is meant by the statement that Christ took food, and showed his wounds after His resurrection? For if He did it to convince the doubting, when the wounds were not real, He practised on them a deception; whereas, if He showed them what was real, it follows that wounds received by the body shall remain in the state which is to ensue after resurrection."

3. To this I answer, that the resurrection of Christ and not of Lazarus corresponds to that which is promised, because Lazarus was so raised that he died a second time, whereas of Christ it is written: " Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him." ^ The same is promised to those who shall rise at the end of the world, and shall reign for ever with Christ. As to the difference in the manner of Christ's generation and that of other men, this has no bearing upon the nature of His resurrection, JList as it had none upon the nature of His death, so as to make it different from ours. His death was not the less real because of His not having been begotten by an earthly father: just as the difference between the mode of the origination of the body of the first man, who was formed immediately from the dust of the earth, and of our bodies, which we derive from our parents, made no such difference as that his death should be of another kind than ours. As, therefore, difference in the mode of birth does not make any difference in the nature of death, neither does it make any difference in the nature of resurrection, j j 4. But lest the men who doubt this should, with similar scepticism, refuse to accept as true what is written concerning

* ' the first man's creation, let them inquire or observe, if they

' can at least believe this, how numerous are the species of animals which are born from the earth without deriving their life from parents, but which by ordinary procreation reproduce offspring like themselves, and in which, notwithstanding the different mode of origination, the nature of the parents born from the earth and of the offspring born from them is the same; for they live alike and they die alike, although born in different ways. There is therefore no absurdity in the
LET. cii] to deogkatias. 35

statement that bodies dissimilar in their origination are alike in their resurrection. But
men of this kind, not being competent to discern in what respect any diversity between
things affects or does not affect them, so soon as they discover any unlikeness between
things in their original formation, contend that in all that follows the same unlikeness
must still exist. Such men may as reasonably suppose that oil made from fat should not
float on the surface in water as olive oil does, because the origin of the two oils is so
different, the one being from the fruit of a tree, the other from the flesh of an animal.

5. Asfain, as to the alleged difference in regard to the resurrection of Christ's body and
of ours, that His was raised on the third day not dissolved by decay and corruption,
whereas ours shall be fashioned again after a long time, and out of the mass into which
undistinguished they shall have been resolved, both of these things are impossible for
man to do, but to divine power both are most easy. For as the glance of the eye does not
come more quickly to objects which are at hand, and more slowly to objects more
remote, but darts to either distance with equal swiftness, so, when the resurrection of the
dead is accomplished "in the twinkling of an eye," it is as easy for the omnipotence of
God and for the ineffable expression of His will to raise again bodies which have by
long lapse of time been dissolved, as to raise those which have recently fallen under the
stroke of death.

These things are to some men incredible because they transcend their experience,
although all nature is full of wonders so numerous, that they do not seem to us to be
wonderful, and are therefore accounted unworthy of attentive study or investigation, not
because our faculties can easily comprehend them, but because we are so accustomed to
see them. For myself, and for all who along with me labour to understand the invisible
things of God by means of the things which are made, I may say that we are filled not
less, perhaps even more, with wonder by the fact, that in one grain of seed, so insignificant, there lies
bound up as it were all that we praise in the stately tree, than by the fact that the bosom of'

^ 1 Cor. XV. 52. 2 ineliabili nutui. 3 Koni. i. 20.

36' LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CII

this earth, so vast, shall restore entire and perfect to the future resurrection all those
elements of human bodies which it is now receiving when they are dissolved.
6. Again, what contradiction is there between the fact that Christ partook of food after His resurrection, and the doctrine that in the promised resurrection-state there shall be no need of food, when we read that angels also have partaken of food of the same kind and in the same way, not in empty and illusive simulation, but in unquestionable reality; not, however, under the pressure of necessity, but in the free exercise of their power? For water is absorbed in one way by the thirsting earth, in another way by the glowing sunbeams; in the former we see the effect of poverty, in the latter of power. Now the body of that future resurrection-state shall be imperfect in its felicity if it be incapable of taking food; imperfect, also, if, on the other hand, it be dependent on food. I might here enter on a fuller discussion concerning the changes possible in the qualities of bodies, and the dominion which belongs to higher bodies over those which are of inferior nature; but I have resolved to make my reply short, and I write this for minds so endowed that the simple suvjTjcreston of the truth is enough for them.

7. Let him who proposed these questions know by all means that Christ did, after His resurrection, show the scars of His wounds, not the wounds themselves, to disciples who doubted; for whose sake, also, it pleased Him to take food and drink more than once, lest they should suppose that His body was not real, but that He was a spirit, appearing to them as a phantom, and not a substantial form. These scars would indeed have been mere illusive appearances if no wounds had gone before; yet even the scars would not have remained if He had willed it otherwise. But it pleased Him to retain them with a definite purpose, namely, that to those whom He was building up in faith unfeigned He might show that one body had not been substituted for another, but that the body which they had seen nailed to the cross had risen again. What reason is there, then, for saying, "If He did this to convince the doubting, He practised a deception"? Suppose that a brave man, who had received many wounds in confronting the enemy when fighting for his country, were to say to a physician of extraordinary skill, who was able so to heal these wounds as to leave not a scar visible, that he would prefer to be healed in such a way that the traces of the wounds should remain on his body as tokens of the honours he had won, would you, in such a case, say that the physician practised deception, because, though he might by his art make the scars wholly disappear, he did by the same art, for a definite reason, rather cause them to continue as they were? The only ground upon which the scars could be proved to be a deception would be, as I have already said, if no wounds had been healed in the places where they were seen.

8. Question il Concerning the epoch of the Christian religion, they have advanced, moreover, some other things, which they might call a selection of the more weighty arguments of Porphyry against the Christians: "If Christ," they say, "declares Himself to be the Way of salvation, the Grace and the Truth, and affirms that in Him alone, and only to souls believing in Him, is the way of return to
God, what has become of men who lived in the many centuries before Christ came? To pass over the time," he adds, "which preceded the founding of the kingdom of Latium, let us take the beginning of that power as if it were the beginning of the human race. In Latium itself gods were worshipped before Alba was built; in Alba, also, religious rites and forms of worship in the temples were maintained. Rome itself

1 was for a period of not less duration, even for a long succession of centuries, unacquainted with Christian doctrine.

"What, then, has become of such an innumerable multitude of souls, who were in no wise blameworthy, seeing that He in whom alone saving faith can be exercised had not yet favoured men with His advent? The whole world, moreover, was not less zealous than Rome itself in the worship practised in the temples of the gods. Why, then," he asks, "did He who is called the Saviour withhold Himself for so many centuries of the world? And let it not be said," he adds, "that provision had been made for the human race by the old Jewish law. It was only after a long time that the Jewish law appeared and flourished within the narrow limits of Syria, and after that, it gradually crept onwards to the coasts of Italy; but this was not earlier than the end of the reign of Caius, or, at the earliest, while he was on the throne. What, then, became of the souls of men in Rome and Latium who lived before the time of the Cæsars, and were destitute of the grace of Christ, because He had not then come?"

9. To these statements we answer by requiring those who make them to tell us, in the first place, whether the sacred rites, which we know to have been introduced into the worship of their gods at times which can be ascertained, were or were not profitable to men. If they say that these were of no service for the salvation of men, they unite with us in putting them down, and confess that they were useless. We indeed prove that they were baneful; but it is an important concession that by them it is at least admitted that they
were useless. If, on the other hand, they defend these rites, and maintain that they were wise and profitable institutions, what, I ask, has become of those who died before these were instituted? for they were defrauded of the saving and profitable efficacy which these possessed. If, however, it be said that they could be cleansed from guilt equally well in another way, why did not the same way continue in force for their posterity?

What use was there for instituting novelties in worship?

10. If, in answer to this, they say that the gods themselves have indeed always existed, and were in all places alike powerful to give liberty to their worshippers, but were pleased to regulate the circumstances of time, place, and manner in which they were to be served, according to the variety found among things temporal and terrestrial, in such a way as they knew to be most suitable to certain ages and countries, why do they urge against the Christian religion this question, which, if it be asked in regard to their own gods, they either cannot themselves answer, or, if they can, must do so in such a way as to answer for our religion not less than their own? For what could they say but that the difference between sacraments which are adapted to different times and places is of no importance, if only that which is worshipped in them all be holy, just as the difference between sounds of words belonging to different languages and adapted to different hearers is of no importance, if only that which is spoken be true; although in this respect there is a difference, that men can, by agreement among themselves, arrange as to the sounds of language by which they may communicate their thoughts to one another, but that those who have discerned what is right have been guided only by the will of God in regard to the sacred rites which were agreeable to the Divine Being. This divine will has never been wanting to the justice and piety of mortals for their salvation; and whatever varieties of worship there may have been in different nations bound together by one and the same religion, the most important thing to observe was this: how far, on the one hand, human infirmity was thereby encouraged to effort, or borne with, while, on the other hand, the divine authority was not assailed.

11. Wherefore, since we affirm that Christ is the Word of God, by whom all things were made, and is the Son, because He is the Word, not a word uttered and belonging to the past but abides unchangeably with the unchangeable Father, Himself unchangeable, under whose rule the whole universe, spiritual and material, is ordered in the way best adapted to different times and places, and that He has perfect wisdom and knowledge as to what should be done, and when and where everything should be done in the controlling and ordering of the universe, most certainly, both before He gave being to the Hebrew nation, by which He was pleased, through sacraments suited to the time, to prefigure the manifestation of Himself in His advent, and during the time of the Jewish commonwealth, and, after that, when He manifested Himself in the likeness of mortals to mortal men in the body which He received from the Virgin, and thenceforward even to
our day, in which He is fulfilling all which He predicted of old by the prophets, and from this present time on to the end of the world, when He shall separate the holy from the wicked, and give to every man his due recompence, in all these successive ages He is the same Son of God, co-eternal with the Father, and the unchangeable Wisdom by whom universal nature was called into existence, and by participation in whom every rational soul is made blessed.

40 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIL

1 2. Therefore, from the beginning of the human race, whosoever believed in Him, and in any way knew Him, and lived in a pious and just manner according to His precepts, was undoubtedly saved by Him, in whatever time and place he may have lived. For as we believe in Him both as dwelling with the Father and as having come in the flesh, so the men of the former ages believed in Him both as dwelling with the Father and as destined to come in the flesh. And the nature of faith is not changed, nor is the salvation made different, in our age, by the fact that, in consequence of the difference between the two epochs, that which was then foretold as future is now proclaimed as past. Moreover, we are not under necessity to suppose different things and different kinds of salvation to be signified, when the self-same thing is by different sacred words and rites of worship announced in the one case as fulfilled, in the other as future. As to the manner and time, however, in which anything that pertains to the one salvation common to all believers and pious persons is brought to pass, let us ascribe wisdom to God, and for our part exercise submission to His will. Wherefore the true religion, although formerly set forth and practised under other names and with other symbolical rites than it now has, and formerly more obscurely revealed and known to fewer persons than now in the time of clearer light and wider diffusion, is one and the same in both periods.

13. Moreover, we do not raise any objection to their religion on the ground of the difference between the institutions appointed by Numa Pompilius for the worship of the gods by the Komans, and those which were up till that time practised in Rome or in other parts of Italy; nor on the fact that in the age of Pythagoras that system of philosophy became generally adopted which up to that time had no existence, or lay concealed, perhaps, among a very small number whose views were the same, but whose religious practice and worship was different: the question upon which we join issue with them is, whether these gods were true gods, or worthy of worship, and whether that philosophy was fitted to promote the salvation of the souls of men. This is what we insist upon discussing; and in discussing it we pluck up their sophistries by

LET. CIL.] TO DEOGRATIAS. 41

the root Let them, therefore, desist from bringing against us objections which are of equal force against every sect, and against religion of every name. For since, as they admit, the
a res of the world do not roll on under the dominion of chance, but are controlled by
divine Providence, what may be fitting and expedient in each successive age transcends
the range of human understanding, and is determined by the same wisdom by which
Providence cares for the universe.

14. For if they assert that the reason why the doctrine of Pythagoras has not prevailed
always and universally is, that Pythagoras was but a man, and had not power to secure
this, can they also affirm that in the age and in the countries in which his philosophy
flourished, all who had the opportunity of hearing him were found willing to believe and
follow him? And therefore it is the more certain that, if Pythagoras had possessed the
power of publishing his doctrines where he pleased and when he pleased, and if he had
also possessed along with that power a perfect foreknowledge of events, he would have
presented himself only at those places and times in which he foreknew that men would
believe his teaching. Wherefore, since they do not object to Christ on the ground of His
doctrine not being universally embraced, â€” for they feel that this would be a futile
objection if alleged either against the teaching of philosophers or against the majesty of
their own gods,â€” what answer, I ask, could they make, if, leaving out of view that depth of the wisdom
and knowledge of God within which it may be that some other divine purpose lies much
more deeply hidden, and without prejudging the other reasons possibly existing, which
are fit subjects for patient study by the wise, we confine ourselves, for the sake of
brevity in this discussion, to the statement of this one position, that it pleased Christ to
appoint the time in which He would appear and the persons among whom His doctrine
was to be proclaimed, according to His knowledge of the times and places in which men
would believe on Him? For He foreknew,

^ Augustine, having "been informed by Hilary (E-p. 219) that this passage was quoted by
Semipelagians in defence of their error, made the following remark on it in his work Dt
Predestinatione Sanctorum, c. ix: ** Do you not observe that my design in this sentence
was, without excluding the secret counsel of

42 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIT.

regarding those ages and places in which His gospel has not been preached, that in them
the gospel, if preached, would meet with such treatment from all, without exception, as it
met with, not indeed from all, but from many, at the time of His personal presence on
earth, who would not believe in Him, even though men were raised from the dead by
Him; and such as we see it meet with in our day from many who, although the predictions
of the prophets concerning Him are so manifestly fulfilled, still refuse to believe, and,
misguided by the perverse subtility of the human heart, rather resist than yield to divine
authority, even when this is so clear and manifest, so glorious and so gloriously published
abroad. So long as the mind of man is limited in capacity and in strength, it is his duty to
yield to divine truth. Why, then, should we wonder if Christ knew that the world was so
full of unbelievers in the former ages, that He righteousely refused to manifest Himself or
to be preached to those of whom He foreknew that they would not believe either His words or His miracles? For it is not incredible that all may have been then such as, to our amazement, so many have been from the time of His advent to the present time, and even now are.

15. And yet, from the beginning of the human race. He never ceased to speak by His prophets, at one time more obscurely, at another time more plainly, as seemed to divine wisdom best adapted to the time; nor were there ever wanting men who believed in Him, from Adam to Moses, and among the people of Israel itself, which was by a special mysterious

God and any other causes, to say, in reference to Christ's foreknowledge, what seemed sufficient to reduce to silence the unbelief of the Pagans by whom the objection had been raised? For what is more certain than this, that Christ foreknew who would believe in Him, and in what time and place they would live? But I did not deem it necessary, in that connection, to investigate and discuss the question as to this faith in Christ preached to them, whether they would have it of themselves or would receive it from God â€” in other words, whether God merely foreknew, or also predestinated them. The sentence, therefore,

* that it pleased Christ to appoint the time in which He would appear, and the persons among whom His doctrine was to be proclaimed, according to His knowledge of the times and places in which men would believe in Him,* might have been put thus: that it pleased Christ to appoint the time in which He would appear, and the persons among whom His doctrine was to be proclaimed, according to His knowledge of the times and places in which those would be found who had been chosen in Him before the foundation of the world."

LET. CIL.] TO DEOGEATIAS. 43

appointment a prophetic nation, and among other nations before He came in the flesh. For seeing that in the sacred Hebrew books some are mentioned, even from Abraham's time, not belonging to his natural posterity nor to the people of Israel, and not proselytes added to that people, who were nevertheless partakers of this holy mystery, why may we not believe that in other nations also, here and there, some more were found, although we do not read their names in these authoritative records? Thus the salvation provided by this religion, by which alone, as alone true, true salvation is truly promised, was never wanting to any one who was worthy of it, and he to whom it was wanting was not worthy of it. And from the beginning of the human family, even to the end of time, it is preached, to some for their advantage, to some for their condemnation. Accordingly, those to whom it has not been preached at all are those who were foreknown as persons who would not believe; those to whom, notwithstanding the certainty that they would not believe, the salvation has been proclaimed are set forth as an example of the class of unbelievers; and those to whom, as persons who would believe, the truth is proclaimed are being prepared for the kingdom of heaven and for the society of the holy angels.
16. Question hi. Let us now look to the question which comes next in order. "They find fault," he says, "with the sacred ceremonies, the sacrificial victims, the burning of incense, and all the other parts of worship in our temples; and yet the same kind of worship had its origin in antiquity with themselves, or from the God whom they worship, for He is represented by them as having been in need of the first-fruits."

* Sacramenti.

* On these words Augustine remarks in his Hetractations, Book 11. ch. xxxi.: *'This I said, not meaning that any one could be worthy through his own merit, but in the same sense as the apostle said, 'Not of works, but of Him that calleth; it was said unto her, **The elder shall serve the younger**' (Rom. ix. 11, 12), a calling which he affirms to pertain to the purpose of God. For which reason he says, *'Not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace' (2 Tim. i. 9); and again, 'We know that all things work together for good to the elder shall serve the younger'" (Rom. ix. 11, 12), a calling which he affirms to pertain to the purpose of God. For which reason he says, *'Not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace' (2 Tim. i. 9); and again, 'We know that all things work together for good to the ones that love God, to them that are called according to His purpose' (Rom. viii. 28). Of which calling he says, *'That our God would count you worthy of this calling' (2 Thess. i. 11)."

44 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIL

17. This question is obviously founded upon the passage in our Scriptures in which it is written that Cain brought to God a gift from the fruits of the earth, but Abel brought a gift from the firstlings of the flock. Our reply, therefore, is, that from this passage the more suitable inference to be drawn is, how ancient is the ordinance of sacrifice which the infallible and sacred writings declare to be due to no other than to the one true God; not because God needs our offerings, seeing that, in the same Scriptures, it is most clearly written, "I said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord, for Thou hast no need of my goods," but because, even in the acceptance or rejection or appropriation of these offerings. He considers the advantage of men, and of them alone. For in worshipping God we do good to ourselves, not to Him. When, therefore. He gives an inspired revelation, and teaches how He is to be worshipped, He does this not only from no sense of need on His part, but from a regard to our highest advantage. For all such sacrifices are significant, being symbols of certain things by which we ought to be roused to search or know or recollect the things which they symbolize. To discuss this subject satisfactorily would demand of us something more than the short discourse in which we have resolved to give our reply at this time, more particularly because in other treatises we have spoken of it fully. Those also who have before us expounded the divine oracles, have spoken largely of the symbols of the sacrifices of the Old Testament as shadows and figures of things then future.

18. "With all our desire, however, to be brief, this one thing we must by no means omit to remark, that the false gods, that is to say, the demons, which are lying angels, would never have required a temple, priesthood, sacrifice, and the other things connected with
these from their worshippers, whom they deceive, had they not known that these things were due to the one true God. When, therefore, these things are presented to God according to His inspiration and teaching, it is true religion; but when they are given to demons in  

'Oen. iv. 3, 4.

"Ps. XVI. 2: OTT Tuv uyaCuv fji.iv ou ^pilecv i;^l/f, LXX.

â€¢ E.g., in the reply to Faustus, Book xxii.â€”See vol v. p. 411.

LET. CII.] TO DEOGMATIAS. 45

compliance with their impious pride, it is baneful superstition. Accordingly, those who know the Christian Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testaments do not blame the profane rites of Pagans on the mere ground of their building temples, appointing priests, and offering sacrifices, but on the ground of their doing all this for idols and demons. As to idols, indeed, who entertains a doubt as to their being wholly devoid of perception? And yet, when they are placed in these temples and set on high upon thrones of honour, that they may be waited upon by suppliants and worshippers praying and offering sacrifices, even these idols, though devoid both of feeling and of life, do, by the mere image of the members and senses of beings endowed with life, so affect weak minds, that they appear to live and breathe, especially under the added influence of the profound veneration with which the multitude freely renders such costly service.

19. To these morbid and pernicious affections of the mind divine Scripture applies a remedy, by repeating, with the impressiveness of wholesome admonition, a familiar fact, in the words, "Eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not," etc. For these words, by reason of their being so plain, and commending themselves to all people as true, are the more effective in striking salutary shame into those who, when they present divine worship before such images with religious fear, and look upon their likeness to living beings while they are venerating and worshipping them, and utter petitions, offer sacrifices, and perform vows before them as if present, are so completely overcome, that they do not presume to think of them as devoid of perception. Lest, moreover, these worshippers should think that our Scriptures intend only to declare that such affections of the human heart spring naturally from the worship of idols, it is written in the plainest terms, "All the gods of the nations are devils." And therefore, also, the teaching of the apostles not only declares, as we read in John, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols," but also, in the words of Paul, "What say I then? that the idol is anything, or that which is offered in sacrifice to idols is anything? But I say, that the things which the Gen-

1 Vs. cxv. 5, 6. 2 Ps, xcv. 5: Ja/^y/a, LXX. * 1 John v. 21.
tiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I
would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." From which it may be clearly
understood, that what is condemned in heathen superstitions by the true religion is not the
mere offering of sacrifices (for the ancient saints offered these to the true God), but the
offering of sacrifices to false gods and to impious demons. For as the truth counsels men
to seek the fellowship of the holy angels, in like manner impiety turns men aside to the
fellowship of the wicked angels, for whose associates everlasting fire is prepared, as the
eternal kingdom is prepared for the associates of the holy angels.

20. The heathen find a plea for their profane rites and their idols in the fact that they
interpret with ingenuity what is signified by each of them; but the plea is of no avail.
For all this interpretation relates to the creature, not to the Creator, to whom alone is due
that religious service which is in the Greek language distinguished by the word Xarpela.
ISTNeither do we say that the earth, the seas, the heaven, the sun, the moon, the stars, and
any other celestial influences which may be beyond our ken are demons; but since all
created things are divided into material and immaterial, the latter of which we also call
spiritual, it is manifest that what is done by us under the power of piety and religion
proceeds from the faculty of our souls known as the will, which belongs to the spiritual
creation, and is therefore to be preferred to all that is material. Whence it is inferred
that sacrifice must not be offered to anything material. There remains, therefore, the spiritual
part of creation, which is either pious or impious,
â€” the pious consisting of men and angels who are righteous, and who duly serve God;
the impious consisting of wicked men and angels, whom we also call devils. Now, that
sacrifice must not be offered to a spiritual creature, though righteous, is obvious from this
consideration, that the more pious and submissive to God any creature is, the less does he
presume to aspire to that honour which he knows to be due to God alone.
How much worse, therefore, is it to sacrifice to devils, that is, to a wicked spiritual
creature, which, dwelling in this comparatively dark heaven nearest to earth, as in the
prison assigned

1 1 Cor. X. 19, 20.

LET. CII.] TO DEOGRATIAS. 47

to him in the air, is doomed to eternal punishment. Wherefore, even when men say that
they are offering sacrifices to the higher celestial powers, which are not devils, and
imagine that the only difference between us and them is in a name, because they call
them gods and we call them angels, the only beings which really present themselves to
these men, who are given over to be the sport of manifold deceptions, are the devils who
find delight and, in a sense, nourishment in the errors of mankind. For the holy angels do
not approve of any sacrifice except what is offered, agreeably to the teaching of true wisdom and true religion, unto the one true God, whom in holy fellowship they serve. Therefore, as impious presumption, whether in men or in angels, commands or covets the rendering to itself of those honours which belong to God, so, on the other hand, pious humility, whether in men or in holy angels, declines these honours when offered, and declares to whom alone they are due, of which most notable examples are conspicuously set forth in our sacred books.

21. In the sacrifices appointed by the divine oracles there has been a diversity of institution corresponding to the age in which they were observed. Some sacrifices were offered before the actual manifestation of that new covenant, the benefits of which are provided by the one true offering of the one Priest, I namely, by the shed blood of Christ; and another sacrifice, adapted to this manifestation, and offered in the present age by us who are called Christians after the name of Him who has been revealed, is set before us not only in the gospels, but also in the prophetic books. For a change, not of the God who is worshipped, nor of the religion itself, but of sacrifices id of sacraments, would seem to be proclaimed without w arrant now, if it had not been foretold in the earlier dispen-^tion. For just as when the same man brings to God in the morning one kind of offering, and in the evening another, according to the time of day, he does not thereby change either his God or his religion, any more than he changes the lature of a salutation who uses one form of salutation in the morning and another in the evening: so, in the complete cycle
If the ages, when one kind of offering is known to have been made by the ancient saints, and another is presented by the

43 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIL

saints in our time, this only shows that these sacred mysteries are celebrated not according to human presumption, but by divine authority, in the manner best adapted to the times. There is here no change either in the Deity or in the religion.

22. Question iv. Let us, in the next place, consider what he has laid down concerning the proportion between sin and punishment when, misrepresenting the gospel, he says: "Christ threatens eternal punishment to those who do not believe in Him;" and yet He says in another place, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." Here, he remarks, "is something sufficiently absurd and contradictory; for if He is to award punishment according to measure, and all measure is limited by the end of time, what mean these threats of eternal punishment?"

23. It is difficult to believe that this question has been put in the form of objection by one claiming to be in any sense a philosopher; for he says, "All measure is limited by time," as if men were accustomed to no other measures than measures of time, such as hours and days and years, or such as are referred to when we say that the time of a short syllable is one-half of that of a long syllable. For I suppose that bushels and firkins, urns and amphorae, are not measures of time. How, then, is all measure limited by time? Do not the heathen themselves affirm that the sun is eternal? And yet they presume to calculate and pronounce on the basis of geometrical measurements what is the proportion between it and the earth. Whether this calculation be within or beyond their power, it is certain, notwithstanding, that it has a disc of definite dimensions. For if they do ascertain how large it is, they know its dimensions, and if they do not succeed in their investigation, they do not know these; but the fact that men cannot discover them is no proof that they do not exist. It is possible, therefore, for something to be eternal, and nevertheless to have a definite measure of its proportions. In this I have been speaking upon the assumption of their own view as to the eternal duration of the sun, in order that they may

' John iii. 18. 2 Jtt. vii. 2.

^ "Longani syllabam esse tluorum tcmpoiim brevem luirius ctiam pueri sciunt." Quintil. ix. 4, 47.
be convinced by one of their own tenets, and obliged to admit that something may be eternal and at the same time measurable. And therefore let them not think that the threatening of Christ concerning eternal punishment is not to be believed because of His also saying, "In what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you."

24. For if He had said, "That which you have measured shall be measured unto you/" even in that case it would not have been necessary to take the clauses as referring to something which was in all respects the same. For we may correctly say, That which you have planted you shall reap, although men plant not fruit but trees, and reap not trees but fruit. We say it, however, with reference to the kind of tree; for a man does not plant a fig-tree, and expect to gather nuts from it. In like manner it might be said, What you have done you shall suffer; not meaning that if one has committed adultery, for example, he shall suffer the same, but that what he has in that crime done to the law, the law shall do unto him, i.e. forasmuch as he has removed from his life the law which prohibits such things, the law shall requite him by removing him from that human life over which it presides.

Again, if He had said, " As much as ye shall have measured, so much shall be measured unto you," even from this statement it would not necessarily follow that we must understand punishments to be in every particular equal to the sins punished. Barley and wheat, for example, are not equal in quality, and yet it might be said, " As much as ye shall have measured, so much shall be measured unto you," meaning for so much wheat so much barley. Or if the matter in question were pain, it might be said, " As great pain shall be inflicted on you as you have inflicted on others; " this might mean that the pain should be in severity equal, but in time more protracted, and therefore by its continuance greater. For suppose I were to say of two lamps, " The flame of this one w^as as hot as the flame of the other," this would not be false, al- though, perchance, one of them was earlier extinguished than the other. Wherefore, if things be equally great in one respect, but not in another, the fact that they are not alike in

50 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CII.

all respects does not invalidate the statement that in one respect, as admitted, they are equally great.

25. Seeing, however, that the words of Christ were these, " In what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you," and that beyond all question the measure in which anything is measured is one thing, and that which is measured in it is another, it is obviously possible that with the same measure with which men have measured, say, a bushel of wheat, there may be measured
to them thousands of bushels, so that with no difference in the measure there may be all that difference in the quantity, not to speak of the difference of quality which might be in the things measured; for it is not only possible that with the same measure with which one has measured barley to others, wheat may be measured to him, but, moreover, with the same measure with which he has measured grain, gold may be measured to him, and of the grain there may have been one bushel, while there may be very many of the gold. Thus, although there is a difference both in kind and quantity, it may be nevertheless truly said in reference to things which are thus unlike: "In the measure in which he measured to others it is measured unto him."

The reason, moreover, why Christ uttered this saying is sufficiently plain from the immediately preceding context.

"Judge not," He said, "that ye be not judged; for in the judgment in which ye judge ye shall be judged." Does this mean that if they have judged any one with injustice they shall themselves be unjustly judged? Of course not; for there is no unrighteousness with God. But it is thus expressed, "In the judgment in which ye judge ye shall be judged," as if it were said, In the will in which ye have dealt kindly with others ye shall be set at liberty, or in the will in which ye have done evil to others ye shall be punished. As if any one, for example, using his eyes for the gratification of base desires, were ordered to be made blind, this would be a just sentence for him to hear, "In those eyes by which thou hast sinned, in them hast thou deserved to be punished." For every one uses the judgment of his own mind, according as it is good or evil, for doing good or for doing evil. Wherefore it is not unjust that he be judged in that in which he judges,

LET. CII.] TO DEOGATIAS. 51

that is to say, that he suffer the penalty in the mind's faculty of judgment when he is made to endure those evils which are the consequences of the sinful judgment of his mind.

26. For while other torments which are prepared to be hereafter inflicted are visible, â€“ torments occasioned by the same central cause, namely, a depraved will, â€“ it is also the fact that within the mind itself, in which the appetite of the will is the measure of all human actions, sin is followed immediately by punishment, which is for the most part increased in proportion to the greater blindness of one by whom it is not felt. Therefore when He had said, "With [or rather, as Augustine renders it. In] what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged," He went on to add, "And in what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you." A good man, that is to say, will measure out good actions in his own will, and in the same shall blessedness be measured unto him; and in like manner, a bad man will measure out bad actions in his own will, and in the same shall misery be meted out to him; for in whatsoever any one is good when his will aims at what is good, in the same he is evil when his will aims at what is evil. And therefore it is also in this that he is made to experience bliss or misery, viz. in the feeling experienced by his own will, which is the measure both of all actions and of the recompenes of actions. For we measure actions, whether good or bad, by the quality of the volitions which produce them, not by
the length of time which they occupy. Were it otherwise, it would be regarded a greater
crime to fell a tree than to kill a man. For the former takes a long time and many strokes,
the latter may be done with one blow in a moment of time; and yet, if a man were
punished with no more than transportation for life for this great crime committed in a
moment, it would be said that he had been treated with more clemency than he deserved,
although, in regard to the duration of time, the protracted punishment is not in any way to
be compared with the sudden act of murder. Where, then, is anything contradictory in the
sentence objected to, if the punishments shall be equally protracted or even alike eternal,
but differing in comparative gentleness and severity?
The duration is the same; the pain inflicted is different in

52 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIL

degree, because that which constitutes the measure of the sins themselves is found not in
the length of time which they occupy, but in the will of those who commit them.

27. Certainly the will itself endures the punishment, whether pain be inflicted on the mind
or on the body; so that the same thing which is gratified by the sin is smitten by the
penalty, and so that he who judge the without mercy is judged without mercy; for in this
sentence also the standard of measure is the same only in this point, that what he did not
give to others is denied to him, and therefore the judgment passed on him shall be eternal,
although the judgment pronounced by him cannot be eternal. It is therefore in the sinner's
own measure that punishments which are eternal are measured out to him, though the sins
thus punished were not eternal; for as his wish was to have an eternal enjoyment of sin,
so the award which he finds is an eternal endurance of suffering.

The brevity which I study in this reply precludes me from collecting all, or at least as
many as I could, of the statements contained in our sacred books as to sin and the
punishment of sin, and deducing from these one indisputable proposition on the subject;
and perhaps, even if I obtained the necessary leisure, I might not possess abilities
competent to the task.
Nevertheless, I think that in the meantime I have proved that there is no contradiction
between the eternity of punishment and the principle that sins shall be recompensed in the
same measure in which men have committed them.

28. Question v. The objector who has brought forward these questions from Porphyry has
added this one in the next place: Will you have the goodness to instruct me as to whether
Solomon said truly or not that God has no Son?

29. The answer is brief: Solomon not only did not say this, but, on the contrary, expressly
said that God hath a Son.
For in one of his writings Wisdom saith: " Before the mountains were settled, before the
hills was I brought forth." ^
And what is Christ but the Wisdom of God? Again, in another place in the book of Proverbs, he says: "God hath taught me wisdom, and I have learned the knowledge of the holy. Who hath ascended up into heaven and descended?"

* Prov. viii. 25: rpo Vi rcxrvu (iouvuv yivva /at, LXX. 2 According to LXX.

LET. CIL] to DEOGRATIAS. 5'

Who hath gathered the winds in His fists? who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth? What is His name, and what is His Son's name?" ^ Of the two questions concluding this quotation, the one referred to the Father, namely, "What is His name?" â€” with allusion to the foregoing words, "God hath taught me wisdom," â€” the other evidently to the Son, since he says, "or what is His Son's name?" â€” with allusion to the other statements, which are more properly understood as pertaining to the Son, viz. "Who hath ascended up into heaven and descended?"

â€” a question brought to remembrance by the words of Paul: "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens;" ^ "Who hath gathered the winds in His fists?" i.e. the souls of believers in a hidden and secret place, to whom, accordingly, it is said, "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God;" ^ "Who hath bound the waters in a garment?" * w^hence it could be said, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ;" ^ "Who hath established all the ends of the earth?" "the same who said to His disciples, "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." ^

30. Question vi. The last question proposed is concerning Jonah, and it is put as if it were not from Porphyry, but as being a standing subject of ridicule among the Pagans; for his words are: "In the next place, what are we to believe concerning Jonah, who is said to have been three days in a whale's belly? The thing is utterly improbable and incredible, that a man swallowed with his clothes on should have existed in the inside of a fish. If, however, the story is figurative, be pleased to explain it. Again, what is meant by the story that a gourd sprang up above the head of Jonah after he was vomited by the fish? What was the cause of this gourd's growth?" Questions such as these I have seen discussed by Pagans amidst loud laughter, and with great scorn.

Â» Prov. XXX. 3, 4. 2 Eph. iv. 10. 3 Col. iii. 3.

* Augustine's words are: quis convertit aquam in vestimento? from the LXX.:
31. To this I reply, that either all the miracles wrought by divine power may be treated as incredible, or there is no reason why the story of this miracle should not be believed. The resurrection of Christ Himself upon the third day would not be believed by us, if the Christian faith was afraid to encounter Pagan ridicule. Since, however, our friend did not on this ground ask whether it is to be believed that Lazarus was raised on the fourth day, or that Christ rose on the third day, I am much surprised that he reckoned what was done with Jonah to be incredible; unless, perchance, he thinks it easier for a dead man to be raised in life from his sepulchre, than for a living man to be kept in life in the spacious belly of a sea monster. For without mentioning the great size of sea monsters which is reported to us by those who have knowledge of them, let me ask how many men could be contained in the belly which was fenced round with those huge ribs which are fixed in a public place in Carthage, and are well known to all men there? Who can be at a loss to conjecture how wide an entrance must have been given by the opening of the mouth which was the gateway of that vast cavern? unless, perchance, as our friend stated it, the clothing of Jonah stood in the way of his being swallowed without injury, as if he had required to squeeze himself through a narrow passage, instead of being, as was the case, thrown headlong through the air, and so caught by the sea monster as to be received into its belly before he was wounded by its teeth.

At the same time, the Scripture does not say whether he had his clothes on or not when he was cast down into that cavern, so that it may without contradiction be understood that he made that swift descent unclothed, if perchance it was necessary that his garment should be taken from him, as the shell is taken from an egg, to make him more easily swallowed. For men are as much concerned about the raiment of this prophet as would be reasonable if it were stated that he had crept through *a very small window, or had been going into a bath; and yet, even though it were necessary in such circumstances to enter without parting with one's clothes, this would be only inconvenient, not miraculous.

32. But perhaps our objectors find it impossible to believe

in regard to this divine miracle that the heated moist air of the belly, whereby food is dissolved, could be so moderated in temperature as to preserve the life of a man. If so, with how much greater force might they pronounce it incredible that the three young men cast into the furnace by the impious king walked unharmed in the midst of the flames! If, therefore, these objectors refuse to believe any narrative of a divine miracle, they must be refuted by another line of argument.
For it is incumbent on them in that case not to single out some one to be objected to, and called in question as incredible, but to denounce as incredible all narratives in which miracles of the same kind or more remarkable are recorded. And yet, if this which is written concerning Jonah were said to have been done by Apuleius of Madaura or Apollonius of Tyana, by whom they boast, though unsupported by reliable testimony, that many wonders were performed (albeit even the devils do some works like those done by the holy angels, not in truth, but in appearance, not by wisdom, but manifestly by subtlety), if, I say, any such event were narrated in connection with these men to whom they give the flattering name of magicians or philosophers, we should hear from their mouths sounds not of derision, but of triumph. Be it so, then; let them laugh at our Scriptures; let them laugh as much as they can, when they see themselves daily becoming fewer in number, while some are removed by death, and others by their embracing the Christian faith, and when all those things are being fulfilled which were predicted by the prophets who long ago laughed at them, and said that they would fight and bark against the truth in vain, and would gradually come over to our side; and who not only transmitted these statements to ns, their descendants, for our learning, but promised that they should be fulfilled in our experience.

33. It is neither unreasonable nor unprofitable to inquire what these miracles signify, so that, after their significance has been explained, men may believe not only that they really occurred, but also that they have been recorded, because of their possessing symbolical meaning. Let him, therefore, who proposes to inquire why the prophet Jonah was three days in the capacious belly of a sea monster, begin by dismissing doubts as to the fact itself; for this did actually occur, and did not occur in vain. For if figures which are expressed in words only, and not in actions, aid our faith, how much more should our faith be helped by figures expressed not only in words, but also in actions! Now men are wont to speak by words; but divine power speaks by actions as well as by words. And as words which are new or somewhat unfamiliar lend brilliancy to a human discourse when they are scattered through it in a moderate and judicious manner, so the eloquence of divine revelation receives, so to speak, additional lustre from actions which are at once marvellous in themselves and skilfully designed to impart spiritual instruction.

34. As to the question, What was prefigured by the sea monster restoring alive on the third day the prophet whom it swallowed? why is this asked of us, when Christ Himself has given the answer, saying, "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given it but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so must the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth"?^
In regard to the three days in which the Lord Christ was under the power of death, it would take long to explain how they are reckoned to be three whole days, that is, days along with their nights, because of the whole of the first day and of the third day being understood as represented on the part of each; moreover, this has been already stated very often in other discourses. As, therefore, Jonah passed from the ship to the belly of the whale, so Christ passed from the cross to the sepulchre, or into the abyss of death. And as Jonah suffered this for the sake of those who were endangered by the storm, so Christ suffered for the sake of those who are tossed on the waves of this world. And as the command was given at first that the word of God should be preached to the Ninevites by Jonah, but the preaching of Jonah did not come to them until after the whale had vomited him forth, so prophetic teaching was addressed early to the Gentiles, but did not actually come to the Gentiles until after the resurrection of Christ from the grave.

â» Matt. xii. 39, 40.

LET. cil] to deopotias. 57

35. In the next place, as to Jonah's building for himself a booth, and sitting down over against Nineveh, waiting to see what would befall the city, the prophet was here in his own person the symbol of another fact. He prefigured the carnâ€™l people of Israel. For he also was grieved at the salvation of the Ninevites, that is, at the redemption and deliverance of the Gentiles, from among whom Christ came to call, not righteous men, but sinners to repentance. Wherefore the shadow of that gourd over his head prefigured the promises of the Old Testament, or rather the privileges already enjoyed in it, in which there was, as the apostle says, "a shadow of things to come," furnishing, as it were, a refuge from the heat of temporal calamities in the land of promise. Moreover, in that morning-worm, which by its gnawing tooth made the gourd wither away, Christ Himself is again prefigured, forasmuch as, by the publication of the gospel from His mouth, all those things which flourished among the Israelites for a time, or with a shadowy symbolical meaning in that earlier dispensation, are now deprived of their significance, and have withered away. And now that nation, having lost the kingdom, the priesthood, and the sacrifices formerly established in Jerusalem, all which privileges were a shadow of things to come, is burned with grievous heat of tribulation in its condition of dispersion and captivity, as Jonah was, according to the history, scorched with the heat of the sun, and is overwhelmed with sorrow; and notwithstanding, the salvation of the Gentiles and of the penitent is of more importance in the sight of God than this sorrow of Israel and the "shadow" of which the Jewish nation was so glad.

36. Again, let the Pagans laugh, and let them treat with proud and senseless ridicule Christ the Worm and this interpretation of the prophetic symbol, provided that He gradually and surely, nevertheless, consume them. For concerning all such Isaiah prophesies, when by him God says to us, "Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid
of their revilings: for the moth shall eat them up as a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool; but my


68 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CII.

righteousness shall be for ever."^ Let us therefore acknowledge Christ to be the morning-worm, because, moreover, in that psalm which bears the title, " Upon the hind of the morning."^ He has been pleased to call Himself by this very name:
" I am," He says, " a worm, and no man, a reproach of men, and despised of the people." This reproach is one of those reproaches which we are commanded not to fear in the words of Isaiah, "Fear ye not the reproach of men." By that Worm, as by a moth, they are being consumed who under the tooth of His gospel are made to wonder daily at the diminution of their numbers, which is caused by desertion from their party. Let us therefore acknowledge this symbol of Christ; and because of the salvation of God, let us bear patiently the reproaches of men. He is a Worm because of the lowliness of the flesh which He assumed â€” perhaps, also, because of His being born of a virgin; for the worm is generally not begotten, but spontaneously originated in flesh or any vegetable product [sine concubitu nascitur]. He is the morning-

3 7. What, then, could be more palpable than the fulfilment of this prophecy in the accomplishment of the things foretold ? That Worm was indeed despised when He hung upon the cross, as is written in the same psalm: " They shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying. He trusted in the Lord that he would deliver him; let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him;"^ and again, when this was fulfilled which the psalm foretold, "They pierced my hands and my feet. They have told all my bones: they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my ves-

Â» Isa. li. 7, 8.

2 Ps. xxii. The title in the LXX. is, " vrif T?f ivrtXtt-^ius rns U^^m;," which Augustine translates, "pro susceptione matutina."

3 Ps. xxii. 7, 8.
ture," "â€” circumstances which are in that ancient book described when future by the
prophet with as great plainness as they are now recorded in the gospel history after their
occurrence.
But if in His humiliation that Worm was despised, is He to be still despised when we
behold the accomplishment of those things which are predicted in the latter part of the
same psalm: " All the ends of the world shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; and all
the kindreds of the nations shall worship in His presence. For the kingdom is the Lord's;
and He shall govern among the nations"?^ Thus the Ninevites
"remembered, and turned unto the Lord." The salvation granted to the Gentiles on their
repentance, which was thus so long before prefigured, Israel then, as represented by
Jonah, regarded with grief, as now their nation grieves, bereft of their shadow, and vexed
with the heat of their tribulations. Any one is at liberty to open up with a different
interpretation, if only it be in harmony with the rule of faith, all the other particulars
which are hidden in the symbolical history of the prophet Jonah; but it is obvious that it is
not lawful to interpret the three days which he passed in the belly of the whale otherwise
than as it has been revealed by the heavenly Master Himself in the gospel, as quoted
above.

38. I have answered to the best of my power the questions proposed; but let him who
proposed them become now a Christian at once, lest, if he delay until he has finished the
discussion of all difficulties connected with the sacred books, he come to the end of this
life before he pass from death to life. For it is reasonable that he inquire as to the
resurrection of the dead before he is admitted to the Christian sacraments. Perhaps he
ought also to be allowed to insist on preliminary discussion of the question proposed
concerning Christ â€” why He came so late in the world's history, and of a few great
questions besides, to which all others are subordinate. But to think of finishing all such
questions as those concerning the words, " In what measure ye mete, it shall be measured
unto you," and concerning Jonah, before he becomes a Christian, is to betray great
unmindfulness of man's limited capacities, and of the shortness of the life which
^ Ps. xxii. 16-18. Â» Ps. xxii. 27, 28.

remains to him. For there are innumerable questions the solution of which is not to be
demanded before we believe, lest life be finished by us in unbelief. When, however, the
Christian faith has been thoroughly received, these questions behove to be studied with
the utmost diligence for the pious satisfaction of the minds of believers. Whatever is
discovered by such study ought to be imparted to others without vain self-complacency;
if anything still remain hidden, we must bear with patience an imperfection of knowledge
which is not prejudicial to salvation.

LETTEE cm.
TO MY LORD AND BROTHER, AUGUSTINE, RIGHTLY AND JUSTLY WORTHY OF ESTEEM AND OF ALL POSSIBLE HONOUR, NEC-TARIUS SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. In reading the letter of your Excellency, in which you have overthrown the worship of idols and the ritual of their temples,¹ I seemed to myself to hear the voice of a philosopher, â€” not of such a philosopher as the academian of whom they say, that having neither new doctrine to propound nor earlier statements of his own to defend, he was wont to sit in gloomy corners on the ground absorbed in some deep reverie, with his knees drawn back to his forehead, and his head buried between them, contriving how he might as a detractor assail the discoveries or cavil at the statements by which others had earned renown; nay, the form which rose under the spell of your eloquence and stood before my eyes was rather that of the great statesman Cicero, who, having been crowned with laurels for saving the lives of many of his countrymen, carried the trophies won in his forensic victories into the wondering schools of Greek philosophy, when, as one pausing for breath, he laid down the trumpet of sonorous voice and language which he had blown with the blast of just indignation against those who had broken the laws and conspired against the life of the republic, and, adopting the

¹ Letter XCI. voL i. p. 3S2.

LET. cm.] NECTArIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 61

fashion of the Grecian mantle, unfastened and threw back over his shoulders the toga's ample folds.

2. I therefore listened with pleasure when you urged us to the worship and religion of the only supreme God; and when you counselled us to look to our heavenly fatherland, I received the exhortation with joy. For you were obviously speaking to me not of any city confined by encircling ramparts, nor of that commonwealth on this earth which the writings of philosophers have mentioned and declared to have all mankind as its citizens, but of that City which is inhabited and possessed by the great God7and by the spirits which have earned this recompense from Him, to which, by diverse roads and pathways, all religions aspire, â€” the Cit⁸ which we are not able in language to describe, but which perhaps we might by thinking apprehend. But while this City ought therefore to be, above all others, desired and loved, I am nevertheless of opinion that we are bound not to prove unfaithful to our own native land, â€” the land which first imparted to us the enjoyment of the light of day, in which we were nursed and educated, and (to pass to what is specially relevant in this case) the land by rendering services to which men obtain a home prepared for them in heaven after the death of the body; for, in the opinion of the most learned, promotion to that celestial City is granted to those men who have deserved well of the cities which gave them birth, and a higher experience of fellowship with God is the
portion of those who are proved to have contributed by their counsels or by their labours to the welfare of their native land.

As to the remark which you were pleased wittily to make regarding our town, that it has been made conspicuous not so much by the achievements of warriors as by the conflagrations of incendiaries, and that it has produced thorns rather than flowers, this is not the severest reproof that might have been given, for we know that flowers are for the most part borne on thorny bushes. For who does not know that even roses grow on briars, and that in the bearded heads of grain the ears are guarded by spikes, and that, in general, pleasant and painful things are found blended together?

3. The last statement in your Excellency’s letter was, that

I

62 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CITI.

neither capital punishment nor bloodshed is demanded in order to compensate for the wrong done to the Church, but that the offenders must be deprived of the possessions which they most fear to lose. But in my deliberate judgment, though, of course, I may be mistaken, it is a more grievous thing to be deprived of one's property than to be deprived of life. For, as you know, it is an observation frequently recurring in the whole range of literature, that death terminates the experience of all evils, but that a life of indigence only confers upon us an eternity of wretchedness; for it is worse to live miserably than to put an end to our miseries by death.

This fact, also, is declared by the whole nature and method of your work, in which you support the poor, minister healing to the diseased, and apply remedies to the bodies of those who are in pain, and, in short, make it your business to prevent the afflicted from feeling the protracted continuance of their sufferings.

Again, as to the degree of demerit in the faults of some as compared with others, it is of no importance what the quality of the fault may seem to be in a case in which forgiveness is craved. For, in the first place, if penitence procures forgiveness and expiates the crime “and surely he is penitent who begs pardon and humbly embraces the feet of the party whom he has offended” and if, moreover, as is the opinion of some philosophers, all faults are alike, pardon ought to be bestowed upon all without distinction. One of our citizens may have spoken somewhat rudely: this was a fault; another may have perpetrated an insult or an injury: this was equally a fault; another may have violently taken what was not his own: this is reckoned a crime; another may have attacked buildings devoted to secular or to sacred purposes: he ought not to be for this crime placed beyond the reach of pardon. Finally, there would be no occasion for pardon if there were no foregoing’ faults.
4. Having now replied to your letter, not as the letter deserved, but to the best of my ability, such as it is, I beg and implore you (oh that I were in your presence, that you might also see my tears!) to consider again and again who you are, what is your professed character, and what is the business

LET. CIV.] TO NECTAKIUS. 63

to which your life is devoted. Eeflect upon the appearance presented by a town from which men doomed to torture are dragged forth; think of the lamentations of mothers and wives, of sons and of fathers; think of the shame felt by those who may return, set at liberty indeed, but having undergone the torture; think what sorrow and groaning the sight of their wounds and scars must renew. And when you have pondered all these things, first think of God, and think of your good name among men; or rather think of what friendly charity and the bonds of common humanity require at your hands, and seek to be praised not by punishing but by pardoning the offenders. And such things may indeed be said regarding your treatment of those whom actual guilt condemns on their own confession: to these persons you have, out of regard to your religion, granted pardon; and for this I shall always praise you. But now it is scarcely possible to express the greatness of that cruelty which pursues the innocent, and summons those to stand trial on a capital charge of whom it is certain that they had no share in the crimes alleged. If it so happen that they are acquitted, consider, I beseech you, with what ill-will their acquittal must be regarded by their accusers, who of their own accord dismissed the guilty from the bar, but let the innocent go only when they were defeated in their attempts against them.

May the supreme God be your keeper, and preserve you as a bulwark of His religion and an ornament to our country.

LETT. CIV.

(A.D. 409.)

TO NECTAPJUS, MY NOBLE LORD AND BROTHER, JUSTLY WORTHY OF ALL HONOUR AND ESTEEM, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. I have read the letter which you kindly sent in answer to mine. Your reply comes at a very long interval after the time when I despatched my letter to you. For I had written an answer to you when my holy brother and

1 Letter XCI. voL i. p. 381.
colleague Possidius was still with us, before he had entered on his voyage; but the letter which you have been pleased to entrust to him for me I received on March 27th, about eight months after I had written to you. The reason why my communication was so late in reaching you, or yours so late in being sent to me, I do not know. Perhaps your prudence has only now dictated the reply which your pride formerly disdained. If this be the explanation, I wonder what has occasioned the change. Have you perchance heard some report, which is as yet unknown to us, that my brother Possidius had obtained authority for proceedings of greater severity against your citizens, whom â€” you must excuse me for saying this â€” he loves in a way more likely to promote their welfare than you do yourself? For your letter shows that you apprehended something of this kind when you charge me to set before my eyes " the appearance presented by a town from which men doomed to torture are dragged forth," and to "think of the lamentations of mothers and wives, of sons and of fathers; of the shame felt by those who may return, set at liberty indeed, but having undergone the torture; and of the sorrow and groaning which the sight of their wounds and scars must renew." ¹ Par be it from us to demand the infliction, either by ourselves or by any one, of such hardships upon any of our enemies! But, as I have said, if report has brought any such measures of severity to your ears, give us a more clear and particular account of the things reported, that we may know either what to do in order to prevent these things from being done, or what answer we must make in order to disabuse the minds of those who believe the rumour.

2. Examine more carefully my letter, to which you have so reluctantly sent a reply, for I have in it made my views sufficiently plain; but through not remembering, as I suppose, what I had written, you have in your reply made reference to sentiments widely differing from mine, and wholly unlike them. Por, as if quoting from memory what I had written, you have inserted in your letter what I never said at all in mine. You say that the concluding sentence of my letter was, " that neither capital punishment nor bloodshed is demanded in order to compensate for the wrong done to the Church, but that the offenders must be deprived of that which they most fear to lose;" and then, in showing how great a calamity this imports, you add and connect with my words that you " deliberately judge â€” though you may perhaps be mistaken â€” that it is a more grievous thing to be deprived of one's possessions than to be deprived of life." And in order to expound more clearly the kind of possessions to which you refer, you go on to say that it must be known to me, " as an
observation frequently recurring in the whole range of literature, that death terminates the experience of all evils, but that a life of indigence only confers upon us an eternity of wretchedness." From which you have drawn the conclusion that it is "worse to live miserably than to put an end to our miseries by death."

3. Now I for my part do not recollect reading anywhere either in our [Christian] literature, to which I confess that I was later of applying my mind than I could now wish that I had been, or in your [Pagan] literature, which I studied from my childhood â€” that "a life of indigence only confers upon us an eternity of wretchedness." For the poverty of the industrious is never in itself a crime; nay, it is to some extent a means of withdrawing and restraining men from sin.

And therefore the circumstance that a man has lived in poverty here is no ground for apprehending that this shall procure for him after this brief life "an eternity of wretchedness;" and in this life which we spend on earth it is utterly impossible for any misery to be eternal, seeing that this life cannot be eternal, nay, is not of long duration even in those who attain to the most advanced old age. In the writings referred to, I for my part have read, not that in this life â€” as you think, and as you allege that these writings frequently affirm â€” there can be an eternity of wretchedness, but rather that this life itself which we here enjoy is short. Some, indeed, bitnotan, of your authors have said that death is the end of all evils:

that is indeed the opinion of the Epicureans, and of such others as believe the soul to be mortal. But those philosophers whom Cicero designates "consulares" in a certain sense, because he attaches great weight to their authority, are of

LETTER. IL E

66 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIV.

opinion that when our last hour on earth comes the soul is not annihilated, but removes from its tenement, and continues in existence for a state of blessedness or of misery, according to that which a man's actions, whether good or bad, claim as their due recompense. This agrees with the teaching of our sacred writings, with which I wish that I were more fully conversant. Death is therefore the end of all evils â€” but only in the case of those whose life is pure, religious, upright, and blameless; not in the case of those who, inflamed with passionate desire for the trifles and vanities of time, are proved to be miserable by the utter perversion of their desires, though meanwhile they esteem themselves happy, and are after death compelled not only to accept as their lot, but to realize in their experience far greater miseries.

4. These sentiments, therefore, being _ire^uÂ£jtilj expressed both in some of your own authors, whom you deem worthy of greater esteem, and in all our Scriptures, be it yours, worthy lover of the country which is on earth your fatherland, to dread on behalf of your countrymen a life of luxurious indulgence rather than a life of indigence; or if you fear a life of indigence, warn them that the poverty which is to be more studiously shunned is
that of the man who, though surrounded with abundance of worldly possessions, is, through the insatiable eagerness wherewith he covets these, kept always in a state of want, which, to use the words of your own authors, neither plenty nor scarcity can relieve. In the letter, however, to which you reply, I did not say that those of your citizens who are enemies to the Church were to be corrected by being reduced to that extremity of indigence in which the necessaries of life are wanting, and to which succour is brought by that compassion of which you have thought it incumbent on you to point out to me that it is professed by us in the whole plan of those labours wherein we "support the poor, minister healing to the diseased, and apply remedies to the bodies of those who are in pain;"

albeit, even such extremity of want as this would be more profitable than abundance of all things, if abused to the gratification of evil passions. But far be it from me to think that those about whom we are treating should be

reduced to such destitution by the measures of coercion proposed.

Chap. ii. 5. Though you did not consider it worth while to read my letter over when it was to be answered, perhaps you have at least so far esteemed it as to preserve it, in order to its being brought to you when you at any time might desire it and call for it; if this be the case, look over it again, and mark carefully my words: you will assuredly find in it one thing to which, in my opinion, you must admit that you have made no reply. For in that letter occur the words which I now quote: "We do not desire to gratify our anger by vindictive retribution for the past, but we are concerned to make provision in a truly merciful spirit for the future. Isow wicked men have something in respect to which they may be punished, and that by Christians, in a merciful way, and so as to promote their own profit and well-being. Tor they have these three things â€“ life and health of the body, the means of supporting that life, and the means and opportunities of living a wicked life. Let the two former remain untouched in the possession of those who repent of their crime; this we desire, and this we spare no pains to secure. But as to the third, if it please God to deal with it as a decaying or diseased part, which must be removed with the pruning-knife. He will in such punishment prove the greatness of His compassion."

If you had read over these words of mine again, when you were pleased to write your reply, you would have looked upon it rather as an unkind insinuation than as a necessary duty to address to me a petition not only for deliverance from death, but also for exemption from torture, on behalf of those regarding whom I said that we wished to leave unimpaired their possession of bodily life and health. Neither was there any ground for your apprehending our inflicting a life of indigence and of dependence upon others for daily bread on those regarding whom I had said that we desired to secure to them the second of the possessions named above, viz.
the means of supporting life. But as to their third possession, viz. the means and opportunities of living wickedly, that is to say â€” passing over other things â€” their silver with which
1 Letter XCL 9, voL i. p. 389.

BS LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIV.

they constructed those images of their false gods, in whose protection or adoration or unhallowed worship an attempt was made even to destroy the church of God by fire, and the provision made for relieving the poverty of very pious persons was given up to become the spoil of a wretched mob, and blood was freely shed â€” why, I ask, does your patriotic heart dread the stroke which shall cut this away, in order to prevent a fatal boldness from being in everything fostered and confirmed by impunity? This I beg you to discuss fully, and to show me in well-considered arguments what wrong there is in this; mark carefully what I say, lest under the form of a petition in regard to what I am saying you appear to bring against lis an indirect accusation.

6. Let your countrymen be well reported of for their virtuous manners, not for their superfluous wealth; we do not wish them to be reduced through coercive measures on our account to the plough of Quintius [Cincinnatus], or to the hearth of Fabricius. Yet by such extreme poverty these statesmen of the Roman republic not only did not incur the contempt of their fellow-citizens, but were on that very account peculiarly dear to them, and esteemed the more qualified to administer the resources of their country. We neither desire nor endeavour to reduce the estates of your rich men, so that in their possession should remain no more than ten pounds of silver, as was the case with Eufiinus, who twice held the consulship, which amount the stern censorship of that time laudably required to be still further reduced as culpably large. So much are we influenced by the prevailing sentiments of a degenerate age in dealing more tenderly with minds that are very feeble, that to Christian clemency the measure which seemed just to the censors of that time appears unduly severe; yet you see how great is the difference between the two cases, the question being in the one, whether the mere fact of possessing ten pounds of silver should be dealt with as a punishable crime, and in the other, whether any one, after committing other very great crimes, should be permitted to retain the sum aforesaid in his possession; we only ask that what in those days was itself a crime be in our days made the punishment of crime. There is, however, one

LET. CIV.] TO NECTAPJUS. 69

thing which can be done, and ought to be done, in order that, on the one hand, severity may not be pushed even so far as I have mentioned, and that, on the other, men may not, presuming on impunity, run into excess of exultation and rioting, and thus furnish to other unhappy men an example by
following which they would become liable to the severest and most unheard of punishments. Let this at least be granted by you, that those who attempt with fire and sword to destroy what are necessaries to us be made afraid of losing those luxuries of which they have a pernicious abundance. Permit us also to confer upon our enemies this benefit, that we prevent them, by their fears about that which it would do them no harm to forfeit, from attempting to do that which would bring harm to themselves. For this is to be termed prudent prevention, not punishment of crime; this is not to impose penalties, but to protect men from becoming liable to penalties.

7. When any one uses measures involving the infliction of some pain, in order to prevent an inconsiderate person from incurring the most dreadful punishments by becoming accustomed to crimes which yield him no advantage, he is like one who pulls a boy's hair in order to prevent him from provoking serpents by clapping his hands at them; in both cases, while the acting of love is vexatious to its object, no member of the body is injured, whereas safety and life are endangered by that from which the person is deterred. We confer a benefit upon others, not in every case in which we do what is requested, but when we do that which is not hurtful to our petitioners. For in most cases we serve others best by not giving, and would injure them by giving, what they desire. Hence the proverb, "Do not put a sword in a child's hand." "Nay," says Cicero, "refuse it even to your only son. For the more we love any one, the more are we bound to avoid entrusting to him things which are the occasion of very dangerous faults." He was referring to riches, if I am not mistaken, when he made these observations. Wherefore it is for the most part an advantage to themselves when certain things are removed from persons in whose keeping it is hazardous to leave them, lest they abuse them.

70 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CIV.

surgeons see that a gangrene must be cut away or cauterized, they often, out of compassion, turn a deaf ear to many cries. If we had been indulgently forgiven by our parents and teachers in our tender years on every occasion on which, being found in a fault, we begged to be let off, which of us would not have grown up intolerable? which of us would have learned any useful thing? Such punishments are administered by wise care, not by wanton cruelty. Do not, I beseech you, in this matter think only how to accomplish that which you are requested by your countrymen to do, but carefully consider the matter in all its bearings. If you overlook the past, which cannot now be undone, consider the future; wisely give heed, not to the desire, but to the real interests of the petitioners who have applied to you. Ayce are convicted of unfaithfulness towards those whom we profess to love, if our only care is lest, by refusing to do what they ask of us, their love towards us be diminished. And what becomes of that virtue which even your own literature commends, in the ruler of his country who studies not so much the wishes as the welfare of his people?

Chap. hi. 8. You say "it is of no importance what the quality of the fault may be in any case in which forgiveness is craved." In this you would state the truth if the matter in
question where the punishment and not the correction of men. Far be it from a Christian heart to be carried away by the lust of revenge to inflict punishment on any one. Far be it from a Christian, when forgiving any one his fault, to do otherwise than either anticipate or at least promptly answer the petition of him who asks forgiveness; but let his purpose in doing this be, that he may overcome the temptation to hate the man who has offended him, and to render evil for evil, and to be inflamed with rage prompting him, if not to do an injury, at least to desire to see the infliction of the penalties appointed by law; let it not be that he may relieve himself from considering the offender's interest, exercising: foresidit on his behalf, and restraining him from evil actions. For it is possible, on the one hand, that, moved by more vehement hostility, one may neglect the correction of a man whom he hates bitterly, and, on the other hand, that by correction involving the infliction of some pain one may secure the improvement of another whom he dearly loves.

9. I grant that, as you write, "penitence procures forgiveness, and blots out the offence," but it is that penitence which is practised under the influence of the true religion, and which has regard to the future judgment of God; not that penitence which is for the time professed or pretended before men, not to secure the cleansing of the soul for ever from the fault, but only to deKver from present apprehension of pain the life which is so soon to perish. This is the reason why in the case of some Christians who confessed their fault, and asked forgiveness for having been involved in the guilt of that crime, â€” we believed that the pain of repentance had borne fruit, and considered it sufficient for their correction, because in their hearts is found that faith by which, they could realize what they ought to fear from the judgment of God for their sin.

But how can there be any healing virtue in the repentance of those who not only fail to acknowledge, but even persist in mocking and blaspheming Him who is the fountain of forgiveness? At the same time, towards these men we do not cherish any feeling of enmity in our hearts, which are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him whose judgment both in this life and in the life to come we dread, and in whose help we place our hope.

But we think that we are even taking measures for the benefit of these men, if, seeing that they do not fear God, we inspire fear in them by doing something whereby their folly is chastened, while their real interests suffer no wrong. We thus prevent that God whom they despise from being more grievously provoked by their greater crimes, to which they would be emboldened by a disastrous assurance of impunity, and we prevent their assurance of impunity from being set forth with even more mischievous effect as an encouragement to others to imitate their example. In fine, on behalf of those for whom you make intercession to us, we intercede before God, beseeching Him to turn them to Himself, and to teach them the exercise of
genuine and salutary repentance, purifying their hearts by faith.

10. Behold, then, how we love those men against whom you suppose us to be full of anger, â€” loving them, you must permit me to say, with a love more prudent and profitable than you yourself cherish towards them; for we plead on their behalf that they may escape much greater afflictions, and obtain much greater blessings. If you also loved these men, not in the mere earthly affections of men, but with that love which is the heavenly gift of God, and if you were sincere in writing to me that you gave ear with pleasure to me when I was recommending to you the worship and religion of the Supreme God, you would not only wish for your countrymen the blessings which we seek on their behalf, but you would yourself by your example lead them to their possession.

Thus would the whole business of your interceding with us be concluded with abundant and most reasonable joy. Thus would your title to that heavenly fatherland, in regard to which you say that you welcomed my counsel that you should fix your eye upon it, be earned by a true and pious exercise of your love for the country which gave you birth, when seeking to make sure to your fellow-citizens, not the vain dream of temporal happiness, nor a most perilous exemption from the due punishment of their faults, but the gracious gift of eternal blessedness.

11. You have here a frank avowal of the thoughts and desires of my heart in this matter. As to what lies concealed in the counsels of God, I confess it is unknown to me; I am but a man; but whatever it be. His counsel stands most sure, and incomparably excels in equity and in wisdom all that can be conceived by the minds of men. With truth is it said in our books, "There are many devices in a man's heart; but the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand." ¹ Wherefore, as to what time may bring forth, as to what may arise to simplify or complicate our procedure, i.e., short, as to what desire may suddenly be awakened by the fear of losing or the hope of retaining present possessions; whether God shall show Himself so displeased by what they have done that they shall be punished with the more weighty and severe sentence of a disastrous impunity, or shall appoint that they shall be compassionately corrected in the manner which we propose, or shall avert whatever terrible doom was being prepared for them, and convert it into joy by some more stern but more salutary correction, leading to their turning unfeignedly to seek mercy not from men but from Himself, â€” all this He knoweth; we know not. Why, then, should your Excellency and I be spending toil in vain over this matter before the time?

¹ Prov. xix. 21.
Let us for a little while lay aside a care the hour of which has not yet come, and, if you please, let us occupy ourselves with that which is always pressing. For there is no time at which it is not both suitable and necessary for us to consider in what way we can please God; because for a man to attain completely in this life to such perfection that no sin whatever shall remain in him is either impossible or (if perchance any attain to it) extremely difficult: wherefore without delay we ought to flee at once to the grace of Him to whom we may address with perfect truth the words which were addressed to some illustrious man by a poet, who declared that he had borrowed the lines from a Cumaean oracle, or ode of prophetic inspiration: "With thee as our leader, the obliteration of all remaining traces of our sin shall deliver the earth from perpetual alarm." For with Him as our leader, all sins are blotted out and forgiven; and by His way we are brought to that heavenly fatherland, the thought of which as a dwelling-place pleased you greatly when I was to the utmost of my power commending it to your affection and desire.

Chap. iv. 12. But since you said that all religions by diverse roads and pathways aspire to that one dwelling-place, I fear lest, perchance, while supposing that the way in which you are now found tends thither, you should be somewhat reluctant to embrace the way which alone leads men to heaven. Observing, however, more carefully the word which you used, I think that it is not presumptuous for me to expound its meaning somewhat differently; for you did not say that all religions by diverse roads and pathways reach heaven, or reveal, or find, or enter, or secure that blessed

^ Viri^il, Ed. iv. 5.

I'

I

V4 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINPJ. [LET. CIV.

land, but by saying in a phrase deliberately weighed and chosen that all religions aspire to it, you have indicated, not the fruition, but the desire of heaven as common to all religions. You have in these words neither shut out the one religion which is true, nor admitted other religions which are false; for certainly the way which brings us to the goal aspires thitherward, but not every way which aspires thitherward brings us to the place wherein all who are brought thither are unquestionably blest. Now we all wish, that is, we aspire, to be blest; but we cannot all achieve what we wish, that is, we do not all obtain what we aspire to. That man, therefore, obtains heaven who walks in the way which not only aspires thitherward, but actually brings him thither, separating himself from others who keep to the ways which aspire heavenward without finally reaching heaven. For there would be no wandering if men were content to aspire to nothing, or if the truth which
men aspire to were obtained. If, however, in using the expression "diverse ways," you meant me not to understand contrary ways, but different ways, in the sense in which we speak of diverse precepts, which all tend to build up a holy life, â€” one enjoining chastity, another patience or faith or mercy, and the like, â€” in roads and pathways which are only in this sense diverse, that country is not only aspired unto but actually found. For in Holy Scripture we read both of ways and of a way, â€” of ways, e.g. in the words, "I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee;" of a way, e.g. in the prayer, "Teach me thy way, Lord; I will walk in Thy truth." Those ways and this way are not different; but in one way are comprehended all those of which in another place the Holy Scripture saith, "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth." The careful study of these ways furnishes theme for a long discourse, and for most delightful meditation; but this I shall defer to another time if it be required.

13. In the meantime, however, â€” and this, I think, may suffice in the present reply to your Excellency, â€” seeing that Christ has said, "I am the way," it is in Him that mercy and truth are to be sought: if we seek these in any other way, we

1 Ps. li. 13. 2 Ps. ixxxvi. 11. 3 ps. xxv. 10. * John xiv. 6.

LET. CIV.] TO NECTAEIUS. 75

must go astray, following a path which aspires to the true goal, but does not lead men thither. For example, if we resolved to follow the way indicated in the maxim which you mentioned, "All sins are alike," would it not lead us into hopeless exile from that fatherland of truth and blessedness? For could anything more absurd and senseless be said, than that the man who has laughed too rudely, and the man who has furiously set his city on fire, should be judged as having committed equal crimes? This opinion, which is not one of many diverse ways leading to the heavenly dwelling-place, but a perverse way leading inevitably to most fatal error, you have judged it necessary to quote from certain philosophers, not because you concurred in the sentiment, but because it might help your plea for your fellow-citizens â€” that we might forgive those whose rage set our church in flames on the same terms as we would forgive those who may have assailed us with some insolent reproach.

14. But reconsider with me the reasoning by which you supported your position. You say, "If, as is the opinion of some philosophers, all faults are alike, pardon ought to be bestowed upon all without distinction." Thereafter, labouring apparently to prove that all faults are alike, you go on to say, "One of our citizens may have spoken somewhat rudely: this was a fault; another may have perpetrated an insult or an injury: this was equally a fault." This is not teaching truth, but advancing, without any evidence in its support, a perversion of truth. For to your statement, "this was equally a fault," we at once give direct contradiction. You demand, perhaps, proof; but I reply. What proof have you given of your statement? Are we to hear as evidence your next sentence, "Another may have violently taken away
what was not his own: this is reckoned a misdemeanour "? Here you own yourself to be ashamed of the maxim which you quoted; you had not the assurance to say that this was equally a fault, but you say "it is reckoned a misdemeanour." But the question here is not whether this also is reckoned a misdemeanour, but whether this offence and the others which you mentioned are faults equal in demerit, unless, of course, they are to be

À» Letter CIIIL Â§ 3, p. 62.

76 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [IET. CIV.

pronounced equal because they are both offences; in which case the mouse and the elephant must be pronounced equal because they are both animals, and the fly and the eagle because they both have wings.

15. You go still further, and make this proposition:
"Another may have attacked buildings devoted to secular or to sacred purposes: he ought not for this crime to be placed beyond the reach of pardon." In this sentence you have indeed come to the most flagrant crime of your fellow-citizens, in speaking of injury done to sacred buildings; but even you have not affirmed that this is a crime equal only to the utterance of an insolent word. You have contented yourself with asking, on behalf of those who were guilty of this, that forgiveness which is rightly asked from Christians on the ground of their overflowing compassion, not on the ground of an alleged equality of all offences. I have already quoted a sentence of Scripture, "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth." They shall therefore find mercy if they do not hate truth. This mercy is granted, not as if it were due on the ground of the faults of all being only equal to the fault of those who have uttered rude words, but because the law of Christ claims pardon for those who are penitent, however inhuman and impious their crime may have been. I beg you, esteemed sir, not to propound these paradoxes of the Stoics as rules of conduct for your son Paradoxus, whom we wish to see grow up in piety and in prosperity, to your satisfaction.

For what could be worse for himself, yea, what more dangerous for yourself, than that your ingenuous boy should imbibe an error which would make the guilt, I shall not say of parricide, but of insolence to his father, equal only to that of some rude word inconsiderately spoken to a stranger ?

16. You are wise, therefore, to insist, when pleading with us for your countrymen on the compassion of Christians, not on the stern doctrines of the Stoical philosophy, which in no wise help, but much rather hinder, the cause which you have undertaken to support. For a merciful disposition, which we must have if it be possible for us to be moved either by your intercession or by their entreaties, is pronounced by the Stoics to be an unworthy weakness, and they expel it utterly from
the mind of the wise man, whose perfection, in their opinion, is to be as impassive and inflexible as iron. "With more reason, therefore, might it have occurred to you to quote from your own Cicero that sentence in which, praising Ccesar, he says, " Of all your virtues, none is more worthy of admiration, none more graceful, than your clemency." How much more ought this merciful disposition to prevail in the churches which follow Him who said, " I am the way," and which learn from His word, " All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth" ! Fear not, then, that we will try to bring innocent persons to death, when in truth we do not even wish the guilty to experience the punishment which they deserve, being moved by that mercy which, joined with truth, we love in Christ. But the man who, from fear of painfully crossing the will of the guilty, spares and indulges vices which must thereby gather more strength, is less merciful than the man who, lest he should hear his little boy crying, will not take from him a dangerous knife, and is unmoved by fear of the wounds or death which he may have to bewail as the consequence of his weakness. Keserve, therefore, until the proper time the work of interceding with us for those men, in loving whom (excuse my saying so) you not only do not go beyond us, but are even hitherto refusing to follow our steps; and write rather in your reply what influences you to shun the way which we follow, and in which we beseech you to go along with us towards that fatherland above, in which we rejoice to know that you take great delight.

17. As to those who are by birth your fellow-citizens, you have said indeed that some of them, though not all, were innocent; but, as you must see if you read over again my other letter, you have not made out a defence for them. When, in answer to your remark that you wished to leave your country flourishing, I said that we had felt thorns rather than found flowers in your countrymen, you thought that I wrote in jest. As if, forsooth, in the midst of evils of such magnitude we were in a mood for mirth. Certainly not. While the smoke was ascending from the ruins of our church consumed by fire, were we likely to joke on the subject?

* Oratio pro Q. Ligario.

78 LETTEP.S OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [IET. CXI.

Although, indeed, none in your city appeared in my opinion innocent, but those who were absent, or were sufferers, or were destitute both of strength and of authority to prevent the tumult, I nevertheless distinguished in my reply those whose guilt was greater from those who were less to blame, and stated that there was a difference between the cases of those who were moved by fear of offending powerful enemies of the Church, and of those who desired these outrages to be committed; also between those who committed them and those who instigated others to their commission; resolving, however, not to institute inquiry in regard to the instigators, because these, perhaps, could not be ascertained without recourse to the use of tortures, from which we shrink with abhorrence, as utterly
inconsistent with our aims. Your friends the Stoics, who hold that all faults are alike, must, however, if they were the judges, pronounce them all equally guilty; and if to this opinion they join that inflexible sternness wherewith they disparage clemency as a vice, their sentence would necessarily be, not that all should be pardoned alike, but that all should be punished alike. Dismiss, therefore, these philosophers altogether from the position of advocates in this case, and rather desire that we may act as Christians, so that, as we desire, we may gain in Christ those whom we forgive, and may not spare them by such indulgence as would be ruinous to themselves. May God, whose ways are mercy and truth, be pleased to enrich you with true felicity!

LETTER CXI.

(November, a.d. 409.)

to victorianus, his beloved lord and most longed-for bbotiept and fellow - presbypee, augustine sends greeting in the lord.

1. My heart has been filled with great sorrow by your letter. You asked me to discuss certain things at great length in my reply; but such calamities as you narrate claim rather many groans and tears than prolix treatises. The whole world, indeed, is afflicted with such portentous misfortunes, that there is scarcely any place where such things as you describe are not being committed and complained of. A short time ago some brethren were massacred by the barbarians even in those deserts of Egypt in which, in order to perfect security, they liad chosen places remote from all disturbance as the sites of their monasteries. I suppose, moreover, that the outrages which they have perpetrated in the regions of Italy and Gaul are known to you also; and now similar events begin to be announced to us from many provinces of Spain, which for long seemed exempt from these evils. But why go to a distance for examples? Behold! in our own county of Hippo, which the barbarians have not yet touched, the ravages of the Donatist clergy and Circumcelliones make such havoc in our churches, that perhaps the cruelties of barbarians would be light in comparison. For what barbarian could ever have devised what these have done, viz. casting lime and vinegar into the eyes of our clergymen, besides atrociously beating and wounding every part of their bodies? They also sometimes plunder and burn houses, rob granaries, and pour out oil and wine; and by threatening to do this to all others in the district, they compel many even to be re-baptized. Only yesterday, tidings came to me of forty-eight souls in one place having submitted, under fear of such things, to be re-baptized.

2. These things should make us weep, but not wonder; and we ought to cry unto God that not for our merit, but according to His mercy. He may deliver us from so great evils. For what else was to be expected by the human race, seeing that these things were so long
ago foretold both by the prophets and in the Gospels? We ought not, therefore, to be so inconsistent as to believe these Scriptures when they are read by us, and to complain when they are fulfilled; rather, surely, ought even those who had refused to believe when they read or heard these things in Scripture to become believers now when they behold the word fulfilled; so that under this great pressure, as it were, in the olive-press of the Lord our God, although there be the dregs of unbelieving murmurs and blasphemies, there is also a steady outflowing of pure oil in the confessions and prayers of believers. For unto those men who incessantly reproach the Christian faith, impiously saying

80 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXI.

that the human race did not suffer such grievous calamities before the Christian doctrine was promulgated throughout the world, it is easy to find a reply in the Lord's own words in the gospel, "That servant which knew not his lord's will, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; but the servant which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes." What is there to excite surprise, if, in the Christian dispensation, the world, like that servant, knowing the will of the Lord, and refusing to do it, is beaten with many stripes? These men remark the rapidity with which the gospel is proclaimed: they do not remark the perversity with which by many it is despised. But the meek and pious servants of God, who have to bear a double portion of temporal calamities, since they suffer both at the hands of wicked men and along with them, have also consolations peculiarly their own, and the hope of the world to come; for which reason the apostle says, "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall hereafter be revealed in us."

3. Wherefore, my beloved, even when you meet those whose words you say you cannot bear, because they say, "If we have deserved these things for our sins, how comes it that the servants of God are cut off not less than ourselves by the sword of the barbarians, and the handmaids of God are led away into captivity?" answer them humbly, truly, and piously in such words as these: However carefully we keep the way of righteousness, and yield obedience to our Lord, can we be better than those three men who were cast into the fiery furnace for keeping the law of God? And yet, read what Azarias, one of those three, said, opening his lips in the midst of the fire: "Blessed art Thou, Lord God of our fathers: Thy name is worthy to be praised and glorified for evermore; for Thou art liditeous in all the things that Thou hast done to us; yea, true are all Thy works: Thy ways are right, and all Thy judgments truth. In all the things which Thou hast brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, even Jerusalem, Thou hast executed true judgment; for according to
truth and judgment didst Thou bring all these things upon us because of our sins. For we 
have sinned and committed iniquity, departing from Thee. In all things have we 
trespassed, and not obeyed Thy commandments, nor kept them, neither done as Thou hast 
commanded us, that it might go well with us. Wherefore all that Thou hast brought upon 
us, and everythine that Thou hast done to us. Thou hast done in true judgment. And 
Thou didst deliver us into the hands of lawless enemies, most hateful forsakers of God, 
and to an unjust king, and the most wicked in all the world. And now we cannot open our 
mouths: we are become a shame and reproach to Thy servants, and to them that worship 
Thee. Yet deliver us not up wholly, for Thy name's sake, neither disannul Thou Thy 
covenant; and cause not Thy mercy to depart from us, for Thy beloved Abraha 
m's sake, for Thy servant Isaac's sake, and for Thy holy Israel's sake, to whom Thou hast spoken, 
and promised that Thou wouldst multiply their seed as the stars of heaven, and as the 
sand that lieth upon the sea-shore. For we, Lord, are become less than any nation, and be 
kept under this day in all the world because of our sins." Here, my brother, thou mayest 
surely see how men such as they, men of holiness, men of courage in the midst of 
tribulation, â€” from which, however, they were delivered, the flame itself fearing to 
consume them, â€” were not silent about their sins, but confessed them, knowing that 
because of these sins they were deservedly and justly brought low,

4. Nay, can we be better men than Daniel himself, concerning whom God, speaking to 
the prince of Tyre, says by the prophet Ezekiel, " Art thou wiser than Daniel? " who 
also is placed among the three righteous men to whom alone God saith that He would 
grant deliverance, â€” pointing, doubtless, in them to three representative righteous men, 
â€” declaring that he would deliver only ISToah, Daniel, and Job, and that they should 
save along with themselves neither son nor daughter, but only their own souls? 
Nevertheless, read also the prayer of Daniel, and see how, when in captivity, he confesses 
not only the sins of his people, but his own also, and acknow-

^ Song of the Three Holy Children, vers. 3-1 4. 
2 Ezek. xxviii. 3. a ij:2ek. xiv, 14, 18, 20. 

LETT II. 1?

82 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXL 

ledges that because of these the justice of God has visited them with the punishment of 
captivity and with reproach.
For it is thus written: "And I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes: and I prayed unto the Lord my God, and made my confession, and said: Lord, the great and dreadful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to them that love Him, and to them that keep His commandments; we have sinned, [and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and i have rebelled, even by departing from Thy precepts and from Thy judgments: neither have we hearkened unto Thy servants the prophets, which spake in Thy name to our kings, our princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of the land.

Lord, righteousness belongeth unto Thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day; to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither Thou hast driven them, because of their trespass that they have trespassed against Thee. Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face, to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because we have sinned against Thee. To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against Him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord, to walk in His laws which He set before us by His servants the prophets. Yea, all Israel have transgressed Thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey Thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against them. And He hath confirmed His words which He spake against us, and against our judges that judged us, by bringing upon us a great evil; for under the whole heaven hath not been done as hath been done upon Jerusalem. As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us: yet made we not our prayer before the Lord our God, that we might turn IVom our iniquities and understand Thy truth. Therefore hath the Lord watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us; for the Lord our God is righteous in all His works which He doeth; for we obeyed not His voice. And now, Lord our God, that hast brought Thy people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten Thee renown as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly. Lord, according to all Thy righteousness, I beseech Thee, let Thine anger and Thy fury be turned away from Thy city Jerusalem, Thy holy mountain, because, for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and Thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us. Now, therefore,

our God, hear the prayer of Thy servant, and His supplications, and cause Thy face to shine upon Thy sanctuary which is desolate, for the Lord's sake. my God, incline Thine ear, and hear; open Thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by Thy name; for we do not present our supplications before Thee for our righteousnesses, but for Thy great mercies. Lord, hear; Lord, forgive; Lord, hearken and

LET. CXI.] TO VICTORIANUS. 83

land of Egypt with a mighty hand, and hast gotten Thee renown as at this day; we have sinned, we have done wickedly. Lord, according to all Thy righteousness, I beseech Thee, let Thine anger and Thy fury be turned away from Thy city Jerusalem, Thy holy mountain, because, for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and Thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us. Now, therefore,

our God, hear the prayer of Thy servant, and His supplications, and cause Thy face to shine upon Thy sanctuary which is desolate, for the Lord's sake. my God, incline Thine ear, and hear; open Thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by Thy name; for we do not present our supplications before Thee for our righteousnesses, but for Thy great mercies. Lord, hear; Lord, forgive; Lord, hearken and
do: defer not, for Thine own sake, my God; for Thy city and Thy people are called by 
Thy name. And while I 
was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin, and the sin of my people ... " ^
Observe how he spoke first of his own sins, and then of the sins of his people. And he 
extols the righteousness of God, and gives praise to God for this, that He visits even His 
saints with the rod, not unjustly, but because of their sins. If, therefore, this be the 
language of men who by reason of their eminent sanctity found even encompassing 
flames and lions harmless, what language would befit men standing on a level so low as we occupy, seeing that, whatever righteousness we may seem to practise, we are very far from being worthy of comparison with them ?

5. Lest, however, any one should think that those servants of God, whose death at the 
hand of barbarians you relate, ought to have been delivered from them in the same 
manner as the three young men were delivered from the fire, and Daniel from the lions, 
let such an one know that these miracles were performed in order that the kings by whom 
they were delivered to these punishments might believe that they worshipped the true 
God. For in His hidden counsel 
1 and mercy God was in this manner making provision for the salvation of these kings. It 
pleased Him, however, to make 

â€¢ no such provision in the case of Antiochus the king, who 

* Dan. ix. 3-20.

84 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXL

cruelly put the Ma ccabees to death; but He punished the heart of the obdurate king with 
sharper severity through their most glorious sufferings. Yet read what was said by even 
one of them â€” the sixth who suffered: " After him they brought also the sixth, who, 
being ready to die, said, ' Be not deceived without cause; for we suffer these things for 
ourselves, having sinned against God: therefore marvellous things are done unto us; but 
think not thou that takest in hand to strife against God and His law that thou shalt escape 
unpunished.' " ^ You see how these also are wise in the exercise of humility and sincerity, 
confessing that they are chastened because of their sins by the Lord, of whom it is 
written: " Whom the Lord loveth He correcteth," ^ and " He scourgeth every son whom 
He receiveth; " ^ wherefore the Apostle says also, " If we would judge ourselves, we 
should not be judged; but when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we 
should not be condemned with the world." *

6. These things read faithfully, and proclaim faithfully; and to the utmost of your power 
beware, and teach others that they must beware, of murmuring against God in these trials 
and tribulations. You tell me that good, faithful, and holy servants of God have been cut 
off by the sword of the barbarians. But what matters it whether it is by sickness or by
sword that they have been set free from the body? The Lord is careful as to the character with which His servants go from this world â€” not as to the mere circumstances of their departure, excepting this, that lingering weakness involves more suffering than a sudden death; and yet we read of this same protracted and dreadful weakness as the lot of that Job to whose righteousness God Himself, who cannot be deceived, bears such testimony.

7. Most calamitous, and much to be bewailed, is the captivity of chaste and holy women; but their God is not in the power of their captors, nor does He forsake those captives whom He knows indeed to be His own. For those holy men, the record of whose sufferings and confessions I have quoted from the Holy Scriptures, being held in captivity by enemies who had carried them away, uttered those words, which, pre-

1 2 Mace. vii. 18, 19. - Trov. iii. 12. SHcb. xii. 6. * 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.

LET. CXI.] TO VICTOKIANUS. 85

served in writing, we can read for ourselves, in order to make us understand that servants of God, even when they are in captivity, are not forsaken by their Lord. Nay, more, do we know what wonders of power and grace the almighty and merciful God may please to accomplish by means of these captive women even in the land of the barbarians? Be that as it may, cease not to intercede with groanings on their behalf before God, and to seek, so far as your power and His providence permits you, to do for them whatever can be done, and to give them whatever consolation can be given, as time and opportunity may be granted. A few years ago, a nun, a grand-daughter of Bishop Severus, was carried off by barbarians from the neighbourhood of Sitifa, and was by the marvellous mercy of God restored with great honour to her parents. For at the very time when the maiden entered the house of her barbarian captors, it became the scene of much distress through the sudden illness of its owners, all the barbarians â€” three brothers, if I mistake not, or more â€” being attacked with most dangerous disease. Their mother observed that the maiden was dedicated to God, and believed that by her prayers her sons might be delivered from the danger of death, which was imminent. She begged her to intercede for them, promising that if they were healed she should be restored to her parents. She fasted and prayed, and straightway was heard; for, as the result showed, the event had been appointed that this might take place. They therefore, having recovered health by this unexpected favour from God, regarded her with admiration and respect, and fulfilled the promise which their mother had made.

8. Pray, therefore, to God for them, and beseech Him to enable them to say such things as the holy Azariah, whom we have mentioned, poured forth along with other expressions in his prayer and confession before God. For in the land of their captivity these women are in circumstances similar to those of the three Hebrew youths in that land in which they could not sacrifice to the Lord their God in the manner prescribed: they cannot either bring an oblation to the altar of God, or find a priest by whom their oblation may be presented to God. May God therefore grant them grace to say to Him
what Azariah said in the following sentences of his prayer:
"Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt-offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before Thee, and to find mercy: nevertheless, in a contrite heart and humble spirit let us be accepted. Like as in the burnt-offerings of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousands of fat lambs, so let our sacrifice be in Thy sight this day. And grant that we may wholly go after Thee; for they shall not be confounded that put their trust in Thee. And now we follow Thee with all our heart: we fear Thee and seek Thy face. Put us not to shame, but deal with us after Thy loving-kindness, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies. Deliver us also according to Thy marvellous works, and give glory to Thy name, Lord; and let all them that do Thy servants hurt be ashamed: and let them be confounded in all their power and might, and let their strength be broken: and let them know that Thou art Lord, the only God, and glorious over the whole world."

9. When His servants use these words, and pray fervently to God, He will stand by them, as He has been wont ever to stand by His own, and will either not permit their chaste bodies to suffer any wrong from the lust of their enemies, or if He permit this, He will not lay sin to their charge in the matter. For when the soul is not defiled by any impurity of consent to such wrong, the body also is thereby protected from all participation in the guilt; and in so far as nothing was committed or permitted by lust on the part of her who suffers, the whole blame lies with him who did the wrong, and all the violence done to the sufferer will be regarded not as implying the baseness of wanton compliance, but as a wound blamelessly endured. For such is the worth of unblemished purity in the soul, that while it remains intact, the body also retains its purity unsullied, even although by violence its members may be overpowered.

I beg your Charity to be satisfied with this letter, which is very long considering my other work (although too short to meet your wishes), and is somewhat hurriedly written, because the bearer is in haste to be gone. The Lord will furnish you with much more abundant consolation if you read attentively His holy word.

LETTER CXV.
TO FOKTUNATUS, MY COLLEAGUE IN THE PKIESTHOOD, MY LORD
MOST BLESSED, AND MY BROTHER BELOVED WITH PROFOUND
ESTEEM, AND TO THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH THEE, AUGUSTINE
SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

Tour Holiness is well acquainted with Eaventius, a tenant on the estate of the Paratian
forest. He, apprehending some injury or other at the hands of the owner of that estate,
took refuge in the church at Hippo, and was there, as fugitives are wont to do, waiting till
he could get the matter settled through my mediation. Becoming every day, as often
happens, less and less alarmed, and in fact completely off his guard, as if his adversary
had desisted from his enmity, he was, when leaving the house of a friend after supper,
suddenly carried off by one Florentinus, an oficer of the Count, who used in this act of
violence a band of armed men sufficient for the purpose. When this was made known to
me, and as yet it was unknown by whose orders or by whose hands he had been carried
off, though suspicion naturally fell on the man from whose apprehended injury he had
claimed the protection of the Church, I at once communicated with the tribune who is in
command of the coast-guard. He sent out soldiers, but no one could be found. But in the
morning we learned in what house he had passed the night, and also that he had left it
after cock-crowing, with the man who had him in custody. I sent also to the place to
which it was reported that he had been removed: there the officer above-named was
found, but refused to allow the presbyter whom I had sent to have even a sight of his
prisoner. On the following day I sent a letter requesting that he should be allowed the
privilege which the Emperor appointed in cases such as his, namely, that persons
summoned to appear to be tried should in the municipal court be interrogated whether
they desired to spend thirty days under adequate surveillance in the town,

in order to arrange their affairs, or find funds for the expense of their trial, my expectation
being that within that period of time we might perhaps bring his matters to some
amicable settlement. Already, however, he had gone farther under charge of the officer
Florentinus; but my fear is, lest perchance, if he be brought before the tribunal of the
magistrate,^ he suffer some injustice. For although the integrity of that judge is widely famed as
incorruptible, Faventius has for his adversary a man of very great wealth. To secure that
money may not prevail in that court, I beg your Holiness, my beloved lord and venerable
brother, to have the kindness to give the accompanying letter to the honourable
magistrate, a man very much beloved by us, and to read this letter also to him; for I have
not thought it necessary to write twice the same statement of the case. I trust that he will
delay the hearing of the case, because I do not know whether the man is innocent or
guilty. I trust also that he will not overlook the fact that the laws have been violated in his
having been suddenly carried off, without being brought, as was enacted by the Emperor,
before the municipal court, in order to his being asked whether he wished to accept the benefit of the delay of thirty days, so that in this way we may get the affair settled between him and his adversary.

LETTER CXVI.

(encrypted in THE FOREGOING LETTER.)

TO GENEROSUS, MY NOBLE AND JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED LORD, MY HONOURED AND MUCH-LOVED SON, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Although the praises and favourable report of your administration and your own illustrious good name always give me the greatest pleasure, because of the love which we feel due to your merit and to your benevolence, on no occasion have I hitherto been burdensome to your Excellency as an intercessor requesting any favour from you, my much-loved lord and justly-honoured son. When, however, your Excellency has

* Consulavis.

LET. CXVII.] DIOSCOEUS TO AUGUSTINE. 89

learned from the letters which I have sent to my venerable brother and colleague, Fortunatus, what has occurred in the town in which I serve the Church of God, your kind heart will at once perceive the necessity under which I have been constrained to trespass by this petition on your time, already fully occupied. I am perfectly assured that, cherishing towards us the feeling which, in the name of Christ, we are fully warranted to expect, you will act in this matter as becomes not only an upright, but also a Christian magistrate.

LETTEK CXVII.

(A.D. 410.)

FROM DIOSCORUS TO AUGUSTINE.

To you, who esteem the substance, not the style of expression, as important, any formal preamble to this letter would be not only unnecessary, but irksome. Therefore, without further preface, I beg your attention. The aged Alypius had often promised, in answer to my request, that he would, with your help, furnish a reply to a very few brief questions of mine in reciend to the Dialoainies of Cicero: and as he is said to be at present in Lauritania, I ask and earnestly entreat you to condescend to give, without his assistance, those answers which, even had your brother been present, it would doubtless have fallen to you to furnish. What I require is not money, it is not gold; though, if you possessed
these, you would, I am sure, be willing to give them to me for any fit object. This request of mine you can grant without effort, by merely speaking. I might importune you at greater length, and through many of your dear friends; but I know your disposition, that you do not desire to be solicited, but show kindness readily to all, if (jly there be nothing improper in the thing requested: and there is absolutely nothing improper in what I ask. Be this, however, as it may, I beg you to do me this kindness, for I am on the point of embarking on a voyage. You know how very painful it is to me to be burdensome to any one, and much more to one of your frank disposition; but God alone knows how irresistible is the pressure of the necessity under

9 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVII

which I have made this application. For, taking leave of you, and committing myself to divine protection, I am about to undertake a voyage; and you know the ways of men, how prone they are to censure, and you see how any one will be regarded as illiterate and stupid who, when questions are addressed to him, can return no answer. Therefore, I implore you, answer all my queries without delay. Send me not away downcast, I ask this that so I may see my parents; for on ,this one errand I have sent Cerdo to you, and I now delay I only till he return. My brother Zenobius has been appointed |

imperial remembrancer,^ and has sent me a free pass for my journey, with provisions. If I am not worthy of your reply, let at least the fear of my forfeiting these provisions by delay move you to give answers to my little questions.^

May the most high God spare you long to us in health !
Papas salutes your Excellency most cordially.

LETTEK CXVIII.

(A.D. 410.)
AUGUSTINE TO DIOSCORUS.

Chap, l 1. You have sent suddenly upon me a countless multitude of questions, by which you must have purposed to blockade me on every side, or rather bury me completely, even if you were under the impression that I was otherwise unoccupied and at leisure; for how could I, even though wholly at leisure, furnish the solution of so many questions to one in such haste as you are, and, in fact, as you write, on the eve of a journey ? I would, indeed, be prevented by the mere number of the questions to be resolved, even if their solution were easy. But they are so perplexingly intricate,
1 This officer, "niagister memorise," was a private secretary of the emperor, and had, among other privileges of his office, the right of granting liberty to private individuals to travel by the imperial conveyances along the great highways connecting Rome with the remotest boundaries of the provinces. See Suetonius, Vita Aurelii, chap. xlix., and Pliny, Letters, Books x.-xiv., and Codex Justiniani, Book xii. Title 51.

2 We conjecture from the context that this expresses the force of the obscene words, "saltem timcantur annonae."

LET. CXVII. TO DIOSCOEUS. 91

and so hard, that even if they were few in number, and engaging me when otherwise wholly at leisure, they would, by the mere time required, exhaust my powers of application, and wear out my strength. I would, however, fain snatch you forcibly away from the midst of those inquiries in which you so much delight, and fix you down among the cares which engage my attention, in order that you may either learn not to be unprofitably curious, or desist from presuming to impose the task of feeding and fostering your curiosity upon men among whose cares one of the greatest is to repress and curb those who are too inquisitive. For if time and pains are devoted to writing anything to you, how much better and more profitably are these employed in endeavours to cut off those vain and treacherous passions (which are to be guarded against with a caution proportioned to the ease with which they impose upon us, by their being disguised and cloaked under the semblance of virtue and the name of liberal studies), rather than in causing them to be, by our service, or rather obsequiousness, so to speak, roused to a more vehement assertion of the despotism under which they so oppress your excellent spirit.

2. For tell me what good purpose is served by the many Dialogues which you have read, if they have in no way helped you towards the discovery and attainment of the end of all your actions? For by your letter you indicate plainly enough what you have proposed to yourself as the end to be attained by all this most ardent study of yours, which is at once useless to yourself and troublesome to me. For when you were in your letter using every means to persuade me to answer the questions which you sent, you wrote these words: "I might importune you at greater length, and through many of your dear friends; but I know your disposition, that you do not desire to be solicited, but show kindness readily to all, if I only there be nothing improper in the thing requested: and there is absolutely nothing improper in what I ask. Be this, however, as it may, I beg you to do me this kindness, for I am on the point of embarking on a voyage." In these words of your letter you are indeed right in your opinion as to myself, that I am desirous of showing kindness to all, if only there be nothing improper in the request made; but it is not
my opinion that there is nothing improper in what you ask. For when I consider how a 
bishop is distracted and overwrought by the cares of his office clamouring on every side, 
it does not seem to me proper for him suddenly, as if deaf, to withdraw himself from all 
these, and devote himself to the work of expounding to a single student some 
unimportant questions in the Dialogues of Cicero. The impropriety of this you yourself 
apprehend, although, carried away with zeal in the pursuit of your studies, you will by no 
means give heed to it. For what other construction can I put on the fact that, after saying 
that in this matter there is absolutely nothing improper, you have immediately subjoined: 
"Be this, however, as it may, I beg you to do me this kindness, for I am on the point of 
embarking on a voyage"? For this intimates that in your view, at least, there is no 
impropriety in your request, but that whatever impropriety may be in it, you nevertheless 
ask me to do what you ask, because you are about to go on a voyage. Now what is the 
force of this supplementary plea 
â€” "I am on the point of embarking on a voyage"? Do you mean that, unless you were 
in these circumstances, I ought not to do you service in which anything improper may be 
involved? You think, forsooth, that the impropriety can be washed away by salt water. 
But even were it so, my share at least of the fault would remain unexpiated, because I do 
not propose undertaking a voyage.

3. You write, further, that I know how very painful it is to you to be burdensome to any 
one, and you solemnly protest that God alone knows how irresistible is the necessity 
under which you make the application. When I came to this statement in your letter, I 
turned my attention eagerly to learn the nature of the necessity; and, behold, you bring it 
before me in these words: "You know the ways of men, how prone they are to censure, 
and how any one will be regarded as illiterate and stupid who, when questions are 
addressed to him, can return no answer." On reading this sentence, I felt a burning desire 
to reply to your letter; for, by the morbid weakness of mind which this indicated, you
pierced my inmost heart, and forced your way into the midst of my cares, so that I could not refuse to minister to your relief, so far

LET. CXVIII.] TO DIOSCOHUS. 93

as God might enable me â€” not by devising a solution of your difficulties, but by breaking the connection between your happiness and the wretched support on which it now insecurely hangs, viz. the opinions of men, and fastening it to a hold which is firm and immovable. Do you not, Dioscorus, remember an ingenious line of your favourite Persius, in which he not only rebukes your folly, but administers to your boyish head, if you have only sense to feel it, a deserved correction, restraining your vanity with the words, "To know is nothing in your eyes unless another knows that you know"?^ You have, as I said before, read so many Dialogues, and devoted your attention to so many discussions of philosophers â€”
tell me which of them has placed the chief end of his actions in the applause of the vulgar, or in the opinion even of good and wise men? But you, â€” and what should make you the more ashamed, â€” you, when on the eve of sailing away from Africa, give evidence of your having made signal progress, forsooth, in your studies here, when you affirm that the only reason why you impose the task of expounding Cicero to you upon bishops, who are already oppressed with work and engrossed with matters of a very different nature, is, that you fear that if, when questioned by men prone to censure, you cannot answer, you will be regarded by them as illiterate and stupid.

cause well worthy to occupy the hours which, bishops devote to study while other men sleep!

4. You seem to me to be prompted to mental effort night and day by no other motive than ambition to be praised by men for your industry and acquisitions in learning. Although

I have ever regarded this as fraught with danger to persons who are striving after the true and the right, I am now, by your case, more convinced of the danger than before. For it is due to no other cause than this same pernicious habit that you have failed to see by what motive we might be induced to gi’ant to you what you asked; for as by a perverted judgment you yourself are urged on to acquire a knowledge of the things about which you put questions, from no other motive than that you may receive praise or escape censure from men, you imagine that we, by a like perversity of judgment,

* "Scire tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter." â€” Persius, Sat. i. 27.

94 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVITI.
are to be influenced by the considerations alleged in your request! Would that, when we declare to you that by your writing such things concerning yourself we are moved, not to grant your request, but to reprove and correct you, we might be able to effect for you also complete emancipation from the influence of a boon so worthless and deceitful as the applause of men! "It is the manner of men," you say, "to be prone to censure." What then? "Any one who can make no reply when questions are addressed to him," you say, "will be regarded as illiterate and stupid." Behold, then, I ask you a question not concerning something in the books of Cicero, whose meaning, perchance, his readers may not be able to find, but concerning your own letter and the meaning of your own words. My question is: Why did you not say, "Any one who can make no reply will be proved to be illiterate and stupid," but prefer to say, "He will be regarded as illiterate and stupid"? Why, if not for this reason, that you yourself already understand well enough that the person who fails to answer such questions is not in reality, but only in the opinion of some, illiterate and stupid? But I warn you that he who fears to be subjected to the edge of the pruning-hook by the tongues of such men is a sapless log, and is therefore not only regarded as illiterate and stupid, but is actually such, and proved to be so.

5. Perhaps you will say, "But seeing that I am not stupid, and that I am specially earnest in striving not to be stupid, I am reluctant even to be regarded as stupid." And rightly so; but I ask, What is your motive in this reluctance? For in stating why you did not hesitate to burden us with those questions which you wish to have solved and explained, you said that this was the reason, and that this was the end, and an end so necessary in your estimation that you said it was of overwhelming urgency, â€” lest, forsooth, if you were posed with these questions and gave no answer, you should be regarded as illiterate and stupid by men prone to censure. Now, I ask, is this [jealousy as to your own reputation] the whole reason why you beg this from us, or is it because of some ulterior object that you are unwilling to be thought illiterate and stupid? If this be the whole reason, you see,

LET. cxvii] to Diosconus. 95

as I think, that this one thing [the praise of men] is the end pursued by that vehement zeal of yours, by which, as you admit, a burden is imposed on us. But, from Dioscorus, what can be to us a burden, except that burden which Dioscorus himself unconsciously bears, â€” a burden which he will begin to feel only when he attempts to rise, â€” a burden of which I would fain believe that it is not so bound to him as to defy his efforts to shake his shoulders free? And this I say not because these questions engage your studies, but because they are studied by you for such an end. For surely you by this time feel that this end is trivial, unsubstantial, and light as air. It is also apt to produce in the soul what may be likened to a dangerous swelling, beneath which lurk the germs of decay, and by it the eye of the mind becomes suffused, so that it cannot discern the riches of truth. Believe this, my Dioscorus, it is true: so shall I enjo)\^ thee in unfeigned longing for truth, and in that essential dignity of truth by the shadow of which you are turned aside. If I have failed to convince you of this by the method which I have now used, I know no other that
I can use. For you do not see it; nor can you possibly see it so long as you build your joys on the crumbling foundation of human applause.

6. If, however, this be not the end aimed at in these actions and by this zeal of yours, but there is some other ulterior reason for your unwillingness to be regarded as illiterate and stupid, I ask what that reason is. If it be to remove impediments to the acquisition of temporal riches, or the obtaining of a wife, or the grasping of honours, and other things of that kind which are flowing past with a headlong current, and dragging to the bottom those who fall into them, it is assuredly not our duty to help you towards that end, nay, rather we ought to turn you away from it. For we do not so forbid your fixing the aim of your studies in the precarious possession of renown as to make you leave, as it were, the waters of the Mincius and enter the Eridanus, into which, perchance, the Mincius would carry you even without your self making the change. For when the vanity of human applause has failed to satisfy the soul, because it furnishes < for its nourishment nothing real and substantial, this same

96 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVII

eager desire compels the mind to go on to something else as more rich and productive; and if, nevertheless, this also belong to the things which pass away with time, it is as when one river leads us into another, so that there can be no rest from our miseries so long as the end aimed at in our discharge of duty is placed in that which is unstable. We desire, therefore, that in some firm and immutable good you should fix the home of your most steadfast efforts, and the perfectly secure resting-place of all your good and honourable activity. Is it, perchance, your intention, if you succeed by the breath of propitious fame, or even by spreading your sails for its fitful gusts, in reaching that earthly happiness of which I have spoken, to make it subservient to the acquisition of the other the sure and true and satisfying good? But to me it does not seem probable and truth itself forbids the supposition that it should be reached either by such a circuitous way when it is at hand, or at such cost when it is freely given.

7. Perhaps you think that we ought to turn the praise of men itself to good account as an instrument for making others accessible to counsels regarding that which is good and useful; and perhaps you are anxious lest, if men regard you as illiterate and stupid, they think you unworthy to receive their earnest or patient attention, if you were either exhorting any one to do well, or reproving the malice and wickedness of an evil-doer. If, in proposing these questions, you contemplated this righteous and beneficent end, we
have certainly been wronged by your not giving the preference to this in your letter as the
consideration by v/Jiich we might be moved either to grant willingly what you asked, or,
if declining your request, to do so on the ground of some other cause which might
perchance prevent us, but not on the ground of our being ashamed to accept the position
of serving or even not resisting the aspirations of your vanity. For, I pray you, consider
how much better and more profitable it is for you to receive from us with far more
certainty and with less loss of time those principles of truth by which you can for yourself
refute all that is false, and by so doing be prevented from cherishing an opinion so false
and contemptible as tlis â€” that

LET. CXVIIL] to DIOSCORUS. 9?

you are learned and intelligent if you have studied with a zeal in which there is more
pride than prudence the wornout errors of many writers of a bygone age. But this opinion
I do not suppose you now to hold, for surely I have not in vain spoken so long to
Dioscorus things so manifestly true; and from this, as understood, I proceed with my
letter.

Chap. ii. 8. Wherefore, seeing that you do not consider a man illiterate and stupid merely
on the ground of ignorance of these things, but only if he be ignorant of the truth itself,
and that, consequently, the opinions of any one who has written or may have written on
these subjects are either true, and therefore are already held by you, or false, and
therefore you may be content not to know them, and need not be consumed with vain
solicitude about knowing the variety of the opinions of other men under the fear of
otherwise remaining illiterate and stupid, â€” seemg, I say, that this is the case, let us
now, if you please, consider whether, in the event of other men, who are, as you say,
prone to censure, finding you ignorant of these things, and therefore regarding you,
though falsely, as an illiterate and stupid person, this mistake of theirs ought to have so
much weight with you as to make it not unseemly for you to apply to bishops for
instruction in these things. I propose this on the assumption that we now believe you to
be seeking this instruction in order that by it you may be helped in recommending the
truth to men, and in reclaiming men who, if they supposed you to be illiterate and stupid
in regard to those books of Cicero, would regard you as a person from whom they
considered it unworthy of them to receive any useful or profitable instruction. Believe
me, you are under a mistake.

9. For, in the first place, I do not at all see that, in the countries in which you are so afraid
of being esteemed deficient in education and acuteness, there are any persons who will
ask you a single question about these matters. Both in this country, to which you came to
learn these things, and at Eome, you know by experience how little they are esteemed,
and that, in consequence, they are neither taught nor learned; and throughout all Africa,
so far are you from being troubled by any such questioner, that you cannot find any one
who
will be troubled with your questions, and are compelled by the dearth of such persons to send your questions to bishops to be solved by them: as if, indeed, these bishops, although
\ in their youth, under the influence of the same ardour â€” let me rather say error â€” which carries you away, they were at pains to learn these things as matters of great moment, permitted them still to remain in memory now that their heads are white with age and they are burdened with the responsibilities of episcopal office; or as if, supposing them to desire to retain these things in memory, greater and graver cares would not in spite of their desire banish them from their hearts; or as if, in the event of some of these things lingering in recollection by the force of long habit, they would not wish rather to bury in utter oblivion what was thus remembered, than to answer senseless questions at a time when, even amidst the comparative leisure enjoyed in the schools and in the lecturersrooms of rhetoricians, they seem to have so lost both voice and vigour that, in order to have instruction imparted concerning them, it is deemed necessary to send from Carthage to Hippo, 
â€” a place in which all such things are so unwonted and so wholly foreign, that if, in taking the trouble of writing an answer to your question, I wished to look at any passage to discover the order of thought in the context preceding or following the words requiring exposition, I would be utterly unable to find a manuscript of the works of Cicero. However, these teachers of rhetoric in Carthage who have failed to satisfy you in this matter are not only not blamed, but, on the contrary, commended by me, if, as I suppose, they have not forgotten that the scene of these contests was wont to be, not the Eoman forum, but the Greek gymnasia. But when you have applied your mind to these gymnasia, and have found even them to be in such things bare and cold, the church of the Christians of Hippo occurred to you as a place where you might lay down your cares, because the bishop now occupying that see at one time took fees for instructing boys in these things. But, on the one hand, I do not wish you to be still a boy, and, on the other hand, it is not becoming for me, either for a fee or as a favour, to be dealing now in childish things. This, therefore, being the case â€”

seeing, that is to say, that these two great cities, Eome and Carthage, the living centres of Latin literature, neither try you' patience by asking you such questions as you speak of, nor care patiently to listen to you when you propound them, I am amazed in a degree beyond all expression that a young man of your good sense should be afraid lest you
should be afflicted with any questioner on these subjects in the cities of Greece and of the
East. You are much more likely to hear ^
jackdaws ^ in Africa than this manner of conversation in those lands.

10. Suppose, however, in the next place, that I am wrong, and that perchance some one
should arise putting questions like these, â€” a phenomenon the more unwelcome
because in those parts peculiarly absurd, â€” are you not much more afraid lest far more
readily men arise who, being Greeks, and finding you settled in Greece, and acquainted
with the Greek language i as your mother tongue, may ask you some things in the
original works of their philosophers which Cicero may not .

have put into his treatises ? If this happen, what reply will you make ? Will you say that you preferred to learn these thin^^s from the books of Latin
rather than of Greek authors ?

By such an answer you will, in the first place, put an affront upon Greece; and you know
how men of that nation resent this. And in the next place, they being now wounded and i
angry, how readily will you find what you are too anxious ^
to avoid, that they will count you on the one hand stupid, because you preferred to learn
the opinions of the Greek philosophers, or, more properly speaking, some isolated and
^scattered tenets of their philosophy, in Latin dialogues, rather than to study the complete
and connected system of their opinions in the Greek originals, â€” and, on the other hand,
iliterate, because, although ignorant of so many things written in your language, you
have unsuccessfully laboured to gather some of them together from writings in a foreign
tongue. Or wiU you perhaps reply that you did not despise the Greek writings on these
subjects, but that you devoted your atten-

' Comiculas. The lapse of centuries may have introduced into the north of Africa birds
unknown in Augustine's time. The translator has seen these birds
^ in Egypt.

100 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVIII.

tion first to the study of Latin works, and now, proficient in these, are beginning to
inquire after Greek learning ? If this does not make you blush, to confess that you, being
a Greek, have in your boyhood learned Latin, and are now, like a man of some foreign
nation,^ desirous of studying Greek literature, surely you will not blush to own that in the
department of Latin literature you are ignorant of some things, of which you may
perceive how many versed in Latin learning are equally ignorant, if you will only
consider that, although living in the midst of so many learned men in Carthage, you
assure me that it is under the pressure of necessity that you impose this burden on me.

11. Finally, suppose that you, being asked all those questions which you have submitted
to me, have been able to answer them all. Behold ! you are now spoken of as most
learned and most acute; behold ! now this insignificant breath of Greek laudation raises
you to heaven. Be it yours now to remember your responsibilities and the end for which
you coveted these praises, namely, that to men who have been easily won to admire you by these trifles, and who are now hanging most affectionately and eagerly on your lips, you may impart some truly important and wholesome instruction; and I should like to know whether you possess, and can rightly impart to others, that which is truly most important and wholesome. For it is absurd if, after learning many unnecessary things with a view to preparing the ears of men to receive what is necessary, you be found not to possess those necessary things for the reception of which you have by these unnecessary things prepared the way; it is absurd if, while busying yourself with learning things by which you may win men's attention, you refuse to learn that which may be poured into their minds when their attention is secured. But if you reply that you have already learned this, and say that the truth supremely necessary is Christian doctrine, which I know that you esteem above all other things, placing in it alone your hope of everlasting salvation, then surely this does not demand a knowledge of the Dialogues of Cicero, and a collection of the beggarly and divided opinions of other men, in

8T. MICHAEL COLLEG

LET. CXVIII.] TO DIOSCOEUS. 101

order to your persuading men to give it a hearing. Let your character and manner of life command the attention of those who are to receive any such teaching from you. I would not have you open the way for teaching truth by first teaching what must be afterwards unlearned.

12. For if the knowledge of the discordant and mutually contradictory opinions of others is of any service to him who would obtain an entrance for Christian truth in overthrowing the opposition of error, it is useful only in the way of preventing the assailant of the truth from being at liberty to fix his eye solely on the work of controverting your tenets, while carefully hiding his own from view. For the knowledge of the truth is of itself sufficient both to detect and to subvert all errors, even those which may not have been heard before, if only they are brought forward. If, however, in order to secure not only the demonstration of open errors, but also the rooting out of those which lurk in darkness, it is necessary for you to be acquainted with the erroneous opinions which others have advanced, let both eye and ear be wakeful, I beseech you, and look well and listen well whether any of our assailants bring forward a single argument from Anaximenes and from Anaxagoras, when, though the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies were more recent and taught largely, even their ashes are not so warm as that a single spark can be struck out from them against the Christian faith. The din which resounds in the battle-field of controversy now comes from innumerable small companies and cliques of sectaries, some of them easily discomfited, others presuming to make bold resistance, such as the partisans of Donatus, Maximian, and Manichseus here, or the unruly herds of Arians, Eunomians,
Macedonians, and Cataphrygians and other pests which abound in the countries to which you are on your way. If you shrink from the task of acquainting yourself with the errors of all these sects, what occasion have we in defending the Christian religion to inquire after the tenets of Anaximenes, and with idle curiosity to awaken anew controversies which have slept for ages, when I already the cavillings and arguments even of some of the heretics who claimed the glory of the Christian name, such as the Marcionites and the Sabellians, and many more, have been put to silence. Nevertheless, if it be necessary, as I have said, to know beforehand some of the opinions which war against the truth, and become thoroughly conversant with these, it is our duty to give a place in such study to the heretics who call themselves Christians, much rather than to Anaxagoras and Democritus.

Chap. hi. 13. Again, whoever may put to you the questions which you have propounded to us, let him understand that, under the guidance of deeper erudition and greater wisdom, you are ignorant of things like these. For if Themistocles regarded it as a small matter that he was looked upon as imperfectly educated when he had declined to play on the lyre at a banquet, and at the same time, when, after he had confessed ignorance of this accomplishment, one said, "What, then, do you know?" gave as his reply, "The art of making a small republic great" â€” are you to hesitate about admitting ignorance in trifles like these, when it is in your power to answer any one who may ask, "What, then, do you know?" " â€” "The secret by which without such knowledge a man may be blessed"? And if you do not yet possess this secret, you act in searching into those other matters with as blind perversity as if, when labouring under some dangerous disease of the body, you eagerly sought after dainties in food and finery in dress, instead of physic and physicians. For this attainment ought not to be put off upon any pretext whatever, and no other knowledge ought, especially in our age, to receive a prior place in your studies. And now see how easily you may have this knowledge if you desire it. He who inquires how he may attain a blessed life is assuredly inquiring after nothing else than this: where is the highest good? in other words, wherein resides man's supreme good, not according to the perverted and hasty opinions of men, but according to the sure and immovable truth? Now its residence is not found by any one except in the body, or in the mind, or in God, or in two of these, or in the three combined. If, then, you have learned that neither the supreme good nor any part whatever of the supreme good is in the body, the remaining alternatives are, that it is in the mind, or in God, or in both combined. And if now you have also learned that what is true of
the body in this respect is equally true of the mind, what now remains but God Himself as the One in whom resides man's supreme good? â€” not that there are no other goods, but that good is called the supreme good to which all others are related. For every one is blessed when he enjoys that for the sake of which he desires to have all other things, seeing that it is loved for its own sake, and not on account of something else. And the supreme good is said to be there because at this point nothing is found towards which the supreme good can go forth, or to which it is related. In it is the resting place of desire; in it is assured fruition; in it the most tranquil satisfaction of a will morally perfect.

14. Give me a man who sees at once that the body is not the good of the mind, but that the mind is rather the good of the body: with such a man we would, of course, forbear from inquiring whether the highest good of which we speak, or any part of it, is in the body. For that the mind is better than the body is a truth which, it would be utter folly to deny. Equally absurd would it be to deny that that which gives a happy life, or any part of a happy life, is better than that which receives the boon. The mind, therefore, does not receive from the body either the supreme good or any part of the supreme good. Men who do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflows also upon the lower part of our nature, the body, â€” not the blessedness which is proper to the part which enjoys and understands, but the plenitude of health, that is, the vigour of incorruption. Men who, as I have said, do not see this have been blinded by that sweetness of carnal pleasures which they do not discern to be a consequence of imperfect health. Now, perfect health of body shall be the consummation of the immortality of the whole man. For God has endowed the soul with a nature so powerful, that from that consummate fulness of joy which is promised to the saints in the end of time, some portion overflow
; only of every species of all things with which it comes in

! contact, either by the bodily senses or by intellectual faculties, but also of even the very
capacity of taking form before any form has been taken, since the formless is defined to
be that which can receive a form. Therefore it feels its own instability more, just in
proportion as it clings less to God, whose being
/ is perfect: it discerns also that the perfection of His being is consummate because He is
immutable, and therefore neither gains nor loses, but that in itself every change by
which it gains capacity for perfect clinging to God is advantageous, but every change by
which it loses is pernicious, and further, that all loss tends towards destruction; and
although it is not manifest whether any thing is ultimately destroyed, it is manifest to
every one that the loss brings destruction so far that the object no longer is what it was.
Whence the mind I infers that the one reason why things suffer loss, or are liable
/ to suffer loss, is, that they were made out of nothing; so that their property of being,
and of permanence, and the arrange-
I ment whereby each finds even according to its imperfections I its own place in the
complex whole, all depend on the goodness and omnipotence of Him whose being is
perfect. and who

* Qui summe est.

LET. CXVIII.] TO DIOSCOEUS. 105

is the Creator able to make out of nothing not only something, but something great; and
that the first sin, i.e. the first voluntary loss, is rejoicing in its own power: for it rejoices in

something less than would be the source of its joy if it
rejoiced in the power of God, which is unquestionably greater.
Not perceiving this, and looking only to the capacities of the human mind, and the great
beauty of its achievements in word and deed, some, who would have been ashamed to
place man's supreme good in the body, have, by placing it in the mind, assigned to it
unquestionably a lower sphere than that assigned to it by unsophisticated reason. Among
Greek philosophers who hold these views, the chief place both in number of adherents
and in subtlety of disputation has been held by the Stoics, who have, however, in
consequence of their /
opinion that in nature everything is material, succeeded in i turning the mind rather from
carnal than material objects.

16. Among those, again, who say that our supreme and only good is to enjoy God, by
whom both we ourselves and all things were made, the most eminent have been the
Platonists, who not unreasonably judged it to belong to their duty to confute the Stoics and Epicureans â€” the latter especially, and almost exclusively. The Academic School is
identical with the Platonists, as is shown plainly enough by the links of unbroken
succession connecting the schools. Tor if you ask who was the predecessor of Arcesilas,
the first who, announcing no doctrine of his own, set himself to the one work of refuting the Stoics and Epicureans, you will find that it was Polemo; ask who preceded Polemo, it was Xenocrates; but Xenocrates was Plato's disciple, and by him appointed his successor in the academy. Wherefore, as to this question concerning the supreme good, if we set aside the representatives of conflicting views, and consider the abstract question, you find at once that two errors confront each other as diametrically opposed — the one declaring the body, and the other declaring the mind to be the seat of the supreme good of men. You find also that truly enlightened reason, by which God is perceived to be our supreme good, is opposed to both of these!

I errors, but does not impart the knowledge of what is true until it has first made men unlearn what is false. If now you

106 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVII

) consider the question in connection with the advocates of different views, you will find the Epicureans and Stoics most keenly contending with each other, and the Platonists, on the other hand, endeavouring to decide the controversy between them, concealing the truth which they held, and devoting themselves only to prove and overthrow the vain confidence with which the others adhered to error.

17. It was not in the power of the Platonists, however, to be so efficient in supporting the side of reason enlightened by truth, as the others were in supporting their own errors. For from them all there was then withheld that example of divine humility, which, in the fulness of time, was furnished by our
Lord Jesus Christ, “that one example before which, even in the mind of the most headstrong and arrogant, all pride bends, breaks, and dies. And therefore the Platonists, not being able by their authority to lead the mass of mankind, blinded by love of earthly things, into faith in things invisible, “although they saw them moved, especially by the arguments of the Epicureans, not only to drink freely the cup of the pleasures of the body to which they were naturally inclined, but even to plead for these affirming that they constitute man’s highest good; although, moreover, they saw that those who were moved to abstinence from these pleasures by the praise of virtue found it easier to regard pleasure as having its true seat in the soul, whence the good actions, concerning which they were able, in some measure, to form an opinion, proceeded, “at the same time, saw that if they attempted to introduce into the minds of men the notion of something divine and supremely immutable, which cannot be reached by any one of the bodily senses, but is apprehensible only by reason, which, nevertheless, surpasses in its nature the mind itself, and were to teach that this is God, set before the human soul to be enjoyed by it when purged from all stains of human desires, in whom alone every longing after happiness finds rest, and in whom alone we ought to find the consummation of all good, “men would
1 not understand them, and would much more readily award
\ the palm to their antagonists, whether Epicureans or Stoics;
the result of which would be a thing most disastrous to the
\ Opportunissimo tempore.

LET. CXVII] to DIOSc0RU9. 107

human race, namely, that the doctrine, which is true and profitable, would become sullied
by the contempt of the uneducated masses. So much in regard to Ethical questions.

18. As to Physics, if the Platonists taught that the orig-
\\ inating cause of all natures is immaterial wisdom, and if, on the other hand, the rival sects
of philosophers never got above material things, while the beginning of all things was
attributed by some to atoms, by others to the four elements, in which fire was of special
power in the construction of all things, â€“ who could fail to see to which opinion a
favourable verdict would be given, when the great mass of unthinking men are enthralled
by material things, and can in no wise comprehend that an immaterial power could form
the universe ?

19. The department of dialectic questions remains to be discussed; for, as you are aware,
al questions in the pursuit of wisdom are classified under three heads, â€“ Ethics,
Physics, and Dialectics. When, therefore, the Epicureans said that the senses are never
deceived, and, though the Stoics admitted that they sometimes are mistaken, both placed
in the senses the standard by which truth is to be comprehended, who would listen to the
Platonists when both of these sects opposed them I Who would look upon them as
entitled to be esteemed men at all, and much less wise men, if, without hesitation or
qualification, they affirmed not only that there is something which cannot be discerned by
touch, or smell, or taste, or hearing, or sight, and which cannot be conceived of by any
image borrowed from the things with which the senses acquaint us, but that this alone
truly exists, and is alone capable of being perceived, because it is alone unchangeable and
eternal, but is perceived only by reason, the faculty whereby alone truth, in so far as it can
be discovered by us, is found ?

20. Seeing, therefore, that the Platonists held opinions I \ which they could not impart to men enthralled by the flesh; seeing also that they were not
of such authority among the \(, common people as to persuade them to accept what they
\ I I
ought to believe until the mind should be trained to that condition in which these things can be understood, as they chose to hide their own opinions, and to content themselves with

108 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVII.

arguing against those who, although they affirmed that the discovery of truth is made through the senses of the body, boasted that they had found the truth. And truly, what occasion have we to inquire as to the nature of their teaching? We know that it was not divine, nor invested with any divine authority. But this one fact merits our attention, that whereas Plato is in many ways most clearly proved by Cicero to have placed both the supreme good and the causes of things, and the certainty of the processes of reason, in Wisdom, not human, but divine, whence in some way the light of human wisdom is derived as in Wisdom which is wholly immutable, and in Truth always consistent with itself; and whereas we also learn Cicero that the followers of Plato laboured to overthrow the philosophers known as Epicureans and Stoics, who placed the supreme good, the causes of things, and the certainty of the processes of reason, in the nature either of body or of mind, as the controversy had continued rolling on with successive centuries, so that even at the commencement of the Christian era, when the faith of things invisible and eternal was with saving power preached by means of visible miracles to men, who could neither see nor imagine anything beyond things material, these same Epicureans and Stoics are found in the Acts of the Apostles to have opposed themselves to the blessed Apostle Paul, who was beginning to scatter the seeds of that faith among the Gentiles.

21. By which thing it seems to me to be sufficiently proved that the errors of the Gentiles in ethics, physics, and the mode of seeking truth, errors many and manifold, but conspicuously represented in these two schools of philosophy, continued even down to the Christian era, notwithstanding the fact that the learned assailed them most vehemently, and employed both remarkable skill and abundant labour in subverting them. Yet these errors we see in our time to have been already so completely silenced, that now in our schools of rhetoric the question what their opinions were is scarcely ever mentioned; and these controversies have been now so completely eradicated or suppressed in even the Greek gymnasia, notably fond of discussion, that whenever now any school of error lifts up its head against the truth, i.e. against the Church of Christ, it does not venture to leap into the arena except under the shield of the Christian name. Whence it is obvious that the Platonist school of philosophers felt it necessary, having changed those few things in their opinions which Christian teaching condemned, to

LET. CXYIII.] TO DIOSCORUS. 109
submit with pious homage to Christ, the only King who is invincible, and to apprehend the Incar-nate Word of God, at whose command the truth which they had even feared to publish was immediately believed.

22. To Him, my Dioscorus, I desire you to submit yourself with unreserved piety, and I wish you to prepare for yourself no other way of seizing and holding the truth than that which has been prepared by Him who, as God, saw the weakness of our goings. In that way the first part is humility; the second, humility; the third, humility: and this I would continue to repeat as often as you might ask direction, not that there are no other instructions which may be given, but because, unless humility precede, accompany, and follow every good action which we perform, being at once the object which we keep before our eyes, the support to which we cling, and the monitor by which we are restrained, pride wrests wholly from our hand any good work on which we are congratulating ourselves. All other vices are to be apprehended when we are doing wrong; but pride is to be feared even when we do right actions, lest those things which are done in a praiseworthy manner be spoiled by the desire for praise itself. Wherefore, as that most illustrious orator, on being asked what seemed to him the first thing to be observed in the art of eloquence, is said to have replied. Delivery; and when he was asked what was the second thing, replied again, Delivery; and when asked what was the third thing, still gave no other reply than this. Delivery; so if you were to ask me, however often you might repeat the question, what are the instructions of the Christian religion, I would be disposed to answer always and only,

' We give the original of this exquisite sentence, both for its intrinsic value, and because it is a good example of that antithetic style of writing which makes the exact and felicitous rendering of Augustine's words into any other language peculiarly difficult: Nisi humilitas omnia quaecumque bene facimus et praeferemur, et comitetur, et consecuta fuerit, et proposita quam intueamur, et aperita posita cui adherereamus, et imposita qua reprimamur, jam nobis de aliquo bono facto gaudentibus totum extorquet de manu superbia.'

110 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVIII.

"Humility," although, perchance, necessity might constrain me to speak also of other things.

Chap. iv. 23. To this most wholesome humility, in which our Lord Jesus Christ is our teacher having submitted to humiliation that He might instruct us in this to this humility, I say, the most formidable adversary is a certain kind of most unenlightened knowledge, if I may so call it, in which we congratulate ourselves on knowing what may have been the views of Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Democritus, and others of
the same kind, imagining that by this we become learned men and scholars, although such attainments are far removed from true learning and erudition. For the man who has learned that God is not extended or diffused through space, either finite or infinite, so as to be greater in one part and less in another, but that He is wholly present everywhere, as the Truth is, of which no one in his senses will affirm that it is partly in one place, partly in another â€“

and the Truth is God Himself â€“ such a man will not be moved by the opinions of any philosopher soever who believes [like Anaximenes] that the infinite air around us is the true God. What matters it to such a man though he be ignorant what bodily form they speak of, since they speak of a form which is bounded on all sides? What matters it to him whether it was only as an Academician, and merely for the purpose of confuting Anaximenes, who had said that God is a material existence, â€“ for air is material, â€“ that Cicero objected that God must have form and beauty?^ or himself perceived that truth has immaterial form and beauty, by which the mind itself is moulded, and by which we judge all the deeds of the wise man to be beautiful, and therefore affirmed that God must be of the most perfect beauty, not merely for the purpose of confuting an antagonist, but with profound insight into the fact that nothing is more beautiful than truth itself, which is cognisable by the understanding alone, and is immut-

^ The words of Cicero are: 'Post, Anaximenes aera Deum statuit, eumque gigni, esseque immensum, et infinitum, et semper in motii: quasi aut aer sine ulla forma Deus esse possit, cum pra^sertini Deum non modo aliqua sed pulcherÂ» rima specie esse deceat; aut non omue quod ortum sit mortalitas consequatur. ' â€“ De Natura Deorum Book I.

LET. CX"\II.\] TO DIOSCOHUS. III

able? Moreover, as to the opinion of Anaximenes, who held that the air is generated, and at the same time believed it to be God, it does not in the least move the man who understands that, since the air is certainly not God, there is no likeness between the manner in which the air is generated, that is to say, produced by some cause, and the manner, understood by none except through divine inspiration, in which He was begotten who is the Word of God, God with God. Moreover, who does not see that even in regard to material things he speaks most foolishly in affirming that air is generated, and is at the same time God, while he refuses to give the name of God to that by which the air has been generated, â€“ for it is impossible that it could be generated by no power? Yet once more, his saying that the air is always in motion will have no disturbing influence as proof that the air is God upon the man who knows that all movements of body are of a lower order than movements of the soul, but that even the movements of the soul are infinitely slow compared with His who is supreme and immutable Wisdom.
24. In like manner, if Anaxagoras or any other affirm that the mind is essential truth and wisdom, what call have I to debate with a man about a word? For it is manifest that mind "ives beinc to the order and mode of all thinc's, and that it may be suitably called infinite with respect not to its extension in space, but to its power, the range of which transcends all human thought. Nor [shall I dispute his assertion] that this essential wisdom is formless; for this is a property of material things, that what^y^r bodi ^s are infinite, are also formless. Cicero, however, from his desire to confute such opinions, as I suppose, in contending with adversaries who believed in nothing immaterial, denies that anything can be annexed to that which is infinite, because in things material there must be a boundary at the part to which anything is annexed. Therefore he says that Anaxagoras " did not see that motion joined to sensation and to it " (i.e. linked to it in unbroken connection) " is impossible in the infinite " (that is, in a substance which is infinite), as if treating of material substances, to which nothing can be joined except at their

* Pjsam veritatem atque sapientiam.

112 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [IET. CXVIII.

boundaries. Moreover, in the succeeding words â€” " and that sensation of which the whole system of nature is not sensible when struck is an impossibility " ^ â€” Cicero speaks as if Anaxagoras had said that mind â€” to which he ascribed the power of ordering and fashioning all things â€” had sensation such a^, the soul has by means of the body. For it is manifest that, the whole soul has sensation when it feels anything by means of the body; for whatever is perceived by sensation is not concealed from the whole soul. 'Now, Cicero's design in saying that the whole system of nature must be conscious of every sensation was, that he might, as it were, take from the philosopher that mind which he affirms to be infinite. For how does the whole of nature experience sensation if it be infinite?

Bodily sensation begins at some point, and does not pervade the whole of any substance unless it be one in which it can reach an end; but this, of course, cannot be said of that which is infinite. Anaxagoras, however, had not said anything about bodily sensation. The word " whole," moreover, is used differently when we speak of that which is immaterial, because it is understood to be without boundaries in space, so that it may be spoken of as a whole and at the same time as infinite

â€” the former because of its completeness, the latter because of its not being limited by boundaries in space.

25. " Furthermore," says Cicero, " if he will affirm that the mind itself is, so to speak, some kind of animal, there must be some principle from within from which it receives the name
animal," so that mind, according to Anaxagoras, is a kind of body, and has within it an animating principle, because of which it is called "animal." Observe how he speaks in language which we are accustomed to apply to things corporeal, "animal" animals being in the ordinary sense of the word visible substances, adapting himself, as I suppose, to the blunted perceptions of those against whom he argues; and yet he has uttered a thing which, if they could awake to perceive it, might suffice to teach them that everything which presents itself to our minds as a living

* The words of Cicero are these: " Nee vidit neque motum sensui junctum et continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensuni omnino quo non tota natura pulsa sentiret." Augustine, quoting probably from memory (see Â§ 9), I gives ipjinito as the dative of possession instead of in injinito.

LET. cxvm.] TO DIOSCOHUS. 113

body must be thought of not as itself a soul, but as an animal having a soul. For having said, " There must be something within from which it receives the name animal," he adds, " But what is deeper within than mind ?" The mind, therefore, cannot have any inner soul, by possessing which it is an animal; for it is itself that which is innermost. If, then, it is an animal, let it have some external body in relation to which it may be within; for this is what he means by saying, " It is therefore girt round by an exterior body," as if Anaxagoras had said that mind cannot be otherwise than as belonging to some animal. And yet Anaxagoras held the opinion that essential supreme AVisdom is mind, although it is not the peculiar property of any living being, so to speak, since Truth is near to all souls alike that are able to enjoy it. Observe, therefore, how wittily he concludes the argument: " Since this is not the opinion of Anaxagoras" {i.e. seeing that he does not hold that that mind which he calls God is girt about with an external body, through its relation to which it could be an animal), " we must say that mind pure and simple, without the addition of anything" {i.e, of any body) " through which it may exercise sensation, seems to be beyond the range and conceptions of our intelligence."^  

26. Nothing is more certain than that this lies beyond the range and conception of the intelligence of Stoics and Epicureans, who cannot think of anything which is not material. But by the word " our " intelligence he means " human " intelligence; and he very properly does not say, " it lies beyond our intelligence," but " it seems to lie beyond." For their opinion is, that this lies beyond the understanding of all men, and therefore they think that nothing of the kind can be. But there are some whose intelligence apprehends, in so far as this is given to man, the fact that there is pure and simple AVisdom and Truth, which is the peculiar property of no living being, but which imparts wisdom and truth to all souls alike which are susceptible of its influence. If Anaxagoras perceived the existence of this supreme Wisdom, and apprehended it to be God, and called it Mind, it is not by the mere name of this philosopher â€” with whom, on account of his place in the
remote antiquity of erudition, all raw recruits in literature ^ (to adopt a military phrase) delight to boast an acquaintance â€” that we are made learned and wise; nor is it even by our having the knowledge through which he knew this truth. For truth ought to be dear to me not merely because it was not unknown to Anaxagoras, but because, even though none of these philosophers had known it, it is the truth.

27. If, therefore, it is unbecoming for us to be elated either by the knowledge of the man who peradventure apprehended the truth, by which knowledge we obtain, as it were, the appearance of learning, or even by the solid possession of the truth itself, whereby we obtain real acquisitions in learning, how much less can the names and tenets of those men who were in error assist us in Christian learning and in making known things obscure? For if we be men, it would be more fitting that we should grieve on account of the errors into which so many famous men fell, if we happen to hear of them, than that we should studiously investigate them, in order that, among men who are ignorant of them, we may enjoy the gratification of a most contemptible conceit of knowledge.

( For how much better would it be that I should never have heard the name of Democritus, than that I should now with sorrow ponder the fact that a man was highly esteemed in his own age who thought that the gods were images which emanated from solid bodies, but were not solid themselves; and that these, circling this way and that way by their independent motion, and gliding into the minds of men, make the divine power enter into the region of their thoughts, although, certainly, that body from which the image emanated may be rightly judged to surpass the image in excellence and proportion, as it surpasses it in solidity. Hence his opinion wavered, as they say, and oscillated, so that sometimes he said that the deity was some kind of nature from which images emanate, and which nevertheless can be thought of only by means of those images which he pours forth and sends out, that is, which from that nature (which he considered to be something material and eternal, and on this very account divine) were borne as by a kind of evaporation or continuous emanation,

* Litteriones ut militariter loquar.
and came and entered into our minds, so that we could form the thought of a god or gods. For these philosophers conceive of no cause of thought in our minds, except when images from those bodies which are the object of our thoughts come and enter into our minds; as if, forsooth, there were not many things, yea, more than we can number, which, without any material form, and yet intelligible, are apprehended by those who know how to apprehend such things. Take as an example essential Wisdom and Truth, of which if they can frame no idea, I wonder why they dispute concerning it at all; if, however, they do frame some idea of it in thought, I wish they would tell me either from what body the image of truth comes into their minds, or of what kind it is.

28. Democritus, however, is said to differ here also in his doctrine on physics from Epicurus; for he holds that there is in the concourse of atoms a certain vital and breathing power, by which power (I believe) he affirms that the images themselves (not all images of all things, but images of the gods) are endued with divine attributes, and that the first beginnings of the mind are in those universal elements to which he ascribed divinity, and that the images possess life, inasmuch as they are wont either to benefit or to hurt us. Epicurus, however, does not assume anything in the first beginnings of things but atoms, that is, certain corpuscles, so minute that they cannot be divided or perceived either by sight or by touch; and his doctrine is, that by the fortuitous concourse (clashing) of these atoms, existence is given both to innumerable worlds and to living things, and to the souls which animate them, and to the gods whom, in human form, he has located, not in any world, but outside of the worlds, and in the spaces which separate them; and he will not allow of any object of thought beyond things material. But in order to these becoming an object of thought, he says that from those things which he represents as formed of atoms, images more subtle than those which come to our eyes flow down and enter into the mind. For according to him, the cause of our seeing is to be found in certain images so huge that they embrace the whole outer world. But I suppose that you already understand their opinions regarding these images.
29. I wonder that Democritus was not convinced of the error of his philosophy even by this fact, that such huge images coming into our minds, which are so small (if being, as they affirm, material, the soul is confined within the body's dimensions), could not possibly, in the entirety of their size, come into contact with it. For when a small body is brought into contact with a large one, it cannot in any wise be touched at the same moment by all points of the larger. How, then, are these images at the same moment in their whole extent objects of thought, if they become objects of thought only in so far as, coming and entering into the mind, they touch it, seeing that they cannot in their whole extent either find entrance into so small a body or come in contact with so small a mind? Bear in mind, of course, that I am speaking now after their manner; for I do not hold the mind to be such as they affirm. It is true that Epicurus alone can be assailed with this argument, if Democritus holds that the mind is immaterial; but why may ask him in turn why he did not perceive that it is at once unnecessary and impossible for the mind, being immaterial, to think through the approach and contact of material images. Both philosophers alike are certainly confuted by the facts of vision; for images so great cannot possibly touch in their entirety eyes so small.

30. Moreover, when the question is put to them, how it comes that one image is seen of a body from which images emanate in countless multitudes, their answer is, that just because the images are emanating and passing in such multitudes, the effect produced by their being crowded and massed together is, that out of the many one is seen. The absurdity of this Cicero exposes by saying that their deity cannot be thought of as eternal, for this very reason, that he is thought of through images which are in countless multitudes flowing forth and passing away. And when they say that the forms of the gods are rendered eternal by the innumerable hosts of atoms supplying constant reinforcements, so that other corpuscles immediately take the place of those which depart from the divine substance, and by the same succession prevent the dissolution of the gods, Cicero replies, "On this ground all things would be eternal as well as the gods,"

since there is nothing which has not the same boundless store of atoms by which it may repair its perpetual decays. Again, he asks how their god could be otherwise than afraid of coming to destruction, seeing that he is without a moment's intermission beaten and shaken by an unceasing incursion of atoms, â€” beaten, inasmuch as he is struck by atoms rushing upon him, and shaken, inasmuch as he is penetrated by atoms rushing through him. Nay, more; seeing that from himself there emanate continually images (of
which we have said enough), what good ground can he have for persuasion of his own immortality? ^

31. As to all these ravings of the men who entertain such opinions, it is especially deplorable that the mere statement of them does not suffice to secure their rejection without any one controverting them in discussion; instead of which, the minds of men most gifted with acuteness have accepted the task of copiously refuting opinions which, as soon as they were enunciated, ought to have been rejected with contempt even by the slowest intellects. For even granting that there are atoms, and that these strike and shake each other by clashing together as chance may guide them, is it lawful for us to grant also that atoms thus meeting in fortuitous concourse can so make anything as to fashion its distinctive forms, determine its figure, polish its surface, enliven it with colour, or quicken it by imparting to it a spirit? â€” all which things every one sees to be accomplished in no other way than by the providence of God, if only he loves to see with the mind rather than with the eye alone, and asks this faculty of intelligent perception from the Author of his being. Nay, we are not at liberty even to grant the existence of atoms themselves, for, without discussing the subtle theories of the learned as to the divisibility of matter, observe how easily the absurdity of atoms may be proved from their own opinions. For they, as is well known, affirm that there is nothing else in nature but bodies and empty space, and the accidents of these, by which I believe that they mean motion and striking, and the forms which result from these. Let them tell us, then, under which category they reckon the images which they suppose to flow from the more solid bodies, but which, if indeed they are bodies, possess so little solidity that they are not discernible except by their contact with the eyes when we see them, and with the mind when we think of them. For the opinion of these philosophers is, that these images can proceed from the material object and come to the eyes or to the mind, which, nevertheless, they affirm to be material. Now, I ask, do these images flow from atoms themselves? If they do, how can these be atoms from which some bodily particles are in this process separated? If they do not, either something can be the object of thought without such images, which they vehemently deny, or we ask, whence have they acquired a knowledge of atoms, seeing that they can in nowise become objects of thought to us? But I blush to have even thus far refuted these opinions, although they did not blush to hold them. When, however, I
consider that they have even dared to defend them, I blush not on their account, but for the race of mankind itself whose ears could tolerate such nonsense.

Chap. v. 32. Wherefore, seeing that the minds of men are, through the pollution of sin and the lust of the flesh, so blinded that even these monstrous errors could waste in discussion concerning them the leisure of learned men, will you, Dioscorus, or will any man of an observant mind, hesitate to affirm that in no way could better provision have been made for the pursuit of truth by mankind than that a Man, assumed into ineffable and miraculous union by the Truth Himself, and being the manifestation of His Person on the earth, should by perfect teaching and divine acts move men to saving faith in that which could not as yet be intellectually apprehended?

To the glory of Him who has done this we give our service; and we exhort you to believe immoveably and stedfastly in Him through whom it has come to pass that not a select few, but whole peoples, unable to discern these things by reason, do accept them in faith, until, upheld by instruction in saving truth, they escape from these perplexities into the atmosphere of perfectly pure and simple truth. It becomes us, moreover, to yield submission to His authority all the more unreservedly, when we see that in our day no error dares to lift up itself to rally round it the uninstructed crowd without seeking the jehelter of the Christian name, and that of all who, belonging to an earlier age, now remain outside of the Christian name, those alone continue to have in their obscure assemblies a considerable attendance who retain the Scriptures by which, however they may pretend not to see or understand it, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself was prophetically announced. Moreover, those who, though they are not within the Catholic unity and communion, boast of the name of Christians, are compelled to oppose them that believe, and presume to mislead the ignorant by a pretence of appealing to reason, since the Lord came with this remedy above all others, that he enjoined on the nations the duty of faith. But they are compelled, as I have said, to adopt this policy because they feel themselves most miserably overthrown if their authority is compared with the Catholic authority. They attempt, accordingly, to prevail against the firmly-settled authority of the immovable Church by the name and the promises of a pretended appeal to reason. This kind of effrontery is, we may say, characteristic of all heretics. But He who is the most merciful Lord of faith has both secured the Church in the citadel of authority by most famous oecumenical Councils and the Apostolic sees themselves, and furnished her with the abundant armour of equally invincible reason by means of a few men of pious erudition and unfeigned spirituality. The perfection of method in training disciples is, that those who are weak be encouraged to the utmost to enter the citadel of authority, in order that when they have been safely placed there, the conflict necessary for their defence may be maintained with the most strenuous use of reason.
33. The Platonists, however, who, amidst the errors of false philosophies assailing them at that time on all sides, rather; concealed their own doctrine to be searched for than brought it into the light to be vilified, as they had no divine personage to command faith, began to exhibit and unfold the doctrines of Plato after the name of Christ had become widely known to the wondering and troubled kingdoms of this world. Then flourished at Rome the school of Plotinus, which had as scholars many men of great acuteness and ability. But some

120 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXVII

' of them were corrupted by curious inquiries into magic, and others, recognising in the Lord Jesus Christ the impersonation of that essential and immutable Truth and Wisdom which they were endeavouring to reach, passed into His service. Thus the whole supremacy of authority and light of reason for regenerating and reforming the human race has been made to reside in the one saving Name, and in His one Church.

34. I do not at all regret that I have stated these things at great length in this letter, although perhaps you would have preferred that I had taken another course; for the more progress that you make in the truth, the more will you approve what I have written, and you will then approve of my counsel, though now you do not think it helpful to your studies. At the same time, I have, to the best of my ability, given answers to your questions, â€” to some of them in this letter, and to almost all the rest by brief annotations on the parchments on which you had sent them. If in these answers you think I have done too little, or done something else than you expected, you do not duly consider, my Dioscorus, to whom you addressed your questions. I have passed without reply all the questions (concerning the orator and the books of Cicero de Oratore. I would have seemed to myself a contemptible trifler if I had entered on the exposition of these topics. For I might with propriety be questioned on all the other subjects, if any one desired me to handle and expound them, not in connection with the works of Cicero, but by themselves; but in these questions the subjects themselves are not in harmony with my profession now. I would not, however, have done all that I have done in this letter had I not removed from Hippo for a time after the illness under which I laboured when your messenger came to me. Even in these days I have been visited again with interruption of health and with fever, on which account there has been more delay than might otherwise have been in sending these to you. I earnestly beg you to write and let me know how you receive them.
LETTER CXXII.

(A.D. 410.)

TO MOST WELL-BELOVED BRETHREN THE CLERGY, AND TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE [of hippo], AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. In the first place, I beseech you, my friends, and implore you, for Christ's sake, not to let my bodily absence grieve you. For I suppose you do not imagine that I could by any means be separated in spirit and in unfeigned love from you, although perchance it is even a greater grief to me than to you that my weakness unfit me for bearing all the cares which are laid on me by those members of Christ to whose service both fear of Him and love to them constrain me to devote myself. For you know this, my beloved, that I have never absented myself from you through self-indulgent taking of ease, but only when compelled by such duties as have made it necessary for some of my holy colleagues and brethren to endure, both on the sea and in countries beyond the sea, labours from which I was exempted, not because of reluctance of spirit, but by reason of imperfect bodily health. Wherefore, my dearly-beloved brethren, act so that, as the apostle says, "whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving together for the faith of the gospel." If any vexation pertaining to time causes you distress, this itself ought the more to remind you how you should occupy your thoughts with that life in which you may live without any burden, escaping not the annoying hardships of this short life, but the dread flames of eternal fire. For if ye strive with so much anxiety, so much earnestness, and so much labour, to save yourselves from falling into some transient sufferings in this world, how solicitous ought you to be to escape everlasting misery! And if the death which puts an end to the labours of time is so feared, how ought we to fear the death which ushers men into eternal pain! And if the short-lived and sordid pleasures of this world are so loved, with how much greater earnestness ought I 'We to seek the pure and infinite joys of the world to come!

â» Phil. i. 27.

122 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXIT.

Meditating upon these things, be not slothful in good works, that ye may come in due season to reap what you have sown.

2. It has been reported to me that you have forgotten your custom of providing raiment for the poor, to which work of charity I exhorted you when I was present with you; and I now exhort you not to allow yourselves to be overcome and made slothful by the
tribulation of this world, which you see now visited with such calamities as were foretold by our Lord and Redeemer, who cannot lie. You ought in present circumstances not to be less diligent in works of charity, but rather to be more abundant in these than you were wont to be. For as men betake themselves in greater haste to a place of greater security when they see in the shaking of their walls the ruin of their house impending, so ought Christians, the more that they perceive, from the increasing frequency of their afflictions, that the destruction of this world is at hand, to be the more prompt and active in transferring to the treasury of heaven the goods which they were proposing to store up on earth, in order that, if any accident common to the lot of men occur, he may rejoice who has escaped from a dwelling doomed to ruin; and if, on the other hand, nothing of this kind happen, he may be exempt from painful solicitude who, die when he may, has committed his possessions to the keeping of the ever-living Lord, to whom he is about to go. Wherefore, my dearly-beloved brethren, let every one of you, according to his ability, of which he himself is the best judge, do with a portion of his substance as ye were wont to do; do it also with a more willing mind than ye were wont; and amid all the vexations of this life bear in your hearts the apostolic exhortation: "The Lord is at hand: be careful for nothing." Let such things be reported to me concerning you as may make me understand that it is not through my presence with you, but from obedience to the precept of God, who is never absent, that you follow that good practice which for many years while I was with you, and for some time after my departure, you observed.

May the Lord preserve you in peace! And, dearly-beloved brethren, pray for us.

Phil. iv. 5, 6.

LET. CXXIII.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 123

LETTER CXXIII.

(A.D. 410.)

[from JEROME TO AUGUSTINE.]

TnERE are many who go halting upon both feet, and refuse to bend their heads even when their necks are broken, persisting in adherence to their former errors, even though they have not their former liberty of proclaiming them.

Respectful salutations are sent to you by the holy brethren â— who are with your humble servant, and especially by your pious and venerable daughters. I beg your Excellency to salute in my name your brethren my lord Alypius and my lord Evodius. Jerusalem is held captive by Nebuchadnezzar, and refuses to listen to the counsels of Jeremiah, preferring to look wistfully towards Egypt, that it may die in Tahpanhes, and perish there in eternal bondage.
Two opinions have been advanced as to the signification of this enigmatical allusion to the events recorded in Jeremiah, chap. xliii. Some think that Jerome refers to Rome, then occupied by the Goths. Others find here a reference to the state of the Church at Jerusalem at the time; perhaps under the name of [ITebuchadnezzar some heretical bishop is designed.

124 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXIV.]

THIRED DIVISION.


LETTER CXXIV.

(A.D. 411.)

TO ALBINA, PINIANUS, AND MELANIA/ HONOURED IN THE LORD, BELOVED IN HOLINESS AND LONGED FOR IN BROTHERLY AFFECTION, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I AM, whether through present infirmity or by natural temperament, very susceptible of cold; nevertheless, it would not be possible for me to suffer greater heat than I have done throughout this exceptionally dreadful winter, having been kept in a fever by distress because I have been unable, I do not say to hasten, but to fly to you (to visit whom it would have been fitting for me to fly across the seas), after you had been settled so near to me, and had come from so remote a land to see me. It may be, also, that you have supposed the rigorous weather of this winter to be the only cause of my suffering this disappointment; I pray you, beloved, give no place to this thought. For what inconvenience, hardship, or even

* The name Melania, though now almost as little known to the world at large as the fossil univalve molluscs to which palaeontologists have assigned the designation, was in the
time of Augustine highly esteemed throughout Christendom. The elder Melania, a lady of rank and influence, left Rome when it was threatened by Alaric, and spent thirty-seven years in the East, returning to the city in 445 a.d. Her daughter-in-law, Albina, and her grand-daughter, the younger Melania (whose husband was the Pinianus mentioned here and in the two following letters), left Rome with her in 408 a.d., and after spending two years in Sicily, passed over into Africa, and fixed their residence at Thagaste, the native town of St. Augustine. A visit which they paid to him at Hippo was the occasion of the extraordinary proceedings referred to in Letters CXIV. and CXXVI.

LET. CXXIV.] TO ALBIXA, PINIANUS, AND MELANIA. 125

danger, can these heavy rains bring, which I would not have encountered and endured in order to make my way to you, who are such comforters to us in our great calamities, and who, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, are lights kindled into vehement flame by the Supreme Light, raised aloft by lowliness of spirit, and deriving more glorious lustre from the glory which you have despised? Moreover, I would have enjoyed participation in the spiritual felicity vouchsafed to my earthly birthplace, in that it has been permitted to have you present, of whom when absent its citizens had heard much—so much, indeed, that although giving charitable credence to the report of what you were by nature and had become by grace, they feared, perchance, to repeat it to others, lest it should be disbelieved.

2. I shall therefore tell you the reason why I have not come, and the trials by which I have been kept back from so great a privilege, that I may obtain not only your forgiveness, but also, through your prayers, the mercy of Him who so works in you that ye live to Him. The congregation of Hippo, "whom the Lord has ordained me to serve, is in great measure, and almost wholly, of a constitution so infirm, that the pressure of even a comparatively light affliction might seriously endanger its well-being; at present, however, it is smitten with tribulation so overwhelming, that, even were it strong, it could scarcely survive the imposition of the burden. Moreover, when I returned to it recently, I found it offended to a most dangerous degree by my absence; and you, over whose spiritual strength we rejoice in the Lord, can with healthful taste relish and approve the saying of Paul: "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" I feel this especially because there are many here who by disparaging us attempt to excite against us the minds of the others by whom we seem to be loved, in order that they may make room in them for the devil. But when those whose salvation is our care are angry with us, their strong determination to take vengeance on us is only an unreasonable desire for bringing death to themselves, "not the death of the body, but of the soul, in which the fact of death discovers itself mysteriously

'2 Cor. xi. 29.
by the odour of corruption before it is possible for our care to foresee and provide against it.

Doubtless you will readily excuse this anxiety on my part, especially because, if you were displeased and wished to punish me, you could perhaps invent no severer pain than what I already suffer in not seeing you at Thagaste. I trust, however, that, assisted by your prayers, I may be permitted when the present hindrance has been removed with all speed to come to you, in whatsoever part of Africa you may be, if this town in which I labour is not worthy (and I do not presume to pronounce it worthy) to be along with us made joyful by your presence.

LETTER CXXV.

(A.D. 411.)

TO ALYPIUS, MY LORD MOST BLESSED AND BROTHER BELOVED WITH ALL REVERENCE, AND MY PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, AND TO THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM, AUGUSTINE AND THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. We are deeply grieved, and can by no means regard it as a small matter, that the people of Hippo clamorously said so much to the disparagement of your Holiness; but, my good brother, their clamorous utterance of these things is not so great a cause for grief as the fact that we are, without open accusation, deemed guilty of similar tilings. For when we are believed to be actuated in retaining God's servants among us, not by love of righteousness, but by love of money, is it not to be desired that persons who believe this concerning us should with their voices avow what is hidden in their hearts, and so obtain, if possible, remedies great in proportion to the disease, rather than silently perish under the venom of these fatal suspicions? Wherefore it ought to be a greater care to us (and for this reason we conferred together before this happened) to provide how men to whom we are commanded to be examples in good works may be convinced that there is no ground for suspicions which they cherish, than to provide

LET. CXXV.] TO ALYPIUS. 127

how those may be rebuked who in words give definite utterance to their suspicions.
2. Wherefore I am not angry with the pious Albina, nor do I judge her to deserve rebuke; but I think she requires to be cured of such suspicions. It is true that she has not pointed at myself the words to which I refer, but has complained of the people of Hippo, as it were, alleging that their covetousness has been brought to light, and that in desiring to retain among them a man of wealth who was known to despise money, and to give it away freely, they were moved, not by his fitness for the office, but by regard to his ample means; nevertheless, she almost said openly that she had the same suspicion of myself, and not she only, but also her pious son-in-law and daughter, who, on that very day, said the same thing in the apse of the church.\(^\) In my opinion, it is more necessary that the suspicions of these persons should be removed than that their utterance of them should be rebuked.

For where can immunity and rest from such thorns be provided and given to us, if they can sprout forth against us even in the hearts of intimate friends, so pious and so much beloved by us? It is by the ignorant multitude that such things have been thought concerning you, but I am the victim of similar suspicions from those who are the lights of the Church; you may see, therefore, which of us has the greater cause for grief. It seems to me that both cases call, not for invectives, but for remedial measures; for they are men, and their suspicions are of men, and therefore such things as they suspect, though they may be false, are not incredible.

Persons such as these are of course not so foolish as to believe that the people are coveting their money, especially after their experience that the people of Thagaste obtained none of their money, from which it was certain that the people of Hippo would also obtain none. Nay, all the violence of this odium comes against the clergy alone, and especially against the bishops, whose authority is visibly pre-eminent, and who are supposed to use and enjoy as owners and lords the property of the Church. My dear Alypius, let not the weak be encouraged through our example to cherish this pernicious and fatal covetousness. Call to mind what we said to each other before the occurrence of this temptation, which makes the duty all the more urgent. Let us rather by God's help endeavour to have this difficulty removed by friendly conference, and let us not count it sufficient to be guided by our own conscience alone; for this is not one of the cases in which its voice alone is sufficient for our direction. For if we be not unworthy servants of our God, if there live in us a spark of that charity which seeketh not her own, we are bound by all means to provide things honest, not only in the sight of God, but also in the sight of men, lest while drinking untroubled waters in our own conscience, we be chargeable with treading with incautious feet, and so making the Lord's flock drink from a turbid stream.

\(^\) The "absis" was a chapel or recess in the choir, where the bishop was accustomed to stand surrounded by his clergy.
3. For as to the proposal in your letter that we should discuss together an obligation of an oath which has been extorted by force, I beseech you, let not the method of our discussion involve in obscurity things which are perfectly clear. For if inevitable death were threatened in order to compel a servant of God to swear that he would do something forbidden by laws both human and divine, it would be his duty to prefer death to such an oath, lest he should be guilty of a crime in fulfilling his oath. But in this case, in which the determined clamour of the people, and only this, was forcing the man, not to a crime, but to that which if it were done would be lawfully done; when, moreover, there was indeed apprehension lest some reckless men, such as are mixed with a multitude even of good men, should through love of rioting break out into some wicked deeds of violence, if they found a pretext for disturbance and for plausibly justifiable indignation, but there was no certainty of this fear being realized, â€” who will affirm that it is lawful to commit a deliberate act of perjury in order to escape from uncertain consequences, involving, I shall not say loss or bodily injury, but even death itself? Eegulus had not heard anything from the Holy Scriptures concerning the impiety of perjury, he had never heard of the flying roll of Zechariah, and he confirmed

* Zech. V. 4. Augustine calls it **Zeclariarv lalx," translating, as the LXX. have done: ^fi-ravov.

LET. CXXV.] TO ALYPIUS. 129

his oath to the Carthaginians, not by the sacraments of Christ, but by the abominations of false gods; and yet in the face of inevitable tortures, and a death of unprecedented horror, he was not moved by fear so as to swear under constraint, but, because he had given his oath, he of his own free will submitted to these, lest he should be guilty of perjury. In that age, also, the Eoman censors refused to inscribe in the roll, not of saints inheriting heavenly glory, but of senators received into the curia of Eome, not only men who, through fear of death and of cruel tortures, had chosen rather to commit manifest perjury than to return to merciless enemies, but also one who had believed himself clear of the guilt of perjury, because, after giving his oath, he had under the pretext of alleged necessity violated it by returning; in which we see that those who expelled him from the senate took into consideration, not what he himself had in his mind when he gave his oath, but what those to whom he pledged his word expected from him. Yet they had never read what we sing continually in the Psalm: " He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." ^ We are wont to speak of these instances of virtue with the highest admiration, although they are found in men who were strangers to the grace and to the name of Christ; and yet do we seriously imagine that the question whether perjury is occasionally lawful is one for an answer to which we should search the divine books, in which, to prevent us from falling into this sin by inconsiderate oaths, this prohibition is written: " Swear not at all " ?

4. I by no means dispute the perfect correctness of the maxim, that good faith requires an oath to be kept, not according to the mere words of him who gives it, but according to
that which the person giving the oath knows to be the expectation of the person to whom he swears. For it is very difficult to define in words, especially in few words, the promise in regard to which security is exacted from him who gives his oath. They, therefore, are guilty of perjury, who, while adhering to the letter of their promise, disappoint the known expectation of those to whom their oath was given; and they are not guilty of perjury, who, even though departing

' Th. XV. 4.
LETT. U. I

130 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXV.

from the letter of the promise, fulfil that which was expected of them when they gave their oath. Wherefore, seeing that the people of Hippo desired to have the holy Pinianus, not as a prisoner who had forfeited liberty, but as a much-loved resident in their town, the limits of that which they expected from him, though it could not be adequately embraced in the words of his promise, are nevertheless so obvious that the fact of his being at this moment absent, after giving his oath to remain among them, does not disturb any one who may have heard that he was to leave this place for a definite purpose, and with the intention of returning. Accordingly, he will not be guilty of perjury, nor will he be regarded by them as violating his oath, unless he disappoint their expectation; and he will not disappoint their expectation, unless he either abandon his purpose of residing among them, or at some future time depart from them without intending to return. May God forbid that he should so depart from the holiness and fidelity which he owes to Christ and to the Church! For, not to speak of the dread judgment of God upon perjurers, which you know as well as myself, I am perfectly certain that henceforth we shall have no right to be displeased with any one who may refuse to believe what we attest by an oath, if we are found to think that perjury in such a man as Pinianus is to be not only tolerated without indignation, but actually defended. From this may we be saved by the mercy of Him who delivers from temptation those who put their trust in Him! Let Pinianus, therefore, as you have written in your communication, fulfil the promise by which he bound himself not to depart from Hippo, just as I myself and the other inhabitants of the town do not depart from it, having, of course, full freedom in going and returning at any time; the only difference being, that those who are not bound by any oath to reside here have it also in their power at any time, without being chargeable with perjury, to depart with no purpose of coming back again.

5. As to our clergy and the brethren settled justly among us. I do not know that it can be proved that they either aided or abetted in the reproaches which were made against you. For when I inquired into this, I was informed that
only one from our monastery, a man of Carthage, had taken part in the clamour of the people; and this was not when they were uttering insults against you, but when they were demanding Pinianus as presbyter.

I have aimed to this letter a copy of the promise given by him, taken from the very paper which he subscribed and corrected under my own inspection.

LETTER CXXVI.

(A.D. 4110

TO THE HOLY LADY AND VENERABLE HANDMAID OF GOD, ALBINA,
AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. As to the sorrow of your spirit, which you describe as inexpressible, it becomes me to assuage rather than to augment its bitterness, endeavouring if possible to remove your suspicions, instead of increasing the agitation of one so venerable and so devoted to God by giving vent to indignation because of that which I have suffered in this matter.

Nothing was done to our holy brother, your son-in-law Pinianus, by the people of Hippo which might justly awaken in him the fear of death, although, perchance, he himself had such fears.

Indeed, we also were apprehensive lest some of the reckless characters who are often secretly banded together for mischief in a crowd might break out into bold acts of violence, finding occasion for beginning a riot with some plausible pretext for passionate excitement. Nothing of this nature, however, was either spoken of or attempted by any one, as I have since had opportunity to ascertain; but against my brother Alypius the people did clamorously utter many opprobrious and unworthy reproaches, for which great sin I desire that they may obtain pardon in answer to his prayers. For my own part, after their outcries began, when I had told them how I was precluded by promise from ordaining him against his will, adding that, if they obtained him as their presbyter through my breaking my word, they could not retain me as their bishop, I left the multitude, and returned to my own seat.

* Ad nostra subsellia.

132 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXVI.

Thereupon, they being made for a little while to pause and waver by my unexpected reply, like a flame driven back for a moment by the wind, began to be much more warmly excited, imagining that possibly a violation of my promise might be extorted
from me, or that, in the event of my abiding by my promise, he might be ordained by another bishop. To all to whom I could address myself, namely, to the more venerable and aged men who had come up to me in the apse, I stated that I could not be moved to break my word, and that in the church committed to my care he could not be ordained by any other bishop except with my consent asked and obtained, in granting which I should be no less guilty of a breach of faith. I said, moreover, that if he were ordained against his own will, the people were only wishing him to depart from us as soon as he was ordained. They did not believe that this was possible. But the crowd having gathered in front of the steps, and persisting in the same determination with terrible and incessant clamour and shouting, made them irresolute and perplexed. At that time unworthy reproaches were loudly uttered against my brother Alypius; at that time, also, more serious consequences were apprehended by us.

2. But although I was much disturbed by so great a commotion among the people, and such trepidation among the office-bearers of the church, I did not say to that mob anything else than that I could not ordain him against his own will; nor after all that had passed was I influenced to do what I had also promised not to do, namely, to advise him in any way to accept the office of presbyter, which had I been able to persuade him to do, his ordination would have been with his consent. I remained faithful to both the promises which I had made, â€” not only to the one which I had shortly before intimated to the people, but also to the one in regard to which I was bound, so far as men were concerned, by only one witness. I was faithful, I say, not to an oath, but to my bare promise, even in the face of such danger. It is true that the fears of danger were, as we afterwards ascertained, without foundation; but whatever the danger might be, it was shared by us all alike. The fear was also shared by all; and I myself had thoughts of retiring, being alarmed chiefly for the safety of the building in which we were assembled. But there was reason to apprehend that if I were absent some disaster might be more likely to occur, as the people would then be more exasperated by disappointment, and less restrained by reverential sentiments. Again, if I had gone through the dense mob along with Alypius, I had reason to fear lest some one should dare to lay violent hands on him; if, on the other hand, I had gone without him, what would have been the most natural opinion for men to have formed, if any accident had befallen Alypius, and I appeared to have deserted him in order to hand him over to the power of an infuriated people?

3. In the midst of this excitement and great distress, when, being at our wits’ end, we could not, so to speak, take breath, behold our pious son Pinianus, suddenly and quite unexpectedly, sends to me a servant of God, to tell me that he wished to swear to the people, that if he were ordained against his will he would leave Africa altogether, thinking, I believe, that the people, knowing that of course he could not violate his oath, would not continue their outcry, seeing that by perseverance they could gain nothing, but only drive from among us a man whom we ought at least to retain as a neighbour, if he was to be no more. As it seemed to me, however, that it was to be feared that the
vehemence of the people's grief would be increased by his taking an oath of this kind, I was silent in regard to it; and as he had by the same messenger begged me to come to him, I went without delay. When he had said to me again what he had stated by the messenger, he immediately added to the same oath what he had sent another messenger to intimate to me while I was hastening towards him, namely, that he would consent to reside in Hippo if no one compelled him to accept against his will the burden of the clerical office. On this, being comforted in my perplexities as by a breath of air when in danger of suffocation, I made no reply, but went with quickened pace to my brother Alypius, and told him what Pinianus had said. But he, being careful, I suppose, lest anything should be done with his sanction by which he thought you

134 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXVL

might be offended, said, "Let no one ask my opinion on this subject." Having heard this, I hastened to the noisy crowd, ]

and having obtained silence, declared to them what had been promised, along with the proffered guarantee of an oath. The people, however, having no other thought or desire than that he should be their presbyter, did not receive the proposal as I had expected they would, but, after talking in an under-tone among themselves, made the request that to this promise and oath a clause might be added, that if at any time he should be pleased to accept the clerical office, he should do so in no other church than that of Hippo. I reported this to him: without hesitation he agreed to it. I returned to them with his answer; they were filled with joy, and presently demanded the promised oath.

4. I came back to your son-in-law, and found him at a loss as to the words in which his promise, confirmed by oath, could be expressed, because of various kinds of necessity which might emerge and might make it necessary for him to leave Hippo. He stated at the time what he feared, namely, that a hostile incursion of barbarians might occur, to avoid which it would be necessary to leave the place. The holy Melania wished to add also, as a possible reason for departure, the unhealthiness of the climate; but she was checked for this by his reply. I said, however, that he had brought forward an important reason deserving consideration, and one which, if it occurred, would compel the citizens themselves to abandon the place; but that, if this reason were stated to the people, we might justly fear lest they should regard us as prophesying evil, and, on the other hand, if a pretext for withdrawing from the promise were put under the general name of necessity, it might be thought that the necessity was only covering an intention to deceive. It seemed good to him, therefore, that we should test the feeling of the people in regard to this, and we found the result exactly as I had expected. For when the words which he had dictated were read by the deacon, and had been received with approbation, as soon as the clause concerning necessity which might hinder the fulfilment of his promise fell upon their ears, there arose at once a shout of remonstrance, and the promise was
rejected; and the tumult began to break out again, the people thinking that these negotiations had no other object than to deceive them. When our pious son saw this, he ordered the clause regarding necessity to be struck out, and the people recovered their cheerfulness once more.

5. I would gladly have excused myself on the ground of fatigue, but he would not go to the people unless I accompanied him; so we went together. He told them that he had himself dictated what they had heard from the deacon, that he had confirmed the promise by an oath, and would do the things promised, after which he forthwith rehearsed all in the words which he had dictated. The response of the people was, "Thanks be unto God!" and they begged that all which was written should be subscribed. We dismissed the catechumens, and he adhibited his signature to the document at once. Then we [Alypius and myself] began to be urged, not by the voices of the crowd, but by faithful men of good report as their representatives, that we also as bishops should subscribe the writing. But when I began to do this, the pious Melania protested against it. I wondered why she did this so late, as if we could make his promise and oath void by forbearing from appending our names to it; I obeyed, however, and so my signature remained incomplete, and no one thought it necessary to insist further upon our subscription.

6. I have been at pains to communicate to your Holiness, so far as I thought sufficient, what were the feelings, or rather the remarks, of the people on the following day, when they heard that he had left the town. Whoever, therefore, may have told you anything contradicting what I stated, is either intentionally or through his own mistake misleading you. For I am aware that I passed over some things which seemed to me irrelevant, but I know that I said nothing but the truth. It is therefore true that our holy son Pinianus took his oath in my presence and with my permission, but it is not true that he did it in obedience to any command from me. He himself knows this: it is also known to those servants of God whom he sent to me, the first being the pious Barnabas, the second Timasius, by whom also he sent me the promise of his remaining in Hippo. As for the people themselves, moreover, they were urging him by their cries to accept the office of presbyter. They did not ask for his oath, but they did not refuse it when offered, because they hoped that if he remained amongst us, there might be produced in him a willingness to consent to ordination, while they feared lest, if ordained against his will, he should, according to his oath, leave Africa. And therefore they also were actuated in their clamorous procedure by regard to God's work (for surely the consecration of a presbyter is a work of God); and inasmuch as they did not feel satisfied with his promise of remaining in Hippo, unless it were also
promised that, in the event of his at any time accepting the clerical office, he should do it nowhere else than among them, it is perfectly manifest what they hoped for from his dwelling among them, and that they did not abandon their zeal for the work of God.

7. On what ground, then, do you allege that the people did this out of a base desire for money? In the first place, the people who were so clamorous have nothing whatever of this kind to gain; for as the people of Thagaste derive from the gifts which you have bestowed on their church no profit but the joy of seeing your good work, it will be the same in the case of the people of Hippo, or of any other place in which you have obeyed or may yet obey the law of your Lord concerning the “mammon of unrighteousness.” The people, therefore, in most vehemently insisting upon guiding the procedure of their church in regard to so great a man, did not ask from you a pecuniary advantage, but testified their admiration for your contempt of money. For if in my own case, because they had heard that, despising my patrimony, which consisted of only a few small fields, I had consecrated myself to the liberty of serving God, they loved this disin-

, terestedness, and did not grudge this gift to the church of my birthplace, Thagaste, but, when it had not imposed upon me the clerical office, made me by force, so to speak, their own, how much more ardently might they love in our Pinianus his overcoming and treading under foot with such remarkable decision riches so great and hopes so bright, and a strong

natural capacity for enjoying this world! I indeed seem, in the opinion of many, who compare themselves with themselves, to have rather found than forsaken wealth. For my patrimony can scarcely be considered a twentieth part of the ecclesiastical property which I am now supposed to possess as master. But in whatever church, especially in Africa, our Pinianus might be ordained (I do not say a presbyter, but) a bishop, he would be still in deep poverty compared with his former affluence, even if he were using the church’s revenues in the spirit of one lording it over God’s heritage. Christian poverty is much more clearly and certainly loved in the case of one in whom there is no room for suspecting a desire for acquiring an accession to his wealth. It was this admiration which kindled the minds of the people, and roused them to such violence of persevering clamour. Let us therefore not charge them gratuitously with base covetousness, but rather, without imputing unworthy motives, allow them at least to love in others that good thing which they do not themselves possess. For although there may have mixed in the crowd some who are indigent or beggars, who helped to increase the clamour, and were actuated by the hope of some relief to their wants out of your honourable affluence, even this is not, in my opinion, base covetousness.
8. It remains, therefore, that the reproach of disgraceful covetousness must be levelled indirectly at the clergy, and especially at the bishop. For we are supposed to act as lords of the church's property; we are supposed to enjoy its revenues. In short, whatever money we have received for the church either is still in our possession or has been spent according to our judgment; and of it we have given nothing to any of the people besides the clergy and the brethren in the monastery, excepting only a very few indigent persons. I do not mean by this to say that the things which were said by you must necessarily have been said specially against us, but that, if said against any others than ourselves, they must have been incredible. What, then, shall we do? If it be not possible to clear ourselves before enemies, by what means may we at least clear ourselves before you? The matter is one pertaining to the soul; it is within us, hidden from the eyes of men, and

138 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXVL

known to God alone. What, then, remains for us but to call to witness God, to whom it is known? When, therefore, you harbour these suspicions concerning us, you do not command but absolutely compel us to give our oath, a much more grievous wrong than the commanding of an oath, which you have thought proper in your letter to censure as highly culpable in me; you compel us, I say, not by menacing death to the body, as the people of Hippo were supposed to have done, but by menacing death to our good name, which deserves to be regarded by us as more precious than life itself, for the sake of those weak brethren to whom we endeavour in all circumstances to exhibit ourselves as examples in good works.

9. We, however, are not indignant against you who compel us to this oath, as you are indignant against the people of Hippo. For you believe, as men judging of other men, things which, though not actually existing in us, might possibly have existed. Your suspicions we must labour not so much to reprove as to remove; and since our conscience is clear in the sight of God, we must seek to clear our character in your sight. It may be, as Alypius and I said to each other before this trial occurred, that God will grant that not only you, our much-beloved fellow-members of Christ's body, but even our most implacable enemies, may be thoroughly satisfied that we are not defiled by any love of money in our administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Until this be done (if the Lord, answering our prayer, permit it to be done), hear in the meantime what we are compelled to do, rather than put off for any length of time the healing of your heart. God is my witness that, as for the whole management of those ecclesiastical revenues over which we are supposed to love to exercise lordship, I only bear it as a burden which is imposed on me by love to the brethren and fear of God: I do not love it; nay, if I could, without
unfaithfulness to my office, I would desire to be rid of it. God also is my witness that I believe the sentiments of Alypius to be the same as mine in this matter. Nevertheless, on the one hand, the people, and what is worse, the people of Hippo, have hastily done Alypius great wrong by entertaining another opinion of his character; and on the other hand, you who are saints of God and full of unbleigned

LET. cxxvl] to albina. 139

compassion have, through believing such things concerning us, thought proper to touch and admonish us while nominally censuring the same people of Hippo, who have no part whatever in the cruelt of the alleged covetousness. You have desired unquestionably to correct us, and that without hating us (this be far from you!); wherefore I ought not to be angry with you, but to thank you, because it was not possible for you to have combined modesty and freedom more happily than when, instead of stating your sentiments as an offensive accusation against the bishop, you left them to be discovered by indirect inferences.

10. Let not the fact that I have thought it necessary thus to confirm my statements by oath cause you vexation by making you think that you are treated with harshness. There was no harshness or lack of kindly feeling in the apostle towards those to whom he wrote: "Neither used we at any time flattering words, as ye know, nor a cloak of covetousness; God is witness." ^ In the thing which was open to men's observation he appealed to their own testimony, but in regard to that which was hidden, to whom could he appeal but to God? If, therefore, fear lest the ignorance of men should make them entertain some such thoughts concerning him was reasonably felt even by Paul, whose labours, as all men knew, were such that except in extreme necessity he never took anything for his own benefit from the communities to which he dispensed the grace of Christ, obtaining in all other cases the necessary provision for his support by working with his own hands, how much more pains must be taken to establish confidence in our disinterestedness by us, who are, both in the merit of holiness and in strength of mind, so far behind him, and who are not only unable to do anything by the work of our hands to support ourselves, but also precluded from this, even if we could work, by an accumulation of duties from which I believe that the apostles were exempt! Let the charge, therefore, of most base covetousness be brought no more in this matter against the Christian people â€” that is, the Church of Christ. For it is more tolerable that this charge be alleged against us, on whom the suspicion, though ground-

Â» 1 Thess. ii. 5.

140 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXVI.
less, might fall without being utterly improbable, than on the people, of whom it is
certainly known that they could not either cherish the covetous desire or be reasonably
suspected of entertaining it.

11. For persons possessing any faith â€” and how much more the Christian faith! â€” to
be unfaithful to their oath, I do not say by doing something contrary to it, but by
hesitating at all as to its fulfilment, is utterly wrong. What my judgment is on this
question I have with sufficient fulness declared in the letter which I sent to my brother
Alypius.
Your Holiness wrote asking me "whether I or the people of Hippo consider any one
under obligation to fulfil an oath which has been extorted by violence." But what is your
own opinion? Do you think that even if death, which in this case was feared without
reason, were certainly imminent, a Christian might use the name of his Lord to confirm a
lie, and call his God to be witness to a falsehood? For assuredly a Christian, if urged by
the menace of instant death to perjure himself by false testimony, ought to fear the loss of
honour more than the loss of life. Hostile armies confront each other in the battlefield
with mutual menaces of death, about which there can be no uncertainty; and yet, when
they pledge themselves to each other by oath, we praise those who are faithful to their
engagement, and we justly abhor those who are unfaithful. Now what was the motive
leading them to swear to each other, but the fear on both sides of being killed or taken
prisoners? And by this promise even such men hold themselves bound, lest they be
guilty of sacrilege and perjury if they did not fulfil the oath extorted by the fear of death
or captivity, and broke the promise given in such circumstances: they are more afraid of
breaking their oath than of taking a man's life. And do we propose to discuss as a
debateable question whether an oath must be fulfilled which has been given under fear of
harm by servants of God, who are under pre-eminent obligations to holiness, by monks
who are running the race towards Christian perfection, by distributing their property
according to Christ's command?

12. Tell me, I beseech you, what hardship deserving the name of exile, or transportation,
or banishment, is involved

LET. CXXVI.] TO ALBIXA. 141

in his promise to reside here? I suppose that the office of presbyter is not exile. Would
our Pinianus prefer exile to that office? Far be it from us to find such apology for one
who is a saint of God and very dear to us: God forbid, I say, that it should be said of him
that he preferred exile to the office of presbyter, and preferred to perjure himself rather
than submit to exile. This I would say even if it were true that the oath by which he
promised to reside among us had been extorted from him; but the fact is that, instead of
being extorted in spite of his refusal, it was accepted when he had proffered it himself. It
was accepted, moreover, as I
have already said, because of the hope, which was encouraged by his remaining here, that
he might also consent to comply with our desire that he should accept the clerical office.
In line, whatever opinion may be entertained concerning us or concerning the people of Hippo, the case of those who may have compelled him to take the oath is very different from that of those who may have â€” I do not say compelled, but at least â€” counselled him to break the oath. I trust, also, that Pinianus himself will not refuse to consider seriously whether it is worse to swear under the pressure of fear, however great, or, in the absence of all alarm, to commit deliberate perjury.

13. God be thanked that the men of Hippo regard his promise of residence here as kept fully, if only he come with the intention of making this town his home, and in going whithersoever necessity may call him, go with the intention of coming back to us again. For if they were to exact literal fulfilment of the words of the promise, it would be the duty of a servant of God to adhere to every sentence of it rather than forswear himself. But as it would be a crime for them so to bind any one, much more such a man as he is, so they have themselves proved that they had no such unreasonable expectation; for on hearing that he had gone away with the intention of returning, they expressed their satisfaction; and fidelity to an oath requires no more than the performance of what was expected by those to whom it was given. Let me ask, moreover, what is meant by saying that he, in giving the oath with his own lips, mentioned the possibility of necessity preventing his fulfilment of the promise? The truth is, that

142 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXX.

with his own lips he ordered the qualifying clause to be removed. If he jout it in, it would be when he himself spoke to the people; but if he had done so, they assuredly would not have answered, " Thanks be unto God," but would have renewed the protestations which they made when it was read with the qualifying clause by the deacon. And what difference does it really make whether this plea of necessity for departing from the promise was or was not inserted? Nothing more than we have stated above was expected from him; but he who disappoints the known expectation of those to whom his oath is given, cannot but be a perjured person.

14. Wherefore, let his promise be fulfilled, and let the hearts of the weak be healed, lest, on the one hand, those who approve of it be taught by such a conspicuous example to imitate an act of perjury, and lest, on the other hand, those who condemn it have just grounds for saying that none of us is worthy to be believed, not only when we make promises, but even when we give our oath. Let us especially guard against giving occasion in this to the tongues of enemies, which are used by the great Enemy as darts wherewith to slay the weak. But God forbid that we should expect from a man like Pinianus anything else than what the fear of God inspires, and the superior excellence of his own piety approves. As for myself, whom you blame for not interfering to forbid his oath, I admit that I could not bring myself to believe that, in circumstances so disorderly and scandalous, I ought
rather to allow the church which I serve to be overthrown, than accept the deliverance which was offered to us by such a man.

LETTEK CXXX.

(A.D. 412.)

TO PROBA,"^ A DEVOTED HANDMAID OF GOD, BISHOP AUGUSTINE, A SERVANT OF CHRIST AND OF CHRIST'S SERVANTS, SENDS GREETING IN THE NAME OF THE LORD OF LORDS.

Chap. i. 1. Eecollecting your request and my promise, that

as soon as time and opportunity should be given by Him to

^ Anicia Faltonia Proba, the widow of Sextus Petronius Probus, belonged to

LET. CXXX.] TO PROBA. 143

whom we pray, I would write you something on the subject of prayer to God, I feel it my duty now to discharge this debt, and in the love of Christ to minister to the satisfaction of your pious desire. I cannot express in words how greatly I rejoiced because of the request, in which I perceived how great is your solicitude about this supremely important matter.

For what could be more suitably the business of your widowhood than to continue in supplications night and day, according to the apostle's admonition, " She that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications night and day"?^ It might, indeed, appear wonderful that solicitude about prayer should occupy your heart and claim the first place in it, when you are, so far as this world is concerned, noble and wealthy, and the mother of such an illustrious family, and, although a widow, not desolate, were it not that you wisely understand that in this world and in this life the soul has no sure portion.

2. Wherefore He who inspired you with this thought is assuredly doing what He promised to His disciples when they were grieved, not for themselves, but for the whole human family, and were despairing of the salvation of any one, after they heard from Him that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He gave them this marvellous and

a Roman family of great wealth and noble lineage. Three of her sons held the consulship, two of them together in 395 A.D., and the third in 406 A.D. When Rome was taken by Alaric in 410, Proba and her family were in the city, and narrowly escaped from violence during the six days in which the Goths pillaged the city. About this time one of the sons of Proba died, and very soon after this sad event she resolved to quit Rome, as the return
of Alaric was daily apprehended. Having realized her ample fortune, she sailed to Africa, accompanied by her daughter-in-law Juliana (the widow of Aniens Hermogenianus Olybrius), and the daughter of Juliana, Demetrias, the well known religieuse, whose taking of the veil in 413 produced so profound an impression throughout the ecclesiastical world. A considerable retinue of widows and younger women, seeking protection under her escort, accompanied the distinguished refugee to Carthage. After paying a large sum to secure the protection of Heraclianus, Count of Africa, she was permitted to establish herself with her community of pious women in Carthage. Her piety led her to seek the friendship and counsel of Augustine. How readily it was given is seen here, and in Letters CXXXL, CL., and CLXXXVIII.

' 1 Tim. v. 5.

144 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXX.

merciful reply: " The things which are impossible with men are possible with God." He, therefore, with whom it is possible to make even the rich enter into the kingdom of heaven, inspired you with that devout anxiety which makes you think it necessary to ask my counsel on the question how you ought to pray. For while He was yet on earth. He brought Zaccheus/ though rich, into the kingdom of heaven, and, after being glorified in His resurrection and ascension, He made many who were rich to despise this present world, and made them more truly rich by extinguishing their desire for riches through His imparting to them His Holy Spirit.

For how could you desire so much to pray to God if you did not trust in Him ? And how could you trust in Him if you were fixing your trust in uncertain riches, and neglecting the wholesome exhortation of the apostle: " Charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation, that they may lay hold on eternal life " ?

Chap. ii. 3. It becomes you, therefore, out of love to this true life, to account yourself " desolate " in this world, however great the prosperity of your lot may be. For as that is the true life, in comparison with which the present life, which is much loved, is not worthy to be called life, however happy and prolonged it be, so is it also the true consolation promised by the Lord in the words of Isaiah, " I will give him the true consolation, peace upon peace," * without which consolation men find themselves, in the midst of every mere earthly solace, rather desolate than comforted. For as for riches and high rank, and all other things in which men who are strangers to true felicity imagine that happiness exists, what comfort do they bring, seeing that it is better to be independent of such things than to enjoy abundance of them, because, when possessed, they occasion, through our fear of losing them, more vexation than was caused by the strength

^ Matt. xix. 21-26. ^ l\j^^ ^ix. 9.
of desire with which their possession was coveted? Men are not made good by possessing these so-called good things, but, if men have become good otherwise, they make these things to be really good by using them well. Therefore true comfort is to be found not in them, but rather in those things in which true life is found. For a man can be made blessed only by the same power by which he is made good.

4. It is true, indeed, that good men are seen to be the sources of no small comfort to others in this world. For if we be harassed by poverty, or saddened by bereavement, or disquieted by bodily pain, or pining in exile, or vexed by any kind of calamity, let good men visit us, "men who can not only rejoice with them that rejoice, but also weep with them that weep," and who know how to give profitable counsel, and win us to express our feelings in conversation: the effect is, that rough things become smooth, heavy burdens are lightened, and difficulties vanquished most wonderfully.

But this is done in and through them by Him who has made them good by His Spirit. On the other hand, although riches may abound, and no bereavement befall us, and health of body be enjoyed, and we live in our own country in peace and safety, if, at the same time, we have as our neighbours wicked men, among whom there is not one who can be trusted, not one from whom we do not apprehend and experience treachery, deceit, outbursts of anger, dissensions, and snares, "in such a case are not all these other things made bitter and vexatious, so that nothing sweet or pleasant is left in them? Whatever, therefore, be our circumstances in this world, there is nothing truly enjoyable without a friend. But how rarely is one found in this life about whose spirit and behaviour as a true friend there may be perfect confidence! For no one is known to another so intimately as he is known to himself, and yet no one is so well known even to himself that he can be sure as to his own conduct on the morrow; wherefore, although many are known by their fruits, and some gladden their neighbours by their good lives, while others grieve their neighbours by their evil lives, yet the minds of men are so unknown and so unstable, that there is the highest wisdom in

* Rom. xii. 15.
LET. II. K
the exhortation of the apostle: *' Judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God." â– å€€

5. In the darkness, then, of this world, in which we are pilgrims absent from the Lord as long as " we walk by faith and not by sight," ^ the Christian soul ought to feel itself desolate, and continue in prayer, and learn to fix the eye of faith on the word of the divine sacred Scriptures, as " on a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in our hearts." ^ For the ineffable source from which this lamp borrows its light is the Light which shineth in darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not å€” the Light, in order to seeing which our hearts must be purified by faith; for " blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; " ^

and " we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." ^ Then after death shall come the true life, and after desolation the true consolation, that life shall deliver our " souls from death " å€” that consolation shall deliver our " eyes from tears," and, as follows in the psalm, our feet shall be delivered from falling; for there shall be no temptation there. ^ Moreover, if there be no temptation, there will be no prayer; for there we shall not be waiting for promised blessings, but contemplating the blessings actually bestowed; wherefore he adds, " I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living," ^ where we shall then be å€” not in the wilderness of the dead, where we now are: " For ye are dead," says the apostle, " and your life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." ^ For that is the true life on which the rich are exhorted to lay hold by being rich in good works; and in it is the true consolation, for want of which, meanwhile, a widow is " desolate "

1 1 Cor. iv. 5. * 2 Cor. v. 6, 7.
* 1 John iii. 2. Â« Ps. cxvi. 8.
' Ps. cxvi. 9. In the LXX., tlxifffTr.ou; in Aug., "placebo."

å€€ Col. iii. 3, 4.

LET. CXXX.] TO PKOBA. 147

indeed, even though she has sons and grandchildren, and conducts her household piously, entreatings all dear to her to put their hope in God: and in the midst of all this, she says in her prayer, " My soul thirsteth for Thee; my flesh longeth in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is;" ^ and this dying life is nothing else than such a land, however numerous our mortal comforts, however pleasant our companions in the pilgrimage, and however great the abundance of our possessions. You know how uncertain all these things are; and even
if they were not uncertain, what would they be in comparison with the felicity which is promised in the life to come!

6. In saying these things to you, who, being a widow, rich and noble, and the mother of an illustrious family, have asked from me a discourse on prayer, my aim has been to make you feel that, even while your family are spared to you, and live as you would desire, you are desolate so long as you have not attained to that life in which is the true and abiding consolation, in which shall be fulfilled what is spoken in prophecy: "We are satisfied in the morning with Thy mercy, we rejoice and are glad all our days; we are made glad according to the days wherein Thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil."^ Chap. hi. 7. Wherefore, until that consolation come, remember, in order to your "continuing in prayers and supplications night and day," that, however great the temporal prosperity may be which flows around you, you are desolate. For the apostle does not ascribe this gift to every widow, but to her who, being a widow indeed, and desolate, "trusteth in God, and continueth in supplication night and day." Observe, however, most vigilantly the warning which follows: "But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth:"^ for a person lives in those things which he loves, which he greatly desires, and in which he believes himself to be blessed. Wherefore, what Scripture has said of riches: "If riches increase, set not your heart upon them," * I say to you concerning pleasures: "If pleasures increase, set not your heart upon them." Do not, therefore, think highly of yourself because these things are not wanting, but are yours abundantly, flowing, as it were, from a most copious fountain of earthly felicity. By all means look upon your possession of these things with indifference and contempt, and seek nothing from them beyond health of body. For this is a blessing not to be despised, because of its being necessary to the work of life until "this mortal shall have put on immortality" ^ and in other words, the true, perfect, and everlasting health, which is neither reduced by earthly infirmities nor repaired by corruptible gratification, but, enduring with celestial vigour, is animated with a life eternally incorruptible. For the apostle himself says, "Make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof," ^ because we must take care of the flesh, but only in so far as is necessary for health; "For no man ever yet hated his own flesh," ^ as he himself likewise says. Hence, also, he admonished Timothy, who was, as it appears, too severe upon his body, that he should "use a little wine for his stomach's sake, and for his often infirmities." */
8. Many holy men and women, using every precaution against those pleasures in which she that liveth, cleaving to them, and dwelling in them as her heart's delight, is dead while she liveth, have cast from them that which is as it were the mother of pleasures, by distributing their wealth among the poor, and so have stored it in the safer keeping of the treasury of heaven. If you are hindered from doing this by some consideration of duty to your family, you know yourself what account you can give to God of your use of riches. For no one knoweth what passeth within a man, " but the spirit of the man which is in him." ^ We ought not to judge anything " before the time until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man have praise of God." ^ It pertains, therefore, to your care as a widow, to see to it that if pleasures increase you do not set your heart upon them, lest that which ought to rise that it may live, die through contact with their corrupting


* 1 Tim. V. 23. ^ 1 Cor. ii. 11. Â«l Cor. iv. 5.

LKT. CXXX.] TO PROBA. 149

influence. Eeckon yourself to be one of those of whom it is written, " Their hearts shall live for ever." ^

Chap. iv. 9. You have now heard what manner of person you should be if you would pray; hear, in the next place, what you ought to pray for. This is the subject on which you have thought it most necessary to ask my opinion, because you were disturbed by the words of the apostle: " We know not what we should pray for as we ought; " ^ and you became alarmed lest it should do you more harm to pray otherwise than you ought, than to desist from praying altogether. A short solution of your difficulty may be given thus: " Pray for a happy life." This all men wish to have; for even those whose lives are worst and most abandoned would by no means live thus, unless they thought that in this way they either were made or might be made truly happy. Now what else ought we to pray for than that which both bad and good desire, but which only the good obtain ?

Chap. v. 10. You ask, perchance. What is this happy life ? On this question the talents and leisure of many philosophers have been wasted, who, nevertheless, failed in their researches after it just in proportion as they failed to honour Him from whom it proceeds, and were unthankful to Him. In the first place, then, consider whether we should accept the opinion of those philosophers who pronounce that man happy who lives according to his own will. Far be it, surely, from us to believe this; for what if a man's will inclines him to live in wickedness ? Is he not proved to be a miserable man in proportion to the facility with which his depraved will is carried out ?
Even philosophers who were strangers to the worship of God have rejected this sentiment with deserved abhorrence. One of them, a man of the greatest eloquence, says: "Behold, however, others, not philosophers indeed, but men of ready power in disputation, who affirm that all men are happy who live according to their own will. But this is certainly untrue, for to wish that which is unbecoming is itself a most miserable thing; nor is it so miserable a thing to fail in obtaining what you wish as to wish to obtain what you ought not to desire."^ What is your opinion? Are not Ps. xxii. 26. â–’ Rom. viii. 26. 3 Cicero Horteiiisius.

these words, by whomsoever they are spoken, derived from the Truth itself? We may therefore here say what the apostle said of a certain Cretan poet^ whose sentiment had pleased him: "This witness is true."^

11. He, therefore, is truly happy who has all that he wishes to have, and wishes to have nothing which he ought not to wish. This being understood, let us now observe what things men may without impropriety wish to have. One desires marriage; another, having become a widower, chooses thereafter to live a life of continence; a third chooses to practise continence though he is married. And although of these three conditions one may be found better than another, we cannot say that any one of the three persons is wishing what he ought not: the same is true of the desire for children as the fruit of marriage, and for life and health to be enjoyed by the children who have been received, â€” of which desires the latter is one with which widows remaining unmarried are for the most part occupied; for although, refusing a second marriage, they do not now wish to have children, they wish that the children that they have may live in health. From all such care those who preserve their virginity intact are free. Nevertheless, all have some dear to them whose temporal welfare they do without impropriety desire. But when men have obtained this health for themselves, and for those whom they love, are we at liberty to say that they are now happy? They have, it is true, something which it is quite becoming to desire; but if they have not other things which are greater, better, and more full both of utility and beauty, they are still far short of possessing a happy life.

Chap. vi. 12. Shall we then say, that in addition to this health of body men may desire for themselves and for those dear to them honour and power? By all means, if they desire these in order that by obtaining them they may promote the interest of those who may be their dependants. If they seek these things not for the sake of the things themselves, but for some good thing which may through this means be accomplished, the wish is a proper one; but if it be merely for the empty gratification of pride and arrogance,

and for a superfluous and pernicious triumph of vanity, the Avish is improper. Wherefore, men do nothing wrong in desiring for themselves and for their kindred the competent portion of necessary things, of which the apostle speaks when he says: "Godliness with a competency [contentment in English version] is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out: and having food and raiment, let ns be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." ^ This competent portion he desires without impropriety who desires it and nothing beyond it; for if his desires go beyond it, he is not desiring it, and therefore his desire is improper. This was desired, and was prayed for by him who said: "Give me neither poverty nor riches: feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full, and deny Thee, and say. Who is the Lord ? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain." ^ You see assuredly that this competency is desired not for its own sake, but to secure the health of the body, and such provision of house and clothing as is befitting the man's circumstances, that he may appear as he ought to do among those amongst whom he has to live, so as to retain their respect and discharge the duties of his position.

13. Among all these things, our own welfare and the benefits which friendship bids us ask for others are things to be desired on their own account; but a competency of the necessaries of life is usually sought, if it be sought in the proper way, not on its own account, but for the sake of the two higher benefits. Welfare consists in the possession of life itself, and health and soundness of mind and body. The claims of friendship, moreover, are not to be confined within too narrow range, for it embraces all to whom love and kindly affection are due, although the heart goes out to some of these more freely, to others more cautiously; yea, it even extends to

1 Tim. vi. 6-10. 2 pj-oy, xxx. 8. 9.

152 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXX.

our enemies, for whom also we are commanded to pray. There is accordingly no one in the whole human family to whom kindly affection is not due by reason of the bond of a common humanity, although it may not be due on the ground of reciprocal love; Chap. vii. â€“ but in those by whom we are requited with a holy and pure love, we find great and reasonable pleasure.

For these things, therefore, it becomes us to pray: if we have them, that we may keep them; if we have them not, that we may get them.
14. Is this all? Are these the benefits in which exclusively the happy life is found? Or does truth teach us that something else is to be preferred to them all? We know that both the competency of things necessary, and the well-being of ourselves and of our friends, so long as these concern this present world alone, are to be cast aside as dross in comparison with the obtaining of eternal life; for although the body may be in health, the mind cannot be regarded as sound which does not prefer eternal to temporal things; yea, the life which we live in time is wasted, if it be not spent in obtaining that by which we may be worthy of eternal life.

Therefore all things which are the objects of useful and becoming desire are unquestionably to be viewed with reference to that one life which is lived with God, and is derived from Him. In so doing, we love ourselves if we love God; and we truly love our neighbours as ourselves, according to the second great commandment, if, so far as is in our power, we persuade them to a similar love of God. We love God, therefore, for what He is in Himself, and ourselves and our neighbours for His sake. Even when living thus, let us not think that we are securely established in that happy life, as if there was nothing more for which we should still pray. For how could we be said to live a happy life now, while that which alone is the object of a well-directed life is still wanting to us?

Chap. viil 15. Why, then, are our desires scattered over many things, and why, through fear of not praying as we ought, do we ask what we should pray for, and not rather say with the Psalmist: "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after: that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in His temple "? ^ For in the house of the Lord "all the days of life " are not days distinguished by their successively coming and passing away: the beginning of one day is not the end of another; but they are all alike unending in that place where the life which is made up of them has itself no end. In order to our obtaining this true blessed life, He who is Himself the True Blessed Life has taught us to pray, not with much speaking, as if our being heard depended upon the fluency with which we express ourselves, seeing that we are praying to One who, as the Lord tells us, "knoweth what things we have need of before we ask Him." ^ Whence it may seem surprising that, although He has forbidden "much speaking," He who knoweth before we ask Him what things we need has nevertheless given us exhortation to prayer in such words as these: "Men ought always to pray and not to faint; " setting before us the case of a widow, who, desiring to have justice done to her against her adversary, did by her persevering entreaties persuade an unjust judge to listen to her, not moved by a regard either to justice or to mercy, but overcome by her wearisome importunity; in order that we might be admonished how much more certainly the Lord God, who is merciful and just, gives ear to us praying continually to Him, when this widow, by her unremitting supplication, prevailed over the indifference of an unjust and wicked judge, and how willingly and
benignantly He fulfils the good desires of those whom He knows to have forgiven others their trespasses, when this
: suppliant, though seeking vengeance upon her adversary, obtained her desire. A similar lesson the Lord gives in the parable of the man to whom a friend in his journey had come, 1 and who, having nothing to set before him, desired to borrow from another friend three loaves (in which, perhaps, there is a figure of the Trinity of persons of one substance), and finding him already along with his household asleep, succeeded by very urgent and importunate entreaties in rousing him up, so that he gave him as many as he needed, being moved rather

Ps. xxvii. 4. 2 ^latt. vi. 7, 8. 3 ^ke xviii. 1-8.

154 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXX.

by a wish to avoid further annoyance than by benevolent thoughts: from which the Lord would have us understand, that if even one who was asleep is constrained to give, even in spite of himself, after being disturbed in his sleep by the person who asks of him, how much more kindly will He give who never sleeps, and who rouses us from sleep that we may ask from Him.

16. With the same design He added: "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone ? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent ? or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion ? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give good things to them that ask Him ? " ^ We have here what corresponds to those three things which the apostle commends: faith is signified by the fish, either on account of the element of water used in baptism, or because it remains unharmed amid the tempestuous waves of this world, â€” contrasted with which is the serpent, that with poisonous deceit persuaded man to disbelieve God; ho2Je is signified by the egg, because the life of the young bird is not yet in it, but is to be â€” is not seen, but hoped for, because " hope which is seen is not hope," ^ â€” contrasted with which is the scorpion, for the man who hopes for eternal life forgets the things which are behind, and reaches forth to the things which are before, for to him it is dangerous to look back; but the scorpion is to be guarded against on account of what it has in its tail, namely, a sharp and venomous sting; charity is signified by bread, for " the greatest of these is charity," and bread surpasses all other kinds of food in usefulness, â€” contrasted with which is a stone, because hard hearts refuse to exercise charity. Whether this be the meaning of these symbols, or some other more suitable be found, it is at least certain that He who knoweth how to give good gifts to His children urges us to " ask and seek and knock."

17. Why this should be done by Him who "before we ask Him knoweth what things we have need of," might perplex our minds, if we did not understand that the Lord our God requires us to ask not that thereby our wish may be intimated to Him, for to Him it cannot be unknown, but in order that by prayer there may be exercised in us by supplications that desire by which we may receive what He prepares to bestow. His gifts are very great, but we are small and straitened in our capacity of receiving. Wherefore it is said to us: "Be ye enlarged, not bearing the yoke along with unbelievers." For, in proportion to the simplicity of our faith, the firmness of our hope, and the ardour of our desire, will we more largely receive of that which is immensely great; which "eye hath not seen," for it is not colour; which "the ear hath not heard," for it is not sound; and which hath not ascended into the heart of man, for the heart of man must ascend to it.

Chap. ix. 18. When we cherish uninterrupted desire along with the exercise of faith and hope and charity, we "pray always." But at certain stated hours and seasons we also use words in prayer to God, that by these signs of things we may admonish ourselves, and may acquaint ourselves with the measure of progress which we have made in this desire, and may more warmly excite ourselves to obtain an increase of its strength. For the effect following upon prayer will be excellent in proportion to the fervour of the desire which precedes its utterance. And therefore, what else is intended by the words of the apostle: "Pray without ceasing," than, "Desire without intermission, from Him who alone can give it, a happy life, which no life can be but that which is eternal"? This, therefore, let us desire continually from the Lord our God; and thus let us pray continually. But at certain hours we recall our minds from other cares and business, in which desire itself somehow is cooled down, to the business of prayer, admonishing ourselves by the words of our prayer to fix attention upon that which we desire, lest what had begun to lose heat become altogether cold, and be finally extinguished, if the flame be not more frequently fanned. Whence, also, when the same apostle says, "Let your requests be made known unto God," this is not to be understood as if thereby they become known to God, who certainly knew them before they were uttered, but in this sense, that they are to be made known to ourselves in the presence of God by patient waiting upon Him, not in the presence of men by ostentatious worship. Or perhaps that they may be made known also to the angels that are in the presence of God, that these beings may in some way present them to God, and consult Him concerning them, and may bring to us, either manifestly or secretly, that which, hearkening to His commandment, they may have
learned to be His will, and which must be fulfilled by them according to that which they have there learned to be their duty; for the angel said to Tobias: ^ " Now, therefore, when thou didst pray, axid Sara thy daughter-in-law, I did bring the remembrance of your prayers before the Holy One."

Chap. x. 19. Wherefore it is neither wrong nor unprofitable to spend much time in praying, if there be leisure for this without hindering other good and necessary works to which duty calls us, although even in the doing of these, as I have said, we ought by cherishing holy desire to pray without ceasing. For to spend a long time in prayer is not, as some think, the same thing as to pray " with much speaking."

Multiplied words are one thing, long-continued warmth of desire is another. For even of the Lord Himself it is written, that He continued all night in prayer,^ and that His prayer was more prolonged when He was in an agony; * and in this is not an example given to us by Him who is in time an Intercessor such as we need, and who is with the Father eternally the Hearer of prayer?

20. The brethren in Egypt are reported to have very frequent prayers, but these very brief, and, as it were, sudden and ejaculatory, lest the wakeful and aroused attention which is indispensable in prayer should by protracted exercises vanish or lose its keenness. And in this they themselves show plainly enough, that just as this attention is not to be 'PliiL iv. 6. 2 Tobias xii. 12. 3 L^e vi. 12.


LET. CXXX.] TO PKOBA. 157

allowed to become exhausted if it cannot continue long, so it is not to be suddenly suspended if it is sustained. Far be it from us either to use " much speaking " in prayer, or to refrain from prolonged prayer, if fervent attention of the soul continue. To use much speaking in prayer is to employ a superfluity of words in asking a necessary thing; but to prolong prayer is to have the heart throbbing with continued pious emotion towards Him to whom we pray. For in most cases prayer consists more in groaning than in speaking, in tears rather than in words. But He setteth our tears in His sight, and our groaning is not hidden from Him who made all things by the word, and does not need human words.

Chap. xi. 21. To us, therefore, words are necessary, that by them we may be assisted in considering and observing what we ask, not as means by w^hich we expect that God is to be either informed or moved to compliance. Whien, therefore, we say: " Hallowed be Thy name," we admonish ourselves to desire that His name, which is always holy, may be also among men esteemed holy, that is to say, not despised; which is an advantage not to God, but to men. "When we say: " Thy kingdom come," which shall certainly come whether we wish it or not, we do by these words stir up our own desires for that kingdom, that it may come to us, and that we may be found worthy to reign in it. When we say: "
Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," we pray for ourselves that He would give us the grace of obedience, that His will may be done by us in the same way as it is done in heavenly places by His angels. When we say: "Give us this day our daily bread," the word "this day" signifies for the present time, in which we ask either for that competency of temporal blessings which I have spoken of before ("bread" being used to designate the whole of those blessings, because of its constituting so important a part of them), or the sacrament of believers, which is in this present time necessary, but I necessary in order to obtain the felicity not of the present time, but of eternity. When we say: "Forgive us our debts . as we forgive our debtors," we remind ourselves both what we should ask, and what we should do in order that we may be worthy to receive what we ask. When we say: "Lead

158 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXX.

US not into temptation," we admonish ourselves to seek that we may not, through being deprived of God's help, be either ensnared to consent or compelled to yield to temptation. "When we say: "Deliver us from evil," we admonish ourselves to consider that we are not yet enjoying that good estate in which we shall experience no evil. And this petition, which stands last in the Lord's Prayer, is so comprehensive that a Christian, in whatsoever affliction he be placed, may in using it give utterance to his groans and find vent for his tears â€” may begin with this petition, go on with it, and with it conclude his prayer. For it was necessary that by the use of these words the things which they signify should be kept before our memory.

Chap, xil 22. For whatever other words we may say, â€” whether the desire of the person praying go before the words, and employ them in order to give definite form to its requests, or come after them, and concentrate attention upon them, that it may increase in fervour, â€” if we pray rightly, and as becomes our wants, we say nothing but what is already contained in the Lord's Prayer. And whoever says in prayer anything which cannot find its place in that gospel prayer, is praying in a way which, if it be not unlawful, is at least not spiritual; and I know not how carnal prayers can be lawful, since it becomes those who are born again by the Spirit to pray in no other way than spiritually. For example, when one prays: "Be Thou glorified among all nations as Thou art glorified among us," and "Let Thy prophets be found faithful," ^ what else does he ask than, "Hallowed be Thy name" ? When one says: "Turn us again, Lord God of hosts, cause Thy face to shine, and we shall be saved," ^ what else is he saying than, "Let Thy kingdom come" ? When one says: "Order my steps in Thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me," ^ what else is he saying than, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" ?
When one says: "Give me neither poverty nor riches," * what else is this than, "Give us this day our daily bread "?
When one says: "Lord, remember David, and all his com-


3 Ps. cxix. 133. * Prov. xxx. 8.

LET. CXXX.] TO rnoBA. 159

passion," ^ or, "Lord, if I have done this, if there be iniquity in my hands, if I have rewarded evil to them that did evil to me," "^ what else is this than, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors " ? When one says: "Take away from me the lusts of the appetite, and let not sensual desire take hold on me," "^ what else is this than, "Lead us not into temptation " ? When one says: "Deliver me from mine enemies, my God; defend me from them that rise up against me," "^ what else is this than, "Deliver us from evil " ?
And if you go over all the words of holy prayers, you will, I believe, find nothing which cannot be comprised and summed up in the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. Wherefore, in praying, we are free to use different words to any extent, but we must ask the same things; in this we have no choice.

23. These things it is our duty to ask without hesitation for ourselves and for our friends, and for strangers â€” yea, even for enemies; although in the heart of the person praying, desire for one and for another may arise, differing in nature or in strength according to the more immediate or more remote relationship.
But he who says in prayer such words as, "0 Lord, multiply my riches;" or, "Give me as much wealth as Thou hast given to this or that man;" or, "Increase my honours, make me eminent for power and fame in this world," or something else of this sort, and who asks merely from a desire for these things, and not in order through them to benefit men agreeably to God's will, I do not think that he will find any part of the Lord's Prayer in connection with which he could fit in these requests.
^\he^efore let us be ashamedr at least to ask these things, it we be not ashamed to desire them. If, however, we are ashamed of even desiring them, but feel ourselves overcome by the desire, how much better would it be to ask to be freed from this plague of desire by Him to whom we say, "Deliver us from evil " !

 Chap. xiii. 24. You have now, if I am not mistaken, an answer to two questions, â€” what kind of person you ought to be if you would pray, and what things you should ask in prayer; and the answer has been given not by my teaching,

but by His who has condescended to teach us all. A happy life is to be sought after, and this is to be asked from the Lord God. Many different answers have been given by many in discussing wherein true happiness consists; but why should we go to many teachers, or consider many answers to this question? It has been briefly and truly stated in the divine Scriptures, "Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord."^ That we may be numbered among this people, and that we may attain to beholding Him and dwelling for ever with Him, "the end of the commandment is, charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."^ In the same three, hope has been placed instead of a good conscience. Faith, hope, and charity, therefore, lead unto God the man who prays, i.e. who believes, hopes, and desires, and is guided as to what he should ask from the Lord by studying the Lord's Prayer. Fasting, and abstinence from gratifying carnal desire in other pleasures without injury to health, and especially frequent almsgiving, are a great assistance in prayer; so that we may be able to say, "In the day of my trouble I sought the Lord, with my hands in the night before Him, and I was not deceived."^ For how can God, who is a Spirit, and who cannot be touched, be sought with hands in any other sense than by good works?

Chap. xiv. 25. Perhaps you may still ask why the apostle said, "We know not what to pray for as we ought,"* for it is wholly incredible that either he or those to whom he wrote were ignorant of the Lord's Prayer. He could not say this either rashly or falsely; what, then, do we suppose to be his reason for the statement? Is it not that vexations and troubles in this world are for the most part profitable either to heal the swelling of pride, or to prove and exercise patience, for which, after such probation and discipline, a greater reward is reserved, or to punish and eradicate some sins; but we, not knowing what beneficial purpose these may serve, desire to be freed from all tribulation? To this ignorance the apostle showed that even he himself was not a stranger (unless, perhaps, he did it notwithstanding his knowing what to pray for

1 Ps. cxliv. 15. 'M Tim. i. 5.


as he ought), when, lest he should be exalted above measure by the greatness of the revelations, there was given unto him a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet him; for which thing, not knowing surely what he ought to pray for, he besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from him. At length he received the answer of God, declaring why that which so great a man prayed for was denied, and why it was expedient that it
should not be done: "My grace is sufficient for thee; my strength is made perfect in weakness." 

26. Accordingly, we know not what to pray for as we ought in regard to tribulations, which may do us good or harm; and yet, because they are hard and painful, and against the natural feelings of our weak nature, we pray, with a desire which is common to mankind, that they may be removed from us. But we ought to exercise such submission to the will of the Lord our God, that if He does not remove those vexations, we do not suppose ourselves to be neglected by Him, but rather, in patient endurance of evil, hope to be made partakers of greater good, for so His strength is perfected in our weakness. God has sometimes in anger granted the request of impatient petitioners, as in mercy He denied it to the apostle.

For we read what the Israelites asked, and in what manner they asked and obtained their request; but while their desire was granted, their impatience was severely corrected. 

Again, He gave them, in answer to their request, a king according to their heart, as it is written, not according to His own heart. 

He granted also what the devil asked, namely, that His servant, who was to be proved, might be tempted. He granted also the request of unclean spirits, when they besought Him that their legion might be sent into the great herd of swine. These things are written to prevent any one thinking too highly of himself if he has received an answer when he was urgently asking anything which it would be more advantageous for him not to receive, or to prevent him from being cast down and despairing of the divine compassion towards himself if he be not heard, when,

Â» 2 Cor. xii. 7-0. Â« Numb. xi. 3 j gam. viii. 6, 7.

* Job i. 12, ii. 6. ^ Luke viii. 32.

LETT. II. L

162 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [IET. CXXX.

perchance, he is asking something by the obtaining of which he might be more grievously afflicted, or might be by the corrupting influences of prosperity wholly destroyed. In regard to such things, therefore, we know not what to pray for as we ought. Accordingly, if anything is ordered in a way contrary to our prayer, we ought, patiently bearing the disappointment, and in everything giving thanks to God, to entertain no doubt whatever that it was right that the will of God and not our will should be done. For of this the Mediator has given us an example, inasmuch as, after He had said, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me,"
transforming the human will which was in Him through His incarnation, He immediately added, "Nevertheless, Father, not as I will but as Thou wilt." I Wherefore, not without reason are many made righteous by the obedience of One.

27. But whoever desires from the Lord that "one thing," and seeks after it,^ asks in certainty and in confidence, and has no fear lest when obtained it be injurious to him, seeing that, without it, anything else which he may have obtained by asking in a right way is of no advantage to him.
The thing referred to is the one true and only happy life, in which, immortal and incorruptible in body and spirit, we may contemplate the joy of the Lord for ever. All other things are desired, and are without impropriety prayed for, with a view to this one thing. For whosoever has it shall have all that he wishes, and cannot possibly wish to have anything along with it which would be unbecoming. For in it is the fountain of life, which we must now thirst for in prayer so long as we live in hope, not yet seeing that which we hope for, trusting under the shadow of His wings before whom are all our desires, that we may be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of His house, and made to drink of the river of His pleasures; because with Him is the fountain of life, and in His light we shall see light,* when our desire shall be satisfied with good things, and when there shall be nothing beyond to be sought after with groaning, but all things shall be possessed by us with rejoicing. At the same time, because this blessing is nothing else than the " peace which passeth all 
>* Matt. xxvi. 39. ^ j^om. v. 19. 3 pg. xivii. 4 â™¦Ps. xxxvi. 8-10.

LET. CXXX.] TO PROBA. 163

understanding,"^ even when we are asking it in our prayers, we know not what to pray for as we ought. For inasmuch as we cannot present it to our minds as it really is, we do not know it, but whatever image of it may be presented to our minds we reject, disown, and condemn; we know it is not what we are seeking, although we do not yet know enough to be able to define what we seek.

Chap. xv. 28. There is therefore in us a certain learned ignorance, so to speak â€“ an ignorance which we learn from that Spirit of God who helps our infirmities. For after the apostle said, " If we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it," he added in the same passage, 
" Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is in the mind of the Spirit, because He maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." ^ This is not to be understood as if it meant that the Holy Spirit of God, who, is in the Trinity, God unchangeable, and is one God with the Father and the Son, intercedes for the saints like one who is not a divine person; for it is said, " He maketh intercession for the saints," because He enables the saints, to make intercession, as in another place it is said, " The Lord your God proveth you, that He may know whether ye love Him," ^ i. e.
that He may make you know. He therefore makes the saints intercede with groanings which cannot be uttered, when He inspires them with longings for that great blessing, as yet unknown, for which we patiently wait. For how is that which is desired set forth in language if it be unknown, for if it were utterly unknown it would not be desired; and on the other hand, if it were seen, it would not be desired nor sought for with groanings?

Chap. xvi. 29. Considering all these things, and whatever else the Lord shall have made known to you in this matter, which either does not occur to me or would take too much time to state here, strive in prayer to overcome this world: pray in hope, pray in faith, pray in love, pray earnestly and patiently, pray as a widow belonging to Christ. For although prayer is, as He has taught, the duty of all His members, i.e. of all who believe in Him and are united to His body, a more assiduous attention to prayer is found to be specially enjoined in Scripture upon those who are widows. Two women of the name of Anna are honourably named there, â€” the one, Elkanah's wife, who was the mother of holy Samuel; the other, the widow who recognised the Most Holy One when He was yet a babe. The former, though married, prayed with sorrow of mind and brokenness of heart because she had no sons; and she obtained Samuel, and dedicated him to the Lord, because she vowed to do so when she prayed for him. It is not easy, however, to find to what petition of the Lord's Prayer her petition could be referred, unless it be to the last, " Deliver us from evil," because it was esteemed to be an evil to be married and not to have offspring as the fruit of marriage. Observe, however, what is written concerning the other Anna, the widow: she " departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day." In like manner, the apostle said in words already quoted, " She that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day;" and the Lord, when exhorting men to pray always and not to faint, made mention of a widow, who, by persevering importunity, persuaded a judge to attend to her cause, though he was an unjust and wicked man, and one who neither feared God nor regarded man. How incumbent it is on widows to go beyond others in devoting time to prayer may be plainly enough seen from the fact that from among them are taken the examples set forth as an exhortation to all to earnestness in prayer.

30. Now what makes this work specially suitable to widows but their bereaved and desolate condition? Whosoever, then, understands that he is in this world bereaved and desolate as long as he is a pilgrim absent from his Lord, is careful to commit his
widowhood, so to speak, to his God as his shield in continual and most fervent prayer. Pray, therefore, as a widow of Christ, not yet seeing Him whose help you im-

Â» 1 Sam. i. 2 Luke ii. 36, 37. ^ i Tim. v. 5.

LET. CXXX.] TO PEOBA. 165

plore. And though you are very wealthy, pray as a poor person, for you have not yet the true riches of the world to come, in which you have no loss to fear. Though you have sons and grandchildren, and a large household, still pray, as I said already, as one who is desolate, for we have no certainty in regard to all temporal blessings that they shall abide for our consolation even to the end of this present life. If

you seek and relish the things that are above, you desire things everlasting and sure; and as long as you do not yet possess them, you ought to regard yourself as desolate, even though all your family are spared to you, and live as you desire. And if you thus act, assuredly your example will be followed by your most devout daughter-in-law,^ and the other holy widows and virgins that are settled in peace under your care; for the more pious the manner in which you order your house, the more are you bound to persevere fervently in prayer, not engaging yourselves with the affairs of this world further than is demanded in the interests of religion.

31. By all means remember to pray earnestly for me. I would not have you yield such deference to the office fraught with perils which I bear, as to refrain from giving the assistance which I know myself to need. Prayer was made by the household of Christ for Peter and for Paul. I rejoice that you are in His household; and I need, incomparably more than Peter and Paul did, the help of the prayers of the brethren.

Emulate each other in prayer with a holy rivalry, with one heart, for you wrestle not against each other, but against the devil, who is the common enemy of all the saints. "By fasting, by vigils, and all mortification of the body, prayer is greatly helped."^ Let each one do what she can; what one cannot herself do,

^ she does by another who can do it, if she loves in another that which personal inability alone hinders her from doing; wherefore let her who can do less not keep back the one who can do more, and let her who can do more not urge unduly her

. who can do less. For your conscience is responsible to God; to each other owe nothing but mutual love. May the Lord,

f who is able to do above what we ask or think, give eax to your prayers.^

* Juliana, the mother of Demetrias, * Tobit xii. 8. ^ Eph. iii. 20.
LETTER CXXXI.

(A.D. 412.)

TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT DAUGHTER, THE NOBLE AND DESERVEDLY ILLUSTRIOUS LADY PROBA, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

You speak the truth when you say that the soul, having its abode in a corruptible body, is restrained by this measure of contact with the earth, and is somehow so bent and crushed by this burden that its desires and thoughts go more easily downwards to many things than upwards to one. For Holy Scripture says the same: "The corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things."\(^{1}\) But our Saviour, who by His healing word raised up the woman in the gospel that had been eighteen years bowed down\(^{2}\) (whose case was, perchance, a figure of spiritual infirmity), came for this purpose, that Christians might not hear in vain the call, "Lift up your hearts," and might truly reply, "We lift them up to the Lord." Looking to this, you do well to regard the evils of this world as easy to bear because of the hope of the world to come. For thus, by being rightly used, these evils become a blessing, because, while they do not increase our desires for this world, they exercise our patience; as to which the apostle says, "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God: "\(^{3}\) all things, he saith â€” not only, therefore, those which are desired because pleasant, but also those which are shunned because painful; since we receive the former without being carried away by them, and bear the latter without being crushed by them, and in all give thanks, according to the divine command, to Him of whom we say, "I will bless the Lord at all times; His praise shall continually be in my mouth."\(^{4}\) and, "It is good for me that Thou hast humbled me, that I might learn Thy statutes."\(^{5}\) The truth is, most noble lady, that if the calm of this treacherous prosperity were always smiling upon us, the soul of man

\(^{1}\) Wisd. ix. 15. 2 Luke xiii. 11-13. 3 Eom. viii. 28.

\(^{2}\) Ps. xxxiv. 1. Â» Ps. cxix. 71 (LXX.).

LET. CXXXII.] TO VOLUSIANUS. 167

would never make for the haven of true and certain safety. Wherefore, in returning the respectful salutation due to your Excellency, and expressing my gratitude for your most pious care for my welfare, I ask of the Lord that He may grant
to you the rewards of the life to come, and consolation in the present life; and I commend myself to the love and prayers of all of you in whose hearts Christ dwells by faith.

(In another hand) May the true and faithful God truly comfort your heart and preserve your health, my most excellent daughter and noble lady, deservedly illustrious.

â€”

LETTER CXXXII.

(A.D. 412.)

TO VOLUSIANUS, MY NOBLE LORD AND MOST JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED SON, BISHOP AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

In my desire for your welfare, both in this world and in Christ, I am perhaps not even surpassed by the prayers of your pious mother. Wherefore, in reciprocating your salutation with the respect due to your worth, I beg to exhort you, as earnestly as I can, not to grudge to devote attention to the study of the Writings which are truly and unquestionably holy. For they are genuine and solid truth, not winning their way to the mind by artificial eloquence, nor giving forth with flattering voice a vain and uncertain sound. They deeply interest the man who is hungering not for words but for things; and they cause great alarm at first in him whom they are to render safe from fear. I exhort you especially to read the writings of the apostles, for from them you will receive a stimulus to acquaint yourself with the prophets, whose testimonies the apostles use. If in your reading or meditation on what you have read any question arises to the solution of which I may appear necessary, write to me, that I may write in reply. For, with the Lord helping me, I may perhaps be more able to serve you in this way than by personally conversing with you on such subjects, partly because, through the difference in our occupations, it does not happen that you have leisure at the same times as I might have it, but especially because of the irrepressible intrusion of those who are for the most part not adapted to such discussions, and take more pleasure in a war of words than in the clear light of knowledge; whereas, whatever is written stands always at the service of the reader when he has leisure, and there can be nothing burdensome in the society of that which is taken up or laid aside at your own pleasure.

LETTER CXXXIII.

(A.D. 412.)
TO MARCELLINUS,^ MY NOBLE LORD, JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED, MY SON VERY MUCH BELOVED, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I HAVE learned that the Circumcellions and clergy of the Donatist faction belonging to the district of Hippo, whom the guardians of public order had brought to trial for their deeds, have been examined by your Excellency, and that the most of them have confessed their share in the violent death which the presbyter Eestitutus suffered at their hands, and in the beating of Innocentius, another Catholic presbyter, as well as in digging out the eye and cutting off the finger of the said Innocentius. This news has plunged me into the deepest anxiety, lest perchance your Excellency should judge them worthy, according to the laws, of punishment not less severe than suffering in their own persons the same injuries as they had inflicted on others. Wherefore I write this letter to implore you by your faith in Christ, and by the mercy of

* Marcellinus was commissioned by the Emperor Honorius to convene a conference of Catholic and Donatist bishops, with a view to the final peaceful settlement of their differences. He accordingly summoned both parties to a conference, held in the summer of 411, in which he pronounced the Catholic party to have completely gained their cause in argument. He proceeded to carry out with considerable rigour the laws passed for the repression of the Donatist schism, and thus becoming obnoxious to that faction, fell at length a victim to their revenge when a turn of fortune favoured their plots against his life.

The honour of a place among the martyrs of the early Church has been assigned to him. His character may be learned from Letters CXXXVI., CXXXVIII., CXXXIX., and CXLIIIL, and particularly from the beautiful tribute to his worth given in Letter CLI., in which the circumstances of his death are recorded.

LET. CXXXIII.] TO MAECELLTNUS. 169

Christ the Lord Himself, by no means to do this or permit it to be done. For although we might silently pass over the execution of criminals who may be regarded as brought up for trial not upon an accusation of ours, but by an indictment presented by those to whose vigilance the preservation of the public peace is entrusted, we do not wish to have the sufferings of the servants of God avenged by the infliction of precisely similar injuries in the way of retaliation. Not, of course, that we object to the removal from these wicked men of the liberty to perpetrate further crimes; but our desire is rather that justice be satisfied without the taking of their lives or the maiming of their bodies in any part, and that, by such coercive measures as may be in accordance with the laws, they be turned from their insane frenzy to the quietness of men in their sound judgment, or compelled to give up mischievous violence and betake themselves to some useful labour. This is indeed called a penal sentence; but who does not see that when a restraint is put upon the
boldness of savage violence, and the remedies fitted to produce repentance are not withdrawn, this discipline should be called a benefit rather than vindictive punishment?

2. Fulfil, Christian judge, the duty of an affectionate father; let your indignation against their crimes be tempered by considerations of humanity; be not provoked by the atrocity of their sinful deeds to gratify the passion of revenge, but rather be moved by the wounds which these deeds have inflicted on their own souls to exercise a desire to heal them. Do not lose now that fatherly care which you maintained when prosecuting the examination, in doing which you extracted the confession of such horrid crimes, not by stretching them on the rack, not by furrowing their flesh with iron claws,^ not by scorching them with flames, but by beating them with rods, â€” a mode of correction used by schoolmasters,^ and by parents themselves in chastising children, and often also by bishops in the sentences awarded by them. Do not, * Compare "ungulis sulcantibus latera." Codex Justin, ix. 18. 7.

Magistris artiura liberalium; doubtless the name of Master of Arts was originally connected with the office and work of teaching, instead of being a mere honorary title.

170 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXIIL

therefore, now punish with extreme severity the crimes which you searched out with lenity. The necessity for harshness is greater in the investigation than in the infliction of punishment; for even the gentlest men use diligence and stringency in searching out a hidden crime, that they may find to whom they may show mercy. Wherefore it is generally necessary to use more rigour in making inquisition, so that when the crime has been brought to light, there may be scope for displaying clemency. For all good works love to be set in the light, not in order to obtain glory from men, but, as the Lord saith, "that they seeing your good works may glorify your Father who is in heaven." And, for the same reason, the apostle was not satisfied with merely exhorting us to practise moderation, but also commands us to make it known: "Let your moderation," he says, "be known unto all men;" ^ and in another place, "Showing all meekness unto all men."

Hence, also, that most signal forbearance of the holy David, when he mercifully spared his enemy when delivered into his hand,* would not have been so conspicuous had not his power to act otherwise been manifest. Therefore let not the power of executing vengeance inspire you with harshness, seeing that the necessity of examining the criminals did not make you lay aside your clemency. Do not call for the executioner now when the crime has been found out, after having forborne from calling in the tormentor when you were finding it out.

3. In fine, you have been sent hither for the benefit of the Church. I solemnly declare that what I recommend is expedient in the interests of the Catholic Church, or, that I may not seem to pass beyond the boundaries of my own charge, I
protest that it is for the good of the Church belonging to the diocese of Hippo. If you do not hearken to me asking this favour as a friend, hearken to me offering this counsel as a bishop; although, indeed, it would not be presumption for me to say â€” since I am addressing a Christian, and especially in such a case as this â€” that it becomes you to hearken to me as a bishop commanding with authority, my noble and justly distinguished lord and much-loved son. I am aware that the

> Matt. V. 16. * Phil iv. 5. 3 Titus iii. 2. ^ 1 Sam. xxiv. 7.

LET. CXXXV.] VOLUSIANUS TO AUGUSTINE. 171

principal charge of law cases connected with the affairs of the Church has been devolved on your Excellency, but as I believe that this particular case belongs to the very illustrious and honourable proconsul, I have written a letter ^ to him also, which I beg you not to refuse to give to him, or, if necessary, recommend to his attention; and I entreat you both not to resent our intercession, or counsel, or anxiety, as officious. And let not the sufferings of Catholic servants of God, which ought to be useful in the spiritual upbuilding of the weak, be sullied by the retaliation of injuries on those who did them wrong, but rather, tempering the rigour of justice, let it be your care as sons of the Church to commend both your own faith and your Mother's clemency.

May almighty God enrich your Excellency with all good things, my noble and justly distinguished lord and dearly beloved son!

LETTEE CXXXV.

(A.D. 412.)

TO BISHOP AUGUSTINE, MY LORD TRULY HOLY, AND FATHER JUSTLY REVERED, VOLUSIANUS SENDS GREETING.

1. MAN who art a pattern of goodness and uprightness, you ask me to apply to you for instruction in regard to some of the obscure passages which occur in my reading. I accept at your command the favour of this kindness, and willingly offer myself to be taught by you, acknowledging the authority of the ancient proverb, "We are never too old to learn." With good reason the author of this proverb has not restricted by any limits or end our pursuit of wisdom; for truth, ^ secluded in its original principles, is never so disclosed to those who approach it as to be wholly revealed to their knowledge. It seems to me, therefore, my lord truly holy, and father justly revered, worth while to communicate to you the substance of a conversation which recently took place

* This letter, No. CXXXIV., is addressed to Apringius, and in somewhat similar terms, but at greater length, urges the same request.
' We read here " Veritas," instead of ** virtus."
among us. I was present at a gathering of friends, and a great many opinions were brought forward there, such as the disposition and studies of each suggested. Our discourse was chiefly, however, on the department of rhetoric which treats of proper arrangement. I speak to one familiar with the subject, for you were not long ago a teacher of these things.

Upon this followed a discussion regarding "invention" in rhetoric, its nature, what boldness it requires, how great the labour involved in methodical arrangement, what is the charm of metaphors, and the beauty of illustrations, and the power of applying epithets suitable to the character and nature of the subject in hand. Others extolled with partiality the poet's art. This part also of eloquence is not left unnoticed or unhonoured by you. We may appropriately apply to you that line of the poet: "The ivy is intertwined with the laurels which reward your victory." We spoke, accordingly, of the embellishments which skilful arrangement adds to a poem, of the beauty of metaphors, and of the sublimity of well-chosen comparisons; then we spoke of smooth and flowing versification, and, if I may use the expression, the harmonious variation of the pauses in the lines. The conversation turned next to a subject with which you are very familiar, namely, that philosophy which you were wont yourself to cherish, after the manner of Aristotle and Isocrates. We asked what had been achieved by the philosopher of the Lyceum, by the varied and incessant doubtings of the Academy, by the debater of the Porch, by the discoveries of natural philosophers, by the self-indulgence of the Epicureans; and what had been the result of their boundless zeal in disputation with each other, and how truth was more than ever unknown by them after they assumed that its knowledge was attainable.

2. While our conversation continues on these topics, one of the large company says: "Who among us is so thoroughly apprized of the wisdom taught by Christianity as to be able to resolve the doubts by which I am entangled, and to give firmness to my hesitating acceptance of its teaching by arguments in which truth or probability may claim my belief?"

* "Partitio," defined thus by Quintilian, vii. 1: "Sit igitur cum visio revvum plnrium in singulas æ部分io, singularum in partes discretas ordo et recta queredam locatio."

2 Virgil, Bucol. Ed. 8, line 13. ^ Csesurarum modulata variatio-
We are all dumb with amazement. Then, of his own accord, he breaks forth in these words: "I wonder whether the Lord and Elder of the world did indeed fill the womb of a virgin;â€”did his mother endure the protracted fatigues of ten months, and, being yet a virgin, in due season bring forth her child, and continue even after that with her virginity intact?"

To this he adds other statements: "Within the small body of a crying infant He is concealed whom the universe scarcely can contain; He bears the years of childhood, He grows up. He is established in the vigour of manhood; this Governor is so long an exile from His own dwelling-place, and the care of the whole world is transferred to one body of insignificant dimensions. Moreover, He falls asleep, takes food to support Him, is subject to all the sensations of mortal men. Nor did the proofs of so great majesty shine forth with adequate fulness of evidence: for the casting out of devils, the curing of the sick, and the restoration of the dead to life are, if you consider others who have wrought these wonders, but small works for God to do." We prevent him from continuing such questions, and the meeting having broken up, we referred the matter to the valuable decision of experience beyond our own, lest, by too rashly intruding into hidden things, the error, innocent thus far, should become blameworthy.

You have heard, man worthy of all honour, the confession of our ignorance; you perceive what is requested at your hands. Your reputation is interested in our obtaining an answer to these questions. Ignorance may, without harm to religion, be tolerated in other priests; but when we come to Bishop Augustine, whatever we find unknown to him is no part of the Christian system. May the Supreme God protect your venerable Grace, my lord truly holy and justly revered!

174 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXYL

LETTER CXXXVI.

(A.D. 412.)

TO AUGUSTINE, MY LORD MOST VENERABLE, AND FATHER SINGULARLY WORTHY OF ALL POSSIBLE SERVICE FROM ME, I, MARCELLINUS, SEND GREETING.

1. The noble Volusianus read to me the letter of your Holiness, and, at my urgent solicitation, he read to many more the sentences which had won my admiration, for, like everything else coming from your pen, they were worthy of admiration. Breathing as it did a humble spirit, and rich in the grace of divine eloquence, it succeeded easily in pleasing the reader. What especially pleased me was your strenuous effort to establish and hold up the steps of one who is somewhat hesitating, by counselling him to form a good resolution.

For I have every day some discussion with the same man, so far as my abilities, or rather my lack of talent, may enable me. Moved by the earnest entreaties of his pious mother, I
am at pains to visit him frequently, and he is so good as return my visits from time to time. But on receiving this letter from your venerable Eminence, though he is kept back from firm faith in the true God by the influence of a class of persons who abound in this city, he was so moved, that, as he himself tells me, he was prevented only by the fear of undue prolixity in his letter from unfolding to you every possible difficulty in regard to the Christian faith. Some things, however, he has very earnestly asked you to explain, expressing himself in a polished and accurate style, and with the perspicuity and brilliancy of Roman eloquence, such as you will yourself deem worthy of approbation. The question which he has submitted to you is indeed worn threadbare in controversy, and the craftiness which, from the same quarter, assails with reproaches the Lord's incarnation is well known. But as I am confident that whatever you write in reply will be of use to a very large number, I would approach you with the request, that even in this question you would condescend to give a thoroughly guarded answer to their false statement that in His works the Lord performed nothing beyond what other men have been able to do. They are accustomed to bring forward their Apollonius and Apuleius, and other men who professed magical arts, whose miracles they maintained to have been greater than the Lord's.

2. The noble Volusianus aforesaid declared also in the presence of a number, that there were many other things which might not unreasonably be added to the question which he has sent, were it not that, as I have already stated, brevity had been specially studied by him in his letter. Although, however, he forebore from writing them, he did not pass them over in silence. For he is wont to say that, even if a reasonable account of the Lord's incarnation were now given to him, it would still be very difficult to give a satisfactory reason why this God, who is affirmed to be the God also of the Old Testament, is pleased with new sacrifices after having rejected the ancient sacrifices. For he alleges that nothing could be corrected but that which is proved to have been previously not rightly done; or that what has once been done rightly ought not to be altered in the very least. That which has been rightly done, he said, cannot be changed without wrong, especially because the variation might bring upon the Deity the reproach of inconstancy. Another objection which he stated was, that the Christian doctrine and preaching were in no way consistent with the duties and rights of citizens; because, to quote an instance frequently alleged, among its precepts we find, "Eecompense to no man evil for evil," and, "Whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain;" all which he affirms to be contrary to the duties and rights of citizens. For who would submit to have anything taken from him by an enemy, or forbear from retaliating the evils of war upon an invader who ravaged a Eoman
province? The other precepts, as your Eminence understands, are open to similar objections. Volusianus thinks that all these difficulties may be added to the question formerly stated, especially because it is manifest (though he is silent on this point) that very great calamities

\[\text{Rom. xii. 17. 2 Matt. v. 39-41.}\]

176 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII.

\(\text{li}
\)

have befallen the commonwealth under the government of emperors observing, for the most part, the Christian religion.^

3. Wherefore, as your Grace condescends along with me to acknowledge, it is important that all these difficulties be met by a full, thorough, and luminous reply (since the welcome answer of your Holiness will doubtless be put into many hands); especially because, while this discussion was going on, a distinguished lord and proprietor in the region of Hippo was present, who ironically said some flattering things concerning your Holiness, and affirmed that he had been by no means satisfied when he inquired into these matters himself.

I, therefore, not unmindful of your promise, but insisting on its fulfilment, beseech you to write, on the questions submitted, treatises which will be of incredible service to the Church, especially at the present time.

LETTEE CXXXVII.

(A.D. 412.)

TO MY MOST EXCELLENT SON, THE NOBLE AND JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED LORD VOLUSIANUS, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. I have read your letter, containing an abstract of a notable conversation given with praiseworthy conciseness.

I feel bound to reply to it, and to forbear from alleging any excuse for delay; for it happens opportunely that I have a short time of leisure from occupation with the affairs of other persons. I have also put off in the meantime dictating to my amanuensis certain things to which I had purposed to devote this leisure, for I think it would be a grievous injustice to delay answering questions which I had myself exhorted the questioner to
propound. For which of us who are administering, as we are able, the grace of Christ would wish to see you instructed in Christian doctrine only so far as might suffice to secure to yourself salvation — not salvation in this present life, which, as the word of God is careful to remind us, is but a vapour appearing for a little while and then vanishing away, but that salvation in order to the obtaining and eternal possession of which we are Christians? It seems to us too little that you should receive only so much instruction as suffices to your own deliverance. For your gifted mind, and your singularly able and lucid power of speaking, ought to be of service to all others around you, against whom, whether slowness or perversity be the cause, it is necessary to defend in a competent way the dispensation of such abounding grace, which small minds in their arrogance despise, boasting that they can do very great things, while in fact they can do nothing to cure or even to curb their own vices.

2. You ask: "Whether the Lord and Euler of the world did indeed fill the womb of a virgin? did his mother endure the protracted fatigues of ten months, and, being yet a virgin, in due season bring forth her child, and continue even after that with her virginity intact? Was He whom the universe is supposed to be scarcely able to contain concealed within the small body of a crying infant? did He bear the years of childhood, and grow up and become established in the vigour of manhood? Was this Governor so long an exile from His own dwelling-place, and was the care of the whole world transferred to a body of such insignificant dimensions? Did He sleep, did He take food as nourishment, and was He subject to all the sensations of mortal men?" You go on to say that "the proofs of His great majesty do not shine forth with any adequate fulness of evidence; for the casting out of devils, the curing of the sick, and the restoration of the dead are, if we consider others who have performed these wonders, but small works for God to do." This question, you say, was introduced in a certain meeting of friends by one of the company, but that the rest of you prevented him from bringing forward any further questions, and, breaking up the meeting, deferred the consideration of the matter till you should have the benefit of experience beyond your own, lest, by too rashly intruding into hidden things, the error, innocent thus far, should become blameworthy.

3. Thereupon you appeal to me, and request me to observe I what is desired from me after this confession of your ignorance.

You add, that my reputation is concerned in your obtaining

LETT. IL M
an answer to these questions, because, though ignorance is tolerated without injury to religion in other priests, when an inquiry is addressed to me, who am a bishop, whatever is not known to me must be no part of the Christian system.

I begin, therefore, by requesting you to lay aside the opinion which you have too easily formed concerning me, and dismiss those sentiments, though they are gratifying evidences of your goodwill, and believe my testimony rather than any other's regarding myself, if you reciprocate my affection. For such is the depth of the Christian Scriptures, that even if I were attempting to study them and nothing else from early boyhood to decrepit old age, with the utmost leisure, the most unwearied zeal, and talents greater than I have, I would be still daily making progress in discovering their treasures; not that there is so great difficulty in coming through them to know the things necessary to salvation, but when any one has accepted these truths with the faith that is indispensable as the foundation of a life of piety and uprightness, so many things which are veiled under manifold shadows of mystery remain to be inquired into by those who are advancing in the study, and so great is the depth of wisdom not only in the words in which these have been expressed, but also in the things themselves, that the experience of the oldest, the ablest, and the most zealous students of Scripture illustrates what Scripture itself has said: "When a man hath done, then he beginneth." 

Chap. ii. 4. But why say more as to this? I must rather address myself to the question which you propose. In the first place, I wish you to understand that the Christian doctrine does not hold that the Godhead was so blended with the human nature in which He was born of the virgin that He either relinquished or lost the administration of the universe, or transferred it to that body as a small and limited material substance. Such an opinion is held only by men who are incapable of conceiving of anything but material substances â€” whether more dense, like water and earth, or more subtle, like air and light; but all alike distinguished by this condition, that none of them can be in its entirety every-

' Ecclus. xviii. 6.

where, because, by reason of its many parts, it cannot but have one part here, another there, and however great or small the body may be, it must occupy some place, and so fill it that in its entirety it is in no one part of the space occupied.
And hence it is the distinctive property of material bodies that they can be condensed and rarefied, contracted and dilated, crushed into small fragments and enlarged to great masses.

The nature of the soul is very far different from that of the body; and how much more different must be the nature of God, who is the Creator of both soul and body! God is not said to fill the world in the same way as water, air, and even light occupy space, so that with a greater or smaller part of Himself He occupies a greater or smaller part of the world. *

He is able to be everywhere present in the entirety of His being: He cannot be confined in any place: He can come without leaving the place where He was: He can depart without forsaking the place to which He had come.

5. The mind of man wonders at this, and because it cannot comprehend it, refuses, perhaps, to believe it. Let it, however, not go on to wonder incredulously at the attributes of the Deity without first wondering in like manner at the mysteries within itself; ^ let it, if possible, raise itself for a little above the body, and above those things which it is accustomed to perceive by the bodily organs, and let it contemplate what that is which uses the body as its instrument.

Perhaps it cannot do this, for it requires, as one has said, great power of mind to call the mind aside from the senses, and to lead thought away from its wonted track. ^ Let the mind, then, examine the bodily senses in this somewhat unusual manner, and with the utmost attention. There are five distinct bodily senses, which cannot exist either without the body or without the soul; because perception by the senses is possible, on the one hand, only while a man lives, and the body receives life from the soul; and on the other hand, only by the instrumentality of the bodily vessels and organs, through which we exercise sight, hearing, and the three other senses.

Let the reasoning soul concentrate attention upon this subject, and consider the senses of the body not by these senses themselves, but by its own intelligence and reason. A man cannot, of course, perceive by these senses unless he -â–lives; but up to the time when soul and body are separated " by death, he lives in the body. How, then, does his soul which lives nowhere else than in his body, perceive things which are beyond the surface of that body? Are not the stars in heaven very remote from his body? and yet does he not see the sun yonder? and is not seeing an exercise of the bodily senses â€” nay, is it not the noblest of them all? What, then? Does he live in heaven as well as in his body, because he perceives by one of his senses what is in heaven, and perception by sense

^ We follow the reading of nine MSS., mirata, instead of that of the text, ingrata.

* Cicero, Qicest. Tuscul. i.

180 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII.

this subject, and consider the senses of the body not by these senses themselves, but by its own intelligence and reason. A man cannot, of course, perceive by these senses unless he -â–lives; but up to the time when soul and body are separated " by death, he lives in the body. How, then, does his soul which lives nowhere else than in his body, perceive things which are beyond the surface of that body? Are not the stars in heaven very remote from his body? and yet does he not see the sun yonder? and is not seeing an exercise of the bodily senses â€” nay, is it not the noblest of them all? What, then? Does he live in heaven as well as in his body, because he perceives by one of his senses what is in heaven, and perception by sense
cannot be in a place where there is no life of the person perceiving? Or does he perceive even "where he is not living" because while he lives only in his own body, his perceptive sense is active also in those places.

which, outside of his body and remote from it, contain the objects with which he is in contact by sight? Do you see how great a mystery there is even in a sense so open to our observation as that which we call sight? Consider hearing also, and say whether the soul diffuses itself in some way abroad beyond the body. For how do we say, "Some one knocks at the door," unless we exercise the sense of hearing "at the place where the knock is sounding? In this case also, therefore, we live beyond the limits of our bodies. Or can we perceive by sense in a place in which we are not living?

But we know that sense cannot be in exercise where life is not. The other three senses are exercised through immediate contact with their own organs. Perhaps this may be reasonably disputed in regard to the sense of smell; but there is no controversy as to the senses of taste and touch, that we perceive nowhere else than by contact with our bodily organism the things which we taste and touch. Let these three senses, therefore, be set aside from present consideration. The sense of sight and hearing present to us a wonderful question, requiring us to explain either how the soul can perceive by these senses in a place where it does not live, or how it can live in a place where it is not. For it is not anywhere but in its own body, and yet it perceives by these senses in places beyond that body. For in whatever place the soul sees anything, in that place it is exercising the faculty of perception, because seeing is an act of perception; and in whatever place the soul hears anything, in that place it is exercising the faculty of perception, because hearing is an act of perception. Wherefore the soul is either living in that place where it sees or hears, and consequently is itself in that place, or it exercises perception in a place where it is not living, or it is living in a place and yet at the same moment is not there. All these things are astonishing; not one of them can be stated without seeming absurdity; and we are speaking only of senses which are mortal. What, then, is the soul itself which is beyond the bodily senses, that is to say, which resides in the understanding whereby it considers these mysteries? For it is not by means of the senses that it forms a judgment concerning the senses themselves. And do we suppose that something incredible is if told us regarding the omnipotence of God, when it is affirmed that the Word of God, by whom all things were made, did so assume a body from the Virgin, and manifest Himself with mortal senses, as neither to destroy His own immortality, nor to change His eternity, nor to diminish His power, nor to relinquish the government of the world, nor to withdraw from the bosom of the Father, that is, from the secret place where He is with Him and in Him?
7. Understand the nature of the Word of God, by whom all things were made, to be such that you cannot think of any part of the Word as passing, and, from being future, becoming past. He remains as He is, and He is everywhere in His entirety. He comes when He is manifested, and departs when He is concealed. But whether concealed or manifested,

[He is present with us as light is present to the eyes both of the seeing and of the blind; but it is felt to be present by the raan who sees, and absent by him who is blind. In like manner, the sound of the voice is near alike to the hearing [land to the deaf, but it makes its presence known to the former while is hidden from the latter. But what is more wonderful

than what happens in connection with the sound of our voices and our words, a thing, forsooth, which passes away in a moment? For when we speak, there is no place for even the

8. There is, therefore, no reason to fear in regard to the small body of the Lord in His infancy, lest in it the Godhead should seem to have been straitened. For it is not in vast size but in power that God is great: He has in His providence given to ants and to bees senses superior to those given to asses and camels; He forms the huge proportions of the fig-tree from one of the minutest seeds, although many smaller plants spring from much larger seeds; He also has

1 furnished the small pupil of the eye with the power which, by one glance, sweeps over almost the half of heaven in a moment; He diffuses the whole fivefold system of the nerves over the body from one centre and point in the brain; He
dispenses vital motion throughout the whole body from the heart, a member comparatively small; and by these and other similar things. He, who in small things is great, mysteriously produce that which is great from things which are exceedingly little. Such is the greatness of His power that He is conscious of no difficulty in that which is difficult. It was this same power which originated, not from without, but from within, the conception of a child in the Virgin's womb: and through it also a human body and a human soul: in short, the whole human nature to be elevated by its union with Him without His being thereby lowered in.

1 See Pliny, Kat. Hist. Book vii. 2: "In India sub ima turms conduntur eq^uitum." See also Book xii. c. 5.

LET. cxxxvil] to volusianus. 183

any degree; justly assuming from it the name of humanity, while amply giving to it the name of Godhead. The body of the infant Jesus was brought forth from the womb of His mother, still a virgin, by the same powder which afterwards introduced His body when He was a man through the closed doors into the upper chamber. Here, if the reason of the event is sought out, it will no longer be a miracle; if an example of a precisely similar event is demanded, it will no longer be unique. Let us grant that God can do something which we must admit to be beyond our comprehension. In such wonders the whole explanation of the work is the power of Him by whom it is wrought.

' John XX. 26.

* This sentence having been misunderstood by Bishop Evodius, who quotes and comments upon it in Letter CLXI., Augustine, in replying in Letter CLXIL, writes a few sentences, which, as the letters then exchanged with Evodius have been omitted in this selection, we here insert: "Our sense of wonder is excited when either the reason of a thing is hidden from us, or the thing itself is extraordinary, that is, either unique or rare. It was in reference to the former cause of wonder, namely, the reason of a thing being undiscovered, that, when answering those who declare it to be incredible that Christ was born of a virgin, and that she remained a virgin notwithstanding, I said in the letter which you refer to as read by you, 'If the reason of this event is sought out, it will be no longer a miracle; for I said this not because the event was without a reason, but because the reason of it is hidden from those to whom it has pleased God that it should be a miracle.
. . For all the works of God, both ordinary and extraordinary, proceed from causes and
reasons which are right and faultless.
When the causes and reasons of any of His operations are hidden from us, we are filled
with wonder at the event; but when the causes and reasons of events I am are seen by us, we
say that they take place in ordinary course and in harmony with our experience, and that
they are not to be wondered at since they occur, because they are only what reason
required to be done. ... As to the latter cause of Avonder, namely, that an event is
unusual, we have an example of this when we read concerning the Lord that He
marvelled at the faith of the centurion; for the reason of no event whatever could be
concealed from Him, but His wonder has been recorded here for the commendation of
one whose equal had not appeared among the Jews, and accordingly the Lord's
wondering is sufficiently
; plained by His words: 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel '
1 Lo .uke vii. 9). As to examples of events similar to the miraculous birth of
< hrist, are wholly mistaken in supposing that you have found such in the jiruduction
of a worm within an apple, and other examples which you mention.
For instances of a certain degree of resemblance, more or less remote, have been with
considerable ingenuity alleged: but Christ alone was born of a virgin; whence you may
understand why I said that this was an event without parallel, adding in the letter already
referred to the words: * If an example of a
j)recisely similar event is demanded, it will no longer be unique ' " (Letter LXII. sees. 6, 7).

I

184 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII. ' 

Chap, ii1 9. The fact that He took rest in sleep, and was nourished by food, and
experienced all the feelings of humanity, is the evidence to men of the reality of that
human nature which He assumed but did not destroy. Behold, this was the fact; and yet
some heretics, by a perverted admiration and praise of His power, have refused altogether
to acknowledge the reality of His human nature, in which is the guarantee of all that
grace by which He saves those who believe in Him, containing deep treasures of wisdom
and knowledge, and imparting faith to the minds which He raises to the eternal
contemplation of unchangeable truth.
What if the Almighty had created the human nature of Christ not by causing Him to be
born of a mother, but by some other way, and had presented Him suddenly to the eyes of
mankind ? What if the Lord had not passed through the stages of progress from infancy to
manhood, and had taken neither food nor sleep ? Would not this have confirmed the
erroneous impression above referred to, and have made it impossible to believe at all that
He had taken to Himself true human nature; and, while leaving what was marvellous,
would eliminate the element of mercy from His actions ?
But now He has so appeared as the Mediator between God and men, that, uniting the two natures in one person. He both exalted what was ordinary by what was extraordinary, and tempered what was extraordinary by what was ordinary in Himself. 

10. But where in all the varied movements of creation is there any work of God which is not wonderful, were it not that through familiarity these wonders have become small in our esteem? Nay, how many common things are trodden under foot, which, if examined carefully, awaken our astonishment! Take, for example, the properties of seeds: who can either comprehend or declare the variety of species, the vitality, vigour, and secret power by which they from within small compass evolve great things? Now the human body and soul which He took to Himself was created without seed by Him who in the natural world created originally seeds from no pre-existent seeds. In the body which thus became His, He who, without any liability to change in Himself, has woven according to His counsel the vicissitudes of all past centuries, became subject to the succession of seasons and ordinary stages of the life of man. For His body, as it began to exist at a point of time, became developed with the lapse of time. But the Word of God, who was in the beginning, and to whom the ages of time owe their existence, did not bow to time as bringing round the event of His incarnation apart from His consent, but chose the point of time at which He freely took our nature to Himself. The human nature was brought into union with the divine; God did not withdraw from Himself.

11. Some insist upon being furnished with an explanation of the manner in which the Godhead was so united with a human soul and body as to constitute the one person of Christ, when it was necessary that this should be done once in the world's history, with as much boldness as if they were themselves able to furnish an explanation of the manner in which the soul is so united to the body as to constitute the one person of a man, an event which is occurring every day. For just as the soul is united to the body in one person so as to constitute man, in the same way is God united to man in one person so as to constitute Christ. In the former personality there is a combination of soul and body; in the latter there is a combination of the Godhead and man. Let my reader, however, guard against borrowing his idea of the combination from the properties of material bodies, by which two fluids when combined are so mixed that neither preserves its original character; although even among material bodies there are exceptions, such as light, which sustains no change when combined with the atmosphere. In the person of man, therefore, there is a combination of soul and body; in the person of Christ there is a combination of the Godhead with man; for when the Word of God was united to a soul having a body, He
took into union with Himself both the soul and the body. The former event takes place daily in the beginning of life in individuals of the human race; the latter took place once for the salvation of men. And yet of the two events, the combination of two immaterial substances ought to be more easily believed than a combination in which the one is immaterial and the other material. For if Homo quippe Deo accessit, non Deus a se recessit.

186 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII.

the soul is not mistaken in regard to its own nature, it understands itself to be immaterial. Much more certainly does this attribute belong to the Word of God; and consequently the combination of the Word with the human soul is a combination which ought to be much more credible than that of soul and body. The latter is realized by us in ourselves; the former we are commanded to believe to have been realized in Christ. But if both of them were alike foreign to our experience, and we were enjoined to believe that both had taken place, which of the two would we more readily believe to have occurred? Would we not admit that two immaterial substances could be more easily combined than one immaterial and one material; unless, perhaps, it be unsuitable to use the word combination in connection with these things, because of the difference between their nature and that of material substances, both in themselves and as known to us?

12. Wherefore the Word of God, who is also the Son of God, co-eternal with the Father, the Power and the Wisdom of God, mightily pervading and harmoniously ordering all things, from the highest limit of the intelligent to the lowest limit of the material creation, revealed and concealed, nowhere confined, nowhere divided, nowhere distended, but without dimensions, everywhere present in His entirety, this Word of God, I say, took to Himself, in a manner entirely different from that in which He is present to other creatures, the soul and body of a man, and made, by the union of Himself therewith, the one person Jesus Christ, Mediator between God and men, in His deity equal with the Father, in His flesh, i.e. in His human nature, inferior to the Father, unchangeably immortal in respect of the divine nature, in which He is equal with the Father, and yet changeable and mortal in respect of the infirmity which was His through participation with our nature.

In this Christ tliere came to men, at the time which He knew to be most fitting, and which He had fixed before the world began, the instruction and the help necessary to the obtaining of eternal salvation. Instruction came by Him, because those truths which had been, for men's advantage,

1 1 Cor. i. 24. 2 ^visj, y^-^\i_ 3 i Yuw. ii. 5.

LET. CXXXVII.] TO VOLUSIANUS. 187
spoken before that time on earth not only by the holy prophets, all whose words were true, but also by philosophers and even poets and authors in every department of literature (for beyond question they mixed much truth with what was false), might by the actual presentation of His authority in human nature be confirmed as true for the sake of those who could not perceive and distinguish them in the light of essential Truth, which Truth was, even before He assumed human nature, present to all who were capable of receiving truth. Moreover, by the fact of His incarnation, He taught this above all other things for our benefit, â€” that whereas men longing after the Divine Being supposed, from pride rather than piety, that they must approach Him not directly, but through heavenly powers which they regarded as gods, and through various forbidden rites which were not holy but profane, â€” in which worship devils succeed, through the bond which pride forms between mankind and them, in taking the place of holy angels, â€” now men might understand that the God whom they were regarding as far removed, and whom they approached not directly but through mediating powers, is actually so very near to the pious longings of men after Him, that He has condescended to take a human soul and body into such union with Himself that this complete man is joined to Him in the same way as the body is joined to the soul in man, excepting that whereas both body and soul have a common progressive development. He does not participate in this growth, because it implies mutability, a property which God cannot assume. Again, in this Christ the help necessary to salvation was brought to men, for without the grace of that faith which is from Him, no one can either subdue vicious desires, or be cleansed by pardon from the guilt of any power of sinful desire which he may not have wholly vanquished.

As to the effects produced by His instruction, is there now even an imbecile, however weak, or a silly woman, however low, that does not believe in the immortality of the soul and the reality of a life after death? Yet these are truths which, when Pherecydes the Assyrian for the first time maintained

^ Pherecydes, a native not of Assyria, but of Syros, one of the Cyclades, was a disciple of Pittacus of Mitylene, and teacher of Pythagoras. He flourished B.C. 544.

188 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVIL

them in discussion among the Greeks of old, moved Pythagoras of Samos so deeply by their novelty, as to make him turn from the exercises of the athlete to the studies of the philosopher. But now what Virgil said we all behold: "The balsam of Assyria grows everywhere." ^ And as to the help given through the grace of Christ, in Him truly are the words of the same poet fulfilled: "With Thee as our leader, the obliteration of all the traces of our sin which remain shall deliver the earth from perpetual alarm." "^
Chap. iv. 13. "But," they say, "the proofs of so great majesty did not shine forth with adequate fulness of evidence; for the casting out of devils, the healing of the sick, and the restoration of the dead to life are but small works for God to do, if the others who have wrought similar wonders be borne in mind." ^ "We ourselves admit that the prophets wrought some miracles like those performed by Christ. For among these miracles what is more wonderful than the raising of the dead? Yet both Elijah and Elisha did this.* As to the miracles of magicians, and the question whether they also raised the dead, let those pronounce an opinion who strive, not as accusers, but as panegyrists, to prove Apuleius guilty of those charges of practising magical arts from which he himself takes abundant pains to defend his reputation. We read that the magicians of Egypt, the most skilled in these arts, were vanquished by Moses, the servant of God, when they were working wonderfully by impious enchantments, and he, by simply calling upon God in prayer, overthrew all their machinations.\(^\) But this Moses himself and all the other true prophets prophesied concerning the Lord Christ, and gave to Him great glory; they predicted that He would come not as One merely equal or superior to them in the same power of working miracles, but as One who was truly God the Lord of all, and who became man for the benefit of men. He was pleased to do also some miracles, such as they had done, to prevent the incongruity of His not doing in person such things as He had done by them. Nevertheless, He was to do

\(\text{\`}\text{\` Assyrillum vulf`o nascctiir amomum." `\text{\` Eclogue iv. 1\text{\`bid.}\n\)


\(^\) Ex. vii., viii.

LET. CXXXVII.] TO YOLUSIANUS. 189

also some things peculiar to Himself, namely, to be born of a virgin, to rise from the dead, to ascend to heaven. I know not what greater things he can look for who thinks these too little for God to do.

14. For I think that such signs of divine power are demanded by these objectors as were not suitable for Him to do when wearing the nature of men. The Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and by Him all things were made.\(^\) Now, when the Word became flesh, was it necessary for Him to create another world, that we might believe Him to be the person by whom the world was made? But within this world it would have been impossible to make another greater than itself, or equal to it. If, however, He were to make a world inferior to that which now exists, this, too, would be considered too small a work to prove His deity. Wherefore, since it was not necessary that He should make a new world, He made new things in the world. For that a man should be born of a virgin, and raised from the dead to eternal life, and exalted above the heavens, is perchance a work involving a greater exertion of power than the creating of a world. Here, probably, objectors may answer that they do not
believe that these things took place. What, then, can be done for men who despise smaller
evidences as inadequate, and reject greater evidences as incredible? That life has been
restored to the dead is believed, because it has been accomplished by others, and is too
small a work to prove him who performs it to be God: that a true body was created in a
virgin, and being raised from death to eternal life, was taken up to heaven, is not
believed, because no one else has done this, and it is what God alone could do. On this
principle every man is to accept with equanimity whatever he thinks easy for himself not
indeed to do, but to conceive, and is to reject as false and fictitious whatever goes beyond
that limit. I beseech you, do not be like these men.

15. These topics are elsewhere more amply discussed, and in fundamental questions of
doctrine every intricate point has been opened up by thorough investigation and debate;
but faith

' John i. 1.

190 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII

gives the understanding access to these things, unbelief closes the door. What man might
not be moved to faith in the doctrine of Christ by such a remarkable chain of events from
the beginning, and by the manner in which the epochs of the world are linked together, so
that our faith in regard to present things is assisted by what happened in the past, and the
record of earlier and ancient things is attested by later and more recent events? One is
chosen from among the Chaldeans, a man endowed with most eminent piety and faith,
that to him may be given divine promises, appointed to be fulfilled in the last times of the
world, after the lapse of so many centuries; and it is foretold that in his seed shall all the
nations of the earth be blessed. This man, worshipping the one true God, the Creator of
the universe, begets in his old age a son, when sterility and advanced years had made his
wife give up all expectation of becoming a mother. The descendants of this son become a
very numerous tribe, being increased in Egypt, to which place they had been removed
from the East, by Divine Providence multiplying as time went on both the promises given
and the works wrought on their behalf. From Egypt they come forth a mighty nation,
being brought out with terrible signs and wonders; and the wicked nations of the
promised land being driven out from before them, they are brought into it and settled
there, and exalted to the position of a kingdom. Thereafter, frequently provoking by
prevailing sin and idolatrous impieties the true God, who had bestowed on them so many
benefits, and experiencing alternately the chastisements of calamity and the consolations
of restored prosperity, the history of the nation is brought down to the incarnation and the
manifestation of Christ. Predictions that this Christ, being the Word of God, the Son of
God, and God Himself, was to become incarnate, to die, to rise again, to ascend into
heaven, to have multitudes of all nations through the power of His name surrendering
themselves to Him, and that by Him pardon of sins and eternal salvation would be given
to all who believe in Him, â€” these predictions, I
say, have been published by all the promises given to that nation, by all the prophecies, the institution of the priest-

* Gen. xii.

LET. CXXXVII.] TO VOLUSIAXUS. 191

hood, the sacrifices, the temple, and, in short, by all their sacred mysteries.

16. Accordingly Christ comes: in His birth, life, words, deeds, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, all which the prophets had foretold is fulfilled.\(^\text{^}\) He sends the Holy Spirit; tills with this Spirit the believers when they are assembled in one house, and expecting with prayer and ardent desire this promised gift. Being thus filled with the Holy Spirit, they speak immediately in the tongues of all nations, they boldly confute errors, they preach the truth that is most profitable for mankind, they exhort men to repent of their past blameworthy lives, and promise pardon by the free grace of God. Signs and miracles suitable for confirmation follow their preaching of piety and of the true religion. The cruel enmity of unbelief is stirred up against them; they bear predicted trials, they hope for promised blessings, and teach that which they had been commanded to make known. Few in number at first, they become scattered like seed throughout the world; they convert nations with wondrous facility; they grow in number in the midst of enemies; they become increased by persecutions; and, under the severity of hardships, instead of being straitened, they extend their influence to the utmost boundaries of the earth. From being very ignorant, despised, and few, they become enlightened, distinguished, and numerous, men of illustrious talents and of polished eloquence; they also bring under the yoke of Christ, and attract to the work of preaching the way of holiness and salvation, the marvellous attainments of men remarkable for genius, eloquence, and erudition. Amid alternations of adversity and prosperity, they watchfully practise patience and self-control; and when the world's day is drawing near its close, and the approaching consummation is heralded by the calamities which exhaust its energies, they, seeing in this the fulfilment of prophecy, only expect with increased confidence the everlasting blessedness of the heavenly city. Moreover, amidst all these changes, the unbelief of the heathen nations continues to rage against the Church of Christ; she gains the victory by patient endurance, and by the maintenance of unshaken faith in the face of the

\(^\text{^}\) Matt. i. 22.
cruelties of her adversaries. The sacrifice of Him in whom the truth, long veiled under mystic promises, is revealed, having been offered, those sacrifices by which it was prefigured are finally abolished by the utter destruction of the Jewish temple. The Jewish nation, itself rejected because of unbelief, being now rooted out from its own land, is dispersed to every region of the world, in order that it may carry everywhere the Holy Scriptures, and that in this way our adversaries themselves may bring before mankind the testimony furnished by the prophecies concerning Christ and His Church, thus precluding the possibility of the supposition that these predictions were forged by us to suit the time; in which prophecies, also, the unbelief of these very Jews is foretold. The temples, images, and impious worship of the heathen divinities are overthrown gradually and in succession, according to the prophetic intimations. Heresies bud forth against the name of Christ, though veiling themselves under His name, as had been foretold, by which the doctrine of the holy religion is tested and developed. All these things are now seen to be accomplished, in exact fulfilment of the predictions which we read in Scripture; and from these important and numerous instances of fulfilled prophecy, the fulfilment of the predictions which remain is confidently expected. Where, then, is the mind, having aspirations after eternity, and moved by the shortness of this present life, which can resist the clearness and perfection of these evidences of the divine origin of our faith?

Chap. v. 1 7. What discourses or writings of philosophers, what laws of any commonwealth in any land or age, are worthy for a moment to be compared with the two commandments on which Christ saith that all the law and the prophets hang: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"? All philosophy is here, — physics, ethics, logic: the first, because in God the Creator are all the causes of all existences in nature; the second, because a good and honest life is not produced in any other way than by loving, in the manner in which they should be loved, the proper objects of our love, namely, God and our neighbour; and the third, be-


LET. CXXXVII.] TO YOLUSIA XuS. 193

cause God alone is the Truth and the Light of the rational soul. Here also is security for the welfare and renown of a commonwealth; for no state is perfectly established and preserved otherwise than on the foundation and by the bond of faith and of firm concord, when the highest and truest common good, namely, God, is loved by all, and men love each other in Him without dissimulation, because they love one another for His sake from whom they cannot disguise the real character of their love.
18. Consider, moreover, the style in which Sacred Scripture is composed, â€” how accessible it is to all men, though its deeper mysteries are penetrable to very few. The plain truths which it contains it declares in the artless language of familiar friendship to the hearts both of the unlearned and of the learned; but even the truths which it veils in symbols it does not set forth in stiff and stately sentences, which mind somewhat slumsh and uneducated might shrink from approaching, as a poor man shrinks from the presence of the rich; but, by the condescension of its style, it invites all not only to be fed with the truth which is plain, but also to be exercised by the truth which is concealed, having both in its simple and in its obscure portions the same truth. Lest what is easily understood should beget satiety in the reader, the same truth being in another place more obscurely expressed becomes again desired, and, being desired, is somehow invested with a new attractiveness, and thus is received with pleasure into the heart. By these means wayward minds are corrected, weak minds are nourished, and strong minds are filled with pleasure, in such a way as is profitable to all. This doctrine has no enemy but the man who, being in error, is ignorant of its incomparable usefulness, or, being spiritually diseased, is averse to its healing power.

19. You see what a long letter I have written. If, therefore, anything perplexes you, and you regard it of sufficient importance to be discussed between us, let not yourself be straitened by keeping within the bounds of ordinary letters; or you know as well as any one what long letters the ancients ATote when they were treating of any subject which they were not able briefly to explain. And even if the custom of LETT. n. N

194 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII.

authors in other departments of literature had been different, the authority of Christian writers, whose example has a worthier claim upon our imitation, might be set before us. Observe, therefore, the length of the apostolic epistles, and of the commentaries written on these divine oracles, and do not hesitate either to ask many questions if you have many difficulties, or to handle more fully the questions which you propound, in order that, in so far as it can be achieved with such abilities as we possess, there may remain no cloud of doubt to obscure the light of truth.

20. For I am aware that your Excellency has to encounter the most determined opposition from certain persons, who think, or would have others think, that Christian doctrine is incompatible with the welfare of the commonwealth, because they wish to see the commonwealth established not by the stedfast practice of virtue, but by granting impunity to vice.

But with God the crimes in which many are banded together do not pass unavenged, as is often the case with a king, or any other magistrate who is only a man. Moreover, His
mercy and grace, published to men by Christ, who is Himself man, and imparted to man by the same Christ, who is also God and the Son of God, never fail those who live by faith in Him and piously worship Him, in adversity patiently and bravely bearing the trials of this life, in prosperity using with self-control and with compassion for others the good things of this life; destined to receive, for faithfulness in both conditions, an eternal recompense in that divine and heavenly city in which there shall be no longer calamity to be painfully endured, nor inordinate desire to be with laborious care controlled, where our only work shall be to preserve, without any difficulty and with perfect liberty, our love to God and to our neighbour.

May the infinitely compassionate omnipotence of God preserve you in safety and increase your happiness, my noble and distinguished Lord, and my most excellent son. With profound respect, as is due to your worth, I salute your pious and most truly venerable mother, whose prayers on your behalf may God hear! My pious brother and fellow bishop, Possidius, warmly salutes your Grace.

LET. CXXXVIII.] TO MARCELLINUS. 195

LETTEE CXXXVIII.

(A.D. 412.)

TO MARCELLINUS, MY NOBLE AND JUSTLY FAMOUS LORD, MY SON MOST BELOVED AND LONGED FOR, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. In writing to the illustrious and most eloquent Volusianus, whom we both sincerely love, I thought it right to confine myself to answering the questions which he thought proper himself to state; but as to the questions which you have submitted to me in your letter for discussion and solution, as suggested or proposed either by Volusianus himself or by others, it is fitting that such reply to these as I may be able to give should be addressed to you. I shall attempt this, not in the manner in which it would require to be done in a formal treatise, but in the manner which is suitable to the 1 conversational familiarity of a letter, in order that, if you, who know their state of mind by daily discussions, think it expedient, this letter also may be read to your friends. But if this communication be not adapted to them, because of their not being prepared by the piety of faith to give ear to it, let I what you consider adapted to them be in the first place prepared between ourselves, and afterwards let what may have been thus prepared be communicated to them. For there are ; many things from which their minds may in the meantime shrink and recoil, which they may perhaps by and by be
â€” persuaded to accept as true, either by the use of more copious and skilful arguments, or by an appeal to authority which, in their opinion, may not without impropriety be resisted.

2. In your letter you state that some are perplexed by the question, " Why this God, who is proved to be the God also of the Old Testament, is pleased with new sacrifices after having rejected the ancient ones. For they allege that nothing can be corrected but that which is proved to have been previously not rightly done, or that what has once been done rightly ought not to be altered in the very least: that which has been rightly done, they say, cannot be changed without wrong." I quote these words from your letter. Were I disposed to give a copious reply to this objection, time would fail me long before I had exhausted the instances in which the processes of nature itself and the works of men undergo changes according to the circumstances of the time, while, at the same time, there is nothing mutable in the plan or principle by which these changes are regulated. Of these I may mention a few, that, stimulated by them, your wakeful observation may run, as it were, from them to many more of the same kind. Does not summer follow winter, the temperature gradually increasing in warmth? Do not night and day in turn succeed each other? How often do our own lives experience changes! Boyhood departing, never to return, gives place to youth; manhood, destined itself to continue only for a season, takes in turn the place of youth; and old age, closing the term of manhood, is itself closed by death. All these things are changed, but the plan of Divine Providence which appoints these successive changes is not changed. I suppose, also, that the principles of agriculture are not changed when the farmer appoints a different work to be done in summer from that which he had ordered in winter. He who rises in the morning, after resting by night, is not supposed to have changed the plan of his life. The schoolmaster gives to the adult different tasks from those which he was accustomed to prescribe to the scholar in his boyhood; his teaching, consistent throughout, changes the instruction when the lesson is changed, without itself being changed.

3. The eminent physician of our own times, Vindicianus, being consulted by an invalid, prescribed for his disease what seemed to him a suitable remedy at that time; health was
restored by its use. Some years afterwards, finding himself troubled again with the same disorder, the patient supposed that the same remedy should be applied; but its application made his illness worse. In astonishment, he again returns to the physician, and tells him what had happened; whereupon he, being a man of very quick penetration, answered: " The Letter CXXXVT. sec. 2, p. 175.

' Augustine's four stages of human life are: rucritia, adolesceutia, uvcntus, scneclu».

LET. CXXXVIII. ] TO MARCELLINUS. 197

reason of your having been harmed by this application is, tho.t I did not order it; " upon which all who heard the remark and did not know the man supposed that he was trusting not in the art of medicine, but in some forbidden supernatural power. "When he was afterwards questioned by some who were amazed at his words, he explained what they had not understood, namely, that he would not have prescribed the same remedy to the patient at the age which he had now attained. While, therefore, the principle and methods of art remain unchanged, the change which, in accordance with them, may be made necessary by the difference of times is very great.

4. To say, then, that what has once been done rightly must in no respect whatever be changed, is to affirm what is not true. For if the circumstances of time which occasioned anything be changed, true reason in almost all cases demands that what had been in the former circumstances rightly done, be now so altered that, although they say that it is not rightly done if it be changed, truth, on the contrary, protests that it is not rightly done unless it be changed; because, at both times, it will be rightly done if the difference be regulated according to the difference in the times. For just as in the cases of different persons it may happen that, at the same moment, one man may do with impunity what another man may not, because of a difference not in the thing done but in the person who does it, so in the case of one and the same person at different times, that which was duty formerly is not duty now, not because the person is different from his former self, but because the time at which he does it is different.

5. The wide range opened up by this question may be seen by any one who is competent and careful to observe the contrast between the beautiful and the suitable, examples of which are scattered, we may say, throughout the universe. For the beautiful, to which the ugly and deformed is opposed, is estimated and praised according to what it is in itself. But

I the suitable, to which the incongruous is opposed, depends on
something else to which it is bound, and is estimated not
j according to what it is in itself, but according to that with
> which it is connected: the contrast, also, between becoming

198 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVIII.

and unbecoming is either the same, or at least regarded as the same. Now apply what we have said to the subject in hand. The divine institution of sacrifice was suitable in the former dispensation, but is not suitable now. For the change suitable to the present age has been enjoined by God, who knows infinitely better than man what is fitting for every age, and who is, whether He give or add, abolish or curtail, increase or diminish, the unchangeable Governor as He is the unchangeable Creator of mutable things, ordering all events in His providence until the beauty of the completed course of time, the component parts of which are the dispensations adapted to each successive age, shall be finished, like the grand melody of some ineffably wise master of song, and those pass into the eternal immediate contemplation of God who here, though it is a time of faith, not of sight, are acceptably worshipping Him.

6. They are mistaken, moreover, who think that God appoints these ordinances for His own advantage or pleasure; and no wonder that, being thus mistaken, they are perplexed, as if it was from a changing mood that He ordered one thing to be offered to Him in a former age, and something else now. But this is not the case. God enjoins nothing for His own advantage, but for the benefit of those to whom the injunction is given. Wherefore He is truly Lord, for He does not need His servants, but His servants stand in need of Him. In those same Old Testament Scriptures, and in the age in which sacrifices were still being offered that are now abrogated, it is said: " I said unto the Lord, Thou art my God, for Thou dost not need my good things." ^ Wherefore God did not stand in need of those sacrifices, nor does He ever need anything; but there are certain acts, symbolical of these divine gifts, whereby the soul receives either present grace or eternal glory, in the celebration and practice of which, pious exercises, serviceable not to God but to ourselves, are performed.

7. It would, however, take too long to discuss with adequate fulness the differences between the symbolical actions of former and present times, which, because of their pertaining

^ Ps. xvi. 2. oTt Tuv ctyctSuT fji.au oi;\^/)s/aK iX"*"^> LXX.: q^uoniam bonorum meorum noii eges, Aug.
to divine things, are called sacraments. For as the man is not fickle who does one thing in
the morning and another in the evening, one thing this month and another in the next, one
thing this year and another next year, so there is no variableness with God, though in the
former period of the world's history He enjoined one kind of offerings, and in the latter
period another, therein ordering the symbolical actions pertaining to the blessed doctrine
of true religion in harmony with the changes of successive epochs without any change in
Himself. For in order to let those whom these things perplex understand that the change
was already in the divine counsel, and that, when the new ordinances were appointed, it
was not because the old had suddenly lost the divine approbation through inconstancy in
His will, but that this had been already fixed and determined by the wisdom of that God
to whom, in reference to much greater changes, these words are spoken in Scripture:
"Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same," it is
necessary to convince them that this exchange of the sacraments of the Old Testament for
those of the New had been predicted by the voices of the prophets. For thus they will see,
if they can see anything, that what is new in time is not new in relation to Him who has
appointed the times, and who possesses, without succession of time, all those things
which He assigns according to their variety to the several ages. For in the psalm from
which I have quoted above the words: "* I said unto the Lord, Thou art my God, for Thou,
dost not need my good things," in proof that God does not need our sacrifices, it is added
shortly after by the Psalmist in Christ's name:
" I will not gather their assemblies of blood;" that is, for the offering of animals from
their flocks, for which the Jewish assemblies were wont to be gathered together; and in
another place he says: " I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goat from thy
folds;" and another prophet says: "Behold,

1 Observe Angiistius's definition of the word sacramentum as used by him:
" cum ad res divinas pertinent sacramenta appellantur. "
Â» Ps. cii. 26, 27.

Ps. xvi. 3. ov fxr\ffuvayyu rets ffyetywyas avruv i$ aiftecTuv^ LXX,
* Ps. 1. 9.

200 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII

the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel,
and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers
in the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt." There
are, besides these, many other testimonies on this subject in which it was foretold that
God would do as He has done; but it would take too long to mention them.
8. If it is now established that that which was for one age rightly ordained may be in another age rightly changed, â€”

the alteration indicating a change in the work, not in the plan, of Him who makes the change, the plan being framed by His reasoning faculty, to which, unconditioned by succession in time, those things are simultaneously present which cannot be actually done at the same time because the ages succeed each other, â€” one might perhaps at this point expect to hear from me the causes of the change in question. You know how long it would take to discuss these fully. The matter may be stated summarily, but sufficiently for a man of shrewd judgment, in these words: It was fitting that Christ's future coming should be foretold by some sacraments, and that after His coming other sacraments should proclaim this; just as the difference in the facts has compelled us to change the words used by us in speaking of the advent as future or past: to be foretold is one thing, to be proclaimed is another, and to be about to come is one thing, to have come is another.

Chap. il 9. Let us now observe, in the second place, what follows in your letter.â€”You have added that they said that the Christian doctrine and preaching were in no way consistent with the duties and rights of citizens, because among its precepts we find: "Recompense to no man evil for evil," â€” and, "Whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also; and whosoever will compel thee to go a mile with him, go with him twain," * â€” all which are affirmed to be contrary to the duties and rights of citizens; for who would submit to have anything taken from him by an enemy.

' Jer. xxxi. 32. 2 i^gtter CXXXVL sec. 2, p. 175.


LET. CXXXVIII] TO MAECELLINUS. ' 201

^ â€” t

or forbear from retaliating the evils of war upon an invader who ravaged a Eoman province? To these and similar statements of persons speaking slightly, or perhaps I should rather say speaking as inquirers regarding the truth, I might have dven a more elaborate answer, were it not that the persons with whom the discussion is carried on are men of liberal education. In addressing such, why should we prolong the debate, and not rather begin by inquiring for ourselves liow it was possible that the Eepublic of Eome was governed and aggrandized from insignificance and poverty to greatness and opulence by men who, when they had suffered wrong, would rather pardon than punish the offender; ^ or how Cicero, addressing Csesar, the greatest statesman of his time, said, in praising his character, that he w^as wont to forget nothinT but the wrongs which were done to him 1 " For in this Cicero spoke either praise or flattery: if he spoke praise, it was because he knew Cc^sar to be such as he affirmed; if he spoke flattery, he showed that
the chief magistrate of a commonwealth ought to do such things as he falsely commended in Caesar. But what is "not rendering evil for evil," but refraining from the passion of revenge â€” in other words, choosing, when one has suffered wrong, to pardon rather than to punish the offender, and to forget nothing but the wrongs done to us?

10. When these things are read in their own authors, they are received with loud applause; they are regarded as the record and recommendation of virtues in the practice of which the Republic deserved to hold sway over so many nations, because its citizens preferred to pardon rather than punish those who wronged them. But when the precept, "Ender to no man evil for evil," is read as given by divine authority, and when, from the pulpits in our churches, this wholesome counsel is published in the midst of our congregations, or, as we might say, in places of instruction open to all, of both sexes and of all ages and ranks, our religion is accused as an enemy to the Republic! Yet, were our religion listened to as

> "Accepta injuria ignoscere quam lersequi malebant."â€”Sallust, Cat'd'ma^c 9.
' *Oblivisci soles nihil nisi iujurias."â€”Cicero, j^ro Ligarlo, c. 12.

it deserves, it would establish, consecrate, strengthen, and enlarge the commonwealth in a way beyond all that Komulus, Numa, Brutus, and all the other men of renown in Eoman history achieved. For what is a republic but a commonwealth? Therefore its interests are common to all; they are the interests of the State. Now what is a State but a multitude of men bound together by some bond of concord?

In one of their own authors we read: "What was a scattered and unsettled multitude had by concord become in a short time a State." But what exhortations to concord have they ever appointed to be read in their temples? So far from this, they were unhappily compelled to devise how they might worship without giving offence to any of their gods, who were all at such variance among themselves, that, had their worshippers imitated their quarrelling, the State must have fallen to pieces for want of the bond of concord, as it soon afterwards began to do through civil wars, when the morals of the people were changed and corrupted.

11. But who, even though he be a stranger to our religion, is so deaf as not to know how many precepts enjoining concord, not invented by the discussions of men, but written with the authority of God, are continually read in the churches of Christ? For this is the tendency even of those precepts which they are much more willing to debate than to follow:

"That to him who smites us on one cheek we should offer the other to be smitten; to him who would take away our coat we should give our cloak also; and that with him who compels us to go one mile we should go twain."- For these
1 things are done only that a wicked man may be overcome by kindness, or rather that the evil which is in the wicked man
1 may be overcome by good, and that the man may be delivered
1 from the evil â€” not from any evil that is external and foreign
' to himself, but from that which is within and is his own, under which he suffers loss more severe and fatal than could be inflicted by the cruelty of any enemy from without. He, therefore, who is overcoming evil by good, submits patiently to the loss of temporal advantages, that he may show how those things, through excessive love of which the other is made wicked, deserve to be despised when compared with

LET. CXXXVIII.] TO MARCELLINUS. 203

faith and righteousness; in order that so the injurious person may learn from him whom he wronged what is the true nature of the things for the sake of which he committed the wrong, and may he won back with sorrow for his sin to that concord, than which nothing is more serviceable to the State, being overcome not by the strength of one passionately resenting, but by the good-nature of one patiently bearing wrong. For then it is rightly done when it seems that it will benefit him for whose sake it is done, by producing in him amendment of his ways and concord with others. At all events, it is to be done with this intention, even though the result may be different from what was expected, and the man, with a view to whose correction and conciliation this healing and salutary medicine, so to speak, was employed, refuses to be corrected and reconciled.

12. Moreover, if we pay attention to the words of the precept, and consider ourselves under bondage to the literal interpretation, the right cheek is not to be presented by us if the left has been smitten. " Whosoever," it is said, " shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also;"^ but the left cheek is more liable to be smitten, because it is easier for the right hand of the assailant to smite it than the other. But the words are commonly understood as if our Lord had said: If any one has acted injuriously to thee in respect of the higher possessions which thou hast, offer to him also the inferior possessions, lest, being more concerned about revenge than about forbearance, thou shouldst despise eternal things in comparison with temporal things, whereas temporal things ought to be despised in comparison with eternal things, as the left is in comparison with the right.^ This has been always the aim of the holy martyrs; for final vengeance is righteously demanded only when there remains no room for amendment, namely, in the last great judgment. But meanwhile we must be on our guard, lest, through desire for revenge, we lose patience itself, â€” a virtue which is of more value than all which an enemy can, in spite of our resistance, take away from us. For another evangelist, in recording the same precept, makes no mention of the right cheek, but names merely the one and the other;^ so that, while the duty may be

somewhat more distinctly learned from Matthew's gospel, he simply commends the same
exercise of patience. Wherefore a righteous and pious man ought to be prepared to endure
with patience injury from those whom he desires to make good, so that the number of
good men may be increased, instead of himself being added, by retaliation of injury, to
the number of wicked men.

13. In fine, that these precepts pertain rather to the inward disposition of the heart than to
the actions which are done in the sight of men, requiring us, in the inmost heart, to
cherish patience along with benevolence, but in the outward action to do that which
seems most likely to benefit those whose good we ought to seek, is manifest from the fact
that our Lord Jesus Himself, our perfect example of patience, when He was smitten on
the face, answered: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if not, why
smittest thou me?"^ If we look only to the words. He did not in this obey His own precept,
for He did not present the other side of his face to him who had smitten Him, but, on the
contrary, prevented him who had done the wrong from adding thereto; and yet He had
come prepared not only to be smitten on the face, but even to be slain upon the cross for
those at whose hands He suffered crucifixion, and for whom, when hanging on the cross.
He prayed, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!"^ In like manner, the
Apostle Paul seems to have failed to obey the precept of his Lord and Master, when he,
being smitten on the face as He had been, said to the chief priest: "God shall smite thee,
thou whitened wall, for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be
smitten contrary to the law?" And when it was said by them that stood near, "Ee vilest
thou God's high priest?" he took pains sarcastically to indicate what his words meant,
that those of them who were discerning might understand that now the whitened wall, i.e.
the hypocrisy of the Jewish priesthood, was appointed to be thrown down by the coming
of Christ; for He said: "I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest, for it is written,
Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people;"^ although it is perfectly certain that he


LET. CXXXVIII.] TO MARCELLINUS. 205

who had grown up in that nation, and had been in that place trained in the law, could not
but know that his judge was the chief priest, and could not, by professing ignorance on
this point, impose upon those to whom he was so well known.

14. These precepts concerning patience ought to be always retained in the habitual
discipline of the heart, and the benevolence which prevents the recompensing of evil for
evil must be always fully cherished in the disposition. At the same time, many things must be done in correcting with a certain benevolent severity, even against their own wishes, men whose welfare rather than their wishes it is our duty to consult; and the Christian Scriptures have most unambiguously commended this virtue in a magistrate. For in the correction of a son, even with some sternness, there is assuredly no diminution of a father's love; yet, in the correction, that is done which is received with reluctance and pain by one whom it seems necessary to heal by pain. And on this principle, if the commonwealth observe the precepts of the Christian religion, even its wars themselves will not be carried on without the benevolent design that, after the resisting nations have been conquered, provision may be more easily made for enjoying in peace the mutual bond of piety and justice. For the person from whom is taken away the freedom which he abuses in doing wrong is vanquished with benefit to himself; since nothing is more truly a misfortune than that good fortune of offenders, by which pernicious impunity is maintained, and the evil disposition, like an enemy within the man, is strengthened. But the perverse and froward hearts of men think human affairs are prosperous when men are concerned about magnificent mansions, and indifferent to the ruin of souls; when mighty theatres are built up, and the foundations of virtue are undermined; when the madness of extravagance is highly esteemed, and works of mercy are scorned; when, out of the wealth and affluence of rich men, luxurious provision is made for actors, and the poor are grudged the necessaries of life; when that God who, by the public declarations of His doctrine, protests against public vice, is blasphemed by impious communities, which demand gods of such character that even those theatrical representa-

206 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVII

tions which bring disgrace to both body and soul are fitly performed in honour of them. If God permit these things to prevail, He is in that permission showing more grievous displeasure: if He leave these crimes unpunished, such impunity is a more terrible judgment. When, on the other hand. He overthrows the props of vice, and reduces to poverty those lusts which were nursed by plenty, He afflicts in mercy. And in mercy, also, if such a thing were possible, even wars might be waged by the good, in order that, by bringing under the yoke the unbridled lusts of men, those vices might be abolished which ought, under a just government, to be either extirpated or suppressed.

15. For if the Christian religion condemned wars of every kind, the command given in the gospel to soldiers asking counsel as to salvation would rather be to cast away their arms, and withdraw themselves wholly from military service; whereas the word spoken to such was, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages," the command to be content with their wages manifestly implying no prohibition to continue in the service. Wherefore, let those who say that the doctrine of Christ is incompatible with the State's well-being, give us an army composed of soldiers such as the doctrine of Christ requires them to be; let them give us such subjects, such husbands and
wives, such parents and children, such masters and servants, such kings, such judges” in fine, even such tax-payers and tax-gatherers, as the Christian religion has taught that men should be, and then let them dare to say that it is adverse to the State's well-being; yea, rather, let them no longer hesitate to confess that this doctrine, if it were obeyed, would be the salvation of the commonwealth.

Chap. hi. 16. But what am I to answer to the assertion made that many calamities have befallen the Eoman Empire through some Christian emperors? This sweeping accusation is a calumny. For if they would more clearly quote some indisputable facts in support of it from the history of past emperors, I also could mention similar, perhaps even greater calamities in the reigns of other emperors who


LET. CXXXVIII.] TO MARCELLIXUS. 207

were not Christians; so that men may understand that these were either faults in the men, not in their religion, or were due not to the emperors themselves, but to others without whom emperors can do nothing. As to the date of the commencement of the downfall of the Koman Republic, there is ample evidence; their own literature speaks plainly as to this. Longer before the name of Christ had shone abroad on the earth, this was said of Eome: " venal city, and doomed to perish speedily, if only it could find a purchaser! " ^

In his book on the Catilinarian conspiracy, which was before the coming: of Christ, the same most illustrious Eoman historian declares plainly the time when the army of the Eoman people began to be wanton and drunken; to set a high value on statues, paintings, and embossed vases; to take these by violence both from individuals and from the State; to rob temples and pollute everything, sacred and profane. When, therefore, the avarice and grasping violence of the corrupt and abandoned manners of the time spared neither men nor those whom they esteemed as gods, the famous honour and safety of the commonwealth began to decline. What progress the worst vices made from that time forward, and with how great mischief to the interests of mankind the wickedness of the Empire went on, it would take too long to rehearse. Let them hear their own satirist speaking playfully yet truly thus: â€”

** Once poor, and therefore chaste, in former times Our matrons were: no luxury found room In low-roofed houses and bare walls of loam; Their hands with labour burdened while 'tis light, A frugal sleep supplied the quiet night; While, pinched with want, their hunger held them strait,

"When Hannibal was hovering at the gate; But wanton now, and lolling at our ease, We suffer all the inveterate ills of peace And wasteful riot, whose destructive charms Revenge the vanquished world of our victorious arms. No crime, no lustful postures are unknown, Since poverty, our guardian-god, is gone." *
Why, then, do you expect me to multiply examples of the evils which were brought in by wickedness uplifted by prosperity, seeing that among themselves, those who observed events with somewhat closer attention discerned that Eome I had more reason to regret the departure of its poverty than I of its opulence; because in its poverty the integrity of its virtue was secured, but through its opulence, dire corruption, more terrible than any invader, had taken violent possession not of the walls of the city, but of the mind of the State?

Thanks be unto the Lord our God, who has sent unto us unprecedented help in resisting these evils. For whither might not men have been carried away by that flood of the appalling wickedness of the human race, whom would it have spared, and in what depths would it not have engulfed its victims, had not the cross of Christ, resting on such a solid rock of authority (so to speak), been planted too high and too strong for the flood to sweep it away? so that by laying hold of its strength we may become stedfast, and not be carried off our feet and overwhelmed in the mighty whirlpool of the evil counsels and evil impulses of this world. For when the empire was sinking in the vile abyss of utterly depraved manners, and of the effete ancient religion, it was signally important that heavenly authority should come to the rescue, persuading men to the practice of voluntary poverty, continence, benevolence, justice, and concord among themselves, as well as true piety towards God, and all the other bright and sterling virtues of life, not only with a view to the spending of this present life in the most honourable way, nor only with a view to secure the most perfect bond of concord in the earthly commonweallli, but also in order to the obtaining of eternal salvation, and a place in the divine and celestial republic of a people which shall endure for ever a republic to the citizenship of which faith, hope, and charity admit us; so that, while absent from it on our pilgrimage here, we may patiently tolerate, if we cannot correct, those who desire, by leaving vices unpunished, to give stability to that republic which the early Romans founded and enlarged by their virtues, when, though they had not the true piety towards the true God which could bring them, by a religion of saving power, to the commonwealth which is eternal, they did nevertheless observe a certain integrity of its
own kind, which might suffice for founding, enlarging, and preserving an earthly commonwealth. For in the most opulent and illustrious Empire of Rome, God has shown how great is the influence of even civil virtues without true religion, in order that it might be understood that, when this is added to such virtues, men are made citizens of another commonwealth, of which the king is Truth, the law is Love, and the duration is Eternity.

Chap. iv. 18. Who can help feeling that there is something simply ridiculous in their attempt to compare with Christ, or rather to put in a higher place, Apollonius and Apuleius, and others who were most skilful in magical arts? Yet this is to be tolerated with less impatience, because they bring into comparison with Him these men rather than their own gods; for Apollonius was, as we must admit, a much worthier character than that author and perpetrator of innumerable gross acts of immorality whom they call Jupiter.

"These legends about our gods," they reply, "are fables." Why, then, do they go on praising that luxurious, licentious, and manifestly profane prosperity of the Republic, which invented these infamous crimes of the gods, and not only left them to reach the ears of men as fables, but also exhibited them to the eyes of men in the theatres; in which, more numerous than their deities were the crimes which the gods themselves were well pleased to see openly perpetrated in their honour, whereas they should have punished their worshippers for even tolerating such spectacles? "But," they reply, "those are not the gods themselves whose worship is celebrated according to the lying invention of such fables." Who, then, are they who are propitiated by the practising in worship of such abominations? Because, forsooth, Christianity has exposed the perversity and chicanery of those devils, by whose power also magical arts deceive the minds of men, and because it has made this patent to the world, and, having brought out the distinction between the holy angels and these malignant adversaries, has warned men to be on their guard against them, showing them also how this may be done, â€“ it is called

LETT. II.

210 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXVIII.

an enemy to the Republic, as if, even though temporal prosperity could be secured by their aid, any amount of adversity would not be preferable to the prosperity obtained through such means. And yet it pleased God to prevent men from being perplexed in this matter; for in the age of the comparative darkness of the Old Testament, in which is Â» the covering of the New Testament, He distinguished the first nation which worshipped the true God and despised false gods by such remarkable prosperity in this world, that any one may perceive from their case that prosperity is not at the disposal of devils, but only of Him whom angels serve and devils fear.
19. Apuleius (of whom I choose rather to speak, because, as our own countryman, he is better known to us Africans), though born in a place of some note, and a man of superior education and great eloquence, never succeeded, with all his magical arts, in reaching, I do not say the supreme power, but even any subordinate office as a magistrate in the Empire. Does it seem probable that he, as a philosopher, voluntarily despised these things, who, being the priest of a province, was so ambitious of greatness that he gave spectacles of gladiatorial combats, provided the dresses worn by those who fought with wild beasts in the circus, and, in order to get a statue of himself erected in the town of Coea, the birthplace of his wife, appealed to law against the opposition made by some of the citizens to the proposal, and then, to prevent this from being forgotten by posterity, published the speech delivered by him on that occasion? So far, therefore, as concerns worldly prosperity, that magician did his utmost in order to success; whence it is manifest that he failed not because he was not wishful, but because he was not able to do more. At the same time we admit that he defended himself with brilliant eloquence against some who imputed to him the crime of practising magical arts; which makes me wonder at his panegyristis, who, in affirming that by these arts he wrought some miracles, attempt to bring evidence contradicting his own defence of himself from the charge. Let them, however, examine whether, indeed, they are bring-

* Madaura.

LET. CXXXVII. TO MARCELLINUS. 211

ing true testimony, and he was guilty of pleading what he knew to be false. Those who pursue magical arts only with a view to worldly prosperity or from an accursed curiosity, and those also who, though innocent of such arts, nevertheless praise them with a dangerous admiration, I would exhort to give heed, if they be wise, and to observe how, without any such arts, the position of a shepherd was exchanged for the dignity of the kingly office by David, of whom Scripture has faithfully recorded both the sinful and the meritorious actions, in order that we might know both how to avoid offending God, and how, when He has been offended, His wrath may be appeased.

20. As to those miracles, however, which are performed in order to excite the wonder of men, they do greatly err who compare heathen magicians with the holy prophets, who completely eclipse them by the fame of their great miracles. How much more do they err if they compare them with Christ, of whom the prophets, so incomparably superior to magicians of every name, foretold that He would come both in the human nature, which he took in being born of the Virgin, and in the divine nature, in which He is never separated from the Father!
I see that I have written a very long letter, and yet have not said all concerning Christ which might meet the case either of those who from sluggishness of intellect are unable to comprehend divine things, or of those who, though endowed with acuteness, are kept back from discerning truth through their love of contradiction and the prepossession of their minds in favour of long-cherished error. Howbeit, take note of anything which influences them against our doctrine, and write to me again, so that, if the Lord help us, we may, by letters or by treatises, furnish an answer to all their objections. May you, by the grace and mercy of the Lord, be happy in Him, my noble and justly distinguished lord, my son dearly beloved and longed for!

I

212 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXXXIX.

LETTEECXXXIX.

(A.D. 412.)

TO MARCELLINUS, MY LORD JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED, MY SON VERY MUCH BELOVED AND LONGED FOR, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. The Acts which your Excellency promised to send I am eagerly expecting, and I am longing to have them read as soon as possible in the church at Hippo, and also, if it can be done, in all the churches established within the diocese, that all may hear and become thoroughly familiar with the men who have confessed their crimes, not because the fear of God subdued them to repentance, but because the rigour of their judges broke through the hardness of their most cruel hearts, some of them confessing to the murder of one presbyter [Estitutus], and the blinding and maiming of another [Innocentius]; others not daring to deny that they might have known of these outrages, although they say that they disapproved of them, and persisting in the impiety of schism in fellowship with such a multitude of atrocious villains, while deserting the peace of the Catholic Church on the pretext of unwillingness to be polluted by other men's crimes; others declaring that they will not forsake the schismatics, even though the certainty of Catholic truth and the perversity of the Donatists have been demonstrated to them. The work, which it has pleased God to entrust to your diligence, is of great importance. My heart's desire is, that many similar Donatist cases may be tried and decided by you as these have been, and that in this way the crimes and the insane obstinacy of these men may be often brought to light; and that the Acts recording these proceedings may be published, and brought to the knowledge of all men.
As to the statement in your Excellency's letter, that you are uncertain whether you ought to command the said Acts to be published in Theoprepia,^ my reply is, Let this be done, if a large multitude of hearers can be gathered there; if this be

^ Gosta â€“ records of judicial procedure.

* This is supposed to be the uaine of a Donatist church in Carthage.

2. As to the punishment of these men, I beseech you to make it something less severe than sentence of death, although they have, by their own confession, been guilty of such grievous crimes. I ask this out of a regard both for our own consciences and for the testimony thereby given to Catholic clemency. For this is the special advantage secured to us by their confession, that the Catholic Church has found an opportunity of maintaining and exhibiting forbearance towards her most violent enemies; since in a case where such cruelty was practised, any punishment short of death will be seen by all men to proceed from great leniency. And although such treatment appears to some of our communion, whose minds are agitated by these atrocities, to be less than the crimes deserve, and to have somewhat the aspect of weakness and dereliction of duty, nevertheless, when the feelings, which are wont to be immoderately excited while such events are recent, have subsided after a time, the kindness shown to the guilty will shine with most conspicuous brightness, and men will take much more pleasure in reading these Acts and showing them to others, my lord justly distinguished, and son very much beloved and longed for.

I My holy brother and co-bishop Boniface is on the spot, and I have forwarded by the deacon Peregrinus, who travelled along with him, a letter of instructions; accept these as representing me. And whatever may seem in your joint opinion to be for the Church's interest, let it be done with the help of the Lord, who is able in the midst of so great evils graciously to succour you. One of their bishops, Macrobius, is at present going round in all directions, followed by bands of wretched men and women, and has opened for himself the [Donatist] churches which fear, however slight, Jiad moved their owners to close for a time. By the presence,

I however, of one whom I have commended and again heartily

I commend to your love, namely, Spondeus, the deputy of the illustrious Celer, their presumption was indeed somewhat
and is gathering congregations for worship in them. In his company, moreover, is Donatus, a deacon, rebaptized by them even when he was a tenant of lands belonging to the Church, who was implicated as a ringleader in the outrage [on Innocentius]. When this man is his associate, who can tell what kind of followers may be in his retinue? If the sentence on these men is to be pronounced by the Proconsul,^ or by both of you together, and if he perchance insist upon inflicting capital punishment, although he is a Christian and, so far as we have had opportunity of observing, not disposed to such severity â€” if, I say, his determination make it necessary, order those letters of mine, which I deemed it my duty to ] address to you severally on this subject,^ to be brought before you while the trial is still going on; for I am accustomed
\ to hear that it is in th*^, power of the judge to mitigate the sentence, and inflict a milder penalty than the law prescribes.
If, however, notwithstanding these letters from me, he refuse to grant this request, let him at least allow that the men be remanded for a time; and we will endeavour to obtain this concession from the clemency of the Emperors, so that the sufferings of the martyrs, which ought to shed bright glory on the Church, may not be tarnished by the blood of their enemies; for I know that in the case of the clergy in the valley of Anaunia,^ who were slain by the Pagans, and are now honoured as martyrs, the Emperor granted readily a petition that the murderers, who had been discovered and imprisoned, might not be visited with a capital punishment.

3. As to the books concerning the baptism of infants, of which I had sent the original manuscript to your Excellency, I have forgotten for what reason I received them again from you; unless, perhaps, it was that, after examining them, I found them faulty, and wished to make some corrections, which, by reason of extraordinary hindrances, I have not yet been able to overtake. I must also confess that the letter

* Apringius. See note, p. 171.

2 Letters CXXXIII. and CXXXIV.
3 Anaunia, a valley not far from Trent, destined to be so finnous for the Council held there. In the month of May, 397 A.D., Martyrius, Sisiunius, and Alexander were killed there by the heathen.

LET. CXXXIX.] TO MARCELLINUS. 215

intended to be addressed to you and added to these books, and which I had begun to dictate when I was with you, is still unfinished, little having been added to it since that time.

If, however, I could set before you a statement of the toil which it is absolutely necessary for me to devote, both by day and by night, to other duties, you would deeply sympathize with me, and would be astonished at the amount of business not admitting of delay which distracts my mind and hinders me from accomplishing those things to which you urge me in entreaties and admonitions, addressed to one most willing to oblige you, and inexpressibly grieved that it is beyond his power; for when I obtain a little leisure from the urgent necessary business of those men, who so press me into their service that I am neither able to escape them nor at liberty to neglect them, there are always subjects to which I must, in dictating to my amanuenses, give the first place, because they are so connected with the present hour as not to admit of being postponed. Of such things one instance was the abridgement of the proceedings at our Conference, a work involving much labour, but necessary, because I saw that no one would attempt the perusal of such a mass of writing; another was a letter to the Donatist laity concerning the said Conference, a document which I have just completed, after labouring at it for several nights; another was the composition of two long letters, one addressed to yourself, my beloved friend, the other to the illustrious Volusianus, which I suppose you both have received; another is a book, with which I am occupied at present, addressed to our friend Honoratus, in regard to five questions proposed by him in a letter to me, and you see that to him I was unquestionably in duty bound to send a prompt reply. Eor love deals with her sons as a nurse does with children, devoting her attention to them not in the order of the love felt for each, but according to the urgency of each case; she gives a preference to the weaker, because she desires to impart to them such

* Angariant. See Matt. v. 41.

' The Conference presided over by this Marcellinus at Carthage, in the preceding year.

Â» Letter CXLI. ^ Letters CXXXVIL and CXXXVIII. * Letter CXL.
strength as is possessed by the stronger, whom she passes by meanwhile not because of her slighting them, but because her mind is at rest in regard to them. Emergencies of this kind, compelling me to employ my amanuenses in writing on subjects which prevent me from using their pens in work much more congenial to the ardent desires of my heart, can never fail to occur, because I have difficulty in obtaining even a very little leisure, amidst the accumulation of business into which, in 'spite of my own inclinations, I am dragged by other men's wishes or necessities; and what I am to do, I really do not know.

4. You have heard the burdens, for my deliverance from which I wish you to join your prayers with mine; but at the same time I do not wish you to desist from admonishing me, as you do, with such importunity and frequency; your words are not without some effect. I commend at the same time to your Excellency a church planted in Numidia, on behalf of which, in its present necessities, my holy brother and co-bishop Delphinus has been sent by my brethren and co-bishops who share the toils and the dangers of their work in that region.

I write no more on this matter, because you will hear all from his own lips when he comes to you. All other necessary particulars you will find in the letters of instruction, which are sent by me to the presbyter either now or by the deacon Peregrinus, so that I need not again repeat them.

May your heart be ever strong in Christ, my lord justly distinguished, and son very much beloved and longed for!

I commend to your Excellency our son Euffinus, the Provost of Cirta.

LETTEE CXLIII.

(a.d. 412.)

TO MARCELLTNNUS, MY NOBLE LORD, JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED, MY SON VERY MUCH BELOVED, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Desiring to reply to the letter which I received from you through our holy brother, my co-bishop Boniface, I have

* Principalis.
sought for it, but have not found it. I have recalled to mind, however, that you asked me in that letter how the magicians of Pharaoh could, after all the water of Egypt had been turned into blood, find any with which to imitate the miracle. There are two ways in which the question is commonly answered: either that it was possible for water to have been brought from the sea, or, which is more credible, that these plagues were not inflicted on the district in which the children of Israel were; for the clear, express statements to this effect in some parts of that scriptural narrative entitle us to assume this in places where the statement is omitted.

2. In your other letter, brought to me by the presbyter Urbanus, a question is proposed, taken from a passage not in the Divine Scriptures, but in one of my own books, namely, that which I wrote on Free Will. On questions of this kind, however, I do not bestow much labour; because, even if the statement objected to does not admit of unanswerable vindication, it is mine only; it is not an utterance of that Author whose words it is impiety to reject, even when, through our misapprehension of their meaning, the interpretation which we put on them deserves to be rejected. I freely confess, accordingly, that I endeavour to be one of those who write because they have made some progress, and who, by means of writing, make further progress. If, therefore, through inadvertence or want of knowledge, anything has been stated by me which may with good reason be condemned, not only by others who are able to discover this, but also by myself (for if I am making progress, I ought, at least after it has been pointed out, to see it), such a mistake is not to be regarded with surprise or grief, but rather forgiven, and made the occasion of congratulating me, not, of course, on having erred, but on having renounced an error. For there is an extravagant perversity in the self-love of the man who desires other men to be in error, that the fact of his having erred may not be discovered. How much better and more profitable is it that in the points in which he has erred others should not err, so that he may be delivered from his error by their advice, or, if he refuse this, may at least have no followers in his error. For, if God permit me, as I desire, to gather together and point out, in a work devoted to this express purpose, all the things which most justly displease me in my books, men will then see how far I am from being a partial judge in my own case.

3. As for you, however, who love me warmly, if, in opposing those by whom, whether through malice or ignorance or superior intelligence, I am censured, you maintain the position that I have nowhere in my writings made a mistake, you labour in a hopeless
enterprise â€” you have undertaken a bad cause, in which, even if I myself were judge, you must be easily worsted; for it is no pleasure to me that my dearest friends should think me to be such as I am not, since assuredly they love not me, but instead of me another under my name, if they love not what I am, but what I am not; for in so far as they know me, or believe what is true concerning me, I am loved by them; but in so far as they ascribe to me what they do not know to be in me, they love another person, such as they suppose me to be. Cicero, the prince of Eoman orators, says of some one, " He never uttered a word which he would wish to recall." This commendation, though it seems to be the highest possible, is nevertheless more likely to be true of a consummate fool than of a man perfectly wise; for it is true of idiots, that the more absurd and foolish they are, and the more their opinions diverge from those universally held, the more likely are they to utter no word which they will wish to recall; for to regret an evil, or foolish, or ill-timed word is characteristic of a wise man. If, however, the words quoted are taken in a good sense, as intended to make us believe that some one was such that, by reason of his speaking all things wisely, he never uttered any word which he would wish to recall, â€” this we are, in accordance with sound piety, to believe rather concerning men of God, who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, than concerning the man whom Cicero commends. For my part, so far am I from this excellence, that if I have uttered no word which I would wish to recall, it must be because I resemble more the idiot than the wise man. The man whose writings are most worthy of the highest authority is he who has uttered no word, I do not say which it would be his desire, but which it would be his duty to recall. Let him that has not attained to this occupy the second rank through his humility, since he cannot take the first rank through his wisdom. Since he has been unable, with all his care, to exclude every expression whose use may be justly regretted, let him acknowledge his regret for anything which, as he may now have discovered, ought not to have been said.

4. Since, therefore, the words spoken by me which I would if I could recall, are not, as my very dear friends suppose, few or none, but perhaps even more than my enemies imagine, I am not gratified by such commendation as Cicero's sentence, " He never uttered a word which he would wish to recall," but I am deeply distressed by the saying of Horace, "The word once uttered cannot be recalled." ^ This is the reason why I keep beside me, longer than you wish or patiently bear, the books which I have written on difficult and important questions on the book of Genesis and the doctrine of the Trinity, hoping that, if it be impossible to avoid having some things which may deservedly be found fault with, the number of these may at least be smaller than it might have been, if, through impatient haste, the works had been published without due deliberation; for you, as your letters indicate (our holy brother and co-bishop Florentius having written me to this effect), are urgent for the publication of these works now, in order that they may be

* Quos vulgo moriones vocant.
defended in my own lifetime by myself, when, perhaps, they may begin to be assailed in some particulars, either through the cavilling of enemies or the misapprehensions of friends. You say this doubtless because you think there is nothing in them which might with justice be censured, otherwise you would not exhort me to publish the books, but rather to revise them more carefully. But I fix my eye rather on those who are true judges, sternly impartial, between whom and myself I wish, in the first place, to make sure of my ground, so that the only faults coming to be censured by them may be those which it was impossible for me to observe, though using the most diligent scrutiny.

5. Notwithstanding what I have just said, I am prepared to defend the sentence in the third book of my treatise on Free

* Nescit vox missa reverti.

220 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLII.

Will, in which, discoursing on the rational substance, I have expressed my opinion in these words: "The soul, appointed to occupy a body inferior in nature to itself after the entrance of sin, governs its own body, not absolutely according to its free will, but only in so far as the laws of the universe permit." I

bespeak the particular attention of those who think that I have here fixed and defined, as ascertained concerning the human soul, either that it comes by propagation from the parents, or

that it has, through sins committed in a higher celestial life, incurred the penalty of being shut up in a corruptible body.

Let them, I say, observe that the words in question have been so carefully weighed by me, that while they hold fast what I regard as certain, namely, that after the sin of the first man, all other men have been born and continue to be born in that sinful flesh, for the healing of which "the likeness of sinful flesh" ^ came in the person of the Lord, they are also so chosen as not to pronounce upon any one of those four opinions which I have in the sequel expounded and distinguished â€” not attempting to establish any one of them as preferable to the others, but disposing in the meantime of the matter under discussion, and reserving the consideration of these opinions, so that whichever of them may be true, praise should unhesitatingly be given to God.

^ I / 6. For whether all souls are derived by propagation from the first, or are in the case of each individual specially created, or being created apart from the body are sent into it, or introduce themselves into it of their own accord, without doubt this creature endowed with reason, namely, the human soul â€” appointed to occupy an inferior, that is, an earthly body â€” after the entrance of sin, does not govern its own body absolutely according to its free will. ^ For I did not say, "after his sin,"

^
or "after he sinned," but after the entrance of sin, that whatever might afterwards, if possible, be determined by reason as to the question whether the sin was his own or the sin of the first parent of mankind, it might be perceived that in saying that "the soul, appointed, after the entrance of sin, to occupy

\^ Horn., viii, 3.

2 The text being here obscure, we have followed the MSS., which omit the words, "interim quod constat peccatum primi hominis."

\}

LET. CXLIII] TO MAKCELLINUS. 221

an inferior body, does not govern its body absolutely according to its own free will," I stated what is true; for "the flesh lusteth against the spirit," and in this we groan, being burdened,"^ and "the corruptible body weighs down the soul,"^ "in short, who can enumerate all the evils arising from the infirmity of the flesh, which shall assuredly cease when "this corruptible shall have put on incorruption," so that "that which is mortal shall be swallowed up of life"?* In that future condition, therefore, the soul shall govern its spiritual body with absolute freedom of will; but in the meantime its freedom is not absolute, but conditioned by the laws of the universe, according to which it is fixed, that bodies having experienced birth experience death, and having grown to maturity decline in old age. For the soul of the first man did, before the entrance of sin, govern his body with perfect freedom of will, although that body was not yet spiritual, but animal; but after the entrance of sin, that is, after sin had been committed in that flesh from which sinful flesh was thenceforward to be propagated, the reasonable soul is so appointed to occupy an inferior body, that it does not govern its body with absolute freedom of will. That infant children, even before they have committed any sin of their own, are partakers of sinful flesh, is, in my opinion, proved by their requiring to have it healed in them also, by the application in their baptism of the remedy provided in Him who came in the likeness of sinful flesh. But even those who do not acquiesce in this view have no just ground for taking offence at the sentence quoted from my book; for it is certain, if I am not mistaken, that even if the infirmity be the consequence not of sin, but of nature, it was at all events only after the entrance of sin that bodies having this infirmity began to be produced; for Adam was not created thus, and he did not beget any offspring before he sinned.

7. Let my critics, therefore, seek other passages to censure, ^
not only in my other more hastily published works, but also in these books of mine on Free Will. For I by no means deny that they may in this search discover opportunities of conferring a benefit on me; for if the books, having passed into so many hands, cannot now be corrected, I myself may, being still alive. Those words, however, so carefully selected by me to avoid committing myself to any one of the four opinions or theories regarding the soul's origin, are liable to censure only from those who think that my hesitation as to any definite view in a matter so obscure is blameworthy; against whom I do not defend myself by saying that I think it right to pronounce no opinion whatever on the subject, seeing that I have no doubt either that the soul is immortal, not in the same sense in which God is immortal, who alone hath immortality, but in a certain way peculiar to itself or that the soul is a creature and not a part of the substance of the Creator, or as to any other thing which I regard as most certain concerning its nature. But seeing that the obscurity of this most mysterious subject, the origin of the soul, compels me to do as I have done, let them rather stretch out a friendly hand to me, confessing my ignorance, and desiring to know whatever is the truth on the subject; and let them, if they can, teach or demonstrate to me what they may either have learned by the exercise of sound reason, or have believed on indisputably plain testimony of the divine oracles. For if reason be found contradicting the authority of the Divine Scriptures, it only deceives by a semblance of truth, however acute it be, for its deductions cannot in that case be true. On the other hand, if, against the most manifest and reliable testimony of reason, anything be set up claiming to have the authority of the Holy Scriptures, he who does this does it through a misapprehension of what he has read, and is setting up against the truth not the real meaning of Scripture, which he has failed to discover, but an opinion of his own; he alleges not what he has found in the Scriptures, but what he has found in himself as their interpreter.

8. Let me give an example, to which I solicit your earnest attention. In a passage near the end of Ecclesiastes, where the author is speaking of man's dissolution through death separating the soul from the body, it is written, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." A statement having the authority on which this one is based is true beyond all dis-
pute, and is not intended to deceive any one; yet if any one wishes to put upon it such an interpretation as may help him in attempting to support the theory of the propagation of souls, according to which all other souls are derived from that one which God gave to the first man, what is there said concerning the body under the name of "dust" (for obviously nothing else than body and soul are to be understood by "dust" and "spirit" in this passage) seems to favour his view; for he may affirm that the soul is said to return to God because of its being derived from the original stock of that soul which God gave to the first man, in the same way as the body is said to return to the dust because of its being derived from the original stock of that body which was made of dust in the first man, and therefore may argue that, from what we know perfectly as to the body, we ought to believe what is hidden from our observation as to the soul; for there is no difference of opinion as to the original stock of the body, but there is as to the original stock of the soul. In the text thus brought forward as a proof, statements are made concerning both, as if the manner of the return of each to its original was precisely similar in both, â€” the body, on the one hand, returning to the earth as it was, for thence was it taken when the first man was formed; the soul, on the other hand, returning to God, for He gave it when He breathed into the nostrils of the man whom He had formed the breath of life, and he became a living soul so that thenceforward the propagation of each part should go on from the corresponding part in the parent.

9. If, however, the true account of the soul's origin be, that God gives to each individual man a soul, not propagated from that first soul, but created in some other way, the statement that "the spirit returns to God who gave it" is equally consistent with this view. The two other opinions regarding the soul's origin are, then, the only ones which seem to be excluded by this text. For in the first place, as to the opinion that every man's soul is made separately within him at the time of his creation, it is supposed that, if this were the case, the Boul should have been spoken of as returning, not to God who gave it, but to God who made it; for the word " gave " seems to imply that that which could be given had already a separate existence. The words " returneth to God " are further insisted upon by some, who say. How could it return to a place where it had never been before? Accordingly they maintain that, if the soul is to be believed to have never been with God before, the words should have been "it goes," or "goes on," or "goes away," rather than it "returns" to God. In like manner, as to the opinion that each soul glides of its own accord into its body, it is not easy to explain how this theory is reconcilable with the statement that God gave it. The words of this scriptural passage are consequently somewhat adverse to these two opinions, namely, the one which supposes each soul to be created in its own body, and the one which supposes each soul to introduce itself into its own body spontaneously.
But there is no difficulty in showing that the words are consistent with either of the other two opinions, namely, that all souls are derived by propagation from the one first created, or that, having been created and kept in readiness with God, they are given to each body as required.

10. Nevertheless, even if the theory that each soul is created in its own body may not be wholly excluded by this text, "for if its advocates affirm that God is here said to have given the spirit (or the soul) in the same way as He is said to have given us eyes, ears, hands, or other such members, which were not made elsewhere by Him, and kept in store that He might give them, i.e. add and join them to our bodies, but are made by Him in that body to which He is said to have given them, â€” I do not see what could be said in reply, unless, perchance, the opinion could be refuted, either by other passages of Scripture, or by valid reasoning. In like manner, those who think that each soul flows of its own accord into its body take the words " God gave it " in the sense in which it is said, " He gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts."^ Only one word, therefore, remains apparently irreconcilable with the theory that each soul is made in its own body, namely, the word " returneth," in the expression "returneth to God;" for in what sense can the soul return to Him with whom it has not formerly been ? By this one word alone are the supporters of this one of the four opinions embarrassed. And yet I do not think that this opinion ought to be held as refuted by this one word, for it may be possible to show that in the ordinary style of scriptural language it may be quite correct to use the word " return," as signifying that the spirit created by God returns to Him not because of its having been with Him before its union with the body, but because of its having received being from His creative power.

11. I have written these things in order to show that whoever is disposed to maintain and vindicate any one of these four theories of the soul's origin, must bring forward, either from the Scriptures received into ecclesiastical authority, passages which do not admit of any other interpretation, â€” as the statement that God made man, â€” or reasonings founded on premises so obviously true that to call them in question would be madness, such as the statement that none but the living are capable of knowledge or of error; for a statement like this does not require the authority of Scripture to prove its truth, as if the common sense of mankind did not of itself announce its truth with such transparent cogency of reason, that whoever contradicts it must be held to be hopelessly mad. If any one is able to produce such arguments in discussing the very obscure
question of the soul's origin, let him help me in my ignorance; but if he cannot do this, let
him forbear from blaming my hesitation on the question.

12. As to the virginity of the Holy Mary, if what I have written on this subject does not
suffice to prove that it was possible, we must refuse to believe every record of anything
miraculous having taken place in the body of any. If, however, the objection to believing
this miracle is, that it happened only once, ask the friend who is still perplexed by this,
whether instances may not be quoted from secular literature of events which were, like
this one, unique, and which, never-

theless, are believed, not merely as fables are believed by the simple, but with that faith
with which the history of facts is received â€” ask him, I beseech you, this question. For
if he

; says that nothing of this kind is to be found in these writings, LETT. n. p

226 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLIV.

he ought to have such instances pointed out to him; if he.
admits this, the question is decided by his admission.

LETTER CXLIV.

(A.D. 412.)

TO MY HONOURABLE AND JUSTLY ESTEEMED LORDS, THE INHABITANTS OF CIRTA, OF ALL RANKS, BRETHREN DEARLY BELOVED
AND LONGED FOR, BISHOP AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. If that which greatly distressed me in your town has now been removed; if the
obduracy of hearts which resisted most evident and, as we might call it, notorious truth,
has by the force of truth been overcome; if the sweetness of peace is relished, and the
love which tends to unity is the occasion no longer of pain to eyes diseased, but of light
and vigour to eyes restored to health, â€” this is God's work, not ours; on no account
would I ascribe these results to human efforts, even had such a remarkable conversion of
your whole community taken place when I was with you, and in connection with my own
preaching and exhortations. The operation and the success are His who, by His servants,
calls men's attention outwardly by the signs of things, and Himself teaches men inwardly
by the things themselves. The fact, however, that whatever praiseworthy change has been
wrought among you is to be ascribed not to us, but to Him who alone doeth wonderful
works,^ is no reason for our being more reluctant to be persuaded to visit you. For we
ought to hasten much more readily to see the works of God than our own works, for we
ourselves also, if we be of service in any work, owe this not to men but to Him;
wherefore the apostle says, " Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that
twatereth: but God that giveth the increase." ^

2. You allude in your letter to a fact which I also remember from classic literature, that by
discoursing on the benefits of temperance, Xenocrates suddenly converted Polemo from a
dissipated to a sober life, though this man was not only habitually intemperate, but was
actually intoxicated at the
^ Ps. Ixxii. 18. 2 1 Cor. iii. 7.

LET. CXLIV.] TO THE INHABITANTS OF CIRTA. 227^

time. Now although this was, as you have wisely and truthfully apprehended, a case not
of conversion to God, but of emancipation from the thraldom of self-indulgence, I would
not ascribe even the amount of improvement wrought in him to the work of man, but to
the work of God. For even in the body, the lowest part of our nature, all excellent things,
such as beauty, vigour, health, and so on, are the work of God, to whom nature owes its
creation and perfection; how much more certain, therefore, must it be that no other can
impart excellent properties to the soul! For what imagination of human folly could be
more full of pride and ingratitude than the notion that, although God alone can give
comeliness to the body, it belongs to man to give purity to the soul? It is written in the
book of Christian Wisdom, "I perceived that no one can have self-restraint unless God
give it to him, and that this is a part of true wisdom to know whose gift it is." ^
If, therefore, Polemo, when he exchanged a life of dissipation for a life of sobriety, had so
understood whence the gift came, that, renouncing the superstitions of the heathen, he
had rendered worship to the Divine Giver, he would then have become not only
temperate, but truly wise and savingly religious, which would have secured to him not
merely the practice of virtue in this life, but also the possession of immortality in the life
to come. How much less, then, should I presume to take to myself the honour of your
conversion, or of that of your people which you have now reported to me, which, when I
was neither speaking to you nor even present with you, was accomplished unquestionably
by divine power in all in whom it has really taken place. This, therefore, know above all
things, meditate on this with devout humility. To God, my brethren, to God give thanks.
Fear Him, that ye may not go backward: love Him, that you may go forward. ^

3. If, however, love of men still keeps some secretly alienated from the flock of Christ,
while fear of other men constrains them to a feigned reconciliation, I charge all such to
consider that before God the conscience of man has no covering, and that they can neither
impose on Him as a

^ Wisd. viii. 21.

* Deiim timete ne deficiatis, amate ut proficiatis.
Witness, nor escape from Him as a Judge. But if, by reason of anxiety as to their own salvation, anything as to the question of the unity of Christ's flock perplex them, let them make this demand upon themselves, â€” and it seems to me a most just demand, â€” that in regard to the Catholic Church, i.e. the Church spread abroad over the whole world, they believe rather the words of Divine Scripture than the calumnies of human tongues. Moreover, with respect to the schism which has arisen among men (who assuredly, whatsoever they may be, do not frustrate the promises of God to Abraham, " In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," promises believed when brought to their ears as a prophecy, but denied, forsooth, when set before their eyes as an accomplished fact), let them meanwhile ponder this one very brief, but, if I mistake not, unanswerable argument: the question out of which the dispute arose either has or has not been tried before ecclesiastical tribunals beyond the sea; if it has not been tried before these, then no guilt in this matter is chargeable on the whole flock of Christ in the nations beyond the sea, in communion with which we rejoice, and therefore their separation from these guiltless communities is an act of impious schism; if, on the other hand, the question has been tried before the tribunal of these churches, who does not understand and feel, nay, who does not see, that those whose communion is now separated from these churches were the party defeated in the trial? Let them therefore choose to whom they should prefer to give credence, whether to the ecclesiastical judges who decided the question, or to the complaints of the vanquished litigants. Observe wisely how impossible it is for them reasonably to answer this brief and most intelligible dilemma; nevertheless, it were easier to turn Polemo from a life of intemperance, than to drive them out of the madness of inveterate error.

Pardon me, my noble and worthy lords, brethren most dearly beloved and longed for, for writing you a letter more prolix than agreeable, but fitted, as I think, to benefit rather than to flatter you. As to my coming to you, may God fulfill the desire which we both equally cherish! For I cannot

' Gen. xxvi. 4.

LET. CXLV.] TO ANASTASIUS. 2'29

e-x press in words, but I am sure you will gladly believe, with what fervour of love I burn to see you.
TO ANASTASius, ITY HOly AND BELOVED LORD AND BEOTHER,
Augustine Sends GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. A MOST satisfactory opportunity of saluting your genuine worth is furnished by our brethren Lupicinus and Concordialis, honourable servants of God, from whom, even without my writing, you might learn all that is going on among us here. But knowing, as I do, how much you love us in Christ, because of your knowing how warmly your love is reciprocated by us in Him, I was sure that it might have disappointed you if you had seen them, and could not but know that they had come directly from us, and were most intimately united in friendship with us, and yet had received with them no letter from me. Besides this, I am owing you a reply, for I am not aware of having written to you since I received your last letter; so great are the cares by which I am encumbered and distracted, that I know not whether I have written or not before now.

2. We desire eagerly to know how you are, and whether the Lord has given you some rest, so far as in this world He can bestow it; for "if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it;" and so it is almost always our experience, that when, in the midst of our anxieties, we turn our thoughts to some of our brethren placed in a condition of comparative rest, we are in no small measure revived, as if in them we ourselves enjoyed a more peaceful and tranquil life. At the same time, when vexatious cares are multiplied in this uncertain life, they compel us to long for the everlasting rest For this world is more dangerous to us in pleasant than in painful hours, and is to be guarded against more when it allures us to love it than when it warns and constrains us to despise it. For although "all that is in the

> 1 Cor. xii. 26.

230 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLV.

world " is "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," nevertheless, even in the case of men who prefer to these the things which are spiritual, unseen, and eternal, the sweetness of earthly things insinuates itself into our affections, and accompanies our steps on the path of duty with its seductive allurements. For the violence with which present things acquire sway over our weakness is exactly proportioned to the superior value by which future things command our love. And oh that those who have learned to observe and bewail this may succeed in overcoming and escaping from this power of terrestrial things!

Such victory and emancipation cannot, without God's grace, be achieved by the human will, which is by no means to be called free so long as it is subject to prevailing and enslaving lusts; "For of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in
bondage." ^ And the Son of God has Himself said, " If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." ^

3. The law, therefore, by teaching and commanding what cannot be fulfilled without grace, demonstrates to man his weakness, in order that the weakness thus proved may resort to the Saviour, by whose healing the will may be able to do what in its feebleness it found impossible. So, then, the law brings us to faith, faith obtains the Spirit in fuller measure, the Spirit sheds love abroad in us, and love fulfils the law.

For this reason the law is called a " schoolmaster," * under whose threatenings and severity " whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be delivered." ^ " But how shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed ? " *

Wherefore unto them that believe and call on Him the quickening Spirit is given, lest the letter without the Spirit should kill them.^ But by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us, the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts,^ so that the words of the same apostle, " Love is the fulfilling of the law," ^ are realized. So the law is good to the man who uses it lawfully; ^^ and he uses it lawfully who, under-


5 Joel ii. 32. Â« Rom. x. 14. 7 2 Cor. iii. 6.

Â» Rom. V. 5. 8 Rom. xiii. 10. iÂ» 1 Tim. i. 8.

I

LET. CXLV.] TO ANASTASIUS. 231

standing wherefore it was given, betakes himself, under the pressure of its threatenings, to grace, which sets him free.

Whoever unthankfully despises this grace, by which the ungodly are justified, and trusts in his own strength, as if he thereby could fulfil the law, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish his own righteousness, is not submitting himself to the righteousness of God; ^ and thus the law becomes to him not a help to pardon, but the bond fastening his guilt to him. Not that the law is evil, but because sin worketh death in such persons by that which is good. ^ For by occasion of the commandment he sins more grievously who, by the commandment, knows how evil are the sins which he commits.

4. In vain, however, does any one think himself to have gained the victory over sin, if, through nothing but fear of punishment, he refrains from sin; because, although the outward action to which an evil desire prompts him is not performed, the evil desire itself within the man is an enemy unsubdued. And who is found innocent in God's sight who is
willing to do the sin which is forbidden if you only remove the punishment which is feared? And consequently, even in the volition itself, he is guilty of sin who wishes to do what is unlawful, but refrains from doing it because it cannot be done with impunity; for, so far as he is concerned, he would prefer that there were no righteousness forbidding and punishing sins. And assuredly, if he would prefer that there should be no righteousness, who can doubt that he would if he could abolish it altogether? How, then, can that man be called righteous who is such an enemy to righteousness that, if he had the power, he would abolish its authority, that he might not be subject to its threatenings or its penalties? He, then, is an enemy to righteousness who refrains from sin only through fear of punishment; but he will become the friend of righteousness if through love of it he sin not, for then he will be really afraid to sin. For the man who only fears the flames of hell is afraid not of sinning, but of being burned; but the man who hates sin as much as he hates hell is afraid to sin. This is the "fear of the Lord,"

Ä» Rom. X. 3. 2 Kom. vii. 13.

232 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLV.

which "is pure, enduring for ever." ^ For the fear of punishment has torment, and is not in love; and love, when it is perfect, casts it out.^

5. Moreover, every one hates sin just in proportion as he loves righteousness; which he will be enabled to do not through the law putting him in fear by the letter of its prohibitions, but by the Spirit healing him by grace. Then that is done which the apostle enjoins in the admonition, "I speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness."

^ For what is the force of the conjunctions "as" and "even so," if it be not this: "As no fear compelled you to sin, but the desire for it, and the pleasure taken in sin, even so let not the fear of punishment drive you to a life of righteousness; but let the pleasure found in righteousness and the love you bear to it draw you to practise it "? And even this is, as it seems to me, a righteousness, so to speak, somewhat mature, but not perfect. For he would not have prefaced the admonition with the words, "I speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your flesh," had there not been something else that ought to have been said if they had been by that time able to bear it. For surely more devoted service is due to righteousness than men are wont to yield to sin.

For pain of body restrains men, if not from the desire of sin, at least from the commission of sinful actions; and we should not easily find any one who would openly commit a sin procuring to him an impure and unlawful gratification, if it was certain that the penalty of torture would immediately follow the crime. But righteousness ought to be so loved that not even bodily sufferings should hinder us from doing its works, but that, even when we are in the hands of cruel enemies, our good works should so shine before men that those who are capable of taking pleasure therein may glorify our Father who is in heaven.*
6. Hence it comes that that most devoted lover of righteous exclaims, "Who shall separate us from the love of

^Ps. xix. 9. 2 I John iv. 18. ^ ^^^ yi ^9^ 4 j^i^tt. v. 16.

LET. CXLY.] TO ANASTASITS. 233

Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? (As it is written. For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us. Tor I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." ^ Observe how he does not say simply, "Who shall separate us from Christ?" but, indicating that by which we cling to Christ, he says, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" We cling to Christ, then, by love, not by fear of punishment. Again, after having enumerated those things which seem to be sufficiently fierce, but have not sufficient force to effect a separation, he has, in the conclusion, called that the love of God which he had previously spoken of as the love of Christ. And what is this "love of Christ" but love of righteousness? for it is said of Him that He "is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." ^ As, therefore, he is superlatively wicked who is not deterred even by the penalty of bodily sufferings from the vile works of sordid pleasure, so is he superlatively righteous who is not restrained even by the fear of bodily sufferings from the holy works of most glorious love.

7. This love of God, which must be maintained by unremitting, devout meditation, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us," ^ so that he who glories in it must glory in the Lord. Forasmuch, therefore, as we feel ourselves to be poor and destitute of that love by which the law is most truly fulfilled, we ought not to expect and demand its riches from our own indigence, but to ask, seek, and knock in prayer, that He with whom is "the fountain of life" "may satisfy us abundantly with the fatness of His house, and make us drink of the river of His pleasures," * so

1 Rom. viii. 35-39. 2 1 Cor. i. 30, 31; Jer. ix. 24.

3 Kom. V. 5. * Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9.

234 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLV.

that, watered and revived by its full flood, we may not only escape from being swallowed up by sorrow, but may even
"glory in tribulations: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed: "â€” not that we can do this of ourselves, but " because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given to us." ^

8. It has been a pleasure to me to say, at least by a letter, these things which I could not say when you were present. I write them, not in reference to yourseK, for you do not affect high things, but are contented with that which is lowly ,^ but in reference to some who arrogate too much to the human will, imagining that, the law being given, the will is of its own strength sufficient to fulfil that law, though not assisted by any grace imparted by the Holy Spirit, in addition to instruction in the law; and by their reasonings they persuade the wretched and impoverished weakness of man to believe that it is not our duty to pray that we may not enter into temptation. Not that they dare openly to say this; but this is, whether they acknowledge it or not, an inevitable consequence of their doctrine.^ For wherefore is it said to us,
"Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation; " * and wherefore was it that, when He was teaching us to pray. He prescribed, in accordance with this injunction, the use of the petition "lead us not into temptation," "* if this be wholly in the power of the will of man, and does not require the help of divine grace in order to its accomplishment?

Why should I say more ? Salute the brethren who are with you, and pray for us, that we may be saved with that salvation of which it is said, " They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." ^ Pray, therefore, for us that we may be righteous, â€” an attainment wholly beyond a man's reach, unless he know righteousness and be willing to practise it, but one which is immediately realized when he is perfectly

> Rom. V. 3-5. ' Rom. xii. 16.

^ The heresy of Pelagius is obviously alluded to here as having begun thus early (a.d. 413) to command attention.


LET. CXLVIII.] TO FORTUNATIAXUS. 235

willing; but this full consent of his will can never be in him unless he is healed and assisted by the grace of the Spirit.

LETTEE CXLVI.

(A.D. 413.)
TO PELAGIUS, MY LORD GREATLY BELOVED, AND BROTHER GREATLY LONGED FOR, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

I.e many very much for your consideration in making me glad by a letter from you, and informing me of your welfare. May the Lord recompense you with those blessings by the possession of which you may be good for ever, and may live eternally with Him who is eternal, my lord greatly beloved, and brother greatly longed for. Although I do not acknowledge that anything in me deserves the eulogies which the letter of your Benevolence contains concerning me, nevertheless I cannot but be grateful for the goodwill therein manifested towards one so insignificant, while suggesting at the same time that you should rather pray for me that I may be made by the Lord such as you suppose me already to be.

{In another hand) May you enjoy safety and the Lord's favour, and be mindful of us ! ^

LETTER CXLVIIL

(A.D. 413.)

A LETTER OF INSTRUCTIONS (COMMONITORIUM) TO THE HOLY BROTHER FORTUNATIANUS. ^

Chap. i. 1. I write this to remind you of the request which I made when I was with you, that you would do me the kind-

^ Pelagius made use of this letter at the Council of Diospolis, in a.d. 415, which compelled Augustine to vindicate himself in reference to it in his narrative of the proceedings of Pelagius. See Anti-Pelagian Writings, vol. i. p. 413.

^ Fortunatianus, Bishop of Sicqua, was one of the seven bishops selected to represent the Catholics in the Conference at Carthage with the Donatists in 411. He was probably a neighbour of the bishop who had regarded himself as aggrieved by the arguments with which Augustine confuted some extravagant speculations of his.

236 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLVIIL

ness of visiting our brother, whom we mentioned in conversation, in order to ask him to forgive me, if he has construed as a harsh and unfriendly attack upon himself any statement made by me in a recent letter (which I do not regret having written), affirming that the eyes of this body cannot see God, and never shall see Him. I added immediately the reason why I made this statement, namely, to prevent men from believing that God Himself is corporeal and visible, as occupying a place determined by size and by distance from us (for the eye of this body can see nothing except under these conditions), and to prevent men from understanding the expression " face to face" as if God were limited
within the members of a body. Therefore I do not regret having made this statement, as a
protest against our forming such unworthy and profane ideas concerning God as to think
that He is not everywhere in His totality, but susceptible of division, and distributed
through localities in space; for such are the only objects cognizable through these eyes of
ours.

2. But if, while holding no such opinion as this concerning God, but believing Him to be
a Spirit, unchangeable, incorporeal, present in His whole Being everywhere, any one
thinks that the change on this body of ours (when from being a natural body it shall
become a spiritual body) will be so great that in such a body it will be possible for us to
see a spiritual substance not susceptible of division according to local distance or
dimension, or even confined within the limits of bodily members, but everywhere present
in its totality, I wish him to instruct me in this matter, if what he has discovered is true;
but if in this opinion he is mistaken, it is far less objectionable to ascribe to the body
something that does not belong to it, than to take away from God that which belongs to
Him.

And even if that opinion be correct, it wiU not contradict my words in that letter; for I
said that the eyes of this body shall not see God, meaning that the eyes of this body of
ours can see nothing but bodies which are separated from them by some interval of space,
for if there be no interval, even bodies themselves cannot through the eyes be seen by us.

3. Moreover, if our bodies shall be changed into something

* 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

LET. cxlviii] to fortunatiakus. 237

so different from what they now are as to have eyes by means of which a substance shall
be seen which is not diffused through space or confined within limits, having one part in
one place, another in another, a smaller in a less space, a greater in a larger, but in its
totality spiritually present everywhere, â€” these bodies shall be something very different
from what they are at present, and shall no longer be themselves, and shall be not only
freed from mortality, and corruption, and weight, but somehow or other shall be changed
into the quality of the mind itself, if they shall be able to see in a manner which shall be
then granted to the mind, but which is meanwhile not granted even to the mind itself. For
if, when a man's habits are changed, we say he is not the man he was, â€” if, when our
age is changed, we say that the body is not what it was, how much more may we say that
the body shall not be the same when it shall have undergone so great a change as not only
to have immortal life, but also to have power to see Him who is invisible? Wherefore, if
they shall thus see God, it is not with the eyes of this body that He shall be seen, because
in this also it shall not be the same body, since it has been changed to so great an extent
in capacity and power; and this opinion is, therefore, not contrary to the words of my
letter. If, however, the body shall be changed only to this extent, that whereas now it is
mortal, then it shall be immortal, and whereas now* it weighs down the soul, then, devoid
of weight, it shall be most ready for every motion, but unchanged in the faculty of seeing objects which are discerned by their dimensions and distances, it will still be utterly impossible for it to see a substance that is incorporeal and is in its totality present everywhere.

Whether, therefore, the former or the latter supposition be correct, in both cases it remains true that the eyes of this body shall not see God; or if they are to see Him, they shall not be the eyes of this body, since after so great a change they shall be the eyes of a body very different from this.

4. But if this brother is able to propound anything better on this subject, I am ready to learn either from himself or from his instructor. If I were saying this ironically, I would also say that I am prepared to learn concerning God that He

238 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLVII

has a body having members, and is divisible in different localities in space; which I do not say, because I am not speaking ironically, and I am perfectly certain that God is not in any respect of such a nature; and I wrote that letter to prevent men from believing Him to be such. In that letter, being carried away by my zeal to warn against error, and writing more freely because I did not name the persons whose views I assailed, I was too vehement and not sufficiently guarded, and did not consider as I ought to have done the respect which was due by one brother and bishop to the office of another: this I do not defend, but blame; this I condemn rather than excuse, and beg that it may be forgiven. I entreat him to remember our old friendship, and forget my recent offence. Let him do that which he is displeased with me for not having done; let him exhibit in granting pardon the gentleness which I have failed to show in writing that letter. I thus ask, through your kindly mediation, what I had resolved to ask of him in person if I had had an opportunity. I indeed made an effort to obtain an interview with him (a venerable man, worthy of being honoured by us all, writing to request it in my name), but he declined to come, suspecting, I suppose, that, as very often happens among men, some plot was prepared against him. Of my absolute innocence of such guile, I beg you to do your utmost to assure him, which by seeing him personally you can more easily do. State to him with what deep and genuine grief I conversed with you about my having hurt his feelings. Let him know how far I am from slighting him, how much in him I fear God, and am mindful of our Head in whose body we are brethren. My reason for thinking it better not to go to the place in which he resides was, that we might not make ourselves a laughingstock to those without the pale of the Church, thereby bringing grief to our friends and shame to ourselves. All this may be satisfactorily arranged through the good offices of your Holiness and Charity; nay, rather, the satisfactory issue is in the hands of Him who, by the faith which is His gift, dwells in your heart, whom I am confident that our brother does not refuse to honour in you, since he knows Christ experimentally as dwelling in himself.
5. I, at coll events, do not know what I could do better in this case than ask pardon from
the brother who has complained that he was wounded by the harshness of my letter.
He will, I hope, do what he knows to be enjoined on him by Him who, speaking through
the apostle, says: " Forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as
God in Christ has forgiven you; " ^ " Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children;
and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us." ^ Walking in this love, let us inquire with
oneness of heart, and, if possible, with yet greater diligence than hitherto, into the nature
of the spiritual body which we shall have after our resurrection. " And if in anything we
be diversely minded, God shall reveal even this unto us," ^ if we abide in Him. Now he
who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, for " God is love," * â€“ whether as the fountain
of love in its ineffable essence, or as the fountain whence He freely gives it to us by His
Spirit. If, then, it can be shown that love can at any time become visible to our bodily
eyes, then we grant that possibly God shall be so too; but if love never can become
visible, much less can He who is Himself its Fountain, or whatever other figurative name
more excellent or more appropriate can be employed in speaking of One so great.

Chap. ii. 6. Some men of great gifts, and very learned in the Holy Scriptures, who ha
have, when an opportunity presented itself, done much by their writings to benefit the Church
and promote the instruction of believers, have said that the invisible God is seen in an
invisible manner, that is, by that nature which in us also is invisible, namely, a pure mind
or heart. The holy Ambrose, when speaking of Christ as the Word, says: " Jesus is seen
not by the bodily, but by the spiritual eyes; " and shortly after he adds: " The Jews saw
Him not, for their foolish heart was blinded," ^ showing in this way how Christ is seen.
Also, when he was speaking of the Holy Spirit, he introduced the words of the Lord,
saying: " I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may
abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth;

^ Col. iii. 13. 2 Eph. v. 1, 2. 3 phu. m 15, is.

* 1 John iv. 16. ^ Ambrosius, Lib. i. in Luc. c. i.

240 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLVIII

whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him; " ^ and
adds: " With good reason, therefore, did He show Himself in the body, since in the
substance of His Godhead He is not seen. We have seen the Spirit, but in a bodily form;
let us see the Father also; but since we cannot see Him, let us hear Him." A little after he
says: "Let us hear the Father, then, for the Father is invisible; but the Son also is invisible as regards His Godhead, for 'no man hath seen God at any time; ' and since the Son is God, He is certainly not seen in that in which He is God." ^

7. The holy Jerome also says: "The eye of man cannot see God as He is in His own nature; and this is true not of man only; neither angels, nor thrones, nor powers, nor principalities, nor any name which is named can see God, for no creature can see its Creator." By these words this very learned man sufficiently shows what his opinion was on this subject in regard not only to the present life, but also to that which is to come. For however much the eyes of our body may be changed for the better, they shall only be made equal to the eyes of the angels. Here, however, Jerome has affirmed that the nature of the Creator is invisible even to the angels, and to every creature without exception in heaven. If, however, a question arise on this point, and a doubt is expressed whether we shall not be superior to the angels, the mind of the Lord Himself is plain from the words which He uses in speaking of those who shall rise again to the kingdom: "They shall be equal unto the angels." * AvHence the same holy Jerome thus expresses himself in another passage: "Man, therefore, cannot see the face of God, but the angels of the least in the Church do always behold the face of God. ^ And now we see as in a mirror darkly, in a riddle, but then face to face: ^ when from being men we shall advance to the rank of angels, and shall be able to say with the apostle, 'We all, with unveiled face, beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord; ^ although no creature can see the face of God, according to the essential properties of His nature, and He is, in these cases, seen by the mind, since He is believed to be invisible." ^

8. In these words of this man of God there are many things deserving our consideration: first, that in accordance with the very clear declaration of the Lord, he also is of opinion that we shall then see the face of God when we shall have advanced to the rank of angels, that is, shall be made equal to the angels, which doubtless shall be at the resurrection of the dead. Next, he has sufficiently explained by the testimony of the apostle, that the face is to be understood not of the outward but of the inward man, when it is said we shall "see face to face; " for the apostle was speaking of the face of the heart when he used the words quoted in this connection by Jerome: "We, with unveiled face, beholding as in a

\[\text{LET. CXLVm.}] \text{TO FORTUNATIANUS. 241}\]

\[\text{' John xiv. 16, 17. * 1 John iv. 12.}\]
\[\text{' Ambrosius, Lib. ii. in Luc. c. iii. v. 22. * Luke xx. 36.}\]
\[\text{'Matt. xviii. 10. ^ 1 Cor. xiii. 12. ^ 2 Cor. iii. 18.}\]
mirror the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image. ^ If any one doubt this, let him examine the passage again, and notice of what the apostle was speaking, namely, of the veil, which remains on the heart of every one in reading the Old Testament, until he pass over to Christ, that the veil may be removed. For he there says: " We also, with unveiled face, beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord," â€” which face had not been unveiled in the Jews, of whom he says, " the veil is upon their heart," â€” in order to show that the face unveiled in us when the veil is taken away is the face of the heart. In fine, lest any one, looking on these things with too little care and therefore failing to discern their meaning, should believe that God now is or shall hereafter be visible either to angels i or to men, when they shall have been made equal to the i angels, he has most plainly expressed his opinion by affirming that " no creature can see the face of God according to the essential properties of His nature," and that "He is, in these cases, seen by the mind, since He is believed to be invisible." From these statements he sufficiently showed that when God has been seen by men through the eyes of the body as if He had a body. He has not been seen as to the essential properties of His nature, in which He is seen by the mind, ^ since He is believed to be invisible â€” invisible, that is to say, ^ Hieron. lib. i. in hat. i. 22 Cor. iii. 18.

242 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLYIII.

to the bodily perception even of celestial beings, as Jerome had said above, of angels, and powers, and principalities. How much more, then, is He invisible to terrestrial beings !

9. Wherefore, in another place, Jerome says in still plainer terms, it is true not only of the divinity of the Father but equally of that of the Son and of that of the Holy Spirit, forming one nature in the Trinity, that it cannot be seen by the eyes of the flesh, but by the eyes of the mind, of which the Saviour Himself says: " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." ^ What could be more clear than this statement? For if he had merely said that it is impossible for the divinity of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, to be seen by the eyes of the flesh, and had not added the words, " but only by the eyes of the mind," it might perhaps have been said, that when the body shall have become spiritual it can no longer be called " flesh; " but by adding the words, " but only by the eyes of the mind," he has excluded the vision of God from every sort of body. Lest, however, any one should suppose that he was speaking only of the present state of being, observe that he has subjoined also a testimony of the Lord, quoted with the design of defining the eyes of the mind of which he had spoken; in which testimony a promise is given not of present, but of future vision; " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

1 0. The very blessed Athanasius, also, Bishop of Alexandria, when contending against the Arians, who affirm that the Father alone is invisible, but suppose the Son and the
Holy Spirit to be visible, asserted the equal invisibility of all the Persons of the Trinity, proving it by testimonies from Holy Scripture, and arguing with all his wonted care in controversy, labouring earnestly to convince his opponents that God has never been seen, except through His assuming the form of a creature; and that in His essential Deity God is invisible, that is, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are invisible, except in so far as the Divine Persons can be known by the mind and spirit. Gregory, also, a holy Eastern bishop, very plainly says that God, by nature invisible, had, on those occasions on which He was seen by the fathers (as by Moses, with whom He talked face to face), made it possible for Himself to be seen by assuming the form of something material and discernible. Our Ambrose says the same: "That the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, when visible, are seen under forms assumed by choice, not prescribed by the nature of Deity:"^ thus clearing the truth of the saying, "No man hath seen God at any time,"^ which is the word of the Lord Christ Himself, and of that other saying, "Whom no man hath seen, nor can see,"^ which is the word of the apostle, yea, rather, of Christ by His apostle; as well as vindicating the consistency of those passages of Scripture in which God is related to have been seen, because He is both invisible in the essential nature of His Deity, and able to become visible when He pleases, by assuming such created form as shall seem good to Him.

Chap. hi. 11. Moreover, if invisibility is a property of the divine nature, as incorruptibility is, that nature shall assuredly not undergo such a change in the future world as to cease to be invisible and become visible; because it shall never be possible for it to cease to be incorruptible and become corruptible, for it is in both attributes alike immutable. The apostle assuredly declared the excellence of the divine nature when he placed these two together, saying, "Now, unto the King of ages, invisible, incorruptible, the only God, be honour and glory for ever and ever."^ Wherefore I dare not make
such a distinction as to say incorruptible, indeed, for ever and
I ever, but invisible â€” not for ever and ever, but only in this
{ world. At the same time, since the testimonies which we
â– are next to quote cannot be false, â€” " Blessed are the pure in
[ heart, for they shall see God," ^ and, " We know that, when
I He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him
'r as He is," ^ â€” we cannot deny that the sons of God shall see
|! God; but they shall see Him as invisible things are seen, in

* See the 49th of the discourses published under the name of Gregory of J Nazianzum.
M. Dupin has shown that the discourse in question must have I been the work of some
Latin author.
^ Ambrose on Luke, c. i. 11. ^ JqJ^jj i ^3^ 4 i tjj^ ^ jg^ ^
* 1 Tim. i. 17. Â« Matt. v. 8. ^1 John iii. 2.

244 LETTEKS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLVIII.

the manner in which He who appeared in the flesh, visible to men, promised that He
would manifest Himself to men, when, speaking in the presence of the disciples and seen
by their eyes, He said: " I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." In what other
manner are invisible things seen than by the eyes of the mind, concerning which, as the
instruments of our vision of God, I have shortly before quoted the opinion of Jerome ?

12. Hence, also, the statement of the Bishop of Milan, whom
I have quoted before, who says that even in the resurrection
it is not easy for any but those who have a pure heart to see
God, and therefore it is written, " Blessed are the pure in
heart, for they shall see God." " How many," he says, " had
He already enumerated as blessed, and yet to them He had
not promised the power of seeing God; " and he adds this inference, " If, therefore, the pure in heart shall see God, it is obvious that others shall not see Him;" and to prevent our understanding him to refer to those others of whom the Lord had said, " Blessed are the poor, blessed are the meek," he immediately subjoined, " For those that are unworthy shaU not see God," intending it to be understood that the unworthy are those who, although they shall rise again, shall not be able to see God, since they shall rise to condemnation, because they refused to purify their hearts through that true faith which " worketh by love." ^ For this reason he goes on to say, "Whosoever has been unwilling to see God cannot see Him." Then, since it occurred to him that, in a sense, even all wicked men have a desire to see God, he immediately explains that he used the words, " Whosoever has been unwilling to see God," because the fact that the wicked do not desire to purify the heart, by which alone God can be seen, shows that they do not desire to see God, and follows up this statement with the words: " God is not seen in space, but in the pure heart; nor is He sought out by the eyes of the body; nor is He defined in form by our faculty of sight; nor grasped by the touch; His voice does not fall on the ear; nor are His goings perceived by the senses." ^ By these words the blessed
Ambrose desired to teach the preparation which men ought to


LET. CXLVIII.] TO FORTUNATIANUS. 245

make if they wish to see God, viz. to purify the heart by the faith which worketh by love, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, from whom we have received the earnest by which we are taught to desire that vision.

ChAP. IV. 13. For as to the members of God which the Scripture frequently mentions, lest any one should suppose that we resemble God as to the form and figure of the body, the same Scripture speaks of God as having also wings, which we certainly have not. As, then, when we hear of the " wings " of God, we understand the divine protection, so by the " hands " of God we ought to understand His working, " feet," His presence, " eyes," His power of seeing and knowing all things, " face," His face, that whereby He reveals Himself to our knowledge; and I believe that any other such expression used in Scripture is to be spiritually understood. In this opinion I am not singular, nor am I the first who has stated it. It is the opinion of all who by any spiritual interpretation of such language in Scripture resist those who are called Anthropomorphites. Not to occupy too much time by quoting largely from the writings of these men, I introduce here one extract from the pious Jerome, in order that our brother may know that, if anything moves him to maintain an opposite opinion, he is bound to carry on the debate with those who preceded me not less than with myself.

14. In the exposition which that most learned student of Scripture has given of the psalm in which occur the words,

" Understand, ye brutish among the people: and ye fools, when will ye be wise ? He that planted the ear, shall He not hear ?

or He that formed the eye, doth He not behold ? " he says, among other things: " This passage furnishes a strong argument against those who are Anthropomorphites, and say that God has members such as we have. For example, God is said by them to have eyes, because ' the eyes of the Lord behold all things: ' in the same literal manner they take the statements that the hand of the Lord doeth all things, and that Adam ' heard the sound of the feet of the Lord walking in the garden,' and thus they ascribe the infirmities of men to the

1 2 Cor. V. 4-8, Â» Ps. xciv. 8, 9.

246 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXLYIII. !
majesty of God. But I affirm that God is all eye, all hand, all foot: all eye, because He sees all things; all hand, because He worketh all things; all foot, because He is everywhere present. See, therefore, what the Psalmist saith: * He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye, doth He not behold? * He doth not say: * He that planted the ear, has He not an ear? and He that formed the eye, has He not an eye? But what does he say? 'He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye, doth He not behold?' The Psalmist has ascribed to God the powers of seeing and hearing, but has not assigned members to Him."

15. I have thought it my duty to quote all these passages from the writings of both Latin and Greek authors who, being in the Catholic Church before our time, have written commentaries on the divine oracles, in order that our brother, if he hold any different opinion from theirs, may know that it becomes him, laying aside all bitterness of controversy, and preserving or reviving fully the gentleness of brotherly love, to investigate with diligent and calm consideration either what he must learn from others, or what others must learn from him. For the reasonings of any men whatsoever, even though they be Catholics, and of high reputation, are not to be treated by us in the same way as the canonical Scriptures are treated. We are at liberty, without doing any violence to the respect which these men deserve, to condemn and reject anything in their writings, if perchance we shall find that they have entertained opinions differing from that which others or we ourselves have, by the divine helper discovered to be the truth. I deal thus with the writings of others, and I wish my intelligent readers to deal thus with mine. In fine, I do by the help of the Lord most stedfastly believe, and, in so far as He enables me, I understand what is taught in all the statements which I have now quoted from the works of the holy and learned Ambrose, Jerome, Athanasius, Gregory, and in any other similar statements in other writers which I have read, but have for the sake of brevity forborne from quoting, namely, that God is not a body, that He has not the members of the human frame, that He is not divisible through space, and that He is unchangeably invisible, and appeared not in His essential nature and substance, but in such visible form as He pleased to those to whom He appeared* on the occasions on which Scripture records that He was seen by holy persons with the eyes of the body.

^ Jerome, in loc.

LET. CXLVIII.] TO FORTUNATIANUS. 247

bers of the human frame, that He is not divisible through space, and that He is unchangeably invisible, and appeared not in His essential nature and substance, but in such visible form as He pleased to those to whom He appeared* on the occasions on which Scripture records that He was seen by holy persons with the eyes of the body.

Chap. v. 16. As to the spiritual body which we shall have in the resurrection, how great a change for the better it is to undergo, Æ” whether it shall become pure spirit, so that the whole man shall then be a spirit, or shall (as I rather think, but do not yet confidently maintain) become a spiritual body in such a way as to be called spiritual because of a certain ineffable facility in its movements, but at the same time to retain its material substance, which cannot live and feel by itself, but only through the spirit which uses it (for in our present state, in like manner, although the body is spoken of as animated
[animal], the nature of the animating principle is different from that of the body), â€” and whether, if the properties of the body then immortal and incorruptible shall remain unchanged, it shall then in some degree aid the spirit to see visible, i.e. material things, as at present we are unable to see anything of that kind except through the eyes of the body, or our spirit shall then be able, even in its higher state, to know material things without the instrumentality of the body (for God Himself does not know these things through bodily senses), â€” on these and on many other things which may perplex us in the discussion of this subject, I confess that I have not yet read anywhere anything which I would esteem sufficiently established to deserve to be either learned or taught by men.

17. And for this reason, if our brother will bear patiently any degree whatever of hesitation on my part, let us in the meantime, because of that which is written, " We shall see Him as He is," prepare, so far as with the help of God Himself we are enabled, hearts purified for that vision. Let us at the same time inquire more calmly and carefully concerning the spiritual body, for it may be that God, if He know this to be useful to us, may condescend to show us some definite and clear view on the subject, in accordance with His written word. For if a more careful investigation shall result in the discovery that the change on the body shall be so great that it shall be able to see things that are invisible, such power imparted to the body will not, I think, deprive the mind of the power of seeing, and thus give the outward man a vision of God which is denied to the inward man; as if, in contradiction of the plain words of Scripture, " that God may be all and in all," ^ God were only beside the man â€” without him, and not in the man, in his inner being; or as if He, who is everywhere present in His entirety, unlimited in space, is so within man that He can be seen outside only by the outward man, but cannot be seen inside by the inward man. If such opinions are palpably absurd, â€” for, on the contrary, the saints shall be full of God; they shall not, remaining empty within, be surrounded outside by Him; nor shall they, through being blind within, fail to see Him of whom they are full, and, having eyes only for that which is outside of themselves, behold Him by whom they shall be surrounded, â€” if, I say, these things are absurd, it remains for us to rest meanwhile certainly assured as to the vision of God by the inward man. But if, by some wondrous change, the body shall be endowed with this power, another new faculty shall be added; the faculty formerly possessed shall not be taken away.

18. It is better, then, that we affirm that concerning which we have no doubt, â€” that God shall be seen by the inward man, which alone is able, in our present state, to see that love in commendation of which the apostle says, " God is love; " ^ the inward man, which alone is able to see " peace and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."^ For no fleshy eye now sees love, peace, and holiness, and such things; yet all of them are seen, so far as they can be seen, by the eye of the mind, and the purer it is the more
clearly it sees; so that we may, without hesitation, believe that we shall see God, whether we succeed or fail in our investigations as to the nature of our future body; although, at the same time, we hold it to be certain that the body shall rise again, immortal and incorruptible, because on this we

Â» 1 Cor. XV. 28. Â« 1 Jolin iv. 8. Â» Heb. xii 14.

LET. CL.] TO PKOCA AND JULTAXA. 249

have the plainest and strongest testimony of Holy Scripture.
If, however, our brother affirm now that he has arrived at certain knowledge as to that spiritual body, in regard to which I am only inquiring, he will have just cause to be displeased with me if I shall refuse to listen calmly to his instructions, provided only that he also listen calmly to my questions. Now, however, I entreat you, for Christ's sake, to obtain his forgiveness for me for that harshness in my letter, by which, as I have learned, he was, not without cause, offended; and may you, by God's help, cheer my spirit by your answer.

LETTTE CL.

(A.D. 413.)

TO PEOBA^ AND JULIANA, LADIES MOST WORTHY OF HONOUR, DAUGHTERS JUSTLY FAMOUS AND MOST DISTINGUISHED, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

You have filled our heart with a joy singularly pleasant, because of the love we bear to you, and singularly acceptable, because of the promptitude with which the tidings came to us.
For while the consecration of the daughter of your house to a life of virginity is being published by most busy fame in all places where you are known, and that is everywhere, you have outstripped its flight by more sure and reliable information in a letter from yourselves, and have made us rejoice in certain knowledge before we had time to be questioning the truth of any report concerning an event so blessed and remarkable. Who can declare in words, or expound with adequate praises, how incomparably greater is the glory and advantage gained by your family in giving to Christ women consecrated to His service, than in giving to the world men called to the honours of the consulship? Eor if it be a great and noble thing to leave the mark of an honoured name upon the revolving ages of this world, how much greater and nobler is it to rise above it by unsullied chastity both of heart and of body! Let this maiden, therefore, illustrious in her pedi-

Â» See note to Letter CXXX. p. 142.

250 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CL.
greet, yet more illustrious in her piety, find greater joy in obtaining, through espousals to her divine Lord, a pre-eminent glory in heaven, than she could have had in becoming, through espousal to a human consort, the mother of a line of illustrious men. This daughter of the house of Anicius has acted the more magnanimous part, in choosing rather to bring a blessing on that noble family by forbearing from marriage, than to increase the number of its descendants, preferring to be already, in the purity of her body, like unto the angels, rather than to increase by the fruit of her body the number of mortals. For this is a richer and more fruitful condition of blessedness, not to have a pregnant womb, but to develop the soul's lofty capacities; not to have the breasts flowing with milk, but to have the heart pure as snow; to travail not with the earthly in the pangs of labour, but with the heavenly in persevering prayer. May it be yours, my daughters, most worthy of the honour due to your rank, to enjoy in her that which was lacking to yourselves; may she be stedfast to the end, abiding in the conjugal union that has no end. May many handmaidens follow the example of their mistress; may those who are of humble rank imitate this high-born lady, and may those who possess eminence in this uncertain world aspire to that worthier eminence which humility has given to her. Let the virgins who covet the glory of the Anician family be ambitious rather to emulate its piety; for the former lies beyond their reach, however eagerly they may desire it, but the latter shall be at once in their possession if they seek it with full desire. May the right hand of the Most High protect you, giving you safety and greater happiness, ladies most worthy of honour, and most excellent daughters! In the love of the Lord, and with all becoming respect, we salute the children of your Holiness, and above all the one who is above the rest in holiness. We have received with very great pleasure the gift sent as a souvenir of her taldncj the veil.

* Velationis apoploretum.

LET. CLI.] TO C. ECILIANUS. 251

LETTEECLI.
(A.D. 41 a OR 414.)

TO aT: CILIANUS/ MY LOED JUSTLY RENOWNED, AND SON MOST WORTHY OF THE HONOUR DUE BY ME TO HIS RANK, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LGRD.

1. The remonstrance which you have? addressed to me in your letter is gratifying to me in proportion to the love which it manifests. If, therefore, I attempt to clear myself from blame in regard to my silence, the thing which I must attempt is to show that you had no just cause for being displeased with me. But since nothing gives me greater pleasure than that you condescended to take offence at my silence, which I had supposed to be a matter of no moment in the midst of your many cares, I will be pleading against myself if I endeavour thus to clear myself from blame. For if you were wrong in being displeased at
me for not writing to you, this must be because of your having such a poor opinion of me that you are absolutely indifferent whether I speak or remain silent, *ay, the displeasure which arises from your being distressed by my silence is not displeasure. I therefore feel not so much grief at my withholding, as Joy at your desiring a communication from me. Tor it is an honour, not a vexation, to me, that I should have a place in the remembrance of an old friend, and a man who is (though you may not say it, yet it is our duty to acknowledge it) of such eminent worth and greatness, holding a position in a foreign country, and burdened with public responsibilities. Pardon me, then, for expressing my gratitude that you did not regard me as a person whose silence it was beneath you to resent.

For now I am persuaded, through that benevolence which distinguishes you more even than your high rank, that in the midst of your numerous and important occupations, not of a private nature, but public, involving the interests of all, a letter from me may be esteemed by you not burdensome, but welcome.

* Csecilianus was raised in 409 to the office of præfectus prætorio under Honorius, and is probably the person to whom Augustine addressed Letter LXXXVI. vol. I p. 354, in 405 a.d.

252 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLL

2. Tor when I had received the letter of the holy father Innocentius, venerable for his eminent merits, which was sent to me by the brethren, and which was, by manifest tokens, shown to have been forwarded to me from your Excellency, I formed the opinion that the reason why no letter from you accompanied it was that, being engrossed with more important affairs, you were unwilling to be embarrassed by the trouble of correspondence. For it seemed certainly not unreasonable to expect, that when you condescended to send me the writings of a holy man, I should receive along with them some writing of your own. I had therefore made up my mind not to trouble you with a letter from me, unless it was necessary for the purpose of commending to you some one to whom I could not refuse the service of my intercession, a favour which it is our custom to grant to all, *â€” a custom which, though involving much trouble, is not to be altogether condemned. I accordingly did this, recommending to your kindness a friend of mine, from whom I have now received a letter, expressing his thanks, to which I add my own, for your service.

3. If, however, I had formed any unfavourable impression concerning you, especially in regard to the matter of which, though it was not expressly named, a subtle odour, so to speak, pervaded your whole letter, far would it have been from me to write to you any such note in order to ask any favour for myself or another. In that case I would either have been silent, waiting for a time when I would have an opportunity of seeing you personally; or if I considered it my duty to write on the subject, I would have given it the first place in my letter, and would have treated it in such a way as to make it almost impossible for you to show displeasure. For when, notwithstanding remonstrances which,
under an anxiety shared by you with us, we addressed to him, â€” beseeching him vehemently, but in vain, to forbear from piercing our hearts with so great sorrow, and mortally wounding his own conscience by such grievous sin, â€” he^ perpetrated his impious,

* From the "beginning to the end of this letter, Augustine studiously avoids naming the persons concerned in the perfidious act of judicial murder, in connection with which the suspicion of many had been fastened upon Caecilianus. The person by whose orders the sentence of death was carried into effect was Count LET. CLT.]

savage, and perfidious crime, I left Carthage immediately and secretly, for this reason, lest the numerous and influential persons who in terror sought refuge from his sword within the church should, imagining that my presence could be of use to them, detain me by their passionate weeping and groaning, so that I would be compelled, in order to secure the preservation of their bodies, to supplicate a favour from one whom it was impossible for me to rebuke, in order to the welfare of his soul, with the severity which his crime deserved. As for their personal safety, I knew that the walls of the church sufficed for their protection. But for myself [if I remained to intercede with him on their behalf], it could only be in circumstances painfully embarrassing, for he would not have tolerated my acting towards him as I was bound to do, and I would have been compelled, moreover, to act in a way which would have been unbecoming in me. At the same time, I was truly sorry for the misfortune of my venerable co-bishop, the ruler of such an important church, who was expected to regard it as his duty, even after this man had been guilty of such infamous treachery, to treat him with submissive deference, in order that the lives of others might be spared. I confess the reason of my departure: it was that I would have been unable to meet with the necessary fortitude so great a calamity.

4. The same considerations which made me then depart would have been the cause of my remaining silent to you, if I believed you to have used your influence with him to avenge such wicked injuries. This is believed in regard to you only by those who do not know how, and how frequently, and in what terms, you expressed your mind to us, when we were

Marimis, the general by whom the attempt of Heraclianus (413 a.d.) to seize the imperial power was defeated, and who afterwards received a commission to pass into Africa and punish those who had been implicated in the revolt of Heraclianus. A commission of this kind opened a wide door for the gratification of private revenge by enemies who did not scruple to bring false accusations against the innocent; and among the victims of such injustice were two brothers
i who had, by their zeal for the Catholic Church, made themselves obnoxious to the Donatists. The elder of these was Apringius, a magistrate to whom Augustine wrote a letter (the 134th) recommending clemency in punishing the Donatists. The younger was Larcellinus, concerning whom see also note to

1 Letter CXXXIII. p. 168.

254 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LeT. CLL

with anxious solicitude doing our utmost to secure that, because he was so intimate with you, and you were so constantly visiting him, and so often conversing alone with him, lie should all the more carefully guard your good name, and save you from being supposed to have used no endeavour to prevent him from inflicting that mode of death on persons said to be your enemies. This, indeed, is not believed of you by me, nor by my brethren who heard you in conversation, and who saw, both in your words and in every gesture, the evidences of your heart's good-will to those who were put to death. But, I beseech you, forgive those by whom it is believed; for they are men, and in the minds of men there are such lurking places and such depths that, although all suspicious persons deserved to be blamed, they think themselves that they even deserve praise for their prudence. There existed reasons for the conduct imputed, to you: we knew that you had suffered very grievous injury from one of those whom he had suddenly ordered to be arrested. His brother, also, in whose person especially he persecuted the Church, was said to have answered you in terms implying as it were some harsh accusation. Both we were thought to be looked upon by you with suspicion. When they, after being summoned, had gone away, you still remained in the place, and were engaged, it was said, in conversation of a more private kind than usual with him [Marinus], and then they were suddenly ordered to be detained. Men talked much of your friendship with him as not recent, but of long standing. The closeness of your intimacy, and the frequency of your private conversations with him, confirmed this report. His power was at that time great. The ease with which false accusations could be made against any one was notorious. It was not a difficult thing to find some person who would upon the promise of his own safety make any statements which he might order to be made. All things at that time made it easy for any man to be brought to death without any examination on the part of him who ordered the execution, if even one witness brought forward what seemed to be an odious and, at the same time, credible accusation.

LET. CLT.] TO C^CILIANUS. 255

5. Meanwhile, as it was rumoured that the power of the Church might deliver them, we were mocked with false promises, so that not only with the consent, but, as it seemed, at the urgent desire of Marinus, a bishop was sent to the Imperial Court to intercede for
them, the promise having been brought to the ear of the bishops that, until some pleading should be heard there on behalf of the prisoners, no examination of their case would be proceeded with. At last, on the day before they were put to death, your Excellency came to us; you gave us encouragement such as you had never before given, that he might grant their lives as a favour to you before your departure [for Rome], because you had solemnly and prudently said to him that all his condescension in admitting you so constantly to familiar and private conversation would bring to you disgrace rather than distinction, and would have the effect, after the death of these men had been a subject of conversation and consultation between you, of making every one say that there could be no doubt what was to be the issue of these conferences. When you informed us that you had said these things to him, you stretched out your hand as you spoke towards the place at which the sacraments of believers are celebrated, and while we listened in amazement, you confirmed the statement that you had used these words with an oath so solemn, that not only then, but even now after the dreadful and unexpected death of the prisoners, it seems to me, recalling to memory your whole demeanour, that it would be an aggravated insult if I were to believe any evil concerning you. You said, moreover, that he was so moved by these words of yours, that he purposed to give the lives of these men to you as a present, in token of friendship, before you set out on your journey.

6. Wherefore, I solemnly assure your Grace, that when on the following day (the day on which the infamous crime thus conceived was consummated) tidings were unexpectedly brought to us that they had been led forth from prison to stand before him as their judge, although we were in some alarm, nevertheless, after reflecting on what you had said to us on the preceding day, and on the fact that the day follow-

256 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLL

ing was the anniversary of the blessed Cyprian, I supposed that he had even purposely selected a day on which he might not only grant your request, but also might aspire, by giving sudden joy to the whole Church of Christ, to emulate the virtue of so great a martyr, proving himself truly greater in using clemency in sparing life than in possessing power to inflict death. Such were my thoughts, when lo! a messenger burst into our presence, from whom, before we could ask him how their trial was being conducted, we learned that they had been beheaded. For care had been taken to arrange, as the scene of execution, a place immediately adjoining, not appointed for the punishment of criminals, but used for the recreation of the citizens, on which spot he had ordered some to be executed a few days previously, with the design (as is with good reason believed) of avoiding the odium of applying it to this purpose for the first time in the case of these men, whom he hoped to be able to snatch secretly from the Church interposing on their behalf, by thus not only ordering their immediate execution, but also ordering it to take place on the nearest available spot. He therefore made it sufficiently manifest that he did not fear to cause cruel pain to that Mother whose intervention he feared, namely, to the holy Church, among whose faithful children, baptized in her bosom, we knew that he himself was reckoned.
Therefore, after the issue of so great a plot, in which so much care had been used in negotiating with us that we were made, even by you also, though unwittingly, almost free from solicitude, and almost sure of their safety on the preceding day, who, judging of the circumstances in the way in which ordinary men would judge of them, could avoid regarding it as beyond question that by you also words were given to us and life taken from them? Pardon, then, as I have said, those who believe these things against you, although we do not believe them, excellent man.

7. Far be it, however, from my heart and from my practice, however defective in many things, to intercede with you for any one, or ask a favour from you for any one, if I believed you to be responsible for this monstrous wrong, this villainous cruelty. But I frankly confess to you, that if you continue, even after that event, to be on the same footing of intimate friendship with him as you were formerly, you must excuse my claiming freedom to be grieved; for by this you would compel us to believe much which we would rather disbelieve.

It is, however, fitting that, as I do not believe you guilty of the other things laid to your charge, I should not believe this either. This friend of yours has, in the unexpected triumph of sudden accession to power, done violence not less to your reputation than to these men's lives. Nor is it my design in this statement to kindle hatred in your mind; in so doing I would belie my own feelings and profession. But I exhort you to a more faithful exercise of love towards him. For the man who so deals with the wicked as to make them repent of their evil doings, is one who knows how to be angry with them, and yet consult for their good; for as bad companions hinder men's welfare by compliance, so good friends help them by opposition to their evil ways. The same weapon with which, in the proud abuse of power, he took away the lives of others, inflicted a much deeper and more serious wound on his own soul; and if he do not remedy this by repentance, using wisely the long-suffering of God, he will be compelled to find it out and feel it when this life is ended.

Often, moreover, God in His wisdom permits the life of good men in this world to be taken from them by the wicked, that He may prevent men from believing that to suffer such things is in their case a calamity. For what harm can result from the death of the body to men who are destined to die some time? Or what do those who fear death accomplish by their care but a short postponement of the time at which they die? All the evil to which mortal men are liable comes not from death but from life; and if in dying they have the soul sustained by Christian grace, death is to them not the night of darkness in which a good life ends, but the dawn in which a better life begins.

8. The life and conversation of the elder of the two
1. brothers appeared indeed more conformed to this world than
to Christ, although he also had after his marriage corrected to
a great extent the faults of his early irreligious years. It

* In the original of this sentence there is a characteristic antithesis of phrases:
*â€¢ Non sane mors eorum bonae vitse occasus fuit sed melioris occasio."

LETT. II. E

258 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [IET. CLI.

may, nevertheless, have been not otherwise than in mercy that our merciful God
appointed him to be the companion of his brother in death. But as to that younger brother,
he lived religiously, and was eminent as a Christian both in heart and in practice. The
report that he would approve himself such when commissioned to serve the Church^
came before him to Africa, and this good report followed him still when he had come. In
his conduct, what innocence ! in his friendship, what constancy ! in his study of Christian
truth, what zeal !
in his religion, what sincerity ! in his domestic life, what purity ! in his official duties,
what integrity ! What patience he showed to enemies, what affability to friends, what
humility to the pious, what charity to all men ! How great his promptitude in granting,
and his bashfulness in asking a favour ! How genuine his satisfaction in the good deeds,
and his sorrow over the faults of men ! What spotless honour, noble grace, and
scrupulous piety shone in him ! In rendering assistance, how compassionate he was ! in
forgiving injuries, how generous ! in prayer, how confiding ! When well informed on any
subject, with what modesty he was wont to communica
what diligence did he endeavour by investigation to overcome the disadvantage ! How
singular was his contempt for the things of time ! how ardent his hope and his desires in
regard to the blessings that are eternal ! He would have relinquished all secular business
and girded himself with the
insignia of the Christian warfare, had he not been prevented by his having entered into
the married state; for he had not begun to desire better things before the time when, being
already involved in these bonds, it would have been, notwithstanding their inferiority, an
unlawful thing for him to rend them asunder.

9. One day when they were confined in prison together, his brother said to him: 'â€¢ If I
suffer these things as the just punishment of my sins, what ill desert has brought you to
the same fate, for we know that your life was most strictly and earnestly Christian ? " He
replied: " Supposing even that your testimony as to my life were true, do you think that
1 See note to Letter CXXXIII p. 168.
God is bestowing a small favour upon me in appointing that my sins be punished in these sufferings, even though they should end in death, instead of being reserved to meet me in the judgment which is to come?" These words might perhaps lead some to suppose that he was conscious of some secret immoralities. I shall therefore mention what it pleased the Lord God to appoint that I should hear from his lips, and know assuredly, to my own great consolation. Being anxious about this very thing, as human nature is liable to fall into such wickedness, I asked him, when I was alone with him after he was confined in prison, if there was no sin for which he ought to seek reconciliation with God by some more severe and special penance. With characteristic modesty he blushed at the mere mention of my suspicion, groundless though it was, but thanked me most warmly for the warning, and with a grave, modest smile he seized with both hands my right hand, and said: "I swear by the sacraments which are dispensed to me by this hand, that I have neither before nor since my marriage been guilty of immoral self-indulgence."^  

10. What evil, then, was brought to him by death? Nay, rather, was it not the occasion of the greatest possible good to him, because, in the possession of these gifts, he departed from this life to Christ, in whom alone they are really possessed? I would not mention these things in addressing you if I believed that you would be offended by my praising him. But assuredly, as I do not believe this, neither do I believe that his being put to death was even according to your desire or wish, much less that it was done at your request. You, therefore, with a sincerity proportioned to your innocence in this matter, entertain, doubtless, along with us, the opinion that the man who put him to death inflicted more cruel wrong on his own soul than on the sufferer's body, when, in despite of us, in despite of his own promises, in despite of so many supplications and warnings from you, and finally, in despite of the Church of Christ (and in her of Christ Himself), he consummated - his base machinations by putting this man to death. Is the high position of the one worthy to be compared with the lot of the other, prisoner though he was, when the man of power

^ Deum sibi placare. * Me nullum esse expertum concubitum proter uxorem.

260 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLI]
estimation of those who know you better than we do, and in our estimation, in whose presence the anxiety which, like us, you felt for the prevention of such a monstrous crime, was expressed with so much visible agitation that we could almost see with our eyes the invisible workings of your heart. Whatever harm, therefore, he has done, he has done to himself alone; he has pierced through his own soul, his own life, his own conscience; in fine, he has by that blind deed of cruelty destroyed even his own good name, a thing which the very worst of men are usually fain to preserve. For to all good men he is odious in proportion to his efforts to obtain, or his satisfaction in receiving, the approbation of the wicked.

11. Could anything prove more clearly that he was not under the necessity which he pretended alleging that he did this evil action as a good man who had no alternative than the fact that the proceeding was disapproved of by the person whose orders he dared to plead as his excuse? The pious deacon by whose hand we send this was himself associated with the bishop whom we had sent to intercede for them; let him, therefore, relate to your Excellency how it seemed good to the Emperor not even to give a formal pardon, lest by this the stigma of a crime should be in some degree attached to them, but a mere notice commanding them to be immediately set at liberty from all further annoyance. By a purely gratuitous act of cruelty, and under no pressure of necessity (although, perchance, there may have been other causes which we suspect, but which it is unnecessary to state in writing), he did outrageously vex the Church, the Church to whose sheltering bosom his brother once, in fear of death, had fled, to be requited for protecting his life by finding him active in counselling the perpetration of this crime, the Church in which he himself had once, when under the displeasure of an offended patron, sought an asylum which could not be denied to him. If you love this man, show your detestation of his crime; if you do not wish him to come into everlasting punishment, shrink with horror from his society. You are bound to take measures of this kind, both for your own good name and for his life; for he who loves in this man what God hates, is, in truth, hating not only this man but also his own soul.

12. These things being so, I know your benevolence too well to believe that you were the author of this crime, or an accomplice in its commission, or that with malicious cruelty you deceived us: far be such conduct from your life and conversation! At the same time, I would not wish your friendship to be of such a character as tends to make him, to his own destruction, glory in his crime, and to confirm the suspicions naturally cherished by men concerning you; but rather let it be such as to move him to penitence, and to penitence corresponding in quality and in measure to the remedy demanded for the healing of such dreadful wounds. For the more you are an enemy to his crimes, the more really will you be a friend to the man himself. It will be interesting to us to learn, by your Excellency’s reply to this letter, where you were on the day on which the crime was committed, how you received the tidings, and what you did thereafter, and what you said

LET. CLI.] TO C. ECILIANUS. 261
to him and heard from him when you next saw him; for I have not been able to hear anything of you in connection with this affair since my sudden departure on the succeeding day.

13. As to the remark in your letter that you are now compelled to believe that I refuse to visit Carthage for fear lest you should be seen there by me, you rather compel me by these words to state explicitly the reasons of my absence. One reason is, that the labour which I am obliged to undergo in that city, and which I could not describe without adding as much again to the length of this letter, is more than I am able now to bear, since, in addition to my infirmities peculiar to myself, which are known to all my more intimate friends, I am burdened with an infirmity common to the human family, namely, the weakness of old age. The other reason is, that.

262 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLVIIL

in so far as leisure is granted me from the work imperatively demanded by the Church, which my office specially binds me to serve, I have resolved to devote the time entirely, if the Lord will, to the labour of studies pertaining to ecclesiastical learning; in doing which I think that I may, if it please the mercy of God, be of some service even to future generations.

14. There is, indeed, one thing in you, since you wish to hear the truth, which causes me very great distress: it is that, although qualified by age, as well as by life and character, to do otherwise, you still prefer to be a catechumen; as if it were not possible for believers, by making progress in Christian faith and well-doing, to become so much the more faithful and useful in the administration of public business. For surely the promotion of the welfare of men is the one great end of all your great cares and labours. And, indeed, if this were not to be the issue of your public services, it would be better for you even to sleep both day and night than to sacrifice your rest in order to do work which can contribute nothing to the advantage of your fellow-men. Nor do I entertain the slightest doubt that your Excellency . . .

{Ccetera desu7it.)

LETTEE CLVIIL

(A.D. 414.)

TO MY LORD AUGUSTINE, MY BROTHER PARTNER IN THE SACER-DOTAL OFFICE, MOST SINCERELY LOVED, WITH PROFOUND RESPECT, AND TO THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM, EVODIUS^ AND THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.
1. I URGENTLY beg you to send the reply due to my last letter. Indeed, I would have preferred first to learn what I then asked, and afterwards to put the questions which I now submit to you.

' Evodius, Bishop of Uzala, was one of Augustine's early friends. He was a native of the same town (Tagaste), and joined Augustine and Alypius in seeking religious retirement after their baptism, in 387 a.d. He was also with them at Ostia when Monica died. [Confessions, Book ix. ch. 8 and 12).

LET. CLVIII. ] EVODIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 263

Give me your attention while I relate an event in which you will kindly take an interest, and which has made me impatient to lose no time in acquiring, if possible in this life, the knowledge which I desired. I had a certain youth as a clerk, a son of presbyter Armenus of Melonita, whom, by my humble instrumentality, God rescued when he was becoming already immersed in secular affairs, for he was employed as a shorthand writer by the proconsul's solicitor. He was then, I indeed, as boys usually are, prompt and somewhat restless, but as he grew older (for his death occurred in his twenty-second year) a gravity of deportment and circumspect probity of life so adorned him that it is a pleasure to dwell upon his memory. He was, moreover, a clever stenographer, and indefatigable in writing; he had begun also to be earnest in reading, so that he even urged me to do more than my indolence would have chosen, in order to spend hours of the night in reading, for he read aloud to me for a time every night after all was still; and in reading, he would not pass over any sentence unless he understood it, and would go over it a third or even a fourth time, and not leave it until what he wished to know was made clear. I had begun to regard him not as a mere boy and clerk, but as a comparatively intimate and pleasant friend, for his conversation gave me much delight.

2. He desired also to "depart and to be with Christ," a desire which has been fulfilled. For he was ill for sixteen [ days in his father's house, and by strength of memory he continually repeated portions of Scripture throughout almost the whole time of his illness. But when he was very near to the end of his life, he sang so as to be heard by all, " My soul longeth for and hastens unto the courts of the Lord," after which he sang again, "Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and how beautiful is Thy cup, overpowering my senses with delight!" In these things he was wholly occupied; in the consolation yielded by them he found satisfaction. At the last, when dissolution was just coming upon him, he began to make the sign of the cross on his forehead, and in finishing

' Nam scholastico proconsulis excipiebat. 2 Strenuus in notis.

^ Dissolvi et !sse cum Christo. pLil. i. 23. â€¢ Psallebat.
264 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLVIII.

this his hand was moving down to his mouth, which also he wished to mark with the same sign, but the inward man (which had been truly renewed day by day) had, ere this was done, forsaken the tabernacle of clay. To myself there has been given so great an ecstasy of joy, that I think that after leaving his own body he has entered into my spirit, and is there imparting to me a certain fulness of light from his presence, for I am conscious of a joy beyond all measure through his deliverance and safety indeed it is ineffable. For I felt no small anxiety on his account, being afraid of the dangers peculiar to his years. For I was at pains to inquire of himself whether perchance he had been defiled by intercourse with woman; he solemnly assured us that he was free from this stain, by which declaration our joy was still more increased.

So he died. We honoured his memory by suitable obsequies, such as were due to one so excellent, for we continued during three days to praise the Lord with hymns at his grave, and on the third day we offered the sacraments of redemption.

3. Behold, however, two days thereafter, a certain respectable widow from Figentes, an handmaid of God, who said that she had been twelve years in widowhood, saw the following vision in a dream. She saw a certain deacon, who had died four years ago, preparing a palace, with the assistance of servants and handmaids of God (virgins and widows). It was being so much adorned that the place was refulgent with splendour, and appeared to be wholly made of silver. On her inquiring eagerly for whom this palace was being prepared, the deacon aforesaid answered, "For the young man, the son of the presbyter, who was cut off yesterday." There appeared in the same palace an old man robed in white, who gave orders to two others, also dressed in white, to raise the body from the grave, to carry it up with them to heaven.

And she added, that so soon as the body had been taken up from the grave and carried to heaven, there sprang from the same sepulchre branches of the rose, called from its folded blossoms the virgin rose.

4. I have narrated the event: listen now, if you please, to my question, and teach me what I ask, for the departure of

* 2 Cor. iv. 16. ^ Redenitionis saivismenta obtulimus.
that young man’s soul forces such questions from me. While we are in the body, we have an inward faculty of perception which is alert in proportion to the activity of our attention, and is more wakeful and eager the more earnestly attentive we become; and it seems to us probable that even in its highest activity it is retarded by the encumbrance of the body, for who can fully describe all that the mind suffers through the body? In the midst of the perturbation and annoyance which come from the suggestions, temptations, necessities, and varied afflictions of which the body is the cause, the mind does not surrender its strength, it resists and conquers.

Sometimes it is defeated; nevertheless, mindful of what is its own nature, it becomes, under the stimulating influence of such labours, more active and more wary, and breaks through the meshes of wickedness, and so makes its way to better things. Your Holiness will kindly understand what I mean to say. Therefore, while we are in this life, we are hindered by such deficiencies, and are nevertheless, as it is written, "more than conquerors through Him that loved us." When we go forth from this body, and escape from every burden, and from sin with its incessant activity, what are we?

5. In the first place, I ask whether there may not be some kind of body (formed, perchance, of one of the four elements, either air or ether) which does not depart from the incorporeal principle, that is, the substance properly called the soul, when it forsakes this earthly body. For as the soul is in its nature incorporeal, if it be absolutely disembodied by death there is now one soul of all that have left this world. And in that case where would the rich man, who was clothed in purple, and Lazarus, who was full of sores, now be? How, moreover, could they be distinguished according to their respective deserts, so that the one should have suffering and the other have joy, if there were only a single soul made by the combination of all disembodied souls, unless, of course, these things are to be understood in a figurative sense? Be that as it may, there is no question that souls which are held in definite places (as that rich man was in the flame, and that poor man was in Abraham's bosom) are held in bodies. If

\[\text{i Rom. viii. 37.}\]

K

266 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLVIIL

there are distinct places, , there are bodies, and in these bodies the souls reside; and even although the punishments and rewards are experienced in the conscience, the soul which
experiences them is nevertheless in a body. Whatever is the nature of that one soul made up of many souls, it must be possible for it in its unbroken unity to be both grieved and made glad at the same moment, if it is to approve itself to be really a substance consisting of many souls gathered into one.

If, however, this soul is called one only in the same way as the incorporeal mind is called one, although it has in it memory, and will, and intellect, and if it be alleged that all these are separate incorporeal causes [or powers], and have their several distinctive offices and work without one impeding another in any way, I think this might be in some measure answered by saying that it must be also possible for some of the souls to be under punishment and some of the souls to enjoy rewards simultaneously in this one substance consisting of many souls gathered into one.

6. Or if this be not so [that is, if there be no such body remaining still in union with the incorporeal principle after it quits this earthly body], what is there to hinder each soul from having, when separated from the solid body which it here inhabits, another body, so that the soul always animates a body of some kind? or in what body does it pass to any region, if such there be, to which necessity compels it to go? For the angels themselves, if they were not numbered by bodies of some kind which they have, could not be called many, as they are by the Truth Himself when He said in the gospel, "I could pray the Father, and He will presently give me twelve legions of angels."^ Again, it is certain that Samuel was seen in the body when he was raised at the request of Saul;^ and as to Moses, whose body was buried, it is plain from the gospel narrative that he came in the body to the Lord on the mountain to which He and His disciples had retired.^ In the Apocrypha, and in the Mysteries of Moses, a writing which is wholly devoid of authority, it is indeed said that, at the time when he ascended the mount to die, through the power which his body possessed, there was one body which was committed to the earth, and another which was joined to the angel who accompanied him; but I do not feel myself called upon to give to a sentence in apocryphal writings a preference over the definite statements quoted above.

We must therefore give attention to this, and search out, by the help either of the authority of revelation or of the light of reason, the matter about which we are inquiring. But it is alleged that the future resurrection of the body is a proof that the soul was after death absolutely without a body. This is not, however, an unanswerable objection, for the angels, who are like our souls invisible, have at times desired to appear in bodily forms and be seen, and (whatever might be the form of body worthy to be assumed by these spirits) they have appeared, for example, to Abraham^ and to Tobias.^ Therefore it is quite possible that the resurrection of the body may, as we assuredly believe, take place, and yet that the soul may be reunited to it without its being found to have been at any moment wholly devoid of some kind of body. Now the body which the soul here occupies consists of the four elements, of which one, namely heat, seems to depart from

---

LET. CLVIII.] EVODIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 2G7
this body at the same moment as the soul. For there remains after death that which is made of earth, moisture also is not wanting to the body, nor is the element of cold matter gone; heat alone has fled, which perhaps the soul takes along with it if it migrates from place to place. This is all that I say meanwhile concerning the body.

7. It seems to me also, that if the soul while occupying the living body is capable, as I have said, of strenuous mental application, how much more unencumbered, active, vigorous, earnest, resolute, and persevering will it be, how much enlarged in capacity and improved in character, if it has while in this body learned to relish virtue! For after laying aside this body, or rather, after having this cloud swept away, the soul will have come to be free from all disturbing influences, enjoying tranquillity and exempt from temptation, seeing whatever it has longed for, and embracing what it has loved. Then, also, it will be capable of remembering and recognising friends, both those who went before it from this world, and

Â» Gen. xviii. 6. ' Tob. xii. 16.

268 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLVIIL

those whom it left here below. Perhaps this may be true. I know not, but I desire to learn. But it would greatly distress me to think that the soul after death passes into a state of torpor, being as it were buried, just as it is during sleep while it is in the body, living only in hope, but having nothing and knowing nothing, especially if in its sleep it be not even stirred by any dreams. This notion causes me very great horror, and seems to indicate that the life of the soul is extinguished at death.

8. This also I would ask: Supposing that the soul be discovered to have such a body as we speak of, does that body lack any of the senses? Of course, if there cannot be imposed upon it any necessity for smelling, tasting, or touching, as I suppose will be the case, these senses will be wanting; but I hesitate as to the senses of sight and hearing. For are not devils said to hear (not, indeed, in all the persons whom they harass, for in regard to these there is a question), even when they appear in bodies of their own? And as to the faculty of sight, how can they pass from one place to another if they have a body but are void of the power of seeing, so as to guide its motions? Do you think that this is not the case with human souls when they go forth from the body, â€” that they have still a body of some kind, and are not deprived of some at least of the senses proper to this body? Else how can we explain the fact that very many dead persons have been observed by day, or by persons awake and walking abroad during the night, to pass into houses just as they were wont to do in their lifetime? This I have heard not once, but often; and I have also heard it said that in places in which dead bodies are interred, and especially in churches, there are commotions and prayers which are heard for the most part at a certain time of the night. This I remember hearing from more than one; for a certain holy presbyter was an eyewitness of such an apparition, having observed a multitude of such phantoms issuing from the baptistery in bodies full of light, after which he heard their
prayers in the midst of the church itself. All such things are either true, and therefore helpful to the inquiry which we are now making, or are mere fables, in which case the fact of their invention is wonderful;

LET. CLVIIL] EVODIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 2G9

nevertheless I would desire to get some information from the fact that they come and visit men, and are seen otherwise than in dreams.

9. These dreams suggest another question. I do not at this moment concern myself about the mere creations of fancy, which are formed by the emotions of the uneducated. I speak of visitations in sleep, such as the apparition to Joseph in a dream, in the manner experienced in most cases of the kind. In the same manner, therefore, our own friends also who have departed this life before us sometimes come and appear to us in dreams, and speak to us. For I myself remember that Profuturus, and Privatus, and Servilius, holy men who within my recollection were removed by death from our monastery, spoke to me, and that the events of which they spoke came to pass according to their words. Or if it be some other higher spirit that assumes their form and visits our minds, I leave this to the all-seeing eye of Him before whom everything from the highest to the lowest is uncovered. If, therefore, the Lord be pleased to speak through reason to your Holiness on all these questions, I beg you to be so kind as make me partaker of the knowledge which you have received. There is another thing which I have resolved not to omit mentioning, for perhaps it bears upon the matter now under investigation:

10. This same youth, in connection with whom these questions are brought forward, departed this life after having received what may be called a summons at the time when he was dying. For one who had been a companion of his as a student, and reader, and shorthand writer to my dictation, who had died eight months before, was seen by a person in a dream coming towards him. "When he was asked by the person who then distinctly saw him why he had come, he said, "I have come to take this friend away;" and so it proved. For in the house itself, also, there appeared to a certain old man, who was almost awake, a man bearing in his hand a laurel branch on which something was written. Nay, more, when this one was seen, it is further reported that after the death of the young man, his father the presbyter had begun to reside

* Matt. i. 20. 2 Exhibitus quodammodo pergit.

270 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLVIII.
along with the aged Theasius in the monastery, in order to find consolation there, but lo! on the third day after his death, the young man is seen entering the monastery, and is asked by one of the brethren in a dream of some kind whether he knew himself to be dead. He replied that he knew he was. The other asked whether he had been welcomed by God. This also he answered with great expressions of joy. And when questioned as to the reason why he had come, he answered,
"I have been sent to summon my father." The person to whom these things were shown awakes, and relates what had passed. It comes to the ear of Bishop Theasius. He, being alarmed, sharply admonished the person who told him, lest the matter should come, as it might easily do, to the ear of the presbyter himself, and he should be disturbed by such tidings.
But why prolong the narration? Within about four days from this visitation he was saying (for he had suffered from a moderate feverishness) that he was now out of danger, and that the physician had given up attending him, having assured him that there was no cause whatever for anxiety; but that very day this presbyter expired after he had lain down on his couch. Nor should I forbear mentioning, that on the same day on which the youth died, he asked his father three times to forgive him anything in which he might have offended, and every time that he kissed his father he said to him, "Let us give thanks to God, father," and insisted upon his father saying the words along with him, as if he were exhorting one who was to be his companion in going forth from this world. And in fact only seven days elapsed between the two deaths.
What shall we say of things so wonderful? Who shall be a thoroughly reliable teacher as to these mysterious dispensations? To you in the hour of perplexity my agitated heart unburdens itself. The divine appointment of the death of the young man and of his father is beyond all doubt, for two sparrows shall not fall to the ground without the will of our heavenly Father.

11. That the soul cannot exist in absolute separation from a body of some kind is proved in my opinion by the fact that to exist without body belongs to God alone. But I think

> Matt. X. 29.

LET. CLVIII.] EVODIUS TO AUGUSTINE. 271

that the laying aside of so great a burden as the body, in the act of passing from this world, proves that the soul will then be very much more wakeful than it is meanwhile; for then the soul appears, as I think, far more noble when no longer encumbered by so great a hindrance, both in action and in knowledge, and that entire spiritual rest proves it to be free from all causes of disturbance and error, but does not make it languid, and as it were slow, torpid, and embarrassed, inasmuch as it is enough for the soul to enjoy in its fulness the liberty to which it has attained in being freed from the world and the body; for, as you have wisely said, the intellect is satisfied with food, and applies the lips of the spirit to the fountain of life in that condition in which it is happy and blest in the undisputed lordship
of its own faculties. For before I quitted the monastery I saw brother Servilius in a dream after his decease, and he said that we were labouring to attain by the exercise of reason to an understanding of truth, whereas he and those who were in the same state as he was were always resting in the pure joy of contemplation.

12. I also beg you to explain to me in how many ways the word wisdom is used; as God is wisdom, and a wise mind is wisdom (in which way it is said to be as light); as we read also of the wisdom of Bezaleel, who made the tabernacle or the ointment, and the wisdom of Solomon, or any other wisdom, if there be such, and wherein they differ from each other; and whether the one eternal Wisdom which is with the Father is to be understood as spoken of in these different degrees, as they are called diverse gifts of the Holy Spirit, who divideth to every one severally according as He will. Or, with the exception of that Wisdom alone which was not created, were these created, and have they a distinct existence of their own? or are they effects, and have they received their name from the definition of their work? I am askingc a great many questions. May the Lord grant you grace to discover the truth sought, and wisdom sufficient to commit it to writing, and to communicate it without delay to me. I have written in much ignorance, and in a homely style; but since you think it worth while to know that about which I am inquiring, I beseech you in the name of Christ the Lord to correct me where I am mistaken, and teach me what you know that I am desirous to learn.

272 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLIX.

correct me where I am mistaken, and teach me what you know that I am desirous to learn.

LETTER CLIX.

(A.D. 415.)

TO EVODIUS, MY LORD MOST BLESSED, MY VENERABLE AND BELOVED BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, AND TO THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM, AUGUSTINE AND THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Our brother Barbaras, the bearer of this letter, is a servant of God who has now for a long time been settled at Hippo, and has been an eager and diligent hearer of the word of God.

He requested from us this letter to your Holiness, whereby we commend him to you in the Lord, and convey to you through him the salutations which it is our duty to offer. To reply to those letters of your Holiness, in which you have interwoven questions of great difficulty, would be a most laborious task, even for men who are at leisure, and who are endowed with much greater ability in discussing and acuteness in apprehending any subject than we possess. One, indeed, of the two letters in which you ask many great
questions has gone amiss, I know not how, and though long sought for cannot be found; the other, which has been found, contains a very pleasing account of a servant of God, a good and chaste young man, stating how he departed from this life, and by what testimonies, communicated through visions of the brethren, his merits were, as you state, made known to you. Taking occasion from this young man’s case, you propose and discuss an extremely obscure question concerning the soul, â€” whether it is associated when it goes forth from this body with some other kind of body, by means of which it can be carried to or confined in places having material boundaries? The investigation of this question, if indeed it admits of satisfactory investigation by beings such as we are, demands the most diligent care and labour, and therefore a mind absolutely at leisure from such occupations as engross my time. My opinion, however, if you are willing to hear it, summed up in a sentence, is, that I by

LET. CLIX.] TO EVODITIS. 273

110 means believe that the soul in departing from the body is accompanied by another body of any kind.

2. As to the question how these visions and predictions of future events are produced, let him attempt to explain them who understands by what power we are to account for the great wonders which are wrought in the mind of every man when his thoughts are busy. For we see, and we plainly perceive, that within the mind innumerable images of many objects discernible by the eye or by our other senses are produced, â€” whether they are produced in regular order or in confusion matters not to us at present: all that we say is, that since such images are beyond all dispute produced, the man who is found able to state by what power and in what way these phenomena of daily and perpetual experience are to be accounted for is the only man who may warrantably venture to conjecture or propound any explanation of these visions, which are of exceedingly rare occurrence. For my part, as I discover more plainly my inability to account for the ordinary facts of our experience, when awake or asleep, throughout the whole course of our lives, the more do I shrink from venturing to explain what is extraordinary. For while I have been dictating this epistle to you, I have been contemplating your person in my mind, â€” you being, of course, absent all the while, and knowing nothing of my thoughts, â€” and I have been imagining from my knowledge of what is in you how you will be affected by my words; and I have been unable to apprehend, either by observation or by inquiry, how this process was accomplished in my mind. Of one thing, however, I am certain, that although the mental image was very like something material, it was not produced either by masses of matter or by qualities; of matter. Accept this in the meantime from one writing under pressure of other duties, and in haste. In the twelfth of the books which I have written on Genesis this question is discussed with great care, and that dissertation is enriched with a forest of examples from actual experience or from trustworthy report. How far I have been competent to handle the question, and what I have accomplished in
it, you will judge when you have read that work; if indeed the Lord shall be pleased in
His kindness to permit me now to publish those

LETT. II. 3

books systematically corrected to the best of my ability, and thus to meet the expectation
of many brethren, instead of deferring their hope by continuing further the discussion of a
subject which has already engaged me for a long time.

3. I will narrate briefly, however, one fact which I commend to your meditation. You
know our brother Gennadius, a physician, known to almost every one, and very dear to
us, who now lives at Carthage, and was in other years eminent as a medical practitioner at
Eome. You know him as a man of religious character and of very great benevolence,
actively compassionate and promptly liberal in his care of the poor.
Nevertheless, even he, when still a young man, and most zealous in these charitable acts,
had sometimes, as he himself told me, doubts as to whether there was any life after death.
Forasmuch, therefore, as God would in no wise forsake a man so merciful in his
disposition and conduct, there appeared to him in sleep a youth of remarkable appearance
and commanding presence, who said to him: "Follow me." Following him, he came to a
city where he began to hear on the right hand sounds of a melody so exquisitely sweet as
to surpass anything he had ever heard. When he inquired what it was, his guide said:
"It is the hymn of the blessed and the holy." What he reported himself to have seen on
the left hand escapes my remembrance. He awoke; the dream vanished, and he thought of
it as only a dream.

4. On a second night, however, the same youth appeared to Gennadius, and asked
whether he recognised him, to which he replied that he knew him well, without the
slightest uncertainty. Thereupon he asked Gennadius where he had become acquainted
with him. There also his memory failed him not as to the proper reply: he narrated the
whole vision, and the hymns of the saints which, under his guidance, he had been taken
to hear, with all the readiness natural to recollection of some very recent experience. On
this the youth inquired

\^ j \ whether it was in sleep or when awake that he had seen what
. he had just narrated. Gennadius answered: "In sleep." The/
1 youth then said: "You remember it well; it is true that you

\ I saw these things in sleep, but I would have you know that; even now you are seeing in
sleep." Hearing this, Gennadius
was persuaded of its truth, and in his reply declared that he believed it. Then his teacher went on to say: "Where is / I your body now?" He answered: "In my bed." "Do you know," said the youth, "that the eyes in this body of yours are now bound and closed, and at rest, and that with these eyes you are seeing nothing?" He answered: "I know it." "What, then," said the youth, "are the eyes with which you see me?"

He, unable to discover what to answer to this, was silent. While he hesitated, the youth unfolded to him what he was endeavouring to teach him by these questions, and forthwith said: "As while you are asleep and lying on your bed these eyes of your body are now unemployed and doing nothing, and yet you have eyes with which you behold me, and enjoy this vision, so, after your death, while your bodily eyes shall be wholly inactive, there shall be in you a life by which you shall still live, and a faculty of perception by which you shall still perceive. Beware, therefore, after this of harbouring doubts as to whether the life of man shall continue after death."

This believer says that by this means all doubts as to this matter were removed from him. By whom was he taught this but by the merciful, providential care of God?

5. Some one may say that by this narrative I have not solved but complicated the question. Nevertheless, while it is free to every one to believe or disbelieve these statements, every man has his own consciousness at hand as a teacher by whose help he may apply himself to this most profound question.

Every day man wakes, and sleeps, and thinks; let any man, therefore, answer whence proceed these things which, while not material bodies, do nevertheless resemble the forms, properties, and motions of material bodies: let him, I say, answer this if he can. But if he cannot do this, why is he in such haste to pronounce a definite opinion on things which occur very rarely, or are beyond the range of his experience, when he is unable to explain matters of daily and perpetual observation? For my part, although I am wholly unable to explain in words how those semblances of material bodies, without any real body, are produced, I may say that I wish that, with the same certainty with which I know that these things are not produced by the body, I could know by what means those things are perceived.
which are occasionally seen by the spirit, and are supposed to be seen by the bodily senses; or by what distinctive marks we may know the visions of men who have been misguided by delusion, or, most commonly, by impiety, since the examples of such visions closely resembling the visions of pious and holy men are so numerous, that if I wished to quote them, time, rather than abundance of examples, would fail me.

May you, through the mercy of the Lord, grow in grace, most blessed lord and venerable and beloved brother!

LETTIEE CLXIII.

(A.D. 414.)
TO BISHOP AUGUSTINE, BISHOP EVODIUS SENDS GREETING.

Some time ago I sent two questions to your Holiness: the first, which was sent, I think, by Jobinus, a servant in the nunnery,^ related to God and reason, and the second was in regard to the opinion that the body of the Saviour is capable of seeing the substance of the Deity. I now propound a third question: Does the rational soul which our Saviour assumed along with His body fall under any one of the theories commonly advanced in discussions on the origin of souls (if any theory indeed can be with certainty established on the subject), â€” or does His soul, though rational, belong not to any of the species under which the souls of living creatures are classified, but to another?

I ask also a fourth question: Who are those spirits in reference to whom the Apostle Peter testifies concerning the Lord in these words: "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit, in which also He went and preached to the spirits in prison"? giving us to understand that they were in hell, and that Christ, descending into hell, preached the gospel to them all, and by grace delivered them all from darkness and punishment, so that from the time of the resurrection of the Lord judgment is expected, hell having then been completely emptied.

What your Holiness believes in this matter I earnestly desire to know.

* Qui servit ancillis Dei.
LET. CLXIV. TO EVODIUS. 277

LETTER CLXIV.

(A.D. 414.)

TO MY LORD EVODIUS MOST BLESSED, MY BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE EPISCOPAL OFFICE, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. The question which you have proposed to me from the epistle of the Apostle Peter is one which, as I think you are aware, is wont to perplex me most seriously, namely, how the words which you have quoted are to be understood on the supposition that they were spoken concerning hell? I therefore refer this question back to yourself, that if either you yourself be able, or can find any other person who is able to do so, you may remove and terminate my perplexities on the subject. If the Lord grant to me ability to understand the words before you do, and it be in my power to impart what I receive from Him to you, I will not withhold it from a friend so truly loved. In the meantime, I will communicate to you the things in the passage which occasion difficulty to me, that, keeping in view these remarks on the words of the apostle, you may either exercise your own thoughts on them, or consult any one whom you find competent to pronounce an opinion.

2. After having said that "Christ was put to death in the flesh, and quickened in the spirit," the apostle immediately went on to say: "in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were unbelieving," when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water;" thereafter he added the words: "which baptism also now by a like figure has saved you." This, therefore, is felt by me to be difficult. If the Lord when He died preached in hell to spirits in prison, why were those who continued unbelieving while the ark was a preparing the only ones counted worthy of this favour, namely, the Lord's descending into hell? For in the ages between the time of Noah and the passion of Christ, there died many thousands

* Increduli. i 1 Pet. iii. 18-21.

n

278 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIV.

of SO many nations whom He might have found in hell. I
do not, of course, speak here of those who in that period of time had believed in God, as, e.g. the prophets and patriarchs of Abraham's line, or, going farther back, 'Noah himself and his house, who had been saved by water (excepting perhaps the one son, who afterwards was rejected), and, in addition to these, all others outside of the posterity of Jacob who were believers in God, such as Job, the citizens of Nineveh, and any others, whether mentioned in Scripture or existing unknown to us in the vast human family at any time. I speak only of those many thousands of men who, ignorant of God and devoted to the worship of devils or of idols, had passed out of this life from the time of Noah to the passion of Christ.

How was it that Christ, finding these in hell, did not preach to them, but preached only to those who were unbelieving in the days of Noah when the ark was a preparing? Or if he preached to all, why has Peter mentioned only these, and passed over the innumerable multitude of others?

Chap. ii. 3. It is established beyond question that the Lord, after He had been put to death in the flesh, "descended into hell;" for it is impossible to gainsay either that utterance of prophecy, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell," "â€” an utterance which Peter himself expounds in the Acts of the Apostles, lest any one should venture to put upon it another interpretation, â€” or the words of the same apostle, in which he affirms that the Lord "loosed the pains of hell, in which it was not possible for Him to be holden." ^ Who, therefore, except an infidel, will deny that Christ was in hell? As to the difficulty which is found in reconciling the statement that the pains of hell were loosed by Him, with the fact that He had never begun to be in these pains as in bonds, and did not so loose them as if He had broken off chains by which He had been bound, this is easily removed when we understand that they were loosed in the same way as the snares of huntsmen may be loosed to prevent their holding, not because they have taken hold. It may also be understood as teaching us to be-

Â» Ps. xvi. 10.

' Acts ii. 24, 27, in which the words rendered by Augustine "inferni dolorc" ai'e: rag ul7vus toZ (avdrov.

LET. CLXIV.] TO EVODIUS. 279

lieve Him to have loosed those pains which could not possibly hold Him, but which were holding those to wdiom He had resolved to grant deliverance.

4. But who these were it is presumptuous for us to define. For if we say that all who were found there were then delivered without exception, who will not rejoice if we can prove this? Especially will men rejoice for the sake of some who are intimately known to us by their literary labours, whose eloquence and talent we admire, â€” not only the poets and
orators who in many parts of their writings have held up to contempt and ridicule these same false gods of the nations, and have even occasionally confessed the one true God, although along with the rest they observed superstitious rites, but also those who have uttered the same, not in poetry or rhetoric, but as philosophers; and for the sake of many more of whom we have no literary remains, but in regard to whom we have learned from the writings of these others that their lives were to a certain extent praiseworthy, so that (with the exception of their service of God, in which they erred, worshipping the vanities which had been set up as objects of public worship, and serving the creature rather than the Creator) they may be justly held up as models in all the other virtues of frugality, self-denial, chastity, sobriety, braving of death in their country's defence, and faith kept inviolate not only to fellow-citizens, but also to enemies. All these things, indeed, when they are practised with a view not to the great end of right and true piety, but to the empty pride of human praise and glory, become in a sense worthless and unprofitable; nevertheless, as indications of a certain disposition of mind, they please us so much that we would desire those in whom they exist, either by special preference or along with the others, to be freed from the pains of hell, were not the verdict of human feeling different from that of the justice of the Creator.

5. These things being so, if the Saviour delivered all from that place, and, to quote the terms of the question in your letter, "emptied hell, so that now from that time forward the last judgment was to be expected," the following things occasion not unreasonable perplexity on this subject, and are wont to present themselves to me in the meantime when I think

on it. First, by what authoritative statements can this opinion be confirmed? For the words of Scripture, that "the pains of hell were loosed" by the death of Christ, do not establish this, seeing that this statement may be understood as referring to Himself, and meaning that he so far loosed (that is, made ineffectual) the pains of hell that He Himself was not held by them, especially since it is added that it was "impossible for Him to be holden of them." Or if any one [objecting to this interpretation] ask the reason why He chose to descend into hell, where those pains were which could not possibly hold Him who was, as Scripture says, "free among the dead," in whom the prince and captain of death found nothing which deserved punishment, the words that "the pains of hell were loosed" may be understood as referring not to the case of all, but only of some whom He judged worthy of that deliverance; so that neither is He supposed to have descended thither in vain, without the purpose of bringing benefit to any of those who were there held in prison, nor is it a necessary inference that what divine mercy and justice granted to some must be supposed to have been granted to all.

Chap. vi. 6. As to the first man, the father of mankind, it is agreed by almost the entire Church that the Lord loosed him from that prison; a tenet which must be believed to have

280 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIV.}
been accepted not without reason, â€” from whatever source it was handed down to the Church, â€” although the authority of the canonical Scriptures cannot be brought forward as speaking expressly in its support,^ though this seems to be the opinion which is more than any other borne out by these words in the book of Wisdom.^ Some add to this [tradition] that the same favour was bestowed on the holy men of antiquity, â€” on Abel, Seth, Noah and his house, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the other patriarchs and prophets, they also being loosed from those pains at the time when the Lord descended into hell.

"* Ps. Ixxxviii. 5.

* We give the original of this important sentence: â€” **De illo quidem primo homine patre generis humani, quod eum inde solverit Ecclesia fere to ta consentit: quod earn non inaniter credidisse credendum est, undecumque hoc traditum sit, etiamsi canonicaruni Scripturarum hiuc expressa non proferatur auctoritas."

Â» Wisd. X. 1, 2.

LET. CLXIV.] TO EVODIUS. 281

7. But, for my part, I cannot see how Abraham, into whose bosom also the pious beggar in the parable was received, can be understood to have been in these pains; those who are able can perhaps explain this. But I suppose every one must see it to be absurd to imagine that only two, namely, Abraham and Lazarus, were in that bosom of wondrous repose before the Lord descended into hell, and that with reference to these two alone it was said to the rich man, " Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot, neither can they pass to us that would pass from thence." ^ Moreover, if there were more than two there, who will dare to say that the patriarchs and prophets were not there, to whose righteousness and piety so signal testimony is borne in the word of God ? What benefit was conferred in that case on them by Him who loosed the pains of hell, in which they were not held, I do not yet understand, especially as I have not been able to find anywhere in Scripture the name of hell used in a good sense. And if this use of the term is nowhere found in the divine Scriptures, assuredly the bosom of Abraham, that is, the abode of a certain secluded rest, is not to be believed to be a part of hell. ISTay, from these words themselves of the great Master, in which He says that Abraham said, " Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed," it is, as I think, sufficiently evident that the bosom of that glorious felicity was not any integral part of hell. For what is that great gulf but a chasm completely separating those places between which it not only is, but is fixed ? Wherefore, if sacred Scripture had said, without naming hell and its pains, that Christ when He died went to that bosom of Abraham, I wonder if any one would have dared to say that He " descended into hell."

8. But seeing that plain scriptural testimonies make |
mention of hell and its pains, no reason can be alleged for believing that He who is the Saviour went thither, except that He might; but whether He did save, all whom He found held in them, or some whom He judged worthy of that favour, I still ask: that He was, however, in hell, and that He conferred this benefit on persons subjected


282 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIV.]

to these pains, I do not doubt. Wherefore, I have not yet found what benefit He, when He descended into hell, conferred upon those righteous ones who were in Abraham's bosom, from whom I see that, so far as regarded the beatific presence of His Godhead, He never withdrew Himself; since even on that very day on which He died, He promised that the thief should be with Him in paradise at the time when He was about to descend to loose the pains of hell. Most certainly, therefore. He was, before that time, both in paradise and the bosom of Abraham in His beatific wisdom, and in hell in His condemning power; for since the Godhead is confined by no limits, where is He not present? At the same time, however, so far as regarded the created nature, in assuming which at a certain point of time, He, while continuing to be God, became man; that is to say, so far as regarded His soul. He was in hell: this is plainly declared in these words of Scripture, which were both sent before in prophecy and fully expounded by apostolical interpretation: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell." ^

9. I know that some think that at the death of Christ a resurrection such as is promised to us at the end of the world was granted to the righteous, founding this on the statement in Scripture that, in the earthquake by which at the moment of His death the rocks were rent and the graves were opened, many bodies of the saints arose and were seen with Him in the Holy City after He rose. Certainly, if these did not fall asleep again, their bodies being a second time laid in the grave, it would be necessary to see in what sense Christ can be understood to be "the first-begotten from the dead," ^ if so many preceded Him in the resurrection. And if it be said, in answer to this, that the statement is made by anticipation, so that the graves indeed are to be supposed to have been opened by that earthquake at the time when Christ was hanging on the cross, but that the bodies of the saints did not rise then, but only after Christ had risen before them, â€” although on this hypothesis of anticipation in the narrative, the addition of these words would not hinder us from still believinsf. on the one hand, that Christ was without doubt the first-
* Ps. xvi. 10. * Rev. i. 5.

LET. CLXIV.] TO EVODIUS. 283
begotten from the dead," and on the other, that to these saints permission was given, when He went before them, to rise to an eternal state of incorruption and immortality, "there still remains a difficulty, namely, how in that case Peter could have spoken as he did, saying what was without doubt perfectly true, when he affirmed that in the prophecy quoted above the words, that "His flesh should not see corruption," referred not to David but to Christ, and added concerning David, "He is buried, and his sepulchre is with us to this day," a statement which would have had no force as an argument unless the body of David was still undisturbed in the sepulchre; for of course the sepulchre might still have been there even had the saint's body been raised up immediately after his death, and had thus not seen corruption.

But it seems hard that David should not be included in this resurrection of the saints, if eternal life was given to them, since it is so frequently, so clearly, and with such honourable mention of his name, declared that Christ was to be of David's seed.

Moreover, these words in the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning the ancient believers, "God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect," will be endangered, if these believers have been already established in that incorruptible resurrection-state which is promised to us when we are to be made perfect at the end of the world.

Chap. iv. 10. You perceive, therefore, how intricate is the question why Peter chose to mention, as persons to whom, when shut up in prison, the gospel was preached, those only who were unbelieving in the days of Noah when the ark was a preparing and also the difficulties which prevent me from pronouncing any definite opinion on the subject. An additional reason for my hesitation is, that after the apostle had said, "Which baptism now by a like figure saves you (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is on the right hand of God, having swallowed up death that we might be made heirs of eternal life; and having gone into heaven, angels, and authorities, and powers; Acts ii. 28. 2 Heb. xi. 4Q," he added:

"Forasmuch then as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves like wise with the same mind: for he that hath suffered in the flesh hath ceased from sin; that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God;" after which he continues: "For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries: wherein they think it strange that ye run not with them to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of you; who shall give account to Him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead." After these words he subjoins: "For for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit."
11. Who can be otherwise than perplexed by words so profound as these? He saith, "The gospel was preached to the dead;" and if by the "dead" we understand persons who have departed from the body, I suppose he must mean those described above as "unbelieving in the days of Noah," or certainly all those whom Christ found in hell. What, then, is meant by the words, "That they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit"?

For how can they be judged in the flesh, which if they be in hell they no longer have, and which if they have been loosed from the pains of hell they have not yet resumed? For even if "hell was," as you put in your question, "emptied," it is not to be believed that all who were then there have risen again in the flesh, or those who, arising, again appeared with the Lord resumed the flesh for this purpose, that they might be in it judged according to men; but how this could be taken as true in the case of those who were unbelieving in the days of Noah I do not see, for Scripture does not affirm that they were made to live in the flesh, nor can it be believed that the end for which they were loosed from the pains of hell was that they who were delivered from these might resume their flesh in order to suffer punishment. What, then, is meant by

^ 1 Pet. iv. 16.

LET. CLXIV.] TO EVODIUS. 285

the words, "That they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit?" Can it mean that to those whom Christ found in hell this was granted, that by the gospel they were quickened in the spirit, although at the future resurrection they must be judged in the flesh, that they may pass, through some punishment in the flesh, into the kingdom of God? If this be what is meant, why were only the unbelievers of the time of Noah (and not also all others whom Christ found in hell when He went thither) quickened in spirit by the preaching of the gospel, to be afterwards judged in the flesh with a punishment of limited duration? But if we take this as applying to all, the question still remains why Peter mentioned none but those who were unbelieving in the days of Noah.

12. I find, moreover, a difficulty in the reason alleged by those who attempt to give an explanation of this matter.

They say that all those who were found in hell when Christ descended thither had never heard the gospel, and that that place of punishment or imprisonment was emptied of all these, because the gospel was not published to the whole world in their lifetime, and they had sufficient excuse for not believing that which had never been proclaimed to them; but that thenceforth, men despising the gospel when it was in all nations fully published and spread abroad would be inexcusable, and therefore after the prison was then emptied there still remains a just judgment, in which those who are contumacious and unbelieving shall be punished even with eternal fire. Those who hold this opinion do not consider that the same excuse is available for all those who have, even after Christ's resurrection, departed this life before the gospel came to them. For even after the Lord came back from
hell, it was not the case that no one was from that time forward permitted to go to hell without having heard the gospel, seeing that multitudes throughout the world died before the proclamation of its tidings came to them, all of whom are entitled to plead the excuse which is alleged to have been taken away from those of whom it is said, that because they had not before heard the gospel, the Lord when He descended into hell proclaimed it to them.

I

286 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIV.

13. This objection may perhaps be met by saying that those also who since the Lord's resurrection have died or are now dying without the gospel having been proclaimed to them, may have heard it or may now hear it where they are, in hell, so that there they may believe what ought to be believed concerning the truth of Christ, and may also have that pardon and salvation which those to whom Christ preached obtained; for the fact that Christ ascended again from hell is no reason why the report concerning Him should have perished from recollection there, for from this earth also He has gone ascending into heaven, and yet by the publication of His gospel those who believe in Him shall be saved; moreover. He was exalted, and received a name that is above every name, for this end, that in His name every knee should bow, not only of things in heaven and on earth, but also of things under the earth.\ But if we accept this opinion, according to which we are warranted in supposing that men who did not believe while they were in life can in hell believe in Christ, who can bear the contradictions both of reason and faith which must follow? In the first place, if this were true, we should seem to have no reason for mourning over those who have departed from the body without that grace, and there would be no ground for being solicitous and using urgent exhortation that men would accept the grace of God before they die, lest they should be punished with eternal death. If, again, it be alleged that in hell those only believe to no purpose and in vain who refused to accept here on earth the gospel preached to them, but that believing will profit those who never despised a gospel which they never had it in their power to hear, another still more absurd consequence is involved, namely, that forasmuch as all men shall certainly die, I and ought to come to hell wholly free from the guilt of having despised the gospel, since otherwise it can be of no use to them to believe it when they come there, the gospel ought 'not to be preached on earth, â€” a sentiment not less foolish than profane.

CiLA-P. V. 14. AVlierefore let us most firmly hold that which faith, resting on authority established beyond all question,

* Iiifenioium. Phil. ii. 9.
LET. CLXIV.] TO EVODIUS. 287

maintains: "that Christ died according to the Scriptures," and that "He was buried," and that "He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures," and all other things which have been written concerning Him in records fully demonstrated to be true. Among these doctrines we include the doctrine that He was in hell, and, having loosed the pains of hell, in which it was impossible for Him to be held, from which also He is with good ground believed to have loosed and delivered whom He would. He took again to Himself that body which He had left on the cross, and which had been laid in the tomb.

These things, I say, let us firmly hold; but as to the question propounded by you from the words of the Apostle Peter, since you now perceive the difficulties which I find in it, and since other difficulties may possibly be found if the subject be more carefully studied, let us continue to investigate it, whether by applying our own thoughts to the subject, or by asking the opinion of any one whom it may be becoming and possible to consult.

15. Consider, however, I pray you, whether all that the Apostle Peter says concerning spirits shut up in prison, who were unbelieving in the days of ISToah, may not after all have been written without any reference to hell, but rather to those times the typical character of which he has transferred to the present time. For that transaction had been typical of future events, so that those who do not believe the gospel in our age, when the Church is being built up in all nations, may be understood to be like those who did not believe in that age while the ark was a preparing; also, that those who have believed and are saved by baptism may be compared to those "who at that time, being in the ark, were saved by water; wherefore he says, "So baptism by a like figure saves you." Let us therefore interpret the rest of the statements concerning them that believed not so as to harmonise with the analogy of the figure, and refuse to entertain the thought that the gospel was once preached, or is even to this hour being preached in hell in order to make men believe and be delivered from its pains, as if a Church had been established there as well as on earth.

16. Those who have inferred from the words, "He preached to the spirits in prison," that Peter held the opinion which perplexes you, seem to me to have been drawn to this interpretation by imagining that the term "spirits" could not be applied to designate souls which were at that time still in the bodies of men, and which, being shut up in the darkness of ignorance, were, so to speak, "in prison," â€” a prison such as that from which the Psalmist sought deliverance in the prayer, "Bring my soul out of prison, that I may praise Thy name;"^
which is in another place called the "shadow of death," from which deliverance was granted, not certainly in hell, but in this world, to those of whom it is written, "They that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." But to the men of ISToah's time the gospel was preached in vain, because they believed not when God's long-suffering waited for them during the many years in which the ark was being built (for the building of the ark was itself in a certain sense a preaching of mercy); even as now men similar to them are unbelieving, who, to use the same figure, are shut up in the darkness of ignorance as in a prison, beholding in vain the Church which is being built up throughout the world, while judgment is impending, as the flood was by which at that time all the unbelieving perished; for the Lord says: "As it was in the days of Noah, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of man; they did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all." But because that transaction was also a type of a future event, that flood was a type both of baptism to believers and of destruction to unbelievers, as in that figure in which, not by a transaction but by words, two things are predicted concerning Christ, when He is represented in Scripture as a stone which was destined to be both to unbelievers a stone of stumbling, and to believers a foundation-stone.

Occasionally, however, also in the same figure, whether it be in the form of a typical event or of a parable, two things are used to represent one, as believers were represented both by


- Ps. cviii. 22; Isa. viii. 14, xxviii. 16; Dan. ii. 34, 45; Matt. x. 44; Luke XX. 17; Acts iv. 11 j Koni. ix. 33, etc.

LET. CLXIV.] TO EVODIUS. 289

the timbers of which the ark was built and by the eight souls saved in the ark, and as in the gospel similitude of the sheepfold Christ is both the shepherd and the door.-^
manifestations of Himself to such persons and in such manner as seemed good to Him. As to this expression, "He came in the spirit," surely He, as the Son of God, is a Spirit in the essence of His Deity, for that is not corporeal; but what is at any time done by the Son without the Holy Spirit, or without the Father, seeing that all the works of the Trinity are inseparable?

18. The words of Scripture which are under consideration seem to me of themselves to make this sufficiently plain to those who carefully attend to them: "For Christ hath died once for our sins, the Just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit: in which also He came and preached unto the spirits in prison, who sometime were unbelieving, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." The order of the words is now, I suppose, carefully noted by you: "Christ being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit;" in which spirit He came and preached also to those spirits who had once in the days of Noah refused to believe His word; since before He came in the flesh to die for us, which He did once. He often came in the spirit, to whom 'John X. 1, 2. a Baruch iii. 37.

LETT. II. T

290 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIV.

He would, by visions instructing them as He would, coming to them assuredly in the same spirit in which He was quickened when He was put to death in the flesh in His passion. Now what does His being quickened in the spirit mean if not this, that the same flesh in which alone He had experienced death rose from the dead by the quickening Spirit?

Chap. vit. 19. For who will dare to say that Jesus was put to death in His soul, i.e. in the spirit which belonged to Him as man, since the only death which the soul can experience is sin, from which He was absolutely free when for us He was put to death in the flesh? For if the souls of all men are derived from that one which the breath of God gave to the first man, by whom "sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men," either the soul of Christ is not derived from the same source as other souls, because He had absolutely no sin, either original or personal, on account of which death could be supposed to be merited by Him, since He paid on our behalf that which was not on His own account due by Him, in whom the prince of this world, who had the power of death, found nothing and there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that He who created a soul for the first man should create a soul for Himself; or if the soul of Christ be derived from Adam's soul, He, in assuming it to Himself, cleansed it so that when He came into this world He was born of the Virgin perfectly free from sin either actual or transmitted. If, however, the souls of men are not derived from that one
soul, and it is only by the flesh that original sin is transmitted from Adam, the Son of God created a soul for Himself, as He creates souls for all other men, but He united it not to sinful flesh, but to the "likeness of sinful flesh."

For He took, indeed, from the Virgin the true substance of flesh; not, however, "sinful flesh," for it was neither begotten nor conceived through carnal concupiscence, but mortal, and capable of change in the successive stages of life, as being like unto sinful flesh in all points, sin excepted.

I 20. Therefore, whatever be the true theory concerning the origin of souls, — and on this I feel it would be rash for me to pronounce, meanwhile, any opinion beyond utterly rejecting the theory which affirms that each soul is thrust into the body which it inhabits as into a prison, where it expiates some former actions of its own of which I know nothing, â€” it is certain, regarding the soul of Christ, not only that it is, according to the nature of all souls, immortal, but also that it was neither put to death by sin nor punished by condemnation, the only two ways in which death can be understood as experienced by the soul; and therefore it could not be said of Christ that with reference to the soul He was "quickened in the spirit." For He was quickened in that in which He had been put to death; this, therefore, is spoken with reference to His flesh, for His flesh received life again when the soul returned to it, as it also had died when the soul departed. He was therefore said to be "put to death in the flesh," because He experienced death only in the flesh, but "quickened in the spirit," because by the operation of that Spirit in which He was wont to come and preach to whom He would, that same flesh in which He came to men was quickened and rose from the grave.

21. Wherefore, passing now to the words which we find farther on concerning unbelievers, "Who shall give account to Him who is ready to judge the quick and the dead," there is no necessity for our understanding the "dead" here to be those who have departed from the body. For it may be that the apostle intended by the word "dead" to denote unbelievers, as being spiritually dead, like those of whom it was said, "Let the dead bury their dead," and by the word "living" to denote those who believe in Him, having not heard in vain the call, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light;" of whom also the Lord said: "The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." On the same principle of interpretation, also, there is nothing compelling us to understand the immediately succeeding words of Peter â€”

"For this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit" as describing iÂ» what has been done in hell. "For for this cause has the gospel
been preached" in this life " to the dead," that is, to the unbelieving wicked, " that" when they believed " they might be judged according to men in the flesh," â€” that is, by means of various afflictions and by the death of the body itself; for which reason the same apostle says in another place: " The time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God,"â€” but live according to God in the spirit," since in that same spirit they had been dead while they were held prisoners in the death of unbelief and wickedness.

I wrote and sent by the deacon Asellus a letter, which I suppose you have received, giving such answers as I could to the questions which you sent before, excepting the one concerning the vision of God by the bodily senses, on which a larger treatise must be attempted. In your last note, to which this is a reply, you propounded two questions concerning certain words of the Apostle Peter, and concerning the soul of the Lord, both of which I have discussed, â€” the former more fully, the latter briefly.â€” I beg you not to grudge the trouble of sending me another copy of the letter containing the question whether it is possible for the substance of the Deity to be seen in a bodily form as limited to place; for it has, I know not how, gone amissing here, and, though long sought for, has not been found.

WORTHY OF BEING ESTEEMED WITH ALL THE LOVE DUE TO THEIR POSITION, JEROME SENDS GREETING IN CHRIST.

Chap, 1 I. At last I have received your joint letter from Africa, and I do not regret the importunity with which, though you were silent, I persevered in sending letters to you, that I might obtain a reply, and learn, not through report from others, but from your own most welcome statement, that you are in health. I have not forgotten the brief query, or rather the very important theological question, which you propounded in regard to the origin of the soul, â€” does it descend from heaven, as the philosopher Pythagoras and all the Platonists and Origen think? or is it part of the essence of the Deity, as the Stoics, Manicheus, and the Priscillianists of Spain imagine? or are souls kept in a divine treasure-house wherein they were stored of old, as some ecclesiastics, foolishly misled, believe? or are they daily created by God and sent into bodies, according to what is written in the gospel, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work"? or are souls really produced, as Tertullian, Apollinaris, and the majority of the Western divines conjecture, by propagation, so that as the body is the offspring of the soul, the soul is the offspring of soul, and exists on conditions similar to those regulating the existence of the inferior animals? I know that I have published my opinion on this question in my brief writings against Euffinus, in reply to a treatise addressed by him to Anastasius, of holy memory, Bishop of the Pisonian Church, in which, while attempting to impose upon the simplicity of his readers by a slippery and artful, yet withal foolish confession, he exposed to contempt his own faith, or, rather, his own perfidy. These books are,

Â» In assigning this place to Jerome's letter to Marcellinus and Anapsychia, the editors have departed from the chronological sequence in order to place it in immediate juxtaposition to Letter CLXVI., written by Augustine to Jerome some years later on the subject mentioned in sec. 1.


* John V. 17. Et simili cum brutis animantibus conditioue subsistat.

294 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXV.

I think, in the possession of your holy kinsman Oceanus, for they were published long ago to meet the calumnies contained in numerous writings of Rufinus. Be this as it may,
you have in Africa that holy man and learned bishop Augustine, who will be able to teach you on this subject viva voce, as the saying is, and expound to you his opinion, or, I should rather say, my own opinion stated in his words.

Chap. ii. 2. I have long wished to begin the volume of Ezekiel, and fulfil a promise frequently made to studious readers; but at the time when I had just begun to dictate the proposed exposition, my mind was so much agitated by the devastation of the western provinces of the empire, and especially by the sack of Rome itself by the barbarians, that, to use a common proverbial phrase, I scarcely knew my own name; and for a long while I was silent, knowing that it was a time for tears.

Moreover, when I had, in the course of this year, prepared three books of the Commentary, a sudden furious invasion of the barbarous tribes mentioned by your Virgil as "the widely roaming Barcoei," and by sacred Scripture in the words concerning Ishmael, "He shall dwell in the presence of his brethren," swept over the whole of Egypt, Palestine, Phenice, and Syria, carrying all before them with the vehemence of a mighty torrent, so that it was only with the greatest difficulty that we were enabled, by the mercy of Christ, to escape their hands. But if, as a famous orator has said, "Laws are silent amid the clash of arms," how much more may this be said of scriptural studies, which demand a multitude of books and silence, together with uninterrupted diligence of amanuenses, and especially the enjoyment of tranquillity and leisure by those who dictate!

I have accordingly sent two books to my holy daughter Pabiola, of which, if you wish copies, you may borrow them from her. Through lack of time I have been unable to transcribe others; when you have read these, and have seen the portico, as it were, you may easily conjecture what the house itself is designed to be. But I trust in the mercy of God, who has helped me in the very difficult commencement of theforesaid work, that He will help me also in the predictions.


"* Cicero 2^ru Milone: " Logos inter anna Â¼ilent."

LET. CLXVI.] TO JEROME. 295

concerning the wars of Gog and Magog, which occupy the last division but one of the prophecy, and in the concluding portion itself, describing the building, the details, and the proportions of that most holy and mysterious temple.

Chap. hi. 3. Our holy brother Oceanus, to whom you desire to be mentioned, is a man of such gifts and character, and so profoundly learned in the law of the Lord, that he may probably give you instruction without any request of mine, and can impart to you on all scriptural questions the opinion which, according to the measure of our joint abilities, we have formed.
May Christ, our almighty God, keep you, my truly pious lords, in safety and prosperity to a good old age!

LETTER CLXVL

(A.D. 415.)

A TREATISE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN SOUL, ADDRESSED TO

JEROME.

CiiAP. I. 1. Unto our God, who hath called ns unto His

' Ezek. ch. xxxviii.-xxxix. * Ibid. ch. xl.-xliii.

' The following passage from the Retractations of Augustine (Book ii. ch. xlv. ) is quoted by the Benedictine Fathers as a preface to this letter and the one immediately preceding: â€” * I wrote also two books to Presbyter Jerome, the recluse of Bethlehem [sedentem in Bethlehem]; the one on the origin of the human soul, the other on the sentence of the Apostle James, * Whosoever shall keep the whole law and offend in one point, he is guilty of all' (Jas. ii. 10), asking his opinion on both subjects. In the former letter I did not give any answer of my own to the question which I proposed; in the latter I did not keep back what â€” 'med to me the best way to solve the question, but asked whether the same solution commended itself to his judgment. He wrote in return, expressing approbation of my submitting the questions to him, but saying that he had not leisure to send me a reply. So long as he lived, therefore, I refused to give these books to the world, lest he should perhaps at any time reply to them, in wlicK case I would have rather published them along with his answer. After his decease, however, I published them,â€” the former, in order to admonish any who read it, either to forbear altogether from inquiring into the manner in which a soul is given to infants at the time of birth, or, at all events, in a matter so in-

Yolved in obscurity, to accept only such a solution of the question as does not contradict the clearest truths which the Catholic faith confesses in regard to original sin in infants, as undoubtedly doomed to perdition unless they be regenerated in Christ; the latter in order that what seemed to us the true answer to

296 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVL

kingdom and glory/ I have prayed, and pray now, that what I write to you, holy brother Jerome, asking your opinion in regard to things of which I am ignorant, may by His good pleasure be profitable to us both. For although in addressing you I consult one much older than myself, nevertheless I also am becoming old; but I
cannot think that it is at any time of life too late to learn what we need to know, because, although it is more fitting that old men should be teachers than learners, it is nevertheless more fitting for them to learn than to continue ignorant of that which they should teach to others. I assure you that, amid the many disadvantages which I have to submit to in studying very difficult questions, there is none which grieves me more than the circumstance of separation from your Charity by a distance so great that I can scarcely send a letter to you, and scarcely receive one from you, even at intervals, not of days nor of months, but of several years; whereas my desire would be, if it were possible, to have you daily beside me, as one with whom I could converse on any theme. Nevertheless, although I have not been able to do all that I wished, I am not the less bound to do all that I can.

2. Behold, a religious young man has come to me, by name Orosius, who is in the bond of Catholic peace a brother, in point of age a son, and in honour a fellow presbyter, "a man of quick understanding, ready speech, and burning zeal, desiring to be in the Lord's house a vessel rendering useful service in refuting those false and pernicious doctrines, through which the souls of men in Spain have suffered much more grievous wounds than have been inflicted on their bodies by the sword of barbarians. For from the remote western coast of Spain he has come with eager haste to us, having been prompted to do this by the report that from me he could learn whatever he wished on the subjects on which he desired information. Nor has his coming been altogether in vain. In the first place, he has learned not to believe all that report affirmed of me: in the next place, I have taught him all that I could, and, as for the things in which I could not teach him, I have told him the question therein discussed might be known. The work begins with the words, "Deum nostrum qui nos vocavit."

Â» 1 Thess. ii. 12.

LET. CLXYL] to JEROME. 297

from whom he may learn them, and have exhorted him to go on to you. As he received this counsel or rather injunction of mine with pleasure, and with intention to comply with it, I asked him to visit us on his way home to his own country when he comes from you. On receiving his promise to this effect, I believed that the Lord had granted me an opportunity of writing to you regarding certain things which I wish through you to learn. For I was seeking some one whom I might send to you, and it was not easy to fall in with one qualified both by trustworthiness in performing and by alacrity in undertaking the work, as well as by experience in travelling. Therefore, when I became acquainted with this young man, I could not doubt that he was exactly such a person as I was asking from the Lord.
Chap. ii. 3. Allow me, therefore, to bring before you a subject which I beseech you not to refuse to open up and discuss with me. Many are perplexed by questions concerning the soul, and I confess that I myself am of this number. I shall in this letter, in the first place, state explicitly the things regarding the soul which I most assuredly believe, and shall, in the next place, bring forward the things regarding which I am still desirous of explanation.

The soul of man is in a sense proper to itself immortal. It is not absolutely immortal, as God is, of whom it is written that He "alone hath immortality," for Holy Scripture makes mention of deaths to which the soul is liable — as in the saying, "Let the dead bury their dead;" but, because when alienated from the life of God it so dies as not wholly to cease from living in its own nature, it is found to be from a certain cause mortal, yet so as to be not without reason called at the same time immortal.

The soul is not a part of God. For if it were, it would be absolutely immutable and incorruptible, in which case it could neither go downward to be worse, nor go onward to be better; nor could it either begin to have anything in itself which it had not before, or cease to have anything which it had within the sphere of its own experience. But how different the actual facts of the case are is a point requiring no evidence from without, it is acknowledged by every one who consults his own consciousness. In vain, moreover, is it pled by those who affirm that the soul is a part of God, that the corruption and baseness which we see in the worst of men, and the weakness and blemishes which we see in all men, come to it not from the soul itself, but from the body; for what matters it whence the infirmity originates in that which, if it were indeed immutable, could not, from any quarter whatever, be made infirm? For that which is truly immutable and incorruptible is not liable to mutation or corruption by any influence whatever from without, else the invulnerability which the fable ascribed to the flesh of Achilles would be nothing peculiar to him, but the property of every man, so long as no accident befell him. That which is liable to be changed in any manner, by any cause, or in any part whatever, is therefore not by nature immutable; but it were impiety to think of God as otherwise than truly and supremely immutable: therefore the soul is not a part of God.

4. That the soul is immaterial is a fact of which I avow myself to be fully persuaded, although men of slow understanding are hard to be convinced that it is so. To secure myself, however, from either unnecessarily causing to others or unreasonably bringing upon myself a controversy about an expression, let me say that, since the thing itself is
beyond question, it is needless to contend about mere terms. If matter be used as a term denoting everything which in any form has a separate existence, whether it be called an essence, or a substance, or by another name, the soul is material. Again, if you choose to apply the epithet immaterial only to that nature which is supremely immutable and is everywhere present in its entirety, the soul is material, for it is not at all endowed with such qualities. But if matter be used to designate nothing but that which, whether at rest or in motion, has some length, breadth, and height, so that with a greater part of itself it occupies a greater part of space, and with a smaller part a smaller space, and is in every part of it less than the whole, Ilien the soul is not material. For it pervades the whole body which it animates, not by a local distribution of parts, but by a certain vital influence, being at the same moment present in

LET. CLXVI.] TO JEROME. 200

its entirety in all parts of the body, and not less in smaller parts and greater in larger parts, but here with more energy and there with less energy, it is in its entirety present both in the whole body and in every part of it. For ever that which the mind perceives in only a part of the body is nevertheless not otherwise perceived than by the whole mind; for when any part of the living flesh is touched by a fine-pointed instrument, although the place affected is not only not the whole body, but scarcely discernible in its surface, the contact does not escape the entire mind, and yet the contact is felt not over the whole body, but only at the one point where it takes place.

How comes it, then, that what takes place in only a part of the body is immediately known to the whole mind, unless the whole mind is present at that part, and at the same time not deserting all the other parts of the body in order to be present in its entirety at this one? For all the other parts of the body in which no such contact takes place are still living by the soul being present with them. And if a similar contact takes place in the other parts, and the contact occur in both parts simultaneously, it would in both cases alike be known at the same moment to the whole mind. Now this presence of the mind in all parts of the body at the same moment, so that in every part of the body the whole mind is at the same moment present, would be impossible if it were distributed over these parts in the same way as we see matter distributed in space, occupying less space with a smaller portion of itself, and greater space with a greater portion. If, therefore, mind is to be called material, it is not material in the same sense as earth, water, air, and ether are material. For all things composed of these elements are larger in larger places, or smaller in smaller places, and none of them is in its entirety present at any part of itself, but the dimensions of the material substances are according to the dimensions of the space occupied. Whence it is perceived that the soul, whether it be termed material or immaterial, has a certain nature of its own, created from a substance superior to the elements of this world, â€” a substance which cannot be truly conceived of by any representation of the material images perceived by the bodily senses, but which is apprehended by the understanding and discovered to our
consciousness by its living energy. These things I am stating, not with the view of teaching you what you already know, but in order that I may declare explicitly what I hold as indisputably certain concerning the soul, lest any one should think, when I come to state the questions to which I desire answers, that I hold none of the doctrines which we have learned from science or from revelation concerning the soul.

5. I am, moreover, fully persuaded that the soul has fallen into sin, not through the fault of God, nor through any necessity either in the divine nature or in its own, but by its own free will; and that it can be delivered from the body of this death neither by the strength of its own will, as if that were in itself sufficient to achieve this, nor by the death of the body itself, but only by the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is not one soul in the human family to whose salvation the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus is not absolutely necessary. Every soul, moreover, which may at any age whatsoever depart from this life without the grace of the Mediator and the sacrament of this grace, departs to future punishment, and shall receive again its own body at the last judgment as a partner in punishment. But if the soul after its natural generation, which was derived from Adam, be regenerated in Christ, it belongs to His fellowship, and shall not only have rest after the death of the body, but also receive again its own body as a partner in glory. These are truths concerning the soul which I hold most firmly.

Chap. hi. 6. Permit me now, therefore, to bring before you the question which I desire to have solved, and do not reject me; so may He not reject you who condescended to be rejected for our sakes!

I ask where can the soul, even of an infant snatched away by death, have contracted the guilt which, unless the grace of Christ has come to the rescue by that sacrament of baptism which is administered even to infants, involves it in condemnation? I know you are not one of those who have begun of late to utter certain new and absurd opinions, alleging that there is no guilt derived from Adam which is removed by

* Kom. vii. 21, 25. 2 -^y^ read pert'mcre, not pertinens.

LET. clxv I to jekome. 301

baptism in the case of infants. If I knew that you held this view, or, rather, if I did not know that you reject it, I would certainly neither address this question to you, nor think that it ought to be put to you at all. Since, however, we hold on this subject the opinion consonant with the immoveable Catholic faith, which you have yourself expressed when,
refuting the absurd sayings of Jovinian, you have quoted this sentence from the book of Job: "In thy sight no one is clean, not even the infant, whose time of life on earth is a single day," adding, "for we are held guilty in the similitude of Adam's transgression," an opinion which your book on Jonah's prophecy declares in a notable and lucid manner, where you affirm that the little children of Nineveh were justly compelled to fast along with the people, because merely of their original sin, it is not unsuitable that I should address to you the question where has the soul contracted the guilt from which, even at that age, it must be delivered by the sacrament of Christian grace?

7. Some years ago, when I wrote certain books concerning Free Will, which have gone forth into the hands of many, and are now in the possession of very many readers, after referring to these four opinions as to the manner of the soul's incarnation—(1) that all other souls are derived from the one which was given to the first man; (2) that for each individual a new soul is made; (3) that souls already in existence somewhere are sent by divine act into the bodies; or (4) glide into them of their own accord, I thought that it was necessary to treat them in such a way that, whichever of them might be true, the decision should not hinder the object which I had in view when contending with all my might against those who attempt to lay upon God the blame of a nature endowed with its own principle of evil, namely, the Manichseans; for at that time I had not heard of the PrisciUianists, who utter blasphemies not very dissimilar to these. As to the fifth opinion, namely, that the soul is a part of God, an opinion which, in order to omit none, you have mentioned along with the rest in your letter to Marcellinus (a man of pious memory and very dear to us in the grace of Christ), who had consulted you on this question/ I did not add it to the others for two reasons—first, because, in examining this opinion, we discuss not the incarnation of the soul, but its nature; secondly, because this is the view held by those against whom I was arguing, and the main design of my argument was to prove that the blameless and inviolable nature of the Creator has nothing to do with the faults and blemishes of the creature, while they, on their part, maintained that the substance of the good God itself is, in so far as it is led captive, corrupted and oppressed and brought under a necessity of sinning by the substance of evil, to which they ascribe a proper dominion and principalities. Leaving, therefore, out of the question this heretical error, I desire to know which of the other four opinions we ought to choose. For whichever of them may justly claim our preference, far be it from us to assail this article of faith, about which we have no uncertainty, that every soul, even the soul of an infant, requires to be delivered from the binding guilt of sin, and that there is no deliverance except through Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

* Job. xiv. 4, 5, according to LXX. "Jerome arja'wst Jovinian, Book ii. 'Jerome on Jonahs ch. iii. * De Libero Arbitrio, iii. 21.
CiiAP. IV. 8. To avoid prolixity, therefore, let me refer to the opinion which you, I believe, entertain, viz. that God even now makes each soul for each individual at the time of birth. To meet the objection to this view which might be taken from the fact that God finished the whole work of creation on the sixth day and rested on the seventh day, you quote the testimony of the words in the gospel, " My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." This you have written in your letter to Marcellinus, in which letter, moreover, you have most kindly condescended to mention my name, saying that he had me here in Africa, who could more easily explain to him the opinion held by you. But had I been able to do this, he would not have applied for instruction to you, who were so remote from him, though perhaps he did not write from Africa to you. For I know not when he wrote it; I only know that he knew well my hesitation to embrace any definite view on this subject, for which reason he preferred to write to you without consulting me. Yet, even if he had consulted me, I would rather have encouraged him to write to you, and would have expressed my gratitude for the benefit which might have been conferred on us all, had you not preferred to send a brief note, instead of a full reply, doing this, I suppose, to save yourself from unnecessary expenditure of effort in a place where I, whom you supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with the subject of his inquiries, was at hand. Behold, I am willing that the opinion which you hold should be also mine; but I assure you that as yet I have not embraced it.

9. You have sent to me scholars, to whom you wish me to impart what I have not yet learned myself. Teach me, therefore, what I am to teach them; for many urge me vehemently to be a teacher on this subject, and to them I confess that of this, as well as of many other things, I am ignorant, and perhaps, though they maintain a respectful demeanour in my presence, they say among themselves: " Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things ? " a rebuke which the Lord gave to one who belonged to the class of men who delighted in being called Eabbi; which was also the reason of his coming by night to the true Teacher, because perchance he, who had been accustomed to teach, blushed to take the learner's place. But, for my own part, it gives me much more pleasure to hear instruction from another, than to be myself listened to as a teacher. For I remember what He said to those whom, above all men, He had chosen: " But be not ye called Eabbi, for one is your master, even Christ." Nor was it any other teacher who taught Moses by Jethro, Cornelius by Peter the earlier apostle, and Peter himself by Paul the later apostle; for by whomsoever truth is spoken, it is spoken by the gift of Him who is the Truth. What if the reason of our still being ignorant of these things, and of our having failed to discover them, even after praying, reading, thinking, and reasoning, be this: that full proof may be
made not only of the love with which we give instruction to the ignorant, but also of the 
' instruction from the learned ?


10. Teach me, therefore, I beseech you, what I may teach to others; teach me what I 
ought to hold as my own opinion; and tell me this: if souls are from day to day made for 
each individual separately at birth, where, in the case of infant children, is sin committed 
by these souls, so that they require the remission of sin in the sacrament of Christ, 
because of sinning in Adam from whom the sinful flesh has been derived ? or if they do 
not sin, how is it compatible with the justice of the Creator, that, because of their being 
united to mortal members derived from another, they are so brought under the bond of the 
sin of that other, that unless they be rescued by the Church, perdition overtakes them, 
' although it is not in their own power to secure that they be 
^ rescued by the grace of baptism ? Where, therefore, is the j justice of the condemnation 
of so many thousands of souls, which in the deaths of infant children leave this world 
without the benefit of the Christian sacrament, if being newly created they have, not 
through any preceding sin of their own, but by the will of the Creator, become severally 
united to the individual bodies to animate which they were created and bestowed by Him, 
who certainly knew that every one of them was destined, not through any fault of its own, 
to leave the body without receiving the baptism of Christ ? Seeing, therefore, that we may 
not say concerning God either that He compels them to become sinners, or that He 
punishes innocent souls â€” and seeing- that, on the other hand, it is not lawful for us to 
deuy that nothing else than perdition I is the doom of the souls, even of little children, 
which have departed from the body without the sacrament of Christ, I tell me, I implore 
you, where anything can be found to support the opinion that souls are not all derived 
from that one soul of the first man, but are each created separately for each individual, as 
Adam's soul was made for him.

Chap. v. 11. As for some other objections which are advanced against this opinion, I 
think that I could easily dispose of them. For example, some think that they urge a 
conclusive argument against this opinion when they ask, how God finished all His works 
on the sixth day and rested on
the seventh day/ if He is still creating new souls. If we meet them with the quotation from the gospel (given by you in the letter to Marcellinus already mentioned), "My Father worketh hitherto," they answer that He "worketh" in maintaining those natures which He has created, not in creating new natures; otherwise, this statement would contradict the words of Scripture in Genesis, where it is most plainly declared that God finished all His works. Moreover, the words of Scripture, that He rested, are unquestionably to be understood of His resting from creating new creatures, not from governing those which He had created; for at that time He made things which previously did not exist, and from making these He rested because He had finished all the creatures which before they existed He saw necessary to be created, so that thenceforward He did not create and make things which previously did not exist, but made and fashioned out of things already existing whatever He did make. Thus the statements, "He rested from His works," and, "He worketh hitherto," are both true, for the gospel could not contradict Genesis.

12. When, however, these things are brought forward by persons who advance them as conclusive against the opinion that God now creates new souls as He created the soul of the first man, and who hold either that He forms them from that one soul which existed before He rested from creation, or that He now sends them forth into bodies from some reservoir or storehouse of souls which He then created, it is easy to turn aside their argument by answering, that even in the six days God formed many things out of those natures which He had already created, â€” as, for example, the birds and fishes were formed from the waters, and the trees, the grass, and the animals from the earth, â€” and yet it is undeniable that He was then making things which did not exist before. For there existed previously no bird, no fish, no tree, no animal, and it is clearly understood that He rested from creating those things which previously were not, and were then created, that is to say, He ceased in this sense, that, after that, nothing was made by Him which did not already exist. But if, rejecting the opinions of all who believe either that God sends forth men souls existing already in some incomprehensible reservoir, I or that He makes souls emanate like drops of dew from Himself as particles of His own substance, or that He brings them forth from that one soul of the first man, or that He binds them in the fetters of the bodily members because of sins committed in a prior state of existence, â€” if, I
say, rejecting these, we affirm that for each individual He creates separately a new soul when he is born, we do not herein affirm that He makes anything which He had not already made. For He had already made man after His own image on the sixth day; and this work of His is unquestionably to be understood with reference to the rational soul of man. The same work He still does, not in creating what did not exist, but in multiplying what already existed. Wherefore it is true, on the one hand, that He rested from creating things which previously did not exist, and equally true, on the other hand, that He continues still to work, not only in governing what He has made, but also in making (not anything which did not previously exist, but) a larger number of those creatures which He had already made. Wherefore, either by such an explanation, or by any other which may seem better, we escape from the objection advanced by those who would make the fact that God rested from His works a conclusive argument against our believing that new souls are still being daily created, not from the first soul, but in the same manner as it was made.

13. Again, as for another objection, stated in the question, "Wherefore does He create souls for those whom He knows to be destined to an early death?" we may reply, that by the death of the children the sins of the parents are either reproved or chastised. We may, moreover, with all propriety, leave these things to the disposal of the Lord of all, for we know that He appoints to the succession of events in time, and therefore to the births and deaths of living creatures as included in these, a course which is consummated in beauty and perfect in the arrangement of all its parts; whereas we are not capable of perceiving those things by the perception of which, if it were attainable, we should be soothed with an ineffable, tranquil joy. For not in vain has the prophet, taught by divine inspiration, declared concerning God, "He bringeth forth in measured harmonies the course of time." For which reason music, the science or capacity of correct harmony, has been given also by the kindness of God to mortals having reasonable souls, with a view to keep them in mind of this great truth. For if a man, when composing a song which is to suit a particular melody, knows how to distribute the length of time allowed to each word so as to make the song flow and pass on in most beautiful adaptation to the everchanging notes of the melody, how much more shall God, whose wisdom is to be esteemed as infinitely transcending human arts, make infallible provision that not one of the spaces of time allotted to natures that are born and die—spaces which are like the words and syllables of the successive epochs of the course of time—shall have, in what we may call the sublime psalm of the vicissitudes of this world, a duration either more brief or more protracted than the foreknown and predetermined harmony requires! For when I
may speak thus with reference even to the leaves of every tree, and the number of the hairs upon our heads, how much more may I say it regarding the birth and death of men, seeing that every man's life on earth continues for a time, which is neither longer nor shorter than God knows to be in harmony with the plan according to which He rules the universe.

14. As to the assertion that everything which has begun to exist in time is incapable of immortality, because all things which are born die, and all things which have grown decay through age, and the opinion which they affirm to follow necessarily from this, viz. that the soul of man must owe its immortality to its having been created before time began, this does not disturb my faith; for, passing over other examples, which conclusively dispose of this assertion, I need only refer to the body of Christ, which now " dieth no more; death shall have no more dominion over it." ^

15. Moreover, as to your remark in your book against Euffinus, that some bring forward as against this opinion [that souls are created for each individual separately at birth] the objection that it seems unworthy of God that He should give

^ Isa. xl. 26; translated by Augustine, " Qui profert numerose saeculum."
2 Uom. vi. 9.

308 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVL

souls to the offspring of adulterers, and who accordingly attempt to build on this a theory that souls may possibly be incarcerated, as it were, in such bodies, to suffer for the deeds of a life spent in some prior state of being. ^â€” this objection does not disturb me, as many things by which it may be answered occur to me when I consider it. The answer which you yourself have given, saying, that in the case of stolen wheat, there is no fault in the grain, but only in him who stole it, and that the earth is not under obligation to refuse to cherish the seed because the sower may have cast it in with a hand defiled by dishonesty, is a most felicitous illustration. But even before I had read it, I felt that to me the objection drawn from the offspring of adulterers caused no serious difficulty when I took a general view of the fact that God brings many good things to light, even out of our evils and our sins. Now, the creation of any living creature compels every one who considers it with piety and wisdom to give to the Creator praise which words cannot express; and if this praise is called forth by the creation of any living creature whatsoever, how much more is it called forth by the creation of a man ! If, therefore, the cause of any act of creative power be sought for, no shorter or better reply can be given than that every creature of God is good. And [so far from such an act being unworthy of God] what is more worthy of Him than that He, being good, should make those good things which no one else than God alone can make ?
Chap. vi. 16. These things, and others which I can advance, I am accustomed to state, as well as I can, against those who attempt to overthrow by such objections the opinion that souls are made for each individual, as the first man's soul was made for him.

But when we come to the penal sufferings of infants, I am embarrassed, believe me, by great difficulties, and am wholly at a loss to find an answer by which they are solved; and I speak here not only of those punishments in the life to come, which are involved in that perdition to which they must be drawn down if they depart from the body without the sacrament of Christian grace, but also of the sufferings which are to


LET, CLXVI.] TO JEHOME. 809

our sorrow endured by them before our eyes in this present life, and which are so various, that time rather than examples would fail me if I were to attempt to enumerate them. They are liable to wasting disease, to racking pain, to the agonies of thirst and hunger, to feebleness of limbs, to privation of bodily senses, and to vexing assaults of unclean spirits. Surely it is incumbent on us to show how it is compatible with justice that infants suffer all these things without any evil of their own as the procuring cause. For it would be impious to say, either that these things take place without God's knowledge, or that He cannot resist those who cause them, or that He unrighteously does these things, or permits them to be done.

We are warranted in saying that irrational animals are given by God to serve creatures possessing a higher nature, even though they be wicked, as we see most plainly in the gospel that the swine of the Gadarenes were given to the legion of devils at their request; but could we ever be warranted in saying this of men? Certainly not. Man is, indeed, an animal, but an animal endowed with reason, though mortal. In his members dwells a reasonable soul, which in these severe afflictions is enduring a penalty. Now God is good, God is just, God is omnipotent — none but a madman would doubt that He is so; let the great sufferings, therefore, which infant children experience be accounted for by some reason compatible with justice. When older people suffer such trials, we are accustomed, certainly, to say, either that their worth is being proved, as in Job's case, or that their wickedness is being punished, as in Herod's; and from some examples, which it has pleased God to make perfectly clear, men are enabled to conjecture the nature of others which are more obscure; but this is in regard to persons of mature age. Tell me, therefore, what we must answer in regard to infant children; is it true that, although they suffer so great punishments, there are no sins in them deserving to be punished? For, of course, there is not in them at that age any righteousness requiring to be put to the proof.

17. What shall I say, moreover, as to the [difficulty which besets the theory of the creation of each soul separately at the birth of the individual in connection with the] diversity of talent in different souls, and especially the absolute privation
of reason in some? This is, indeed, not apparent in the first stages of infancy, but being
developed continuously from the beginning of life, it becomes manifest in children, of
whom some are so slow and defective in memory that they cannot learn even the letters
of the alphabet, and some (commonly called idiots) so imbecile that they differ very little
from the beasts of the field. Perhaps I am told, in answer to this, that the bodies are the
cause of these imperfections. But surely the opinion which we wish to see vindicated
from objection does not require us to affirm that the soul chose for itself the body which
so impairs it, and, being deceived in the choice, committed a blunder; or that the soul,
when it was compelled, as a necessary consequence of being born, to enter into some
body, was hindered from finding another by crowds of souls occupying the other bodies
before it came, so that, like a man who takes whatever seat may remain vacant for him in
a theatre, the soul was guided in taking possession of the imperfect body not by its
choice, but by its circumstances. We, of course, cannot say and ought not to believe such
things. Tell us, therefore, what we ought to believe and to say in order to vindicate from
this difficulty the theory that for each individual body a new soul is specially created.

Chap. vii. 18. In my books on Free Will, already referred to, I have said something, not in
regard to the variety of capacities in different souls, but, at least, in regard to the pains
which infant children suffer in this life. The nature of the opinion which I there
expressed, and the reason why it is insufficient for the purposes of our present inquiry, I
will now submit to you, and will put into this letter a copy of the passage in the third
book to which I refer. It is as follows: â€”

"In connection with the bodily sufferings experienced by the little children who, by
reason of their tender age, have no sins
â€” if the souls which animate them did not exist before they were born into the human
family â€” a more grievous and, as it were, compassionate complaint is very commonly
made in the remark, 'What evil have they done that they should suffer these things?* as
if there could be a meritorious innocence in any one before the time at which it is
possible for him to do anything wrong! Moreover, if God accomplishes, in any

LET. CLXVI.] TO JEROME. 311

measure, the correction of the parents when they are chastised by the sufferings or by the
death of the children that are dear to them, is there any reason why these things should
not take place, seeing that, after they are past, they will be, to those who experienced
them, as if they had never been, while the persons on whose account they were inflicted
will either become better, being moved by the rod of temporal afflications to choose a
better mode of life, or be left without excuse under the punishment awarded at the
coming judgment, if, notwithstanding the sorrows of this life, they have refused to turn their desires towards eternal life? Moreover, who knows what may be given to the little children by means of whose sufferings the parents have their obdurate hearts subdued, or their faith exercised, or their compassion proved? Who knows what good recompense God may, in the secret of His judgments, reserve for these little ones? For although they have done no righteous action, nevertheless, being free from any transgression of their own, they have suffered these trials. It is certainly not without reason that the Church exalts to the honourable rank of martyrs those children who were slain when Herod sought our Lord Jesus Christ to put Him to death."

19. These things I wrote at that time when I was endeavouring to defend the opinion which is now under discussion. For, as I mentioned shortly before, I was labouring to prove that whichever of these four opinions regarding the soul's incarnation may be found true, the substance of the Creator is absolutely free from blame, and is completely removed from all share in our sins. And, therefore, whichever of these opinions might come to be established or demolished by the truth, this had no bearing on the object aimed at in the work which I was then attempting, seeing that whichever opinion might win the victory over all the rest, after they had been examined in a more thorough discussion, this would take place without causing me any disquietude, because my object then was to prove that, even admitting all these opinions, the doctrine maintained by me remained unshaken. But now my object is, by the force of sound reasoning, to select, if possible, one opinion out of the four; and, therefore, when I carefully

^ De Libero Arbitrio, lib. iii. ch. 23, n. 67.

312 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVI.

consider the words now quoted from that book, I do not see that the arguments there used in defending the opinion which we are now discussing are valid and conclusive.

20. For what may be called the chief prop of my defence is in the sentence, "Moreover, who knows what may be given to the little children, by means of whose sufferings the parents have their obdurate hearts subdued, or their faith exercised, or their compassion proved? Who knows what good recompense God may, in the secret of His judgments, reserve for these little ones?" I see that this is not an unwarranted conjecture in the case of infants who, in any way, suffer (though they know it not) for the sake of Christ and in the cause of true religion, and of infants who have already been made partakers of the sacrament of Christ; because, apart from union to the one Mediator, they cannot be delivered from condemnation, and so put in a position in which it is even possible that a recompense could be made to them for the evils which, in diverse afflictions, they have endured in this world. But since the question cannot be fully solved, unless the answer include also the case of those who, without having received the sacrament of Christian fellowship, die in infancy after enduring the most painful sufferings, what recompense can be conceived of in their case, seeing that, besides all that they suffer in this life,
perdition awaits them in the life to come. As to the baptism of infants, I have, in the same book, given an answer, not, indeed, fully, but so far as seemed necessary for the work which then occupied me, proving that it profits children, even though they do not know what it is, and have, as yet, no faith of their own; but on the subject of the perdition of those infants who depart from this life without baptism, I did not think it necessary to say anything then, because the question under discussion was different from that with which we are now engaged.

21. If, however, we pass over and make no account of those sufferings which are of brief continuance, and which, when endured, are not to be repeated, we certainly cannot, in like manner, make no account of the fact that "by one man death came, and by one man came also the resurrection of the dead; for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." For, according to this apostolical, divine, and perspicuous declaration, it is sufficiently plain that no one goes to death otherwise than through Adam, and that no one goes to life eternal otherwise than through Christ. For this is the force of all in the two parts of the sentence; as all men, by their first, that is, their natural birth, belong to Adam, even so all men, whoever they be, who come to Christ come to the second, that is, the spiritual birth. For this reason, therefore, the word all is used in both clauses, because as all who die do not die otherwise than in Adam, so all who shall be made alive shall not be made alive otherwise than in Christ. Wherefore whosoever tells us that any man can be made alive in the resurrection of the dead otherwise than in Christ, he is to be detested as a pestilent enemy to the common faith. Likewise, whosoever says that those children who depart out of this life without partaking of that sacrament shall be made alive in Christ, certainly contradicts the apostolic declaration, and condemns the universal Church, in which it is the practice to lose no time and run in haste to administer baptism to infant children, because it is believed, as an indubitable truth, that otherwise they cannot be made alive in Christ. Now he that is not made alive in Christ must necessarily remain under the condemnation, of which the apostle says, that "by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation."

That infants are born under the guilt of this offence is believed by the whole Church. It is also a doctrine which you have most faithfully set forth, both in your treatise against Jovinian and your exposition of Jonah, as I mentioned above, and, if I am not mistaken, in other parts of your works which I have not read or have at present forgotten. I therefore ask, what is the ground of this condemnation of unbaptized infants? For if new souls are made for men, individually, at their birth, I do not see, on the one hand, that they could have any sin while yet in infancy, nor do I believe, on the other hand, that God condemns any soul which He sees to have no sin.
Chap. viii. 22. Are we perchance to say, in answer to this, that in the infant the body alone is the cause of sin; but that for each body a new soul is made, and that if this

* 1 Cor. XV. 21, 22. 2 Rom. v. 18.

314 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTIN. [LET. CLXVI.

soul live according to the precepts of God, by the help of the grace of Christ, the reward of being made incorruptible may be secured for the body itself, when subdued and kept under the yoke; and that inasmuch as the soul of an infant cannot yet do this, unless it receive the sacrament of Christ, that which could not yet be obtained for the body by the holiness of the soul is obtained for it by the grace of this sacrament; but if the soul of an infant depart without the sacrament, it shall itself dwell in life eternal, from which it could not be separated, as it had no sin, while, however, the body which it occupied shall not rise again in Christ, because the sacrament had not been received before its death?

23. This opinion I have never heard or read anywhere. I have, however, certainly heard and believed the statement which led me to speak thus, namely, "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, into the resurrection of life," â€” the resurrection, namely, of which it is said that
"by one man came the resurrection of the dead," and in which
"all shall be made alive in Christ," â€” "and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation."^ Now, what is to be understood regarding infants which, before they could do good or evil, have quitted the body without baptism?
Nothing is said here concerning them. But if the bodies of these infants shall not rise again, because they have never done either good or evil, the bodies of the infants that have died after receiving the grace of baptism shall also have no resurrection, because they also were not in this life able to do good or evil. If, however, these are to rise among the saints, i.e. among those who have done good, among whom shall the others rise again but among those who have done evil â€” unless we are to believe that some human souls shall not receive, either in the resurrection of life, or in the resurrection of damnation, the bodies which they lost in death? This opinion, however, is condemned, even before it is formally refuted, by its absolute novelty; and besides this, who could bear to think that those who run with their infant children to have them baptized, are prompted to do so by a regard for

Â» Jolin V. 29.

LET. CLXVI.] TO JEROME. 315
their bodies, not for their souls? The blessed Cyprian, indeed, said, in order to correct those who thought that an infant should not be baptized before the eighth day, that it was not the body but the soul which behoved to be saved from perdition in which statement he was not inventing any new doctrine, but preserving the firmly established faith of the Church; and he, along with some of his colleagues in the episcopal office, held that a child may be properly baptized immediately after its birth.

24. Let every man, however, believe anything which commends itself to his own judgment, even though it run counter to some opinion of Cyprian, who may not have seen in the matter what should have been seen. But let no man believe anything which runs counter to the perfectly unambiguous apostolical declaration, that by the offence of one all are brought into condemnation, and that from this condemnation nothing sets men free but the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom alone life is given to all who are made alive. And let no man believe anything which runs counter to the firmly grounded practice of the Church, in which, if the sole reason for hastening the administration of baptism were to save the children, the dead as well as the living would be brought to be baptized.

25. These things being so, it is necessary still to investigate and to make known the reason why, if souls are created new for every individual at his birth, those who die in infancy without the sacrament of Christ are doomed to perdition; for that they are doomed to this if they so depart from the body is testified both by Holy Scripture and by the holy Church. Wherefore, as to that opinion of yours concerning the creation of new souls, if it does not contradict this firmly grounded article of faith, let it be mine also; but if it do not, let it be no longer yours.

26. Let it not be said to me that we ought to receive as supporting this opinion the words of Scripture in Zechariah, "He formeth the spirit of man within him," and in the book of Psalms, "He formeth their hearts severally." We must seek for the strongest and most indisputable proof, that we may not be compelled to believe that God is a judge who condemns any soul which has no fault. For to create signifies either as


Â» Ps. xxxiii. 15 (LXX.).

316 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVL

much or, probably, more than to form [fmcere]; nevertheless it is written, "Create in me a clean heart, God," and yet it cannot be supposed that a soul here expresses a desire to
be made before it has begun to exist. Therefore, as it is a soul already existing which is
created by being renewed in righteousness, so it is a soul already existing which is
formed by the moulding power of doctrine. Nor is your opinion, which I would willingly
make my own, supported by that sentence in Ecclesiastes, " Then shall the dust return to
the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return to God w^ho gave it." ^ Nay, it rather
favours those who think that all souls are derived from one; for they say that, as the dust
returns to the earth as it was, and yet the body of which this is said returns not to the man
from whom it was derived, but to the earth from which the first man was made, the spirit
in like manner, though derived from the spirit of the first man, does not return to him but
to the Lord, by whom it was given to our first parent. Since, however, the testimony of
this passage in their favour is not so decisive as to make it appear altogether opposed to
the opinion which I shall gladly see vindicated, I
thought proper to submit these remarks on it to your judg-
ment, to prevent you from endeavours to
deliver me from my perplexities by quoting passages such as these. For
although no man's wishes can make that true which is not true, nevertheless, were this
possible, I would wish that this opinion should be true, as I do wish that, if it is true, it
should be most clearly and unanswerably vindicated by you.

Chap. ix. 27. The same difficulty attends those also who hold that souls already existing
elsewhere, and prepared from the beginning of the works of God, are sent by Him into
bodies.
For to these persons also the same question may be put: If these souls, being without any
fault, go obediently to the bodies to which they are sent, why are they subjected to
punishment in the case of infants, if they come without being baptized to the end of this
life ? The same difficulty unquestionably attaches to both opinions. Those who affirm
that each soul is, according to the deserts of its actions in an earlier state of being, united
to the body allotted to it in this life, imagine
Ps. li. 10. 2Eccles. xil 7.

LET. CLXVI.] TO JEROME. 317

that they escape more easily from this difficulty. Tor they think that to " die in Adam"
means to suffer punishment in that flesh which is derived from Adam, from which
condition of guilt the grace of Christ, they say, delivers the young as well as the old. So
far, indeed, they teach w^hat is right, and true, and excellent, when they say that the gi-
ace of Christ delivers the young as well as the old from the guilt of sins.
But that souls sin in another earlier life, and that for their sins in that state of being they
are cast down into bodies as prisons, I do not believe: I reject and protest against such an
opinion. I do this, in the first place, because they affirm that this is accomplished by
means of some incomprehensible revolutions, so that after I know not how many cycles
the soul must return again to the same burden of corruptible flesh and to the endurance of
punishment, â€” than which opinion I do not know that anything more horrible could be
conceived. In the next place, who is the righteous man gone from the earth about whom
we should not (if what they say is true) feel afraid lest, sinning in Abraham's bosom, he
should be cast down into the flames which tormented the rich man in the parable? For why may the soul not sin after leaving the body, if it can sin before entering it? Finally, to have sinned in Adam (in regard to which the apostle says that in him all have sinned) is one thing, but it is a wholly different thing to have sinned, I know not where, outside of Adam, and then because of this to be thrust into Adam or that is, into the body, which is derived from Adam, as into a prison-house. As to the other opinion mentioned above, that all souls are derived from one, I will not begin to discuss it unless I am under necessity to do so; and my desire is, that if the opinion which we are now discussing is true, it may be so vindicated by you that there shall be no longer any necessity for examining the other.

28. Although, however, I desire and ask, and with fervent prayers wish and hope, that by you the Lord may remove my ignorance on this subject, if, after all, I am found unworthy to obtain this, I will beg the grace of patience from the Lord our God, in whom we have such faith, that even if there be some things which He does not open to us when we knock,


we know it would be wrong to murmur in the least against Him. I remember what He said to the apostles themselves:

"I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." Among these things, so far at least as I am concerned, let me still reckon this, and let me guard against being angry that I am deemed unworthy to possess this knowledge, lest by such anger I be all the more clearly proved to be unworthy. I am equally ignorant of many other things, yea, of more than I could name or even number; and of this I would be more patiently ignorant, were it not that I fear lest some one of these opinions, involving the contradiction of truth which we most assuredly believe, should insinuate itself into the minds of the unwary. Meanwhile, though I do not yet know which of these opinions is to be preferred, this one thing I profess as my deliberate conviction, that the opinion which is true does not conflict with that most firm and well grounded article in the faith of the Church of Christ, that infant children, even when they are newly born, can be delivered from perdition in no other way than through the grace of Christ's name, which He has siven in His sacraments.
Chap. i. 1. My brother Jerome, esteemed worthy to be honoured in Christ by me, when I wrote to you propounding this question concerning the human soul, â€” if a new soul be now created for each individual at birth, whence do souls contract the bond of guilt which we assuredly believe to be removed by the sacrament of the grace of Christ, when administered even to new-born children? â€” as the letter on that subject grew to the size of a considerable volume, I was unwilling to impose the burden of any other question at that time; but there is a subject which has a much stronger claim on my attention, as it presses more seriously on my mind. I therefore ask you, and in God's name beseech you, to do something which will, I believe,

* John xvi. 12.

2. For whereas in the question which I thought it necessary to submit to you concerning the soul, our inquiries were engaged with the investigation of a life wholly past and sunk out of sight in oblivion, in this question we study this present life, and how it must be spent if we would attain to eternal life. As an apt illustration of this remark let me quote an entertaining anecdote. A man had fallen into a well where the quantity of water was sufficient to break his fall and save him from death, but not deep enough to cover his mouth and deprive him of speech. Another man approached, and on seeing him cries out in surprise: "How did you fall in here?" He answers: "I beseech you to plan how you can get me out of this, rather than ask how I fell in." So, since we admit and hold as an article of the Catholic faith, that the soul of even a little infant requires to be delivered out of the guilt of sin, as out of a pit, by the grace of Christ, it is sufficient for the soul of such a one that we know the way in which it is saved, even though we should never know the way in which it came into that wretched condition. But I thought it our duty to inquire into this subject, lest we should incautiously hold any one of those opinions concerning the manner of the soul's becoming united with the body which might contradict the doctrine that the souls of little
children require to be delivered, by denying that they are subject to the bond of guilt. This, then, being very firmly held by us, that the soul of every infant needs to be freed from the guilt of sin, and can be freed in no other way except by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, if we can ascertain the cause and origin of the evil itself, we are better prepared and equipped for resisting adversaries whose empty talk I call not reasoning but quibbling; if, however, we cannot ascertain the cause, the fact

* Jas. ii. 10.

320 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVIL

that the origin of this misery is hid from us is no reason for our being slothful in the work which compassion demands from us. In our conflict, however, with those who appear to themselves to know what they do not know, we have an additional strength and safety in not being ignorant of our ignorance on this subject. For there are some things which it is evil not to know; there are other things which cannot be known, or are not necessary to be known, or have no bearing on the life which we seek to obtain; but the question which I now submit to you from the writings of the Apostle James is intimately connected with the course of conduct in which we live, and in which, with a view to life eternal, we endeavour to please God.

3. How, then, I beseech you, are we to understand the words: " Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all " ? Does this affirm that the person who shall have committed theft, nay, who even shall have said to the rich man, " Sit thou here," and to the poor man, " Stand thou there," is guilty of homicide, and adultery, and sacrilege ? And if he is not so, how can it be said that a person who has offended in one point has become guilty of all? Or are the things which the apostle said concerning the rich man and the poor man not to be reckoned among those things in one of which if any man offend he becomes guilty of all? But we must remember whence that sentence is taken, and what goes before it, and in what connection it occurs. " My brethren," he says, " have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. For if there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool: are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts? Hearken, my beloved brethren. Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which He hath promised to them that love Him? But ye have despised the poor," ^ â€” inasmuch as you have said to the poor man, " Stand thou

1 Jas. ii. 1-6.
there," when you would have said to a man with a gold ring, *' Sit thou here in a good place." And then there follows a passage explaining and enlarging upon that same conclusion:
" Do not rich men oppress you by their power, and draw you before the judgment-seats ? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called ? If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors." ^ See how the apostle calls those transgressors of the law who say to the rich man, " Sit here," and to the poor, " Stand there." See how, lest they should think it a trifling sin to transgress the law in this one thing, he goes on to add: " Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all. For He that said: Do not commit adultery, said also. Do not kill. Now if thou do not kill, yet, if thou commit adultery, thou art become a transgressor of the law," according to that which he had said: " Ye are convinced of the law as transgressors." Since these things are so, it seems to follow, unless it can be shown that we are to understand it in some other way, that he who says to the rich man, " Sit here," and to the poor, " Stand there," not treating the one with the same respect as the other, is to be judged guilty as an idolater, and a blasphemer, and an adulterer, and a murderer â€” in short, â€” not to enumerate all, which would be tedious, â€” as guilty of all crimes, since, " offending in one, he is guilty of all."

Chap. ii. 4. But has he who has one virtue all virtues ? and has he no virtues who lacks one ? If this be true, the sentence of the apostle is thereby confirmed. But what I desire is to have the sentence explained, not confirmed, since of itself it stands more sure in our esteem than all the authority of philosophers could make it. And even if what has just been said concerning virtues and vices were true, it would not follow that therefore all sins are equal. For as to the inseparable co-existence of the virtues, this is a doctrine in regard to which, if I remember rightly, what, indeed, I have almost forgotten (though perhaps I am mistaken), all

" Jas. ii. 6-9.
LET: IL ' X

322 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLX^T.

" philosophers who affirm that virtues are essential to the right conduct of life are agreed. The doctrine of the equality of sins, however, the Stoics alone dared to maintain in opposition to the unanimous sentiments of mankind: an absurd tenet, which in writing against Jovinianus (a Stoic in this opinion, but an Epicurean in following after and
defending pleasure) you have most clearly refuted from the Holy L Scriptures.\(^\_\) In that most delightful and noble dissertation you have made it abundantly plain that it has not been the doctrine of our authors, or rather of the Truth Himself, who has spoken through them, that all sins are equal.

I shall now do my utmost in endeavouring, with the help of God, to show how it can be that, although the doctrine of philosophers concerning virtues is true, we are nevertheless not compelled to admit the Stoics' doctrine that all sins are equal. If I succeed, I will look for your approbation, and in whatever respect I come short, I beg you to supply my deficiencies.

5. Those who maintain that he who has one virtue has all, and that he who lacks one lacks all, reason correctly from the fact that prudence cannot be cowardly, nor unjust, nor intemperate; for if it were any of these it would no longer be prudence. Moreover, if it be prudence only when it is brave, and just, and temperate, assuredly wherever it exists it must have the other virtues along with it. In like manner, also, courage cannot be imprudent, or intemperate, or unjust; temperance must of necessity be prudent, brave, and just; and justice does not exist unless it be prudent, brave, and temperate. Thus, wherever any one of these virtues truly exists, the others likewise exist; and where some are absent, that which may appear in some measure to resemble virtue is not really present.

6. There are, as you know, some vices opposed to virtues by a palpable contrast, as imprudence is the opposite of prudence. But there are some vices opposed to virtues simply because they are vices which, nevertheless, by a deceitful appearance resemble virtues; as, for example, in the relation, not of imprudence, but of craftiness to the said virtue.

Jerome, Contra Jovinianum\(^\_\) lib. ii.

LET. CLXVIL] to JEROME. 323

of prudence. I speak here of that craftiness\(^\_\) which is wont to be understood and spoken of in connection with the evil disposed, not in the sense in which the word is usually employed in our Scriptures, where it is often used in a good sense, as, " Be crafty as serpents," \(^^\^\) and again, " to give craftiness to the simple." \(^^\^\) It is true that among heathen writers one of the most accomplished of Latin authors, speaking of Catiline, has said: " Nor was there lacking on his part craftiness to guard against danger," \(^*\) using " craftiness " (astutia) in a good sense; but the use of the word in this sense is among them very rare, among us very common. So also in regard to the virtues classed under temperance. Extravagance is most manifestly opposite to the virtue of frugality; but that which the common people are wont to call niggardliness is indeed a vice, yet one which, not in its nature, but by a very deceitful similarity of appearance, usurps the name of frugality.
In the same manner injustice is by a palpable contrast opposed to justice; but the desire of avenging oneself is wont often to be a counterfeit of justice, but it is a vice. There is an obvious contrariety between courage and cowardice; but hardihood, though differing from courage in nature, deceives us by its resemblance to that virtue. Firmness is a part of virtue; fickleness is a vice far removed from and undoubtedly opposed to it; but obstinacy lays claim to the name of firmness, yet is wholly different, because firmness is a virtue, and obstinacy is a vice.

7. To avoid the necessity of again going over the same ground, let us take one case as an example, from which all others may be understood. Catiline, as those who have written concerning him had means of knowing, was capable of enduring cold, thirst, hunger, and patient in fastings, cold, and watchings beyond what any one could believe, and thus he appeared, both to himself and to his followers, a man endowed with great courage. But this courage was not prudent, for he chose the evil instead of the good; was not temperate, for his life was disgraced by the lowest dissipation; was not just, for he conspired against his country; and therefore it was not courage, but hardihood usurping the name of courage to deceive fools; for if it had been courage, it would not have been a vice but a virtue, and if it had been a virtue, it would never have been abandoned by the other virtues, its inseparable companions.

8. On this account, when it is asked also concerning vices, whether where one exists all in like manner exist, or where one does not exist none exist, it would be a difficult matter to show this, because two vices are wont to be opposed to one virtue, one that is evidently opposed, and another that bears an apparent likeness. Hence the hardihood of Catiline is the more easily seen not to have been courage, since it had not along with it other virtues; but it may be difficult to convince men that his hardihood was cowardice, since he was in the habit of enduring and patiently submitting to the severest hardships to a degree almost incredible. But perhaps, on examining the matter more closely, this hardihood itself is seen to be cowardice, because he shrunk from the toil of those liberal studies by which true courage

'Astutia. 2 Matt. x. 16. * Pro v. i. 4.

* Sallust, Dt Bello Catilinario. * Jbld.
is acquired. Nevertheless, as there are rash men who are not guilty of cowardice, and there are cowardly men who are not guilty of rashness, and since in both there is vice, for the truly brave man neither ventures rashly nor fears without reason, we are forced to admit that vices are more numerous than virtues.

9. Accordingly, it happens sometimes that one vice is supplanted by another, as the love of money by the love of praise. Occasionally, one vice quits the field that more may take its place, as in the case of the drunkard, who, after becoming temperate in the use of drink, may come under the power of niggardliness and ambition. It is possible, therefore, that vices may give place to vices, not to virtues, as their successors, and thus they are more numerous. When one virtue, however, has entered, there will infallibly be (since it brings all the other virtues along with it) a retreat of all vices whatsoever that were in the man; for all vices were not in him, but at one time so many, at another a greater or smaller number might occupy their place.

Chap. m. 10. We must inquire more carefully whether

LET. CLXVII.] TO JEROME. 325

these things are so; for the statement that "he who has one virtue has all, and that all virtues are wanting to him who lacks one," is not given by inspiration, but is the view held by many men, ingenious, indeed, and studious, but still men. But I must avow that, in the case â€” I shall not say of one of those from whose name the word virtue is said to be derived. But even of a woman who is faithful to her husband, and who is so from a regard to the commandments and promises of God, and, first of all, is faithful to Him, I do not know how I could say of her that she is unchaste, or that chastity is no virtue, or a trifling one. I should feel the same in regard to a husband who is faithful to his wife; and yet there are many such, none of whom I could affirm to be without any sins, and doubtless the sin which is in them, whatever it be, proceeds from some vice. Whence it follows that though conjugal fidelity in religious men and women is undoubtedly a virtue, for it is neither a nonentity nor a vice, yet it does not bring along with it all virtues, for if all virtues were there, there would be no vice, and if there were no vice there would be no sin; but where is the man who is altogether without sin? Where, therefore, is the man who is without any vice, that is, fuel or root, as it were, of sin, when he who reclined on the breast of the Lord says, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us"? It is not necessary for us to urge this at.^^

greater length in writing to you, but I make the statement for the sake of others who perhaps shall read this. For you, indeed, in that same splendid work against Jovinianus, have carefully proved this from the Holy Scriptures; in which work also you have quoted the words, "in many things- we all offend," from this very epistle in which occur the words whose meaning we are now investigating. For though it is an apostle of Christ who is speaking, he does not say, "ye offend," but, "we offend;" and although in the passage
under consideration he says, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all," * in the words just quoted he affirms that we offend not

^ Vinira a quo denominata dicitur virtus. ^ 1 John i. 8.

* Jas. iii. 2. â†Œ| Jas. ii. 10.

326 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVII.

in one thing but in many, and not that some offend but that we all offend.

\ 11. Far be it, however, from any believer to think that so many thousands of the servants of Christ, who, lest they should deceive themselves, and the truth should not be in them, sincerely confess themselves to have sin, are altogether without virtue! For wisdom is a great virtue, and wisdom herself has said to man, "Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom." ^ Far be it from us, then, to say that so many and so great believing and pious men have not the fear of the Lord, which the Greeks call eβα-εια, or more literally and fully, οεοο-ειεια. And what is the fear of the Lord but His worship? and whence is He truly worshipped except from love? Love, then, out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, is the great and true virtue, because it is "the end of the commandment." ^ Deservedly is love said to be "strong as death," ^ because, like death, it is vanquished by none; or because the measure of love in this life is even unto death, as the Lord says, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends;" ^ or, rather, because, as death forcibly separates the soul from the senses of the body, so love separates it from fleshly lusts. Knowledge, when it is of the right kind, is the handmaid to love, for without love "knowledge puffeth up," ^ but where love, by edifying, has filled the heart, there knowledge will find nothing empty which it can puff up. Moreover, Job has shown what is that useful knowledge by defining it where, after saying, "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom," he adds, "and to depart from evil, that is understanding." ^ Why do we not then say that the man who has this virtue has all virtues, since "love is the fulfilling of the law?" ^ Is it not true that, the more love exists in a man the more he is endowed with virtue, and the less love he has the less virtue is in him, for love is itself virtue; and the less virtue there is in a man so much the more vice will there be in him?

Therefore, where love is full and perfect, no vice will remain.

1 Job xxviii. 28, Sept. vcr. " 1 Tim. i. 5. ^ Song of Sol. viii. 6.


^ Rom. xiii. 10.
12. The Stoics, therefore, appear to me to be mistaken in refusing to admit that a man who is advancing in wisdom has any wisdom at all, and in affirming that he only has it who has become altogether perfect in wisdom. They do not, indeed, deny that he has made progress, but they say that he is in no degree entitled to be called wise, unless, by emerging, so to speak, from the depths, he suddenly springs forth into the free air of wisdom. For, as it matters not when a man is drowning whether the depth of water above him be many stadia or only the breadth of a hand or finger, so they say in regard to the progress of those who are advancing towards wisdom, that they are like men rising from the bottom of a whirlpool towards the air, but that unless they, by their progress, so escape as to emerge wholly from folly as from an overwhelming flood, they have not virtue and are not wise; but that, when they have so escaped, they immediately have wisdom in perfection, and not a vestige of folly whence any sin could be originated remains.

13. This simile, in which folly is compared to water and wisdom to air, so that the mind emerging, as it were, from the stifling influence of folly breathes suddenly the free air of wisdom, does not appear to me to harmonize sufficiently with the authoritative statement of our Scriptures; a better simile, so far, at least, as illustration of spiritual things can be borrowed from material things, is that which compares vice or folly to darkness, and virtue or wisdom to light. The way to wisdom is therefore not like that of a man rising from the water into the air, in which, in the moment of rising above the surface of the water, he suddenly breathes freely, but, like that of a man proceeding from darkness into light, on whom more light gradually shines as he advances. So long, therefore, as this is not fully accomplished, we speak of the man as of one going from the dark recesses of a vast cavern towards its entrance, who is more and more influenced by the proximity of the light as he comes nearer to the entrance of the cavern; so that whatever light he has proceeds from the light to which he is advancing, and whatever darkness still remains in him proceeds from the darkness out of which he is emerging. Therefore it is true that in the sight of God no man living be justified, and yet that the just shall live by his faith. On the one hand, the saints are clothed with righteousness; one more, another less; on the other hand, no one lives here wholly without sin; one sins more, another less, and the best is the man who sins least.

328 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. 

living be justified, and yet that the just shall live by his faith. On the one hand, the saints are clothed with righteousness; one more, another less; on the other hand, no one lives here wholly without sin; one sins more, another less, and the best is the man who sins least.

Chap. iv. 14. But why have I, as if forgetting to whom I address myself, assumed the tone of a teacher in stating the question regarding which I wish to be instructed by you? Nevertheless, as I had resolved to submit to your examination my opinion regarding the equality of sins (a subject involving a question closely bearing on the matter on which I was writing), let me now at last bring my statement to a conclusion. Even though it were
true that he who has one virtue has all virtues, and that he who lacks one virtue has none,
this would not involve the consequence that all sins are equal; for although it is true that
where there is no virtue there is nothing right, it by no means follows that among bad
actions one cannot be worse than another, or that divergence from that which is right does
not admit of degrees. I think, however, that it is more agreeable to truth and consistent
with the Holy Scriptures to say, that what is true of the members of the body is true of the
different dispositions of the soul (which, though not seen occupying different places, are
by their distinctive workings perceived as plainly as the members of the body), namely,
that as in the same body one member is more fully shone upon by the light, another is
less shone upon, and a third is altogether without light and remains in the dark under
some impervious covering, something similar takes place in regard to the various
dispositions of the soul.

If this be so, then according to the manner in which every man is shone upon by the light
of holy love, he may be said to have one virtue and to lack another virtue, or to have one
virtue in larger and another in smaller measure. For in reference to that love which is the
fear of God, we may correctly say both that it is greater in one man than in another, and
that there is some of it in one man and none of it in another; we may also correctly say as
to an individual that he has greater chastity than patience, and that he has either virtue in
a higher degree than he had yesterday, if lie is making progress,

1 Ps. cxliii. 2, 2 Uj^ jj^ 4^ s Jq^ ^xi.x. 14.

LET. CLXVII.] TO JEROME. 329

or that he still lacks self-control, but possesses, at the same; time, a large measure of
compassion. _j

15. To sum up generally and briefly the view which, so far as relates to holy living, I
entertain concerning virtue, â€” virtue is the love with which that which ought to be loved
is loved.

This is in some greater, in others less, and there are men in whom it does not exist at all;
but in the absolute fulness which admits of no increase, it exists in no man while living
on this earth; so long, however, as it admits of being increased there can be no doubt that,
in as far as it is less than it ought to be, the shortcoming proceeds from vice. Because of
this vice there is "not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not;" ^ because
of this vice, " in God's sight shall no man living be justified."^ On account of this vice, "
if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."^ On
account of this also, whatever progress we may have made, we must say, " Forgive us our
debts,"^ although all debts in word, deed, and thought were washed away in baptism. He,
then, who sees aright, sees whence, and when, and where he must hope for that perfection
to which nothing can be added. Moreover, if there had been no commandments, there
would have been no means whereby a man might certainly examine himself and see from
what things he ought to turn aside, whither he should aspire, and in what things he should
find occasion for thanksgiving or for prayer. Great, therefore, is the benefit of
commandments, if to free will so much liberty be granted that the grace of God may be more abundantly honoured.

Chap. v. 16. If these things be so, how shall a man who shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, be guilty of all ? May it not be, that since the fulfilling of the law is that love wherewith we love God and our neighbour, on which commandments of love " hang all the law and the prophets," he is justly held to be guilty of all who violates that on which all hang ? Now, no one sins without violating this love; for this, thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not covet;

^ Eccles. V. 7. 2 pg cxliii. 2. 3 1 John i. 8.


^ â€” â€”

330 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVIL

and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." No one, however, loves his neighbour who does not out of his love to God do all in his power to bring his neighbour also, whom he loves as himself, to love God, whom if he does not love, he neither loves himself nor his neighbour. Hence it is true that if a man shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he becomes guilty of all, because he does what is contrary to that love on which hangs the whole law. A man, therefore, becomes guilty of all by doing what is contrary to that on which all hang:

r 17. Why, then, may not all sins be said to be equal ? J May not the reason be, that the transgression of the law of / love is greater in him who commits a more grievous sin, and J is less in him who commits a less grievous sin ? And in the mere fact of his committing any sin whatever, he becomes guilty of all; but in committing a more grievous sin, or in sinning in more respects than one, he becomes more guilty; committing a less grievous sin, or sinning in fewer respects, he becomes less guilty, â€” his guilt being thus so much the greater the more he has sinned, the less the less he has sinned.

( Nevertheless, even though it be only in one point that he <; offend, he is guilty of all, because he violates that love on I which all hang. If these things be true, an explanation is by this means found, clearing up that saying of the man of apostolic grace, " In many things we offend all." ^ For we all offend, but one more grievously, another more slightly, according as each may have committed a more grievous or a less grievous sin; every one being great in the practice of sin in proportion as he is deficient in loving God and his neighbour, and, on the other hand, decreasing in
the practice of sin in proportion as he increases in the love of God and of his neighbour. 
The more, therefore, that a man is deficient in love, the more is he full of sin. And 
perfection in love is reached when nothing of sinful infirmity remains in us.

' Rom. xiil 9, 10. ^ Jas. iii. 2.

LET. CLXTIL] TO JEROME. 331

18. Xor, indeed, in my opinion, are we to esteem it a triflini: sin " to have the faith of our 
Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons," if we take the difference between sitting and 
standing, of which mention is made in the context, to refer to ecclesiastical honours; for 
who can bear to see a rich man chosen to a place of honour in the Church, while a poor 
man, of superior qualifications and of greater holiness, is despised ?
If, however, the apostle speaks there of our daily assemblies, who does not offend in the 
matter ? At the same time, only those really offend here who cherish in their hearts the 
opinion that a man's worth is to be estimated according to his wealth; for this seems to be 
the meaning of the expression, " Are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become 
judges of evil thoughts ? "

19. The law of liberty, therefore, the law of love, is that of which he says: " If ye fulfil the 
royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well: 
but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as 
transgressors." ^ And then (after the difficult sentence, " Whosoever shall keep the whole 
law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all," concerning which I have with 
sufficient fulness stated my opinion), making mention of the same law of liberty, he says: 
" So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty." And as he 
knew by experience what he had said a little before, 
" in many things we offend all," he suggests a sovereign remedy, to be applied, as it were 
day by day, to those less serious but real wounds which the soul suffers day by day, for 
he says: " He shaU have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy." ^ For with 
the same purpose the Lord says: " Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven: give,

and it shall be given unto you." ^ After which the apostle says: " But mercy rejoiceth over 
judgment: " it is not said that mercy prevails over judgment, for it is not an adversary of 
judgment, but it "rejoiceth" over judgment, because a greater number are gathered in by 
mercy; but they are those who have shown mercy, for, " Blessed are the merciful, for God 
shall have mercy on them."*

332 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXVIL
20. It is, therefore, by all means just that they be forgiven, because they have forgiven others, and that what they need be given to them, because they have given to others. For God uses mercy when He judge th, and uses judgment when He showeth mercy. Hence the Psalmist says: "I will sing of mercy and of judgment unto Thee, Lord." ^ For if any man, thinking himself too righteous to require mercy, presumes, as if he had no reason for anxiety, to wait for judgment without mercy, he provokes that most righteous indignation through fear of which the Psalmist said: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant." ^ For this reason the Lord says to a disobedient people: "Wherefore will ye contend with me in judgment?" ^ For when the righteous King shall sit upon His throne, who shall boast that he has a pure heart, or who shall boast that he is clean from sin? What hope is there then unless mercy shall "rejoice over" judgment? But this it will do only in the case of those who have showed mercy, saying with sincerity, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," and who have given without murmuring, for "the Lord loveth a cheerful giver."* To conclude, St. James is led to speak thus concerning works of mercy in this passage, in order that he may console those whom the statements immediately foregoing might have greatly alarmed, his purpose being to admonish us how those daily sins from which our life is never free here below may also be expiated by daily remedies; lest any man, becoming guilty of all when he offends in even one point, be brought, by offending in many points (since "in many things we all offend"), to appear before the bar of the Supreme Judge under the enormous amount of guilt which has accumulated by degrees, and find at that tribunal no mercy, because he showed no mercy to others, instead of rather meriting the forgiveness of his own sins, and the enjoyment of the gifts promised in Scripture, by his extending forgiveness and bounty to others.

21. I have written at great length, which may perhaps have been tedious to you, as you, although approving of the statements now made, do not expect to be addressed as if you were but learning truths which you have been accustomed to teach to others. If, however, there be anything in these statements â€” not in the style of language in which they are expounded, for I am not much concerned as to mere phrases, but in the substance of the statements â€” which your erudite judgment condemns, I beseech you to point this out to me in your reply, and do not hesitate to correct my error. For I pity the man who, in view of the unwearied labour and sacred character of your studies, does not on account of them both render to you the honour which you deserve, and give thanks unto our Lord God by whose grace you are what you are. Wherefore, since I ought to be more willing to learn from any teacher the things of which to my disadvantage I am ignorant, than prompt to teach any others what I know, with how much greater reason do I claim the payment of this debt of love from you, by

Â» Ps. ci. 1. 2 ps. cxliii. 2. * Jer. ii. 28, LXX. * 2 Cor. ix. 7.
whose learning ecclesiastical literature in the Latin tongue has been, in the Lord's name, and by His help, advanced to an extent which had been previously unattainable. Especially, however, I ask attention to the sentence: "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and offend in one point, is guilty of all." If you know any better way, my beloved brother, in which it can be explained, I beseech you by the Lord to favour us by communicating to us your exposition.

LETTEE CLXIX.

(A.D. 415.)
BISHOP AUGUSTINE TO BISHOP EVODIUS.

Chap. i. 1. If acquaintance with the treatises which specially occupy me, and from which I am unwilling to be turned aside to anything else, is so highly valued by your Holiness, let some one be sent to copy them for you. For I have now finished several of those which had been commenced by me this year before Easter, near the beginning of Lent. For, to the three books on the City of God, in opposition to its enemies, the worshippers of demons, I have added two others, and in these five books I think enough has been said to answer those who maintain that the [heathen] gods must be worshipped in order to secure prosperity in this present life, and who are hostile to the Christian name from an idea that that prosperity is hindered by us. In the sequel I must, as I promised in the first book, answer those who think that the worship of their gods is the only way to obtain that life after death with a view to obtain which we are Christians. I have dictated also, in volumes of considerable size, expositions of three Psalms, the 68th, the 72d, and the 78th. Commentaries on the other Psalms â€” not yet dictated, nor even entered on â€” are eagerly expected and demanded from me. From these studies I am unwilling to be called away and hindered by any questions thrusting themselves upon me from another quarter; yea, so unwilling, that I do not wish to turn at present even to the books on the Trinity, which I have long had on hand and have not yet
completed, because they require a great amount of labour, and I believe that they are of a
nature to be understood only by few; on which account they claim my attention less
urgently than writings which may, I hope, be useful to very many.

2. For the words, "He that is ignorant shall be ignored,"^ were not used by the apostle in reference to this subject, as your letter affirms; as if this
punishment were to be inflicted on the man who is not able to discern by the exercise of
his intellect the ineffable unity of the Trinity, in the same way as the unity of memory,
understanding, and will in the soul of man is discerned. The apostle said these words with
a wholly different design. Consult the passage and you will see that he was speaking of
those things which might be for the edification of the many in faith and holiness, not of
those which might with difficulty be comprehended by the few, and by them only in the
small degree in which the comprehension of so great a subject is attainable in this life.
The positions laid down by him were, â€” that prophesying was to be preferred to
speaking with tongues; that these gifts should not be exercised in a disorderly manner, as
if the spirit of prophecy compelled them to speak even against their will; that women
should keep silence in the Church; and that all things should be done decently and in
order. While treating of these things

* De Civitate Del, lib. I, ch. xxxvi., vol. i. p. 47.
Â« 1 Cor. xiv. 38.

LET. CLXIX.] TO EVODIUS. 335

he says: "If any man think himseK to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him know the things
which I write to you, for they are the commands of the Lord. If any man be ignorant, he
shall be ignored;" intending by these words to restrain and call to order persons who were
specially ready to cause disorder in the Church, because they imagined themselves to
excel in spiritual gifts, although they were disturbing everything by their presumptuous
conduct. " If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him know," he says, "
the things which I write to you, for they are the commands of the Lord." If any man thinks himself to be, and in reality is not, a prophet, for he who is a prophet
undoubtedly knows and does not need admonition and exhortation, because "he judgeth
all things, and is himself judged of no man."'" Those persons, therefore, caused
confusion and trouble in the Church who thought themselves to be in the Church what
they were not. He teaches these to know the commandments of the Lord, for He is not a " God of
confusion, but of peace." Â But " if any one is ignorant, he shall be ignored," that is to
say, he shall be rejected; for God is not ignorant â€” so far as mere knowledge is
concerned â€” in regard to the persons to whom He shall one day say, "I know you not,"^ but their rejection is signified by this expression.

3. Moreover, since the Lord says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,"^ and that sight is promised to us as the highest reward at the last, we have no reason to fear
lest, if we are now unable to see clearly those things which we believe concerning the nature of God, this defective apprehension should bring us under the sentence, "He that is ignorant shall be ignored." For when "in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save those who believed." This foolishness of preaching and "foolishness of God which is wiser than man"^ draws many to salvation, in such a way that not only those who are as yet incapable of perceiving with clear intelligence the nature of God which in faith they hold, but even those who have not yet so learned the nature of their own soul

Â» 1 Cor. ii. 15. M Cor. xiv. 33. 3 Lu^g xiii. 27.

* Matt. V. 8. * 1 Cor. i. 21, 25.

336 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIX.

as to distinguish between its incorporeal essence and the body as a whole with the same certainty with which they perceive that they live, understand, and will, are not on this account shut out from that salvation which that foolishness of preaching bestows on believers.

4. For if Christ died for those only who with clear intelligence can discern these things, our labour in the Church is almost spent in vain. But if, as is the fact, crowds of common people, possessing no great strength of intellect, run to the Physician in the exercise of faith, with the result of being healed by Christ and Him crucified, that "where sin has abounded, grace may much more abound," ^ it comes in wondrous ways to pass, through the depths of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God and His unsearchable judgments, that, on the one hand, some who do discern between the material and the spiritual in their own nature, while pluming themselves on this attainment, and despising that foolishness of preaching by which those who believe are saved, wander far from the only path which leads to eternal life; and, on the other hand, because not one perishes for whom Christ died,^ many glorying in the cross of Christ, and not withdrawing from that same path, attain, notwithstanding their ignorance of those things which some with most profound subtlety investigate, "unto that eternity, truth, and love, â€” that is, unto that enduring, clear, and full felicity, â€” in which to those who abide, and see, and love, all things are plain.

Chap, il 5. Therefore let us with steadfast piety believe in one God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; let us at the same time believe that the Son is not [the person] who is the Father, and the Father is not [the person] who is the Son, and neither the Father nor the Son is [the person]
who is the Spirit of both the Father and the Son. Let it not be supposed that in this Trinity there is any separation in respect of time or place, but that these Three are equal and co-eternal, and absolutely of one nature; and that the creatures have been made, not some by
tlie Father, and some by the Son, and some by the Holy Spirit, but tliat each and all that
have been or are now being created susist in tlie Trinity as

1 Rom. V. 20. ' John xvii. 12.

LET. CLXTX.] TO EVODIUS. 337

their Creator; and that no one is saved by the Father without the Son and the Holy Spirit,
or by the Son without the Father and the Holy Spirit, or by the Holy Spirit without the
Father and the Son, â€” but by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the only one, true,
and truly immortal (that is, absolutely unchangeable) God. At the same time, we believe
that many things are stated in Scripture separately concerning each of the Three, in order
to teach us that, though they are an inseparable Trinity, yet they are a Trinity. For, just as
when their names are pronounced in human language they cannot be named
simultaneously, although their existence in inseparable union is at every moment
simultaneous, even so in some places of Scripture also, they are by certain created things
presented to us distinctly and in mutual relation to each other: for example, [at the
baptism of Christ] the Father is heard in the voice which said, "Thou art my Son;" the
Son is seen in the human nature which, in being born of the Virgin, He assumed; the
Holy Spirit is seen in the bodily form of a dove;â€” these things presenting the Three to
our apprehension separately, indeed, but in no wise separated.

6. To present this in a form which the intellect may apprehend, we borrow an illustration
from the Memory, the Understanding, and the Will For although we can speak of each of
these faculties severally in its own order, and at a separate time, we neither exercise nor
even mention any one of them without the other two. It must not, however, be supposed,
from our using this comparison between these three faculties and the Trinity, that the
things compared agree in every particular, for where, in any process of reasoning, can we
find an illustration in which the correspondence between the things compared is so exact
that it admits of application in every point to that which it is intended to illustrate ? In the
first place, therefore, the similarity is found to be imperfect in this respect, that whereas
memory, understanding, and will are not the soul, but only exist in the soul, the Trinity
does not exist in God, but is God. In the Trinity, therefore, there is manifested a
singleness [simplicitas] commanding our astonishment, be-

' Luke iii. 22.

LETT. IL Y

338 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIX.
cause in this Trinity it is not one thing to exist, and another thing to understand, or do anything else which is attributed to the nature of God; but in the soul it is one thing that it exists, and another thing that it understands, for even when it is not using the understanding it still exists. In the second place, who would dare to say that the Father does not understand by Himself but by the Son, as memory does not understand by itself but by the understanding, or, to speak more correctly, the soul in which these faculties are understands by no other faculty than by the understanding, as it remembers only by memory, and exercises volition only by the will?

The point, therefore, to which the illustration is intended to apply is this, â€“ that, whatever be the manner in which we understand, in regard to these three faculties in the soul, that when the several names by which they are severally represented are uttered, the utterance of each separate name is nevertheless accomplished only in the combined operation of all the three, since it is by an act of memory and of understanding and of will that it is spoken, â€“ it is in the same manner that we understand, in regard to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that no created thing which may at any time be employed to present only one of the Three to our minds is produced otherwise than by the simultaneous, because essentially inseparable, operation of the Trinity; and that, consequently, neither the voice of the Father, nor the body and soul of the Son, nor the dove of the Holy Spirit, was produced in any other way than by the combined operation of the Trinity.

7. Moreover, that sound of a voice was certainly not made indissolubly one with the person of the Father, for so soon as it was uttered it ceased to be. Neither was that form of a dove made indissolubly one with the person of the Holy Spirit, for it also, like the bright cloud which covered the Saviour and His three disciples on the mount,^ or rather like the tongues of flame which once represented the same Holy Spirit, ceased to exist as soon as it had served its purpose as a symbol.

But it was otherwise with the body and soul in which the Son of God was manifested: seeing that the deliverance of

^ ]\latt. xvii. 5.

LET. CLXIX.] TO EVODIUS. 339

men Avas the object for which all these things were done, the human nature in which He appeared was, in a w^ay marvellous and unique, assumed into real union with the person of the Word of God, that is, of the only Son of God, â€“ the Word remaining unchangeably in His own nature, wherein it is not conceivable that there should be composite elements in union with which any mere semblance of a human soul could subsist. We read, indeed, that " the Spirit of wisdom is manifold; " ^ but it is also properly termed simple. Manifold it is, indeed, because there are many things which it possesses; but simple, because it is not a different thing from what it possesses, as the Son is said to have life in Himself, and yet He is Himself that life.
The human nature came to the Word; the Word did not come, with susceptibility of change, into the human nature; and therefore, in His union to the human nature which He has assumed. He is still properly called the Son of God; for which reason the same person is the Son of God immutable and coeternal with the Father, and the Son of God who was laid in the grave, the former being true of Him only as the Word, the latter true of Him only as a man.

8. Wherefore it behoves us, in reading any statements made concerning the Son of God, to observe in reference to which of these two natures they are spoken. For by His assumption of the soul and body of a man, no increase was made in the number of Persons: the Trinity remained as before. For just as in every man, with the exception of that one whom alone He assumed into personal union, the soul and body constitute one person, so in Christ the Word and His human soul and body constitute one person. And as the name philosopher, for example, is given to a man certainly with reference only to his soul, and yet it is nothing absurd, but only a most suitable and ordinary use of language, for us to say the philosopher was killed, the philosopher died, the philosopher was buried, although all these events befell him in his body, not in that part of him in which he was a philosopher; in like manner the name God, or Son of God, or Lord of Glory, or any other such name, is given to Christ as

\[\text{Wisd. vii. 22.}\]

\[2 \text{ Homo autem Verbo accessit, nou Verbum in homineni coeivitibiliter accessit.}\]

the Word, and it is, nevertheless, correct to say that God was crucified, seeing that there is no question that He suffered this death in His human nature, not in that in which He is the Lord of Glory.

9. As for the sound of the voice, however, and the bodily form of a dove, and the cloven tongues which sat upon each of them, these, like the terrible wonders wrought at Sinai, and like the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, were produced only as symbols, and vanished when this purpose had been served. The thing which we must especially guard against in connection with them is, lest any one should believe that the nature of God whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit is susceptible of change or transformation. And we must not be disturbed by the fact that the sign sometimes receives the name of the thing signified, as when the Holy Spirit is said to have descended in a bodily form as a dove and abode upon Him; for in like manner the smitten rock is called Christ, because it was a symbol of Christ.
Chap. hi. 10. I wonder, however, that, although you believe it possible for the sound of 
the voice which said, "Thou art my Son," to have been produced through a divine act, 
without the intermediate agency of a soul, by something the nature of which was 
corporeal, you nevertheless do not believe that a bodily form and movements exactly 
resembling those of any real living creature whatsoever could be produced in the same 
way, namely, through a divine act, without the intermediate agency of a spirit imparting 
life. For if inanimate matter obeys God without the instrumentality of an animating spirit, 
so as to emit sounds such as are wont to be emitted by animated bodies, in order to bring 
to the human ear words articulately spoken, why should it not obey Him, so as to present 
to the human eye the figure and motions of a bird, by the same power of the Creator 
without the instrumentality of any animating spirit? The objects of both sight and hearing 
â€” 
the sound which strikes the ear and the appearance which meets the eye, the oscillations 
of the voice and the outlines of the members, every audible and visible motion â€” are 
both
1 1 Cor. ii. 8. ^ Ex. xix. 18. Â» Ex. >iii. 21. < 1 Cor. x. 4.

LET. CLXIX.] TO EVODIUS. 341 

alike produced from matter contiguous to us; is it, then, granted to the sense of hearing, 
and not to the sense of sight, to tell us regarding the body which is perceived by this 
bodily sense, both that it is a true body, and that it is nothing beyond what the bodily 
sense perceives it to be? For in every living creature the soul is, of course, not perceived 
by any bodily sense. We do not, therefore, need to inquire how the bodily form of the 
dove appeared to the eye, just as we do not need to inquire how the voice of a bodily 
form capable of speech was made to fall upon the ear. For if it was possible to dispense 
with the intermediate agency of a soul in the case in which a voice, not something like a 
voice, is said to have been produced, how much more easily was it possible in the case in 
which it is said that the Spirit descended "like a dove," a phrase which signifies that a 
mere bodily form was exhibited to the eye, and does not affirm that a real living creature 
was seen! In like manner, it is said that on the day of Pentecost, "suddenly there came a 
sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind, and there appeared to them cloven 
tongues like as of fire," ^ in which something like wind and like fire, i.e. resembling these 
common and familiar natural phenomena, is said to have been perceived, but it does not 
seem to be indicated that these common and familiar natural phenomena were actually 
produced.

11. If, however, more subtle reasoning or more thorough \ 
investigation of the matter result in demonstrating that that which is naturally destitute 
of motion both in time and in space [i.e. matter] cannot be moved otherwise than through 
the intermediate agency of that which is capable of motion only in time, not in space [i.e. 
spirit], it will follow from this that all those things must have been done by the
instrumentality of a living creature, as things are done by angels, on which subject a more elaborate discussion would be tedious, and is not necessary. To this it must be added, that there are visions which appear to the spirit as plainly as to the senses of the body, not only in sleep or delirium, but also to persons of sound mind in their waking hours, â€” visions which are due not to the deceitfulness of devils mocking men, but to some

^ Acts ii. 2, 3.

342 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXIX.

I spiritual revelation accomplished by means of immaterial forms resembling bodies, and which cannot by any means be distinguished from real objects, unless they are by divine assistance more fully revealed and discriminated by the mind's intelligence, which is done sometimes (but with difficulty) at the time, but for the most part after they have disappeared. This being the case in regard to these visions which, whether their nature be really material, or material only in appearance but really spiritual, seem to manifest themselves to our spirit as if they were perceived by the bodily senses, we ought not, when these things are recorded in sacred Scripture, to conclude hastily to which of these two classes they are to be referred, or whether, if they belong to the former, they are produced by the intermediate agency of a spirit; while, at the same time, as to the invisible and immutable nature of the Creator, that is, of the supreme and ineffable Trinity, we either simply, without any doubt, believe, or, in addition to this, with some degree of intellectual apprehension, understand that it is wholly removed and separated both from the senses of fleshly mortals, and from all susceptibility of being changed either for the worse or for the better, or to anything whatever of a variable nature.

Chap. iv. 12. These things I send you in reference to two of your questions, â€” the one concerning the Trinity, and the other concerning the dove in which the Holy Spirit, not in His own nature, but in a symbolical form, was manifested, as also the Son of God, not in His eternal Sonship (of which the Father said: "Before the morning star I have begotten Thee"^), but in that human nature which He assumed from the Virgin's womb, was crucified by the Jews: observe that to you who are at leisure I have been able, notwithstanding immense pressure of business, to write so much. I have not, however, deemed it necessary to discuss everything which you have brought forward in your letter; but on these two questions which you wished me to solve, I think I have written as much as is exacted by Christian charity, though I may not have satisfied your vehement desire.

13. Besides the two books added to the first three in the

^ Ts. ex. 3, LXX.
City of God, and the exposition of three psalms, as above mentioned/ I have also written a treatise to the holy presbyter Jerome concerning the origin of the soul/ asking him, in regard to the opinion which, in writing to Marcellinus of pious memory, he avowed as his own, that a new soul is made for each individual at birth, how this can be maintained without overthrowing that most surely established article of the Church's faith, according to which we firmly believe that all die in Adam, and are brought down under condemnation unless they be delivered by the grace of Christ, which, by means of His sacrament, works even in infants. I have, moreover, written to the same person to inquire his opinion as to the sense in which the words of James, " Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all," are to be understood.* In this letter I have also stated my own opinion: in the other, concerning the origin of the soul, I have only asked what was his opinion, submitting the matter to his judgment, and at the same time discussing it to some extent. I these to Jerome because I did not wish to lose an opportunity of correspondence afforded by a certain very pious and studious young presbyter, Orosius, who, prompted only by burning zeal in regard to the Holy Scriptures, came to us from the remotest part of Spain, namely, from the shore of the ocean, and whom I persuaded to go on [from us to Jerome. In answer to certain questions of the same Orosius, as to things which troubled him in reference to the [heresy of the Priscillianists, and some opinions of Origen which the Church has not accepted, I have written a treatise of moderate size with as much brevity and clearness as was in my power. I have also written a considerable book against the heresy of Pelagius, being constrained to do this by some brethren whom he had persuaded to adopt his fatal error, denying the grace of Christ. If you wish to have all these, 

* Par. 1, p. 334. ^ Letter CLXVI. 

^ The work on Nature and Grace addressed to Timasius and Jacobus ã€” translated in the fourth volume of this series, Antipelatjian Writings, i. 233.
TO AUGUSTINE, MY TRULY PIOUS LORD AND FATHER, WORTHY OF MY UTMOST AFFECTION AND VENERATION, JEROME SENDS GREETING IN CHRIST.

1. That honourable man, my brother, and your Excellency's son, the presbyter Orosius, I have, both on his own account and in obedience to your request, made welcome. But a most trying time has come upon us, in which I have found it better for me to hold my peace than to speak, so that our studies have ceased, lest what Appius calls "the eloquence of dogs" should be provoked into exercise. For this reason I have not been able at the present time to give to those two books dedicated to my name—books of profound erudition, and brilliant with every charm of splendid eloquence—the answer which I would otherwise have given; not that I think anything said in them demands correction, but because I am mindful of the words of the blessed apostle in regard to the variety of men's judgments, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Certainly, whatever can be said on the topics there discussed, and whatever can be drawn by commanding genius from the fountain of sacred Scripture regarding them, has been in these letters stated in your positions, and illustrated by your arguments. But I beg your Eeverence to allow me for a little to praise your genius. For in any discussion between us, the

* The allusion is probably to the acquittal of Pelagius in 415 by the Council of Diospolis (or Lydda, a place between Joppa and Jerusalem). Augustine viewed this Council's decisions more favourably than Jerome, who denounces it without measure as a pitiful assembly, which allowed itself to be imposed upon by the evasions and feigned recantation of Pelagius; to this he makes reference in the concluding sentence of this paragraph.

2 We adopt here the reading found in Letter CCII. his, sec, 3, where this sentence is quoted by Augustine in writing to Optatus, and we have "ne (instead of et) juxta Appium canina facundia exerceretur." On the phrase "canina facundia," see Lactantius, book vi. ch. 18.

3 lom. xiv. 5. Translated by Jerome: "Unusquisque in suo seusu abundct."

LET. CLXXIL] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 345

object aimed at by both of us is advaucenient in learning. But our rivals, and especially heretics, if they see different opinions maintained by us, will assail us with the calumny that our differences are due to mutual jealousy. For my part, however, I am resolved to love you, to look up to you, to reverence and admire you, and to defend your opinions as my own. I have also in a dialogue, which I recently published, made allusion to your Blessedness in suitable terms.
Be it ours, therefore, rather to rid the Church of that most pernicious heresy which always feigns repentance, in order that it may have liberty to teach in our churches, and may not be expelled and extinguished, as it w^ould be if it disclosed its real character in the light of day.

2. Your pious and venerable daughters, Eustochium and Paula, continue to w^alk worthy of their own birth and of your counsels, and they send special salutations to your Blessedness: in which they are joined by the whole brotherhood of those who with us labour to serve the Lord our Saviour. As for the holy presbyter Firmus, we sent him last year to go on business of Eustochium and Paula, first to Eavenna, and afterwards to Africa and Sicily, and we suppose that he is now detained somewhere in Africa. I beseech you to present my respectful salutations to the saints who are associated with you. I have also sent to your care a letter from me to the holy presbyter Eirmus; if it reaches you, I beg you to take the trouble of forwarding it to him. May Christ the Lord keep you in safety, and mindful of me, my truly pious lord and most blessed father.

(As a ]oostscript) We suffer in this province from a grievous scarcity of clerks acquainted with the Latin language; this is the reason why we are not able to comply with your instructions, especially in regard to that version of the Septuagint which is furnished with distinctive asterisks and obelisks; for we have lost, through some one's dishonesty, the most of the results of our earlier labour.

1 Jerome i)robably alludes here to Augustine's req^uest iu Letter LXXL sec. 3, 4; Letters, vol i. pp. 201, 2G2.
to destruction. For what did we order beyond this, that you should be arrested, brought before the authorities, and guarded, in order to prevent you from perishing? As to your having sustained bodily injury, you have yourself to blame for this, as you would not use the horse which was immediately brought to you, and then dashed yourself violently to the ground; for, as you well know, your companion, who was brought along with you, arrived uninjured, not having done any harm to himself as you did.

2. You think, however, that even what we have done to you should not have been done, because, in your opinion, no man should be compelled to that which is good. Mark, therefore, the words of the apostle: "If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work," and yet, in order to make the office of a bishop be accepted by many men, they are seized against their will, subjected to importunate persuasion, shut up and detained in custody, and made to suffer so many things which they dislike, until a willingness to undertake the good work is found in them. How much more, then, is it fitting that you should be drawn forcibly away from a pernicious error, in which you are enemies to your own souls, and brought to acquaint yourselves with the truth, or to choose it when known, not only in order to your holding in a safe and advantageous way the honour belonging to your office, but

^ An example is fumislied in the case of Castorius, Letter LXIX.; Letters^ vol i. p. 259.

LET. CLXXIII.] TO DONATUS. 847

also in order to preserve you from perishing miserably! You say that God has given us free will, and that therefore no man should be compelled even to good. Why, then, are those whom I have above referred to compelled to that which is good? Take heed, therefore, to something which you do not wish to consider. The aim towards which a good will compassionately — devotes its efforts is to secure that a bad will be rightly directed. For who does not know that a man is not condemned on any other ground than because his bad will deserved it, and that no man is saved who has not a good will? Nevertheless, it does not follow from this that those who are loved should be cruelly left to yield themselves with imprumity to their bad will; but in so far as power is given, they ought to be both prevented from evil and compelled to good.

3. For if a bad will ought to be always left to its own freedom, why were the disobedient and murmuring Israelites restrained from evil by such severe chastisements, and compelled to come into the land of promise? If a bad will ought always to be left to its own freedom, why was Paul not left to the free use of that most perverted will with which he persecuted the Church? Why was he thrown to the ground that he might be blinded, and struck blind that he might be changed, and changed that he might be sent as an apostle, and sent that he might suffer for the truth's sake such wrongs as he had inflicted on others when he was in error? If a bad will ought always to be left to its own freedom, why is a father instructed in Holy Scripture not only to correct an obstinate son by words
of rebuke, but also to beat his sides, in order that, being compelled and subdued, he may be guided to good conduct. For which reason Solomon also says: "Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell." If a bad will ought always to be left to its own freedom, why are negligent pastors reproved? and why is it said to them, "Ye have not brought back the wandering sheep, ye have not sought the perishing"? You also are sheep belonging to Christ, you bear the Lord's mark in the sacrament which you have received, but you are wandering and perishing. Let us not, therefore, incur your displeasure.


343 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXII]

because we bring back the wandering and seek the perishing; for it is better for us to obey the will of the Lord, who charges us to compel you to return to His fold, than to yield consent to the will of the wandering sheep, so as to leave you to perish. Say not, therefore, what I hear that you are constantly saying, "I wish thus to wander, I wish thus to perish; for it is better that we should so far as is in our power absolutely refuse to allow you to wander and perish.

4. When you threw yourself the other day into a well, in order to bring death upon yourself, you did so no doubt with your free will. But how cruel the servants of God would have been if they had left you to the fruits of this bad will, and had not delivered you from that death! Who would not have justly blamed them? Who would not have justly denounced them as inhuman? And yet you, with your own free will, threw yourself into the water that you might be drowned. They took you against your will out of the water, that you might not be drowned. You acted according to your own will, but with a view to your destruction; they dealt with you against your will, but in order to your preservation.

If, therefore, mere bodily safety behoves to be so guarded that it is the duty of those who love their neighbour to preserve him even against his own will from harm, how much more is this duty binding in regard to that spiritual health in the loss of which the consequence to be dreaded is eternal death! At the same time let me remark, that in that death which you wished to bring upon yourself you would have died not for time only but for eternity, because even though force had been used to compel you not to accept salvation, not to enter into the peace of the Church, the unity of Christ's body, the holy indivisible charity, but to suffer some evil things, it would not have been lawful for you to take away your own life.

5. Consider the divine Scriptures, and examine them to the utmost of your ability, and see whether this was ever done by any one of the just and faithful, though subjected to the most grievous evils by persons who were endeavouring to drive them, not to eternal life,
to which you are being compelled by us, but to eternal death. I have heard that you say that the Apostle Paul intimated the lawfulness of suicide when he said,

LET. CLXXIII.] TO DONATUS. 349

" Though I give my body to be burned,"^ supposing that because he was there enumerating all the good things which are of no avail without charity, such as the tongues of men and of angels, and all mysteries, and all knowledge, and all prophecy, and the distribution of one's goods to the poor, he intended to include among these good things the act of bringing death upon oneself. But observe carefully and learn in what sense Scripture says that any man may give his body to be burned. Certainly not that any man may throw himself into the fire when he is harassed by a pursuing enemy, but that, when he is compelled to choose between doing wrong and suffering, he should refuse to do wrong rather than to suffer wrong, and so give his body into the power of the executioner, as those three men did who were being compelled to worship the golden image, while he who was compelling them threatened them with the burning fiery furnace if they did not obey. They refused to worship the image: they did not cast themselves into the fire, and yet of them it is written that they " yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god except their own God."^ This is the sense in which the apostle said. " If I give my body to be burned."

6. Mark also what follows: â€” "If I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." To that charity you are called; by that charity you are prevented from perishing: and yet you think, forsooth, that to throw yourself headlong to destruction, by your own act, will profit you in some measure, although, even if you suffered death at the hands of another, while you remain an enemy to charity it would profit you nothing. Nay, more, being in a state of exclusion from the Church, and severed from the body of unity and the bond of charity, you would be punished with eternal misery even though you were burned alive for Christ's name; for this is the apostle's declaration, " Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." Bring your mind back, therefore, to rational reflection and sober thought; consider carefully whether it is to error and to impiety that you are being called, and, if you still think so, submit patiently to any

1 1 Cor. xiii. 3. 2 D^n. iii. 28.

350 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXII

liardslip for the truth's sake. If, however, the fact rather be that you are living in error and in impiety, and that in the Church to which you are called truth and piety are found, because there is Christian unity and the love (cliaritas) of the Holy Spirit, why do you labour any longer to be an enemy to yourself?
7. For this end the mercy of the Lord appointed that both we and your bishops met at Carthage in a conference which had repeated meetings, and was largely attended, and reasoned together in the most orderly manner in regard to the grounds of our separation from each other. The proceedings of that conference were written down; our signatures are attached to the record: read it, or allow others to read it to you, and then choose which party you prefer. I have heard that you have said that you could to some extent discuss the statements in that record with us if we would omit these words of your bishops: " No case forecloses the investigation of another case, and no person compromises the position of another person." You wish us to leave out these words, in which, although they knew it not, the truth itself spoke by them.

You will say, indeed, that here they made a mistake, and fell through want of consideration into a false opinion. But we affirm that here they said what was true, and we prove this very easily by a reference to yourself. For if in regard to these bishops of your own, chosen by the whole party of Donatus on the understanding that they should act as representatives, and that all the rest should regard whatever they did as acceptable and satisfactory, you nevertheless refuse to allow them to compromise your position by what you think to have been a rash and mistaken utterance on their part, in this refusal you confirm the truth of their saying: " No case forecloses the investigation of another case, and no person compromises the position of another person." And at the same time you ought to acknowledge, that if you refuse to allow the conjoint authority of so many of your bishops represented in these seven to compromise Donatus, presbyter in Mutugenna, it is incomparably less reasonable that one person, Coecilianus, even had some evil been found in him, should compromise the position of the whole unity of Christ, the Church, which

LET. CLXXIII.] TO DONATUS. 351

is not shut up within the one village of Mutugenna, but spread abroad throughout the entire world.

8. But, behold, w^e do wliat you have desired; w^e treat with you as if your bishops had not said: " No case forecloses the investigation of another case, and no person compromises the position of another person." Discover, if you can, what they ought, rather than this, to have said in reply, when there was alleged against them the case and the person of Primianus,^ who, notwithstanding his joining the rest of the bishops in passing sentence of condemnation on those who had passed sentence of condemnation upon him, nevertheless received back into their former honours those w^hom he had condemned and denounced, and chose to acknowledge and accept rather than despise and repudiate the baptism administered by these men while they were " dead " (for of them it was said in the notable decree [of the Council of Bagai], that " the shores were full of dead men "), and by so doing swept away the argument which you are accustomed to rest on a perverse interpretation of the words: " Qui baptizatur a mortuo quid ei prodest lavacrum ejus? " ^
If, therefore, your bishops had not said: " ISTo case forecloses the investigation of another case, and no person compromises the position of another person," they would have been compelled to plead guilty in the case of Primianus; but, in saying this, they declared the Catholic Church to be, as we mentioned, not guilty in the case of Caecilianus.

9. However, read all the rest and examine it well. Mark whether they have succeeded in proving any charge of evil

* Primianus, Donatist bishop in Carthage, was in 393 deposed by a factious clique of bishops, who appointed ^Maximianus in his place. The other Donatist bishops, however, assembled in the following year at Bagai in Numidia, and, reversing the decision of their co-bishops, deposed them in turn, and passed a sentence to which, as stated in the text, they did not inexorably adhere. The matter is referred to in Letter XLIIL, vol. i. p. 160.

2 Ecclus. xxxiv. 25, translated, accurately enough, in our English version:
"He that washeth himself after touching a dead body, if he touch it again, what availeth his washing? " The Donatist, in quoting the passage to support their practice of re-baptizing Catholics, omitted the clause, "et iterum tangit mortuum," and translated the sentence thus: "He that is baptized by one who is dead, what availeth his baptism ? " It would be difficult to quote from the annals of controversy a more flagrant example of ignorant ingenuity in the wresting of words to serve a purpose.

352 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXII

brought against Caecilianus himself, through whose person they attempted to compromise the position of the Church.
Mark whether they have not rather brought forward much that was in his favour, and confirmed the evidence that his case was a good one, by a number of extracts which, to the prejudice of their own case, they produced and read. Eead these, or let them be read to you. Consider the whole matter, ponder it carefully, and choose which you should follow: whether you should, in the peace of Christ, in the unity of the Catholic Church, in the love of the brethren, be pârtâlcer of our joy, or, in the cause of wicked discord, the Donatist faction and impious schism, continue to suffer the annoyance caused to you by the measures which out of love to you we are compelled to take.

10. I hear that you have remarked and often quote the fact recorded in the gospels, that the seventy disciples went back from the Lord, and that they had been left to their own choice in this wicked and impious desertion, and that to the twelve who alone remained the Lord said, " Will ye also go away? " ^ But you have neglected to remark, that at that time the Church was only beginning to burst into life from the recently planted seed, and that there was not yet fulfilled in her the prophecy: " All kings shall fall down before Him; yea, all nations shall serve Him; " ^ and it is in proportion to the more enlarged accomplishment of this prophecy that the Church wields greater power, so that she may
not only invite, but even compel men to embrace what is good. This our Lord intended then to illustrate, for although He had great power. He chose rather to manifest His humility. This also He taught, with sufficient plainness, in the parable of the Feast, in which the master of the house, after he had sent a message to the invited guests, and they had refused to come, said to his servants: "Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind. And the servant said. Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the Lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."^ Mark, now, how it was said in regard to those who came first, "bring them in; " it was not said, "compel them to come in," â€” by which was signified the incipient condition of the Church, when it was only growing towards the position in which it would have strength to compel men to come in. Accordingly, because it was right that when the Church had been strengthened, both in power and in extent, men should be compelled to come in to the feast of everlasting salvation, it was afterwards added in the parable, "The servant said. Lord, it is done as thou hast commanded, and yet there is room. And the Lord said unto the servants. Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in." Wherefore, if you were walking peaceably, absent from this feast of everlasting salvation and of the holy unity of the Church, we should find you, as it were, in the "highways; " but since, by multiplied injuries and cruelties, which you perpetrate on our people, you are, as it were, full of thorns and roughness, we find you as it were in the "hedges," and we compel you to come in. The sheep which is compelled is driven whither it would not wish to go, but after it has entered, it feeds of its own accord in the pastures to which it was brought. Wherefore restrain your perverse and rebellious spirit, that in the true Church of Christ you may find the feast of salvation.

LET. CLXXX.]

(A.D. 416.)
TO OCEANUS, HIS DESERVEDLY BELOVED LORD AND BROTHER,
HONOURED AMONG THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE
SENDS GREETING.

1. I RECEIVED two letters from you at the same time, in one of which you mention a
third, and state that you had sent it before the others. This letter I do not remember
having received, or, rather, I think I may say the testimony of my memory is, that I did
not receive it; but in regard to those which I have received, I return you many thanks for
your kindness to me. To these I would have returned an

1 Luke xiv. 21-23.
LETT. II. z

354 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXX.

immediate answer, had I not been hurried away by a constant succession of other matters
urgently demanding attention.
Having now found a moment's leisure from these, I have chosen rather to send some
reply, however imperfect, than continue towards a friend so true and kind a protracted
silence, and become more annoying to you by saying nothing than by saying too much.

2. I already knew the opinion of the holy Jerome as to the origin of souls, and had read
the words which in your letter you have quoted from his book. The difficulty which
perplexes some in regard to this question, "How God can justly bestow souls on the
offspring of persons guilty of adultery?" does not embarrass me, seeing that not even
their own sins, much less the sins of their parents, can prove prejudicial to persons of
virtuous lives, converted to God, and living in faith and piety. The really difficult
question is,

I if it be true that a new soul created out of nothing is imparted to each child at its birth,
how can it be that the innumerable souls of those little ones, in regard to whom God knew
with certainty that before attaining the age of reason, and before being able to know or
understand what is right or wrong, they were to leave the body without being baptized,
are justly given over to eternal death by Him with whom
"there is no unrighteousness!" ^ It is unnecessary to say more on this subject, since you
know what I intend, or rather what I do not at present intend to say. I think what I have
said is enough for a wise man. If, however, you have either read, or heard from the lips of
Jerome, or received from the Lord when meditating on this difficult question, anything by
which it can be solved, impart it to me, I beseech you, that I may acknowledge myself under yet greater obligation to you.

3. As to the question whether lying is in any case justifiable and expedient, it has
appeared to you that it ought to be solved by the example of our Lord's saying,
concerning the day and hour of the end of the world, "Neither doth the Son know it." ^
When I read this, I was charmed with it as an effort of your ingenuity; but I am by no means of opinion that a figurative mode of expression can be rightly termed a falsehood. For it is no falsehood to call a day joyous because it renders men joyous, or a lupine harsh because by its bitter flavour it imparts harshness to the countenance of him who tastes it, or to say that God knows something when He makes man know it (an instance quoted by yourself in these words of God to Abraham, "Now I know that thou fearest God").\(^1\) These are by no means false statements, as you yourself readily see. Accordingly, when the blessed Hilary explained this obscure statement of the Lord, by means of this obscure kind of figurative language, saying that we ought to understand Christ to affirm in these words that He knew not that day with no other meaning than that He, by concealing it, caused others not to know it, he did not by this explanation of the statement apologize for it as an excusable falsehood, but he showed that it was not a falsehood, as is proved by comparing it not only with these common figures of speech, but also with the metaphor, a mode of expression very familiar to all in daily conversation. For who will charge the man who says that harvest fields wave and children bloom with speaking falsely, because he sees not in these things the waves and the flowers to which these words are literally applied?

4. Moreover, a man of your talent and learning easily perceives how different from these metaphorical expressions is the statement of the apostle, "When I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"\(^2\) Here there is no obscurity of figurative language; these are literal words of a plain statement. Surely, in addressing persons "of whom he travailed in birth till Christ should be formed in them," and to whom, in solemnly calling God to confirm his words, he said: "The things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not,"\(^*\) the great teacher of the Gentiles affirmed in the words above quoted either what was true or what was false; if he said what was false, which God forbid, you see the consequences which would follow; and Paul's own assertion of his veracity, together with the example

1 Gen. xxii. 12. \(\text{\textasciitilde}^\text{\textasciitilde}\) Gal. ii. 14. 3 q\(^\wedge\wedge\) jy, 19, 4 Qal. L 20.

356 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXX.

of wondrous humility in the Apostle Peter, may warn you to recoil from such thoughts/
5. But why say more? This question the venerable Father Jerome and I have discussed fully in letters which we exchanged, and in his latest work, published under the name of Critdbulus, against Pelagius, he has maintained the same opinion concerning that transaction and the words of the apostle which, in accordance with the views of the blessed Cyprian, I myself have held. In regard to the question as to the origin of souls, I think there is reasonable ground for inquiry, not as to the giving of souls to the offspring of adulterous parents, but as to the condemnation (which God forbid) of those who are innocent. If you have learned anything from a man of such character and eminence as Jerome which might form a satisfactory answer to those in perplexity on this subject, I pray you not to refuse to communicate it to me. In your correspondence, you have approved yourself so learned and so affable that it is a privilege to hold intercourse with you by letter. I ask you not to delay to send a certain book by the same man of God, which the presbyter Orosius brought and gave to you to copy, in which the resurrection of the body is treated of by him in a manner said to merit distinguished praise. "We have not asked it earlier, because we knew that you had both to copy and to revise it; but for both of these we think we have now given you ample time.

Live to God, and be mindful of us.

[For translation of Letter CLXXXV. to Count Boniface, containing an exhaustive history of the Donatist schism, see Anti'Donaiist Wniwgs, vol. i. pp. 479-520.]

* We have left the word ambo in "ambo ista exhorrescas" untranslated. Critics are agreed that a few words of the original are probably wanting here, only one alternative of the dilemma being stated by St. Angnstine in the text.

2 In Letters XXVIII, XL., LXXV., and LXXXII, translated in vol. i.

3 Adversus Pelafjiunif book i. * Letters of Cyprian, LXXL

LET. CLXXXVin.] TO JULIANA. 357

LETTEE CLXXXVIII.

(A.D. 416.)

TO THE LADY JULIANA, WORTHY TO BE HONOURED IN CHRIST WITH THE SERVICE DUE TO HER RANK, OUR DAUGHTER DESERVEDLY DISTINGUISHED, ALYPIUS AND AUGUSTINE SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

Chap. i. 1. Lady, worthy to be honoured in Christ with the service due to your rank, and daughter deservedly distinguished, it was very pleasant and agreeable to us that your letter reached us when together at Hippo, so that we might send this joint reply to you, to
express our joy in hearing of your welfare, and with sincere reciprocation of your love to let you know of our welfare, in which we are sure that you take an affectionate interest. We are well aware that you are not ignorant how great Christian affection we consider due to you, and how much, both before God and among men, we are interested in you. For though we knew you, at first by letter, afterwards by personal intercourse, to be pious and Catholic, that is, true members of the body of Christ, nevertheless, our humble ministry also was of use to you, for when you had received the word of God from us, “you received it,” as says the apostle, “not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God.”^ Through the grace and mercy of the Saviour, so great was the fruit arising from this ministry of ours in your family, that when preparations for her marriage were already completed, the holy Demetrias preferred the spiritual embrace of that Husband who is fairer than the sons of men, and in espousing themselves to whom virgins retain their virginity, and gain more abundant spiritual fruitfulness. We should not, however, yet have known how this exhortation of ours had been received by the faithful and noble maiden, as we departed shortly before she took on her the vow of chastity, had we not learned from the joyful announcement and

^ 1 Thess. ii. 13.

^ In a letter of Jerome (the eighth) addressed to Demetrias, we have a very graphic narrative of the manner in which Demetrias foimed and carried into effect the vow for which she is here commended.

358 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXXVII

reliable testimony of your letter, that this great gift of God, planted and watered indeed by means of His servants, but owing its increase to Himself, had been granted to us as labourers in His vineyard.

2. Since these things are so, no one may charge us with presuming, if, on the ground of this closer spiritual relation, we manifest our solicitude for your welfare by warning you to avoid opinions opposed to the grace of God. For though the apostle commands us in preaching the word to be "instant in season and out of season," ^ yet we do not reckon you among the number of those to whom a word or a letter from us exhorting you carefully to avoid what is inconsistent with sound doctrine would seem " out of season." Hence it was that you received our admonition in so kindly a manner, that, in the letter to which we are now replying, you say, " I thank you heartily for the pious advice which your Everence gave me, not to lend an ear to those men who, by their mischievous writings, often corrupt our holy faith."

3. In this letter you go on to say, " But your Everence knows that I and my household are entirely separated from persons of this description; and all our family follow so strictly the Catholic faith as never at any time to have wandered from it, or fallen into any
heresy, â€” I speak not of the heresy of sects who have erred in a measure hardly admitting of expiation, but of those whose errors seem to be trivial"

This statement renders it more and more necessary for us, in writing to you, not to pass over in silence the conduct of those who are attempting to corrupt even those who are sound in the faith. We consider your house to be no insignificant Church of Christ, nor indeed is the error of those men trivial who think that we of ourselves whatever righteousness, temperance, piety, chastity is in us, on the ground that God has so formed us, that beyond the revelation which He has given He imparts to us no further aid for performing by our own choice those things which by study we have ascertained to be our duty; declaring nature and knowledge to be the grace of God, and the only aid for living righteously and justly. For the possession, indeed, of a will inclined to what

^ 2 Tim. iii. 2.

LET. CLXXXVIL] TO JULIANA. 359

is good, whence proceed the life of uprightness and that love which so far excels all other gifts that God Himself is said to be love, and by which alone is fulfilled in us as far as we fulfil them, the divine law and counsel, â€” for the possession, I say, of such a will, they hold that we are not indebted to the aid of God, but affirm that we ourselves of our own will are sufficient for these things. Let it not appear to you a trifling error that men should wish to profess themselves Christians, and yet be unwilling to hear the apostle of Christ, who, having said, " The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts," lest any one should think that he had this love through his own free will, immediately subjoined, " by the Holy Spirit who is given unto us." ^ Understand, then, how greatly and how fatally that man errs who does not acknowledge that this is the "great gift of the Saviour,"^ who, when He ascended on high, " led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.

Chap. ii. 4. How, then, could we so far conceal our true feelings as not to warn you, in whom we feel so deep an interest, to beware of such doctrines, after we had read a certain book addressed to the holy Demetrias ? Whether this book has reached you,* and who is its author, we are desirous to hear in your answer to this. In this book, were it lawful for such a one to read it, a virgin of Christ would read that her holiness and all her spiritual riches are to spring from no other source than herself, and thus, before she attains to the perfection of blessedness, she would learn, â€” which may God forbid ! â€” to be ungrateful to God. For the words addressed to her in the said book are these: â€” " You have here, then, those things on account of which you are deservedly, nay more, more especially to be preferred before others; for your earthly rank and wealth are understood to be derived from your relatives, not from yourself, but your spiritual riches no one can have conferred on you but yourself; for these, then, you are justly to be praised, for these you

Â» Rom. V. 5. 2 Epii ly 7^ 3 pg. ixviii. 18,
* In the end of this letter, Augustine distinctly ascribes to Pelagius the
authorsliip of the letter to Demetrias, as also in his work on The Grace 0/ Christy
ch. xxii.

360 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXXVIII.

are deservedly to be preferred to others, for they can exist only from yourself, and in
yourself." ^

5. You see, doubtless, how dangerous is the doctrine in these words, against which you
must be on your guard. For the affirmation, indeed, that these spiritual riches can exist
only in yourself, is very well and ti-uly said: that evidently is food; but the affirmation
that they cannot exist except from you is unmixed poison. Far be it from any virgin of
Christ willingly to listen to statements like these. Every virgin of Christ understands the
innate poverty of the human heart, and therefore declines to have it adorned otherwise
than by the gifts of her Spouse. Let her rather listen to the apostle when he says: " I have
espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I
fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds
should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." ^ And therefore in regard to
these spiritual riches le^ her listen, not to him who says:
" No one can confer them on you except yourself, and they cannot exist except from you
and in you; " but to him who says: " We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the
excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." ^

6. In regard to that sacred virginal chastity, also, which does not belong to her from
herself, but is the gift of God, bestowed, however, on her who is believing and willing, let
her hear the same truthful and pious teacher, who when he treats of this subject says: " I
would that all men were even as I myself: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one
after this manner, and another after that." ^* Let her hear also Him who is the only Spouse,
not only of herself, but of the whole Church, thus speaking of this chastity and purity: "
All cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given; " * that she may understand
that for her possession of this so great and excellent gift, she ought rather to render thanks
to our God and Lord, than to listen to the words of any one who says that she possessed it
from herself, â€” words which we may not designate as those of a

^ Epistle to Demelr'uMf ch. xi. ^ 2 Cor. xi. 2, 3. ' 2 Cor. iv. 7.

* 1 Cor. vii. 7. ' Matt. xix. 11.
flatterer, seeking to please, lest we seem to judge rashly concerning the hidden thoughts of men, but which are assuredly those of a misguided eulogist. For "every good gift and every perfect gift," as the Apostle James says, "is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights;" from this source, therefore, cometh this holy virginity, in which you who approve of it, and rejoice in it, have been excelled by your daughter, who, coming after you in birth, has gone before you in conduct; descended from you in lineage, has risen above you in honour; following you in age, has gone beyond you in holiness; in whom also that begins to be yours which could not be in your own person.

For she did not contract an earthly marriage, that she might be, not for herself only, but also for you, spiritually enriched in a higher degree than yourself, since you, even with this addition, are inferior to her, because you contracted the marriage of which she is the offspring. These things are gifts of God, and are yours indeed, but are not from yourselves; for you have this treasure in earthly bodies, which are still frail as the vessels of the potter, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of you. And be not surprised because we say that these things are yours, and not from you, for we speak of "daily bread " as ours, but yet add, "give it to us," lest it should be thought that it was from ourselves.

7. Wherefore obey the precept of Scripture, "Pray without ceasing. In everything give thanks;" for you pray in order that you may have constantly and increasingly these gifts, you render thanks because you have them not of yourself. For who separates you from that mass of death and perdition derived from Adam? Is it not He who came to seek and to save that which was lost?" * Was, then, a man, indeed, on hearing the apostle's question, "Who maketh thee to differ?" to reply, "My own good will, my faith, my righteousness," and to disregard what immediately follows?

"What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" We are unwilling, then, yea, utterly unwilling, that a consecrated virgin, when she hears or reads these words: "Your spiritual riches no one can have conferred on you; for these you are justly to be praised, for these you are deservedly to be preferred to others, for they can exist only from yourself, and in yourself," should thus boast of her riches as if she had not received them. Let her say, indeed, "In me are thy vows, God, I will render praises unto Thee;" but since they are in her, not from her, let her remember also to say, "Lord, by Thy will Thou hast furnished strength to my beauty," because, though it be from her, inasmuch as it is the acting of

\[\text{LET. CLXXXVIII.] TO JULIANA. 361}\]

\[\text{LET. CLXXXVIII.} \]

\[\text{LET. CLXXXVIII.}\]
her own will, without which we cannot do what is good, yet we are not to say, as he said, that it is "only from her." For our own will, unless it be aided by the grace of God, cannot alone be even in name good will, for, says the apostle, "it is God who worketh in us, both to will, and to do according to good will," not, as these persons think, merely by revealing knowledge, that we may know what we ought to do, but also by inspiring Christian love, that we may also by choice perform the things which by study we have learned.

8. For doubtless the value of the gift of continence was known to him who said, "I perceived that no man can be continent unless God bestowed the gift." He not only knew then how great a benefit it was, and how eagerly it ought to be coveted, but also that, unless God gave it, it could not exist; for wisdom had taught him this, for he says, "This also was a point of wisdom, to know whose gift it was;" and the knowledge did not suffice him, but he says, "I went to the Lord and made my supplication to Him." * God then aids us in this matter, not only by making us know what is to be done, but also by making us do through love what we already know through learning. No one, therefore, can possess, not only knowledge, but also continence, unless God give it to him. Whence it was that when he had knowledge he prayed that he might have continence, that it might be in him, because he knew that it was not from him; or if on account of the freedom of his will it was in a certain sense from himself, yet it was


4

LET. CLXXXVIII.] TO JULIANA. 363

not from himself alone, because no one can be continent unless God bestow on him the gift. But he whose opinions I am censuring, in speaking of spiritual riches, among which is doubtless that bright and beautiful gift of continence, does not say that they may exist in you, and from yourself, but says that they can exist only from you, and in you, in such a way that, as a virgin of Christ has these things nowhere else than in herself, so it can be believed possible for her to have them from no other source than from herself, and in this way (which may a merciful God avert from her heart !) she shall so boast as if she had not received them !

Chap, iil 9. We indeed hold such an opinion concerning the training of this holy virgin, and the Christian humility in which she was nourished and brought up, as to be assured that when she read these words, if she did read them, she would break out into lamentations, and humbly smite her breast, and perhaps burst into tears, and pray in faith to the Lord to whose service she was dedicated and by whom she was sanctified, pleading with Him that these were not her own words, but another's, and asking that her faith might not be such as to believe that she had anything whereof to glory in herself and not
in the Lord. For her glory is in herself, not in the words of another, as the apostle says: "Let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have glory (rejoicing) in himself alone, and not in another." "But God forbid that her glory should be in herself, and not in Him to whom the Psalmist says, "Thou art my glory, and the lifter up of mine head." For her glory is then profitably in herself, when God, who is in her, is Himself her glory, from whom she has every good, by which she is good, and shall have all things by which she shall be made better, in as far as she may become better in this life, and by which she shall be made perfect when rendered so by divine grace, not by human praise. "For her soul shall be praised in the Lord," "who satisfieth her desire with good things," *because He Himself has inspired this desire, that His virgin should not boast of any good, as if she had not received it.

10. Inform us, then, in reply to this letter, whether we have judged truly in supposing these to be your daughter's sentiments. For we know well that you and all your family are, and have been, worshippers of the indivisible Trinity. But human error insinuates itself in other forms than in erroneous opinions concerning the indivisible Trinity. There are other subjects also, in regard to which men fall into very dangerous errors. As, for example, that of which we have spoken in this letter at greater length, perhaps, than might have sufficed to a person of your steadfast and pure wisdom. And yet we know not to whom, except to God, and therefore to the Trinity, wrong is done by the man who denies that the good that comes from God is from God; which evil may God avert from you, as we believe He does! May God altogether forbid that the book out of which we have thought it our duty to extract some words, that they might be more easily understood, should produce any such impression, we do not say on your mind, or on that of the holy virgin your daughter, but on the mind of the least deserving of your male or female servants.

11. But if you study more carefully even those words in which the writer appears to speak in favour of grace or the aid of God, you will find them so ambiguous that they may have reference either to nature or to knowledge, or to forgiveness of sins. For even in regard to that which they are forced to acknowledge, that we ought to pray that we may not enter into temptation, they may consider that the words mean that we are so far helped to it that, by our praying and knocking, the knowledge of the truth is so revealed to us that we may learn what it is our duty to do, not so far as that our will receives strength, whereby we may do that which we learn to be our duty; and as to their saying that it is by the grace or help of God that the Lord Christ has been set before us as an example of holy living, they interpret this so as to teach the same doctrine, affirming, namely, that we learn by His example how we ought to live, but denying that we are so aided as to do through love what we know by learning.
12. Find in this book, if you can, anything in which, excepting nature and the freedom of the will (which pertains to the same nature), and the remission of sin and the revealing of doctrine, any such aid of God is acknowledged as that which he acknowledges who said: "When I perceived that

LET. CLXXXVIII.] TO JULIANA. 365

no man can be continent unless God bestow the gift, and that this also is a point of wisdom to know whose gift it is, I went to the Lord, and made my supplication to Him." ^ Tor he did not desire to receive, in answer to his prayer, the nature in which he was made; nor was he solicitous to obtain the natural freedom of the will with which he was made; nor did he crave the remission of sins, seeing that he prayed rather for continence, that he might not sin; nor did he desire to know what he ought to do, seeing that he already confessed that he knew whose gift this continence was; but he wished to receive from the Spirit of wisdom such strength of will, such ardour of love, as should suffice for fully practising the great virtue of continence. If, therefore, you succeed in finding any such statement in that book, we will heartily thank you if, in your answer, you deign to inform us of it.

13. It is impossible for us to tell how greatly we desire to find in the writings of these men, whose works are read by very many for their pungency and eloquence, the open confession of that grace which the apostle vehemently commends, who says that "God has given to every man the measure of faith," ^ "without which it is impossible to please God," ^ "by which the just live," ^ "which worketh by love," ^ before which and without which no works of any man are in any respect to be reckoned good, since "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." ^ He affirms that God distributes to every man, ^ and that we receive divine assistance to live piously and justly, not only by the revelation of that knowledge which without charity "puffeth up," ^ but by our being inspired with that "love which is the fulfilling of the law," ^ and which so edifies our heart that knowledge does not puff it up. But hitherto I have failed to find any such statements in the writings of these men.

14. But especially we should wish that these sentiments should be found in that book from which we have quoted the words in which the author, praising a virgin of Christ as if no one except herself could confer on her spiritual riches, and


* Horn. i. 17. * Gal. v. 6. c Horn. xiv. 23.

' Eom. xii. 3. â€¢ 1 Cor. viii. 1. Â» Rom. xiii. 10.
3GG LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXXIX.

as if these could not exist except from herself, does not wish her to glory in the Lord, but to glory as if she had not received them. In this book, though it contain neither his name nor your own honoured name, he nevertheless mentions that a request had been made to him by the mother of the virgin to write to her. In a certain epistle of his, however, to which he openly attaches his name, and does not conceal the name of the sacred virgin, the same Pelagius says that he had written to her, and endeavours to prove, by appealing to the said work, that he most openly confessed the grace of God, which he is alleged to have passed over in silence, or denied. But we beg you to condescend to inform us, in your reply, whether that be the very book in which he has inserted these words about spiritual riches, and whether it has reached your Holiness.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

(a.d. 418.)

TO BONIFACE,^ MY NOBLE LORD AND JUSTLY DISTINGUISHED AND HONOURABLE SON, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I HAD already written a reply to your Charity, but while I was waiting for an opportunity of forwarding the letter, my

* Count Boniface, to whom St. Augiistine also addressed Letters CLXXXV. and CCXX., was governor of the province of Africa under Placidia, who for twentyfive years ruled the empire in the name of her son Valentinian. By his peridious rival Aetias, Boniface was persuaded to disobey the order of Placidia, when, under the instigation of Aetius himself, she recalled him from the government of Africa. The necessity of powerful allies in order to maintain his position led him to invite the Vandals to pass from Spain into Africa. They came, under Genseric, and the fertile provinces of Northern Africa fell an easy prey to their invading armies. When the treachery of Aetius was discovered, Placidia received Boniface again into favour, and he devoted all his military talents to the task of expelling the barbarians whom his own invitation liad made masters of North Africa. But it was now too late to wrest this Roman province from the Vandals; defeated in a great battle, Boniface was compelled in 430 to retire into Hippo Kegius, where he succeeded in resisting the besieging army for fourteen months. It was during this siege, and after it had continued three months, that Augustine died. Reinforced by troops from Constantinople, Boniface fought one more desperate but unsuccessful battle, after which he left Hippo in the hands of Genseric, and returned by order of Placidia to Italy. For fuller particulars of his history, see Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire^ ch. xxxiii.
beloved son Faustus arrived here on his way to your Excellency. After he had received the letter which I had intended to be carried by him to your Benevolence, he stated to me that you were very desirous that I should write you something which might build you up unto the eternal salvation of which you have hope in Christ Jesus our Lord. And, although I was busily occupied at the time, he insisted, with an earnestness corresponding to the love which, as you know, he bears to you, that I should do this without delay. To meet his convenience, therefore, as he was in haste to depart, I thought it better to write, though necessarily without much time for reflection, rather than put off the gratification of your pious desire, my noble lord and justly distinguished and honourable son.

2. All is contained in these brief sentences: "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength: and love thy neighbour as thyself;"* for these are the words in which the Lord, when on earth, gave an epitome of religion, saying in the gospel, "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Daily advance, then, in this love, both by praying and by well-doing, that through the help of Him who enjoined it on you, and whose gift it is, it may be nourished and increased, until, being perfected, it render you perfect. "For this is the love which," as the apostle says, "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us."* This is "the fulfilling of the law;"* this is the same love by which faith works, of which he says again, "Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith, which worketh by love." *

3. In this love, then, all our holy fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles pleased God. In this all true martyrs contended against the devil even to the shedding of blood, and because in them it neither waxed cold nor failed, they became conquerors. In this all true believers daily make progress, seeking to acquire not an earthly kingdom, but the kingdom of heaven; not a temporal, but an eternal inheritance; not gold and silver, but the incorruptible riches of the angels; not the good things of this life, which are enjoyed with

'Matt. xxii. 37-40. 'Kom. v. 5.' Rom. xiii. 10. 'Gal. v. 6.'
trembling, and which no one can take with him when he dies, but the vision of God, whose grace and power of imparting felicity transcend all beauty of form in bodies not only on earth but also in heaven, transcend all spiritual loveliness in men, however just and holy, transcend all the glory of the angels and powers of the world above, transcend not only all that language can express, but all that thought can imagine concerning Him. And let us not despair of the fulfilment of such a great promise because it is exceeding great, but rather believe that we shall receive it because He who has promised it is exceeding great, as the blessed Apostle John says: "Now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is." ^

4. Do not think that it is impossible for any one to please God while engaged in active military service. Among such persons was the holy David, to whom God gave so great a testimony; among them also were many righteous men of that time; among them was also that centurion who said to the Lord: "I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof, but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed: for I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man. Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant. Do this, and he doeth it;" and concerning whom the Lord said: "Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." ^ Among them was that Cornelius to whom an angel said: "Cornelius, thine alms are accepted, and thy prayers are heard," when he directed him to send to the blessed Apostle Peter, and to hear from him what he ought to do, to which apostle he sent a devout soldier, requesting him to come to him. Among them were also the soldiers who, when they had come to be baptized by John, "the sacred forerunner of the Lord, and the friend of the Bridegroom, of whom the Lord says: "Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist," *â€” and had inquired of him what they should do, received the answer, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely;


and be content with your wages." ^ Certainly he did not prohibit them to serve as soldiers when he commanded them to be content with their pay for the service.
5. They occupy indeed a higher place before God who, abandoning all these secular employments, serve Him with the strictest chastity; but "every one," as the apostle says, "hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." Some, then, in praying for you, fight against your invisible enemies; you, in fighting for them, contend against the barbarians, their visible enemies. Would that one faith existed in all, for then there would be less weary struggling, and the devil with his angels would be more easily conquered; but since it is necessary in this life that the citizens of the kingdom of heaven should be subjected to temptations among erring and impious men, that they may be exercised, and "tried as gold in the furnace," we ought not before the appointed time to desire to live with those alone who are holy and righteous, so that, by patience, we may deserve to receive this blessedness in its proper time.

6. Think, then, of this first of all, when you are arming for the battle, that even your bodily strength is a gift of God; for, considering this, you will not employ the gift of God against God. For, when faith is pledged, it is to be kept even with the enemy against whom the war is waged, how much more with the friend for whom the battle is fought! Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace. For peace is not sought in order to the kindling of war, but war is waged in order that peace may be obtained. Therefore, even in waging war, cherish the spirit of a peacemaker, that, by conquering those whom you attack, you may lead them back to the advantages of peace; for our Lord says: "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God." If, however, peace among men be so sweet as procuring temporal safety, how much sweeter is that peace with God which procures for men the eternal felicity of the angels! Let necessity,


LETT. IL 2 A

370 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CLXXXIX.

therefore, and not your will, slay the enemy who fights against you. As violence is used towards him who rebels and resists, so mercy is due to the vanquished or the captive, especially in the case in which future troubling of the peace is not to be feared.

7. Let the manner of your life be adorned by chastity, sobriety, and moderation; for it is exceedingly disgraceful that lust should subdue him whom man finds invincible, and that wine should overpower him whom the sword assails in vain. As to worldly riches, if you do not possess them, let them not be sought after on earth by doing evil; and if you possess them, let them by good works be laid up in heaven. The manly and Christian spirit ought neither to be elated by the accession, nor crushed by the loss of this world's treasures.
Let us rather think of what the Lord says: "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."^ and certainly, when we hear the exhortation to lift up our hearts, it is our duty to give unfeignedly the response which you know that we are accustomed to give.^

8. In these things, indeed, I know that you are very careful, and the good report which I hear of you fills me with great delight, and moves me to congratulate you on account of it in the Lord. This letter, therefore, may serve rather as a mirror in which you may see what you are, than as a directory from which to learn what you ought to be: nevertheless, whatever you may discover, either from this letter or from the Holy Scriptures, to be still wanting to you in regard to a holy life, persevere in urgently seeking it both by effort and by prayer; and for the things which you have, give thanks to God as the Fountain of goodness, whence you have received them; in every good action let the glory be given to God, and humility be exercised by you, for, as it is written,

^ Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and

> Matt. vi. 21.

The allusion is evidently to the ancient formulary in public worship, first mentioned by Cyprian in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer. To the presbyter's exhortation, "Sursum corda!" the people responded, "Habemus ad Dominum," For an account of this formulary and a most beautiful exposition of it, quoted from Cyril of Jerusalem, see Paddle's Christian Antiquities, book IV. ch. i. sec. 2.

LET. cxcl] to sixtus. 371

Cometh down from the Father of lights."^ But however much you may advance in the love of God and of your neighbour, and in true piety, do not imagine, as long as you are in this life, that you are without sin, for concerning this we read in Holy Scripture: " Is not the life of man upon earth a life of temptation? "^ Wherefore, since always, as long as you are in this body, it is necessary for you to say in prayer, as the Lord taught us: " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,"^ remember quickly to forgive, if any one shall do you wrong and shall ask pardon from you, that you may be able to pray sincerely, and may prevail in seeking pardon for your own sins.

These things, my beloved friend, I have written to you in haste, as the anxiety of the bearer to depart urged me not to detain him; but I thank God that I have in some measure complied with your pious wish. May the mercy of God ever protect you, my noble lord and justly distinguished son.

LETTEE CXCL

(A.D. 418.)
TO MY VENERABLE LORD AND PIOUS BROTHER AND CO-PRESBYTER SIXTUS,* WORTHY OF BEING RECEIVED IN THE LOVE OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Since the arrival of the letter which, in my absence, your Grace forwarded by our holy brother the presbyter Firmus, and which I read on my return to Hippo, but not until after the bearer had departed, the present is my first opportunity of sending to you any reply, and it is with great pleasure that I entrust it to our very dearly beloved son, the acolyte Albinus.

Your letter, addressed to Alypius and myself jointly, came at a time when we were not together, and this is the reason why

Â» Jas. i. 17. 2 Jot yii i^ LXX. ’ Matt. vi. 12.

' Sixtus, afterwards Sixtus iii., Bishop of Eome, the immediate successor of Caelestine, to whom the next letter is addressed. His name is the forty-third in the list of Popes, and he was in office from 432 to 440 a.d. The 194th letter of Augustine was addressed to the same Sixtus, and is a very elaborate dissertation on Pelagianism. It is omitted from this selection as being rather a theological treatise than a letter.

372 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CXCL

you will now receive a letter from each of us, instead of one from both, in reply. For the bearer of this letter has just gone, meanwhile, from me to visit my venerable brother and co-bishop Alypius, who will write a reply for himself to your Holiness, and he has carried with him your letter, which I had already perused. As to the great joy with which that letter filled my heart, why should a man attempt to say what it is impossible to express ? Indeed, I do not think that you yourself have any adequate idea of the amount of good done by your sending that letter to us; but take our word for it, for as you bear witness to your feelings, so do we bear witness to ours, declaring how profoundly we have been moved by the perfectly transparent soundness of the views declared in that letter. For if, when you sent a very short letter on the same subject to the most blessed aged Aurelius, by the acolyte Leo, we transcribed it with joyful alacrity, and read it with enthusiastic interest to all who were within our reach, as an exposition of your sentiments, both in regard to that most fatal dogma [of Pelagius], and in regard to the grace of God freely given by Him to small and great, to which that dogma is diametrically opposed; how great, think you, is the joy with which we have read this more extended statement in your writing, how great the zeal with which we take care that it be read by all to whom we have been able already or may yet be able to make it known ! For what could be read or heard with greater satisfaction than so clear a defence of the grace of God against its enemies, from the mouth of one who was before this proudly claimed by these enemies as a mighty supporter of their cause ? ^ Or is there anything for which we ought to give more abundant thanksgivings to God, than that His grace is so ably defended by those to whom it is given, against those to whom it is not given, or by whom, when given, it is not
accepted, because in the secret and just judgment of God the disposition to accept it is not
given to them ?

2. Wherefore, my venerable lord, and holy brother worthy of being received in the love of
Christ, although you render a most excellent service when you thus write on this subject to

^ Sixtus had "been not without occasion reckoned as a symixitiiscr with Pelagius, until
their views were finally condemned in this year 418 by Zosimus.

LET. cxcl] to sixtus. 373

brethren before whom the adversaries are wont to boast themselves of your being their
friend, nevertheless, there remains upon you the yet greater duty of seeing not only that
those be punished with wholesome severity who dare to prate more openly their
declaration of that error, most dangerously hostile to the Christian name, but also that
with pastoral vigilance, on behalf of the weaker and simpler sheep of the Lord, most
strenuous precautions be used against those who more covertly, indeed, and timidly, but
perseveringly, and in whispers, as it were, teach this error, " creeping into houses," as the
apostle says, and doing with practised impiety all those other things which are mentioned
immediately afterwards in that passage:^ 

'Nov ought those to be overlooked who under the restraint of fear hide their sentiments
under the most profound silence, yet have not ceased to cherish the same perverse
opinions as before. For some of their party might be known to you before that pestilence
was denounced by the most explicit condemnation of the apostolic see, whom you
perceive to have now become suddenly silent; nor can it be ascertained whether they have
been really cured of it, otherwise than through their not only forbearing from the
utterance of these false dogmas, but also defending the truths which are opposed to their
former errors with the same zeal as they used to show on the other side. These are,
however, to be more gently dealt with; for what need is there for causing further terror to
those whom their silence itself proves to be sufficiently terrified already ? At the same
time, though they should not be frightened, they should be taught; and in my opinion they
may more easily, while their fear of severity assists the teacher of the truth, be so taught
that by the Lord's help, after they have learned to understand and love His grace, they
may speak out as antagonists of the error which meanwhile they dare not confess.

1 2 Tim. iii. 6.
1. I WAS at a considerable distance from home when the letter of your Holiness addressed to me at Hippo arrived by the hands of the clerk Projectus. When I had returned home, and, having read your letter, felt myself to be owing you a reply, I was still waiting for some means of communicating with you, when, lo! a most desirable opportunity presented itself in the departure of our very dear brother the acolyte Albinus, who leaves us immediately. Eejoying, therefore, in your health, which is most earnestly desired by me, I return to your Holiness the salutation which I was owing. But I always owe you love, the only debt which, even when it has been paid, holds him who has paid it a debtor still. For it is given when it is paid, but it is owing even after it has been given, for there is no time at which it ceases to be due. JSTor when it is given is it lost, but it is rather multiplied by giving it; for in possessing it, not in parting with it, it is given. And since it cannot be given unless it is possessed, so neither can it be possessed unless it is given; nay, at the very time when it is given by a man it increases in that man, and, according to the number of persons to whom it is given, the amount of it which is gained becomes greater. Moreover, how can that be denied to friends which is due even to enemies? To enemies, however, this debt is paid with caution, whereas to friends it is repaid with confidence. Nevertheless, it uses every effort to secure that it receives back what it gives, even in the case of those to whom it renders good for evil. For we wish to have as a friend the man whom, as an enemy, we truly love, for we do not sincerely love him unless we wish

' Caelestine, who was at the date of this letter a deacon in Rome, was raised in 423 to succeed Boniface as Bishop of Rome; he stands forty-second in the list of the Popes. Letter CCIX. is addressed to him.

LET. CXCV.] JEROME TO AUGUSTINE. 375

him to be good, which he cannot be until he be delivered from the sin of cherished enmities.

2. Love, therefore, is not paid away in the same manner as money; for, whereas money is diminished, love is increased by paying it away. They differ also in this, â€” that we give evidence of greater goodwill to the man to whom we may have given money if we do not seek to have it returned; but no one can be a true donor of love unless he lovingly insist on its repayment. For money, when it is received, accues to him to whom it is given, but forsakes him by whom it is given; love, on the contrary, even when it is not repaid, nevertheless increases with the man who insists on its repayment by the person whom he
loves; and not only so, but the person by whom it is returned to him does not begin to possess it till he pays it back again.

Wherefore, my lord and brother, I willingly give to you, and joyfully receive from you, the love which we owe to each other. The love which I receive I still claim, and the love which I give I still owe. For we ought to obey with docility the precept of the One Master, whose disciples we both profess to be, when He says to us by His apostle: "Owe no man anything, but to love one another." ^

LETTEE CXCV.

(a.d. 418.)

to his holy lord and most blessed father, ^ augustine, jerome sends greeting.

At all times I have esteemed your Blessedness with becoming reverence and honour, and have loved the Lord and Saviour dwelling in you. But now we add, if possible, something to that which has already reached a climax, and we heap up what was already full, so that we do not suffer a single hour to pass without the mention of your name, because you have, with the ardour of unshaken faith, stood your ground against opposing storms, and preferred, so far as this was in your power, to be delivered from Sodom, though you should

* Rom. xiii. 8. 2 Papa.

376 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCI.

come forth alone, rather than linger behind with those who are doomed to perish. Your wisdom apprehends what I mean to say. Go on and prosper! You are renowned throughout the whole world; Catholics revere and look up to you as the restorer of the ancient faith, and all which is a token of yet more illustrious glory all heretics abhor you. They persecute me also with equal hatred, seeking by imprecation to take away the life which they cannot reach with the sword.

May the mercy of Christ the Lord preserve you in safety and mindful of me, my venerable lord and most blessed father.-^ 

LETTEK CCI.

(A.D. 419.)

THE EMPERORS HONORIUS AUGUSTUS AND THEodosius Augustus TO BISHOP AURELIUS SEND GREETING.
1. It had been indeed long ago decreed that Pelagius and Celestius, the authors of an execrable heresy, should, as pestilent corrupters of the Catholic truth, be expelled from the city of Kome, lest they should, by their baneful influence, pervert the minds of the ignorant. In this our clemency followed up the judgment of your Holiness, according to which it is beyond all question that they were unanimously condemned after an impartial examination of their opinions. Their obstinate persistence in the offence having, however, made it necessary to issue the decree a second time, we have enacted further by a recent edict, that if any one, knowing that they are concealing themselves in any part of the provinces, shall delay either to drive them out or to inform on them, he, as an accomplice, shall be liable to the punishment prescribed.

2. To secure, however, the combined efforts of the Christian

^ In two MSS. this letter has, as a postscript, the letter already translated as CXXIII.; see page 123. The reason for that letter being supposed to belong to the year 410 is the interpretation which some put upon one of its obscure sentences as alluding to the fall of Rome in that year. If, however, the sentence in question referred to the ecclesiastical difficulties disturbing Jerusalem and all the East in connection with the Pelagian controversy, there is nothing to forbid the conjecture which its place in the MSS. aforesaid suggests, namely, that it was sent at the same time as this letter, with which in them it stands connected.

LET. ecu.] JEP.O^IE TO ALYTIUS AXD AUGUSTINE. 377

zeal of all men for the destruction of this preposterous heresy, it will be proper, most dearly beloved father, that the authority of your Holiness be applied to the correction of certain bishops, who either support the evil reasonings of these men by their silent consent, or abstain from assailing them with open opposition. Let your Eeverence, then, by suitable writings, cause all bishops to be admonished (as soon as they shall know, by the order of your Holiness, that this order is laid upon them) that whoever shall, through impious obstinacy, neglect to vindicate the purity of their doctrine by subscribing the condemnation of the persons before mentioned, shall, after being punished by the loss of their episcopal office, be cut off by excommunication and banished for life from their sees.

For as, by a sincere confession of the truth, we ourselves, in obedience to the Council of Nce, worship God as the Creator of all things, and as the Fountain of our imperial sovereignty, your Holiness will not suffer the members of this odious sect, inventing, to the injury of religion, notions new and strange, to hide in writings privately circulated an error condemned by public authority. For, most beloved and loving father, the guilt of heresy is in no degree less grievous in those who either by dissimulation lend the error their secret support, or by abstaining from denouncing it extend to it a fatal approbation.

{In another hand.) May the Divinity preserve you in safety for many years !
Given at Eavenna, on the 9th day of June, in the Consulship of Monaxius and Plinta.

A letter, in the same terms, was also sent to the holy Bishop Augustine.

LETTEE ecu.

(A.D. 419.)

TO THE BISHOPS ALYPIUS AND AUGUSTINE, MY LORDS TRULY HOLY, AND DESERVEDLY LOVED AND REVERENCED, JEROME SENDS GREETING IN CHRIST.

Chap. i. 1. The holy presbyter Innocentius, who is the bearer of this letter, did not last year take with him a letter from me to your Eminences, as he had no expectation of returning to Africa. We thank God, however, that it so happened, as it afforded you an opportunity of overcoming [evil with good in requiting] our silence by your letter. Every opportunity of writing to you, revered fathers, is most acceptable to me. I call God to witness that, if it were possible, I would take the wings of a dove and fly to be folded in your embrace. Loving you, indeed, as I have always done, from a deep sense of your worth, but now especially because your co-operation and your leadership have succeeded in strangling the heresy of Celestius, a heresy which has so poisoned the hearts of many, that, though they felt they were vanquished and condemned, yet they did not lay aside their venomous sentiments, and, as the only thing that remained in their power, hated us by whom they imagined that they had lost the liberty of teaching heretical doctrines.

Chap. il 2. As to your inquiry whether I have written in opposition to the books of Annianus, this pretended deacon of Celedse, who is amply provided for in order that he may furnish frivolous accounts of the blasphemies of others, know that I received these books, sent in loose sheets by our holy brother, the presbyter Eusebius, not long ago. Since then I have suffered so much through the attacks of disease, and through the falling asleep of your distinguished and holy daughter Eustochium, that I almost thought of passing over these writings with silent contempt. For he flounders from beginning to end in the same mud, and, with the exception of some jingling phrases which are not original, says nothing he had not said before. Nevertheless, I have gained much in the fact, that xn attempting to answer my letter he has declared his opinions with less reserve, and has published to all men his blasphemies; for every error which he disowned in the wretched synod of Diospolis he in this treatise openly avows.
It is indeed no great thing to answer his superlatively silly puerilities, but if the Lord spare me, and I have a sufficient staff of amanuenses, I will in a few brief lucubrations answer him, not to refute a defunct heresy, but to silence his ignorance and blasphemy by arguments; and this your Holiness could do better than I, as you would relieve me from the necessity

'Pseudodiaconiis.

1

LET. CCIII.] TO LARGUS. 370

of praising my own works in writing to the heretic. Our holy daughters Albina and Melania, and our son Pinianus, salute you cordially. I give to our holy presbyter Innocentius this short letter to convey to you from the holy place Bethlehem.

Your niece Paula piteously entreats you to remember her, and salutes you warmly. May the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve you safe and mindful of me, my lords truly holy, and fathers deservedly loved and reverenced.

LETTEE CCIII.
(A.D. 420.)

TO MY NOBLE LORD AND MOST EXCELLENT AND LOVING SON, LARGUS,
AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

I RECEIVED the letter of your Excellency, in which you ask me to write to you. This assuredly you would not have done unless you had esteemed acceptable and pleasant that which you supposed me capable of writing to you. In other words, I assume that, having desired the vanities of this life when you had not tried them, now, after the trial has been made, you despise them, because in them the pleasure is deceitful, the labour fruitless, the anxiety perpetual, the elevation dangerous. Men seek them at first through imprudence, and give them up at last with disappointment and remorse. This is true of all the things which, in the cares of this mortal life, are coveted with more eagerness than wisdom by the uneasy solicitude of the men of the world. But it is wholly otherwise with the hope of the pious: very different is the fruit of their labours, very different the reward of their dangers. Pear and grief, and labour and danger are unavoidable, so long as we live in this world; but the great question is, for what cause, with what expectation, with what aim a man endures these things. When, indeed, I contemplate the lovers of this world, I know not at what time wisdom can most opportunely attempt their moral improvement; for when they have apparent prosperity, they reject disdainfully her salutary admonitions, and regard them as old wives’ fables; when, again, they are in adversity, they think rather of escaping merely from present suffering than of obtaining the real remedy by which.
they may be made whole, and may arrive at that place where they shall be altogether exempt from suffering. Occasionally, however, some open their ears and hearts to the truth, â€” rarely in prosperity, more frequently in adversity. These are indeed the few, for such it is predicted that they shall be. Among these I desire you to be, because I love you truly, my noble lord and most excellent and loving son. Let this counsel be my answer to your letter, because though I am unwilling that you should henceforth suffer such things as you have endured, yet I would grieve still more if you were found to have suffered these things without any change for the better in your life.

LETTEE CCVII

( A.D. 423.)

TO THE LADY FELICIA, HIS DAUGHTER IN" THE FAITH, AND WORTHY OF HONOUR AMONG THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. I DO not doubt, when I consider both your faith and the weakness or wickedness of others, that your mind has been disturbed, for even a holy apostle, full of compassionate love, confesses a similar experience, saying, " Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not V^ Wherefore, as I myself share your pain, and am solicitous for your welfare in Christ, I have thought it my duty to address this letter, partly consolatory, partly hortatory, to your Holiness, because in the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which all His members are one, you are very closely related to us, being loved as an honourable member in that body, and partaking with us of life in His Holy Spirit.

2. I exhort you, therefore, not to be too much troubled by those offences which for this very reason were foretold as destined to come, that when they came w^e might remember that they had been foretold, and not be greatly disconcerted by them. For the Lord Himself in His gospel foretold them, saying, " Woe unto the world because of offences ! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh!"^ These are the men of whom the ^ 2 Cor. xi. 29. * Matt, xviii. 7.

LET. CCVIII.] TO FELICIA. 381
The apostle said, "They seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's." There are, therefore, some who hold the honourable office of shepherds in order that they may provide for the flock of Christ; others occupy that position that they may enjoy the temporal honours and secular advantages connected with the office. It must needs happen that these two kinds of pastors, some dying, others succeeding them, should continue in the Catholic Church even to the end of time, and the judgment of the Lord. If, then, in the times of the apostles there were men such that Paul, grieved by their conduct, enumerates among his trials, "perils among false brethren," and yet he did not haughtily cast them out, but patiently bore with them, how much more must such arise in our times, since the Lord most plainly says concerning this age which is drawing to a close, "that because iniquity shall abound the love of many shall wax cold." The word which follows, however, ought to console and exhort us, for He adds, "He that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved."

3. Moreover, as there are good shepherds and bad shepherds, so also in the flocks there are good and bad. The good are represented by the name of sheep, but the bad are called goats: they feed, nevertheless, side by side in the same pastures, until the Chief Shepherd, who is called the One Shepherd, shall come and separate them one from another according to His promise, "as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats." On us He has laid the duty of gathering the flock; to Himself He has reserved the work of final separation, because it pertains properly to Him who cannot err. For those presumptuous servants, who have lightly ventured to separate before the time which the Lord has reserved in His own hand, have, instead of separating others, only been separated themselves from Catholic unity; for how could those have a clean flock who have by schism become unclean?

4. In order, therefore, that we may remain in the unity of the faith, and not, stumbling at the offences occasioned by the chaff, desert the threshing-floor of the Lord, but rather remain as wheat till the final winnowing, and by the love which imparts stability to us bear with the beaten straw, our great Shepherd in the gospel admonishes us concerning the good shepherds, that we should not, on account of their good works, place our hope in them, but glorify our heavenly Father for making them such; and concerning the bad shepherds (whom He designed to point out under the name of Scribes and Pharisees), He reminds us that they teach that which is good, though they do that which is evil.

5. Concerning the good shepherds He thus speaks: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your
light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." ^ Concerning the bad shepherds He admonishes the sheep in these words: " The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not." ^ When these are listened to, the sheep of Christ, even through evil teachers, hear His voice, and do not forsake the unity of His flock, because the good which they hear them teach belongs not to the shepherds but to Him, and therefore the sheep are safely fed, since even under bad shepherds they are nourished in the Lord's pastures. They do not, however, imitate the actions of the bad shepherds, because such actions belong not to the world but to the shepherds themselves. In regard, however, to those whom they see to be good shepherds, they not only hear the good things which they teach, but also imitate the good actions which they perform. Of this number was the apostle, who said: " Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." * He was a light kindled by the Eternal Light, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and was placed on a candlestick because He gloried in His cross, concerning which he said: " God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." ^ Moreover, since he sought not his own things, but the things which are Jesus Christ's, whilst he exhorts to the imitation of his own life those whom he had " begotten through the gospel," ^ he


* 1 Cor. xi. 1. Â»Gal. vi. 14. Â« 1 Cor. iv. 15.

I

LET. CCVII] to FELICIA. 383

yet severely reproved those who, by the names of apostles, introduced schisms, and he chides those who said, " I am of Paul; was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?"^  

6. Hence we understand both that the good shepherds are those who seek not their own, but the things of Jesus Christ, and that the good sheep, though imitating the works of the good shepherds by whose ministry they have been gathered together, do not place their hope in them, but rather in the Lord, by whose blood they are redeemed; so that when they may happen to be placed under bad shepherds, preaching Christ's doctrine and doing their own evil works, they will do what they teach, but will not do what they do, and will not, on account of these sons of wickedness, forsake the pastures of the one true Church. For there are both good and bad in the Catholic Church, which, unlike the Donatist sect, is extended and spread abroad, not in Africa only, but through all nations; as the apostle expresses it, " bringing forth fruit, and increasing in the whole world." ^ But those who are separated from the Church, as long as they are opposed to it cannot be good; although
an apparently praiseworthy conversation seems to prove some of them to be good, their separation from the Church itself renders them bad, according to the saying of the Lord: "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth."  

7. Therefore, my daughter, worthy of all welcome and honour among the members of Christ, I exhort you to hold faithfully that which the Lord has committed to you, and love with all your heart Him and His Church who suffered you not, by joining yourself with the lost, to lose the recompense of your virginity, or perish with them. Por if you should depart out of this world separated from the unity of the body of Christ, it will avail you nothing to have preserved inviolate your virginity. But God, who is rich in mercy, has done in regard to you that which is written in the gospel: when the invited guests excused themselves to the master of the feast, he said to the servants, "Go ye, therefore, into the high-

Â» 1 Cor. i. 12, 13.

2 Col. i. 6. The words "xaJ ai^avoVsvav," here translated by Augustine, are found in some mss. but omitted in the Texlus Beceptus. ^ Matt. xii. 30.

384 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCIX.

ways and hedges, and as many as ye shall find compel them to come in."  

^ Although, however, you owe sincerest affection to those good servants of His through whose instrumentality you were compelled to come in, yet it is your duty, nevertheless, to place your hope on Him who prepared the banquet, by whom also you have been persuaded to come to eternal and blessed life. Committing to Him your heart, your vow, and your sacred virginity, and your faith, hope, and charity, you will not be moved by offences, which shall abound even to the end; but, by the unshaken strength of piety, shall be safe and shall triumph in the Lord, continuing in the unity of His body even to the end. Let me know, by your answer, with what sentiments you regard my anxiety for you, to which I have to the best of my ability given expression in this letter. May the grace and mercy of God ever protect you!

LETTER CCIX.

(A.D. 423.)

TO CIELESTINE,^ MY LORD |\MOST BLESSED, AND HOLY FATHER |\VENERATED WITH ALL DUE AFFECTION, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. First of all I congratulate you that our Lord God has, as we have heard, established you in the illustrious chair which you occupy without any division among His people. In the next place, I lay before your Holiness the state of affairs with us, that not only by your
prayers, but with your counsel and aid you may help us. For I write to you at this time under deep affliction, because, while wishing to benefit certain members of Christ in our neighbourhood, I brought on them a great calamity by my want of prudence and caution.

2. Bordering on the district of Hippo, there is a small town: named Fussala: formerly there was no bishop there, but, along with the contiguous district, it was included in the

Â» Matt. xxii. 9; Luke xiv. 23.

2 The successor of Boniface as Bishop of Rome, See note to Letter CXCII.
For a summary of the arguments which may be used on both sides in regard to the genuineness of this letter, which is found in only one ws., see Dupin's remarks upon it in his Ecclesiastical History, 5th century.

3 Castellura.

LET. CCIX.] TO CELESTINE. 385

parish of Hippo. That part of the country had few Catholics; the error of the Donatists held under its miserable influence all the other congregations located in the midst of a large population, so that in the town of Fussala itself there was not one Catholic. In the mercy of God, all these places were brought to attach themselves to the unity of the Church; with how much toil, and how many dangers it would take long to tell, â€” how the presbyters originally appointed by us to gather these people into the fold were robbed, beaten, maimed, deprived of their eyesight, and even put to death; whose sufferings, however, were not useless and unfruitful, seeing that by them the re-establishment of unity was achieved. But as Fussala is forty miles distant from Hippo, and I saw that in governing its people, and gathering together the remnant, however small, of persons of both sexes, who, not threatening others, but fleeing for their own safety, were scattered here and there, my work would be extended farther than it ought, and that I could not give the attention which I clearly perceived to be necessary, I arranged that a bishop should be ordained and appointed there.

3. With a view to the carrying out of this, I sought for a person who might be suitable to the locality and people, and at the same time acquainted with the Punic language; and I had in my mind a presbyter fitted for the office.
Having applied by letter to the holy senior bishop who was then Primate of Numidia, I obtained his consent to come from a great distance to ordain this presbyter. After his
coming, when all our minds were intent on an affair of so great consequence, at the last moment, the person whom I believed to be ready to be ordained disappointed us by absolutely refusing to accept the office. Then I myself, who, as the event showed, ought rather to have postponed than precipitated a matter so perilous, being unwilling that the very venerable and holy old man, who had come with so much fatigue to us, should return home without accomplishing the business for which he had journeyed so far, offered to the people, without their seeking him, a young man, Antonius, who was then with me. He had been from childhood brought up in a monastery by us, but, beyond officiating as a reader,

LET. n. 2 b

386 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCIX.

he had no experience of the labours pertaining to the various degrees of rank in the clerical office. The unhappy people, not knowing what was to follow, submissively trusting me, accepted him on my suggestion. What need I say more? The deed was done; he entered on his office as their bishop.

4. What shall I do? I am unwilling to accuse before your venerable Dignity one whom I brought into the fold, and nourished with care; and I am unwilling to forsake those in seeking whose ingathering to the Church I have travailed, amid fears and anxieties; and how to do justice to both I cannot discover. The matter has come to such a painful crisis, that those who, in compliance with my wishes, had, in the belief that they were consulting their own interests, chosen him for their bishop, are now bringing charges against him before me. When the most serious of these, namely, charges of gross immorality, which were brought forward not by those whose bishop he was, but by certain other individuals, were found to be utterly unsupported by evidence, and he seemed to us fully acquitted of the crimes laid most ungenerously to his charge, he was on this account regarded, both by ourselves and by others, with such sympathy that the things complained of by the people of Fussala and the surrounding district, such as intolerable tyranny and spoliation, and extortion, and oppression of various kinds, by no means seemed so grievous that for one, or for all of them taken together, we should deem it necessary to deprive him of the office of bishop; it seemed to us enough to insist that he should restore what might be proved to have been taken away unjustly.

5. In line, we so mixed clemency with severity in our sentence, that while reserving to him his office of bishop, we did not leave altogether unpunished offences which behoved neither to be repeated again by himself, nor held forth to the imitation of others. We therefore, in correcting him, reserved to the young man the rank of his office unimpaired, but at the same time, as a punishment, we took away his power, appointing that he should not any longer rule over those with whom he had dealt in such a manner, that with just resentment they, could not submit to his authority, and might perhaps manifest their impatient indignation by breakinj
forth into some deeds of violence fraught with danger both to themselves and to him. That this was the state of feeling evidently appeared when the bishops dealt with them concerning Antoniiis, although at present that conspicuous man Celer, of whose powerful interference against him he complained, possesses no power, either in Africa or elsewhere.

G. But why should I detain you with further particulars? I beseech you to assist us in this laborious matter, blessed lord and holy father, venerated for your piety, and revered with due affection; and command all the documents which have been forwarded to be read aloud to you. Observe in what manner Antonius discharged his duties as bishop; how, when debarred from communion until full restitution should be made to the men of Fussala, he submitted to our sentence, and has now set apart a sum out of which to pay what may after inquiry be deemed just for compensation, in order that the privilege of communion might be restored to him; with what crafty reasoning he prevailed on our aged primate, a most venerable man, to believe all his statements, and to recommend him as altogether blameless to the venerable Pope Boniface. But why should I rehearse all the rest, seeing that the venerable old man aforesaid must have reported the entire matter to your Holiness?

7. In the numerous minutes of procedure in which our judgment regarding him is recorded, I should have feared that we might appear to you to have passed a sentence less severe than we ought to have done, did I not know that you are so prone to mercy that you will deem it your duty to spare not us only, because we spared him, but also the man himself. But what we did, whether in kindness or laxity, he attempts to turn to account, and use as a legal objection to our sentence. He boldly protests: "Either I ought to sit in my own episcopal chair, or ought not to be a bishop at all," as if he were now sitting in any seat but his own.

For, on this very account, those places were set apart and assigned to him in which he had previously been bishop, that he might not be said to be unlawfully translated to another see, contrary to the statutes of the Fathers; or is it

Translations from one see to another, now permitted, had been forbidden by the Councils of Nice, Sardis, and Antioch.
to be maintained that one ought to be so rigid an advocate, either for severity or for lenity, as to insist, either that no punishment be inflicted on those who seem not to deserve deposition from the office of bishop, or that the sentence of deposition be pronounced on all who seem to deserve any punishment?

8. There are cases on record, in which the Apostolic See, either pronouncing judgment or confirming the judgment of others, sanctioned decisions by which persons, for certain offences, were neither deposed from their episcopal office nor left altogether unpunished. I shall not bring forward those which occurred at a period very remote from our own time; I shall mention recent instances. Let Priscus, a bishop of the province of Ctesarea, protest boldly: "Either the office of primate should be open to me, a\^ to other bishops, or I ought not to remain a bishop." Let Victor, another bishop of the same province, with whom, when involved in the same sentence as Priscus, no bishop beyond his own diocese holds communion, let him, I say, protest with similar confidence: "Either I ought to have communion everywhere, or I ought not to have it in my own district." Let Laurentius, a third bishop of the same province, speak, and in the precise words of this man he may exclaim: "Either I ought to sit in the chair to which I have been ordained, or I ought not to be a bishop." But who can find fault with these judgments, except one who does not consider that, neither on the one hand ought all offences to be left unpunished, nor on the other ought all to be punished in one way?

9. Since, then, the most blessed Pope Boniface, speaking of Bishop Antonius, has in his epistle, with the vigilant caution becoming a pastor, inserted in his judgment the additional clause, "if he has faithfully narrated the facts of the case to us," receive now the facts of the case, which in his statement to you he passed over in silence, and also the transactions which took place after the letter of that man of blessed memory had been read in Africa, and in the mercy of Christ extend your aid to men imploring it more earnestly than he does from whose turbulence they desire to be freed. For either from himself, or at least from very frequent rumours, threats are held out that the courts of justiciary, and the public authorities, and the violence of the military, are to carry into force the decision of the Apostolic See; the effect of which is
that these unhappy men, being now Catholic Christians, dread greater evils from a Catholic bishop than those which, when they were heretics, they dreaded from the laws of Catholic emperors. Do not permit these things to be done, I implore you, by the blood of Christ, by the memory of the Apostle Peter, who has warned those placed over Christian people against violently "lording it over their brethren."^ I commend to the gracious love of your Holiness the Catholics of Fussala, my children in Christ, and also Bishop Antonius, my son in Christ, for I love both, and I commend both to you. I do not blame the people of Fussala for bringing to your ears their just complaint against me for imposing on them a man whom I had not proved, and who was in age at least not yet established, by whom they have been so afflicted; nor do I wish any wrong done to Antonius, whose evil covetousness I oppose with a determination proportioned to my sincere affection for him. Let your compassion be extended to both, "â€” to them, so that they may not suffer evil; to him, so that he may not do evil; to them, so that they may not hate the Catholic Church, if they find no aid in defence against a Catholic bishop extended to them by Catholic bishops, and especially by the Apostolic See itself; to him, on the other hand, so that he may not involve himself in such grievous wickedness as to alienate from Christ those whom against their will he endeavours to make his own.

10. As for myself, I must acknowledge to your Holiness, that in the danger which threatens both, I am so racked with anxiety and grief that I think of retiring from the responsibilities of the episcopal office, and abandoning myself to demonstrations of sorrow corresponding to the greatness of my error, if I shall see (through the conduct of him in favour of whose election to the bishopric I imprudently gave my vote) the Church of God laid waste, and (which may God forbid) I even perish, involving in its destruction the man by whom it was laid waste. Recollecting what the apostle says: "K we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged."^ I will judge myself, that He may spare me who is hereafter to judge the quick and the dead. If, however, you succeed in restoring the members of Christ in that district from their deadly fear and grief, and in comforting my old age by the administration of justice tempered with mercy. He who brings deliverance to us through you in this tribulation, and who has

390 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCX.

judge myself, that He may spare me who is hereafter to judge the quick and the dead. If, however, you succeed in restoring the members of Christ in that district from their deadly fear and grief, and in comforting my old age by the administration of justice tempered with mercy. He who brings deliverance to us through you in this tribulation, and who has
established you in the seat which you occupy, shall recompense unto you good for good, both in this life and in that which is to come.

LET TEE CCX.

(a.d. 423.)

to the most beloved and most holy mother felicitas,* and brother rusticus, and to the sisters who are with them, augustine and those who are with him send greeting in the lord.

1. Good is the Lord, and to every place extends His mercy, which comforts us by your love to us in Him. How much He loves those who believe and hope in Him, and who both love Him and love one another, and what blessings He keeps in store for them hereafter. He proves most remarkably in this, that on the unbelieving, the abandoned, and the perverse, whom He threatens with eternal fire if they persevere in their evil disposition to the end. He does in this life bestow so many benefits, making "His sun to rise on the evil and on the good," "on the just and on the unjust," words in which, for the sake of brevity, some instances are mentioned that many more may be suggested to reflection; for who can reckon up how many gracious benefits the wicked receive in this life from Him whom they despise? Amongst tliese, this is one of great value, that by the experience of the occasional afflictions, which like a good physician He mingles with the pleasures of this life. He admonishes them, if only they will give heed, to flee from the wrath to come, and whilst they are in the way, that is, in this life, to agree with the word of God, which they have

* The prioress of the nunnery at Hippo, appointed to that office after the death of the sister of Augustine.

Â» Matt. V. 45.

made an adversary to themselves by their wicked lives. What, then, is not bestowed in mercy on men by the Lord God, since even affliction sent by Him is a blessing? For prosperity is a gift of God when He comforts, adversity a gift of God when He warns; and if He bestows these things, as I have said, even on the wicked, what does He prepare for those who bear Avith one another? Into this number you rejoice that through His grace you have been gathered, "forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Â For there shall not be a wanting occasion for your
bearing one with another till God shall have so purified you, that, death being "swallowed up in victory," ^ "God shall be all in all." ^

2. We ought never, indeed, to take pleasure in quarrels; but however averse we may be to them, they occasionally either arise from love, or put it to the test. For how difficult is it to find any one willing to be reproved; and where is the wise man of whom it is said, "Ee humane wise man, and he will love thee " ? * But are we on that account not to reprove and find fault with a brother, to prevent him from going down through false security to death ? For it is a common and frequent experience, that when a brother is found fault with he is mortified at the time, and resists and contradicts his friend, but afterwards reconsiders the matter in silence alone with God, where he is not afraid of giving offence to men by submitting to correction, but is afraid of offending God by refusing to be reformed, and thenceforward refrains from doing that for which he has been justly reproved; and in proportion as he hates his sin, he loves the brother whom he feels to have been the enemy of his sin. But if he belong to the number of those of whom it is said, " Eeprove not a scorner lest he hate thee," ^ the quarrel does not arise from love on the part of the reproved, but it exercises and tests the love of the reprover; for he does not return hatred for hatred, but the love which constrains him to find fault endures unmoved, even when he who is found fault with requites it with hatred. But if the reprover renders evil for evil to the man who takes offence at being reproved, he was not worthy to reprove another, but evidently deserves to be himself reproved. Act upon these principles, so that either quarrels may not arise, or, if they do arise, may quickly terminate in peace. Be more earnest to dwell in concord than to vanquish each other in controversy.

For as vinegar corrodes a vessel if it remain long in it, so anger corrodes the heart if it is cherished till the morrow.

These things, therefore, observe, and the God of peace shall be with you. Pray also unitedly for us, that we may cheerfully practise the good advices which we give to you.

392 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXL

being reproved, he was not worthy to reprove another, but evidently deserves to be himself reproved. Act upon these principles, so that either quarrels may not arise, or, if they do arise, may quickly terminate in peace. Be more earnest to dwell in concord than to vanquish each other in controversy.

For as vinegar corrodes a vessel if it remain long in it, so anger corrodes the heart if it is cherished till the morrow.

These things, therefore, observe, and the God of peace shall be with you. Pray also unitedly for us, that we may cheerfully practise the good advices which we give to you.

LETTEII CCXI.

(A.D. 423.)

IN THIS LETTER AUGUSTINE REBUKES THE NUNS OF THE MONASTERY IN WHICH HIS SISTER HAD BEEN PRIORESS, FOR
CERTAIN TURBULENT MANIFESTATIONS OF DISSATISFACTION WITH HER SUCCESSOR, AND LAYS DOWN GENERAL RULES FOR THEIR GUIDANCE.

1. As severity is ready to punish the faults which it may discover, so charity is reluctant to discover the faults which it must punish. This was the reason of my not acceding to your request for a visit from me, at a time when, if I had come, I must have come not to rejoice in your harmony, but to add more vehemence to your strife. For how could I have treated your behaviour with indifference, or have allowed it to pass unpunished, if so great a tumult had arisen among you in my presence, as that which, when I was absent, assailed my ears with the din of your voices, although my eyes did not witness your disorder? For perhaps your rising against authority would have been even more violent in my presence, since I must have refused the concessions which you demanded, "concessions involving, to your own disadvantage, some most dangerous precedents, subversive of sound discipline; and I must thus have found you such as I did not desire, and must have myself been found by you such as you did not desire.

2. The apostle, "vTiting to the Corinthians, says: "Moreover, I call God for a record upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet to Corinth. Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." I also say the same to you; to spare you I have not come to you. I have also spared myself, that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow, and have chosen not to see you face to face, but to pour out my heart to God on your behalf, and to plead the cause of your great danger not in words before you, but in tears before God; entreating Him that He may not turn into grief the joy wherewith I am wont to rejoice in you, and that amid the great offences with which this world everywhere abounds, I may be comforted at times by thinking of your number, your pure affection, your holy conversation, and the abundant grace of God which is given to you, so that you not only have renounced matrimony, but have chosen to dwell with one accord in fellowship under the same roof, that you may have one soul and one heart in God.

3. When I reflect on these good things, these gifts of God in you, my heart, amid the many storms by which it is agitated through evils elsewhere, is wont to find perfect rest. "Ye did run well; who did hinder you, that ye should not obey the truth? This persuasion cometh not of Him that calleth you." "A little leaven " â€” I am unwilling to complete
the sentence, for I rather desire, entreat, and exhort that the leaven itself be transformed into something better, lest it change the whole lump for the worse, as it has already almost done. If, therefore, you have begun to put forth again the budings of a sound discernment as to your duty, pray that you enter not into temptation, nor fall again into strifes, emulations, animosities, divisions, evil* speaking, seditions, whisperings. For we have not laboured as we have done in planting and watering the garden of the Lord among you, that we may reap these thorns from you. If, however, your weakness be still disturbed by turbulence, pray that you

' 2 Cor. i. 23. 2 q,\(^\text{\textcopyright}\) \(^\text{\textcopyright}\) 7\(^\text{\textcopyright}\) g. M Cor. v. 6.

394 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXL

may be delivered from this temptation. As for the troublers of your peace, if such there be still among you, they shall, unless they amend their conduct, bear their judgment, whoever they be.

4. Consider how evil a thing it is, that at the very time when we rejoice in the return of the Donatists to our unity, we have to lament internal discord within our monastery. Be stedfast in observing your good vows, and you will not desire to change for another the prioress whose care of the monastery has been for so many years unwearied, under whom also you have both increased in numbers and advanced in age, and who has given you the place in her heart which a mother gives to her own children. All of you when you came to the monastery found her there, either discharging satisfactorily the duties of assistant to the late holy prioress, my sister, or, after her own accession to that office, giving you a welcome to the sisterhood. Under her you spent your noviciate, under her you took the veil, under her your number has been multiplied, and yet you are riotously demanding that she should be replaced by another, whereas, if the proposal to put another in her place had come from us, it would have been seemly for you to have mourned over such a proposal. For she is one whom you know well; to her you came at first, and under her you have for so many years advanced in age and in numbers. No official previously unknown to you has been appointed, excepting the prior; if it be on his account that you seek a change, and if through aversion to him you thus rebel against your mother, why do you not rather petition for his removal? If, however, you recoil from this suggestion, for I know how you reverence and love him in Christ, why do you not all the more for his sake reverence and love her? For the first measures of the recently appointed prior in presiding over you are so hindered by your disorderly behaviour, that he is himself disposed to leave you, rather than be subjected on your account to the dishonour and odium which must arise from the report going abroad, that you would not have sought another prioress unless you had begun to have him as your prior. May God therefore calm and compose your minds:
LET. CCXL] to the NUNS. 395

let not the work of the devil prevail in you, but may the peace of Christ gain the victory in your hearts; and do not rush headlong to death, either through vexation of spirit, because what you desire is refused, or through shame, because of having desired what you ought not to have desired, but rather by repentance resume the conscientious discharge of duty; and imitate not the repentance of Judas the traitor, but the tears of Peter the shepherd.

5. The rules which we lay down to be observed by you as persons settled in a monastery are these:â€”

First of all, in order to fulfil the end for which you have been gathered into one community, dwell in the house with oneness of spirit, and let your hearts and minds be one in God. Also call not anything the property of any one, but let all things be common property, and let distribution of food and raiment be made to each of you by the prioress, â€” not equally to all, because you are not all equally strong, but to every one according to her need. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles: "They had all things common: and distribution was made to every man according as he had need." ^ Let those who had any worldly goods when they entered the monastery cheerfully desire that these become common property.

Let those who had no worldly goods not ask within the monastery for luxuries which they could not have while they were outside of its walls; nevertheless, let the comforts which the infirmity of any of them may require be given to such, though their poverty before coming in to the monastery may have been such that they could not have procured for themselves the bare necessaries of life; and let them in such case be careful not to reckon it the chief happiness of their present lot that they have found within the monastery* food and raiment, such as was elsewhere beyond their reach.

G. Let them, moreover, not hold their heads high because they are associated on terms of equality with persons whom they durst not have approached in the outer world; but let them rather lift their hearts on high, and not seek after earthly possessions, lest, if the rich be made lowly but the poor puffed up with vanity in our monasteries, these institu-

^ Acts iv. 32, 35.

96 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXL
On the other hand, however, let not those who seemed to hold some position in the world regard with contempt their sisters, who in coming into this sacred fellowship have left a condition of poverty; let them be careful to glory rather in the fellowship of their poor sisters, than in the rank of their wealthy parents. And let them not lift themselves up above the rest because of their having, perchance, contributed somethings from their own resources to the maintenance of the community, lest they find in their riches more occasion for pride, because they divide them with others in a monastery, than they might have found if they had spent them in their own enjoyment in the world. For every other kind of sin finds scope in evil works, so that by it they are done, but pride lurks even in good works, so that by it they are undone; and what avails it to lavish money on the poor, and become poor oneself, if the unhappy soul is rendered more proud by despising riches than it had been by possessing them? Live, then, all of you, in unanimity and concord, and in each other give honour to that God whose temples you have been made.

7. Be regular (instate) in prayers at the appointed hours and times. In the oratory let no one do anything else than the duty for which the place was made, and from which it has received its name; so that if any of you, having leisure, wish to pray at other hours than those appointed, they may not be hindered by others using the place for any other purpose. In the psalms and hymns used in your prayers to God, let that be pondered in the heart which is uttered by the voice; chant nothing but what you find prescribed to be chanted; whatever is not so prescribed is not to be chanted.

8. Keep the flesh under by fastings and by abstinence from meat and drink, so far as health allows. When any one is not able to fast, let her not, unless she be ill, take any nourishment except at the customary hour of repast. From the time of your coming to table until you rise from it, listen without noise and wrangling to whatever may be in course read to you; let not your mouths alone be exercised in receiving food, let your ears be also occupied in receiving the word of God.

9. If those who are weak in consequence of their early training are treated somewhat differently in regard to food, this ought not to be vexatious or seem unjust to others whom a different training has made more robust. And let them not esteem these weaker ones more favoured than themselves, because they receive a fare somewhat less frugal than their own, but rather congratulate themselves on enjoying a vigour of constitution which the others do not possess. And if to those who have entered the monastery after a more delicate upbringing at home, there be given any food, clothing, couch, or covering which to others who are stronger, and in that respect more favourably circumstanced, is not given, the sisters to whom these indulgences are not given ought to consider how great a descent the others have made from their style of
living in the world to that which they now have, although they may not have been able to come altogether down to the severe simplicity of others who have a more hardy constitution. And when those who were originally more wealthy see others receiving not as mark of higher honour, but out of consideration for infirmity more largely than they do themselves, they ought not to be disturbed by fear of any such detestable perversion of monastic discipline as this, that the poor are to be trained to luxury in a monastery in which the wealthy are, so far as they can bear it, trained to hardships. For, of course, as those who are ill must take less food, otherwise they would increase their disease, so after illness, those who are convalescent must, in order to their more rapid recovery, be so nursed even though they may have come from the lowest poverty to the monastery as if their recent illness had conferred on them the same claim for special treatment as their former style of living confers upon those who, before entering the monastery, were rich. So soon, however, as they regain their wonted health, let them return to their own happier mode of living, which, as involving fewer wants, is more suitable for those who are servants of God; and let not inclination detain them when they are strong in that amount of ease to which necessity had raised them when they were weak. Let those regard themselves as truly richer who are endowed with greater strength to bear hardships. For it is better to have fewer wants than to have larger resources.

10. Let your apparel be in no wise conspicuous; and aspire [ 

letters of St. Augustine. [IET. CCXI. 

\to please others by your behaviour rather than by your attire.

, Let your head-dresses not be so thin as to let the nets below them be seen. Let your hair be worn wholly covered, and let it neither be carelessly dishevelled nor too scrupulously arranged.

' when you go beyond the monastery. "When you go anywhere, walk together; when you come to the place to which you were going, stand together. In walking, in standing, in deportment, and in all your movements let nothing be done which might attract the improper desires of any one, but rather let all be in keeping with your sacred character. Though a passing glance be directed towards any man, let your eyes look fixedly at none; for when you are walking you are not forbidden to see men, but you must neither let your desires go out to them, nor wish to be the objects of desire on their part. For it is not only by touch that a woman awakens in any man or cherishes towards him such desire, this may be done by inward feelings and by looks. And say not that you have chaste minds though you may have wanton eyes, for a wanton eye is the index of a wanton heart. And when wanton hearts exchange signals with each other in looks, the tongue is silent, and are, by the force of sensual passion, pleased by the reciprocation of inflamed desire, their purity of character is gone, though their bodies are not defiled by any act of
uncleanness. Nor let her who fixes her eyes upon one of the other sex, and takes pleasure in his eye being fixed on her, imagine that the act is not observed by others; she is seen assuredly by those by whom she supposes herself not to be remarked. But even though she should elude notice, and be seen by no human eye, what shall she do with that Witness above us from whom nothing can be concealed? Is He to be regarded as not seeing because His eye rests on all things with a long-suffering proportioned to His wisdom?

Let every holy woman guard herself from desiring sinfully to please man by cherishing a fear of displeasing God; let her check the desire of sinfully looking upon man by remembering that God's eye is looking upon all things. For in this very matter we are exhorted to cherish fear of God by the words of Scripture: "He that looks with a fixed eye is an abomination to the Lord."^ AVhen, therefore, you are together

^ ProV. XXVii. 20, LXX. /SiXt/y/~a KVfiy arr.f't^uv cf6xXF9v.

in the church, or in any other place where men also are present, guard your chastity by watching over one another, and God, who dwelleth in you, will thus guard you by means of yourselves.

11. And if you perceive in any one of your number this frowardness of eye, warn her at once, so that the evil which has begun may not go on, but be checked immediately. But if, after this admonition, you see her repeat the offence, or do the same thing on any other subsequent day, whoever may have had the opportunity of seeing this must now report her as one who has been wounded and requires to be healed, but not without pointing her out to another, and perhaps a third sister, so that she may be convicted by the testimony of two or three witnesses,^ and may be reprimanded with necessary severity. And do not think that in thus informing upon one another you are guilty of malevolence. For the truth rather is, that you are not guiltless if by keeping silence you allow sisters to perish, whom you may correct by giving information of their faults. For if your sister had a wound on her person which she wished to conceal through fear of the surgeon's lance, would it not be cruel if you kept silence about it, and true compassion if you made it known? How much more, then, are you bound to make known her sin, that she may not suffer more fatally from a neglected spiritual wound. But before she is pointed out to others as witnesses by whom she may be convicted if she deny the charge, the offender ought to be brought before the prioress, if after admonition she has refused to be corrected, so that by her being in this way more privately rebuked, the fault which she has committed may not become known to all the others. If, however, she then deny the charge, then others must be employed to observe her conduct after the denial, so that now before the whole sisterhood she may not be accused by one witness, but convicted
by two or three. When convicted of the fault, it is her duty to submit to the corrective discipline which may be appointed by the prioress or the prior.

If she refuse to submit to this, and does not go away from you of her own accord, let her be expelled from your society. For this is not done cruelly but mercifully, to protect very many

'Matt, xviii. IC.

400 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXI.

from perishing through infection of the plague with which one has been stricken. Moreover, what I have now said in regard to abstaining from wanton looks should be carefully observed, with due love for the persons and hatred of the sin, in observing, forbidding, reporting, proving, and punishing of all other faults. But if any one among you has gone on into so great sin as to receive secretly from any man letters or gifts of any description, let her be pardoned and prayed for if she confess this of her own accord. If, however, she is found out and is convicted of such conduct, let her be more severely punished, according to the sentence of the prioressess, or of the prior, or even of the bishop.

12. Keep your clothes in one place, under the care of one or two, or as many as may be required to shake them so as to keep them from being injured by moths; and as your food is supplied from one storeroom, let your clothes be provided from one wardrobe. And whatever may be brought out to you as wearing apparel suitable for the season, regard it, if possible, as a matter of no importance whether each of you receives the very same article of clothing which she had formerly laid aside, or one receive what another formerly wore, provided only that what is necessary be denied to no one. But if contentions and murmurings are occasioned among you by this, and some one of you complains that she has received some article of dress inferior to that which she formerly wore, and thinks it beneath her to be so clothed as her other sister was, by this prove your own selves, and judge how far deficient you must be in the inner holy dress of the heart, when you quarrel with each other about the clothing of the body. Nevertheless, if your infirmity is indulged by the concession that you are to receive again the identical article which you had laid aside, let whatever you put past be, nevertheless, kept in one place, and in charge of the ordinary keepers of the wardrobe; it being, of course, understood that no one is to work in making any article for clothing or for the couch, or any girdle, veil, or head-dress, for her own private comfort, but that all your works be done for the common good of all, with greater zeal and more cheerful perseverance than if you were each working for your individual interest. For the love concerning which it is
written, "Charity seeketh not her own" is to be understood as that which prefers the common good to personal advantage, not personal advantage to the common good. Therefore the more fully that you give to the common good a preference above your personal and private interests, the more fully will you be sensible of progress in securing that, in regard to all those things which supply wants destined soon to pass away, the charity which abides may hold a conspicuous and influential place. An obvious corollary from these rules is, that when persons of either sex bring to their own daughters in the monastery, or to inmates belonging to them by any other relationship, presents of clothing or of other articles which are to be regarded as necessary, such gifts are not to be received privately, but must be under the control of the prioress, that, being added to the common stock, they may be placed at the service of any inmate to whom they may be necessary. If any one conceal any gift bestowed on her, let sentence be passed on her as guilty of theft.

13. Let your clothes be washed, whether by yourselves or by washerwomen, at such intervals as are approved by the prioress, lest the indulgence of undue solicitude about spotless raiment produce inward stains upon your souls. Let the washing of the body and the use of baths be not constant, but at the usual interval assigned to it, i.e. once in a month. In the case, however, of illness rendering necessary the washing of the person, let it not be unduly delayed; let it be done on the physician's recommendation without complaint; and even though the patient be reluctant, she must do at the order of the prioress what health demands. If, however, a patient desires the bath, and it happen to be not for her good, her desire must not be yielded to, for sometimes it is supposed to be beneficial because it gives pleasure, although in reality it may be doing harm. Finally, if a handmaid of God suffers from any hidden pain of body, let her statement as to her suffering be believed without hesitation; but if there be any uncertainty whether that which she finds agreeable be really of use in curing her pain, let the physician be consulted. To the baths, or to any place whither it may be necessary to go,

* 1 Cor. xiii. 5.
LET. IL 2 C

402 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXL

let no fewer than three go at any time. Moreover, the sister requiring to go anywhere is not to go with those whom she may choose herself, but with those whom the prioress may order. The care of the sick, and of those who require attention as convalescents, and of those who, without any feverish symptoms, are labouring under debility, ought to be committed to some one of your number, who shall procure for them from the storeroom what she shall see to be necessary for each. Moreover, let those who have charge, whether in the storeroom, or in the wardrobe, or in the library, render service to their sisters without murmuring. Let manuscripts be applied
for at a fixed hour every day, and let none who ask them at other hours receive them. But at whatever time clothes and shoes may be required by one in need of these, let not those in charge of this department delay supplying the want.

14. Quarrels should be unknown among you, or at least, if they arise, they should as quickly as possible be ended, lest anger grow into hatred, and convert "a mote into a beam," and make the soul chargeable with murder. For the saying of Scripture: "He that hateth his brother is a murderer," does not concern men only, but women also are bound by this law through its being enjoined on the other sex, which was prior in the order of creation. Let her, whoever she be, that shall have injured another by taunt or abusive language, or false accusation, remember to remedy the wrong by apology as promptly as possible, and let her who was injured grant forgiveness without further disputation. If the injury has been mutual, the duty of both parties will be mutual forgiveness, because of your prayers, which, as they are more frequent, ought to be all the more sacred in your esteem. But the sister who is prompt in asking another whom she confesses that she has wronged to grant her forgiveness is, though she may be more frequently betrayed by a hasty temper, better than another who, though less irascible, is with more difficulty persuaded to ask forgiveness. Let not her who refuses to forgive her sister expect to receive answers to prayer: as for any sister who never will ask forgiveness, or does not do it from the heart, it is no advantage to such an one to be in a monastery, even though she may not be expelled.

Wherefore abstain from hard words; but if they have escaped your lips, be not slow to bring words of healing from the same lips by which the wounds were inflicted. When, however, the necessity of discipline compels you to use hard words in restraining the younger inmates, even though you feel that in these you have gone too far, it is not imperative on you to ask their forgiveness, lest while undue humility is observed by you towards those who ought to be subject to you, the authority necessary for governing them be impaired; but pardon must nevertheless be sought from the Lord of all, who knows with what goodwill you love even those whom you reprove it may be with undue severity. The love which you bear to each other must be not carnal, but spiritual: for those things which are practised by immodest women in shameful frolic and sporting with one another ought not even to be done by those of your sex who are married, or are intending to marry, and much more ought not to be done by widows or chaste virgins dedicated to be handmaids of Christ by a holy vow.

15. Obey the prioress as a mother, giving her all due honour, that God may not be offended by your forgetting what you owe to her: still more is it incumbent on you to
obey the presbyter who has charge of you all. To the prioress most specially belongs the
responsibility of seeing that all these rules be observed, and that if any rule has been
neglected, the offence be not passed over, but carefully corrected and punished; it being,
of course, open to her to refer to the presbyter any matter that goes beyond her province
or power.
But let her count himself happy not in exercising the power which rules, but in practising
the love which serves. In honour in the sight of men let her be raised above you, but in
fear in the sight of God let her be as it were beneath your feet. Let her show herself
before all a "pattern of good works." ^ Let her " warn the unruly, comfort the
feebleminded, support the weak, be patient toward all." ^ Let her cheerfully observe and
cautiously impose rules. And, though both are necessary, let her be more anxious to be
loved than to be feared by you; always reflecting that for you she must
1 Titus ii. 7. 2 1 Tj^ess. v. 14.

give account to God. For this reason yield obedience to her out of compassion not for
yourselves only but also for her, because, as she occupies a higher position among you,
her danger is proportionately greater than your own.
16. The Lord grant that you may yield loving submission to all these rules, as persons
enamoured of spiritual beauty, and diffusing a sweet savour of Christ by means of a good
conversation, not as bondwomen under the law, but as established in freedom under
grace. That you may, however, examine yourselves by this treatise as by a mirror, and
may not through forgetfulness neglect anything, let it be read over by you once a week;
and in so far as you find yourselves practising the things written here, give thanks for this
to God, the Giver of all good; in so far, however, as any of you finds herself to be in
some particular defective, let her lament the past and be on her guard in the time to come,
praying both that her debt may be forgiven, and that she may not be led into temptation.

LETTEE CCXIL

(A.D. 423.)

TO QUINTILIANUS, MY LORD MOST BLESSED AND BROTHER AND
FELLOW BISHOP DESERVEDLY VENERABLE, AUGUSTINE SENDS
GREETING.

Venerable father, I commend to you in the love of Christ these honourable servants of
God and precious members of Christ, Galla, a widow (who has taken on herself sacred
vows), and her daughter Simplicia, a consecrated virgin, who is subject to her mother by
reason of her age, but above her by reason of her holiness. We have nourished them as far as we have been able with the word of God; and by this epistle, as if it were with my own hand, I commit them to you, to be comforted and aided in every way which their interest or necessity requires. This duty your Holiness would doubtless have undertaken without any recommendation from me; for if it is our duty on account of the Jerusalem above, of which we all are citizens, and in which they desire to have a place

LET. CCXII.] AUGUSTINE DESIGNATES HIS SUCCESSOR. 405

of distinguished holiness, to cherish towards them not only the affection due to fellow-citizens, but even brotherly love, how much stronger is their claim on you, who reside in the same country in this earth in which these ladies, for the love of Christ, renounced the distinctions of this world! I also ask you to condescend to receive with the same love with which I have offered it my official salutation, and to remember me in your prayers. These ladies carry with them relics of the most blessed and glorious martyr Stephen: your Holiness knows how to give due honour to these, as we have done.-^
me if I were to speak of any other subject. We all are mortal, and the day which shall be
the last of life on earth is to every man at all times uncertain; but in infancy there is hope
of entering on boyhood, and so our hope goes on, looking forward from boyhood to
youth, from youth to manhood, and from manhood to old age: whether these hopes may
be realized or not is uncertain, but there is in each case something which may be hoped
for. But old age has no other period of this life to look forward to with expectation: how
long old age may in any case be prolonged is uncertain, but it is certain that no other age
destined to take its place lies beyond. I came to this town â€” for such was the will of
God â€” when I was in the prime of life. I was young then, but now I am old. I know that
churches are wont to be disturbed after the decease of their bishops by ambitious or
contentious parties, and I feel it to be my duty to take measures to prevent this
community from suffering, in connection with my decease, that which I have often
observed and lamented elsewhere. You are aware, my beloved, that I recently visited the
Church of Milevi; for certain brethren, and especially the servants of God there,
requested me to come, because some disturbance was apprehended after the death of my
brother and fellow bishop Severus, of blessed memory. I went accordingly, and the Lord
was in mercy pleased so to help us that they harmoniously accepted as bishop the person
designated by their former bishop in his lifetime; for when this designation had become
known to them, they willingly acquiesced in the choice which he had made. An omission,
however, had occurred by which some were dissatisfied; for brother Severus, believing
that it might be sufficient for him to mention to the clergy the name of his successor, did
not speak of the matter to the people, which gave rise to dissatisfaction in the minds of
some. But why should I say more? By the good pleasure of God, the dissatisfaction
was removed, joy took its place in the minds of all, and he was ordained as bishop whom
Severus had proposed. To obviate all such occasion of complaint in this case, I now
intimate to all here my desire, which I believe to be also the will of God: I wish to have
for my successor the presbyter Eraclius."

LET. CCXIII.] AUGUSTINE DESIGNATES HIS SUCCESSOR. 407

The people shouted, "To God he thanks! To Christ he praise!
(this was repeated twenty-three times). "Christ, hear us; may Augustine live long!"
(repeated sixteen times).
"We will have thee as our father, thee as our bishop"
(repeated eight times).

2. Silence having been obtained, Bishop Augustine said: â€”
"It is unnecessary for me to say anything in praise of Eraclius; I esteem his wisdom and spare his modesty; it is enough that you know him: and I declare that I desire in regard to him what I know you also to desire, and if I had not known it before, I would have had proof of it to-day. This, therefore, I desire; this I ask from the Lord our God in prayers, the warmth of which is not abated by the chill of age; this I exhort, admonish, and entreat you also to pray for along with me, "that God may confirm that which He has wrought in us," by blending and fusing together the minds of all in the peace of Christ. May He who has sent him to me preserve him! preserve him safe, preserve him blameless, that as he gives me joy while I live, he may fill my place when I die.

"The notaries of the church are, as you observe, recording what I say, and recording what you say; both my address and your acclamations are not allowed to fall to the ground. To speak more plainly, we are making up an ecclesiastical record of this day's proceedings; for I wish them to be in this way confirmed so far as pertains to men."

The people shouted thirty-six times, "To God he thanks! To Christ he praise!" "Christ, hear us; may Augustine live long!" was said thirteen times. "Thee, our father! thee, our bishop!" was said eight times. "Ke is worthy and just," was said twenty times. "Well deserving, well worthy!" was said five times. "He is worthy and just!" was said six times.

3. Silence having been obtained. Bishop Augustine said: "It is my wish, as I was just now saying, that my desire and your desire be confirmed, so far as pertains to men, by being placed on an ecclesiastical record; but so far as pertains to the will of the Almighty, let us all pray, as I said before, that God would confirm that which He has wrought in us."

The people shouted, saying sixteen times, "We give thanks for your decision:" then twelve times, "Agreed! Agreed!" and then six times, "Thee, our father! Eraclius, our bishop!"

/
4. Silence having been obtained. Bishop Augustine said: â€”

"I approve of that of which you also express your approval; but I do not wish that to be done in regard to him which was done in my own case. What was done many of you know; in fact, all of you, excepting only those who at that time were not born, or had not attained to the years of understanding. When my father and bishop, the aged Valerius, of blessed memory, was still living, I was ordained bishop and occupied the episcopal see along with him, which I did not know to have been forbidden by the Council of Nice; and he was equally ignorant of the prohibition. I do not wish to have my son here exposed to the same censure as was incurred in my own case."

The people shouted, saying thirteen times, "To God be thanks! To Christ be praise!"

5. Silence having been obtained, Bishop Augustine said: â€”

"He shall be as he now is, a presbyter, meanwhile; but afterwards, at such time as may please God, your bishop. But now I will assuredly begin to do, as the compassion of Christ may enable me, what I have not hitherto done. You know what for several years I would have done, had you permitted me. It was agreed between you and me that no one should intrude on me for five days of each week, that I might discharge the duty in the study of Scripture which my brethren and fathers the co-bishops were pleased to assign to me in the two councils of Numidia and Carthage. The aOTcement was duly recorded, you gave your consent, you signified it by acclamations. The record of your consent and of your acclamations, was read aloud to you. For a short time the agree-
'Kreferring to their last words, giving to Eraclius the title of bishop.

LET. CCXII] AUGUSTINE DESIGNATES HIS SUCCESSOR. 409

ement was observed by you; afterwards, it was violated without consideration, and I am not permitted to have leisure for the work which I wish to do: forenoon and afternoon alike, I am involved in the affairs of other people demanding my attention. I now beseech you, and solemnly engage you, for Christ's sake, to suffer me to devolve the burden of this part of my labours on this young man, I mean on Eraclius, the presbyter, whom to-day I designate in the name of Christ as my successor in the office of bishop."

The people shouted saying twenty-six times, "We give thanks for your decision!"

6. Silence having been obtained, Bishop Augustine said: â€”

"I give thanks before the Lord our God for your love and your goodwill; yes, I give thanks to God for these. "Wherefore, henceforth, my brethren, let everything which was wont to be brought by you to me be brought to him. In any case in which he may think my advice necessary, I will not refuse it; far be it from me to withdraw this: nevertheless,
let everything be brought to him which used to be brought to me. Let Eraclius himself, if in any case, perchance, he be at a loss as to what should be done, either consult me or claim an assistant in me, whom he has known as a father. By this arrangement you will, on the one hand, suffer no disadvantage, and I will at length, for the brief space during which God may prolong my life, devote the remainder of my days, be they few or many, not to idleness nor to the indulgence of a love of ease, but, so far as Eraclius kindly gives me leave, to the study of the sacred Scriptures: this also will be of service to him, and through him to you likewise. Let no one therefore grudge me this leisure, for I claim it only in order to do important work.

"I see that I have now transacted with you all the business necessary in the matter for which I called you together. The last thing I have to ask is, that as many of you as are able be pleased to subscribe your names to this record. At this point I require a response from you. Let me have it: show your assent by some acclamations."

The people shouted, saying twenty-five times, "Agreed! agreed!" then twenty-eight times, "It is worthy, it is

410 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXVIIL

just!"then fourteen times,"Agreed! agreed!"then twenty-five times,"He has long been worthy, he has long been deserving!"then thirteen times,"We give thanks for your decision!"then eighteen times,"Christ, hear us; preserve Uraclius!"

7. Silence having been obtained, Bishop Augustine said: â€”
"It is well that we are able to transact around His sacrifice those things which belong to God; and in this hour appointed for our supplications, I especially exhort you, beloved, to suspend all your occupations and business, and pour out before the Lord your petitions for this church, and for me, and for the presbyter Eraclius."

LETTEE CCXVIIL

(a.d. 426.)

to palatinus, my well-beloved lord and son, most tendeely longed for, augustine sends greeting.

1. Your life of eminent fortitude and fruitfulness towards the Lord our God has brought to us great joy. For "you have made choice of instruction from your youth upwards, that you may still find wisdom even to grey hairs;" ^ for "wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age;" ^ which may the Lord, who knoweth how to give good gifts unto His children, give to you asking, seeking, knocking.^ Although you have many counsellors and many counsels to direct you in the path which leads to eternal glory, and although, above all, you have the grace of Christ, which has so effectually spoken in saving power in your heart, nevertheless we also, as in duty bound by the love which we
owe to you, offer to you, in hereby reciprocating your salutation, some words of counsel, designed not to awaken you as one hindered by sloth or sleep, but to stimulate and quicken you in the race which you are already running.

2. You require wisdom, my son, for stedfastness in this race, as it was under the influence of wisdom that you entered on it at first. Let this then be "a part of your wisdom, to

* Ecclus. vi. 18. 2 ^vis(i, iy, 9, s j^Xatt. vii. 11.

know, whose gift it is." ^ Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass: and He sliall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgment as the noonday." ^ He will make straight thy path, and guide thy steps in peace." ^ As you despised your prospects of greatness in this world, lest you should glory in the abundance of riches which you had begun to covet after the manner of the children of this world, so now, in taking up the yoke of the Lord and His burden, let not your confidence be in your own strength; so shall "His yoke be easy, and His burden light." *

For in the book of Psalms those are alike censured "who trust in their strength," and "who boast themselves in the multitude of their riches." * Therefore, as formerly you did not seek glory in riches, but most wisely despised that which you had begun to desire, so now be on your guard against insidious temptation to trust in your strength: for you are but man, and "cursed is every one that trusteth in man," ^ But by all means trust in God with your whole heart, and He will Himself be your strength, wherein you may trust with piety and thankfulness, and to Him you may say with humility and boldness, "I will love thee, Lord, my strength; "because even the love of God, which, when it is perfect, "casteth out fear," ^ is shed abroad in our hearts, not by our strength, that is, by any human power, but, as the apostle says, "by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." ^

3. "Watch, therefore, and pray that you enter not into temptation." ^^ Such prayer is indeed in itself an admonition to you that you need the help of the Lord, and that you ought not to rest upon yourself your hope of living well. For now you pray, not that you may obtain the riches and honours of this present world, or any unsubstantial human possession, but that you may not enter into temptation, a thing which would not be asked in prayer if a man could accomplish it for himself by his own will. Wherefore we would not pray that we may

1 Wisd. viii. 20. Â« p.^ xxxvii. 5, 6. 3 Prov. iv. 27, LXX.

* Matt. xi. 30. Â« Ps. xlix. 6, LXX. Â« Jer. xvii. 5.

^ Ps. xviii. 1. Â»1 John iv. 18. o Ptom. v. 5.
i"Â» Mark xiv. 38.
not enter into temptation if our own will sufficed for our protection; and yet if the will to avoid temptation were wanting to us, we could not so pray. It may, therefore, be present with us to will, when we have through His own gift been made wise, but we must pray that we may be able to perform that which we have so willed. In the fact that you have begun to exercise this true wisdom, you have reason to give thanks. " For what have you which you have not received? But if you have received it, beware that you boast not as if you had not received it," that is, as if you could have had it of yourself. Knowing, however, whence you have received it, ask Him by whose gift it was begun to grant that it may be perfected. " Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling: for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do, of His good pleasure; "^ for " the will is prepared by God,"^ and " the steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and He delighteth in his way."^ Holy meditation on these things will preserve you, so that your wisdom shall be piety, that is, that by God's gift you shall be good, and not ungrateful for the grace of Christ.

4. Your parents, unfeignedly rejoicing with you in the better hope which in the Lord you have begun to cherish, are longing earnestly for your presence. But whether you be absent from us or present with us in the body, we desire to have you with us in the one Spirit by whom love is shed abroad in our hearts, so that, in whatever place our bodies may sojourn, our spirits may be in no degree sundered from each other.

We have most thankfully received the cloaks of goat's-hair cloth which you sent to us, in which gift you have yourself anticipated me in admonition as to the duty of being often engaged in prayer, and of practising humility in our supplications.

1 Eom. vii. 18. M Cor. iv. 7. ^ Pliil. ii. 12, 13.

* Prov. viii. 35, LXX. ' Ps. xxxvii. 23. Â« CHicia.

LET. CCXIX.] TO TROCLUS AND CYLINUS. 413

LETTER CCXIX.

(A.D. 426.)

TO PEOCUS AND CYLINUS, BRETHREN MOST BELOVED AND HONOURABLE, AND PARTNERS IN THE SACERDOTAL OFFICE, AUGUSTINE, FLORENTIUS, AND SECUNDINUS SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.
1. When our son Leporius, whom for his obstinacy in error you had justly and fitly rebuked, came to us after he had been expelled by you, we received him as one afflicted for his good, whom we should, if possible, deliver from error and restore to spiritual health. For, as you obeyed in regard to him the apostolic precept, "Warn the unruly," so it was our part to obey the precept immediately annexed, "Comfort the feeble-minded, and support the weak." ^ His error was indeed not unimportant, seeing that he neither approved what is right nor perceived what is true in some things relating to the only-begotten Son of God, of whom it is written that, "In the besfimage was the Word. and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," but that when the fulness of time had come, "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;" ^ for he denied that God became man, regarding it as a doctrine from which it must follow necessarily that the divine substance in which He is equal to the Father suffered some unworthy change or corruption, and not seeing that he was thus introducing into the Trinity a fourth person, which is utterly contrary to the sound doctrine of the Creed and of Catholic truth. Since, however, dearly beloved and honourable brethren, he had as a fallible man "been overtaken " in this error, we did our utmost, the Lord helping us, to instruct him "in the spirit of meekness," especially remembering that when the "chosen vessel " gave this command to which we refer, he added, "Considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted," â€” lest some, perchance, should so rejoice in the measure of spiritual progress as to imagine that they could no longer be tempted like other men, â€” and joined with it the salutary and peace-promoting sentence, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. For if a

Â» 1 Thess. V. 14. â€¢ 2 John i. 1, 14.

414 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXIX.

man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself." ^

2. This restoration of Leporius we could perhaps in nowise have accomplished, had you not previously censured and punished those things in him which required correction. So then the same Lord, our Divine Physician, using His own instruments and servants, has by you wounded him when he was proud, and by us healed him when he was penitent, according to His own saying, " I wound, and I heal." ^ The same Divine Pailer and Overseer of His own house has by you thrown down what was defective in the building, and has by us replaced with a well-ordered structure what He had removed. The same Divine Husbandman has in His careful diligence by you rooted up what was barren and noxious in His field, and by us planted what is useful and fruitful. Let us not, therefore, ascribe glory to ourselves, but to the mercy of Him in whose hand both we and all our words are. And as we humbly praise the work which you have done as His ministers in the case of our son aforesaid, so do you rejoice with holy joy in the work performed by us. P tecceive, then, with the love of fathers and of brethren, him whom we have with merciful severity corrected. Tor although one part of the work was done by you
and another part by us, both parts, being indispensable to our brother's salvation, were
done by the same love. The same God was therefore working in both, for "God is love."

3. Wherefore, as he has been welcomed into fellowship by us on the ground of his
repentance, let him be welcomed by you on the ground of his letter,* to which letter we
have thought it right to adhibit our signatures attesting its genuineness. "We have not the
least doubt that you, in the exercise of Christian love, will not only hear with pleasure of
his amendment, but also make it known to those to whom his error was a stumbling-
block. For those who came with him to us have also been corrected and restored along
with him, as is declared by their signatures, which have been adhibited to

Â» Gal. vi. 1,3. 'Deut. xxxii. 39. ^ i jyi^^ ly g, 16.

* A formal written retractation of his errors, called elsewhere "emendatious libellum."

LET, CCXX.] TO BONIFACE. 415

the letter in our presence. It remains only that you, being made joyful by the salvation of
a brother, condescend to make us joyful in our turn by sending a reply to our
communication.
Farewell in the Lord, most beloved and honourable brethren; such is our desire on your
behalf: remember us.

LETTTEE CCXX.

(a.d. 427.)

to my lord boniface,^ my son commended to the guardianship and guidance of divine
mercy for present and eternal salvation, augustine sends greeting.

1. Never could I have found a more trustworthy man, nor one who could have more ready
access to your ear when bearing a letter from me, than this servant and minister of Christ,
the deacon Paulus, a man very dear to both of us, whom the Lord has now brought to me
in order that I may have the opportunity of addressing you, not in reference to your power
and the honour which you hold in this evil world, nor in reference to the preservation of
your corruptible and mortal body, â€” because this also is destined to pass away, and how
soon no one can tell, â€” but in reference to that salvation which has been promised to us
by Christ, who was here on earth despised and crucified in order that He might teach us
rather to despise than to desire the good things of this world, and to set our affections and
our hope on that world which He has revealed by His resurrection. For He has risen from
the dead, and now *' dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him."^
2. I know that you have no lack of friends, who love you so far as life in this world is concerned, and who in regard to it give you counsels, sometimes useful, sometimes the reverse; for they are men, and therefore, though they use their wisdom to the best of their ability in regard to what is present, they know not what may happen on the morrow. But it is not easy for any one to give you counsel in reference to God, to prevent the perdition of your soul, not because you lack friends who would do this, but because it is difficult for them to find an opportunity of speaking with you on these subjects.

For I myself have often longed for this, and never found place or time in which I might deal with you as I ought to deal with a man whom I ardently love in Christ. You know besides in what state you found me at Hippo, when you did me the honour to come to visit me, "how I was scarcely able to speak, being prostrated by bodily weakness. Now, then, my son, hear me when I have this opportunity of addressing you at least by a letter, "a rare opportunity, for it was not in my power to send such communication to you in the midst of your dangers, both because I apprehended danger to the bearer, and because I was afraid lest my letter should reach persons into whose hands I was unwilling that it should fall.

Wherefore I beg you to forgive me if you think that I have been more afraid than I should have been; however this may be, I have stated what I feared.

3. Hear me, therefore; nay, rather hear the Lord our God speaking by me. His feeble servant. Call to remembrance what manner of man you were while your former wife, of hallowed memory, still lived, and how under the stroke of her death, while that event was yet recent, the vanity of this world made you recoil from it, and how you earnestly desired to enter the service of God. We know and we can testify what you said as to your state of mind and your desires when you conversed with us at Tubunse. My brother Alypius and I were alone with you. [I beseech you, then, to call to remembrance that conversation], for I do not think that the worldly cares with which you are now engrossed can have such power over you as to have effaced this wholly from your memory. You were then desirous to abandon all the public business in which you were engaged, and to withdraw into sacred retirement, and live like the servants of God who have embraced a monastic life. And what was it that prevented you from acting according to these desires ? Was it not that you were influenced by considering, on our representation of the matter, how much service the work which then occupied you might render to the churches of Christ if you pursued it with this single aim, that they, protected from all disturbance...

LET. CCXX.] TO BONIFACE. 417
by barbarian hordes, might live " a quiet and peaceable life," as the apostle says, " in all godliness and honesty; " ^ resolving at the same time for your own part to seek no more from this world than would suffice for the support of yourself and those dependent on you, wearing as your girdle the cincture of a perfectly chaste self-restraint, and having underneath the accoutrements of the soldier the surer and stronger defence of spiritual armour.

4. At the very time when we were full of joy that you had formed this resolution, you embarked on a voyage and you married a second wife. Your embarkation was an act of the obedience due, as the apostle has taught us, to the " higher powers; " ^ but you would not have married again had you not, abandoning the continence to which you had devoted yourself, been overcome by concupiscence. When I learned this, I was, I must confess it, dumb with amazement; but, in my sorrow, I was in some degree comforted by hearing that you refused to marry her unless she became a Catholic before the marriage, and yet the heresy of those who refuse to believe in the true Son of God has so prevailed in your house, that by these heretics your daughter was baptized. Now, if the report be true (would to God that it were false !) that even some who were dedicated to God as His handmaids have been by these heretics re-baptized, with what floods of tears ought this great calamity to be bewailed by us ! Men are saying, moreover, — perhaps it is an unfounded slander, â€” that one wife does not satisfy your passions, and that you have been defiled by consorting with some other women as concubines.

5. What shall I say regarding these evils â€” so patent to all, and so great in magnitude as well as number â€” of which you have been, directly or indirectly, the cause since the time of your being married ? You are a Christian, you have a conscience, you fear God; consider, then, for yourself some things which I prefer to leave unsaid, and you will find for how great evils you ought to do penance; and I believe that it is to afford you an opportunity of doing this in the way in which it ought to be done, that the Lord is now sparing you and delivering you from all dangers. But if you will listen to the

Â» 1 Tim. ii. 2. Â« Eom. xiii. 1.

LETT. IL 2 D

418 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXX.

counsel of Scripture, I pray you, " make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day." ^ You allege, indeed, that you have good reason for what you have done, and that I cannot be a judge of the sufficiency of that reason, because I cannot hear both sides of the question; ^ but, whatever be your reason, the nature of which it is not necessary at present either to investigate or to discuss, can you, in the presence of God,
affirm that you would ever have come into the embarrassments of your present position had you not loved the good things of this world, which, being a servant of God, such as we knew you to be formerly, it was your duty to have utterly despised and esteemed as of no value, â€” accepting, indeed, what was offered to you, that you might devote it to pious uses, but not so coveting that which was denied to you, or was entrusted to your care, as to be brought on its account into the difficulties of your present position, in which, while good is loved, evil things are perpetrated, â€” few, indeed, by you, but many because of you, and while things are dreaded which, if hurtful, are so only for a short time, things are done which are really hurtful for eternity?

6. To mention one of these things, â€” who can help seeing that many persons follow you for the purpose of defending your power or safety, who, although they may be all faithful to you, and no treachery is to be apprehended from any of them, are desirous of obtaining through you certain advantages which they also covet, not with a godly desire, but from worldly motives? And in this way you, whose duty it is to curb and check your own passions, are forced to satisfy those of others. To accomplish this, many things which are displeasing to God must be done; and yet, after all, these passions are not thus satisfied, for they are more easily mortified finally in those who love God, than satisfied, even for a time, in those who love the world. Therefore the Divine Scripture says: "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth i Ecclus. V. 8. 2 See note on Letter CLXXXIX. p. 366.

LET. CCXX.] TO BONIFACE. 419

the will of God abideth for ever, as God abideth for ever."^ Associated, therefore, as you are with such multitudes of armed men, whose passions must be humoured, and whose cruelty is dreaded, how can the desires of these men who love the world ever be, I do not say satiated, but even partially gratified by you, in your anxiety to prevent still greater wide-spread evils, unless you do that which God forbids, and in so doing become obnoxious to threatened judgment? So complete has been the havoc wrought in order to indulge their passions, that it would be difficult to find anything for the plunderer to carry away.

7. But what shall I say of the devastation of Africa at this hour by hordes of African barbarians, to whom no resistance is offered, while you are engrossed with such embarrassments in your own circumstances, and are taking no measures for averting this calamity? Who would ever have believed, who would have feared, after Boniface had become a Count of the Empire and of Africa, and had been placed in command in Africa with so large an army and so great authority, that the same man who formerly, as Tribune, kept all these barbarous tribes in peace, by storming their strongholds, and menacing them with his
small band of brave confederates, should now have suffered the barbarians to be so bold, to encroach so far, to destroy and plunder so much, and to turn into deserts such vast regions once densely peopled? Where were any found who did not predict that, as soon as you obtained the authority of Count, the African hordes would be not only checked, but made tributaries to the Koman Empire? And now, how completely the event has disappointed men's hopes you yourself perceive; in fact, I need say nothing more on this subject, because your own reflection must suggest much more than I can put in words.

8. Perhaps you defend yourself by replying that the blame here ought rather to rest on persons who have injured you, and, instead of justly requiting the services rendered by you in your office, have returned evil for good. These matters I am not able to examine and judge. I beseech you rather to contemplate and inquire into the matter, in which you know that you have to do not with men at all, but with God; living in

\[ ^{1} \text{Johnii. 15-17.} \]

420 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXX.

Christ as a believer, you are bound to fear lest you offend Him. For my attention is more engaged by higher causes, believing that men ought to ascribe Africa's great calamities to their own sins. Nevertheless, I would not wish you to belong to the number of those wicked and unjust men whom God uses as instruments in inflicting temporal punishments on whom He pleases; for He who justly employs their malice to inflict temporal judgments on others, reserves eternal punishments for the unjust themselves if they be not reformed. Be it yours to fix your thoughts on God, and to look to Christ, who has conferred on you so great blessings and endured for you so great sufferings. Those who desire to belong to His kingdom, and to live for ever happily with Him and under Him, love even their enemies, do good to them that hate them, and pray for those from whom they suffer persecution;^ and if, at any time, in the way of discipline they use irksome severity, yet they never lay aside the sincerest love. If these benefits, though earthly and transitory, are conferred on you by the Eoman Empire, â€” for that empire itself is earthly, not heavenly, and cannot bestow what it has not in its power, â€” if, I say, benefits are conferred on you, return not evil for good; and if evil be inflicted on you, return not evil for evil. Which of these two has happened in your case I am unwilling to discuss, I am unable to judge. I speak to a Christian â€” return not either evil for good, nor evil for evil.

9. You say to me, perhaps: In circumstances so difficult, what do you wish me to do? If you ask counsel of me in a worldly point of view how your safety in this transitory life may be secured, and the power and wealth belonging to you at present may be preserved or even increased, I know not what to answer you, for any counsel regarding things so uncertain as these must partake of the uncertainty inherent in them.
But if you consult me regarding your relation to God and the salvation of your soul, and if you fear the word of truth which says: "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"^ I have a plain answer to give. I am prepared with advice to which you may well give heed. But what need is there for my saying anything else than what I

^att. V. 44. 2 Matt. xvi. 26.

LET. CCXX.] TO BONIFACE. 421

have already said. "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever."^ Here is counsel! Seize it and act on it. Show that you are a brave man. Vanquish the desires with which the world is loved. Do penance for the evils of your past life, when, vanquished by your passions, you were drawn away by sinful desires. If you receive this counsel, and hold it fast, and act on it, you will both attain to those blessings which are certain, and occupy yourself in the midst of these uncertain things without forfeiting the salvation of your soul.

10. But perhaps you again ask of me how you can do these things, entangled as you are with so great worldly difficulties. Pray earnestly, and say to God, in the words of the Psalm: "Bring Thou me out of my distresses,"^ for these distresses terminate when the passions in which they originate are vanquished. He who has heard your prayer and ours on your behalf, that you might be delivered from the numerous and great dangers of visible wars in which the body is exposed to the danger of losing the life which sooner or later must end, but in which the soul perishes not unless it be held captive by evil passions, â€” He, I say, will hear your prayer that you may, in an invisible and spiritual conflict, overcome your inward and invisible enemies, that is to say, your passions themselves, and may so use the world, as not abusing it, so that with its good things you may do good, not become bad through possessing them. Because these things are in themselves good, and are not given to men except by Him who has power over all things in heaven and earth. Lest these gifts of His should be reckoned bad, they are given also to the good; at the same time, lest they should be reckoned great, or the supreme good, they are given also to the bad. Further, these things are taken away from the good for their trial, and from the bad for their punishment.

^1 John u. 15-17. Â« Ps. xxv. 17.

422 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXX.
11. For who is so ignorant, who so foolish, as not to see that the health of this mortal body, and the strength of its corruptible members, and victory over men who are our enemies, and temporal honours and power, and all other mere earthly advantages are given both to the good and to the bad, and are taken away both from the good and from the bad alike? But the salvation of the soul, along with immortality of the body, and the power of righteousness, and victory over hostile passions, and glory, and honour, and everlasting peace, are not given except to the good. Therefore love these things, covet these things, and seek them by every means in your power.

With a view to acquire and retain these things, give alms, pour forth prayers, practise fasting as far as you can without injury to your body. But do not love these earthly goods, how much soever they may abound to you. So use them as to do many good things by them, but not one evil thing for their sake. For all such things will perish: but good works, yea, even those good works which are performed by means of the perishable good things of this world, shall never perish.

12. If you had not now a wife, I would say to you what we said at Tubunse, that you should live in the holy state of continence, and would add that you should now do what we prevented you from doing at that time, namely, withdraw yourself so far as might be possible without prejudice to the public welfare from the labours of military service, and take to yourself the leisure which you then desired for that life in the society of the saints in which the soldiers of Christ fight in silence, not to kill men, but to "wrestle against principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness," that is, the devil and his angels. For the saints gain their victories over enemies whom they cannot see, and yet they gain the victory over these unseen enemies by gaining the victory over things which are the objects of sense. I am, however, prevented from exhorting you to that mode of life by your having a wife, since without her consent it is not lawful for you to live under a vow of continence; because, although you did wrong in marrying again after the declaration which you made at Tubuna?, she, being not aware of this, became your wife innocently and without

'Eph. vi. 12.

LET. ccxxvil] to alypius. 423

restrictions. Would that you could persuade her to agree to a vow of continence, that you might without hindrance render to God what you know to be due to Him! If, however, you cannot make this agreement with her, guard carefully by all means conjugal chastity, and pray to God, who will deliver you out of difficulties, that you may at some future time be able to do what is meanwhile impossible. This, however, does not affect your obligation to love God and not to love the world, to hold the faith stedfastly even in the cares of war, if you must still be engaged in them, and to seek peace; to make the good things of this world serviceable in good works, and not to do what is evil in labouring to obtain these earthly good things, â€” in all these duties your wife is not, or, if she is, ought not to be, a hindrance to you.
These things I have written, my dearly beloved son, at the bidding of the love with which I love you with regard not to this world, but to God; and because, mindful of the words of Scripture, "Eprove a wise man, and he will love thee; reprove a fool, and he will hate thee more," I was bound to think of you as certainly not a fool but a wise man.

LETTER CCXXVIL

(A.D. 428 or 429.)

TO THE AGED ALYPIUS, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

Brother Paulus has arrived here safely: he reports that the pains devoted to the business which engaged him have been rewarded with success; the Lord will grant that with these his trouble in that matter may terminate. He salutes you warmly, and tells us tidings concerning Gabinianus which give us joy, namely, that having by God's mercy obtained a prosperous issue in his case, he is now not only in name a Christian, but in sincerity a very excellent convert to the faith, and was baptized recently at Easter, having both in his heart and on his lips the grace which he received. How much I long for him I can never express; but you know that I love him.

'Prov. ix. 8.'

424 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXVII.

The president of the medical faculty/ Dioscorus, has also professed the Christian faith, having obtained grace at the same time. Hear the manner of his conversion, for his stubborn neck and his bold tongue could not be subdued without some miracle. His daughter, the only comfort of his life, was sick, and her sickness became so serious that her life was, according even to her father's own admission, despaired of. It is reported, and the truth of the report is beyond question, for even before brother Paul's return the fact was mentioned to me by Count Peregrinus, a most respectable and truly Christian man, who was baptized at the same time with Dioscorus and Gabinianus, â€” it is reported, I say, that the old man, feeling himself at last constrained to implore the compassion of Christ, bound himself by a vow that he would become a Christian if he saw her restored to health. She recovered, but he perfidiously drew back from fulfilling his vow. Nevertheless the hand of the Lord was still stretched forth, for suddenly he is smitten with blindness, and immediately the cause of this calamity was impressed upon his mind. He confessed his fault aloud, and vowed again that if his sight were given back he would perform what he had vowed. He recovered his sight, fulfilled his vow, and still the hand of God was stretched forth. He had not committed the Creed to memory, or perhaps had refused to commit it, and had excused himself on the plea of inability. God had seen this. Immediately after all the ceremonies of his reception he is seized with paralysis, affecting many, indeed almost all his members, and even his tongue. Then, being warned by a
dream, he confesses in writing that it had been told to him that this had happened because he had not repeated the Creed. After that confession the use of all his members was restored to him, except the tongue alone; nevertheless he, being still under this affliction, made manifest by writing that he had, notwithstanding, learned the Creed, and still retained it in his memory; and so that frivolous loquacity which, as you know, blemished his natural kindliness, and made him, when he mocked Christians, exceedingly profane, was altogether destroyed in him. What shall I say, but,

* Ai'cliiater.

LET. CCXXVIII.] TO HONORATUS. 425

" Let us sing a hymn to the Lord, and highly exalt Him for ever ! Amen."

LETTEE CCXXVIII

(A.D. 428 or 429.)

TO HIS HOLY BROTHER AND CO-BISHOP HONORATUS/ AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

I THOUGHT that by sending to your Grace a copy of the letter which I wrote to our brother and co-bishop Quodvultdeus/
I had earned exemption from the burden which you have imposed upon me, by asking my advice as to what you ought to do in the midst of the dangers which have befallen us in these times. For although I wrote briefly, I think that I did not pass over anything that was necessary either to be said by me or heard by my questioner in correspondence on the subject: for I said that, on the one hand, those who desire to remove, if they can, to fortified places are not to be forbidden to do so; and, on the other hand, we ought not to break the ties by which the love of Christ has bound us as ministers not to forsake the churches which it is our duty to serve. The words which I used in the letter referred to were:
" Therefore, however small may be the congregation of God's people among whom we are, if our ministry is so necessary to them that it is a clear duty not to withdraw it from them, it remains for us to say to the Lord, ' Be Thou to us a God of defence, and a strong fortress.' " ^

2. But this counsel does not commend itself to you, because, as you say in your letter, it does not become us to endeavour to act in opposition to the precept or example of the Lord, admonishing us that we should flee from one city to another. We remember, indeed, the words of the Lord, " When they persecute you in one city, flee to another; " ^ but who can believe that the Lord wished this to be done in cases in which the flocks
which He purchased with His own blood are by the desertion of their pastors left without that necessary

^ Bishop of Thiaba in Mauritania. * This letter is not extant.

3 Ps. xxxi. 3, LXX. * Matt. x. 23.

426 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXVIII.

ministry which is indispensable to their life? Did Christ do this Himself, when, carried by His parents, He fled into Egypt in His infancy? No; for He had not then gathered churches which we could affirm to have been deserted by Him. Or, when the Apostle Paul was "let down in a basket through a window," to prevent his enemies from seizing him, and so escaped their hands," was the church in Damascus deprived of the necessary labours of Christ's servants? Was not all the service that was requisite supplied after his departure by other brethren settled in that city? For the apostle had done this at their request, in order that he might preserve for the Church's good his life, which the persecutor on that occasion specially sought to destroy. Let those, therefore, who are servants of Christ, His ministers in word and sacrament, do what He has commanded or permitted.

When any of them is specially sought for by persecutors, let him by all means flee from one city to another, provided that the Church is not hereby deserted, but that others who are not specially sought after remain to supply spiritual food to their fellow-servants, whom they know to be unable otherwise to maintain spiritual life. When, however, the danger of all, bishops, clergy, and laity, is alike, let not those who depend upon the aid of others be deserted by those on whom they depend. In that case, either let all remove together to fortified places, or let those who must remain be not deserted by those through whom in things pertaining to the Church their necessities must be provided for; and so let them share life in common, or share in common that which the Father of their family appoints them to suffer.

3. But if it shall happen that all suffer, whether some suffer less, and others more, or all suffer equally, it is easy to see who among them are suffering for the sake of others: they are obviously those who, although they might have freed themselves from such evils by flight, have chosen to remain rather than abandon others to whom they are necessary. By such conduct especially is proved the love commended by the Apostle John in the words: "Christ laid down His life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." ^

^ 2 Cor. xi. 33. 2 1 joi^m iq^
For those who betake themselves to flight, or are prevented from doing so only by circumstances thwarting their design, if they be seized and made to suffer, endure this suffering only for themselves, not for their brethren; but those who are involved in suffering because of their resolving not to abandon others, whose Christian welfare depended on them, are unquestionably "laying down their lives for the brethren."

4. For this reason, the saying which we have heard attributed to a certain bishop, namely: "If the Lord has commanded us to flee, in those persecutions in which we may reap the fruit of martyrdom, how much more ought we to escape by flight, if we can, from barren sufferings inflicted by the hostile incursions of barbarians!" is a saying true and worthy of acceptation, but applicable only to those who are not confined by the obligations of ecclesiastical office. For the man who, having it in his power to escape from the violence of the enemy, chooses not to flee from it, lest in so doing he should abandon the ministry of Christ, without which men can neither become Christians nor live as such, assuredly finds a greater reward of his love, than the man who, fleeing not for his brethren's sake but for his own, is seized by persecutors, and, refusing to deny Christ, suffers martyrdom.

5. What, then, shall we say to the position which you thus state in your former epistle: "I do not see what good we can do to ourselves or to the people by continuing to remain in the churches, except to see before our eyes men slain, women outraged, churches burned, ourselves expiring amid torments applied in order to extort from us what we do not possess"?

God is powerful to hear the prayers of His children, and to avert those things which they fear; and we ought not, on account of evils that are uncertain, to make up our minds absolutely to the desertion of that ministry, without which the people must certainly suffer ruia, not in the affairs of this life, but of that other life which ought to be cared for with incomparably greater diligence and solicitude. For if those evils which are apprehended, as possibly visiting the places in which we are, were certain, all those for whose sake it was our duty to remain would take flight before us, and would thus exempt us from the necessity of remaining; for no one says that ministers are under obligation to remain in any place where none remain to whom their ministry is necessary. In this way some holy bishops fled from Spain when their congregations had, before their flight, been annihilated, the members having either fled, or died by the sword, or perished in the siege of their towns, or gone into captivity; but many more of the bishops of that country remained in the midst of these abounding dangers, because those for whose sakes they remained were still remaining there. And if some have abandoned their flocks, this is what we say ought not to be done, for they were not taught to do so by divine authority, but were, through human infirmity, either deceived by an error or overcome by fear.

428 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXVIII.]
6. [We maintain, as one alternative, that they were deceived by an error.] for why do they think that indiscriminate compliance must be given to the precept in which they read of fleeing from one city to another, and not shrink with abhorrence from the character of the "hireling," who "seeth the wolf coming, and fleeth, because he careth not for the sheep"?^ Why do they not honour equally both of these true sayings of the Lord, the one in which flight is permitted or enjoined, the other in which it is rebuked and censured, by taking pains so to understand them as to find that they are, as is indeed the case, not opposed to each other? And how is their reconciliation to be found, unless that which I have above proved be borne in mind, that under pressure of persecution we who are ministers of Christ ought to flee from the places in which we are only in one or other of two cases, namely, either that there is no congregation to which we may minister, or that there is a congregation, but that the ministry necessary for it can be supplied by others who have not the same reason for flight as makes it imperative on us? Of which we have one example, as already mentioned, in the Apostle Paul escaping by being let down from the wall in a basket, when he was personally sought by the persecutor, there being others on the spot who had not the same necessity for flight, whose remain-

1 John X. 12, 13.

LET. CCXXVII] TO HONOR ATUS. 429

ing would prevent the Church from being destitute of the service of ministers. Another example we have in the holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who fled when the Emperor Constant ius wished to seize him specially, the Catholic people who remained in Alexandria not being abandoned by the other servants of God. But when the people remain and the servants of God flee, and their service is withdrawn, what is this but the guilty flight of the "hireling" who careth not for the sheep? For the wolf will come, â€” not man, but the devil, who has very often perverted to apostasy believers to whom the daily ministry of the Lord's body was wanting; and so, not "through thy knowledge," but through thine ignorance, "shall the weak brother perish for whom Christ died." â€”

7. As for those, however, who flee not because they are deceived by an error, but because they have been overcome by fear, why do they not rather, by the compassion and help of the Lord bestowed on them, bravely fight against their fear, lest evils incomparably heavier and much more to be dreaded befall them? This victory over fear is won wherever the flame of the love of God, without the smoke of worldliness, burns in the heart. For love says, "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" ^ But love is from God. Let us, therefore, beseech Him who requires it of us to bestow it on us, and under its influence let us fear more lest the sheep of Christ should be slaughtered by the sword of spiritual malediction reaching the heart, than lest they should fall under the sword that can only harm that body in which men are destined at any rate, at some time, and in some
way or other, to die. Let us fear more lest the purity of faith should perish through the
taint of corruption in the inner man, than lest our women should be subjected by violence
to outrage; for if chastity is preserved in the spirit, it is not destroyed by such violence,
since it is not destroyed even in the body when there is no base consent of the sufferer to
the sin, but only a submission without the consent of the will to that which another does.
Let us fear more lest the spark of life in "living stones" be quenched through our
absence, than lest the stones and timbers of our earthly buildings be burned in our
presence.

> 1 Cor, viii. 9, 11. 22 Cor. xi. 29.

430 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXVIII

Let us fear more lest the members of Christ's body should die for want of spiritual food,
than lest the members of our own bodies, being overpowered by the violence of enemies,
should be racked with torture. Not because these are things which we ought not to avoid
when this is in our power, but because we ought to prefer to suffer them when they
cannot be avoided without impiety, unless, perchance, any one be found to maintain that
that servant is not guilty of impiety who withdraws the service necessary to piety at the
very time when it is peculiarly necessary.

8. Do we forget how, when these dangers have reached their extremity, and there is no
possibility of escaping from them by flight, an extraordinary crowd of persons, of both
sexes and of all ages, is wont to assemble in the church, â€” some urgently asking
baptism, others reconciliation, others even the doing of penance, and all calling for
consolation and strengthening through the administration of sacraments? If the ministers
of God be not at their posts at such a time, how great perdition overtakes those who
depart from this life either not regenerated or not loosed from their sins! How deep
also is the sorrow of their believing kindred, who shall not have these lost ones with them
in the blissful rest of eternal life! In fine, how loud are the cries of all, and the indignant
imprecations of not a few, because of the want of ordinances and the absence of those
who should have dispensed them! See what the fear of temporal calamities may effect,
and of how great a multitude of eternal calamities it may be the procuring cause. But if
the ministers be at their posts, through the strength which God bestows upon them, all are
aided, â€” some are baptized, others reconciled to the Church. None are defrauded of the
communion of the Lord's body; all are consoled, edified, and exhorted to ask of God,
who is able to do so, to avert all things which are feared, â€” prepared for both
alternatives, so that "if the cup may not pass" from them. His will may be done â€” who
cannot will anything that is evil.

9. Assuredly you now see (what, according to your letter, you did not see before) how
great advantage the Christian people may obtain if, in the presence of calamity, the
presence
LET. CCXXYIII.] TO IIOXORATUS. 431

of the servants of Christ be not withdrawn from them. You see, also, how much harm is
done by their absence, when "they seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's/^ and
are destitute of that charity of which it is said, " it seeketh not her own, " ^ and fail to
imitate him who said, " I seek not mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may
be saved," ^ and who, moreover, would not have fled from the insidious attacks of the
imperial persecutor, had he not wished to save himself for the sake of others to whom he
was necessary; on which account he says, " I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to
depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more
needful for you."*

10. Here, perhaps, some one may say that the servants of God ought to save their lives by
flight when such evils are impending, in order that they may reserve themselves for the
benefit of the Church in more peaceful times. This is rightly done by some, when others
are not wanting by whom the service of the Church may be supplied, and the work is not
deserted by all, as we have stated above that Athanasius did; for the whole Catholic world
knows how necessary it was to the Church that he should do so, and how useful was the
prolonged life of the man who by his word and loving service defended her against the
Arian heretics. But this ought by no means to be done when the danger is common to all;
and the thing to be dreaded above all is, lest any one should be supposed to do this not
from a desire to secure the welfare of others, but from fear of losing his own life, and
should therefore do more harm by the example of deserting the post of duty than all the
good that he could do by the preservation of his life for future service. Finally, observe
how the holy David acquiesced in the urgent petition of his people, that he should not
expose himself to the dangers of battle, and, as it is said in the narrative, "quench the light
of Israel,"^ but was not himself the first to propose it; for had he been so, he would have
made many imitate the cowardice which they might have attributed to him, supposing
that he had been

Â» Phil. ii. 21. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 5. 3 i Cor. x. 33.

PhU. i. 23, 24. * 2 Sam. xxi. 17.

432 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXVIII

prompted to this not through regard to the advantage of others, but under the agitation of
fear as to his own life.
11. Another question which we must not regard as unworthy of notice is suggested here. For if the interests of the Church are not to be lost sight of, and if these make it necessary that when any great calamity is impeding some ministers should flee, in order that they may survive to minister to those whom they may find remaining after the calamity is passed, â€” the question arises, what is to be done when it appears that, unless some flee, all must perish together? what if the fury of the destroyer were so restricted as to attack none but the ministers of the Church? What shall we reply? Is the Church to be deprived of the service of her ministers because of fleeing from their work through fear lest she should be more unhappily deprived of their service because of their dying in the midst of their work? Of course, if the laity are exempted from the persecution, it is in their power to shelter and conceal their bishops and clergy in some way, as He shall help them under whose dominion all things are, and who, by His wondrous power, can preserve even one who does not flee from danger. But the reason for our inquiring what is the path of our duty in such circumstances is, that we may not be chargeable with tempting the Lord by expecting divine miraculous interposition on every occasion.

There is, indeed, a difference in the severity of the tempest of calamity when the danger is common to both laity and clergy, as the perils of stormy weather are common to both merchants and sailors on board of the same ship. But far be it from us to esteem this ship of ours so lightly as to admit that it would be right for the crew, and especially for the pilot, to abandon her in the hour of peril, although they might have it in their power to escape by leaping into a small boat, or even swimming ashore. For in the case of those in regard to whom we fear lest through our deserting our work they should perish, the evil which we fear is not temporal death, which is sure to come at one time or other, but eternal death, which may come or may not come, according as we neglect or adopt measures whereby it may be averted. More-

LET. CCXXVIII.] TO HOXORATUS. 433

over, when the lives of both laity and clergy are exposed to common danger, what reason have we for thinking in every place which the enemy may invade all the clergy are likely to be put to death, and not that all the laity shall also die, in which event the clergy, and those to whom they are necessary, would pass from this life at the same time? Or why may we not hope that, as some of the laity are likely to survive, some of the clergy may also be spared, by whom the necessary ordinances may be dispensed to them?

12. Oh that in such circumstances the question debated among the servants of God were which of their number should remain, that the Church might not be left destitute by all fleeing from danger, and which of their number should flee, that the Church might not be left destitute by all perishing in the danger. Such a contest will arise among the brethren who are all alike glowing with love and satisfying the claims of love. And if it were in any case impossible otherwise to terminate the debate, it appears to me that the persons who are to remain and who are to flee should be chosen by lot.
For those who say that they, in preference to others, ought to flee, will appear to be chargeable either with cowardice, as persons unwilling to face impending danger, or with arrogance, as esteeming their own lives more necessary to be preserved for the good of the Church than those of other men. Again, perhaps, those who are better will be the first to choose to lay down their lives for the brethren; and so preservation by flight will be given to men whose life is less valuable because their skill in counselling and ruling the Church is less; yet these, if they be pious and wise, will resist the desires of men in regard to whom they see, on the one hand, that it is more important for the Church that they should live, and on the other hand, that they would rather lose their lives than flee from danger. In this case, as it is written, "the lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty;" for, in difficulties of this kind, God judges better than men, whether it please Him to call the better among His servants to the reward of suffering, and to spare the weak, or to make the weak stronger to endure trials, and then to withdraw them.  

' Prov. xviii. 18.
LETT. IL 2 E

434 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXVII

from this life, as persons whose lives could not be so serviceable to the Church as the lives of the others who are stronger than they. If such an appeal to the lot be made, it will be, I admit, an unusual proceeding, but if it is done in any case, who will claI3 to find fault with it? Who but the ignorant or the prejudiced will hesitate to praise it with the approbation which it deserves? If, however, the use of the lot is not adopted because there is no precedent for such an appeal, let it by all means be secured that the Church be not, through the flight of any one, left destitute of that ministry which is more especially necessary and due to her in the midst of such great dangers. Let no one hold himself in such esteem because of apparent superiority in any grace as to say that he is more worthy of life than others, and therefore more entitled to seek safety in flight. For whoever thinks this is too self-satisfied, and whoever utters this must make all dissatisfied with him.

13. There are some who think that bishops and clergy may, by not fleeing but remaining in such dangers, cause the people to be misled, because, when they see those who are set over them remaining, this makes them not flee from danger. It is easy for them, however, to obviate this objection, and the reproach of misleading others, by addressing their congregations, and saying: "Let not the fact that we are not fleeing from this place be the occasion of misleading you, for we remain here not for our own sakes but for yours, that we may continue to minister to you whatever we know to be necessary to your salvation, which is in Christ; therefore, if you choose to flee, you thereby set us also at liberty from the obligations by which we are bound to remain." This, I think, ought to be said, when it seems to be truly advantageous to remove to ^
places of greater security. If, after such words have been spoken in their hearing, either all or some shall say: "We are at His disposal from whose anger none can escape whithersoever they may go, and whose mercy may be found wherever their lot is cast by those who, whether hindered by known insuperable difficulties, or unwilling to toQ after unknown refuges, in which perils may be only changed not finished, refer not to go away elsewhere," most assuredly those who

LET. CCXXIX.] TO DARIUS. 435

thus resolve to remain ought not to be left destitute of the service of Christian ministers. If, on the other hand, after hearing their bishops and clergy speak as above, the people prefer to leave the place, to remain behind them is not now the duty of those who were only remaining for their sakes, because none are left there on whose account it would still be their duty to remain.

14. "Whoever, therefore, flees from danger in circumstances in which the Church is not deprived, through his flight, of necessary service, is doing that which the Lord has commanded or permitted. But the minister who flees when the consequence of his flight is the withdrawal from Christ's flock of that nourishment by which its spiritual life is sustained, is an "hireling who seeth the wolf coming, and fleetli because he careth not for the sheep."

"With love, which I know to be sincere, I have now written what I believe to be true on this question, because you asked my opinion, my dearly beloved brother; but I have not enjoined you to follow my advice, if you can find any better than mine. Be that as it may, we cannot find anything better for us to do in these dangers than continually to beseech the Lord our God to have compassion on us. And as to the matter about which I have written, namely, that ministers should not desert the churches of God, some wise and holy men have by the gift of God been enabled both to will and to do this thing, and have not in the least degree faltered in the determined prosecution of their purpose, even though exposed to the attacks of slanderers.

LETTER CCXXIX.

(A.D. 429.)

TO DARIUS,^ IIIIS DESERVEDLY ILLUSTRIOUS AND VERY POWERFUL LORD AND DEAR SON IN CHRIST, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Your character and rank I have learned from my holy brothers and co-bishops, Urbanus and Novatus. The former
This Darius was an officer of distinction in the service of the Empress Placidia, and was the instrument of effecting a reconciliation between her and

436 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXIX.

of these became acquainted with you near Carthage, in the town of Hilari, and more recently in the town of Sicca; the latter at Sitifis. Through them it has come to pass that I cannot regard you as unknown to me. For though my bodily weakness and the chill of age do not permit me to converse with you personally, it cannot on this account be said that I have not seen you; for the conversation of Urbanus, when he kindly visited me, and the letters of Novatus, so described to me the features, not of your face but of your mind, that I have seen you, and have seen you with all the more pleasure, because I have seen not the outward appearance but the inner man. These features of your character are joyfully seen both by us, and through the mercy of God by yourself also, as in a mirror in the holy Gospel, in which it is written in words uttered by Him who is truth: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

2. Those warriors are indeed great and worthy of singular honour, not only for their consummate bravery, but also (which is a higher praise) for their eminent fidelity, by whose labours and dangers, along with the blessing of divine protection and aid, enemies previously unsubdued are conquered, and peace obtained for the State, and the provinces reduced to subjection. But it is a higher glory still to stay war itself with a word, than to slay men with the sword, and to procure or maintain peace by peace, not by war.

For those who fight, if they are good men, doubtless seek for peace; nevertheless it is through blood. Your mission, however, is to prevent the shedding of blood. Yours, therefore, is the privilege of averting that calamity which others are under the necessity of producing. Therefore, my deservedly illustrious and very powerful lord and very dear son in Christ, rejoice in this singularly great and real blessing vouchsafed to you, and enjoy it in God, to whom you owe that you are what you are, and that you undertook the accomplishment of such a work. May God " strengthen that

Count Boniface. He was also successful in obtaining a truce with the Vandals, on which Augustine congratulates him in this letter.

' Matt. V. 9.

LET. CCXXXI.] TO DAPSIUS. 437

which He hath wrought for us through you." Accept this our salutation, and deign to reply. From the letter of my brother Novatus, I see that he has taken pains that your learned Excellency should become acquainted with me also through my works. If, then, you have read what he has given you, I also shall have become known to your inward
perception. As far as I can judge, they will not greatly displease you if you have read them in a loving rather than a critical spirit. It is not much to ask, but it will be a great favour, if for this letter and my works you send us one letter in reply. I salute with due affection the pledge of peace, which through the favour of our Lord and God you have happily received.

LETTER CCXXXI.

(A.D. 429.)

TO DARIUS, HIS SON, AND A MEMBER OF CHRIST, AUGUSTINE, A SERVANT OF CHRIST AND OF THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST, SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. You requested an answer from me as a proof that I had gladly received your letter. Behold, then, I write again; and yet I cannot express the pleasure I felt, either by this answer or by any other, whether I write briefly or at the utmost length, for neither by few words nor by many is it possible for me to express to you what words can never express. I, indeed, am not eloquent, though ready in speech; but I could by no means allow any man, however eloquent, even though he could see as well into my mind as I do myself, to do that which is beyond my own power, viz. to describe in a letter, however able and however long, the effect which your epistle had on my mind. It remains, then, for me so to express to

^ Ps. Ixviii. 29. 2 Verimodus, the son of Darius.

'Refering to Darius' reply (Letter CCXXX. ) to the foregoing Letter (CCXXIX) In it, Darius, after reciprocating in the warmest manner every expression of admiration and esteem, expresses his hope that the peace concluded with the Vandals may be permanent, entreats Augustine to pray for him (alluding to the letter said to have been written by Abgaris, king of Edessa, to our Saviour), and asks him to send a copy of his Confessions along with his reply to this communication.

438 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXXI.

you what you wished to know, that you may understand as being in my words that which they do not express. What, then, shall I say? That I was delighted with your letter, exceedingly delighted; â€“ the repetition of this word is not a mere repetition, but, as it were, a perpetual affirmation; because it was impossible to be always saying it, therefore it has been at least once repeated, for in this way perhaps my feelings may be expressed.

2. If some one inquire here what after all delighted me so exceedingly in your letter, â€“ " Was it its eloquence? " I will answer, No; and he, perhaps, will reply, " Was it, then, the
praises bestowed on yourself? " but again I will reply, No; and I shall reply thus not because these things are not in that letter, for the eloquence in it is so great that it is very clearly evident that you are naturally endowed with the highest talents, and that you have been most carefully educated; and your letter is undeniably full of my praises. Some one then may say, " Do not these things delight you? " Yes, truly, for " my heart is not," as the poet says, " of horn," ^ so that I should either not observe these things or observe them without delight. These things do delight; but what have these things to do with that with which I said I was highly delighted?

Your eloquence delights me since it is at once genial in sentiment and dignified in expression; and though assuredly I am not delighted with all sorts of praise from all sorts of persons, but only with such praises as you have thought me worthy of, and only coming from those who are such as you are â€” that is, from persons who, for Christ's sake, love His servants, I cannot deny that I am delighted with the praises bestowed upon me in your letter.

3. Thoughtful and experienced men will be at no loss as to the opinion which they should form of Theniistocles (if I remember the name rightly), who, having refused at a banquet to play on the lyre, a thing which the distinguished and learned men of Greece were accustomed to do, and having been on that account regarded as uneducated, was asked, when he expressed his contempt for that sort of amusement, " What, then, does it delight you to hear? " and is reported to have answered: " My own praises. " Thoughtful and experienced

' Persius, Sat. i. line 47. "Cornea."

LET. CCXXXI.] TO DAllIUS. 439

men will readily see "svith what design and in what sense these words must have been used by him, or must be understood by them, if they are to believe that he uttered them; for he was in the affairs of this w^orld a most remarkable man, as may be illustrated by the answer which he gave when he was further pressed with the question: " What, then, do you know? " "I know," he replied, " how to make a small republic great." As to the thirst for praise spoken of by Ennius in the words: " All men greatly desire to be praised," I am of opinion that it is partly to be approved of, partly guarded against. For as, on the one hand, we should vehemently desire the truth, which is undoubtedly to be eagerly sought after as alone worthy of praise, even though it be not praised; so, on the other hand, we must carefully shun the vanity which readily insinuates itself along with praise from men:

and this vanity is present in the mind when either the things which are worthy of praise are not reckoned worth having unless the man be praised for them by his fellow-men, or the things on account of possessing which any man wishes to be much praised are
deserving either of small praise, or it may be of severe censure. Hence Horace, a more careful observer than Ennius, says: "Is fame your passion? Wisdom's powerful charm if thrice read over shall its power disarm." 

4. Thus the poet thought that the malady arising from the love of human praise, which was thoroughly attacked with his satire, was to be charmed away by words of healing power. The great Teacher has accordingly taught us by His apostle, that we ought not to do good with a view to be praised by men, that is, we ought not to make the praises of men the motive for our well-doing; and yet, for the sake of men themselves. He teaches us to seek their approbation. For when good men are praised, the praise does not benefit those on whom it is bestowed, but those who bestowed it. For to the good, so far as they are themselves concerned, it is enough that they are good; but those are to be congratulated whose interest it is to imitate the good when the good are praised by them, since they thus show that the persons whom they sincerely praise are persons whose conduct they appreciate.


440 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXXI.

The apostle says in a certain place, "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ;" and the same apostle says in another place, "I please all men in all things," and adds the reason, "Not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved." Behold what he sought in the praise of men, as it is declared in these words: "Finally, my brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever tilings are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. Those things, which ye have both, learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do: and the God of peace shall be with you." All the other things which I have named above, he summed up under the name of Virtue, saying, "If there be any virtue;" but the definition which he subjoined, "Whatsoever things are of good report," he followed up by another suitable word, "If there be any praise." What the apostle says, then, in the first of these passages, "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ," is to be understood as if he said. If the good things which I do were done by me with human praise as my motive, if I were puffed up with the love of praise, I should not be the servant of Christ. The apostle, then, wished to please all men, and rejoiced in pleasing them, not that he might himself be inflated with their praises, but that he being praised (might build them up in Christ. Why, then, should it not delight me to be praised by you, since you are too good a man to speak insincerely, and you bestow your praise on things which you love, and which it is profitable and wholesome to love, even though they be
not in me? This, moreover, does not benefit you alone, but also me. For if they are not in me, it is good for me that I am put to the blush, and am made to burn with desire to possess them. And in regard to anything in your praise which I recognise as in my possession, I rejoice that I possess it, and that such things are loved by you, and that I am loved for their sake. And in regard to those things which I do not recognise as belonging to me, I not only desire to obtain them, that I may possess them for myself, but also

\ > Gal. i. 10. 2 I Cor. x. 33. =A» riiQ. iv. 8-9.

LET. CCXXXL] to DARIUS. 441

that those who love me sincerely may not always be mistaken in praising me for them.

5. Behold how many things I have said, and still I have not yet spoken of that in your letter which delighted me more than your eloquence, and far more than the praises you bestowed on me. What do you think, excellent man, that this can be? It is that I have acquired the friendship of so distinguished a man as you are, and that without having even seen you; if, indeed, I ought to speak of one as unseen whose soul I have seen in his own letters, though I have not seen his body. In which letters I rest my opinion concerning you on my own knowledge, and not, as formerly, on the testimony of my brethren. For what your character was I had already heard, but how you stood affected to me I knew not until now. From this, your friendship to me, I doubt not that even the praises bestowed on me, which give me pleasure for a reason about which I have already said enough, will much more abundantly benefit the Church of Christ, since the fact that you possess, and study, and love, and commend my labours in defence of the gospel against the remnant of impious idolaters, secures for me a wider influence in these writings in proportion to the high position which you occupy; for, illustrious yourself, you insensibly shed a lustre upon them. You, being celebrated, give celebrity to them, and wherever you shall see that the circulation of them might do good, you will not suffer them to remain altogether unknown. If you ask me how I know this, my reply is, that such is the impression concerning you produced on me by reading your letters. Herein you will now see how great delight your letter could impart to me, for if your opinion of me be favourable, you are aware how great delight is given to me by gain to the cause of Christ. Moreover, when you tell me concerning yourself that, although, as you say, you belong to a family which not for one or two generations, but even to remote ancestors, has been known as able to accept the doctrine of Christ, you have nevertheless been aided by my writings against the Gentile rites so to understand these as you never had done before, can I esteem it a small matter how great benefit our writings, commended and circulated by you, may confer upon others, and to how many and how
illustrious persons your testimony may bring them, and how easily and profitably through these persons they may reach others? Or, reflecting on this, can the joy diffused in my heart be small or moderate in degree?

6. Since, then, I cannot in words express how great delight I have received from your letter, I have spoken of the reason why it delighted me, and now that which I am unable adequately to utter on this subject I leave to you to conjecture. Accept, then, my son "accept, excellent man. Christian not by outward profession merely, but by Christian love "accept, I say, the books containing my "Confessions," which you desired to have. In these behold me, that you may not praise me beyond what I am; in these believe what is said of me, not by others, but by myself; in these contemplate me, and see what I have been in myself, by myself; and if anything in me please you, join me, because of it, in praising Him to whom, and not to myself, I desire praise to be given. For "He hath made us, and not we ourselves;" indeed, we had destroyed ourselves, but He who made us has made us anew. When, however, you find me in these books, pray for me that I may not fail, but be perfected. Pray, my son; pray. I feel what I say; I know what I ask. Let it not seem to you a thing unbecoming, and, as it were, beyond your merits. You will defraud me of a great help if you do not do so. Let not only you yourself, but all also who by your testimony shall come to love me, pray for me. Tell them that I have entreated this, and if you think highly of us, consider that we command what we have asked; in any case, whether as granting a request or obeying a command, pray for us. Read the Divine Scriptures, and you will find that the apostles themselves, the leaders of Christ's flock, requested this from their sons, or enjoined it on their hearers. I certainly, since you ask it of me, will do this for you as far as I can. He sees this who is the Hearer of prayer, and who saw that I prayed for you before you asked me; but let this proof of love be reciprocated by you. We are placed over you; you are the flock of God. Consider and see that our dangers are greater than yours, and pray for us, for this becomes both us and you, that we may give a good account of

Â» Ps. c. 3.

LET. CCXXXI.] TO DAEIUS. 443

you to the Chief Shepherd and Head over us all, and may escape both from the trials of this world and its allurements, which are still more dangerous, except when the peace of this world has the effect for which the apostle has directed us to pray, "That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." For if godliness and honesty be wanting, what is a quiet and peaceable exemption from the evils of the world but an occasion either of inviting men to enter, or assisting men to follow, a course of self-indulgence and perdition? Do you, then, ask for us what we ask for" you, that we may
lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Let us ask this for each other wherever you are and wherever we are, for He whose we are is everywhere present.

7. I have sent you also other books which you did not ask, that I might not rigidly restrict myself to what you asked: my works on Faith in Things Unseen, on Patience, on Continence, on Providence, and a large work on Faith, Hope, and Charity. If, while you are in Africa, you shall read all these, either send your opinion of them to me, or let it be sent to some place whence it may be sent us by my lord and brother Aurelius, though wherever you shall be we hope to have letters from you; and do you expect letters from us as long as we are able. I most gratefully received the things you sent to me, in which you deigned to aid me both in regard to my bodily health, since you desire me to be free from the hindrance of sickness in devoting my time to God, and in regard to my library, that I may have the means to procure new books and repair the old. May God recompense you, both in the present life and in that to come, with those favours which He has prepared for such as He has willed you to be.

I request you now to salute again for me, as before, the pledge of peace entrusted to you, very dear to both of us.

1 1 Tim. ii. 2.

2 The reference is to some medicines sent by Darius, and mentioned by him in the end of his letters.

444 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXXII.

FOURTH DIVISION.

[Hitherto the order followed in the arrangement of the letters has been the chronological. It being impossible to ascertain definitely the date of composition of thirty-nine of the letters, these have been placed by the Benedictine editors in the fourth division, and in it they are arranged under two principal divisions, the first embracing some controversial letters, and the second a number of those which were occasioned either by Augustine's interest in the welfare of individuals, or by the claims of official duty.]

LETTER CCXXXII.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MADAUEA, MY LORDS WORTHY OF PRAISE, AND BRETHREN MOST BELOVED, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING, IN REPLY TO THE LETTER RECEIVED BY THE HANDS OF BROTHER FLORENTINUS.
1. If, perchance, such a letter as I have received was sent to me by those among you who are Catholic Christians, the only thing at which I am surprised is, that it was sent in the name of the municipality, and not in their own name. If, however, it has pleased all or almost all of your men of rank to send a letter to me, I am surprised at the title "Father" and the "salutation in the Lord" addressed to me by you, of whom I know certainly, and with much regret, that you regard with superstitious veneration those idols against which your temples are more easily shut than your hearts; or, I should rather say, those idols which are not more truly shut up in your temples than in your hearts. Can it be that you are at last, after wise reflection, seriously thinking of that salvation which is in the Lord, in whose name you have chosen to salute me? For if it be not so, I ask you, my lords worthy of all praise, and brethren most beloved, in what have I injured, in what have I offended your benevolence, that you should think it right to treat me with ridicule rather than with respect in the salutation prefixed to your letter?

2. For when I read the words, "To Father Augustine, eternal salvation in the Lord," I was suddenly elated with such fulness of hope, that I believed you either already converted to the Lord Himself, and to that eternal salvation of which He is the author, or desirous, through our ministry, to be so converted. But when I read the rest of the letter my heart was chilled. I inquired, however, from the bearer of the letter, whether you were already Christians or were desirous to be so. After I learned from his answer that you were in no way changed, I was deeply grieved that you thought it right not only to reject the name of Christ, to whom you already see the whole world submitting, but even to insult His name in my person; for I could not think of any other Lord than Christ the Lord in whom a bishop could be addressed by you as a father, and if there had been any doubt as to the meaning to be attached to your words, it would have been removed by the closing sentence of your letter, where you say plainly, "We desire that, for many years, your lordship may always, in the midst of your clergy, be glad in God and His Christ." After reading and pondering all these things, what could I (or, indeed, could any man) think but that these words were written either as the genuine expression of the mind of the writers, or with an intention to deceive? If you write these things as the genuine expression of your mind, who has barred your way to the truth? Who has strewn it with thorns? What enemy has placed masses of rock across your path? In fine, if you are desiring to come in, who has shut the door of our places of worship against you, so that you are unwilling to enjoy the same salvation with us in the same Lord in whose name you salute us? But if you write these things deceitfully and mockingly, do you, then, in the very act of imposing on me the care of your affairs, presume to insult, with the language of feigned
adulation, the name of Him through whom alone I can do anything, instead of honouring Him with the veneration which is due to Him?

3. Be assured, dearest brethren, that it is with inexpressible trembling of heart on your account that I write this letter to

446 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXXII.

you, for I know how much greater in the judgment of God must be your guilt and your doom if I shall have said these things to you in vain. In regard to everything in the history of the human race which our forefathers observed and handed down to us, and not less in regard to everything connected with the seeking and holding of true religion which we now see and put on record for those who come after us, the Divine Scriptures have not been silent; so far from this, all things come to pass exactly according to the predictions of Scripture.
You cannot deny that you see the Jewish people torn from the abodes of their ancestry, dispersed and scattered over almost every country: now, the origin of that people, their gradual increase, their losing of the kingdom, their dispersion through all the world, have happened exactly as foretold.
You cannot deny that you see that the word of the Lord, and the law coming forth from that people through Christ, who was miraculously born among their nation, has taken and retained possession of the faith of all nations: now we read of all these announced beforehand as we see them. You cannot deny that you see what we call heresies and schisms, that is, many cut off from the root of the Christian society, which by means of the Apostolic Sees, and the successions of bishops, is spread abroad in an indisputably world-wide diffusion, claiming the name of Christians, and as withering branches boasting of the mere appearance of being derived from the true vine: all this has been foreseen, predicted, and described in Scripture.
You cannot deny that you see some temples of the idols fallen into ruin through neglect, others thrown down by violence, others closed, and some applied to other purposes; you see the idols themselves either broken to pieces, or burnt, or shut up, or destroyed, and the same powers of this world, who in defence of idols persecuted Christians, now vanquished and subdued by Christians, who did not fight for the truth but died for it, and directing their attacks and their laws against the very idols in defence of which they put Christians to death, and the highest dignitary of the noblest empire laying aside his crown and kneeling as a suppliant at the tomb of the fisherman Peter.

4. The Divine Scriptures, which have now come into the

LET. CCXXXIL] to THE PEOPLE OF MAD AURA. 447
hands of all, testified long before that all these things would come to pass. We rejoice that all these things have happened, with a faith which is strong in proportion to the discovery thereby made of the greatness of the authority with which they are declared in the sacred Scriptures. Seeing, then, that all these things have come to pass as foretold, are we, I ask, to suppose that the judgment of God, which we read of in the same Scriptures as appointed to separate finally between the believing and the unbelieving, is the only event in regard to which the prophecy is to fail? Yea, certainly, as all these other events have come, it shall also come. ISTor shall there be a man of our time who shall be able in that day to plead anything in defence of his unbelief. For the name of Christ is on the lips of every man: it is invoked by the just man in doing justice, by the pejurer in the act of deceiving, by the king to confirm his rule, by the soldier to nerve himself for battle, by the husband to establish his authority, by the wife to confess her submission, by the father to enforce his command, by the son to declare his obedience, by the master in supporting his right to govern, by the slave in performing his duty, by the humble in quickening piety, by the proud in stimulating ambition, by the rich man when he gives, and by the poor when he receives an alms, by the drunkard at his wine-cup, by the beggar at the gate, by the good man in keeping his word, by the wicked man in violating his promises: all frequently use the name of Christ, the Christian with genuine reverence, the Pagan with feigned respect; and they shall undoubtedly give to that same Being whom they invoke an account both of the spirit and of the language in which they repeat His name. 5. There is One invisible, from whom, as the Creator and First Cause, all things seen by us derive their being: He is supreme, eternal, unchangeable, and comprehensible by none save Himself alone. There is One by whom the supreme Majesty\(^*\) utters and reveals Himself, namely, the Word, not inferior to Him by whom it is begotten and uttered, by which Word He who begets it is manifested. There is One who is holiness, the sanctifier of all that becomes holy, who is the inseparable and undivided mutual communion between this unchangeable Word by whom that First Cause is revealed, and

448 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXXTI.

that First Cause who reveals Himself by the Word which is His equal. But who is able with perfectly calm and pure mind to contemplate this whole Essence (whom I have endeavoured to describe without giving His name, instead of giving His name without describing Him), and to draw blessedness from that contemplation, and by sinking, as it were, in the rapture of such meditation, to become oblivious of self, and to press on to that the sight of which is beyond our sphere of perception; in other words, to be clothed with immortality, and obtain that eternal salvation which you were pleased to desire on my behalf in your greeting ? Who, I say, is able to do this but the man who, confessing his sins, shall have levelled with the dust all the vain risings of pride, and prostrated himself in meekness and humility to receive God as his Teacher ?
6. Since, therefore, it is necessary that we be first brought down from vain self-sufficiency to lowliness of spirit, that rising thence we may attain to real exaltation, it was not possible that this spirit could be produced in us by any method at once more glorious and more gentle (subduing our haughtiness by persuasion instead of violence) than that the Word by whom the Father reveals Himself to angels, who is His Power and Wisdom, who could not be discerned by the human heart so long as it was blinded by love for the things which are seen, should condescend to assume our nature, and so to exercise and manifest His personality when incarnate as to make men more afraid of being elated by the pride of man, than of being brought low after the example of God. Therefore the Christ who is preached throughout the whole world is not Christ adorned with an earthly crown, nor Christ rich in earthly treasures, nor Christ illustrious for earthly prosperity, but Christ crucified. This was ridiculed, at first, by whole nations of proud men, and is still ridiculed by a remnant among the nations, but it was the object of faith at first to a few and now to whole nations, because when Christ crucified was preached at that time, notwithstanding the ridicule of the nations, to the few who believed, the lame received power to walk, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, and the dead were restored to life. Thus, at

LET. CCXXXVII] TO CERETIUS. 440

length, the pride of this world was convinced that, even among the things of this world, there is nothing more powerful than the humility of God, so that beneath the shield of a divine example that humility, which it is most profitable for men to practise, might find defence against the contemptuous assaults of pride.

7. men of Madaura, my brethren, nay, my fathers, I beseech you to awake at last: this opportunity of writing to you God has given to me. So far as I could, I rendered my service and help in the business of brother Florentinus, by whom, as God willed it, you wrote to me; but the business was of such a nature, that even without my assistance it might have been easily transacted, for almost all the men of his family, who reside at Hippo, know Florentinus, and deeply regret his bereavement. But the letter was sent by you to me, that, having occasion to reply, it might not seem presumptuous on my part, when the opportunity was afforded me by yourselves, to say something concerning Christ to the worshippers of idols. But I beseech you, if you have not taken His name in vain in that epistle, suffer not these things which I write to you to be in vain; but if in using His name you wished to mock me, fear Him whom the world formerly in its pride scorned as a condemned criminal, and whom the same world now, subjected to His sway, awaits as its Judge.

For the desire of my heart for you, expressed as far as in my power by this letter, shall witness against you at the judgment seat of Him who shall establish for ever those who believe in Him and confound the unbelieving. May the one true God deliver you wholly from the vanity of this world, and turn you to Himself, my lords worthy of all praise and brethren most beloved.
LETTER CCXXXVII.

This letter was addressed to Ceretius, a bishop, who had sent to Augustine certain apocryphal writings, on which the

1 1 Cor. i. 23-25.

" Referring to his birth at Tagaste (not far distant from Madaura), and to Madaura as the scene of the studies of his boyhood.

LETT. IL 2 F

450 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCXXXVII.

Spanish heretical sect called Priscillianists^ founded some of their doctrines. Ceretius had especially directed his attention to a hymn which they alleged to have been composed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and given by Him to His disciples on that night on which He was betrayed, when they sang an " hymn" before going out to the Mount of Olives. The length of the letter precludes its insertion here, but we believe it will interest many to read the few lines of this otherwise long-forgotten hymn, which Augustine has here preserved. They are as follows: â€”

** Salvare volo et salvari volo; Solve re volo et solvi volo; Ornare volo et ornari volo; Generari volo; Cantare volo, saltare cuncti:
Plangere volo, tundite vos omnes:
Lucerna sum tibi, ille qui me vides; Janua sum tibi, quicunque me pulsas; Qui vides quod ago, tace opera mea; Verbo illusi cuncta et non sum illusus in totum."

The reader who ponders these extracts, and remembers the occasion on which the hymn is alleged to have been composed, will agree with us that Augustine employs a very unnecessary fulness of argument in devoting several paragraphs to demolish the claims advanced on its behalf as a revelation more profound and sacred than anything contained in the canonical Scriptures. Augustine also brings against the Priscillianists the charge of justifying perjury when it might be of service in concealing their real opinions, and quotes a line in which, as he had heard from some who once belonged to that sect, the lawfulness of such deceitful conduct was taught: â€”

" Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli."
LET. CCXLV. TO POSSIDIUS. 451

LETTEK CCXLV.

TO POSSIDIUS,^ MY MOST BELOVED LORD AND VENERABLE BROTHER
AND PARTNER IN THE SACERDOTAL OFFICE, AND TO THE
BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM, AUGUSTINE AND THE
BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE
LORD.

1. It requires more consideration to decide what to do with those who refuse to obey you,
than to discover how to show them that things which they do are unlawful. Meanwhile,
however, the letter of your Holiness has come upon me when I am exceedingly pressed
with business, and the very hasty departure of the bearer has made it necessary for me to
write you in reply, but has not given me time to answer as I ought to have done in regard
to the matters on which you have consulted me. Let me say, however, in regard to
ornaments of gold and costly dress, that I would not have you come to a precipitate
decision in the way of forbidding their use, except in the case of those who, neither being
married nor intending to marry, are bound to consider only how they may please God.
But those who belong to the world have also to consider how they may in these things
please their wives if they be husbands, their husbands if they be wives;^ with this
limitation, that it is not becoming even in married women to uncover their hair, since the
apostle commands women to keep their heads covered.^ As to the use of pigments by
women in colouring the face, in order to have a ruddier or a fairer complexion, this is a
dishonest artifice, by which I am sure that even their own husbands do not wish to be
deceived; and it is only for their own husbands that women ought to be permitted to
adorn themselves, according to the toleration, not the injunction, , of Scripture. Eor the
true adorning, especially of Christian il men and women, consists not only in the absence
of allji deceitful painting of the complexion, but in the possession*-^.

^ Possidius, a disciple of Augustine, spoken of in Letter CI. sec. 1, p. 29, was
, the Bishop of Calama who made the narrow escape recorded in Letter XCI. sec. 8, vol.
i. p. 388. He was for forty years an intimate friend of Augustine, was with him at his
death, and wrote his biography.
2 1 Cor. vii. 32-34. Â« 1 Cor. xi. 6-13.
not of magnificent golden ornaments or rich apparel, but of a blameless life.

2. As for the accursed superstition of wearing amulets (among which the ear-rings worn by men at the top of the ear on one side are to be reckoned), it is practised with the view not of pleasing men, but of doing homage to devils.

But who can expect to find in Scripture express prohibition of every form of wicked superstition, seeing that the apostle says generally, " I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils"^ and again, " What concord hath Christ with Belial?"^ unless, perchance, the fact that he named Belial, while he forbade in general terms fellowship with devils, leaves it open for Christians to sacrifice to Neptune, because we nowhere read an express prohibition of the worship of Neptune! Meanwhile, let those unhappy people be admonished that, if they persist in disobedience to salutary precepts, they must at least forbear from defending their impurities, and thereby involving themselves in greater guilt. But why should we argue at all with them if they are afraid to take off their ear-rings, and are not afraid to receive the body of Christ while wearing the badge of the devil?

As to ordaining a man who was baptized in the Donatist sect, I cannot take the responsibility of recommending you to do this; it is one thing for you to do it if you are left without alternative, it is another thing for me to advise that you should do it.

LETTÉE CCXLVI.

TO LAMPADIUS, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

1. On the subject of Fate and Fortune, by which, as I perceived when I was with you, and as I now know in a more gratifying and more reliable way by your own letter, your mind is seriously disturbed, I ought to write you a considerable volume; the Lord will enable me to explain it in the manner which He knows to be best fitted to preserve your faith. For it is no small evil that when men embrace perverse opinions they are not only drawn by the allurement of pleasure to commit sin, but are also turned aside to vindicate their sin rather than seek to have it healed by acknowledging that they have done wrong.

Â» 1 Cor. X, 20. 2 2 Cor. vi. 15.

LET. ccxlvi] to lampadius. 453
2. Let me, therefore, briefly remind you of one thing bearing on the question which you certainly know, that all laws and all means of discipline, commendations, censures, exhortations, threatenings, rewards, punishments, and all other things by which mankind are managed and ruled, are utterly subverted and overthrown, and found to be absolutely devoid of justice, unless the will is the cause of the sins which a man commits. 

How much more legitimate and right, therefore, is it for us to reject the absurdities of astrologers \textit{mathematici}, than to submit to the alternative necessity of condemning and rejecting the laws proceeding from divine authority, or even the means needful for governing our own families. In this the astrologers themselves ignore their own doctrine as to Fate and Fortune, for when any one of them, after selling to moneyed simpletons his silly prognostications of Fate, calls back his thoughts from the ivory tablets to the management and care of his own house, he reproves his wife, not with words only, but with blows, if he finds her, I do not say jesting rather forwardly, but even looking too much out of the window. Nevertheless, if she were to expostulate in such a case, saying: "Why beat me? beat Venus, rather, if you can, since it is under that planet's influence that I am compelled to do what you complain of," â€” he would certainly apply his energies not to invent some of the absurd jargon by which he cajoles the public, but to inflict some of the just correction by which he maintains his authority at home.

3. When, therefore, any one, upon being reproved, affirms that Fate is the cause of the action, and insists that therefore he is not to be blamed, because he says that under the compulsion of Fate he did the action which is censured, let him come back to apply this to his own case, let him observe this principle in managing his own affairs: let him not chastise a dishonest servant; let him not complain of a disrespectful son; let him not utter threats against a mischievous neighbour.

For in doing which of these things would he act justly, if all

454 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCL.

from whom he suffers such wrong are impelled to commit it by Fate, not by any fault of their own 1 If, however, from the right inherent in himself, and the duty incumbent on him as

I the head of a family towards all whom for the time he has under his control, he exhorts them to do good, deters them from doing evil, commands them to obey his will, honours those who yield implicit obedience, inflicts punishment on those who set him at naught, gives thanks to those who do him good, and hates those who are ungrateful, â€” shall I wait to prove the absurdity of the astrologer's calculations of Fate,

j when I find him proclaiming, not by words but by deeds, things so conclusive against his pretensions that he seems to destroy almost with his own hands every hair on the heads of the astrologers?
If your eager desire is not satisfied with these few sentences, and demands a book which will take longer time to read on this subject, you must wait patiently until I get some respite from other duties; and you must pray to God that He may be pleased to allow both leisure and capacity to write, so as to set your mind at rest on this matter. I will, however, do this with more willing readiness, if your Charity does not grudge to remind me of it by frequent letters, and to show me in your reply what you think of this letter.

LETTEE CCL.

TO HIS BELOVED LORD AND VENERABLE BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, AUXILIUS,† AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. Our son Classicianus, a man of rank, has addressed to me a letter complaining bitterly that he has suffered excommunication wrongfully at the hand of your Holiness. His account of the matter is, that he came to the church with a small escort suitable to his official authority, and begged of you that you would not, to the detriment of their own spiritual

† Probably the Bishop of Nurco, named Auxilius, who was present at the conference in Carthage in 411.

LET. CCL.] TO AUXILIUS. 455

welfare, extend the privilege of the sanctuary to men who, after violating an oath which they had taken on the Gospel, were seeking in the house of faith itself assistance and protection in their crime of breaking faith; that thereafter the men themselves, reflecting on the sin which they had committed, went forth from the church, not under violent compulsion, but of their own accord; and that because of this transaction your Holiness was so displeased with him, that with the usual forms of ecclesiastical procedure you smote him and all his household with a sentence of excommunication.

On reading this letter from him, being very much troubled, the thoughts of my heart being agitated like the waves of a stormy sea, I felt it impossible to forbear from writing to you, to beg that if you have thoroughly examined your judgment in this matter, and have proved it by irrefragable reasoning or Scripture testimonies, you will have the kindness to teach me also the grounds on which it is just that a son should be anathematized for the sin of his father, or a wife for the sin of her husband, or a servant for the sin of his master, or how it is just that even the child as yet unborn should lie under an anathema, and be debarred, even though death were imminent, from the deliverance provided in the laver of regeneration, if he happen to be born in a family at the time when the whole household is under the ban of excommunication. For this is not
one of those judgments merely affecting the body, in which, as we read in Scripture, some despisers of God were slain with all their households, though these had not been sharers in their impiety. In those cases, indeed, as a warning to the survivors, death was inflicted on toadies which, as mortal, were destined at some time to die; but a spiritual judgment, founded on what is written, " That which ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven," *Eîκ* is binding on souls, concerning which it is said, " As the soul of the father is mine, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die." *Eîκ*

2. It may be that you have heard that other priests of great reputation have in some cases included the household of a transgressor in the anathema pronounced on him; but these

' Matt. xvi. 19. 2 Eîκ. xviiL 14.

4n6 LETTEILS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCL.

could, perchance, if they were required, give a good reason for so doing. For my own part, although I have been most grievously troubled by the cruel excesses with which some men have vexed the Church, I have never ventured to do as you have done, for this reason, that if any one were to challenge me to justify such an act, I could give no satisfactory reply. But if, perchance, the Lord has revealed to you that it may be justly done, I by no means despise your youth and your inexperience, as having been but recently elevated to high office in the Church. Behold, though far advanced in life, I am ready to learn from one who is but young; and notwithstanding the number of years for which I have been a bishop, I am ready to learn from one who has not yet been a twelvemonth in the same office, if he undertakes to teach me how we can justify our conduct, either before men or before God, if we inflict a spiritual punishment on innocent souls because of another person's crime, in which they are not involved in the same way as they are involved in the original sin of Adam, in whom " all have sinned." For although the son of Classicianus derived through his father, from our first parent, guilt which behaved to be washed away by the sacred waters of baptism, who hesitates for a moment to say that he is in no way responsible for any sin which his father may have committed, since he was born, without his participation? What shall I say of his wife? What of so many son Is in the entire household? â€” of which if even one, in consequence of the severity which included the whole household in the excommunication, should perish through departing from the body without baptism, the loss thus occasioned would be an incomparably greater calamity than the bodily death of an innumerable multitude, even though they were innocent men, dragged from the courts of the sanctuary and murdered. If, therefore, you are able to give a good reason for this, I trust that you will in your reply communicate it to me, that I also may be able to do the same; but if you cannot, what right have you to do, under the promptings of inconsiderate excitement, an act for which, if you were asked to give a satisfactory reason, you could find none?

3. What I liave said hitherto applies to the case even
on the supposition that our son Classicianus has done something which might appear to
demand most righteously at your hands the punishment of excommunication. But if the
letter which he sent to me contained the truth, there was no reason why even he himself
(even though his household had been exempted from the stroke) should have been so
punished.
As to this, however, I do not interfere with your Holiness; I
only beseech you to pardon him when he asks forgiveness, if he acknowledges his fault;
and if, on the other hand, you, upon reflection, acknowledge that he did nothing wrong,
since in fact the right rather lay on his side who earnestly demanded that in the house of
faith, faith should be sacredly kept, and that it should not be broken in the place where
the sinfulness of such breach of faith is taught from day to day, do, in this event, what a
man of piety ought to do, â€” that is to say, if to you as a man anything has happened
such as was confessed by one who was truly a man of God in the words of the psalm, "Mine
eye was discomposed by anger," ^
fail not to cry to the Lord, as he did, " Have pity on me, Lord, for I am weak," ^ so that
He may stretch forth His right hand to you, rebuking the storm of your passion, and
making your mind calm that you may see and may perform what is just; for, as it is
written, "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." ^ And think not that,
because we are bishops, it is impossible for unjust passionate resentment to gain secretly
upon us; let us rather remember that, because we are men, our life in the midst of
temptation's snares is beset with the greatest possible dangers. Cancel, therefore, the
ecclesiastical sentence which, perhaps under the influence of unusual excitement, you
have passed; and let the mutual love which, even from the time when you were a
catechumen, has united him and you, be restored again; let strife be banished and peace
invited to return, lest this man who is your friend be lost to you, and the devil who is your
enemy rejoice over you both. Mighty is the mercy of our God; it may be that His
compassion shall hear even my prayer, imploring of Him that my sorrow on your account
may not be increased, but that rather what I have begun to suffer may be

'Ps. vi. 8, LXX. 2 ps yi 3^ 3 jas. i. 20.

458 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCLIV.

removed; and may your youth, not despising my old age, be encouraged and made full of
joy by His grace! Farewell!

[Annexed to this letter is a fragment of a letter written at the same time to Classicianus; it
is as follows: â€”]
To restrain those who for the offence of one soul bind a transgressor's entire household, that is, a large number of souls, under one sentence of excommunication, and especially to prevent any one from departing this life unbaptized in consequence of such an anathema, â€” also to decide the question whether persons ought not to be driven forth even from a church, who seek a refuge there in order that they may break the faith pledged to sureties, I desire with the Lord's help to use the necessary measures in our Council, and, if it be necessary, to write to the Apostolic See; that, by a unanimous authoritative decision of all, we may have the course which ought to be followed in these cases determined and established.

One thing I say deliberately as an unquestionable truth, that if any believer has been wrongfully excommunicated, the sentence will do harm rather to him who pronounces it than to him who suffers this wrong. For it is by the Holy Spirit dwelling in holy persons that any one is loosed or bound, and He inflicts unmerited punishment upon no one; for by Him the love which worketh not evil is shed abroad in our hearts.^] LETTER CCLIV.

TO BENENATUS, MY MOST BLESSED LORD, MY ESTEEMED AND AMIABLE BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, AND TO THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM, AUGUSTINE AND THE BRETHREN WHO ARE WITH HIM SEND GREETING IN THE LORD.

The maiden^ about whom your Holiness wrote to me is at present disposed to think, that if she were of full age she

* This noble vindication of Christian liberty merits quotation in the original: â€”
** Illud plane non temere dixerim, quod si quisquam fidelium fuerit anatheniatus injuste, ei potius oberit qui faciet quam ei qui banc patietur injuriam. Spiritus enim sanctus habitans in Sanctis, per quem quisque ligatur aut solvitur, immeritam nuUi psenam ingerit: per eum quippe diffunditur charitas in cordibus nostris quae non agit perperam."

* The maiden referred to was an orphan whom a magistrate (vir speciabilis)

LET. CCLIV.] TO BENENATUS. 459

would refuse every proposal of marriage. She is, however, so young, that even if she were disposed to marriage, she ought not yet to be either given or betrothed to any one. Besides this, my lord Benenatus, brother revered and beloved, it must be remembered that God takes her under guardianship in His Church with the design of protecting her against wicked men; placing her, therefore, under my care not so as that she can be given by me to whomsoever I might choose, but so as that she cannot be taken away against my will by any person who would be an unsuitable partner. The proposal which you have
been pleased to mention is one which, if she were disposed and prepared to marry, would not displease me; but whether she will marry any one, â€” although for my own part, I would much prefer that she carried out what she now talks of, â€” I do not in the meantime know, for she is at an age in which her declaration that she wishes to be a nun is to be received rather as the flippant utterance of one talking heedlessly, than as the deliberate promise of one making a solemn vow. Moreover, she has an aunt by the mother's side married to our honourable brother Felix, with whom I have conferred in regard to this matter, â€” for I neither could, nor indeed should have avoided consulting him, â€” and he has not been reluctant to entertain the proposal, but has, on the contrary, expressed his satisfaction; but he expressed not unreasonably his regret that nothing had been written to him on the subject, although his relationship entitled him to be apprised of it. For, perhaps, the mother of the maiden will also come forward, though in the meantime she does not make

had requested Augustine to bring up as a ward of the Church. Four letters written by him concerning her have been preserved, viz. the 252d, in which he intimates to Felix that he can decide nothing in regard to her without consulting the friend by whom she had been placed under his guardianship; the 253d, expressing to Benenatus his surprise that he should propose for her a marriage which would not strengthen the Church; the 254th, addressed also to Benenatus, which we have translated as a specimen of the series; and the 255th, in which, writing to Rusticus, a Pagan who had sought her hand for his son, Augustine bluntly denies his request, referring him for the grounds of the refusal to his correspondence with Benenatus.

Two Catholic bishops named Benenatus attended the conference with the Donatists at Carthage in 412; the one who belonged to Hospsti, in Numidia, is supposed to be Augustine's correspondent.

460 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCLXIII.

herself known, and to a mother's wishes in regard to the giving away of a daughter, nature gives in my opinion the precedence above all others, unless the maiden herself be already old enough to have legitimately a stronger claim to choose for herself what she pleases. I wish your Honour also to understand, that if the final and entire authority in the matter of her marriage were committed to me, and she herself, being of age and willing to marry, were to entrust herself to me under God as my Judge to give her to whomsoever I thought best, â€” I declare, and I declare the truth, in saying that the proposal which you mention pleases me meanwhile, but because of God being my Judge I cannot pledge myself to reject on her behalf a better offer if it were made; but whether any such proposal shall at any future time be made is wholly uncertain. Your Holiness perceives, therefore, how many important considerations concur to make it impossible for her to be, in the meantime, definitely promised to any one.
LETTEE CCLXIII.

TO THE EMINENTLY EELIGIOUS LADY AND HOLY DAUGHTER SAPID A,
AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. The gift prepared by the just and pious industry of your own hands, and kindly
presented by you to me, I have accepted, lest I should increase the grief of one who
needs, as I perceive, much rather to be comforted by me; especially because you
expressed yourseK as esteeming it no small consolation to you if I would w^ear this
tunic, which you had made for that holy servant of God your brother, since he, having
departed from the land of the dying, is raised above the need of the things which perish in
the using. I have, therefore, complied with your desire, and whatever be the kind and
degree of consolation which you may feel this to yield, I have not refused it to your
affection for your brother.-^ 

' The hesitation which Augustine here indicates in regard to accepting this gift may be
understood from the following sentences of one of his sermons: â€”
" Let no one give me a present of clothing, whether linen, or tunic, or any other

â€¢â€»

4

LET. CCLXIII.] TO SAPID A. 40 1

The tunic which you sent I have accordingly accepted, and have already begun to wear it
before writing this to you. Be therefore of good cheer; but apply yourself, I beseech you,
to far better and far greater consolations, in order that the cloud which, through human
weakness, gathers darkness closely round your heart, may be dissipated by the words of
divine authority; and, at all times, so live that you may live with your brother, since he
has so died that he lives still.

2. It is indeed a cause for tears that your brother, who loved you, and who honoured you
especially for your pious life, and your profession as a consecrated virgin, is no more
before youi’ eyes, as hitherto, going in and out in the assiduous discharge of his
ecclesiastical duties as a deacon of the church of Carthage, and that you shall no more
hear from his lips the honourable testimony which, with kindly, pious, and becoming
affection, he was wont to render to the holiness of a sister so dear to him. When these
things are pondered, and are regretfully desired ^ with all the vehemence of long-
cherished
article of dress, except as a gift to be used in common by my brethren and myself. I will accept nothing for myself which is not to be of service to our community, because I do not wish to have anything which does not equally belong to all the rest. Wherefore I request you, my brethren, to offer me no gift of apparel which may not be worn by the others as suitably as by me. A gift of costly raiment, for example, may sometimes be presented to me as becoming apparel for a bishop to wear; but it is not becoming for Augustine, who is poor, and who is the son of poor parents. Would you have men say that in the Church I found means to obtain richer clothing than I could have had in my father's house, or in the pursuit of secular employment? That would be a shame to me! The clothing worn by me must be such that I can give it to my brethren if they require it. I do not wish anything which would not be suitable for a presbyter, a deacon, or a sub-deacon, for I receive everything in common with them. If gifts of more costly apparel be given to me, I shall sell them, as has been my custom hitherto, in order that, if the dress be not available for all, the money realized by the sale may be a common benefit. I sell them accordingly, and distribute their price among the poor. Wherefore, if any wish me to wear articles of clothing presented to me as gifts, let them give such clothing as shall not make me blush when I use it. For I assure you that a costly dress makes me blush, because it is not in harmony with my profession, or with such exhortations as I now give to you, and ill becomes one whose frame is bent, and whose locks are whitened, as you see, by age. " â€” Sermon 356, Bened. edition, vol. V. col. 1389, quoted by Tillemont, xiii. p. 222.

For requiritur the Benedictine editors suggest recurrit, as a conjectural emendation of the text. We propose, and adopt in the translation, a simpler and perhaps more probable alteration, and read requiruntur.

462 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCLXIII.

affection, the heart is pierced, and, like blood from the pierced heart, tears flow apace. But let your heart rise heavenward, and your eyes will cease to weep. The things over the loss of which you mourn have indeed passed away, for they were in their nature temporary, but their loss does not involve the annihilation of that love with which Timotheus loved [his sister] Sapida, and loves her still: it abides in its own treasury, and is hidden with Christ in God. Does the miser lose his gold when he stores it in a secret place? Does he not then become, so far as lies in his power, more confidently assured that the gold is in his possession when he keeps it in some safer hiding-place, where it is hidden even from his eyes? Earthly covetousness believes that it has found a safer guardianship for its loved treasures when it no longer sees them; and shall heavenly love sorrow as if it had lost for ever that which it has only sent before it to the garner of the upper world?

Sapida, give yourself wholly to your high calling, and set your affections on things above, where, at the right hand of God, Christ sitteth, who condescended for us to die, that we, though we were dead, might live, and to secure that no man should fear death as if it were destined to destroy him, and that no one of those for whom the Life died should
after death be mourned for as if he had lost life. Take to yourself these and other similar
divine consolations, before which human sorrow may blush and flee away.

3. There is nothing in the sorrow of mortals over their dearly beloved dead which merits
displeasure; but the sorrow of believers ought not to be prolonged. If, therefore, you have
been grieved till now, let this grief suffice, and sorrow not as do the heathen, " who have
no hope." ^ For when the Apostle I^aul said this, he did not prohibit sorrow altogether,
but only such sorrow as the heathen manifest who have no hope. For even Martha and
Mary, pious sisters, and believers, wept for their brother Lazarus, of whom they knew
that he would rise again, though they knew not that he was at that

' Sursum sit cor et sicci erunt ociili.

2 In the Latin word sapere liere employed, there is an allusion to her name
(Sapida), which he has with a view to this repeated immediately before.
2 1 Thess. iv. 12.

LET. CCLXIII.] TO SAPIDA. 463

time to be restored to life; and the Lord Himself wept for that same Lazarus, whom He
was going to bring back from death; ^
wherein doubtless He by His example permitted, though He did not by any precept
enjoin, the shedding of tears over the graves even of those regarding whom we believe
that they shall rise ao^ain to the true life. Nor is it without good reason that Scripture
saith in the book of Ecclesiasticus:
" Let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament as if thou hadst suffered great
harm thyseK;" but adds, a little further on, this counsel, "and then comfort thyself for thy
heaviness. For of heaviness cometh death, and the heaviness of the heart breaketh
strength." ^

4: Your brother, my daughter, is alive as to the soul, is asleep as to the body: " Shall not
he who sleeps also rise again from sleep ? " ^ God, who has already received his spirit,
shall again give back to him his body, which He did not take away to annihilate, but only
took aside to restore. There is therefore no reason for protracted sorrow, since there is a
much stronger reason for everlasting joy. For even the mortal part of your brother, which
has been buried in the earth, shall not be for ever lost to you; â€” that part in which he
was visibly present with you, through which also he addressed you and conversed with
you, by which he spoke with a voice not less thoroughly known to your ear than was his
countenance when presented to your eyes, so that, wherever the sound of his voice was
heard, even though he was not seen, he used to be at once recognised by you. These
things are indeed withdrawn so as to be no longer perceived by the senses of the living,
that the absence of the dead may make surviving friends mourn for them. But seeing that
even the bodies of the dead shall not perish (as not even a hair of the head shall perish),*
but shall, after being laid aside for a time, be received again never more to be laid aside,
but fixed finally in the higher condition of existence into which they shall have been changed, certainly there is more cause for thankfulness in the sure hope of an immeasurable eternity, than for sorrow in the transient experience of a very short span


3 Ts. xli. 8, LXX. * Luke xxi. 18.

464 LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [LET. CCLXIX.

of time. This hope the heathen do not possess, because they know not the Scriptures nor the power of God,^ who is able to restore what was lost, to quicken what was dead, to renew what has been subjected to corruption, to re-unite things which have been severed from each other, and to preserve thenceforward for evermore what was originally corruptible and shortlived. These things He has promised, who has, by the fulfilment of other promises, given our faith good ground to believe that these also shall be fulfilled. Let your faith often discourse now to you on these things, because your hope shall not be disappointed, though your love may be now for a season interrupted in its exercise; ponder these things; in them find more solid and abundant consolation. For if the fact that I now wear (because he could not) the garment which you had woven for your brother yields some comfort to you, how much more full and satisfactory the comfort which you should find in considering that he for whom this was prepared, and who then did not require an imperishable garment, shall be clothed with incorruption and immortality !

LETTETE CCLXIX.

TO NOBILIUS, MY MOST BLESSED AND VENERABLE BROTHER AND PARTNER IN THE PRIESTLY OFFICE, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING.

So important is the solemnity at which your brotherly affection invites me to be present, that my heart's desire would carry my poor body to you, were it not that infirmity renders this impossible. I might have come if it had not been winter; I might have braved the winter if I had been young: for in the latter case the warmth of youth would have borne uncomplainingly the cold of the season; in the former case the warmth of summer would have met with gentleness the chill languor of old age. For the present, my lord most blessed, my holy and venerable partner in the priestly office, I cannot undertake in winter so long a journey, carrying with me as I must the frigid feebleness of very many years. I reciprocate

' Matt. xxii. 29.
TO NOBILIUS.

the salutation due to your worth, on behalf of my own welfare I ask an interest in your prayers, and I myself beseech the Lord God to grant that the prosperity of peace may follow the dedication of so great an edifice to His sacred service.

' This letter, probably one of the latest from the pen of Augustine, is the last of his letters in the Benedictine edition; the only remaining one, the 270th, was not written by Augustine, but addressed to him by an unknown correspondent.

^7y yi^8

LETT. IL

2g

INDICES.

IXDEX T.

EXniiBITIXG THE ORDER ACCORDING TO WHICH THE LETTERS TRANSLATED IN THESE VOLUMES ARE QUOTED WHEN REFERRED TO BY ANY AUTHOR (e q TILLEMONT, PAREUS, ETC.) PRIOR TO THE GENERAL RECEPTION OF THE
BENEDICTINE AS THE STANDARD EDITION IN THE BEGINNING OF LAST CENTURY. THE NUMBER IN THE BENEDICTINE EDITION IS PLACED OPPOSITE THE EARLIER NUMBER OF EACH LETTER.
INDEX OF PERSONS.

clxvii.

89

cxiv... 2 1
ccii. *

91

cçxxiii. .

254

cclix.

cciii.

23

cçxxv. .

64

cclx.

cciv.

173

cçxxvi. .

65

cclxi.
ccv.

189

ccxxxviii.

69

cclxii.

ccvii.

70

ccxxxix.

83

cclxiv.

ccviii.

218

ccxl.

63

celxvii.

ccix.
INDEX

: II.

79
8
263
94
95
279
237
103
104
OF THE PERSONS Whose CORRESPONDENCE WITH Augustine IS PRESERVED.
THE LETTERS OMITTED IN THIS SELECTION ARE ENCLOSED In BRACKETS.
THE NUMBER OF THE LETTER IS IN ROMAN NUMERALS.

Albina (Pinianus and Melania), to,

cxxiv. ii. 124.
Albina, to, cxxvi. ii. 131.
Alypius, to, from Paulinus and Thera-
sia, [xxiv.].
Alypius, to, xxix. i. 84; lxxxiii. i.

346; cxxv. ii. 126; ccxxvii. ii.

423.
Anapsychia (and Marcellinus), from

Jerome, clxv. ii. 293.
Anastasius, to, cxxv, ii. 229.
Anon, to Augustine, [cclxx.].
Antoninus, to, xx. i. 44.
Apringius, to, [cxxxiv.].
Armentarius (and Paulina), to,

[cxxvii.].
Asellicus, to, [cxcvi.].
Audax, from, [cclx.].
Audax, to, [cclxi.].
Aurelius, to, xxii. i. 50; xli. i. 13 G;

Ix. i. 239; [clxxiv.].
Auxilius, to, ccl. ii. 454.

Benenatus, to, [ccli.]; ccliv. ii. 458.
Boniface, to Bishop, xcviii. ii. 14.
Boniface, to Count, clxxvii. see yl??^i-

Donatist, vol. i. 479-520; clxxxix.

ii. 366; cxxx. ii. 415.

Csecilianus, to, Ixxvi. i. 354; cli. ii.

251.
Cielestinus, to, xviii. i. 42.

Cselestine, to, cxcii. ii. 374; ccix.
ii. 384.

Carthage, to Council of, from Innocent, [clxxi.].

Castorius, to, from Alypius and Augustine, Ixix. i. 257.

Casulanus, to, xxxvi. i. 112.

Celer, to, [Ivi. ], [Ivii. ]. ^

Ceretius, to, cccxxxvii. ii. 449.

Chrisimus, to, [ccxliv.].

Christinus, to, [cclvi.].

Cirta, to the people of, cxliv. ii. 226.

Claudius, to, [ccvii. ]. ^

Consentius, from, [cxix.].

Consentius, to, [cxx.], [ccv.].

Cornelius, to, [cclix.].

Cresconius, to, [cxiii.].
Crispinus of Calama, to, li. i. 186; lxvi. i. 252.

Cylinus (and Proculus), to, cxxix. ii. 413.

Dardanus, to, [clxxxvii.].

Darius, to Count, cxxix. IL 435;

ccxxxi. ii. 437.
Darius, from, [ccxxx.].
Deogratias, cii. ii. 32.
Deuterius, [ccxxxvi.].^)
Dioscorus, from, cxvii. ii. 89.
Dioscorus, to, cxviii. ii. 90.
Douatus, to (Proconsul), c. ii. 26;

[cxii. ].

INDEX OF PERSONS.

469

I

Donatius, to (Donatist presbyter),

clxxiii. ii. 346.
Donatists, to the, lxvi. i. 300; [cv.].
Donatists, to the [from Council of Zerta], [cxli.].
Dulcitius, to, [cciv.].
Ecclesia, to, [cclxii.].
Eleusius (Glorius, etc.), to, xliii. i. 139.
Eleusius (Glorius and the Felixes), to, xli. i. 161.

Elpidius, to, [ccxlii.].

Emeritus, to, Ixxxvii. i. 355.

Eraclius, designation of, as Augustine's colleague and successor, ccxiii. ii. 405.

Eudoxius, to, xlviii. i. 182.

Eufrates (and Saturninus), [cxlii.].

Evodius, from, clviii. ii. 262; [clx.], [clxi.]; clxiii. ii. 276.

Evodius, to, clix. ii. 272; [clxii.]; clxiv. ii. 277; clxix. ii. 333.

Eusebius, to, xxxiv. i. 105; xxxv. i. 109.

Fabiola, to, [cclxvii.].

Felicia, to, ccviii. ii. 380.

Felicitas, to, ccx. ii. 390.

Felix, to the brothers, xliii. i. 139;

xlv. i. 161.

Felix (and Hilarinus), to, Ixxvii. i. 304.

Felix, to, [ccliii.].

Festus, to, Ixxxix. i. 375.

Florentina, to, [cclxvii.].

Florentinus, to, [cxiv.].

Fortunatus, to, cxv. ii. 87.

Fortiinianus, to, cxlvi. ii. 235.

Gains, to, xix. i. 43.

Generosus, to, liii. 1. 191.

Generosus, to (magistrate in Numidia), cxvi. ii. 88.

Glorius (and others), to, xliii. i. 139;

xliv. i. 161.
Graramaticus (and others), to, xliii.
i. 139; xliv. i. 161.

Hermogenianus, to, i. i. 1.
Hesychius, to, [cxcvii.], [cxcix.].
Hesychius, from, [cxcviii.].
Hilarinus (and Felix), to, Ixvii. i. 304.
Hilary of Gaul, to, [ccxxvi.].
Hilary of Syracuse, from, [clvi.].
Hilary of Syracuse, to, [clvii.].
Hilary, to Bishop, [clxxviii.].
Hippo, to congregation at, Ixxviii. i.

306; cxxii, ii. 121; [cclxviii.].
Honoratus, to (Donatist), [xl.].
Honoratus, to (catechumen), [cxl.].
Honoratus, to Bishop, ccxxviii. ii. 425.

Honorius (and Theodosius), from, cci.
ii. 376.

Innocentius, to, [clxiv.], [clxvi.],
[clxxvi.].
Innocentius, from, [clxxvi.], [clxxvii.].
[clxxvii.], [clxxviii.].
Italica, to, xcii. i. 390; xcix. ii. 24. .

Jacobus and Timasius, from, [clxviii.].
Januarius, to, liv. i. 196; Iv. i. 204.
Januarius, to (Donatist bishop),

Ixvii. i. 364.
Jerome, to, xxviii. 1. 78; xl. i. 130;

Ixvii. i. 254; Ixvi. i. 260; Ixxiii.
i. 268; Ixviii. i. 317; clxvi. ii.

295; clxvii. ii. 318.
Jerome, from, xxxix. i. 129; Ixviii.
i. 255; Ixxii. i. 264; Ixxv. i. 277;

Ixxxi. i. 316; cxxiii. ii. 123;

clxxii. ii. 344; cxcv. ii. 375; cci.

ii. 377.
Joannes, to Bishop, [clxxix.].
Juliana (and Proba), to, cl. ii. 249.
Juliana, to, clxxxviii. ii. 357.

Lsetus, to, [ccxliii.].
Lampadius, to, ccxlvi. ii. 452.
Largus, to, ccii. ii. 379.
Licentius, to, xxvi. 1. 68.
Longinianus, to, [ccxxxiii. ], [ccxxxv. ].
Longinianus, from, [ccxxxiv.].

Macedonius, from, [cli.], [cliy.].
Macedonius, to, [cli.], [ci.].
Macrobius, [cvi.], [cviii.].
Madaura, to the people of, ccxxxii. ii.

444.
Manichgean presbyter, to a, Ixxix. i.

314.
Marcellinus, to, [cxxviii.], [cxxix.];

ccxxiii. ii. 168; cccxxviii. i. 195;

ccxxix. ii. 212; cxxlii. ii. 216.
Marcellinus, from, cccxxvi. ii. 174.
Marcellinus, to, from Jerome, clxv.

ii. 293.
Martianus, to, [cclviii.].
Maxima, to, [cclxiv.].
Maximin, to, xxiii. i. 57.
Maximus of Madaura, from, xvi. i. 35.
Maximus, to, xvii. i. 37.
Maximus (a physician), to, [clxx.].
Maximus (and Theodorus), from,

[cvii. ].
Melania (Pinianus and Albina), to,
INDEX OF PERSONS.

Nebridius, to, iii. i. 4; iv. i. 9; vii.
i. 13; ix. i. 20; x. i. 22; xi. i. 25;
[xii.]; xiii. i. 29; xiv. i. 31.
Nebridius, from, v. i. 11; vi. i. 11;
viii. i. 19.
Nectarius, from, xc. i. 381; ciii. ii.

60.
Kectarius, to, xci. i. 382; civ. ii. 63.
Nobilius, to, cclxxix. ii. 464.
Novatus, to, lxxxiv. i. 350.
Nuns, to the, ccxi. ii. 392.
Oceanus, to, clxxx. ii. 353.
Olympius, to, xcvi. ii. 9; xcvii. ii.
11.
Optatus, [cxc], [ccii. bis], Orontius, to, [cclvii.].
Palatims, to, ccxviii. ii. 410.
Pammachius, to, lviii. i. 235.
Pancarius, to, [ccli.].
Pascentius, to, [ccxxxviii. ], [ccxxxix. ].
[ccxli.].
Pascentius, from, [ccxl.].
Paulina, to, [cxlvi.].
Paulinus (and Therasia), from, to Alypius, [xxiv.].
Paulinus (and Therasia) to Augustine,

XXV. i. 64; xxx. i. 93; [xciv.],

[cxxi.].
Paulinus, to, xxvii. i. 72; [cxlxi.],

[clxxxvi.].
Paulinus (and Therasia), to, xxxi. i. 95; xlii. i. 138 j [xlvi.], [lxxx.];

xcv. ii. 1.
Paulinus (and Therasia), from, to

Romanianus, [xxxii.].
Paulina (and Armentarius), to,

[cxxvii.].
Paulus, to, Ixxxv. i. 352.
Pelagius, to, cxxv. i. 235.
Peregrinus, to, [clxxi.].
Peter (and Abraham), to, [clxxxiv. bis.].

Pinianus (Melania and Albina), to,

cxxiv. i. 124.
Possidius, to, cxxlv. ii. 451.
Prsesidius, to, Ixiv. i. 276.
Proba, to, cxxx. ii. 142; cxxxi. ii. 1Q8.
Proba (and Juliana), to, cl. ii. 249.
Proculeianus, to, xxxiii. i. 101.
Proculus (and Cylinus), to, ccxix. ii.

413.

Profuturus, to, xxx viii. i. 127.
Prosper, to, [ccxxv.].
Publicola, from, xlvi. i. 172.
Publicola, to, xlvi. i. 176.

Quintianus, to, Ixiv. i. 247.
Quintilianus, to, ccxii. ii. 404.
Quodvultdeus, from, [cexxi.].

[ccxxiii.J.
Quodvultdeus, to, [ccxii.], [ccxiv.].

Restitutus, to, [cclix.].
Romanianus, to, xv. i. 34.
Romanianus, to, from Paulinus and

Therasia, [xxxii.].
Romulus, to, [ccxl vii.].
Rusticus, to, cclv. ii. 459.
Rusticus (and Felicitas), to, cox. ii.

390.

Sapida, to, cclxiii, ii. 460.

Saturninus (and Eufrates), to, [cxlili.].

Sebastianus, to, [ccxlviij.].

Seleuciana, to, [cclxv.].

Severinus, to, [lii.].

Severus, from, [cix.].

Severus, to, Ixii. i. 242; Ixiii. i. 244;

[ex.].
Simplicianus, to, xxxvii. i. 126.
Sixtus, to, cxci. ii. 371; [cxciv.].
Suffectum, to the magistrates of, 1. i.

185.

Theodorus, to, Ixi. i. 240.
Theodoras (and Maximus), from,

[cvii.].
Therasia. See Paulinus.
Timasius (and Jacobus), from, [clx viii.]

Valentinus, to, [ccxiv.], [ccxv.]
Valentinus, from, [ccxvi.]
Valerius, to Bishop, xxi. i. 46.
Valerius, to Count, [cc], [ccvi.]
Victorianus, to, cxi. ii. 78.
Victorinus, to, lix. i. 237.
Vincentius, to, xciii. i. 395.
Vitalis, to, [ccxvii.]
Volusianus, to, cxxxii. ii. 167;

ccxxvii, ii. 176.
Volusianus, from, cxxxv. ii. 171.

Xantippus, to, lxv. i. 250.

Zenobius, ii. i. 3.

INDEX OF TEXTS.

471

III.æ” INDEX OF TEXTS.

CHAP.

i. 3, 4, .
i. 14, .
i. 31, .
ii. 2, .
ii. 2, .
ii. 3, .
ii. 7, .
iv. 3, 4, ix. 27, .
xii.

xii. 3, .
Exodus.

iv. 24, 25, V. 19, .
vii. 8, .
viii. 19, xii.

xii. 13, xii. 27, xiii. 21, xviii. 14-25, xix.

xix. 10, 11, xix. 18,

XX.

XX. 1-17, XX. 7, .
XX. 17, .
xxiii. 15, xxxi.
xxxii. 6, xxxii. 27, xxxii. 27, 28, xxxiv. 28,

Gf.xesis.

PAGE

Vol. i. 126
i. 215

i. 218

i. 218

ii. 305
i. 217
ii. 223
ii. 44
i. 313
i. 398
ii. 190

Numbers.

CHAP.

xi.
XV. 35, .
xvi. 31-33, xvi. 31-33, xvi. 31-33, xvi. 31-35, xvi. 31-35, xvi. 31-35, xvi. 31-35, xx. 5, .
xxii. 28,

PAGE

Vol. ii. 161
i. 116
i. 195
i. 304
i. 439
i. 159
i. 187
i. 357
i. 200
ii. 18

i.
399

ii.
294

ii.
267

ii.
8

ii.
8

i.
313

i.
355
Deutehonomy.

V. 6-21, V. 11, .
V. 21, .
vii. 25, 26, vii. 26, .
xii. 3, .
xxvii. 11, xxix. 29.
xxxi. 7, xxxii. 39,

Joshua.

vi. 19, .
vi. 26, .
xxii. 9-12,

i. 220
i. 219
i. 333
i. 179
i. 176
ii. 163
i. 183
i. 311
i. 172
ii. 414
1 Samuel,

viii. 6, 7, xvii. 40-51, xxiv. 7, xxviii. 14,

ii. 164

ii. 161

i. 278

ii. 170

ii. 266

2 Samuel.

xi. 4-17, xiii. 14, xxi. 17, xxii. 2-51,

320

313

431

230

1 Kings.
xvii. 22, xviii. 4-40, xix. 8,

2 Kings.

iv. 35,

ii. 188
i. 400
i. 168
i. 226

ii. 188

1 Chronicles.

CHAP, PACK

xii. 17, 18, Vol. i. 279
xvi. 19, . i. 278

Job,

i. 12, .

ii. 6, .
vii. 1, .
vii, 1, .
vii, 1, .
xiv. 4, 5, xxviii, 28, xxix. 14,
Psalms.

ii. 161

i. 274

ii. 5

ii. 371

ii. 301

ii. 326

ii. 328

i. 9, .

ii.

199

ii. 1, 2,

i.

402

ii. 7, 8,

i.
V. 6, i.

335

vi, 3, .

., ii.

457

vi, 8, .

ii.

457

vii, 3, 4,

ii.

159

xi, 2, .

i.

422
xi, 3, .
i.
211
xii. 1, .
i.
424
xii. 6, ,
i.
229
xii, 7, ,
i.
100
xii. 7, ,
i.
424
ii.

278

xvi. 10,

t.

282

xviii. 1,

t.

411

xix, 4,

i.

413

xix, 9,

ii.

232

xxii. 7, 8,
ii.

58

xxii. 16-18,

i.

301

xxii. 16-18,

ii.

59

xxii. 26,

ii.

149

xxii. 27,

i.

190

xxii. 27, 28,
i.

301

xxii. 27, 28,

ii.

59

xxiii. 5, 6,

ii.

263

xxiv, 1,

i.

180

XXV. 9,

i.

183

472
INDEX OF TEXTS.

Psalms â€”

CHAP.

XXV. 10, XXV. 15, XXV. 17, xxvii. 4, xxvii. 4, xxvii. 14, XXX. 7, .
xxvi. 3, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 1, xxxiv. 2, xxxiv. 2, xxxiv. 5, xxxv. 12, XXXV. 13, xxxvi. 8, 9, xxxvi. 8-10, xxxvi. 10, xxxvii. 4, xxxvii. 5, 6, xxxvii. 23, xli. 8, .
xl. 11-16, xlv. 13, xlv. 13, 14, xlvii. 11, xlviii. 2, xlix. 6, .
xlix. 12,
1.1, .
1.1, .
1. 1, 2, .
1. 20, .
li. 10, .
li. 13, .
lii. 6, .
liv. 14, 15,
Iv. 5-8,
Iv. 6, .
Iv. 18, .
Ivi. 12, .
Ivii. 1, .
Ivii. 7, 8,
lix. 1, .
Ixi. 2, .
Ixii. 10,
Ixiii. 1,
Ixvii. 1, 2,
Ixviii. 11,
Ixviii. 13,
Ixviii. 18,
Ixviii. 28,
Ixviii. 29,
Ixix. 12,
Ixix. 26,
Ixxii. 7,
Ixxii. 8,
Ixxii. 11,

continued.

PAGB

Vol. ii. 174
i. 184
ii. 421
ii. 153
ii. 162
i. 247
ii. 362
ii. 425
ii. 315
ii. 166
i. 184
ii. 363
i. 392
i. 364
i. 124
ii. 233
ii. 162
i. 76
i. 218
ii. 411
ii. 412
ii. 463
i. 421
i. 123
i. 124
1. 220
i. 418
i. 412
i. 437.
1. 301
   i. 413
   ii. 315
   ii. 74
   i. 55
   i. 420
   ii. 4
   ii. 5
   ii. 433
   ii. 362
   i. 184
   i. 278
   ii. 159
   i. 419
   ii. 137
   ii. 147
   i. 426
   i. 278
   i. 278
   ii. 19
   ii. 359
   ii. 407
   ii. 431
Psalms æ”’

CHAP,

i. 311
i. 311
i. 212
i. 412
1. 361

PAGE

Vol. ii. 352
i. 413
ii. 226
ii. 160
1. 183
ii. 158
1. 278
ii. 263
i. 227

11. 74
il. 280
ii. 32
i. 88

PIIOVERBS.

i. 212
i. 420
ii. 147
ii. 32
ii. 245
i. 312
i. 184
i. 224
i. 136
ii. 1
ii. 45
ii. 442
ii. 332
i. 401
ii. 199
ii. 263
ii. 2
ii. 8
ii. 288
i. 396
ii. 342
i. 437
ii. 45
ii. 146
ii. 146
ii. 288
i. 419
ii. 166
i. 223
ii. 158
i. 419
i. 364
i. 137
ii. 26
i. 136
ii. 159
i. 229
i. 78
i. 83
i. 102
ii. 288
ii. 328
ii. 329
ii. 332
ii. 160

CHAP.

i. 4, .
iii. 12, .
iv. 27, .
viii. 25, viii. 35, ix. 8, .
ix. 9, .
xiii. 22, xviii. 18, xix. 12, xix. 21, xxii. 14, xxvi. 27, xxvi. 27, xxvii. 6, xxvii. 20, xxix. 19, XXX. 3, 4, XXX. 8, .
XXX. 8, 9, XXX. 12.

PAGE

Vol. ii. 323
ii. 84
li. 411
ii. 52
ii. 412
ii. 391, 423

i. 410

1. 437
ii. 433

i. 368
ii. 72
ii. 347

i. 368

i. 412

. i. 342, 398

ii. 398

i. 410
ii. 53
ii. 158
ii. 151

i. 427

ECCLESIAST-ES.

iii. 4, V. 7, xi. 2, xii. 7, xii. 7,

i. 115
ii. 329
i. 221
ii. 222
ii. 316

Song of Solomon.
i. 7, i. 7, i. 7, ii. 2, viii. 6,

416
418
419
420
ii. 326

Isaiah.

iii. 12,
vi. 3,
viii. 14, â€¢
ix. 2,
xxvi. 20, xxviii. 16, xl. 26,
li. 7, 8, li. 7, 8, liii. 7,
Ivii. 18, 19,
Ixvi. 5,
i. 102
i. 228
ii. 288
ii. 288
i. 124
ii. 288
ii. 307
1. 311
ii. 58
i. 228
ii. 144
i. 371

Jekemiah.

ii. 28, ii. 30, ix. 24,

ii. 332
1. 397
i. 208

INDEX OF TEXTS.

473

Jeremiah â€“ continued.

EZEKIELâ€“

-continued.

Jonah â€“ continued.

CHAP.
378

xxviii. 3,

ii. 81

iv. 6,

i. 345

xvii. 5, .

ii.

411

xxxiv. 4,

ii. 347

xxx. 31, 32, .

xxx. 31,

i.
Habakkuk.

xxxvi. 23,

i. 206

xxxvi. 23,

i.
187

ii. 4,

i. 224

xxxvi. 23-30,

i.

304

Dan

ii. 32,

1EL.

ii. 230

ii. 4,

ii. 328

EZEKIEL.
Zechakiah.

ix. 46, .

xiv. 18-20, .

xvii. 1.

i.

ii.

356

81

171

iii. 28, .

vi. 23, 24, ix. 3, 20,

ii. 349

i. 412

ii. 83

V. 4, xii. 1,
ii. 128
ii. 315

xviii. 4, x\dii. 14,

15
455

Jonah.

Malachi.

XX. 25, .

i.

291

ii. iv.

. ii

. 53-59

i. 2,
1. 313

APOCRYPHA.

I

Wisdom.

Tobias-

-continued.

CHAP.

PAGE

chap.

PAGE
iii. 1,
i. 120
viii. 20,

ii.
411
iv. 21,

i. 439
viii. 21,

ii.
227
V. 8,.

ii. 418

viii. 21,

ii.

362

vi. 18,.

ii. 410

viii. 21,

ii.

365
xi. 7.

i. 147

ix. 15,

ii.

166

xviii. 6,

ii. 178

ix. 15,

ii.

221
xxii. 6,
i. 256
x. 1, 2,
ii.
280
xxiii. 6,
ii. 159
xiii. 9,
i.
209
XX vii. 12,
i. 210

xxvii. 29,
i. 368

Tobias.

XXX. 12, xxxiv. 25,

ii. 347
ii. 351
xii. 8,

.

.

ii.

165

xxxvi. 4,

ii. 158

Ecclesiasticus â€“ cont.

CHAP. PAGR

xxxvi. 18, Vol. ii. 158
xxxviii. 16-18, ii. 463

Baruch.

iii. 37, . . ii. 289

2 Maccabees.

vii. 1, . . i. 133

vii. 1, . . i. 292

vii. 18, 19, . ii. 84
Hymn of the Three Children.

V. 15-22,

ii. 86

NEW TESTAMENT.

Matthew. i

Matthew-

continued.

Matthew-

continued.

CHAP.

PAGE

chap.

PAGE

chap.
ii. 436

V. 37, .

i. 335

iii. 12, .

i. 437

V. 10, .

i. 164

V. 39, .

i. 175

iii. 12, .

ii. 381

V. 10, .

i. 360

V. 39, .

i. 181
iv. 2, .
i. 220
V. 10, .
i. 401
V. 39, .
ii. 203
iv. 4,
i. 373
V. 14,. 
i. 420
V. 39-41,
ii. 175
V. 7,. 
ii. 331
V. 14-16,
ii. 382
V. 39-41,

ii. 200
V. 8,

i. 393
V. 16,

i. 98
V. 40,

i. 404
V. 8,

ii. 146
V. 16,

i.137
V. 41,

i. 183
V. 8,
INDEX OF TEXTS.

Matthew chap.
V. 44,
â– continued.

PAGE

Vol. ii. 420
i. 210
ii. 390
i. 128
ii. 153
ii. 329
ii. 371
ii. 234
ii. 370
ii. 4
i. 305
ii. 48
ii. 402
i. 352
i. 84
ii. 154
ii. 401
340
421
164
87
199
ii. 368
i. 421
ii. 291
ii. 297
ii. 234
i. 115
i. 116
i. 213
ii. 323
ii. 425
ii. 270
ii. 368
i. 119
ii. 269
i. 220
i. 71
i. 97
i. 197
Matthew
chap.
xviii. 7, xviii. 10, xviii. 15, xviii. 16, xix. 11,. xix. 21-26, xix. 27,. XX. 9, 10, xxi. 12,. xxii. 10, xxii. 29, xxii. 37-39, xxii. 37-40, xxii. 40, xxii. 40, xxiii. 3, xxiii. 3, xxiii. 3, xxiii. 8, xxiii. 23, xxiv. 12, xxiv. 12, 13, xxiv. 12, 13, xxiv. 12, 13, xxiv. 12, 13, xxiv. 12, 13, xxiv. 14, xxiv. 14, xxvi. 2-4, xxvi. 17, xxvi. 22-28, xxvi. 39, xxvi. 41, xxvi. 42, xxvi. 52, xxvi. 53, xxvi. 75,
Mark,

ii. 144


i. 98
i. 229
i. 85
i. 434
ii. 288
ii. 384
i. 219

Luke ë” continued.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAP.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>viii.</td>
<td>32,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>37,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi.</td>
<td>3,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi.</td>
<td>5-13, xi. 20,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii.</td>
<td>47, 48, xiii. 11-13, xiii. 27, xiv. 21-23, xiv. 23,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv.</td>
<td>23,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td>16,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td>16,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi.</td>
<td>21-23, xvi. 22, 23, xvi. 26,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii.</td>
<td>26, 27, xviii. 1-8, xviii. 8, xviii. 8, xviii. 11, 12, xviii. 22, 23, xix. 6,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix.</td>
<td>9,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix.</td>
<td>10,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>17,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>36,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>36,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>18,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PAGE

Vol. ii. 161
ii. 20
ii. 361
ii. 154
i. 227
ii. 80
ii. 166
ii. 335
ii. 353
i. 399
ii. 384
i. 290
i. 331
i. 312
ii. 317
ii. 281
ii. 288
ii. 153
i. 415
i. 437
i. 117
i. 98
i. 199
i. 144
ii. 361
ii. 288
i. 224
ii. 240
ii. 463
i. 201
ii. 156
ii. 204
ii. 8
i. 301
i. 413
i. 416

John.
i. 1, i. 14, i. 16, 17
i. 18, i. 29, i. 33, iii. 2, iii. 5, iii. 10, iii. 18, iii. 29, iv. 1, 2, iv. 14, iv. 22, iv. 24, V. 17, V. 18, V. 24, V. 25, vi. 44,

ii. 189, 413
ii. 413
i. 290, 331
ii. 243
i. 213
. i. 190, 378
146, ii. 368
ii. 15
ii. 303
ii. 48
i. 169
i. 169
i. 65
i. 61
i. 308, 393
ii. 203, 302
i. 290, 331
i. 205
ii. 291
INDEX OF TEXTS.

J OH^aâ€” continued.

CHAP.

vi. 68, . Vol. ii.

vii. 10, . . i.

vii. 37, . . i.

vii. 39, . . i.

viii. 36, . ii. 29,

viii. 38, . ii.

viii. 44, . i.

X. 1, 2, . . ii.

X. 12, 13, . ii.

X. 16, . i. 411,

xi. 19-35, . ii.

xiii. 10, . i.

xiii. 36, . i.

xiv. 6, i. 103, 295, ii
xiv. 16, 17, xiv. 27, xiv. 30, XV. 2, XV. 13, xvi. 12, xvi. 33, xvii. 12, xviii. 23, xix. 24, XX. 14-29, XX. 26, xxi. 6, 11, xxi. 17, 11.
i. 102,

ii.
i.

ii.

349, ii.
i.

ii.

ii.

i.

i.

i.

PAGE

352
331

71
229
230

29
Acts.

i. 8.

i. 15, .

ii.

ii. 2, 3, ii. 24, 27, ii. 28, .

iii. 7, .

iv. 11, .

iv. 22, .
iv. 32-35, ix. 4, X. 4, .
X. 13-48, X. 25--48, xi. 1-18, xiv. 27, XV. 1, 12, XV. 9, .
XV. 41, .
xvi. 1-3, xvi. 3, .
xvi. 22, 23, xvii. 18, xviii. 17, xviii. 18, xix. 5, .
XX. 7, .

413, ii. 53

i. 413

i. 413

ii. 341

ii. 278

ii. 283

i. 66

ii. 288

i. 66

ii. 395

i. 230

ii. 368

i. 283

i. 283

ii. 303

i. 283

i. 284

i. 284

i. 372

i. 286
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAP.</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>17-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>20-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxii.</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxii.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii.</td>
<td>17-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Acts æ”™ contin ued.
xxviii. 30, i. 287

Romans.

i. 3,
i. 14,
i. 17,
i. 20,
i. 21-25, i. 24,
i. 25,
ii. 1,
ii. 6, 7, iii. 21,
iv. 25,
V. 3-5,

i. 230
i. 355
ii. 365
ii. 35
ii. 30
ii. 224
i. 213
i. 146
i. 223
i. 226
i. 205
ii. 25, 234
V. 5, i. 218, 333, 390, ii. 230, 233, 359, 367, 411

V. 12, V. 18, V. 19, V. 20, vi. 3, 4,

. ii. 23, 290

ii. 313

ii. 162

i. 333, ii. 336

i. 224

vi. 4, i. 206, 225, ii. 23

vi. 6, vi. 9, vi. 19, .

vii. 13, . i vii. 18, .

vii. 24, 25, viii. 3, .

viii. 10, 11, viii. 13, viii. 18, viii. 20, viii. 23, viii. 23, 24, 1. 206, 222

ii. 34, 307, 415

ii. 232

i. 333, ii. 231

ii. 412

ii. 30, 300
ii. 220, 290

i. 207

i. 222

ii. 80

i. 219

i. 224

i. 207

viii. 24, i. 219, ii. 154
viii. 24, 25, i. 206, 247

ix. 33, .

i. 224
ii. 163
ii. 149, 160
ii. 166
i. 400
ii. 233
ii. 265
ii. 354
ii. 228

Romans å€” continued.

CHAP.

X. 2, 3,
X. 3, i, X. 4,
X. 14,
X. 18,
xi. 23,
xi. 3,
xi. 11,
xi. 12, i xi. 15,
xi. 16,
xi. 17,
xi. 1,
xi. 1-3, xii. 2-4, xii. 8,
xi. 9, 10, xii. 10,

PA.GB

i. Vol. i. 403
133, 292, ii. 231
i. 290
ii. 230
i. 412
i. 242, 362
ii. 365
i. 184
i. 207, 224, 247
ii. 25, 145
ii. 234
ii. 175, 200
ii. 26, 417
i. 412
i. 360
ii. 375

ii. 330

235, 333, ii.

xiii. 13, xiii. 14, xiii. 14, xiv. 3, .
xiv. 4, .
xiv. 5, .
xiv. 23, XV. 1, .
XV. 4, .

230, 326, 330, 367

1. 54
i. 51

ii. 148
i. 119

358, ii. 4

ii. 344
ii. 365
i. 243
i. 306

1 Corinthians.

i. 4, 7, .
311, 391, ii. 4,
146, 148
ii. 5
ii. 361
ii. 382

i. 401
ii. 393

i. 208
i. 52, 86

476

INDEX OF TEXTS.

1 Cor. â€” continued.

CHAP. PAGE

V. 12, 13, Vol. ii. 4
vi. 9-11, , i. 86
vi. 13, , i. 92
vii. 7, , ii. 360, 369
vii. 10-16, , i. 181
vii. 32-34, , ii. 451
viii. 1, , i. 235, 274, ii.
326, 365
viii. 8, , i. 119
viii. 9-11, , ii. 429
viii. 11, i. 274, 414
ix. 13, , i. 137
ix. 15, , i. 236
ix. 19-22, , i. 339
ix. 20, , i. 132, 134, 288
ix. 27, , i. 313, 352
i. 213, ii. 340
ii. 46
229

i. 309

xiii. 3, i. 347, 429, ii. 349
xiii. 4, . . i. 235

xiii. 5, i. 228, ii. 404, 431
xiii. 8, . . i. 235

xiii. 12, i. 76, 392, 393, ii. 286, 240

ii. 335

ii. 334

i. 423

i. 81

ii. 7

ii. 313

ii. 343

xiv. 33,

xiv. 38,

XV. 12,

XV. 14, 15,

XV. 16, .

XV. 21, 22,

XV. 22, .
2 Corinthians

CHAP.

i. 23, .
ii. 7, 11,
PAGE
Vol. ii. 393
i. 346, ii. 4
i. 86
ii. 230
ii. 240, 241
i. 392
ii. 360
i. 207, ii. 264
ii. 221
ii. 245
i. 225, ii. 146
276
155
310
452
312
332
ii. 360
i. 310
i. 196
i. 312
iii. 3, iii. 6, 
iii. 18, .
iv. 6, .
iv. 7, .
iv. 16, .
V. 4, .
V. 4, 8, .
V. 6, 7, .
vi. 7, .
vi. 13, 14, vi. 14, .
vi. 15, .
vii. 5, .
iM. 7, .
xi. 2, 3, xi. 12, .
xi. 13-15, xi. 26, .
xi. 29, i. 134, 311, ii. 380, 429
xi. 33, . . ii. 426
xii. 7-9, i. 399, ii. 3, 161

Galatians.
i. 192, 415
9, . . i. 416
10, . i. 54, ii. 440
18, . . i. 284
20, i. 131, ii. 337, 355
21, . . i. 320
23, 24, . i. 439
1, 2, . i. 285
3-5, . . i. 325
8, . . i. 281
11-14, . i. 81
11-21, i. 423, ii. 303
14, i. 131, 132, 280,
285, 320, ii. 355
i. 439

18,
20,
21,
1-3,
. 16,
19,
24,
. 27,
4,
11,
i. 401
i. 332
i. 422
i. 119, 300
i. 133
ii. 230
ii. 53
i. 291
i. 214

19, i. 214, 320, ii. 355
27, . . i. 418
29, . . i. 400
2, 4, . i. 291, 332
6, i. 206, 295, ii. 244,
365, 367
7, 8, . . ii. 393

Gal

CHAP.
v. 13, V. 15, V. 17, V. 18, V. 19-21, V. 19-23, Vi. 1, vi. 2, vi. 3, vi. 4, vi. 14, vi. 15,

-continmd.

PAGE
Vol. i. 59
ii. 5
ii. 227
i. 291, 332
i. 435
i. 87
i. 53, ii. 414
i. 340
ii. 414
ii. 363
ii. 382
L 295
Ephesians.

ii. 6, .
iii. 17, 18, iii. 20, .
iv. 2, 3, iv. 3, .
iv. 7, .
iv. 10, .
iv. 13, .
iv. 20, 21, iv. 26, .
iv. 32, .
V. 1, 2, .
V. 14, .
V. 19, .
V. 27, .
V. 29, .
vi. 12, .
vi. 13-17, vi. 16, .

i. 206
i. 223
ii. 165
170, ii. 391
i. 241
ii. 359
ii. 53
i. 157
i. 313
i. 128
i. 184
Philippians.

i. 15-18, i. 23, .
i. 23, 24, i.
i. 27, .
ii. 9, .
ii. 12, 13, ii. 13, i.
ii. 20, 21, ii. 21, i. 347
iii. 2, .
iii. 8, .
iii. 12, 13, iii. 15, 16, i iii. 19, .
iv. 5, iv. 5, 6, .
iv. 6, iv. 7, .
iv. 8, 9, iv. 9, .

i. 408,

ii.

223, ii.

ii.
INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

477

COLOSSIANS.

CHAP.

PAGK

i. 6, .

Vol. ii. 383

i. 18, .

i. 207

ii. 12, .

i. 206
ii. 17, .

ii. 57

iii. 1, 2,

i. 206

iii. 3, .

ii. 53

iii. 3, 4,

i. 206

iii. 4, i

. 212, ii. 146

iii. 9, 10,

i. 208

iii. 10, .

i. 392

iii. 13, .

ii. 239
1 Thess.

^LONIANS.

i. 5-7, .

ii. 155

ii. 12, .

ii. 296

ii. 15, .

ii. 139

iu. 12, .

i. 139

iv. 12, .

ii. 462

V. 14, .

ii. 403, 413

V. 17, 18,
ii. 361

V. 19, .

ii. 16

2 Thessalonians.

ii. 13, .

ii. 357

1 Timothy.

5, i. 235, 339, ii. 160, 326
ii. 230
ii. 243

17,
20,

2,

5,
. 1-5.

3,
4,
12,

5,

5,6,

20,
23,

i. 401
ii. 417, 443
ii. 186

i. 233

i. 81
i. 180, 339

i. 54
ii. 164
ii. 147
ii. 4
ii. 148

1 Timothy ã¢” continued.

CHAP. PAGE

vi. 6-10, Vol. ii. 151
vi. 16, i. 391, ii. 222,
243, 297
vi. 17-19, . ii. 144

2 Timothy.

11. 1/

ii. 20, 21,

ii. 24, 26,
Titus.

i. 9-13, i. 13, i. 15, ii. 7, ii. 14, iii. 2, iii. 9-11, iii. 10-11,
i. 107
ii. 150
i. 234
ii. 403
i. 421
ii. 170
i. III
Hebrews.

i. 7,

xi. 6, xi. 40, xii. 6, xii. 14,

i. 17, 20, 1-6, 6-9, 8, 9,
i. 10,
i. 13,
iii. 2, i.
iv. 4, 6,

ii. 8
ii. 365
ii. 283
ii. 84
ii. 248

James.

ii. 361, 371
ii. 457
James â€” continued.
ii. 4,

i.

213

iii. 18-21, ii.

277

iv. 1-3,

i.

91

iv. 1-6,

ii.

284

iv. 6,

ii.

291

iv. 8,
i. 372,

429

iv. 17,

ii.

292

V. 3,

ii.

389

V. 8,

i.

2 Peter.

310

i. 19,

ii.

146

ii. 19,
ii.

1 John.

230

i. 5, .

i.

391

i. 8, .

ii. 325,

329

ii. 2,

i.

424

ii. 15-1/

ii. 419,

421

ii. 16,
ii.

230

iii. 2, i

247, 392, ii.

243

iii. 15,

ii.

402

iii. 16,

ii.

426

iv. 6,

i.

275

iv. 8,
ii. 248,

414

iv. 12,

ii.

240

iv. 16,

ii. 239,

414

iv. 18,

ii. 232,

411

V. 19,

i.

424

V. 21, El
ii.

3VELATION.

45

i. 5, .

ii.

282

ii. 1-5, 

i.

156

V. 5, .

i.

213

vii. 9, .

i.

421

xxii. 11,
INDEX IY. "PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Academic philosophy, i. 1-3, ii. 105.

Acclamations in ecclesiastical meetings, ii. 407-409.

Ambrose, Conversation of Monica with, i. 125, 198.

Anaxagoras refuted, ii. 111.
Anaximenes refuted, ii. 110.
Anecdote of Vendicianus, ii. 196.
Anecdote of Geunadius, ii. 274.
Anecdote, Humorous, ii. 319.
Anecdote of Dioscorus, ii. 424.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Anger, Remarks on, i. 128.

Apuleius of Madaura, ii. 209.
Asti'ology, Absurdities of, ii. 453, 454.

Baptism not to be repeated, i. 60.

Baptism of infants, ii. 21-23, [304-
Bishop, The office of â€” its nature, i. 41; motives to resign or accept it, i. 258, 259.

Bodily infirmities, Reference to Augustine's, i. 127, ii. 124, 261, 464.

Catholic Church, The, i. 411-415.
Catholic Faith, Restoration of Leporius to, ii. 413-415.
Christ commended to Licentius, i. 71, 72; to Dioscorus, ii. 109; to Volusianus, ii. 187.
Christ, Name of, known throughout the world, ii. 447.
Christ preaching to the spirits in prison, ii. 277-292.
Christian churches, Social influence of, i. 384, ii. 201; resorted to in" time of trouble and distress, ii. 430.
Christian dispensation, Epoch of, ii. 37-43.
Christian dispensation, Peculiarities of, ii. 43-48.
Christian meekness, ii. 200-206.
Christian excellence, A fine example of, ii. 258.
Christianity, Evidences of, ii. 188-193.
Christianity favourable to national prosperity, ii. 205-209.
Conciliation, Endeavours after, with Donatists, i. 59, 63, 104, etc.; with
Jerome, i. 268, 273; with unknown bishop, ii. 235.
Conscience, Cases of, resolved, i. 172, 182.
Consolation to a bereaved sister, ii. 460-464.
Conversion of Dioscorus, Marvellous, ii. 424.
Councils, Authority of, i. 154.
Cross, Symbolical significance of the, i. 223.
Cutzupits or Cavern-men, i. 193.
Danger, Bishops should not desert their sees in time of, ii. 425-435.
Death-bed, A triumphant, ii. 263-270.
Debate between Fortunius and Augustine, i. 161-172.
Deliverance of Christian captive. Remarkable, ii. 85.

Democritus refuted, ii. 114-118.
Disinterestedness of Augustine, i. 348, ii. 46, note.
Donatists, Controversy with, i. 139-161, etc.
Dreams, phenomena inexplicable, ii.

273-276.
Dress of women, ii, 450.

Easter, Observance of, i. 216-225.

Ecclesiastical cases, "Timotheus, i.
242-246; Quintianus, i. 246-250; Abundantius, i. 250-254; Boniface and Spes, i, 304-314;
Pinianus, ii. 126, 142; Antonius of Fussala, ii. 384-390.

Election of Augustine's successor. Record of proceedings at, ii. 405-410.

Epicureans refuted, ii. 103.

Epicureans extinct in fifth century, ii. 101, 109.

Epicurus refuted, ii. 115.

Eternity of punishment, ii. 48, 52.

Eucharist to be taken fasting, i. 200.

Excommunication, Example of rash, ii. 454-458.

Faith, Perfect understanding not
essential to, ii. 59-60, 335-336.
Falsehood in no case excusable, i.

80, 131, 320, 334, ii. 354, 355.
Feasts in honour of martyrs censured,
i. 51-54; abolished at Hippo, i.

84-91.
Fasting before taking the Eucharist,
i. 202, 203.
Forbearance, Duty of mutual, ii. 390-
392.

Ghostly apparitions, ii. 268, 269.

God not seen with the bodily eye, ii.
INDEX OF PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

479

Humility commended, ii. 129.
Hymn of Priscillianists, ii. 450.

Incarnation, Nature of, ii. 178-186.
338-340.
Infantile protest against Idolatry,

Marvellous, ii. 17.
Infants, Sufferings of, difficult to

account for, ii. 304, 308-315.
Irony, i. 39-41, 118, 185, 193, 383-
386, ii. 453.

Jonah's gourd. Discussion as to, i.
262, 298, 345.
Jonah's history defended and allegorized, ii. 53.

Jupiter, Apollonius more respectable than, ii. 207.

Latin clerks scarce in Palestine, ii.

345.
Lent, Observance of, i. 225.
Letter to Jerome, Tedious journey of,
i. 264.
Loaf exchanged between Christian
friends, i. 68, 100.
Love of God, i. 218, ii. 367, 368.
Love, Brotherly, ii. 374, 375.

Manuscripts stolen from Jerome, ii.

345.
Martyrs of Suffectum, i. 185.
Maundy Thursday, how observed, i.

201-203.
Mercy to man recompensed with

mercy from God, ii. 332.
Monks, Counsels to, i. 183, 239, 347.
Moon, The, a symbol of the Church,
i. 209-212.
Murder, Judicial, of Marcellinus, ii.

252-260.
Music, Symbolical value of, ii. 30,

307.

Numbers, Significance of, i. 216-219,

225-230.
Nun, On Demetrias becoming a, ii.

249, 250.
Nuns rebuked for unseemly strife, ii.

395-404.

Oath, Binding nature of an, ii. 128-132, 140-142.

Occupations of Augustine, Multifarious, i. 11, 29, ii. 215, 334, 343, 408, 409.

Ordination of Augustine, Preference to, i. 46, ii. 408.

Pagan objections to Christianity, i.

35-37, ii. 63, 172, 173-175. Paganism, Arguments against, i. 37-41, 185, 384-386, ii. 207, 445-449. Paper scarce, i. 34. Patience of Augustine, i. 127. Patience recommended, ii. 121, 166, 224. Pelagianism, Warnings against, ii. 359-366. Pelagianism, Measures against, ii. 371-373, 376, 377. Persecution, Earlier views of Augustine on, i. 170; later views of Augustine on, i. 360, 379, 395-404, 409-414, ii. 345, 348, 353. Peter, Successors of St., i. 192. Pietv of Augustine, i. 10, 23, 24, 182, 237. Praise should not be vehemently desired, ii. 439, 440. Prayer, Subjects of, ii. 149-152, 158,
159.
Prayer, Use of, ii. 157.
Preaching, Example of Augustine's
power in, i. 84-89.
Preaching of presbyters, i. 136.
Presents received by Augustine, ii.
250, 412, 460.
Pride censured, i. 54.
Punic language. Preaching in, i. 350.
Reading of Scripture in churches, i.
262.
Rebuke of worldliness in a priest, i.
352-354.
Relics of St. Stephen, ii. 405.
Remorse, Pangs of, ii. 260.
Resurrection of Christ and of Lazarus
compared, ii. 33-37.
Riot at Calama, i. 387.
Riotous election of Pinianus at Hippo,
ii. 131-135.
Rites and ceremonies of the Church,
i. 196-232.
Rome, Siege of, referred to, ii. 24.
Rome, Bishop of, appealed to, ii. 384-
390.
Sabbath, Law of the, typical, i. 220.
Saints, Miracles wrought at tombs of,
i. 309.
Sanctuary, Churches used as a, by
offenders, ii. 87, 454.
Scandals in the Church no reason for
forsaking it, i. 157, 158, 307, ii.
380-384.
Scriptures, Augustine's study of the,
i. 48, 60, 227.

INDEX OF AUTHORS QUOTED.

Scriptures superior to all other writings, ii. 29, 167, 192, 193.
Scriptures, Authority of, ii. 217.
Septuagint version, Augustine's undue reverence for, i. 180, 296.
Sin, Essential nature of, ii. 329-331.
Sin, True hatred of, ii. 231-233.
Soldier, Advices to a, ii. 367-371, 436.
Soul, Nature of the, ii. 297-300.
Souls, Origin of, ii. 220-225.
Souls, Condition of disembodied, ii. 270-275.
Spirits in prison, Who were the, ii. 287-292.
Stoics, Doctrines of, refuted, ii. 104, 321-328.
Stoics extinct in fifth century, ii. 101, 109.
Sympathy, Christian, ii. 24, 25.

Torture, Examination by, ii. 169.
Trinity, Mystery of the, i. 26-29, ii.
336-338.

Violence of barbarians, ii. 78-87.
Violence of Donatists, i. Ill, 369-
371, ii. 79, 168.
Virtue, Dei-ees of, i. 327-329.

"Ward of the Church, Concerning

marriage of, ii. 458.
"Widows especially called to pray, ii.

163.
World, Vanity of this, ii. 379, 380.
Worldliness, Warnings against, ii.

415-422.
Worship, Public, i. 91, 232.

Zeal, An example of Christian, in Orosius, ii. 296.

INDEX v.â€”AUTHORS QUOTED.

Ambrose, ii. 240, 243, 244.

Augustine (other works of), i. 3, 4, 75,
137, 160, 200, 363, 370; ii. 236,
262, 295, 301, 311, 343, 405, 460.

Cicero, ii. 110, 117, 149, 179, 201,294.
Codex Justinianus, i. 149, 169.
Codex Theodosianus, i. 92.
Cyprian, i. 337, 426; ii. 17, 315, 356.

Dupin, ii. 384.
Ennius, ii. 439.

Gibbon, ii. 176, 366.

Horace, ii. 439.

Jerome, i. 298, 308; ii. 241, 242, 246, 301, 322, 357.

Juvenal, ii. 207.

Livy, i. 265.
Lucan, i. 36.

Persius, i. 257; ii. 93, 438.
Pliny, ii. 182.
Possidius, i. 47.

Quintilian, ii. 172.

Riddle, ii. 370.

Sallust, ii. 201, 207, 323.

Terence, i. 384.
Tillemont, ii. 24.
Tycho[nius, i. 407.

Virgil, i. 35, 37, 39, 40, 257, 266; ii. 172, 188, 294.

T. and T. Clark's Pzublications.

DR. MURPHY'S NEW WORK.

Just published, in demy Svo, 700 pages, price 155.,

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY

ON THE
BOOK OF PSALMS,

WITH A NEW TRANSLATION.

By JAMES G. MUEPHY, LL.D, T.C.D.,

AUTHOR OF COMMEaJTARIES ON THE BOOKS OF GENESIS, EXODUS, ETC.

' Every Bible Student will look upon this volume with interest, and should give warm thanks to the learned author for the care and erudition which have been bestowed upon it. . . The introductory chapters are very valuable, referring both to the nature of the Psalms, their themes, their authors, and their arrangements. The exegesis is admirable, and the spirit is devout.' â€” Methodist Recorder.

Just published, in Two Vols. 8vo, price 21s.,

A COMMENTARY

ON THE

GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

By F. GODET,

DOCTOR AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, NEUCHATEL.


'We are indebted to the publishers for an English translation of the admirable work which stands at the head of this review. ... It is a work of great ability, learning, and research.' â€” Christian Observer.

'The whole book is very valuable, and is the work of a critic, scholar, and divine of no ordinary attainments, who has devoted to it wonderful conscientiousness and diligent care.' â€” Union Review.

'This is one of the most important and valuable works yet issued in the Foreign Theological Library. Eich in learning, scientific in method, profound and luminous in thought, it IS a masterpiece of exposition, critical and spiritual, worthy to be placed side by side with the author's great "Commentary on St. John's Gos^eVâ€” Dickinson's Theological Quarterly.
Just published, Fourth Edition, price 6s.,

THE TRIPARTITE NATURE OF MAN,

SPIRIT, SOUL, AND BODY,

Applied to illustrate and Explain the Doctrines of Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body.

By Rev. J. B. HEARD, M.A.

With an Appendix on the Fatherhood of God.

"The author has got a striking and consistent theory. Whether agreeing or disagreeing with that theory, it is a book which any student of the Bible may read with pleasure." — Guardian,

"A valuable and interesting treatise on the "Tripartite Nature of Man," the first English theological work of any pretensions which has dealt with the subject in a methodical and systematic manner." — Dean of Norwich.

"It is with considerable satisfaction we note the issue of a fourth edition of this most original and valuable treatise, which, without exaggeration, may be described as one of the ablest contributions to our theological literature which has been published of late years." — English Independent.

In crown 8vo, price 58s.,

VOICES OF THE PROPHETS.

Twelve Lectures Preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, in the Years 1870-74, on the Foundation of Bishop Warburton.
By EDWARD HAMILTON GIFFORD, D.D.

' The author has long ago attained high position as a scholar, a man of science, and Â«. theologian, and in the volume before us he offers his readers some of the best fruits of these varied accomplishments.' â€” Standard.

' We have not for many years met with a book dealing with the important question of prophecy in all respects so satisfactory, so reverent in its treatment of the written word, so fair in argument, so courteous and dignified withal in its replies to the objections of "science falsely so called." ' â€” Daily Review.

' This volume deals with the subject of prophecy in a clear and forcible manner. The objections to a belief in prophetic utterances are ably met, and much light is thrown upon the matter, which has here been dealt with in a scholarly and Christian spirit.' â€” Rock.

JAMES NISBET AND GO/S PUBLICATIONS.

WORKS BY THE REV. ADOLPH SAPHIR, B.A.

From Notice by Professor Delitzscii, m ' Saah-auf Hoffnung.'

' "We have long felt it our duty to direct our German readers to the instructive, original, and spirited (geistvolleu) writings of Adolph Saphir, which we place among the most valuable English productions in practical theological literature. . . . The author has become English, not without retaining the peculiarity of German theology, while his love to the Jewish nation gives to his writings a historical rather than a dogmatic character. Throughout he draws out of the Scripture, which stands before his mind in grand connected outlines as a complete organism. All his writings, instead of moving in worn-out grooves of thought, proceed from a direct and loving communion with God's word and deeds; everywhere we meet with surprisingly deep views of the ways of God and of the failures of the Church, while illustrations from literature and history are made subsidiary.' . . .

Recently published, crown 8vo, 6s. cloth,

1. CHRIST AND THE CHURCH. Lectures on the Apostolic Commission
(Matt, xxviii. 18-20).

Second Edition, crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. cloth,

2. CHRIST CRUCIFIED. Lectures on 1 Corinthians ii.
'These lectures are devout, fervent, and replete with love for Christ. They are well adapted to promote a warm and earnest piety.' — Evangelical Magazine.

'We have rarely met in our works of modern theology a volume more characterized than this by the essence of the gospel of Christ.' — Christian Standard,

Fifth Edition, crown 8vo, 5s. cloth,

3. THE LORD'S PRAYER. Lectures by the Rev. Adolph Saphir, B.A.,

Greenwich.

'A work so wide in its range of thought, and so concentrated in its doctrinal teachings, so rich and well packed, yet so simple and interesting, and so clear, pure, and intelligible in expression, does not often make its appearance.' — Christian Work.

'Mr. Saphir brings out new thoughts from that grand "Our Father" with a simple, humble sweetness so especially his own.' — Sword and Trowel.

Just published, crown 8vo, os. cloth, EARTH'S MORNING; or, Thoughts on Genesis. By the Rev. Horatius Bonar, D.D., Author of 'Light and Truth,' etc.

'The expositions of words and phrases are marked by much solid learning.' — Weekly Review.

Post 8vo, each 6s. cloth,

SYNOPTICAL LECTURES ON THE BOOKS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D. First Series" GENESIS to SONG OF SONGS. Second Series" ISAIAH to ACTS.

'These lectures are vigorous, suggestive, and practical; a class of discourses which are well fitted to induce the hearer to undertake that systematic study of Holy Scripture which is so sadly neglected, and to show how it may best be carried on.' — Nonconformist.

Post 8vo, 6s. cloth, THE WORD OF LIFE. Selections from the Work of a Ministry. By the Rev. Charles J. Brown, D.D.

'No really religious person could take up this volume of sermons without finding much in it to quicken and nourish the spiritual life.' — Nonconformist.
'Dr. Brown is a great reasoner, but, like Paul, he "reasons from the Scriptures;" and by his skill in comparing spiritual tilings with spiritual, he strikes out many happy thoughts, and throws a flood of light on some of the obscurest passages of the divine word.' — Aberdeen Journal.

Crown Svo, 3s. 6d. cloth, THIS PRESENT WORLD. Sketches from Nature and Art, taken in the Vacations of a Professional Life. By the Rev. W. Arnot, Author of 'The Church in the House.'
'Very pleasant reading. It does not demand hard study, yet it is full of instruction.' — Daily Review.

'Charmingly written, as all Mr. Arnot's works are, it contains a great amount of various information; and there runs through it all the golden thread of a never slumbering loyalty to the gospel.' — Weekly Review.

London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street, W.

JAMES NISBET AND CO.'S PUBLIC ACTIONS.

COMMENTARIES.

I.
60s.

II.

III.

IV.
On the Gospel according to St. Matthew. By the Rev. J. A.
Alexander. 6s.

V.

On the Gospel according to St. Mark. By the same. 5s.

VI.


VII.

On Leviticus: Expository and Practical. By the Rev. A. A. BoNAR. 8s. 6d.

VIII.

On the Epistle to the Ephesians. By the Rev. Charles Hodge, D.D. 3s. 6d.

IX.

On the First Epistle to the Corinthians. By the same. 5s.

X.

On the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. By the same. 5s.

XL

Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms. By the Rev. A. A. Bonar. 10s. 6d.

XII.

On the Gospel according to St. Mark. By G. B. 3s.

XIII.

On the Gospel according to St. Luke. By the same. 3s. 6d.

XIV.

On the Gospel according to St. John. By the same. 3s. 6d.
XV.

An Expository and Practical Commentary on the Books of
SCRIPTURE. By Dr. C. G. Bartii, of Calw. Translated from the German. 12s.

XVI.

On the Proverbs. By the Rev. Professor Miller, Princeton. 14s.

London: James Nisbet & Co., 21 Berners Street, "W".

I

Augustine St - Letters,
(Dods tr)

V. 13

PONTIFICAL INSTT'J ^^
OF MEDIAEVAL SVUC -li^

59 QUEEN'S PARK

ToRor^TO 5, Canada

5202 '
[*Beg: Vol. XIV*]
Thon hast formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee."
Confessions, i. 1.

"The joy of the solemn service of Thy house constraineth to tears, when it Js read of Thy
younger S>sn,that He was dead, and is alive again, and was lost, and is found." Ibid. viii.
6.

AO 8 ^

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET
ST. AUGUSTINE'S WORKS.

VOL. XIV.

TO HIS MOTHER,

THIS TRANSLATION.

CONTAINING THE RECORD OF A MOTHER’S DEVOTION TO HER SON,

IS DEDICATED

BY THE TRANSLATOR.
PRIHTKD SV

MORRISON AND CIBB LIMITBP,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

london ! simpkin, marshall, hamilton, kent, and co. limited.
new york: charles scribner's sons.
1. "FIl HE Thirteen Books of my Confessions, whether they refer to my evil or good, praise the just and good God, and stimulate the heart and mind of man to approach unto Him. And, as far as pertaineth unto me, they wrought this in me when they were written, and this they work when they are read. What some think of them they may have seen, but that they have given much pleasure, and do give pleasure, to many brethren I know. From the First to the Tenth they have been written of myself; in the remaining three, of the Sacred Scriptures, from the text, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,' even to the rest of the Sabbath (Gen. i. 1, ii. 2)."

2. "In the Fourth Book, when I acknowledged the distress of my mind at the death of a friend, saying, that our soul, though one, had been in some manner made out of two; and therefore, I say, perchance was I afraid to die lest he should die wholly whom I had so much loved (chap, vi.); this seems to me as if it were a light declamation rather than a grave confession, although this folly may in some sort be tempered by that 'perchance' which follows. And in the Thirteenth Book (chap, xxxii.) what I said, viz. that the 'firmament was made between the spiritual upper waters, and the corporeal lower waters,' was said without due consideration; but the thing is very obscure."
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IF St. Augustine," says Nourrisson, 1 "had left nothing but his Confessions and the City of God, one could readily understand the respectful sympathy that surrounds his memory. How, indeed, could one fail to admire in the City of God the flight of genius, and in the Confessions, what is better still, the effusions of a great soul ? " It may be safely predicted, that while the mind of man yearns for knowledge, and his heart seeks rest, the Confessions will retain that foremost place in the world's literature which it has secured by its sublime outpourings of devotion and profound philosophical spirit. There is in the book a wonderful combination of childlike piety and intellectual power. Desjardins' idea,* that, while in Augustine's other works we see the philosopher or the controversialist, here we see the man, is only to be accepted as a comparative statement of Augustine's attitude in the Confessions; for philosophy and piety are in many of his reflections as it were molten into one homogeneous whole. In his highest intellectual flights we find the breathings of faith and love, and, amid the profoundest expressions of penitential sorrow, gleams of his metaphysical genius appear.

It may, indeed, be from the man's showing himself so little, as distinguished from the philosopher, that some readers are a little disappointed in the book. They have expected to meet with a copiousness of biographic details, and have found, com-


9

X CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

mingled with such as are given, long disquisitions on Manichæanism, Time, Creation, and Memory. To avoid such disappointment we must ascertain the author's design. The book is emphatically not an autobiography. There is in it an outline of the author's life up to his mother's death; but only so much of detail is given as may subserve his main purpose. That purpose is clearly explained in the fourth section of his Tenth Book. It was that the impenitent on reading it might not say, " I cannot," and " sleep in despair," but rather that, looking to that God who had raised the writer from his low estate of pride and sin to be a pillar of the Church, he might take courage, and " awake in the sweetness of His grace, by which he that is weak is made strong; " and that those no longer in sin might rejoice and praise God as they heard of the past lusts of him who was now freed from them. 1 This, his design of encouraging penitence and stimulating praise, is referred to in his Retractations?

and in his Letter to Darius?
These two main ideas are embodied in the very meaning of the title of the book, the word confession having, as Augustine constantly urges, two meanings. In his exposition of the Psalms we read: "Confession is understood in two senses, of our sins, and of God's praise. Confession of our sins is well known, so well known to all the people, that whenever they hear the name of confession in the lessons, whether it is said in praise or of sin, they beat their breasts." 4 Again: *Confession of sin all know, but confession of praise few attend to." 5 "The former but showeth the wound to the physician, the latter giveth thanks for health." 6 He would therefore have his hearers make the sacrifice of praise their ideal, since, in the

1 Confessions, x. sec. 4.

2 See the passage quoted immediately before this Preface. 3 Ep. ccxxxi. sec. <$.

* Enarr. in Ps. cxli. sec. 19; see also in Ps. cxvii. sec. 1, xxix. sec. 19, xciv. sec. 4, and xxix. sec. 19.

* Enarr. m Ps. cxxxvii. sec. 2. Enarr. in Ps. ex. sec. 2.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. li

City of God, even in the New Jerusalem, there will be no longer confession of sin, but there will be confession of praise. 1 It is not surprising, that with this view of confession he should hinge on the incidents of his life such considerations as tend to elevate the mind and heart of the reader. When, for example, he speaks of his youthful sins, 2 he diverges into a disquisition on the motives to sin; when his friend dies, 3 he moralizes on death; and to give one example of a reverse process his profound psychological review of memory 4 recalls his former sin (which at times haunts him in his dreams), and leads up to devout reflections on God's power to cleanse from sin. This undertone of penitence and praise which pervades the Confessions in all its episodes, like the golden threads which run through the texture of an Eastern garment, presents one of its peculiar charms.

It would not be right to overlook a charge that has been brought against the book by Lord Byron. He says, "Augustine in his fine Confessions makes the reader envy his transgressions." Nothing could be more reckless or further from the truth than this charge. There is here no dwelling on his sin, or painting it so as to satisfy a prurient imagination. As we have already remarked, Augustine's manner is not to go into detail further than to find a position from which to "edify" the reader, and he treats this episode in his life with his characteristic delicacy and reticence. His sin was dead; and he had carried it to its burial with tears of repentance. And when, ten years after his baptism, he sets himself, at the request of some,
to a consideration of what he then was at the moment of making his confessions, he refers hardly at all to this sin of his youth; and such allusions as he does make are of the most casual kind. Instead of enlarging upon it, he treats it

1 In Ps. xlv. sec. 33, xcix. sec. 16. Book ii. sees. 6-18.

8 Book i. sees. 11-15. * Book x. sees. 41, 42.

6 Book x. sec. 4.

XII CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

as past, and only speaks of temptation and sin as they are common to all men. Many of the French writers on the Confessions 1 institute a comparison in this matter between the confessions of Augustine and those of Rousseau. Pressense draws attention to the delicacy and reserve which characterise the one, and the arrogant defiance of God and man manifested in the other. The confessions of the one he speaks of as " un grand acte de repentir et d'amour," and eloquently says, " In it he seems, like the Magdalen, to have spread his box of perfumes at the foot of the Saviour; from his stricken heart there exhales the incense most agreeable to God the homage of true penitence." The other he truly describes as uttering " a cry of triumph in the very midst of his sin, and robing his shame in a royal purple." Well may Desjardins 3 express surprise at a book of such foulness coming from a genius so great; and perhaps his solution of the enigma is not far from the truth, when he attributes it to an overweening vanity and egotism. 4

It is right to point out, in connection with this part of our subject, that in regard to some at least of Augustine's self-accusations, 5 there may be a little of that pious exaggeration of his sinfulness which, as Lord Macaulay points out in his essays on Bunyan, 6 frequently characterises deep penitence. But however this may be, justice requires us to remember, in considering his transgression, that from his very childhood he had been surrounded by a condition of civilisation presenting mani-

1 In addition to those referred to, there is one at the beginning of vol. ii. of Saint-Marc Girardin's Essais de Litterature et de Morale, devoted to this subject. It has some good points in it, but has much of that sentimentality so often found in French criticisms.

2 Le Christianisme au Quatrieme Siecle, p. 269.

3 Essai sur les Con./., etc. p. 12.
4 He concludes: "La folie de son orgueil, voila le mot de l'enigme, ou l'^enigme n'en a pas." Ibid. p. 13.

5 Compare Confessions, ii. sec. 2, and Hi. sec. 1, with iv. sec. 2.

In vol. i. of his Crit. and Hist. Essays, and also in his Miscellaneous Writings.

TRANSLATOR S PREFACE. Xil

fold temptations. Carthage, where he spent a large part of his life, had become, since its restoration and colonization under Augustus Ctesar, an " exceeding great city," in wealth and importance next to Rome. 1 "African Paganism," says Pressense, 2 " was half Asiatic; the ancient worship of nature, the adoration of Astarte, had full licence in the city of Carthage; Dido had become a mythological being, whom this dissolute city had made its protecting divinity, and it is easy to recognise in her the great goddess of Phoenicia under a new name." The luxury of the period is described by Jerome and Tertullian, when they denounce the custom of painting the face and tiring the head, and the prodigality that would give 25,000 golden crowns for a veil, immense revenues for a pair of ear-rings, and the value of a forest or an island for a head-dress. 3 And Jerome, in one of his epistles, gives an illustration of the Church's relation to the Pagan world at that time, when he represents an old priest of Jupiter with his grand-daughter, a catechumen, on his knee, who responds to his caresses by singing canticles. 4 It was a time when we can imagine one of Augustine's parents going to the Colosseum, and enjoying the lasciviousness of its displays, and its gladiatorial shows, with their contempt of human life; while the other carefully shunned such scenes, as being under the ban of the teachers of the Church. 5 It was an age in which there was action and reaction between religion and philosophy; but in which the power of Christianity was so great in its influences on Paganism, that some received the Christian Scriptures only to embody in their phraseology the ideas of heathenism. Of this last point Manichseanism presents an illustration. Now all these influences left their mark on Augustine. In his youth he plunged deep into the pleasures of his day; and we know how he endeavoured to find in Manichasism

1 Herodian, Hist. vii. 6. 2 Le Christianisme, etc. as above, p. 274.

8 Quoted by Nourrisson, Philosophie, etc. ii. 436. * Ibid. ii. 434, 435.

5 See Confessions, iii. sec. 2, note, and vi. sec. 13, note.

XIV CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.
a solution of those speculations which haunted his subtle and inquiring mind. Augustine at this time, then, is not to be taken as a type of what Christianity produced. He is to a great extent the outgrowth of the Pagan influences of the time. Considerations such as these may enable us to judge of his early sin more justly than if we measured it by our own privileges and opportunities.

The style of Augustine is sometimes criticised as not having the refinement of Virgil, Horace, or Cicero. But it should be remembered that he wrote in a time of national decay; and further, as Desjardins has remarked in the introduction to his essay, he had no time "to cut his phrases." From the period of his conversion to that of his death, he was constantly engaged in controversy with this or that heresy; and if he did not write with classical accuracy, he so inspired the language with his genius, and moulded it by his fire, that it appears almost to pulsate with the throbings of his brain. He seems likewise to have despised mere elegance, for in his Confessions? when speaking of the style of Faustus, he says, "What profit to me was the elegance of my cup-bearer, since he offered me not the more precious draught for which I thirsted?"

In this connection the remarks of Collinges 3 are worthy of note. He says, when anticipating objections that might be made to his own style: "It was the last of my study; my opinion always was what Augustine calls diligens negligentia was the best diligence as to that; while I was yet a very young man I had learned out of him that it was no solecism in a preacher to use ossum for os, for (saith he) an iron key is better than one made of gold if it will better open the door, for that is all

1 See Poujoulat, Lettres de Saint Augustin, Introd. p. 12, who compares the language of the time to Ezekiel's Valley of Dry Bones, and says Augustine inspired it with life.

2 Confessions, v. sec. 10.

3 The Intercourses of Divine Love betwixt Christ and His Church, Preface (1683).

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. XV

the use of the key. I had learned out of Hierom that a gaudry of phrases and words in a pulpit is but signum insipiente.
The words of a preacher, saith he, ought pungcre non pal/pare, to prick the heart, not to smooth and coax. The work of an orator is too precarious for a minister of the gospel. Gregory observed that our Saviour had not styled us the sugar but the salt of the earth, and Augustine observeth, that though Cyprian in one epistle showed much of a florid orator, to show he could do it, yet he never would do so any more, to show he would not."

There are several features in the Confessions deserving of remark, as being of special interest to the philosopher, the historian, or the divine.
1. Chiefest amongst these is the intense desire for knowledge and the love of truth which characterised Augustine.

This was noticeable before his conversion in his hungering after such knowledge as Manichesianism and the philosophy of the time could afford. 1 It is none the less observable in that better time, when, in his quiet retreat at Cassiciacum, he sought to strengthen the foundations of his faith, and resolved to give himself up to the acquisition of divine knowledge. 2 It was seen, too, in the many conflicts in which he was engaged with Donatists, Manichseans, Arians, and Pelagians, and in his earnest study of the deep things of God. This love of knowledge is perhaps conveyed in the beautiful legend quoted by Nourrisson, 3 of the monk wrapped in spirit, who expressed astonishment at not seeing Augustine among the elect in heaven. "He is higher up," he was answered, "he is standing before the Holy Trinity disputing thereon for all eternity."

While from the time of his conversion we find him holding on to the fundamental doctrines of the faith with the tenacity of one who had experienced the hollowness of the teachings of

1 See Confessions, iv. sec. 1, note.

'lbkl. ix. sec. 7, note, and compare x. sec. 55, note.

3 Philosophie, etc. as above, i. 320.

XVI CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

philosophy, 1 this passion for truth led him to handle most freely subjects of speculation in things non-essential. 2 But whether viewed as a controversialist, a student of Scripture, or a bishop of the Church of God, he ever manifests those qualities of mind and heart that gained for him not only the affection of the Church, but the esteem of his unorthodox opponents. To quote Guizot's discriminating words, there was in him "ce melange de passion et de douceur, d'autorite et d'emotion, d'emotion d'esprit et de rigueur logique, qui lui donnait un si rare pouvoir." 3

2. It is to this eager desire for truth in his many-sided mind that we owe those trains of thought that read like forecasts of modern opinion. We have called attention to some such anticipations of modern thought as they recur in the notes throughout the book; but the speculations on Memory, Time, and Creation, which occupy so large a space in Books Ten and Eleven, deserve more particular notice. The French essayists have entered very fully into these questions. M. Saisset, in his admirable introduction to the Be Civitate Dei* reviews Augustine's theories as to the mysterious problems connected with the idea of Creation. He says, that in his subtle analysis of Time, and in his attempt at reconciling "the eternity of creative action with the dependence of things created, ... he has touched with a bold and delicate hand one of the deepest mysteries of the human mind, and that to
all his glorious titles he has added another, that of an ingenious psychologist and an eminent metaphysician.* Desjardins likewise commends the depth of Augustine's speculations as to Time, 5 and maintains that no one's teaching as to Creation has

1 See Confessions, xiii. sec. 33, note. 2 Ib'ul. xi. sec. 3, note 4.

3 Histoire de la Civilisation en France, i. 203 (1829). Guizot is speaking of Augustine's attitude in the Pelagian controversy.

4 A portion of this introduction will he found translated in Appendix ii. of M. Saisset's Essay on Religious Philosophy (Clark).

5 Essai, etc. as before, p. 129.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. XVli

shown more clearness, boldness, and vigour, avoiding the perils of dualism on the one hand, and atheism on the other. 1

In his remarks on Augustine's disquisitions on the phenomena of Memory, his praise is of a more qualified character. He compares his theories with those of Malebranche, and, while recognising the practical and animated character of his descriptions, thinks him obscure in his delineation of the manner in which absent realities reproduce themselves on the memory. 2

We have had occasion in the notes to refer to the Unseen Universe. The authors of this powerful " Apologia " for Christianity propose it chiefly as an antidote to the materialistic disbelief in the immortality of the soul amongst scientific men, which has resulted in this age from the recent advance in physical science; just as in the last century English deism had its rise in a similar influence. It is curious, in connection with this part of our subject, to note that in leading up to the conclusion at which he arrives, M. Saisset quotes a passage from the City of God, 3 which contains an adumbration of the theory of the above work in regard to the eternity of the invisible universe. 4 Verily, the saying of the wise man is true: " The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done:

and there is no new thing under the sun." 6

3. We have already, in a previous paragraph, briefly adverted to the influence Christianity and Paganism had one on the

1 Essai, etc. p. 130.

2 Ibid. pp. 120-123. Nourrisson's criticism of Augustine's views on Memory may well be compared with that of Desjardins. He speaks of the powerful originality of Augustine, who is ingenious as well as new, and says some of his disquisitions are "the most
admirable which have inspired psychological observation." And further, "One does not meet in all the books of St. Augustine any philosophical theories which have greater depth than that on Memory." Philoso phie, etc. as above, i. 133.

3 Book xii. ch. 15.

4 This position is accepted by Leibnitz in his Essais de ThJodicSe. See also M. Saisset, as above, ii. 196-8 (Essay by the Translator).

5 Eccles. i. 9.

XV111 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

other. The history of Christianity has been a steady advance on Paganism and Pagan philosophy; but it can hardly be denied that in this advance there has been an absorption and in some periods in no small degree of some of their elements. As these matters have been examined in the notes, we need not do more than refer the reader to the Index of Subjects for the evidence to be obtained in this respect from the Confessions on such matters as Baptism, False Miracles, and Prayers for the Dead.

4. There is one feature in the Confessions which we should not like to pass unnoticed. A reference to the Retractations* will show that Augustine highly appreciated the spiritual use to which the book might be put in the edification of the brethren. We believe that it will prove most useful in this way; and spiritual benefit will accrue in proportion to the steadiness of its use. We would venture to suggest that Book X., from section 37 to the end, may be profitably used as a manual of self-examination. We have pointed out in a note, that in his comment on the 8th Psalm he makes our Lord's three temptations to be types of all the temptations to which man can be subjected; and makes them correspond in their order, as given by St. Matthew, to "the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life," mentioned by St. John. 2 Under each of these heads we have, in this part of the Confessions, a most severe examination of conscience; and the impression is deepened by his allegorically likening the three divisions of temptation to the beasts of the field, the fish of the sea, and the birds of the air. 3 We have already remarked, in adverting to allegorical interpretation, 4 that where "the strict use of the history is not disregarded," to use Augustine's expression, allegorizing, by way of spiritual

1 Quoted immediately before this Preface. 2 1 John ii. 16.

5 See Confessions, v. sec. 4, note, and x. sec. 41, note. 
' See ibid. vi. sec. 5, note.
meditation, may be profitable. Those who employ it with this idea will find their
interpretations greatly aided, and made more systematic, by realizing Augustine's
methods here and in the last two books of the Confessions, as when he makes the sea to
represent the wicked world, and the fruitful earth the Church. 1

It only remains to call attention to the principles on which this translation and its
annotations have been made. The text of the Benedictine edition has been followed; but
the head-lines of the chapters are taken from the edition of Bruder, as being the more
definite and full. After carefully translating the whole of the book, it has been compared,
line by line, with the translation of Watts 8 (one of the most nervous translations of the
seventeenth century), and that of Dr. Pusey, which is confessedly founded upon that of
Watts. Reference has also been made, in the case of obscure passages, to the French
translation of Du Bois, and the English translation of the first Ten Books alluded to in the
note on p. 233. The references to Scripture are in the words of the Authorized Version
wherever the sense will bear it; and whenever noteworthy variations from our version
occur, they are indicated by references to the old Italic version, or to the Vulgate. In some
cases, where Augustine has clearly referred to the LXX. in order to amend his version
thereby, such variations are indicated. 3 The annotations are, for the most part, such as
have been derived from the translator's own reading. Two exceptions, however, must be
made. Out of upwards of four hundred notes, some forty are taken from the annotations
in Pusey and Watts, but in every case these have been indicated

1 See Confessions, xiii. sec. 20, note 3, and sec. 21, note 1.

2 "St. Augustine's Confessions translated, and with some marginal notes illustrated by
William Watts, Rector of St. Alban's, Wood St. (1631)."

3 For whatever our idea may be as to the extent of his knowledge of Greek, it is beyond
dispute that he frequently had recourse to the Greek of the Old and New Testament with
this view. See Nourrisson, Philosophie, etc. ii. p. 96.

XX CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

by the initials E. B. P. or W. W. Dr. Pusey's annotations
(which will be found chiefly in the earlier part of this work)
consist almost entirely of quotations from other works of Augustine. These annotations
are very copious, and Dr.
Pusey explains that he resorted to this method "partly because this plan of illustrating St.
Augustine out of himself had been already adopted by M. Du Bois in his Latin edition . . .
and it seemed a pity not to use valuable materials ready collected to one's hand. The far
greater part of these illustrations are taken from that edition." It seemed the most proper
course, in using such notes of Du Bois as appeared suitable for this edition, to take them from Dr. Pusey's edition, and, as above stated, to indicate their source by his initials. A Textual Index has been added, for the first time, to this edition, and both it and the Index of Subjects have been prepared with the greatest possible care.

J. o. p.
St. Mark's Vicarage, West Hackney, 1874,

CONTENTS.

BOOK FIEST.

COMMENCING WITH THE INVOCATION OF GOD, AUGUSTINE RELATES IN DETAIL THE BEGINNING OF HIS LIFE, HIS INFANCY AND BOYHOOD UP TO HIS FIFTEENTH YEAR AT WHICH AGE HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HE WAS MORE INCLINED TO ALL YOUTHFUL PLEASURES AND VICES THAN TO THE STUDY OF LETTERS.

Chapter i. He proclaims the greatness of God, whom he desires to seek and invoke, being awakened by Him, 1

Chapter ii. That the God whom we invoke is in us, and we in Him, 2
Chapter hi. Everywhere God wholly filleth all things, but neither heaven nor earth containeth Him, 3

Chapter iv. The majesty of God is supreme, and His virtues inexplicable, 3

Chapter v. He seeks rest in God, and pardon of his sins, 4
Chapter vi. He describes his infancy, and lauds the protection and eternal providence of God, 5

Chapter vh. He shows by examples that even infancy is prone to sin, 8
Chapter vhi. That when a boy he learned to speak, not by any set method,
but from the acts and words of his parents, 10

Chapter ix. Concerning the hatred of learning, the love of play, and the fear of being whipped noticeable in boys; and of the folly of our elders and masters, 11

Chapter x. Through a love of ball-playing and shows, he neglects his studies and the injunctions of his parents, 12

Chapter xi. Seized by disease, his mother being troubled, he earnestly demands baptism, which on recovery is postponed his father not as yet believing in Christ, 13

Chapter xii. Being compelled, he gave his attention to learning, but fully acknowledges that this was the work of God, . . . . .14

XX11 CONTENTS.

PAOK

Chapter xiii. He delighted in Latin studies, and the empty fables of the poets, but hated the elements of literature and the Greek language, 15

Chapter xiv. Why he despised Greek literature, and easily learned Latin, 1 7

Chapter xv. He entreats God, that whatever useful things he learned as a boy may be dedicated to Him, 18

Chapter xvi. He disapproves of the mode of educating youth, and he points out why wickedness is attributed to the gods by the poets, , 18

Chapter xvii. He continues on the unhappy method of training youih in literary subjects, 20

Chapter xviii. Men desire to observe the rules of learning, but neglect the eternal rules of everlasting safety, ...... 21

BOOK SECOND.
HE advances to puberty, and indeed to the early part of the sixteenth

YEAR OF HIS AGE, IN WHICH, HAVING ABANDONED HIS STUDIES, HE IN-
DULGED IN LUSTFUL PLEASURES, AND, WITH HIS COMPANIONS,
COMMITTED
THEFT.

Chapter I. He deplores the wickedness of his youth, . . . 25

Chapter ii. Stricken with exceeding grief, he remembers the dissolute

passions in which, in his sixteenth year, he used to indulge, . . 25

Chapter hi. Concerning his father, a freeman of Thagaste, the assister of his son's studies,
and on the admonitions of his mother on the preservation of chastity, 27

Chapter iv. He commits theft with his companions, not urged on by poverty, but from a
certain distaste for well-doing, . . .30

Chapter v. Concerning the motives to sin, which are not in the love of evil, but in the
desire of obtaining the property of others, . . .30

Chapter vi. Why he delighted in that theft, when all things which under the appearance of
good invite to vice, are true and perfect in God alone, 32

Chapter vii. He gives thanks to God for the remission of his sins, and reminds every one
that the Supreme God may have preserved us from greater sins, 34

Chapter viii. In his theft he loved the company of his fellow-sinners, . 34

Chapter ix. It was a pleasure to him also to laugh when seriously deceiv

i

ng others, 35

Chapter x. With God there is true rest and life unchanging, . . .86

CONTENTS. XX111

BOOK THIRD.

OF THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH, AND NINETEENTH TEARS OF HIS
AGE, PASSED
AT CARThAGE, WHEN, HAVING COMPLETED HIS COURSE OF STUDIES, HE
IS
CAUGHT IN THE SNARES OF A LICENTIOUS PASSION, AND FALLS INTO THE 
SNARES OF THE MANICHIANS.

PAGE

Chapter i. Deluded by an insane love, he, though foul and dishonourable, 
desires to be thought elegant and urbane, 37

Chapter ii. In public spectacles he is moved by an empty compassion. 
He is attacked by a troublesome spiritual disease, . . .38

Chapter hi. Not even when at church does he suppress his desires. In 
the School of Rhetoric he abhors the acts of subverters, . . .40

Chapter iv. In the nineteenth year of his age (his father having died two 
years before) he is led by the Hortensius of Cicero to philosophy, to 
God, and a better mode of thinking, 41

Chapter v. He rejects the Sacred Scriptures as too simple, and as not to 
be compared with the dignity of Tully, 42

Chapter vi. Deceived by his own fault, he falls into the errors of the 
Manichaeans, who gloried in the true knowledge of God, and in a 
thorough examination of things, 43

Chapter vii. He attacks the doctrine of the Manichaeans concerning evil, 
God, and the righteousness of the patriarchs 46

Chapter vm. He argues against the same as to the reason of offences, . 49

Chapter ix. That the judgment of God and men as to human acts of 
violence is different, 51

Chapter x. He reproves the triflings of the Manichaeans as to the fruits of 
the earth, 52

Chapter xi. He refers to the tears and the memorable dream concerning
her son, granted by God to his mother, 53

Chapter xii. The excellent answer of the bishop when referred to by his mother as to the conversion of her son, ..... 55

BOOK FOURTH.

THEN FOLLOWS A PERIOD OF NINE YEARS FROM THE NINETEENTH TEAR OF HIS AGE, DURING WHICH, HAVING LOST A FRIEND, HE FOLLOWED THE MANICHAEANS AND WROTE BOOKS ON THE FAIR AND FIT, AND PUBLISHED A WORK ON THE LIBERAL ARTS, AND THE CATEGORIES OF ARISTOTLE.

Chapter i. Concerning that most unhappy time in which he, being deceived, deceived others; and concerning the mockers of his confession, 56

Chapter ii. He teaches rhetoric, the only thing he loved, and scorns the soothsayers who promised him victory, 57

XXXV CONTENTS.

MM

Chapter hi. Not even the most experienced men could persuade him of the vanity of astrology, to which he was devoted, . . . .58

Chapter iv. Sorely distressed by weeping at the death of his friend, he provides consolation for himself, 61

Chapter v. Why weeping is pleasant to the wretched, . . . .63

Chapter vi. His friend being snatched away by death, he imagines that he remains only as half, 64

Chapter vii. Troubled by restlessness and grief, he leaves his country a second time for Carthage 65
Chapter viii. That his grief ceased by time, and the consolation of friends, 66
Chapter IX. That the love of a human being, however constant in loving
and returning love, perishes; while he who loves God never loses a friend, 67
Chapter x. That all things exist that they may perish, and that we are
not safe unless God watches over us, . . . .68
Chapter xi. That portions of the world are not to be loved; but that God,
their Author, is immutable, and His word eternal, . . . .69
Chapter xii. Love is not condemned, but love in God, in whom there is
rest through Jesus Christ, is to be preferred, 70
Chapter xiii. Love originates from grace and beauty enticing us, . . 72
Chapter xiv. Concerning the books which he wrote "on the Fair and
Fit," dedicated to Hierius, 73
Chapter xv. While writing, being blinded by corporeal images, he failed
to recognise the spiritual nature of God, 74
Chapter xvi. He very easily understood the liberal arts and the categories
of Aristotle, but without true fruit, ...... 78

BOOK FIFTH.

HE DESCRIBES THE TWENTY-NINTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, IN WHICH, HAVING
COVERED THE FALLACIES OF THE MANICH.EANS, HE PROFESSED
RHETORIC
AT ROME AND MILAN. HAVING HEARD AMBROSE, HE BEGINS TO COME TO
HIMSELF.

Chapter i. That it becomes the soul to praise God, and to confess unto Him, 82
Chapter h. On the vanity of those who wish to escape the Omnipotent God 83
Chapter hi. Having heard Faustus, the most learned bishop of the Manichaeans, he
discerns that God, the Author both of things animate and inanimate, chiefly has care for
the humble, 84
Chapter iv. That the knowledge of terrestrial and celestial things does not give happiness, but the knowledge of God only, . . . 87

Chapter v. Of Manichseus pertinaciously teaching false doctrines, and proudly arrogating to himself the Holy Spirit, 88

CONTENTS. XXV

PAGE

Chapter vi. Faustus was indeed an elegant speaker, but knew nothing of the liberal sciences, 90

Chapter vii. Clearly seeing the fallacies of the Manichseans, he retires from them, being remarkably aided by God, ..... 91

Chapter viii. He sets out for Rome, his mother in vain lamenting it, . 94

Chapter ix. Being attacked by fever, he is in great danger, . . .96

Chapter x. When he had left the Manichseans, he retained his depraved opinions concerning God, sin, and the origin of the Saviour, . . 99

Chapter xi. Helpidius disputed well against the Manichaeans as to the authenticity of the New Testament, 102

Chapter xii. Professing rhetoric at Rome, he discovers the fraud of his scholars, 103

Chapter xiii. He is sent to Milan, that he, about to teach rhetoric, may be known by Ambrose 104

Chapter xiv. Having heard the Bishop, he perceives the force of the Catholic faith, yet doubts, after the manner of the modern Academics, 105

BOOK SIXTH.
attaining his thirtieth tear, he, under the admonition of the discourses of Ambrose, discovered more and more the truth of the Catholic doctrine, and deliberates as to the better regulation of his life.

Chapter i. His mother having followed him to Milan, declares that she will not die before her son shall have embraced the Catholic faith. 107

Chapter ii. She, on the prohibition of Ambrose, abstains from honouring the memory of the martyrs, 109

Chapter iii. As Ambrose was occupied with business and study, Augustine could seldom consult him concerning the Holy Scriptures, . . . 112

Chapter iv. He recognises the falsity of his own opinions, and commits to memory the saying of Ambrose, 114

Chapter v. Faith is the basis of human life; man cannot discover that truth which Holy Scripture has disclosed, 117

Chapter vi. On the source and cause of true joy, the example of the joyous beggar being adduced, 119

Chapter vii. He leads to reformation his friend Alypius, seized with madness for the Circensian games, 121

Chapter viii. The same when at Rome, being led by others into the Amphitheatre, is delighted with the gladiatorial games, . . . 124

Chapter ix. Innocent Alypius, being apprehended as a thief, is set at liberty by the cleverness of an architect, 126

Chapter x. The wonderful integrity of Alypius in judgment. The lasting friendship of Nebridius with Augustine, ..... 128

XXVI CONTENTS.
Chapter xi. Being troubled by his grievous errors, he meditates entering on a new life, .......... 130

Chapter xii. Discussion with Alypius concerning a life of celibacy, . 132
Chapter xiii. Being urged by his mother to take a wife, he sought a maiden that was pleasing unto him, . . . . .134

Chapter xiv. The design of establishing a common household with his friends is speedily hindered, 134

Chapter xv. He dismisses one mistress, and chooses another, . . 136
Chapter xvi. The fear of death and judgment called him, believing in the immortality of the soul, back from his wickedness, him who aforetime believed in the opinions of Epicurus, 186

BOOK SEVENTH.

HE RECALLS THE BEGINNING OF HIS YOUTH, i.e. THE THIRTY-FIRST YEAR OF HIS AGE, IN WHICH VERY GRAVE ERRORS AS TO THE NATURE OF GOD, AND THE ORIGIN OF EVIL, BEING DISTINGUISHED, AND THE SACRED BOOKS MORE ACCURATELY KNOWN, HE AT LENGTH ARRIVES AT A CLEAR KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, NOT YET RIGHTLY APPREHENDING JESUS CHRIST.

Chapter i. He regarded not God, indeed, under the form of a human body, but as a corporeal substance diffused through space, . . . .139
Chapter ii. The disputation of Nebridius against the Manichseans on the question, " Whether God be corruptible or incorruptible ? " . .141

Chapter hi. That the cause of evil is the free judgment of the will, . 143
Chapter iv. That God is not corruptible, who, if He were, would not be God at all 144
Chapter v. Questions concerning the origin of evil in regard to God, who, since He is the chief good, cannot be the cause of evil, . . .145
Chapter vi. He refutes the divinations of the astrologers deduced from the constellations, 147

Chapter vii. He is severely exercised as to the origin of evil, . , 150

Chapter viii. By God's assistance he by degrees arrives at the truth, . 151

Chapter ix. He compares the doctrine of the Platonists concerning the Aiyas with the much more excellent doctrine of Christianity, . . 152

Chapter x. Divine things are the more clearly manifested to him who withdraws into the recesses of his heart, 157

Chapter xi. That creatures are mutable and God alone immutable, . 159

Chapter xii. Whatever things the good God has created are very good, 159

Chapter xiii. It is meet to praise the Creator for the good things which are made in heaven and earth, . . . . . . .160

Chapter xiv. Being displeased with some part of God's creation, he conceives of two original substances, . 161

CONTENTS. XXvii

PAGE

Chapter xv. Whatever is, owes its being to God 161

Chapter xvi. Evil arises not from a substance, but from the perversion of the will, 162

Chapter xvii. Above his changeable mind, he discovers the unchangeable Author of Truth, 162

Chapter xviii. Jesus Christ, the Mediator, is the only way of safety, . 165

Chapter xix. He does not yet fully understand the saying of John, "That the Word was made flesh," 166

Chapter xx. He rejoices that he proceeded from Plato to the Holy Scriptures, and not the reverse, 169
Chapter xxi. What he found in the sacred books which are not to be found in Plato, 170

BOOK EIGHTH.

he finally describes the thirty-second year of his age, the most memorable OP HIS WHOLE LIFE, IN WHICH, BEING INSTRUCTED BY SIMPLICIANUS CONCERNING THE CONVERSION OF OTHERS, AND THE MANNER OF ACTING, HE IS, AFTER A SEVERE STRUGGLE, RENEWED IN HIS WHOLE MIND, AND IS CONVERTED UNTO GOD.

Chapter i. He, now given to divine things, and yet entangled by the lusts of love, consults Simplicianus in reference to the renewing of his mind, 174

Chapter ii. The pious old man rejoices that he read Plato and the Scriptures, and tells him of the rhetorician Victorinus having been converted to the faith through the reading of the sacred books, . . .176

Chapter iii. That God and the angels rejoice more on the return of one sinner than of many just persons, 182

Chapter iv. He shows by the example of Victorinus that there is more joy in the conversion of nobles, 183

Chapter v. Of the causes which alienate us from God, . . . .185

Chapter vi. Pontitianus' account of Antony, the founder of Monachism, and of some who imitated him, 189

Chapter vii. He deplores his wretchedness, that having been born thirtytwo years, he had not yet found the truth, 193

Chapter viii. The conversation with Alypius being ended, he retires to the garden, whither his friend follows him, ...... 196

Chapter ix. That the mind commandeth the mind, but it willeth not entirely, 197
Chapter x. He refutes the opinion of the Manichseans as to two kinds of minds, one good and the other evil, 198

Chapter xi. In what manner the Spirit struggled with the flesh, that it might be freed from the bondage of vanity, 200

XXV111 CONTENTS.

MM

Chapter xii. Having prayed to God, he pours forth a shower of tears, and, admonished by a voice, he opens the book and reads the words in Kom. xiii. 13; by which, being changed in his whole soul, he discloses the divine favour to his friend and his mother, . . . 20S

BOOK NINTH.

HE SPEAKS OF HTS DESIGN OF FORSAKING THE PROFESSION OF RHETORIC; OF THE DEATH OF HIS FRIENDS, NEBRIDIDS AND VERECUNDUS; OF HAVING RECEIVED BAPTISM IN THE THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF HIS AGE; AND OF THE VIRTUES AND DEATH OF HIS MOTHER MONICA.

Chapter i. He praises God, the author of safety, and Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, acknowledging his own wickedness, 200

Chapter ii. As his lungs were affected, he meditates withdrawing himself from public favour, 207

Chapter hi. He retires to the villa of his friend Verecundus, who was not yet a Christian, and refers to his conversion and death, as well as that of Nebridius, 209

Chapter iv. In the country he gives his attention to literature, and explains the fourth Psalm in connection with the happy conversion of Alypius. He is troubled with toothache, 211

Chapter v. At the recommendation of Ambrose, he reads the prophecies of Isaiah, but does not understand them, 217
Chapter vi. He is baptized at Milan with Alypius and his son Adeodatus; the book De Magistro, 217

Chapter vii. Of the Church hymns instituted at Milan; of the Ambrosian persecution raised by Justina; and of the discovery of the bodies of two martyrs, .......... 219

Chapter viii. Of the conversion of Evodius; and the death of his mother when returning with him to Africa; and whose education he tenderly relates, 220

Chapter ix. He describes the praiseworthy habits of his mother; her kindness towards her husband and her sons, 224

Chapter x. A conversation he had with his mother concerning the kingdom of heaven, 226

Chapter xi. His mother, attacked by fever, dies at Ostia, . . . 229

Chapter xii. How he mourned his dead mother, 230

Chapter xiii. He entreats God for her sins, and admonishes his readers to remember her piously, 234

CONTENTS. XXIX

BOOK TENTH.

RAYING MANIFESTED WHAT HE WAS AND WHAT HE 18, HE SHOWS THE GREAT FRUIT OF HIS CONFESSION; AND BEING ABOUT TO EXAMINE BY WHAT METHOD GOD AND THE HAPPY LIFE MAY BE FOUND, HE ENLARGES ON THE NATURE AND POWER OF MEMORY. THEN HE EXAMINES HIS OWN ACTS, THOUGHTS, AND AFFECTIONS, VIEWED UNDER THE THREEFOLD DIVISION OF TEMPTATION; AND COMMEMORATES THE LORD, THE ONE MEDIATOR OF GOD AND MEN.

PAGE

Chapter L In God alone is the hope and joy of man, .... 238
Chapter ii. That all things are manifest to God. That confession unto Him is not made by the words of the flesh, but of the soul, and the cry of reflection 238

Chapter iii. He who confesseth rightly unto God best knoweth himself, 239

Chapter iv. That in his Confessions he may do good, he considers others, 240

Chapter v. That man knoweth not himself wholly, .... 242

Chapter vi. The love of God, in His nature superior to all creatures, is acquired by the knowledge of the senses and the exercise of reason, 243

Chapter vii. That God is to be found neither from the powers of the body nor of the soul, 245

Chapter viii. Of the nature and the amazing power of memory, . . . 245

Chapter IX. Not only all things, but also literature and images, are taken from the memory, and are brought forth by the act of remembering,. . . 248

Chapter X. Literature is not introduced to the memory through the senses, but is brought forth from its more secret places, . . . 249

Chapter xi. What it is to learn and to think, 249

Chapter xii. On the recollection of things mathematical, . . . 250

Chapter xiii. Memory retains all things, 251

Chapter xiv. Concerning the manner in which joy and sadness may be brought back to the mind and memory, 251

Chapter xv. In memory there are also images of things which are absent, 253

Chapter xvi. The privation of memory is forgetfulness, .... 253

Chapter xv 1 1. God cannot be attained unto by the power of memory, which beasts and birds possess, 255

Chapter xviii. A thing when lost could not be found unless it were retained in the memory 256
Chapter xix. What it is to remember, 256

Chapter xx. We should not seek for God and the happy life unless we had known it, 257

Chapter xxi. How a happy life may be retained in the memory, 258

Chapter xxii. A happy life Is to rejoice in God, and for God, 259

Chapter xxiii. All wish to rejoice in the Truth 260

XXX CONTENTS.

AOB

Chapter xxiv. He who finds truth, finds God, ... 262

Chapter xxv. He is glad that God dwells in his memory, 262

Chapter xxvi. God everywhere answers those who take counsel of Him, 263

Chapter xxvii. He grieves that he was so long without God, 263

Chapter xxviii. On the misery of human life 264

Chapter xxix. All hope is in the mercy of God 265

Chapter xxx. Of the perverse images of dreams, which he wishes to have taken away, ........... 266

Chapter xxxi. About to speak of the temptations of the "lust of the flesh," he first complains of the lust of eating and drinking, 267

Chapter xxxii. Of the charms of perfumes which are more easily overcome, 271

Chapter xxxiii. He overcame the pleasures of the ear, although in the church he frequently delighted in the song, not in the thing sung, 272

Chapter xxxiv. Of the very dangerous allurements of the eyes; on account of beauty of form, God, the Creator, is to be praised, 273
Chapter xxxv. Another kind of temptation is curiosity, which is stimulated by the "last of the eyes," 275

Chapter xxxvi. A third kind is pride," which is pleasing to man, not to God, 278

Chapter xxxvii. He is forcibly goaded on by the love of praise, . . 279

Chapter xxxviii. Vain-glory is the highest danger, .... 282

Chapter xxxix. Of the vice of those who, while pleasing themselves, displease God, 282

Chapter xl. The only safe resting-place for the soul is to be found in God 283

Chapter xli. Having conquered his triple desire, he arrives at saltation, 284

Chapter xlii. In what manner many sought the Mediator, . . .284

Chapter xliii. That Jesus Christ, at the same time God and man, is the true and most efficacious Mediator, 285

BOOK ELEVENTH.

the design of his confessions being declared, he seeks from god the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and begins to expound the words of genesis i. 1, concerning the creation of the world. the QUESTIONS of rash disputers being refuted, " what did god before HE CREATED THE WORLD ? " THAT HE MIGHT THE BETTER OVERCOME HIS OPPONENTS, HE ADDS A COPIOUS DISQUISITION CONCERNING TIME.

Chapter i. By confession he desires to stimulate towards God His own love and that of his readers, 289

CONTENTS. XXXI
Chapter n. He begs of God, that through the Holy Scriptures he may be led to truth, ...

290

Chapter hi. He begins from the creation of the world, not understanding the Hebrew text,.

293

Chapter iv. Heaven and earth cry out that they have been created by God, 294

Chapter v. God created the world not from any certain matter, but in
His own word, 294

Chapter vi. He did not, however, create it by a sounding and passing

word,

29

Chapter vii. By His co-eternal Word He speaks, and all things are
done, 296

Chapter viii. That Word itself is the beginning of all things, in the
which we are instructed as to evangelical truth 297

Chapter ix. Wisdom and the Beginning, 298

Chapter x. The rashness of those who inquire what God did before He
created heaven and earth, 299

Chapter xi. They who ask this have not as yet known the eternity of
God, which is exempt from the relation of time, .... 299
Chapter xxix. That human life is a distraction, but that, through the mercy of God, he was intent on the prize of his heavenly calling, . 316

Chapter xxx. Again he refutes the empty question, " What did God before the creation of the world?" 317

Chapter xxxi. How the knowledge of God differs from that of man, . 317

BOOK TWELFTH.

HE GONTrNTTES HIS EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT, AND BY ITS ASSISTANCE HE ARGUES, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING THE DOUBLE HEAVEN, AND THE FORMLESS MATTER OUT OF WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD MAY HAVE BEEN CREATED; AFTERWARDS OF THE INTERPRETATIONS OF OTHERS NOT DISALLOWED, AND SETS FORTH AT GREAT LENGTH THE SENSE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Chapter i. The discovery of truth is difficult, but God has promised that he who seeks shall find, 319

Chapter ii. Of the double heaven, the visible, and the heaven of heavens, 319

Chapter iii. Of the darkness upon the deep, and of the invisible and formless earth, 320

Chapter iv. From the formlessness of matter, the beautiful world has arisen, 321

Chapter v. What may have been the form of matter, .... 321

Chapter vi. He confesses that at one time he himself thought erroneously of matter, 321

Chapter vii. Out of nothing God made heaven and earth, . . . 322
Chapter vih. Heaven and earth were made " in the beginning; " afterwards the world, during six days, from shapeless matter, . . . 323

Chapter ix. That the heaven of heavens was an intellectual creature, but that the earth was invisible and formless before the days that it was made, 324

Chapter x. He begs of God that he may live in the true light, and may be instructed as to the mysteries of the sacred books, .... 325

Chapter xi. What may be discovered to him by God, .... 325

Chapter xii. From the formless earth, God created another heaven and a visible and formed earth, 327

Chapter xiii. Of the intellectual heaven and formless earth, out of which on another day the firmament was formed, 328

Chapter xiv. Of the depth of the Sacred Scripture, and its enemies, . 328

Chapter xv. He argues against adversaries concerning the heaven of heavens, 329

Chapter xvi. He wishes to have no intercourse with those who deny Divine Truth, 332

CONTENTS. XXX111

FAGB

Chapter xvii. He mentions five explanations of the words of Genesis i. 1, 333
Chapter xviii. What error is harmless in Sacred Scripture, . . 335
Chapter xix. He enumerates the things concerning which all agree, . 836
Chapter xx. Of the words, " In the beginning," variously understood, . 336
Chapter xxi. Of the explanation of the words, " The earth was invisible," 338
Chapter xxii. He discusses whether matter was from eternity, or was made by God, 339

Chapter xxiii. Two kinds of disagreements in the books to be explained, 340
Chapter xxiv. Out of the many true things, it is not asserted confidently that Moses understood this or that, 341

Chapter xxv. It behoves interpreters, when disagreeing concerning obscure places, to regard God the Author of truth, and the rule of charity 342

Chapter xxvi. What he might have asked of God had he been enjoined to write the book of Genesis 343

Chapter xxvii. The style of speaking in the book of Genesis is simple and clear, 344

Chapter xxviii. The words, "In the beginning," and, "The heaven and the earth," are differently understood, 345

Chapter xxix. Concerning the opinion of those who explain it, "At first He made," 346

Chapter xxx. In the great diversity of opinions, it becomes all to unite charity and Divine Truth, 348

Chapter xxxi. Moses is supposed to have perceived whatever of truth can be discovered in his words, 341*

Chapter xxxii. First, the sense of the writer is to be discovered, then that is to be brought out which Divine Truth intended, 850

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

OF THE GOODNESS OP GOD EXPLAINED IN THE CREATION OP THINGS, AND OP THB TRINITY AS FOUND IN THE FIRST WORDS OF GENESIS. THE STORY CONCERN-
ING THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD (GEN. I.) IS ALLEGORICALLY EXPLAINED, AND HE APPLIES IT TO THOSE THINGS WHICH GOD WORKS FOR SANCTIFIED AND BLESSED MAN. FINALLY, HE MAKES AN END OF THIS WORK, HAVING IMPLORED ETERNAL REST FROM GOD.

Chapter i. He calls upon God, and proposes to himself to worship Him, 351
Chapter ii. All creatures subsist from the plenitude of divine goodness, 352
Chapter iii. Genesis i. 3, Of "light," he understands as it is seen in the spiritual creatures, 353

Chapter iv. All things have been created by the grace of God, and are not of Him as standing in need of created things, . . . .854

XXXIV CONTENTS.

PAOB

Chapter . He recognises the Trinity in the first two verses of Genesis, . 354
Chapter vi. Why the Holy Ghost should have been mentioned after the mention of heaven and earth, . 355
Chapter vii. That the Holy Spirit brings us to God 355
Chapter viii. That nothing whatever, short of God, can yield to the rational creature a happy rest 356

Chapter ix. Why the Holy Spirit was only "borne over " the waters, . 358
Chapter x. That nothing arose save by the gift of God, .... 359
Chapter xi. That the symbols of the Trinity in man, To Be, To Know, and To Will, are never thoroughly examined, 359

Chapter xii. Allegorical explanation of Genesis, chap, i., concerning the origin of the Church and its worship 361

Chapter xiii. That the renewal of man is not completed in this world, . 362
Chapter xiv. That out of the children of the night and of the darkness, children of the light and of the day are made, 363

Chapter xv. Allegorical explanation of the firmament and upper works, ver. 6, 364

Chapter xvi. That no one but the Unchangeable Light knows himself, 366

Chapter xvii. Allegorical explanation of the sea and the fruit-bearing earth, vers. 9 and 11, 367

Chapter xviii. Of the lights and stars of heaven of day and night, ver. 14, 368

Chapter xix. All men should become lights in the firmament of heaven, 371

Chapter xx. Concerning reptiles and flying creatures (ver. 20), the sacrament of Baptism being regarded, 373

Chapter xxi. Concerning the living soul, birds and fishes (ver. 24), the sacrament of the Eucharist being regarded, 375

Chapter xxii. He explains the divine image (ver. 26) of the renewal of the mind 377

Chapter xxiii. That to have power over all things (ver. 26) is to judge spiritually of all 379

Chapter xxiv. Why God has blessed men, fishes, flying creatures, and not herbs and the other animals (ver. 28), 381

Chapter xxv. He explains the fruits of the earth (ver. 29) of works of mercy, 383

Chapter xxvi. In the confessing of benefits, computation is made not as to the "gift," but as to the "fruit," that is, the good and right will of
Chapter xxvii. Many are ignorant as to this, and ask for miracles, which are signified under the names of "fishes" and "whales," . . . 386

Chapter xxviii. He proceeds to the last verse, "All things are very good," that is, the work being altogether good, .... 387

Chapter xxix. Although it is said eight times that "God saw that it was good," yet time has no relation to God and His Word, . . . 388

CONTENTS. XXXV

PAGB

Chapter xxx. He refutes the opinions of the Manichseans and the Gnostics concerning the origin of the world, 388

Chapter xxxi. We do not see "that it was good," but through the Spirit of God, which is in us, 389

Chapter xxxii. Of the particular works of God, more especially of man, . 390
Chapter xxxiii. The world was created by God out of nothing, . . 391
Chapter xxxiv. He briefly repeats the allegorical interpretation of Genesis (chap, i.), and confesses that we see it by the Divine Spirit, . 392
Chapter xxxv. He prays God for that peace of rest which hath no evening, 393

Chapter xxxvi. The seventh day, without evening and setting, the image of eternal life and rest in God, ....... 393

Chapter xxxvi i. Of rest in God, who ever worketh, and yet is ever at rest, 393

Chapter xxxviii. Of the difference between the knowledge of God and of the giver, 384
men, and of the repose which is to be sought from God only, 394

THE THIRTEEN BOOKS

OF THE

CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUR. AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO

BOOK FIRST.

COMMENCING WITH THE INVOCATION OF GOD, AUGUSTINE RELATES IN DETAIL
THE BEGINNING OF HIS LIFE, HIS INFANCY AND BOYHOOD, UP TO HIS FIFTEENTH YEAR; AT WHICH AGE HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HE WAS MORE INCLINED TO ALL YOUTHFUL PLEASURES AND VICES THAN TO THE STUDY OF LETTERS.

Chap. i. He proclaims the greatness of God, whom he desires to seek and invoke, being awakened by Him.

1. RE AT art Thou, O Lord, and greatly to be praised;
JTT great is Thy power, and of Thy wisdom there is no end. 1 And man, being a part of Thy creation, desires to praise Thee, man, who bears about with him his mortality, the witness of his sin, even the witness that Thou "resistest the proud," 2 yet man, this part of Thy creation, desires to praise Thee. 3 Thou movest us to delight in praising Thee; for Thou hast formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee. 4 Lord, teach me to know and understand

1 Ps. cxlv. 3, and cxlvi. 5. 2 Jas. iv. 6, and 1 Pet. v. 5.

3 Augustine begins with praise, and the whole book vibrates with praise. He says elsewhere (in Ps. cxxix.), that "as a new song fits not well an old man's lips, he should sing a new song who is a new creature and is living a new life; "
and so from the time of his new birth, the "new song" of praise went up from him, and that "not of the lip only," but (ibid, cxlviii.) conscientia lingua vita.

* And the rest which the Christian has here is but an earnest of the more perfect rest hereafter, when, as Augustine says (De Gen. ad Lit. xii. 26), "all virtue will be to love what one sees, and the highest felicity to have what one loves."

CON. A

2 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK I.]

which of these should be first, to call on Thee, or to praise Thee; and likewise to know Thee, or to call upon Thee.

But who is there that calls upon Thee without knowing Thee?

For he that knows Thee not may call upon Thee as other than Thou art. Or perhaps we call on Thee that we may know Thee. " But how shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? or how shall they believe without a preacher?"

And those who seek the Lord shall praise Him. 2 For those who seek shall find Him, 3 and those who find Him shall praise Him. Let me seek Thee, Lord, in calling on Thee, and call on Thee in believing in Thee; for Thou hast been preached unto us. O Lord, my faith calls on Thee, that faith which Thou hast imparted to me, which Thou hast breathed into me through the incarnation of Thy Son, through the ministry of Thy preacher. 4

Chap. ii. That the God whom we invoke is in us, and we in Him.

2. And how shall I call upon my God my God and my Lord? For when I call on Him I ask Him to come into me.

And what place is there in me into which my God can come into which God can come, even He who made heaven and earth? Is there anything in me, Lord my God, that can contain Thee? Do indeed the very heaven and the earth, which Thou hast made, and in which Thou hast made me, contain Thee? Or, as nothing could exist without Thee, doth whatever exists contain Thee? Why, then, do I ask Thee to come into me, since I indeed exist, and could not exist if Thou wert not in me? Because I am not yet in hell, though Thou art even there; for "if I go down into hell Thou art there." 5 I could not therefore exist, could not exist at all,

my God, unless Thou wert in me. Or should I not rather


4 That is, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who was instrumental in his conversion (vi. sec. 1; viii. sec. 2S, etc.). "Before conversion," as Leighton observes on
1 Pet. ii. 1, 2, "wit or eloquence may draw a man to the word, and possibly prove a happy bait to catch him (as St. Augustine reports of his hearing St. Ambrose), but, once born again, then it is the milk itself that he desires for itself."

5 Ps. exxxix. 8.

CHAP. IV.] GOD FILLETH ALL THINGS. 3

say, that I could not exist unless I were in Thee from whom are all things, by whom are all things, in whom are all things?'

Even so, Lord; even so. Where do I call Thee to, since Thou art in me, or whence canst Thou come into me? For where outside heaven and earth can I go that from thence my God may come into me who has said, "I fill heaven and earth"? 2

Chap. hi. Everywhere God wholly filkth all things, but neither heaven nor earth containeth Him.

3. Since, then, Thou fillest heaven and earth, do they contain Thee? Or, as they contain Thee not, dost Thou fill them, and yet there remains something over? And where dost Thou pour forth that which remaineth of Thee when the heaven and earth are filled? Or, indeed, is there no need that Thou who containest all things shouldest be contained of any, since those things which Thou fillest Thou fillest by containing them? For the vessels which Thou fillest do not sustain Thee, since should they even be broken Thou wilt not be poured forth. And when Thou art poured forth on us, 8 Thou art not cast down, but we are uplifted; nor art Thou dissipated, but we are drawn together. But, as Thou fillest all things, dost Thou fill them with Thy whole self, or, as even all things cannot altogether contain Thee, do they contain a part, and do all at once contain the same part? Or has each its own proper part the greater more, the smaller less? Is, then, one part of Thee greater, another less? Or is it that Thou art wholly everywhere whilst nothing altogether contains Thee?*

Chap. iv. The majesty of God is supreme, and His virtues inexplicable.

4. What, then, art Thou, my God what, I ask, but the Lord God? For who is Lord but the Lord? or who is God save our God? 6 Most high, most excellent, most potent, most omnipotent; most piteous and most just; most hidden

* Rom. xi. 36. 2 Jer. xxiii. 24. 3 Acts ii. 18.

4 In this section, and constantly throughout the Confessions, he adverts to the materialistic views concerning God held by the Manichseans. See also sea 10; iii. sec. 12; iv. sec. 31, etc. etc.
and most near; most beautious and most strong; stable, yet contained of none; unchangeable, yet changing all things; never new, never old; making all things new, yet bringing old age upon the proud and they know it not; always working, yet ever at rest; gathering, yet needing nothing; sustaining, pervading, and protecting; creating, nourishing, and developing; seeking, and yet possessing all things. Thou lovest, and burnest not; art jealous, yet free from care; repentest, and hast no sorrow; art angry, yet serene; changest Thy ways, leaving unchanged Thy plans; recoverest what Thou findest, having yet never lost; art never in want, whilst Thou rejoicest in gain; never covetous, though requiring usury. 1

That Thou mayest owe, more than enough is given to Thee; 2 yet who hath anything that is not Thine ? Thou payest debts while owing nothing; and when Thou forgivest debts, losest nothing. Yet, my God, my life, my holy joy, what is this that I have said ? And what saith any man when He speaks of Thee ? Yet woe to them that keep silence, seeing that even they who say most are as the dumb. 3

Chap. v. He seeks rest in God, and pardon of his sins.

5. Oh ! how shall I find rest in Thee ? Who will send Thee into my heart to inebriate it, so that I may forget my woes, and embrace Thee, my only good ? What art Thou to me ? Have compassion on me, that I may speak. What am I to Thee that Thou demandest my love, and unless I give it Thee art angry, and threatenest me with great sorrows ? Is it, then, a light sorrow not to love Thee ? Alas ! alas ! tell me of Thy compassion, Lord my God, what Thou art to me.

1 Matt. xxv. 27. 2 Supererogatur tibi, ut debeas.

8 " As it is impossible for mortal, imperfect, and perishable man to comprehend the immortal, perfect, and eternal, we cannot expect that he should be able to express in praise the fulness of God's attributes. The Talmud relates of a rabbi, who did not consider the terms, 'the great, mighty, and fearful God,' which occur in the daily prayer, as being sufficient, but added some more attributes

' What ! ' exclaimed another rabbi, who was present, ' imaginest thou to be able to exhaust the praise of God ? Thy praise is blasphemy. Thou hadst better be quiet.' Hence the Psalmist's exclamation, after finding that the praises of God were inexhaustible: n?nn fPDH "J?, ' Silence is praise to Thee. ' " Breslau.
"Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation." So speak that I may hear. Behold, Lord, the ears of my heart are before Thee; open Thou them, and "say unto my soul, I am thy salvation." When I hear, may I run and lay hold on Thee. Hide not Thy face from me. Let me die, lest I die, if only I may see Thy face.

6. Cramped is the dwelling of my soul; do Thou expand it, that Thou mayest enter in. It is in ruins, restore Thou it. There is that about it which must offend Thine eyes; I confess and know it, but who will cleanse it? or to whom shall I cry but to Thee? Cleanse me from my secret sins, Lord, and keep Thy servant from those of other men. I believe, and therefore do I speak; 4 Lord, Thou knowest. Have I not confessed my transgressions unto Thee, my God; and Thou hast put away the iniquity of my heart? 5 I do not contend in judgment with Thee, who art the Truth; and I would not deceive myself, lest my iniquity lie against itself. 7 I do not, therefore, contend in judgment with Thee, for "if Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, Lord, who shall stand?"

Chap. vi. He describes his infancy, and lauds the protection and eternal providence of God.

7. Still suffer me to speak before Thy mercy me, "dust and ashes." Suffer me to speak, for, behold, it is Thy mercy I address, and not derisive man. Yet perhaps even Thou deridest me; but when Thou art turned to me Thou wilt have compassion on me. 10 For what do I wish to say, O Lord my

1 Ps. xxxv. 3. 'Moriar ne inoriar, ut earn videam. See Ex. xxxiii. 20.

3 Ps. xix. 12, 13. "Be it that sin may never see the light, that it may be like a child born and buried in the womb; yet as that child is a man, a true man, there closeted in that hidden frame of nature, so sin is truly sin, though it never gets out beyond the womb which did conceive and enliven it." Sedgwick.

4 Ps. cxvi. 10. 5 Ps. xxxii. 5. 6 Job ix. 3.

T Ps. xxvi. 12, Vulg. "The danger of ignorance is not less than its guilt. For of all evils a secret evil is most to be deprecated, of all enemies a concealed enemy is the worst. Better the precipice than the pitfall; better the tortures of curable disease than the painlessness of mortification; and so, whatever your soul's guilt and danger, better to be aware of it. However alarming, however distressing self-knowledge may be, better than the tremendous evils of selfignorance." Caikd.

8 Ps. exxx. 3. 8 Gen. xviii. 27. 10 Jer. xii. 15.
God, but that I know not whence I came hither into this shall I call it dying life or living death? Yet, as I have heard from my parents, from whose substance Thou didst form me, for I myself cannot remember it, Thy merciful comforts sustained me. Thus it was that the comforts of a woman's milk entertained me; for neither my mother nor my nurses filled their own breasts, but Thou by them didst give me the nourishment of infancy according to Thy ordinance and that bounty of Thine which underlieth all things. For Thou didst cause me not to want more than Thou gavest, and those who nourished me willingly to give me what Thou gavest them. For they, by an instinctive affection, were anxious to give me what Thou hadst abundantly supplied. It was, in truth, good for them that my good should come from them, though, indeed, it was not from them, but by them; for from Thee, God, are all good things, and from my God is all my safety. 1 This is what I have since discovered, as Thou hast declared Thyself to me by the blessings both within me and without me which Thou hast bestowed upon me. For at that time I knew how to suck, to be satisfied when comfortable, and to cry when in pain nothing beyond.

8. Afterwards I began to laugh, at first in sleep, then when waking. For this I have heard mentioned of myself, and I believe it (though I cannot remember it), for we see the same in other infants. And now little by little I realized where I was, and wished to tell my wishes to those who might satisfy them, but I could not; for my wants were within me, while they were without, and could not by any faculty of theirs enter into my soul. So I cast about limbs and voice, making the few and feeble signs I could, like, though indeed not much like, unto what I wished; and when I was not satisfied either not being understood, or because it would have been injurious to me I grew indignant that my elders were not subject unto me, and that those on whom I had no claim did not wait on me, and avenged myself on them by tears. That infants are such I have been able to learn by watching them; and they, though unknowing, have better shown me that I was such an one than my nurses who knew it.

9. And, behold, my infancy died long ago, and I live. But Thou, O Lord, who ever livest, and in whom nothing dies (since before the world was, and indeed before all that can be called "before," Thou existest, and art the God and Lord of all Thy creatures; and with Thee fixedly abide the causes of all unstable things, the unchanging sources of all things changeable, and the eternal reasons of all things unreasoning and temporal), tell me, Thy suppliant, O God; tell, merciful One, Thy miserable servant I tell me whether my infancy succeeded

1 Prov. xxi. 31.
another age of mine which had at that time perished. Was it that which I passed in my
mother's womb? For of that something has been made known to me, and I have myself
seen women with child. And what, O
God, my joy, preceded that life? Was I, indeed, anywhere, or anybody? For no one can
tell me these things, neither father nor mother, nor the experience of others, nor my own
memory. Dost Thou laugh at me for asking such things, and command me to praise and
confess Thee for what I know?

10. I give thanks to Thee, Lord of heaven and earth, giving praise to Thee for that my
first being and infancy, of which I
have no memory; for Thou hast granted to man that from others he should come to
conclusions as to himself, and that he should believe many things concerning himself on
the authority of feeble women. Even then I had life and being; and as my infancy closed I
was already seeking for signs by which my feelings might be made known to others.
Whence could such a creature come but from Thee, Lord? Or shall any man be skilful
enough to fashion himself? Or is there any other vein by which being and life runs into
us save this, that "Thou, Lord, hast made us," 2 with whom being and life are one,
because Thou Thyself art being and life in the highest? Thou art the highest, "Thou
changest not," 3

neither in Thee doth this present day come to an end, though

1 "Mercy," says Binning, "hath but its name from misery, and is no other thing than to
lay another's misery to heart."

2 Ps. c. 3. 3 Mai. iii. 6.

8 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK I.]

it doth end in Thee, since in Thee all such things are; for they would have no way of
passing away unless Thou sustendest them. And since "Thy years shall have no end," 1
Thy years are an ever present day. And how many of ours and our fathers' days have
passed through this Thy day, and received from it their measure and fashion of being, and
others yet to come shall so receive and pass away! "But Thou art the same; " 2 and all
the things of to-morrow and the days yet to come, and all of yesterday and the days that
are past, Thou wilt do to-day, Thou hast done to-day. What is it to me if any understand
not? Let him still rejoice and say,
"What is this?" 3 Let him rejoice even so, and rather love to discover in failing to
discover, than in discovering not to discover Thee.

Chap. vii. He shows by examples that even infancy is prone to sin.

11. Hearken, God! Alas for the sins of men! Man saith this, and Thou dost
compassionate him; for Thou didst create him, but didst not create the sin that is in him.
Who bringeth to my remembrance the sin of my infancy? For before Thee none is free
from sin, not even the infant which has lived but) a day upon the earth. Who bringeth this to my remembrance? Doth not each little one, in whom I behold that which I do not remember of myself? In what, then, did I sin? Is it that I cried for the breast?
If I should now so cry, not indeed for the breast, but for the food suitable to my years, I should be most justly

1 Ps. cii. 27. 2 Ibid.

3 Ex. xvi. 15. This is one of the alternative translations put against "it is manna" in the margin of the authorized version. It is the literal significance of the Hebrew, and is so translated in most of the old English versions. Augustine indicates thereby the attitude of faith. Many things we are called on to believe (to use the illustration of Locke) which are above reason, but none that are contrary to reason. We are but as children in relation to God, and may therefore only expect to know "parts of His ways." Even in the difficulties of Scripture he sees the goodness of God. "God," he says, "has in Scripture clothed His mysteries with clouds, that man's love of truth might be inflamed by the difficulty of finding them out. For if they were only such as were readily understood, truth would not be eagerly sought, nor would it give pleasure when found." Be Ver. Relig. c. 17.

laughed at and rebuked. What I then did deserved rebuke; but as I could not understand those who rebuked me, neither custom nor reason suffered me to be rebuked. For as we grow we root out and cast from us such habits. I have not seen any one who is wise, when "purging" * anything cast away the good. Or was it good, even for a time, to strive to get by crying that which, if given, would be hurtful to be bitterly indignant that those who were free and its elders, and those to whom it owed its being, besides many others wiser than it, who would not give way to the nod of its good pleasure, were not subject unto it to endeavour to harm, by struggling as much as it could, because those commands were not obeyed which only could have been obeyed to its hurt? Then, in the weakness of the infant's limbs, and not in its will, lies its innocency. I myself have seen and known an infant to be jealous though it could not speak. It became pale, and cast bitter looks on its foster-brother. Who is ignorant of this? Mothers and nurses tell us that they appease these things by I know not what remedies; and may this be taken for innocence, that when the fountain of milk is flowing fresh and abundant, one who has need should not be allowed to share it, though needing that nourishment to sustain life? Yet we look leniently on these things, not because they are not faults, nor because the faults are small, but because they will vanish as age increases. For although you may allow these things now, you could not bear them with equanimity if found in an older person.

12. Thou, therefore, Lord my God, who gavest life to the infant, and a frame which, as we see, Thou hast endowed with senses, compacted with limbs, beautified with form,
and, for its general good and safety, hast introduced all vital energies Thou commandest me to praise Thee for these things, "to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praise unto Thy name, Most High;" 2 for Thou art a God omnipotent and good, though Thou hadst done nought but these things, which none other can do but Thou, who alone madest all things, Thou most fair, who madest all things fair, and

1 John xv. 2. * Ps. xcii. 1.

10 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK I.]

orderest all according to Thy law. This period, then, of my life, Lord, of which I have no remembrance, which I believe on the word of others, and which I guess from other infants, it chagrins me -true though the guess be to reckon in this life of mine which I lead in this world; inasmuch as, in the darkness of my forgetfulness, it is like to that which I passed in my mother's womb. But if "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me," I where, I pray thee, my God, where, Lord, or when was I, Thy servant, innocent? But behold, I pass by that time, for what have I to do with that, the memories of which I cannot recall?

Chap. viii. That when a boy he learned to speak, not by any set method, but from the acts and words of his parents.

13. Did I not, then, growing out of the state of infancy, come to boyhood, or rather did it not come to me, and succeed to infancy? Nor did my infancy depart (for whither went it ?); and yet it did no longer abide, for I was no longer an infant that could not speak, but a chattering boy. I remember this, and I afterwards observed how I first learned to speak, for my elders did not teach me words in any set method, as they did letters afterwards; but I myself, when I was unable to say all I wished and to whomsoever I desired, by means of the whimperings and broken utterances and various motions of my limbs, which I used to enforce my wishes, repeated the sounds in my memory by the mind, O my God, which Thou gavest me. When they called anything by name, and moved the body towards it while they spoke, I saw and gathered that the thing they wished to point out was called by the name they then uttered; and that they did mean this was made plain by the motion of the body, even by the natural language of all nations expressed by the countenance, glance of the eye, movement of other members, and by the sound of the voice indicating the affections of the mind, as it seeks, possesses, rejects, or avoids. So it was that by frequently hearing affections, in duly placed sentences, I gradually gathered what things they were the signs of; and

1 Ps. li. 5.
having formed my mouth to the utterance of these signs, I thereby expressed my will. Thus I exchanged with those about me the signs by which we express our wishes, and advanced deeper into the stormy fellowship of human life, depending the while on the authority of parents, and the beck of elders.

Chap. ix. Concerning the hatred of learning, the love of play, and the fear of being whipped noticeable in boys: and of the folly of our elders and masters,

14. my God! what miseries and mockeries did I then experience, when obedience to my teachers was set before me as proper to my boyhood, that I might flourish in this world, and distinguish myself in the science of speech, which should get me honour amongst men, and deceitful riches! After that I was put to school to get learning, of which I (worthless as I was) knew not what use there was; and yet, if slow to learn, I was flogged! For this was deemed praiseworthy by our forefathers; and many before us, passing the same course, had appointed beforehand for us these troublesome ways by which we were compelled to pass, multiplying labour and sorrow upon the sons of Adam. But we found, Lord, men praying to Thee, and we learned from them to conceive of Thee, according to our ability, to be some Great One, who was able (though not visible to our senses) to hear and help us.

For as a boy I began to pray to Thee, my "help" and my "refuge," and in invoking Thee broke the bands of my tongue, and entreated Thee though little, with no little earnestness, that I might not be beaten at school. And when Thou heardedst me not, giving me not over to folly thereby, my elders, yea, and my own parents too, who wished me no ill, laughed at my stripes, my then great and grievous ill

15. Is there any one, Lord, with so high a spirit, cleaving to Thee with so strong an affection for even a kind of obtuseness may do that much but is there, I say, any one who, by cleaving devoutly to Thee, is endowed with so

1 See some interesting remarks on this subject in Whately's Logic, Int. sec. 5.

2 Ps. ix. 9, and xlvi. 1, and xlviii. 3. * Ps. xxii. 2, Vulg.
great a courage that he can esteem lightly those racks and hooks, and varied tortures of the same sort, against which, throughout the whole world, men supplicate Thee with great fear, deriding those who most bitterly fear them, just as our parents derided the torments with which our masters punished us when we were boys? For we were no less afraid of our pains, nor did we pray less to Thee to avoid them; and yet we sinned, in writing, or reading, or reflecting upon our lessons less than was required of us. For we wanted not, Lord, memory or capacity, of which, by Thy will, we possessed enough for our age, but we delighted only in play; and we were punished for this by those who were doing the same things themselves. But the idleness of our elders they call business, whilst boys who do the like are punished by those same elders, and yet neither boys nor men find any pity. For will any one of good sense approve of my being whipped because, as a boy, I played ball, and so was hindered from learning quickly those lessons by means of which, as a man, I should play more unbecomingly? And did he by whom I was beaten do other than this, who, when he was overcome in any little controversy with a co-tutor, was more tormented by anger and envy than I when beaten by a playfellow in a match at ball?

Chap. x. Through a love of ball-playing and shows, he neglects his studies and the injunctions of his parents.

16. And yet I erred, Lord God, the Creator and Disposer of all things in Nature, but of sin the Disposer only, I erred, Lord my God, in doing contrary to the wishes of my parents and of those masters; for this learning which they (no matter for what motive) wished me to acquire, I might have put to good account afterwards. For I disobeyed them not because I had chosen a better way, but from a fondness for play, loving the honour of victory in the matches, and to have my ears tickled with lying fables, in order that they might itch the more furiously the same curiosity beaming more and more in my eyes for the shows and sports of my elders. Yet those who give these entertainments are held in

CHAP. XI.] ON THE POINT OF DEATH HE ASKS BAPTISM. 13

such high repute, that almost all desire the same for their children, whom they are still willing should be beaten, if so be these same games keep them from the studies by which they desire them to arrive at being the givers of them. Look down upon these things, Lord, with compassion, and deliver us who now call upon Thee; deliver those also who do not call upon Thee, that they may call upon Thee, and that Thou mayest deliver them.

Chap. xi. Seized by disease, his mother being troubled, he earnestly demands baptism, which on recovery is postponed his father not as yet believing in Christ.
17. Even as a boy I had heard of eternal life promised to us through the humility of the Lord our God condescending to our pride, and I was signed with the sign of the cross, and was seasoned with His salt 1 even from the womb of my mother, who greatly trusted in Thee. Thou sawest, O Lord, how at one time, while yet a boy, being suddenly seized with pains in the stomach, and being at the point of death Thou sawest, my God, for even then Thou wast my keeper, with what emotion of mind and with what faith I solicited from the piety of my mother, and of Thy Church, the mother of us all, the baptism of Thy Christ, my Lord and my God. On which, the mother of my flesh being much troubled, since she, with a heart pure in Thy faith, travailed in birth 2 more lovingly for my eternal salvation, would, had I not quickly recovered, have without delay provided for my initiation and washing by Thy life-giving sacraments, confessing Thee, Lord Jesus, for the remission of sins. So my cleansing was deferred, as if I must needs, should I live, be further polluted; because, indeed, the guilt contracted by sin would, after baptism, be greater and more perilous. 3 Thus I at that

1 "A rite in the "Western churches, on admission as a catechumen, previous to baptism, denoting the purity and uncorruptedness and discretion required of Christians. See S. Aug. De Catechiz. rudib. c. 26; Concil. Carth. 3, can. 5; and Liturgies in Assem. Cod. Liturg. t. i." E. B. P. See also vi. 1, note, below.

2 Gal. iv. 19.

3 Baptism was in those days frequently (and for similar reasons to the above) postponed till the hour of death approached. The doctors of the Church endeavoured to discourage this, and persons baptized on a sick-bed ("clinically")

18. I beseech Thee, my God, I would gladly know, if it be Thy will, to what end my baptism was then deferred ?

Was it for my good that the reins were slackened, as it were, upon me for me to sin ? Or were they not slackened ? If
not, whence comes it that it is still dinned into our ears on all sides, "Let him alone, let him act as he likes, for he is not yet baptized"? But as regards bodily health, no one exclaims, "Let him be more seriously wounded, for he is not yet cured!" How much better, then, had it been for me to have been cured at once; and then, by my own and my friends' diligence, my soul's restored health had been kept safe in Thy keeping, who gavest it! Better, in truth. But how numerous and great waves of temptation appeared to hang over me after my childhood! These were foreseen by my mother; and she preferred that the unformed clay should be exposed to them rather than the image itself.

Chap. xii. Being compelled, he gave his attention to learning; but fully acknowledges that this was the work of God.

19. But in this my childhood (which was far less dreaded for me than youth) I had no love of learning, and hated to be forced to it, yet was I forced to it notwithstanding; and this was well done towards me, but I did not well, for I would not have learned had I not been compelled. For no man were, if they recovered, looked on with suspicion. The Emperor Constantine was not baptized till the close of his life, and he is censured by Dr. Newman (Arians, iii. sec. 1) for presuming to speak of questions which divided the Arians and the Orthodox as "unimportant," while he himself was both unbaptized and uninstructed. On the postponing of baptism with a view to unrestrained enjoyment of the world, and on the severity of the early Church towards sins committed after baptism, see Kaye's lertullian, pp. 234-241.

CHAP. XIII.] HE HATES STUDY. 15

doeth well against his will, even if that which he doth be well.
Neither did they who forced me do well, but the good that was done to me came from Thee, my God. For they considered not in what way I should employ what they forced me to learn, unless to satisfy the inordinate desires of a rich beggary and a shameful glory. But Thou, by whom the very hairs of our heads are numbered, didst use for my good the error of all who pressed me to learn; and my own error in willing not to learn, didst Thou make use of for my punishment of which I, being so small a boy and so great a sinner, was not unworthy. Thus by the instrumentality of those who did not well didst Thou well for me; and by my own sin didst Thou justly punish me. For it is even as Thou hast appointed, that every inordinate affection should bring its own punishment. 2

Chap. xiii. He delighted in Latin studies and the empty fables of the poets, but hated the elements of literature and the Greek language.

20. But what was the cause of my dislike of Greek literature, which I studied from my boyhood, I cannot even now understand. For the Latin I loved exceedingly not what our first masters, but what the grammarians teach; for those primary lessons of reading, writing, and ciphering, I considered no less of a burden and a punishment than Greek. Yet whence was this unless from the sin and vanity of this life? for I was " but flesh, a wind that passeth away and cometh not again." 3 For those primary lessons were better, assuredly, because more certain; seeing that by their agency I acquired, and still retain, the power of reading what I find written, and writing myself what I will; whilst in the others I was compelled to learn about the wanderings of a certain iEneas, oblivious of my own, and to weep for Dido dead, because she slew herself for love; while at the same time I brooked with dry eyes my wretched self dying far from Thee, in the midst of those things, God, my life.

21. For what can be more wretched than the wretch who pities not himself shedding tears over the death of Dido for love of iEneas, but shedding no tears over his own death in not loving Thee, O God, light of my heart, and bread of the inner mouth of my soul, and the power that weddest my mind with my innermost thoughts? I did not love Thee, and committed fornication against Thee; and those around me thus sinning cried, " Well done! Well done! " For the friendship of this world is fornication against Thee; *
and "Well done! Well done!" is cried until one feels ashamed not to be such a man. And for this I shed no tears, though I wept for Dido, who sought death at the sword's point, myself the while seeking the lowest of Thy creatures having forsaken Thee earth tending to the earth; and if forbidden to read these things, how grieved would I feel that I was not permitted to read what grieved me. This sort of madness is considered a more honourable and more fruitful learning than that by which I learned to read and write.

22. But now, my God, cry unto my soul; and let Thy Truth say unto me, "It is not so, it is not so; better much was that first teaching." For behold, I would rather forget the wanderings of iEneas, and all such things, than how to write and read. But it is true that over the entrance of the grammar school there hangs a vail; but this is not so much a sign of the majesty of the mystery, as of a covering for error. Let not them exclaim against me of whom I am no longer in fear, whilst I confess to Thee, my God, that which my soul desires, and acquiesce in reprehending my evil ways, that I may love Thy good ways. Neither let those cry out against me who buy or sell grammar-learning. For if I ask them whether it be true, as the poet says, that iEneas once came to Carthage, the unlearned will reply that they do not know, the learned will deny it to be true. But if I ask with what letters the name ^Eneas is written, all who have

1 Jas. iv. 4. 2 Mnekl, vi. 457.

3 "The 'vail' was an emblem of honour, used in places of worship, and subsequently in courts of law, emperors' palaces, and even private houses. See Du Fresne and Hoffman sub v. That between the vestibule, or proscholium, and the school itself, besides being a mark of dignity, may, as St. Augustine perhaps implies, have been intended to denote the hidden mysteries taught therein, and that the mass of mankind were not fit hearers of truth. " E. B. P.

CHAP. XIV.] WHY HE DISLIKED GREEK. 17

learnt this will answer truly, in accordance with the conventional understanding men have arrived at as to these signs. Again, if I should ask which, if forgotten, would cause the greatest inconvenience in our life, reading and writing, or these poetical fictions, who does not see what every one would answer who had not entirely forgotten himself? I erred, then, when as a boy I preferred those vain studies to those more profitable ones, or rather loved the one and hated the other. "One and one are two, two and two are four," this was then in truth a hateful song to me; while the wooden horse full of armed men, and the burning of Troy, and the "spectral image" of Creusa * were a most pleasant spectacle of vanity.

Chap. xiv. Why he despised Greek literature, and easily learned Latin.
23. But why, then, did I dislike Greek learning, which was full of like tales? For Homer also was skilled in inventing similar stories, and is most sweetly vain, yet was he disagreeable to me as a boy. I believe Virgil, indeed, would be the same to Grecian children, if compelled to learn him, as I was Homer. The difficulty, in truth, the difficulty of learning a foreign language mingled as it were with gall all the sweetness of those fabulous Grecian stories. For not a single word of it did I understand, and to make me do so, they vehemently urged me with cruel threatenings and punishments. There was a time also when (as an infant) I knew no Latin; but this I acquired without any fear or tormenting, by merely taking notice, amid the blandishments of my nurses, the jests of those who smiled

1 Mneid, ii. 772.

2 Exaggerated statements have been made as to Augustine's deficiency in the knowledge of Greek. In this place it is clear that he simply alludes to a repugnance to learn a foreign language that has often been seen in boys since his day. It would seem equally clear from Bk. vii. sec. 13 (see also De Trin. iii. sec. 1), that when he could get a translation of a Greek book, he preferred it to one in the original language. Perhaps in this, again, he is not altogether singular. It is difficult to decide the exact extent of his knowledge, but those familiar with his writings can scarcely fail to be satisfied that he had a sufficient acquaintance with the language to correct his Italic version by the Greek Testament and the LXX., and that he was quite alive to the importance of such knowledge in an interpreter of Scripture. See also Con. Faust, xi. 2-4; and De Doctr. Clvrist. ii. 11-15.

CON. B

18 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK I.]

on me, and the sportiveness of those who toyed with me. I learnt all this, indeed, without being urged by any pressure of punishment, for my own heart urged me to bring forth its own conceptions, which I could not do unless by learning words, not of those who taught me, but of those who talked to me; into whose ears, also, I brought forth whatever I discerned. From this it is sufficiently clear that a free curiosity hath more influence in our learning these things than a necessity full of fear. But this last restrains the overflowings of that freedom, through Thy laws, God, -Thy laws, from the ferule of the schoolmaster to the trials of the martyr, being effective to mingle for us a salutary bitter, calling us back to Thyself from the pernicious delights which allure us from Thee.

Cuap. XV. He entreats God, that whatever useful things he learned as a boy may be dedicated to Him.
24. Hear my prayer, Lord; let not my soul faint under Thy discipline, nor let me faint in confessing unto Thee Thy mercies, whereby Thou hast saved me from all my most mischievous ways, that Thou mightest become sweet to me beyond all the seductions which I used to follow; and that I may love Thee entirely, and grasp Thy hand with my whole heart, and that Thou mayest deliver me from every temptation, even unto the end. For lo, Lord, my King and my God, for Thy service be whatever useful thing I learnt as a boy for Thy service what I speak, and write, and count. For when I learned vain things, Thou didst grant me Thy discipline; and my sin in taking delight in those vanities, Thou hast forgiven me. I learned, indeed, in them many useful words; but these may be learned in things not vain, and that is the safe way for youths to walk in.

Chap. XVI. He disapproves of the mode of educating youth, and he points out why wickedness is attributed to the gods by the poets.

25. But woe unto thee, thou stream of human custom! Who shall stay thy course? How long shall it be before thou art dried up? How long wilt thou carry down the sons of Eve into that huge and formidable ocean, which even they who are embarked on the cross (lignum) can scarce pass over? I Do I not read in thee of Jove the thunderer and adulterer? And the two verily he could not be; but it was that, while the fictitious thunder served as a cloak, he might have warrant to imitate real adultery. Yet which of our gowned masters can lend a temperate ear to a man of his school who cries out and says: "These were Homer's fictions; he transfers things human to the gods. I could have wished him to transfer divine things to us." 2 But it would have been more true had he said: "These are, indeed, his fictions, but he attributed divine attributes to sinful men, that crimes might not be accounted crimes, and that whosoever committed any might appear to imitate the celestial gods and not abandoned men."

26. And yet, thou stream of hell, into thee are cast the sons of men, with rewards for learning these things; and much is made of it when this is going on in the forum in the sight of laws which grant a salary over and above the rewards. And thou beatest against thy rocks and roarest, saying, "Hence words are learnt; hence eloquence is to be attained, most necessary to persuade people to your way of thinking, and to unfold your opinions." So, in truth, we should never have understood these words, "golden shower," "bosom," "intrigue,"
"highest heavens," and other words written in the same place, unless Terence had introduced a good-for-nothing youth upon the stage, setting up Jove as his example of lewdness:

"Viewing a picture, where the tale was drawn, Of Jove's descending in a golden shower To Danae's bosom... with a woman to intrigue."

And see how he excites himself to lust, as if by celestial authority, when he says:

"Great Jove, Who shakes the highest heavens with his thunder, And I, poor mortal man, not do the same! I did it, and with all my heart I did it." 3

1 So in Tract. II. on John, he has: "The sea has to be crossed, and dost thou despise the wood?" explaining it to mean the cross of Christ. And again:
*Thou art not at all able to walk in the sea, be carried by a ship be carried by the wood believe on the Crucified," etc.

* Cic. Tusc. i. 26. 3 Terence, Eunuch. Act 3, scene 6 (Colman).

20 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK I.]

Not one whit more easily are the words learnt for this vileness, but by their means is the vileness perpetrated with more confidence. I do not blame the words, they being, as it were, choice and precious vessels, but the wine of error which was drunk in them to us by inebriated teachers; and unless we drank, we were beaten, without liberty of appeal to any sober judge. And yet, my God, in whose presence I can now with security recall this, did I, unhappy one, learn these things willingly, and with delight, and for this was I called a boy of good promise. 1

Chap. xvii. He continues on the unhappy method of training youth in literary subjects.

2 7. Bear with me, my God, while I speak a little of those talents Thou hast bestowed upon me, and on what follies I wasted them. For a lesson sufficiently disquieting to my soul was given me, in hope of praise, and fear of shame or stripes, to speak the words of Juno, as she raged and sorrowed that
she could not

"Latium bar From all approaches of the Dardan king," a

which I had heard Juno never uttered. Yet were we compelled to stray in the footsteps of these poetic fictions, and to turn that into prose which the poet had said in verse. And his speaking was most applauded in whom, according to the reputation of the persons delineated, the passions of anger and sorrow were most strikingly reproduced, and clothed in the most suitable language. But what is it to me, my true Life, my God, that my declaiming was applauded above that of many who were my contemporaries and fellow-students?

Behold, is not all this smoke and wind? Was there nothing else, too, on which I could exercise my wit and tongue?

Thy praise, Lord, Thy praises might have supported the tendrils of my heart by Thy Scriptures; so had it not been dragged away by these empty trifles, a shameful prey of 3

1 Until very recently, the Eunuchus was recited at "the play" of at least one of our public schools. See De Civ. Dei, ii. see. 7, 8, where Augustine again alludes to this matter.

9 Mneid, i. 36-75 (Kennedy). 8 See note on v. 4, below.

CHAP. XVIII.] THE VANITY OF LEARNING. 21

fowls of the air. For there is more than one way in which men sacrifice to the fallen angels.

Chap, xviii. Men desire to observe the rules of learning, but neglect the eternal rules of everlasting safety.

28. But what matter of surprise is it that I was thus carried towards vanity, and went forth from Thee, my God, when men were proposed to me to imitate, who, should they in relating any acts of theirs not in themselves evil be guilty of a barbarism or solecism, when censured for it became confounded; but when they made a full and ornate oration, in well-chosen words, concerning their own licentiousness, and were applauded for it, they boasted? Thou seest this, Lord, and keepest silence, "long-suffering, and plenteous in mercy and truth," 1 as Thou art. Wilt Thou keep silence for ever? And even now Thou drawest out of this vast deep the soul that seeketh Thee and thirsteth after Thy delights, whose "heart said unto Thee," I have sought Thy face, "Thy face, Lord, will I seek." 2

For I was far from Thy face, through my darkened 3 affections. For it is not by our feet, nor by change of place, that we either turn from Thee or return to Thee. Or, indeed, did that younger son look out for horses, or chariots, or ships, or fly away with visible wings, or journey by the motion of his limbs, that he might, in a far country, prodigally waste all that Thou gavest him when he set out? A kind Father when Thou gavest, and kinder still
when he returned destitute! So, then, in wanton, that is to say, in darkened affections, lies distance from Thy face.

29. Behold, O Lord God, and behold patiently, as Thou art wont to do, how diligently the sons of men observe the conventional rules of letters and syllables, received from those who spoke prior to them, and yet neglect the eternal rules of everlasting salvation received from Thee, insomuch that he who practises or teaches the hereditary rules of pronunciation, if, contrary to grammatical usage, he should say, without aspirating the first letter, a human being, will offend men more than if, in opposition to Thy commandments, he, a human

1 Ps. lxxxvi. 15. Ps. xxvii. 8. 3 Rom. i. 21. * Luke xv. 11-32.

22 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK I

being, were to hate a human being. As if, indeed, any man should feel that an enemy could be more destructive to him than that hatred with which he is excited against him, or that he could destroy more utterly him whom he persecutes than he destroys his own soul by his enmity. And of a truth, there is no science of letters more innate than the writing of conscience that he is doing unto another what he himself would not suffer. How mysterious art Thou, who in silence "dwellest on high," * Thou God, the only great, who by an unwearied law deallest out the punishment of blindness to illicit desires! When a man seeking for the reputation of eloquence stands before a human judge while a thronging multitude surrounds him, inveighs against his enemy with the most fierce hatred, he takes most vigilant heed that his tongue slips not into grammatical error, but takes no heed lest through the fury of his spirit he cut off a man from his fellow-men. 2

30. These were the customs in the midst of which I, unhappy boy, was cast, and on that arena it was that I was more fearful of perpetrating a barbarism than, having done so, of envying those who had not. These things I declare and confess unto Thee, my God, for which I was applauded by them whom I then thought it my whole duty to please, for I did not perceive the gulf of infamy wherein I was cast away from Thine eyes. 3 For in Thine eyes what was more infamous than I was already, displeasing even those like myself, deceiving innumerable lies both tutor, and masters, and parents, from love of play, a desire to see frivolous spectacles, and a stage-struck restlessness, to imitate them? Pilferings I committed from my parents' cellar and table, either enslaved by gluttony, or that I might have something to give to boys who sold me their play, who, though they sold it, liked it as well as I. In this play, likewise, I often sought dishonest victories, I myself being conquered by the vain desire of pre-eminence.

1 Isa. xxxiii. 5.

2 Literally, "takes care not by a slip of the tongue to say inter hominibus, but takes no care lest hominem auferat ex hominibus."
And what could I so little endure, or, if I detected it, censured I so violently, &s the very things I did to others, and, when myself detected I was censured, preferred rather to quarrel than to yield ? Is this the innocence of childhood ? Nay, Lord, nay, Lord; I entreat Thy mercy, my God. For these same sins, as we grow older, are transferred from governors and masters, from nuts, and balls, and sparrows, to magistrates and kings, to gold, and lands, and slaves, just as the rod is succeeded by more severe chastisements. It was, then, the stature of childhood that Thou, O our King, didst approve of as an emblem of humility when Thou saidst: " Of such is the kingdom of heaven." 1

31. But yet, Lord, to Thee, most excellent and most good, Thou Architect and Governor of the universe, thanks had been due unto Thee, our God, even hadst Thou willed that I should not survive my boyhood. For I existed even then; I lived, and felt, and was solicitous about my own well-being, a trace of that most mysterious unity * from whence I had my being; I kept watch by my inner sense over the wholeness of my senses, and in these insignificant pursuits, and also in my thoughts on things insignificant, I learnt to take pleasure in truth. I was averse to being deceived, I had a vigorous memory, was provided with the power of speech, was softened by friendship, shunned sorrow, meanness, ignorance. In such a being what was not wonderful and praiseworthy ? But all these are gifts of my God; I did not give them to myself; and they are good, and all these constitute myself. Good, then, is He that made me, and He is my God; and before Him will I rejoice exceedingly for every good gift which, as a boy, I had. For in this lay my sin, that not in Him, but in His creatures myself and the rest I sought for pleasures,

1 Matt. xix. 14. See i. sec. 11, note 8, above.

2 "To lie is no other than to be one. In as far, therefore, as anything attains unity, in so far it 'is.' For unity worketh congruity and harmony, whereby things composite are in so far as they are; for things uncompounded are in them, selves, because they are one; but things compounded imitate unity by the harmony of their parts, and, so far as they attain to unity, they are. Wherefore order and rule secure being, disorder tends to not being." Aug. De Jlorib.
Munich, c. tf.
Thou them to me. For thus wilt Thou preserve me; and those things which Thou hast given me shall be developed and perfected, and I myself shall be with Thee, for from Thee is my being.

CHAP. I.] THE WICKEDNESS OF HIS YOUTH. 25

BOOK SECOND.

HE ADVANCES TO PUBERTY, AND INDEED TO THE EARLY PART OP THE SIXTEENTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, IN WHICH, HAVING ABANDONED HIS STUDIES, HE IN-DULGED IN LUSTFUL PLEASURES, AND, WITH HIS COMPANIONS, COMMITTED THEFT.

CHAP. i. He deprecates the wickedness of his youth.

1. T WILL now call to mind my past foulness, and the carnal corruptions of my soul, not because I love them, but that I may love Thee, my God. For love of Thy love do I it, recalling, in the very bitterness of my remembrance, my most vicious ways, that Thou mayest grow sweet to me, Thou sweetness without deception! Thou sweetness happy and assured! and re-collecting myself out of that my dissipation, in which I was torn to pieces, while, turned away from Thee the One, I lost myself among many vanities. For I even longed in my youth formerly to be satisfied with worldly things, and I dared to grow wild again with various and shadowy loves; my form consumed away, and I became corrupt in Thine eyes, pleasing myself, and eager to please in the eyes of men.

Chap. ii. Stricken with exceeding grief, he remembers the dissolute passions in which, in his sixteenth year, he used to indulge.

2. But what was it that I delighted in save to love and to be beloved? But I held it not in moderation, mind to mind, the bright path of friendship, but out of the dark concupiscence of the flesh and the effervescence of youth exhalations came forth which obscured and overcast my heart, so that I was unable to discern pure affection from unholy desire. Both boiled confusedly within me, and dragged away my unstable youth into the rough places of unchaste desires, and plunged me into a gulf of infamy. Thy anger had overshadowed me,

1 Ps. xxxix. 11.
and I knew it not. I was become deaf by the rattling of the chains of my mortality, the punishment for my soul's pride; and I wandered farther from Thee, and Thou didst " suffer " me; and I was tossed to and fro, and wasted, and poured out, and boiled over in my fornications, and Thou didst hold Thy peace, Thou my tardy joy! Thou then didst hold Thy peace, and I wandered still farther from Thee, into more and more barren seed-plots of sorrows, with proud dejection and restless lassitude.

3. Oh for one to have regulated my disorder, and turned to my profit the fleeting beauties of the things around me, and fixed a bound to their sweetness, so that the tides of my youth might have spent themselves upon the conjugal shore, if so be they could not be tranquillized and satisfied within the object of a family, as Thy law appoints, Lord, who thus formest the offspring of our death, being able also with a tender hand to blunt the thorns which were excluded from Thy paradise!

For Thy omnipotency is not far from us even when we are far from Thee, else in truth ought I more vigilantly to have given heed to the voice from the clouds: " Nevertheless, such shall have trouble in the flesh, but I spare you;" 2 and, " It is good for a man not to touch a woman;" 3 and, " He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife." 4

I should, therefore, have listened more attentively to these words, and, being severed ' for the kingdom of heaven's sake," 5 I would with greater happiness have expected Thy embraces.

4. But I, poor fool, seethed as does the sea, and, forsaking Thee, followed the violent course of my own stream, and exceeded all Thy limitations; nor did I escape Thy scourges. 6

For what mortal can do so? But Thou wert always by me, mercifully angry, and dashing with the bitterest vexations all my illicit pleasures, in order that I might seek pleasures free from vexation. But where I could meet with such except in Thee, Lord, I could not find, except in Thee, who teachest

1 Matt. xvii. 17. 2 1 Cor. vii. 28. 3 1 Cor. vii. 1.


CHAP. III.] HIS FATHER A FREEMAN OF THAGASTE. 27

by sorrow, 1 and wounding us to heal us, and killest us that we may not die from Thee. 2 Where was I, and how far was I exiled from the delights of Thy house, in that sixteenth year of the age of my flesh, when the madness of lust to the which human shamelessness
granteth full freedom, although forbidden by Thy laws held complete sway over me, and I resigned myself entirely to it? Those about me meanwhile took no care to save me from ruin by marriage, their sole care being that I should learn to make a powerful speech, and become a persuasive orator.

Chap. hi. Concerning his father, a freeman of Thagaste, the assistcr of his son's studies, and on the admonitions of his mother on the preservation of chastity.

5. And for that year my studies were intermitted, while after my return from Madaura 3 (a neighbouring city, whither I had begun to go in order to learn grammar and rhetoric), the expenses for a further residence at Carthage were provided for me; and that was rather by the determination than the means of my father, who was but a poor freeman of Thagaste.

To whom do I narrate this? Not unto Thee, my God; but before Thee unto my own kind, even to that small part of the human race who may chance to light upon these my writings.

And to what end? That I and all who read the same may reflect out of what depths we are to cry unto Thee. 4 For what cometh nearer to Thine ears than a confessing heart and a life of faith? For who did not extol and praise my father, in that he went even beyond his means to supply his son with all the necessaries for a far journey for the sake of his studies? For many far richer citizens did not the like for their children. But yet this same father did not trouble

1 Deut. xxxii. 39.

2 Ps. xciii. 20, Vulg. "Lit. 'Formest trouble in or as a precept.' Thou makest to us a precept out of trouble, so that trouble itself shall be a precept to us, i.e. hast willed so to discipline and instruct those Thy sons, that they should not be without fear, lest they should love something else, and forget Thee, their true good." S. Aug. ad loc. E. B. P.

3 "Formerly an episcopal city; now a small village. At this time the inhabitants were heathen. St. Augustine calls them 'his lathers,' i.e. a letter persuading them to embrace the gospel. Ep. 232." E. B. P.

4 Ps. cxxx. 1.

28 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK II.]

himself how I grew towards Thee, nor how chaste I was, so long as I was skilful in speaking however barren I was to Thy tilling, God, who art the sole true and good Lord of my heart, which is Thy field.

6. But while, in that sixteenth year of my age, I resided with my parents, having holiday from school for a time (this idleness being imposed upon me by my parents' necessitous
circumstances), the thorns of lust grew rank over my head, and there was no hand to pluck them out. Moreover when my father, seeing me at the baths, perceived that I was becoming a man, and was stirred with a restless youthfulness, he, as if from this anticipating future descendants, joyfully told it to my mother; rejoicing in that intoxication wherein the world so often forgets Thee, its Creator, and falls in love with Thy creature instead of Thee, from the invisible wine of its own perversity turning and bowing down to the most infamous things. But in my mother's breast Thou hadst even now begun Thy temple, and the commencement of Thy holy habitation, whereas my father was only a catechumen as yet, and that but recently. She then started up with a pious fear and trembling; and, although I had not yet been baptized, 1 she feared those crooked ways in which they walk who turn their back to Thee, and not their face. 2

7. Woe is me! and dare I affirm that Thou heldest Thy peace, my God, while I strayed farther from Thee? Didst Thou then hold Thy peace to me? And whose words were they but Thine which by my mother, Thy faithful handmaid, Thou pouredst into my ears, none of which sank into my heart to make me do it? For she desired, and I remember privately warned me, with great solicitude, "not to commit fornication; but above all things never to defile another man's wife." These appeared to me but womanish counsels, which I should blush to obey. But they were Thine, and I knew it not, and I thought that Thou heldest Thy peace, and that it was she who spoke, through whom Thou heldest not Thy peace to

1 Nondum fuleli, not having rehearsed the articles of the Christian faith at baptism. See i. sec. 17, note, above; and below, sec. 1, note.

2 Jer. ii. 27.

CHAP. III.] THE UNWISDOM OF HIS FATHER AND MOTHER. 29

me, and in her person wast despised by me, her son, "the son of Thy handmaid, Thy servant." 1 But this I knew not, and rushed on headlong with such blindness, that amongst my equals I was ashamed to be less shameless, when I heard them pluming themselves upon their disgraceful acts, yea, and glorying all the more in proportion to the greatness of their baseness; and I took pleasure -in doing it— not for the pleasure's sake only, but for the praise. What is worthy of dispraise but vice? But I made myself out worse than I was, in order that I might not be dispraised; and when in anything I had not sinned as the abandoned ones, I would affirm that I had done what I had not, that I might not appear abject for being more innocent, or of less esteem for being more chaste.

8. Behold with what companions I walked the streets of Babylon, in whose filth I was rolled, as if in cinnamon and precious ointments. And that I might cleave the more tenaciously to its very centre, my invisible enemy trod me down, and seduced me, I being easily seduced. Nor did the mother of my flesh, although she herself had ere this fled
"out of the midst of Babylon," 2 progressing, however, but slowly in the skirts of it, in counselling me to chastity, so bear in mind what she had been told about me by her husband as to restrain in the limits of conjugal affection (if it could not be cut away to the quick) what she knew to be destructive in the present and dangerous in the future. But she took no heed of this, for she was afraid lest a wife should prove a hindrance and a clog to my hopes. Not those hopes of the future world, which my mother had in Thee; but the hope of learning, which both my parents were too anxious that I should acquire, he, because he had little or no thought of Thee, and but vain thoughts for me she, because she calculated that those usual courses of learning would not only be no drawback, but rather a furtherance towards my attaining Thee. For thus I conjecture, recalling as well as I can the dispositions of my parents. The reins, meantime, were slackened towards me beyond the restraint of due severity, that I might play, yea, even to dissoluteness, in whatsoever I fancied. And in all there was a mist, shutting out from my sight the brightness of Thy truth, my God; and my iniquity displayed itself as from very "fatness." x

30 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK II.]

fancied. And in all there was a mist, shutting out from my sight the brightness of Thy truth, my God; and my iniquity displayed itself as from very "fatness." x

Chap. iv. He commits theft with his companions, not urged on by poverty, but from a certain distaste for well-doing.

9 Theft is punished by Thy law, Lord, and by the law written in men's hearts, which itself cannot blot out. For what thief will suffer a thief? Even a rich thief will not suffer him who is driven to it by want. Yet had I a desire to commit robbery, and did so, compelled neither by hunger, nor poverty, but through a distaste for well-doing, and a lustiness of iniquity. For I pilfered that of which I had already sufficient, and much better. Nor did I desire to enjoy what I pilfered, but the theft and sin itself. There was a pear-tree close to our vineyard, heavily laden with fruit, which was tempting neither for its colour nor its flavour. To shake and rob this some of us wanton young fellows went, late one night (having, according to our disgraceful habit, prolonged our games in the streets until then), and carried away great loads, not to eat ourselves, but to fling to the very swine, having only eaten some of them; and to do this pleased us all the more because it was not permitted. Behold my heart, my God; behold my heart, which Thou hadst pity upon when in the bottomless pit. Behold, now, let my heart tell Thee what it was seeking there, that I should be gratuitously wanton, having no inducement to evil but the evil itself. It was foul, and I loved it. I loved to perish. I loved my own error not that for which I erred, but the error itself. Base soul, falling from Thy firmament to utter destruction not seeking aught through the shame but the shame itself!
Chap. v. Concerning the motives to sin, which are not in the love of evil, but in the desire of obtaining the property of others.

10. There is a desirableness in all beautiful bodies, and in gold, and silver, and all things; and in bodily contact sympathy is powerful, and each other sense hath his proper adaptation of body. Worldly honour hath also its glory, and

1 Ps. lxiii. 7.

CHAP. V. OUR MOTIVES TO SIN. Si

the power of command, and of overcoming; whence proceeds also the desire for revenge. And yet to acquire all these, we must not depart from Thee, Lord, nor deviate from Thy law.
The life which we live here hath also its peculiar attractiveness, through a certain measure of comeliness of its own, and harmony with all things here below. The friendships of men also are endeared by a sweet bond, in the oneness of many souls. On account of all these, and such as these, is sin committed; while through an inordinate preference for these goods of a lower kind, the better and higher are neglected, even Thou, our Lord God, Thy truth, and Thy law. For these meaner things have their delights, but not like unto my God, ytfio- hath created all things; for in Him doth the righteous deliffrftl mid^e is'Xhv sweetness of the upright in heart. 1

'Il: When, therefore, we inquire why a crime was committed, we do not believe it, unless it appear that there might have been the wish to obtain some of those which we designated meaner things, or else a fear of losing them. For truly they are beautiful and comely, although in comparison with those higher and celestial goods they be abject and contemptible. A man hath murdered another; what was his motive? He desired his wife or his estate; or would steal to support himself; or he was afraid of losing something of the kind by him; or, being injured, he was burning to be revenged. "Would he commit murder without a motive, taking delight simply in the act of murder? Who would credit it?"

For as for that savage and brutal man, of whom it is declared that he was gratuitously wicked and cruel, there is yet a motive assigned. "Lest through idleness," he says, "hand or heart should grow inactive." 2 And to what purpose? Why, even that, having once got possession of the city through that practice of wickedness, he might attain unto honours, empire, and wealth, and be exempt from the fear of the laws, and his difficult circumstances from the needs of his family, and the consciousness of his own wickedness. So it seems that even Catiline himself loved not his own villainies, but something else, which gave him the motive for committing them.

1 Ps. lxiv. 10. * Sallust, Be Bella CatU. c. 9.
32 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK II.]

Chap. vi. Why he delighted in that theft, when all things which under the appearance of good invite to vice are true and perfect in God alone.

12. What was it, then, that I, miserable one, so doted on in thee, thou theft of mine, thou deed of darkness, in that sixteenth year of my age? Beautiful thou wert not, since thou wert theft. But art thou anything, that so I may argue the case with thee? Those pears that we stole were fair to the sight, because they were Thy creation, Thou fairest 1 of all, Creator of all, Thou good God, the highest good, and my true good. Those pears truly were pleasant to the sight; but it was not for them that my miserable soul lusted, for I had abundance of better, but those I plucked simply that I might steal. For, having plucked them, I threw them away, my sole gratification in them being my own sin, which I was pleased to enjoy. For if any of these pears entered my mouth, the sweetener of it was my sin in eating it. And now, O Lord my God, I ask what it was in that theft of mine that caused me such delight; and behold it hath no beauty in it not such, I mean, as exists in justice and wisdom; nor such as is in the mind, memory, senses, and animal life of man; nor yet such as is the glory and beauty of the stars in their courses; or the earth, or the sea, teeming with incipient life, to replace, as it is born, that which decayeth; nor, indeed, that false and shadowy beauty which pertaineth to deceptive vices.

13. For thus doth pride imitate high estate, whereas Thou alone art God, high above all. And what does ambition seek but honours and renown, whereas Thou alone art to be honoured above all, and renowned for evermore? The cruelty of the powerful wishes to be feared; but who is to be feared but God only, 2 out of whose power what can be forced away or withdrawn when, or where, or whither, or by whom? The enticements of the wanton would fain be deemed love; and yet is naught more enticing than Thy charity, nor is aught loved more healthfully than that, Thy truth, bright and beautiful above all. Curiosity affects a desire for knowledge, "whereas it is Thou who supremely knowest all things. Yea,

1 Ps. xlv. 2. 8 Ps. Ixxvi. 7.

CHAP. VI.] JOY ONLY IN THE CREATOR. 33

ignorance and foolishness themselves are concealed under the names of ingenuousness and harmlessness, because nothing can be found more ingenuous than Thou; and what is more harmless, since it is a sinner's own works by which he is harmed? And sloth seems to long for rest; but what sure rest is there besides the Lord? Luxury would fain be called plenty and abundance; but Thou art the fulness and unfailing plenteousness of unfading joys. Prodigality presents a shadow of liberality; but Thou art the most lavish giver of all good. Covetousness desires to possess much; and Thou art the Possessor of all
things. Envy contends for excellence; but what so excellent as Thou? Anger seeks revenge; who avenges more justly than Thou? Fear starts at unwonted and sudden chances which threaten things beloved, and is wary for their security; but what can happen that is unwonted or sudden to Thee? or who can deprive Thee of what Thou lovest? or where is there unshaken security save with Thee? Grief languishes for things lost in which desire had delighted itself, even because it would have nothing taken from it, as nothing can be from Thee.

14. Thus doth the soul commit fornication when she turns away from Thee, and seeks without Thee what she cannot find pure and untainted until she returns to Thee. Thus all pervertedly imitate Thee who separate themselves far from Thee, and raise themselves up against Thee. But even by thus imitating Thee they acknowledge Thee to be the Creator of all nature, and so that there is no place whither they can altogether retire from Thee. 2 What, then, was it that I loved in that theft? And wherein did I, even corruptedly and pervertedly, imitate my Lord? Did I wish, if only by artifice, to act contrary to Thy law, because by power I could not, so that, being a captive, I might imitate an imperfect liberty by doing with impunity things which I was not allowed to do, in obscured likeness of Thy omnipotency? 3

1 Ps. vii. 15. a p g cxxx i x . 7 j 8<

3 "For even souls, in their very sins, strive after nothing else but some kind of likeness of God, in a proud and preposterous, and, so to say, slavish liberty. So neither could our first parents have been persuaded to sin unless it had been said, 'Ye shall be as gods.' " Aug. De Trin. xi. 5.

CON. q

34 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK II.]

Behold this servant of Thine, fleeing from his Lord, and following a shadow! O rottenness! monstrosity of life and profundity of death! Could I like that which was unlawful only because it was unlawful?

Chap. vii. He gives thanks to God for the remission of his sins, and remind* every one that the Supreme God may have preserved us from greater sins.

1 5. "What shall I render unto the Lord," 2 that whilst my memory recalls these things my soul is not appalled at them? I will love Thee, Lord, and thank Thee, and confess
unto Thy name, because Thou hast put away from me these so wicked and nefarious acts of mine.

To Thy grace I attribute it, and to Thy mercy, that Thou hast melted away my sin as it were ice. To Thy grace also I attribute whatsoever of evil I have not committed; for what might I not have committed, loving as I did the sin for the sin's sake? Yea, all I confess to have been pardoned me, both those which I committed by my own perverseness, and those which, by Thy guidance, I committed not. Where is he who, reflecting upon his own infirmity, dares to ascribe his chastity and innocency to his own strength, so that he should love Thee the less, as if he had been in less need of Thy mercy, whereby Thou dost forgive the transgressions of those that turn to Thee? For whosoever, called by Thee, obeyed Thy voice, and shunned those things which he reads me recalling and confessing of myself, let him not despise me, who, being sick, was healed by that same Physician by whose aid it was that he was not sick, or rather was less sick.

And for this let him love Thee as much, yea, all the more, since by whom he sees me to have been restored from so great a feebleness of sin, by Him he sees himself from a like feebleness to have been preserved.

Chap. viii. In his theft he loved the company of his fellow-sinnera.

16. " What fruit had I then," wretched one, in those things which, when I remember them, cause me shame above all in that theft, which I loved only for the theft's sake?

And

1 Jonah i. and iv. 2 Ps. cxvi. 12. * Rev. iii. 5.


CHAP. IX.] INFLUENCE OF BAD COMPANIONS. 35

as the theft itself was nothing, all the more wretched was I who loved it. Yet by myself alone I would not have done it I recall what my heart was alone I could not have done it. I loved, then, in it the companionship of my accomplices with whom I did it. I did not, therefore, love the theft alone yea, rather, it was that alone that I loved, for the companionship was nothing. What is the fact? Who is it that can teach me, but He who illuminateth mine heart and searcheth out the dark corners thereof? What is it that hath come into my mind to inquire about, to discuss, and to reflect upon? For had I at that time loved the pears I stole, and wished to enjoy them, I might have done so alone, if I could have been satisfied with the mere commission of the theft by which my pleasure was secured; nor needed I have provoked that itching of my own passions, by the encouragement of accomplices. But as my enjoyment was not in those pears, it was in the crime itself, which the company of my fellowsinners produced.
Chap. ix. It was a pleasure to him also to laugh when seriously deceiving others.

17. By what feelings, then, was I animated? For it was in truth too shameful; and woe was me who had it. But still what was it? "Who can understand his errors?"! We laughed, because our hearts were tickled at the thought of deceiving those who little imagined what we were doing, and would have vehemently disapproved of it. Yet, again, why did I so rejoice in this, that I did it not alone? Is it that no one readily laughs alone? No one does so readily; but yet sometimes, when men are alone by themselves, nobody being by, a fit of laughter overcomes them when anything very droll presents itself to their senses or mind. Yet alone I would not have done it alone I could not at all have done it. Behold, my God, the lively recollection of my soul is laid bare before Thee—alone I had not committed that theft, wherein what I stole pleased me not, but rather the act of stealing; nor to have done it alone would I have liked so well, neither would I have done it. O Friendship too un-

1 Pa. xix. 12.

36 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK II.]

friendly! thou mysterious seducer of the soul, thou greediness to do mischief out of mirth and wantonness, thou craving for others' loss, without desire for my own profit or revenge; but when they say, "Let us go, let us do it," we are ashamed not to be shameless.

Chap. x. With God there is true rest and life unchanging.

18. Who can unravel that twisted and tangled knottiness? It is foul. I hate to reflect on it. I hate to look on it. But thee do I long for, O righteousness and innocency, fair and comely to all virtuous eyes, and of a satisfaction that never palls! With thee is perfect rest, and life unchanging. He who enters into thee enters into the joy of his Lord, I and shall have no fear, and shall do excellently in the most Excellent. I sank away from Thee, my God, and I wandered too far from Thee, my stay, in my youth, and became to myself an unfruitful land.

1 Matt. xxv. 21.

CHAP. I.] HIS INSANE LOVE. 37
BOOK THIRD.

OF THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH, AND NINETEENTH YEARS OF HIS AGE, PASSED AT CARTHAGE, WHEN, HAVING COMPLETED HIS COURSE OF STUDIES, HE IS CAUGHT IN THE SNARES OF A LICENTIOUS PASSION, AND FALLS INTO THE ERRORS OF THE MANICH^ANS.

Chap. i. Deluded by an insane love, he, though foul and dishonourable, desires to be thought elegant and urbane.

1. r l 10 Carthage I came, where a cauldron of unholy loves
I bubbled up all around me. I loved not as yet, yet I loved to love; and, with a hidden want, I abhorred myself that I wanted not. I searched about for something to love, in love with loving, and hating security, and a way not beset with snares. For within me I had a dearth of that inward food, Thyself, my God, though that dearth caused me no hunger; but I remained without all desire for incorruptible food, not because I was already filled thereby, but the more empty I was the more I loathed it. For this reason my soul was far from well, and, full of ulcers, it miserably cast itself forth, craving to be excited by contact with objects of sense. Yet, had these no soul, they would not surely inspire love. To love and to be loved was sweet to me, and all the more when I succeeded in enjoying the person I loved. I befouled, therefore, the spring of friendship with the filth of concupiscence, and I dimmed its lustre with the hell of lustfulness; and yet, foul and dishonourable as I was, I craved, through an excess of vanity, to be thought elegant and urbane. I fell precipitately, then, into the love in which I longed to be ensnared. My God, my mercy, with how much bitterness didst Thou, out of Thy infinite goodness, besprinkle for me that sweetness! For I was both beloved, and secretly arrived at the bond of enjoying; and was joyfully bound with troublesome ties, that I might be scourged with the burning iron rods of jealousy, suspicion, fear, anger, and strife.

38 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III]

Chap. ii. In public spectacles he is moved by an empty compassion. He is attacked by a troublesome spiritual disease.

2. Stage-plays also drew me away, full of representations of my miseries and of fuel to my fire. 1 Why does man like to be made sad when viewing doleful and tragical scenes, which yet he himself would by no means suffer? And yet he wishes, as a spectator, to experience from them a sense of grief, and in this very grief his pleasure consists. What is this but wretched insanity? For a man is more affected with these actions, the less free he is from such affections. Howsoever, when he suffers in his own person, it is the custom to style it "misery;" but when he compassionates others, then it is styled
"mercy." 2 But what kind of mercy is it that arises from fictitious and scenic passions? The hearer is not expected to relieve, but merely invited to grieve; and the more he grieves, the more he applauds the actor of these fictions. And if the misfortunes of the characters (whether of olden times or merely imaginary) be so represented as not to touch the feelings of the spectator, he goes away disgusted and censorious; but if his feelings be touched, he sits it out attentively, and sheds tears of joy.

3. Are sorrows, then, also loved? Surely all men desire to rejoice? Or, as man wishes to be miserable, is he, nevertheless, glad to be merciful, which, because it cannot exist without passion, for this cause alone are passions loved? This also is from that vein of friendship. But whither does it go? Whither does it flow? Wherefore runs it into that torrent of pitch, 3 seething forth those huge tides of loathsome lusts into which it is changed and transformed, being of its own will cast away and corrupted from its celestial clearness? Shall, then, mercy be repudiated? By no means. Let us, therefore, love sorrows sometimes. But beware of uncleanness, my soul, under the protection of my God, the God of our fathers, who is to be praised and exalted above all for ever, 1 beware of uncleanness. For I have not now ceased to have compassion; but then in the theatres I sympathized with lovers when they sinfully enjoyed one another, although this was done fictitiously in the play. And when they lost one another, I grieved with them, as if pitying them, and yet had delight in both.

But now-a-days I feel much more pity for him that delighteth in his wickedness, than for him who is counted as enduring hardships by failing to obtain some pernicious pleasure, and the loss of some miserable felicity. This, surely, is the truer mercy, but grief hath no delight in it. For though he that condoles with the unhappy be approved for his office of
charity, yet would he who had real compassion rather there were nothing for him to
abate. For if good-will be ill-willed
(which it cannot), then can he who is truly and sincerely commiserating wish that there
should be some unhappy ones, that he might commiserate them. Some grief may then be
justified, none loved. For thus dost Thou, O Lord God, who lovest souls far more purely
than do we, and art more incorruptibly compassionate, although Thou art wounded by no
sorrow. " And who is sufficient for these things ? " 2

4. But I, wretched one, then loved to grieve, and sought out what to grieve at, as when, in
another man’s misery, though feigned and counterfeited, that delivery of the actor best
pleased me, and attracted me the most powerfully, which moved me to tears. What
marvel was it that an unhappy sheep, straying from Thy flock, and impatient of Thy care,
I became infected with a foul disease ? And hence came my love of griefs not such as
should probe me too deeply, for I
loved not to suffer such things as I loved to look upon, but such as, when hearing their
fictions, should lightly affect the surface; upon which, like as with empoisoned nails,
folowed burning, swelling, putrefaction, and horrible corruption. Such was my life ! But
was it life, my God ?

1 Song of the Three Holy Children, verse 3. "2 Cor. ii. 16.

40 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

Chap. hi. Not even when at church does he suppress his desires. In the School of Rhetoric
he abhors the acts of the subverters.

5. And Thy faithful mercy hovered over me afar. Upon what unseemly iniquities did I
wear myself out, following a sacrilegious curiosity, that, having deserted Thee, it might
drag me into the treacherous abyss, and to the beguiling obedience of devils, unto whom I
immolated my wicked deeds, and in all which Thou didst scourge me ! I dared, even
while Thy solemn rites were being celebrated within the walls of Thy church, to desire,
and to plan a business sufficient to procure me the fruits of death; for which Thou
chastisedst me with grievous punishments, but nothing in comparison with my fault, O
Thou my greatest mercy, my God, my refuge from those terrible hurts, among which I
wandered with presumptuous neck, receding farther from Thee, loving my own ways,
and not Thine loving a vagrant liberty.

6. Those studies, also, which were accounted honourable, were directed towards the
courts of law; to excel in which, the more crafty I was, the more I should be praised. Such
is the blindness of men, that they even glory in their blindness.
And now I was head in the School of Rhetoric, whereat I
rejoiced proudly, and became inflated with arrogance, though more sedate, Lord, as Thou
knowest, and altogether removed from the subvertings of those " subverters " 1 (for this
stupid and diabolical name was held to be the very brand of gallantry) amongst whom I lived, with an impudent shamefacedness that I was not even as they were. And with them I was, and at times I was delighted with their friendship whose acts I ever abhorred, that is, their "subverting," wherewith they insolently attacked the modesty of strangers, which they disturbed by uncalled for jeers, gratifying thereby their mischievous mirth. Nothing can more nearly resemble the

1 Eversores. "These for their boldness were like our 'Roarers,' and for their jeering like the worser sort of those that would be called 'The Wits.'" W. W. "This appears to have been a name which a pestilent and savage set of persons gave themselves, licentious alike in speech and action. Augustine names them again, De Vera Relig. c. 40; Ep. 185 ad Bonifac. c. 4; and below, v. c. 12; whence they seem to have consisted mainly of Carthaginian students, whose savage life is mentioned again, ib. c. 8." E. B. P.

CHAP. IV.] HIS LOVE OF WISDOM. 41

actions of devils than these. By what name, therefore, could they be more truly called than "subverters"? being themselves subverted first, and altogether perverted being secretly mocked at and seduced by the deceiving spirits, in what they themselves delight to jeer at and deceive others.

Chap. iv. In the nineteenth year of his age (his father having died two years before) he is led by the "Hortensius" of Cicero to "philosophy," to God, and a better mode of thinking.

7. Among such as these, at that unstable period of my life, I studied books of eloquence, wherein I was eager to be eminent from a damnable and inflated purpose, even a delight in human vanity. In the ordinary course of study, I lighted upon a certain book of Cicero, whose language, though not his heart, almost all admire. This book of his contains an exhortation to philosophy, and is called Hortensius. This book, in truth, changed my affections, and turned my prayers to Thyself, Lord, and made me have other hopes and desires. Worthless suddenly became every vain hope to me; and, with an incredible warmth of heart, I yearned for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to arise' that I might return to Thee. Not, then, to improve my language which I appeared to be purchasing with my mother's means, in that my nineteenth year, my father having died two years before not to improve my language did I have recourse to that book; nor did it persuade me by its style, but its matter.

8. How ardent was I then, my God, how ardent to fly from earthly things to Thee! Nor did I know how Thou wouldst deal with me. For with Thee is wisdom. In Greek the love of wisdom is called "philosophy," with which that book inflamed me. There be some who seduce through philosophy, under a great, and alluring, and honourable name colouring and adorning their own errors. And almost all who in
1 Up to the time of Cicero the Romans employed the term sapientia for QiXtttroipia, (Monboddo's Ancient Metaphys. i. 5). It is interesting to watch the effect of the philosophy in which they had been trained on the writings of some of the Fathers. Even Justin Martyr, the first after the "Apostolic," has traces of this influence. See the account of his search for "wisdom," and conversion, in his Dialogue with Trypho, li. and iii.

Luke xv. 18. 3 See above, note 1.

2

42 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

that and former times were such, are in that book censured and pointed out. There is also disclosed that most salutary admonition of Thy Spirit, by Thy good and pious servant: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ: for in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." x And since at that time (as Thou, Light of my heart, knowest) the words of the apostle were unknown to me, I was delighted with that exhortation, in so far only as I was thereby stimulated, and enkindled, and inflamed to love, seek, obtain, hold, and embrace, not this or that sect, but wisdom itself, whatever it were; and this alone checked me thus ardent, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this name, according to Thy mercy, Lord, this name of my Saviour Thy Son, had my tender heart piously drunk in, deeply treasured even with my mother's milk; and whatsoever was without that name, though never so erudite, polished, and truthful, took not complete hold of me.

Chap. v. He rejects the Sacred Scriptures as too simple, and as not to be compared with the dignity of Tally.

9. I resolved, therefore, to direct my mind to the Holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. And behold, I perceive something not comprehended by the proud, not disclosed to children, but lowly as you approach, sublime as you advance, and veiled in mysteries; and I was not of the number of those who could enter into it, or bend my neck to follow its steps. For not as when now I speak did I feel when I turned towards those Scriptures, 2 but they appeared to me to be

1 Col. ii. 8, 9.

2 In connection with the opinion Augustine formed of the Scriptures before and after his conversion, it is interesting to recall Fenelon's glowing description of the literary merit of
the Bible. The whole passage might well be quoted did space permit: " L'Ecriture surpasse en naïveté, en vivacité, en grandeur, tous les écrivains de Rome et de la Grèce. Jamais Homère même n'a approché de la sublimité de Moïse dans ses cantiques. . . . Jamais nulle ode Grecque ou Latine n'a pu atteindre à la hauteur des Psalms. . . . Jamais Homère ni aucun autre poète n'a égale Isiaie peignant la majesté de Dieu. . . . Tantôt ce prophète a toute la douceur et toute la tendresse d'une églogue, dans les riantes peintures qu'il fait de la paix; tantôt il s'élève jusqu'à laisser tout au-dessous de lui. Mais qu'y a-t-il, dans l'antiquité profane, de comparable au tendre Jéremie,

CHAP. VI.] HIS DESIRE FOR TRUTH. 43

unworthy to be compared with the dignity of Tully; for my inflated pride shunned their style, nor could the sharpness of my wit pierce their inner meaning. 1 Yet, truly, were they such as would develope in little ones; but I scorned to be a little one, and, swollen with pride, I looked upon myself as a great one.

Chap. VI. Deceived by his own fault, he falls into the errors of the Mankhmans, who gloried in the true knowledge of God and in a thorough examination of things.

10. Therefore I fell among men proudly raving, very carnal, and voluble, in whose mouths were the snares of the devil

the bird-lime being composed of a mixture of the syllables of Thy name, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter. 2 These names departed not out of their mouths, but so far forth as the sound only and the clatter of the tongue, for the heart was empty of truth. Still they cried, " Truth, Truth," and spoke much about it to me,

" yet was it not in them;" 8 but they spake falsely not of Thee only who, verily, art the Truth but also of these elements of this world, Thy creatures. And I, in truth, should have deplorant les maux de son peuple; ou a Nahum, voyant de loin, en esprit, bomber la superbe Ninive sous les efforts d'une armée innombrable ? On croit voir cette armée, ou croit entendre le bruit des armes et des chariots; tout est depeint d'une manière vive qui
saisit l'imagination; il laisse Homere loin derriere lui. . . Enfin, il y a autant de difference entre les poetes profanes et les prophetes, iju'il y en a entre le veritable enthousiasme et le faux." Surl'Eioq. de la Chaire, Dial. iii.

1 Thatis probablythe "spiritual" meaning on which Ambrose (vi. 6, below) laid bo much emphasis. How different is the attitude of mind indicated in xi. 3 from the spiritual pride which beset him at this period of his life! When converted lie became as a little child, and ever looked to God as a Father, from whom he must receive both light and strength. He speaks, on Ps. cxlvi., of the Scriptures, which were plain to "the little ones," being obscured to the mocking spirit of the Manichseans. See also below, iii. 14, note.

2 So, in Book xxii. sec. 13 of his reply to Faustus, he charges them with "professing to believe the New Testament in order to entrap the unwary;" and again, in sec. 15, he says: "They claim the impious liberty of holding and teaching, that whatever they deem favourable to their heresy was said by Christ and the apostles; while they have the profane boldness to say, that whatever in the same writings is unfavourable to them is a spurious interpolation." They professed to believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, but affirmed (ibid. xx. 6) "that the Father dwells in a secret light, the power of the Son in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon, and the Holy Spirit in the air." It was this employment of the phraseology of Scripture to convey doctrines utterly unscriptural that rendered their teaching such a snare to the unwary. See also below, v. 12, note.

3 1 John ii. 4.

44 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

passed by philosophers, even when speaking truth concerning them, for love of Thee, my Father, supremely good, beauty of all things beautiful! Truth, Truth! how inwardly even then did the marrow of my soul pant after Thee, when they frequently, and in a multiplicity of ways, and in numerous and huge books, sounded out Thy name to me, though it was but a voice! 1 And these were the dishes in which to me, hungering for Thee, they, instead of Thee, served up the sun and moon, Thy beauteous works but yet Thy works, not Thyself, nay, nor Thy first works. For before these corporeal works are Thy spiritual ones, celestial and shining though they be. But I hungered and thirsted not even after those first works of Thine, but after Thee Thyself, the Truth, "with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning;" 2 yet they still served up to me in those dishes glowing phantasies, than which better were it to love this very sun (which, at least, is true to our sight), than those illusions which deceive the mind through the eye. And yet, because I supposed them to be Thee, I fed upon them; not with avidity, for Thou didst not taste to my mouth as Thou art, for Thou wast not these empty fictions; neither was I nourished by them, but the rather exhausted. Food in our sleep appears like our food awake; yet the sleepers are not nourished by it, for they are asleep.

But those things were not in any way like unto Thee as Thou hast now spoken unto me, in that those were corporeal phantasies, false bodies, than which these true bodies,
whether celestial or terrestrial, which we perceive with our fleshly sight, are much more certain. These things the very beasts

1 There was something peculiarly enthralling to an ardent mind like Augustine's in the Manichsean system. That system was kindred in many ways to modern Rationalism. Reason was exalted at the expense of faith. Nothing was received on mere authority, and the disciple's inner consciousness was the touchstone of truth. The result of this is well pointed out by Augustine (Con. Faust, xxxii. sec. 19): "Your design, clearly, is to deprive Scripture of all authority, and to make every man's mind the judge what passage of Scripture he is to approve of, and what to disapprove of. This is not to be subject to Scripture in matters of faith, but to make Scripture subject to you. Instead of making the high authority of Scripture the reason of approval, every man makes his approval the reason for thinking a passage correct."

Compare also Con. Faust, xi. sec. 2, and xxxii. sec. 16. " Jas. i. 17.

3HAP. VI.] MANICILEANISM DID NOT SATISFY. 45

md birds perceive as well as we, and they are more certain ihan when we imagine them. And again, we do with more certainty imagine them, than by them conceive of other greater and infinite bodies which have no existence. With such empty husks was I then fed, and was not fed. But Thou, thy Love, in looking for whom I fail 1 that I may be strong, art neither those bodies that we see, although in heaven, nor art Thou those which we see not there; for Thou hast created them, nor dost Thou reckon them amongst Thy greatest works.

How far, then, art Thou from those phantasies of mine, phantasies of bodies which are not at all, than which the images of those bodies which are, are more certain, and still more certain the bodies themselves, winch yet Thou art not; nay, nor yet the soul, which is the life of the bodies. Better, then, and more certain is the life of bodies than the bodies themselves.

But Thou art the life of souls, the life of lives, having life in Thyself; and Thou changest not, Life of my soul.

11. Where, then, wert Thou then to me, and how far from me ? Far, indeed, was I wandering away from Thee, being even shut out from the very husks of the swine, whom with husks I fed. 2 For how much better, then, are the fables of the grammarians and poets than these snares ! For verses, and poems, and Medea flying, are more profitable truly than these men's five elements, variously painted, to answer to the five caves of darkness, 3 none of which exist, and which slay the believer. For verses and poems I can turn into 4 true food, but the "Medea flying," though I sang, I maintained it not; though I heard it sung, I believed it not; but those things I did believe. Woe, woe, by what steps was I dragged down to "the depths of hell!" 5 toiling and turmoiling through want of Truth, when I sought after Thee,

1 Ps. lxix. 3. 2 Luke xv. 16; and see below, vi. sec. 3, note.
3 See below, xii. sec. 6, note.

4 "Of this passage St. Augustine is probably speaking when he says, ' Praises bestowed on bread in simplicity of heart, let him (Petilian) defame, if he will, by the ludicrous title of poisoning and corrupting frenzy. ' Augustine meant in mockery, that by verses he could get his bread; his calumniator seems to have twisted the word to signify a love-potion. Con. Lit. Petiliani, iii. 16." E. B. P.

Prov. is. 18.

46 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

my God, to Thee I confess it, who hadst mercy on me when I had not yet confessed, sought after Thee not according to the understanding of the mind, in which Thou desiredst that I should excel the beasts, but according to the sense of the flesh! Thou wert more inward to me than my most inward part; and higher than my highest. I came upon that bold woman, who " is simple, and knoweth nothing," * the enigma of Solomon, sitting " at the door of the house on a seat," and saying, " Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant." 2 This woman seduced me, because she found my soul beyond its portals, dwelling in the eye of my flesh, and thinking on such food as through it I had devoured.

Chap. vii. He attacks the doctrine of the Manichceans concerning evil, God, and the righteousness of the patriarchs.

12. For I was ignorant as to that which really is, and was, as it were, violently moved to give my support to foolish deceivers, when they asked me, " Whence is evil? " 3 and, " Is God limited by a bodily shape, and has He hairs and nails? " and, " Are they to be esteemed righteous who had many wives at once, and did kill men, and sacrificed living creatures? " 4 At which tilings I, in my ignorance, was much disturbed, and, retreating from the truth, I appeared to myself to be going towards it; because as yet I knew not that evil was naught but a privation of good, until in the end it ceases altogether to be; which how should I see, the sight of whose eyes saw no further than bodies, and of my mind no farther than a phantasm? And I knew not God to be a Spirit, 5 not one who hath parts extended in length and breadth, nor whose

1 Prov. ix. 13. 2 Prov. ix. 14, 17.

3 The strange mixture of the pensive philosophy of Persia with Gnosticism and Christianity, propounded by Manichams, attempted to solve this question, which was " the great object of heretical inquiry" (Mansel's Gnostics, lee. i.).
It was Augustine's desire for knowledge concerning it that united him to this sect, and which also led him to forsake it, when he found therein nothing but empty fables (De Lib. Arb. i. sec. 4.) Manichaeus taught that evil and good were primeval, and had independent existences. Augustine, on the other hand, maintains that it was not possible for evil so to exist (De Civ. Dei, xi. sec. 22), but, as he here states, evil is "a privation of good." The evil will has a causa deficiens, but not a causa effiriens (ibid. xii. 6), as is exemplified in the fall of the angels.

4 1 Kings xviii. 40. 5 Jolui v. 24.

CHAP. VII. LAW OF PROGRESS IN SCRIPTURE. 4*7

being was bulk; for every bulk is less in a part than in the whole, and, if it be infinite, it must be less in such part as is limited by a certain space than in its infinity; and cannot be wholly everywhere, as Spirit, as God is. And what that should be in us, by which we were like unto God, and might rightly in Scripture be said to be after "the image of God," * I was entirely ignorant.

13. Nor had I knowledge of that true inner righteousness, which doth not judge according to custom, but out of the most perfect law of God Almighty, by which the manners of places and times were adapted to those places and times being itself the while the same always and everywhere, not one thing in one place, and another in another; according to which Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses, and David, and all those commended by the mouth of God were righteous, 2 but were judged unrighteous by foolish men, judging out of man's judgment, 3 and gauging by the petty standard of their own manners the manners of the whole human race. Like as if in an armoury, one knowing not what were adapted to the several members should put greaves on his head, or boot himself with a helmet, and then complain because they would not fit. Or as if, on some day when in the afternoon business was forbidden, one were to fume at not being allowed to sell as it was lawful to him in the forenoon. Or when in some house he sees a servant take something in his hand which the butler is not permitted to touch, or something done behind a stable which would be prohibited in the diningroom, and should be indignant that in one house, and one family, the same thing is not distributed everywhere to all.

Such are they who cannot endure to hear something to have been lawful for righteous men in former times which is not so now; or that God, for certain temporal reasons, commanded them one thing, and these another, but both obeying the same righteousness; though they see, in one man, one day, and one house, different things to be fit for different members, and a thing which was formerly lawful after a time unlawful that permitted or commanded in one corner, which done in another

1 Gen. L 27; see vi. sec. 4, note. Heb. xi. 8-40. 8 1 Cor. iv. 8.
is justly prohibited and punished. Is justice, then, various and changeable? Nay, but the
times over which she presides are not all alike, because they are times. 1 But men, whose
days upon the earth are few, 2 because by their own perception they cannot harmonize
the causes of former ages and other nations, of which they had no experience, with these
of which they have experience, though in one and the same body, day, or family, they can
readily see what is suitable for each member, season, part, and person to the one they take
exception, to the other they submit.

14. These things I then knew not, nor observed. They met my eyes on every side, and I
saw them not. I composed poems, in which it was not permitted me to place every foot
everywhere, but in one metre one way, and in another another, nor even in any one verse
the same foot in all places. Yet the art itself by which I composed had not different
principles for these different cases, but comprised all in one. Still I saw not how that
righteousness, which good and holy men submitted to, far more excellently and sublimely
comprehended in one all those things which God com-

' The law of the development of revelation implied in the above passage is one to which
Augustine frequently resorts in confutation of objections such as those to which lie refers
in the previous and following sections. It may likewise be effectively used when similar
objections are raised by modern sceptics. In the Rabbinical books there is a tradition of
the wanderings of the children of Israel, that not only did their clothes not wax old (Deut.
xxix. 5) during those forty years, but that they grew with their growth. The written word
is as it were the swaddling-clothes of the holy child Jesus; and as the revelation
concerning Him the Word Incarnate grew, did the written word grow. God spoke in
sundry parts [voXvipipus] and in divers manners unto the fathers by the pro-
phets (Heb. i. 1); but when the "fulness of the time was come" (Gal. iv. 4), He completed the revelation
in His Son. Our Lord indicates this principle when He speaks of divorce in Matt. xix. 8. "Moses," he says, "because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your
wives; but from the beginning it was not so." (See Con Faust, xix. 26, 29.) When
objections, then, as to obsolete ritual usages, or the sins committed by Old Testament
worthies are urged, the answer is plain: the ritual has become obsolete, because only
intended for the infancy of revelation, and the sins, while recorded in, are not approved
by Scripture, and those who committed them will be judged according to the measure of
revelation they received. See also De Ver. Relig.
xvii.; in Ps. lxiii. 1, liv. 22; Con. Faust, xxii. 25; Trench, Hulsean Lees, iv., v. (.1845);
and Candlish's Reason and Revelation, pp. 58-75.
2 Job xiv. 1.

CHAP. VIII.] AUTHORITY AND MORALS. 49
manded, and in no part varied, though in varying times it did not prescribe all things at once, but distributed and enjoined what was proper for each. And I, being blind, blamed those pious fathers, not only for making use of present things as God commanded and inspired them to do, but also for foreshowing things to come as God was revealing them.

Chap. viii. He argues against the same as to the reason of offences.

15. Can it at any time or place be an unrighteous thing for a man to love God with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his mind, and his neighbour as himself? 2 Therefore those offences which be contrary to nature are everywhere and at all times to be held in detestation and punished; such were those of the Sodomites, which should all nations commit, they should all be held guilty of the same crime by the divine law, which hath not so made men that they should in that way abuse one another. For even that fellowship which should be between God and us is violated, when that same nature of which He is author is polluted by the perversity of lust. But those offences which are contrary to the customs of men are to be avoided according to the customs severally prevailing; so that an agreement made, and confirmed by custom or law of any city or nation, may not be violated at the lawless pleasure of any, whether citizen or stranger. For any part which is not consistent with its whole is unseemly. But when God commands anything contrary to the customs or compacts of any nation to be done, though it

1 Here, as at the end of sec. 17, he alludes to the typical and allegorical character of Old Testament histories. Though he does not with Origen go so far as to disparage the letter of Scripture (see De Civ. Dei, xiii. 21), but upholds it, he constantly employs the allegorical principle. He (alluding to the patriarchs) goes so far, indeed, as to say (Con. Faust, xxii. 24), that "not only the speech but the life of these men was prophetic; and the whole kingdom of the Hebrews was like a great prophet; " and again: " "We may discover a prophecy of the coming ot Christ and of the Church both in what they said and what they did." This method of interpretation he first learned from Ambrose. See note on "the letter killeth," etc. (below, vi. sec. 6), for the danger attending it. On the general subject, reference may also be made to his in Ps. cxxxvi. 3 j Serm. 2; De Tentat. Abr. sec. 7; and De Civ. Dei, xvii. 3.


CON. D

50 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

were never done by them before, it is to be done; and if intermitted it is to be restored, and, if never established, to be established. For if it be lawful for a king, in the state over
which he reigns, to command that which neither he himself nor any one before him had commanded, and to obey him cannot be held to be inimical to the public interest, nay, it were so if he were not obeyed (for obedience to princes is a general compact of human society), how much more, then, ought we unhesitatingly to obey God, the Governor of all His creatures! For as among the authorities of human society the greater authority is obeyed before the lesser, so must God above all.

16. So also in deeds of violence, where there is a desire to harm, whether by contumely or injury; and both of these either by reason of revenge, as one enemy against another; or to obtain some advantage over another, as the highwayman to the traveller; or for the avoiding of some evil, as with him who is in fear of another; or through envy, as the unfortunate man to one who is happy; or as he that is prosperous in anything to him who he fears will become equal to himself, or whose equality he grieves at; or for the mere pleasure in another's pains, as the spectators of gladiators, or the deriders and mockers of others. These be the chief iniquities which spring forth from the lust of the flesh, of the eye, and of power, whether singly, or two together, or all at once. And so do men live in opposition to the three and seven, that psaltery
"of ten strings," * Thy ten commandments, God most high and most sweet. But what foul offences can there be against Thee who canst not be defiled? Or what deeds of violence against Thee who canst not be harmed? But Thou avengest

1 Ps. cxliv. 9. " St. Augustine (Qucest. in Exod. ii. qu. 71) mentions the two modes of dividing the ten commandments into three and seven, or four and six, and gives what appear to have been his own private reasons for preferring the first. Both commonly existed in his day, but the Anglican mode appears to have been the most usual. It occurs in Origen, Greg. Naz., Jerome, Ambrose, Chrys. St. Augustine alludes to his division again, Serm. 8, 9, de x. Chordis, and sec. 33 on this psalm: 'To the first commandment there belong three strings, because God is trine. To the other, i.e. the love of our neighbour, seven strings. These let us join to those three, which belong to the love of God, if we would on the psaltery of ten strings sing a new song.' " E. B. P.

CHAP. IX."

that which men perpetrate against themselves, seeing also that when they sin against Thee, they do wickedly against their own souls; and iniquity gives itself the lie, 1 either by corrupting or perverting their nature, which Thou hast made and ordained, or by an immoderate use of things permitted, or in " burning " in things forbidden to that use which is against nature; 2 or when convicted, raging with heart and voice against Thee, kicking against the pricks; 3 or when, breaking through the pale of human society, they audaciously rejoice in private combinations or divisions, according as they have been pleased or offended. And these things are done whenever Thou art forsaken, O Fountain of Life, who art the only and true Creator and Ruler of the universe, and by a self-willed pride any one false thing is selected therefrom and loved. So, then, by a humble piety we
return to Thee; and Thou purgest us from our evil customs, and art merciful unto the sins of those who confess unto Thee, and dost "hear the groaning of the prisoner," 4 and dost loosen us from those fetters which we have forged for ourselves, if we lift not up against Thee the horns of a false liberty, losing all through craving more, by loving more our own private good than Thee, the good of all.

Chap. ix. That the judgment of God and men, as to human acts of violence, is different.

17. But amidst these offences of infamy and violence, and so many iniquities, are the sins of men who are, on the whole, making progress: which, by those who judge rightly, and after the rule of perfection, are censured, yet commended withal, upon the hope of bearing fruit, like as in the green blade of the growing corn. And there are some which resemble offences of infamy or violence, and yet are not sins, because they neither offend Thee, our Lord God, nor social custom: when, for example, things suitable for the times are provided for the use of life, and we are uncertain whether it be out of a lust of having; or when acts are punished by constituted authority for the sake of correction, and we are

1 Ps. xxvii. 12, Vulg. 2 Rom. i. 24-29.
Acts ix. 5. * Ps. cii. 20.

52 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

uncertain whether it be out of a lust of hurting. Many a deed, then, which in the sight of men is disapproved, is approved by Thy testimony; and many a one who is praised by men is, Thou being witness, condemned; because frequently the view of the deed, and the mind of the doer, and the hidden exigency of the period, severally vary. But when Thou unexpectedly commandest an unusual and unthoughtof thing yea, even if Thou hast formerly forbidden it, and still for the time keepest secret the reason of Thy command, and it even be contrary to the ordinance of some society of men, who doubts but it is to be done, inasmuch as that society is righteous which serves Thee ? x But blessed are they who know Thy commands ! For all things were done by them who served Thee either to exhibit something necessary at the time, or to foreshow things to come.' 2

Chap. X. He reproves the triflings of the Manichceans as to the fruits of the earth.
18. These things being ignorant of, I derided those holy servants and prophets of Thine. And what did I gain by deriding them but to be derided by Thee, being insensibly, and little by little, led on to those follies, as to credit that a fig-tree wept when it was plucked, and that the mother-tree shed milky tears ? Which fig notwithstanding, plucked not by his own but another's wickedness, had some " saint " 3
eaten and mingled with his entrails, he should breathe out

1 The Manichseans, like the deistical writers of the last century, attacked the spoiling of the Egyptians, the slaughter of the Canaanites, and such episodes. Referring to the former, Augustine says (Con. Faust, xxii. 71), "Then, as for Faustus' objection to the spoiling of the Egyptians, he knows not what he says. In this Moses not only did not sin, but it would have been sin not to do it. It was by the command of God, who, from His knowledge both of the actions and of the hearts of men, can decide upon what every one should be made to suffer, and through whose agency. The people at that time were still carnal, and engrossed with earthly affection; while the Egyptians were in open rebellion against God, for they used the gold, God's creature, in the service of idols, to the dishonour of the Creator, and they had grievously oppressed strangers by making them work without pay. Thus the Egyptians deserved the punishment, and the Israelites were suitably employed in inflicting it." For an exhaustive vindication of the conduct of the children of Israel as the agents of God in punishing the Canaanites, see Graves on the Pentateuch, Part iii. lecture 1. See also De Civ. Dei, i. 26; and Quaint, in Jos. 8, 16, etc.

2 See note on sec. 14, above. 3 i.e. Manichsean saint.

CHAP. XI.] HIS MOTHER DEEMS OF HIS CONVERSION. 53

of it angels; yea, in his prayers he shall assuredly groan and sigh forth particles of God, which particles of the most high and true God should have remained bound in that fig unless they had been set free by the teeth and belly of some " elect saint " ! * And I, miserable one, believed that more mercy was to be shown to the fruits of the earth than unto men, for whom they were created; for if a hungry man who was not a Manichtean should beg for any, that morsel which should be given him would appear, as it were, condemned to capital punishment. 2

Chap. xi. He refers to the tears, and the memorable dream concerning her son, granted by God to his mother.

19. And Thou sendedst Thine hand from above, 3 and drewest my soul out of that profound darkness, when my mother, Thy faithful one, wept to Thee on my behalf more than mothers are wont to weep the bodily deaths of their children. For she saw that I was dead by that faith and spirit which she had from Thee, and Thou heardest her, O Lord. Thou heardest her, and despisedst not her tears, when, pouring down, they watered the earth 4 under her eyes in every place where she prayed; yea, Thou hearest her. For whence was that dream with which Thou consoledst her, so that she permitted me to live with her, and to have my meals at the same table in the house, which she had begun to avoid,
1 According to this extraordinary system, it was the privilege of the "elect" to set free in eating such parts of the divine substance as were imprisoned in the vegetable creation (Con. Faust, xxxi. 5). They did not marry or work in the fields, and led an ascetic life, the "hearers" or catechumens being privileged to provide them with food. The "elect" passed immediately on dying into the realm of light, while, as a reward for their service, the souls of the "hearers" after death transmigrated into plants (from which they might be most readily freed), or into the "elect," so as, in their turn, to pass away into the realm of light. See Con. Faust, v. 10, xx. 23; and in Ps. cxl.

2 Augustine frequently alludes to their conduct to the poor, in refusing to give them bread or the fruits of the earth, lest in eating they should defile the portion of God contained therein. But to avoid the odium of their conduct, they would inconsequently give money whereby food might be bought. See in Ps. cxl. sec. 12; and De Mor. Mankh. 86, 37, and 53.

3 Ps. cxliv. 7.

4 He alludes here to that devout manner of the Eastern ancients, who used to lie fiat on their faces in prayer. W. W.

54 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK III.]

hating and detesting the blasphemies of my error? For she saw herself standing on a certain wooden rule, 1 and a bright youth advancing towards her, joyous and smiling upon her, whilst she was grieving and bowed down with sorrow. But he having inquired of her the cause of her sorrow and daily weeping (lie wishing to teach, as is their wont, and not to be taught), and she answering that it was my perdition she was lamenting, he bade her rest contented, and told her to behold and see "that where she was, there was I also." And when she looked she saw me standing near her on the same rule. Whence was this, unless that Thine ears were inclined towards her heart? Thou Good Omnipotent, who so carest for every one of us as if Thou caredst for him only, and so for all as if they were but one!

20. Whence was this, also, that when she had narrated this vision to me, and I tried to put this construction on it, "That she rather should not despair of being some day what I was," she immediately, without hesitation, replied, "No; for it was not told me that 'where he is, there shalt thou be,' but 'where thou art, there shall he be' "? I confess to Thee,

Lord, that, to the best of my remembrance (and I have oft spoken of this), Thy answer through my watchful mother that she was not disquieted by the speciousness of my false
interpretation, and saw in a moment what was to be seen, and which I myself had not in truth perceived before she spake even then moved me more than the dream itself, by which the happiness to that pious woman, to be realized so long after, was, for the alleviation of her present anxiety, so long before predicted. For nearly nine years passed in which

I wallowed in the slime of that deep pit and the darkness of falsehood, striving often to rise, but being all the more heavily dashed down. But yet that chaste, pious, and sober widow (such as Thou lovest), now more buoyed up with hope, though no whit less zealous in her weeping and mourning, desisted not, at all the hours of her supplications, to bewail my case unto Thee. And her prayers entered into Thy presence, and yet Thou didst still suffer me to be involved and re-involved in that darkness.

1 Symbolical of the rule of faith. See viii. sec. 30, below. 2 Ps. lxxxviii. 1.

CHAP. XII.] HIS MOTHER'S ANXIETY. 55

Chap. xii. The excellent answer of the bishop when referred to by his mother as to the conversion of her son.

21. And meanwhile Thou grantedst her another answer, which I recall; for much I pass over, hastening on to those things which the more strongly impel me to confess unto Thee, and much I do not remember. Thou didst grant her then another answer, by a priest of Thine, a certain bishop, reared in Thy Church and well versed in Thy books. He, when this woman had entreated that he would vouchsafe to have some talk with me, refute my errors, unteach me evil things, and teach me good (for this he was in the habit of doing when he found people fitted to receive it), refused, very prudently, as I afterwards came to see. For he answered that I was still unteachable, being inflated with the novelty of that heresy, and that I had already perplexed divers inexperienced persons with vexatious questions, 1 as she had informed him. " But leave him alone for a time," saith he, " only pray God for him; he will of himself, by reading, discover what that error is, and how great its impiety." He disclosed to her at the same time how he himself, when a little one, had, by his misguided mother, been given over to the Manichaeans, and had not only read, but even written out almost all their books, and had come to see (without argument or proof from any one) how much that sect was to be shunned, and had shunned it. Which when he had said, and she would not be satisfied, but repeated more earnestly her entreaties, shedding copious tears, that he would see and discourse with me, he, a little vexed at her importunity, exclaimed, " Go thy way, and God bless thee, for it is not possible that the son of these tears should perish." Which answer (as she often mentioned in her conversations with me) she accepted as though it were a voice from heaven.
We can easily understand that Augustine's dialectic skill would render him a formidable opponent, while, with the zeal of a neophyte, he urged those difficulties of Scripture (De Agon. Christ, iv.) which the Manichaeans knew so well how to employ. In an interesting passage (De Duab. Anim. con. Manich. ix.) he tells us that his victories over "inexperienced persons" stimulated him to fresh conquests, and thus kept him bound longer than he would otherwise have been in the chains of this heresy.

56 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

FOURTH BOOK.

THEN FOLLOWS A PERIOD OF NINE YEARS FROM THE NINETEENTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, DURING WHICH, HAVING LOST A FRIEND, HE FOLLOWED THE MANICHAEANS AND WROTE BOOKS ON THE FAIR AND FIT, AND PUBLISHED A WORK ON THE LIBERAL ARTS, AND THE CATEGORIES OF ARISTOTLE.

Chap. i. Concerning that most unhappy time in which he, being deceived, deceived others; and concerning the mockers of his confession,

1. "T~UEING this space of nine years, then, from my seventeenth to my eight and twentieth year, we went on seduced and seducing, deceived and deceiving, in divers lusts; publicly, by sciences which they style "liberal" secretly, with a falsity called religion. Here proud, there superstitious, everywhere vain! Here, striving after the emptiness of popular fame, even to theatrical applauses, and poetic contests, and strifes for grassy garlands, and the follies of shows and the intemperance of desire. There, seeking to be purged from these our corruptions by carrying food to those who were called "elect" and "holy," out of which, in the laboratory of their stomachs, they should make for us angels and gods, by whom we might be delivered. 1 These things did I follow eagerly, and practise with my friends by me and with me deceived. Let the arrogant, and such as have not been yet savagely cast down and stricken by Thee,

my God, laugh at me; but notwithstanding I would confess to Thee mine own shame in Thy praise. Bear with me,

I beseech Thee, and give me grace to retrace in my present

1 Augustine tells us that he went not beyond the rank of a "hearer," because he found the Manichsean teachers readier in refuting others than in establishing their own views, and
seems only to have looked for some esoteric doctrine to have been disclosed to him under their materialistic teaching as to God viz.
that He was an unmeasured Light that extended all ways but one, infinitely (Serm. iv. sec. 5) rather than to have really accepted it. De Util. Cred. Praif.
See also iii. sec. 18, notes 1 and 2, above.

CHAP. II.] HIS EVIL LIFE. 57

remembrance the circlings of my past errors, and to " offer to Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving." * For what am I to myself without Thee, but a guide to mine own downfall ? Or what am I even at the best, but one sucking Thy milk, ? and feeding upon Thee, the meat that perisheth not ? 3 But what kind of man is any man, seeing that he is but a man ? Let, then, the strong and the mighty laugh at us, but let us who are " poor and needy " 4 confess unto Thee.

Chap. ii. He teaches rhetoric, the only thing he loved, and scorns the soothsayer who promised him victory.

2. In those years I taught the art of rhetoric, and, overcome by cupidity, put to sale a loquacity by which to overcome. Yet I preferred Lord, Thou knowest to have honest scholars (as they are esteemed); and these I, without artifice, taught artifices, not to be put in practice against the life of the guiltless, though sometimes for the life of the guilty. And Thou, God, from afar sawest me stumbling in that slippery path, and amid much smoke 5 sending out some flashes of fidelity, which I exhibited in that my guidance of such as loved vanity and sought after leasing, 6 I being their companion. In those years I had one (whom I knew not in what is called lawful wedlock, but whom my wayward passion, void of understanding, had discovered), yet one only, remaining faithful even to her; in whom I found out truly by my own experience what difference there is between the restraints of the marriage bonds, contracted for the sake of issue, and the compact of a lustful love, where children are born against the parents' will, although, being born, they compel love.

3. I remember, too, that when I decided to compete for a theatrical prize, a soothsayer demanded of me what I would give him to win; but I, detesting and abominating such foul mysteries, answered, " That if the garland were of imperishable gold, I would not suffer a fly to be destroyed to secure it for me." For he was to slay certain living creatures in his sacrifices, and by those honours to invite the devils to give me their support. But this ill thing I also refused, not out

1 Ps. cxvi. 17. J 1 Pet. ii. &. 8 John vi. 27.
of a pure love for Thee, God of my heart; for I knew not how to love Thee, knowing not how to conceive aught beyond corporeal brightness. And doth not a soul, sighing after such-like fictions; commit fornication against Thee, trust in false things, and nourish the wind? But I would not, forsooth, have sacrifices offered to devils on my behalf, though T myself was offering sacrifices to them by that superstition. For what else is nourishing the wind but nourishing them, that is, by our wanderings to become their enjoyment and derision?

Chap. hi. Not even the most experienced men could persuade him of the vanity of astrology, to which he was devoted.

4. Those impostors, then, whom they designate Mathematicians, I consulted without hesitation, because they used no sacrifices, and invoked the aid of no spirit for their divinations, which art Christian and true piety fittedly rejects and

1 "He alone is truly pure who waiteth on God, and keepeth himself to Him alone" (Aug. De Vita Beata, sec. 18). "Whoso...her legitimate husband. Whosoever seeketh of God anything besides God, doth not love God purely. If a wife loved her husband because he is rich, she is not pure, for she loveth not her husband but the gold of her husband" (Aug. Serin. 137). "Whoso seeks from God any other reward but God, and for it would serve God, esteems what he wishes to receive more than Him from whom he would receive it. What, then? hath God no reward? None, save Himself. The reward of God is God Himself. This it loveth; if it love aught beside, it is no pure love. You depart from the immortal flame, you will be chilled, corrupted. Do not depart; it will be thy corruption, will be fornication in thee" (Aug. in Ps. Lxxii. sec 32). "The pure fear of the Lord (Ps. xix. 9) is that wherewith the Church, the more ardently she loveth her Husband, the more diligently she avoids offending Him, and therefore love, when perfected, casteth not out this fear, but it remaineth for ever and ever" (Aug. * loc). "Under the name of pure fear is signified that will whereby we must needs be averse from sin, and avoid sin, not through the constant anxiety of infirmity, but through the tranquillity of affection" (De Civ. Dei, xiv. sec. G5).

E. B. P.

2 See note on sec. 9, be Jo\v.

3 "Indisputably we must take care, lest the mind, believing that which it does not see, feign to itself something which is not, and hope for and love that which is false. For in that case it will not be charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, which is the end of the commandment" (De Trin. viii. sec. 6). And again
(Confessions, i. 1): "For who can call on Thee, not knowing Thee? For he that knoweth Thee not may call on Thee as other than Thou art."

4 Hosea xii. 1.

CHAP. III.] HE CONSULTS DIVINERS.

condemns. 1 For good it is to confess unto Thee, and to say, "Be merciful unto me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee;" 2 and not to abuse Thy goodness for a license to sin, but to remember the words of the Lord, "Behold, thou art made whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee." 8 All of which salutary advice they endeavour to destroy when they say, "The cause of thy sin is inevitably determined in heaven;" and, "This did Venus, or Saturn, or

1 Augustine classes the votaries of both wizards and astrologers (De Doctr. Christ, ii. 23; and De Civ. Dei. x. 9; compare also Justin Martyr, Apol. ii. c. 5) as alike "deluded and imposed on by the false angels, to whom the lowest part of the world has been put in subjection by the law of God's providence;" and he says, "All arts of this sort are either nullities, or are part of a guilty superstition springing out of a baleful fellowship between men and devils, and are to be utterly repudiated and avoided by the Christian, as the covenants of a false and treacherous friendship." It is remarkable that though these arts were strongly denounced in the Pentateuch, the Jews acquiring them from the surrounding Gentile nations have embedded them deeply in their oral law, said also to be given by Moses (e.g. in Moed Katon 28, and Shabbath 156, prosperity comes from the influence of the stars; in Shabbath 61 it is a question whether the influence of the stars or a charm has been effective; and in Sanhedrin 17 magic is one of the qualifications for the Sanhedrim). It might have been expected that the Christians, if only from that reaction against Judaism which shows itself in Origen's disparagement of the letter of the Old Testament Scriptures (see De Princip. iv. 15, 16), would have shrunk from such strange arts. But the influx of pagans, who had practised them, into the Christian Church appears gradually to have leavened it in no slight degree. This is not only true of the Valentinians (see Kaye's Clement of Alex, vi.) and other heretics, but the influence of these contacts is seen even in the writings of the "orthodox." Those who can read between the lines will find no slight trace of this (after separating what they would conceive to be true from what is manifestly false) in the story told by Zonaras, in his Annals, of the controversy between the Rabbis and Sylvester, Bishop of Eome, before Constantine.

The Jews were worsted in argument, and evidently thought an appeal to miracles might, from the Emperor's education, bring him over to their side. An ox is brought forth. The Jewish wonder-worker whispers a mystic name into its ear, and it falls dead; but Sylvester, according to the story, is quite equal to the occasion, and restores the animal to life again by uttering the name of the Redeemer. It may have been that the cessation of miracles may have gradually led stable professors of Christianity to invent miracles; and,
as Bishop Kaye observes (Tertullian, p. 95), "the success of the first attempts naturally encouraged others to practise similar impositions on the credulity of mankind."

As to the time of the cessation of miracles, comparison may be profitably made of the views of Kaye, in the early part of c. ii. of his Tertullian, and of Blunt, in his Right Use of the Early Fathers, series ii. lecture 6.

8 Ps. xli. 4. John v. 14.

60 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

Mars; "in order that man, forsooth, flesh and blood, and proud corruption, may be blameless, while the Creator and Ordainer of heaven and stars is to bear the blame. And who is this but Thee, our God, the sweetness and well-spring of righteousness, who renderest " to every man according to his deeds," 1 and despisest not " a broken and a contrite heart ! " 2

5. There was in those days a wise man, very skilful in medicine, and much renowned therein, who had with his own proconsular hand put the Agonistic garland upon my distempered head, not, though, as a physician; 3 for this disease Thou alone healest, who resistest the proud, and givest grace to the humble. 4 But didst Thou fail me even by that old man, or forbear from healing my soul ? For when I had become more familiar with him, and hung assiduously and fixedly on his conversation (for though couched in simple language, it was replete with vivacity, life, and earnestness), when he had perceived from my discourse that I was given to books of the horoscope-casters, he, in a kind and fatherly manner, advised me to throw them away, and not vainly bestow the care and labour necessary for useful things upon these vanities; saying that he himself in his earlier years had studied that art with a view to gaining his living by following it as a profession, and that, as he had understood Hippocrates, he would soon have understood this, and yet he had given it up, and followed medicine, for no other reason than that he discovered it to be utterly false, and he, being a man of character, would not gain his living by beguiling people. " But thou," saith he, " who hast rhetoric to support thyself by, so that thou folio west

1 Rom. ii. 6, and Matt. xvi. 27. 2 Ps. li. 17.

3 This physician was Vindicianus, the "acute old man" mentioned in vii. sec. '8, below, and again in Ep. 138, as "the most eminent physician of his day." Augustine's disease, however, could not be reached by his remedies. We are irresistibly reminded of the words of our great poet: "Canst thou minister to a mind diseased; Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow; Raze out the written troubles of the brain; And, with some sweet oblivious antidote, Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff Which weighs upon the heart ? "Macbeth, act v. scene 3.

* 1 Pet. v. 5, and Jas. iv. 6.
CHAP. IV. OBSTINACY OF HIS BELIEF IN DIVINATION. 61

this of free will, not of necessity all the more, then, oughtest thou to give me credit herein, who laboured to attain it so perfectly, as I wished to gain my living by it alone." When I asked him to account for so many true things being fore told by it, he answered me (as he could) " that the force of chance, diffused throughout the whole order of nature, brought this about. For if when a man by accident opens the leaves of some poet, who sang and intended something far different, a verse oftentimes fell out wondrously apposite to the present business, it were not to be wondered at," he continued, " if out of the soul of man, by some higher instinct, not knowing what goes on within itself, an answer should be given by chance, not art, which should coincide with the business and actions of the questioner."

6. And thus truly, either by or through him, Thou didst look after me. And Thou didst delineate in my memory what I might afterwards search out for myself. But at that time neither he, nor my most dear Nebridius, a youth most good and most circumspect, who scoffed at that whole stock of divination, could persuade me to forsake it, the authority of the authors influencing me still more; and as yet I had lighted upon no certain proof such as I sought whereby it might without doubt appear that what had been truly foretold by those consulted was by accident or chance, not by the art of the star-gazers.

Chap. IV. Sorely distressed by weeping at the death of his friend, he provides consolation for himself.

7. In those years, when I first began to teach rhetoric in my native town, I had acquired a very dear friend, from association in our studies, of mine own age, and, like myself, just rising up into the flower of youth. He had grown up with me from childhood, and we had been both school-fellows and playfellows. But he was not then my friend, nor, indeed, afterwards, as true friendship is; for true it is not but in such as Thou bindest together, cleaving unto Thee by that love which is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us. 1 But yet it was too sweet, being ripened by the fervour of similar studies. For, from the true faith (which

1 Eoni. v. i.

62 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE [BOOK IV.]

he, as a youth, had not soundly and thoroughly become master of), I had turned him aside towards those superstitious and pernicious fables which my mother mourned in me. With me this man's mind now erred, nor could my soul exist without him. But behold, Thou wert close behind Thy fugitives at once God of vengeance 1 and Fountain of mercies,
who turnest us to Thyself by wondrous means. Thou removedst that man from this life when he had scarce completed one whole year of my friendship, sweet to me above all the sweetness of that my life.

8. " Who can show forth all Thy praise " * which he hath experienced in himself alone? What was it that Thou didst then, O my God, and how unsearchable are the depths of Thy judgments! * For when, sore sick of a fever, he long lay unconscious in a death-sweat, and all despaired of his recovery, he was baptized without his knowledge; * myself meanwhile little caring, presuming that his soul would retain rather what it had imbibed from me, than what was done to his unconscious body. Far different, however, was it, for he was revived and restored. Straightway, as soon as I could talk to him (which I could as soon as he was able, for I never left him, and we hung too much upon each other), I attempted to jest with him, as if he also would jest with me at that baptism which he had received when mind and senses were in abeyance, but had now learnt that he had received. But he shuddered at me, as if I were his enemy; and, with a remarkable and unexpected freedom, admonished me, if I desired to continue his friend, to desist from speaking to him in such a way. I, confounded and confused, concealed all my emotions, till he should get well, and his health be strong enough to allow me to deal with him as I wished. But he was withdrawn from my frenzy, that with Thee he might be preserved for my comfort. A few days after, during my absence, he had a return of the fever, and died.

9. At this sorrow my heart was utterly darkened, and whatever I looked upon was death. My native country was

1 Ps. xciv. 1. 8 Ps. cvi. 2.

1 Ps. xxxvi. 6, and Rom. xi. 33. 4 See i. sec. 17, note 3, above.

Chap. v.] HIS GRIEF AT THE DEATH OF HIS FRIEND. 63

a torture to me, and my father's house a wondrous unhappiness; and whatsoever I had participated in with him, wanting him, turned into a frightful torture. Mine eyes sought him everywhere, but he was not granted them; and I hated all places because he was not in them; nor could they now say to me,

" Behold, he is coming," as they did when he was alive and absent. I became a great puzzle to myself, and asked my soul why she was so sad, and why she so exceedingly disquieted me; 2 but she knew not what to answer me. And if I said, " Hope thou in God," 2 she very properly obeyed me not; because that most dear friend whom she had lost was, being man, both truer and better than that phantasm 3 she was bid to hope in. Naught but tears were sweet to me, and they succeeded my friend in the dearest of my affections.

Chap. v. Why weeping is pleasant to the wretched.
10. And now, Lord, these things are passed away, and time hath healed my wound. May I learn from Thee, who art Truth, and apply the ear of my heart unto Thy mouth, that Thou mayest tell me why weeping should be so sweet to the unhappy. 4 Hast Thou although present everywhere cast away far from Thee our misery? And Thou abidest in Thy-

1 Ps. xlii. 5. 2 Ibid.

3 The mind may rest in theories and abstractions, but the heart craves a being that it can love; and Archbishop Whately has shown in one of his essays that the idol worship of every age had doubtless its origin in the craving of mind and heart for an embodiment of the object of worship. "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us," says Philip (John xiv. 8), and he expresses the longing of the soul; and when the Lord replies, "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father," He reveals to us God's satisfaction of human wants in the incarnation of His Son.

Augustine's heart was now thrown in upon itself, and his view of God gave him no consolation. It satisfied his mind, perhaps, in a measure, to think of God as a "corporeal brightness" (see iii. 12; iv. 3, 12, 31; v. 19, etc.) when free from trouble, but it could not satisfy him now. He had yet to learn of Him who is the very image of God who by His divine power raised the dead to life again, while, with perfect human sympathy, He could "weep with those that wept," the "Son of Man" (not of a man, He being miraculously born, but of the race of men [avffpuTau]), i.e. the Son of Mankind. See also viii. sec. 27, note, below.

* For so it has ever been found to be:

"Est quaedam flere voluptas; Expletur lacrymis egeriturque dolor."

Ovid, Trist. iv. 3, 38.

64 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [?]OOK IV.

self, but we are disquieted with divers trials; and yet, unless we wept in Thine ears, there would be no hope for us remaining. Whence, then, is it that such sweet fruit is plucked from the bitterness of life, from groans, tears, sighs, and lamentations? Is it the hope that Thou hearest us that sweetens it? This is true of prayer, for therein is a desire to approach unto Thee. But is it also in grief for a thing lost, and the sorrow with which I was then overwhelmed?

For I had neither hope of his coming to life again, nor did I seek this with my tears; but I grieved and wept only, for I was miserable, and had lost my joy. Or is weeping a bitter thing, and for distaste of the things which aforesaid we enjoyed before, and even then, when we are loathing them, does it cause us pleasure?

Chap. vi. His friend being snatched away by death, he imagines that he
remains only as half.

11. But why do I speak of these things? For this is not the time to question, but rather to confess unto Thee. Miserable I was, and miserable is every soul fettered by the friendship of perishable things he is torn to pieces when he loses them, and then is sensible of the misery which he had before ever he lost them. Thus was it at that time with me; I wept most bitterly, and found rest in bitterness. Thus was I miserable, and that life of misery I accounted dearer than my friend.

For though I would willingly have changed it, yet I was even more unwilling to lose it than him; yea, I knew not whether I was willing to lose it even for him, as is handed down to us (if not an invention) of Pylades and Orestes, that they would gladly have died one for another, or both together, it being worse than death to them not to live together. But there had sprung up in me some kind of feeling, too, contrary to this, for both exceedingly wearisome was it to me to live, and dreadful to die. I suppose, the more I loved him, so much the more did I hate and fear, as a most cruel enemy, that death which had robbed me of him; and I imagined it would suddenly annihilate all men, as it had power over him.

Thus, I remember, it was with me. Behold my heart, my God! Behold and look into me, for I remember it well, my

CHAP. VII.] HE FINDS NO COMFORT IN HIS GRIEF. 65

Hope! who cleansest me from the uncleanness of such affections, directing mine eyes towards Thee, and plucking my feet out of the net. I For I was astonished that other mortals lived, since he whom I loved, as if he would never die, was dead; and I wondered still more that I, who was to him a second self, could live when he was dead. Well did one say of his friend, "Thou half of my soul," 2 for I felt that my soul and his soul were but one soul in two bodies; 3 and, consequently, my life was a horror to me, because I would not live in half. And therefore, perchance, was I afraid to die, lest he should die wholly 4 whom I had so greatly loved.

Chap. vii. Troubled by restlessness and grief, he leaves Ms country a second time for Carthage.

12. O madness, which knowest not how to love men as men should be loved! foolish man that I then was, enduring with so much impatience the lot of man! So I fretted, sighed, wept, tormented myself, and took neither rest nor advice. For I bore about with me a rent and polluted soul, impatient of being borne, by me, and where to repose it I found not. Not in pleasant groves, not in sport or song, not in fragrant spots, nor in magnificent banqueting, nor in the pleasures of the bed and the couch, nor, finally, in books and songs did it find repose. All things looked terrible, even the very light itself;
and whatsoever was not what he was, was repulsive and hateful, except groans and tears, for in those alone found I a little repose. But when my soul was withdrawn from them, a heavy burden of misery weighed me down. To Thee, O Lord, should it have been raised, for Thee to lighten and avert it. 5 This I knew, but was neither willing nor able; all

1 Ps. xxv. 15. ' Horace, Carm. i. ode 3.

3 Ovid, Trist. iv. eleg. iv. 72.

4 Augustine's reference to this passage in his Retractations is quoted at the beginning of the book. He might have gone further than to describe his words here as declamatio levis, since the conclusion is not logical.

5 "The great and merciful Architect of His Church, whom not only the philosophers have styled, but the Scripture itself calls τοιούτου (an artist or artificer), employs not on us the hammer and chisel with an intent to wound or mangle us, but only to square and fashion our hard and stubborn hearts into such lively stones as may both grace and strengthen His heavenly structure."
Boyle.

CON. S

66 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

the more since, in my thoughts of Thee, Thou wert not any solid or substantial thing to me. For Thou wert not Thyself, but an empty phantasm, and my error was my god. If I attempted to discharge my burden thereon, that it might find rest, it sank into emptiness, and came rushing down again upon me, and I remained unto myself an unhappy spot, where I could neither stay nor depart from. For whither could my heart fly from my heart? Whither could I fly from mine own self? Whither not follow myself? And yet fled I from my country; for so should my eyes look less for him where they were not accustomed to see him. And thus I left the town of Thagaste, and came to Carthage.

Chap. viii. That his grief ceased by time, and the consolation of friends.
13. Times lose no time, nor do they idly roll through our senses. They work strange operations on the mind. 2 Behold, they came and went from day to day, and by coming and going they disseminated in my mind other ideas and other remembrances, and by little and little patched me up again with the former kind of delights, unto which that sorrow of mine yielded. But yet there succeeded, not certainly other sorrows, yet the causes of other
sorrows. 3 For whence had that former sorrow so easily penetrated to the quick, but that I had poured out my soul upon the dust, in loving one who must die as if he were never to die? But what revived and refreshed me especially was the consolations of other friends, with whom I did love what instead of Thee I loved. And this was a monstrous fable and protracted lie, by whose adulterous contact our soul, which lay itching in our ears, was

1 See iii. 9; iv. 3, 12, 31; v. 19.

2 As Seneca has it: "Quod ratio non quit, saepe sanabit mora" (Agam. 130).

3 See iv. cc. 1, 10, 12, aud vi. c. 16.

4 "Friendship," says Lord Bacon, in his essay thereon, the sentiment being perhaps suggested by Cicero's "Secundas res splendidiiores facit amicitia et adversas partiens communicansque leviores" (De Amicit. 6), "redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halves. " Augustine appears to have been eminently open to influences of this kind. In his De Duab. Anim. con. Munich, (c. ix.) he tells us that friendship was one of the bonds that kept him in the ranks of the Manichceans; and here we find that, aided by time and weeping, it restored him in his great grief. See also v. sec. 19, and vi. sec. 26, below.

CHAP. IX.] GOB SHOULD BE OUR HIGHEST LOVE. 67

being polluted. But that fable would not die to me so oft as any of my friends died. There were other things in them which did more lay hold of my mind, to discourse and jest with them; to indulge in an interchange of kindnesses; to read together pleasant books; together to trifle, and together to be earnest; to differ at times without ill-humour, as a man would do with his own self; and even by the infrequency of these differences to give zest to our more frequent consentings; sometimes teaching, sometimes being taught; longing for the absent with impatience, and welcoming the coming with joy. These and similar expressions, emanating from the hearts of those who loved and were beloved in return, by the countenance, the tongue, the eyes, and a thousand pleasing movements, were so much fuel to melt our souls together, and out of many to make but one.

CprAP. ix. That the love of a human being, however constant in loving and returning love, j^rishes; while he who loves God never loses a friend.

14. This is it that is loved in friends; and so loved that a man's conscience accuses itself if he love not him by whom he is beloved, or love not again him that loves him, expecting nothing from him but indications of his love. Hence that mourning if one die, and gloom
of sorrow, that steeping of the heart in tears, all sweetness turned into bitterness, and upon the loss of the life of the dying, the death of the living. Blessed be he who loveth Thee, and his friend in Thee, and his enemy for Thy sake. For he alone loses none dear to him to whom all are dear in Him who cannot be lost. And who is this but our God, the God that created heaven and earth, 1 and filleth them, 2 because by filling them He created them? 3 None loseth Thee but he who leaveth Thee. And he who leaveth Thee, whither goeth he, or whither fleeth he, but from Thee well pleased to Thee angry? For where doth not he find Thy law in his own punishment? "And Thy law is the truth," 4 and truth Thou.

68 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

Chap X. That all things exist that they may perish, and that we, are not safe unless God watches over us.

15. "Turn us again, Lord God of Hosts, cause Thy face to shine; and we shall be saved." 1 For whithersoever the soul of man turns itself, unless towards Thee, it is affixed to sorrows, 2 yea, though it is affixed to beauteous things without Thee and without itself. And yet they were not unless they were from Thee. They rise and set; and by rising, they begin as it were to be; and they grow, that they may become perfect; and when perfect, they wax old and perish; and all wax not old, but all perish. Therefore when they rise and tend to be, the more rapidly they grow that they may be, so much the more they hasten not to be. This is the way of them. 3 Thus much hast Thou given them, because they are parts of things, which exist not all at the same time, but by departing and succeeding they together make up the universe, of which they are parts. And even thus is our speech accomplished by signs emitting a sound; but this, again, is not perfected unless one word pass away when it has sounded its part, in order that another may succeed it. Let my soul praise Thee out of

1 Pa. lxxx. 19. 8 See iv. cc. 1, 12, and vi. c. 16, below.

3 It is interesting in connection with the above passages to note what Augustine says elsewhere as to the origin of the law of death in the sin of our first parents. In his De Gen. ad Lit. (vi. 25) he speaks thus of their condition in the garden, and the provision made for the maintenance of their life: "Aliud est non posse mori, sicut quasdam naturas immortales creavit Deus; aliud est autem posse non mori, secundum quem modum primus creatus est homo immortalis." Adam, he goes on to say, was able to avert death, by partaking of the tree of life.
He enlarges on this doctrine in Book xiii. De Civ. Dei. He says (sec. 20):
" Our first parents decayed not with years, nor drew nearer to death a condition secured to them in God's marvellous grace by the tree of life, which grew along with the forbidden tree in the midst of Paradise. " Again (sec. 19) he says: " Why do the philosophers find that absurd which the Christian faith preaches, namely, that our first parents were so created, that, if they had not sinned, they would not have been dismissed from their bodies by any death, but would have been endowed with immortality as the reward of their obedience, and would have lived eternally with their bodies ? " That this was the doctrine of the early Church has been fully shown by Bishop Bull in his State of Man before the Fall, vol. ii.
Theoplius of Antioch was of opinion (Ad Attolyc. c. 24) that Adam might have gone on from strength to strength, until at last he " would have been taken up into heaven." See also on this subject Dean Buckland's Sermon on Death; and Delitzsch, Bibl. Psychol, vi. sees. 1 and 2.

CHAP. XI.] A CALL TO RETURN TO GOD. 69

all these things, O God, the Creator of all; but let not my soul be affixed to these things by the glue of love, through the senses of the body. For they go whither they were to go, that they might no longer be; and they rend her with pestilent desires, because she longs to be, and yet loves to rest in what she loves. But in these things no place is to be found; they stay not they flee; and who is he that is able to follow them with the senses of the flesh ? Or who can grasp them, even when they are near ? For tardy is the sense of the flesh, because it is the sense of the flesh, and its boundary is itself.
It sufficeth for that for which it was made, but it is not sufficient to stay things running their course from their appointed starting-place to the end appointed. For in Thy word, by which they were created, they hear the fiat, " Hence and hitherto."

Chai\ xi. That portions of the world are not to be loved; but that God, their Author, is immutable, and His word eternal.

16. Be not foolish, O my soul, and deaden not the ear of thine heart with the tumult of thy folly. Hearken thou also.
The word itself invokes thee to return; and there is the place of rest imperturbable, where love is not abandoned if itself abandoneth not. Behold, these things pass away, that others may succeed them, and so this lower universe be made complete in all its parts. But do I depart anywhere, saith the word of God ? There fix thy habitation. There commit whatsoever thou hast thence, my soul; at all events now thou art tired out with deceits. Commit to truth whatsoever thou hast from the truth, and nothing shalt thou lose; and thy decay shall flourish again, and all thy diseases be healed, 1 and thy perishable parts shall be re-formed and renovated, and drawn together to thee; nor shall they put thee down where themselves descend, but they shall abide with thee, and continue for ever before God, who abideth and continueth for ever. 2
17. Why, then, be perverse and follow thy flesh? Rather let it be converted and follow thee. Whatever by her thou feel'st, is but in part; and the whole, of which these are portions, thou art ignorant of, and yet they delight thee.

1 Ps. ciii. 3. 2 1 Pet L 23.

70 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

But had the sense of thy flesh been capable of comprehending the whole, and not itself also, for thy punishment, been justly limited to a portion of the whole, thou wouldest that whatsoever existeth at the present time should pass away, that so the whole might please thee more. For what we speak, also by the same sense of the flesh thou nearest; and yet wouldest not thou that the syllables should stay, but fly away, that others may come, and the whole be heard. Thus it is always, when any single thing is composed of many, all of which exist not together, all together would delight more than they do simply could all be perceived at once. But far better than these is He who made all; and He is our God, and He passeth not away, for there is nothing to succeed Him. If bodies please thee, praise God for them, and turn back thy love upon their Creator, lest in those things which please thee thou displease.

Chap. xii. Love is not condemned, but love in God, in whom there w rest through Jesus Christ, is to be preferred.

18. If souls please thee, let them be loved in God; for they also are mutable, but in Him are they firmly stablished, else would they pass, and pass away. In Him, then, let them be beloved; and draw unto Him along with thee as many souls as thou canst, and say to them, " Him let us love, Him let us love; He created these, nor is He far off. For He did not create them, and then depart; but they are of Him, and in Him. Behold, there is He wherever truth is known. He is within the very heart, but yet hath the heart wandered from Him. Eeturn to your heart, 3 ye transgres-

1 See xiii. sec. 22, below. 2 A similar illustration occurs in sec. 15, above.

3 Augustine is never weary of pointing out that there is a lex occidta (in Ps. lvii. sec 1), a law written on the heart, which cries to those who have forsaken the written law, " Return to your hearts, ye transgressors." In like manner he interprets (De Serm. Dom. in Mon. ii. sec. 11) "Enter into thy closet," of the heart of man. The door is the gate of the senses through which carnal thoughts enter into the mind. We are to shut the door, because the devil (in Ps. cxli. 3) si clausum invenerit transit. In sec. 16, above, the figure is changed, and we are to fear lest these objects of sense render us "deaf in the ear of our heart " with the tumult of our folly. Men will not, he says, go back into their hearts, because the heart is full of sin, and they fear the reproaches ol conscience, just (in Ps. xxxiii. 5) "as those are unwilling to enter their houses
CHAP. XII.] HOW CHRIST HUMBLED HIMSELF. 71

sors, I and cleave fast unto Him that made you. Stand with Him, and you shall stand fast. Rest in Him, and you shall be at rest. Whither go ye in rugged paths? Whither go ye? The good that you love is from Him; and as it has respect unto Him it is both good and pleasant, and justly shall it be embittered, because whatsoever cometh from Him is unjustly loved if He be forsaken for it. Why, then, will ye wander farther and farther in these difficult and toilsome ways? There is no rest where ye seek it. Seek what ye seek; but it is not there where ye seek. Ye seek a blessed life in the land of death; it is not there. For could a blessed life be where life itself is not?"

19. But our very Life descended hither, and bore our death, and slew it, out of the abundance of His own life; and thundering He called loudly to us to return hence to Him into that secret place whence He came forth to us first into the Virgin's womb, where the human creature was married to Him, our mortal flesh, that it might not be for ever mortal, and thence "as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, rejoicing as a strong man to run a race." 3 For He tarried not, but ran crying out by words, deeds, death, life, descent, ascension, crying aloud to us to return to Him. And He departed from our sight, that we might return to our heart, and there find Him. For He departed, and behold, He is here. He would not be long with us, yet left us not; for He departed thither, whence He never departed, because "the world was made by Him." 4 And in this world He was, and into this world He came to save sinners, 5 unto whom my soul doth confess, that He may heal it, for it hath sinned against Him. 6 ye sons of men, how long so slow of heart? 7 Even now, after the Life is descended to you, will who have troublesome wives." These outer things, which too often draw us away from Him, God intends should lift us up to Him who is better than they, though they could all be ours at once, since He made them all; and "woe," he says (Be Lib. Arb. ii. 16), "to them who love the indications of Thee rather than Thee, and remember not what these indicated."

1 Isa. lvi. 8. 2 See iv. cc. 1, 10, above, and vi. c. 16, below.

* Ps. xix. 5. * John i. 10.

1 Tim. i. 15. Ps. xli. 4.
7 Luke xxiv. 25.

72 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]
ye not ascend and live? 1 But whither ascend ye, when yeare on high, and set your mouth against the heavens? 2 Descend that ye may ascend, 3 and ascend to God. For ye have fallen by "ascending against Him." Tell them this, that they may weep in the valley of tears * and so draw them with thee to God, because it is by His Spirit that thou speakest thus unto them, if thou speakest burning with the fire of love.

Chap. xiii. Love originates from grace and beauty enticing us.

20. These things I knew not at that time, and I loved these lower beauties, and I was sinking to the very depths; and I said to my friends, "Do we love anything but the beautiful? What, then, is the beautiful? And what is beauty? What is it that allures and unites us to the things we love; for unless there were a grace and beauty in them, they could by no means attract us to them?" And I marked and perceived that in bodies themselves there was a beauty from their forming a kind of whole, and another from mutual fitness, as one part of the body with its whole, or a shoe with a foot, and so on. And this consideration sprang up in my mind out of the recesses of my heart, and I wrote books (two or three, I think) "on the fair and fit." Thou knowest, Lord, for it has escaped me; for I have them not, but they have strayed from me, I know not how.

1 "The Son of God," says Augustine in another place, "became a son of man, that the sons of men might be made sons of God." He put off the form of God that by which He manifested His divine glory in heaven and put on the "form of a servant" (Phil. ii. 6, 7), that as the outshining [a.\ua\ya\ry,a] of the Father's glory (Heb. i. 3) He might draw us to Himself. He descended and emptied Himself of His dignity that we might ascend, giving an example for all time (in Ps. xxxiii. sec. 4); for, "lest man should disdain to imitate a humble man, God humbled Himself, so that the pride of the human race might not disdain to walk in the footsteps of God." See also v. sec. 5, note, below.

2 Ps. lxxiii. 9.

3 "There is something in humility which, strangely enough, exalts the heart, and something in pride which debases it. This seems, indeed, to be contradictory, that loftiness should debase and lowliness exalt. But pious humility enables us to submit to what is above us; and nothing is more exalted above us than God; and therefore humility, by making us subject to God, exalts us." De Giv. Dei, xiv. sec. 13.

* Ps. lxxxiv. 6.

CHAP. XIV.] HE WISHES FOR THE APPROBATION OF HERITIJS. 73

Chap. xiv. Concerning the book which he wrote "on the Fair and Fit,"

dedicated to Hierim.

21. But what was it that prompted me, Lord my God, to dedicate these books to Hierius, an orator of Home, whom I knew not by sight, but loved the man for the fame of his learning, for which he was renowned, and some words of his which I had heard, and which had pleased me? But the more did he please me in that he pleased others, who highly extolled him, astonished that a native of Syria, instructed first in Greek eloquence, should afterwards become a wonderful Latin orator, and one so well versed in studies pertaining unto wisdom. Thus a man is commended and loved when absent. Doth this love enter into the heart of the hearer from the mouth of the commender? Not so. But through one who loveth is another inflamed. For hence he is loved who is commended when the commender is believed to praise him with an unfeigned heart; that is, when he that loves him praises him.

22. Thus, then, loved I men upon the judgment of men, not upon Thine, my God, in which no man is deceived. But yet why not as the renowned charioteer, as the huntsman, I known far and wide by a vulgar popularity but far otherwise, and seriously, and so as I would desire to be myself commended? For I would not that they should commend and love me as actors are, although I myself did commend and love them, but I would prefer being unknown than so known, and even being hated than so loved. Where now are these influences of such various and divers kinds of loves distributed in one soul? What is it that I am in love with in another, which, if I did not hate, I should not detest and repel from myself, seeing we are equally men? For it does not follow that because a good horse is loved by him who would not, though he might, be that horse, the same should therefore be affirmed by an actor, who partakes of our nature. D^ I then love in a man that which I, who am a man, hate to be? Man himself is a great deep, whose very hairs Thou numberest, Lord, and they fall not to the ground without Thee. And yet are the hairs of his head more readily numbered than are his affections and the movements of his heart.

1 See vi. sec. 13, below 2 Matt. x. 29, 30.

74 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

23. But that orator was of the kind that I so loved as I wished myself to be such a one; and I erred through an inflated pride, and was "carried about with every wind," 1 but yet was piloted by Thee, though very secretly. And whence know I, and whence confidently confess I unto Thee that I
loved him more because of the love of those who praised him, than for the very things for which they praised him?
Because had he been unpraised, and these self-same men had dispraised him, and with dispraise and scorn told the same things of him, I should never have been so inflamed and provoked to love him. And yet the things had not been different, nor he himself different, but only the affections of the narrators. See where lieth the impotent soul that is not yet sustained by the solidity of truth! Just as the blasts of tongues blow from the breasts of conjecturers, so is it tossed this way and that, driven forward and backward, and the light is obscured to it and the truth not perceived. And behold it is before us. And to me it was a great matter that my style and studies should be known to that man; the which if he approved, I were the more stimulated, but if he disapproved, this vain heart of mine, void of Thy solidity, had been offended.
And yet that "fair and fit," about which I wrote to him, I reflected on with pleasure, and contemplated it, and admired it, though none joined me in doing so.

Chap. XV. While writing, being blinded by corporeal images, he failed to recognise the spiritual nature of God.

24. But not yet did I perceive the hinge on which this impotent matter turned in Thy wisdom, Thou Omnipotent, " who alone doest great wonders; " and my mind ranged through corporeal forms, and I defined and distinguished as "fair," that which is so in itself, and "fit," that which is beautiful as it corresponds to some other thing; and this I supported by corporeal examples. And I turned my attention to the nature of the mind, but the false opinions which I entertained of spiritual things prevented me from seeing the

1 Eph. iv. 14. 2 Ps. cxxxvi. 4.

CHAP. XV.] THE CHIEF GOOD. 75

truth. Yet the very power of truth forced itself on my gaze, and I turned away my throbbing soul from incorporeal substance, to lineaments, and colours, and bulky magnitudes.
And not being able to perceive these in the mind, I thought I could not perceive my mind. And whereas in virtue I loved peace, and in viciousness I hated discord, in the former I distinguished unity, but in the latter a kind of division. And in that unity I conceived the rational soul and the nature of truth and of the chief good I to consist. But in this division I, unfortunate one, imagined there was I know not what substance of
1 Augustine tells us (Be Civ. Dei, xix. 1) that Varro, in his lost book De Philosophia, gives two hundred and eighty-eight different opinions as regards the chief good, and shows us how readily they may be reduced in number. Now, as then, philosophers ask the same questions. We have our hedonists, whose "good" is their own pleasure and happiness; our materialists, who would seek the common good of all; and our intuitionists, who aim at following the dictates of conscience. When the pretensions of these various schools are examined without prejudice, the conclusion is forced upon us that we must have recourse to Revelation for a reconciliation of the difficulties of the various systems; and that the philosophers, to employ Davidson's happy illustration (Prophecies, Introd.), forgetting that their faded taper has been insensibly kindled by gospel light, are attempting now, as in Augustine's time (ibid. sec. 4), "to fabricate for themselves a happiness in this life based upon a virtue as deceitful as it is proud." Christianity gives the golden key to the attainment of happiness, when it declares that "godliness is profitable for all things, having the promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv. 8). It was a saying of Bacon (Essay on Adversity), that while "prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity is the blessing of the New." He would have been nearer the truth had he said that while temporal rewards were the special promise of the Old Testament, spiritual rewards are the special promise of the New. For though Christ's immediate followers had to suffer "adversity" in the planting of our faith, adversity cannot properly be said to be the result of following Christ. It has yet to be shown that, on the whole, the greatest amount of real happiness does not result, even in this life, from a Christian life, for virtue is, even here, its own reward. The fulness of the reward, however, will only be received in the life to come. Augustine's remark, therefore, still holds good that "life eternal is the supreme good, and death eternal the supreme evil, and that to obtain the one and escape the other we must live rightly" (ibid. sec. 4); and again, that even in the midst of the troubles of life, "as we are saved, so we are made happy, by hope. And as we do not as yet possess a present, but look for a future salvation, so it is with our happiness, ... we ought patiently to endure till we come to the ineffable enjoyment of unmixed good." See Abbe Anselme, Sur le Sonverain Bien, vol. v. serm. 1; and the last chapter of Professor Sidgwick's Methods of Ethics, for the conclusions at which a mind at once lucid and dispassionate has arrived on this question.

76 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

irrational life, and the nature of the chief evil, which should not be a substance only, but real life also, and yet not emanating from Thee, my God, from whom are all things. And yet the first I called a Monad, as if it had been a soul without sex, 1 but the other a Duad, anger in deeds of violence, in deeds of passion, lust, not knowing of what I talked. For I had not known or learned that neither was evil a substance, nor our soul that chief and unchangeable good.

25. For even as it is in the case of deeds of violence, if that emotion of the soul from whence the stimulus comes be depraved, and carry itself insolently and mutinously; and
in acts of passion, if that affection of the soul whereby carnal pleasures are imbibed is unrestrained, so do errors and false opinions contaminate the life, if the reasonable soul itself be depraved, as it was at that time in me, who was ignorant that it must be enlightened by another light that it may be partaker of truth, seeing that itself is not that nature of truth.

"For Thou wilt light my candle; the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness;" 2 and "of His fulness have all we received," 3 for "that was the true Light which lighted every man that cometh into the world;" 4 for in Thee there is "no variableness, neither shadow of turning." *

26. But I pressed towards Thee, and was repelled by Thee that I might taste of death, for Thou "resistest the proud." 6

But what prouder than for me, with a marvellous madness, to assert myself to be that by nature which Thou art? For

1 'Or 'an unintelligent soul;' very good mss. reading 'sensu,' the majority, it appears, 'sexu.' If we read 'sexu,' the absolute unity of the first principle, or Monad, may he insisted upon, and in the inferior principle, divided into 'violence' and 'lust,' 'violence,' as implying strength, may be looked on as the male, 'lust' was, in mythology, represented as female; if we take 'sensu,' it will express the living but unintelligent soul of the world in the Manichæan, as a pantheistic system." E. B. P.

2 Ps. xviii. 28. Augustine constantly urges our recognition of the truth that God is the "Father of lights." From Him as our central sun, all light, whether of wisdom or knowledge, proceedeth, and if, changing the figure, our candle which He hath lighted be blown out, He again must light it. Compare Enar, in Ps. xciii. 147; and Sermons, 67 and 341.

3 John i. 16. 4 John i. 9.

5 Jas. i. 17. 6 Jas. iv. 6, and 1 Pet. v. ii.

CHAP. XV.] HIS MANICHÆAN VIEWS. *7 *J

whereas I was mutable, so much being clear to me, for my very longing to become wise arose from the wish from worse to become better, yet chose I rather to think Thee mutable, than myself not to be that which Thou art. Therefore was I repelled by Thee, and Thou resistedst my changeable stiffneckedness; and I imagined corporeal forms, and, being flesh, I accused flesh, and, being "a wind that passeth away," 1 I returned not to Thee, but went wandering and wandering on towards those things that have no being, neither in Thee, nor in me, nor in the body. Neither were they created for me by Thy truth, but conceived by my vain conceit out of corporeal things. And I used to
ask Thy faithful little ones, my fellow-citizens, from whom I unconsciously stood exiled, I used flippantly and foolishly to ask, "Why, then, doth the soul which God created err?"
But I would not permit any one to ask me, "Why, then, doth God err?" And I contended that Thy immutable substance erred of constraint, rather than admit that my mutable substance had gone astray of free will, and erred as a punishment. 2

1 Ps. lxxviii. 39.

* It may assist those unacquainted with Augustine's writings to understand the last three sections, if we set before them a brief view of the Manichæan speculations as to the good and evil principles, and the nature of the human soul: (1) The Manichæans believed that there were two principles or substances, one good and the other evil, and that both were eternal and opposed one to the other. The good principle they called God, and the evil, matter or Hyle (Con. Faust, xxi. 1, 2). Faustus, in his argument with Augustine, admits that they sometimes called the evil nature "God," but simply as a conventional usage. Augustine says thereon (ibid. sec. 4): "Faustus glibly defends himself by saying, 'We speak not of two gods, but of God and Hyle;' but when you ask for the meaning of Hyle, you find that it is in fact another god. If the Manichreans gave the name of Hyle, as the ancients did, to the unformed matter which is susceptible of bodily forms, we should not accuse them of making two gods. But it is pure folly and madness to give to matter the power of forming bodies, or to deny that what has this power is God." Augustine alludes in the above passage to the Platonic theory of matter, which, as the late Dean Mansel has shown us (Gnostic Heresies, Basilides, etc.), resulted after his time in Pantheism, and which was entirely opposed to the dualism of Manichæus. It is to this "power of forming bodies" claimed for matter, then, that Augustine alludes in our text (sec. 24) as "not only a substance but real life also."

(2) The human soul the Manichæans declared to be of the same nature as God, though not created by Him it having originated in the intermingling of part of His being with the evil principle, in the conflict between the kingdoms of

78 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

27. I was abcut six or seven and twenty years of age when I wrote those volumes meditating upon corporeal fictions, which clamoured in the ears of my heart. These I directed, sweet Truth, to Thy inward melody, pondering on the "fair and fit," and longing to stay and listen to Thee, and to rejoice greatly at the Bridegroom's voice, 1 and I could not; for by the voices of my own errors was I driven forth, and by the weight of my own pride was I sinking into the lowest pit.
For Thou didst not "make me to hear joy and gladness;" nor did the bones which were not yet humbled rejoice. 2
Chap. xvi. He very easily understood the liberal arts and the categories of Aristotle, but without true fruit.

28. And what did it profit me that, when scarce twenty years old, a book of Aristotle's, entitled The Ten Predicaments, fell into my hands, on whose very name I hung as on something great and divine, when my rhetoric master of Carthage, and others who were esteemed learned, referred to it with cheeks swelling with pride, I read it alone and understood it? And on my conferring with others, who said that with the assistance of very able masters who not only explained it orally, but drew many things in the dust they scarcely understood it, and could tell me no more about it than I had acquired in reading it by myself alone? And the book

light and darkness (in Ps. cxi. sec. 10). Augustine says to Faustus: "You generally call your soul not a temple, but a part or member of God" (Con. Faust, xx. 15); and thus, "identifying themselves with the nature and substance of God" (ibid. xii. 13), they did not refer their sin to themselves, but to the race of darkness, and so did not "prevail over their sin." That is, they denied original sin, and asserted that it necessarily resulted from the soul's contact with the body. To this Augustine steadily replied, that as the soul was not of the nature of God, but created by Him and endowed with free will, man was responsible for his transgressions. Again, referring to the Confessions, we find Augustine speaking consistently with his then belief, when he says that he had not then learned that the soul was not a "chief and unchangeable good" (sec. 24), or that "it was not that nature of truth" (sec. 25); and that when he transgressed he accused flesh rather than himself; and, as a result of his Manichæan errors (sec. 26), "contended that God's immutable substance erred of constraint, rather than admit that his mutable substance had gone astray of free will, and erred as a punishment."

1 John iii. 29. 2 Ps. li. 8, Vulg.

8 As the mathematicians did their figures, in dust or saud.

CHAP. XVI.] THE CATEGORIES OF ARISTOTLE. 79

appeared to me to speak plainly enough of substances, such as man is, and of their qualities, such as the figure of a man, of what kind it is; and his stature, how many feet high; and his relationship, whose brother he is; or where placed, or when born; or whether he stands or sits, or is shod or armed, or does or suffers anything; and whatever innumerable things might be classed under these nine categories, 1 of which I have given some examples, or under that chief category of substance.

29. What did all this profit me, seeing it even hindered me, when, imagining that whatsoever existed was comprehended in those ten categories, I tried so to understand, O
my God, Thy wonderful and unchangeable unity as if Thou also hadst been subjected to Thine own greatness or beauty, so that they should exist in Thee as their subject, like as in bodies, whereas Thou Thyself art Thy greatness and beauty? But a body is not great or fair because it is a body, seeing that, though it were less great or fair, it should nevertheless be a body. But that which I had conceived of Thee was falsehood, not truth, fictions of my misery, not the supports of Thy blessedness.

For Thou hadst commanded, and it was done in me, that the earth should bring forth briars and thorns to me, and that with labour I should get my bread.

30. And what did it profit me that I, the base slave of vile affections, read unaided, and understood, all the books that I could get of the so-called liberal arts? And I took delight in

1 "The categories enumerated by Aristotle are ivn'ia, -rlo-ov, *7i>y, -rpio-Tt, rod, Tore, xtiafai, ix<.iv, 9t>u7m, -xutrxuv; which are usually rendered, as adequately as perhaps they can be in our language, substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, situation, possession, action, suffering. The catalogue (which certainly is but a very crude one) has been by some writers enlarged, as it is evident may easily be done by subdividing some of the heads; and by others curtailed, as it is no less evident that all may ultimately be referred to the two heads of substance and attribute, or, in the language of some logicians, 'accident'" (Whately's Logic, iv. 2, sec. 1, note). "These are called in Latin the prcedicamerits, because they can be said or predicated in the same sense of all other terms, as well as of all the objects denoted by them, whereas no other term can be correctly said of them, because no other is employed to express the full extent of their meaning" (Gillies, Analysis of Aristotle, c. 2).

Isa. xxxii. ]3. s Gen jjj l9

80 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IV.]

them, but knew not whence came whatever in them was true and certain. For my back then was to the light, and my face towards the things enlightened; whence my face, with which I discerned the things enlightened, was not itself enlightened. Whatever was written either on rhetoric or logic, geometry, music, or arithmetic, did I, without any great difficulty, and without the teaching of any man, understand, as Thou knowest, O Lord my God, because both quickness of comprehension and acuteness of perception are Thy gifts. Yet did I not thereupon sacrifice to Thee. So, then, it served not to my use, but rather to my destruction, since I went about to get so good a portion of my substance into my own power; and I kept not my strength for Thee, but went away from Thee into a far country, to waste it upon harlotries. 3 For what did good abilities profit me, if I did not employ them to good uses? For I did not perceive that those arts were acquired with
great difficulty, even by the studious and those gifted with genius, until I endeavoured to explain them to such; and he was the most proficient in them who followed my explanations not too slowly.

31. But what did this profit me, supposing that Thou, Lord God, the Truth, wert a bright and vast body, 4 and I a piece of that body? Perverseness too great! But such was I. Nor do I blush, my God, to confess to Thee Thy mercies towards me, and to call upon Thee I, who blushed not then to avow before men my blasphemies, and to bark against Thee. What profited me then my nimble wit in those sciences and all those knotty volumes, disentangled by me without help from a human master, seeing that I erred so odiously, and with such sacrilegious baseness, in the doctrine of piety? Or what impediment was it to Thy little ones to have a far slower wit, seeing that they departed not far from Thee, that in the nest of Thy Church they might safely become fledged, and nourish the wings of charity by the food of a sound faith? O Lord our God, under the shadow of Thy wings let us hope, 5 defend us, and carry us. Thou wilt carry us both when little,


* See iii. 12; iv. 3, 12; v. 19. s Ps. xxxvi. 7.

CHAP. XVJ.] GOD OUR SUPREME GOOD. 81

md even to grey hairs wilt Thou carry us; I for our firmness, when it is Thou, then is it firmness; but when it is our own, then it is infirmity. Our good lives always with Thee, from which when we are averted we are perverted. Let as now, Lord, return, that we be not overturned, because with Thee our good lives without any eclipse, which good Thou Thyself art. 2 And we need not fear lest we should find no place unto which to return because we fell away from it; for when we were absent, our home Thy Eternity fell not.

* Isa. xlvi 4. See xi sec. 5, note, below.

CON". F

82 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]
BOOK FIFTH.

HE DESCRIBES THE TWENTY-NINTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, IN WHICH, HAVING DISCOVERED THE FALLACIES OF THE MANICHVEANS, HE PROFESSED RHETORIC AT ROME AND MILAN. HAVING HEARD AMBROSE, HE BEGINS TO COME TO HIMSELF.

Chap. I. That it becomes the soul to praise God, and to confess unto Him.

1. A CCEPT the sacrifice of my confessions by the agency XI of my tongue, which Thou hast formed and quickened, that it may confess to Thy name; and heal Thou all my hones, and let them say, " Lord, who is like unto Thee? " x For neither does he who confesses to Thee teach Thee what may be passing within him, because a closed heart doth not exclude Thine eye, nor does man's hardness of heart repulse Thine hand, but Thou dissolvest it when Thou wiliest, either in pity or in vengeance, " and there is no one who can hide himself from Thy heat." 2 But let my soul praise Thee, that it may love Thee; and let it confess Thine own mercies to Thee, that it may praise Thee. Thy whole creation ceaseth not, nor is it silent in Thy praises neither the spirit of man, by the voice directed unto Thee, nor animal nor corporeal things, by the voice of those meditating thereon f so that our souls may

1 Ps. xxxv. 10. 2 Ps. xix. 6.

3 St. Paul speaks of a "minding of the flesh" and a "minding of the spirit" (Rom. viii. 6, margin), and we are prone to be attracted and held by the carnal surroundings of life; that is, " quae per carnem sentiri queruntid est per oculos, per aures, ceterosque corporis sensus" (De Vera Relig. xxiv.). But God would have us, as we meditate on the things that enter by the gates of the senses, to arise towards Him, through these His creatures. Our Father in heaven might have ordered His creation simply in a utilitarian way, letting, for example, hunger be satisfied without any of the pleasures of taste, and so of the other senses. But He has not so done. To every sense He has given its appropriate pleasure as well as its proper use. And though this presents to us a source of temptation, still ought we for it to praise His goodness to the full, and that corde or<i opere. Brad ward, ii. c. 23. See also \sec. 1, note 3, and iv. sec. 18, above.

CHAP. II.] THE SINNER CANNOT ESCAPE GOD. 83

from their weariness arise towards Thee, leaning on those things which Thou hast made, and passing on to Thee, who hast made them wonderfully and there is there refreshment and true strength.
Chap. ii. On the vanity of those who ivish to escape the Omnipotent Ood.

2. Let the restless and the unjust depart and flee from Thee. Thou both seest them and distinguishest the shadows.

And lo! all things with them are fair, yet are they themselves foul. 1 And how have they injured Thee? 2 Or in what have they disgraced Thy government, which is just and perfect from heaven even to the lowest parts of the earth. For whither fled they when they fled from Thy presence? 3 Or where dost Thou not find them? 4 But they fled that they might not see Thee seeing them, and blinded might stumble against Thee; since Thou forsakest nothing that Thou hast made that the unjust might stumble against Thee, and justly be hurt, with-

1 Augustine frequently recurs to the idea, that in God's overruling Providence, the foulness and sin of man does not disturb the order and fairness of the universe. He illustrates the idea by reference to music, painting, and oratory. " For as the beauty of a picture is increased by well-managed shadows, so, to the eye that has skill to discern it, the universe is beautified even by sinners, though, con-

2 Bidered by themselves, their deformity is a sad blemish " (De Civ. Dei. xi. 23). So again, he says, God would never have created angels or men whose future wickedness He foreknew, unless He could turn them to the use of the good, "thus embellishing the course of the ages as it were an exquisite poem set off with antitheses " (ibid. xi. 18); and further on, in the same section, " as the oppositions of contraries lend beauty to language, so the beauty of the course of this world is achieved by the opposition of contraries, arranged, as it were, by an eloquenue not of words, but of things." These reflections affected Augustine's views as to the last things. They seemed to him to render the idea entertained by Origen (De Princ. i. 6) and other Fathers as to a general restoration [a^oxec rd, <rraai;) unnecessary. See Hagenbach's Hist. of Doct. etc. i. 383 (Clark).

3 "In Scripture they are called God's enemies who oppose His rule not by nature but by vice, having no power to hurt Him, but only themselves. For they are His enemies not through their power to hurt, but by their will to oppose Him. For God is unchangeable, and wholly proof against injury " (De Civ. Dei. xii. 3).

4 Ps. exxxix. 7. 4 Gen. xvi. 13, 14. 5 Wisd. ii. 2f. Old ver.

6 He also refers to the injury man does himself by sin in ii. sec. 13, above; and elsewhere he suggests the law which underlies it: "The vice which makes those who are called God's enemies resist Him, is an evil not to God but to themselves. And to them it is an evil solely because it corrupts the good of their nature. " And

84 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]
drawing themselves from Thy gentleness, and stumbling against Thine uprightness, and falling upon their own roughness. Forsooth, they know not that Thou art everywhere whom no place encompasseth, and that Thou alone art near even to those that remove far from Thee. Let them, then, be converted and seek Thee; because not as they have forsaken their Creator hast Thou forsaken Thy creature. Let them be converted and seek Thee; and behold, Thou art there in their hearts, in the hearts of those who confess to Thee, and cast themselves upon Thee, and weep on Thy bosom after their obdurate ways, even Thou gently wiping away their tears. And they weep the more, and rejoice in weeping, since Thou, O Lord, not man, flesh and blood, but Thou, Lord, who didst make, remakest and comfortest them. And where was I when I was seeking Thee? Aud Thou wert before me, but I had gone away even from myself; nor did I find myself, much less Thee!

Chap. hi. Having heard Faustus, the most learned bishop of the Manichaians, he discerns that God, the Author both of things animate and inanimate, chiefly has care for the humble.

3. Let me lay bare before my God that twenty-ninth year of my age. There had at this time come to Carthage a certain bishop of the Manichseans, by name Faustus, a great snare of the devil, and many were entangled by him through the allurement of his smooth speech; the which, although I did commend, yet could I separate from the truth of those things which I was eager to learn. Nor did I esteem the small dish of oratory so much as the science, which this their so praised Faustus placed before me to feed upon. Fame, indeed, had before spoken of him to me, as most skilled in all becoming learning, and pre-eminently skilled in the liberal sciences. And as I had read and retained in memory many injunctions of the philosophers, I used to compare some teachings when we suffer for our sins we should thank God that we are not unpunished (De Civ. Dei. xii. 3). But if, when God punishes us, we still continue in our sin, we shall be more confirmed in habits of sin, and then, as Augustine in another place (in Ps. vii. 15) warns us, "our facility in sinning will be the punishment of God for our former yieldings to sin." See also Butler's Analogy, Pt. i. ch. 5, "On a state of probation as intended for moral discipline and improvement."

1 Ps. lxxiii. 27.
The proud Thou knowest afar off." 2 Nor dost Thou draw near but to the contrite heart, 3 nor art Thou found by the Droud, 4 not even could they number by cunning skill the stars and the sand, and measure the starry regions, and trace the courses of the planets.

4. For with their understanding and the capacity which Thou hast bestowed upon them they search out these things; md much have they found out, and foretold many years before, the eclipses of those luminaries, the sun and moon, on what lay, at what hour, and from how many particular points they were likely to come. Nor did their calculation fail them; and it came to pass even as they foretold. And they wrote down the rules found out, which are read at this day; and from these others foretell in what year, and in what month of the year, and on what day of the month, and at what hour of the day, and at what quarter of its light, either moon or sun to be eclipsed, and thus it shall be even as it is foretold.

ind men who are ignorant of these things marvel and are amazed, and they that know them exult and are exalted; and by an impious pride, departing from Thee, and forsaking Thy light, they foretell a failure of the sun's light which is likely to occur so long before, but see not their own, which is now present. For they seek not religiously whence they have the ability wherewith they seek out these things. And finding that Thou hast made them, they give not themselves up to thee, that Thou mayest preserve what Thou hast made, noracrifice themselves to Thee, even such as they have made themselves to be; nor do they slay their own pride, as fowlsifth the air, 5 nor their own curiosities, by which (like the fishes

1 Wisd. xiii. 9. 2 Ps. cxxxviii. 6.

3 Ps. xxxiv. 18, and cxlv. 18. * See Book iv. sec. 19, note, above.

6 He makes use of the same illustrations on Psalms viii. and xi., where the birds if the air represent the proud, the fishes of the sea those who have too great a curiosity, while the beasts of the field are those given to carnal pleasures. It

86 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

of the sea) they wander over the unknown paths of the abyss, nor their own extravagance, as the " beasts of the field," * that Thou, Lord, "a consuming fire," 2 mayest burn up their lifeless cares and renew them immortally.

5. But the way Thy Word, 3 by whom Thou didst make these things which they number, and themselves who number, and the sense by which they perceive what they number, and the judgment out of which they number they knew not, and that of Thy wisdom there is no number. 4 But the Onlybegotten has been " made unto us wisdom, and
righteousness, and sanctification," 5 and has been numbered amongst us, and paid tribute to Cæsar. 6 This way, by which they might descend to Him from themselves, they knew not; nor that through Him they might ascend unto Him. 7 This way they knew not, and they think themselves exalted with the stars 8 and shining, and lo! they fell upon the earth, 9 and "their foolish heart was darkened." 10 They say many true things concerning the creature; but Truth, the Artificer of the creature, they seek not with devotion, and hence they find Him not.

Or if they find Him, knowing that He is God, they glorify Him not as God, neither are they thankful, 11 but become vain in their imaginations, and say that they themselves are wise, 1 attributing to themselves what is Thine; and by this, with most perverse blindness, they desire to impute to Thee what is their own, forging lies against Thee who art the Truth, and changing the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things, 13 changing Thy truth into a lie, and worshipping and serving the creature more than the Creator. 14

6. Many truths, however, concerning the creature did I retain will be seen that there is a correspondence between them and the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, in 1 John ii. 16. See also above, Book iii. sec. 16; and below, Book x. sec. 41, etc.

1 Ps. viii. 7, 8. * Deut. iv. 24. 3 John i. 3.

4 Ps. cxlvii. 5, Vulg. 5 1 Cor. i. 30. 6 Matt. xvii. 27.

7 In Sermon 123, sec. 3, we have: "Christ as God is the country to which we go Christ as man is the way by which we go." See note on Book iv. sec. 19, above.

Isa. xiv. 13. 9 Rev. xii. 4. in Rom. i. 21. " Ibid.

v Rom. i. 22. 13 Rom. i. 23. !4 Rom. i. 25.

CHAP. IV.] KNOWLEDGE OF GOD THE HIGHEST HAPPINESS. 87

from these men, and the cause appeared to me from calculations, the succession of seasons, and the visible manifestations of the stars; and I compared them with the sayings of Manichæus, who in his frenzy has written most extensively on these subjects, but discovered not any account either of the solstices, or the equinoxes, the eclipses of the luminaries, or anything of the kind I had learned in the books of secular philosophy. But therein I was ordered to believe, and yet it corresponded not with those rules acknowledged by calculation and my own sight, but was far different.
Chap. iv. That the knowledge of terrestrial and celestial things does not give happiness, but the knowledge of God only.

7. Doth, then, Lord God of truth, whosoever knoweth those things therefore please Thee? For unhappy is the man who knoweth all those things, but knoweth Thee not; but happy is he who knoweth Thee, though these he may not know. 1 But he who knoweth both Thee and them is not the happier on account of them, but is happy on account of Thee only, if knowing Thee he glorify Thee as God, and gives thanks, and becomes not vain in his thoughts. 2 But as he is happier who knows how to possess a tree, and for the use thereof renders thanks to Thee, although he may not know how many cubits high it is, or how wide it spreads, than he that measures it and counts all its branches, and neither owns it nor knows or loves its Creator; so a just man, whose is the entire world of wealth, 3 and who, as having nothing, yet possesseth all things 4 by cleaving unto Thee, to whom all things

1 What a contrast does his attitude here present to his supreme regard for secular learning before his conversion! We have constantly in his writings expressions of the same kind. On Psalm ciii. he dilates lovingly on the fount of happiness the word of God is, as compared with the writings of Cicero, Tully, and Plato; and again on Psalm xxxviii. he shows that the word is- the source of all true joy. So likewise in De Trin. iv. 1: "That mind is more praiseworthy which knows even its own weakness, than that which, without regard to this, searches out and even comes to know the ways of the stars, or which holds fast such knowledge already acquired, while ignorant of the way by which itself to enter into its own proper health and strength. . . . Such a one has preferred to know his own weakness, rather than to know the walls of the world, the foundations of the earth, and the pinnacles of heaven." See iii. sec. 9, note, above. - Rom. i. 21. 3 Prov. xvii. 6, in the LXX. 4 2 Cor. vi. 10.

88 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

are subservient, though he know not even the circles of -the Great Bear, yet it is foolish to doubt but that he may verily be better than he who can measure the heavens, and number the stars, and weigh the elements, but is forgetful of Thee, "who hast set in order all things in number, weight, and measure." 1

Chap. v. Of Manichis pertinaciously teaching false doctrines, and proudly arrogating to himself the Holy Spirit.
8. But yet who was it that ordered Manichaeus to write on these things likewise, skill in which was not necessary to piety? For Thou hast told man to behold piety and wisdom, of which he might be in ignorance although having a complete knowledge of these other things; but since, knowing not these things, he yet most impudently dared to teach them, it is clear that he had no acquaintance with piety. For even when we have a knowledge of these worldly matters, it is folly to make a profession of them; but confession to Thee is piety. It was therefore with this view that this straying one spake much of these matters, that, standing convicted by those who had in truth learned them, the understanding that he really had in those more difficult things might be made plain. For he wished not to be lightly esteemed, but went about trying to persuade men that the Holy Ghost, the Comforter and Enricher of Thy faithful ones, was with full authority personally resident in him. 3 When, therefore, it was dis-

1 Wisd. xi. 20. 2 Job xxviii. 28 in LXX. reads: 'Isoi> k haa'ifrud. Un <r<pix.

3 This claim of Manichseus was supported by referring to the Lord's promise (John xvi. 12, 13) to send the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, to guide the apostles into that truth which they were as yet "not able to bear." The Manichseans used the words "Paraclete" and "Comforter," as indeed the names of the other two persons of the blessed Trinity, in a sense entirely different from that of the gospel. These terms were little more than the bodily frame, the soul of which was his own heretical belief. Whenever opposition appeared between that belief and the teaching of Scripture, their ready answer was that the Scriptures had been corrupted (De Mor. Ecc. Cath. xxviii. and xxix. ); and in such a case, as we find Faustus contending (Con. Faust, xxxii. 6), the Paraclete taught them what part to receive and what to reject, according to the promise of Jesus that He should "guide them into all truth," and much more to the same effect. Augustine's whole argument in reply is well worthy of attention. Amongst other things, he points out that the Manichsean pretension to having received the promised Paraclete was precisely the same as that of the

CHAP. V.] HOW THE PETITIONS OF HERETICS SHOULD BE MET. 8 9

covered that his teaching concerning the heavens and stars, and the motions of sun and moon, was false, though these things do not relate to the doctrine of religion, yet his sacrilegious arrogance would become sufficiently evident, seeing that not only did he affirm things of which he knew nothing, but also perverted them, and with such egregious vanity of pride as to seek to attribute them to himself as to a divine being.

9. For when I hear a Christian brother ignorant of these things, or in error concerning them, I can bear with patience to see that man hold to his opinions; nor can I apprehend that any want of knowledge as to the situation or nature of this material creation can be injurious to him, so long as he does not entertain belief in anything unworthy of Thee, O Lord, the Creator of all. But if he conceives it to pertain to the form of the doctrine of
piety, and presumes to affirm with great obstinacy that whereof he is ignorant, therein lies the injury. And yet even a weakness such as this in the dawn of faith is borne by our Mother Charity, till the new man may grow up "unto a perfect man," and not be "carried about with every wind of doctrine." I But in him who thus presumed to be at once the teacher, author, head, and leader of all whom he could induce to believe this, so that all who followed him believed that they were following not a simple man only, but Thy Holy Spirit, who would not judge that such great insanity, when once it stood convicted of false teaching, should be abhorred and utterly cast off? But I had not yet clearly ascertained whether the changes of longer and shorter days and nights, and day and night itself, with the eclipses of the greater lights, and whatever of the like kind I had read in other books, could be expounded consistently with his words. Should I have found myself able to do so, there would still have remained a doubt in my mind whether it were so or no, although I might, on the strength of his reputed godliness, rest my faith on his authority.

Montanists in the previous century. It should be observed that Beausobre (Histoire, i. 254, 264, etc.) vigorously rebuts the charge brought against Manichseus of claiming to be the Holy Ghost. An interesting examination of the claims of Montanus will be found in Kaye's Tertullian, pp. 13 to 33.

00 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

Chap. VI. Faustus was indeed an elegant speaker, but knew nothing of the liberal sciences.

10. And for nearly the whole of those nine years during which, with unstable mind, I had been their follower, I had been looking forward with but too great eagerness for the arrival of this same Faustus. For the other members of the sect whom I had chanced to light upon, when unable to answer the questions I raised, always bade me look forward to his coining, when, by discoursing with him, these, and greater difficulties if I had them, would be most easily and amply cleared away. When at last he did come, I found him to be a man of pleasant speech, who spoke of the very same things as they themselves did, although more fluently, and in better language. But of what profit to me was the elegance of my cup-bearer, since he offered me not the more precious draught for which I thirsted? My ears were already satiated with similar things; neither did they appear to me more conclusive, because better expressed; nor true, because oratorical; nor the spirit necessarily wise, because the face was comely and the language eloquent. But they who extolled him to me were not competent judges; and therefore, as he was possessed of suavity of speech, he appeared to them to be prudent and wise. Another sort of persons, however, was, I was aware, suspicious even of truth itself, if enunciated in smooth and flowing language. But me, my God, Thou hadst already instructed by wonderful and
mysterious ways, and therefore I believe that Thou instructedst me because it is truth; nor of truth is there any other teacher where or whencesoever it may shine upon us * but Thee. From Thee, therefore, I had now learned, that because a thing is eloquently expressed, it should not of necessity seem to be true; nor, because uttered with stammering lips, should it be false; nor, again, perforce true, because unskilfully delivered; nor consequently untrue, because the language is fine; but that wisdom and folly are as food both wholesome and unwholesome, and courtly or simple words as town-made or

1 Sec. viL sec. 15, below.

CHAP. VII.] THE QUALIFICATIONS OF FAUSTUS. 91

rustic vessels, and both kinds of food may be served in either kind of dish.

11. That eagerness, therefore, with which I had so long waited for this man was in truth delighted with his action and feeling when disputing, and the fluent and apt words with which he clothed his ideas. I was therefore filled with joy, and joined with others (and even exceeded them)

, in exalting and praising him. It was, however, a source of annoyance to me that I was not allowed at those meetings of his auditors to introduce and impart 1 any of those questions that troubled me in familiar exchange of arguments with him. When I might speak, and began, in conjunction with my friends, to engage his attention at such times as it was not unseeming for him to enter into a discussion with me, and had mooted such questions as perplexed me, I discovered him first to know nothing of the liberal sciences save grammar, and that only in an ordinary way. Having, however, read some of Tully's Orations, a very few books of Seneca, and some of the poets, and such few volumes of his own sect as were written coherently in Latin, and being day by day practised in speaking, he so acquired a sort of eloquence, which proved the more delightful and enticing in that it was under the control of ready tact, and a sort of native grace. Is it not even as I recall, O Lord my God, Thou judge of my conscience ? My heart and my memory are laid before Thee, who didst at that time direct me by the inscrutable mystery of Thy Providence, and didst set before my face those vile errors of mine, in order that I might see and loathe them.

Chap. vii. Clearly seeing the fallacies of the Manichcean, he retires from them,

being remarkably aided by God.

12. For when it became plain to me that he was ignorant of those arts in which I had believed him to excel, I

began to despair of his clearing up and explaining all the
1 "This was the old fashion of the East, where the scholars had liberty to ask questions of their masters, and to move doubts as the professors were reading, or so soon as the lecture was done. Thus did our Saviour with the doctors (Luke ii. 46). So it is still in some European Universities." AV. W.

92 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

perplexities which harassed me: though ignorant of these, however, he might still have held the truth of piety, had he not been a Manichoean. For their books are full of lengthy fables concerning the heaven and stars, the sun and moon, and I had ceased to think him able to decide in a satisfactory manner what I ardently desired, whether, on comparing these things with the calculations I had read elsewhere, the explanations contained in the works of Manichseus were preferable, or at any rate equally sound? But when I proposed that these subjects should be deliberated upon and reasoned out, he

We have referred in the note on iii. sec. 10, above, to the way in which the Manichseans parodied Scripture names. In these "fables" this is remarkably evidenced. "To these filthy rags of yours," says Augustine (Con. Faust, xx. 6), "you would unite the mystery of the Trinity; for you say that the Father dwells in a secret light, the power of the Son in the sun, and His wisdom in the moon, and the Holy Spirit in the air." The Manichsean doctrine as to the mixture or the divine nature with the substance of evil, and the way in which that nature was released by the "elect," has already been pointed out (see note iii. sec. 18, above).

The part of sun and moon, also, in accomplishing this release, is alluded to in his De Mor. Manich. "This part of God," he says (c. xxxvi.), "is daily being set free in all parts of the world, and restored to its own domain. But in its passage upwards as vapour from earth to heaven, it enters plants, because their roots are fixed in the earth, and so gives fertility and strength to all herbs and shrubs."

These parts of God, arrested in their rise by the vegetable world, were released, as above stated, by the "elect." All that escaped from them in the act of eating, as well as what was set free by evaporation, passed into the sun and moon, as into a kind of purgatorial state they being purer light than the only recently emancipated good nature. In his letter to Januarius (Ep. iv. 6), he tells us that the moon's waxing and waning were said by the Manichseans to be caused by its receiving souls from matter as it were into a ship, and transferring them "into the sun as into another ship." The sun was called Christ, and was worshipped; and accordingly we find Augustine, after alluding to these monstrous doctrines, saying (Con. Faust, v. 11): "If your affections were set upon spiritual and intellectual good instead of material forms, you would not pay homage to the material sun as a divine substance and as the light of wisdom."

Many other interesting quotations might be added, but we must content ourselves with the following. In his Reply to Faustus (xx. 6), he says: "You call the sun a ship, so that you are not only astray worlds off, as the saying is, but adrift. Next, while every cue sees that the sun is round, which is the form corresponding from its perfection to his position among the heavenly bodies, you maintain that he is triangular [perhaps in allusion to the
early symbol of the Trinity]; that is, that his light shines on the earth through a triangular window in heaven. Hence it is that you bend and bow your heads to the sun, while you worship not this visible sun, but some imaginary ship, which you suppose to be shining through a triangular opening."

CHAP. VII.] FAUSTUS DISILLUSIONS HIM. 93

very modestly did not dare to endure the burden. For he was aware that he had no knowledge of these things, and was not ashamed to confess it. For he was not one of those loquacious persons, many of whom I had been troubled with, who covenanted to teach me these things, and said nothing; but this man possessed a heart, which, though not right towards Thee, yet was not altogether false towards himself. For he was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance, nor would he without due consideration be inveigled in a controversy, from which he could neither draw back nor extricate himself fairly. And for that I was even more pleased with him, for more beautiful is the modesty of an ingenuous mind than the acquisition of the knowledge I desired, and such I found him to be in all the more abstruse and subtle questions.

13. My eagerness after the writings of Manichreus having thus received a check, and despairing even more of their other teachers, seeing that in sundry things which puzzled me, he, so famous amongst them, had thus turned out, I began to occupy myself with him in the study of that literature which he also much affected, and which I, as Professor of Ehetoric, was then engaged in teaching the young Carthaginian students, and in reading with him either what he expressed a wish to hear, or I deemed suited to his bent of mind. But all my endeavours by which I had concluded to improve in that sect, by acquaintance with that man, came completely to an end: not that I separated myself altogether from them, but, as one who could find nothing better, I determined in the meantime upon contenting myself with what I had in any way lighted upon, unless, by chance, something more desirable should present itself. Thus that Faustus, who had entrapped so many to their death, neither willing nor witting it, now began to loosen the snare in which I had been taken. For Thy hands, O my God, in the hidden design of Thy Providence, did not desert my soul; and out of the blood of my mother's heart, through the tears that she poured out by day and by night, was a sacrifice offered unto Thee for me; and by marvellous ways didst Thou deal with me. 1 It

1 Joel ii. 26.

94 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

was Thou, O my God, who didst it, for the steps of a man are ordered by the Lord, and He shall dispose his way. 1 Or how can we procure salvation but from Thy hand, remaking what it hath made?
Chap. viii. He sets out for Rome, his mother in vain lamenting it.

14. Thou dealest with me, therefore, that I should be persuaded to go to Rome, and teach there rather what I was then teaching at Carthage. And how I was persuaded to do this, I will not fail to confess unto Thee; for in this also the profoundest workings of Thy wisdom, and Thy ever present mercy to usward, must be pondered and avowed. It was not my desire to go to Rome because greater advantages and dignities were guaranteed me by the friends who persuaded me into this, although even at this period I was influenced by these considerations, but my principal and almost sole motive was, that I had been informed that the youths studied more quietly there, and were kept under by the control of more rigid discipline, so that they did not capriciously and impudently rush into the school of a master not their own, into whose presence they were forbidden to enter unless with his consent. At Carthage, on the contrary, there was amongst the scholars a shameful and intemperate license. They burst in rudely, and, with almost furious gesticulations, interrupt the system which any one may have instituted for the good of his pupils. Many outrages they perpetrate with astounding phlegm, which would be punishable by law were they not sustained by custom; that custom showing them to be the more worthless, in that they now do, as according to law, what by Thy unchangeable law will never be lawful. And they fancy they do it with impunity, whereas the very blindness whereby they do it is their punishment, and they suffer far greater things than they do. The manners, then, which as a student I would not adopt, I was compelled as a teacher to submit to from others; and so I was too glad to go where all who knew anything about it assured me that similar things were not done. But Thou, "my refuge 1 Ps. xxxvii. 23. s See iii. sec. 6, note, above.

and my portion in the land of the living," * didst while at Carthage goad me, so that I might thereby be withdrawn from it, and exchange my worldly habitation for the preservation of my soul; whilst at Rome Thou didst offer me enticements by which to attract me there, by men enchanted with this dying life, the one doing insane actions, and the other making assurances of vain things; and, in order to correct my footsteps, didst secretly employ their and my perversity. For both they who disturbed my tranquillity were blinded by a shameful madness, and they who allured me elsewhere smacked of the earth. And I, who hated real misery here, sought fictitious happiness there.

15. But the cause of my going thence and going thither, Thou, God, knewest, yet revealedst it not, either to me or to my mother, who grievously lamented my journey, and went with me as far as the sea. But I deceived her, when she violently restrained me either that she might retain me or accompany me, and I pretended that I had a friend whom I could not quit until he had a favourable wind to set sail.
And I lied to my mother and such a mother! and got away. For this also Thou hast in mercy pardoned me, saving me, thus replete with abominable pollutions, from the waters of the sea, for the water of Thy grace, whereby, when I was purified, the fountains of my mother's eyes should be dried, from which for me she day by day watered the ground under her face. And yet, refusing to go back without me, it was with difficulty I persuaded her to remain that night in a place quite close to our ship, where there was an oratory in memory of the blessed Cyprian. That night I secretly left, but she was not backward in prayers and weeping. And what was it, Lord, that she, with such an abundance of tears, was asking of Thee, but that Thou wouldest not permit me to sail? But Thou, mysteriously counselling and hearing the real purpose of her desire, granted not what she then asked, in order to make me what she was ever asking. The wind blew and filled our sails, and withdrew the shore from our sight; and she, wild with grief, was there on the morrow,

1 Ps. cxlii. 5. 2 See vi. sec. 2, note, below.

96 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

and filled Thine ears with complaints and groans, which Thou didst disregard; whilst, by the means of my longings, Thou wert hastening me on to the cessation of all longing, and the gross part of her love to me was whipped out by the just lash of sorrow. But, like all mothers, though even more than others, she loved to have me with her, and knew not what joy Thou wert preparing for her by my absence. Being ignorant of this, she did weep and mourn, and in her agony was seen the inheritance of Eve, seeking in sorrow what in sorrow she had brought forth. And yet, after accusing my perfidy and cruelty, she again continued her intercessions for me with Thee, returned to her accustomed place, and I to Rome.

Chap. ix. Being attacked by fever, he is in great danger.

16. And behold, there was I received by the scourge of bodily sickness, and I was descending into hell burdened with all the sins that I had committed, both against Thee, myself, and others, many and grievous, over and above that bond of original sin whereby we all die in Adam. 1 For none of these things hadst Thou forgiven me in Christ, neither had He " abolished " by His cross " the enmity " 2 which, by my sins, I had incurred with Thee. For how could He, by the crucifixion of a phantasm, 3 which I supposed

1 1 Cor. xv. 22. 2 Eph. ii. 15, and Col. i. 20, etc.

3 The Manichsean belief in regard to the unreal nature of Christ's body may be gathered from Augustine's Reply to Faustus: "You ask," argues Faustus (xxvi. i.), "if Jesus was not born, how did He die? ... In return I ask you, how did Elias not die, though he was a man? Could a mortal encroach upon the limits of immortality, and could not Christ add to His immortality whatever experience of death was required?
Accordingly, if it is a good argument that Jesus was a man because He died, it is an equally good argument that Elias was not a man because he did not die. As, from the outset of His taking the likeness of man, He underwent in appearance all the experiences of humanity, it was quite consistent that He should complete the system by appearing to die.” So that with him the whole life of Jesus was a “phantasm.” His birth, circumcision, crucifixion, baptism, and temptation were (ibid, xxxii. 7) the mere result of the interpolation of crafty men, or sprung from the ignorance of the apostles, when as yet they had not reached perfection in knowledge. It is noticeable that Augustine, referring to Eph. ii. 15, substitutes His cross for His flesh, he, as a Manichaean, not believing in the real humanity of the Son of God. See iii. sec. 9, note, above.

CHAP. IX.] HOW HIS MOTHER YEARNS FOR HIM. 97

Him to be? As true, then, was the death of my soul, as that of His flesh appeared to me to be untrue; and as true the death of His flesh as the life of my soul, which believed it not, was false. The fever increasing, I was now passing away and perishing. For had I then gone hence, whither should I have gone but into the fiery torments meet for my misdeeds, in the truth of Thy ordinance? She was ignorant of this, yet, while absent, prayed for me. But Thou, everywhere present, hearkened to her where she was, and hadst pity upon me where I was, that I should regain my bodily health, although still frenzied in my sacrilegious heart. For all that peril did not make me wish to be baptized, and I was better when, as a lad, I entreated it of my mother's piety, as I have already related and confessed. But I had grown up to my own dishonour, and all the purposes of Thy medicine I madly derided, 2 who wouidst not suffer me, though such a one, to die a double death. Had my mother's heart been smitten with this wound, it never could have been cured. For I cannot sufficiently express the love she had for me, nor how she now travailed for me in the spirit with a far keener anguish than when she bore me in the flesh.

17. I cannot conceive, therefore, how she could have been healed if such a death of mine had transfixed the bowels of her love. Where then would have been her so earnest, frequent, and uninterrupted prayers to Thee alone? But couldst Thou, most merciful God, despise the "contrite and humble heart" 8 of that pure and prudent widow, so constant in alms-deeds, so gracious and attentive to Thy saints, not permitting one day to pass without oblation at Thy altar, twice a day, at morning and even-tide, coming to Thy church without intermission not for vain gossiping, nor old wives' "fables," * but in order that she might listen to Thee in Thy sermons, and Thou to her in her prayers? 5 Couldst Thou Thou by

1 See i. sec. 10, above.

8 See also iv. sec. 8, above, where be derides his friend's baptism.

3 Ps. li. 19. * 1 Tim. v. 10.
* Watts gives the following note here: "Oblations were those offerings of bread, meal, or wine, for making of the Eucharist, or of alms besides for the poor, which the primitive Christians every time they communicated brought to the church.

con. a

98 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

whose gift she was such despise and disregard without succouring the tears of such a one, wherewith she entreated Thee not for gold or silver, nor for any changing or fleeting good, but for the salvation of the soul of her son? By no means, Lord. Assuredly Thou wert near, and wert hearing and doing in that method in which Thou hadst predetermined that it should be done. Far he it from Thee that Thou shouldst delude her in those visions and the answers she had from Thee, some of which I have spoken of, 1 and others not, 2 which she kept 3 in her faithful breast, and, always

where it was received by the deacons, who presented them to the priest or bishop.

Here note: (1) They communicated daily; (2) they had service morning and evening, and two sermons a day many times," etc. An interesting trace of an old use in this matter of oblations is found in the Queen's Coronation Service.

After other oblations had been offered, the Queen knelt before the Archbishop and presented to him "oblations" of bread and wine for the Holy Communion. See also Palmer's Orhjines Liturgiece, iv. 8, who demonstrates by reference to patristic writers that the custom was universal in the primitive Church: " But though all the churches of the East and West agreed in this respect, they differed in appointing the time and place at which the oblations of the people were received. " It would appear from the following account of early Christian worship, that in the time of Justin Martyr the oblations were collected after the reception of the Lord's Supper. In his First Apology we read (c. lxvii.): "On the day called Sunday [mv falov Xyol/tivn ipigf] all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits them. When the reader has ceased, the president ['rpoio-rusi verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray [tv%us Trififofiv], and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability [Kaye renders (p. 89) iv%&s opo'ivs *J ivxapio-Tictf, oa-ti luvapts eturaj, uvetwitiirm, "with his utmost power"], and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks had been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons. And they who are well-to-do, and willing, give what each thinks fit; and what is collected [to o-vWiypnov] is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who are in need."
The whole passage is given, as portions of it will be found to have a bearing on other parts of the Confessions. Bishop Kaye's Justin Martyr, c. iv., may be referred to for his view of the controverted points in the passage. See also Bingham's Antiquities, ii. 2-9; and notes to vi. sec. 2, and ix. sees. 6 and 27, below.

See above, iii. 11, 12. a Ibid. iii. 12. s Luke ii. 19.

CHAP. X.] HIS UNSETTLED STATE OF MIND. 99

petitioning, pressed upon Thee as Thine autograph. For Thou, " because Thy mercy endureth for ever," * condescendest to those whose debts Thou hast pardoned, to become likewise a debtor by Thy promises.

Chap. x. When he had left the Manichceans, he retained his depraved opinions concerning sin and the origin of the Saviour.

18. Thou restoredst me then from that illness, and made sound the son of Thy handmaid meanwhile in body, that he might live for Thee, to endow him with a higher and more enduring health. And even then at Borne I joined those deluding and deluded "saints;" not their "hearers" only, of the number of whom was he in whose house I had fallen ill, and had recovered, but those also whom they designate " The Elect." 2 For it still seemed to me "that it was not we that sin, but that I know not what other nature sinned in us." 3 And it gratified my pride to be free from blame, and, after I had committed any fault, not to acknowledge that I had done any, "that Thou mightest heal my soul because it had sinned against Thee;" 4 but I loved to excuse it, and to accuse something else (I wot not what) which was with me, but was not I. But assuredly it was wholly I, and my impiety had divided me against myself; and that sin was all the more incurable in that I did not deem myself a sinner. And execrable iniquity it was,

God omnipotent, that I would rather have Thee to be overcome in me to my destruction, than myself of Thee to salvation !

Not yet, therefore, hadst Thou set a watch before my mouth, and kept the door of my lips, that my heart might not incline to wicked speeches, to make excuses of sins, with men that work iniquity 5 and, therefore, was I still united with their "Elect."

19. But now, hopeless of making proficiency in that false doctrine, even those things with which I had decided upon contenting myself, providing that I could find nothing better, I now held more loosely and negligently. For I was hall inclined to believe that those philosophers whom they call
1 Ps. cxviii. 1. 2 See iv. sec. 1, note, above.

3 iv. sec. 26, note 2, above. 4 Ps. xli. 4.

5 Ps. cxli. 3, 4, Old Vers. See also Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms, where, using his Septuagint version, he applies this passage to the Manichseans.

100 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

" Academics " 1 were more sagacious than the rest, in that they held that we ought to doubt everything, and ruled that man had not the power of comprehending any truth; for so,

1 "Amongst these philosophers," i.e. those who have founded their systems on denial, " some are satisfied with denying certainty, admitting at the same time probability, and these are the New Academics; the others, who are the Pyrrhonists, have denied even this probability, and have maintained that all things are equally certain and uncertain " (Port. Boy. Log. iv. 1). There are, according to the usual divisions, three Academies, the old, the middle, and the new; and some subdivide the middle and the new each into two schools, making five schools of thought in all. These begin with Plato, the founder (387 B.C.), and continue to the fifth school, founded by Antiochus (83 B.C.), who, by combining his teachings with that of Aristotle and Zeno, prepared the way for Neo-Platonism and its development of the dogmatic side of Plato's teaching. In the second Academic school, founded by Arcesilas, of whom Aristo, the Stoic, parodying the line in the Iliad (vi. 181), Up'oafa Xt&m, TThv 8s Ipaxa/*, (tXviry li x'lpaipa, said sarcastically he was ' ' Plato in front, Pyrrho behind, and Diodorus in the middle," the " sceptical " tendency in Platonism began to develope itself, which, under Carneades, was expanded into the doctrine of the third Academic school. Arcesilas had been a pupil of Polemo when he was head of the old Academy. Zeno also, dissatisfied with the cynical philosophy of Crates, had learnt Platonic doctrine from Polemo, and was, as Cicero tells us (De Fin. iv. 16), greatly influenced by his teaching. Zeno, however, soon founded his own school of Stoical philosophy, which was violently opposed by Arcesilas (Cicero, Acad. Post. i. 12). Arcesilas, according to Cicero (ibid.), taught his pupils that we cannot know anything, not even that we are unable to know. It is exceedingly probable, however, that he taught esoterically the doctrines of Plato to those of his pupils he thought able to receive them, keeping them back from the multitude because of the prevalence of the new doctrine.

This appears to have been Augustine's view when he had arrived at a fuller knowledge of their doctrines than that he possessed at the time referred to in his Confessions. In his treatises against the Academicians (iii. 17) he maintains the wisdom of Arcesilas in this matter. He says: "As the multitude are prone to rush into false opinions, and, from being accustomed to bodies, readily, but to their hurt, believe everything to be corporeal, this most acute and learned man determined rather to unteach those who had suffered from
bad teaching, than to teach those whom he did not think teachable. " Again, in the first of his Letters, alluding to these treatises, he says: " It seems to me to be suitable enough to the times in which they flourished, that whatever issued pure from the fountainhead of Platonic philosophy should be rather conducted into dark and thorny thickets for the refreshment of a very few men, than left to flow in open meadowland, where it would be impossible to keep it clear and pure from the inroads of the vulgar herd. I use the word ' herd ' advisedly, for what is more brutish than the opinion that the soul is material ? " and more to the same purpose.

In his De Civ. Dei, xix. 18, he contrasts the uncertainty ascribed to the doctrines of these teachers with the certainty of the Christian faith. See Burton's Bampton Lectures, note 33, and Archer Butler's Ancient Philosophy, ii. 313, 348, etc. See also vii. sec. 13, note, below.

CHAP. X.] HIS ERRONEOUS VIEWS AS TO CHRISTIANITY. 101

not yet realizing their meaning, I also was fully persuaded that they thought just as they are commonly held to do.

And I did not fail frankly to restrain in my host that assurance which I observed him to have in those fictions of which the works of Manichaeus are full. Notwithstanding, I was on terms of more intimate friendship with them than with others who were not of this heresy. Nor did I defend it with my former ardour; still my familiarity with that sect (many of them being concealed in Eome) made me slower 1 to seek any other way, particularly since I was hopeless of finding the truth, from which in Thy Church, Lord of heaven and earth, Creator of all things visible and invisible, they had turned me aside, and it seemed to me most unbecoming to believe Thee to have the form of human flesh, and to be bounded by the bodily lineaments of our members. And because, when I desired to meditate on my God, I knew no what to think of but a mass of bodies 2 (for what was not such did not seem to me to be), this was the greatest and almost sole cause of my inevitable error.

20. For hence I also believed evil to be a similar sort of substance, and to be possessed of its own foul and misshapen mass whether dense, which they denominated earth, or thin and subtle, as is the body of the air, which they fancy some malignant spirit crawling through that earth. And because a piety such as it was compelled me to believe that the good God never created any evil nature, I conceived two masses, the one opposed to the other, both infinite, but the evil the more contracted, the good the more expansive. And from this mischievous commencement the other profanities followed on me. For when my mind tried to revert to the Catholic faith, I was cast back, since what I had held to be the Catholic faith was not so. And it appeared to me more devout to look upon Thee, my God, to whom I make confession of Thy mercies, as infinite, at least, on other sides, although on that side where the mass of evil was in opposition to Thee 3 I was compelled to confess Thee finite, than if on every side I should

1 See iii. sec. 21, above. 2 See iv. sees. 3, 12, and 31, above.
conceive Thee to be confined by the form of a human body. And better did it seem to me to believe that no evil had been created by Thee which to me in my ignorance appeared not only some substance, but a bodily one, because I had no conception of the mind excepting as a subtle body, and that diffused in local spaces than to believe that anything could emanate from Thee of such a kind as I considered the nature of evil to be. And our very Saviour Himself, also, Thine onlybegotten, I believed to have been reached forth, as it were, for our salvation out of the lump of Thy most effulgent mass, so as to believe nothing of Him but what I was able to imagine in my vanity. Such a nature, then, I thought could not be born of the Virgin Mary without being mingled with the flesh; and how that which I had thus figured to myself could be mingled without being contaminated, I saw not. I was afraid, therefore, to believe Him to be born in the flesh, lest I should be compelled to believe Him contaminated by the flesh. 2 Now will Thy spiritual ones blandly and lovingly smile at me if they shall read these my confessions; yet such was I.

Chap. xi. Helpidius disputed well against the Manichcean as to the authenticity of the New Testament.

21. Furthermore, whatever they had censured 3 in Thy Scriptures I thought impossible to be defended; and yet sometimes, indeed, I desired to confer on these several points with some one well learned in those books, and to try what he thought of them. For at this time the words of one Helpidius,

1 See above, sec. 12, note.

- The dualistic belief of the Manichcean ever led him to contend that Christ only appeared in a resemblance of flesh, and did not touch its substance so as to be defiled. Hence Faustus characteristically speaks of the Incarnation (Con. Faust, xxxii. 7) as "the shameful birth of Jesus from a woman," and when pressed (ibid. xi. 1) with such passages as, Christ was "born of the seed of David according to the flesh " (Eom. i. 3), he would fall back upon what in these days we are familiar with as that " higher criticism," which rejects such parts of Scripture as it is inconvenient to receive. Paul, he said, then only " spoke as a child " (1 Cor. xiii. 11), but when he became a man in doctrine, he put away childish things, and then declared, " Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." See above, sec. 16, note 3.

3 See iii. sec. 14, above.
speaking and disputing face to face against the said Manichoeans, had begun to move me even at Carthage, in that he brought forth things from the Scriptures not easily withstood, to which their answer appeared to me feeble. And this answer they did not give forth publicly, but only to us in private, when they said that the writings of the New Testament had been tampered with by I know not whom, who were desirous of ingrafting the Jewish law upon the Christian faith; 1 but they themselves did not bring forward any uncorrupted copies. 2 
But I, thinking of corporeal things, very much ensnared and in a measure stifled, was oppressed by those masses; 3 panting under which for the breath of Thy Truth, I was not able to breathe it pure and undefiled.

Chap. xii. Prof easing Rhetoric at Rome, he discovers the fraud of his scholars.

22. Then began I assiduously to practise that for which I came to Rome the teaching of rhetoric; and first to bring together at my home some to whom, and through whom, I had begun to be known; when, behold, I learnt that other offences were committed in Rome which I had not to bear in Africa. For those subvertings by abandoned young men were not practised here, as I had been informed; yet, suddenly, said they, to evade paying their master's fees, many of the youths conspire together, and remove themselves to another, breakers of faith, who, for the love of money, set a small value on justice. These also my heart " hated," though not with a " perfect hatred; " 4 for, perhaps, I hated them more in that I

1 On this matter reference may be made to Con. Faust, xviii. 1, 3; xix. 5, 6; xxxiii. 1, 3.

2 They might well not like to give the answer in public, for, as Augustine remarks (De Mor. Eccles. Cath. sec. 14), every one could see "that this is all that is left for men to say when it is proved that they are wrong. " The astonishment that he experienced now, that they did ' ' not bring forward any uncorrupted copies, " had fast hold of him, and after his conversion he confronted them on this very ground. "You ought to bring forward," he says (ibid. sec. 61), " another manuscript with the same contents, but incorrupt and more correct, with only the passage wanting which you charge with being spurious. . . . You say you will not, lest you be suspected of corrupting it. This is your usual reply, and a true one." See also De Mor. Manich. sec. 55; and Con. Faust, xL 2, xiii. 5, xviii. 7, xxii. 15, xxxii 16.

* See above, sec. 19, Fin. * Pa. cxxxix. 21
was to suffer by them, than for the illicit acts they committed. Such of a truth are base persons, and they are unfaithful to Thee, loving these transitory mockeries of temporal things, and vile gain, which begrimes the hand that lays hold on it; and embracing the fleeting world, and scorning Thee, who abidest, and invitest to return, and pardonest the prostituted human soul when it returneth to Thee. And now I hate such crooked and perverse men, although I love them if they are to be corrected so as to prefer the learning they obtain to money, and to learning Thee, God, the truth and fulness of certain good and most chaste peace. But then was the wish stronger in me for my own sake not to suffer them evil, than was the wish that they should become good for Thine.

Chap. xiii. He is sent to Milan, that he, about to teach Rhetoric, may be known by Ambrose.

23. When, therefore, they of Milan had sent to Rome to the prefect of the city, to provide them with a teacher of rhetoric for their city, and to despatch him at the public expense, I made interest through those identical persons, drunk with Manichaean vanities, to be freed from whom I was going away, neither of us, however, being aware of it, that Symmachus, the then prefect, having proved me by proposing a subject, would send me. And to Milan I came, unto Ambrose the bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, Thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourse did at that time strenuously dispense unto Thy people the flour of Thy wheat, the " gladness " of Thy " oil," and the sober intoxication of Thy " wine." * To him was I unknowingly led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me like a father, and looked with a benevolent and episcopal kindliness on my change of abode. And I began to love him, not at first, indeed, as a teacher of the truth, which I entirely despised in Thy Church, but as a man friendly to myself. And I studiously hearkened to him preaching to the people, not with the motive I should, but, as it were, trying to discover whether his eloquence came up to the fame thereof, or flowed fuller of

' Pa. iv. 7, and civ. 15.

CHAP. XIV.] INFLUENCE OF THE TEACHING OF AMBROSE. 105

lower than was asserted; and I hung on his words intently but of the matter I was but as a careless and contemptuous spectator; and I was delighted with the pleasantness of his speech, more erudite, yet less cheerful and soothing in manner, than that of Faustus. Of the matter, however, there could be no comparison; for the latter was straying amid Manichæan deceptions, whilst the former was teaching salvation most soundly. But " salvation is far from the wicked," * such as I
then stood before him; and yet I was drawing nearer gradually and unconsciously.

Chap. xiv. Having heard the Bishop, lie perceives the force of (lie Catholic faith, yet doubts, after the manner of the modern Academics.

24. For although I took no trouble to learn what he spake, but only to hear how he spake (for that empty care alone remained to me, despairing of a way accessible for man to Thee), yet, together with the words which I prized, there came into my mind also the things about which I was careless; for I could not separate them. And whilst I opened my heart to admit " how skilfully he spake," there also entered with it, but gradually, " and how truly he spake ! " For first, these things also had begun to appear to me to be defensible; and the Catholic faith, for which I had fancied nothing could be said against the attacks of the Manichseans, I now conceived might be maintained without presumption; especially after I had heard one or two parts of the Old Testament explained, and often allegorically which when I accepted literally, I was " killed " spiritually. 2 Many places, then, of those books having been expounded to me, I now blamed my despair in having believed that no reply could be made to those who hated and derided 3 the Law and the Prophets. Yet I did not then see that for that reason the Catholic way was to be held

1 Ps. cxix. 155.

2 1 Cor. xiii. 12, and 2 Cor. iii. 6. See vi. sec. 6, note, below.

3 He frequently alludes to this scoffing spirit, so characteristic of these heretics. As an example, he says ( in Ps. cxlvi. 13): " There has sprung up a certain accursed sect of the Manichseans which derides the Scriptures it takes and reads. It wishes to censure what it does not understand, and by disturbing and censuring what it understands not, has deceived many." See also sec. 16, and iv. sec. 8, above.

106 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK V.]

because it had its learned advocates, who could at length, and not irrationally, answer objections; nor that what I held ought therefore to be condemned because both sides were equally defensible. For that way did not appear to me to be vanquished; nor yet did it seem to me to be victorious.

25. Hereupon did I earnestly bend my mind to see if in any way I could possibly prove the Manichseans guilty of falsehood. Could I have realized a spiritual substance, all their strongholds would have been beaten down, and cast utterly out of my mind; but I could not. But yet, concerning the body of this world, and the whole of nature, which the senses of the flesh can attain unto, I, now more and more considering and comparing things,
judged that the greater part of the philosophers held much the more probable opinions. So, then, after the manner of the Academics (as they are supposed), I doubting of everything and fluctuating between all, I decided that the Manichseans were to be abandoned; judging that, even while in that period of doubt, I could not remain in a sect to which I preferred some of the philosophers; to which philosophers, however, because they were without the saving name of Christ, I utterly refused to commit the cure of my fainting soul. I resolved, therefore, to be a catechumen 2 in the Catholic Church, which my parents had commended to me, until something settled should manifest itself to me whither I might steer my course. 8

1 See above, sec. 19, and note. 2 See vi. sec. 2, note, below.

3 In his Benefit of Believing, Augustine adverts to the above experiences with a view to the conviction of his friend Honoratus, who was then a Manichaean.

CHAP. I] HIS MOTHERFOLLOWS HIM. 107

BOOK SIXTH.

ATTAINING HIS THIRTIETH YEAR, HE, UNDER THE ADMONITION OF THE DISCOURSES OF AMBROSE, DISCOVERED MORE AND MORE THE TRUTH OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE, AND DELIBERATES AS TO THE BETTER REGULATION OF HIS LIFE.

Chap. I. His mother having followed him to Milan, declares that she will not die before her son shall have embraced the Catholic faith.

1. ~/\ THOU, my hope from my youth, I where wert Thou \_/ to me, and whither hadst Thou gone? For in truth, hadst Thou not created me, and made a difference between me and the beasts of the field and fowls of the air? Thou hadst made me wiser than they, yet did I wander about in dark and slippery places, and sought Thee abroad out of myself, and found not the God of my heart; 2 and had entered the depths of the sea, and distrusted and despaired finding out the truth. By this time my mother, made strong by her piety, had come to me, following me over sea and land, in all perils feeling secure in Thee. For in the dangers of the sea she comforted the very sailors (to whom the inexperienced passengers, when alarmed, were wont rather to go for comfort), assuring them of a safe arrival, because she had been so assured by Thee in a vision. She found me in grievous danger, through despair of ever finding truth. But when I
had disclosed to her that I was now no longer a Manichsean, though not yet a Catholic Christian, she did not leap for joy as at what was unexpected; although she was now reassured as to that part of my misery for which she had mourned me as one dead, but who would be raised to Thee, carrying me forth upon the bier of her thoughts, that Thou mightest say unto the widow's son, " Young man, I say unto Thee, arise," and he should revive, and begin to speak, and Thou

1 Ps. lxxi. 5. * See iv. sec. 18, note, above.

108 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

shouldest deliver him to his mother. 1 Her heart, then, was not agitated with any violent exultation, when she had heard that to be already in so great a part accomplished which she daily, with tears, entreated of Thee might be done, that though I had not yet grasped the truth, I was rescued from falsehood. Yea, rather, for that she was fully confident that Thou, who hadst promised the whole, wouldst give the rest, most calmly, and with a breast full of confidence, she replied to me, " She believed in Christ, that before she departed this life, she would see me a Catholic believer." 2 And thus much said she to me; but to Thee, O Fountain of mercies, poured she out more frequent prayers and tears, that Thou wouldest hasten Thy aid, and enlighten my darkness; and she hurried


2 Fidelem Catholicum those who are baptized being usually designated Fiddles.
The following extract from Kaye's Tertullian (pp. 230, 231) is worthy of note:
"As the converts from heathenism, to use Tertullian's expression, were not born, but became Christians \_fiunt, nonnascuntur, Christians\], they went through a course of instruction in the principles and doctrines of the gospel, and were subjected to a strict probation before they were admitted to the rite of baptism.
In this stage of their progress they were called catechumens, of whom, according to Suicer, there were two classes, one called 'Audientes,' who had only entered upon their course, and begun to hear the word of God; the other, auvairoZtrts, or ' Competentes, ' who had made such advances in Christian knowledge and practice as to be qualified to appear at the font. Tertullian, however, appears either not to have known or to have neglected this distinction, since he applies the names of ' Audientes ' and ' Auditores ' indifferently to all who had not partaken of the rite of baptism. When the catechumens had given full proof of the ripeness of their knowledge, and of the stedfastness of their faith, they were baptized, admitted to the table of the Lord, and styled Fiddes. The importance which Tertullian attached to this previous probation of the candidates for baptism, appears from the fact that he founds upon the neglect of it one of his charges against the heretics. 'Among them,' he says, 'no distinction is made between the catechumen and the faithful or confirmed Christian; the catechumen is pronounced fit for baptism before he is instructed; all come in indiscriminately; all hear, all pray together.' " There were certain peculiar forms used in the admission of catechumens; as, for example,
anointing with oil, imposition of hands, and the consecration and giving of salt; and when, from the progress of Christianity, Tertullian's above description as to converts from heathenism had ceased to be correct, these forms were continued in many churches as part of the baptismal service, whether of infants or adults. See Palmer's Origines Liturgice, v. 1, and also i. sec. 17, above, where Augustine says: "I was signed with the sign of the cross, and was seasoned with His salt, even from the womb of my mother."

CHAP. II.] THE HONOUR DONE TO THE MARTYRS. 109

all the more assiduously to the church, and hung upon the words of Ambrose, praying for the fountain of water that springeth up into everlasting life. 1 For she loved that man as an angel of God, because she knew that it was by him that I had been brought, for the present, to that perplexing state of agitation 2 I was now in, through which she was fully persuaded that I should pass from sickness unto health, after an access, as it were, of a sharper fit, which doctors term the "crisis."

Chap. ii. She, on the prohibition of Ambrose, abstains from honouring the memory of the martyrs.

2. When, therefore, my mother had at one time as was her custom in Africa brought to the oratories built in the memory of the saints 3 certain cakes, and bread, and wine, and

1 John iv. 14.

2 "Sermons," says Goodwin in his Evangelical Communicant, "are, for the most part, as showers of rain that water for the instant; such as may tickle the ear and warm the affections, and put the soul into a posture of obedience. Hence it is that men are oftentimes sermon-sick, as some are sea-sick; very ill, much troubled for the present, but by and by all is well again as they were." 2

3 That is, as is explained further on in the section, the Martyrs. Tertullian gives us many indications of the veneration in which the martyrs were held towards the close of the second century. The anniversary of the martyr's death was called his natalitium, or natal day, as his martyrdom ushered him into eternal life, and oblationes for defunctis were then offered. (De Exhor. Cast. c. 11; De Coro. c. 3.) Many extravagant things were said about the glory of martyrdom, with the view, doubtless, of preventing apostasy in time of persecution. It was described (De Bap. c. 16; and De Pat. c. 13) as a second baptism, and said to secure for a man immediate entrance into heaven, and complete enjoyment of its happiness. These views developed in Augustine's time into all the wildness of Donatism. Augustine gives us an insight into the customs prevailing in his day, and their significance, which greatly illustrates the present section. In his De Civ. Dei, viii. 27, we read: "But, nevertheless, we do not build temples, and ordain priests, rites, and sacrifices for these
same martyrs; for they are not our gods, but their God is our God. Certainly we honour their reliquaries, as the memorials of holy men of God, who strove for the truth even to the death of their bodies, that the true religion might be made known, and false and fictitious religions exposed. . . . But who ever heard a priest of the faithful, standing at an altar built for the honour and worship of God over the holy body of some martyr, say in the prayers, I offer to thee a sacrifice, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian? For it is to God that sacrifices are offered at their tombs, the God who made them both men and martyrs, and associated them with holy angels in celestial honour; and the reason why we pay such honours to their memory is, that by so doing we may both give thanks to the true God for their victories, and, by recalling them afresh to remembrance, may stir our

110 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

was forbidden by the door-keeper, so soon as she learnt that it was the bishop who had forbidden it, she so piously and obediently acceded to it, that I myself marvelled how readily she could bring herself to accuse her own custom, rather than question his prohibition. For wine-bibbing did not take possession of her spirit, nor did the love of wine stimulate her to hatred of the truth, as it doth too many, both male and female, who nauseate at a song of sobriety, as men well drunk at a draught of water. But she, when she had brought her basket with the festive meats, of which she would taste herself first and give the rest away, would never allow herself more than one little cup of wine, diluted according to her own temperate palate, which, out of courtesy, she would taste. And if there were many oratories of departed saints that ought to be honoured in the same way, she still carried round with her the selfsame cup, to be used everywhere; and this, which was not only very much watered, but was also very tepid with carrying about, she would distribute by small sips to those around; for she sought their devotion, not pleasure. As soon, therefore, as she found this custom to be forbidden by that famous preacher and most pious prelate, even to those who would use it with moderation, lest thereby an occasion of excess I might be given to such as were drunken, and because

selves up to imitate them by seeking to obtain like crowns and palms, calling to our help that same God on whom they called. Therefore, whatever honours the religious may pay in the places of the martyrs, they are but honours rendered to their memory [ornamenta memoriae], not sacred rites or sacrifices offered to dead men as to gods. And even such as bring thither food which, indeed, is not done by the better Christians, and in most places of the world is not done at all do so in order that it may be sanctified to them through the merits of the martyrs, in the name of the Lord of the martyrs, first presenting the food and offering prayer, and thereafter taking it away to be eaten, or to be in part bestowed upon the needy. But he who knows the one sacrifice of Christians, which is the sacrifice offered in those places, also knows that these are not sacrifices offered to the martyrs. " He speaks to the same effect in Book xxii.
sec. 10; and in his Reply to Faustus (xx. 21), who had charged the Christians with imitating the Pagans, "and appeasing the 'shades' of the departed with wine and food." See v. sec. 17, note.

1 Following the example of Ambrose, Augustine used all his influence and eloquence to correct such shocking abuses in the churches. In his letter to Alypius, Bishop of Thagaste (when as yet only a presbyter assisting the venerable Valerius), he gives an account of his efforts to overcome them in the church

CHAP. II.] MONICA'S OBEDIENCE TO AMBROSE. III

these, so to say, festivals in honour of the dead were very like unto the superstition of the Gentiles, she most willingly abstained from it. And in lieu of a basket filled with fruits of the earth, she had learned to bring to the oratories of the martyrs a heart full of more purified petitions, and to give all that she could to the poor; that so the communion of the Lord's body might be rightly celebrated there, where, after the example of His passion, the martyrs had been sacrificed and crowned. But yet it seems to me, Lord my God, and thus my heart thinks of it in thy sight, that my mother perhaps would not so easily have given way to the relinquishment of this custom had it been forbidden by another whom she loved not as Ambrose, 2 whom, out of regard for my salvation, she loved most dearly; and he loved her truly, on account of her most religious conversation, whereby, in good works so fervent in spirit," 3 she frequented the church; so that he

of Hippo. The following passage is instructive (Ep. xxix. 9): "I explained to them the circumstances out of which this custom seems to have necessarily risen in the Church, namely, that when, in the peace which came after such numerous and violent persecutions, crowds of heathen who wished to assume the Christian religion were kept back, because, having been accustomed to celebrate the feasts connected with their worship of idols in revelling and drunkenness, they could not easily refrain from pleasures so hurtful and so habitual, it had seemed good to our ancestors, making for the time a concession to this infirmity, to permit them to celebrate, instead of the festivals which they renounced, other feasts in honour of the holy martyrs, which were observed, not as before with a profane design, but with similar self-indulgence."

1 See v. sec. 17, note 5, above.

2 On another occasion, when Monica's mind was exercised as to non-essentials, Ambrose gave her advice which has perhaps given origin to the proverb, "When at Rome, do as Rome does." It will be found in the letter to Casulanus (Ep. xxxvi. 32), and is as follows: "When my mother was with me in that city, I, as being only a catechumen, felt no concern about these questions; but it was to her a question causing anxiety, whether she ought, after the custom of our own town, to fast on the Saturday, or,
after the custom of the church of Milan, not to fast. To deliver her from perplexity, I put the question to the man of God whom I have first named. He answered, * What else can I recommend to others than what I do myself?’ When I thought that by this he intended simply to prescribe to us that we should take food on Saturdays, for I knew this to be his own practice, he, following me, added these words: ‘When I am here I do not fast on Saturday, but when I am at Rome I do; whatever church you may come to, conform to its custom, if you would avoid either receiving or giving offence.’ " We find the same incident referred to in Ep. liv. 3.

3 Rom. xii. 11.

112 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.

would often, when he saw me, burst forth into her praises, congratulating me that I had such a mother little knowing what a son she had in me, who was in doubt as to all these things, and did not imagine the way of life could be found out.

Chap. hi. As Ambrose was occupied with business and study, Augustine could seldom consult him concerning the Holy Scriptures.

3. Nor did I now groan in my prayers that Thou wouldest help me; but my mind was wholly intent on knowledge, and eager to dispute. And Ambrose himself I esteemed a happy man, as the world counted happiness, in that such great personages held him in honour; only his celibacy appeared to me a painful thing. But what hope he cherished, what struggles he had against the temptations that beset his very excellences, what solace in adversities, and what savoury joys Thy bread possessed for the hidden mouth of his heart when ruminating * on it, I could neither conjecture, nor had I experienced. Nor did he know my embarrassments, nor the pit of my danger. For I could not request of him what I wished as I wished, in that I was debarred from hearing and speaking to him by crowds of busy people, whose infirmities he devoted himself to. With whom when he was not engaged (which was but a little time), he either was refreshing his body with necessary sustenance, or his mind with reading. But while reading, his eyes glanced over the pages, and his heart

1 In his Seply to Faustus (vi. 7), he, conformably with this idea, explains the division into clean and unclean beasts under the Levitical law symbolically.
" No doubt," he says, "the animal is pronounced unclean by the law because it does not chew the cud, which is not a fault, but its nature. But the men of whom this animal is a symbol are unclean, not by nature, but from their own fault; because, though they gladly hear the words of wisdom, they never reflect on them afterwards. For to recall, in quiet repose, some useful instruction from the stomach of memory to the mouth of reflection, is a kind of spiritual rumination. The animals above mentioned are a symbol of those people who do not do this. And the prohibition of the flesh of these animals is a warning against this fault. Another passage of Scripture. (Prov. xxi. 20) speaks of the precious treasure of
wisdom, and describes ruminating as clean, and not ruminating as unclean: ' A precious
treasure resteth in the mouth of a wise man, but a foolish man swallows it up.' Symbols of
this kind, either in words or in things, give useful and pleasant exercise to intelligent
minds in the way of inquiry and comparison,"

CHAP. III.] AMBROSE IN HIS STUDY. 113

searched out the sense, but his voice and tongue were silent.
Ofttimes, when we had come (for no one was forbidden to enter, nor was it his custom
that the arrival of those who came should be announced to him), we saw him thus reading
to himself, and never otherwise; and, having long sat in silence (for who durst interrupt
one so intent ?), we were fain to depart, inferring that in the little time he secured for the
recruiting of his mind, free from the clamour of other men's business, he was unwilling to
be taken off. And perchance he was fearful lest, if the author he studied should express
aught vaguely, some doubtful and attentive hearer should ask him to expound it, or to
discuss some of the more abstruse questions, as that, his time being thus occupied, he
could not turn over as many volumes as he wished; although the preservation of his
voice, which was very easily weakened, might be the truer reason for his reading to
himself. But whatever was his motive in so doing, doubtless in such a man was a good
one.

A. But verily no opportunity could I find of ascertaining what I desired from that Thy so
holy oracle, his breast, unless the thing might be entered into briefly. But those surgings
in me required to find him at full leisure, that I might pour them out to him, but never
were they able to find him so; and I heard him, indeed, every Lord's day, " rightly
dividing the word of truth" 1 among the people; and I was all the more convinced that all
those knots of crafty calumnies, which those deceivers of ours had knit against the divine
books, could be unravelled. But so soon as I understood, withal, that man made " after the
image of Him that created him" 2
was not so understood by Thy spiritual sons (whom of t*e Catholic mother Thou hadst
begotten again through grace), as though they believed and imagined Thee to be bounded by

1 2 Tim. ii. 15.

2 Col. iii. 10, and Gen. i. 26, 27. And because we are created in the image of God,
Augustine argues (Serm. lxxxviii. 6), we have the ability to see and know Him, just as,
having eyes to see, we can look upon the sun. And hereafter, too (Up. xcii. 3), " We shall
see Him according to the measure in which we shall be like Him; because now the
measure in which we do not see Him is according to the measure of our unlikene.ss to
Him."

CON. H
human form, although what was the nature of a spiritual substance I had not the faintest or dimmest suspicion, yet rejoicing, I blushed that for so many years I had barked, not against the Catholic faith, but against the fables of carnal imaginations. For I had been both impious and rash in this, that what I ought inquiring to have learnt, I had pronounced on condemning. For Thou, most high and most near, most secret, yet most present, who hast not limbs some larger some smaller, but art wholly everywhere, and nowhere in space, nor art Thou of such corporeal form, yet hast Thou created man after Thine own image, and, behold, from head to foot is he confined by space.

Chap. iv. He recognises the falsity of his own opinions, and commits to memory the saying of Ambrose.

5. As, then, I knew not how this image of Thine should subsist, I should have knocked and propounded the doubt how it was to be believed, and not have insultingly opposed it, as if it were believed. Anxiety, therefore, as to what to retain as certain, did all the more sharply gnaw into my soul, the more shame I felt that, having been so long deluded and deceived by the promise of certainties, I had, with puerile error and petulance, prated of so many uncertainties as if they were certainties. For that they were falsehoods became apparent to me afterwards. However, I was certain that they were uncertain, and that I had formerly held them as certain when with a blind contentiousness I accused Thy Catholic Church, which though I had not yet discovered to teach truly, yet not to teach that of which I had so vehemently accused her. In this manner was I confounded and converted, and I rejoiced, my God, that the one Church, the body of Thine only Son (wherein the name of Christ had been set upon me when an infant), did not appreciate these infantile trifles, nor maintained, in her sound doctrine, any tenet that would confine Thee, the Creator of all, in space though ever so great and wide, yet bounded on all sides by the restraints of a human form.

6. I rejoiced also that the old Scriptures of the law and

1 See iii. sec. 12, note, above.
recommend this text as a rule, "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life;" whilst, drawing aside the mystic veil, he spiritually laid

1 2 Cor. iii. 6. The spiritual or allegorical meaning here referred to is one that Augustine constantly sought, as did many of the early Fathers, both Greek and Latin. He only employs this method of interpretation, however, in a qualified way never going to the lengths of Origen or Clement of Alexandria. He does not depreciate the letter of Scripture, though, as we have shown above (iii. sec. 14, note), he went as far as he well could in interpreting the history spiritually. He does not seem, however, quite consistent in his statements as to the relative prominence to be given to the literal and spiritual meanings, as may be seen by a comparison of the latter portions of secs. 1 and 3 of book xvii. of the City of God. His general idea may be gathered from the following passage in the 21st sec. of book xiii.: "Some allegorize all that concerns paradise itself, where the first men, the parents of the human race, are, according to the truth of Holy Scripture, recorded to have been; and they understand all its trees an fruit-bearing plants as virtues and habits of life, as if they had no existence in the external world, but were only so spoken of or related for the sake of spiritual meanings. As if there could not be a real terrestrial paradise! As if there never existed these two women, Sarah and Hagar, nor the two sons who were born to Abraham, the one of the bondwoman, the other of the free, because the apostle says that in them the two covenants were prefigured! or as if water never flowed from the rock when Moses struck it, because therein Christ can be seen in a figure, as the same apostle says: "Now that rock was Christ' (1 Cor. x. 4). . . .

These and similar allegorical interpretations may be suitably put upon paradise without giving offence to any one, while yet we believe the strict truth of the history, confirmed by its circumstantial narrative of facts." The allusion in the above passage to Sarah and Hagar invites the remark, that in Galatians iv. 24, the words in our version rendered, "which things are an allegory," should be, "which things are such as may be allegorized." ["Avtvd i<rriv aXknyapautftiva. See Jelf, 398, sec. 2.] It is important to note this, as the passage has been quoted in support of the more extreme method of allegorizing, though it could clearly go no further than to sanction allegorizing by way of spiritual meditation upon Scripture, and not in the interpretation of it which first, as Waterland thinks ( Works, vol. v. p. 311), was the end contemplated by most of the Fathers. Thoughtful students of Scripture will feel that we have no right to make historical facts typical or allegorical, unless (as in the case of the manna, the brazen serpent, Jacob's ladder, etc.) we have divine authority for so doing; and few such will dissent from the opinion of Bishop Marsh (Lecture vi.) that the type must not only resemble the antitype, but must have been designed to resemble it, and further, that we must have the authority of Scripture for the existence of such design. The text, "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth
according to the "letter," seemed to

teach me, though he taught me! gs as I knew not as yet whether they vert tn. U

this time I restrained my heart from

fall headlong but by hanging

in suspense I was the worse killed. For my desire was to

as weH assured _ - that I saw not, as I was

that seven and thr- en For I was not so insane as to

believe Chat l old not be comprehended; bnt I desired

ner tL. . - clear i whether corporeal things,

witi: nut not present to my senses, or spiritual, whereof I

loiew: raporeally. And by believ-

nthavr boa cured, that so the sight of my soul

I might in some way be directed towards Thy

truth; wh. alwi; and faileth in naught. But as

lappeni "ho has tried a bad physician fears to trust

Dfca " . v-hatever to do with either

"literal " or "spiriti; _; iUguKtme himself interpreteit in out place

."Spir.etal I asm . bi killing lettei of the law, as compared with

pel. ' ' An opinion, " to conclnde with the thou.

ed Morrii i bapta Word* for the Heart and Life, p. 203),

miD r )L mus; the; i tod. Some still talk of 'letter' and 'spirit'

M nosanctio: r.r.er ' with theru it the literal mean-
"b: And, aB the ' spirit ' pos-

HW: " snjieri".:er,' they fly away into the region of
taaetmsma "' if nothing typical, and
bring ahagadai rr;; "sifi more evangelical
i tub thai the Epistle to the Dsfan
mm::ristianity, they look upon the exerciw of
i proof of a depraved taste, and forget that diseased at well
ai m may w more than others. It i6 not tht obvious meaning
ant by 'letter' and ' spirit, ' nor any two
meanings of \ity, nc:.nings of any thing or tilings, bnt the two
tub of Mortef and of Christ." Illeferene? may be made on this whole
-. " ! i m in th< writings of the Fathers to Blunts
ft Une qf ih/ Early J < fe.
ue frequent.'; on this idea. u Bermon 88 fee. 5, , <
lakes th' .... subservient to the clearing of the
inn-;: <!ul; and in hn, 1> r J'ri.n. i. ' And it is necessary
to be able to tee ineffably that which iB ineffable
- flu ',: , v it having y< it attained, we are to be nourished by
..ited to utu ca])acity, that we may be ajrt and able Is coinjirehenij
116 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]
open that which, accepted according to the "letter," seemed to teach perverse doctrines teaching herein nothing that offended me, though he taught such things as I knew not as yet whether they were true. For all this time I restrained my heart from assenting to anything, fearing to fall headlong; but by hanging in suspense I was the worse killed. For my desire was to be as well assured of those things that I saw not, as I was that seven and three are ten. For I was not so insane as to believe that this could not be comprehended; but I desired to have other things as clear as this, whether corporeal things, which were not present to my senses, or spiritual, whereof I knew not how to conceive except corporeally. And by believing I might have been cured, that so the sight of my soul being cleared, it might in some way be directed towards Thy truth, which abideth always, and faileth in naught. But as it happens that he who has tried a bad physician fears to trust

life, "as a perusal of the context will show, has nothing whatever to do with either 'literal' or 'spiritual' meanings. Augustine himself interprets it in one place (De Spir. et Lit. cc. 4, 5) as meaning the killing letter of the law, as compared with the quickening power of the gospel. 'An opinion," to conclude with the thoughtful words of Alfred Morris on this chapter (Words for the Heart and Life, p. 203), 'once common must therefore he rejected. Some still talk of 'letter' and 'spirit' in a way which has no sanction here. The 'letter' with them is the literal meaning of the text, the 'spirit' is its symbolic meaning. And, as the 'spirit' possesses an evident superiority to the 'letter,' they fly away into the region of secret senses and hidden doctrines, find types where there is nothing typical, and allegories where there is nothing allegorical; make Genesis more evangelical than the Epistle to the Romans, and Leviticus than the Epistle to the Hebrews; mistaking lawful criticism for legal Christianity, they look upon the exercise of a sober judgment as a proof of a depraved taste, and forget that diseased as well as very powerful eyes may see more than others. It is not the obvious meaning and the secret meaning that are intended by 'letter' and 'spirit,' nor any two meanings of Christianity, nor two meanings of any thing or things, but the two systems of Moses and of Christ." Reference may be made on this whole subject of allegorical interpretation in the writings of the Fathers to Blunt's Right Use of the Early Fathers, series i. lecture 9.

1 Augustine frequently dilates on this idea. In sermon 88 (cc. 5, 6, etc.), he makes the whole of the ministries of religion subservient to the clearing of the inner eye of the soul; and in his De Trin. i. 3, he says: "And it is necessary to purge our minds, in order to be able to see ineffably that which is ineffable [i.e. the Godhead], whereunto not having yet attained, we are to be nourished by faith, and led by such ways as are more suited to our capacity, that we may be rendered apt and able to comprehend it."

CHAP. V.] REASON AND FAITH. 117
himself with a good one, so was it with the health of my soul, which could not be healed but by believing, and, lest it should believe falsehoods, refused to be cured resisting Thy hands, who hast prepared for us the medicaments of faith, and hast applied them to the maladies of the whole world, and hast bestowed upon them so great authority.

Chap. v. Faith is the basis of human life; man cannot discover that truth which Holy Scripture has disclosed.

7. From this, however, being led to prefer the Catholic doctrine, I felt that it was with more moderation and honesty that it commanded things to be believed that were not demonstrated (whether it was that they could be demonstrated, but not to any one, or could not be demonstrated at all), than was the method of the Manichreans, where our credulity was mocked by audacious promise of knowledge, and then so many most fabulous and absurd things were forced upon belief because they were not capable of demonstration. 1 After that, Lord, Thou, by little and little, with most gentle and most merciful hand, drawing and calming my heart, didst persuade me, taking into consideration what a multiplicity of things which I had never seen, nor was present when they were enacted, like so many of the things in secular history, and so many accounts of places and cities which I had not seen; so many of friends, so many of physicians, so many now of these men, now of those, which unless we should believe, we should do nothing at all in this life; lastly, with how un-

1 He similarly exalts the claims of the Christian Church over Manichseanism in his Reply to Faustus (xxxii. 19): "If you submit to receive a load of endless fictions at the bidding
of an obscure and irrational authority, so that you believe all those things because they are written in the books which your misguided judgment pronounces trustworthy, though there is no evidence of their truth, why not rather submit to the evidence of the gospel, which is so well-founded, so confirmed, so generally acknowledged and admired, and which has an unbroken series of testimonies from the apostles down to our own day, that so you may have an intelligent belief, and may come to know that all your objections are the fruit of folly and perversity? " And again, in his Reply to Manichees' Fundamental Epistle (sec. 8), alluding to the credulity required in those who accept Manichsean teaching on the mere authority of the teacher:

"Whoever thoughtlessly yields this becomes a Manichsean, not by knowing undoubted truth, but by believing doubtful statements. Such were we when in our inexperienced youth we were deceived."

118 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI

alterable an assurance I believed of what parents I was born, which it would have been impossible for me to know otherwise than by hearsay, taking into consideration all this, Thou persuadest me that not they who believed Thy books (which, with so great authority, Thou hast established among nearly all nations), but those who believed them not were to be blamed; * and that those men were not to be listened unto who should say to me, "How dost thou know that those Scriptures were imparted unto mankind by the Spirit of the one true and most true God? " For it was this same thing that was most of all to be believed, since no wranglings of blasphemous questions, whereof I had read so many amongst the selfcontradicting philosophers, could once wring the belief from me that Thou art, whatsoever Thou wert, though what I knew not, or that the government of human affairs belongs to Thee.

8. Thus much I believed, at one time more strongly than another, yet did I ever believe both that Thou wert, and hadst a care of us, although I was ignorant both what was to be thought of Thy substance, and what way led, or led back to Thee. Seeing, then, that we were too weak by unaided reason to find out the truth, and for this cause needed the authority of the holy writings, I had now begun to believe that Thou wouldest by no means have given such excellency of authority to those Scriptures throughout all lands, had it not been Thy will thereby to be believed in, and thereby

1 He has a like train of thought in another place (Be Fide Her. qua, non Vid. sec. 4): "If, then (harmony being destroyed), human society itself would not stand if we believe not that we see not, how much more should we have faith in divine things, though we see them not; which if we have it not, we do not violate the friendship of a few men, but the profoundest religion so as to have as its consequence the profoundest misery." Again, referring to belief in Scripture, he argues {Con. Faust, xxxiii. 6) that, if we doubt its evidence, we may equally doubt that of any book, and asks, "How do we know the authorship of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro, and other similar writers, but by the unbroken chain of evidence? " And once more he contends (Be Mor. Cath. Eccles.
xxix. 60) that, "The utter overthrow of all literature will follow, and there will be an end to all books handed down from the past, if what is supported by such a strong popular belief, and established by the uniform testimony of so many men and so many times, is brought into such suspicion that it is not allowed to have the credit and the authority of common history."

CHAP. VI.] THE PLAINNESS AND PROFUNDITY OF SCRIPTURE. 119

sought. For now those things which heretofore appeared incongruous to me in the Scripture, and used to offend me, having heard divers of them expounded reasonably, I referred to the depth of the mysteries, and its authority seemed to me all the more venerable and worthy of religious belief, in that, while it was visible for all to read it, it reserved the majesty of its secret within its profound significance, stooping to all in the great plainness of its language and lowliness of its style, yet exercising the application of such as are not light of heart; that it might receive all into its common bosom, and through narrow passages waft over some few towards Thee, yet many more than if it did not stand upon such a height of authority, nor allured multitudes within its bosom by its holy humility. These things I meditated upon, and Thou wert with me; I sighed, and Thou hearkest me; I vacillated, and Thou didst guide me; I roamed through the broad way of the world, and Thou didst not desert me.

Chap. vi. On the source and cause of true joy, the example of the joyous beggar being adduced.

9. I longed for honours, gains, wedlock; and Thou mockedst me. In these desires I underwent most bitter hardships, Thou being the more gracious the less Thou didst suffer anything which was not Thou to grow sweet to me. Behold my heart, Lord, who wouldest that I should recall all this, and confess unto Thee. Now let my soul cleave to Thee, which Thou hast freed from that fast-holding bird-lime of death. How wretched was it! And Thou didst irritate the feeling of its wound, that, forsaking all else, it might be converted unto Thee, who art above all, and without whom all things would be naught, be converted and be healed. How wretched was I at that time, and how didst Thou deal with me, to make me sensible of my wretchedness on that day wherein I was preparing to recite a panegyric on the Emperor, 3

1 See i. sec. 10, note, above. - Matt. vii. 13.

3 In the Benedictine edition it is suggested that this was probably Valentinian the younger, whose court was, according to Possidius (c. i.), at Milan when Augustine was professor of rhetoric there, who writes (Con. Litt. Petil. iii. 25) that he in that city recited a panegyric to Bauto, the consul, on the first of January, according to the requirement of his profession of rhetoric.
120 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

wherein I was to deliver many a lie, and lying was to be applauded by those who knew I lied; and my heart panted with these cares, and boiled over with the feverishness of consuming thoughts. For, while walking along one of the streets of Milan, I observed a poor mendicant, then, I imagine, with a full belly, joking and joyous; and I sighed, and spake to the friends around me of the many sorrows resulting from our madness, for that by all such exertions of ours, as those wherein I then laboured, dragging along, under the spur of desires, the burden of my own unhappiness, and by dragging increasing it, we yet aimed only to attain that very joyousness which that mendicant had reached before us, who, perchance, never would attain it! For what he had obtained through a few begged pence, the same was I scheming for by many a wretched and tortuous turning, the joy of a temporary felicity. For he verily possessed not true joy, but yet I, with these my ambitions, was seeking one much more untrue. And in truth he was joyous, I anxious; he free from care, I full of alarms. But should any one inquire of me whether I would rather be merry or fearful, I would reply, Merry. Again, were I asked whether I would rather be such as he was, or as I myself then was, I should elect to be myself, though beset with cares and alarms, but out of perversity; for was it so in truth? For I ought not to prefer myself to him because I happened to be more learned than he, seeing that I took no delight therein, but sought rather to please men by it; and that not to instruct, but only to please. Wherefore also didst Thou break my bones with the rod of Thy correction. 1

10. Away with those, then, from my soul, who say unto it, "It makes a difference from whence a man's joy is derived. That mendicant rejoiced in drunkenness; thou longedst to rejoice in glory." What glory, Lord? That which is not in Thee. For even as his was no true joy, so was mine no true glory; 2 and it subverted my soul more. He would

1 Prov. xxii. 15.

* Here, as elsewhere, we have the feeling which finds its expression in i. sec. 1, above: "Thou hast formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee."

CHAP. m.] ALYPIUS AND THE CIRCUS. 121

digest his drunkenness that same night, but many a night had I slept with mine, and risen again with it, and was to sleep again and again to rise with it, I know not how oft. It does indeed " make a difference whence a man's joy is derived." I
know it is so, and that the joy of a faithful hope is incomparably beyond such vanity. Yea, and at that time was he beyond me, for he truly was the happier man; not only for that he was thoroughly steeped in mirth, I torn to pieces with cares, but he, by giving good wishes, had gotten wine, I, by lying, was following after pride. Much to this effect said I then to my dear friends, and I often marked in them how it fared with me; and I found that it went ill with me, and fretted, and doubled that very ill. And if any prosperity smiled upon me, I loathed to seize it, for almost before I could grasp it it flew away.

Chap. vii. He leads to reformation Ms friend Alypius, seized with madness
for the Circensian games.

11. These things we, who lived like friends together, jointly deplored, but chiefly and most familiarly did I discuss them with Alypius and Nebridius, of whom Alypius was born in the same town as myself, his parents being of the highest rank there, but he being younger than I. For he had studied under me, first, when I taught in our own town, and afterwards at Carthage, and esteemed me highly, because I appeared to him good and learned; and I esteemed him for his innate love of virtue, which, in one of no great age, was sufficiently eminent. But the vortex of Carthaginian customs (amongst whom these frivolous spectacles are hotly followed) had inveigled him into the madness of the Circensian games.

But while he was miserably tossed about therein, I was professing rhetoric there, and had a public school. As yet he did not give ear to my teaching, on account of some ill-feeling that had arisen between me and his father. I had then found how fatally he doted upon the circus, and was deeply grieved that he seemed likely if, indeed, he had not already done so to cast away his so great promise. Yet had I no means of advising, or by a sort of restraint reclaiming him, either by the kindness of a friend or by the authority of a master. For

122 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

I imagined that his sentiments towards me were the same as his father's; but he was not such. Disregarding, therefore, his father's will in that matter, he commenced to salute me, and, coming into my lecture-room, to listen for a little and depart.

12. But it slipped my memory to deal with him, so that he should not, through a blind and headstrong desire of empty pastimes, undo so great a wit. But Thou, Lord, who governest the helm of all Thou hast created, hadst not forgotten him, who was one day to be amongst Thy sons, the President of Thy sacrament; x and that his amendment might plainly be attributed to Thyself, Thou broughtest it about through me, but I knowing nothing of it. For one day, when I was sitting in my accustomed place, with my scholars before me, he came in, saluted me, sat himself down, and fixed his attention on the subject I was then handling. It so happened that I had a passage in hand, which while I was explaining, a simile borrowed from the Circensian games occurred to me, as likely to
make what I wished to convey pleasanter and plainer, imbued with a biting jibe at those whom that madness had enthralled.

Thou knowest, O our God, that I had no thought at that time of curing Alypius of that plague. But he took it to himself, and thought that I would not have said it but for his sake.

And what any other man would have made a ground of offence against me, this worthy young man took as a reason for being offended at himself, and for loving me more fervently. For Thou hast said it long ago, and written in Thy book, "Kebuke a wise man, and he will love thee." 2 But I had not rebuked him, but Thou, who makest use of all consciously or unconsciously, in that order which Thyself knowest (and that order is right), wroughtest out of my heart and tongue burning coals, by which Thou mightest set on fire and cure the hopeful mind thus languishing. Let him be silent in Thy praises who meditates not on Thy mercies, which from my inmost parts confess unto Thee. For he upon that speech rushed out from that so deep pit, wherein he was wilfully plunged, and was blinded by its miserable pastimes; and he roused his mind with a

1 Compare v. sec. 17, note, above, and sec. 15, note, below.
* Prov. ix. 8.

CHAP. VTT.1 THE MORALITY OF THE MANICH^ANS. 12?

resolute moderation; whereupon all the filth of the Circensian pastimes 1 flew off from him, and he did not approach them further. Upon this, he prevailed with his reluctant father to let him be my pupil. He gave in and consented. And Alypius, beginning again to hear me, was involved in the same superstition as I was, loving in the Manichaeans that ostentation of continency 2 which he believed to be true and unfeigned. It was, however, a senseless and seducing continency, ensnaring precious souls, not able as yet to reach the height of virtue, and easily besuited with the veneer of what was but a shadowy and feigned virtue.

1 The games in the provinces of the empire were on the same model as those held in the Circus Maximus at Rome, though not so imposing. This circus was one of those vast works executed by Tarquinius Priscus. Hardly a vestige of it at the present time remains, though the Cloaca Maxima, another of his stupendous works, has not, after more than 2500 years, a stone displaced, and still performs its appointed service of draining the city of Rome into the Tiber.

In the circus were exhibited chariot and foot races, fights on horseback, representations of battles (on which occasion camps were pitched in the circus), and the Grecian athletic sports introduced after the conquest of that country. See also sec. 13, note, below.

* Augustine, in book v. sec. 9, above, refers to the reputed sanctity of Manichaeus, and it may well be questioned whether the sect deserved that unmitigated reprobation he pours out upon them in his De Moribus, and in parts of his controversy with Faustus. Certain it is that Faustus laid claim, on behalf of his sect, to a very different moral character to that
Augustine would impute to them. He says (Con. Faust, v. 1): "Do I believe the gospel? You ask me if I believe it, though my obedience to its commands shows that I do. I should rather ask you if you believe it, since you give no proof of your belief. I have left my father, mother, wife, and children, and all else that the gospel requires (Matt. xix. 29); and do you ask if I believe the gospel? Perhaps you do not know what is called the gospel. The gospel is nothing else than the preaching and the precept of Christ. I have parted with all gold and silver, and have left off carrying money in my purse; content with daily food; without anxiety for tomorrow; and without solicitude about how I shall be fed, or wherewithal I shall be clothed: and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see in me the blessings of the gospel (Matt. v. 3-11); and do you ask if I believe the gospel? You see me poor, meek, a peacemaker, pure in heart, mourning, hungering, thirsting, bearing persecutions and enmity for righteousness’ sake; and do you doubt my belief in the gospel?" It is difficult to understand that Manichaeanism can have spread as largely as it did at that time, if the asceticism of many amongst them had not been real. It may be noted that in his controversy with Fortunatus, Augustine strangely declines to discuss the charges of immorality that had been brought against the Manichasans; and in the last chapter of his De Moribus, it appears to be indicated that one, if not more, of those whose evil deeds are therapeutically spoken of had a desire to follow the rule of life laid down by Manichaeus.

124 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

Chap. vn. The same when at Rome, being led by others into the amphitheatre, is delighted with the gladiatorial games.

13. He, not relinquishing that worldly way which his parents had bewitched him to pursue, had gone before me to Rome, to study law, and there he was carried away in an extraordinary manner with an incredible eagerness after the gladiatorial shows. For, being utterly opposed to and detesting such spectacles, he was one day met by chance by divers of his acquaintance and fellow-students returning from dinner, and they with a friendly violence drew him, vehemently objecting and resisting, into the amphitheatre, on a day of these cruel and deadly shows, he thus protesting: "Though you drag my body to that place, and there place me, can you force me to give my mind and lend my eyes to these shows? Thus shall I be absent while present, and so shall overcome both you and them." They hearing this, dragged him on nevertheless, desirous, perchance, to see whether he could do as he said. When they had arrived thither, and had taken their places as they could, the whole place became excited with the inhuman sports. But he, shutting up the doors of his eyes, forbade his mind to roam abroad after such naughtiness; and would that he had shut his ears also! For, upon the fall of one in the fight, a mighty cry from the whole audience stirring him strongly, he, overcome by curiosity, and prepared as it were to despise and rise superior to it, no matter what it were, opened his eyes, and was struck with a deeper wound in his soul than the other, whom he desired to see, was in his body and he fell more miserably than he
The scene of this episode was, doubtless, the great Flavian Amphitheatre, known by us at this day as the Colosseum. It stands in the valley between the Cselian and Esquiline hills, on the site of a lake formerly attached to the palace of Nero. Gibbon, in his graphic way, says of the building (Decline and Fall, i. 355): "Posterity admires, and will long admire, the awful remains of the amphitheatre of Titus, which so well deserved the epithet of colossal. It was a building of an elliptic figure, five hundred and sixty-four feet in length, and four hundred and sixty-seven in breadth, founded on fourscore arches, and rising, with four successive orders of architecture, to the height of one hundred and forty feet. The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble, and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave which formed the inside were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats of marble, likewise covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand spectators. Sixty-four vomitories (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which in any respect could be subservient to the convenience or pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice, the arena, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms; at one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decoration of these scenes the Koman
emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read, on various occasions, that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber."

In this magnificent building were enacted venatios or hunting scenes, sea-fights, and gladiatorial shows, in all of which the greatest lavishness was exhibited. The men engaged were for the most part either criminals or captives taken in war. On the occasion of the triumph of Trajan for his victory over the Dacians, it is said that ten thousand gladiators were engaged in combat, and that in the naumachia or sea-fight shown by Domitian, ships and men in force equal to two real fleets were engaged, at an enormous expenditure of human life. " If," says James Martineau (Endeavours after the Christian Life, pp 261, 262), "you would witness a scene characteristic of the popular life of old, you must go to the amphitheatre of Rome, mingle with its eighty thousand spectators, and watch

126 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

from all this didst Thou, with a most powerful and most merciful hand, pluck him, and taughtest him not to repose confidence in himself, but in Thee but not till long after.

Chap. ix. Innocent Alypius, being apprehended as a thief, is set at liberty by the cleverness of an architect.

14. But this was all being stored up in his memory for a medicine hereafter. As was that also, that when he was yet studying under me at Carthage, and was meditating at noonday in the market-place upon what he had to recite (as scholars are wont to be exercised), Thou sufferedst him to be apprehended as a thief by the officers of the market-place. For no other reason, I apprehend, didst Thou, O our God, suffer it, but that he who was in the future to prove so great a man should now begin to learn that, in judging of causes, man should not with a reckless credulity readily be condemned

the eager faces of senators and people; observe how the masters of the world spend the wealth of conquest, and indulge the pi-ide of power. See every wild creature that God has made to dwell, from the jungles of India to the mountains of "Wales, from the forests of Germany to the deserts of Nubia, brought hither to be hunted down in artificial groves by thousands in an hour; behold the captives of war, noble, perhaps, and wise in their own land, turned loose, amid yells of insult, more terrible for their foreign tongue, to contend with brutal gladiators, trained to make death the favourite amusement, and present the most solemn of individual realities as a wholesale public sport; mark the light look with which the multitude, by uplifted finger, demands that the wounded combatant be slain before their eyes; notice the troop of Christian martyrs awaiting hand in hand the leap from the tiger's den. And when the day's spectacle is over, and the blood of two thousand victims stains the ring, follow the giddy crowd as it streams from the vomitories into the street, trace, its lazy course into the Forum, and hear it there scrambling for the bread of private indolence doled out by the purse of public corruption; and see how it suns itself to
sleep in the open ways, or crawls into foul dens till morning brings the hope of games and merry blood again; and you have an idea of the Imperial people, and their passionate living for the moment, which the gospel found in occupation of the world." The desire for these shows increased as the empire advanced. Constantine failed to put a stop to them at Rome, though they were not admitted into the Christian capital he established at Constantinople. We have already shown (iii. sec. 2, note, above) how strongly attendance at stage-plays and scenes like these was condemned by the Christian teachers. The passion, however, for these exhibitions was so great, that they were only brought to an end after the monk Telemachus horrified that Christians should witness such scenes had been battered to death by the people in their rage at his flinging himself between the swordsmen to stop the combat. This tragic episode occurred in the year 403, at a show held in commemoration of a temporary success over the troops of Alaric.

CHAP. IX.] ALYPIUS IS TAKEN UP FOR THEFT. 127

by man. For as he was walking up and down alone before the judgment-seat with his tablets and pen, lo, a young man, one of the scholars, the real thief, privily bringing a hatchet, got in without Alypius' seeing him as far as the leaden bars which protect the silversmiths' shops, and began to cut away the lead. But the noise of the hatchet being heard, the silversmiths below began to make a stir, and sent to take in custody whomsoever they should find. But the thief, hearing their voices, ran away, leaving his hatchet, fearing to be taken with it. Now Alypius, who had not seen him come in, caught sight of him as he went out, and noted with what speed he made off. And, being curious to know the reasons, he entered the place, where, finding the hatchet, he stood wondering and pondering, when behold, those that were sent caught him alone, hatchet in hand, the noise whereof had startled them and brought them thither. They lay hold of him and drag him away, and, gathering the tenants of the market-place about them, boast of having taken a notorious thief, and thereupon he was being led away to appear before the judge.

15. But thus far was he to be instructed. For immediately, Lord, Thou earnest to the succour of his innocency, whereof Thou wert the sole witness. For, as he was being led either to prison or to punishment, they were met by a certain architect, who had the chief charge of the public buildings. They were specially glad to come across him, by whom they used to be suspected of stealing the goods lost out of the market-place, as though at last to convince him by whom these thefts were committed. He, however, had at divers times seen Alypius at the house of a certain senator, whom he was wont to visit to pay his respects; and, recognising him at once, he took him aside by the hand, and inquiring of him the cause of so great a misfortune, heard the whole affair, and commanded all the rabble then present ' (who were very uproarious and full of threatenings) to go J with him. And they came to the house of the young man who had committed the deed. There, before the door, was a lad so young as not to refrain from disclosing the whole
through the fear of injuring his master. For he had followed his master to the market-
place. Whom, so soon as Alypius recognised, he intimated it to the architect; and he,
showing the hatchet to the lad, asked him to whom it belonged.
"To us," quoth he immediately; and on being further interrogated, he disclosed
everything. Thus, the crime being transferred to that house, and the rabble shamed, which
had begun to triumph over Alypius, he, the future dispenser of Thy word, and an
examiner of numerous causes in Thy Church, 1 went away better experienced and instructed.

Chap. x. The wonderful integrity of Alypius in judgment. The lasting friendship of
Nebridius with Augustine.

16. Him, therefore, had I lighted upon at Rome, and he clung to me by a most strong tie,
and accompanied me to Milan, both that he might not leave me, and that he might
practise something of the law he had studied, more with a view of pleasing his parents
than himself. There had he thrice sat as assessor with an uncorruptness wondered at by
others, he rather wondering at those who could prefer gold to integrity. His character was
tested, also, not only by the bait of covetousness, but by the spur of fear. At Rome, he
was assessor to the Count of the Italian Treasury. 2 There was at that time a most potent
senator, to whose favours many were indebted, of whom also many stood in fear. He
would fain, by his usual power, have a tiling granted him which was forbidden
by the laws. This Alypius resisted; a bribe was promised, he scorned it with all his heart;
threats were employed, he trampled them under foot, all men being astonished at so rare a spirit,
which neither coveted the friendship nor feared the enmity of a man at once so powerful
and

On the necessity which bishops were under of hearing secular causes, and its use, see
Bingham, ii. c. 7." E. B. P.

* "The Lord High Treasurer of the Western Empire was called Comes Sacrarum
largitionum. He had six other treasurers in so many provinces under him, whereof he of
Italy was one under whom tins Alypius had some office of judicature, something like
(though far inferior) to our Baron of the Exchequer.
See Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, in the word Comes; and Cassiodor, Var. v.
c. 40." W. W.
so greatly famed for his innumerable means of doing good or ill. Even the judge whose councillor Alypius was, although also unwilling that it should be done, yet did not openly refuse it, but put the matter off upon Alypius, alleging that it was he who would not permit him to do it; for verily, had the judge done it, Alypius would have decided otherwise.

With this one thing in the way of learning was he very nearly led away, that he might have books copied for him at praetorian prices. 1 But, consulting justice, he changed his mind for the better, esteeming equity, whereby he was hindered, more gainful than the power whereby he was permitted. These are little things, but " He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much." 2 Nor can that possibly be void which proceedeth out of the mouth of Thy Truth. " If, therefore, ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches ? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own ? " He, being such, did at that time cling to me, and wavered in purpose, as I did, what course of life was to be taken.

17. Nebridius also, who had left his native country near Carthage, and Carthage itself, where he had usually lived, leaving behind his fine paternal estate, his house, and his mother, who intended not to follow him, had come to Milan, i for no other reason than that he might live with me in a most ardent search after truth and wisdom. Like me he sighed, like me he wavered, an ardent seeker after true life, and a most acute examiner of the most abstruse questions. 4

So were there three begging mouths, sighing out their wants one to the other, and waiting upon Thee, that Thou mightest give them their meat in due season. 6 And in all the bitter-

1 Prefis prcetorianis. Du Caiige says that " Prethim regium is the right of a king or lord to purchase commodities at a certain and definite price." This may perhaps help us to understand the phrase as above employed.


4 Augustine makes a similar allusion to Nebridius' ardour in examining difficult questions, especially those which refer ad doctrinam pietatis, in his
ness which by Thy mercy followed our worldly pursuits, as we contemplated the end, why this suffering should be ours, darkness came upon us; and we turned away groaning and exclaiming, "How long shall these things be?" And this we often said; and saying so, we did not relinquish them, for as yet we had discovered nothing certain to which, when relinquished, we might betake ourselves.

Chap. xi. Being troubled by his grievous errors, he meditates entering on a new life.

18. And I, puzzling over and reviewing these things, most marvelled at the length of time from that my nineteenth year, wherein I began to be inflamed with the desire of wisdom, resolving, when I had found her, to forsake all the empty hopes and lying insanities of vain desires. And behold, I was now getting on to my thirtieth year, sticking in the same mire, eager for the enjoyment of things present, which fly away and destroy me, whilst I say, "To-morrow I shall discover it; behold, it will appear plainly, and I shall seize it; behold, Faustus will come and explain everything! O ye great men, ye Academicians, it is then true that nothing certain for the ordering of life can be attained! Nay, let us search the more diligently, and let us not despair. Lo, the things in the ecclesiastical books, which appeared to us absurd aforetime, do not appear so now, and may be otherwise and honestly interpreted. I will set my feet upon that step, where, as a child, my parents placed me, until the clear truth be discovered. But where and when shall it be sought? Ambrose has no leisure, we have no leisure to read. Where are we to find the books? Whence or when procure them? From whom borrow them? Let set times be appointed, and certain hours be set apart for the health of the soul. Great hope has risen upon us the Catholic faith doth not teach what we conceived, and vainly accused it of. Her learned ones hold it as an abomination to believe that God is limited by the form of a human body. And do we doubt to 'knock/ in order that the rest may be 'opened'? x The mornings are taken up by our scholars; how do we employ the rest of

1 Matt. vii. 7.
19. "Perish everything, and let us dismiss these empty vanities, and betake ourselves solely to the search after truth! Life is miserable, death uncertain. If it creeps upon us suddenly, in what state shall we depart hence, and where shall we learn what we have neglected here? Or rather shall we not suffer the punishment of this negligence? What if death itself should cut off and put an end to all care and feeling? This also, then, must be inquired into. But God forbid that it should be so. It is not without reason, it is no empty thing, that the so eminent height of the authority of the Christian faith is diffused throughout the entire world. Never would such and so great things be wrought for us, if, by the death of the body, the life of the soul were destroyed. Why, therefore, do we delay to abandon our hopes of this world, and give ourselves wholly to seek after God and the blessed life? But stay! Even those things are enjoyable; and they possess some and no little sweetness. We must not abandon them lightly, for it would be a shame to return to them again. Behold, now is it a great matter to obtain some post of honour! And what more could we desire? We have crowds of influential friends, though we have nothing else, and if we make haste a presidency may be offered us; and a wife with some money, that she increase not our expenses; and this shall be the height of desire. Many men, who are great and worthy of imitation, have applied themselves to the study of wisdom in the marriage state."

20. Whilst I talked of these things, and these winds veered about and tossed my heart hither and thither, the time passed on; but I was slow to turn to the Lord, and from day to day deferred to live in Thee, and deferred not daily to die in myself. Being enamoured of a happy life, I yet feared it in its own abode, and, fleeing from it, sought after it. I conceived that I should be too unhappy were I deprived of the embraces of a woman; and of Thy merciful medicine to cure that infirmity I thought not, not having tried it. As regards continency, I imagined it to be under the control of our own strength (though in myself I found it not), being so foolish as not to know what is written, that none can be continent unless Thou give it; and that Thou wouldst give it, if with heartfelt groaning I should knock at Thine ears, and should with firm faith cast my care upon Thee.

132 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]
21. It was in truth Alypius who prevented me from marrying, alleging that thus we could by no means live together, having so much undistracted leisure in the love of wisdom, as we had long desired. For he himself was so chaste in this matter that it was wonderful all the more, too, that in his early youth he had entered upon that path, but had not clung to it; rather had he, feeling sorrow and disgust at it, lived from that time to the present most continently. But I opposed him with the examples of those who as married men had loved wisdom, found favour with God, and walked faithfully and lovingly with their friends. From the greatness of whose spirit I fell far short, and, enthralled with the disease of the flesh and its deadly sweetness, dragged my chain along, fearing to be loosed, and, as if it pressed my wound, rejected his kind expostulations, as it were the hand of

1 "I was entangled in the life of this world, clinging to dull hopes of a beauteous wife, the pomp of riches, the emptiness of honours, and the other hurtful and destructive pleasures " (Aug. De Util. Credendi, sec. 3). " After I had shaken off the Manicheans and escaped, especially when I had crossed the sea, the Academics long detained me tossing in the waves, winds from all quarters beating against my helm. And so I came to this shore, and there found a pole-star to whom to entrust myself. For I often observed in the discourses of our priest [Ambrose], and sometimes in yours [Theodoras], that you had no corporeal notions when you thought of God, or even of the soul, which of all things is next to God. But I was withheld, I own, from casting myself speedily into the bosom of true wisdom by the alluring hopes of marriage and honours; meaning, when I had obtained these, to press (as few singularly happy had before me) with oar and sail into that haven, and there rest" (Aug, De Vita Beata, sec. 4).

E. B. P.

MVisd. viii. 2, Vulg.

CHAP. XII.] AUGUSTINE A SNARE TO ALYPIUS. 133

one who would unchain me. Moreover, it was by me that the serpent spake unto Alypius himself, weaving and laying in his path, by my tongue, pleasant snares, wherein his honourable and free feet * might be entangled.

22. For when he wondered that I, for whom he had no slight esteem, stuck so fast in the bird-lime of that pleasure as to affirm whenever we discussed the matter that it would be impossible for me to lead a single life, and urged in my defence when I saw him wonder that there was a vast difference between the life that he had tried by stealth and snatches (of which he had now but a faint recollection, and might therefore, without regret, easily despise), and my sustained acquaintance with it, whereto if but the honourable name of marriage were added, he would not then be astonished at my inability to contemn that course, then began he also to wish to be married, not as if overpowered by the lust of
such pleasure, but from curiosity. For, as he said, he was anxious to know what that could be without which my life, which was so pleasing to him, seemed to me not life but a penalty. For his mind, free from that chain, was astounded at my slavery, and through that astonishment was going on to a desire of trying it, and from it to the trial itself, and thence, perchance, to fall into that bondage whereat he was so astonished, seeing he was ready to enter into "a covenant

1" Paulinus says that though he lived among the people and sat oyer them, ruling the sheep of the Lord's fold, as a watchful shepherd, with anxious sleeplessness, yet by renunciation of the world, and denial of flesh and blood, he had made himself a wilderness, severed from the many, called among the few" (Ap. Aug. Ep. 24, sec. 2). St. Jerome calls him "his holy and venerable brother, Father (Papa) Alypius" (Ep. 39, ibid.). Earlier, Augustine speaks of him as "abiding in union with him, to be an example to the brethren who wished to avoid the cares of this world" (Ep. 22); and to Paulinus {Ep. 27), [Romanianus] "is a relation of the venerable and truly blessed Bishop Alypius, whom you embrace with your whole heart deservedly; for whosoever thinks favourably of that man, thinks of the great mercy of God. Soon, by the help of God, I shall transfuse Alypius wholly into your soul [Paulinus had asked Alypius to write him his life, and Augustine had, at Alypius' request, undertaken to relieve him, and to do it]; for I feared chiefly lest he should shrink from laying open all which the Lord has bestowed upon him, lest, if read by any ordinary person (for it would not be read by you only), he should seem not so much to set forth the gifts of God committed to men, as to exalt himself. " E. B. P.

134 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

with death;" 1 and he that loves danger shall fall into it. 2 For whatever the conjugal honour be in the office of wellordering a married life, and sustaining children, influenced us but slightly. But that which did for the most part afflict me, already made a slave to it, was the habit of satisfying an insatiable lust; him about to be enslaved did an admiring wonder draw on. In this state were we, until Thou, most High, not forsaking our lowliness, commiserating our misery, didst come to our rescue by wonderful and secret ways.

Chap. xiii. Being urged by his mother to take a wife, he sought a maiden that ivas pleasing unto him.

23. Active efforts were made to get me a wife. I wooed, I was engaged, my mother taking the greatest pains in the matter, that when I was once married, the health-giving baptism might cleanse me; for which she rejoiced that I was being daily fitted, remarking that her desires and Thy promises were being fulfilled in my faith. At which time, verily, both at my request and her own desire, with strong heartfelt cries did we daily beg of Thee that Thou wouldest by a vision disclose unto her something concerning my future marriage; but Thou wouldest not. She saw indeed certain vain and fantastic things, such as the
earnestness of a human spirit, bent thereon, conjured up; and these she told me of, not with her usual confidence when Thou hadst shown her anything, but slighting them. For she could, she declared, through some feeling which she could not express in words, discern the difference betwixt Thy revelations and the dreams of hexown spirit. Yet the affair was pressed on, and a maiden sued who wanted two years of the marriageable age; and, as she was pleasing, she was waited for.

Chap. xiv. The design of establishing a common household with his friends is speedily hindered,

24. And many of us friends, consulting on and abhorring the turbulent vexations of human life, had considered and now almost determined upon living at ease and separate from the turmoil of men. And this was to be obtained in this way; we were to bring whatever we could severally procure, and

1 Isa. xxviii. 15. * Ecclus. iii. 27.

CHAP. XIV.] A COMMUNITY IS PROPOSED. 135

make a common household, so that, through the sincerity of our friendship, nothing should belong more to one than the other; but the whole, being derived from all, should as a whole belong to each, and the whole unto all. It seemed to us that this society might consist of ten persons, some of whom were very rich, especially Eomanianus, 1 our townsman, an intimate friend of mine from his childhood, whom grave business matters had then brought up to Court; who was the most earnest of us all for this project, and whose voice was of great weight in commending it, because his estate was far more ample than that of the rest. We had arranged, too, that two officers should be chosen yearly, for the providing of all necessary things, whilst the rest were left undisturbed. But when we began to reflect whether the wives which some of us had already, and others hoped to have, would permit this, all that plan, which was being so well framed, broke to pieces in our hands, and was utterly wrecked and cast aside. Thence we fell again to sighs and groans, and our steps to follow the broad and beaten ways 2 of the world; for many

1 Romanianus was a relation of Alypius (Aug. Ep. 27, ad Paulin. ), of talent which astonished Augustine himself (C. Acad. i. 1, ii. 1), "surrounded by affluence from early youth, and snatched by what are thought adverse circumstances from the absorbing whirlpools of life" (ibid.). Augustine frequently mentions his great wealth, as also this vexatious suit, whereby he was harassed (C. Acad. i. 1, ii. 1, 2), and which so clouded his mind that his talents were almost unknown (C. Acad. ii. 2); as also his very great kindness to himself, when, "as a poor lad, setting out to foreign study, he had received him in his house, supported and (yet more) encouraged him; when deprived of his father, comforted, animated, aided him;
when returning to Carthage, in pursuit of a higher employment, supplied him with all
necessaries." "Lastly,"
says Augustine, "whatever ease I now enjoy, that I have escaped the bonds of useless
desires, that, laying aside the weight of dead cares, I breathe, recover, return to myself,
that with all earnestness I am seeking the truth [Augustine wrote this the year before his
baptism], that I am attaining it, that I trust wholly to arrive at it, you encouraged,
impelled, effected " (C. Acad. ii. 2).
Augustine had "cast him headlong with himself" (as so many other of his friends)
into the Manichsean heresy (ibid. i. sec. 3), and it is to be hoped that he extricated him
with himself; but we only learn positively that he continued to be fond of the works of
Augustine (Ep. 27), whereas in that which he dedicated to him (C. Acad.), Augustine
writes very doubtingly to him, and afterwards recommends him to Paulinus, "to be cured
wholly or in part by his conversation" (Ep.
27). E. B. P.

* Matt. vii. 15.

136 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

thoughts were in our heart, but Thy counsel standeth for ever. 1 Out of which counsel
Thou didst mock ours, and preparedst Thine own, purposing to give us meat in due
season, and to open Thy hand, and to fill our souls with blessing. 2 .

Chap. xv. He dismisses one mistress, and chooses another .

25. Meanwhile my sins were being multiplied, and my mistress being torn from my side
as an impediment to my marriage, my heart, which clave to her, was racked, and
wounded, and bleeding. And she went back to Africa, making a vow unto Thee never to
know another man, leaving with me my natural son by her. But I, unhappy one, who
could not imitate a woman, impatient of delay, since it was not until two years' time I was
to obtain her I sought, being not so much a lover of marriage as a slave to lust, procured
another (not a wife, though), that so by the bondage of a lasting habit the disease of my
soul might be nursed up, and kept up in its vigour, or even increased, into the kingdom of
marriage. Nor was that wound of mine as yet cured which had been caused by the
separation from my former mistress, but after inflammation and most acute anguish it
mortified, 3 and the pain became numbed, but more desperate.

Chap. xvi. The fear of death and judgment called him, believing in the immortality of the
soul, back from his wickedness, him who aforetime believed in the opinions of Epicurus.

26. Unto Thee be praise, unto Thee be glory, O Fountain of mercies ! I became more
wretched, and Thou nearer.
Thy right hand was ever ready to pluck me out of the mire, and to cleanse me, but I was ignorant of it. Nor did anything recall me from a yet deeper abyss of carnal pleasures, but the fear of death and of Thy future judgment, which, amid all my fluctuations of opinion, never left my

1 Ps. xxxiii. 11. 2 Ps. cxlv. 15, 16.

3 In Iris De Natura Con. Manich. he has the same idea. He is speaking of the evil that has no pain, and remarks: "Likewise in the body, better is i wound with pain than putrefaction without pain, which is specially styled corruption; " and the same idea is embodied in the extract from Caird's Sermons, on p. 5, note 7.

CHAP. XVI.] EPICUREANISM. 137

breast. And in disputing with my friends, Alypius and Nebridius, concerning the nature of good and evil, I held that Epicurus had, in my judgment, won the palm, had I not believed that after death there remained a life for the soul, and places of recompense, which Epicurus would not believe. 1

And I demanded, "Supposing us to be immortal, and to be living in the enjoyment of perpetual bodily pleasure, and that without any fear of losing it, why, then, should we not be happy, or why should we search for anything else? " not knowing that even this very thing was a part of my great misery, that, being thus sunk and blinded, I could not discern that light of honour and beauty to be embraced for its own sake, 2 which cannot be seen by the eye of the flesh, it being visible only to the inner man. Nor did I, unhappy one, consider out of what vein it emanated, that even these things, loathsome as they were, I with pleasure discussed with my friends. Nor could I, even in accordance with my then

1 The ethics of Epicurus were a modified Hedonism (Diog. Laert. De Vitis, etc., x. 123). With him the earth was a congeries of atoms (ibid. 38, 40), which atoms existed from eternity, and formed themselves, uninfluenced by the gods. The soul he held to be material. It was diffused through the body, and was in its nature somewhat like air. At death it was resolved into its original atoms, when the being ceased to exist (ibid. 63, 64). Hence death was a matter of indifference to man [<S tavaros *i/*h *fo; fifias, ibid. 124, etc.]. In that great upheaval after the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, the various ancient philosophies were revived. This of Epicurus was disentombed and, as it were, vitalized by Gassendi, in the beginning of the seventeenth century; and it has a special importance from its bearing on the physical theories and investigations of modern times. Archer Butler, adverting to the inadequacy of the chief philosophical schools to satisfy the wants of the age in the early days of the planting of Christianity (Lectures on Ancient Philosophy, ii. 333), says of the Epicurean: " Its popularity was unquestioned; its adaptation to a luxurious age could not be doubted. But it was not formed to satisfy the wants of the time, however it might minister to its pleasures. It was, indeed, as it still continues to be, the tacit philosophy of the careless, and might thus number a larger army of disciples than any contemporary

system. But its supremacy existed only when it estimated numbers, it ceased when tried by weight. The eminent men of Rome were often its avowed favourers; but they were for the most part men eminent in arms and statesmanship, rather than the influential directors of the world of speculation. Nor could the admirable poetic art of Liicretius, or the still more attractive ease of Horace, confer such strength or dignity upon the system as to enable it to compete with the new and mysterious elements now upon all sides gathering into conflict."

8 See viii. sec. 17, note, below.

138 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VI.]

notions of happiness, make myself happy without friends, amid no matter how great abundance of carnal pleasures. And these friends assuredly I loved for their own sakes, and I knew myself to be loved of them again for my own sake. crooked ways! Woe to the audacious soul which hoped that, if it forsook Thee, it would find some better thing! It hath turned and re-turned, on back, sides, and belly, and all was hard, and Thou alone rest. And behold, Thou art near, and deliverest us from our wretched wanderings, and stablishest us in Thy way, and dost comfort us, and say, "Eun; I will carry you, yea, I will lead you, and there also will I carry you."

1 See above, ir. cc. 1, 10, and 12.

CHAP. I.] HIS IDEA OF GOD. 139

SEVENTH BOOK

HE RECALLS THE BEGINNING OF HIS YOUTH, i.e. THE THIRTY-FIRST YEAR OF HIS AGE, IN WHICH VERY GRAVE ERRORS AS TO THE NATURE OF GOD AND THE ORIGIN OF EVIL BEING DISTINGUISHED, AND THE SACRED BOOKS MORE ACCURATELY KNOWN, HE AT LENGTH ARRIVES AT A CLEAR KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, NOT YET RIGHTLY APPREHENDING JESUS CHRIST.
Chap. i. He regarded not God indeed under the form of a human body, but at a corporeal substance diffused through space.

1. "I was that evil and abominable youth of mine, and I was passing into early manhood: as I increased in years, the fouler became I in vanity, who could not conceive of any substance but such as I saw with my own eyes. I thought not of Thee, God, under the form of a human body. Since the time I began to hear something of wisdom, I always avoided this; and I rejoiced to have found the same in the faith of our spiritual mother, Thy Catholic Church. But what else to imagine Thee I knew not. And I, a man, and such a man, sought to conceive of Thee, the sovereign and only true God; and I did in my inmost heart believe that Thou wert incorruptible, and inviolable, and unchangeable; because, not knowing whence or how, yet most plainly did I see and feel sure that which may be corrupted must be worse than that which cannot, and what cannot be violated did I without hesitation prefer before that which can, and deemed that which suffers no change to be better than that which is changeable. Violently did my heart cry out against all my phantasms, and with this one blow I endeavoured to beat away from the eye of my mind all that unclean crowd which fluttered around it. And lo, being scarce put off, they, in the twinkling of an eye, pressed in multitudes around me, dashed against my face, and beclouded it; so that, though

1 See Hi. sec. 12, iv. sees. 3 and 12, and v. sec. 19, above.

140 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

I thought not of Thee under the form of a human body, yet was I constrained to image Thee to be something corporeal in space, either infused into the world, or infinitely diffused beyond it, even that incorruptible, inviolable, and unchangeable, which I preferred to the corruptible, and violable, and changeable; since whatsoever I conceived, deprived of this space, appeared as nothing to me, yea, altogether nothing, not even a void, as if a body were removed from its place and the place should remain empty of any body at all, whether earthly, terrestrial, watery, aerial, or celestial, but should remain a void place a spacious nothing, as it were.

2. I therefore being thus gross-hearted, nor clear even to myself, whatsoever was not stretched over certain spaces, nor diffused, nor crowded together, nor swelled out, or which did not or could not receive some of these dimensions, I judged to be altogether nothing. I For over such forms as my eyes are wont to range did my heart then range; nor did I see that this same observation, by which I formed those same images, was not of this kind, and yet it could not have formed them had not itself been something great. In like manner did I conceive of Thee, Life of my life, as vast through infinite spaces, on every side penetrating the whole mass of the world, and beyond it, all ways, through immeasurable
For with what understanding can man apprehend God, who does not yet apprehend that very understanding itself of his own by which he desires to apprehend Him? And if he does already apprehend this, let him carefully consider that there is nothing in his own nature better than it; and let him see whether he can there see any outlines of forms, or brightness of colours, or greatness of space, or distance of parts, or extension of size, or any movements through intervals of place, or any such thing at all. Certainly we find nothing of all this in that, than which we find nothing better in our own nature, that is, in our own intellect, by which we apprehend wisdom according to our capacity. What, therefore, we do not find in that, which is our own best, we ought not to seek in Him, who is far better than that best of ours; that so we may understand God, if we are able, and as much as we are able, as good without quality, great without quantity, a Creator though He lack nothing, ruling but from no position, sustaining all things without 'having' them, in His wholeness everywhere yet without place, eternal without time, making things that are changeable without change of Himself, and without passion. Whoso thus thinks of God, although he cannot yet find out in all ways what He is, yet piously takes heed, as much as he is able, to think nothing of Him that He is not." De Trin. v. 2.

CHAP. II.] HIS PERPLEXITIES AS TO GOD'S SUBSTANCE. 141

and boundless spaces; so that the earth should have Thee, the heaven have Thee, all things have Thee, and they bounded in Thee, but Thou nowhere. For as the body of this air which is above the earth preventeth not the light of the sun from passing through it, penetrating it, not by bursting or by cutting, but by filling it entirely, so I imagined the body, not of heaven, air, and sea only, but of the earth also, to be pervious to Thee, and in all its greatest parts as well as smallest penetrable to receive Thy presence, by a secret inspiration, both inwardly and outwardly governing all things which Thou hast created. So I conjectured, because I was unable to think of anything else; for it was untrue. For in this way would a greater part of the earth contain a greater portion of Thee, and the less a lesser; and all things should so be full of Thee, as that the body of an elephant should contain more of Thee than that of a sparrow by how much larger it is, and occupies more room; and so shouldest Thou make the portions of Thyself present unto the several portions of the world, in pieces, great to the great, little to the little. But Thou art not such a one; nor hadst Thou as yet enlightened my darkness.

Chap. ii. The disputation of Nebridius against the Manichaans, on the question "whether God be corruptible or incorruptible."

3. It was sufficient for me, Lord, to oppose to those deceived deceivers and dumb praters (dumb, since Thy word sounded not forth from them) that which a long while ago, while we were at Carthage, Nebridius used to propound, at which all we who heard it were disturbed: "What could that reputed nation of darkness, which the Manichseans are in the
habit of setting up as a mass opposed to Thee, have done unto Thee hadst Thou objected to fight with it? For had it been answered, 'It would have done Thee some injury/then shouldest Thou be subject to violence and corruption; but if the reply were: *It could do Thee no injury,' then was no cause assigned for Thy fighting with it; and so fighting as that a certain portion and member of Thee, or offspring of Thy very substance, should be blended with adverse powers and natures not of Thy creation, and be by them corrupted and

deteriorated to such an extent as to be turned from happiness into misery, and need help whereby it might be delivered and purged; and that this offspring of Thy substance was the soul, to which, being enslaved, contaminated, and corrupted, Thy word, free, pure, and entire, might bring succour; but yet also the word itself being corruptible, because it was from one and the same substance. So that should they affirm Thee, whatsoever Thou art, that is, Thy substance whereby Thou art, to be incorruptible, then were all these assertions false and execrable; but if corruptible, then that were false, and at the first utterance to be abhorred." x This argument, then, was enough against those who wholly merited to be vomited forth from the surfeited stomach, since they had no means of escape without horrible sacrilege, both of heart and tongue, thinking and speaking such things of Thee.

1 Similar arguments are made use of in his controversy with Fortunatus (Dis. ii. 5), where he says, that as Fortunatus could find no answer, so neither could he when a Manichsean, and that this led him to the true faith. Again, in his De Moribns (sec. 25), where he examines the answers which had been given, he commences: "For this gives rise to the question, which used to throw us into great perplexity, even when we were your zealous disciples, nor could we find any answer, what the race of darkness would have done to God, supposing He had refused to fight with it at the cost of such calamity to part of Himself. For if God would not have suffered any loss by remaining quiet, we thought it hard that we had been sent to endure so much. Again, if He would have suffered, His nature cannot have been incorruptible, as it behoves the nature of God to be."

We have already, in the note to book iv. sec. 26, referred to some of the matters touched on in this section; but they call for further elucidation. The following passage, quoted by Augustine from Manichaeanus himself {Con. Ep. Manich. 19), discloses to us (1) their ideas as to the nature and position of the two kingdoms: "In one direction, on the border of this bright and holy region, there was a land of darkness, deep and vast in extent, where abode fiery bodies, destructive races. Here was boundless darkness flowing from the same source in immeasurable abundance, with the productions properly belonging to it. Beyond this were muddy, turbid waters, with their inhabitants; and inside of them winds terrible and violent, with their prince and their progenitors. Then, again, a fiery region of destruction, with its chiefs and peoples. And similarly inside of this, a race full of smoke and gloom, where abode the dreadful prince and chief of all, having around him
innumerable princes, himself the mind and source of them all. Such are the five natures of the region of corruption. " Augustine also designates them (ibid. sec. 20) "the five dens of the race of darkness." The nation of darkness desires to possess the kingdom of light, and prepares to make was u:

and in the controversy with Faustus we have (2) the beginning and issue of the war (Con. Faust, ii. 3; see also De Jfceres, 46). Augustine

CHAP. III.] THE PRINCIPLES OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS. 143

Chap. III. That the emise of evil is the free judgment of the will.

4. But I also, as yet, although I said and was firmly persuaded, that Thou our Lord, the true God, who madest not only our souls but our bodies, and not our souls and bodies alone, but all creatures and all things, wert uncontaminable and inconvertible, and in no part mutable; yet understood I not readily and clearly what was the cause of evil. And yet, whatever it was, I perceived that it must be so sought out as not to constrain me by it to believe that the immutable God was mutable, lest I myself should become the thing that I was seeking out. I sought, therefore, for it free from care, certain of the untruthfulness of what these asserted, whom I shunned with my whole heart; for I perceived that through seeking after the origin of evil, they were filled with malice, in that they liked better to think that Thy Substance did suffer evil than that their own did commit it. I says: "You dress up ior our benefit some wonderful First Man, who came down from the race of light, to war with the race of darkness, armed with his waters against the waters of the enemy, and with his fire against their fire, and with his winds against their winds. " And again (ibid. sec. 5): "You say that he mingled with the principles of darkness in his conflict with the race of darkness, that by capturing these principles the world might be made out of the mixture. So that, by your profane fancies, Christ is not only mingled with heaven and all the stars, but conjoined and compounded with the earth and all its productions, a Saviour no more, but needing to be saved by you, by your eating and disgorging Him. This foolish custom of making your disciples bring you food, that your teeth and stomach may be the means of relieving Christ, who is bound up in it, is a consequence of your profane fancies. You declare that Christ is liberated in this way, not, however, entirely; for you hold that some tiny particles of no value still remain in the excrement, to be mixed up and compounded again and again in various material forms, and to be released and purified at any rate by the fire in which the world will be burned up, if not before. Nay, even then, you say, Christ is not entirely liberated, but some extreme particles of His good and divine nature, which have been so defiled that they cannot be cleansed, are condemned to stay for ever in the mass of darkness." The result of this commingling of the light with the darkness was, that a certain portion and member of God was turned "from happiness into misery," and placed in bondage in the world, and was in need of help "whereby it might be delivered and purged." (See also Con. Fortunat. i. 1.)
Reference may be made (3), for information as to the method by which the divine substance was released in the eating of the elect, to the notes on book iii. sec. 18, above; and for the influence of the sun and moon in accomplishing that release, to the note on book v. sec. 12, above.

1 See iv. sec. 26, note, above.

5. And I directed my attention to discern what I now heard, that free will was the cause of our doing evil, and Thy righteous judgment of our suffering it. But I was unable clearly to discern it. So, then, trying to draw the eye of my mind from that pit, I was plunged again therein, and trying often, was as often plunged back again. But this raised me towards Thy light, that I knew as well that I had a will as that I had life: when, therefore, I was willing or unwilling to do anything, I was most certain that it was none but myself that was willing and unwilling; and immediately I perceived that there was the cause of my sin. But what I did against my will I saw that I suffered rather than did, and that judged I not to be my fault, but my punishment; whereby, believing Thee to be most just, I quickly confessed myself to be not unjustly punished. But again I said: " Who made me? Was it not my God, who is not only good, but goodness itself? Whence came I then to will to do evil, and to be unwilling to do good, that there might be cause for my just punishment? Who was it that put this in me, and implanted in me the root of bitterness, seeing I was altogether made by my most sweet God? If the devil were the author, whence is that devil? And if he also, by his own perverse will, of a good angel became a devil, whence also was the evil will in him whereby he became a devil, seeing that the angel was made altogether good by that most good Creator?" By these reflections was I again cast down and stifled; yet not plunged into that hell of error (where no man confesseth unto Thee), 2 to think that Thou dost suffer evil, rather than that man doth it.

Chap. iv. That God is not corruptible, who, if He were, would not be God at all.

6. For I was so struggling to find out the rest, as having already found that what was incorruptible must be better than the corruptible; and Thee, therefore, whatsoever Thou wert, did I acknowledge to be incorruptible. For never yet was, nor will be, a soul able to conceive of anything better than Thou, who art the highest and best good. But whereas most

1 See iii. sec. 12, note, and iv. sec. 26, note, above.
8 Ps. vi. 5.
truly and certainly that which is incorruptible is to be preferred to the corruptible (like as I myself did now prefer it), then, if Thou were not incorruptible, I could in my thoughts have reached unto something better than my God. Where, then, I saw that the incorruptible was to be preferred to the corruptible, there ought I to seek Thee, and there observe "whence evil itself was," that is, whence comes the corruption by which Thy substance can by no means be profaned. For corruption, truly, in no way injures our God, by no will, by no necessity, by no unforeseen chance, because He is God, and what He wills is good, and Himself is that good; but to be corrupted is not good. Nor art Thou compelled to do anything against Thy will in that Thy will is not greater than Thy power. But greater should it be wert Thou Thyself greater than Thyself; for the will and power of God is God Himself. And what can be unforeseen by Thee, who knowest all things? Nor is there any sort of nature but Thou knowest it. And what more should we say "why that substance which God is should not be corruptible," seeing that if it were o it could not be God?

Chap. v. Questions concerning the origin of evil in regard to God, who, since He is the chief good, cannot be the cause of evil.

*J. And I sought "whence is evil?" And sought in an evil way; nor saw I the evil in my very search. And I set in order before the view of my spirit the whole creation, and whatever we can discern in it, such as earth, sea, air, stars, trees, living creatures; yea, and whatever in it we do not see, as the firmament of heaven, all the angels, too, and all the spiritual inhabitants thereof. But these very beings, as though they were bodies, did my fancy dispose in such and such places, and I made one huge mass of all Thy creatures, distinguished according to the kinds of bodies, some of them being real bodies, some what I myself had feigned for spirits. And this mass I made huge, not as it was, which I could not know, but as large as I thought well, yet every way finite. But Thee, O Lord, I imagined on every part environing and penetrating it, though every way infinite; as if there were a sea every where, and on every side through immensity nothing but an

con. K

146 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

infinite sea; and it contained within itself some sponge, huge, though finite, so that the sponge would in all its parts be filled from the immeasurable sea. So conceived I Thy creation to be itself finite, and filled by Thee, the Infinite. And I said; Behold God, and behold what God hath created; and God is good, yea, most mightily and incomparably
better than all these; but yet He, who is good, hath created them good, and behold how He encircleth and filleteth them. Where, then, is evil, and whence, and how crept it in hither? What is its root, and what its seed? Or hath it no being at all? Why, then, do we fear and shun that which hath no being? Or if we fear it needlessly, then surely is that fear evil whereby the heart is unnecessarily pricked and tormented, and so much a greater evil, as we have naught to fear, and yet do fear.

Therefore either that is evil which we fear, or the act of fearing is in itself evil. Whence, therefore, is it, seeing that God, who is good, hath made all these things good? He, indeed, the greatest and chiepest Good, hath created these lesser goods; but both Creator and created are all good.

Whence is evil? Or was there some evil matter of which He made and formed and ordered it, but left something in it which He did not convert into good? But why was this? Was He powerless to change the whole lump, so that no evil should remain in it, seeing that He is omnipotent? Lastly, why would He make anything at all of it, and not rather by the same omnipotence cause it not to be at all? Or could it indeed exist contrary to His will? Or if it were from eternity, why did He permit it so to be for infinite spaces of times in the past, and was pleased so long after to make something out of it? Or if He wished now all of a sudden to do something, this rather should the Omnipotent have accomplished, that this evil matter should not be at all, and that He only should be the whole, true, chief, and infinite Good. Or if it were not good that He, who was good, should not also be the framer and creator of what was good, then that matter which was evil being removed, and brought to nothing, He might form good matter, whereof He might create all things. For He would not be omnipotent were He not able to create something good.

CHAP. VI.] ASTROLOGY. 147

without being assisted by that matter which had not been created by Himself. 1 Such like things did I revolve in my miserable breast, overwhelmed with most gnawing cares lest I should die ere I discovered the truth; yet was the faith of Thy Christ, our Lord and Saviour, as held in the Catholic Church, fixed firmly in my heart, unformed, indeed, as yet upon many points, and diverging from doctrinal rules, but yet my mind did not utterly leave it, but every day rather drank in more and more of it.

Chap. vi. He refutes the divinations of the astrologer*, deduced from the constellations.

8. Now also had I repudiated the lying divinations and impious absurdities of the astrologers. Let Thy mercies, out of the depth of my soul, confess unto thee 2 for this also, O my God. For Thou, Thou altogether, for who else is it that calls us back from the death of all errors, but that Life which knows not how to die, and the Wisdom which, requiring no light, enlightens the minds that do, whereby the universe is governed, even to the
fluttering leaves of trees? Thou providest also for my obstinacy wherewith I struggled
with Vindicianus, an acute old man, and Nebidius, a young one of remarkable talent;
the former vehemently declaring, and the latter frequently, though with a certain measure
of doubt, saying, "That no art existed by which to foresee future things, but that men's
surmises had oftentimes the help of luck, and that of many things which they foretold
some came to pass unawares to the preclictors, who lighted on it by their oft speaking."
Thou, therefore, didst provide a friend for me, who was no negligent consulter of the
astrologers, and yet not thoroughly skilled in those arts, but, as I said, a curious consulter
with them; and yet knowing somewhat, which he said he had heard from his father,
which, how far it would tend to overthrow the estimation of that art, he knew not.
This man, then, by name Firminius, having received a liberal education, and being well
versed in rhetoric, consulted me, as one very dear to him, as to what I thought on some
affairs of his, wherein his worldly hopes had risen, viewed with regard to
1 See xi. sec. 7, note, below. * Ps. cvii. 8, Vulg. 3 See iv. sec. 5, note, above.

148 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

his so-called constellations; and I, who had now begun to lean in this particular towards
Nebidius' opinion, did not indeed decline to speculate about the matter, and to tell him
what came into my irresolute mind, but still added that I was now almost persuaded that
these were but empty and ridiculous follies. Upon this he told me that his father had been
very curious in such books, and that he had a friend who was as interested in them as he
was himself, who, with combined study and consultation, fanned the flame of their
affection for these toys, insomuch that they would observe the moment when the very
dumb animals which bred in their houses brought forth, and then observed the position of
the heavens with regard to them, so as to gather fresh proofs of this so-called art. He said,
moreover, that his father had told him, that at the time his mother was about to give birth
to him (Firminius), a female servant of that friend of his father's was also great with
child, which could not be hidden from her master, who took care with most diligent
exactness to know of the birth of his very dogs. And so it came to pass that
(the one for his wife, and the other for his servant, with the most careful observation,
calculating the days and hours, and the smaller divisions of the hours) both were
delivered at the same moment, so that both were compelled to allow the very selfsame
constellations, even to the minutest point, the one for his son, the other for his young
slave. For so soon as the women began to be in travail, they each gave notice to the other
of what was fallen out in their respective houses, and had messengers ready to despatch
to one another so soon as they had information of the actual birth, of which they had
easily provided, each in his own province, to give instant intelligence. Thus, then, he said,
the messengers of the respective parties met one another in such equal distances from
either house, that neither of them could discern any difference either in the position of the
stars or other most minute points. And yet Firminius, born in a high estate in his parents' 
house, ran his course through the prosperous paths of this world, was increased in wealth, 
and elevated to honours; whereas that slave the yoke of his condition being
unrelaxed continued to serve his masters, as Firminius, who knew him, informed me.

9. Upon hearing and believing these things, related by so reliable a person, all that resistance of mine melted away; and first I endeavoured to reclaim Firminius himself from that curiosity, by telling him, that upon inspecting his constellations, I ought, were I to foretell truly, to have seen in them parents eminent among their neighbours, a noble family in its own city, good birth, becoming education, and liberal learning. But if that servant had consulted me upon the same constellations, since they were his also, I ought again to tell him, likewise truly, to see in them the meanness of his origin, the abjectness of his condition, and everything else altogether removed from and at variance with the former. Whence, then, looking upon the same constellations, I should, if I spoke the truth, speak diverse things, or if I spoke the same, speak falsely; thence assuredly was it to be gathered, that whatever, upon consideration of the constellations, was foretold truly, was not by art, but by chance; and whatever falsely, was not from the unskilfulness of the art, but the error of chance.

10. An opening being thus made, I ruminated within myself on such things, that no one of those dotards (who followed such occupations, and whom I longed to assail, and with derision to confute) might urge against me that Firminius had informed me falsely, or his father him: I turned my thoughts to those that are born twins, who generally come out of the womb so near one to another, that the small distance of time between them how much force soever they may contend that it has in the nature of things cannot be noted by human observation, or be expressed in those figures which the astrologer is to examine that he may pronounce the truth. Nor can they be true; for, looking into the same figures, he must have foretold the same of Esau and Jacob, whereas the same did not happen to them. He must therefore speak falsely; or if truly, then, looking into the same figures, he

1 He uses the same illustration when speaking of the mattematici, or astrologers, in his De Doct. Christ, ii. 33.

150 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

must not speak the same things. Not then by art, but by chance, would he speak truly. For Thou, O Lord, most righteous Kuler of the universe, the inquirers and inquired of knowing it not, worked by a hidden inspiration that the consulter should hear what, according to the hidden deservings of souls, he ought to hear, out of the depth of Thy righteous judgment, to whom let not man say, "What is this ?" or " Why that ?" Let him not say so, for he is man.
Chap. vii. He is severely exercised as to the origin of evil.

11. And now, O my Helper, hadst Thou freed me from those fetters; and I inquired, "Whence is evil?" and found no result. But Thou sufferedst me not to be carried away from the faith by any fluctuations of thought, whereby I believed Thee both to exist, and Thy substance to be unchangeable, and that Thou hadst a care of and wouldest judge men; and that in Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, and the Holy Scriptures, which the authority of Thy Catholic Church pressed upon me, Thou hadst planned the way of man's salvation to that life which is to come after this death. These things being safe and immoveably settled in my mind, I eagerly inquired, "Whence is evil?" What torments did my travailing heart then endure! What sighs, my God! Yet even there were Thine ears open, and I knew it not; and when in stillness I sought earnestly, those silent contritions of my soul were strong cries unto Thy mercy. No man knoweth, but only Thou, what I endured. For what was that which was thence through my tongue poured into the ears of my most familiar friends? Did the whole tumult of my soul, for which neither time nor speech was sufficient, reach them? Yet went the whole into Thine ears, all of which I bellowed out from the sighings of my heart; and my desire was before Thee, and the light of mine eyes was not with me; I for that was within, I without. Nor was that in place, but my attention was directed to things contained in place; but there did I find no resting-place, nor did they receive me in such a way as that I could say, "It is sufficient, it is well;" nor did

'Ps. xxx vii. 9-11, Vulg.

CHAP. VIII.] GOD LEADS HIM. 151

they let me turn back, where it might be well enough with me. For to these things was I superior, but inferior to Thee; and Thou art my true joy when I am subjected to Thee, and Thou hadst subjected to me what Thou createdst beneath me. 1 And this was the true temperature and middle region of my safety, to continue in Thine image, and by serving Thee to have dominion over the body. But when I lifted myself proudly against Thee, and "ran against the Lord, even on His neck, with the thick bosses" of my buckler, 2 even these inferior things were placed above me, and pressed upon me, and nowhere was there alleviation or breathing space. They encountered my sight on every side in crowds and troops, and in thought the images of bodies obtruded themselves as I was returning to Thee, as if they would say unto me, "Whither goest thou, unworthy and base one?" And these things had sprung forth out of my wound; for thou humolest the proud like one that is wounded, 3 and through my own swelling was I separated from Thee; yea, my too much swollen face closed up mine eyes.

Chap. viii. By God's assistance he by degrees arrives at the truth.
12. "But Thou, Lord, shalt endure for ever," yet not for ever art Thou angry with us, because Thou dost commiserate our dust and ashes; and it was pleasing in Thy sight to reform my deformity, and by inward stings didst Thou disturb me, that I should be dissatisfied until Thou wert made sure to my inward sight. And by the secret hand of Thy remedy was my swelling lessened, and the disordered and darkened eyesight of my mind, by the sharp anointings of healthful sorrows, was from day to day made whole.

1 Man can only control the forces of nature by yielding obedience to nature's laws; and our true joy and safety is only to be found in being "subjected" to God. So Augustine says in another place (De Trin. x. 7), the soul is enjoined to know itself, "in order that it may consider itself, and live according to its own nature; that is, seek to be regulated according to its own nature, viz. under Him to whom it ought to be subject, and above those things to which it is to be preferred; under Him by whom it ought to be ruled, above those things which it ought to rule."

3 Job xv. 26. 3 Pg. lxxxix. 11, Vulg. * Ps. cii. 12.

152 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

Chap. ix. He compares the doctrine of the Platonists concerning the soul with the much more excellent doctrine of Christianity.

13. And Thou, willing first to show me how Thou "resistest the proud, but givest grace unto the humble," and by how great an act of mercy Thou hadst pointed out to men the path of humility, in that Thy "Word was made flesh" and dwelt among men, Thou procuredst for me, by the instrumentality of one inflated with most monstrous pride, certain books of the Platonists, translated from Greek into Latin. And therein

1 Jas. iv. 6, and 1 Pet. v. 5.

2 "This," says Watts, "was likely to be the book of Amelias the Platonist, who hath indeed this beginning of St. John's Gospel, calling the apostle a barbarian." This Amelius was a disciple of Plotinus, who was the first to develope and formulate the Neo-Platonic doctrines, and of whom it is said that he would not have his likeness taken, nor be reminded of his birthday, because it would recall the existence of the body he so much despised. A popular account of the theories of Plotinus, and their connection with the doctrines of Plato and of Christianity respectively, will be found in Archer Butler's Lectures on Ancient Philosophy, vol. ii. pp. 348-358. For a more systematic view of his writings, see Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, sec. 68. Augustine alludes again in his De Vita Beata (sec. 4) to the influence the Platonic writings had on him at this time; and
it is interesting to note how in God's providence they were drawing him to seek a fuller knowledge of Him, just as in his nineteenth year (book iii. sec. 7, above) the Hortensius of Cicero stimulated him to the pursuit of wisdom. Thus in his experience was exemplified the truth embodied in the saying of Clemens Alexandrinus, "Philosophy led the Greeks to Christ, as the law did the Jews." Archbishop Trench, in his Hulsean Lectures (lees. 1 and 3, 1846, "Christ the Desire of all Nations"), enters with interesting detail into this question, specially as it relates to the heathen world.

"None," he says in lecture 3, "can thoughtfully read the early history of the Church without marking how hard the Jewish Christians found it to make their own the true idea of a Son of God, as indeed is witnessed by the whole Epistle to the Hebrews how comparatively easy the Gentile converts; how the Hebrew Christians were continually in danger of sinking down into Ebionite heresies, making Christ but a man as other men, refusing to go on unto perfection, or to realize the truth of His higher nature; while, on the other hand, the genial promptness is as remarkable with which the Gentile Church welcomed and embraced the offered truth, 'God manifest in the flesh.' "We feel that there must have been effectual preparations in the latter, which wrought its greater readiness for receiving and heartily embracing this truth when it arrived."

The passage from Amelius the Platonist, referred to at the beginning of this note, is examined in Burton's Bampton Lectures, note 90. It has been adverted to by Eusebius, Theodoret, and perhaps by Augustine in the De Civ. Dei, x. 29, quoted in note 2, sec. 25, below. See Kayes' Clement, pp. 116-124.

3 See i. sec. 23, note, above, and also his Life, in the last vol. of the Benedictine edition of his works, for a very fair estimate of his knowledge of Greek.

CHAP. IX.] THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS. 153

I read, not indeed in the same words, but to the selfsame effect, 1 enforced by many and divers reasons, that, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made." That which was made by

1 The Neo-Platonic ideas as to the "Word" or xiyn, which Augustine (1) contrasts during the remainder of this book with the doctrine of the gospel, had its germ in the writings of Plato. The Greek term expresses both reason and the expression of reason in speech; and the Fathers frequently illustrate, by reference to this connection between ideas and uttered words, the fact that the "Word" that was with God had an incarnate existence in the world as the "Word" made flesh. By the Logos of the Alexandrian school something very different was meant from the Christian doctrine as to the incarnation, of which the above can only be taken as a dim illustration. It has been questioned, indeed, whether the philosophers, from Plotinus to the Gnostics of the time of St. John, believed the Logos and the supreme God to have in any sense separate
"personalities." Dr. Burton, in his Bampton Lectures, concludes that they did not (lect. vii. p. 215, and note 93; compare Dorner, Person of Christ, i. 27, Clark); and quotes Origen when he points out to Celsus, that "while the heathen use the reason of God as another term for God Himself, the Christians use the term Logos for the Son of God."

Another point of difference which appears in Augustine's review of Platonism above, is found in the Platonist's discarding the idea of the Logos becoming man. This the very genius of their philosophy forbade them to hold, since they looked on matter as impure.

(2) It has been charged against Christianity by Gibbon and other sceptical writers, that it has borrowed largely from the doctrines of Plato; and it has been said that this doctrine of the Logos was taken from them by Justin Martyr. This charge, says Burton (ibid. p. 194), "has laid open in its supporters more inconsistencies and more misstatements than any other which ever has been advanced." We have alluded in the note to book iii. sec. 8, above, to Justin Martyr's search after truth. He endeavoured to find it successively in the Stoical, the Peripatetic, the Pythagorean, and the Platonic schools; and he appears to have thought as highly of Plato's philosophy as did Augustine. He does not, however, fail to criticise his doctrine when inconsistent with Christianity (see Burton, ibid, notes 18 and 86). Justin Martyr has apparently been chosen for attack as being the earliest of the post-apostolic Fathers. Burton, however, shows that Ignatius, who knew St. John, and was bishop of Antioch thirty years before his death, used precisely the same expression as applied to Christ (ibid. p. 204). This would appear to be a conclusive answer to this objection. (3) It may be well to note here Burton's general conclusions as to the employment of this term Logos in St. John, since it occurs frequently in this part of the Confessions.

Every one must have observed St. John's use of the term is peculiar as compared with the other apostles, but it is not always borne in mind that a generation probably elapsed between the date of his gospel and that of the other apostolic writings. In this interval the Gnostic heresy had made great advances; and it would appear that John, finding this term Logos prevalent when he wrote, in-

154 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

Him is "life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." 1 And that the soul of man, though it "bears witness of the light," 2 yet itself "is not that light; 3 but the Word of God, being God, is that true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." 4 And that "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." 6 But that "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. 6 But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name." 7 This I did not read there.

14. In like manner, I read there that God the Word was born not of flesh, nor of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God. But that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," 8 I read not there. For I
discovered in those books that it was in many and divers ways said, that the Son was in the form of the Father, and "thought it not robbery to be equal with God," for that naturally He was the same substance. But that He emptied Himself, " and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death,

fused into it a nobler meaning, and pointed out to those being led away by this heresy that there was indeed One who might be called "the Word " One who was not, indeed, God's mind, or as the word that comes from the mouth and passes away, but One who, while He had been " made flesh " like unto us, was yet co-eternal with God. "You will perceive," says Archer Butler (Ancient Philosophy, vol. ii. p. 10), ' ' how natural, or rather how necessary, is such a process, when you remember that this is exactly what every teacher must do who speaks of God to a heathen; he adopts the term, but he refines and exalts its meaning. Nor, indeed, is the procedure different in any use whatever of language in sacred senses and for sacred purposes. It has been justly remarked, by (I think) Isaac Casaubon, that the principle of all these adaptations is expressed in the sentence of St. Paul, Ov ayvetvvrtf tim/iurt, vovro* \yu xarecyixxu) vf*7t." On the charge against Christianity of having borrowed from heathenism, reference may be made to Trench's Hulsean Lectures, lect. i. (1846); and for the sources of Gnosticism, and St. John's treatment of heresies as to the " Word," lects. ii. and v. in Hansel's Gnostic Heresies mil be consulted with profit.

1 John i. 1-6. * Ibid. i. 7, 8. ' See note, sec. 23, below.

* John i. 9. 6 Ibid. i. 10. 8 Ibid. i. 11.

7 Ibid. i. 12. Ibid. i. 14.

CHAP. IX.] PLATONISM AND CHRISTIANITY. 155

even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him " from the dead, " and given Him a name above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father; " * those books have not. For that before all times, and above all times, Thy onlybegotten Son remaineth unchangeably co-eternal with Thee; and that of " His fulness " souls receive, 2 that they may be blessed; and that by participation of the wisdom remaining in them they are renewed, that they may be wise, is there. But that " in due time Christ died for the ungodly," 3 and that Thou sparedst not Thine only Son, but deliverest Him up for us all, 4 is not there. " Because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes; " 5 that they " that labour and are heavy laden "
might "come" unto Him and He might refresh them, 6 because He is "meek and lowly in heart." 7 "The meek will He guide in judgment; and the meek will He teach His way; " 8 looking upon our humility and our distress, and forgiving all our sins. 9 But such as are puffed up with the elation of would-be sublimer learning, do not hear Him saying, " Learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." 10 " Because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." u

15. And therefore also did I read there, that they had changed the glory of Thy incorruptible nature into idols and divers forms, " into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things," 12 namely, into that Egyptian food 12 for which Esau lost his birth-

1 Phil. ii. 6-11. 2 John i. 16. 3 Rom. v. 6. * Rom. viii. 32.

6 Matt. xi. 25. 6 Ibid. ver. 28. T Ibid. ver. 29. Ps. xxv. 9.

Ibid. ver. 18. 10 Matt. xi. 29. " Rom. i. 21, 22. " Ibid. i. 23.

'3 In the Benedictine edition we have reference to Augustine's in Ps. xlvi. 6, where he says: " We find the lentile is an Egyptian food, for it abounds in Egypt, whence the Alexandrian lentile is esteemed so as to be brought to our country, as if it grew not here. Esau, by desiring Egyptian food, lost his birth-

156 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

right; 1 for that Thy first-born people worshipped the head" of a four-footed beast instead of Thee, turning back in heart towards Egypt, and prostrating Thy image their own soul before the image " of an ox that eateth grass." 2 These things found I there; but I fed not on them. For it pleased Thee, Lord, to take away the reproach of diminution from Jacob, that the elder should serve the younger; 3 and Thou hast called the Gentiles into Thine inheritance. And I had come unto Thee from among the Gentiles, and I strained after that gold which Thou willedst Thy people to take from Egypt, seeing that wheresoever it was it was Thine. 4 And to the Athenians

right; and so the Jewish people, of whom it is said they turned back in heart to Egypt, in a manner craved for lentiles, and lost their birthright. " See Ex. xvi.

3; Num. xi. 5.

1 Gen. xxv. 33, 34. 2 Ps. cvi. 20; Ex. xxxii. 1-6. 3 Rom. ix. 12.
Similarly, as to all truth being God's, Justin Martyr says: "Whatever things were rightly said among all men are the property of us Christians" (Apol. ii. 13). In this he parallels what Augustine claims in another place (De Doctr. Christ. ii. 28): "Let every good and true Christian understand that wherever truth may be found, it belongs to his Master." Origen has a similar allusion to that of Augustine above (Ep. ad Gregor. vol. i. 30), but echoes the experience of our erring nature, when he says that the gold of Egypt more frequently becomes transformed into an idol, than into an ornament for the tabernacle of God.

Augustine gives us at length his views on this matter in his De Doctr. Christ. ii. 60, 61: "If those who are called philosophers, and especially the Platonists, have said aught that is true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it, but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it. For, as the Egyptians had not only the idols and heavy burdens which the people of Israel hated and fled from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and garments, which the same people when going out of Egypt appropriated to themselves, designing them for a better use, not doing this on their own authority, but by the command of God, the Egyptians themselves, in their ignorance, providing them with things which they themselves were not making a good use of (Ex. iii. 21, 22, xii. 35, 36); in the same way all branches of heathen learning have not only false and superstitious fancies and heavy burdens of unnecessary toil, which every one of us, when going out under the leadership of Christ from the fellowship of the heathen, ought to abhor and avoid, but they contain also liberal instruction, which is better adapted to the use of the truth, and some most excellent precepts of morality; and some truths in regard even to the worship of the One God are found among them. Now these are, so to speak, their gold and silver, which they did not create themselves, but dug out of the mines of God's providence which are everywhere scattered abroad, and are perversely and unlawfully prostituting to the worship of devils. These, therefore, the Christian, when he separates himself in spirit from the miserable fellowship of these men, ought to take away from them, and to

CHAP. X.] HOW TO KNOW THE TRUTH. 157

Thou saidst by Thy apostle, that in Thee "we live, and move, and have our being;" as one of their own poets has said. 1

And verily these books came from thence. But I set not my mind on the idols of Egypt, whom they ministered to with Thy gold, 2 "who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator." 8

Chap. X. Divine things are the more clearly manifested to him who withdraws

into the recesses of his heart.

16. And being thence warned to return to myself, I entered into myself. Thou leading me on; and I was able to do it, for Thou wert become my helper. And I entered,
and with the eye of my soul (such as it was) saw above the same eye of my soul, above my mind, the Unchangeable Light. 4

Not this common light, which all flesh may look upon, nor, as it were, a greater one of the same kind, as though the brightness of this should be much more resplendent, and with its greatness fill up all things. Not like this was that light, but different, yea, very different from all these. Nor was "nT above my mind as oil is above water, nor as heaven above earth; but above it was, because it made me, and I below it, because I was, made by He who Knows the Truth knnwp that Light; and he that knows it knoweth eternity.

Love knoweth

devote to their proper use in preaching the gospel. Their garments, also, that is, human institutions such as are adapted to that intercourse with men which is indispensable in this life, we must take and turn to a Christian use. And what else have many good and faithful men among our brethren done? Do we not see with what a quantity of gold and silver, and garments, Cyprian, that most persuasive teacher and most blessed martyr, was loaded when he came out of Egypt? How much Lactantius brought with him! And Victorinus, and Optatus, and Hilary, not to speak of living men! How much Greeks out of number have borrowed! And, prior to all these, that most faithful servant of God, Moses, had done the same thing; for of him it is written that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts vii. 22). . . . For what was done at the time of the exodus was no doubt a type prefiguring what happens now."

1 Acts xvii. 28. 2 Hosea ii. 8. 3 Rom. i. 25.

* Not the "corporeal brightness " which as a Manichee he had believed in, and to which reference has been made in iii. sees. 10, 12, iv. sec. 3, and sec. 2, above. The Christian belief he indicates in his De Trin. viii. 2: "God is Light (1 John i. 5), not in such way that these eyes see, but in such way as the heart sees when it is said. ' He is Truth.'" See also note 1. sec. 23, above.

158 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII]
neither diffused through space, finite, nor infinite?" And Thou criedst to me from afar," Yea, verily, 'I am that I am.'" 8 And I heard this, as things are.

1 If we knew not God, he says, we could not love Him (De Trin. viii. 12), but in language very similar to that above, he tells us "we are men, created in the image of our Creator, whose eternity is true, and whose truth is eternal; whose love is eternal and true, and who Himself is the eternal, true, and adorable Trinity, without confusion, without separation" (De Civ. Dei, xi. 28); God, then, as even the Platonists hold, being the principle of all knowledge.

"Let Him," he concludes, in his De Civ. Dei (viii. 4), "be sought in whom all things are secured to us, let Him be discovered in whom all truth becomes certain to us, let Him be loved in whom all becomes right to us."

2 Ps. xxxix. 11, Vulg.

3 Ex. iii. 14. Augustine, when in his De Civ. Dei (viii. 11, 12) he makes reference to this text, leans to the belief, from certain parallels between Plato's doctrines and those of the word of God, that he may have derived information concerning the Old Testament Scriptures from an interpreter when in Egypt.

He says: "The most striking thing in this connection, and that which most of all inclines me almost to assent to the opinion that Plato was not ignorant of those writings, is the answer which was given to the question elicited from the holy Moses when the words of God were conveyed to him by the angel; for when he asked what was the name of that God who was commanding him to go and deliver the Hebrew people out of Egypt, this answer was given: 'I am who am; and thou shalt say to the children of Israel, He who is sent me unto you; ' as though, compared with Him that truly is, because He is unchangeable, those things which have been created mutable are not, a truth which Plato vehemently held, and most diligently commended. Am I know not whether this sentiment is anywhere to be found in the books of those who were before Plato, unless in that book where it is said, ' I am who am; and thou shalt say

CHAP. XII. IN WHAT TRUE BEING CONSISTS. 159

heard in the heart, nor was there room for doubt; and I should more readily doubt that I live than that Truth is not, which is "clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." I

Chap. xi. That creatures are mutable and God alone immutable.

17. And I viewed the other things below Thee, and perceived that they neither altogether are, nor altogether are not. They are, indeed, because they are from Thee; but are not, because they are not what Thou art. For that truly is which remains immutably/ It is good, then, for me to cleave unto God, 3 for if I remain not in Him, neither shall I in myself; but
He, remaining in Himself, reneweth all things. 4 And Thou art the Lord my God, since Thou standest not in need of my goodness. 5

Chap. xii. Whatever things the good God has created are very good.

18. And it was made clear unto me that those things are good which yet are corrupted, which, neither were they supremely good, nor unless they were good, could be corrupted; because if supremely good, they were incorruptible, and if not good at all, there were nothing in them to be corrupted. For corruption harms, but, unless it could diminish goodness, it could not harm. Either, then, corruption harms not, which cannot to the children of Israel, Who is sent me unto you.' But we need not determine from what source he learned these things, whether it was from the books of the ancients who preceded him, or, as is more likely, from the words of the apostle (Rom. i. 20), 'Because that which is known of God has been manifested among them, for God hath manifested it to them. For His invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by those things which have been made, also His eternal power and Godhead.' "De Civ. Dei, viii. 11, 12.

1 Rom. i. 20.

2 Therefore, he argues, is God called the I AM (De Nat. Boni, 19); for omnia mutatio facit non esse quod erat. Similarly, we find him speaking in his De Mor. Manich. (c. i.): "For that exists in the highest sense of the word which continues always the same, which is throughout like itself, which cannot in any part be corrupted or changed, which is not subject to time, which admits of no variation in its present as compared with its former condition. This is existence in its true sense." See also note 3, p. 158.

3 Ps. lxxiii. 28. 4 Wisd. vii. 27. * Ps. xvi. 2.

160 CONFESSIONS OP ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII]

be; or, what is most certain, all which is corrupted is deprived of good. But if they be deprived of all good, they will cease to be. For if they be, and cannot be at all corrupted, they will become better, because they shall remain incorruptibly. And what more monstrous than to assert that those things which have lost all their goodness are made better? Therefore, if they shall be deprived of all good, they shall no longer be. So long, therefore, as they are, they are good; therefore whatsoever is, is good. That evil, then, which I sought whence it was, is not any substance; for were it a substance, it would be good. For either it would be an incorruptible substance, and so a chief good, or a corruptible substance, which unless it were good it could not be corrupted. I perceived, therefore, and it was made clear to me, that Thou didst make all things good, nor is there any substance at all that was not made by Thee; and because all
that Thou hast made are not equal, therefore all things are; because individually they are
good, and altogether very good, because our God made all things very good. 1

Chap. xiii. It is meet to praise the Creator for the good things which are made
in heaven and earth.

19. And to Thee is there nothing at all evil, and not only to Thee, but to Thy whole
creation; because there is nothing without which can break in, and mar that order which
Thou hast appointed it. But in the parts thereof, some things, because they harmonize not
with others, are considered evil; 2 whereas those very things harmonize with others, and
are good, and in themselves are good. And all these things which do not harmonize
together harmonize with the inferior part which we call earth, having its own cloudy and
windy sky concordant to it. Far be it from me, then, to say, "These things should not be."
For should I see nothing but these, I should indeed desire better; but yet, if only for these,
ought I to praise Thee; for that Thou art to be praised is shown from the "earth, dragons,
and all deeps; fire, and hail; snow, and

1 Gen. i. 31, and Ecclus. xxxix. 21. Evil, with Augustine, is a "privation of good." See iii.
sec. 12, note, above.

2 See v. sec. 2, note 1, above, where Augustine illustrates the existence of good and evil
by the lights and shades in a painting, etc.

CHAP. XV.] CREATION PRAISES GOD. 161

vapours; stormy winds fulfilling Thy word; mountains, and all hills; fruitful trees, and all
cedars; beasts, and all cattle; creeping things, and flying fowl; kings of the earth, and all
people; princes, and all judges of the earth; both young men and maidens; old men and
children," praise Thy name.
But when, "from the heavens," these praise Thee, praise Thee, our God, "in the heights,"
all Thy "angels," all Thy "hosts,"
"sun and moon," all ye stars and light, "the heavens of heavens," and the "waters that be
above the heavens," praise Thy name. 1 I did not now desire better things, because I was
thinking of all; and with a better judgment I reflected that the things above were better
than those below, but that all were better than those above alone.

Chap. xiv. Being displeased with some part of God's creation, he conceives of
two original substances.
20. There is no wholeness in them whom aught of Thy creation displeaseth; no more than there was in me, when many things which Thou madest displeased me. And, because my soul dared not be displeased at my God, it would not suffer aught to be Thine which displeased it. Hence it had gone into the opinion of two substances, and resisted not, but talked foolishly. And, returning thence, it had made to itself a god, through infinite measures of all space; and imagined it to be Thee, and placed it in its heart, and again had become the temple of its own idol, which was to Thee an abomination. But after Thou hadst fomented the head of me unconscious of it, and closed mine eyes lest they should "behold vanity," 2 I ceased from myself a little, and my madness was lulled to sleep; and I awoke in Thee, and saw Thee to be infinite, though in another way; and this sight was not derived from the flesh.

Chap. xv. Whatever is, owes its being to God.

21. And I looked back on other things, and I perceived that it was to Thee they owed their being, and that they were all bounded in Thee; but in another way, not as being in space, but because Thou holdest all things in Thine hand in


CON. L

162 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [PSOOK VII.

truth: and all things are true so far as they have a being; nor is there any falsehood, unless that which is not is thought to be. And I saw that all things harmonized, not with their places only, but with their seasons also. And that Thou, who only art eternal, didst not begin to work after innumerable spaces of times; for that all spaces of times, both those which have passed and which shall pass, neither go nor come, save through Thee, working and abiding. 1

Chap. xvi. Evil arises not from a substance, but from the perversion of the will.

22. And I discerned and found it no marvel, that bread which is distasteful to an unhealthy palate is pleasant to a healthy one; and that the light, which is painful to sore eyes, is delightful to sound ones. And Thy righteousness displeaseth the wicked; much more the viper and little worm, which Thou hast created good, fitting in with inferior parts of Thy creation; with which the wicked themselves also fit in, the more in proportion as they are unlike Thee, but with the superior creatures, in proportion as they become like to Thee. 2 And I inquired what iniquity was, and ascertained it not to be a substance, but a perversion of the will, bent aside from Thee, God, the Supreme Substance, towards these lower things, and casting out its bowels, 3 and swelling outwardly.
Chap. xvii. Above his changeable mind, he discovers the unchangeable Author of Truth.

23. And I marvelled that I now loved Thee, and no phantasm instead of Thee. And yet I did not merit to enjoy my God, but was transported to Thee by Thy beauty, and presently torn away from Thee by mine own weight, sinking with grief into these inferior things. This weight was carnal custom. Yet was there a remembrance of Thee with me; nor did I any way doubt that there was one to whom I might cleave, but that I was not yet one who could cleave unto

1 See xi. sees. 15, 16, 26, etc., below. 2 See v. sec. 2, note 1, above.

3 Ecclus. x. 9. Commenting on this passage of the Apocrypha (De Mils, vi. 40), he says, that while the soul's happiness and life is in God, " what is to go into outer things, but to cast out its inward parts, that is, to place itself fai from God not by distance of place, but by the affection of the mind?"

CHAP. XVII.] MAN A TRIAD. 163

Thee; for that the body which is corrupted presseth down the soul, and the earthly dwelling weigheth down the mind which thinketh upon many things. 1 And most certain I was that Thy " invisible things from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even Thy eternal power and Godhead." 2 For, inquiring whence it was that I admired the beauty of bodies whether celestial or terrestrial, and what supported me in judging correctly on things mutable, and pronouncing, " This should be thus, this not," inquiring, then, whence I so judged, seeing I did so judge, I had found the unchangeable and trim p.unity

of Truth, above my change aBTe mind. And thus, by degrees, I passed from bodies to the soul, which makes use of the senses of the body to perceive; and thence to its inward 3 fac ulty, to which the bodily senses represent outward things, and up to which reach the capabilities of beasts; and thence, again, I passed on to the reasoning faculty, 4 unto which whatever is received from the senses of the body is referred to be judged, which also, finding itself to be variable in me, raised

1 Wisd. ix. 15. * Rom. i. 20. 3 See above, sec. 10.

4 Here, and more explicitly in sec. 25, we have before us what has been called the "trichotomy" of man. This doctrine Augustine does not deny in theory, but appears to consider (De Anima, iv. 32) it prudent to overlook in practice. The biblical view of psychology may well be considered here not only on its own account, but as enabling us
clearly to apprehend this passage and that which follows it. It is difficult to understand how any one can doubt that St. Paul, when speaking in 1 Thess. v. 23, of our "spirit, soul, and body being preserved unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ," implies a belief in a kind of trinity in man. And it is very necessary to the understanding of other Scriptures that we should realize what special attributes pertain to the soul and the spirit respectively. It may be said, generally, that the soul ($πνεύμα$) is that passionate and affectionate nature which is common to us and the inferior creatures, while the spirit ($νοοτροπία$) is the higher intellectual nature which is peculiar to man. Hence our Lord in His agony in the garden says (Matt. xxvi. 38), "My soul is exceeding sorrowful" the soul being liable to emotions of pleasure and pain. In the same passage (ver. 41) he says to the apostles who had slept during His great agony, "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak," so that the spirit is the seat of the will. And that the spirit is also the seat of consciousness we gather from St. Paul's words (1 Cor. ii. 11), "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." And it is on the spirit of man that the Spirit of God operates; whence we read (Rom. viii. 16), "The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." It is important to note that the word "flesh" ($ плоть$) has its special significance, as distinct from body. The word comes to us from the Hebrew through the Hellenistic Greek of the LXX., and in biblical language (see Bishop Pearson's Prefatio Parcenetica to his edition of the LXX.) stands for our human nature with its worldly surroundings and liability to temptation; so that when it is said, "The Word was made flesh," we have what is equivalent to, "The Word put on human nature." It is, therefore, the flesh and the spirit that are ever represented in conflict one with the other when men are in the throes of temptation. So it must be while life lasts; for it is characteristic of our position in the world that we possess soulish bodies (to employ the barbarous but expressive word of Dr. Candlish in his Life in a Risen Saviour, p. 182), and only on the morning of the resurrection will the body be such, suitable and suited to the new sphere of its existence: "It is sown a natural $σαρκίνον$ body, it is raised a spiritual $αρπαγωγικόν$ body" (1 Cor. xv. 44); "for," as Augustine says in his Enchiridion (c. xci.), "just as now the body is called animae (or, using the Greek term, as above, instead of the Latin, "soulish"), though it is a body and not a soul, so then the body shall be called spiritual, though it shall be a body, not a spirit. . . . No part of our nature shall be in discord with another; but as we shall be free from enemies without, so we shall not have ourselves for enemies within. " For further information on this most interesting subject,
see Delitzsch, Biblical Psychology, ii. 4 ("The True and False Trichotomy"); Olshausen, Opuscula Theologica, iv. ("De Trichotomia"); and cc. 2, 17, and 18 of R. W. Evans' Ministry of the Body, where the subject is discussed with thoughtfulness and spiritual insight. This matter is also treated of in the introductory chapters of Schlegel's Philosophy of Life.

1 That light which illumines the soul, he tells us in his De Gen. ad Lit. (xii. 31), is God Himself, from whom all light cometh; and, though created in His image and likeness, when it tries to discover Him, palpitate inirmitate, et minus valet. In sec. 13, above, speaking of Platonism, he describes it as holding "that the soul of man, though it * bears witness of the Light,' yet itself ' is not that Light.' " In his De Civ. Dei, x. 2, he quotes from Plotinus (mentioned in note 2, sec. 13, above) in regard to the Platonic doctrine as to enlightenment from on high. He says: "Plotinus, commenting on Plato, repeatedly and strongly asserts that not even the soul, which they believe to be the soul of the world, derives its blessedness from any other source than we do, viz. from that Light which is distinct from it and created it, and by whose intelligible illumination it enjoys light in things intelligible. He also compares those spiritual things to the vast and conspicuous heavenly bodies, as if God were the sun, and the soul the moon; for they suppose that the moon derives its light from the sun. That great Platonist, therefore, says that the rational soul, or rather the intellectual soul, in which class he comprehends the souls of the blessed immortals who inhabit heaven, has no nature superior to it save God, the Creator of the world and the soul itself, and that these heavenly spirits

CHAP. XVIII.] THE LIGHT UNCHANGEABLE. 165

was besprinkled, when, without all doubting, it cried out, "that the unchangeable was to be preferred before the changeable;" whp.np.ft also it knew that unchangeable, which, unless it had in some way known, it could have had no sure ground for preferring it to the changeable. And thus, with the flash of a trembling glance, it arrived at that which is. And then I saw Thy invisible things understood by the things that are made. I But I was not able to fix my gaze thereon; and my infirmity being beaten back, I was thrown again on my accustomed habits, carrying along with me naught but a loving memory thereof, and an appetite for what I had, as it were, smelt the odour of, but was not yet able to eat.

Chap, xviii. Jesus Christ, the Mediator, is the only way of safety.

24. And I sought a way of acquiring strength sufficient to enjoy Thee; but I found it not until I embraced that "Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," 2
"who is over all, God blessed for ever," 3 calling unto me, and saying, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," 4 and mingling that food which I was unable to receive with our flesh. For
"the Word was made flesh," 5 that Thy wisdom, by which Thou createdst all things, might provide milk for our infancy. For I did not grasp my Lord Jesus, I, though humbled, grasped not the humble One; 6 nor did I know what lesson that infirmity of His would teach us. For Thy Word, the Eternal Truth, pre- eminent above the higher parts of Thy creation,
derive their blessed life, and the light of truth, from the same source as ourselves, agreeing with the gospel where we read, 'There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of that Light, that through Him all might believe. He was not that Light, but that He might bear witness of the Light. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world ' (John i. 6-9); a distinction which sufficiently proves that the rational or intellectual soul, such as John had, cannot be its own light, but needs to receive illumination from another, the true Light.
This John himself avows when he delivers his witness (ibid. 16): 'We have all received of His fulness.'" Comp. Tertullian, De Testim. Anim., and the note to iv. sec. 25, above, where other references to God's being the Father of Lights are given.

1 Rom. i. 20. 2 1 Tim. ii. 5. Rom. ix. 5.
4 John xiv. 6. 6 John i. 14.
6 Christ descended that we may ascend. See iv. sec. 19, notes 1 and 3, above.

168 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

and was conformed to it. But somewhat later it was, I confess, that I learned how in the sentence, "The Word was made flesh," the Catholic truth can be distinguished from the false-
detract from His honour, like Arius. Before his time men had written much on the divine and much on the human side of our Lord's nature. He endeavoured to show (see Dorner's Person of Christ, A. ii. 252, etc., Clark) in what the two natures united differed from human nature. He concluded that our Lord had no need of the human nature, and that its place was supplied by the divine nature, so that God "the Word," the body and the "\(^\wedge\wedge\)" constituted the being of the Saviour. Dr. Pusey quotes the following passages hereon: "The faithful who believes and confesses in the Mediator a real human, i.e. our nature, although God the "Word, taking it in a singular manner, sublimated it into the only Son of God, so that He who took it, and what He took, was one person in the Trinity. For, after man was assumed, there became not a quaternity but remained the Trinity, that assumption making in an ineffable way the truth of one person in God and man. Since we
do not say that Christ is only God, as do the Manichaean heretics, nor only man, as the Photinian heretics, nor in such wise man as not to have anything which certainly belongs to human nature, whether the soul, or in the soul itself the rational mind, or the flesh not taken of the woman, but made of the Word, converted and changed into flesh, which three false and vain statements made three several divisions of the Apollinarian heretics; but we say that Christ is true God, born of God the Father, without any beginning of time, and also true man, born of a human mother in the fulness of time; and that His humanity, whereby He is inferior to the Father, does not derogate from His divinity, whereby He is equal to the Father"

(De Dono Persev. sec. ult.). "There was formerly a heresy its remnants perhaps still exist of some called Apollinarians. Some of them said that that man whom the Word took, when 'the Word was made flesh,' had not the human, i.e. rational (xyxv) mind, but was only a soul without human intelligence, but that the very Word of God was in that man instead of a mind. They were cast out, the Catholic faith rejected them, and they made a heresy. It was established in the Catholic faith that that man whom the wisdom of God took had nothing less than other men, with regard to the integrity of man's nature, but as to the excellency of His person, had more than other men. For other men may be said to be partakers of the Word of God, having the Word of God, but none of them can be called the Word of God, which He was called when it is said, 'The Word was made flesh'" (in Ps. xxix., Enarr. ii. sec. 2). "But when they reflected that, if their doctrine were true, they must confess that the only-begotten Son of God, the Wisdom and Word of the Father, by whom all things were made, is believed to have taken a sort of brute with the figure of a human body, they were dissatisfied with themselves; yet not so as to amend, and confess that the whole man was assumed by the wisdom of God, without any diminution of nature, but still more boldly denied to Him the soul itself, and everything of any worth in man, and said that He only took human flesh" (De 83, Div. Quies. qu. 80). Reference on the questions touched on in this note may be made to Neander's Church History, ii. 401, etc. (Clark); and Hagenbach, History of Doctrines, i. 270 (Clark).

CHAP. XX.] HERESIES CONFIRM THE TRUTH. 169

hood of Photinus. 1 For the disapproval of heretics makes the tenets of Thy Church and sound doctrine to stand out boldly. 2 For there must be also heresies, that the approved may be made manifest among the weak. 3

Chap. xx. He rejoices that he proceeded from Plato to the Holy Scriptures,

and not the reverse.

26. But having then read those books of the Platonists, and being admonished by them to search for incorporeal truth, I saw Thy invisible things, understood by those things that are made; 4
and though repulsed, I perceived what that was, which through the darkness of my mind I was not allowed to contemplate, assured that Thou wert, and wert infinite, and yet not diffused in space finite or infinite; and that Thou truly art, who art the same ever, varying neither in part nor motion; and that all other things are from Thee, on this most sure ground alone, that they are. Of these things was I indeed assured, yet too weak to enjoy Thee. I chattered as one well skilled; but had I not sought Thy way in Christ our Saviour, I would have proved not skilful, but ready to perish. For now, filled with my punishment, I had begun to desire to seem wise; yet mourned I not, but rather was puffed up with knowledge. 6 For where was that charity building upon the

1 See notes on pp. 152, 153.

* Archbishop Trench's words on this sentence in the Confessions (Hulsean Lectures, lect. v. 1845) have a special interest in the present attitude of the Roman Church: "Doubtless there is a true idea of scriptural developments which has always been recognised, to which the great Fathers of the Church have set their seal; this, namely, that the Church, informed and quickened by the Spirit of God, more and more discovers what in Holy Scripture is given her; but not this, that she unfolds by an independent power anything further therefrom. She has always possessed what she now possesses of doctrine and truth, only not always with the same distinctness of consciousness. She has not added to her wealth, but she has become more and more aware of that wealth; her dowry has remained always the same, but that dowry was so rich and so rare, that only little by little she has counted over and taken stock and inventory of her jewels. She has consolidated her doctrine, compelled to this by the challenges and provocation of enemies, or induced to it by the growing sense of her own needs." Perhaps no one, to turn from the Church to individual men, has been more indebted than was Augustine to controversies with heretics for the evolvement of truth.

3 1 Cor. xi. 19. * Rom. i. 20.

6 See sec. 17, note, above. 1 Cor. viii. 1.

170 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

"foundation " of humility, " which is Jesus Christ " ? I Or, when would these books teach me it ? Upon these, therefore, I believe, it was Thy pleasure that I should fall before I studied Thy Scriptures, that it might be impressed on my memory how I was affected by them; and that afterwards when I was subdued by Thy books, and when my wounds were touched by Thy healing fingers, I might discern and distinguish what a difference there is between presumption and confession, between those who saw whither they were to go, yet saw not the way, and the way which leadeth not only to behold but to inhabit the blessed country. 2 For had I first been moulded in Thy Holy Scriptures, and hadst Thou, in the familiar use of them, grown sweet unto me, and had I afterwards fallen upon those volumes, they might perhaps have withdrawn me from the solid ground of piety; or, had I
stood firm in that wholesome disposition which I had thence imbibed, I might have thought that it could have been attained by the study of those books alone.

Chap. XXI. What he found in the sacred books which are not to be found in Plato.

27. Most eagerly, then, did I seize that venerable writing of Thy Spirit, but more especially the Apostle Paul; 3 and those

1 Cor. iii. 11.

2 We have already quoted a passage from Augustine's Sermons (v. sec. 5, note 7, above), where Christ as God is described as the country we seek, while as man He is the way to go to it. The Fathers frequently point out in their controversies with the philosophers that it little profited that they should know of a goal to be attained unless they could learn the way to reach it. And, in accordance with this sentiment, Augustine says: " For it is as man that He is the Mediator and the Way. Since, if the way lieth between him who goes and the place whither he goes, there is hope of his reaching it; but if there be no way, or if he know not where it is, what boots it to know whither he should go ? " {De Civ. Dei, xi. 2). And again, in his Be Trin. iv. 15: " But of what use is it for the proud man, who, on that account, is ashamed to embark upon the ship of wood, to behold from afar his country beyond the sea ? Or how can it hurt the humble man not to behold it from so great a distance, when he is actually coming to it by that wood upon which the other disdains to be borne ? "

3 Literally, "The venerable pen of Thy Spirit" (venerabilem stilum Spiritm Tui); words which would seem to imply a belief on Augustine's part in a verbal inspiration of Scripture. That he gave Scripture the highest honour as God's inspired word is clear not only from this, but other passages in his works. It is

CHAP. XXI.] HEALING IS IN THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN. 171

difficulties vanished away, in which he at one time appeared to me to contradict himself, and the text of his discourse not to agree with the testimonies of the Law and the Prophets.

And the face of that pure speech appeared to me one and the same; and I learned to "rejoice with trembling." 1 So I commenced, and found that whatsoever truth I had there read was declared here with the recommendation of Thy grace; that he who sees may not so glory as if he had not received 2 not only that which he sees, but also that he can see (for what hath he which he hath not received ?); and that he may not only be admonished to see Thee, who art ever the same, but also may be healed, to hold Thee; and that he who
from afar off is not able to see, may still walk on the way by which he may reach, behold, and possess Thee. For though a man " delight in the law of God after the inward man," 3 what shall he do with that other law in his members which warreth against the law of his mind, and bringeth him into captivity to the law of sin, which is in his members ? 4 For Thou art righteous, Lord, but we have sinned and committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, 6 and Thy hand is grown heavy upon us, and we are justly delivered over unto that ancient sinner, the governor of death; for he induced our will to be like his will, whereby he remained not in Thy truth. What shall "wretched man" do? "Who shall deliver him from the body of this death," but Thy grace only, "through Jesus Christ our Lord," 6 whom Thou hast begotten co-eternal, and createdst 7 in the beginning of Thy ways, equally clear, however, that he gave full recognition to the human element in the word. See De Cons. Evang. ii. 12, where both these aspects are plainly discoverable. Compare also ibid. c. 24.

1 Ps. ii. 11. n Cor. iv. 7. 8 Rom. vii. 22. 4 Ibid. ver. 23.

5 Song of the Three Children, 4 sq. 6 Rom. vii. 24, 25.

7 Prov. viii. 22, as quoted from the old Italic version. It must not be understood to teach that the Lord is a creature. (1) Augustine, as indeed is implied in the Confessions above, understands the passage of the incarnation of Christ, and in his De Doct. Christ, i. 38, he distinctly so applies it: " For Christ . . . desiring to be Himself the Way to those who are just setting out, determined to take a fleshly body. Whence also that expression, ' The Lord created me in the beginning of His way,' that is, that those who wish to come might begin their journey in Him." Again, in a remarkable passage in his De Trin. i. 24, he makes a similar application of the words: "* According to the form of a servant, it is said, 'The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways.' Because, ac-

172 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII.]

in whom the Prince of this world found nothing worthy of death, 1 yet killed he Him, and the handwriting which was contrary to us was blotted out ? 2 This those writings contain not. Those pages contain not the expression of this piety, the tears of confession, Thy sacrifice, a troubled spirit, "a broken and a contrite heart," 3 the salvation of the people, the espoused city, 4 the earnest of the Holy Ghost, 5 the cup of our redemption. 6 No man sings there, Shall not my soul be subject unto God ? For of Him cometh my salvation, for He is my God and my salvation, my defender, I shall not be further moved. 7 No one there hears Him calling, " Come unto me all ye that labour." They scorn to learn of Him, because He is meek and lowly of heart; 8 for " Thou hast hid those things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." 9 For it is one thing, from the mountain's wooded summit to see the land of peace, 10 and not to find the way thither, in
vain to attempt impassable ways, opposed and waylaid by fugitives and deserters, under their captain the "lion" 11 and the "dragon;" 12 and another to keep to the way that leads thither, guarded by the host of the heavenly general, where they rob not who have deserted the heavenly army, which they shun as torture. These things did in a wonderful manner sink into my bowels, when I read that
cording to the form of God, he said, ' I am the Truth; ' and, according to the form of a servant, ' I am the Way.'" (2) Again, creasti is from the LXX. \xni, which is that version's rendering in this verse of the Hebrew ijjp. The Vul-

gale, more correctly translating from the Hebrew, gives possedit, thus corresponding to our English version, "The Lord 2>possessed me," etc. The LXX. would appear to have made an erroneous rendering here, for xrlga is generally in that version the equivalent for {03, "to create," while njp is usually ren-
dered by xratfeai, " to possess," " to acquire." It is true that Gesenius supposes that in a few passages, and Prov. viii. 22 among them, fijp should be rendered t't
"to create; " but these very passages our authorized version renders " to get," or " to possess;" and, as Dr. Tregelles observes, referring to M'Call on the Divine Sonship, "in all passages cited for that sense, 'to possess' appears to be the true meaning."

1 John xviii. 38. 2 Col. ii. 14. 3 Ps. li. 17.
4 Rev. xxi. 2. 5 2 Cor. v. 5. 8 Ps. cxvi. 13.
T Ps. lxii. 1, 2. 8 Matt. xi. 28, 29. 9 Matt. xi. 25.
10 Deut. xxxii. 49. 1 Pet. v. 8. Rev. xii. 3.

CHAP. XXI.] WHAT PLATOWISM HAD NOT. 173

"least of Thy apostles," 1 and had reflected upon Thy works, and feared greatly.
In giving an account, remarks Pusey, of this period to his friend and patron Romanianus, St. Augustine seems to have blended together this and the history of his completed conversion, which was also wrought in connection with words in the same apostle, but the account of which he uniformly suppresses, for fear, probably, of injuring the individual to whom he was writing (see on book ix. sec. 4, note, below). "Since that vehement flame which was about to seize me as yet was not, I thought that by which I was slowly kindled was the very greatest. When lo! certain books, when they had distilled a very few drops of most precious unguent on that tiny flame, it is past belief, Romanianus, past belief, and perhaps past what even you believe of me (and what could I say more?), nay, to myself also is it past belief, what a conflagration of myself they lighted. What ambition, what human show, what empty love of fame, or, lastly, what incitement or band of this mortal life could hold me then? I turned speedily and wholly back into myself. I cast but a glance, I confess, as one passing on, upon that religion which was implanted into us as boys, and interwoven with our very inmost selves; but she drew me unknowingly to herself. So then, stumbling, hurrying, hesitating, I seized the Apostle Paul; 'for never,' said I, 'could they have wrought such things, or lived as it is plain they did live, if their writings and arguments were opposed to this so high good.' I read the whole most intently and carefully. But then, never so little light having been shed thereon, such a countenance of wisdom gleamed upon me, that if I could exhibit it I say not to you, who ever hungeredst after her, though unknown but to your very adversary (see book vi. sec. 24, note, above), casting aside and abandoning whatever now stimulates him so keenly to whatsoever pleasures, he would, amazed, panting, enkindled, fly to her Beauty" (Con. Acad. ii. 5X

174 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

BOOK EIGHTH.

HE FINALLY DESCRIBES THE THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF HIS AGE, THE MOST MEMORABLE OF HIS WHOLE LIFE, IN WHICH, BEING INSTRUCTED BY SIMPLICIANUS CONCERNING THE CONVERSION OF OTHERS, AND THE MANNER OF ACTING, HE IS, AFTER A SEVERE STRUGGLE, RENEWED IN HIS WHOLE MIND, AND IS CONVERTED UNTO GOD.

Chap. i. He, now given to divine things, and yet entangled by the lusts of love, consults Simplicianus in reference to the renewing of his mind.

1. "MY GOD, let me with gratitude remember and confess unto Thee Thy mercies bestowed upon me. Let my bones be steeped in Thy love, and let them say, Who is like unto Thee, Lord? " Thou hast loosed my bonds, I will offer unto Thee the
sacrifice of thanksgiving." 2 And how Thou hast loosed them I will declare; and all who worship Thee when they hear these things shall say: "Blessed be the Lord in heaven and earth, great and wonderful is His name." Thy words had stuck fast into my breast, and I was hedged round about by Thee on every side. 3 Of Thy eternal life I was now certain, although I had seen it "through a glass darkly." 4 Yet I no longer doubted that there was an incorruptible substance, from which was derived all other substance; nor did I now desire to be more certain of Thee, but more stedfast in Thee.

As for my temporal life, all things were uncertain, and my heart had to be purged from the old leaven. 5 The "Way," 6 the Saviour Himself, was pleasant unto me, but as yet I disliked to pass through its straightness. And Thou didst put into my mind, and it seemed good in my eyes, to go unto Simplicianus, 7 who appeared to me a faithful servant of Thine,

1 Ps. xxxv. 10. 2 Ps. cxvi. 16, 17. 3 Job i. 10.

* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 5 1 Cor. v. 7. 6 John xiv. 6.

7 7 'Simplicianus' became a successor of the most blessed Ambrose, Bishop of the Church of Milan (Aug. Retract, ii. 1). To him St. Augustine wrote two books, DeDiverstsQucestionilus(Op. t. vi. p. 82 sq.), and calls him 'father' (ibid.), speaks of his 'fatherly affections from his most benevolent heart, not recent or sudden,

CHAP. I.] YOUTHFUL PASSIONS CLEAVE TO ITIM. 175

and Thy grace shone in him. I had also heard that from his very youth he had lived most devoted to Thee. Now he had grown into years, and by reason of so great age, passed in such zealous following of Thy ways, he appeared to me likely to have gained much experience; and so in truth he had. Out of which experience I desired him to tell me (setting before him my griefs) which would be the most fitting way for one afflicted as I was to walk in Thy way.

2. For the Church I saw to be full, and one went this way, and another that. But it was displeasing to me that I led a secular life; yea, now that my passions had ceased to excite me as of old with hopes of honour and wealth, a very grievous burden it was to undergo so great a servitude. For, compared with Thy sweetness, and the beauty of Thy house, which I loved, 1 those things delighted me no longer. But still very tenaciously was I held by the love of women; nor did the apostle forbid me to marry, although he exhorted me to something better, especially wishing that all men were as he himself was. 2 But I, being weak, made choice of the more agreeable place, and because of this alone was tossed up and down in all beside, faint and languishing with withering cares, because in other matters I was compelled, though unwilling, to agree to a married life, to which I was given up and enthralled. I had heard from the mouth of truth that "there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake;" but, saith He,
"he that is able to receive it, let him receive it." 3 Vain, assuredly, are all men in whom the knowledge of God is not, and who could not, out of the good things which are seen, find out Him who is good. 4
But I was no longer in that vanity; I had surmounted it, and

but tried and known '(Ep. 37), requests his ' remarks and corrections of any books of his which might chance to fall into his holy hands ' (ibid.). St. Ambrose mentions his 'having traversed the whole world, for the sake of the faith, and of acquiring divine knowledge, and having given the whole period of this life to holy reading, night and day; that he had an acute mind, whereby he took in intellectual studies, and was in the habit of proving how far the books of philosophy were gone astray from the truth,' Ep. 65, sec. 5, p. 1052, ed. Ben.
See also Tillemont, H. E. t. 10, Art. 'S. Simplicien.' "E. B. P.

1 Ps. xxvi. 8. 2 1 Cor. vii. 7. 3 Matt, xix 12. * Wisd. xiii. 1.

176 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

by the united testimony of Thy whole creation had found Thee, our Creator, 1 and Thy Word, God with Thee, and together with Thee and the Holy Ghost 2 one God, by whom Thou createdst all things. There is yet another kind of impious men, who " when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful." 8 Into this also had I fallen; but Thy right hand held me up, 4 and bore me away, and Thou placedst me where I might recover. For Thou hast said unto man,
"Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom;" 5 and desire not to seem wise, 6 because, "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." 7 But I had now found the goodly pearl, 8 which, selling all that I had, 9 I ought to have bought; and I hesitated.

Chap. ii. The pious old man rejoices that he read Plato and the Scriptures, and tells him of the rhetorician Victorinus having been converted to the faith through the reading of the sacred books.

3. To Simplicianus then I went, the father of Ambrose 1 "- (at that time a bishop) in receiving Thy grace, and whom he truly loved as a father. To him I narrated the windings of my error. But when I mentioned to him that I had read certain books of the Platonists, which Victorinus, sometime Professor of Ehetoric at Eome (who died a Christian, as I had been told), had translated into Latin, he congratulated me that I had not fallen upon the writings of other philosophers, which were full of fallacies and deceit, "after the rudiments

1 See iv. sec. 18, and note, above.
2 "And the Holy Ghost." These words, though in the text of the Benedictine edition, are not, as the editors point out, found in the majority of the best mss.

3 Rom. i. 21. * Ps. xviii. 35. 5 Job xxviii. 28.
6 Prov. iii. 7. 7 Kom. i. 22.

8 In his Quast. ex Matt. 13, likewise, Augustine compares Christ to the pearl of great price, who is in every way able to satisfy the cravings of man.

9 Matt. xiii. 46.

10 Simplicianus succeeded Ambrose, 397 a.d. He has already been referred to, in the extract from De Civ. Dei, in note 2, p. 166, above, as "the old saint Simplicianus, afterwards Bishop of Milan." In Ep. 37, Augustine addresses him as "his father, most worthy of being cherished with respect and sincere affection."

When Simplicianus is spoken of above as "the father of Ambrose in receiving Thy grace," reference is doubtless made to his having been instrumental in his conversion he having "begotten" him "through the gospel" (1 Cor. iv. 15). Ambrose, when writing to him (Ep. 65), concludes, "Vale, et nos parentis affectu dilige, ut facis."

CHAP. II.] VICTORINUS' CONVERSION. 177

of the world," 1 whereas they, 2 in many ways, led to the belief in God and His word. 3 Then, to exhort me to the humility of Christ, 4 hidden from the wise, and revealed to little ones, 5 he spoke of Victorinus himself, 6 whom, whilst he was at Eome, he had known very intimately; and of him he related that about which I will not be silent. For it contains great praise of Thy grace, which ought to be confessed unto Thee, how that most learned old man, highly skilled in all the liberal sciences, who had read, criticised, and explained so many works of the philosophers; the teacher of so many noble senators; who also, as a mark of his excellent discharge of his duties, had (which men of this world esteem a great honour) both merited and obtained a statue in the Soman Forum, he, even to that age a worshipper of idols, and a participator in

1 Col. ii. 8. 2 i.e. the Platonists.

3 In like manner Augustine, in his De Civ. Dei (viii. 5), says: "No philosophers come nearer to us than the Platonists;" and elsewhere, in the same book, he speaks, in exalted terms, of their superiority to other philosophers.

When he speaks of the Platonists, he means the Neo-Platonists, from whom he conceived that he could best derive a knowledge of Plato, who had, by pursuing the Socratic method in concealing his opinions, rendered it difficult "to discover clearly what he himself
thought on various matters, any more than it is to discover what were the real opinions of Socrates " (ibid. sec. 4). Whether Plato himself had or not knowledge of the revelation contained in the Old Testament Scriptures, as Augustine supposed (De Civ. Dei, viii. 11, 12), it is clear that the later Platonists were considerably affected by Judaic ideas, even as the philosophizing Jews were indebted to Platonism. This view has been embodied in the proverb frequently found in the Fathers, Latin as well as Greek, "H nxiruy <pi\en\i, H #<x<uv vXaruyiZii. Archer Butler, in the fourth of his Lectures on Ancient Philosophy, treats of the vitality of Plato's teaching and the causes of its influence, and shows how in certain points there is a harmony between his ideas and the precepts of the gospel. On the difficulty of unravelling the subtleties of the Platonic philosophy, see Burton's Bampton Lectures (lect. 3).


"Victorinus, by birth an African, taught rhetoric at Rome under Constantius, and in extreme old age, giving himself up to the faith of Christ, wrote some books against Alius, dialectically [and so] very obscure, which are not understood but by the learned, and a commentary on the Apostle " [PaulJ (Jerome, De Viris III. c. 101). It is of the same, probably, that Gennadius speaks (De Viris 111. c. 60), "that he commented in a Christian and pious strain, but inasmuch as he was a man taken up with secular literature, and not trained in the Divine Scriptures by any teacher, he produced what was comparatively of little weight." Comp. Jerome, Pref. in Comm. in Oal., and see Tillemont, 1. c. p. 179, sq. Some of his works are extant. E. B. P.

CON. M

178 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.

the sacrilegious rites to which almost all the nobility of Rome were wedded, and had inspired the people with the love of

"The dog Anubis, and a medley crew Of monster gods [who] 'gainst Neptune stand in arms, 'Gainst Venus and Minerva, steel-clad Mars,"'

whom Rome once conquered, now worshipped, all which old Victorinus had with thundering eloquence defended so many years, he now blushed not to be the child of Thy Christ, and an infant at Thy fountain, submitting his neck to the yoke of humility, and subduing his forehead to the reproach of the Cross.
4. O Lord, Lord, who hast bowed the heavens and come down, touched the mountains and they did smoke, 2 by what means didst Thou convey Thyself into that bosom? He used to read, as Simplicianus said, the Holy Scripture, most studiously sought after and searched into all the Christian writings, and said to Simplicianus, not openly, but secretly, and as a friend,

"Know thou that I am a Christian." To which he replied, *I will not believe it, nor will I rank you among the Christians unless I see you in the Church of Christ." Whereupon he replied derisively, "Is it then the walls that make Christians?"

And this he often said, that he already was a Christian; and Simplicianus making the same answer, the conceit of the "walls" was by the other as often renewed. For he was fearful of offending his friends, proud demon-worshippers, from the height of whose Babylonian dignity, as from cedars of Lebanon which had not yet been broken by the Lord, 3 he thought a storm of enmity would descend upon him. But alter that, from reading and inquiry, he had derived strength, and feared lest he should be denied by Christ before the holy angels if he now was afraid to confess Him before men, 4 and appeared to himself guilty of a great fault in being ashamed of the sacraments 5 of the humility of Thy word, and not being

1 JEned, viii. 736-8. The Kennedys. Ps. cxliv. 5.


6 "The Fathers gave the name of sacrament, or mystery, to everything which conveyed one signification or property to unassisted reason, and another to faith. Hence Cyprian speaks of the 'sacraments' of the Lord's Prayer, meaning the

CHAR II.] CUSTOMS AT BAPTISM. 179

ashamed of the sacrilegious rites of those proud demons, whose pride he had imitated and their rites adopted, he became bold-faced against vanity, and shame-faced toward the truth, and suddenly and unexpectedly said to Simplicianus, as he himself informed me, "Let us go to the church; I wish to be made a Christian." But he, not containing himself for joy, accompanied him. And having been admitted to the first sacraments of instruction, 1 he not long after gave in

hidden meaning conveyed therein, which could only be appreciated by a Christian. The Fathers sometimes speak of confirmation as a sacrament, because the chrism signified the grace of the Holy Ghost; and the imposition of hands was not merely a bare sign, but the form by which it was conveyed. See Bingham, book xii. c. 1, sec. 4. Yet at the same time they continually speak of two great sacraments of the Christian Church "(Palmer's Origines Liturgicce, vol. ii. c. 6, sec. 1, p. 201).
That is, he became a catechumen. In addition to the information on this subject, already given in the note to book vi. sec. 2, above, the following references to it may prove instructive. (1) Justin Martyr, describing the manner of receiving converts into the Church in his day, says (Apol. i. 61): "As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray, and to entreat God with fasting for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the name manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. And this washing is called illumination, because they who learn these things are illuminated in their understandings." And again (ibid. 65): "We, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced and has assented to our teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers, in common for ourselves and for the baptized [illuminated] person, and for all others in every place. . . . Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread, and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. . . . And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present, to partake of, the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who are absent they carry away a portion." And once more (ibid. 66):

"This food is called among us ~Ebx afwr'u* [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined." (2) In "Watts' translation, we have the following note on this episode in our text: "Here be divers particulars of the primitive fashion, in this story of Victorinus. First, being converted, he was to take some well-known Christian (who was to be his godfather) to go with him to the bishop, who, upon notice of it, admitted him a

180 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

his name, that he might be regenerated by baptism,--Borne marvelling, and the Church rejoicing. The proud saw, and were enraged; they gnashed with their teeth, and melted away! x But the Lord God was the hope of Thy servant, and He regarded not vanities and lying madness. 2

5. Finally, when the hour arrived for him to make profession of his faith (which at Eome they who are about to approach Thy grace are wont to deliver 3 from an elevated place, in view of the faithful people, in a set form of words learnt by heart), 4 the presbyters, he said, offered Victorinus to catechumens, and gave him those six points of catechistical doctrine mentioned Heb. vi. 1, 2. When the time of baptism drew near, the young Christian came to give in his
heathen name, which was presently registered, submitting himself to examination. On the eve, was he, in a set form, first, to renounce the devil, and to pronounce, I confess to Thee, Christ, repeating the Creed with it, in the form here recorded. The time for giving in their names must be within the two first weeks in Lent; and the solemn day to renounce upon was Maundy Thursday. So bids the Council of Laodicea (Can. 45 and 46).” The renunciation adverted to by Watts in the above passage may be traced to an early period in the writings of the Fathers. It is mentioned by Tertullian, Ambrose, and Jerome; and “in the fourth century,” says Palmer (Origines Liturgicce, c. 5, sec. 2, where the authorities will be found), "the renunciation was made with great solemnity. Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking to those who had been recently baptized, said, 'First, you have entered into the vestibule of the baptistry, and, standing towards the west, you have heard, and been commanded, and stretch forth your hands, and renounce Satan as if he were present.' This rite of turning to the west at the renunciation of Satan is also spoken of by Jerome, Gregory, Nazianzen, and Ambrose; and it was sometimes performed with exsufflations and other external signs of enmity to Satan, and rejection of him and his works. To the present day these customs remain in the patriarchate of Constantinople, where the candidates for baptism turn to the west to renounce Satan, stretching forth their hands, and using an exsufflation as a sign of enmity against him. And the Monophysites of Antioch and Jerusalem, Alexandria and Armenia, also retain the custom of renouncing Satan with faces turned to the west."

1 Ps. cxii. 10. Ps. xxxi. 6, 14, 18.

3 Literally, "give back," reddere.

* Anciently, as Palmer has noted in the introduction to his Origines Liturgicce, the liturgies of the various churches were learnt by heart. They probably began to be committed to writing about Augustine's day. The reference, however, in this place, is to the Apostles' Creed, which, Dr. Pusey in a note remarks, was delivered orally to the catechumens to commit to memory, and by them delivered back, i.e. publicly repeated before they were baptized. "The symbol [creed] bearing hallowed testimony, which ye have together received, and are this day severally to give back [reddidistis], are the words in which the faith of our mother the Church is solidly constructed on a stable foundation, which is Christ

**CHAP. II.] CREEDS ANCIENTLY LEARNED.** 181

make his profession more privately, as the custom was to do to those who were likely, through bashfulness, to be afraid; but he chose rather to profess his salvation in the presence of the holy assembly. For it was not salvation that he taught in rhetoric, and yet he had publicly professed that. How much less, therefore, ought he, when pronouncing Thy word, to dread Thy meek flock, who, in the delivery of his own words, had not feared the mad multitudes! So, then, when he ascended to make his profession, all, as
they recognised him, whispered his name one to the other, with a voice of congratulation. And who was there amongst them that did not

the Lord. ' For other foundation can no man lay,' etc. Ye have received them, and given back [reddidistis] what ye ought to retain in heart and mind, what ye should repeat in your beds, think on in the streets, and forget not in your meals, and while sleeping in body, in heart watch therein. For this is the faith, and the rule of salvation, that 'We believe in God, the Father Almighty.,” etc. (Aug. Serm. 215, in Redditione Symboli). " On the Sabbath day [Saturday], when we shall keep a vigil through the mercy of God, ye will give back [reddituri] not the [Lord's] Prayer, but the Creed" (Serin. 58, sec. ult.). "What ye have briefly heard, ye ought not only to believe, but to commit to memory in so many words, and utter with your mouth" (Serm. 214, in Tradit. Symb. 3, sec. 2). "Nor, in order to retain the very words of the Creed, ought ye any wise to write it, but to learn it thoroughly by hearing, nor, when ye have learnt it, ought ye to write it, but always to keep and refresh it in your memories. 'This is my covenant, which I will make with them after those days, ' saith the Lord; ' I will place my law in their minds, and in their hearts will I write it.' To convey this, the Creed is learnt by hearing, and not written on tables or any other substance, but on the heart" (Serm. 212, sec. 2). See the Roman Liturgy (Assem. Cod. Liturg. t. i. p. 11 sq., 16), and the Gothic and Gallican (pp. 30 sq., 38 sq., 40 sq., etc.). "The renunciation of Satan," to quote once more from Palmer's Origines (c. 5, sec. 3), " was always followed by a profession of faith in Christ, as it is now in the English ritual. . . . The promise of obedience and faith in Christ was made by the catechumens and sponsors, with their faces turned towards the east, as we learn from Cyril of Jerusalem and many other writers. Tertullian speaks of the profession of faith made at baptism, in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and in the Church. Cyprian mentions the interrogation, ' Dost thou believe in eternal life, and remission of sins through the Holy Church ? ' Eusebius and many other Fathers also speak of the profession of faith made at this time; and it is especially noted in the Apostolical Constitutions, which were written in the East at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. The profession of faith in the Eastern churches has generally been made by the sponsor, or the person to be baptized, not in the form of answers to questions, but by repeating the Creed after the priest. In the Western churches, the immemorial custom has been, for the priest to interrogate the candidate for baptism, or his sponsor, on the principal articles of the Christian faith."

182 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

know him ? And there ran a low murmur through the mouths of all the rejoicing multitude, " Victorinus ! Victorinus!" Sudden was the burst of exultation at the sight of him; and suddenly were they hushed, that they might hear him. He pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all desired to take him to their very heart yea, by their love and joy they took him thither; such were the hands with which they took him.
Chap. hi. That God and the angels rejoice more on the return of one sinner than of many just persons.

6. Good God, what passed in man to make him rejoice more at the salvation of a soul despairs of, and delivered from greater danger, than if there had always been hope of him, or the danger had been less? For so Thou also, merciful Father, dost; joy over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance."

And with much joyfulness do we hear, whenever we hear, how the lost sheep is brought home again on the Shepherd's shoulders, while the angels rejoice, and the drachma is restored to Thy treasury, the neighbours rejoicing with the woman who found it; and the joy of the solemn service of Thy house constraineth to tears, when in Thy house it is read of Thy younger son that he "was dead, and is alive again, and was lost, and is found." 2 For Thou rejoicest both in us and in Thy angels, holy through holy charity. For Thou art ever the same; for all things which abide neither the same nor for ever, Thou ever knowest after the same manner.

7. What, then, passes in the soul when it more delights at finding or having restored to it the thing it loves than if it had always possessed them? Yea, and other things bear witness hereunto; and all things are full of witnesses, crying out, "So it is." The victorious commander triumpheth; yet he would not have conquered had he not fought, and the greater the peril of the battle, the more the rejoicing of the triumph. The storm tosses the voyagers, threatens shipwreck, and every one waxes pale at the approach of death; but sky and sea grow calm, and they rejoice much, as they feared much. A loved one is sick, and his pulse indicates danger; all

1 Luke xv. 4-10. 2 Luke xv. 32.

CHAP. IV.] WE PRIZE WHAT WE NEARLY LOSE. 183

who desire his safety are at once sick at heart: he recovers, though not able as yet to walk with his former strength, and there is such joy as was not before when he walked sound and strong. Yea, the very pleasures of human life not those only which rush upon us unexpectedly, and against our wills, but those that are voluntary and designed do men obtain by difficulties. There is no pleasure at all in eating and drinking unless the pains of hunger and thirst go before. And drunkards eat certain salt meats with the view of creatine a troublesome heat, which the drink allaying causes pleasure. It is also the custom that the affianced bride should not immediately be given up, that the husband may not less esteem her whom, as betrothed, he longed not for. 1
8. This law obtains in base and accursed joy; in that joy also which is permitted and lawful; in the sincerity of honest friendship; and in Him who was dead, and lived again, had been lost, and was found. 2 The greater joy is everywhere preceded by the greater pain. What meaneth this, Lord my God, when Thou art an everlasting joy unto Thine own self, and some things about Thee are ever rejoicing in Thee? 3 What meaneth this, that this portion of things thus ebbs and flows, alternately offended and reconciled? Is this the fashion of them, and is this all Thou hast allotted to them, whereas from the highest heaven to the lowest earth, from the beginning of the world to its end, from the angel to the worm, from the first movement unto the last, Thou settest each in its right place, and appointest each its proper seasons, everything good after its kind? Woe is me! How high art Thou in the highest, and how deep in the deepest! Thou withdrawest no whither, and scarcely do we return to Thee.

Chap. iv. He shows by the example of Victorinus that there is more joy in the conversion of nobles.

9. Haste, Lord, and act; stir us up, and call us back; inflame us, and draw us to Thee; stir us up, and grow sweet unto us; let us now love Thee, let us "run after Thee." 4 Do not many men, out of a deeper hell of blindness than

1 See ix. sec. 19, note. 2 Luke xv. 32.
3 See. xii. sec. 12, and xiii. sec. 11, below. 4 Cant. i. 4.

184 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII

that of Victorinus, return unto Thee, and approach, and are enlightened, receiving that light, which they that receive, receive power from Thee to become Thy sons? 1 But if they be less known among the people, even they that know them joy less for them. For when many rejoice together, the joy of each one is the fuller, in that they are incited and inflamed by one another. Again, because those that are known to many influence many towards salvation, and take the lead with many to follow them. And, therefore, do they also who preceded them much rejoice in regard to them, because they rejoice not in them alone.

May it be averted that in Thy tabernacle the persons of the rich should be accepted before the poor, or the noble before the ignoble; since rather "Thou hast chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hast Thou chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are." 2 And yet, even that "least of the apostles," 3 by whose tongue Thou soundest out these words, when Paulus the proconsul 4 his pride overcome by the apostle's warfare was made to pass under the easy yoke 5 of Thy Christ, and became a provincial of the great King, he also, instead of Saul, his former name, desired to be called Paul, 6 in testimony of so great a victory. For the enemy is more overcome in one of whom he hath more hold, and by whom he hath hold
of more. But the proud hath he more hold of by reason of their nobility; and by them of more,

1 John i. 12. * 1 Cor. i. 27, 28. 1 Cor. xv. 9.


6 " ' As Scipio, after the conquest of Africa, took the name of Africanus, so Saul also, being sent to preach to the Gentiles, brought back his trophy out of the first spoils won by the Church, the proconsul Sergiua Paulus, and set up his banner, in that for Saul he was called Paul ' (Jerome, Comm. in Ep. ad Philem. init.). Origen mentions the same opinion (which is indeed suggested by the relation in the Acts), but thinks that the apostle had originally two names (Prcef. in Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.), which, as a Roman, may very well have been, and yet that he made use of his Roman name Paul first in connection with the conversion of the proconsul; Chrysostom says that it was doubtless changed at the command of God, which is to be supposed, but still may have been at this time." E. B. P.

CHAP. V.] INFLUENCE OF THOSE IN AUTHORITY. 185

by reason of their authority. 1 By how much the more welcome, then, was the heart of Victorinus esteemed, which the devil had held as an unassailable retreat, and the tongue of Victorinus, with which mighty and cutting weapon he had slain many; so much the more abundantly should Thy sons rejoice, seeing that our King hath bound the strong man, 2 and they saw his vessels taken from him and cleansed, 3 and made meet for Thy honour, and become serviceable for the Lord unto every good work. 4

Chap. v. OJ the causes which alienate us from God.

10. But when that man of Thine, Simplicianus, related this to me about Victorinus, I burned to imitate him; and it was for this end he had related it. But when he had added this also, that in the time of the Emperor Julian, there was a law made by which Christians were forbidden to teach grammar and oratory, 5 and he, in obedience to this

1 " Satan makes choice of persons of place and power. These are either in the commonwealth or church. If he can, he will secure the throne and the pulpit, as the two forts that command the whole line. ... A prince or a ruler may stand for a thousand; therefore saith Paul to Elymas, when he would have turned the deputy from the faith, ' full of all subtilty, thou child of the devil! ' (Acts xiii. 10). As if he had said, You have learned this of your father the devil, to haunt the courts of princes, wind into the favour of great ones.
There is a double policy Satan hath in gaining such to his side: (a) None have such advantage to draw others to their way. Corrupt the captain, and it is hard if he bring not
off his troop with him. When the princes men of renown in their tribes stood up with Korah, presently a multitude are drawn into the conspiracy (Num. xvi. 2, 19). Let Jeroboam set up idolatry, and Israel is soon in a snare. It is said [that] the people willingly walked after his commandment (Hos. v. 11). (b) Should the sin stay at court, and the infection go no further, yet the sin of such a one, though a good man, may cost a whole kingdom dear. 'Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel' (1 Chron. xxi. 1). He owed Israel a spite, and he pays them home in their king's sin, which dropped in a fearful plague upon their heads. "Gurnall,


6 During the reign of Constantius, laws of a persecuting character were enacted against Paganism, which led multitudes nominally to adopt the Christian faith. When Julian the Apostate came to the throne, he took steps immediately to reinstate Paganism in all its ancient splendour. His court was filled with Platonic philosophers and diviners, and he sacrificed daily to the gods. But, instead of imitating the example of his predecessor, and enacting laws against

186 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

law, chose rather to abandon the wordy school than Thy word, by which Thou makest eloquent the tongues of the dumb 1, he appeared to me not more brave than happy, in having thus discovered an opportunity of waiting on Thee only, which thing I was sighing for, thus bound, not with the irons of another, but my own iron will. My will was the enemy master of, and thence had made a chain for me and bound me. Because of a perverse will was lust made; and lust indulged in became custom; and custom not resisted became necessity. By which links, as it were, joined together (whence I term it a "chain"), did a hard bondage hold me enthralled 2

the Christians, he endeavoured by subtlety to destroy their faith. In addition to the measures mentioned by Augustine above, he endeavoured to foment divisions in the Church by recalling the banished Donatists, and stimulating them to disseminate their doctrines, and he himself wrote treatises against it. In order, if possible, to counteract the influence of Christianity, he instructed his priests to imitate the Christians in their relief of the poor and care for the sick. But while in every way enacting measures of disability against the Christians, he showed great favour to the Jews, and with the view of confuting the predictions of Christ, went a far as to encourage them to rebuild the Temple.

1 Wisd. x. 21.

2 There would appear to be a law at work in the moral and spiritual worlds similar to that of gravitation in the natural, which "acts inversely as the square of the distance." As we
are more affected, for example, by events that have taken place near us either in time or place, than by those which are more remote, so in spiritual things, the monitions of conscience would seem to become feeble with far greater rapidity than the continuance of our resistance would lead us to expect, while the power of sin, in like proportion, becomes strong.

When tempted, men see not the end from the beginning. The allurement, however, which at first is but as a gossamer thread, is soon felt to have the strength of a cable. "Evil men and seducers wax worse and worse" (2 Tim. iii. 13), and when it is too late they learn that the embrace of the siren is but the prelude to destruction. "Thus," as Gurnall has it (The Christian in Complete Armour, vol. i. part 2), "Satan leads poor creatures down into the depths of sin by winding stairs, that let them not see the bottom whither they are going.

. . . Many who at this day lie in open profaneness, never thought they should have rolled so far from their modest beginnings. Christians, give not place to Satan, no, not an inch, in his first motions. He that is a beggar and a modest one without doors, will command the house if let in. Yield at first, and thou givest away thy strength to resist him in the rest; when the hem is worn, the whole garment will ravel out, if it be not mended by timely repentance."

See Midler, Lehre von der Siünde, book v., where the beginnings and alarming progress of evil in the soul are graphically described. See ix. sec. 18, note, below.

**CHAP. V.** THE STRENGTH OF SIN. 187

But that new will which had begun to develope in me, freely to worship Thee, and to wish to enjoy Thee, God, the only sure enjoyment, was not able as yet to overcome my former wilfulness, made strong by long indulgence. Thus did my two wills, one old and the other new, one carnal, the other spiritual, contend within me; and by their discord they unstrung my soul.

11. Thus came I to understand, from my own experience, what I had read, how that "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh." *I verily lusted both ways; 2 yet more in that which I approved in myself, than in that which I disapproved in myself. For in this last it was now rather not "I," 3 because in much I rather suffered against my will than did it willingly. And yet it was through me that custom became more combative against me, because I had come willingly whither I willed not. And who, then, can with any justice speak against it, when just punishment follows the sinner? 4 Nor had I now any longer my wonted excuse, that as yet I hesitated to be above the world and serve Thee, because my perception of the truth was uncertain; for now it was certain. But I, still bound to the earth, refused to be Thy soldier; and was as much afraid of being freed from all embarrassments, as we ought to fear to be embarrassed.

12. Thus with the baggage of the world was I sweetly burdened, as when in slumber; and the thoughts wherein I
meditated upon Thee were like unto the efforts of those desiring to awake, who, still
overpowered with a heavy drowsiness, are again steeped therein. And as no one desires to
sleep always, and in the sober judgment of all waking is better, yet does a man generally
deer to shake off drowsiness, when there is a heavy lethargy in all his limbs, and, though
displeased, yet even after it is time to rise with pleasure yields to it, so was I assured that
it were much better for me to give up myself to Thy charity, than to yield myself to my
own cupidily; but the former course satisfied and vanquished

1 Gal. v. 17. 2 See iv. sec. 26, note, and v. sec. 18, above.

3 Uom. vii. 20. * See v. sec. 2, note 6, above.

188 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VII

me, the latter pleased me and fettered me. 1 Nor had I aught to answer Thee calling to
me, " Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." 2
And to Thee showing me on every side, that what Thou saidst was true, I, convicted by
the truth, had nothing at all to reply, but the drawling and drowsy words: " Presently, lo,
presently;" "Leave me a little while." But "presently, presently," had no present; and my " leave
me a little while "
went on for a long while. 3 In vain did I " delight in Thy law after the inner man," when "
another law in my members warred against the law of my mind, and brought me into
captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." For the law of sin is the violence of
custom, whereby the mind is drawn and held, even against its will deserving to be so held
in that it so willingly falls into it. " O wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from
the body of this death "
but Thy grace only, through Jesus Christ our Lord ? 4

1 Mud placebat et vincebat; hoc libebat el vinciebat. Watts renders freely,
"But notwithstanding that former course pleased and overcame my reason, yet did this
latter tickle and enthral my senses. "

2 Eph. v. 14.

3 As Bishop Wilberforce, eloquently describing this condition of mind, says, in his
sermon on The Almost Christian, " New, strange wishes were rising in Ms heart. The
Mighty One was brooding over its currents, was stirring up its tides, was fain to overrule
their troubled flow to arise in open splendour on his eyes; to glorify his life with His own
blessed presence. And he himself was evidently conscious of the struggle; he was almost
won; he was drawn towards that mysterious birth, and he well-nigh yielded. He even
knew what was passing within his soul; he could appreciate something of its importance,
of the living value of that moment. If that conflict was indeed visible to higher powers
around him; if they who longed to keep him in the kingdom of darkness, and they who
were ready to rejoice at his repentance if they could see the inner waters of that troubled
heart, as they surged and eddied underneath these mighty influences, how must they have
waited for the doubtful choice! how would they strain their observation to see if that
almost should turn into an altogether, or die away again, and leave his heart harder than it
had been before!"

4 Rom. vii. 22-24. This difficilis et periculosus locus (Serm. cliv. 1) he interprets
differently at different periods of his life. In this place, as elsewhere in his writings, he
makes the passage refer (according to the general interpretation in the Church up to that
time) to man convinced of sin under the influence of the law, but not under grace. In his
Retractations, however (i. 23, sec. 1), he points out that he had found reason to interpret
the passage not of man convinced

CHAP. VI.] PONTITIANUS ON MONACHISM. 189

Chap. vi. Pontitianus' account of Antony, the founder of Monachism, and of

some who imitated him,

13. And how, then, Thou didst deliver me out of the bonds of carnal desire, wherewith I
was most firmly fettered, and out of the drudgery of worldly business, will I now declare
and confess unto Thy name, " O Lord, my strength and my Kedeemer." 1 Amid
increasing anxiety, I was transacting my usual affairs, and daily sighing unto Thee. I
resorted as frequently to Thy church as the business, under the burden of which I
groaned, left me free to do. Alypius was with me, being after the third sitting disengaged
from his legal occupation, and awaiting further opportunity of selling his counsel,
as I
was wont to sell the power of speaking, if it can be supplied by teaching. But Nebridius
had, on account of our friendship, consented to teach under Verecundus, a citizen and a
grammarian of Milan, and a very intimate friend of us all; who vehemently desired, and
by the right of friendship demanded from our company, the faithful aid he greatly stood
in need of. Nebridius, then, was not drawn to this by any desire of gain (for he could have
made much more of his learning had he been so inclined), but, as a most sweet and kindly
friend, he would not be wanting in an office of friendliness, and slight our request. But
in this he acted very discreetly, taking care not to become known to those personages
whom the world esteems great; thus avoiding distraction of mind, which he desired to
have free and at leisure as many hours as possible, to search, or read, or hear something
concerning wisdom.

14. Upon a certain day, then, Nebridius being away (why, I do not remember), lo, there
came to the house to see Alypius and me, Pontitianus, a countryman of ours, in so far

of sin, but of man renewed and regenerated in Christ Jesus. This is the view constantly
taken in his anti-Pelagian writings, which were published subsequently to the date of his
Confessions; and indeed this change in interpretation probably arose from the pressure of the Pelagian controversy (see Con. Duas Ep. Pel. i. 10, sees. 18 and 22), and the fear lest the old view should too much favour the heretics, and their exaltation of the powers of the natural man to the disparagement of the influence of the grace of God.

1 Ps. xix. 14.

190 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

as he was an African, who held high office in the emperor's court. What he wanted with us I know not, but we sat down to talk together, and it fell out that upon a table before us, used for games, he noticed a book; he took it up, opened it, and, contrary to his expectation, found it to be the Apostle Paul, for he imagined it to be one of those books which I was wearing myself out in teaching. At this he looked up at me smilingly, and expressed his delight and wonder that he had so unexpectedly found this book, and this only, before my eyes. For he was both a Christian and baptized, and often prostrated himself before Thee our God in the church, in constant and daily prayers. When, then, I had told him that I bestowed much pains upon these writings, a conversation ensued on his speaking of Antony, 1 the Egyptian monk, whose

1 It may be well here to say a few words in regard to Monachism and Antony's relation to it: (1) There is much in the later Platonism, with its austerities and bodily mortifications (see vii. sec. 13, note 2, above), which is in common with the asceticism of the early Church. The Therapeutse of Philo, indeed, of whom there were numbers in the neighbourhood of Alexandria in the first century, may be considered as the natural forerunners of the Egyptian monks. (2) Monachism, according to Sozomen (i. 12), had its origin in a desire to escape persecution by retirement into the wilderness. It is probable, however, that, as in the case of Paul the hermit of Thebais, the desire for freedom from the cares of life, so that by contemplation and mortification of the body, the xiyō; or inner reason (which was held to be an emanation of God) might be purified, had as much to do with the hermit life as a fear of persecution. Mosheim, indeed (Ecc. Hist. i. part 2, c. 3), supposes Paul to have been influenced entirely by these Platonic notions. (3) Antony was born in the district of Thebes, a.d. 251, and visited Paul in the Egyptian desert a little before his death. To Antony is the world indebted for establishing communities of monks, as distinguished from the solitary asceticism of Paul; he therefore is rightly viewed as the founder of Monachism. He appears to have known little more than how to speak his native Coptic, yet during his long life (said to have been 100 years) he by his fervent enthusiasm made for himself a name little inferior to that of the "king of men," Athanasius, whom in the time of the Arian troubles he steadfastly supported, and by whom his life has been handed down to us. Augustine, in his De Doctr. Christ. (Prol.)
sec. 4), speaks of him as "a just and holy man, who, not being able to read himself, is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory through hearing them read by others, and by dint of wise meditation to have arrived at a thorough understanding of them." (4) According to Sozomen (iii. 14), monasteries had not been established in Europe a.d. 340. They were, Baronius tells us, introduced into Rome about that date by Athanasius, during a visit to that city.

Athanasius mentions "ascetics" as dwelling at Rome a.d. 355. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, Martin, Bishop of Tours, and Jerome were enthusiastic supporters of

CHAP. VI.] ORIGIN OF MONACHISM. 191

name was in high repute among Thy servants, though up to that time not familiar to us. When he came to know this, he lingered on that topic, imparting to us a knowledge of this man so eminent, and marveling at our ignorance. But we were amazed, hearing Thy wonderful works most fully manifested in times so recent, and almost in our own, wrought in the true faith and the Catholic Church. We all wondered we, that they were so great, and he, that we had never heard of them.

15. From this his conversation turned to the companies in the monasteries, and their manners so fragrant unto Thee, and of the fruitful deserts of the wilderness, of which we knew nothing. And there was a monastery at Milan * full of good brethren, without the walls of the city, under the fostering care of Ambrose, and we were ignorant of it. He went on with his relation, and we listened intently and in silence. He then related to us how on a certain afternoon, at Triers, when

the system. (5) Monachism in Europe presented more of its practical and less of its contemplative side, than in its cradle in the East. An example of how the monks of the East did work for the good of others is seen in the instance of the monks of Pachomius; still in this respect, as in matters of doctrine, the West has generally shown itself more practical than the East. Probably climate and the style of living consequent thereon have much to do with this. Sulpicius Severus (diaL. i. 2, De Vita Martini) may be taken to give a quaint illustration of this, when he makes one of his characters say, as he hears of the mode of living

'of the Eastern monks, that their diet was only suited to angels. However mistaken we may think the monkish systems to be, it cannot be concealed that in the days of anarchy and semi-barbarism they were oftentimes centres of civilisation.

, Certainly in its originating idea of meditative seclusion, there is much that is worthy of commendation; for, as Farindon has it (Works, iv. 130), "This has been the practice not only of holy men, but of heathen men. Thus did Tully, and Antony, and Crassus make way to that honour and renown which they afterwards purchased in eloquence (Cicero, De Officiis, ii. 13, viii. 7); thus did
they pass a solitudine in scholas, a scholis in forum, 'from their secret retirement into the schools, and from the schools into the pleading-place.'

1 Augustine, when comparing Christian with Manichsean asceticism, says in his De Mor. Eccl. Cath. (sec. 70), "I saw at Milan a lodging-house of saints, in number not a few, presided over by one presbyter, a man of great excellence and learning." In the previous note we have given the generally received opinion, that the first monastery in Europe was established at Pome. It may be mentioned here that Muratori maintains that the institution was transplanted from the East first to Milan; others contend that the first European society was at Aquileia.

192 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

the emperor was taken up with seeing the Circensian games, 1 he and three others, his comrades, went out for a walk in the gardens close to the city walls, and there, as they chanced to walk two and two, one strolled away with him, while the other two went by themselves; and these, in their rambling, came upon a certain cottage inhabited by some of Thy servants, "poor in spirit," of whom "is the kingdom of heaven," 2 where they found a book in which was written the life of Antony.

This one of them began to read, marvel at, and be inflamed by it; and in the reading, to meditate on embracing such a life, and giving up his worldly employments to serve Thee. And these were of the body called "Agents for Public Affairs." s Then, suddenly being overwhelmed with a holy love and a sober sense of shame, in anger with himself, he cast his eyes upon his friend, exclaiming, "Tell me, I entreat thee, what end we are striving for by all these labours of ours. What is our aim? What is our motive in doing service? Can our hopes in court rise higher than to be ministers of the emperor? And in such a position, what is

1 See vi. sec. 12, note 1, above,

2 Matt. v. 3. Roman commentators are ever ready to use this text of Scripture as an argument in favour of monastic poverty, and some may feel disposed from its context to imagine such an interpretation to be implied in this place. This, however, can hardly be so. Augustine constantly points out in his sermons, etc. in what the poverty that is pleasing to God consists. "Pauper Dei," he says (in Ps. cxxxi. 15), "in animo est, non in sacculo;" and his interpretation of this passage in his Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (i. 3) is entirely opposed to the Roman view. We there read: "The poor in spirit are rightly Understood here as meaning the humble and God-fearing, i.e. those who have not a spirit which puffeth up. Nor ought blessedness to begin at any other point whatever, if indeed it is to reach the highest wisdom. 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (Ps. cxi. 10); whereas, on the other hand also, 'pride is entitled 'the beginning of all sin' (Ecclus. x. 13). Let the proud, therefore, seek after and love the kingdoms of the earth; but 'blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' "
"Agentes in rebus. There was a society of them still about the court. Their militia or employments were to gather in the emperor's tributes; to fetch in offenders; to do Palat'ima obsequia, offices of court, provide corn, etc., ride on errands like messengers of the chamber, lie abroad as spies and intelligencers. They were often preferred to places of magistracy in the provinces; such were called Principes or Magistriani. St. Hierome upon Abdias, c. 1, calls them messengers. They succeeded the Frumentarii, between which two and the Curiosi and the SpeʃJatores there was not much difference." W. W.

CHAP. VII.] HISTORY OF TWO CONVERSIONS. 193

there not brittle, and fraught with danger, and by how many dangers arrive we at greater danger? And when arrive we thither? But if I desire to become a friend of God, behold, I am even now made it." Thus spake he, and in the pangs of the travail of the new life, he turned his eyes again upon the page and continued reading, and was inwardly changed where Thou sawest, and his mind was divested of the world, as soon became evident; for as he read, and the surging of his heart rolled along, he raged awhile, discerned and resolved on a better course, and now, having become Thine, he said to his friend, "Now have I broken loose from those hopes of ours, and am determined to serve God; and this, from this hour, in this place, I enter upon. If thou art reluctant to imitate me, hinder me not." The other replied that he would cleave to him, to share in so great a reward and so great a service. Thus both of them, being now Thine, were building a tower at the necessary cost, 1 of forsaking all that they had and following Thee. Then Pontitianus, and he that had walked with him through other parts of the garden, came in search of them to the same place, and having found them, reminded them to return as the day had declined. But they, making known to him their resolution and purpose, and how such a resolve had sprung up and become confirmed in them, entreated them not to molest them, if they refused to join themselves unto them. But the others, no whit changed from their former selves, did yet (as he said) bewail themselves, and piously congratulated them, recommending themselves to their prayers; and with their hearts inclining towards earthly things, returned to the palace. But the other two, setting their affections upon heavenly things, remained in the cottage. And both of them had affianced brides, who, when they heard of this, dedicated also their virginity unto God.

CHAP. VII. He deprecates his wretchedness, that having been born thirly-two years, he had not yet found out the truth.

16. Such was the story of Pontitianus. But Thou, O Lord, whilst he was speaking, didst turn me towards myself, taking me from behind my back, where I had placed myself while

unwilling to exercise self-scrutiny; and Thou didst set me "face to face with myself, that I might behold how foul I was, and how crooked and sordid, bespotted and ulcerous. And I beheld and loathed myself; and whither to fly from myself I discovered not. And if I sought to turn my gaze away from myself, he continued his narrative, and Thou again opposedst me unto myself, and thrustestl me before my own eyes, that I might discover my iniquity, and hate it. I had known it, but acted as though I knew it not,- winked at it, and forgot it.

17. But now, the more ardently I loved those whose healthful affections I heard tell of, that they had given up themselves wholly to Thee to be cured, the more did I abhor myself when compared with them. For many of my years (perhaps twelve) had passed away since my nineteenth, when, on the reading of Cicero's Illortensius, 2 I was roused to a desire for wisdom; and still I was delaying to reject mere worldly happiness, and to devote myself to search out that whereof not the finding alone, but the bare search, 3 ought to

1 Ps. xxxvi. 2. 2 See iii. sec. 7, above.

3 It is interesting to compare with this passage the views contained in Augustine's three books, Con. Academicos, the earliest of his extant works, and written about this time. Licentius there maintains that the " bare search " for truth renders a man happy, while Trygetius contends that the " finding alone " can produce happiness. Augustine does not agree with the doctrine of the former, and points out that while the Academics held the probable to be attainable, it could not be so without the true, by which the probable is measured and known. And, in his De Vita Beata, he contends that he who seeks truth and finds it not, has not attained happiness, and that though the grace of God be indeed guiding him, he must not expect complete happiness (Retractations, i. 2) till after death. Perhaps no sounder philosophy can be found than that evidenced in the life of Victor Hugo's good Bishop Myriel, who rested in the practice of love, and was content to look for perfect happiness, and a full unfolding of God's mysteries, to the future life: " Aimez-vous les uns les autres, il declarait cela complet, ne souhaitait rien de plus et c'etait la toute sa doctrine. Un jour, cet homme qui se croyait ' philosophe, ' ce senateur, deja nomme, dit a l'eveque:

' Mais voyez done le spectacle du monde; guerre de tous contre tous; le plus fort a le plus d'esprit. Votre aimez-vous les uns les autres est une betise.' ' Eh bien, ' repondit Monseigneur Bienvenu, sans disputer, ' si c'est une betise, l'ame doit s'y enfermer comme la perle dans l'huitre.' Il s'y enfermait done, il y vivait, il s'en satisfaisait absolument, laissant de cete* les questions prodigieuses qui attirent et qui epouvantent, les
have been preferred before the treasures and kingdoms of this world, though already found, and before the pleasures of the body, though encompassing me at my will. But I, miserable young man, supremely miserable even in the very outset of my youth, had entreated chastity of Thee, and said, "Grant me chastity and continency, but not yet." For I was afraid lest Thou shouldst hear me soon, and soon deliver me from the disease of concupiscence, which I desired to have satisfied rather than extinguished. And I had wandered through perverse ways in a sacrilegious superstition; not indeed assured thereof, but preferring that to the others, which I did not seek religiously, but opposed maliciously.

18. And I had thought that I delayed from day to day to reject worldly hopes and follow Thee only, because there did not appear anything certain whereunto to direct my course. And now had the day arrived in which I was to be laid bare to myself, and my conscience was to chide me. "Where art thou, my tongue? Thou saidst, verily, that for an uncertain truth thou wert not willing to cast off the baggage of vanity. Behold, now it is certain, and yet doth that burden still oppress thee; whereas they who neither have so worn themselves out with searching after it, nor yet have spent ten years and more in thinking thereon, have had their shoulders unburdened, and gotten wings to fly away." Thus was I inwardly consumed and mightily confounded with an horrible shame, while Pontitianus was relating these things. And lie, having finished his story, and the business he came for, went his way. And unto myself, what said I not within myself?

a Dieu, pour l'athe, an neant: la destinee, le bien et le mal, la guerre de l'etre contre l'etre, la conscience de rhomme, le somnambulisme pensif de l'animal, la transformation par la mort, la recapitulation d'existences qui contient le tombeau, la greffe incomprehensible des amours successifs sur le moi persistant, l'essence, la substance, le Nil et l'Ens, Tame, la nature, la liberte, la necessite; problemes a pic, epaisseurs sinistres, ou se penchent les gigantesques archanges de l'esprit humain; formidables abimes que Lucrece, Manon, Saint Paul, et Dante contemplent avec cet ceil fulgurant qui semble, en regardant fixement l'infinit, y faire eclore les etoiles. Monseigneur Bienvenu etait simplement un homme qui constatait du dehors les questions mysterieuses sans les scraper, sans les agiter, et sans en troubler son propre esprit; et qui avait dans Fame le grave respect de l'ombre." Les MisSrables, c. xiv.

196 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]
With what scourges of rebuke lashed I not my soul to make it follow me, struggling to go after Thee! Yet it drew back; it refused, and exercised not itself. All its arguments were exhausted and confuted. There remained a silent trembling; and it feared, as it would death, to be restrained from the flow of that custom whereby it was wasting away even to death.

Chap. viii. The conversation with Alypius being ended, he retires to the garden, whither his friend follows him.

19. In the midst, then, of this great strife of my inner dwelling, which I had strongly raised up against my soul in the chamber of my heart, I troubled both in mind and countenance, I seized upon Alypius, and exclaimed: "What is wrong with us? What is this? What hearest thou? The unlearned start up and 'take' heaven, 2 and we, with our learning, but wanting heart, see where we wallow in flesh and blood! Because others have preceded us, are we ashamed to follow, and not rather ashamed at not following?" Some such words I gave utterance to, and in my excitement flung myself from him, while he gazed upon me in silent astonishment. For I spoke not in my wonted tone, and my brow, cheeks, eyes, colour, tone of voice, all expressed my emotion more than the words. There was a little garden belonging to our lodging, of which we had the use, as of the whole house; for the master, our landlord, did not live there. Thither had the tempest within my breast hurried me, where no one might impede the
fiery struggle in which I was engaged with myself, until it came to the issue that Thou knewest, though I did not. But I was mad that I might be whole, and dying that I might have life, knowing what evil thing I was, but not knowing what good thing I was shortly to become. Into the garden, then, I retired, Alypius following my steps. For his presence was no bar to my solitude; or how could he desert me so troubled? We sat down at as great a distance from the house as we could. I was disquieted in spirit, being most impatient with myself that I entered not into Thy will and covenant, my God, which all my bones cried out unto me to enter, extolling it to the skies. And we enter not therein b) ships, or chariots, or feet, no, nor by going so far as I had come from the house to that place where we were sitting. For not to go only, but to enter there, was naught else but to will to go, but to will it resolutely and thoroughly; not to stagger and sway about this way and that, a changeable and half-wounded will, wrestling, with one part falling as another rose.

20. Finally, in the very fever of my irresolution, I made many of those motions with my body which men sometimes desire to do, but cannot, if either they have not the limbs, or if their limbs be bound with fetters, weakened by disease, or hindered in any other way. Thus, if I tore my hair, struck my forehead, or if, entwining my fingers, I clasped my knee, this I did because I willed it. But I might have willed and not done it, if the power of motion in my limbs had not responded. So many things, then, I did, when to have the will was not to have the power, and I did not that which both with an unequalled desire I longed more to do, and which shortly when I should will I should have the power to do; because shortly when I should will, I should will thoroughly. For in such things the power was one with the will, and to will was to do, and yet was it not done; and more readily did the body obey the slightest wish of the soul in the moving
its limbs at the order of the mind, than the soul obeyed itself to accomplish in the will alone this its great will.

Chap. ix. That the mind commandeth the mind, but it willeth not entirely.

21. Whence is this monstrous thing? And why is it? Let Thy mercy shine on me, that I may inquire, if so be the hidingplaces of man's punishment, and the darkest contritions of the sons of Adam, may perhaps answer me. Whence is this monstrous thing? and why is it? The mind commands the body, and it obeys forthwith; the mind commands itself, and is resisted. The mind commands the hand to be moved, and such readiness is there that the command is scarce to be distinguished from the obedience. Yet the mind is mind, and the hand is body.

The mind commands the mind to will, and yet, though it be

198 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VIII.]

itself, it obeyeth not. Whence this monstrous thing? and why is it? I repeat, it commands itself to will, and would not give the command unless it willed; yet is not that done which it commandeth. But it willeth not entirely; therefore it commandeth not entirely. For so far forth it commandeth, as it willeth; and so far forth is the thing commanded not done, as it willeth not. For the will commandeth that there be a will; not another, but itself. But it doth not command entirely, therefore that is not which it commandeth. For were it entire, it would not even command it to be, because it would already be. It is, therefore, no monstrous thing partly to will, partly to be unwilling, but an infirmity of the mind, that it doth not wholly rise, sustained by truth, pressed down by custom. And so there are two wills, because one of them is not entire; and the one is supplied with what the other needs.

Chap. x. He refutes the opinion of the, Manichceans as to two kinds of minds, one good and the other evil.

22. Let them perish from Thy presence, 1 God, as "vain talkers and deceivers" 2 of the soul do perish, who, observing that there were two wills in deliberating, affirm that there are two kinds of minds in us, one good, the other evil. 3 They themselves verily are evil when they hold these evil opinions; and they shall become good when they hold the truth, and shall consent unto the truth, that Thy apostle may say unto them, "Ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." 4 But they, desiring to be light, not "in the Lord," but in themselves, conceiving the nature of the soul to be the same as that which God is, 5 are made more gross darkness; for that through a shocking arrogancy they went farther from Thee, "the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." 6 Take heed what you say, and blush for shame; draw near unto Him and be "lightened," and your faces shall not be
3 And that therefore they were not responsible for their evil deeds, it not being they that sinned, but the nature of evil in them. See iv. sec. 26. and note, above, where the Manichean doctrines in this matter are fully treated.

4 Eph. v. 3. 5 See iv. sec. 26, note, above. 6 John i. 9.

CHAP. X.) CONFLICTING WILLS. 199

"ashamed." 1 I, when I was deliberating upon serving the Lord my God now, as I had long purposed, I it was who willed, I who was unwilling. It was I, even I myself. I neither willed entirely, nor was entirely unwilling. Therefore was I at war with myself, and destroyed by myself. And this destruction overtook me against my will, and yet showed not the presence of another mind, but the punishment of mine own. 2 " Now, then, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me," 3 the punishment of a more unconfined sin, in that I was a son of Adam.

23. For if there be as many contrary natures as there are conflicting wills, there will not now be two natures only, but many. If any one deliberate whether he should go to their conventicle, or to the theatre, those men 4 at once cry out, " Behold, here are two natures, one good, drawing this way, another bad, drawing back that way; for whence else is this indecision between conflicting wills ?" But I reply that both are bad that which draws to them, and that which draws back to the theatre. But they believe not that will to be other than good which draws to them. Supposing, then, one of us should deliberate, and through the conflict of his two wills should waver whether he should go to the theatre or to our church, would not these also waver what to answer? For either they must confess, which they are not willing to do, that the will which leads to our church is good, as well as that of those who have received and are held by the mysteries of theirs, or they must imagine that there are two evil natures and two evil minds in one man, at war one with the other; and that will not be true which they say, that there is one good and another bad; or they must be converted to the truth, and no longer deny that where any one deliberates, there is one soul fluctuating between conflicting wills.

24. Let them no more say, then, when they perceive two wills to be antagonistic to each other in the same man, that the contest is between two opposing minds, of two opposing substances, from two opposing principles, the one good and the

1 Ps. lxxviii. 2. 2 Titus i. 10.

3 Rom. vii. 17. 4 The Manichaeans.
other bad. For Thou, true God, dost disprove, check," and convince them; like as when both wills are bad, one deliberates whether he should kill a man by poison, or by the sword; whether he should take possession of this or that estate of another's, when he cannot both; whether he should purchase pleasure by prodigality, or retain his money by covetousness; whether he should go to the circus or the theatre, if both are open on the same day; or, thirdly, whether he should rob another man's house, if he have the opportunity; or, fourthly, whether he should commit adultery, if at the same time he have the means of doing so, all these tilings concurring in the same point of time, and all being equally longed for, although impossible to be enacted at one time. For they rend the mind amid four, or even (among the vast variety of things men desire) more antagonistic wills, nor do they yet affirm that there are so many different substances. Thus also is it in wills which are good. For I ask them, is it a good thing to have delight in reading the apostle, or good to have delight in a sober psalm, or good to discourse on the gospel? To each of these they will answer, "It is good." What, then, if all equally delight us, and all at the same time? Do not different wills distract the mind, when a man is deliberating which he should rather choose? Yet are they all good, and are at variance until one be fixed upon, whither the whole united will may be borne, which before was divided into many. Thus, also, when above eternity delights us, and the pleasure of temporal good holds us down below, it is the same soul which willeth not that or this with an entire will, and is therefore torn asunder with grievous perplexities, while out of truth it prefers that, but out of custom forbears not this.

Chap. xi. In what manner the Spirit struggled with the flesh, that it might be freed from the bondage of vanity.

25. Thus was I sick and tormented, accusing myself far more severely than was my wont, tossing and turning me in my chain till that was utterly broken, whereby I now was but slightly, but still was held. And Thou, Lord, pressedst upon me in my inward parts by a severe mercy, redoubling the lashes of fear and shame, lest I should again give way, and that same slender remaining tie not being broken off, it should recover strength, and enchain me the faster. For I said mentally, "Lo, let it be done now, let it be done now." And as I spoke, I all but came to a resolve. I all but did it, yet I did it not. Yet fell I not back to my old condition, but took up my position hard by, and drew breath. And I tried again, and wanted but very little of reaching it, and somewhat less, and then all but touched and grasped it; and yet came not at it, nor touched, nor grasped it, hesitating to die unto death, and to live unto life; and the worse, whereto I had been habituated,
prevailed more with me than the better, which I had not tried. And the very moment in which I was to become another man, the nearer it approached me, the greater horror did it strike into me; but it did not strike me back, nor turn me aside, but kept me in suspense.

26. The very toys of toys, and vanities of vanities, my old mistresses, still enthralled me; they shook my fleshly garment, and whispered softly, "Dost thou part with us? And from that moment shall we no more be with thee for ever? And from that moment shall not this or that be lawful for thee for ever?" And what did they suggest to me in the words "this or that?" What is it that they suggested, O my God? Let Thy mercy avert it from the soul of Thy servant. What impurities did they suggest! What shame! And now I far less than half heard them, not openly showing themselves and contradicting me, but muttering, as it were, behind my back, and furtively plucking me as I was departing, to make me look back upon them. Yet they did delay me, so that I hesitated to burst and shake myself free from them, and to leap over whither I was called, an unruly habit saying to me, "Dost thou think thou canst live without them?"

27. But now it said this very faintly; for on that side towards which I had set my face, and whither I trembled to go, did the chaste dignity of Continence appear unto me, cheerful, but not dissolutely gay, honestly alluring me to come and doubt nothing, and extending her holy hands, full of a multiplicity of good examples, to receive and embrace me. There were there so many young men and maidens, a multitude of youth and every age, grave widows and ancient virgins, and Continence herself in all, not barren, but a fruitful mother of children of joys, by Thee, Lord, her Husband. And she smiled on me with an encouraging mockery, as if to say, "Canst not thou do what these youths and maidens can? Or can one or other do it of themselves, and not rather in the Lord their God? The Lord their God gave me unto them. Why standest thou in thine own strength, and so standest not? Cast thyself upon Him; fear not, He will not withdraw that thou shouldest fall; cast thyself upon Him without fear, He will receive thee, and heal thee." And I blushed beyond measure, for I still heard the muttering of those toys, and hung in suspense. And she again seemed to say, "Shut up thine ears against those unclean members of thine upon the earth, that they may be mortified. They tell thee of delights, but not as doth the law of the Lord thy God." 2 This controversy in my heart was naught but self against self. But Alypius, sitting close by my side, awaited in silence the result of my unwonted emotion.

1 Col. iii. 5. * Ps. cxix. 85, Old ver.
3 As in nature, the men of science tell us, no two atoms touch, but that, while an inner magnetism draws them together, a secret repulsion keeps them apart, so it is with human souls. Into our deepest feelings our dearest friends cannot enter. In the throes of conversion, for example, God's ministering servants may assist, but He alone can bring the soul to the birth. So it was here in the case of Augustine. He felt that now even the presence of his dear friend would be a burden, God alone could come near, so as to heal the sore wound of his spirit, and Alypius was a friend who knew how to keep silence, and to await the issue of his friend's profound emotion. How comfortable a thing to find in those who would give consolation the spirit that animated the friends of Job, when "they sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him; for they saw that his grief was very great"

(Job ii. 13). Well has Rousseau said: "Les consolations indiscretes ne font qu'aigrir les violentes afflictions. L'indifference et la froideur trouvent aise des paroles, mais la tristesse et le silence sont alors le vrai langage de l'amitie."

A beautiful exemplification of this is found in Victor Hugo's portrait of Bishop Myriel, in Les Misérables (c. iv.), from which we have quoted a few pages back: "II savait s'asseoir et se taire de longues heures auprès de l'homme qui avait perdu la femme qu'il aimait, de la mere qui avait perdu son enfant. Comme il savait le moment de se taire, il savait aussi le moment de parler. admirable consoleur ! il ne cherchait pas a effacer la douleur par l'oubli, mais a l'agrandir et a la dignifier par l'espenance."

CHAP. XII.

THE VOICE FROM HEAVEN. 203

Chap. xii. Having prayed to God, he pours forth a shower of tears, and, admonished by a voice, he opens the book and reads the words in Rom. xiii. 13; by which, being changed in his whole soul, lie discloses the divine favour to his friend and his mother.

28. But when a profound reflection had, from the secret depths of my soul, drawn together and heaped up all my misery before the sight of my heart, there arose a mighty storm, accompanied by as mighty a shower of tears. Which, that I might pour forth fully, with its natural expressions, I stole away from Alypius; for it suggested itself to me that solitude was fitter for the business of weeping. So I retired to such a distance that even his presence could not be oppressive to me. Thus was it with me at that time, and he perceived it; for something, I believe, I had spoken, wherein the sound of my voice appeared choked with weeping, and in that state had I risen up. He then remained where we had been sitting, most completely astonished. I flung myself down, how, I know not, under a certain fig-tree, giving free course to my tears, and the streams of mine eyes gushed out, an acceptable sacrifice unto Thee. And, not indeed in these words, yet to this effect, spake I much unto Thee. "But Thou, Lord, how long? "3 "How long, Lord? Wilt Thou be angry for ever? Oh, remember not against us former iniquities; "4
for I felt that I was enthralled by them. I sent up these sorrowful cries, "How long, how long? To-morrow, and to-

: morrow? Why not now? Why is there not this hour an
, end to my uncleanness?"

29. I was saying these things and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo, I heard the voice as of

! a boy or girl, I know not which, coming from a neighbouring i house, chanting, and oft repeating, "Take up and read; take
'up and read." Immediately my countenance was changed, and I began most earnestly to consider whether it was usual for children in any kind of game to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, restraining the torrent of my tears, I rose up, interpreting it no other way than as a command to me from Heaven to open the book,

1 See note 3, p. 63. 2 1 Pet. ii. 5. 3 Ps. vi. 3. 4 Ps. lxxix. 5, 8.

i!

204 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK VHL

and to read the first chapter I should light upon. For I had heard of Antony, I that, accidentally coming in whilst the gospel was being read, he received the admonition as if what was read were addressed to him, "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me." 2 And by such oracle was he forthwith converted unto Thee. So quickly I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I put down the volume of the apostles, when I rose thence. I grasped, opened, and in silence read that paragraph on which my eyes first fell, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." 3 No further would I read, nor did I need; for instantly, as the sentence ended, by a light, as it were, of security infused into my heart, all the gloom of doubt vanished away.

30. Closing the book, then, and putting either my finger between, or some other mark, I now with a tranquil countenance made it known to Alypius. And he thus disclosed to me what was wrought in him, which I knew not. He asked to look at what I had read. I showed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I knew not what followed.
This it was, verily, "Him that is weak in the faith, receive ye;" 4 which he applied to himself, and discovered to me. By this admonition was he strengthened; and by a good resolution and purpose, very much in accord with his character (wherein, for the better, he was always far different from me), without any restless delay he joined me. Thence we go in to my mother. We make it known to her, she rejoiceth. We relate how it came to pass, she leapeth for joy, and triumpheth, and blesseth Thee, who art "able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think;" 5 for she perceived Thee to have given her more for me than she used to ask by her pitiful and most doleful groanings. For Thou didst so convert me unto Thyself, that I sought neither a wife, nor

1 See his Life by St. Athanasius, sees. 2, 3. 2 Matt. xix. 21.

3 Rom. xiii. 13, 14. 4 Rom. xiv. 1. 6 Eph. iii. 20.

CHAP. XTT.] HIS MOTHER'S JOY. 205

any other of this world's hopes, standing in that rule of faith 1 in which Thou, so many years before, had showed me unto her in a vision. And thou didst turn her grief into a gladness, 2 much more plentiful than she had desired, and much dearer and chaster than she used to crave, by having grandchildren of my body.

1 See book iii. seo. 19. * Ps. xxx. 1L

206 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

BOOK NINTH.

HE SPEAKS OP HIS DESIGN OF FORSAKING THE PROFESSION OF RHETORIC; OF THE DEATH OF HIS FRIENDS; NEBRIDIUS AND VEKECUNDUS, OF HAVING RECEIVED BAPTISM IN THE THIRTY-THIRD YEAR OF HIS AGE; AND OF THE VIRTUES AND DEATH OF HIS MOTHER, MONICA.

Chap. i. He praises God, the Author of safety, and Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, acknowledging his own wickedness.

1. " /\ LOED, truly I am Thy servant; I am Thy servant, V/ and the son of Thine handmaid: Thou hast loosed my bonds. I will offer to Thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving." 1
Let my heart and my tongue praise Thee, and let all my bones say, "Lord, who is like unto Thee?" 2 Let them so say, and answer Thou me, and "say unto my soul, I am Thy salvation." 3

Who am I, and what is my nature? How evil have not my deeds been; or if not my deeds, my words; or if not my words, my will? But Thou, Lord, art good and merciful, and Thy right hand had respect unto the profoundness of my death, and removed from the bottom of my heart that abyss of corruption.

And this was the result, that I willed not to do what I willed, and willed to do what thou willedst. 4 But where, during all those years, and out of what deep and secret retreat was my free will summoned forth in a moment, whereby I gave my neck to Thy "easy yoke," and my shoulders to Thy "light burden," 5 O Christ Jesus, "my strength and my Redeemer"?*

How sweet did it suddenly become to me to be without the delights of trifles! And what at one time I feared to lose, it was now a joy to me to put away. 7 For Thou didst cast them away from me, Thou true and highest sweetness. Thou didst cast them away, and instead of them didst enter in Thyself, 1 sweeter than all pleasure, though not to flesh and blood; brighter than all light, but more veiled than all mysteries; more exalted than all honour, but not to the exalted in their own conceits. Now was my soul free from the gnawing cares of seeking and getting, and of wallowing and exciting the itch of lust. And I babbled unto Thee my brightness, my riches, and my health, the Lord my God.

CHAP. II.] THE POWER OF THE NEW LIFE. 207

away from me, Thou true and highest sweetness. Thou didst cast them away, and instead of them didst enter in Thyself, 1 sweeter than all pleasure, though not to flesh and blood; brighter than all light, but more veiled than all mysteries; more exalted than all honour, but not to the exalted in their own conceits. Now was my soul free from the gnawing cares of seeking and getting, and of wallowing and exciting the itch of lust. And I babbled unto Thee my brightness, my riches, and my health, the Lord my God.

Chap. ii. As his lungs were affected, he meditates withdrawing himself from public favour.

2. And it seemed good to me, as before Thee, not tumultuously to snatch away, but gently to withdraw the service of my tongue from the talker's trade; that the young, who thought not on Thy law, nor on Thy peace, but on mendacious follies and forensic strifes, might

---

1 Ps. cxvi. 16, 17. * Ibid. xxxv. 10. 8 Ibid. xxxv. 3.

* Volebas, though a few mss. have nolebas; and Watts accordingly renders "nilledst."


7 Archbishop Trench, in his exposition of the parable of the Hid Treasure, which the man who found sold all that he had to buy, remarks on this passage
no longer purchase at my mouth equipments for their vehemence. And opportunely there wanted but a few days unto the Vacation of the Vintage; 2 and I determined to endure them, in order to leave in the usual way, and, being redeemed by Thee, no more to return for sale. Our intention then was known to Thee; but to men excepting our own friends was it not known. For we had determined among ourselves not to let it get abroad to

of the Confessions: "Augustine excellently illustrates from his own experience this part of the parable. Describing the crisis of his own conversion, and how easy he found it, through this joy, to give up all those pleasures of sin that he had long dreaded to be obliged to renounce, which had long held him fast bound in the chains of evil custom, and which if he renounced, it had seemed to him as though life itself would not be worth the living, he exclaims, ' How sweet did it suddenly become to me,' " etc.

1 His love of earthly things was expelled by the indwelling love of God, "for," as he says in his De Musica, vi. 52, "the love of the things of time could only be expelled by some sweetness of things eternal." Compare also Dr. Chalmers' sermon on The Expulsive Power of a Neio Affection (the ninth of his " Commercial Discourses "), where this idea is expanded.

* " In harvest and vintage time had the lawyers their vacation. So Minutius Felix. Scholars, their Non Terminus, as here; yea, divinity lectures and catechizings then ceased. So Cyprian, Ep. 2. The law terms gave way also to the great festivals of the Church. Theodosius forbade any process to go out from fifteen days before Easter till the Sunday after. For the four Terms, see Caroli i Calvi, Capitula, Act viii. p. 90." W. W.

208 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

any; although Thou hadst given to us, ascending from- the valley of tears, 1 and singing the song of degrees, " sharp arrows," and destroying coals, against the " deceitful tongue," 2 which in giving counsel opposes, and in showing love consumes, as it is wont to do with its food.

3. Thou hadst penetrated our hearts with Thy charity, and we carried Thy words fixed, as it were, in our bowels; and the examples of Thy servant, whom of black Thou hadst made bright, and of dead, alive, crowded in the bosom of our thoughts, burned and consumed our heavy torpor, that we might not topple into the abyss; and they enkindled us exceedingly, that every breath of the deceitful tongue of the gainsayer might inflame us the more, not extinguish us. Nevertheless, because for Thy name's sake which Thou hast sanctified throughout the earth, this, our vow and purpose, might also find commenders, it looked like a vaunting of oneself not to wait for the vacation, now so near, but to leave beforehand a public profession, and one, too, under general observation; so that all who looked on this act of mine, and saw how near was the vintage-time I desired to anticipate,
would talk of me a great deal as if I were trying to appear to be a great person. And what purpose would it serve that people should consider and dispute about my intention, and that our good should be evil spoken of? 3

4. Furthermore, this very summer, from too great literary labour, my lungs 4 began to be weak, and with difficulty to draw

1 Ps. lxxxiv. 6.

8 Ps. cxx. 3, 4, according to the Old Ver. This passage has many difficulties we need not enter into. The Vulgate, however, we may say, renders verse 3: "Quid detur tibi aut quid aponatur tibi ad linguam dolosam," that is, shall be given as a defence against the tongues of evil speakers. In this way Augustine understands it, and in his commentary on this place makes the fourth verse give the answer to the third. Thus, "sharp arrows" he interprets to be the word of God, and "destroying coals" those who, being converted to Him, have become examples to the ungodly.

3 Rom. xiv. 16.

4 In his De Vita Beata, sec. 4, and Con. Acad. i. 3, he also alludes to this weakness of his chest. He was therefore led to give up his professorship, partly from this cause, and partly from a desire to devote himself more entirely to God's service. See also p. 173, note.

CHAP. III.] HIS LUNGS ARE AFFECTED. 209

deep breaths; showing by the pains in ray chest that they were affected, and refusing too loud or prolonged speaking. This had at first been a trial to me, for it compelled me almost of necessity to lay down that burden of teaching; or, if I could be cured and become strong again, at least to leave it off for a while. But when the full desire for leisure, that I might see that Thou art the Lord, 1 arose, and was confirmed in me, my God, Thou knowest I even began to rejoice that I had this excuse ready, and that not a feigned one, which might somewhat temper the offence taken by those who for their sons' good wished me never to have the freedom of sons.

Full, therefore, with such joy, I bore it till that period of time had passed, perhaps it was some twenty days, yet they were bravely borne; for the cupidity which was wont to sustain part of this weighty business had departed, and I had remained overwhelmed had not its place been supplied by patience. Some of Thy servants, my brethren, may perchance say that I sinned in this, in that having once fully, and from my heart, entered on Thy warfare, I permitted myself to sit a single hour in the seat of falsehood. I will not contend.

But hast not Thou, most merciful Lord, pardoned and remitted this sin also, with my others, so horrible and deadly, in the holy water?
Chap. hi. He retires to the villa of his friend Verecundus, who was not yet a Christian, and re/ert to his conversion and death, as well as that of Nebridius.

5. Verecundus was wasted with anxiety at that our happiness, since he, being most firmly held by his bonds, saw that he would lose our fellowship. For he was not yet a Christian, though his wife was one of the faithful; 2 and yet hereby, being more firmly enchained than by anything else, was he held back from that journey which we had commenced. Nor, he declared, did he wish to be a Christian on any other terms than those that were impossible. However, he invited us most courteously to make use of his country house so long as we should stay there. Thou, Lord, wilt " recompense " him for this " at the resurrection of the just," 3 seeing that Thou
1 Ps. xlvi. 10. 2 See vi. sec. 1, note, above. 3 Luke xiv. 14.

210 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

hast already given him " the lot of the righteous." x "For although, when we were absent at Eome, he, being overtaken with bodily sickness, and therein being made a Christian, and one of the faithful, departed this life, yet hadst Thou mercy on him, and not on him only, but on us also; 2 lest, thinking on the exceeding kindness of our friend to us, and unable to count him in Thy flock, we should be tortured with intolerable grief. Thanks be unto Thee, our God, we are Thine. Thy exhortations, consolations, and faithful promises assure us that Thou now repayest Verecundus for that country house at Cassiacum, where from the fever of the world we found rest in Thee, with the perpetual freshness of Thy Paradise, in that Thou hast forgiven him his earthly sins, in that mountain flowing with milk, 3 that fruitful mountain, Thine own.

6. He then was at that time full of grief; but Nebridius was joyous. Although he also, not being yet a Christian, had fallen into the pit of that most pernicious error of believing Thy Son to be a phantasm, 4 yet, coming out thence, he held the same belief that we did; not as yet initiated in any of the sacraments of Thy Church, but a most earnest inquirer after truth. 5 Whom, not long after our conversion and regeneration by Thy baptism, he being also a faithful member of the Catholic Church, and serving Thee in perfect chastity and continency amongst his own people in Africa, when his whole household had been brought to Christianity through him, didst Thou release from the flesh; and now he lives in Abraham's bosom. Whatever that may be which is signified by that

1 Ps. cxxv. 2. Phtt. ii. 27.

3 Literally, In monte incaseato, "the mountain of curds," from the Old Ver. of Ps. lxviii. 16. The Vulgate renders coagulatus. But the Authorized Version is nearer the true meaning, when it renders Q^J33, hunched, as "high." The LXX. renders it nru^
wpivoi, condensed, as if from $n^33$, cheese. This divergence arises from the unused root $pS$, to be curved, having derivatives meaning
(1) "hunch-backed," when applied to the body, and (2) "cheese " or "curds,"
when applied to milk. Augustine, in his exposition of this place, makes the
"mountain" to be Christ, and parallels it with Isa. ii. 2; and the "milk" he interprets of the
grace that comes from Him for Christ's little ones: Ipse est mans incaseatus, propter
parvulos gratia tanquam lacte nulriendos.

* See v. 16, note, above. See vi. 17, note 4, abov*.

chap, iv.] Abraham's bosom. 211

bosom, 1 there lives my Nebridius, my sweet friend, Thy son, O Lord, adopted of a
freedman; there he liveth. For what other place could there be for such a soul ? There
liveth he, concerning which he used to ask me much, me, an inexperienced, feeble one.
Now he puts not his ear unto my mouth, but his spiritual mouth unto Thy fountain, and
drinketh as much as he is able, wisdom according to his desire, happy without end. Nor
do I believe that he is so inebriated with it as to forget me, 2 seeing Thou, O Lord, whom
he drinketh, art mindful of us. Thus, then, were we comforting the sorrowing Verecundus
(our friendship being untouched) concerning our conversion, and exhorting him to a faith
according to his condition, I mean, his married state.
And tarrying for Nebridius to follow us, which, being so near, he was just about to do,
when, behold, those days passed over at last; for long and many they seemed, on account
of my love of easeful liberty, that I might sing unto Thee from my very marrow. My heart
said unto Thee, I have sought Thy face; " Thy face, Lord, will I seek." 3

Chap. IV. In the country he gives his attention to literature, and explains the fourth Psalm
in connection with the happy conversion of Alypius. He is troubled with toothache.

7. And the clay arrived on which, in very deed, I was to be released from the
Professorship of Khetoric, from which in intention I had been already released. And done
it was; and

1 Though Augustine, in his Qu&st. Erntng. ii. qu. 38, makes Abraham's bosom to
represent the rest into which the Gentiles entered after the Jews had put it from them, yet
he, for the most part, in common with the early Church (see Serm. xiv. 3; Con. Faust,
xxxiii. 5; and Eps. clxiv. 7, and clxxxvii. Compare also Tertullian, De Anima, lviii.),
takes it to mean the resting-place of the souls of the righteous after death. Abraham's
bosom, indeed, is the same as the
" Paradise" of Luke xxiii. 43. The souls of the faithful after they are delivered from the
flesh are in "joy and felicity" (De Civ. Dei, i. 13, and xiii. 19); but they will not have
"their perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul"
until the morning of the resurrection, when they shall be endowed with "spiritual bodies."
See note p. 163; and for the difference between the a'Ss of Luke xvi. 23, that is, the
place of departed spirits, into which it is said in the Apostles' Creed Christ descended,
and yiwa., or Hell, see Campbell on The Gospels, i. 253. In the A.V. both Greek words
are rendered "Hell."

* See sec. 37, note, below. 3 Ps. xxvii. 8.

212 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

Thou didst deliver my tongue whence Thou hadst already delivered my heart; and full of
joy I blessed Thee for it, and retired with all mine to the villa. 1 What I accomplished
there in writing, which was now wholly devoted to Thy service, though still, in this pause
as it were, panting from the school of pride, my books testify/ those in which I
disputed with my friends, and those with myself alone 3
before Thee; and what with the absent Nebridius, my letters 4
testify. And when can I find time to recount all Thy great benefits which Thou
bestowedst upon us at that time, especially as I am hasting on to still greater mercies?
For my memory calls upon me, and pleasant it is to me, O Lord, to confess unto Thee, by
what inward goads Thou didst subdue me, and how Thou didst make me low, bringing
down the mountains and hills of my imaginations, and didst straighten my crookedness,
and smooth my rough ways; 5 and by what means Thou also didst subdue that brother of
my heart, Alypius, unto the name of Thy only- begotten, our Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ, which he at first refused to have inserted in our writings. For he rather desired that
they should savour of the " cedars " of the schools, which the Lord hath now broken
down, 6 than of the wholesome herbs of the Church, hostile to serpents.

8. What utterances sent I up unto Thee, my God, when I

1 As Christ went into the wilderness after His baptism (Matt iv. 1), and Paul into Arabia
after his conversion (Gal i. 17), so did Augustine here find in his retirement a preparation
for his future work. He tells us of this time of his life ( De Ordin. L 6) that his habit was
to spend the beginning or end, and often air.
half the night, in watching and searching for truth, and says further (ibid. 29), that " he
almost daily asked God with tears that his wounds might be healed, and often proved to
himself that he was unworthy to be healed as soon as he wished."

1 These book* are (Con. Acad. i. 4) his three disputations Against the A c a d e mi c s; his
De Vita Beata, begun (ibid. 6) " Idibus Novembris die ejus natali;" and (Retract. L 3) his
two books De Ordine.
3 That is, his two books of Soliloquies. In his Retractations, L 4, sec. 1, he tells us that in these books he held an argument, /e interrogans, mihiique respondent, tanquam duo essemus, ratio et ego.

* Several of these letters to Xebridius will be found in the two vols, of Letter* in this series.

1 Luke in. 5. p & . ^-is.. 5.

CHAP. IT.] HE IS STIRRED BY THE PSALMS. 213

read the Psalms of David, 1 those faithful songs and sounds of devotion which exclude all swelling of spirit, when new to Thy true love, at rest in the villa with Alypius, a catechumen like myself, my mother cleaving unto us, in woman's garb truly, but with a man's faith, with the peacefulness of age, full of motherly love and Christian piety! What utterances used I to send up unto Thee in those Psalms, and how was I inflamed towards Thee by them, and burned to rehearse them, if it were possible, throughout the whole world, against the pride of the human race! And yet they are sung throughout the whole world, and none can hide himself from Thy heat. With what vehement and bitter sorrow was I indignant at the Manichaeans; whom yet again I pitied, for that they were ignorant of those sacraments, those medicaments, and were mad against the antidote which might have made them sane! I wished that they had been somewhere near me then, and, without my being aware of their presence, could have beheld my face, and heard my words, when I read the fourth Psalm in that time of my leisure, how that psalm wrought upon me. When I called upon Thee. Thou didst hear me, God of my righteousness; Then hast enlarged me when I was in distress; have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer. 8 Oh that they might have heard what I uttered on these words, without my knowing whether they heard or no, lest they should think that I spake it because of them! For, of a truth, neither should I have said the same things, nor in the way I said them, if I had perceived that I was heard and seen by them; and had I spoken them, they would not so have received them as when I spake by and for myself before Thee, out of the private feelings of my soul.

9. I alternately quaked with fear, and warmed with hope, and with rejoicing in Thy mercy, Father. And all these

1 Reference may with advantage be made to Archbishop Trench's Huhea* Lectuns (1S45), who in his third leet., on "The Manifoldness of Scripture," adverts to this very passage, and shows in an interesting way how the Psalms have ever been to the saints of God, as Luther said, "a Bible in little," affording satisfaction to their needs in every kind of trial, emergency, and experience.
214 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

passed forth, both by mine eyes and voice, when Thy good Spirit, turning unto us, said, ye sons of men, how long will ye be slow of heart? " How long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing? 1 For I had loved vanity, and sought after leasing. And Thou, O Lord, hadst already magnified Thy Holy One, raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at Thy right hand. 2 whence from on high He should send His promise, 3 the Paraclete, " the Spirit of Truth." 4 And He had already sent Him, 5 but I knew it not; He had sent Him, because He was now magnified, rising again front the dead, and ascending into heaven. For till then " the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." 6 And the prophet cries out, How long will ye be slow of heart? How long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing? Know this, that the Lord hath magnified His Holy One. He cries out, " How long?" He cries out, " Know this," and I, so long ignorant, " loved vanity, and sought after leasing." And therefore I heard and trembled, because these words were spoken unto such as I remembered that I myself had been. For in those phantasms which I once held for truths was there " vanity " and " leasing." And I spake many things loudly and earnestly, in the sorrow of my remembrance, which, would that they who yet " love vanity and seek after leasing " had heard! They would perchance have been troubled, and have vomited it forth, and Thou wouldest hear them when they cried unto Thee; 7 for by a true 8 death in the flesh He died for us, who now maketh intercession for us 9 with Thee.

10. 1 read further, "Be ye angry, and sin not." 10 And how was I moved, my God, who had now learned to "be angry " with myself for the things past, so that in the future I might not sin! Yea, to be justly angry; for that it was not another nature of the race of darkness 11 which sinned for me, as they affirm it to be who are not angry with themselves, and who

1 Ps. iv. 23. 2 Eph. i. 20. 3 Luke xxiv. 49.


7 Ps. iv. 1. 8 See v. 16, note, above. 9 Horn, viii. 34.

CHAP. IV.] THE FOURTH PSALM. 215

treasure up to themselves wrath against the day of wrath, and of the revelation of Thy righteous judgment. 1 Nor were my good things 2 now without, nor were they sought after with eyes of flesh in that sun; 3 for they that would have joy from without easily sink into oblivion, and are wasted upon those things which are seen and temporal, and in their starving thoughts do lick their very shadows. Oh, if only they were wearied out with their fasting, and said, "Who will show us any good?" 4 And we would answer, and they hear, O Lord, The light of Thy countenance is lifted up upon us. 5 For we are not that Light, which lighteth every man, 6 but we are enlightened by Thee, that we, who were sometimes darkness, may be light in Thee. 7 Oh that they could behold the internal Eternal, 8 which having tasted I gnashed my teeth that I could not show It to them, while they brought me their heart in their eyes, roaming abroad from Thee, and said, "Who will show us any good?" 9 But there I was angry with myself in my chamber, where I was inwardly pricked, where I had offered my "sacrifice," slaying my old man, and beginning the resolution of a new life, putting my trust in Thee, 9 there hadst Thou begun to grow sweet unto me, and to "put gladness in my heart." 10 And I cried out as I read this outwardly, and felt it inwardly. Nor would I be increased 11 with worldly goods, wasting time and being wasted by time; whereas I possessed in Thy eternal simplicity other corn, and wine, and oil. 12

11. And with a loud cry from my heart, I called out in the following verse, "Oh, in peace!" and "the self-same!" 13 Oh,

I Rom. ii. 5. 9 Ps. iv. 6. * See v. 12, note, above.

* Ps. iv. 6. 5 Ibid. 6 John i. 9. 1 Eph. v. 8.

8 Internum ceternum, but some MSS. read internum lumen ceternum.

9 Ps. iv. 5. 10 Ibid. ver. 7.

II That is, lest they should distract him from the true riches. For, as he says in his exposition of the fourth Psalm, "Cum dedita temporalibus voluptatibus anima semper exardescit cupiditate, nee satiari potest." He knew that the prosperity of the soul (3 John 2) might be injuriously affected by the prosperity of the body; and disregarding the lower life (files) and its "worldly goods," he pressed on to increase the treasure he had within, the true life () which he hail received from God. See also Enarr. in Ps. xxxviii. 6.

12 Ps. iv. 7. 13 Ibid. ver. 8, Vulg.

216 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]
what said he, "I will lay me down and sleep I" 1 For who shall hinder us, when " shall be
brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory?" 2 And Thou
art in the highest degree " the self-same," who changest not; and in Thee is the rest which
forgetteeth all labour, for there is no other beside Thee, nor ought we to seek after those
many other things which are not what Thou art; but Thou, Lord, only makest me to dwell
in hope. 3 These things I read, and was inflamed; but discovered not what to do with
those deaf and dead, of whom I had been a pestilent member, a bitter and a blind
declaimer against the writings be-honied with the honey of heaven and luminous with
Thine own light; and I was consumed on account of the enemies of this Scripture.
12. When shall I call to mind all that took place in those holidays? Yet neither have I
forgotten, nor will I be silent about the severity of Thy scourge, and the amazing
quickness of Thy mercy. 4 Thou didst at that time torture me with toothache; 5 and when
it had become so exceeding great that I
was not able to speak, it came into my heart to urge all my friends who were present to
pray for me to Thee, the God of all manner of health. And I wrote it down on wax, 6 and
gave it to them to read. Presently, as with submissive desire we bowed our knees, that
pain departed. But what pain? Or how did it depart? I confess to being much afraid, my
Lord my God, seeing that from my earliest years I had not

1 Ps. iv. 8; in his comment whereon, Augustine applies this passage as above.

2 1 Cor. xv. 54. 3 Ps. iv. 9, Vulg.

4 Compare the beautiful Talmudical legend quoted by Jeremy Taylor (Works, viii. 397,
Eden's ed.), that of the two archangels, Gabriel and Michael, Gabriel has two wings that
he may "fly swiftly" (Dan. ix. 21) to bring the message of peace, while Michael has but
one, that he may labour in his flight when he comes forth on his ministries of justice.

5 In his Soliloquies (see note, sec. 7, above), he refers in i. 21 to this period.
He there tells us that his pain was so great that it prevented his learning anything afresh,
and only permitted him to revolve in his mind what he had already learnt. Compare De
Quincey's description of the agonies he had to endure from toothache in his Confessions
of an Opium Eater.

fi That is, on the waxen tablet used by the ancients. The iron stilus, or pencil, used for
writing, was pointed at one end and flattened at the other the flattened circular end being
used to erase the writing by smoothing down the wax. Hence vertere stilum signifies to
put out or correct. See sec. 19, below.
experienced such pain. And Thy purposes were profoundly impressed upon me; and, rejoicing in faith, I praised Thy name. And that faith suffered me not to be at rest in regard to my past sins, which were not yet forgiven me by Thy baptism.

Chap. y. At the recommendation of Ambrose, he reads the prophecies of Isaiah, but does not understand them.

13. The vintage vacation being ended, I gave the citizens of Milan notice that they might provide their scholars with another seller of words; because both of my election to serve Thee, and my inability, by reason of the difficulty of breathing and the pain in my chest, to continue the Professorship. And by letters I notified to Thy bishop, 1 the holy man Ambrose, my former errors and present resolutions, with a view to his advising me which of Thy books it was best for me to read, so that I might be readier and fitter for the reception of such great grace. He recommended Isaiah the Prophet; 2 I believe, because he foreshows more clearly than others the gospel, and the calling of the Gentiles. But I, not understanding the first portion of the book, and imagining the whole to be like it, laid it aside, intending to take it up hereafter, when better practised in our Lord's words.

Chap. vi. He is baptized at Milan with Alypius and his son Adeodatus. The book " De Magistro."

14. Thence, when the time had arrived at which I was to give in my name, 3 having left the country, we returned to Milan. Alypius also was pleased to be born again with me in Thee, being now clothed with the humility appropriate to Thy sacraments, and being so brave a tamer of the body, as with unusual fortitude to tread the frozen soil of Italy with 1 A ntistiti.

8 In his De Civ. Dei, xviii. 29, he likewise alludes to the evangelical character of the writings of Isaiah.

3 " They were baptized at Easter, and gave up their names before the second Sunday in Lent, the rest of which they were to spend in fasting, humility, prayer, and being examined in the scrutinies (Tertull. Lib. de Bapt. c. 20.; Therefore went they to Milan, that the bishop might see their preparation. Adjoining to the cathedrals were there certain lower houses for them to lodge and be exercised in, till the day of baptism" (Euseb. x. 4). W. W. See also Bingham, x, 2, sec. 6; and above, note 2, p. 108; note 1, p. 179, and note 4, p. 180.

218 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]
his naked feet. We took into our company the boy Adeodatus, born of me carnally, of my sin. Well hadst Thou made him. He was barely fifteen years, yet in wit excelled many grave and learned men. I confess unto Thee Thy gifts, Lord my God, Creator of all, and of exceeding power to reform our deformities; for of me was there naught in that boy but the sin. For that we fostered him in Thy discipline, Thou inspiredst us, none other. Thy gifts I confess unto Thee. There is a book of ours, which is entitled The Master? It is a dialogue between him and me. Thou knowest that all things there put into the mouth of the person in argument with me were his thoughts in his sixteenth year. Many others more wonderful did I find in him. That talent was a source of awe to me. And who but Thou could be the worker of such marvels? Quickly didst Thou remove his life from the earth; and now I recall him to mind with a sense of security, in that I fear nothing for his childhood or youth, or for his whole self. We took him coeval with us in Thy grace, to be educated in Thy discipline; and we were baptized, and solitude about our past life left us. Nor was I satiated in those days with the wondrous sweetness of considering the depth of Thy counsels concerning the salvation of the human race. How greatly did I weep in Thy hymns and canticles, deeply moved by the voices of Thy sweet-speaking Church! The voices flowed into

1 In his De Vita Beata, sec. 6, he makes a similar allusion to the genius of Adeodatus.

* This book, in which he and his son are the interlocutors, will be found in vol. i of the Benedictine edition, and is by the editors assumed to be written about A.D. 389. Augustine briefly gives its argument in his Retractions, i. 12. He says: "There it is disputed, sought, and discovered that there is no master who teaches man knowledge save God, as it is written in the gospel (Matt, xxiii. 10),

* One is your Master, even Christ."

' He was baptized by Ambrose, and tradition says, as he came out of the water, they sang alternate verses of the Te Deum (ascribed by some to Ambrose), which, in the old offices of the English Church is called "The Song of Ambrose and Augustine." In his Con. Julian. Pelag. i. 10, he speaks of Ambrose as being one whose devoted labours and perils were known throughout the whole Roman world, and says: "In Christo enim Jesu per evangelium ipse me genuit, et eo Christi ministro lavacrum regenerations accepi." See also the last sec. of his DeNupt. et Concup., and Ep. cxlvii. 23. In notes 3, p. 13, and 2, p. 108, will be found references to the usages of the early Church as to baptism.

CHAP. VII.] THE PERSECUTION OF JUSTINA. 219

mine ears, and the truth was poured forth into my heart, whence the agitation of my piety overflowed, and my tears ran over, and blessed was I therein.

Chap. vii. Of the Church hymns instituted at Milan; of the Ambrosian per'
secution raised by Justina; and of the discovery of the bodies of two martyrs.

15. Not long had the Church of Milan begun to employ this kind of consolation and exhortation, the brethren singing together with great earnestness of voice and heart. For it was about a year, or not much more, since Justina, the mother of the boy-Emperor Valentinian, persecuted Thy servant Ambrose in the interest of her heresy, to which she had been seduced by the Arians. The pious people kept guard in the church, prepared to die with their bishop, Thy servant. There my mother, Thy handmaid, bearing a chief part of those cares and watchings, lived in prayer. We, still un melted by the heat of Thy Spirit, were yet moved by the astonished and disturbed city. At this time it was instituted that, after the manner of the Eastern Church, hymns and Psalms should be sung, lest the people should pine away in the tediousness of sorrow; which custom, retained from then till now, is imitated by many, yea, by almost all of Thy congregations throughout the rest of the world.

16. Then didst Thou by a vision make known to Thy renowned bishop 2 the spot where lay the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, the martyrs (whom Thou hadst in Thy secret storehouse preserved uncorrupted for so many years), whence Thou mightest at the fitting time produce them to repress the feminine but royal fury. For when they were revealed and dug up and with due honour transferred to the Ambrosian

1 The Bishop of Milan who preceded Ambrose was an Arian, and though Valentinian the First approved the choice of Ambrose as bishop, Justina, on his death, greatly troubled the Church. Ambrose subsequently had great influence; over both Valentinian the Second and his brother Gratian. The persecution referred to above, says Pusey, was "to induce him to give up to the Arians a church, the Portian Basilica without the walls; afterwards she asked for the new Basilica within the walls, which was larger." See Ambrose, Epp. 20-22;


\\Serm. c.'Auxentium de Basilicis Tradendis, pp. 852-880, ed. Bened.; cf. Tillemont, Hist. Eccl. St. Ambroise, art. 44-48, pp. 76-82. Valentinian was then at Milan. See next sec, the beginning of not*.

2 Antinliti.

220 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

Basilica, not only they who were troubled with unclean spirits (the devils confessing themselves) were healed, but a certain man also, who had been blind 1 many years, a well-known citizen of that city, having asked and been told the reason of the people's tumultuous joy, rushed forth, asking his guide to lead him thither. Arrived there, he begged to be permitted to touch with his handkerchief the bier of Thy saints, whose death is precious in Thy sight. 2 When he had done this, and put it to his eyes, they were forthwith opened. Thence did the fame spread; thence did Thy praises
burn, shine; thence was the mind of that enemy, though not yet enlarged to the wholeness of believing, restrained from the fury of persecuting.

Thanks be to Thee, my God. Whence and whither hast Thou thus led my remembrance, that I should confess these things also unto Thee, great, though I, forgetful, had passed them over? And yet then, when the "savour" of Thy "ointments" was so fragrant, did we not "run after Thee."; And so I did the more abundantly weep at the singing of Thy hymns, formerly panting for Thee, and at last breathing in Thee, as far as the air can play in this house of grass.

Chap. viii. Of the conversion of Evodlus, and the death of his mother whom returning with him to Africa; and whose education he tenderly relates.

17. Thou, who makest men to dwell of one mind in a house, didst associate with us Evodius also, a young man of our city, who, when serving as an agent for Public Affairs, was converted unto Thee and baptized prior to us; and relinquishing his secular service, prepared himself for Thine.

* Ps. cxvi. 15. 3 Cant. i. 3, 4.

4 Ps. lxviii. 6. See viii. sec. 15, note, abort.

We were together, and together were we about to dwell with a holy purpose. We sought for some place where we might be most useful in our service to Thee, and were going back together to Africa. And when we were at the Tiberine Ostia my mother died. Much I omit, having much to hasten.

Keceive my confessions and thanksgivings, O my God, for innumerable things concerning which I am silent. But I will not omit aught that my soul has brought forth as to that Thy handmaid who brought me forth, in her flesh, that I
might be born to this temporal light, and in her heart, that I
might be born to life eternal. 2 I will speak not of her gifts, but Thine in her; for she
neither made herself nor educated herself. Thou createdst her, nor did her father nor her
mother know what a being was to proceed from them. And it was the rod of Thy Christ,
the discipline of Thine only Son, that trained her in Thy fear, in the house of one of Thy
faithful ones, who was a sound member of Thy Church. Yet this good discipline did she
not so much attribute to the diligence of her mother, as that of a certain decrepit maid-
servant, who had carried about her father when an infant, as little ones are wont to be
carried on the backs of elder girls. For which reason, and on account of her extreme age
and very good character, was she much respected by the heads of that Christian house.
Whence also was committed to her the care of her master's daughters, which she with
diligence performed, and was earnest in restraining them when necessary, with a holy
severity, and instructing them with a sober sagacity.
For, excepting at the hours in which they were very temperately fed at their parents' table,
she used not to permit them, though parched with thirst, to drink even water; thereby
taking precautions against an evil custom, and adding the wholesome advice, " You drink
water only because you have

1 We find from his Retractations (i. 7, sec. 1), that at this time he wrote his De Moribus
Ecclesioz Catholicce and his De Moribus Manichmorum. He also
wrote (ibid. 8, sec. 1) his De Animce Qtuzntitate, and (ibid. 9, sec. 1) his three books De
Libero Arbitrio.

2 In his De Vita Be'a'a and in his De Dono Persev. he attributes all that ha was to his
mother's tears and prayers.

222 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK DC

not control of wine; but when you have come to be married, and made mistresses of
storeroom and cellar, you will despise water, but the habit of drinking will remain." By
this method of instruction, and power of command, she restrained the longing of their
tender age, and regulated the very thirst of the girls to such a becoming limit, as that what
was not seemly they did not long for.

18. And yet as Thine handmaid related to me, her son
- there had stolen upon her a love of wine. For when she, as being a sober maiden, was as
usual bidden by her parents to draw wine from the cask, the vessel being held under the
opening, before she poured the wine into the bottle, she would wet the tips of her lips
with a little, for more than that her inclination refused. For this she did not from any
craving for drink, but out of the overflowing buoyancy of her time of life, which bubbles
up with sportiveness, and is, in youthful spirits, wont to be repressed by the gravity of
elders. And so Unto that little, adding daily littles (for " he that contemneth Small things
shall fall by little and little "),* she contracted
such a habit as to drink off eagerly her little cup nearly full of wine. "Where, then, was the sagacious old woman with her earnest restraint? Could anything prevail against a secret

I Ecclus. xix. 1. Augustine frequently alludes to the subtle power of little things. As when he says, illustrating (Serm. cclxxviii.) by the plagues of Egypt, tiny insects, if they be numerous enough, will be as harmful as the bite of great beasts; and (Serm. lvi.) a hill of sand, though composed of tiny grains, will crush a man as surely as the same weight of lead. Little drops (Serm. lviii.) make the river, and little leaks sink the ship; wherefore, he urges, little things must not be despised. "Men have usually," says Sedgwick in his Anatomy of Secret Sins,
" been first wading in lesser sins who are now swimming in great transgressions."
It is in the little things of evil that temptation has its greatest strength. The snowflake is little and not to be accounted of, but from its multitudinous accumulation results the dread power of the avalanche. Satan often seems to act as it is said Pompey did, when he could not gain entrance to a city. He persuaded the citizens to admit a few of his weak and wounded soldiers, who, when they had become strong, opened the gates to his whole army. But if little things have such subtlety in temptation, they have likewise higher ministries. The Jews, in their Talmudical writings, have many parables illustrating how God by little filings tries and proves men to see if they are fitted for greater things. They say, for example, that He tried David when keeping sheep in the wilderness, to see whether he would be worthy to rule over Israel, the sheep of his inheritance, See Ch. Schoettgen, lior. Heb. et Talmud, i. 300.

CHAP. VIII.] THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD. 223

disease if Thy medicine, Lord, did not watch over us?
Father, mother, and nurturers absent, Thou present, who hast created, who callest, who also by those who are set over us workest some good for the salvation of our souls, what didst Thou at that time, my God? How didst Thou heal her?
How didst Thou make her whole? Didst Thou not out of another woman's soul evoke a hard and bitter insult, as a surgeon's knife from Thy secret store, and with one thrust remove all that putrefaction I 1 For the maid-servant who used to accompany her to the cellar, falling out, as it happens, with her little mistress, when she was alone with her, cast in her teeth this vice, with very bitter insult, calling her a "wine-bibber." Stung by this taunt, she perceived her foulness, and immediately condemned and renounced it. Even as friends by their flattery pervert, so do enemies by their taunts often correct us. Yet Thou renderest not unto them what Thou dost by them, but what was proposed by them For she, being angry, desired to irritate her young mistress, not to cure her; and did it in secret, either because the time and place of the dispute found them thus, or perhaps lest she herself should be exposed to danger for disclosing it so late.
But Thou, Lord, Governor of heavenly and earthly things, who convertest to Thy purposes the deepest torrents, and disposest the turbulent current of the ages, 2 healest
one soul by the unsoundness of another; lest any man, when he remarks this, should attribute it unto his own power if another, whom he wishes to be reformed, is so through a word of his.

1 "'Animam oportet assiduis saliri tentationibus,' says St. Ambrose. Some errors and offences do rub salt upon a good man's integrity, that it may not putrefy with presumption." Bishop Hacket's Sermons, p. 210.

2 Not only is this true in private, but in public concerns. Even in the crucifixion of our Lord, the wicked rulers did (Acts iv. 26) what God's hand and jod's counsel had before determined to be done. Perhaps by reason of His infinite knowledge it is that God, who knows our thoughts long before (Ps. xxxix. 2, 4), weaves man's self-willed purposes into the pattern which His inscrutable Providence has before ordained. Or, to use Augustine's own words De Civ. Dei, xxii. 2), "It is true that wicked men do many things contrary to God's will; but so great is His wisdom and power, that all things which seem diverse to His purpose do still tend towards those just and good ends and issues which He Himself has foreknown."

224 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

Chap. ix. He describes the praiseworthy habits of his mother; her kindness towards her husband and her sons.

19. Being thus modestly and soberly trained, and rather made subject by Thee to her parents, than by her parents to Thee, when she had arrived at a marriageable age, she was given to a husband whom she served as her lord. And she busied herself to gain him to Thee, preaching Thee unto him by her behaviour; by which Thou madest her fair, and reverently amiable, and admirable unto her husband. For she so bore the wronging of her bed as never to have any dissension with her husband on account of it. For she waited for Thy mercy upon him, that by believing in Thee he might become chaste. And besides this, as he was earnest in friendship, so was he violent in anger; but she had learned that an angry husband should not be resisted, neither in deed, nor even in word. But so soon as he was grown calm and tranquil, and she saw a fitting moment, she would give him a reason for her conduct, should he have been excited without cause. In short, while many matrons, whose husbands were more gentle, carried the marks of blows on their dishonoured faces, and would in private conversation blame the lives of their husbands, she would blame their tongues, monishing them gravely, as if in jest: "That from the hour they heard what are called the matrimonial tablets I read to them, they should think of them as instruments whereby they were made servants; so, being always mindful of their condition, they ought not to set themselves in opposition to their lords."
And when they, knowing what a furious husband she endured, marvelled that it had never been reported, nor appeared by

1 That is, not only from the time of actual marriage, but from the time of betrothal, when the contract was written upon tablets (see note 4, p. 216), and signed by the contracting parties. The future wife was then called sponsa sperata or pacta. Augustine alludes to this above (viii. sec. 7), when he says, " It is also the custom that the affianced bride {pacta, sponsa) should not immediately be given up, that the husband may not less esteem her whom, as betrothed, he longed not for " (wov suspiraverit sjwnsis). It should be remembered, in reading this section, that women amongst the Romans were not confined after the Eastern fashion of the Greeks to separate apartments, but had charge of the domestic arrangements and the training of the children.

CHAP. IX.] MONICA AS A WIFE. 225

any indication, that Patricius had beaten his wife, or that there had been any domestic strife between them, even for a day, and asked her in confidence the reason of this, she taught them her rule, which I have mentioned above. They who observed it experienced the wisdom of it, and rejoiced; those who observed it not were kept in subjection, and suffered.

20. Her mother-in-law, also, being at first prejudiced against her by the whisperings of evil-disposed servants, she so conquered by submission, persevering in it with patience and meekness, that she voluntarily disclosed to her son the tongues of the meddling servants, whereby the domestic peace between herself and her daughter-in-law had been agitated, begging him to punish them for it. When, therefore, he had in conformity with his mother's wish, and with a view to the discipline of his family, and to ensure the future harmony of its members corrected with stripes those discovered, according to the will of her who had discovered them, she promised a similar reward to any who, to please her, should say anything evil to her of her daughter-in-law. And, none now daring to do so, they lived together with a wonderful sweetness of mutual good-will.

21. This great gift Thou bestowedst also, my God, my mercy, upon that good handmaid of Thine, out of whose womb Thou createdst me, even that, whenever she could, she showed herself such a peacemaker between any differing and discordant spirits, that when she had heard on both sides most bitter things, such as swelling and undigested discord is wont to give vent to, when the crudities of enmities are breathed out in bitter speeches to a present friend against an absent enemy, she would disclose nothing about the one unto the other, save what might avail to their reconcilement. A small good this might seem to me, did I not know to my sorrow countless persons, who, through some horrible and far-spreading infection of sin, not only disclose to enemies mutually enraged the things said in passion against each other, but add some things that were never spoken at all; whereas, to a generous man, it ought to seem a small thing not to incite or increase
the enmities of men by ill-speaking, unless he endeavour likewise by kind words to extinguish them. Such a one was she,

CON. F

226 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

Thou, her most intimate Instructor, teaching her in the school of her heart.

22. Finally, her own husband, now towards the end of his earthly existence, did she gain over unto Thee: and she had not to complain of that in him, as one of the faithful, which, before he became so, she had endured. She was also the servant of Thy servants. Whosoever of them knew her, did in her much magnify, honour, and love Thee; for that through the testimony of the fruits of a holy conversation, they perceived Thee to be present in her heart. For she had " been the wife of one man," had requited her parents, had guided her house piously, was " well-reported of for good works," had " brought up children," I as often travailing in birth of them 2 as she saw them swerving from Thee. Lastly, to all of us, O Lord (since of Thy favour Thou sufferest Thy servants to speak), who, before her sleeping in Thee, 3 lived associated together, having received the grace of Thy baptism, did she devote care such as she might if she had been mother of us all; served us as if she had been child of all

Chap. x. A conversation he had with his mother concerning the kingdom of heaven.

23. As the day now approached on which she was to depart this life (which day Thou knewest, we did not), it fell out Thou, as I believe, by Thy secret ways arranging it that she and I stood alone, leaning in a certain window, from which the garden of the house we occupied at Ostia could be seen; at which place, removed from the crowd, we were resting ourselves for the voyage, after the fatigues of a long journey. We then were conversing alone very pleasantly; and, " forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," 4 we were seeking between ourselves in the presence of the Truth, which Thou art, of what nature the eternal life of the saints would be, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man. 6 But yet we opened wide the mouth of our heart, after those supernal streams of Thy fountain,

1 1 Tim. v. 4, 9, 10, 14. 2 Gal. iv. 19. 3 1 Thess. iv. 14.
4 Phil. iii. 13. 6 1 Cor. ii. 9; Isa. ljtiv. 4.

CHAP. X.] A FORETASTE OF FUTURE GLORY. 227
"the fountain of life," which is "with Thee;" 1 that being sprinkled with it according to our capacity, we might in some measure weigh so high a mystery.

24. And when our conversation had arrived at that point, that the very highest pleasure of the carnal senses, and that in the very brightest material light, seemed by reason of the sweetness of that life not only not worthy of comparison, but not even of mention, we, lifting ourselves with a more ardent affection towards "the Self-same," 2 did gradually pass through all corporeal things, and even the heaven itself, whence sun, and moon, and stars shine upon the earth; yea, we soared higher yet by inward musing, and discoursing, and admiring Thy works; and we came to our own minds, and went beyond them, that we might advance as high as that region of unfailing plenty, where Thou feedest Israel 3 for ever with the food of truth, and where life is that Wisdom by whom all these things are made, both which have been, and which are to come; and she is not made, but is as she hath been, and so shall ever be; yea, rather, to "have been," and "to be hereafter," are not in her, but only "to be," seeing she is eternal, for to "have been" and "to be hereafter" are not eternal. And while we were thus speaking, and straining after her, we slightly touched her with the whole effort of our heart; and we sighed, and there left bound "the first-fruits of the Spirit;" 4 and returned to the noise of our own mouth, where the word uttered has both beginning and end. And what is like unto Thy Word, our Lord, who remaineth in Himself without becoming old, and "maketh all things new"? 6

25. We were saying, then, If to any man the tumult of the flesh were silenced, silenced the phantasies of earth, waters, and air, silenced, too, the poles; yea, the very soul be silenced to herself, and go beyond herself by not thinking of herself, silenced fancies and imaginary revelations, every tongue, and every sign, and whatsoever exists by passing away, since, if any could hearken, all these say, "We created not ourselves, but were created by Him who abideth for ever:" 2

1 Ps. xxxvi. 9. 2 Ps. iv. 8, Vulg. a Ps. lxxx. 5.

4 Rom. viii. 23. 5 Wisd. vii. 27.

228 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

If, having uttered this, they now should be silenced, having only quickened our ears to Him who created them, and He alone speak not by them, but by Himself, that we may hear His word, not by fleshly tongue, nor angelic voice, nor sound of thunder, nor the obscurity of a similitude, but might hear Him Him whom in these we love without these, likeas we two now strained ourselves, and with rapid thought touched on that Eternal
Wisdom which remaineth over all. If this could be sustained, and other visions of a far different kind be withdrawn, and this one ravish, and absorb, and envelope its beholder amid these inward joys, so that his life might be eternally like that one moment of knowledge which we now sighed after, were not this "Enter thou into the joy of Thy Lord"?* And when shall that be? When we shall all rise again; but all shall not be changed. 2

26. Such things was I saying; and if not after this manner, and in these words, yet, Lord, Thou knowest, that in that day when we were talking thus, this world with all its delights grew contemptible to us, even while we spake. Then said my mother, "Son, for myself, I have no longer any pleasure in aught in this life. What I want here further, and why I am here, I know not, now that my hopes in this world are satisfied. There was indeed one thing for which I wished to tarry a little in this life, and that was that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I died. 3 My God has exceeded this abundantly, so that I see thee despising all earthly felicity, made His servant, what do I here?"

1 Matt. xxv. 21. * 1 Cor. xv. 51, however, is, "we shall all be changed."

3 Dean Stanley (Canterbury Sermons, serm. 10) draws the following, amongst other lessons, from God's dealings with Augustine. "It is an example," he says, "like the conversion of St. Paid, of the fact that from time to time God calls His servants not by gradual, but by sudden changes. These conversions are, it is true, the exceptions and not the rule of Providence, but such examples as Augustine show us that we must acknowledge the truth of the exceptions when they do occur. It is also an instance how, even in such sudden conversions, previous good influences have their weight. The prayers of his mother, the silent influence of his friend, the high character of Ambrose, the preparation for Christian truth in the writings of heathen philosophers, were all laid up, as it were, waiting for the spark, and, when it came, the fire flashed at once through every corner of his soul."

CHAP. XI.] PARTING WORDS. 229

Chap. xi His mother, attacked by fever, dies at Ostia.

27. What reply I made unto her to these things I do not well remember. However, scarcely five days after, or not much more, she was prostrated by fever; and while she was sick, she one day sank into a swoon, and was for a short time unconscious of visible things. We hurried up to her; but she soon regained her senses, and gazing on me and my brother as we stood by her, she said to us inquiringly, "Where was I?" Then looking intently at us stupefied with grief,

"Here," saith she, "shall you bury your mother." I was silent, and refrained from weeping; but my brother said something, wishing her, as the happier lot, to die in her own
country and not abroad. She, when she heard this, with anxious countenance arrested him with her eye, as savouring of such things, and then gazing at me, " Behold," saith she, " what he saith;" and soon after to us both she saith, " Lay this body anywhere, let not the care for it trouble you at all. This only I ask, that you will remember me at the Lord's altar, wherever you be." And when she had given forth this opinion in such words as she could, she was silent, being in pain with her increasing sickness.

28. But, as I reflected on Thy gifts, thou invisible God, which Thou instilllest into the hearts of Thy faithful ones, whence such marvellous fruits do spring, I did rejoice and give thanks unto Thee, calling to mind what I knew before, how she had ever burned with anxiety respecting her burial-place, which she had provided and prepared for herself by the body of her husband. For as they had lived very peacefully together, her desire had also been (so little is the human mind capable of grasping things divine) that this should be added to that happiness, and be talked of among men, that after her wandering beyond the sea, it had been granted her that they both, so united on earth, should lie in the same grave. But when this uselessness had, through the bounty of Thy goodness, begun to be no longer in her heart, I knew not, and I was full of joy admiring what she had thus disclosed to me; though indeed in that our conversation in the window also,

230 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

when she said, " What do I here any longer ? " she appeared not to desire to die in her own country. I heard afterwards, too, that at the time we were at Ostia, with a maternal confidence she one day, when I was absent, was speaking with certain of my friends on the contemning of this life, and the blessing of death; and when they amazed at the courage which Thou hadst given to her, a woman asked her whether she did not dread leaving her body at such a distance from her own city, she replied, " Nothing is far to God; nor need I fear lest He should be ignorant at the end of the world of the place whence He is to raise me up." On the ninth day, then, of her sickness, the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-third of mine, was that religious and devout soul set free from the body.

Chap. xir. How he mourned his dead mother.

29. I closed her eyes; and there flowed a great sadness into my heart, and it was passing into tears, when mine eyes at the same time, by the violent control of my mind, sucked back the fountain dry, and woe was me in such a struggle! But, as soon as she breathed her last, the boy Adeodatus burst out into wailing, but, being checked by us all, he became quiet.
In like manner also my own childish feeling, which was, through the youthful voice of my heart, finding escape in tears, was restrained and silenced. For we did not consider it
fitting to celebrate that funeral with tearful plaints and groanings; I for on such wise are they who die unhappy, or

1 For this would be to sorrow as those that have no hope. Chrysostom accordingly frequently rebukes the Roman custom of hiring persons to wail for the dead (see e.g. Horn, xxxii. in Matt.); and Augustine in Serm. 2 of his De Consol. Mor. makes the same objection, and also reproves those Christians who imitated the Romans in wearing black as the sign of mourning. But still (as in his own case on the death of his mother) he admits that there is a grief at the departure of friends that is both natural and seemly. In a beautiful passage in his De Civ. Dei (xix. 8), he says: "That he who will have none of this sadness must, if possible, have no friendly intercourse. . . . Let him burst with ruthless insensibility the bonds of every human relationship;" and he continues: "Though the cure is effected all the more easily and rapidly the better condition the soul is in, we must not on this account suppose that there is nothing at all to heal."

See p. 234, note 1, below.

CHAP. XII. j THE FUNERAL RITES. 231

are altogether dead, wont to be mourned. But she neither died unhappy, nor did she altogether die. For of this were we assured by the witness of her good conversation, her "faith unfeigned," 1 and other sufficient grounds.

30. What, then, was that which did grievously pain me within, but the newly-made wound, from having that most sweet and dear habit of living together suddenly broken off ?
I was full of joy indeed in her testimony, when, in that her last illness, flattering my dutifulness, she called me "kind,"
and recalled, with great affection of love, that she had never heard any harsh or reproachful sound come out of my mouth against her. But yet, my God, who madest us, how can the honour which I paid to her be compared with her slavery for me ? As, then, I was left destitute of so great comfort in her, my soul was stricken, and that life torn apart as it were, which, of hers and mine together, had been made but one.

31. The boy then being restrained from weeping, Evodius took up the Psalter, and began to sing the whole house responding the Psalm, "I will sing of mercy and judgment: unto Thee, Lord." 2 But when they heard what we were doing, many brethren and religious women came together; and whilst they whose office it was were, according to custom, making ready for the funeral, I, in a part of the house where I conveniently could, together with those who thought that I ought not to be left alone, discoursed on what was suited to the occasion; and by this alleviation of truth mitigated the anguish known unto Thee they being unconscious of it, listened intently, and thought me to be devoid of any sense
1 1 Tim. i. 5.

2 Ps. ci. 1. "I suppose they continued to the end of Psalm cii. This was the primitive fashion; Nazianzen says that his speechless sister Gorgonia's lips muttered the fourth Psalm: 'I will lie down in peace and sleep.' As St. Austen lay a dying, the company prayed (Possid.). That they had prayers between the departure and the burial, see Tertull. De Anima, c. 51. They used to sing both at the departure and burial. Nazianzen, Orat. 10, says, the dead Csesarius was carried from hymns to hymns. The priests were called to sing (Chrysost. Horn. 70, ad Antioch). They sang the 116th Psalm usually (see Chrysost. Horn. 4, in c. 2, ad Hbrmos)." W. W. See also note, p. 237, below.

232 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

of sorrow. But in Thine ears, where none of them keard, did I blame the softness of my feelings, and restrained the flow of my grief, which yielded a little unto me; but the paroxysm returned again, though not so as to burst forth into tears, nor to a change of countenance, though I knew what I repressed in my heart. And as I was exceedingly annoyed that these human things had such power over me, 1 which in the due order and destiny of our natural condition must of necessity come to pass, with a new sorrow I sorrowed for my sorrow, and was wasted by a twofold sadness.

32. So, when the body was carried forth, we both went and returned without tears. For neither in those prayers which we poured forth unto Thee when the sacrifice of our redemption 2 was offered up unto Thee for her, the dead body being now placed by the side of the grave, as the custom there is, prior to its being laid therein, neither in their prayers did I shed tears; yet was I most grievously sad in secret all the day, and with a troubled mind entreated Thee, as I was able, to heal my sorrow, but Thou didst not; fixing, I believe, in my memory by this one lesson the power of the bonds of all habit, even upon a mind which now feeds not upon a fallacious word. It appeared to me also a good thing to go and bathe, I having heard that the bath [balneum] took its name from the Greek ftaXavelov, because it drives trouble from the mind. Lo, this also I confess unto Thy mercy,

"Father of the fatherless," 3 that I bathed, and felt the same as before I had done so. For the bitterness of my grief exuded not from my heart. Then I slept, and on awaking found my grief not a little mitigated; and as I lay alone upon

1 In addition to the remarks quoted in note, p. 230, see Augustine's recognition of the naturalness and necessity of exercising human affections, such as sorrow, in his De Civ. Dei, xiv. 9.
8 "Here my Popish translator says, that the sacrifice of the mass was offered for the dead. That the ancients had communion with their burials, I confess. But for what? (1) To testify their dying in the communion of the Church. (2) To give thanks for their departure. (3) To pray God to give them place in His Paradise. (4) and a part in the first resurrection; but not as a propitiatory sacrifice to deliver them out of purgatory, which the mass is now only meant for." W. W. See also note, p. 237.

3 Ps. lxviii. 5.

CHAP. XII.] HOW HE GRIEVED FOR HIS MOTHER. 233

my bed, there came into my mind those true verses of Thy Ambrose, for Thou art

" Dens creator omnium, Polique rector, vestiens Diem decoro lumine, Noctem sopora gratia;

Artus solutos ut quies Reddat laboris usui, Mentesque fessas allevet, Luctusque solvat anxios. " *

33. And then little by little did I bring back my former thoughts of Thine handmaid, her devout conversation towards Thee, her holy tenderness and attentiveness towards us, which was suddenly taken away from me; and it was pleasant to me to weep in Thy sight, for her and for me, concerning her and concerning myself. And I set free the tears which before I repressed, that they might flow at their will, spreading them beneath my heart; and it rested in them, for Thy ears were nigh me, not those of man, who would have put a scornful interpretation on my weeping. But now in writing I confess it unto Thee, Lord! Eead it who will, and interpret how he will; and if he finds me to have sinned in weeping for my mother during so small a part of an hour, that mother who was for a while dead to mine eyes, who had for many years wept for me, that I might live in Thine eyes, let him not laugh at me, but rather, if he be a man of a noble charity, let him weep for my sins against Thee, the Father of all the brethren of Thy Christ.

1 Rendered as follows in a translation of the first ten books of the Confessions, described on the title-page as " Printed by J. C, for John Crook, and are to be sold at the sign of the 'Ship,' in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1660":

" God, the world's great Architect, Who dost heaven's rowling orbs direct; Cloathing the day with beauteous light, And with sweet slumbers silent night; When wearied limbs new vigour gain From rest, new labours to sustain; When hearts oppressed do meet relief, And anxious minds forget their grief. "

See x. sec. 52, below, where this hymn is referred to.
Chap. xiii. He entreats God for her sins, and admonishes his readers to remember her piously.

34. But, my heart being now healed of that wound, in so far as it could be convicted of a carnal affection, I pour out unto Thee, our God, on behalf of that Thine handmaid, tears of a far different sort, even that which flows from a spirit broken by the thoughts of the dangers of every soul that dieth in Adam. And although she, having been " made alive " in Christ 2 even before she was freed from the flesh, had so lived as to praise Thy name both by her faith and conversation, yet dare I not say 3 that from the time Thou didst regenerate her by baptism, no word went forth from her mouth against Thy precepts. 4 And it hath been declared by Thy Son, the Truth, that " Whosoever shall say to his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire." 5 And woe even unto the praiseworthy life of man, if, putting away mercy, Thou shouldst in-

1 Rom. viii. 7.

2 1 Cor. xv. 22. The universalists of every age have interpreted the word " all " here so as to make salvation by Christ Jesus extend to every child of Adam. If their interpretation were true, Monica's spirit need not have been troubled at the thought of the danger of unregenerate souls. But Augustine in his Be Civ, Dei, xiii. 23, gives the import of the word: "Not that all who die in Adam shall be members of Christ, for the great majority shall be punished in eternal death, but he uses the word 'all ' in both clauses because, as no one dies in an animal body except in Adam, so no one is quickened a spiritual body save in Christ." See x. sec. 68, note 1, below.

3 For to have done so would have been to go perilously near to the heresy of the Pelagians, who laid claim to the possibility of attaining perfection in this life by the power of free-will, and without the assistance of divine grace; and went even so far, he tells us {Ep. clxxvi. 2), as to say that those who had so attained need not utter the petition for forgiveness in the Lord's Prayer, ut ei non sit jam necessarium dicere ' ' Dimitte nobis debita nostra. " Those in our own day who enunciate perfectionist theories, though, it is true, not denying the grace of God as did these, may well ponder Augustine's forcible words in his De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. iii. 13: " Optandum est ut fiat, conandum est ut fiat, supplicandum est ut fiat; non tamen quasi factum fuerit, confitendum. " "We are indeed commanded to be perfect (Matt. v. 48); and the philosophy underlying the command is embalmed in the words of the proverb, " Aim high, and you will strike high." But he who lives nearest to God will have the humility of heart which will make him ready to confess that in His sight he is a " miserable sinner." Some interesting remarks on this subject will be found in Augustine's De Civ. Dei, xiv. 9, on the text, " If we say we have no sin, "etc. (1 John i. 8.) On sins after baptism, see note on next section.

vestigate it. But because Thou dost not narrowly inquire after sins, we hope with
confidence to find some place of indulgence with Thee. But whosoever recounts his true
merits to Thee, what is it that he recounts to Thee but Thine own gifts? Oh, if men
would know themselves to be men; and that " he that glorieth " would " glory in the Lord!
"

35. I then, my Praise and my Life, Thou God of my heart, putting aside for a little her
good deeds, for which I
joyfully give thanks to Thee, do now beseech Thee for the sins of my mother. Hearken
unto me, through that Medicine of our wounds who hung upon the tree, and who, sitting
at Thy right hand, " maketh intercession for us." 3 I know that she acted mercifully, and
from the heart 4 forgave her debtors their debts; do Thou also forgive her debts, 6
whatever she contracted during so many years since the water of salvation.
Forgive her, O Lord, forgive her, I beseech Thee; " enter not into judgment " with her. 6
Let Thy mercy be exalted above Thy justice, 7 because Thy words are true, and Thou
hast promised mercy unto " the merciful; " 8 which Thou gavest them to be who wilt "
have mercy " on whom Thou wilt " have mercy," and wilt " have compassion " on whom
Thou hast had compassion. 9

1 There is a passage parallel to this in his Ep. to Sextus (cxciv. 19). "Merits"
therefore would appear to be used simply in the sense of good actions. Compare sec. 17,
above, xiii. sec. 1, below, and Ep. cv. That righteousness is not by merit, appears from
Ep. cxciv.; Ep. clxvii., to Innocent; and Serm. ccxiii.

3 2 Cor. x. 17. 3 Rom. viii. 34. * Matt, xviii. 35.

8 Matt. vi. 12. Augustine here as elsewhere applies this petition in the Lord's Prayer to
the forgiveness of sins after baptism. He does so constantly. For example, in his Ep.
cclxv. he says: ' We do not ask for those to be forgiven which we doubt not were forgiven
in baptism; but those which, though small, are frequent, and spring from the frailty of
human nature." Again, in his Con. Ep. Parmen. ii. 10, after using almost the same words,
he points out that it is a prayer against daily sins; and in his De Civ. Dei, xxi. 27, where
he examines the passage in relation to various erroneous beliefs, he says it " was a daily
prayer He [Christ] was teaching, and it was certainly to disciples already justified He was
speaking. What, then, does He mean by ' your sins' (Matt. vi. 14), but those sins from
which not even you who are justified and sanctified can be free?" See note on the
previous section; and also for the feeling in the early Church as to sins after baptism, the
nota on i. sec. 17, above.

8 Ps. cxxlvi. 2. r Jas. ii. 13. 8 Matt t. 7. Rom. ix. 15.
236 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK IX.]

36. And I believe Thou hast already done that which I ask Thee; but " accept the free-will offerings of my mouth, O Lord." x For she, when the day of her dissolution was near at hand, took no thought to have her body sumptuously covered, or embalmed with spices; nor did she covet a choice monument, or desire her paternal burial-place. These things she entrusted not to us, but only desired to have her name remembered at Thy altar, which she had served without the omission of a single day; 2 whence she knew that the holy sacrifice was dispensed, by which the handwriting that was against us is blotted out; 3 by which the enemy was triumphed over, 4 who, summing up our offences, and searching for something to bring against us, found nothing in Him 5 in whom we conquer. Who will restore to Him the innocent blood? Who will repay Him the price with which He bought us, so is to take us from Him? Unto the sacrament of which our ransom did Thy handmaid bind her soul by the bond of faith. Let none separate her from Thy protection. Let not the " lion " and the " dragon " 6 introduce himself by force or fraud. For she will not reply that she owes nothing, lest she be convicted and got the better of by the wily deceiver; but she will answer that her '' sins are forgiven '' 7 by Him to whom no one is able to repay that price which He, owing nothing, laid down for us.

37. May she therefore rest in peace with her husband, before or after whom she married none; whom she obeyed, with patience bringing forth fruit 8 unto Thee, that she might gain him also for Thee. And inspire, O my Lord my God, inspire Thy servants my brethren, Thy sons my masters, who with voice and heart and writings I serve, that so many of them as shall read these confessions may at Thy altar remember Monica, Thy handmaid, together with Patricius, her sometime husband, by whose flesh Thou introductionst me into this life, in what manner I know not. May they with pious affection be

1 Ps. cxix. 108. * See v. sec. 17, above. 3 Col. ii. 14.

4 See his De Trin. xiii. 18, the passage beginning, "What then is the righteousness by which the devil was conquered? "
6 John xiv. 30. 6 Ps. xci. 13. 7 Matt. ix. 2. 8 Luke viii. 15.

CHAP. XIII.] HE PAYS FOR HIS MOTHER. 237

mindful of my parents in this transitory light, of my brethren that are under Thee our Father in our Catholic mother, and of my fellow-citizens in the eternal Jerusalem, which the wandering of Thy people sigheth for from their departure until their return. That so my mother's last entreaty to me may, through my confessions more than through my prayers, be more abundantly fulfilled to her through the prayers of many. I
1 The origin of prayers for the dead dates back probably to the close of the second century. In note 3, p. 109, we have quoted from Tertullian's De Corona Militis, where he says, "Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annua die facimus." In his De Monogamia, he speaks of a widow praying for her departed husband, that "he might have rest, and be a partaker in the first resurrection."

From this time a catena of quotations from the Fathers might be given, if space permitted, showing how, beginning with early expressions of hope for the dead, there, in process of time, arose prayers even for the unregenerate, until at last there was developed purgatory on the one side, and creature-worship on the other.

That Augustine did not entertain the idea of creature-worship will be seen from his Ep. to Maximus, xvii. 5. In his De Dulcit. Quwst. 2 (where he discusses the whole question), he concludes that prayer must not be made for all, because all have not led the same life in the flesh. Still, in his Enarr. in Ps. cviii. 17, he argues from the case of the rich man in the parable, that the departed do certainly "have a care for us." Aerius, towards the close of the fourth century, objected to prayers for the dead, chiefly on the ground (see Usher's Answer to a Jesuit, iii. 258) of their uselessness. In the Church of England, as will be seen by reference to Reeling's Liturg'ue Britannfcoz, pp. 210, 335, 339, and 341, prayers for the dead were eliminated from the second Prayer Book; and to the prudence of this step Palmer bears testimony in his Origines Liturgica, iv. 10, justifying it on the ground that the retaining of these prayers implied a belief in her holding the doctrine of purgatory. Reference may be made to Epiphanius, Adv. Hcer. 75; Bishop Bull, SermonZ; and Bingham, xv. 3, sees. 15, 16, and xxii . 3, sec. 13.

238 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

BOOK TENTH.


Chap. i. In God alone is the hope and joy of man.

1. T ET me know Thee, Thou who knowest me; let me J_J know Thee, as I am known. 1 Thou strength of my soul, enter into it, and prepare it for Thyself, that Thou mayest have
and hold it without "spot or wrinkle." 2 This is my hope, "therefore have I spoken;" 3 and in this hope do I rejoice, when I rejoice soberly. Other things of this life ought the less to be sorrowed for, the more they are sorrowed for; and ought the more to be sorrowed for, the less men do sorrow for them. For behold, "Thou desirest truth," 4 seeing that he who does it "cometh to the light." 6 This wish I to do in confession in my heart before Thee, and in my writing before many witnesses.

Chap. ii. That all things are manifest to God. That confession unto Him is not made by the words of the flesh, but of the soul, and the cry of reflection.

2. And from Thee, Lord, unto whose eyes the depths of man's conscience are naked/ what in me could be hidden though I were unwilling to confess to Thee ? For so should I hide Thee from myself, not myself from Thee. But now, because my groaning witnesseth that I am dissatisfied with myself, Thou

1 Cor. xiii. 12. 2 Eph. v. 27. 3 Ps. cxvi. 10.
4 Ps. II. 6. 5 John iii. 20. 6 Heb. iv - 13.

CHAP. III.] WHY HE CONFESSETH. 239

shinest forth, and satisfiest, and art beloved and desired; that I may blush for myself, and renounce myself, and choose Thee, and may neither please Thee nor myself, except in Thee. To Thee then, O Lord, am I manifest, whatever I am, and with what fruit I may confess unto Thee I have spoken. Nor do I it with words and sounds of the flesh, but with the words of the soul, and that cry of reflection which Thine ear knoweth. For when I am wicked, to confess to Thee is naught but to be dissatisfied with myself; but when I am truly devout, it is naught but not to attribute it to myself, because Thou, Lord, dost "bless the righteous;" * but first Thou justifiest him "ungodly." 2 My confession, therefore, my God, in Thy sight, is made unto Thee silently, and yet not silently. For in noise it is silent, in affection it cries aloud. For neither do I give utterance to anything that is right unto men which Thou hast not heard from me before, nor dost Thou hear anything of the kind from me which Thyself saidst not first unto me.

Chap. hi. He who confesseth rightly unto God best knoweth himself.

3. What then have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they were going to cure all my diseases ? A people curious to know the lives of others, but slow to correct their own. Why do they desire to hear from me what I am, who are unwilling to hear from Thee what they are ? And how can they tell, when they hear from me of myself, whether I speak the truth, seeing that no man knoweth what is in man, "save the spirit of man which is in him " ? But if they hear from Thee aught concerning
themselves, they will not be able to say, "The Lord lieth." For what is it to hear from Thee of themselves, but to know themselves? And who is he that knoweth himself and saith, "It is false," unless he himself lieth? But because "charity believeth all things" 5 (amongst those at all events whom by union with itself it maketh one), I too, Lord, also so confess unto Thee that men may hear, to whom I cannot prove

1 Ps. v. 12. 2 Rom. iv. 5. s Ps. ciii. 3.

* I Cor. ii. 11. b 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

240 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

whether I confess the truth, yet do they believe me whose ears charity openeth unto me.

4. But yet do Thou, my most secret Physician, make clear to me what fruit I may reap by doing it. For the confessions of my past sins, which Thou hast "forgiven" and "covered," I that Thou mightest make me happy in Thee, changing my soul by faith and Thy sacrament, when they are read and heard, stir up the heart, that it sleep not in despair and say, "I cannot;" but that it may awake in the love of Thy mercy and the sweetness of Thy grace, by which he that is weak is strong, 2 if by it he is made conscious of his own weakness. As for the good, they take delight in hearing of the past errors of such as are now freed from them; and they delight, not because they are errors, but because they have been and are so no longer. For what fruit, then, O Lord my God, to whom my conscience maketh her daily confession, more confident in the hope of Thy mercy than in her own innocency, -for what fruit, I beseech Thee, do I confess even to men in Thy presence by this book what I am at this time, not what I have been? For that fruit I have both seen and spoken of, but what I am at this time, at the very moment of making my confessions, divers people desire to know, both who knew me and who knew me not, who have heard of or from me, but their ear is not at my heart, where I am whatsoever I am. They are desirous, then, of hearing me confess what I am? within, where they can neither stretch eye, nor ear, nor mind; they desire it as those willing to believe, but will they understand? For charity, by which they are good, says unto them that I do not lie in my confessions, and she in them believes me.

Chap. iv. That in his Confessions he may do good, he considers others.

5. But for what fruit do they desire this? Do they wish me happiness when they learn how near, by Thy gift, I come unto Thee; and to pray for me, when they learn how much I am kept back by my own weight? To such will I declare myself. For it is no small fruit, Lord my God, that by

1 Ps. xxxii. 1. * 2 Cor. xii. 10.
many thanks should oe given to Thee on our behalf, 1 and that by many Thou shouldest be entreated for us. Let the fraternal soul love that in me which Thou teachest should be loved, and lament that in me which Thou teachest should be lamented. Let a fraternal and not an alien soul do this, nor that "of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood," 2 but that fraternal one which, when it approves me, rejoices for me, but when it disapproves me, is sorry for me; because whether it approves or disapproves it loves me. To such will I declare myself; let them breathe freely at my good deeds, and sigh over my evil ones. My good deeds are Thy institutions and Thy gifts, my evil ones are my delinquencies and Thy judgments. 3 Let them breathe freely at the one, and sigh over the other; and let hymns and tears ascend into Thy sight out of the fraternal hearts Thy censers. 4 And do Thou, O Lord, who takest delight in the incense of Thy holy temple, have mercy upon me according to Thy great mercy, 5 "for Thy name's sake;" 6 and on no account leaving what Thou hast begun in me, do Thou complete what is imperfect in me.

6. This is the fruit of my confessions, not of what I was, but of what I am, that I may confess this not before Thee only, in a secret exultation with trembling, 7 and a secret sorrow with hope, but in the ears also of the believing sons of men, partakers of my joy, and sharers of my mortality, my fellowcitizens and the companions of my pilgrimage, those who are gone before, and those that are to follow after, and the comrades of my way. These are Thy servants, my brethren, those whom Thou wishest to be Thy sons; my masters, whom Thou hast commanded me to serve, if I desire to live with and of Thee.

2 Cor. i. 11. 2 Ps. cxiv. 11.

3 In note 6, p. 83, we have seen how God makes man's sin its own punishment. Reference may also be made to Augustine's Con. Advers. Leg. et Proph. i. 14, where he argues that "the punishment of a man's disobedience is found in himself, when he in his turn cannot get obedience even from himself." And again, in his De Lib. Arb. v. 18, he says, God punishes by taking from him that which he does not use well, "et qui recte facere cum possit noluit amittat posse cum velit." See also Serm. clxxi. 4, and Ep. cliii. * Rev. viii. 3. s Ps. li. i. 6 Ps. xxv. 11. 7 Ps. ii. 11.

CON. Q

242 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

But this Thy word were little to me did it command in speaking, without going before in acting. This then do I both in deed and word, this I do under Thy wings, in too great...
danger, were it not that my soul, under Thy wings, is subject unto Thee, and my weakness known unto Thee. I am a little one, but my Father liveth for ever, and my Defender is "sufficient" for me. For He is the same who begat me and who defends me; and Thou Thyself art all my good; even Thou, the Omnipotent, who art with me, and that before I am with Thee. To such, therefore, whom Thou commandest me to serve will I declare, not what I was, but what "I now am, and what I still am. But neither do I judge myself. 2 Thus then I would be heard.

Chap. v. That man knoweth not himself ivholy.

7. For it is Thou, Lord, that judgest me; 3 for although no "man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him," 4 yet is there something of man which "the spirit of man which is in him" itself knoweth not. But Thou, Lord, who hast made him, knowest him wholly. I indeed, though in Thy sight I despise myself, and reckon "myself but dust and ashes," 5 yet know something concerning Thee, which I know not concerning myself. And assuredly "now we see through a glass darkly," not yet "face to face." 6 So long, therefore, as I be "absent" from Thee, I am more "present" with myself than with Thee; 7 and yet know I that Thou canst not suffer violence; 8 but for myself I know not what temptations I am able to resist, and what I am not able. 9 But there is hope, because Thou art faithful, who wilt not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, but wilt with the temptation also make a way to escape, that we may be

1 2 Cor. xii. 9. 2 1 Cor. iv. 3. 3 1 Cor. iv. 4. 4 1 Cor. ii. 11. 5 Gen. xviii. 27. 6 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 7 2 Cor. v. 6. 8 See Nebridius' argument against the Manicueans, as to God's not being violable, in vii. sec. 3, above, and the note thereon. 9 See his Enarr. in Ps. Iv. 8 and xci. 19, where he beautifully describes how the winds and waves of temptation will be stilled if Christ be present in the ship. See also Se)-m. lxiii.; and Eps. cxxx. 22, and clxxvii. 4.

CHAP. VI.] GOD THE JOY OF THE SOUL. 243
able to bear it. I would therefore confess what I know concerning myself; I will confess also what I know not concerning myself. And because what I do know of myself, I know by Thee enlightening me; and what I know not of myself, so long I know not until the time when my " darkness be as the noonday " 2 in Thy sight.

Chap. VI. The love of God, in His nature superior to all creatures, is acquired by the knowledge of the senses and the exercise of reason.

8. Not with uncertain, but with assured consciousness do I love Thee, O Lord. Thou hast stricken my heart with Thy word, and I loved Thee. And also the heaven, and earth, and all that is therein, behold, on every side they say that I should love Thee; nor do they cease to speak unto all, " so that they are without excuse." 3 But more profoundly wilt Thou have mercy on whom Thou wilt have mercy, and compassion on whom Thou wilt have compassion, 4 otherwise do both heaven and earth tell forth Thy praises to deaf ears But what is it that I love in loving Thee? Not corporeal beauty, nor the splendour of time, nor the radiance of the light, so pleasant to our eyes, nor the sweet melodies of songs of all kinds, nor the fragrant smell of flowers, and ointments, and spices, not manna and honey, not limbs pleasant to the embraces of flesh. I love not these things when I love my God; and yet I love a certain kind of light, and sound, and fragrance, and food, and embrace in loving my God, who is the light, sound, fragrance, food, and embrace of my inner man where that light shineth unto my soul which no place can contain, where that soundeth which time snatcheth not away, where there is a fragrance which no breeze disperseth, where there is a food which no eating can diminish, and where that clingeth which no satiety can sunder. This is what I love, when I love my God.

9. And what is this? I asked the earth; and it answered, "I am not He;" and whatsoever are therein made the same confession. I asked the sea and the deeps, and the creeping things that lived, and they replied, " We are not thy God, seek higher than we." I asked the breezy air, and the

1 1 Cor. x. 13. 2 Isa. lviii. 10. 3 Rom. i. 20. 4 Rom. ix. 15.

244 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

universal air with its inhabitants answered, "Anaximenes I was deceived, I am not God." I asked the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars: " Neither," say they, " are we the God whom thou seekest." And I answered unto all these things which stand about the door of my flesh, " Ye have told me concerning my God, that ye are not He; tell me something about Him." And with a loud voice they exclaimed, " He made us." My questioning was my observing of them; and their beauty was their reply. 2 And I directed my thoughts to myself, and said, " Who art thou? " And I answered, " A man." And lo, in me there appear both body and soul, the one without, the other within. By
which of these should I seek my God, whom I had sought through the body from earth to heaven, as far as I was able to send messengers the beams of mine eyes?

But the better part is that which is inner; for to it, as both president and judge, did all these my corporeal messengers render the answers of heaven and earth and all things therein, who said, "We are not God, but He made us." These things was my inner man cognizant of by the ministry of the outer; I, the inner man, knew all this I, the soul, through the senses of my body. I asked the vast bulk of the earth of my God, and it answered me, "I am not He, but He made me."

10. Is not this beauty visible to all whose senses are unimpaired? Why then doth it not speak the same things unto all? Animals, the very small and the great, see it, but they are unable to question it, because their senses are not endowed with reason to enable them to judge on what they report. But men can question it, so that "the invisible things of Him . . . are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made;" but by loving them, they are brought into sub-

1 Anaximenes of Miletus was born about 520 B.C. According to his philosophy the air was animate, and from it, as from a first principle, all things in heaven, earth, and sea sprung, first by condensation (reuxvaa-is), and after that by a process of rarefaction (apaiutris). See Ep. cxviii. 23; and Aristotle, Phys. iii. 4.

Compare this theory and that of Epicurus (p. 137, above) with those of modern physicists; and see thereon The Unseen Universe, arts. 85, etc., and 117, etc.

"In Ps. cxliv. 13, the earth he describes as "dumb," but as speaking to us while we meditate upon its beauty Ipsa inquisitio interrogatio est.

3 Kom. i. 20.

CHAP. VIII.] HOW WE LEARN OF GOD. 245

jection to them; and subjects are not able to judge. Neither do the creatures reply to such as question them, unless they can judge; nor will they alter their voice (that is, their beauty), if so be one man only sees, another both sees and questions, so as to appear one way to this man, and another to that; but appearing the same way to both, it is mute to this, it speaks to that yea, verily, it speaks unto all; but they only understand it who compare that voice received from without with the truth within. For the truth declareth unto me, "Neither heaven, nor earth, nor any body is thy God." This, their nature declareth unto him that beholdeth them. "They are a mass; a mass is less in part than in the whole." Now, my soul, thou art my better part, unto thee I speak; for thou animatest the mass of thy body, giving it life, which no body furnishes to a body; but thy God is even unto thee the Life of life.

Chap. VII. That God is to be found neither from the powers of the body
nor of the soul.

11. What then is it that I love when I love my God?
Who is He that is above the head of my soul? By my soul itself will I mount up unto Him. w I will soar beyond that power of mine wherewith I cling to the body, and fill the whole structure of it with life. Not by that power do I find my God; for then the horse and the mule, "which have no understanding," 2 might find Him, since it is the same power by which their bodies also live. But there is another power, not that only by which I quicken, but that also by which I endow with sense my flesh, which the Lord hath made for me; bidding the eye not to hear, and the ear not to see; but that, for me to see by, and this, for me to hear by; and to each of the other senses its own proper seat and office, which being different, I, the single mind, do through them govern. I will soar also beyond this power of mine; for this the horse and mule possess, for they too discern through the body.

Chap. viii. Of the nature and the amazing power of memory.

12. I will soar, then, beyond this power of my nature also, ascending by degrees unto Him who made me. And I enter

* See note 2 to previous section. * Ps. xaxii. 9.

246 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

the fields and roomy chambers of memory, where are the treasures of countless images, imported into it from all manner of things by the senses. There is treasured up whatsoever likewise we think, either by enlarging or diminishing, or by varying in any way whatever those things which the sense hath arrived at; yea, and whatever else hath been entrusted to it and stored up, which oblivion hath not yet engulfed and buried. When I am in this storehouse, I demand that what I wish should be brought forth, and some things immediately appear; others require to be longer sought after, and are dragged, as it were, out of some hidden receptacle; others, again, hurry forth in crowds, and while another thing is sought and inquired for, they leap into view, as if to say, "Is it not we, perchance?" These I drive away with the hand of my heart from before the face of my remembrance, until what I wish be discovered making its appearance out of its secret cell. Other things suggest themselves without effort, and in continuous order, just as they are called for, those in front giving place to those that follow, and in giving place are treasured up again to be forthcoming when I wish it. All of which takes place when I repeat a thing from memory.

13. All these things, each of which entered by its own avenue, are distinctly and under general heads there laid up:
as, for example, light, and all colours and forms of bodies, by the eyes; sounds of all kinds by the ears; all smells by the passage of the nostrils; all flavours by that of the mouth; and by the sensation of the whole body is brought in what is hard or soft, hot or cold, smooth or rough, heavy or light, whether external or internal to the body. All these doth that great receptacle of memory, with its many and indescribable departments, receive, to be recalled and brought forth when required; each, entering by its own door, is laid up in it.

And yet the things themselves do not enter it, but only the images of the things perceived are there ready at hand for thought to recall. And who can tell how these images are formed, notwithstanding that it is evident by which of the senses each has been fetched in and treasured up? For even while I live in darkness and silence, I can bring out colours

CHAP. VIII.] MEMORY. 247

in memory if I wish, and discern between black and white, and what others I wish; nor yet do sounds break in and disturb what is drawn in by mine eyes, and which I am considering, seeing that they also are there, and are concealed, laid up, as it were, apart. For these too I can summon if I please, and immediately they appear. And though my tongue be at rest, and my throat silent, yet can I sing as much as I will; and those images of colours, which notwithstanding are there, do not interpose themselves and interrupt when another treasure is under consideration which flowed in through the ears. So the remaining things carried in and heaped up by the other senses, I recall at my pleasure. And I discern the scent of lilies from that of violets while smelling nothing; and I prefer honey to grape-syrup, a smooth thing to a rough, though then I neither taste nor handle, but only remember.

14. These things do I within, in that vast chamber of my memory. For there are nigh me heaven, earth, sea, and whatever I can think upon in them, besides those which I have forgotten. There also do I meet with myself, and recall myself, what, when, or where I did a thing, and how I was affected when I did it. There are all which I remember, either by personal experience or on the faith of others. Out of the same supply do I myself with the past construct now this, now that likeness of things, which either I have experienced, or, from having experienced, have believed; and thence again future actions, events, and hopes, and upon all these again do I meditate as if they were present. " I will do this or that," say I to myself in that vast womb of my mind, filled with the images of things so many and so great, ", and this or that shall follow upon it." " Oh that this or that might come to pass!" " God avert this or that!" Thus speak I to myself; and when I speak, the images of all I speak about are present, out of the same treasury of memory; nor could I say anything at all about them were the images absent.
15. Great is this power of memory, exceeding great, my God, an inner chamber large and boundless! Who has plumbed the depths thereof? Yet it is a power of mine, and appertains unto my nature; nor do I myself grasp all that I am. Therefore is the mind too narrow to contain itself. And where should that be which it doth not contain of itself? Is it outside and not in itself? How is it, then, that it doth not grasp itself? A great admiration rises upon me; astonishment seizes me. And men go forth to wonder at the heights of mountains, the huge waves of the sea, the broad flow of the rivers, the extent of the ocean, and the courses of the stars, and omit to wonder at themselves; nor do they marvel that when I spoke of all these things, I was not looking on them with my eyes, and yet could not speak of them unless those mountains, and waves, and rivers, and stars which I saw, and that ocean which I believe in, I saw inwardly in my memory, and with the same vast spaces between as when I saw them abroad. But I did not by seeing appropriate them when I looked on them with my eyes; nor are the things themselves with me, but their images. And I knew by what corporeal sense each made impression on me.

Chap. ix. Not only things, but also literature and images, are taken from the memory, and are brought forth by the act of remembering.

16. And yet are not these all that the illimitable capacity of my memory retains. Here also is all that is apprehended of the liberal sciences, and not yet forgotten removed as it were into an inner place, which is not a place; nor are they the images which are retained, but the things themselves. For what is literature, what skill in disputation, whatsoever I know of all the many kinds of questions there are, is so in my memory, as that I have not taken in the image and left the thing without, or that it should have sounded and passed away like a voice imprinted on the ear by that trace, whereby it might be recorded, as though it sounded when it no longer did so; or as an odour while it passes away, and vanishes into wind, affects the sense of smell, whence it conveys the image of itself into the memory, which we realize in recollecting; or like food, which assuredly in the belly hath now no taste, and yet hath a kind of taste in the memory, or like anything that is by touching felt by the body, and which even when removed from us is imagined by the memory. For these things themselves are not put into it, but the images

CHAP. XI.] CONTENTS OF MEMORY. 249

of them only are caught up, with a marvellous quickness, and laid up, as it were, in most wonderful garners, and wonderfully brought forth when we remember.
Chap. x. Literature is not introduced to the memory through the senses, but it brought forth from its more secret places.

17. But truly when I hear that there are three kinds of questions, "Whether a thing is? what it is? of what kind it is?" I do indeed hold fast the images of the sounds of which these words are composed, and I know that those sounds passed through the air with a noise, and now are not. But the things themselves which are signified by these sounds I never arrived at by any sense of the body, nor ever perceived them otherwise than by my mind; and in my memory have I laid up not their images, but themselves, which, how they entered into me, let them tell if they are able. For I examine all the gates of my flesh, but find not by which of them they entered. For the eyes say, "If they were coloured, we announced them." The ears say, "If they sounded, we gave notice of them." The nostrils say, "If they smell, they passed in by us." The sense of taste says, "If they have no flavour, ask not me." The touch says, "If it have not body, I handled it not, and if I never handled it, I gave no notice of it."

Whence and how did these things enter into my memory? I know not how. For when I learned them, I gave not credit to the heart of another man, but perceived them in my own; and I approved them as true, and committed them to it, laying them up, as it were, whence I might fetch them when I willed. There, then, they were, even before I learned them, but were not in my memory. Where were they, then, or wherefore, when they were spoken, did I acknowledge them, and say, "So it is, it is true," unless as being already in the memory, though so put back and concealed, as it were, in more secret caverns, that had they not been drawn forth by the advice of another I would not, perchance, have been able to conceive of them?

Chap. xi. What it is to learn and to think.

18. Wherefore we find that to learn these things, whose

250 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X,

images we drink not in by our senses, but perceive within as they are by themselves, without images, is nothing else but by meditation as it were to concentrate, and by observing to take care that those notions which the memory did before contain scattered and confused, be laid up at hand, as it were, in that same memory, where before they lay concealed, scattered and neglected, and so the more easily present themselves to the mind well accustomed to observe them. And how many things of this sort does my memory retain which have been found out already, and, as I said, are, as it were, laid up ready to hand, which we are said to have learned and to have known; which, should we for small intervals of time cease to recall, they are again so submerged and slide back, as it were, into the more remote chambers, that they must be evoked thence again as if new (for other sphere they have none), and must be marshalled [cogenda] again that they may
become known; that is to say, they must be collected [colligenda], as it were, from their dispersion; whence we have the word cogitare. For cogo [I collect] and cogito [I re-collect] have the same relation to each other as ago and agito, facio and factito. But the mind has appropriated to itself this word [cognition], so that not that which is collected anywhere, but what is collected, 1 that is marshalled, 2 in the mind, is properly said to be "cogitated." 3

Chap. xii. On the recollection of things mathematical.

19. The memory containeth also the reasons and innumerable laws of numbers and dimensions, none of which hath any sense of the body impressed, seeing they have neither colour, nor sound, nor taste, nor smell, nor sense of touch. I have heard the sound of the words by which these things are signified when they are discussed; but the sounds are one thing, the things another. For the sounds are one thing in Greek, another in Latin; but the things themselves are neither Greek, nor Latin, nor any other language. I have seen the lines of the craftsmen, even the finest, like a spider's web; but these are of another kind, they are not the images of 1 Colligitur. 2 Cogitur. 3 Cogitari.

CHAP. XIV.] CONTENTS OF MEMORY. 251

those which the eye of my flesh showed me; he knoweth them who, without any idea whatsoever of a body, perceives them within himself. I have also observed the numbers of the things with which we number all the senses of the body; but those by which we number are of another kind, nor are they the images of these, and therefore they certainly are. Let him who sees not these things mock me for saying them; and I will pity him, whilst he mocks me.

Chap. xiii. Memory retains all things.

c.

20. All these things I retain in my memory, and how I learnt them I retain. I retain also many things which I have heard most falsely objected against them, which though they be false, yet is it not false that I have remembered them; and I remember, too, that I have distinguished between those truths and these falsehoods uttered against them; and I now see that it is one thing to distinguish these things, another to remember that I often distinguished them, when I often reflected upon them. I both remember, then, that I have often understood these tilings, and what I now distinguish and comprehend I store away in my memory, that hereafter I may remember that I understood it now. Therefore also I
remember that I have remembered; so that if afterwards I shall call to mind that I have been able to remember these things, it will be through the power of memory that I shall call it to mind.

Chap. xiv. Concerning the manner in which joy and sadness may be brought back to the mind and memory.

21. This same memory contains also the affections of my mind; not in the manner in which the mind itself contains them when it suffers them, but very differently according to a power peculiar to memory. For without being joyous, I remember myself to have had joy; and without being sad, I call to mind my past sadness; and that of which I was once afraid, I remember without fear; and without desire recall a former desire. Again, on the contrary, I at times remember when joyous my past sadness, and when sad my joy. Which is not to be wondered at as regards the body: for the mind

252 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

is one thing, the body another. If I, therefore, when happy, recall some past bodily pain, it is not so strange a thing. But now, as this very memory itself is mind (for when we give orders to have a thing kept in memory, we say, "See that you bear this in mind;" and when we forget a thing, we say, "It did not enter my mind," and, "It slipped from my mind," thus calling the memory itself mind), as this is so, how comes it to pass that when being joyful I remember my past sorrow, the mind has joy, the memory sorrow, the mind, from the joy that is in it, is joyful, yet the memory, from the sadness that is in it, is not sad? Does not the memory perchance belong unto the mind? Who will say so? The memory doubtless is, so to say, the belly of the mind, and joy and sadness like sweet and bitter food, which, when entrusted to the memory, are, as it were, passed into the belly, where they can be reposited, but cannot taste. It is ridiculous to imagine these to be alike; and yet they are not utterly unlike.

22. But behold, out of my memory I educe it, when I affirm that there be four perturbations of the mind, desire, joy, fear, sorrow; and whatsoever I shall be able to dispute on these, by dividing each into its peculiar species, and by defining it, there I find what I may say, and thence I educe it; yet am I not disturbed by any of these perturbations when by remembering them I call them to mind; and before I recollected and reviewed them, they were there; wherefore by remembrance could they be brought thence. Perchance, then, even as meat is in ruminating brought up out of the belly, so by calling to mind are these educed from the memory. Why, then, does not the disputant, thus recollecting, perceive in the mouth of his meditation the sweetness of joy or the bitterness of sorrow? Is the comparison unlike in
this because not like in all points? For who would willingly discourse on these subjects, if, as often as we name sorrow or fear, we should be compelled to be sorrowful or fearful? And yet we could never speak of them, did we not find in our memory not merely the sounds of the names according to the images imprinted on it by the senses of the body, but the notions of the things themselves, which we never received by

JHAP. XVI. PRIVATION OF MEMORY. 253

my door of the flesh, but which the mind itself, recognising
by the experience of its own passions, entrusted to the memory, else which the memory itself retained without their being intrusted to it.

Chap. xv. In memory there are also images of things which are absent.

23. But whether by images or no, who can well affirm?
For I name a stone, I name the sun, and the things themselves are not present to my senses, but their images are near:
o my memory. I name some pain of the body, yet it is not present when there is no pain; yet if its image were not in my memory, I should be ignorant what to say concerning it, and in arguing be able to distinguish it from pleasure. I name bodily health when sound in body; the thing itself in deed is present with me, but unless its image also were in my memory, I could by no means call to mind what the sound
(if this name signified. Nor would sick people know, when realth was named, what was said, unless the same image were retained by the power of memory, although the thing itself were absent from the body. I name numbers whereby we enumerate; and not their images, but they themselves are in my memory. I name the image of the sun, and this, too, is in my memory. For I do not recall the image of that image, but itself, for the image itself is present when I remember it. I name memory, and I know what I name. But where do I know it, except in the memory itself? Is it also present to itself by its image, and not by itself?

Chap. xvi. The privation of memory is forgetfulness.

24. When I name forgetfulness, and know, too, what I name, whence should I know it if I did not remember it? I do not say the sound of the name, but the thing which it signifies; which, had I forgotten, I could not know what that sound signified. "When, therefore, I remember memory, then is memory present with itself, through itself. But when I remember forgetfulness, there are present both memory and forgetfulness, memory, whereby I remember, forgetfulness, which I remember. But what is forgetfulness but the privation
of memory? How, then, is that present for me to remember, since, when it is so, I cannot remember? But if what we remember we retain in memory, yet, unless we remembered forgetfulness, we could never at the hearing of the name know the thing meant by it, then is forgetfulness retained by memory. Present, therefore, it is, lest we should forget it; and being so we do forget. Is it to be inferred from this that forgetfulness, when we remember it, is not present to the memory through itself, but through its image; because, were forgetfulness present through itself, it would not lead us to remember, but to forget? Who now will investigate this? Who shall understand how it is?

25. Truly, Lord, I labour therein, and labour in myself. I am become a troublesome soil that requires overmuch labour. For we are not now searching out the tracts of heaven, or measuring the distances of the stars, or inquiring about the weight of the earth. It is I myself I, the mind who remember. It is not much to be wondered at, if what I myself am not be far from me. But what is nearer to me than myself? And, behold, I am not able to comprehend the force of my own memory, though I cannot name myself without it. For what shall I say when it is plain to me that I remember forgetfulness? Shall I affirm that that which I remember is not in my memory? Or shall I say that forgetfulness is in my memory with the view of my not forgetting? Both of these are most absurd. What third view is there? How can I assert that the image of forgetfulness is retained by my memory, and not forgetfulness itself, when I remember it? And how can I assert this, seeing that when the image of anything is imprinted on the memory, the thing itself must of necessity be present first by which that image may be imprinted? For thus do I remember Carthage; thus, all the places to which I have been; thus, the faces of men whom I have seen, and things reported by the other senses; thus, the health or sickness of the body. For when these objects were present, my memory received images from them, which, when they were present, I might gaze on and reconsider in my mind, as I remembered them when they, were absent. If, therefore, forgetfulness is retained in the memory through its image, and not through itself, then itself was once present, that its image might be taken. But when it was present, how did it write its image on the memory, seeing that forgetfulness 'by its presence blots out even what it finds already noted? And yet, in whatever way, though it be incomprehensible and inexplicable, yet most certain I am that I remember also forgetfulness itself, whereby what we do remember is blotted 'out.
Chap. xvii. God cannot be attained unto by the power of memory, which

beads and birds possess.

26. Great is the power of memory; very wonderful is it, I my God, a profound and infinite manifoldness; and this thing is the mind, and this I myself am. What then am I, my God? Of what nature am I? A life various and manifold, and exceeding vast. Behold, in the numberless fields, 

! and caves, and caverns of my memory, full without number of numberless kinds of things, either through images, as all bodies are; or by the presence of the things themselves, as are the arts; or by some notion or observation, as the affections of the mind are, which, even though the mind doth not suffer, the memory retains, while whatsoever is in the memory is also in the mind: through all these do I run to and fro, and fly; I penetrate on this side and that, as far as I am able, and nowhere is there an end. So great is the power of memory, so great the power of life in man, whose life is mortal. 

What then shall I do, Thou my true life, my God? I will pass even beyond this power of mine which is called memory I will pass beyond it, that I may proceed to Thee, Thou sweet Light. What sayest Thou to me? Behold, I am soaring by my mind towards Thee who remainest above me. I will also pass beyond this power of mine which is called memory, wishful to reach Thee whence Thou canst be reached, and to cleave unto Thee whence it is possible to cleave unto Thee. 

For even beasts and birds possess memory, else could they never find their lairs and nests again, nor many other things to which they are used; neither indeed could they become used to anything, but by their memory. I will pass, then,

256 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

beyond memory also, that I may reach Him who has separated me from the four-footed beasts and the fowls of the air, making me wiser than they. I will pass beyond memory also, but where shall I find Thee, Thou truly good and assured sweetness? But where shall I find Thee? If I find Thee without memory, then am I unmindful of Thee. And how now shall I find Thee, if I do not remember Thee?

Chap. xviii. A thing when lost could not be found unless it were retained in

the memory.

27. For the woman who lost her drachma, and searched for it with a lamp, 1 unless she had remembered it, would never have found it. For when it was found, whence could she know whether it were the same, had she not remembered it? I remember to have lost and found many things; and this

1
know thereby, that when I was searching for any of them, and was asked, "Is this it?" "Is that it?" I answered
"No," until such time as that which I sought were offered to me. Which had I not remembered, whatever it were, though it were offered me, yet would I not find it, because I could not recognise it. And thus it is always, when we search for and find anything that is lost. Notwithstanding, if anything be by accident lost from the sight, not from the memory, as any visible body, the image of it is retained within, and is searched for until it be restored to sight; and when it is found, it is recognised by the image which is within. Nor do we say that we have found what we had lost unless we recognise it; nor can we recognise it unless we remember it.
But this, though lost to the sight, was retained in the memory.

Chap. xix. What it is to remember.

28. But how is it when the memory itself loses anything, as it happens when we forget anything and try to recall it?
Where finally do we search, but in the memory itself? And there, if perchance one thing be offered for another, we refuse it, until we meet with what we seek; and when we do, we exclaim, "This is it!" which we should not do unless we

1 Luke xv. 8.

CHAP. XX.] WE RECOGNISE WHAT WE REMEMBER. 257

knew it again, nor should we recognise it unless we remembered it. Assuredly, therefore, we had forgotten it. Or, had not the whole of it slipped our memory, but by the part by which we had hold was the other part sought for; since the memory perceived that it did not revolve together as much as it was accustomed to do, and halting, as if from the mutilation of its old habit, demanded the restoration of that which was wanting. For example, if we see or think of some man known to us, and, having forgotten his name, endeavour to recover it, whatsoever other thing presents itself is not connected with it; because it was not used to be thought of in connection with him, and is consequently rejected, until that is present whereon the knowledge reposes fittingly as its accustomed object. And whence, save from the memory itself, does that present itself? For even when we recognise it as put in mind of it by another, it is thence it comes. For we do not believe it as something new, but, as we recall it, admit what was said to be correct. But if it were entirely blotted out of the mind, we should not, even when put in mind of it, recollect it. For we have not as yet entirely forgotten what we remember that we have forgotten. A lost notion, then, which we have entirely forgotten, we cannot even search for.

Chap. xx. We should not seek for God and the happy life unless we had
29. How, then, do I seek Thee, Lord? For when I seek Thee, my God, I seek a happy life. I will seek Thee, that my soul may live. 2 For my body liveth by my soul, and my soul liveth by Thee. How, then, do I seek a happy life, seeing that it is not mine till I can say, "It is enough!" in that place where I ought to say it? How do I seek it? Is it by remembrance, as though I had forgotten it, knowing too that I had forgotten it? or, longing to learn it as a thing unknown, which either I had never known, or had so forgotten it as not even to remember that I had forgotten it? Is not a happy life the thing that all desire, and is there any one who altogether desires it not? But where did they acquire the knowledge of it, that they so desire it? Where have they

1 See note, p. 75, above. s Amos v. 4.

CON. B

258 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

seen it, that they so love it? Truly we have it, but how I know not. Yea, there is another way in which, when any one hath it, he is happy; and some there be that are happy in hope. These have it in an inferior kind to those that are happy in fact; and yet are they better off than they who are happy neither in fact nor in hope. And even these, had they it not in some way, would not so much desire to be happy, which that they do desire is most certain. How they come to know it, I cannot tell, but they have it by some kind of knowledge unknown to me, who am in much doubt as to whether it be in the memory; for if it be there, then have we been happy once; whether all individually, or as in that man who first sinned, in whom also we all died, 1 and from whom we are all born with misery, I do not now ask; but I ask whether the happy life be in the memory? For did we not know it, we should not love it. We hear the name, and we all acknowledge that we desire the thing; for we are not delighted with the sound only. For when a Greek hears it spoken in Latin, he does not feel delighted, for he knows not what is spoken; but we are delighted, 2 as he too would be if he heard it in Greek; because the thing itself is neither Greek nor Latin, which Greeks and Latins, and men of all other tongues, long so earnestly to obtain. It is then known unto all, and could they with one voice be asked whether they wished to be happy, without doubt they would all answer that they would. And this could not be unless the thing itself, of which it is the name, were retained in their memory.

Chap. xxi. How a happy life may be retained in the memory.
30. But is it so as one who has seen Carthage remembers it? No. For a happy life is not visible to the eye, because it is not a body. Is it, then, as we remember numbers? No. For he that hath these in his knowledge strives not to attain further; but a happy life we have in our knowledge, and, therefore, do we love it, while yet we wish further to attain it that we may be happy. Is it, then, as we remember

1 1 Cor. xv. 22; see p. 234, note 2, and note p. 68, above.

2 That is, as knowing Latin.

CHAP. XXT.] MEMORY AND HAPPINESS. 259

deloquence? No. For although some, when they hear this name, call the thing to mind, who, indeed, are not yet eloquent, and many who wish to be so, whence it appears to be in their knowledge; yet have these by their bodily perceptions noticed that others are eloquent, and been delighted with it, and long to be so, although they would not be delighted save for some interior knowledge, nor desire to be so unless they were delighted, but a happy life we can by no bodily perception make experience of in others. Is it, then, as we remember joy? It may be so; for my joy I remember, even when sad, like as I do a happy life when I am miserable. Nor did I ever with perception of the body either see, hear, smell, taste, or touch my joy; but I experienced it in my mind when I rejoiced; and the knowledge of it clung to my memory, so that I can call it to mind, sometimes with disdain and at others with desire, according to the difference of the things wherein I now remember that I rejoiced. For even from unclean things have I been bathed with a certain joy, which now calling to mind, I detest and execrate; at other times, from good and honest things, which, with longing, I call to mind, though perchance they be not nigh at hand, and then with sadness do I call to mind a former joy.

31. Where and when, then, did I experience my happy life, that I should call it to mind, and love and long for it? Nor is it I alone or a few others who wish to be happy, but truly all; which, unless by certain knowledge we knew, we should not wish with so certain a will. But how is this, that if two men be asked whether they would wish to serve as soldiers, one, it may be, would reply that he would, the other that he would not; but if they were asked whether they would wish to be happy, both of them would unhesitatingly say that they would; and this one would wish to serve, and the other not, from no other motive but to be happy? Is it, perchance, that as one joys in this, and another in that, so do all men agree in their wish for happiness, as they would agree, were they asked, in wishing to have joy, and this joy they call a happy life? Although, then, one pursues joy in this way, and another in
that, all have one goal, which they strive to attain, namely, to have joy. This life, being a thing which no one can say he has not experienced, it is on that account found in the memory, and recognised whenever the name of a happy life is heard.

Chap. xxir. A happy life is to rejoice in God, and for God.

3 2. Let it be far, O Lord, let it be far from the heart of Thy servant who confesseth unto Thee; let it be far from me to think myself happy, be the joy what it may. For there is a joy which is not granted to the " wicked," 1 but to those who worship Thee thankfully, whose joy Thou Thyself art. And the happy life is this, to rejoice unto Thee, in Thee, and for Thee; this it is, and there is no other. 2 But those who think there is another follow after another joy, and that not the true one. Their will, however, is not turned away from some shadow of joy.

Chap. xxiii. All toish to rejoice in the Truth.

33. It is not, then, certain that all men wish to be happy, since those who wish not to rejoice in Thee, which is the only happy life, do not verily desire the happy life. Or do all desire this, but because "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh," so that they "cannot do the things that they would," 3 they fall upon that which they are able to do, and with that are content; because that which they are not able to do, they do not so will as to make them able ? 4 For I ask of every man, whether he would rather rejoice in truth or in falsehood. They will no more hesitate to say, "in truth " than to say, " that they wish to be happy." For a happy life is joy in the truth. For this is joy in Thee, who art "the truth," 6 O God, "my light," 6 "the health of

1 Isa. xlviii. 22.

1 Since "life eternal is the supreme good," as he remarks in his De Civ. Dei, xix. 4. Compare also ibid. viii. sec. 8, where he argues that the highest good is God, and that he who loves Him is in the enjoyment of that good. See also note on the chief good, p. 75, above.

8 Gal. v. 17. * See viii. sec. 20, above.

4 John xiv. 6. Ps. xxvii. 1.

CHAP. XXIII. MEN HATE TRUTH WHEN SHE REBUKES THEM. 261

my countenance, and my God." 1 All wish for this happy life; this life do all wish for, which is the only happy one; joy in the truth do all wish for. 2 I have had experience of
many who wished to deceive, but not one who wished to be deceived. Where, then, did they know this happy life, save where they knew also the truth? For they love it, too, since they would not be deceived. And when they love a happy life, which is naught else but joy in the truth, assuredly they love also the truth; which yet they would not love were there not some knowledge of it in the memory. Wherefore, then, do they not rejoice in it? Why are they not happy? Because they are more entirely occupied with other things which rather make them miserable, than that which would make them happy, which they remember so little of. For there is yet a little light in men; let them walk let them "walk," that the "darkness" seize them not.

34. Why, then, doth truth beget hatred, and that man of thine, preaching the truth, become an enemy unto them, whereas a happy life is loved, which is naught else but joy in the truth; unless that truth is loved in such a sort as that those who love aught else wish that to be the truth which they love, and, as they are willing to be deceived, are unwilling to be convinced that they are so? Therefore do they hate the truth for the sake of that thing which they love instead of the truth. They love truth when she shines on them, and hate her when she rebukes them. For, because they are not willing to be deceived, and wish to deceive, they love her when she reveals herself, and hate her when she reveals them. On that account shall she so requite them, that those who were unwilling to be discovered by her she both discovers against their will, and discovers not herself unto them. Thus, thus, truly thus doth the human mind, so blind and sick, so base and unseemly, desire to lie concealed, but wishes not that anything should be concealed from it. But

1 Ps. xlii. 11. 2 See sec. 29, above. 3 John xii. 35.

4 "Veritas parit odium." Compare Terence, Andria, i. 1, 41: "Obsequiuiu amicos, Veritas odium parit."
* John viii. 40.

262 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

the opposite is rendered unto it, that itself is not concealed from the truth, but the truth is concealed from it. Yet, even while thus wretched, it prefers to rejoice in truth rather than in falsehood. Happy then will it be, when, no trouble intervening, it shall rejoice in that only truth by whom all things else are true.

Chap. xxiv. He who finds truth, finds God.

35. Behold how I have enlarged in my memory seeking Thee, Lord; and out of it have I not found Thee. Nor have I found aught concerning Thee, but what I have retained in memory from the time I learned Thee. For from the time I learned Thee have I never forgotten Thee. For where I found truth, there found I my God, who is the Truth itself, 1
which from the time I learned it have I not forgotten. And thus since the time I learned
Thee, Thou abidest in my memory; and there do I find Thee whencesoever I call Thee to
remembrance, and delight in Thee. These are my holy delights, which Thou hast
bestowed upon me in Thy mercy, having respect unto my poverty.

Chap. xxA r . He is glad that God dwells in his memory.

36. But where in my memory abidest Thou, O Lord, where dost Thou there abide? What
manner of chamber hast Thou there formed for Thyself? What sort of sanctuary hast
Thou erected for Thyself? Thou hast granted this honour to my memory, to take up Thy
abode in it; but in what quarter of it Thou abidest, I am considering. For in calling Thee
to mind, 2 I soared beyond those parts of it which the beasts also possess, since I found
Thee not there amongst the images of corporeal things; and I arrived at those parts where
I had committed the affections of my mind, nor there did I
find Thee. And I entered into the very seat of my mind, which it has in my memory, since
the mind remembers itself

1 See iv. c. 12, and vii. c. 10, above.

2 In connection with Augustine's views as to memory, Locke's Essay on the Human
Understanding, ii. 10, and Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, c. 6, may be
profitably consulted.

CHAP. XXVII.] GOD THE FOUNTAIN OF TRUTH. 263

also nor wert Thou there. For as Thou art not a bodily image, nor the affection of a living
creature, as when we rejoice, condole, desire, fear, remember, forget, or aught of the
kind; so neither art Thou the mind itself, because Thou art the Lord God of the mind; and
all these things are changed, but Thou remainest unchangeable over all, yet vouchsafer
to dwell in my memory, from the time I learned Thee. But why do I now seek in what
part of it Thou dwellest, as if truly there were places in it? Thou dost dwell in it
assuredly, since I have remembered Thee from the time I learned Thee, and I find Thee in
it when I call Thee to mind.

Chap. xxvi. God everywhere answers those who take counsel of Him.

37. Where, then, did I find Thee, so as to be able to learn Thee? For Thou wert not in my
memory before I learned Thee. Where, then, did I find Thee, so as to be able to learn
Thee, but in Thee above me? Place there is none; we go both "backward" and "
forward," I and there is no place.
Everywhere, Truth, dost Thou direct all who consult Thee, and dost at once answer all,
though they consult Thee on divers things. Clearly dost Thou answer, though all do not
with clearness hear. All consult Thee upon whatever they wish, though they hear not
always that which they wish. He is Thy best servant who does not so much look to hear that from Thee which he himself wisheth, as to wish that which he heareth from Thee.

/ 

Chap, xxvii. He grieves that he was so long without God.

38. Too late did I love Thee, Fairness, so ancient, and yet so new! Too late did I love Thee! For behold, Thou wert within, and I without, and there did I seek Thee; I, unlovely, rushed heedlessly among the things of beauty Thou madest. Thou wert with me, but I was not with Thee. Those things kept me far from Thee, which, unless they were in Thee, were not. Thou calledst, and criedst aloud, and forcedst open my deafness. Thou didst gleam and shine, and chase

1 Job xxiii. 8. 2 See p. 70, note 3, above.

264 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

away my blindness. Thou didst exhale odours, and I drew in my breath and do pant after Thee. I tasted, and do hunger and thirst. Thou didst touch me, and I burned for Thy peace.

Chap, xxviii. On the misery of human life.

39. When I shall cleave unto Thee with all my being, then shall I in nothing have pain and labour; and my life shall be a real life, being wholly full of Thee. But now since he whom Thou fillest is the one Thou liftest up, I am a burden to myself, as not being full of Thee. Joys of sorrow contend with sorrows of joy; and on which side the victory may be I know not. Woe is me! Lord, have pity on me. My evil sorrows contend with my good joys; and on which side the victory may be I know not. Woe is me! Lord, have pity on me. Woe is me! Lo, I hide not my wounds; Thou art the Physician, I the sick; Thou merciful, I miserable. Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation? Woe unto the prosperity of this world, once and again, from fear of misfortune and a corruption of joy! Woe unto the adversities of this world, once and again, and for the third time, from the desire of prosperity; and
1 Job vii. 1. The Old Ver. rendering N3 by tentatio, after the LXX.

irwarrippiov. The Vulg. has militia, which = "warfare" in margin of A. V.

2 "It will not be safe," says Anthony Farindon (vol. iv. Christ's Temptation, serm. 107), "for us to challenge and provoke a temptation, but to arm and prepare ourselves against it; to stand upon our guard, and neither to offer battle nor yet refuse it. Sapiens feret isla, non diget: 'It is the part of a wise man not to seek for evil, but to endure it.' And to this end it concerneth every man to exercise τρίτηστε ἁγιασμόν, 'his spiritual wisdom,' that he may discover Spiritus ductiones et diaboli seductiones, 'the Spirit's leadings and the devil's seducements.'" See also Augustine's Serm. Ixxvi. 4, and p. 83, note 6, above.

CHAP. XXX.] LIFE A TEMPTATION. 265

because adversity itself is a hard thing, and makes shipwreck of endurance! Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation, and that without intermission? 1

Chap. xxix. All hope is in the mercy of God.

40. And my whole hope is only in Thy exceeding great mercy. Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt. Thou imposest continency upon us, 2 " nevertheless, when I perceived," saith one, "that I could not otherwise obtain her, except God gave her me; ... that was a point of wisdom also to know whose gift she was." 3 For by continency are we bound up and brought into one, whence we were scattered abroad into many. For he loves Thee too little who loves aught with Thee, which he loves not for Thee, 4 O love, who ever burnest, and art never quenched! charity, my God, kindle me! Thou commandest continency; give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt.

Chap. xxx. Of the perverse images of dreams, which he wishes to have taken away.

41. Verily, Thou commandest that I should be continent from the "lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life." 6 Thou hast commanded me to abstain from

1 We have ever to endure temptation, either in the sense of a testing, as when it is said, "God did tempt Abraham" (Gen. xxii. 1); or with the additional idea of yielding to the
temptation, and so committing sin, as in the use of the word in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 13); for, as Dyke says in his Michael and the Dragon (Works, i. 203, 204): "No sooner have we bathed and washed our souls in the waters of Repentance, but we must presently expect the fiery darts of Satan's temptations to be driving at us. What we get and gain from Satan by Repentance, he seeks to regain and recover by his Temptations. We must not think to pass quietly out of Egypt without Pharaoh's pursuit, nor to travel the wilderness of this world without the opposition of the Amalekites." Compare Augustine, In Ev. Joann. Tract, xliii. 6, and Serm. Ivii. 9. See also p. 82, note, above.

2 In his 38th Sermon, he distinguishes between continentia and sustinentia; the first guarding us from the allurements of worldliness and sin, while the second enables us to endure the troubles of life.

8 Wisd. viii. 21.

4 In his De Trin. ix. 13 ("In what desire and love differ"), he says, that when the creature is loved for itself, and the love of it is not referred to its Creator, it is desire (cupiditas) and not true love. See also p. 207, note 1, above.

* 1 John ii. 16. Dilating on Ps. viii. he makes these three roots of sin to

266 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

cconcubinage; and as to marriage itself, Thou hast advised something better than Thou hast allowed. And because Thou didst give it, it was done; and that before I became a dispenser of Thy sacrament. But there still exist in my memory of which I have spoken much the images of such things as my habits had fixed there; and these rush into my thoughts, though strengthless, when I am awake; but in sleep they do so not only so as to give pleasure, but even to obtain consent, and what very nearly resembles reality. 1 Yea, to such an extent prevails the illusion of the image, both in my soul and in my flesh, that the false persuade me, when sleeping, unto that which the true are not able when waking. Am I not myself at that time, Lord my God? And there is yet so much difference between myself and myself, in that instant wherein I pass back from waking to sleeping, or return from sleeping to waking! Where, then, is the reason which when waking resists such suggestions? And if the things themselves be forced on it, I remain unmoved. Is it shut up with the eyes? Or is it put to sleep with the bodily senses? But whence, then, comes it to pass, that even in slumber we often resist, and, bearing our purpose in mind, and continuing most chastely in it, yield no assent to such allurements? And there is yet so much difference that, when it happeneth otherwise, upon awaking we return to peace of conscience; and by this same diversity do we discover that it was not we that did it, while we still feel sorry that in some way it was done in us.

correspond to the threefold nature of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness.
See also p. 85, note 5, above.

1 In Augustine's view, then, dreams appear to result from our thoughts and feelings when awake. In this he has the support of Aristotle (Ethics, i. 13), as also that of Solomon, who says (Eccles. v. 3), "A dream cometh through the multitude of business." An apt illustration of this is found in the life of the great Danish sculptor, Thorwaldsen. It is said that he could not satisfy himself with his models for The Christ, in the Frauenkirche at Copenhagen, as Da Vinci before him was never able to paint the face of the Christ in His noble fresco of the Last Supper, and that it was only in consequence of a dream (that dream doubtless the result of his stedfast search for an ideal) that this great work was accomplished. But see Ep. clix.

CHAP. XXXI.] EVIL DREAMS. 267

42. Is not Thy hand able, Almighty God, to heal all the diseases of my soul, 1 and by Thy more abundant grace to quench even the lascivious motions of my sleep? Thou wilt increase in me, Lord, Thy gifts more and more, that my soul may follow me to Thee, disengaged from the bird-lime of concupiscence; that it may not be in rebellion against itself, and even in dreams not simply not, through sensual images, commit those deformities of corruption, even to the pollution of the flesh, but that it may not even consent unto them. For it is no great thing for the Almighty, who is "able to do . . . above all that we ask or think," 2 to bring it about that no such influence not even so slight a one as a sign might restrain should afford gratification to the chaste affection even of one sleeping; and that not only in this life, but at my present age. But what I still am in this species of my ill, have I confessed unto my good Lord; rejoicing with trembling 3 in that which Thou hast given me, and bewailing myself for that wherein I am still imperfect; trusting that Thou wilt perfect Thy mercies in me, even to the fulness of peace, which both that which is within and that which is without 4 shall have with Thee, when death is swallowed up in victory. 5

Chap. xxxi. About to speak of the temptations of the lust of the flesh, he first complains of the lust of eating and drinking.

43. There is another evil of the day that I would were "sufficient" unto it. 6 For by eating and drinking we repair the daily decays of the body, until Thou destroyest both food and stomach, when Thou shalt destroy my want with an amazing satiety, and shalt clothe this corruptible with an eternal incorruption. 7 But now is necessity sweet unto me, and against this sweetness do I fight, lest I be enthralled; and I carry on a daily war by fastings, 8 oftentimes "bringing

1 Ps. ciii. 3. * Eph. iii. 20. 3 Ps. ii. 11. * See note 3, p. 234, above.

5 1 Cor. xv. 54. 6 Matt. vi. 34. 7 1 Cor. xv. 54.
my body into subjection," * and my pains are expelled by pleasure. For hunger and thirst are in some sort pains; they consume and destroy like unto a fever, unless the medicine of nourishment relieve us. The which, since it is at hand through the comfort we receive of Thy gifts, with which land and water and air serve our infirmity, our calamity is called pleasure.

44. This much hast Thou taught me, that I should bring myself to take food as medicine. But during the time that I am passing from the uneasiness of want to the calmness of satiety, even in the very passage doth that snare of concupiscence lie in wait for me. For the passage itself is pleasure, nor is there any other way of passing thither, whither necessity compels us to pass. And whereas health is the reason of eating and drinking, there joineth itself as an handmaid a perilous delight, which mostly tries to precede it, in order that I may do for her sake what I say I do, or desire to do, for health's sake. Nor have both the same limit; for what is sufficient for health is too little for pleasure. And oftentimes it is doubtful whether it be the necessary care of the body which still asks nourishment, or whether a sensual snare of desire offers its ministry. In this uncertainty does my unhappy soul rejoice, and therein prepares an excuse as a defence, glad that it doth not appear what may be sufficient for the moderation of health, that so under the pretence of health it may conceal the business of pleasure. These temptations do I daily endeavour to resist, and I summon Thy right hand to my help, and refer my excitements to Thee, because as yet I have no resolve in this matter.

45. I hear the voice of my God commanding, let not "your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness." 8 " Drunkenness," it is far from me; Thou wilt have mercy, that it approach not near unto me. But " surfeiting " sometimes creepeth upon Thy servant; Thou wilt have mercy, that it may be far from me. For no man can be continent unless Thou give it. 3 Many things which we pray for dost Thou give us; and what good soever we receive before we

1 1 Cor. ix. 27. J Luke xxi. 34. 3 Wisd. viii. 21.

CHAP. XXXI.] BY GRACE WE AVOID EXCESS. 269
prayed for it, do we receive from Thee, and that we might afterwards know this did we receive it from Thee. Drunkard was I never, but I have known drunkards to be made sober men by Thee. Thy doing, then, was it, that they who never were such might not be so, as from Thee it was that they who have been so heretofore might not remain so always; and from Thee, too, was it, that both might know from whom it was. I heard another voice of Thine, " Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites." * And by Thy favour have I heard this saying likewise, which I have much delighted in, " Neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not, are we the worse;" 2 which is to say, that neither shall the one make me to abound, nor the other to be wretched. I heard also another voice, " For I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. ... I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." * Lo! a soldier of the celestial camp not dust as we are. But remember, Lord, " that we are dust," 4 and that of dust Thou hast created man; 5 and he " was lost, and is found." 6 Nor could he do this of his own power, seeing that he whom I so loved, saying these things through the afflatus of Thy inspiration, was of that same dust. " I can," saith he, " do all things through Him which strengtheneth me." 7 Strengthen me, that I may be able. Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt. 8 He confesses to have received, and when he glorieth, he glorieth in the Lord. 9 Another have I heard entreating that he might receive, " Take from me," saith he, " the greediness of the belly;" 10 by which it appeareth, my holy God, that Thou givest when what Thou commandest to be done is done.

1 Ewlus. xviii. 30. 2 1 Cor. viii. 8. 3 Phil. iv. 11-14.  
7 Phil. iv. 13.  
8 In his De Dono Persev. sec. 53, he tells us that these words were quoted to Pelagius, when at Pome, by a certain bishop, and that they excited him to contradict them so warmly as nearly to result in a rapture between Pelagius and the bishop.  
9 1 Cor. i. 81. 10 Ecclus. xxiii. 6.

270 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]  
46. Thou hast taught me, good Father, that "unto the pure all things are pure;" x but " it is evil for that man who eateth with offence;" 2 " and that every creature of Thine is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving;" 3 and that " meat commendeth us not to God;" 4 and that no man should "judge us in meat or in drink;" 5 and that he that eateth, let him not despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth
not judge him that eateth. 6 These things have I learned, thanks and praise be unto Thee, my God and Master, who dost knock at my ears and enlighten my heart; deliver me out of all temptation. It is not the uncleanness of meat that I fear, but the uncleanness of lusting. I know that permission was granted unto Noah to eat every kind of flesh 7 that was good for food; 8 that Elias was fed with flesh; 9 that John, endued with a wonderful abstinence, was not polluted by the living creatures (that is, the locusts 10) which he fed on. I know, too, that Esau was deceived by a longing for lentiles, 11 and that David took blame to himself for desiring water, 12 and that our King was tempted not by flesh but bread. 13 And the people in the wilderness, therefore, also deserved reproof, not because they desired flesh, but because, in their desire for food, they murmured against the Lord. 14

47. Placed, then, in the midst of these temptations, I strive daily against longing for food and drink. For it is not of such a nature as that I am able to resolve to cut it off once for all, and not touch it afterwards, as I was able to do with concubinage. The bridle of the throat, therefore, is to be held in the mean of slackness and tightness. 16 And who, Lord, is

1 Titus i. 15. 2 Rom. xiv. 20. 8 1 Tim. iv. 4.
4 1 Cor. viii. 8. s Col. ii. 16. 6 Rom. xiii. 23.

7 He here refers to the doctrine of the Manichseans in the matter of eating flesh. In his De Mor. Munich, sees. 36, 37, he discusses the prohibition of flesh to the "Elect." From Ep. cexxxvi. we find that the "Hearers" had not to practise abstinence from marriage and from eating flesh. For other information on this subject, see notes, pp. 53 and 92.

8 Gen. ix. 3. 9 1 Kings xvii. 6. 10 Matt. iii. 4.
11 Gen. xxv. 34. 12 2 Sam. xxiii. 15-17. 13 Matt. iv. 3.
14 Num. xi.

15 So all God's gifts are to be used, but not abused; and those who deny the right use of any, do so by virtually accepting the principle of asceticism.

CHAP. XXXII.] FALSE SECURITY. 271

he who is not in some degree carried away beyond the bounds of necessity? Whoever he is, he is great; let him magnify Thy name. But I am not such a one, "for I am a sinful man." 1
Yet do I also magnify Thy name; and He who hath "overcome the world" 2 maketh intercession to Thee for my sins, 3 accounting me among the "feeble members" of His body, 4
because Thine eyes saw that of him which was imperfect; and in Thy book all shall be written. 6

Chap, xxxii. Of the charms of perfumes which are more easily overcome.

48. With the attractions of odours I am not much troubled. When absent I do not seek them; when present I do not refuse them; and am prepared ever to be without them. At any rate thus I appear to myself; perchance I am deceived. For that also is a lamentable darkness wherein my capacity that is in me is concealed, so that my mind, making inquiry into herself concerning her own powers, ventures not readily to credit herself; because that which is already in it is, for the most part, concealed, unless experience reveal it. And no man ought to feel secure 6 in this life, the whole of which is called a temptation, 7 that he, who could be made better from worse, may not also from better be made worse. Our sole hope, our sole confidence, our sole assured promise, is Thy mercy.

As Augustine, in his De Mor. Ecc. Oath. sec. 39, says of all transient things, we " should use them as far as is required for the purposes and duties of life, with the moderation of an employer instead of the ardour of a lover."

1 Luke v. 8. 2 John xvi. 33. 3 Rom. viii. 34. 4 1 Cor. xii. 22.

6 Ps. cxxxix. 16; he similarly applies this passage when commenting on it Ps. cxxxviii. 21, and also in Serm. cxxxv.

6 "For some," says Thomas Taylor (Works, vol. i. "Christ's Temptation," p. 11), " through vain prefidence of God's protection, run in times of contagion into infected houses, which upon just calling a man may: but for one to run out of his calling in the way of an ordinary visitation, he shall find that God's angels have commission to protect him no longer than he is in his way (Ps. xci. 11), and that being out of it, this arrow of the Lord shall sooner hit him than another that is not half so confident." We should not, as Fuller quaintly says, "hollo in the ears of a sleeping temptation; " and when we are tempted, let us remember that if (Hibbert, Syntagma Theologicum, p. 342) "a giant knock while the door is shut, he may with ease be still kept out; but if once open, that he gets in but a limb of himself, then there is no course left to keep out the remaining bulk." See also Augustine on Peter's case, De Corrept. et Grat. c. 9.

7 Job vii. 1, Old Vers. See p. 264, note 1.

272 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

Chap, xxxiii. He overcame the pleasures of the ear, although in the church he frequently delighted in the song, not in the thing sung.
49. The delights of the ear had more powerfully inveigled and conquered me, but Thou didst unbind and liberate me. 
Now, in those airs which Thy words breathe soul into, when sung with a sweet and trained voice, do I somewhat repose; yet not so as to cling to them, but so as to free myself when I wish. But with the words which are their life do they, that they may gain admission into me, strive after a place of some honour in my heart; and I can hardly assign them a fitting one. Sometimes I appear to myself to give them more respect than is fitting, as I perceive that our minds are more devoutly and earnestly elevated into a flame of piety by the holy words themselves when they are thus sung, than when they are not; and that all affections of our spirit, by their own diversity, have their appropriate measures in the voice and singing, wherewith by I know not what secret relationship they are stimulated. But the gratification of my flesh, to which the mind ought never to be given over to be enervated, often beguiles me, while the sense does not so attend on reason as to follow her patiently; but having gained admission merely for her sake, it strives even to run on before her, and be her leader. Thus in these things do I sin unknowing, but afterwards do I know it.

50. Sometimes, again, avoiding very earnestly this same deception, I err out of too great preciseness; and sometimes so much as to desire that every air of the pleasant songs to which David's Psalter is often used, be banished both from my ears and those of the Church itself; and that way seemed unto me safer which I remembered to have been often related to me of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who obliged the reader of the psalm to give utterance to it with so slight an inflection of voice, that it was more like speaking than singing. Notwithstanding, when I call to mind the tears I shed at the songs of Thy Church, at the outset of my recovered faith, and how even now I am moved not by the singing but by what is sung, when they are sung with a clear and skilfully modulated voice, I then acknowledge the great utility of this custom. Thus vacillate I between dangerous pleasure and tried soundness; being inclined rather (though I pronounce no irrevocable opinion upon the subject) to approve of the use of singing in the church, that so by the delights of the ear the weaker minds may be stimulated to a devotional frame. Yet when it happens to me to be more moved by the singing than by what is sung, I confess myself to have sinned criminally, and then I would rather not have heard the singing. See now the condition I am in! Weep with me, and weep for me, you who so control your inward feelings as that good results ensue. As for you who do not thus act, these things concern you not. But Thou, Lord my God, give ear, behold and see, and have mercy upon me, and heal me, 1 Thou, in whose sight I am become a puzzle to myself; and "this is my infirmity." 2

CHAP. XXXIV.} THE ALLUREMENTS OF SIGHT. 273

custom. Thus vacillate I between dangerous pleasure and tried soundness; being inclined rather (though I pronounce no irrevocable opinion upon the subject) to approve of the use of singing in the church, that so by the delights of the ear the weaker minds may be stimulated to a devotional frame. Yet when it happens to me to be more moved by the singing than by what is sung, I confess myself to have sinned criminally, and then I would rather not have heard the singing. See now the condition I am in! Weep with me, and weep for me, you who so control your inward feelings as that good results ensue. As for you who do not thus act, these things concern you not. But Thou, Lord my God, give ear, behold and see, and have mercy upon me, and heal me, 1 Thou, in whose sight I am become a puzzle to myself; and "this is my infirmity." 2

Chat, xxxiv. Of the very dangerous allurements of the eyes; on account of beauty of form, God, the Creator, is to be praised.
51. There remain the delights of these eyes of my flesh, concerning which to make my confessions in the hearing of the ears of Thy temple, those fraternal and devout ears; and so to conclude the temptations of "the lust of the flesh" which still assail me, groaning and desiring to be clothed upon with my house from heaven. 4 The eyes delight in fair and varied forms, and bright and pleasing colours. Suffer not these to take possession of my soul; let God rather possess it, He who made these things "very good" 5 indeed; yet is He my good, not these. And these move me while awake, during the day; nor is rest from them granted me, as there is from the voices of melody, sometimes, in silence, from them all. For that queen of colours, the light, flooding all that we look upon, wherever I be during the day, gliding past me in manifold forms, doth soothe me when busied about other things, and not noticing it. And so strongly doth it insinuate itself, that if it be suddenly withdrawn it is looked for longingly, and if long absent doth sadden the mind.

52. O Thou Light, which Tobias saw, 6 when, his eyes being closed, he taught his son the way of life; himself going before

1 Ps. vi. 2. 2 Ps. lxxvii. 10. 3 1 John ii. 16.

* 2 Cor. v. 2. 5 Gen. i. 31. 6 Tobit iv.

CON. S

274 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

with the feet of charity, never going astray. Or that which Isaac saw, when his fleshly "eyes were dim, so that he could not see" 1 by reason of old age; it was permitted him, not knowingly to bless his sons, but in blessing them to know them. Or that which Jacob saw, when he too, blind through great age, with an enlightened heart, in the persons of his own sons, threw light upon the races of the future people, presignified in them; and laid his hands, mystically crossed, upon his grandchildren by Joseph, not as their father, looking outwardly, corrected them, but as he himself distinguished them. 2 This is the light, the only one, and all those who see and love it are one. But that corporeal light of which I was speaking seasoneth the life of the world for her blind lovers, with a tempting and fatal sweetness. But they who know how to praise Thee for it, "0 God, the world's great Architect," 3 take it up in Thy hymn, and are not taken up with it 4 in their sleep. Such desire I to be. I resist seductions of the eyes, lest my feet with which I advance on Thy way be entangled; and I raise my invisible eyes to Thee, that Thou wouldst be pleased to "pluck my feet out of the net." 5 Thou dost continually pluck them out, for they are ensnared. Thou never ceasest to pluck them out, but I constantly remain fast in the snares set all around me; because Thou "that keepest Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep." 6
53. What numberless things, made by divers arts and manufactures, both in our apparel, shoes, vessels, and every kind of work, in pictures, too, and sundry images, and these going far beyond necessary and moderate use and holy signification, have men added for the enthrallment of the eyes; following outwardly what they make, forsaking inwardly Him by whom they were made, yea, and destroying that which they themselves were made! But I, my God and my Joy, do hence also sing a hymn unto Thee, and offer a sacrifice of


3 From the beginning of the hymn of St. Ambrose, part of which is quoted, ix. sec. 32, above.

* Assumunt earn, in hymno tuo, non absumuntur ab ea.

5 Ps. xxv. 15. 6 Ps. cxxi. 4.

CHAP. XXXV.] THE LUST OF THE EYES. 275

praise unto my Sanctifier, 1 because those beautiful patterns, which through the medium of men's souls are conveyed into their artistic hands, 2 emanate from that Beauty which is above our souls, which my soul sigheth after day and night. But as for the makers and followers of those outward beauties, 3 they from thence derive the way of approving them, but not of using them. 3 And though they see Him not, yet is He there, that they might not go astray, but keep their strength for Thee, 4 and not dissipate it upon delicious lassitudes. And I, though I both say and perceive this, impede my course with such beauties, but Thou dost rescue me, O Lord, Thou dost rescue me; " for Thy loving-kindness is before mine eyes." 5

For I am taken miserably, and Thou rescuest me mercifully; sometimes not perceiving it, in that I had come upon them hesitatingly; at other times with pain, because I was held fast by them.

Chap. xxxv. Another kind of temptation is curiosity, which in stimulated by

the lu.st of the eyes.

54. In addition to this there is another form of temptation, more complex in its peril. For besides that concupiscence of the flesh which lieth in the gratification of all senses and pleasures, wherein its slaves who " are far from Thee perish," 6 there pertaineth to the soul, through the same senses of the body, a certain vain and curious longing, cloaked under the name of knowledge and learning, not of having pleasure in the flesh, but of making experiments through the flesh. This longing, since it originates in an appetite for knowledge, and the sight being the chief amongst the senses in the acquisition of knowledge, is called in divine language, " the lust of the eyes." 7 For
seeing belongeth properly to the eyes; yet we apply this word to the other senses also, when we exercise them in the search after knowledge. For we do not say, Listen how it glows, smell how it glistens, taste how it shines, or feel how it flashes, since all these are said to be seen. And yet

1 Sanctificatori meo, hut some mss. have sarrijicato.

* See xi. sec. 7, and note, he-low. 3 See note 4, sec. 40, above.

* Ps. lviii. 10, Vxdg. 5 Ps. xxvi. 3.

6 Ps. lxxiii. 27 7 1 John ii. 16.

276 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

we say not only, See how it shineth, which the eyes alone can perceive; but also, See how it soundeth, see how it smelleth, see how it tasteth, see how hard it is. And thus the general experience of the senses, as was said before, is termed "the lust of the eyes," because the function of seeing, wherein the eyes hold the pre-eminence, the other senses by way of similitude take possession of, whensoever they seek out any knowledge.

55. But by this is it more clearly discerned, when pleasure and when curiosity is pursued by the senses; for pleasure follows after objects that are beautiful, melodious, fragrant, savoury, soft; but curiosity, for experiment's sake, seeks the contrary of these, not with a view of undergoing uneasiness, but from the passion of experimenting upon and knowing them. For what pleasure is there to see, in a lacerated corpse, that which makes you shudder ? And yet if it lie near, we flock thither, to be made sad, and to turn pale. Even in sleep they fear lest they should see it. Just as if when awake any one compelled them to go and see it, or any report of its beauty had attracted them ! Thus also is it with the other senses, which it were tedious to pursue. From this malady of curiosity are all those strange sights exhibited in the theatre. Hence do we proceed to search out the secret powers of nature (which is beside our end), which to know profits not, and wherein men desire nothing but to know. Hence, too, with that same end of perverted knowledge we consult magical arts. Hence, again, even in religion itself, is God tempted, when signs and wonders are eagerly asked of Him, not desired for any saving end, but to make trial only.

56. In this so vast a wilderness, replete with snares and

1 Augustine's great end was to attain the knowledge of God. Hence, in his Soliloquia, i. 7, we read: " Deum et animam scire cupio. Nihilne plus ? Nihil omnino." And he only esteemed the knowledge of physical laws so far as they would lead to Him. (See v. sec. 7, above, and the note there.) In his De Ordine, it. 14, 15, etc., writing at the time of his conversion, he had contended that the knowledge of the liberal sciences would lead to a
knowledge of the divine wisdom; but in his Retractations (i. 3, sec. 2) he regrets this, pointing out that while many holy men have not this knowledge, many who have it are not holy. Compare also Enchir. c. 16; Serm. lxviii. 1, 2; and De Civ, Dei, ix. 22.

CHAP. XXXV.] THE MANIFOLD TEMPTATIONS OF CURIOsITY. 277

dangers, lo, many of them have I lopped off, and expelled from my heart, as Thou, O God of my salvation, hast enabled me to do. And yet when dare I say, since so many things of this kind buzz around our daily life, when dare I say that no such thing makes me intent to see it, or creates in me vain solicitude? It is true that the theatres never now carry me away, nor do I now care to know the courses of the stars, nor hath my soul at any time consulted departed spirits; all sacrilegious oaths I abhor. Lord my God, to whom I owe all humble and single-hearted service, with what subtlety of suggestion does the enemy influence me to require some sign from Thee!

But by our King, and by our pure and chaste country Jerusalem, I beseech Thee, that as any consenting unto such thoughts is far from me, so may it always be farther and farther. But when I entreat Thee for the salvation of any, the end I aim at is far otherwise, and Thou who doest what Thou wilt, givest and wilt give me willingly to " follow " Thee. 1

57. Nevertheless, in how many most minute and contemptible things is our curiosity daily tempted, and who can number how often we succumb? How often, when people are narrating idle tales, do we begin by tolerating them, lest we should give offence unto the weak; and then gradually we listen willingly! I do not now-a-days go to the circus to see a dog chasing a hare; 2 but if by chance I pass such a coursing in the fields, it possibly distracts me even from some serious thought, and draws me after it, not that I turn the body of my beast aside, but the inclination of my mind. And except Thou, by demonstrating to me my weakness, dost speedily warn me, either through the sight itself, by some reflection to rise to Thee, or wholly to despise and pass it by, I, vain one, am absorbed by it. How is it, when sitting at home, a lizard catching flies, or a spider entangling them as they rush into her nets, oftentimes arrests me? Is the feeling of curiosity

1 John xxi. 22.

2 In allusion to those venatios, or hunting scenes, in which the less savage animals were slain. These were held in the circus, which was sometimes planted for the occasion, so as to resemble a forest. See Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities, under " Venatio," and vi. sec. 13, note, above.

278 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]
not the same because these are such tiny creatures? From them I proceed to praise Thee, the wonderful Creator and Disposer of all things; but it is not this that first attracts my attention. It is one thing to get up quickly, and another not to fall, and of such things is my life full; and my only hope is in Thy exceeding great mercy. For when this heart of ours is made the receptacle of such things, and bears crowds of this abounding vanity, then are our prayers often interrupted and disturbed thereby; and whilst in Thy presence we direct the voice of our heart to Thine, this so great a matter is broken off by the influx of I know not what idle thoughts.

Chap. xxxvi. A third kind is "pride," which is pleasing to man, not to God,

58. Shall we, then, account this too amongst such things as are to be lightly esteemed, or shall anything restore us to hope, save Thy complete mercy, since Thou hast begun to change us? And Thou knowest to what extent Thou hast already changed me, Thou who first healest me of the lust of vindicating myself, that so Thou mightest forgive all my remaining "iniquities," and heal all my "diseases," and redeem my life from corruption, and crown me with "loving-kindness and tender mercies," and satisfy my desire with "good things," 1 who didst restrain my pride with Thy fear, and subdue my neck to Thy "yoke." And now I bear it, and it is "light" 2 unto me, because so hast Thou promised, and made it, and so in truth it was, though I knew it not, when I feared to take it up. But, Lord, Thou who alone reignest without pride, because Thou art the only true Lord, who hast no lord, hath this third kind of temptation left me, or can it leave me during this life?

59. The desire to be feared and loved of men, with no other view than that I may experience a joy therein which is no joy, is a miserable life, and unseemly ostentation. Hence especially it arises that we do not love Thee, nor devoutly fear Thee. And therefore dost Thou resist the proud, but givest grace unto the humble; 3 and Thou thunderest upon the ambitious designs of the world, and "the foundations of the hills" tremble. 4 Because now certain offices of human society

1 Pa. ciii. 3-5. 2 Matt. xi. 30. 3 Jas. iv. 6. 4 Ps. xviii. 7.

CHAP. XXXVII.] THE LOVE OF PRAISE. 279

render it necessary to be loved and feared of men, the adversary of our true blessedness presseth hard upon us, everywhere scattering his snares of "well done, well done;" that while acquiring them eagerly, we may be caught unawares, and disunite our joy from Thy truth, and fix it on the deceits of men; and take pleasure in being loved and feared, not for Thy sake, but in Thy stead, by which means, being made like unto him, he may have them as his, not in harmony of love, but in the fellowship of punishment; who aspired to exalt his throne in the north, 1 that dark and cold they might serve him, imitating Thee in
perverse and distorted ways. But we, Lord, lo, we are Thy "little flock;" 2 do Thou possess us, stretch Thy wings over us, and let us take refuge under them. Be Thou our glory; let us be loved for Thy sake, and Thy word feared in us. They who desire to be commended of men when Thou blamest, will not be defended of men when Thou judgest; nor will they be delivered when Thou condemnest. But when not the sinner is praised in the desires of his soul, nor he blessed who doeth unjustly, 3 but a man is praised for some gift that Thou hast bestowed upon him, and he is more gratified at the praise for himself, than that he possesses the gift for which he is praised, such a one is praised while Thou blamest. And better truly is he who praised than the one who was praised. For the gift of God in man was pleasing to the one, while the other was better pleased with the gift of man than that of God.

Chap, xxxvii. He is forcibly goaded on by the love of praise.

60. By these temptations, O Lord, are we daily tried; yea, unceasingly are we tried. Our daily " furnace " 4 is the human tongue. And in this respect also dost Thou command us to be continent. Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt. Eegarding this matter, Thou knowest the groans of my heart, and the rivers 5 of mine eyes. For I am not able to ascertain how far I am clean of this plague, and I stand in great fear of my " secret faults," 6 which

1 Isa. xiv. 13, 14. a Luke xii. 32. 8 Ps. x. 3, in Vvig. and LXX.


Ps. xix. 12. See note 7, page 5, above.

280 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X

Thine eyes perceive, though mine do not. For in other kinds of temptations I have some sort of power of examining myself; but in this, hardly any. For, both as regards the pleasures of the flesh and an idle curiosity, I see how far I have been able to hold my mind in check when I do without them, either voluntarily or by reason of their not being at hand; 1 for then I inquire of myself how much more or less troublesome it is to me not to have them. Eiches truly which are sought for in order that they may minister to some one of these three " lusts," 2 or to two, or the whole of them, if the mind be not able to see clearly whether, when it hath them, it despiseth them, they may be cast on one side, that so it may prove itself. But if we desire to test our power of doing without praise, need we live ill, and that so flagitiously and immoderately as that every one who knows us shall detest us ? What greater madness than this can be either said or conceived ? But if praise both is wont and ought to be the companion of a good life and of good works, we should as little forego its companionship as a good life itself. But unless a thing be absent, I do not know whether I shall be contented or troubled at being without it.
61. What, then, do I confess unto Thee, Lord, in this kind of temptation? What, save that I am delighted with praise, but more with the truth itself than with praise? For were I to have my choice, whether I had rather, being mad, or astray on all things, be praised by all men, or, being firm and well-assured in the truth, be blamed by all, I see which I should choose. Yet would I be unwilling that the approval of another should even add to my joy for any good I have. Yet I admit that it doth increase it, and, more than that, that dispraise doth diminish it. And when I am disquieted at this misery of mine, an excuse presents itself to me, the value of which Thou, God, knowest, for it renders me uncertain. For since it is not continency alone that Thou

1 In his De Vera Relig. sec. 92, he points out that adversity also, when it comes to a good man, will disclose to him how far his heart is set on worldly things: "Hoc enim sine amore nostro aderat, quod sine dolore discedit."

2 1 John ii. 16. See beginning of sec. 41, above.

CHAP. XXXVII.] WHEN WE MAY RECEIVE PRAISE. 281

hast enjoined upon us, that is, from what things to hold back our love, but righteousness also, that is, upon what to bestow it, and hast wished us to love not Thee only, but also our neighbour, I often, when gratified by intelligent praise, I appear to myself to be gratified by the proficiency or towardliness of my neighbour, and again to be sorry for evil in him when I hear him dispraise either that which he understands not, or is good. For I am sometimes grieved at mine own praise, either when those things which I am displeased at in myself be praised in me, or even lesser and trifling goods are more valued than they should be. But, again, how do I know whether I am thus affected, because I am unwilling that he who praiseth me should differ from me concerning myself not as being moved with consideration for him, but because the same good things which please me in myself are more pleasing to me when they also please another? For, in a sort, I am not praised when my judgment of myself is not praised; since either those things which are displeasing to me are praised, or those more so which are less pleasing to me. Am I then uncertain of myself in this matter?

62. Behold, Truth, in Thee do I see that I ought not to be moved at my own praises for my own sake, but for my neighbour's good. And whether it be so, in truth I know not. For concerning this I know less of myself than dost Thou. I beseech Thee now, my God, to reveal to me myself also, that I may confess unto my brethren, who are to pray for me, what I find in myself weak. Once again let me more diligently examine myself. 2 If, in mine own praise, I am moved with consideration for my neighbour, why am I less moved if some other man be unjustly dispraised than if it be myself? Why am I more irritated at that reproach which is
1 Lev. xix. 18. See book xii. sees. 35, 4), below.

8 It may be well, in connection with the striking piece of soul-anatomy in this and the last two sections, to advert to other passages in which Augustine speaks of the temptation arising from the praise of men. In Serm. ccexxxix. 1, he says that he does not altogether dislike praise when it comes from the good, though feeling it to be a snare, and does not reject it: "Ne ingrati sint quibus pra:dieo." That is, as he says above, he accepted it for his "neighbour's good," since, had his neighbour not been ready to give praise, it would have indicated

282 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

cast upon myself, than at that which is with equal injustice cast upon another in my presence? Am I ignorant of this also? or does it remain that I deceive myself, 1 and do not the "truth" 2 before Thee in my heart and tongue? Put such madness far from me, O Lord, lest my mouth be to me the oil of sinners, to anoint my head. 3

Chap. xxxviii. Vain-glory is the highest danger.

63. "lam poor and needy," 4 yet better am I while in secret groanings I displease myself, and seek for Thy mercy, until what is lacking in me be renewed and made complete, even up to that peace of which the eye of the proud is ignorant. Yet the word which proceeceth out of the mouth, and actions known to men, have a most dangerous temptation from the love of praise, which, for the establishing of a certain excellency of our own, gathers together solicited suffrages. It tempts, even when within I reprove myself for it, on the very ground that it is reproved; and often man glories more vainly of the very scorn of vain-glory; wherefore it is not any longer scorn of vain-glory whereof it glories, for he does not truly contemn it when he inwardly glories.

Chap. xxxix. Of the vice of those who, while pleasing themselves, displease God.

64. Within also, within is another evil, arising out of the same kind of temptation; whereby they become empty who please themselves in themselves, although they please not, or displease, or aim at pleasing others. But in pleasing them-

a wrong condition of heart in him. We are, therefore, as he argues in his De Serm. Bom. in Mon. ii. 1, 2, 6, to see that the design of our acts he not that men should see and praise us (compare also Enarr. in Ps. lxv. 2). If they praise us it is well, since it shows that their heart is right; but ii we "act rightly only because of the praise of men" (Matt. vi. 2, 5), we seek our own glory and not that of God. See also Serms. xciii. 9, clic. 10, etc.; and De Civ. Dei. v. 13, 14.

1 Gal. vi. 3. 1 John i. 8.
3 Ps. cxli. 5, recording to the Vulg. and LXX. The Authorized Version (with which the Targum is in accord) gives the more probable sense, when it makes the oil to be that of the righteous and not that of the sinner: "Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent oil, which shall not break my head."

4 P. cix. 22.

HAP. XL.] GOD THE FOUNTAIN OF LIGHT. 283

elves, they much displease Thee, not merely taking pleasure in things not good as if they were good, but in Thy good things as though they were their own; or even as if in thine, yet as though of their own merits; or even as if hough of Thy grace, yet not with friendly rejoicings, but as nvyng that grace to others. I In all these and similar perils and abours Thou perceivest the trembling of my heart, and I rather feel my wounds to be cured by Thee than not inflicted by me.

Chap. xl. The only safe resting-place for the soul is to be found in God.

65. Where hast Thou not accompanied me, O Truth, 2 eaching me both what to avoid and what to desire, when I submitted to Thee what I could perceive of sublunary things, and asked Thy counsel? With my external senses, as I could, I viewed the world, and noted the life which my body derives from me, and these my senses. Thence I advanced inwardly into the recesses of my memory, the manifold ooms, wondrously full of multitudinous wealth; and I conidered and was afraid, and could discern none of these things without Thee, and found none of them to be Thee. STor was I myself the discoverer of these things, I, who went over them all, and laboured to distinguish and to value everything according to its dignity, accepting some things upon lie report of my senses, and questioning about others which I elt to be mixed up with myself, distinguishing and numberng the reporters themselves, and in the vast storehouse of my memory investigating some things, laying up others, taking mt others. Neither was I myself when I did this (that is, that ability of mine whereby I did it), nor was it Thou, for Thou art that never-failing light which I took counsel of as to them all, whether they were what they were, and what was their worth; and I heard Thee teaching and commanding me. A.nd this I do often; this is a delight to me, and, as far as I

1 See his De Civ. Dei, v. 20, where he compares the truly pious man, who attributes all his good to God's mercy, "giving thanks for what in him is healed, and pouring out prayers for the healing of that which is yet unhealed,"
with the philosophers who make their chief end pleasure or human glory.

2 See xii. sec. 35, below.

284 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X.]

can get relief from necessary duties, to this gratification do I resort. Nor in all these which I review when consulting Thee, find I a secure place for my soul, save in Thee, into whom my scattered members may be gathered together, and nothing of me depart from Thee. 1 And sometimes Thou dost introduce me to a most rare affection, inwardly, to an inexplicable sweetness, which, if it should be perfected in me, I know not to what point that life might not arrive. But by these wretched weights 2 of mine do I relapse into these things, and am sucked in by my old customs, and am held, and sorrow much, yet am much held. To such an extent does the burden of habit press us down. In this way I can be, but will not; in that I will, but cannot, on both ways miserable.

Chap. xli. Having conquered his triple desire, he arrives at salvation.

66. And thus have I reflected upon the wearinesses of my sins, in that threefold "lust," 3 and have invoked Thy right hand to my aid. For with a wounded heart have I seen Thy brightness, and being beaten back I exclaimed, "Who can attain unto it?" "I am cut off from before Thine eyes." 4
Thou art the Truth, who presidest over all things, but I, through my covetousness, wished not to lose Thee, but with Thee wished to possess a lie; as no one wishes so to speak falsely as himself to be ignorant of the truth. So then I lost Thee, because Thou deignest not to be enjoyed with a lia

Chap. xlii. In what manner many sought the Mediator.

67. Whom could I find to reconcile me to Thee? Was I to solicit the angels? By what prayer? By what sacraments?
Many striving to return unto Thee, and not able of themselves, have, as I am told, tried this, and have fallen into a longing for curious visions, 5 and were held worthy to be deceived.

1 See ix. sec. 10, note, above, and xi. sec. 39, below. * Heb. xii. 1.

3 See sec. 41, note 5, above. * Ps. xxxi. 22.

5 It would be easy so to do, since even amongst believers, as we find from Evodius' letter to Augustine (Ep. clvi.), there was a prevalent belief that the blessed dead visited the earth, and that visions had an important bearing on human affairs. See also Augustine's
answer to Evodius, in Ep. clix.; Chrysostom, De Sacer. vi. 4; and on Visions, see sec. 41, note, above.

i.HAP. XLIII.] THE MEDIATOR, GOD AND MAN. 285

Ir or they, being exalted, sought Thee by the pride of learning, trusting themselves forward rather than beating their breasts, and so by correspondence of heart drew unto themselves the princes of the air, 1 the conspirators and companions in pride, by whom, through the power of magic, 2 they were deceived, i.e., seeking a mediator by whom they might be cleansed; but none was there. For the devil it was, transforming himself into an angel of light. 3 And he much allured proud flesh, in that he had no fleshly body. For they were mortal, and sinful; but Thou, O Lord, to whom they arrogantly sought to be reconciled, art immortal, and sinless. But a mediator between God and man ought to have something like unto God, and something like unto man; lest being in both like unto man, he should be far from God; or if in both like unto God, he should be far from man, and so should not be a mediator. That deceitful mediator, then, by whom in Thy secret judgments pride deserved to be deceived, hath one thing in common with man, that is, sin; another he would appear to have with God, and, not being clothed with mortality of flesh, would boast that he was immortal. 4 But since "the wages of sin is death," 5 this hath he in common with men, that together with them he should be condemned to death.

Chap. xliii. That Jesus Christ, at the same time God and man, is the true and most efficacious Mediator.

68. But the true Mediator, whom in Thy secret mercy Thou hast pointed out to the humble, and didst send, that by His example 6 also they might learn the same humility that "Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus," 7 appeared between mortal sinners and the immortal Just One mortal with men, just with God; that because the reward of righteousness is life and peace, He might, by righteousness conjoined with God, cancel the death of justified sinners, which He

1 Eph. ii. 2. 2 See note. p. 59, above. 3 2 Cor. xi. 14.

4 In his De Civ. Dei, x. 24, in speaking of the Incarnation of Christ as a mystery unintelligible to Porphyry's pride, he has a similar passage, in which he speaks of the "true and benignant Mediator," and the "malignant and deceitful mediators." See vii. sec. 24, above.

5 Rom. vi. 23.

6 See notes 3, p. 63, and 1 and 3, p. 72, above. 7 1 Tim. ii. 5.
willed to have in common with them. 1 Hence He was pointed out to holy men of old; to the intent that they, through faith in His Passion to come, 2 even as we through faith in that which is past, might be saved. For as man He was Mediator; but as the Word He was not between, 3 because equal to God, and God with God, and together with the Holy Spirit 4 one God.

69. How hast Thou loved us, 5 O good Father, who sparedst not Thine only Son, but deliverrdst Him up for us wicked ones! 6

1 Not that our Lord is to be supposed, as some have held, to have been under the law of death in Adam, because "in Adam all die" (1 Cor. xv. 22; see the whole of c. 23, in De Civ. Dei, xiii., and compare ix. sec. 34, note 2, above); for he says in Serm. ccxxxii. 5: "As there was nothing in us from which life could spring, so there was nothing in Him from which death could come." He laid down His life (John x. 18), and as being partaker of the divine nature, could see no corruption (Acts ii. 27). This is the explanation Augustine gives in his comment on Ps. lxxxv. 5 (quoted in the next section) of Christ's being "free among the dead." So also in his De Trin. xiii. 18, he says he was thus free because "solus enim a debito mortis liber est mortuus."

The true analogy between the first and second Adam is surely then to be found in our Lord's being free from the law of death by reason of His divine nature, and Adam before his transgression being able to avert death by partaking of the Tree of Life. Christ was, it is true, a child of Adam, but a child of Adam miraculously born. See note, p. 68, above.

2 See De Trin. vi. 2; and Trench, Hulsean Lectures (1845), latter part of lect. iv.

3 Medina, alluding to mediator immediately before. See his De Civ. Dei, ix. 15, and xi. 2, for an enlargement of this distinction between Christ as man and Christ as the Word. Compare also De Trin. i. 20 and xiii. 13; and ManseL Bampton Lectures, lect. v. note 20.

4 Some mss. omit Cum spiritu sancto.

5 Christ did not, as in the words of a well-known hymn, " change the wrath to love. " For, as Augustine remarks in a very beautiful passage in Ev. Joh. Tract. ex. 6, God loved us before the foundation of the world, and the reconcilement wrought by Christ must not be "so understood as if the Son reconciled us unto Him in this respect, that He now began to love those whom He formerly hated, in the same way as enemy is reconciled to enemy, so that thereafter they become friends, and mutual love takes the place of their mutual hatred; but we were reconciled unto Him who already loved us, but
with whom we were at enmity because of our sin. Whether I say the truth on this let the apostle testify, when he says: ' God commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us ' " (Rom. v. 8, 9). He similarly applies the text last quoted in his De Trin. xiii. 15. See also ibid. sec. 21, where he speaks of the wrath of God, and ibid. iv. 2. Compare Archbishop Thomson, Bampton Lectures, lect. vii., and note 95.

6 Kom. viii. 34, which is not "for us wicked ones," but "for us all," as the

JCHAP. XLIII.] THE ATONEMENT. 28 1 /

How hast Thou loved us, for whom He, who thought it no

[robery to be equal with Thee, "became obedient unto death,

;}even the death of the cross;" 1 He alone "free among the dead," 2

Ijthat had power to lay down His life, and power to take it again; 3

for us was He unto Thee both Victor and Victim, and the Victor
las being the Victim; for us was He unto Thee both Priest and

[(Sacrifice, and Priest as being the Sacrifice of slaves, making us

[ Thy sons, by being born of Thee, and serving us. Eightly,

j then, is my hope strongly fixed on Him, that Thou wilt heal

| all my diseases 4 by Him who sitteth at Thy right hand and

ilmaketh intercession for us; 6 else should I utterly despair. 6

: For numerous and great are my infirmities, yea, numerous and
great are they; but Thy medicine is greater. We might think

that Thy Word was removed from union with man, and despair

fof ourselves had He not been "made flesh and dwelt among us." 7

70. Terrified by my sins and the load of my misery, I had
resolved in my heart, and meditated flight into the wilderness; 8
but Thou didst forbid me, and didst strengthen me, saying,
[[therefore, Christ "died for all, that they which live should not
.(henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for
them." 9 Behold, Lord, I cast my care upon Thee, 10 that I
imay live, and " behold wondrous things out of Thy law." n

! [Thou knowest my unskilfulness and my infirmities; teach
lime, and heal me. Thine only Son He " in whom are hid
jail the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" 12 hath redeemed
me with His blood. Let not the proud speak evil of me, 13

jAuthorized Version has it; and we must not narrow the Avords. Augustine, in Ev. Joh.
Tract, ex. 2, it will be remembered, when commenting on John xvii. 21,
("that they all may be one . . . that the world may believe Thou hast sent Ime," limits "the
world" to the believing ivorld, and continues {ibid. sec. 4), jj" Ipsi sunt enim mundus, 
non permanens inimicus, qualis est mundus damnationi iipredestinatus. " On Christ 
being a ransom for all, see Archbishop Thomson, Bampton Lectures, lect. vii. part 5, and 
ote 101.
1 Phil. ii. 6, 8. * Ps. lxxxviii. 5; see sec. 68, note, above.

* John x. 18. * Ps. ciii. 3. 5 Rom. viii. 34.

See note 5, p. 235, above. 7 John i. 14. 8 Ps. lv. 7.

^ 9 2 Cor. v. 15. 10 Ps. lv. 22. Ps. cxix. 18.

18 Col. ii. 3. Compare Dean Mansel, Bampton Lecture*, lect. v. and note 22.
13 Ps. cxix. 122, Old Ver. He may perhaps here allude to the spiritual pride f the 
Donatists, who, holding rigid views as to purity of discipline, disparaged

288
because I consider my ransom, and eat and drink, and distribute; and poor, desire to be satisfied from Him, together with those who eat and are satisfied, and they praise the Lord that seek Him. 1

both his life and doctrine, pointing to his Manichreanism and the sinfulness of life before baptism. In his Answer to Petilian, iii. 11, 20, etc., and Serm. 3, sec. 19, on Ps. xxxvi., he alludes at length to the charges brought against him, referring then finally to his own confessions in book iii. above.

1 Ps. xxii. 26. Augustine probably alludes here to the Lord's Supper, in accordance with the general Patristic interpretation.

CHAP. I. THE DESIGN OF HIS CONFESSIONS. 289

BOOK ELEVENTH.


Chap. i. By confession he desires to stimulate towards God his own love and that of his readers.

1. 1 LOKD, since eternity is Thine, art Thou ignorant of the things which I say unto Thee? Or seest Thou at the time that which cometh to pass in time? Why, therefore, do I
place before Thee so many relations of things? Not surely that Thou mightest know them through me, but that I may awaken my own love and that of my readers towards Thee, that we may all say, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised." * I have already said, and shall say, for the love of Thy love do I this. For we also pray, and yet Truth says, "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask Him." 2 Therefore do we make known unto Thee our love, in confessing unto Thee our own miseries and Thy mercies upon us, that Thou mayest free us altogether, since Thou hast begun, that we may cease to be wretched in ourselves, and that we may be blessed in Thee; since Thou hast called us, that we may be poor in spirit, and meek, and mourners, and hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and merciful, and pure in heart, and peacemakers. 3 Behold, I have told unto Thee many things, which I could and which I would, for Thou first wouldest that I should confess unto Thee, the Lord my God, for Thou art good, since Thy "mercy endureth for ever." 4

1 Ps. xcvi. 4. See note 3, page 1, above. 2 Matt. vi. 8.


CON. T

290 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE [BOOK XI.]

Chap. ii. He begs of God that through the Holy Scriptures he may be led to truth.

2. But when shall I suffice with the tongue of my pen to express all Thy exhortations, and all Thy terrors, and comforts, and guidances, whereby Thou hast led me to preach Thy Word and to dispense Thy Sacrament * unto Thy people? And if I suffice to utter these things in order, the drops 2 of time are dear to me. Long time have I burned to meditate in Thy law, and in it to confess to Thee my knowledge and ignorance, the beginning of Thine enlightening, and the remains of my darkness, until infirmity be swallowed up by strength. And I would not that to aught else those hours should flow away, which I find free from the necessities of refreshing my body, and the care of my mind, and of the service which we owe to men, and which, though we owe not, even yet we pay. 8

3. O Lord my God, hear my prayer, and let Thy mercy regard my longing, since it burns not for myself alone, but because it desires to benefit brotherly charity; and Thou seest into my heart, that so it is. I would sacrifice to Thee the
1 He very touchingly alludes in Serm. ccclv. 2 to the way in which he was forced against his will (as was frequently the custom in those days), first, to become a presbyter (a.d. 391), and, four years later, coadjutor to Valerius, Bishop of Hippo (Ep. xxxi. 4, and Ep. ccxiii. 4), whom on his death he succeeded.

His own wish was to establish a monastery, and to this end he sold his patrimony, "which consisted of only a few small fields" (Ep. cxxvi. 7). He absolutely dreaded to become a bishop, and as he knew his name was highly esteemed in the Church, he avoided cities in which the see was vacant. His former backsliding had made him humble; and he tells us in the sermon above referred to "Cavebam hoc, et agebam quantae poteram, ut in loco humili salvaber in alto periclitarer." Augustine also alludes to his ordination in Ep. xxix. addressed to Bishop Valerius.

2 " He alludes to the hour-glasses of his time, which went by water, as ours do now by sand." W. W.

3 Augustine, in common with other bishops, had his time much invaded by those who sought his arbitration or judicial decision in secular matters, and in his De Op. Monach. sec. 37, he says, what many who have much mental toil will readily appreciate, that he would rather have spent the time not occupied in prayer and the study of the Scriptures in working with his hands, as did the monks, than have to bear these tumultuosisshnas perplexitates. In the year 426 we find him (Ep. ccxiii.) designating Eraclius, in public assembly, as his successor in the see, and to relieve him (though, meanwhile, remaining a presbyter) of these anxious duties. See vi. sec. 16, and note 1, above; and also ibid. sec. 3.

CHAP. II.] THE RIGHT USE OF SCRIPTURE. 291

service of my thought and tongue; and do Thou give what I may offer unto Thee. For " I am poor and needy," * Thou rich unto all that call upon Thee, 2 who free from care carest for us. Circumcise from all rashness and from all lying my inward and outward lips. 3 Let Thy Scriptures be my chaste delights. Neither let me be deceived in them, nor deceive out of them. 4 Lord, hear and pity, Lord my God, light of the blind, and strength of the weak; even also light of those that see, and strength of the strong, hearken unto my soul, and hear it crying "out of the depths." 6 For unless Thine ears be present in the depths also, whither shall we go? whither shall we cry ? " The day is Thine, and the night also is Thine." 6

At Thy nod the moments ilee by. Grant thereof space for our meditations amongst the hidden things of Thy law, nor close it against us who knock. For not in vain hast Thou willed that the obscure secret of so many pages should be written. Nor is it that those forests have not their harts, 7 betaking
4 Augustine is always careful to distinguish between the certain truths of faith and doctrine which all may know, and the mysteries of Scripture which all have not the ability equally to apprehend. "Among the things," he says (De Doctr. Christ, ii. 14), "that are plainly laid down in Scripture, are to be found all matters that concern faith, and the manner of life. " As to the Scriptures that are obscure, he is slow to come to conclusions, lest he should " be deceived in them or deceive out of them." In his De Gen. ad Lit. i. 37, he gives a useful warning against forcing our own meaning on Scripture in doubtful questions, and, ibid. viii. 5, we have the memorable words: "Melius est dubitare de rebus occultis, quam litigare de incertis. " For examples of how careful he is in such matters not to go beyond what is written, see his answer to the question raised by Evodius, a question which reminds us of certain modern speculations (see The Unseen Universe, arts. 61, 201, etc.), whether the soul on departing from the body has not still a body of some kind, and at least some of the senses proper to a body; and also (Ep. clxiv.) his endeavours to unravel Evodius' difficulties as to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison (1 Pet. iii. 18-21). Similarly, he says, as to the Antichrist of 2 Thess. ii. 1-7 (De Civ. Dei, xx. 19): " I frankly confess I know not what he means. I will, nevertheless, mention such conjectures as I have heard or read." See notes, pp. 48 and 115, above.

5 Ps. cxxx. 1. Ps. lxxiv. 16.

7 Ps. xxix. 9. In his comment on this place as given in the Old Version, "vox Domini perficientis cervos," he makes the forest with its thick darkness to symbolize the mysteries of Scripture, while the harts ruminating thereon represent the pious Christian meditating on those mysteries (see vi. sec. 3, note, above). In this same passage he speaks of those who are thus being perfected as overcom-

292 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XI.]

themselves therein, and ranging, and walking, and feeding, lying down, and ruminating. Perfect me, Lord, and reveal them unto me. Behold, Thy voice is my joy, Thy voice surpasseth the abundance of pleasures. Give that which I love, for I do love; and this hast Thou given. Abandon not Thine own gifts, nor despise Thy grass that thirsteth. Let me confess unto Thee whatsoever I shall have found in Thy books, and let me hear the voice of praise, and let me imbibe Thee, and reflect on the wonderful things of Thy law; I even from the beginning, wherein Thou madest the heaven and the earth, unto the everlasting kingdom of Thy holy city that is with Thee.

4. Lord, have mercy on me and hear my desire. For I think that it is not of the earth, nor of gold and silver, and precious stones, nor gorgeous apparel, nor honours and powers, nor the pleasures of the flesh, nor necessaries for the
body, and this life of our pilgrimage; all which are added to those that seek Thy kingdom and Thy righteousness. 8 Behold, Lord my God, whence is my desire. The unrighteous have told me of delights, but not such as Thy law, Lord. 8 Behold whence is my desire. Behold, Father, look and see, and approve; and let it be pleasing in the sight of Thy mercy, that I may find grace before Thee, that the secret things of Thy Word may be opened unto me when I knock. 4 I beseech, by our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, "the Man of Thy right hand, the Son of man, whom Thou madest strong for Thyself," 5 as Thy Mediator and ours, through whom Thou hast sought us, although not seeking Thee, but didst seek us that we might seek Thee, 6 Thy Word through whom Thou hast made all things, 7 and amongst them me also,

ing the poisoned tongues. This is an allusion to the fabled power the stags had of enticing serpents from their holes by their breath, and then destroying them.

Augustine is very fond of this kind of fable from natural history. In his Enarr. in Ps. cxxix. and cxi., we have similar allusions to the supposed habits of stags; and, ibid. ci., we have the well-known fable of the pelican in its charity reviving its young, and feeding them with its own blood. This use of fables was very common with the mediaeval writers, and those familiar with the writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will recall many illustrations of it amongst the preachers of those days.

1 Ps. xxvi. 7. 2 Matt. vi. 33. Ps. cxix. 85.

4 See p. 8, note, above. Ps. lxxx. 17.

e See note 1, p. 72, above. f John i. 3.

CHAIIII.] THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES. 293

Thy Only-begotten, through whom Thou hast called to adoption the believing people, and therein me also. I beseech Thee through Him, who sitteth at Thy right hand, and "maketh intercession for us," 1 "in whom are hid all treasures of wisdom and knowledge." 2 Him 3 do I seek in Thy books. Of Him did Moses write; 4 this saith Himself; this saith the Truth.

Chap. hi. He begins from the creation of the world not understanding the Hebrew text.

5. Let me hear and understand how in the beginning Thou didst make the heaven and the earth. 5 Moses wrote this; he wrote and departed, passed hence from Thee to Thee. Nor
now is he before me; for if he were I would hold him, and
ask him, and would adjure him by Thee that he would open
unto me these things, and I would lend the ears of my body
to the sounds bursting; forth from his mouth. And should he
speak in the Hebrew tongue, in vain would it beat on my
senses, nor would aught touch my mind; but if in Latin, I
should know what he said. But whence should I know
whether he said what was true? But if I knew this even,
should I know it from him? Verily within me, within in
the chamber of my thought, Truth, neither Hebrew, nor Greek,
nor Latin, nor barbarian, without the organs of voice and
tongue, without the sound of syllables, would say, "He speaks
the truth," and I, forthwith assured of it, confidently would say

1 Rom. viii. 34. * Col. ii. 3.

3 Many MSB., however, read ipsos, and not ipsum.

4 John v. 4-6. 5 Gen. i. 1.

6 Augustine was not singular amongst the early Fathers in not knowing Hebrew, for of
the Greeks only Origen, and of the Latins Jerome, knew anything of it. We find him
confessing his ignorance both here and elsewhere (Enarr. in Ps. cxxxvi. 7, and De Doctr.
Christ, ii. 22); and though he recommends a knowledge of Hebrew as well as Greek, to
correct "the endless diversity of the Latin translators" (De. Doctr. Christ, ii. 16), he
speaks as strongly as does Grinfield, in his Apology for the Septuagint, in favour of the
claims of that version to
"biblical and canonical authority" (Eps. xxviii., lxxii., and lxxv.; De Civ. Dei, xviii. 42,
43; De Doctr. Christ, ii. 22). He discountenanced Jerome's new translation, probably from
fear of giving offence, and, as we gather from Ep.
lxxi. 5, not without cause. From the tumult he there describes as ensuing upon Jerome's
version being read, the outcry would appear to have been as great as when, on the change
of the old style of reckoning to the new, the ignorant mob clamoured to have back their
pleven days!
unto that man of Thine, "Thou speakest the truth." As, then, I cannot inquire of him, I beseech Thee, Thee, Truth, full of whom he spake truth, Thee, my God, I beseech, forgive my sins; and do Thou, who didst give to that Thy servant to speak these things, grant to me also to understand them.

Chap. iv. Heaven and earth cry out that they have been created by Ood.

6. Behold, the heaven and earth are; they proclaim that they were made, for they are changed and varied. Whereas whatsoever hath not been made, and yet hath being, hath nothing in it which there was not before; this is what it is to be changed and varied. They also proclaim that they made not themselves; "therefore we are, because we have been made; we were not therefore before we were, so that we could have made ourselves." And the voice of those that speak is in itself an evidence. Thou, therefore, Lord, didst make these things; Thou who art beautiful, for they are beautiful; Thou who art good, for they are good; Thou who art, for they are. Nor even so are they beautiful, nor good, nor are they, as Thou their Creator art; compared with whom they are neither beautiful, nor good, nor are at all. 1 These things we know, thanks be to Thee. And our knowledge, compared with Thy knowledge, is ignorance.

Chap. v. Ood created the world not from any certain matter, but in His own loord.

7. But how didst Thou make the heaven and the earth, and what was the instrument of Thy so mighty work? For it was not as a human worker fashioning body from body, according to the fancy of his mind, in somewise able to assign a form which it perceives in itself by its inner eye. 2 And whence should he be able to do this, hadst not Thou made

1 It was the doctrine of Aristotle that excellence of character is the proper object of love, and in proportion as we recognise such excellence in others are we attracted to become like them (see Sidgwick's Methods of Ethics, book iv. c. 5, sec. 4). If this be true of the creature, how much more should it be so of the Creator, who is the perfection of all that we can conceive of goodness and truth.
Compare De Trin. viii. 3-6, De Vera Relig. 57, and an extract from Athauese Coquerel in Archbishop Thomson's Bampton Lectures, note 73.

2 See x. sec. 40, note 4, and sec. 53, above.
that mind? And he assigns to it already existing, and as it were having a being, a form, as clay, or stone, or wood, or gold, or such like. And whence should these things be, hadst not Thou appointed them? Thou didst make for the workman his body, Thou the mind commanding the limbs, Thou the matter whereof he makes anything, 1 Thou the capacity whereby he may apprehend his art, and see within what he may do without, Thou the sense of his body, by which, as by an interpreter, he may from mind unto matter convey that which he doeth, and report to his mind what may have been done, that it within may consult the truth, presiding over itself, whether it be well done. All these things praise Thee, the Creator of all. But how dost Thou make them? How, O God, didst Thou make heaven and earth? Truly, neither in the heaven nor in the earth didst Thou make heaven and earth; nor in the air, nor in the waters, since these also belong to the heaven and the earth; nor in the whole world didst Thou make the whole world; because there was no place wherein it could be made before it was made, that it might be; nor didst Thou hold anything in Thy hand wherewith to make heaven and earth. For whence couldest Thou have what Thou hadst not made, whereof to make anything? For what is, save because Thou art? Therefore Thou didst speak and they were made, 2 and in Thy Word Thou madest these things. 8

Chap. vi. He did not, however, create it by a sounding and passing word.

8. But how didst Thou speak? Was it in that manner in which the voice came from the cloud, saying, "This is my beloved Son"?* For that voice was uttered and passed away,

1 That is, the artificer makes, God creates. The creation of matter is distinctively a doctrine of revelation. The ancient philosophers believed in the eternity of matter. As Lucretius puts it (i. 51): "Nullam rem e nihilo gigni divinitus unquam." See Burton, Bampton Lectures, lect. iii. and notes 18-21, and Mansel, Bampton Lectures, lect. iii. note 12. See also p. 77, note, above, for the Manichsean doctrine as to the v*; and The Unseen Universe, arts. 85, 86, 151, and 160, for the modern doctrine of "continuity." See also Kalisch, Commentary on Gen. i. 1.

* Ps. xxxiii. 9. 3 Ibid. ver. 6. Matt. xviL 5.
I began and ended. The syllables sounded and passed by, the second after the first, the third after the second, and thence in order, until the last after the rest, and silence after the last. Hence it is clear and plain that the motion of a creature expressed it, itself temporal, obeying Thy eternal will. And these thy words formed at the time, the outer ear conveyed to the intelligent mind, whose inner ear lay attentive to Thy eternal word. But it compared these words sounding in time with Thy eternal word in silence, and said, "It is different, very different. These words are far beneath me, nor are they, since they flee and pass away; but the Word of my Lord remaineth above me for ever." If, then, in sounding and fleeting words Thou didst say that heaven and earth should be made, and didst thus make heaven and earth, there was already a corporeal creature before heaven and earth by whose temporal motions that voice might take its course in time. But there was nothing corporeal before heaven and earth; or if there were, certainly Thou without a transitory voice hadst created that whence Thou wouldest make the passing voice, by which to say that the heaven and the earth should be made. For whatsoever that were of which such a voice was made, unless it were made by Thee, it could not be at all. By what word of Thine was it decreed that a body might be made, whereby these words might be made?

Chap. vii. By His co-eternal Word He speaks, and all things are done.

9. Thou callest us, therefore, to understand the Word, God with Thee, God; 1 which is spoken eternally, and by it are all things spoken eternally. For what was spoken was not finished, and another spoken until all were spoken; but all things at once and for ever. For otherwise have we time and change, and not a true eternity, nor a true immortality. This I know, my God, and give thanks. I know, I confess to Thee, Lord, and whosoever is not unthankful to certain truth, knows and blesses Thee with me. We know, Lord, we know; since in proportion as anything is not what it was, and is what it was not, in that proportion does it die and

1 John i. 1.

CHAP. VIII.] CHRIST "THE BEGINNING." 297

i arise. Not anything, therefore, of Thy Word giveth place and cometh into place again, because it is truly immortal and eternal. And, therefore, unto the Word co-eternal with Thee, i Thou dost at once and for ever say all that Thou dost say;

and whatever Thou sayest shall be made, is made; nor dost
Thou makest otherwise than by speaking; yet all things are not made both together and everlasting which Thou makest by speaking.

Chap. viii. That Word itself is the beginning of all things, in the which we are instructed as to evangelical truth.

10. Why is this, I beseech Thee, Lord my God? I see it, however, but how I shall express it, I know not, unless that everything which begins to be and ceases to be, then begins and ceases when in Thy eternal Reason it is known that it ought to begin or cease where nothing beginneth or I ceaseth. The same is Thy Word, which is also "the Beginning," because also It speaketh unto us. 1 Thus, in the gospel He speaketh through the flesh; and this sounded outwardly in the ears of men, that it might be believed and sought inwardly, and that it might be found in the eternal Truth, where the good and only Master teacheth all His disciples. There, O Lord, I hear Thy voice, the voice of one speaking unto me, since He speaketh unto us who teacheth us. But He that

1 John viii. 25, Old Ver. Though some would read, Qui et loquitur, making it correspond to the Vulgate, instead of Quia et loquitur, as above, the latter is doubtless the correct reading, since we find the text similarly quoted In Ev. Joh. Tract, xxxviii. 11, where he enlarges on " The Beginning," comparing principium with px*>; It will assist to the understanding of this section to refer to the early part of the note on p. 153, above, where the Platonic view of the Logos, as ἡμινίδερος and -ημπιξποπίκος, or in the "bosom of the Father " and "made flesh," is given; which terminology, as Dr. Newman tells us (Arians, pt. i. c. 2, sec. 4), was accepted by the Church. Augustine, consistently with this idea, says (on John viii. 25, as above): " For if the Beginning, as it is in itself, had remained so with the Father as not to receive the form of a servant and speak as man with men, how could they have believed in Him, since their weak hearts could not have heard the word intelligently without some voice that would appeal to their senses? Therefore, said He, believe me to be the Beginning; for that you may believe, I not only am, but also speak to you." Newman, as quoted above, may be referred to for the significance of &p%n as applied to the Son, and ibid. sec. 3, also, on the "Word." For the difference between a mere "voice" and the "Word," compare Aug. Serm. ccxciii. sec. 3, andOrigen, In Joann. iL 36.

teacheth us not, although He speaketh, speaketh not to us. Moreover, who teacheth us, unless it be the immutable Truth? For even when we are admonished through a changeable creature, we are led to the Truth immutable? There we learn truly while we stand and hear Him, and rejoice greatly.
"because of the Bridegroom's voice," 1 restoring us to that whence we are. And, therefore, the Beginning, because unless It remained, there would not, where we strayed, be whither to return. But when we return from error, it is by knowing that we return. But that we may know, He teacheth us, because He is the Beginning and speaketh unto us.

Chap. ix. Wisdom and the Beginning.


What is that which shines through me, and strikes my heart without injury, and I both shudder and burn ? I shudder inasmuch as I am unlike it; and I burn inasmuch as I am like it. It is Wisdom itself that shines through me, clearing my cloudiness, which again overwhelms me, fainting from it, in the darkness and amount of my punishment. For my strength is brought down in need, 2 so that I cannot endure my blessings, until Thou, O Lord, who hast been gracious to all mine iniquities, heal also all mine infirmities; because Thou shalt also redeem my life from corruption, and crown me with Thy loving-kindness and mercy, and shalt satisfy my desire with good things, because my youth shall be renewed like the eagle's. 3 For by hope we are saved; and through patience we await Thy promises. 4 Let him that is able hear Thee discoursing within. I will with confidence cry out from Thy oracle, How wonderful are Thy works, Lord, in Wisdom hast Thou made them all. 5 And this Wisdom is the Beginning, and in that Beginning hast Thou made heaven and earth.

1 John iii. 29. 2 Ps. xxxi. 10. 3 Ps. ciii. 3-5.

4 Rom. viii. 24, 25. 5 Ps. civ. 24.

DHAP. XI.] ON COMPREHENDING THE ETERNAL.

299

Chap. X. The rashness of those who inquire what God did before He created heaven and earth.

1 2. Lo, are they not full of their ancient way, who say to us, " What was God doing before He made heaven and earth ?

B'or if," say they, " He were unoccupied, and did nothing, why does He not for ever also, and from henceforth, cease from working, as in times past He did ? For if any new
motion has arisen in God, and a new will, to form a creature which He had never before formed, however can that be a true eternity where there ariseth a will which was not before?
For the will of God is not a creature, but before the creature; because nothing could be created unless the will of the Creator were before it. The will of God, therefore, pertaineth to His very Substance. But if anything hath arisen in the Substance of God which was not before, that Substance is not truly called eternal. But if it was the eternal will of God that the creature should be, why was not the creature also from eternity?

Chap. xi. They who ask this have not as yet followed the eternity of God, which is exempt from the relation of time.

13. Those who say these things do not as yet understand Thee, Thou Wisdom of God, Thou light of souls; not as yet do they understand how these things be made which are made by and in Thee. They even endeavour to comprehend things eternal; but as yet their heart flieth about in the past and future motions of things, and is still wavering.

Who shall hold it and fix it, that it may rest a little, and by degrees catch the glory of that ever-standing eternity, and compare it with the times which never stand, and see that it is incomparable; and that a long time cannot become long, save from the many motions that pass by, which cannot at the same instant be prolonged; but that in the Eternal nothing passeth away, but that the whole is present; but no 1 time is wholly present; and let him see that all time past is forced on by the future, and that all the future folio weth 1 from the past, and that all, both past and future, is created and issues from that which is always present? Who will hold the heart of man, that it may stand still, and see how
the still-standing eternity, itself neither future nor past, uttereth the times future and past? Can my hand accomplish this, or the hand of my mouth by persuasion bring about a thing so great? 1

Chap. xii. What God did before the creation of the world.

14. Behold, I answer to him who asks, "What was God doing before He made heaven and earth?" I answer not, as a certain person is reported to have done facetiously (avoiding the pressure of the question), "He was preparing hell," saith he, "for those who pry into mysteries." It is one thing to perceive, another to laugh, these things I answer not. For more willingly would I have answered, "I know not what I know not," than that I should make him a laughing-stock who asketh deep things, and gain praise as one who answereth false things. But I say that Thou, our God, art the Creator of every creature; and if by the term "heaven and earth" every creature is understood, I boldly say, "That before God made heaven and earth, He made not anything. For if He did, what did He make unless the creature?" And would that I knew whatever I desire to know to my advantage, as I know that no creature was made before any creature was made.

Chap. xiii. Before the times created by God, times were not.

15. But if the roving thought of any one should wander through the images of bygone time, and wonder that Thou, the God Almighty, and All-creating, and All-sustaining, the Architect of heaven and earth, didst for innumerable ages refrain from so great a work before Thou wouldst make it, let him awake and consider that he wonders at false things. For whence could innumerable ages pass by which Thou didst not make, since Thou art the Author and Creator of all ages? Or what times should those be which were not made by Thee? Or how should they pass by if they had not been? Shice, therefore, Thou art the Creator of all times, if any time was before Thou madest heaven and earth, why is it said that Thou didst refrain from working? For that very time Thou madest,

1 See note 1, p. 318, below.
lor could times pass by before Thou madest times. But if before leaven and earth there was no time, why is it asked, What lidst Thou then? For there was no "then" when time was not.

16. Nor dost Thou by time precede time; else wouldst lot Thou precede all times. But in the excellency of an omnipresent eternity, Thou precedest all times past, and survivest all future times, because they are future, and when they have come they will be past; but "Thou art the same, ind Thy years shall have no end." I Thy years neither go jior come; but ours both go and come, that all may come.

All Thy years stand at once, since they do stand; nor were they when departing excluded by coming years, because they pass not away; but all these of ours shall be when all shall jease to be. Thy years are one day, and Thy day is not jdaily, but to-day; because Thy to-day yields not with to-morrow, for neither doth it follow yesterday. Thy to-day is eternity; therefore didst Thou beget the Co-eternal, to whom Thou saidst, "This day have I begotten Thee." 2 Thou hast made all time; and before all times Thou art, nor in any time was there not time.

Chap. xiv. Neither time past nor future, but the present only, really is.

17. At no time, therefore, hadst Thou not made anything, because Thou hadst made time itself. And no times are co-eternal with Thee, because Thou remainest for ever; but should these continue, they would not be times. For what is time? Who can easily and briefly explain it? Who even in thought can comprehend it, even to the pronouncing of a word concerning it? But what in speaking do we refer to more familiarly and knowingly than time? And certainly we understand when we speak of it; we understand also when we hear it spoken of by another. What, then, is time? If no one ask of me, I know; if I wish to explain to him who asks, I know not. Yet I say with confidence, that I know that if nothing passed away, there would not be past time; and if nothing were coming, there would not be future time; and if nothing were, there would not be present time. Those two

1 Ps. cii. 27. J Ps. ii. 7, and Heb. v. 6.
times, therefore, past and future, how are they, when even the past now is not, and the future is not as yet? But should the present be always present, and should it not pass into time past, time truly it could not be, but eternity. If, then, time present if it be time only comes into existence because it passes into time past, how do we say that even this is, whose cause of being is that it shall not be namely, so that we cannot truly say that time is, unless because it tends not to be?

, Chap. xv. There is only a moment of present time.

18. And yet we say that "time is long and time is short;" nor do we speak of this save of time past and future. A long time past, for example, we call a hundred years ago; in like manner a long time to come, a hundred years hence. But a short time past we call, say, ten days ago; and a short time to come, ten days hence. But in what sense is that long or short which is not? For the past is not now, and the future is not yet. Therefore let us not say, "It is long;" but let us say of the past, "It hath been long," and of the future, "It will be long." O my Lord, my light, shall not even here Thy truth deride man? For that past time which was long, was it long when it was already past, or when it was as yet present? For then it might be long when there was that which could be long, but when past it no longer was; wherefore that could not be long which was not at all. Let us not, therefore, say, "Time past hath been long;" for we shall not find what may have been long, seeing that since it was past it is not; but let us say "that present time was long, because when it was present it was long." For it had not as yet passed away so as not to be, and therefore there was that which could be long. But after it passed, that ceased also to be long which ceased to be.

19. Let us therefore see, O human soul, whether present time can be long; for to thee is it given to perceive and to measure periods of time. What wilt thou reply to me? Is a hundred years when present a long time? See, first, whether a hundred years can be present. For if the first year of these is current, that is present, but the other ninety and nine are future. And thus, if we fix on any middle year of this hundred as present, those before it are past, those after it are future; wherefore a hundred years cannot be present. See at least whether that year itself which is current can be present. For if its first month be current, the rest are future; if the second, the first hath already passed, and the remainder are not yet. Therefore neither is the year which is current as a whole present; and if it is not present as a whole, then the year is not present. For twelve months make
the year, of which each individual month which is current is itself present, but the rest are either past or future. Although neither is that month which is current present, but one day only: if the first, the rest being to come. if the last, the rest being past; if any of the middle, then between past and future.

20. Behold, the present time, which alone we found could be called long, is abridged to the space scarcely of one day. But let us discuss even that, for there is not one day present as a whole. For it is made up of four-and-twenty hours of night and day, whereof the first hath the rest future, the last hath them past, but any one of the intervening hath those before it past, those after it future. And that one hour passeth away in fleeting particles. Whatever of it hath flown away is past, whatever remaineth is future. If any portion of time be conceived which cannot now be divided into even the minutest particles of moments, this only is that which may be called present; which, however, flies so rapidly from future to past, that it cannot be extended by any delay. For if it be extended, it is divided into the past and future; but the present hath no space. Where, therefore, is the time which we may call long? Is it future? Indeed we do not say, "It is long," because it is not yet, so as to be long; but we say, "It will be long." When, then, will it be? For if even then, since as yet it is future, it will not be long, because what may be long is not as yet; but it shall be long, when from the future, which as yet is not, it shall already have begun to be, and will have become present, so that there

304 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XI.]

could be that which may be long; then doth the present time cry out in the words above that it cannot be long.

Chap. xvi. Time can only be perceived or measured while it is passing.

21. And yet, O Lord, we perceive intervals of times, and we compare them with themselves, and we say some are longer, others shorter. We even measure by how much shorter or longer this time may be than that; and we answer, "That this is double or treble, while that is but once, or only as much as that." But we measure times passing when we measure them by perceiving them; but past times, which now are not, or future times, which as yet are not, who can measure them? Unless, perchance, any one will dare to say, that that can be measured which is not. When, therefore, time is passing, it can be perceived and measured; but when it has passed, it cannot, since it is not.

Chap. xvii. Nevertheless there is time past and future.
22. I ask, Father, I do not affirm. O my God, rule and guide me. " Who is there who can say to me that there are not three times (as we learned when boys, and as we have taught boys), the past, present, and future, but only present, because these two are not? Or are they also; but when from future it becometh present, cometh it forth from some secret place, and when from the present it becometh past, doth it retire into anything secret? For where have they, who have foretold future things, seen these things, if as yet they are not? For that which is not cannot be seen. And they who relate things past could not relate them as true, did they not perceive them in their mind. Which things, if they were not, they could in no wise be discerned. There are therefore things both future and past.

Chap. xviii. Past and future times cannot be thought of bxd as present.

23. Suffer me, O Lord, to seek further; O my Hope, let not my purpose be confounded. For if there are times past and future, I desire to know where they are. But if as yet I do not succeed, I still know, wherever they are, that they are

CHAP. XVIII] WE THINK OF THINGS AS PRESENT. 305

not there as future or past, but as present For if there also they be future, they are not as yet there; if even there they be past, they are no longer there. Wheresoever, therefore they are, whatsoever they are, they are only so as present. Although past things are related as true, they are drawn out from the memory, not the things themselves, which have passed, but the words conceived from the images of the things which they have formed in the mind as footprints in their passage through the senses. My childhood, indeed, which no longer is, is in time past, which now is not; but when I call to mind its image, and speak of it, I behold it in the present, because it is as yet in my memory. Whether there be a like cause of foretelling future things, that of things which as yet are not the images may be perceived as already existing, I confess, my God, I know not. This certainly I know, that we generally think before on our future actions, and that this premeditation is present; but that the action whereon we premeditate is not yet, because it is future; which when we shall have entered upon, and have begun to do that which we were premeditating, then shall that action be, because then it is not future, but present.

24. In whatever manner, therefore, this secret preconception of future things may be, nothing can be seen, save what is. But what now is is not future, but present. When, therefore, they say that things future are seen, it is not themselves, which as yet are not (that is, which are future); but their causes or their signs perhaps are seen, the which already are. Therefore, to those already beholding them, they are not future, but present, from which future things conceived in the mind are foretold. Which conceptions again now are, and they who foretell those things behold these conceptions present before them. Let now so
multitudinous a variety of things afford me some example. I behold daybreak; I foretell that the sun is about to rise. That which I behold is present; what I foretell is future, not that the sun is future, which already is; but his rising, which is not yet. Yet even its rising I could not predict unless I had an image of it in my mind, as now I have while I speak. But that dawn which I

CON. U


306 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XI.]

see in the sky is not the rising of the sun, although it may go before it, nor that imagination in my mind; which two are seen as present, that the other which is future may be foretold. Future things, therefore, are not as yet; and if they are not as yet, they are not. And if they are not, they cannot be seen at all; but they can be foretold from things present which now are, and are seen.

Chap. xrx. We are ignorant in what manner God teaches future things.

25. Thou, therefore, Ruler of Thy creatures, what is the method by which Thou teachest souls those things which are future? For Thou hast taught Thy prophets. What is that way by which Thou, to whom nothing is future, dost teach future things; or rather of future things dost teach present? For what is not, of a certainty cannot be taught. Too far is this way from my view; it is too mighty for me, I cannot attain unto it but by Thee I shall be enabled, when Thou shalt have granted it, sweet light of my hidden eyes.

Chap. xx. In what manner time may properly be designated.

26. But what now is manifest and clear is, that neither are there future nor past things. Nor is it fitly said, " There are three times, past, present, and future; " but perchance it might be fitly said, " There are three times; a present of things past, a present of things present, and a present of things future." For these three do somehow exist in the soul, and otherwise I see them not: present of things past, memory; present of things present, sight; present of things future, expectation. If of these things we are permitted to speak, I
see three times, and I grant there are three. It may also be said, " There are three times, past, present, and future," as usage falsely has it. See, I trouble not, nor gainsay, nor reprove; provided always that which is said may be understood, that neither the future, nor that which is past, now is. For there are but few things which we speak properly, many things improperly; but what we may wish to say is understood,

1 Ps. cxxxix. 6.

CHAP. XXI.] HE ASKS GOD TO TEACH HIM. 307

Chap. xxi. How time may be measured.

27. I have just now said, then, that we measure times as they pass, that we may be able to say that this time is twice as much as that one, or that this is only as much as that, and so of any other of the parts of time which we are able to tell by measuring. Wherefore, as I said, we measure times as they pass. And if any one should ask me, " Whence dost thou know ? " I can answer, " I know, because we measure; nor can we measure things that are not; and things past and future are not." But how do we measure present time, since it hath not space ? It is measured while it passeth; but when it shall have passed, it is not measured; for there will not be aught that can be measured. But whence, in what way, and whither doth it pass while it is being measured ? Whence, but from the future ? Which way, save through the present ? Whither, but into the past ? From that, therefore, which as yet is not, through that which hath no space, into that which now is not. But what do we measure, unless time in some space ? For we say not single, and double, and triple, and equal, or in any other way in which we speak of time, unless with respect to the spaces of times. In what space, then, do we measure passing time ? Is it in the future, whence it passeth over ? But what yet we measure not, is not. Or is it in the present, by which it passeth ? But no space, we do not measure. Or in the past, whither it passeth ? But that which is not now, we measure not.

Chap. xxii. He prays God that He would explain this most entangled enigma.

28. My soul yearns to know this most entangled enigma. Forbear to shut up, O Lord my God, good Father, through Christ I beseech Thee, forbear to shut up these things, both usual and hidden, from my desire, that it may be hindered from penetrating them; but let them dawn through Thy enlightening mercy, O Lord. Of whom shall I inquire concerning these things ? And to whom shall I with more advantage confess my ignorance than to Thee, to whom these my studies, so vehemently kindled towards Thy Scriptures, are
not troublesome? Give that which I love; for I do love, and this hast Thou given me. Give, Father, who truly knowest to give good gifts unto Thy children. 1 Give, since I have undertaken to know, and trouble is before me until Thou dost open it. 2 Through Christ, I beseech Thee, in His name, Holy of Holies, let no man interrupt me. For I believed, and therefore do I speak. 3 This is my hope; for this do I live, that I may contemplate the delights of the Lord. 4 Behold, Thou hast made my days old, 5 and they pass away, and in what manner I know not. And we speak as to time and time, times and times, "How long is the time since he said this?" "How long the time since he did this?" and, "How long the time since I saw that?" and, "This syllable hath double the time of that single short syllable." These words we speak, and these we hear; and we are understood, and we understand.

They are most manifest and most usual, and the same things again lie hid too deeply, and the discovery of them is new.

Chap, xxiii. That time is a certain extension.

29. I have heard from a learned man that the motions of the sun, moon, and stars constituted time, and I assented not. 6 For why should not rather the motions of all bodies be time? What if the lights of heaven should cease, and a potter's wheel run round, would there be no time by which we might measure those revolutions, and say either that it turned with equal pauses, or, if it were moved at one time more slowly, at

1 Matt. vii. 11. * Ps. lxxiii. 16. 8 Ps. cxvi. 10.

4 Ps. xxvii. 4. 5 Ps. xxxix. 5.

6 Compare Gillies (Analysis of Aristotle, 2. p. 138): "As our conception of space originates in that of body, and our conception of motion in that of space, so our conception of time originates in that of motion; and particularly in those regular and equable motions carried on in the heavens, the parts of which, from their perfect similarity to each other, are correct measures of the continuous and successive quantity called Time, with which they are conceived to co-exist. Time, therefore, may be defined the perceived number of successive movements; for, as number ascertains the greater or lesser quantity of things numbered, so time ascertains the greater or lesser quantity of motion performed." And with this accords Monboddo's definition of time (Ancient Metaphysics, vol. i. book 4, chap. i.), as "the measure of the duration of things that exist in succession by the motion of the heavenly bodies." See xii. sec. 40, and note, below.
another more quickly, that some revolutions were longer, others less so? Or while we were saying this, should we not also be speaking in time? Or should there in our words be some syllables long, others short, but because those sounded in a longer time, these in a shorter? God grant to men to see in a small thing ideas common to things great and small. Both the stars and luminaries of heaven are "for signs and for seasons, and for days and years." * No doubt they are; but neither should I say that the circuit of that wooden wheel was a day, nor yet should he say that therefore there was no time.

30. I desire to know the power and nature of time, by which we measure the motions of bodies, and say (for example) that this motion is twice as long as that. For, I ask, since "day" declares not the stay only of the sun upon the earth, according to which day is one thing, night another, but also its entire circuit from east even to east, according to which we say, "So many days have passed" (the nights being included when we say "so many days," and their spaces not counted apart), since, then, the day is finished by the motion of the sun, and by his circuit from east to east, I ask, whether the motion itself is the day, or the period in which that motion is completed, or both? For if the first be the day, then would there be a day although the sun should finish that course in so small a space of time as an hour. If the second, then that would not be a day if from one sunrise to another there were but so short a period as an hour, but the sun must go round four-and-twenty times to complete a day.

If both, neither could that be called a day if the sun should run his entire round in the space of an hour; nor that, if, while the sun stood still, so much time should pass as the sun is accustomed to accomplish his whole course in from morning to morning. I shall not therefore now ask, what that is which is called day, but what time is, by which we, measuring the circuit of the sun, should say that it was accomplished in half the space of time it was wont, if it had been completed in so small a space as twelve hours; and compar-

1 Gen. i. 14.

310 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XI.]

ing both times, we should call that single, this double time, although the sun should run his course from east to east sometimes in that single, sometimes in that double time. Let no man then tell me that the motions of the heavenly bodies are times, because, when at the prayer of one the sun stood still in order that he might achieve his victorious battle, the sun stood still, but time went on. For in such space of time as was sufficient was that
battle fought and ended. I see that time, then, is a certain extension. But do I see it, or do I seem to see it? Thou, Light and Truth, wilt show me.

Chap. xxiv. That time is not amotion of a body which we measure by time.

31. Dost Thou command that I should assent, if any one should say that time is "the motion of a body?" Thou dost not command me. For I hear that no body is moved but in time. This Thou sayest; but that the very motion of a body is time, I hear not; Thou sayest it not. For when a body is moved, I by time measure how long it may be moving from the time in which it began to be moved till it left off. And if I saw not whence it began, and it continued to be moved, so that I see not when it leaves off, I cannot measure unless, perchance, from the time I began until I cease to see. But if I look long, I only proclaim that the time is long, but not how long it may be; because when we say, "How long," we speak by comparison, as, "This is as long as that," or, "This is double as long as that," or any other thing of the kind. But if we were able to note down the distances of places whence and whither cometh the body which is moved, or its parts, if it moved as in a wheel, we can say in how much time the motion of the body or its part, from this place unto that, was performed. Since, then, the motion of a body is one thing, that by which we measure how long it is another, who cannot see which of these is rather to be called time? For, although a body be sometimes moved, sometimes stand still, we measure not its motion only, but also its standing still, by time; and we say, "It stood still as much as it moved;" or, "It stood still twice or thrice as long as it moved;" and if

1 Josh. x. 12-14.

<

CHAP. XXVI.] HE APPEALS TO GOD FOR LIGHT 311

any other space which our measuring hath either determined or imagined, more or less, as we are accustomed to say. Time, therefore, is not the motion of a body.

Chap. xxv. He calls on God to enlighten his mind.
32. And I confess unto Thee, Lord, that I am as yet ignorant as to what time is, and again I confess unto Thee, Lord, that I know that I speak these things in time, and that I have already long spoken of time, and that very "long" is not long save by the stay of time. How, then, know I this, when I know not what time is? Or is it, perchance, that I know not in what wise I may express what I know? Alas for me, that I do not at least know the extent of my own ignorance! Behold, my God, before Thee I lie not. As I speak, so is my heart. Thou shalt light my candle; Thou, O Lord my God, wilt enlighten my darkness. 1

Chap. xxvi. We measure longer events by shorter in time.

33. Doth not my soul pour out unto Thee truly in confession that I do measure times? But do I thus measure, my God, and know not what I measure? I measure the motion of a body by time; and the time itself do I not measure? But, in truth, could I measure the motion of a body, how long it is, and how long it is in coming from this place to that, unless I should measure the time in which it is moved? How, therefore, do I measure this very time itself? Or do we by a shorter time measure a longer, as by the space of a cubit the space of a crossbeam? For thus, indeed, we seem by the space of a short syllable to measure the space of a long syllable, and to say that this is double. Thus we measure the spaces of stanzas by the spaces of the verses, and the spaces of the verses by the spaces of the feet, and the spaces of the feet by the spaces of the syllables, and the spaces of long by the spaces of short syllables; not measuring by pages (for in that manner we measure spaces, not times), but when in uttering the words they pass by, and we say, "It is a long stanza, because it is [ ] 1

1 Ps. xviii. 28.

312 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XI.]

made up of so many verses; long verses, because -they consist of so many feet; long feet, because they are prolonged by so many syllables; a long syllable, because double a short
one." But neither thus is any certain measure of time obtained; since it is possible that a shorter verse, if it be pronounced more fully, may take up more time than a longer one, if pronounced more hurriedly. Thus for a stanza, thus for a foot, thus for a syllable. Whence it appeared to me that time is nothing else than protraction; but of what I know not. It is wonderful to me, if it be not of the mind itself. For what do I measure, I beseech Thee, my God, even when I say either indefinitely, "This time is longer than that;" or even definitely, "This is double that"? That I measure time, I know. But I measure not the future, for it is not yet; nor do I measure the present, because it is extended by no space; nor do I measure the past, because it no longer is. What, therefore, do I measure? Is it times passing, not past? For thus had I said.

Chap. xxvii. Times are measured in proportion as they pass by.

34. Persevere, my mind, and give earnest heed. God is our helper; He made us, and not we ourselves. 1 Give heed, where truth dawns. Lo, suppose the voice of a body begins to sound, and does sound, and soundeth on, and lo! it ceases, it is now silence, and that voice is past and is no longer a voice. It was future before it sounded, and could not be measured, because as yet it was not; and now it cannot, because it no longer is. Then, therefore, while it was sounding, it might, because there was then that which might be measured. But even then it did not stand still, for it was going and passing away. Could it, then, on that account be measured the more? For, while passing, it was being extended into some space of time, in which it might be measured, since the present hath no space. If, therefore, then it might be measured, lo! suppose another voice hath begun to sound, and still soundeth, in a continued tenor without any interruption, we can measure it while it is sounding; for when it

1 Ps. c. 3.

CHAP. XXVII.] DIFFICULTY OF MEASURING TIME. 313

shall have ceased to sound, it will be already past, and there will not be that which can be measured. Let us measure it truly, and let us say how much it is. But as yet it sounds, nor can it be measured, save from that instant in which it began to sound, even to the end in which it left off. For the interval itself we measure from some beginning unto some end. On which account, a voice which is not yet ended cannot be measured, so that it may be said how long or how short it may be; nor can it be said to be equal to another, or single or double in respect of it, or the like. But when it is ended, it no longer is. In what manner, therefore, may it be measured? And yet we measure times; still not those which as yet are not, nor those which no longer are, nor those which are protracted by some delay, nor those which have no limits. We, therefore, measure neither future times, nor past, nor present, nor those passing by; and yet we do | measure times.
35. Deus Creator omnium; this verse of eight syllables alternates between short and long syllables. The four short, then, the first, third, fifth, and seventh, are single in respect of the four long, the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth. Each of these hath a double time to every one of those. I pronounce them, report on them, and thus it is, as is perceived by common sense. By common sense, then, I measure a long by a short syllable, and I find that it has twice as much. But when one sounds after another, if the former be short, the latter long, how shall I hold the short one, and how measuring shall I apply it to the long, so that I may find out that this has twice as much, when indeed the long does not begin to sound unless the short leaves off sounding? That very long one I measure not as present, since I measure it not save when ended. But its ending is its passing away. What, then, is it that I can measure? Where is the short syllable by which I measure? Where is the long one which I measure? Both have sounded, have flown, have passed away, and are no longer; and still I measure, and I confidently answer (so far as is trusted to a practised sense), that as to space of time this syllable is single, that double. Nor could

314 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [HOOK XI.

I do this, unless because they have past, and are ended.
: Therefore do I not measure themselves, which now are not, but something in my memory, which remains fixed.

36. In thee, my mind, I measure times. 1 Do not overwhelm me with thy clamour. That is, do not overwhelm thyself with the multitude of thy impressions. In thee, I say, I measure times; the impression which things as they pass by make on thee, and which, when they have past by, remains, that I measure as time present, not those things which have passed by, that the impression should be made.

This I measure when I measure times. Either, then, these are times, or I do not measure times. What when we measure silence, and say that this silence hath lasted as long as that voice lasts? Do we not extend our thought to the measure of a voice, as if it sounded, so that we may be able to declare something concerning the intervals of silence in a given space of time? For when both the voice and tongue are still, we go over in thought poems and verses, and any discourse, or dimensions of motions; and declare concerning the spaces of times, how much this may be in respect of that, not otherwise than if uttering them we should pronounce them. Should any one wish to utter a lengthened sound, and had with forethought determined how long it should be, that man hath in silence verily gone through a space of time, and, committing it to memory, he begins to utter that speech, which sounds until it be extended to the end proposed; truly

1 With the argument in this and the previous sections, compare Dr. Reid's remarks in his Intellectual Powers, iii. 5: "We may measure duration by the succession of thoughts in the mind, as we measure length by inches or feet, but the notion or idea of duration must be antecedent to the mensuration of it, as the notion of length is antecedent to its being measured. . . . Reason, from the contemplation of finite extended things, leads us
necessarily to the belief of an immensity that contains them. In like manner, memory gives us the conception and belief of finite intervals of duration. From the contemplation of these, reason leads us necessarily to the belief of an eternity, which comprehends all things that have a beginning and an end." The student will with advantage examine a monograph on this subject by C. Fortlage, entitled, Aurelii Augustini doctrina ale tempore ex libro xi. Confessionum de promta, Aristotelicce, Kantianee, aliarumque theoriarum recensione aucta, et congruis hodierixe philosophic ideis amplificata (Heidelbergte, 1836). He sa)’s that amongst all the philosophers none have so nearly approached truth as Augustine.

CHAP. XXVIII.] TIME IN RELATION TO THE MIND. 315

it hath sounded, and will sound. For what of it is already finished hath verily sounded, but what remains will sound; and thus does it pass on, until the present intention carry over the future into the past; the past increasing by the diminution of the future, until, by the consumption of the future, all be past.

Chap, xxviii. Time in the human mind, which expects, considers, and remembers.

37. But how is that future diminished or consumed which as yet is not? Or how doth the past, which is no longer, increase, unless in the mind which enacteth this there are three things done? For it both expects, and considers, and remembers, that that which it expecteth, through that which it considereth, may pass into that which it remembereth. Who, therefore, denieth that future things as yet are not? But yet there is already in the mind the expectation of things future. And who denies that past things are now no longer? But, however, there is still in the mind the memory of things past. And who denies that time present wants space, because it passeth away in a moment? But yet our consideration endureth, through which that which may be present may proceed to become absent. Future time, which is not, is not therefore long; but a "long future" is "a long expectation of the future." Nor is time past, which is now no longer, long; but a long past is "a long memory of the past."

38. I am about to repeat a psalm that I know. Before I begin, my attention is extended to the whole; but when I have begun, as much of it as becomes past by my saying it is extended in my memory; and the life of this action of mine is divided between my memory, on account of what I have repeated, and my expectation, on account of what I am about to repeat; yet my consideration is present with me, through which that which was future may be carried
over so that it may become past. Which the more it is done and repeated, by so much (expectation being shortened) the memory is enlarged, until the whole expectation be exhausted, when that whole action being ended shall have passed into memory. And what takes place in the entire psalm, takes place also

316 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK X]

in each individual part of it, and in each individual syllable this holds in the longer action, of which that psalm is per chance a portion; the same holds in the whole life of man, o which all the actions of man are parts; the same holds in th whole age of the sons of men, of which all the lives of mei are parts.

Chap. xxix. That human life is a distraction, but that through the mercy of God he was intent on the prize of his heavenly calling.

39. But "because Thy loving-kindness is better tha: life," 1 behold, my life is but a distraction, 2 and Thy righ hand upheld me 3 in my Lord, the Son of man, the Mediate between Thee, 4 The One, and us the many, in many distractions amid many things, that through Him I may apprehen in whom I have been apprehended, and may be re-collectei from my old days, following The One, forgetting the thing that are past; and not distracted, but drawn on, 6 not to thos things which shall be and shall pass away, but to those thing which are before, 6 not distractedly, but intently, I follow o for the prize of my heavenly calling, 7 where I may hear th voice of Thy praise, and contemplate Thy delights, 8 neithe coming nor passing away. But now are my years spent i mourning. 9 And Thou, O Lord, art my comfort, my Fathe

1 Ps. lxiii. 3.

2 Distentio. It will be observed that there is a play on the word throughoi the section.

3 Ps. lxiii. 8. * 1 Tim. ii. 5.

5 Non distentus sed extentus. So in Serm. eclv. 6, we have: " Unum n< extendat, ne multa distendant, et abrumpant ab uno."

6 Phil. iii. 13.

7 Phil. iii. 1 4. Many wish to attain the prize who never earnestly pursue i And it may be said here in view of the subject of this book, that there is r stranger delusion than that which possesses the idle and the worldly as to tl influence of time in ameliorating their condition. They have "good intentions, and hope that time in the future may do for them what it has not in the pas But in truth, time merely affords an opportunity for energy and life to worl To quote that lucid and nervous thinker, Bishop Copleston {Remains, p. 123)
"One of the commonest errors is to regard time as an agent. But in realil time does nothing, and is nothing. We use it as a compendious expression for all those causes which operate slowly and imperceptibly; but, unless some positive cause is in action, no change takes place in the lapse of one thousand years; e.g. a drop of water encased in a cavity of silex."

8 Ps. xxvi. 7. Ps. xxvii. 4.

CHAP. XXXI. GOD'S KNOWLEDGE WONDERFUL. 31?

everlasting. But I have been divided amid times, the order of which I know not; and my thoughts, even the inmost bowels of my soul, are mangled with tumultuous varieties, until I flow together unto Thee, purged and molten in the fire of Thy love. 1

Chap. XXX. Again he refutes the empty question, "What did God be/ore the creation of the world?"

40. And I will be immoveable, and fixed in Thee, in my mould, Thy truth; nor will I endure the questions of men, who by a penal disease thirst for more than they can hold, and say, "What did God make before He made heaven and earth?" Or, "How came it into His mind to make anything, when He never before made anything?" Grant to them, O Lord, to think well what they say, and to see that where there is no time, they cannot say "never." What, therefore, He is said "never to have made," what else is it but to say, that in no time was it made? Let them therefore see that there could be no time without a created being. 2 and let them cease to speak that vanity. Let them also be extended unto those things which are before, 3 and understand that Thou, the eternal Creator of all times, art before all times, and that no times are co-eternal with Thee, nor any creature, even if there be any creature beyond all times.

Chap. xxxi. How the knowledge of God differs from that of man.

41. Lord my God, what is that secret place of Thy mystery, and how far thence have the consequences of my transgressions cast me? Heal my eyes, that I may enjoy Thy light. Surely, if there be a mind, so greatly abounding in knowledge and foreknowledge, to which all things past and future are so known as one psalm is well known to me, that mind is exceedingly wonderful, and very astonishing; because whatever is so past, and whatever is to come of after ages, is no more concealed from Him than was it hidden from me

1 Ps. xxxi. 10.
2 He argues similarly in his De Civ. Dei, xi. 6: "That the world and time had both one beginning."

3 Phil. hi. 13.

318 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XI.]

when singing that psalm, what and how much of it had been sung from the beginning, what and how much remained unto the end. But far be it that Thou, the Creator of the universe, the Creator of souls and bodies, far be it that Thou shouldst know all things future and past. Far, far more wonderfully, and far more mysteriously, Thou knowest them. 1 For it is not as the feelings of one singing known things, or hearing a known song, are through expectation of future words, and in remembrance of those that are past varied, and his senses divided, that anything happeneth unto Thee, unchangeably eternal, that is, the truly eternal 2 Creator of minds. As, then, Thou in the Beginning knewest the heaven and the earth without any change of Thy knowledge, so in the Beginning didst Thou make heaven and earth without any distraction of Thy action* Let him who understandeth confess unto Thee; and let him who understandeth not, confess unto Thee. Oh, how exalted art Thou, and yet the humble in heart are Thy dwelling-place; for Thou raisest up those that are bowed down, 4 and they whose exaltation Thou art fell not.

1 Dean Mansel's argument, in his Bampton Lectures, as to our knowledge of the Infinite, is well worthy of consideration. He refers to Augustine's views on the subject of this book in note 13 to his third lecture, and in the text itself says: "The limited character of all existence which can be conceived as having a continuous duration, or as made up of successive moments, is so far manifest, that it has been assumed almost as an axiom, by philosophical theologians, that in the existence of God there is no distinction between past, present, and future. 'In the changes of things,' says Augustine, 'there is a past and a future; in God there is a present, in which neither past nor future can be.' 'Eternity,' says Boethius, 'is the perfect possession of interminable life, and of all that life at once; ' and Aquinas, accepting the definition, adds, 'Eternity has no succession, but exists all together.' But whether this assertion be literally true or not (and this we have no means of ascertaining), it is clear that such a mode of existence is altogether inconceivable by us, and that the words in which it is described represent not thought, but the refusal to think at all." See notes to xiii. 12, below.

2 "With God, indeed, all things are arranged and fixed; and when He seemeth to act upon sudden motive, He doth nothing but what He foreknew that He should do from eternity " (Aug. in Ps. cvi. 35). With this passage may well be compared Dean Mansel's remarks (Bampton Lectures, lect. vi., and notes 23-25) on the doctrine, that the world is but a machine and is not under the continual government and direction of God. See also notes on pp. 83 and 223, above.
BOOK TWELFTH.

HE CONTINUES HIS EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF GENESIS ACCORDING TO THE SEPTUAGINT, AND BY ITS ASSISTANCE HE ARGUES, ESPECIALLY, CONCERNING THE DOUBLE HEAVEN, AND THE FORMLESS MATTER OUT OF WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD MAY HAVE BEEN CREATED; AFTERWARDS OF THE INTERPRETATIONS OF OTHERS NOT DISALLOWED, AND SETS FORTH AT GREAT LENGTH THE SENSE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Chap. I. The discovery of truth is difficult, but God has promised that he who seeks shall find.

1. TV/THY heart, Lord, affected by the words of Thy Holy Scripture, is much busied in this poverty of my life; and therefore, for the most part, is the want of human intelligence copious in language, because inquiry speaks more than discovery, and because demanding is longer than obtaining, and the hand that knocks is more active than the hand that receives. We hold the promise; who shall break it? "If God be for us, who can be against us?" 1 "Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for everyone that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened." 2 These are Thine own promises; and who need fear to be deceived where the Truth promiseth?

Chap. n. Of the double heaven, the visible, and the heaven of heavens.

2. The weakness of my tongue confesseth unto Thy Highness, seeing that Thou madest heaven and earth. This heaven which I see, and this earth upon which I tread (from which is this earth that I carry about me), Thou hast made. But where is that heaven of heavens, Lord, of which we hear in

1 Rom. viii. 31. 2 Matt. vii. 7, 8.
3 That is, not the atmosphere which surrounds the earth, as when we say, "the birds of heaven" (Jer. iv. 25), "the dew of heaven" (Gen. xxvii. 28); nor that

320 CONFESSIONS OP ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII

the words of the Psalm, The heaven of heavens are the Lord's but the earth hath He given to the children of men? 1 Where is the heaven, which we behold not, in comparison of which all this, which we behold, is earth? For this corporeal whole not as a whole everywhere, hath thus received its beautiful figure in these lower parts, of which the bottom is our earth but compared with that heaven of heavens, even the heaven of our earth is but earth; yea, each of these great bodies is not absurdly called earth, as compared with that, I know not what manner of heaven, which is the Lord's, not the sons' of men.

Chap. hi. OfFJie darkness upon the deep, and of the invisible and formless earth.

3. And truly this earth was invisible and formless, 2 and there was I know not what profundity of the deep upon which there was no light, 3 because it had no form. Therefore didst Thou command that it should be written, that darkness was upon the face of the deep; what else was it than the absence of light? 4 For had there been light, where should it have been save by being above all, showing itself aloft, and enlightening? Where, therefore, light was as yet not, why was it that darkness was present, unless because light was absent? Darkness therefore was upon it, because the light above was absent; as silence is there present where sound is not. And what is it to have silence there, but not to have sound there? Hast not Thou, Lord, taught this soul which confesseth unto Thee? Hast not Thou taught me, O Lord, that before Thou didst form and separate this formless matter,

"firmament of heaven" (Gen. i. 17) in which the stars have their courses; nor both these together; but that "third heaven" to which Paul was "caught up" (2 Cor. xii. 1) in his rapture, and where God most manifests His glory, and the angels do Him homage.

1 Ps. cxv. 16, after the LXX., Vulgate, and Syriac.

2 Gen. i. 2, as rendered by the Old Ver. from the LXX.: Upartt * axaraa-Ktuua-Tat. Kalisch in his Commentary translates JTyv\ l lh: "dreariness and emptiness."
The reader should keep in mind in reading what follows the Manichcean doctrine as to the kingdoms of light and darkness. See notes, pp. 56, 142, above.

4 Compare Be Civ. Dei, xi. 9, 10.

CHAP. VI.] HIS OLD NOTIONS AS TO MATTER. 321

there was nothing, neither colour, nor figure, nor body, nor spirit? Yet not altogether nothing; there was a certain formlessness without any shape.

Chap. iv. From the formlessness of matter, the beautiful world has arisen.

4. What, then, should it be called, that even in some ways it might be conveyed to those of duller mind, save by some conventional word? But what, in all parts of the world, can be found nearer to a total formlessness than the earth and the deep? For, from their being of the lowest position, they are less beautiful than are the other higher parts, all transparent and shining. Why, therefore, may I not consider the formlessness of matter which Thou hadst created without shape, whereof to make this shapely world to be fittingly intimated unto men by the name of earth invisible and formless?

Chap. v. What may have been the form of matter.

5. So that when herein thought seeketh what the sense may arrive at, and saith to itself, "It is no intelligible form, such as life or justice, because it is the matter of bodies; nor perceptible by the senses, because in the invisible and formless there is nothing which can be seen and felt; while human thought saith these things to itself, it may endeavour either to know it by being ignorant, or by knowing it to be ignorant.

Chap. v. He confesses that at one time he himself thought erroneously of matter.

6. But were I, O Lord, by my mouth and by my pen to confess unto Thee the whole, whatever Thou hast taught me concerning that matter, the name of which hearing beforehand, and not understanding (they who could not understand it telling me of it), I conceived it as having innumerable and varied forms. And therefore did I not conceive it; my mind revolved in disturbed order foul and horrible "forms," but yet "forms;" and I called it formless, not that it lacked form, but because it had such as, did it appear, my mind would turn

1 See iii. sec. 11, and p. 142, note, above.

CON. X
from, as unwonted and incongruous, and at which human weakness would be disturbed. But even that which I did conceive was formless, not by the privation of all form, but in comparison of more beautiful forms; and true reason persuaded me that I ought altogether to remove from it all remnants of any form whatever, if I wished to conceive matter wholly without form; and I could not. For sooner could I imagine that that which should be deprived of all form was not at all, than conceive anything between form and nothing, neither formed, nor nothing, formless, nearly nothing. And my mind hence ceased to question my spirit, filled (as it was) with the images of formed bodies, and changing and varying them according to its will; and I applied myself to the bodies themselves, and looked more deeply into their mutability, by which they cease to be what they had been, and begin to be what they were not; and this same transit from form unto form I have looked upon to be through some formless condition, not through a very nothing; but I desired to know, not to guess. And if my voice and my pen should confess the whole unto Thee, whatsoever Thou hast untied for me concerning this question, who of my readers would endure to take in the whole? Nor yet, therefore, shall my heart cease to give Thee honour, and a song of praise, for those things which it is not able to express. For the mutability of mutable things is itself capable of all those forms into which mutable things are changed. And this mutability, what is it? Is it soul? Is it body? Is it the outer appearance of soul or body? Could it be said, "Nothing were something," and "That which is, is not," I would say that this were it; and yet in some manner was it already, since it could receive these visible and compound shapes.

Chap. vii. Out of nothing God made heaven and earth.

7. And whence and in what manner was this, unless from Thee, from whom are all things, in so far as they are? But by how much the farther from Thee, so much the more unlike unto Thee; for it is not distance of place. Thou, therefore, Lord, who art not one thing in one place, and otherwise in

CHAP. VIII.] THE WORLD CREATED OUT OF NOTHING. 323

another, but the Self-same, and the Self-same, and the Selfsame, I Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, didst in the beginning, 2 which is of Thee, in Thy Wisdom, which was born of Thy Substance, create something, and that out of nothing. 3 For Thou didst create heaven and earth, not out of Thyself, for then they would be equal to Thine Onlybegotten, and thereby even to Thee; 4 and in no wise would it be right that anything should be equal to Thee which was not of Thee. And aught else except Thee there was
not whence Thou mightest create these things, God, One Trinity, and Trine Unity; and, therefore, out of nothing didst Thou create heaven and earth, a great thing and a small, because Thou art Almighty and Good, to make all things good, even the great heaven and the small earth. Thou wast, and there was nought else from which Thou didst create heaven and earth; two such things, one near unto Thee, the other near to nothing, 5 one to which Thou shouldest be superior, the other to which nothing should be inferior.

Chap. viii. Heaven and earth were made " in the beginning;" afterwards the ivorld, during six days, from shapeless matter.

8. But that heaven of heavens was for Thee, Lord; but the earth, which Thou hast given to the sons of men, G to be seen and touched, was not such as now we see and touch. For it was invisible and " without form," 7 and there was a deep over which there was not light; or, darkness was over the deep, that is, more than in the deep. For this deep of waters, now visible, has, even in its depths, a light suitable to its nature, perceptible in some manner unto fishes and creeping things in the bottom of it. But the entire deep was almost nothing, since hitherto it was altogether formless; yet there was then that which could be formed. For Thou, O Lord, hast made the world of a formless matter, which matter, out

1 See ix. sec 11, above. * See p. 297, note, above.

3 See p. 295, and note, above.

4 In the beginning of sec. 10, book xi. of his De Civ. Dei, he similarly argues that the world was, not like the Son, "begotten of the simple good, but "created." See also note, p. 77, above.

6 " Because at the first creation, it had no form nor thing in it." W. W. Ps. cxv. 16. 7 Gea. i. 2.

324 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]

of nothing, Thou hast made almost nothing, out of which to

make those great things which we, sons of men, wonder at.

For very wonderful is this corporeal heaven, of which firmament,

between water and water, the second day after the creation of
light, Thou saidst, Let it be made, and it was made. 1 Which firmament Thou calledst heaven, that is, the heaven of this earth and sea, which Thou madest on the third day, by giving a visible shape to the formless matter which Thou madest before all days. For even already hadst Thou made a heaven before all days, but that was the heaven of this heaven; because in the beginning Thou hadst made heaven and earth. But the earth itself which Thou hadst made was formless matter, because it was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep. Of which invisible and formless earth, of which formlessness, of which almost nothing, Thou mightest make all these things of which this changeable world consists, and yet consisteth not; whose very changeableness appears in this, that times can be observed and numbered in it. Because times are made by the changes of things, while the shapes, whose matter is the invisible earth aforesaid, are varied and turned.

Chap. ix. That the heaven of heavens was an intellectual creature, but that the earth was invisible and formless before the days that it was made.

9. And therefore the Spirit, the Teacher of Thy servant, 2 when He relates that Thou didst in the Beginning create heaven and earth, is silent as to times, silent as to days. For, doubtless, that heaven of heavens, which Thou in the Beginning didst create, is some intellectual creature, which, although in no wise co-eternal unto Thee, the Trinity, is yet a partaker of Thy eternity, and by reason of the sweetness of that most happy contemplation of Thyself, doth greatly restrain its own mutability, and without any failure, from the time in which it was created, in clinging unto Thee, surpasses all the rolling change of times. But this shapelessness this earth invisible and without form has not itself been numbered among
the days. For where there is no shape nor order, nothing either cometh or goeth; and where this is not, there certainly are no days, nor any vicissitude of spaces of times.

1 Gen. i. 6-8. 2 Of Moses.

P

CHAP. XL] THE DEEP THINGS OF GOD. 325

Chap. X. He begs of God that he may live in the true light, and may be instructed as to the mysteries of the sacred books.

10. Oh, let Truth, the light of my heart, not my own darkness, speak unto me! I have descended to that, and am darkened. But thence, even thence, did I love Thee. I went astray, and remembered Thee. I heard Thy voice behind me bidding me return, and scarcely did I hear it for the tumults of the unquiet ones. And now, behold, I return burning and panting after Thy fountain. Let no one prohibit me; of this will I drink, and so have life. Let me not be my own life; from myself have I badly lived, death was I unto myself; in Thee do I revive. Do Thou speak unto me; do Thou discourse unto me. In Thy books have I believed, and their words are very deep. 2

Chap. XI. What may be discovered to him by God.

11. Already hast Thou told me, O Lord, with a strong voice, in my inner ear, that Thou art eternal, having alone immortality. 3 Since Thou art not changed by any shape or motion, nor is Thy will altered by times, because no will which changes is immortal. This in Thy sight is clear to me, and let it become more and more clear, I beseech Thee; and in that manifestation let me abide more soberly under Thy wings. Likewise hast Thou said to me, Lord, with a strong voice, in my inner ear, that Thou hast made all natures and substances, which are not what Thou Thyself art, and yet they are; and that only is not from Thee which is not, and the motion of the will from Thee who art, to that which in a less degree is, because such motion is guilt and sin; 4 and that no

1 See note 2, p. 76, above.

2 As Gregory the Great has it, Revelation is a river broad and deep, " In quo et agnus ambulet, et elephas natet." And these deep things of God are to be learned only by patient searching. We must, says St. Chrysostom (De Prec. serm. ii.), dive down into the sea as those who would fetch up pearls from its depths. The very mysteriousness of Scripture is, doubtless, intended by God to stimulate us to search the Scriptures, and to strengthen our spiritual insight.
(Enar. in Ps. cxlvi. 6). See note also, p. 8; p. 291, note 4, above; and the notes on pp. 370, 371, below.

1 1 Tim. vi. 16.

4 For Augustine's view as a "privation of good," see p. 46, note 3,

326 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]

one's sin doth either hurt Thee, or disturb the order of Thy rule, 1
either first or last. This, in Thy sight, is clear to me, and let it become more and more clear, I beseech Thee; and in that manifestation let me abide more soberly under Thy wings.

1 2. Likewise hast Thou said to me, with a strong voice, in my inner ear, that that creature, whose will Thou alone art, is not co-eternal unto Thee, and which, with a most persevering purity 2 drawing its support from Thee, doth, in no place and

^> at no time, put forth its own mutability; 3 and Thyself being ever present with it, unto Whom with its entire affection it holds itself, having no future to expect nor conveying into the past what it remembereth, is varied by no change, nor extended into any times. 4 blessed one, if any such there be, in clinging unto Thy Blessedness; blest in Thee, its everlasting Inhabitant and its Enlightener! Nor do I find what the heaven of heavens, which is the Lord's, can be better called than Thine house, which contemplateth Thy delight without any defection of going forth to another; a pure mind, most peacefully one, by that stability of peace of holy spirits, 5 the citizens of Thy city " in the heavenly places," above these heavenly places which are seen. 6

13. Whence the soul, whose wandering has been made far away, may understand, if now she thirsts for Thee, if now her tears have become bread to her, while it is daily said unto her
"Where is thy God ?" 7 if she now seeketh of Thee one thing, and desire th that she may dwell in Thy house all the days of her life. 8 And what is her life but Thee? And what are Thy days but Thy eternity, as Thy years which fail not, because Thou art the same?

Hence, therefore, can the soul, which is able, understand how far beyond all times Thou art eternal; when Thy house, which has not wandered from Thee, although

above, and with it compare vii. sec. 22, above; Con. Secundin. c. 12; and De Lib. Arb. ii. 53. Parker, in his Theism, Atheism, etc. p. 119, contends that God Himself must in some way be the author of evil, and a similar view is maintained by Schleiermacher, Ohrislische Glaube, sec. 80.

1 See ii. sec. 13, and v. sec. 2, notes 2, 6, above.
it be not co-eternal with Thee, yet by continually and unfailingly clinging unto Thee, suffers no vicissitude of times. This in Thy sight is clear unto me, and may it become more and more clear unto me, I beseech Thee; and in this manifestation may I abide more soberly under Thy wings.

14. Behold, I know not what shapelessness there is in those changes of these last and lowest creatures. And who shall tell me, unless it be some one who, through the emptiness of his own heart, wanders and is staggered by his own fancies? Who, unless such a one, would tell me that (all figure being diminished and consumed), if the formlessness only remain, through which the thing was changed and was turned from one figure into another, that that can exhibit the changes of times? For surely it could not be, because without the change of motions times are not, and there is no change where there is no figure.

Chap. xii. From the formless earth God created another heaven and a visible and formed earth.

15. Which things considered as much as Thou givest, my God, as much as Thou excitest me to "knock," and as much as Thou openest unto me when I knock, 1 two things I find which Thou hast made, not within the compass of time, since neither is co-eternal with Thee. One, which is so formed that, without any failing of contemplation, without any interval of change, although changeable, yet not changed, it may fully enjoy Thy eternity and unchangeableness; the other, which was so formless, that it had not that by which it could be changed from one form into another, either of motion or of repose, whereby it might be subject unto time. But this Thou didst not leave to be formless, since before all days, in the beginning Thou createdst heaven and earth, these two things of which I spoke. But the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep. 2 By which words its shapelessness is conveyed unto us, that by degrees those minds may be drawn on which cannot wholly conceive the privation of all form without coming to nothing, whence another heaven might be created, and another earth visible and well-formed, and water beautifully ordered, and whatever besides is, in the

1 Matt. vii. 7. 2 Gen i. 2.
formation of this world, recorded to have been, not without days, created; because such things are so that in them the vicissitudes of times may take place, on account of the appointed changes of motions and of forms. 1

Chap. xiii. Of the intellectual heaven and formless earth, out of which, on another day, the firmament was formed.

16. Meanwhile I conceive this, my God, when I hear Thy Scripture speak, saying, In the beginning God made heaven and earth; but the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep, and not stating on what day Thou didst create these things. Thus, meanwhile, do I conceive, that it is on account of that heaven of heavens, that intellectual heaven, where to understand is to know all at once, not "in part," not "darkly," not "through a glass," 2 but as a whole, in manifestation, "face to face." not this thing now, that anon, but (as has been said) to know at once without any change of times; and on account of the invisible and formless earth, without any change of times; which change is wont to have "this thing now, that anon," because, where there is no form there can be no distinction between "this" or "that;" it is, then, on account of these two, a primitively formed, and a wholly formless; the one heaven, but the heaven of heavens, the other earth, but the earth invisible and formless; on account of these two do I meanwhile conceive that Thy Scripture said without mention of days, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." For immediately it added of what earth it spake. And when on the second day the firmament is recorded to have been created, and called heaven, it suggests to us of which heaven He spake before without mention of days.

Chap. xiv. Of the depth of the Sacred Scripture, and its enemies.

17. Wonderful is the depth of Thy oracles, whose surface is before us, inviting the little ones; and yet wonderful is the depth, my God, wonderful is the depth. 3 It is awe to look into it; an awe of honour, and a tremor of love. The enemies

1 See end of sec. 40, below. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

3 See p. 291, note 4, and p. 325, note 2, above. See also Trench, Hulseav Lectures (1845), lect. 6, "The Inexhaustibility of Scripture."

CHAP. XV.] THE WILL OF GOD IS ETERNAL. 329

thereof I hate vehemently. 1 Oh, if Thou wouldest slay them with Thy two-edged sword, 2 that they be not its enemies!
For thus do I love, that they should be slain unto themselves that they may live unto Thee. But behold others not reprovers, but praisers of the book of Genesis, "The Spirit of God," say they, "Who by His servant Moses wrote these things, willed not that these words should be thus understood. He willed not that it should be understood as Thou sayest, but as we say." Unto whom, God of us all, Thyself being Judge, do I thus answer.

Chap. xv. He argues against adversaries concerning the heaven of heavens.

18. "Will you say that these things are false, which, with a strong voice, Truth tells me in my inner ear, concerning the very eternity of the Creator, that His substance is in no wise changed by time, nor that His will is separate from His substance? Wherefore, He willeth not one thing now, another anon, but once and for ever He willeth all things that He willeth; not again and again, nor now this, now that; nor willeth afterwards what He willeth not before, nor willeth not what before He willed. Because such a will is mutable, and no mutable thing is eternal; but our God is eternal. 3 Likewise He tells me, tells me in my inner ear, that the expectation of future things is turned to sight when they have come; and this same sight is turned to memory when they have passed. Moreover, all thought which is thus varied is mutable, and nothing mutable is eternal; but our God is eternal." These things I sum up and put together, and I find that my God, the eternal God, hath not made any creature by any new will, nor that His knowledge suffereth anything transitory.

19. What, therefore, will ye say, ye objectors? Are these things false? "No," they say. "What is this? Is it false?

1 Ps. cxxxix. 21.

2 Ps. cxlix. 6. He refers to the Manichseans (see p. 44, note). In his comment on this place, he interprets the "two-edged nword" to mean the Old and New Testament, called two-edged, he says, because it speaks of things temporal and eternal.

3 See xi. sec. 41, above.

330 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINUS. [BOOK XCIE

then, that every nature already formed, or matter formable, is only from Illim who is supremely good, because He is supreme?"
"Neither do we deny this," say they. "What then? do you deny this, that there is a certain sublime creature, clinging with a chaste love with the true and truly eternal God, that although it is not co-eternal with Him, yet it separateth itself not from Him, nor itoweth into any variety and vicissitude of times, but resteth in the truest contemplation of Him only?" Since Thou, o God, showest Thyself unto him, and sufficest him, who loveth Thee as much as Thou commandest, and, therefore, he declineth not from Thee, nor toward himself. I This is the house of God, not earthly, nor of any celestial bulk corporeal, but a spiritual house and a partaker of Thy eternity, because without blemish for ever, for Thou hast made it last for ever and ever; Thou hast given it a law, which it shall not pass. Nor yet is it co-eternal with Thee, O God, because not without beginning, for it was made.

20. For although we find no time before it, for wisdom was created before all things, not certainly that Wisdom manifestly co-eternal and equal unto Thee, our God, His Father, and by Whom all things were created, and in Whom, as the Beginning, Thou createdst heaven and earth; but truly that wisdom which has been created, namely, the intellectual nature, which, in the contemplation of light, is light. For this, although created, is also called wisdom. But as great as is the difference between the Light which enlighteneth and that which is enlightened, so great is the difference between the Wisdom that

1 In his De Vera Rehg, c. 18, he says: "We must confess that the angels are in their nature mutable as God is Immutable. Yet by that will with which they love God more Hum themselves, they remain linn and stable ill Him, and enjoy His majesty, being most willingly subject to Him alone."
3 In his Con, Ado. Leg. ri Proph, i. 2, he speaks of all who are holy, whether angels or n, as being God's dwelling-place.

Pa. cxlviii. 0. 4 Ecclus. i. 4.

B "Pet Lombard. lil>. sent. 2, dist. 2, affirms that by Wisdom, Ecclus. i. 4, the angels I>e understood, the whole spiritual intellectual nature; namely, this highest heaven, In which the angels were created, and It by them instantly filled."

W. W.

"On <hl as the Father of Lights, see >. 76, note 2. In addition to the references there Ki V( "), compare in Ev, Joh, Tract, ii. sec. 7; xiv. sees. 1, 2; and xxxv. sue. 3. See also p, 'J7'6, note, below.
createth and that which hath been (rented; as between the Righteousness which justifieth, and the righteousness which has been made by justification. For we also are called Thy righteousness; for thus saith a certain servant of Thine:

"That we might he made the righteousness of God in Him." 1

Therefore, since a, certain created wisdom was created before all tilities, the rational and intellectual mind of that chaste city of Thine, our mother which is above, and is free, 8 and "eternal in tin? heavens" 3 (in what heavens, unless in those that praise Thee, the "heaven of heavens," because this also is the "heaven of heavens,"" 1 which is the Lord's) although we find not time before it, because that which hath been created before all things also precedeth the creature of time, yet is the Ktornty of the Creator Himself before- it, from Whom, having been created, it took the beginning, although not of time, for time as yet was not, yet of its own very nature.

21. Hence comes it so to be of Thee, our God, as to be manifestly another than Thou, and not the Self-same/ Since, although we hud time not only not before it, but not in it (it being proper ever to behold Thy face, nor is ever turned aside from it, wherefore it happens that it is varied by no change), yet is there in it that mutability itself whence it would become dark and cold, but that, clinging unto Thee with sublime love, it shineh and gloweth from Thee like a perpetual noon. O house, full of light and splendour! I have loved lly beauty and the place of the habitation of the glory of my Lord," thy builder and owner. Let my wandering sigh after thee; and I speak unto Him that made thee, that He may possess me also in thee, seeing He hath made me likewise. "I have gone astray, like a lost sheep;' yet upon the shoulders of my Shepherd," thy builder, I hope that J may be brought back to thee.

22. "What say ye to me, O ye objectors whom I was addressing, and who yet believe that Moses was the holy servant of Cod, and that his books were the oracles of the

2 Cor. v. 21. Gal, iv. 20. 2 Cor. v. 1. * Ph. rxlviii. 4.

s Against the Manioheans. See iv. sec. 2i'>, and part 2 of note on p. 77, above
< l's. xxvi. 8. 7 Pe. cxix. 17(1. H Luke xv. c.

332 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]
Holy Ghost? Is not this house of God, not indeed co-eternal with God, yet, according to its measure, eternal in the heavens, 1 where in vain you seek for changes of times, because you will not find them? For that surpasseth all extension, and every revolving space of time, to which it is ever good to cleave fast to God." 2 "It is," say they. "What, therefore, of those things which my heart cried out unto my God, when within it heard the voice of His praise, what then do you contend is false? Or is it because the matter was formless, wherein, as there was no form, there was no order? But where there was no order there could not be any change of times; and yet this 'almost nothing,' inasmuch as it was not altogether nothing, was verily from Him, from Whom is whatever is, in what state soever anything is." 3 "This also," say they, "we do not deny."

Chap. XVI. He wishes to have no intercourse with those who deny Divine Truth.

23. With such as grant that all these things which Thy truth indicates to my mind are true, I desire to confer a little before Thee, my God. For let those who deny these things bark and drown their own voices with their clamour as much as they please; I will endeavour to persuade them to be quiet, and to suffer Thy word to reach them. But should they be unwilling, and should they repel me, I beseech, O my God, that Thou "be not silent to me." 3 Do Thou speak truly in my heart, for Thou only so speakest, and I will send them away blowing upon the dust from without, and raising it up into their own eyes; and I will myself enter into my chamber, 4 and sing there unto Thee songs of love, groaning with groanings unutterable 5 in my pilgrimage, and remembering Jerusalem, with heart raised up towards it 6

1 2 Cor. v. 1. 3 Ps. lxxiii. 28. 3 Ps. xxviii. 1.


6 Baxter has a noteworthy passage on our heavenly citizenship in his Saints' Rest: "As Moses, before he died, went up into Mount Nebo, to take a survey of the land of Canaan, so the Christian ascends the Mount of Contemplation, and by faith surveys his rest. ... As Daniel in his captivity daily opened his window towards Jerusalem, though far out of sight, when he went to God in

CHAP. XVII.] HE LONGS FOR THE HEAVENLY JERUSALEM. 333

Jerusalem my country, Jerusalem my mother, and Thyself, the Euler over it, the Enlightener, the Father, the Guardian, the Husband, the chaste and strong delight, the solid joy, and all good things ineffable, even all at the same time, because the one supreme and true Good. And I will not be turned away until Thou collect all that I am,
from this dispersion * and deformity, into the peace of that very dear mother, where are
the first-fruits of my spirit, 2 whence these things are assured to me, and Thou conform
and confirm it for ever, my God, my Mercy. But with reference to those who say not that
all these things which are true are false, who honour Thy Holy Scripture set forth by holy
Moses, placing it, as with us, on the summit of an authority 3 to be followed, and yet who
contradict us in some particulars, I thus speak:
Be Thou, O our God, judge between my confessions and their contradictions.

Chap. xvii. He mentions five explanations of the words of Genesis i. 1.

24. For they say, "Although these things be true, yet Moses regarded not those two
things, when by divine revelation he said, ' In the beginning God created the heaven and
the earth.' 4 Under the name of heaven he did not indicate that spiritual or intellectual
creature which always beholds the face of God; nor under the name of earth, that
shapeless matter." " What then ? " " That man," say they, " meant as we say; this it is that
he declared by those words." " What is that ? " " By the name of heaven and earth," say
they, " did he first wish to set forth, universally and briefly, all this

his devotions, so may the believing soul, in this captivity of the flesh, look towards ' Jeru
salen which is above ' (Gal. iv. 26). And as Paul was to the Colossians (ii. 5), so may
the believer be with the glorified spirits, ' though absent in the flesh,' yet with them ' in
the spirit, 'joying and beholding their heavenly ' order. ' And as the lark sweetly sings while she soars on high, but is suddenly silenced when she
falls to the earth, so is the frame of the soul most delightful and divine while it keeps in
the views of God by contemplation. Alas, we make there too short a stay, fall down
again, and lay by our music ! " (Fawcett's Ed. p. 327.)

1 See ii. sec. 1; ix. sec. 10; x. sec. 40, note; ibid. sec. 65; and xi. sec. 39, above.

8 See ix. sec. 24, above; and xiii. sec. 13, below.

* See p. 177, note 3, above. *Gen. i. 1,

334 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]

visible world, that afterwards by the enumeration of the "days he might distribute, as if in
detail, all those things which it pleased the Holy Spirit thus to reveal. For such men were
that rude and carnal people to which he spoke, that he judged it prudent that only those
works of God as were visible should be entrusted to them." They agree, however, that the
earth invisible and formless, and the darksome deep
(out of which it is subsequently pointed out that all these visible things, which are known
to all, were made and set in order during those " days"), may not unsuitably be
understood of this formless matter.
25. What, now, if another should say "That this same formlessness and confusion of matter was first introduced under the name of heaven and earth, because out of it this visible world, with all those natures which most manifestly appear in it, and which is wont to be called by the name of heaven and earth, was created and perfected " ? But what if another should say, that " That invisible and visible nature is not inaptly called heaven and earth; and that consequently the universal creation, which God in His wisdom hath made, that is, ' in the beginning,' was comprehended under these two words. Yet, since all things have been made, not of the substance of God, but out of nothing 1 (because they are not that same thing that God is, and there is in them all a certain mutability, whether they remain, as doth the eternal house of God, or be changed, as are the soul and body of man), therefore, that the common matter of all things invisible and visible, as yet shapeless, but still capable of form, out of which was to be created heaven and earth (that is, the invisible and visible creature already formed), was spoken of by the same names by which the earth invisible and formless and the darkness upon the deep would be called; with this difference, however, that the earth invisible and formless is understood as corporeal matter, before it had any manner of form, but the darkness upon the deep as spiritual matter, before it was restrained at all of its unlimited fluidity, and before the enlightening of wisdom."

1 See p. 295, note, above. .

CHAP. XVIII.] THE Koyal LAW. 335

26. Should any man wish, he may still say, "That the already perfected and formed natures, invisible and visible, are not signified under the name of heaven and earth when it is read, ' In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; ' but that the yet same formless beginning of things, the matter capable of being formed and made, was called by these names, because contained in it there were these confused things not as yet distinguished by their qualities and forms, the which now being digested in their own orders, are called heaven and earth, the former being the spiritual, the latter the corporeal creature."

Chap, xviii. What error is harmless in Sacred Scripture.

27. All which things having been heard and considered, I am unwilling to contend about words, 1 for that is profitable to nothing but to the subverting of the hearers. 2 But the law is good to edify, if a man use it lawfully; 3 for the end of it " is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." 4 And well did our Master know, upon which two commandments He hung all the Law and the Prophets. 5 And what doth it hinder me, O my God, Thou light of my eyes in secret, while ardently confessing these things, since by these words many things may be understood, all of which are yet true, what, I say, doth it hinder me, should I
think otherwise of what the writer thought than some other man thinketh? Indeed, all of us who read endeavour to


1 Tim. i. 8. 4 Ibid. ver. 5.

5 Matt. xxii. 40. For he says in his Con. Faust, xvii. 6, remarking on John i. 17, a text which he often quotes in this connection: "The law itself by being fulfilled becomes grace and truth. Grace is the fulfilment of love." And so in ibid. xix. 27 we read: 'From the words, 'I came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it,' we are not to understand that Christ by His precepts filled up what was wanting in the law; but what the literal command failed in doing from the pride and disobedience of men is accomplished by grace. ... So, the apostle says, 'faith worketh by love.' So, again, we read in Serm. cxxv.: "Quiaveuit dare caritatem, et caritas perficit legem; merito dixit non veni legem solvere sed implere." And hence in his letter to Jerome (Ep. clxvii. 19), he speaks of the "royal law" as being "the law of liberty, which is the law of love." See p 348, note 4, above.

336 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII,

trace out and to understand that which he whom we read wished to convey; and as we believe him to speak truly, we dare not suppose that he has spoken anything which we either know or suppose to be false. Since, therefore, each person endeavours to understand in the Holy Scriptures that which the writer understood, what hurt is it if a man understand what Thou, the light of all true-speaking minds, dost show him to be true although he whom he reads understood not this, seeing that he also understood a Truth, not, however, this Truth?

Chap. xix. He enumerates the things concerning which all agree.

28. For it is true, Lord, that Thou hast made heaven and earth; it is also true, that the Beginning is Thy "Wisdom, in Which Thou hast made all things. 1 It is likewise true, that this visible world hath its own great parts, the heaven and the earth, which in a short compass comprehends all made and created natures. It is also true, that everything mutable sets before our minds a certain want of form, whereof it taketh a form, or is changed and turned. It is true, that that is subject to no times which so cleaveth to the changeless form as that, though it be mutable, it is not changed. It is true, that the formlessness, which is almost nothing, cannot have changes of times. It is true, that that of which anything is made may by a certain mode of speech be called by the name of that thing which is made of it; whence that formlessness of which heaven and earth were made might be called "heaven and earth." It is true, that of all things having form, nothing is nearer to the formless than the earth and the deep. It is true, that not only every created and formed thing, but also whatever is capable of creation and of form, Thou hast
made, "by whom are all things." 2 It is true, that everything that is formed from that which is formless was formless before it was formed.

Chap. xx. Of the words, "In the beginning," variously understood.

29. From all these truths, of which they doubt not whose inner eye Thou hast granted to see such things, and who immovably believe Moses, Thy servant, to have spoken in the

1 Ps. civ. 24. See p. 297, note 1, above. z 1 Cor. viii. 6.

CHAP. XX.] ORIGIN OF THE SOUL. 337

spirit of truth; from all these, then, he taketh one who saith, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," that is, "In His Word, co-eternal with Himself, God made the intelligible and the sensible, or the spiritual and corporeal creature."

He taketh another, who saith, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," that is, "In His Word, co-eternal with Himself, God made the universal mass of this corporeal world, with all those manifest and known natures which it containeth." He, another, who saith, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," that is, "In His Word, co-eternal with Himself, God made the formless matter of the spiritual 1 and corporeal creature." He, another, who saith, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," that is, "In His Word, co-eternal with Himself, God made the formless matter of the corporeal creature, wherein heaven and earth lay as yet confused, which being now distinguished and formed, we, at this day, see in the mass of this world." He, another, who saith, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," that is, "In the very beginning of creating and working, God made that formless matter confusedly containing heaven and

1 Augustine, in his letter to Jerome (Ep. clxvi. 4) on "The origin of the human soul," says: "The soul, whether it be termed material or immaterial, has a certain nature of its own, created from a substance superior to the elements of this world." And in his De Oen. ad Lit. vii. 10, he speaks of the soul being formed from a certain "spiritual matter," even as flesh was formed from the earth. It should be observed that at one time Augustine held to the theory that the souls of infants were created by God out of nothing at each fresh birth, and only rejected this view for that of its being generated by the parents with the body Under the pressure of the Pelagian controversy. The first doctrine was generally held by the Schoolmen; and William of Conches maintained this belief on the authority of Augustine, apparently being unaware of any modification in his opinion: "Cum Augustino," he says (Victor Cousin, Ouvrages ined. d'Abelard, p. 673), "credo et sentio quotidié novas animas non ex traduce, non ex aliqua substantia, sed ex nihilo, solo jussu creatoris creari." Those who held the first-named belief were called Creatiani; those who held the second, Traduciani. It may be noted as to
the word "Traduciani," that Tertullian, in his De Anima, chaps. 24-27, etc., frequently uses the word tradux in this connection.

Augustine, in his Retractations, ii. 45, refers to his letter to Jerome, and urges that if so obscure a matter is to be discussed at all, that solution only should be received: "Quae contraria non sit apertissimis rebus quas de originali peccato fides catholica novit in parvulis, nisi regenerentur in Christo, sine dubitatione damnandis." On Tertullian's views, see Bishop Kaye, p. 178, etc.

CON. Y

338 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII,

earth, out of which, being formed, they now stand out, and are manifest, with all the things that are in them."

Chap. xxi. Of the explanation of the words, "The earth vjas invisible."

30. And as concerns the understanding of the following words, out of all those truths he selected one to himself, who saith, "But the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep," that is, "That corporeal thing, which God made, was as yet the formless matter of corporeal things, without order, without light." He taketh another, who saith, "But the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep," that is, "This whole, which is called heaven and earth, was as yet formless and darksome matter, out of which the corporeal heaven and the corporeal earth were to be made, with all things therein which are known to our corporeal senses." He, another, who saith, "But the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep," that is, "This whole, which is called heaven and earth, was as yet a formless and darksome matter, out of which were to be made that intelligible heaven, which is otherwise called the heaven of heavens, and the earth, namely, the whole corporeal nature, under which name may also be comprised this corporeal heaven, that is, from which every invisible and visible creature would be created." He, another, who saith, "But the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the deep," "The Scripture called not that formlessness by the name of heaven and earth, but that formlessness itself," saith he, "already was, which he named the earth invisible and formless and the darksome deep, of which he had said before, that God had made the heaven and the earth, namely, the spiritual and corporeal creature." He, another, who saith, "But the earth was invisible and formless, and darkness was upon the deep," that is, "There was already a formless matter, whereof the Scripture before said, that God had made heaven and earth, namely, the entire corporeal mass of the world, divided into two very great parts, the superior and the inferior, with all those familiar and known creatures which are in them."
Chap. xxii. He discusses whether matter was from eternity, or was made by God. 1

31. For, should any one endeavour to contend against these last two opinions, thus, "If you will not admit that this formlessness of matter appears to be called by the name of heaven and earth, then there was something which God had not made out of which He could make heaven and earth; for Scripture hath not told us that God made this matter, unless we understand it to be implied in the term of heaven and earth, or of earth only, when it is said, 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth,' as that which follows, but the earth was invisible and formless, although it was pleasing to him so to call the formless matter, we may not yet understand any but that which God made in that text which hath been already written, 'God made heaven and earth.' " The maintainers of either one or the other of these two opinions which we have put last will, when they have heard these things, answer and say, "We deny not indeed that this formless matter was created by God, the God of whom are all things, very good; for, as we say that that is a greater good which is created and formed, so we acknowledge that that is a minor good which is capable of creation and form, but yet good. But yet the Scripture hath not declared that God made this formlessness, any more than it hath declared many other things; as the Cherubim,' and 'Seraphim,' 2 and those of which the apostle distinctly speaks, 'Thrones,' * Dominions,' 'Principalities,' 'Powers,' 3 all of which it is manifest God made. Or if in that which is said, 'He made heaven and earth,' all things are comprehended, what do we say of the waters upon which the Spirit of God moved? For if they are understood as incorporated in the word earth, how then can formless matter be meant in the term earth when we see the waters so beautiful? Or if it be so meant, why then is it written that

1 See xi. sec. 7, and note, above; and xii. sec. 33, and note, below. See also the subtle reasoning of Dean Mansel (Bampton Lectures, lect. ii.), on the inconsequence of receiving the idea of the creation out of nothing on other than Christian principles. And compare Coleridge, The Friend, iii. 213.

2 Isa. vi. 2, and xxxvii. 16. * Col. i. 16.

340 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]

out of the same formlessness the firmament was made and called heaven, and yet it is not written that the waters were made? For those waters, which we perceive flowing in so beautiful a manner, remain not formless and invisible. But if, then, they received that
beauty when God said, Let the water which is under the firmament be gathered together, 1 so that the gathering be the very formation, what will be answered concerning the waters which are above the firmament, because if formless they would not have deserved to receive a seat so honourable, nor is it written by what word they were formed? If, then, Genesis is silent as to anything that God has made, which, however, neither sound faith nor unerring understanding doubteth that God hath made, 2 let not any sober teaching dare to say that these waters were co-eternal with God because we find them mentioned in the book of Genesis; but when they were created, we find not. Why truth instructing us may we not understand that that formless matter, which the Scripture calls the earth invisible and without form, and the darksome deep, 3 have been made by God out of nothing, and therefore that they are not co-eternal with Him, although that narrative hath failed to tell when they were made ? "

Chap, xxiii. Two kinds of disagreements in the books to be explained.

32. These things, therefore, being heard and perceived according to my weakness of apprehension, which I confess unto Thee, Lord, who knowest it, I see that two sorts of differences may arise when by signs anything is related, even by true reporters, one concerning the truth of the things, the other concerning the meaning of him who reports them. For in one way we inquire, concerning the forming of the creature, what is true; but in another, what Moses, that excellent servant of Thy faith, would have wished that the reader and hearer should understand by these words. As for the first kind, let all those depart from me who imagine themselves to know as true what is false. And as for the other also, let all depart from me who imagine Moses to have spoken things that are false. But let me be united in Thee, O Lord, with

1 Gen. i. 9. a See p. 295, note, above. 3 See p. 320, note 2, above.

CHAP. XXIV.] WHAT MOSES MEANT. 341

them, and in Thee delight myself with them that feed on Thy truth, in the breadth of charity; and let us approach together unto the words of Thy book, and in them make search for Thy will, through the will of Thy servant by whose pen Thou hast dispensed them.

Chap, xxiv. Out of the many true things, it is not asserted confidently that Moses understood this or that.

33. But which of us, amid so many truths which occur to inquirers in these words, understood as they are in different ways, shall so discover that one interpretation as to confidently say " that Moses thought this," and " that in that narrative he wished this to be understood," as confidently as he says "that this is true," whether he thought this thing or the other ? For behold, O my God, I Thy servant, who in this book have vowed unto Thee
a sacrifice of confession, and beseech Thee that of Thy mercy I may pay my vows unto Thee, 1 behold, can I, as I confidently assert that Thou in Thy immutable word hast created all things, invisible and visible, with equal confidence assert that Moses . meant nothing else than this when he wrote, " In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." 2 No. Because it is not as clear to me that this was in his mind when he wrote these things, as I see it to be certain in Thy truth. For his thoughts might be set upon the very beginning of the creation when he said, " In the beginning; " and he might wish it to be understood that, in this place, " the heaven and the earth" were no formed and perfected nature, whether spiritual or corporeal, but each of them newly begun, and as yet formless. Because I see, that whichever of these had been said, it might have been said truly; but which of them he may have thought in these words, I do not so perceive. Although, whether it were one of these, or some other meaning which

1 Ps. xxii. 25.

2 It is curious to note here Fichte's strange idea (Anweisung zum seligen Leben, Werke, v. 479), that St. John, at the commencement of his Gospel, in his teaching as to the " Word," intended to confute the Mosaic statement, which Fichte since it ran counter to that idea of "the absolute " which he made the point of departure in his philosophy antagonizes as a heathen and Jewish error. On "In the Beginning," see p. 297, note 1, above.

342 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII,

lias not been mentioned by me, that this great man saw in his mind when he used these words, I make no doubt but that he saw it truly, and expressed it suitably.

Chap. xxv. It behoves interpreters, when disagreeing concerning obscure places, to regard God the Author of truth, and the rule of charity.

34. Let no one now trouble me by saying, " Moses thought not as you say, but as I say." For should he ask me, " Whence knowest thou that Moses thought this which you deduce from his words ? " I ought to take it contentedly, 1 and reply perhaps as I have before, or somewhat more fully should he be obstinate. But when he says, " Moses meant not what you say, but what I say," and yet denies not what each of us says, and that both are true, O my God, life of the poor, in whose bosom there is no contradiction, pour down into my heart Thy soothings, that I may patiently bear with such as say this to me; not because they are divine, and because they have seen in the heart of Thy servant what they say, but because they are proud, and have not known the opinion of Moses, but love their own, not because it is true, but because it is their own. Otherwise they would equally love another true opinion, as I love what they say
when they speak what is true; not because it is theirs, but because it is true, and therefore now not theirs because true. But if they therefore love that because it is true, it is now both theirs and mine, since it is common to all the lovers of truth. But because they contend that Moses meant not what I say, but what they themselves say, this I neither like nor love; because, though it were so, yet that rashness is not of knowledge, but of audacity; and not vision, but vanity brought it forth. And therefore, Lord, are Thy judgments to be dreaded, since Thy truth is neither mine, nor his, nor another's, but of all of us, whom Thou publicly callest to have it in common, warning us terribly not to hold it as specially for ourselves, lest we be deprived of it. For whosoever claims to himself as his own that which Thou appointed to all to enjoy, and desires that to be his own which belongs to all, is forced away from what is

1 See p. 8, note, and p. 291, note 4, above.

CHAP. XXVI.] THE LAW OF LOVE TO BE MAINTAINED. 343

common to all to that which is his own that is, from truth to falsehood. For he that "speaketh a lie, speaketh of his own." 1

35. Hearken, God, Thou best Judge! Truth itself, hearken to what I shall say to this gainsayer; hearken, for before Thee I say it, and before my brethren who use Thy law lawfully, to the end of charity; 2 hearken and behold what I shall say to him, if it be pleasing unto Thee. For this brotherly and peaceful word do I return unto him: " If we both see that that which thou sayest is true, and if we both see that what I say is true, where, I ask, do we see it ? Certainly not I in thee, nor thou in me, but both in the unchangeable truth itself, 3 which is above our minds." When, therefore, we may not contend about the very light of the Lord our God, why do we contend about the thoughts of our neighbour, which we cannot so see as incommutable truth is seen; when, if Moses himself had appeared to us and said, " This I meant," not so should we see it, but believe it ? Let us not, then, " be puffed up for one against the other," 4 above that which is written; let us love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself. 5 As to which two precepts of charity, unless we believe that Moses meant whatever in these books he did mean, we shall make God a liar when we think otherwise concerning our fellow-servants' mind than He hath taught us. Behold, now, how foolish it is, in so great an abundance of the truest opinions which can be extracted from these words, rashly to affirm which of them Moses particularly meant; and with pernicious contentions to offend charity itself, on account of which he hath spoken all the things whose words we endeavour to explain!

Chap. xxvi. What he might have asked of God had he been enjoined to write the book of Genesis.
36. And yet, my God, Thou exaltation of my humility, and rest of my labour, who nearest my confessions, and for-

1 John viii. 44. 2 1 Tim. i. 8.

J As to all truth heing God's, see vii. sec. 15, and note 4, above; and compare x. sec. 65, above.

4 1 Cor. iv. 6. 5 Mark xii. 30, 31.

344 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]

givest my sins, since Thou commandest me that I should love my neighbour as myself, I cannot believe that Thou gavest to Moses, Thy most faithful servant, a less gift than I should wish and desire for myself from Thee, had I been born in his time, and hadst Thou placed me in that position that through the service of my heart and of my tongue those books might be distributed, which so long after were to profit all nations, and through the whole world, from so great a pinnacle of authority, were to surmount the words of all false and proud teachings. I should have wished truly had I then been Moses (for we all come from the same mass; and what is man, saving that Thou art mindful of him ? 1 ). I should then, had I been at that time what he was, and enjoined by Thee to write the book of Genesis, have wished that such a power of expression and such a method of arrangement should be given me, that they who cannot as yet understand how God creates might not reject the words as surpassing their powers; and they who are already able to do this, would find, in what true opinion soever they had by thought arrived at, that it was not passed over in the few words of Thy servant; and should another man by the light of truth have discovered another, neither should that fail to be found in those same words.

Chap, xxvii. The style of speaking in the book of Genesis is simple and clear.

37. For as a fountain in a limited space is more plentiful, and affords supply for more streams over larger spaces than any one of those streams which, after a wide interval, is derived from the same fountain; so the narrative of Thy dispenser, destined to benefit many who were likely to discourse thereon, does, from a limited measure of language, overflow into streams of clear truth, whence each one may draw out for himself that truth which he can concerning these subjects, this one that truth, that one another, by larger circumlocutions of discourse. For some, when they read or hear these words, think that God as a man or some mass gifted with immense power, by some new and sudden resolve,

1 Pa. viii. 8.
had, outside itself, as if at distant places, created heaven and earth, two great bodies above and below, wherein all things were to be contained. And when they hear, God said, Let it be made, and it was made, they think of words begun and ended, sounding in times and passing away, after the departure of which that came into being which was commanded to be; and whatever else of the kind their familiarity with the world * would suggest. In whom, being as yet little ones, 2 while their weakness by this humble kind of speech is carried on as if in a mother's bosom, their faith is healthfully built up, by which they have and hold as certain that God made all natures, which in wondrous variety their senses perceive on every side. Which words, if any one despising them, as if trivial, with proud weakness shall have stretched himself beyond his fostering cradle, he will, alas, fall miserably. Have pity, O Lord God, lest they who pass by trample on the unfledged bird; and send Thine angel, who may restore it to its nest, that it may live until it can fly. 3

Chap, xxviii. The words, " In the beginning" and, " The heaven and the earth" are differently understood.

38. But others, to whom these words are no longer a nest, but shady fruit-bowers, see the fruits concealed in them, fly around rejoicing, and chirpingly search and pluck them. For they see when they read or hear these words, God, that all times past and future are surmounted by Thy eternal and stable abiding, and still that there is no temporal creature which Thou hast not made. And by Thy will, because it is that which Thou art, Thou hast made all things, not by any changed will, nor by a will which before was not, not out of Thyself, in Thine own likeness, the form of all things, but out of nothing, a formless unlikeness which should be formed by Thy likeness (having recourse to Thee the One, after their settled capacity, according as it has been given to each thing in his kind), and might all be made very good; whether they

1 " Ex familiaritate carnis," literally, " from familiarity with the flesh."  
* " Parvulis animalitms."

8 In allusion, perhaps, to Prov. xxvii. 8: " As a bird that wandereth from h nest, so is a man that wamlereth from his place."

346 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]
remain around Thee, or, being by degrees removed in time and place, make or undergo beautiful variations. These things they see, and rejoice in the light of Thy truth, in the little degree they here may.

39. Again, another of these directs his attention to that which is said, " In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth," and beholdeth Wisdom, the Beginning, 1 because It also speaketh unto us. 2 Another likewise directs his attention to the same words, and by " beginning " understands the commencement of things created; and receives it thus, In the beginning He made, as if it were said, He at first made.

And among those who understand " In the beginning " to mean, that " in Thy Wisdom Thou hast created heaven and earth," one believes the matter out of which the heaven and earth were to be created to be there called " heaven and earth;"

another, that they are natures already formed and distinct; another, one formed nature, and that a spiritual, under the name of heaven, the other formless, of corporeal matter, under the name of earth. But they who under the name of " heaven and earth " understand matter as yet formless, out of which were to be formed heaven and earth, do not themselves understand it in one manner; but one, that matter out of which the intelligible and the sensible creature were to be completed; another, that only out of which this sensible corporeal mass was to come, holding in its vast bosom these visible and prepared natures. Nor are they who believe that the creatures already set in order and arranged are in this place called heaven and earth of one accord; but the one, both the invisible and visible; the other, the visible only, in which we admire the luminous heaven and darksome earth, and the things that are therein.

Chap. xxix. Concerning the opinion of those who explain it "At first He made."

40. But he who does not otherwise understand, " In the beginning He made," than if it were said, " At first He made," can only truly understand heaven and earth of the matter of heaven and earth, namely, of the universal, that is, intelligible and corporeal creation. For if he would have it of the universe, as already formed, it might rightly be asked of him: " If at first God made this, what made He afterwards ?" And after the universe he will find nothing; thereupon must he, though unwilling, hear, "How is this first, if there is nothing afterwards ?"

But when he says that God made matter first formless, then formed, he is not absurd if he be but able to discern what precedes by eternity, what by time, what by choice, what by origin. By eternity, as God is before all things; by time, as the '
flower is before the fruit; by choice, as the fruit is before the flower; by origin, as sound is before the tune. Of these four, J
the first and last which I have referred to are with much difficulty understood; the two middle very easily. For an uncommon and too lofty vision it is to behold, Lord, Thy Eternity, immutably making things mutable, and thereby before them.
Who is so acute of mind as to be able without great labour to discover how the sound is prior to the tune, because a tune is a formed sound; and a thing not formed may exist, but that which existeth not cannot be formed? 1 So is the matter prior to that which is made from it; not prior because it maketh it, since itself is rather made, nor is it prior by an interval of time. For we do not as to time first utter formless sounds without singing, and then adapt or fashion them into the form of a song, just as wood or silver from which a chest or vessel is made. Because such materials do by time also precede the forms of the things which are made from them; but in singing this is not so. For when it is sung, its sound is heard at the same time; seeing there is not first a formless sound, which is afterwards formed into a song. For as soon as it shall have first sounded it passeth away; nor canst thou find anything of it, which being recalled thou canst by art compose. And, therefore, the song is absorbed in its own sound, which sound of it is its matter. Because this same is formed that it may be a tune; and therefore, as I was saying, the matter of the sound is prior to the form of the tune, not before through any power of making it a tune; for neither is a sound the composer of

1 See a similar argument in his Con. adv. Leg. et Proph. i. 9; and sec. 29, and note, above.

348 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII

the tune, but is sent forth from the body and is subjected to the soul of the singer, that from it he may form a tune. Nor is it first in time, for it is given forth together with the tune; nor first in choice, for a sound is not better than a tune, since a tune is not merely a sound, but a beautiful sound. But it is first in origin, because the tune is not formed that it may become a sound, but the sound is formed that it may become a tune. By this example, let him who is able understand that the matter of things was first made, and called heaven and earth, because out of it heaven and earth were made. Not that it was made first in time, because the forms of things give rise to time, 1 but that was formless; but now, in time, it is perceived together with its form. Nor yet can anything be related concerning that matter, unless as if it were prior in time, while it is considered last (because things formed are assuredly superior to things formless), and is preceded by the Eternity of the Creator, so that there might be out of nothing that from which something might be made.

Chap. xxx. In the great diversity of opinions, it becomes all to unite charity

and Divine Truth.
41. In this diversity of true opinions let Truth itself beget concord; 2 and may our God have mercy upon us, that we may use the law lawfully, 3 the end of the commandment, pure charity. 4 And by this if any one asks of me, "Which of these was the meaning of Thy servant Moses?" these were not the

1 See xi. sec. 29, above, and Gillies' note thereon; and compare with it Augustine's De. Gen. ad Lit. v. 5: "In vain we inquire after time before the creation as though we could find time before time, for if there were no motion of the spiritual or corporeal creatures whereby through the present the future might succeed the past, there would be no time at all. But the creature could not have motion unless it were. Time, therefore, begins rather from the creation, than creation from time, but both are from God."

2 See p. 291, note 4, above. 8 1 Tim. i. 8.

4 See p. 335, note, above; and on the supremacy of this law of love, may be compared Jeremy Taylor's curious story (Works, iv. 477, Eden's ed.): "St. Lewis, the king, having sent Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, on an embassy, the bishop met a woman on the way, grave, sad, fantastic, and melancholy, with fire in one hand, and water in the other. He asked what those symbols meant. She answered, ' My purpose is with fire to burn Paradise, and with my water to quench the flames of hell, that men may serve God without the incentives of hope and fear, and purely for the love of God. ' "

CHAP. XXXI.] MOSES SAW THE TRUTH. 349

utterances of my confessions, should I not confess unto Thee, " I know not;" and yet I know that those opinions are true, with the exception of those carnal ones concerning which I have spoken what I thought well. However, these words of Thy Book affright not those little ones of good hope, treating few of high things in a humble fashion, and few things in varied ways. 1 But let all, whom I acknowledge to see and speak the truth in these words, love one another, and equally love Thee, our God, fountain of truth, if we thirst not for vain things, but for it; yea, let us so honour this servant of Thine, the dispenser of this Scripture, full of Thy Spirit, as to believe that when Thou revealedst Thyself to him, and he wrote these things, he intended that which in them chiefly excels both for light of truth and fruitfulness of profit.

Chap. xxxi. Moses is supposed to have perceived whatever of truth can be discovered in his ivords.

42. Thus, when one shall say, "He [Moses] meant as I do," and another, " Nay, but as I do," I suppose that I am speaking more religiously when I say, " Why not rather as both, if both be true? " And if there be a third truth, or a fourth, and if any one seek any truth altogether different in those words, why may not he be
believed to have seen all these, through whom one God hath tempered the Holy Scriptures to the senses of many, about to see therein things true but different? I certainly, and I fearlessly declare it from my heart, were I to write anything to have the highest authority, should prefer so to write, that whatever of truth any one might apprehend concerning these matters, my words should re-echo, rather than that I should set down one true opinion so clearly on this as that I should exclude the rest, that which was false in which could not offend me. Therefore am I unwilling, my God, to be so headstrong as not to believe that from Thee this man [Moses] hath received so much. He, surely, when he wrote those words, perceived and thought whatever of truth we have been able to discover, yea, and whatever we have not been able, nor yet are able, though still it may be found in them.

1 See end of note 1, p. 370, below.

1
CHAP. I.

BOOK II.
Of TimeraraWoOfQODM

TRISITYASF... ".

men oop work* ro*
ANDBLM8KD M
IMPLORERD I

INC; THK OBIOia Of
and hk urum n

Chap. i. /e coil* upon U I, omd pnotu to kim*l/ to m .
1. T GALL upon I ) ";
X and w1, i ,| " 1
Thee. I call 1 whi ll by t! whit h
Thou inspires! in it I fa not Thoa forsake dm
me before I called, and I
fold calls that I ’;
and call upon Thee who i I "ail
blotted out all my evil: . [*y
into my hands when with I lien fi
hast anticipated all my in, tl:
into Thy hands when* ttl '
i was, Tlmii wast, nor nthii I I
mightest grant beu behold, I am
goodness, anticipating all th I
of which Thou ha I itood
in need of me, nor am I gi I as to be helpful nolo
Thee, 2 my Lord and God I so serv
though Thou wert fatigue I in ring, or
be less if lacking my ass: noi tl .' tilca the lan. I. I
1 See. i. sec. 2, above
* Similar views as to God's i (( 1 us j
as to our service being for our an. 1 _ , i . ' - | .und in 1 i
Gen. ad La. viii. 11; and Con. Adv. I. i. 4.

350 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII.]

Chap, xxxii. First, the sense of the writer is to be discovered, then that is to be brought out which Divine Truth intended.

43. Finally, O Lord, who art God, and not flesh and blood, if man doth see anything less, can anything lie hid from "Thy good Spirit," who shall "lead me into the land of uprightness," 1
which Thou Thyself, by those words, wert about to reveal to future readers, although he through whom they were spoken, amid the many interpretations that might have been found, fixed on but one ? Which, if it be so, let that which he thought on be more exalted than the rest. But to us, Lord, either point out the same, or any other true one which may be pleasing unto Thee; so that whether Thou makest known to us that which Thou didst to that man of Thine, or some other by occasion of the same words, yet Thou mayest feed us, not error deceive us. 2 Behold, O Lord my God, how many things we have written concerning a few words, how many, I beseech Thee ! What strength of ours, what ages
would suffice for all Thy books after this manner? Permit me, therefore, in these more briefly to confess unto Thee, and to select some one true, certain, and good sense, that Thou shalt inspire, although many senses offer themselves, where many, indeed, may; this being the faith of my confession, that if I should say that which Thy minister felt, rightly and profitably, this I should strive for; the which if I shall not attain, yet I may say that which Thy Truth willed through Its words to say unto me, which said also unto him what It willed.

1 Ps. cxliii. 10.

2 Augustine, as we have seen (see notes, pp. 49 and 115), was frequently addicted to allegorical interpretation, but lie, none the less, laid stress on the necessity of avoiding obscure and allegorical passages when it was necessary to convince the opponent of Christianity (De Unit. Eccl. ch. 5). It should also be noted that, however varied the meaning deduced from a doubtful Scripture, he ever maintained that such meaning must be sacræ fidei comjruam. Compare De Gen. ad Lit. end of book i.; and ibid. viii. 4 and 7. See also notes, pp. 291 and 325, above.

CHAP. I. HE CALLS UPON GOD. 351

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

OF THE GOODNESS OF GOD EXPLAINED IN THE CREATION OF THINGS, AND OF THE TRINITY AS FOUND IN THE FIRST WORDS OF GENESIS. THE STORY CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD (GEN. I.) IS ALLEGORICALLY EXPLAINED, AND HE APPLIES IT TO THOSE THINGS WHICH GOD WORKS FOR SANCTIFIED AND BLESSED MAN. FINALLY, HE MAKES AN END OF THIS WORK, HAVING IMPLORED ETERNAL REST FROM GOD.

Chap. i. He calls upon God, and proposes to himself to worship Him.

1. T" CALL upon Thee, my God, my mercy, who madest me, I and who didst not forget me, though forgetful of Thee. I call Thee into My soul, which by the desire which Thou inspirist in it Thou preparest for Thy reception. Do not Thou forsake me calling upon Thee, who didst anticipate me before I called, and didst importunately urge with manifold calls that I should hear Thee from afar, and be converted, and call upon Thee who calledst me. For Thou, Lord, hast blotted out all my evil deserts, that Thou mightest not repay into my hands wherewith I have fallen from Thee, and Thou hast anticipated all my
good deserts, that Thou mightest repay into Thy hands wherewith Thou madest me; because before I was, Thou wast, nor was I [anything] to which Thou mightest grant being. And yet behold, I am, out of Thy goodness, anticipating all this which Thou hast made me, and of which Thou hast made me. For neither hadst Thou stood in need of me, nor am I such a good as to be helpful unto Thee, 2 my Lord and God; not that I may so serve Thee as though Thou wert fatigued in working, or lest Thy power may be less if lacking my assistance; nor that, like the land, I

1 See. i. sec. 2, above.

* Similar views as to God's not having need of us, though He created us, and as to our service being for our and not His advantage, will be found in his D(
Gen. ad Lit. viii. 11; and Con. Adv. Leg. et Proph. i. 4.

352 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

may so cultivate Thee that Thou wouldest be uncultivated did I cultivate Thee not; but that I may serve and worship Thee, to the end that I may have well-being from Thee, from whom it is that I am one susceptible of well-being.

Chap. ii. All creatures subsist from the plenitude of Divine goodness,

2. For of the plenitude of Thy goodness Thy creature subsists, that a good, which could profit Thee nothing, nor though of Thee was equal to Thee, might yet be, since if could be made of Thee. For what did heaven and earth, which Thou madest in the beginning, deserve of Thee ? Let those spiritual and corporeal natures, which Thou in Thy wisdom madest, declare what they deserve of Thee to depend thereon, even the inchoate and formless, each in its own kind, either spiritual or corporeal, going into excess, and into remote unlikeness unto Thee (the spiritual, though formless, more excellent than if it were a formed body; and the corporeal, though formless, more excellent than if it were altogether nothing), and thus they as formless would depend upon Thy Word, unless by the same Word they were recalled to Thy Unity, and endued with form, and from Thee, the one sovereign Good, were all made very good. How have they deserved of Thee, that they should be even formless, since they would not be even this except from Thee ?

3. How has corporeal matter deserved of Thee, to be even invisible and formless, 1 since it were not even this hadst Thou not made it; and therefore since it was not, it could not deserve of Thee that it should be made ? Or how could the inchoate spiritual creature 2 deserve of Thee, that even it should flow darksomely like the deep, unlike Thee, had it not been by the same Word turned to that by Whom it was created, and by Him so enlightened become light, although not equally, yet conformably to that Form which is equal unto Thee ? For as to a body, to be is not all one with being

1 Gen. i. 2.
s In his De Gen. ad Lit. i. 5, he maintains that the spiritual creature may have a formless life, since it has its form its wisdom and happiness by being turned to the Word of God, the Immutable Light of Wisdom.

**CHAP. III. GOD OUR BLESSEDNESS. 353**

beautiful, for then it could not be deformed; so also to a created spirit, to live is not all one with living wisely, for then it would be wise unchangeably. But it is good 1 for it always to hold fast unto Thee, 2 lest, in turning from Thee, it lose that light which it hath obtained in turning to Thee, and relapse into a light resembling the darksome deep. For even we ourselves, who in respect of the soul are a spiritual creature, having turned away from Thee, our light, were in that life "sometimes darkness;" 3 and do labour amidst the remains of our darkness, until in Thy Only One we become Thy righteous, like the mountains of God. For we have been Thy judgments, which are like the great deep. 4

Chap. hi. Genesis i. 8, Of "light," he understands as it is seen in the spiritual creature.

4. But what Thou saidst in the beginning of the creation, "Let there be light, and there was light," I do not unfitly understand of the spiritual creature; because there was even then a kind of life, which Thou mightest illuminate. But as it had not deserved of Thee that it should be such a life as could be enlightened, so neither, when it already was, hath it deserved of Thee that it should be enlightened. For neither could its formlessness be pleasing unto Thee, unless it became light, not by merely existing, but by beholding the illuminating light, and cleaving unto it; so also, that it lives, and lives happily, 6 it owes to nothing whatsoever but to Thy grace; being converted by means of a better change unto that which

1 Ps. lxxiii. 28.

2 Similarly, in his De Civ. Dei, xii. 1, he argues that true blessedness is to be attained "by adhering to the Immutable Good, the Supreme God." This, indeed, imparts the only true life (see note, p. 215, above); for, as Origen says (in S. Joh. ii. 7), "the good man is he who truly exists," and "to be evil and to be wicked are the same as not to be." See notes, pp. 75 and 260, above.

3 Eph. v. 8.

4 Ps. xxxvi. 6, as in the Vulgate, which renders the Hebrew more correctly than the Authorized Version. This passage has been variously interpreted.
Augustine makes "the mountains of God" to mean the saints, prophets, and apostles, while "the great deep" he interprets of the wicked and sinful. Compare In Ev. Joh. Tract, i. 2; and in Ps. xxxv. 7, sec. 10.

5 Gen. i. 3.

6 Compare the end of chap. 24 of book xi. of the De Civ. Dei, where he says that the life and light and joy of the holy city which is above is in God.

CON. Z

354 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

can be changed neither into better nor into worse; the which Thou only art because Thou only simply art, to whom it is not one thing to live, another to live blessedly, since Thou art Thyself Thine own Blessedness.

Chap, iv. All things have been created by the grace of God, and are not of Him as standing in need of created things.

5. What, therefore, could there be wanting unto Thy good, which Thou Thyself art, although these things had either never been, or had remained formless, the which Thou madest not out of any want, but out of the plenitude of Thy goodness, restraining them and converting them to form not as though Thy joy were perfected by them? For to Thee, being perfect, their imperfection is displeasing, and therefore were they perfected by Thee, and were pleasing unto Thee; but not as if Thou wert imperfect, and wert to be perfected in their perfection. For Thy good Spirit was borne over the waters, not borne up by them as if He rested upon them. For those in whom Thy good Spirit is said to rest, He causes to rest in Himself. But Thy incorruptible and unchangeable will, which in itself is all-sufficient for itself, was borne over that life which Thou hadst made, to which to live is not all one with living happily, since, flowing in its own darkness, it liveth also; for which it remaineth to be converted unto Him by whom it was made, and to live more and more by "the fountain of life," and in His light to "see light," and to be perfected, and enlightened, and made happy.

Chap, v. He recognises the Trinity in the first two verses of Genesis.

6. Behold now, the Trinity appears unto me in an enigma, which Thou, my God, art, since Thou, Father, in the Beginning of our wisdom, Which is Thy Wisdom, born of Thyself, equal and co-eternal unto Thee, that is, in Thy Son, hast created heaven and earth. Many things have we said of the heaven of heavens, and of the earth invisible and formless, and of the darksome deep, in reference to the wandering defects of its spiritual deformity,
were it not converted unto Him from whom was its life, such as it was, and by His enlightening
1 Gen. i. 2. * Num. xi. 25. 3 Ps. xxxvi. 9.

CHAP. VII.] THE WORK OF THE HOLY GHOST. 355

became a beauteous life, and the heaven of that heaven which was afterwards set between water and water. And under the name of God, I now held the Father, who made these things; and under the name of the Beginning, 1 the Son, in whom He made these things; and believing, as I did, that my God was the Trinity, I sought further in His holy words, and behold, Thy Spirit was borne over the waters. Behold the Trinity, O my God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Creator of all creation.

Chap. vi. Why the Holy Ghost should have been mentioned after the mention of heaven and earth.

1. But what was the cause, O Thou true-speaking Light?
Unto Thee do I lift up my heart, let it not teach me vain things; disperse its darkness, and tell me, I beseech Thee, by our mother charity, tell me, I beseech Thee, the reason why, after the mention of heaven, and of the earth invisible and formless, and darkness upon the deep, Thy Scripture should then at length mention Thy Spirit? Was it because it was meet that it should be spoken of Him that He was "borne over," and this could not be said, unless that were first mentioned "over" which Thy Spirit may be understood to have been "borne?" For neither was he "borne over" the Father, nor the Son, nor could it rightly be said that He was "borne over" if He were "borne over" nothing. That, therefore, was first to be spoken of "over" which He might be "borne;" and then He, whom it was not meet to mention otherwise than as having been "borne." Why, then, was it not meet that it should otherwise be mentioned of Him, than as having been "borne over?"

Chap. vii. That the Holy Spirit bringa us to God.

8. Hence let him that is able now follow Thy apostle with his understanding where he thus speaks, because Thy love "is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us;" 2 and where, "concerning spiritual gifts," he teacheth and showeth unto us a more excellent way of charity; 3 and where he bows his knees unto Thee for us,

1 See also xi. sec. 10, and note, above. * Bom. v. &

8 1 Cor. xiL 1, 81.
that we may know the super-eminent knowledge of the love of Christ. 1 And, therefore, from the beginning was He supereminently "borne above the waters." To whom shall I tell this? How speak of the weight of lustful desires, pressing downwards to the steep abyss? and how charity raises us up again, through Thy Spirit which was "borne over the waters?"

To whom shall I tell it? How tell it? For neither are there places in which we are merged and emerge. 2 What can be more like, and yet more unlike? They be affections, they be loves; the filthiness of our spirit flowing away downwards with the love of cares, and the sanctity of Thine raising us upwards by the love of freedom from care; that we may lift our hearts 3 unto Thee where Thy Spirit is "borne over the waters;" and that we may come to that pre-eminent rest, when our soul shall have passed through the waters which have no substance. 4

Chap. viii. That nothing whatever, short of God, can yield to the rational creature a happy rent.

9. The angels fell, the soul of man fell * and they have thus indicated the abyss in that dark deep, ready for the whole

1 Eph. iii. 14-1fc

2 "Neque enim loca stint quitms mergimur et emergimus."

3 Watts remarks here: "This sentence was generally in the Church service and communion. Nor is there scarce any one old liturgy but hath it, Sursum corda, Jfabemus ad Dominum." Palmer, speaking of the Lord's Supper, says, in his Origines Liturgicce, iv. 14, that "Cyprian, in the third century, attested the use of the form, 'Lift up your hearts,' and its response, in the liturgy of Africa (Cyprian, De Oral. Dom. p. 152, Opera, ed. Fell). Augustine, at the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of these words as being used in all churches" (Aug. De Vera Relig. iii.). We find from the same writer, ibid. v. 5, that in several churches this sentence was used in the office of baptism.

4 "Sine substantia," the Old Ver. rendering of Ps. cxxiv. 5. The Vulgate gives "Aquam intolerabilem." The Authorized Version, however, correctly renders the Hebrew by "proud waters," that is, swollen. Augustine, in Pa. cxxiii. 5, sec. 9, explains the "aqua sine substantia," as the water of sins; "for," he says, "sins have not substance; they have weakness, not substance; want, not substance."

5 We may note here that Augustine maintains the existence of the relationship between these two events. He says in his Enchiridion, c. xxix., that "the restored part of humanity
will fill up the gap which the rebellion and fall of the devils had left in the company of the angels. For this is the promise to the saints, that at the resurrection they shall be equal to the angels of God (Luke xx. 36).

CHAP. VIII.] THE FALLEN CREATURE. 357

spiritual creation, unless Thou hadst said from the beginning,
" Let there be light," and there had been light, and every obedient intelligence of Thy celestial City had cleaved to Thee, and rested in Thy Spirit, which unchangeably is "borne over"
everything changeable. Otherwise, even the heaven of heavens itself would have been a darksome deep, whereas now it is light in the Lord. For even in that wretched restlessness of the spirits who fell away, and, when unclothed of the garments of Thy light, discovered their own darkness, dost Thou sufficiently disclose how noble Thou hast made the rational creature; to which nought which is inferior to Thee will suffice to yield a happy rest, 1 and so not even herself. For Thou, our God, shalt enlighten our darkness; 2 from Thee are derived our garments of light, 3 and then shall our darkness be as the noonday. 4 Give Thyself unto me, my God, restore Thyself unto me; behold, I love Thee, and if it be too little, let me love Thee more strongly. I cannot measure my love so that I may come to know how much there is yet wanting in me, ere my life run into Thy embraces, and not be turned away until it be hidden in the secret place of Thy Presence. 6 This only I know, that woe is me except in Thee, not only without, but even also within

And thus the Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of us all, the City of God, shall not be spoiled of any of the number of her citizens, shall perhaps reign over even a more abundant population." He speaks to the same effect at the close of ch. 1 of his De Civ. Dei, xxii. This doctrine was enlarged upon by some of the writers of the seventeenth century.

1 See his De Civ. Dei, xxii. 1, where he beautifully compares sin to blindness, in that it makes us miserable in depriving us of the sight of God. Also his De Cat. Rud. sec. 24, where he shows that the restlessness and changefulness of the world cannot give rest. Comp. p. 4, note 1, above.

Ps. xviii. 28. 3 Ps. civ. 2. * Ps. cxxxix. 12.

* Ps. xxxi. 20. "In abscondito vultus tui," Old Ver. Augustine in his comment on this passage (Enarr. 4, sec. 8) gives us his interpretation. He points out that the refuge of a particular place (e.g. the bosom of Abraham) is not enough. "We must have God with us here as our refuge, and then we will be hidden in His countenance hereafter; or in other words, if we receive Him into our heart now, He will hereafter receive us into His countenance Me post hoc seculum excipiet te vultu mo. For heaven is a prepared place for a prepared people, and we must be fitted to live with Him there by going to Him now,
and this, to quote from his De Serm. Dom. in Mon. i. 27, "not with a slow movement of the body, but with the swift impulse of love."

358 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

myself; and all plenty which is not my God is poverty to me. 1

Chap. ix. Why the Holy Spirit was only "borne over" the waters.

10. But was not either the Father or the Son "borne over the waters?" If we understand this to mean in space, as a body, then neither was the Holy Spirit; but if the incommutable super-eminence of Divinity above everything mutable, then both Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost were borne "over the waters." Why, then, is this said of Thy Spirit only? Why is it said of Him alone? As if He had been in place who is not in place, of whom only it is written, that He is Thy gift? 2 In Thy gift we rest; there we enjoy Thee. Our rest is our place. Love lifts us up thither, and Thy good Spirit lifteth our lowliness from the gates of death. 3 In Thy

good pleasure lies our peace. 4 The body by its own weight; gravitates towards its own place. Weight goes not downward only, but to its own place. Fire tends upwards, a stone downwards. They are propelled by their own weights, they seek their own places. Oil poured under the water is raised, above the water; water poured upon oil sinks under the oil.

They are propelled by their own weights, they seek their own places. Out of order, they are restless; restored to order, they are at rest. My weight is my love; 5 by it am I borne whithersoever I am borne. By Thy Gift we are inflamed, and are borne upwards; we wax hot inwardly, and go forwards.

We ascend Thy ways that be in our heart, 6 and sing a song of degrees; we glow inwardly with Thy fire, with Thy good fire, and we go, because we go upwards to the peace of Jerusalem; for glad was I when they said unto me, "Let us go into the house of the Lord." 7 There hath Thy good pleasure placed us, that we may desire no other thing than to dwell there for ever.

1 See p. 215, note 11, above. 2 See De Trim. xv. 17-19.

3 Ps. ix. 13. 4 Luke ii. 14, Vulg.

8 Compare De Civ. Dei, xi. 28: "For the specific gravity of bodies is, as it were, their love, whether they are carried downwards by their weight, or upwards by their levity."

9 Ps. lxxxiv. 5. 7 Ps. cxxii. 1.
CHAP. X.] THE MYSTERY OF THE TRINITY. 359

Chap. x. That nothing arose save by the gift of God.

11. Happy creature, which, though in itself it was other than Thou, hath known no other state than that as soon as it was made, it was, without any interval of time, by Thy Gift, which is borne over everything mutable, raised up by that calling whereby Thou saidst, "Let there be light, and there was light." Whereas in us there is a difference of times, in that we were darkness, and are made light; but of that it is only said what it would have been had it not been enlightened.

And this is so spoken as if it had been fleeting and darksome before; that so the cause whereby it was made to be otherwise might appear, that is to say, being turned to the unfailing Light it might become light. Let him who is able understand this; and let him who is not, ask of Thee. Why should he trouble me, as if I could enlighten any "man that cometh into the world?" 8

Chap. xi. That the symbols of the Trinity in man, To Be, To Know, and To Will, are never thoroughly examined.

12. Which of us understandeth the Almighty Trinity? And yet which speaketh not of It, if indeed it be It? Bare is that

1 Eph. v. 8.

8 Et qui non potest, which words, however, some mss. omit, reading, Qui potest, intelligat; a te petat.

3 John i. 9; see p. 76, note 2, and p. 330, note 6, above.

4 As Augustine constantly urges of God, "Cujus nulla scientia est in anima, nisi scire quomodo eum nesciat" (De Ord. ii. 18), so we may say of the Trinity. The objectors to the doctrine sometimes speak as if it were irrational (Mansel's Bampton Lectures, lect. vi., notes 9, 10). But while the doctrine is above reason, it is not contrary thereto; and, as Dr. Newman observes in his Grammar of Assent, v. 2 (a book which the student should remember has been written since his union with the Roman Church), though the doctrine be mysterious, and, when taken as a whole, transcends all our experience, there is that on which the spiritual life of the Christian can repose in its "propositions taken one by one, and that not in the case of intellectual and thoughtful minds only, but of all religious minds whatever, in the case of a child or a peasant as well as of a philosopher."

With the above compare the words of Leibnitz in his "Discours de la Conformite de la Foi avec la Raison," sec. 56: "Il en est de meme des autres mysteres, ou les esprits moderres trouveront toujours une explication suffisante pour croire, et jamais autant qu'il en faut pour comprendre. Il nous suffit d'un certain ce que c'est (i e<m); mais le comment
soul which, while it speaketh of it, knows what it speaketh of. And they contend and strive, but no one without peace seeth that vision. I could wish that men would consider these three things that are in themselves. These three are far other than the Trinity; but I speak of things in which they may exercise and prove themselves, and feel how far other they be. 1 But the three things I speak of are, To Be, to Know, and to Will: For I Am, and I Know, and I Will; I Am Knowing and Willing; and I Know myself to Be and to Will; and I Will to Be and to Know. In these three, therefore, let him who can see how inseparable a life there is, even one life, one mind, and one essence; finally, how inseparable is the distinction, and yet a distinction. Surely a man hath it before him; let him look into himself, and see, and tell me. But when he discovers and can say anything of these, let him not then think that he has discovered that which is above these Unchangeable, which Is unchangeably, and Knows unchangeably, and Wills unchangeably. And whether on account of these three there is also, where they are, a Trinity; 1

While giving illustrations of the Trinity like the above, he would not have a man think "that he has discovered that which is above these, Unchangeable." (See also De Trin. xv. 5, end.) He is very fond of such illustrations. In his De Civ. Dei, xi. 26, 27, for example, we have a parallel to this in our text, in the union of existence, knowledge, and love in man; in his De. Trin. ix. 4, 17, 18, we have mind, knowledge, and love; ibid. x. 19, memory, understanding, and will; and ibid. xi. 16, memory, thought, and will. In his De Lib. Arb. ii. 7, again, we have the doctrine illustrated by the union of being, life, and knowledge in man. He also finds illustrations of the doctrine in other created things, as in their measure, weight, and number (De Trin. xi. 18), and their existence, figure, and order (De Vera Relig. xiii. ). The nature of these illustrations would at first sight seem to involve him in the Sabellian heresy, which denied the fulness of the Godhead to each of the three Persons of the Trinity; but this is only in appearance. He does not use these illustrations as presenting anything analogous to the union of the three Persons in the Godhead, but as dimly illustrative of it.

He declares his belief in the Athanasian doctrine, which, as Dr. Newman observes (Grammar of Assent, v. 2), "may be said to be summed up in this very formula on which St. Augustine lays so much stress, 'Tres et Unus,' not merely 'Unum.'" Nothing can be clearer than his words in his De Civ. Dei, xi. 24: "When we inquire regarding each singly, it is said that each is God and Almighty; and when we speak of all together, it is said that there are not three Gous, nor three Almighty, but one God Almighty. " Compare with this his De Tr'rn. vii., end of ch. 11, where the language is equally emphatic. See also Mansel, as above, lect. vi. and notes 11 and 12.
or whether these three be in Each, so that the three belong to Each; or whether both ways at once, wondrously, simply, and yet diversely, in Itself a limit unto Itself, yet illimitable; whereby It is, and is known unto Itself, and sufficeth to Itself, unchangeably the Self-same, by the abundant magnitude of its Unity, who can readily conceive? Who in any wise express it? Who in any way rashly pronounce thereon?

Chap. xii. Allegorical explanation of Genesis, chap. i., concerning the origin of the Church and its worship.

13. Proceed in thy confession, say to the Lord thy God, O my faith, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord my God, in Thy name have we been baptized, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Thy name do we baptize, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I because among us also in His Christ did God make heaven and earth, namely, the spiritual and carnal people of His Church. 2 Yea, and our earth, before it received the "form of doctrine," 8 was invisible and formless, and we were covered with the darkness of ignorance. For Thou correctest man for iniquity, 4 and "Thy judgments are a great deep." 5 But because Thy Spirit was "borne over the waters," 6 Thy mercy forsook not our misery, 7 and Thou saidst, "Let there be light," "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." 8 Repent ye, let there be light. 9 And because our soul was troubled within us, 10 we remembered Thee, O Lord, from the land of Jordan, and that mountain 11 equal unto Thyself, but little for our sakes; and

1 Matt, xxviii. 19.

2 He similarly interprets "heaven and earth" in his De Gen. ad Lit. ii. 4. With this compare Chrysostom's illustration in his De Poznit. hom. 8. The Church is like the ark of Noah, yet different from it. Into that ark as the animals entered, so they came forth. The fox remained a fox, the hawk a hawk, and the serpent a serpent. But with the spiritual ark it is not so, for in it evil dispositions are changed. This illustration of Chrysostom is used with an effective but rough eloquence by the Italian preacher Segneri, in his Quaresimale, serm. iv. sec. 10.

3 Rom. vi. 17. * Ps. xxxix. 11. 5 Ps. xxxvi. 6. Gen. i. 3. 7 See p. 7, note, above. 8 Matt. iii. 2.

9 "His putting repentance and light together is, for that baptism was anciently called illumination, as Heb. vi. 4, Ps. xlii. 2." W. W. See also p. 179, note 1, part 1, above, for the meaning of "illumination."
upon our being displeased with our darkness, we turned unto Thee, "and there was light."
And, behold, we were sometimes darkness, but now light in the Lord. 1

14. But as yet " by faith, not by sight," 2 for " we are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope." 8 As yet deep calleth unto deep 4 but in " the noise of Thy waterspouts." 5 And as yet doth he that saith, I " could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal," 6 even he, as yet, doth not count himself to have apprehended, and forgetteth those things which are behind, and reacheth forth to those things which are before, 7 and groaneth being burdened; 8 and his soul thirsteth after the living God, as the hart after the waterbrooks, and saith, " When shall I come ? " 9 " desiring to be clothed upon with his house which is from heaven;" 10 and calleth upon this lower deep, saying, " Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind." 11 And, " Be not children in understanding, howbeit in malice be ye children," that in "understanding ye may be perfect;" 12 and "0 foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you ?" M

But now not in his own voice, but in Thine who sentest Thy Spirit from above; 14 through Him who "ascended up on high," 15 and set open the flood-gates of His gifts, 16 that the force of His streams might make glad the city of God. 17 For, for Him doth "the friend of the bridegroom" 18 sigh, having now the first-fruits of the Spirit laid up with Him, yet still groaning within himself, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of his body; 19 to Him he sighs, for he is a member of the Bride; for Him is he jealous, for he is the friend of the Bridegroom j 20

I Eph. v. 8. 2 2 Cor. v. 7. 3 Rom. viii. 24.

4 The " deep" Augustine interprets (as do the majority of Patristic commentators), in Ps. xlii. 8, sec. 13, to be the heart of man; and the "deep" that calls unto it, is the preacher who has his own " deep " of infirmity, even as Peter had

6 Ps. xlii. 7. 6 1 Cor. iii. 1. ? Phil. iii. 13.

8 2 Cor. v. 2, 4. Ps. xlii. 1, 2. 2 Cor. v. 2.
for Him is he jealous, not for himself; because in the voice of Thy " waterspouts," x not in his own voice, doth he call on that other deep, for whom being jealous he feareth, lest that, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in our Bridegroom, Thine only Son. 2 What a light of beauty will that be when " we shall see Him as He is," 3 and those tears be passed away which " have been my meat day and night, while they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?" 4

Chap. xiv. That out of the children of the night and of the darkness, children of the light and of the day are made.

5. And so say I too, my God, where art Thou ?
Behold where Thou art ! In Thee I breathe a little, when I pour out my soul by myself in the voice of joy and praise, the sound of him that keeps holy-day. 6 And yet it is " cast down," because it relapses and becomes a deep, or rather it feels that it is still a deep. Unto it doth my faith speak which Thou hast kindled to enlighten my feet in the night,
" Why art thou cast down, my soul ? and why art thou disquieted in me ? hope thou in God;" 6 His " word is a lamp unto my feet." 7 Hope and endure until the night, the mother of the wicked, until the anger of the Lord be overpast, 8 whereof we also were once children who were sometimes darkness, 9 the remains whereof we carry about us in our body, dead on account of sin, 10 " until the day break and the shadows flee away." u " Hope thou in the Lord." In the morning I shall stand in Thy presence, and contemplate Thee; 12 I shall for ever confess unto Thee. 13 In the morning I shall stand in Thy presence, and shall see " the health of my countenance," 14 my God, who also shall quicken our mortal bodies by the Spirit that dwelleth in us, 15 because in mercy He was borne over our inner darksome and floating deep. Whence we have in this pilgrimage received " an earnest" I6 that we should now be light, whilst as yet we " are saved by

1 Ps. xlii. 7. 2 Cor. xi. 3, and 1 John iii. 3. 3 Ibid. ver. 2.

4 Ps. xlii. 3. 5 Ibid. ver. 4. 6 Ibid. ver. 5. 7 Ps. cxix. 105.

8 Job xiv. 13. 9 Epli. ii. 3, and v. 8. 10 Rom. viii. 10.

11 Cant. ii. 17. K Ps. v. 3. See p. 232, note, below. 13 Ps. xxx. 12
hope," 1 and are the children of light, and the children of the day, not the children of the night nor of the darkness, 2 which yet we have been. 3 Betwixt whom and us, in this as yet uncertain state of human knowledge, Thou only dividest, who provest our hearts 4 and calleth the light day, and the darkness night. 6 For who discerneth us but Thou ? But what have we that we have not received of Thee ? 6 Out of the same lump vessels unto honour, of which others also are made to dishonour. 7

Chap. XV. Allegorical explanation of the firmament and upper works, ver. 6.

16. Or who but Thou, our God, made for us that firmament 8 of authority over us in Thy divine Scripture ? 9 As it is said, For heaven shall be folded up like a scroll; 10 and now it is extended over us like a skin. 11 For Thy divine Scripture is of more sublime authority, since those mortals through whom Thou didst dispense it unto us underwent mortality.

And Thou knowest, Lord, Thou knowest, how Thou with skins didst clothe men 12 when by sin they became mortal.

Whence as a skin hast Thou stretched out the firmament of Thy Book; 18 that is to say, Thy harmonious words, which by the ministry of mortals Thou hast spread over us. For by their very death is that solid firmament of authority in Thy

1 Rom. viii. 24.

2 Though of the light, we are not yet in the light; and though, in this grey dawn of the coming day, we have a foretaste of the vision that shall be, we cannot hope, as he says in Ps. v. 4, to "see Him as He is" until the darkness of sin be overpast.

3 Eph. v. 8, and 1 Thess. v. 5. * Ps. vii. 9. Gen. i. 5.
6 1 Cor. iv. 7. 7 Rom. ix. 21. Gen. i. 6.
8 See sec. 33, below, and references there given.

10 Isa. xxxiv. 4, and Rev. vi. 14.

11 Ps. civ. 2; in the Vulg. being, "extendens cerium sicut pellem." The LXX. agrees with the Vulg. in translating njPT3, "asa curtain," by "as a skin."
12 Gen. iii. 21. Skins he makes the emblems of mortality, as being taken from dead animals. See p. 166, note 1, above.

13 That is, the firmament of Scripture was after man’s sin stretched over him as a parchment scroll, stretched over him for his enlightenment by the ministry of mortal men. This idea is enlarged on in Ps. viii. 4, sec. 7, etc., xviii. sec. 2, xxxii. 6, 7, and cxlvi. 8, sec. 15.

CHAP. XV.] THE SYMBOLICAL HEAVEN. 365

discourses set forth by them more sublimely extended above all things that are under it, the which, while they were living here, was not so eminently extended. 1 Thou hadst not as yet spread abroad the heaven like a skin; Thou hadst not as yet noised everywhere the report of their deaths.

1 7. Let us look, Lord, u upon the heavens, the work of Thy fingers; " 2 clear from our eyes that mist with which Thou hast covered them. There is that testimony of Thine which giveth wisdom unto the little ones. 3 Perfect, my God, Thy praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. 4 Nor have we known any other books so destructive to pride, so destructive to the enemy and the defender, 8 who resisteth Thy reconciliation in defence of his own sins. 6 I know not, O Lord, I know not other such " pure" 7 words which so persuade me to confession, and make my neck submissive to Thy yoke, and invite me to serve Thee for nought. Let me understand these things, good Father. Grant this to me, placed under them; because Thou hast established these things for those placed under them.

18. Other "waters" there be "above" this "firmament," I believe immortal, and removed from earthly corruption. Let them praise Thy Name, those super-celestial people, Thine angels, who have no need to look up at this firmament, or by reading to attain the knowledge of Thy Word, let them praise Thee. For they always behold Thy face, 8 and therein read without any syllables in time what Thy eternal will willeth. They read, they choose, they love. 9 They are always reading; and that which they read never passeth away. For, by choosing and by loving, they read the very unchangeableness of Thy counsel Their book is not closed, nor is the scroll folded up, 10 because Thou Thyself art this to them, yea, and art so eternally; because Thou hast appointed them above this firmament, which Thou hast made firm over the weakness of

1 We have the same idea in Ps. ciii. sec. 8: "Cum enim viverent nondum erat extenta pellis, nondum erat extentum coelum, ut tegeret orbem terrarum."

2 Ps. viii. 3. 3 Ps. xix. 7. See p. 43, note 1, above. 4 Ps. viii. 2. 6 He alludes to the Manichaeans. See notes, pp. 55, 88, and 102.
See part 2 of note on p. 77, above. 7 Ps. xix. 8. 8 Mitt, xviii. 10.

"Legunt, eligunt, et diligunt." 10 Isa. xxxiv. 4.

6 6 6 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII

the lower people, where they might look up and learn Thy mercy, announcing in time
Thee who hast made times. " For Thy mercy, Lord, is in the heavens, and Thy
faithfulness reacheth unto the clouds." * The clouds pass away, but the heaven remaineth.
The preachers of thy Word pass away from this life into another; but Thy Scripture is
spread abroad over the people, even to the end of the world. Yea, both heaven and earth
shall pass away, but Thy Words shall not pass away. 2 Because the scroll shall be rolled
together, 3 and the grass over which it was spread shall with its goodliness pass away; but
Thy Word remaineth for ever, 4 which now appeareth unto us in the dark image of the
clouds, and through the glass of the heavens, not as it is; 5 because we also, although we
be the well-beloved of Thy Son, yet it hath nofe yet appeared what we shall be. 6 He
looketh through the lattice 7 of our flesh, and He is fair-speaking, and hath inflamed us,
and we run after His odours. 8 But "when He shall appear, then shall we be like Him, for
we shall see Him as He is." 9 As He is, Lord, shall we see Him, although the time be not
yet.

Chap. xvi. That no one but the Unchangeable Light blows himself.

19. For altogether as Thou art, Thou only knowest, Who art unchangeably, and knowest
unchangeably, and wiliest unchangeably. And Thy Essence Knoweth and Willeth
unchangeably; and Thy Knowledge Is, and Willeth unchangeably; and Thy Will Is, and
Knoweth unchangeably. Nor doth it appear just to Thee, that as the Unchangeable Light
knoweth Itself, so should It be known by that which is enlightened and changeable. 10
Therefore unto Thee is my soul as " land

1 Ps. xxxvi. 5. 2 Matt. xxiv. 35. 8 Isa. xxxiv. 4.

4 Isa. xl. 6-8 The law of storms, and that which regulates the motions of the stars or the
ebbing and flowing of the tides, may change at the "end of the world." But the moral law
can know no change, for while the first is arbitrary, the second is absolute. On the
difference between moral and natural law, see Candlish, Reason and Revelation, "
Conscience and the Bible."

5 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 6 1 John iii. 2. 7 Cant. ii. 9.
8 Cant. i. 3. 9 1 John iii. 2.

10 See Dean Mansel on this place (Bampton Lectures, lect. t. note 18), whc argues that
revelation is clear and devoid of mystery when viewed as intended
CHAP. XVII.] THE SYMBOLICAL EARTH AND SEA. 36?

where no water is," 1 because as it cannot of itself enlighten itself, so it cannot of itself satisfy itself. For so is the fountain of life with Thee, like as in Thy light we shall see light, 2

Chap. xvii. Allegorical explanation of the sea and the fruit-bearing earth verses 9 and 11.

20. Who hath gathered the embittered together into one society ? For they have all the same end, that of temporal and earthly happiness, on account of which they do all things, although they may fluctuate with an innumerable variety of cares. Who, O Lord, unless Thou, saidst, Let the waters be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear, 3 which "thirsteth after Thee"? * For the sea also is Thine, and Thou hast made it, and Thy hands prepared the dry land. 6 For neither is the bitterness of men's wills, but the gathering together of waters called sea: for Thou even curbest the wicked desires of men's souls, and fixest their bounds, how far they may be permitted to advance, 6 and that their waves may be broken against each other; and thus dost Thou make it a sea, by the order of Thy dominion over all things.

21. But as for the souls that thirst after Thee, and that appear before Thee (being by other bounds divided from the society of the sea), them Thou waterest by a secret and sweet

"for our practical guidance," and not as a matter of speculation. He says:
"The utmost deficiency that can be charged against human faculties amounts only to this, that we cannot say that we know God as God knows Himself, that the truth of which our finite minds are susceptible may, for aught we know, be but the passing shadow of some higher reality, which exists only in the Infinite Intelligence." He shows also that this deficiency pertains to the human faculties as such, and that, whether they set themselves to consider the things of nature or revelation. See also p. 359, note 2, above, and notes, pp. 370, 371, below.

1 Ps. lxiii. 1. * Ps. xxxvi. 9.

8 Gen. i. 9. In his comment on Psalm lxiv. 6 (sec. 9), he interprets "the sea," allegorically, of the wicked world. Hence were the disciples called "fishers of men." If the fishers have taken us in the nets of faith, we are to rejoice, because the net will be dragged to the shore. On the providence of God, regulating the wickedness of men, see p. 83, note 1, above.

4 Ps. cxi. 1. * Ps. xcv. 6.

Pa. civ. 9, and Job xxxviii. 11, 12.
spring, that the earth may bring forth her fruit, 1 and, Thou, Lord God, so commanding, our soul may bud forth works of mercy according to their kind, 2 loving our neighbour in the relief of his bodily necessities, having seed in itself according to its likeness, when from our infirmity we compassionate even to the relieving of the needy; helping them in a like manner as we would that help should be brought unto us if we were in a like need; not only in the things that are easy, as in "herb yielding seed," but also in the protection of our assistance, in our very strength, like the tree yielding fruit; that is, a good turn in delivering him who suffers an injury from the hand of the powerful, and in furnishing him with the shelter of protection by the mighty strength of just judgment.

Chap. xviii. Of the lights and stars of heaven of day and night, ver. 14.

22. Thus, O Lord, thus, I beseech Thee, let there arise, as Thou makest, as Thou givest joy and ability, let "truth spring out of the earth, and righteousness look down from heaven," 3 and let there be "lights in the firmament." 4 Let us break our bread to the hungry, and let us bring the houseless poor to our house. 6 Let us clothe the naked, and despise not those of our own flesh. 6 The which fruits having sprung forth from the earth, behold, because it is good; 7 and let our temporary light burst forth; 8 and let us, from this inferior fruit of action, possessing the delights of contemplation and of the Word of Life above, let us appear as lights in the world, 9 clinging to the firmament of Thy Scripture. For therein Thou makest it plain unto us, that we may distinguish between things intelligible and things of sense, as if between the day and the night; or between souls, given, some to things

1 Gen. i. 11. As he interprets (see sec. 20, note, above) the sea as the world, so he tells us in Ps. lxvi. 6, sec. 8, that when the earth, full of thorns, thirsted for the waters of heaven, God in His mercy sent His apostles to preach the gospel, whereon the earth brought forth that fruit which fills the world; that is, the earth bringing forth fruit represents the Church.

8 Ps. Ixxxv. 11. 8 Ibid. Gen. i. 14.

s Isa. Iviii 7. Ibid. 7 Gen. i. 11

8 Isa. Iviii. 8. 9 Phil. ii. 15.

CHAP. XVIII.] CONTEMPLATION AND ACTION. 369
intellectual, others to things of sense; so that now not Thou only in the secret of Thy judgment, as before the firmament was made, dividest between the light and the darkness, but Thy spiritual children also, placed and ranked in the same firmament (Thy grace being manifest throughout the world), may give light upon the earth, and divide between the day and night, and be for signs of times; because "old things have passed away," and "behold all things are become new;" 1 and "because our salvation is nearer than when we believed;" 2 and because "the night is far spent, the day is at hand;" 3 and because Thou wilt crown Thy year with blessing, 4 sending the labourers of Thy goodness into Thy harvest, 5 in the sowing of which others have laboured, sending also into another field, whose harvest shall be in the end. 6 Thus Thou grantest the prayers of him that asketh, and blessest the years of the just; 7 but Thou art the same, and in Thy years which fail not 8 Thou preparest a garner for our passing years. For by an eternal counsel Thou dost in their proper seasons bestow upon the earth heavenly blessings.

23. For, indeed, to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, as if the greater light, on account of those who are delighted with the light of manifest truth, as in the beginning of the day; but to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit, as if the lesser light; 9 to another faith; to another the gift of healing; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues. And all these as stars. For all these worketh the one and selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man his own as He willeth; 10 and making stars appear manifestly, to profit withal. 11 But the word of knowledge, wherein are contained all sacra-

1 2 Cor. v. 17. 2 Rom. xiii. 11, 12. 3 Ibid.
7 Prov. x. 6. 8 Ps. cii. 27.
9 Compare his De Trin. xii. 22-55, where, referring to 1 Cor. xii. 8, he explains that "knowledge" has to do with action, or that by which we use rightly things temporal; while wisdom has to do with the contemplation of things eternal. See also in Ps. cxxxv. sec. 8.
10 1 Cor. xii. 8-11. n 1 Cor. xii. 7.

CON. 2 A

370 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIU.

merits, 1 which are varied in their periods like the moon, and the other conceptions of gifts, which are successively reckoned up as stars, inasmuch as they come short of that splendour of wisdom in which the fore - mentioned day rejoices, are only for the
beginning of the night. For they are necessary to such as he Thy most prudent servant
could not speak unto as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal 2 even he who speaketh wisdom
among those that are perfect. 3 But the natural man, as a babe in Christ, and a drinker of
milk, until he be strengthened for solid meat, 4 and his eye be

1 1 Cor. xiii. 2. The Authorized Version and the Vulgate render more correctly,
"mysteries." From Palmer (see p. 178, note 5, above), we learn that "the Fathers gave the
name of sacrament or mystery to everything which conveyed one signification or
property to unassisted reason, and another to faith;" while, at the same time, they counted
Baptism and the Lord's Supper as the two great sacraments.
The sacraments, then, used in this sense are "varied in their periods," and Augustine, in
Ps. lxxiii. 2, speaks of distinguishing between the sacraments of the Old Testament and
the sacraments of the New. "Sacramenta novi Testamen ti," he says, "dant salutem,
sacramenta veteris Testamenti promi sennit salvatorem." So also in Ps. xlvi. he says:
"Our Lord God varying, indeed, the sacraments of the words, but commending unto us
one faith, hath diffused through the sacred Scriptures manifoldly and variously the faith
in which we live, and by which we live. For one and the same thing is said in many ways,
that it may be varied in the manner of speaking in order to prevent aversion, but may be
preserved as one with a view to concord."

2 1 Cor. iii. 1. 3 1 Cor. ii. 6.

4 1 Cor. iii. 2, and Heb. v. 12. The allusion in our text is to what is called the Disciplina
Arcani of the early Church. Clement of Alexandria, in his Stromata, enters at large into
the matter of esoteric teaching, and traces its use amongst the Hebrews, Greeks, and
Egyptians. Clement, like Chrysostom and other Fathers, supports this principle of
interpretation on the authority of St.
Paul in Heb. v. and vi. , referred to by Augustine above. He says (as quoted by Bishop
Kaye, Clement of Alexandria, ch. iv. p. 183): "Babes must be fed with milk, the perfect
man with solid food; milk is catechetical instruction, the first nourishment of the soul;
solid food, contemplation penetrating into all mysteries (* Wovtim foupia), the blood and
flesh of the Word, the comprehension of the Divine power and essence." Augustine,
therefore, when he speaks of being "contented with the light of the moon and stars,"
alludes to the partial knowledge imparted to the catechumen during his probationary
period before baptism. It was only as competentes, and ready for baptism, that the
catechumens were taught the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. "We have already adverted to
this matter in the note on p. 108, and need not now do more than refer the reader to Dr.
Newman's Avians. In ch. i. sec. 3 of that work, there are some most interesting pages on
this subject, in its connection with the Catechetical School of Alexandria. See also p. 180,
note 4, above; Palmer, Origines Liturgical, iv. sec. 7; and p. 371, note 1, below.
enabled to look upon the Sun, let him not dwell in his own deserted night, but let him be contented with the light of the moon and the stars. Thou reasonest these things with us, our All-wise God, in Thy Book, Thy firmament, that we may discern all things in an admirable contemplation, although as yet in signs, and in times, and in days, and in years.

Chap. xix. All men should become lights in the firmament of heaven.

24. But first, "Wash you, make you clean;" put away iniquity from your souls, and from before mine eyes, that the dry land may appear. "Learn to do well; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow," that the earth may bring forth the green herb for meat, and the tree bearing fruit; and come let us reason together, saith the Lord, that there may be lights in the firmament of heaven, and that they may shine upon the earth. That rich man asked of the good Master what he should do to attain eternal life. Let the good Master, whom he thought a man, and nothing more, tell him (but He is "good" because He is God) let Him tell him, that if he would "enter into life" he must "keep the commandments;" let him banish from himself the bitterness of malice and wickedness; let him not kill, nor 

1 Those ready for strong meat were called "illuminated" (see p. 179, note 1, above), as their eyes were "enabled to look upon the Sun." We have frequent traces in Augustine's writings of the Neo-Platonic doctrine that the soul has a capacity to see God, even as the eye the sun. In Serm. lxxxviii. 6 he says: "Daretne tibi unde videres solem queru fecit, et non tibi daret unde videres eum qui te fecit, cum te ad imaginem suam fecerit?" And, referring to 1 John iii. 2, he tells us in Ep. xcii. 3, that not with the bodily eye shall we see God, but with the inner, which is to be renewed day by day: 'We shall, therefore, see Him according to the measure in which we shall be like Him; because now the measure in which we do not see Him is according to the measure of our unlikeness to Him.' Compare also Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, c. 4: "Plato, indeed, says, that the mind's eye is of such a nature, and has been given for this end, that we may see that very Being who is the cause of all when the mind is pure itself." Some interesting remarks on this subject, and on the three degrees of divine knowledge as held by the Neo-Platonists, will be found in John Smith's Select Discourses, pp. 2 and 165 (Cambridge 1860). On growth in grace, see note 3, p. 234, above.

2 "He alludes to the sacrament of Baptism." W. W. s Isa. i. 16, 19.

* Gen. i. 11, 30. 5 Isa. i. 18. Gen. i. 15.

Matt. xix. 16. 8 Ibid. ver. 17. 3 1 Cor. v. 8.

372 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII
commit adultery, nor steal, nor bear false witness; that the dry land may appear, and bud forth the honouring of father and mother, and the love of our neighbour. 1 All these, saith he, have I kept. 2 Whence, then, are there so many thorns, if the earth be fruitful ? Go, root up the woody thicket of avarice; sell that thou hast, and be filled with fruit by giving to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and follow the Lord "if thou wilt be perfect," 3 coupled with those amongst whom He speaketh wisdom, Who knoweth what to distribute to the day and to the night, that thou also mayest know it, that for thee also there may be lights in the firmament of heaven, which will not be unless thy heart be there; 4 which likewise also will not be unless thy treasure be there, as thou hast heard from the good Master. But the barren earth was grieved, 5 and the thorns choked the word. 6

25. But you, "chosen generation, 7 you weak things of the world," who have forsaken all things that you might "follow the Lord," go after Him, and "confound the things which are mighty;" 8 go after Him, ye beautiful feet, 9 and shine in the firmament, 10 that the heavens may declare His glory, dividing between the light of the perfect, though not as of the angels, and the darkness of the little, though not despised ones. Shine over all the earth, and let the day, lightened by the sun, utter unto day the word of wisdom; and let night, shining by the moon, announce unto night the word of knowledge. 11 The moon and the stars shine for the night, but the night obscureth them not, since they illumine it in its degree. For behold God (as it were) saying, "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven." There came suddenly a sound from heaven, as it had been the rushing of a mighty wind, and there appeared cloven tongues bike as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. 12 And there were made lights in the firmament of heaven, having the word

1 Matt. xix. ltf-19. 8 Ibid. ver. 20. 3 Ibid. ver. 21.
7 1 Pet. ii. 9. 8 1 Cor. i. 27. Isa. lii. 7.
10 Dan. xii. 3. Ps. xix. 12 Acts ii. 3.

CHAP. XX.] THE SACRAMENTS. 373

of life. 1 Run ye to and fro everywhere, ye holy fires, ye beautiful fires; for ye are the light of the world, 2 nor are ye put under a bushel. 3 He to whom ye cleave is exalted, and hath exalted you. Run ye to and fro, and be known unto all nations.

Chap. xx. Concerning reptiles and flying creatures (ver. 20), the sacrament of

Baptism being regarded.
26. Let the sea also conceive and bring forth your works, and let the waters bring forth the moving creatures that have life. 4 For ye, who " take forth the precious from the vile," have been made the mouth of God, through which He saith, " Let the waters bring forth," not the living creature which the earth bringeth forth, but the moving creature having life, and the fowls that fly above the earth. For Thy sacraments, God, by the ministry of Thy holy ones, have made their way amid the billows of the temptations of the world, to instruct the Gentiles in Thy Name, in Thy Baptism. And amongst these things, many great works of wonder have been wrought, like as great whales; and the voices of Thy messengers flying above the earth, near to the firmament of Thy Book; that being set over them as an authority, under which they were to fly whithersoever they were to go. For "there is no speech, nor language, where their voice is not heard; " seeing their sound hath gone through all the earth, and their words to

1 1 John i. 1.

2 That is, as having their light from Him who is their central Sun (see p. 76, note 2, above). For it is true of all Christians in relation to their Lord, as he says of John the Baptist (Serm. ccclxxxii. 7): " Johannes lumen illuminatum: Christus lumen illuminans." See also p. 371, note, above.


6 Ps. xix. 3, 4. The word " sound" in this verse (as given in the LXX. and Vidg.), is in the Hebrew QM) which is rightly rendered in the Authorized Version a "line " or "rule." It may be noted, in connection with Augustine's interpretation, that the word "firmament" in the first verse of this psalm is the yipi of Gen. i. 7; translated in both places by the LXX. <rTpi>p*. The - i. T

"heavens " and the " firmament" are constantly interpreted by the Fathers as referring to the apostles and their firmness in teaching the word; and this is supported by reference to St. Paul's quotation of the text in Rom. x. 18: " But I say, Have they not heard ? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world."
the end of the world," because Thou, Lord, hast multiplied these things by blessing. 1

27. Whether do I lie, or do I mingle and confound, and not distinguish between the clear knowledge of these things that are in the firmament of heaven, and the corporeal works in the undulating sea and under the firmament of heaven? For of those things whereof the knowledge is solid and defined, without increase by generation, as it were lights of wisdom and knowledge, yet of these self-same things the material operations are many and varied; and one thing in growing from another is multiplied by Thy blessing, God, who hast refreshed the fastidiousness of mortal senses; so that in the knowledge of our mind, one thing may, through the motions of the body, be in many ways set out and expressed. These sacraments have the waters brought forth; 3 but in Thy Word. The wants of the people estranged from the eternity of Thy truth have produced them, but in Thy Gospel; because the waters themselves have cast them forth, the bitter weakness of which was the cause of these things being sent forth in Thy Word.

28. Now all things are fair that Thou hast made, but behold, Thou art inexpressibly fairer who hast made all things; from whom had not Adam fallen, the saltness of the sea would never have flowed from him, the human race so profoundly curious, and boisterously swelling, and restlessly moving; and thus there would be no need that Thy dispensers should work in many waters, 4 in a corporeal and sensible manner, mysterious doings and sayings. For so these creeping and flying creatures now present themselves to my mind, whereby men, instructed, initiated, and subjected by corporeal sacraments, should not further profit, unless their soul had a higher spiritual life, and unless, after the word of admission, it looked forwards to perfection. 6

1 Gen. i. 4. 2 See end of note 1, p. 370, above.

3 "He alludes to Baptism in water, accompanied with the word of the gospel; of the institution whereof man's misery was the occasion." W. W.

* See sec. 20, note, above.

5 * He means that Baptism, which is the sacrament of initiation, was not so profitable without the Lord's Supper, which ancients called the sacrament of

CHAP. XXI.] BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER. 375

Chap. xxi. Concerning the living soul, birds, and fishes (ver. 24), the sacrament of the Eucharist being regarded.
29. And hereby, in Thy Word, not the depth of the sea, but the earth parted from the bitterness of the waters, 1 bringeth forth not the creeping and flying creature that hath life, 2 but the living soul itself. 3 For now hath it no longer need of baptism, as the heathen have, and as itself had when it was covered with the waters, for no other entrance is there into the kingdom of heaven, 4 since Thou hast appointed that this should be the entrance, nor does it seek great works of miracles by which to cause faith; for it is not such that, unless it shall have seen signs and wonders, it will not believe, 6 when now the faithful earth is separated from the waters of the sea, rendered bitter by infidelity; and "tongues are for a sign, not to those that believe, but to those that believe not." 6 Nor then doth the earth, which Thou hast founded above the waters, 7 stand in need of that flying kind which at Thy word the waters brought forth. Send Thy word forth into it by Thy messengers. For we relate their works, but it is Thou who workest in them, that in it they may work out a living soul.

The earth bringeth it forth, because the earth is the cause that they work these things in the soul; as the sea has been the cause that they wrought upon the moving creatures that have life, and the fowls that fly under the firmament of heaven, of which the earth hath now no need; although it feeds on the fish which was taken out of the deep, upon that table which Thou hast prepared in the presence of those that believe. 8 For therefore He was raised from the deep, that He

perfection or consummation." W. "W. Compare also sec. 24, note, and p. 234, note 2, above.

1 See sec. 20, note, and sec. 21, note, above. 2 Gen. i. 20. 3 Gen. ii. 7.

* John iii. 5. 5 John iv. 48. 6 l Cor. xiv. 22.

"Fundasti super aquas," which is the Old Ver. of Ps. cxxxvi. 6. Augustine sometimes uses a version with "firmavit terram," which corresponds to the LXX., but the Authorized Version renders the Hebrew more accurately by "stretched out." In his comment on this place he applies this text to baptism as being the entrance into the Church, and in this he is followed by many mediaeval writers.

8 Ps. xxxiii. 5. Many of the Fathers interpret this text of the Lord's Supper, as Augustine does above. The fish taken out of the deep, which is fed upon,

376 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII

might feed the dry land; and the fowl, though bred in the sea, is yet multiplied upon the earth. For of the first preachings of the Evangelists, the infidelity of men was the prominent cause; but the faithful also are exhorted, and are manifoldly blessed by them day by day. But the living soul takes its origin from the earth, for it is not profitable,
unless to those already among the faithful, to restrain themselves from the love of tins' world, that so their soul may live unto Thee, which was dead while living in pleasures, in death-bearing pleasures, Lord, for Thou art the vital delight of the pure heart.

30. Now, therefore, let Thy ministers work upon the earth, not as in the waters of infidelity, by announcing and speaking by miracles, and sacraments, and mystic words; in which ignorance, the mother of admiration, may be intent upon them, in fear of those hidden signs. For such is the entrance unto the faith for the sons of Adam forgetful of Thee, while they hide themselves from Thy face, and become a darksome deep. But let Thy ministers work even as on the dry land, separated from the whirlpools of the great deep; and let them be an example unto the faithful, by living before them, and by stimulating them to imitation. For thus do men hear not with an intent to hear merely, but to act also.

Seek the Lord, and your soul shall live, that the earth may bring forth the living soul. "Be not conformed to this world." Eestrain yourselves from it; the soul lives by avoiding those things which it dies by affecting. Eestrain yourselves from the unbridled wildness of pride, from the indolent voluptuousness of luxury, and from the false name of means Christ, in accordance with the well-known acrostic of IX6T2. " If," he says in his De Civ. Dei, xviii. 23, "you join the initial letters of these five Greek words, 'Introvs Xpirros Qtou Ties itrhp, which mean, ' Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour,' they will make the word Sx^Ss that is, 'fish,' in which word Christ is mystically understood, because He was able to live, that is, to exist without sin in the abyss of this mortality as in the depth of waters." So likewise we find Tertullian saying in his De Bapt. ch. i.: " Nos pisciculi, secundum IX6TN nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur; nee alter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus." See Bishop Ivaye's Tertullian, pp. 43, 44, and sec. 34, below.

1 1 Tim. v. 6. 2 Gen. iii. 8. 3 Ps. lxix. 32. 4 Rom. xii. 2.

CHAP. XXII.] THE TRUE LIFE. 377

knowledge j 1 so that wild beasts may be tamed, the cattle subdued, and serpents harmless. For these are the motions of the mind in allegory; that is to say, the haughtiness of pride, the delight of lust, and the poison of curiosity are the motions of the dead soul; for the soul dies not so as to lose all motion, because it dies by forsaking the fountain of life, and so is received by this transitory world, and is conformed unto it.

31. But Thy Word, God, is the fountain of eternal life, and passeth not away; therefore this departure is kept in check by Thy word when it is said unto us, " Be not conformed unto this world," so that the earth may bring forth a living soul in the fountain of life, a soul restrained in Thy Word, by Thy Evangelists, by imitating the followers of Thy Christ. For this is after his kind; because a man is stimulated to emulation by his friend. 5 " Be ye," saith he, " as I
am, for I am as you are." 6 Thus in the living soul shall there be good beasts, in
gentleness of action. For Thou hast commanded, saying, Go on with thy business in
meekness, and thou shalt be beloved by all men; 7 and good cattle, which neither if they
eat, shall they over-abound, nor if they do not eat, have they any want; 8 and good
serpents, not destructive to do hurt, but " wise " 9 to take heed; and exploring only so
much of this temporal nature as is sufficient that eternity may be " clearly seen, being
understood by the things that are." 10 For these animals are subservient to reason, 11
when, being kept in check from a deadly advance, they live, and are good.

Chap. xxii. He explains the Divine Image (ver. 26) of the renewal of
the mind.

32. For behold, O Lord our God, our Creator, when our affections have been restrained
from the love of the world, by

I 1 Tim. vi. 20. See p. 265, note 5, above.


3 Rom. xii. 2. * 1 Cor. xi. 1. 5 See p. 63, note 2, above.

6 Gal. iv. 12. 7 Ecclus. iii. 17, etc. 8 1 Cor. viii. 8.

a Matt. x. 16. 10 Rom. i. 20.

II In his De Gen. con. Munich, i. 20, he interprets the dominion given to man over the
beasts of his keeping in subjection the passions of the soul, so as to attain true happiness.

378 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

which we died by living ill. and began to be a " living soul "
by living well;* and Thy word which Thou spakest by Thy apostle is made good in us, "
Be not conformed to this world;"
next also follows that which Thou presently subjoinedst, saying, " But be ye transformed
by the renewing of your mind," 2
not now after your kind, as if following your neighbour who went before you, nor as if
living after the example of a better man (for Thou hast not said, " Let man be made after
his kind," but, " Let us make man in our image, after our likeness "), 3 that we may prove
what Thy will is. For to this purpose said that dispenser of Thine, begetting children by
the gospel, 4 that he might not always have them " babes,"
whom he would feed on milk, and cherish as a nurse; 6 " be ye transformed," saith He, "
by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and
perfect will of God." 6 Therefore Thou sayest not, " Let man be made," but, " Let us
make man." Nor sayest Thou, " after his kind," but, after "our image" and "likeness." Because, being renewed in his mind, and beholding and apprehending Thy truth, man needeth not man as his director 7 that he may imitate his kind; but by Thy direction proveth what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of Thine. And Thou teachest him, now made capable, to perceive the Trinity of the Unity, and the Unity of the Trinity. And therefore this being said in the plural, " Let us make man," it is yet subjoined in the singular, "and God made man;" and this being said in the plural, " after our likeness," is subjoined in the singular, " after the image of God." 8 Thus is man renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of Him that created him; 9 and being made spiritual, he judgeth all things, all things that are to be judged, " yet he himself is judged of no man." 10

1 A3 Origen has it: "The good man is he who truly exists." See p. 353, note 2, above; and compare the use made of the idea in Archbishop Thomson's Bampton Lectures, lect. i.

2 Rom. xii. 2. 3 Gen. i. 26. 4 1 Cor. iv. 15.
5 1 Thess. ii. 7. 6 Rom. xii. 2. 1 Jer. xxxi. 34.
8 Gen. L 27. 8 Col. iii. la 10 1 Cor. ii. 15.

CKAP. XXIII.] THE THINGS OF FAITH. 379

Chap xxiii. That to have power over all things (ver. 26) is to judge spiritually of all.

33. But that he judgeth all things answers to his having dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over all cattle and wild beasts, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth: For this he doth by the discernment of his mind, whereby he perceiveth the things " of the Spirit of God;" * whereas, otherwise, man being placed in honour, had no understanding, and is compared unto the brute beasts, and is become like unto them. 2 In Thy Church, therefore, our God, according to Thy grace which Thou hast accorded unto it, since we are Thy workmanship created in good works, 3 there are not only those who are spiritually set over, but those also who are spiritually subjected to those placed over them; for in this manner hast Thou made man, male and female, 4 in Thy grace spiritual, where, according to the sex of body, there is not male and female, because neither Jew nor Greek, nor bond nor free. 6 Spiritual persons, therefore, whether those that are set over, or those who obey, judge spiritually; not of that spiritual knowledge which shines in the firmament, for they ought not to judge as to an authority so sublime, nor doth it behove them to judge of Thy Book.
itself, although there be something that is not clear therein; because we submit our understanding unto it, and esteem as certain that even that which is shut up from our sight is rightly and truly spoken. 6 For

1 1 Cor. ii. 14. * Ps. xlix. 20. 3 Eph. ii. 10.

4 Gen. i. 27. * Gal. iii. 28.

6 In his De Civ. Dei, xi. 3, he defines very distinctly (as he does in other of his writings) the knowledge received "by sight" that is, by experience, as distinguished from that which is received "by faith" that is, by revelation (2 Cor. v. 7). He, in common with all the Fathers who had knowledge of the Pagan philosophy, would feel how utterly that philosophy had failed to "find out" (Job xi. 7) with certitude anything as to God and His character, the Creation of the world, the Atonement wrought by Christ, the doctrine of the Resurrection, as distinguished from the Immortality of the Soul, our Immortal Destiny after death, or "the Restitution of all things." As to the knowledge of God, see Justin Martyr's experience in the schools of philosophy, Dialogue with Trypho, ch. ii.; and on the doctrine of Creation, see p. 295, note. On the "Restitution of all things," etc., reference may be made to Hansel's Gnostics, who points

380 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII,

thus man, although now spiritual and renewed in the knowledge of God after His image that created him, ought yet to be the "doer of the law, not the judge." * Neither doth he judge of that distinction of spiritual and carnal men, who are known to Thine eyes, O our God, and have not as yet made themselves manifest unto us by works, that by their fruits we may know them; 2 but Thou, O Lord, dost already know them, and Thou hast divided and hast called them in secret before the firmament was made. Nor doth that man, though spiritual, judge the restless people of this world; for what hath he to do to judge them that are without, 3 knowing not which of them may afterwards come into the sweetness of Thy grace, and which continue in the perpetual bitterness of impiety?

34. Man, therefore, whom Thou hast made after Thine own image, received not dominion over the lights of heaven, nor over the hidden heaven itself, nor over the day and the night, which Thou didst call before the foundation of the heaven, nor over the gathering together of the waters, which is the sea; but he received dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and over all cattle, and over all creeping things which creep upon the earth. For He judgeth and approveth what He findeth right, but disapproved what He findeth amiss, whether in the celebration of those sacraments by which are initiated those whom Thy mercy searches out in many waters; or in that in which the Fish 4 Itself is exhibited, which, being raised from the deep, the devout earth feedeth upon; or in the signs and expressions of words, subject to the authority of Thy Book, such signs as
burst forth and sound from the mouth, as it were flying under the firmament, by interpreting, expounding, discoursing, disputing,

out (Introd. p. 3) that "in the Greek philosophical systems the idea of evil holds a very subordinate and insignificant place, and that the idea of redemption seems not to be recognised at all." He shows further (ibid. p. 4), that "there is no idea of the delivery of the creature from the bondage of corruption. The great year of the Stoics, the commencement of the new cycle which takes its place after the destruction of the old world, is but a repetition of the old evil." See also p. 291, note, above.


* 1 Cor. v. 12. * See sec. 29, note.

CHAP. XXIV.] SPIRITUAL JUDGMENT. 381

blessing, calling upon Thee, so that the people may answer, Amen. The vocal pronunciation of all which words is caused by the deep of this world, and the blindness of the flesh, by which thoughts cannot be seen, so that it is necessary to speak aloud in the ears; thus, although flying fowls be multiplied upon the earth, yet they derive their beginning from the waters. The spiritual man judgeth also by approving what is right and reproving what he finds amiss in the works and morals of the faithful, in their alms, as if in "the earth bringing forth fruit;" and he judgeth of the "living soul," rendered living by softened affections, in chastity, in fastings, in pious thoughts; and of those things which are perceived through the senses of the body. For it is now said, that he should judge concerning those things in which he has also the power of correction.

Chap. xxiv. Why God has blessed men, fishes, flying creatures, and not herbs

and the other animals (ver. 28).

35. But what is this, and what kind of mystery is it ? Behold, Thou blessest men, Lord, that they may "be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth;" 1 in this dost Thou not make a sign unto us that we may understand something? Why hast Thou not also blessed the light, which Thou calledest day, nor the firmament of heaven, nor the lights, nor the stars, nor the earth, nor the sea? I might say, O our God, that Thou, who hast created us after Thine Image, I might say, that Thou hast willed to bestow this gift of blessing especially upon man, hadst Thou not in like manner blessed the fishes and the whales, that they should be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the waters of the sea, and that the fowls should be multiplied upon the earth. Likewise might
I say, that this blessing belonged properly unto such creatures as are propagated from their own kind, if I had found it in the shrubs, and the fruit trees, and beasts of the earth. But now is it not said either unto the herbs, or trees, or beasts, or serpents, "Be fruitful and multiply;" since all these also, as well as fishes, and fowls, and men, do by propagation increase and preserve their kind.

1 God. i. 28.

382 CONFESSIONS OP ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

36. What, then, shall I say, Thou Truth, my Light, "that it was idly and vainly said?" Not so, O Father of piety; far be it from a minister of Thy word to say this. But if I understand not what Thou meanest by that phrase, let my betters that is, those more intelligent than I use it better, in proportion as Thou, my God, hast given to each to understand. But let my confession be also pleasing before Thine eyes, in which I confess to Thee that I believe, Lord, that Thou hast not thus spoken in vain; nor will I be silent as to what this lesson suggests to me. For it is true, nor do I see what should prevent me from thus understanding the figurative sayings 1 of Thy books. For I know a thing may be manifoldly signified by bodily expression which is understood in one manner by the mind; and that that may be manifoldly understood in the mind which is in one manner signified by bodily expression. Behold, the single love of God and of our neighbour, by what manifold sacraments and innumerable languages, and in each several language in how innumerable modes of speaking, it is bodily expressed. Thus do the young of the waters increase and multiply. Observe again, whosoever thou art who readest; behold what Scripture delivers, and the voice pronounces in one only way, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth;" is it not manifoldly understood, not by any deceit of error, but by divers kinds of true senses? 2 Thus are the offspring of men "fruitful" and do "multiply."

37. If, therefore, we conceive of the natures of things, not allegorically, but properly, then does the phrase, "be fruitful and multiply," correspond to all things which are begotten of seed. But if we treat those words as taken figuratively (the which I rather suppose the Scripture intended, which doth not, verily, superfluously attribute this benediction to the offspring of marine animals and man only), then do we find that "multitude" belongs also to creatures both spiritual and corporeal, as in heaven and in earth; and to souls both righteous and unrighteous, as in light and darkness; and to holy authors, through whom the law has been furnished unto us, as in the
firmament which has been firmly placed betwixt waters and waters; and to the society of people yet endued with bitterness, as in the sea; and to the desire of holy souls, as in the dry land; and to works of mercy pertaining to this present life, as in the seed-bearing herbs and fruit-bearing trees; and to spiritual gifts shining forth for edification, as in the lights of heaven; and to affections formed unto temperance, as in the living soul. In all these cases we meet with multitudes, abundance, and increase; but what shall thus "be fruitful and multiply," that one thing may be expressed in many ways, and one expression understood in many ways, we discover not, unless in signs corporeally expressed, and in things mentally conceived. We understand the signs corporeally pronounced as the generations of the waters, necessarily occasioned by carnal depth; but things mentally conceived we understand as human generations, on account of the fruitfulness of reason. And therefore do we believe that to each kind of these it has been said by Thee, O Lord, "Be fruitful and multiply." For in this blessing I acknowledge that a power and faculty has been granted unto us, by Thee, both to express in many ways what we understand but in one, and to understand in many ways what we read as obscurely delivered but in one. Thus are the waters of the sea replenished, which are not moved but by various significations; thus even with the human offspring is the earth also replenished, the dryness whereof appeareth in its desire, and reason ruleth over it.

Chap. xxv. He explains the fruits of the earth (ver. 29) of works of mercy.

38. I would also say, Lord my God, what the following Scripture reminds me of; yea, I will say it without fear. For I will speak the truth, Thou inspiring me as to what Thou wiliest that I should say out of these words. For by none other than Thy inspiration do I believe that I can speak the truth, since Thou art the Truth, but every man a liar. 3 And therefore he that "speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own;" 4 therefore that I may speak the truth, I will speak of Thine.

1 See p. 373, note 6, above. 2 See sec. 21, and note, above.
Rom. iii. 4, and Ps. cxvi. 11. * John viii. 44.

384 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

Behold, Thou hast given unto us for food "every herb bearing seed" which is upon the face of all the earth, "and every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed." 1 Nor to us only, but to all the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the earth, and to all creeping things; * but unto the fishes, and great whales, Thou hast not given these things.
Now we were saying, that by these fruits of the earth works of mercy were signified and figured in an allegory, the which are provided for the necessities of this life out of the fruitful earth. Such an earth was the godly Onesiphorus, unto whose house Thou didst give mercy, because he frequently refreshed Thy Paul, and was not ashamed of his chain. 3 This did also the brethren, and such fruit did they bear, who out of Macedonia supplied what was wanting unto him. 4 But how doth he grieve for certain trees, which did not afford him the fruit due unto him, when he saith, " At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge." 6 For these fruits are due to those who minister spiritual doctrine, through their understanding of the divine mysteries; and they are due to them as men. They are due to them, too, as to the living soul, supplying itself as an example in all continency; and due unto them likewise as flying creatures, for their blessings which are multiplied upon the earth, since their sound went out into all lands. 7

Chap. xxvi. In the confessing of benefits, computation is made not as to the "gift," but as to the "fruit," that is, the good and right will of the giver.

39. But they who are delighted with them are fed by those fruits; nor are they delighted with them " whose god is their belly." 8 For neither in those that yield them are the things given the fruit, but in what spirit they give them. Therefore he who serves God and not his own belly, 9 I plainly see

1 Gen. i. 29. * Ibid. ver. 30. 3 2 Tim. i. 16.

4 2 Cor. xi. 9. 5 2 Tim. iv. 16.

6 " Rationalem. An old epithet to most of the holy things. So, reasonable service, Rom. xii. 1, XoyiKov yaXa; 1 Pet. ii. 2, sincere milk. Clem. Alex, calls Baptism so, Pedag. i. 6. And in Constitut. Apost. vi. 23, the Eucharist is styled, a reasonable Sacrifice. The word was used to distinguish Christian mysteries from Jewish. Rationale est spirituale." W. W.

7 Ps. xix. 4. 8 Phil. iii. 19. Rom. xvi. 18.

CHAP. XXVI.I ST. PAUL'S REJOICING. 385

why he may rejoice; I see it, and I rejoice with him exceedingly. For he hath received from the Philippians those things which they had sent from Epaphroditus, x but yet I see why he rejoiced. For whereat he rejoices, upon that he feeds; for speaking in truth, " I rejoiced," saith he, " in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again, wherein ye were also careful," 2 but it had become wearisome unto you. These Philippians, then, by protracted wearisomeness, had become enfeebled, and as it were dried up, as to bringing forth this fruit of a good work; and he rejoiceth for them,
because they flourished again, not for himself, because they ministered to his wants. Therefore, adds he, "not that I speak in respect of want, for I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound; everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." *

40. Whereat, then, dost thou rejoice in all things, great Paul ? Whereat dost thou rejoice ? Whereon dost thou feed, man, renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of Him that created thee, thou living soul of so great continency, and thou tongue like flying fowls, speaking mysteries, for to such creatures is this food due, what is that which feeds thee ? Joy. Let us hear what follows. "Notwithstanding," saith he, "ye have well done that ye did communicate with my affliction." 4 Hereat doth he rejoice, hereon doth he feed; because they have well done, 6 not because his strait was relieved, who saith unto thee, "Thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress;" 6 because he knew both "to abound and to suffer need," 7 in Thee Who strengthenest him. For, saith he, "ye Philippians know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no Church com-

1 Phil. iv. 18. 2 Ibid. ver. 10. Ibid. vers. 11-13. * Ibid. ver. 14.

8 Compare p. 281, note, above. Ps. iv. 1.

7 Compare his De Bono Conjvg. ch. xxi. , where he points out that while any may suffer need and abound, to know how to suffer belongs only to great souls, and to know how to abound to those whom abundance does not corrupt.

CON. 2 B

386 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

municatecl with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only. For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity." 1 Unto these good works he now rejoiceth that they have returned; and is made glad that they flourished again, as when a fruitful field recovers its greenness.

41. "Was it on account of his own necessities that he said, " Ye have sent unto my necessity " ? Bejoiceth he for that ? Verily not for that. But whence know we this ? Because he himself continues, "Not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit." 2 From Thee, O my God, have I learned to distinguish between a "gift" and "fruit." A gift is the thing itself which he gives who bestows these necessaries, as money, food, drink, clothing, shelter, aid; but the fruit is the good and right will of the giver. For the good Master saith not only, " He that receiveth a
prophet," but addeth, " in the name of a prophet." Nor saith He only, " He that receiveth a righteous man," but addeth, " in the name of a righteous man."

So, verily, the former shall receive the reward of a prophet, the latter that of a righteous man. Nor saith He only,

" Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water," but addeth, "in the name of a disciple;"

and so conclueth, " Verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." 8 The gift is to receive a prophet, to receive a righteous man, to hand a cup of cold water to a disciple; but the fruit is to do this in the name of a prophet, in the name of a righteous man, in the name of a disciple. With fruit was Elijah fed by the widow, who knew that she fed a man of God, and on this account fed him; but by the raven was he fed with a gift. Nor was the inner man 4 of Elijah fed, but the outer only, which might also from want of such food have perished.

Chap, xxvii. Many are ignorant as to this, and ask for miracles, which are signified under the names of "fishes " and "whales."

42. Therefore will I speak before Thee, Lord, what is true, when ignorant men and infidels (for the initiating and gaining of whom the sacraments of initiation and great works

1 Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Ibid. ver. 17. 3 Matt. x. 41, 42.

4 1 Kings xvii. See p. 215, note 11, above.

CHAP. XXVIII.] MORAL NOBLER THAN MIRACULOUS THINGS. 387

of miracles are necessary/ which we believe to be signified under the name of " fishes" and " whales") undertake that Thy servants should be bodily refreshed, or should be otherwise succoured for this present life, although they may be ignorant wherefore this is to be done, and to what end; neither do the former feed the latter, nor the latter the former; for neither do the one perform these things through a holy and right intent, nor do the other rejoice in the gifts of those who behold not as yet the fruit. For on that is the mind fed wherein it is gladdened. And, therefore, fishes and whales are not fed on such food as the earth bringeth not forth until it had been separated and divided from the bitterness of the waters of the sea.

Chap, xxviii. He proceeds to the last verse, "All things are very good," that is, the work being altogether good.

43. And Thou, O God, sawest everything that Thou hadst made, and behold it was very good. 2 So we also see the same, and behold all are very good. In each particular kind of Thy works, when Thou hadst said, " Let them be made,"
and they were made, Thou sawest that it was good. Seven times have I counted it written that Thou sawest that that which Thou madest was "good;" and this is the eighth, that Thou sawest all things that Thou hadst made, and behold they are not only good, but also "very good," as being now taken together. For individually they were only good, but all taken together they were both good and very good. All beautiful bodies also express this; for a body which consists of members, all of which are beautiful, is by far more beautiful than the several members individually are by whose well ordered union the whole is completed, though these members also be severally beautiful. 3

1 We have already referred (p. 59, note, above) to the cessation of miracles. Augustine has a beautiful passage in Serm. ccxliv. 8, on the evidence which we have in the spread of Christianity it doing for us what miracles did for the early Church. Compare also Be Civ. Dei, xxii. 8. And he frequently alludes, as, for example, in Ps. cxxx., to "charity" being more desirable than the power of working miracles.

2 Gen. i. 31.

3 In his De Gen. con. Munich, i. 21, he enlarges to the same effect on Gen. i. 31

388 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII

Chap. xxix. Although it is said eight times that "God saw that it was good," yet time has no relation to God and His Word.

44. And I looked attentively to find whether seven 01 eight times Thou sawest that Thy works were good, when they were pleasing nto Thee; but in Thy seeing I found no times, by which I might understand that Thou sawest so often what Thou madest. And I said, "Lord, is not this Thy Scripture true, since Thou art true, and being Truth hast set it forth? Why, then, dost Thou say unto me that in Thy seeing there are no times, while this Thy Scripture telleth me that what Thou madest each day, Thou sawest to be good; and when I counted them I found how often? " Unto these things Thou repliest unto me, for Thou art my God, and with strong voice tellest unto Thy servant in his inner ear, bursting through my deafness, and crying, "man, that which My Scripture saith, I say; and yet doth that speak in time; but time has no reference to My Word, because My Word existeth in equal eternity with Myself. Thus those things which ye see through My Spirit, I see, just as those things which ye speak through My Spirit, I speak. And so when ye see those things in time, I see them not in time; as when ye speak them in time, I speak them not in time."

Chap. xxx. He refutes the opinions of the Manichozans and the Gnostics concerning tlv origin of the world.
45. And I heard, Lord my God, and drank up a drop of sweetness from Thy truth, and understood that there are certain men to whom Thy works are displeasing, who say that many of them Thou madest being compelled by necessity; such as the fabric of the heavens and the courses of the stars, and that Thou madest them not of what was Thine, but, that they were elsewhere and from other sources created; that Thou mightest bring together and compact and interweave, when from Thy conquered enemies Thou raisedst up the walls of the universe, that they, bound down by this structure, might not be able a second time to rebel against Thee. But, as to other things, they say Thou neither madest them nor compactest them, such as all flesh and all very minute creatures, and whatsoever holdeth the earth by its roots; but that a mind hostile unto Thee, and another nature not created by Thee, and in everywise contrary unto Thee, did, in these lower places of the world, beget and frame these things. 1 Infatuated are they who speak thus, since they see not Thy works through Thy Spirit, nor recogniseth Thee in them.

Chap. xxxi. We do not see "that it was good" but through the Spirit of God, which is in us.

46. But as for those who through Thy Spirit see these things, Thou seest in them. When, therefore, they see that these things are good, Thou seest that they are good; and whatsoever things for Thy sake are pleasing, Thou art pleased in them; and those things which through Thy Spirit are pleasing unto us, are pleasing unto Thee in us. "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we, saith he, " have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." 2 And I am reminded to say, "Truly, 'the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;' how, then, do we also know 'what things are given us by God?'" It is answered unto me, "Because the things which we know by His Spirit, even these 'knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.' For, as it is rightly said unto those who were to speak by the Spirit of God, 'It is not ye that speak,' 3 so is it rightly said to them who know by the Spirit of God, 'It is not ye that know.' None the less, then, is it rightly said to those that see by the Spirit of God, 'It is not ye that see;' so whatever they see by the Spirit of God that it is good, it is not they, but God who 'sees that it is good.' " It is one thing, then, for a man to suppose that to be bad which is good, as the fore-named do; another, that what is good a man should see to be good (as Thy creatures are pleasing unto many, because they are
1 He alludes in the above statements to the heretical notions of the Manicheans. Their speculations on these matters are enlarged on in the note on p. 77.

* 1 Cor. ii. 12. 3 Matt. x. 20

390 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XII

good, whom, however, Thou pleasest not in them when they wish to enjoy them rather than enjoy Thee); and another, that when a man sees a thing to be good, God should in him see that it is good, that in truth He may be loved in that which He made, who cannot be loved unless by the Holy Ghost, which He hath given. " Because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us;" 2 by whom we see that whatsoever in any degree is, is good. Because it is from Him who Is not in any degree, but He Is that He Is.

Chap, xxxii. Of the particular works of God, more especially of man.

47. Thanks to Thee, O Lord. We behold the heaven and the earth, whether the corporeal part, superior and inferior, or the spiritual and corporeal creature; and in the embellishment of these parts, whereof the universal mass of the world or the universal creation consisteth, we see light made, and divided from the darkness. We see the firmament of heaven, whether the primary body of the world between the spiritual upper waters and the corporeal lower waters, or because this also is called heaven this expanse of air, through which wander the fowls of heaven, between the waters which are in vapours borne above them, and which in clear nights drop down in dew, and those which being heavy flow along the earth. We behold the waters gathered together through the plains of the sea; and the dry land both void and formed, so as to be visible and compact, and the matter of herbs and trees. We behold the lights shining from above, the sun to serve the day, the moon and the stars to cheer the night; and that by all these, times should be marked and noted. We behold on every side a humid element, fruitful with fishes, beasts, and birds; because the density of the air, which bears up the flights of birds, is increased by the exhalation of the waters. 4 We behold the face of the earth

' See the end of note 3, p. 70. 2 Rom. v. 5.

3 In his Retractations, ii. 6, he says: " Non satis considerate dictum est; rei enim in abdito est valde. "

4 Compare De Gen. con. Manich. ii. 15.

CHAP. XXXIII.] THE CREATION. 391
furnished with terrestrial creatures, and man, created after Thy image and likeness, in that very image and likeness of Thee (that is, the power of reason and understanding) on account of which he was set over all irrational creatures. And as in his soul there is one power which rules by directing, another made subject that it might obey, so also for the man was corporeally made a woman, 1 who, in the mind of her rational understanding should also have a like nature, in the sex, however, of her body should be in like manner subject to the sex of her husband, as the appetite of action is subjected by reason of the mind, to conceive the skill of acting rightly.

These things we behold, and they are severally good, and all very good.

Chap, xxxiii. The world was created by God out of nothing.

48. Let Thy works praise Thee, that we may love Thee; and let us love Thee, that Thy works may praise Thee, the which have beginning and end from time, rising and setting, growth and decay, form and privation. They have therefore their successions of morning and evening, partly hidden, partly apparent; for they were made from nothing by Thee, not of Thee, nor of any matter not Thine, or which was created before, but of con created matter (that is, matter at the same time created by Thee"), because without any interval of time Thou didst form its formlessness. 2 For since the matter of heaven and earth is one thing, and the form of heaven and earth another, Thou hast made the matter indeed of almost: nothing, but the form of the world Thou hast formed of i formless matter; both, however, at the same time, so that the form should follow the matter with no interval of I delay.

1 " 'Concipiendam,' or the reading may be 'concupiscendam,' according to St. Augustine's interpretation of Gen. iii. 16, in the De Gen. con. Manich. ii. 15. 'As an instance hereof was woman made, who is in the order of things made subject to the man; that what appears more evidently in two human beings, the man and the woman, may be contemplated in the one, man; viz. that the inward man, as it were manly reason, should have in subjection the appetite of the soul, whereby we act through the bodily members.' " E. B. P.

2 See p. 295, note, above.

392 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

Chap, xxxiv. He briefly repeats the allegorical interpretation of Genesis (ch. i.), and confesses that to see it by the Divine Spirit.

49. We have also examined what Thou willedst to be shadowed forth, whether by the creation, or the description of things in such an order. And we have seen that things severally are good, and all things very good, 1 in Thy Word, in Thine Only- Begotten,
both heaven and earth, the Head and the body of the Church, in Thy predestination before all times, without morning and evening. But when Thou didst begin to execute in time the things predestinated, that Thou mightest make manifest things hidden, and adjust our disorders (for our sins were over us, and we had sunk into profound darkness away from Thee, and Thy good Spirit was borne over us to help us in due season), Thou didst both justify the ungodly, 2 and didst divide them from the wicked; and madest firm the authority of Thy Book between those above, who would be docile unto Thee, and those under, who would be subject unto them; and Thou didst collect the society of unbelievers into one conspiracy, in order that the zeal of the faithful might appear, and that they might bring forth works of mercy unto Thee, even distributing unto the poor earthly riches, to obtain heavenly. And after this didst Thou kindle certain lights in the firmament, Thy holy ones, having the word of life, and shining with an eminent authority preferred by spiritual gifts; and then again, for the instruction of the unbelieving Gentiles, didst Thou out of corporeal matter produce the sacraments and visible miracles, and sounds of words according to the firmament of Thy Book, by which the faithful should be blessed. Next didst Thou form the living soul of the faithful, through affections ordered by the vigour of continency; and afterwards, the mind subjected to Thee alone, and needing to imitate no human authority, 3 Thou didst renew after Thine image and likeness; and didst subject its rational action to the excellency of the understanding, as the woman to the man; and to all Thy ministries, necessary for the perfecting of the faithful in this life, Thou didst will that, for their temporal uses, good 1 Gen. i. 8.1. 8 Rom. iv. 5. 3 See p. 294, note, above.

CHAP. XXXVII. j REST IN GOD. 393

things, fruitful in the future time, should be given by the same faithful. 1 We behold all these things, and they are very good, because Thou dost see them in us, Thou who hast given unto us Thy Spirit, whereby we might see them, and in them love Thee.

Chap. xxxv. He prays God for that peace of rest which hath no evening.

50. Lord God, grant Thy peace unto us, for Thou hast supplied us with all things, the peace of rest, the peace of the Sabbath, which hath no evening. For all this most beautiful order of things, "very good" (all their courses being finished), is to pass away, for in them there was morning and evening.

Chap. xxxv. The seventh day, without evening and setting, the image of eternal life and rest in God.

51. But the seventh day is without any evening, nor hath it any setting, because Thou hast sanctified it to an everlasting continuance; that that which Thou didst after Thy works, which were very good, resting on the seventh day, although in unbroken rest Thou madest them, that the voice of Thy Book may speak beforehand unto us, that we also
after our works (therefore very good, because Thou hast given them unto us) may repose in Thee also in the Sabbath of eternal life.

Chap, xxxvii. Of rest in God, who ever worketh, and yet is ever at rest.

52. For even then shalt Thou so rest in us, as now Thou dost work in us; and thus shall that be Thy rest through us, as these are Thy works through us. 2 But Thou, Lord,

"The peace of heaven," says Augustine in his De Civ. Dei, xix. 17, "alone can be truly called and esteemed the peace of the reasonable creatures, consisting as it does in the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God, and of one another in God. When we shall have reached that peace, this mortal life shall give place to one that is eternal, and our body shall be no more this animal body which by its corruption weighs down the soul, but a spiritual body feeling no want, and in all its members subjected to the will." See p. 163, note 4 (end), above.

2 Compare his De Gen. ad Lit. iv. 9: " For as God is properly said to do what we do when He works in us, so is God properly said to rest when by His gift we rest."

394 CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. [BOOK XIII.]

ever workest, and art ever at rest. Nor seest Thou in time, nor movest Thou in time, nor restest Thou in time; and yet Thou makest the scenes of time, and the times themselves, and the rest which results from time.

Chap, xxxviii. Of the difference between the knowledge of God and of men, and of the repose which is to be sought from God only.

53. We therefore see those things which Thou madest; because they are; but they are because Thou seest them. And we see without that they are, and within that they are good, but Thou didst see them there, when made, where Thou didst see them to be made. And we were at another time moved to do well, after our hearts had conceived of Thy Spirit; but in the former time, forsaking Thee, we were moved to do evil; but Thou, the One, the Good God, hast never ceased to do good. And we also have certain good works, of Thy gift, but not eternal; after these we hope to rest in Thy great hallowing. But Thou, being the Good, needing no good, art ever at rest, because Thou Thyself art Thy rest. And what man will teach man to understand this? Or what angel, an angel? Or what angel, a man? Let it be asked of Thee, sought in Thee, knocked for at Thee; so, even so shall it be received, so shall it be found, so shall it be opened. 1

Amen.

1 Ji* a. vu. 7.
INDEX OF TEXTS.

Genesis.

CHAP. PAGE
i. 1, 67, 293, 333
i. 2, 320, n., 323, 327, 352, 354
i. 3, .. 353, 361
i. 4, .. 374
  . 364
  . 364
  . 324
  373, n.
  340, 367, n.
  3G8, n,

Exodus continued.

Job continued.

i. 6, 
i. 6-8, 
i. 7, 
i. 9, 
i. 11, i. 11, 30, i. 12, 
i. 14, 
i. 15, 
i. 17, 
i. 20, 
i. 26, 27, i. 27, 

i. 28, 
ii. 7, iii. 8, iii. 19, iii. 21, ix. 3, 
xiv. 3, 10, xvi. 13, 14, xviii. 27, xxii. 1, xxv. 33, 34, xxvii. 1, xxvii. 28, xlviii. 13-19,

371
. 368
. 309, 368
. 371
320, n.
373, 375
113, n., 378
47, 378, 379
. 381
. 384
160, n., 273,
887, n., 392
. 375
. 376
79, 269
n., 364, n.
Exodus.

iii. 14, .
iii. 21, 22, vi. 12, .
xii. 35, 36,

158, n.
156, n.
. 291
156, n.

CHAP.

xvi. 3, .
xvi. 16, xxxii. 1-6, .
xxxiii. 20,
Leviticus.
xix. 18, .

Numbers.

PACK
156, n.
. 8, n.
. 156
5

281

xi. ... 270
xi. 5, . 156, n.
xi. 25, etc., . 354
xvi. 2, 19, . 185, n.

Deuteronomy.

iv. 24, .
vi. 5, xxix. 5, xxxii. 39, xxxii. 49,

Joshua.

x. 12-14,
xviii.

40,

. 86
. 49

48, n.

27, 172

. 172

310

270

386

270

46

1 Chronicles.

xxi. 1, . . 185, n.

Job.
i. 10, . . . 174

ii. 13, . . 202, n.

vii. 1, Old Fer., 264, 271

395

CHAP.

ix. 3, xi. 7,

xiv. 1, xiv. 13, xv. 26, xxiii. 8, 9, xxiv. 14-16, xxviii. 28,

PAOB

5
379, n.
48
363
151
263
287
176

xxviii. 28, in the LXX., 88
xxxiii. 10-12, . 367

Psalms.

ii. 7,

. 301
iv. 7, 4, 1C, 215
iv. 8, 216
iv. 8, Vulg., 227
iv. 9, Vulg., 216
iv. 9, Vulg., 216
v. 3, 363
v. 12, 

, 239

vi. 2, 

. 273

vi. 3, 

203

vi. 5,

. 144

vii. 9, etc., 

364

vii. 15, 


33

viii. 2, .

365

viii. 3, .

. 365

viii, 7, 8,

. 86

viii. 8, .

344

ix. 9,

11

ix. 13, .
INDEX OF TEXTS.

PsALMS-

-continued. Psalms continued. Psalms continued.

CHAP.

PACK

CHAP. PAGE

PAGE

CHAP. PAGE

xviii. 35,

. 176

xxxix. 11, Vi

h/., . 158

Ixxxiv. 5, . .358

xix.
. 372

xli. 4, .

59, 71, 99

lxxxiv. 6, . 72, 208

xix. 2, .

. 279

xli. 8, .

. 362

lxxxv. 11, . 368

xix. 3, 4,

873,

xlii. 1, 2,

. 362

lxxxvi. 1, . 291
. 363

lxxxviii. 5, . . 287

xix. 7, .

. 365

xlii. 5, .

. 63

lxxxix. 11, Vulg., . 151

xix. 8, .

. 365

xlii. 6, .

. 361

xci. 11, . . 271, n.

xix. 9, .

58, n.
xlili. 7, .

. 362, 363

xci. 13, . . . 236

xix. 12, .

. 35

xlii. 10, .

. 326

xcii. 1, . . . 9

xix. 12, 13,

. 5, n.

xlii. 11, .

. 261

xciii. 20, Vidg., 27, n.

xix. 14,. 

189, 206

xliii. 5,  
  . 363

xciv. 1, . . . 62

xxii. 2, Vulg.,  
  . 11

xlv. 2,  
  . 32

xcv. 5, . . . 367

xxii. 25,  
  . 341

xlvi. 1,  
  . 11

xcvi. 4, . . . 289
xxii. 26,

2, 288

xlvi. 4,

. 362

c. 3, . . 7, 312

xxiii. 5,

. 375

xlvi. 10,

. 209

ci., . . 231

xxv. 9,

. 155

xlviii. 3,
. 155

li. 5, .

. 10

ciii. 3, 69, 239, 267, 287

xxvi. 3,

. 275

li. 6, .

. 238

ciii. 3-5, . 278, 298

xxvi. 7,

292, 316

li. 8, .

. 62

ciii. 14, . . 269
xxvi. 8,

175, 331

li. 8, Vulg.,

. 78

ciii. 20, ... 27

xxvi. 12, Vulg.,

. 5, n.

li. 17, .

60, 172

civ. 2, . 357, 364, n.

xxvii. 1,

. 260

li. 19, .

. 97
civ. 9, . . 367

xxvii. 4,

316, 326

lv. 7, .

. 287

civ. 15, . . 101

xxvii. 5,

. 308

lv. 22, .

. 287

civ. 24, . . 298, 336

xxvii. 8,

21, 211

lviii. 10, Vuh
h. 275

cvi. 2, . . .62

xxvii. 12, Vulg., 51

lix. 9, Vulg., 80

lxii. 1, 2, , 172

cvi. 20, . . .156

xxviii. 1,

. 332

lxii. 1, 2, , 172

cvii. 8, Vulg., . 147

xxix. 5,

178, 212
lxiii. 1,

. 367

cix. 22, . . 282

xxix. 9,

291, n.

Ixiii. 3, 8,

. 316

cxi. 10, . . 192, n.

XXX. 11,

. 205

lxiii. 27,

. 275

cxii. 10, . .180

xxx. 12,
lxiv. 10, 363

. 31
cxv. 16, Vidg., etc., 320

xxxi. 6, 14, 18,

18,

. 180

lxv. 11,

. 369
cxvi. 10, . 5, 238, 308

xx xi. 10,

298, 316

lxviii. 2,

. 198
cxvi. 11, . .383

xxxii. 20,

357, n.

Ixviii. 5,

. 232

cxvi. 12, . .34

xxxii. 22,

22, 284

Ixviii. 6,

210, n.,220

cxvi. 13, . .172

xxxii. 1,

. 240
lxix. 3, 45

cxvi. 15, 220

xxxii. 5

5

lxix. 32, 376

cxvi. 16, 29, 323

xxxii. 9, 245

lxxi. 5, 107

cxvi. 16, 17, 174, 206
xxxiii. 96,

295

lxxiii. 7,

. 30

cxvi. 17, . .57

xxxiii. 11,

136

lxxiii. 9,

. 72

cxviii. 1, . 77, 99, 289

xxxiv. 5,
lxxiii. 16,
. 307
cxix. 18, . . 287
xxxiv. 18,

85
lxxiii. 27,
. 84
cxix. 37, . .161
xxxv. 3,

5, 206
lxxiii. 28, li

9, 332, 353
cxix. 85, . . 292

xxxv. 10,

. 82,

174, 206

lxxiv. 16,

. 291

cxiv. 85, Old Ver., 202

xxxvi. 2,

. 194

lxxiv. 21,

. 57

cxiv. 105, . . 363

xxxvi. 5,

. 366
lxxvi. 7,
. 32

cxix. 108, . . 236

xxxvi. 6, 62, 353, n., 361

lxxvii. 10,
. 273

cxix. 122, Vulg., . 287

xxxvi. 7,
. 
.
. 80

lxxviii. 39, ,

15, 77

cxix. 142, . . 67

xxxvi. 9,

227,

354, 367
lxxix. 5, 8,
. 203

cxix. 155, Vulg., . 105

xxxvii. 9-1]

, Vulg., 150

lxxx. 1,
. 54

cxix. 176, . . 331

xxxvii. 23,

. 94

lxxx. 5,

227

cxx.3,4,OldVer., 208, n.

xxxix. 5,
INDEX OF TEXTS.
Psalms continued

CHAP.

cxxiv. 5, cxxv. 3, cxxx. 1, cxxx. 3, cxxxvi. 4, cxxxvi. 6, cxxxviii. 6, cxxxix. 2, 4, cxxxix. 6, cxxxix. 7, cxxxix. 7, 8, cxxxix. 8, cxxxix. 12, cxxxix. 16, cxxxix. 21, cxxxix. 22, cxli. 3, 4, Vnlg., cxli. 5,

Song of Solomon

cxl. ii. 5, .
cxl. iii. 2, cxli. 6, cxlii. 10, cxliv. 5, cxliv. 7, cxliv. 9, cxliv. 11, cxlv. 3, .
cxlv. 15, cxlv. 15, 16, cxlv. 18, cxlv. 8, cxlvii. 5, cxlvii. 5, Vvlg., cxlvi. 1-12, cxlviii. 4, cxlviii. 6, cxlix. 6,

PAGE

356, n.
. 210
27, 291
. 5
74
5, n.
85
223, n.
306
83
33
2
357
271, n.
329
103
99, n.
282
95
235
367
350
178
Proverbs.

iii. 7,

viii. 22, ix. 8,

ix. 13, 14, 17

ix. 18,

x. 6,

xvii. 6, in the xxi. 20,

xxi. 31,

xxii. 15, xxvii. 8, xxvii. 21,

. 176

171, n.

. 122

46

. 45

. 369
Song of Solomon.
L 3, . . . 366
continued.

CHAP.
i. 3, 4,
i. 4, ii. 9, ii. 17,

Plfi K
120
183
3i; <;
3G:J

Isaiah.
i. 16-18,
vi. 2,
x. 26,
xiv. 13,
xiv. 13, 14,
xxvi. 20, 196,
xxviii. 15,
xxxii. 13,
xxxiii. 5,
xxxiv. 4, 364, 365,
xxxvii. 16,
xl. 6, 8,
xlili. 3,
xlvi. 4,
xlvi. 8,
xlvi. 10,
xlvi. 22,
lii. 7,
lvi. 8,
lvii. 7, 8,
lviii. 10,
lxiv. 4,
Jeremiah,

ii. 13, .

ii. 27, .
iv. 25, .
xii. 15, .
xv. 19, .
xxiii. 24, xxxi. 34, li. 6, .

. 377

. 28
319, n.
5
. 373
. 367
. 378
. 29

Lamentations.
iii. 48, . . 279

ix. 21, xii. 3,

ii. 8.
v. 11, xii. 1,

Daniel.

Hosea.
216, n.
. 372

. 157
185, n.
. 58

CHAP.

ii. n.

v. 4,

IV.

Joel.

Amos.

Jonah.

Malachi.

iii. 6, iii. 10,
The Wisdom of Solomon.

vii. 27, . . 159, 227

viii. 2, Vulg. t . 132

viii. 21, . 265, 268

ix. 15, . . 163
x. 21, . . . 186
xi. 20, . . . 88
xi. 25, Old Ver., . 83
xiii. 1, . . . 175
xiii. 9, . . . 85

ECCLESIASTICS.

i. 4, iii. 17, iii. 27, v. 3, x. 9, x. 13, xviii. 30, xix. 1, .
xxiii. 6, xxxix. 21

330, n.
. 377
. 134
266, n.
162, n.
192, n.
. 269
. 222
. 269
160, n.

The Song of the Three Holy Children.
Ver. 3, . . . 39
Ver. 4, sq., . . 171

NEW TESTAMENT.

Matthew.
iii. 2, .
  . 361

iii. 4, .
  . 270

iv. 1, .
  . 212

iv. 3, .
  . 276

v. 3, .
  . 192, n.

398

INDEX OF TEXTS.

Matthew continued.

CHAP.

v. 3-9, .

v. 3-11,
, 234

282

196 #

196 .

289

235, n.

26.

'), n.

, ii.,

373
Matthew continued.

CHAP. PAGE
xxv. 21, . 36, 228
xxv. 27, . . 4
xxvi. 35, . . 366
xxvi. 38, 41, . 163
xxviii. 19, . . 361

Mark.
xii. 30, 31, .

ii. 14, Vulg., ii 19, .
ii. 46, .
iii. 5, .
iv. 23, .
v. 8, .
xi. 22, 25, xii. 32, .
xiv. 14, xiv. 26-35, xv. 4-10, 32, xv. 5, .
xv. 8, .
xv. 11-32, xv. 12, 13, xv. 16, .
xv. 18, .
xv. 32, .
xvi. 10, xvi. 11, 12, xx. 36, .
xxi. 34, xxiii. 43, xxiv. 25, xxiv. 49,

343

. 358

. 98

. 91

. 212

. 34

. 271

. 108

. 236

. 178

. 185

. 279

. 209

. 193

. 182

. 331

. 256
1.
1-5,
3,
6-9,
7-14,
9,
10,
12,
14,
16,
17,
. 5,
. 20,
. 29,
14,
John.

153, n., 296
154, 166, n.
86, 292
165, n.
. 154

76, 198, 215, 359
71
. 184

165, 166, n., 287
76, 155
335, n.
. 375
. 238
78, 298, 362
. 109

John continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAP</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>24, ... 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>48, ... 375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>14, ... 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>46, ... 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>27, ... 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>39, ... 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>23, ... 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>25, Old Ver., 297, n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>40, ... 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>44, ... 343, 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>18, ... 286, n., 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii</td>
<td>35, ... 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>6, 67; 165, 174, 260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Acts.

ii. 1-4, .

. 214

ii. 3, .

. 372

ii. 18, .

3

ii. 19, .

. 362

ii. 27, .

286, n.
iv. 20, .

223, n.

vii. 22, .

157, n.

ix. 5,

. 51

xiii. 10,

185, n.

xiii. 12,

. 184

xvii. 28,

. 157

Epistle to the Romans.

i. 3,

i. 20,
165, 169, 243, 244, 377

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Reference</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.21, i. 21, 22, i. 21, 23, i. 24-29, i. 25, .</td>
<td>1.21, i. 21, 22, i. 21, 23, i. 24-29, i. 25, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 5, .</td>
<td>ii. 5, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 6, .</td>
<td>ii. 6, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 4, .</td>
<td>iii. 4, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 5, .</td>
<td>iv. 5, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 5, .</td>
<td>v. 5, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 6, .</td>
<td>v. 6, .</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 8, 9, vi. 17,</td>
<td>v. 8, 9, vi. 17,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102, ii.</td>
<td>102, ii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiimrl n., 163,</td>
<td>iiimrl n., 163,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21, 87</td>
<td>21, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 176</td>
<td>. 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86, 155</td>
<td>86, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 51</td>
<td>. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86, 157</td>
<td>86, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 215</td>
<td>. 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 60</td>
<td>. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 383</td>
<td>. 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355, 392</td>
<td>355, 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 239, 390</td>
<td>61, 239, 390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. 155</td>
<td>. 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>286, n.</td>
<td>286, n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199, 361</td>
<td>199, 361</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INDEX OF TEXTS.
Epistle to the Romans

1 Corinthians cont.

2 Corinthians cont.

continued.

iii. 11, .
. 242
xi. 14,. 

. 285
vii. 17,

199
iv. 6,. 

. 343
xii. 1,. 

320, n.
vii. 20,

187
vii. 22, 24, 25, viii. 6, margin,

! 171
82, n.

v. 8, .
v. 12, .

. 371
. 330

Galatians.

viii. 7, .

234

vii. 1, .
. 26

i. 17, .

212, n.

viii. 10,

363

vii. 7, .

. 175

iii. 1, .

. 362

viii. 11,

363
viii. 1, 

. 169

iv. 12, 

. 377

viii. 23, 227 362

viii. 6, 

. 336

iv. 19, 

13, 226

viii. 24,
332
ix. 27,

. 268
v. 17,

187, 260
viii. 31,

319
x. 4,

115, n.
vi. 3,

. 282
viii. 32,

155

x. 13,

. 243

viii. 34, 214,
286, n.,

235,
287,

271,
293

xi. 1,
xi. 19,

. 377
. 169

Ephesians.
ix. 5, .

.

165

d. 1, 31,

355

i. 20, .

#

. 214

ix. 12, .

.

156

d. 7-11,

369

i. 20, etc.,
. 271

ii. 3,

. 363

x. 12,

*

291

xiii. 2,

370, n.

ii. 10,

. 379

x. 14,

2
xiii. 12,
105,
174, 238,

iii. 20, .

m
204, 267

xi. 36, .

3

328, 366

iv. 8, .

. 362

xii. 1, .
#

216, 267

xiv. 20,

270

Philippians.

xiv. 23, xvi. 18,

270
384

2 Cor

[NTHIANS.
ii. 6, 7,

72, n.

i. 11, .

. 241

ii. 6, 8,

. 287

i. 22.

. 363

ii. 6-11,
1 Corinthians.

ii. 16,

. 39

ii. 15,

. 368

i. 27,

i. 27, 28, i. 30,

i. 31,

ii. 6,

ii. 9,

372

184

86

269

370

226
iv. 11-14, iv. 15-17,

269, 385  
. 386

ii. 14,

379

v. 17,

. 309

iv. 18,

. 385

ii. 15,

iii. 1,

362,

378

370
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Colossians.

iii. 2, .

37

J, n.

x. 17, .

. 235

i. 16, .

. 339

402
Astrologers, Augustine's classification of, 59, n.; belief of the Jews in, 59, n.; divinations of the, 47; were called mathematicians, 149, n.

Astrology, refutation of, 148, 149.

Atoms, in nature no two touch, '202, n.

Atonement, the, 287.

Augustine, describes his infancy, 5, etc.; his boyhood, 10-24; how he learns to speak, 10; he prays to God that he may not be beaten, 11; his fondness for play, 12; educated from his mother's womb in the true faith, 13; he was signed with the cross, and seasoned with salt, 13, and n.; his hatred of study and the Greek language, but delight in Latin and the empty fables of the poets, 15; the reason of this, 17; Homer distasteful to him because it was in Greek, 17; he entreats that whatever he learnt as a boy may be dedicated to God, 18; his declamation applauded above that of his fellows, 20; he was more afraid of making a mistake in grammar than of offending God, 22; he committed petty thefts and sought dishonest victories at play, 22; he deplores the wickedness of his youth, 25, 26; especially that of his sixteenth year, 27; he used to go to Madaura to learn grammar and rhetoric; his father, though only a poor freeman of Thagaste, made a great sacrifice to send his son to Carthage, 27; he plumes himself upon being more licentious than his fellows; his mother unwisely opposes his marrying, 29; he robs a neighbouring pear-tree from a love of mischief, 30; he is caught in the snares of a licentious passion, 37; his love of stage-plays, 38; he is affected by a foul spiritual disease, 39; his sacrilegious curiosity, 40; not even in church does he suppress his desires, 40; he becomes head in the school of rhetoric, 40; he begins to study eloquence; his father dies in his seventeenth year, 41; in his nineteenth year he is led by the Hortensius of Cicero to philosophy, 41; he rejects the Sacred Scriptures as too simple, 42; he falls into the errors of the Maniehseans, 43, 77; his longing after truth, 43, 44; Manichsean system peculiarly enthralling to an ardent mind like his, 44, n.; his desire for knowledge caused him to join the Maniehseans, 46, n.; his victory over inexperienced persons, 55, and n.; the nine years from his nineteenth year, 56-81; he teaches rhetoric, 57; he has a mistress, 57; he receives the Agonistic garland, 60; he is given to divination, 61; his friend's illness and death, 62; his grief, 62, 63; he leaves Thagaste and goes to Carthage, 66; he writes books on the "Fair and Fit," 72; he dedicates them to Hierius; he longs for his commendation, 73; he turns his attention to the nature of the mind, 74; in what he conceived the chief good to consist, 75; he calls it a Monad, and the chief evil a Duad,
76; when scarce twenty, he understood Aristotle's Ten Predicaments, 78; his ready understanding of the liberal arts,
79, and sciences, 80; his wit a snare to him, 80; the twenty-ninth year of his age, 82-106; he begins to appreciate the knowledge of God above secular learning, 87; he points out the fallacy of the Manichesean belief as to the Paraclete, 88, n.; he withdraws from the errors of the Manicheseans, being remarkably aided by God, 93; he leaves Carthage to go to Rome, 94; he deceives his mother, 95; he is attacked by fever, 96; is restored, 99; becomes one of the "elect" of the Manicheans, 99; his view of Arcesilas' philosophy, 100, n.; his erroneous views as to Christianity, 101; he goes to Milan to teach rhetoric, and there makes the acquaintance of Ambrose, 104; he resolves to abandon the Manicheans and become a catechumen, 106; his thirtieth year, 107-138; his mother follows him over the sea, 107; he recognises the falsity of his old opinions, 114; he describes how Alypius, led into the circus by his fellow-students, becomes fascinated by the fights held there, 124, 125; he becomes inflamed with the love of wisdom, 130; he is troubled in mind, 131,

132, 136; he is prevented from marrying by Alypius, 132; he undertakes to write the life of Alypius,

133, n.; is urged by his mother to marry, and a maiden sought for him, 134; he sends his mistress back to Africa, but takes another, 136; in his thirty-first year he recalls the

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

403

beginning of his youth, 139-173; his conception of God, 139, 140, and n., 141, 145; his mind is severely exercised as to the origin of evil, 150; is stimulated to wisdom by the Hortensius of Cicero, 152, n., 194; his conception of Christ, 166; he rejoices that he proceeded from Plato to the Scriptures, and not the reverse, 170; he found in the latter what was not in the former, 171; he consults Simplicianus as to the renewing of his mind, 174; he describes the thirty-second year of his age, 174-205; he is still held by the love of women, 175; he burns to imitate Victorinus, 185; his review of his life, 194; he retires with Alypius into the garden, 196; his trouble of spirit, 197; he refutes the Manichean notion of two kinds of minds, 198, 199; was still enthralled by his old loves,
201; he retires into solitude to meditate, and hears a voice saying, '"Take up and read,"
203; his reason for giving up his professorship, 207, 208, n.; his lungs become affected,
208, 209; he retires to the villa of his friend Verecundus, 209, 210; he finally gives up the
professorship, 211, 212; he found in retirement preparation for future work, 212, n.;
effect of the Psalms on him, especially the fourth,
213, 215; his anger against the Manichseans, 213; in his thirty-fourth year he writes his
book The Master, a dialogue between him and his sou,
217; he suffers from toothache, but loses it in answer to prayer, 216; he attributes all that
he was to his mother's tears, 221, n.; his last conversation with his mother, 227,
228; his grief at her death, 230-233; he is troubled that he was so long without God, 263; effect of church music on him,
272; object and use of his Confessions, 240, 241,
289; he entreats of God that he may be led to the truth through the Scriptures, 290-292;
he designates Eraclius as his successor, 290; he prays to be taught by God, 307; his old
notions as to matter, 321,
322; his longings for the heavenly Jerusalem, 333; was addicted to the allegorical
explanation of Scripture, 350.
Authority, and morals, 49; of the holy writings, 118, and n., 119.

Bacon, the sentiments of, concerning friendship, 66, n.

Baptism, Augustine being seized with illness, prays for; on his recovery it was postponed,
13; in Augustine's days often deferred till death approached, 13, n.; wrongly deferred,
14, n.; guilt after, greater than before, 13, 14, and n.; those who attended stage-plays were
excluded from, by the Fathers, 38, n.; that of Nebridius took place when he was ill and
unconscious, 62; candidates for, seasoned with salt, 108, n.; martyrdom described as a
second,
109, n.; the washing of, called illumination, 179, n., 361; renunciation of Satan before,
180, n.; customs of the Eastern Churches at, 181, n.; being the sacrament of initiation, is
not so profitable without the Lord's Supper, 374, n.; gives life, Lord's Supper maintains it,
375; the entrance into the Church, 375, n.

&03 and nip distinguished, 172, n.

T T T T

Basilica, the Portian, 219, n., 220, and n.

Bath, soothing powers of the, 232.

Bauto, the consul at Milan, 119, n.

Beasts of the field symbolical of those given to carnal pleasures, 85, n., 86; clean and
unclean, explanation of the division of, 112, n.
Beautiful, love of the, 72.

Beauty of God, 4, 44.

Beggar, the joyous, 120.

Beginning, Christ the, of all things; the "Word the, 297; the words, "In the beginning," interpreted differently, 337, 345.

Bible, literary merit of the, 42, n., 87, n.; the Psalms "a Bible in little," 213, n.

Birds of the air symbolical of pride, 85, n.

Blessedness, true, to be attained only by adhering to God, 353, n.

Blind man, the, cured, 220; his vow, 220, n.

Blindness, Augustine compares sin to, 357, n.

Body, soul, and spirit, 163, n.; as distinct from soul, 164; the mind commands the, 197, 198.

Books, the Manichsean, 92.

Boyhood, Augustine's fondness for play in, 12; he thanks God for his, 23, 24.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

GffiSAR, Christ paid tribute to, 86.

Calling upon God, 2.
Carthage, Augustine sent by his father to pursue his studies at, 27, 37; he leaves that city on account of the violent habits of the students there, 94.

Cassiacum, Verecundus' villa at, 210.

Catechumens, seasoned with salt, 13, and n., 108, n.; or "Hearers" of the Manichseans, their privileges, 53, n.; Augustine resolves to become one in the Catholic Church, 106; customs of, at baptism, 181, n.; before baptism, 370, n.; when ready for, they were termed Competentes, 370, n.

Categories of Aristotle may be classed under two heads, 79, and n.

Catiline loved not his villanies, but had a motive for committing them, 31.

Cavils, Manichaean, 299, 300, 317.

Celibacy, discussion of Augustine and Alypius concerning, 132.

Chief evil, nature of the, 76.

Chief good, Augustine's conception of the, 75; Varro gives 288 different opinions as regards the, 75, n.; God the, 146, 260, n.

Childhood, the sins of, found in manhood; an emblem of humility, 23.

Christ, the fulness of the Godhead is in, 42; perfect human sympathy of, 63, n.; humiliation of, for us, 71, 72, n.; our very life, 71; paid tribute to Caesar, 86; humanity of, 96, n., 154; Manichsean belief as to the human birth of, 102, n.; fulness of,

155; the Mediator, 165, 170, n.; a perfect man, 167; the two natures of, 168, n., 285, and n., 286; as God, the country to which we go, as man, the way by which we go, 171; healing in Him alone, 171; the Victor and Victim, Priest and Sacrifice, 287; the Beginning, 297.

Christian, certainty of the faith of the, as compared with the uncertainty of the teaching of the philosophers, 100, n.; the almost and altogether, 188, n.

Christianity gives the golden key to happiness, 75, n.; Augustine's erroneous views as to, 100, n.

Church, the, history of, creation type of the, 361; music of, its effect on Augustine, 272.

Circensian games, Alypius' love of the,
121; how cured of it, 122; he becomes Augustine's pupil, and is involved in the same superstition as

his friend, 123; Augustine becomes carried away by the love of the, 124; they were put a stop to by the sacrifice of Telemachus the monk, 126, n.

Cicero's writings as compared with the Word of God, 87, n.; his opinion concerning Arcesilas' teaching, 100, n.; Augustine studies his Hortensius, 41; and is stimulated to wisdom thereby, 152, n., 194, 195.

Circus, games of the, 123, n., 124, and n., 277, n.

Classics, highly esteemed in Augustine's day, 16; objections to the study of the, 20.

Commandments, modes of dividing the Ten, 50, and n.

Community, Augustine and his friends propose to establish a, 135.

Companions, influence of bad, 35.

Competentes, name given to catechumens when ready for baptism, 370.

Conception of Christ, Augustine's, 166; of God, 139, 140, and n., 141, 145.

Confession to God, Augustine urges the duty of, 82; is piety, 88; use of Augustine's, 240, 241; object of his, 289.

Confirmation sometimes called a sacrament by the Fathers, 179, n.

Constantine was not baptized till the end of his life, 14, n.; his controversy with Sylvester, 59, n.

Constantius enacted laws against Paganism, 185.

Contemplation, the Christian ascends the mount of, by faith, 332, n.; the reward of practical duties, 368; of things eternal, 369, n.

Continency, false and seducing, of the Manichseans, 123, and n.; beauty of, 202; imposed on us, 265.

Continencia and Sustinentia, difference between, 265, n.

Conversion, Monica's dream of her son's,
53; of Victorinus, 181, 182; of Paul, 184, and n., 228, n.; of Alypius, 204.

Converts, how received in Justin Martyr's time, 179, n.

Corporeal brightness, Augustine thought of God as a, 63, n., 80; of the Manichseans, 157, n.; forms, Augustine's mind ranges through, 74, 77; but later on he repudiates the notion of a, 114.

Corruption, the five regions of, 142.

Courtiers, history of the two, 191-193.

Creasti, explanation of, 172.

Creation praises God, 82, 161 j har-

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

405

mony of the, 160-162; testifies to a Creator, 294; time began from the, not it from time, 348, n.; doctrine of the Trinity embleniized in the, 354; history of the, a type of the Church, 361.

Creator, true joy to be found only in the, 33; putting the creature above the, 86; God the, 295.

Credulity of the Manichseans, 117, n.

Cross of Christ symbolized, 18, 19, n.

Curds, the mountain of, 210, and n.

Curiosity, a help to learning, 18; affects a desire for knowledge, 32; Augustine's sacrilegious, 40; fishes of the sea symbolical of, 85, n.; evil of, to Augustine, 124; a snare to Alypius, 133, 134; temptation of, stimulated by the lust of the eyes, 275, 276; for experiment's sake, 276; manifold temptations of, 277.
Curtain of Ps. civ. 2, rendered "skin."
364, n.

Custom, force of, 18; true inner righteousness doth not judge according to, 47; versus law, 94; conforming to, 111, n.; the weight of carnal, 162; power of, 187.

Customs, human, to be obeyed, 49.

Cyprian, oratory in memory of, 95.

Danae, 19.

Daniel praying in captivity, 332, n.

Darkness and light, 143, n.

Dead, prayers for the, 109, n., 232, 237, n.; festivals in honour of the, 111; origin of the custom, 111, n.

Death, origin of the law of, 68, n.; Augustine says Adam was able to avert it by partaking of the tree of life, 68, n.

Death-bed baptism of Nebridius, 62.

Declamation, Augustine's, applauded above that of his fellow-students, 20.


Dido, 15, 16.

Distentio, distraction, 316, and nn.

Divination, the soothsayers used sacrifices in their, 57; the mathematicians did not do so, 58; Augustine's obstinate belief in, but his friend Nebridius scoffs at it, 61; afterwards influenced by Augustine, he too believes in it, 62; of the astrologers, 147, 148.

Divinity of Christ, 168, n.

Dooetse, belief of the, 167, n.

Donatism, how developed in Augus-
tine's time, 109, n.; spiritual pride of the Donatists, 287, n.
Drachma, the woman and the, 182, 256.

Dream, of Monica concerning her son's conversion, 53; temptation in, 266, 267; Augustine's view of, 266, n.; Thorwaldsen's, result of, 266, n.
Drunkenness forbidden by God, 268, 269.

Duad, Monad and, 76, and n., 77, n.; how this dualistic belief affected the Manichsean notion of Christ, 102, n.
Dust, the mathematicians drew their figures in, 78, n.

Ear, the delights of the, 272.

Earth, beauty of the, 244, n.

East, turning to the, at baptism, 181, n.

Education, Augustine disapproves of the mode of, in his day, 18.

Egyptians, Faustus' objection to the spoiling of the, 52, n.; gold of the, belongs to God, 156, and n., 157.

"Elect" of the Manichseans, 53, and n., 56, 92, n.; Augustine becomes one of the, 99; divine substance in the, 143, 270, n.

Eloquence, wit and, baits to draw man to the Word, 2, n.; Augustine begins to study, 41; Greek and Latin, Hierius' knowledge of, 73; of Faustus, 90, 91; of Ambrose, 104.

Enemies of God, who are the, 83, n.

Epicureanism, 137; popularity of, 137, n.

Eraclius, Augustine designates, as his successor, 290, n.

Esau, Jacob and, illustrations concerning, 149; his longing after the Egyptian food, 155, and n.

Eternal, on comprehending the, 299, 318, n.

Eternity, of God, 8, 158, and n.; relation of, to the mutable creature, 326; time has no relation to, 299; God's to-day is, 301; reason leads us to the necessity of a belief in, 315, n.; has no succession, 318, n.

Eucharist, oblations for the, 97, n.; regeneration necessary before the reception of the, 179, n., 228, n.; called by the ancients "' the sacrament of perfection;" maintains life which baptism gives, 375; Augustine's interpretation of the, 375, n.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Eunuchus, Terence's, 20, and n.

Eversores, or subverters, 40, n., 41.

Evil, whence is ? see Manichceans; Augustine's notions concerning, 46, n.; the chief, Augustine calls a Duad, 76; Manichaean doctrine of, 92, n., 101, 102; the cause of, 143, 144; origin of, 145, 146, 150; not a substance, 160, 162; Augustine's notion of, 160, n.

Evil habits bind like iron, 186, and n., 187; conviction powerless against, 188.
Evodius, became associated with Augustine, 220; he leads the singing at Monica's funeral, 231; Augustine's endeavours to unravel his difficulties as to the spirits in prison, 291, n.

Excess, by grace we avoid, 269.

Eyes, the lust of the, 275, 276.

Fables, Manichaean, 92, and n.; old wives'; 97; the use of, common with mediaeval writers, 292, n.

"Fair and Fit," Augustine's book as to the, 72, 78.

Faith, preaching leads to, 2; the Manicheans exalted reason at the expense of, 44, n.; the rule of, 54, 205; reason and, 117, 118, and n.; and sight, 379, n.

Fame, the emptiness of popular, 56.

Fasting enjoined by Justin Martyr as a preparation for baptism, 179, n., 267, n.

Faustus, a bishop of the Manicheans, goes to Carthage, 84; eloquence of, 90, 91; his knowledge superficial, 90, 91; distinction between his teaching and that of Ambrose, 105.

Fear, "pure," 58, n.; joy in proportion to past, 182, 183.

Fever, Nebridius falls sick of a, and dies, 62; Augustine is attacked by, 96.

Fichte's strange idea as to St. John's teaching concerning the Word, 341, n.

Fictions, Augustine's love of, 17, 20; evils of, 19, 20; results of, to Augustine, 39; Manichaean, 44; Augustine's reply to Faustus as to Manichaean, 117, n.

Fideles, the, 108.

Fig-tree, Manichaean delusions concerning, 52, 53.

Firmament, allegorical explanation of the, 364, 365, 373, n.

Firminius, a friend of Augustine's, 147; studies the constellations, and
relates a story to disprove astrology, 148, 149.

Fish of the sea, symbolical interpretation of the, 85, n., 375, n.

Flesh, the Word made, 152, 153, n., 154, 165-168, 287; as distinct from body, 164, n.

Forgetfulness the privation of memory, 253, 254.

Fortunatus, Augustine's controversy with, 142.

Free-will, 77, and n.; the cause of evil, 143, 144; absence of, the punishment of former sin, 198; the Pelagians held that through the power of, they could attain perfection, 234, n.

Friendship, of the world enmity to God, 16; false, 35, 36, 61; between Augustine and Nebridius, 61, 62; of Pylades and Orestes, 64; Lord Bacon's sentiments as to, 66, n.

Fruit, distinction between the "gift" and the, 384-386; of the earth allegorized, 384.

Funerals, Roman customs at, 230, n.; rites at Monica's, 231, and n.

Gassendi vitalized Epicureanism, 137, n.


Gibbon, his description of the amphitheatre of Titus, 124, n.; his charge of Platonism against Christianity, 153, n.

Gifts, diversities of, given by the Spirit, 369; distinction between the "gift" and the "fruit," 384-386.

Gnostic opinion as to the origin of the world, 388.

God, worthy of praise, 1, 82; man desires to praise Him, His power and wisdom, 1; true rest in Him only, 1, 36, 71, 283; knowledge of,

2; Augustine longs for that knowledge, 277, n.; omnipresence of, 2, 84; attributes of, 2-4, 33; naught can contain, 3; He filleth all things,
3; by filling them He created them, 67; majesty of, 3, 4, n.; unchangeableness of, 4, 44, 70, 83, n., 159; beauty of, 4, 44; always working, yet always at rest, 4, 394; imperfect man cannot comprehend the perfect, 4, n.; providence of, 5; eternal, 8, 158, and n.; is Truth, 43, 67, 86, 156, n., 157, n., 158, 260, 262, 345, and n.; sought wrongly not to b

INDEX OF SUBJECTS,

407

found, 46; His care of us, 54; held by the Manichaeans to be an unmeasured light, 56, n.; the true light, 76, n., 157, and n., 274; the source of light, 164, n.; the fountain of light, 283; the architect and artificer of His Church, 65, n.; wounds only to heal, 65, n.; should be our highest love, 67; all good is from, 71; unity of, 79; our supreme good, 81, 260, n.; to be preferred to learning, 104; Augustine's conception of, 139, 140, and n., 141, 145; incomprehensible, 140; incorruptibility of, 142, and n., 144; never suffers evil, 144; the Chief Good, 146; subjection to, our only safety, 151; the Word, 153, 154; "I am that I am," 158, 159, n.; hope and joy in Him alone, 238, 265; searchings after, 243-245; the Creator, 295; the Immutable Light of wisdom, 352, n.; the mercy of, in conveying His truth by symbols, 374. Gods, why the poets attributed wickedness to the, 18; Homer transfers things human to the, 19. Gold of Egypt, 156, and n., 157. Good, the Manichaeans taught that good and evil were primeval, and had independent existence, 46, n.; all, is from God, 71; Augustine's conception of the chief, 75, 146; God our Supreme, 81, 260, 353, n.; and evil illustrated, 160, n.; God saw that everything in creation was, 387, 388. Grace, the fulfilment of love, 335, n. Grammar, the Christians forbidden by Julian to teach, 185. Grammar schools, entrances of, covered
with veils, 16, and n.
Great, joy in the conversion of the,
184, 185, n.; influence of the, 185, n.
Greek, Augustine's dislike to, 15; the reason of his dislike, 17; his knowledge of, 152, n.; eloquence, Hierius' knowledge of, 73.
Greeks, led to Christ by philosophy,
152, n.
Grief, Augustine's, at the death of his friend, 62-64; at his mother's death, 230-233; effect of time on,
66; silence a good consoler in, 202, n.; at the death of friends natural,
230, n.

Habits, evil, bind like iron, 186, and
n., 187; conviction powerless against,
188.
Happiness, Christianity gives the golden key to, 75, n.; knowledge of God the highest, 87; the Word of God a fount of, 87, n.; whence comes true, 195; consummation of, in heaven only, 211, n.; not joy merely, but joy in God, 263.

Happy life, longings after the, 257-261; to be found in God only, 260.

Harts of the forests, 291, and n.

"Hearers" or catechumens, privileges of the, 53, n.; why Augustine never went beyond the rank of a, 56, n.; did not practise abstinence, 270, n.

Heart, the law written on the, 70, n.; humility exalts the, 72, n.; lifting up of the, 356, n.; of man, Augustine interprets the "deep" to mean,
362, n.

Heaven, rest in, 1, n., 393; the double, 319; the third, 320; the felicity of, 1, n.; fulness of reward in, 75, n.; consummation of happiness only in, 211, n.; a prepared place for prepared people, 357, n.; and earth shall pass away, but not the Word, 366; the peace of,
393.

Heaven and earth, different interpretations of, 335.

Heavenly bodies, motions of the, not time, 309, 310.

Hebrew, Augustine had no knowledge of, 293, and n.
Hedonism and Epicureanism, 137, n.
Hedonists, their "good" is their own pleasure, 75, n.
Helpidius, disputes with the Manichajans, 103.
Heresies confirm the truth, 169.
Hierius, a native of Syria, an orator of Home; Augustine dedicates his books on the "Fair and Fit" to, 73.
Hippocrates, Vindicianus early understood, 60.
Holy City, light, life, and joy of the, is in God, 353, n.
Holy Spirit, why spoken of in Genesis as "borne over," 355; brings us to God, 355, 356.
Homer, distasteful to Augustine because it was Greek, 17; fictions of, 19.
Honoratus, a friend of Augustine, at one time a Manichsean, 106, n.
Hope, we are saved and made happy by, 75, n.; all, is in the mercy of God, 265.
Hope and joy in God alone, 238.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Horace, quotation from, 65.
Horoscope - casters, Vindicianus begs Augustine to throw away the books of the, 60.
Horteiisius, Cicero's, 19; Augustine's study of, 41; he is stimulated to wisdom thereby, 152, n., 194, 195.
Hour-glasses of Augustine's time, 290.
Human life a distraction, 31 6.
Humanity of Christ, 63, n., 96, n., 168, n.; Augustine thinks it profane to believe in the, 102; Manichaeans' belief as to the, 102, n.

Humiliation of Christ for us, 71; to draw us to Himself, 72, n.

Humility, childhood the emblem of, 23; exalts the heart, 72, n.; the holy, of Scripture, 119.

Hyle or matter, the evil principle of the Manichaeans, 77, n.

'Ix^us, emblem of the, 375, n.

Ignorance, danger of, 5, n.

Illumination, the washing of baptism, 179, n., 361, n., 371, n.

Image of God, man created in the, 113, n.

Importunity, Monica's, to the bishop, 55.

Incarnation of Christ, Manichaeans' notion of the, 102, n.; a mystery to Porphyry, 285.

Infancy, sin in, 5, n.; waywardness in, 6, 9; prone to sin, 8-10; its innocence is not in its will, but in its weakness, 9.

Injury man does himself by sin, 83, nn.

Intuitionists, their "good" lies in following the dictates of conscience, 75, n.

Jacob and Esau, illustration concerning, 149.

Jerome, his knowledge of Hebrew, 293.
Jerusalem, Augustine longs for the heavenly, 333, and n.; the mother of us all, 357, n.

Jews, the, their influence on Neo-Platonism, 179, n.; Julian the Apostate favoured the, and encouraged them to rebuild the temple, 186, n.

Jove, 19.

Joy, true, to be found in the Creator only, 33; true and false, 120; source of true, 120, 260; in proportion to past fear, 182, 183: in the conversion of the great, 184, 185, n.; and hope, in God alone, 238.

Julian, the Emperor, forbade the Christians to teach grammar and oratory, 185; he favoured Paganism, the Donatists, and the Jews, 185, 186.

Juno, 19.

Justice and mercy, illustration of God's, 216, n.

Justin Martyr, 153; how converts were received in his time, 179, n.

Justina, persecution of Ambrose by, 219, and n.

fUp and ana distinguished, 172, n.

TTTT

Knowledge of God, 2; the highest happiness, 87; Augustine's great aim was to attain, 276, n.; wonderful, 317, 318.

Knowledge, human, more sought than divine, 21, 22; curiosity affects a desire for, 32; Augustine's desire for, made him join the Manichaeans, 46, n.; has to do with action, 369, n.; not to be an end, 276; received by sight, 379; difference between that and divine, 394.

Latin, Augustine's love of, 15, 17.

Law of God, the same in itself, but different in application, 47, 48; of development in Scripture, 47; of death, 68, n.; written on the heart (lex occulta), 70, n.; and custom, 94; Levitical, concerning the division of beasts into clean and unclean,
112, n.; natural and moral, 366, n.

Laws, human, to be obeyed, 49, 50; God to be obeyed in, or contrary to laws, 49, 50, 52, and n.

Learning, rudiments of, distasteful to Augustine, 15; curiosity a help to, 18; vanity of, 21; knowledge of God to be appreciated above secular, 87; to be preferred to money, and God to it, 104.

Lentile, the Egyptian food, 155, n.

Liberal arts and sciences, 56, 79, 84; Faustus had no knowledge of the, 90, 91; Augustine sees that a knowledge of, does not lead to God, 276, n.

Licentius' notion concerning truth.
194, n.

Life, seeking for the blessed, 71; Christ our very, 71; longing after the blessed, 257-261; the misery of human, 264.

Light, the Manichseans held God to be an unmeasured, 56, n.; God the true, 76, and n., 274; and darkness.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

409

143, n.; God the unchangeable, 157, and n., 165; God the source of, 164, n.; that seen by Tobias, 273; that seen by Isaac and by Jacob, 274; the fountain of, 283; what Augustine understood by the Word in Genesis i. 3, 353.

Likeness to God, our, 113, n.

Little things, the power of, 222, n., 223.

Kiyos, the, 163, n., 166, 297.

Lord's Supper. See Eucharist.
Love, pure, 58, n.; God should be our highest, 67; love not to be condemned, but love in God is to be preferred, 70; of the beautiful, 72; of the world, 82; what it is to love God, 243; of praise, 279, 280, 282, n.; grace the fulfilment of, 335, n.; supremacy of the law of, 348, n.

Loving God purely, 58, and n.

Lust of the flesh, the, continency from, 265; analogy between, and one of our Lord's temptations, 265, n.; eating and drinking a, 267-270; of the eyes, curiosity stimulated by the, 275, 276; difference between it and love, 265, n.

Luther's Bible in Little, 213, n.

Madatjra, formerly an episcopal city, now a village Augustine learnt grammar and rhetoric there, 27.

Man, moved by God to delight in praising Him, 1; his existence from God, 2, 3; imperfect, cannot comprehend the perfect, 4, n.; made in God's image, 47, 113, n.; a great deep, 73; injures himself, not God, by sin, 83, nn.; Christ as, 154; a triad, 163; the trichotomy of, 163, n., 167, n.; the Mediator between God and, 165; Christ a perfect, 167, 170, n.; knoweth not himself. 243; God does not need, although He created him, 351, 354, and n.; faint signs of the Trinity in, 359, 360, and n.; how Augustine interprets the dominion of, over the beasts, 377; is renewed in the knowledge of God after His image, 378; knoweth nothing but by the Spirit of God, 389; on the creation of, 390; difference between his knowledge and God's, 394.

Manichseans, their materialistic views of God, 3, n., 56, n., 77, 101; Augustine falls into the errors of the, 43; the Scriptures obscured to their mocking spirit, 43, n., 55, n., 105, n.; Augustine later on accused them of professing to believe in the New Testament to entrap the unwary, 43, n., 92, n.; their system peculiarly enthralling to an ardent mind like Augustine's, 44, n.; kindred in many ways to modern Rationalism, 44, n.; Augustine attacks their notions concerning evil, 46; cavillings of the, 46, 102, 118, 299, 300, 317; their doctrine concerning good and evil, 46, n., 77, n., 92, n.; their delusions concerning the figtree, 52, 53; their reason for refusing to give bread to any but their own sect, 53, and n., 56; they held that God was an unmeasured light, 56, n.; their notion concerning the soul, 77, n.; when opposed, they pretended the Scriptures had been corrupted, 88, n., 103, andn.; their belief as to the humanity of Christ, 102, n.; their false and seducing continency, 123, and n.; Romanianus falls into the errors of, 135, n.; delusions of the, 142, n.; Augustine's anger against the. 213; Augustine refutes their opinions as to the origin of the world, 388.
Manichaeanism, cannot satisfy, 45; a strange mixture of the pensive philosophy of Persia with Gnosticism and Christianity, 46, n.

Manichaeus asserted that the Holy Ghost was personally resident in him, 88; asceticism of his followers, 191, n.

Manna, meaning of, 8, and n.

Marriage, Augustine desires, but his parents oppose it, 29.

Mars, 178.

Martyrdom, reason for exalting, 109, n.; described as a second baptism, 109, n.

Martyrs, honour done to the, 109, and n., 110, n.; two of the, buried in the Ambrosian Basilica, 220, and n.

Materialists, the, seek the common "good "of all, 75, n.

Mathematicians used no sacrifices in their divinations, 58; they drew their figures in dust or sand, 78, n., 149, n.

Matter, or Hyle, the evil principle according to Faustus, 77, n.; the Platonic theory concerning, 77, n.; God did not create the world from, but by His word, 294, 295; the

world not created out of, but by God's word, 295; Augustine's old notion as to, 321, 322; not created out of God's substance, 323; Augustine discusses whether it was from eternity or was made by God, 339.

Medea, 45.

Mediator, Christ the, 165, 170, n.; God and man, 285, and n.; or medius,
Memory, nature and power of, 246, 254; privation of, is forgetfulness, 253, 254; God cannot be attained unto by the power of; possessed by beasts and birds, 255, 256; manifoldness of, 255-258, 283; God dwells in the, 262.

Mercy, and misery, 7, n., 38; of God, all hope is in the, 265.

Milan, Augustine is sent to teach rhetoric at, 104; he recites his panegyric to the Emperor at, 119, n.; Church hymns and psalms first introduced at, 219.

Mind, Augustine turns his attention to the nature of the, 74; commands the body, 197, 198; Augustine refutes the Manicluan notion of two kinds of, 198, 199; four perturbations of the, 252; time the impression of things on the; future and past things in relation to the, 315.

Minerva, 178.

Ministers, how they should work, 376.

Miracles, the cessation of, and its probable result, 59, n., 78, n., 149, n.; wrought in behalf of Ambrose, 220, and n.; necessary to some ignorant men, 387; cessation of, 387, n.

Misery of the angels and their former excellence, 356.

Moderation in eating and drinking, 268.

Monachism, Antony the founder of, 190, and n.

Monad and Duad, 76, and n., 77, n.

Money, learning to be preferred to, 104.

Monica, the mother of Augustine, her obedience to her husband, 14; her dream concerning her son's conversion, 53; the wooden rule therein symbolical of the rule of faith, 54; her anxiety about her son; she goes to consult a certain bishop, 55; how her prayers for her son were answered, 54, 95, 96; her son deceives her, 95; her sorrow at his deception, 96; she never failed to make oblations at
God's altar twice a day, 97; object of her prayers, 98; her visions, 54, 98, 197; she follows her son over sea and land, and encourages the sailors in danger, 107; her confidence that she could not die without seeing her son a Catholic Christian, 108; her love for and her obedience to Ambrose, 109, 111; she gives up making offerings at the oratories, 111; she urges her son to marry, and chooses a wife for him, 134; early training and life of, 221, 224; her youthful love of wine, 222; how cured of it, 223; her conduct as a wife, 224, 225; her peacemaking and endurance, 225; she gains her husband to God, 226; her death draws near, 227; her last conversation with her son, 227, 228; her death at Ostia, 229, 230.

Monophysites still turn to the west in renouncing Satan, 180, n.

Montanus, the pretensions of, similar to that of the Manichseans, 89, n.

Moon, sun and, Manichsean belief as to the, 44; its falsity, 89, 92, and n.; influence of the, 143, n.; the natural man and the, 371.

Morality of the Manichaeans, 123.

Morals, authority and, 49.

Mortality, skins the emblem of, 166, and n., 364.

Mortification, pain better than, 136, and n.

Moses, 157, n.; on Mount Nebo, 332, n.; what he meant in book of Genesis, 344; he is supposed to have perceived all the truth in its words, 349.

Mountain of milk and curds, 210, and n.

Mountains of God, Augustine's interpretation of the, 353.

Music, church, effect of, on Augustine, 272.

Mysteries, of Scripture, God's reason for the, 8, n.; the mystery and simplicity of Scripture, 42, 119; the unfolding of God's, in the future life only, 194, n.; of Scripture, 291, n.; symbolized, 291, n.; wellregulated minds do not seek to pry into the, 359; when revelation is clear and devoid of, 366, n.; of God can be revealed by Him alone, 394.

Mystery or "sacrament," 178, n.

Natures, the two, 199, 200.
Nebridius, a goodly youth, Augustine's friend, 61, 147, 210; he left Carthage for Milan to be near Augustine, 129; tried to dissuade Augustine from belief in the astrologers, 61, 147; his argument against Manichgeanism, 141; consented to teach under Verecundus; his humility, 189; dies in Africa after the conversion of his household, 210; letter of Augustine to, 211.

Neo-Platonism, Aristotle and Zeno prepared the way for, 100, n.; Amelius developed and formulated, 152, n.; doctrine of, as to the "Word," 153, n.; as to the soul's capacity, 371, n.; Augustine speaks with admiration of, 177, n.

Neptune, 178.

New Song, the, of Praise, 1, n.

New Testament, the Manichaeans professed to believe in the, to entrap the unwary, 43, n.; adversity the blessing of the, 75, n.; the Manichseans asserted that the writings of, had been corrupted, 103, and n.

Obedience to teachers enjoined, 11; to princes, 50; to God, in or against human laws, necessary, 49, 50, 52.

Oblations, what they are, 97, n.; Monica made them twice a day, 97; offered at Queen Victoria's coronation, 97, n.; at the tombs of the martyrs, 109, n.

Odours, the attraction of, 271.

Oil of sinners, 282, and n.

Old Testament, its histories, typicaI and allegorical, 49, n.; prosperity the blessing of the, 75, n.
Omnipresence of God, 2.

Onesiphorus, hospitality of, 384.

Oratories, in memory of Cyprian, 95; in memory of the saints and martyrs, 109, and n.; offerings at the, forbidden by Ambrose and afterwards by Augustine; Monica discontinues hers, 110, and n.

Oratory, undue appreciation of, 21; the Christians forbidden by Julian to teach, 185.

Orestes and Pylades, 64.

Origen's knowledge of Hebrew, 293.

Origin, of the law of death, 68, n.; of evil, 145, 146, 150; of the human soul, Augustine on the, 337, n.; of the world, the Manichaean notion concerning the, 388.

Ostia, Augustine and his mother stay at, 226; she dies at, and is buried there, 229, 230.

Ovid, quotations from, 63, n. , 65.

Pachomitjs, the good done by the monks of, 191, n.

Paganism, Constantius enacted laws against, but Julian the Apostate reinstated it in its former splendour, 185, n.

Pain, spiritual and physical, better than mortification, 136, and n.

Paraclete, the, of the Manichseans, 43; Manichaeus asserted that He was personally resident in him, 88, and n.; the, the Spirit of Truth, 214.

Paradise, allegorized by some, 115, n.

Parents, make light of the childish troubles of their offspring, 12; ambition for their children's progress often injudicious, 13; our first, doctrine of the early Church concerning their immortality had they not sinned, 68, n.

Past and future, in the, there is time, 304; they exist only in the soul, 306.

Patriarchs, action* of the, prophetic,
49, and n.

Patricius, the father of Augustine, a poor freeman of Thagaste, he was only a catechumen when his son was in his sixteenth year, 28; he dies when Augustine is sixteen, 41; was at first unkind to his wife, but was melted by her enduring meekness, etc., 224, 225; is gained over to God by her, 226.

Paul, St., Augustine studies the writings of, 170; conversion of, 184, and n.; his rejoicing at the good works of the Philippians, 385.

Paul of Thebais, asceticism of, 190, n.

Peace of heaven, the only true, 393, n.

Pearl of great price, Augustine compares Christ to the, 176, n.

Pelagians, they laid claim to the attainment of perfection through power of free-will, 234, n.

Pelagius and the bishop, dispute between, 269.

Pelican, the fable of the, 292, n.

Pen of the Spirit, 170.

Phantasies, unreality of, 45; poetical fictions less dangerous than, 45, 46.

Phantasm, Augustine thinks of God as a, 63, 66; and of Christ also, 96, n., 101, 102; Augustine ceases to look upon God as a, 162.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Philo, the Therapeutse of, 190, n.

Philosophy, made the beginning of Augustine's conversion, 41; in Greek, the love of wisdom is called, 41; effect of, on the writings of the Fathers, 41, n.; the various schools of, 75, n.; revelation alone can reconcile the different systems of, 75, n.; the academic and other schools of,
100, n.; unsatisfying, 137, n.; led the Greeks to Christ, 152, n.; Augustine's opinion of the
various schools of, 153, n.; Plato's, the nearest to Christ, 177.
Photimus, heresy of, 169.
Pyrrhonists, doctrine of the, 100, n.
Piety, confession to God is, 88.
Plato, works of, compared with the Word of God, 87, n.; dogmatic and sceptical sides of
his philosophy, 100, n.; doctrine of, in connection with Christianity, 152, n., 170; parallels between his
doctrine and that of God, 158; much in Platonism in common with asceticism, 190, n.
Platonic theory of matter, 77, n.
Platonists, Augustine studies the books of the, probably those of Amelius,
152, and n.
Pleasures, carnal, the beasts of the

field symbolical of, 85, n., 86.
Tividfia, the, 163, n., 168, n.
Plotinus, theories of, 152, 153, n., 164.
Poetry, classical, evils of, 15-21.
Pompey, the ruse of, 222, n.
Pontitianus, a countryman of Augustine's, 189; his delight at finding Augustine reading
St. Paul's writings; he relates to him the history of Antony, 190.
Porphyry's pride in regard to the Incarnation of Christ, 285.
Poverty, in what that which displeases

God consists, 192, n.
Praise, God worthy of, 1; Augustine begins his book with, 1, n.; man desires to praise
God, 1, 82; God's, is inexhaustible, 1, 4, and n.; silence the highest, to God, 4, n.; love of
worldly, 73, 279, 280, 282, n.; sometimes not to be avoided, 281.
rayere, the manner of Easterns when at, 53, n., 95; God's answer to Monica's, 54; how He
answered them, 95; Augustine's faith strengthened by answer to, 216; for the dead,
232, 237.
Pleaching, leads to faith, 2; effect of Ambrose's, 2.

Pretium regium, meaning of, 129, n.

Pride, debases the heart, 72, n.; Augustine errs through, 74, 76, 78; birds of the air
symbolical of, 85, n.; temptation of, 278.

Priority of origin illustrated, 347.

Prodigal son, the, allusions to, 21, 45, 80.
Progress, the law of, in Scripture, 47.

ripoipepixis, i.e. "made flesh," 153, n., 297, n.

Prosperity the blessing of the Old Testament, adversity of the New, 75, n.

Providence of God, 5.

u X ixes, "soulish" or "natural,"
164, n.

Psalms and hymns first sung in church at Milan, 219; sung at death-beds and burials, 231, n.

Psaltery of ten strings, 50, and n.

Uupa.T'nnpiv, a "warfare," 264, n.

Vvx*, the, 163, n., 168, u.

Punishment of sin, 67, 83, n.; the absence of free-will a, 198.

Purgatory, prayers for the dead imply a belief in, 237, n.

Pylades and Orestes, 64.

yip") "the firmament," 373.

Rationalem, term applied to holy thing*, 384, n.

Eationalism, modern, Manichsean system kindred to, 44, n.

Reason, the Manichaeans exalted it at the expense of faith, 44, n.; and faith, 117, 118, n.; leads us to a belief in the necessity of eternity,
314, n.

Beddere, used of the creed, 180, n.

Regeneration, 1, n., 2, n.; necessary before receiving the Eucharist, 179, n.

Rest, true, in God alone, 1, 33, 36, 71, 120, n.; in heaven, ours here, an earnest of the future, 1, n.; God ever worketh and yet is always at rest, 393, 394.
Retirement, Augustine finds in, preparation for future work, 212, n.

Revelation, law of the development of, 48, n.; can alone reconcile the difficulties of the various systems of philosophy, 75, n.; is like a broad and deep river, 325, n.; devoid of mystery, 366, n.

Rhetoric, Augustine becomes head in the school of, 40; he teaches it at Thagaste, 57; then at Carthage, 66; then at Rome, 94.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Romanianus, a relative of Alypius, rich and talented, and good to Augustine, 135, and n.; is influenced by Augustine to embrace the Manichtean heresy, 135, n.; Augustine's explanation of his conversion to, 173, n.

Rome, Augustine's motive for wishing to go to, 94; he leaves, 104.

Rule, the wooden, seen by Monica in her dream, 54; symbolical of the Rule of Faith, 54, 205; the, or "line," of Ps. xix. 3, 4, 373, n.

Rumination, spiritual, 112, n.; of the harts, 291, n.

Sacrament, or mystery, 178, n.; confirmation, etc. sometimes spoken of by the Fathers as a, 179, n., 370, and n.

Sacrifices were used by the soothsayers in their divinations, 57.

Saint, a Manichsean, 52, n., 53, n.

Sallust, quotation from, 31.

Salt, seasoning with, on admission as a catechumen, 18, and n., 108, n.

2*pl, the "flesh," 164, n.

Satan, renunciation of, before baptism, 180.
Schools, Augustine disapproves of the method of instruction in, 18, 20; the different, of philosophy, etc., 153.

Science does not lead to God, 85, 276, n.

Sciences called "liberal," 56; Augustine read the books concerning, unaided, 79; Faustus was reputed to be skilled in, 84; but had no real knowledge of them, 90, 91.

Scipio's change of name, 184, n.

Scripture, God's reason for the mysteries in, 8, n.; veiled in mysteries, 42, 119; made plain to the "little ones," being obscured to the mocking spirit of the Manichseans, 43, n.; Manichsean perversion of, 43, n., 55, n.; they tried to deprive it of all authority, 44, n.; the law of progress in, 47, and n.; the Manichseans, when opposed, pretended that the, had been corrupted, 88, n.; what they censured in the, 102; Ambrose expounded the, every Lord's day, 113; "letter of, 115, n.; types in, 115, n.; Manichsean cavillings at, 118; authority of, 118, 119, 177, n.; belief in, 118, n.; plainness and depth of, 119, and n.; Augustine rejoices that he studied Plato before, and not the reverse, 169, 170; Augustine entreats of God

that he may be led to the truth through the study of, 290-292, 325, and n.; mysteries and right use of, 291, nn.; symbolized, 291, n.; the Hebrew and Greek, 293; awful depth of, 328; truth to be seen in, but not by all, 336.

Sea, allegorical explanation of the, 367, and n., 368, n.

Security, false, 271, and n.

Self-deception, Augustine's, 194.

Self-knowledge to be preferred to ignorance, 5, n.

Self-love and pride the sources of sin, 51.

Sense, God has given to each its proper pleasure as well as use, 82, n.

Sermons, Goodwin's description of the effect of, 109.
Shakespeare, quotation from, 60, n.

Shame, false, 21, 29.

Sight, the allurements of, 273; knowledge received by, 379; faith and, 379, n.

Silence, the highest form of praise to God, 4, n.; a consoler in grief, 202, n.

Simplicianus, and the Platonist, 166, n.; Augustine consults him about the renewing of his mind, 174, 176; he succeeded Ambrose as Bishop of Milan, 176; his skill, 177; his uncompromisingness, 178.

Sin, in infancy, 5, 8; original, 5, 8, 96; the Manichseans denied, 77, n.; guilt of, after baptism greater than before, 13; our motives to, 31, 33; love of, for the sin's sake, 34; self-love and pride the sources of, 51; its own punishment, 67, 83, n., 241, n.; the absence of free-will the punishment of former sin, 198; forgiveness of, after baptism, 235, and n.; has not substance, only weakness, 356, n.; Augustine compares it to blindness, 357, n.

Sinners cannot escape God, 83; injure themselves, not God, 83, nn.

Skins, Augustine makes, the emblem* of mortality, 166, and n., 364, n.

Sodom, the sea of, 38, and n.

Solomon, the enigma of, 46.

Son, the prodigal, 21.

Song of Ambrose and Augustine, 218 n.

Soothsayer, the, promises Augustine victory on certain conditions which he despises, 57.

Sorrow, why sent to us, 65, n.; effect of time and consolations of friends on, 66; effect of silence in, 202, n.
INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

Soul, Augustine fancied that he and Nebridius had only one soul between them, 65; invocation to it to return to God, 69; the Manichsean notion concerning the, 77, n.; sight or eye of the, 116; body, spirit, and, 163, n.; speculations concerning it after death, 291, n.; Augustine on the origin of the human, 337, n.; Neo-Platonic idea as to its capacity for seeing God, 371, n.

Sozomen's account of the origin of Monachism, 190, n.

Spirit, the letter and the, of Scripture, 115, and n.; body, soul, and, 163, n.; pen of the, 170, n.; leadings of the, 264; gifts of the, 369.

Spiritual body, the, 164, n.

Stage-plays, Augustine's love of, 38; reprobated by the Fathers, those who went to them being excluded from baptism, 38, n.

Stars, knowledge of the, etc., 85, 87, 88; Manichsean teaching as to the, false, 89; the catechumen to be content with the light of the moon and the, 370, 371.

"Srifaft*, the firmament, 373, n.

Stoics, the great year of the, 380, n.

Study, Augustine's distaste for, in boyhood, 14; Ambrose in his, 113.

Substance, corporeal, Augustine's idea of God as a, 139, 140, and n., 141, 142; God's substance incorruptible, 145; evil not a, 160; the two substances, 161; Augustine thinks of God as an incorruptible, 174; matter not created out of God's, 323; sins have not, 356, n.

Subverters, Augustine delighted in their friendship, although he abhorred their acts, 40; the name of a pestilent and licentious set of persons, also termed Eversores, 40, n., 41.

Sun, the Christian should always aspire to look at the, 371; when able to do so, 371; Christ the central, 373, n.

Sun and moon, Manichsean belief as to the, 44; proved false, 89, 92, and n.; influence of the, 143, n.

Sustinentia and continentia, difference between, 265, n.
Sylvester, bishop of Rome before Constantine, 59, n.

Symbols, use of, 112, n.; God's goodness in conveying His truth by, 374.

Symmachus the prefect sends Augustine to Milan, 104.

Sympathy, real and false, 15, 16, 38, 39; Christ's perfect human, 63,” n.

Syria, Hierius a native of, 73.

Tablets, matrimonial, 224, and n.

Talmud, illustrations of God's majesty in, 4, n.; of His mercy and justice in, 216, n.

Tears, why sweet to the unhappy, 63, 64.

Ti^i/irns, or artificer, God a, 65, n.

Te Deum, the song of Ambrose and Augustine, 218, n.

Telemachus the monk sacrificed his life to put an end to the circus fights, 126, n.

Temptation, the winds and waves of, stilled by Christ, 242, n.; life a, 265; as a testing, 265, n.; we should not court, 271, n.; Christ's, typical, 85, n., 265, n.

Terence, Eunuchus of, 20.

Testament, the Old and New, 75, n., 329.

Thagaste, Augustine's father a poor freeman of, 27; Augustine taught rhetoric there, 57; it was there Augustine met Nebridius, 61; Augustine leaves to go to Carthage, 66; the birthplace of Alypius, 121.

Thebes, Antony a native of; Paul the hermit of, 190, n.

Theft, Augustine commits, from his parents' table, 22; and later, he steals not from poverty, but the love of wrong-doing, 30, 32-35; innocent Alypius is apprehended for, 127.
Theophilus of Antioch's opinion concerning Adam's immortality, 68, n.

Theraputa; of Philo, the, 190, n.

Thorwaldsen, the Danish sculptor, dream of, 266, n.

Time, effect of, on grief, 66; God speaks to us in, 296, 297; has no relation to eternity, 299; itself a creature, therefore not before creation, 300, 301; what is, 301, 302; present, not long, 302, 303; cannot be measured, 304, 312, 313, and n., 314; nevertheless, there is past and future, 304; motions of the heavenly bodies not, 309, 310; of what is it the protraction, 311; the impression of things on the mind, 314; regarded as an agent, 316 n.; Augustine argues that it and the world had one beginning, 318; begins from the creation, not the creation from it, 348, n.; has no relation to God and His Word, 388.

Titus, amphitheatre of, 124, n.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

415

Tobias, the sight seen by, 273.

Toothache, Augustine suffers from, 216; De Quincey on, 216, n.

Tradition, Rabbinical, concerning the children of Israel, 48, n.; belief in, 118, n.

Tree of life, able to avert death from Adam, 68.

Triad, man a, 163.

Trichotomy of man, doctrine of the, 163, n., 167, n.

Triers, the monastery at, 191.
Trinity, the Manichsean notion of the, 43, n.; doctrine of the, conveyed in creation, 354; types of, in man, 359, 360, and n.; mystery of the doctrine of the, 359, n.; illustrations of the, 360, n.

Trouble, why sent to us, 65, n.; effect of time on, 66.

Truth, Augustine's desire and longing for, 43, 44; the Manichaeans abused the word truth, 43; God is, 43, 67, 86, 260, 262, 343, and n.; Augustine's despair of finding the, 101; is God's alone, 156, n.; heresies confirm, 169; Licentius' and Trygetius' notions concerning: the search after and the finding, 194, n.; joy in the, 261; he who finds, finds God, 262; Augustine begs that God will lead him to the, through the Scriptures, 290-292; wisdom and, 298; the discovery of, difficult, 319; to be seen in Scripture, but not by all, 336.

Trygetius' notion concerning truth, 194, n.

Tully, Augustine at one time thought the Holy Scriptures not to be compared in dignity to, 43; his contrary opinion, 87, n.; orations of, 91.

Types in Scripture, 115, n.; of the Trinity in man, 359, 360.

Universe, beauty of the, 83, n.

Victorinus, conversion of, 178.

Wax, writing on, 216, and n.
Way, Christ the, 170, n., 174.
Weeping, why sweet to the unhappy, 63, 64.

West, custom of turning to the, 180, n.

Wile, Monica fears that a, would prove an encumbrance to her son, 29; but afterwards seeks for one for him, 134.

Will, evil a perversion of the, 162; feebleness of, 199; conflict in the, 199-201; of God is eternal, 329.

Wine-bibbing, Ambrose forbids it at oratories, 110; Monica's, in her youth, 222; how cured, 223.

Wisdom, Augustine's love of, 41, 42,
130; the love of, called philosophy in Greek, 41; God enjoins man to behold, 88; Augustine stimulated to the love of, by Cicero's Hortensius, 152, n.; and truth, 298; of God eternal, 330, 331; the word of, given by the Spirit, 369, and n.

Wit, 2, n.; Augustine's, a snare to him, 80.

Wizards, Augustine's opinion of, 59, n.

Woman, creation of, 391, and n.

Wood, the cross called a ship of, 18, 19, n., 170, n.

Word, wit and eloquence baits to draw man to the, 2, n.; the written, likened to the swaddling-clothes of the child Jesus, 48, n.; made flesh, 152, 153, n., 154, 165-168, 287; God the, 153, 154; Christ the, 166; God created the world by His, 294, 295; God speaks to us eternally in His, 296, 297; the beginning of all things, 297; happiness of the spiritual creature to be found only in the, 352; the firmament the type of the, 364, 365; heaven and earth shall pass away, but not the, 366.

Word of God, eternal, 69; a fount of happiness, 87, n.; incorruptible, 142, and n.

Words and ideas, 11.

World, the things of this, are fleeting, 69, 70; love of the, 82; the sea likened to the wicked, 367, and n., 368, n.; the Manichaean and Gnostic opinion as to the origin of the, 388; the, was created out of nothing, 391.

Zeno and Aristotle prepared the way for Neo-Platonism, 100, n.
THE ANTI-PELAGIAN WORKS

SAINT AUGUSTINE,

BISHOP OF HIPPO.

Cranâ£ilatetl bv

PETER HOLMES, D.D., F.R.A.S.,

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS OF ROTHS;
AND CURATE OF PENNYCROSS, PLYMOUTH;

Rev. ROBERT ERNEST WALLIS, Ph.D.,

INCUMBENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, COXLEY, SOMERSET.

VOLUME III.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCLXXVI.
CONTENTS.

Extract from Augustine's "Retractations," Book II.,

Chap. Lxvi., on the De Gratia et Libera Arbitrio, . . 1

Two Letters from Augustine to Valentinus and the Monks of Adrumetum, and forwarded with the following Treatise, ....... 3

On Grace and Free-Will, . . . . .13

On Rebuke and Grace, . . . . . .69

On the Predestination of the Saints, . â€œ . . .119

On the Gift of Perseverance, . . . .171

Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, â€”

BOOK first, ...... 237

book second, ...... 270

BOOK third, ...... 296

BOOK fourth, ...... 328

NOTE.

Pages 1 to 68 are translated by Dr. Holmes; Page 69 to end, by Dr. Wallis.
DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO:

A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL.
By AUELLIUS AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo;

ADDRESS TO VALENTINUS AND THE MONKS OF ADRUMETUM,

AND COMPLETED IN "ONE BOOK:

WRITTEN IN A.D. 426 OR A.D. 427.

Extract from "The Retractations" Book II. chap. 66, respecting this Treatise.

There are some persons who suppose that the freedom of the will is denied whenever
God's grace is maintained, and who on their side defend their liberty of will so
peremptorily as to deny the grace of God. This grace, as they assert, is bestowed
according to our own merits. It is in consequence of their opinions that I wrote the book
entitled De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio. This work I addressed to the monks of
Adrumetum, in whose monastery first arose the controversy.

Adrumetum, a maritime city of Africa, was the metropolis of the Province of
Byzacium, as Procopius informs us, De Aedificiis Justiniani vi. It was in a monastery
here that the monks resided for whose instruction Augustine composed the two following
treatises, the former entitled De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, and the latter De
Correreptione et Gratia, in the year of Christ 426 or
427. In our opinion, no later date can be well assigned to these writings, inasmuch as they
are mentioned in The Retractations, which was published about the year 427; nor can
they be placed earlier in date, because they are in that work mentioned the very last.

XV. A

/871

2 EXTRACT FROM AUGUSTINE'S "RETRACTATIONS."

on that subject, and that in such a manner that some of them were obliged to consult me
thereon. The work begins with these words: "Propter cos qui librum hominis arbitrium
sic frcedicant" ["With reference to those persons who preach up the liberty of the human
will "].
TWO LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

AUGUSTINE TO VALENTINUS
AXD THE MONKS OF ADRUMETUM;
AND FOEWAEDED ' WITH THE FOLLOWING TEEATISE.

LET TEE L

[The 214th of Augustine's Epistles.]

TO MY VERY DEAR LORD AND BROTHER VALENTINUS, WORTHY OP ALL
HONOUR
AMONG THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST, AND TO THE BRETHREN THAT ARE
WITH
YOU, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. r 1 1 wo young men, Cresconius and Felix, have found their
_L way to us and introduced themselves as belonging to your brotherhood. They told us
that your monastery was disturbed with no small commotion, because certain amongst
you preach up Grace in such a manner as to deny that the will of man is free; and
maintain â€” a more serious matter â€” that in the day of judgment God will not render to
every man according to his works. At the same time, they pointed out to us, that several
of you do not entertain this opinion, but allow that the free-will of man is assisted by the
grace of God, so as to enable us to think and to do aright; so that, when the Lord shall
come to render unto every man according to his works,^ He shall find those works of
ours good which God has prepared for us to walk in.^ They who think this think rightly.

' See the Second Letter, chap. ii.


4 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [LET. I.
2. "I therefore beseech you, brethren," even as the apostle besought the Corinthians, "by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you." For, in the first place, the Lord Jesus, as it is written in the Gospel of the Apostle John, "came not to condemn the world, but that the world by Himself might be saved." Then, afterwards, as the Apostle Paul writes, "God shall judge the world when He shall come," as the whole Church confesses in the Creed, "to judge the quick and the dead." Now, I would ask, if there is no grace of God, how does He save the world? and if there is no freewill, how does He judge the world?

That book of mine, therefore, or epistle, which the above-mentioned brethren have brought with them to you, I wish you to understand in accordance with this faith, so that you may neither deny God's grace, nor uphold freewill in such wise as to separate the latter from the grace of God, as if without it we could by any means either think or do anything in God's way, an achievement which is quite beyond our power. On this account, indeed, it is, that the Lord when speaking of the fruits of righteousness said, "Without me ye can do nothing."

3. From this you may understand why I wrote the letter which has been referred to,* to Sixtus, presbyter of the Church at Rome, against the new set of Pelagian heretics, who say that the grace of God is bestowed according to our own merits, so that he who glories has to glory not in the Lord, but in himself, that is to say, in man, not in the Lord.

This, however, the apostle forbids in these words: "Let no man glory in man;" while in another passage he says, "He that glorieth let him glory in the Lord." But these heretics, under the idea that they are justified by their own selves, just as if God did not bestow on them this gift, but they themselves obtained it by themselves, consistently enough glory in themselves, and not in the Lord. Now, the apostle asks the question, "Who maketh thee to differ from another?" and this he does on the ground that out of the mass of perdition

1 John iii. 17. - Rom. iii. 6. ^ John xv. 5.
" Ep. 194. â– "' 1 Cor. iii. 21.

6 1 Cor. i. 31, and 2 Cor. x. 17. ^ 1 Cor. iv. 7.

LET. I. [GOOD OR EVIL DESIGETS ARE WITHIN US. 5

which arose from Adam, none but God puts any difference on a human being to make him a vessel to honour, and not to dishonour.^ Lest, however, the carnal: man in his foolish pride should, on hearing the question, "Who maketh thee to differ from another?" either in thought or in word answer and say: My faith, or my prayer, or my righteousness causes me to differ from other men, the apostle at once adds these words to his question, and so meets all such notions of the carnal man, saying, "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou didst not receive it?"^ Now, they boast as if they did not receive their gifts by grace, who
think that they are justified of their own selves, and who, on this account, glory in themselves, and not in the Lord.

4. There are within us either good or evil deserts. Therefore I have in this letter, which now reaches you, shown by passages of Holy Scripture, which you can examine for yourselves, that our good works and pious prayers and a right faith could not possibly have been developed in us unless we had received them all from Him, concerning whom the Apostle James says, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." And no man can say that it is by the merit of his own works, or owing to his own prayers, or by virtue of his own faith, that God's grace has been conferred upon him; nor suppose that the doctrine is true which those heretics hold, that the grace of God is given us in proportion to our own deservings. This is altogether a most erroneous opinion; not, indeed, because there is no good desert in pious persons, or evil in impious ones (for how else shall God judge the world?)* but because a man is converted by that mercy and grace of God, of which the Psalmist says, "As for my God, His mercy shall prevent me;" so that the unrighteous man is justified, that is, becomes just instead of righteous, and begins to possess that good desert which God will crown when the world shall be judged.

5. There was a good deal of information which I wanted to send you, by the perusal whereof you would have been able

1 Ftom. ix. 21. 2 1 Cor. iv. 7. ^ Jas. i. 17.

* Rom. iii. 6. 'â– å¥¢ Ps. lix. 10.

6 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [LET. L

to gain a more exact and plenary knowledge of what has been done by the bishops in their councils against these Pelagian heretics. But the brethren were in haste who came to us from your company. By them we have sent you this letter; which is, however, not an answer to any commimication, because, in truth, they brought us no epistle from your beloved selves. Yet we had no hesitation in receiving them; for their simple manners proved to us clearly enough that there could have been nothing unreal or deceptive in their visit to us. They were, however, in much haste, as wishing to spend Easter at home with you; and my earnest prayer is, that so sacred a day may, by the Lord's help, bring peace to you, and not dissension.

6. You will, indeed, take the better course (as I earnestly request you), if you will not refuse to send to me the very person by whom they say they have been disturbed. For [one of two things has probably happened] either he does not understand my book, or else, perhaps, he is himself misunderstood, when he endeavours to solve and explain a question which is a very difficult one, and intelligible to few. For it is none other than the question of God's grace which has caused persons of no understanding to think that the
Apostle Paul prescribes it to us as a rule, "Let us do evil that good may come." It is in reference to these that the Apostle Peter writes in his second Epistle: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent, that ye may be found of Him in peace, without spot and blameless: and account that the longsuffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them in these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction."

7. Take good heed, then, to these fearful words of the great apostle; and when you feel it, then put your faith in the inspired word of God, and believe both that man's will is free, and that there is also God's grace, without whose help man's free-will can neither be turned towards God, nor make any progress in God. And what you piously believe, that pray that you may have a wise understanding of. And, indeed, it is for this very purpose, that is, that we may have a wise understanding, that we are endowed with a freedom of will. For if we had not a perfect liberty in understanding and exercising wisdom, it would not be enjoined to us in the words of Scripture, "Understand now, ye simple among the people; and ye fools, at length be wise." The very precept and injunction which calls on us to be intelligent and wise, requires also our obedience; and without could exercise no obedience without liberty of will. If, indeed, it were in our power to obey this precept to be understanding and wise by our free choice merely, without the help of God's grace, it would be unnecessary to say to God, "Give me understanding, that I may learn Thy commandments;" nor should it have been written in the gospel, "Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures;" nor should the Apostle James address us in such words as, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." But the Lord is able to grant, both to you and to us, that we may rejoice over very speedy tidings of your peace and pious unanimity. I send you greeting, not in my own name only, but of the brethren also who are with me; and I ask you to pray for us with one accord and with all earnestness. The Lord be with you.

LETTEE II

[The 215th of Augustine's Epistles.]
TO MY VERT DEAR LORD AND BROTHER VALENTINUS, WORTHY OF ALL HONOUR AMONG THE MEMBERS OF CHRIST, AND TO THE BRETHREN THAT ARE WITH YOU, AUGUSTINE SENDS GREETING IN THE LORD.

1. rpiHAT Cresconius and Felix, and another Felix, the JL servants of God, who came to us from your brotherhood, have spent Easter with us is known to your love.^ We

1 Ps. xciv. 8 (Sept.). - Ps. cxix. 73. ^ L^e xxiv. 45. * Jas. i. 5.
* [The phrase of Christian salutation, vestra caritas = "your loving or Leioved selves."

8 A TREATISE ON GEACE AND FREE-WILL. [LET. II.

detained them somewhat longer in order that they might return to you better instructed against the new set of Pelagian heretics, into whose error every one falls who supposes that it is in proportion to any human merits that the grace of God is given to us, which alone delivers a man through Jesus Christ our Lord. But he, too, is in no less error who thinks that, when the Lord shall come to judgment, a man is not judged according to his works who has been able to use throughout his life perfect freedom of will. For only infants, who have not yet done any works of their own, either good or bad, will be condemned for original sin alone, when they have not been delivered by the Saviour's grace in the laver of regeneration. As for all others who, in the use of their free will, have added to the sin of their birth sins of their own commission, but who have not been delivered by God's grace from the power of darkness, and removed into the kingdom of Christ, will receive judgment according to the deserts not of their original sin only, but also of the acts of their own will and choice.
The good, indeed, shall receive their reward according to the merits of their own good-wiU, but then they received this very good- will through the grace of God; and thus is accomplished that sentence of Scripture, " Indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile: but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile."^  

2. Touching the very difficult question of free-will and grace, I felt no need of treating it further in this letter, having given them another letter also when they were about to return in greater haste. I w rote a book likewise for you,^ and if you, by the Lord's help, read it, and have a lively understanding of it, I think that no further dissension on this subject will arise among you. They take with them other documents besides, which, as we supposed, ought to be directed to you, in order that from these you may ascertain what means the Catholic Church has adopted for repelling, in God's mercy, the poisonous principles of the Pelagian heresy. Now, our letter
1 Rom. ii. 8, 9.

2 The following treatise is here referred to, “De Gratid et Libera ArUtrlo.”

LET. II.] THE TEACHING OF ST. CYPRIAN. 9

to Pope Innocent, Bishop of Rome, on the Council of the province of Carthage, and on the Council of Numidia, and one held with exceeding care by the five bishops, and his rescripts to these three; our letter also to Pope Zosimus about the African Council, and his rescript addressed to all bishops throughout the world; and a brief constitution, which we drew up against the error itself for a later plenary Council of all Africa; and the above-mentioned book of mine, which I have just written for you, “all these we have both read over with them, while they were with us, and have now despatched by their hands to you.”

3. Furthermore, we have read to them the work of the most blessed martyr Cyprian on the Lord’s Prayer, and have pointed out to them how He taught that all things pertaining to our morals, which constitute right living, must be sought from our Father which is in heaven, lest, by presuming on our liberty of will, we fall from divine grace. From the same treatise we have also shown them how the same glorious martyr has taught us that it behoves us to pray even for our enemies, who have not yet believed in Christ, that they may believe; which would of course be all in vain unless the Church believed that even the evil and unbelieving wills of men might, by the grace of God, be converted to good. This book of St. Cyprian, however, we have not sent you, because they told us that you possessed it among yourselves already.

My letter, also, which had been sent to Sixtus, presbyter of the Church at Rome, and which they brought with them to us, we read over with them, and pointed out how that it had been written in opposition to those who say that God’s grace is bestowed according to our merits, “all that is to say, in opposition to the same Pelagians.”

4. As far, then, as lay in our power, we have used our influence with them, as both your brethren and our own, with a view to their persevering in the soundness of the Catholic faith, which neither denies our liberty of will whether to choose an evil or a good life, nor attributes to it so much power that it can avail anything without God's grace, or that it can change itself from evil to good, or persevere in the pursuit of good, or

> See Ep. 175-177, and 181-183. 2; p_ 194

10 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [LET. II

attain to eternal good with no further fear of failure. To yourselves, too, my most dearly beloved, I, even in this letter, give the same exhortation which the apostle addresses to us.
all, " not to think of yourselves more higlily than you ought to think; but to think soberly,
according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." ^

5. Mark well the counsel which the Holy Ghost gives us by Solomon: " Make straight
paths for thy feet, and order thy ways aright. Turn not aside to the right hand nor to the
left, but turn away thy foot from the evil way; for the Lord knoweth the ways on the right
hand, but those on the left are perverse. He will make thy ways straight, and will direct
thy steps in peace." ^ Now consider, my brethren, that in these words of Holy Scripture,
if the will were not free to choose, it would not be said, " Make straight paths for thy feet,
and order thy ways; turn not aside to the right hand, nor to the left." Nor yet, were this
possible for us to achieve without the grace of God, would it be afterwards added, " He
will make thy ways straight, and will direct thy steps in peace."

6. Decline, therefore, neither to the right hand nor to the left, although the paths on the
right hand are praised, and those on the left hand are blamed. This is why he added,
" Turn away thy foot from the evil way," â€” that is, from the left-hand path. This he
makes manifest in the following words, saying, " For the Lord knoweth the ways on the
right hand; but those on the left are perverse." In those ways we ought surely to walk
which the Lord knows; and it is of these that we read in the Psalm, " The Lord knoweth
the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish;" ^ for this way, which is
on the left hand, the Lord does not know.
As He will also say at last to such as are placed on His left hand at the day of judgment:
"I know you not." ^ Now what is that which He knows not, who knows all things, both
good and evil, in man? But what is the meaning of the words, " I know you not," unless
it be that you are now such as I never made you? Precisely as that passage runs, which is
spoken of the Lord Jesus Christ, that "He knew no sin." ^

' Kom. xii. 3. 2 prov. iv. 26, 27 {Sept.). 3 pg. j. g.
* Matt. vii. 23. ^ 2 Cor. y. 21.

LET. II. | OUR OWN WILL INSUFFICIENT. 11

How knew it not, except that He had never made it? And, therefore, how is to be
understood the passage, " The ways which are on the right hand the Lord knoweth,"
except in the sense that He made those ways Himself, â€” even " the paths of the
righteous," which no doubt are " those good works that God," as the apostle tells us, "hath
before ordained that we should walk in them" ^ Whereas the left-hand ways â€” those
perverse paths of the unrighteous â€” He truly knows nothing of, because He never made
them for man, but man made them for himself. Wherefore He says, " The perverse ways
of the wicked I utterly abhor; they are on the left hand."

7. But this is the answer we get: Why did He say, " Turn not aside to the right hand, nor
to the left," when he clearly ought rather to have said. Keep to the right hand, and turn not
off to the left, if the right-hand paths are good? On what principle do we think so, except this, that the paths on the right hand are so good that it is not good to turn off from them, even to the right? For that man, indeed, is to be understood as declining to the right who chooses to attribute to himself, and not to God, even those good works which appertain to right-hand ways. Hence it was that after saying, "For the Lord knoweth the ways on the right hand, but those on the left hand are perverse" (as if the objection were raised to Him, Wherefore, then, do you not wish us to turn aside to the right?), He immediately added as follows: "He will Himself make thy paths straight, and will direct thy ways in peace." Understand, therefore, the precept, "Make straight paths for thy feet, and order thy ways aright," in such a sense as to know that whenever you do all this, it is the Lord God who enables you to do it.

Then you will not turn off to the right, although you are walking in right-hand paths, not trusting in your own strength; and He will Himself be your strength, who will make straight paths for your feet, and will direct your ways in peace.

8. Wherefore, most dearly beloved, whosoever says. My own will suffices for me to perform good works, declines to the right. But, on the other hand, they who think that a good way of life should be forsaken, when they hear God's grace

' Eph. ii. 10.

12 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [LET. IL

preached up so intensely as to lead to the supposition and belief that it of itself turns men's wills from being evil to becoming good, and it even of itself guards and keeps them after it has turned them, and who, as the result of this opinion, go on to say, "Let us do evil that good may come."® these persons decline to the left. This is the reason why he said to you, "Turn not aside to the right hand, nor to the left;" in other words, do not uphold free-will in such wise as to attribute good works to it without the grace of God, nor so defend and maintain grace as if, by reason of it, you may love evil works in security and safety, ® which may God's grace itself avert from you!

Now it was the words of such thinkers as these which the apostle had in view when he said, "What shall we say, then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?"® And to this cavil of erring men, who know nothing about the grace of God, he returned such an answer as he ought in these words: "God forbid. How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" Nothing could have been said more succinctly, and yet to the point.

For what more useful gift does the grace of God confer upon us, in this present evil world, than our dying unto sin?

Hence he shows himself ungrateful to grace itself who chooses to live in sin by reason of that whereby we die unto sin.

May God, however, who is rich in mercy, grant you both to think soundly and wisely, and to continue perseveringly and progressively to the end in every good determination
and purpose. For yourselves, for us, for all who love you, and for those who hate you, pray that this gift may be attained, â€” pray earnestly and vigilantly in brotherly peace. Live unto God. If I deserve any favour at your hands, let brother riorus come to me.

1 Eom. iii. 8. " Eom vi. 1, 2.

ON GEACE AND FREE-WILL. H ^^ A-T).

IN THIS TREATISE THE AUTHOR TEACHES US NOT TO MAINTAIN GRACE BY DENYING FREE-WILL, NOR FREE-WILL BY DENYING GRACE; FOR THAT IT IS EVIDENT FROM THE TESTIMONY OF SCRIPTURE THAT THERE IS IN MAN'S WILL AN INHERENT LIBERTY OF CHOICE; THAT THERE ARE ALSO IN THE SAME SCRIPTURES INSPIRED PROOFS GIVEN OF THAT VERST GRACE OF GOD WITHOUT WHICH WE CAN DO NOTHING GOOD. AFTERWARDS, IN OPPOSITION TO THE PELAGIANS, HE PROVES THAT GRACE IS NOT BESTOWED IN PROPORTION TO OUR MERITS. HE EXPLAINS HOW ETERNAL LIFE, WITH WHICH GOOD WORKS ARE RECOMPENSED, IS REALLY OF GRACE. HE THEN GOES ON TO SHOW THAT THE GRACE WHICH IS GIVEN TO US THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IS NEITHER THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAW, NOR NATURE, NOR SIMPLY REMISSION OF SINS; BUT THAT GRACE ITSELF MAKES US FULFIL THE LAW, AND CAUSES NATURE TO BE LIBERATED FROM THE DOMINION OF SIN. HE DEMOLISHES THAT VAIN SUBTERFUGE OF THE PELAGIANS, TO THE EFFECT THAT " GRACE, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT BESTOWED ACCORDING TO THE MERITS OF GOOD WORKS, IS YET GIVEN IN PROPORTION TO THE DESERTS OF THE ANTECEDENT GOOD-WILL OF THE MAN WHO BELIEVES AND PRAYS." HE INCIDENTALLY TOUCHES THE QUESTION, WHY GOD COMMANDS WHAT HE MEANS HIMSELF TO GIVE, AND WHETHER HE IMPOSES ON US ANY COMMANDS WHICH WE ARE UNABLE TO PERFORM. HE CLEARLY SHOWS THAT THE LOVE
WHICH IS INDISPENSABLE FOR FULFILLING THE COMMANDMENTS IS ONLY
WITHIN US FROM GOD HIMSELF. HE POINTS OUT THAT GOD WORKS IN
men's HEARTS TO INCLINE THEIR WILLS WHITHERSOEVER HE WILLETH,
EITHER TO GOOD WORKS ACCORDING TO HIS MERCY, OR TO EVIL ONES IN
RETURN FOR THEIR DESERTS â€” HIS JUDGMENT, INDEED, BEING
SOMETIMES MANIFEST, SOMETIMES HIDDEN, BUT ALWAYS RIGHTEOUS. LASTLY, HE
TEACHES US THAT A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF THE GRATUITOUSNESS OF
GRACE, NOT GIVEN IN RETURN FOR OUR DESERTS, IS SUPPLIED TO US IN
THE CASE
OF THOSE INFANTS WHICH ARE SAVED, WHILE OTHERS PERISH THOUGH
THEIR CASE IS IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF THE REST.

CiiAP. 1. [i.] â€” The occasion and argument of this work.

'"TTTITITH reference to those persons who preach up the
T T liberty of the human will, and maintain it with such
pertinacity as boldly to deny, and endeavour to do away with,
that graca of God which calls us to Him, and delivers us from
the evils we have deserved, whereby also we obtain the

14 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 2.

meritorious qualities which lead to everlasting life, we have already said a good deal in
discussion, and committed it to writing, so far as the Lord has vouchsafed to enable us.
But since there are some persons who [take the opposite course, and] so defend God's
grace as to deny man's free-will, or else suppose that free-will is denied when grace is
defended, I
have determined to write some thoughts on this point to your love, my brother
Valentinus, and the rest of you, who are serving God together under the impulse of a
mutual charity. -^^
Now it has been told me concerning you, brethren, by some members of your
brotherhood who have visited us, and are the bearers of this communication of ours to
you, that there are dissensions among you on this subject. This, then, being the case,
dearly beloved, I counsel you not to be disturbed by the obscurity of this question, and to
thank God for such things as you understand; but as for all which is beyond the reach of
your mind, pray for understanding from the Lord, observing, at the same time, peace and
charity among yourselves; and until He Himself lead you to perceive what at present is
beyond your comprehension, walk firmly on the ground of which you are sure. This is the
advice of the Apostle Paul, who, after saying that he was not yet perfect,^ a little later adds, " Let us, therefore, as many as are perfect, be thus minded,"^ â€” meaning perfect to a certain extent, but not having attained to a perfection sufficient for us; and then immediately adds, " And if, in any thing, ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule."^ For by walking according to our present attainments we shall advance to further stages of knowledge, â€” God revealing to us [degrees of truth] if we have other views about it [in our immature minds at present], provided we do not give up what portions thereof He has already revealed to us.

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” Reproves the existence of free-will in man from the precepts addressed to him by God; these precepts are given that there may be no excuse from ignorance.

Now He has revealed to us, through His Holy Scriptures, that there is in man's will a liberty of choice. But how He
1 Phil. iii. 12. ^ pj^ij, ju, 15, 3 ^hW. iii. 16.

CHAP. 3.] THE WILL HA.TH LIBERTY TO CHOOSE. 1 5

has revealed this I do not attempt to explain by human testimony, but by divine. There is, to begin with, the fact that trod's precepts themselves would be of no use to a man unless his will were at full liberty to choose, so that by its assent he might-obtain the promised reward as he obeys the precepts.' For these are given that no one might be able to plead the excuse of ignorance, as the Lord says concerning the Jews in the gospel: " K I had not come and spoken unto them, they would not have sin; but now they have no cloak [or excuse] for their sin."^ Of what sin does He speak but of that great one which He foreknew, while speaking thus, that they would make their own â€” that is, the death they were going to inflict upon Him? For they had no sin before Christ came to them in the flesh. The apostle also says:
" The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of Him are from the creation of the world clearly seen â€” being understood by the things that are made â€” even His eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse."^ In what sense does he pronounce them to be " without excuse," except of such excuse as human pride is apt to allege in such words as, " If I had only known, I would have done it; I did not do it because I was ignorant of it;" or, " I would do it if I knew how; but I do not know, therefore I don't do it "? All such excuse is removed from them when the precept is given them, or the knowledge is made manifest to them how to avoid sin.

Chap. 3. â€” Sinners are convicted when attempting to excuse themselves by blaming God, because they have free-will.
There are, however, persons who attempt to find excuse for themselves even from God. The Apostle James says to such:

"Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man. But every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. Then, when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, 'John XV. 22. - Eom. i. 18-20.

IG A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 4.

bringeth forth death." ^ Solomon, too, in his book of Proverbs, has this answer for such as wish to find an excuse for themselves from God Himself: " The folly of a man spoils his ways; but he blames God in his heart." ^ And in the book of Ecclesiasticus we read: " Say not thou, It is through the Lord that I fell away; for thou oughtest not to do the things that He hateth: nor do thou say, He hath caused me to err; for He hath no need of the sinful man. The Lord hateth all abomination, and they that fear God love it not. He Himself made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of His counsel. If thou be willing, thou shalt keep His commandments, and perform true fidelity. He hath set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thine hand unto whether thou wilt. Before man is life and death, and whichever pleaseth him shall be given to him." ^ Observe how very plainly is set before our view the liberty of the human will.

Chap. 4. â€“ The divine commands which are most suited to the will itself illustrate its freedom.

What is the import of the fact that in so many passages God requests His commandments to be kept and fulfilled, and of the way in which He makes this request, if the will is not free? What means "the happy man," of whom the Psalmist says that " his pleasure [or will] * has been in the law of the Lord 1"® Does he not clearly enough show that a man, by his own will and choice, takes his stand in the law of God? Then, again, there are so many commandments which in a certain way expressly adapt themselves to the human will; for instance, there is, " Be not overcome of evil," ^ and others of similar import, such as, " Be not like a horse or a mule, which have no understanding; " ^ and, " Eject not the counsels of thy mother; " ^ and, " Be not wise in thine own conceit; " ^ ^ and,

" Despise not the chastening of the Lord; " ^ ^ and, " Forget not my law; " ^ ^ and, " Forbear not to do good to the poor; " ^ ^

and, " Devise not evil against thy friend; " ^ ^ and, " Give no


* fiyiio, (Sept.) * Ps. i. 2. * Eom. xii. 1.
heed to a worthless woman; " and, " He is not inclined to understand how to do good; "^ and, " They refused to attend to my counsel; "^ with numberless other passages of the inspired Scriptures. And what do they all show us but the liberty of man's will in its preferences and choice? So, again, in the evangelical and apostolic portions alike of the New Testament what other lesson is taught us? As when it is said, " Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth; "^ " and, " Fear not them which kill the body; "^ and, " If any man will come after me, let him deny himself; "^ and again, " Peace on earth to men of good will."^ So also what the Apostle Paul says: " Let him do what he willeth; he sinneth not if he marry. Nevertheless, he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his ^ virgin, doeth well."^^ And so again, " If I do this willingly, I have a reward; "^ while in another passage he says, " Be ye sober and righteous, and sin not; "^*^ and again, " As ye have a readiness to will, so also let there be a prompt performance;"^^ then he remarks to Timothy about the younger widows, " When they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they choose to marry." So in another passage, " All that will [or choose] to live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; "^^ while to Timothy himself he says, " Neglect not the gift that is in thee."^^ Then to Philemon he addresses this explanation: " That thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but of thine own will."^* Servants also he advises to obey their masters " with a good will."^^ In strict accordance with this, James: " Do not err, my beloved brethren . . . and have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons; "^^ and, " Do not speak evil one of another."^^ So also John in his Epistle writes, " Do not love the world,"^^ and other things of the same import. Now wherever it is said, " Do not do this," and " Do not do that," and wherever there is any

1 Prov. V. 2. 2 ps_ xxjvci. 3 {Sept.}. _ 3 p^Qy i ^0 (Sept.).


' '' 1 Cor. XV. 34. " 2 Cor. viii. 11. ^" 2 Tim. iii. 12.
18 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CEAP. 5.

requirement in the divine admonitions for the work of the will to do anything, or to refrain from doing anything, there is at once a sufficient proof of the liberty of the will. No man, therefore, when he sins, can in his heart blame God for it, but every man must impute the fault to himself. Nor does it detract at all from a man's own freedom of will when he performs any act in accordance with the will of God. Indeed, a work is then to be pronounced a good one when a person does it willingly; then, too, may the reward of a good work be hoped for from Him concerning whom it is written, "He shall reward every man according to his works." ^

Chap. 5. â€” He shows that ignorance affords no such excuse as shall free the other from punishment; that to sin with knowledge is a graver thing than to sin in ignorance. Ignorance is twofold, â€” of those who are unwilling to know, and simply of those who lack knowledge.

All excuse such as men are in the habit of alleging from ignorance is really removed from those persons who are acquainted with God's commandments. Nor will every one be exempt from punishment who know not the law of God. 
"For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law." ^ Now the apostle does not appear to me to have said this as if he meant that they would have to suffer something worse who in their sins are ignorant of the law than they who know it. [iii.] It is seemingly worse, no doubt, "to perish" than "to be judged," but inasmuch as he was speaking of the Gentiles and of the Jews when he used these words, the former being without the law, which the latter formally received, who can venture to say that the Jews who sin in the law will not perish, since they refused to believe in Christ, when it was of them that the apostle said, "They shall be judged by the law," ? For without believing in Christ no man can be delivered; and therefore the judgment which they shall undergo will be that they perish. If, indeed, the condition of those who are ignorant of the law of God is worse than the condition of those who know it, how can that be true which 'the Lord says in the gospel: "The servant who knows not his lord's will, and
> Matt. xvi. 27. ^ Rom. n 12.
commits things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; whereas the servant who knows his lord's will, and commits things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with many stripes "? ^ Observe how clearly He here shows that it is a graver matter for a man to sin with knowledge than in ignorance. And yet we must not on this account betake ourselves for refuge to the shades of ignorance, with the view of finding our excuse therein. It is one thing to be ignorant, and another thing to be unwilling to have knowledge. "For the will is at fault in the case of the man of whom it is said, "He is not inclined to understand how to do good." ^ But even the ignorance, which is not theirs who refuse to learn knowledge, but is theirs who are, as it were, simply ignorant, does not so far excuse a man as to exempt him from the punishment of eternal fire, even if his failure to believe in Christ has been the result of his not having at all heard what it is he should believe, though probably his punishment may be a milder one. For there is good reason why it is said in God's word, "Pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known Thee; "^ and again for the declaration of the apostle, "When He shall come from heaven in flaming fire to take vengeance on them that know not God." * But in truth the human will is expressly adapted to the purpose of our procuring knowledge as such, so that none of us can fairly say, "I was ignorant," "I did not hear," "I understood not;"

and in reference to this endowment of the will it is said to us, "Be ye not as the horse or as the mule, which have no understanding," ^ although that is evidently a still worse case of which it is written, "A stubborn servant will not be reproved by words; for even if he understand, yet he will not obey." ^ ^ But when a man says, "I cannot do what I am taught and commanded to do, because I am mastered by my evil concupiscence," he has no longer any excuse to plead from ignorance, nor reason to blame God in his heart; he acknowledges the evil to be in himself, and laments it; still to such an one the apostle's words are suitable: "Be not over-

^ [In this inverted order does the author inexacty quote Luke xii. 47, 48.]
2 Ps. xxxvi. 3 (Sept.). ^ Ps. Lxix. 6. * 2 Thess. i. 7, 8.

^ Ps. xxxii. 9. ^ Prov. xxix. 19.

20 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 6.

come by evil, but overcome evil with good;"^ and of course the very fact that the injunction, "Be not overcome," "Consent not to be overcome," is addressed to him, undoubtedly shows
1 that his will possesses the power of choice and determination.

Chap. 6. [iv. ] â€” GoTs grace to he maintained against the Pelagians; the Pelagian heresy not an old one.
There is, however, a fear of all these and similar testimonies of Holy Scripture (and undoubtedly there are a great many of them) being understood, in the maintenance of free-will, in such a way as to leave no room for God's assistance and grace' in leading a godly life and a good conversation, to which the eternal reward is due; and a fear, moreover, of a poor wretched man so misunderstanding his own case, when he leads a good life and performs good works (or rather thinks that he leads a good life and performs good works), as to dare to glory in himself, and not in the Lord, and to put his entire hope of righteous living in himself alone; so that the prophet Jeremiah's malediction follows him when he says, "Cursed is the man who trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord." ^ Understand, my brethren, I pray you, this passage of the prophet. For the prophet did not say, "Cursed is the man who puts his hope in his own self." It might seem to some that the passage, "Cursed is the man who trusteth in man," was spoken in the sense that no man should have any confidence in any other person, but in himself In order, therefore, to show that his advice to a man was not to have any confidence in himself, even after saying, "Cursed is the man who trusteth in man," he immediately added, "And maketh flesh his arm" [or "strengtheneth the flesh of his arm "].^ He used the word "arm" to designate 'power in operation. By the term "flesh" however, must be understood human frailty. And therefore he strengthens the flesh of his arm who supposes that a power which is frail and weak (in a word, human) is sufficient for him to perform good works, and therefore puts not his trust in God for help. This is the reason why he subjoined the further clause, "And whose heart departeth from the Lord."

1 Eom. xii. 21. ^ Jer. xvii. 5.

^[Augustine's reading of this clause is: Etfirmat carnem brachii sui.]

CHAP. 7.] THE NECESSITY OF GRACE. 21

Of this character is the Pelagian heresy, which is not an ancient one, but has only lately come into existence. Against this system of error there was first a good deal of discussion; then, as the ultimate resource, it was referred to sundry episcopal councils, the proceedings of which, not, indeed, in every instance, but in some, I have despatched to you for your perusal. In order, then, to our performance of good works, let us not put our trust in man, strengthening the flesh of our own arm; nor let our heart ever depart from the Lord, but let it say to him, "Be Thou my helper; forsake me not, nor despise me, God of my salvation." ^

Chap. 7. â€” Grace is necessary along with free-will to lead a good life. Continence the result of God's gift and free-will. They to whom it is given order their will so as to accomplish its desire.
Therefore, my dearly beloved, as we have now proved by our former quotations of Holy Scripture that there is in man's will a freedom of choice and determination in order to lead a good life and perform right actions, so now let us see what inspired passages there also are concerning the grace of God, without which we are not able to do any good thing. And "first of all, I will say something about the very profession which you make in your brotherhood. Now your society, in which you are leading lives of continence, could not hold together unless you forbore the pleasure of matrimony. Well, the Lord was one day conversing on this very topic, when His disciples remarked to Him, "If such be the case of a man with his wife, it is not good to marry." He then answered them, "All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given." And was it not to Timothy's free-will that the apostle appealed, when he exhorted him in these words: "Keep thyself pure" [Contine te ipsum, "Exercise continence"]? He also explained the power of the will in this matter when He said, "He standeth stedfast in heart, â€” having no necessity, but possessing power over his own will, â€” to keep his virgin." And yet all men do not receive this saying, except those to whom the power is given. Now they to whom this is not given either are unwilling or do not fulfil their will; whereas they to whom it is given so order their will as to accomplish what they wish. In order, therefore, that this saying, which is not received by all men, may yet be received by some, God's grace and free-will combine in securing to them the gift.

Chap. 8. â€” Conjugal chastity is itself the gift of God. Without the grace of God His commandments cannot be kept. The law without grace.

It is, indeed, concerning the very chastity of the married state that the apostle treats, when he says, "Let him do what he will, he sinneth not if he marry; "^ and yet even this is God's gift, for the Scripture says, "It is by the Lord that the woman is joined to her husband." Accordingly the

^ Ps. xxvii. 9. j^iatt. xix. 10. ^ i Tim. v, 22. â€œâ€œ* 1 Cor. vii. 37.
apostle, who is the especial teacher of the Gentiles, in one of his discourses commends both conjugal chastity, the great preventative of adultery, and the still more perfect chastity which foregoes all fleshly embraces, and shows how both one and the other are severally the gift of God. Writing to the Corinthians, he admonished married persons never to defraud each other in the joys of their conjugal estate; then, after his admonition to these, he added: " But I could wish that all men were even as I am myself," meaning, of course, that he abstained from all connubial embraces; and then proceeded to say: " But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." NoWj do the many precepts which are written in the law of God, purporting to forbid all fornication and adultery, indicate anything short of the freedom of the will ? Surely such precepts would not be given unless a man had a will of his own, wherewith to obey the divine commandments; and yet it is God's gift which is indispensable for the observance of the precepts of chastity. Accordingly, it is said in the Book of Wisdom: " When I knew that no one could be chaste and continent, except God gave the grace, then this became a point of wisdom to know whose gift it was."* "Every man," however, "is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed " ^ not to
observe and keep these holy precepts of chastity. If he
should say in respect of these commandments, I wish to keep
them, but am mastered by my concupiscence, then the Scrip-

1 1 Cor. vii. 36. â€œ 1 Cor. vii. 7. ^ 1 Cor. vii. 7.

CHAP. 9.] OF GRACE AND PRAYER. 23

ture has this answer for him, â€” addressed to his free-will, as I
have already had occasion to say: " Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with
good." ^ In order, however, that this victory may be gained, grace renders its help; and
were not this help given, then the law would only show itsK [to be the measure of j the
strength and power of sin. For concupiscence is increased and receives greater energies
from the prohibition of the law, if the spirit of grace be not at hand to help. This explains
the statement of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, when he says, " The sting of death is
sin, and the strength of sin is the law." ^ See, then, I pray you, whence originates this
confession of weakness, when a man says, I
desire to keep what the law commands, but am overcome by the strength of my
concupiscence. But when his will even consents to the prohibition, and it is said to him,
"Be not overcome of evil," of what avail is anything but the succour of God's grace to the
accomplishment of the precept ? This the apostle himself afterwards stated; for after
saying, " The strength of sin is the law," he immediately subjoined, " But thanks be to
God, who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ." ^ It follows, then, that
the victory in which sin is vanquished is nothing else than the gift of God, who in
( this contest helps the free-will of the combatant.

CnAP. 9. â€” Entering into temptation. Prayer is a proof of grace.

Wherefore, our Heavenly Master also says: " Watch and pray, that ye enter not into
temptation." * Let every man, therefore, when fighting against his own concupiscence
and evil desire, pray that he enter not into temptation; in other words, that he be not
drawn aside and enticed by his lust.
He does not enter into temptation who conquers his evil concupiscence by the bent of his
will to good. And yet the human will is insufficient to refuse to enter into temptation,
unless the Lord grant it victory in answer to prayer. What, indeed, affords clearer
evidence of the grace of God than the acceptance of prayer in any petition ? ' If our
Saviour had only said, "Watch that ye enter not into temptation." He would evidently
have done nothing else than admonish man's

' Rom. xii. 21. 2 i Cor. xv. 56, Â» 1 Cor. xy. 57. * Matt. xxvi. 41.
will; but since He added the words, "and pray," He showed that God helps us not to enter into temptation. It is to the free-will of a man that the words are addressed: "My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord." [" Fail not under it," noli deficerc] And the Lord said: "I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not." ^ So that a man is assisted by grace, in order that his will may not be ineffectually appealed to with a command.

Chap. 10. [v.] Free-will and God's grace are simultaneously commended. The error of the Pelagians that grace is given according to men's merits. A passage in Zechariah abused. Coming to Christ.

When God says, "Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you," ^ one of these clauses â€” that which invites our return to God â€” is evidently addressed to our free-will; while the other, which promises His return to us, appertains to His grace. Here, possibly, the Pelagians think they have a justification for their opinion which they so prominently advance, that God's grace is given in proportion to our merits. In the East, indeed, that is to say in the province of Palestine, in which is the city of Jerusalem, Pelagius, when examined in person by the bishop,* did not venture to affirm this. For it happened that among the objections which were brought up against him, this in particular was alleged, that he maintained that the grace of God was bestowed according to our merits, â€” an opinion which was so diverse from Catholic doctrine, and so hostile to the grace of Christ, that unless he had anathematized it, as laid to his charge, he himself must have left the Council under anathema. He pronounced, indeed, the required condemnation of the dogma, but how insincerely his later books plainly show; for in them he maintains absolutely no other opinion than that the grace of God is bestowed in proportion to our own deserts. Such deductions do they make out of the Scriptures, â€” like the one Which I just now quoted, "Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you," â€” as if it were owing to the merit of our conversion to God that His grace were given us, wherein He Himself even turns unto us. Now the persons who hold this opinion fail to observe that.

1 Prov. iii. 11. ^ Luke xxii. 32. Â» Zech. i. 3.

* [See De Gestis Pelagii, translated in voL i. chap. xiv. (30).]
unless our conversion to God were itself God's gift, it would not be said to Him in prayer, "Turn us again, God of hosts;" and, "Thou, God, wilt turn and quicken us;" and again, "Convert us, God of our salvation;" with other passages of similar import, too numerous to mention here.

Tor, with respect to our coming unto Christ, what else does it mean than our being turned and converted to Him upon our believing? And yet He says: "No man can come unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father." *

Chap. 11. ã€” Other passages of Scripture which, the Pelagians abuse.

Then, again, there is the Scripture contained in the second book of the Chronicles: "The Lord is with you when ye are with Him: and if ye shall seek Him ye shall find Him; but if ye forsake Him, He also will forsake you." ^ This passage, no doubt, clearly shows that the will is free. But they who maintain that God's grace is given according to our merits, receive these testimonies of Scripture in such a manner as to believe our merit lies in the circumstance of our "being with God," while His grace, in pursuance of this merit, results in the reciprocity of "His being Himself with us." In like manner, our merit lies in the fact of "our seeking God," and then His grace is bestowed upon us in proportion to this merit, to the effect of "our finding Him." Again, there is a passage in the first book of the same Chronicles which declares the liberty of the will: "And thou, Solomon, my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve Him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind, for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts; if thou seek Him, He will be found of thee; but if thou forsake Him, He will cast thee off for ever." ^ But these people find some room for human merit in the clause, "If thou seek Him," and then the grace is conferred on the scale of this merit in the result described by the ensuing words, "He will be found of thee;" and so they labour with all their might to show that God's grace is bestowed in return for merits of our own, ã€” in other words, that grace is

Ps. Lxxx. 7. 2 pg._ixxxv. 6 (Sept.). ^ Ps. Ixxxv. 4.

* John vi. 65. ^ 2 Chron. xv. 2. ^1 Chron. xxviiL 9.

26 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 12.

not grace. For, as the apostle most plainly and expressly says, to them who receive reward according to their desert the recompense is "not reckoned of grace but of debt." ^

Chap. 12. ã€” He proves out of St. Paul that grace is not given according to men's merits.

Now there was, no doubt, a decided merit in the Apostle Paul, but it was an evil one, while he persecuted the Church, and he says of it: "I am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God." ^ And it was while he was in possession of this
evil merit that a good one was rendered to him instead of the evil; and, therefore, he went on at once to say, "But by the grace of God I am what I am." Then, in order to exhibit the action of his free-will besides, he added in the next clause, "And His grace within me was not in vain [or idle], but I laboured more abundantly than they all." This freedom of will in man he consistently appeals to in the case of others also, as when he says to them,
"We beseech you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain" [so as to be idle]. Now, how could he enjoin any effort on them, if they received God's grace in such a manner as to merge in it, and lose their own will? However [there was the other extreme to guard against], the will itself must not be deemed capable of doing any good thing without the grace of God; therefore, after saying, "His grace within me was not in vain," or idle, "but I laboured more abundantly than they all," he immediately added the qualifying clause,
"Yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me." In other words. Not I alone, but only the grace of God. Nor was he himself solitary in action, but God's grace operated along with him. For the accomplishment, however, of the radical change within him, "his call from heaven, and his conversion by that great and most effectual call, "God's grace operated alone, because his merits, though great, were yet evil.
Then, to quote one passage more, he says to Timothy: "But be thou a partaker with me in the work" of the gospel, according to the power of God, who saveth us and calleth us with His holy calling, "not according to our works, but accord-

Rom. iv. 4. 2 1 Cor. xv. 9. Â» j Cor. xv. 10.

* 2 Cor. vi. 1. * 1 Cor. xv. 10. * [Collabora evangelio.]

CHAP. 13] GRACE NOT BESTOWED ACCORDING TO DESERTS. 27

ing to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus." Then, elsewhere, he enumerates his merits, and gives us this description of their evil character:
"For we ourselves also were formerly foolish, unbelieving, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another." Nothing, to be sure, but punishment was due to such a course of evil desert! God, however, who returns good for evil by His grace, which is never bestowed according to our deserts, enabled the apostle to conclude his statement with this happy turn: "When, however, the kindness and love of our divine Saviour shone upon us, "not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the laver of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Ghost, whom He shed upon us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that, being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."
From these and similar passages of Scripture, we gather the proof that God's grace is not given according to our merits. The truth is, we see that it is bestowed not only when there are no good deserts, but when even evil ones precede; and we still observe the same unmerited gifts conferred day after day. But it is plain that when grace has been given, even our merits begin to be good, only it is by grace; for, were that only to withdraw itself, man falls, not raised up, but only precipitated by his free-will. Wherefore no man ought, even when he begins to possess good merits, to attribute them to himself, not to God, who is thus addressed by the Psalmist:

"Be Thou my helper, forsake me not."^ By saying, "Forsake me not," he shows that if he were to be forsaken, he is unable of himself to do any good thing. He had gone so far once as to declare: " I said in my prosperity, I shall never be moved," ^ for he thought that he had such an abundance of wealth to call his own as to ensure him perfect stability. But in order that he might be taught whose that was, of

^ 2 Tim. i. 8, 9. " Titus iii. 3. Â» Titus iij. 4-7.


28 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 14.

which he had begun to boast as if it were his own, he was admonished by the gradual desertion of God's grace; and the result he thus describes: " Lord, in Thy good pleasure Thou didst add strength to my beauty. Thou didst, however, turn away Thy face, and then I was troubled and distressed." ^

So necessary is it for a man that he should be not only justified when unrighteous by the grace of God, â€” that is, to be changed from unholiness to righteousness, â€” when he is requited with good for his evil; but that, even after he has become justified by faith, grace should accompany him on his way afterwards, and he should lean upon it, lest he stumble
and fall. On this account it is written concerning the Church herself in the book of Canticles: "AVho is this that cometh up in white raiment, leaning upon the arm of her beloved kinsman?" ^ ^ ghe, who could by no possibility have been so pure in vesture by herselt alone, has become clad in white. And by whom has she been thus whitened, except by Him who says by the prophet, "Though your sins be as purple, I will make them white as snow"? ^ At the time she was made white, she deserved nothing good; but now that she is white, she walketh rightly; â€” but it is only by her continuing ever to lean upon Him by whom she was whitened. Wherefore, Jesus Himself, on whom the Church leans in her raiment of white, said to His disciples, "Without me ye can do nothing." * 

Chap. 14.

Let us return now to the Apostle Paul, who, as we have observed, obtained God's grace, who recompenses good for evil, when, so far from having any good deserts of his own, he was really involved in many evil ones. Let us see what he says when his sufferings at the end of his life were approaching. These are his words, writing to Timothy: "I am now ready to be offered, and the tim^ of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." ^ He enumerates these as being now his good merits; that, as after his ill deserts he obtained grace, so now, after his good merits, he might receive the crown. Observe,

1 Ps. XXX. 7. 2 Cant. viii. 5. ^ Isa. i. 18. 

â€”1 John XV. 5. * 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7.
therefore, what follows: "There is henceforth laid up for me," he says, "a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day." Now, to whom could the righteous Judge award the crown, except to him on whom the merciful Father had bestowed grace? And how could the crown be one "of righteousness," unless the grace had preceded which "justifieth the ungodly?" How, moreover, could the one now be awarded as a debt, unless the other had been before bestowed as a free gift?

Chap. 15. â€” The Pelagians profess that the only grace which is given according to our merits is that of the forgiveness of sins; God crowns in us His own gifts, not our merits.

When, however, the Pelagians say that the only grace which is not awarded according to our merits is that whereby a man has his sins forgiven him, but that the final grace which is bestowed upon us, even eternal life, is given in return for preceding merits, they must not be allowed to go without an answer. If, indeed, they understand our merits in such a sense as to acknowledge even them to be the gifts of God, then their opinion would not deserve reprobation. But inasmuch as they preach up human merits to such an extent as to declare that a man has them of his own very self, then the apostle's reply becomes an absolutely correct one: "Who maketh thee to differ from another? And what hast thou, that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" To a man who holds such dews, it is perfect truth to say: It is His own gifts that God crowns, not your merits, although you hold these as done by your own self, not by Him. If, indeed, they are of such a character, they are evil, and God does not crown them; but if they are good, they are God's gifts, because, as the Apostle James says, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." In accordance with which John also, the Lord's forerunner, declares: "A man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven" from heaven, of course, for from thence came also the Holy Ghost, when Jesus ascended up

' 2 Tim. iv. 8. ^ 2 Cor. iv. 7.
^ Jas, i. 17. â– * John iii. 27.

30 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL, [CHAP. 16.

on high, led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men.â€”Inasmuch, then, as your merits are God's gifts, God does not crown your merits as such, but only as His own gifts. "

Chap. 16. [vil.] â€” The apostle's saying, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," is incapable of conversion or transposition.
Let us, therefore, consider those very merits of the Apostle Paul which he said the Eighteous Judge would recompense with the crown of righteousness; and let us see whether these merits of his were really his own â€” I mean, whether they were obtained by him of himself, or were the gifts of God. "I have fought," says he, "a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith." ^ Now, in the first place, these good works were nothing, unless they had been preceded by good thoughts. Observe, therefore, what he says concerning these very thoughts. His words, when writing to the Corinthians, are to this effect: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God."^ Then let us look at each several merit. "I have fought a good fight." Well, now, I want to know by what power he fought. Was it by a power which he possessed of himself, or by strength given to him from above? It is impossible to suppose that so great a teacher as the apostle was ignorant of the law of God, which proclaims the following in Deuteronomy: "Say not in thine heart. My own strength and energy of hand hath wrought for me this great power; but thou shalt remember the Lord thy God, how it is He that giveth thee strength to acquire such power." ^ And what avails "a good fight," unless followed by a victory? And who gives the victory but He of whom the apostle says himself, "Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" ?^ Then, in another passage, having quoted from the Psalm these words: "Because for Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for slaughter," ^ he went on to declare: "Nay, in all these

> See Ps. Ixviii. 18, and Epil. iv. 8. ^ Rom. ix. 16.

3 2 Tim. iv. 7. * 2 Cor. iii. 5.

* 'iiff^liv Tov "xoirKxtti ^vvaifiiv. Dcut. viii. 17 {Sept.),

6 1 Cor. XV. 67. 7 Ts. xliv. 22.

CHAP. 17.] TAITK THE FREE GIFT OF GOD. 31

things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us." ^ Not through ourselves, therefore, is the victory accomplished, but through Him who hath loved us. In the second clause he says, "I have finished my course." Now who is it that says this, but he who declares in another passage, "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." ^ And this sentence admits of no transposition, so that it could be said: It is not of God, who showeth mercy, but of the man who willeth and runneth his course. If any person be bold enough to express the matter thus, he shows himself most plainly to be at issue with the apostle.

Chap. 17. â€” Faith the free gift of God.
His last clause runs thus: "I have kept the faith." But he who says this is the same who declares in another passage, "I have obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful". He does not say, I obtained mercy because I was faithful, but "in order that I might be faithful," thus showing that even faith itself cannot be had without God's exercise of mercy, and that consequently it is the gift of God. This he very expressly teaches us when he says, 'For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." They might say, We received grace because we believed; as if they would attribute the faith to themselves, and the grace to God.

Therefore, to prevent such an error, the apostle having said, "Ye are saved through faith," added the correcting clause, "And that not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God." And then, lest they should claim to have deserved so great a gift by any works of their own, he immediately added, "Not of works, lest any man should boast." Not that he meant to deny good works, or to empty them of their value, because he says that God renders to every man according to his works; but he would have works proceed from faith, and not faith from works. Therefore it is from Him that we have works of righteousness, from whom comes also faith itself, concerning which it is written, "The just shall live by faith." ^

> Eom. viii. 37. ^ Eom ix. 16. ^ 1 Cor. vii. 25.
4 Eph. ii. 8. 5 Ept. ij. 9, 6 Habak. ii. 4,

32 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 19.

Chap. 18. â€” Faith without good works is not sufficient for salvation.

Unintelligent persons, indeed, with regard to the apostle's statement: "We conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law," have thought him to mean that faith is sufficient for a man, even if he lead a bad life, and has no good deeds to allege. Impossible is it that such a character should be deemed "a vessel of election" by the apostle, who, after declaring that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision," adds the important statement, "but faith which worketh by love." It is such faith which severs the faithful children of God from unclean devils, â€” for even these "believe and tremble," as the Apostle James says, but they do no good works. Therefore they possess not the faith by which the just man lives, â€” the faith which operates through love in such wise, that God recompenses it according to its works with eternal life. But inasmuch as we have even our good works from God, from whom likewise comes our faith and our love, therefore the selfsame great teacher of the Gentiles has designated "eternal life" itself as His gracious "gift."
Chap. 19. [viii.] â€” How is eternal life both a reward for service and a free gift of grace?

And hence there arises no small question, which must be solved with the Lord's permission. If eternal life is bestowed as a recompense for good works (as the Scripture most openly declares: "Then He shall reward every man according to his works"), how can eternal life be a matter of grace, seeing that grace is not given in return for works, but is a gratuitous 'award,' as the apostle himself tells us: "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt;" and again: "There is a remnant saved according to the election of grace;" with these words immediately subjoined: "And if of grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace." How, I ask again, is eternal life a matter of grace, when it is received after works? Does the apostle happen not to have "given the designation of grace to eternal life? Nay, he has so "Rom. iii. 28." Gal. v. 6. =* Jas. ii. 19. * Rom. vi. 23.


Chap. 20. â€” The question answered. In what sense the apostle says that %ce are â€œ not saved by works. Justification is grace simply and entirely. Eternal life ' is reward and grace.

Now this question seems to me to be by no means capable of solution, unless we understand that even those good works of ours, which are recompensed with eternal life, are occasioned by the grace of God, because of what is said by the Lord Jesus: "Without me ye can do nothing." The apostle himself undoubtedly [felt the difficulty of the subject] after saying, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast;" he evidently saw the possibility of men's concluding from such a statement that good works are not necessary to those who believe., but that faith alone is sufficient for them. Then, again, there was the possibility, as he perceived, of men's boasting of their good works, as if they were of themselves capable of performing them. To meet, therefore, these erroneous opinions on both sides, he immediately added, "We are His
workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." â— *

[And here question after question arises.] What is the purport of his saying, "iSTot of works, lest any man should boast,"
while commending the grace of God? And then why does he afterwards, when giving a reason for using such words, say,
" For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works " ? Why, therefore, does it run, " Not of works, lest any man should boast " ? Now, hear and understand the point. The excluding phrase, " Not of works," is spoken of the works which you suppose have their origin in yourseK alone; but you have to think of works to which God has moulded (that is, has formed and created) you. For of these he says,
" We are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." Now he does not here speak of that creation which


XV. c

34 A TEEATISE ON GEACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 21.

made us human beings, but of that in reference to which one said who was already in full manhood, "Create in me a clean heart, God; " ^ concerning which also the apostle says, "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new. And all things are of God." ^ We are moulded, therefore, that is, formed and created, " unto the good works, which " we have not ourselves prepared, but " God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." ' It follows, then, dearly beloved, beyond all doubt, that as your good life is nothing else than God's gift and grace, so also the eternal life which is the recompense of a good life is the gift and grace of God; moreover it is a free and gratuitous gift, even as that was a free and gratuitous gift of which it is the recompense. But the good life, thus rewarded, is solely and simply grace; therefore the eternal life, which is its reward â€” and because it is its reward â€” is grace for grace, as if it were the remuneration of righteousness; 'in order that that may be realized, because it is true, that God " shall reward every man according to his works." ^

Chap. 21. [is..]â€” Eternal Life is " Grace for Grace."'

Perhaps you ask whether we ever read in the Sacred Scriptures of "grace for grace!" Well, you possess the Gospel according to John, which is perfectly clear in its very great light. Here John the Baptist says of Christ: ' "Of His ful-
ness have we all received â€” even grace for grace." * ' So that out of His fulness we have received, according to our humble measure, our particles of ability as it were for
leading good lives — " according as God hath dealt to every man his measure of faith; "
^ because " every man hath his proper gift of God; one after this manner, and another
after that."* And even this is real grace, but, over and above this, we shall receive even
grace for grace, when we shall have awarded to us that eternal life, of which the apostle
spake in the words: " The gift [or grace] of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our
Lord," 

having just said that " the wages of sin is death." Deservedly

1 Ps. li. 12. 2 2 Cor. v. 17, 18.

3 Mat. xvi. 27; Ps. Ixii. 12; Eev. xxii. 12. * John i. 16.

5 Rom. xii. 3. Â« 1 Cor. vii. 7. 'Eom. vi. 23.

CHAP. 22.] ETERNAL LIFE IS "GRACE FOR GRACE." 35

did he call it " wagesl' because everlasting death is awarded as its proper due to the
service of the devil. Now, when it was in his power to say, and rightly to say: The wages
or recompense of righteousness is eternal life, he yet preferred to express it thus: " The
gift [or grace] of God is eternal life; "
in order that we may hence understand that God does not, for any merits of our own,
prolong our existence to everlasting life, but from His own divine compassion towards
us. Even as the Psalmist says to his soul [concerning the Lord], "Who crowneth thee with
mercy and compassion." ^ Well, now, is not a crown given as the reward of good and
excellent deeds ?
It is, however, only because He performs by His operation in good men these very deeds
of excellence, of whom it is said,

" It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure." ^ Hence
the Psalm has it, as just now quoted; " He crowneth thee with mercy and compassion,"
because it is through His mercy that we perform the good deeds to which the crown is
awarded. It is not, however, to be for a moment supposed, because he said, " It is God
that worketh in you both to will and to do of His own good pleasure;"
that he meant to do away with the liberty of the will. If this, indeed, had been his
meaning, he would not have said just before, "Work out your own salvation with fear and
trembling."^ [The balance is well kept], for when they are requested
" to work," their free-will comes into account; and when it is added, "with fear and
trembling," they are warned against boasting of their good deeds as if they were their
own, by attributing to themselves the performance of anything good. It is pretty much as
if the apostle were put on his trial, and had this question put to him: " Why did you use
the phrase, ' with fear and trembling'"? And as if he answered the inquiry of his
examiners by telling them, "Por it is God which worketh in you." Because if you fear and
tremble, you do not boast of your good works â€“ as if they were your own, since it is
God who works within you.
Chap. 22. [x.] â€” Who is the transgressor of the law? " The oldness of its letter. The newness of its spirit."

Therefore, brethren, you ought by means of your free-will

1 Ps. ciii. 4 {Sept.). ^ Phil. ii. 13. ^ piii. ^^ jo.

36 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 22.

to avoid evil and to do good; this, indeed, is the lesson taught us in the law of God, in the Holy Scriptures â€” both Old and New. Let us, however, read, and by the Lord's help ' understand, what the apostle tells us: " Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight; for by the law is the knowledge of sin." ^ Observe, he says " the knowledge" not the commission of sin. Now, whenever a man acquires the knowledge of sin, and grace does not help him to guard against its commission, notwithstanding his knowledge, then undoubtedly the law has the effect of producing [God's] anger. ^ And no less than this the apostle explicitly informs us in another passage. His words are: " The law worketh wrath." ^ ^ The reason of this statement lies obviously in the fact that God's anger is greater in the case of the wilful transgressor, who, through the law, understands what sin is, and yet commits it. It is this wilfulness that makes the man a transgressor of the law; even as the apostle says in another sentence, " For where no law is, there is no transgression." * It is in accordance with this principle that he elsewhere says, " That we may serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." ^ Now as he "wishes the law to be here understood by " the oldness of the letter," what else is meant by "newness of spirit " than grace? Then, that it might not be thought that he had brought any accusation, or suggested any blame, against the law, he immediately takes himself to task, with this inquiry: " What shall we say, then? Is the law sin? God forbid." He then adds the statement: " Kay, I had not known sin but by the law; " ^ which is of the same import as the passage above quoted: " By the law is the knowledge of sin." ^ Then [he enlarges thus on the deep subject]: " For I had not known lust, except the law had said, 'Thou shalt not covet.' Â® But sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. For I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I

^ Rom. iii. 20. ^ [Lex iram operatur.] ^ Eom. iv. 15. â€”* Rom. iv. 15.

CHAP. 23.] PELAGIAN IDEA THAT THE LAW IS GRACE. 37
found to be unto death. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by its means slew me.

Wherefore the law is holy; and the commandment holy, just, and good. Was, then, that which is good made death unto me? God forbid. But sin, that it might appear sin, worked death in me by that which is good, â€” in order that the sinner,^ or his sin, might by the commandment become exceeding sinful."

And to the Galatians he writes: "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, except through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified."^ 

Chap. 23. [xi.] â€” The Pelagians maintain that the law is the grace of God which helps us not to sin.

What, therefore, do those very vain and perverse persons who follow Pelagius mean by saying that the law is that grace of God which helps us to avoid sin? Do they not, by making such an allegation, unhappily and beyond all doubt contradict the great apostle? He, indeed, says, that through the law sin received its strength and power against man; and that man, through the commandment, although it be holy, and just, and good, dies, death working in him through that which is good, from which death there could be no deliverance unless the Spirit quickened him, whom the letter had killed, â€” as he says in another passage, " The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." *" And yet those obstinate persons, blind against God's light, and deaf to His voice, maintain that the letter which killeth gives life, and thus gainsay the quickening Spirit. " Therefore, brethren " (that I may warn you with better effect in the words of the apostle himself), " we are debtors not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."^ I have quoted this language of the apostle to deter your free-will from evil, and to exhort it to good; but yet you must not therefore glory in man, â€” that is to say, in your own selves, â€” but in the Lord, when you live not after the flesh, but through

^ [Ut Jiat supra modum peccator, autpeccatum, etc.] ^ Rom. vii. 7-13.

38 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 24.

the Spirit mortify the deeds of the flesh. For in order that they to whom the apostle addressed this language might not exalt themselves, thinking that they were themselves able of their own spirit to do such good works as these, and not by the Spirit of God, after saying to them, " If ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live," he at once added, " For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."^ When, therefore, you by the Spirit mortify the deeds of the flesh, that you may have life, glorify Him, praise Him, give thanks to Him by whose Spirit you are so led as to be
Chap. 24. Who may be said to wish to establish their own righteousness.

'God's righteousness,' so-called, which man has from God. The righteousness of the law.

As many, therefore, as are led by their own spirit, trusting in their own virtue, with the addition merely of the law's assistance, without the help of grace, are not the sons of God. Such are they of whom the same apostle speaks as

"being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish their own righteousness, who have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God." He said this of the Jews, who in their self-assumption rejected grace, and therefore did not believe in Christ. Their own righteousness, indeed, he says, they wish to establish; and this righteousness is of the law, not that the law was established by themselves, but they had set up their righteousness in the law which is of God, when they supposed themselves able to fulfill that law by their own strength, ignorant of God's righteousness, not indeed that by which God is Himself righteous, but that which man has from God. And that you may know he designated as thes the righteousness which is of the law, and as God's that which man receives from God. He designated as thes the righteousness of the law; but that which is through the faith of Christ, which is of God.

CHAP. 25.] WITHOUT GRACE THE LAW KILLS. 39

righteousness, which is of the law; but that which is through the faith of Christ, which is of God." Now what does he mean by "not having my own righteousness, which is of the law," when the law is really not his at all, but God's except this, that he called it his own righteousness, although it was of the law, because he thought he could fulfill the law by his own will, without the aid of grace which is through faith in Christ? Wherefore, after saying, "Not having, my own righteousness, which is of the law," he immediately subjoined, "But that which is through the faith of Christ, which is of God." This is what they were ignorant of, of whom he says, "Being ignorant of God's righteousness," that is, the righteousness which is of God (for it is given not by the letter, which kills, but by the life-giving Spirit), "and wishing to establish their own righteousness," which he expressly described as the righteousness of the law, when he said, "Not having my own righteousness, which is of the law." To God's righteousness they were not subject; in other words, they submitted not themselves to the grace of God. They were under the law, not under grace, and therefore sin had dominion over them, from which a man is not freed by the law, but by grace. On which account he elsewhere says, "For sin shall not have dominion over you; because ye are not under the law, but under grace." Not that the law is evil; but because they are under its power, whom it makes guilty by imposing commandments and giving
no assistance to keep them. It is grace which helps any man to be a doer of the law; and
without this grace, he who places himself under the law will be a hearer of the law and
nothing else. To such persons he addresses these words:
"Ye who are justified by the law are fallen from grace." ^

Chap. 25. [xiii.] â€” As the law is not, so neither is our nature itself that grace by which
we are Christians. If justification were either by the law or by nature, Christ would have
died in vain.

Now who can be so insensible to the words of the apostle,

who so foolishly, nay, so insanely ignorant of the purport of

his statement, as to venture to affirm that the law is grace,

when he who knew very well what he was saying emphatically


40 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 26.

declares, "Ye who are justified by the law are fallen from grace " ? " Well, but if the law
is not grace, seeing that it is not the law, but only grace which can give any help to the
law itself being kept, will not nature at any rate be grace?
For this the Pelagians have been bold enough to aver, Gratiam esse naturam; that nature
is the grace in which we were created in such wise as to possess a rational mind, by
which we are enabled to understand, â€” formed as we are in the image of God, that we
have dominion over the fish of the sea, â€”
and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that creepeth upon the earth. ^.
This, however, is not the grace which the apostle commends^ to us through the faith of
Jesus Christ.
For it is certain that we possess this nature in common with ungodly men and
unbelievers; whereas the grace which comes through the faith of Jesus Christ belongs
only to them to whom the faith itself appertains. ^ " For all men have not faith." ^
Now, as the apostle, with perfect truth, says to those who by wishing to be justified by the
law have fallen from grace,
" If righteousness [or justification ^ ] come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain; " * so
likewise, to those who think that the grace which he commends, and the faith of Christ
receives, is nature, the same language is with the same degree of truth applicable: ^if
righteousness come from nature, then Christ is dead in vain. ' But the law was in
existence up to that time, and it did not justify; and nature existed too, but it did not
justify. It was not, then, in vain that Christ died, in order that the law might be fulfilled
through Him who said,
"I am come not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it; " * and that our nature, which was lost through Adam, might through Him be recovered, who said that " He was come to seek and to save that which was lost; " ^ towards whose coming the old fathers likewise who loved God had directed their faith.

Chap. 26. â€” The Pelagians contend that the grace, which is neither the law nor nature, avails only to the remission of past sins, but not to the avoidance of future ones.

They also maintain that God's grace, which is given through the faith of Jesus Christ, and which is neither the

^ Commendat. ^ 2 Thess. ii. 2. ^ Justitia.


CHAP. 27.] SUBTEKFUGE OF THE PELAGIANS. 41

law nor nature, avails only to the remission of sins that have been committed, and not to the avoidance of future ones, or the subjugation of those which are now assailing us. Now if all this were true, surely after offering the petition of the Lord's Prayer, " Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors," we could hardly go on and say, "And lead us not into temptation." ^ â– - The former petition we present that our sins may be forgiven; the latter, that they may be avoided or subdued, â€” a favour which we should by no means beg of our Father who is in heaven if we were able to accomplish the end by virtue of our human will.

Kow I strongly advise and earnestly require your beloved fraternity^ to read attentively the book of the blessed Cyprian which he wrote On the Lord's Prayer. As far as the Lord shall assist you, make out its meaning, and commit it to memory. In this work you will see how he appeals to the free-will of those whose edification he affects in his treatise; yet in such a way as to show them, that whatever commandments they have to fulfil in the law, they must ask for [grace to enable them] in the prayer. But this, of course, would be utterly in vain if the human will were sufficient for the performance without the help of God.

Chap. 27. [xiv.] â€” Grace effects the fulfilment of the law, the deliverance of nature, and the suppression of sin's dominion. Suhterfurje of the Pelagians,

It has, however, been shown to demonstration, that instead of really maintaining the freedom of the will, they have only inflated a theory of it, which, having no stability, has fallen to the ground. Neither the knowledge of God's law, nor nature, nor the mere remission of sins represents [as they pretend] that grace which is given to us through our Lord Jesus Christ; but it is this very grace which accomplishes the fulfilment of the law, and the liberation of nature, and the removal of the dominion of sin. Being, therefore, frustrated on these points, they resort to another expedient, and endeavour to show in the
best way they can that the grace of God is given us according to our merits. For they say: "Granted that it [grace] is not given to us in propor-
't Matt. vi. 12, 13. - Caritatem vestram.

42 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 28.

tion to the merits of our good works, inasmuch as it is through it that we do any good thmg, still it is bestowed upon us in proportion to our merits of a good will; for," say they, "the good will of him who prays precedes his prayer, even as the good will of the believer preceded his ^ ^"; faith, so that in proportion to these deserts the grace of God i^ follows, as He hears [and answers the prayer]."

P^ 

Chap. 28. â€” Faith is the gift of God.

I have already discussed ^ the point concerning the faith, that is, the disposition and will of the man who believes; and I went so far as to show that it appertains to grace, â€” so that the apostle did not tell us that he obtained mercy because he was faithful; but he said,*^"! have obtained mercy of the â– Lord in order to be faithful." ^ ^ And there are many other passages of similar import, â€” among them that in which he bids us " think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the proportion of faith; " ^ and that which I have already quoted: " By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God; " * and again another in the same Epistle to the Ephesians: " Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ; " ^ and to the same effect that passage in which he says,

" Eor unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake; " ^ [from which we learn] that both endowments alike are due to the grace of God, â€” the faith of those who believe, and the patience of those who suffer, because the apostle spoke of both as given.
Then, again, there is the passage, especially noticeable, in which he says, " We, having the same spirit of faith," ^ for his phrase is not the knowledge of faith, but " the spirit of faith; " and he expressed himseK thus in order that we might understand how that faith is given to us, even when it is not sought, so that other blessings may be granted to it at its request. ' Eor "how," says he, "shall they call upon Him in whom they have not believed?"^ The spirit of grace, therefore, causes
CHAP. 29.] GRACE IS NOT MERITED. 43

US to have faith, in order that through faith we may, on praying for it, obtain the ability
to do what we are commanded. On this account the apostle himself constantly puts faith
before the law; since we are not able to do what the law commands unless we obtain the
strength to do it by the prayer of faith.

Chap. 29. â€” God is able to coivert opposing wills, and to take away from the heart its
hardness.

Xow if faith is simply the property of man's free-will, and is not the gift of God, why do
we pray for those who will

' not believe that they may have faith ? This it would be absolutely useless to do, unless
we believe, with perfect propriety, that Almighty God can turn to the practice of belief
men's wills, however perverse and opposed to faith they may be. Man's free-will is
addressed when it is said, " To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts."^ But if God were not able to remove from the human heart even its obstinacy and
hardness. He would not commission the prophet to say," " I will take from them their
heart of stone, and will

, give them a heart of flesh."^ That all this was foretold in reference to the New
Testament is shown clearly enough by the apostle when he says, " Ye are our epistle, . . .
written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in
carnally " [or carnal, " carnalibus " ]
"tables of the heart."^ We must not, of course, suppose that such a phrase as this is used
as if those might live "carnally"
who ought to lead spiritual lives; but inasmuch as a stone has no feeling, with which
man's hard heart is compared, what was there left Him to compare man's intelligent heart
with the flesh, which possesses feeling ? God, speaking by the mouth of the prophet
Ezekiel, says, " I will give them another heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and
I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh; that they
may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them: and they shall be my
people, and I

will be their God, saith the Lord." * ^-Kow can we possibly, without extreme absurdity,
maintain that there has previously existed in any man the meritorious recommendation of
a good will, to entitle him to the removal of his stony heart, when

1 Ps. xcT. 7, 8. ^=Ezek. xi. 19. ^ 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3. ^ Ezgk. si. 19, 20.
all the while this very heart of stone signifies nothing else than the harshest will, such as
is absolutely inflexible against God? For wherever a good will precedes, there is, of
course, no longer existing a heart of stone.

Chap. 30. â€” The grace by which the stony heart is removed is preceded not by any good
deserts, but by evil ones. In what manner God's name is sanctified in the elect.

In another passage, also, by the same prophet, God, in the
clearest language, shows us that it is not owing to any good
deserts on the part of men, but for His own name's sake, that
He effects these conversions. This is His language: "This I
do, house of Israel, not for your sakes, but for mine holy
name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen,
whither ye went. And I will sanctify my great name, which
was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in
the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the
Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you
before their eyes. For I will take you from among the
heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring
you into your own land. Then will I sprinkle you with clean
water, and ye shall be clean: from all your own filthiness,
and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart
also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you;
and the stony heart shall be taken away out of your flesh, and
I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and will cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them."^' Now who is so blind as not to see, and who so stone-like as not to feel, that this grace is not given for any merits of a good will, when the Lord declares and testifies, " It is I, house of Israel, who do this," [not for your sakes], " but for my holy name's sake " ? Now why did He use such emphatic words as these, were it not that the nation should refrain from thinking that it was owing to their own good deserts that all these things were happening, as the Pelagians hesitate not unblushingly to say ? But there were not only no good deserts in the case, but the Lord shows that evil ones actually preceded His grace; for He says, " But for my holy name's sake, ivhich ye 1 Ezek. xxxvi. 22-27.

CHAP. 31.] FREE-WILL CO-OPERATES WITH GRACE. 45

have ^profaned among the heathen." Who can fail to observe how dreadful is the evil of profaning the Lord's ' own holy name ? And yet, because of this very name of mine, says He, which ye have profaned, I, even I, will make you good, but not for your own sakes; and, as He adds, " I will sanctify my great name, which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them." He says that He sanctifies His name, which He had already declared to be holy \sanctum\ Well, this is just what we pray for in the Lord's Prayer â€” " Hallowed [sanctified] be Thy name." ^ We ask for the hallowing among men of that which is in itself undoubtedly always hallowed and sacred. Then it follows, " And the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you." Although, then. He is Himself always sanctified and holy. He is,
nevertheless, sanctified in those on whom He bestows His grace, by taking from them that stony heart of theirs by which they profaned the name of the Lord.

Chap. 31. [xv.] â€“ Free-will does something in the heart's conversion; God gives what He commands. In what sense it is said, "If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments."

Lest, however, it should be thought that men themselves in this matter do nothing by their free-will, it is said in the Psalm, "Harden not your hearts;" and in Ezekiel himself, "Cast away from you all your transgressions, which ye have impiously committed against me; and make you a new heart and a new spirit; and keep all my commandments. Por why wilt ye die, house of Israel, saith the Lord? for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye." We should remember that it is He who says, "Turn yourselves and live," to whom it is said in prayer, "Turn us again, God." * We should not forget that He says, "Cast away from you all your transgressions," when it is even He who justifies the ungodly. We should bear in mind that He says, "Make you a new heart and a new spirit," who also promises, "I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you."* How

1 Matt. vi. 9. 2 pg. f.y. 8 3 .ek. xiii. 31, 32.

* Ps. Ixxx. 3. s Ezek. xxxvi. 26.

46 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 32.

is it, then, that He who says, "Make you," also says, "I will give you"? Why does He command, if He means Himself to give? Why does He give if man is to make, except it be that He gives what He commands when He helps him to obey upon whom He lays His command? ^ There is, however, always within us a free-will, â€“ but it is not always good; for it is either free from righteousness when it serves sin, â€“ and then it is evil, â€“ or else it is free from sin when it is the servant of righteousness, â€“ and then it is good. ^ But the grace of God is evermore good; and by its means it comes to pass that a man is under the influence of a good will, though he was previously possessed by an evil one. By the same grace it also comes to pass that the very will, which has now begun to be good, is enlarged, and grows so great as to be able to fulfil whatever divine commandments it may wish, when it has once firmly and completely formed its desire. This is the purport of what the Scripture says: "If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments;" ^ so that' the man who has the will but not the power discovers that he does not yet possess a perfect will, and prays that he may have it so perfected that it may be sufficient for keeping the commandments; and then, indeed, he receives assistance enough to perform what he is commanded. The will is then of use when we have the power; just as the power is also then of use when we have the will.
For what does it profit us if we possess will without power, or else lack the will when we possess the power?

Chap. 32. [xvi.] â€” God commimds some things beyond our power, that w?

may know what we ought to ask of Him. In what sense it is rightly said

that, if we like, i've keej) God's commandments.

The Pelagians think that they know something great and important when they assert that "God would not command what He knew could not be done by man." Who can be ignorant of this? But still God commands some things which we cannot do, in order that we may know what we ought to ask of Him. For this is faith itself, which obtains by prayer what the law commands. He, indeed, who said, " If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments," did in the same book of Ecclesiasticus afterwards say, " Who shall

1 Ecclus. XV. 15 (Se2)t.).

CHAP. S2.] WE WILL WHENEVER WE LIKE. 47

set a watch before my mouth, and a seal of wisdom upon my lips, that I fall not suddenly thereby, and that my tongue destroy me not." ^ Now he had certainly heard and received these commandments: " Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile," ^ Forasmuch, then, as what he said is true: " If thou wilt, â€¢ thou shalt keep the commandments," why does he want a watch to be set before his mouth, like him who says in the Psalm, " Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth " ? ^ Why is he not satisfied with God's commandment and his own will, since, if he has the will, he shall keep the commandments? How many of God's commandments are directed against pride! He is quite aware of them; if he will, he may keep them. Why, therefore, does he shortly afterwards say, " God, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look " ? * The law had long ago said to him, " Thou shalt not covet;" ^ let him then only will, and do what he is bidden, because, if he has the will, he shall keep the commandments. Why, therefore, does he afterwards say, " Turn away from me concupiscence " ? ^ Against luxury, too, how many commandments has God enjoined! Let a man observe them; because, if he will, he may keep the commandments. But what means that cry to God, " Let not the greediness of the belly nor lust of the flesh take hold on me! " ? ^ Now, if we were to put this question to him personally, he would very rightly answer us and say. From that prayer of mine, in which I offer this particular petition to God, you may understand in what sense I said, " If thou wilt, thou mayest keep the commandments." ^For it is certain that we keep the commandments when we will; but Jjceaus e the will is prepared by th e Lord, we must ask of Him for such aTforceof will as suffices to make us act in willing. It is certain that we iwill whenever we like, but it is He who makes us will what is good, of whom it is said (as he has just now expressed it),
"The will is prepared by the Lord." Of the same Lord it

^ Ecclus. xxii. 27. ^ Ps. xxxiv. 13. ^ Ps. cxli. 3. ^ Ecclus. xxiii. 4.
^ Ex. XX. 17. ^ Ecclus. xxiii. 5. ^ Ecclus. xxiii. 6.

^ [This is Augustine's version of the Septuagint: 'Eroifid^irai Qix-Aa-is a-a^i Kupiou â€” Prov. viii. 35.]

48 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 33.

is said, " The steps of a [good] man are ordered by the Lord, and his way doth He will." Of the same Lord again it is said, " It is God who worketh in you, even to will; " It is certain that we act whenever we set to work; it is He, however, who causes us to act, by applying thoroughly efficacious powers to our will, who has said, " I will cause you to walk in my statutes, and to observe my judgments, and to do them." Wlien He says, " I will cause you ... to do them " [Faciam ut faciatis, " cause you to act "], what else does He say in fact than, " I will take away from you your heart of stone," from which used to arise your inability to act, " and I will give you a heart of flesh," in order that you may act? And what does this promise amount to but this: I will remove your hard heart, the spring of your former neglect of my commandments, and I will give you an obedient heart, which shall prompt you to keep them? It is He who causes us to keep them, to whom the human suppliant says, " Set a watch, Lord, before my mouth." That is to say: Make or enable me, Lord, to set a watch before my mouth, â€” a benefit which he had already obtained from God who thus described its influence: " I set a guard upon my mouth." 

Chap. 33. [xvii.] â€” A good will, when small and weah; an ample will, great love. Operating and co-operating grace. The burden of human sufferings a heavy weight for an infirm will; a light one for charity.

He who wishes to keep God's commandment, but is unable to do so, already possesses a good will, but as yet a small and weak one; he will, however, become able when he shall have acquired a great and robust will. When the martyrs kept the great commandments which they obeyed, they acted under a mighty will, â€” that is, with a great love. Of this intense charity the Lord Himself thus speaks: " Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for liis friends." In accordance with this, the apostle also says, " He that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law. For this: Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill,

1 Ps. xxxvii. 23. 2 phn. ii. 13. 3 Ezek. xxxvi. 27.

Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. This perfection of love the Apostle Peter did not yet possess, when he for fear thrice denied the Lord. "There is no fear in love," says the Evangelist John in his first Epistle, "but perfect love casteth out fear." But yet, however small and imperfect his love was, it was not wholly wanting when he said to the Lord, "I will lay down my life for Thy sake;" for he supposed himself able to effect what he felt himself willing to do. And who was it that had begun to give him his love, however small, but He who prepares the human will, and perfects by His co-operation what He initiates by His operation? Forasmuch as He begins His influence by working in us that we may have the will, and completes it by working with us when We have the will. On which account the apostle says, "I am confident of this very thing, that He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ." He operates, therefore, without us, in order that we may become willing; but when we once possess the will, and use it as to act, He co-operates with us. We can, however, ourselves do nothing to effect good works of piety without Him either working that we may will, or co-operating when we will.

Now, concerning the former point—His operation to produce will in us—it is said: "It is God which worketh in you, even to will." While of His co-operation with us, when we possess the will and proceed to put it into action, the apostle says, "We know that all things work together for good [or, He co-operates in all things for good] to them that love God." What does this phrase, "all things," mean, but the terrible and cruel sufferings which affect our condition?

That burden, indeed, of Christ, which is heavy for our infirmity, but becomes light to love, for to such dispositions

â€¢ Lev. xix. 18. - Rom. xiii. 8-10. s Matt. xxvi. 69-75.

* 1 John iv. 18. ^ John xiii. 37.

Â« [Comp. Art. X. of the Chm-ch of England.] " Phil. i. 6.

8 Phil. ii. 13. â– > Eom. viii. 28.

50 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 34.
did the Lord say that His burden was light/â€”such as Peter's was when he suffered for Christ, but not as it was when he denied Him.

Chap. 34. â€” The apostle's eulogy of love. Correction to he administered with love.

This charity, in other words, this will, glowing with intensest love, the apostle eulogizes with these words: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword? (As it is written. For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." ^ And in another passage he says, "And yet I show unto you a more excellent way. Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth."^ And a little afterwards he says, "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity. Follow after charity." ^ He also says to the Galatians, "For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve


3 1 Cor. xii. 31, xiii. 8. â€œ* 1 Cor. xiii. 13, and xiv. 1.

CHAP. 35 ] CHAETITY AND COERECTION. 5 1

one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." ^ This is the same in effect as what he writes to the Eomans: "He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law." ^ In like manner he says to the Colossians, "And above all these things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." ^ And to Timothy he writes, "Now the end of the commandment is charity; " and he goes on to describe the quality of this grace, saying, "Out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." ^ Moreover, when he says to the Corinthians, "Let all your things be done with charity,"^ he shows plainly enough that even those chastisements which are deemed sharp and bitter by those who are corrected thereby, are to be
administered with love. Accordingly, in another passage, after saying, "Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men," he immediately added, "See that none render evil for evil unto any man." Therefore, even when the unruly are corrected, it is not rendering evil for evil, but contrariwise, good. However, what but charity worketh all these things?

Chap. 35. aë” Covimendations of love.

The Apostle Peter, likewise, says, "And, above all things, have fervent charity among yourselves; for charity shall cover the multitude of sins." The Apostle James also says, "If ye fulfill the royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well." So also the Apostle John says, "He that loveth his brother abideth in the right;" again, in another passage, "Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother; for this is the message which we have heard from the beginning, that we should love one another." Then he says again, "This is His commandment, that we should believe on the name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another." Once more: "And this

^ Gal. V. 13, 14, and Lev. xix. 18. 2 EoJ^_ xiii. 8.

3 Col. iii. 14. * 1 Tim. i. 5. * 1 Cor. xvi. 14.

Â« 1 Thess. V. 14, 15. ^ 1 Pet. iv. 8. 8 j^g. ii. 8.

s IJohn ii. 10. "^IJohn ii. 10, 11. " IJohn iii. 23

52 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 37.

commandment have we from Him, that he who loveth God love his brother also." Then shortly afterwards he adds, "By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God, and keep His commandments; for this is the love of God, that we keep His commandments: and His commandments are not grievous." While, in his second Epistle, it is written, "Not as though I wrote a new commandment unto thee, but that which we had from the beginning, that we love one another." ^

Chap. 36. aë” Love commended by our Lord Himself.

Moreover, the Lord Jesus Himself teaches us that the whole law and the prophets depend upon the two precepts which enjoin love to God and love to our neighbour. Concerning these two commandments the following is written in the Gospel according to St. Mark: "And one of the scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that He had answered them well, asked Him:
Which is the first commandment of all? And Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is, Hear, Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.* This is the first commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.\^ There is none other commandment greater than these.\^ Also, in the Gospel according to St. John, He says, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another."\^ Chap. 37. \[xviii.\] â€” The love which fulfils the commandments is not of ourselves, but of God. The law without grace is the letter that killeth.

All these commandments, however, respecting love or charity (which are so great, and such that whatever action a man may think he does well is by no means well done if done without charity) would be given to men in vain if they possess not a will to choose freely. But forasmuch as these precepts are given in the law, both old and new (although in the new came the grace which was promised in the old, the law, moreover, being without grace the letter which killeth, but under grace the Spirit which giveth life), from what source is there in men the love of God and of one's neighbour but from God Himself? For indeed, if it be not of God but of men, the Pelagians have gained the victory; but if it come from God, then we have vanquished the Pelagians. Let, then, the Apostle John sit in judgment between us; and let him say to us," Beloved, let us love one another."\^ Now, when they begin to extol themselves on these words of John, and to ask why this precept is addressed to us at all, if we have not ability of our own selves to love one another, the same apostle proceeds at once, to their confusion, to add, "For love is of God."\^ It comes not of ourselves, therefore, but it is of God."\^ Wherefore, then, is it said, "Let us love one another, for love is of God," unless it be as a precept to our free-will, admonishing it to seek the gift of God? Now, this would be indeed a thoroughly fruitless admonition if the will did not previously receive some donation of love, which might seek to be enlarged with such completeness as might fulfil whatever injunction was laid upon it. When it is said,
"Let us love one another," it is law; when it is said, "For love is of God," it is grace. For God's "wisdom carries law and mercy upon her tongue." Accordingly, it is written in the Psalm, "For He who gave the law will give blessings." *

Chap. 38. â€” We should not love God unless He first loved us. The apostles chose Christ because they were chosen; they were not chosen because they chose Christ.

Let no one, then, deceive you, my brethren, because we should not love God unless He first loved us. John again gives us the plainest proof of this when he says,* "We love Him because He first loved us." Grace makes us lovers of the law; but the law itself, without grace, makes us 'breakers of the law.' And nothing else than this is shown us by the words of our Lord when He says to His disciples,

1 1 John iv. 7. ^ 1 John iv. 7. 3 Pro^, j^v jg {Sej^t.).

* Ps. Ixxxiv. 6 (Sept.). ^ 1 John iv. 19.

54 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 39

"Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." ^ Tor if we first loved Him, in order that by this merit He might love us, then we first chose Him that we might deserve to be chosen by Him. He, however, who is the Truth says another thing, and flatly contradicts this vain conceit of men. "You have not chosen me," He says. If, therefore, you have not chosen me, undoubtedly you have not loved me (for how could they choose one whom they did not love ?). "But I," says He, "have chosen you." And then could they possibly help choosing Him themselves afterwards, and preferring Him to all the blessings of this world? But having been themselves chosen, they chose Him; yet it was not because they chose Him that they were themselves chosen. There could be no merit in men's choice of Christ, if it were not that God's grace was prevenient in His choosing them. Whence the Apostle Paul pronounces in the Thessalonians this benediction: "The Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men." ^ This benediction to love one another He gave us, who had also given us a law that we should love each other. Then, in another passage addressed to the same church, seeing that there now existed in some of its members the disposition which he had wished them to cultivate, he says, "We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith growth exceedingly, and the charity of every one of you all toward each other aboundeth." ^ This he said lest they should make a boast of the great good which they were enjoying from God, as if they had it of their own mere selves. Because, then, your faith has so great a growth (this is the purport of his words), and the love of every one of you all toward each other so greatly abounds, we ought to thank God concerning you, but not to praise you, as if you possessed these gifts of yourselves.

Chap. 39. â€” The spirit of fear a great gift of God,
The apostle also says to Timothy, "For God hath not given to us the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." * Now in respect of this passage, indeed,

1 John XV. 16. 2 1 Thess. iii. 12. ^ 2 Tliess. i. 3. ^2 Tim. i. 7.

CHAP. 40. THE SPIRIT OF FEAR A GIFT. 55

of the apostle, we must be on our guard against supposing that we have not received the spirit of the fear of God, which is undoubtedly a great gift of God, and concerning which the prophet Isaiah says, "The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon thee, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of the Lord." ^ Now it is not the fear with which Peter denied Christ that we have received the spirit of, but of that fear concerning which Christ Himself says, "Fear Him who hath power to destroy both soul and body in hell; yea, I say unto you. Fear Him." ^ This, indeed. He said, lest we should deny Him from the same fear which shook Peter; for such cowardice He plainly wished to be removed from us when He, in the preceding passage, said, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do." ^ It is not of this fear that we have received the spirit, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. And of this spirit the same Apostle Paul discourses to the Romans:^""We glory in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." * Not by ourselves, therefore, but by the Holy Ghost' which is given to us, does it come to pass that, through the very action of that very love, which he shows us to be the gift of God, tribulation does not do away with patience, but rather produces it. 'Again, he says to the Ephesians, "Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith." ^ Great blessings these ! Let him tell us, however, whence they come. "From God the Father," says he immediately afterwards, "and the Lord Jesus Christ." These great blessings, therefore, are nothing else than God's gifts to us.

Chap. 40. [xix. ] â€” The dark ignorance of the Pelagians in maintaining that the knowledge of the laio comes from God, but that love comes from ourselves.

It is no wonder that light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.Â® In John's Epistle the


* Koni. V. 3, 4, 5. ^ Eph. vi. 23. Â« Joliu i. 5.

56 A TREATISE ON GEACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 40.
Light declares, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we
should be called the sons of God." ^ And in the Pelagian writings the darkness says,
"Love comes to us of our own selves." Now, if they only possessed the true love, that is,
Christian charity, they would also know whence they obtained possession of it; even as
the apostle knew when he said, "But we have received not the spirit of the world, but the
Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God."

John says, "God is love." ^ And thus the Pelagians affirm that they actually have, not
God Himself from God, but from their own selves; and although they allow that we have
the knowledge of the law from God, they will yet have it that love springs out of our very
selves. Nor do they listen to the apostle when he says, "Knowledge puffeth up, but
charity edifieth." * Now what can be more absurd, nay, what more insane and more alien
from the very sacredness of love itself, than to maintain that from God proceeds the
knowledge which, apart from love, puffs us up, while the love which prevents the
possibility of this inflation of knowledge springs from ourselves? And again, when the
apostle speaks of "the love of Christ as surpassing knowledge," ^ what can be more
insane than to suppose that the knowledge which must be subordinated to love comes
from God, while the love which surpasses knowledge comes from man? The true faith,
however, and sound doctrine declare that both graces are from God; the Scripture says,
"From the presence [of the Lord] cometh knowledge and understanding;" ^ and another
Scripture says,
"Love is of God."^ We read of "the Spirit of wisdom and understanding." ^ Also of "the
Spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." ^ But love is a greater gift than,
knowledge; for whenever a man has knowledge, love is necessary by the side
of it, that he be not puffed up.
For "charity envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up." 

1 1 John i. 12. 3 i John iv. 16.

*â– 1 Cor. viii. 1. * Eph. iii. 19. Â« Prov. ii. 6 (Sept.).

^ 1 John iv. 7. ^ Isa. xi. 2. Â» 2 Tim. i. 7.
" 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

CHAP. 41.] SIN AS A PUNISHMENT. 57

Chap. 41. [xx.] â€” The loills of men are so much in the power of God, that He can turn
them whithersoever it pleases Him. Some sins are the punishment of other sins.

I think I have now discussed the point fully enough in opposition to those who
vehemently oppose the grace of God, which, however, does not take away the human
will, but changes it from bad to good, and assists it when it is good. I think, too, that I
have so discussed the subject that it is not so much I myself as the inspired Scripture
which has spoken to you in the clearest testimonies of truth; and if this divine record be looked into carefully, it shows us that not only men's good wills, which God Himself converts from bad ones, and (when converted) directs to good actions and to eternal life, but also those which follow the world are so entirely at the disposal of God, that He turns them whithersoever He wills, and whencsoever He wills, â€” to bestow kindness on some, and to heap punishment on others, as He Himself judges right by a counsel most secret to Himself, indeed, but beyond all doubt most righteous.

For we find that some sins are even the chastisement of other sins, "as are those " vessels of wrath " which the apostle describes as " fitted to destruction;" as is also that obstinacy of Pharaoh, the purpose of which is said to be to set forth in him the power of God; as, again, is the flight of the Israelites from the face of the enemy before the city of Ai. Fear arose in their heart, so that they fled; and this took place that their sin might be punished in the way it was right that it should be; by reason of which the Lord said to Joshua the son of Nun,

" The children of Israel shall not be able to stand before the face of their enemies." ^

What is the meaning of, " They shall not be able to stand ? " ISTow, why of their own accord did they not stand firm, but, with a will perplexed by fear, took to flight, Avere it not that God has the lordship over men's wills, and when He is angry turns to fear and trembling whomsoever He pleases ? Was it not of their own accord that the enemies of the children of Israel abstained not from fighting against the people of God, as led by Joshua, the son of Nun ?

And yet the Scripture says, " It was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle,

' Rom. ix. 22. 2 ggg Ex. vii. 3, and x. 1. ^ ggg Josh. vii. 4, 12,
It was not by a positive command that He bade him, in which case his obedience would be praiseworthy, but He inclined the man's will, which had become debased by his own per-, verseness, to commit this heartless sin; [inclined it, I say.,] by His own just and secret judgment. Therefore it is said, " The Lord said unto him." Now if this person had obeyed an express command of God, he would have deserved to be praised rather than punished, as we know he was afterwards punished for this sin. Nor is the reason an obscure one why the Lord told him to curse David after this manner. " It may be," said the humbled king, " that the Lord will look on my humiliation, and will requite me good for his cursing this day." See, then, what proof we have here that God uses the hearts and minds of even wicked men for the praise and assistance of the good. ' Thus did he make use of Judas when betraying Christ; thus did He make use of the Jews when they crucified Christ. And how vast the blessings which from these instances He has bestowed upon the nations that should believe in Him! ^He also uses our worst enemy, the devil himself, but in the best way, to exercise and try the faith â–

1 Josh. xi. 20. - 2 Sam. xvi. 9, 10. =* 2 Sam. xvi. 11, 12.

CHAP. 42.] THE POWER OF GOD OVEPt THE WILL. 59

and piety of good men, â€” not for Himself indeed, who knows all things before they come to pass, but for our sakes, for whom it was necessary that such a discipline should be gone through with us. Could Absalom help choosing of his own will the counsel which was detrimental to him? And yet the real reason of his doing so was that the Lord had heard his father's prayer that it might be so; ' because the Scripture tells us that " the Lord appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring all the evil upon Absalom." ^ It called Ahithophel's counsel " good^" because it was for the moment of advantage to his purpose. It was in favour of the son against his father, against whom he had rebelled; and might have crushed him, had not^" the Lord defeated the counsel which Ahithophel had given, by acting on the heart of Absalom in such a manner that he rejected this counsel, and chose another which was not expedient for him.

Chap. 42. [xxi.] â€” God does ivhatsoever He wills in the hearts of even wicked men.

Who can help trembling at those judgments of God by which He does in the hearts of even wicked men whatsoever He wills, at the same time rendering to every man according to their deeds? Eehoboam, the son of Solomon, rejected the wise and salutary counsel of the old men, to the effect that he should not deal harshly with the people, and preferred listening to the words of the young men of his own age, by returning a rough answer instead of the gentle one which he ought to have given. JSTow whence arose such conduct, except from his own wilfulness? Upon this, however, the ten tribes of Israel revolted from him, and chose for themselves another king, even Jeroboam, that the will
of God in His anger might be accomplished which He had predicted would come to pass.^

For what says the Scripture? "The king hearkened not unto the people; for the cause was from the Lord, that He might perform His saying, which the Lord spake to Alijah the Shilonite concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat." ^ All this, indeed, was brought about by the will of man, although the cause was from the Lord. Read the books of the Chronicles,

' 2 Sam. xvii. 14. - 1 Kings xii. 8-14. ~ 1 Kings xii. 1.5.

60 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 42.

and you will find the following passage in the second book:
"Moreover, the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians, that were neighbours to the Ethiopians; and they came up to the land of Judah, and ravaged it, and carried away all the substance which was found in the king's house." ^

Here it is shown that God stirs up enemies to devastate the countries which He adjudges deserving of such chastisement. Still, did these Philistines and Arabians invade the land of Judah to waste it with no will of their own? Or were their movements so directed by their own will that the Scripture lies which tells us that "the Lord stirred up their spirit" to do all this?

Both statements to be sure are true, because they both came of their own accord, and yet the Lord stirred up their spirit; and this may also with equal truth be stated the other way: The Lord both stirred up their spirit, and yet they came of their own accord. For the Almighty sets in motion even in the innermost hearts of men their wills and inclinations, so that He does through their agency whatsoever He wills them to do.-À»â€”

even He who knows not how to will anything in unrighteousness. What, again, is the purport of that which the man of God said to King Amaziah: "Let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the Lord is not with Israel, even with all the children of Ephraim: for if thou shalt think to obtain with these, the Lord shall put thee to flight before thine enemies:

for God hath power either to strengthen or to put to flight"? ^

Now, how does the power of God help some in war by giving them confidence, and put others to flight by injecting fear into them, except it be that He who has made all things according to His own will, in heaven and on earth,^ also works continually in the hearts of men? We read also what Joash, king of Israel, said when he sent a message to Amaziah, king of Judah, who wanted to fight with him. After certain other words, he added, "Now tarry at home; why dost thou challenge me to thine hurt, that thou shouldst fall, even thou, and Judah with thee?" * Then the Scripture has added this sequel: "But Amaziah would not hear; for it came

1 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. "^ 2 Cliron. xxv. 7, 8.

3 Ps. cxxxv. 6. * 2 Kings xiv. 10.
of God, that he might be delivered into the hands [of the enemy], because they sought after the gods of Edom." 

Behold, now, how God, wishing to punish the sin of idolatry, operated in this man's heart (with whom He was indeed justly angry) not to listen to sound advice, but, despising it, to go to the battle, in which he with his army was routed. God says by the prophet Ezekiel, "If the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet:

I will stretch out my hand upon him, and will destroy him from the midst of my people Israel." 

Then there is the book of Esther, who was a woman of the people of Israel, and in the land of their captivity became the wife of the foreign King Ahasuerus. In this book it is written, that, being driven by necessity to interpose in behalf of her people, whom the king had ordered to be slain in every part of his dominions, she prayed to the Lord. So strongly was she urged by the necessity of the case, that she even ventured into the royal presence without the king's command, and contrary to her own custom. Now observe what the Scripture says: "He looked at her with fierce and intense indignation; and the queen was afraid, and her colour changed as she fainted; and she bowed herself upon the head of her delicate maiden which went before her. But God changed the king, and turned his indignation to gentleness." * The Scripture says in the Proverbs of Solomon, "Even as the rush of water, so is the heart of a king in God's hand; He will turn it in whatever way He shall choose." Again, in the 104th Psalm, in reference to the Egyptians, one reads what God did to them:

"And He turned their heart to hate His people, to deal subtilly with His servants." 

Observe, likewise, what is written in the letters of the apostles. In the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans occur these words: "Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts;" and a little afterwards: "For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections;" again, in the next

1 2 Chrou. XXV. 20. ^ Ezek. xiv. 9.

' [Intuitus est earn tanquam tairius impetu indignationis swoe.]

â— * Esther v. (sec. 1 in the Sept.). * Prov. xxi. 1.

*^ [This is written in Ps. cv. 25.] ' Kom. i. 21. ^ Rom. i. 2(5.

62 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 43.

passage: "And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient." ^ So also in his
second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the apostle says of sundry persons, " Inasmuch as they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved; therefore also God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." 

Chap. 43. â€” God operates on men's hearts to incline their wills whithersoever He leases.

From these statements of the inspired word, and from "similar passages which it would take too long to quote in full, it is, I think, sufficiently clear that God works in the hearts of men to incline them after the pleasure of His own will, whether to good deeds â€” according to His mercy, or to evil â€” after their own deserts; His own judgments indeed controlling them, which are sometimes manifest, sometimes secret, but always righteous. This ought to be the fixed and immoveable conviction of your heart, that there is no unrighteousness with God. Therefore, whenever you read in the Scriptures of Truth, that men are led aside, or that their hearts are blunted and hardened by God, never doubt that some ill deserts of their own have first occurred, so that they are justly requited with the delinquency and obduracy. Thus you will not run counter to that proverb of Solomon: " The foolishness of a man perverteth his ways, yet he blameth God in his heart." Grace, however, is not bestowed according to men's deserts; otherwise grace would be no longer grace.* For grace [gratia] is so designated because it is given freely [gratis]. Now if God is able, either through
the agency of angels (whether good ones or evil), or in any
other way whatever, to operate in the hearts even of the
wicked, in return for their deserts, â€” whose wickedness He did
not Himself create, but it was either derived originally from
Adam, or grew through their own wilfulness, â€” what is there
to wonder at if, through the Holy Spirit, He works good in
the hearts of the elect, through whose' sole operation it was
. that their hearts became good instead of evil ? "


CHAP. 44.] GRATUITOUS GEACE. 63

Chap. 44. [xxu.]â€”Gratuitous grace exempHJied in infants.

Men, however, may suppose that there are certain good deserts which they think
previously exist, that they may he entitled to he justified through God's grace; all the
while failing to see, when they express such an opinion, that they do nothing else than
deny grace. But, as I have already remarked, let them think what they like respecting the
case of adults, in the case of infants, at any rate, the Pelagians find no means of
answering the difficulty, "^ Infants in receiving grace possess no will, from the influence
of which they can pretend to any precedence of merit. We see, moreover, how they cry
and struggle when they are baptized, and feel the sacred elements. Such conduct would,
of course, be charged against them as a great impiety, if they were already
^endued with freedom of will; and notwithstanding this,
' grace cleaves to them even in their resisting struggles. ^
But most certainly there is no prevenient merit, otherwise the grace would be no longer
grace. Sometimes, too, this grace is bestowed upon the children of unbelievers, when
they happen by some means or other to fall, by reason of God's secret providence, into
the hands of pious persons; but, on the other hand, the children of believers fail to obtain
grace, some hindrance occurring to prevent the approach of help to rescue them in their
danger. These things, no doubt, happen through the secret providence of God, whose
judgments are unsearchable, and His ways past finding out. These are the words of the
apostle; and you should observe what he had previously said, to lead him to add such a
remark. He was discourseing about the Jews and Gentiles, when he wrote to the Eomans
â€”themselves Gentiles â€” to this effect: "Tor as ye, in times past, have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief; even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy; for God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all." ^ Now, after he had thought upon what he said, full of wonder at the certain truth of his own assertion, indeed, but astonished at its

' Kom. xi. 30-32,

64 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 45.

great depth, how God concluded all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all, â€” as if doing evil that good might come, â€” he at once exclaimed, and said, " the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out ! " ^ These unsearchable judgments and untraceable ways, indeed, perverse men, who never reflect but are ever prone to censure, being unable to understand, supposed the apostle to say, and censoriously gloriied over him for saying, " Let us do evil, that good may come ! " God forbid that the apostle should say so ! But men, without understanding, thought that so much was in fact said, whenever they heard these words of the apostle: " Moreover, the law entered, that the offence might abound; but^where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." ^ ' But grace, indeed, effects this purpose â€” that good works should now be wrought by those who previously did evil; not that they should persevere in evil courses, and suppose that they are recompensed with good. Their language, therefore, ought not to be: " Let us do evil, that good may come; " but: We have done evil, and good has come; let us henceforth do good, that in the future world we may receive good for good, who in the present life are receiving good for evil. " Wherefore it is written in the Psalm, " I will sing of mercy and judgment unto Thee, Lord." ^ When the Son of man, therefore, first came into the world, it was not to judge the world, but that the world through Him might be saved.* And this dispensation was for mercy; by and by, however, He will come for judgment â€” to judge the quick and the dead. And yet even in this present time salvation itself is not occurring without judgment â€” although it be a hidden one; therefore He says,
" For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not may see, and that they which see may be made blind." ^

Chap. 45. [xxiii.] â€” The reason why one person is assisted by grace, and another is not helped, must he referred to the secret judgments of God.

'â€¢ You must refer the matter, then, to the hidden determinations of God, when you see, in one and the same condition,

1 Rom. xi. 33. - ' Rom. v. 20. ^ Ps. ci. 1,
such as all infants imquestionably have, who derive their hereditary evil from Adam, that one is assisted so as to be baptized, and another is not helped, so that he dies in his very bondage of sin; and again, that one baptized person is left and forsaken in his present life, whom God foreknew that he would be ungodly, while another baptized person is taken away from this life, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding; and be sure that you do not in such cases ascribe unrighteousness or want of wisdom to God, in whom is the very fountain of righteousness and wisdom, but, as I have exhorted you from the commencement of this treatise, wherefore you have already attained, walk therein; and even this shall God reveal unto you, if not in this life, yet certainly in the next, for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed. When, therefore, you hear the Lord say, I the Lord have deceived that prophet, and likewise what the apostle says: He hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth, believe that, in the case of him whom He permits to be deceived and hardened, his evil deeds have deserved the judgment; whilst in the case of him to whom He shows mercy, you should loyally and unhesitatingly recognise the grace of the God who rendereth not evil for evil; but contrariwise blessing. Nor should you withdraw from Pharaoh his free-will, because in several passages God says, I have hardened Pharaoh; or, I have hardened or I will harden Pharaoh's heart; for it does not by any means follow that Pharaoh did not, on this account, harden his own heart. The truth is, that this is actually said of him, after the removal of the fly-plague from the Egyptians, in these words of the Scripture: And Pharaoh hardened his Heart at this time also; neither would he let the people go. Thus it was that both God, by His just judgment, and Pharaoh, by his own freewill, were both engaged in the work of induration. Be ye

* John iii. 17. * John ix. 2.}

CHAP. 45. ] god's MEECY AND JUDGMENT. 6.7

' Wisd. iv. 11,

" Phil. iii. 16. ^ Phil. iii. \>

* Matt. X. 20.

5 Ezek. xiv. 9. Â« Kom, ix. 18
7 1 Pet. iii. 9.

* .See Ex. iv. 21, vii. 3,, xiv.^4.

9 Ex. viii. Z-1.

XV.

E

66 A TREATISE ON GRACE AND FREE-WILL. [CHAP. 46.

then well assured that your labour will never be in vain, if, setting before you a good purpose, you persevere in it to the last. Tor God, who does not render simply to those whom He liberates according to their deeds, will then " recompense every man according to his works." ^ God will, therefore, certainly recompense both evil for evil, because He is just; and good for evil, because He is good; and good for good, because He is good and just; only, evil for good He will never recompense, because He is not unjust. He will, therefore, recompense evil for evil â€” punishment for unrighteousness; and good for evil â€” grace for grace.

Chap. 46. [xxiv.] â€” Understanding and wisdom must be sought from God.

Peruse attentively this treatise, and if you understand it, give God the praise; but where you fail to understand it, pray for understanding, for God will give you this faculty. Remember what the Scriptures say: " If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given to him." ^ Wisdom itself cometh down from above, as the Apostle James himself tells us.^ There is, however, another wisdom, which you must repel from you, and pray against its remaining in you; this the same apostle expressed his detestation of when he said, " But if ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, . . . this is not the wisdom which descendeth from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For wherever there is envying and strife, there is also confusion, and every evil work. But the wisdom which is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good works, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." * What blessing, then, will that man not have who has prayed for this wisdom and obtained it of the Lord ?
And from this you may understand what grace is; because if this wisdom were of ourselves, it would not be from above; nor would it be an object to be asked for of the God who

1 Matt. xvi. 27. 2 Jas. i. 5.

3 Jas. i. 17, and iii. 17. * Jas. iii. 14-17.

CHAP. 46. CONCLUSION.

created us. Brethren, pray ye also for us, that we may live "soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," to whom belong the honour, and the glory, and the kingdom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

1 [Thus fulfilling the triple duty of the Christian, â€” to himself, to his neighbour, and to God.]

2 Titus ii. 12.

Extract from the Second Book of "The Retractations" the lad Chapter, referring to the following Treatise: â€”

"DE COEEPTIONE ET GEAIA."

I WROTE again to the same persons another treatise, which I entitled De Coeptione et Gratia ["On Behuke and Grace"], because I had been told that some one there had said â€” that no man ought to be rebuked for not doing God's commandments, but that prayer only should be made on his behalf, that he may do them. This book begins on this wise, "I have read your letters, dearly beloved brother Valentine."

' Valentine, to wit, and the monks with him who inhabited the convent of Adrumetum.

A TREATISE ON EEBUEE AND GRACE.

By AUEELIUS AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo,

IN" ONE BOOK.
IN THE BEGINNING THE WRITER SETS FORTH WHAT IS THE CATHOLIC FAITH
CONCERNING LAW, CONCERNING FREE-WILL, AND CONCERNING GRACE.
HE TEACHES THAT THE GRACE OF GOD BY JESUS CHRIST IS THAT BY WHICH
ALONE MEN ARE DELIVERED FROM EVIL, AND WITHOUT WHICH THEY DO
ABSOLUTELY NO GOOD; AND THIS NOT ONLY BY THE FACT THAT IT MANI-
FESTS WHAT IS TO BE DONE, BUT THAT IT ALSO SUPPLIES THE MEANS OF
DOING IT WITH LOVE, SINCE GOD BESTOWS ON MEN THE INSPIRATION OF
A GOOD WILL AND DEED. HE TEACHES THAT THE REBUKE OF EVIL MEN
WHO HAVE NOT RECEIVED THIS GRACE IS NEITHER UNRIGHTEOUS â€”
SINCE THEY ARE EVIL BY THEIR OWN WILL â€” NOR USELESS, ALTHOUGH IT
MUST BE
CONFESSED THAT IT IS ONLY BY GOD'S AGENCY THAT IT CAN AVAIL.
THAT PERSEVERANCE IN GOOD IS TRULY A GREAT GIFT OF GOD, BUT THAT
STILL
THE REBUKE OF ONE WHO HAS NOT PERSEVERED MUST NOT ON THAT AC-
COUNT BE NEGLECTED; AND THAT IF A MAN WHO HAS NOT RECEIVED
THIS GIFT SHOULD RELAPSE OF HIS OWN WILL INTO SIN, HE IS NOT ONLY
DESERV-
ING OF REBUKE, BUT IF HE SHOULD CONTINUE IN EVIL UNTIL HIS DEATH,
HE IS MOREOVER WORTHY OF ETERNAL DAMNATION. THAT IT IS
INSCRUT-
ABLE WHY ONE SHOULD RECEIVE THIS GIFT AND ANOTHER SHOULD NOT
RECEIVE IT. THAT OF THOSE WHO ARE PREDESTINATED NONE CAN
PERISH.
AND THAT THE PERSEVERANCE, WHICH ALL DO NOT RECEIVE WHO ARE
HERE CALLED CHILDREN OF GOD, IS CONSTANTLY GIVEN TO ALL THOSE
WHO
ARE TRULY CHILDREN BY GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE AND
PREDESTINATION.
HE ANSWERS THE QUESTION WHICH SUGGESTS ITSELF CONCERNING
ADAM â€”
IN WHAT WAY HE SINNED BY NOT PERSEVERING, Since he did not receive perseverance. He shows that such assistance was at the first given to him, as that without it he could not continue if he would, not that with it it must result that he would. But that now through Christ is given us not only such help as that without it we cannot continue even if we will, but moreover such and so

69

VO A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GRACE. [CIIAP. 1

GREAT AS THAT BY IT WE WILL. He proves that the number of the predestinated, to whom a gift of this kind is appropriated, is certain, and can neither be increased nor diminished. And since it is unknown who belongs to that number, and who does not, that medicinal rebuke must be applied to all who sin, lest they should either themselves perish, or be the ruin of others. Finally, he concludes that neither is rebuke to be checked by grace, nor is grace to be denied by rebuke.

CiiAP. 1. [i.] â€” Introductory, addressed to Valentine, etc.

I HAVE read your letters â€” Valentine, my dearly beloved brother, and you who are associated with him in the service of God â€” which your love sent [to me] by brother riorius and those who came to us with him; and I gave God thanks that I have known your peace in the Lord, and the agreement in the truth and order in love [evidenced] in your discourse delivered to us. But that an enemy has striven among you to the subversion of some, has, by the mercy of God and His marvellous goodness in turning those arts to the advantage of His servants, rather availed to this result, that while none of your friends were cast down for the worse, some were built up for the better. There is therefore no need to reconsider again and again all that I have already transmitted to you, sufficiently argued out in a lengthy treatise;^ for your replies indicate how you have received this. Nevertheless, do not in any wise suppose that, when once read, it can have become sufficiently well known to you. Therefore if you desire to have it exceedingly productive, do not count it a grievance by re-perusal to make it thoroughly familiar; so that you may most accurately^ know what and what kind of questions they are, for the solution and satisfaction of which there arises an authority not human but divine, from which we ought not to depart if we desire to attain to the point whither we are tending.
Chap. 2. â€“ The Catholic faith concerning law, grace, and free-will.

Now the Lord Himself not only shows us from what evil we should decline, and what good we should do, which is all

1 Or according to some Mss., " progress."
^ Treatise on Grace and Free-Will, see supra,
' Or, "most clearly."

CHAP. 3] LAW, GRACE, AND FREE-WILL. 71

that the letter of the law is able to effect; but He moreover helps us that we may decline from evil and do good,^ which none can do without the Spirit of grace; and if this be wanting, the law comes in merely to make us guilty and to slay us. It is on this account that the apostle says, " The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life."^ He, then, who lawfully uses the law learns therein evil and good, and if he do not confide in his own strength, flees to grace, by the help of which he may decline from evil and do good. But who is there who flees to grace except when "the steps of a man are ordered by the Lord, and He shall determine his way" ? ^
And by this means also the desire of the help of grace is the beginning of grace; of which, says he [the Psalmist], " And I said, Now I have begun; this is the change of the right hand of the Most High."* It is to be confessed, therefore, that we have free choice to do both evil and good; but in doing evil every one is free from righteousness and a servant of sin, while in doing good no one can be free, unless he have been made free by Him who said, " If the Son shaU make you free, then you shall be free indeed."^ ISTeither is it thus, that when any one has been made free from the dominion of sin, he no longer needs the help of his Deliverer; but rather thus, that hearing from Him, "Without me ye can do nothing,"^ he himself also says to Him, " Be thou my helper! Forsake me not."^ I rejoice that I have found in our brother Florus also this faith, which without doubt is the true and prophetic AND APOSTOLICAL AND CATHOLIC FAITH; whence thoSC are the rather to be corrected â€” whom indeed I now think to have been corrected by the favour of God â€” who did not understand him.

Chap. 3. [ii.] â€“ What the grace of God through Jesus Christ is.

For the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord must be apprehended, â€“ as that by yii ch alone men are .deliveredd from evil, and without wMch_thex<^o absolutely no good thing, whether in thoughtâ€“ or will and affection, or in action;

^ Ps. xxxra. 27. - 2 Cor. iii. 6. ^ Ps. xxxvii. 23.

4 Ps. Ixxvi. 10 [LXX.]. * John viii. 36. Â« John xv. 5.
in order not only that they may know, by the manifestation of that grace, what should be
done, but moreover that, by its enabling, they may do with love what they know.
Certainly the apostle asked for this inspiration of good will and deed on behalf of those to
whom he said, "Now we pray to God that ye do no evil, not that we should appear
a]proved, but that ye should do that which is good."^ Who can hear this and not awake
and confess that we have it from the Lord God that we turn aside from evil and do good ?
ã€”since the apostle indeed says .not, We admonish, we teach, we exhort, we rebuke; but
he says, *" We pray to God that ye do no evil, but that ye should do that which is
good."^ And yet he was also in the habit of speaking to them, and doing all those things
which I have mentioned, â€” he admonished, he taught, he exhorted, he rebuked. But he
knew that all these things which he was doing in the way of planting and watering on the
surface^ were of no avail unless He who giveth the increase in secret should give heed to
his prayer on their behalf.
Because, as .the same teacher of the Gentiles says, " Neither is he that planteth anything,
neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase."^'

Chap. 4. â€” The children of God are led by the Spirit of God.

Let those, therefore, not deceive themselves who say, Wherefore is it preached and
prescribed to us that we should turn away from evil and do good, if it is not we that do
this, but " God who worketh in us to will and to do it" ?^ But let them rather understand
that if they are the children of God, they are led by the Spirit of God^ to do that which
should be done; and when they have done it, let them give thanks to Him by whom they
act. For they are influenced that they may act, not that they may themselves do nothing;
and in addition to this, it is shown them what they ought to do, so that when they have
done it as it ought to be done â€” that is, with the love and the delight of righteousness
â€” they may rejoice in having received " the sweetness which the Lord

1 2 Cor. siii. 7. ^ Ihid. ' In aperto.


CHAP. 6.] THE NEED OF EEBUKE. 73

has given, that their ^ land should yield her increase."' But when they do not act,
^Yhether by not doing at all or by not doing from love, let them pray that what as yet
they have not, they may receive. For what shall they have which they shall not receive? or what have they which they have not received?

Chap. 5. [iir.] â€” Rebuke must not be neglected.

"Then," say they, "let those who are over us only prescribe to us what we ought to do, and pray for us that we may do it; but let them not rebuke and censure us if we should not do it." Certainly let all such things be done, since the teachers of the churches, the apostles, were in the habit of doing all such things, â€” as well of prescribing what things should be done, as of rebuking if they were not done, and of praying that they might be done. The apostle enjoins, saying, "Let all your things be done with charity."^ He rebukes, saying, "NOW therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye have judgments among yourselves. For why do ye not rather suffer wrong? Why are ye not rather defrauded? Nay, ye do wrong and defraud; and that, your brethren. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not possess the kingdom of God?"^ Let us hear him also praying: "And the Lord," says he, "multiply you, and make you to abound in love one towards another and towards all men."^ He prescribes that love should be maintained; he rebukes, because love is not indulged; he prays that love may abound. man! learn in his precept what you ought to possess; learn in his rebuke that it is by your own fault that you possess it not; learn in his prayer whence you may receive what you desire to have.

Chap. 6. [iv.] â€” Objections to the use of rebuke.

"In what way," says he [the semi-Pelagian], "is it regarded as my fault that I have not what I have not received from Him, by whom unless it is given, there is no other at all whence such and so great a gift can be had?" Suffer me a little, my brethren, not as against you whose heart is right with God,^ Some Mss. have "his land." - Ps. Ixxxv. 12. ' 1 Cor. iv. 7.

* 1 Cor. xvi. 14. M Cor. vi. 7, et seq. Â« 1 Thess. iii. 12.

74 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 7-

but as against those who mind earthly things, or as against those human modes of thinking themselves, to contend for the truth of the heavenly and divine grace. For they who say this are such as in their wicked works are unwilling to be rebuked by those who proclaim this grace. "Prescribe to me what I shall do, and if I should do it, give thanks to God for me who has given me to do it; but if I do it not, I must not be rebuked, but He must be besought to give what He has not given; that is, that very believing love of God and of my neighbour by which His precepts are^ observed. Pray, then, for me that I may receive this, and may by its means do freely and with good will that which He commands. But I should be justly rebuked if by my own fault I had it not; that is, if I
myself could give it to myself, or could receive it, and did not do so, or if He should give it and I should be unwilling to receive it. " But since even the will itself is prepared^ by the Lord, why dost thou rebuke me because thou seest me unwilling to do His precepts, and dost not rather ask Him Himself to work in me the will also? " ^

Chap. 7. [v.] â€” The necessity and advantage of rebuke.

To this we answer: whoever you are that do not the commandments of God that are already known to you, and do not wish to be rebuked/ you must be rebuked even for that very reason that you do not wish to be rebuked. For you do not wish that your faults should be shown to you; you do not wish that they should be touched, and that such a salutary pain should be caused you that you may seek the Physician; you do not desire to be shown to yourself, that, seeing yourself to be deformed, you may wish for the Eeformer, and may supplicate Him that you may not continue in that repulsiveness. For it is your fault that you are evil; and it is a greater fault to be unwilling to be rebuked because you are evil, as if faults should either be praised or regarded with indifference, so as neither to be praised nor blamed, or as if, indeed, the dread, or the shame, or the suffering of the rebuked man were of no avail, or were of any other avail in health-

^ Origen and some MSS., "Jiant," sell. " may 5e observed. "
* Prov. xvi. 1.

CHAP. a] THE BENEFIT OF EEBUK. 75

fully stimulatiig, except to cause that He who is good may be besought, and so out of evil men who are rebuked may make good men who may be praised. ^ For what he who will not be rebuked desires to be done for him, when he says. Pray for me rather â€” he must be rebuked for that very reason that he may himself also do for himself; because Hhat suffering with which he is dissatisfied with himself when .i.e feels the sting of rebuke, stirs him up to a desire for more earnest prayer, that, by God's mercy, he may be aided by the increase of love/and cease to do things which are shameful and grievous, and do things praiseworthy and gladly to be acknowledged. This is the benefit of rebuke that is wholesomely apphed, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less severity, in accordance with the diversity of sins, and it is then wholesome when the supreme Physician looks down [on the application]. For it avails nothing unless when it makes a man repent of his sin. And who gives this but He who looked upon the Apostle Peter when he denied,^ and made him weep ? Whence also the Apostle Paul, after he said that they were to be rebuked Math moderation who thought otherwise, immediately added, " Lest perchance God give them repentance, to the acknowledging of the truth, and they recover themselves out of the snares of the devil." ^

Chap. 8. â€” Further replies to those who object to rebuke.
But wherefore do they, who are unwilling to be rebuked, say, "Only prescribe to me, and pray for me that I may do what you prescribe"? Why do they not rather, in accordance with their own evil inclination, reject these things also, and say, I neither wish you to prescribe to me, nor to pray for me? For what man is shown to have prayed for Peter, that God should give him the repentance wherewith he bewailed the denial of his Lord? What man instructed Paul in the divine precepts which pertain to the Christian faith? When, therefore, he was heard preaching the gospel, and saying, "For I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it from man, nor did I learn it, but by the revelation of Jesus

^ Luke xxii. 61. = 2 Tim. ii. 25.

76 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 9.

Christ," ^ ā¢” would it be replied to him: Why are you troubling us to receive and to learn from you that which you have not received nor learnt from man? He who gave to you is able also to give to us in like manner as to you. Moreover, if they dare not say this, but suffer the gospel to be preached to them by man, although it cannot be given to man by man, let them concede also that they ought to be rebuked by those who are set over them, by whom Christian grace is preached; although* it is not denied that God is able, even when no man rebukes, to correct whom He will, and to lead him on to the wholesome suffering of repentance by the most hidden and mighty power of His medicine. And as we are not to cease from prayer on behalf of those whom we desire to be corrected, ā¢” even although without any man's prayer on behalf of Peter, the Lord looked upon him and caused him to bewail his sin, ā¢” so we must not neglect rebuke, although God can make those whom He will to be corrected, even when not rebuked.

But a man then profits by rebuke when He pities and aids, ā¢” who makes those whom He will to profit even without rebuke. But wherefore these are called to be reformed in one way, those in another way, and others in still another way, after different and innumerable manners, be it far from us to assert I that it is the business of the clay to judge, but of the potter."

Chap. 9. [vr.] ā¢” WJnj they may justly be rebuked who do not obey God, although

they have not yet received the grace of obedience.

The apostle says, say they, "For who maketh thee to differ? And what hast thou that thou hast not received?

Now also if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it? " ^ " Why, then, are we rebuked, censured, reproved, accused? What do we do if we have not received?" They who say this wish to appear beyond blame in respect of their not obeying God, because assuredly obedience itself is His gift; and that gift must of necessity be in him in whom dwells love, which without doubt is of God, and the Father
gives it to His children. " This," say they, " we have not received. ^ Why, then, are we rebuked, as if we were able to give it to ourselves, and of our own choice would not give it ? "  
1 Gal. i. 11. * 2 Cor. iv. 7.

CHAP. 10.] THE RESULT OF REBUKE. 77

And they do not observe that, if they are not yet regenerated, the chief reason why, when they are reproached for their disobedience to God, they ought to be dissatisfied with themselves is, that God made man upright from the beginning of the human creation, and there is no unrighteousness with God.

And thus the first depravity, whereby God is not obeyed, is of man, because, falling by his own evil will from the rectitude in which God at first made him, he became depraved. But is not such depravity as that to be rebuked in a man because it is not peculiar to him who is rebuked, but is common to all? Yes, indeed, let it also be rebuked in individuals, if it is common to all. For the circumstance that none is altogether free from it is no reason why it should not attach to each man. Those original sins, indeed, are said to be the sins of others, because individuals derived them from their parents; but they are not unreasonably said to be our own also, because in that one [parent], as the apostle says, all have sinned. ^ Let, then, the damnable source be rebuked, that from the pain of rebuke may spring the will of regeneration, â€”

if, indeed, he who is rebuked is a child of promise, â€” in order that, by the noise of the rebuke sounding and lashing from without, God may by His hidden inspiration work in liim from within to will also. If, however, being already regenerate and justified, he relapses of his own will into an evil life, assuredly he cannot say, " I have not received," because of his own free choice to evil he has lost the grace of God, that he had received. And if, stung with compunction by rebuke, he wholesomely bewails [his sin], and returns to good works similar [to his first], or even better, certainly here most manifestly appears the advantage of rebuke. " But _yet for rebuke by the agency of man to avail., whether it be of love or not, depends only upon God, ^

Chap. 10. â€” All perseverance is God's gift.

Is such an one as is unwilling to be rebuked still able to say, " What have I done since I have not received ? " when it appears plainly that he has received, and by his own fault has lost that which he has received. " I am able," says he, " I am

r.orn. iii. 23.

7S A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 10.
altogether able, “when you reprove me for having of my own will relapsed from a
good life into a bad one, “still to say,

â– “What have I done, seeing that I have not received? For’ I
received faith, which worketh by love, but therein I have not

I received perseverance to the end. Will any one dare to

, say that such a perseverance as that is not the gift of God, and that so great a possession
as this is ours in such wise that if any one have it the apostle could not say to him, ’ For
what hast thou, which thou hast not received ?” since he has this in such a manner as that
he has not received it ? “To this, indeed, we are not able to give a denial, that
perseverance in good, progressing even to the end, is also a great gift of God; and that it
is not [given] save by Him of whom it is written,

" Every best gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming

â€” down from the Father of lights." ^But the rebuke of him who has not persevered
must not on that account be neglected, ”lest God perchance give unto him repentance,
and he recover himself from the snares of the devil; " ^since to the usefulness of rebuke
the apostle has subjoined this decision, saying, as I have above mentioned, " Eebuking
with moderation those that think differently, lest at any time God
1 give them repentance."* For if we should say that such a perseverance, so laudable and
so blessed, is man's in such wise as that he has it not from God, we first of all make void
that which the Lord says to Peter: " I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not." ^For
what did He ask for him, but perseverance to the end ? And assuredly, if a man could
have this from man, it should not have been asked from God.
Then when the apostle says, " Now we pray to God that ye do no evil,” ” beyond a doubt
he prays to God on their behalf for

â– perseverance. For neither does he do no evil who forsakes good, nor is he persevering
in good who is inclined to evil, from which he ought to turn aside. ^In that place,
moreover, where he says, ” I thank my God in every remembrance of you, always in
every prayer of mine for you all making

^ 1 Cor. iv. 7. 2 j.^3 iij s 2 Tim. ii. 25.


7 Erasmus reads, "Who forsakes good from which he ought not to turn aside, and is
inclined to evil."
request with joy for your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now, being confident of this very thing, that He who has begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ," what else does he promise to them from the mercy of God than perseverance in good to the end?

And again where he says, "Epaphras saluteth you, who is one of you, a servant of Christ Jesus, always striving for you in prayer, that you may stand perfect and fulfilled in all the will of God," what is "that you may stand," but "that you may persevere"? "Whence it was said of the devil, "He continued not in the truth;" * because he was there, but he did not continue. For assuredly those [above spoken of] were already standing in the faith. And when we pray that he who stands may stand, we do not pray for anything else than that he may persevere. Jude the apostle, again, when he says, "Now unto Him that is able to keep you without offence, and to establish you before the presence of His glory, immaculate in joy," does he not most manifestly show that perseverance in good unto the end is God's gift? For what but a good perseverance does He give who preserves without offence that He may place before the presence of His glory immaculate in joy? What is it, moreover, that we read in the Acts of the Apostles: "And when the Gentiles heard, they rejoiced and received the word of the Lord; and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed"? Who could be ordained to eternal life save by the gift of perseverance?

And when [we read], "He that shall persevere unto the end shall be saved;" "with what salvation but that which is eternal? And when, in the Lord's Prayer, we say to God the Father, "Hallowed be thy name," what do we ask but that His name may be hallowed in us? And as this is already accomplished by means of the laver of regeneration, why is it daily asked by believers, except that in that which is already done in us [they seek] that we may persevere?

For the blessed Cyprian also understands this in this manner,

'Many MSS. read "communication." * Phil. i. 3, et seq.


^ According to Albin: *' Except that what is done in us may continue in us."

80 A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 11.

inasmuch as, in his exposition of the same prayer, he says: "We say, 'Hallowed be thy name,' not that we wish for God that He may be hallowed by our prayers, but that we ask of God that His name may be hallowed in us. But by whom is God sanctified, since He Himself sanctifies? Well, because He said, 'Be ye holy, since I also am holy; 'â– ^ we ask and entreat that we who have been sanctified in baptism may persevere in that which we have begun to be." ^ Behold the most glorious martyr is of this opinion, that what in these words Christ's faithful people are daily asking is, that they
may persevere in that which they have begun to be. And no one need doubt, but that whosoever prays from the Lord that he may persevere in good, confesses thereby that such perseverance is His gift.

Chap. 11. [vii.] â€” They who have not received the gift of perseverance, and have relapsed into mortal sin and have died therein, must righteously be condemned.

If, then, these things be so, we still rebuke those, and reasonably rebuke them, who, although they were living well, have not persevered therein; because they have of their own will been changed from a good to an evil course of life, and on that account [are worthy] of rebuke; and if rebuke should be of no avail to them, and they should persevere in their ruined life until death, they are also deserving of divine condemnation for ever. Neither shall they excuse themselves, saying, â€” as now they say. Wherefore are we rebuked? â€” so then. Wherefore are we condemned, since indeed (-[as a reason] that we should return from good to evil) we have not received that perseverance by which we should abide in good?

They shall by no means deliver themselves by this excuse from righteous condemnation. For if, according to the word of truth, no one is delivered from the condemnation which was incurred through Adam except through the faith of Jesus Christ, and yet from this condemnation they shall not deliver themselves who shall be able to say that they have not heard the gospel of Christ, since " faith cometh by hear-

' Nearly all Mss.: "even as I am holy."


CHAP. 13.] ALL WITHOUT PEESEVERANCE EQUALLY LOST. 81

ing/ ^- how much less shall they deliver themselves who shall say. We have not received perseverance! For the excuse of those who say. We have not received hearing, seems more equitable than that of those who say, We have not received perseverance; since 4t may be said, man, in that which thou hast heard and kept, in that thou mightest persevere if thou wouldest;\^but in no wise can it be said, That which thou hast not heard thou mightest believe if thou wouldest.

Chap. 12. â€“ They who have not received perseverance are not distinguished from the mass of those that are lost.

And, consequently,' both those who have not heard the gospel; and those who, having heard it and been changed by it for the better, have not received perseverance; and those who, having heard the gospel, have refused to come to Christ, that is, to believe on Rim, since He Himself says, " No man cometh unto me, except it were given him of my Father;"\^ and jthoe .who by their tender age were unable to believe, but might be
absolved from original sin by the alone washing of regeneration, and yet have not received this washing, and have perished in death, are not distinguished from that mass which it is plain is condemned, as all go from One into condemnation. Some are distinguished, however, not by their own merits but by the grace of the Mediator; that is to say, they are justified freely in the blood of the second Adam. 'Therefore, when we hear, "For who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou hast not received? Now, if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?"' we ought to understand that from that mass of perdition which originated through the first Adam, no one can be made to differ except he who has this gift, [which] whosoever has, has received by the grace of the Saviour. â– ^And this apostolical testimony is so considerable, that the blessed Cyprian writing to Quirinus put it in the place of a title, when he says, "That we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own." *

Chap. 13. â€” Electionis of grace, not of merit.

. ' Whosoever, then, are separated from that original con-

^ Rom. X. 17. 2 John vi. 65. 3 j Cor. iv. 7.

* Cj'prian, Testimonies; Clark's Trans, vol. ii. p. 143, sec. 4.
XV. w

82 A TREATISE ON EBEBIKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 14

demnation by such Lounty of divine grace, there is no doubt but that for such it is provided that they should hear the gospel, and when they hear they believe, and in the faith which worketh by love they persevere unto the end; and if, perchance, they deviate from the way, when they are rebuked they are amended; and some of them, although they may not be rebuked by men, return into the path which they had left; and some who have received grace in any age whatever are withdrawn from the perils of this life by swiftness of death.

For He worketh all things in them who made them vessels of mercy, who also elected them in His Son before the foundation of the world by the election of grace: "And if by grace, I then is it no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace." ^

For they were not called in such a manner as that they shoiild not be elected, in respect of which {scil. such a calling} it is said,

" For many are called but few are chosen; "^ but because they were called according to the purpose, they are of a certainty also elected by the election, as it is said, of grace, not of any precedent merits of theirs, because to them grace is all their merit.

A Chap. 1 4. â€” None of the elect and -predestinated can jnerisJi.
Of such says the apostle, ""We know that to those that love God He worketh together all things for good, to them who are called according to His purpose; because those whom He before foreknew, He also did predestinate, conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." ^ Of these no one perishes, because all are elected. And they are elected because they were called according to the purpose, however, not their own, but God's; of which He elsewhere says, " That the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth, it was said unto her that the elder shall serve the younger."^ And in another place he says, "Not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace."^ ^

1 Kom, xi. 6. 2 j^iatt. xx. 16. ^ Eom. viii. 28 ff.

* Rom. ix. 11. ^ 2 Tim. i. 9.

CHAP. 15.] EELATION OF ELECTION TO CALLING. 83

When, therefore, we hear, " Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called,"^ we ought. to acknowledge that they were called according to His purpose; since He thence began, saying, " He worketh together all things for good to those who are called according to His purpose," and then added, " Because those whom He before foreknew, He also did predestinate, conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren." And to these promises He added, " Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called." He wishes these, therefore, to be understood whom He called according to His purpose, lest any among them should be thought to be called and not chosen, on account of that sentence of the Lord's: " Many are called but few are chosen." ^ For whoever are elected are without doubt also called; but not whosoever are called are as a consequence elected. Those, then, are elected, as has often been said, who are called according to the purpose, who are also predestinated and foreknown. If any one of these perishes, God is mistaken; but none of them perishes, because God is not mistaken. If any one of these perish, God is overcome by human sin; but none of them perishes, because God is overcome by nothing. Moreover, they are elected to reign with Christ, not as Judas was elected, to a work for which he was fitted. Because he was chosen by Him who well knew how to make use even of wicked men, so that even by his damnable deed that venerable work, for the sake of which He Himself had come, might be accomplished. When, therefore, we hear, " Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ? " ^ we ought to understand that the rest were elected through mercy, but He through judgment; those to obtain His kingdom. He to shed His blood !

Chap. 15. â€” Perseverance is given to the end.
Eightly follows the word to the kingdom of the elect: " If God be for us, who can be against us ? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how has He not also with Him given us all things ? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect ? God who justifieth ? Who


84 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 16.

condemneth ? Christ who died ? yea, rather who rose again also, who is at the right hand of God, who also soliciteth on our behalf ? " ^ And of how stedfast a perseverance even to the end they have received the gift, let them follow on to say:
" Who shall separate ns from the love of Christ ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword ? As it is written, Because for thy sake we are kUed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Bat in all these things we are more than conquerors, through Him that hath loved us. For I am certain, that neither death, nor life, nor angel, nor principality, nor things present, nor things to come, nor power, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." ^

Chap. 16. â€” Whosoever do not persevere are not distinguished fi-om the mass of perdition hy predestination.

Such as these were they who were signified [in the Epistle]
to Timothy, where, when it had been said that Hymenseus and Philetus had subverted the faith of some, it is presently added, "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord has known them that are His." ^
The faith of these, which worketh by love, either actually does not fail at all, or, if there are any whose faith fails, it is restored before their life is ended, and the iniquity which had intervened is done away, and perseverance even to the end is allotted to them. But they who are not about to persevere, and who shall so fall away from Christian faith and conversation that the end of this life shall find them in that case, beyond all doubt are not to be reckoned in the number of those above mentioned, even in that season wherein they are living well and piously. For they are not made to differ from that mass of perdition by the foreknowledge and predestination of God, and therefore are not called according to God's purpose, and thus are not elected; but are called among those of whom it was said, " Many are called," not among those of whom it was said, " But few are chosen." And yet who can deny that they are elected, since they believe and are baptized, and live according to God ? Manifestly, they are
1 Eom. viii. 31 If. ^ Rom. viii. 35 ff. ^ 2 Tim. ii. 19.

CHAP, i:] god's ways past finding out. 85
called elect by those who are ignorant what they shall be, but not by Him who knew that they would not have the perseverance which leads the elect forward into the blessed life, and knows that they will so stand, as He would have foreknown that they would fall.

Chap. 17. [viii.] â€” Why perseverance should be given to one and not another is inscrutable.

Here, if I am asked why God should not have given them perseverance to whom He gave that love by which they might live as Christians, I answer that I do not know. For I do not speak arrogantly, but with acknowledgment of my small measure, when I hear the apostle saying, " man, who art thou that repliest against God?" and, " the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways untraceable!" So far, therefore, as He condescends to manifest His judgments to us, let us give thanks; but so far as He thinks fit to conceal them, let us not murmur against His counsel, but believe that this also is the most wholesome for us. But whoever you are that are hostile to His grace, and thus ask what do you yourself say? it is well that you do not deny yourself to be a Christian and boast of being a Catholic. If, therefore, you confess that to persevere to the end in good is God's gift, I think that equally with me you are ignorant why one man should receive this gift and another should not receive it; and in this case we are both unable to penetrate the unsearchable judgments of God. Or if you say that it pertains to man's free choice â€” which you defend, not in accordance with God's grace, but in opposition to it â€” that any one should persevere in good, or should not persevere, not by the gift of God if he persevere, but by the action of human will, why will you strive against the words of Him who says, " I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not" ? Will you dare to say that even when Christ prayed that Peter's faith might not fail, it would still have failed if Peter had willed it to fail; that is, if he had been unwilling that it should continue even to the end? As if Peter could in any measure will otherwise than Christ had asked for him that he might will, For who does not know


86 A TREATISE ON EBUBEKE AND GEACE. [CHAP. 18.

that Peter's faith would then have perished if that will itself by which he was faithful should fail, and that it would have continued if that same will should abide? But because the will is prepared by the Lord/ therefore Christ's petition on his behalf could not be a vain petition. When, then, He prayed that his faith should not fail, what was it that he asked for, but that in his faith he should have a most free, strong, invincible, persevering will? Behold, to what an extent the freedom of the will is defended in accordance with the grace of God, not in opposition to it; because the human will does not attain grace by freedom, but rather attains freedom by grace, and a delightful constancy, and an insuperable fortitude that it may persevere.

It is, indeed, to be wondered at, and greatly to be wondered at, that to some of His children whom He has regenerated in Christ, to whom He has given faith, hope, and love, God does not give perseverance also, when to strange children He forgives such wickedness, and, by the bestowal of His grace, makes them His own children. Who would not be moved at this? Who would not be exceedingly astonished at this? But, moreover, it is not less marvellous, and still true, and so manifest that not even the enemies of God's grace can find any means of denying it, that some children of His friends, that is, of regenerated and good believers, departing this life as infants without baptism, although He certainly might provide the grace of this laver if He willed, since in His power are all things, He alienates from His kingdom into which He introduces their parents; and some children of His enemies He causes to come into the hands of Christians, and by means of this laver [sicl. of regeneration] introduces them into the kingdom, from which their parents are aliens; although, as well to the former infants there is no evil deserving, as to the latter there is no good, of their own proper will. Certainly in this case the judgments of God, because they are righteous and deep, may neither be blamed nor penetrated. Among these also is that concerning perseverance, of which we are

1 Prov. viii. 35 [LXX.].

CHAP. 19] God's ways PAST FINDING OUT, 87

now discoursing. Of both, therefore we may exclaim, "the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments!"

Chap, 19. “God's ways past finding out,-

Nor let us wonder that we cannot trace His unsearchable ways. For, to say nothing of innumerable other things which are given by the Lord God to some men, and to others are not given, since with Him is no respect of persons; and those things that are not conferred on the deservings of dispositions, such as are bodily swiftness, strength, good health, and beauty, marvellous intellects and mental natures capable of many arts, or such as fall to man's lot from without, such as are wealth, nobility, honours, and other things of this kind, which it is only in the power of God that a man should have; not to dwell even on the baptism of infants (which none of those objectors can say does not pertain, as might be said of those other matters, to the kingdom of God), why it is given to this infant and not given to that, since both of them are equally in God's power, and without that sacrament none can enter into the kingdom of God; to be silent, then, on these matters, or to leave them on one side, let men consider those very special cases of which
we are treatincf. For we are discoursins of such as have not perseverance in goodness, but die in the decline of their good disposition from good to evil. Let the objectors answer, if they can, why, when these were living faithfully and piously, God did not then snatch them from the perils of this life, "lest wickedness should change their understanding, and lest deceit should beguile their souls"? Had He not this in His power, or was He ignorant of their future sinfulness? Assuredly, nothing of this kind is said, except most perversely and insanely. Why, then, did He not do this? Let them reply who mock at us when in such matters we exclaim, "How inscrutable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!"* For either God giveth this to whom He will, or certainly that Scripture is wrong which says concerning the death of the righteous man, as if it were immature, "He was taken away lest wickedness should change his under-

1 Horn. xi. 33. ^ Wisd. iv. 11, ^ Eom. xi, 33.

88 A TREATISE OIST REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 20.

standing, or lest deceit should beguile iiiis soul."^ Why, then, does God give this so great benefit to some, and not give it to others, seeing that in Him is no unrighteousness^ nor acceptance of persons,^ and that it is in His power [to determine] how long every one may remain in this life, which is called a state of trial upon Â«arth ?^ As, then, they are constrained to confess that it is God's gift for a man to end this life of his before it can be changed from good to evil, but they do not know why it is given to some and not given to others, so let them confess with us that perseverance in good is God's gift, according to the Scriptures, from which I have already set down many testimonies; and let them condescend with us to be ignorant, without a murmur against God, why it is given to some and not given to others. '

Chap. 20. [ix.] â€” Soam are children of God according to grace temporally received, some according to God's eternal foreknowledge.

Nor let it disturb us that to some of His children God does not give this perseverance. Be this far from being the case, however, if these were of those who are predestinated and called according to this purpose, â€” who are truly the children of the promise. For the former, while they live piously, are called children of God; but because they will live wickedly, and die in the same impiety, the foreknowledge of God does not call them God's children. For they are children of God whom as yet we have not, and God has already, of whom the Evangelist John says, "that Jesus should die for that nation, and not for that nation only, but that also He should gather together in one the children of God which were scattered abroad;" ^ and this certainly they were to become by believing, through the preaching of the gospel.
And yet before this had happened they had already been enrolled as sons of God with unchangeable stedfastness in the memorial of their Father. And, again, there are some who are called by us children of God on account of grace received even in temporal
things, yet are not so called by God; of whom the same John says, " They went out from us, but they were not of us, because if they had been of us they would, no


â€” 1 Job vii. 1 [LXX.]. Â» Jolm xi. 51, 52.

CHAP. 21.] god's true CHILDREN. 89
doubt, have continued with us." ^ He does not say, They went out from us, but because they did not abide with us they are no longer now of us; but he says, " They went out from us, but they were not of us," â€” that is to say, even when they appeared [to be] among us, they were not of us. And as if it were said to him, "WEnience do you prove this?" he says,

" Because if they had been of us, they would assuredly have continued with us." ^ It is the word of God's children; John is the speaker, who was ordained to a chief place among the children of God. When, therefore, God's children say of those who had not perseverance, " They went out from us, but they were not of us," and add, " Because if they had been of us, they would assuredly have continued with us," what else do they say than that they were not children, even when they were in the profession and name of children? Not because they simulated righteousness, but because they did not continue in it. For he does not say, For if they had been of us, they would assuredly have maintained a real and not a feigned righteousness with us; but he says, " If they had been of us, they would assuredly have continued with us." Beyond a doubt, he washed them to continue in goodness. Therefore, they were in goodness; but because they did not abide in it, â€” that is, they did not persevere unto the end, â€” he says. They were not of us, even when they were with us, â€” that is, they were not of the number of children, even when they were in the faith of children; because they who are truly children are foreknown and predestinated, conformed to the image of His Son, and are called according to His purpose, that they should be elected. For the son of promise does not perish, but the son of perdition.^

Chap. 21. â€” Who may be understand as given to Christ.

^ Those, then, were of the multitude of the called, but they were not of the small number of the elected. It is not, therefore, to His predestinated children that God has not given perseverance, for they would have it if they were in that number of children; and what would they have which they had not received, according to the apostolical and true 1 1 John ii. 19. ^ gom. viii. 29. 3 Jq^jq xvii. 12.

90 A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 22.
judgment? And thus such children would be given to Christ the Son in such a way as that He Himself says to the Father,
"That all that Thou hast given me may not perish, but have eternal life." These, therefore, are understood to be given to Christ who are ordained to eternal life. These are they who are predestinated and called according to the purpose, of whom not one perishes. And by this means none of them ends this life in a state of change from good to evil, because he is so ordained, and for that purpose given to Christ, that he may not perish, but may have eternal life. And again, those whom we call His enemies, or the infant children of His enemies, whomever of them He will so regenerate that they may end this life in that faith which worketh by love, are already, and before this is done, in that predestination His children, and are given to Christ His Son, that they may not perish, but have everlasting life.

Chap. 22. â€” True children of God are true disciples of Christ.

Finally, the Saviour Himself says, "If ye continue in my word, ye are my disciples indeed." Is Judas, then, to be reckoned among them, since he did not continue in His word?

Are they to be reckoned among them of whom the gospel speaks in such wise, where, when the Lord had commanded His flesh to be eaten and His blood to be drunk, the Evangelist says, "These things said He in the synagogue as He taught in Capernaum. Many, therefore, of His disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is a hard saying; who can hear it?

But Jesus, knowing in Himself that His disciples were murmuring at it, said to them.

Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascending where He was before?

It is the Spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. But there are some of you who believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who were the believing ones, and who should betray Him; and He said. Therefore said I unto you, that no man cometh unto me except it were given of my Father. From this time many of His disciples went away back from Him, and no longer walked with Him."

1 Matt. xx. 16. 2 joim viii. 31. 3 joj^n yi ^gff^
We, therefore, call men elected, and Christ's disciples, and God's children, because they must be so called whom, being regenerated, we see to live piously; but they are then truly what they are called if they shall abide in that account of which they are so called. But if they have not perseverance, that is, if they continue not in that which they have begun to be, they are not truly called what they are called and are not; for they are not this in the sight of Him to whom it is known what they are going to be, that is to say, [that they will become] from good men, bad men.

Chap. 23'. Those are called according to the purpose alone are predestinated.

For this reason the apostle, when he had said, "We know that to those who love God He worketh all things together for good," immediately added, "to them who are the called according to His purpose." For these in their love for God continue even to the end; and they who for a season wander from the way return, that they may continue [their course] unto the end which they had begun to be in good. Showing, however, what it is to be called according to His purpose, he presently added what I have already quoted above, "Because whom He did before foreknow. He also predestinated, conformed to the image of His Son, that He might be the first-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom He did predestinate, them He also called," to wit, according to His purpose; "and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified." All those things are already done. He foreknew. He predestinated. He called, He justified; because both all are already foreknown and predestinated, and many are already called and justified; but that which he placed at the end, "them He also glorified" (if, indeed, that glory is here to be understood of which the same apostle says, "When Christ your life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory"), this is not yet accomplished. Although, also, those two things have not been effected in all of whom they are said, for still, even until the end of the world, there remain many to be called and justified, nevertheless. He used verbs of the past tense, even concerning things future, as if God already arranged from eternity that they should come to pass. For this reason, also, the prophet Isaiah says concerning Him, "Who has made the things that shall be." Whosoever, therefore, in God's most providential ordering, are foreknown, predestinated, called, justified, glorified, I say not, even although not yet born again, but even although not yet born at all, are already children of God, and absolutely cannot perish. These truly come to Christ, because they come in such wise as He Himself says, "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will not cast out;" and a little after He says, "This is the will of the Father which hath sent me, that
of all that He hath given me I shall lose nothing." * From Him, therefore, is given also perseverance in good even to the end; for it is not given save to those who shall not perish, since they who do not persevere shall perish.

Chap. 24. â€” Even the sins of the elect are turned by God to their advantage.

To such as love Him, God worketh all things together for good; so absolutely all things, that even if any of them go astray, and break out of the way, even this itself He makes to avail them for good, so that they return more lowly and more instructed. For they learn that in that very way of righteousness they ought to rejoice with trembling; not with arrogating to themselves any confidence of abiding as if by their own strength; not with saying, in their abundance, " We shall not be moved for ever." ^ ^ For which reason it is said to them, " Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling, lest at

' Col. iii. 4. 2 isa. ^Iv. 11 [LXX.]. ^ John vi. 37.


CHAP. 24.] SINS OF THE ELECT TURNED TO GOOD. 9.3

any time the Lord should be angry, and ye perish from the right way." ^ For He does not say, And lest ye come into the right way; but He says. Lest ye perish from the right way. And what does this show, but that those who are already walking in the way of righteousness are reminded to serve God in fear; that is, " not to be high-minded, but to fear " ? ^ which signifies, that they should not be haughty, but humble. Whence also He says in another place, " Not minding high things, but consenting to the lowly; " ^ let them rejoice in God, but with trembling; glorying in none, since nothing is ours, so that he who glorieth may glory in the Lord, lest they perish from the way of righteousness in which they have already begun to walk, while they are ascribing to themselves the very assurance that they are in it. These words also the apostle made use of when he says, " Work out your own salvation w'ith fear and trembling." * And setting forth why with fear and trembling, he says, " For it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do for His good pleasure." ^ For he had not this fear and trembling who said in his abundance, " I shall not be moved for ever." " But because he was a child of the promise, not of perdition, he experienced in God's desertion for a little while what he himself was: " Lord," said he, " in Thy favour Thou gavest strength to my honour; Thou turnedst away Thy face from me, and I became troubled." ^ ^ Behold how better instructed, and for this reason also more humble, he held on his way, at length seeing and confessing that in His favour God had endowed his honour with strength which he had attributed to himself and presumed of himself, in such abundance as God had afforded it, and not of Him who had given it, and said. " I shall not be moved for ever ! " Therefore he became troubled so that he found himself, and being lowly minded learnt not only [the truth] of eternal life, but, moreover, of a pious conversation and perseverance in this life, as that in which hope should be
maintained. This might moreover be the word of the Apostle Peter, because he also had said in his abundance, "I

1 Ps. ii. 11. - Eom. xi. 20. ^ Eom. xii. 16.

* Phil. ii. 12, 13. ^ Plili. ii. 13. 6 Ps. xxx. 6.

^ Ps. xxx. 7.

94 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP, 26.

will lay down my life for Thy sake; "^ attributing to himself, in his eagerness, what was afterwards to be bestowed on him by his Lord. But the Lord turned away His face from him, and he became troubled, so that in his fear of dying for Him he thrice denied Him. But the Lord again turned His face to him, and washed away his sin with his tears. For what else is, " He turned and looked upon him," ^ but, He restored to him the countenance which, for a little while, He had turned away from him ? Therefore he had become troubled; but because he learned not to be confident concerning himself, even this was of excellent profit to him, by His agency who works together for good all things to those who love Him; because he had been called according to the purpose, so that no one could pluck him out of the hand of Christ, to whom he had been given.

Chap. 25. â€” Therefore rebuke Is to be used.

Let no one therefore say that a man must not be rebuked if he deviates from the right way, but that his return and perseverance must only be asked for from the Lord for him. Let no considerate and believing man say this. For if such an one is called according to the purpose, beyond all doubt God is working together for good to him even in the fact of his being rebuked. But since he who rebukes is ignorant whether he is so called, let him do with love what he knows ought to be done; for he knows that such an one ought to be rebuked. God will show either mercy or judgment; mercy, indeed, if he who is rebuked is separated by the bestowal of grace from the mass of perdition, and is not found among the vessels of wrath which are completed for destruction, but among the vessels of mercy which God has prepared for glory; ^ but judgment, if among the former he is condemned, and is not predestinated among the latter.

Chap. 26. [x.] â€” Whether Adam received the gift of perseverance.

Here arises another question, not reasonably to be slighted, but to be approached and solved in the help of the Lord in whose hand are both we and our discourses. For "I am
asked, in respect of this gift of God which is to persevere in


CHAP. 27.] WHY DID NOT ADAM PEESEVEE ? 95

good to the end, what I think of the first man himself, who assuredly was made upright without any fault. And I do not say: If he had not perseverance, how was he without fault, seeing that he was in want of so needful a gift of God? For to this interrogatory the answer is easy, that he had not perseverance, because he did not persevere in that goodness in which he was without sin; for he began to have sin from the point at which he fell; and if he began, certainly he was without sin before he had begun. For it is one thing not to have sin, and it is another not to abide in that goodness in which there is no sin. Because in that very fact, that he is not said never to have been without sin, but he is said not to have continued without sin, beyond all doubt it is demonstrated that he was without sin, seeing that he is blamed for not having continued in that goodness. But it should rather be asked and discussed with greater pains in what way we can answer those who say, If in that uprightness in which he was made without sin he had perseverance, beyond all doubt he persevered in it; and if he persevered, he certainly did not sin, and did not forsake that his uprightness. But that he did sin, and was a forsaker of goodness, the Truth declares. Therefore he had not perseverance in that goodness; and if he had it not, he certainly received it not. For how should he have both received perseverance, and not have persevered? Further, if he had it not because he did not receive it, what sin did he commit by not persevering, if he did not receive perseverance? For it cannot be said that he did not receive it, for the reason that he was not separated by the bestowal of grace from the mass of perdition. Because that mass of perdition did not as yet exist in the human race before he had sinned from whom the corrupted source was derived.

'Chap. 27. â€” The answer.

Wherefore we most wholesomely confess what we most accurately believe, that because the God and Lord of all things in His strength created all things good, and foreknew that evil things would arise out of good, and knew that it pertained to His most omnipotent goodness even to do good out of evil things rather than not to allow evil things to be at

96 A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GEACE, [CHAP. 27.
all, He so ordained the life of angels and men that in it He might first of all show what their free choice could do, and then what the kindness of His grace and the judgment of His righteousness could do. Finally, certain angels, of whom the chief is he who is called the devil, became by free choice outcasts from the Lord God. Yet although they fled from His goodness, wherein they had been blessed, they could not flee from His judgment, by which they were made most wretched. Others, however, by the same free choice, stood fast in the truth, and merited the knowledge of that most certain truth that they should never fall.\(^2\) For if from the Holy Scriptures we have been able to attain the knowledge that none of the holy angels shall fall evermore, how much more have they themselves attained this knowledge by the truth more sublimely revealed to them! Because to us is promised a blessed life without end, and equality with the angels,\(^2\) from which promise we certainly gather that when after judgment we shall have come to that life, we shall not fall from it; but if the angels are ignorant of this truth concerning themselves, we shall not be their equals, but more blessed than they. But the Truth has promised us equality with them. It is certain, then, that they have known this by sight, which we have known by faith, to wit, that there shall be no more any fall of any holy angel. But to the devil and his angels,\(^2\) although they were blessed before they fell, and did not know that they should fall unto misery, there was still something which might be added to their blessedness, if of free will they had stood in the truth, until they should receive that fulness of the highest blessing as the reward of that very continuance of theirs; that is, that by the great abundance of the love of God, given by the Holy Spirit, they should absolutely not be able to fall any more, and that they should know this with the utmost certainty concerning themselves.

They had not this plenitude of blessedness; but since they were ignorant of their future misery, they enjoyed a blessedness

\(\text{\textsection }2\text{. Matt. xxii. 30.}\)

\(^2\) The translator is compelled to read "diabolo et angelis, " in order to construct this sentence at all.

CHAP. 29.] Adam's sin and its results. 97

which was less, indeed, but still without any defect. For if they had known their future fall and eternal punishment, they certainly could not have been blessed, since the fear of so great an evil as this would compel them even then to be miserable.

Chap. 28. Æ"” The first man Idmself also might have stood by his free-will.

Thus also He [God] made man with free-will; and although ignorant of his future fall, yet therefore happy, because he thought it was in his own power both not to die and not to
become miserable. In which state of uprightness and freedom from sin, if he had willed by his own free choice to continue, assuredly without any experience of death and of infelicity he would have received by the merit of that continuance the fulness of blessing with which the holy angels also are blessed; that is, the impossibility of falling any more, and the knowledge of this with absolute certainty. For even he himself could not be blessed although in Paradise, nay, he would not be there, where it would not become him to be miserable, if the foreknowledge of his fall made him wretched with the dread of such a disaster. But because of his free choice he forsook God, he experienced the just judgment of God, that with his whole race, which being as yet all constituted in him had sinned with him, he should be condemned. For as many of this race as are delivered by God's grace are certainly delivered from the condemnation in which they are already held bound. Whence, even if none should be delivered, no one could justly blame the judgment of God. That, therefore, in comparison of those that perish few, but in their absolute number many, are delivered, is effected by grace, is effected freely. Thanks must be given that it is effected that no one may be lifted up as of his own deservings, but that every mouth, may be stopped, and he that glorieth may glory in the Lord.

Chap. 29. [xi. ] â€” Distinction between the grace given before and after the Fall.

What then? Did not Adam have the grace of God? Yes, truly, he had it largely, but of a different kind. He was placed in the midst of benefits which he had received from the goodness of his Creator; for he had not procured

\(^ {\text{Gratis â€” "gratis." }} ^ {\text{Rom. iii.. 19. ^Jer. ix. 24.}}\)

XV. G

98 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 30-

those benefits by Ms own deservings; in which benefits he suffered absolutely no evil. But saints in this life, to whom pertains this grace of deliverance, are in the midst of evils out of which they cry to God, " Deliver us from evil." \(^ {\text{E}} ^ {\text{E}}\)\\n\[Adam\] in those benefits needed not the death of Christ: the blood of that Lamb absolves them from guilt, as well inherited as their own. He had no need of that assistance which they implore when they say, " I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and making me captive in the law of sin which is in my members. wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death ? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord." \(^ \)

Because in them the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and as they labour and are imperilled in such a contest, they ask that by the grace of Christ the strength to fight and to conquer may be given them. He, however [scil. Adam], tempted and disturbed in no such conflict concerning himself against himself, in that position of j blessedness enjoyed his peace with himself ^
Chap. 30. â€” The Incarnation of the Word,

Hence, although these do not now require a grace more joyous for the present, they nevertheless need a more powerful grace; and what grace is more powerful than the onlybegotten Son of God, equal to the Father and co-eternal, made man for them, and, without any sin of His own, either original or actual, crucified by men who were sinners? And although He rose again on the third day, never to die any more. He yet bore death for men who gave life to the dead, so that redeemed by His blood, having received so great and such a pledge, they could say, " If God be for us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how has He not with Him also given to us all things?"^ God therefore took upon Him our nature â€” that is, the rational soul and flesh of the man Christ â€” by an undertaking singularly marvellous, or marvellously singular; so that with no preceding merits of His own righteousness He might in such wise be the Son of God from the beginning, in which He had begun


CHAP. 31.] MODE OF CHRIST's SIXLESSNESS. 99

to be man,^atâ€žIle, and the AWord wliich is without beginning, might be one person. For there is no one blinded by such ignorance of this matter and the Faith as to dare to say that, although born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin ]\ary, the Son of man, yet of His own free-will by righteous living and by doing ' good works, without sin, deserved to be the Son of God; in opposition to the gospel, which says, " The Word was made flesh." ^ For where was this made flesh except in the womb of the Virgin, whence was the beginning of the man Christ? And, moreover, when the Virgin asked how that should come to pass which was told her by the angel, the angel answered, " The Holy Ghost shall come over on to thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." ^ " Therefore," He said; not because of works, which certainly of a yet unborn infant there are none; but " therefore," because " the Holy Ghost shall come over on to thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, that holy thing wliich shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." That nativity, absolutely gratuitous, conjoined, in the unity of the person, man to God, flesh to the Word!

Good works followed that nativity; good works did not merit it. For it was in no wise to be feared that the human nature taken up by God the Word in that ineffable manner into a unity of person would sin by free choice ofwiU, since that taking up itself was such that the nature of man so taken up by God would admit into itself no movement of an evil will. Through this Mediator God makes known that He makes those whom He redeemed by His blood from evil, everlastingly good; [through this Mediator], whom He in such wise assured that He never would be evil, and, not being made out of evil, would always be good.^
Chap. 31. â€” The first man had received the grace necessary for his perseverance, but its exercise was left in his free choice.

The first man had not that grace by which he should never will to be evil; but assuredly he had that in which if he

1 John i. 14. - Luke i. 35.

3 Some editions have, instead of "and not being made," etc., "lest being made of evil he should not always be good."

100 A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 32.

willed to abide lie would never be evil, aud without which, moreover, he could not of free choice be good, but which, nevertheless, by free choice he would forsake. God, therefore, did not will even him to be without His grace, which He left in his free choice; because free-will is sufficient for evil, but is of little avail for good, unless it is aided by Omnipotent Good. And if that man had not forsaken that assistance of his free-will, he would always have been good; but he forsook it, and he was forsaken. ' Because such was the nature of the aid, that he could forsake it when he would, and that he could continue in it when he would; but not such that he could be made to will his continuance. This first is the grace which was given to the first Adam; but more powerful than this is that in the second Adam. For the first is that whereby it is effected that a man may have righteousness if he will; the second, therefore, can do more than this, since by it it is even effected that he will, and wills so much, and loves with such ardour, that by the will of the Spirit he overcomes the will of the flesh, that lusteth in opposition to it. Nor was that, indeed, a small grace by which was demonstrated even the power of free choice, because man was so assisted that without this assistance he could not continue in good, but could forsake this assistance if he would. But this latter grace is by so much the greater, that it is a small matter for a man by its means to regain his lost freedom; it is of little account, finally, not to be able without it either to apprehend the good or to continue in good if he will, unless he is also made to will.'

Chap. 32. â€” The gifts of graces con/erred on Adam in creation.

At that time, therefore, God had given to man a good will, because in that will He had made him, since He had made him upright. He had given help without which he could not continue therein if he would; but that he should will. He left in his free choice. He could therefore continue if he would, because the help was not wanting whereby he

' Some Mss. read, "of no avail."

" There are other readings of this passage, but coming to the same substantial result.
2 Some MSS, read, "a free-will."

CHAP. 32.] man's free-will BEFORE AND AFTER THE FALL. 101

could, and without which he could not, perseveringly hold fast the good which he would. But that he willed not to continue is absolutely the fault of him whose merit it would have been if he had willed to continue; as the holy angels did, who, while others fell of their own free choice, themselves by the same free choice stood, and deserved to receive the due reward of this continuance â€” to wit, such a fulness of blessing that by it they might have the fullest certainty of always abiding in it. If, however, this help had been wanting, either to angel or to man when they were first made, since their nature was not made such that without the divine help it could abide if it would, they certainly would not have fallen by their own fault, because the help would have been wanting without which they could not continue. Xow, however, to those to whom such assistance is wanting, it is the penalty of sin; but to those to whom it is given, it is given of grace, not of debt; and by so much the more is given through Jesus Christ our Lord to those to whom it has pleased God to give it, that not only we have that help without which we cannot continue even if we will, but moreover, we have so great and such a help as [to cause us] to will. Because by this grace of God there is caused in us, in the reception of good and in the persevering hold of it, not only to be able to do what we will, but even to will to do what we are able. But this was not the case in the first man; for the one of these things was in him, but the other was not. For he was not without the grace to receive good, because he had not yet lost it; but he was without the aid of grace to continue in it, and without this aid he could not do this at all; and he had received the ability if he would, but he had not the will to exercise the ability; for if he had possessed it, he would have persevered. For he could persevere if he would; but that he would not was the result of free choice, which at that time was in such wise free that he was capable of willing well and ill. For what shall be more free than free-will, when it shall not be able to serve sin? and this will be to man also as it has been made to the holy angels, the reward of deserving. But now that good deserving has been lost by sin in those who are delivered, that has become the gift of grace which would have been the reward of deserving. "

102 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 34.

Chap. 33. [xii.] â€” WJiat is the difference between the ability not to sin, to die, and to forsake good, and the inability to sin, to die, and to forsake good?

On which account we must consider with diligence and attention in what respect those two things differ from one another, â€” to be able not to sin, and not to be able to sin; to
be able not to die, and not to be able to die; to be able not to
forsake good, and not to be able to forsake good. For the
first man was able not to sin, was able not to die, was able
not to forsake good. Are we to say that he who had such a
free-will could not sin? Or that he to whom it was said, "If
thou shalt sin thou shalt die by death," could not die? Or
could not he forsake good, when he would forsake this, by
sinning, and so die? Therefore the first liberty of the will
was to be able not to sin, the last was much greater to be
able to sin; the first immortality was to be able not to die, the
last was much greater, not to be able to die; the first was the
power of perseverance, to be able not to forsake good; the last
was the felicity of perseverance, not to be able to forsake good.

But because the last blessings were preferable and better,
were those first ones, therefore, either no blessings at all, or
trifling ones?

Chap. 34. The aid without which a thing does not come to pass, and the aid with
which a thing comes to pass.

Moreover, the helps themselves are to be distinguished.
The assistance without which a thing does not come to pass is one thing, and the
assistance with which a thing comes to pass is another. For without food we cannot live;
and yet although food should be at hand, it would not cause a man to live who should will
to die. Therefore the aid of food is that without which it does not come to pass that we
live, not that with which it comes to pass that we live. But, indeed, when the blessedness
which a man has not is given him, he becomes continually blessed. For the aid is not only
that without which that does not happen, but also with which that does happen for the
sake of which it is given. Wherefore this is an assistance both by which it comes to pass,
and without which it does not come to pass; because, on the one hand, if blessedness
should be given to a man, he becomes continually blessed; and, on the other, if it should never be given

CHAP. 35.] PERSEVERANCE OF THE SAINTS, 10?)

he will never be so. But food does not of necessity cause a man to live, and yet without it he cannot live. Therefore to the first man, who, in that [condition of] good in which he had been made upright, had received the ability not to sin, the ability not to die, the ability not to forsake that very [condition of] good, was given the aid of perseverance; not that by it, it might come to pass that he should persevere, but because without it he could not of free-will persevere. But now to the saints predestinated to the kingdom of God by God's grace, the aid of perseverance that is given is not such as the former, but such that to them perseverance itself is bestowed; not only so that without that gift they cannot persevere, but, moreover, so that by means of this gift they cannot help persevering. For not only did He [Christ] say, " Without me ye can do nothing," ^ but He also said, " Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain."^ By which words He showed that He had given them not only righteousness, but perseverance therein.' For when Christ thus ordained them that they should go and bring forth fruit, and that their fruit should remain, who would dare to say, It shall not remain? Who w^ould dare to say. Perchance it will not remain? " For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance; " ^ but the calling is of those who are called according to the purpose. When Christ intercedes, therefore, on behalf of those, that their faith should not fail, doubtless it will not fail unto the end. And thus it shall persevere even unto the end; nor shall the end of this life find it anything but continuing.

Chap. 35. â€” There is a greater freedom now in the saints than there teas before in Adam.

Certainly a larger liberty is necessary in the face of so many and so great temptations, which had no existence in ParadisCi â€” a liberty fortified and confirmed by the gift of perseverance, so that this w^orld, with all its loves, its fears, its errors, may be overcome: the martyrdoms of the saints have taught this. In fine, he [Adam], not only with nobody to make him afraid, but, moreover, in spite of the authority of ' Jolin xr. 5. ^ John xt. 16. ^ Eom. xi. 29.

104 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 35.

God's fear, availing himself of his free-will, did not continue in such a state of happiness, in such a facility^ of [not] sinning.
But these [the saints], I say, not under the fear of the world, but in spite of the rage of the world lest they should stand, stood firm in the faith; while he could see the good things
present which he was going to forsake, they could not see the good things future which they were going to receive. Whence is this, save by the gift of Him from whom they obtained mercy to be faithful; from whom they received the spirit, not of fear, whereby they would yield to the persecutors, but of power, and of love, and of continence, in which they could overcome all threatenings, all seductions, all torments? To him, therefore, without any sin, was given the free-will with which he was created; and he made it to serve sin. But although the will of these had been the servant of sin, it was delivered by Him who said, "If the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed." And by that grace they receive so great a freedom, that although as long as they live here they are fighting against sinful lusts, and some sins creep upon them unawares, on account of which they daily say, "Forgive us our debts," yet they do not any more obey the sin which is unto death, of which the Apostle John says, "There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it." Concerning which sin (since it is not expressed) many and different notions may be entertained. I, however, say, that that is the sin, to forsake even unto death the faith which worketh by love. This sin they who are not free on the first condition, as Adam was, no further obey; for they are freed by the grace of God through the second Adam, and by that deliverance they have that free-will which enables them to serve God, not by which they may be made captive by the devil. From being made free from sin they have become the servants of righteousness, in which they will stand till the end, by the gift to them of perseverance from Him who foreknew them, and predestinated them, and called them according to His purpose, and justified them, and glorified them, since He has even already formed those things that are to come which He promised concerning them. And when He promised, "Abraham believed Him, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." For "he gave glory to God, most fully believing," as it is written, "that what He has promised He is able also to perform."^  


CHAP. 37.] WHAT GOD FORESEES HE FULFILS. 105

purpose, and justified them, and glorified them, since He has even already formed those things that are to come which He promised concerning them. And when He promised, "Abraham believed Him, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." For "he gave glory to God, most fully believing," as it is written, "that what He has promised He is able also to perform."^  

CHAP. 36. ^â€” God not only foreknew that men will he good, but Himself makes them, so. He Himself, therefore, makes those men good, to do good works. For He did not promise them to Abraham because He foreknew that of themselves they would be good. For if this were the case, what He promised was not His, but theirs.
But it was not thus that Abraham believed, but "he was not weak in faith, giving glory to God; and most fully believing that what He has promised He is able also to perform." He does not say, What He foreknew. He is able to promise; nor what He foretold. He is able to manifest; nor what He promised. He is able to foreknow: but what He promised. He is able also to do. It is He, therefore, who makes them to persevere in good, who makes them good. But they who fall and perish have never been in the number of the predestinated.

Although, then, the apostle might be speaking of all persons regenerated and living piously when he said, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth;" yet he continually had regard to the predestinated, and said, "But he shall stand;" and that they might not arrogate this to themselves, he says, "For God is able to make him stand." It is He Himself, therefore, that gives perseverance, who is able to establish those who stand, so that they may stand fast with the greatest perseverance; or to restore those who have fallen, for "the Lord setteth up those who are broken down."^1

Chap. 37. â€” To a sound will is committed the power of persevering or of not persevering.

As, therefore, the first man did not receive this gift of God, â€” that is, perseverance in goodness, â€” but it was left in his own choice to persevere or not to persevere, his will had such strength, â€” inasmuch as it had been created without any sin, and there was nothing in the way of concupiscence of himself that withstood it, â€” that the choice of persevering could worthily be entrusted to such goodness and to such facility in living well. But God at the same time foreknew what he would do in unrighteousness; foreknew, however, but did not force him to this; but at the same time He knew what He Himself would do in righteousness concerning him. But now, since that great freedom has been lost by the desert of sin, our weakness has remained to be aided by still greater gifts. For it pleased God, in order most effectually to quench the pride of human presumption, "that no flesh should glory in His presence" â€” that is, "no man." But whence should flesh not glory in His presence, save concerning its merits? Which, indeed, it might have had, but lost; and lost by that very means whereby it might have had them, that is, by its freewill; on account of which loss there remains nothing to those who are to be delivered, save the grace of the Deliverer. Thus; therefore, no flesh glories in His presence. For the unrighteous do not glory, since they have no ground of glory; nor the righteous, because they have a ground from Him, and have no glory of theirs, but Himself, to whom they say, "My glory, and
the lifter up of my head."^ And thus it is that what is written pertains to every man, " that no flesh should glory in His presence." To the righteous, however, pertains that Scrip-

â– ture: " He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." ^ ' For this the apostle most manifestly showed, when, after saying " that no flesh should glory in His presence," lest the saints should suppose that they had been left without any glory, he presently added, " But of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." * Hence it is that in this abode of miseries, where trial is the life of man upon the

/earth. "strength is made perfect in weakness."^ ^What strength, save " that he that glorieth should glory in the Lord " ?
1 1 Cor. i. 29. 2 ps_ jji^ 3, 3 1 Cor. i. 31.

* 1 Cor. i. 30. 5 2 Cor. xii. 9.

CHAP. 38.] man's good WILL DEPENDENT ON GOD'S. 107

Chap. 38. â€” What is the nature of the gift of perseverance that is now given to the saints.

And thus God willed that His saints should not â€” even concerning perseverance itself in goodness â€” glory in their own strength, but in Himself, who not only gives them aid such as He gave to the first man, without which they cannot persevere if they will, but in them He also causes the will; that since they will not persevere unless they both can and will, both the capability and the will to persevere should be bestowed on them by the liberality of divine grace. Because by the Holy Spirit their will is so much enkindled that they therefore can, because they so will, they therefore so will, because God works in them to will. For if in so much weakness of this life (in which weakness, however, for the sake of checking pride, strength behoved to be perfected) their own will should be left to themselves, that they might, if they willed, continue in the help of God, without which they could not persevere, and God should not work in them to will, in the midst of so many and so great weaknesses their will itself would give way, and they would not be able to persevere, for the reason that failing from infirmity they would not will, or in the weakness of wU1 they would not so will that they would be able. Therefore aid was brought to the infirmity of human will, so that it might be unchangeably and invincibly influenced by divine grace; and thus, although weak, it still might not fail, nor be overcome by any adversity. Thus it happened that man's will, weak and incapable, in good as yet small, persevered by God's strength; while the will of the first man, strong and healthful, having the power of free choice, did not persevere in a greater good; because although God's help was not wanting, without which it could not persevere if it would, yet it was not such a help as that by which God would work in man to ivill. Certainly to the strongest He yielded and permitted to do what He ivilled; to those that
were weak He reserved that by His own gift they should most imdncibly will what is
good, and most invincibly refuse to forsake this.
Therefore when Christ says, " I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not," ^ we may
understand that it was said to him
1 Luke xxii. 32.

108 A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP, 40.

wlio is built upon tlie rock. And thus the man of God, not only because he lias obtained
mercy to be faithful, but also because faith itself does not fail, if he glories, must glory in
the Lord.

Chap. 39. [xiii.] â€” Tlie nmnher of the predestinated is certain and defined.

I speak thus of those who are predestinated to the kingdom of God, whose number is so
certain that one can neither be
* added to them nor taken from them; not of those who, when He had announced and
spoken of [the kingdom], were multiplied beyond number. For they may be said to be
called but not chosen, because they are not called according to the purpose.
But that the number of the elect is certain, and neither to be increased nor diminished, â€”
although it is signified by John the Baptist when he says, " Bring forth, therefore, fruits
meet for repentance: and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our
father: for God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham," ^ to show that
those [whom he add-

erressed] were in such wise to be cut off if they did not pro-
duce fruit,
that the number which was promised to Abraham would not be wanting, â€” is yet more
plainly declared in the Apocalypse: " Hold fast that which thou hast, lest another take thy
crown." ^ For if anotJier would not receive unless one should have lost, the number is
fixed. ^

Chap. 40. â€” No one is certain and secure of his own predestination and salvation.

But, moreover, that such things as these are so spoken to Saints who will persevere, as if
it were reckoned uncertain if they will persevere, is a reason that they ought not otherwise
to hear these things, since it is well for them " not to be highminded, but to fear." ^ For
who of the multitude of believers can presume, so long as he is living in this mortal state,
that he is in the number of the predestinated ? Because it is necessary that in this
condition that should be kept hidden; since here we have to beware so much of pride, that
even so great an apostle was buffeted by a messenger of Satan, lest he should be lifted
up. ^ Hence it was said to the apostles,

' Matt. iii. 8, 9. - Rev. iii. 11.

3 Rom. xi. 20. * 2 Cor. xii. 7.
"If ye abide in me," ^ and this He said who knew for a certainty that they would abide; and through the prophet, "If ye shall be willing, and will hear me," ^ although He knew in whom He would work to will also. And many similar things are said. For the sake of the benefit of this secrecy, lest, perchance, any one should be lifted up, but that all, even although they are running well, should fear, in that it is not known who may attain, â€” for the sake of the advantage of this secrecy, it must be believed that some of the children of perdition, who have not received the gift of perseverance to the end, begin to live in the faith which worketh by love, and live for some time faithfully and righteously, and afterwards fall away, and are not taken away from this life before this happens to them. If this had happened to none of these, men would have that very wholesome fear, by which the sin of presumption is kept down, only so long as until they should attain to the grace of Christ by which to live piously, and afterwards would for time to come be secure that they would never fall away from Him. And such presumption in this condition of trials is not fitting, where there is so great weakness, that security may engender pride. Finally, this also shall be the case; but it shall be at that time, in men also as it already is in the angels, when there cannot be any pride. Therefore the number of the saints, by God's grace predestinated to God's kingdom, with the gift of perseverance to the end bestowed on them, shall be guided thither in its completeness, and there shall be at length without end preserved in its fullest completeness, most blessed, the mercy of their Saviour still cleaving to them, whether in their conversion, in their conflict, or in their crown!

Chap. 41. â€” Even in judgment God's mercy â– will he necessary to us.

^ For the Holy Scripture testifies that God's mercy is then also necessary for them, when the Saint says to his soul concerning the Lord its God, "Who crowneth thee in mercy and compassion." ^ The Apostle James also says: "He shall have judgment without mercy who hath showed no mercy;" * where

^ John XV. 7. ^ Isa. i. 19.

3 Ps. ciii, 4. â™† Jas. ii. 13.

110 A TREATISE ON EEBUKE AND GEACE. [CHAP. 42.

he sets forth that even in that judgment in which the righteous are crowned and the unrighteous are condemned, some will be judged with mercy, others without mercy. ' On which account also the mother of the Maccabees says to her son, "That in that mercy I may receive thee with thy brethren." ^ "For when a righteous king," as it is WTitten, "shall sit on the throne, no evil thing shall oppose itself to him. Who will boast that he has a pure heart? or who will boast that he is pure from sin? ^ 'And thus God's mercy is
even then necessary, by which he is made " blessed to whom the Lord has not imputed sin." ^ But then, in proportion to the merits of good works, even mercy itself shall be allotted by righteous judgments. For when it is said, " Judgment without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy," it is plainly shown that in those whom are found the good works of mercy, judgment shall be executed with mercy; and thus even that mercy itself shall be returned to the merits of good works.

It is not so now; when not only no good works, but many bad works precede. His mercy prevents a man so that he is delivered from evils, ^ as well from evils which he has done, as from those which he would have done if he were not controlled by the grace of God; and from those, too, which he would have suffered for ever if he were not plucked from the power of darkness, and transferred into the kingdom of the Son of God's love. ^ Nevertheless, since even that life eternal itself, which, it is certain, is given as due to good works, is called by so great an apostle the grace of God, although grace is not rendered to works, but is given freely, it must be confessed without any doubt, that eternal life is called grace for the reason that it is rendered to those merits which grace has conferred upon man. Because that saying is rightly understood which in the gospel is read, " grace for grace," ^ that is, for those merits which grace has conferred.

Chap. 42. Â“ The reprobate are to be punished for merits of a different hind.

But those who do not belong to this number of the predestinated, whom Â“ whether that they have not yet any free

' 2 Mace. vii. 29. ^ prov. xx. 8 [LXX.]. ^ pg. ^xxii. 2.

* Col L 13, * Jolin i. 16.

CHAP. 43.] EEEUKE CONSISTENT WITH GRACE. III

choice of their will, or -with a choice of will truly free, because it is freed by grace itself Â“ the grace of God brings to His kingdom, Â” Hose, then, who do not belong to that most certain and blessed number, are most righteously judged according to their deservings. For either they lie under the sin which they have inherited by original generation, and depart hence with that inherited debt which is not put away by regeneration, or by their free choice have added other sins besides; their will, I say, frze., but not freed, Â“ free from righteousness, but enslaved to sin, by which they are tossed about by divers mischievous lusts, some more evil, some less, but all evil; and they must be adjudged to diverse punishments, according to that very diversity.' Or they receive the grace of God, but they are only for a season, and do not persevere; they forsake and are forsaken. For by their free-will, as they have not received the gift of perseverance, they are abandoned to the righteous and hidden judgment of God.
Chap. 43. [xiv.] Rehulce and r/race do not set aside one another.

^Let men then suffer themselves to be rebuked when they sin, and not conclude against grace from the rebuke itself, nor from grace against rebuke; because both the righteous penalty of sin is due, and righteous rebuke pertains to it, if it is medicinally applied, even although the salvation of the ailing man is uncertain; so that if he who is rebuked belongs to the number of the predestinated, rebuke may be to him a wholesome medicine, and if he does not belong to that number, it may be to him an instrument of punishment. Under that very uncertainty, therefore, it must of charity be applied, although its result is unknown; and prayer must be made on his behalf to whom it is applied, that he may be healed. But when men either come or return into the way of righteousness by means of rebuke, who is it that worketh salvation in their hearts but that God who giveth the increase, whoever plants and waters, and whoever labours on the fields or shrubs, â€” that God whom no man's will resists when He wills to give salvation? ^ For to will or not to will is in the power of Him who willeth or willeth not, so that it hinders not the divine will nor overcomes the divine power. For even con-

112 A TREATISE ON REBUKE AND GRACE. [CHAP. 45.

cerning those who do what He wills not, He [God] Himself does what He will.

Chap. 44. â€” In what way God loills all men to he saved.

And what is written, that " He will have all men to be saved/" ^ while yet all men are not saved, may be understood in many ways, some of which I have mentioned in other writings^ of mine; but here I will say one thing: " He will have all men to be saved," is so said that all predestinated people may be understood by it, because every race of men is among them.

Just as it was said to the Pharisees, " Ye tithe every herb;" ^ where the expression is only to be understood of every herb that they had, for they did not tithe every herb which was found throughout the whole earth. According to the same manner of speaking, it was said, " Even as I also please all men in all things." * For did he who said this please even so many of his persecutors? But he pleased every kind of men that assembled in the Church of Christ, whether they were already established therein, or were to be introduced into it.

Chap. 45. â€” Scriptural instances w JJierein it is i^roved that God has men's wills more in His power than they themselves have.

It is not, then, to be doubted that men's wills cannot withstand the will of God, " who hath done all things whatsoever He pleased in heaven and in earth," ^ and who also " has formed those things that are to come," ^ in such wise as to prevent His doing what He wills, since He does even concerning the wills themselves of men what He will, when He
will. Unless, perchance (to mention some things among many), when God willed to give
the kingdom to Saul, it was so in the power of the Israelites, as it certainly was placed in
their will, either to subject themselves or not to the man in question, that they could even
prevail to withstand God. God, however, did not do this, save by the will of the men
themselves, doubtless having, the most omnipotent power of inclining men's hearts
whither it pleased Him. For thus it is written: "And Sainuel sent the

1 1 Tim. ii. 4. ^ &nchipirid. c. 103; City of God, xxii. i. 2.

3 Luke xi. 42. * 1 Cor. x. 33.

5 Ps. cxxxv. 6. 6 Isa. xlv. 11 [LXX.].

CHAP. 45.] man's will IN GOD'S CONTROL. 113

people away, and every one went away unto his own place.
And Saul went away to his house in Gibeah: and there went away with Saul mighty
men, whose hearts the Lord touched.
And [some] pestilent children said, Who shall save us ? This man ? And they despised
him, and brought him no presents." 
Will any one say that any of those whose hearts the Lord touched to go with Saul would
not have gone with him, or that any of those pestilent fellows, whose hearts He did not
touch to do this, would have gone ? Of David also, whom the Lord ordained to the
kingdom in a more prosperous succession, we read thus: "And David continued to
increase, and was magnified, and the Lord was with him." ^ This having been premised,
it is said a little afterwards, "And the Spirit clothed Amasai, chief of the thirty, and he
said. We are thine, David; and we will be with thee, son of Jesse: Peace, peace be unto
thee, and peace be to thy helpers; because the Lord has helped thee." ^ Could he
withstand the will of God, and not rather do the will of Him who wrought in his heart by
His Spirit, with which he was clothed, to will, speak, and do thus ? ]|loreover, a little
afterwards the same Scripture says, "All these warlike men, setting the battle in array,
came with a peaceful heart to Hebron to establish David over all Israel." * By their own
will, certainly, they appointed David king. Who cannot see this ? Who can deny it ? For
they did not do it under constraint or without good-will, since they did it with a peaceful
heart. And yet He wrought this in them who worketh what He will in the hearts of men.
For which reason the Scripture premised, "And David continued to increase, and was
magnified, and the Lord Omnipotent was with him." And thus the Lord Omnipotent, who
was with him, induced these men to appoint him king. And how did He induce them ?
Did He constrain thereto by any bodily fetters ? He wrought within; He stirred their
hearts, and drew them by their own wills, which He Himself wrought in them. If, then,
when God M'llls to set up kings in the earth. He has the wills of men more in His power
than they themselves have, who else causes rebuke to be wholesome and

' 1 Sam. X. 25 ff. M Chron. xi. 9.
correction to result in the heart of him that is rebuked, that he may be established in the kingdom of heaven?

Chap. 46. [xv.] "Rthuhe must he varied according to the variety of faults. There is no punishment in the Church greater than excommunication. Therefore, let brethren who are subject be rebuked by those who are set over them, with rebuke that springs from love, varied according to the diversity of faults, whether smaller or greater. Because that very penalty that is called condemnation, which episcopal judgment inflicts, than which there is no greater punishment in the Church, may, if God will, result and be of advantage for most wholesome rebuke. For we know not what may happen on the coming day; nor must any one be despaired of before the end of this life; nor can God be contradicted, that He may not look down and give repentance, and receive the sacrifice of a troubled spirit and a contrite heart, and absolve from the charge of damnation, however just, and so Himself not condemn the condemned person. Yet the necessity of the pastoral office requires, in order that the terrible contagion may not creep through the many, that the diseased sheep should be separated from the sound ones; perchance, by that very separation, to be healed by Him to whom nothing is impossible. For as we know not who belongs to the number of the predestinated, we ought in such wise to be influenced by the affection of love as to will all men to be saved. For this is the case when we endeavour to lead every individual to that point where they may meet with those agencies by which we may prevail, to the accomplishment of the result, that being justified by faith they may have peace with God," which peace, moreover, the apostle announced when he said, "Therefore, we discharge an embassage for Christ, as though God were exhorting by us, we pray you in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God." For what is "to be reconciled" to Him but to have peace towards Him? For the sake of which peace, moreover, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself said to His disciples, "Into whatsoever house ye enter first, say. Peace be to this house; and if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it; but if not, it shall return to you... Query, Excommunication?" Eom. v. 3. '2 Cor, v. 20.

CHAP. 47.] THE PREACHING OF PEACE. 115
again." ^ When they preach the gospel of this peace of whom it is predicted, " How beautiful are the feet of those that publish peace, that announce good things ! " ^ to iis, indeed, everyone then begins to be a son of peace who obeys and believes this gospel, and who, being justified by faith, has begun to have peace towards God; but, according to God's predestination, he was already a son of peace. For it was not said. Upon whomsoever your peace shall rest, he shall become a son of peace; but Christ says, " If the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon that house." Already, therefore, and before the announcement of that peace to him, the son of peace was there, as he had been known and foreknown, by â€” not the evangelist, but â€” God. Tor we need not fear lest we should lose it, if in our ignorance he to whom we preach is not a son of peace, for it will return to us again â€” that is, that preaching wiU profit ns, and not him; but if the peace proclaimed shall rest upon him, it will profit both us and him.

Chap. i7.â€” Another interpretation of the apostolic passage, " Who will have allvien to he saved."

That, therefore, being ignorant who shall be saved, God commands us to will that all to whom we preach this peace may be saved, and Himself works this in us by diffusing that love in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us, â€” may also thus be understood, that God wills all men to be saved, because He makes us to will this; just as " He sent the Spirit of His Son [into our hearts], crying, Abba, Father;"^ that is, making us to cry, Abba, Father ! Because, concerning that same Spirit, He says in another place, " We have received the Spirit of adoption, in v/hom we cry, Abba, Father ! " * We therefore cry, but He is said to cry who makes us to cry. If, then. Scripture rightly said that the Spirit was crying by whom we are made to cry, it rightly also says that God ivills, when by Him we are made to will. And thus, because by rebuke we ought to do nothing save to avoid any departure from that peace which is towards God, or to induce the return to it of him who had departed, let us do in hope what we do. If he whom we rebuke is a son of peace, our peace shall rest upon ' him; but if not, it shall return to us again.'


116 A TREATISE OX KECKUE AND GRACE. [CIIAP. 49.

Chap, i^.-â€” The purpose of rebuke.

Although, therefore, even while the faith of some is subverted, the foundation of God standeth sure, since the Lord knoweth them that are His, still, we ought not on that account to be indolent and negligent in rebuking those who should be rebuked. For not for nothing was it said, " Evil communications corrupt good manners; " ^ and, " The weak brother shall perish in thy knowledge, for whose sake Christ died." ^ Let us not, in opposition to these precepts, and to a wholesome fear, pretend to argue, saying, " Well,
let evil communications corrupt good manners, and let the weak brother perish. What is that to us? The foundation of God standeth sure, and no one perishes but the son of perdition."

[xvi] Be it far from us to babble in this wise, and think that we ought to be secure in this negligence. For it is true that no one perishes except the son of perdition, but God says by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel: ^" He shall surely die in his sin, but his blood will I require at the hand of him who is privy to it." "'

Chap. 49. â€” Conclusion.

Hence, as far as concerns us, who are not able to distinguish those who are predestinated from those who are not, we ought on this very account to wish all men to be saved. Severe rebuke should be medicinally applied to all by us that they perish not themselves, or that they may not be the means of destroying others. It belongs to God, however, to make that rebuke useful to them whom He Himself has foreknown and predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son. For, if at any time we abstain from rebuking, for fear lest by rebuke a man should perish, why do we not also rebuke, for fear lest a man should rather perish by our withholding it?

For we have not greater bowels of love than the blessed apostle who says, " Eebuke those that are unruly; comfort the feeble-minded; support the weak; be patient towards all men. See that none render to any man evil for evil." *

1 1 Cor. XV. 33. 2 1 Cor. viii. 11. =* Ezek. iii. 18.

^ S23eculatoris=executioneT. ^ 1 Thess. v. 14.

CHAP. 49.] EEBUKE TO BE WISELY ADMINISTERED. 117

Where it is to be understood that evil is then rather rendered for evil when one who ought to be rebuked is not rebuked, but by a wicked dissimulation is neglected. He says, moreover, " Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear; " ^ which must be received concerning those sins which are not concealed, lest he be thought to have spoken in opposition to the word of the Lord. For He says, " If thy brother shall sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him." ^

Notwithstanding, He Himself carries out the severity of rebuke to the extent of saying, " If he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." ^ And who loved the weak more than He who became weak for us all, and of that very weakness was crucified for us all? And since these things are so, grace neither restrains rebuke, nor does rebuke restrain grace; and on this account righteousness is so to be prescribed that we may ask in faithful prayer, that, by God's grace, what is prescribed may be done; and both of these things are in such wise to be done that righteous rebuke may not be neglected. But let all these things be done with charity, since, while charity does no sin, it covers the multitude of sins.
A TREATISE ON THE PEE DESTINATION OF THE SAINTS.

By AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo.

THE FIRST BOOK.

ADDEESSED TO PEOSPER AND HILAEL.

A.D. 428 OR 429.

WHEREIN THE TRUTH OF PREDESTINATION AND GRACE IS DEFENDED AGAINST THE SEMI-PELAGIANS, â€” THOSE PEOPLE, Tt) WIT, WHO BY NO MEANS WITH-
DRAW ALTOGETHER FROM THE PELAGIAN HERESY, IN THAT THEY CONTEND THAT THE BEGINNING OF SALVATION AND OF FAITH IS OF OURSELVES; SO THAT IN VIRTUE, AS IT WERE, OF THIS PRECEDENT MERIT, OTHER GOOD GIFTS OF GOD ARE ATTAINED. AUGUSTINE SHOWS THAT NOT ONLY THE INCREASE, BUT THE VERY BEGINNING ALSO OF FAITH IS IN GOD'S GIFT. ON THIS MATTER HE DOES NOT DISAVOW THAT HE ONCE THOUGHT DIFFERENTLY, AND THAT IN SOME SMALL WORKS, WRITTEN BEFORE HIS EPISCOPATE, HE WAS IN ERROR, AS IN THAT EXPOSITION, WHICH THEY OBJECT TO HIM, OF 
PROPOSITIONS FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. BUT HE POINTS OUT THAT HE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CONVINCED CHIEFLY BY THIS TESTIMONY, "but WHAT HAST THOU THAT THOU HAST NOT RECEIVED?" WHICH HE PROVES IS TO BE TAKEN AS A TESTIMONY CONCERNING FAITH ITSELF ALSO.
HE SAYS THAT FAITH IS TO BE COUNTED AMONG OTHER WORKS, BY WHICH THE APOSTLE SAYS THAT GOD'S GRACE IS NOT PREVENTED WHEN HE SAYS, "NOT OF WORKS." HE DECLARES THAT THE HARDNESS OF THE HEART IS
TAKEN AWAY BY GRACE, AND THAT ALL COME TO CHRIST WHO ARE TAUGHT TO COME BY THE FATHER; BUT THAT THOSE WHOM HE TEACHES, HE TEACHES IN MERCY, WHILE THOSE WHOM HE TEACHES NOT, IN JUDGMENT HE TEACHES NOT. THAT THE PASSAGE FROM HIS HUNDRED AND SECOND EPISTLE, QUESTION 2, "CONCERNING THE TIME OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION," WHICH IS ALLEGED BY THE SEMI-PELAGIANS, MAY JUSTLY BE EXPLAINED WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE AND PREDESTINATION. HE TEACHES WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GRACE AND

'This Treatise is the first portion of a work, of which the following "De Done Perseverantise" is the second.

119

120 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 1.

PREDESTINATION. FURTHER, HE SAYS THAT GOD IN HIS PREDESTINATION FOREKNEW "WHAT HE HAD PURPOSED TO DO. HE MARVELS GREATLY THAT THE ADVERSARIES OF PREDESTINATION, WHO ARE SAID TO BE UNWILLING TO BE DEPENDENT ON THE UNCERTAINTY OF GOD'S WILL, PREFER RATHER TO TRUST THEMSELVES TO THEIR OWN WEAKNESS THAN TO THE STRENGTH OF GOD'S PROMISE. HE CLEARLY POINTS OUT THAT THEY ABUSE THIS AUTHORITY, "IF THOU BELIEVEST, THOU SHALT BE SAVED." THAT THE TRUTH OF GRACE AND PERSEVERANCE SHINES FORTH IN THE CASE OF INFANTS THAT ARE SAVED, WHO ARE DISTINGUISHED BY NO MERITS OF THEIR OWN FROM OTHERS WHO PERISH. FOR THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM ARISING FROM THE FOREKNOWLEDGE OF MERITS WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE HAD IF THEY HAD LIVED LONGER. THAT THAT TESTIMONY IS WRONGFULLY REJECTED BY THE ADVERSARIES AS BEING UNCANONICAL, WHICH HE ADDUCED FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS DISCUSSION, "he was TAKEN AWAY LEST WICKEDNESS," ETC. THAT THE MOST ILLUSTROUS INSTANCE OF PREDESTINATION AND GRACE IS THE SAVIOUR HIMSELF, WHO OBTAINED THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING THE SAVIOUR AND THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD BY NO PRECEDENT MERITS, EITHER OF WORKS OR OF FAITH. THAT THE PREDESTINATED ARE CALLED BY SOME CERTAIN
CALLING PECULIAR TO THE ELECT, AND THAT THEY HAVE BEEN ELECTED BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD; NOT BECAUSE THEY WERE FORE-KNOWN AS MEN WHO WOULD BELIEVE AND WOULD BE HOLY, BUT IN ORDER THAT BY MEANS OF THAT VERY ELECTION THEY MIGHT BE SUCH, ETC.

Chap. 1. [i.] â€” Introduction.

WE know that in the Epistle to the Philippians the apostle said, " To write the same things to you to me indeed is not grievous, but for you it is safe;" ^ yet the same apostle, writing to the Galatians, when he saw that he had done enough among them of what he regarded as being needful for them, by the ministry of his preaching, said, " For the rest let no man cause me labour," ^ or as it is read in many codices, "Let no one be troublesome to me." But although I confess I am troubled that the divine eloquence with which the grace of God is preached (which is absolutely no grace if it is given according to our merits), great and manifest as it is, is not yielded to, nevertheless my dearest sons, Prosper and Hilary, your zeal and brotherly affection â€” which makes you so reluctant to see any of the brethren in error, as to wish that, after so many books and letters of mine on this subject, I should write again from here â€” I love more than I can tell, although I do not dare to say that I love it as much as I ought. Wherefore, behold, I write to you
Â» Phil. iii. 1. 2 Gal. vi. 17.

CHAP. 2.] DOCTRINE OF THE MASSILIANS. 121

again. And although I am no longer acting with you, yet by your means I am still doing what I thought I had done sufficiently.

Chap. 2. â€” To what extent the Massilians withdraw from the Pelagians.

For on consideration of your letters, I seem to see that those brethren on whose behalf you exhibit a pious care that they may not hold the poetical opinion in which it is affirmed,
" Every one is a hope for himself," ^ and so fall under that condemnation which is declared, not poetically, but prophetically, "Cursed is every man that hath hope in man,"^^must be treated in that way wherein the apostle dealt with those to whom he said, " And if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." ^ For as yet they are in darkness on the question concerning the predestination of the saints, but they have the source whence, " if in any thing they are otherwise minded, God will reveal even this unto them," if they are walking in that to which they have attained.
For which reason the apostle, when he had said, " If ye are in any thing otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you," says, " ISTEvertheless, whereunto we have attained, let us walk in the same." * And those brethren of ours, on whose behalf your
pious charity is solicitous, have attained with Christ's Church to the belief that the
human race is born obnoxious to the sin of the first man, and that none can be delivered
from that evil save by the righteousness of 'the Second Man.' Moreover, they have
attained to the confession that men's wills are prevented by God's grace; and to the
agreement that no one can suffice to themselves either for beginning or for completing any good work. These things, therefore, unto which they have attained, abundantly distinguish them from the error of the Pelagians. Further, if they walk in them, and beseech Him who giveth understanding, if in anything concerning predestination they are otherwise minded. He will reveal even this unto them. Yet let us also spend upon them the influence of our love, and the ministry of our discourse, according to

1 Virg. JEned, xi. 809. 2 jej. x\-ii. 5.

3 Phil. iii. 15. * Phil. iii. 16.

122 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP, 4.

His gift, whom we have asked that in these letters we might say what should be suitable and profitable to them. For whence do we know whether by this our service, wherein we are serving them in the free love of Christ, our God may perchance will to effect that purpose?

Chap. 3. [ii.] â€” Even the beginning of faith is of God's gift.

Therefore I ought first to show that the faith by which we are Christians is the gift of God, if I can do that more thoroughly than I have already done in so many and so large volumes. "â– But I see that I must now reply to those who say that the divine testimonies which I have adduced concerning this matter are of avail for this purpose, to assure us that we have faith itself of ourselves, but that its increase is of God; as if faith were not given to us by Him, but were only increased in us by Him, on the ground of the merit of its having begun from us. Thus there is here no departure from that opinion which Pelagius himself was constrained to condemn in the judgment of the bishops of Palestine, as is testified by the same transactions, " That the grace of God is given according to our merits," ^ if it is not of God's grace that we begin to believe, but rather that on account of this beginning an addition is made to us of a more full and perfect belief; and so we first give the beginning of our faith to God, that His supply or completion may also be given to us again, and whatever else we faithfully ask.

Chap. 4. â€” Continuation.

But why do we not, in opposition to this, rather hear the words, " Who hath first given to Him and it shall be recompened to him again ? since of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things," ^ and' from whom, then, is that very beginning of our faith if not
from Him? For this is not excepted when other things are spoken of as of Him; but " of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things." But who can say that he who has already begun to believe deserves

^ Some Mss. read "ajyerta" soil, "plain."


3 Rom, xi. 35.

CHAP. 5.] THE BEGINNINGS OF FAITH ARE GOD'S. 123

nothing from Him in whom he has believed? Whence it results that, to him who already deserves, other things are said to be added by a divine retribution, and thus that God's grace is given according to our merits. And this assertion when put before him, Pelagius himself condemned, that he might not be condemned. Whoever, then, wishes on every side to avoid this damnable opinion, let him understand that what the apostle says is said with entire truthfulness, " Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake." He shows that both are the gifts of God, because he said that both were given. And he does not say, "To believe on Him more fully and perfectly," but, " to believe on Him." Neither does he say that he himself had obtained mercy to be more faithful, but "to be faithful,"^ because he knew that he had not first given the beginning of his faith to God, and had its increase given back to him again by Him; but that he had been made faithful by God, who also had made him an apostle. For the beginnings of his faith are recorded, and they are very well known by being read in the church on an occasion calculated to distinguish them: ^ how, being turned away from the faith which he was destroying, and being vehemently opposed to it, he was suddenly by a more powerful grace converted to it, by the conversion of Him, to whom as One who would do this very thing it was said by the prophet, " Thou wilt turn and quicken us;** so that not only from one who refused to believe he was made a willing beKever, but, moreover, from being a persecutor, he suffered persecution in defence of that faith which he [once] persecuted. Because it was given him by Christ " not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake."

Chap. 5. â€” To believe is to consider ivith assent.

And, therefore, commending that grace which is not given according to any merits, but is the cause of all good merits, he says, " ISTot that we are sufficient to think anything as of

^ Phil. i. 29. = 1 Cor. vii. 25.

* The Acts of the Apostles were read during Easter.
* Ps. Ixxv. 6 [LXX.].
ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God." Let them give attention to this, and well weigh these words, who think that the beginning of faith is of ourselves, and the supplement [or increase] of faith is of God. For who cannot see that think;—iug is prior to believing? For no one believes anything unless he has first thought that it is to be believed. ' For however suddenly, however rapidly, some thoughts fly before the will to believe, and this presently follows in such wise as to attend them, as it were, in closest conjunction, it is yet necessary that everything which is believed should be believed after thought has preceded; ' although even belief itself is nothing else than consideration with assent. To'r"Tris'Tib there is a one who thinks that believes, since many think in order that they may not believe; but everybody who believes, thinks, 'â€” both thinks in believing, and believes by thinking. Therefore in what pertains to religion and piety (of which the apostle was speaking), if we are not capable of thinking anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God, we are certainly not capable of believing anything as of ourselves, since we cannot do this without thinking; but our sufficiency, by which we begin to believe, is of God. Wherefore, as no one is sufficient for himself, for the beginning or the completing of any good work whatever, â€” and this those brethren of yours, as what you have written intimates, already agree to be true, whence, as well in the beginning as in the carrying out of every good work, our sufficiency is of God, â€” so no one is sufficient for himself, either to begin or to perfect faith; but our sufficiency is of God. Because if faith is not a matter of thought, it is of no account; and we are not sufficient to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God.

Chap. 6. â€” Presumption and arrogance to be avoided.

Care must be taken, brethren, beloved of God, that a man do not lift himself up in opposition to God, when he says that he does what God has promised to do. Was not the faith of the nations promised to Abraham, " and he, giving glory to God, most fully believed that what He promised He is able

' 2 Cor. iii. 5.

CHAP. 7.] man's claim TO ORIGINATE FAITH. 125

also to perform "? ^ He therefore makes the faith of the nations, who is able to do what He has promised. Further, if God is the agent of our faith, acting in a wonderful manner in our hearts so that we believe, is there any reason to fear that He cannot do the whole; and ""does man^ on that account 'arrogate to himself its first elements, that he may merit to receive its last from God? Consider if in such a way any other result be gained
than that the grace of God is given in any degree we please, according to our merits, and so grace is no more grace. ^ For on this principle it is made a matter of debt, it is not bestowed freely; for it is due to the believer that his faith itself should be increased by the Lord, and that the increased faith should be the wages of the faith begun; nor is it observed when this is said, that that very wage is assigned to believers, not of grace, but of debt. And I do not at all see why the whole should not be attributed to man, â€” as he who could originate for himself what he had not previously, can himself increase what he had originated, â€” except that it is impossible to withstand the most manifest divine testimony, by which faith, whence piety takes its beginning, is shown also to be the gift of God: such as is that testimony that " God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith; " ^ and that one, " Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ," ^ and other similar passages. ' Man, therefore, unwilling to resist such clear testimonies as these, and yet desiring himself to have the merit of believing, compounds as it were with God to claim a portion of faith for himself, and to leave a portion for Him; and, what is still more arrogant, he takes the first portion for himself, and gives the subsequent to Him; and so in that which he says belongs to both, he makes himself the first, and God the second !

Chap. 7. [m.] â€” Augustine confesses that he had formerly been in error concerning the grace of God.

It was not thus that that pious and humble teacher thought â€” I speak of the most blessed Cyprian â€” when he said " that we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own."^ And in order to show this, he appealed to the apostle as a witness, where he said, " For what hast thou that thou hast not received ? And if thou hast received it, why boastest thou as if thou hast not received it ? " ^ And it was chiefly by this testimony that I myseK also was convinced when I was in a similar error, thinking that the faith whereby we believe on God is not God's gift, but that it is, in us of ourselves, and that by it we obtain the gifts of God, whereby we may live temperately and righteously and piously in this world. For I did not think that faith was prevented__by, God's grace, so that by its means would be given to us what we might profitably ask, excejDt that we could not believe if the proclamation of the truth did not precede; but that we should consent when the gospel was preached to us I thought was our own doing, and came to us from ourselves. And this my error is sufficiently indicated in some small works of mine written before my episcopate. Among these is that which you have mentioned in your letters,^ wherein is an exposition of certain propositions from the Epistle to the Eomans. Eventually, when I was retracting all my small works, and was prosecuting that
retractation in writing, "of which task I had already completed two books before I had taken up your more lengthy letters, " when in the first volume I had reached the retractation of this book, I then spoke thus: "

1 Cor. iv. 7. 3 El). Hilar, iv. 3. * Mai. i. 2, 3.

CHAP. 7. FROM THE " RETRACTATIONS." 127

miglit obtain eternal life also. I had not yet very carefully sought, nor had I as yet found, what is the nature of the election of grace, of which the apostle says, ' A remnant are saved according to the election of grace.' Which assuredly is not grace if any merits recede it; lest what is now given, not according to grace, but according to debt, be rather paid to merits than freely given. For the same apostle says, ' The same God which worketh all in all; ' but it was never said, God believeth all in all; and thereupon I subjoined. Therefore what we believe is our own, but what good thing we do is of Him who giveth the Holy Spirit to them that believe.

I certainly could not say, even if I knew, that faith itself also is found among those gifts of God which are given by the same Spirit. Both, therefore, are ours on account of the choice of the will, and yet both are given by the spirit of faith and love. For faith is not alone, but, as it is written, ' Love with faith, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.' And what I said a little after, " For it is ours to believe and to will, but it is His to give to those who believe, and with us the power of doing good works through the Holy Spirit, by whom love is shed abroad in our hearts, " true indeed; but by the same rule both are also God's, because God prepares the win; and both are ours too, because we are only brought about with our good wills. ' And thus what I subsequently said also: Because we are not able to will unless we are called; and when, after our calling, we would will, our willing is not sufficient, nor our running, unless God gives strength to us that run, and leads us whither He calls us; and thereupon I added: It is plain, therefore,
that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy, that we do good works, â€” this is absolutely most true. But I discovered little concerning the calling itself, which is according to God's purpose; for not such is the calling of all that are called, but only of the elect. Therefore what I said a little afterwards:

For as in those whom God elects it is not works but faith that inchoates the merit of doing good works by the gift of God, thus in those whom He condemns, unbelief and impiety inchoate.

Eom. xi. 5. 2 1 Cor. xiL 6, 3 Eph. vi. 23.

128 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 8.

the desert of punishment, so that even by way of punishment itself they do evil works, â€” I spoke most truly. But that even the merit itself of faith was God's gift, I neither thought of inquiring into, nor did I say. And in another place I say:

Por if He has mercy on a man. He makes him to do good works, and whom He hardeneth He leaves to do evil works; but that mercy is bestowed upon the preceding merit of faith, and that hardening is applied to preceding iniquity. And this indeed is true; but it should further have been asked, whether even the merit of faith does not come from God's mercy, â€” that is, whether that mercy is manifested in man only for the reason that he is a believer, or whether it is manifested precisely that he might be a believer? For we read in the apostle's words: ' I obtained mercy to be faithful.' â€” He does not say. Because I was faithful. Therefore, although it is given to the believer, yet it has been given also that he might be a believer. ' Therefore, also, in another place in the same book I most truly said: Because, if it is of God's mercy, and not of works, that we are called that we may believe, and it is granted to us when we believe to do good works, that mercy must not be grudged to the heathen; â€” although I there discoursed less carefully about that calling which is given according to God's purpose.'

Chap. 8. [iv.] â€” What Augustine wrote to SimpUcianus, the successor of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

You see plainly what was at that time my opinion concerning faith and works, although I was labouring in commending God's grace; and in this opinion I see that those brethren of ours now are, because they have not been as careful to make progress with me in my writings as they were in reading them.

For if they had been so careful, they would have found that question solved in accordance with the truth of the divine Scriptures in the first book of the two which I wrote in the very beginning of my episcopate to Simphcianus, of blessed memory, Bishop of the Church of Milan, and successor to St. Ambrose. Unless, perchance, they may not have known these books; in which case, take care that they do know them. Of this first of those two books, I first spoke in the second book

' 1 Cor. vii. 25.
of the BetractatioTis; and what I said is as follows: " Of the books, I say, on which, as a bishop, I have laboured, the first two are addressed to Simplicianus, president of the Church of Milan, who succeeded the most blessed Ambrose, â€” concerning divers questions, two of which I gathered into the first book from the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Eomans. The former of them is about what is written: ' What shall we say, then? Is the law sin? Ly no means; ' ^ as far as the passage where he says, * Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.' ^ And therein I have expounded those words of the apostle: ' The law is spiritual; but I am carnal; ' ^ and others in which the flesh is declared to be in conflict against the Spirit, in such a way as if a man were there described as still under law, and not yet established under grace. For long afterwards I perceived that those words might even be (and probably were) the utterance of a spiritual man. The latter question in this book is gathered from that passage where the apostle says^, ' And not only this, but when Eebecca also had conceived by one,* even by our father Isaac,' ^ as far as that place where he says, 'Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we should be as Sodoma, and should have been like unto Gomorra.' ^ In the solution of which question I laboured indeed on behalf of the free choice of the human w^ill, but God's grace overcame, and I could only reach that point where the apostle is perceived to have said with the most evident truth, ' Eor who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou hast not received? Xow, if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou receivest it not? ' ^ And this the martyr Cj'prian was also desirous of setting forth when he compressed the whole of it in the very title: ' That we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own.' " ^ This is why I previously said that it was chiefly by this apostolic testimony that I myself had been convinced, when I thought otherwise con-


* Rom. ix. 29, "- 1 Cor. iv. 7.


XV. I

130 ON" THE PREDESTINATION^ OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. p.

cerning this matter; ' which God revealed to me as I sought to solve this question when I was writing, as I said, to the Bishop Simplicianus. ^This testimony, therefore, of the
apostle, when for the sake of repressing man's conceit he said, "For what hast thou which thou hast not received?" 

does not allow any believer to say, I have faith which I received not. All the arrogance of this answer is absolutely repressed by these apostolic words. Moreover, it cannot even be said, Although I have not a perfected faith, yet I have its beginning [scil. which I have not received], whereby I first of all believed in Christ. Because here also is answered: "But what hast thou that thou hast not received? Now, if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if thou receivedst it not?"

Chap. 9. The purpose of the apostle in these words.

The notion, however, which they entertain, that these words, "What hast thou that thou hast not received?" cannot be said of this faith, because it remained in the same nature, although degraded, which at first Avas endowed with health and perfection, is perceived to have no force for the purpose that they desire, if it be considered why the apostle said these words; for he was concerned that no one should glory in man, because dissensions had sprung up among the Corinthian Christians, so that every one was saying, "I, indeed, am of Paul, and another, I am of ApoUos, and another, I am of Cephas;" and thence he went on to say: "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong things: and God hath chosen the ignoble things of the world, and contemptible things, and those things which are not, to make of no account things which are; that no flesh should glory in God's presence." Here the design of the apostle is of a certainty sufficiently plain against ^he pride of man, that no one should glory in man; and thus, no one should glory in himself Finally, when he had said "that no flesh should glory in God's presence," in order to show in what man ought to glory, he immediately added, "But of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who is made unto us

1 1 Cor. iv. 7. " 1 Cor. i. 12. ^ i (jor. i. 27.

CHAP. 10.] EVERYTHING RECEIVED FROM GOD. 131

wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." Thence that purpose of his progressed, till afterwards rebuking them he says, "For ye are yet carnal; for whereas there are among you envying and contention, are ye not carnal, and walk according to man? For while one saith I am of Paul, and another, I am of ApoUos, are ye not men?" - What, then, is Apollos, and what Paul? Ministers by whom you believed; and to every one as the Lord has given. I have planted, and Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. Therefore, neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." Do you not see that the sole purpose of the apostle is that man may be humbled, and God alone exalted? Since in all those things, indeed, which are planted and watered, he says not that even the planter and the
waterer are anything, but God who giveth the increase. Since the very fact, also, of the
one's planting and the other's watering he attributes also not to themselves, but to God,
when he says, " To every one as the Lord hath given; I
have planted, Apollos watered." Hence, therefore, persisting in the same purpose he
comes to the point of saying, " Therefore let no man glory in man," ^ for he had already
said, " He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." After these and some other matters
which are associated therewith, that same purpose of his is carried on in the words: " And
these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself and to Apollos for your
sakes, that ye might learn in us that no one of you should be puffed up for one against
another above that which is written. For who maketh thee to differ ? And what hast thou
which thou hast not received ? Now, if thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if
thou receivedst it not ? " *

Chap. 10. â€” It is God's grace u-likh specially distinguishes one man from another-

In this the apostle's most evident intention, in which h^
speaks against human pride, that none should glory in man, bttt
in God, it is too absurd, as I think, to regard God's natural gifts
[as comprehended], whether man's entire and perfected nature

1 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 1 Cor. iii. 3 ff. ^ 1 Cor. iii. 21. * 1 Cor. ir. 6.


itself, as it was bestowed on him in his first state, or the
' remains, whatever they may he, of his degraded nature. "^ For is it by such gifts as
these, which are common to all men, that men are distinguished from one another ? But
here he first said,
" For who maketh thee to differ ?" and then added, " And what hast thou that thou hast
not received ? " Because a man, puffed up against another, might say. My faith makes me
to differ, or my righteousness, or anything else of the kind. In reply to such notions, the
good teacher says, " But what hast thou that thou hast not received ?" And from whom but
from Him who maketh thee to differ from another, on whom He bestowed not what He
bestowed on thee ? " Now if," says he, " thou hast received it, why dost thou glory as if
thou receivedst it not ?" Is he concerned, I ask, about anything else save that he who
glorieth should glory in the Lord ?
But nothing is so opposed to this feeling as for any one to glory concerning his own
merits in such a way as if he himself had made them for himseK, and not the grace of
God, â€” a grace, however, which makes the good to differ from the wicked, and is not
common to the good and the wicked.
Let the grace, therefore, whereby we are living and reasonable creatures, and are distinguished from cattle, be attributed to nature; let that grace also by which, among men themselves, the handsome are made to differ from the ill-formed, or the intelligent from the stupid, or anything of that kind, be ascribed to nature. But he whom the apostle was rebuking did not puff himself up as contrasted with cattle, nor as contrasted with any other man, in respect of any natural endowment which might be found even in the worst of men. But he ascribed to himself, and not to God, some good gift which pertained to a holy life, and was puffed up therewith when he deserved to hear the rebuke, "Who hath made thee to differ?" and what hast thou that thou receivest not?" For though it is a natural endowment to be able to have faith, is it also natural to have it? "For all men have not faith," ^ although all men have the capacity to have faith. But the apostle does not say, "And what art thou able to have, the ability to have which thou receivest not?" but he says, "And what hast

1 2 Thess, iii, 2.

CHAP. 11.] god's MERCY IN ELECTIO^*. 133

thou which thou receivest not?" Accordingly, the ability to have faith/ as the ability to have love, belongs to men's nature; but to have faith, even as to have love, belongs to the grace of believers. That nature, therefore, in which is given to us the capability of having faith, does not distinguish man from man, but faith itself makes the believer to differ from the unbeliever. And thus, when it is said, "For who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou receivest not?" if any one dare to say, I have faith of myself, I did not, therefore, receive it, he directly contradicts this most manifest truth, — not because it is not in the power of man's will to believe or not to believe, but because in the Elect the will is prepared by the Lord. Thus, moreover, the passage, "For who maketh thee to differ? and what hast thou that thou receivest not?" refers to that very faith which is in the will of man.

Chap. 11. [vi.] â€” Tliat some men are elected Is of God's mercy.

Many hear the word of truth; but some believe, while others contradict. Therefore, the former will to believe; the latter do not will. Who does not know this? "Who can deny this? But since in some the will is prepared by the Lord, in others it is not prepared, we must assuredly be able to distinguish what comes from God's mercy, and what from His judgment.

"What Israel sought for," says the apostle, "he hath not obtained, but the election hath obtained it; and the rest were blinded, as it is written, God gave to them the spirit of compunction, â€” eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, even to this day. 'And David said, Let their table be made a snare, a retribution, and a stumblingblock to them; let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see; and bow down
their back always."^ Here is mercy and judgment, "mercy towards the election which has obtained the righteousness of God, but judgment to the rest which have been blinded. And yet the former, because they willed,/^Thence says Bernard, in his treatise On Grace and Free-will, ch. i.: "God is the author of salvation. Free-will is only capable of it. " Comp. de Vocat. Gentium, lib. ii. ch. 2, and Fulgentius, Lib. de Inzam. et Graf. D.N.J. C, ch. 22, 23, and 24. ^ j^qj^ ^^ 7

^ According to the Vatican iiss. is read, "The former who willed", " and below, "The latter who willed not."

134 ON THE PREDESTINATION" OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 12.

believed; the latter, because they did not will believed not. Therefore mercy and judgment were manifested in these very wills. Certainly such an election is of grace, not at all of merits. For he had before said, " So, therefore, even at this present time, the remnant has been saved by the election of grace. And if by grace, now it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace." â– " Therefore the election obtained what it obtained freely; there preceded none of those things which they might first give, and it should be given to them again. He saved them for nothing. But to the rest who were blinded, as is there plainly declared, it was done in recompense. "All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth." ^ But His ways are unsearchable. Therefore the mercy by which He freely delivers, and the truth by which He righteously judges, are equally unsearchable.^

Chap. 12. [vii.] â€” Why the apostle said that we are justified by faith and not by works.

But perhaps it may be said: " The apostle distinguishes faith from works; he says, indeed, that grace is not of works, but he does not say that it is not of faith." This, indeed, is true. But Jesus says that faith itself also is the work of God, and commands us to work it. For the Jews said to Him, " What shall we do that we may work the work of God ? Jesus answered, and said unto them, This is the work of God, ' that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent." ^ ' The apostle, therefore, distinguishes faith from works, just as Judah is distinguished from Israel in the two kingdoms of the Hebrews, although Judah is Israel itself. And he says that a man is justified by faith and not by works, because faith itself is first given, from which may be obtained other things which are specially characterized as works, in which a man may live righteously. ^ For he
himself also says, "By grace ye are saved through faith; and this not of yourselves; but it is the gift of God," * ã€” that is to say. And in saying, "through faith," [I meant] even faith itself is not of yourselves, but is God's gift. "Not of works," he says, "lest any man should be lifted up." For it is usually said. He deserved to believe, because

1 Rom. xi. 5. 2 Ps. xxv. 10.
3 John vi. 28. * F.ph. ii. 8.

CHAP. 13.] ALL GOOD WORKS ARE OF GOD. 135

he was a good man even before he believed. Which may be said of Cornelius, since his alms were accepted and his prayers heard before he had believed on Christ; and yet without some faith he neither gave alms nor prayed. For how did he call on Him on whom he had not believed ? But if he could have been saved without the faith of Christ, the Apostle Peter would not have been sent as an architect to build him up; although, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it." * And we are told. Faith is of ourselves; other things which pertain to works of righteousness are of the Lord; as if faith did not belong to the building, * ã€” as if, I say, the foundation did not belong to the building. But if this primarily and especially belongs to it, he labours in vain who seeks to build up the faith by preaching, unless the Lord in His mercy builds it up from within. * â€˘ Whatever therefore, of good works Cornelius performed, as well before he believed in Christ as when he believed and after he had believed, are all to be ascribed to God, lest, perchance, any man be lifted up.

Chap. 13. [vni.] * ã€” The effect of divine grace.

Accordingly, our only Master and Lord Himself, when He had said what I have above mentioned, * ã€” "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent," * ã€” says a little afterwards in that same discourse of His, "I said unto you that ye also have seen me and have not believed. All that the Father giveth me shall come to me." * What is the meaning of "shall come to me," but, "shall believe in me" ? But it is the Father's gift that this may be the case. Moreover, a little after He says, "Murmur not among yourselves. No one can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day. It is written in the prophets. And they shall be all teachable * of God. Every man that hath heard of the Father, and hath learned, cometh unto me." * What is the meaning of, "Every man that hath heard of the Father, and hath learned, cometh unto me," except that there is none who hears of the Father,

* Acts X. - Ps. cxxvii. 1. * John vi. 36.

* Docibiles. * John vi. 43 ff.
and learns, who cometh not to me? For if every one who has heard of the Father, and has learned, comes, certainly every one who does not come has not heard of the Father; for if he had heard and learned, he would come. For no one has heard and learned, and has not come; but every one, as the Truth declares, who has heard of the Father, and has learned, comes. Far removed from the perceptions of the flesh is this teaching in which the Father is heard, and teaches to come to the Son. Engaged herein is also the Son Himself, because He is His word by which He thus teaches; and He does not do this through the ear of the flesh, but of the heart. Herein engaged, also, at the same time, is the Spirit of the Father and of the Son; and He, too, teaches, and does not teach separately, since we have learned that the workings of the Trinity are inseparable. And that is certainly the same Holy Spirit of whom the apostle says, "We, however, having the same Spirit of faith." ^ But this is especially attributed to the Father, for the reason that of Him is begotten the Only Begotten, and from Him proceeds the Holy Spirit, of which it would be tedious to argue more elaborately; and I think that my work in fifteen books on the Trinity which God is has already reached you. Very far removed, I say, from the perceptions of the flesh is this instruction wherein God is heard and teaches. We see that many come to the Son because we see that many believe on Christ, but when and how they have heard this from the Father, and have learned, we see not. It is true that that grace is exceedingly secret, but who doubts that it is grace? This grace, therefore, which is hiddenly bestowed in human hearts, is rejected by no hard heart, because it is given for the sake of first taking away the hardness of the heart. When, therefore, the Father is heard within, and teaches, so that a man comes to the Son, He takes away the heart of stone and gives a heart of flesh, as in the declaration of the prophet He has promised.

Because He thus makes them children and vessels of mercy which He has prepared for glory.

Chap. 14. "Why the Father does not teach all that they may come to Christ.

i~ Why, then, does He not teach all that they may come to

1 2 Cor. iv. 13.

CHAP. 14.] now GOD TEACHES ALL MEN. 137

Christ, except because all whom He teaches, He teaches in mercy, while those whom He teaches not, in judgment He teaches not? Since, "On whom He will He has mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth." ^ But He has mercy when He gives good things. He hardens when he recompenses what is deserved. " Or if, as some would prefer to distinguish them, those words also are his to whom the apostle says, "Thou sayest then unto me," so that he may he regarded as having said, "Therefore hath He mercy on
whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth," as well as those which follow, â€” to wit,
"What is it that is still complained of? for* who resists His will?" Does the apostle
answer, "0 man, what thou hast said is false? " No; but he says, " man, who art thou that
repliest against God? Doth the thing formed say to him that formed it. Why hast thou
made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump?"^ and what
follows, which you very well know. And yet after a certain measure the Father teaches all
men to come to His Son.
For it was not in vain that it was written in the prophets,
" And they shall all be teachable of God." ^ And when He too had premised this
testimony. He added, " Every man, therefore, who has heard of the Father, and has
learned, cometh to me." "As, therefore, we speak justly when we say, concerning any
teacher of literature who is alone in a city. He teaches literature here to everybody, â€”
not that all men learn, but that there is none who learns literature there who does not learn
from him, â€” so we justly say, God teaches all men to come to Christ, not because all
come, but because none comes in any other way. And why He does not teach all men the
apostle explained, as far as he judged that it was to be explained, because, " willing to
show His wrath, and to exhibit His power.
He endured with much patience the vessels of wrath which were perfected for
destruction; and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of
mercy which He has prepared for glory." * Hence it is that the " word of the cross is
foolishness to them that perish; but unto them that are saved it is the power of God." ^
God teaches all such to come
1 Rom. ix. 18. 2 ji^f fp, 3 John vi. 45.
* Rom. ix. 22. ^ 1 Cor. i. 18.


to Christ, for He wills all such to be saved, and to come to
't the knowledge of the truth. ^ And if He had willed to teach even those to whom the
word of the cross is foolishness to come to Christ, beyond all doubt these also would
have come.
For He neither deceives nor is deceived when He says,
" Every one that hath heard of the Father, and hath learned, Cometh to me." Away, then,
with the thought that any one cometh not, who has heard of the Father and has learned.

Chap. 15. â€” It is believers that are taught of God.

" Why," say they, " does He not teach all men? " If we should say that they whom He
does not teach are unwilling to learn, we shall be met with the answer: And what becomes
of what is said to Him, " God, Thou wilt turn us again, and quicken us" ?^ Or if God does
not make men willing who were not willing, on what principle does the Church pray,
according to the Lord's commandment, for her persecutors? For thus also the blessed Cyprian would have it to be understood that we say, "Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth," â€” that is, as in those who have already believed, and who are, as it were, heaven, so also in those who do not believe, and on this account are still the earth. What, then, do we pray for on behalf of those who are unwilling to believe, except that God would work in them to will also? Certainly the apostle says, "Brethren, my heart's good desire, indeed, and my prayer to God for them, is made for their salvation." ^ He prays for those who do not believe, â€” for what, except that they may believe? For in no other way do they obtain salvation. "' If, then, the faith of the petitioners precede the grace of God, does the faith of them on whose behalf prayer is made that they may believe precede the grace of God, since this is the very thing that is besought for them, that on them that believe not â€” that is, who have not faith â€” faith itself may be bestowed? ^ When, therefore, the gospel is preached, some believe, some believe not; but they who believe at the voice of the preacher from without, hear of the Father from within,

'Rom. X. 1.

CHAP. 16.] TO COME TO CHRIST IS TO BELIEVE. 139

and learn: while they who do not believe, hear outwardly, but inwardly do not hear nor learn; â€” that is to say, to the former it is given to believe; to the latter it is not given. Because 'â€œno man," says He, "cometh to me, except the Father which sent me draw him." ^ And this is more plainly said afterwards. For after a little time, when He was speaking of eating His flesh and drinking His blood, and some even of His disciples said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" ^ And this is more plainly said afterwards. For after a little time, when He was speaking of eating His flesh and drinking His blood, and some even of His disciples said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" ^ And this is more plainly said afterwards. For after a little time, when He was speaking of eating His flesh and drinking His blood, and some even of His disciples said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" ^ And this is more plainly said afterwards. For after a little time, when He was speaking of eating His flesh and drinking His blood, and some even of His disciples said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?"

Jesus, knowing in Himself that His disciples murmured at this, said unto them. Doth this offend you?" ^ And a little after He said, "The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life; but there are some among you which believe not." ^ And immediately the evangelist says, "For Jesus knew from the beginning who were the believers, and who should betray Him; and He said. Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me except it were given him of my Father." Therefore, to be drawn to Christ by the Father, and to hear and learn of the Father in order to come to Christ, is nothing else than to receive from the Father the gift by which to believe in Christ. For not the hearers of the gospel were distinguished from those who did not hear, but the believers from those who did not believe, by Him who said, "No man cometh to me except it were given him of my Father."

Chap. 16. â€” "Thy the gift of faith is not given to all.

"Faith, when, as well in its beginning as in its completion, is God's gift; and let no one have any doubt whatever, unless he desires to resist the plainest sacred writings, that this
gift is given to some, while to some it is not given. And [the question] why it is not given to all ought not to disturb the believer, who believes that all have gone from one into a condemnation, which undoubtedly is most righteous; so that even if none were delivered therefrom, there would be no just cause for finding fault with God. Whence it is plain that it is a great grace for many to be delivered, and to acknowledge in those that are not delivered what would be due to themselves; so that he that glorieth may glory not in his own 1 Jolm vi. 44. - John vi. 60 ff. ^ John vi. 63 ff.

<

140 ox THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 17.

merit s, which he sees to be equalled in those that are condemned, but in the Lord. And why He delivers one rather than another. " His judgments are unsearchable, and His ways ^ast finding out." For it is better in this case for us to hear or to say, " man, who art thou that repliest against God ? " ^ than to dare to say, as if we could know what He has chosen to be kept secret. Since, moreover, He could ' not will anything unrighteous. '

Chap. 17. [ix.] â€” His argument in his letter against Porphyry.

But that which you remember my saying' in a certain small treatise of mine against Porphyry, under the title of The Time of the Christian Religion, I so said ^ for the sake of escaping this more careful and elaborate argument about grace; although its meaning, which could be unfolded elsewhere or by others, was not wholly omitted, although I had been unwilling in that place to explain it [at large]. For, among other matters, I spoke thus in answer to the question proposed, why Christ should have come after so long a time: "Accordingly, I say, since they do not object to Christ that all do not follow His teaching (for even they themselves feel that this could not be objected at all with any justice, either to the wisdom of the philosophers or even to the deity of their own gods), what will they reply, if â€” leaving out of the question that depth of God's wisdom and knowledge where perchance some other divine plan is far more secretly hidden, without prejudging also other causes, which cannot be

j traced out by the wise â€” we say to them only this, for the sake of brevity in the arguing of this question, that Christ

I willed to appear to men, and that His doctrine should be preached among them, at that time when He knew, and at that place where He knew, that there were some who would believe on Him. For at those times, and in those places, at which His gospel was not preached. He foreknew that all would be in [respect of] His preaching such as, not indeed
all, but many of them, were in His bodily presence, who would neither believe on Him, nor on the dead who were raised by Him; such as many whom we can now see, although the
1 Eom. xi. 33. ”^ Eom. ix. 20.

CHAP. 17.] FROM THE LETTER AGAINST PORPHYRY. 141

declarations of the prophets concerning Him are fulfilled by such manifestations, still unwilling to believe, and professing to resist by human astuteness, rather than to yield to divine authority so clear and perspicuous, and so lofty, and sublimely made known, so long as the human understanding is small and weak in its approach to divine truth. What wonder is it, then, if Christ knew the world in former ages to be so full of unbelievers, that He should reasonably refuse to appear, or to be preached to them, who, as He foreknew, would believe neither His words nor His miracles? For it is not incredible that all at that time were such, as from His coming even to the present time we marvel that there have been and are so many. And yet from the beginning of the human race, sometimes more hiddenly, sometimes more evidently, as to Divine Providence seemed to be more fitting, there was neither a failure of prophecy [concerning Him], nor were there wanting those who believed on Him; as well [in the period] from Adam to Moses, as in the people of Israel itself, which by a certain special mystery was a prophetic people; and in other nations before He had come in the flesh. For as some are mentioned in the sacred Hebrew book, as early as the time of Abraham, neither of his fleshly race nor of the people of Israel, nor of the extraneous society among the people of Israel, who were, nevertheless, sharers in their sacrament [scil. of circumcision], why may we not believe that there were others elsewhere among other people, here and there, although we do not read any mention of them in the same authorities?

Thus the salvation [announced by] this religion, by which, as the only true one, true salvation is faithfully promised, never failed him who was worthy of it; and w^h^ever it faded was not worthy of it. ’ And from the very beginning of the propagation of man, even to the end, the gospel is preached, to some for a reward, to some for judgment; and thus also those to whom the faith was not announced at all were foreknown as those who would not believe; and those to whom it was announced, although they were not such as would believe, are set forth as an example for the former; while those to whom it is announced who should believe, are prepared for the kingdom of heaven, and the company of the holy angels.”

142 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. ’ [CHAP. 19.

Chap. 18. â€” The gist of the preceding argument.
Do you not see that my desire was, without any prejudgment of the sacred counsel of God, and of other [possible] reasons, to say something that might seem sufficient about Christ's foreknowledge, to convince the unbelief of the pagans who had brought forward this question? For what is more true than that Christ foreknew who should believe on Him, and at what times and places they should believe? But whether by the preaching of Christ to themselves by themselves they were to have faith, or whether they would receive it by God's gift, â€” that is, whether God only foreknew them, or also predestinated them, I did not at that time think it necessary to inquire or to discuss. Therefore what I said, "that Christ willed to appear to men at that time, and that His doctrine should be preached among them when He knew, and where He knew, that there were those who would believe on Him," may also thus be said, That Christ willed to appear to men at that time, and that His gospel should be preached among those, whom He knew, and where He knew, that there were those who had been elected in Himself before the foundation of the world. But since, if it were so said, it would make the reader desirous of asking about those things which now by the warning of Pelagian errors must of necessity be discussed with greater copiousness and care, it seemed to me that what at that time was sufficient should be briefly said, making exception, as I said, of the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God, and without prejudging other reasons, concerning which I thought that we might more fittingly argue, not then, but at some other time.

Chap. 19. [x.]â€”what respects predestination and grace differ.

Moreover, that which I said, " That the salvation offered by this religion has never failed him who was worthy of it, and that he whom it failed was not worthy," if it be discussed and asked whence any man can be worthy, there are not wanting those who say â€” by human will. But we say, by divine grace or predestination. Further, between grace and predestination

CHAP. 19.] GRACE AND PREDESTINATION. 143

there is only this difference, that predestination is a preparation for grace, while grace is actually the endowment itself.
"When, therefore, the apostle says, " Not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus in good works," ^ it is grace; but what follows â€”
" which God hath prepared that we should walk in them " â€” is predestination, which cannot exist without foreknowledge, although foreknowledge may exist without predestination; because God foreknew by predestination those things which He was about to do, whence it was said, " He made those things that shall be."^ Moreover, He is able to foreknow even those things which He does not Himself do, â€” as all sins whatever; because, although there are some which are in such wise sins as that they are also the penalties of sins, whence it is said,
"God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient,"^ it is not in such a case the sin that is God's, but the judgment. Therefore God's predestination in [respect of] good is, as I have said, the preparation of grace; which grace is the effect of that very predestination. ^

Therefore when God promised to Abraham in his seed the faith of the nations, saying, "I have established thee a father of many nations," * whence the apostle says, "Therefore it is of faith, that the promise, according to grace, might be established to all the seed,"^ He promised not concerning the power of our will, but concerning His own predestination. For He promised what He Himself would do, not what men would do. Because, although men do those good things which pertain to God's worship. He Himself makes them to do what He has commanded; it is not they that cause Him to do what He has promised. Otherwise the fulfilment of God's promises would not be in the power of God, but in that of men; and thus what was promised by God to Abraham would be given to Abraham by men themselves. Abraham, however, did not believe thus, but "he believed, giving glory to God, that what He promised He is able also to perform."^ He does not say, "to foretell." He does not say, "to foreknow;" for He can foretell and foreknow the doings of strangers also; but

^ Eph. ii. 9, 10. - Isa. xlv, 11 [LXX.]. ' Eom. i. 28.


144 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 21.

He says, "He is able also to do;" and thus He is speaking not of the doings of others, but of His own.

Chap. 20. â£” Did God promise the good works of the nations, and not their faith, to Abraham?

Did God, perchance, promise to Abraham in his seed the good works of the nations, as He would promise that which He Himself does, and not the faith of the nations, which men make for themselves; but as He would promise what He Himself does, did He so foreknow that men would effect that faith? The apostle, indeed, does not speak thus, because God promised children to Abraham, who should follow the footsteps of his faith, as he very plainly says. But if He promised the works, and not the faith of the nations, certainly since they are not good works unless they are of faith (for "the righteous lives of faith," ^ and, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin,"^ and, "Without faith it is impossible to please [God] " ^), nevertheless it is in man's power that God should fulfil what He has promised. For unless man should do what without the gift of God pertains to man, he will not cause God to give it, â£” that is, unless man have faith of himself.
God does not fulfil what He has promised, that works of righteousness should be given by God. And thus that God should be able to fulfil His promises is not in God's power, but in man's. And if truth and piety do not forbid our believing this, let us believe with Abraham, that what He has promised He is able also to perform. But He promised children to Abraham; and this men cannot be unless they have faith, therefore He gives faith also.

Chap. 21. ò€” It is to be wondered at that men should rather trust to their own weakness than to God's strength.

Certainly, when the apostle says, " Therefore it is of faith that the promise may be sure according to grace,"* I marvel that men would rather entrust themselves to their own weakness, than to the strength of God's promise. But sayest thou, God's will concerning myself is to me uncertain? What then?

Is thine own will concerning thyself certain to thee? and dost thou not fear, ò€” " Let him that thinketh he standeth take

1 Hab. ii. 4. * Eom. xiv. 23,

3 Heb. xi. t). * Eom. iv. 16,

CHAP. 22.] god's conditional PROMISES, 145

heed lest he fall " ?^ Since, then, both are uncertain, why does not man commit his faith, hope, and love to the stronger will, rather than to the weaker?

Chap. 22. ò€” God's promise is sure.

"Eut," say they, "when it is said, 'If thou believest, thou shalt be saved,' one of these things is required; the other is offered.

What is required is in man's power; what is offered is in God's.' Why are not both in God's, as well what He commands as what He offers? For He is asked to give what He commands. Believers ask that their faith may be increased; they ask on behalf of those who do not believe, that faith may be given to them; therefore both in its increase and in its beginnings, faith is the gift of God. But it is said thus: " If thou believest, thou shalt be saved," in the same way that it is said, " If by the Spirit ye shall mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live." ^ For in this case also, of these two things one is required, the other is offered. It is said, " If by the Spirit ye shall mortify the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live," Therefore, that we mortify the deeds of the flesh is required, but that we may live is offered. Is it, then, fitting for us to say, that to mortify the deeds of the flesh is not a gift of God, and not to confess it to be a gift of God, because we hear it required of us, with the offer of life as a reward if we shall do it? Away with the notion of this being approved by the partakers and champions of grace! This is the damnable error of the Pelagians, whose mouths the apostle immediately stopped when he added, " For as many
as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God; " ^ lest w^e should believe that we mortify the deeds of the flesh, not by God's Spirit, but by our own. And of this Spirit of God, moreover, he- was speaking in that place where he says, " But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing unto every man what is his own, as He w^ill; " * and among all these things, as you know, he also named faith. As, therefore, although it is the gift of God to mortify the deeds of the flesh, yet it is required of us, and life is set before us as a reward

1 1 Cor. X. 12. ^ Ptom, viii. 13.

' Rora. viii. 14, * 1 Cor. xii. 11.

XV. K

146 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 24.

[for doing it]; ^ so also faith is the gift of God, although when it is said, " If thou believest, thou shalt be saved," faith is required of us, and salvation is proposed to us as a reward.

Tor these things are both commanded us, and are shown to be God's gifts, in order that we may understand both that we do them, and that God makes us to do them, as He most plainly says by the prophet Ezekiel. For what is plainer than when He says, "I will cause you to do"?^ Give heed^ to that very passage of Scripture, and you will see that God promises that He will make them to do those things which He commands to be done. He truly is not disguising the merits, but the evil deeds, of those to whom He shows that He is returning good for evil, by the very fact that He causeth them thenceforth to have good works, in causing them to do the divine commands.

Chap. 23. [xii.] â€” Remarkable illustrations of grace and predestination in infants, and in Christ,

But all this reasoning, whereby we maintain the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord to be truly grace, that is, that it is not given according to our merits, although it is most manifestly asserted by the witness of the divine declarations; yet, among those who think that they are withheld from all desire of piety unless they can attribute to themselves something, which they first give that it may be recompensed to them again, [among such, I say, this reasoning] involves somewhat of a difficulty in respect of the condition of grown-up people, who are already exercising the free choice of their will. But when we come to the case of infants, and to the Mediator between God and man Himself, the man Christ Jesus, there is wanting any assertion of human merits that precede the grace of God, because the former are not distinguished from others by any preceding good deserts that they should belong to the Deliverer of men; any more than He Himself, being Himself a man, was made the Deliverer of men by virtue of any precedent human merits.
Chap. 24. â€” That no one is judged according to what he would have done if he had lived longer.

For who can hear that infants, baptized in the condition of

' Ezek. xxxvi. 27.

* According to some editions, here is inserted "dearest brethren," not found in Mss.

CHAP. 24.] TZFOUND OF GOD's JUDGMENT. 147

mere infancy^ are said to depart from this life according to their future merits, and that others not baptized are said to die in the same age because their future deservings are foreknown, â€” but foreknown as evil, â€” so that what God rewards or condemns in them is not their good or evil life, but no life at all? The apostle, indeed, fixed a limit which man's incautious suspicion, to speak gently, ought not to transgress, for he says, "We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive according to the things which he has done by means of the body, whether it be good or evil recompense." ^ " Has done," he said; and he did not add, " or would have done." But I know not whence this thought should have entered the minds of such men, that the future merits of infants which shall never exist (scil. the merits) should be punished or honoured. And why is it said that a man is to be judged according to those things which he has done by means of the body, although many things are done by the mind alone, and not by the body, nor by any member of the body; and for the most part things of such importance, that a most righteous punishment would be due to such thoughts, such as, â€” to say nothing of others, â€” that " The fool hath said in his heart there is no God "? ^

What, then, is the meaning of, " According to those things that he hath done by means of the body," except according to these things which he has done during that time in which he was in the body, so that we may understand "by means of the body" as meaning " throughout the season of bodily life "? But after the body, no one will be in the body except at the last resurrection, [and then] not for the purpose of establishing any claims of merit, but for the sake of receiving recompenses for good deservings, and enduring punishments for evil deservings. But in this intermediate period between the putting off and the taking again of the body, the souls are either tormented or they are in repose, according to those things which they have done during the period of the bodily life.

And to this period [of the bodily life] moreover pertains, what the Pelagians deny, but Christ's Church confesses, original sin; and according to whether this is by God's grace loosed, or by

1 2 Cor. V. 10. 2 Ps. xiv. 1.
God's judgment not loosed, when infants die, they pass, on the one hand, by the merit of regeneration from evil to good, or on the other, by the merit of their origin from evil to evil. The Catholic faith acknowledges this, and even some heretics, without any contradiction, agree to this.

But in the height of wonder and astonishment I am unable to discover whence men, whose intelligence your letters show to be by no means contemptible, could entertain the opinion that any one should be judged not according to the merits that he had as long as he was in the body, but according to the merits which he would have had if he had lived longer in the body; and I should not dare to believe that there were such men, if I could venture to disbelieve you. But I hope that God will interpose, so that when they are admonished they may at once perceive, that if those sins which are said to have been about to exist can rightly be punished by God's judgment in those who are not baptized, they may also be rightly remitted by God's grace in those who are baptized. For whoever says that future sins can only be punished by God's judgment, but cannot be pardoned by God's mercy, ought to consider how great a wrong he is doing to God and His grace; as if future sin could be foreknown, and could not be foregone. And if this is absurd, it is the greater reason that help should be afforded to those who would be sinners if they lived longer, when they die in early life, by means of that laver wherein sins are washed away.

Chap. 25. [xiii.] â€” Possibly the baptized infants could have repented if they had lived, and the unbaptized not.

But if, perchance, they say that sins are remitted to penitents, and that those who die in infancy [unbaptized] are not baptized because they are foreknown as not likely to repent if they should live, while God has foreknown that those who are baptized and die in infancy would have repented if they had lived, let them observe and see that if it be so it is not in this case original sins which are punished in infants that die without baptism, but what would have been the sins of each one had he lived; and also in baptized infants, that it is not original sins that are washed away, but their own future sins.

* Prænosci possit, nee possit iynosci. "â€— Query, Actual ?

CHAP. 26.] PELAGIAN VIEW OF INFANT BAPTISM. 149

if they should live, since they could not sin except in more mature age; but that some were foreseen as such as would repent, and others as such as would not repent, therefore some were baptized, and others departed from this life without baptism. If the Pelagians should dare to say this, by their denial of original sin they would thus be relieved of the necessity of seeking, on behalf of infants outside of the kingdom of God,
for some place of I know not what happiness of their own; especially since they are convinced that they cannot have eternal life because they have not eaten the flesh nor drunk the blood of Christ; and because in them who have no sin at all, baptism, which is given for the remission of sins, is falsified. For they would go on to say that there is no original sin, but that those who as infants are released are either baptized or not baptized according to their future deserving if they should live, and that according to their future merits they either receive or do not receive the body and blood of Christ, without which they absolutely cannot have life; and are baptized for the true remission of sins although they derived no sins from Adam, because the sins are remitted unto them concerning which God foreknew that they would repent. Thus with the greatest ease they would plead and would win their cause, in which they deny that there is any original sin, and contend that the grace of God is only given according to our deserving. But that the future merits of men, which merits will never come into existence, are beyond all doubt no merits at all, it is absolutely most easy to see: for this reason even the Pelagians were not able to say this; and much rather those who are only semi-Pelagians ought not to say it. For it cannot be said with what pain I find that they who with us on Catholic authority condemn the error of those heretical [Pelagians], have not seen [the absurdity of] this, which the Pelagians themselves have seen to be most false and absurd.

Chap. 26. [xiv.] æ” Reference to Cyprian's treatise " On the Mortality."

Cyprian wrote a work On the Mortality,^ known with approval to many and almost all who love ecclesiastical literature,


150 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 9G,

wherein lie says that death is not only not disadvantageous to believers, but that it is even found to be advantageous, because it withdraws men from the risks of sinning, and establishes them in a security of not sinning. But wherein is the advantage of this, if even future sins which have not been committed are punished? Yet he argues most copiously and well that the risks of sinning are not wanting in this life of ours, and that they do not continue after this life is done; where also he adduces that testimony from the book of Wisdom: " He was taken away, lest wickedness should alter his understanding." ^ And this was also adduced by me when you said that those brethren of yours had rejected it on the ground of its not having been brought forward from a canonical book; as if, even setting aside the attestation of this book, the thing itself were not clear which I wished to be taught therefrom. For what Christian Avould dare to deny that the righteous man, if he should be prematurely laid hold of by death, will be in repose? Whoever should say this, will any man of sound faith think that he can withstand it? Moreover, if he should say that the righteous man, if he should depart from his righteousness in which he has long lived, and should die in that impiety after having lived in it, I say not a year, but one day,
will go hence into the punishment due to the wicked, his righteousness having no power
in the future to avail him, â€” will any believer contradict this evident truth?
Further, if we are asked whether, if he had died then at the time that he was righteous, he
would have incurred punishment or repose, shall we hesitate to answer repose? This is
the whole reason why it is said, â€” whoever says it, â€” " He was taken away, lest
wickedness should alter his understanding."
For it was said in reference to the risks of this life, not with reference to the
foreknowledge of God, who foreknew that which was about to be, not that which was not
about to be
â€” that is, that He would bestow on him an immature death in order that he might be
withdrawn from the uncertainty of temptations; [and who did not foreknow] that he
would sin, since he was not about to remain in temptation. Because, concerning this life,
we read in the book of Job, " Is not the

1 Wi.sd. iv. 11. ' Sell "early."

CHAP. 27.] THE BOOK OF WISDOM AUTHORITATIVE. 151

life of man upon earth a [state of] trial? "^ But why it should be granted to some to be
taken away from the perils of this life while they are righteous, while others who are
righteous until they fall from righteousness are kept in the same risks in a more
lengthened life, â€” who has known the mind of the Lord?
And yet it is permitted to be understood from this, that even those righteous people who
maintain good and pious characters, even to the maturity of old age and to the last day of
this life, must not glory in their own merits, but in the Lord, since He who took away the
righteous man from the shortness of life, lest wickedness should alter his understanding,
Himself
guards the righteous man in any length of life [however prolonged it may be], that
wickedness may not alter his understanding. But why He should have kept the righteous
man here to fall, when He might have withdrawn him before, â€” His judgments,
although absolutely righteous, are yet unsearchable,

Chap. 27. â€” The book of Wisdom obtains in the Church the authority of canonical
Scripture.

And since these things are so, the judgment of the book of Wisdom ought not to be
repudiated, since for so long a course of years that book has deserved to be read in the
Church of Christ, from the position of the readers of the Church of Christ, and to be heard
by all Christians, from bishops downwards, even to the lowest lay believers, penitents,
and catechumens, with the veneration paid to divine authority. For assuredly, if, from
those who have been before me in commenting on the divine Scriptures, I should bring
forward a defence of this judgment, which we are now called upon to defend more
carefully and copiously than usual against the new error of the Pelagians, â€” that is, that
God's grace is not given according to our merits, and that it is given freely to whom it is
given, because it is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy; but that by righteous judgment it is not given to whom it is not given, because there is no unrighteousness with God; â€” if, therefore, I should put forth a defence of this opinion [gathered] from Catholic commentators on the divine oracles who have preceded us, assuredly these

Â» Job vii. 1 [LXX.].


brethren for whose sake I am now discoursing would acquiesce, for this you have intimated in your letters. What need- is.
there, then, for us to look into the writings of those who, before this heresy sprang up, had no necessity to be conversant in a question so difficult of solution as this, which beyond a doubt they would have done if they had been 'compelled to answer such objections as these' ? "Whence it arose that they touched upon what they thought of God's grace briefly in some passages of their writings, and cursorily; but on those matters which they argued against the enemies of the Church, and in exhortations to every virtue by which to serve the living and true God for the purpose of attaining eternal life and true happiness, they dwelt at length. But to the recapitulations of prayers God's grace simply seemed to be what it could do; for what God commands to be done would not be asked for from God, unless it could be given by Him that it should be done."

Chap. 28. â€” Cyprian's treatise " On the Mortality."

But if any wish to be instructed in the opinions of those who have handled the subject, it behoves them to prefer to all commentators the book of Wisdom, where it is read, " He was taken away, that wickedness should not alter his understanding; " because illustrious commentators, even in the times nearest to the apostles, preferred it to themselves, seeing that when they made use of it for a testimony, they believed that they were making use of nothing but a divine testimony; and certainly it appears that the most blessed Cyprian, in order to commend the advantage of an earlier death, contended that those who end this life, wherein sin is possible, are taken away from the risks of sins. In the same treatise, among other things, he says, " Why, when you are about to be with Christ, and are secure of the divine promise, do you not embrace [the assurance] of being called to Christ, and rejoice that you are free from the devil? " ^ And in another place he says, " Boys escape the peril of their unstable age." ^ And again, in another place, he says, " Why do

" Cyprian, On the Mortality (Trans. vol. i. p. 45 i).
Â« Ibid. vol. i. p. 461.

CHAP. 29.] GOD DEALS WITH NO CONTINGENT MERITS. 153
we not hasten and run, that we may see our country; that we may hail our relatives? A great number of those who are dear to us are expecting us there, &c.” a dense and abundant crowd of parents, brethren, sons, are longing for us; already secure of their own safety, but still anxious about our salvation.” By these and such like sentiments, that teacher sufficiently and plainly testifies, in the clearest light of the Catholic faith, that perils of sin and trials are to be feared even until the putting off of this body, but that afterwards no one shall suffer any such things. And even if he did not testify thus, when could any manner of Christian be in doubt on this matter? How, then, should it not have been of advantage to a man who has lapsed, and who finishes his life wretchedly in that same state of lapse, and passes into the punishment due to such as he, &c.” how, I. say, should it not have been of the greatest and highest advantage to such an one to be snatched by death from this sphere of temptations before his fall?

Chap. 29. &c.” God's dealing does not depend upon any contingent merits of men.

And thus, unless we indulge in reckless disputation, the entire question is concluded concerning him who is taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding. And the book of Wisdom, which for such a series of years has deserved to be read in Christ's Church, and in which this is read, ought not to suffer injustice because it withstands those who are mistaken on behalf of men's deserving, [in supposing] that they may come in opposition to the most manifest grace of God: which grace chiefly appears in infants, of whom, while some who are baptized, and some who are not baptized, come to the end of this life, they sufficiently point to God's mercy and His judgment. His mercy, indeed, gratuitous; His judgment, of debt. For if men should be judged according to the merits of their life, which merits they have been prevented by death from actually having, but would have had if they had lived, it would be of no advantage to him who is taken away lest wickedness should alter his understanding; it would be of no advantage to those who die in a state of lapse if they should die before. And this no Christian will


venture to say. Wherefore our brethren, who with us on behalf of the Catholic faith assail the pest of the Pelagian error, ought not to such an extent to favour the Pelagian opinion, - wherein they conceive that God's grace is given according to our merits, as to endeavour (which they cannot dare) to invalidate a true sentiment, plainly and from ancient times Christian, &c.” ” He was taken away, lest wickedness should alter his understanding; ” and to build up that which we should think, &c.” I do not say, no one
would believe, but no one would dream, "aें" to wit, that any deceased person would be judged according to those things which he would have done if he had lived for a more lengthened period." Surely thus what we say manifests itself clearly to be incontestable, "aें" that the grace of God is not given according to our merits; so that ingenious men who contradict this truth should be constrained to say those things which must be rejected from the ears and from the thoughts of all men.

Chap. 80. [sv.] "The most illustrious instance of predestination is Christ Jesus.

Moreover, the most illustrious Light of predestination and grace is the Saviour Himself, "aें" the Mediator Himself between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. And, pray, by what preceding merits of His, whether of works or of faith, did the human nature which was in Him procure for Him that He 'should be this?" Let this have an answer, I beg. That man, whence did He deserve this, "aें" to be taken up by the Word into unity of person with the co-eternal Father, and be the only-begotten Son of God? Was it because any kind of goodness in Him preceded? What did He do before? What did He believe? What did He ask, that He should attain to this unspeakable excellence? By the act and the assumption of the Word did not that man Himself, from the time He began to be, begin to be the only Son of God? Did not that woman, full of grace, conceive the only Son of God? Was He not born the only Son of God, of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, "aें" not of the lust of the flesh, but by God's peculiar gift? 'Was it to be feared that as age matured such a man as He would sin of free-will? Or was the will in Him not free on that account? and was it not so much the more free

CHAP. 31.] PEEDESTINATION OF CHRIST, 155

in proportion to the greater impossibility of His becoming the servant of sin? Certainly, in Him human nature "aें" that is to say, our nature "aें" specially received all those specially admirable gifts, and any others that may most truly be said to be peculiar to Him, by virtue of no merits of His which preceded. Let a man here answer to God if he dare, and say. Why was it not I also? And if he should hear, "man, who art thou that repliest against God?" ^ let him not at this point restrain himself, but increase his impudence and say, "How is it that I hear, Who art thou, man? since I am what I hear, "aें" that is, a man, and He of whom I speak is but the same? Why should not I also be what He is? For it is by grace that He is such and so great; why is grace different when nature is common? Assuredly, there is no respect of persons with God." I say, not what Christian man, but what madman will say this?

Chap. 31. "aें" Christ predestinated to he tlie Son of God.
Therefore in Him who is our Head let there appear to be the very fountain of grace, whence, according to the measure of every man. He diffuses Himself through all His members.

It is by that grace that every man from the beginning of his faith becomes a Christian, by which grace that one man from His beginning became Christ: the former also is born again by the same Spirit of which the latter was born. By the same Spirit is effected in us the remission of sins, by which Spirit it was effected that He should have no sin. God certainly foreknew that He would do these things. This, therefore, is that same predestination of the saints which most especially shone forth in the Saint of saints and who is there of those who rightly understand the declarations of the truth that can deny this predestination? For we have learned that the Lord of glory Himself was predestinated in so far as the man was made the Son of God. The teacher of the Gentiles exclaims, in the beginning of his epistles, " Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God (which He had promised afore by His prophets in the Holy Scriptures) concerning His Son, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestinated to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of sanctification by the resurrection of the dead." Therefore Jesus was predestinated, so that He who was to be the Son of David according to the flesh should yet be in power the Son of God, according to the Spirit of sanctification, because He was born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary. This is that ineffably accomplished special taking up of man by God the Word, so that He might truly and properly be called at the same time the Son of God and the Son of man, â€” Son of man on account of the taking up of the man, and the Son of God on account of the God only-begotten who took Him up, so that a Trinity and not a Quaternity might be believed in.

Such a transplantation of human nature was predestinated, so great, so lofty, and so sublime that there was no possibility of exalting it more highly, â€” just as on our behalf that divinity itself had no possibility of more humbly putting itself off, save by the assumption of man's nature with the weakness of the flesh, even to the death of the cross. As, therefore, that one man was predestinated to be our Head, so we being many are predestinated to be His members. Here let human merits which have perished through Adam keep silence, and let that grace of God reign which reigns through Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, the one Lord. Let whoever could find in our Head the merits which preceded that peculiar generation, seek in us His members for those merits which preceded our manifold regeneration. For that generation was not recompensed to Christ, but given; that He should be born, namely, of the Spirit and the Virgin, remote from all obligation of sinning. Thus also our being born again of water and the Spirit is not recompensed to us for any merit, but freely given; and if faith has brought us to the laver of regeneration, we ought not therefore to suppose that we have first given anything, so


seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestinated [to be] the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of sanctification by the resurrection of the dead." Therefore Jesus was predestinated, so that He who was to be the Son of David according to the flesh should yet be in power the Son of God, according to the Spirit of sanctification, because He was born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary. This is that ineffably accomplished special taking up of man by God the Word, so that He might truly and properly be called at the same time the Son of God and the Son of man, â€” Son of man on account of the taking up of the man, and the Son of God on account of the God only-begotten who took Him up, so that a Trinity and not a Quaternity might be believed in.

Such a transplantation of human nature was predestinated, so great, so lofty, and so sublime that there was no possibility of exalting it more highly, â€” just as on our behalf that divinity itself had no possibility of more humbly putting itself off, save by the assumption of man's nature with the weakness of the flesh, even to the death of the cross. As, therefore, that one man was predestinated to be our Head, so we being many are predestinated to be His members. Here let human merits which have perished through Adam keep silence, and let that grace of God reign which reigns through Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, the one Lord. Let whoever could find in our Head the merits which preceded that peculiar generation, seek in us His members for those merits which preceded our manifold regeneration. For that generation was not recompensed to Christ, but given; that He should be born, namely, of the Spirit and the Virgin, remote from all obligation of sinning. Thus also our being born again of water and the Spirit is not recompensed to us for any merit, but freely given; and if faith has brought us to the laver of regeneration, we ought not therefore to suppose that we have first given anything, so
that the regeneration of salvation should be recompensed to us again; because He made us to believe in Christ, who made for us a Christ on whom we believe. He makes in men the beginning and the completion of the faith in Jesus who made the man Jesus the beginner and finisher.

J Kom. i. 1 ir.

CHAP. 33.] THE TWOFOLD CALLING. 157

of the faith:^ for thus, as you know, He is called in the epistle which is addressed to the Hebrews.

Chap. 32. [xvi.] â€” The twofold calling.

God indeed calls many of his children to be predestinated, to make them members of His only predestinated Son, â€” not with that calling with which they were called who would not come to the marriage, since with that calling were called also the Jews, to whom Christ crucified is an offence, and the Gentiles, to whom Christ crucified is foolishness; but with that vocation He calls them predestinated which the apostle distinguished when he said that he preached Christ, the wisdom of God and the power of God, to them that were called, Jews as well as Greeks. For thus he says, " But unto them which are called," in order to show that there were some who were not called; knowing that there is a certain definite calling of those who are called according to God's purpose, whom He has foreknown and predestinated before to be conformed to the image of His Son. And it was this calling he meant when he said, " Not of works, but of Him that calleth; it was said unto her. That the elder shall serve the younger."^ Did he say, " ISTot of works, but of him that believeth " ? Eather, he actually took this away from man, that he might give the whole to God. Therefore he said, " But of Him that calleth," â€” not with any sort of calling whatever, but with that calling wherewith a man is made a believer.

Chap. 33. â€” It is in the power of evil men to sin; but to do this or that hy means of that wickedness is in God's power alone.

Moreover, it was this that he had in view when he said,

"The gifts and calling of God are without repentance."* And

in that saying also consider for a little what was its purport.

For when he had said, " For I would not, brethren, that ye

should be ignorant of this mystery, that ye may not be wise
in yourselves, that blindness in part is happened to Israel,
until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel
should be saved; as it is written. There shall come out of
Sion one who shall deliver, and turn away impiety from Jacob:
and this is the covenant to them from me, when I shall take

158 ox THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 33.

away their sins; ^ he immediately added, what is to be very carefully understood, ^ " As
concerning the gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sakes; but as concerning the
election, they are beloved for their fathers' sakes." ^ "^ "What is the meaning of, "as
concerning the gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sakes," but that their enmity
wherewith they put Christ to death was, without doubt, as we see, an advantage to the
gospel ? And he shows that this came about by God's ordering, who knew how to make a
good use even of evil things; not that the vessels of wrath might be of advantage to Him,
but that by His own good use of them they might be of advantage to the vessels of mercy.
For what could be said more plainly than what is actually said, " As concerning the
gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sakes " ? It is, therefore, in the power of the
wicked to sin; but that in sinning they should do this or that particular thing by that
wickedness is not in their power, but in God's, who divides the darkness and regulates it;
so that hence even what they do contrary to God's will is not fulfilled except as God's
will. We read in the Acts of the Apostles that when the apostles had been sent away by
the Jews, and had come to their own friends, and shown them what great things the
priests and elders said to them, they all with one consent lifted up their voices to the
Lord, and said, " Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and
all things that are therein; who, by the mouth of our father David, thy holy servant, hast
said, Why did the heathen rage, and the peoples imagine vain things ?
The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes were gathered together against the Lord,
and against His Christ. For in truth, there have assembled together in this city against Thy
holy child Jesus, whom Thou hast anointed, Herod and Pilate, and the people of Israel, to
do whatever Thy hand and counsel predestinated to be done."^ See what is said: " As
concerning the gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sakes." Because God's hand and
counsel predestinated such things to be done by the hostile Jews as were necessary for the
gospel, for our sakes. But what is it that follows ? " But as concerning the election, they
are beloved for their fathers' sakes." For are
those enemies who perished in their enmity, and those of the same people who still perish in their opposition to Christ, â€“ are those chosen and beloved! Away with the thought! Who is so utterly foolish as to say this? But both expressions, although contrary to one another â€“ that is, "enemies" and "beloved" â€“ are appropriate, though not to the same men, yet to the same Jewish people, and to the same carnal seed of Israel, of whom some belonged to the falling away, and some to the blessing of Israel himself. For the apostle previously explained this meaning more clearly when he said, "That which Israel wrought for, he hath not obtained; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded." Yet in both cases it was the very same Israel. Where, therefore, we hear, "Israel hath not obtained," or, "The rest were blinded," there are to be understood the enemies for our sakes; but where we hear "that the election hath obtained it," there are to be understood the beloved for their fathers' sakes, to which fathers those things were assuredly promised; because "the promises were made to Abraham and his seed," whence also in that olive-tree is grafted the wild olive-tree of the Gentiles. Now subsequently we certainly ought to fall in with the election, of which he says that it is according to grace, not according to debt, because "there was made a remnant by the election of grace." This election obtained it, the rest being blinded. As concerning this election, the Israelites were beloved for the sakes of their fathers. For they were not called with that calling of which it is said, "Many are called," but with that whereby the chosen are called. Whence also after he had said, "But as concerning the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes," he went on to add those words whence this discussion arose: "For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance," â€“ that is, they are firmly established without change. Those who belong to this calling are all teachable by God; nor can any of them say, "I believed in order to being thus called," because the mercy of God prevented him, because he was so called in order that he might believe. For all who are teachable of God come to the Son because they have heard and learned from the Father through the Son,

' Rom. xi. 7. 2 Gal. iii. 16. Â» Eom. xi. 5.
Chap. 34. [xvii.] â€” The special calling of the elect is not because they have believed, but in order that they may believe.

Let us, then, understand the calling whereby they become elected, â€” not those who are elected because they have believed, but who are elected that they may believe. For the Lord Himself also sufficiently explains this vocation when He says, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." For if they had been elected because they had believed, they themselves would certainly have first chosen Him by believing in Him, so that they should deserve to be elected. But He takes away this supposition altogether when He says, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." And yet they themselves, beyond a doubt, chose Him when they believed on Him. Whence it is not for any other reason that He says, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," than because they did not choose Him that He should choose them, but He chose them that they might choose Him; because His mercy prevented them according to grace, not according to debt. Therefore He chose them out of the world while here He was wearing flesh, but as those who were already chosen in Himself before the foundation of the world. This is the memorable truth concerning predestination and grace. For what is it that the apostle says, "As He hath chosen us in Himself before the foundation of the world"? And assuredly, if this were said because God foreknew that they would believe, not because He Himself would make them believers, the Son is speaking against such a foreknowledge as that when He says, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you;" when God should rather have foreknown this very thing, that they themselves would have chosen Him, so that they might deserve to be chosen by Him. Therefore they were elected before the foundation of the world with that predestination in which God foreknew what He Himself would do; but they were elected out of the world with that calling whereby God fulfilled that which He predestinated. "For whom He predestinated, them He also called, with that calling, to wit, which is according to His purpose. He did not call others, therefore, but those whom He predestinated, them He also called; nor [did He justify] others, but those whom He so called, them He also justified; nor [did He glorify] others, but those whom He predestinated, called, and justified, them He also glorified assuredly with that result which has no end. Therefore God elected believers; but He chose them that they might be so, not because they were already so. The Apostle James says: "Has not God chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him?" By electing them, therefore, He makes

CHAP. 35.] ELECTION TO HOLINESS. 161

selves would have chosen Him, so that they might deserve to be chosen by Him. Therefore they were elected before the foundation of the world with that predestination in which God foreknew what He Himself would do; but they were elected out of the world with that calling whereby God fulfilled that which He predestinated. "For whom He predestinated, them He also called, with that calling, to wit, which is according to His purpose. He did not call others, therefore, but those whom He predestinated, them He also called; nor [did He justify] others, but those whom He so called, them He also justified; nor [did He glorify] others, but those whom He predestinated, called, and justified, them He also glorified assuredly with that result which has no end. Therefore God elected believers; but He chose them that they might be so, not because they were already so. The Apostle James says: "Has not God chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love Him?" By electing them, therefore, He makes
them rich in faith, as He makes them heirs of the kingdom; because He is rightly said to choose that in them, which that He might make in them He chose them. I ask, who can hear the Lord saying, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," and can dare to say that men believe in order to be elected, when they are rather elected to believe; lest against the judgment of truth they be found to have first chosen Christ to whom Christ says, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you"?

Chap. 35. [sviii.] â€” Election is for the purpose of holiness.

Who can hear the apostle saying, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us in all spiritual blessing in heavenly [places] in Christ; as 'He has chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we 'should be holy and without spot in His sight in love; predestinating us to the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself according to the good pleasure of His will, wherein He hath shown us favour^ in His beloved Son; in whom we have redemption through His blood, the remission of sins

^ Jas. ii. 5. - John xvi. 16. ^ GratJicavit[Vulr.'].

XV. L

162 ON THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 36.

according to the riches of His grace, which hath abounded to us in all wisdom and prudence; that He might show to us the mystery of His will according to His good pleasure, which He hath purposed in Himself, in the dispensation of the fulness of times, to restore all things in Christ, which are in heaven, and in the earth, in Him: in whom also we have obtained a share, being predestinated according to [His] purpose who worketh all things according to the counsel of His will, that we should be to the praise of His glory;"^ And whom, I say, can hear these words with attention and intelligence, and can dare to have any doubt concerning a truth so clear as this which we are defending? God chose Christ's members in Him before the foundation of the world; and how should He choose those who as yet did not exist, except by predestinating them? Therefore He chose us by predestinating us. Would he choose the unholy and the unclean? Now if the question be proposed, whether He would choose such, or rather the holy and unstained, who can ask which of these he may answer, and not give his opinion at once in favour of the holy and pure?

Chap. Z^.â€”"God chose the righteous; not those whom He foresaw as being so of themselves, but those whovi He predestinated for the purpose of making so.

" Therefore," says the Pelagian, "He foreknew who would be holy and immaculate by the choice of their free-will, and on that account elected them before the foundation of the
world in that same foreknowledge of His in which He foreknew that they would be such. Therefore He elected them,"* says he, "before they existed, predestinating them to be children whom He foreknew to be such as would be holy and immaculate. Certainly He did not make them so, nor did He foresee that He would make them so; but [He foresaw] that they would be so." Let us, then, look into the words of the apostle and see whether He chose us before the foundation of the world because we were likely to be holy and immaculate, or in order that we might be so. "Blessed," says he, "be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us in all spiritual blessing in heavenly [places] in Christ; even as He hath chosen us in Himself before the foundation of the

' Eph. i. 3 fF.

CHAP. 37.] ELECTION TO HOLINESS. 163

world, that we should be holy and unspotted."^ Not, then, because we were to be so, but that we might be so. Assuredly it is certain, "assuredly it is manifest. Certainly we were to be such for the reason that He has chosen us, predestinating us to be such by His grace. Therefore He so blessed us with spiritual blessing in heavenly [places] in Christ Jesus, as He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and immaculate " in His sight, predestinating us in love to the adoption of children through Jesus Christ to Himself." Attend to what he then adds:

"According to the good pleasure," he says, "of His will;" that we might not in such a benefit of grace glory concerning the good pleasure of our will. ^ "In which," says he, "He hath shown us favour in His beloved Son," â€” in which, certainly His own will. He hath shown us favour. Thus, it is said. He hath shown us grace by grace, even as it is said. He has made us righteous by righteousness. "In whom," he says, "we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace, which has abounded to us in all wisdom and prudence; that He might show to us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure.". In this mystery of His will. He placed the riches of His grace, according to His good pleasure, not according to ours, which could not possibly be good unless He Himself, according to His own good pleasure, should aid it to become so. But when he had said, "According to His good pleasure," he added, "which He purposed in Him," that is, in His beloved Son, "in the dispensation of the fulness of times to restore all things in Christ, which are in heaven, and which are in earth, in Him: in whom also we too have obtained a share, being predestinated according to His purpose who worketh all things according to the counsel of His will; that we should be to the praise of His glory."

Chap. 37. â€” We were elected and predestinated, not because we were likely to be holy, but that we might be so.

It would be too tedious to argue about single points. But you see without doubt, you see with what evidence of apostolic declaration this grace is defended, in opposition to which
human merits are set up, as if man could first give something, for it to be recompensed to
him again. Therefore God elected us in Christ before the foundation of the world,
predestinating us to the adoption of children, not because we were about to be of
ourselves holy and immaculate, but He elected and predestinated us that we might be so.
Moreover,’ He did this according to the good pleasure of His will, so that nobody might
glory concerning his own will, but about God's will towards himself. " He did this
according to the riches of His grace, according to His good pleasure, which He purposed
in His beloved Son, in whom we have obtained a share, being predestinated according to
the purpose, not ours, but His, who worketh all things to such an extent as that He
worketh in us to will also. Moreover, He worketh according to the counsel of His good
pleasure, that we may be to the praise of His glory. For this reason it is that we cry that
no one should glory in man, and thus not in himself; but whoever glorieth let him glory in
the Lord, that he may be for the praise of His glory. Because He Himself worketh
according to His purpose that we may be to the praise of His glory, certainly holy and
immaculate, for which purpose He called us, predestinating us before the foundation of
the world. Of this His purpose is that special calling of the elect for whom He worketh
together all things for good, because they are called according to His purpose, and " the
gifts and calling of God are without repentance." ^

Chap. 38. [xix.] â€” What is the view of the Pelagians, and what of the semi-Pelagians,
concerning predestination.

But these brethren of ours, about whom and on whose behalf we are now discoursing, say
that the Pelagians are refuted by this apostolical testimony in which it is said that we are
elected in Christ and predestinated before the foundation of the world, in order that we
should be holy and immaculate in His sight in love. For they themselves think that
" having received God's commands we are made holy and immaculate of ourselves by the
choice of our free-will in His sight in love; and since God foresaw that this would be the
case," they say, " He therefore chose and predestinated us in

1 Phil. ii. 13. - Rom. xi. 29

CHAP. 39.] GOD FOREKNOWS AND GIVES FAITH. 165

Christ before the foundation of the world." Although the apostle says that it was not
because He foreknew that we should be such, but in order that we might be such by the
same election of His grace by which He showed us favour in His beloved Son. When,
therefore, He predestinated us, He foreknew His own work by which He makes us holy and immaculate. Whence the Pelagian error is rightly refuted by this testimony. " But we say," say they, " that God did not foreknow any faith of ours except that by which we begin to believe, and that He chose and predestinated us before the foundation of the world, in order that we might be holy and immaculate by His grace and by His work." But let them also hear in this testimony the words where he says, " We have obtained a share, being predestinated according to His purpose who worketh all things." ^ He, therefore, worketh the beginning of our belief who worketh all things; because faith itself does not precede that calling of which it is said: "For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance;" ^ and of which it is said: " Not of works, but of Him that calleth" ^ (although He might have said, " of Him that believeth "); and the election which the Lord signified when He said: " Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you." * For He chose us, not because we believed, but that we might believe, lest we should be said first to have chosen Him, and so His word be false (which be it far from us to think possible), "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.""

Neither are we called because we believed, but that we may believe; and by that calling which is without repentance it is effected and carried through that we should believe. Neither are all things to be unfolded concerning this matter so fully as those of which we have spoken.

Chap. 39. â€” The beginning of faith is God's gift.

Finally, also, in what follows this testimony, the apostle gives thanks to God on behalf of those who have believed; â€” not, certainly, because the gospel has been declared to them, but because they have believed. For he says, "In whom

^ Eph. i. 11. 2 Eom. xi. 29.

also after ye had heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation; in Yhom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the pledge of our inheritance, to the redemption of the purchased possession unto the praise of His glory. ^Wherefore I also, after I had heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and [love] towards all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you." ^ Their faith was new and recent on the preaching of the gospel to them, which faith when he hears of, the apostle gives thanks to God on their behalK. If he were to give thanks to man for that which he might either think or know that man had not given, it would be called a flattery or a mockery, rather than a giving of thanks: " Do not err, for God is not mocked; " ^ for His gift is also the
beginning of faith, imless the apostolic giving of thanks be rightly judged to be either mistaken or fallacious.

What is that if it does not appear as the beginning of the faith of the Thessalonians, of which, nevertheless, the same apostle gives thanks to God when he says, "^ For this cause also we thank God without ceasing, because when ye had received from us the word of the hearing of God, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God, which effectually worketh in you who have believed" 1

What is that for which he here gives thanks to God? As assuredly it is a vain and idle thing if He to whom he gives thanks did not Himself do the thing. But, since this is not a vain and idle thing, certainly God, to whom he gave thanks concerning this work. Himself did it; that when they had received the word of the hearing of God, they received it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God. God, therefore, worketh in the hearts of men with that calling according to His promise, of which we have spoken a great deal, that they should not hear the gospel in vain, but when they hear it, should be converted and believe, receiving it not as the word of men, but as it is in truth the word of God.

1 Eph. i. 13. fF. - Gal. vi. 7.

3 Original has cui, which is clearly a misprint for qui, although it appears in more than one edition.
* 1 Thess. ii. 13.

CHAP. 41.] THE BEGINNINGS OF FAITH. 167

Moreover, we are admonished that the beginning of men's faith is God's gift, since the apostle signifies this when, in the Epistle to the Colossians, he says, " Continue in prayer, and watch in the same in giving of thanks. Withal praying also for us that God would open unto us the door of His word, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which also I am in honds, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak." ^ How is the door of His word opened, except when the sense of the hearer is opened so that he may believe, and, having made a beginning of faith, may admit those things which are declared and reasoned, for the purpose of building up wholesome doctrine, lest, by a heart closed through unbelief, he reject and repel those things which are spoken? Whence, also, he says to the Corinthians: " But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost. For a great and evident door is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries." ^ What else can be understood here, save that, when the gospel had been first of all preached there by him, many had believed, and there had appeared many adversaries of the same faith, in accordance with that saying of the Lord, " No one cometh unto me, unless it were given him of my Eather;" ^ and, " To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given "? * Therefore, there is an open door in those to whom it is given, but there are many adversaries among those to whom it is not given.
Chap. 41. â€” Further apostolic testimonies.

And again, the same apostle says to the same people, in his second Epistle: " When I had come to Troas for the gospel of Christ, and a door had been opened unto me in the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother: but, making my farewell to them, I went away into Macedonia." Â° To whom did he bid farewell but to those who had believed, â€” to wit, in whose hearts the door was opened for his preaching of the gospel? But attend to what

1 Col. iv. 2 ff. * 1 Cor. xvi. 8. 3 John vi. 66.


168 ox THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS. [CHAP. 42.

he adds, saying, " Now thanks be unto God, who always causes us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of His knowledge by us in every place: because we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ in them who are saved, and in them who perish: to some, indeed, we are the savour of death unto death, but to some the savour of life unto life." ^

See concerning what this most zealous soldier and invincible defender of grace gives thanks. See concerning what he gives thanks, â€” that the apostles are a sweet savour of Christ unto God, both in those who are saved by His grace, and in those who perish by His judgment. But in order that those who little understand these things may be less enraged, he himself gives a warning when he adds the words: " And who is sufficient for these things? " ^ But let us return to the opening of the door by which the apostle signified the beginning of faith in his hearers. For what is the meaning of, " Withal praying also for us that God would open unto us a door of the word," ^ unless it is a most manifest demonstration that even the very beginning of faith is the gift of God? For it would not be sought for from Him in prayer, unless it were believed to be given by Him. This gift of heavenly grace had descended to that seller of purple * for whom, as Scripture says in the Acts of the Apostles, " The Lord opened her heart, and she gave heed unto the things which were said by Paul; " for she was so called that she might believe. Because God does what He will in the hearts of men, either by assistance or by judgment; so that, even through their means, may be fulfilled what His hand and counsel have predestinated to be done.

Chae. 42. â€” Old Testament testimonies.

Therefore it is in vain, moreover, that objectors have alleged, that what we have proved by Scripture testimony from the books of Kings and Chronicles has nothing to do with the subject of which we are discoursing:^ such, for instance, as that when God wills that to be done which ought only to be done by the intelligence of men, their hearts are
inclined to will this, â€” inclined, that is to say, by His power, who, in a marvellous and ineffable manner, worketh in us also to will. What else than this is to say nothing, and yet to contradict? Unless, perchance, they have given some reason to you for the view that they have taken, which reason you have preferred to say nothing about in your letters. But what that reason can be I do not know. Whether, possibly, since we have shown that God has so acted on the hearts of men, and has induced the wills of those whom He pleased to incline, that Saul or David should be established as king, â€” io they not think that these instances are appropriate to this subject, because to reign in this world temporally is not the same thing as to reign eternally with God? And so do they suppose that God inclines the wills of those whom He pleases to the attainment of earthly kingdoms, but does not incline them to the attainment of a heavenly kingdom? But I think that it was in reference to the kingdom of heaven, and not to an earthly kingdom, that it was said,” Incline my heart unto Thy testimonies; “ or, ” The steps of a man are ordered by the Lord, and He will will His way; “ or, ” The will is prepared by the Lord; “ or, ” Let our Lord be with us as with our fathers; let Him not forsake us, nor turn Himself away from us; let Him incline our hearts unto Him, that we may walk in all His ways;” or, ” I will give them a heart to know me, and ears that hear; “ or, ” I will give them another heart, and a new spirit will I give them.” ^ Let them also hear this, ” I will give my Spirit within you, and I will cause you to walk in my righteousnesses; and ye shall observe my judgments, and do them.” ^ Let them hear,

" Man's goings are directed by the Lord, and how can a man understand His ways? " ^ "Let them hear," Every man seemeth right to himself, but the Lord directeth the hearts." ^ Let them hear, " As 'many as were ordained to eternal life believed." ^ Â‘ Let them hear these passages, and whatever others of the kind I have not mentioned in which God is declared

1 Ps. cxix. 36. - Ps. xxxvii. 23. ^ Prov. viii. [see LXX.]

* 1 Kings viii. 57. * Baruch ii. 31. Â« Ezek. xi. 19.


1" Acts xiii. 48.
to prepare and to convert men's wills, even for the kingdom of heaven and for eternal life.
And consider what sort of a thing it is to believe that God worketh men's wills for the
foundation of earthly kingdoms, but that men work their own wills for the attainment of
the kingdom of heaven.

Chap. 43. [xxi.] “Conclusion.

I have said a great deal, and, perchance, I could long ago have persuaded you what I
wished, and am still speaking this to such intelligent minds as if they were obtuse, to
whom even what is too much is not enough. But let them pardon me, for a new question
has compelled me to this. Because, although in my former little treatises I had proved by
sufficiently appropriate proofs that faith also was the gift of God, there was found this
ground of contradiction, viz. that those testimonies were good for this purpose, to show
that the increase of faith was God's gift, but that the beginning of faith, whereby a man
first of all believes in Christ, is of the man himself, and is not the gift of God, “but that
God requires this, so that when it has preceded, other gifts may follow, as it were on the
ground of this merit, and these are the gifts of God; and that none of them is given freely,
although in them God's grace is declared, which is not grace except as being gratuitous.
And you see how absurd all this is.

Wherefore I determined, as far as I could, to set forth
that this very beginning also is God's gift. And this if I have done at a greater length than
perhaps those on whose account I did it might wish, I am prepared to be reproached for it
by them, so long as they nevertheless confess that, although at greater length than they
wished, although with the disgust and weariness of those who understand, I have done
what I have done; that is, I have taught that even the beginning of faith, as continence,
patience, righteousness, piety, and the rest, concerning which there is no dispute with
them, is God's gift. Let this, therefore, be the end of this treatise, lest too great length in
this one may give offence.

A TREATISE ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE.

By AUKELIUS AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo.
THE SECOND BOOK.

ADDRESSED TO PROSPER AND HILARY.
A.D. 428 OR 429.

IN THE FIRST PART OF THE BOOK HE PROVES THAT THE PERSEVERANCE
BY
WHICH A MAN IS ENABLED TO PERSEVERE IN CHRIST TO THE END IS GOD'S
GIFT; FOR THAT IT IS A MOCKERY TO ASK OF GOD THAT WHICH IS NOT
BELIEVED TO BE GIVEN BY GOD. MOREOVER, THAT IN THE LORD'S PRAYER SCARCELY ANYTHING IS ASKED FOR BUT PERSEVERANCE, ACCORDING TO THE EXPOSITION OF THE MARTYR CYPRIAN, BY WHICH EXPOSITION, INDEED, THE ENEMIES TO THAT GRACE ITSELF WERE CONVICTED BEFORE THEY WERE BORN. HE TEACHES THAT THE GRACE OF PERSEVERANCE IS NOT GIVEN ACCORDING TO THE MERITS OF THE RECEIVERS, BUT TO SOME IT IS GIVEN BY GOD'S MERCY; TO OTHERS IT IS NOT GIVEN, BY HIS RIGHTEOUS JUDGMENT. THAT IT IS INSCRUTABLE WHY, OF ADULTS, ONE RATHER THAN ANOTHER SHOULD BE CALLED; JUST AS, MOREOVER, OF TWO INFANTS IT IS INSCRUTABLE WHY THE ONE SHOULD BE TAKEN, THE OTHER LEFT. BUT THAT IT IS STILL MORE INSCRUTABLE WHY, OF TWO PIOUS PERSONS, TO ONE IT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO PERSEVERE, TO THE OTHER IT SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN; BUT THAT THIS IS MOST CERTAIN, THAT THE FORMER IS OF THE PREDESTINATED, THE LATTER IS NOT. HE OBSERVES THAT THE MYSTERY OF PREDESTINATION IS SET FORTH IN OUR LORD'S WORDS CONCERNING THE PEOPLE OF TYRE AND SIDON, WHO WOULD HAVE REPENTED IF THE SAME MIRACLES HAD BEEN DONE AMONG THEM WHICH HAD BEEN DONE IN CHORIZIN. HE SHOWS THAT THE CASE OF INFANTS IS OF FORCE TO CONFIRM THE TRUTH OF PREDESTINATION AND GRACE IN OLDER PEOPLE; AND HE ANSWERS THE PASSAGE OF HIS THIRD BOOK ON FREE-WILL, UNSOUNDLY ALLEGED ON THIS POINT BY HIS ADVERSARIES. SUBSEQUENTLY, IN THE SECOND PART OF THIS WORK, HE REBUTS WHAT THEY SAY, TO WIT, THAT THE DEFINITION OF PREDESTINATION IS OPPOSED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF EXHORTATION AND REBUKE. HE ASSERTS, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT IT IS ADVANTAGEOUS TO PREACH PREDESTINATION, SO THAT MAN MAY NOT GLORY IN HIMSELF, BUT IN THE LORD. AS TO THE OBJECTIONS, HOWEVER, WHICH THEY MAKE AGAINST PREDESTINATION, HE SHOWS THAT THE SAME OBJECTIONS MAY BE

172 ox THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 1.

TO PREACH PREDESTINATION, SO THAT MAN MAY NOT GLORY IN HIMSELF, BUT IN THE LORD. AS TO THE OBJECTIONS, HOWEVER, WHICH THEY MAKE AGAINST PREDESTINATION, HE SHOWS THAT THE SAME OBJECTIONS MAY BE
TWISTED IN NO UNLIKE MANNER EITHER AGAINST GOD's FOREKNOWLEDGE OR AGAINST THAT GRACE WHICH THEY ALL AGREE TO BE NECESSARY FOR OTHER GOOD THINGS (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE BEGINNING OF FAITH AND THE COMPLETION OF PERSEVERANCE). FOR THAT THE PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS IS NOTHING ELSE THAN GOD's FOREKNOWLEDGE AND PREPARATION FOR HIS BENEFITS, BY WHICH WHOEVER ARE DELIVERED ARE MOST CERTAINLY DELIVERED. BUT HE BIDS THAT PREDESTINATION SHOULD BE PREACHED IN A HARMONIOUS MANNER, AND NOT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO SEEM TO AN UNSKILFUL MULTITUDE AS IF IT WERE DISPROVED BY ITS VERY ANNOUNCEMENT. LASTLY, HE COMMENDS TO US JESUS CHRIST, AS PLACED BEFORE OUR EYES, AS THE MOST EMINENT INSTANCE OF PREDESTINATION.

Chap. 1. [i.] â€” Of the nature of the perseverance here discoursed of.

I HAVE now to consider the subject of perseverance with greater care; for in the former treatise also I said some things on this subject when I was discussing the beginning of faith. I assert, therefore, that he perseverance by which we persevere in Christ even to the end is the gift of God;" and I call that the end by which is finished that life wherein alone there is a risk of falling. " Therefore it is uncertain whether any one has received this gift so long as he is still alive. For if he fall before he dies, he assuredly is said not to have persevered; and most truly is it said. How, then, should he be said to have received or to have had perseverance who has not persevered ? For if any one have continence, and fall away from that virtue and become incontinent, â€” or, in like manner, if he have righteousness, if patience, if even faith, and fall away, he is rightly said to have had these virtues and to have them no longer; for he was continent, or he was righteous, or he was patient, or he was believing, as long as he was so; but when he ceased to be so, he no longer is what he was. But how should he who has not persevered have ever been persevering, since it is only by persevering that any one shows himself persevering, â€” and this he has not done ? But lest any one should struggle against this, and say. If from the date at which any one became a believer he has lived â€” for the sake of argument â€” ten years, and in the midst of them has fallen from the faith, has he not persevered for five years ? I am

CHAP. 2.] PESEVERAXCE TO THE END, GOD'S GIFT. I73
not contending about words. If it be thought that this also should be called perseverance, as it were for so long as it lasts, assuredly he is not to be said to have had in any degree that perseverance of which we are now discoursing, by which one perseveres in Christ even to the end. ^And the believer of one year, or of a period as much shorter as may be conceived of, if he has lived faithfully until he died, has rather had this perseverance than the believer of many years' standing, if a little time before his death he has fallen away from the steadfastness of his faith.

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” Faith is the beginning of a Christian man. Martyrdom for Christ's sake is his best ending.

Which matter being settled, let us see whether this perseverance, of which it was said, "He that persevereth unto the end, the same shall be saved," ^ is a gift of God. Because, if if be not, how is that saying of the apostle true: "Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake " ? ^ Of these things, certainly, one has respect to the beginning, the other to the end [scil. of life]. Yet both are the gift of God, because both are said to be given; as, moreover, I have already said above. For what is more truly the beginning for a Christian than to believe in Christ? What end is better than to suffer for Christ? But so far as pertains to believing in Christ, whatever kind of contradiction has been discovered, that not the beginning but the increase of faith should be called God's gift, â€” to this opinion, by God's gift, I have answered enough, and more than enough. But what reason can be given why perseverance to the end should not be given in Christ to him to whom it is given to suffer for Christ, or, to speak more distinctly, to whom it is given to die for Christ? For the Apostle Peter, showing that this is the gift of God, says, "It is better, if the will of God be so, to suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing." ^ When he says, "If the will of God be so," he shows that this is given from heaven, yet not to all saints, to suffer for Christ's sake. For it is not those whom the will of God does not choose to attain to the experience and the glory of suffering, that do not attain to the

Matt. X. 22. - Phil. ii. 29. ^ 1 Pet. iii. 17.

174 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 3.

kingdom of God if they persevere in Christ to the end. But who can say that this perseverance is not given to those who die in Christ from any weakness of body, or by any kind of accident, although a far more difficult perseverance is given to those by whom even death itself is undergone for Christ's sake? Because perseverance is much more difficult when the persecutor is engaged in preventing a man's perseverance; and therefore he is sustained in his perseverance unto death. Hence it is more difficult to have the former perseverance, â€” easier to have the latter; but to Him to whom nothing is
difficult it is easy to give both. For God has promised this, saying, "I will put my fear in their hearts, that they may not depart from me." And what else is this than, Such and so great shall be my fear that I will put into their hearts that they will perseveringly cleave to me?

Chap. 3. "God is besought for it, because it is His gift.

But why is that perseverance asked for from God if it is not given by God? Is that a mocking petition when that is asked from Him which it is known that He does not give, but, although He gives it not, is in man's power; just as that giving of thanks is a mockery, if thanks are given to God for that which He did not give nor do? But what I said on that subject I say also here again: "Be not deceived," says the apostle, "God is not mocked." O man, God is a witness not only of your words, but even of your thoughts. If you ask anything in truth and faith of one who is so rich, believe that you receive from Him from whom you ask, what you ask. Abstain from honouring Him with your lips and extolling yourself over Him in your heart, believing that you have from yourself what you are pretending to beseech from Him. Is not that perseverance, perchance, asked for from Him?

He who says this is not to be rebuked by any arguments, but must be covered* with the prayers of the saints. Is there any of those who does not ask for himself from God that he may persevere in Him, when in that very prayer which is called the Lord'sâ€”because the Lord taught itâ€”when it is


3 Gal. vi. 6. * Some editions lead "recalled."

CHAP. 4.] CYPRIAN ON THE lord's PRAYER. 175

prayed by the saints, scarcely anything else is understood to be prayed for but perseverance?

Chap. 4. â€” Of the Pelagian doctrine there are three leading points.

Read with a little more attention the exposition of this in the treatise of the blessed martyr Cyprian, which he produced concerning this matter, the title of which is, On the Lord's Prayer; and see how many years ago, and what sort of an antidote was prepared against those poisons which the Pelagians were one day to use. For there are three points, as you know, which the Catholic Church chiefly maintains against them, â€” one of which is, that the grace of God is not given according to our merits; because even every one of the merits of the righteous is God's gift, and is conferred by God's grace. The second is, that no one lives in this corruptible body in righteousness of any degree without sins of any kind. The third is, that man is born obnoxious to the first man's sin, and bound by the chain of his condemnation, unless the condition of guilt which is
contracted by generation be loosed by regeneration.' Of these three points, that which I have placed last is the only one that is not treated of in the above-named book of the glorious martyr; but of the two others the discourse there is of such perspicuity, that 'the above-named heretics, modern enemies of the grace of Christ, are found to have been convicted long before they were born.' Among these merits of the saints, then, which are no merits unless they are the gifts of God, he says that perseverance also is God's gift, in these words: ^ " We say, ' Hallowed be Thy name; ' not that we ask for God that He may be hallowed by our prayers, but that we beseech of Him that His name may be hallowed in us. But by whom is God sanctified, since He Himself sanctifies ? Well, because He says. Be ye holy because I also am holy, we ask and entreat that we, who were sanctified in baptism, may persevere in that which we have begun to be," ^ ' And a little after, still arguing about that selfsame matter, and teaching that we entreat perseverance from God, which we could in no wise rightly and truly do unless it were His gift, he says: " We pray that this


1V6 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 6.

sanctification may abide in us; and because our Lord and Judge warns the man that was healed and quickened by Him to sin no more, lest a worse thing happen unto him, we make this supplication in our constant prayers; we ask this day and night, that the sanctification and quickening which is received from the grace of God may be preserved by His protection," ^ That doctor, therefore, understands that we are asking from Him for perseverance in sanctification, that is, that we should persevere in sanctification, when we who are sanctified say, " Hallowed be Thy name." ^ For what else is it to ask for what we have already received, than that it be given to us also not to cease from possession ? As, therefore, the saint, when he asks God that he may be holy, is certainly asking that he may continue to be holy, so certainly the chaste person also, when he asks that he may be chaste, the continent that he may be continent, the righteous that he may be righteous, the pious that he may be pious, and the like, â€” which things, against the Pelagians, we maintain to be God's gifts, â€” they are asking, without doubt, that they may persevere in those good things which they have acknowledged that they have received. And if they receive this, assuredly they also receive perseverance itself, the great gift of God, whereby His other gifts are preserved.

Chap. 5. â€” The second petition in the Lord's Prayer.

What, when we say, " Thy kingdom come," do we ask else, but that that should also come to us which we do not doubt will come to all saints ? ^ And therefore here also, what do they who are already holy pray for, save that they may persevere in that holiness which has been given them ? For no otherwise will the Kingdom of God come to them; which it is certain will come not to others, but to those who persevere to the end.
Chap. 6. [in.] â€” The third petition. How heaven and earth are understood in the Lord's Prayer.

The third petition is, "Thy will* be done in heaven and in earth; " or, as it is read in many codices, and is more frequently made use of by petitioners, " As in heaven, so also


CHAP. 6.] AS IN HEAVEN, SO IN EAETH. iVY

iu earth," which many people understand, that we also may do Thy wiU as the holy angels do. That doctor and martyr will have heaven and earth, however, to be understood as spirit and flesh, and says that we pray that we may do the will of God with the full agreement of both our natures. He saw in these words also another meaning, fitting to the soundest faith, of which meaning I have already spoken above, â€” to wit, that for unbelievers, who are as yet earth, bearing in their first birth only the earthly man, believers are understood to pray, who, being clothed with the heavenly man, are not unreasonably called by the name of heaven; where he plainly shows both that the beginning of faith is God's gift, since the holy Church prays not only for believers, that faith may be increased or may continue in them, but, moreover, for unbelievers, that they may begin to have what they have not had at all, and against which, besides, they were indulging hostile feelings. Now, however, I am arguing not concerning the beginning of faith, of which I have already spoken much in the former book, but of that perseverance which must be had even to the end, â€” which assuredly even the saints, who do the will of God, seek when they say in prayer, "Thy will be done." For, since it is already done in them, why do they still ask that it may be done, except that they may persevere in that which they have begun to be? Although it may here be said that the saints do not ask that the will of God may be done in heaven, but that it may be done in earth as in heaven, â€” that is to say, that earth may imitate heaven, that is, that man may imitate the angel, or that an unbeliever may imitate a believer; and thus that the saints are asking that that may be which is not yet, not that that which is may continue. For, by whatever holiness men may be distinguished, they are not yet equal to the angels of God; not yet, therefore, is the will of God done in them as it is in heaven! And if this be so! in that portion indeed in which we ask that men from unbelievers may become believers, it is not perseverance, but beginning that seems to be asked for; but in that in which we ask that men may be made equal to the angels of God in doing God's will, â€” where the saints pray for this, they are found to be praying for perseverance; since no one attains to that highest blessed-

XV. M
ness which is in the kingdom, unless he shall persevere unto the end in that holiness which he has received on earth/

Chap. 7. [ia'.] â€” The fourth petition.

The fourth petition is, "Give us this day our daily bread," ^ where the blessed Cyprian shows how here also perseverance is understood to be asked for. Because he says, among other things, "And we ask that this bread should be given to us daily, that we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Euchasite for the food of salvation, may not by the interposition of some heinous sin be separated from Christ's body by being withheld from communicating and prevented from partaking of the heavenly bread." ^ These words of the holy man of God indicate that 'the saints ask for perseverance directly from God, when with this intention they say, "Give us this day our daily bread," that they may not be separated from Christ's body, but may continue in that holiness in which they allow no crime by which they may deserve to be separated from it.

Chap. 8. [v.]â€” The f/th petition. It is an error of the Pelagians that the righteous are free from any sin.

In the fifth sentence of the prayer we say, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors," ^ in which petition alone perseverance is not found to be asked for. For the sins which we ask to be forgiven us are past, but perseverance, which saves us for eternity, is indeed necessary for the time of this life; but not for the time which is past, but for that which remains even to its end. 'Yet it is worth the labour to consider for a little, how even already in this petition the heretics who were to arise long after were transfixed by the tongue of Cyprian, as if by the most invincible dart of truth. For the Pelagians dare to say even this: that the righteous man in this life has no sin at all, and that in such men there is even at the present time a Church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, which is the one and only bride of Christ; as if she were not His bride who throughout

1 Matt. vi. 11.

2 Cyprian, On the Lord's Prayer (Eiig. Trans.), vol. i. p. 41 l.

3 Matt. vi. 12.

CHAP. 10.] PEKSEVERANCE OBTAINED BY PKAYEE. 179

the whole earth says what she has learnt from Him, "Forgive us our debts." But observe how the most glorious Cyprian destroys these. For when he was exjounding that very clause of the Lord's Prayer, he says among other things: "And how necessarily, how
providently, and salutarily are we admonished that we are sinners, since we are compelled to entreat for our sins; and while pardon is asked for from God, the soul recalls its own consciousness of guilt! Lest any one should flatter himself that he is innocent, and by exalting himself should more deeply perish, he is instructed and taught that he sins daily, in that he is bidden daily to entreat for his sins. Thus, moreover, John also in his Epistle warns us, and says, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' And the rest, which it would be tedious to insert in this place.

Chap. 9. When perseverance is granted to a person, he cannot but persevere.

° Now, moreover, when the saints say, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," whatever do they pray for but that they may persevere in holiness? For, assuredly, when that gift of God is granted to them, which is sufficiently plainly shown to be God's gift, since it is asked of Him, that gift of God, then, being granted to them that they may not be led into temptation, none of the saints fails to keep his perseverance in holiness even to the end. For there is not any one who ceases to persevere in the Christian purpose unless he is first of all led into temptation. If, therefore, it be granted to him according to his prayer that he may not be led into temptation, certainly by the gift of God he persists in that sanctification which by the gift of God he has received.

Chap. 10. The gift of perseverance can be obtained by prayer.

But you write that these brethren will not have this perseverance declared in such a way as that it cannot be obtained by prayer or lost by obstinacy. In this they are little careful in considering what they say. For we are speaking of that perseverance whereby one perseveres unto the end, and if

° Potens " or "ponens " are different readings. * 1 John i. 8.


180 ON THE GIFT OF PEESEVERANCE. [CHAP. 11.

this is given, one does persevere unto the end; but if one does not persevere unto the end, it is not given, which I have already sufficiently discussed above. Let not men say, then, that perseverance is given to any one to the end, except when the end itself has come, and he to whom it has been given has been found to have persevered unto the end. Certainly, we say that one whom we have known to be chaste is chaste, whether he should continue or not in the same chastity; and if he should have any other divine endowment which may be kept and lost, we say that he has it as long as he has it; and if he should lose it, we say that he had it. But since "no one has perseverance to the end except he who does persevere unto the end, many people may have it, but none can lose it.
For it is not to be feared that perchance when a man has persevered unto the end, some evil will may arise in him, so that he does not persevere unto the end. * This gift of God, therefore, may be obtained by prayer, but when it has been given, it cannot be lost by contumacy. For when any one has persevered unto the end, he neither can lose this gift, nor others which he could lose before the end. How, then, can that be lost, whereby it results that even that which could be lost is not lost?

Chap. 11. â€” Effect of prayer for perseverance.

But, lest perchance it be said that perseverance even to the end is not indeed lost when it has once been given, â€“ that is, when a man has persevered unto the end, â€“ but that it is lost in some measure when a man by contumacy so acts that he is not able to attain to it, as we say that a man who has not persevered unto the end has lost eternal life or the kingdom of God; not what he had already received and actually had, but what he would have received and had if he had persevered, â€“ let us lay aside controversies of words, and say that some things even which are not possessed, but are hoped to be possessed, may be lost. * Let any one who dares, tell me whether God cannot give what He has commanded to be asked from Him, Certainly he who affirms this, I say not is a fool, but he is mad. But God commanded that His saints should say to Him in prayer, " Lead us not into temptation." But, on the other hand, of his own will a man forsakes God, so that he is deservedly forsaken of Him.

Chap. 12. â€” Of his own, will a man forsakes God, so that he is deservedly forsaken of Him.

But, on the other hand, of his own will a man forsakes God, so as to be deservedly forsaken by God. Who would deny this? But it is for that reason we ask not to be led into temptation, so that this may not happen. And if we are heard, certainly it does not happen, because God does not allow it to happen. For nothing comes to pass except what either He Himself does, or Himself allows to be done. Therefore He is powerful both to turn wills from evil to good, and to convert those wills that are inclined to fall, or to direct them into a way pleasing to Himself. For to Him it is not said in vain, " O God, Thou shalt turn again and quicken us; " * it is not vainly said, " Give not my foot to be moved; " * it is not vainly said, " Give me not over, Lord, from my desire to the sinner; " * finally, not to mention many passages, since probably more may occur to you, it is not vainly said," Lead us not into temptation." * For whoever is not led into temptation, certainly is not led into the temptation of his own evil will; and he who is not led into the temptation of his own evil will, is absolutely led into no temptation. For " every one is tempted," as it is written, " when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed;" * " but God tempteth no man," * that is to say, with a hurtful temptation.

CHAP. 12.] god's temptations BENEFICIAL, 1 S 1

tation." * Whoever, therefore, is listened to when he asks this, is not led into the temptation of contumacy, whereby he could or would be worthy to lose perseverance in holiness. *
For temptation is moreover beneficial by which we are not deceived or overwhelmed, but proved, according to that which is said, "Prove me, Lord, and try me." Therefore, with that hurtful temptation which the apostle signifies when he says, "Lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labour be in vain," God tempteth no man," as I have said, â€” that is. He brings or leads no one into temptation. For to be tempted and not to be led into temptation is not evil, â€” nay, it is even good; for this it is to be proved.

1 Ps. Ixxxiv. 6. 2 pg ixvi. 9. 3 Ps. cxl. 8.
7 Ps. xxvi. 2. 3 1 Thes. iii. 5.

182

ON" THE GIFT OF PEESEVERANCE."
If, then, there were no other proofs, this Lord's Prayer alone would be sufficient for us on behalf of the grace which I am defending; because it leaves us nothing wherein we may, as it were, glory as in our own, since it shows that our not departing from God is not given except by God, when it shows that it must be asked for from God. For he who is not led into temptation does not depart from God. This is absolutely not in the strength of free-will, such as it now is; but it had been in man before he fell. And yet how much this freedom of will availed in the excellence of that primal state appeared in the angels; who, when the devil and his angels fell, stood in the truth, and deserved to attain to that perpetual security of not falling, in which we are most certain that they are now established. But, after the fall of man, God


CHAP. 15. god's hand UPON MAN. 183

willed it to pertain only to His grace that man should approach to Him; nor did He will it to pertain to aught but His grace that man should not depart from Him.

Chap. 14. â€” It is God's grace both that man comes to Him, and that man does not depart from Him.

This grace He established " in Him in whom we have obtained a share, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things." ^ And thus as He worketh that we come to Him, so He worketh that we do not depart. Wherefore it was said to Him by the mouth of the prophet,

" Let Thy hand be upon the man of Thy right hand, and upon the Son of man whom Thou madest strong for Thys'elf, and we will not depart from Thee." ^ This certainly is not the first Adam, in whom we departed from Him, but the second Adam, upon whom His hand is placed, so that we do not depart from Him. Tor Christ altogether with His members is â€” with reference to the Church, which is His body â€” the fulness of Him. When, therefore, God's hand is upon Him, that we depart not from God, assuredly God's work reaches to us (for this is God's hand); by which work of God we are caused to be abiding in Christ with God â€” not, as in Adam, departing from God. For in Christ we have obtained a share, being predestinated according to His purpose who worketh all things. ' This, therefore, is God's hand, not ours, that we depart not from God. That, I say, is His hand who said, " I will put my fear in their hearts, that they depart not from me." ^

Chap. 15. â€” Why God willed that He should he asked for that which He might give without prayer,-

On which account also He willed that He should be asked that we may not be led into temptation, because if we are not so led, we by no means depart from Him. And this might have been given to us even without our praying for it, but by our prayer He willed us to be admonished from whom we receive these benefits. For from whom but from Him
do we receive from whom it is right for us to ask? Truly in this matter let not the Church look for laborious disputations, but

1 Eph. L 11. ' Ps. Ixxx. 17, 18. 3 j^j._ ^xxii. 40.

184 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE, [CHAP. 16.

consider its own daily prayers. It prays that the unbelieving may believe; therefore God converts to the faith. It prays that believers may persevere; therefore God gives perseverance to the end. God foreknew that He would do this. This

IS THE VERY PREDESTINATION OF THE SAINTS, " whom He haS

chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and unspotted before Him in love; predestinating them unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, in which He hath shown them favour in His beloved Son, in whom they have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of His grace, which has abounded towards them in wisdom and prudence; that He might show them the mystery of His will according to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Him, in the dispensation of the fulness of times to restore all things in Christ which are in heaven and which are in earth; in Him, in whom also we have obtained a share, being predestinated according to His purpose who worketh all things. Against a trumpet of truth so clear as this, what man of sober and watchful faith can receive any human arguments?

Chap. 16. [viii.] â€” Why is not grace given according to merit?

But why, says one, is not the grace of God given according to men's merits? I answer, Because God is merciful. Why, then, it is asked, is it not given to all? And here I reply. Because God is a Judge. And thus grace is given by Him freely; and by His righteous judgment it is shown in some what grace confers on those to whom it is given. Let us not then be ungrateful, that according to the good pleasure of His wiU a merciful God delivers so many to the praise of the glory of His grace from such deserved perdition; as, if He should deliver no one therefrom, He would not be unrighteous. Let him, therefore, who is delivered love His grace. Let him who is not delivered acknowledge his due. If, in remitting a debt, goodness is perceived, in requiring it, justice unrighteousness is never found to be with God.

^ EpL i. 4-11, 2 Eom. ix. 20.
CHAP. 18. DIVERSE JUDGMENTS IN SIMILAR CASES. 185

Chap. 17. " The difficulty of the distinction made in the choice of one and the rejection of another.

" But why," it is said, " in one and the same case, not only of infants, but even of twin children, is the judgment so diverse? " Is it not a similar question, Why in a different case is the judgment the same? Let us recall, then, those labourers in the vineyard who worked the whole day, and those who toiled one hour. Certainly it is a differing case of labour expended, and yet there was the same judgment in paying the wages. Did the murmurers in this case hear anything from the householder except. Such is my will? Certainly such was his liberality towards some, that there could be no injustice towards others. And both these classes, indeed, are among the good. Nevertheless, in what refers to justice and grace, it may be truly said to the guilty who is condemned, even concerning the guilty who is delivered, " Take what thine is, and go thy way; " " I will give unto this one that which is not due; " Is it not lawful for me to do what I will? is thine eye evil because I am good?" And how if he should say, Why not to me also? he will hear, and with reason, " Who art thou, man, that repliest against God?" And although assuredly in the one case you see a most benignant benefactor, and in your own case a most righteous exactor, in neither case do you behold an unjust God. ' For although He would be righteous even if He were to punish both, he who is delivered has good ground for thankfulness, he who is condemned has not any ground for finding fault. ^

Chap. 18. " But lohy should one be punished more than another?" But if, " it is said, " it was necessary that, although all were not condemned. He should still show what was due to all, and so that He should commend His grace more freely to the vessels of mercy; why in the same case will He punish me rather than another, or deliver him rather than me? " I say not this. If you ask wherefore, [I say] that I confess that I can find no answer to make. And if you further ask why is this, it is because in this matter, even as His anger is righteous and as His mercy is great, so His judgments are imsearchable,

' Matt. XX. 14, etc 2 Eom. ix. 20.

186 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 20.

Chap. 19. " Why does God mingle those who will persevere with those who will not? Let the inquirer still go on, and say, " Why has He not given to some who have in good faith worshipped Him to
â– persevere to the end? " Why except because he does not speak falsely who says, " They went out from among us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, doubtless they would have continued with us." ^ Are there, then, two natures of men? By no means. If- there were two natures there would not be any grace, for there would be given a gratuitous deliverance to none if it were paid as a debt to nature. But it seems to men that all who appear good believers ought to receive perseverance to the end. But' God has judged it to be better to mingle some who would not persevere with a certain number of His saints, so that those for whom security from temptation in this life is not desirable may not be secure.

For that which the apostle says, checks many from mischievous elation: " Wherefore let him who seems to stand take heed lest he fall."^ And he who falls, falls by his own will, and he who stands, stands by God's will." "For God is able to make him stand," ^ therefore he is not able to make himself stand, but God. Nevertheless, it is good not to be high-minded, but to fear. Moreover, it is in his own thought that every one either falls or stands. Now, as the apostle says, and as I have mentioned in my former treatise, " We are not sufficient to think anything of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God."* Following whom also the blessed Ambrose ventures to say, " For our heart is not in our own power, nor are our thoughts." And this everybody who is humbly and truly pious feels to be most true.'

Chap. 20. â€” Ambrose on God's control over men's thoughts.

And when Ambrose said this, he was speaking in that treatise which he wrote concerning the avoidance of the world, wherein he taught that this world was to be shunned not by the body, but by the heart, which he argued could not be done except by God's help. For he says: " The discourse to us is frequent concerning the avoidance of this world, and I

1 John ii. 19. " 1 Cor. x. 12.

3 Eoui. xiv. i. â– * 2 Cor. iii. 5.

CHAP. 21.] god's judgments unseaechaele. 187

would that in proportion to the facility of the discourse on the subject, the disposition of mind were careful and solicitous; but what is worse, the enticement of earthly lusts constantly creeps in, and the pouring out of vanities takes possession of the mind; so that what you desire to avoid, this you think of and consider in your mind. And this is difficult for a man to beware of, but impossible to get rid of. Finally, the prophet bears witness that it is a matter of wish rather than of accomplishment, when he says, ' Incline my heart to Thy testimonies, and not to covetousness.'^ For our heart and our thoughts are not in our own power, and these, poured forth unexpectedly, confuse our mind and soul, and draw them in a different direction from that which you have proposed to yourself; they recall you to worldly things, they interpose things of time, they suggest voluptuous things, they inweave enticing things, and in the very moment when we are seeking to elevate our
mmd, we are for the most part filled with vain thoughts and cast down to earthly things."^ Therefore it is not in the power of men, but in that of God, that men have power to become sons of God. Because they receive it from Him who gives pious thoughts to the human heart, by which it has faith, which worketh by love; for the receiving and keeping of which benefit, and for carrying it on perseveringly unto the end, we are not sufficient to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God, in whose power is our heart and our thoughts.

Chap. 21. [ix. ] â€” Instances of the unsearchable judgments of God.

Therefore, Â£f two infants, ec[ually bound by.firigiual sin, why the one is taken and the other left; and of two wicked men already mature in years, why this one should be so called that he follows Him that caUeth, while that one is either not called at all, or is not called in such a manner, â€” the judg e me nts of God are unsearchable. But o f two pious men, why to the one should be given perseverance into the end, and to the other it should not be given, God's judgments are even more unsearchable. Yet to believers it ousjht to be a most certain fact that the former is of the predestinated, the Ps. cxix. 36. - Ambrose, De Fuga Soeculi, c. 1.

188 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 22.

latter is not. " For if they had been of us," says one of the predestinated, who had drunk this secret from the breast of the Lord, " certainly they would have continued with us."^ What, I ask, is the meaning of, " They were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would certainly have continued with us"?"
Were not both created by God â€” both born of Adam? Had not both been made from the earth, and received from Him who said, " I have created all breath," ^ souls of one and the same nature? Lastly, had not both been called, and followed Him that called them? and had not both become, from wicked men, justified men, and both been renewed by means of the laver of regeneration? But if he were to hear this who beyond all doubt knew what he was saying, he might answer and say. These things are true. In respect of all these things, they were of us; nevertheless, in respect of a certain other distinction, they were not of us, for if they had been of us, they certainly would have continued with us. What then is this distinction? God's books lie open, let us not turn away our view; the divine Scripture cries aloud, let us give it a hearing. They were not of them, because they had not been called according to God's purpose; they had not been chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world; they had not gained a share in Him; ' they had not been predestinated ' according to His purpose who worketh all things. For if they had been this, they would have been of them, and without doubt they would have continued with them.

Chap. 22. â€” It is an absurdity to say that the dead will he judged for sins loich they would have committed if they had lived.
For not to say how possible it may be for God to convert the wills of men averse and opposed to His faith, and to operate on their hearts so that they yield to no adversities, and are overcome by no temptation so as to depart from Him, â€” since He also can do what the apostle says, not allow them to be tempted above that which they are able; â€” not, then, to say this; God foreknowing that they would fall, was certainly able to take them away from this life before that fall should occur. Are we to return to that point of still arguing how absurdly it is said that dead men are judged even for those sins which

1 1 John ii. 10. ‘â—’ Isa. Ivii. 16 [see LXX.].

CHAP. 23.] CASE OF THE PEOPLE OF TYRE AND SIDON. 189

God foreknew that they would have committed if they had lived? which is so abhorrent to the feelings of Christians, or even of human beings, that one is even ashamed to rebut it. Why should it not be said that even the gospel itself has been preached, with so much labour and sufferings of the saints, in vain, or is even still preached in vain, if men could be judged, even without hearing the gospel, according to the contumacy or obedience which God foreknew that they would have had if they had heard it? Tyre and Sidon would not have been condemned, although more slightly than those cities in which, although they did not believe, wonderful works were done by Christ the Lord; because if they had been done in them they would have repented in dust and ashes, as the utterances of the Truth declare, in which words of His the Lord Jesus shows to us the loftier mystery of predestination.

Chap. 23. â€” Whijfor (he people of Tyre and Sidon, who would have believed, the miracles were not done luhich loere done in other places ivhich did not believe.

For if we are asked why such miracles were done among those who, when they saw them, would not believe them, and were not done among those who would have believed them if they had seen them, what shall we answer? Shall we say what I have said in that book^ wherein I answered some six questions of the Pagans, yet without prejudice of other matters which the wise can inquire into? This indeed I said, as you know, when it was asked why Christ came after so long a time: that at those times and in those places in which His gospel was not preached. He foreknew that all men would, in regard of His preaching, be such as many were in His bodily presence, â€” people, namely, who would not believe on Him, nor on those who were raised from the dead by Him. Moreover, a little after in the same book, and on the same question, I say. What wonder, if Christ knew in former ages that the world was so filled with unbelievers, that He was, with reason, unwilling for His gospel to be preached to them whom He foreknew to be such as would not believe either His words or His miracles? Certainly we cannot say this of Tyre and Sidon; and in their case we acknowledge that those divine judgments had reference to those causes of predestina-

1 Epis. 102, Qucest. 2.
tion, without prejudice of which latent causes I said that I was then answering such questions as those. Certainly it is easy to accuse the unbelief of the Jews, arising as it did from their free-will, since they refused to believe in such great wonders done among themselves. And this the Lord, reproaching them, declares when He says, "Woe unto thee, Chorazin and Bethsaida, because if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which have been done in you, they would long ago have repented in dust and ashes." But can we say that even the Tyrians and Sidonians would not believe such mighty works done among them, or would not have believed them if they had been done, when the Lord Himself bears witness to them that they would have repented with great humility if those signs of divine power had been done among them? And yet in the day of judgment they will be punished; although with a less punishment than those cities which would not believe the mighty works done in them. For the Lord goes on to say, "Nevertheless, I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you." Therefore the former shall be punished with greater severity, the latter with less; but yet they shall be punished. Again, if the dead are judged even in respect of deeds which they would have done if they had lived, assuredly since these would have been believers if the gospel had been preached to them with so great miracles, they certainly ought not to be punished; but they will be punished. It is therefore false that the dead are judged in respect also of those things which they would have done if the gospel had reached them when they were alive. And if this is false, there is no ground for saying, concerning infants who perish because they die without baptism, that this happens in their case so far deservedly, because God foreknew that if they should live and the gospel should be preached to them, they would hear it with unbelief. It remains, therefore, that they are kept under the obligation of original sin alone, and for this alone they go into condemnation; because we see that in others having the same condition this is not remitted, except by the gratuitous grace of God in regeneration, and that, by His secret yet righteous


CHAP. 24.] JIE^T NOT JUDGED FOE WHAT THEY MIGHT EE. 191

judgment â€“ because there is no unrighteousness with God â€“ that some, even after baptism, who will perish by evil living, are yet kept in this life until they perish, who would not have perished if bodily death had forestalled their lapse into sin, and so come to their help. Because no dead man is judged by the good or evil things which he would have done if he had not died, otherwise the Tyrians and Sidonians would not have suffered the penalties in respect of what they did; but rather, in respect of those
things that they would have done, if those evangelical mighty works had been done in
them, they would have obtained salvation by great repentance, and by the faith of Christ.

Chap. 24. [x.] â€” It may be objected that the people of Tyre and Sidon might, if they had
heard, have believed, and have subsequently lapsed from their faith.

A certain Catholic commentator of no mean reputation so expounded this passage of the
gospel as to say, that the Lord foreknew that the Tyrians and Sidonians would have
afterwards departed from the faith, although they might have believed the miracles done
among them; and that by mercy He had not done those miracles there, because they
would have been obnoxious to severer punishment if they had forsaken the faith which
they had once held, than if they had at no time held it. In which opinion of a learned and
excessively shrewd man, why am I now concerned to say what is still reasonably to be
required, when the opinion itself is advantageous to us for the purpose at which we aim?
For if the Lord in His mercy did not do mighty works among them, by which works they
might become believers, so that they might not be more severely punished when they
should subsequently become unbelievers, which He foreknew that they would be, it is
sufficiently and plainly shown that no dead person is judged for those sins which He
foreknew that he would have done, if in some manner assistance were not given him lest
he should do them; as Christ is said to have come to the aid of the Tyrians and Sidonians,
if that opinion be true, who He had rather should not come to the faith at all, than that by
a much greater wickedness they should depart from the faith, which, if they had come to
it, He had foreseen that they would have done. Although if it be said, Why did it

192 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 25.

not happen that they should rather believe, and this gift should be bestowed on them, that
before they forsook the faith they should depart from this life? I am ignorant -what reply
can be made. For he who says that to those who would forsake their faith it would have
been granted, as a kindness, that they should not begin to have what, by a more serious
impiety, they would subsequently forsake, sufficiently indicates [by this assertion] that a
man is not judged by that which it is foreknown he would have done ill, if by any act of
kindness he may be prevented from doing it' Therefore it is an advantage also to him who
is taken away, lest wickedness should alter his understanding. But why this advantage
should not have been shared by the Tyrians and Sidonians, that they might believe and be
taken away, lest wickedness should alter their understanding, he perhaps might answer
who was pleased in such a way to solve the above question; but, as far as concerns what I
am discussing, I see it to be enough that, even according to that very opinion, men are
shown not to be judged in respect of those things which they have not done, even
although they may have been foreseen as certain to have done them. However, as I have
said, let us think shame even to refute this opinion, whereby sins are supposed to be
punished in people who die or have died because they have been foreknown as certain to
do them if they had lived; so that we also may not seem to have thought it to be of some
importance what opinion we would rather repress by argument than pass over in silence.
Chap. 25. [xi.] â€” God's ways, both in mercy and judgment, 2^51 finding out.

Accordingly, as says the apostle, " It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy:"^ seeing that He also comes to the help of such infants as He will, although they neither will nor run, since He chose them in Christ before the foundation of the world as those to whom He intended to give His grace freely, â€” that is, with no merits of theirs, either of faith or of works, preceding; and seeing that He does not come to the help of those who are more mature, although He foresaw that they would

1 Rom. ix. 16.

CHAP. 26.] NO UNRIGHTEOUSNESS WITH GOD. 193

believe His miracles if they should be done among them, because He wills not to come to their help, since in His predestination He, secretly indeed, but yet righteously, has otherwise determined concerning them. For "there is no unrighteousness with God:"^ but "His judgments are imsearchable, and His ways are past finding out; all the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth." ^ Therefore the mercy is past finding out by which He has mercy on whom He will, although no deservings of his precede; and the truth is unsearchable by which He hardeneth whom He will, even although his merits may have preceded, but merits for the most part common to him with the man on whom He has mercy. As of two twins, of which one is taken and the other left, the end is unequal, while the deserts are common, yet in these the one is in such wise delivered by God's great goodness, that the other is condemned by no injustice of God's. For is there unrighteousness with God? Away with the thought! but His ways are past finding out. ^ Therefore let us believe in His mercy in the case of those who are delivered, and His truth in the case of those who are punished, without any hesitation; and let us not endeavour to look into that which is inscrutable, nor to trace that which cannot be found out. ^ Because out of the mouth of babes and sucklings He perfects His praise,^ so that what we see in those whose deliverance is preceded by no good deservings of theirs, and in"^ those whose condemnation is only preceded by original sin," common alike to both; â€” this we by no means shrink from as occurring in the case of grownup people, that is because we do not think either that grace is given to any one according to his own merits, or that any one is punished except for his own merits, whether they are alike who are delivered and who are punished, or have unequal degrees of evil; so that he who thinketh he standeth may take heed lest he fall, and he who glorieth may glory not in himself, but in the Lord.

Chap. 26. â€” The Manichaans do not receive all the books of the Old Testament, and of the New only those that they choose.

But wherefore is "the case of infants not allowed," as you write, "to be alleged as an example for grown-up people," by
men who do not hesitate against the Pelagians to affirm the doctrine of original sin, which entered by one man into the world, in consequence of which from one all have gone into condemnation? And this, moreover, the Manicha^ans receive not, who not only do not hold all the Scriptures of the Old Testament as of any authority, but even receive those which belong to the New Testament in such a manner as that each man, by his own prerogative as it were, or rather by his own sacrilege, takes what he likes, and rejects what he does not like, â€™ in opposition to whom I treated in my writings on freewill, whence they think that they have a ground of objection against me. I have been unwilling to deal plainly with the very laborious questions that occurred, lest my work should become too long, in a case which, as opposed to such perverse men, I could not have the assistance of the authority of the sacred Scriptures. And I was able, â€™ as I actually did, whether anything of the divine testimonies might be true or not, seeing that I did not definitely introduce them into the argument, â€™ nevertheless, by certain reasoning, to conclude that God in all things is to be praised, without any necessity of believing, as they would have us, that there are two co-eternal, confounded substances of good and evil.

Chap. 27. â€™ Reference to the "Retractations."

Finally, in the first book of the Retractations} which work of mine you have not yet read, when I had come to the reconsidering of those same books, that is, on the subject of freewill, I thus spoke; " In these books, I say, many things were so discussed that some questions which occurred, and which either I was not able to elucidate, or which required a long discussion at once, might be put off in such a way as that from either side, or from all sides, of those questions in which what was most in harmony with the truth did not appear, . yet my reasoning might be of effect for that result, that whichever of them might be true, God might be believed, or even might be shown, to be worthy of praise. Because that discussion was undertaken for the sake of those who deny that the origin of evil is derived from the free choice of the will, ^ Retractations, book i. c. 0.

CHAP. 2:] FROM THE "HETKACTATIONS." 195
and contend that God, as He be so, as the Creator of all natures, is worthy of blame; desiring in that manner, according to the error of their impiety (for they are Manichreans), to introduce a certain immutable nature of evil co-eternal with God. Also, after a little time, in another place I say: Then it was said, From which misery, most righteously inflicted on sinners, God's grace delivers, because man of his own accord, that is by free-will, could fall, but could not also rise. To which misery of just condemnation pertain the ignorance and the difficulty which every man suffers from the beginning of his birth, and no one is delivered from that evil except by the grace of God. And this misery the Pelagians will not have as descending from a great condemnation, because they deny original sin; although even if the ignorance and difficulty were the natural beginnings of man, God would not even thus desire to be reproached, but to be praised, as I have argued in the same third book Which argument must be regarded as against the Manichseans, who do not receive the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, in which original sin is narrated; and whatever thence is read in the apostolic epistles, they contend was introduced with a detestable impudence by the corrupters of the Scriptures, assuming that it was not said by the apostles. But against the Pelagians that must be maintained which both Scriptures commend, as they profess to receive them. These things I said in my first book of Retractations, when I was reconsidering the treatises on free-will. Nor, indeed, were these things all that were said by me there about these treatises, but there were many others also, which I thought it would be tedious to insert in this work for you, and not necessary; and this I think you also will judge when you have read all. Although, therefore, in the third book on free-will I have in such wise argued concerning infants, that if even if what the Pelagians say were true, that ignorance and difficulty, without which no man is born, are elements, not punishments, of our nature, still the Manichseans would be overcome, who will have it that the two natures, to wit, of good and evil, are co-eternal. Is, therefore, the faith to be called in question or forsaken, which

^ Retractations, book i. c. 20.

196 ON THE GIFT OF REDSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 29.

the Catholic Church maintains against those very Pelagians, asserting as she does that it is original sin, the guilt of which, contracted by generation, must he remitted by regeneration? And if they confess this with us, so that we may at once, in this matter of the Pelagians, destroy error, why do they think that it must be doubted that God can deliver even infants, to whom He gives His grace by the sacrament of baptism, from the power of darkness, and translate them into the kingdom of the Son of His love? In the fact, therefore, that He gives that grace to some, and does not give it to others, why wiU they not celebrate to the Lord His mercy and judgment?
But wherefore is it given to them, rather than to those who have known the mind of the Lord? Who is able to look into unsearchable things? who to trace out that which is past finding out?

Chap. 28. [xii.] God's goodness and righteousness shewn in all.

It is therefore settled that God's grace is not given according to the deserts of the recipients, but according to the good pleasure of His will; to the praise and glory of His own grace so that he who glorieth may by no means glory in himself, but in the Lord, who gives to those men to whom He will because He is merciful; what if, however. He does not give

He is righteous: and He does not give to whom He will not that He may make known the riches of His glory to the vessels of mercy. For by giving to some what they do not deserve, He has certainly willed that His grace should be gratuitous, and thus genuine grace; by not giving to all, He has shown what all deserve." Kind in His kindness to some, righteous in the punishment of others, and good in respect of all; because it is good when that which is due is rendered, and righteous in respect of all, since that which is not due is given without wrong to any one.

Chap. 29. God's true grace could he defended even if there were no original sin, as Pelagius maintains,

"But God's grace is maintained even without merits, that is.

His true grace; even if infants, when baptized, according to the view of the Pelagians, are not plucked out of the power of darkness, because they are held to be guilty of no sin, as the

CHAP. 30.] ORIGINAL SIN NOT NECESSARY TO GRACE. 197

Pelagians think, but are only transferred into the Lord's kingdom: for even thus, without any deserving, the kingdom is given to those to whom it is given; and without any evil deserving it is not given to them to whom it is not given.

And this we are in the habit of saying in opposition to the same Pelagians, when they object to us that we attribute God's grace to fate, when we say that it is given not in respect to our merits. For they themselves rather attribute God's grace to fate in the case of infants, if they say that when there is no deserving it is fate. Certainly, even according to the Pelagians themselves, no merits can be found in infants to cause that some of them should be admitted into the kingdom, and others should be alienated from the kingdom.

But now, as in order to show that God's grace is not given according to our merits I preferred to maintain this truth in accordance with both opinions, "both in accordance with our own, to wit, who say that infants are bound by original sin, and according to that of the Pelagians, who deny that there is original sin, "yet neither on that account can I doubt that infants have what He can pardon them who saves His people from their sins.
So in the third book on free-will, according to both views, I have withstood the Manichseans, whether ignorance and difficulty be punishments or elements of nature without which no man is born; and yet I hold one of these views. There, moreover, it is sufficiently evidently declared by me, that that is not the nature of man as he was ordained, but his punishment as condemned.

Chap. so.

Therefore it is in vain that it is objected to me concerning the antiquity of that book of mine, that I am not arguing the case as I ought to argue it in respect of infants; and that thence I am persuading my opponents by the light of a manifest truth, that God's grace is not given according to men's merits. For if, when I began my treatises concerning free-will as a layman, and unfolded them as a presbyter, I still doubted of the condemnation of infants not born again, and of the deliverance of infants that were born again, no one, as I think, would be so unfair and envious as to hinder my progress, and judge that I must continue in that uncertainty. But since it might more correctly be understood that it ought to be believed that I did not doubt in that matter, for the reason that they against whom my purpose was directed seemed to me in such wise to be rebutted, as that whether there was a punishment of original sin in infants, according to the truth, or whether there was not, as some mistaken people think, yet in no degree should such a confusion of the two natures be believed in, to wit, of good and evil, as the error of the Manichseans introduces. *" Be it far from us so to forsake the case of infants as to say to ourselves that it is uncertain whether, being regenerated in Christ, if they die in infancy they pass into eternal salvation; but that, not being regenerated, they pass into the second death: because that which is written,

" By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men,"^ cannot be rightly understood in any other manner; nor from that eternal death which is most righteously repaid to sin does any deliver any one, small or great, save He who, for the sake of remitting our sins, both original and actual, died without any sin of His own, either original or actual. But why some rather than others? Again and again we say, and do not shrink from it, " man, who art thou that repliest against God? " ^ " His judgments are unsearchable, and His ways past finding out." ^ And let us add this, " Seek not out the things that are too high for thee, and search not the things that are above thy strength." *

Chap. 31. â€“” That infants are not judged according to that which they are foreknown as likely to do if they shouid live.

For you see, beloved, how absurd it is, and how foreign from soundness of faith and sincerity of truth, for us to say that infants, when they die, should be judged in respect of those things which they are foreknown as likely to do if they should live. For to this
opinion, from which certainly every human feeling, on however little reason it may be
founded, and especially every Christian feeling, revolts, they are compelled to advance
who have chosen in such wise to be withdrawn from the error of the Pelagians as still to
think that they

' Rom. V. 12. 2 Rom. \x. 20.

â€“ 5 Rom. xi. 33. * Ecclus. iii. 21.

CHAP. 31.] ELECTION OF GOD IN INFANTS. 199

must believe, and, moreover, must profess in argument, that the grace of God, through
Jesus Christ our Lord, by which alone after the fall of the first man, in whom we all fell,
help is afforded to us, is given according to our merits. And this belief Pelagius himself,
before the Eastern bishops as judges, condemned in fear of his own condemnation. And if
this be not said of the good or bad works, to wit, of those who have died, which they
would have done if they had lived,â€” and thus of no works, and works that would never
exist, even in the foreknowledge of God,^^ if this, therefore, be not said, and you see
under how great a mistake it is said, what will remain but that we confess, when the
darkness of contention is removed, that the grace of God is not given according to our
merits, which position the Catholic Church defends against the Pelagian heresy;
and that
we see this in more evident truth especially in infants? For God is not compelled by fate
to come to the help of these infants, and not to come to the help of those, â€” since the
case is alike to both;â€” or shall we think that human affairs in the case of infants are not
managed by Divine Providence, but by fortuitous chances, when rational souls are either
to be condemned or delivered, although, indeed, not a sparrow falls to the ground without
the will of our Father which is in heaven;â€” or must we so attribute it to the negligence of
parents that infants die without baptism, as that heavenly judgments. have nothing to do
with it; as if they themselves who in this way die badly had of their own will chosen the
negligent parents for themselves of whom they were born ? What shall I say [in case]
that an infant expires a little time before he can possibly be advantaged by the ministry of
baptism? For often when the parents are eager and the ministers prepared for giving
baptism to the infants, it still is not given, because God does not choose; since He has not
kept it in this life for a little while in order that baptism might be given it. What,
moreover, [shall I
say in the case] that sometimes aid could be afforded by baptism to the children of
unbelievers, that they should not go into perdition, and could not be afforded to the
children of believers ? In which case it is certainly shown that there is no

1 Matt. X. 29.
acceptance of persons with God; otherwise He would rather deliver the children of His worshippers than the children of His enemies.

Chap. 32. [xiir.]

But now, since we are now treating of the gift of perseverance, why is it that benefit is afforded to the person about to die who is not baptized, while to the baptized person about to fall, aid is not afforded, so that he might die previously? Unless, perchance, we shall still listen to that absurdity by which it is said that it is of no advantage to any one to die before his fall, because he will be judged according to those actions which God foreknew that he would have done if he had lived. Who can hear with patience this perversity, so violently opposed to the soundness of the faith? Who can bear it? And yet they are driven to say this who do not confess that God's grace is not bestowed in respect of our deservings. They, however, who will not say that any one who has died is judged in respect of those things which God foreknew that he would have done if he had lived, considering with how manifest a falsehood and how great an absurdity this would be said, have no further reason to say, what the Church condemned in the Pelagians, and caused to be condemned by Pelagius himself, that the grace of God, namely, is given in respect of our merits, when they see some infants not regenerated taken from this life to eternal death, and others regenerated, to eternal life; and those themselves that are regenerated, some going hence, persevering even to the end, and others kept in this life even until they fall, who certainly would not have fallen if they had departed hence before their lapse; and again some falling, but not departing from this life until they return, who certainly would have perished if they had departed before their return.

Chap. 33.

From all which it is shown with sufficient clearness that the grace of God, which both begins a man's faith and which enables it to persevere unto the end, is not given in respect of our merits, but is given according to His own most secret and
Since (as I have already said before) those who will not persevere are, by the most foreseeing will of God, mingled with those who will persevere, for the reason that we may learn not to mind high things, but to consent to the lowly, and may "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do for His good pleasure." We therefore will, but God worketh in us also. We therefore work, but God worketh in us to work also for His good pleasure. This is profitable for us both to believe and to say, "this is pious, this is true, that our confession be lowly and submissive, and that all should be given to God. Thinking, we believe; thinking, we speak; thinking, we do whatever we do; but, in respect of what concerns the way of piety and the true worship of God, we are not sufficient to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God. For "our heart and our thoughts are not in our own power," whence the same Ambrose who says this says also: "But who is so blessed who in his heart always rises upwards? And how can this be done without divine help? Assuredly, by no means. Finally," he says, "the same Scripture affirms above, *Blessed is the man whose help is of Thee; Lord, ascent is in his heart.*" Assuredly to say this, Ambrose was not only enabled by reading in the holy writings, but as of such a man is to be without doubt believed, he felt it also in his own heart. Therefore, what is said in the sacraments of believers that we...
Chap. 34. [xiv.] â€” The doctrine of predestination not opposed to the advantage of preaching.

' But they say that the explanation of predestination is opposed to the advantage of preaching.\(^1\) as if, indeed, it were opposed to the preaching of the apostle! Did not that teacher of the heathen so often, in faith and truth, as well commend predestination, as without ceasing preach the word of God? Because he said, "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do for His good pleasure," \(^2\) did he not also exhort that we should both will and do what is pleasing to God? or because he said, "He who hath begun a good work in you shall carry it on even unto the day of Christ Jesus," \(^3\) did he on that account cease to persuade men to begin and to persevere unto the end? Doubtless, our Lord Himself commanded men to believe, and said, "Believe in God, believe also in me:"\(^4\) and yet His judgment is not therefore false, nor is His explanation idle when He says, "No man cometh unto me" \(^5\) that is, no man believeth in me \(^6\) "except it were given him of my Father."\(^7\) Nor, again, because this explanation is true, is the former precept vain. Why, therefore, do we think the explanation of predestination useless to preaching, to precept, to exhortation, to rebuke, â€” all which things the divine Scripture repeats frequently, â€” seeing that the same Scripture commends this doctrine? 

\(^1\) See English Prayer Book, "Holy Communion. "\(^2\) Col. iii. 1, 
\(^3\) In the Letters of Hilary and Prosper. \(^4\) Phil. ii. 13. 
\(^5\) Phil. i. 6. 6 John xir. 1, \(^6\) John vi. 66.

---

Chap. 35. — Meaning of Predestination. 203

W ill any man dare to say that God did not foreknow those to whom He would give, \(\ldots\) or whom He would give His Son, that of them He should lose none?\(^8\) And, certainly, if He foreknew these things, He as certainly foreknew His own H ndness, wherewith He condescends to deliver ns.

This Js.\(^9\) THE PIEDESTINATION OF THE SA\^ close J to 

wit, the forekno wledged and the preparation of God's kindnesses, whereby they are most certainly delivered, whoever they are that are delivered. But where are the rest left by the
righteous divine judgment except in the mass of ruin," where the Tyrians and the Sidonians were left? who, moreover, might have believed if they had seen Christ's wonderful miracles. But since it was not given to them to believe, the means of believing also was denied them. From which fact it appears that some have in their understanding itself a naturally divine gift of intelligence, by which they may be moved to the faith, if they either hear the words or behold the signs fitted for their minds; and yet if, in the more lofty judgment of God, they are not by the predestination of grace separated from the mass of perdition, neither those very divine words nor deeds are applied to them by which they might believe if they only heard or saw such things. Moreover, in the same mass of ruin the Jews were left, because they could not believe such great and eminent mighty works as were done in their sight.

For the gospel has not been silent about the reason why they could not believe, since it says: " But though He had done such great miracles before them, yet they believed not on Him; that the saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled which he spake,^ Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? And, therefore, they could not believe, because that Esaias said again,^ He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them."* Therefore the eyes of the Tyrians and Sidonians were not so

^ Isaiah vi. 10. 4 John xii. 37 fif.

204 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 36.

blinded nor was their heart so hardened, since they would have believed if they had seen such mighty works as the Jews saw. But it did not do them any good that they were able to believe, because they were not predestinated by Him whose judgments are Inscrutable and His ways past finding out.

Neither would it have been a hindrance to them that they could not believe, if they had been so predestinated as that God should illuminate those blind eyes, and should will to take away the stony heart from those hardened ones. But what the Lord said of the Tyrians and Sidonians may perchance be understood in another way: yet that no one comes to Christ unless it were given him, and that it is given to those who are chosen in Him before the foundation of the world, he confesses beyond a doubt who hears the divine utterance, not with the deaf ears of the flesh, but with the ears of the heart; and yet this predestination, which is plainly enough unfolded even by the words of the gospels, did not prevent the Lord's saying as well in respect of the commencement, what I have a little before mentioned, " Believe in God; believe also in me," as in respect of perseverance, " A man ought always to pray, and not to faint." For they hear these things and do them to whom it is given; but they do them not, whether they hear or do not hear, to whom it is not given.
Because, "To you," said He, "it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given." Of these, the one refers to the mercy, the other to the judgment of Him to whom our soul cries, "I will sing of mercy and judgment unto Thee, Lord."^  

Chap. 36. â€” Truth of God's grace not to hinder the preaching of predestination.  

Therefore, by the preaching of predestination, the preaching of a persevering and progressive faith is not to be hindered; and thus they may hear what is necessary to whom it is given that they should obey. For how shall they hear without a preacher? Neither, again, is the preaching of a progressive faith which continues even to the end to hinder the preaching of predestination, so that he who is living faithfully and obediently may not be lifted up by that very  


CHAP. 37.] EARS TO HEAR. 205  

obedience, as if by a benefit of his own, not received; but that he that glorieth may glory in the Lord. For "we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own." And this Cyprian most faithfully saw and most fearlessly explained, and thus he pronounced predestination to be most assured.^ For if we must boast in nothing, seeing that nothing is our own, certainly we must not boast of the most persevering obedience.  

Nor is it so to be called our own, as if it were not given to us from above. ' And, therefore, it is God's gift, which, by the confession of all Christians, God foreknew that He would give to His people, who were called by that calling whereof it was said, "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." ^ This, then, is the predestination which we faithfully and humbly preach. Nor yet did the same teacher and doer, who both believed on Christ and most perseveringly lived in holy obedience, even to suffering for Christ, cease on that account to preach the gospel, to exhort to faith and to pious manners, and to that very perseverance to the end, because he said, "We must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own," when he declared without ambiguity the true grace of God, that is, which is not given in respect of our merits: which because God foreknew that He would give, predestination was announced beyond a doubt by these words of Cyprian; and if this did not prevent Cyprian from preaching obedience, it certainly ought not to prevent us."  

Chap. 37. â€” Ears to hear are a willingness to obey.  

Although, therefore, we say that obedience is the gift of God we still exhort men to it. But to those who obediently hear the exhortation of the truth is given that very gift of God â€” that is, to hear with obedience; while to those who do not thus hear it is not given. For it was not any one whatever in general, but Christ who said, "No man cometh unto me, except it were given him of my Father; " ^ and, "To you it is given to know the
mystery of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given." * And concerning continence He says, " Not


3 John vi. 66. * Matt. xiii. 11.

206 OI^ THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 27.

all receive this saying, but tliely to whom it is given." ^ And when the apostle would exhort married people to conjugal modesty, he says, " I would that all men were even as I myself; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that;"^ where he plainly shows, not only that continence is a gift of God, but even the chastity of those who are married. And although these things are true, we jiU exhort to them as much as is given to any one of us to be able to exhort. Jieceause this also is His gift in whose hand are both ourselves and our discourses. ^ "Whence also says the apostle, " According to this grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation." ^ And in another place he says, " Even as the Lord hath given to every man: I have planted, Apollos has watered, but God has given the increase. Therefore neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." * And thu.s as only he preaches and exhorts rightly who has received this gift, so assuredly he who obediently hears him who rightly exhorts and preaches is he who has received this gift.' Hence is what the Lord said, when, speaking to those who had their fleshly ears open. He nevertheless told them, " He that hath ears to hear let him hear;"^ which beyond a doubt He knew that not all had.

And from whom they have, whosoever they be that have them, the Lord Himself shows when He says, " I will give them a heart to know me, and ears to hear." Â® Therefore, having ears is itself the gift of obeying, so that they who had that came to Him, to whom " no one comes unless it were given to him of His Father." Therefore we exhort and preach, but they who have ears to hear obediently hear us, w^hile they who have them not, in them it comes to pass that is written, that hearing they do not hear, â€” hearing, to wit, with the bodily sense, they do not hear with the assent of the heart. ' But why these should have ears to hear, and twse have them not, â€” that is, why to these it should be given by the Father to come to the Son, while to those it should not be given, â€” who has known the mind of the Lord, or who

1 Matt. xix. 11. 2 iCo._ yii_ 7. 3 i Cor. iii. 10.


CHAP. 38.] HOW PREDESTINATION IS TO BE PREACHED. 207
has been His counsellor? Or who art thou, man, that repliest against God? Must that
which is manifest he denied, because that which is hidden cannot be comprehended?
Shall we, I say, declare that what we see to be so is not so, because we cannot find out
why it is so?"

Chap. 38. [xv.] â€” Against the preaching of predestination the same objections may be
alleged as against predestination.

But they say, as you write: "That no one can be aroused i] by the incentives of rebuke if
it be said in the assembly of the Church to many hearers: The definite judgment of God's
will concerning predestination stands in such wise, that some of you will receive the will
to obey, and wiU come out of unbeHeH unto the faith, as you w^ill receive perseverance
and abide in the faith; but others who are lingering in the delight of sins have not yet
arisen, for the reason that the aid of pitying grace has not yet indeed raised you up. But
yet, if there are any who are not yet called, whom by His grace He has predestinated, ye
shall receive that grace by which you may will and be elected; and if any obey, if ye are
predestinated to be rejected, the strength to obey shall be withdrawn from you, so that
you may cease to obey." Although these things may be saidij they ought not _so to deter
jis from confessing the^'frue grace of God, â€” that is, the grace which is
nSr^ven1Eo"us"irr respect of our merits, â€” and from confessing the predestination of
the saints in accordance therewith, even as we are not deterred from confessing God's
foreknow->i ledg"e, although one should thus speak to the people concerning it, and say:
Whether you are now living righteously or unrighteously, you shall be such by and by as
the Lord has , foreknown that you will be, â€” either good, if He has foreknown \
you as good, or bad, if He has foreknown you as bad. For if J
onthe" hearing of this some should be turned to torpor and slothfulness, and from striving
should go headlong to lust after their own desires, is it therefore to be counted that what
has been said about the foreknowledge of God is false?
If God has foreknown that they will be good, will they not be good, whatever be the
depth of evil in which they are now engaged? And if He has foreknown them evil, will
they not be evil, whatever goodness may now be discerned in them?

208 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 40.

There was a man in our monastery, who, when the brethren rebuked him for doing some
things that ought not to be done, and for not doing some things that ought to be done,
replied, "Whatever I may now be, I shall be such as God has foreknown that I shall be."
And this man certainly both said what was true, and took no advantage by this truth, but
so far made way in evil as to desert the society of the monastery, and become a dog
returned to his vomit; while, nevertheless, it is uncertain what he might yet become. Tor
the sake of souls of this kind, then, is the truth which is spoken about God's
foreknowledge either to be denied or to be kept back, â€” at such times, for instance,
when, if it is not spoken, other errors are incurred?
Chap. 39. [xvi.] a€“ Prayer and exhortation.

There are some, moreover, who either do not pray at all, or pray coldly, because, from the Lord's words, they have learnt that God knows what is necessary for us before we ask it of Him. Must the truth of this declaration be given up, or shall it be regarded as to be erased from the gospel because of such people? Nay, since it is manifest that God has prepared some things to be given even to those who do not pray for them, such as the beginning of faith, and other things not to be given except to those who pray for them, such as perseverance even unto the end, certainly he who thinks that he has this latter from himself does not pray to have it (from God). Therefore we must take care lest, while we are afraid of exhortation growing lukewarm, prayer should 'be stifled and arrogance stimulated.'

Chap. 40. a€“ WMn the truth must bespoken, when kept back.

Therefore let the truth be spoken, especially when any question impels us to declare it; and let them receive it who can receive it, lest, perchance, while we are silent on account of those who cannot receive it, they be not only defrauded of the truth, but be taken captive by falsehood, who are able to receive the truth, whereby falsehood may be avoided. For it is easy, nay, and it is useful, that some truth should be kept back because of those who are incapable of apprehending it.

CHAP. 40.] REASONS AGAINST RESERVE, 209

For whence is that word of our Lord: " I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now " ?

And that of the apostle: " I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal: as if unto babes in Christ I have given you to drink milk, and not meat, for hitherto ye were not able, neither yet indeed now are ye able " ?

Although, in a certain manner of speaking, it might happen that what is said should be both milk to infants and meat for grown-up persons. As " in the beginning was the "Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," what Christian can keep it back? "What Christian can receive it? or what in sound doctrine can be found more comprehensive?

And yet this is not kept back either from infants or from grown-up people, nor is it hidden from infants by those who are mature. But the reason of keeping back the truth is one, the necessity of speaking the truth is another. It would be a tedious business to inquire into or to put down all the reasons for withholding the truth; of which, nevertheless, there is this one, a€“ that" we may not make those who do not understand worse, while we wish to make those who do understand more wise; since they, indeed, although the} do not become wiser when we withhold anything of the kind, certainly do not become worse. "When, however, a truth is of such a nature that he who cannot receive it is made worse by our speaking it, and he who can receive it is made worse by our withholding it, what do we think is to be done?
Iust we not say the truth, that he who can receive it may receive it, rather than withhold it, so that not only neither may receive it, but that even he who is more intelligent should himself be made worse? ' For if he should hear and receive it, by his means also many might learn. For in proportion as he is more capable of learning, he is the more fitted for teaching others. The enemy of grace presses on and urges in all ways that we should believe that grace is given in respect of our deservings, and that thus grace is no more grace; and are we unwilling to say what we can say by the testimony of Scripture? Do we fear, forsooth, to offend by our speaking him who is not able to receive the truth? and

' John xvi 12, ^ 1 Cor, iiL 1, 3 John i. j.

XT.

210 ON THE GIFT OF FERSEVEEANCE. [CHAP. 41.

are we not afraid lest by our silence he who can receive the truth may be involved in falsehood? ^

Chap. 41. â€” He ijroves that what is alleged against ike preaching of predestination may be said against God's grace.

For either predestination must be in such wise preached, in the way and degree in which the Holy Scripture plainly declares it, that in the predestinated the gifts and calling of God are without repentance; or it must be avowed that God's grace is given in respect of our merits, â€” which is the opinion of the Pelagians; although that opinion of theirs, as I have often said already, may be read in the doings of the Eastern bishops to have been condemned by the lips of Pelagius himself. Further, from the heretical perversity of the Pelagians, those on whose account I am discoursing are only removed, inasmuch as, although they will not confess that they who by God's grace become obedient and so abide are predestinated, they stiU confess, nevertheless, that this grace prevents their will to whom it is given; in such a way certainly as that grace may not be thought to be given freely, as the truth declares, but rather according to the merits of a preceding will, as the Pelagian error says, in contradiction to the truth. Therefore, also, grace precedes faith; otherwise, if faith precedes grace, beyond a doubt will also precedes it, because there cannot be faith without wiU. But if grace precedes faith because it precedes will, certainly it precedes all obedience; it also precedes charity, by which alone God is truly and pleasantly obeyed. And all these things grace works in him to whom it is given, and in whom it precedes all these things, [xvii.] Among these benefits there remains perseverance unto the end, which is daily asked for in vain from the Lord, if the Lord by His grace does not effect it in him whose prayers He hears. See now how foreign it is from the truth to deny that perseverance even to the end of this life is the gift of God; since He Himself puts an end to this life when He wills, and if He puts an end before a fall that is threatening. He makes the man to persevere even unto the end. But more marvellous and more manifest to believers is the liberality of
God's goodness, that even to infants, although there is no possibility of giving obedience to that age, this grace is given. To whom-

CHAP. 42] PREDESTINATION XO HINDU ANCE TO ACTION. 211

soever, therefore, God gives those gifts of His, beyond a doubt He has foreknown that He will bestow them on him, and in His foreknowledge He has prepared them for him. Therefore, those whom he predestinated, them He also called with that calling which I am not reluctant often to make mention of, of which it is said, "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." For in His foreknowledge, which cannot be deceived and changed, the ordering of His future doings is absolutely, and is nothing but, predestination. But, as he whom God has foreknown as being chaste, although he may regard it as uncertain, so acts as that he may be chaste, so he whom He has predestinated to be chaste, although he may regard that as uncertainty, does not, therefore, not act in such a manner as to be chaste because he hears that he will be what he will be by the gift of God. Nay, rather, his love rejoices, and he is not puffed up as if he had not received it. Not only, therefore, is he not hindered from this work by the preaching of predestination, but he is even assisted to it, so that although he glories he may glory in the Lord.

Chap. 42. â€” The adversaries cannot deny predestination to those gifts of grace which they themselves acknowledge, and their exhortations are not hindered by this predestination nevertheless.

And what I have said of charity may be said also of faith, of piety, of charity, of perseverance, and, not to enumerate single virtues, it may be said with the utmost truthfulness of all the obedience with which God is obeyed. But those who place only the beginning of faith and perseverance to the end in such wise in our power as not to regard them as God's gifts, nor to think that God works on our thoughts and wills that we may have and retain them, grant, nevertheless, that He gives other things, since they are obtained from Him by the faith of the believer, why are they not afraid that exhortation to these other things, and the preaching of these other things, should be hindered by the limitation of predestination?

Or, perchance, do they say that such things are not predestinated? Then they are not given by God, or He has not known that He would give them. Because, if they are given,

1 Rom. xi, 24,

212 ^ ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVEEANCE, [CHAP. 43.
and He has foreknown that He would give them, assuredly He has predestinated them. As, therefore, they themselves also exhort to chastity, charity, piety, and other things which they confess to be God's gifts, and cannot deny that they are also foreknown by Him, and therefore predestinated; nor do they say that their exhortations are hindered by the preaching of God's predestination, that is, by the preaching of God's foreknowledge of those future gifts of His: thus they may see that neither are their exhortations to faith or to perseverance hindered, even although those very things may be said, as is the truth, to be gifts of God, and that those things are foreknown, that is, predestinated to be given; but let them rather see that by this preaching of predestination only that most pernicious error is hindered and overthrown, whereby it is said that the grace of God is given in respect of our deservings, so that he who glories may glory not in the Lord, but in himself.

Chap. 43. â€” Further development of the foregoing argument.

And in order that I may more openly unfold this for the sake of those who are somewhat slow of apprehension, let those who are endowed with an intelligence that flies in advance bear with my delay. The Apostle James says, " If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him," ^ It is written also in the Proverbs of Solomon, " Because the Lord giveth wisdom" ^ And of continency it is read in the book of Wisdom, whose authority has been used by great and learned men who have commented upon the divine utterances long before us; there, therefore, it is read, "When I knew that no one can be continent unless God gives it, and that this was the very part of wisdom, to know whose gift this was." ^ Therefore these are God's gifts, â€” that is, to say nothing of others, wisdom and continency. Let those also acquiesce: for they are not Pelagians, to contend against such a manifest truth as is with hard and heretical perversity. " But," say they, " that these things be given to us of God is obtained by faith, which has its beginning

^ Jas. i. 5. ^ Prov. ii. 6. ^ Wisd. viii. 21.

1

CHAP. 44.] PREACHING CONSISTENT WITH PREDESTINATION. 213

from us; " â€”whicli faith also to begin to have, and to abide in it even to the end, they contend is our own doing, as if we received it not from the Lord. This, beyond a doubt, is in contradiction to the apostle when he says, " For what hast thou that thou hast not received ? " ^^ It is in contradiction also to the saying of the martyr Cyprian, " That we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own."^ When we have said this, and many other things which it is wearisome to repeat, and have shown that both the
commencement of faith and perseverance to the end are gifts of God; and that it is
impossible that God should not foreknow any of His future gifts, as well what should be
given as to whom they should be given; and that thus those whom He delivers and
crowns are predestinated by Him; they think it well to reply, " that the assertion of
predestination is opposed to the advantage of preaching, for the reason that when this is
heard no one can be stirred up by the incentives of rebuke." When they say this, " they
are unwilling that it should be declared to men, that coming to the faith and abiding in the
faith are God's gifts, lest despair rather than exhortation should appear to be suggested,
insomuch as they who hear think that it is the uncertainty of human ignorance on which
God bestows, or on which He does not bestow, these gifts." Why, then, do they
themselves also preach with us that wisdom and continency are God's gifts?
But if, when these things are declared to be God's gifts, there is no hindrance of the
exhortation with which we exhort men to be wise and continent; what is after all the
reason for their thinking that the exhortation is hindered wherewith we exhort men to
come to the faith, and to abide in it to the end, if these also are said to be God's gifts, as is
proved by the Scriptures, which are His witnesses?

Chap. 44. â€” Exhortation to wisdom, though wisdom is God's gift.

Now, to say nothing more of continency, and to argue in this place of wisdom alone,
certainly the Apostle James above mentioned says, " But the wisdom that is from above
is first pure, then peaceable, modest, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits,

21-i ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CIIAP. 44.

Do you not see, I beseech you, how this wisdom descends from the Father of
Lights, laden with many and great benefits? Because, as the same apostle says, " Every
excellent gift and every perfect gift is from above, and comes down from the Father of
Lights." ^ Why, then â€” to set aside other matters â€” do we rebuke the impure and
contentious, to whom we nevertheless preach that the gift of God is wisdom, pure and
peaceable; and are not afraid that they should be influenced, by the uncertainty of the
divine will, to find in this preaching more of despair than of exhortation; and that they
should not be stirred up by the incentives of rebuke rather against us than against
themselves, because we rebuke them for not having those things which we ourselves say
are not produced by human will, but are given by the divine liberality? Finally, why did
the preaching of this grace not deter the Apostle James from rebuking restless souls, and
saying, " If ye have bitter envying, and contentions are in your hearts, glory not, and be
not liars against the truth.
This is not the wisdom that cometh down from above, but is earthly, animal, devilish; for
where envying and contention are, there are inconstancy and every evil work." ^ As,
therefore, the restless are to be rebuked, both by the testimony of the divine declarations,
and by those very impulses of ours which they have in common with ourselves; nor is it
any argument against this rebuke that we declare that peaceful wisdom whereby the conten
tions are corrected and healed to be the gift of God; unbelievers are in such wise to be rebuked, as those who do not abide in the faith, without any hindrance to that rebuke from the preaching of God's grace, although that preaching commends that very grace and the continuance in it as the gifts of God. Because, although wisdom is obtained from faith, even as James himself, when he had said, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him;" * immediately added, "But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering." It is not, however, because faith is given before it is asked for by him to whom it is given

1 Jas. iii. 17. ^ Jas. iii. 17.

* Jas. iii. 14. * Jas. i. 5.

CHAP. 46.} EXHORTATION TO PERSEVERANCE. 215

that it must therefore be said not to be the gift of God, but to be of ourselves, because it is given to us without our asking for it. For the apostle very plainly says, "Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." ^ From whom, therefore, are peace and love, from Him also is faith; wherefore, from Him we ask not only that it may be increased to those that possess it, but also that it may be given to those that possess it not.

Chap. 45. â€” Exhortation to other gifts of God in like manner.

Nor do those on whose account I am saying these things, who cry out that exhortation is checked by the preaching of predestination and grace, exhort to those gifts alone which they contend are not given by God, but are of ourselves, such as are the beginning of faith, and perseverance in it even to the end; which certainly they ought to do, in the way only of exhorting unbelievers to believe, and believers to continue to believe. But those things which with us they do not deny to be God's gifts, so as with us to demolish the error of the Pelagians, such as modesty, continence, patience, and other virtues that pertain to a holy life, and are obtained by faith from the Lord, they ought to show as needing to be besought, and to pray for only, either for themselves or others, but not to exhort any one to strive after them and retain them. But when they exhort to those things, â€” as they can, and confess that men ought to be exhorted, â€” certainly they show plainly enough that exhortations are not hindered by that preaching, whether they are exhortations to faith or to perseverance to the end, because we also preach that such things are God's gifts, and are not given by any man to himself, but are given by God.

Chap. 46. â€” A man who does not persevere fails by his own fault.
But it is said, "A man by his own fault forsakes the faith, when he yields and consents to that temptation which is the cause of his desertion of the faith." Who denies it? But because of this, perseverance in the faith is not to be said not
1 Eph. vi. 23.

216 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 47.

to be God's gift. For it is this that a man daily asks for when he says, "Lead us not into
temptation; "^ and if he is heard, it is this that he receives. And thus, as he daily asks for
perseverance, he assuredly places the hope of his perseverance not in himself, but in God.
I, however, am loth to exaggerate the case with my words, but I rather leave it to them to
consider, and see what it is of which they have persuaded themselves â€” to wit, " that by
the preaching of predestination, more of despair than of exhortation is impressed upon the
hearers." For this is to say that a man then despairs of his salvation when he has learned
to base his hope not in himself, but in God, although the prophet cries,
" Cursed is he who has his hope in man." ^'

Chap. 47. â€” Predestination is sometimes signified under the name of foreknowledge.

These gifts, therefore, of God, which are given to the elect who are called according to
God's purpose, among which gifts is both the beginning of belief and perseverance in the
faith to the termination of this life, as I have proved by such a concurrent testimony of
reasons and authorities, â€” these gifts of God, I say, if there is no such predestination as
I am maintaining, are not foreknown by God; but they are foreknown. This, therefore, is
the predestination which I maintain, [xviii.] Whence sometimes the same predestination
is signified also under the name of foreknowledge; as says the apostle, " God has not
rejected His people whom He foreknew." ^

Here, when he says, " He foreknew," the sense is not rightly understood except as " He
predestinated," as is shown by the context of the passage itself. For he was speaking of
the remnant of the Jews which were saved, while the rest perished. For above he had said that the prophet had declared to Israel,
" All day long I have stretched forth my hands to an unbelieving and a gainsaying
people," * And as if it were answered. What, then, has become of the promises of God to
Israel? he added in continuation, " I say, then, has God cast away His people? God
forbid! for I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin." Then
he added

1 Matt. vi. 13. 2 jer, xvii. 5.

2 Eom. xi. 2. * Rom. x. 21 et seq.
the words of which I am now treating: "God hath not cast away His people whom He foreknew." And in order to show that the remnant had been left by God's grace, not by any merits of their works, he went on to add, "Know ye not what the Scripture saith in [respect of] Elias, in what way he maketh intercession with God against Israel?"^ and the rest. "But what," says he, "saith the answer of God unto him? 'I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee before Baal.'"^ For He says not, "There are left to me," but, "I have reserved to myself."

"Even so, then, at this present time also there is made a remnant by the election of grace. And if of grace, then it is no more by works; otherwise grace is no more grace." And connecting this with what I have above quoted, "What then?"^ and in answer to this inquiry, he says, "Israel hath not obtained that which he was seeking for, but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded." Therefore, in the election, and in this remnant which were made so by the election of grace, he wished to be understood the people which God did not reject, because He foreknew them. This is that election by which He elected those whom He willed in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without spot in His sight, in love, predestinating them unto the adoption of sons. No one, therefore, who understands these things is permitted to doubt that, when the apostle says, "God hath not cast away His people whom He foreknew," he intended to signify predestination.

For He foreknew the remnant which He should make so according to the election of grace. That is, therefore. He predestinated them; for without doubt He foreknew if He predestinated; but to have predestinated is to have foreknown that which He should do.'

Chap. 48. [xix.] â€“ Practice of Cyprian and Ambrose.

What, then, hinders us, when we read of God's foreknowledge in some commentators on God's word, and they are treating of the calling of the elect, from understanding the same predestination? For they would perchance have

^ Kom. xi. 4 et seq. - Eom. xi. 5. ^ Kom. xi. 7.

218 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 49.

rather used in this matter the word which, moreover, is better understood, and which is not inconsistent with, nay, is in accordance with, the truth which is declared concerning the predestination of grace. This I know, that no one

HAS BEEN ABLE TO DISPUTE, EXCEPT ERRONEOUSLY, AGAINST THAT PREDESTINATION which I am maintaining in accordance with the Holy Scriptures. Yet I think that they who ask for the opinions of commentators on this matter ought to be satisfied with men so holy and so laudibly celebrated everywhere in the faith and Christian doctrine as Cyprian and Ambrose, of whom I have given such clear testimonies; and that for both doctrines â€“ that is, that they should both believe
absolutely and preach everywhere that the grace of God is gratuitous, as we must believe and declare it to be; and that they should not think that preaching opposed to the preaching whereby we exhort the indolent or rebuke the evil; because these celebrated men also, although they were preaching God's grace in such a manner as that one of them said, " That we must not boast in nothing, because nothing is our own; " and the other, " Our heart and our thoughts are not in our own power; " yet ceased not to exhort and rebuke, in order that the divine commands might be obeyed. If either were they afraid of its being said to them," " Why do you exhort us, and why do you rebuke us, if our part is to have no good thing, and if our hearts are not in our own power? " These holy men could by no means fear that such things should be said to them, since they were of the mind to understand that it is given to very few to receive the teaching of salvation through God Himself, or through the angels of heaven, without any human preaching to them; but that it is given to many to believe in God through human agency. Yet, in whatever manner the word of God is spoken to man, beyond a doubt for man to hear it in such a way as to obey it, is God's gift.'

Chap. 49. â€” Farther references to Cyprian and Ambrose.

Whence the above-mentioned most excellent commentators on the divine declarations both preached the true grace of God


CHAP. 49.] TESTIMONY OF AMBROSE, 219

as it ought to be preached, â€” that is, as a grace preceded by no human doings, â€” and urgently exhorted to the doing of the divine commandments, that they who might have the gift of obedience should hear what commands they ought to obey.

For if any merits of ours precede grace, certainly it is the merit of some deed, or word, or thought, wherein also is understood a good will itself. But he very briefly comprehended the kinds of all deservings who said, " We must glory in nothing, because nothing is our own." And he who says, " Our heart and our thoughts are not in our own power," did not pass over acts and words themselves also, for there is no act or word of man which does not proceed from the heart and the thought. But what more could that most glorious martyr and most luminous doctor Cyprian say concerning this matter, than when he impressed upon us that it behoves us to pray, in the Lord's Prayer, even for the adversaries of the Christian faith, when he showed what he thought of the beginning of the faith, that it also is God's gift, and showed that the Church of Christ prays daily for perseverance unto the end, because none but God gives that perseverance to those who have persevered? Moreover, the blessed Ambrose, when he was expounding the passage where the Evangelist Luke says,

" It seemed good to me also," ^ says, " What he declares to have seemed good to himself cannot have seemed good to him alone. For not alone by human will did it seem good, but as it pleased Him who speaks in me as Christ, who effects that which is good may also seem good to us: for on whom He has mercy He also calls. And therefore he
who follows Christ may answer, when he is asked why he wished to become a Christian, 'It seemed good to me also.' And when he says this, he does not deny that it seemed good to God; for the will of men is prepared by God. For it is God's grace that God should be honoured by the saint."^ Moreover, in the same work, â€” that is, in the exposition of the same Gospel, when he had come to that place where the Samaritans would not receive the Lord when His face was as of one going to Jerusalem, â€” he says, "Learn at the same time that He could not be received by those who were not con-

1 Luke i. 3. ^ Ambrose, super Lucam.

220 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 50.

verted in simpleness of mind. For if He had been willing, He would have made them devout who were undevout. And why they would not receive Him, the evangelist himself mentioned, saying, 'Because His face was as of one going towards Jerusalem.'^ But the disciples earnestly desired to be received into Samaria. But God calls those whom He makes worthy, and makes religious whom He will."^ What more evident, what more manifest do we ask from commentators on God's word, if we are delighted to hear from themselves what is clear in the Scriptures? But to these two, who ought to be enough, let us add also a third, the holy Gregory, who testifies that it is the gift of God both to believe in God and to confess what we believe, saying, "I beg of you confess the Trinity of one godhead; but if ye wish otherwise, say that it is of one nature, and God will be besought that a voice shall be given to you by the Holy Spirit;" that is, God will be besought to allow a voice to be given to you by which you may confess what you believe. "For He will give, I am certain. He who gave what is first, will give also what is second."^ He who gave the faculty of belief, will also give the power of confession.

Chap. 50. â€” Obedience not discouraged by preaching God's gifts.

Such doctors, and so great as these, saying that there is nothing of which we may boast as if of our own which God has not given us; and that our very heart and our thoughts are not in our own power, and thus giving the whole to God; and confessing that from Him we receive that we are converted to Him in such wise as to continue, so that that which is good appears also to us to be good; and we wish for it, so that we may honour God and receive Christ, so as from undevout people to be made devout and religious; so that we may believe in the Trinity itself, and also confess with our voice what we believe; â€” all these things they certainly attribute to God's grace, they acknowledge as God's gifts, they testify that from Him they come to us, and are not from ourselves. But will any one say of these, that they in such wise confessed that grace of God as to dare to deny His


' Greg, of Nazianz. Orat. 44 in Penicostcn,
foreknowledge, which not only learned but unlearned men also confess? Again, if they
had in such wise known that God gives these things as not to be ignorant that He
foreknew that He would give them, and could not have been ignorant to whom He would
give them, beyond a doubt they had known the predestination which, as preached by the
apostles, we laboriously and diligently maintain against the modern heretics. Nor would it
be with any manner of justice said, nevertheless, to those who preach obedience, and who
fervently exhort, to the extent of the ability of each one, to its practice. If you do not wish
that the obedience to which you are stirring us up should grow cold in our heart, forbear
to preach to us that grace of God by which you confess that God gives what you are
exhorting us to do.'

Chap. 51. [xx.] â€” Predestination must be preached.

Wherefore, if both the apostles and the teachers of the Church who succeeded them and
imitated them did both these things, â€” that is, both truly preached the grace of God
which is not given according to our merits, and inculcated by wholesome precepts a pious
obedience, â€” what is it which these people of our time think themselves rightly bound
by the invincible force of truth to say, " Even if what is said of the predestination of God's
benefits be true, yet it must not be preached to the people " ? ^ It must absolutely be
preached, so that he who has ears to hear, may hear. And who has them if he has not
received them from Him who says, " I
will give them a heart to know me, and ears to hear " ? ^
Assuredly, he who has not received may reject; although, nevertheless, he who receives
may take and drink, may drink and live. For as piety must be preached, that, by him who
has ears to hear, God may be rightly worshipped; modesty must be preached, that, by him
who has ears to hear, no illicit act may be perpetrated by his fleshly nature; charity must
be preached, that, by him who has ears to hear, God and his neighbours may be loved;â€”
so also must be preached such a predestination of God's benefits that he who has ears to
hear may glory, not in himself, but in the Lord.'

â– â–  In the letter of Prosper and Hilary. 3 Baruch ii. 31.

222 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 53.

Chap. 52. â€” Previous writings anticipated the Pelagian heresy.

But in respect of their saying " that it was not necessary that so many hearts of people of
little intelligence should be disquieted by the uncertainty of disputation of this kind, since
the Catholic faith has been defended for so many years, with no less advantage, without
this definition of predestination, as well against others as especially against the Pelagians,
in so many books that have gone before, as well of Catholics and others as our own; "^â€”I much wonder that they should say this, and not observe "^â€”to say nothing of other writings in this place "^â€”that those very treatises of mine were both composed and published before the Pelagians had begun to appear; and) that they do not see in how many passages of those treatises 'I was unawares cutting down a future Pelagian heresy, by preaching the grace by which God delivers us from evil errors and from our habits, without any preceding merits of ours, "^â€”doing this according to His gratuitous mercy. And this I began more fully to apprehend in that disputation which I wrote to Simplicianus, the bishop of the Church of Milan, of blessed memory, in the beginning of my episcopate, when, moreover, I both perceived and asserted that the beginning of faith is God's gift.

Chap. 53. â€”Augustine's "Confessions."

I And which of my smaller works could be more generally and more agreeably known than the books of my Confessions ? And although I published them before the Pelagian heresy had come into existence, certainly in them I said to my God, and said it frequently, "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wiliest." ^ Which words of mine, Pelagius at Ptome, when they were mentioned in his presence by a certain brother and fellow-bishop of mine, could not bear; and contradicting somewhat too excitedly, nearly came to a quarrel with him who had mentioned them. And what, indeed, does God primarily and chiefly command, but that we believe on Him? And this, therefore. He Himself gives, if it is well said to Him, "Give what Thou commandest." And,

^ The Epistle of Hilary, 8. * Confessions, lib. x. c. 19, 31, and 37.

CHAP. 54.] GOD GIVES THE BEGINNING AND END OF FAITH. 223

moreover, in those same books, in respect of what I have related concerning my conversion, when God converted me to that faith which, with a most miserable and raging talkativeness, I was destroying, do you not remember that it was so narrated how I showed that I was granted to the faithful and daily tears of my mother, that I should not perish? ^ Where certainly I declared that God by His grace converted the wills of men to the true faith, not only when they had been turned away from it, but even when they were opposed to it.

Further, in what manner I besought God concerning my growth in perseverance, you know, and you are able to review if you wish it. Therefore, that all the gifts of God which in that work I either asked for or praised, who can dare, I will not say to deny, but even to doubt, were foreknown by God that He would give, and that He could never be ignorant of the persons to whom He would give them? This is the manifest and assured predestination of the saints, which subsequently necessity compelled me more carefully and laboriously to defend when I was already disputing against the Pelagians.
For I learnt that certain special heresies introduced certain questions peculiar to the Church, which the sacred Scripture might be more carefully defended than if no such necessity compelled their defence. And what compelled those passages of Scripture in which predestination is commended to be defended more abundantly and clearly by that labour of mine, than the fact that the Pelagians say that God's grace is given according to our merits; for what else is this than an absolute denial of grace?

Chap. 54. [xxi.] การนั้น การเริ่มต้นและการสิ้นสุดของความเชื่อมั่นเป็นของพระเจ้า.

Therefore that this opinion, unpleasing as it is to God, and hostile to those gratuitous benefits of God whereby we are delivered, may be destroyed, I maintain that both the beginning of faith and the perseverance therein according to the Scriptures even to the end, of which Scriptures I have already quoted many are God's gifts. Because if we say that the beginning of faith is of ourselves, so that by it we deserve to receive other gifts of God, the Pelagians conclude to deny grace.

’Confessions, lib. iii. c. 11 and 12, lib. ix. c. 8.

224 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 55.

that God's grace is given according to our merits. And this the Catholic faith held in such dread, that Pelagius himself, in fear of condemnation, condemned it. And, moreover, if we say that our perseverance is of ourselves, not of God, they answer that we have the beginning of our faith of ourselves in such wise as the end, thus arguing that we have that beginning of ourselves much more, if of ourselves we have the continuance unto the end, since to perfect is much greater than to begin; and thus repeatedly they conclude that the grace of God is given according to our merits. But if both are God's gifts, and God foreknew that He would give these His gifts (and who can deny this?), predestination must be preached, that God's true grace, that is, the grace which is not given according to our merits, may be maintained with insuperable defence.

Chap. 55.  การนั้น การยืนยันของความถูกต้องของข้อความที่ricula.

And, indeed, in that treatise of which the title is, Of Behueke and Grace, which could not satisfy all my lovers, I think that I have so established that it is the gift of God also to persevere to the end, as I have either never before or almost never so expressly and evidently maintained this in writing, unless my memory deceives me. But I have now said this in a way in which no one before me has said it.

Certainly the blessed Cyprian, in the Lord's Prayer, as I have already shown, so explained our petitions as to say that in its very first petition we were asking for perseverance, asserting that we pray for it when we say, "Hallowed be Thy name," "^ although we have been already hallowed in baptism, â€” so that we may persevere in that which we have begun to be. Let those, however, to whom, in their love for me, I ought not to be ungrateful, who profess that they embrace, over and above that which comes into the argument, all my views, as you write, â€” let those, I say, see whether, in the
latter portions of the first book of those two which I wrote in the beginning of my episcopate, before the appearance of the Pelagian heresy, to Simplicianus, the bishop of Milan,\(^\text{1}\) there remained anything

1 On Rebulce and Grace, c. 10; ante, p. 77 ff.

\(^\text{1}\) Matt. vi. 9. 3 Two books to Simplicianus.

CHAP. 56. — REOGRESS IN OPINION. 225

whereby it might be called in question that God's grace is not given according to our merits; and whether I have not there sufficiently argued that even the beginning of faith is God's gift; and whether from what is there said it does not by consequence result, although it is not expressed, that even perseverance to the end is not given, except by Him who has predestinated us to His kingdom and glory.' Then, did not I many years before publish the same letter which I had already written to the holy Paulinus,\(^\text{2}\) bishop of Nola, against the Pelagians, which letter they have lately begun to contradict? Let them also look into that letter which I sent to Sixtus, the presbyter of the Eoman Church,\(^\text{3}\) when we contended in a very sharp conflict against the Pelagians, and they will find it such as is that one to Paulinus. Whence they may gather that the same sort of things were already said and written some years ago against the Pelagian heresy and that it is to be wondered at that these should now displease them; although I should wish that no one would so embrace all my views as to follow me, except in those things in which he should see me not to have erred. For I am now writing treatises in which I have undertaken to retract my smaller works, for the purpose of demonstrating that even I myself have not in all things followed myself; but I think that, with God's mercy, I have written progressively, and that I have not begun from perfection; since, indeed, I speak more arrogantly than truly, if even now I say that I have at length in this age of mine arrived at perfection, without any error in what I write. But the difference is in the extent and the subject of an error, and in the facility with which any one corrects it, or the pertinacity with which one endeavours to defend his error. Certainly there is good hope of that man whom the last day of this life shall find so progressing that whatever was wanting to his progress may be added to him, and that he should be adjudged rather to need perfecting than punishment.

Chap. 56. â€” God gives means as well as end.
Wherefore if I am unwilling to appear ungrateful to men who have loved me, because some advantage of my labour has


XV. P

226 ON THE GIFT OF PEESEVERANCE. [CHAP. 57.

attained to them before they loved me, how much rather am I unwilling to be ungrateful to God, whom we should not love unless He had first loved us and made us to love Him ! since love is of Him,^ as they have said whom He made not only His great lovers, but also His great preachers. And what is more ungrateful than to deny that very grace of God, by saying that it is given to us according to our merits ? And this the Catholic faith shuddered at in the Pelagians, and this it objected to Pelagius himself as a capital crime; and this Pelagius himself condemned, not indeed from love of God's truth, but yet for fear of his own condemnation. And whoever as a faithful Catholic shrinks from saying that the grace of God is given according to our merits, let him not withdraw that very faith of God's grace, whereby he obtained mercy that he should be faithful; and then let him attribute to God's grace the perseverance also to the end, whereby he obtains the mercy which he daily asks for, of not being led into temptation. But between the beginning of faith and the perfection of perseverance there are those means whereby we live righteously, which they themselves are agreed in regarding as given by God to us at the prayer of faith. And all these things â€” the beginning of faith, to Avit, and His other gifts even to the end â€” God foreknew that He would bestow on His called. It is a matter, therefore, of too excessive contentiousness to contradict predestination, or to doubt concerning predestination.

Chap. 57. [xxn.] â€” How predestination must be preached without giving offence.

And yet this doctrine must not be preached to congregations in such a way as to seem to an unskilled multitude, or a people of slower understanding, to be in some measure confuted by that very preaching of it. As, moreover, the foreknowledge of God, which certainly men cannot deny, seems to be refuted if it be said to them, " Whether you run or sleep, you shall be that which He who cannot be deceived has foreknown you to be." And it is the part of a deceitful or an unskilled physician so to compound even a useful medicament, that it either does no good or does harm. But it must

^ 1 John iv. 7.

CHA.P. 59.] DISCUMINATION IN PREACHING. 227
be said, "So run that you may lay hold; and thus by your very running you may know yourselves to be foreknown as those who should run lawfully:" and if in any other manner the foreknowledge of God may be preached, so that the slothfulness of man may be repulsed. 

Chap. 58. â€” The doctrine to be applied with discrimination.

Although, therefore, the definite decree of God's will concerning predestination is of such a kind that some from unbelief receive the will to obey, and are converted to the faith or persevere in the faith, while others who abide in the delight of damnable sins, if even they have been predestinated, have not yet arisen, because the aid of pitying grace has not yet lifted them up; â€” for if any are not yet called whom by His grace He has predestinated to be elected, they will receive that grace whereby they may wIU to be elected, and may be so; and if any obey, but have not been predestinated to His kingdom and glory, they are [obedient] for a season, and will not abide in the same obedience to the end; â€” although, therefore, these things are true, yet they must not be said to the multitude of hearers in such a way as that the address may be applied to themselves also, and those words of such may be said to them which you have set down in your letter, and which I have above introduced: "The definite decree of God's will concerning predestination is of such a kind that some of you from unbelief shall receive the will to obey, and come to the faith." What need is there for saying, "Some of you"? For if we speak to God's Church, if we speak to believers, why do we say that "some of them" had come to the faith, and seem to do a wrong to the rest, when we may more fittingly say the definite decree of the will of God concerning predestination is of such a kind that from unbelief you shall receive the will to obey, and come to the end, and shall receive perseverance, and abide in the faith?

Chap. 59. â€” Offence to be avoided.

Neither is what follows by any means to be said, â€” that is, "But others of you who abide in the delight of sins have not

1 1 Cor. ix. 24.

228 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 61.

yet arisen, because the aid of pitying grace has not yet lifted you up; "when it may be and ought to be well and conveniently said, "But if any of you are still delaying in the delightfulness of damnable sins, lay hold of the most wholesome discipline; and yet when you have done this be not lifted up, as if of your own works, nor boast as if you had not received this. For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do for His good will,^ and your steps are directed by the Lord, so that you choose His way.^ But of your own good and righteous course, learn carefully that it is attributable to the predestination of divine grace."
Chap. 60. ã€’ The application to the Church in general.

Moreover, what follows where it is said, " But yet if any of you are not yet called, whom by His grace He has predestinated to be called, you shall receive that grace whereby you shall will to be, and be, elected," is said more hardly than it could be said if we consider that we are speaking not to any men in general, but to the Church of Christ. For why is it not rather said thus: " And if any of you are not yet called, let us pray for them that they may be called. For per chance they are so predestinated as to be granted to our prayers, and to receive that grace whereby they may will, and be made elected " ? For God, who fulfilled all that He predestinated, has willed us also to pray for the enemies of the faith, that we might hence understand that He himself also gives to the unbelievers the gift of faith, and makes men willing out of those that were unwilling.

Chap. 61. ã€’ Use of the third person rather than the second.

But now I marvel if any weak brother among the Christian congregation can hear in any way with patience what is connected with these words, when it is said to them, " And if any of you obey, if you are predestinated to be rejected, the power of obeying will be withdrawn from you, that you may cease to obey." For what does saying this seem, except to curse, or in a certain way to predict evils ? But if, however, it is desirable or necessary to say anything concerning

1 Phil. i. 13. - Ò Ps. xxxvii. 23.
are only for a season, and shall not continue in that obedience unto the end "? Is not the same thing said both more truly and more fittingly, so that we may seem not as it were to be desiring so much the evil for them, as to relate it of others, which they hate, and think that it does not belong to them, by hoping and praying for better things? But in that manner in which they think that it must be said, the same judgment may be pronounced almost in the same words also of God's foreknowledge, which certainly they cannot deny, so as to say, "And if any of you obey, if you are foreknown to be rejected you shall cease to obey." Doubtless this is very true, assuredly it is; but it is very monstrous, very inconsiderate, and very unsuitable, not by its false declaration, but by its declaration not wholesome ly applied to the health of human infirmity.

Chap. 62. â€” Prayer to be inculcated nevertheless.

But I do not think that that manner which I have said should be adopted in the preaching of predestination ought to be sufficient for him who speaks to the congregation, except he adds this, or something of this kind, saying, "You, therefore, ought also to hope for that perseverance in obedience from the Father of Lights, from whom cometh down every excellent gift and every perfect gift," and to ask for it in

' Jas. i. 17.

230 ON THE GIFT OF PERSEVERANCE. [CHAP. 63.

your daily prayers; and in doing this ought to trust that you are not aliens from the predestination of His people, because it is He Himself who bestows even the power of doing this. And far be it from you to despair of yourselves, because you are bidden to have your hope in Him, not in yourselves. For cursed is every one who has hope in man; and it is good rather to trust in the Lord than to trust in man, because blessed are all they that trust in Him. Holding this hope, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice unto Him with trembling. Because no one can be certain of the life eternal which a God who does not lie has promised to the children of promise before the times of eternity, "no one, unless that life of his, which is a state of trial upon the earth, is completed." But He will make us to persevere in Himself unto the end of that life, since we daily say to Him, 'Lead us not into temptation.' When these things and things of this kind are said, whether to few Christians or to the multitude of the Church, why do we fear to preach the predestination of the saints and the true grace of God, "that is, the grace which is not given according to our merits, as the Holy Scripture declares it? Or, indeed, must it be feared that a man should then despair of himself when his hope is shown to be placed in God, and should not rather despair of himself if he should, in his excess of pride and unhappiness, place it in himself?

Chap. 63. [xxiii.] â€” The testimony of the whole Church in her prayers.
And I wish that those who are slow and weak of heart, who cannot, or cannot as yet, understand the Scriptures or their explanations, would so hear or not hear in this question our arguments as to consider more carefully their prayers, which the Church has always used and will use, even from its beginnings, until this age shall be completed. For of this matter, which I am now compelled not only to mention, but absolutely to protect and defend against these new heretics, the Church has never been silent in its prayers, although in its discourses it has not thought that it need be put forth, as there was no

'Jas. xvii. 5, "Ps. cxviii. 8. ^Ps. ii. 12.

<Job vii. 1. 5 Matt. vi. 13.

CHAP. 64.] TENOR OF THE CHURCH'S PRAYERS. 231

adversary compelling it. For when was not prayer made in the Church for unbelievers and its opponents that they should believe? When has any believer had a friend, a neighbour, a wife, who did not believe, and has not asked on their behalf from the Lord for a mind obedient to the Christian faith? And who has there ever been who has not prayed for himself that he might abide in the Lord? And who has dared, not only with his voice, but even in thought, to blame the priest who invokes the Lord on behalf of believers, if at any time he has said, "Give to them, Lord, perseverance in Thee to the end!" and has not rather responded, over such a benediction of his, as well with confessing lips as believing heart, "Amen"?

Since in the Lord's Prayer itself the believers do not pray for anything else, especially when they say that petition, "Lead us not into temptation," save that they may persevere in holy obedience. As, therefore, the Church has both been born and grows and has grown in these prayers, so it has been born and grows and has grown in this faith, by which faith it is believed that God's grace is not given according to the merits of the receivers. Since, indeed, the Church would not pray that faith should be given to unbelievers, unless it believed that God converts the wills of men, both averse from and adverse to Himself. Nor would the Church pray that it might persevere in the faith of Christ, not deceived nor overcome by the temptations of the world, unless it believed that the Lord has our heart in His power, in such wise as that the good which we do not hold save by our own will, we nevertheless do not hold except He worketh in us to will also.

For if the Church indeed asks these things from Him, but thinks that the same things are given to itself by itself, it makes use of prayers which are not true, but perfunctory, â€” which be far from us! For who truly groans, desiring to receive what he prays for from the Lord, if he thinks that he receives it from himself, and not from the Lord?

Chap. 64. â€” In what sense the Holy Spirit solicits for us, crying, Abba, Father.

Especially since "we know not what to pray for as we ought," says the apostle, "but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered; and
He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because He maketh intercession for the saints according to [the will of] God," \( ^{\wedge} \) " what is " the Spirit Himself maketh intercession," but, " causes to make intercession," " with groanings that cannot be uttered," but " truthful," since the Spirit is truth ? For He it is of whom the apostle says in another place, " God hath sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father ! " \( ^{\wedge} \) And here what is the meaning of "crying," but, "making to cry," by that figure of speech whereby we call a day that makes people glad, a glad day ? And this he makes plain elsewhere when he says, " For you have not received the spirit of bondage again in fear, but you have received the Spirit of the adoption of sons, in whom we cry, Abba, Father." \( ^{\wedge} \) He there said, " crying," but here, " in whom we cry; " opening up, that is to say, the meaning with which he said " crying," \( ^{\wedge} \) that is, as I have already explained, " causing to cry," when we understand that this is also itself the gift of God, that with a true heart and spiritually we cry to God. Let them, therefore, observe how they are mistaken who think that our seeking, asking, knocking is of ourselves, and is not given to us; and say that this is the case because grace is preceded by our merits; that it follows them when we ask and receive, and seek and find, and it is opened to us when we knock. And they will not understand that this is also of the divine gift, that we pray; that is, that we ask, seek, and knock. For we have received the spirit of adoption of sons, in which we cry, Abba, Father. And this the blessed Ambrose also said.*

For he says, " To pray to God also is the work of spiritual grace, as it is written. No one says, Jesus is the Lord, but in the Holy Spirit."

Chap. 65. \( ^{\wedge} \) The Church's prayers imply the Church's faith.

These things, therefore, which the Church asks from the Lord, and always has asked from the time she began to exist, God so foreknew that He would give to His called, as He has already given them in predestination itself; as the apostle

\( ^{\wedge} \) Rom. iii. 26. \( ^{\wedge} \) q.\( ^{\wedge} \) jy\( ^{\wedge} \) g. \( ^{\wedge} \) Rom. viii. 15.

\( ^{\wedge} \) â– * Ambrose, in Comment, sup. Isaiam.

CHAP. 66.] THE CHURCH'S PRAYERS IMPLY HER FAITH, 233

declares without any ambiguity. For, writing to Timothy, he says, " Labour with the gospel according to the power of God, who saves us, and calls us with His holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the times of eternity, but is now made manifest by the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ." \( ^{\wedge} \) Let him, therefore, say that the Church at any
time has not had in its belief the truth of this predestination and grace, which is now maintained with a more careful heed against the late heretics; let him say this who dares to say that at any time it has not prayed, or not truthfully prayed, as well that unbelievers might believe, as that believers might persevere. And if the Church has always prayed for these benefits, it has always believed them to be certainly God's gifts; nor was it ever right for it to deny that they were foreknown by Him. And thus Christ's Church has never failed to hold the faith of this predestination, which is now being defended with new solicitude against these modern heretics.

Chap. 66. [xxix.]â€”Recapitulation and exhortation.

But what more shall I say? I think that I have taught sufficiently, or rather more than sufficiently, that both the beginning of faith in the Lord, and continuance in the Lord unto all the Lord's gifts. And other good things which pertain to a good life, whereby God is rightly worshipped, even they themselves on whose behalf I am writing this treatise concede to be God's gifts. Further, they cannot deny that God has foreknown all His gifts, and the people on whom He had been about to bestow them. As, therefore, other things must be preached so that he who preaches them may be heard with obedience, so predestination must be preached so that he who hears these things with obedience, may glory not in man, and therefore not in himself, but in the Lord; for this also is God's precept, and to hear this precept with obedience â€” to wit, that he who glories should glory in the Lord â€” in like manner as the rest is God's gift. And he who has not this gift, â€” I shrink not from saying it, â€” whatever

2 Tim. i. 8, etc. ^ i Cor, i_ 31_

234 ON THE GIFT OF PEKSEVEANCE. [CIIAP. 67.

others he has, has Jhem in vain. That the Pelagians may have this we pray, and that our own brethren may have it

! more abundantly. ' Let us not, therefore, be prompt in argu-

'Imeuts and indolent in prayers. Let us pray, dearly beloved, let us pray that the God of grace may give even to our enemies, and especially to our brethren and lovers, to understand and confess that after that great and unspeakable destruction wherein we have all fallen in one, no one is delivered save by God's grace, and that that grace is not repaid according to the merits of the receivers as if it were due, but is given freely as true grace, with no merits preceding.

Chap. 67. â€” The most eminent instance of predestination is Christ Jesus.

But there is no more illustrious instance of predestination than Jesus Himself, concerning which also I have already argued in the former treatise; ^ and in the end of this I have chosen to insist upon it. There is no more eminent instance, I say, of predestination than
The Mediator himself. If any believer wishes thoroughly to understand this doctrine, let him consider Him, and in Him he will find himself also. The believer, I say; who in Him believes and confesses the true human nature that is our own, however specially elevated by the taking up of God the Lord into the only Son of God, so that He who undertook, and what He undertook, should be one person in Trinity. For it was not a Quaternity that resulted from the assumption of man, but it remained a Trinity, inasmuch as that assumption ineffably made the truth of one person in God and man. Because we say that Christ was not only God, as the Manichaean heretics contend; nor only man, as the Photinian heretics assert; nor in such wise man as to have less of anything which of a certainty pertains to human nature, “whether a soul, or in the soul itself a rational mind, or flesh, not taken of the woman, but made from the Word converted and changed into flesh, “all which three false and empty notions have made the three various and diverse parties of the Apollinarian heretics; but we say that Christ was true God, born of God the Father without any beginning.

CHAP. 68. — PEEDESTINATION OF CHRIJST. 235

of time; and that He was true or very man, "born of human mother in the certain fulness of time; and that His humanity, Awhereby He is less than the Father, does not diminish aught from His divinity, whereby He is equal to the Father. For both of them are One “are Christ “who, moreover, most truly said in respect of God, " I and the Father are one; " and most truly said in respect of the man, "My Father is greater than I." ^ He, therefore, who made of the seed of David this righteous man, who never should be unrighteous, without any merit of His preceding will, is the same who also makes righteous men of unrighteous, without any merit of their will preceding; that He might be the head, and they His members. He, therefore, who made that man with no precedent merits of His, neither to deduce from His origin nor to commit by His will any sin which should be remitted to Him, the same makes believers on Him with no preceding merits of theirs, to whom He forgives all sin. He who made Him such that He never had or should have an evil will, the same makes in His members a good will out of an evil one. Therefore, He predestinated both Him and us, because both in Him that He might be our head, and in us that we should be His body. He foreknew that our merits would not precede, but that His doings should.

Chap. 68. “Conclusion.

Let those who read this, if they understand, give God thanks, and let those who do not understand, pray that they may have the inward Teacher, from whose presence comes knowledge and understanding. ^ But let those who think that I am in error, consider again and again carefully what is here said, lest perchance they themselves may be mistaken. And when, by means of those who read my writings, I become not only wiser, but even more perfect, I acknowledge God's favour to me; and this I especially look for at the
hands of the teachers of the Church, if what I write comes into their hands, and they condescend to acknowledge it.

1 John X. SO. - John xiv. 8. ^ Prov. ii. 6 [LXX.].

Extract from "The Etractations," Booh II. chap. 61.

Then follow four books which I wrote to Boniface, bishop of the Eoman Church, in opposition to two letters of the Pelagians, because when they came into his hands he had sent them to me, finding in them an artful mention of my name. This work commences on this wise: " I had indeed known you by the very frequent announcement of fame."
[Noveram te quidem fama celeberrima praedicante.]

23S

FOUR BOOKS

By AUELTUS AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Hippo.

WRITTEN TO BONIFACE, BISHOP OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, IN OPPOSITION TO TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS.

A.D. 420, OR A LITTLE LATER.

BOOK I.

AUGUSTINE REPLIES TO A LETTER SENT BY JULIAN, AS IT WAS SAID, TO ROME; AND FIRST OF ALL VINDICATES THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE FROM HIS CALUMNIES; THEN DISCOVERS AND CONFUTES THE HERETICAL SENSE OF THE PELAGIANS HIDDEN IN THAT PROFESSION OF FAITH WHICH THE AUTHOR OF THE LETTER OPPOSED TO THE CATHOLICS.

Chap. 1. â€” Introduction.

I HAD indeed known you by the very frequent announcement of fame; and by very numerous and veracious messengers I had learned how you were filled with the grace of
God, most blessed and venerable Pope Boniface! But after my brother Alypius saw you even in bodily presence, and, being received by you with all kindness and sincerity, enjoyed at the bidding of affection conversations with you, and living with you, and, although only for a short time, united with you in earnest affection, poured out to your mind both himself and me, and brought back you also to me in his mind, the more assured was your friendship, the greater became in me the conviction of your holiness. For you, who mind not high things, however loftily you are placed, did not disdain to be a friend of the lowly, and to return the love bestowed upon you. For what else is Friendship [cimicitia],

237

238 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. S.

which has its name from no other source than love [amore], AND IS NOWHERE FAITHFUL BUT IN Christ, in whom alone it can be as well eternal as happy? Whence, also, having received a greater assurance by means of that brother, through whom I have learned to know you more familiarly, I have ventured to write something to your blessedness concerning those things which at this juncture are claiming by a later stimulus the episcopal attention to vigilance, as far as we are able, on behalf of the Lord's flock.

Chap. 2. â€” Why heretical writings must he answered.

For later heretics, enemies of the grace of God, which is given by Jesus Christ our Lord to small and great, although they are already shown as needing more openly to be avoided by a manifest disapprobation, still do not cease by their writings to try the hearts of the less cautious and less learned. And these must certainly be answered, lest they should confirm themselves or their friends in that wicked error; even if we were not afraid that they might deceive any of the Catholics by their plausible discourse. But since they do not cease to growl at the entrances to the Lord's fold, and from every side to tear open approaches with a view to tear in pieces the sheep redeemed at such a price; and since the pastoral watch-tower is common to all of us who discharge the office of the episcopate (altho_ugh^j`ouâ€žarfi,..prQittuaÂ£Jit therein on a loftier height), I do what I can in respect of my small portion of the charge, as the Lord condescends by the aid of your prayers to grant me power, to oppose to their pestilent and crafty writings, healing and defensive writings, so that the madness with which they are raging may either itself be cured, or may be prevented from hurting others.

Chap. 3. â€” Why he addresses his book to Boniface.

But these words which I am answering to their two letters,
â€” the one, to wit, which Julian is said to have sent to Rome, that by its means, as I believe, he might find or make as many allies as he could; and the other, which eighteen so-called bishops, sharers in his error, dared to write to Thessalonica, not to any body in general, but to the bishop of

CHAP. 5.] RELATION OF FREE-WILL TO ADAM'S SIN. 239

that very place, with a view of tempting him by his craftiness and bringing him over, if it could be done, to his views; â€” these words which, as I said, I am writing in answer to those two letters of theirs in respect of that argument, I have determined to address especially to your sanctity, not so much for your learning as for your examination, and, if perchance anything should displease you, for your correction. For my brother intimated to me that you yourself condescended to give those letters to him, which could not come into your hands except by the most watchful diligence of my brethren, your sons. And I thank your most sincere kindness to me that you have been unwilling that those letters of the enemies of God's grace should be hidden from me, seeing that in them you have found my name calumniously as well as plainly expressed. But I hope from my Lord God that not without the reward which is in heaven do they tear me with their scurrilous teeth to whom I oppose myself on behalf of the little ones, that they may not be left to be destroyed to the deceitful flatterer Pelagius, but may be presented to be delivered to the
truthful Saviour Christ.

Chap. i. [ii.] â€” The calumny of Julian concerning the free-will in us taken away by Adam's sin. 21ie Pelagians, as formerly Jovinian, call the Catholics Manichceans.

Let us now, therefore, reply to Julian's letter. " Those Manichseans say," says he, " with whom now we do not communicate, â€” that is, the whole of them with whom we differ, â€” that by the sin of the first man, that is, of Adam, free-will perished; and that no one has now the power of living well, but that all are constrained to sin by the necessity of their flesh." He calls the Catholics Manicheans, after the manner of that Jovinian who a few years ago, as a new heretic, destroyed the virginity of the blessed Mary, and placed the marriage of the faithful on the same level as her sacred virginity. And he did not object this to the Catholics on any other ground than that he wished them to seem to be either accusers or condemners of marriage.

Chap. 5. â€” Free choice did not perish with Adam's sin. What freedom did perish.

But by defending free-will they are hastening to a confi-

240

AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 5.

/K.

â– \^j

if

j^^'
dence rather in doing righteousness of free-will than of God's aid, and so that every one may glory in himself, and not in the Lord. For which of us can say that by the sin of the first man free-will perished from the human race? Through sin liberty indeed perished, but it was that liberty which has in Paradise, of having a full righteousness with immortality; on account of which loss human nature is without divine grace, since the Lord says, "If the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed" certainly free to live well and righteously. For free-will did not so far perish in the sinner, but that by it all sin, especially they who sin with delight and with love of sin; they will what pleases them. Whence also the apostle says, "When ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness." Behold, they are shown to have been by no means able to serve sin except by the grace of the Saviour. For which reason the admirable Teacher also distinguished these very words: "For when ye were the servants," says he, "of sin, ye were free from righteousness." He called them free from righteousness, not freed; but from sin not free, lest they should attribute this to themselves; but most watchfully he preferred to say made free, referring this to that declaration of the Lord, "If the Son shall make you free, then shall ye be free indeed." Since, then, the sons of men do not live well unless they are made the sons of God, what is this but that He wills to give the power of good living to free-will, since this power is not given save by God's grace through Jesus Christ our Lord, as the gospel says: "And as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God." 1

1 1 Cor. i. 31.
* John viii. 36 ff.

" John viii. 36.
CHAP. G.] TO RECEIVE CHRIST IS TO BELIEVE ON HIM. 241

Chap. 6. [m.] â€” Grace is not given according to merits.

But lest perchance they say that they are aided to the result of having power to become the sons of God, but that in order to deserve to receive this power they have first received Him by free-will with no assistance of grace, because this is the purpose of their endeavour to destroy grace, that they may contend that it is given according to our deservings; lest perchance, then, they so divide that evangelical statement as to refer merit to that portion of it wherein it is said, " But as many as received Him," and then say that in that which follows, grace is not given freely, but is repaid to this merit, " He gave them power to become the sons of God;" if it is asked of them what is the meaning of " received Him," will they say anything else than " believed on Him"? And in order, therefore, that they may know that this also pertains to grace, let them read what the apostle says: " And that ye be in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which indeed is to them a cause of perdition, but of your salvation, and that of God; for unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake."^ Certainly he said that both were given. Let them read what he said also:

" Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ."^ Let them also read what the Lord Himself says: " No man can come to me, except the Father who hath sent me shall draw him."^ Where, lest any one should suppose that anything else is said in the words " come to me " than " believe in me," a little after, when He was speaking of His body and blood, and many were offended at His discourse, He says, " The words which I have spoken unto you are spirit and life; but there are some of you which believe not."^ Then the Evangelist added, " For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed, and who should betray Him. And He said. Therefore I said unto you that no man can come unto me except it were given him of my Father." Â® He repeated, to wit, the saying in which He had said, " No man can- come unto me, except the Father who

1 Phil. i. 28, 29: ^ Epb, vi. 23. 3 Johu vi. 44,

* John vi. 64. * John vi. 64 ff.

XV. Q
AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CIIAP. 7.

hath sent me shall draw him." And He declared that He said this for the sake of believers and unbelievers, explaining what He had said, " except the Father who hath sent me shall draw him," by repeating the very same thing in other words in that which He said, " except it were given him of my Father." Because he is drawn to Christ to whom it is given to believe on Christ. Therefore the power is given that they who believe on Him should become the sons of God, since this very thing is given, that they believe on Him. And unless this power be given from God, of freewill there can be none, because it will not be free in good if the deliverer have not made it free; but in evil he has a free-will in whom a deceiver, either secret or manifest, has grafted the love of wickedness, or he himself has persuaded himself of it.

Chap. 7. â€” He concludes that he does not deprive the wicked of free-will.

It is not, therefore, true, as some affirm that we say, and as that correspondent of yours ventures moreover to write, that " all are forced into sin," as if unwillingly, " by the necessity of their flesh;" but if they are already of the age to use the ce of their own flesh they are retained in sin by their own will, and by their own will are hurried along from sin to sin. For even he who persuades and deceives does not act in them, except that they may commit sin by their will, either by ignorance of the truth or by delight in iniquity, or by both evils, â€” as well of blindness as of weakness. But this will, which is free in evil because it takes pleasure in evil, is not free in good, for the reason that it has not been made free. Nor can a man will any good thing unless he is aided by Him who cannot will evil, â€” that is, by the grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. For "everything which is not of faith is sin."^ And thus the good will which withdraws itself from sin is faithful, because the just by faith lives.^ And it pertains to faith to believe on Christ. And no man can believe on Christ â€” that is, come to Him â€” unless it be given to him.^ No man, therefore, can have a righteous will, unless, with no

' Eom. xiv. 23. 2 jhab. ii. 4. ^ j^oj^v^v^ 17,

CHAP. 9.] JULIAN'S CALUMNY ABOUT MARELEG. 243

foregoing merits, lie has received the true, that is, the gratuitous grace from above.

Chap. 8. [iv.] â€” The Pelagians demolish free-will.

These proud and haughty people will not have this; and yet they do not maintain free-will by purifying it, but demolish it by exaggerating it. For they are angry with us who say these things, for no other reason than that they disdain to glory in the Lord. Yet Pelagius
feared the episcopal judgment of Palestine; and when it was objected to him that he said that the grace of God is given according to our merits, he denied that he said so, and condemned those who said this with an anathema. And yet nothing else is found to be defended in the books which he afterwards wrote, thinking that he had put a deceit upon the men who were his judges, by lying or by hiding his meaning, I know not how, in ambiguous words.

Chap. 9. [v.] â€” Another calumny of Julian, that it is said that marriage is not appointed by God.

But now let us see what follows. "They say also," he says, "that those marriages which are now celebrated were not appointed by God, which is read in Augustine's book,^ against which I replied in four pamphlets. And the words of this Augustine our enemies have taken up by way of hostility to the truth." To these most calumnious words I see that a brief answer must be made, because he repeats them afterwards when he himself wishes to insinuate that such men as they could say anything against my words. On that point, with God's assistance, I must contend with him as far as the matter shall seem to demand. Now, therefore, I reply that marriage was ordained by God both then, when it was said, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh," ^ and now, in respect of what is written, " A woman is joined to a man by the Lord."^ For nothing else is even now done than that a man cleave to his wife, and they

* Treatise on " Marriage and Concupiscence " [VoL ii. Clark's Trans. Anti-Pelagian Writings].

2 Gen. ii. 24. 3 Prov. xix. 24 [LXX.].

244 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 10.

become two in one flesh. Because concerning that very marriage which is now contracted, the Lord was consulted by the Jews whether it was lawful for any cause to put away a wife.

And to the testimony of the law on that occasion mentioned, He added, "What, therefore, God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."^ The Apostle Paul also applied this witness of the law when he admonished husbands that their wives should be loved by them.^ Away, then, with the notion that in my book that man should read anything opposed to these divine testimonies ! But either from not understanding, or rather by calumniating, he seeks to twist what he reads into another meaning. But I wrote my book, against which he mentions that he replied in four pamphlets, after the condemnation of Pelagius and Coelestius. And this, I have thought, must be said, because that man avers that my words had been taken up by his enemies in hostility to the truth, lest any one should think that these new heretics were condemned as enemies of the grace of Christ on
account of this book of mine. But in that book is found the defence rather than the
censure of marriage.

Chap. 10. â€” The third calumny, â€” the assertion that conjugal intercourse is
condemned.

" They say also," says he, " that sexual desire and the intercourse of married people were
devised by the devil, and that therefore those who are born innocent are guilty, and that it
is the work of the devil, not of God, that they are born of this diabolical intercourse. And
this, without any ambiguity, is Manichseism." Nay, as I say that marriage was appointed
by God for the sake of the ordinance of the begetting of children, so I say that the
propagation of children to be begotten could not have taken place without sexual desire,
and without intercourse of husband and wife, even in Paradise, if children were begotten
there. But whether such desire and intercourse would have existed, as is now the case
with shameful lust, if no one had sinned, here is the question concerning which I
shall argue hereafter, if God will.


CHAP. 12.] CONJUGAL INTERCOUSE NOT DIABOLICAL. 245

Chap. 11. [vi.] â€” The purpose of the Pelagians in praising the innocence of conjugal
intercourse.

Yet what it is they wish, what they purpose, to what result they are striving to bring the
matter, the words that are added by that writer declare, when he asserts that I say, " that
therefore they who are born innocent are guilty, and that it is the work of the devil, not of
God, that they are born of this diabolical intercourse." Since, therefore, I neither say that
this intercourse of husband and wife is diabolical, especially in the case of believers,
which is effected for the sake of generating children who are afterwards to be
regenerated; nor that any men are made by the devil, but, inasmuch as they are men, by
God; and nevertheless that even of believing husband and wife are born guilty persons, as
if a wild olive were produced from an olive, on account of original sin, and on this
account are under the devil unless they are born again in Christ, because the devil is the
author of the fault, not of the nature; what, on the other hand, are they labouring to bring
about who say that infants inherit no original sin, and therefore are not under the devil,
except that that grace of God in infants may be made of no effect, by which He has
plucked us out, as the apostle says, from the power of darkness, and has translated us into
the kingdom of the Son of His love ? ^ [vii.] â€” When, indeed, they deny that infants are
in the power of darkness even before the help of the Lord the deliverer, they are in such
Mdse praising in them the Creator's work as to destroy the mercy of the Eedeemer. And
because I confess this both in grown-up people and in infants, he says that this is without
any ambiguity Manichseism, although it is the most ancient Catholic dogma by which the
new heretical dogma of these^in fs overturned. ~
Chap. 12. â€” The fourth calumny, â€” that the saints of the Old Testament are said to he not free from sins.

"They say," says he, "that the saints in the Old Testament were not without sins, â€” that is, that even by correction they were not free from crimes, but in their guilt they were seized by death." Nay, I say that either before the law, or in the time of the Old Testament, they were delivered from sins, â€” not 1 Cor. i. 13.


by their own power, because "cursed is every one that hath put his hope in man/ ^ and without any doubt they are under this curse whom also the sacred Psalm notifies, "who trust in their own strength; " ^ nor by the old covenant which gendereth to bondage,^ although it was divinely given by the grace of a sure dispensation; nor by that law itself, holy and just and good as it was, where it is written, "Thou shalt not covet," * since it was not given as being able to give life, but it was added for the sake of transgression until the seed should come to whom the promise was made; but [I say] that they were delivered by the blood of the Redeemer Himself, who is the one Mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus. But those enemies of the grace of God, which is given to small and great through Jesus Christ our Lord, say that the men of God of old were of a perfect righteousness, lest they should be supposed to have needed the incarnation, the passion, and resurrection of Christ, by the belief of whom they were saved.

Chap. 13. [viii.] â€” The fifth calumny, â€” that it is said that Paul and the rest of the apostles were polluted by lust.

He says, "They affirm that even the Apostle Paul, even all the apostles, were polluted by immoderate lust." What man, however profane he may be, would dare to say this? But doubtless this man thus misrepresents because they contend that what the apostle said, "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing, for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not," ^ and other such things, he said not of himself, but that he introduced the person of somebody else, I know not who, who was suffering these things. Wherefore that passage in his epistle must be carefully considered and investigated, that their error may not lurk in any obscurity of his. Although, therefore, the apostle is here arguing broadly, and with great and lasting conflict maintaining grace against those who were boasting in the law, yet we do come upon a few matters which pertain to the matter in hand. On which subject he says: "Because by the law there shall no flesh be justified in His sight.
For by the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets, even the righteousness of God by the faith of Jesus Christ unto all them that believe. For there is no difference. For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." ^ And again: "Where is boasting? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? No; but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law." ^ And again: "For the promise that he should be the heir of the world was not to Abraham or to his seed through the law, but by the righteousness of faith. For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect. Because the law worketh wrath, for where no law is there is no transgression." And in another place: "Moreover, the law entered that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded grace did much more abound." * In stUl another place: "For sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace." ^ And again in another place: "Know ye not, brethren (for I speak to them that know the law), that the law hath dominion over a man so long as he liveth? For the woman which is under a husband is joined to her husband by the law so long as he liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is freed from the law of her husband." ^ And a little after: "Therefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should belong to another, who has risen from the dead that we should bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in the flesh the passions of sins which are by the law did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death, but now we are delivered from the law of death in which we were held, so that we may serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." ^ With these and such like testimonies that teacher of the heathen showed with sufficient evidence that the law could not take away sin, but rather increased it, and that grace takes it away; since the law

1 Jer. xvii. 5. Â« Ps. xlix. 6 [LXX.]. ^ Qal. iv. 24.

* Ex. XX. 7. * Eom. vii. IS.

CHAP. 13.] THE RELATION OF LAW TO SIN. 247

knew liow to command, to which command weakness gives way, while grace knows to assist, whereby love is infused.
And lest any one, on account of these testimonies, should reproach the law, and contend
that it is evil, the apostle, seeing what might occur to those who ill understand it, himself
proposed to himself the same question. "What shall we say, then?" said he. "Is the law
sin? Far from it. But I did not know sin except by the law." He had already said before,
"For by the law is the knowledge of sin." It is not, therefore, the taking away, but the
knowledge of sin.

Chap. 14. â€” That the apostle is speaking in his own person and that of others who are
under grace, not still under law.

And from this point he now begins the matter on account of which I undertook the
consideration of these things, to introduce his own person, and, as it were, to speak about
himself; where the Pelagians will not have it that the apostle himself is to be understood,
but say that he has transfigured another person into himself, â€” that is, a man placed still
under the law, not yet delivered by grace. And here, indeed, they ought at least to
concede that in law no one is justified, as the same apostle says elsewhere;
but that the
law is of force for the knowledge of sin, and for the transgression of the law itself, so that
sin, being known and increased, grace may be sought for through faith. But they do not
fear that those things should be understood concerning the apostle which he might also
say concerning his past doings, but they fear those things which follow. For here he says:
"I had not known lust if the law had not said. Thou shalt not covet. But the occasion
being taken, sin wrought in me by the commandment aU manner of lust. For without the
law sin was dead. But I was alive without the law once, but when the commandment
came sin revived, and I died,
and the commandment which was for life was found to me
to be death. For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew
me. Therefore the law indeed is holy, and the commandment holy, just, and good. Was,
then, that which is good made death unto me? By no means. But sin, that it might appear
sin, worked death to me by that which is good† that
^ Horn. vii. 7.

CHAP. 15.] THE WILL MUST BE CONFORMED TO THE LA.

the sinner or the sin might become by the commandment excessive." All these things,
as I have said, the apostle may seem to have mentioned from his past life: as in respect of
that which he says, "For I was alive without the law once,"
he may have wished his first age from infancy to be under-
stood, before the years of reason; but when he added, "But when the commandment
came, sin revived, but I died," he would fain show himself capable of the commandment,
but not a doer of it, and therefore a transgressor of the law.

Chap. 15. [ix.] â€” He sins vnth his will who is only deterred from sinning by fear.

Nor let us be disturbed by what he wrote to the Philippians:
"Touching the righteousness which is in the law, one who is without blame." For he might have been within in evil affections a transgressor of the law, and yet fulfil the manifest works of the law, either by the fear of men or of God Himself; but by the terror of punishment, not by the love and by the delight of righteousness. For it is one thing to do good with the good will of doing good, and another thing to be so inclined by one's will to do evil, that one would even do it if it could be allowed without punishment. For thus assuredly he is sinning within in his will itself, who abstains from sin not by good will but by fear. And in these his internal affections, the apostle, knowing himself to have been such before the grace of God which is through Jesus Christ our Lord, elsewhere confesses this very plainly. For writing to the Ephesians, he says: "And you, though ye were dead in your trespasses and sins, wherein sometime ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, that spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience, in whom also we at one time had our conversation in the lusts of our flesh, doing the will of our flesh and our affections, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others also. But God, who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us even when we were dead in sins, quickened us together with Christ, by whose grace we are saved." Again to Titus he says: "For we ourselves also were sometime foolish and unbelieving, erring, serving various lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and holding one another in hatred." Such was Saul when he says that he was, touching the righteousness which is in the law, without reproach. For since he had not profited in the law, and changed his character so as to be without reproach after this hateful life, he plainly shows to them what follows, when he says that he was not changed from these evils except by the grace of the Saviour. For adding also this very thing, here as well as to the Ephesians, he says: "But when the kindness and love of God our Saviour shone forth, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and of the renewal of the Holy Spirit, whom He shed on us most abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that being justified by His grace we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.

Chap. 16. How sin died, and how it revived.
And what he says in that passage of the Epistle to the Romans, "Sin, that it might appear sin, wrought death to me by that which is good,"^ agrees with the former passages where he said, "But I had not known sin but by the law, for I had not known lust unless the law had said. Thou shalt not covet." * And previously, "By the law is the knowledge of sin," for he said this also here, "that it might appear sin;"

that we might not understand what he had said, "For without law sin was dead," except in the sense of being hidden as if it were not, â€” it does not appear, it is completely ignored, as if it were buried in I know not what darkness of ignorance.

And in that he says, "And I was alive once without the law," what does he say except, I seemed to myself to live? And with respect to what he added, "But when the commandment came sin revived," what else is it but sin shone forth, became apparent? Nor yet does he say lived, but revived. For it had lived formerly in Paradise, where it appeared sufficiently admitted in opposition to the given command; but when it is inherited by children coming into the world, it lies concealed, as if it were dead, until its evil, resisting righteousness, is

1 Tit. iii. 3. ^ ^it. iii. 4 ff. =* Rom. vii. 13, * Rom. vii. 7,

CHAP. 17.] HOW PAUL CALLS HIMSELF CARNAL. 251

felt by its prohibition. When one thing is commanded and approved, another thing delights and rules, then in some measure sin revives in the knowledge of the man that is born, although it had lived already for some time in the knowledge of the man as at first made.

Chap. 17, [s.] â€” "The law is spiritual, but I am carnal," to be understood of Paul.

But it is not so clear how what follows can be understood concerning Paul, "For we know," says he, "that the law is spiritual, but I am carnal." ^ He does not say, "I was," but, "I am." Was, then, the apostle when he wrote this carnal? or does he say this with respect to his body? For he was still in the body of this death, not yet made what he speaks of elsewhere: "It is sown an animal body, it shall be raised a spiritual body." ^ For then, of the whole of himself, that is, of both parts of which he consists, he shall be a spiritual man, when even the body shall be spiritual. For it is not absurd that in that life even the flesh should be spiritual, if in this life in those who still mind earthly things even the spirit itself may be carnal. Thus, then, he said, "But I am carnal," because the apostle had not yet a spiritual body, as he might say, But I am mortal, which assuredly he could not be understood to have said except in respect of his body, which had not yet been clothed with immortality. Moreover, in reference to what he added, "sold under sin," ^ lest any one think that he was not yet redeemed by the blood of Christ, this also may be understood in respect of that which he says: "And we ourselves, having the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." * For if in this respect he
says that he was sold under sin, that as yet his body has not been redeemed from corruption, or that it was sold once in the first transgression of the commandment so as to have a corruptible body which drags down the soul, what hinders the apostle here from being understood to say about himself that which he says in such wise that it may be understood also in himself, even if in his person he wishes

* Eom. vii. 14. - 1 Cor. xv. 44. 3 p^om. vii. 14.
* Eom. viii. 23. ^ Wisd. ix. 15.

252 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 19.

not himself alone, but all, to be received who had known themselves as struggling, without consent, in spiritual delight with the affection of the flesh ?

Chap. 18. â€” How the apostle said that he did the evil that he would not.

Or by chance do we fear what follows, " For that which I do I know not, for what I will I do not, but what I hate that I do," lest perhaps of these words any one should suspect that the apostle is consenting to the evil works of the lust of the flesh ? But we must consider what he adds: " But if I do that which I will not, I consent to the law that it is good." For he says that he rather consents to the law than to the lust of the flesh, because this he calls by the name of sin. Therefore he said that he acted and laboured not with the desire of consenting and fulfilling, but by the very impulse of lusting. Hence, then, he says, " I consent to the law that it is good." I consent because I do not will what it does not will. Afterwards he says, " Now, then, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me." ^ What does he mean by " now then," but, now at length, under the grace which has delivered the delight of my will from the consent of lust ? For, " it is not I that do it," cannot be better understood than that he does not consent to set forth his members instruments of unrighteousness unto sin. For if he lusts and consents and acts, how can he be said not to do a thing himself, even although he may grieve that he does it, and deeply groan at being overcome ?

Chap. 19. â€” What it is to accomplish what is good.

And now does he not most plainly show whence he says what follows, " For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing " ? ^ For if he did not explain what he said by the addition of " that is, in my flesh," it might, perchance, be otherwise understood when he said, " in me." And thus he reflects as he repeats the same thing, and urges,
"For to will is present with me, but to perform that which is good is not." * For this is to perform that which is good, that a man should not even desire [otherwise]. For the good is


CHAP. 21.] PAUL SPEAKS OF HIS FLESH AS HIMSELF. 253

incomplete when one lusts, even although a man does not consent to the evil of lust. " For the good that I would," says he, " I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do. Now, if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." ^ This he repeated impressively, and as it were to stir up the most slothful from slumber. " I find then a law," said he, " that when I would do good, evil is present with me." ^ That law, then, is present to one who would do good, while evil is present from lust, and he does not consent to this who says, " It is no longer I that do it."

Chap. 20. â€” In me, that is, in my flesh.

And he declares both more plainly in what follows: " For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity in the law of sin which is in my members." ^ But in that he said, " bringing me into captivity," he can move if there is no consent. Whence, in respect of those three things, two, to wit, of which we have already argued, that he says, " But I am carnal, and sold under sin," and this third, " Bringing me into captivity in the law of sin, which is in my members," the apostle seems to be describing a man who is still living under the law, and is not yet under grace. But in that I have expounded the former two sayings in respect of the flesh still corruptible, so also this latter may be understood as if he had said, " bringing me into captivity," in the flesh, not in the mind; in movement, not by consent; and bringing me into captivity, because even in the flesh itself it is our own nature, not an alien one. As, therefore, he himself expounded what he had said, "For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing," so also now out of the exposition of that we ought to learn the meaning of this passage, as if he had said, " Bringing me into captivity," that is, my flesh, " in the law of sin, which is in my members."

Chap. 21. â€” No condemnation in Christ Jesus.
Then he adds the reason why he said all these things: "

' Rom. vii. 20. ^ ^Mm. vii. 21. 3 Rom, yji^ 21, 22.

wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord! " And thence he concludes: " Therefore I myself with the mind serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." ^ To wit, " with the flesh, the law of sin," by lusting; but " with the mind, the law of God," by not consenting to that lust: " For there is now no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus." ^ For he is not condemned who does not consent to the evil of the lust of the flesh. "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made thee free from the law of sin and death, lest, to wit, the lust of the flesh should claim for itself thy consent." And what follows plainly more and more manifests the same meaning. But moderation must be used.

Chap. 22. â€“ Wht/ the passage referred to must he understood of a man established under grace.

\ And it had once appeared to me also that the apostle was

, in this argument of his describing a man under the law. But

\ afterwards I was constrained to give up the idea by those

â€“ words where he says, " Now, then, it is no more I that do it."

For to this pertains what he says subsequently also: " There

is, therefore, now no condemnation to them that are in Christ

Jesus." And because I do not see how a man under the law

should say, " I delight in the law of God after the inward

man," since that very delight in good, by which, moreover, he

does not consent to evil, not from fear of penalty, but from

love of righteousness (for this is meant by " delighting "), can

only be attributed to grace.

Chap. 28. [xi.] â€“ What it is to be delivered from the body of this death.

For when he says also, " Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" ^ who can deny that when the apostle said this he was still in the body of this death? And certainly the wicked are not delivered from this, to whom the same bodies are made eternal for the purpose of torment. Therefore, to be delivered from the body of this death is to be healed of all the weakness of the lust of the flesh, and to receive the body, not for penalty, but for glory. With this
passage also those words are sufficiently in harmony: "Our
selves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even "we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption â€” to wit, the redemption â€” of our body." For surely we groan with that groaning wherein we say, "wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" That also where he says, "For what I do, I know not;" what else is it than: I will not, I do not approve, I do not consent, I do not do? Otherwise it is contrary to what he said above, "By the law is the knowledge of sin," and, "I had not known sin but by the law," and, "Sin, that it might appear sin, worked death in me by that which is good." For how did he know sin, of which he was ignorant, by the law? How does sin appear which is not known? Therefore it is then said, I know not, I do not, because I myself commit that with no consent of mine, in the way in which the Lord will say to the wicked, "I know you not," — although, beyond a doubt, nothing can be hid from Him; and as it is said, "Him who had not known sin," which means who had not done sin, for He had not known what He condemned.

Chap. 24. â€” He concludes that the apostle spoke in his own person, and that of those who are under grace.

On the careful consideration of these things, and things of the same kind in the context of that apostolical Scripture, the apostle is rightly understood not, indeed, to have signified himself alone in his own person, but others also established under grace; and with himself, those who are not yet established in that perfect peace in which death shall be swallowed up in victory, of which he afterwards says, "But if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness.

H, then, the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you. He that raised up Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth
Therefore, our mortal bodies being quickened, not only will there be no consent to sinning, but not even the lust of the flesh itself, to which there is no consent, will remain. Not to have the resistance to the spirit of this in the mortal flesh was only possible to Him who came not by the flesh into humanity. And that the apostles, because they were men, and carried about in the mortality of this life a body which is corrupted and weighs down the soul, were, therefore, always polluted with excessive lust, as that man injuriously affirms, be it far from me to say. But I say that they were free from the consent of depraved lusts, but that they still groaned concerning the lust of the flesh, which they bridled by restraint with such humility and piety, that they desired rather not to have it than to overcome it.

Chap. 25. [xii.] â€” The sixth calumny, â€” that I assert that even Christ was not free from sins.

In like manner as to what he added, that I say, "that Christ even was not free from sins, but that, from the necessity of the flesh, he spoke falsely, and was stained with other faults," he should see from whom he heard these things, or in whose letters he read them; for that, indeed, he perchance did not understand them, and turned them by the deceitfulness of malice into calumnious meanings.

Chap. 26. [xiii.] â€” The seventh calumny, â€” that I assert that in baptism all sins are not remitted.

"They also say," says he, "that baptism does not give remission of all sins, nor take away crimes, but that it smooths them over, so that the roots of all sins are kept in an evil flesh." Who but an unbeliever can affirm this against the Pelagians? I say, therefore, that baptism gives all remission of sins, and takes away guilt, and does not trim them off in such wise that the roots of all sins may be preserved in an evil flesh, as if of hair trimmed on the head, whence the sins cut down may grow again. For it was I that found out that similitude for them to use for the purposes of their calumny, as if I thought and said this.

Chap. 27. â€” In what sense lust is called sin in the regenerate.
But concerning that lust of the flesh of which they speak, I believe that they are deceived, or that they deceive; for

1 Wisd, ix. 15.

CHAP. 2.:] CONCUPISCENCE IS NOT SIN. 25 Y

with this even he that is baptized must struggle with a pious mind, however carefully he profits and is led by the Spirit of God. But even if this is called sin, it is certainly so called not because it is sin, but because it is done by sin, as a writing is said to be the hand of anybody because the hand has written it. But they are sins which are done unlawfully, and spoken and thought according to the lust of the flesh, or in ignorance â€” things which, once done, keep their doers guilty if they are not forgiven. And that very lust of the flesh is in such wise put away in baptism, that although it is inherited by all that are born, it in no respect hurts those that are born anew. And yet from these, if they carnally beget children, it is again derived; and again it will be hurtful to those that are born, unless by the same form it is remitted to them as being born again, and remains in them in no way hindering the future life, because its guilt, derived by generation, has been put away by regeneration; and thus it is now no more sin, but is called so, whether that it became what it is by sin, or that it is stirred by the delight of sinning, although by the conquest of the delight of righteousness consent is not given to it.

Nor is it on account of that lust, whose guilt has already been taken away in the laver of regeneration, that the baptized people say in their prayer, " Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors;" ^ but on account of sins which are committed, whether in the consentings of lust, when what is right is overcome by that which pleases, or when by ignorance evil is accepted as if it were good. And they are done, whether by acting, or by speaking, or â€” and this is the easiest and the quickest â€” by thinking. From all which things what believer ever will boast that he has his heart pure? or who will boasts that he is pure from sin? " Certainly that which follows in the prayer is said with respect to this very lust:

" Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." " For every one," as it is written, "is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed; then, when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin." "


XV.

258 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 29.
Chap. 28. [xiv.] Many without crime, none without sin.

All these products of lust, and the old guilt of lust itself, are put away by the washing of baptism. And whatever that lust now begets, if they are not those products which are called not only sins, but moreover crimes, are purified by that method of daily prayer when we say, "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive," and by the sincerity of almsgiving. For no one is so foolish as to say that that precept of our Lord does not refer to baptized people: "Forgive and it shall be forgiven you, give and it shall be given you." ^ But none could rightly be ordained a minister in the Church if the apostle had said, "If any is without sin," where he says, "If any is without crime;" ^ or if he had said, "Having no sin," where he says, "Having no crime." ^ Because many baptized believers are without crime, but I should say that no one in this life is without sin, â€” with whatever madness the Pelagians are inflated, and burst asunder against me because I say this: not because there remains anything of sin which is not remitted in baptism; but because by us who remain in the weakness of this life such sins do not cease daily to be committed, as are daily remitted to those who pray in faith and work in mercy. This is the soundness of the Catholic faith, which the Holy Spirit everywhere sows, â€” not the vanity and presumption of spirit of heretical pravity.

Chap. 29. [xv.] Julian opposes the faith of his friends to the opinions of Catholic believers. First of all, of free-will.

Now therefore let us see, concerning the rest, in what way â€” after thinking that he might maliciously object against me what I believe, and feign what I do not believe â€” he himself professes his own faith or that of the Pelagians. "In opposition to these things," he says, "we daily argue, and we are unwilling to yield our consent to transgressors, because we say that free-will is in all by nature, and that men could not perish by the sin of Adam; which assertion is confirmed by the authority of all Scriptures." This, if in any degree it is necessary to say, you should not say against the grace of God, â€” you

^ Luke vi. 37, 38. - Tit. i. 6. Vulg.: "sine crimiue."

2 " Tim. iii. 10. Vulg.: "nullum crimen liabentes."

CHAP. 32.] ANSWERS TO PELAGIAN OBJECTIONS. 259

should not give your consent to transgressors, but you should correct your opinion. But about this, as much as I could, and as far as it seemed to be sufficient, I have argued above.
Chap. 30. “Secondly, of marriage.

"We say," says he, "that that marriage which is now celebrated throughout the earth was ordained by God, and that married people are not guilty, but that fornicators and adulterers are to be condemned." This is true and catholic doctrine; but what you want to gather from this, to wit, that from the intercourse of male and female those who are born derive no sin to be put away by the laver of regeneration, this is false and heretical.


"We say," says he, "that the sexual impulse — that is, that the desire of procreation itself, without which there can be no intercourse — is ordained by God." To this I reply that the sexual impulse, and, to make use of the word, the desire of procreation, without which there can be no intercourse, was in such wise appointed by God that there was in it nothing to be ashamed of, for it was not fit that His creature should blush at the work of His Creator; but by a just punishment the disobedience of the members was the retribution to the disobedience of the first man, for which disobedience they blushed when they covered with fig leaves those shameful parts which previously were not shameful.

Chap. 32. [xvi.] “The girdles which Adam and Eve wore.

For they did not use for themselves tunics to cover their whole bodies after their sin, but aprons, which some of the less careful of our interpreters have interpreted as coverings. And this indeed is true; but covering is a general name, by which may be understood every kind of clothing and veil. And ambiguity ought to be avoided, so that, as the Greek called them Trepição/xara, by which only the shameful parts of the body are covered, so also the Latin should either use the Greek word itself, because now custom has come to use it instead of the Latin, or, as some do, use the word [mccinctoria] aprons,

260 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. S3.

’or, as others have better named them, [campestria] wrestling girdles. Because this name is taken from that ancient Eoman custom whereby the youth covered their shameful parts when they were exercised naked in the field; whence even at this day they are called [campestrati] clad with the campestre, or wrestling apron, with which they cover and bind those members. Although, if those members by which sin was committed had been to be covered after the sin, men ought not to have been clothed in tunics, but to have covered their hand and mouth, because they sinned by taking and eating. What, then, is the meaning, when the prohibited food was taken, and the transgression of the precept had
been committed, of the look turned towards those members? What unknown novelty is felt there, and compels itself to be noticed, which is signified by the opening of the eyes? For their eyes were not closed, either when Adam gave names to the cattle and birds, or when Eve saw the trees to be beautiful and good; but they were made open — that is, attentive — to consider; as it is written of Agar, the handmaid of Sarah, that she opened her eyes and saw a well, although she certainly had not had them closed before. As, therefore, of their nakedness, which they were daily in the habit of looking upon, and were not confused by it, they were so suddenly ashamed that they could now no longer bear those members naked, but immediately took care to cover them; did not they — he in the open movement, she in the secret impulse — perceive those members to be disobedient to the choice of their will, which certainly they ought to have ruled like the rest by their will and pleasure? And this they deservedly suffered, because they themselves also were not obedient to their Lord. Therefore they blushed that they in such wise had not manifested service to their Creator, that they should deserve to lose dominion over those members by which children were to be procreated.

Chap, 33. The shame of nakedness.

This kind of shame — this necessity of blushing — is certainly born with every man, and in some measure is commanded by the very laws of nature; so that, in this matter,

' Gen. xxi. 19.

CHAP, 31.] WAS THEE LUST BEFORE THE FALL? 2G1

even modest married people are ashamed. Nor can any one go to such an extreme of evil and disgrace, as, because he knows God to be the author of nature and the ordainer of marriage, even to have intercourse with his wife in any one's sight, or not to blush at those impulses and seek secrecy, where he may shun the sight not only of strangers, but even of all his own relatives. Therefore let human nature be permitted to acknowledge the evil that happens to it by its own fault, lest it should be compelled either not to blush at those impulses of its own, which is most shameless, or to blush at the work of its Creator, which is most ungrateful; which evil, nevertheless, modest marriage makes good use of for the sake of the benefit of the begetting of children. But to consent to lust for the sake of carnal pleasure alone is sin, although it may be conceded to married people with pardon.

Chap. 34. Whether there could be lust in Paradise before the fall.

But, maintaining the Pelagian honourableness and fruitfulness of marriage, determine, if nobody had sinned, what you would wish to consider the life of those people in Paradise, and choose one of these four things. For beyond a doubt, either as often as ever they pleased they must have had intercourse; or they would bridle their desire when intercourse was not necessary; or desire would arise at the summons of will, just at the
time when a chaste forethought would have some presentiment that intercourse was necessary; or, with no desire existing then at all, as every other member served for its own work, so for its own work the organs of generation also would obey the commands of those that willed, without any difficulty. Of these four suppositions, choose which you please; but I think you will reject the two former, in which lust is either obeyed or resisted. For the first one would not be in accordance with so great a virtue, and the second not in harmony with so great a happiness. For be the idea far from us, that the glory of so great a blessedness as that should either be most basely enslaved by always following a preceding desire, or, by resisting it, should not enjoy the most abounding peace. Away, I say, with the thought that that mind \scil. of our parents in Paradise\] should either be grati-

262 AGAINST TWO LETTEES OF THE PELAGIANS, [CHAP. 35.

ified by consenting to satisfy the lust of the flesh, not occasionally arising for the sake of procreation, but with unregulated excitement, or that that quiet should find it necessary to restrain it by refusing.

Chap. 35. â€” Desire in Paradise was either none at all, or it was obedient to the impulse of the will.

But whichever you choose of the two other alternatives, there is no necessity for striving against you with any disputation. For even if you should refuse to elect the fourth, in which there is the highest tranquillity of all the members in obedience without any desire, since already the urgency of your arguments has made you hostile to it, that will doubtless please you which I have put in the third place, that that carnal concupiscence, whose excitement attains to the final pleasure which delights you, should never arise in Paradise at the bidding of the will except when it would be necessary for procreation. If it is agreeable to you to arrange this in Paradise, and if, by means of such a desire of the flesh which should neither anticipate, nor impede, nor exceed the bidding of the will, it appears to you that children could have been begotten, I have no objection. Nor, as far as I am concerned in this matter, it is enough for me that such a desire of the flesh is not now among men, as you concede there might have been in that place of happiness. For what it now is, the sense of all men certainly confesses, although with modesty, because it both solicits with excessive and importunate uneasiness the chaste, even when they are unwilling and checking it by moderation, and frequently withdraws itself from the willing and inflicts itself on the unwilling; so that, by its disobedience, it testifies that it is nothing else than the punishment of that first disobedience. Whence, reasonably, both then the first men when they covered their nakedness, and now whoever considers himself to be a man in respect of that concupiscence, every modest and immodest person is confounded â€” far be it from us to say by the work of God, but â€”
by the penalty of the first and ancient sin. You, however, not for the sake of religious reasoning, but for excited contention, â€” not on behalf of human modesty, but for your own madness, that even the lust of the flesh itself should be

CHAP. 37.] MAN DOES GOOD ONLY BY GOD'S HELP. 263

thought to be corrupted, and original sin to be derived from it, â€” are endeavouring by your argument to recall it absolutely, such as it now is, into Paradise; and to contend that that desire could have been there which would either always be followed by a disgraceful consent, or would sometimes be restrained by a pitiably refusal. I, however, do not greatly care what it delights you to think of that desire. Still, whatever of men is born by its means, if it is not bom again, without doubt it is damned; and it must be under the dominion of the devil, if it is not delivered thence by Christ.

Chap. 36. [xvin.]-'Julia}i's fourth objection, that man is God's iverh, etc.

" We maintain," says he, " that men are God's work, and that no one is forced unwillingly by His power either into evil or good, but that man does good or ill of his own will; but that in doing good, he is always assisted by God's grace, while to evil he is always incited by the suggestions of the devil." To this I answer, that men, in so far as they are men, are the work of God; but in so far as they are sinners, they are under the devil, unless they are plucked from thence by Him who became the Mediator between God and man, for no other reason than because He could not be a sinner of men. And that no one is forced by God's power unwillingly either into evil or good, but that when God forsakes a man he deservedly goes to evil, and that"" when God assists, without deserving he is converted to good. For a man is not good if he is unwilling, but by the grace of God he is. even assisted to the point of being willing; because it is not vainly written, " For it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do for His good pleasure," ^ and, " The will is prepared by God." ^

Chap. 37. [xix.] â€” The beginning of a good will is the gift of grace.

But you think that a man is so aided by the grace of God in a good work, that in stirring up his will to that very good work you believe that grace does nothing; for this your own words sufficiently declare. For why have you not said that a man is incited by God's grace to a good work, as you have said that he is incited to evil by the suggestions of

1 Phil. ii. 13. 2 prov. yij. 35.

264 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 37.

the devil, but have said that in a good work he is always
') aided by God's grace? As if by his own will, and without any grace of God, he undertook a good work, and were then divinely assisted in the work itself, for the sake, that is to say, of the merits of his good will; so that grace is rendered as â– due, â€” not given as not due, â€” and thus grace is made no more grace,^ but is that which, in the Palestinian judgment, Pelagius with a deceitful heart condemned, â€” that the grace of God, namely, is given according to our merits. Tell me, I beseech you, what good Paul, while he was as yet Saul, willed, and not rather great evils, when breathing out slaughter he went, in horrible darkness of mind and madness, to lay waste the Christians? ^ For what merits of a good will did God convert him by a marvellous and sudden calling from those evils to good things? What shall I say, when he himself cries, " Not by works of righteousness that we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us "? ^ What is that which I have already mentioned as having been said by the Lord, " No one can come to me," â€” which is understood as " believe on me," â€” " unless it were given him of my Father" ?** Whether is this given to him who is already willing to believe, for the sake of the merits of a good will? or rather is the will itself, as in the case of Saul, stirred up from above, that he may believe, even although he is so averse from the faith as even to persecute the believers? For how has the Lord commanded us to pray for those who persecute us? Do we pray thus that the grace of God may be recompensed them for the sake of their good will, and not rather that the evil will itself may be changed into a good one? As we believe that at that time the saints whom he was persecuting did not pray for Saul in vain, that his will might be converted to the faith which he was destroying. And indeed his conversion, effected from above, appeared even by a manifest miracle. But how many enemies of Christ are at the present day suddenly drawn by God's secret grace to Christ! And if I had not set down this word from the gospel, what things would that man have said in this behalf concerning me, since even now he is stirring, not against me, but against Him who cries, " No

' Kom. xi. 6. ^ Acts ix. 1. 3 Tit. iii. 5. * John vi. 66.

CHAP. 38.] GOD WORKETH IN THE HEART. 265

man can come to me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him "! ^ For He does not say, " except He lead him,"
so that we can thus in any way understand that his will precedes. For who is drawn, if he was already willing? And yet no man comes unless he is willing. Therefore he is drawn in wondrous ways to will, by Him who knows how to work within the very hearts of men. Not that men who are unwilling should believe, which cannot be, but that they should be made willing from being unwilling.

Chap> 38. [xx.] â€” The power of God's grace is proved.
That this is true we do not surmise by human conjecture, but we discern by the most evident authority of the divine Scriptures. It is read in the books of the Chronicles: "Also in Judah, the hand of God was made to give them one heart, to do the commandment of the king and of the princes in the word of the Lord." ^ Also by Ezekiel the prophet the Lord says, "I will give them another heart, and a new spirit will I give them; and I will take away their stony heart out of their flesh, and I will give them an heart of flesh, that they may walk in my commandments and observe my judgments and do them." ^ And what is that which Esther the queen prays when she says, "Give me eloquent speech in my mouth, and enlighten my words in the sight of the lion, and turn his heart to hatred of him that fighteth against us " ? ^ How does she say such things as these in her prayer to God, if God does not work His will in men's hearts ? But perchance the woman was foolish in praying thus. Let us see, then, whether the desire of the petitioner was vainly sent on in advance, and whether the result did not follow as of one who heard. Lo, she goes in to the king. "We need not say much. "And because she did not approach him in her own order, under the compulsion of her great necessity, he looked upon her, as it is written, like a bull in the impulse of his indignation. And the queen feared, and her colour was changed through faintness, and she bowed herself upon the head of her maid, who went before her. And God changed him, and con-

^ John vi. 44. * 2 Chron. xxx. 12.

266 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 39.

verted his indignation into mildness." ^ Now what need is there to relate what follows, where the divine Scripture testifies that God fulfilled what she had asked for by working in the heart of the king ? what else than the will by which he commanded, and it was done as the queen had asked of him ? And now God had heard her that it should be done, who changed the heart of the king by a most secret and efficacious power before he had heard the address of the woman beseeching him, and moulded it from indignation to mildness, â€” that is, from the will to hurt, to the will to favour, â€” according to that word of the apostle, " God worketh in you to will also." Did the men of God who wrote these things â€” nay, did the Spirit of God Himself, under whose guidance such things were written by them â€” assail the free-will of man ? Away with the notion ! But He recommended both the most righteous judgment and the most merciful aid of the Omnipotent in all cases. For it is enough for man to know that there is no unrighteousness with God. But how He dispenses those benefits, making some deservedly vessels of wrath, others graciously vessels of mercy, â€” who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor ? If, then, we attain to the honour of grace, let us not be ungrateful by attributing to ourselves what we have received. " For what have we which we have not received ? " ^

We say, says he, " that the saints of the Old Testament, their righteousness being perfected here, passed to eternal life, â€” that is, that by the love of virtue they departed from all sins; because those whom we read of as having committed any sin, we nevertheless know to have amended themselves." Of whatever virtue you may declare that the ancient righteous men were possessed, nothing but the belief in the Mediator saved them, who shed His blood for the remission of their sins. For their own word is, " I believed, and therefore I spoke." ^ Whence the Apostle Paul also says, " And we having the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and

1 Esther xv. 5 ff. - 1 Cor. iv. 7. ^ Ps. cxvi. 10.

CHAP. 40.] GKACE NEEDFUL FOR ALL ALIKE. 267

therefore speak." ^ What is " the same Spirit," but that Spirit whom these righteous men also had who said such things ?

The Apostle Peter also says, " Why do ye wish to put a yoke upon the heathen, which neither we nor our fathers have been able to bear ? But, by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we believe that we shall be saved, even as they." ^ You who are enemies to this grace do not wish this, that the ancients should be believed to have been saved by the same grace of Jesus Christ; but you distribute the times according to Pelagius, in whose books this is read, and you say that before the law men were saved by nature, then by the law, lastly by Christ, as if to men of the two former times, that is to say, before the law and under the law, the blood of Christ had not been necessary; making void what is said: " For there is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." ^

Chap. 40. [xxii.] â€” The sixth, objection, concerning the necessity of grace for all, and concerning the baptism of infants.

They say, " We confess that the grace of Christ is necessary to all, both to grown-up people and to infants; and we anathematize those who say that a child bom of two baptized people ought not to be baptized." I know in what way you say such things as these â€” not according to the Apostle Paul, but according to the heretic Pelagius; â€” to wit, that baptism is I necessary for infants, not for the sake of the remission of \ sins, but only for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; for j you give them outside the kingdom of heaven a place of I salvation and life eternal, even if they have not been baptized. Nor do you regard what is written, " Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he who believeth

/not shall be condemned." * For which reason, in the church I of the Saviour, infants believe by means of other people, even I as they have derived those sins which are remitted them in baptism from other people. Nor do you think thus, that they cannot have
life who have been without the body and blood of Christ, although He said Himself, "Unless ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall have no life in you." ^

'2Cor. iv. 13. Â« Acts xv. 10, 11. 3 1 Tim. ii. 5.

* Mark xvi. 16. " John vi. 34.

268 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 42.

Or if you are forced by the words of the gospel to confess that infants departing from the body cannot have either life or salvation unless they have been baptized, ask why those who are not baptized are compelled to undergo the judgment of the second death, by the judgment of Him who condemns nobody undeserving, and you will find what you do not want, â€” original sin !

Chap. 41. [xxiii.] â€” The seventh objection, of the effect of baptism.

" We condemn," says he, " those who affirm that baptism does not do away all sins, because we know that full cleansing is conferred by these very mysteries." We also say this; but you do not say that infants are also by those same mysteries freed from the bonds of their first birth and of their hateful descent. On which account it behoves you, like other heretics also, to be separated from the Church of Christ, which holds this of old time. ~

Chap. 42. [xxiv.] â€” He rebuts the conclusion of Julian's letter.

But now the manner in which he concludes the letter by saying, " Let no one therefore seduce you, nor let the wicked deny that they think these things. But if they speak the truth, either let a hearing be given, or let those very bishops who now disagree with me condemn what I have above said that they hold with the Manichseans, as we condemn those things which they declare concerning us, and a full agreement shall be made; but if they will not, know ye that they are Manichseans, and abstain from their company;" â€” this is rather to be despised than rebuked. For which of us hesitates to pronounce an anathema against the Manichseans, who say that from the good God neither proceed men, nor was ordained marriage, nor was given the law, which was ministered to the Hebrew people by Moses ! But against the Pelagians also, not without reason, we pronounce an anathema, for that they are so hostile to God's grace, which comes through Jesus Christ our Lord, as to say that it is given not freely, but according to our merits, and thus grace is no more grace; ^
and determine so much in respect of the free-will by which man

, ' Kom. xi. 6.
is plunged into the abyss, as to say that by making good use of it man deserves grace; although no man can make good use of it except by grace, which is not repaid according to debt, but is given freely by God's mercy. And they so contend that infants are already saved, that they dare deny that they can be saved by the Saviour; and holding and disseminating their execrable dogmas, they still over and above constantly demand a hearing, when, as condemned, they ought to repent.

THE SECOND BOOK.

HE UNDERTAKES TO EXAMINE THE SECOND LETTER OF THE PELAGIANS, FILLED, LIKE THE FIRST, WITH CALUMNIES AGAINST THE CATHOLICS â€” A LETTER THAT WAS SENT BY THEM TO THESSALONICA IN THE NAME OF EIGHTEEN BISHOPS; AND, FIRST OF ALL, HE SHOWS, BY THE COMPARISON OF THE SAME HERETICAL WRITINGS WITH ONE ANOTHER, THAT THE CATHOLICS ARE BY NO MEANS FALLING INTO THE ERRORS OF THE MANICHÆANS IN DETESTING THE DOGMAS OF THE PELAGIANS. HE REPELS THE CALUMNY OF COLLUSION INCURRED BY THE ROMAN CLERGY IN THE LATER CONDEMNATION OF PELAGIUS AND COELESTIUS BY ZOSIMUS, SHOWING THAT THE PELAGIAN DOGMAS WERE NEVER APPROVED AT ROME, ALTHOUGH FOR SOME TIME, BY THE CLEMENCY OF ZOSIMUS, COELESTIUS WAS MERCIFULLY DEALT WITH, WITH A VIEW TO LEADING HIM TO THE CORRECTION OF HIS ERRORS. HE SHOWS THAT, UNDER THE NAME OF GRACE, CATHOLICS NEITHER ASSERT A DOCTRINE OF FATE, NOR ATTRIBUTE ACCEPTANCE OF PERSONS TO GOD; ALTHOUGH THEY TRULY SAY THAT GOD'S GRACE IS NOT GIVEN IN RESPECT OF HUMAN MERITS, AND THAT THE FIRST DESIRE OF GOOD IS INSPIRED BY GOD; SO THAT A MAN MAKES ABSOLUTELY NO BEGINNING OF A CHANGE FROM BAD TO GOOD, UNLESS THE UNBOUGHT AND GRATUITOUS MERCY OF GOD EFFECTS THAT BEGINNING IN HIM.
LET me now consider a second letter, not of Julian's alone, but common to him with several bishops, which they sent to Thessalonica; and let me answer it, with God's help, as I best can. And lest this work of mine become longer than the necessity of the subject itself requires, what need is there to refute those things which do not contain the insidious poison of their doctrine, but seem only to plead for the acquiescence of the Eastern bishops for their assistance? or, on behalf of the Catholic faith, against the profanity, as they say, of the Manicheans, with no other view than that a horrible heresy being presented to them, whose adversaries they professed themselves to be, they may lie hid as the enemies of grace in their praise of nature? For who at any time has stirred any question of these matters against them? or what Catholic is

270

CHAP. 2.] MANICHŒAN EEROE CONDEMNED. 271

displeased because they condemn those whom the apostle foretold as departing from the faith, having their conscience seared, forbidding to marry, abstaining from meats that they think unclean, not considering that all things were created by God? ^ Who at any time constrained them to deny that every creature of God is good, and there is no substance which the supreme God has not made, except God Himself, who was not made by any? It is not such things as these, which it is plain are Catholic truths, that are rebuked and condemned in them; because not alone the Catholic faith holds in detestation the Manichsean impiety as exceedingly foolish and mischievous, but also all heretics who are not Manicheans. Whence even these Pelagians do well to utter an anathema against the Manichoeans, and to speak against their errors. But they do two evil things, for which they themselves must also be anathematized â€” one, that they impeach Catholics under the name of Manicheans, the other, that they themselves also are introducing the heresy of a new error. For it is not because they are not labouring under the disease of the Manichssans that they are therefore sound in the faith. The kind of pestilence is not always one and the same â€” as in the bodies, so also in the minds. As, therefore, the physician of the body would not have pronounced a man free from peril of death whom he might have declared free from dropsy, if he had seen him to be sick of some other mortal disease; so truth is not acknowledged in their case because they are not Manichseans, if they are râ€”ing in some other kind of perversity. Wherefore what we anathematize with them is one thing, what we anathematize in them is another. For we hold in abhorrence with them what is rightly offensive to them also; just as, nevertheless, we hold in abhorrence in them that for which they themselves are rightly offensive.

Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” The heresies of the Alanichceans and Pelagians are mutually opposed, and are alike reprobated by the Catholic Church.
The Manichseans say that the good God is not the Creator of all nature; the Pelagians say
that God is not the Purifier, the Saviour, the Deliverer of all ages of men. The Catholic
Church condemns both; as well maintaining God's creation

' 1 Tim. iv. ff.

272 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 3.

against the Manichaeans, that no nature may be denied to be appointed by Him, as
maintaining against the Pelagians that in all ages human nature must be sought after as
ruined.
The Manichseans rebuke the lust of the flesh, not as an accidental vice, but as a nature
bad from eternity; the Pelagians approve it moreover as no vice or fault, but as being a
natural good. The Catholic faith condemns both, saying to the Manichseans, " It is not
nature, but it is vice;"
saying to the Pelagians, " It is not of the Father, but it is of the world," in order that both
may allow it as an evil state of health to be cured â€” the former by ceasing to believe it,
as it were, incurable, the latter by ceasing to proclaim it as laudable. The Manichaeans
deny that to a good man the beginning of evil was of free choice; the Pelagians say that
even a bad man has free-will sufficiently to do a good commandment. The Catholic
Church condemns both, saying to the former, " God made man upright," ^ and saying to
the latter, " If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." ^ The Manichseans
say that the soul, as a particle of God, has sin by the commixture of an evil nature; the
Pelagians say that the soul is upright, not being indeed a particle, but a creature of God,
and has not even in this corruptible life any sin. The Catholic Church condemns both,
saying to the Manichceans, " Either make the tree good and its fruit good, or make the
tree evil and its fruit evil,"
which would not be said to man who cannot make his own nature, unless because sin is
not nature, but vice; saying to the Pelagians, " If we say that we have no sin we deceive
ourselves, and the truth is not in us." ^ In these diseases, opposed as they are to one
another, the Manichseans and the Pelagians are at issue, with dissimilar will but with
similar untruth, separated by different opinions, but close together by a perverse mind.

Chap. 3. â€” How far the Mankliceans and Pelagians are joined in error; how far they are
separated.

Still, indeed, they alike resent the grace of Christ, they alike make His baptism of no
account, they alike dishonour His flesh; but, moreover, they do these things in different

^ Eccles. vii. 30. Â« Johu viii. 36 ^ jyiatt. xii. 33 ^ 1 John i. 8.

CHAP. 4.] MANICH^ANS AND PELAGIANS BOTH IN ERKO.. 273
ways and for different reasons. For the Manichteans assert that divine assistance is given to the merits of a good nature, but the Pelagians, to the merits of a good will. The former say, God owes this to the labours of His members; the latter say, God owes this to the virtues of His servants. In both cases, therefore, the reward is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt. The Manichseans contend, with a profane heart, that the washing of regeneration â€” that is, the water itself â€” is superfluous, and is of no advantage. But the Pelagians assert that what is said in holy baptism for the putting away of sins is of no avail to infants, as they have no sin; and thus in the baptism of infants, as far as pertains to the remission of sins, the Manichaeans destroy the visible element, and the Pelagians destroy also the visible sacrament.

The Manichseans, by blaspheming the birth of the Virgin, dishonour Christ's flesh; the Pelagians do as much by making the flesh of those to be redeemed equal to the flesh of the Redeemer, because Christ was born, not certainly in sinful flesh, but in the likeness of sinful flesh, because the flesh of the rest of mankind is born sinful. The Manichaeans, therefore, who absolutely abominate all flesh, take away the manifest truth from the flesh of Christ; but the Pelagians, who maintain that no flesh is born sinful, take away from Christ's flesh its special and proper dignity.

Chap. 4. â€” The two contrary errors.

Let the Pelagians, then, cease to object to the Catholics that which they are not, but let them rather hasten to amend what they themselves are; and let them not wish to be considered deserving of approval because they are opposed to the hateful error of the Manichseans, but let them acknowledge themselves to be deservedly hateful because they do not put away their own error. For two errors may be opposed to one another, although both are to be reprobated because both are alike opposed to the truth. For if the Pelagians are to be loved because they hate the Manichseans, the Manichseans should also be loved because they hate the Pelagians. But be it far from our Catholic mother to choose some to love on the ground that they hate others, when by the warning and

XV. s

274 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIAKS. [CHAP. 5, help of the Lord she ought to avoid both^ and should desire to heal both.

Chap. 5. [ni.] â€” The calumny of the Pelagians against the clergy of the Roman Church.
Moreover, they accuse the Eoman clergy, -writing, " That, driven by the fear of a command, they have not blushed to be guilty of the crime of prevarication; ^ that, contrary to their previous judgment, wherein by their proceedings they had assented to the Catholic dogma, they subsequently pronounced that the nature of men is evil." Nay, but the Pelagians had conceived, with a false hope, that the new and execrable dogma of Pelagius or Coelestius could be made acceptable to the catholic intelligences of certain Romans, when those crafty spirits â€” however perverted by a wicked error, yet not contemptible, since they appeared rather to be deserving of considerate correction than of easy condemnation â€” were treated with somewhat more of lenity than the stricter discipline of the Church required. For while so many and such important ecclesiastical documents were passing and repassing between the Apostolical See and the African bishops, â€” and, moreover, when the proceedings in this matter in that see were completed, with Ccelestius present and making answer, â€” what sort of a letter, what decree, is found of Pope Zosimus, of venerable memory, wherein he prescribed that it must be believed that man is born without any taint of original sin ? Absolutely he never said this â€” never wrote it at all. But since Coelestius had written this in his pamphlet, among those matters merely on which he confessed that he was still in doubt and desired to be instructed, the desire of amendment in a man of the shrewdest intellect, who, if he could be put right, would assuredly be of advantage to many, and not the falsehood of the doctrine, was approved. And therefore his pamphlet was called catholic, because this also is the part of a catholic disposition, â€” if by chance in any matters a man thinks differently from what the truth demands, not with the greatest accuracy to define those matters, but, if detected and demonstrated, to reject them. For it was not to heretics, but to catholics, that the apostle was speaking when he said, " Let

1 " Prevaricationis. "

CHAP. 5.] DOUBLE DEALING OF CCELESTITJS. 275

US, therefore, as many as are perfect, he thus minded; and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." ^ This was thought to have been the case in him [Ccelestius] when he replied that he consented to the letters of Pope Innocent of blessed memory, in which all doubt about this matter was removed. And in order that this might be made fuller and more manifest in him, matters were delayed until letters should come from Africa, in which province his craftiness had in some sort become more evidently known; and after these letters came to Rome containing this, that it was not sufficient for men of more sluggish and anxious minds that he confessed his general consent to the letters of Bishop Innocent, but that he ought openly to anathematize the mischievous statements which he had made in his pamphlet; lest if he did not do so, many people of better intelligence should rather believe that in his pamphlet those poisons of the faith had been approved by the Catholic See, because it had been affirmed by that see that that pamphlet was catholic, than that they had been amended because of his answer that he consented to the letters of Pope Innocent.
Then, therefore, when his presence was demanded, in order that by certain and clear answers either the craft of the man or his correction might plainly appear and remain doubtful to no one, he withdrew himself and refused the examination. Neither would it have been delayed already, as it had been for the advantage of others, if it could not be of advantage to the pertinacity and madness of those who were excessively perverse. But if, which be far from the case, it had so been judged in the Eoman Church concerning Ccelestius or Pelagius, that those dogmas of theirs, which in themselves and "with themselves Pope Innocent had condemned, should be pronounced worthy of approval and maintenance, the mark of apostasy would rather have to be branded on the Ptoman clergy for this. But now, when for the first time the letters of the most blessed Pope Innocent, in reply to the letters of the African bishops, would have equally condemned this error which these men are endeavouring to commend to us; and his successor, the holy Pope Zosimus, would never have said,

1 PhiL iiL 15.


never have written, that this dogma which these men think concerning infants is to be held; nay, would even have bound Ccelestius by a repeated dogma, when he endeavoured to clear himself, to a consent to the above-mentioned letters of the Apostolic See; â€” assuredly, whatever in the meanwhile was done more leniently concerning Ccelestius, provided the stability of the most ancient and robust faith were maintained, has the most merciful persuasion of correction, not the most pernicious approval of wickedness; and that afterwards, by the same priesthood, Ccelestius and Pelagius were condemned by repeated authority, was the proof of a severity, for a little while intermitted, at length of necessity to be carried out, not a denial of a previously - known truth or a new acknowledgment of truth.

Chap. 6, [iv.] â€” What was done in the case of Ccelestius before Zosimus.

But what need is there for us to delay longer in speaking of this matter, when there are extant here and there memorials and writings drawn up, where all those things just as they were transacted may be either learnt or recalled? For who I does not see in what degree Ccelestius was bound by the interrogations of your holy predecessor [Zosimus], and by the answers of Ccelestius, whereby he professed that he consented
to the letters of Pope Innocent? And now, fastened by a most wholesome chain, he could not dare any further to maintain that the original sin of infants is not put away in baptism; because these are the words of the venerable Bishop Innocent concerning this matter to the Carthaginian Council: "For once," he said, "he endured free-will; but, using his advantage inconsiderately, and falling into the depths of apostasy, he was overwhelmed, and found no way whereby he could rise from thence; and, deceived for ever by his liberty, he would have lain under the oppression of this ruin, if the advent of Christ had not subsequently for his grace delivered him, who, by the purification of a new regeneration, purged all past sin by the washing of His baptism." What could be more clear or more manifest than jthat judgment of the Apostolic See? To this Coelestius professed that he assented, when, it being
"Sacerdote."

CHAP. 7.] PROFESSION OF CCELESTIUS. 277

said to him by your holy predecessor [Zosimus], "Do you condemn all those things that are bandied about under your name?" he himself replied, "I condemn them in accordance with the judgment of your predecessor Innocent, of blessed memory." But among other things which had been uttered concerning his name, the deacon Paulinus had objected to Ccelestius that he said "that the sin of Adam was prejudicial to himself alone, and not to the human race, and that infants newly born were in the same condition in which Adam was before his sin." Accordingly, if he would condemn the views objected to by Paulinus with a truthful heart and tongue, according to the judgment of the blessed
Pope Innocent, what could remain to him afterwards whence he could contend that there was no sin in infants resulting from the past transgression of the first man, which would be purged in holy baptism by the purification of the new regeneration? But he showed that he had answered deceitfully by the final event, when he withdrew himself from the examination, lest he should be compelled, according to the African rescripts, absolutely to mention and anathematize the very words themselves concerning this question which he wrote in his tractate.

Chap. 7. "He suggests a dilemma to Ccelestius.

What was that which the same pope replied to the bishop of Numidia concerning this very cause, because he had received letters from both Councils, as well from the Council of Carthage as from the Council of Milevi? does he not speak most plainly concerning infants? For these are his words: " For what your fraternity assert that they preach, that infants can be endowed with the rewards of eternal life even without the grace of baptism, is excessively silly; for unless they shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, they shall not have life in themselves. And they who maintain this as being theirs without regeneration, appear to me to wish to destroy baptism itself, when they affirm that those have that which we believe is not to be conferred on them without baptism." What does the ungrateful man say to this, when the Apostolic See had already spared him on his profession, as if he were corrected by its most benignant lenity?

278 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 8

What does he say to this? Will infants after the end of their life, even if while they live they are not baptized in Christ, be in eternal life, or will they not? If he should say they will, how then did he answer that he had condemned what had been uttered under his name according to the judgment of Innocent, of blessed memory? Lo, Pope Innocent, of blessed memory, says that infants have not life without Christ's baptism, and without partaking of Christ's body and blood. If he should say they will not, how then, if they do not receive eternal life, are they certainly by consequence condemned in eternal death if they derive no original sin?


What do they say to these things who dare, moreover, to write his mischievous impieties, and dare to send them to the Eastern bishops? Ccelestius is held to have given consent to the letters of the venerable Innocent; the letters themselves of the prelate mentioned are read, who writes that infants who are not baptized cannot have life. And who will deny that, as a consequence, they have death, if they have not life? Whence, then, in infants, is so wretched a penalty as that, if there is no original fault? How, then, are the Eoman clergy charged with apostasy by those forsakers of the faith and opponents of grace under Bishop Zosimus, as if they had had any other view in the subsequent condemnation of Ccelestius and Pelagius than that which they had in the
former one under Innocent? Because, certainly, since by the letters of the venerable Innocent concerning the abode of infants in eternal death unless they were baptized in Christ, the antiquity of the Catholic faith shone forth, assuredly he would rather be an apostate from the Roman Church who should deviate from that judgment; and since with God's blessing this did not happen, but that judgment itself was constantly maintained in the repeated condemnation of Cælestius and Pelagius, let them understand that they themselves are in the position wherein they accuse others of being, and let them hereafter be healed of their apostasy from the faith. Because the Catholic faith does not say that the nature of man is bad in respect of man's first appointment by the Creator; nor yet is this

CHAP. 10. god's grace IS NOT FATE. 279

liis evil part which God creates in that nature when He makes men from men, but what he takes from that sin of the first man.

Chap. 9. [v.] â€” He npUes to the calumnies of the Pelagians.

And now we must look to those things which they objected to us in their letters, gaining a brief advantage. And to these this is my answer. We do not say that by the sin of Adam free-will perished out of the nature of men, but that it is of force for sinning in men subjected to the devil; while it is not of avail for pious living, unless the will itself of man should be made free by God's grace, and assisted to every good movement of action, of speech, of thought. We say that no one but the Lord God is the maker of those who are born, and that marriage was ordained not by the devil, but by God Himself; yet that all are born under sin on account of the fault of the race, and that, therefore, all are under the devil until they are born again in Christ. Nor are we maintaining fate under the name of grace, because we say that the grace of God is preceded by no merits of man. If, however, it is agreeable to any to call the will of the Almighty God by the name of fate, while we indeed shun profane novelties of words, we have no desire to contend about words.

Chap. 10. â€” Why the Pelagians falsely accuse Catholics of maintaining fate under the name of grace.

But, as I was somewhat more attentively considering for what reason they should think it well to object this to us, that we assert fate under the name of grace, I first of all looked into those words of theirs which follow. For thus they have thought that this was to be objected to us: "Under the name," say they, "of grace, they so assert fate as to say that unless God inspired man with the desire of good, unwilling and resisting, and that good imperfect, he would neither be able to decline from evil nor to lay hold of good." Then a letter after, where they themselves mention what they maintain, I gave heed to what was said by them about this matter.
"We confess," say they, "that baptism is necessary for all ages, and that grace, moreover, assists the good purpose of everybody; but yet that it does not infuse the love of virtue.

280 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 11.]

Into a reluctant mind, because there is no acceptance of persons with God." From these words of theirs, I perceive that for this reason they either think, or wish it to be thought, that we assert fate under the name of grace, because we say that God's grace is not given in respect of our merits, but according to His own most merciful will, in that He said, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy." Where, by way of consequence, it is added, "Therefore it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that meaneth, but of God that showeth mercy." Here any one might be equally foolish in thinking or saying that the apostle is an assertor of fate. But here these people sufficiently lay themselves open; for when they malign us by saying that we maintain fate under the name of grace, because we say that God's grace is not given in respect of our merits, beyond a doubt they confess that they themselves say that it is given in respect of our merits; thus their blindness could not conceal and dissimulate that they believe and think thus, although, when this view was objected to him, Pelagius, in the episcopal judgment of Palestine, with crafty fear condemned it. For it was objected to him from the words of his own disciple Coelestius, indeed, that he himself also was in the habit of saying that God's grace is given in respect of our merits. And he in abhorrence, or in pretended abhorrence of this, did not delay with his lips, at least, to anathematize it; but, as his later writings indicate, and the assertion of those followers of his makes evident, he kept in his deceitful heart until afterwards what the cunning of a denier had then hidden for fear, and moreover his boldness might put forth in letters. And still the Pelagian bishops do not dread, and at least are not ashamed, to send their letters to the Catholic Eastern bishops, in which they charge us with being assertors of fate because we do not say that even grace is given according to our merits; although Pelagius, fearing the Eastern bishops, did not dare to say this, and so was compelled to condemn it.

Chap. 11. [vi.] "The accusation of fate is thrown back upon the adversaries.

But is it thus, children of pride, enemies of God's grace,

1 Ck)l. iii. 25. ^ Ex. xxxiii. 19; Rom. ix. 15. ^ Eom. ix. 16.

CHAP. 11.] WHAT DOES BAPTISM DO FOR INFANTS? 281
new Pelagian heretics, that whoever says that all man's good deservings are preceded by God's grace, and that God's grace is not given to merits, lest it should not be grace if it is not given freely, but is repaid as due to those who deserve it, seems to you to assert fate? Do not you yourselves also say, whatever be your purpose, that baptism is necessary for all ages? Have you not written in this very letter of yours that opinion concerning baptism, and that concerning grace, side by side? Why did not baptism, which is given to infants, by that very juxtaposition admonish you what you ought to think concerning grace? For these are your words: "We confess that baptism is necessary for all ages, and that grace, moreover, assists the good purpose of everybody; but yet that it does not infuse the love of virtue into a reluctant mind, because there is no acceptance of persons with God." In all these words of yours, I for the meanwhile say nothing of what you have said concerning grace. But give a reason concerning baptism, why you should say that it is necessary for all ages; say why it is necessary for infants. Assuredly because it confers some good upon them; and that same something is neither small nor moderate, but of great account. For although you deny that they contract the original sin which is remitted in baptism, yet you do not deny that in that laver of regeneration they are adopted from the sons of men unto the sons of God; nay, you even preach this. Tell us, then, how the infants, whoever they are, that are baptized in Christ and have departed from the body, received so lofty a gift as this, and with what preceding merits. If you should say that they have deserved this by the piety of their parents, it will be replied to you, Why is this benefit sometimes denied to the children of pious people and given to the children of the wicked? For sometimes the offspring sprung from religious people, in tender age, and thus fresh from the womb, is forestalled by death before it can be washed in the laver of regeneration, and the infant born of Christ's foes is baptized in Christ by the mercy of Christians, â€” the baptized mother bewails her own little one not baptized, and the chaste virgin gathers in to be baptized a foreign offspring, exposed by an immodest mother. Here, certainly.

282 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS, [CIIAP. 12.

the merits of parents are wanting, and even by your own confession the merits of the infants themselves are wanting also. For we know that you do not believe this of the human soul, that it has lived somewhere before it inhabited this earthly body, and has done something either of good or of evil for which it might deserve such difference in the flesh. What cause, then, has procured baptism for this infant, and has denied it to that? Do they themselves hold fate because they do not hold merit? or is there in these things acceptance of persons with God? For you have said both, â€” first fate, afterwards acceptance of persons, â€” that, since both must be refuted, there may remain the merit which you wish to introduce against grace. Answer, then, concerning the merits of infants, why some should depart from their bodies baptized, others not baptized, and neither possess nor want so excellent a gift by the merits of their parents, that they should become sons of God from sons of men, by no deservings of their parents, by no deservings of their own? You are silent, forsooth, and
you find yourselves rather in the same position which you object to us. For if when there is no merit you say that consequently there is fate, and on this account wish the merit of man to be understood in the grace of God, lest you should be compelled to confess fate, see, you rather assert a fate in the baptism of infants, since you avow that in them there is no merit. But if, in the case of infants to be baptized, you deny that any merit at all precedes, and yet do not concede that there is a fate, why do you cry out, when we say that the grace of God is therefore given freely, lest it should not be grace, and is not repaid as if it were due to preceding merits, that we are assertors of fate? Are not perceiving that in the justification of the wicked, as there are no merits because it is God's grace, so that it is not fate because it is God's grace, and so that it is not acceptance of persons because it is God's grace.

Chap. 12. *What is meant under the name of fate.*

Because they who affirm fate contend that not only actions and events, but, moreover, our very wills themselves depend on the position of the stars at the time in which one is conceived or born; which positions they call constellations. But

CHAP. 13. [vii.] NO ACCEPTANCE OF PERSONS. 283

the grace of God surpasses not only all stars and all heavens, but, moreover, all angels. Hence the assertors of fate attribute both men's good and evil doings and fortunes to fate, but in the ill fortunes of men God is following up their merits with due retribution; but He bestows benefits by undeserved grace with a merciful will, doing both the one and the other not according to a seasonable conjunction of stars, but according to the eternal and deep counsel of His severity and goodness. We see, then, that neither belongs to fate. Here, if you answer that this very benevolence of God, by which He follows not merits, but bestows undeserved benefits with gratuitous bounty, should rather be called fate, when the apostle calls this grace, saying, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God; not of works, lest perchance any one should be lifted up," do you not consider do you not perceive that it is not by us that fate is asserted under the name of grace, but it is rather by you that divine grace is called by the name of fate?

Chap. 13. [vii.] *Herepst te calumny concerning the acceptance of persons.*

And, moreover, the acceptance of persons is rightly so called in the case where he who judges, neglecting the merit of the cause concerning which he is judging, favours the one against the other, because he finds something in his favour which is worthy of honour or of pity. But if any one have two debtors, and he choose to remit the debt to the one, to require it of the other, he gives to whom he will and defrauds nobody; nor is this to be called acceptance of persons, since there is no injustice. The acceptance of persons may seem otherwise to those who are of small understanding, where the lord of the vineyard gave to those labourers who had done work therein for one hour as much as to those who
had borne the burden and heat of the day, making them equal in wages of whom there
had been such a difference in their labour.
But what did he reply to those who murmured against the goodman of the house
concerning this, as it were, acceptance of persons? "Friend," said he, "I do thee no
wrong. Hast not thou agreed with me for a denarius? Take what thine

Â» Epb. ii. 8.


is, and go; but I choose to give to this last as to thee. Is it not lawful to me to do what I
will? Is thine eye evil because I am good? " ^ Here, forsooth, is the whole justice:
" I choose." " To thee," he says, " I have repaid; on him I
have bestowed; nor have I taken anything away from thee to bestow it on him; nor have I
either diminished or denied what I owed to you. May I not do what I will? Is thine eye
evil because I am good? " As, therefore, here there is no acceptance of persons, because
one is honoured freely in such wise as that another is not defrauded of what is due to him,
so also when, according to the purpose of God, one is called, another is not called, a
gratuitous benefit is bestowed on the one that is called, of which benefit the calling itself
is the beginning, an evil is repaid to him that is not called, because all are guilty, from the
fact that by one man sin entered into the world. And in that parable of the labourers,
indeed, where they received one denarius who laboured for one hour, as well as those
who laboured twelve times as long, â€” though assuredly these latter, according to human
reasonings, however vain, ought in proportion to the amount of their labour to have
received twelve denarii, â€” both of them were put on an equality in respect of the
benefit, it was not that some were delivered and others were condemned; because even
those who laboured more had it from the goodman of the house himself, both that they
were so called as to come, and that they were so fed as to have no want. But where it is
said, " Therefore, on whom He will He has mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth," -
who " maketh one vessel to honour and another to dishonour," ^ it is given indeed
without deserving, and freely, because he is of the same mass to whom it is not given; but
evil is deservedly and of debt repaid, since in the mass of perdition evil is not repaid to
the evil unjustly. And to him to whom it is repaid it is evil, because it is his punishment;
while to Him by whom it is repaid it is good, because it is His right to do it. Nor is there
any acceptance of]

persons in the case of two debtors equally guilty, if to the one is remitted and from the
other is claimed that which is equally owed by both.


CHAP. 15.] SUPPOSED CASE OF TWINS. 285
Chap. 14. "He illustrates his argument by an example.

But that what I am saying may be made clear by the manifestation of an example, let us suppose certain twins, born of a certain harlot, and exposed that they might be taken up by others. One of them has expired without baptism; the other is baptized. What can we say was in this case the fate or the fortune, which are here absolutely nothing?

What acceptance of persons, although with God there is none, even if there could be any such thing in these cases, seeing that they certainly had nothing for which the one could be preferred to the other, and no merits of their own, "whether good, for which the one might deserve to be baptized; or evil, for which the other might deserve to die without baptism?"

Were there any merits in their parents, when the father was a fornicator, the mother a harlot? But of whatever kind those merits were, there were certainly not any that were different to those who died in so different a condition, but they were common to both. If, then, neither fate, since no stars made them to differ; nor fortune, since no fortuitous accidents produce these things; neither the diversity of persons nor of merits have done this, what remains, so far as it refers to the baptized child, save the grace of God, which is given freely to vessels made unto honour; but, as refers to the unbaptized child, the wrath of God, which is repaid to the vessels made for dishonour in respect of the deserving of the lump itself? But in that which is baptized we constrain you to confess the grace of God, and convince you that no merit of its own preceded; but of that one which died without baptism, why that sacrament should have been wanting to it, which even you confess to be needful for all ages, and what in that manner may have been punished in him, it is for you to see who will not have it that there is any original sin.

Chap. 15. "The apostle meets the question by leaving it unsolved.

As in the case of those two twins we have without a doubt one and the same cause, the difficulty of the question why the one died in one way, and the other in another, is solved by the apostle as it were by not solving it; since, when he had pro-


posed something of the same kind about two twins, "on account of which, not of works, because they had not as yet done anything either of good or of evil, but of Him that calleth," it was said, "The elder shall serve the younger," and, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," and had prolonged the dread of this profundity even to the point of saying, "Therefore hath He mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He harden eth," constantly perceived what impulse was at work, and opposed to himself the words of a gainsayer which he desired to check by apostolical authority.
For he says, "You say, then, unto me, Why doth He yet find fault? For who has resisted His will?" And to him who says this he answered, "O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Does the thing formed say to him that formed it. Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power of the clay of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?" * Then, following on, he opened up so great and hidden a secret as far as he judged it fit that it should be disclosed to men, saying, "But if God, willing to show His wrath and to demonstrate His power, endured in much patience the vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy which He has prepared for glory." ^ This is not only the assistance, but, moreover, the proof of God's grace â€” the assistance, namely, in the vessels of mercy, but the proof in the vessels of wrath; for in them He shows His anger and makes known His power, because His goodness is so mighty that He even uses the evil well; and in them He makes known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, because what the justice of a punisher requires from the vessels of wrath, the grace of the Deliverer remits to the vessels of mercy. Nor would the kindness which is bestowed on some freely appear, unless to others equally guilty and from the same mass God showed what was really due to both, and condemned them with a righteous judgment. "For who maketh thee to differ?" ^ says the same apostle to a man as it were boasting concerning himself and his own benefits. "For who

1 Eom. ix. 11. 2 Eom. ix. 11. ^ Rom. ix. IS.

* Rom. ix. 19. 5 Eom. ix. 22, 23. ^ 1 Cor. iv, 7.

CHAP. 15.] WHO MAKETH TO DIFFER? 287

maketh thee to differ?" Certainly froia the vessels of wrath, from the masses of the perdition which has sent all by one into damnation. Who maketh thee to differ? And as if he had answered, INly faith maketh me to differ, â€” my purpose, my merit, â€” he says, "For what hast thou which thou hast not received? But if thou hast received it, why dost thou boast as if thou receivedst it not?" â€” that is, as if that whence thou art made to differ were of thine own. Therefore He maketh thee to differ who bestows that whence thou art made to differ by removing the penalty that is due, by conferring the grace which is not due. He maketh to differ, who, when the darkness was upon the face of the abyss, said, "Let there be light; and there was light, and divided " â€” that is, made to differ â€” "between the light and the darkness."^ For when there was only darkmess. He did not find what He should make to differ; but by making the light. He made to differ, as it may be said to the justified wicked, "For ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord." ^ And thus he who glories must glory not in himself, but in the Lord. He makes to differ who â€” of those who are not yet born, and who have not yet done any good or evil, that according to the election His purpose might stand not of works, but of Himself that calleth â€” said. The elder shall serve the younger, and commending that very purpose afterwards by the mouth of the prophet, said, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." ^ Because he said the election, in which God does not find made by another
what He may choose, but Himself makes what He may find; as of the remnant of Israel it is written:
"There is made a remnant by the election of grace; but if by grace, then it is no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace." ^ On which account you are certainly foolish who, when the Truth declares, "Not of works, but of Him that calleth, it was said," say that Jacob was loved on account of future works which God foreknew that he would do, and thus contradict the apostle when he says, "Not of works;" as if he could not have said, "Not of present, but of future works."
But he says, "Not of works, that He might commend grace; but if of grace, now is it no more of works, otherwise grace

^ Gen. i. 2. - Eph. v. 8. ^ n^i i 2. 4 Eom. xi. 5.

288 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 17.

is no more grace." For grace, not due, but free, precedes, that by it good works may be done; but if good works should precede, grace should be repaid, as it were, to works, and thus grace should be no more grace.

Chap. 16. â€” The Pelagians are refuted by the case of the twin infants dying, the one after, and the other without, the grace of baptism.

But that every lurking-place of your darkness may be taken away from you, I have proposed to you the case of such twins as were not assisted by the merits of their parents; and both died, the one baptized in the very beginning of infancy, the other without baptism; lest you should say that God foreknew their future works, as you say of Jacob and Esau, in opposition to the apostle. For how did He foreknow that those things should be, which, in those infants about to die in infancy, He rather foreknew as not future, since His foreknowledge cannot be deceived? Or what does it profit those who are taken away from this life that wickedness may not change their understanding, nor deceit beguile their soul, if even the sin which has not been done, said, or thought, is thus punished as if it had been committed? Because, if it is most absurd, silly, and senseless, that certain men should have to be condemned for those sins, the guilt of which they could neither derive from their parents, as you say, nor could incuir themselves, either by committing them, or even by conceiving of them, there comes back to you that unbaptized twin brother of the baptized one, and silently asks you for what reason he was made to differ from his brother in respect of happiness, â€” why he was punished with that infelicity, that, while his brother' was adopted into a child of God, he himself should not receive that sacrament which, as you confess, is necessary for every age, if, even as there is not a fortune or a fate, or an acceptance of persons with God, so there is no gift of grace without merits, and no original sin. To this dumb child you absolutely submit your tongue and voice; to this witness who says nothing, â€” you have nothing at all to say!
Chap. 17. [viii.] Even the desire of an imperfect good is a gift of grace, otherwise grace would he given according to merits.

Let us now see as we can the nature of this very thing which they will have to precede in man, in order that he may

CHAP. 18.] EVEN THE DESIRE AFTER GOOD IS OF GRACE. 289

be regarded as worthy of the assistance of grace, and to the merit of which in him grace is not given as if it were not earned, but is given as if it were due; and thus grace is no more grace. Let us see, however, what this is. " Under the name," say they, " of grace, they so assert fate as to say that unless God should have infused the desire for good, and that, imperfect good, into unwilling and resisting man, he would neither be able to decline from evil nor to grasp after good."

I have already shown what empty things they speak about fate and grace. Now the question which I ought to consider is this, whether God infuses the desire of good into man unwilling and resisting, that he may be no longer unwilling, no longer resisting, but consenting to the good and willing the good. For those men will have it that the desire of good in man begins from man himself; that the merit of this beginning is, moreover, attended with the grace of completion

if, at least, they will allow this to be a grace. For Pelagius says that what is good is more easily fulfilled if grace assists.

By which addition he certainly signifies that he is of the opinion that, even if the aid of grace should be wanting, yet good might be accomplished, although with greater difficulty, by free-will alone. But let me prescribe to those opponents of mine what they should think in this matter, without speaking of that author of this heresy. Let us allow them, with their free-will, to be free even from Pelagius himself, and rather give heed to those words of theirs which they have written in this letter to which I am replying.

Chap. 18, â€“ The desire of good is God's gift.

For they have thought that it was to be objected to us that we say " that God infuses into man, unwilling and resisting, the desire," not of good, how great soever it be, but " even of imperfect good." Possibly, then, they themselves are keeping open a place at least for grace, as thinking that man may have the desire of good without grace, but only of imperfect good; while of perfect, he could not easily have the desire with it, but that except with it they could not have it at all.

Truly, even in this way, too, they are saying that God's grace

XV. T
is given according to our merits, which Pelagius, in the ecclesiastical meeting in the East, condemned, because he was afraid of being condemned. For if without God's grace the desire of good begins with ourselves, merit itself will have begun â€” to which, as if of debt, comes the assistance of grace; and thus God's grace will not be bestowed freely, but will be given according to our merit. But that he might furnish a reply to the future Pelagius, the Lord does not say, "Without me you can with difficulty do anything," but He says, "Without me ye can do nothing." And, that He might also furnish an answer to these future heretics, in that very same evangelical saying He does not say, "Without me you can perfect nothing," but "do nothing. For if He had said "perfect," they might say that God's aid is necessary not for beginning good, which is of ourselves, but for perfecting it. But let them hear also the apostle. For when the Lord says, "Without me ye can do nothing," in this one word He comprehends both the beginning and the ending. The apostle, indeed, as if he were an expounder of the Lord's saying, distinguished both very clearly when he says, "Because He who hath begun a good work in you will perfect it even to the day of Christ Jesus." But in the Holy Scriptures, in the writings of the same apostle, we find more about that of which we are speaking. For we are now speaking of the desire of good, which, if they will have to begin of ourselves and to be perfected by God, let them see what they can answer to the apostle when he says, "Not that we are sufficient to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God." "To think anything," he says, â€” he certainly means, "to think anything good;" but it is less to think than to desire. Because we think all that we desire, but we do linot desire all that we think; because sometimes also we think what we do not desire. Since, then, it is a smaller thing to think than to desire, â€” for a man may think good which he does not yet desire, and by advancing may afterwards desire what before without desire he thought of, â€” how are we not sufficient as of ourselves to that which is less, that is, to the desire of something good, but our sufficiency is of God; while to that which is greater, â€” that is, to the

1 John XV. 5. - Phil. i. 6. ^2 Cor. iii. 5.

CHAP. 20 J THE PEEPAHATION OF THE HEAKT FROM GOD, 291

desire of some good thing without the divine help, â€” we are sufficient of free-will ? For what the apostle says here is not, "Not that we are sufficient as of ourselves to think that which is perfect;" but he says, "to think anything," to which nothing is the contrary. And this is the meaning of what the Lord says, "Without me ye can do nothing."
Chap. 19. [ix. ] â€” He interprets the Scriptures which the Peiagiaiis malce ill use of.

But assuredly, as to what is written, " The preparation of the heart is man's part, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord," ^ they are mistaken by an imperfect understanding, so as to think that the preparation of the heart â€” that is, the beginning of good â€” pertains to man without the aid of God's grace. Be it far from the children of promise thus to understand it! As if, when they heard the Lord saying, " Without me ye can do nothing," ^ they would convict Him by saying, " Behold, without Thee we can prepare the heart; " or when they heard from Paul the apostle, " Not that we are sufficient to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God," ^ as if they would also convict him, saying,

" Behold, we are sufficient of ourselves to prepare our heart, and thus also to think some good thing; for who can without good thought prepare his heart for good? " Be it far from any thus to understand the passage, except the proud maintainers of free-will and forsakers of the Catholic faith!

Therefore, since it is written, " It is man's part to prepare the heart, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord," [it means] that man prepares his heart, not, however, without the aid of God, who so touches the heart that man prepares the heart. ^ But in the answer of the tongue â€” that is, in that which the divine tongue answers to the" prepared heart â€” 'man has no part; but the whole is from the Lord God.

Chap. 20. â€” God's agency is needful even in man's doings.

For as it is said, " It is man's duty to prepare his heart, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord; " so also is it said, " Open thy mouth, and I will fill it." ^ For although,

" Prov. xvi. 1 [Vulg.]. ^ John xv. 5. ' 2 Cor. iii. 5. 

* But see English Bible in loc. ^ Ps. Ixxxii. 10^
mouth, and God opens man's lips? Although God restrains them from even that absurdity where He says to Moses His servant, " I will open thy mouth, and I will instruct thee what thou oushest to speak." 

In that clause, therefore, where He says, " Open thy mouth and I will fill it," it seems, as it were, that one of them pertains to man, the other to God. But in this, where it is said, " I will open thy mouth and will instruct thee," both belong to God. Why is this, except that in one of these cases He cooperates with man as the agent, in the other He does it alone?

Chap. 21. "Man does no good thing which God does not cause him to do.

Wherefore God does many good things in man which man does not do; but man does none which God does not cause that 'man may do. Accordingly, there would be no desire of good in man from the Lord if it were not a good; but if it is a benefit, we have it not save from Him who is supremely and incomunicably good. For what is the desire for good but love, of which John the apostle speaks without any ambiguity, and says, " Love is of God "? Nor is its beginning of ourselves, and its perfection of God; but if love is of God, we have the whole of it from God. Let God by aU means turn away this folly of making ourselves first in His gifts, 1 Prov. viii. [LXX.] ^ ps. li, jg, s e^. iv. 12. * 1 John iv. 7.

CHAP. 22.] GOD BEGINS AND PERFECTS GOOD IN HAN. 293

Himself last, "because " His mercy shall prevent me," And it is He to whom is faithfully and truthfully sung, " For Thou hast prevented him with the blessings of sweetness." And what is here more fitly understood than that very desire of good of which we are speaking? For good then begins to be longed for when it has begun to grow sweet. But when good is done by the fear of penalty, not by the love of righteousness, good is not yet well done. Nor is that done in the heart which seems to be done in the act, when a man would rather not do it if he could evade it with impunity. Therefore the blessing of sweetness is Grod's grace, by which is caused in us that what He prescribes to us delights us, and we desire it, " because we love it; in which if God does precede us, not only is it not perfected, but it is not even begun, from us. For, if without Him we are able to do nothing actually, we are able neither to begin nor to perfect, " because to begin, it is said, " His mercy shall prevent me; " to finish, it is said, " His mercy shall follow me." 

Chap. 22. [s..]" According to whose purpose the elect are called.

What, then, is that which, in what follows, they say that they confess when they mention what they themselves think,

" That grace also assists the good purpose of every one, but that yet it does not infuse the desire of virtue into a reluctant heart "? Because they say this in such a way as if man of himself, without God's assistance, has a good purpose and a desire of virtue; and this
precedent merit is worthy to be assisted by the subsequent grace of God. For they think, perchance, that the apostle thus said, " For we know that He worketh all things for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to the purpose," * so as to wish the purpose of man to be understood, which purpose, as a good merit, the mercy of the God that calleth might follow; being ignorant that it is said, " Who are called according to the purpose," so that the purpose of God, not man, may be understood; by which those whom He foreknew and predestinated, conformed to the image of His Son, He elected before the foundation of the world. For not all are called; since " many
^ Ps. lix. 10. "^ Ps. xxi. 3. 3 Ps. xxiii. 6. â– * Eom. viii. 28.

294 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 23.

are called, few are chosen." ^ They, therefore, are called according to the purpose, who were elected before the foundation of the world. Of this purpose of God, that also was said which I have already mentioned concerning the twins Esau and Jacob, " That according to the election the purpose of God might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth; it was said, that the elder shall serve the younger." ^ This purpose of God is also mentioned in that place where, writing to Timothy, he says, " Labour with the gospel according to the power of God, who saves us and calls us with this holy calling; not according to our works, but according to His purpose and grace, which was given to us in Christ Jesus before the eternal ages, but is now made manifest by the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ." ^ This, then, is the purpose of God, whereof it is said, " He worketh together all things for good for those who are called according to the purpose." But subsequent grace indeed assists man's good purpose, but the purpose would not itself exist if grace did not precede. The desire of man, also, which is called good, although in beginning to exist it is aided by grace, yet does not begin without grace, but is inspired by Him of whom the apostle says, " But thanks be to God, who has given the same love for you in the heart of Titus." * If God gives the love that every one has for others, who else will give love that a man may have it for himself ?

Chap. 23. â€” Nothing Is commanded to man which is not given by God.

Since these things are so, I see that nothing is commanded to man by the Lord in the Holy Scriptures, for the sake of testing his free-will, which is not found either to begin by His goodness, or to be asked on account of the aid of grace to be shown; nor does man at all begin to be changed by the I' beginning of faith from evil to good, unless the unbought and
? gratuitous mercy of God effects this in him. Of which one recalling his thought, as we read in the Psalms, says, " Shall God forget to be gracious ? or will He restrain His mercies in His anger ? And I said, Now have I begun; this is the change of the right hand of the Most High," ^ When, there-

^ Matt. XX. 16. 2 Rom. ix. IL ^ 2 Tim. i. 8.
fore, he had said, "Now have I begun," he does not say. This is the changing of my will, but, "of the right hand of the Most High." Thus, therefore, let God's grace be thought upon, so that from the beginning of his good changing, even to the end of his completion, he who glorieth may glory in the Lord; because, as no one can perfect good without the Lord, so no one can begin it without the Lord. But let this be the end of this book, that the purpose of the reader may be refreshed and strengthened for what follows.

THE THIED BOOK

AUGUSTINE GOES ON TO REFUTE OTHER MATTERS WHICH ARE MALICIOUSLY OBJECTED BY THE PELAGIANS IN THE SAME LETTER SENT TO THESSALONICA; AND EXPOUNDS, IN OPPOSITION TO THEIR HERESY, "WHAT THOSE WHO ARE TRULY CATHOLIC SAY CONCERNING THE ADVANTAGE OF THE LAW; WHAT THEY TEACH OF THE EFFECT AND VIRTUE OF BAPTISM; WHAT OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE TWO TESTAMENTS, THE OLD AND THE NEW; WHAT CONCERNING THE RIGHTEOUSNESS AND PERFECTION OF THE PROPHETS AND APOSTLES; WHAT OF THE NAMING OF SIN IN CHRIST, WHEN HE IS SAID IN THE LIKENESS OF SINFUL FLESH CONCERNING SIN TO HAVE CONDEMNED SIN, OR, HE BECAME SIN; AND FINALLY, WHAT THEY PROFESS CONCERNING THE FULFILMENT OF THE COMMANDMENTS IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

Chap. 1. ã€” Statement.

THERE still follow those things which they calumniously object to us; they do not yet begin to work out those things which they themselves think. But lest the prolixity of these writings should be an offence, I have divided those matters which they object into two Books, â€” the former of which being completed, which is the Second Book of this entire work, I am here commencing the other, and joining it as the Third to the First and Second.
Chap. 2. [ii.] â€” The misrepresentation of the Pelagians concerning the use of the old law; the Catholic judgment concerning law and grace.

They declare "that we say that the law of the Old Testament was given not for the sake of justifying the obedient, but that it might become the cause of greater sin." Certainly, they do not understand what we say concerning the law; because we say what the apostle says, whom they do not understand. For who can say that they are not justified who are obedient to the law, when, unless they were justified, they could not be obedient? But we say, that by the law is effected that what God wills to be done is heard, but that by grace is effected that the law is obeyed. "For not the hearers

29G

CHAP. 2.] LAW NOT TO BE FULFILLED BY THE FLESH. 297

of the law," says the apostle, "are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." ^ Therefore the law makes hearers of righteousness, grace makes doers. "For what was impossible to the law," says the same apostle, "in that it was weak through the flesh, God sent His son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit." ^ This is what we say; â€” let them pray that they may one day understand it, and not dispute so as never to understand it. For it is impossible that the law should be fulfilled by the flesh, â€” that is, by carnal presumption, â€” in which the proud, who are ignorant of the righteousness of God, â€” â€” that is, which is of God to man, that he may be righteous, â€” and desirous of establishing their own righteousness, â€” as if by their own will, unassisted from above, the law could be fulfilled, â€” are not subjected to the righteousness of God. ^ Therefore the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in them who walk not according to the flesh â€” that is, according to man ignorant of the righteousness of God and desirous of establishing his own â€” but walk according to the Spirit. But who walks according to the Spirit, except whosoever is led by the Spirit of God? "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God." *

Therefore "the letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive." ^ And the letter is not an evil because it killeth; but it convicts the wicked of transgression. "For the law is holy, and the commandment holy and just and good. Was, then," says he, "that which is good made death unto me? By no means; but sin, that it might appear sin, worked death in me by that which is good, that it might become above measure a sinner or a sin by the commandment." Â® This is what is the meaning of "the letter killeth." "For the sting of death is sin, but the strength of sin is the law; " ^ because by the prohibition it increases the desires of sin, and thence slays a man unless grace by coming to his assistance makes him alive.

298 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 4.

Chap. 3.  å€“ Scriptural confirmation of the Catholic doctrine.

This is what we say; this is that about which they object to us that we say " that the law was so given as to be a cause of deeper sin." They do not hear the apostle saying, " For the law worketh wrath; for where no law is, there is no transgression; "  and, " The law was added for the sake of transgression until the seed should come to whom the promise was made; "  and, " If there had been a law given which could have given life, righteousness should altogether have been by the law; but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."  Hence it is that the Old Testament, from the Mount Sinai, where the law was given, gendereth to bondage, which is Agar. " Now we," says he, " are not children of the bondmaid but of the freewoman."  Therefore they are not children of the freewoman who have accepted the law of the letter, whereby they can be shown to be not only sinners, but moreover transgressors; but they who have received the Spirit of grace, whereby the law itself, holy and just and good, may be fulfilled. This is what we say: Let them attend and not contend; let them seek enlightenment and not bring false accusations.

Chap. 4. [iii.]  å€“ Misrepresentation concerning the effect of baptism.

" They assert," say they, " that baptism, moreover, does not make men new å€“ that is, does not give full remission of sins; but they contend that they are partly made children of God and partly remain children of the world å€“ that is, children of the devil."  They lie; they lay traps; they shuffle; we do not say this. For we say that all men who are children of the devil are also children of the world; but not that all children of the world are also children of the devil. Far be it from us to say that the holy fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and others of this kind, were children of the devil when they were begetting in marriage, and those believers who until now and still hereafter continue to beget. And yet we cannot contradict the Lord when He says, "The children of this world marry and give in marriage."  Some, therefore, are children of this world, and yet are not children of the devil. For although the devil is the author and source of all sins^ yet it is

CHAP. 4.] CHILDREN OF THE WORLD. 299

marry and give in marriage."  ^ Some, therefore, are children of this world, and yet are not children of the devil. For although the devil is the author and source of all sins^ yet it is

1

2 Cor. iii. 6. Â« p^o^, vii. 12, 13. " 1 Cor. xv. 56.
not every sin that makes children of the devil; for the children of God also sin, since if
they say they have no sins they deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them. But
they sin in virture of that condition by which they are still children of this world; but by
that grace wherewith they are the children of God they certainly sin not, because every
one that is born of God sinneth not. But unbelief makes children QJL the devil; and
unbelief is specially called sin, as if it were the only one, if it is not expressed what is the
nature of the sin.
As when the apostle is spoken of, if it be not expressed what apostle, none is understood
but Paul; because he is better known by his many epistles, and he laboured more than
they all For which reason, in what the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, " He shall convict the
world of sin," * He meant to be understood unbelief; for He said this when He was
explaining, " Of sin because they believed not on me," ^ and when He says, " If I had not
come and spoken to them, they should not have sin." ^ For He meant not that before they
had no sin, but He wished to indicate that very want of faith by which they neither
believed Him when He was present to them and speaking to them; since they belonged to
Him of whom the apostle says, " According to the prince of the power of the air, who
now worketh in the children of unbelief."'
Therefore they in whom there is not faith are the children of the devil, because they
have not in the inner man any reason why there should be forgiven them whatever is
committed either by human infirmity, or by ignorance, or by any evil will whatever. But
those are the children of God who certainly, if they should " say that they have no sin,
deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them, but immediately (as it
continues) "when they confess their sins" (which the children of the devil do not do, or
do not do according to the faith which is peculiar to the children of God), " He is faithful
and just to forgive them their sins, and to cleanse them from all

' Luke XX. 34. '"' 1 Jolin i. 8. ^ 1 John iii. 9, â– * John xvi. 8.

=â€¢ John xvi. 9. ^ jo^m xv. 22. ^ Epif n 2.

300 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 5.

unrighteousness."^ And in order that what we say may be more fully understood, let
Jesus Himself be heard, who certainly was speaking to the children of God when He said:
" And if ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more
shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him." ^ For if
these were not the children of God, He would not say to them, " Your Father which is in
heaven," And yet He says that they are evil, and that they know how to give good gifts to
their children. Are they, then, evil in that they are the children of God ? Away with the
thought ! But they are thence evil because they are still the children of this world,
although now made children of God by the pledge of the Holy Spirit.

Chap. 5. â€” Baptism puis away all sins, but it does not at once heal all infirmities.
Baptism, therefore, washes away indeed all sins absolutely all sins, whether of what are done or said or thought, whether original or added, whether such as are committed in ignorance or allowed in knowledge; but it does not take away the infirmity which the regenerate man resists when he fights the good fight, but to which he consents when as man he is overtaken in any fault; on account of the former, rejoicing with thanksgiving, but on account of the latter, groaning in the utterance of prayers. In respect of the former, saying, "What shall I render to the Lord for all which He has given me?" ^ On account of the latter, saying, "Forgive us our debts," * On account of the former, saying, "I will love Thee, Lord, my strength." ^ On account of the latter, saying, "Have mercy on me, Lord; for I am weak," ^ On account of the former, saying, "Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord; for He shall pluck my feet out of the net," ^ On account of the latter, saying, "Mine eye is troubled with wrath." ^ And innumerable passages with which the divine writings are filled, which alternately, either in exultation over God's benefits or in lamentation over our own evils, are uttered by children of God by faith as long as they are still children of this world in respect of the weakness of this life; whom, nevertheless, God distinguishes


^ Ps. cxviii. 1. ^ Ps. vi. 2. ^ Ps. xxv. 15. Â® Ps. xxxi. 9.

CHAP. 5.] SALVATION ONLY BEGUN IN BAPTISM. 301

from the children of the devil, not only by the laver of regeneration, but moreover by the righteousness of that faith which worketh by love, because the just lives of faith. And this "weakness with which we contend, with alternating failure and progress, even to the death of the body, and which is of great importance as to what it can overcome in us, shall be consumed by a second regeneration, of which the Lord says, "In the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones," ^ etc. Certainly in this passage He calls without doubt the last resurrection the regeneration, which Paul the Apostle also calls both the adoption and the redemption, where he says, "But even we ourselves, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit oursels, also groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption scil. the redemption of our body." ^ Have we not been regenerated, adopted, and redeemed by the holy washing? And yet there remains a regeneration, an adoption, a redemption, which we ought now patiently to be waiting for as to come in the end, that we may then be in no degree any longer children of this world. Whosoever, then, takes away from baptism that which we only receive by its means, corrupts the faith; but whosoever attributes to it now that which we shall receive by its means indeed, but yet hereafter, cuts off hope. For if any one should ask of me whether we have been saved by baptism, I shall not be able to deny it, since the apostle says, "He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost." ^

But if he should ask whether by the same washing He has already absolutely in every way saved us, I shall answer: It is not so. Because the same apostle also says, "For we
are saved by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, we with patience wait for it." *
Therefore the salvation of man is effected in baptism, because whatever sin he has derived from his parents is remitted, or whatever, moreover, he himself has sinned on his own account before baptism; but his salvation will hereafter be such that he cannot sin at all.


Chap. 6. [iv.] â€” The calumny concerning the Old Testament and the righteous men of old.

Now if these things are so, out of these things are rebutted those which they subsequently object to us. For what Catholic would say that which they charge us with saying, " that the Holy Spirit was not the assister of virtue in the Old Testament, unless when we so understand the Old Testament in the manner in which the apostle spoke of it as gendering from the Mount Sinai to bondage " ? But because in it was prefigured the New Testament, the men of God who at that time understood this according to the ordering of the times, were indeed the stewards and bearers of the Old Testament, but are shown to be the heirs of the New. Shall we deny that he pertains to the New Testament who says, " Create in me a clean heart, God; and renew a right spirit within me " ? ^ or he who says, " He hath set my feet upon a rock, and directed my goings; and he hath put a new song in my mouth, even a hymn to our God " ? ^ or that father of the faithful before the Old Testament which is from the Mount Sinai, of whom the apostle says, " Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; yet even a man's covenant confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto. To Abraham and to his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many, but as of one; and to thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say," said he, " that the Testament confirmed by God, the law, which was made four hundred and thirty years after, does not weaken, so as to make the promise of none effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise." ^

Chap. 7. â€” The Neiv Testament is more ancient than the Old; but it was subsequently revealed.

Here, certainly, if we ask whether this Testament, which, he says, being confirmed by God was not weakened by the law, which was made four hundred and thirty years after, is to be understood as the New or the Old one, who can hesitate to answer the New, but it was hidden in the prophetic ciphers until the time should come wherein it should be revealed in Christ?
For if we should say the Old, what will that be which genders ' Ps. li. 10. 2 Ps. xl. 2, a 3 Q^[_ iii_ 15 ff
from Mount Sinai to bondage? For there was made the law four hundred and thirty years after, by which law he asserts that this Testament of the promise of Abraham could not be weakened; and he will have this which was made by Abraham to pertain rather to us, whom he will have to be children of the freewoman, not of the bondwoman, heirs by the promise, not by the law, when he says, "For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise." That, because the law was made four hundred and thirty years after, it might enter that the offence might abound; since by sin the pride of man presuming on his own righteousness is convinced of transgression, and where sin abounded grace much more abounded, by the faith of the man now humble failing in the law and taking refuge in God's mercy. Therefore, when he had said, "For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no longer of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise," as if it might be said to him, Why then was the law made afterwards?" he added and said, "What then is the law?" To which interrogation he immediately replied, "It was added because of transgression, until the seed should come to which the promise was made." This he says again, thus: "For if they who are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect: because the law worketh wrath: so where there is no law, there is no transgression." What he says in the former testimony: "For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise," this he says in the latter: "For if they who are of the law be heirs, faith is made void; and the promise is made of none effect," sufficiently showing that to our faith (which certainly is of the New Testament) pertains what God gave to Abraham by promise. And what he says in the former testimony, "What then is the law?" and answered, "It was added for the sake of transgression," this he instantly added in the latter testimony, "For the law worketh wrath: so where there is no law, there is no transgression."

1 GaL iii. 18. Â» Rom. v. 20. s 1. iii. 18.


304 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. P.

Chap. 8. â€” All righteous men be/ore and after Abraham are children of the promise and of grace.

Whether, then, Abraham, or righteous men before him or after him, even to Moses himself, by whom was given the
Testament gendering to bondage from Mount Sinai, or the rest
of the prophets after him, and the holy men of God till John
the Baptist, they are all children of the promise and of grace
according to Isaac the son of the freewoman, not of the law,
but of the promise, heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ.
Far be it from us to deny that righteous Noah and the
righteous men of the earlier times, and whoever from that
time till the time of Abraham could be righteous, either
manifest or secret, belong to the Jerusalem which is above,
who is our mother, although they are found to be earlier in
time than Sarah, who bears the prophecy and figure of the
free mother herself. How much more evidently, then, after
Abraham, to whom that promise was declared, that he should
be called the father of many nations, must all, whoever have
pleased God, be esteemed the children of the promise! For
not from Abraham, and the righteous men who followed him,
is the generation more true; but the prophecy is found to be
more plain.

Chap. 9. Who are the children of the old covenant.

But those belong to the Old Testament, which is gendering from Mount Sinai to bondage,
which is Agar, who, when they have received a law which is holy and just and good,
think that the letter can suffice them for life; and that they may become doers of the law,
do not seek the divine mercy, but, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and
wishing to establish their own righteousness, are not subject to the righteousness of God.
Of this kind was that multitude which murmured against God in the wilderness, and made
an idol; and that multitude which even in the very land of promise committed fornication
after strange gods. But this multitude, even in the Old Testament itself, was strongly rebuked. They, moreover, whoever they were at that time who followed after those earthly promises alone which God promises there, and who are ignorant of that which those

CHAP. 10 | CHILDREN OF THE OLD AND NEW COVENANTS. 305

very promises signify under the New Testament, and kept God's commandments with the desire of gaining and with the fear of losing those promises, certainly did not observe them, but they seemed to observe themselves. For it was not faith in them that worked by love, but earthly cupidity and carnal fear. But he who thus fulfils the commandments beyond a doubt fulfils them unwillingly, and then does not do them in his heart; for he would rather not do them at all, if in respect of those things which he desires and fears he might be allowed to neglect them with impunity.

And thus, in the will itself within him, he is guilty; and it is here where God, who gives the command, looks. Such were the children of the earthly Jerusalem, concerning which the apostle says, " For she is in bondage with her children," ^ in reference to the Old Testament gendering to bondage from Mount Sinai, which is Agar. Of that same kind were they who crucified the Lord, and continued in the same unbelief. Thence there are still their children in the great multitude of the Jews, although now the New Testament as it was prophesied is made plain and confirmed by the blood of Christ; and the gospel is made known from the river where He was baptized and began His teachings, even to the ends of the earth.

And these Jews, according to the prophecies which they read, are dispersed everywhere over all the earth, that even from their writings may not be wanting a testimony to Christian truth.

Chap. 10. Æ” The old law) also given by God. The present purpose of the sacrament of the old law and the Decalogue.

And therefore God established the old covenant, because it pleased God to veil the heavenly promises in earthly promises, as if established in reward, until the fulness of time; and to give to a people which longed for earthly blessings, and therefore had a hard heart, a law, which, although spiritual, was yet written on tables of stone. Because, with the exception of the sacraments of the old books, which were only enjoined for the sake of their significance (although in them also, since they are to be spiritually understood, the law is rightly called spiritual), the other matters certainly which pertain to piety and to good living must not be referred by any interpretation

1 GaL iv. 25.

XV. u
to any significance, but are absolutely to be done as they are spoken; assuredly no one will doubt that that law of God was necessary not alone for that people at that time, but also is now necessary for us for the right ordering of our life. For if Christ took away from us that heaviest yoke of many observances, so that we are not circumcised according to the flesh, that we do not immolate victims of the cattle, that we do not rest even from necessary works on the Sabbath, retaining the seventh in the revolution of the days, and other things of this kind; but keep them as spiritually understood, and, the symbolizing shadows being removed, we are awake in the light of those very things which are signified by them; shall we therefore say, that when it is written that whoever finds another man's property of any kind that has been lost, should return it to him who has lost it,\(^1\) it does not pertain to us; and many other like things whereby people learn to live piously and uprightly; and especially the Decalogue itself, which is contained in those two tables of stone, except the carnal observance of the Sabbath, which signifies spiritual sanctification and rest? For who can say that Christians ought not to observe to obey the one God with religious obedience, not to worship an idol, not to take the name of the Lord in vain, to honour one's parents, not to commit adulteries, murders, thefts, false witness, not to covet another man's wife, or anything at all that belongs to another man? Who is so impious as to say that he does not keep those precepts of the law because he is a Christian, and is established not under the law, but under grace?

Chap. 11. Distinction between the children of the old and of the new covenant.

But there is plainly this great difference, that they who are established under the law, whom the letter killeth, do those things either with the desire of gaining, or with the fear of losing earthly happiness; and that thus they do not truly do them, since fleshly desire, by which sin is rather changed or increased, is not healed by desire of another kind. These pertain to the Old Testament, which genders to bondage; because carnal fear and desire make them servants, gospel

1 Lev. vi. 3.

ChAP. 11.] OLD TESTAMENT SAINTS SONS OF THE NEW. 307

faith and hope and love do not make them children. But they who are placed under grace, whom the Spirit quickens, do these things of faith which worketh by love in the hope of good things, not carnal but spiritual, not earthly but heavenly, not temporal but eternal; especially believing on the Mediator, by whom they do not doubt but that a Spirit of grace is ministered to them, so that they may do these things well, and that they may be pardoned when they sin. These pertain to the new covenant, are the children of promise, and are regenerated by God the Father and a free mother. Of this kind were all the righteous men of old, and Moses himself, the minister of the old covenant, the heir of the new; because of the faith whereby we live, of one and the same they lived, believing the
incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ as future, which we believe as already accomplished; even until John the Baptist himself, as it were a certain limit of the old dispensation, who, signifying that the Mediator Himself would come, not with any shadow of the future or allegorical intimation, or with any prophetical announcement, but pointing Him out with his finger, said:

"Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who taketh away the sin of the world." ^ As if saying, Whom many righteous men have desired to see, on whom, as about to come, they have believed from the beginning of the human race itself; concerning whom the promises were spoken to Abraham, of whom Moses wrote, of whom the law and the prophets are witnesses:

"Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world." From this John and afterwards, all things concerning Christ began to become past or present, which by all the righteous men of the previous time were believed, hoped for, desired, as future. Therefore the faith is the same as well in those who, although not yet in name, were in fact previously Christians, as in those who not only are so but are also called so; and in both there is the same grace by the Holy Spirit. Whence says the apostle: " We having the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak." ^

' John i. 29. = 2 Cor. iv. 13.

308 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 12.

Chap. 12. â€” The Old Testament is properly one thing â€” an instrument another.

Therefore, by a custom of speech already prevailing, the Old Testament is in one way called the law and all the prophets who prophesied until John; which is more definitely called the Old Instrument than the Old Testament; but otherwise as the apostolical authority calls it, whether expressing or implying this name. Tor when the apostle says, " Until this day, as long as Moses is read, remaineth the same veil in the reading of the Old Testament," ^ he express ses what is not revealed, because it is made of no effect in Christ. For thus certainly the Old Testament referred to the ministry of Moses. Moreover, he says, " That we should serve in the newness of the Spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter," ^ signifying that same Testament under the name of the letter. In another place also,

"Who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the Spirit: for the letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive." ^ And here, by the mention of the New, he certainly meant the former to be understood as the Old. But much more evidently, although he did not say either old or new, he distinguished the two Testaments and the two sons of Abraham, the one of the bondwoman, the other of the free, as I have above mentioned.

For what can be more express than his saying, " Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, have ye not heard the law ?
Eor it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are in allegory; for these are the two covenants; the one in the Mount Sinai, gendering to bondage, which is Agar. For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which is associated with Jerusalem which now is, for it is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our mother "? ^ What is more clear, what more certain, what more remote from all obscurity and ambiguity to the children of the promise? And a little after,
" Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise." Â® Also a little after, " But we, brethren, are not


CHAP. 13.] WHY THE COVENANTS ARE CALLED OLD AND NEW. 309

children of the bondwoman, but of the free," ^ with the liberty with which Christ has made us free. Let us, therefore, choose whether to call the righteous men of old the children of the bondwoman or of the free. Be it far from us to say, of the bondwoman; therefore if of the free, they pertain to the new covenant in the Holy Spirit, whom, as making alive, the apostle opposes to the killing letter. For on what ground do they not belong to the grace of the new covenant, from whose words and looks we convict and rebut such most frantic and ungrateful enemies of the same grace as these?

Chap. 13. â€” Why one of the covenants is called old, the other new.

But some one will say. In what way is that called the old which was given by Moses four hundred and thirty years after; and that called the new which was given so many years before to Abraham? Let him who on this subject is disturbed, not litigiously but earnestly, first understand that when from its earlier time one is called old and the other new, it is their revelation that is considered in their names, not their institution. Because the Old Testament was revealed through Moses, by whom the law was given, holy and just and good, whereby should be effected not the doing away but the knowledge of the sin, by which the proud might be convicted who were desirous of establishing their own righteousness, as if they had no need of divine help; and being made guilty of the letter, might flee to the Spirit of grace, not to be justified by their own righteousness, but by that of God â€” that is, by the righteousness which was given to them of God. For as the same apostle says, " By the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and by the prophets." ^ Because the law, by the very fact that in it no man is justified, affords a witness to the righteousness of God. For that in the law no man is justified before God is manifest,
because "the just by faith lives." Thus, therefore, although the law does not justify the wicked convicted of transgression, it sends to the God who justifieth, and thus affords a testimony to the righteousness of God. Moreover, the prophets offer the testimony to

1 Gal. iv. 31. Rom. iii. 20, 21. gI. iii. 11.


God’s righteousness by fore-announcing Christ, "who is made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, as it is written, he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." For that law was kept hidden from the beginning, when nature itself could convict wicked men, who did to others what they would not have done to themselves. But the revelation of the New Testament in Christ was made when He was manifested in the flesh, wherein appeared the righteousness of God â€” that is, which is to men from God. For hence he says, "But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested." This is the reason for which the former is called the Old Testament, because it was revealed in the earlier time; and the latter the New, because it was revealed in the later time. Again, because the Old Testament pertains to the old man, from which it is necessary that a man should make a beginning; but the New to the new man, when a man ought to pass from his old state. Thus, in the former are earthly promises, in the latter heavenly promises; because this pertained to God’s mercy, that no one should think that even earthly felicity of any kind whatever could be conferred on anybody, save from the Lord, who is the Creator of all things. But if God is worshipped for the sake of that earthly happiness, the worship is that of a slave, pertaining to the children of the bondmaid; but if for the sake of God Himself, that in the life eternal God may be all things in all, it is a liberal service pertaining to the children of the freewoman, who is our mother eternal in the heavens â€” who first appeared, as it were, barren, when she had not any children manifest; but now we see what was prophesied concerning her: "Eejoice, thou barren, that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for there are many children of the desolate more than of her who has an husband," that is, more than of that Jerusalem, who in a certain manner is married in the bond of the law, and is in bondage with her children. In the time, then, of the Old Testament, we say that the Holy Spirit, in those who even then were the children of promise according to Isaac, was not only an assistant, which these men think is sufficient for their opinion, but also a bestower of virtue; and this they deny, attributing it rather to their free-will, in contradiction to those fathers who knew how to cry unto God with truthful piety,

"I will love Thee, Lord, my strength." ^
Chap. 14. [v.] â€” Calumny concerning the righteousness of the prophets and apostles.

They say, moreover, "that all the apostles or prophets are not absolutely defined as holy by us, but that we say that they were less wicked in comparison of those that were worse, and that this is the righteousness to which God affords His testimony; that, as the prophet says that Sodom was justified in comparison of the Jews, so also we say that the saints exercised some goodness in comparison of blameworthy men." Be it far from us to say such things; but either they are not able to understand, or they are unwilling to observe, or, for the sake of misrepresentation, they pretend that they do not know what we say. Let them hear, therefore, either themselves, or rather those whom, as inexperienced and unlearned persons, they are striving to deceive. Our faith — that is, the Catholic faith — distinguishes the righteous from the unrighteous not by the law of works, but by the law itself of faith, because the just by faith lives. By which distinction it results that the man who leads his life without murder, without theft, without false-witness, without coveting other men's goods, giving due honour to his parents, chaste even to continence from all carnal intercourse whatever, even conjugal, most liberal in almsgiving, most patient of injuries; who not only does not deprive another of his goods, but does not even ask again for what has been taken away from himself; or even who has sold all his own property and appropriated it to the poor, and possesses nothing which belongs to him as his own; â€” yet with such a character as this, laudable as it seems to be, if he has not a true and catholic faith in God, must depart from this life to condemnation. But another, who has good works of a true faith which worketh by love, who — yet not as the former wisely restraining â€” maintains his continency in the respectability of wedlock; pays and repays the debt of carnal connection not only for the sake of offspring, but solely for the sake of pleasure has intercourse, although only with his wife, which the apostle allows to those that are married as pardonable; does not receive injuries with so much patience, but is raised into anger with the desire of vengeance, although, in order that he may say, "As we also forgive our debtors," he forgives when he is asked; who possesses property, giving thence indeed some alms, but not as the former so liberal; who does not take away what belongs to another, but, although by ecclesiastical, not by civil judgment, yet contends for his own: certainly such a man, who seems so inferior to the former in character, on account of the true faith which he has in God, by which he lives, and according to which in all his wrong-doings he himself praises God in all his good works, giving to himself the shame, to God the glory, and receiving from Him both forgiveness of sins and love for whatever is rightly done, he shall be delivered for this life, and depart to be received.

* Ps. xviii. 1.
into the company of those who shall reign with Christ. Wherefore, if not on account of his faith? Which, although without works it saves no man (for it is itself not a spurious faith which worketh by love), yet by it even sins are loosed, because the just by faith liveth; but without it, even those things which seem good works are turned into sins: "For every thing which is not of faith is sin." And it is so on account of this great difference, that although with no possibility of doubt a persevering integrity of virginity is preferable to conjugal chastity, yet a woman even twice married, if she be a Catholic, is preferred to a professed virgin that is a heretic; nor is she in such wise preferred as being better in God's kingdom, but as being there, while the other is not there at all. For both the former, whom we have described as being of better character if a true faith be his, surpasses that second one, although both will be in heaven; yet if the faith be wanting to him, he is so surpassed by him that he himself is not there at all.

Chap. 15. â€” The perfection of apostles and prophets.

Since, then, all righteous men, both the more ancient and the apostles, lived of a right faith which is in Christ Jesus

1 Rom. xiv. 23.

CHAP. 16.] QUALIFIED PERFECTION TO BE SOUGHT. 313

our Lord, and had with their faith lives so holy, that although they might not be of such perfect virtue in this life as that which should be after this life, yet whatever of sin might creep in from human infirmity might be constantly done away by the piety of their faith itself; whence it results that, in comparison of the wicked whom God will condemn, it must be said that these were righteous, since by their pious faith they were so far removed apart from those wicked men that the apostle cries out, "What part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" But it is plain that the Pelagians, these modem heretics, seem to themselves to be religious lovers and praisers of the saints, if they do not dare to say that they were of an imperfect virtue; although that elected vessel confesses this, who, considering in what state he still was, and that the body which is corrupted drags down the soul, says, "Not that I liave already attained or am yet perfect; brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended." And yet a little after, he who had denied himself to be perfect says, "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded," in order that he might show that, according to the measure of this life, there is a certain perfection, and that to that perfection this also is to be attributed, even although any one may know that he is not yet perfect. For what is more perfect, or what was more excellent, than the holy priests among the ancient people? And yet God prescribed to them to offer sacrifice first of all for their own sins. And what is more holy among the new people than the apostles? And yet the Lord prescribed to them to say in their prayer, "Forgive us our debts." For all the pious, therefore, who lie under this burden of a corruptible flesh, and groan in the
infirmity of this life of theirs, there is one hope: "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins." *

Chap. 16. [vi.] â€” Misrepresentation concerning si7i in Christ.

They have not a righteous advocate, who are (even if that were the only difference) distinguished absolutely and widely from the righteous. Be it far from us to say, as they themselves slanderously affirm, that this just Advocate "spoke falsely by


314 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS, [CHAP. 16.

the necessity of the flesh; " but we say that He, in the likeness of sinful flesh and in respect of sin, condemned sin.
And they, perchance not understanding this, and being blinded by the desire of misrepresentation, and ignorant of the number of ways in which the name of sin is accustomed to be used in the Holy Scriptures, declare that we affirm sin of Christ. Therefore we assert that Christ both had no sin, neither in soul nor in the body; and that, by taking upon Him flesh in the likeness of sinful flesh, concerning sin He condemned sin.
And this assertion, somewhat obscurely made by the apostle, is explained in two ways, â€” either that the likenesses of things are accustomed to be called by the names of those things to which they are like, so that the apostle may be understood to have intended to call the likeness itself of sinful flesh by the name of sin; or that the sacrifices for sins were under the law called sins, all which things were a figure of the flesh of Christ, which is the true and only sacrifice for sins, â€” not only for those which are all washed away in baptism, but also for those which afterwards creep in from the weakness of this life, on account of which the universal Church daily cries in prayer to God, " Forgive us our debts; " and they are forgiven us by means of that singular sacrifice for sins which the apostle, speaking according to the law, did not hesitate to call sin. Whence, moreover, is that much plainer passage of his, and not uncertain by any twofold way of ambiguity, " We beseech you in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God. He made Him to be sin for us, who had not known sin; that we might be the righteousness of God in Him."^ For the passage which I have above mentioned, "He condemned sin in respect of sin," because it was not said, "In respect of his sin," may be understood by any one of them as if He said that He condemned sin in respect of the sin of the Jews; because in respect of their sin who crucified Him, it happened that He shed His blood for the remission of sins. But this passage, where God is said to have made Christ Himself sin, who had not known sin, does not seem to me to be more fittingly understood than that Christ was made a sacrifice for sins, and on this account was called sin.

1 2 Cor. V. 20, 21.
Chap. 17. [vii.] â€” Their calumny about the fulfilment of precepts in the life to come.

And who can bear their objecting to us, " that we say that after the resurrection such shall be our progress, that there men can begin to fulfil God's commands, which they would not do here; " since we say that there there will be no sin at all, no struggle with any desire of sin; as if they themselves would dare to deny this ? That wisdom also, and the knowledge of God, is then perfected in us, and that in the Lord there is such rejoicing that it is a full and a true security, who will deny, unless he is so averse from the truth that on this very account he cannot attain unto it ? But these things will not be in precepts, but in the shape of a reward of those precepts which should here be observed; the neglect of which precepts, indeed, does not lead thither to the reward. But here the grace of God gives the desire of keeping His commandments; and if anything in these commandments is less perfectly observed. He forgives it on account of what we say in prayer, as well "Thy will be done," as "Forgive us our debts." Here, then, it is prescribed that we sin not; there, the reward is that we cannot sin. Here, the precept is that we obey not the desires of sin; there, the reward that we have no desires of sin. Here is the precept, " Understand, ye senseless among the people; and ye fools, be at some time wise; " ^ there, the reward is full wisdom and perfect knowledge. " For we see now through a glass in an enigma," says the apostle, " but then face to face: now I know in part; but then I shall know even as also I am known." ^ Here, the precept is, " Exult unto the Lord, our helper," ^ and, " Rejoice, ye righteous, in the Lord; " * there, the reward is to rejoice with a perfect and unspeakable joy. Lastly, in the precept it is written, " Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness; " but in the reward, " Because they shall be filled." ^ Whence, I ask, shall they be filled, except with what they hunger and thirst after ? Who, then, is so abhorrent, not only from the divine perception, but also from the human perception, as to say that in man there can be such

^ Vs. cxiv. 8. 2 l Cor. xiii. 12. Â» Pa. Ixxxi. 1.


316 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 18.

righteousness while he is hungering and thirsting for it, as there will be when he shall be filled with it ? But when we are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, if the faith of Christ is watchful in us, what is it to be believed that we are hungering and thirsting for, save Christ ? " For He is made \ unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; that, as it is written. He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." ^ And because we only believe
on Him not seeing Him, therefore we thirst and hunger after righteousness. For as long as we are in the body, we wander from the Lord; for we walk by faith, not by appearance. But when we shall see Him, and attain certainly to the appearance, we shall rejoice with joy unspeakable; and then we shall be filled with righteousness, since now we say to Him with pious longing, " I shall be satisfied when Thy glory shall be manifested." ^

Chap. 18. â€” Perfection of righteousness and full security was not even in Paul in tlds life.

But how impudent I do not say, but how insane, is the pride which, not yet being equal to the angels of God, thinks itself already able to have a righteousness equal to the angels of God, and does not consider so great and holy a man, who assuredly hungered and thirsted after that very perfection of righteousness itself, when he was unwilling to be lifted up by the greatness of his revelations, and was not left that he might not be lifted up to his own choice and will, but received " the thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan, to buffet him; on which account he besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from him, and the Lord said unto him. My grace is sufficient for thee, for strength is made perfect in weakness," ^ What strength, save that to which it pertains not to be lifted up ? And who doubts that this belongs to righteousness ? The angels of God, then, are endowed with this perfection of righteousness, since they always behold the face of the Father, and thus of the entire Trinity, because they see through the Son, in the Holy Spirit, But nothing is more lofty than that revelation, nor yet does any of the angels in that contemplation of rejoicing ones find a messenger of Satan needful that

1 1 Cor. i. 30, 31. ^ Ps. xvii. 15. ^ 2 Cor. xii. 7,

CHAP. 10.] EVEN PAUL'S RIGHTEOUSNESS NOT PERFECT. 317

he may be buffetted by him, lest so great a magnitude of revelation should lift him up. The Apostle Paul certainly had not yet that perfection of virtue, nor yet was he equal to the angels of God; but there was in Him the weakness of lifting himself up, which also had to be checked by the angel of Satan, lest he should be lifted up by the magnitude of his revelations. However, then, the first lifting up may have cast down Satan, yet that great Physician, who well knew how to make use of even evil things against the mischief of elation, applied from the angel of Satan a wholesome, although a painful, medicament as an antidote, used to be made even of serpents against the poisons of serpents. What, then, is the meaning of " My grace is sufficient for thee," except that you may not by giving way succumb to the buffet of the messenger of Satan ? And what is " Strength is made perfect in weakness," except that in that place of weakness hitherto may be the perfection of virtue, so that in the very presence of infirmity lifting up may be repressed ? Which infirmity assuredly shall be healed by future immortality. For how is that
soundness to be called perfect where medicine is still needful, even from the buffet of an
angel of Satan?

Chap. 19. "In what sense the righteousness of man in this life is said to be perfect.

From this it results that the virtue which is now in the

righteous man is named perfect up to this point, that to its

perfection pertains even both the acknowledgment in truth of

imperfection, and its confession in humility. For, in respect

of this infirmity, that little righteousness of man's is perfect

according to its measure, when it, moreover, understands what

is wanting to it. And therefore the apostle calls himself both

perfect and imperfect," imperfect, to wit, in the thought of

how much is wanting to him for the righteousness for whose

fulness he is still hungering and thirsting, but perfect in that

he does not blush to confess his own imperfection, and goes

forward in good that he may attain. As we can say that the

wayfarer is come to his end whose approach is well forwarded,

although his intention is not carried out unless his arrival be

actually effected. Therefore, when he had said, " According

' PhiL iii 12, 15.


to the righteousness which is in the law, I am one who has been blameless," he

immediately added, " What things were gain to me, those I counted but loss for Christ's

sake. Yea, doubtless, and I count all things to be loss for the sake of the excellent

knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord: for whose sake I have believed all things not only to

be losses, but I have thought them to be even as dung, that I might gain Christ and be
found in Him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is by
the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God in faith." ^ See ! the apostle does not certainly say falsely, that according to the righteousness which is of the law he was without reproach; and yet those things which were gain to him, he casts away for Christ's sake, and thinks them losses, injuries, dung. And not only these things, but all other things which he mentioned previously; on account of the knowledge, not of any kind, but, as he himself says, the excellent knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, which, beyond a doubt, he had as yet in faith, but not yet in sight. For then the knowledge of Christ will be excellent, when He shall be so revealed that what is believed is seen. Whence, in another place, he thus says, " For ye have died, and your life is hidden with Christ in God, When Christ, your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." ^ Hence, also, the Lord Himself says, " He who loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." ^ Hence John the Evangelist says, " Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it has not yet appeared what we shall be: but we know, that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is." * Then shall the knowledge of Christ be excellent. For now it is, as it were, hidden away in faith; but it does not yet appear excellent in sight.

Chap. 20. â€“ Why the righteousness which is of the law is undervalued by Paul.

Therefore the blessed Paul casts away those past attainments of his righteousness, as disadvantages and dung, that he may win Christ and be found in Him, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law. Wherefore his own, if it

1 rhil. iii. 6, etc. ^ Qql [^i ^, etc. ^ joim xiy. 21. * 1 John iii. 2.

CHAP. 20.] CAKNAL OBEDIENCE NOT FULFILMENT. 319

is of the law ? For that law is the law of God. Who has denied this, save Marcion and Manichseus, and such like pests ? Since, then, that is the law of God, he says it is his own righteousness which is of the law; and this righteousness of his own he would not have, but cast it forth as dung. Why so, except that it is this which I have above demonstrated, that those are under the law who, being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their own, are not subject to the righteousness of God ? For they think that, by the strength of their own will, they will fulfil the commands of the law; and wrapped up in that pride of theirs, they are not converted to the assistance of grace. Thus the letter killeth them either openly, as being guilty to themselves, by not doing what the law commands, or by thinking that they do it, although they do it not with love of the Spirit, which is of God. Thus they remain either plainly wicked or deceitfully righteous, â€“ manifestly cut off in open unrighteousness, or foolishly elated in deceitful righteousness. And by this means â€“ marvellous indeed, but yet true â€“ the righteousness which is in the law, even of the law, does not fulfil the righteousness of the law, but that which is in the Spirit of grace. Because the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in those, as it is written, who walk not
according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit. But, according to the righteousness which is in the law, the apostle says that he was blameless in the flesh, not in the Spirit; and he says that the righteousness which is of the law was his, not God's. It must be understood, therefore, that the righteousness of the law is not fulfilled according to the righteousness which is in the law or of the law, that is, according to the righteousness of man, but according to the righteousness which is in the Spirit of grace, therefore according to the righteousness of God, that is, which man has from God. Which may be thus more clearly and briefly stated: That the righteousness of the law is not fulfilled when the law commands, and man as it were of his own strength obeys; but when the Spirit aids, and man's free-will, but freed by the grace of God, performs. Therefore the righteousness of the law is to command what is pleasing to God, to forbid what is displeasing; but the


righteousness in the law is to obey the letter, and beyond it to seek for no assistance of God for holy living. For when he had said, " Not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is by the faith of Christ," he added, "Which is from God." That, therefore, is itself the righteousness of God, which the proud being ignorant of, they go about to establish their own; for it is not called the righteousness of God because by it God is righteous, but because man has it from God.

Chap. 21. â€” That the righteousness is never perfected in this life.

Now, according to this righteousness of God, that is, which we have from God, faith now worketh by love. But it worketh that, in what way man can attain to Him on whom now, not seeing, he believes; and when he shall see Him, then shall be perfected even love itself. Because it is said with excessive folly, that God is loved as much before He is seen, as He will be loved when He is seen. Further, if in this life, as no religious person doubts, the more we love God, so much the more righteous we certainly are, who can doubt that pious and true righteousness will then be perfected when the love of God shall be perfect? Then the law, therefore, shall be fulfilled; so that nothing at all is wanting to it, of which law, according to the apostle, the fulfilling is Love. And thus, when he had said, " Not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is by the faith of Jesus Christ, which is the righteousness from God in faith," he then added, "â– That I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings." ^ All these things were not yet full and perfect in the apostle; but, as if he were placed on the way, he was running towards their fulness and perfection. For how had he already perfectly known Christ, who says in another place, " Now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known " ? ^ And how had he already perfectly known the power of His resurrection, to whom it remained to know it yet more fully by experience

1 Phil. iii. 9, 10. n Cor. xiii. 12.
CHAP. 22.] HUMAN RIGHTeousNESS AND PERFeCTION. 821

at the time of the resurrection of the flesh? And how had he perfectly known already the fellowship of His suffering, if he had not yet experienced for him the suffering of death?

Finally, he adds and says, "If in any manner I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead." ^ And then he says, "Not that I have already received or am already perfected."

What, then, does he confess that he has not yet received, and in what is he not yet perfected, except in that righteousness which is of God, which he desired, not willing to have his own righteousness, which is of the law? For hence he was speaking, and such was the reason for his saying these things in resistance to the enemies of the grace of God, for the bestowal of which Christ was crucified, and of which race of enemies are also these.

Chap. 22. ã€” Nature of human righteousness and perfection.

For from the place in which he undertook to say these things, he thus began, "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the concision. For we are the circumcision, who serve God in the Spirit," ã€” or, as some codices have it, "who serve God the Spirit," or "the Spirit of God," ã€” "and glory in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh." ^

Here it is manifest that he is speaking against the Jews, who, observing the law carnally, and going about to establish their own righteousness, were slain by the letter, and not made alive by the Spirit, and gloried in themselves while the apostles and all the children of the promise were glorying in Christ. Then he added, "Although I may have confidence in the flesh. If any one else thinks that he has confidence in the flesh, I more." ^ And enumerating all things which have glory according to the flesh, he ended at that point where he says,

"According to the righteousness which is in the law, blameless." And when he had said that he regarded all these things as altogether loss and disadvantage and dung that he might gain Christ, he added the passage which I am treating about, "And be found in Him, not having my own righteousness, but that which is by the faith of Christ, which is from God." He confessed that he had not yet received the per-

1 Phil. iii. 11, 12. * Phil. iii. 2, 3. ^ pi^i. m 4.

XV. X

322 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 22.

fection of this righteousness, which will not be except in that excellent knowledge of Christ, on account of which he said that all things were loss to him; and he confessed, therefore, that he was not yet perfect. "But I follow on," said he, "if I may apprehend
that in which I also am apprehended of Christ Jesus." "I may apprehend that in which I also am apprehended," is much the same as, "I may know, even as I also am known." "Brethren," says he, "I count not myself to have apprehended: but one thing, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forward to those which are before, I follow on according to the purpose to the reward of the supreme calling of God in Christ Jesus." The order of the words is, "But I follow one thing." Of which one thing the Lord also is well understood to have admonished Martha, where he says, "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful." The apostle, wishing to apprehend this as if established on the way, said that he followed on to the reward of the lofty calling of God in Christ Jesus. For who can delay when he would apprehend that which he declares that he is following, that he shall then have a righteousness equal to the righteousness of the holy angels, none of whom certainly does any messenger of Satan buffet lest he should be lifted up with the greatness of his revelations? Then, admonishing those who might think themselves already perfect with the fulness of that righteousness, he says, "Let as many of us, therefore, as are perfect, be thus minded." As if he should say, If, according to the capacity of mortal man for the little measure of this life, we are perfect, let us understand that this also pertains to that very perfection, that we perceive that we are not yet perfected in that angelical righteousness which we shall have in the manifestation of Christ. And if in anything," he said, "ye be otherwise minded, God shall also reveal even this unto you." How, save to those that are walking and advancing in the way of the faith, until that wandering be finished and they come to the actual vision? Whence following on, he added, "Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained,

1 Phil. iii. 12. " Phil. iii. 13, 14, ^ Luke x. 41.

* Phil. iii. 15. * Phil. iii. 15.

CHAP. 23.] ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF IMPERFECTION. 323

let US walk therein." Then he concludes that they should be bewared of, of whom this passage resumed the beginning of his address. "Brethren, be imitators of me, and mark them which so walk as ye have our example. For many walk, of whom I have spoken often, and now tell you even weeping, whose end is destruction," and the rest. These are the very ones of whom, in the beginning, he had said, "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers," and what follows. Therefore all are enemies of the cross of Christ who, going about to establish their own righteousness, which is of the law, â€” that is, where only the letter commands, and the Spirit does not fulfil, â€” are not subject to the law of God. For if they who are of the law be heirs, faith is emptied of its meaning. "If righteousness is by the law, then Christ has died in vain: then is the offence of the cross done away." And thus those are enemies of the cross of Christ who say that righteousness is by the law, to which it pertains to command, not to assist. But the grace of God through Jesus Christ the Lord in the Holy Spirit helpeth our infirmity.
Chap. 23. â€” There is no true righteousness without the faith of the grace of Christ.

Wherefore he who lives according to the righteousness which is in the law, without the faith of the grace of Christ, as the apostle declares that he lived blameless, must be accounted to have no true righteousness; not because the law is not true and holy, but because to wish to obey the letter which commands, without the Spirit of God which quickens, as if of the strength of free-will, is not true righteousness.

But the righteousness according to which the righteous man lives of faith, since man has it from God by the Spirit of grace, is true righteousness. And although this is not undeservedly said to be perfect in some righteous men, according to the capacity of this life, yet it is but little to that great righteousness which the equality of the angels receives. And he who had not yet possessed this, on the one hand, in respect of that which was already in him, said that he was perfect; and in respect of that which was still wanting to him, said that he was imperfect. But manifestly that lower degree of righteousness makes deserving, that higher kind becomes a reward. Whence he who does not strive after the former does not attain unto the latter, "Wherefore, after the resurrection of man, to deny that there will be a fulness of righteousness, and to think that the righteousness in the body of that life will be such as it can be in the body of this death, is characteristic of special folly. But it is most true that men do not there begin to fulfil those commands of God which here they have been unwilling to obey. For there will be the fulness of the most perfect righteousness, yet not of men striving after what is commanded, and making gradual endeavours after that fulness; but in the twinkling of an eye, even as shall be that resurrection of the dead itself, because that greatness of perfect righteousness will be given as a reward to those who here have obeyed the commandments, and will not itself be commanded to them as a thing to be accomplished. But I should in such wise say they have done the commandments, that we might remember that to these very commandments belongs the prayer in which the holy children of promise daily say with truth, "Thy will be done," ^ and "Forgive us our debts." ^

Chap. 24. [viii.] â€” There are three principal heads in the Pelagian heresy.

When, then, the Pelagians with these testimonies and words of truth of this kind are pressed, not to deny original sin; not to say that the grace of God whereby we are justified is not given freely, but according to our merits; nor to say that in mortal man, however holy and well doing, there is so great righteousness that even after the washing of regeneration, until he finishes this life of his, forgiveness of sins is not necessary to him, â€” therefore when they are pressed not to make these three assertions, and by their means alienate men who believe therein from the grace of the Saviour, and persuade the lifted-up unto pride to go headlong unto the judgment of the devil, they introduce the
clouds of other questions in which their impiety "in the sight of men more simple minded, whether that they are more slow or less instructed in the sacred writings " may be concealed. These are the misty

1 Matt. vi. 10. 2 Matt. vi. 12.

CHAP. 25.] CONdemnation of the heads of the hekesy. 325

questions of the praise of the creature, of the praise of marriage, of the praise of the law, of the praise of free-will, of the praise of the saints; as if any one of our people were in the habit of disparaging those things, and not rather of announcing all things with due praises to the honour of the Creator and Saviour. But even the creature does not desire in such wise to be praised as to be unwilling to be healed. And the more marriage is to be praised, the less is to be attributed to it the shameful lust of the flesh, which is not of the Father, but of the world; and which assuredly marriage found and did not make in men; because, moreover, it is actually in very many without marriage, and if nobody had sinned marriage itself might be without it. And the law, holy and just and good, is neither grace itself, nor is anything rightly done by it without grace; because the law is not given that it may give life, but it was added because of transgression, that it might conclude all persons convicted under sin, and that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe."

And the free-will taken captive does not avail, except for sin; but for righteousness, unless divinely set free and aided, it does not avail. And thus, also, all the saints, whether from that ancient Abel to John the Baptist, or from the apostles themselves up to this time, and henceforth even to the end of the world, are to be praised in the Lord, not in themselves. Because the word, even of those earlier ones, is, "In the Lord shall my soul be praised." ^ And the word of the later ones is,

"By the grace of God I am what I am." ^ And to all pertains,

"That he that glorieth may glory in the Lord." And it is the common confession of all, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." *

Chap. 25. [ix.] "He shows that the opinion of the Catholics is the mean between that of the Manichceans and Pelagians, and refutes both.

But since, in these five particulars which I have set forth, in which they seek lurking-places, and from which they weave misrepresentations, they are forsaken and convicted by the divine writings, they have contrived to deter those whom they could by the hateful name of Manichceans, lest in opposition to their most perverse teachings their ears should be

1 Gal. iii. 22. - Ps. xxxiv. 2. Â» 1 Cor. xv. 10. â– 1 John i. 8.
conformed to the truth; because doubtless the Manichseans blasphemously condemn the three former of those five dogmas, saying that neither the human creature, nor marriage, nor the law was ordained by the supreme and true God. But they do not receive what the truth says, that sin took its origin from free-will, and that from it is all evil, whether of angel or man; because they prefer to believe, in their turning aside from God, that the nature of evil was always evil, and coeternal with God. They, moreover, attack the holy patriarchs and prophets with as many execrations as they can. This is the way in which the modern heretics think, that by objecting the name of Manichaæans, they evade the force of truth. But they do not evade it; because it follows them up, and overturns at once the Manichseans and Pelagians. For in that a man is born, because there is something good, so far as he is a man, he condemns the Manichean, and praises the Creator; but in so far as he derives original sin, he condemns the Pelagian and has need of a Saviour. For even because that nature of his is said to be healable, it repels both teachings; because it would not, on the one hand, have need of medicine if it were sound, which is opposed to the Pelagian, nor could it be healed at all if the evil in it were eternal and immutable, which is opposed to the Manichsean. Moreover, in that to marriage, which we praise as ordained of God, we do not say that the lust of the flesh is to be attributed, this is both contrary to the Pelagians, who make this lust itself a matter of praise, and contrary to the Manichseans, who attribute it to a foreign and evil matter, when it really is an evil accidental to our nature, not to be separated by the disjoining of God, but to be healed by the mercy of God. Moreover, in that we say that the law, holy and just and good, was given not for the justification of the wicked, but for the conviction of the proud, for the sake of transgressions, this is, on the one hand, opposed to the Manichseans, that according to the apostle the law is praised; and on the other opposed to the Pelagians, in that, in accordance with the apostle, no one is justified by the law; and therefore, for the sake of making alive those whom the letter has killed, that is, whom the law, enjoining good, makes guilty by transgressions, the Spirit of grace freely brings aid.

Also in that we say that the will is free in evil, but for doing good it must be made free by God's grace, this is opposed to the Pelagians; but that we say it originated from that which previously was not evil, this is opposed to the Manichaeans. Again, that we honour the holy patriarchs and prophets with praises due to them in God, is in opposition to the Manicheans; but that we say that even to them, however righteous and pleasing to God they might have been, the propitiation of the Lord was necessary, this is in opposition to the Pelagians.

The Catholic faith, therefore, finds them both, as it does also other heretics, in opposition to it, and convicts both by the authority of the divine testimonies and by the light of truth.
Chap. 26. [x.] “The Pelagians still strive after a hiding-place, by introducing the needless question of the origin of the soul.

The Pelagians, indeed, add to the clouds which envelop their lurking-places the unnecessary questions concerning the origin of the soul, for the purpose of erecting a hiding-place by disturbing manifest things by the obscurity of other matters. For they say "that we observe the continuous propagation of souls with the continuous propagation of sin."

And where and when they have read this, either in the addresses or in the "writings of those who maintain the Catholic faith against this, I do not know; because, although I find something written by Catholics on the subject, yet the defence of the truth had not yet been undertaken against those men, neither was there any anxiety to answer them. But this I say, that according to the Holy Scriptures original sin is so manifest, and that this is put away in infants by the laver of regeneration is confirmed by such antiquity and authority of the Catholic faith, notorious by such a clear concurrent testimony of the Church, that what is argued by the inquiry or affirmation of anybody concerning the origin of the soul, if it is contrary to this, cannot be true. Wherefore, whoever builds up, either concerning the soul or any other obscure matter, any edifice whence he may destroy this, which is true, best founded, and best known, whether he is a son or an enemy of the Church, must either be corrected or avoided. But let this be the end of this Book, that the things which follow may have another beginning.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

STATEMENT THAT THE SAINTS IN THIS LIFE HAD NOT SIN. AUGUSTINE SHOWS
BOTH HERESIES, THAT OF THE MANICHIEANS AND OF THE PELAGIANS, FROM
BOTH SIDES, TO BE OPPOSED AND EQUALLY ODIOUS TO THE CATHOLIC
FAITH, WHEREBY WE PROFESS, FIRST OF ALL, THAT THE NATURE
CREATED BY A
GOOD GOD WAS GOOD, BUT THAT, NEVERTHELESS, IT IS IN NEED OF A
SAVIOUR BECAUSE OF ORIGINAL SIN, WHICH PASSED INTO ALL MEN FROM
THE TRANSGRESSIONS OF THE FIRST MAN, THEN AGAIN, THAT MARRIAGE IS
GOOD, TRULY INSTITUTED BY GOD, BUT THAT THAT VERY LUST IS EVIL
WHICH WAS ASSOCIATED WITH MARRIAGE BY SIN; ALSO THAT THE LAW
OF
GOD IS GOOD, BUT IN SUCH WISE AS ONLY TO MANIFEST SIN, NOT TO
TAKE IT AWAY; THAT FREE-WILL IS ASSUREDLY IMPLANTED INTO THE NATURE
OF
MAN, BUT THAT NOW, HOWEVER, IT IS SO ENSLAVED THAT IT DOES NOT
AVAIL TO THE DOING OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, UNLESS WHEN IT SHALL HAVE BEEN MADE FREE BY GRACE; BUT THAT THE SAINTS, WHETHER OF THE
OLD OR NEW TESTAMENT, WERE INDEED ENDUED WITH TRUE
RIGHTEOUSNESS, BUT NOT PERFECT, NOT SO FULL THAT THEY SHOULD BE FREE FROM ALL
SIN. IN CONCLUSION, HE BRINGS FORWARD THE TESTIMONIES OF
CYPRIAN
AND AMBROSE ON BEHALF OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH, SOME CONCERNING
ORIGINAL SIN, OTHERS ABOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF GRACE, AND THE
LAST OF
THE IMPERFECTION OF PRESENT RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Chap. 1. â€” The subterfuges of the Pelagians are five.

AFTER the matters which I have considered, and to which I have answered, they repeat the same things as those contained in the letter which I have refuted, but in a different manner. For before, they put them forward as objecting to us things which we think as it were falsely; but afterwards, as

328

CHAP. 2.] POINTS OF PELAGIAN DOCTRINE. 329
explaining what they themselves think, they have retorted the same things from the opposite side, adding two certain points which they had not mentioned: that is, "that they say that baptism is necessary for all ages," and "that by Adam death passed upon us, not guilt," which things must also themselves be considered in their own place. Hence, because in the former Book which I have just finished I said that they alleged hindrances of five matters in which lurk their dogmas hostile to God's grace and to the Catholic faith, they, the praise, to wit, of the creature, the praise of marriage, the praise of the law, the praise of free-will, the praise of the saints, I think it is more convenient to make special discrimination of all that they maintain, the contrary of which they object to us, and to show which of those things pertain to any of those five, that so my answer may be by that very distinction clearer and briefer.

Chap. 2. The praise of the creature.

They describe the praise of the creature, inasmuch as it pertains to the human race of which the question now is, in three sentences: 'That God is the Creator of all those that are born, and that the sons of men are God's work, and that all sin descends not from nature, but from the will." To this praise of the creature they add, "that they say that baptism is necessary for every age, that," namely, "that creature may be adopted among the children of God, not because it derives anything from its parents which must be purified in the laver of regeneration." To this praise they associate also, "that they say that Christ the Lord was sprinkled with no stain of sin as far as pertains to His infancy;" because they assert that His flesh was most pure from all contagion of sin, not by His own excellence and singular grace, but by the fellowship of the nature which is shared by all infants. It also belongs to that subject that they introduce the question "of the origin of the soul," thus endeavouring to make all the souls of infants equal to the soul of Christ, maintaining that they likewise are sprinkled with no stain of sin. On this account, also, they say, "that nothing of evil passed from Adam upon the rest of humanity except death, which," they say, "is not always an evil, since even to the martyrs it is a cause of reward; and it is not the dissolution of the bodies, which in every kind of men shall be raised up, that can make death to be called either good or evil, but the diversity of merits which arises from human liberty." These things they write in this letter concerning the praise of the creature.

They praise marriage truly according to the Scriptures, "because the Lord saith in the gospel. He who made men from the beginning made them male and female, and said, Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth." Although this is not written in that passage of the gospel, yet it is written in the law. They add,
moreover, "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." ^ And these we acknowledge to be gospel words.

In the praise of the law they say, "that the old law was, according to the apostle, holy and just and good; that on those who keep its commandments, and live righteously by faith, such as the prophets and patriarchs, and all the saints, life eternal could be conferred."

In the praise of free-will they say, "that free-will has not perished, since the Lord says by the prophets, 'If ye be willing and will hear me, ye shall eat the good things of the land: if ye are unwilling, and will not hear, the sword shall devour you.' " ^ And thus, also, "that grace assists the good purpose of any person, but does not infuse a desire of virtue into the reluctant heart, because there is no acceptance of persons with God."

In the praise of the saints they conceal themselves, saying "that baptism perfectly renews men, inasmuch as the apostle is a witness who testifies that, by the washing of water, the Church is made out of the heathen holy and spotless; ^ that the Holy Spirit also assisted pious souls in ancient times, even as the prophet says to God, 'Thy good Spirit shall lead me into the right way; ' ^ that all the prophets, moreover, and apostles or saints, as well of the New as of the Old Testament, to whom God gives witness, were righteous, not in comparison of the wicked, but by the standard of virtue; and that in future time there is a reward as well of good works as of ^ Matt. xix. L 2 isa. j. ig. 3 Epii_ y_ 26. â– Â» Ps. cxliii. 10.

CHAP. 3.] CATHOLIC VIEW OF THESE TEACHINGS, 331

evil, but that no one could then perform the commandment which here he may have contemned, because the apostle said, "'We must be manifested before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things belonging to the body, according to what he has done, whether good or evil.' " *

In all these points, whatever they say of the praise of the creature and of marriage they endeavour to refer to this, that there is no original sin; whatever of the praise of law and of free-will, to this, that grace does not assist without merit, and that thus grace is no more grace; whatever of the praise of the saints, to this, that mortal life in the saints appears not to have any sin, and that it is not necessary for them to pray God for the remitting of their debts or sins.

Chap. 3. â€” The Catholics praise nature, marriage, law, free-will, and the saints, in such wise as to condemn as well Pelagians as Manichceans.

Let every one who, with a Catholic mind, shudders at these impious doctrines and damnable, as in this tripartite division, shun the lurking-places and snares of this fivefold error, and so be careful between one and another as in such wise to decline from
Manichaeans as not to incline to Pelagians; and again, so to separate himself from the Pelagians as, not to associate himself with the Manichaeans; or, if he should already be taken hold of in one or the other bondage, that he should not so pluck liimself out of the hands of either as to rush into those of the other. Because they seem to be contrary to one another, since the Manichaeans manifest themselves by vituperating these five points, the Pelagians conceal themselves by praising them. Wherefore he condemns and shuns both, whoever he may be, that according to the rule of the Catholic faith so glorifies the Creator in men, who are born of the good creation in flesh and soul (for this the Manichsean will not have), as that he yet confesses that on account of the sin which has passed over into them by the sin of the first man, even infants need a Saviour (for this the Pelagian will not have): he so distinguishes the evil of a shameful lust from the excellence of marriage, as neither, like the Manichseans, to reproach the source of our birth, nor, like the Pelagians, to praise our confusion. He in such wise maintains the law to have been given

` 2 Cor. V. 10.


holy and just and good through. Moses by a holy and just and good God (which Manichseus, in opposition to the apostle, denies), as to say that it both shows forth sin and yet does not take it away; and commands righteousness which yet it does not give (which, again, in opposition to the apostle, Pelagius denies). He so asserts free-will as to say that the evil of both angel and man began, not from I know not what nature always evil, which is no nature, but from the will itself, which overturns Manichsean heresy; and that even thus the captive will nevertheless cannot breathe into a wholesome liberty save by God's grace, which overturns the Pelagian heresy.

He so praises the holy men of God in God, not only of Christ manifested in the flesh and subsequently, but even those of the former times, whom the Manichseans dare to blaspheme; as yet to believe their own confessions concerning themselves, more than the lies of the Pelagians. For the word of the saints is, " If we should say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." ^

Chap, 4. ã€’ Pelagians and Manicheans on the praise of the creature.

These things being so, what advantage is it to incipient heretics, enemies of the cross of Christ and opposers of divine grace, that they seem sound from the error of the Manichseans, if they are dying by another pestilence of their own ? What advantage is it to them, that in the praise of the creature they say " that the good God is the creator of every one that is born, that by Him all things were made, and that the children of men are His work," whom the Manichseans say are the work of the prince of darkness; when between them both, or among them both, God's creation, which is in infants, is perishing ? For both of them refuse to have it delivered by Christ's flesh and blood, ã€” the former, because they destroy that very flesh and blood, as if He did not take upon Him these at all
in man or of man; and the latter, because they assert that there is no evil in infants from which they should be delivered by the sacrament of this flesh and blood. Between them, in the case of infants, lies the human creature with a good creation, with a vitiated propagation, confessing for its

1 1 Jolin i. 8.

CHAP. 5.] PELAGIAN AND MANICHÁN ALIKE CONDEMNED. 333

benefits a most excellent Creator, seeking for its evils a most merciful Redeemer, having the Manicháeans as disparagers of its benefits, having the Pelagians as deniers of its evils, and both persecutors. And although in infancy there is no power to speak, yet with its silent look and its hidden weakness it addresses the impious vanity of both, saying to the former,

" Believe that I am created by Him who creates good; " and saying to the latter, " Suffer me to be healed by Him who created me." The Manicháeans say. There is nothing of this infant save the good soul to be delivered; the rest, which belongs not to the good God, but to the prince of darkness, is to be rejected. The Pelagians say. Certainly there is nothing of this infant to be delivered, because we have shown the whole to be safe. Both lie; but now the accuser of the flesh alone is more bearable than the praiser, who is convicted of raging against everything. But neither does the Manichaean help the human soul by blasphemying God, the Author of the entire man; nor does the Pelagian permit the divine grace to come to the help of human infancy by denying original sin. Therefore by the Catholic faith God has mercy, seeing that by condemning both mischievous doctrines it comes to the help of the infant for salvation. It says to the Manicháeans, Hear the apostle crying, " Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost in you ? " ^ and believe that the good God is the Creator of bodies, because the temple of the Holy Ghost cannot be the work of the prince of darkness. It says to the Pelagians, The infant that you look upon "was conceived in iniquity, and in sin its mother nourished it in the womb." ^ Why, as if in defending it as free from all mischief, do you not permit it to be delivered by mercy? No one is pure from uncleanness, not even the infant whose life is of one day upon the earth. ^ Allow the wretched creatures to receive remission of sins, through Him who alone neither as small nor great could have any sin.

Chap. 5. "What is the special advantage in the Pelagian opinions?"

What advantage, then, is it to them that they say "that all sin descends not from nature, but from the will," and resist
1 1 Cor. vi. 19. 2 ps. li. 5. 3 j+i^ ^j^, a 5. gee LXX.

by the truth of this judgment the Manichseans, who say that evil nature is the cause of sin; when they are unwilling to admit original sin, although itself also descends from the will of the first man, and make infants to depart in guilt from the body? What advantage is it to them "that they confess that baptism is necessary for all ages," while the Manichseans say that in every age it is superfluous, when these say that in infants it is false so far as it pertains to the forgiveness of sins? What advantage is it to them that they maintain "the flesh of Christ" (which the Manichseans contend was either no flesh at all, or a feigned flesh) to have been not only the true flesh, but "that even the soul itself was stained by no spot of sin," when other infants are by them so put on the same level with His infancy, with not unequal purity, as that both that flesh does not appear to keep its own holiness in comparison of those, and these obtain no salvation from this?

Chap. 6. "Not death alone, but sin also, has passed into us by means of Adam.

In that particular, indeed, wherein they say "that death passed to us by Adam's means, not guilt," they have not the Manichasans as their adversaries: since even they do not feign that original sin from the first man, at first of pure and upright body and spirit, and afterwards depraved by free-will, subsequently passed and passes as sin into all with death; but they say that the flesh was evil from the beginning, and created by an evil spirit and with an evil spirit; but that a good soul "a portion, to wit, of God "for the deserts of its defilement by food and drink, in which it was before bound up, came into man, and thus by means of copulation was bound in the chain of the flesh. And thus the Manichaeans agree with the Pelagians that it was not the guilt of the first man that passed into the human race "neither by the flesh, which they say was never good; nor by the soul, which they assert comes into the flesh of man with the merits of its own defilements, with which it was polluted before the flesh. But how do the Pelagians say "that only death passed upon us by Adam's means "? For if we die because he died, and he died because he sinned, they say that the punishment

CHAr. 7.] CHEIST SUFFERED DEATH WITHOUT DESERVING. 335

passed without the guilt, and that innocent infants are unjustly punished with a penalty by bearing death without the deserts of death. Which the Catholic faith has known of the one and only mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who condescended to undergo death "that is, the penalty of sin "without sin, for us. As He alone became the Son of man, in order that we might become through Him sons of God, so He alone, on our behalf, undertook punishment without ill deservings, that we through Him might obtain grace without good deservings. Because as to us nothing good was due, so to Him nothing bad was due. Therefore, commending His love to them to whom He was about to give undeserved life. He was willing to suffer for them an undeserved death. This special prerogative of the Mediator the Pelagians endeavour to make void, so that this should no longer be special in the Lord, if Adam in such wise suffered a death due to him on account of his guilt, as
that infants, drawing from him no guilt, should suffer undeserved death. For although very much good is conferred on the good by means of death, whence some have fitly argued even of the benefit of death, yet even from this what can be declared but the mercy of God, that the punishment of sin is converted into beneficent uses?

Chap. 7. â€” What is the meaning of " In whom all have sinned " ?

But these speak thus who wish to wrest men from the apostle's words into their own thought. For where the apostle says, " By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so passed upon all men," ^ they will have it there understood not that sin passed over, but death. What, then, is the meaning of what foUows, " Wherein all have sinned " ? For either the apostle says that in that one man all have sinned of whom he had said. By one man sin entered into the world, or " in that sin," or certainly " in death." For it need not disturb us that he said not " in which " [fem.], but " in whom " [masc] all have sinned; because death [ddvaro<r] in the Greek language is of the masculine gender. Let them, then, choose which they will, â€” for either in that man all have

1 Rom. V. 12.

336 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 8.

sinned, and it is said because when lie sinned all were in him; or in that sin all have sinned, because, in c[e]neral, it was the doing of all, which all those who were born would have to bear; or it remains for them to say that in that death all sinned. But in what way this can be understood, I do not clearly see. For all die in the sin, they do not sin in the death; for when sin precedes, death follows â€” not when death precedes, sin follows. Because sin is the sting of death â€” that is, the sting by whose wound death occurs, not the sting with which death strikes. As poison, if it is drunk, is called the cup of death, because by that cup death is caused, not because the cup is caused by the death, or is given by death. But if sin cannot be understood by those words of the apostle as being that in which all have sinned, because in Greek, from which the Epistle is translated, sin is expressed in the feminine gender [dfjuaprla], it remains that all men are understood to have sinned in that first man, because in him all men were when he sinned; whence sin is derived by being born, and is not remitted save by being born again. For thus also the sainted Hilary understood what is written. In whom all have sinned; for he says, " In whom, that is, in Adam, all have sinned." Then he adds, " It is manifest that in Adam all have sinned, as it were in the mass; for he himself was corrupted by sin, and all whom he begot were born under sin." When he wrote this, Hilary, without any ambiguity, indicated how we should understand the words, " in whom all have sinned."

Chap. 8. â€” Death passed upon all by sin.
But for what reason does the same apostle say that we are reconciled to God by Christ, except for the reason that we had become enemies? And what is this but sin? Whence also the prophet says, "Your sins separate between you and God." On account of this separation, therefore, the Mediator was sent, that He might take away the sin of the world, by which we were separated as enemies, and being reconciled were made from enemies children. About this, certainly, the apostle was speaking; hence it happened that he interpolated

* Isa. lix. 2.

**CHAP. 9.] SUBTLETY OF THE PELAGIAN VIEW. 337**

what he says, "That sin entered by one man." For these are his former words. He says, "But God commendeth His love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more, then, being now justified in His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved in His life. And not only so, but glorying also in God through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom also we have now received reconciliation." Then he subjoins, "Therefore, as by one man sin entered into this world, and death by sin, and so passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned." Why do the Pelagians evade this matter? If reconciliation through Christ is necessary to all men, on all men has passed sin by which we have become enemies, in order that we should have need of reconciliation. This reconciliation is in the laver of regeneration and in the flesh and blood of Christ, without which not even infants can have life in themselves. "For as one man was for death on account of sin, so there is one man for life on account of righteousness; because as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive;" And as by the sin of one [judgment came] upon all men to condemnation, so also by the righteousness of one [the free gift came] upon all men unto justification of life." Who is there that has turned a deaf ear to these apostolical words with such hardness of wicked impiety, as, having heard them, to contend that death passed upon us through Adam without sin, unless, indeed, they are opposers of the grace of God and enemies of the cross of Christ? whose end is destruction if they continue in this obstinacy. But let it suffice to have said thus much for the sake of that serpentine subtlety of theirs, by which they wish to corrupt simple minds, and to turn them away from the simplicity of the faith, as if by the praise of the creature.

Chap. 9. [v.] "Of the praise of marriage.

But further, concerning the praise of marriage, what advantage is it to them that, in opposition to the Manichseans, who

1 Rom. V. 8 ff. "I Cor. xv. 22. 3 Kom. v. 18.

XV, Y
assign marriage not to the true and good God, but to the prince of darkness, these [scil. the Pelagians] withstand the words of true piety, and say, "That the Lord speaks in the "ospel, saying. Who from the beginning made them male and female, and said, Increase and multiply and replenish the earth. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder " ? ^ What does this profit them, by means of the truth to seduce to a falsehood ? For they say this in order that infants may be thought to be born free from all fault, and thus that there is no need of their being reconciled to God through Christ, not having any original sin, on account of which reconciliation is necessary to all by means of one who came into the world without sin, as the enmities of all were caused by means of one through whom sin entered into the world. And this is believed by Catholics for the sake of the salvation of the nature of men, without detracting from the praise of marriage, because the praise of marriage is a righteous intercourse of the sexes, not a wicked defence of vices. And thus, when, by their praise of marriage, these persons wish to draw over men from the Manichaeans to themselves, they desire merely to change their disease, not to heal it.

Chap. 10. â€” Of the praise of the law.

Once more, in the praise of the law, what advantage is it to them that, in opposition to the Manichaeans, they say the truth when they wish to bring men from that view to this which they hold falsely against the Catholics ? For they say, "We confess that even the old law, according to the apostle, is holy and just and good, which could confer eternal life on those that kept its commandments, and lived righteously by faith, as the prophets and patriarchs, and all the saints." By which words, very craftily expressed, they praise the law in opposition to grace; for not even that law, although just and holy and good, could confer eternal life on all those men of God, but the faith which is in Christ. For this faith worketh by love, not according to the letter which killeth, but according to the Spirit which maketh alive, to which ^ ilatt. xix, i, etc.

CHAP. 10.] OBEDIENCE TO LAW BY FAITH. 339

grace of God the law, as it were a sciolomaster, leads bydetering from transgression, that so that might be conferred upon man which it could not itself confer. For to those words of theirs in which they say " that the law was able to confer eternal life on the prophets and patriarchs, and all saints who kept its commandments," the apostle replies, "If righteousness be by the law, then has Christ died in vain." ^ 
" If the inheritance be by the law, then is it no more of promise." ^ " If they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect." ^ " But that
no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, is evident: for. The just by faith liveth." * " But the law is not of faith: but. The man that doeth them shall live in them," ^
Which testimony, mentioned by the apostle from the law, is understood in respect of temporal life, in respect of the fear of losing which, men were in the habit of doing the works of the law, â€” not of faith, because the transgressors of the law by the same were commanded to be put to death by the people. Or, if it must be understood on higher ground, that it was written in reference to eternal life, " He who doeth these things shall live in them;" the power of the law is so expressed that the weakness of man in himself, itself failing to do what the law commands, might seek help from the grace of God rather of faith, seeing that by His mercy even faith itself is bestowed. Because faith is thus possessed, according as God has given to every one the measure of faith. For if men have it not of themselves, but they receive the Spirit of power and of love and of continence, â€” whence that very same teacher of the Gentiles says, " For we have not received the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of continence," Â® â€” assuredly also the Spirit of faith is received, of which he says, " Having also the same Spirit of faith." ^ Truly, then, says the law, " He who doeth these things shall live in them."
But in order to do these things, and live in them, there is necessary not the law which commands this, but the faith which obtains this. Which faith, however, that it may deserve to receive these things, is itself given freely.

> Gal. ii. 21. Â« Gal. iii. 18. ^ f.â„ j^ 14^ 4 Qal. iii. 11.


340 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS, [CHAP. 11,
; Chajp. 11. â€” The Pelagians understand that the law itself is God's grace.

But those enemies of grace never endeavour to lay more secret snares for the more vehement opposition of that same "â€œrace than when they praise the law, which, without doubt, is worthy to be praised. Because, by their different modes of speaking, and by variety of words in all their arguments, they wish the law to be understood as grace â€” that, to wit, we may have from the Lord God the help of knowledge, whereby we may know those things which have to be done, not the inspiration of love, that, when known, we may do them with a holy love, which is specially grace. For the knowledge of the law without love puffeth up, does not edify, according to the same apostle, who most openly says, " Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth," ^ Which saying is like to that in which it is said, " The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive." "" For such as is, " Knowledge puffeth up," such is, " The letter killeth; " and such as is, " Love edifieth," such is, " The spirit maketh alive; " because " the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given unto us."^ Therefore the knowledge of the law makes a proud transgressor; but, by the gift of charity, it delights him to be a doer of the law. We
do not then make void the law through faith, but we establish the law,* which by terrifying leads to faith. Thus certainly the law worketh wrath, that the mercy of God may bestow grace on the sinner, frightened and turned to the fulfilment of the righteousness of the law through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is the wisdom of God, of which it is written, "She carries law and mercy on her tongue,"^ â€” law whereby she frightens, mercy by which she may help; law by His servant, mercy by Himself, â€” the law, as it were, in the staff which Elisha sent to raise up the son of the widow, and it failed to raise him up, "For if a law had been given which could have given life, righteousness would altogether have been by the law;" but mercy, as it were, in Elisha himself, who, wearing the figure of Christ, by giving life to the dead was joined in the signification of the great sacrament, as it were, of the New Testament.

1 1 Cor. viii. 1. ^2 Cor. iii. 6. ^ Rom. v. 5.

* Rom. iii. 31. † Prov, iii. 16. See LXX.

CHAP. 13. PELAGIAN DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL. 341

Chap. 12. [vi.] â€” Of the praise of free-will.

Moreover, that, in opposition to the Manichseans, they praise free-will, making use of the prophetic testimony, "If ye shall be willing and will hear me, ye shall eat what is good in the land; but if ye shall be unwilling and will not hear me, the sword shall consume you:"^ what advantage is this to them, when, indeed, it is not so much against the Manichaeans that they are maintaining, as against the Catholics that they are extolling, free-w^ill? For they wish what is said, "If ye be willing and will hear me," to be thus understood, as if in the will itself preceding were the merit of the grace that follows; and thus grace were no more grace, seeing that it is not free when it is rendered as a debt. But if they should so understand what is written, "If ye be willing," as to confess that He prepares even that good will itself of whom it is written, "The will is prepared by the Lord,"^ they would use this testimony as Catholics, and not only would overcome the ancient heresy of the Manichseans, but would not found the new one of the Pelagians.

Chap. 13. â€” GoiVs purposes are effects of grace.

What does it profit them, that in the praise of that same free-will "they say that grace assists the good purpose of every one"? This would be received without scruple as being said in a Catholic spirit, if they did not attribute merit to the good purpose, to which merit it is now a wage that is paid of debt, not of grace; but would understand and confess that even that very good purpose, which the grace which follows assists, could not have been in the man if grace had not preceded it. For how is there a good purpose in a man without the mercy of God first, since it is that very good will which is prepared by the Lord? But when they had said this, "that grace also assists every one's good purpose," and presently
added, " but that it does not introduce the love of virtue into a resisting heart," it might be fitly understood if it were not said by those whose meaning is known. For to the resisting heart the hearing of the divine

â€œ Isa. i. 19, 20. ~ * Prov. viii. 35 [LXX.]


call is first procured by the grace of God itself, and then in that heart, now no more resisting, the desire of virtue is kindled.
Nevertheless, in all things which any one does according to God, His mercy comes before him. And this they will not have, because they choose to be not Catholics, but Pelagians. For it much delights a proud impiety, that even that which a man is forced to confess to be given by the Lord should seem to be not bestowed on himself, but repaid; so that, to wit, the children of perdition, not of the promise, may be thought themselves to have made themselves good, and God to have repaid to those who are now good, having been made so by themselves, the due reward for that their work.

Chap. 14. â€” The testimonies of Scripture in favour of grace.

For that very pride has so obstructed the ears of their heart that they do not hear, " For what hast thou that thou liest not received ? " ^ They do not hear, " Without me ye can do nothing; " ^ they do not hear, " Love is of God; " ^ they do not hear, " God hath dealt the measure of faith; " ^* they do not hear, " The Spirit breatheth where it will," * and, " They who are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God; " Â® they do not hear, " No one can come unto me, unless it were given him of my Father; " ^ they do not hear what Esdras writes, " Blessed is the Lord of our fathers, who hath put into the heart of the king to glorify His house which is in Jerusalem; " ^ they do not hear what the Lord says by Jeremiah, " And I will put my fear into their heart, that they depart not from me; and I will visit them to make them good";Â® and especially that word by Ezekiel the prophet, where God absolutely shows that He is induced by no good deservings of men to make them good, that is, obedient to His commands, but rather that He repays to them good for evil, by doing this on His own account, and not on their account.
For He says, " These things saith the Lord God: I do not this for your sakes, house of Israel, but for mine own holy name's sake, which has been profaned among the nations,

Â» 1 Cor. iv. 7. 2 John xv. 5. ' 1 John iv. 7.


CHAP. 15.] TESTIMONY OF EZEKIEL. 343

whither ye have gone in there; and I will sanctify my great name, which has been profaned among the nations, and which ye have profaned in the midst of them; and the nations shall know that I am the Lord, saith Adonai the Lord, when I shall be sanctified among you before their eyes. And I will take you from among the nations, and gather you together out of all lands, and will bring you into your own land. And I will sprinkle upon you clean water, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness, and I will cleanse you. And I will give unto you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you: and the stony heart shall be taken away out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and will cause you to walk in my righteousness, and to observe my judgments, and do them."

And after a few words by the same prophet, He says, "Not for your sakes do I do this, saith the Lord God; it shall be known unto you: be ye confounded and blush for your ways,

house of Israel. These things saith the Lord God: In the day in which I shall cleanse you from all your iniquities, and shall ordain cities, and the wilderness shall be built. And the desolated land shall be tilled, whereas it was desolated before the eyes of every passer by. And they shall say, This land that was desolated has become as a garden of pleasure; and the wasted and desolated and ruined cities have settled down fortified. And whatever nations have been left round about you shall know that I the Lord have built the ruined places,

I have planted the desolated places: I the Lord have spoken, and have done it. Thus saith the Lord: I will yet for this inquire of the house of Israel, that I may do it for them; I will multiply them men like sheep, as holy sheep, as the sheep of Jerusalem in the days of her feast; so shall be those desolated cities full of men as sheep: and they shall know that I am the Lord." 

Chap. 15. â€” From those words of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, grace is proved to be gratuitous and effectual.

What remained to the carrion skin whence it might be puffed up, and could disdain when it glories to glory in the Lord? What remained to it when it could say that it had

* Ezek. xxxvi. 22 S. 2 Ezek. xxxvi. 32 ff.
done anything; that when that preceding merit of man originated from man, God would subsequently do that of which the man is deserving; it shall be answered, it shall be exclaimed against, it shall be contradicted, "I do it; but for my own holy name's sake, not for your sakes, do I do it, saith the Lord God?" Nothing so overturns the Pelagians when they say that the grace of God is given in respect of our merits. Which, indeed, Pelagius himself condemned, and if not by correcting it, yet by being afraid of the Eastern judges. Nothing so overturns the presumption of men who say. We do it, that we may deserve those things with which God may do it. It is not Pelagius that answers you, but the Lord Himself, "I do it, and not for your sakes, but for my own holy name's sake." For what good can ye do out of a heart which is not good? But that you may have a good heart. He says, "I will give you a new heart, and I will put a new Spirit within you." Can you say. We will first walk in His righteousness, and will observe His judgment, and will do so that we may be worthy as to those to whom He should give His grace? But what good would ye evil men do, and how should you do those good things, unless you were yourselves good? But who causes that men should be good save Him who said, "And I will visit them to make them good"? and who said, I will put my Spirit within you, and will cause you to walk in my righteousness, and to observe my judgments, and do them? Are ye thus not yet awake? Do ye not yet hear, I will cause you to walk, I will make you to observe, lastly, I will make you to do? What! are you still puffing yourselves up? We indeed walk, it is true, we observe, we do; but He makes us to walk, to observe, to do. This is the grace of God making us good, this is His mercy preventing us. What do waste and desolated and dug-up places deserve, which yet shall be built and tilled and fortified? Are these things for the merits of their wasteness, their desolation, their uprooting? Far from it. For such things as these are evil servings, while those gifts are good. Therefore good things are given for evil ones æ’ gratuitous, therefore; not of debt, and therefore grace. I, saith the Lord; I, the Lord. Does not such a word as that restrain you, human pride, when you say, I do such things as to deserve from the Lord to be built and planted? Do you not hear, "I do it not on your account; I the Lord have built up the destroyed cities, and I have planted the desolated lands; I the Lord have spoken, and I have done it, yet not for your sakes, but for my own holy name's sake"? Who multiplies men as sheep, as holy sheep, as the sheep of Jerusalem? Who causes those desolated cities to be full of men as sheep, save He who goes on, and says, "And they shall know that I am the Lord"? But with what men as sheep does He fill the cities as He promised? those which He finds, or those which He makes?
Let us interrogate the Psalm; lo, it answers; let us hear:
"O come, let us worship and fall down before Him: and let us weep before the Lord who made us; because He is our God, and we are the people of His pasture, and the sheep of His hand."^ He therefore makes the sheep, with which He may fill the desolated cities. What wonder, when, indeed, to that single sheep, that is, the Church whose members are all the human sheep, it is said. Because I am the Lord who make thee? What do you pretend to me of free-will, which will not be free to do righteousness, unless you should be a sheep?

He then who makes men His sheep, He frees the wills of men for the obedience of piety.

Cii.vr. 16. â€” Why God inalces of some sheep, others not.

But wherefore does God make these men sheep, and not those, since with Him there is no acceptance of persons? This is the very question which the blessed apostle thus answers to those who propose it with more curiosity than propriety, "man, who art thou that repliest against God? Does the thing formed say to him that formed it, Wherefore hast thou made me thus?"^ This is the very question which pertains to that depth which the same apostle desiring to look into, was in a certain measure terrified, and exclaimed,
"Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For who has known the mind of the Lord?
or who has been His counsellor? Or who has first given to J Ps. xcv. 6, 7. 2 Rom. ix. 20.

346 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 16.

Him, that it should be recompensed to Him again? Because of Him, and through Him, and in Him, are all things: to Him be glory for ages of ages."^ Let them not, then, dare to pry into that unsearchable question who defend merit before grace, and therefore even against grace, and wish first to give unto God, that it may be given to them again, â€” first, in any case, to give something of free-will, that grace may be given them again as a reward; and let them wisely understand or faithfully believe that even what they think that they have first given, they have received from Him, from whom are all things, by whom are all things, in whom are all things. But why this man should receive, and that should not receive, when neither of them deserve to receive, and whichever of them receives, receives undeservingly, let them measure their own strength, and not search into things too strong for them. Let it suffice them to know that there is no unrighteousness with God. For when the apostle could find no merits for which Jacob should take precedence of his twin-brother with God, he said, "What, then, shall we say? Is there unrighteousness with God? Away with the thought!
For He says to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will show compassion on whom I will show compassion. Therefore it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."^ Let, therefore. His free
compassion be grateful to us, even although this profound question be still unsolved; which, nevertheless, is so far solved as the same apostle solves it, saying, "But if God, willing to show His wrath, and to demonstrate His power, endured in much patience the vessels of wrath which are fitted to destruction; and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He has prepared for glory." ^Certainly wrath is not repaid unless it is due, lest there be unrighteousness with God; but mercy, even when it is bestowed, and not due, is not unrighteousness with God. And hence, let the vessels of mercy understand how freely mercy is afforded to them, because to the vessels of wrath with whom they have common cause and measure of perdition, is repaid wrath, righteous and due.

Lk. xi. 33 ff, 2 P°ο. ιx. 14 ff, 2 P°ο. m j^ 22, 23.

CHAP. 18.] THE CHURCH HERE NOT WITHOUT SPOT. 347

This is now enough in opposition to those who, by freedom of will, desire to destroy the liberality of grace.

Chap. 17. [vii.] â€” Of the praise of the saints.

That, indeed, in the praise of the saints, they will not drive us with the zeal of that publican to hunger and thirst after righteousness, but with the vanity of the Pharisees, as it were, to overflow with sufficiency and fulness; what does it profit them that â€” in opposition to the Manichseans, who do away with baptism â€” "they say "that men are perfectly renewed by baptism," and apply the apostle's testimony for this, â€” who testifies that, by the washing of water, the Church is made holy and spotless from the Gentiles," â€” when, with a proud and perverse meaning, they avail themselves of their arguments in opposition to the prayers of the Church itself For they say this in order that the Church may be believed after holy baptism â€” in which is accomplished the forgiveness of all sins â€” to have no further sin; when, in opposition to them, from the rising of the sun even to its setting, in all its members it cries to God, "Forgive us our debts." But if they are interrogated regarding themselves in this matter, they find not what to answer. For if they should say that they have no sin, John answers them, that they deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them. But if they confess their sins, since they wish themselves to be members of Christ's body, how will that body, that is, the Church, 'be even in this time perfectly, as they think, without spot or wrinkle, if its members without falsehood confess themselves to have sins? Wherefore in baptism all sins are forgiven, and, by that very washing of water in the word, the Church is set forth in Christ without spot or wrinkle; and unless it were baptized, it would fruitlessly say. Forgive us our debts, until it be brought to glory, when there is in it absolutely no spot or wrinkle.

Chap. 18. â€” The opinion of the saints themselves about themselves.
It is to be confessed that "the Holy Spirit, even in the old times," not only "aided good dispositions," which even they allow, but that it even made them good, which they will not have; "that all, also, of the prophets and apostles or saints, both evangelical and ancient, to whom God gives His witness, were righteous, not in comparison of the wicked, but by the standard of virtue," is not doubtful. And this is opposed to the Manichseans, who blaspheme the patriarchs and prophets; but what is opposed to the Pelagians is, that all of these, when interrogated concerning themselves while they lived in the body, with one most accordant voice would answer, "If we should say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "But in the future time," it is not to be denied "that there will be a reward as well of good works as of evil, and that no one will be commanded to do the commandments there which here he has contemned," but that a sufficiency of perfect righteousness where sin cannot be, a righteousness which is here hungered and thirsted after by the saints, is here hoped for in precept, is there received as a reward by the entreaty of alms and prayers; so that what here may have been wanting in fulfilment of the commandments may become unpunished by the forgiveness of sin.


And if these things be so, let the Pelagians cease by their most insidious praises of these five things "that is, the praise of the creature, the praise of marriage, the praise of the law, the praise of free-will, the praise of the saints" from feigning that they desire to pluck men, as it were, from the little snares of the Manichseans, in order that they may entangle them in their own nets "that is, to deny original sin; to begrudge to infants the aid of Christ the physician; to say that the grace of God is given in respect of our merits, and thus that grace is no more grace; and to say that the saints in this life had not sin, and that thus the prayer should be made of no effect which He gave to the saints who had no sin, and by whom all sin is pardoned to the saints that pray unto Him. To these three evil doctrines, they by their deceitful praise of these five good things seduce careless and unlearned men.

Concerning all which things, I think I have sufficiently censured their most cruel and wicked and proud vanity.

1 1 John i. 8.

Chap. 20. [viii.] "The testimonies of the ancients against the Pelagians.
But since they say " that their enemies have taken up our words for hatred of the truth, and complained that throughout nearly the whole of the West a dogma not less foolish than impious is taken up, and from simple bishops sitting in their places without the Synodal congregation a subscription is extorted to confirm this dogma," although the Church of Christ, both Western and Eastern, shuddered at the profane novelties of their words; I think it pertains to my case not only to avail myself of the sacred canonical Scriptures as witnesses against them, which I have already sufficiently done, but, moreover, to bring forward some proofs from the writings of the holy men who before us have treated upon those Scriptures with the most widespread reputation and great glory. Not that I would put the authority of any controversialist on a level with the canonical books, as if there were nothing which is better or more truly thought by one Catholic than by another who likewise is a Catholic; but that those may be admonished who think that these men say anything as it used to be said, long before their empty talk on these subjects, by Catholic teachers following the divine oracles, and may know that the true and anciently established Catholic faith is by us defended against the receding presumption and mischief of the Pelagian heretics.

Chap. 21. â€” Pelagius, in imitation of Cyprian, lorote a hook of testimonies.

Even that heresiarch of these men, Pelagius himself, mentions with honour that is certainly due the most blessed Cyprian, most glorious also with the crown of martyrdom not only in the African and the Western, but also in the Eastern Churches, well known by the report of fame, and by the diffusion far and wide of his writings, â€” he, I say, mentions him when writing a book of testimonies; he asserts that he is imitating him, saying that " he was doing to Eomanus what Cyprian had done to Quirinus." Let us, then, see what Cyprian thought concerning original sin, which entered by one man into the world. In the epistle about works and alms he thus speaks: " Wlien the Lord at His advent had cured these wounds which Adam had introduced, and had healed the old poisons of the serpent. He gave a law to the sound man, and bade him sin no more, lest a worse thing should happen to him if he did. We had been limited and shut up into a narrow space by the commandment of innocence, nor would the infirmity and weakness of human frailty have any resource unless the divine mercy coming once more in aid should open some way of securing salvation by pointing out works of justice and mercy, so that by almsgiving we may wash away whatever foulness we subsequently contract." ' By this testimony this witness refutes two falsehoods of theirs, â€” the one, wherein they say that the human race draws no sin from Adam which needs cure and healing through Christ; the other, in which they say that the saints have no sin after baptism. Again, in the same epistle he says, " Let each one place before his eyes the devil with his servants, that is, with the people of perdition, and death springing forth into the midst and provoking the people of Christ with the trial of comparison, Christ Himself being present and judging in these
words: 'I, on behalf of those whom thou seest with me, neither received buffets, nor bore scourgings, nor endured the cross, nor shed my blood, nor redeemed my family at the price of my suffering and blood; but neither do I promise them a celestial kingdom, nor do I recall them to Paradise, having again restored to them immortality.' "^ Let the Pelagians answer and say when we could have been in the immortality of Paradise, and how we could have been expelled thence so as to be recalled thither by the grace of Christ. And, although they may be unable to find what they can answer in this case on behalf of their own perversity, let them observe in what manner Cyprian understood what the apostle says, " In whom all have sinned." And let not the Pelagian heretics, freed from the old Manichæan heretics, dare to suggest any calumny against a Catholic, lest they should be convicted of doing so wicked a wrong even to the ancient martyr Cyprian.

* Ibid. voL ii. p. 16.

CHAP. 22.]

For he says also this in the epistle whose title is inscribed, " On the Mortality": " The kingdom of God, beloved brethren, is beginning to be at hand; the reward of life, and the rejoicing of eternal salvation and perpetual gladness, and the possession formerly lost of Paradise, are now coming with the passing away of the world." ^ This again, in the same epistle, he says: " Let us greet the day which assigns each of us to his own home, which snatches us hence and sets us free from the snares of the world, and restores us to Paradise and the kingdom."^ Moreover, he says in the epistle concerning Patience: " Let the judgment of God be pondered, which, even in the beginning of the world and of the human race, Adam, forgetful of the commandment and a transgressor of the law that had been given, received. Then we shall know how patient in this life we ought to be, who are born in such a state that we labour here with afflictions and contests. Because, says He, ' thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which alone I had charged thee that thou shouldst not eat, cursed shall be the ground in all thy works: in sorrow and in groaning shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns and thistles shall it give forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the food of the field. In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread, till thou return unto the ground from which thou wast taken: for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou go.' We are all tied and bound with the chain of this sentence until, death being expunged, we depart from this life." ^ And, moreover, in the same epistle he says: " For, since in that first transgression of the commandment strength of body departed with immortality, and weakness came on with death, and strength cannot be received unless when immortality also has been received, it behoves us in this bodily frailty and weakness always to struggle and fight; and this struggle and encounter cannot be sustained but by the strength of patience." *
And in the epistle which he wrote with sixty-six of his joint-bishops to Bishop Fidus, having been consulted by him in respect of the law of circumcision, whether an infant might be baptized before the eighth day, this matter is treated in such a way as if by a divine foresight the Catholic Church would already confute the Pelagian heretics who would appear so long afterwards. For he who had consulted had no doubt on the subject whether children being born inherited original sin, which they might wash away by being born again. For be it far from the Christian faith to have at any time doubted on this matter. But he was in doubt whether the washing of regeneration, by which he made no question but that original sin was put away, ought to be given before the eighth day. To which consultation the most blessed Cyprian in reply said: "But in respect of the case of infants, which you say ought not to be baptized within the second or third day after their birth, and that the law of the ancient circumcision should be regarded, so that you think that one who is just born should not be baptized and sanctified within the eighth day, we all thought very differently in our council. For in this course which you thought was to be taken no one agreed, but we all rather judged that the grace of a merciful God was not to be denied to any one born of men; for, as the Lord says in His gospel, 'the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' As far as we can, we must strive that, if possible, no soul be lost." And a little afterwards he says: "Nor ought any of us to shudder at what God hath condescended to make. For although the infant is still fresh from its birth, yet it is not such that any one should shudder at kissing it in giving grace and in making peace, since in the kiss of an infant every one of us ought for his very religion's sake to consider the still recent hands of God themselves, which in some sort we are kissing in the man just formed and newly born, when we are embracing that which God has made." A little after, also, he says: "But if any-


remission of sins is granted, and nobody is hindered from baptism and from grace; how much rather ought we to shrink from hindering an infant, who, being lately born, has not sinned, except that, being born after the flesh according to Adam, he has contracted the contagion of the ancient death at his earliest birth; who approaches more easily on this very account to the reception of the forgiveness of sins, in that to him are remitted not his own sins, but the sins of another! "

Chap. 24. â€” The dilemma proposed to the Pelagians.

What will they say to such things as these, who are not only the forsakers, but also the persecutors of God's grace? What will they say to such things as these? On what ground is the possession of Paradise restored to us? How are we restored to Paradise if we have never been there? Or how have we been there, except because we were there in Adam? And how have we to do with that judgment which was spoken against the transgressor, if we do not inherit the mischief from the transgressor? Finally, he thinks that infants are to be baptized, even before the eighth day; lest by the contagion of the ancient death, contracted in the first birth, the souls of the infants should perish. How do they perish if they who are born even of believing men are not held by the devil until they are born again in Christ, and plucked out from the power of darkness, and transferred into His kingdom? And who says that the souls of those who are born will perish unless they are born again? Absolutely he who so praises the Creator and the creature, the workman and the work, as to restrain and correct the horror of human feeling with which men refuse to kiss infants fresh from the womb, interposing the veneration of the Creator Himself, saying that in the kiss of infants of that age the recent hands of God were to be considered. Did he, then, who confesses original sin, either condemn nature or marriage? Because he applied to the infant born of Adam, as guilty, the cleansing of regeneration, did he therefore deny God as the Creator of those that were born? Because, in his dread that souls of any age whatever should perish, he, with his council of colleagues, decided that even before the eighth day they were to be delivered by the sacrament of baptism, did he therefore accuse marriage, when, indeed, in the case of an infant, â€” whether born of marriage or of adultery, yet because it was born a man, â€” he declared that the recent hands of God were worthy even of the kiss of peace?

If, then, the holy bishop and most glorious martyr Cyprian could think that original sin in infants must be healed by the medicine of Christ, without denying the praise of the creature, without denying the praise of marriage, why does a novel pestilence, although it does not dare to call such an one as him a Manichaean, think that another person's fault is
to be objected against Catholics who maintain these things, in order to conceal its own? So the most well-known commentator on the divine declarations, before even the slightest taint of the Manichaean plague had touched our hands, without any reproach of the divine work and of marriage, confesses original sin, â€” not saying that Christ was stained with any spot of sin, nor yet comparing with Him the flesh of sin in others that were born, to whom by means of the likeness of sinful flesh He might afford the aid of cleansing; neither is he deterred by the obscure question of the origin of souls, from confessing that those who are not free by the grace of Christ return into Paradise. Does he say that the condition of death passed upon men from Adam without the contagion of sin?

For it is not on account of avoiding the death of the body, but on account of the sin which entered by one man into the world, that he says that help is to be afforded by baptism to infants, however fresh they may be from the womb.

Chap. 25. [ix.] â€” Cyprian's testimonies concerning God's grace.

But now it plainly appears in what way Cyprian declares the grace of God against such as these, when he is arguing about the Lord's Prayer. Por he says: "We say, 'Hallowed be Thy name,' not that we wish for God that He may be

CII.VP. 25.] CYPRIAN'S TESTIMONY ON GRACE. 355

hallowed by our prayers, but that we beseech of Him that His name may be hallowed in us. By whom is God sanctified, since He Himself sanctifies? "Well, because He says, 'Be ye holy, because I also am holy,' we ask and entreat this, that we who were sanctified in baptism may continue in that which we have begun to be." ^ And in another place in the same epistle he says: "We add also, and say, 'Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth,' not that God may do what He wills, but that we may be able to do what God wills. For who resists God that He may not do what He wills? But, since we are hindered by the devil from obeying God with our thought and deed in all things, we pray and ask that God's will may be done in us. And that it may be done in us, we have need of God's good will, that is, of His help and protection; since no one is strong in his own strength, but he is safe by the indulgence and mercy of God." ^ In another place also: "Moreover, we ask that the will of God may be done both in heaven and in earth, each of which things pertains to the fulfilment of our safety and salvation. For since we possess the body from the earth, and the spirit from heaven, we are ourselves earth and heaven; and ill both, that is, both in body and in spirit, we pray that God's will may be done. For between the flesh and the spirit there is a struggle, and there is a daily strife as they disagree one with the other; so that we cannot do those very things that we would, in that the spirit seeks heavenly and divine things, while the flesh lusts after earthly and temporal things. And, therefore, we ask that, by the help and assistance of God, agreement may be made between these two natures; so that while the will of God is done both in the spirit and in the flesh, the soul which is new-born by Him may be preserved. And this the Apostle Paul openly and manifestly declares by his words. 'The flesh,'}
says he, ' lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary
the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye will.' " ^ And a little after he
says: " And it may be thus understood, most beloved brethren, that since the Lord
commands and teaches us even to love our


2 Ibid. vol. i. pp. 407, 403. 3 m\^i\ vqI, i_ p_ 409.

356 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS, [CHAP. 25.

enemies, and to pray even for those who persecute us, we should ask even for those who
are still earth, and have not yet begun to be heavenly, that even in respect of these God's
will may be done, which Christ accomplished in preserving and renewing humanity." ^
And again, in another place he says: " Hence also we ask that this bread should be given
to us daily, that we who are in Christ, and daily receive the Eucharist for the food of
salvation, may not, by the interposition of some heinous sin, â€” " by being prevented, as
withheld and not communicating, from partaking of the heavenly bread, â€” be separated from Christ's body." ^ And a little afterwards, in the same treatise he says: "
But when we ask that we may not come into temptation, we are reminded of our infirmity
and weakness, in that we thus ask lest any should insolently vaunt himself; lest any
should proudly and arrogantly assume anything to himself; lest any should take to
himself the glory either of confession or of suffering as his own, when the Lord Himself
teaching humility said, ' Watch and pray, that ye come not into temptation: the spirit
indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak; ' " so that while a humble and submissive
confession comes first, and all is attributed to God, whatever is sought for suppliantly,
with fear and honour of God, may be granted by His own loving-kindness."*  
Moreover, in his treatise addressed to Quirinus, in which work Pelagius wishes himself to
appear as his imitator, he says in the Third Book " that we must boast in nothing, since
nothing is our own." ^ To which proposition subjoining the divine testimonies, he added
among others that apostolical word with which especially the mouths of such as these
must be closed: " For what hast thou, which thou hast not received ? But if thou hast
received it, why boastest thou as if thou hadst not received it ? " Also in the epistle
concerning Patience he says: " For we have this virtue in common with God. From Him
patience begins; from Him its glory and its dignity take their rise. The origin and
greatness of patience proceed from God as its Author." ^


CHAP. 2C.] TEACHING OF CYPRIAN ON GRACE. 357


Does that holy and so memorable instructor of the Churches in the word of truth deny that there is free-will in men, because he attributes to God the whole of your righteous living? Does he reproach God's law, because he intimates that from that, man is not justified, when indeed he declares that what that law commands must be obtained from the Lord God by prayers? Does he assert fate under the name of grace, although he says that we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own? Does he, as these do, believe that the Holy Spirit is in such wise the aider of virtue, as if that very virtue which it assists sprang from ourselves, when, asserting that nothing is our own, he mentions on this behalf that the apostle said, "For what hast thou that thou hast not received?" and says that the most excellent virtue, that is, patience, does not begin from us, and is afterwards aided by the Spirit of God, but takes its source from God Himself, from Him takes its origin? Finally, he confesses that neither good purpose, nor desire of virtue, nor good dispositions, begin to be in men without God's grace, when he says that we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own. What is so established in free-will as what the law says, that we must not worship an idol, must not commit adultery, must do no murder? Nay, these crimes, and such like, are of such a kind that, if any one should commit them, he is removed from the communion of the body of Christ. And yet, if the blessed Cyprian thought that our own will was sufficient for not committing these crimes, he would not in such wise understand what we say in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," as that he should assert that we ask that we may not by the interposition of some heinous sin â“ by being prevented as withheld, and not communicating, from partaking of the heavenly bread â“ be separated from Christ's body. Let these new heretics answer of a surety what good merit precedes, in men who are enemies of the name of Christ? For not only have they no good merit, but have, moreover, the very worst merit. And yet, moreover, Cyprian thus understands what we say in the prayer, "Thy will be done in

358 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 27.

heaven, and in earth," as being a prayer also for those very persons who in this respect are called earth. We pray, therefore, not only for the unwilling, but also for the objecting and resisting. What, then, do we ask, but that from unwilling they may be made willing; from objecting, consenting; from resisting, loving? And by whom, but by Him of whom it is written, "The will is prepared by God"? Let them, then, who disdain, if they do not do any evil and if they do any good, to glory, not in themselves, but in the Lord, learn to be Catholics.

Chap. 27. [x.] â“ Cyprian's testimonies concerning the imperfection of our own righteousness.
Let us, then, see that third point, which in these men is not less shocking to every member of Christ and to His whole body, that they contend that there are in this life, or that there have been, righteous men having absolutely no sin. In which presumption they most manifestly contradict the Lord's Prayer, wherein, with truthful heart and with daily words, all the members of Christ cry aloud, "Forgive us our debts." Let us see, then, what Cyprian, most glorious in the Lord, thought of this, â€” what he not only said for the instruction of the Churches, not certainly of the Manichseans, but of the Catholics, but also committed to letters and to memory. In the epistle on Works and Alms, he says: "Let us then acknowledge, beloved brethren, the wholesome gift of the divine mercy, and let us who cannot be without some wound of conscience heal our wounds by the spiritual remedies for the cleansing and purging of our sins. Nor let any one so flatter himself with the notion of a pure and immaculate heart, as, in dependence on his own innocence, to think that the medicine needs not to be applied to his wounds; since it is written, 'Who shall boast that he hath a clean heart, or who shall boast that he is pure from sins?' And again, in his epistle, John lays it down and says, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' But if no one can be without sin, and whoever should say that he is without fault is either proud or foolish, how needful, how kind is the divine mercy,
'Vvov. viii. 36 [LXX.J. 'Prov. xx. 9. ^ 1 John i. 8.

CHAP. 27.] FURTHER EXTRACTS FROM CYPRIAN. 330

which, knowing that there are still found some wounds in those that have been healed, has given even after their healing wholesome remedies for the curing and healing of their wounds anew!" Again, in the same treatise he says: "And since there cannot fail daily to be sins committed in the sight of God, there wanted not daily sacrifices wherewith the sins might be cleansed away." Also, in the treatise on the Mortality, he says: "Our warfare is with avarice, with immodesty, with anger, with ambition; our diligent and toilsome will'style with carnal vices, with the enticements of the world. The mind of man besieged, and on every hand invested with the onsets of the devil, scarcely in each point meets the attack, scarcely resists it. If avarice is prostrated, lust springs up. If lust is overcome, ambition takes its place. If ambition is despised, anger exasperates, pride puffs up, wiaebibbing entices; envy breaks concord; jealousy cuts friendship; you are constrained to curse, which the divine law forbids; you are compelled to swear, which is not lawful. So many persecutions the soul suffers daily, with so many risks is the heart wearied; and yet it delights to abide here long among the devil's weapons, although it should rather be our craving and wish to hasten to Christ by the aid of a quicker death." * Again, in the same treatise he says: "The blessed Apostle Paul in his epistle lays it down, saying, 'To me to live is Christ'; and to die is gain;" * 'coiming it the greatest gain no longer to be held by the snares of this world, no longer to be liable to the sins and vices of the flesh.' ^ Moreover, on the Lord's Prayer, explaining what it is we ask when we say,
"Hallowed be thy name," he says, among other matters:
"For we have need of daily sanctification, that we, who daily fall away, may wash out our sins by continual sanctification."^ Again, in the same treatise, when he would explain our saying,
"Forgive us our debts," he says: "And how necessarily, how providently and salutarily, are we admonished that we are sinners, since we are compelled to entreat for our sins; and while pardon is asked for from God, the soul recalls its own


3 Ibid. vol. i. p. 455. *Phil. i. 21.


consciousness of guilt. Lest any one should flatter himself as being innocent, and by exalting himself should more deeply perish, he is instructed and taught that he sins daily, in that he is bidden to entreat daily for his sins."^ Thus, moreover, John also in his epistle warns us, and says: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. But if we confess our sins. He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." Eighty, also, he proposed in his letter to Quirinus his own most absolute judgment on this subject, to which he subjoined the divine testimonies, "That no one is without filth and without sin."^ Where also he set down those testimonies by which original sin is confirmed, which these men endeavour to twist into I know not what new and evil meanings, whether what the holy Job says, "For who is pure from filth? not one even if his life be of one day upon the earth,"^ or what is read in the Psalm, "Behold, I was conceived in iniquity; and in sins hath my mother nourished me in the womb." *To which testimonies, on account of those also who are already holy in mature age, since even they are not without filth and sin, he added also that word of the most blessed John, which he often mentions in many other places besides, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves;" * and other passages of the same tendency, which are not withheld by any Catholics, by way of opposing those who^ deceive themselves, and the truth is not in them.

Chap. 26. â€” Cyprian's orthodoxy undoubted.

Let the Pelagians say, if they dare, that this man of God was perverted by the error of the Manichseans, in so praising the saints as yet to confess that no one in this life had attained to such a perfection of righteousness as to have no sin at all, confirming his judgment by the clear truth and divine authority of the canonical testimonies. For does he deny that in baptism all sins are forgiven, because he confesses that there remains frailty
and infirmity, whence he says that we sin after baptism, and even to the end of this life have unceasing conflict with the vices of the flesh? Or had


3 Job xiv. 4, 5. â–¬ â€¢ Ps. li. 5. * 1 John i. 8.

CHAP. 28.] CYPRIAN'S VIEW OF APOSTOLIC RIGHTEOUSNESS. 361

he not remembered what the apostle had said about the Church without spot, that he prescribed that no one ought so to flatter himself in respect of a pure and spotless heart as to trust in his own innocence, and think that no medicine needed to be applied to his wounds? I think that these new heretics may concede to this Catholic man that he knew "that the Holy Spirit even in the old times aided good dispositions;" nay, even what they themselves will not allow, that they could not have even possessed good dispositions except through the Holy Spirit. I think that Cyprian had known that all the prophets and apostles or saints of any kind soever who pleased the Lord at any time were righteous â€” "not in comparison of the wicked," as they falsely assert that we say, "but by the standard of virtue," as they boast that they say; although Cyprian says, nevertheless, no one can be without sin, and whoever should assert that he is blameless is either proud or a fool. Nor is it with reference to anything else that he understands the Scripture, "Who shall boast that he has a pure heart? or who shall boast that he is pure from sins?" ^

I think that Cyprian would not have needed to be taught by such as these, what he very well knew, "that, in the time to come, there would be a reward of good works and a punishment of evil works, but that no one could then perform the commands which here he might have despised;" and yet he does not understand and assert that even the Apostle Paul, not assuredly a contemner of the divine commands, said on any other account, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is sain;" ^

nor that he reckoned it the greatest gain after this life no longer to be held in worldly entanglements, no longer to be obnoxious to the sins and vices of the flesh. Therefore the most blessed Cyprian felt, and in the truth of the divine Scriptures saw, that even the life of the apostles themselves, however good, holy, and righteous, suffered some involvements of worldly entanglements, was obnoxious to some sins and vices of the flesh; and that they desired death that they might be free from those evils, and that they might attain to that perfect righteousness which would not suffer such things, and which would no more have to be achieved in the way of obedience

' Prov. xjc. 9. Â« PMl. ii. 21.

362 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 29.
to] a command, but to be received in the way of reward. For not even when that shall have come for which we pray when we say, "Thy kingdom come," will there be in that kingdom no righteousness; although the apostle says, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." ^ Certainly those three things are commanded among other divine precepts. Here righteousness is prescribed to us when it is said, "Do righteousness;" ^ peace is prescribed when it is said, "Have peace among yourselves;" ^ joy is prescribed when it is said, "Rejoice in the Lord always."* Let, then, the Pelagians deny that these things shall be in the kingdom of God, where we shall live without end; or let them be so mad, if it appears so, as to contend that righteousness, peace, and joy, such as they are here to the righteous, will be such there also. But if they both shall be, and shall not be such [as they were here], assuredly here, in respect of the commandment of them, the doing is to be cared for; there the perfection is to be hoped for in the way of reward, when, not being withheld by any entanglements, and being obnoxious to no sins and vices of the flesh (on account of which the apostle, as Cyprian received this testimony, said that to die would be to him gain), we may perfectly love God, the contemplation of whom will be face to face; we may also perfectly love our neighbour, since, when the thoughts of the heart are made manifest, no suspicion of any evil can disturb any one concerning any one.

Chap. 29. [xi.] â€” The testimonies of Ambrose against the Pelagians, and first of all concerning original sin.

But now also to the most glorious martyr Cyprian, let me add, for the sake of more amply confuting these men, the most blessed Ambrose; because even Pelagius in such wise praised him as to say that in his writings could be found nothing to be blamed even by his enemies. Since, then, the Pelagians say that there is no original sin with which infants are born, and object to the Catholics who withstand them on behalf of the most ancient faith of the Church, the guilt of the Manichsean heresy, let this Catholic man of God, Ambrose, praised even by Pelagius himself in the truth of the faith, answer them concerning this matter, seeing that he, when he was expounding the prophet Isaiah, says: "Christ was, therefore, without spot, because not even in the usual condition itself of being born was He stained." ^ And in another place in the same work, speaking of the Apostle Peter, he says: "He offered himself, which he thought before to be sin, asking for himself that not only his feet but his head also should be washed, because he had directly understood that by the washing of the feet, which lapsed in the first man, the filth of the obnoxious succession was abolished." ^ Also in the same work he says: "It was observed, therefore, that of a man and woman, that is, by that mingling of bodies, no one could seem to be free from sin; but He who is free from sin is free also from this kind of conception." ^ Also writing against the Xovatians he says: "All of us men are born

CHAP. 29.] TESTIMONIES OF AMBROSE. 363
under sin. Whose very origin is in sin, as you have it read in the words of David, 'For lo, I was conceived in sins; and in sin hath my mother brought me forth.' Also in the apology of the prophet David, he says: "Before we are born we are spotted with contagion, and before the use of light we receive the mischief of that very origin. We are conceived in iniquity." Also speaking of the Lord, he says: "It was certainly fitting that He who was not to have the sin of a bodily fall, should feel no natural contagion of generation.

Eighthly, therefore, David with weeping deplored in himself the very defilements of nature, and the fact that the stain had begun in man before his life." Again, of the ark of Noah he says: "Therefore by one Lord Jesus the coming salvation is declared to the nations; for He only could be righteous, although every generation should go astray, nor for any other reason than that, being born of a virgin. He was not at all bound by the specialty of a guilty generation. 'Behold,' he says, 'I was conceived in iniquities; and in sins has my mother brought me forth,' who was esteemed righteous beyond others. "Whom, then, should I now call righteous

This work is not extant. * Ibid.

^ De Penitentia, lib. 1. chap. 3. * Ps. li. 5.
* De Penitentia, lib. i. chap. 11. â€¢ Ihid. lib. i. chap. 11.
' Ps. li. 5.


unless Him who is free from those chains, whom the bonds of our common nature do not hold fast? " Behold, this holy man, most approved, even by the witness of Pelagius, in the Catholic faith, condemned the Pelagians who deny original sin with such evidence as this; and yet does not with the Manichseans deny either God to be the Creator of those who are born, or condemn marriage, which God ordained and blessed.

CuAP. 30. â€” The testimonies of Atiibrose concerning God's grace.

The Pelagians say that merit began from man with freewill, to which God repays the subsequent aid of grace.

Let the venerable Ambrose here also refute them, when he says, in his exposition of the prophet Isaiah, " that human care without divine help is powerless for healing, and needs a divine helper." Also, in the treatise which is inscribed, "On the Avoidance of the World," he says: " Our discourse is frequent on the avoidance of this world; and I wish that our disposition were as cautious and careful as our discourse is easy. But what is worse, the enticement of earthly lusts frequently creeps in, and the flowing forth of vanities takes hold of the mind, so that the very thing that you desire to avoid you
think upon, and turn over in your mind; and this it is difficult for a man to beware of, but to get rid of, it is impossible.
Finally, that that is rather a matter to be wished than to be accomplished the prophet testifies when he says, ' Incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not to avarice.' ^ For our heart and our thoughts are not in our power, seeing that they are suddenly forced forth and confuse the mind and the soul, and draw them in other directions from those which you have proposed for them; â€” they recall to things of time, they suggest worldly things, they obtrude voluptuous thoughts, they inweave seducing thoughts, and, in the very season in which we are proposing to lift up our mind, vain thoughts are intruded upon us, and we are cast down for the most part to things of earth; and who is so happy as always to rise upwards in his heart? And how can this be done without

^ De Poenitentia, lib. i. chap. 11. ' De Fuga Sceculi, chap. L
3 Ps. cxix. 36.

CHAP. 30.] TESTIMONIES OF AMBROSE. 365

the divine help? Absolutely in no manner. Finally, of old Scripture says the same thing, 'Blessed is the man whose help is of Thee, Lord; in his heart is going up.' " ^ What can be said more openly and more sufficiently? But lest the Pelagians perchance should answer that, in that very point in which divine help is asked for, man's merit precedes, saying that that very thing is merit, that by his prayer he is desiring that divine grace should come to his assistance, let them give heed to what the same holy man says in his exposition of Isaiah. He says: " And to pray God is a spiritual grace; for no man says that Jesus is the Lord, except in the Holy Spirit." ^ Whence also, expounding the Gospel according to Luke,^ he says: " You see certainly that everywhere the power of the Lord co-operates with human desires, so that no man can build without the Lord, no man can undertake anything without the Lord." Because such a man as Ambrose says this, and commends God's grace, as it is fitting for a son of promise to do, with grateful piety, does he therefore destroy free-will? Or does he mean such a grace to be understood as the Pelagians in their different discourses will have to appear nothing but law â€” so that, for instance, God may be believed to help us not to do what we shall know, but to acknowledge what we may do? If they think that such a man of God as this is of this mind, let them hear what he has said about the law itself. In the book " On the Avoidance of the World," he says: " The law could stop the mouth of all men; it could not convert their mind." In another place also, in the same treatise, he says: " The law condemns the deed; it does not take away its wickedness." Let them see that this faithful and Catholic man agrees with the apostle who says, "Now we know that what things soever the law says, it says to those who are under the law: that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. Because by the law no flesh shall be justified in His sight." *
For from that apostolic view Ambrose took and wrote these things.
Against Two Letters of the Pelagians. [Chap. 31.

Chap. 3L â€” The testimonies of Ambrose on the imperfection of present righteousness.

But now, since the Pelagians say that there either are or have been righteous men in this life who have lived without any sin, to such an extent that the future life which is to be hoped for as a reward cannot be more advanced or more perfect, let Ambrose here also answer them and refute them. For, expounding Isaiah the Prophet in reference to what is written, "I have begotten and brought up children, and they have despised me," he undertook to dispute concerning the generations which are of God, and in that very argument he mentioned the testimony of John when he says, "He that is born of God sinneth not." And, treating the same very difficult question, he says: "As in this world there is none who is free from sin; since John himself says, 'If we say that we have not sinned, we make Him a liar.' But if they that are born of God sin not, and if these words refer to those of them who are in the world, it is necessary that we should regard those numberless people who have obtained God's grace by the regeneration of the laver. But yet, when the prophet says, 'All things are waiting upon Thee, that Thou mayest give them meat in season. That Thou givest them they gather for themselves; when Thou openest Thine hand, all things shall be filled with goodness. But when Thou turnest away Thy face, they shall be troubled: Thou shalt take away their breath, and they shall fail, and shall be turned into their dust. Thou shalt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created: and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth,' such things as these cannot seem to have been said of any time whatever but of the future time, in which there shall be a new earth and a new heaven. Therefore they shall be disturbed that they may take their beginning. 'And when Thou openest Thy hand all things shall be filled with goodness,' which is not easily characteristic of this age. For concerning this age what does Scripture say? 'There is none that doeth good, no not one.' If, therefore, there are different generations, â€” and here the very entrance into this

^ Isa. i. 2. 2 John iii. 9. 3 1 John i. 10.

* Ps. civ. 27, etc. * Ps. xiv. 1.

Chap. 31.] Testimonies of Ambrose. 3G7

Life is the receiver of sins to such an extent that even he who begot should be despised, while another generation does not receive sins, â€” let us consider whether by any means
there may not be any regeneration for us after the course of this life; of which
regeneration it is said, ' In the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of
His glory.' ^
For as that is called the regeneration of washing whereby we are renewed from the filth
of sins washed away, so that seems to be called a regeneration by which we are purified
from every stain of bodily concretion, and are regenerated in the pure feeling of the soul
to life eternal by such means that every quality of regeneration is purer than of that
washing; so that not any suspicion of sins can fall either on a man's doings, or even on his
very thoughts themselves." Moreover, in another place in the same work, he says: " We
see it to be impossible that any person created in a body can be absolutely spotless, since
even Paul says that he is imperfect.
Eor thus he has it: ' Not that I have already received, or am already perfect; ' ^ and yet
after a little he says, ' As many of us, therefore, as are perfect.' ^ Unless, perchance, there
is one perfection in this world, another after this is completed, of which he says to the
Corinthians, 'When that which is perfect is come; ' * and elsewhere, ' Till we all come
into the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, into the perfect man, to
the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.' ^ As, then, the apostle says that many are
placed in this world perfect with him, who, if you have regard to true perfection, could
not be perfect, since he says, 'We see now through a mirror, enigmatically; but then face
to face: now I know in part; but then I shall know even as also I am known,' Â® so also
there are those who are spotless in this world; and there will be those who are spotless
in the kingdom of God, although certainly, if you consider it accurately, no person can be
spotless, because no person is without sin."
Also in the same he says: " We see that, while we live in this life, we ought to purify
ourselves and to seek God; and to begin from the purification of our soul, and as it were to


* 1 Cor. xiii. 10. * Eph. iv. 13. Â« 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

363 AGAINST TWO LETTERS OF THE PELAGIANS. [CHAP. 3L

establish the foundations of virtue, so that we may deserve to attain the perfection of our
purgation after this life." And again, in the same he says: " But laden and groaning, who
does not say, ' wretched man that I am ! who shall deliver me from the body of this death
? ' ^ So with the same teacher we give all varieties of interpretation. For if he is unhappy
who recognises himself as involved in the mischiefs of the body, certainly everybody is
unhappy; for I should not call that man happy who, being confused with any darkness of
his mind, does not know his own condition.
That, moreover, has not absurdly come to be understood; for if a man who knows himself
is unhappy, assuredly all are wretched, because every one either recognises his weakness
by wisdom, or by folly is ignorant of it." Moreover, in the treatise " On the Benefit of
Death," he says: " Let death work in us, that life also, a good life after death, â€” that is, a
good life after victory, a good life after the contest is finished, " may work, that now no longer the law of the flesh may know how to resist the law of the mind, that no longer we may have any contention with the body of death." Again, in the same treatise he says: "Therefore, because the righteous have this reward, that they see the face of God, and that light which lightens every man, let us henceforth put on the desire of this kind of reward, that our soul may draw near to God, our prayer may draw near to Him, our desire may cleave to Him, that we be not separated from Him. And placed here as we are, let us by meditating, by reading, by seeking, be united with God. Let us know Him as we can. For we know Him partly here; because here all things are imperfect, there all are perfect; here we are infants, there we shall be strong men. ' We see,' says he, ' now through a mirror in an enigma, but then face to face.' Then, His face being revealed, we shall be allowed to look upon the glory of God, which now our souls, involved in the compacted dregs of this body, and shadowed by some stains and filth of this flesh, cannot clearly see. ' For who,' He says, * shall see my face and live ? ' and rightly. For if our eyes cannot bear the rays of the sun, â€” and if any one should gaze too long on the region of the sun he is said to be blinded, â€” if

' Koni. vii. 24.

CHAP. 32. PELAGIANISM SUBSEQUENT TO AMBROSE. 369

a creature cannot look upon a creature without deceit and offence, how can he without his own peril look upon the glittering face of the eternal Creator, covered as he is with the clothing of this body ? Tor who is justified in God's sight, when even the infant of one day cannot be pure from sin, and no one can boast of his integrity and pureness of heart ? "

Chap. 32. [xii.] â€” The Pelagian's heresy arose long after Ambrose.

It would be too long a business if I were to seek to mention everything which the holy Ambrose said and wrote against this heresy of the Pelagians, which was to arise so long afterwards; not indeed with a view to answer them, but with a view to declare the Catholic faith, and to build up men in it. Moreover, I neither could, nor ought to mention all those things which Cyprian, most glorious in the Lord, wrote in his letters, whereby it is shown how this which we hold is the true and truly Christian and Catholic faith, as it was delivered of old by the Holy Scriptures, and so retained and kept by our fathers and even to this time, in which these heretics have attempted to destroy it, and as it will hereafter by God's good will be retained and kept. For that these things and things of this kind were thus delivered to Cyprian, and by Cyprian, is testified by the testimonies produced from his letters; and that thus they were maintained up to our times is shown by these things which Ambrose wrote about these matters before these heretics had begun to rage, and that Catholic ears had shuddered at their profane novelties which are everywhere; and that thus, moreover, they shall be maintained hereafter, was declared
with sufficient vigour partly by the condemnation of such opinions as these, partly by their correction. For whatever they may dare to mutter against the sound faith of Cyprian and Ambrose, I do not think that they will break out into such a madness as to dare to call those noted and memorable men of God, Manichseans.

Chap. 33. "Opposition of the Manichcean and Catholic dogmas.

What is it, then, which in their raging blindness of mind they are now spreading about, "that almost throughout the entire West a dogma not less foolish than impious is taken up "? When, indeed, by the mercy of God and by His merciful governance of His Church, the Catholic faith has been so watchful that the dogma, not less foolish than wicked, as of the Manichseans, so also of these heretics, should not be taken up. So holy and learned Catholic men, such as are attested to be so by the report of the whole Church, praise both God's creation, and marriage as ordained by Him, and the law given by Him by means of the holy Moses, and the freewill implanted into man's nature, and the holy patriarchs and prophets, with due and fitting announcement; all which five things the Manichseans condemn, partly by denying, and partly also by abominating. Whence it appears that these Catholic doctors were far removed from the notions of the Manichseans, and yet they assert original sin; they assert God's grace above freewill, as antecedent to all merit, so as truly to afford a gratuitous divine assistance; they assert that the saints lived righteously in this flesh, in such wise that the help of prayer was necessary to them, by which their daily sins might be forgiven; and that a perfected righteousness which could not have sin would be in another life the reward of those who should live righteously here.

Chap. 34. "The calling together of the Synod not always necessary to the condemnation of heresies.

What is it, then, that they say, that "subscription was extorted from simple bishops sitting in their places without any Synodal congregation"? Was subscription extorted against such heretics as these from the most blessed and excellent men in the faith, Cyprian and Ambrose, before such heretics as these were in existence; seeing that they overthrow their
impious dogmas with such clearness that we can scarcely
find anything more manifest to say against them? Or, indeed,
was there any need of the congregation of a Synod to condemn
this open pest, as if no heresy could at any time be condemned
except by the Synod congregations; when, on the contrary,
very few heresies can be found for the sake of condemning
which any such necessity could have arisen? And they were
much and incomparably more which deserved to be accused
and condemned in the place where they arose, and thence
could be known and avoided over the rest of the lands. But

CHAP. 34.] CONCLUSION. 371

the pride of such as these, which lifts itself up so much against God as not to be willing to
glory in Him but rather in freewill, is understood as grasping also at this glory, that a
Synod of the East and "West should be gathered together on their account. In fact, they
endeavour, forsooth, to disturb the Catholic world, because, the Lord being against them,
they are unable to pervert it, when rather they ought to have been trodden out wherever
those wolves might have appeared, by watchfulness and pastoral diligence, after a
competent and sufficient judgment made concerning them; whether with a view of their
being healed and changed, or with a view of their being shunned by the safety and
soundness of others, by the help of the Shepherd of the sheep, who seeks the lost sheep
also among the little ones, who makes the sheep holy and righteous freely; who both
providently instructs them, although sanctified and justified, yet in their frailty and
infirmity to seek a daily remission for their daily sins, without which no one lives in this
world, even although he may live well; and mercifully listens to their prayers.

V

S’a
INDEX OF TEXTS.

PAGE

PAGE

PAGE

Genesis â€“

Genesis â€“ continued.

Numbers â€“

i. 2, .

Vol. iii. 287

xviii. 18,

Vol. i. 13
xiv. 29,

Vol. i. 128

i. 20, .

ii. 336

xix. 24,

ii. 174

xiv. 31,

i. 128

i. 24, .

ii. 336

XX. 18,

. ii. 167

xxi. 9, .

i. 59

i. 27, .
i. 204,
XX. 25,
ii. 167
xxiv. 3,
i. 338

ii. 151, 193
xxi. 1, 2,
ii. 174
xxiv. 15,
i. 338

i. 28,
ii. 82, 103,
xxi. 17,
ii. 104
151, 152, 181

xxi. 19,

i. 109, ii.

Deuteronomy â€”

i. 29, .

ii. 122

104, iii. 260

vi. 4, .

. iii. 52

i. 31, .

i. 107

xxii. 18,

i. 13

vi. 5, .
i. 229, 321,

ii. 7, .

ii. 83, 225,

xxiv. 2, 3,

ii. 76

328, iii. 52

234, 244, 298

XXV. 17,

ii. 78

X. 14, .

i. 307

ii. 17, .

i. 4, 22, 106

xlvi. 26,
ii.76m

xviii. 13,

i. 328

ii. 19,

i. 68, ii. 104

xlvi. 29,

ii. 76w

xxiii. 17,

i. 329

ii. 22,

ii. 83, 150

xxix. 5,

i. 5

ii. 23,
i. 68, ii. 104,

Exodus æ€”

XXX. 2,

i. 307

150

236, 237, 265

i. 5, .

ii. 76n

XXX. 9,

i. 332

ii. 24, .

i. 60, ii. 122,

iii. 14, .

i. 342

XXX. 14,
i. 332

151, 152, 193,

iv. 12,

iii. 292

xxxi. 3,

i. 158, 225

194, iii. 243

iv. 21,

iii. 65

ii. 25,

i. 108, ii. 104

iv. 25,

ii. 79
i. 109, ii. 82,

X. 1, .

iii. 57

xi. 20, .

. iii. 58

84, 104, 105,

xii. 3, .

i. 185

xii., .

i. 198

153, 157, 176

xiv. 4,

iii. 65

xxiii. 6,
i. 128

iii. 10,

i. 22

xix. 12, 16,

i. 186

xxiii. 8,

i. 128

iii. 16,

i. 125

XX. 5,

ii. 190

iii. 18,

i. 125

XX. 7,
iii. 246

Judges a

iii. 19,

i. 4, 6, 125

XX. 13, 14, r

J, i. 192,

ii. 3, .

i. 158, 225

iii. 20,

ii. 151

199, 210

vi. 36,

. ii. 73

iv. 1, .
. ii. 157

XX. 17, i

. 179, 191,

vi. 40,

ii. 73

V. 4,

i. 271

212

, 229, 296,

viii. 30,

ii. 76 71

V. 24,

i. 5

316

, 336, ii.
vii. 8, 9,

ii. 302

123

, 129, 130,

1 Samuel â€”

vii. 22,

ii. 336

iii. 36, 47

x. 25, .

. iii. 113

ix. 1, .

ii. 160

XX. 27,
i. 320

XV. 9, .

ii. 262

ix. 21, .

i. 84

xxxii. 18,

i. 186

xxiv. 7,

i. 215

xii. 3, .

i. 13

xxxiiii. 19,

ii. 43,

xxvi. 9,

i. 215

xiv. 18-20, . ii. 77
iii. 280

xxviii. 14,

. ii. 328

XV. 6, .

i. 203, 204

Leviticus â€”

xvii. 5,

. ii. 322,

iv..

i. 406

2 Samuel â€”
iii. 143

vi. 3, .

iii. 306

xvi. 9, 10,

. iii. 58

xvii. 10,

ii. 78

xix. 2,

i. 329

xvi. 11, 12,

. iii. 58

xvii. 14,

ii. 78, 163

xix. 18,

iii. 49, 52
INDEX OF TEXTS.

1 Kings—

Job—continued.

Psalms—continued.

PAGE

PAGE

PAGE

1 Kingsâ€”

Jobâ€”continued.

Psalmsâ€”continued.

viii. 46, Vol.
i. 230,

241

XXX. 3, 4,

Vol. ii. 225

XXX. 7, Vol. i. 257, ii.

viii. 57,

iii.

169

xxxii. 7, 8

, . ii. 225

43

iii. 28, 93

xii. 8-14,

iii.

59
xxxix. 34,
i. 88
XXX. 8,
i. 257
xii. 15,
iii.
59
xl. 4,
i. 296
xxxi. 7,
i. 319
xix. 8,
i.
6
xiii. 5, 6,
i. 88

xxxii. 2,

i. 188,

ii. 11,
Psalms â€“

323, 355

ii. 34, .

ii.

278

i. 2, . ii

. 31, iii. 16

xxxii. 5,

i. 79

xiv. 10,

iii.

60
i. 6, .

. iii. 10

xxxii. 6,

i. 79

ii. 4, .

ii. 224

xxxii. 9,

. ii. 335,

1 Chronicles-

â€”

ii. 8, .

ii. 224
iii. 16, 19

xi. 9, .

iii.

113

ii. 11, . i.

265, iii. 93

xxxii. 10,

. iii. 110

xii. 18,

iii.

113

ii. 12, . i.

265, iii. 230

xxxiii. 1, 2,

ii. 134
vi. 2, .

. iii. 300

xxxiv. 13,

. iii. 47

XV. 2, .

iii.

25

viii. 2,

. iii. 193

xxxvi. 3,

. iii. 17, 19

xxi. 16, 17,

iii.

60
xii. 1, .

i. 282

xxxvi. 6,

i. 29

XXV. 7, 8,

iii.

60

xii. 6, .

i. 173

xxxvi. 7,

i. 165

XXV. 20,

iii.

61

xiii. 3,
Esther æ"
xiv. 2,
ii. 341
xxxvi. 10,
i. 82, 165
iv..
ii.
24
xiv. 3,
ii. 340
xxxvi. 11,
i. 166, 176
v.,
iii.
61
XV. 1, 2,

ii. 330

xxxvi. 12,

i. 166

v. 1, .

ii.

25

xvi. 3,

i. 51

xxxvii. 3,

i. 340

xiv. 13,

iii.

265

xvi. 4,
i. 51, 353

xxxvii. 5, 6

i. 263

XV. 5, .

iii.

266

xvi. 11, xvii. 4,

i. 292
i. 307

xxxvii. 23,

i. 102,

iii. 48, 71,

Job â€”

xvii. 15,

. iii. 316
169, 228

i. 1, .

i.

338

xviii. 1,

. iii. 311

xxxvii. 27,

. iii. 71

i. 8, .

i. 89,

346

xviii. 2.3,

i. 330

xxxviii. 3,

ii. 72, 322
xxii. 23,
i. 196

250, 282

ix. 2, 3,
i.

85

xxii. 25,
i. 169

xiii. 2, 3,

. iii. 302

ix. 17, .
i.

334

xxiii. 6,
. iii. 30

xii. 4,

i.

333

xxiv. 7,

i. 67

xiv. 6, 7,

. ii. 73

xiii. 18,

i.

333

XXV. 7,

i. 406

xlvi. 2,

ii. 109
xiii. 26,
i.
86
XXV. 10,
iii. 134, 193
xlvi. 12,
ii. 2.30
xiv. 1-5,
i. 36
86,
XXV. 15,
. iii. 300
xlxi. 6,
. iii. 346
143
, 333,
337,

XXV. 17,

i. 302,

xlix. 12,

ii. 89, 335

i. 80,

190,

315, 319

xlix. 12, 13,

ii. 297, 313

ii

i. 333,

3G0

XXV. 21,
i. 103

II. 5, .

i. 36, 14.S,

xiv. 2,

i.

241

XXV. 22,

i. 128

ii. 72, 90,

xiv. 16, 17,

i. 86,

337

xxvi. 2,

. iii. 181
190, iii. 333,

xvi. 18,

334

xxvii. 4,

i. 208

360, 363

xix. 25,

296

xxvii. 9,

i. 353, iii.

Ii. 10, . ii.

72, iii. 302

xxiii. 11, 12
i. 212

Ii. 15,

. iii. 292

xxviii. 28,

i. 173^v

176

XXX. 5,

i. 351

liv. 6,

i. 212

xxix. 14,

i.

335

XXX. 6, i. 260, iii. 27, 92

Iv. 8,

ii. 336
INDEX OF TEXTS.

375

PAGE

PAGE

PAGE

'SALMs â€” continued.

PS ALMSâ€” COK^iÂ» ited.

Proverbs â€” continued.

lix. 10,

Vol. i. 264,

cxvi. 12,
Vol. iii. 300

xi. 20,

Vol. i. 330

366, 368, 398,

cxviii. 1,

iii. 300

xvi. 1,

iii. 74, 291

iii. 5, 293

cxviii. 8,

iii. 230

xviii. 21,

ii. 322

Ixii. 11, 12
i. 220

cxix. 1,

i. 330

xix. 3,

iii. 16, 62

Ixii. 12,

. iii. 34

cxix. 4,

i. 78

xix. 24,

. iii. 243

Ixiv. 2,

ii. 236

cxix. 5, 6,
i. 78

XX. 8,

. iii. 110

Ixvi. 9,

. iii. 181

cxix. 21,

i. 297

XX. 8, 9,

i. 343

Ixviii. 9,

ii. 73

cxix. 36,

iii. 169,
XX. 9, i

. 342, 372,

Ixviii. 18,

. i. 208,

187, 364

iii. 257,

iii. 30

cxix. 37,

ii. 17

358, 361

IXix. 6,
. iii. 19

cxix. 68,

ii. 16

XX. 24,

iii. 169

Ixx. 5,

i. 77

cxix. 73,

i

76, 249,

xxi. 1,

ii. 23,

Ixxi. 5,

i. 256
ii. 96

Ixxvii. 2,

i. 354

cxix. 108,

i. 76

xxix. 19,

iii. 19

Ixxvii. 9, 10, iii. 294

cxix. 133,

i. 79,

Ixxx. 3,

iii. 45
245, 395

ECCLESIASTES-

–

Ixxx. 3, 4,

i. 76

cxix. 175,

i. 99

i. 2, 3,

ii. 190

Ixxx. 7,

iii. 25, 138

cxix. 176,

i. 52
i. 18,

i. 184

Ixxx. 17, 18, iii. 183

cxxv. 4,

i. 343

iii. 5,

ii. 113

Ixxxi. 1,

. iii. 315

cxxvii. 1,

i. 402

iii. 21,

ii. 336

Ixxxi. 10,
• iii. 291

cxxxvii. 8

i. 89

vii. 20,

i. 346

Ixxxiv. 5,

iii. 201, 364

cxxxix. 6,

ii. 309

vii. 21,

i. 241

Ixxxiv. 6,

iii. 53, 181

cxxxix. 9,
ii. 322

vii. 30,

iii. 272

Ixxxiv. 11,

i. 102

cxxxix. IC

i. 265

Ixxxv. 4,

i. 76, 104,

cxl. 8,

i. 368

Canticlesâ€”
ii. 25

cxli. 3,

.  

ii. 47, 48

iv. 8,

i. 352, 398

lxxxrv. 6, ii. 25, iii. 123

cxli. 5,

ii. 269

viii. 5,

iii. 28

lxxxv. 7,

i. 265
cxliii. 2,
i. 71, 79, 87,

Ixxxv. 10,
i. 102

89

93, 104,

IS-UAH â€”

Ixxxv. 12,
i. 100, iii. 73

143,

153, 159,

i. 2,

iii. 366
ii. 190

i. 19, 20, i . 350, 352,

xcv. 7, 8,

. iii. 43
cxlv. 8,

iii. 105

ii

i. 330, 340

xcv. 8,

iii. 45

cxlvii. 20,

i. 168
vi. 10,

iii. 203

xcix. 6,

i. 97

c. 6,

ii. 25

^i. 14,

ii. 72

xcix. 8,

i. 98

viii. 20,

i. 362, 426

vii. 3,
Proverbs

1. 399

xi. 2,

iii. 55, 56

ci. 1, i.

103, ii. 147,

i. 8,

iii. 16

xxvi. 10,

i. 193

iii. 64, 205

i. 30,
iii. 17
xl. 5, .
ii. 239
cii. 4, .
i. 252
ii. 6, iii.
56,
212, 235
xlri. 5, i
1. 223, 265
ciii. 2-4,
i. 129
ii. 20, .
i. 307
xlv. 11,

iii. 92,

ciii. 2-5,

i. 221, 222

ii. 21,

i. 341

112, 143

ciii. 3,

ii. 126

iii. 1,

iii. 16

xlv. 25,

i. 102

ciii. 4,
ii. 126,

iii. 11,

iii. 16, 22 i

iii. 7,

iii. 115

iii. 35, 109

iii. 12,

i. 98

liii. 1, . .

iii. 203

ciii. 5,

i. 218

iii. 16,
i. 171,

liii. 3-12,

i. 53

ciii. 10,

i. 104

iii

. 53, 340

liii. 6,

i. 52

civ. 27,

. iii. 366

iii. 18,

i. 107

liii. 7,
i. 367

iv. 26,

iii. 10

liv. 13,

ii. 15

ex. 4, .

ii. 77

iv. 26, 27,

i. 127

Ivi. 1,

i. 76

cxi. 8, .

. iii. 181

v. 2, ,
iii. 17

Ivii. 16,

i. 227,

cxiv. 8,

. iii. 315

viii. 35,

i 102, iii.

iii. 188

cxvi. 2,

i. 337, 338

47,

86, 263,
INDEX OF TEXTS.

PAGE
Jeremiah â€”
i. 5, . Vol. i. 30
ii. 29, . i. 86
ix. 24, . iii. 97
X. 23, . i. 78, 99
X. 24, . i. 99
xvii. 5, iii. 20, 121, 216, 230, 246
xix. 23, 24, . i. 102
xxxii. 32, . i. 191
xxxii. 32, 33, i. 198, 375
xxxii. 34, i. 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 207, ii. 15
xxxii. 32, . i. 203
xxxii. 40, . iii. 174, 183, 342
EZEKIEL â€”
iii. 18, . iii. 116
xi. 19, 20, . iii. 43, 48, 169
xiv. 9, . iii. 61, 65
xiv. 14, . i. 84
xvi. 49, . ii. 174
xviii. 6, . i. 152
xviii. 31, 32, iii. 45
xxviii. 3, . i. 85
xxxvi. 22-27, iii. 44, 45, 48, 146, 169, 343
xxxvi. 26, 27, iii. 265
xxxvi. 32, iii. 343

Daniel â€”
vii. 18,
ix. 20,
Joel â€”
ii. 32,
i. 373,
375, 427
i. 84
i. 211

Habakkxjk â€”
ii. 4, i. 124, 325,
336, iii. 31, 144, 242
Zechariah â€”
i. 3, . . i. 76,
iii. 24
iii. 4, . . ii. 191
xii. 1, . . ii. 227

Malachiâ€“
i. 2, 3, iii. 126, 287

1 ESDRAS-
viii. 25,

TOBIT â€“
iv. 5, 6, Vol. ii. 245
iv. 21, . i. 340

Wisdom â€“
i. 5, . . ii. 273
i. 11, . . i. 247
ii. 24, . . i. 11,
ii. 184
iv. 11, . i. 30,
iii. 65, 87,
88, 150
iv. 11, 13, 14, ii. 257,
285
vi. 21, . . ii. 162
vii. 1, . . i. 367
vii. 6, 7, . i. 367
viii. 19, 20, . i. 38
viii. 21, i. 76, 179, 217, 321,
iii. 212
ix. 15, . i. 322,
iii. 256
ix. 25, . iii. 251
xii. 10, 11, . ii. 159, 172
xiii. 9, . ii. 302
xvi., . i. 225

ECCLESIASTICXJS-

iii. 21, 22, X. 9, .
X. 12, .
X. 13, .
xiii. 24, xiii. 30, XV. 8, .
XV. 11-17, XV. 14-17, XV. 15,
XV. 16, 17, xviii. 30,

xix. 16, i.
xxi. 1, xxii. 27, xxiii. 5, 6, .

xxxviii. 10, i xxxix. 25, .
xl. 1, .

Baruch â€”
ii. 31, .
i. 301
i. 282
i. 262

343, 346

ii. 124

i. 338

iii. 16

i. 350

i. 351,

iii. 46

i. 368

. 76, 229, 296, 336,

ii. 130

365, 380

ii. 130

iii. 47

i. 368, iii. 47

, 343, 346

i. 341
ii. 190

iii. 169, 206, 221

1 Maccabees â€”
iii. 342 ii. 69, .

ii. 78

PAGE

2 Maccabees â€”

vii. 29, Vol. iii. 110
xii. 39-45, . ii. 260
xii. 43, ii. 219, 288

NEW TESTAMENT.

Matthew i. 16, .
i. 20, .
i. 21, .
i. 23, .
iii. 8, 9, V. 6, .

V. 7, V. 8, V. 14, V. 17,
V. 32, V. 45,
V. 48, vi. 1, vi. 8, vi. 9,
vi. 10,
vi. 11, vi. 12,

vi. 12, 13,

vi. 13,

vi. 14, .
vi. 12, 14, vi. 19, .
vi. 30, .
vii. 2, .
vii. 7, .
vii. 11,

Vol. ii. 112
ii. 110
i. 137, 251,
252, ii. 202
. ii. 73
. iii. 108
i. 76, 217,
231, 325,
ii. 46, iii. 315
i. 222
i. 301, 345
5, . i. 342
i. 172, 190,
iii. 40
ii. 109
i. 341, ii. 88,
161, 172
i. 93
i. 326
i. 296
i. 202, iii. 45,
79, 224
i. 331, 350,
ii. 287, iii. 324
. iii. 178
i. 93, 153,
231, 268, 294,
303, 323, 324,
327, 330, 334,
355, 389, 419,
ii. 135, iii.
104, 178, 257,
300, 324
i. 75, 344,
INDEX OF TEXTS.

377

PAGE

Matthew ã€” continued.
vii. 16, Vol. ii. 180
vii. 18, ii. 19, 182
vii. 23, iii. 10, 255
viii. 22, . i. 4
ix. 12, i. 137, 237, 251, 252, 317, 319, 332, 354, ii. 149, 197
ix. 13, i. 237, 251, 317, 357
X. 19, 20, . i. 394
X. 20, . i. 247, ii. 18, 26
X. 22, . iii. 79, 173
X. 26, . iii. 65
X. 28, . ii. 326, iii. 17
X. 29, . iii. 199
X. 39, . ii. 215, 262
xi. 22, . iii. 190
xi. 28, . i. 332, ii. 13
xi. 30, . i. 306, iii. 50
xii. 29, . ii. 88
xii. 30, . i. 54
xii. 33, . iii. 272
xii. 35, . i. 341
xiii. 11, iii. 204, 205
xiii. 43, . i. 344
xvi. 17, . iii. 3
xAd. 24, . iii. 17
xvi. 27, iii. 18, 27, 32, 66
xvii. 20, . i. 226
xviii. 4, . i. 57
xviii. 11, . iii. 40
xviii. 15, . iii. 117
xviii. 17, . iii. 117
xix. 3-6, . iii. 244
xix. 4, . iii. 330, 338
xix. 4-6, . ii. 148
xix. 5, 6, . i. 23
xix. 6, . ii. 81
xix. 8, . ii. 109
xix. 9, . ii. 117
xix. 10, 11, . i. 392, iii. 27
xix. 11, . iii. 206
xix. 12, i. 98, ii. 117
xix. 16, . i. 342
xix. 24, . i. 158, 225
PAGE

Matthew â€” continued.
xxii. 11, 13, Vol. i. 371

xxii. 14,
i. 372

xxii. 37,
i. 320, 328

xxii. 37-39,
i. 227, 228

xxii. 39,
i. 320

xxii. 40,
i. 227, 320

xxiii. 15,

i. 207

XXV. 1-10,

i. 371

XXV. 33,

i. 371,

ii. 172

XXV. 34,

i. 136

XXV. 35,

i. 224, 334

XXV. 46, i

. 136, 193,

222, 369, 426
xxvi. 28,

i. 36, 121,

ii. 197

xxvi. 41,

iii. 356

xx\a. 53,

i. 225

xxvi. 69-71,

ii. 42

xx-sa. 69-75,

iii. 49

xxvii. 51,

i. 185,

ii. 73
Mark â€”

ii. 17, .
i. 151
vii. 9, .
i. 209
vii. 19,
i. 114
x. 8, .
i. 60
X. 27, .
i. 163
X. 46-52,
i. 291
xi. 23, .
i. 226

xii. 28-31,

iii. 52

xiv. 38,

i. 293

xiv. 66,

ii. 42

xvi. 15, 16,

i. 41,

134, 135

xvi. 16,

ii. 263,

iii. 267

xvi. 18,
ii. 270

LrKE â€”

i. 3, .

iii. 219

i. 6, .

i. 298, 347

ii. 45

i. 6-9,

i. 90, 91

i. 27, .

ii. 112

i. 34-38,

i. 57

i. 35, .
ii. 239

iii. 23,

ii. 112

iv. 16-21, .

i. 53

V. 31, 32, .

i. 24, 40

vi. 30, 38, .

i. 230

Luke â€” continued.

vi. 37, 38, Vol. i. 74,

iii. 258

viii. 8, . iii. 206

viii. 10, . iii. 167

viii. 18, . i. 208

ix. 53, . iii. 221

ix. 56, . i. 139,

iii. 352

ix. 58, . ii. 43

ix. 60, . i. 4
X. 12, . . i. 207
X. 13, . . iii. 190
X. 27, 28, . . i. 342
X. 29, . . i. 202
X. 30, . . i. 276
X. 34, . . i. 276, 285
X. 41, . . iii. 322
xi. 4, . i. 93, 98, 230
xi. 9, . . i. 351
xi. 20, . . i. 185
xi. 41, . . i. 334
xi. 42, . . iii. 112
xii. 37, . . i. 265

xii. 45, . iii. 55

xii. 47, 48, . iii. 19
xiii. 25, 27, . . i. 371
xiii. 32, . i. 345
XV. 4, . . i. 40
XV. 8, . . i. 41
xvi. 22, 23, . . ii. 250
xvi. 23, . . i. 290,

ii. 329

xvi. 24, . . ii. 250,
321, 328

xvii. 6, â€œ. . i- 226
xviii. 1, . iii. 204

xviii. 11, 12, i. 77, 180

xviii. 19, . i. 341

xix. 9, . . i. 40

xix. 10, . . ii. 148, 180,
190, 197, . . iii. 40

xix. 20, 24, . . i. 371
INDEX OF TEXTS.

xix. 26, i. 208
xix. 27, i. 371
XX. 34, i. 28, 83,
ii. 118, iii. 299
xxii. 32, i. 400, iii. 24,
78, 85, 107
xxii. 55, ii. 42
xxii. 61, ii. 42,
iii. 75, 94
xxiii. 43, i. 32, ii. 258
xxiv. 44-47, i. 51
xxiv. 45, iii. 7
xxiv. 46, 47, i. 51

Johnâ€”
i. 1,
i. 61, 110, 301, iii. 209

378
John â€” continued.
i. 3, Vol. ii. 198, 202
i. 5, . . iii. 55
i. 8, . i. 339, 342
i. 9, . i. 37, 166, 342
i. 12, . i. 79, 217, ii. 120, iii. 240
i. 12, 13, . i. 110
i. 14, i. 61, 103, 110,

172, ii. 238, 266, iii. 99
i. 16, . i. 166, iii. 34, 110
i. 29, i. 41, iii. 307
i. 47, . . i. 204
ii. 5, . . iii. 161
ii. 6, . . i. 143
ii. 19, . iii. 160
ii. 29, . . iii. 186
iii. 1-21, . i. 59
iii. 3, . . i. 115
iii. 3-5, i. 26, 57, 58
iii. 3-6, . ii. 287
iii. 5, i. 135, 137, ii.

51, 64, 215, 258,
261, 262, 289
iii. 6, . i. 83
iii. 8, i. 33, ii. 71, iii. 342
iii. 13, . i. 60
iii. 14, 15, . i. 61, 62
iii. 16, . i. 62
iii. 17, . . iii. 4, 64
iii. 18, . i. 63, 134
iii. 19, . i. 63
iii. 21, . i. 63
iii. 21, 22, . i. 346
iii. 27, . . iii. 29
iii. 34, 35, . i. 28
iii. 36, . i. 134
iv. 24, . . ii. 336
iv. 34, . . ii. 71
v. 5, . . i. 249
v. 14, . . i. 212
v. 21, . . i. 240
John â€“ continued.

vi. 51-53, Vol. i. 35
vi. 52, . . i. 28
vi. 53, . . i. 27, 137
vi. 59, . . iii. 90
vi. 60, . . iii. 139
vi. 62, 65, . . i. 352
vi. 63, . . iii. 139
vi. 64, . . iii. 241
vi. 65, ii. 13, iii. 25, 81
vi. 60, . . iii. 167, 205, 264, 342
vi. 70, . . iii. 83
vii. 39, . . i. 345

viii. 7, 8, . . i. 248
viii. 29, . . iii. 79
viii. 31, iii. 90, 92

viii. 36, i. 79, 212,

ii. 147, iii. 71,
104, 240, 272
viii. 38, . i. 319
viii. 56, . ii. 75
ix. 39, . iii. 64

X. 27, 28, . i. 41
X. 30, . . iii. 235
xi. 51, 52, . iii. 88
xii. 31, . ii. 163

xii. 37, . iii. 203

xii. 46, . i. 36, 39

xiii. 10, i. 249, ii. 283
xiii. 16, . ii. 42
xiii. 34, . i. 307
xiii. 34, 35, . iii. 52
xiv. 1, i. 19, iii. 202
xiv. 2, ii. 258, 286

XIV. 6, i. 41, 264,

ii. 76, 280
xiv. 8, 9, . i. 222
xiv. 21, i. 193, iii. 318
xiv. 28, . iii. 235
xiv. 30, i. 71, 257, ii. 153
xiv. 30, 31, i. 120,
123, 143
xiv. 31, . i. 257

XV. 5, i. 199, 210, 212,
264, 298, ii. 29,

iii. 4, 28, 33,
71, 103, 290,
291, 342

XV. 7, . . iii. 109

XV. 13, i. 126, 228,

iii. 48
PAGE

John â€” continued

xvi. 12,

Vo]

'. iii. 209

xvii. 3,

i. 193,
197, 222
ii. 131
XX. 22,

ii. 223

Acts â€”

ii. 1-47,

i. 186

ii. 2, i

i86, ii. 223

iii. 14, 15,

i. 50

iv. 11, 12,
xiii. 38, 39, 

i. 50

xiii. 48, 

iii. 79, 169

xiv. 8, 9, 

i. 396

XV. 10, 11

ii. 73, iii. 267

xvi. 14, 

iii. 168

xvii. 25, 

ii. 

234, 235
xvii. 26,

ii. 265

xvii. 28,

ii. 232

xvii. 31,

ii. 71

xxvTi. 5,

i. 396

Romans àè”

i. 7, .

i. 167
i. 8, 8

ii. 54

i. 14, 17,

i. 74

i. 16,

i. 201

i. 16, 17,

i. 200, 201

i. 17, 228, ii.

46,

134, iii. 242
i. 18-20,

iii. 15

i. 18-23,

i. 175

i. 21, .

i. 176, 177, 179, 200, 253

i. 22, .

i. 176

i. 23, .

i. 254
INDEX OF TEXTS.

i. 24, 254, 368, iii. 61
i. 24-28,
i. 215
i. 25, 26,
i. 254
i. 26,
iii. 61
i. 26, 27,
i. 254
Romans æ"” continued.
i. 27, Vol. iii. 173, 175

i. 28,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
i. 28-31, ii. 6,
206
168
i. 204

â€¢ J- 1^7
iii. 4, 5

178, iii. 6, 12
.
iii. 97

iii. 365

iii. 19-21, . ii. 11

iii. 20, i. 169, 170,
177, ii. 73, 184,

iii. 36, 247

iii. 20, 21, iii. 309, 310

iii. 20-26, i. 178, 182

iii. 21, i. 170, ii. 73

iii. 22, 23, . i. 170,
171, 172

iii. 22-24, i. 201, 204

iii. 22-26, . i. 43

'iii. 23, i. 274, iii. 77

iii. 23, 24, . i. 237,
238, 239

ii. 24, i. 171, 172,
ii. 31

iii. 24-28, iii. 26, iii. 27,

iii. 28, iii. 29, iii. 30, iii. 31, iv. 2, iv. 3,

iv. 3, 20, 21, iv. 4,

iii. 26, 32
iv. 4-8, . i. 43
iv. 5, i. 19, 166, 214, 218, 222, 236
iv. 10, 11, . ii. 163
iv. 11, . ii. 78
iv. 13, . iii. 247
iv. 14, iii. 303, 339

i. 201

iii. 232

i. 173, 178,
218, iii. 247

. iii. 32

i. 207

i. 208, 217

i. 211, iii. 340

i. 203

i. 214, 216

iii. 105

397,
Romans â€” continued.

iv. 15, Vol. i. 162, 168, 182, ii. 10, iii. 36, 298
16, iii. 143, 145

iv. 16, 17, iv. 19, iv. 20, iv. 21, iv. 23-25, iv. 25, V. 1, , V. 3, 4, 5, V. 5

V. 6, V. 8, V. 12,

i. 196
. iii. 105
iii. 125
. iii. 143
i. 43
ii. 163, 197
. iii. 114
iii. 55
100, 160, 183,
186, 199, 204,
207, 218, 223,
276, 292, 300,
302, 308, 321,
331, 354, ii.
11, 28, 29, 71,
98, iii. 360
. i. 24, 43
. iii. 240
i. 10, 12, 13,
132, 137, 144,
148, 242, 273,
274, 349, 354,
ii. 47, 78, 143,
147, 154, 159,
163, 177, 182,
184, 188, 235,
266, iii. 198,
335
ii. 187
i. 14, 182,
ii. 184
i. 14, 15, 138,
ii. 72, 184, 185
i. 15, ii. 185
i. 16, 22,
ii. 219
i. 17
V. 17, 18, ii. 186, 262
V. 18, i. 18, 19, 114, 274, ii. 314, 337
V. 19, i. 21, ii. 186
V. 20, i. 14, 21, 177, 182, 352, ii. 72,
iii. 64, 247, 303
V. 20, 21, i. 151, 164
V. 21, . . i. 21
vi. 1, 2, i. 164, iii. 12
vi. 3-11, i. 165
vi. 4, . . i. 211
vi. 6, i. 58, ii. 79
vi. 12, i. 75, 117. 229, 272, 291, 322,
336, 355
vi. 12, 13, ii. 123. 126,
128, 129, 132

12-19,
RoMAN.s à€” continued.

vi. 13, Vol. i. 272, 236

vi. 14, . . ii. 37,

iii. 39, 247

vi. 17, . . ii. 320

vi. 18, . . iii. 104

vi. 20, . . iii. 240

vi. 23, . iii. 33, 34

vii. 1, 2, . iii. 247

vii. 4, . . iii. 247

vii. 6, . i. 183, iii. 308

vii. 6, 7, . iii. 336

vii. 7, . i. 161, 162,

169, 383, ii.

10, iii. 129,

248, 249, 250

vii. 7, 8, i. 177, 182,
382, iii. 250
vii. 7-12, . i. 181
vii. 7-13, . iii. 37
vii. 7-25, . i. 184
vii. 8, . ii. 217
vii. 11, . i. 161
vii. 12, . i. 382
vii. 12, 13, . i. 178, 297
viii. 13, . i. 382
vii. 14, iii. 129, 251
vii. 14^16, . i. 382
vii. 14-25, . i. 44, 128
vii. 15, i. 88, 282, 283, 383,
ii. 37, 128,
iii. 115, 252
vii. 16, i. 336, ii. 128
vii. 17-23, . i. 109
vii. 17, ii. 128, 129,
iii. 252
vii. 18, i. 75, 221,
282, 283, 383,
ii. 129, 131, 
176, 246, 
iii, 253 
vii. 19, . i. 304 
vii. 19, 20, . i. 90 
vii. 19-21, . ii. 130 
vii. 20, i. 297, iii. 253 
vii. 21, . iii. 253 
vii. 22, i. 184, iii. 253 
vii. 22, 23, . i. 90, 
ii 130 
vii. 23, i. 221, 231, 
328, 383, 
419, ii. 37, 
82, 95, 123 
A-ii. 23, 24, . i. 290 
vii. 24, . i. 8, 290, 
ii. 90, 99, 
132, 145, 
iii. 36, 254

380
INDEX OF TEXTS.

PAGE

EoMANS â€” continued.

vii. 24, 25, Vol. i. 90, 109, 286, 289, 382, 383, ii. 72

vii. 24-26, . i. 426

vii. 25, i. 291, ii. 133, 165, 334,

iii. 254

vii. 28, . ii. 38

vii. 29, . iii. 129

viii. 1, ii. 133, iii. 254

viii. 2, . ii. 133

viii. 3, i. 44, 128,

li. 80, 112

viii. 3, 4, . i. 191,

iii. 297

viii. 6, i. 161, ii. 320

viii. 7, . i. 186

viii. 8, 9, . i. 117

viii. 9, . i. 284
49, 82, 91
viii. 29, iii. 83, 89, 91
viii. 29, 30, i. 162, 239, 354, 368
viii. 30, i. 196, 345, iii. 201
viii. 32, . ii. 197
viii. 35-39, . iii. 50
viii. 37, . iii. 31
ix. 6, . i. 196
ix. 7-12, . i. 195
ix. 8, . i. 375, ii. 29
ix. 10, . iii. 129, 155
ix. 11, . i. 195, ii. 79, 220, 281, 282, 286, 294
ix. 11, 12, . i. 31

PAGE
Romans â€” continued.
ix. 12, Vol. iii. 165
ix. 14, i. 29, 30, 205, 224, 232,
iii. 193, 346
ix. 15, . . iii. 280
ix. 16, i. 350, 399, 402,
403, 414, ii. 43,
iii. 31, 192, 280
ix. 18, . iii. 65, 135,
284, 286
ix. 19, . . iii. 286
ix. 20, iii. 85, 140, 184,
185, 198, 345
ix. 20, 21, . ii. 171
ix. 21, . . ii. 147,
iii. 5, 284
ix. 22, . i. 312, 368,
iii. 57, 135
ix. 22, 23, . iii. 94,
286, 346
ix. 23, i. 368, ii. 171
ix. 26, . ii. 175
ix. 28, . i. 320
ix. 29, . iii. 129
ix. 30, . i. 209
ix. 31, 32, . i. 209
ix. 32, . i. 209
ix. 33, . ii. 172
X. 1, . . iii. 138
X. 2, . . i. 264
X. 2, 3, . i. 236
X. 3, i. 43, 170, 180, 222, 264, 274, 332, ii. 40,
iii. 38, 297
X. 3, 4, i. 209, 210
X. 4, i. 236, 264, 274
X. 6, . . i. 231
X. 6-9, . i. 210
X. 8, . . i. 307
X. 10, . . i. 39, 332
X. 1.3, . . i. 211
X. 14, i. 31, 195, 237, iii. 42
X. 17, . . iii. 81
X. 17, 18, . i. 237
X. 21, . iii. 20, 216
xi. 2, . . iii. 216
xi. 4, . . iii. 217
xi. 5, . iii. 129, 134, 159, 217, 287
xi. 5, 6, . iii. 32
xi. 6, i. 172, 397, ii. 211, 214, iii. 63, 82, 264, 268
xi. 7, iii. 133, 159, 217
xi. 20, iii. 93, 108
xi. 24, i. 203, iii. 211
xi. 25, . iii. 158

PAGE

Romans â€” continued.
xi. 28, Vol. iii. 186
xi. 29, iii. 103, 164, 165, 201
xi. 30-32, . iii. 63
xi. 32, 33, 36, i. 29
xi. 33, i. 224, iii. 64, 85, 87, 140, 192, 346
xi. 33-36, . i. 232
xi. 35, . iii. 122
xi. 36, ii. 229, 232
xii. 1, . . iii. 16
xii. 1, 2, . ii. 320
xii. 1-3, . i. 224
xii. 2, . . i. 321
xii. 3, . i. 352, 399,
ii. 32, iii. 10,
34, 42, 125, 342
xii. 12, . i. 326
xii. 16, . iii. 93
xiii. 1, . i. 215
xiii. 8, . i. 307
xiii. 8-10, iii. 49, 50
xiii. 9. i. 192, 204
xiii. 9, 10, . i. 186
xiii. 10, i. 192, 307,
318, 330, ii. 11
xiv. 4, . iii. 105,
186, 205
xiv. 23, i. 398, ii. 28,
101, 103, iii.
145, 242, 312
1 Corinthians à€”
i. 274

i. 29,

. iii. 106

i. 30,

iii. 106, 131

i. 30, 31, iii. 310, 316

i. 31,

i. 31, 102, 339,

400, ii. 11, iii. 4,

106, 233, 240

ii. 2,

i. 277

ii. 12,

i. 179, iii. 56

ii. 14,
. ii. 14

ii. 16,

i. 367

iii. 1,

. iii. 209

iii. 2,

i. 94

iii. 3,

. iii. 131

iii. 5,

. iii. 206

iii. 7,

i. 11, 37, 198,

iii. 72
iii. 10,

. iii. 206

INDEX OF TEXTS.

381

PAGE

1 Cor. â€” continued.

iii. 12, Vol. i. 369, 370
iii. 15, i. 369, 370, 426

iii. 4, 131
i. III ii. 114
iii. 131
i. 78, 100, 171,
208, 215, 219,
223, 257, 399, ii. 4, 5, iii. 73,
78, 81, 126,
129, 130, 213,
266, 286, 342
i. 19
. iii. 73
i. 146
i. 13, ii. 23-44
i. 261, iii. 333
ii. 119
ii. 117
ii. 117
ii. 115
. ii. 81
ii. 81, 115
ii. 115
i. 392, ii. 100, iii. 34, 206, ii. 117
i. 112, 115, 151
vii. 25, i. 391, 428, iii. 31, 42, 123, 128
vii. 28, . ii. 117
vii. 29-31, . ii. 113
vii. 36, i. 350, 357
vii. 36, 37, iii. 17, 21, 38, i. 57

iii. 21, iii. 25, .
iii. 32, 33, iv. 6, .

iv. 7,

iv. 16, .
vi. 7, .
vi. 15, .
vi. 17, vi. 19, vi. 20, .
vii. 1, .
vii. 2, .
vii. 3-6, vii. 4, .
vii. 5, .
vii. 6, .
vii. 7, vii. 9, .
vii. 14,

^dii. 1,

viiii. 11
ix. 17, ix. 23, ix. 24, ix. 27, X. 4, X. 12, X. 13, X. 31, . X. 33, , xi. 1, , xi. 3, .
xi. 12, .
xi. 19, , xii. 6, xii. 11, xii. 12, xii. 13, xii. 17, xii. 31, xiii. 4,

27,
iii. 56, 340
  . iii. 116
  . iii. 17
i. 328
328, iii. 227
71, 326
9
iii. 145, 186, 201
i. 214
ii. 41
  . iii. 112
i. 11
ii. 75, 108
ii. 238
  . i. 425, ii. 68
iii. 127

1 Cor.
xiii.
xiii.
xiii.
xiii.
xiii.
xiii.
xiii.

10,
PAGE

â€” continued.

5, Vol. i. 373, ii. 21
7, , i. 216
i. 197, iii. 50
i. 197, 327,
iii. 367
i. 194, 197
i. 194, 197,
208, 228, iii.
315, 320, 367
ii. 46, iii. 50
. iii. 50
ii. 334
i. 396
i. 37
i. 44
9, i. 167, 400, 401,
428, iii. 26
i. 196
i. 401, 402, 404, 417,
iii. 26, 325
21, 22, i. 10, ii. 74
22, i. 54, ii. 185,
190, iii. 337
26, . i. 335
34, i. 329, iii. 17
35, 36, . i. 323
36, ii. 165, 168
ii. 168
ii. 179, 223
ii. 315
i. 206
. iii. 251
ii. 226
i. 231, ii. 125
i. 149
. iii. 255
217, iii. 247
i. 151, 399,
iii. 30
. iii. 167
iii. 51, 73

37,
38,
40,
41,
44,
46,
53,
53-56,
54,
56,
57,
14,

79 ' 2 Corinthians â€”
ii. 12, . . i ii. 14, .
n. 16, . . i iii. 2, 3, iii. 3-9,

iii. 4,

182,
192,
13, ii]

. 56

iii. 5, ii. 27, iii

125, 186,

290,

iii. 5, 6, . i.

iii. 6, i. 156, 161,

176, 375,

ii. 10, iii.

71, 297, 308.

167
168
168
43
187,
198
187
. 30,
201,
291
187
163,
382,
37,
340

2 Cob. â€” continued.
iii. 7,
iii. 8,
iii. 9,
iii. 13,
iii. 14,
iii. 16,

Vol. i. 187
i. 188
i. 187, 188
i. 187
. iii. 308
i. 185

iii. 17, i. 185, 188, 212

iv. 1, 2, iv. 1-6, iv. 7, i iv. 13,

iv. 16,

V. 1^, V. 2-A, V. 4, .
V. 5, .
V. 6, .
V. 7, i.
V. 10, .
V. 14-21, V. 17, .
V. 17, 18, V. 20, .
V. 20, 21,

V. 21,

vi. 1, vi 1 2

VI. J., ^,  

vi. 14,.

viii. 9,  

viii. 11, viii. 16, ix. 7, .

X. 17,  

xi. 14, .

xii. 2, .

xii. 4, .

xii. 7, xii. 7, 8, xii. 7-9,  

i. 188  

i. 188  

. 188, iii. 29, 76  

iL 72, iii. 42,  

134, 267,  

307, 339  

i. 81, 93, 218,  

300, 316, 317,  

320, 348, ii. 13,  

118, 130  

i. 189  

i. 5  

i. 75  

i. 189  

i. 325  

i. 160, 228, 229  

iu. 147, 331  

. i. 45, 143  

i. 238  

. iii. 34  

. iii. 114  

ii. 80, iii. 314  

i. 199, 245, iii. 10, 255  

i. 401, iii. 26  

i. 45
Galatians a€”
  i. 3, .
  i. 11, .
  ii. 15, 16, ii. 16, .
  ii. 20, .

  . i. 45, 167

 iii. 75

 i. 208, 218

  . iii. 37

 ii. 23

 382

INDEX OF TEXTS,
Galatians æc” coitir ued.
ii. 21, Vol. i. 208, 236,

238, 242, 274,
382, iii. 40, 339
iii. 5, . . i. 285
iii. 8, i. 13, 203, 208
iii. 11, iii. 309, 339
iii. 12, . iii. 339
iii. 13, . ii. 80
iii. 15, . iii. 302
iii. 16, i. 203, iii. 159
iii. 18, . iii. 303, 339
iii. 19, . i. 352, iii. 298, 303
iii. 19-22, . i. 45,
151, 187
iii. 21, ii. 10, 72, 164
iii. 21, 22, i. 14, 190
iii. 21, 23, . iii. 298
iii. 22, ii. 10, iii. 325
iii. 23, i. 191, 245
iii. 24, i. 171, 236,
245, 321, ii. 10
iv. 6, ii. 310, iii. 115
iv. 16, . . iii. 232
iv. 21, . . iii. 308
iv. 21-26, i. 374, 376
iv. 24, ii. 164, iii. 246
iv. 25, . . iii. 305
iv. 28, . . iii. 308
iv. 30, . . i. 374
iv. 31, . . iii. 309
V. 4, . i. 274, iii. 39
V. 6, i. 184, 203, 218,

221, 223, 398,

ii. 28

V. 11, . . i. 274

V. 13, 14, . iii. 51
V. 17, i. 221, 282, 284, 285, 286, 288,
291, 315, 321, 325, ii. 102, 132, 162, 334
V. 22, 23, . ii. 321
vi. 3, . . i. 176
vi. 6, . . iii. 174
vi. 7, . . iii. 166
vi. 17, . . iii. 120

Ephesiaxs-

- 

i. 3, .

iii.

162.

263

i. 3, 4,

i.

329,
Ephesians â€” continued.
i. 2, . Vol. iii. 299
ii. 3, . i. 29, 87, 238, 305, 315, ii. 47
ii. 3-5, . ii. 160
ii. 4-5, . i. 238
ii. 8, iii. 30, 132, 283
ii. 8, 9, . ii. 24, iii. 33, 42
ii. 8-10, i. 46, 218
ii. 9, . iii. 31
ii. 10, . iii. 143
ii. 12-18, . i. 46
iii. 19, . iii. 56
iii. 20, . i. 228
iv. 8, . i. 208, 302, iii. 31
iv. 13, . iii. 367
iv. 22-24, . i. 46
iv. 23, . ii. 334
iv. 24, . i. 81
iv. 30, . i. 46
V. 8, i. 339, iii. 287
V. 14, . i. 255
V. 23, . i. 355
V. 25, . ii. 109, 135, iii. 244
V. 26, . iii. 330
V. 26, 27, i. 329, 344, 345
V. 32, . ii. 122, 151
vi. 7, . iii. 17
vi. 14, . i. 335
vi. 23, iii. 42, 55, 125, 127, 215, 241

Philippians â€”
i. 3, . iii. 79
i. 6, iii. 49, 202, 290
i. 8, . ii. 96
i. 13, . iii. 228
Philippians — continued.

PAGE

Philippians â€” continued.
ii. 29, . Vol. iii. 173
iii. 1, . iii. 120
iii. 2, 3, . iii. 321
iii. 4, . iii. 321
COLOSSIANS æ

i. 12-14, . i. 47
i. 13, . i. 256, ii. 88
121, 144, 147,
173, 189, 190, iii. 110
i. 21, 22, . i. 329
i. 28, . i. 329
ii. 10-15, . i. 47
ii. 11-13, ii. 79, 334
ii. 14, . i. 121
iii. 1, . . iii. 203
iii. 3, . . iii. 318
iii. 4, . i. 344, iii. 92
iii. 5, . . i. 7
iii. 10, i. 80, 194, ii. 319
iii. 14, . iii. 51
iii. IS, . ii. 108
iii. 19, . ii. 119
iv. 2, . iii. 167
iv. 3, . iii. 168
iv. 6, . ii. 100, iii. 32
iv. 12, . iii. 79

1 Thessalonians â€”
i. 13, . iii. 166
iii. 5, . iii. 181
iii. 12, . iii. 54, 73
iv. 3-5, ii. 106, 159
iv. 5, . ii. 80

INDEX OF TEXTS.

83

PACK

PAGK

PAGE

1 Thess.â€”
continued.

Titusæ”

James æ” continued.

iv. 9, .

Vol. ii. 15

i. 6, Vol.

i. 347, iii

258

iv. 6,

. Vol. i. 176, 232

iv. 10,

ii. 15

ii. 12,

iii.
67

iv. 7,

ii. 22

iv. 17,

i. 122

ii. 13, 14,

i.

48

iv. 11,

. iii. 17

V. 14, 15

. iii. 51, 117

iii. 3,

iii. 27,

250
iv. 17,
i. 293
V. 21, .
i. 273
iii. 3-7,
i.
48
V. 23, .
ii. 317, 333
iii. 4-7,
3, 27,
250
1 Peter-
iii. 5,
i. 24, 35
81,
i. 3-5,
i. 41

2 Thtsaloxiasâ€”

iii. 264,
301
i. 5,
i. 54
i. 3, .
. iii. 54
ii. 9,

i. 42

iii. 2,

i. 55, ii. 13, iii. 40, 132

14, Hebrewsâ€”"

iii.

17

iii. 6, iii. 9, iii. 15,

ii. 108
iii. 65
ii. 100

1 Timothy

–

i. 1-3,
iii. 17,

. iii. 173

i. 5, i.

192, 209, 307,

ii. 2, 3,

49

iii. 18,

i. 42

iii. 51

ii. 14, 15,

49,
iii. 21,

i. 35, 42

i. 8, i.

171, 306, 330

^ 123^ 256

iv. 8,

. iii. 51

i. 9, .

i. 171

ii. 17, .

i.

49
i. 261

V. 1,

i.

347

ii. 12,

. ii. 159

ii. 4,

i. 219, 411

vii. 24-27

, . i.

49

ii. 19,

i. 212, 319,

ii. 5, i.

301, 353, 354,
vii. 26, 27

, . i.

91

ii. 147

ii.

71, 77, iii. 267

ix. 24-28,

i.

50

iii. 14-16, . iii. 6

ii. 5, 6,

i. 47, 204,

xi. 1, .

i.

122
206, 277

xi. 4-6,

ii.

107

1 John 1:6

- 

ii. 7,

i. 195, 395

xi. 6, ii

103, iii.

144

i. 7,

i. 42
ii. 9, 10,

. ii. 237

xi. 13,

i.

122

i. 8,

. i. 79, 80, 82,

iii. 10,

. iii. 258

xi. 2.3,

i.

347

84, 90, 153,

iii. 16,

i. 237
xi. 39, 40

i. 122,

198

230, 246, 266,

iv. 1,

i. 395

xiii. 4,

ii. 81,

125

269, 297, 306,

iv. 3,

. iii. 271
348, 354, 389,

iv. 5, .

i. 114

James aë”

iii. 179, 272,

iv. 14,

. iii. 17

i. 5, iii. 7, 66,

212

299, 300, 325,

V. 14, .

ii. 81-117
i. 5, 6, i.

217, 248, 249

332, 358, 360

V. 20, .

. iii. 117

i. 13,

i. 75,

348,

i. 10,

. iii. 366

v. 22, .

. iii. 21

371, iii.

181
ii. 7,

. iii. 293

vi. 7,

ii. 96

i. 13-15,

iii.

16

ii. 10,

. iii. 51

vi. 10,

ii. 20

i. 14,

iii.

257

ii. 15,
ii. 34, 232,
i. 17, i. 166, 179,
226,

156, 157

iii. 54, 56, 339

iii.

5, 66, 78,

229

ii. 19,

iii. 89, 188

i. 8, .

iii. 233, 294

i. 25, .

i.
292

iii. 1,

. ii. 21, iii. 56

i. 8, 9,

iii. 27, 82

ii. 1, .

i.

17

iii. 2,

. i. 82, 194, 197,

i. 12, .

i. 399

ii. 8, .

iii.

51
248

iii. 299, 366

iii. 13, .

i. 314

iii. 10,

i.

247

iii. 10,

11, . iii. 51

iv. 6, .

i. 96

iii. 13-17,

i.

248
iii. 16,
i. 126
iv. 7,
i. 96, 399,
iii. 14,
iii. 66,
214
iii. 21,
22, i. 343

iii. 29, 30
iii. 15,
i.
239
iii. 23,

. iii. 51
iv. 8, .

. iii. 29

iii. 17,

iii. 66,

214

iv. 1,

. i. 216

184

INDEX OF TEXTS.

PAGE

PAGE
1 John â€” continued.

Revelation

â€”

iv. 7, Vol. iii. 53, 56,

V. 2, 3,

Vol

. iii.

52

iii. 11,

Vol
iii.

108

293, 342

V. 3, i.

306,

332,

333

V. 6, .

ii.

332

iv. 7, 8, . ii. 21

V. 9, 12,

i.

42
V. 9, 

50

iv. 10, . ii. 27

V. 16, .

iii.

104

vi. & vii..

ii.

332

iv. 16, . iii. 56

V. 18, .

i.
348

vi. 9, .

ii.

332

iv. 18, i. 292, 330,

V. 20, .

ii.

76

vi. 13, 14,

ii.

332

iii. 49
xiv. 3-5,

79,

iv. 19, ii. 27, 47, iii. 53

2 Johnâ€”

338,

339

iv. 21, . iii. 52

5, .
MUKEAV AND GIBB, EDINBDBGH, PRINTKKS TO HER MAJESTI's STATIONERY OmnK,

T. and T. Claries PzcdlzcaTions.

Just published, in demy 8vo, price 9s.,

HIPP0LYTU8 AND CALLI8TU8;

OR,

THE CHURCH OF ROME IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

By J. J. Tgn. von DOLLINGER.

CraiTsIattir, bit^нтrotbidiСоT, ^oks, anb ^pgiuirkts, By ALFKED PLUMMER, M.A.,

MASTER OF traiVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM.
He who reads "Hippolytus" without this volume at hand, is certainly neglecting the best aid he can have to the perfect understanding of one of the significant passages of early Church history — "i^aj/y Review.

Just published, in two volumes, demy 8vo, price 12s. each,

A History of the Councils of the Church.

JFrom tije Â©ristnal documents.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

C. J. HFELE, D.D., Bishop of Eottenbu;k.

VOL. I. (Second Edition), TO A.D. 325.
By Rev. PREBENDARY CLARK.

VOL. II., A.D. 326 TO 429.
By H. N. OXENHAM, M.A.

'The second volume strikes us as scarcely if at all inferior in importance to the first. The translation reads as if it were an original wort.' â€” Church Quarterly Review.

'Of the thoroughness of Bishop Hefele's learning and eminent fairness as a historian it is needless to speak. He is acknowledged to be unrivalled in his own country as a scholar and a profound theologian.' â€” Pilot.

'This careful translation of Hefele's Councils.' â€” Dr. Pusey.

'A thorough and fair compendium, put in the most accessible and intelligent form.' â€” Gvrdian.

'A work of profound erudition, and written in a most candid spirit. The book will be a standard work on the subject.' â€” Spectator.

'The most learned historian of the Councils.' â€” Pere Gratry.

'We cordially commend Hefele's Councils to the English student.' â€” John Bull.
T, and T. Clark's Publications.

LANG E'S
COIVIVIENTARIE8 ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

Edited by Dr. PHILIP SCHAFP.

There are now ready (in imperial 8vo, double columns), price 21s. per Volume,

OLD TESTAMENT, Eleven Volumes:

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS, in One Volume.
EXODUS AND LEVITICUS. One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON JOSHUA, JUDGES, AND RUTH, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE BOOKS OF KINGS, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF JOB.
COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, AND THE SONG OF SOLOMON, in One Volume.
COMMENTARY ON JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS, in One Volume.
EZEKIEL AND DANIEL. One Volume. [Shortly:]
CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, and ESTHER. One Volume. \Sliortlij .~\n
COMMENTARY ON MINOR PROPHETS, in One Volume.

The other Books of the Old Testament are in active preparation.

NEW TESTAMENT (now complete). Ten Volumes:

COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.
COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPELS OF ST. MARK and ST.
LUKE.

COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.
COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.
COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE
KOMANS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE
CORINTHIANS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE
GALATIANS, EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS, and COLOSSIANS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSA-
LONIANS, TIMOTHY, TITUS, PHILEMON, and HEBREWS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF JAMES, PETER,
JOHN, and JUDE.

COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION.

'Lange's comprehensive and elaborate "Bibelwerk." . . . We hail its publication as a valuable addition to the stores of our Biblical literature.' â€” Edinburgh Review.

The price to Subscribers to the Foreign Theological Library, St. Augustine's Works, and Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament, or to Purchasers of Complete Sets of the Commentary (so far as published), will be FIFTEEN SHILLINGS PER VOLUME.

Dr. Lange's Commentary on the Gospels and Acts (without Dr. Schaff's Notes) is also published in the Foreign Theological Library, in Nine Volumes demy 8vo, and may be had in that form if desired. (For particulars, see List of Foreign Theological Library.)

T. and T. Clark's Pudlicatiojis.

Just published, in two volumes 8ro, price '2ls.,

A COMMENTARY
GOSPEL OF ST, LUKE.

By F. GODET,

DOCTOR AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, NEUCHATEL.

Translated from the Second French Edition,

"We are indebted to the Publishers for an English translation of the admirable work which stands at the head of this review. ... It is a work of great ability, learning, and research."—Christian Observer,

'Marked by clearness and good sense, it will be found to possess value and interest as one of the most recent and copious works specially designed to illustrate this Gospel.'—Guardian.

KEIL AND DELITZSCH'S COMMENTARIES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

10s. 6d. each volume.

PENTATEUCH, 3 Vols (Keil.)

JOSHUA, JUDGES, JOSHUA, 1 Vol (Keil.)

SAMUEL, 1 Vol (Keil.)

KINGS, 1 Vol., and CHRONICLES, 1 Vol. . . . (Keil.)

EZRA, NEHEMIAH, and ESTHER, 1 Vol. . . . (Keil.)

JOB, 2 Vols (Delitzsch.)

PSALMS, 3 Vols (Delitzsch.)

PROVERBS, 2 Vols (Delitzsch.)

ECCLESIASTES and SONG OF SOLOMON, 1 Vol. (in preparation) (Delitzsch.)

ISAIAH, 2 Vols (Delitzsch.)
JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS, 2 Vols. . . . (Keil.)

EZEKIEL, 2 Vols (Keil.)

DANIEL, 1 Vol (Keil.)

MINOR PROPHETS, 2 Vols (Keil.)

'This series is one of great importance to the Biblical scholar; and as regards its general execution, it leaves little or nothing to be desired.' â€” Edinburgh Review.

In one volume., demy Svo, price lis.,

THE APOCALYPSE

TRANSLATED AND EXPOUNDED.
BY JAMES GLASGOW, D.D.,

IRISH GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

'This work bears unmistakeable evidence of no inconsiderable amount of learning; it is very able, and is well worthy the study of those who are seeking to know the meaning of the word of God.' â€” Princeton Review,

'This volume will doubtless find its way into the library of every student of unfulfilled prophecy.' â€” British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

T. and T. Clar/Ss Publications.

Recently published, in demy Svo, price 9s.,

A CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION TO
THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

By C. E. CAS PAR I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, BY
M. J. EVANS, B.A.
'The work is handy and well suited for the use of the student. It gives him, in very reasonable compass and in well digested forms, a great deal of information respecting the dates and outward circumstances of our Lord's life, and materials for forming a judgment upon the various disputed points arising out of ih.Qva.."â€”Guardian.

'In this work the Author affords us the results of many-sided study on one of the most important objects of theological inquiry, and on a knot of problems which have been so often treated and which are of so complex a nature. The Author is unquestionably right in supposing that the so-called outworks of the life of Jesus have their value, by no means to be lightly esteemed. Their examination must be returned to ever afresh, until the historic or unhistoric character of the substance of the gospel narrative has been brought out as the result of scientific examination. ... In conclusion, we believe we can with full conviction characterize the whole work as a real gain to the scientific literature of the question, and a great advance on previous investigations; not doubting that the most important positions maintained by the Author will in all essential points win the approbation of the student.' â€”Jahrbucherfiir Deutsche Theologie.

'An excellent and devout work. We can strongly recommend it.' â€”Church Quarterly Review.

In crown 8vo, Second Edition, price is. 6/.,

AIDS TO THE STUDY

OF

GERMAN THEOLOGY.

By Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., B.D.

' The Author has done his work well, and has given us a real help to the understanding of German theology.' â€”Princeton Review.

' A work of much labour and learning, giving in a small compass an intelligent review of a very large subject.' â€”Spectator.

' An excellent and modest book, which may be heartily recommended.' â€”Academy.

' A helpful little volume: helpful to the student of German theology, and not less so to the careful observer of the tendencies of English religious thought.' â€”Freeman.

' The writer or compiler deserves high praise for the clear manner in which ho has in a brief compass stated these opinions.' â€”Christian Observer.
T. and T. Clark's Publications.

Second Edition, in crown 8vo, price 7s. 6d.,

DAVID, THE KING OF ISRAEL:

A PORTRAIT DRAWN FROM BIBLE HISTORY AND THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

By F. W. KRUMMACHER, D.D.,

Author of 'Elijah the Tishbite.'

'This volume has all the characteristics of the Author's earlier productions: strict orthodoxy, and earnest piety and a lively figurative style.'—Rock.

At the close of two articles reviewing this work, the Christian Observer says: 'Our space will not permit us to consider more at large this very interesting work, but we cannot do less than cordially commend it to the attention of our readers. It affords such an insight into King David's character as is nowhere else to be met with; it is therefore most instructive.'

'This will be a pleasant household reading-book for many people.'—Literary Church-

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.
In crown 8vo, Eighth Edition, price 7s. Qd.,

THE SUFFERING SAVIOUR;

OR, MEDITATIONS ON THE LAST DAYS OF THE SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST.

'A book which has reached its eighth edition needs no introduction to the reading public. And yet the very circumstance of its repeated publication entitles it to popularity. There is a richness in these meditations which wins and warms the heart.'—Nonconformist.

'The reflections are of a pointed and practical character, and are eminently calculated to inform the mind and improve the heart. To the devout and earnest Christian the volume will be a treasure indeed.' — Wesleyan Times.

In crown \(^{\text{vo}}\), price 7s. 6d.,

**THE FOOTSTEPS OF CHRIST.**

Translated from the German of A. GASPERS.

'A very interesting and instructive book. Its style is quaint and antithetic; it abounds in bright thoughts, presents striking views of Scripture facts and doctrines, and is altogether eminently fitted to refresh and edify believers.' — Family Treasury.

'I there is much deeply experimental truth and precious spiritual love in Gaspers' book. I do not always agree with his theology, but I own myself much profited by his devout utterances.' — Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.

In crown 8vo, 2\(^{\text{hird}}\) Edition, price 5s.,

**LIGHT FROM THE CROSS:**

**SERMONS ON THE PASSION OF OUR LORD.**
Translated from the German of A. THOLUCK, D.D.

'These sermons have already attained a third edition, and abound in passages calculated to stir up the deepest feelings of devotion, and to awaken the most careless of sinful souls.' — Rock.

T. and T. Clark's Publications.

Just published, Second Edition., price Is. 6d.,

**AN INTRODUCTORY HEBREW GRAMMAR;**

By a. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D.,

Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the New College, Edinburgh.

'Well adapted for the instruction of College classes. The author has a firm grasp of the principles of Hebrew Grammar, and his mode of treatment is, on the whole, clear and correct.' — Guardian.
'This excellent little book supplies a want of which all who are interested in the cultivation of Hebrew studies by our students and ministers have long been painfully conscious. As a system of Hebrew accidence, within the proper limits of the subject, the book is characterized by great completeness as well as simplicity.' — British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

In crown 8vo, price 4s.,

PRINCIPLES OF NEW TESTAMENT QUOTATION

Established and Applied to Biblical Science.
BY REV. JAMES SCOTT, M.A., B.D.

'Mr. Scott's very exhaustive essay is quite a masterpiece of pithy compression. Theological students will find the book to be one of great value, not only for its direct help, but for its lucid example of method. It does not contain a specific criticism of every Old Testament citation found in the New Testament, but deals with the whole question of quotation in general, and thus exhibits the principles of the Biblical quotation, and vindicates them with a masterly force.' — English Churchman.

'In terse and well ordered style the Author deals with a subject too little studied and less understood. He shows himself to be, in the best sense of the word, rational in his method and conclusions. . . . Strength, acuteness, sound judgment, and reason, chastened by reverence, pervade this book, which, with pleasure, we commend to all students of Holy Scripture.' — Record.

In two volumes 8vo, Subscription Price 14s.,

CALVINI INSTITUTIO CHRISTIANÆ RELIGIONIS.
CURavit A. THOLUCK.

Tholuck's edition of Calvin has been long very scarce, and the Publishers have, with the Editor's consent, reprinted it carefully and elegantly. It contains Dr. Tholuck's chapter headings and very complete indices, and the text has been carefully printed from the very accurate edition contained in the Corpus Reformatorum; so that, in point of completeness and accuracy, it excels any previous edition, and it is also exceedingly cheap.

'Printed from the most accurate edition of Calvin's great work, we are thankful to welcome it in a shape so accessible to students, and so handy for use.' — British and Foreign Evangelical Review.
T. and T. Clark's Publications.

Just published, in crown 8vo, price 6s.,

SERMONS
FOR THE
CHRISTIAN YEAR.
ADVENT-TRINITY.
By Professor ROTHE.
Translated by WILLIAM R. CLARK, M.A. Oxon.,
Prebendary of Wells and Vicar of Taunton.
Just published, in two vols., large crown 8vo, price 7s. 6d. each,

THE YEAR OF SALVATION.
WORDS OF LIFE FOR EVERY DAY.
A BOOK OF HOUSEHOLD DEVOTION.
By J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, D.D.

'A work of great value and interest. To the clergy these readings will be found full of suggestive hints for sermons and lectures; while for family reading or for private meditation they are most excellent. The whole tone of the work is thoroughly practical, and never becomes controversial.' — Church Bells.

'The very best religious exposition for everyday use that has ever fallen in our way.' — BelPs Weekly Messenger.

'This charming and practical book of household devotion will be welcomed on account of its rare intrinsic value, as one of the most practical devotional books ever published.' — Standard.

'Massive of thought, persuasive, earnest, and eloquent.' — Literary Churchman.

'As might have been expected from so clear and vigorous a thinker, every passage is valuable either as an exposition or a suggestion.' — Henry Ward Beecher in Christian Union.
BY THE SAME AUTHOR.
Just published, in crown 8vo, price 6s.,

MOSES:

A BIBLICAL STUDY.

'Our author has seized, as with the instinct of a master, the great salient points in the life and work of Moses, and portrayed the various elements of his character with vividness and skill. . . . The work will at once take its place among our ablest and most valuable expository and practical discourses.' — Baptist Magazine.

'A volume full of valuable and suggestive thought, which well deserves and will amply repay careful perusal. We have read it with real pleasure.' — Christian Observer.

8 T. and T. Clark's Publications.

In the Press.

ON CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

Translated and Adapted (with the Revision of the Author)

iFrom tijc 6trinan of

Dr. henry J. W. THIERSCH.

In demy 8vo, price 7s. 6d.,

SERMONS TO THE NATURAL MAN.

By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D.,

Author of 'A History of Christian Doctrine,' etc.

Recently published, in demy 8vo, price Is. 6d.,

THE MIRACLES OF OUR LORD

IN RELATION TO MODERN CRITICISM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF
F. L. STEINMEYER, D.D.,

ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

'This work vindicates, in a vigorous and scholarly style, the sound view of miracles against the sceptical assaults of the time.' â€” Princeton Review.

'We commend the study of this work to thoughtful and intelligent readers, and especially to students of divinity whose position requu-es a competent knowledge of modern theological controversy.' â€” Wesley an Methodist Alagazine.

In demy 8vo, price 12s.,

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D.,

Author of a 'Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.'

'Those acquainted with the Author's previous works will be prepared for something valuable in his present work; and it will not disappoint expectation, but rather exceed it. The most recent literature of his subject is before him, and he handles it with ease and skill. ... It will be found a trustworthy guide, and raise its Author's reputation in this important branch of biblical study.' â€” British and Foreign Evangelical Review.

'A work of uncommon merit. He must be a singularly accomplished divine to whose library this book is not a welcome and valuable addition.' â€” Watchman.

'It will be found of considerable value as a handbook to St. Paul's Epistles. The dissertations display great thought as well as research. The Author is fair, learned, and calm, and his book is one of worth.' â€” Church Bells.

[*End: Volume XV (Scan 1)*]
[*End of Series*]